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THE CHIMARIKO INDIANS AND
LANGUAGE

BY
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PART I. CULTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

The investigation in the course of which the material was secured upon which the following account of the culture and language of the Chimariko Indians of California is based, was conducted during July and August, 1906, on behalf of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, and, in common with the other researches of the Department, was made possible by the support of Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst. At the present time there appear to be only two living full-blood Chimariko. One of these, Doctor Tom, a half-crazy old man, proved worthless for purposes of investigation, and the bulk of the information secured was obtained from Mrs. Dyer, a failing old woman of about eighty years of age, living on lower New River. Some supplementary details were gathered from "Friday," a well-known character near the Hupa reservation, half Hupa and half Wintun by birth, but having had close affiliations with the Chimariko many years ago.

The little group of Indians to whom the name Chimariko has been given occupied a small area situated in the western portion of Trinity County, in northern California. The language spoken by the group has always been believed to differ radically from all others known, so that, unless certain resemblances discussed in the linguistic portion of this paper are accepted as establishing an affinity with the Shastan family, the Chimariko by themselves constitute an independent linguistic stock. In the small size of the area occupied, the Chimariko fall into the same class with several other stocks in California, such as the Yana and the extinct Esselen.

TERRITORY AND HISTORY.

As far as can be ascertained at present, the Chimariko seem to have regarded as their territory a narrow strip of country extending along Trinity River from the mouth of the South Fork

up as far as Taylor's Flat at French Creek. This upper limit is well corroborated by repeated statements of the Wintun, who controlled all the upper Trinity, reaching as far downstream as Cox's or Big Bar, some five or six miles above French Creek. In addition to this strip of territory along the main Trinity, there is some evidence to the effect that the Chimariko also extended up the South Fork to a point about fifteen miles above Hyampom, and also up Hay Fork as far as the mouth of Corral Creek. These statements in regard to this extension up the South Fork are rather confusing and somewhat contradictory, but appear to be confirmed by the testimony of the Wintun in Hay Fork Valley. In view, however, of positive statements secured by Dr. P. E. Goddard from the Athabascan tribes on the upper South Fork, to the effect that they occupied the South Fork as far as its mouth, the extension up this stream of the Chimariko may be considered doubtful.

Whether or not the so-called Chimalakwe of New River formed a portion of the Chimariko, or were identical with them, is a matter which must apparently remain unsettled. Powers declares¹ that the Chimalakwe occupied New River, and that they were in process of conquest and absorption by the Hupa at the time of the first appearance of the whites. The upper portion of New River, about New River City and perhaps below, was occupied according to Shasta accounts by a small branch of the Shastan family, speaking a distinct dialect.² Satisfactory statements in regard to the occupants of lower New River cannot now be secured. The survivors of the Chimariko most emphatically deny that they ever permanently occupied any part of New River, stating that they merely visited and ascended it a short distance, and only for the purpose of hunting. The people living on New River are declared to have been very few, and to have spoken a Hupa dialect. It is unquestionable that the name Chimalakwe, given to the New River tribe by Powers, is derived from the same stem *tcimal*, *tcymar*³ as Chimariko. Inasmuch as

¹ Powers, S., *Tribes of California*, Washington, 1877. Contributions to North American Ethnology, III, p. 92.

² Dixon, R. B., *The Shasta-Achomawi: A New Linguistic Stock, with Four New Dialects*. *American Anthropologist*, n. s., VII., pp. 241-315.

³ Tc = English ch, c = sh. See the discussion of phonetics in the linguistic part.

these New River people are entirely extinct, and the Chimariko virtually so, it seems doubtful if the question of their relationship can now be definitely settled.

According to the information procured, the Chimariko had only a few small villages within the small area they occupied; that at Burnt Ranch, Tsuda'mdadji, being the largest. Other villages of which names and locations were secured were at Cedar Flat, Há'dinakteohâda; Hawkin's Bar, Hamai'dadji; Taylor's Flat, Teiteā'nma; Big Bar, Citimaadjè; and one known as Mamsū'idji on the Trinity River just above the mouth of the South Fork. In addition to these the following names of places on New River were obtained, but were said to have been mere temporary hunting camps: Itxapo'sta, Dyer's; Paktō'nadji, Patterson's; and Mai'djasore, Thomas'.

The earliest contact of the Chimariko with the whites probably took place in the second or third decade of the nineteenth century, when the first trappers of the fur companies made their appearance in this region. This first contact was, however, of small moment compared with the sudden irruption into the region of the gold-seekers who, in the early fifties, overran the whole middle and upper Trinity River. From this time on for fifteen years or more, the placers of the section were largely worked, and the inevitable conflicts between the miners and the Indians occurred. In the sixties the feeling was particularly bitter, and the unequal contest resulted in the practical annihilation of the Chimariko. A few remnants fled, taking refuge either with the Hupa, or on the upper Salmon River, or in Scott Valley with tribes belonging to the Shastan stock. From here, after an exile of many years, the survivors, then numbering only some half-dozen, straggled back to their old homes; and of this handful all are now gone except one old man and woman, besides whom there are two or three mixed bloods who have little or no knowledge of the earlier culture of the stock.

What may have been the population of the area before the coming of the whites it is impossible to say. In all probability it could not have numbered more than some hundreds.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

The dress of the Chimariko seems to have been to some extent a compromise between that of the Wintun and the Hupa. Men apparently wore no breech-clout, merely wrapping a deer-skin about the waist, and adding to this in winter a deer-skin mantle. Moccasins were worn only in the winter months. Women wore a buckskin fringe or apron in front, reaching from the waist to the knee, and about ten inches in width. A second apron or half-skirt was also worn behind, similar in general to those worn by the Hupa, but plain and unfringed. A basket cap was worn on the head. In winter time men wore snow-shoes, which were made by bending a hazel stick in a circle or hoop, and tying to this two cross-sticks at right angles to each other. The foot was securely tied on by a buckskin lashing.

Bodily decoration and ornament were more restricted than among the Hupa. Dentalia and abalone were used to some extent, as was also a variety of small cylindrical beads, said to have been made of bone. All of these were, however, sparingly employed. Dentalia, if large, were sometimes wrapped spirally with narrow strips of snake-skin, and were measured by the string, the unit of length being from the thumb to the tip of the shoulder.

The ears were generally pierced, but not the nose, and tattooing was less elaborate than among the Trinity Wintun. These latter tattooed the whole cheek up to the temples, and also the chin, whereas the Chimariko, like the Hupa, confined themselves to a few lines on the chin only. The tattooing was restricted to the women alone, and was effected by the same method as among the Shasta, namely by fine, parallel cuts rather than by puncture. The process was begun early in life, and the lines broadened by additions from time to time, until in some cases the chin became an almost solid area of blue. Certain women were particularly skillful in the work, and were much in demand.

The food supply of the Chimariko was formerly abundant. The Trinity River supplied them with ample quantities of salmon, which were split and dried in the usual manner, and preserved either in this or in powdered form. Eels were another important source of food. Deer, elk, and bear constituted the

larger part of the game supply, in addition to which mountain-lion and several other animals supplied an occasional meal. Yellow-jacket larvae were considered delicacies, but grasshoppers and worms, relished by the Sacramento Valley tribes, were not eaten.

As among most California Indians, vegetable products, and particularly acorns, formed a large element in the food supply. The acorns were prepared and eaten in the same manner as among the Hupa and Maidu.⁴ Grass-seeds of various kinds, pine-nuts, berries, and roots of several varieties were gathered in large quantities, and eaten either fresh or dried.

In cooking, deer-meat was either roasted or boiled, whereas for bear-meat only the latter method was practiced.

None of the old type of houses built by the Chimariko now survive. As described they were roughly similar to those of the Hupa, but ruder. The structure was made of fir-bark slabs, and in shape was round or oval. The usual diameter of the house was from ten to fourteen feet, and the interior was as a rule excavated to a depth of about one foot. The ridge-pole was supported by two posts, and the simple gable roof, in general like that of the Hupa, was not provided with any earth covering. The low side-walls were formed of vertical slabs of bark. At one end of the house was the door, small, but not rounded, and closed by a movable piece of bark. At the end opposite the door was a small draught-hole, through which game was always hauled in. Along the sides of the house were the sleeping places, consisting of beds of grass, leaves, and pine-needles, covered with skins.

In addition to this dwelling house, *awa'*, the Chimariko had a sweat-house, *ma'tta*. This was circular, excavated to a depth of two or three feet, and had the fireplace somewhat back of the center. The roof was of brush and earth, without any smoke-hole. Houses of this type would accommodate eight or ten men, and in these houses were held the so-called sweat-dances. This type of house seems on the whole to be rather more like the earth lodges of the Sacramento Valley than the *taikyuw* of the Hupa. It is stated that there were no menstrual lodges of any sort.

⁴ Goddard, P. E., *Life and Culture of the Hupa*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., I, pp. 21-29; Dixon, R. B., *The Northern Maidu*, Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII., pp. 184-187.

The furnishings of the houses were simple. Baskets exclusively were used for storage and cooking, and the soap-stone troughs and vessels of the Hupa appear to have been lacking. For stirring acorn-mush a simple paddle was in use. Information as to spoons was contradictory, one informant declaring that carved spoons like those of the Hupa⁵ were employed, the other that this was not the case. The cylindrical wooden trunks of the Hupa were not known.

Knives and arrowpoints were as a rule made of obsidian, obtained either from the Wintun or the Redwood Creek Indians. Both informants declared that no axes or adzes were made, and that trees, if cut, were laboriously hacked with small knives.

The bow was of yew as a rule, flat, sinew-backed, and resembling the usual type of bow in Northwestern California.⁶ Arrows were generally made of syringa, and were carried in a quiver of raccoon, wild-cat or fawn skin. In shooting the bow was held horizontally. For armor, the Chimariko used an elk-hide robe coming down to the knees, the heavy skin of the neck standing up in front of the face. Slat or stick armor is said not to have been used.

Canoes were not made by the Chimariko, and rivers and streams were crossed by swimming, or on rude rafts, built of logs.

Pipes were made, according to one account, similar to those of the Hupa, with neatly formed stone bowls.⁷ Other accounts, however, state that the pipe was much cruder, and made like that of the Wintun, without stone and with a large bowl.

For musical instruments the Chimariko made chief use of the flute. This had four holes, and was used chiefly in courting. Rattles are declared to have been only sparingly used.

Fish-spears were, like the arrows, made of syringa, and had bone points. Nets, apparently identical with those of the Hupa, were largely used in catching salmon. Basketry, of which no specimens now survive, was considerably developed. The baskets were exclusively of the twined variety, and in pattern were declared to have been similar to those of the northern Wintun.⁸

⁵ Goddard, *op. cit.*, pl. 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 17.

⁸ See Kroeber, A. L., *Basket Designs of the Indians of Northwestern California*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Amer. Arch. Ethn., II, pl. 21 and *passim*. Dixon, R. B., *Basketry Designs of the Indians of Northern California*, Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, pp. 17-19, pl. XXIII, XXIV.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

The information secured in regard to the social organization of the Chimariko is unfortunately rather scanty. In common with most California tribes, there was no trace, apparently, of any clan organization, and the only social units were the various village communities. Each such village group had its chief or head-man, whose position was usually hereditary in the male line. If the natural successor was, however, thought unfit, some one else was elected. The chief led his people in time of war, and seems to have exercised considerable control over the members of the village group.

Any type of social stratification into classes, seen in a rudimentary form among the Hupa, and increasingly northwards into Oregon and Washington, appears here to be lacking; and slavery, which was a regular institution among the Hupa, was not known.

The whole area occupied by the Chimariko was a common hunting ground, and fishing places in the river are also said to have been public property, without any evidence of private control as among the Shasta and other neighboring peoples.

The Chimariko were, in general, monogamic. Wives were usually bought from parents, although sometimes a girl would be sent by her parents, as a wife, to a man who was famed as a good hunter and a reliable man. If the girl disliked him, she would bite his hands, and scratch him, until he sent her back to her home. The levirate was a common custom, and if a man's wife died soon after her marriage her family were bound to give him her sister, or some near relative, as a second wife. For this substitute wife, no additional payment was required.

Puberty ceremonials for women were as a whole simple. The girl had to remain secluded in the house for a period of about a month. Much of this time she was obliged to lie down, and be covered up with skins. She was subject to many food restrictions, and ate sparingly, always alone, at dawn and sunset. Throughout the period of her seclusion she was obliged to use a scratching-stick. At times, she was supposed to dance, usually outside the house. In these dances her hair, cut in a bang on

the forehead, was made with pitch into a series of tassels or tassel-like ringlets, and these were long enough to fall down over her eyes. When the period of seclusion was over, there was generally a feast given by her parents, and another dance, and then the whole was regarded as completed. The ceremony was apparently not repeated at any of the subsequent menstrual periods.

At childbirth a woman was subject to food restrictions, and had to remain in seclusion for two or three weeks.

But little information was obtained in regard to funeral customs. Cremation was declared never to have been practiced, the body always having been buried. The ceremony if possible took place on the day of the death, and a considerable quantity of property, both personal and gifts from relatives, was placed with the body in the grave. Widows cut their hair short, and "cried" for a month, but did not put pitch on their faces and heads. The house of the deceased was sometimes, but not always, destroyed. The persons who dug the grave were considered unclean, and had to undergo a five days' fast, and then bathe before they might again take up their regular life.

The chief gambling game of the Chimariko was the widespread "grass-game" of Central California.⁹ It was played here by two players on a side, each player having a single, unmarked bone or stick about two inches long. One side guesses while the other "rolls," shuffling the bones from hand to hand, wrapping them in small bunches of grass, and then presenting their hands, containing these bunches of grass, to the other side that they may guess the relative position of the two bones. Each side is said to have started with ten counters, and one side or the other must win all twenty to come out victor. Details in regard to methods of counting could not be secured.

The cup and ball game, played with salmon vertebrae, was in use; also cats-cradle; and a game in which objects were thrown at a pin or a post, as in quoits.

⁹ Dixon, R. B., *The Northern Maidu*, Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, pp. 209-216.

RELIGION.

The religious ceremonials of the Chimariko appear to have been more like those of the Shasta than of any other of their neighbors, in that they had no other dances except those of the shaman.

There were, it seems, both men and women shamans, and they might or might not inherit their position. The sign that a person was destined to become a shaman was a series of dreams. These were, in the case of a man, often the result of solitary visits to remote mountain lakes, in which the person would bathe at dusk. In these dreams, instructions were given the neophyte by various supernatural beings, and these directions must be followed exactly. Later a full-fledged shaman came and put a "pain" into the mouth of the new member. This ceremony was accompanied by dances, held out of doors, the neophyte wearing a buckskin skirt painted red in stripes, and holding a bunch of yellow feathers in the hand. Details of this dance could not be obtained. In doctoring, the shaman was usually seated, and after singing for some time, sucked out the pain, which was generally a small, spindle-shaped object from one to two inches in length. The pain once extracted, melted away and disappeared in the shaman's hand.

Apart from the dance held by the shaman neophyte, and that already alluded to in speaking of the girls' puberty ceremony, the Chimariko seem to have had nothing except the so-called sweat-dance. This was a very simple affair, participated in by men alone, dancing without clothing and indoors. One member sang, and beat time on the ground with a stick. So far as could be learned, all the typical dances of the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok were wanting, and the Chimariko did not even attend them when held by the Hupa, as did the Shasta with the Karok.

In the summer time occasionally people would hold the "round-dance" merely for pleasure. This consisted simply in a number of people dancing around in a circle, without ornaments or paraphernalia of any sort, and was repeated as often as desired. It seems to have had little or no religious or ceremonial importance.

Of the mythology of the Chimariko, only one or two fragments could be obtained. Concerning the creation, it is said that the dog was the most powerful being. He knew everything beforehand, and told the coyote that a great wind was coming, which would blow all people away. He counselled the coyote to hold tightly to a tree, but when the wind came, the coyote whirled round and round, twisted the tree off, and blew away. Later the coyote returned, and the dog sang songs over him, and made him strong. The dog next prophesies a flood, and to escape it the two build a house of stone with an underground chamber. The flood comes, and all other people are destroyed, except the frog, mink, and otter, and one man. The flood subsides, finally, and the man finds a small fragment of bone in the canoe in which the frog has taken refuge. This piece of bone he preserves in a basket, and it later comes to life as a girl child. The man marries the child, and from this pair all Chimariko are descended. There is possibly an element of missionary teaching in this tale, but it constitutes all that could be learned in regard to ideas of the origin of things.

The second fragment secured deals with a man who had two wives. Unsuccessful in hunting, he cuts off one leg and brings this back as game for the household. Next day he brings back his entrails and finally his other leg. The wives suspect what he has done and refuse to eat the meat, finally leaving him secretly while he sleeps, and running away.

There is finally a brief statement in regard to the securing of fire. The coyote suggests that all animals unite in an attempt to steal fire from the person who owns it. Several try to reach the place where it is kept, but give out before arriving. Finally Coyote himself tries, and succeeds in reaching the house, to find all away but the children. He outwits them, seizes the brand, and runs away. He is pursued by the father when he returns, and is almost caught, but throws the brand away, setting the whole country on fire, and thus escapes. In the fire the fox is burned red.

These tales do not show any close resemblance to any recorded from the Hupa or Wiyot, as representatives of the Northwestern Californian culture. As little relation appears to

the tales known from the Wintun. With the tales from the Shasta there appears to be slightly greater similarity, although here the agreement is not at all striking. At best, however, these fragments do not offer very satisfactory material to judge from, and the most that can be said is that what association there is, appears more clearly with the Shasta than with any other of the stocks in the vicinity.

CONCLUSIONS.

From the foregoing account of the Chimariko, meagre though it is, we may draw certain conclusions in regard to their general culture, and their relation to the surrounding cultures.

Living in close proximity to the Hupa, they nevertheless do not seem to have assimilated themselves at all closely to the Northwest Californian culture, of which the Hupa are representative. They feared the Hupa, and fought against them, allying themselves rather in sympathy and to some extent in culture, with the Northern Wintun and the Shasta. Like the latter they lacked most of the distinctive features of both the Central and Northwestern Californian cultures, and seem to have occupied a kind of intermediate position between the two. In their material culture they were colorless, and this lack of any strongly marked characteristics is also apparent in their social organization and religious beliefs.

Any attempt to discuss the past history or determine the movements of the Chimariko must be almost wholly speculative. On the one hand we may regard them as the remnant of a once much larger stock, subjected to pressure and attack on several sides, and so reduced to the small compass and unimportance which were theirs when discovered; on the other, we might perhaps assume from their cultural colorlessness and lack of close agreement with either the Northwestern or Central Californian cultures, that they are more closely affiliated with the Shastan stock, which appears to have been pushing in a south-southwesterly direction. With them also, as already stated, such resemblances as may be noted in the myths are most apparent. The two outlying dialectic groups of this stock, the Konomihu and the New River, apparently occupy advance positions beyond

the natural physiographic boundaries of the main area of the stock. Moreover, the language of the Chimariko shows in general greater similarities both formal and lexical, to the Shasta than to either the Hupa or the Wintun. These similarities, which are discussed in the linguistic portion of the paper, in fact are so numerous as to make it seem most likely that the two languages are genetically related. Further, it was among the Shasta, chiefly, that the remnants of the Chimariko took refuge when they fled from the Trinity River in the sixties. The paucity of material secured in regard to the Chimariko culture of course adds to the difficulty, and as usual in California, we get no aid here from any tradition of migration or earlier habitat. All things considered, the second of the above two suggestions appears the more reasonable, and we may conclude that, so far as the evidence goes, the Chimariko are to be regarded as related culturally most closely to the Shastan stock, and in origin probably forming part of it. Their historical affiliations therefore run northward and northeastward towards the interior of southwestern Oregon.

PART II. LANGUAGE.

INTRODUCTION.

The material upon which the following sketch of the Chimariko language is based, was collected in the summer of 1906 on the New River, and at Willow Creek or China Flat, in Trinity County, California. The bulk of the material was obtained from Mrs. Dyer, probably the last full-blood Chimariko survivor, and from Friday, a man who, although not of Chimariko descent, yet spoke the language fluently, and had lived much of his life with the people. Owing to Mrs. Dyer's age and lack of teeth, she was not a very good informant, and some of the phonetic uncertainty is probably due to this fact. Previous to the writer's visit in 1906, short vocabularies and some grammatical material had been collected by Dr. P. E. Goddard and Dr. A. L. Kroeber, in part from the same informants. This material has been placed at the author's disposal. The only other available source of information on the language is Powers' vocabularies in his *Tribes of California*, and these have been used in connection with the more recent collection.

It is to be regretted that a larger mass of texts, and of a more satisfactory character, could not have been secured, as these are so necessary for a clear understanding of the language, and to check information obtained in other ways. It is felt, however, that the material here presented affords a reasonably complete sketch of the main features of Chimariko, although certain details still remain obscure.

PHONETICS.

The vowel sounds occurring in Chimariko are i, e, a, o, u. As a rule the vowels are not short enough to be obscure, the only exception being in the the case of e, written ϵ when obscure. Doubling of vowels or their extreme length, particularly in the case of a and o, is not uncommon, and the language is apparently

fond of combinations of two vowel sounds, separated by ' , a faint glottal catch. The sound of ö, although occurring, is not common. There is some doubt as to whether long open è should not be written ä. A broad a or open o sound resembling English aw has been represented by â. Of all the vowel sounds, a is by far the most frequent. Nasalized vowels do not occur, and the infrequency of ä, ö, and ü, so common in the adjacent languages, as for instance the Shasta, is noticeable. The vowels may be represented as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ī | i | | |
| ē | e | è | E |
| ā | a | â | |
| ō | o | ö | |
| ū | u | | |

In the consonants, the sonant group is somewhat more developed than the surd. A true b seems to be lacking, although an intermediate sound, between surd and sonant, occasionally occurs. Of the two sonants g and d, neither is common initially, the latter perhaps never so occurring, and generally being found in combination with n as nd. The velar surd stop q is of moderately frequent occurrence, but its corresponding sonant is absent. Nasals are represented only by n and m, ñ(ng) being absent. The surd l sounds common in the languages adjacent, are absent, although ordinary l is common. There are apparently two r sounds. Besides the ordinary, rather strongly trilled r, there is a velar or uvular r, almost equivalent to spirant guttural x. T followed by r seems to be a sound similar to tc, as one was often written for the other. A single instance of the use of an interdental, θ, has been noted. The consonants in Chimariko may be shown as follows:

| | | | | |
|--------|----|-----------------|----------------------------|---|
| q | | | x | |
| k | g | k ¹⁰ | | |
| t | d | | s, c (=sh) θ ¹⁰ | n |
| p | b | | | m |
| ts, tc | dj | | | |
| | | l, r, r | | |
| | | y; w; h, '; | | |

¹⁰ It is not certain whether θ represents a stop or a spirant. Several California languages possess a t whose interdental quality causes it to resemble English th. The character ' , whether following k or another sound, indicates aspiration.

INITIAL SOUNDS.

Although all the simple vowels occur initially, e and especially o are rare, a being by far the most common. The tendency for words to begin with vowels is only moderately strong, perhaps one-fourth falling into this class. Of the semi-vowels, y is initial but rarely. Of the consonants, g, d, b, and r do not occur initially, and l and n are rare. The most frequent initial consonants are h, k, q, t, x, p, s or c, m, t. Syllables begin most usually with a consonant or double consonant.

TERMINAL SOUNDS.

All vowels except o have been found to occur finally, u and e however being rare, and a by far the most common. Vowels are terminal sounds in perhaps three-fourths of the words noted. Of consonants, the only ones which rarely appear finally are b, q, x and h. The most common are n, r, l, and t. Syllables very frequently end in a consonant, and the typical monosyllabic stem is formed of either consonant-vowel, or consonant-vowel-consonant.

DIALECTICAL DIFFERENCES.

In one point the material secured from the informant Friday differs rather regularly from that obtained from Mrs. Dyer. Very generally l was used by the former, where r was heard from the latter. There was also a less frequent substitution of s for c. The fact that Mrs. Dyer had but very few teeth may in part account for these differences, but in not a few cases the same person would speak the word sometimes with r and sometimes with l, or the sound would be very doubtful, as between the two.¹¹ The difficulty was most noticeable where the sound was terminal. It is possible that there may have been a real dialectic difference, but the opportunity of determining this point with any certainty was lacking, owing to the fact that Mrs. Dyer represents one of the two last surviving members of the stock, and Friday is not a native Chimariko.

¹¹ This was also the experience of Dr. A. L. Kroeber, who at times found difficulty in distinguishing d from l and r, though he states that Friday frequently spoke l where Doctor Tom, another informant, used r.

COMBINATIONS OF SOUNDS.

Combinations of vowels are frequent, and several diphthongs are in use, as ai, ei, oi, öi, au and eu. Consonant combinations occasionally occur at the beginning, and less frequently at the end of words, the initial combinations noted being tq, tx, trx, px, sr. Combinations of two consonants within words are very common. In such combinations there is wide latitude as a whole, although the following restrictions may be noted. Both q and x are unknown as initial members of combinations. Of the sonants b, d, and g, the first is never, and the others very rarely first members, and the labials are also, as a rule, unusual in this position. Combinations of three consonants are not wanting, the following having been observed: ntx, ndr, mtz, mpx, trq. Combinations of consonants at the beginning of syllables occur quite frequently, tr, tx, tex, kl, km, and px being the most common.

INFLUENCE OF SOUNDS ON ONE ANOTHER.

Chimariko is in accord with many of the languages of Northern Central California, in that there is little apparent modification of sounds through juxtaposition. There is a slight tendency for the connecting vowel between the pronominal prefix and the instrumental prefix, or the pronominal prefix and the verbal stem, to show some relationship to the vowel of the stem. This is, however, noticeable only in the case of o and u and perhaps a stems. In these cases, the connecting vowel is either the same as that of the stem, or near it in the regular vowel series. Such instances are retroactive. In other cases, the influence is proactive, the vowel of the negative prefix being assimilated to the vowel of the pronominal prefix, where this changes in the first person plural, as teaxawini, I am old, teoxowini, we are old. So far as consonants are concerned, euphonic and other changes in sound are not of very common occurrence. The following are the more important of those noted. K is sometimes softened to x, owakni becoming owaxni, and is generally elided before x, as in yeta(k)xani, I shall sing. One instance occurs where x is replaced by w: ixusni, I blow, qowusni, ye blow. For euphony, m is sometimes inserted after a before d, x, or g. In some cases,

g changes to x after tc. There are a number of instances where one stem-consonant may be replaced by another without apparent change of meaning, as: mum, muk; sum, sux; sim, six; am, ak; teut, teuk; pen, hen; pat, hat. In these cases t and m are replaced by k or x, and p by h. Contraction occurs not uncommonly, as in yaateiman for yayateiman; nateidut for noateidut; -wax, -wak, -wok, -wauk for -watak.

SUMMARY.

In general Chimariko may be said to be simple and regular in its phonetics. It is not so smooth and soft as are Maidu, Wintun, and Yana and some other languages of the Central Californian area, but is considerably more so than the Shastan languages, and those of Northwestern California. The relative absence of sonants and spirants, and of velars and laterals, is characteristic. The considerable frequency of consonant combinations renders the language less transparent in structure than the Maidu or Wintun, but the slight degree of phonetic modification saves it from any considerable obscurity.

REDUPLICATION.

As compared with some of the adjacent languages, Chimariko makes comparatively little use of reduplication. Employed little if at all as a grammatical form, it occurs only sparingly in the names of a few birds, animals, and plants. In the case of the bird names, most, if not all, show clearly onomatopoeia. Color adjectives, it is interesting to note, do not appear to be reduplicated. The following cases of reduplication have been noted:

| | |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| a'a, deer | himimitcei, grouse |
| pipilla, chipmunk | lâlo, goose |
| tsokokotei, bluejay | teëiteëi, buzzard |
| xaxateëi, duck | tsadadak, kingfisher |
| yekyek, hawk. | hutatat, crane |
| masomas, red-salmon | |

COMPOSITION.

Investigation of the processes of composition and derivation for purely etymological purposes, does not reveal a very extensive use. The following cases illustrate the principle examples noted:

āqa, water

āqa-qot, āqa-kat, river ("at the water"?)

āqa-rēda, āqa-tceta, ocean (probably "water-large")

āqa-xatsa, spring, "water-cold"

apu-n-aqa, "fire-water," whiskey

teitci-āqa-i, "manzanita-water," cider

āqa-matcitsxol, water-fall, "water-dust"

asi-n-alla, sun, day-sun

himi-n-alla, moon, night-sun

hī-pxa, intestine

hī-pxa-dji, skin, bark

ama, earth, place, country

ama-yāqa, sand

ama-imatei-ku, nowhere

ami-texamut, earthquake

wec, antler

wec-naqalne, spoon

tira, di'la, bird

tira-cela, teila-tcele, blackbird

-sot, eye

-so-xa, tears (eye-water?)

-sot-nimi, eyebrow

-su-nsa, eyelash

xuli, bad

xuli-teni, left hand

hō-akta-xoli-k, lame

hisi-kni, good

hisi-deni, right hand

-kos, to blow

i-kos-eta, wind

apu, fire

apu-n-aqa, fire-water

apu'-natxui, fire-drill base

apo-teitpid-aktea, smoke-hole

teim-ar, person, Indian

teim-tukta, white man

acot-n-o-umul, "winter-salmon," steelhead

umul-itcawa, "salmon-large," sturgeon

pa, to smoke

oni-pa, pipe

atexu, net
 atexu-nde, rope

 a 'a, deer
 a 'ēno, aanok, elk

 am, ama, eat
 ame-mtu, hungry

 hīme, himi, night
 hīme-tasur, hīme-tacus, morning
 hīmi-n-alla, moon
 hīme-da, to-morrow
 hīmok, evening
 himok-ni, night
 himoq-anan, noon
 hīmi-santo, "devil"

 itrī, to grow
 itrī, man
 itri-lla, boy
 itri-neŭlla, old man
 itei-la-i, my father
 itra-xaid-eu, chief
 itri-dusku, old maid

Other instances appear in the Chimariko-English vocabulary, in which derivatives are grouped under stems. Compare there, for instance, *teemu*, sky, *tea*, hand, *txa*, leg.

In several of the above instances, an *-n-* appears between two nouns that are joined in composition: *apu-n-aqa*, *asi-n-alla*, *himi-n-alla*, *acot-n-o-umul*.

Some verb stems are identical with body-part terms that execute the action of the verb.

cam, sem, ear, or to hear
 tu, wing, feather, or to fly
 pen, tongue, or to lick

Derivation is by suffixes, of which the most important are:

-alla, *-ŭlla*, *-olla*, diminutive, especially on names of animals:

xar-ŭlla, xal-ala, baby
 teitcam-ŭlla, apxante-olla, fox
 hēmox-ola, jack-rabbit
 ipūit-ella, bluebird
 itr-illa, boy
 itrinc-ŭlla, old man
 eunh-ŭlla, old woman

- punts-ùlla, girl
 òël-ulla, bachelor
 o-èlla-i, my son
 mas-olla-i, my daughter
 ite-illa-i, my father
 mag-olla-i, my uncle
 teisum-ulla, orphan
 pāsindjax-ola, water-ousel
 pip-illa, wis-illa, chipmunk, beaver(?)
 poq-ella, cooking basket (pok, to wash)
 cite-ella, sitc-ela, dog (cite-iwi, wolf)
 cid-ulla, a spring
 tumtit-ella, swallow
 aw-illa, who(?)
 maidjahute-ulla, Yocumville
- na, tree, wood, stick, bush, plant:
 apū'-Ena, fire-drill, lit. fire-wood
 axac-na, puktcā-Ena, chaparral
 ètxol-na, madrone
 haqēw-ina, sugar-pine (haqēu, the cone)
 hau-na, tinder
 hawu'-una, grass
 hepūitci'-ina, live oak
 kīpi'-ina, fir
 mūne'-Ena, black oak (muni, the acorn)
 mutuma-na, redwood (mutuma, canoe)
 qapu-na, deer brush
 ipxadji'-ina, trūpxadji'-ina, maple
 paktō'-Ena, alder
 tètùèu-na, fern
 tseli-na, gooseberry bush
 teimia-na, serviceberry bush
 teitca-na, manzanita
 tsuna-na, digging stick
 xaxec-na, poison oak
 yaqā-na, white oak
 yutxū-ina, tan-bark oak
- eu, forms nouns from verbal stems:
 aqed-eu, wild oats
 ahat-eu, dentalium
 axād-eu cat's cradle
 hā'-eu, mortar basket
 haq-eu, sugar-pine cone
 hām-eu, food (am, ama, eat)
 habukēd-ēu, slave
 hekot-ēu, tattoo
 hiēkteand-eu, woman's skirt
 hiteumūdad-ehu, cup and ball game
 ho'-eu, board

hohankut-eu, fish spear
 hâp-ēu, acorn soup
 hâsunwed-eu, spear
 isekdâd-iu, tongs
 itraxaid-eu, chief
 petson-eu, grass-seed
 trēmamutç-eu, thunder
 tçen-eu, acorn-bread
 trun-eu, belly
 xâpun-eu, bow

-ktca, -uktca, -gutca, instrument or object for. As all the forms obtained begin with a vowel or h, it seems that they contain the pronominal prefix of the third person.

apo-tçitpid-aktca, smoke-hole
 atçib-uksa, arrow-flaker
 haim-uksa, ham-ukteu, ax
 hamamē-gutca, fish-line, hook
 hâma 'an-aksia, table (ama, eat)
 hatçinar-utsa, bed
 hax-aktca, deer trap
 hēmuim-ektsa, split stick rattle
 hēuma-kutca, grass game
 hiâsmai-gutca, paddle
 himi-gutca, sling
 himinid-uktsa, red lizard
 hipun-aktca, button
 hisūsamd-aksia, window
 hiūxi-gutca, saw
 hiwoanad-atsa, chair
 hose-ktca, hâsus-akta, quiver
 hâtsi-ktca, fire-drill (hatsir, make fire)
 hâtsi-na-ktca, cedar (-na, wood)
 ixa-gutca, thief
 ixod-akta, clock
 opum-aktca, storage basket

-ar:

tçim-ar, man
 punts-ar, woman
 at-ar, fish-spear (at, to hit)
 kos-ar, crane

Perhaps also:

tsat-ur, grasshopper (tsat, fishweir)
 akwec-ur, gray squirrel
 tsabok-or, mole
 pis-or, quail
 himetas-ur, morning

-xol, -xal, -xul:

mateits-xol, or matre-pa, dust
 aqa-mateits-xol, waterfall

pate-xal, cocoon rattle
 t'amite-xul, red ant
 pête-xol, hawk
 sap-xel, spoon
 êt-xol-na, madrone-tree

-teei, on names of animals, especially birds. The syllable preceding the suffix is usually reduplicated, and therefore probably often onomatopoeic:

himimi-teei, grouse
 xaxa-teei, duck
 teukuku-teēi, owl
 konana-teēi, woodpecker
 trêlek-teēi, humming-bird
 tsokoko-tei, blue-bird
 êxoi-teei, otter
 qêpxami-teēi, fisher
 qêrek-teei, humming-bird

-tada, suffix of tribal names:

maitrok-tada, Hyampom people
 qataidūwak-tada, Arcata Wiyot
 hâdinakto-hâda, Cedar Flat, a place (hâtsinaktea, cedar)

-dji, *-dje*, local suffix:

âqi-tce, Salt Ranch (âqi, salt)
 tsūdanda-dji, Burnt Ranch
 paktōna-dji, Patterson's (paktō'ena, alder)
 maidjatecū-dje, Cecilville (maitra, a flat or bench)
 hitūai-dje, Willow Creek
 and many others given in the list of place names in the vocabulary.

-ma, *-mu*, on place names:

teitcan-ma, Taylor's Flat (teitca-na, manzanita)
 teintxap-mu, Big Flat (teintcei, sun-flower)
 tranqo-ma, Hyampom
 hisaē-mu, Weaverville

-matci, on names of seasons:

ahan-matci, summer
 kicu-matci, spring
 kicu-matci, spring (kisum, crane)
 qâ-suk-matci, when

-ckut, privative:

aquye-ckut, tail-less
 itra-ckut, handless
 hu-po-ckun, footless
 puntsarie-ckut, wife-less, bachelor
 itri-d-usku, old maid

-gu, *-ku*, negative; perhaps also indefinite:

xanī-gu, by and by
 curai-gu, some time ago (sul, long ago)
 patceam-ku, something (patci, what)
 patci-gun, no
 amaidatci-ku, nowhere

-da, on terms of direction:

wise-*da*, down-stream
 wai-*da*, up-stream, east
 qadai-*da*, south
 xunoi-*da*, north
 tcem-*da*, across stream
 tranmi-*da*, down-stream

Possibly also:

hime-*da*, to-morrow

-i, on terms of color and other adjectives, both syllables of the stem showing the same vowel:

tcele-*'i*, black
 mene-*'i*, white
 wili-*'i*, red
 söte-*'i*, blue(?)
 tono-*'i*, dull
 mata-*'i*, clean
 cupu-*i*, sharp

-in, -n, -ni, on adjectives, is evidently the verbal suffix indicating present or incompleted action:

atexum-*ni*, dry
 elox-*ni*, hot
 hadoha-*n*, straight
 hēmudadjā-*n*, bitter
 hiqūi-*ni*, sweet
 hisik-*ni*, good
 hitecu-*n*, hitecū-*eni*, long, high
 hoqatā-*'eni*, square
 hukēna-*n*, deaf
 huteolana-*n*, empty
 hutcula-*n*, low
 quoyo-*in*, sour
 kumite-*in*, all
 lo'ore-*n*, soft
 lūyu-*in*, smooth
 nodaduh-*ni*, rough
 pepe-*'in*, thick
 p'qele-*'in*, crooked
 tqe'er-*'in*, thin
 tcele-*'in*, dirty
 teuxunm-*in*, deep
 texale-*n*, light
 xē'ire-*n*, xerē-*'in*, narrow, wide
 xodala-*n*, poor
 xuiteula-*n*, short

For grammatical purposes, affixation is chiefly used. The following list of affixes comprises those which have been determined with any certainty:

A. PREFIXES OR SUFFIXES.

Pronominal:

- tc, first person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with adjectival stems. Prefixed as object of transitive verbs. Prefixed as possessive, with nouns where possession is inherent.
- i, y, first person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with verbal stems. Prefixed as subject of transitive verbs. Suffixed as possessive with nouns where possession is accidental.
- m, mi, second person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs. Prefixed as subject or object of transitive verbs, or as possessive with nouns where possession is inherent. Suffixed with nouns where possession is accidental.
- n, second person singular. Imperative. Prefixed.
- h, ' , third person singular and plural. Prefixed (as h) or suffixed (as ') as subject of intransitive verbs. Prefixed as possessive with nouns where possession is inherent.
- tea, teo, first person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with adjectival stems. This suffix is distinguished from singular tc- by change of vowel. If the singular has a as connecting vowel, the plural has o, and vice-versa. Prefixed as object of transitive verbs.
- tce, first person plural. Suffixed with nouns where possession is accidental.
- ya, we, w, first person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with verbal stems. Prefixed (ya-) as subject of transitive verbs.
- q, qo, qe, second person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs. Prefixed as subject or object of transitive verbs. Suffixed as possessive with nouns where possession is accidental.

Affix used with verbal stems:

- x, g, k. Negative affix, with variable connecting vowel. Used either as prefix or suffix, or both.

B. PREFIXES.

Instrumental, with verbs:

| | |
|--------|-------------------------------|
| a- | with a long object |
| e- | with the end of a long object |
| ma- | ? |
| me- | with the head |
| mitci- | with the foot |
| tc- | ? |
| tcu- | with a round object |
| tu- | with the hand |
| wa- | by sitting on(?) |

C. SUFFIXES.

With pronominal stems:

| | |
|------|---|
| -owa | Combined with the independent pronouns of the first and second persons to form the inclusive and exclusive first person plural. |
|------|---|

With nominal stems:

Locative, instrumental.

| | |
|--------------|--------------|
| -dan, -danku | ablative |
| -mdi, -mdu | instrumental |

Miscellaneous.

| | |
|---------|--------------------------------------|
| -hni | many |
| -tan | many |
| -rotpin | only a, just a |
| -gulan | merely, only (Cf. negative affix -g) |
| -abo | also, too |

With verbal stems:

Ideas of motion or direction.

| | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| -dam, -tam, -ktam | down |
| -ema | into |
| -enak | into |
| -ha | up |
| -hot | down |
| -lo | apart(?) |
| -mi | down(?) |
| -puye | around, about |
| -ro | up |
| -sku | towards |
| -smu | across |
| -tap | out |
| -tpi | out of |
| -usam | through |
| -xun | into |

Modal, temporal.

| | |
|--------------|---|
| -ak | completed action, past |
| -n, -ni, -in | incompleted action, present |
| -sun | present. Used apparently as the auxiliary verb to be. |
| -xan, -gon | future. (Former with verbal, latter with adjectival stems.) |
| -soop | conditional |
| -dialhin | dubitative |
| -hun | continuative |
| -pum | iterative |
| -wet | continuative |
| -teai | desiderative(?) |
| -eyè | reflexive |
| -ye | interrogative |

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| -a | interrogative |
| -pu | interrogative |
| -da, -ida, -inda, -tinda | present participle |
| Miscellaneous. | |
| -tei | Used to indicate plurality, generally of the object, but occasionally of the subject. |
| -nan, -an | A general verbal suffix of uncertain meaning, possibly temporal (Cf. -ni, -in). |

With all classes of stems:

| | |
|---------------|---|
| -ot, -ut, -op | A suffix apparently with an intensive, or emphatic meaning, such as indeed, really, in truth. It is used with nominal, pronominal, verbal, adjectival, and adverbial stems. |
|---------------|---|

The above list brings out clearly several features of importance in regard to the Chimariko language. In the first place, it will be seen from the series of pronominal affixes, that these are by no means regular in position, appearing sometimes as prefixes, sometimes as suffixes. It is possible that in some cases they are also used as infixes. This variability of position of the pronominal elements with regard to the verbal stem is a feature also found developed among the Shastan languages, which adjoin Chimariko on the north, and differentiates these two languages from those which, like Washo, Chumash, Southern and North-eastern Maidu, have the pronominal elements in an invariable position. Although there seems to be a strong preference for prefixation, there are yet a large number of verbs which take the pronoun suffixed. No logical reason is apparent for the distinction, such verbs as to sit, to work, to dance, to run, to eat, and others, prefixing the pronominal elements, whereas to bleed, to grow, to die, and so on, take them suffixed. The lack of any logical division is shown still more clearly in the verbs indicating condition or state. Some, as to be good, to be bad, to be old, have the pronominal elements prefixed; others, as to be hot, to be cold, to be strong, suffix them. Dry belongs to the first class, and wet to the second. The employment of varied position in the pronominal affixes, to indicate two forms of possession, is interesting. Where possession is inherent, the elements are prefixed, where accidental, suffixed.

A further feature brought out by the list, is the great paucity

of nominal suffixes. Chimariko not only lacks such indications for grammatical cases and for number, but also is almost destitute of locative endings. An instrumental suffix it has, to be sure, but of locatives the only one noted is an ablative; there is apparently no general locative. In this paucity of locative suffixes, Chimariko lies at the other extreme from the majority of the languages of Central California, which possess a considerable development of this class of suffixes. Even the neighboring Shastan languages, although having fewer locatives than Maidu and Washo, still exceed Chimariko in this particular.

The considerable development of verbal instrumental prefixes, places Chimariko in this respect in agreement with Washo, Maidu, Wintun, and the Shastan languages. As is usual, the suffixes of motion precede those which are modal or temporal. In general, the large preponderance of suffixes over prefixes places Chimariko in the class of suffixing languages.

An interesting feature of the language is presented by the emphatic or intensive suffix -ut, -ot. It is used with the pronominal stems to form the independent pronouns, which are rarely used except for emphasis, or where the sense is doubtful. These may therefore be translated I indeed, I myself, and so on. With nouns, this suffix is used generally to mark either the subject or the object as the most important in the sentence, as, *citcela hitratinda puntsal-ot*, the dog bit the *woman* (not man); *ūmul-op yekotpumni*, *salmon* (not deer) I kill. In some cases, curiously, it is used with both subject and object, and in others entirely omitted. With verbs, its purpose is similar, to emphasize the verbal idea above any other in the sentence, as, *teimal-ot hititcex-ot pusūa man broke* (not cut, burned) the stick. With adjectives and adverbs it also intensifies the idea contained in the word to which it is added, as, *qa'a trēwil-ot nahak*, stone *large* bring me; *citel-op yekoxan himet-op*, *dog* I will kill *to-morrow*.

PRONOUN.

Chimariko, differing from a large number of languages in California, belongs to the class of incorporating languages. There are thus two forms for the personal pronoun, the independent and the incorporated.

INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUN.

In general, as already stated, the independent form is rarely used. A complete paradigm can not be given, as it proved impossible to get from any of the informants the second and third persons plural, they invariably using either the numeral two, or some word equivalent to many or several. So far as obtained the forms are as follows:

| | <i>Singular.</i> | <i>Dual.</i> | <i>Plural.</i> |
|----|------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. | nōut | nōutowa (excl.) mamutowa (incl.) | nateidut |
| 2. | mamut | | |
| 3. | hamut | | |

It will be seen that, as in so many American languages, the pronominal stems of the first and second persons are based on *n* and *m*. The independent forms are derived from the stems *nō-* and *mam-* by the addition of the emphatic suffix *-ut*. The form given for the third person is only rarely used, a demonstrative form, *pamut*, *paut*, *pât*, generally taking its place. Although the material secured is not entirely clear on this point, it is probable that there are, in addition to a simple plural formed by the addition of what is apparently a plural suffix *-atc*, also both an inclusive and exclusive form, derived from the first and second persons singular. On the other hand, it is possible that these two forms are really the first and second persons dual.

DEMONSTRATIVES.

Two demonstratives are known with certainty. These are formed with the stem *qè-*, near the speaker, here; and *pa-*, at a distance, there. These stems take the intensive suffix *-ut*, becoming thus *qèwot*, *qât*, this, and *pamut*, *paut*, *pât*, that.

INTERROGATIVES.

The interrogative pronouns are derived mainly from a single stem *qo-*, *qâ*, and are as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| <i>qomas</i> or <i>awilla</i> | who |
| <i>qâtei</i> or <i>pâtei</i> | what |
| <i>qomalla</i> | where |
| <i>qosidadji</i> | why |
| <i>qâsuk</i> | when |
| <i>qâtala</i> | how many |
| <i>qâtcu</i> | how far |
| <i>qâtramdu</i> | how often |

NOUN.

CASE SUFFIXES.

As might be expected from its being an incorporating language, Chimariko shows no trace of any syntactical cases. Locative and instrumental suffixes are largely lacking also, their place being taken in part by a small number of postpositions. The suffixes of locative or instrumental meaning derivable from the material at hand are only two: -dan, -danku, a general locative or more commonly ablative, and -mdi, -mdu, instrumental.

NUMBER.

Number is not indicated in the noun, and no variation for number is made when nouns are used with numeral adjectives. There are, however, two suffixes sometimes used to indicate a collective. These are -hni and -tan, as in qā'ahni, a lot of stones, many stones; itrītan, a crowd, a lot of men. The latter suffix seems to be a shortened form of hētan, many.

POSSESSIVE.

The possessive is formed by affixing to the noun the proper pronominal stem. Two classes of possession are recognized, accidental and inherent. In the former, the pronominal elements are always suffixed, and are -i, -mi, -ye, -ida, -tce, -qe, -ye, -ida; in the latter they are always prefixed, and are te-, m- h-. It will be seen that the same form of the pronominal element is used thus for inherent possession as is employed in intransitive verbs with stems indicating a quality or condition. Quality or condition may thus be thought of perhaps as more inherent in the subject than are motion or action, on stems denoting which the same pronominal elements are used as to indicate accidental possession. Examples of the use of the two forms are:

Accidental:

| | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|
| masomas-i | my red-salmon | āwai'-i | my house |
| masomas-mi | thy red-salmon | āwa-mi | thy house |
| masomas-ye | his red-salmon | āwa-ida | his house |
| masomas-itce | our red-salmon | āwa'-itce | our house |
| masomas-qe | your red-salmon | āwa-qe | your house |
| masomas-ye | their red-salmon | āwa-ida | their house |

Inherent:

| | | | |
|--------|----------|---------|---------|
| tcū-po | my foot | tcū-sam | my ear |
| mū-po | thy foot | mī-sam | thy ear |
| hū-po | his foot | hī-sam | his ear |

Some question arises as to the two forms used in the third person where possession is accidental. The suffix -ye seems to be merely the interrogative, often found in use with verbs, so that this form should be translated: "is it his?" The use of -da on the other hand offers much difficulty. This suffix is, in its uses, far from clear, although its normal force, as used with verbs, is participial.

VERB.

The discussion of the verb may best be taken up under two headings, first the various affixes used for syntactical or etymological purposes, and second the stem and such modifications as it undergoes.

PRONOMINAL AFFIXES.

First in importance are the pronominal affixes. As stated in speaking of the pronoun, the independent forms are rarely used, and the subject and subject-object relationship is expressed instead by incorporated forms.

In the intransitive, the pronominal affixes show some variety of form, and a rather puzzling irregularity of use. The affixes in question are as follows:

| <i>Singular.</i> | <i>Plural.</i> |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1. tc, i, y | tc, ts, ya |
| 2. m, mi | q, qe |
| 3. h, 'h | h |

As compared with the independent forms of the pronoun, it is evident that there is correspondence in the second and third persons, the first person being on the other hand entirely distinct. A further difference lies in the apparent absence, in the affixed form, of any distinction between inclusive and exclusive plurals. In use these pronominal elements seem normally to be prefixed,

being so used in over seventy per cent. of the cases known. In the remainder of the instances they are suffixed, with one or two possible cases where they seem to be infixes. From the small number of instances of this latter usage, however, it is not possible to be sure that the syllable following the pronominal element is really a part of the verbal stem. What principle determines the use of one or the other of these positions is obscure, such verbs as sing, work, be good, be blind, taking the elements as prefixes, whereas grow, die, be hungry, sick, take them as suffixes. One distinction can however be made, namely that verbs indicating action or movement invariably take the pronominal affixes prefixed.

It will be seen that two wholly different forms are given in both singular and plural for the first person. In the use of one or the other of these, there is a fairly clear distinction in use. The first type, *tc*, is never employed with verbal stems indicating action or movement, but with those, on the contrary, which indicate a state or condition. On the other hand, whereas the second form, *i*, *y*, is invariably used with the former class of verbal stems, it is also employed with the latter, but is then always suffixed. In most cases, there is no confusion between the two forms, *i.e.*, if the first person singular is *i* or *y*, the first person plural is *ya*. A few instances appear however in which this does not hold, and we have *i* in the singular, and *tc* or *ts* in the plural. In a limited number of cases also, either form may apparently be used, as *qè-i-xanan*, *qè-tce-xanan*, I shall die, *i-saxni*, *tea-saxni*, I cough. A phonetic basis is to some extent observable, in that *tc* or *ts* is never a prefix when the verbal stem begins with a vowel. As between *i* and *y*, it appears that the latter is always used before stems beginning with a vowel except *i*, whereas *i* is employed before stems beginning with *i* or with consonants. The first persons singular and plural are distinguished from each other, where the form *tc* is used, only by a change of connecting vowel already pointed out.

The pronominal elements as given, are, when used as prefixes, attached to the verb by means of connecting vowels. These, as stated in discussing the phonetic characteristics of the language,

often show some relation to the vowel of the verbal stem,¹² but this is noticeable chiefly in the case of o and u stems. The first persons singular and plural are distinguished from each other only by the change in this connecting vowel. As a rule, the first person singular is *teo* or *teu*, whereas the plural is *tea*. In one or two instances, however, this seems to be reversed.

The material collected to illustrate the use of the pronominal elements in the transitive verb, is unfortunately conflicting, and the lack of adequate text material here makes itself felt. In the transitive verb with nominal object the situation is clear enough. Here the pronominal elements used as subject are invariably prefixed, and are those used with the intransitive verbs indicating action or movement, *i.e.*, the first person appears always as *i*, *y*, or *ya*.

Where the object is pronominal, however, the usage is different, as the following table will indicate:

| | <i>me</i> | <i>thee</i> | <i>him</i> | <i>us</i> | <i>ye</i> | <i>them</i> |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>I</i> | | <i>i-</i> | <i>i-</i> | | <i>i-atci</i> | ? |
| <i>thou</i> | <i>mi-, me-</i> | | <i>mi-</i> | <i>mi</i> | | <i>mi</i> |
| <i>he</i> | <i>teu-, tea-</i> | <i>mi-</i> | ? | <i>tea-, ya-</i> | <i>qo-, qa-</i> | ? |
| <i>we</i> | | <i>ya-</i> | <i>ya-</i> | | <i>ya-</i> | <i>ya-</i> |
| <i>ye</i> | <i>qo-</i> | | <i>qo-</i> | <i>qo-</i> | | ? |
| <i>they</i> | <i>teu-, tea-</i> | <i>mi-</i> | <i>ha-</i> | <i>tea-</i> | <i>qo-</i> | ? |

From this it is clear, that in the first and second persons, only the subject is expressed by a pronominal affix, and that the same form is used as with the transitive verb with nominal object. In the third person, on the other hand, it is the object rather than the subject which is expressed by the prefix, which here, in the

¹² Much the same occurs in the possessive prefixes of the noun. The following are observed cases of the third person possessive on body part terms:

Vowel of prefix same as that of stem:

i: *hi-wi, hi-mina, hi-ni, hi-mi, hi-ki, hi-pel, hi-teipe, hi-pen.*

u: *hu-truneu, hu-txun, hu-tsu, hu-tu, hu-sot, hu-po.*

a: *ha-wa.*

Vowel of prefix differing from stem:

i: *hi-ta, hi-tanpu, hi-sam, hi-wax, hi-ma, hi-pxa, hi-pxadji, hi-txa, hi-txanimaxa, hi-taxai, hi-suma, hi-mosni.*

u: *hu-si, hu-santcei, hu-tananundjatun.*

o: *ho-wee, ho-napu, ho-xu.*

e: *e-qa, e-quc.*

It will be seen that the connecting vowel of the prefix contrasts with the stem about as often as it differs from it, but the principle determining the choice of vowel—which is definitely fixed for each word—is not clear. Conditions in the verb are generally similar.

case of the first person as object, is the other form, that namely in *tc*. In some cases, where the first or second persons are the subject, the independent form of the pronoun is used outside the verb to indicate the object. In other cases the independent forms were not used, leaving the meaning apparently obscure. To some extent Chimariko in this respect resembles the neighboring Shasta, where also both subject and object are not always indicated by incorporated pronominal elements. In Shasta, however, this loss of definiteness is atoned for by the wide use of demonstratives, which do not seem to be in use for the same purpose in Chimariko. In this connection should be mentioned the troublesome suffix *-da*, *-ida*, *-inda*, *-tinda*. This is frequently used with verbs, and was at first thought to be perhaps a demonstrative, but seems on the whole most probably to be simply the participial suffix *-da*, combined with the suffix of the present tense, *-in*, *-ni*. Examples of the use of pronominal elements with verbal stems are given below.

Nominal object:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>i-miteitni cîteela</i> | I kick the dog |
| <i>mi-miteitida cîteela</i> | You kick the dog |
| <i>hi-miteitni cîteela</i> | He kicks the dog |
| <i>ya-miteitni cîteela</i> | We kick the dog |
| <i>qo-miteit cîteela</i> | Ye kick the dog |
| <i>hi-miteit cîteela</i> | They kick the dog |

Pronominal object:

| | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| <i>i-miteitni</i> | I kick you |
| <i>i-patni</i> | I poke you |
| <i>i-mamni</i> | I see you |
| <i>i-puimukni</i> | I pinch you |
| <i>i-miteitinda</i> | I kick him |
| <i>i-patni pamut</i> | I poke him |
| <i>i-mamni</i> | I see him |
| <i>i-puimukni</i> | I pinch him |
| <i>i-miteitnatei</i> | I kick you |
| <i>i-patnâtei</i> | I poke you |
| <i>i-puimuknatei</i> | I pinch them |
| <i>me-miteitida</i> | You kick me |
| <i>me-patni</i> | You poke me |
| <i>me-puimukni</i> | You pinch me |
| <i>mi-miteitni</i> | You kick him |
| <i>mi-puimuk</i> | You pinch him |
| <i>mi-miteitida</i> | You kick us |
| <i>teu-miteitida</i> | He kicks me |
| <i>teu-hatni</i> | He pokes me |

| | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| teu-mamni | He sees me |
| mi-miteitni | He kicks you |
| mi-hatni, mi-hatinda | He pokes you |
| mi-mamni(?) | He sees you |
| tea-miteitinda | He kicks us |
| tea-puimuk | He pinches us |
| tca-mamni | He sees us |
| qo-miteitinda | He kicks you |
| qa-hatni | He pokes you |
| hi-miteitinda(?) | He kicks them |
| ya-mamni | We see you |
| ya-mamni | We see him |
| qo-mama | Ye see me |
| qo-mama | Ye see him |
| teu-mamtinda | They see me |
| mi-mamtinda | They see you |

A feature of considerable importance in the structure of the verb lies in the apparent use, although rarely, of nominal incorporation, and possibly of complete incorporation of both subject and object pronominal elements. In the texts as obtained occur the forms *āpexadjit* and *āpisuxta*, translated respectively as "fire he steals" and "fire he throws away." The noun fire is *āpu*, and the verbal stems *-xadj*, to steal, and *-sux-*, to throw, occur frequently without any such apparent incorporation of nominal object. As these are the only clear cases, nominal incorporation is hardly a characteristic of the language. The tendency toward such forms may however be seen also in the words for wink and to shake the head, *(nu)sulaplap*, *(teu)maitSAT*, the former incorporating the stem for eye (*-sot-*), the other that for head (*-ma*). A single instance of apparent incorporation of both subject and object pronominal elements occurs in the form *ye-mam-i-xan*, probably for *ye-mam-mi-xan*, I-feed(eat)-you-will, I will feed you. As the verbal stem here ends in *m*, it is difficult to tell whether the *i* really stands for *mi* or is simply euphonic before the future suffix.

REFLEXIVE.

The reflexive is indicated by the use of the suffix *-eye*, *-yiye*, *-èiyeu*, added directly to the verbal stem, the prefixed pronominal elements being the same as those used with the intransitive verb.

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>i-teut-èiyeu</i> | I strike myself |
| <i>mi-teut-èiyeu</i> | you strike yourself |
| <i>hi-teut-èiyeu ni pamut</i> | he strikes himself |

IMPERATIVE.

The imperative is indicated in the singular by a prefix *n-*, which always takes the same connecting vowel between it and the verbal stem as the second person singular indicative. The verbal stem is in most cases used without suffix of any sort. For the exhortative "let us" the prefix of the first person plural, *y-*, *ya-*, is used, the verbal stem being similarly without suffixes.

| | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>na-tak</i> | sing! |
| <i>ni-miteit</i> | kick him! |
| <i>ni-puimuk</i> | pinch him! |
| <i>n-ama</i> | eat! |
| <i>ya-texuai</i> | let us fight! |
| <i>ya-traxismu</i> | let us run! |
| <i>y-amma</i> | let us eat! |

FORMATIVE AFFIXES.

Apart from the pronominal and the modal and temporal elements, there are two classes of affixes used with the verb. One of these is instrumental in meaning, the other is used to modify the idea of motion contained in the verbal stem.

Ideas of instrumentality, as that the action is performed by the hand, foot, end of a long thing, and so forth, are expressed uniformly by means of prefixes. This is in accord with the usual rule of American languages, and with the usage of three of the stocks which are in close geographical proximity to Chimariko, the Shasta, Maidu, and Wintun. These instrumental prefixes are placed immediately before the verbal stem, and, so far as obtained, are as follows:

| | |
|---------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>a-</i> | with a long object |
| <i>e-</i> | with the end of a long object |
| <i>ma-</i> | ‡ |
| <i>me-</i> | with the head |
| <i>mitci-</i> | with the foot |
| <i>tc-</i> | ‡ |
| <i>tcu-</i> | with a round object |
| <i>tu-</i> | with the hand |
| <i>wa-</i> | by sitting on(‡) |

Examples:

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>ni-a-axiaxe</i> | rub with long thing (side of‡) |
| <i>n-a-klucmu</i> | knock over with bat |
| <i>ni-e-klucmu</i> | knock over with end of pole by thrust |

| | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| ni-e-kmu | roll log with end of pole |
| ni-me-kmu | roll log with head, by butting |
| i-me-klucmu | knock over with head, butt over |
| ni-mitei-klucmu | knock over with foot, kick over |
| ni-mitei-kmu | roll log with foot |
| ni-teu-klucmu | knock over with a stone, ball |
| ni-tu-klucmu | knock over with hand |
| ni-tu-kmu | roll log with hand |
| ni-tu-xiaxe | rub with hand |
| ni-wa-teexu | break by sitting on. |

Modifications of the idea of motion expressed in the verbal stem are indicated uniformly by suffixes, and not by prefixes. The meanings of some of these suffixes are not as yet wholly clear, and it is probable that the list could be extended by further material.

| | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| -dam, -tam, -ktam | down |
| -ema | into |
| -enak | into |
| -ha | up |
| -hot | down |
| -lo | apart(†) |
| -mi | down(†) |
| -puye | around, about |
| -ro | up |
| -sku | towards |
| -smu | across |
| -tap | out |
| -tpi | out of |
| -usam | through |
| -xun | into |

Examples :

| | |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| nu-tu'-ema | jump into |
| na-a7-ha | climb up |
| wak-ti-he-inda | they travel about |
| ni-sâp-hot-mi | slide down roof |
| ni-tu-k-tam | roll down with hand |
| ni-te-xa-lo | pull out tooth |
| hu-tsut-min | he flies down |
| hu-tut-puye | he flies around |
| hu-tsu-sku | he flies toward |
| ni-tu-smu | jump across toward |
| hu-tsu-tap-ni | he flies out |
| nu-tu-tpim | jump out of |
| nu-tu-tusam | jump, run under |
| ni-teuk-xun-mi | hammer into down (a nail) |

TEMPORAL AND MODAL AFFIXES.

As in the case of the last group, ideas of tense or mode are uniformly expressed by suffixes, and these suffixes invariably follow any suffixes of motion where these are used. In the case of the future, the suffix follows the verbal stem or suffixes of motion when the pronominal element is prefixed, but comes after the latter in those cases where it is suffixed. In addition to those here given, there are several suffixes of which the meaning is still obscure.

-ni, -nin, -in, present, incompleted action:

| | |
|------------|-------------|
| i-mam-ni | I see you |
| teu-kèi-ni | he hears me |
| södrè-i-ni | I bleed |

-sun, present. Used apparently as the auxiliary verb to be.

-ak, -k, past, completed action:

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| amentuin-ak | I was hungry |
| ya-hadan-ak | we were rich |
| ecomdum-qa-tc-ak-cur | ye were cold then |

-gon, -xan, future:

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| pala-tce-gon | we shall be strong |
| amentu-tce-gon xani | I shall be hungry by and by |
| ye-hada-e-gon | I shall be rich |
| yo-wam-xanan | I shall go |
| hi-mum-han | he will run |
| ye-ko-xanan | I shall kill him |

-da, -ida, -inda, -tinda, present participle:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| puntsari-da anowesta itrila | woman-being she whipped boy |
| imim-da i-txa-èni | I stop running (running I stop) |
| i-mam-ni samxun-ida | I saw him dancing |
| hi-samxun-inda ye-ko-n | I kill him while dancing (dancing I kill) |
| qo-xowin-tinda | ye being old, ye are old |
| i-miteit-inda | I (am) kicking him |

-ye, -e, interrogative:

| | |
|------------|---------------------------|
| ma-ko-ye | are you going to kill me? |
| mi-ke'e-ye | do you hear me? |

-soop, conditional:

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| mi-mum-soop ye-nuwec-xan | if you run, I shall whip you |
| himeta hitak-soop yu-wam-xan | if it rains to-morrow, I will go |
| qè-soop | if (I) should die. |

-dialhin, dubitative:

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| qe-tc-ok-dialhin | perhaps I shall be sick (sick-I-perhaps) |
| mi-miteit-dialhin | you kick he may (he may kick you) |

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| <i>-hun, -nihun</i> , continuative: | |
| ye-tak-nu-hun | I continue to sing |
| ye-man-hun | I continue to eat |
| <i>-wet</i> , continuative: | |
| i-mum-wet | I run all the time |
| ye-ma-wet | I eat continually |
| <i>-tc'ai</i> , desiderative: | |
| xo-wam-gu-tc'ai-nan | not-go-not-wish |
| <i>-pu</i> , interrogative. | |
| <i>-xa, -xo, -xu, -xe, -gu, -k</i> , negative: | |
| ma-xa-hada-nan | you are not rich |
| teo-xo-xu-nan | I am not fat |
| xe-tak-nan | I am not singing |
| pala-mi-gu-nan | you are not strong |
| me-xe-puimuk-unan | you are not pinching me |

The negative is expressed in two ways, according as the pronominal elements are prefixed or suffixed to the verbal stem. In the former case, a prefix *xa-*, *xo-*, *xe-* is placed between the verbal stem and the pronominal element, and a suffix *-nan* added after the verbal stem or such other suffixes as there may be. The essential element seems to be *x*, the connecting vowel varying with that of the pronominal element and the verbal stem. In the first person singular intransitive, it is generally *xe-*, and the pronominal element is omitted. Where the pronominal elements are suffixed, the negative affix is combined with *-nan*, and is placed as a suffix following the pronominal element, the *x* being changed to a *g*, and the connecting vowel sometimes dropping out, resulting in the form *-gnan*. In some cases, indeed quite frequently in the transitive verb, the negative affix appears twice, *xo-* or *xu-* preceding, and *-gu* following the verbal stem. Very commonly the apparently desiderative suffix *-tc'ai* is used with the negative, resulting in a form which may be translated "do not wish to."

VERBAL STEMS.

In a limited number of instances, a different verbal stem is employed in the plural from that in the singular. Not infrequently, however, informants, on giving such forms, on closer questioning admitted that the singular stem might also be used, and that the variant stem first given for the plural might be

used also in the singular, *i.e.*, the two stems were merely synonyms. Only two cases were found which did not appear to be explainable in this manner, and the second seems only to belong partly to this category, inasmuch as the distinction holds good only in the present tense.

| | <i>Singular.</i> | <i>Plural.</i> |
|-----|------------------|----------------|
| Sit | -wo- | -pat- |
| Run | -mum- | -teaxis- |

The verbal stems which have been isolated in the analysis of the material collected, are both monosyllabic and polysyllabic. Many of the latter are probably derivatives, but it has not been possible to analyze them as yet. The great majority of stems appear to be monosyllabic.

Monosyllabic:

| | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|----------|---------------|
| ap | get off horse | luc | shake, throw |
| ar | climb | mai | carry |
| at | strike | man | fall |
| ax | lose, get lost | maq | roast |
| bis | split | ma, ama | eat |
| dai | pay | mat | find |
| djek | go in a boat | mo | fall |
| hâ, hoa | stand | mu | make |
| hai | spit, vomit | mum | run |
| ham | carry | pa | smoke |
| hap | take down | pâk | burst(†) |
| hen, pen | lick | pat | sit |
| huc, xuc, kos | blow | pim | play |
| koc | whisper | po | dig |
| k | roll | poi | sleep |
| kat | break, separate | pu | work |
| kè | understand | pû | shoot |
| ki | lean | pxel | twist |
| kim, gim | float, hang | qè | die |
| kir | scratch | qi | carry on head |
| klu | slip, slide (Cf. lu) | qo | pour |
| kluc | knock over (Cf. luc) | qô | kill |
| kmu | make, do (Cf. mu) | qol | shatter |
| ko | talk | sâp | slide |
| kot | tattoo | sax | cough |
| ku | cut | sek | swallow |
| kut | keep(†) | sik, sim | accompany |
| lè | hiccough | cik | cover up |
| lot | mash | sit | sharpen |
| lu | drink | six | sweep |
| lus | drop | su | throw |

| | | | |
|-----------|------------------|------------|------------|
| sum | look for | teum | marry |
| ta | pull, tear | texua | fight |
| tak | sing | wa | go, travel |
| tös | break | whék | push |
| tot | bury | wō | cry |
| tu | fly | wo | sit |
| txax | abandon | xai | make |
| tra | spread out, tear | xadj, xate | steal |
| teex | break in two | xū | swim |
| tei, teit | squeeze(?) | xu | whistle |
| teu | sleep | | |

Polysyllabic:

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------|--------|-------------|
| adap | grow | samut | stay behind |
| amē | hungry (Cf. am, ama, eat) | samxu | dance |
| mi 'ina, i 'ini | like, love | trahu | know |
| inada | wait for | teiwa | sell |
| koru | bend | wemtso | gamble |
| licxu | lose | xaca | yawn |
| luli, luri | drop, fall | xatutu | snore |
| mamat | alive | xaxo | pull |
| nook | recover | xiaxe | rub |
| oru | reach up for | xota | watch |

Reduplicated:

| | | | |
|---------|------|--------|--------|
| tudu | jump | lolo | cut up |
| pupul | nod | potpot | boil |
| laplap, | | xexe | sweep |
| raprap | wink | | |

ADJECTIVES.

Adjectival stems are commonly polysyllabic. The attributive and predicative forms are alike, and the former precedes the noun, whereas the latter follows. In their combination with the pronominal elements, some take these before, some after the stem, as pointed out previously, but no rule has been found for the varied use.

NUMERALS.

The numeral system of the Chimariko is quinary up to ten and then continues decimally. Six is 1-cibum, seven is 2-sbum, eight is 4-cibum, nine is 1-teigu, ten is sa'an-1, eleven is 1-lasut or 1-rasut, twelve is 2-risut or 2-lsut, thirteen is 3-risut or 3-ulsut, and so on regularly to twenty, which is two-ten, xoku-mtun

sa'anpun. Thirty is three-ten, xoda-m-tun sa'anpun, and one hundred is wood-one, pucua-pun. Numerals seem to be unchanged, and do not vary with things counted.

POSTPOSITIONS.

The paucity of locative suffixes in the noun is in part made up for by a few postpositions, which serve to point out locative ideas. But two have been tentatively identified, and their use may be seen from the following:

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| āwa xunoi yeaxu'nmoxanan | house into I shall go |
| pusua hiya'talot tcūmū | board it lies under |

CONNECTIVES.

Chimariko is apparently rather destitute of connectives. In the text fragments secured, they do not appear at all, but the texts are clearly somewhat disjointed, and so do not serve as satisfactory material to judge from. The complete absence of connectives, however, seems to point to their comparative rarity.

ORDER OF WORDS.

The usual order of words is subject-verb-object, or subject-object-verb. In some cases, however, particularly when the subject is pronominal, the order is reversed, object preceding subject. In the transitive verb when the independent pronoun is used as object, the order is regularly subject-verb-object. When one of two nouns stands in a possessive relation to the other, the possessor always precedes the thing possessed.

CONCLUSION AND RELATIONS.

Compared with neighboring linguistic families, Chimariko occupies a somewhat intermediate position. In phonetic character it lies rather between the smooth, vocalic languages of the Central Californian type, and the harsher, more consonantal North-western type. In this respect it is like the Shastan family, and may be regarded on the whole as belonging to that group. In its use of incomplete incorporation and its lack of plural it also

resembles this type, but differs from it in its lack of syntactical cases, and its greater paucity of nominal locative suffixes. In common with the Shastan languages, and some of those of Central California, is its use of verbal instrumental prefixes. It will be seen, therefore, that Chimariko does not fall distinctly into either the Central or Northwestern morphological group, and may more properly be regarded as belonging to the Shastan type. In the general classification of Californian languages recently proposed,¹³ Chimariko was placed with the Northwestern type, but it was stated that it showed less clearly than the others of that group the distinctive features upon which the group was based.

The considerable degree of similarity in grammatical and phonetic character between the Chimariko and the Shastan family, lends further interest and importance to certain curious features on the lexical side. Comparison of Chimariko with Hupa and Wintun shows practically nothing in the way of lexical resemblance, and in the case of Wintun at least, less than one might expect in the way of direct borrowing between two adjacent and friendly tribes. If comparison be made however with the Shastan family, a different situation is revealed, for between forty and fifty cases have been noted here, in which lexical correspondence is clear or probable. The similarities are found in words of varied classes, including parts of the body, animals, artificial and natural objects, and verbal stems. Further, a number of verbal instrumental prefixes and directive suffixes, and perhaps pronominal elements, show agreement also. So considerable a number of lexical similarities, and with so wide a range, brings up sharply the question how far such agreements are to be regarded as due to borrowing. That one language should adopt from another a few words is to be expected; but can the possession of common forms for such fundamental words as head, ear, mouth, tooth, tongue, man, woman, fire, water, deer, rattlesnake, and several numerals, and such verbal stems as to eat and to see, be explained on this basis? The explanation of borrowing here is made more difficult in view of the further fact

¹³ Dixon and Kroeber, *The Native Languages of California*, *Am. Anthr.*, n. s., V, 18, 1903.

that the larger number of similarities are not between Chimariko and its immediate neighbor the Shasta, but between Chimariko and the Atsugewi and Achomawi, members of the Shastan family, but separated from the Chimariko by the whole extent of Wintun and Yanan territory. As has been pointed out,¹⁴ the Achomawi and Atsugewi are lexically widely divergent from the Shasta, and in many cases Chimariko agrees with forms in Achomawi or Atsugewi where their stems differ wholly from Shasta. If borrowing is the explanation of these agreements, then we must assume that the Chimariko and Achomawi and Atsugewi were formerly contiguous peoples, since separated by migration. Such movements must have been however relatively old, as no traditions or other evidences of migration are observed. If, on the other hand, the similarities are regarded as of such character and number as to point to real genetic relationship, then we have another instance of the great degree of differentiation which has taken place within the Shastan family. That this is unquestionably great, is shown by both Achomawi and Atsugewi, and the problematical Konomihu, with which latter indeed, there are one or two agreements in Chimariko. The fact that, in spite of the close association of the Chimariko with the Wintun, there has been practically no borrowing, and that the phonetics and grammar of the Chimariko show close similarities with those of the Shastan family, makes the probability of real relationship much greater.

The following list illustrates the more striking instances of lexical agreement between the Chimariko and Shastan families:

| | <i>Chimariko.</i> | <i>Shasta.</i> | <i>Achomawi.</i> | <i>Atsugewi.</i> |
|------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| arm | -tanpu | | lapau | rapau |
| armpit | cilēiteumuni | | amdjilex | tumiteilēha |
| blood | cōtri | | | icurii |
| ear | -sam | isak | isat | |
| eye | -sot | | a'sa | |
| excrement | -waxni | | | wehki |
| head | -ma | -na (Konomihu) | lax | naxa |
| intestines | -pxa | ipxai | bitsxol | bitsxaru |
| leg | -txan | xatis | | |
| liver | -ci | āpci | | |

¹⁴ Dixon, *The Shasta-Achomawi: A New Linguistic Stock, with Four New Dialects*, *Am. Anthr.*, n. s., VII, 213-217.

| | <i>Chimariko.</i> | <i>Shasta.</i> | <i>Achomawi.</i> | <i>Atsugewi.</i> |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| milk | ċira | itsik | etcit | atciska |
| mouth | (ha)wa | au | ap'bo | ap'bo |
| neck | -ki | | | op'ki |
| teeth | -tsu | etsau | itsa | itsau |
| tongue | -pen, -hen | ehena | | |
| man | itri, itei | ic | | |
| woman | puntsar | daritei | | minridsara |
| ant | pelo'a | | blamasa | |
| deer | a'a | adau, arau | | |
| raccoon | yeto'a | | | toh'kaa |
| rattlesnake | qawu | xowatid | hāuta | |
| wolf | citeiwi | teiwa | tsimu | |
| acorn | yutri | | | yummi |
| willow | pate'xu | | bas | pateu |
| day | ase | atcaii | | assiyi |
| fog | aptum | | datumumdji | |
| fire | a'pu | | | pah'yi |
| smoke | qe | | maqets | |
| stone | qa | kwasunip (Konomihu) | | |
| sun | alla | | tsul | |
| water | aka | atsa | as | ats'si |
| winter | asoti | | astsui | |
| arrow | sā | | sat (arrow- point) | |
| bow | xāpuncu | xau | | |
| deer-trap | haxaktca | | | hatsda |
| fishline, hook | hamamegutca | amai | damame | |
| spear | hasunwedeu | | lasu | nasu |
| soup-basket | poqela | yapuk | | |
| two | xok'u | xokwa | hak | hoki |
| three | xodai | xatski | tsasdi | kiski |
| five | tsanehe | ċtsa | | tsanse |
| to eat | -am-, -ama- | | -am- | -ammi- |
| to carry | -mai- | | -mu- | |
| to cry | -wo- | | -wo- | |
| to dent | -kxol- | | -qol- | |
| to drop | -lus-, -lur- | | -lup- | |
| to pull off | -pul- | | -pil- | |
| to see | -mam- | | -nima- | -ima- |
| with the foot | mitci- | | tsi- | |
| with the hand | tu- | | | to- |
| by sitting on | wa- | | | we- |
| downwards | -mi | | -mi- | -mi |
| across, through | -smu | | | -snu (into) |
| out of | -tap | | | -ta |
| I | tc | | s | s |
| thou | m | | | m |
| this | qe | | | qepi |

In the present state of our knowledge of the extent to which borrowing has taken place in California at large, it is difficult to arrive at a definite solution of the question of the relationship of Chimariko with the Shastan family. The extent of the similarity in this case, however, points to the necessity of a thorough investigation of the whole matter of borrowing throughout the state. The question also involves the much wider one of the real limits of genetic relationship, in the need of determining the character and number of agreements which shall be regarded as essential to establish common descent.

TEXTS.

The following text fragments comprise all that was secured. The translation is often doubtful, but as a rule, that which was given by my informant has been given, with queries where the meaning is evidently wrong. The same word is often spelled differently in different places, it seeming better to give the forms just as they were heard at the time, rather than to attempt to reduce them to a common spelling. Not infrequently the text forms differ from those secured in the paradigms of grammatical material. Explanations and discussion of uncertain points are given in the notes. I have attempted to give a running translation of three of the tales, but they are so fragmentary and confused, that it is almost impossible.

I. THE SORCERER.

| | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|
| himi'santo (Sorcerer) | haa'tpikta ¹ he comes out | tcima'r a person | oha'tida ² shooting magically | hako't ³ he kills |
| pokelai'dop ⁴ basket | itexū'tdūxta ⁵ hiding it away | tcima'r a person | | akodē'nda missing him |
| kowa'doknanda ⁶ he does not return | puntsar woman | wa'xni ⁷ went away | qowā'doknanda she did not return | ā'wa house |
| nateiwa'mda ⁸ she went to | qowa'doknanda she did not return | hō'wadokta ⁹ she did not return (?) | | qè'wokinda ¹⁰ said she was sick |
| wa'xni went away | qowa'doknan ¹¹ she did not return | itse'xni she took | mūtu'm canoe | qā'suk ¹² why |
| hoida'nda ¹³ did she not return | qowā'dokdanda ¹⁴ she did not return | mā'ta sweathouse | xunoi in | atcū'dat ¹⁵ he lay |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| itcūkar ¹⁶ | wa'mdaanda ¹⁷ | ūpo' ¹⁸ | wuqā'danda ¹⁹ | owa'xtanda |
| drowned | he went off | track | (?) | he went off |
| howa'mtanda | hiwo'nda ²⁰ | ima'mni ²¹ | xūxwō'danapton | |
| he has gone | he stays | I see him | didn't look at him | |
| hiwō'mda | atecū'danda | pun | puntsa'ri | madě'patinda |
| staying | he lies down | one | woman | (?) |
| hama'mdanda | huwū'mxanan ²² | dime'da | xūno'mnitekku | |
| he eats | I am going | tomorrow | Salmon River to | |
| amai'da | hūu'mxanan. ²³ | | | |
| place | I am going. | | | |

NOTES.

¹ ha-a-tpik-ta. The suffix -tpi, out of, seems sometimes to occur with a final k. The suffix -ta may be the participle. The stem is a.

² The stem -hat- also occurs in the following: nihatxa, poke; nohat'oi, close window. -ida is the participial suffix.

³ Probably contracted from ha-ko-tinda.

⁴ Contracted from pokelaida-op. The suffix is the intensive.

⁵ This stem occurs also as -txat-. The suffix occurs also in himai'dukta, he carried it home. See note 6.

⁶ Ko is xo, negative prefix. -wa-dok, to return, from -wa-, -owa-, to go, and -dok a suffix apparently meaning backwards, or toward speaker.

⁷ Perhaps contracted from owa'xni.

⁸ Perhaps nātei-awamda, we go. The first person plural has not been found elsewhere without the intensive suffix -dut.

⁹ Probably participial.

¹⁰ This stem also occurs as qēdjok-, qētcok-.

¹¹ Shortened from qowa'doknanda.

¹² Interrogative of uncertain meaning.

¹³ Verbal stem here is obscure. Negative prefix ho- is xo-.

¹⁴ No explanation of the difference between -danda and -nanda could be secured.

¹⁵ The stem -tcu- is also used for to sleep. The ending -t occurring quite frequently in the texts, after participial and other endings, is found but rarely in the paradigms secured. Its function has not been made out.

¹⁶ The stem here is -teuk-.

¹⁷ Abbreviated (?) from howam'danda.

¹⁸ Literally his-foot.

¹⁹ The stem appears to be qā-, which occurs also in nuqā'duha, lie on back, nuqā'ohunmi, lie on belly.

²⁰ For hiwo'mda. The stem apparently also occurs as -wam-, as in iwa'mdaxanan, I'll stay. Owa-, -owam- on the other hand means to go.

²¹ Analyzed as i-mam-ni, i being the pronominal prefix of the first person singular, and -ni the suffix of the present tense.

²² Probably for howa'mxanan. The stem is owam, howam, with the future suffix -xan.

²³ See previous note.

II. THE FLOOD.

| | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| wai'da | howa'mda ¹ | citce'lla | teitindo'sa | hitake'gon ² |
| Eastwards | going | dog | coyote | it will rain |
| hiko'se'egon | yū'triina | ma'wimuda'texun ³ | teitindo'sawi | |
| it will blow | live-oak acorns | hold tight | coyote | |
| yū'tri | ino'p ⁴ | iko'tkut ⁵ | teitindo'sa | exo'kut ⁶ |
| live-oak | tree (?) | it blew | coyote | blew away |
| | | | | dog |
| huhoada'ndat ⁷ | nuwauk ⁸ | pala'mixan ⁹ | nuwau'k | iko'tce ¹⁰ |
| he stood up | "Come back! | you shall be strong | come back! | blows (?)" |
| citce'lla | pai't ¹¹ | ā'wawum ¹² | la'mipukni ¹³ | teugu'tcen ¹⁴ |
| dog | he said | go back | you are weak | I do not want to |
| teitindo'sa | xowomgutcai'nan | yeko'xanan ¹⁵ | awu'm ¹⁶ | |
| coyote | I do not wish to go | I will kill you | let's go | |
| mowa'm ¹⁷ | nuwa'm ¹⁸ | po'lam | teitindo'sa | hawē'da ¹⁹ |
| you go | go on! | alone | coyote | he was angry with |
| citce'lla | yā'texuai ²⁰ | teitindo'sa | teugu'tcen | yuwau'mni ²¹ |
| dog | let's fight | coyote | I don't want to | I'm going |
| amā'misudaye ²² | ā'mamiknati'nda ²³ | yowa'mdaxanan ²⁴ | | |
| is that your place | that is not your place | I shall go | | |
| yūwa'ktaktecai'nan ²⁵ | citce'lla | xomi''inanan ²⁶ | awakdaxa'n ²⁷ | |
| I do not want to go around | dog | I don't like | let's go around | |
| mice'qe ²⁸ | awakdaxa'n | mica'kui ²⁹ | mago'lla ³⁰ | |
| "miceqe" | let's go around | nephew | uncle | |
| husi'kdaktecai'nan ³¹ | yetcu'mdaxanan ³² | mice'qe | teitindo'sa | |
| he doesn't want to follow | I'm going to get married | "miceqe" | coyote | |
| howa'ktayanaxa'nan ³³ | yetcu'mdan | ā'qiteu'kdamhut ³⁴ | | |
| I am not coming back | I am married | water flood | | |
| teetre'tcexanan ³⁵ | qè'wot | tea'ldan | ā'wu | ā'wa |
| we all shall die | this | metal | mountain | house |
| yawē'risam ³⁷ | homō'xat ³⁸ | ā'wa | yā'mut | omū'xan ³⁹ |
| we make holes through | it fell down | house | we fix | all fell down |
| tea'xadjisen ⁴⁰ | qē'tce | nū'nū | aqiteu'kni ⁴¹ | hita'kta ⁴² |
| all do not wish | die | (?) | water coming | raining |
| hita'kta | hipū'i ⁴³ | itcuxu'nmit ⁴⁴ | amēteatra'djixan ⁴⁵ | hita'kta |
| raining | it snowed | it got deep | all will starve | raining |
| aqā' | hitcu'kni ⁴⁶ | aqiteu'ksas | è'ye(q)etcexa'non | pu'namar ⁴⁷ |
| water | it came | water comes | all will die | not one |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| qudro'tpinan ⁴⁸ left | aqidju'tkun ⁴⁹ water coming | qèitei'yaxan all will die | qâtus Frog | | |
| puhi'tsedan ⁵⁰ went about in boat | qèitei'yaxan all will die | qâtus Frog | hidje'ktan ⁵¹ he went in boat | exâ'tcei Otter | |
| aqi'ktan ⁵² he floated | hūnē'ri Mink | aqi'ktan he floated | tei'mar people | tcetra'xut ⁵³ all dead | pun one |
| me'matinda ⁵⁴ alive | tei'mar person | hupo'n ⁵⁵ his rib | tea'txun bone | himat'ta ⁵⁶ he found | |
| itxa'ndakutat ⁵⁷ I keep it | ixotawè't ⁵⁸ I look at it | tea'txun bone | iwoxu'nmila ⁵⁹ near sunset | | |
| xara'lima't'ta ⁶⁰ baby find | aumgilo'da in basket | xaro'la baby | ūlē'di ⁶¹ small | ma't'ta found | |
| itxa'ndaguta'ndat ⁶³ I keep it always | hamē'u ⁶³ food | ā'mat ⁶⁴ she ate | ha'ralolē'do baby-small | hā'mat she ate | |
| puntsa'la ⁶⁵ girl | olē'da small | hiwo't ⁶⁶ sat | puntsa'lla girl | pun i'tri one man | pā'teigut ⁶⁷ none |
| tei'mar persons | xoku'lit ⁶⁸ we are two | ēpatma'mdat ⁶⁹ we remain | i'trirop ⁷⁰ that man | ē'xapūda ⁷¹ hunting | |
| ā'ra deer | puntsa'la girl | amanū'da he fed | i'tri man | awa'nhut I stay | owelai' ⁷² little boy |
| dah'ta born | etaxa'nat ⁷³ many shall be | tei'mar people | owelai'top ⁷⁴ boy | itri'hida ⁷⁵ growing | |
| mahinoi'yat had children | puntsa'la girls | teimar people | etaxa'n will be many | āqitcu'ktam water-flood | |
| hinoo'kni (?) | teo'tan (?) | hamē'u food | i'trihinda is growing | qâ'tei grass | hiā'daptee'handa ⁷⁶ growing now |
| yū'tri acorns | ameba'nda ⁷⁷ are plenty | mu'nē black-oak | ameba'nda are plenty | hē'putciina live-oak acorns | |
| amēbanda are plenty | ya'qa white-oak acorns | amēba'nda are plenty | hē'cigo hazel | hateiani'nda are many | |
| tei'miana sarvice-berry | amēba'nda are plenty | tei'tei manzanita | amēba'nda is plenty | ū'muli salmon | hiē'tjumunda come many |
| tša'wi eels | ē'tjumunda ⁷⁸ are many | amata'nda they ate | ho'samhūnita'nda ⁷⁹ they danced | | |
| hē'uma'htanda ⁸⁰ gambled | hū'ktatandaman many go about | owa'ktihēinda ⁸¹ they come | tei'mar people | | |
| pohimta'nda they sleep | hosa'm dance | hūnidē'u (?) | pohimta'nda ⁸² they slept | tei'mar people | |

| | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| wa'ktixēinda ⁸³ | hepata'nda ⁸⁴ | ha'matanda | ha'madēu ⁸⁵ |
| went about | they stayed | they ate | food |
| hitxa'itanda ⁸⁶ | xema'non ⁸⁷ | yuma'mxanan | xema'non |
| they finished | I am not eating | I'm going off | I am not eating |
| pomū'yen | howa'mgutcainan | qèdjo'kni ⁸⁸ | hūtimhukteai'nan |
| I'm sleepy | I'm not going | I am sick | follow I don't want to |
| nūwa'man | ā'wam | himollai' | mowa'mimi'ina ⁸⁹ |
| you go | let's go | niece | you want to go. |

NOTES.

¹ Probably participial.

² The more common future suffix -xan is sometimes -gon, as here, and elsewhere.

³ The verbal stem here is -imu-, to hold. The form is second person, future, the force of the suffix -ate being here obscure.

⁴ The more usual word for tree seems to be at'a, atsa.

⁵ The usual stem for "to blow" is -kos-, koc-, -xos-. This form -kot- appears again below, and also in hekoteu, tattoo-mark. The suffix -ku implies separation.

⁶ Another form of the stem for "to blow," seen also in tcoxū'xanan, I shall blow away, and in yoxun'ot, I whistle.

⁷ The stem is -hoa-, -hâ-; seen also in yohō'adaxanan, I shall stand up, nuhâ'da, stand up!

⁸ With the imperative prefix n-. -wauk is probably a contraction from -watak-. Other forms are -wok-, -wak-, -wax-.

⁹ Pala- is the stem, -xan the future suffix, -mi the suffix of the second person singular.

¹⁰ The suffix -tce appears also in such forms as moxolitee, you are bad, maxawintcei, you are old.

¹¹ The stem here is pa-.

¹² Probably the same stem as -owa-. Occurs also in nateidut ā'wam, we go, ya'aye, I go for, awu'm, let's go.

¹³ One of the apparent cases of infix pronouns, la-mi-puk-ni. La- also occurs as la-i-dam-ni, I am tired, la-mi-dam-a, are you tired?

¹⁴ Apparently from a stem -tc'ai-, -tce-, to wish, desire. Seen also in such forms as xowā'mgutcainan, I won't go.

¹⁵ The stem is -ko-. Ye- is the pronominal prefix of the first person singular, -xanan the future suffix.

¹⁶ See note 12.

¹⁷ Stem is -owa-. M- is the pronominal prefix of the second person singular.

¹⁸ Imperative.

¹⁹ The stem here is apparently -wē-, seen also in tcawē'pan, I am angry with you, mawē'ni, you are mean, surly.

²⁰ This stem -tcxua'- is seen also in yetcxua'xanan, I shall fight; mētcxua', have you been, are you fighting?

²¹ Y- is the pronominal prefix of the first person singular; the stem is -owa- and the suffix -ni is that of the present tense.

²² Ama-mi-su-da-ye. Perhaps "place-your-being"; see under Pronoun, possessive.

- 23 The -k- here is the negative.
- 24 The use of the prefix -da with the suffix of the future is frequent.
- 25 Probably contracted from y-uwa-tok-da-k-tcai-nan, the -k- being the negative. For -tcai- see note 14; -tok-, -ok is a suffix meaning backwards.
- 26 The negative prefix xo-, with the stem -mi'inan-.
- 27 See note 12. The -k- is here again negative.
- 28 An exclamation characteristic of Coyote, and frequently used by him.
- 29 Not the usual form, which is himollai.
- 30 Either maternal or paternal apparently.
- 31 The stem is -sik-, seen also in yusi'mxan, I'll follow; mexasi'mnate-xun, don't you follow. The prefix is that of the third person singular.
- 32 The stem is -teum-.
- 33 The prefix h- is apparently the negative, which is more usually x-.
- 34 Obscure. The same stem appears in nitcu'ktam, to lie on ground, of a round thing; also perhaps in hitcu'kni, he drowns.
- 35 Probably modified from tceet-qē'-tce-xanan. The use of tce- both before and after the stem -qe-, to die, seems intended to intensify the meaning, we all.
- 36 The stem here is -mu-, appearing also in i'muxanan, I will fix. The prefix is that of the first person plural.
- 37 The stem is -wer-, -wel-, seen also in hawe'lsamni, it goes through a hole.
- 38 Translation doubtful. Probably homu'xat, from the same stem as ya'mu.
- 39 See note 38.
- 40 Translation doubtful. Apparently tea-xa-djisen, the stem -dji- being perhaps related to -tcai-, to wish, desire.
- 41 See note 34.
- 42 Probably participial. The stem -tak- seems to be homophonous with that for to sing.
- 43 The stem is apparently -pūi-, not to be confounded with -pu-imu- as in i-pūi-mukni, I pinch (with-fingers-press, hold-tightly).
- 44 Probably hi-teu-xun-mi-t. The prefix teu- indicates a bulky object. The stem -xun- appears also in nitcuxu'nmi, pound down a nail; notsoxu'n-mu, bore a hole; ni'axunmutpu, put cap on pen, cover on box. The suffix -mi seems to refer generally to the ground, or motion downwards, as nya'tmi, a flat thing lies on ground; nuqa'ohunmi, lie on belly.
- 45 See note 35. The two forms seem to be identical, except for the addition here of ame-, meaning hunger.
- 46 See note 34.
- 47 Pun is the numeral "one."
- 48 Translation doubtful. The suffix -rotpin occurs in the forms pu'n-usrotpin, one left; xo'kosrotpin, two left.
- 49 Probably aqi-teut-xan, for aqi-teuk-xan. See note 34.
- 50 The stem seems to be -tse-, seen also in itse'xni, she took boat.
- 51 The stem here, -djek-, tcek-, seems to be related to that in itse'xni.
- 52 Probably participial. Two explanations of this form seem possible, either aqi-k-tan, water-rolling (-k-, to roll, move over surface), or (h)a-gik-tan, the stem -qik- being for -qim-, -kim-, seen in aki'mni, he floats.
- 53 See note 35.
- 54 Compare ma-i-mat-ni, I am alive; ma-mi-mat-a, are you alive?
- 55 Po is elsewhere always used for foot.

- ⁵⁶ Stem is -mat- seen also in ima'tni, I find. Probably participial.
- ⁵⁷ Other comparable forms are, miti'nda kutaxa'na, shall you keep it; icehe'nda kutaxa'na, I shall keep it. Itxan is the word for leg.
- ⁵⁸ The stem is apparently -xota-, seen also in: ixo'taxanan, I shall watch; yaxotai'yaxan, we shall look for. The xo- does not seem to be the negative. The suffix -wet is a continuative. Compare imu'mwet, I run continually; yema'wet, I eat constantly.
- ⁵⁹ If -wo- is the stem, this means to sit, as in i'wo, I sit; hi'wotinda, he sits. For -xun- see note 44. The ending is puzzling.
- ⁶⁰ Apparently a case of nominal incorporation, xarala-himat'ta, baby-he-finding. Another form for the noun was given as xalū'la.
- ⁶¹ Small is ulē'da. This is apparently run together in rapid speech with hima't'ta.
- ⁶² See note 57.
- ⁶³ Noun formed from the stem -am-, -ama-, to eat.
- ⁶⁴ The usual form would be ha'ma. The pronominal prefix of the third person is however quite frequently omitted. The final -t here and in other cases does not occur in the paradigms of verbal forms secured.
- ⁶⁵ From puntsar, woman. The suffix -la occurs in many names of animals and of relations, the form here being probably puntsalla, the interchange or equality of r and l being clearly marked in many words.
- ⁶⁶ See note 59.
- ⁶⁷ Derived from the demonstrative stem pa-. Other derivatives are seen in pātcea'mku, something; pātei, what; pā'teigun, no. The suffix -gun, -gut is the negative.
- ⁶⁸ Probably for xoku'litea. Cf. teima'rtea, we are men, Chimarikos.
- ⁶⁹ The stem -pa- occurs also in ya'patcen, we stay with.
- ⁷⁰ The intensive suffix -op, -ot. Refers to the particular man previously spoken of.
- ⁷¹ The stem is apparently -pū-, to shoot. The xa- may be the negative, in the sense of not shooting, *i.e.*, stalking, hunting, I stalk game being given as yexapō'unu. The same prefix (?) occurs apparently also in nexadu'mxu, cook, boil it!
- ⁷² The usual word for boy is itri'la. This same stem appears again in ōwe'lūla, bachelor.
- ⁷³ From eta, many, with future suffix and final -t.
- ⁷⁴ See note 70.
- ⁷⁵ Literally "man-becoming."
- ⁷⁶ The only comparable form is na'tap, sift!
- ⁷⁷ Elsewhere the stem ame- means hungry.
- ⁷⁸ Perhaps connected with eta, many.
- ⁷⁹ The stem is -samxu-. Cf. isa'mxuni, I dance; misa'mxuni, you dance.
- ⁸⁰ The more common stem is -wentso: hiwe'mtson, he gambles.
- ⁸¹ In the paradigms secured, this is given as owa'kni, or owa'ktinda.
- ⁸² The stem is -po- or -poi-. Cf. poi'mni, I sleep; pomu'yen, I am sleeping; poa'nmu, are you sleeping?
- ⁸³ See note 81.
- ⁸⁴ See note 69.
- ⁸⁵ See note 63.
- ⁸⁶ The stem is apparently -txa-. Cf. itxa'eni, I stop, cease.
- ⁸⁷ Negative. Cf. ma'mut maxa'mana, you are not eating; nā'teidut ya'xamanat, we are not eating.
- ⁸⁸ Derived from the stem qē-, to die.
- ⁸⁹ Compound form, from -wa-, -owa-, to go, and -mi'ina-, to wish.

FREE TRANSLATION.

Dog and Coyote were travelling eastwards. Dog said, "It is going to rain, it is going to blow. Hold tight to a live-oak tree." It blew, and Coyote was blown away. Dog stood there and called, "Come back, you shall be strong." Coyote did not wish to, for he was angry with dog. The latter said, "Let us fight," but Coyote declined. After some discussion they agreed to travel about, and get married. A flood was coming on, in which they believed they would be drowned, so they tried to make a metal(?) house, but it fell down. Water came, it rained and snowed, and all people were starved and lost. Frog was floating in a canoe, and Otter and Mink floated on the water. Frog found the rib of one of those who had been drowned. At sunset it became a baby, which was put in a basket. The girl baby grew up, and married Frog(?), and to them a child, a boy was born, and by and by there were many people. There was an abundance of food then, and people went about eating and dancing, and living as they do now.

III. THE UNSUCCESSFUL HUNTER.

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|
| ěxapū'umut ¹ | hako'nwadukta ² | hi'teip | himai'dukta ³ | |
| He hunted | he didn't kill | his thigh | he carried back | |
| hutrīnē'u ⁴ | imai'dukta | tca'koasun ⁵ | ā'a kogutzu'kni ⁶ | |
| intestines | he brought back | I'm good hunter | deer you don't like me | |
| ī'trirok ⁷ | aqā' ya'aye ⁸ | pu'ntsarop | yateaxi'sxun ⁹ wisē'da | |
| that man | water I go for | that woman | they ran off down river | |
| awa'tmun | axā'wayaguktainan ¹¹ | ěwō'mut ¹² | ī'trirop | |
| went | did not want to come back | he cried | that man | |
| kuto'kkutcai'dananda ¹³ | teūm ¹⁴ | teūm | teisi't hateisē'nda ¹⁵ | |
| never coming back | (?) | (?) | I said not following | |
| ěwo'maminda ¹⁶ | ī'trirop | ī'trirop | ěwo'munda pu'ntsarop | |
| still crying | that man | that man | crying that woman | |
| xomi'inanan | xowa'mgutcai'danan | uwi'r | ya'patcen ¹⁷ uwi'r | |
| I don't like | I do not wish to go | (?) | we stay (?) | |
| ya'pa'en | xowa'mgutcainan | yowa'manda | xō'wadumgutcai'nan | |
| we stay with | don't want to go | I going | don't want to go home again | |
| awa'mai | yā'pat | hisi'k | teutcxè'mun | ělo'hni |
| (?) | (?) | good | (?) | (?) |
| xowa'mgutcai'nan | teugu'teen | xomai'muktcainan ¹⁸ | hi'midanda ¹⁹ | |
| I don't want to go | I don't want to | I don't want to carry | it is heavy | |
| texalè'gu ²⁰ | imai'momen ²¹ | xuxodaktcai'nan ²² | xugonaktcai'nan ²³ | |
| light-not | I carry | I don't want to watch | I won't talk to you | |

| | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| teudi''ineman (?) | | tcupi'tan ²⁴ my foot is sore | | xowa'mgutcainan I don't want to go |
| moxoligě'ěūni ²⁵ you are no good | teū'itexēmum ²⁶ I drag away (?) | xowa'mgutcainan I don't want to go | tcumai'idan I carrying | |
| teuwa'xyen (?) | ěxě'u shell | itcxū'Enan ²⁷ I like | yexō'yexanan ²⁸ I'll go and swim | ěxěu trxol shell crayfish |
| imi''inan ²⁹ I like | trā'wel trout | ūlě'tcida little | hetcě'tcōi suckers | poqě'mtrolla small suckers |
| yeko''oxan I'll kill | ameqe'ēda ³⁰ dying of hunger | ye'man let's eat | xatei'la children | hama''axan they will eat |
| xěma'non ³¹ I am not eating | lū'in ³² I drink | lūmi'ginā'ye don't you drink | naupi' (?) | yěxadumxodě'u I cook soup |
| nī'maqai roast it! | nitcxu'cki put it in fire | nō'mux ³³ fix it! | nima'qai roast it! | něxadu'mxu cook it! |
| yě'man let's eat | mūkūwa'tkunat ³⁴ you did not come | ice'mdamdan ³⁵ I have been listening | xě'ma'axanan shall not eat | |
| nā'ma eat! | xěmaktcai'nan I don't want to eat | tcu'xoda'mdan you look at me | pohmu'mdan ³⁶ sleeping | |
| xama'nan not eating | qō'ma grass-seed | aqā'deu grass-seed | komatrā'Eni yellow daisy | tremu'mtxu a yellow flower |
| tcī'ntcei sunflower-seed | tcexā'ma a sort of flower | kowateu'mxu (?) | pě'tsoneu (?) | yemo'rna (?) |

NOTES.

- ¹ See note 71, text II.
- ² The stem is -ko-, to kill. Cf. yeko'xanan, I shall kill you. The suffix -duk is uncertain. Cf. xowa'doknanda, he didn't come back; itcxu'tduxta, I hide it away. See following note and note 6, text I.
- ³ Possibly a case of nominal incorporation, from (hī)tcipe, thigh and himai'dukta, carrying back. Cf. nimai'mu, you carry it! imai'muxan, I'll carry it.
- ⁴ A nominal form in -eu, formed from a stem -tri- (?) of unknown meaning.
- ⁵ Apparently from -ko-, to kill. This form is obscure, as the pronominal suffix tca- is not elsewhere used as subject of a transitive verb, but as object. Cf. pā'ut tca'kotinda, he kills me. The use of -sun which elsewhere has the force of the auxiliary verb "to be," is also unusual.
- ⁶ The prefix ko- is probably the negative.
- ⁷ Probably for i'trirop.
- ⁸ The stem is -a- (Cf. -wa-, -owa-). See note 1, text I.
- ⁹ The stem is -tcaxis-. Generally used as the plural for "to run," another stem, -mum- being used in the singular.
- ¹⁰ Probably from -wa-, -owa- to go. The suffix is undoubtedly -mu-ni, upwards, the -ni being the present tense ending.

¹¹ The stem seems to be -wa-, with the negative prefix. The usual form of the ending is -gutecainan.

¹² From -wo-, to cry, weep.

¹³ Obscure. There is no stem clear, -tok- being elsewhere always united with some regular verbal stem, sometimes with the meaning of back, returning. Perhaps abbreviated in rapid diction from xowato'k-guteaidananda.

¹⁴ There is a stem -tcu- which means "to sleep." Cf. yetcu'yegon, I shall sleep. Another stem -teum- has the meaning of "to marry." Cf. yetcu'mdaxanan, I shall get married.

¹⁵ The usual stem for "to follow" is -sim-. Cf. yusi'm, I follow, go with; mexasi'mnatexun, do not follow me!

¹⁶ See note 12.

¹⁷ See note 69, text II.

¹⁸ The stem is -mai-. The suffix -mu is uncertain, although it apparently indicates direction of motion.

¹⁹ The stem appears to be -mi-.

²⁰ The suffix -gu here appears also in such forms as xani'gu, by and by; curaigu, some time ago. It is probably the negative affix.

²¹ See note 18.

²² This is apparently xu-xo-da-k-teai-nan. There seems to be a reduplication of the negative prefix, but other examples occur, where -xota- as a stem means simply to watch, observe, as ixō'tanhun, I watch; ixō'taxanan, I shall look at. Ta- alone has no meaning applicable here.

²³ The stem is -go- or -go'na-. Other examples are negō'Ena, talk to me!; igō'enegon, I'll talk to you.

²⁴ Doubtful. The possessive prefix of the first person singular is evident, but the remainder of the word is not clear. The stem for "foot" is elsewhere always -po-.

²⁵ The stem here is clearly -xoli-, or -xuli-, meaning bad. Other examples are teo'xoligni, I am bad; qoxoyē'utceyi, are ye bad; xuli'da, he is bad; xūli mā'takni, you sing poorly. The suffix -eu may be that used to form nouns from verbs, so that the form here would be "you are a bad-one."

²⁶ Apparently teu-itc-xē-mun. The stem -xē- occurs also in niēxē'xē sweep! The prefix tc- is a very common one, and seems to be similar in its meaning to t- or to-, meaning with the hands, or by force. Other instances of its use are ni-tc-xē-tpik, pull out nail; ni-tc-xa-lo, pull out tooth; nu-tc-oru-ha, reach up for, etc., etc.

²⁷ The stem is -texu- or -texuE-. Other instances of its use are ya'texūnan, I wish, want (to eat); mitexū'una, you wish, want.

²⁸ The stem is -xū-, as in ixū, I swim; nixū'yaxana, shall you swim? What seems to be the same stem however is used with several other meanings, as: teoxū'xanan, I shall blow away; noxū', whistle!; teō'xun, I am fat; qā'xunda, ye are fat, etc. In this latter case, the u is generally short however, but it is certainly long in the other cases.

²⁹ The stem is -mi'ina-. Other examples are: xomi'inanan, I don't like you; mexemi'inanan, you don't like me. Cf. teudi'ineman above.

³⁰ Probably ame-qē-da, I am dying of hunger. See note 45, text II.

³¹ See note 87, text II.

³² The stem is lu-. Cf. lūmi'ginaye.

³³ See note 36, text II.

³⁴ Perhaps for mu-ku-wa-tok-gu-nat with the negative affix repeated.

³⁵ The stem is apparently -cem-. See note 10, text IV.

³⁶ See note 82, text II.

FREE TRANSLATION.

A man went out to hunt, but secured nothing. So he carried back his thigh and his intestines, saying, "I am a good hunter." His wives suspected, and did not like him. They said, "We will get some water." Then they ran away. (The remainder seems to be wholly unconnected, my informant maundering on until she was tired.)

IV. THE THEFT OF FIRE.

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Waida | howamda | apëxadjit ¹ | teitindosa | xãtcile | pun |
| Eastwards | he went | fire-steal | Coyote | child | one |
| xëxadjit ² | teitindosa | mice'qe | himũ'kta | apisu'xta | yuwau'mia |
| he stole | Coyote | "miceqe" | running | fire throwing | I go |
| mice'qe | yaxatei'ya | pa'teimam ³ | itukmũsun ⁴ | mice'qe | |
| "miceqe" | I steal | everything | I make | "miceqe" | |
| yuwau'mxanan | mice'qe | kimidjunũ'mdju ⁵ | yowamxa'nan | | |
| I shall go | "miceqe" | to the head of the river | I'll go | | |
| yuwaumxa'nan | wisè'da | puntsa'r | ě'tasun | mice'qe | ã'ma |
| I'll go | down river | woman | many are | "miceqe" | place |
| yuwaupa'kasun | mice'qe | a'ma | pun | xõ'nasun ⁶ | mice'qe |
| I go around | "miceqe" | place | one | I'll not | "miceqe" |
| lurë'djasun | xu'mde | teitindõ'sa | teusato'mun | qã'qatec | |
| quick | (?) | Coyote | I choke | a bird | |
| nũ'wam | teusato'mun ⁷ | te'è'tè | nũ'wam | teusato'mun | |
| go! | I'm choking | Buzzard | go! | I'm choking | |
| yekoxa'nan | nã'teidut | ã'wam | iwa'mdaxanan ⁸ | xë'qoqtëainan | |
| I'll kill you | we | go | I'll stay | I won't kill him | |
| tei'marut | që'sop ⁹ | xu'nogidji | mice'qe | nagi'tcuk | icë'mtina ¹⁰ |
| people | if die | I'll get well (?) | "miceqe" | (?) | listening (?) |
| imitëici'gut ¹¹ | wë'lmu | mice'qe | yowa'mxanan | mice'qe | |
| I kick it open | quickly | "miceqe" | I'll go | "miceqe" | |
| teũ'sigasun ¹² | mice'qe | yë'koxanan | mice'qe | më'xemi'inanan | |
| I'm handsome | "miceqe" | I'll kill | "miceqe" | you don't like me | |
| mice'qe | megutxu'kni | xũwo'këainan | hamë'u | i'tciknan ¹³ | |
| "miceqe" | you don't like me | I don't want to come back | food | not growing | |
| hamë'u | pã'tëigun | hamë'u | idan | mitexũ'na ¹⁴ | mowa'mxana |
| food | none | food | (?) | do you like | you shall go |
| xusi'mkukëainan | teũgu'tëen | iwo'mdaxanan | teusi'mxanan | | |
| I don't want to follow | I don't want to | I'll stay | me shall follow | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| teūgu'tcentama I don't want | hē'wu all right | ā'man place | xateilē'gulan children only |
| cū'nūhulaigulan old woman only | itrē'igulan men only | xateilē'gulan children only | xotxā'gutcainan I don't want to stop |
| itrē'igukteaidanan (?) | ī'nadaxan I'll wait | ī'woxanan ¹⁵ I'll stay | xowā'xgutcainan I won't go off |
| itricuxai'dēu ¹⁶ I'm a chief | teoxogō'anatan ¹⁷ they don't talk to me | xowo'kteinan I don't want to return | yowa'mxanan I'll go |
| ī'woxantin I'll stay | iwā'togegon I'm coming back | yē'tcuyegon ¹⁸ I shall sleep | ī'womtegon I'll stay |
| iwau'tegon I'll come | | | |
| yuwā'togegon I'm coming back | qèdèëgon ¹⁹ will pay (?) | xowā'toknop I may not return | isumda'mdegon ²⁰ I'll seek (?) you |
| mowā'tokatexun ²¹ you better all return | | miwo'mtohon ²² you stay | yuwau'gegon I'll go |
| mě'inada'mdatekun do ye wait for me | | misamda'mdatekun do ye all listen | mě'inadè'atekun ²³ do ye wait for me |
| ye'teudamdegon I'll lie down | mowau'gatekun ye all return | yowā'togegon I'll return | yěäxtē'ëgon I'll get lost |
| igo'na'mdegon I'll talk to them | teima'r people | imamdě'ëgon I shall see | ixota'mdegon I shall watch |
| xowā'toknegon I'll not come back | yuwamxa'nan I'll go | amemtū'ini I'm hungry | ulū'idaitce my brother |
| yowā'mxanan I'll go | mèkōi'tce brother-in-law | yowā'mxanan I'll go | yūwo'kegon I'll return |
| yuwā'togegon I'll return | imi''inan I like you | yuwawu'mxanan I'm going home | yēuyě'ke'ëgon (?) |
| mowā'mxanan are you going | teo'kehen (?) | yā'patmamda we'll sit | axamgutcai'danan ²⁴ don't want to go |
| xa'tciteenta all lazy | pola alone | yuwa'mxanan I'll go | xotai'retce three |
| awa'mxanan will go | | | |
| husamutni ²⁵ he stays | yekoi'yaxanan I'll kill | tcugu'tcen I don't want to | pala'djesun I'm strong |
| la'mipukni ²⁶ you are weak | pa'laidjè I'm strong | yuwa'mni I go | xokolè'tce two of us |
| awa'mxanan will go | | | |
| iwō'mdaxanan I shall stay | nūgūwa'mna don't go! | niwo'mta stay | isu'mdan I look for |
| iko'modaxanan ²⁷ I'm going to talk | mo'xogoanan don't you talk | niya'teima laugh! | mamē'ini (?) |
| | | | niko'moda talk! |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| nūwau'm | nixo'ta | mugu'tcen ²⁸ | yowa'tokxanan | | |
| go back! | look at me | you don't want to | I'm coming back | | |
| miwomdatexun | mowa'mkunaxana | po'mōxana | micè'mxana | | |
| you stay | aren't you coming back? | shall you sleep | you'll listen | | |
| po'la | iwa'megonye | xokolè'tce | awa'mxanan | xā'rale | nikī'da |
| alone | I shall go | two of us | will go | child | carry |
| mugu'tcen | ni'ceheda ²⁹ | trē'ūlot ³⁰ | nicehe'm | xai'rot ³¹ | |
| you don't want to | take it | that big one | take it! | that little one | |
| nikī'da | yowa'mxanan | niceheda | po'la | iwomtè'ëgon | |
| carry! | I'll go | take it! | alone | I'll stay | |
| nuwa'mhini | teugu'tcen | nōwa'man | ameqè'ëni | nohâ'tamda ³² | |
| go on! | I don't want to | go! | I'm dying of hunger | look at me! | |
| nitcu'kta ³³ | teugu'tcen | nowa'mhini | xowa'mgutcainan | hī'yë | |
| take it (?) | I don't want to | go on! | I don't want to go | (?) | |
| tce'pini | nateū'da | nā'xaman | hamē'u | muputce'tceaxini | |
| (?) | lie down! | don't eat! | food | you are too lazy (?) | |
| ūtee'ndakēye | miwo'rhanage | mugu'tcen | ā'wam | teugu'tcen | |
| (?) | (?) | you don't want to | let's go | I don't want to | |
| teupi'tan | xowa'mgutcainan | teupi'tan ³⁴ | ye'tupmoi | na'tcidut | |
| my foot sore | I don't want to go | my foot sore | (?) | we | |
| nuhwè'aqi | yamai'ta | imai'ta | puntsa'r | itri | puntsa'rië |
| (?) | my place (?) | (?) | woman | man | wife |
| ulū'idaida | miko'modahanxani | yowa'mxanan | hisi'kni | xolè'ini | |
| sister | you will talk | I'm going | good | bad | |
| iko'modaxanan | yako'onēwa | mo'xoligositee ³⁵ | micēhe'mxana | | |
| I will talk | we are going to talk | you are no good | are you going to take him | | |
| mowa'mxana | nūwa'man | xosi'mgutcai'nan | teugu'tcen | | |
| are you going | go on! | I don't want to follow | I don't want to | | |
| xomi'inanan | qâqo'n | qō'ni | niko'muda | ko'omitexun | |
| I don't like you | you kill me | I cry out | I talk | you better cry out | |
| anō'tei | laibu'kni | poimu'yen | yahai'tca ³⁶ | hè'u | awa'man |
| (?) | weak | I'm sleepy | let's get food | all right | we'll go |
| nā'tcidut | xowa'mgutcai'nan | nowa'man | xowoktai'nan | | |
| we | I don't want to go | go on! | I don't want to stay | | |
| mitciumaxa'na | madaqa'na ³⁷ | awa'm | yaxo'da | nisu'kta ³⁸ | |
| (?) | you sing | let's go | we look | look back! | |
| himō' | aqe'mtuini ³⁹ | lū'mixana | nuwā'gai ⁴⁰ | yuwa'dkun ⁴¹ | |
| yes | I'm thirsty | shall you drink | come on! | I'm coming | |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-------------|-------|
| ima'mni | lū'umitcèhin | tei'rhatce | yuwa'man | iko'ktaxanan ⁴² | | |
| I see him | you drink | (?) | I'm going | I shall growl | | |
| iko'ktayexanan | mowa'mgunaqo'sexanan ⁴³ | | yuwa'mni | | | |
| I'll go and growl | aren't you going to go? | | I'm going | | | |
| iko'mūtaxanan | iko'ktasun | qosamut | ye'woxanan ⁴⁴ | | | |
| I shall talk | I always growl | you stay | I'll give you | | | |
| ma'musqo'sexana | hē'wu | mowa'mxana | ye'koaxanan | nō'nu | | |
| shall you give him too | yes | are you going | I'll kill him | don't | | |
| xō'mamgutcai'nan | nowa'man | iwo'mdaxanan | tri'rhatcen | | | |
| I don't want to see you | go on! | I'll stay | (?) | | | |
| nowa'm | tcugu'tcen | ni'koxun | mala' | nuwa'm | hēu | himō' |
| go on! | I don't want to | cry out! | (?) | go on! | yes | yes |
| miko'moda | yěeni | a'ta | magollai | ma'tri'i | matco'lai | |
| you talk | (?) | (?) | uncle | nephew | grandmother | |
| matrici' | ulū'idai | matco'lai | ma'la'i | muta'lai | masa'lai | |
| nephew | brother | grandmother | maternal sister | mother's sister | (?) | |
| himo'lai | a'ntxasai | xā'wilai | ulū'idaxaiye | mitci'nlūlai | | |
| father's sister's child | older sister | paternal grandfather | younger sister | (?) | | |

NOTES.

- ¹ Apparently nominal incorporation. Cf. apisu'xta, below.
- ² The usual third personal prefix is here strengthened to x-.
- ³ Cf. patci, what; pateca'mku, something; patcigun, no, none.
- ⁴ See note 36, text II. The prefix tu- seems to mean actions done with hands. The stem is puzzling. In several cases, -kmu- seems to mean "to roll," as nimitci'kmu, roll with foot; niē'kmu, roll with end of stick; nime'kmu, roll with head. There is a common suffix, however, -mu, which seems to have somewhat variable directive meaning and function, as nai'mu, chop; mise'kmu, swallow; ipe'nmu, I lick; iya'tmunip, I lay down a flat thing. If -k- is the stem, its meaning is general, as we have nitcu'ktean, drive nail; nū'kmak, comb hair, etc.
- ⁵ Probably a place name.
- ⁶ Perhaps related to inam, I touch. Cf. inadaxan, page 350, third line of text.
- ⁷ The stem is -satoε-. The meaning is said to be choking because of rapid motion.
- ⁸ The stem is -wam-, -wom-.
- ⁹ Conditional suffix.
- ¹⁰ Apparently first person. The stem is -cem-.
- ¹¹ The prefix mitci- meaning actions with the foot. The stem does not occur elsewhere.
- ¹² The stem is apparently -siga-. Cf. misigā'sun, you are handsome.
- ¹³ The stem here, -itci- apparently is the same as -itri-. See note 75, text II.
- ¹⁴ See note 27, text III.

- ¹⁵ The *m* of *-wom-* seems to have disappeared here.
- ¹⁶ Chief is *itrixaidëu*. The pronominal element here is inserted apparently into the structure of the noun, which may perhaps be analyzed as *itri*, men, *-xai-*, stem for to make, create, and the suffix *-ëu* which usually forms nouns from verbs.
- ¹⁷ The stem is *-go-* or *-go'na-*. Cf. note 23, text III.
- ¹⁸ The stem is *-teu-*. Cf. *yaxutcu'ixan*, we shall not sleep; *yetecuda'm-degon*, I shall lie down, sleep.
- ¹⁹ Cf. *idai'goxan*, I shall pay; *teadai'gunip*, we pay.
- ²⁰ Cf. *isu'mni*, I follow. The suffix (?) *-dam* occurs also in such forms as *meinada'mda*, you look for me; *yetcu'damdegon*, I'll lie down.
- ²¹ The suffix *-ate* seems to denote plurality. Cf. *nateidut* = (?) *noatei-dut*.
- ²² Probably for *miwo'mtaxan*.
- ²³ The stem is apparently *-inada*.
- ²⁴ The usual form is *xowamgutcaidanan*.
- ²⁵ Cf. *i'samutni*, I come back; *ya'samuta*, we come back.
- ²⁶ Apparently a case of infixing the pronominal element. Cf. *la'teipukni*, I am weak.
- ²⁷ The stem here is clearly the same as in the next word. It is tempting to regard the *-mo* as perhaps an incorporated second personal objective element, but there are no other cases to support this view. Cf. *nikomoda*, talk, speak!
- ²⁸ See note 14, text II.
- ²⁹ The stem is apparently *-cehe-*. See next line.
- ³⁰ Shows the use of the intensive suffix *-ot*, with an adjective.
- ³¹ Perhaps related to *xara'li*, *xarü'la*, baby.
- ³² Elsewhere *-xotam-*.
- ³³ The stem *-teuk-*, or what appears to be but one such stem, has many meanings. As *iteu'ktamnip*, I put down a round thing; *niteu'ktean*, drive a nail; *teuiteu'kni*, I drown; *niteu'klo*, pull off button. See note 34, text II.
- ³⁴ See note 55, text II.
- ³⁵ See note 25, text III.
- ³⁶ The stem *-hai-* elsewhere has the meaning of to spit, to vomit.
- ³⁷ The stem is *-tak-*. Cf. *yetakni*, I sing; *ya'tak*, we sing.
- ³⁸ This stem does not occur elsewhere. To throw is *-sux-*.
- ³⁹ Cf. *ame'mtuini*, I am hungry.
- ⁴⁰ Perhaps for *-wauk-* contracted from *-watok-*.
- ⁴¹ Perhaps for *yuwa'tokun*.
- ⁴² By "growling" was meant, it was explained, "talking big."
- ⁴³ The suffix *-qose* apparently means "also, too."
- ⁴⁴ Meaning doubtful. The stem *-wo-* elsewhere means to cry, whereas *-wo-* is the form used in the singular for "to sit."

FREE TRANSLATION.

Coyote went eastwards to steal fire. There was one child only of the owner at home. Coyote stole the fire, and ran off down river, where there were many women. He ran so fast that he choked, then surrendered the brand to a bird, who did likewise, giving it up to the Buzzard. (The latter portion of this tale also is apparently extremely confused, and it seems impossible to make any connected sense out of it.)

V. A MYTH.¹³

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| nisè'it ¹ | iwot ² | māta | hī'wot ² | atcalaitañ | hiwot ² |
| North | lived | sweathouse | lived | with his grandmother | lived |
| ōwatgu't ³ | oā'mta ⁴ | owa'temut | owa'mdawā'temut | bādji'mdu ⁵ | |
| started | went | went up | went up-stream | what for | |
| īmāmātcimi ⁶ | waituamtuwatmut | bā'teikitei ⁷ | owatmut | | |
| have you come? | come back | come back | went | | |
| wā'ita ⁸ | ī'tusait | iwo't ² | uwā'wuktan | teimar | īda't ⁹ |
| west | where his sister | lived | you must talk | people | many |
| ēicimit'nī' | cā'ikī'et ¹⁰ | hoxada'ktea'nat ¹¹ | tsusutāiik'è'et | | |
| come to see the dance | I am ashamed | I don't want to watch | do not be ashamed | | |
| xè'manat ¹² | nimamic ¹³ | hoca'ñkunit ¹⁴ | hōteapunat ¹⁵ | yuā'mta ¹⁶ | |
| I do not eat (?) | (?) | not dance | I know nothing | arrived | |
| bo'unmut ¹⁷ | èqū'ictan ¹⁸ | a'maniku'mkiyat | nī'tcaho'dat ¹⁹ | | |
| slept | what do you say? | you act foolishly | have you sense? | | |
| xa'nimnosainoxosā'n ²⁰ | lū'it ²¹ | īdji'tmit ²² | yāca'mkunit ²³ | | |
| do you know what you do? | drink | I sit on one side | that is why I dance | | |
| yasā'mta ²⁴ | ī'djitmi | nāxama'nan ²⁵ | qòsi'n ²⁶ | imica'ñkunit ²⁷ | |
| thus I do | I sit | do not eat | how | did you dance? | |
| nòxopi'mni ²⁸ | mā'ikī'et ¹⁰ | ā'manot ²⁹ | yuwa'tmun ³⁰ | nòt ³¹ | ī'qorok ³² |
| do not play | are you ashamed? | recently | I came | I | my language |
| mī'qot ³³ | mīdjapū ¹⁵ | mīqowē'g'an ³⁴ | xo'lik | maliniqo'nag'an ³⁵ | |
| you speak | do you know | you will always talk that | bad | you will always | have to talk |
| aqō'sit | ē'wanmu ³⁶ | ō'u'xaik'ē'nan ¹⁰ | bā'tcaamni ³⁷ | | |
| why | do you cry? | | you are no good | | |
| nò'xojimta ³⁸ | īqo'iorot ³² | dira'mda | qè'g'edateci | djèwu | imamni ³⁹ |
| you do not know | | long ago | pray | large | look for |
| moxolikaxa'winta ⁴⁰ | ba'dja ³⁷ | muxā'inat ⁴¹ | dira'mda | mī'tcapu'ta ¹⁵ | |
| two old men sat | nothing | made | long ago | you know | |
| ōtuntsa ⁴² | | yāca'mkunaxan ²³ | ēteut ⁴³ | | |
| feathers | | we will dance | long | | |

¹³ Obtained in 1901 by Dr. A. L. Kroeber from Doctor Tom, the Chimariko informant mentioned below in connection with the vocabulary. While the thread of the story cannot be made out from the disjointed narrative, it evidently is a myth. Doctor Tom passes among the Indians as being more or less out of his mind. As he is old and knows practically no English, the translation had to be given by him in the Hupa language, with which Dr. Kroeber is unacquainted, and translated into English by a Hupa. While loose, it is however shown to be approximately correct by the analysis that can be made of many forms.

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| yāxo'taxan ⁴⁴ | mukice'ta ⁴⁵ | onienema'ri | naijidiji'tmin ⁴⁶ | |
| we will see | you do not wish to go | once more we must go | then they stay | |
| yūpqa'radjimni | ixo'taxanen ⁴⁷ | pā'teuyāma ⁴⁸ | ba'tca | |
| I get up now | I will see him | what will we eat? | what | |
| qo'tsesekeša'inen | yacamkunit | nāecia'racimni | bā'ikinaesan | |
| must we do? | we dance | I must stretch myself | I will dance about | |
| hò'tceu yūtiwiè'ni | nimiina't ⁴⁹ | xo'miinana'n ⁴⁹ | nè'g'ada'txumū'i | |
| fall in water | you like | I do not like | yourself | |
| wè'yit | imitsamā'kot | nā'pāata | mutsuñita | nīcīkio't ⁵⁰ |
| dance | hold! | me (?) | surpassed | make a fire! |
| ixota'x ⁴⁷ | imā'm ⁵⁰ | qòsni'ni ²⁶ | lādjin ⁵¹ | xèpakī'n |
| let me look! | I see | how | I am tired | I am dizzy |
| | | | | I am sleepy |
| ix'otan ⁵³ | hini' | ixotèmdjukehè'n ⁵⁴ | e'g'eta | teimexā'ita ⁵⁵ |
| | | do not care to look | | you make |
| nitxā'xana ⁵⁶ | lā'djin | qòsi'ni | mīca'ñkunit ⁵⁷ | īwonhī'ni ⁵⁸ |
| stop! | tired | how | you will dance | I stay here |
| xō'sini | qò'sini | lāwitama ⁵¹ | ciraku ⁵⁹ | mū'amta ⁶⁰ |
| | what | makes you tired | already | you start |
| | | | | I have nothing |
| nāmaū'iteiwun | nuā'mdat ⁶² | nā'ciā'telā'axanan | ya'apu'tmin | |
| you will eat | you must go | you must take it in | go home | |
| ā'manidja'pūi ⁶³ | niteò'u ⁶⁴ | qò'sin | niteò'u | tcī'sagkun ⁶⁵ |
| you know | stretch yourself | how | you stretch | I am exhausted |
| | | | | I am angry |
| dāwuxton | yūtsu'nta ⁶⁷ | djuklū'uxut ⁶⁸ | lādjidā'mda ⁶⁹ | eicā'mkuni |
| do not | jump in | jump in | become tired | I dance |
| lā'djin | yè'matsisin | miitcā'exotax ⁷⁰ | nupu'o | ā'wamtu ⁷¹ |
| tired | I want to eat | look at it | what for? | with mouth |
| mikot ³³ | xa'ni | mikoxa'nat ⁷² | naā'wutbimni ⁷³ | yuaka'nat |
| you talk | by and by | you will talk | we must play | |
| nācibi'mdaxanan ⁷³ | ōtsumni ⁶⁷ | nāmāata(n)hèi | nā'icukudjhen ⁷⁴ | |
| we must play | jump in | do you pick berries | do not want to | |
| nū'tsuxunmu ⁷⁵ | nitxa'nemaexa ⁷⁶ | nīciè'i | nacbā'teikum ⁷⁷ | |
| jump into the ground | your knees | are sore | I do not want | |
| i'xotama'ri | bī'maranū'texō | ā'tcawè'it | nī'wekdapmu ⁷⁸ | qocum |
| I want to see you | mash it | are you afraid? | bring him out! | how |
| tsi'rokon ⁷⁹ | ī'mamni | e'xaini' | no'ot | qè'xeta ⁸⁰ |
| did I talk | I see | I make | I | I make |
| | | | | I see |
| tcè'mta ⁸¹ | ixo'tat | ica'mxu'nit | gū'utcèet ⁸² | hēmā'itat ⁸³ |
| always | I see | I dance | do not want to | carry him |
| | | | | soon |

hīmèn⁸⁵ hī'mitci'lataila⁸⁵ ā'si'n⁸⁶ xō'djabutnat⁸⁷ mī'sik'eè'i⁸⁸
 dark middle of night day do not know make right
 mī'qoxanat⁷² naxaik'ēna⁸⁹ miatci'matakxu'n⁹⁰ mō'xoci'nta⁹¹
 you will talk do not be ashamed might laugh at you if you do not know
 niice'x nā'maxanat⁹² nī'icēx· niā'i nidè'ek nā'witmi⁹³
 want you will see want blind let me look lie down!
 nā'p'ha⁹⁴ yuwō'mni⁹⁵ tcupa'i⁹⁶ itsawi'sen djōoqi'n
 get him up! I am going home my feet are sore do not wish
 maxā'ikun⁹⁷ hātcuutan⁹⁸ nimama hā'tcadarup⁹⁹ uā'mxanat¹⁰⁰
 make it! lies there you see it surely will go
 yè'wetdaxana'c nā'sieta'mxanan¹⁰¹ lā'mitamakun⁵¹ hī'tat⁹
 I shall catch him it will be day tired many
 ē'icamkunit¹⁰² ilā'djin⁵¹ ā'mimtu'ita¹⁰³ badji maxā'ia
 I dance tired I am hungry nothing you can make
 qō'maicxū'nun iisā'n yimā'mda wu'tsunat¹⁰⁴ katō'oxu'mii'nanan¹⁰⁵
 know I breathe I see I am not sick I do not like you
 gaik-i'ektcan¹⁰⁶
 how do you know?

NOTES.

- 1 Perhaps for wisē-da, down-stream, *i.e.*, north.
- 2 -wo-, to sit, to stay. Cf. hīwotinda, he sits.
- 3 -wa-tok, -owa-tok, return(?). Cf. muku-watku-nat, you did not come, page 347, line 8 of text.
- 4 -wam-, -owam-, to go; -ta, participle.
- 5 patci, what; -mdu, instrumental.
- 6 -mat-, to find; -mamat, alive. Cf. ma-i-mat-ni, I am alive.
- 7 Cf. ante, badji-mdu.
- 8 wai-da, west or up-stream.
- 9 Cf. ētasun, many.
- 10 e-, probably for te-, I; -aikie-, ashamed.
- 11 Cf. note 22, text III.
- 12 Cf. xemanon, page 347, line 6 of text.
- 13 Perhaps ni-, imperative, and -mam-, to see.
- 14 ho-, negative; -samxu-, to dance.
- 15 ho-, negative; tcapu- probably -trahu-, to know.
- 16 Cf. note 4.
- 17 -po-, to sleep. Cf. po-anmu, you sleep.
- 18 Probably -qu-, -ko-, -komo-, to talk; e- perhaps interrogative. Cf. i-mi-canku-nit, did you dance?; a-qōsit, why?; e-wanmu, do you cry?
- 19 Probably -teaho-, for -trahu-, to know. Cf. ante hotcapunat.
- 20 Perhaps xani, by and by;
- 21 -lu-, to drink. Cf. page 347, line 6 of text.
- 22 i-, I; -teit-, to sit; -mi, the verbal suffix, down; -t probably the intensive suffix, -ut, -ot, -t.

- 23 ya-, we; -samxu-, to dance.
- 24 Probably -sam-, to listen(?). Cf. mi-sam-damdatekun, page 350, line 8 of text.
- 25 na-, second person imperative; x-, negative; -ama-, to eat; -nan, verbal suffix. Cf. xèmanat, ante line 6.
- 26 Interrogative stem qo.
- 27 i, perhaps interrogative. Cf. note 18.
- 28 no, imperative; xo-, negative; -pim-, to play; -ni, suffix of present tense.
- 29 Cf. aman-itri, young; aman-inhu, new. Perhaps also a'maniku'mkiyat ante, line 7.
- 30 y-, for i-, I; -uwat-, -owat-, to come.
- 31 Contracted from nout.
- 32 Evidently from the stem -ko-, -qo-, -go-, to speak. The form is obscure, as the possessive -i, my, is always suffixed.
- 33 mi-, you; stem as in the previous word.
- 34 mi-, you; -ko- to talk; -we, perhaps for -wet, continuative; -g'an for -xan, future.
- 35 It is possible that the first portion of this word is the Wintun pronoun for the second person dual, malin. A Hupa word is inserted in the following text.
- 36 Cf. ewo'imamni, I cry.
- 37 Cf. pã'tceam-ku, something(nothing?).
- 38 no-, imperative; xo-, negative; -ta, participle. The stem -jim-(tcim) does not occur elsewhere in the material collected.
- 39 i-, I; -mam-, to see; -ni, present tense.
- 40 Obscure. -xoli, may be xuli, bad; xawin, old. Cf. note 25, text III.
- 41 mu-, you; -xai-, to make.
- 42 hu-tu, its feather.
- 43 Cf. hitcun, long.
- 44 ya-, we; -xota-, to see; -xan, future.
- 45 Cf. -gutce-, -gutcai-, do not wish, as in teu-gutcen, I do not wish.
- 46 na-, imperative; -jid-(tcit) (reduplicated), to sit. So "do ye sit down one after the other"(?).
- 47 i-, I; -xota-, to see; -xan, future.
- 48 patei, what; y-, I; -ama-, to eat.
- 49 ni, second person imperative; -mi'inan-, to like.
- 50 -cikiot perhaps for -cekta-, to build fire.
- 51 la-, weak, tired; -tei, I; -in, incompleting action. In other instances, -mi, you.
- 52 -po-, to sleep; -xan, future. Cf. poimni, I sleep.
- 53 Cf. ixota'x, line before.
- 54 Cf. note 45.
- 55 tei-, I; me-, actions done with hand(?); -xai-, to make; -ta, participle.
- 56 ni-, second person imperative; -txa-, to stop; -xan, future.
- 57 mi-, you; -samxu-, to dance. The phrase "how you will dance" seems to mean "thus you will always dance in the future."
- 58 -won-, for -wom-, to stay.
- 59 ciraku, curaigu, from cur-, long ago, and the negative -gu.
- 60 mu-, you; -wam-, to go; -ta, participle.
- 61 Seems to contain the negative.
- 62 nu, second person imperative; -wam-, to go.

- ⁶³ Cf. note 29. Perhaps -pu is the interrogative suffix. Cf. mexadjipu, have you stolen?
- ⁶⁴ ni-, second person imperative; -tco-, cf. -tcu-, to lie down, to sleep.
- ⁶⁵ tci-, I; -sag-, cf. -sax-, to cough(?).
- ⁶⁶ tea-, I; -awè-, angry; -ta, participle.
- ⁶⁷ -tsu-, -tsum-, -tsun-, to jump.
- ⁶⁸ dju-, tcu-, I; -klu-, to fall.
- ⁶⁹ Cf. note 51. -dam is a verbal suffix of uncertain meaning in this case. Cf. mēinadamda, you look for me.
- ⁷⁰ Contains -xota-, to look, watch.
- ⁷¹ ha-wa, his mouth; -mdu, instrumental.
- ⁷² Or else from -ko-, to kill. Cf. ye-ko-xan-an, I'll kill you, text IV, line 9.
- ⁷³ -pim-, to play.
- ⁷⁴ Cf. teuguteen, I don't want to, text IV, line 15.
- ⁷⁵ nu-, second person imperative; -tsu-, to jump; -xun, verbal suffix meaning into; -mu, verbal suffix of uncertain meaning. Cf. naimu, chop; nitupmu, roll along, etc.
- ⁷⁶ hi-txanemaxa, his knee.
- ⁷⁷ Cf. pateigun, no.
- ⁷⁸ ni-, I; -whék-, to push; -tap, out of.
- ⁷⁹ Cf. iqorok, ante line 10.
- ⁸⁰ -xe-, for -xai-, to make.
- ⁸¹ tcm-da means "across a stream."
- ⁸² Cf. note 74.
- ⁸³ Perhaps he- is the negative, xe-; -mai-, to carry.
- ⁸⁴ xani, by and by, and -gu, the negative. Cf. note 59.
- ⁸⁵ himi, hime, himokni, night. The -n appears in hime-n-ala, moon.
- ⁸⁶ asi, asse, day. Cf. asi-n-ala, sun.
- ⁸⁷ xo-, negative; djabu- (teapu ante) for -trahu-, to know.
- ⁸⁸ hisikni, hisiki-, good; -èèi perhaps -eye, reflective.
- ⁸⁹ na-, second person imperative; x-, negative; -aikie-, ashamed.
- ⁹⁰ mi-, you, object; -yatei-, to laugh; -xun is either the future -xan, or the continuative -hun.
- ⁹¹ mo-, you; -xo, negative; -cim-, -cem-, to listen; -ta, participle.
- ⁹² n-, second person imperative; -ama-, to eat; -xan, future.
- ⁹³ na-, second person imperative; -mi-, -tmi, verbal suffix, down; -wi-, cf. hawi'ida, driv deer; ha-wi-maxan, poke hole in sheet of paper.
- ⁹⁴ n-, second person imperative; -ap-, to get off horse; -ha, up.
- ⁹⁵ y-, I; -owam-, to go.
- ⁹⁶ tcu-, my; hu-po, his foot.
- ⁹⁷ ma-, perhaps for na-, second person imperative; -xai-, to make.
- ⁹⁸ -tcu-, to lie down, sleep.
- ⁹⁹ -up, intensive.
- ¹⁰⁰ -owam, to go; -xan, future; -at(?) for -ut, -ot, intensive.
- ¹⁰¹ asi, day; -xan, future.
- ¹⁰² èi-, for i-, I.
- ¹⁰³ amemtu-, hungry; -i-, I; -ta, participle.
- ¹⁰⁴ The final -t-, -at, probably the intensive -ut, -ot is of frequent occurrence.
- ¹⁰⁵ xu-, negative; -mi'ina-, to like; -nan, verbal suffix.
- ¹⁰⁶ -aikie-, ashamed.

VI.¹⁴

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| yè'ma ¹ | í'waxanin ² | ē'kocxanan ³ | tcí'mitcakun | kolalai | yua'mni | |
| I eat | I will defecate | I will urinate | enough | sick | I go | |
| nīmā'ama ⁴ | nidjidmaga'na ⁵ | nīpā'itca ⁶ | bā'tcikū' | ici'cnū'xni | i'sā'n ⁷ | |
| you see | say so | pick up | no | bring wood | sleepy | |
| xa'nisama ⁸ | xe'ma' ⁹ | dji'txanak ¹⁰ | hōsetdjanīwu' | nīmīna' ¹¹ | hīsī'ktā' ¹² | |
| soon | head | blanket | sick | behind | good | |
| hī'edāt | hīdjukni ¹³ | hī'djutbitan ¹⁴ | nādja'ldan ¹⁵ | nāxo'cxu ¹⁶ | misá'gū' ¹⁷ | |
| fall in | drown | a spring | rock | cut | put in mouth | |
| nīsā'wkā | hitāi ¹⁸ | kō'on ¹⁹ | hitèiwāmda | nīxota ²⁰ | muxu'lika ²¹ | āwā'm |
| put in mouth | much | talk | go down | look! | say | go |
| nūakta ²² | xā'yē | djē'u ²³ | miwū' | xumāmnan ²⁴ | yacangxu'ni ²⁵ | |
| go' | small | large | give | do not see | let us dance | |
| yāxu'teu | nīci'nātē'i | nō'sexana'n ²⁶ | nīmāma' | nāeco | yōku'n | |
| go to bed | cover me! | suckle me | look | make | basket | |
| nē'wu | pā'dju ²⁷ | nuwī'e ²⁸ | xoda'la ²⁹ | nītxe'm ³⁰ | nītxe'ako ³⁰ | |
| give | enough | carry | little | drag! | stop! | |
| mī'tcapu ³¹ | hī'wana'dan | nā'k'lo | badxa'la | nuxu'māmnan ²⁴ | | |
| chew | go on | see two | enough | not see | | |
| yōkumramni'p ³² | mitexa'ni ³³ | yēko'n ³⁴ | tcāwī'n | mēxo'tan ³⁵ | | |
| run | small | kill | I fear | on | | |
| yutsuxa'mni ³⁶ | yuwā'wukne' ³⁷ | bō'anmu ³⁸ | nā'waxāii ³⁹ | muxuliñni ⁴⁰ | | |
| fall down | I come back | you sleep | your mouth is small | you are ugly | | |
| xā'se | hītema' | nimama | nimaitce ⁴¹ | yamat | imā'mta | nīmā'mxanat |
| grass (?) | cook | see | food | I see | you will see | |
| nāot | xu'noīta ⁴² | nīntji ⁴³ | ā'ma | īxā'ita | xo'se | hīmōu |
| I | go up | your nose | earth | I made | grass | yes |
| exāini'p ⁴⁴ | yē'kōn ³⁴ | nājidi'li | nāxâ ⁴⁵ | huwa'm | xa'ni | |
| I make | I kill | play flute! | stop | go | soon | |
| lādjitamni | djo'pa-elō'ni ⁴⁶ | elonehē'e ⁴⁶ | nī'djitmi ⁴⁷ | nītxe'mku ³⁰ | | |
| tired | too hot | hot | sit down! | drag! | | |
| djemta | nuamatcxun ⁴⁸ | wēsatk!ā'se | yū'tsū'txamu ³⁶ | hawalla ⁴⁹ | | |
| across river | go! | sleepy | fall down | who are you | | |
| lā'mitama | nāmaexuni | xālālā'idji'ni | diramda | diramd | ua'kdat ⁵⁰ | |
| tired | around | go home | long ago | long ago | came | |

¹⁴ Part of a text obtained in the same way as the last.

hica'mniman ni'xota djè'wut²³ i'te'i'xni xunō'ita⁴² lūtsuktu'n³⁶
 not see you look! large play up fall in
 mū'adokni⁵¹ tcigutxotne'i⁵² yēaxtu'n wètè'ò migāatexū'èn⁴⁸
 you come back lonely I return near leave
 nācuāmni' hītāi ko'on hūpucnēi⁵³ mēmamnēi'⁵⁴ mī'tcapu
 go away much talk his leg straight I see you you know
 nāma wè'lemū⁵⁵ èdjèenē'i nēma'iradjim⁵⁶ nètèxe'm nīcigyâ't⁵⁷
 eat! quickly shoot carry! drag! make fire!
 nixa'ii teā'xawinta⁵⁸ nī'mamxa'nat ètc'i'xta⁵⁹ koma namaxana't
 make it! I am old you will see grow seeds
 wateel nī'mamxanat koma hēcigu djimia'na
 pepper-nuts you will see seeds hazel-nuts sarvice-berry
 haikyè'u hatchō'u hosiri'na⁶⁰
 sugar-pine-nuts digger pine-nuts cedar

NOTES.

- 1 i-, I; -ama-, to eat.
- 2 i-, I; hi-wax, his excrement; -xan, future; -in, incomplete action.
- 3 e-que, his urine.
- 4 ni-, second person imperative; -mam-, to see.
- 5 ni-, second person imperative; -teit-, to sit; -gan, -xan, future.
- 6 ni, second person imperative; -pa-, perhaps -pa-, to smoke.
- 7 Cf. iisan, text V, next to last line.
- 8 xani, soon, by and by.
- 9 hi-ma, his head.
- 10 teitxa, blanket.
- 11 Cf. himinatce, behind; himinna, back.
- 12 hisiki-, hisikni, good.
- 13 -teuk-, a stem of varied meaning. Cf. nituktan, drive nail; nituk-tapku, take out a round thing; iteukar, drowned; text I, line 7.
- 14 -teut, to strike(?); -pi, -tpi, suffix, out, out of.
- 15 Cf. tcaldan, metal.
- 16 Cf. tea-xos-amu, I yawn.
- 17 Cf. note 65, text V.
- 18 Cf. note 9, text V.
- 19 From -ko-, to speak.
- 20 n-, second person imperative; -xota, to look, watch.
- 21 Cf. note 40, text V.
- 22 nu-, second person imperative; -wak-, to come; -ta, participle.
- 23 djèu, tèu, trèu, large.
- 24 xu-, negative; -mam-, see; -nan, verbal suffix.
- 25 ya-, we; -samxu-, to dance; -ni, incompleted action.
- 26 no-, second person imperative; -sex-, cf. -sek-, to swallow; -xan, future.
- 27 Cf. pādju, grizzly-bear.
- 28 nu-, second person imperative; -wi, cf. ha-wi'-ida, drive deer.

- 29 xodallan, poor.
 30 Cf. *teu-itexē-mun*, page 347, line 2 of text.
 31 *mi-*, you; *-tea-*, to chew; *-pu*, perhaps interrogative.
 32 Cf. (?) *nipe-ram-ram-*, to taste.
 33 Cf. (?) *ni-texa-lo*, pull out tooth; *itexa-posta*, Dyer's ranch.
 34 *ye-*, I; *-ko-*, to kill; *-n*, incomplete action.
 35 *mi-xota-n* (?).
 36 *-tsu*, to jump. Cf. note 67, text V. But *hu-tsu-tmin*, fly down; *-xam*, suffix, down; *-ni*, incompleting action.
 37 *y-*, I; *-owak*, to come, here apparently reduplicated; *-ne*, *-ni*, incompleting action.
 38 Cf. note 17, text V.
 39 *ha-wa*, his mouth.
 40 *mu-*, you; *-xuli-*, bad. Cf. note 21.
 41 Cf. *-mai-*, to carry.
 42 *xunoi-da* means west or north.
 43 A Hupa word. The Chimariko would be *mo-xu*.
 44 *e-*, for *i-*, I; *-xai-*, to make; *-ni*, incompleting action; *-p*, intensive.
 45 Cf. *i-txa-Eni*, I stop.
 46 *elox-ni*, *elo-ta*, hot.
 47 *ni*, second person imperative; *-teit-*, to sit; *-mi*, suffix, down.
 48 Cf. *mo-watok-atexun*, page 350, line 7 of text.
 49 *awilla*, who.
 50 *-wak-*, to come; *-da*, participle; *-t*, intensive.
 51 *mu-*, you; *-atok-*, *-watok-*, return; *-ni*, incompleting action.
 52 Cf. *teigule*, we all. Or more probably, *tei-*, I; *gu-*, negative.
 53 *hu-po*, his leg.
 54 *me-*, for *mi-*, you; *-mam-*, to see; *-nei*, cf. preceding word, and, post, *èdjè-nèi*.
 55 *welmu*, quickly.
 56 *ne-*, second person imperative; *-mai-*, to carry.
 57 *ni*, second person imperative; *-ceкта-*, make fire.
 58 *tea-*, I; *-xawi-ni*, old; *-ta*, participle.
 59 Cf. *-itri-*, *-itei-*, to grow, a man.
 60 Cedar is *hâtsinaktea*; *hosu*, *xosu* is yellow-pine nut. The tree would be *hosu-na*.

SENTENCES.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>puntsalot hamtatinda cîtecelot</i> | woman whipped dog |
| <i>puntsalot himiteitinda teimal</i> | man kicked the woman |
| <i>citcela hapukèini hemxolla</i> | dog caught the jack-rabbit |
| | |
| <i>mimiteitida citcela</i> | you are kicking the dog |
| <i>hîpuimuktinda citcela</i> | they are pinching the dog |
| <i>imiteitinda</i> | I am kicking him |
| <i>memiteitida</i> | you are kicking me |
| <i>teumî'inatinda</i> | he likes me |
| <i>qonowectinda</i> | ye are whipping me |
| <i>imiteitxanan cîtecelot</i> | I shall kick the dog |
| <i>niteut citcela</i> | hit the dog! |

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| imamni | I see thee, him |
| imĩ'inanatein | I like ye |
| mepatni | you are poking me |
| teumamni | he sees me |
| qomamapu | do ye see me |
| hiwotinda | he sits |
| miwentsodida | you gamble |
| qatexundjulinda | ye are thin |
| qèwoktinda | he is sick |
| nout yematinda | I eat |
| teaxawintinda teigule | we all are old |
| mamatindak | you ate |
| hisamxunin | he dances |
| yawemtsom | we gamble |
| mixun | you are fat |
| qaxatcuèni | ye are short |
| hama | he eats |
| imumni | I run |
| yetakni | I sing |
| haomiüktsaida | his hat |
| awaida | his house |
| onipaida | his pipe |
| qomas musuda | who are you |
| qomas asuda | who is he |
| patei suda | what is this |
| awilida mohatida | who shot you |
| puntsarida anowesta itrila | woman whipped boy |
| mitinda kutaxana | are you going to keep it? |
| ewomunda | still crying |
| imumda itxaèni | I stop running |
| imumda teohotimen | while running, he shot me |
| imamni haqomelamda | I saw him running, hurrying away |
| hisamxuninda yekon | while he was dancing, I killed him |

VOCABULARY.

The following English-Chimariko and Chimariko-English vocabulary is based on the author's notes. To these are added materials from the following sources.

Words marked with an asterisk, *, are from Powers' Tribes of California, pages 474-477, slightly transcribed to conform to the present orthography. Those marked with a dagger, †, were obtained by the author, but are given in identical form by Powers, allowing for the fact that Powers does not distinguish k and q and writes no glottal catches.

Words in parentheses, (), were obtained by Dr. A. L. Kroeber from the informant Friday in 1902, and those in brackets, [], from Doctor Tom, an old feeble-minded Chimariko at Hupa, in 1901 and 1902. Many of the more common words, having been obtained by Dr. Kroeber in a form identical with that recorded by the writer, are not separately given.

Words marked with § were obtained by Dr. P. E. Goddard from Mrs. Noble, a daughter of Mrs. Dyer, in 1902. A considerable number of other words also obtained by Dr. Goddard, in a form identical with that recorded by Dr. Kroeber or the writer, are not specially marked.

ENGLISH-CHIMARIKO.

| | |
|---|--|
| Abalone, sulhim | Aunt (maternal), mālai-i, mūtala-i |
| Abandon, -txax- | Autumn, asōdiwukni, nomateci* |
| Accompany, -sim- | Awl, cibui |
| Acorn, yūtri, (texupun) | Axe, haimuksa, hamukteu* |
| Acorn (black-oak), [(muni)] | Baby, xarūlla, xalūla, (xalala), halalla* |
| Acorn-bread, teēneu | Back, hi-mina |
| Acorn-meal (leached), pāci | Bad, xuli, holi-ta* |
| Acorn-meal (unleached), yōma | Bark (of tree), hi-pxadji, hi-pateci* |
| Acorn-soaking place, matciya | To bark, wowoin |
| Acorn-soup, hāpēu | Basket-hat, haōmiūksa (haamiaktea) |
| Acorn (shelled), ihitei | Basket (burden), sangen, (cānkeen) |
| Across-stream, teem-da | Basket (cooking), poquela |
| Again, (tabum) | Basket (mortar), hā'eu |
| Alder, pakto'ena | Basket (open tray), powa |
| Alive, -mamat- | Basket (sifting), atanisuk |
| All, (kumitecin)† | Basket (spoon), kalūwēē |
| Alone, pola | Basket (storage), (opumaktea) |
| Angry, -awè- | Basket (tray), p'unna |
| Ankle, hi-kxanlèdē, hi-txanlede | Bat, teemxatecila |
| Ant (black), pēlo'a | Bachelor, puntsariēcku, oēlūlla |
| Ant (red), t'amitexul | Beads (disk), mendrahē |
| Antlers, ho-wec | Bear (black), teisamra, (djicamla), [djisamara], teisamrha* |
| Anus, hi-wi | Bear (grizzly), pādju, (potcu) |
| Arm, hi-tanpu, [hi-tcanpu], hi-tcanpo* | Beard, (hu-putcu-n-xame), [ha- budju-n-xami], o-putcu-n-hama* |
| Arm-pit, cilēitecūmuni | Beaver, wisilla |
| Armor, t'ummi | Bed, hateiinarutsa |
| Arrow, sa'a | Beetle, qō'a |
| Arrow-flaker, atcibuksa | |
| Arrow-point, qāku | |
| Ashes, matripxa, matripa | |
| Aunt (paternal), ulūida-i(§) | |

| | |
|--|---|
| Belly, hu-trunèu, (hu-tceneu), u-teuniwa* | Cheek, hu-tananundjatun |
| Belt, hi-ca'amatat | To chew, -teatci- |
| To bend, -koru- | Chief, itra-xai-dèu, itci-haitie* |
| Bird, (di'la), tirha* | Chimariko, (tcimaliko) |
| Bitter, hemūdadjān | Chin, tsuna, wètu |
| Black, tečlèi, tečeli-t* | Chipmunk, pipila, wisilla (ʔ) |
| Blackberry, xamoana | Civet-cat, kakesmilla* |
| Blackbird, tira-cela, tēila-tcele | To clap hands, -putata |
| Blanket, teitxa | Clean, mata'i |
| To bleed, sōdrè- | To clear (weather), -tcemux- |
| Blind, -sukxomen, -xosanmun | To climb, -ar- |
| Blood, sōtri, citrqi, sitsō* | Clock, ixodaktea |
| To blow, -hus-, -xuc-, -kos-, -xu- | Cloud, hawēdam, [āwetama], (awatamaxni) |
| Blue (ʔ—cf. blood), sōtè'i | Clover, kâteu |
| Bluebird, ipūitella | Coals, kōwa |
| Bluejay, tsokokotce | Cold, eco-, (xatsa), eso-ta* |
| Board, ho'èu | Comb, tanatci |
| To boil, -potpot-, -dum- | To comb, -kma- |
| Bone, hu-txun | To comb, -watok-, -wok-, -owak |
| Born, -dah- | To cough, -sax- |
| Bow, xāpunèu | Cousin, antxala-i |
| Boy, itrilla, itcilaʔ | Country, ama |
| Brain, hi-ni | Coyote, teitindōsa, (maidjandela), [maidjandera] |
| To break, -kat-, -tcex-, -xōtōs- | Cradle, wentcu |
| Breast, hu-si* | Crane, kisum, kāsar |
| Breast (woman's), sī'lēye, sirhaʔ, [eida] | Cray-fish, trxol |
| To breathe, -saxut- | Crooked, p'qēlē'in |
| To bring, -hak-, -hek- | Crow, wa'da, wa'la |
| Brother, ulūida | To cry, -wo- |
| Brother-in-law, meku-i | Cup and ball, hitcumūdadehu |
| Buckeye, yonot | To cut, -kut-, -lolo- |
| Buckskin, teirhuntol | To dance, -samxu- |
| To burn, -ni-, -maa- | Daughter, masola-i, maisula-i* |
| To bury, -tot- | Daughter-in-law, tcu-simda |
| Butterfly, tsamila | Day, assē, † [asi] |
| Button, hi-punaktea | Deaf, hukēnan |
| Buzzard, tečtēi | Deep, tcuxunmin (ʔ) |
| By and by, punuslala, xani, tamini | Deer, ā'a, aa* |
| To call, -kō-, -kokō- | Deer (buck), (xuwetci) |
| Cane, hutatat | Deer (doe), (yetcawe) |
| Canoe, mūtumma, motuma* | Deer-brush, qapuna |
| To carry, -mai-, -ham-, -qi-, -xū- | Deer-trap, haxaktea |
| Caterpillar, xawin, qawin | To dent, -kxol-, -tran- |
| Cats-cradle, axādèu | Dentalia, hateidri, t'ōdōdōhi [(ahateu)] |
| Cedar, hātsinaktea, hātinaktsana | “Devil” (prob. sorcerer), himisanto, (himisamtu) |
| Chair, hi-woanadatsa | Dew, qoido |
| Chaparral, puktea'ena, axacna | |

| | |
|--|--|
| To die, -qè- | Fat (adj.), -xu- |
| To dig, -po-, -tsik- | Father, iteila-i† |
| Digging-stick, tsunana | Father-in-law, teu-maku |
| To dip up, -hedo- (†) | Feather, hu-to, hi-mi† |
| Dirty, teclé'in | Fern, tètèuna |
| To dismount, -ap- | To fight, -texua- |
| Dog, citcella, sitcela† | To find, -mat- |
| Door, wèssa | Finger, hi-ta, hi-tra, (hi-tea), hi-tcanka* |
| Dove, yūura | Finger-nail, bolaxot, (bulaxut) |
| Downwards, tranmida | Fir, kipi'ina, (kimpina) |
| Down stream, wisèda | Fire, ā'pu, apu* |
| To drag, -texē- | To make fire, -cekta-, hatsir |
| Dragon-fly, hitcinemnem | Fire-drill, apū'ena, hâtsiktea |
| To dream, -maka- | Fire-drill base, apū'natxui |
| To drink, lū- | Fire-place, akamina ā'pu |
| To drive, -sik- | Fish-line, hook, hamamēgutca |
| To drop, -lul-, -lus-, -lurim- | Fish-net, atexū |
| To drown, -teuk- (†) | Fish-trap, weir, tsāt |
| Drum, hisamquni | Fisher, qèpxamitcèi |
| Dry, atexumni | Five, tsānehe, tranēhē |
| Duck, xaxateèi, hahatce* | To fix, -mu- |
| (= mallard) | Flat, river-bench, maitra |
| Dull, tono'i | Flea, t'amina |
| Dust, matcitsxol, matrepa | To float, -kim- (†) |
| Eagle, wemer, tcāwitcau, (djāwidjau) | Floor, wèboqām |
| Ear, hi-sam, hi-cam* | Flower, atrèi |
| Earth, [ama]† | Fly, mūsaswa, mūsotri, mosotce* |
| Earthquake, amitexamut | To fly, -tu- |
| East, up stream, waida, (waida) | Fog, āptum |
| To eat, -ama-, -ma- | To follow, -sum- |
| Eddy, apenmaspoi | Food, hāmeu |
| Eel (lamprey), tsāwa | Foot, hu-po† |
| Egg, anōqai, amoka* | Forehead, hi-mosni,† [hi-muclei] |
| Eight, xodaitcibum, hotaitcipum | To forget, -xomē- |
| Elder tree, teitexōi | Four, qūigu, qōigu |
| Eleven, pundrāsut, saānpun punlasut | Fox, teitcamūlla, apxantcolla, haura* |
| Elk, ā'eno, aanok* | Friend, [imikot], imi-mut (= love) |
| Empty, hutcolanan | Frog, qātus, (axanteibot) |
| Evening, himok* | Full, hitcolam |
| Everything, patcimam (†) | To gamble, -wemtso- |
| Excrement, hi-wax | Girl, puntsūla, puntcalla* |
| Eye, hu-sot, hu-cot* | To give, -hak- (†), awu-t* |
| Eyebrow, hu-sotnimi | To go, -a-, -wam-, -waum-, -wawum-, -owa- |
| Eyelashes, hu-sunsa | Good, hisikni, (hisiki-), hisi-ta* |
| Face, hi-suma* | Goose, lālo, lalo* |
| To fall, -man-, -mo-, -klu- | Gooseberrv, tselina |
| Fat (n.), pi'a | |

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Gopher, yūmate | To jump, -tudu. |
| Grandfather (paternal), xāwila-i | To keep, -kut- |
| Grandson, himolla-i | To kick, -mitci- = with foot |
| Grass, hawunna, (āwuna), koteu* | To kill, -ko- |
| Grass-game, hēumakutca | King-fisher, tsādadak |
| Grasshopper, tsatur, tsatul | Knee, hi-txanimaxa, |
| Grass-seed, qōmma | [hi-txanemaxa] |
| Green, himamto, (imameu), | To kneel, -komat- (?) |
| himamsu-t* | Knife, teisili, teididi, teeselli* |
| Grouse, himimitcēi | To know, -trahu- |
| To grow, -itri- | |
| | Ladder, ha'amputni |
| Hair, hi-ma† | Lake, teitaha |
| Hand, hi-ta, hi-tra, hi-tca* | Lame, hōakta-xolik |
| To hang, -kim- | Large, trēwu-t, (djewu), tceu-t* |
| Happy (?), teumidan | To laugh, -yatei-† |
| Hard, teaxi | Leaf, hi-taxai, tahalwi* |
| Hawk, yēkyēk, pētexol | Left-hand, xuli-teni |
| Hazel, hecigo | Leg, hi-txan, hi-tal* |
| He, hamut | To lick, -pen-, -hen- |
| Head, hi-ma† | To lie on ground, -teu |
| To hear, -kē- | Light, texalēn |
| Heart, hu-sā'anteēi, (hu-santcei), | Lightning, itckasēlxun, |
| u-santce* | hitckeselsel-ta* |
| Heavy (?), teumidan | To like, -mi'inan- |
| Heel, inōōktaš | To listen, -cem- |
| Hemlock, xutexu | Liver (?), hu-ci. See breast |
| Here, this side of stream, kēnteuk | Lizard, takteel |
| To hiccup, lē- | Lizard (red), hīminidukta |
| To hide, -txat- | Log, sāmu |
| High, hiteūeni | Long, hitcun |
| To hit, -at- | Long ago, eul, cur, [diramda], |
| To hold, -imu- | (dilamda) |
| Honey, hūwūanūkaiš | To lose, -licxu-, lūlūxē- |
| Hornet, husū | Low, hutculan (?) |
| Hot, elo-, (eloxni), elo-ta* | |
| House, āwa† | Madrone, ētxolna, [hetxolna], |
| How long, far, qāiteu | (hetxolna) |
| How many, qātala | To make, -xai- |
| How often, qātramdun | Man, itri, itci* |
| Humming-bird, qērektce, trēlektcēi | Many, much, ēta, (hitat), itat* |
| To be hungry, -ame-, -amemtu- | Manzanita, teiteana, teitei |
| Hupa, person, hitexū; place, | Manzanita-cider, teiteciaqai |
| hitewāmai | Maple, trūpxadji'ina, ipxadji'ina |
| Hyampom people, maitroktada | To marry, -teum- |
| hitewāmai | Marten, xunēri, qāpam |
| | To mash, -lot- |
| I, nōut | Meat (dried), pititexun |
| Ice, hatcen, atci* | To meet, -hayaqom- |
| Intestines, hi-pxa | Milk, cira, ci'ila |
| Into, xunoi(?) | Mink, hunēri (?—see marten) |

| | |
|--|---|
| Mistletoe, hâkilasaqam | Outside, himinatce(ʔ) |
| Moccasin, pa, ipaʔ | Owl, teukutcei, hâra |
| Mole, tsabokor, xosanmu | Paddle, hiâsmaigutca |
| Moon, himen älla, † [hîmi-n-ala] | “Pain,” qêhewa |
| Morning, himetasur, himetacus* | To paint, -poxolxol- |
| Morning-star, munoiëta | To pay, -daigu- |
| Mortar, kâ'a | Penis, hi-pel, [hi-bele] |
| Mosquito, tsêlêye | Pepper-wood, watcel |
| Moss, hikiina | Person, teimar, † teimal, [djimar], (teimal) |
| Mother, cido-i, sito-i* | Pestle, teesundan |
| Mother-in-law, teu-makosa | Pigeon, yanunûwa, yanunwa* |
| Mountain, awu, † aumiya, [âma] | To pinch, -puimuk- |
| Mountain-lion, teerâsmu, [teidasmu] | Pine (digger), hatc'hô, hatco, Ena |
| Mouse, pusudr | Pine (sugar), haqêwinda |
| Mouth, ha-wa, † [ha-wa] | Pine (sugar, cones), (haqeu), [haikeu] |
| Mud, lâdido | Pine (yellow), xôsu, hosu* |
| Narrow, xê'iren | Pipe, onîpaʔ |
| Navel, ho-napu | Pitch, âno'a |
| Nest, hemut | To play, -pim- |
| Nephew, micaku-i, himolla-i | To poke, -pat- |
| Nest, hemut | Poor, xodalan |
| New, amaninhu | Potato (wild), sâwu, qâwal, â'asawi, sanna |
| Niece, himolla-i | To pour, -qo- |
| Night, hime, himokni, [himi] | Pretty, siga |
| Nine, punteigu | To pull, -texet-, -texa- |
| No, pâteigun, (pâteikun), pateut* | To push, -whek- |
| To nod, -pukim-, -pupul- | Quail (mountain), pisor, pisol |
| Noon, himoqanan | Quail (valley), qadakin pisor |
| North (west?), xunoida | Quickly, welmu welèni, luredja |
| Nose, ho-xu | Quiver, hâsusakta |
| Nowhere, amaidâtciku | Rabbit (cotton-tail), hîwinolam |
| Oak (black), mûne'Ena, (munena) | Rabbit (jack), hêmoxola, emoholla* |
| Oak (live, hepûitei'ina (hepetcina) 4 | Raccoon, yêto'a, [yeteiwa] |
| Oak (poison), xaxecna | Rain, hitak, itak-ta* |
| Oak (tan-bark), yûtxûina | Rainbow, trexanmatexû |
| Oak (white), yaqâna | Rat, patusu |
| Oats (wild), aqêdêu | Rattle (split), hêmuimektsa |
| Ocean, aquarêda, aka-tceta* | Rattle (cocoon), pâtcxal |
| Old, xawini, hahawin-ta* | Rattlesnake, qâwu, kawu-tcane* |
| Old maid, itridûsku, amâlûlla | To recover, -nook- |
| Old man, itrineûlla | Red, wili'i, wili-t* |
| Old woman, cunhûlla | Redwood, mutumana |
| One, pun, p'un | To remember, -xutaxun- |
| Onion, sâpxi | Rich, hitam, -hada- |
| Orphan, tcisumula | Right-hand, hisi-dêni |
| Otter, êxoitcêi, [haiokwoitce] | |

| | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Ripe, hōmat | Six, p'unteibum, p'untepom |
| River, aqaqot | Skin, hi-pxadji |
| To roast, -maq- | Skirt (woman's), hiëktcandëu(?) |
| Robin, srito, citra | ōxwai |
| Roe, hi-txaiyi | Skunk, pxicira, [pīcui] |
| To roll, -k- | Sky, teēmuḥ |
| Root, ātei | Slave, habukēdëu |
| Rope, atexundë | To sleep, -po- |
| Rough, nodaduhni | To slide, -sâp-, -sâpho- |
| Round, nolle | Sling, hi-migutea |
| To rub, -xiaxe- | To slip, -klu- |
| To run, -mum- | Slowly, xowēnila |
| | Small, ulëta |
| Salmon, ūmul, omul* | Smoke, qē |
| Salmon (dog), (djeida) | To smoke, -pa- |
| Salmon (hook-bill), (biteoqolmu) | Smoke-hole, āpoteitpidaktea |
| Salmon (red), masomas | Smooth, lūyuiñ |
| Salmon (steelhead), (acotno-umul) | Snail, nixetai |
| Salmon (summer), (umul-teani) | Snake (king), mamusi |
| Salmon (dried, crumbled), tsamma | To sneeze, -ninxu- |
| Salmon-river people, hūnomitcku | To snore, -xâtudu |
| Salmon-trout, heetsama | Snow, hipūi, hipue* |
| Salt, aqi, aki* | Snowshoes, hipui ipa, panna |
| Sand, amayāqa | Soft, lo'oren |
| Sarvice-berry, teimiana | Something, pāteeamkū |
| Saw, hi-uxigutea | Son, oëlla-i, oalla-i* |
| To say, -pa, -patei- | Son-in-law, itcumda |
| Scorpion (?—see cray-fish), teisitein, | Soot, nagotpi |
| txol | Sour, qoiyōin |
| To scowl, -suta- | South, qadaida |
| To scrape, -xēdo- | Spear, hāsunwedëu |
| To scratch, -kirkir-, -xolgo- | Spear (fish), hohankutëu, altar |
| To see, -mam- | |
| To sell, -teiwa- | Spider, kwanpūteikta |
| Seven, xākuspom, qāqicpom | Spider-web, kō'okoda |
| Shade, qatrāta | To spill, -qox- |
| To shake, -lucluc- | To spit, -haihu- |
| Shallow, txodëhunmi | To split, -bis- |
| Shaman, teōwu, (teū) | Spoon, wēcnaqalne, sāpxel |
| Sharp, cupui | Spotted, lëtretrë |
| Shell, ëxèu | A spring, cidūlla, (aqa-xatsa) |
| Shell (conical), teanapa | Spring, kisumatei, kicumatei* |
| To shiver, -nini- | Square, hoqatā'eni |
| To shoot, -pū- | To squeeze, -tei- |
| Short, xūitculan | Squirrel (gray), akwëcur, |
| Shoulder, hi-ta | [akuiteut] |
| To sing, -tak- | Squirrel (ground), ta'ira |
| Sister (older), antxasa-i | To stand, -hoa-, -hâ- |
| Sister-in-law, maxā-i | Star, munu, mono* |
| To sit, -teit-, -wo-, -pat- | Star (falling), munūtumni |

| | |
|---|--|
| To stay, -wo-, -wom- | Tongue, hi-pen† |
| To steal, -xadj- | To touch, -na- |
| Stepfather, matrida | Trail, hissa |
| To stink, -mitexu- | Tree, āt'a (†), atsa* |
| Stone, qā'a, kaa* | Trout, trāwel, (tcawal)† |
| To stop, -txa- | Tump-line, himā'idan, kāsusū |
| Straight, hādohan | To twist, -pxel- |
| To strike, -teut- | Two, xoku, qāqū |
| Striped, qisōi, ēxaduqisman | Uncle (m. or p.), magola-i |
| Strong, pala | Under, teumu(†), wisē§ |
| Sturgeon, (umul-itcawa) | Unripe, xomanat |
| Sucker, hēteespula | Up, (-tso, wiemu) |
| Summer, ahānmatei, ahenmatei* | Urine, e-que |
| Sun, alla,† ūlla, [asi-n-ala] | Vagina, e-qā |
| Sunflower-seed, teintcēi | Valley, hitxāeni (†), maiteitcam* |
| Sunrise, ēxatatkun | Village, āwitat, teimāretanama† |
| Sunset, hīwohunmi | To vomit, -haima- |
| To swallow, -sek- | To wake, -suhni- |
| Swallow, tumtitēlla | Warrior, hētewat |
| Swamp, hixut, cita | To wash, -pok- |
| Sweat-house, matta | To watch, -xota |
| Sweet, hiqūini | Water, ā'ka, āqa, aka* |
| To swim, -xū- | Water-fall, āqamateitsxol |
| Table, hāma'anaksia | Water-ousel, pāsindjaxola |
| Tail, aqūye | We, nāteidut, nōutowa, teigule |
| To talk, -kō-, -gō- | Weak, lāpukni |
| Tattoo, hekotēu | Wedge, tranper |
| To tear, -tra-, -xata- | Wet, cidji'in |
| Tears, hu-so'xa | What, pātei, qātei |
| Teeth, hu-tsu† | When, qāsukmatei |
| Ten, sānpun | Where, qōmalu, (qosi) |
| That, pāmut, pāut, pāt | To whip, -nuwec- |
| Thick, pepe'in | To whistle, -xū- |
| Thief, ixagutca | White, mēne'i, mēne* |
| Thigh, hi-tcipe | White-man, teimtūkta, (djemduakta) |
| Thin, tqē'erin | Whiskey, (apu-n-aqa) |
| This, qēwot, qāt | Who, qomas, komas,* awilla |
| Thou, mamut | Why, kosidaji |
| Three, xodai, hotai | Wide, xerē'in |
| To throw, -su-, -sux- | Widow, lasa |
| Thumb, hi-teitceta* | Widow (remarried), yapada§ |
| Thunder, tremūmūta, trēmamutcēu, [djememoxtee], teimumuta* | Widower, mamutxū (†) |
| To tie, -wuqam- | Wife (my), puntsar-iē, (punsal-i), puncar-hi* |
| Tinder, hauna | Wild-cat, tagnir, tragnil, hicūmaxuteūlla |
| Tobacco, ūwu† | Willow, pāte'xu |
| Today, kimāse, asse† | |
| Tomorrow, himēda, himēta† | |
| Tongs, isekdādiu | |

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Wind, ikosē-ta, ikosiwa* | Wood-tick, tsina |
| Window, hisusamdaksia | To work, -pu- |
| Wing, utū,† hu-tu | Worm, hēmuta |
| To wink, -raprap-, -laplap- | |
| Winter, asōdi, asuti* | |
| Wintun, pātexuai | |
| To wish, -texūū, -teai- (?) | To yawn, -xaca- |
| Wiyot(†), aqatrēduwaktada | Ye, qākule |
| Wiyot at Arcata, qataiduwaktada | Yellowhammer, tsēyamen, triyamen, |
| Wolf, citeiwi, siteiwi* | (tciaman) |
| Woman, puntsar | Yellowjacket, xōwu |
| Wood, pusūa† | Yes, himō,† [(himō, hiye)] |
| Woodpecker, konanatei, teuredhu, | Yesterday, mō'a, moo* |
| (dedima), [dirima], (teuleti) | Young, āmanitri, amaniti-ta |

CHIMARIKO-ENGLISH.

The alphabetical order is that of the letters in English. On account of some uncertainty as regards surd and sonant stops, b, d, and g have been treated as if they read p, t, and k. The same holds true of dj and tc. For similar reasons q has been put in the same place in the alphabet as k, and c as s. The sound of â apparently being nearer open o than a, these two characters have also been treated as one in alphabetizing. Ts and tc may be variants of one sound; tr, in many cases at least, is not t plus r, but a sound similar to tc, with which it often alternates. These three sounds have therefore been united. Glottal catches have been disregarded in alphabetizing. The order of the characters used is thus as follows:

| | |
|---------|----------------|
| a | p, b |
| e | r |
| h | s, c |
| i | t, d |
| k, q, g | tc, tr, ts, dj |
| l | u |
| m | w |
| n | x |
| o, â | y |

Words denoting parts of the body are given with the prefix of the third person. Terms of relationship usually show the suffix of the first person. Wherever the derivation or structure seemed reasonably certain it has been indicated by hyphenation.

| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| -a-, to go. See also -wam-, -waum-, -wawum-, -owa- | āqa, ā'ka, aka,* water |
| ā'a, aa,* deer | āqa-qot, river |
| ā'ē-no, aa-nok,* elk | āqarēda, aka-teeta,' ocean |
| ā'asawi, wild potato. See also | āqa-mateitsxol, water-fall, |
| sāwu, qāwal, sanna | ("water-dust") |
| ahān-matci, ahen-matci,* summer | āqa-treduwaktada, Wiyot |
| [(ahateu)], dentalia. See also | sitjiu-āqai, Hoboken |
| hateidri, t'ödödöhi | āqa-xatsa, water-cold, spring |
| | [agaxtcea-dji], a place name |

- akamina ā'pu, fire-place
 aqēd-ēu, wild oats
 aqi,† salt
 āqi-tcē, [aiki-dje], Salt Ranch
 aqūye, tail
 akwēcur, [akuiteut], gray squirrel
 alla,† ūlla, [asi-n-ala], sun
 -ama-, -ma-, to eat
 hām-eu, food
 -ame-mtu-, to be hungry
 h-āma'a-na-ksia, table
 ama, [ama], country, earth, ground
 mountain
 ama-yāqa, sand
 ama-idāteiku, nowhere. Cf.
 patcikun, no.
 ami-texamut, earthquake
 [ama-tcele-dji], place name
 amālūlla, old maid
 amani-nhu, new
 āmani-tri, amani-ti-ta,* young
 [amimamuco], place name
 (amitsihe-dji), [amitsepi], village
 at foot of Hupa Valley
 āno'a, pitch
 anōqai, amoka,* egg
 antxala-i, cousin
 antxa-sa-i, older sister
 -ap-, to dismount, get off a horse
 apenmaspoi, eddy
 ā'pu, apu,* fire
 apū'-ēna, fire-drill. Also hātsiktea
 apū'-na-txui, fire-drill base
 āpo-teitpid-aktea, smoke-hole
 (apu-n-aqa), fire-water, whiskey
 āptum, fog
 apxante-olla, fox. Also teiteamūlla,
 haura
 -ar-, to climb
 assē,† [asi], day, today
 asōdi, asuti,* winter
 asōdi-wunki, autumn
 (acotno-umul), winter-salmon,
 steelhead
 -at-, to hit
 at-ar, fish-spear. Also hohankutēu
 āt'a, atsa,* tree
 atanisuk, sifting basket
 atrèi, flower. Cf. next
 ātei, root. Cf. last
 atcib-uksa, arrow-flaker
 āteugi-djē, Bennett's, Forks of
 Salmon
 atexū, fish-net
 atexundē, rope
 atexumni, dry
 āwa,† house
 awi-tat, village
 -awè-, angry
 awilla, who. See qōmas
 awu,† aumiya, mountain. See ama
 awu-t,* give
 axac-na, chaparral. Also
 puktea'-ēna
 axād-ēu, cats-cradle. Cf. ahateu,
 dentalia, which were strung
 (axanteibot), frog. See qātus
 ē, today. See also kimase
 ēxatatkun, sunrise
 elo-ta,* (elo-xni), hot
 eso-ta,* eco, cold
 ēta, (hitat), many
 ēt-xol-na, [hetxolna], (hetexol-na),
 madrone
 exatatkun, sunrise.
 ēxoi-tcēi, [haiokwoitce], otter
 ha'amputni, ladder
 hā'-eu, basket (acorn-mortar)
 hahawin-ta,* old
 -hai-hu-, to spit
 -hai-ma-, to vomit
 haim-uksa, ham-ukteu,* axe
 -hak-, to bring. See also -hek-
 -hak- (?), to give
 (haq-eu), [haik-eu], sugar pine
 cone
 haq-ēw-ina, sugar pine
 -ham-, to carry. See also -mai-,
 -qi-, -xū-
 hamaida-dji, [amaita-dji],
 Hawkin's Bar
 hamamē-gutca, fish-line, hook
 hamut, he
 haōmi-ūksa, (haamiaktca), basket-
 hat
 habukēd-ēu, slave
 -hada-, rich. See also hitam
 hādoha-n, straight
 hatcen, atci,* ice
 hate'hō, digger-pine (cone or nut)
 hatco'ēna, digger pine

- hatciinar-utsa, bed
 hatcidri, dentalia. See also
 t'ödödöhi, ahateu
 hätcugi-djè, South Fork of Trinity
 River
 hau-na, tinder
 haura,* fox. See apxantcolla,
 teitcamulla
 hawēdam, [awetama], (awatama-
 xni), cloud
 hawu-nna, (āwu-na), grass
 haxa-ktca, deer-trap
 -hayaqom-, to meet
 heetsama, salmon-trout
 -hek-, to bring. See also -hak-
 hekot-ēu, tattoo
 hēmox-ola, emoh-olla,* jackrabbit
 hēmuime-ktca, split-stick rattle
 hemut, nest
 hēmuta, worm
 hemūdadjā-n, bitter
 -hen-, to lick. See also -pen-
 hepūitei 'ina, (hepetci-na), live oak
 hecigo, hazel
 -hedo- (?), to dip up
 hētespula, sucker
 hētewat, warrior
 hēuma-ktca, grass-game
 -hi-, to burn. See also -maa-
 hiāsmāi-gutca, paddle
 hiēkteand-eu(?), woman's skirt.
 See also öxwai
 [hiikda-dji], a place name
 hikī-ina, moss
 hiqūi-ni, sweet
 himā'idan, tump-line. See also
 kāsusū
 himamto, green; (imameu), blue;
 himamsu-t,* green, blue, yellow
 hime, [himi], night
 himen ālla, hime-n-alla,*
 himi-n-ala, moon
 himē-da, himē-ta,* tomorrow
 hime-tasur, hime-tacus,* morning
 himok,* evening
 himok-ni, night
 himoq-anan, noon
 himi-santo, (himi-samtu),
 "devil," sorcerer
 himēaqu-tce, Big Creek
 himi-gutca, sling
 himimi-teēi, grouse
 himimdu-ktca, red lizard
 himō,† [(himō)], yes
 [(hiye)], yes
 himolla-i, brother's child, father's
 sister's child, grandson
 hipūi, hipue,* snow
 hipui ipa, snowshoes. See also
 panna
 hipuna-ktca, button
 hissa, trail
 [hisaa-da-mu], a place name
 hisaē-mu, Weaverville
 hi-ca'amatat, belt
 hisi-kni, hisi-ta,* (hisi-ki), good
 hisi-dēni, right hand
 [hisitsai-dje], a place name
 hisūsamda-ksia, window
 hitak, itak-ta,* rain
 hitam, rich. See also -hada-
 hitūtai-dji, Willow Creek
 hitxaiyi, roe
 hitcinemnem, dragon-fly
 hitcolam, full
 hutcolanan, empty
 hitcu-n, hitcū-Eni, long, high
 xū-iteu-lan, short
 hiteumūdad-ehu, cup and ball game
 hitexāeni (?), valley
 hitexū, [hitchu], Hupa (person)
 hitewāmai, Hupa (place)
 hiūxi-gutca, saw
 hixut, swamp. See also cita
 -hoa-, hā, to stand
 hōa-cta-xoli-k, lame
 ho'-ēu, board
 hohankut-ēu, fish spear. See also
 atar
 hoqatā'Eni, square
 hākilasaqam, mistletoe
 hōmat, ripe
 xomanat, unripe
 hāp-ēu, acorn-soup
 [(hobe-ta-dji)], Hostler village,
 Hupa, where an annual acorn
 ceremony is held
 hāra, owl. See also teukuktcēi
 hāsunwed-ēu, spear
 hāsusa-cta, [(hose-ktca)], quiver
 hotai, xodai, three
 hotai-tci-pum, xodaiteibum, eight

- hatsir, to make fire
 hâtsi-ktca, fire-drill. See also
 apû'Ena
 hâtsi-na-ktca, cedar
 hâdi-na-ktco-hâda, Cedar Flat
 hoxu-dji, a place name
 hunoini,* Trinity river; [hunoini-
 wam], South Fork of the Trin-
 ity
 hūnomitcku, Salmon-river people
 -hus-, -xuc-, -kos-, -xu, to blow
 husū, hornet
 hutatat, cane
 hutculan (?), low. See hitcolam,
 full, hutcolanan, empty
 [hutsutsaie-dje], a place name
 huwita-dji, a place name

 (ihitei), shelled acorns
 imimu-t,* to love; -mi'inan, to like
 [imikot], my friend
 -imu-, to hold
 inōōkta,§ heel
 ipūit-ella, bluebird
 isekdād-iu, tongs
 -itri-, to grow
 itri, itci,* man
 itri-lla, itci-la,† boy
 itri-nc-ūlla, old man
 itri-dūsku, old maid
 itri-xai-d-ēu, itci-haitie,* chief
 itci-la-i, itci-lla-i,* father
 [(iteikut)], a place name
 itkasēl-xun, hitkesel-sel-ta,*
 lightning
 [(iteui)], a place name
 iteumda, son-in-law
 [itsatsatmi-dji], a place name
 itexaposta, Dyer's Ranch

 -k-, to roll
 qā'a, kaa, stone
 kā'a, mortar
 qā-ku, arrow-point
 e-qā, vagina
 [qaetrata], a place name
 [kaimandot], a place name
 qaiyausmū-dji, Forks of New River
 kakesmilla,§ civet-cat
 qā'kule, ye
 kalūwē,§ spoon basket

 qāpam, marten. See also xunēri
 qapu-na, deer-brush
 -kat-, to break. See also -tcex,
 -xōtōs-
 qadai-da, south
 qatai-duwaktada, Wiyot at Arcata
 qatrāta, shade
 qāwal, wild potato. See also sāwu,
 ā'asawi, sanna
 qawu, kawu-tcane,* rattlesnake
 -kē-, to hear
 hu-kē-nan, deaf
 qē, smoke
 -qē-, to die
 qē-hewa, "pain," magic cause
 of disease
 qēpxami-tcēi, fisher
 qērek-tce, humming-bird. See also
 trēlekteēi
 qēwot, this. See qāt
 kē-ntcuk, here, this side of stream
 hi-ki,† neck
 -qi-, to carry. See also -mai-,
 -ham-, -xū-
 -kim-, to hang, to float (?)
 kimāse, today. See also ē
 kīpi'-ina, [kimpi-na], fir
 -kir-, to scratch. See also -xolgo-
 qis-ōi, exadu-qis-mam, striped
 kismus, crane. See also kâsar
 kisu-matei, kicu-matei,* spring
 -klu-, to slip; also to fall, for which
 see also -man-, -mo-
 -kma-, to comb
 -ko-, to kill
 -kō-, -gō-, -kokō-, to talk, to call
 [kokomātxami], a place name
 -kos-, -xuc-, -hus-, -xu, to blow
 i-kos-ēta, i-kos-iwa,* wind
 -qo-, to pour
 -qox-, to spill
 qoido, dew
 qō-mas,† who. See also awilla
 qā-tci, what. See also pā-tci
 qō-malu, (qo-si), where
 qā-iteu, how long, how far
 ko-sidaji, why
 qā-sukmatei, when
 qā-tala, how many
 qā-tramdun, how often

- qō'a, beetle
 kō'okoda, spider-web
 qâqū, xoku, two
 qōigu, qūgu, four
 qâqic-pom, xâkus-pom, seven
 -komat- (?), to kneel
 qōmma, grass-seed
 qo'ōmēniwiuda, New River City
 konona-teēi, woodpecker. See
 also teuredhu
 -koru-, to bend
 kâs-ar, kisum, crane
 kâsusū, tump-line. See also
 himā'idan
 qât, qēwot, this
 kâteu, clover; kotcu,* "grass"
 qâtus, frog
 kōwa, coals
 qoiyō-in, sour
 kumite-in,* all
 e-que, urine
 -kut-, to keep
 -kut-, to cut. See also -lolo-
 kwanpūteikta, spider
 -kxol-, to dent. See also -tran-
 -laplap, -raprap-, to wink
 lasa, widow
 lāpuk-ni, weak
 lē-, to hiccup
 lētretrē, spotted
 -lolo-, to cut. See also -kut-
 lālo, lalo,* goose
 -lot-, to mash
 lo'or-en, soft
 lād'ido, mud
 lū-, lui-t,* to drink
 -lul-, -lurim-, -lus-, to drop
 luredja, quickly. See also welmu
 -lucluc-, to shake
 lūyu-in, smooth
 hi-ma,† hear, hair. Cf. himāidan
 ma-mut, thou
 -maa-, to burn. See also -hi-
 -maq-, to roast
 -mai-, to carry. See also -ham-,
 -qi-, -xū-
 hi-māidan, tump-line
 maitra, flat, river-bench
 maitcitcam,* valley
 maidja-hūteula, Yocumville
 maidpa-sōre, Thomas', a place
 maidja-teū-djē, Cecilville
 maido-lēda, Jordan's
 maito-tōu-dji, Summerville
 maitro-ktada, Hyampom people
 (maidjandela), [maidjandera],
 teitindosa, coyote
 -maka-, to dream
 mago-la-i, (my uncle, maternal or
 paternal
 tcu-maku, father-in-law
 teu-mako-sa, mother-in-law
 maxā-i, sister-in-law
 mālai'-i, (my) aunt, (maternal)
 -mam-, to see
 -mat-, to find
 -mamat-, alive
 mamsūidji, a place
 mamusi, king-snake
 mamutxū (?), widower
 -man-, to fall. See also -mo-, -klu-
 masola-i, maisola-i, daughter
 masomas, red salmon
 mata'-i, clean
 matta, sweat-house
 matrepa, mateitsxol, dust
 matripaxa, ashes
 matrida, step-father
 mateiya, acorn-soaking place
 mèku-i, brother-in-law
 mēne'-i, mene,* white
 men-drahē, disk beads
 hi-mi,† feather. See also hu-tu
 hi-mina, back
 hi-mina-tce, behind, outside
 micaku-i, nephew
 -mitei-, to kick, with foot
 -mitexu-, to stink
 -mo-, to fall. See also -man-, -klu-
 mō'a, moo,* yesterday
 hi-mosni, hi-musni,* [hi-muclei],
 forehead
 -mu-, to fix
 -mum-, to run
 [(muni)], black-oak acorn
 mūne'-Ena, (mune-na), black oak
 munu, mono,* star
 muno-iēta, morning-star
 munū-tumni, falling star

- mūsaswa, musotri, mosotce,* fly
 mūtala-i, maternal aunt
 mūtumma, motuma,* canoe
 mutuma-na, redwood
 [(mutuma-dji)], Captain John's
 village at Hupa, which is
 reached only by boat
 -na-, to touch
 nagotpi, soot
 ho-napu, navel
 nāteidut, we. See also noutowa,
 teigule
 [(neradji)], village at head of
 Hupa valley
 hi-ni, brain
 -nini-, to shiver
 -ninxu-, to sneeze
 nīxētai,§ snail
 nolle, round
 hi-wi-nollom, rabbit (cotton-tail)
 no-mateci,* autumn
 -nook-, to recover
 nodaduh-ni, rough
 nōut, I
 nōutowa, we. See also nateidut,
 teigule
 -nuwee, to whip
 o-ēlla-i, o-alla-i,* my son
 ōēl-ūlla, bachelor. See also
 puntsariēcku
 onīpa,† pipe. Cf. -pa-, to smoke
 (opuma-ktca), storage basket
 -owa, to go
 -owa-tok, to come
 ōxwai, woman's skirt. See also
 hiētcandeu
 -pa-, to smoke. Cf. onīpa, pipe
 -pa-, to say
 pa, ipa,† moccasins
 pa-nna, snowshoes. See also
 hīpui ipa
 paktō'ēna, alder
 paktōna-dji, baktuna-dji,
 Patterson's
 pala, strong
 pāmut, pāut, pāt, that
 pāci, leached acorn-meal
 pāsindjax-ola, water-ousel
 -pat-, to poke
 -pat-, to sit. See also -tcit-, -wo-
 pātei, what. See also qātei
 pātee-amkū, something
 pātei-gun, (pātei-kun), no
 pātei-mam (?), everything
 pateut,* no
 pātexal, cocoon rattle
 pāte'xu, willow
 patexūai, Wintun
 patusu, rat
 pāut, pāmut, pāt, that
 hi-pel, [hi-bele], penis
 pēlo'a, black ant
 -pen-, -hen-, to lick
 hi-pen,† tongue
 pepe'-in, thick
 pētexol, hawk. See also yēkyēk
 pī'a, fat (noun)
 -pim-, to play
 pip-ila, chipmunk. See also wisilla
 -bis-, to split
 pis-or, pis-ol, quail
 pititexun, dried meat
 (biteoqolmu), hook-bill salmon
 p'qēlē'-in, crooked
 hu-po,† foot
 hu-po-ckun, footless
 -po-, to dig. See also -tsik-
 -po-, to sleep
 -pok-, to wash
 poq-ela, cooking basket
 pola, alone
 bolaxot, (bulaxut), finger-nail
 pāt, pamut, pāut, that
 pādju, [poteu], grizzly bear
 -potpot-, to boil. See also -dum-
 powa, open-work tray basket
 -poxolxol-, to paint
 -pu-, to work
 -pū-, to shoot
 -puimuk-, to pinch
 punuslala, by and by
 -pukim-, -pupul, to nod
 puktea'ēna, chaparral. See also
 axacna
 pun, p'un, one
 p'un-teibum, p'untepom, six
 pun-teigu, nine
 pun-drāsut, eleven. See also
 saānpun punlasut
 p'unna, tray basket

- punts-ar, woman
 puntsar-ië, puntcar-hi,* (punsal-i),
 my wife
 puntsari-ëeku, bachelor. See
 also öelüllä
 punts-üla, puntc-alla,* girl
 -pupul-, -pukim-, to nod
 punuslala, by and by
 pusü,† wood
 pusudr, mouse
 -putata, to clap hands
 (hu-puteu-n-xame), [ha-budju-n-
 xami], o-puteu-n-hama,* beard
 hi-pxa, intestines
 hi-pxadji, hi-patci,* skin, bark
 i-pxadji'-ina, trü-pxadji'-ina,
 maple ("bark-tree")
 -pxel-, to twist
 pxicira, [picui], skunk

 sa'a, arrow
 hi-sam, hi-cam,* ear
 -cem-, to listen
 -samxu-, to dance
 hi-samqu-ni, drum
 sanna, wild potato. See also säwu,
 qāwal, ā'asawi
 sangen, (cānkeen), burden basket
 sānpun, ten
 saānpun punlasut, eleven. See
 also pundrásut
 hu-sa'antcēi, (hu-santcei), u-santce,*
 heart
 säpxel, spoon. See also węc-naqalne
 säpxi, onion
 säwu, wild potato. See also qāwal,
 ā'asawi, sanna
 -sax-, to cough
 -saxutxut, to breathe
 -sek-, to swallow
 -cekta-, to make fire. See also hatsir
 hu-ci, liver; (husi), u-si,* breast
 -sik-, to drive
 siga, pretty
 cira, ci'ila, si'lēye, sirha,† [cīda],
 woman's breast, milk
 cilēi-teūmuni, arm-pit
 [ciloki], a place
 -sim-, accompany
 teu-simda, daughter-in-law
 cibui, awl
 cita, swamp. See also hixut

 citimāā-dji, Big Bar
 cido'-i, sito-i,* (my) mother
 cītra, srito, robin
 citrqi, sōtri, sitsö,* blood
 sōdrè-, to bleed
 cite-ella, site-ela,† dog
 cite-iwi, site-iwi, wolf
 cidji'-in, wet
 sitjiwāqai, Hoboken
 cid-üllä, a spring
 sāmu, log
 -sāp-, sāpho, to slide
 hu-sot, hu-cot,* eye
 hu-sot-nimi, eyebrow
 hu-sunsa, eyelashes
 hu-so'-xa, tears
 sötē'i, blue (?—cf. blood)
 -su-, -sux-, to throw
 -suhni-, to wake
 eul-, cur, long ago
 sulhim, abalone
 -sum-, to follow
 hi-suma,* face
 hi-cum-axutcuulla, wild-cat
 cun-hüllä, old woman
 cupui, sharp
 -suta-, to scowl
 [suta-dji], a place
 -sux-, -su-, to throw

 -dah-, born
 -daigu-, to pay
 ta'ira, ground squirrel
 -tak, to sing
 tagnir, treagnil, wild-cat
 takteel, lizard
 t'amina, flea
 tamini, by and by
 t'amitexul, red ant
 hu-tananundjatun, cheek
 tanatci, comb
 hi-taxai, tahalwi,* leaf
 (tabum), again
 (dedima), [dirima], woodpecker.
 See also konananteēi, teuredhu,
 teuleti
 tètèu-na, fern
 tirha,* (di'la), bird
 tira-cela, tēila-tcele, blackbird
 dilamda, [diramda], long ago
 tqē'er-in, thin

- tono'-i, dull
 -tot-, to bury
 t'ödödöhi, hateidri, dentalia. See also ahateu
 -tu-, to fly
 hu-tu, u-tü,† feather, wing.
 See also hi-mi
 -tudu-, to jump
 -dum-, to boil. See also -potpot-
 tumtit-ëlla, swallow
 t'ummi, armor. See also teitxa
 -txa-, to stop
 hi-txan, hi-tal,* leg
 hi-txanimaxa, [hi-txanemaxa],
 knee
 hi-txan-lède, hi-kxan-lède, ankle
 -txat-, to hide
 -txax-, abandon. Cf. -taxt-
 txol, trxol, scorpion (‡), crayfish.
 See also teisitein
 txodéhunmi, shallow
 hu-txun, bone
 hi-tra, hi-ta, (hi-tea),* hand, finger,
 arm, shoulder
 tranéhë, tsānehe, five
 hi-teanka,* fingers
 hi-tanpu, [hi-teanpu], hi-teanpo,*
 arm
 hi-tei-teeta, thumb
 -tra-, to tear. See also -xara-
 -trahu-, to know
 -teai-(‡), -texü-, to wash
 treagnil, tagnir, wild-cat
 tsamila, butterfly
 tsamma, dried crumbled salmon
 -tran-, to dent. See also -kxol-
 tcanapa, conical shell
 tranmi-da, downwards
 tranqōma, Hyampom
 tranper, wedge
 tsabok-or, mole
 tsāt, fish-trap, weir
 tsādadak, king-fisher
 tsat-ur, grasshopper
 -teatei-, to chew
 tsāwa, lamprey eel
 trāwel, [teawal],* trout
 (djāwidjau), eagle. See also wemer
 teaxi, hard
 (djeida), dog-salmon
 -teex-, to break. See also -kat-,
 -xötös-
 teëlē-i, teeli-t,* black
 teelē'-in, dirty
 trēlekteëi, qērektce, humming-bird
 tsēlēye, mosquito
 tseli-na, gooseberry
 [(teem-da)], across stream
 tcēmu,† sky
 -teemux-, to clear (weather)
 tremū-muta, trēma-mute-ëu,
 teimu-muta,* thunder
 teem-xate-ila, bat
 tcēn-eu, acorn-bread
 teerāsmu, [teidasmu], mountain-lion
 teesundan, pestle
 teçeteçi, buzzard
 trèwut, tceu-t,* (djewu), large
 trexanmatexü, rainbow
 -tei-, to squeeze
 teim-ar, teim-al, (teim-al),
 [djim-ar], person, Indian
 (teim-al-iko), Chimariko
 teimār-etanama,† village
 teim-tükta, (djem-duakta), white-
 man
 teimia-na, sarvice-berry
 tsina, wood-tick
 -tsik-, to dig. See also -po-
 teigule, we. See also nateidut,
 noutowa
 teintxap-mu, [djundxap-mu], Big
 Flat
 hi-teipe, thigh
 teirhuntol, buckskin
 teisamra, teisamrha,* (djicamla),
 [djisamara], black bear
 teisili, teeselli,* teididi, knife
 teisitein, scorpion. See also txol,
 trxol
 teisum-ula, orphan
 -teit-, to sit. See also -wo-, -pat-
 teitaba, teitaha,* lake
 teitra, Trinity River
 teitindōsa, coyote. Cf. teitcam-ulla,
 fox
 teitxa, armor. See also t'ummi
 -teiwa-, to sell
 teitcam-ulla, fox. See also apxante-
 olla, haura. Cf. teitindōsa,
 coyote

- teitea-na, manzanita
 teitean-ma, [djitcaan-ma], Taylor Flat
 teitei-āqai, manzanita-cider
 teitexöi, elder tree
 triyamen, tsēyamen, (teiaman), yellowhammer
 (tso), up. See also wiemu
 tsokokotce, bluejay
 teolidasum, [djalintasun, djalitasom], New River
 teōwu, (teūu), shaman
 hu-tsu, u-tsu,* teeth
 -teuk- (?), to drown
 teukutcēi, owl. See also hāra
 -teum-, to marry
 teumidan, happy (?), heavy (?)
 teumu (?), under
 tsuna, chin. See also hu-wetu
 tsuna-na, digging-stick
 hu-trun-èu, (hu-teen-eu), u-teuniwa, belly
 trūpxadji'-ina, ipxadji'-ina, maple
 teuredhu, (teuleti), woodpecker. See also konanantcēi, dedima, dirima
 -teut-, to strike
 tsūdameda-dji, [djidamada-dji], Burnt Ranch
 teuxunmin (?), deep
 -texa-, -texet-, to pull. See also -texet-
 texal-èn, light
 -texet-, texa, to pull
 trxol, txol, cray-fish, scorpion (?)
 -texua-, to fight
 (texupun), acorn. See also yutri
 -texūu, -teai-, to wish
 ulēta, small
 ulūida-i, (my) paternal aunt
 ūmul, omul,* salmon
 (umul-itcawa), sturgeon ("large-salmon")
 (umul-teani), summer salmon
 ūwu,† tobacco
 ha-wa,† mouth
 wai-da, east; (wai-da), up-stream
 -wak, -watak-, to come
 wa'la, wa'da, crow
 -wam-, -waum-, -wawum-, -a-, to go
 -watak-, -wak, to come
 watcel, pepper-wood
 hi-wax, excrement
 welmu, quickly. See also luredja
 wemer, eagle. See also djāwidjau
 -wentso-, to gamble
 wenteu, cradle
 wèboqām, floor
 ho-wec, antlers, horn
 wēc-naqalne, spoon
 wēssa, door
 hu-wētu, chin. See also tsuna
 -whék-, to push
 hi-wi, anus
 (wiemu), up. See also tso
 wili'ī, wili-t,* red
 wisè-da, down-stream
 wisilla, chipmunk (?), beaver (?).
 See also pipila
 -wo-, to cry
 -wo-, -wom-, to sit, to stay. See also -teit-, -pat-
 hi-woanad-atsa, chair
 hi-wo-hunmi, sunset
 wowoin, to bark
 -wuqam-, to tie
 -xai-, to make
 xamoa-na, blackberry
 xar-ūlla, hal-alla,* (xal-ala), baby
 -xaca-, to yawn
 -xata-, to tear. See also -tra-
 -xadj-, to steal
 i-xa-gutea, thief
 (xatsa), cold
 (xaumta-dji), a village in Hupa, below the Ferry
 [xawaamai], Mad River
 xaxa-teèi, duck; hahatce,* mallard duck
 xaxec-na, poison oak
 xawin, caterpillar
 xawi-ni, old
 xē'ir-en, xerē'-in, narrow (?), wide (?)
 -xēdo-, to scrape
 -xiaxe-, to rub
 xoku, qāqū, two
 xāku-spom, qāqi-epom, seven
 -xolgo-, to scratch. See also -kirkir-
 -xomē-, to forget
 xāpun-èu, bow

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| [xoraxdu], a place | xunëri, hunëri, marten (?), mink (?). |
| xösu, hosu,* yellow pine | See also qāpam |
| xodai, hotai, three | xunoi-da, west (?), north (?) |
| xodai-teipum, hotai-teipum, eight | -xutaxun-, to remember |
| xodalan, poor. Cf. -hada-, rich | xutexu, hemlock |
| -xötös-, to break. See also -kat-, -tcex- | (xuwetci), deer (buck). Cf. -wec, antlers |
| -xätudu, to snore | yaqā-na, white oak |
| xowën-ila, slowly | [yaqana-dji], a place |
| xöwu, yellow-jacket | yanunüwa, yanunwa,* pigeon |
| -xu-, -xuc-, -hus-, -kos-, to blow | -yatei-, iatei-mut,* to laugh |
| -xü-, to whistle | yëkyëk, hawk. See also pëtexol |
| -xü-, to swim | yëtö'a, [yeteiwa], raccoon |
| -xü-, to carry. See also -mai-, -ham-, -qi- | (yetcawe), deer (doe) |
| ho-xu, nose | yōma, unleached acorn-meal |
| -xu-, fat (adj.) | yonot, buckeye |
| -xuc-, -xu-, -hus-, -kos-, to blow | yūmate, gopher |
| xüiteu-lan, short | yütri, acorn |
| xuli, holi-ta,* bad | yütxüi-na, tan-bark oak |
| xuli-teni, left-hand | yūura, dove |

PLACE NAMES.

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Taylor Flat | tciteanma [djitcanma] |
| Cedar Flat | hādinakteohāda |
| Burnt Ranch | tsūdamdadjī [djidāmadadjī] |
| Hawkin's Bar | hamaidadjī [amaitadjī] |
| Dyer's ranch | itexaposta |
| Patterson's | paktōnadjī [baktunadjī] |
| Thomas' | maidjasöre |
| Forks of New River | qaiyausmüdjī |
| New River City | qo'ömëniwinda |
| Willow Creek | hītütāidjī |
| Big Bar | citimāādjī |
| Weaverville | hisaēmu |
| New River | teolidasum [djalintasun, djalitasom] |
| Big Creek | hīmēaquatee |
| Trinity River | tcitra |
| Hoboken | sitjiwāqai |
| South Fork Trinity River | hāteugidjē |
| Summerville | maitotōudjī |
| Jordan's | maidolēda |
| Cecilville | maidjateūdjē |
| Yocumville | maidjahūtecula |
| Bennett's | ātengidjē |
| Hyampom | tranqōma |
| Big Flat | tcintxapmu [djundxapmu] |
| Salt Ranch | āqiteē [aikidje] |
| Mad River | [xawaamai] |

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|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Hupa, village at foot of valley | (amitsihedji) [amitsepi] |
| Hupa, village below Ferry | [hobetadji] |
| Hupa, Hostler village | (xaumtadji) |
| Hupa, Captain John's village | [(mutuma-dji)] |
| Hupa, village at head of valley | [(neradji)] |

Unidentified place names mentioned by Doctor Tom to Dr. A. L. Kroeber: amimamuco, hikdadji, kaimandot, iteikut, iteui, hoxudji, sutadji, hisitsaidje, huwitadji, qatxata, yaqanadji, amateledji, itsutsatmidji, agax-tceadji, baktunadji, hisaadamu, xoraxdu, hutsutsaiedje, ciloki, kokomatxami.