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With Sketches of Huchnom
and Coast Yuki

Uldis Balodis

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Yuki Grammar: With Sketches of Huchnom and Coast Yuki
by Uldis Balodis

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Manai mātei Mārai, kas iemācījusi man dzimto latviešu valodu un tās vērtību.

To my mother, Māra, who taught me my native Latvian language and its value.

Yu:kin k'q:ne ?i: naham ṭaltelek.
(I never forgot how to talk Yuki.)
- Arthur Anderson

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during the writing of this grammar and over the years. Without them, this work would not have been possible.

ABBREVIATIONS

Glosses

ABL	ablative
AND	andative
ANIM	animate
AG/INST	agentive-instrumental
AGT	agent
CAUS	causative
CONT	continuative-iterative
DAT	dative
DECL	declarative
DEP	dependent clause marker
DIR1	directional
DIR2	directional
DST	distal
DSTR	distributive
DUR	durative
EXC	exclamation
EXCL	exclusive
FIN	finite
FUT	future
HSY1	hearsay evidential
HSY2	hearsay evidential
IMP	imperative
IMPFV	imperfective
IN	inessive
IN2	second inessive
INCH	inchoative
INCL	inclusive
INCP	inceptive
INFR1	inferential evidential
INFR2	inferential evidential

INST	instrumental
INTR	intransitive
JXT	juxtapositive
KIN	kinship
LOC	locative (- <i>ko</i> ; other locative elements, e.g. <i>ka'in</i> 'around here')
MPSV	mediopassive
NEC	necessitative
NEG	negative
NEW	new topic (switch-reference marker)
NOML	nominalizer
OBL	oblique
PAT	patient
PFV	perfective
PHAB	past habitual
PL	plural
PNCT	punctual
PNY	Proto-Northern Yukian
POSS	possessive
PRM	permissive
PROG	progressive
PRX	proximate
PST1	past
PST2	completed past
Q	interrogative
R	coreferential pronoun
SAME	same topic as previous clause (switch-reference marker)
SEM	semelfactive
SG	singular
SPEC	speculative
SUBE	subessive
TERM	terminative
TR	transitive
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
?	uncertain or not completely settled meaning

Speakers

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

Texts

CW	Coyote and the World
FD	Feather Dance Narrative
OG	Origins
TT	Thunder's Twins

Abbreviations in Bibliography

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

1. INTRODUCTION

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

The narratives were provided by Yuki speaker Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber. Supplemental examples were drawn from the large base of elicited material by various other researchers over the course of the twentieth century. Where possible information is also included on Huchnom and Coast Yuki, which together with Yuki constitute the Northern Yukian languages, but which are far less extensively documented than Yuki Proper. This was done to generate grammatical sketches of Huchnom and Coast Yuki, and also to show how the Northern Yukian languages compared to each other.

Each chapter of this grammar addresses a different aspect of Yuki or its speakers. Chapter 1 describes the genetic affiliation of Yuki, the location where it was spoken, and information on dialect differences. Historical information on the Yuki people and the consultants is also given in this chapter, along with a grammatical sketch of Yuki and descriptions of the data, practical Yuki orthography, and past work on the Northern Yukian languages. Chapter 2 explains the phonetics and phonology of Yuki. The phonetic inventory, allophonic variation, and prosodic system of Yuki are discussed. Chapter 3 details morphophonemic alternations. Chapter 4 gives an introduction to information on word classes described in more detail in later chapters. Chapter 5 covers Yuki argument structure and noun morphology. Chapter 6 describes Yuki pronouns and associated morphology. Chapter 7 details Yuki verb morphology. Chapter 8 describes Yuki adjectives. Chapter 9 discusses the Yuki numeral system. Chapter 10 describes Yuki quantifiers. Chapter 11 covers Yuki adverbs. Chapter 12 discusses Yuki locative terms. Chapter 13 describes Yuki connectives and also a selection of other minor words. Chapter 14 details the Yuki system of switch-reference marking and coordinating suffixes. Chapter 15 is a description of Yuki clause structure.

This grammar came about as a result of a dinner conversation and a great amount of good fortune. Marianne Mithun suggested Yuki to me as a topic of study one evening at a department dinner, while I was a graduate student at the University of California, Santa Barbara. I went on a search motivated by my great interest in discovering all I

could about Yuki and also by this quote found in *Yuki Vocabulary* authored by Jess Sawyer and Alice Schlichter:

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

From this quote I knew that somewhere the materials existed to make my work possible. In due course I discovered the location of these materials and started on the journey to write a grammatical description of the Yuki language. This grammar came to completion approximately a century after the publication of Kroeber's original 1911 sketch of Yuki in *The languages of the coast of California north of San Francisco*.

During the course of this work I found that as a result of a great coincidence, I wrote large portions of this grammar only a few blocks away from the location where some of the original narratives were recorded over a century ago. In his description of the history of his work with Yuki, which I have included in the appendix of this grammar, Kroeber states that he worked with Yuki speaker Ralph Moore in Covelo located in Round Valley in Northern California, but that Moore would also come to San Francisco to work with him. At the beginning of the *Wildcat and Coyote Myth*, Kroeber gives an address in San Francisco (443 Eddy Street) as the location where these materials were recorded. During research trips up to the University of California, Berkeley, I stayed and wrote several chapters at a hostel in the historic Hotel Virginia near the corner of Mason and O'Farrell in San Francisco, which happened to be located just a few blocks away from this location given by Kroeber.

1.1. The Yuki Language

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

1.1.1. Background and Genetic Affiliation

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

Yuki itself is divided into three varieties¹: Yuki (Proper), Huchnom², and Coast Yuki, which are collectively referred to as the Northern Yukian languages (Golla 2011:188). Elmendorf (1968) describes Yuki (Proper), Huchnom, and Coast Yuki as “language-like dialects” that formed a chain from east to west. The three varieties of Yuki have nearly identical grammar and differ mainly in terms of their phonology and lexicon (Golla 2011:189).

¹ Arguments can be made for calling Yuki (Proper), Huchnom, and Coast Yuki dialects of a single language or separate, but closely related languages. On one hand, they are grammatically very similar and are thought to have been mutually intelligible (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:211, Golla 2011:188-189). On the other hand, speakers of Yuki (Proper), Huchnom, and Coast Yuki inhabited ecologically distinct territories and differed in terms of their significant ceremonies and myths (see §1.4). It is possible that the relationships among the Northern Yukian languages were not unlike those among the Scandinavian languages or Spanish and Portuguese; a group of distinct ethnicities speaking languages of a high degree of mutual intelligibility. However, this may also be a question that could remain unanswered due to the lack of speakers of any of these languages or extant Coast Yuki and Huchnom communities.

² The Huchnom have also been referred to as the “Redwoods,” or by their Pomo appellation *Tatu*, while the term *Huchnom* means “mountain people” (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:202). Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:155) give a different translation for Huchnom. They connect it with Yuki *huč* ‘outside’, so that *hučnom* would mean ‘outside people’. In Lamb’s (1955:27) notes, the pronunciation of “Huchnom” as spoken by his consultant Lulu Johnson is given as *húčnóʔom* in Lamb’s orthography or approximately [hutʃnoʔom] in IPA. The [oʔo] segment is a result of the spreading of glottalization of the word-final glottalized sonorant to the preceding vowel. This is a common process also in Yuki (see Chapter 2), therefore most likely Huchnom was also pronounced as [hutʃnoʔm] in a form without this spreading. The Coast Yuki referred to themselves as *Ukoht-ontilka* ‘ocean people’. (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:212)

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

While Wappo is more different from all of the Northern Yukian languages than any of these languages are from each other, the exact relationship among the three varieties of Northern Yukian is unclear. Kroeber (1925 [1976]:211) writes that the Coast Yuki considered their speech to be more similar to that of the Huchnom than that of the Yuki. This would make a certain amount of sense as the Coast Yuki were geographically closer to and likely in more frequent contact with the Huchnom than to the Yuki. However, Kroeber notes that the lexicon of Coast Yuki seems to be about equally similar to that of Huchnom and Yuki, but that a thorough analysis of the three Northern Yukian varieties will be necessary before a final determination of internal relationships can be made. In terms of intelligibility, Kroeber speculates that all three languages must have been mutually intelligible to some extent, but that a Coast Yuki unacquainted with either Huchnom or Yuki would not have been able to follow a conversation fully in either of these languages.

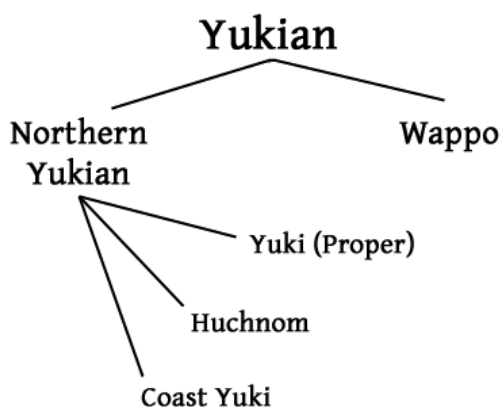


Figure 1: *The Yukian Language Family*

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

Yuki, Wappo, and Yuchi has also been discussed from time to time by other linguists (Munro 1994, Golla 1996a).

1.1.2. Location

The Northern Yukian languages were spoken in three ecologically distinct regions located within present-day Mendocino County in Northern California. Yuki was spoken in the inland Round Valley area, which is located in the Coast Range mountains and bounded on three sides by tributaries of the Eel River (Miller 1979:9). Huchnom was spoken to the southwest of the Yuki speech area. The Huchnom lived along the drainage of the South Eel River within a heavily forested and mountainous area (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:202). Coast Yuki was spoken to the west of both of these areas on the Pacific coast. Most Coast Yuki settlements were on or near the coast itself beginning a short distance north of Fort Bragg and extending up along the sea to an area a few miles north of Rockport (Miller 1978:249)³.

1.1.3. Identity

Prior to contact with Euro-Americans, the Yuki divided themselves into villages, also called rancherías, which were led by a local chief. Groups of villages formed a tribelet that was centered on a single large village, called a *no'hot* 'to live big,' containing a dance house and the residence of the chief of the tribelet⁴ (Miller 1978:250, Foster 1944:157).

Speakers of Yuki identified themselves with respect to one of several tribal subdivisions. Foster (1944:157) states that in pre-contact times, the Yuki recognized six major subdivisions, which were characterized by minor linguistic differences. These six tribal subdivisions were: Ta'nom', Ukomnom', Huitítnom', Witukomnom', Onkolukomnom', and Sukšaltatamnom'⁵. Two further minor subdivisions are also recorded immediately to the south of the Ukomnom'. These were the Laikutnom' and Ontitnom'⁶ (Miller 1978:249). Huchnom tribal subdivisions are not known, though the

³ See Appendix 1 for a map showing the area in which the Northern Yukian languages were spoken relative to natural and manmade landmarks.

⁴ See Appendix 2 for a map of villages within the Northern Yukian speech area.

⁵ Yuki *nom* 'people' was also used in Yuki names for neighboring non-Yuki-speaking peoples. It was also commonly affixed to placenames "to indicate affiliation with a place or group (Foster 1944:157).

⁶ Foster (1944:157) gives this description of the tribal subdivisions: "The grouping is not to be thought of as we think of city, county, and state; these concepts are far too precise. Rather, it is in the sense that we

distribution of Coast Yuki tribelets is recorded by Barrett (1908:262-3) and Gifford⁷ (1965:5-13).

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

1.1.4. Dialects

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

There are dialectic divergences within the area of the Yuki proper. The speech of the Ta'no'm, Ukomno'm and Witukomno'm differs. The Utitno'm dialect classed with the Witukomno'm, the Lilshikno'm probably with the Ta'no'm, the group including the Suk'ano'm may have leaned either to Ukomno'm or Witukomno'm, while the affiliations of the three eastern divisions of mountaineers are not known. All the dialects were mutually intelligible, but apparently different enough for any Yuki to recognize the approximate provenience of another.

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

say ‘I am a Middle Westerner,’ ‘I am a Southerner,’ or ‘I am a New Englander,’ and differences in speech were probably about as marked. But instead of a national governmental organization for the whole area, the Yuki had only consciousness of kind to bind them together.”

⁷ See Appendix 3 for a map of the location of the tribal subdivisions and Coast Yuki tribelets within the Yuki-speaking area.

differences, as they were remembered by his consultants during his fieldwork at Round Valley in 1937:

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

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

The word *hálsi* (to put more with) was used with reference to the language of subgroups other than that of the speaker. Strange dialects sounded complicated, and their speakers were thought to make them so simply for the sake of effect. Tillotson⁸ thought the Huititno'm were especially guilty of this; conversely, they considered their dialect to be the most pure of all Yuki speech.

1.1.5. Contact Languages

Language contact is a phenomenon that must be considered when describing the languages of Northern California. This region is home to over 20 language families, most situated in close proximity to each other and composed of small languages, which have never been spoken by more than a relatively small group of speakers. The result of this proximity is a long history of contact⁹, intermarriage, and multilingualism among members of these communities (Haas 1976, Mithun 1999, Conathan 2004).

⁸ Tillotson was one of Foster's Yuki consultants. (Foster 1944:156)

⁹ For an updated and in depth examination of the processes that shaped the linguistic diversity of California based on not just historical but also quantitative analysis, see Haynie 2012.

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

Yuki is located between three unrelated language families: Athabaskan to the north, Wintun to the east, and Pomoan to the south. Evidence for contact between the Yuki and their neighbors can be found in descriptions of Yuki culture. For example, contact between the Ta'nom' Yuki, in the northern part of the Yuki speech region, and the Athabaskan Wailaki was significant enough that southern Yuki would refer to the Ta'nom' as *k'o'il*, which is the generic Yuki term for Athabaskan speakers. The Ta'nom' and Wailaki frequently intermarried and the Ta'nom' are said to have been well-acquainted with the Wailaki language (Foster 1944:159). Kroeber (1925 [1976]:182-4) describes the similarities between Yuki religion and that of the Pomo, Wintu, Maidu, and more peripherally also the Achumawi. During the nineteenth century following the establishment of the Round Valley Indian Reservation, the Yuki also came into close and regular contact with speakers of Konkow Maidu, Nisenan Maidu, Achumawi¹⁰, Atsugewi¹¹, Modoc, and Yana who had been removed from their home territories to Round Valley by the United States government (Bauer 2009:18, Miller 1978:249).

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

Not all of the languages bordering Yuki are equally well-documented. For example, of its northern Athabaskan neighbors, Lassik, Sinkyone, Kato, and Wailaki, complete descriptions of Lassik, Sinkyone, or Wailaki do not exist. Kato was documented by Pliny Earle Goddard in the early twentieth century, but Goddard's published description (1912) does not reflect the insights into Athabaskan phonology and morphology that have been discovered during the course of the twentieth century. Due in part to the incomplete documentation of some of these languages, it can be difficult to determine the extent to which they might have influenced or been influenced by Yuki in pre-contact times or more recently.

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

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

1.2. Previous Research

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

1.2.1. Previous Work on Yuki

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

The first vocabulary of Yuki was collected by Lieutenant Edward Ross in the 1850s (Golla 2011:190). The Ross vocabulary is combined with other Yuki lexical data collected by Powers in Powers (1877). Curtin (1889) collected a Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) survey vocabulary.

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

In 1931, the Danish phonetician Hans Uldall came to Berkeley on a two-year fellowship to work with speakers of Northern California languages. Kroeber and Uldall collaborated on work with Yuki during this period (Kroeber 1958b). Uldall produced an extensive though unpublished study of the pitch levels and contours in Yuki words. Uldall (1932) concluded that Yuki is a tone language, though this was later argued not to be the case by Schlichter (1978).

In 1937, George Foster conducted ethnographic work with Ralph Moore and another Yuki consultant, Eben Tillotson. In 1944 he published *A Summary of Yuki Culture*, based on this research. Foster's 1944 study is a fascinating description of Yuki and Huchnom culture as he found it and as it was remembered by his consultants in the late 1930s. It

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

¹³ See Appendix 5 for Kroeber's fascinating, but unfinished description of the history of his work on Yuki.

also contains some information about the Yuki and Huchnom languages, though not much data in either language.

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

William Elmendorf also worked with Yuki speakers. Field notes collected by Elmendorf, Lamb, and Kroeber are housed at the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages (SCOIL) in the Linguistics Department of the University of California, Berkeley. Curtin's (1889) BAE survey vocabulary is also available on microfilm at SCOIL. All of the Yuki materials from Kroeber's work with Moore in the early twentieth century are housed at the American Philosophical Society (APS).

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

Beyond this there are a number of articles and other unpublished studies available on various aspects of Yuki. Mithun (2008) contains a discussion of the Yuki agent-patient grammatical relations system. Mithun (2012) discusses morphological borrowing in Yuki. As noted above, in an extensive but unpublished study, Uldall (1932) claims that Yuki is a tone language, which is rebutted by Schlichter (1978). Elmendorf (1981) discusses language change in languages near extinction using Yuki and Wappo as case studies for his article. Early descriptions of Yuki and the Yuki people are found in

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

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

1.2.2. Previous Work on Huchnom and Coast Yuki

None of the Northern Yukian languages were thriving at the beginning of the twentieth century; however, Yuki was still in a much better position in terms of speakers and active language use than Huchnom or Coast Yuki at that time. For this reason Huchnom and Coast Yuki have been less well documented than Yuki, and texts were never collected in Huchnom or Coast Yuki. Golla (2011) describes the history of work on Huchnom and Coast Yuki. Powers (1877) collected a Huchnom vocabulary, and Barrett (1908) collected a survey vocabulary of Huchnom. Kroeber also collected data on Huchnom consisting of vocabulary and short elicited phrases. Lamb (1955) collected material from the last speaker of Huchnom, Lulu Johnson. Schlichter (1985:13) describes this material as “the largest and most reliable body of data” on Huchnom. The Kroeber Huchnom materials are housed at the APS, while the Lamb Huchnom materials are housed at the SCOIL.

Coast Yuki is not well documented. Kroeber elicited vocabulary and some short phrases in Coast Yuki from two different speakers, Tim Bell and Sam Slick (Kroeber 1902c:60, 90). These materials are contained in the collection of Kroeber’s Yuki materials at the APS. Harrington collected lists of Coast Yuki vocabulary and placenames, which are part of the collection of his papers available on microfilm from the Smithsonian Institution. In addition, Golla (2011) mentions a Coast Yuki survey vocabulary collected by Barrett (1908), general and natural history wordlists collected by Merriam, a short word list collected by Driver (1935), and a cultural vocabulary contained in Gifford (1939). Gifford (1939) was republished in 1965 and has great value beyond its linguistic content. Gifford’s study is a detailed ethnography of the Coast Yuki. It should be noted that Schlichter (1985:13) considers Gifford’s transcriptions of Coast Yuki unreliable.

1.3. History

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

1.3.1. Prehistory

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

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

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

1.3.2. Contact and Immediate Aftermath

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

¹⁵ See Appendix 7 for a table containing specific Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki population figures.

treacherous mountains and difficult to navigate rivers that formed the natural boundaries surrounding Round Valley.

The first recorded contact between Euro-Americans and the Native inhabitants of Round Valley occurred in 1854. The Asbill brothers, Frank and J. Pierce, traveling from their parents' home in Bodega, California on the Pacific Coast, were the first known Euro-Americans to enter Round Valley. After entering the Valley the Asbill brothers encountered a large group of Native people who were most likely Yuki. This first contact was marked by a brief firefight at the end of which approximately forty Native people had been killed (Baumgardner 2005:21-3, Carranco and Beard 1981:41).

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

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

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

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

The larger conflict between Euro-Americans and Native Californians during this time, known as the California Indian Wars, was exacerbated by the adoption of the Act

for the *Government and Protection of the Indians* in 1850 by the California state legislature. This law was not repealed until 1863 (Conners 1993:8). Bauer (2009:32-3) summarizes the provisions of this law:

The law established vagrancy clauses for Indians, whereby justices of the peace or judges could hire out loitering Indians to ranchers and farmers. The law also allowed whites to post bail for Indians accused of misdemeanor crimes and then put these Indians to work to pay off the bond. Finally, the law permitted whites to indenture Indian children with parental consent. Indian boys could be indentured until the age of eighteen and girls until the age of fifteen. Employers had to provide food, clothing, and humane treatment, but the state rarely investigated abuses. At the worst, this law created a system of Indian slavery in California.

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

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

In 1858, Nome Cult Farm became the Round Valley Indian Reservation¹⁷ (Miller 1978:249). By the mid-1870s Native people had been taken from various other parts of California by state and federal governments and moved to Round Valley. Only the Yuki and Athabaskan Wailaki were native to the valley itself, but during this time the valley

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

¹⁷ See Appendix 8 for a map of the Round Valley Indian Reservation.

also became home to the Pomo, Nomlaki, Kato, Lassik, Konkow, Nisenan, Atsugewi, Achumawi, Yana, and Modoc peoples (Bauer 2009:18, Miller 1978:250).

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

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

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

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

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

1.3.4. Peace, Religion, and Allotment

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

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

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

Major attempts to convert the Yuki to Christianity did not occur immediately following contact with Euro-Americans. Instead it seemed the settlers were more interested in claiming land in Round Valley than in changing the religion of its original inhabitants. This approach began to shift in 1869 following the enactment of President Ulysses Grant's "Peace Policy," which modified the way in which Indian Agents were selected. Instead of these positions being political appointments, during the years this policy was in effect the agents were either army officers or individuals nominated by

religious organizations (1974:176-7). In 1871 the Methodist Episcopal Church of California won its bid to appoint individuals of its choosing as the Indian Agents of Round Valley Indian Reservation (1974:186-7). This change in leadership approximately coincided with the period during which the Ghost Dance movement reached Round Valley indirectly resulting in an interesting episode of mass conversion to Methodism by the Yuki and other Native peoples of Round Valley.

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

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

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

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

1.3.5. Twentieth Century

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

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

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

Ralph Moore is the only young member of his tribe who thoroughly knows thse [sic] things. The others have forgotten. They are so much Americanized that the Yuki language is almost dead now, even in these thirty years since the reservation was established. Only a few of the old people keep it up; the young ones, even the middle-aged ones, use our language [English] among themselves as well as with our people ("An Indian Who Gave," 1902:7).

Native administrative structures changed across the United States with the adoption in 1934 of the *Indian Reorganization Act*. This act ended allotment and led to the

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

1.4. Ethnography

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

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

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

area thus outlined, he sinks to the level of an animal, such as the silver fox of the Achomawi, or disappears wholly, except for a vague mention or two, as among the Yana and Shasta.”

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

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

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

The Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki cultures all placed importance on several ceremonies²² that took on different functions within each society. With regard to Yuki

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

ceremonial life, Foster (1944:155) writes, “These people [the Yuki] ... display a fairly elaborate ceremonial organization ... Rituals include the *Taikomol-woknam* [*Taykómolwoknam*], or children’s school; the secret *Hulk’ílal-woknam*, or ghost dance; an obsidian ceremony, *Kičil-woknam*; and a complicated series of girls’ puberty rites magically coupled with acorn-fertility observances.”

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

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

1.5. Sociolinguistic Situation

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

1.5.1. Multilingualism and Language Attitudes

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

²³ See additional discussion in §1.1.5.

intermarriage between Ta'nom' Yuki and Wailaki was common (Foster 1944:159). Golla (2011:190) also discusses these interactions.

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

After contact with Euro-Americans, knowledge of English increased among the Yuki and among other tribes that had been moved to Round Valley. English came to be the language used between different Round Valley tribes soon after contact (Susman 1976:34). Yuki ceased to be a language of daily use early in the twentieth century. This is evidenced by the fact that Ralph Moore's ability to speak Yuki well appears to have been a rarity among younger Yuki at the turn of the twentieth century ("An Indian Who Gave," 1902:7) and that the last speakers of Yuki, Minnie Fulwider and Arthur Anderson, had last actively used Yuki in the early 1930s and 1908, respectively (Elmendorf 1981:41-2).

1.5.2. Contexts of Use and Language Choice

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

Those who spoke the *k'oni hót* (talk high) were also said to *hálsi*²⁵. *K'oni hót* was a refined speech, spoken by the well educated - those who had gone to the *Taikomol-woknam*. It was not a secret language, since some of both sexes knew it thoroughly, and those of lower class were acquainted with some of the expressions. The distinction is similar to that in our own society between a college graduate and one whose schooling has ended at the fifth grade.

²⁴ See §1.6.4.

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

Bauer (2009:102) records an episode relayed to him concerning the use of Yuki as a form of resistance against Euro-Americans in Round Valley. Bauer does not give the exact date of this episode, though it likely would have occurred between around 1875 and 1935. Bauer writes:

Kinship ties only went so far in protecting Round Valley Indians from economic exploitation, and sometimes other, subtler, forms of resistance were necessary. Pomo Elizabeth Willits remembered that every evening during the hop-picking season storeowner Edward Gravier drove his wagon to Round Valley's Hop Ranch and sold meat, vegetables, and watermelons to Indian workers when the day's work was concluded. On one occasion, Dixie Duncan told Gravier that in order to boost sales he should yell out in the Yuki language, "I'm bringing good meat. Come and get it." However, Duncan actually taught Gravier to say, "I'm bringing rotten meat. Come and get it." Gravier, of course, did not understand the Yuki language or, perhaps, the chuckles and declining sales he encountered thereafter. For Duncan, though, this was a safe way to make Gravier look like a heel and to resist economic domination. Duncan obviously felt comfortable enough to use the Yuki language to poke fun at someone who could charge usurious rates for meat and other groceries by entering the Yuki language into what James Scott calls the "public transcript." Duncan attempted to cause people to not buy groceries from Gravier but did so in a way that meant everyone - perhaps even Gravier when he discovered the ruse - could have a good laugh, at Gravier's expense.

1.5.3. Viability

The Yuki language is no longer spoken. No language programs exist for teaching the language within the Yuki community at this time. The last Yuki speaker, Arthur Anderson, died in 1983 (SSDI 2010). Even at that time Yuki had long ceased functioning as a language of daily interaction. Yuki speaker Minnie Fulwider began her work with linguists in the 1950s, and would later claim that she had not used Yuki since 1930. Arthur Anderson worked with linguists Jesse Sawyer and Shirley Silver between 1972 and 1976 and at that time claimed that he had not used Yuki since 1908. Alice Schlichter, who studied Yuki in the 1970s and 1980s writes of Fulwider and Anderson: "Neither informant...is a fluent speaker of Yuki; probably neither ever was ... The

informants had to remember, often with considerable and time-consuming effort, words and phrases they had used or heard almost three quarters of a century ago.” (Elmendorf 1981:41-2, Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:2)

1.6. Research Corpus, Methods, and Consultants

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

1.6.1. Research Corpus

The corpus used for this grammar is drawn from the Yuki myths and other texts collected by Alfred Kroeber from Ralph Moore between 1901 and 1903. This collection also contains several other short stories recorded by Hans Uldall during the period when he worked with Ralph Moore on Yuki between 1931 and 1933.

Examples in this grammar are taken primarily from Yuki texts spoken by Ralph Moore and collected by Alfred Kroeber. These include *Origins* (Kroeber 1902b), *Coyote and the World* (1902b, 1902d), *Feather Dance Narrative* (1901/1903), *Thunder’s Twins* (1901/1903), and *North Wind and Sun* (1957-1958). These examples are referenced with the text name and its clause number within that text²⁶. Examples from these texts are supplemented with elicited material from fieldwork conducted by other linguists on Yuki, Huchnom, or Coast Yuki, when the data from the Kroeber/Uldall collection are insufficient or when an example collected by another researcher proves effective for illustrating a specific feature of Yuki.

Most of the Huchnom data is drawn from material elicited from Huchnom speaker Lulu Johnson by Sidney Lamb, while most of the Coast Yuki data is drawn from material elicited from Coast Yuki speaker Lucy Pérez by John Peabody Harrington. Some Huchnom and Coast Yuki data presented in this grammar is drawn from material elicited by Kroeber between 1900 and 1910.

²⁶ For example, an example taken from the fourth clause in *Origins* would be referenced as “Origins:4”.

1.6.2. Methods

The descriptions of phonetics and phonology in Chapter 2 are based on earlier studies of Yuki phonetics and phonology and on analysis of an hour-long recording of Yuki speaker Frank Logan²⁷. This recording was also used for the study of the acoustic correlates of Yuki stress in §2.2.1.3. Values for f0 or pitch, intensity, and duration were measured in the phonetic analysis software Praat. Statistical analysis was performed using the statistical analysis software SPSS 15.0.

For the remainder of this grammar, all analyses began with taking the texts of the research corpus, described in §1.6.1, and retyping them in the Yuki practical orthography, described in §1.6.5. Then the words in the texts were glossed and a preliminary morphemic analysis was carried out. The glossing and division of words into morphemes at this stage was based on Kroeber's glosses of the texts in his original notes and on earlier descriptions of Yuki and Yukian morphology, particularly those in Kroeber 1911, Sawyer and Schlichter 1984, and Schlichter 1985. In his original notes Kroeber provides word glosses for many, but not all, of the words in the texts. These glosses were used as a starting point, but then were altered based on the sources given here and my increasing facility with Yuki throughout the course of my work. The morphemic analysis of all the words in the texts came as a result of my own work and analysis of Yuki morphology.

At this point each proposed morpheme was studied by analyzing its use throughout the texts²⁸ and in elicited data. If the morpheme showed a consistent function, a description was written with examples from the texts and elicitation. If the morpheme did not show such a function, then it was determined whether the proposed morpheme was itself composed of smaller morphemes with consistent functions. If no such analysis was possible, then it was noted in the description that a morpheme had no clearly determinable function²⁹.

Free translations of examples from *Origins* and *Coyote and the World* are mostly taken from Kroeber's (1932:906-912,918-927) own published English-language version of these texts. In comparing these English-language translations with the original Yuki texts, I found that the 1932 free translations appeared to be sentence-by-sentence translations of the original Yuki. In the rare case where I felt that the Yuki differed from Kroeber's

²⁷ This recording was made by James Crawford in 1953.

²⁸ "Texts" refers to the texts collected by Kroeber and Uldall in the research corpus.

²⁹ For example, the function of the verb morphemes *-q* and *-lim*, discussed in §7.5.9, could not be determined.

translation, I give an alternate free translation of my own in a footnote. The free translations for *Feather Dance Narrative* are my own. *Ents and Upek* and *Ioi* are originally Chinook myths appearing in Franz Boas' 1894 *Chinook Texts*. The English-language version of these texts appears to have been given by Kroeber to Ralph Moore for translation into Yuki. The free translations given with examples in this grammar are those provided by Kroeber (1902e) with these two stories in his original notes.

For Chapter 3, examples were drawn from the corpus to identify the environment governing particular morphophonemic alternations. For Chapter 15, examples of particular types of clauses were drawn from the corpus and then described.

1.6.3. Underlying forms

Sawyer and Schlichter's *Yuki Vocabulary* contains modern transcriptions of a large number of words spoken by Minnie Fulwider and Arthur Anderson during elicitation sessions. Elicited forms are less likely to display sound changes, such as phonetic reduction, characteristic of quick speech. For this reason elicited forms from *Yuki Vocabulary* were generally used as the underlying forms for noun and verb roots as well as other independent words for the morphemic analyses present throughout this grammar. The term "modern transcription" refers to the orthography attributed to Sawyer and Schlichter in Table 1 in §1.6.5, which is almost identical to the orthography used in this grammar. Thus, for example, *hq'qye* 'now' from *Yuki Vocabulary* is used as the underlying form for *háye* (OG:6) and *há'ye* (OG:7).

For verb and noun roots or independent words not present in *Yuki Vocabulary*, the underlying form is typically the same as the surface form or the more frequent form when such a root or word occurs repeatedly in the texts. Underlying forms for noun and verb morphology were generally left as they appeared in the data. Some preference was at times given to the form some morphemes took in *Yuki Vocabulary*. For example, the underlying form of the inchoative is given as *-lqm*, which is the form it takes in *Yuki Vocabulary*, rather than *-lam*, which is the form it generally takes in the words recorded by Kroeber.

In some cases suffixes may have had differing forms, but there was good reason to pick one form over the other as the underlying form. For example, for the past tense suffix *-wi* ~ *-u* it was clear from the description of Yuki in Kroeber (1911) as well as analysis of the behavior of this suffix in the texts in Appendix 10 that *-wi* and *-u* were indeed two forms of the same suffix. As *-wi* appeared to be a fuller form of this suffix, it

was selected as the underlying form. Therefore, the final morpheme in *nə́nákwi* ‘knew’ and *tíweyu* ‘pursued’ (both from CW:177) is given as *-wi* when analyzed.

When in the course of the research for this grammar a phonological process was observed further highlighting the nature of underlying forms, this observation was taken into account in order to refine underlying forms. For example, as discussed in §2.1.1.8.8.1, root-final glottalization and root-final glottal stops will often spread to the preceding vowel resulting in a VʔV sequence. This VʔV sequence is often observed in verbs containing the root *wok*- ‘sing, dance’. In Sawyer and Schlichter (1984) this root is given without final glottalization as *wok*. However, given that VʔV and even root-final glottalization is seen in verbs with this root, such as *wóʔoksikít* ‘while dancing’ (CW:135) and *wáʔok’esmil* ‘(they) danced’ (FD:21), it seemed likely that the underlying form of this root ended in an ejective. For this reason it is given as *wokʔ* in this grammar.

Occasionally, one encounters sporadic glottalization or glottal stops for reasons which are not known. An aspect of this phenomenon is discussed in §2.1.1.8.2. At this point this phenomenon does not seem to be linked to any difference in meaning and may have been characteristic of a style of speaking in Yuki. It is encountered both in the speech of Frank Logan, as in *mitóʔk* ‘joints’, and Ralph Moore, as in *hočʔk* ‘is big’ (Kroeber 1901a:37), *šá:kč’am* ‘sometimes’ (FD:22), and *hǎlamuʔ* ‘just heard’ (CW:18). These segments are not included in the morphemic analysis line or underlying forms.

Similarly, as discussed in §3.4, the insertion of epenthetic [i] or [e] is common in Yuki. These vowels also are not included in the morphemic analysis line or in underlying forms.

1.6.4. Consultants and other sources

Ralph Moore (ca. 1874/1875 - 19??) was born on the Round Valley Indian Reservation and went on to become Alfred Kroeber’s primary Yuki language consultant for the decades of Kroeber’s work with Yuki. Kroeber records Moore’s Yuki name as *Aší:yam Nánaʔak*³⁰. In his work with Kroeber, Moore said early on that he mainly spoke as an Uk’omnom’, but then in later years said that he actually spoke as a Wit’ukomnom’, adding that more specifically he spoke like the people of Olkat village, located at the head of Eden Valley. Kroeber also records Moore as also having known Ta’nom’, due to the fact that Moore’s mother was Ta’nom’ (Kroeber 1931-1932/1958).

³⁰ Kroeber does not record an English translation for Moore’s Yuki name.

Moore held an important position in Yuki society and cultural life. Moore and his wife Lucy hosted grass games³¹ and roundhouse ceremonies on the land that he had inherited from his mother (Bauer 2009:167, 169). After the Pentecostal Church came to Round Valley in the 1930s, Ralph and Lucy Moore donated one half-acre of their land for the building of a new Pentecostal church (2009:198).

While Ralph Moore was Kroeber's primary Yuki consultant, the work he did with Moore also involved other older Yuki speakers from time to time. During the period when Moore and Kroeber began their collaboration, Moore was only in his late 20s, but already possessed a deeper knowledge of Yuki language and culture than many of his contemporaries. In 1932, Kroeber published the English versions of several of the narratives that appear in the Yuki text examples in this grammar. In the introduction to that collection, Kroeber (1932:905-6) provides this description of his work with Moore, of Moore's knowledge and ancestry, of the other consultants with whom Moore and Kroeber worked, and also details which consultants told which myths³²:

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

Ralph's father's father and Diddle were both Wit'ukAnnom, a southerly division of the Yuki whose territory ranged from Eden valley south of South Eel river, across this stream, into the southern part of Round valley. His father's father was, specifically, a Lalkûnom, from Lalkûhtki, at a pond or water hole mentioned in myths IV and V, in southern Round valley. Diddle was specifically a Suk'ānom, from Suk'ā, north of the South Eel. The former contributed myth V; the latter, I and II. Ralph's mother and her father's brother Pike were Tā'nom. This was a northwest Yuki group, on (the united) Eel river adjacent to the

³¹ Foster (1944:194-5) gives a detailed description of grass game, called in Yuki *áltoi-móltmil* 'stick tied [in middle] gamble'. Foster calls grass game, "by all odds the favorite Yuki gambling game...[and] an important social event that was often anticipated for several days."

³² The Roman numeral indexes in Kroeber's description correspond to the following Yuki Myths: I = Origins: Taikomol, II = Origins: Second Version, III = Origins: Third Version, IV = Coyote and the World, V = Thunder's Twins, VI = Born-by-Washing, VII = Wildcat, VIII = Coyote and Crow, IX = Three Coyote

Wailaki and in their rituals resembling these Athasbascans at least as much as the Ukomnom and Wit'ukAmnom Yuki. The fragmentary Origins version (III) obtained from Pike is therefore of significance as showing that mythologically the Tā'nom agreed fairly closely with the other Yuki. The remaining tales (IV, VI-IX) Ralph probably learned either from Pike or from his paternal grandfather.

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

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

Detailed biographies could not be obtained of the other consultants who worked with other linguists and whose data is incorporated into this grammar. I am including the names of all of the known consultants here and my indebtedness to them and to other possible consultants whose names are unknown. Ralph Moore, Pike, and Diddle for their careful and diligent work in describing their language and their culture. Minnie Fulwider and Arthur Anderson for sharing their remembrances of their language. James Crawford's Yuki consultant Frank Logan, Kroeber's Coast Yuki consultants Tim Bell and Sam Slick, Kroeber's Huchnom consultant, Lake Holmes, J.P. Harrington's Coast Yuki consultant, Lucy Pérez³³, Sidney Lamb's Huchnom consultant, Lulu Johnson, and Robert Oswalt's Huchnom consultant, Bill Frank, for providing much of what is known of their languages.

³³ This information about Lucy Pérez is found in (Mills 1985:9): "His [Harrington's] informant for Coast Yuki was Lucy Pérez, daughter of a chief of the Juan Creek Indians. She spoke fluent "coast-language" and English...Pérez was referred to by other informants as "Old Lucy" or "Lucy Perry," using the name of her first husband."

1.6.5. Presentation of Data

In writing down Ralph Moore's speech in his notes, Kroeber used an orthography that was apparently partly his own creation. Aspects of this orthography, such as marking ejective consonants using <!> or indicating stressed syllables with an acute accent are based on transcription conventions used around the beginning of the twentieth century. Kroeber had been a student of Boas during his years at Columbia University (Steward et al 1961:1043) and indeed Kroeber's transcription style bore a resemblance to the Boas transcription conventions. However, in transcribing Yuki, Kroeber incorporated other vowel diacritics that I was not able to define based on any existing transcription convention from that period (i.e. 1900-1903). In his notes, the following are the only definitions Kroeber gives for the vowel diacritics used by him:

Kroeber (1901b:37): sot cut
 sōt scratched (with finger-nails)
 The ō here has a peculiar quality, like inter-
 mediate between â and ō and nearly short

Kroeber (1902a:13a): ǒ close
 o open

Kroeber (1902b:1a): ò = the sound between â and ō
 ì = " " " ī and è
 î = " " " i and e)

In reviewing the Yuki language materials I obtained from the American Philosophical Society, I found three different transcribed versions of the *Wildcat and Coyote* myth. The later versions after Kroeber's initial 1902 version are attributed in the APS document index to Hans Uldall who collaborated with Kroeber on Yuki for a time. Of these two later versions of *Wildcat and Coyote*, the second version includes only part of this myth. However, this portion corresponds word-for-word to the original version of the myth recorded by Kroeber in 1902, but is written in a more IPA-like transcription. The third version of the myth is written in two different transcriptions. The first of these is very IPA-like, while the second portion is more reminiscent of that found in the second version. This third version differs from the other two in its content and appears to be the record of a different telling of the *Wildcat and Coyote* myth.

As these later versions, especially the second version which corresponds in content exactly to Kroeber's original recording of *Wildcat and Coyote*, provide a point of comparison and therefore a key to Kroeber's symbols, I did the logical thing and performed word-by-word comparisons to unlock the meaning of Kroeber's mysterious vowel diacritics. However, it should be noted that due to the incomplete nature of the second version of *Wildcat and Coyote*, only a relatively small-scale word-to-word comparison was possible.

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

A perfect correspondence did not emerge between Kroeber's use of vowel diacritics and Uldall's transcription. In some cases Kroeber appears to hear variants that Uldall does not note at all. However, comparison between the different versions of the *Wildcat and Coyote* myth allowed for a likely meaning, if only in a general way, to be found for most of Kroeber's vowel diacritics.

Kroeber's diacritics include macrons written over single vowels or sequences of vowels, acute accents written over vowels or more generally over syllables, grave accents written over <o> or <i> (ò, ì), a double-underline written under <a> (ā). Rare symbols include <a> and <i> with circumflex (â, î) and <a>, <i>, <o>, and <u> with breve (ă, ĭ, ǒ, ŭ) as well as nonce uses of diacritical marks with vowels where they are generally not expected according to Kroeber's pattern of use.

The macron most likely is an indicator of higher tone. Perceived differences in tone have been noted in transcription of Yuki also by later researchers. Comparing Kroeber's original 1902 version of *Wildcat and Coyote* with the second version of this myth shows a frequent correlation between syllables with macrons and syllables marked for high tone in this later transcription. The macron does not appear to be connected with the marking of vowel length.

It should be noted that as indicated in Kroeber's notebooks and detailed above, at least for a time he used <ō> to write a vowel that he perceived as having a quality difference from other vowels³⁴. Still, the general correspondence of the macron to

³⁴ Langdon (1994:173) describes Kroeber's transcription of Mojave and Diegueño and his use of macrons as well as acute and grave accents. Her description supports the theory that Kroeber used macrons and grave accents as markers of vowel quality also in Yuki: "It turns out that the macron for Kroeber means not only length, but simultaneous "close" pronunciation, while the grave accent means the vowel is long and "open". Kroeber indicates stress in Mojave by the acute accent following the stressed vowel."

higher tone in later transcriptions and Kroeber's writing of these macrons over not just single vowels but also over sequences of vowels, gives the impression that in large part the macron was used by Kroeber to indicate a feature, such as tone, that existed on the level of the entire syllable.

The acute accent most likely is used to mark stress. This correlation is fairly convincing, in that in words where non-initial primary stress is expected, such as compounds, for example *ʔu:khót* 'ocean' (literally *ʔuk* 'water' + *hot* 'large' OG:75 (RM)), or words beginning with body prefixes, for example *nq:nákmil* 'know' OG:79 (RM), the syllable, which would be expected to have primary stress is marked with an acute accent by Kroeber.

Comparing the 1902 transcription of the *Wildcat and Coyote* myth to the later transcriptions, syllables marked with an acute accent also seem to correspond to some extent to syllables marked for higher tone in the later transcriptions of this myth. If the acute accent marks stress, then this would not be entirely surprising, as higher f0 correlates with stress in Yuki (see §2.2.1.3). It should be noted that there also exist words in the 1902 version of the *Wildcat and Coyote* myth where both the macron and acute accent are written over the same sequence of vowels. This co-occurrence suggests that these symbols are not marking the same feature. The closer correspondence of the acute accent to the expected position of primary stress in Yuki words suggests that the acute accent is most likely being used to mark this feature.

Complications for this analysis of the acute accent arise from unexpected or inexplicable uses of the acute accent. These include monosyllables marked with an acute accent and also disyllables with both syllables marked with acute accents. If the acute accent marks stress, then it is unclear why it would be necessary to include this mark on monosyllables or why it would appear on both syllables of a disyllable. These are puzzling. One possible explanation could be that these are the result of the circumstances in which Kroeber was first recording these texts. Perhaps as he was writing these texts he marked qualities that he heard in that moment, which later on he would not have considered important.

The clearest correspondence comes for the two grave accent-marked vowels: ò, ì. In the excerpt from Kroeber's notes cited above, the grave accent is used to indicate differences in vowel quality for these two vowels. Comparing the 1902 version of the *Wildcat and Coyote* myth to the later transcriptions, a slightly different analysis emerges with ò written as <ow> in the later transcriptions and ì corresponding to a [j] off-glide.

Similarly, â, î, and õ indicate vowels with a unique vowel quality, based on Kroeber's notes cited above. This is likely also the case for ǎ, ǐ, and ǔ as well as other vowels

occasionally and sporadically marked with these or similar diacritics. This seems the most likely hypothesis based on the pattern of use of these diacritics in general in Kroeber's notes.

The most mysterious of all of these symbols is <a> with a double-underline (a). No clear interpretation could be found for this symbol. It does not correspond consistently to a tonal difference. It occasionally seems to correspond to /a/ when not otherwise marked by Kroeber. Even more occasionally it appears to correspond to a difference in vowel quality, but not consistently so. Therefore, it is not clear at this time what feature Kroeber was marking with this double underline.

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

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

An intervocalic glottal stop is assumed for sequences of two vowels when these do not form a known diphthong or are shown by Kroeber to have differing vowel quality. An example of this would be the second person plural agent pronoun as in *mo'os*. In Kroeber's notes, he frequently writes this pronoun as *mòos*. Knowing that <ò> corresponds to <o> with a slightly different vowel quality or to [ɔw], it is clear that when so transcribed this word would not be realized as [mo:s] and indeed later researchers records this pronoun as *mo'os*. Therefore, a glottal stop is inserted in such cases even if not written by Kroeber in his orthography. Also, some words, such as *hulk'o'i* 'coyote' are often written by Kroeber without a glottal stop between <o> and <i>. Records collected by later researchers show a glottal stop in this position and the later transcriptions of *Wildcat and Coyote* also show this glottal stop even when it is not written by Kroeber in the original recording of this myth. Therefore, for such words a glottal stop is assumed in a position where subsequent work has shown it to have been there. Additionally, a glottal stop is written at the start of all vowel-initial words even

though this was not the practice in the transcription used by Kroeber or some of the other researchers whose data is included in this grammar.

The Yuki practical orthography I use in this grammar is essentially the same as that used by Sawyer and Schlichter (1984). The main difference is that I incorporate Kroeber's marking of stress, as stressed and unstressed vowels are phonetically different (1984:11). Table 1 shows a comparison of the orthography used in this grammar, given under Balodis, with other relevant Yuki orthographies and the IPA equivalent of each symbol. Lamb's orthography is used in his documentation of Huchnom. Uldall, Lamb, and Siniard also mark prosodic contours in their orthographies, but this marking is not reproduced in the examples given in this grammar. Examples from Harrington's study of Coast Yuki are also included in this grammar, but the orthography in those examples is not altered from that in the original. It should be noted that in the Coast Yuki examples in this grammar, <æ> appears extremely similar to <œ> when italicized. However, as Coast Yuki does not have a vowel [œ], in all cases this character represents the vowel [æ].

Blank spaces indicate that a symbol for a particular sound was not observed. In the examples used throughout this grammar, which are drawn from Kroeber's work with Ralph Moore, it was generally not possible to determine reliably whether <t> represented /t̥/ or /t/. Therefore when such a determination could not be made, words written with <t> in Kroeber's notes are also written as <t> in the examples in this grammar.

Kroeber	Uldall	Lamb	Siniard	Sawyer/ Schlichter	Balodis	IPA
p	p	p	p	p	p	p
pʌ, pʼ	pʼ	pʼ	pʼ	pʼ	pʼ	pʼ
t, t _x	t̥	t̥, t ⁰	t̥	t	t̥, t	t̥
tl, tʼ	t̥ʼ	t̥ʼ, t ^{0ʼ}	t̥ʼ	t	t̥ʼ, tʼ	t̥ʼ
t.	t	t̥	t̥	t̥	t̥	t̥
t.!. tʼ	tʼ	t̥ʼ	t̥ʼ	t̥ʼ	t̥ʼ	t̥ʼ
tc	tʃ	č	č	č	č	tʃ
tc!, tcʼ	tʃʼ	čʼ	čʼ	čʼ	čʼ	tʃʼ
dj					j̥	dʒ
k, k̥	k	k	k	k	k	k
k!, kʼ	kʼ	kʼ	kʼ	kʼ	kʼ	kʼ
ʔ	ʔ	ʔ, ʔʼ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
s	s	s	s	s	s	s
ʔs				sʼ	sʼ	ʔs
c	ʃ	š	š	š	š	ʃ
s.		ʂ			ʂ	ʂ
w	w	w	w	w	w	w
ʔw	ʔw, wʼ	wʼ	wʼ	wʼ	wʼ	ʔw
l	l	l	l	l	l	l
ʔl	lʼ	ʔl̥, lʼ	lʼ, l̥	lʼ	lʼ	ʔl
L	tl̥		λ	tl	tl	tɬ
y	y, i ³⁵	y	y	y	y	j
ʔy	yʼ	yʼ	yʼ	yʼ	yʼ	ʔj
m	m	m	m	m	m	m
ʔm	ʔm	ʔm̥, mʼ	ʔm̥, mʼ	mʼ	mʼ	ʔm
n	n	n	N	n	n	n
ʔn	nʼ	ʔn̥	ʔn̥	nʼ	nʼ	ʔn
ñ	ɲ		ɲ	n	ɲ	ɲ
x					x	x
		Cʰ	Cʰ, Cʰ		Cʰ, Cʰ	Cʰ (aspirated stop)

³⁵ Uldall uses <i> to indicate an off-glide in the diphthong [iy], as in ²*imimil* ‘he said’, which would be rewritten as ²*imiyimil* in the orthography used in this grammar.

i	i, ɪ	i, ɪ	i, ɪ	i	i	i ~ ɪ
e	³⁶	ɛ, e	ɛ, e	e	e	e ~ ɛ
u	u	u, ʊ	u	u	u	u ~ ʊ
o	ɔ	o, ɔ	o, ɔ	o	o	o ~ ɔ
a ⁿ	ã	ʌ, ɤ	ʌ, ɤ, ɤ	ɤ	ɤ	ã
a	a, ʌ	a, ʌ, ə	a, ʌ, ə	a	a	ɛ̃ ~ ɸ
ai ⁿ	ãĩ, ãi	ɤy	ɤy, ʌi	ɤy	ɤy	ãj
au ⁿ	ãw	ʌw, ʌw, ɤw, ɤw	ɤw	ɤw	ɤw	ãw
Vi ³⁷	Vi	Vy	Vy	Vy	Vy	Vj
Vu	Vw	Vw	Vw	Vw	Vw	Vw
o ⁿ					ɔ	õ
u ⁿ					ʊ	ũ
σ					σ ³⁸	?
VV ³⁹	V:	V·, V:	V·	V·	V:	V:
Ṽ					Ṽ	stressed vowel

Table 1: Yuki and Huchnom Orthographies

³⁶ Uldall does not use <e> in his transcription of Yuki.

³⁷ Vi and Vu are indicating <i> or <u> following a vowel other than <i> or <u>.

³⁸ This vowel used by Kroeber is an allophone of Yuki /o/, but its equivalent in IPA is unclear.

³⁹ There is some uncertainty about the pronunciation of double vowels in Kroeber's transcription. These segments often are long vowels, but sometimes are [V?V] sequences. Since [V:] often results from [V?V] in Yuki, as discussed in §2.1.1.8.8.1, it may be that for many of sequences of double vowels either pronunciation was possible.

1.7. Brief Grammatical Overview

Yuki has 25 consonants and 5 vowels. Plain and glottalized variants are distinguished for nearly all consonants, except the sibilant /š/ and of course the glottal consonants /h/ and /ʔ/. /w/ and /s/ are marginal phonemes. Unlike in the neighboring Pomoan languages aspiration and voicing are not contrastive for stops. Vowel length is either not phonemic or only very marginally phonemic. One nasalized vowel phoneme /ą/ also exists in Yuki.

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

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

Nouns functioning as grammatical patients are marked with a unique case enclitic =*q*, while grammatical agents are unmarked (Mithun 2008:302). Generally only human nouns are marked for core cases, though non-human animates can also show this marking from time to time. Yuki nouns can also be marked for location, and several other categories. Number is marked only for a handful of human nouns. In addition, unique possessive morphology is used with kinship terms. Yuki noun morphology is discussed in Chapter 5. Kinship possessive morphology is discussed in §6.1.9.

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

Yuki is one of the few languages in California to possess an octonary numeral system (1911:368). However, in his ethnography of the Native Californians, Kroeber (1925

[1976]:176-7) notes that already at the time he was documenting the existence of this system in Yuki, it was falling out of use among younger speakers who apparently no longer realized that their grandparents were counting in multiples of eight rather than multiples of ten. The Yuki numeral system is discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.

Another interesting characteristic of Yuki is that it utilizes a system of switch-reference markers to track topic between clauses. In addition, a rich variety of other connective enclitics is used following the switch-reference markers to indicate other types of relationships between clauses. The Yuki switch-reference system is described in Chapter 14.

Yuki clauses are generally verb-final, though other word orders are also observed. Dependent clauses are formed either through the use of the dependent clause enclitic =*naml*i, which typically is further encliticized with demonstratives, or through the use of serial verb constructions. Yuki clause types and strategies for forming dependent clauses are discussed in detail in Chapter 15.

2. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

This chapter describes the phonetics and phonology of Yuki. This description is based on two sources: an hour-long recording of an elicitation session with Yuki speaker Frank Logan (Crawford 1953) and transcriptions of recorded data from Yuki speakers Minnie Fulwider and Arthur Anderson in *Yuki Vocabulary* (Sawyer & Schlichter 1984)⁴⁰.

2.1. Phoneme Inventory and Description of Phonemes

This section contains a description of the phonemes of Yuki.

2.1.1. Consonants

Yuki distinguishes 25 consonant phonemes occurring in six places of articulation: bilabial, dental, alveolar, palato-alveolar, velar, and glottal. These are shown in Table 2.

		BILABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATO- ALVEOLAR	VELAR	GLOTTAL
NASALS	PLAIN	m	n				
	GLOTTALIZED	m'	n'				
STOPS	PLAIN	p	t̚	t̚		k	
	GLOTTALIZED	p'	t̚'	t̚'		k'	ʔ
AFFRI- CATES	PLAIN				č		
	GLOTTALIZED				č'		
FRICATIVES	PLAIN			s	š		h
	GLOTTALIZED			(s')			
APPROX- IMANTS	PLAIN	w			y		
	GLOTTALIZED	(w')			y'		
LATERALS	PLAIN		l				
	GLOTTALIZED		l'				

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

⁴⁰ All examples in this chapter are drawn from these two sources, unless otherwise noted. Each example is marked with the initials of the speaker who is the source for that example. Frank Logan = FL, Minnie Fulwider = MF, Arthur Anderson = AA, Ralph Moore = RM.

2.1.1.1. Glottalization

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

2.1.1.2. Aspiration and Voicing

Aspiration and voicing are not contrastive for stops or affricates. The lack of contrastive aspiration and voicing distinguishes Yuki from the languages with which its speakers would have been most frequently in contact. Voicing is distinctive for some stops in Wintu and the Pomoan languages, while aspiration is distinctive for some or all stops in Wintu, the Pomoan languages, and in nearby California Athabaskan languages (Golla 1970:25, Pitkin 1984:25, O'Connor 1987:9, McLendon 1975:9, M. Mithun, personal communication, November 12, 2010, Walker 2008:15, Moshinsky 1974:5, Oswalt 1960:18). Lack of contrastive aspiration also sets Yuki apart from other languages of the Northern California language area. A three-way contrast distinguishing plain, aspirated, and glottalized variants for stops is considered a characteristic of this language area (Mithun 1999:19).

2.1.1.3. Distribution

All plain consonants are contrastive in syllable-initial and syllable-final position. Glottalized stops and affricates are contrastive in syllable-initial position and are also found in syllable-final position in a handful of words, such as, *?i-pop* 'my father's aunt' (AA). It is not known whether glottalized stops and affricates are contrastive syllable-finally. This may be due to the limited nature of the available data or because words showing this contrast do not exist in Yuki. Glottalization of final stops may also be obscured due to the spreading of word-final glottalization to the preceding vowel; a process described in more detail in §2.1.1.8.8. Glottalized sonorants are contrastive in syllable-final position and also occur in non-final position in syllable-final consonant clusters, as in *kan*'k 'knee' (AA).

The contrastive domain of non-syllable-initial glottalized consonants can be described in more general terms as morpheme-final. Morpheme-final glottalized

sonorants can occur in syllable codas. Underlying morpheme-final glottalized stops and fricatives cannot, and glottalization is retained only where the glottalized segment can syllabify as the onset of a syllable. Otherwise the glottalization spreads back to the vowel in the verb root creating a $VʔV$ sequence⁴¹. Compare (1a) and (1b) to see this process for *hək*'- 'split.'

(1a) *hək'əta*
hək'-t-a
 split-INTR?-IMP
 'split it!' MF

(1b) *ki ʔol hək'əktek*
kiʔ ʔol hək'-t=k
 DST tree split-INTR=DECL
 'That tree split in two.' AA

2.1.1.4. Stops, Affricates, and Fricatives

Stops occur in five places of articulation: bilabial, dental, alveolar, velar, and glottal. Affricates⁴² are found only in one place of articulation, palato-alveolar. Fricatives are distinguished in three places of articulation: alveolar, palato-alveolar⁴³, and glottal (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:10). With the exception of /š/, plain and glottalized variants are distinguished for all stops, affricates, and fricatives.

⁴¹ Schlichter (1985:39) discusses this alternation in a historical context. This alternation is also discussed in more detail in §2.1.1.8.8.

⁴² There is one partial exception to this. The transitive *-tl* verb morpheme is phonetically realized as a lateral affricate [tʃ]. *-tl* is discussed in more detail in §7.5.2. Likewise the imperative mood can be marked with glottalization of the final consonant. In the imperative form of verbs ending in transitive *-tl* a glottalized lateral affricate [tʃʔ] can occur. See (80) in §7.4.3.2 for a verb ending in [tʃʔ].

⁴³ Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:10) classify /č/, /čʔ/ and /š/ as palatal. Frank Logan pronounces these consonants in a position closer to that of /tʃ/. Therefore /č/, /čʔ/, and /š/ are classified as palato-alveolar in this grammar.

2.1.1.4.1. Alveolar /t/ and Dental /t̪/

Yuki distinguishes two /t/ phonemes: an alveolar stop /t/, which has an apico-alveolar pronunciation, and a dental stop /t̪/. A phonemic contrast between two /t/ phonemes is a characteristic of the Northern California language area, as many of the languages of this region make this contrast (Mithun 1999:316). Among the languages directly bordering Yuki, this contrast exists in the Pomoan languages, but not in Wintu or nearby California Athabaskan languages (Pitkin 1984:25, Golla 1970:25). In California, this contrast is found in Chimariko, Yuki, Wappo, the seven Pomoan languages, the seven or more Miwokan languages, the two or more Costanoan languages, Esselen, Yokuts, Salinan, Yuman, Diegueño, Cocopa, and possibly in Mojave (Langdon and Silver 1984:141).

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

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

2.1.1.4.3. /š/ and /č/

/š/, /č/, and /č'/ are classified as palato-alveolar consonants⁴⁴. In Logan's pronunciation the place of articulation of these sounds is close to that of /t̪/⁴⁵.

2.1.1.4.4. /s'/ and /w'/

Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:10) include /s'/ as a possible phoneme and /w'/ as a phoneme in the inventory of Yuki consonant phonemes. Neither of these consonants is present in any Yuki word with the glottalized or pre-glottalized pronunciation that one

⁴⁴ Langdon and Silver (1984:151) recognize Yuki as having a dental stop /t̪/, an alveolar or postalveolar stop /t/, and a postalveolar or retroflex fricative /ʂ/, but not a postalveolar or retroflex affricate /tʂ/.

⁴⁵ The postalveolar or retroflex quality in the pronunciation of /š/ was also noted by Kroeber, who would transcribe some instances of /š/ as <ʂ>, as in: *hą̣:šimil* '(Taykómol) told him to build' (RM).

would expect in a Yuki glottalized consonant. Instead Schlichter's claim for the existence of these two phonemes, though never explicitly stated, appears to be drawn from a comparison with forms present in Huchnom and Coast Yuki and a deeper historic and morphophonemic analysis of morpheme-final glottalized consonants.

The existence of /s'/ and /w'/ in Yuki can be extrapolated from the process described in §2.1.1.8.8.1. As a result of this process the glottalization of morpheme-final glottalized stops and affricates is not pronounced on the stop or affricate, but instead spreads to the preceding vowel where it is pronounced as a VʔV sequence. The examples discussed below are taken from Schlichter's reconstruction of Proto-Northern Yukian (PNY)⁴⁶.

The second person plural agent pronoun is recorded as *moʔos* (AA, MF) or *mos* (AA)⁴⁷. Schlichter (1985:21) reconstructs this pronoun as Proto-Northern Yukian (PNY) **miʔ* ~ **moʔ* 'second person'⁴⁸ affixed with PNY plural *-s. The result is a final [ʔs] sequence with the glottalization following the pattern observed for morpheme-final glottalized consonants. Instead of being pronounced as a glottalized consonant, the glottalization spreads to the preceding vowel and is manifested as a VʔV sequence. Thus: PNY: **moʔ* + *-s = Yuki: **moʔs* > *moʔos*.

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

/w'/ never appears as [ʔw] or [wʔ] in a surface form of 'bee, honeybee, yellowjacket' in Yuki itself, though the pattern is suggestive of its existence underlyingly. /w'/ does

⁴⁶ In her reconstruction, Schlichter refers to the reconstructed ancestor of Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki as Proto-Yukian. In this work the proto-language of these three languages is referred to as Proto-Northern Yukian to avoid confusion with the ancestor language shared by the three Northern Yukian languages and Wappo.

⁴⁷ In Coast Yuki the pre-glottalization of final /s/ is preserved: *mδʔs* 'ye' (Schlichter 1985:381).

⁴⁸ Schlichter's reconstruction of PNY second-person pronouns is supported by the fact that these pronouns were probably borrowed from the Pomoan languages. Yuki *miʔ* '2SG.AGT' and *mos* ~ *moʔos* '2PL.AGT' correspond well to Eastern Pomo *mí* '2SG.OBL' and *má* '2PL.NOM/ACC' (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:244, McLendon 1975:107). One can imagine speakers of Proto-Northern Yukian (PNY) suffixing the Pomoan second person plural pronoun with PNY plural *-s in order to emphasize the plural nature of that pronoun or to match an existing paradigm.

appear in surface forms in Huchnom *hew*[?] ‘yes’ and Coast Yuki *h w*[?] ‘yes’, but not in Yuki *h w h *[?] ‘yes’ (AA).

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

2.1.1.5. Resonants

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

2.1.1.6. Gemination

There are no phonemic geminate consonants in Yuki. However, sequences of two identical consonants can result in phonetic geminates. These are found from time to time at morpheme boundaries, as a result of the coda consonant of one morpheme being the same as the onset of the subsequent morpheme⁴⁹. Only one instance of this type of phonetic geminate is found in the Logan recording. As shown in (2), a phonetic geminate /m/ occurs in *k mmu * ‘came’ when *-m *, a verbal suffix indicating movement, is suffixed onto the verb root *kom-* ‘come.’

- (2) *k ta* ʔ p *k mmu *
k ta ʔ p *k m-m -wi *
 here 1SG.AGT come-DIR1?⁵⁰-PST2
 ‘I came this way.’ FL

⁴⁹ Geminates can also occur as a result of assimilation. See §2.1.1.8.7.

⁵⁰ Question marks indicate glosses and morphemic analyses with uncertain or not completely settled meanings.

2.1.1.7. Consonant Clusters

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

- (3) *musp* ‘woman’ AA, MF *p’ans* ‘wind’ AA, MF
kəyʔ ‘early, long ago’ AA, MF *k’an’k* ‘knee’ AA

2.1.1.8. Allophonic Variation

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

2.1.1.8.1. Voicing

Voicing of stops, affricates, and fricatives occurs sporadically between vowels or following another voiced segment, such as a liquid or nasal. The examined data were not extensive enough to generalize regarding this process or to make broader statements about the patterns of such voicing in Yuki. Should any recordings of connected speech in Yuki ever be found, then it would be especially interesting to see how prevalent this intervocalic voicing is in such speech data.

- (4a)⁵¹ *ʔi:ʔin sak* ‘my child’
ʔi:ʔin [z]ak ‘my child’ FL
- (4b) *hánpis ʔəp kómmut* ‘I came from the house.’
hán[b]i[z] ʔəp kómmut ‘I came from the house.’ FL
- (4c) *hálčəʔ* ‘children’
hál[dz]əʔ ‘children’ RM⁵²

⁵¹ The examples of allophonic variation given in §2.1.1.8 and §2.1.2.2 consist of two lines each. The top line shows the phonemic form of the word or clause, the bottom line shows the allophonic variation written in phonetic transcription and enclosed in square brackets.

⁵² Example from Kroeber 1902b:39.

2.1.1.8.2. Pre-glottalization of Final Stops

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

- (5a) *káʔa ʔq̄p kómmuʔ* ‘I came here.’
káʔa ʔq̄p kómmu[ʔʔ] ‘I came here.’ FL
- (5b) *miʔók* ‘joints’
miʔó[ʔk] ‘joints’ FL

2.1.1.8.3. Lenition and Deletion of Word-final Stops

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

- (6) *miʔók* ‘joints’
miʔó[ʔ] ‘joints’ FL
- (7a) *ʔq̄p li:ʔakik* ‘I killed it.’
ʔq̄p li:ʔaki ‘I killed it.’ FL
- (7b) *hq:t* ‘branch or limb of a tree’
hq: ‘branch or limb of a tree’ FL

2.1.1.8.4. [ʔ] ~ [tʃ]

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

- (8a) *ʔq̄p witlíwiʔ* ‘I turned it over.’
ʔq̄p witlíwi[tʃ] ‘I turned it over.’ FL
- (8b) *ʔi: ʔu:k kiwtuʔ* ‘I was thirsty.’
ʔi: ʔu:k kiwtu[tʃ] ‘I was thirsty’ FL

2.1.1.8.5. [l] ~ [ɾ] ~ [ɭ]

Logan's pronunciation of syllable-initial /l/ shows a great deal of variation⁵³ ranging from an apical dental lateral approximant to a pronunciation approximating a retroflex tap [ɾ] or retroflex lateral [ɭ]. This variation does not appear to be phonologically conditioned. Syllable-final /l/ is generally [l], though its pronunciation can have a reduced retroflex quality. (9a) and (9b) show the pronunciation of /l/ word-initially. (9a) also shows the pronunciation of /l/ word-finally. (10a) - (10c) show the pronunciation of /l/ word-medially.

- (9a) *lil* 'stone'
[l]i[l] 'stone' FL
- (9b) *lóp:is* 'jackrabbit'
[ɾ]óp:is 'jackrabbit' FL
- (10a) *ʔó:lam* 'bush'
ʔó:[l]am 'bush' FL
- (10b) *nəmlá:t̚* 'tongue'
nəml[ɾ]á:t̚ 'tongue' FL
- (10c) *k'á:li* 'thorn, sticker'
k'á:[l]i 'thorn, sticker' FL

2.1.1.8.6. [n] ~ [ŋ]

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

- (11) *inká:wəm* 'flowers'
i[ŋ]ká:wəm 'flowers' FL

⁵³ Schlichter (1985:39) notes that Coast Yuki /l/ is often realized as [r'], which is described by Harrington as "American r."

2.1.1.8.7. Total Regressive Assimilation by Nasals and Liquids

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

- (12) *opmaha:t̚* ‘four’
o[m]maha:t̚ ‘four’ FL

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

2.1.1.8.8. Intervocalic Lenition of Glottal Consonants

Glottal consonants are typically lenited intervocalically. This lenition results in a phonetically long vowel with a falling pitch.

2.1.1.8.8.1. VʔV ~ V: ~ V

Noun and verb roots containing phonetically long vowels will frequently have a variant form⁵⁴ containing a VʔV sequence instead of the long vowel. For example, *ʔu:k* ‘water’ is also attested as *ʔuʔuk*. The same process is observed for roots ending in a glottal stop. Compare *siʔ* ‘clover’ (MF) with its variant *siʔi* (MF)⁵⁵.

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

⁵⁴ For reasons which are unclear, occasionally one encounters forms where the VʔV sequence occurs as well as morpheme-final glottalization, as in *wáʔokʔismil* ‘(we) dance’ (FD:22).

⁵⁵ *siʔi* is taken from Siniard 1967b:1, where it originally appeared with tone marks as part of the phrase *siʔi si:k* ‘Clover is green’.

Then through intervocalic weakening in quick speech, the glottal stop is lost and the result is a phonetically long vowel with a noticeable falling pitch⁵⁶. Sometimes this long vowel is further shortened to a short vowel.

2.1.1.8.8.2. VhV ~ V:

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

- (13) *nqhan* ‘mouth’
nq:n ‘mouth’ FL

2.1.1.9. Minimal Pairs

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

2.1.1.9.1. Stops, Affricates, and Fricatives

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

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(14) /p ~ p’/
 <i>pan</i> ‘nest’ AA
 <i>p’ans</i> ‘wind’ AA, MF, FL</p> | <p>/t̥ ~ t’/
 <i>t̥u:m</i> ‘rain’ FL
 <i>t’u:</i> ‘heart’ AA</p> |
| <p>/t̥ ~ t’/
 <i>t̥uk-</i> ‘move’ AA, MF
 <i>t’uk-</i> ‘gig’ MF</p> | <p>/č ~ č’/
 <i>či:p̥t̥</i> ‘rattle’ AA
 <i>č’i:mi̥t̥</i> ‘bird’ AA</p> |
| <p>/k ~ k’/
 <i>kap-</i> ‘put’ AA
 <i>k’ap-</i> ‘choke’ MF</p> | |

⁵⁶ See §2.2.2.

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

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|------------------------|
| (15) | /t̥ ~ t̚/ | /t̥' ~ t̚'/ |
| | t̥u:m 'rain' FL | t̥'u: 'heart' AA |
| | t̚um 'noise' AA | t̚'u: 'stomach' AA, MF |

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

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (16) | /s ~ š/ | |
| | si:k 'blue' FL | ku:s 'fingernail' FL |
| | ši:k 'black' FL | ku:š 'body hair' FL |

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

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (17) | /š ~ č/ | |
| | ši:k 'black' FL | hu:š 'beets, carrots' MF |
| | ʔol či:č 'knot of a tree' FL | huč 'outside' AA, MF |

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

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| (18) | /h ~ s ~ š/ | |
| | hul 'eye' AA, MF | ma:h 'milkweed' AA, MF |
| | sum 'evening' AA, MF | mos 'you (pl. agt.)' AA |
| | šul 'body' AA, MF | mi:š 'trail' MF |

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

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (19) | /h ~ ʔ/ | |
| | hɤ:p 'song' AA, MF | nih 'hole' AA, MF |
| | ʔɤp 'I (agt.)' AA, MF, FL | miʔ 'you (sg. agt.)' AA, MF |

2.1.2. Vowels

Yuki distinguishes 5 vowels: /a/, /ạ/, /i/, /o/, /u/. The mid central vowel /ạ/ is nasalized. One further vowel, [e] occurs phonetically as a result of an irregular vowel harmony⁵⁷. The Yuki vowel phoneme inventory is shown in Table 3.

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		u
MID	(e)	ạ	o
LOW		a	

Table 3: Yuki Vowels (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:10)

2.1.2.1. Vowel Length

Vowel length is either not phonemic or only very marginally phonemic⁵⁸. Long vowels have often been transcribed for Yuki. This phonetic vowel length appears to result from stress and several allophonic processes.

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

This allophonic process primarily or exclusively affects word roots. As roots already contain longer vowels due to stress, stress and this allophonic process both contribute

⁵⁷ See §2.1.2.2 for more discussion.

⁵⁸ Due to the two processes discussed in this section, it is impossible to take words recorded by earlier researchers as clear evidence for phonemic vowel length in Yuki. Additionally, many words will have two variants recorded, one containing a long vowel, the other containing a short vowel. In the recording of Frank Logan, no examples of vowel length minimal pairs were found.

to a situation where roots generally have phonetically longer vowels than other syllables.

2.1.2.2. Allophonic Variation

This section describes the allophonic variation of Yuki vowels.

2.1.2.2.1. Stress-based Allophony

Vowels are pronounced differently depending on whether they occur in stressed or unstressed syllables. Phonetic equivalents of each vowel are given for stressed and unstressed syllables in Tables 4 and 5, respectively⁵⁹.

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i [i]		u [u]
MID	(e) [e ~ ẹ]	ə [ɛ̃]	o [o ~ ọ]
LOW		a [ạ]	

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

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i [ị]		u [ụ]
MID	(e) [ẹ ~ e]	ə [ɛ̃]	o [ọ]
LOW		a [ạ]	

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

⁵⁹ Schlichter's original transcription is adapted here to current IPA conventions. Schlichter also includes phonetic values for phonetically long vowels. These are mainly just lengthened versions of the vowels given above (e.g. <u:> is [uː]). The exceptions are: <e:> in stressed syllables is [eː], <a:> in unstressed syllables is [aː], <o:> in stressed syllables is [oː]

2.1.2.2.2. Vowel Harmony

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

- (24) *ki:ʔq máčliwa* ‘I met him.’
ki:ʔq máčl[e]wa ‘I met him.’ FL

- (25a) *mihót* ‘thumb’
m[e]hót ‘thumb’ FL

- (25b) *mipán* ‘foot’
m[e]pán ‘foot’ FL

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

/a/ is an unstable vowel, more so in the speech of Mr. Anderson than for Mrs. Fulwider. It has a strong tendency to be denasalized or to change into other vowels, especially /u/ and /o/, but also /e/. The change into the back vowels is part of the development of vowel harmony which Yuki was just beginning to introduce when it became obsolete⁶⁰ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:11).

2.1.2.2.3. Nasalization

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

⁶⁰ The [i] ~ [e] variation appears for Ralph Moore in Kroeber’s documentation of his speech in the early to mid twentieth century and also in the speech of Frank Logan in the recording analyzed for this chapter. Both Moore and Logan were born in the 1870s, several decades prior to Minnie Fulwider and Arthur Anderson. Therefore the [i] ~ [e] variation seen in the vowel harmony system must have existed earlier than just at the end of the period where Yuki was still spoken.

- (26) $ʔq̄p$ *huʔ'é:wič* 'I was working.'
 $ʔq̄p$ *huʔ'[ē:]wič* 'I was working' FL

2.1.2.2.4. Diphthongs

Yuki contains a series of phonetic diphthongs formed by combining a vowel with a [j] or [w] off-glide. Diphthongs are most common with /a/ and /ə/ as the initial element, though more rarely diphthongs are formed beginning with other vowels. Diphthongs with a [w] off-glide are shown in (27a), diphthongs with a [j] off-glide are shown in (27b)⁶¹.

- (27a) *k'aw* 'light, clear' AA, MF
t'qw 'war' AA
hiw 'full' AA
šuwki 'sugar' FL
- (27b) *hay* 'pocket' MF
kəyʔ 'early, long ago' AA, MF
hoy 'and, too' AA
huy 'milk' AA

/i/ in open syllables is often realized phonetically as [ij] or [ej]. Kroeber and Uldall typically write this palatal off-glide in their transcription of Ralph Moore's speech. Examples (28a) and (28b) show these diphthongs in Kroeber's (1902a:2) and Uldall's (n.d.) texts, respectively, for *ʔimi-* 'say' and the switch-reference marker *si* indicating a new topic encliticized with the hearsay evidential *ʔi*.

- (28a) *ʔimeymil* 'said' RM
se'eŷ 'and then' RM
- (28b) *ʔimiyimil* 'said' RM
si'iŷ 'then' RM

⁶¹ Examples of words containing the sequence [ow] were not found. The only example found for [uw], *šuwki* 'sugar', is a loanword.

Phonologically, diphthongs are analyzable as VC sequences. The reasoning for this is the $CV(C_\alpha)(C_\beta)$ shape of the *he* Yuki canonical syllable. As there are no phonemic long vowels, there is no basis to suggest that there exists a class of syllables that have an alternate shape, such as CVV. Thus the most parsimonious analysis is to consider the [j] and [w] off-glides and to analyze syllables containing diphthongs as CVC.

2.1.2.2.5. Minimal Pairs

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

- (29) /a ~ ʔ ~ i ~ o ~ u/
 ʔas ‘urine’ AA
 ʔqs ‘blood’ AA, MF
 ʔi:ʂe ‘thing’ AA
 -ʔos ‘uncle⁶²’ AA
 ʔus ‘we (excl. agt.)’ AA, MF

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

- (30) *ma* ‘still’ AA
mʌ ‘fresh’ AA
mi: ‘we (incl. agt.)’ AA, MF
ho: ‘liver’ MF
čʷu: ‘field’ AA

⁶² Kinship terms typically occur with a possessive prefix. See §6.1.9 for discussion of kinship possessive prefixes.

2.2. Prosody

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

2.2.1. Stress

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

2.2.1.1. Primary Stress

The domain of primary stress is the root of the Yuki word. Primary stress typically occurs in the initial syllable of the root, though some variation is seen for words containing roots of more than syllable⁶³. As Yuki is primarily a suffixing language, the root is usually the first syllable of the word, regardless of word class. Suffixes and enclitics do not alter the position of stress, thus primary stress is typically found in the initial syllable of a word. Examples of words with primary stress falling on the initial syllable are shown in (31a) and (31b)⁶⁴.

- (31a) ^ˈq̄p lák.tu
 ^ˈq̄p lak'-t-wi
 1SG.AGT emerge-INTR-PST1
 'I went out.' FL

- (31b) káč.pis
 káč=pis
 left=ABL
 'on the left' FL

⁶³ For reasons which are unclear, primary stress occasionally appears to occur on non-initial syllables, as in *yq̄:hišti* 'blazing up' (CW:24).

⁶⁴ Primary stress is marked with an acute accent in these examples.

Yuki nouns and verbs are rarely prefixed. However, there exists a small set of prefixes that appears on verbs denoting actions associated with a particular part of the body or nouns referring to particular parts of the body⁶⁵.

Prefix	Description	Example	Possible Origin
<i>mi-/me-</i>	belonging to the hand or foot	<i>mipát</i> 'hand' FL	Unknown
<i>na</i> ⁶⁶	belonging to the head	no example available	<i>nan</i> 'head'
<i>nq-/nam-</i>	belonging to the mouth	<i>nqmlát</i> 'tongue' FL	<i>nahan</i> 'mouth'
<i>hq-/ham-</i>	unclear, perhaps having to do with the senses	?i: <i>hamlótu</i> 'I was hungry' FL	Unknown

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

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

In prefixed words, the body prefixes are unstressed with primary stress remaining on the root. This is shown in (32a) and (32b)⁶⁷.

- (32a) ?i: nq.nák.uč
 ?i: nq.nák-wič
 1SG.PAT remember-PST2
 'I remember it.' FL

⁶⁵ The information in Table 6 is adapted from Schlichter 1978. It appears here with examples and showing further variation in the prefixes that appears in Frank Logan's speech.

⁶⁶ In Logan's speech it is not possible to discern *na-* 'belonging to the head' and *nq-* 'belonging to the mouth', with both prefixes sounding like *nq-*. Therefore it seems that a distinction between these two prefixes may not have existed for him.

⁶⁷ The syllable boundary between prefix and stressed root is marked and the body prefixes are underlined but not glossed in the examples showing the prefixes in use. This is because the meaning of the root following the prefix is not known. In terms of the stress pattern, there is an unstressed prefix followed by a stressed verb root, but in terms of actual meaning, the prefix and the stressed root form the actual meaningful verb root. Thus *nq.nák-* means 'remember', but by itself *nák-* does not mean anything anymore.

(32b) *me.tás* ‘finger’ FL

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

(33) ?i: *hə.nə.yáwuč*
 ?i: *hənəyá-wič*
 1SG.PAT believe-PST2
 ‘I believed him.’ FL

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

(34) ?ij-k’ič
 1SG.KIN.POSS-older.brother
 ‘(my) older brother’ FL

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

Lexicalized compounds show a fairly consistent pattern of primary stress on the initial syllable of the second element of the compound, with secondary stress falling on the first element of the compound. The first element is typically monosyllabic, but in a handful of examples in the corpus with a disyllabic first element, the secondary stress falls on the initial syllable, as in (35d) and (35e)⁶⁸.

(35a) ?ùk-hót
 water-large
 ‘ocean’ FL

⁶⁸ Primary stress is marked with an acute accent and secondary stress is marked with a grave accent.

(35b) *hùl-k'ó'i*
 eye-gopher/put-out⁶⁹
 'coyote' FL

(35c) *tòl'-kól'*
 hair-net
 'fish net' FL

(35d) *milon-títam*
 deer⁷⁰-mountain
 'elk' FL

(35e) *ʔùpan-sík'in*
 snake?⁷¹-snake?
 'snake' FL

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

⁶⁹ Kroeber interprets 'coyote' as the compound 'eye-gopher' and Curtis interprets it as 'eye-put out,' referring to a myth where Coyote trades eyes with Raven. Raven destroys Coyote's eyes and forces him to replace them with pebbles (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:54).

⁷⁰ Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:62) translate *mil'onti-tam* as 'elk' and note that this literally means "deer mountain". While *mil'on* seems very likely related to *mil* 'deer', the meaning of the suffix *-on* in *mil(')on* is unclear.

⁷¹ Frank Logan gives *ʔùpan-sík'in* as the Yuki word meaning 'snake' during elicitation. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:193) translate *ʔu:pan-si-k'en* as 'snake' or 'watersnake (eutoenia)'; *si-k'en* and *ʔu:pae* are also translated as 'snake' and 'snakes', respectively (1984:287, 312). It is possible that *ʔupan* and *ʔu:pae* are connected with *ʔuk* 'water', as this word is commonly realized as *ʔu:k* in connected speech. Further analysis of this form goes beyond the scope of the present work; however, it seems very likely, nevertheless, that *ʔùpan-sík'in* is a compound and the boundary between the elements of this compound occurs as indicated here.

- (36) *ʔá:taʔ* *nó:mol'*
 ʔaʔat *noʔ-mol'*
 people live-AG/INST
 'Indian camp' FL

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

In the Logan recording, some verbs with disyllabic roots show a pattern of primary stress often falling on the non-initial⁷² syllable of the root, which is the peninitial or second syllable of that word. For example in (37) primary stress falls on the second syllable of *wilít-* 'pass.'

- (37) *noʔq̄p* *wi.lí.tu*
 noʔ=q̄p *wilít-wi*
 camp=LAT pass-PST1
 'I passed through the camp.' FL

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

⁷² Instead of referring to this syllable as the 'final' or 'peninitial' syllable of the root, I choose to call it the 'non-initial' syllable here. This is because (1) calling it final or peninitial could be confusing when discussing the position of stress in the verb root and also position of stress in a word containing that verb root and (2) Yuki may have a few trisyllabic verb roots too and stress is not known for them, so it is premature to call the stressed syllable in these roots anything but 'non-initial' so as to avoid generalizing too much for Yuki verb roots.

2.2.1.2. Secondary Stress

Secondary stress is found on the penultimate syllable of trisyllabic words with monosyllabic roots⁷³ and in lexicalized compounds and prefixed nouns and verbs. An example of this is shown in (38a). In lexicalized compounds, secondary stress occurs on the initial syllable of the initial element of the compound. In prefixed nouns and verbs, secondary stress will typically be found on the prefix. Just as for primary stress, the correlates of secondary stress are vowel length and f₀ level. The secondary stressed syllable will typically have the next highest f₀ level and next longest vowel duration after the f₀ level and vowel duration of the primary stressed syllable. Examples of this are shown in (38b) and (38c).

- (38a) *ki* [?]*q* *wá.ki.wič*
ki [?]*q* *wąk-wič*
 3SG.PAT pay/lend-PST2
 'I lent it to him.' FL

- (38b) [?]*i* *ną.ná.kuč*
[?]*i* *nąnak-wič*
 1SG.PAT know-PST2
 'I remember it.' FL

- (38c) [?]*úk.hót*
[?]*uk'-hot*
 water-large
 'ocean' FL

Other patterns of secondary stress may exist in words of four syllables or more; however there are too few such words available in the Logan recording to perform a meaningful analysis.

⁷³ See §2.2.1.3. Secondary stress may also be found in longer words or in words with disyllabic roots; however insufficient data were available to test for secondary stress in words of this type.

2.2.1.3. Stress Correlates

Cross-linguistically, f₀ level or pitch, intensity, and duration of the syllabic nucleus frequently act as acoustic correlates of stress (Fry 1955, Fry 1958, Hyman 1977). Yuki has a two-tiered system⁷⁴. Duration is the most significant correlate of stress; f₀ and intensity are the second most significant correlates of stress.

In disyllabic words with a monosyllabic root, the initial syllable of the root receives primary stress, if it is not a prefix. This syllable has the longest vowel duration and the highest levels of f₀ and intensity. Duration, f₀, and intensity are statistically significant acoustic correlates of stress in disyllabic words. This is shown in Figures 2-4. The methods used for obtaining this data are discussed in §1.6.2.

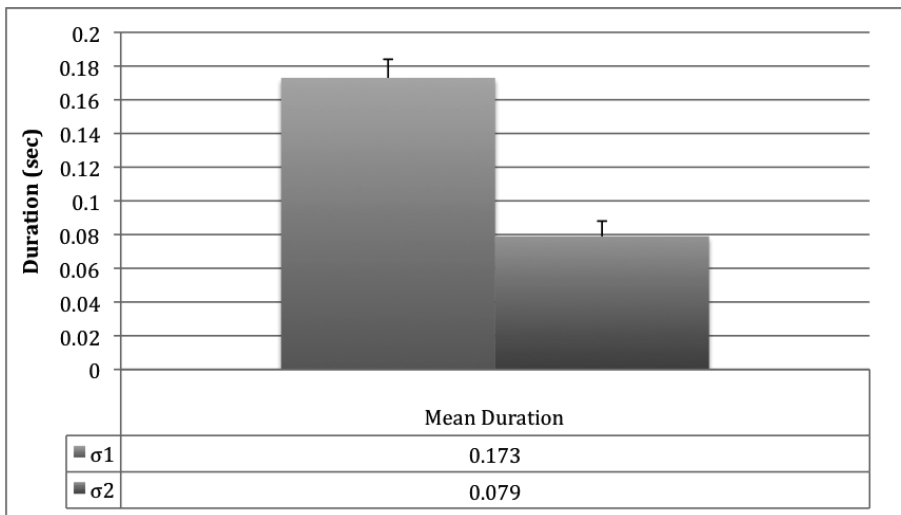


Figure 2: Mean values for vowel duration in disyllabic tokens with monosyllabic roots (Standard Error of Mean: $\sigma 1=0.011$ sec, $\sigma 2=0.009$ sec, $N=13$, $p=0.000$)

⁷⁴ Schlichter (1978:24-5) noted that Yuki is a stress-accent language with high and mid level pitch acting as perceptual cues for primary and secondary stress, respectively.

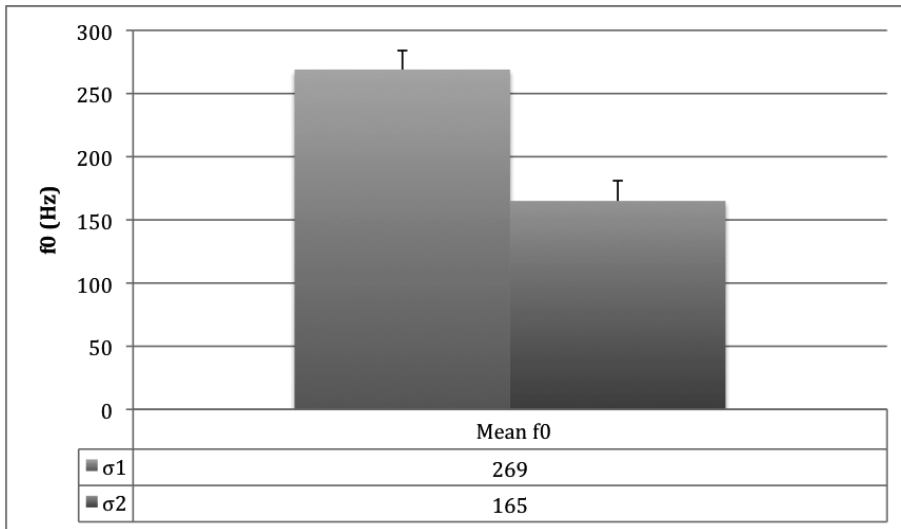


Figure 3: Mean values for f_0 of vowels in disyllabic tokens with monosyllabic roots
(Standard Error of Mean: $\sigma_1=15$ Hz, $\sigma_2=16$ Hz, $N=13$, $p=0.000$)

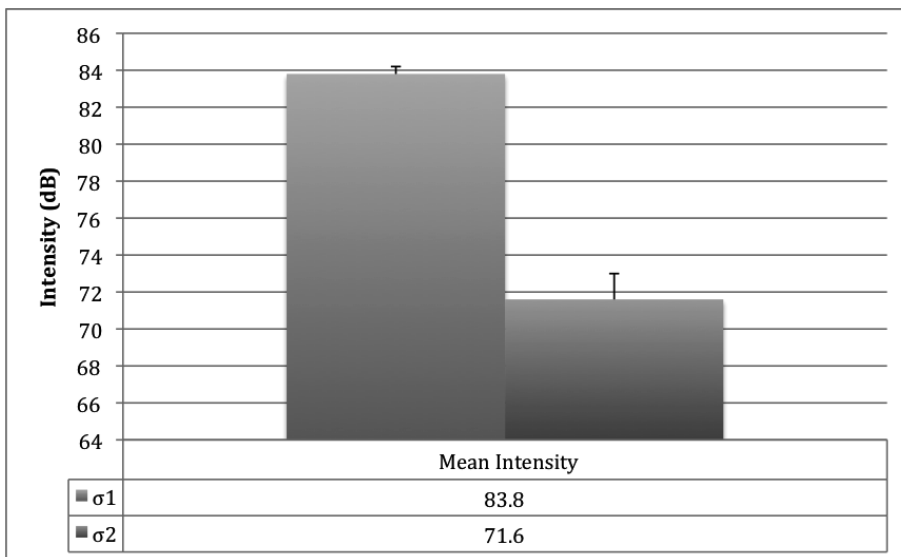


Figure 4: Mean values for vowel intensity in disyllabic tokens with monosyllabic roots
(Standard Error of Mean: $\sigma_1=0.4$ dB, $\sigma_2=1.4$ dB, $N=13$, $p=0.000$)

In trisyllabic words with monosyllabic roots, duration distinguishes primary stressed syllables from other syllables; f_0 and intensity distinguish the initial and penultimate syllable from the final syllable. Thus the primary stressed syllable will have noticeably longer vowel duration than other syllables in the word. The penultimate syllable receives secondary stress and so has f_0 and intensity levels that are marginally lower than that of the initial syllable, but noticeably higher than that of the final syllable. The duration of the secondary stressed syllable will be intermediate between the duration of the primary stressed syllable and the final unstressed syllable. This is shown in Figures 5-7.

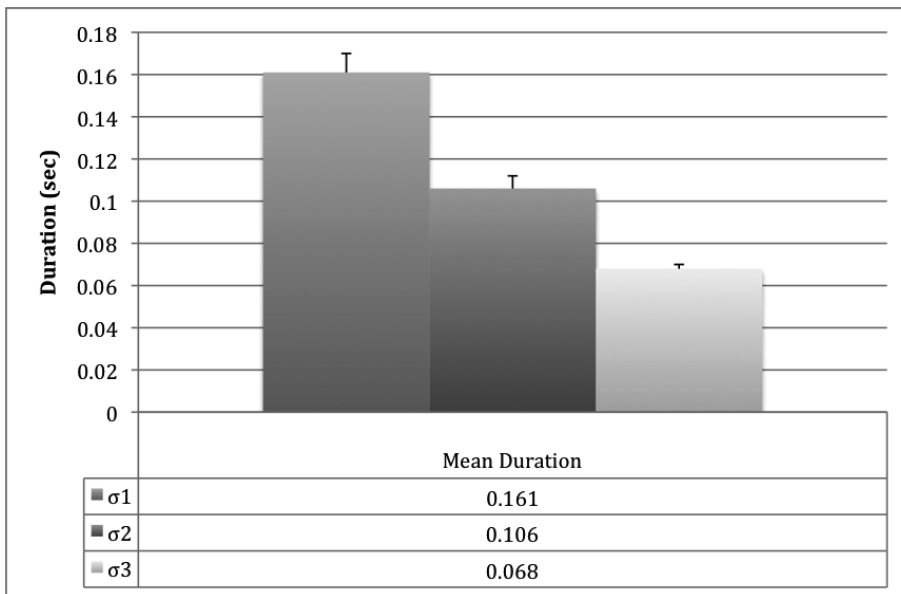


Figure 5: Mean values for vowel duration in trisyllabic words with monosyllabic roots
(Standard Error of Mean: $\sigma_1=0.009$ sec, $\sigma_2=0.006$ sec, $\sigma_3=0.002$ sec, $N=28$, $p=0.000$)

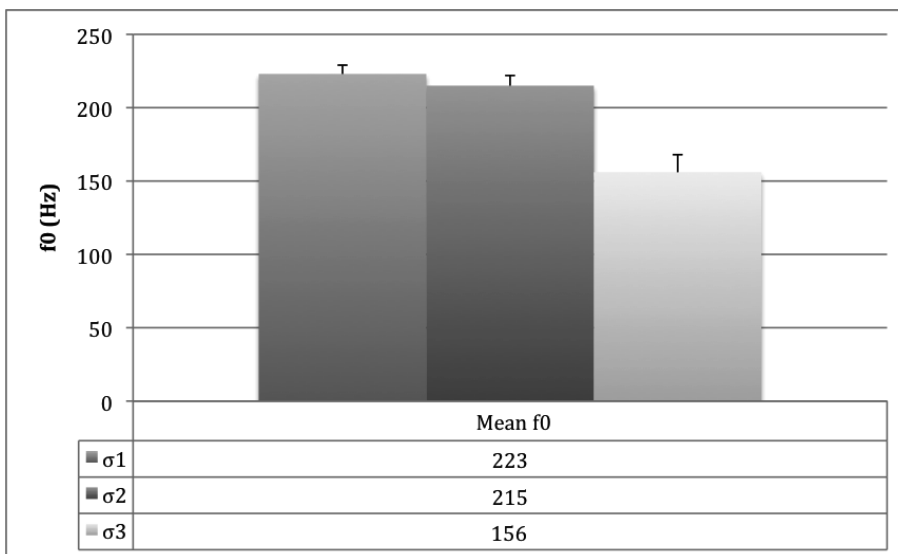


Figure 6: Mean values for f_0 of vowels in trisyllabic words with monosyllabic roots
(Standard Error of Mean: $\sigma_1=6$ Hz, $\sigma_2=7$ Hz, $\sigma_3=12$ Hz, $N=28$, $p=0.000$)

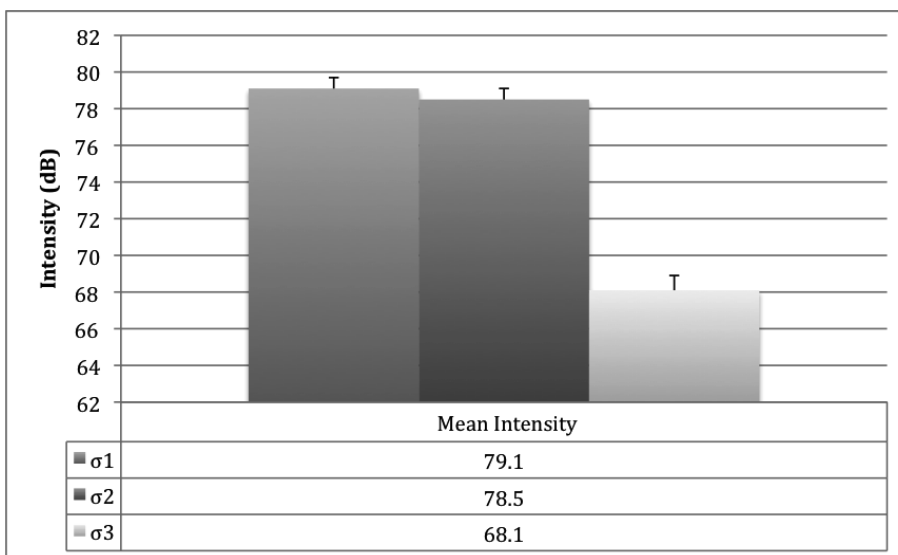


Figure 7: Mean values for intensity of vowels in trisyllabic tokens with monosyllabic roots
(Standard Error of Mean: $\sigma_1=0.6$ dB, $\sigma_2=0.6$ dB, $\sigma_3=0.8$ dB, $N=28$, $p=0.000$)

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

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

2.2.1.4. Syllable Weight?

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

2.2.1.5. Is stress phonemic?

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

2.2.2. Tone

During the middle decades of the twentieth century, several researchers described Yuki as a language with tone or pitch accent. Phonetician Hans Uldall (1932:1) describes the Yuki tone system as consisting of five tones: falling, high, dropping, middle, and low. Kroeber (1958a:1) reduces this number of tones to four: falling, high middle, and low.

Stating that as Uldall's falling and dropping tones both descend in pitch, they should be considered a single falling tone. Elmendorf (1968:22) describes Huchnom and Yuki as having pitch accent with three pitches: high, low, and falling.

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

In one area, Schlichter (1978:23-4) finds evidence for the possible emergence of a tonal or pitch contrast in Yuki. This is a result of the intervocalic weakening and deletion of [ʔ] and [h] in VʔV and VhV sequences⁷⁵, resulting in phonetic long vowels with a falling pitch. The result is a series of possible minimal pairs shown in Table 7. The deletion of these intervocalic segments is a result of fast speech (1978:23), but the extent to which the falling pitch had truly phonemicized is not known.

High-level tone	High-falling tone	Unreduced form leading to high-falling tone
sák 'child'	sâk 'baby'	< sáʔak 'baby'
sâk 'tooth'	sâk 'baby tooth'	< sâʔâk 'baby tooth'
mepâţ 'hand'	mepâţ 'palm'	< mepâʔâţ 'palm'
nán 'head'	nân 'mouth'	< náhan 'mouth'
mâł 'river'	mâł 'new, young'	< mâhâł 'new, young'

Table 7: Minimal Pairs showing possible Level-Falling Tone Contrast (Schlichter 1978:23)⁷⁶

⁷⁵ These variations are discussed in §2.1.1.8.8.

⁷⁶ Schlichter uses an acute accent (´) to mark high-level tone and a circumflex (^) to mark high-falling tone. High-level tone here is a result of primary stress, as primary stressed syllables have the highest pitch in a word.

2.2.3. Intonation

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

2.3. Syllable structure

Non-final syllables take the form CV(C). Final syllables can end in a cluster of two non-identical consonants, CV(C_α)(C_β). Words composed of a single CV syllable are quite rare. All consonants except for glottalized sonorants and /s'/ can be syllable onsets: m, n, p, p', t̚, t', t̚, t', k, k', ʔ, č, č', s, š, h, w, y, l. All consonants except for glottalized stops and affricates can be coda consonants: m, m', n, n', p, t̚, t', k, ʔ, č, s, (s'), w, (w'), y, y', l, l'. As discussed below, there does not seem to be an absolute prohibition on glottalized stops in coda position. Instead such consonants seem to be disfavored as codas. Consonant clusters can occur in coda position, but only word-finally. The shape of Yuki consonant clusters is discussed in §2.1.1.7. Only vowels are permitted to be syllabic nuclei. All vowels can occur in this position within the syllable: a, ạ, i ~ e, o, u.

As discussed in §2.1.1.4.4, it is uncertain whether /s'/ and /w'/ ever occurred in surface forms or only underlyingly; however, the position where these consonants occur underlyingly is word-final and therefore syllable-final.

Glottalization in ejective stops and affricates occurring underlyingly in root-final position typically spreads to the preceding vowel where it can be assimilated as a long vowel or then further reduced to a short vowel. For example, ^ʔuk' 'water' is realized as ^ʔu^ʔuk ~ ^ʔu:k ~ ^ʔuk. Occasionally, one finds forms such as ^ʔu:t' 'weasel' (Kroeber 1901a:4, RM) and *pát'.wá* 'flat' (OG:76b), which may indicate that there is not an absolute prohibition on syllable-final glottalized stops. However, such forms are the exception rather than the rule and the far more likely surface form for such syllables will be one where the syllable-final glottalization spreads to the preceding vowel as described above for ^ʔuk' 'water'. Examples of Yuki words divided into syllables are shown in (39).

(39)	CV	č'o 'weak' AA
	CVC	ʈoʈ 'ballgame' AA
	CVCC	musp 'woman' AA, MF
	CV.CV	ʃu.pá 'blackbird' FL
	CV.CVC	hu.luk 'tears' FL
	CVC.CVC	?im.lik 'blind' FL
	CV.CV.CVC	nq.ná.kuč 'remember it' FL
	CVC.CV.CV	lam.šít.mi 'Indian doctor' FL
	CVC.CV.CVC	nán.k'i.lik 'lay down' FL
	CV.CV.CV.CVC	?é.ne.ki.lik 'slept' FL
	CVC.CV.CV.CVC	nal.k'i.ní.yam 'chipmunk' FL

2.4. Root Structure

Noun and verb roots are usually monosyllabic and more rarely disyllabic⁷⁷. It is unclear whether CV or CVC is the minimal noun and verb root. CV noun and verb roots are common in past documentation of Yuki; however, as explained below, upon closer inspection it is very difficult to say whether CV noun and verb roots really exist or if all such roots are CVC roots⁷⁸. CVCV noun and verb roots are also quite rare, although at least some such roots seem to exist.

Vowel-final CV and CVCV verb roots usually appear to end in phonetic long vowels in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984)⁷⁹. Additionally, it is common to find an alternate form for these verb roots given, which ends in a glottal consonant⁸⁰. Thus *ha:-* 'run' (AA) is found alongside *ha:h-* (MF) and *ho?u:-* 'quit' (AA) is attested along with *ho?u?-* (AA). In these cases it may be that this final glottal consonant either /h/ in *ha(:)h-* 'run' or /ʔ/ in *ho?u?-* 'quit' is lost yielding a phonetic long vowel according to the process described in §2.1.1.8.8.1 whereby final glottalization or a final glottal consonant can spread to a preceding vowel yielding a VʔV sequence or be elided yielding a phonetic long vowel.

⁷⁷ Longer roots may exist; however longer words in Yuki are often the product of compounding or are formed through suffixation of derivational morphemes.

⁷⁸ CV noun roots, such as *ti:* 'tea' (MF), do exist, but are likely borrowings.

⁷⁹ The words compiled in Sawyer and Schlichter's (1984) dictionary date from all periods of Yuki language documentation.

⁸⁰ Verb roots can exist as independent words in Yuki. For example, *ʈu?* 'push over' in *ʈu? i: hamik* 'I like to push things over' *yi?* 'play' in *yi? i: hamik* 'I like to play' (Siniard 1967b:99,100).

Other examples support this analysis. For example, *šu*²- ‘sit, stay’ (AA, MF) shows the V?V sequence characteristic of the spreading of root final glottalization in the accompanying form *šu*²*uhek* ‘sitting’⁸¹ (MF). Similarly, while only *t*²*u*- ‘rain’ (AA, MF) and not *t*²*u*²- is given in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984), the accompanying sentence *t*²*u*²*uwičk* ‘it rained’ (MF) shows the same V?V sequence suggesting the presence of a final glottal stop in the root of ‘rain’ as well.

Therefore, it is possible that there truly are no CV verb roots at all, as, at least in existing data these seem to invariably end in a phonetic long vowel and therefore are possibly concealing an underlying final glottal consonant. However, there is a complicating factor to this conclusion. This is that word stress correlates strongly with vowel duration. Thus, in some of these cases it may be that vowel length in a CV verb root is just a result of stress rather than an assimilated glottal stop.

CV noun roots pose a similar problem. Some CV noun roots ending in a phonetic long vowel are also documented as having a form ending in /h/. Thus, for example, ‘hole’ is documented as *nih* (AA, MF) but appears as *ni*: in this example where it is followed by inessive *-k’e*, *ni:k’e kapték* ‘he put it into the hole’ (AA); *t*²*u*: ‘heart’ (AA) also appears as *t*²*u*(h) (MF). CV? noun roots often occur also as CV?V, for example *si*[?] ‘clover’ (MF) and *si*[?]*i* (MF)⁸². No CV noun roots have been found so far where CV? yields an alternate CV: form. However, since the V?V ~ V: alternation is common, it is certainly possible that such forms may have existed.

Thus, it is currently not possible to conclude with absolute certainty that there are truly no CV noun or verb roots. The first person plural inclusive agent pronoun *mi* which often appears as *mi*: and the second person singular agent pronoun *mi*[?] which often appears as *mi*[?]*i* show that there is at least a single word in Yuki, the first person plural inclusive agent pronoun *mi*, which is CV⁸³. Therefore, it can be said that at least CV words are possible in Yuki and so there is always a chance that there also may have been as yet undiscovered or unknown true CV noun and verb roots. However, at this time it seems that in Yuki and all vowel-final noun and verb roots actually end in a glottal consonant or alternatively that there are true CV verb roots alongside those that are CV? or CVh.

There are CVCV verb roots attested with the most common being the verb *imi*[?]- ‘say’. However, most other CVCV verb roots are likely CVC or CVCVC roots for different

⁸¹ The full example is: *ka*[?]*q*[?]*onk’e šatk’e šu*[?]*hek* ‘I’m sitting here on the cold ground.’

⁸² This example is taken from Siniard 1967b:1, where it originally appeared with tone marks as part of the phrase *si*[?]*i*:*si*:*k* ‘Clover is green’.

⁸³ No other alternate form for *mi* other than *mi*: is ever observed.

reasons. For example, the CVCV verb root *la:le-* ‘crawl’ (MF) is likely actually *lal-*⁸⁴. It is not uncommon to find /e/~i/ following verb roots as this is the epenthetic vowel⁸⁵ common in Yuki for dividing consonant clusters. An example of this in use would be /i/ following the root *wək-* ‘pay, lend’ in *wəkiwič* ‘lent’ (FL).

With regard to CVCV noun roots, once again it seems that the clearest case for such roots comes from borrowings which were presumably quite recent at the time of documentation. These include words such as the Spanish borrowing *mu:la* ‘mule’ (MF). There are some rare non-borrowed CVCV noun roots such as *məwe* ‘marked bone used in handgame’ (AA).

Some CVCV verb roots from earlier documentation and analysis such as *hana-* ‘know’⁸⁶ are later recorded by other linguists as having a final consonant; in this case this is *hanak-* (AA). In these cases it seems likely that the final consonant in the verb root was not heard or not recorded as part of the root by the linguist documenting the original form.

Examples of noun roots are shown in (40a) and examples of verb roots are shown in (40b). Syllable boundaries are marked within disyllabic roots.

- | | | |
|-------|-------|---|
| (40a) | CV | <i>ti:</i> ‘tea’ MF (unclear if non-borrowed CV noun roots exist) |
| | CVC | <i>p’iṭ</i> ‘door’ AA, MF |
| | CVCV | <i>mə.we</i> ‘marked bone used in handgame’ AA |
| | CVCVC | <i>č’i.miṭ</i> ‘bird’ AA |
| (40b) | CV | <i>ha:-</i> ‘run’ AA (unclear if this is <i>ha-</i> or actually <i>hah-</i>) |
| | CVC | <i>yuy’-</i> ‘swing, rock’ AA |
| | CVCV | <i>hu.ṭ’o-</i> ‘meet’ MF |
| | CVCVC | <i>wi.liṭ-</i> ‘pass’ FL |

⁸⁴ Vowel length in *la:le-* would be due to word stress.

⁸⁵ For further discussion of Yuki epenthetic vowels see §3.4.

⁸⁶ *hana-* ‘know’ is taken from Sawyer & Schlichter 1984:120. As it is a form recorded by Kroeber, there is a high degree of likelihood that it was recorded from Ralph Moore, Kroeber’s primary Yuki consultant.

2.5. Phonetics and Phonology of Huchnom and Coast Yuki

The consonant inventories of Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki are the same (Schlichter 1985:22a). The vowel inventories are slightly different for the three Northern Yukian Languages, as shown in Figure 8. In her reconstruction of Proto-Northern Yukian, Schlichter (1985:30) notes that Coast Yuki /e/ and Huchnom /ʌ/ correspond to Yuki /a/. She also notes (1985:39) that “e and a seem to have been tending toward a merger in Coast Yuki, both often being realized as [æ].” Insufficient data are available to describe the stress system of Huchnom or Coast Yuki.

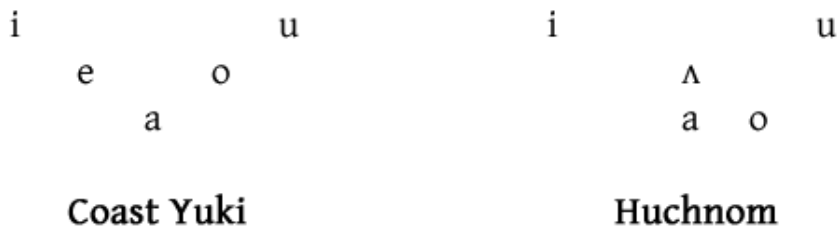


Figure 8: The Vowels of Coast Yuki and Huchnom (reproduced from Schlichter 1985:30)

3. MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATIONS

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

3.1. Imperative Alternation

Two allomorphs of the imperative suffix are recorded $-a^{(?)}$ and $-ʔ$. There also may be a null allomorph, where the suffix is omitted, though it is uncertain whether such rare examples may simply arise from the original documenter not hearing the final glottal stop. $-ʔ$ is found on verbs ending in /l/. This includes verbs ending in the transitive suffix $-tl$, which is realized as a voiced lateral affricate [tɬ]. $-ʔ$ has not been observed following other resonants; however, this could just be due to the limited nature of the available data. $-a^{(?)}$ is found in all other environments⁸⁷. It appears that the vowel [a] in $-a^{(?)}$ is sometimes realized as [i]. It may be that $-ʔ$ itself is a further reduced form of the already phonetically reduced $-iʔ$. Interestingly, for verbs ending in $-tl$, only $-ʔ$ and $-iʔ$ but never $-aʔ$ is observed. The reasons for this are unclear.

Examples of $-a^{(?)}$ are shown in (1) and (2).

- (1) Coyote and the World: 20, RM
*náwetaʔ(á)*⁸⁸
náw-t-aʔ
see-INTR-IMP
'look!'
- (2) Coyote and the World: 28, RM
kó:maʔ
kom-aʔ
come-IMP
'come (out)!'

⁸⁷ The imperative suffix occurs verb-finally. See the verb template in §7.2 for a complete description of morpheme position within the verb.

⁸⁸ The parentheses are from Kroeber's original notes. The additional vowel is most likely an echo vowel following the glottal stop.

Examples of $-i'$ are shown in (3) and (4).

- (3) Siniard 1967a: 101, MF
 $ʔalap$ $pqʔqnčsiʔ$
 $ʔal=ap$ $pqʔqnč-s-ʔ$
 stick=LAT **write-CAUS-IMP**
 ‘**write** on stick! / make the marks on the stick’
- (4) Siniard 1967a: 103, MF
 $table ap$ $pqʔqnčmal'$ $namtliʔ$
 $table=ap$ $pqʔqnč-mol'$ $nqm-tl-ʔ$
 table=LAT write-AG/INST **lay-TR-IMP**
 ‘**put** the pencils on the table!’

Evidence that $-i'$ in the above examples may be a phonetically reduced form of $-a'$ may be found in (5). This example is a form appearing alongside (3) in Siniard’s elicitation; $pqʔqnčsiʔ$ and $pqʔqnčsaʔ$ are bracketed together and therefore presumably are two acceptable variants meaning ‘write!’ or ‘make marks!’ Other examples of this kind have yet to be found.

- (5) Siniard 1967a: 101, MF
 $ʔalap$ $pqʔqnčsaʔ$
 $ʔal=ap$ $pqʔqnč-s-aʔ$
 stick=LAT **write-CAUS-IMP**
 ‘**write** on stick! / make the marks on the stick’

Examples of $-ʔ$ on verbs ending in laterals are shown in (6) - (8).

- (6) Coyote and the World: 371, RM
 $nqwkil'$
 $nqwk-il-ʔ$
 see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP
 ‘look!’

- (7) Siniard 1967a: 103, MF
yqškil'
yqš-k-il-[?]
 stand-PNCT-MPSV-IMP
 'stand up!'
- (8) Schlichter 1985:205, AA
mišq̣p laktl'
miš=op lak'-tl-[?]
 road=LAT emerge-TR-IMP
 'cross the road!'

Omission of the imperative suffix is rarely seen. In the texts it occurs at least once. As shown in (9), the verb *ḥwáỵsam* 'eat!' is translated by Kroeber as an imperative form; however, this verb appears without an imperative suffix. It is also possible that Kroeber did not hear the glottalization occurring at the end of this verb and therefore did not record it. The complete absence of an imperative suffix is not seen in elicited forms.

- (9) Coyote and the World: 205, RM
ḥwáỵsam
ḥẉq̣y-s-m-([?])
 food/eat-CAUS-IMPFV-(IMP)
 'eat!'

3.2. Vowel Elision in Root-Final VC Sequences

Vowel elision in root-final VC sequences occurs in nouns as a result of the addition of a noun case ending of the form -V(C). In known examples, this elision occurs following a syllable with primary stress. However, due to the limits in the size of available Yuki data, it is not possible to further explore this hypothesis.

In (10) and (11), respectively, the root of the noun *mičalam* 'elbow' (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:76) becomes *mačalm-* ~ *mečalm-* upon the addition of the patient case =*q* and lative case =*q̣p* ~ =*op* enclitics.

- (10) Origins: 53, RM
mačálma
mačalam=q
 elbow=PAT
 ‘with elbow’

- (11) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 76, AA
mečalməp
mečalam=qə
 elbow=LAT
 ‘on (my) elbow’

The same process is observed in (12). *ʔolam* ‘brush’ becomes *ʔolm-* in *ʔólmoḡ* ‘in the brush’

- (12) Coyote and the World: 416b, RM
ʔólmoḡ
ʔolam=op
 brush=LAT
 ‘in the brush’

Similarly in (13), *ʔiwop* ‘man’ becomes *ʔiwəp-* upon the addition of patient case =*q*.

- (13) North Wind and Sun: 7, RM
ʔiwəpa
ʔiwəp=q
 man=PAT
 ‘man’

Examples also can be found without vowel elision, as in (14).

- (14) Coyote and the World: 47, RM
ʔíwupa
ʔíwop=a
 man=PAT?
 ‘man’

3.3. *mil'* > *mil* / ___ C

The final glottalization in the past habitual *-mil'* appears to be omitted before consonants. Insufficient data exist to determine whether this is the case before all classes or only a subset of consonants. (15) and (16) show the final glottalization on the verbs *nahamil'* 'used to like to make bread' and *nahismil'* 'used to make bread'. In (17), *nahismilha* 'did (I) used to make bread' ends in interrogative *-ha* and the glottalization in past habitual *-mil'* is omitted.

(15) Siniard 1967b: 31, MF

kəyt *ʔi* *nahamil'*
kəyt *ʔi* *nah ham-mil'*
 long.ago 1SG.PAT bake like/want-PHAB
 'I used to like to make bread'

(16) Siniard 1967b: 79, MF

ʔapil *hot^h* *hu:tmil* *nahismil'*
ʔapil *hoʔ* *huʔutmil* *nah-s-mil'*
 1SG.EMPH? large bread bake-CONT?-PHAB
 'I used to make a lot of bread a long time ago'

(17) Siniard 1967b: 79, MF

ʔapil *hot^h* *hu:tmil* *nahismilha*
ʔapil *hoʔ* *huʔutmil* *nah-s-mil'-ha*
 1SG.EMPH? large bread bake-CONT?-PHAB-Q
 'Did I (use to) make bread a long time ago?'

3.4. Epenthesis

Epenthesis is a common process in Yuki. This process appears to occur as a means for breaking up consonant clusters and creating syllables which adhere to the pattern of Yuki syllable structure⁸⁹. Non-final Yuki syllables have the form CV(C); however, CVC_αC_β structure is observed in the final syllable of some words, where C_α and C_β are different consonants. /i ~ e/ is always the epenthetic vowel. The variation between [i] and [e] is due to vowel harmony, which is discussed in §2.1.2.2.2.

⁸⁹ See §2.3 for a discussion of Yuki syllable structure.

Epenthesis results in variation in the form of some morphemes. (18) - (21) show variation in the structure of causative -s in verbs⁹⁰.

In (18), the verb root *k'qk'*- 'rise' forms the first syllable. The causative -s follows, but it cannot be part of this first syllable, therefore an epenthetic [i] is inserted to separate -s from /m/ in the final syllable [mil].

- (18) Coyote and the World: 344 (excerpt), RM

kqk.si.mil

k'qk'-s=mil

exist-CAUS=FIN

'made rise'

The vowel can be inserted on either side of the consonant. In (19), the verb root again is *k'qk'*- 'rise', but this time an epenthetic [e] is inserted to the left of -s. In this case the final consonant in the verb root /k/ becomes the onset of the syllable [kes].

- (19) Coyote and the World: 356 (excerpt), RM

kq:.kes.pa

k'qk'-s-pa'

exist-CAUS-FUT

'shall rise'

The same process is observed in (20), where an epenthetic [e] is inserted before -s. Once again a syllable is formed containing the final vowel of the verb root. In this case /w/ from *nq̄w*- 'see' becomes the onset of the syllable [we].

- (20) Coyote and the World: 127 (excerpt), RM

nq̄.wé.sa'

nq̄w-s-a'

see-CAUS-IMP

'show!'

⁹⁰ The examples in this section are divided into syllables in the first line and into morphemes in the second line.

In (21), an epenthetic [i] is inserted on both sides of -s. A syllable [pi] is formed incorporating the final vowel of the verb root *kap-* ‘enter’ and a syllable [si] is formed incorporating causative -s.

- (21) Coyote and the World: 296 (excerpt), RM
ka:pí.si.mil
kap-s=mil
 enter-CAUS=FIN
 ‘(he) took (him) in’

Epenthetic vowels can also occur at the end of words. The first verbs in (22) and (23) end in the intransitive -t. An epenthetic [i] is inserted to form a final syllable [ti] in *kápti* ‘having gone in’ and *lákti* ‘going out’ preceding the final verb in both examples. In (24), an epenthetic [i] is inserted to form a final syllable [tʰi] in *huʔútlɪ* ‘finished’.

- (22) Coyote and the World: 196 (excerpt), RM
káp.ti *šú:kmil*
kap-t *šuʔ-k=mil*
 enter-INTR sit/stay-PNCT=FIN
 ‘having gone in, he sat down.’

- (23) Coyote and the World: 311 (excerpt), RM
lák.ti *nəwkiłmil*
lakʔ-t *nəw-k-il=mil*
 emerge-INTR see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘going out, the boy looked.’

- (24) Coyote and the World: 342 (excerpt), RM
huʔútlɪ *lí:tnámilkon*
huʔuʔ-tl *liʔ-t=namli=kon*
 quit-TR kill-INTR=DEP=though
 ‘finished, although killed’

Similarly in (25), an epenthetic [i] is inserted at the end of *pilət* ‘sun’, which is followed by *ká:kəspa* ‘shall rise’. (26) shows an epenthetic [i] occurring at the end of *kʰomlámi* ‘sounding’, which is followed by the distal demonstrative *ki*.

- (25) Coyote and the World: 356 (excerpt), RM

pi.lá.ti ká:kespa
pilqt k'qk'-s-pa'
 sun exist-CAUS-FUT
 'the sun shall rise'

- (26) Coyote and the World: 243 (excerpt), RM

k'omlámi ki:
k'om-lqm ki'
 make.noise-INCH DST
 'it sounding'

This epenthesis between words does not always occur. In (27), no epenthetic vowels are found separating consonant-final and consonant-initial words. Epenthetic vowels do not separate *mi:š* 'road, way' and *wačšimil* 'showed', *kačá(w)pis* 'from here' and *mí:* 'you', or *ʔonk'olámwit* 'toward the east' and *kó:tampa'* 'shall go'.

- (27) Coyote and the World: 347, RM

<i>sqkičéy</i>	<i>ʔatq</i>	<i>mi:š</i>	<i>wačšimil</i>
<i>sq=kič=i</i>	<i>ʔatq</i>	<i>miš</i>	<i>wač'-s=mil</i>
SAME=then=HSY1	too	road	teach-CAUS?=FIN

<i>lašk'áwola</i>	<i>kačá(w)pis</i>	<i>mí:</i>	<i>kup</i>
<i>lašk'awol'=q</i>	<i>kača=pis</i>	<i>mi'</i>	<i>kup</i>
moon=PAT	here=ABL	2SG.AGT	sister's.son

<i>ʔonk'olámwit</i>	<i>kó:tampa'</i>
<i>ʔonk'ol-am=wit</i>	<i>ko'-t-m-pa'</i>
east-NOML=ALL	go-INTR-IMPV-FUT

'And to the moon too he showed his way: "From here you, sister's son, shall go toward the east.'"

3.5. Morphophonemic Alternations in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

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

- (28) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB
- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>p'alímay</i> | 'I fall down' |
| <i>?intay</i> | 'I am sleepy' |
| <i>ti'?atay</i> | 'I am sick' |
| <i>t?'ate'ékay</i> | 'I have been sick' |
| <i>šemetékay</i> | 'I have got well, I feel better' |
| <i>šem?i</i> | 'I am well' |

4. WORD CLASSES

The following word classes are found in Yuki: nouns, verbs, pronouns, demonstratives, adjectives, adverbs, quantifiers, locative terms, numerals, switch-reference markers, and connectives. There is overlap between some of these word classes. Nouns can be verbalized through the addition of verb morphology and some noun case endings can be added to verbs. Third person pronouns are effectively identical to distal demonstratives⁹¹. Unlike adverbs, adjectives can be marked with *=(?)a(?)*. Switch-reference markers can also be understood as a type of connective.

Yuki is an agglutinating and almost exclusively suffixing language. Unique possessive prefixes are used for kinship terms⁹² and a series of possibly frozen prefixes referring to parts of the body is found in nouns and verbs⁹³. Verbs and nouns are the most complex classes morphologically.

⁹¹ Third person pronouns and demonstratives are also effectively identical to each other in the related Wappo language (Thompson et al. 2006:22-25).

⁹² See §6.1.9.

⁹³ See §7.3.2.

5. NOUNS

This chapter describes the morphology of nouns. The discussion begins with an overview of the major characteristics of Yuki noun morphology and a description of the Yuki system of argument structure, which is important for understanding noun and pronoun morphology. The remainder of the chapter is divided into sections on core and oblique cases and derivational morphology.

5.1. Overview

Yuki nouns are distinguished from other word classes through the use of the patient case enclitic⁹⁴ =*q*, the dative =*qt*, the instrumental =*ok*, and the diminutive =*ič*. Nouns can occur with a rich variety of locative case morphology. Some of these case endings are also found on verbs⁹⁵.

Yuki nouns are root-initial and with the exception of the body prefixes and kinship possessive prefixes discussed in §2.2.1.1 and §6.1.9, respectively, all inflectional and derivational noun morphology takes the form of suffixes or enclitics. The boundaries between morphemes are fairly transparent phonologically, though some assimilation and metathesis is seen at these boundaries.

With the exception of a few nouns marked for number, the only inflectional category marked on Yuki nouns is core case. Yuki derivational morphology is composed mostly of locative cases, an instrumental case, a diminutive, two types of nominalizers, and an enclitic =*k'ič* 'only'.

Yuki nouns fall into two general classes: human and non-human. Human nouns are human beings and also personified non-humans. Thus the mythological characters encountered in the Yuki texts recorded by Alfred Kroeber are not necessarily human, but are treated as human nouns morphologically, because they act like humans.

⁹⁴ The term 'clitic' is used throughout this description to refer to morphemes which 1) attach to a constituent composed of smaller constituents, such as a noun phrase, verb phrase, or clause; 2) can attach to words of more than one word class; and/or 3) act as independent words in some circumstances (e.g. the noun case enclitic =*mik'al* 'around' can be affixed with verb morphology and used as a verb). If behavior matching these criteria is not observed for an ending, then it is not assumed to be a clitic even if other similar endings in like contexts or positions can be defined as clitics. So, for example, some but not all verb morphemes in Position XI shown in the Yuki verb template in Table 17 in §7.2 are identified as clitics, because clitic-like behavior matching the criteria identified above was not observed for all of these morphemes even though they occur in the same position in the verb template.

⁹⁵ See §7.5.8 for further discussion.

A distinction between human and non-human nouns as separate classes of nouns is made on the basis of overt marking for core cases. Human nouns acting as grammatical patients are marked for patient case, and oblique case endings are attached to the dative form of human nouns. Non-human nouns acting as grammatical patients are not marked for patient case, with oblique case endings attaching directly to the noun root of non-human nouns. In certain instances non-human animates acting as grammatical patients will be marked for patient case. This is seen for specific groups of animate nouns that are either highly affected by the action of the verb or significant to a particular portion of narrative. It is unclear which of these two possibilities is the determining factor. In the texts, non-human animates are frequently marked for patient case when addressed, which may suggest that the deciding factor in patient case marking of non-humans is whether they are seen as specific individuals or not.

Kinship nouns form a separate sub-class within human nouns. These nouns are not treated differently in terms of argument marking, but they do have unique possessive morphology. When they are possessed by a pronominal referent, a series of possessive prefixes is used that are different from those used for other nouns. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984) classify these prefixes as markers of inalienable possession. Kinship nouns often appear with a possessor, but they can also appear without a possessor, just like all other Yuki nouns.

Number is distinguished for only a tiny handful of human nouns.

Table 8 provides an overview of Yuki noun morphology.

Core Cases	Agent: $-\emptyset$	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noun case used for grammatical agents.
	Patient: $=q \sim =a$	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noun case used for grammatical patients. • Often used for argument of verbs describing bodily functions, mental state, emotions, and for arguments of predicate adjective clauses. • Used to mark the recipient in three-argument clauses. • Overtly marked only for human referents or personified non-humans, such as mythological beings. • On rare occasions found on some non-human animates, such as animals, possibly because these referents are

		<p>highly affected by an action or because they are a particular group of non-human animates.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Used to mark referents that are being addressed.
	Dative: = <i>qt</i> ~ = <i>at</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Used to mark the affected person in three-argument clauses. Used as the base for forming oblique forms of human nouns. Used as a possessive ending for nouns. Dative pronouns are also used as possessive forms, except in first person singular, where the possessive pronoun <i>?itin</i> differs from the dative pronoun <i>?it</i>.
Oblique Cases	Inessive: = <i>k'i</i> ~ = <i>k</i> ~ = <i>i</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> in, at, on, into.
	Second Inessive: -(?) <i>qm</i> ~ -(?) <i>am</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A locative case meaning 'in' or 'into'. Also found in some deictics such as <i>kim</i> 'over there'.
	Locative: - <i>kot</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rare locative used to express the meanings 'in' or 'at'.
	Subessive: = <i>han</i> , = <i>həhin</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'under', possibly also 'within'.
	Lative: = <i>op</i> ~ = <i>ap</i> ~ = <i>qp</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> on, in, at, through.
	Allative: = <i>wit</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to, toward. Indicates motion toward landmarks or general directions.
	Terminative: = <i>k'il</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to, toward. Indicates motion toward individuals and smaller, more well-defined locations (e.g. <i>han</i> 'house' instead of <i>kuhtki</i> 'north'). May also be used to indicate motion to an endpoint with the implication that movement ends at that point.

	Ablative: = <i>pis</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> from, out of, away from.
	Juxtapositive: = <i>iṭ</i> ~ = <i>it</i> ~ = <i>ič</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> near, on the edge of.
	'around': = <i>mik'al</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> around. May be an independent word.
	Instrumental: = <i>ok</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> with (as in 'with an ax'), by (as in 'scorched by fire') Seems to only occur with inanimate nouns.
Derivational Morphology and Other Enclitics	Diminutive, etc.: = <i>ič</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> More than a diminutive, also found in words with a collective, distributive, or plural meaning.
	'diminutive; part of': = <i>ʔV-</i> , = <i>hV-</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Used to create diminutive forms, but also to derive new nouns with meanings usually related to the original noun. One of the few examples of reduplication found in Yuki.
	'only': = <i>kič</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An enclitic meaning 'only'.
Verbalization		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nouns are verbalized through the addition of verb morphology to the noun root.

Table 8: Overview of Yuki Noun Morphology

5.2. Argument Structure

In this section, Yuki argument⁹⁶ categories are discussed. The points below summarize the Yuki argument categorization system.

1. The morphology distinguishes three types of Yuki verb arguments: grammatical agents, grammatical patients, and datives⁹⁷.
2. The argument of a single argument clause can be an agent, patient, or dative argument.
3. The arguments of a two-argument clause can be an agent and a patient or a patient and a dative argument.
4. In three-argument clauses the patient is the recipient of the action of the verb.
5. Agents and patients can be categorized at times according to their degree of control and affectedness. Agents tend to be voluntary instigators with a high degree of control. Patients tend to have a low degree of control and high degree of affectedness (Mithun 2008).
6. Verbs expressing actions associated with bodily functions, mental processes, or emotions tend to have patient arguments (Mithun 2008).
7. Typically only nouns referring to humans or to personified non-humans are overtly marked as patients or datives (Mithun 2008).

5.2.1. Agents, Patients, and Datives

In terms of argument structure, Yuki is an agent/patient language⁹⁸. While the case of arguments is for the most part a lexicalized feature of verbs, Yuki argument categories do exhibit some unifying characteristics. Semantic role and degree of affectedness are the most salient factors in characterizing agents, patients, and datives in Yuki. Morphologically, these three types of arguments are distinguished by unique agent, patient, and dative pronouns for pronominal arguments. For noun arguments, agents are unmarked, while patients, when marked, are marked with the enclitic =*q*, and datives, when marked, are marked with the enclitic =*qt*.

⁹⁶ Payne (1997:170) states that “a syntactic argument of a verb is a nominal element (including possibly zero, if this is a referential device in the language) that bears grammatical relation to the verb.”

⁹⁷ Henceforth grammatical agents and grammatical patients are referred to as agents and patients, respectively.

⁹⁸ See §5.3.2 for a more detailed description of the morphology of the agent, patient, and dative cases along with examples of different clause types containing such arguments.

5.2.1.1. Semantic Role

In terms of semantic role, agents are actors or performers of actions. Patients are the most versatile argument category and can act as performers, experiencers, or recipients of actions. Datives are usually found in the role of experiencers or beneficiaries of actions. Very rarely datives act as actors or performers of actions.

Agents are found only in one type of semantic role, that of actor or performer. In (1), the agent *ʔus* ‘we’ is the argument of *wáʔokʔiʂmil* ‘dance’. In (2), the agent *hulkʔoʔi* ‘Coyote’ is the argument of *nqáwímil* ‘saw’.

- (1) Feather Dance Narrative: 22 (excerpt), RM
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| <i>šq:kč'am</i> | <i>páwi</i> | <i>wí:t</i> | <i>ʔus</i> | <i>wáʔokʔiʂmil</i> . |
| <i>šqʔqkčam</i> | <i>páwi</i> | <i>wi:t</i> | <i>ʔus</i> | <i>wokʔ-s=mil</i> |
| sometimes | one | work/week | 1PL.EXCL.AGT | dance/sing-CONT=FIN |
- ‘...sometimes **we** dance one week.’

- (2) Coyote and the World: 24, RM
- | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>sqʔey</i> | <i>yím</i> | <i>yq:híšti</i> | <i>nqáwímil</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>yim</i> | <i>yqh-s-t</i> | <i>nqaw=mil</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | fire | blaze-CONT-INTR | see=FIN | Coyote |
- ‘And **Coyote** saw the fire blazing up.’

Patients typically are the affected argument of actions with specific types of verbs, usually referring to bodily functions, mental processes or emotions. The single arguments of predicate adjective clauses are also patients. An example of a patient acting as a performer is shown in (3), where *hulkʔoʔá* ‘Coyote=PAT’ is the argument of *hqłtmil* ‘heard’. An example of a patient as the single argument in a predicate adjective clause is shown in (4).

- (3) Coyote and the World: 8, RM
- | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔá</i> | <i>hqłtmil</i> . |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>hulkʔoʔi=q</i> | <i>hqł-t=mil</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | Coyote=PAT | hear-INTR=FIN |
- ‘And **Coyote** heard.’

- (4) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
 ?i: hočʔk
 ?i hoʔ=k
1SG.PAT large=DECL
 'I am big.'

In (5), the patient *hášmó:la* 'morning star=PAT' is the affected argument, as it is being carried by the agent *hulk'óʔi* 'Coyote'.

- (5) Coyote and the World: 350, RM
sákiṭey **hášmó:la** *pilq̄tq:tk'il*
sq=kiṭ=?i **hašmol'=q** *pilq̄t=q̄t=k'il*
 SAME=then=HSY1 **morning.star=PAT** sun=DAT=TERM

ha:tí:li *kóʔot(e)mil* *hulk'óʔi*
haʔ-t-il *koʔ-t=mil* *hulk'óʔi*
 carry-INTR-MPSV go-INTR=FIN Coyote
 'Then Coyote went carrying the **morning star** toward the sun.'

In three-argument clauses, patients act as recipients. If overtly stated, the affected argument is marked with dative case. In (6), the patient *taykómola* 'to Taykómol' is acting as a recipient. Taykómol is a personified mythological character.

- (6) Origins: 67, RM
sáʔey ?ú:t(e)mil **taykómola.**
sáʔ-ʔi ?ut'=mil **taykomol=q**
 SAME=HSY1 give=FIN **Taykómol=PAT**
 'and gave it **to Taykómol.**'

In (7), the patient *hulk'óʔá* 'to Coyote' is the recipient of the action of the verb ?ú:t'mil 'handed'. The affected argument of the action is the non-human inanimate *t'úy* 'pitch' and is not overtly marked for case.

- (7) Origins: 65, RM
sqʔey *ʔú:tʔmil* *tʔuy* ***hulkʔoʔá.***
sq=ʔi *ʔutʔ=mil* *tʔuy* ***hulkʔoʔi=q***
 HSY1=SAME give=FIN pitch **Coyote=PAT**
 ‘and handed the pitch **to Coyote.**’

In (8), the patient *ʔa:ʔáta* ‘people’ is the recipient of *ʔátlmil* ‘put’, while dative-marked *sq:ʔʔinat mipátat* ‘Lizard’s hands’ is the affected argument. In this example *mipát* ‘hand(s)’ is overtly marked for dative case, due to the fact that it is associated with a personified non-human *sq:ʔʔin* ‘Lizard’.

- (8) Coyote and the World: 412a, RM
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>sqʔéy</i> | <i>sq:ʔʔinat</i> | <i>mipátat</i> | <i>kimás</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>háye</i> |
| <i>sq=ʔi</i> | <i>sqʔʔin=qt</i> | <i>mipát=qt</i> | <i>kiʔ-mas</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>hqʔaye</i> |
| SAME=HSY1 | Lizard=DAT | hand=DAT | DST-DSTR | =HSY1 | now |
-
- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>ʔátlmil</i> | <i>ʔa:ʔáta</i> |
| <i>ʔatʔ-tlʔ=mil</i> | <i>ʔaʔat=q</i> |
| fasten-TRʔ=FIN | people=PAT |
- ‘Lizard’s hands** he put on **people;**’

5.2.1.2. Degree of Affectedness and Control

In terms of degree of affectedness and control, agents tend to be voluntary instigators with a high degree of control and low degree of affectedness. Patients tend to have a low degree of control and high degree of affectedness. Affectedness and control cannot be used as absolute metrics for determining whether an argument will be an agent or patient. Argument type is most likely a lexicalized characteristic of verbs.

In (9) and (10), the arguments of the verbs in both clauses are agents and are voluntary instigators of the actions expressed by the verb. In (9), the argument of *kʔayimilpa* ‘will speak’ is the first person agent pronoun *ʔap*. In (10), the argument of *wáʔokʔiʂmil* ‘dance’ is the first person plural exclusive agent pronoun *ʔús*.

- (9) Origins: 132d, RM

yú:kin **ʔq̄p** ka k'ayyemikí: k'ayimilpa.
 yukin **ʔq̄p** kaʔ k'ay-m=kiʔ k'ay-mil-paʔ
 Yuki **1SG.AGT** PRX talk-IMPV=DST talk-?-FUT
 'the Yuki will speak this which I am speaking'

- (10) Feather Dance Narrative: 22, RM

šq:kč'am **ʔús** ʔopi nák šq:kč'am
 šq'qkč'am **ʔus** ʔopi nqk šq'qkč'am
 sometimes **1PL.EXCL.AGT** two dark/night sometimes

molmi nák šq:kč'am p̄qwi wí:ʔ
 molmi nqk šq'qkč'am p̄qwi wíʔ
 three dark/night sometimes one work/week

ʔus wáʔok'išmil.

ʔus wok'-s=mil

1PL.EXCL.AGT dance/sing-CONT=FIN

'Sometimes **we** dance 2 nights, sometimes 3 nights, sometimes one week.'

Human arguments of clauses describing bodily functions, mental processes, or actions associated with the senses are usually patients⁹⁹. The verbs in (11) - (13) refer to hearing, thinking, and liking. In (11), the hearer is the first person singular patient pronoun *ʔi*. In (12), the knower is the patient case form of *hulk'oʔi* 'Coyote'. In (13), the argument of *hqwáti* 'like, is glad about' is also *hulk'oʔq* 'Coyote=PAT'. The non-human argument *ʔon* 'earth' is unmarked for case.

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

kí hq̄le ʔi kúp **hq̄lamuʔ** ʔimeymil hulk'oʔi
 kiʔ =hq̄l ʔi kúp **hq̄l-m-wi** ʔimi=mil hulk'oʔi
 DST =INFR1 **1SG.PAT** sister's.son **hear-IMPV-PST1** say=FIN Coyote
 "That it seems is what, sister's son, **I just heard**", said Coyote.'

⁹⁹ However, note that the argument performing an action described by a verb of perception is not always a patient case argument. For example, in (2) a grammatical agent *hulk'oʔi* 'Coyote' is the one seeing in *sq'ey yím yq:hišti nqwímil hulk'oʔi* 'And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.' A more detailed analysis of Yuki verbs preferring either an agent or patient case argument is an area for more detailed future study.

- (12) Coyote and the World: 110, RM

se[?]éy *ná:nákmil* **hulk'ó'a** *káyit*
son=[?]i *nənak=mil* **hulk'o'i=q** *kəyit*
 therefore=HSY1 know=FIN **Coyote=PAT** long.ago

ʔinámtnamlíka

ʔinam-t=namli=kaʔ

dream-INTR=DEP=PRX

'but Coyote knew it from dreaming it before (they came).'

- (13) Origins: 73, RM

se[?]éy *hulk'ó'a* *kip* *ʔon* **həwáti** *kímilmil* *hulk'ó'i*
sí=[?]i *hulk'o'i=q* *kip* *ʔon* **həwat** *ki-mil=mil* *hulk'o'i*
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT 3R earth **glad/like** say-?=FIN Coyote
 'Then "Coyote himself **is glad** about the earth", Coyote said to him.'

In (14), the agent *mó:š* '2PL.AGT' is performing the action of whipping and putting out the patient *ʔanwí:sq* 'orphan'. The agent *mó:š* is in control of these actions, while the patient *ʔanwí:sq* is not at all in control of being whipped or put out and is only affected by these actions. In (15), the agent *ʔap* '1SG.AGT' is performing the action of showing something to the patient *móší:yq* '2PL=PAT'. *ʔap* '1SG.AGT' is marked as having a higher degree of control rather than *móší:yq* '2PL=PAT', because *ʔap* is performing the action of showing, while *móší:yq* has no control over this action.

- (14) Coyote and the World: 9 (excerpt), RM

... *ʔanwí:sq* **mó:š** *nəwíli* *lákšiwíčkíʔ* ...
 ʔanwí:sq **mo'os** *nəwil* *lak'-s-wič=kiʔ*
 orphan=PAT **2PL.AGT** whip emerge-CAUS-PST2=DST
 'the orphan whom you whipped and put out'

- (15) Thunder's Twins: 136 (excerpt), RM

ʔáp *móší:yq* *wátimik*
ʔap **mo'os=q** *wat-m=k*
1SG.AGT **2PL=PAT** show-IMPFV=DECL
 'I will show you (pl).'

5.2.2. Other Verb Morphology and Affectedness

The meaning of the verb root alone does not decide whether a verb will have an agent or patient argument. The other morphology appearing on verbs affects the meaning of the verb and therefore also has a hand in determining the argument type a particular verb will have. For example, in (16), when *hql-* is used with an agent argument *hi:li?* ‘all of them’ it has the meaning ‘listen’.¹⁰⁰

- (16) Coyote and the World: 10, RM
se'éy **hi:li?** *hákilmil.*
si=?i **hil-i** *hql?-k-il=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 **all-ANIM** hear-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘So **all** listened.’

In (17) and (18), when *hql-* ‘hear’ is used with a patient argument *hulk'o'á* ‘Coyote=PAT’ it has the meaning ‘hear’ or ‘understand’. The difference in argument type in (16) - (18), all of which have a verb with the root *hql-* ‘hear’, is therefore most likely determined not just by the verb root but also by the morphology following that root.

- (17) Coyote and the World: 8, RM
se'éy **hulk'o'á** *háltmil.*
si=?i **hulk'o'i=q** *hql-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 **Coyote=PAT** hear-INTR=FIN
 ‘And **Coyote** heard.’

- (18) Coyote and the World: 120, RM
se'éy **hulk'o'á** *hállammil*
si=?i **hulk'o'i=q** *hql-m=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 **Coyote=PAT** hear-IMPV=FIN
 ‘And **Coyote** understood them.’

¹⁰⁰ *hi:li?* ‘all of them’ is marked for grammatical agent or grammatical patient forms when used as a pronominal argument. An example of the patient form *hi:la* ‘all of them=PAT’ appears in CW:132b.

5.2.3. Overt Marking of Agent and Patient for Pronouns

Agent and patient forms of first and second pronouns are fairly common in the texts. Examples are given in (19) and (20).

(19) Coyote and the World: 225 (excerpt), RM

...ʔq̄p	kup	míʃ	nóʔwinmawi	ʔey
ʔqp	kup	mis	nq̄w-n-mq̄-wi	=ʔi
1SG.AGT	sister's.son	2SG.PAT	see-AND-DIR1-PST1	=HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi

ʔimi=mil hulk'óʔi

say=FIN Coyote

“... I came to see **you**, sister's son”, said Coyote.’

(20) Coyote and the World: 132, RM

seʔey	háye	hiwq̄k	moʔos̄tyat	ʔúsa
si=ʔi	hq̄ʔaye	hiwq̄k	moʔosiyat	ʔus=q
NEW=HSY1	now	in.turn	2PL.AGT.DAT	1PL.EXCL=PAT

wok nq̄wi hámek ʔey ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi k'óʔola

wok' nq̄w ham=k =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulk'óʔi k'óʔol=q

dance/sing see like/want=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote Wailaki.PL=PAT

“Now in turn **we** want to see your dance”, Coyote said to the Wailaki.’

Yuki third person pronouns are identical to distal demonstratives. In (21), the singular patient form *kiʔa* is shown in an elicited example.

(21) Siniard 1967b:11, MF

kiʔa poʔo:wik

kiʔ=q poʔ=wik

DST=PAT burn=PST2?

‘**he** burned (himself)’

In (22), the singular patient form *kiʔá* is shown functioning as a demonstrative in *hulk'óʔa* ‘that Coyote’.

(22) Origins: 74 (excerpt), RM

<i>sikítey</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>ki:</i>	<i>ʔúʔukpis</i>	<i>lakmikí:</i>	<i>ʔéy</i>
<i>si=kiʔ=ʔi</i>	<i>háʔaye</i>	<i>kiʔ</i>	<i>ʔukʔ=ʔis</i>	<i>lakʔ-m=kiʔ</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
NEW=then=HSY1	now	DST	water=ABL	emerge-IMPFV=DST	=HSY1

<i>háye</i>	kiʔá	hulkʔóʔq	<i>nąkʔóhisimil ...</i>
<i>háʔaye</i>	kiʔ=q	hulkʔoʔi=q	<i>nąkʔoh-s=mil</i>
now	DST=PAT	Coyote=PAT	teach-CAUSʔ=FIN

‘Thereupon, having come out of the water, (Taykómol) taught [that] Coyote’

In (23) and (24), the distributive plural patient demonstrative *kimasa* ~ *kimaša* is found in *kimaša músʔaʔ* ‘those women’ and in *kimasa ʔópi* ‘them both’.

(23) Coyote and the World: 197 (excerpt), RM

<i>...ʔimeymil</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>	kimáša	músʔaʔ
<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔi</i>	kiʔ-mas=q	mus=q
say=FIN	Coyote	DST-DSTR=PAT	women=PAT

‘...Coyote said to these [those?] women.’

(24) Coyote and the World: 356, RM

<i>...ʔimeymil</i>	kimasa	ʔópi	<i>nakahik</i>
<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	kiʔ-mas=q	ʔopi	<i>nąkʔoh=k</i>
say=FIN	DST-DSTR=PAT	two	teach=DECL

‘...he said, teaching **them both**.’

Third person patient pronouns are also found encliticized to the dependent clause marker =*namli*¹⁰¹. In (25), the distributive plural patient pronoun *kimasa* occurs as part of *míhnámlikimáša* ‘those who had been’.

(25) Coyote and the World: 413a, RM

<i>sąkítey</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>huʔ</i>	<i>ʔa:ʔát</i>	míhnámlikimáša
<i>są=kiʔ=ʔi</i>	<i>háʔaye</i>	<i>huʔ</i>	<i>ʔaʔat</i>	mih=namli=kiʔ-mas=q
SAME=then=HSY1	now	before	people	be=DEP=DST-DSTR=PAT

¹⁰¹ See §15.10 for discussion of this use.

?ey ?awhám k'qk'ésimil
 =?i ?awham k'qk'-s=mil
 =HSY1 animal exist-CAUS=FIN
 'Thereupon he made **those who had** first **been** people to become
 animals;'

5.2.4. Overt Marking of Patient for Nouns

For nouns, the agent case is unmarked and the patient case is typically marked only when a noun refers to a human or to a personified non-human, such as a mythological character. In (26), Coyote is naming the individuals who will be fighting the Wailaki. The three individuals named by Coyote that are marked as patients are two individuals named *t'uyna'ákina* 'T'uyna'ákin' and *šiwkí:tiną* 'Šiwkítin'¹⁰² and a personified non-human *?olkáčma* 'Mouse'. The 'Wailaki' *k'ó'ola* are also marked as patients. The Wailaki will be those affected by the injury that the other three characters in this passage intend to inflict.

(26) Coyote and the World: 113, RM

<i>są?éy</i>	<i>t'uyna'ákina</i>	<i>ną</i>	<i>šiwkí:tiną</i>	<i>?eyy</i>
<i>są=?i</i>	<i>t'uyna'akin=q</i>	<i>=ną</i>	<i>šiwkiřin=q</i>	<i>=?i</i>
SAME=HSY1	T'uyna'ákin=PAT	=and	Šiwkítin=PAT	=HSY1

yąwweymil

yąw=mil

name/call=FIN

'And [Coyote] named **T'uyna'ákin** and **Šiwkítin**.'

Coyote and the World: 114

<i>sąkópey</i>	<i>?olkáčma</i>	<i>yąwweymil</i>	<i>kimáše</i>
<i>są=kop=?i</i>	<i>?olkařam=q</i>	<i>yąw=mil</i>	<i>ki'-mas-i</i>
SAME=then=HSY1	Mouse=PAT	name/call=FIN	DST-DSTR-ANIM

¹⁰² It is unclear whether *šiwkí:tiną* is marked for patient case or if this name ends in the conjunction *=ną* 'and.'

k'ó'ola haykiyúniakpá:miki: kimáša.
k'ó'ol=q hayk'ayu-n-qk-pa'am=ki' ki'-mas=q
Wailaki.PL=PAT destroy-AND-SEM-FUT=DST DST-DSTR=PAT
 'Also he named **Mouse** (among) those who would do injury to **the Wailaki.**'

In (27), the kinship term *kup* 'sister's son' is marked as a grammatical patient *kú:pa* 'sister's son=PAT'. *pilqt* 'sun' is a personified non-human in this story and therefore is overtly marked as the patient *pilq:tq* 'sun=PAT'

(27) Coyote and the World: 283, RM

t'óktli ?*q*p *kipáwk'il* **kú:pa** ?*q*p
t'ok-tl ?*q*p *kipáw=k'il* **kup=q** ?*q*p
 arrive-TR 1SG.AGT back=TERM **sister's.son=PAT** 1SG.AGT

náwwinemqpa? *hi:l* **kú:pa** *wačmiki:* ?*i*y
náw-n-mq-pa? *hil* **kup=q** *wač'-m=ki?* =?*i*
 see-AND-DIR1-FUT all **sister's.son=PAT** teach-IMPV=DST =HSY1

?*imeymil* *hulk'ó'i* **pilq:tq**
 ?*imi=mil* *hulk'ó'i* **pilqt=q**
 say=FIN Coyote **sun=PAT**

"having arrived there, I shall come to see you, **sister's son**, to tell you **[sister's son]** everything", Coyote said **to the sun.**'

In (28), ?*a:ta*t 'people' is part of the patient argument *kipat* ?*a:ta*tá 'his people=PAT'.

(28) Coyote and the World: 371 (excerpt), RM

?*imeymil* **kipat** ?*a:ta*tá *hulk'ó'i*
 ?*imi=mil* **kip=q**t ?*a:ta*t=q *hulk'ó'i*
 say=FIN 3R=DAT **people=PAT** Coyote
 '... said Coyote **to his people.**'

Non-human or inanimate nouns usually occur without patient case marking even if these nouns are the more affected of two arguments in a two-argument clause. Thus *mil*

‘meat’, in (29) is not marked for patient case though it is the more affected argument in this clause.

- (29) Coyote and the World: 210, RM
sikiṭéy *kimási* *mú:s*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *kiʔ-mas-i* *mus*
 NEW=then=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM women

mil *hqwáyisammil*
mil *hqwáy-s-m=mil*
meat/deer food/eat-CONT?-IMPFV=FIN
 ‘And those women were eating **the meat**.’

Similarly, in (30), *hulk’óʔi* ‘Coyote’ sees *yím* ‘fire’ blazing up, however *yím* is treated as a non-human entity and is not marked for patient case.

- (30) Coyote and the World: 24, RM
sáʔey **yím** *yq:híṣti* *nqwímil* *hulk’óʔi*
sáʔ=ʔi **yím** *yqh-s-t* *nqw=mil* *hulk’óʔi*
 SAME=HSY1 **fire** blaze-CONT-INTR see=FIN Coyote
 ‘And Coyote saw **the fire** blazing up.’

In some instances non-human noun arguments that do not appear to be personified are also marked overtly for patient case. *mil* ‘deer, meat’ can be optionally marked as a patient when it refers to ‘deer’ rather than ‘meat’¹⁰³. This may suggest that for some non-human nouns, perhaps specifically non-human animate nouns, patient case marking can indicate that the referent experiences the effects of the situation to a greater extent.

Two contrasting elicited examples are shown in (31) and (32) with *mil* the patient argument in both. In (31), *mil* refers to ‘meat’ and is not marked for patient case, while in (32), *mil* refers to ‘deer’ and appears as the patient-marked form *mila*.

¹⁰³ It is unknown whether all non-human nouns could be optionally marked for patient case to show a great degree of affectedness. It may be that a small number of frequently used and culturally significant nouns could be used this way. The fact that *mil* was used to refer not only to ‘deer’ in particular, but also ‘meat’ in general, suggests the great cultural importance of deer to the Yuki. *hqw* shows a similar use, being used as a word for ‘salmon’ in particular, but also ‘fish’ in general. Patient marking of *hqw*, however, has not yet been observed.

- (31) Siniard 1967a:51, MF
mil *kiʔ* *li:ʔakha*
mil *kiʔ* *liʔ-ək-ha*
meat/deer DST kill-SEM-Q
 ‘did he kill that **deer (meat)**?’
- (32) Siniard 1967a:51, MF
mila *ʔap* *li:əkik*
mil=q *ʔap* *liʔ-ək=k*
meat/deer=PAT 1SG.AGT kill-SEM=DECL
 ‘I just killed **deer**.’

Contrast the following elicited example (33) to (32).

- (33) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:62, MF
mil *ʔap* *matkwe*
mil *ʔap* *mat-k-wi*
meat/deer 1SG.AGT shoot-PNCT-PST1
 ‘I shot a **deer**.’

In (33), *mil* ‘deer’ does not appear with patient marking when it is the patient argument of *matkwe* ‘shot’, but does appear with patient marking when it is the patient argument of *li:əkik* ‘killed’. This may suggest that a greater degree of affectedness is expressed by the act of killing the deer, rather than the act of shooting the deer, when, perhaps, the outcome of that action is uncertain.

Another possible interpretation could be that the degree of specificity of an argument determines whether that argument will be marked for patient case. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:62) give an example *mil(q) ʔap li:ʔkek* ‘I killed the deer’, which is effectively identical to (32). Human or human-like referents are often specific individuals, proper nouns, a particular tribe or group of people, and so on. It is possible that the pattern seen in the examples in this section is showing that when a very particular group of non-human referents are a patient case argument, this argument can also be marked for patient case even though the referents are not human or human-like.

Patient forms of *mil* ‘deer’ can also be found in the texts, as shown in (34). In this example patient case is used to mark this referent when it is being addressed, which is a common use of patient case marking for non-human animates in the texts.

(34) Coyote and the World: 413b, RM

<i>míla</i>	^ʔ ey	<i>míʔ</i>	<i>míli</i>	<i>mípa</i>	^ʔ an
<i>míl=q</i>	= ^ʔ i	<i>miʔ</i>	<i>mil</i>	<i>mih-paʔ</i>	^ʔ an
meat/deer=PAT	=HSY1	2SG.AGT	meat/deer	be-FUT	long.time

^ʔ a:átat	<i>hqwáyʔolʔ</i>
^ʔ aátat=qt	<i>hqwáy-olʔ</i>
people=DAT	food/eat-AG/INST

‘to the deer (he said), “You, deer, shall always be food for humans.”

5.3. Inflectional Morphology

Number and the core agent, patient, and dative cases are discussed in this section.

5.3.1. Number

As shown in Table 9, unique singular and plural forms are distinguished for only very few nouns.

Singular	Plural
^ʔ iwop ‘man’	^ʔ iwis ‘men’
<i>musp</i> ‘woman’	<i>mus</i> ‘women’
<i>nayp</i> ‘girl’	<i>naʔes</i> ‘girls’

Table 9: Singular and Plural Nouns

Similarities in some of these forms suggest a common source for this marking. Kroeber (1911:353) refers to *-s* as a “plural suffix of a few nouns denoting persons; also of personal pronouns” and calls *-p* a “singular suffix corresponding to *-s*.” He extends this pattern further to include ^ʔqp ‘1SG.AGT’ and ^ʔus ‘1SG.EXCL.AGT’, as well as *miʔ* ‘2SG.AGT’ and *moʔos* ‘2PL.AGT’ as pairs in this system showing singular with *-p* and plural with *-s*. Schlichter (1985:275) also reconstructs **-s* as a plural suffix in Proto-Northern Yukian.

(35) shows *mus* ‘women’ and *ʔiwis* ‘men’ in use.

(35) Coyote and the World: 320, RM

<i>sopʔéy</i>	mú:s	<i>siʔ</i>	<i>lítinnamlikimáse</i>	<i>hil</i>
<i>sop=ʔi</i>	mus	<i>siʔ</i>	<i>lit-n=namli=kiʔ-mas-i</i>	<i>hil</i>
but=HSY1	women	clover	do-AND=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM	all

wí:tʔmąmil

wiṭ-mą=mil

turn-DIR1=FIN

‘Also the **women** who had gone clover gathering all came returning.’

Coyote and the World: 321

<i>siʔey</i>	<i>háye</i>	ʔíwis	<i>kíw</i>	<i>noʔitili</i>	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>hąʔaye</i>	ʔiwis	<i>kiw</i>	<i>noʔit-ilʔ</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
NEW=HSY1	now	men	arrow	carry-MPSV?	=HSY1

téwtlmil

wąkop

hulkʔóʔa

tiw-tl=mil

wąk=op

hulkʔoʔi=q

pursue-TR=FIN after=LAT Coyote=PAT

‘And now the **men** carrying arrows pursued after Coyote.’

In his original description of Yuki, Kroeber (1911:353) also proposes that *-a* and *-i* are nominal plural suffixes used only for animals and plants and also for semi-pronominal stems¹⁰⁴. Analysis of the texts does not support this explanation. In the aforementioned words claimed by Kroeber as having plural suffixes, *-a* seems to either be the patient case marker or the regular ending of that noun and *-i* seems to be an indicator of animacy when used with the quantifier *hil* ‘all’ and in other cases the result of epenthesis. Table 10 shows Kroeber’s examples for plural *-a* and *-i* alongside more recent elicited forms and a proposed analysis or interpretation for each form.

¹⁰⁴ By this term Kroeber appears to be referring to *hili* ‘all’ and *-mas-i* ‘distributive plural.’

Kroeber's original interpretation	More recent elicitation and interpretation	Proposed analysis and explanation
<i>mil-i</i> 'deer'	<i>mile</i> 'deer' (AA, MF)	Epenthesis or possibly animate <i>-i</i>
<i>su?s-i</i> 'ducks'	<i>su:s</i> (AA), <i>su:se</i> (MF) 'duck'	Epenthesis or possibly animate <i>-i</i>
<i>č'op-i</i> 'flies'	<i>č'op</i> ~ <i>č'opi</i> (AA), <i>č'o:pe</i> (MF) 'duck'	Epenthesis or possibly animate <i>-i</i>
<i>p'al-p'o-i-l</i> (for <i>p'al-p'ol-i</i>) 'butterflies'	unavailable	
<i>mil-i</i> 'white oaks'	unavailable	
<i>šip-i</i> 'willows'	<i>šipi</i> , <i>šipe</i> ~ <i>šipit</i> 'willow (white)' (AA)	Epenthesis or possible loss of final consonant
<i>hil-i</i> 'all'	<i>hi:l</i> ~ <i>hi:li</i> 'all of it' (FL)	Animate <i>-i</i>
<i>-maš-i</i> 'plural of demonstratives'	<i>kima:se</i> 'they' (AA, MF)	Animate <i>-i</i>
<i>šup-a</i> 'blackbirds'	<i>šu:pá</i> 'blackbird' (FL)	No affix, <i>-a</i> is part of this word.
<i>tok-a</i> 'fleas'	<i>ť'oko?</i> ~ <i>ť'oke</i> 'flea' (AA)	No affix, <i>-a</i> is most likely part of this word and a variation of the pronunciation of final <i>-o</i> .
<i>koy-a</i> 'gophers'	unavailable	Based on analysis of texts, <i>-a</i> is probably marking this noun as a patient case argument. For discussion see §5.3.2.2.
<i>ku?s-a</i> 'geese'	unavailable	<i>-a</i> is most likely not an affix, but a part of the word. All elicited forms available in Sawyer and Schlichter 1984 predate Kroeber, but all of these forms end in some type of <i>a</i> -like vowel. This word may be a borrowing from English.

Table 10: Analysis of Kroeber's proposed plural noun forms¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ (AA) and (MF) examples taken from Sawyer and Schlichter 1984, (FL) examples taken from Crawford (1953).

5.3.2. Core Cases

As discussed in §5.2, verb arguments are grouped into three categories: agents, patients, and datives. See §5.2 for a more detailed description of the Yuki system of argument structure.

5.3.2.1. -∅ agent

The agent case is unmarked for nouns. As discussed in §5.2 and by Mithun (2008), the agent is the argument that tends to be the voluntary instigator. It can also act as the default or generic form of the noun.

(36) - (39) show nouns as agents in short elicited clauses. (36) and (37) are single-argument clauses, (38) and (39) are two-argument clauses.

(36) Siniard 1967a:87, MF

sa^ʔ k^ho^ʔoyik

sak ko^ʔ-y=k

child go-PROG=DECL

‘The baby’s coming’

(37) Siniard 1967b:63, MF

?itin ha^ʔalš mamlamik

?itin halč mam-lqm=k

1SG.POSS children grow-INCH=DECL

‘My children are starting to grow.’

(38) Siniard 1967a:79, MF

?ink’u’ŋ mu^ʔumam matwičk

?in-k’un’ mu^ʔumam maṭ-wičk

1SG.KIN.POSS-father grapes eat-PST2

‘My father used to eat grapes.’

- (39) Siniard 1967a:97, MF
 ?itin ?a:tat^h hot^h woyal' ?o:t'ik
 ?itin ?a:ʔat hoʔ woyal' ?oʔ'=k
1SG.POSS people large tobacco smoke=DECL
 'My people smoked lots of tobacco.'

Also, as shown in (40) and (41), respectively, the single argument of predicate nominal and predicate oblique clauses is an agent.

- (40) Siniard 1967a: 35, MF
 ?ap musp^h mihik
 ?ap musp mih=k
1SG.AGT woman be=DECL
 'I'm a woman.'
- (41) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 26, MF
 mɔl hu:yɔp ?ɔp mehek
 mɔl huy=qɔp ?ɔp mih=k
 river middle=LAT **1SG.AGT** be=DECL
 'I'm in the middle of the creek.'

5.3.2.2. =q ~ =a patient

The patient case is marked with =q or =a for nouns referring to humans or to personified non-humans, such as mythological characters. Occasionally, this case can appear on inanimates with an instrumental meaning. As discussed in §5.2, patients tend to be affected but not in control of the action expressed by a verb.

As noted in §5.2.4, nouns referring to non-humans can also be marked for patient case, which appears connected to the degree that a referent is specified. Non-human patient arguments are not marked for patient case.

(42) and (43) show human patient arguments marked for patient case. In (42), *hálja* 'children=PAT' is the single argument of *y:kilpa* 'shall be playing'.

- (42) Coyote and the World: 397, RM

sikiṭ *háłya* *ho:ṭ* *yí:kilpaʔ*
si=kiṭ *halč=q* *hoṭ* *yiʔ-k-il-paʔ*
 NEW=then **children=PAT** large play-PNCT-MPSV-FUT
 “**children** also shall be playing much,”

In (43), *hulkʔóʔi kiṅkʔí:la ʔiwomá* ‘Coyote’s son, a young man=PAT’ is the single argument of *kʔolítmil* ‘died’. *kʔol-* ‘die’ describes an event over which one has no control, but is significantly affected by it.

- (43) Origins: 136, RM

sopʔéy *haníçyi:lop* *hulkʔóʔi*
sop=ʔi *han=iṭ-y-il=op* *hulkʔoʔi*
 but=HSY1 house=JXT-PROG-MPSV=when **Coyote**

kiṅkʔí:la *ʔiwomá* *ʔey* *kʔolítmil*.
kim-kʔíli=q *ʔiwom=q* =ʔi *kʔol-t=mil*
DST.KIN.POSS-son=PAT young.man=PAT =HSY1 die-INTR=mil
 ‘Then, when they were near (their) house, **Coyote’s son, a young man,**
 died.’

In (44), *hulkʔóʔq* ‘Coyote=PAT’, a personified mythological character, is the patient argument of *wíçtilmil* ‘made work’. In this example Taykómol is making Coyote do work for him.

- (44) Origins: 51, RM

sáʔey *hulkʔóʔq* *wíçtilmil* *ʔon* *ʔuhmiki:*
sá=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi=q* *wiṭ-t-il=mil* *ʔon* *ʔuh-m=kiʔ*
 SAME=NEW **Coyote=PAT** work-INTR-MPSV=FIN earth sew-IMPV=DST
 ‘And he [Taykómol] made **Coyote** work for him as he was about to sew the
 earth.’

In (45), a number of other non-human mythological characters are shown with patient marking. In *Coyote and the World*, *hawmol* ~ *hašmol* ‘morning star’ and *pilqt* ‘sun’ are personified. In Clause 350, *hášmó:la* ‘morning star=PAT’ is the patient argument of *hátí:li kóʔot(e)mil* ‘went carrying’. In Clause 351, *pilq:ta* ‘sun=PAT’ is the patient argument

in the relativized construction *pilq:tq šú:htlnamlikíṭa* ‘where (he) had set the sun’. In Clause 352, *hqwmo’ola* ‘morning star=PAT’ is the patient argument of *kqksimil* ‘made rise’.

(45) Coyote and the World: 350, RM

<i>sq:kitey</i>	<i>hášmó:la</i>	<i>pilqtq:tk’il</i>	<i>ha:t’li</i>
<i>sq=kiṭ=’i</i>	<i>hašmol’=q</i>	<i>pilqt=qt=k’il</i>	<i>ha²-t-il</i>
SAME=then=HSY1	morning.star=PAT	sun=DAT=TERM	carry-INTR=MPSV

kó²ot(e)mil *hulk’ó’i*

ko²-t=mil *hulk’o’i*

go-INTR=FIN Coyote

‘Then Coyote went carrying the **morning star** toward the sun.’

Coyote and the World: 351

<i>sq²ey</i>	<i>pilq:tq</i>	<i>šú:htlnamlikíṭa</i>	<i>²ey</i>	<i>kómmil</i>
<i>sq=’i</i>	<i>pilqt=q</i>	<i>šu²-h-tl=namli=kiṭa</i>	<i>=’i</i>	<i>kom=mil</i>
SAME=HSY1	sun=PAT	sit/stay-DUR-TR=DEP=there	=HSY1	come=FIN

‘where he had set the **sun** he came.’

Coyote and the World: 352

<i>sq²ey</i>	<i>hqwmo’ola</i>	<i>kiṭa</i>	<i>kqksimil.</i>
<i>sq=’i</i>	<i>hawmol’=q</i>	<i>kiṭa</i>	<i>k’qk’-s=mil</i>
SAME=HSY1	morning.star=PAT	there	exist-CAUS=FIN

‘And there he made the **morning star** rise.’

As mentioned in §5.2.4, nouns referring to non-human animates or groups of non-human animates can be marked as patient case arguments even if these non-humans are not personified to the extent of becoming human-like figures such as *hulk’o’i* ‘Coyote’ in the Yuki Creation Story. Non-human animates are marked for patient case in situations where special attention is being drawn to that referent. Given the paucity of available data it is not possible to explore this use of patient case fully; however, it may be that in this use these non-human animates are being marked with patient case specifically as a sign that they have been somewhat personified. In (46), *čimítq* ‘birds’ are the patient-marked argument that are being addressed. In (47), *míla* ‘deer’ and *k’ol*

kimása ki hó:ʔam kimása ‘those others that are large’¹⁰⁶ are the patient-marked arguments that are being addressed. Thus, in both examples these non-human animates have been personified sufficiently to be addressed.

(46) Coyote and the World: 416a, RM

<i>sʔkiʔ</i>	či:mítq	<i>móʃ</i>	<i>čí:mit</i>	<i>mípa</i>
<i>si=kiʔ</i>	čʔimit=q	<i>moʔos</i>	<i>čʔimit</i>	<i>mih-paʔ</i>
NEW=then	bird=PAT	2PL.AGT	bird	be-FUT

Coyote and the World: 416b

<i>sʔkí:</i>	<i>mó:ʃ</i>	<i>ʔólmp</i>	<i>nóʔopaʔ</i>
<i>sʔ=ki</i>	<i>moʔos</i>	<i>ʔolam=op</i>	<i>noʔ-paʔ</i>
SAME=and	2PL.AGT	brush=LAT	live-FUT

‘And **to the (small) birds**, “You shall be birds and shall live in the brush.”’

(47) Coyote and the World: 417, RM

<i>sikiʔéy</i>	míla	<i>nq</i>	kʔol	kimása
<i>si=kiʔ=ʔi</i>	míl=q	<i>=nq</i>	kʔol	kiʔ-mas=q
NEW=then=HSY1	meat/deer=PAT	=and	other	DST-DSTR=PAT

ki	hó:ʔam	kimása ...	<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>
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kiʔ	hoʔ-am	kiʔ-mas=q	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔi</i>
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DST	large-NOML	DST-DSTR=PAT	<i>say=FIN</i>	Coyote
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‘And then **to the deer** and **those others that are large ...** said Coyote,’

There is a suffix or enclitic, which is identical or very similar in form to the patient case enclitic. Nouns marked with this ending are translated with an oblique meaning by Kroeber. Due to the limited amount of available Yuki data it is unclear whether this is a different type of use of the patient case or a unique case ending. These oblique uses of this ending are glossed as OBL in the texts and examples in this grammar.

An example of this oblique use can be seen in (48), *kilul* ‘bone marrow’ is found in *kilúla hq:timil* ‘rubbed (them) with marrow’.

¹⁰⁶ This is referring to large animals.

- (48) Coyote and the World: 183, RM

sikʔéy *lakʔiyakmil* *čiwpiš*
si=kq=ʔi *lakʔ-ak=mil* *čiw=piš*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 take.out-SEM=FIN acorn.storeroom=ABL
 ‘Then he took them out of the storeroom,’

Coyote and the World: 184

sqʔéy ***kilúla*** *hqʔtimil*
sq=ʔi ***kilul=qʔ*** *hqʔ-t=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 **marrow=OBL** rub-INTR=FIN
 ‘and rubbed them **with marrow**.’

In (49), *lil* ‘stone’ is found in *šiwkítin lilaʔ wítkimil* ‘Šiwkítin hurled with his stone’.

- (49) Coyote and the World: 173, RM

seʔey *ʔátq* *šiwkítin* ***lilaʔ*** *wítkimil*
si=ʔi *ʔaʔaʔ* *šiwkítin* ***lil=qʔ*** *wit-k=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 again Šiwkítin **stone=OBL** hurl-PNCT=FIN
 ‘Then Šiwkítin again hurled **with [his] stone**’

In (50), the stone is being hurled at the Wailaki. ‘Wailaki’ appears as *kóʔola*, while *lil* ‘stone’ is left in its unmarked form.

- (50) Coyote and the World: 164, RM

seʔéy *šiwkítin* *lil* *háʔnamlikí:la* *ʔey*
si=ʔi *šiwkítin* *lil* *haʔ=namli=kiʔ-la* *=ʔi*
 NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wítkimil ***kóʔola***
wit-k=mil ***koʔol=qʔ***
 hurl-PNCT=FIN **Wailaki.PL=OBL?**
 ‘So Šiwkítin hurled **at the Wailaki** with the stone he was carrying’

In (51), *lil* ‘stone’ is once again marked with this oblique ending, but also now appears with the instrumental suffix *-ok* as *lilaʔok*. There is insufficient data to determine the reasons for the use of instrumental *-ok* in (51) but its absence in (49) and (50).

(51) Coyote and the World: 168, RM

sikq[?]éy *ʔqtq* *šiwkítin* *kipat* *lflaʔok*
si=kq=ʔi *ʔaʔaʔ* *šiwkítin* *kip=qt* *lil=qʔ-ok*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 again Šiwkítin 3R=DAT **rock=OBL-INST**

*wítkimil**wit-k=mil*

hurl-PNCT=FIN

‘Then once more Šiwkítin threw at them **with his stone**’

5.3.2.3. =qt ~ =at dative

Dative arguments are affected arguments in three-argument clauses and also in two-argument clauses containing a patient but not an agent. Very rarely dative arguments appear to also act as actors or performers of actions in clauses where the verb would typically take a patient argument¹⁰⁷. The dative case is also used for beneficiaries and also with a possessive meaning¹⁰⁸.

This use of the dative is seen several times in elicited examples. In (52), the verb *hanaʔ*- ‘believe, know’ does not have an agent argument. In the example the recipient of the action of the verb *mi:t* ‘2SG.DAT’ is a dative argument, while the argument performing the action of the verb *i:* ‘1SG.PAT’ is a patient argument.

(52) Siniard 1967b:105

mi:t *ʔi:* *hanaʔataŋk*
mit *ʔi* *hanaʔ-tan=k*
2SG.DAT 1SG.PAT believe-NEG=DECL
 ‘I don’t believe **you**’

In (53), *ham-* ‘like, want’ appears with *hqt-* ‘doctor’. *ham-* does not have an agent argument, thus the argument performing the action of liking is the patient case pronoun *kiʔa*. The recipient of the action described by *hqt-* ‘doctor’ would typically be a patient case argument. However, appearing in this clause, which already has a patient

¹⁰⁷ For a possible example, note the use of the dative argument *kimášat k’únat kimášat k’á:nat* ‘their fathers (and) mothers’ with the verb *na:náknil* ‘knew’ in CW:180.

¹⁰⁸ For a possessive use of the dative case, see, for example, (84) in §5.4.6.

case argument, the individual receiving the doctoring is a dative argument *i:t^h* ‘1SG.DAT’.

(53) Siniard 1967b:109

<i>ki'a</i>	?i:t^h	<i>hə:t^ham</i>	<i>ha:mik</i>
<i>ki²=q</i>	?it	<i>hət-m</i>	<i>ham=k</i>

DST=PAT **1SG.DAT** doctor-IMPFV like/want=DECL
 ‘he likes to doctor **me**’

In connected speech this use of the dative is also observed. *?inam-* ‘dream’ is also a verb that does not have an agent argument. In (54), the individuals who are being dreamed of are given in the clause and are marked with the dative case *?a:tát* *lašk'áwol'na háwml' tu:nóhilikimášat* ‘those people that kept the moon and the morning star’.

(54) Coyote and the World: 287, RM

<i>sikq'éy</i>	<i>?atá</i>	<i>?inámtmil</i>	?a:tát	<i>lašk'áwol'</i>
<i>si=kq=?i</i>	<i>?ata²</i>	<i>?inam-t=mil</i>	?atát	<i>lašk'awol'</i>

NEW=thereupon=HSY1 again dream-INTR=FIN **people moon**

<i>na</i>	<i>háwml'</i>	<i>tu:nóhilikimášat</i>
=nq	<i>hawml'</i>	<i>tunoh-il=ki²-mas=q^t</i>

=and morning.star keep-MPSV?=DST-DSTR=DAT
 ‘Thereupon he dreamed again, of **those people that kept the moon and the morning star.**’

In (55), the recipient of *?átlmil* ‘put on’ is the patient *?a:táta* ‘people’, while the dative argument *sq:t'ínat mipátat* ‘Lizard’s hands’ is the affected argument.

(55) Coyote and the World: 412a, RM

sq[?]éy sq:ʔ'fnat mipátat kimás ʔey háye
 sq=[?]i sqʔ'in=qt mipat=qt ki[?]-mas =[?]i hq[?]aye
 SAME=HSY1 Lizard=DAT hand=DAT DST-DSTR =HSY1 now

ʔátlmil ʔa:táta
 ʔat'-tl?[?]=mil ʔaʔat=q
 fasten-TR?[?]=FIN people=PAT
 'Lizard's hands he put on people;'

The dative case is also used for beneficiaries. In (56), *hulk'ó'i* 'Coyote' stands and sings 'for them'. The beneficiary *kimášat* 'for them' is marked with dative case.

(56) Coyote and the World: 66, RM

sopéy hulk'ó'i ʔá'tá kimášat há:p yqškílmil.
 sop=[?]i hulk'ó'i ʔaʔa' ki[?]-mas=qt hqʔ yqš-k-il=mil
 but=HSY1 Coyote again DST-DSTR=DAT song/sing stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 'And Coyote again stood and sang **for them**.'

In (57), the beneficiary is also marked with dative case, *kimášat kum'no'omat* 'for those Kumnom'.

(57) Origins: 167, RM

sokóp ʔán kiʔá' hilkšilo' kimáse yu(y)yampa:mikí:
 so=kop ʔan kiʔa hilkšilo' ki[?]-mas-i yuy'-m-pa'am=ki[?]
 ʔ=then long.time there everything DST-DSTR-ANIM do-IMPV-FUT=DST

 ʔey ki: ʔatá kimášat kum'no'omat k'qk'ésimil.
 =[?]i ki[?] ʔaʔa' ki[?]-mas=qt kumnom'=qt k'qk'-s=mil
 =HSY1 DST again DST-DSTR=DAT Kumnom'=DAT exist-CAUS=FIN
 'And also everything that they would always do he made come into
 existence there **for those Kumnom**.'

5.4. Oblique Cases

The majority of Yuki oblique noun case morphology is used for forming locatives. Yuki also has an instrumental suffix.

5.4.1. Method for Attaching Oblique Case Morphology

Oblique noun case endings are attached to the noun root for non-human and inanimate nouns and to the dative form of nouns referencing humans and personified non-humans. Compare (58) and (59). Both examples contain a noun marked for terminative case indicating direction of movement. In (58), the terminative case enclitic *=k'il* is added directly to the inanimate noun *han* 'house' forming *hánʔk'il* 'toward home'. In (59), the action is moving in the direction of the *pilqt* 'sun', which is treated as a personified being in this story. Therefore terminative *=k'il* is not attached directly to the root form of 'sun', but instead to its dative form *pilqtat* forming *pilqtat:k'il* 'toward the sun'.

(58) Coyote and the World: 284, RM

<i>sákiṭey</i>	<i>kóʔot(e)mil</i>	<i>hánʔk'il</i>	<i>hulk'óʔi</i>
<i>sq=kiṭ=ʔi</i>	<i>koʔ-t=mił</i>	<i>han=k'il</i>	<i>hulk'óʔi</i>
SAME=then=HSY1	go-INTR=FIN	house=TERM	Coyote

'Then Coyote went [**toward**] **home**.'

(59) Coyote and the World: 350, RM

<i>sákiṭey</i>	<i>hášmó:la</i>	<i>pilqtat:k'il</i>	<i>ha:tí:li</i>
<i>sq=kiṭ=ʔi</i>	<i>hašmol'=q</i>	<i>pilqt=qt=k'il</i>	<i>haʔ-t-il</i>
SAME=then=HSY1	morning.star=PAT	sun=DAT=TERM	carry-INTR-MPSV

kóʔot(e)mil *hulk'óʔi*

koʔ-t=mił *hulk'óʔi*

go-INTR=FIN Coyote

'Then Coyote went carrying the morning star **toward the sun**.'

5.4.2. =k'i ~ =k ~ =i inessive

Inessive =k'i is used to express the meanings 'in', 'at', 'on', 'into'. The inessive also appears in the deictic *kik* 'there' (*ki*? 'DST' + =k 'inessive'). Kroeber (1911:356) describes =ki, =k, =i as the "general locative, in, on, at." In the texts, =k'i is also found in contexts where it is used as a directional locative.

(60) - (63) show examples of the various allomorphs of the inessive in use. In (60), Coyote is describing what will happen to the sun after it is broken up against the rocks. The sun's eyes shall go into the cracks of the rock it is broken against. The inessive is found in *lilpátk'i* 'in the rock cracks' and is used in a context where it could be understood as having a directional locative meaning; the sun's eyes are going 'into the rock cracks' rather than just being 'in the rock cracks'.

(60) Coyote and the World: 250 (excerpt), RM

lilpátk'i *hul* *p'óyčpa?*
lil-pqt=k'i *hul* *p'oy-t-pa?*
rock-crack=IN eye put-INTR-FUT
'In the rock cracks the eyes shall enter.'

In (61), the inessive is used with *huč* 'outside' to form *hučki* '(in the) outside'.

(61) Coyote and the World: 193, RM

sá'éy **hučki** *kéytlmil*
sá='i **huč=ki** *ki-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 **outside=IN** drop-TR=FIN
 'and dropped it **outside**.'

In (62), *k'ol* 'other' is used as a noun or pronoun referring to 'other people'. Due to the fact that *k'ol* refers to humans in this use, inessive =k is attached to the dative form of *k'ol*, forming *k'olá:tk* 'in/at the place of other people'¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁹ An alternative interpretation could be that inessive =k is attached to a contracted form of *'átat* 'people'. In his recording of this text, Kroeber records *k'olá:qtat* 'to another's place' as an acceptable alternate form for *k'olá:tk*. However, there is precedent for dative =qt occurring with another oblique case ending following it for an animate argument. In the next clause, Coyote and the World: 95, terminative =k'il is attached to a dative pronoun resulting in *miyátkil* 'toward us'. Likewise, in Coyote and the World:12, terminative =k'il is attached to a form that appears to be the dative form of *lopis* 'Jackrabbit' in

(62) Coyote and the World: 94, RM

sq[?]ey **k'olq:tk** *t'óktmil*
sq=[?]i **k'ol=qt=k** *t'ok-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 **other=DAT?=IN** arrive-TR=FIN
 'and they had reached **the place of other (people).**'

In (63), inessive =*ki* is attached to *k'ol* 'other' forming *k'ólki* '[in/at] elsewhere'.

(63) Origins: 137, RM

sikimás *ki* *taykómol* **k'ólki** *yúyyikiṭ* [?]*ey* *hulk'o'i*
si=kimas *ki[?]* *taykomol* **k'ol=ki** *yuy'=kiṭ* =[?]*i* *hulk'o'i*
 NEW=thus DST Taykómol **other=IN** do=when =HSY1 Coyote

pít:ṭqkik [?]*ey* *kí:milnamlik:k* [?]*éy* *taykómol* *kommil*.
piṭqkik =[?]*i* *ki[?]-mil=namli=kik* =[?]*i* *taykomol* *kom=mil*
 dry.grave =HSY1 bury-?=DEP=there =HSY1 Taykómol come=FIN
 'And Taykómol being engaged ("doing thus") **elsewhere**, Coyote having dug a hole and buried him, Taykómol arrived.'

In (64), the inessive is used with [?]*unol* 'quiver' to form [?]*unol'i* 'in (his) quiver'.

(64) Coyote and the World: 53, RM

sq[?]éy *nánšil* **[?]unol'i[?]** *k'ó:ṭilmil*.
sq=[?]i *nan-šil* **[?]unol'=i[?]** *k'o[?]-t-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 black.oak-skin **quiver=IN** be.in-INTR-MPSV=FIN
 'And he was keeping black-oak bark **in his quiver** (as tinder).'

In the texts no examples have been observed where the inessive is used for expressing the meaning 'on'. An example of this use recorded by Kroeber is given in (65).

lo'ops'qtk'il 'to Jackrabbit'. In the context where this form appears, Jackrabbit is a character in a story and a personified non-human animate.

- (65) Kroeber 1911:356, RM
həčki
həč=ki
 house/camp/floor=IN
 ‘on the house floor’

5.4.3. -(?)qm ~ -(?)am second inessive

Kroeber (1911:356) describes *-am*, *-m* as the “inessive,” stating that it is “used on certain words, such as *han*, house, and on demonstratives, as a general locative to the exclusion of *-ki*. Most other words take *-ki* but do not use *-am*.” *-qm* is also likely a part of the deictic *kim* ‘over there’ (Kroeber 1911:356).

As noted by Kroeber (1911:356), use of *-(?)qm* with *han* ‘house’ does not exclude the use of inessive *=k’i* to express the same meaning. In (66), the second inessive is used to mean ‘in’ in *ʔiwilhánam* ‘in the ceremonial house’.

- (66) Coyote and the World: 29, RM
seʔéy *hi:li* *ʔiwilhánam* *nóʔnámlikimási*
si=ʔi *hil-i* *ʔiwilhan-qm* *noʔ=namli=kiʔ-mas-i*
 NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM **ceremonial.house-IN2** live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey *láksilyqmil*
=ʔi *lakʔ-s-il-qk=mil*
 =HSY1 emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN
 ‘And all who were **in the ceremonial house** came out.’

In (67), *ʔiwilhan* appears with *=k’i* as *ʔiwilhánk’i* ‘in the ceremonial house’.

- (67) Coyote and the World: 91, RM
sáʔey *kí:k* *ʔiwilhánk’i* *wóktmil*
sq=ʔi *kik* *ʔiwilhan=k’i* *wokʔ-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 there **ceremonial.house=IN** dance/sing-TR=FIN
 ‘and there they danced **in the ceremonial house**.’

-(?)qm can also be used with a directional locative meaning ‘into’, as shown in (68). Compare this use to *ʔiwilhánam* ‘in the ceremonial house’, in (66).

- (68) Coyote and the World: 194, RM
sqkítēy *hánam* *káptmil*
sq=kit=ʔi *han-qm* *kap-t=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 **house-IN2** enter-INTR=FIN
 ‘Then he went **into the house.**’

-(ʔ)qm is used with *han* ‘house’ and with other nouns in elicited examples as shown in (69) - (71).

- (69) Silver 1967:13, MF
hqnam ʔap mi:weʔ
han-qm ʔap mih-wi
house-IN2 1SG.AGT be-PST1
 ‘I’m **in the house.**’
- (70) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:112, AA
woyolʔ ʔap *nahanqm* *mukmelʔ*
woyolʔ ʔap *nahan-qm* *muk-milʔ*
 tobacco 1SG.AGT **mouth-IN2** hold?-PHAB
 ‘I used to hold the tobacco **in my mouth.**’
- (71) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:112, AA
powe *šqmum* ʔi: *tat* *hqlmek*
pəwi *šqm-qm* ʔi: *tat* *hql-m=k*
 one **ear-IN2** 1SG.PAT good/make hear-IMPV=DECL
 ‘I hear good **in one ear.**’

The second inessive also appears in some deictics and locative forms. In (72), *kimʔ* ‘over there’ may be derived from the distal demonstrative *kiʔ* and the second inessive -(ʔ)qm. *kimʔ* precedes *hánʔam* and together forms the expression ‘in that house’.

(72) Origins: 94, RM

se^ʔéy hqye taykómol ʔálnanátlam **kfm'**
 si=^ʔi hq^ʔaye taykomol ʔal-nan-atlam **kim'**
 NEW=HSY1 now Taykómol stick-head-? **over.there**

hán'am t'u^ʔíçyakmil hqçhílpis.

han-qm t'u^ʔ-t?-qk=mil hqç-hil=pis

house-IN2 lay-INTR?-SEM=FIN house/camp/floor-all?=ABL

'Now Taykómol laid down sticks with head **in that house**, all around the sides of the floor.'

In (73), *kipaw* 'back' is suffixed with the second inessive and precedes *hán'am* forming the expression 'back into the house'.

(73) Coyote and the World: 369, RM

sópéy ʔolkátam **kipq̄wam** **hán'am** kápt'mil
 sop=^ʔi ʔolkátam **kipaw-qm** **han-qm** kap-t=mil
 ?=HSY1 Mouse **back-IN2** **house-IN2** enter-INTR=FIN
 'So Mouse went **back into the house**.'

In (74), *hqhin* 'under' is suffixed with the second inessive forming *hqhin'am*, which likely means approximately 'into underneath'.

(74) Coyote and the World: 75, RM

sópéy hqyú:mi ʔolç'ok há^ʔnamlíki:la
 sop=^ʔi hqyum ʔol-ç'ok ha^ʔ=namli=ki^ʔ-la
 but=HSY1 Dove wood-dry?/rotten? carry=DEP=DST-INST

^ʔéy **hqhin'am** lúktmil.

=^ʔi **hqhin-qm** luk-tl=mil

=HSY1 **under-IN2** go.down-TR=FIN

'But Dove pushed **under** (him) with the rotten wood he was carrying (and caught fire in it).'

5.4.4. -kot locative

-kot is very rare. Little can be said about this suffix except for the fact that it has a meaning of ‘in’ or ‘at’. It is not mentioned in earlier descriptions of Yuki. Examples of -kot are shown in (75) and (76)

(75) Coyote and the World: 371 (excerpt), RM

móʔošampú:lamláčkot *maʔíyi* *yú:ta* *ʔymq ...*

moʔošampulamláč-kot *maʔiyi* *yuta* *ʔymq*

Moʔošampulamláč-LOC something happen? ?

“**At Moʔošampulamláč** something is happening!”

(76) Origins: 75 (excerpt), RM

... *haye* *ʔukhóṭ* *mi:paʔmiki:* ***húykot*** *ʔuʔ* *namtlmil ...*

həʔaye *ʔuk-hot* *mih-paʔam=kiʔ* ***huy-kot*** *ʔukʔ* *nəm-tl=mil*

now water-large be-FUT=DST **half-LOC** water lay-TR=FIN

‘... (for) the ocean which was to be, he put down water **in the middle** ...’

5.4.5. =han, =həhin subessive

The subessive =han is used to express the meaning ‘under’ and possibly also ‘within’.

(77) - (79) show examples of =han and həhin in use with individual words.

(77) Kroeber 1911:356, RM

ʔukhan

ʔukʔ=han

water=SUBE

‘under water’

(78) Kroeber 1911:356, RM

ʔukhəhin

ʔukʔ=həhin

water=SUBE

‘under water’

(79) Kroeber 1911:356, RM

lilhqhin

lil=hqhin

rock=SUBE

‘under the rock’

(80) shows an example of =*hqhin* used in the texts. Note the sequence of oblique forms of *ʔon* ‘earth, ground’. In this excerpt Coyote has just stolen some food and is now scattering the food ‘under the ground’, *ʔonhqhin*, so that it would grow ‘up out of the ground’, *ʔonpis*.

(80) Coyote and the World: 389, RM

<i>sqʔey</i>	<i>kimáš</i>	<i>ʔa:тата</i>	<i>wácyikiṭ</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas</i>	<i>ʔat=q</i>	<i>wačʔ-yʔ=kiṭ</i>
SAME=HSY1	DST-DSTR	people=PAT	teach-PROG?=when

<i>ʔey</i>	<i>šáʔqk</i>	<i>ʔonhqhin</i>	<i>píntimil</i>
<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>šaʔqk</i>	<i>ʔon=hqhin</i>	<i>pin-t=mil</i>
=HSY1	some.of	earth=SUBE	be.scattered-INTR=FIN

<i>ki:</i>	<i>hilkšiloʔ</i>	<i>ʔonpis</i>	<i>čúhampa:mikí:</i>
<i>kiʔ</i>	<i>hilkšiloʔ</i>	<i>ʔon=pis</i>	<i>čʔuh-m-paʔam=kiʔ</i>
DST	everything	earth=ABL	grow-IMPV-FUT=DST

‘And when he had shown it to the people, part of it he scattered **under the ground** that every kind should grow up out of the ground.’

In (81), =*han* appears following lative =*op* with an apparent meaning of ‘within’.

(81) Origins: 18, RM

<i>seʔey</i>	<i>ʔqtáʔ</i>	<i>šul</i>	<i>kʔqklamil</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔaʔaʔ</i>	<i>šul</i>	<i>kʔqkʔ-lqm=mil</i>
NEW=HSY1	again	body	exist-INCH=FIN

kiṭá *ʔu:súʔophan.*
kiṭa *ʔusuʔ=op=han*
 there **water.foam=LAT=SUBE**
 ‘And again his body began to take form there **in the foam.**’

5.4.6. =op ~ =ap ~ =qp lative

Lative =op is used to express the meanings ‘on’, ‘in’, ‘at’, and ‘through’ when attached to nouns. =op is also attached to certain deictics, such as *kipqw*, to form directional deictics like *kipqawop* ‘back to/towards’. =op is not found attached to demonstratives nor is it found attached to human or other animate nouns. =op may be related to or the same morpheme as the connective enclitic =kop ‘then, also’, which is encliticized to clause-initial switch-reference markers or the adverbial clause marker =(k)op ‘while, as’¹¹⁰.

Kroeber (1911:355) calls =op a “locative” with a “precise meaning: ‘on’; but also used as a vaguer locative ‘at’.” Kroeber also notes the use of =op as a subordinating morpheme on verbs.

In (82), =op is used in *ʔónop* ‘on the ground’.

- (82) Coyote and the World: 140, RM
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|------------------------|------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | <i>həye</i> | <i>hí:li</i> | ʔónop | <i>nó:hikimása</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | <i>həʔəye</i> | <i>hil-i</i> | ʔon=op | <i>noʔ-h=kiʔ-mas=q</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | now | all-ANIM | earth=LAT | live-DUR=DST-DSTR=PAT | =HSY1 |

ʔinkóptmil

ʔinkopʔ-t=mil

snore-INTR=FIN

‘And now all those who were lying **on the ground** snored in their sleep’.

In (83), =op is used in *nákop* ‘in the night’.

¹¹⁰ See §14.2 for discussion of the connective enclitic =kop ‘then, also’. See §15.10.2.1 for discussion of the adverbial clause marker =(k)op ‘while, as’.

- (83) Coyote and the World: 99, RM
sikq'áy **nákop** *k'ap'éyakmil* *k'ó'il*
si=kq=?i **nqk=op** *k'ap'-qk=mil* *k'ó'il*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 **dark/night=LAT** kill-SEM=FIN Wailaki
 'Thereupon in **the night** the Wailaki killed them.'

In (84), =op is used in *k'ó'olat* 'ónop 'in/at the Wailaki country'.

- (84) Coyote and the World: 118, RM
sq'éy **k'ó'olat** 'ónop *tóktmil*
sq=?i **k'o'ol=qt** 'on=op *t'ok-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 **Wailaki.PL=DAT** **earth=LAT** arrive-TR=FIN
 'And they reached [arrived **in/at**] **the Wailaki country**.'

In (85), =op is used in *no:b* 'through the camp'.

- (85) Crawford 1953, FL
no:b *wiliṭu*
no'=op *wil-t-wi*
camp=LAT pass-INTR-PST1
 'I passed **through the camp**.'

In (86), =op appears as the allomorph =ap in *kipat* 'onap 'at your own place'

- (86) Coyote and the World: 349, RM
sqk:mi 'átá *kup* **kipat** 'onap *kaṭá*
sq=kimi 'atá *kup* **kip=qt** 'on=ap *kaṭa*
 SAME=? now sister's.son **3R=DAT** **earth=LAT** here

t'ó'okespa? 'iy 'imeymil *hulk'ó'i* *lašk'áwla*
t'ok-s-pa? =?i 'imi=mil *hulk'o'i* *lašk'awol'=q*
 arrive-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote moon=PAT
 "'and here **at your own place**, sister's son, you shall arrive", said Coyote to the moon.'

In (87), =*op* is used in a directional context in *yóʔoʔop* ‘in and out of the grass’. The verb in this clause contains an andative suffix *-n*, which can also indicate motion towards a location.

- (87) Coyote and the World: 102, RM
seʔey **yóʔoʔop** *mikʔop* *kapéniʔakmil*
si=ʔi **yot=op** *mikʔop* *kap-n-qk=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 **grass=LAT** quick enter-AND-SEM=FIN
 ‘But he dashed quickly **in and out of the grass,**’

=*op* is also used to indicate movement and not just position at a location when added to *kipaw* ‘back’. In (88), *kipáwwop* is used to indicate movement back to a location.

- (88) Coyote and the World: 158, RM
sáʔey **kipáwwop** *wi:tákmil* *ʔolkačám*
sq=ʔi **kipaw=op** *wiʔ-qk=mil* *ʔolkačam*
 SAME=HSY1 **back=LAT** turn-PNCT=FIN Mouse

həwayi *móneti* *tʔúnamlikíʔa*
həway *mon-t* *tʔuʔ=namli=kíʔa*
 food/eat steal-INTR lay=DEP=there
 ‘and went **back to** where Mouse had piled the stolen food.’

5.4.7. =*wit* allative

Allative =*wit* is used to express motion toward a location. This location is typically a cardinal direction or an exterior location, such as in *ʔu:khóʔoʔamwit* ‘toward the ocean’. =*wit* is not used with human or other animate nouns. The relationship, if any, between allative =*wit* and past tense *-wiʔ* is not known. Other noun case endings, including =*kʔil*, =*op*, and =*pis* are attached to verbs with a meaning and function similar to that in their use as noun cases.

Kroeber (1911:356) describes =*wit* using the same description he uses for =*kʔil*: “terminalis, to, toward.” (89) - (91) show examples of =*wit* in use.

- (89) Coyote and the World: 347, RM

sąkiṭéy ʔatą mi:š wačísimil
 są=kiṭ=ʔi ʔatą miš wač'-s=mil
 SAME=then=HSY1 too road teach-CAUS?=FIN

lašk'áwola kaṭá(w)pis mí: kup ʔonk'olámwit
 lašk'awol'=ą kaṭa=pis miʔ kup ʔonk'ol-am=wit
 moon=PAT here=ABL 2SG.AGT sister's.son **east-NOML=ALL**

kó:tampaʔ

koʔ-t-m-paʔ

go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

'And to the moon too he showed his way: "From here you, sister's son, shall go **toward the east.**"'

- (90) Coyote and the World: 265, RM

sąʔey kimás háyk p'oyitli ʔátá
 są-ʔi kiʔ-mas hay=k p'oy-tl ʔatąʔ
 SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR net.sack=IN put-TR again

kóʔotemi ʔu:khóʔoṭamwit.

koʔ-t=mil ʔuk'-hoṭ-am=wit

go-INTR=FIN **water-large-NOML=ALL**

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

- (91) Coyote and the World: 78, RM

sikiṭéy k'olk'il ʔa:ṭát wó:manamlikimáse
 si=kiṭ=ʔi k'ol=k'il ʔatát wok'-mą=namlí=kiʔ-mas-i
 NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM people dance/sing-DIR1=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey túktimil **lalkúhtkiwit.**

=ʔi ṭuk-t=mil **lalkuhtki=wit**

=HSY1 move-INTR=FIN **Lalkuhtki=ALL**

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

5.4.8. =k'il terminative

Terminative =k'il can be used as a directional locative with a meaning similar to that of allative =wit. The difference between the use of these two cases is sometimes unclear, but in general it appears that =k'il can be used to express not just a general directional locative meaning, but also a meaning of motion towards a point with the implication that this is the endpoint of the motion. =k'il is also used in one instance to mean 'to be physically against an object'. The terminative is also occasionally seen suffixed to verbs.

(92) and (93) are examples of terminative =k'il showing motion towards an object or location. In (92), the direction in which the individuals are racing is *hánk'il* 'toward the houses'.

(92) Coyote and the World: 95, RM

<i>sq[?]ey</i>	<i>hánk'il</i>	<i>ṭá:milhipmamil</i>
<i>sq=[?]i</i>	<i>han=k'il</i>	<i>ṭamilhip-mq=mil</i>
SAME=HSY1	house=TERM	rolling.hoop.game-DIR1=FIN
'So they were racing toward the houses. '		

In (93), the terminative is used to indicate motion towards *lopis* 'Jackrabbit'. In this story Jackrabbit is a mythological character with human characteristics, therefore =k'il is attached to the dative form *lo:ps[?]qtk'il* 'out to Jackrabbit'.

(93) Coyote and the World: 12 (excerpt), RM

<i>... ha[?]téyli</i>	<i>lákt(e)mil</i>	<i>hulk'ó'i</i>
<i>ha[?]-t-il</i>	<i>lak'-t=mil</i>	<i>hulk'ó'i</i>
carry-INTR-MPSV	emerge-INTR=FIN	Coyote

lo:ps[?]qtk'il

lopis=qt=k'il

Jackrabbit=DAT=TERM

'... carrying it with him, he [Coyote] went **out to Jackrabbit.**'

In (94), the terminative is used to indicate the direction and endpoint of an action. *pilqat* 'sun' is being broken up by being dashed *lilk'il* 'against the rock'.

(97) is another example of this same use. Terminative =*k'il* appears with the nominalized verb *yq̄ši(i)ki* ‘place where (he) was standing’ forming *yq̄ši(i)kí:k'il* ‘to the place where he was standing’.

(97) Coyote and the World: 13, RM

<i>sq'áy</i>	<i>yq̄ši(i)kí:k'il</i>	<i>hámmil.</i>
<i>sq=?i</i>	<i>yq̄š=ki'=k'il</i>	<i>ham=mil</i>

SAME=HSY1 **stand=DST=TERM** bring=FIN
 ‘And brought it **to where he was standing.**’

5.4.9. Difference between allative =*wit* and terminative =*k'il*

The allative differs from the terminative in that the terminative indicates motion toward particular individuals, as in *pilqtq:tk'il* ‘toward the sun’ (CW:350) and toward locations that appear to be small, usually well-defined, perhaps also enclosed, such as *hánk'il* ‘(came) to the house’ (CW:293). The allative indicates motion toward cardinal directions, as in *kú:htkiwit* ‘to the north’ (CW:107) and other major landmarks, such as *?u:khó'oq̄amwit* ‘toward the ocean’ (CW:276) and *lalkúhtkiwit* ‘toward Lalkúhtki (a placename)’ (CW:78).

5.4.10. =*pis* ablative

The ablative case =*pis* is used to indicate motion from, out of, or away from a location. =*pis* has not been observed in use with human or other animate nouns. =*pis* can also be used attached to verbs.

=*pis* is used to indicate motion out of or from a place in *?u:kpis* ‘from the water, out of the water’, in (98), and in *hánpis* ‘out of the house’, in (99).

(98) Origins: 33, RM

<i>se'áy</i>	<i>haye</i>	<i>kí</i>	<i>taykómol</i>	<i>?u:kpis</i>
<i>si=?i</i>	<i>hq'aye</i>	<i>ki'</i>	<i>taykomol</i>	<i>?uk'=pis</i>

NEW=HSY1 now DST Taykómol **water=ABL**

ʔiʔqk šúštlmil.
 ʔiʔ-qk šuš-tl=mil
 fly-SEM stand-TR=FIN
 ‘Now Taykómol leaped **from the water** and stood.’

- (99) Coyote and the World: 370, RM
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|----------|------------------|-------------|------|
| sikitéy | haye | hulk’óʔi | hánpis | lakti | č’ál |
| si=kiʔ=ʔi | həʔaye | hulk’oʔi | han=pis | lak’-t | č’al |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | now | Coyote | house=ABL | emerge-INTR | loud |

pək’éyakmil
 pək’-ək=mil
 shout-SEM=FIN
 ‘But now Coyote coming **out of the house** shouted loudly.’

In (100), =pis is used to indicate motion off of an object *lipis* ‘off the rock’.

- (100) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:152, MF
- | | | |
|--------|-----------------|---------------------|
| sahol’ | lipis | ʔiʔitik (~ ʔiʔitek) |
| sahol’ | lipis | ʔiʔ-t=k |
| eagle | rock=ABL | fly-INTR=DECL |
- ‘The eagle flew **off the rock**.’

In (101), =pis is used along with juxtapositive =iʔ in ʔu:sú *huyítpis* ‘from out of the foam’. In this example Taykómol is speaking from out of the sea foam. =pis does not seem to be used here to indicate motion out of a location, but rather a metaphorical motion of Taykómol’s voice with Taykómol speaking from a particular location, the sea foam, while remaining in that location.

- (101) Origins: 9, RM¹¹¹
- | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------------|-----|-------------------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------|
| <u>ʔimšaʔ</u> | <u>ʔq</u> | <u>haymátli</u> | koʔ | ʔimeymil | ki | ʔu:sú | huyítpis. |
| ʔimšaʔ | ʔq | haymatli | koʔ | ʔimi=mil | kiʔ | ʔusuʔ | huy=iʔ=pis |
| what | will.I.do | say=FIN | DST | water.foam | middle=JXT=ABL | | |
- “‘What shall I do?’” that one said **from out of the foam**.’

¹¹¹ Underlined text is spoken in Huchnom by Taykómol (Kroeber 1902b:3).

While no examples have been observed where =pis is used with a human or animate noun, in (102) =pis is used in relation to such a noun. In this example Taykómol is sewing the world and to do so he produces an awl from out of his own body. =pis is not attached to Taykómol, but instead is used in *kipát č'áwpis* 'out of his insides' or 'out of his entrails'.

(102) Origins: 56, RM

<i>sá'ey</i>	kipát	č'áwpis	<i>k'ít</i>	<i>kí:la</i>
<i>sq=?i</i>	kip=qt	č'qw=pis	<i>k'it</i>	<i>ki'-la</i>
SAME=HSY1	3R=DAT	entrails=ABL	<i>awl</i>	DST-INST

<i>ʔú(h)mol</i>	<i>la'ek'ekilmil.</i>
<i>ʔuh-mol'</i>	<i>lak'-q-k-il=mil</i>
sew-AG/INST	emerge-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
'an awl to sew it with he took out of his own body ,	

In (103), =pis is attached to the verb *lak'* 'emerge' in *láktipis* 'having gone outdoors'. =pis appears to act as a subordinating morpheme, much as =k'il in (95), indicating that *ʔolkátam* 'Mouse' is outside rather than being in the process of emerging and that as Mouse stands outside the sun rises and day comes about.

(103) Coyote and the World: 366, RM

<i>se'éy</i>	<i>ʔolkátám</i>	<i>húčki</i>	láktipis	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>pilát</i>
<i>si=?i</i>	<i>ʔolkaṭam</i>	<i>huč=ki</i>	lak'-t=pis	<i>=?i</i>	<i>pilát</i>
NEW=HSY1	Mouse	outside=IN	emerge-INTR=ABL	=HSY1	sun

<i>káktlháli</i>	<i>k'a:wítmil</i>
<i>k'qk'-tl=háli</i>	<i>k'aw-t=mil</i>
exist-TR=INFR1	light-INTR=FIN
'Then Mouse having gone outdoors , the sun being about to rise, it was day.'	

5.4.11. =iṭ ~ it ~ ič juxtapositive

The juxtapositive =iṭ is a locative case describing location ‘near’ or ‘on the edge’. The name for this case was coined by Kroeber (1911:356) himself in his original description. He describes the juxtapositive as indicating location “next to” or “near.” Kroeber also proposes that the juxtapositive only appears along with the inessive and lative case endings as -ič-ki and -ič-op, respectively. In the texts, however, the juxtapositive is found without additional case endings following it. It is also possibly encountered as an independent word, as shown in (109) below.

(104) shows examples of the juxtapositive in use. In this example =iṭ is attached to ʔu:k ‘water’ forming ʔu:k’it ~ ʔú:k’iṭ ‘water-edge, shore’.

(104) Origins: 76a, RM

sáʔey	haye	ʔú:k’it	tátmikí:	kíṭa
sáʔi	hąʔaye	ʔuk’=iṭ	tat-m=kiʔ	kíṭa
SAME=HSY1	now	water=JXT	good/make-IMPV=DST	there

pánap ʔu:k’i:mpaʔamikí:
 pąnap ʔuk’-ʔimʔ-paʔam=kiʔ
 right.there water-where?-FUT=DST

Origins: 76b

sáʔey	lilšilóʔ	pát’wá	ʔey	ʔu:k’iṭ
sáʔi	lil=šiloʔ	pat’-wahʔ	=ʔi	ʔuk’=iṭ
SAME=HSY1	stone=like	flat-wide?	=HSY1	water=JXT

namtlíkí: ʔey ku:ʔtkí lawótlmil.
 nąm-tl=kiʔ =ʔi kuhtki lawo-tl=mil
 lay-TR=DST =HSY1 north fasten-TR=FIN

‘Now where he would make **the shore (water-edge)**, right there as far as the water would extend, placing something flat and stone-like **at the water-edge**, he fastened it in the north.’

In (105), the juxtapositive is found in *mí:šit* ‘near the road’. In the free translation Kroeber does not include the juxtapositive meaning translating the relevant part of this

clause only as ‘on the trail’. However, in the original notes, *mí:šit* is glossed as ‘near the road’ (Kroeber 1902d:12).

(105) Coyote and the World: 148, RM

sqʔéy *tuktámiyaqi* *wíl(l)op* *tʔú:mil*
sq=ʔi *ʔuk-t-m-aqk* *wil=op* *tʔuʔ=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 move-INTR-IMPV-SEM far=LAT lay=FIN

mí:šit *kíʔa* *ʔa:ʔát* *kómpa:mikí:*
miš=iʔ *kíʔa* *ʔaʔat* *kom-paʔam=kiʔ*
road=JXT there people come-FUT=DST

‘and going off with it to a distance, laid it **on the trail** by which the people would come.’

As noted by Kroeber, the juxtapositive is found with other case endings. (106) is an example Kroeber provides in his description of this case.

(106) Kroeber 1911:356, RM

lilički
lil=iʔ=ki
 rock=JXT=IN
 ‘by the rock’

The juxtapositive is also found with other cases in the texts. In (107), the juxtapositive is found along with ablative =*pis* in *ku:yítpis* ‘from there’.

(107) Coyote and the World: 160, RM

sópey ***ku:yítpis*** *kʔóʔil* *kímoʔoséyya*
sop=ʔi ***kuy=iʔ=pis*** *kʔoʔil* *kimoʔosiyá*
 but=HSY1 **there=JXT=ABL** Wailaki DSTR.R?

maq̄tli *ʔey* *lu:mtiʔ* *sóʔoʔʔammil* *káyit* *ʔolkáčam*
mat-t-il =ʔi *lum-tiʔ* *soʔ-m=mil* *kayit* *ʔolkaʔam*
 shoot-INTR-MPSV =HSY1 bow?-string cut-IMPV=FIN long.ago Mouse

lu:mtít čí:líyaknamlíkí.

lum-tít číl-qk=namli=kiʔ

bow?-string notch-SEM=DEP=DST

‘But as the Wailaki **from [near?] there** shot at them, their bow strings snapped which Mouse had previously notched.’

In (108), the juxtapositive¹¹² is affixed to the verb *mih-* ‘be’ in *həwłám miʔičop* ‘when the beginning of the day is near’.

(108) Coyote an the World: 358, RM

sikiť háwmoł’ **həwłám** **miʔičop** kíč ká:kəspa

si=kiť hawmoł’ **hawlam** **mih=iť=op** =kič k’qk’-s-paʔ

NEW=then morning.star **dawn** **be=JXT=while** =only exist-CAUS-FUT

“‘And the morning star shall rise only **when the beginning of the day is near.**”

In (109), it appears that the juxtapositive may be an independent word functioning as a verb¹¹³ *ʔičyí:lop* ‘when [you] are near’ rather than as an enclitic referring to the preceding noun *kup* ‘sister’s son’. The presence of verb morphology not otherwise seen with the juxtapositive in other examples in this sections, adds further support to this analysis.

(109) Coyote and the World: 281 (excerpt), RM

sə miʔ ʔátá ká:meš ʔon wácyi kíťa

sə miʔ ʔaťa? kaʔ-miš ʔon wáč’y kíťa

SAME 2SG.AGT again PRX-DSTR? earth teach-PROG there

miʔ kup ʔičyí:lop ...

miʔ kup iť-y-il=op

2SG.AGT sister’s.son **JXT-PROG-MPSV=while**

“‘And **when you are near** this place again which I showed you, sister’s son ...”

¹¹² Additional similar examples are found in §7.5.8 as well as (95) in §5.4.9 and (103) in §5.4.10.

¹¹³ For a similar example see the preceding clause, shown in (112) in §5.4.12 where *mik’al* ‘around’ also appears to be an independent word functioning as a verb.

5.4.12. *mik'al* 'around'

mik'al 'around' may be an independent word or an enclitic. Kroeber (1911:356) lists *mik'al* in the inventory of noun case suffixes and describes it as, “-*mik'al*, around. Is used also as an independent word.” Schlichter (1985:81) reconstructs **mik'al* 'around' for PNY. (110) shows examples of *mik'al* given by Kroeber.

- (110) Kroeber 1911:356, RM
yim=mik'al 'around the fire'
 ?*on=mik'al* 'around the world'

(111) shows an example of *mik'al* in connected speech.

- (111) Coyote and the World: 395, RM
sqk'ómey ?*al* *t'u'akmil* ***hqčmik'ál***
sq=k'om=?i ?*al* *t'u²-qk=mil* ***hqč=mik'al***
 SAME=there=HSY1 stick lay-SEM=FIN **house/camp/floor=around**
 'And there he laid sticks **around the floor.**'

In (112), much as with juxtapositive =*it* in (109), *mik'al* appears to be an independent word functioning as a verb in *mik'áltil* '(you) will make your way around' rather than as an enclitic referring to the preceding noun *kup* 'sister's son'. The presence of verb morphology not otherwise seen with *mik'al* in examples like (110), adds further support to this analysis.

- (112) Coyote and the World: 280, RM
sqki: *mi²* *kup* *k'ú:htkiwit* *tákilk*
sq=ki *mi²* *kup* *kuhtki=wit* *ta²-k-il=k*
 SAME=and 2SG.AGT sister's.son north=ALL flow-PNCT-MPSV=DECL
- mi²* *kup* ***mik'áltil*** *ťima*
mi² *kup* ***mik'al-t-il*** *ťima*
 2SG.AGT sister's.son **around-INTR-MPSV** self
 “And from there, sister's son, floating to the north, you **will make your way around.**”

5.4.13. -ok instrumental

-ok is used as an instrumental case expressing the meaning ‘with’ or ‘by’, as in *lašok* ‘with an ax’ (Kroeber 1911:355) or *yimok* ‘by fire’. Kroeber (1911:355) simply describes this case as “instrumental.” Instrumental -ok is found only with inanimate nouns. Schlichter (1985) does not reconstruct a proto-form in PNY corresponding to instrumental -ok.

(113) is an excerpt from a passage explaining the reason that certain animals have reddish fur or feathers. *yimok* ‘by the fire’ is used in this example to explain that this coloring arose as a result of scorching by fire.

(113) Coyote and the World: 84, RM

<i>sikiṭéy</i>	<i>šákma</i>	<i>ʔáséyqkilmil</i>	<i>yimok</i>
<i>si=kiṭ=i</i>	<i>šákmi=q</i>	<i>ʔas-qk-il=mil</i>	<i>yim-ok</i>
NEW=then=HSY1	some=PAT	hot-SEM-MPSV=FIN	fire-INST

‘and some were scorched **by the fire.**’

In (114), *lilaʔok* ‘with his stone’ is affixed with instrumental -ok.

(114) Coyote and the World: 168, RM

<i>sikaʔéy</i>	<i>ʔáṭq</i>	<i>šiwkíṭin</i>	<i>kipat</i>	<i>lilaʔok</i>
<i>si=kq=i</i>	<i>ʔataʔ</i>	<i>šiwkiṭin</i>	<i>kip=qt</i>	<i>lil=qʔ-ok</i>
NEW=thereupon=HSY1	again	šiwkíṭin	3R=DAT	rock=OBL-INST

wiṭkimil

wiṭ-k=mil

hurl-PNCT=FIN

‘Then once more šiwkíṭin threw at them **with his stone**’

In (115), instrumental -ok is used with *kʔoʔolkʔani* ‘Wailaki language’ forming *kʔoʔolkʔánaʔok* ‘by/through the agency of the Wailaki language’.

(115) Coyote and the World: 122, RM

... ?ímeymil hulk'ó'i k'o'olk'ána'ok

?imi=mil hulk'ó'i k'o'ol-k'qn=q?-ok

say=FIN Coyote **Wailaki.PL-language/word=PAT?-INST**

'... said Coyote speaking **Wailaki.**'

In (114) and (115) the noun is followed by *-q* or *-a*. The analysis of this possible morpheme is uncertain. It could just be an echo vowel resulting from the glottal stop. It could also be that in certain situations nouns affixed with instrumental *-ok* are also affixed with patient case marking when these nouns are considered to be highly affected by the action of the verb in that clause. There are too few examples to really know for certain, but there is some qualitative difference between the level of affectedness of *yímok* 'by the fire', in (113), where fire is not affected, but is instead scorching others, and *lila'ok* 'with his stone', in (114), where the stone, though being hurled, is still being affected by the action. Perhaps the same is true for (115), but without more examples of *k'o'ol k'ani* 'Wailaki language' in this kind of a use, it is not possible to say for certain why patient case marking may occur in this example.

5.4.14. Stacking Noun Cases

Oblique noun cases can be "stacked" or added onto nouns already marked with an oblique noun case. In (116), allative =*wit* and lative =*op* are attached to ?*on* 'earth'.

(116) Coyote and the World: 105, RM

sikítey šákmi ?onwíčop ?:tlmil

si=kiṭ=?i šákmi ?on=wič=op ?i'?'-tl=mil

NEW=then=HSY1 some **earth=ALL=LAT** flee?-TR=FIN

'Then some had fled **a long way,**'

(117) shows an example of the second inessive *-am* and allative =*wit* attached to *kumnóm'qt*, which is the dative form of *kumnom* 'Kumnom'. Kumnom' is defined in this example by Kroeber in his original recording of this text as 'Stony Creek and Paskenti and Neville'. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:146) define this term as "salt people; Nomlaki; Stonyford, Salt Pomo; Wintun of Stony Creek.'

(117) Coyote and the World: 165 (excerpt), RM

sqʔéy ki: huʔú:tl(i)kít ʔey kʰólá:ʔat kú:xtkiwit náʔ
 sqʔ=i kíʔ huʔuʔ-tl=kít =ʔi kʰol-ʔat kuhtki=wit =nq
 SAME=HSY1 DST quit-TR=then =HSY1 other-people north=ALL =and

kʰólčam ʔan kí:wit ná **kumnómʔatʰamwit**
 kʰol=iʔ-qm ʔan kíʔ=wit =nq **kumnómʔat-qm=wit**
 other=JXT-IN2 long.time DST=ALL =and **Kumnómʔ=DAT-IN2=ALL**

ʔa:ʔát ʔán kimási yu:yampa:mikí:
 ʔat ʔan kíʔ-mas-i yuyʰ-m-paʔam=kíʔ
 people long.time DST-DSTR-ANIM do-IMPV-FUT=DST

‘And when this was finished, then he made come into existence other peoples toward the north and elsewhere about and **toward the region of the Kumnómʔ** ...’

5.5. Derivational Morphology and Other Enclitics

In Yuki there are several examples of derivational morphemes. *-ič* can be a diminutive marker though its meaning is often unclear and the infix *-ʔV-*, *-hV-* can also function as a diminutive marker. There is also an enclitic *=kič* ‘only’, which may not be derivational, but does not neatly fit into other categories of noun morphology.

5.5.1. *-ič* diminutive, etc.

Kroeber (1911:354) describes *-ič* as “apparently primarily a diminutive ... also a collective, a distributive, and, through idiom, the plural of one noun denoting persons.” Kroeber’s described meanings for *-ič* can be seen in the examples he provides, reproduced in (118). The one exception is a distributive meaning for *-ič*, which is not apparent from his examples. The relationship, if one exists, between diminutive *-ič* and juxtapositive *=iʔ* or between diminutive *-ič* and *=kič* ‘only’ is unclear. Kroeber provides a list of examples of *-ič* in use, shown in (118).

- (118) Kroeber 1911:354, RM
- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>k'amlič</i> | 'wild cat (<i>k'amol</i> 'panther') |
| <i>ʔqsič</i> | 'red' (<i>ʔqs</i> 'blood') |
| <i>tatič</i> | 'pretty' (<i>tat</i> 'good') |
| <i>nuʔič, nu</i> | 'gravel' |
| <i>suʔič</i> | 'fish in general' |
| <i>k'ilič</i> | 'fish roe' |
| <i>halič</i> | 'children' (<i>sak</i> 'child') |

Kroeber also lists *ʔopičam* 'in two heaps' and *ʔalk'atčam* 'in each board' as examples of diminutive *-ič* in use. Both of these words instead are analyzed in this grammar as a sequence of the juxtapositive *=ič* and second inessive *-qm*. In (119), one of the words from Kroeber's list of examples for *-ič*, *ʔqsič* 'red' is found in *ʔqsíčamil* 'has a red head'.

- (119) Coyote and the World: 85, RM
- | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|------------|--------------------|
| <i>siki:ʔey</i> | <i>ʔqséyma</i> | <i>nan</i> | <i>ʔqsíčamil</i> |
| <i>si=ki=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔqsima</i> | <i>nan</i> | <i>ʔqsič-a=mil</i> |
- NEW=therefore=HSY1 Woodpecker head **red-?=FIN**
 'That is why Woodpecker **has a red head.**'

In (120), *-ič* is found in *k'ilič* 'seed'. *k'il* can mean 'child' or 'grain' (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:266). *k'ilič* is also translated above as 'fish roe' by Kroeber.

- (120) Coyote and the World: 387, RM
- | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|----------------------------|------------|
| ... k'ilič | <i>woʔot</i> | <i>həwqysampaʔimiki:</i> | <i>ʔey</i> |
| k'ilič | <i>woʔ</i> | <i>həwqy-s-m-paʔam=kiʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| seed | seed.meal/pinole | food/eat-CAUS-IMPV-FUT=DST | =HSY1 |
-
- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>háyyop</i> | <i>p'oyísimil</i> |
| <i>hay=op</i> | <i>p'oy-s=mil</i> |
- net.sack=LAT put-CAUS=FIN
 '... [Coyote] put **the seeds** which they ate as seed-meal into a bag.'

5.5.2. -^ʔV-, -hV- diminutive; part of

The infix -^ʔV-, -hV- is used to create diminutive forms, but also to derive new nouns with meanings usually related to the original noun. To create these forms, the leftmost vowel in the noun root¹¹⁴ is reduplicated with a glottal stop or /h/ in between the original vowel and the reduplicated vowel. An alternative analysis would be that this diminutive form is not an infix, but rather glottalization of the final consonant, which then spreads to the preceding vowel according to the process described in §2.1.1.8.8. Actual forms with a final ejective are not attested, but as it is common for final glottalization to spread to the preceding vowel, this is not necessarily surprising. However, due to the limitations of available Yuki data, it cannot be stated with certainty whether this diminutive is an infix as stated above or, in fact, glottalization of the final consonant which has spread to the preceding vowel. Examples of regular and derived forms are shown in (121).

(121) Schlichter 1978:23

<i>sak</i>	'child' >	<i>sa^ʔak</i>	'baby'
<i>sąk</i>	'tooth' >	<i>są^ʔqk</i>	'baby tooth'
<i>mepat</i>	'hand' >	<i>mepa^ʔat</i>	'palm'
<i>nan</i>	'head' >	<i>nahan</i>	'mouth'

(122) shows an example of this morpheme from the texts. The leftmost vowel in *pąki* 'one' is reduplicated¹¹⁵, forming *pa^ʔqk* 'alone, one of them'.

(122) Coyote and the World: 198, RM

<i>se^ʔéy</i>	<i>pa^ʔqk</i>	<i>lákti</i>	<i>kapmíka</i>
<i>si^ʔi</i>	<i>pa^ʔqk</i>	<i>lak^ʔ-t</i>	<i>kap-m=ka^ʔ?</i>
NEW=HSY1	alone	emerge-INTR	enter-IMPFV=PRX?

¹¹⁴ The first syllable of *mepat* 'hand' is a body prefix and therefore is not treated as the first syllable of the root of this noun.

¹¹⁵ /ą/ is not reduplicated faithfully in this example; however, this is not surprising as /ą/ is an unstable vowel. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:11) state: "/ą/ is an unstable vowel, more so in the speech of Mr. Anderson than for Mrs. Fulwider. It has a strong tendency to be denasalized or to change into other vowels, especially /u/ and /o/, but also /e/."

sá:k'ilmil

sak'il=mil

heavy=FIN

'So **one of them**, having gone out to bring it in, could not raise it.'

5.5.3. =kič 'only'

=kič is an enclitic meaning 'only'. Kroeber (1911:356) defines =kič as 'only' and illustrates the use of this enclitic with *šiškič* 'only squirrels' and *kitkič* 'nothing but bones'. In the texts, =kič attaches to nouns, but also to larger constituents. In (123), =kič is found in *ki:č'ilkkič* 'only obsidian'. In (124), =kič is attached to an adverbial clause in *həwłám mi'ičop* *kič* 'only when the beginning of the day is near'.

(123) Coyote and the World: 407, RM

<i>se'éy</i>	<i>sá:t'in</i>	<i>'i:yu'a'kim'</i>	<i>'án</i>	<i>hánop</i>
<i>si=?i</i>	<i>sá:t'in</i>	<i>'iyu'a'=kim'</i>	<i>'an</i>	<i>han=op</i>
NEW=HSY1	Lizard	why?=over.there?	long.time	house=LAT

<i>šu'ik</i>	<i>ki:č'ilkkič</i>	<i>pá:tispa</i>	<i>tanhq̄li(k)</i>	<i>kí:la'</i>
<i>šu'=k</i>	<i>kič'il=kič</i>	<i>paṭ-s-pa'</i>	<i>tan=hq̄l</i>	<i>ki'-la</i>
sit/stay=DECL	obsidian=only	chip-CONT?-FUT	NEG?=INFR1?	DST-INST

'Then Lizard, "How is it to happen that always sitting indoors they will **only** chip **obsidian**, it seems, with that?"'

(124) Coyote and the World: 358, RM

<i>sikiṭ</i>	<i>háwmol'</i>	<i>həwłám</i>	<i>mi'ičop</i>	<i>kíč</i>	<i>ká:kespa</i>
<i>si=kiṭ</i>	<i>hawmol'</i>	<i>hawlám</i>	<i>mih=iṭ=op</i>	=kič	<i>k'qk'-s-pa'</i>
NEW=then	morning.star	dawn	be=JXT=while	=only	exist-CAUS-FUT

"'And the morning star shall rise **only when the beginning of the day is near**.'"

5.6. Verbalization

Nouns are verbalized through the addition of verb morphology. (125) shows *həwəy* ‘food’ used as a verb *həwəyisammil* ‘eating’.

(125) Coyote and the World: 391, RM

<i>siʔéy</i>	<i>həyé</i>	<i>kimás</i>	<i>ʔa:tát</i>	<i>həwəyisammil</i>
<i>si=i</i>	<i>həʔəye</i>	<i>kimas</i>	<i>ʔətət</i>	<i>həwəy-s-m=mil</i>
NEW=HSY1	now	thus	people	food/eat-CONT-IMPFV=FIN

‘And now the people (lived by) **eating** that [those things].’

The extent to which it is possible to verbalize nouns in Yuki is not known; however, in available data it appears that nouns are not verbalized very often. It is not clear whether this is because there exist limits in Yuki on the types of nouns that can be used as verbs or whether all or most nouns can potentially also be used as verbs, but that doing so would have sounded unusual to Yuki speakers for most nouns. Without the availability of living speakers of Yuki it is difficult to make a conclusion with certainty on this point.

It is worth noting that some very specialized nouns such as *kopwok* ‘feather dance’ are used as verbs, as in (126). While *wok* ‘dance, sing’ is used both as a verb and a noun root in Yuki, in (126) *kopwok* ‘feather dance’ appears as part of a serial verb construction *həp šú: kopwóktmil* ‘sing, sit, and dance the feather dance’¹¹⁶

(126) Feather Dance Narrative: 12, RM

<i>sámi:</i>	<i>kimáse</i>	<i>həšáʔ</i>	<i>həp</i>	<i>šú:</i>
<i>sq=mi</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas-i</i>	<i>həšəʔ</i>	<i>həp</i>	<i>šúʔ</i>
SAME=and.then	DST-DSTR-ANIM	again	song/sing	sit/stay

<i>kopwóktmil</i>	<i>tát:kíli.</i>
<i>kop-wokʔ-tl=mil</i>	<i>tat-k-il</i>
feather-dance/sing-TR=FIN	good/make-PNCT-MPSV

‘And then in turn these others **sit, sing, and dance the feather dance** and fix themselves up.’

¹¹⁶ It is unclear whether *tát:kíli* ‘fix up’ is also part of this serial verb construction.

5.7. Noun Phrase

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

With respect to constituent order, determiners and quantifiers generally precede the noun within a noun phrase. See §6.1.5-§6.1.7 for examples of determiners in noun phrases and Chapter 10 for examples of quantifiers in noun phrases. Dative forms of nouns and pronouns functioning as possessors usually precede the possessed noun. This can be seen in the examples found in §5.3.2.3 for nouns and Chapter 6 in general for pronouns. Attributive adjectives and numerals vary in their position with respect to the noun as discussed in §8.1.1 and §9.3, respectively.

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

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

... <i>sá:kop</i>	<i>hí:li</i>	<i>mú:s</i>	<i>no[?]namlikimási</i>
<i>sá=kop</i>	<i>hí-l-i</i>	<i>mus</i>	<i>no[?]=namli=ki[?]-mas-i</i>
SAME=then	all-ANIM	women	live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

<i>si[?]</i>	<i>lí:nikiṭ</i>	<i>ʔíwis</i>	<i>k'ólk'il</i>	<i>míl</i>	<i>múhnikit</i>
<i>si[?]</i>	<i>lí[?]-n=kiṭ</i>	<i>ʔíwis</i>	<i>k'ol=k'il</i>	<i>mil</i>	<i>muh-n=kiṭ</i>
clover	gather-AND=when	men	other=TERM	meat/deer	snare-AND=when

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

(128) - (130) are examples of noun phrases. (128) contains several noun phrases¹¹⁷ containing a numeral and a noun.

¹¹⁷ Noun phrases are given in bold in (128) - (130).

(128) Feather Dance Narrative: 22, RM

šq:kč'am	ʔús	ʔopi	nák	šq:kč'am
šqʔqkčam	ʔus	ʔopi	nək	šqʔqkčam
sometimes	1PL.EXCL.AGT	two	dark/night	sometimes

molmi	nák	šq:kč'am	pąwi	wít
molmi	nək	šqʔqkčam	pąwi	wit
three	dark/night	sometimes	one	work/week

ʔus wá'ok'išmil.

ʔus wok'-s=mil

1PL.EXCL.AGT dance/sing-CONT=FIN

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

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

(129) Coyote and the World: 314, RM

sikiṭey	hulk'ó'i	laš'awól'	na	hawmól'	na
si=kiṭ=ʔi	hulk'o'i	laš'awol'	=nq	hawmol'	=nq
NEW=then=HSY1	Coyote	moon	=and	morning.star	=and

lákesa háyk p'óytlmil

lak'-sa háy=k p'oy-tl=mil

emerge-? net.sack=IN put-TR=FIN

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

(130) contains a noun phrase where several smaller noun phrases are connected using =nq 'and'. Both of the constituent noun phrases contain a demonstrative¹¹⁸. The first noun phrase *kimáš hoṭ kí:t* 'those many bones' also contains a quantifier *hoṭ* 'many, much, large'.

¹¹⁸ The entire noun phrase is given in bold, while its constituent noun phrases are underlined.

(130) Ioi: 35, RM

ʔiyí mi yúniʔakpa kimáš hoṭ kí:tna
 ʔiyi miʔ yuyʔ-n-aḱ-paʔ **kiʔ-mas** **hoṭ** **kit=nq**
 what 2SG.AGT do-AND?-SEM-FUT **DST-DSTR** **large** **bone=and**

ka nankʔ:tna.**kaʔ** **nankʔit=nq****PRX** **skull=and**“‘What are you going to do with **those many bones and this skull?**’”

5.7.1. Placement of Case Enclitics

Case enclitics typically occur at the end of the noun phrase. In (131), the patient case enclitic =q occurs at the end of the noun phrase *hil čʔ:mita* ‘all the birds’ and in (132), =q occurs at the end of the noun phrase *ʔópi kʔoʔola* ‘two Wailaki’.

(131) Ioi: 13, RM

sqʔey ki kiwismil **hil** **čʔ:mita.**
 sqʔ=i kiʔ kiw-s=mil **hil** **čʔimit=q**
 SAME=HSY1 DST ask-CAUS?=FIN **all** **bird=PAT**
 ‘He asked **all the birds.**’

(132) Coyote and the World: 176, RM

sikíṭey ʔópi **kʔoʔola** šáyyanamlikimáse
 si=kiṭ=ʔi ʔopi **kʔoʔol=q** šay-a=namli=kiʔ-mas-i
 NEW=then=HSY1 **two** **Wailaki.PL=PAT** raw/alive-?=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey kipáwk toktli ʔey huškʔáyesmil
 =ʔi kipáw=ki tʔok-tl =ʔi huškʔay-s=mil
 =HSY1 back=IN arrive-TR =HSY1 tell-CONT?=FIN

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

As shown in (133a) and (133b), in noun phrases containing a demonstrative and a noun, both words can be marked for patient case. This appears to be optional¹¹⁹ for the demonstrative, as illustrated by the proximal demonstrative *ká* in (134), which is not marked for patient case. It is unclear whether this is also done for dative case. For the marking of demonstratives and nouns for a non-core case, the second inessive, see for example §5.4.3

(133a) Ioi: 34, RM

<i>seʔey</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>kiʔa</i>	<i>múšpʔa.</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>kiʔ</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>kiʔ=q</i>	<i>musp=q</i>
NEW=HSY1	DST	say=FIN	DST=PAT	woman=PAT

‘He said **to her**:’

(133b) Coyote and the World: 416c, RM

<i>sikíʔa</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>ló:psi</i>	<i>nq</i>	<i>pú:lam</i>	<i>ʔólmp</i>	<i>nóʔopaʔ</i>
<i>si=kíʔa</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>lopis</i>	<i>=nq</i>	<i>pulam</i>	<i>ʔolam=op</i>	<i>noʔ-paʔ</i>
NEW=then	long.time	jackrabbit	=and	cottontail	brush=LAT	live-FUT

<i>ʔiyy</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>kimása</i>	<i>ku:škiʔa</i>
<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas=q</i>	<i>kuški=q</i>
=HSY1	say=FIN	DST-DSTR=PAT	small.one=PAT

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

(134) Coyote and the World: 412b, RM

<i>namlíkí</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ká</i>	<i>ʔa:ʔáta</i>	<i>sá:ʔʔinat</i>	<i>mípat</i>	<i>šilóʔ</i>
<i>namlíkí</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>kaʔ</i>	<i>ʔaʔat=q</i>	<i>sʔʔʔin=qt</i>	<i>mípat</i>	<i>šiloʔ</i>
therefore	=HSY1	PRX	people=PAT	Lizard=DAT	hand	like

<i>ʔatmil</i>	<i>ʔa:ʔáta</i>
<i>ʔatʔ=mil</i>	<i>ʔaʔat=q</i>
fasten=FIN	people=PAT

‘that is why **these humans** have on hands like Lizard’s.’

¹¹⁹ The double-marking may mean that a more exact free translation could be ‘He said to her, to the woman’ for (133a) and ‘...he said to them, to the small ones’ for the relevant part of (133b).

(135) is an example of a noun phrase with patient case marking and also marking for an oblique noun case. In (135), terminative =*k'il*, meaning ‘at, toward’, occurs at the end of the noun phrase following *ʔunšil* ‘small’. Patient case =*q* does not occur at the end of the noun phrase, but instead follows the proper noun *čq:minka:pin*.

- (135) Coyote and the World: 101, RM
sikiťéy *čq:minká:pina*¹²⁰ *ʔúnšilkil*
si=kiť=ʔi *čq:minkapin=q* *ʔunšil=k'il*
 NEW=then=HSY1 Čaminkapin=PAT **small=TERM**

čqk'íkilmil
č'ak'-k-il=mil
 club-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘And they were trying to club **little** Čaminkapin.’

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

5.8. Compound Nouns

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

In (136), ‘ocean’ or ‘coast’ is a compound of *ʔuk* ‘water’ and *hoť* ‘large’. *-am* is a nominalizing suffix. In this example the allative case ending =*wit* is found at the end of the compound in *ʔu:khóʔoťamwit* ‘toward the ocean’.

¹²⁰ According to Kroeber, *čaminkapin* is “a small bird” (Kroeber 1932:920).

(136) Coyote and the World: 265, RM

<i>sáʔey</i>	<i>kimás</i>	<i>háyk</i>	<i>pʔoyitli</i>	<i>ʔátá</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas</i>	<i>hay=k</i>	<i>pʔoy-tl</i>	<i>ʔaʔaʔ</i>
SAME=HSY1	DST-DSTR	net.sack=IN	put-TR	again

<i>kóʔotemil</i>	<i>ʔu:khóʔoʔamwit.</i>
<i>koʔ-t=mil</i>	<i>ʔukʔ-hot-am=wit</i>
go-INTR=FIN	water-large-NOML=ALL

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

Some common words are actually lexicalized compounds. *hulkʔoʔi* ‘coyote’ is analyzed by Kroeber as “eye-gopher” and by Curtis as “‘eye put-out’ in reference to a myth in which Coyote exchanges eyes with Raven who destroys Coyote’s eyes and compels him to replace them with pebbles” (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:54). In (137), *hulkʔoʔi* ‘Coyote’ is shown marked for patient case as *hulkʔoʔa*.

(137) Coyote and the World: 322, RM

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

‘And they caught up with **Coyote**.’

5.9. Proper Nouns

Proper nouns do not form a unique sub-class of nouns in Yuki and are treated morphologically the same as other nouns. Thus names of people or other characters in the texts are treated as human nouns. Likewise placenames are marked with locative case endings much as other nouns referring to locations¹²¹.

In (138), *čaminkapin*, the name of a character in *Coyote and the World*, is marked for patient case as *čq:minká:pina*.

¹²¹ Lists of Yuki, Coast Yuki, and Huchnom placenames are found in Appendix 2. A list of Yuki proper nouns including placenames, names of tribes, and names of people is found in Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:141-147.

- (138) Coyote and the World: 101, RM
sikiṭéy *čq:minká:pina* *ʔúnšilkil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *čqminkapin=q* *ʔunšil=k'il*
 NEW=then=HSY1 **Čaminkapin=PAT** small=TERM

čqk'íkilmil
č'ak'-k-il=mil
 club-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 'And they were trying to club little **Čaminkapin.**'

In (139), *lalkúhtki*, a placename, is marked with allative =*wit*: *lalkúhtkiwit* 'to Lalkúhtki'.

- (139) Coyote and the World: 78, RM
sikiṭéy *k'olk'il* *ʔa:ṭát* *wó:manamlikimáse*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *k'ol=k'il* *ʔaṭat* *wok'-mą=namlí=ki'-mas-i*
 NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM people dance/sing-DIR1=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey *túktimil* ***lalkúhtkiwit.***
=ʔi *ṭuk-t=mil* ***lalkuhtki=wit***
 =HSY1 move-INTR=FIN **Lalkuhtki=ALL**
 'Then the people who had come there to dance traveled (back) in another direction **to Lalkúhtki.**'

5.10. Kinship Terms

Kinship terms are treated morphologically as human nouns, but do form a unique subclass of nouns in Yuki¹²². A unique series of possessive prefixes¹²³ is used with kinship terms. These prefixes are different from the possessive pronouns used for other nouns. Alienability is not a feature distinguished for Yuki nouns. Therefore kinship terms do not obligatorily occur with a possessor.

In (140), *kup* 'sister's son' occurs without a possessive prefix.

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

¹²³ These prefixes are discussed in §6.1.9.

5.11. Argument Structure and Noun Morphology of Huchnom and Coast Yuki

The argument structure and noun morphology of Huchnom and Coast Yuki are discussed in this section.

5.11.1. Huchnom

5.11.1.1. Argument Structure

Huchnom, like Yuki, shows agent/patient argument marking. The same pattern of argument marking as seen in Yuki, is also seen in Huchnom. The case of arguments is most likely a lexicalized feature of verbs, however agents tend to be voluntary instigators in control of an action, while patients tend to be affected and not in control. In addition, the arguments of verbs expressing actions connected with bodily functions and mental processes tend to be patients.

(142) and (143) show clauses with agent arguments.

(142) Lamb 1955:87, LJ

ʔepe: ʔaˈl hɔkmikiˈ
1SG.AGT wood going.to.split
 ‘I am going to split wood.’

(143) Lamb 1955:94, LJ

ʔepe: hamp ʂeˈlemeˈliki
1SG.AGT song going.to.sing
 ‘I am going to sing’

(144) - (146) show several clauses with two human arguments. In the imperative clause in (146) there is only a single argument given, but this argument is also human.

(144) Lamb 1955:89, LJ

ka ʔi: tˈukˈliyaː
 PRX **1SG.PAT** stabbed
 ‘this fella stabbed **me**’

(145) Lamb 1955:124, LJ
ka ?i· lallikε
 PRX **1SG.PAT** kicked
 ‘this fella kicked **me**’

(146) Lamb 1955:124, LJ
ka?a· lalla?
 PRX.PAT kick.IMP
 ‘kick **this fella!**’

(147) - (155) show clauses with verbs that take patient arguments.

(147) Lamb 1955:77, LJ
?i: nʌhʌna?k'i
1SG.PAT know.it
 ‘I know it.’

(148) Lamb 1955:77, LJ
?i: nʌhʌmki
1SG.PAT don't.know
 ‘I don't know’

(149) Lamb 1955:95, LJ
ka?a hampše: hamč'i
 PRX.PAT song.sing likes
 ‘**he** likes to sing’

(150) Lamb 1955:108, LJ
?i: hʌ?qmpa'i
1SG.PAT will.forget.it
 ‘I will forget it’

(151) Lamb 1955:108, LJ
?i: nahʌnakč'i
1SG.PAT remember.it
 ‘I remember it’

- (152) Lamb 1955:110, LJ
keʔa: wok' hušič'i
DST.PAT dance likes/loves
 'he likes/love to dance'
- (153) Lamb 1955:111, LJ
kaʔa: mušil' ha:mč'i
PRX.PAT laugh likes
 'this one likes to laugh'
- (154) Lamb 1955:117, LJ
 ?i:nΔ:mΔhʔε: ?i:
 had.dream **1SG.PAT**
 'I had a dream.'
- (155) Lamb 1955:125, LJ
 tiwho ?i' ?uk'ha:mištike
 very **1SG.PAT** be.thirsty
 'I am very thirsty'

Just as in Yuki, patients in Huchnom sometimes are used in contexts where in English they are translated as instrumentals. (156) - (158) show this use.

- (156) Lamb 1955:85, LJ
lila ?i wičiya kaʔ
rock.PAT 1SG.PAT hit PRX
 'he hit me **with [a] rock**'
- (157) Lamb 1955:86, LJ
mipaʔaʔa ?i tuk'liyq'
hand.PAT 1SG.PAT hit
 'he hit me **with [a] fist**'

- (158) Lamb 1955:86, LJ
aːla [?]iː č'ak'yqː
stick.PAT 1SG.PAT hit
 'he hit me **with [a] stick**'

5.11.1.2. Locative Cases

Huchnom shows the same type of locative case marking as Yuki. (159) gives a list of oblique forms of *han* 'house' in Huchnom. Many are recognizable correlates of forms in Yuki. *hənʔim* 'in the house' resembles Yuki *hanam* 'in the house', *hanmeħtap* 'on top of the house' would correspond to Yuki *han-miħ=op* (house-top=LAT), *han hΔhumʔim* 'underneath the house', would correspond to Yuki *han hqhin-qm* (house under-IN2), *hanpis* in *hanpis lak'taʔ* 'come out of house' corresponds to Yuki *han-pis* 'house=ABL'. And even for examples without a complete analogue in Yuki, the morphology can be understood at least partially. *ič* in *han ičʔiyoh* 'close by the house' corresponds to the the Yuki juxtapositive case *-iħ ~ ič*.

- (159) Lamb 1955:56, LJ
- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>hənʔim, hənhyʔim</i> | 'in the house' |
| <i>hanmeħtap</i> | 'on top of the house' |
| <i>han hΔhumʔim</i> | 'underneath the house' |
| <i>han ʔΔliʔ</i> | 'in front of the house' |
| <i>han ham'p'iyo</i> | 'in back of house' |
| <i>han ičʔiyoh</i> | 'close by the house' |
| <i>han mi: mik'a:lisaʔ</i> | 'let's go around the house' |
| <i>hanpis lak'taʔ</i> | 'come out of house' |

5.11.1.3. Compounds

(160) shows examples of Huchnom compounds. As in Yuki, these compounds do not show any unique or distinguishing morphology that would separate them from other types of nouns.

- (160) Lamb 1955:125, LJ
həw ʔimɛɕ 'fish egg'
həw mʊsm 'fish gill'
həw nəhək 'fish jaw'

5.11.1.4. Kinship Terms

Huchnom kinship terms appear to show unique possessive forms, as also seen in Yuki. A few examples of these prefixed Huchnom terms are shown in (161) and compared with the same terms in Yuki, in (162).

- (161) Huchnom: Lamb 1955:59, LJ
ʔəŋka 'mother'
miska: 'your mother'
- (162) Yuki: Sawyer & Schlichter 1984:137, 245
ʔam-k'an 'my mother' AA
mis-k'an 'your mother' MF

As shown in (163), Lamb (1955) also elicited some examples that seem to be double-marked for possession. It may also be that the kinship possessive prefixes had begun to lose their meaning in Huchnom and therefore unlike in Yuki, a word like *ʔəŋka* really just meant 'mother' instead of 'my mother', thus necessitating the use of the separate possessive pronoun *ɛtɛ* 'my'.

- (163) Lamb 1955:59, LJ
ʔəŋka 'mother'
ɛtɛ ʔəŋka 'my mother'

(164) shows much of Lamb's list of Huchnom kinship terms and related elicited short sentences.

(164) Lamb 1955:59-62, LJ

ʔaŋkaʼ	‘mother’
ε̣ε ʔaŋka	‘my mother’
miska:	‘your mother’
aŋkʼu:	‘my (?) father’
miskʼu:	‘thy father’
kʼilkʼaʼ	‘daughter, son’
ε̣ε: kʼilkʼaʼ ~ ε̣ε: iʔkʼilkʼaʼ	‘my daughter’
ʔeyemeʔ hΔyi ma:ʔaʔkʼilkʼaʼ	‘what [are] you doing, my daughter?’
aŋkʼe:ʔ	‘brother, male cousin’
mu:čʼa:	‘sister, female cousin’
ʔaŋkʼe:kʼaʼ	‘mother’s brother’
ʔi:poje	‘father’s sister’
ʔi:ka:	‘mother’s sister’
miskʼe:čaʼ ʔi:šaʼ	‘father’s younger brother’
ʔi:šaʼ	‘younger brother’
aŋkʼe:ʔ	‘old brother, old sister’
mu:čaʼ	‘sister’
e:ʔ mis mu:ča: koʔΔʼ	‘where’s your sister going?’
i:tʼeʔ	‘mother’s mother’
i:pʼeʔ	‘mother’s father’
i:pah	‘father’s mother’
i:ʔos	‘father’s father’
ahamčaʔ	‘daughter’s children, sibling’s children’
ahamčaʔ ke:maʔ	‘son’s children’
ʔi:ʔΔʼ	‘father’s young brother’
mu:ča:ʔ nahalč	‘sister’s children’
ε̣ε: oho:ʔʼ	‘my husband (my old man)’
ε̣ε: ʔo:ʔʼ	‘my wife (my old woman)’
oʼlwehel	‘wife’s father, husband’s father’
ʔehweʔʔʼ	‘daughter’s husband’
i:suħtam	‘son’s wife’
i:suħtam ke:maʔ	‘son’s wife’s mother (?)’
i:poym	‘uncle’s wife’
aŋkʼe:kaʼ	‘aunt’s husband’

5.11.1.5. Proper Nouns

The examples in (165) - (169) show Huchnom proper nouns referring to other tribes, local landmarks, the days of the week, and the names of commonly encountered languages.

(165) Lamb 1955:160, LJ

nokonmɪ 'Little Lake Indians'

we:ʔ^huk'am 'Eton Valley Yuki'

(166) Lamb 1955:114, LJ

hučno'om uk'am 'Redwood Valley'

(167) Lamb 1955:115, LJ

mah'uk'am no'mahmal 'Eel River ("Yuki Creek")'

(168) Lamb 1955:112-113, LJ

k'o'no' 'Sunday'

pu:wiko:'no: 'Monday'

ʔopɪlakɰtɪkɛ 'Tuesday'

molmilakɰtɪkɛ 'Wednesday'

kes'opɪlakɰtɪkɛ 'Thursday'

pu:pu:č'lakɰtɪk 'Friday'

pu:taɰlakɰtɪkɛ 'Saturday'

(169) Lamb 1955:116, LJ

panyol k'ahɪm 'Mexican language'

hu'ut'ah k'ahɪm 'English language'

hučno'mah k'ahɪm 'Redwood language'

mah'uk'amɪ k'ahɪm 'Yuki language'

5.11.2. Coast Yuki

5.11.2.1. Argument Structure

Coast Yuki appears to also show agent/patient case marking. No texts and only very few examples of elicited clauses are available in Coast Yuki¹²⁴. However, the agent/patient structure of Coast Yuki can be seen in elicited pronouns and elicited short phrases¹²⁵.

The first person singular pronoun obtained through elicitation by Kroeber (1902c:72) is *ʔépe* and by Harrington (1942-1943:373-375) is *ʔébbæ*. This form corresponds to the first person singular agent pronouns in Yuki (*ʔap*) and Huchnom (*epe:*) in appearance. Pronouns matching agent forms are not found in the notes of either Kroeber or Harrington, however the first person patient pronoun is found as *-y* or *ʔi* in the following examples.

In (170), compare the third person form *dí'dæʔ* 'he is sick' and the first person form *dí'day* 'I am sick in bed'. 'Being sick' is a physical process and is a context where a patient argument would be expected in Yuki. The first person patient pronoun appears as *-y* in these examples.

(170) Harrington 1942-1943: 387, LP

<i>dí'dæʔ</i>	'he is sick'
<i>dí'day</i>	'I am sick in bed'
<i>wáxʔday</i>	'I am sick but walking around'

Other examples of the first person patient pronoun in use that are elicited by Kroeber are shown in (171). In these examples the first person patient pronoun occurs mostly as *-y*, but appears as *ʔi* in *šemʔi* 'I am well'.

¹²⁴ Harrington elicited quite a lot of material from his Coast Yuki consultant Lucy Perez, but this material consists mostly of vocabulary.

¹²⁵ Clauses or elicited vocabulary containing case-marked nouns are not found in the Harrington Coast Yuki material. Therefore this discussion of Coast Yuki argument structure only contains examples with case-marked pronouns. This discussion is included in the noun chapter, as the parallel discussions for Yuki and Huchnom, for which examples of case-marked nouns are available, are also included in the noun chapter.

- (171) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB
- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>p'alímay</i> | 'I fall down' |
| <i>ʔintay</i> | 'I am sleepy' |
| <i>tiʔatay</i> | 'I am sick' |
| <i>šemʔi</i> | 'I am well' |
| <i>tiʔateʔékay</i> | 'I have been sick' |
| <i>šemetékay</i> | 'I have got well, I feel better' |

Agent pronouns are difficult to find in the available Coast Yuki clauses. Pronouns are often absent for verbs with third person arguments, as in (172).

- (172) Harrington 1942-1943:90, LP
- ʔáw'dík* 'he is eating meat, biting it off a bite at a time'

The clauses in (173) are the best examples of first person singular agent pronouns. In Yuki the verb 'drink' is *mi*²- ~ *me*²-. In the examples in (173), it seems likely that the verb root is also *mi*- and that the initial vowel in each verb *ʔa*- is a reduced form of the first person singular agent pronoun *ʔépe* ~ *ʔébbæ*¹²⁶.

- (173) Harrington 1942-1943: 386, LP
- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>ʔó'k' ʔa'mínnæʔ</i> | 'I am g[oin]g to drink water' ¹²⁷ |
| <i>ʔó'k' ʔa'míngá'am</i> | 'I am g[oin]g to drink (at c[ree]k or well)' |
| <i>k'é'dæm ʔa'mî'gæʔ</i> | 'I already drank.' |

(174) shows examples of patient and dative marking for pronouns of other persons and numbers¹²⁸. This example shows the same pattern seen for Yuki two-argument verbs without an agent and with a patient acting as an actor. In (174), the actor in each clause is a patient, but the experiencer is a dative argument. For example in *miʔat' kí'e háam* 'he likes you', the third person singular patient pronoun *kí'e* is the actor and is

¹²⁶ The vowel is different than in the elicited independent pronoun *ʔépe* ~ *ʔébbæ*, but still very similar to elicited forms of the Yuki first person singular agent *ʔap* ~ *ʔap*. Schlichter (1985:30) notes a regular correspondence between Yuki /ə/, Huchnom /ʌ/, and Coast Yuki /e/. This is also seen in comparing the Yuki third person singular patient pronoun *kiʔq* with its corresponding Coast Yuki form *kiʔe*.

¹²⁷ Brackets in these examples indicate guesses as to the meaning of abbreviated forms in the original notes.

¹²⁸ *ham*- 'like' also takes a grammatical patient argument in Yuki, as in:

k'an ʔi: hamik 'I like to talk.' (Siniard 1967b:97, MF)

performing the act of ‘liking’. *miʔat*’ is the second person singular dative pronoun and is found in the role of experiencer, as it is being liked by the patient *kiʔe*.

(174) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB

<i>miʔatay ham</i>	‘I like <u>you</u> ’
<i>kiʔeʔatay ham</i>	‘I like <u>him</u> ’
<i>móʔseʔatay hám</i>	‘I like <u>ye</u> ’
<i>miʔatʔ kiʔe hám</i>	‘ he likes <u>you</u> ’

5.11.2.1.1. Reconstructing Coast Yuki Core Case Morphology for Nouns

No examples exist of Coast Yuki nouns marked for patient or dative case, but some educated guesses can be made of the shape of this morphology based on comparison with known case forms of pronouns and with Yuki.

The third person singular patient pronoun *kiʔe* is similar to the same pronoun in Yuki *kiʔq*. Recall that in Yuki the patient case form of nouns is marked with the same ending =*q* or =*a*, therefore it may be that the patient case form of nouns in Coast Yuki was likewise marked with an ending similar to that observed in *kiʔe*, such as, *-e*.

As in Yuki, dative and possessive pronouns are generally the same forms in Coast Yuki. Coast Yuki *móʔseʔat* is used as a dative pronoun *móʔseʔatay hám* ‘I like **you (pl.)**’ (Kroeber 1902c:72) and as a possessive pronoun in *móʔʂæʔtʔ héntʔalʔ* ‘**your (pl.)** noses’ (Harrington 1942-1943:133). In addition the possessive form of the interrogative pronoun *ʔéʔ* ‘who?’ (1942-1943:397) is *ʔéʔeʔtʔ* ‘whose?’ (1942-1943:133). These forms suggest that the dative and possessive ending for nouns may have been *-et* or *-æt*.

One example of a noun *héntʔalʔ* ‘nose’ possessed by a non-human noun *kʔámólʔ* ‘cat’ is shown in (175). While examples of patient or dative marked nouns are not found in the Coast Yuki materials, it does appear that Harrington analyzed *-ʔéʔtʔ* as a possessive marker from his description of Coast Yuki possessive pronouns. He notes that “*ʔéʔtʔ* not allowed” on *kʔámólʔ* ‘cat’. If a non-human noun like *kʔámólʔ* ‘cat’ could not be marked with a possessive ending, this may suggest that this marking was reserved only for human nouns, just as in Yuki and Huchnom.

(175) Harrington 1942-1943:133, LP

kʔámólʔ héntʔalʔ ‘the cat’s nose’

5.11.2.2. Locative Cases

Few examples of oblique cases or other constructions are found in the available Coast Yuki materials. (176) shows *hóyk'æ* 'in the middle', which is *hóy* 'middle' affixed with *-k'æ*. *-k'æ* is probably cognate with Yuki inessive =*k'i*.

- (176) Harrington 1942-1943:382-383, LP
hóyk'æ 'in the middle'

(177) shows *hént'al'* 'nose' followed by a postposition *bí'tɾ'i'* 'inside', which does not appear to be cognate with any known form in Yuki.

- (177) Harrington 1942-1943:135, LP
hént'al' bí'tɾ'i' 'inside the nose'¹²⁹

5.11.2.3. Number

Just as in Yuki¹³⁰, unique singular and plural forms are distinguished for certain human nouns in Coast Yuki. Examples of this are shown in (178) and (179).

- (178) Harrington 1942-1943: 310, LP
nóy'p' 'maiden'
nóy's' 'maidens'

- (179) Kroeber 1902c:97h, SS
[?]*iwup* 'man'
[?]*iwis* 'men'
músp 'woman'
mus 'women'
čunčets 'child'
háltje 'children'

¹²⁹ Postalveolar *t̚* is written as a <tr> ligature by Harrington. Voicelessness is written under this ligature and does not apply just to /r/. Harrington notes that in this instance *t̚* is pronounced as "ch."

¹³⁰ See §5.3.1.

5.11.2.4. Compound Nouns

(180) - (184) show examples of Coast Yuki compound nouns. As in Yuki, these compounds do not show any unique or distinguishing morphology that would separate them from other types of nouns.

(180) Harrington 1942-1943:157, LP
č'immē[?]t' k'o'p' 'bird-feathers'

(181) Harrington 1942-1943:154, LP
hént'il 'ók' 'snot' (lit. nose-water)

(182) Harrington 1942-1943:391, LP
'ók'-wrt' 'whisky (lit. water-bitter)'

(183) Harrington 1942-1943:42, LP
'ó[?]meš-šó[?] 'a bear hide'

(184) Harrington 1942-1943:102, LP
k'óč[?]-'óllam 'manzanita bush' (lit. manzanita-bush)

5.11.2.5. Kinship Terms

There is evidence to suggest that speakers of Coast Yuki used a unique series of possessive prefixes for kinship terms, just as in Yuki and Huchnom. However, this cannot be stated with absolute certainty, nor can the Coast Yuki kinship possessive system be fully detailed, due to a paucity of available data.

The only kinship term explicitly translated as a possessed form is 'íđđæ 'ó[?]t'æ' 'my father' (~ 'my mother?'). In this example, 'ó[?]t'æ' 'father' appears with same first person singular possessive pronoun 'íđđæ as used for non-kinship terms, as in 'íđđæ gó[?]đžæ[?] 'my hog'. 'íđđæ is cognate with the Yuki first person singular possessive pronoun 'itin and first person singular dative pronoun 'it.

Other kinship terms appear to be prefixed with 'i(n)-, which would be cognate with the Yuki first person singular kinship possessive prefixes 'am- and 'i(t). These terms are not translated as possessed by Harrington, but for some kinship terms he does give both a prefixed and a non-prefixed form, as shown in (185).

(185) Harrington 1942-1943:318, LP

<i>næ't'</i>	'aunt'
<i>ʔinnæ't'</i>	'aunt'
<i>mô'č'</i>	'sister'
<i>ʔimmø'č'</i>	'sister'

The kinship term *ʔink'ahal'* 'uncle' also shows the likely presence of a prefix *ʔin-*. In Yuki, 'young uncle, mother's younger brother' is *-k'i:kan* in its unpossessed form, but is *ʔi:k'i:kan* as 'my mother's younger brother' (MF) and documented by Curtis as *aⁿ-kí-ka'* (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:225). This also suggests that *ʔin-* is a kinship possessive prefix in Coast Yuki *ʔink'ahal'*.

These forms suggest that there are unique possessive prefixes for kinship terms in Coast Yuki, but it is unclear how these prefixes were used or understood by Coast Yuki speakers.

The full list of kinship terms found in Harrington's Coast Yuki data is given in (186).

(186) Harrington 1942-1943: 318, LP

<i>ʔiddæ ʔô'ʔt'æ'</i>	'my father' (~ 'my mother'?)
<i>dik'æ'</i>	'brother'
<i>næ't'</i>	'aunt'
<i>ʔinnæ't'</i>	'aunt'
<i>ʔémʂa'č'</i>	'cousin'
<i>mô'č'</i>	'sister'
<i>ʔimmø'č'</i>	'sister'
<i>ʔit'ó'dæ'</i>	'son'
<i>ʔibe'p'</i>	'grandmother'
<i>ʔink'ahal'</i>	'uncle'
<i>ʔínána</i>	'sister in law'
<i>ʔit' ʔówə'p'</i>	'my husband' (lit. my man)
<i>ʔit' mōšp'</i>	'my woman' (lit. my woman)

5.11.2.6. Proper Nouns

(187) and (188) show Coast Yuki proper nouns referring to local tribes.

- (187) Kroeber 1902c:90-91, SS
 ?uko^htontilka ‘Coast Yuki (name of tribe)’¹³¹
 qo^ool ‘Cahtos (in C[oast] Yuki)’¹³²
 ?u^oti^onó^oom ‘Usal-Shelter Cove Tribe’¹³³

- (188) Harrington 1942-1943:321, LP
 yó·k’i, yó·k’i ?át’et ‘Yukis’¹³⁴

¹³¹ Harrington (1942-1943:356) gives the Coast Yuki tribal name as ?ó·k’-ho^t-’ont’ilgæ^o and translates it as ‘at the big (ocean) water living there’.

¹³² Kroeber’s note: “no name for Wylackies, never went that far (1902c:91).”

¹³³ ?u^oti ‘reeds, water-grass’ + nó^oom ‘people’. Kroeber’s note: “Coast Yukis lived at Rockport, they went to Usal back and forth, but another tribe lived there; they mixed with them there (1902c:90).”

¹³⁴ Harrington’s note: “no unique name for [the Yukis] in Coast Yuki”

6. PRONOUNS

			Singular			Plural		
			Agent	Patient	Dative/ Possessive	Agent	Patient	Dative/ Possessive
First Person			ʔqp	ʔi	ʔit (dat.)	mi (I)	miyq (I)	miyqt (I)
			ʔqpil (emph.?)		ʔitin (poss.)	ʔus (E)	ʔusq (E)	ʔusqt (E)
Second Person			miʔ	mis	mit	moʔos	moʔosiyq	moʔosiyqt
Third Person	Demonstratives	Distal	kiʔ	kiʔq	kiʔqt ¹³⁵	kimasi (ANIM)	kimasq	kimasqt
		Proximal	kaʔ	kaʔq	kaʔqt ¹³⁶	kamasi		
	Coreferential	kip	kipq	kipqt ¹³⁹	kimoʔosiyq		ʔ ¹⁴⁰	
'self'			ʔima					

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

¹³⁵ In the texts *kiʔqt* is used almost exclusively with a possessive meaning with a possible non-possessive meaning occurring in relative clause constructions, see §6.1.6. In elicitation, *kiʔqt* also is used as a dative.

¹³⁶ *kaʔqt* has been observed used only with a possessive meaning.

¹³⁷ Siniard 1967a:3 records the form *kama:sa* 'these people' without any other context. *kamasq* is the form that one would expect for a proximal distributive plural patient form; however, this single occurrence in elicited data is not sufficient to establish that this is the proximal distributive plural patient pronoun.

¹³⁸ Presumably, there also exists a proximal distributive plural dative form; however, such a form is not found in available records. This could be because distal forms are overwhelmingly preferred by Yuki speakers when referring to third person referents and therefore proximal forms were quite rarely used.

¹³⁹ The coreferential dative pronoun *kipqt* is the most common possessive form used for third person singular referents. Two third person referents are distinguished using *kiʔqt* and more rarely *kaʔqt*.

¹⁴⁰ Kroeber (1911:367) lists *kimosiyqt* 'they themselves' in his description of Yuki pronouns. This might be a dative plural coreferential pronoun. If so, then its form in the table should be *kimoʔosiyqt*. See §6.1.7.3 for details.

6.1. Personal Pronouns

Three persons are distinguished for personal pronouns with agent, patient, and dative forms distinguished for all persons in singular and plural¹⁴¹. First and second person pronouns are “true” pronouns in that these serve no other function, while third person pronouns are actually demonstratives. The distal demonstratives are overwhelmingly preferred over proximal demonstratives for use as third person pronouns in Yuki. However, proximal demonstratives are used as third person pronouns as well, albeit rarely.

Inclusive and exclusive forms are distinguished for the first person plural pronouns. Singular and plural number are distinguished for first and second person pronouns. Third person pronouns and demonstratives distinguish singular and distributive plural forms. In addition, third person distributive plural pronouns and demonstratives also distinguish animate and inanimate forms.

Dative and possessive forms are identical except for first person singular¹⁴². The first person singular dative pronoun is *ʔit*, while the first person singular possessive pronoun is *ʔitin*. One elicited example exists of *ʔitin* used with a benefactive meaning shown in §6.1.1. In the texts *ʔitin* is only used as a possessive pronoun. A series of special possessive prefixes is used with kinship terms.

A third person singular coreferential pronoun *kip* and a corresponding patient form *kipq*, along with a third person plural coreferential pronoun *kimoʔosiyq* are also used in Yuki. These pronouns refer to an argument that has already been stated in the current clause or a preceding clause.

The third person singular coreferential dative form *kipqt* is the default possessive form for third person referents. The coreferential dative form *kipqt* can be used in consort with the distal demonstrative *kiʔqt* and/or proximal demonstrative dative *kaʔat* to distinguish possession between two third person referents.

A reflexive/emphatic pronoun *ʔima* is used to emphasize action by an argument. Also, there exists an alternate form of the first person singular pronoun *ʔqipil*, which is claimed by Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:111) to be an emphatic form of *ʔqp* ‘1SG.AGT’.

In the subsequent sections examples are provided of each pronoun.

¹⁴¹ The agent/patient distinction is discussed in §5.2.

¹⁴² As dative and possessive pronouns do not differ in their form, these pronouns are all glossed as dative using DAT. The first person singular possessive pronoun *ʔitin*, is glossed 1SG.POSS, as it differs from the first person singular dative pronoun *ʔit*.

6.1.1. First Person Singular

Examples of the first person singular agent pronoun ^ʔap are shown in (1) - (3).

- (1) Coyote and the World: 182, RM

^ʔ ap	mátli:kon	pák	pap'áyakpa	^ʔ ey
^ʔ ap	mat-tl=kon	pak	pap'-ak-pa'	= ^ʔ i
1SG.AGT	do-TR=but	one	pop-SEM-FUT	=HSY1

^ʔimeymil hulk'ó'i.

^ʔimi=mil hulk'ó'i

say=FIN Coyote

“I do this, but one of them will pop (crackle inside)”, he said.’

- (2) Origins: 132d, RM

yú:kin	^ʔ ap	ka	k'ayyemikí:	k'ayimilpa.
yukin	^ʔ ap	ka'	k'ay-m=ki'	k'ay-mil-pa'
Yuki	1SG.AGT	PRX	talk-IMPFV=DST	talk-?-FUT

‘the Yuki will speak this which I am speaking’

- (3) Coyote and the World: 197, RM

sá ^ʔ éy	^ʔ ap	mil	^ʔ únmawi	ki:
sá= ^ʔ i	^ʔ ap	mil	^ʔ un-má-wi	ki'
SAME=HSY1	1SG.AGT	meat/deer	carry-DIR1-PST1	DST

kápisa hqwayilitia ^ʔey ...

kap-s-a' hqway-lit-a' =^ʔi

enter-CAUS-IMP food/eat-DIR2-IMP =HSY1

‘And, “I have brought a deer, bring it in to eat!” ...’

Examples (4) and (5) contrast the use of the first person singular patient pronoun ^ʔi and the first person singular agent pronoun ^ʔap. In these examples ^ʔap occurs with the verbs kom- ‘come’ and ko^ʔ- ‘go’; ^ʔi occurs with the verb yat- ‘be gone’ and with yaq- ‘name, call’.

(4) Coyote and the World: 378, RM

ʔán ʔi:y yátpaʔ simón ʔq̄p kóm̄paʔ
 ʔan ʔi yat-paʔ si-mon ʔq̄p kom-paʔ
 long.time **1SG.PAT** be-gone-FUT NEW?=but? **1SG.AGT** come-FUT

ʔey ʔímeymil kipat múspa
 =ʔi ʔimi=mil kip=q̄t musp=q̄
 =HSY1 say=FIN 3R=DAT woman=PAT

‘‘A long time I shall be gone; but I shall come (back)’’, he said to his wife.’

(5) Coyote and the World: 122 (excerpt), RM

... mihtan ʔi: yq̄wmil ho:ʔ nó:p han
 mih-tan ʔi yq̄w=mil hoʔ noʔ=op? han
 be-NEG **1SG.PAT** name/call=FIN large live=while? but

ʔq̄p kó:mil ʔi:y ʔímeymil hulk’óʔi
 ʔq̄p koʔ=mil =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulk’oʔi
1SG.AGT go=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

k’oʔolk’ánaʔok

koʔol-k’q̄n=q̄ʔ-ok

Wailaki.PL-language/word=PAT?-INST

‘... There is no one I name, but I come where many live’’, said Coyote speaking Wailaki.’

(6) - (8) show examples of the first person singular possessive pronoun ʔitin and the first person singular dative pronoun ʔit. (7) is the only example of ʔitin found thus far showing a use other than that of a possessive pronoun.

(6) Origins: 132e, RM

sáqkop ʔitin há:p ʔáhp̄a ʔey ʔímeymil taykómol.
 s̄q=kop ʔitin h̄q̄p ʔah-paʔ =ʔi ʔimi=mil taykomol
 SAME=then **1SG.POSS** song/sing hold-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol
 ‘And they shall hold **my** song’’, said Taykómol.’

ʔey ʔi:mikilmil ʔq:pil
 =ʔi ʔimi-k-il=mil ʔqpil
 =HSY1 say-PNCT-MPSV=FIN **one.another**
 ‘And now, “This one perhaps is deceiving us”, they said to one another.’

6.1.2. Second Person Singular

Examples of the second person singular agent pronoun *miʔ* are shown in (11) and (12). An example of the second person singular dative pronoun *mit* used as a possessive is also shown in (12).

- (11) Coyote and the World: 347 (excerpt), RM
- | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| ...kaṭá(w)pis | mí: | kup | ʔonk'olámwit |
| kaṭa=pis | miʔ | kup | ʔonk'ol-am=wit |
| here=ABL | 2SG.AGT | sister's.son | east-NOML=ALL |

kó:tampaʔ

koʔ-t-m-paʔ

go-INTR-IMPV-FUT

‘...From here **you**, sister's son, shall go toward the east.’

- (12) Coyote and the World: 354, RM
- | | | | | | |
|------------------|------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------|------------|
| <i>sikiṭey</i> | <i>ká</i> | mí:t | <i>kup</i> | <i>ʔonapaʔ</i> | <i>ʔan</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>kaʔ</i> | mit | <i>kup</i> | <i>ʔon-aʔ-paʔ</i> | <i>ʔan</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | PRX | 2SG.DAT | sister's.son | earth-?-FUT | long.time |

son **míʔ** *kup* *kákkútispaʔ*

son **miʔ** *kup* *k'qk'-kut-s-paʔ*

therefore **2SG.AGT** sister's.son exist-INCP-CAUS-FUT

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

(13) shows an example of the second person patient pronoun *mis*.

(13) Origins: 43, RM

<i>sąkiṭéy</i>	<i>ʔaŋk'i:k'án'</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>hamlo'ótha</i>
<i>sq=kiṭ=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔam-k'ikan'</i>	<i>mis</i>	<i>hamlot'-ha</i>
SAME=then=HSY1	1SG.KIN.POSS-mother's.brother	2SG.PAT	hungry-Q

ʔim *kíwismil* *hulk'o'á.*

ʔim *kiw-s=mil* *hulk'o'í=q*

thus ask-CAUS=FIN Coyote=PAT

'Thereupon, "My mother's brother, are **you** hungry?" thus he asked Coyote.'

6.1.3. First Person Plural

Inclusive and exclusive forms are distinguished for first person plural pronouns. Inclusive pronouns are used when the speaker and addressee are both referred to with the first person plural pronoun. In (14), *mey* '1PL.INCL.AGT' refers to the speaker and to the addressee *milonti:tmi* 'elk'.

(14) Ents and Upek: 7, RM

<i>se'ey</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>č'al</i>	<i>p'ąkakmil</i>	<i>lákta</i>	<i>kátá</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>kiʔ</i>	<i>č'al</i>	<i>pąk'-ąk=mil</i>	<i>lak'-t-a</i>	<i>kaṭa</i>
NEW=HSY1	DST	loud	shout-SEM=FIN	emerge-INTR-IMP	here

ʔol *tąlop* *milonti:tmi* ***mey*** *mąmekilpa*

ʔol *tąl=op* *milontitam* ***mi*** *mąm-k-il-paʔ*

tree NEG=when elk **1PL.INCL.AGT** fight-PNCT-MPSV-FUT

mey *wóktlpa.*

mi *wok'-tl-paʔ*

1PL.INCL.AGT dance/sing-TR-FUT

'He shouted: "Come out on the prairie [where there are no trees], elk, **we** will fight, **we** will dance.'"

Exclusive first person plural forms refer to the speaker and one or more others, but not to the addressee. In the texts exclusive pronouns often appear in quoted speech. In

(15), the *k'ó'il* 'Wailaki' are speaking to Coyote. When the Wailaki say *wóktli ʔúsa nqwésaʔ* 'show us your dance', they use the exclusive patient pronoun *ʔúsa*, because they are asking Coyote to show them, the Wailaki, the dance, not asking Coyote to show the dance to them and himself.

(15) Coyote and the World: 127, RM

<i>seʔéy</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>k'ó'il</i>	<i>kíwismil</i>	<i>wóktl</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>háʔáye</i>	<i>k'ó'il</i>	<i>kiw-s=mil</i>	<i>wok'-tl</i>
NEW=HSY1	now	Wailaki	ask-CAUS=FIN	dance/sing-TR

ʔúsa	<i>nqwésaʔ</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔímeymil</i>
ʔus=q	<i>nqw-s-aʔ</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>
1PL.EXCL=PAT	see-CAUS-IMP	=HSY1	say=FIN

k'ó'il *hulk'ó'a*

k'ó'il *hulk'ó'í=q*

Wailaki Coyote=PAT

'Then the Wailaki asked: "Show **us** (your) dance", they said to Coyote.'

Similarly, in (16), the exclusive forms *ʔúsa* '1PL.EXCL=PAT' and *ʔús* '1PL.EXCL.AGT' are used in quoting the speech of the two Wailakis who returned alive. They are telling the addressee what happened to them, but because the addressee was not part of this experience, exclusive pronouns are used and the addressee is not referred to.

(16) Coyote and the World: 177, RM

<i>kayit</i>	ʔúsa	<i>nqnákwí</i>	<i>sikí:ki</i>	ʔús
<i>kayit</i>	ʔus=q	<i>nqnak-wi</i>	<i>sikiki</i>	ʔus
long.ago	1PL.EXCL=PAT	know-PST1	therefore	1PL.EXCL.AGT

<i>k'ólam</i>	<i>tíweyu</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔi:má:lilmil</i>	<i>kip'áwwop</i>
<i>k'ol-am</i>	<i>tiw-wi</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔimi-má-l-il=mil</i>	<i>kipáw=op</i>
other-NOML	pursue-PST1	=HSY1	say-DIR1-?-MPSV=FIN	back=LAT

šayyaʔ ʔópʔa kʔóʔil tó:ktlnámilkimási
 šay=a ʔopi=a kʔóʔil tʔok-tl=namli=kiʔ-mas-i
 raw/alive=? two=? Wailaki reach-TR=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM
 “We knew in time, that is why we pursued separately”, they said to the others,
 those two Wailaki who came back alive.’

(17a) shows an interesting example of both inclusive and exclusive pronouns used in a quote spoken by the same individual.

(17a) Coyote and the World: 254, RM

sáʔey ʔuʂ tʔhi kʔolí san **míʔat** pilá:t
 sq=?i ʔus tʔh kʔol son? **mi=qʔ** piláʔ
 SAME=HSY1 **1PL.EXCL.AGT** find kill but? **1PL.INCL=DAT** sun

 lílkʔil láčkilu ʔiy ʔim huškʔyemil
 lil=kʔil laʔ-k-il-wi =ʔi ʔim huškʔy-s=mil
 rock=TERM break-PNCT-MPSV-PST1 =HSY1 thus tell-CAUS?=FIN

ki hulkʔoʔa líʔáknamlíkimási
 kiʔ hulkʔoʔi=q líʔ-áknamlí=kiʔ-mas-i
 DST Coyote=PAT kill-SEM=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM
 “We found and killed him, but he broke **our** sun against a rock”, thus they
 reported, they who had slain Coyote.’

In (17a), the speaker uses the exclusive pronoun ʔuʂ ‘1PL.EXCL.AGT’ to specify that the addressee is not referred to with the first person plural pronoun. However, a few words later the inclusive dative pronoun *míʔat* ‘1PL.INCL=DAT’ is used instead of the exclusive form ʔusqʔ ‘1PL.EXCL=DAT’ in *míʔat pilá:t* ‘our sun’. This is the only occurrence of such a use in the texts.

A possible explanation could be as follows. In this excerpt, those who killed Coyote are reporting back to other members of their own group. Those that killed Coyote use the exclusive pronoun ʔuʂ ‘1PL.EXCL.AGT’ to refer to themselves as they, not the entire group, killed Coyote. However, *pilá:t* ‘sun’ belongs to the entire group, both those who killed Coyote and those hearing the story, therefore the inclusive dative pronoun *míʔat* ‘1PL.INCL=DAT’ is used to talk about the sun.

(17b) gives some evidence for this analysis and occurs a few lines above (17a). In (17b), those who eventually kill Coyote are asking him about their sun. They still use an exclusive pronoun *ʔúsʔat* ‘1PL.EXCL.DAT’ to refer to themselves, presumably to separate themselves from their entire group. However, they also use the same exclusive dative pronoun as a possessive in *ʔúsʔat pilq:t* ‘our sun’ presumably to show that the sun belongs to them not to Coyote, because he has stolen it.

(17b) Coyote and the World: 231, RM

<i>sqʔéy</i>	<i>kíwismil</i>	<i>ʔím</i>	<i>ʔúsʔat</i>	<i>pilq:t</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>kiw-s=mil</i>	<i>ʔim</i>	<i>ʔus=at</i>	<i>pilqt</i>
SAME=HSY1	ask-CAUS=FIN	where	1PL.EXCL=DAT	sun

<i>ʔúsʔat</i>	<i>wátimwički:</i>	<i>káʔen</i>	<i>kʔomláme</i>
<i>ʔus=qt</i>	<i>wqtʔ-m-wič=kiʔ</i>	<i>kaʔin</i>	<i>kʔom-lqm</i>
1PL.EXCL=DAT	steal-IMPV-PST=DST	PRX.LOC?	make.noise-INCH

<i>mis</i>	<i>háltha</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔím</i>	<i>kíwismil</i>
<i>mis</i>	<i>hql-t-ha</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔim</i>	<i>kiw-s=mil</i>
2SG.PAT	hear-INTR-Q	=HSY1	thus	ask-CAUS=FIN

<i>hulkʔóʔa</i>	<i>kimási</i>
<i>hulkʔoʔi=q</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas-i</i>
Coyote=PAT	DST-DSTR-ANIM

‘and asked him, “Where is **our sun** which was stolen from **us**? Have you heard it sounding anywhere about here?” so they asked Coyote.’

(18) shows another example of the first person exclusive plural dative pronoun *ʔuʂqt* used as a possessive.

(18) Coyote and the World: 306, RM

<i>séʔey</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ʔipšák</i>	<i>ʔuʂqt</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ʔʔot</i>	<i>pan</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>kiʔ</i>	<i>ʔipsak</i>	<i>ʔus=qt</i>	<i>kiʔ</i>	<i>ʔʔot</i>	<i>pan</i>
NEW=HSY1	DST	boy	1PL.EXCL=DAT	DST	carrying.basket	hang

ʔi:y ʔímismil
 =ʔi ʔimi-s=mil
 =HSY1 say-CONT?=FIN
 ‘So the boy said, “That is **our** carrying basket hanging”.’

6.1.4. Second Person Plural

Examples of the second person plural agent pronoun *moʔos* are shown in (19) and (20).

(19) Coyote and the World: 27, RM

ʔey **moʔos** míwismil hú:li lákti
 =ʔi **moʔos** miw-s=mil hil-i lak'-t
 =HSY1 **2PL.AGT** disbelieve-CONT?=FIN all-ANIM emerge-INTR

ʔiwilhánpis sq náwkił'
 ʔiwilhan=pis sq nqw-k-il-ʔ
 ceremonial.house=ABL SAME see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP

“**You** who disbelieve me all come out of the ceremonial house and look!”

(20) Coyote and the World: 415 (excerpt), RM

... **moʔos** ʔawhámi mí:pa ʔa:átat ʔey
moʔos ʔawham mih-paʔ ʔátat=át =ʔi
2PL.AGT animal be-FUT people=DAT =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi
 ʔimi=mil hulk'óʔi
 say=FIN Coyote

“... **you** shall be game for people”, said Coyote.’

The second person plural patient pronoun *moʔosiyq* is found rarely in the texts. The example in (21) shows *moʔosiyq* in use.

(21) Thunder’s Twins: 136, RM

sáʔey ʔiyi yú:yanj maʔoš kimat
 sq=ʔi ʔiyi yuy'-m=k moʔos kimat
 SAME=HSY1 what do-IMPFV=DECL 2PL.AGT ?

<i>həwáyisilnámelikí</i>	^ʔ áp	móší:yq̄	<i>wátimik</i>
<i>həwəy-s-il=namlí=kiʔ</i>	^ʔ əp	móʔos=q	<i>wat-m=k</i>
food/eat-CAUS-MPSV=DEP=DST	1SG.AGT	2PL=PAT	show-IMPV=DECL

^ʔ imiye	čá:kam	háʔnamʔlíki:	^ʔ ey	lákʔekilimil.
^ʔ imi-y	čakam	háʔ=namlí=kiʔ	=ʔi	lakʔ-k-il=mil
say-PROG	sinew	carry=DEP=DST	=HSY1	emerge-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘And saying, “What are you doing, you who eat one another? I will show **you**”, (Burnt-Sling) drew out some sinew (or tendon) which he had with him.’

(22) shows an example of the second person plural dative pronoun *moʔoší:yat*.

(22) Coyote and the World: 132, RM

<i>seʔey</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>hiwəq̄k</i>	moʔoší:yat	<i>ʔúsa</i>
<i>siʔi</i>	<i>həʔəye</i>	<i>hiwəq̄k</i>	moʔosiyat	<i>ʔus=q</i>
NEW=HSY1	now	in.turn	2PL.AGT.DAT	1PL.EXCL=PAT

<i>wok</i>	<i>nəwi</i>	<i>hámek</i>	^ʔ ey	<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔi</i>	<i>kʔóʔola</i>
<i>wokʔ</i>	<i>nəw</i>	<i>ham=k</i>	=ʔi	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔi</i>	<i>kʔóʔol=q</i>
dance/sing	see	like/want=DECL	=HSY1	say=FIN	Coyote	Wailaki.PL=PAT

“Now in turn we want to see **your** dance”, Coyote said to the Wailaki.’

6.1.5. Demonstratives and Third Person Pronouns

Aside from the coreferential pronouns discussed below, there are no unique third person pronouns in Yuki. Instead, distal demonstratives are most commonly used for this function. Less frequently, proximal demonstratives are also used as third person pronouns. For example, *kaʔ* is used as a pronoun meaning ‘this one’ or ‘this person’. Kroeber (1911:367) includes a distributive plural proximate form *kamasi* as well as a proximate patient form *kaʔa* and a proximate dative form *kaʔat* in his description of Yuki demonstratives; however, none of these occur in the texts, though *kaʔa* and *kaʔat* do occur in elicited material recorded by Kroeber.

In addition to the demonstratives, a series of coreferential pronouns is also used for third person referents. The coreferential dative pronoun *kipət* is used as the default third person singular possessive form. The distal demonstrative dative *kiʔət* is used to

distinguish between two third person referents with a possessive meaning. To a much lesser extent the same appears to have been the case for the proximal demonstrative dative *kaʔat*, which appears very rarely in elicited forms recorded by Kroeber.

6.1.5.1. Singular Demonstratives and Third Person Pronouns

(23) and (24) show examples of *kiʔ* used as a pronoun.

(23) Coyote and the World: 390, RM

<i>sqʔéy</i>	<i>kimás</i>	ki:	<i>huʔútlmil</i>	<i>həwáyi</i>	<i>wəčmaki:</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>kimas</i>	kiʔ	<i>huʔuʔ-tl=mil</i>	<i>həwəy</i>	<i>wəʔʔ-ma=kiʔ</i>
SAME=HSY1	thus	DST	quit-TR=FIN	food/eat	steal-DIR1=DST

ʔukhóʔotámpis

ʔukʔ-hoʔ-am=pis

water-large-NOML=ABL

‘And so **he** finished that stealing of food from the coast.’

(24) Coyote and the World: 221, RM

<i>seʔey</i>	ki:	<i>hil</i>	<i>hayé</i>	<i>pišʔtmil</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	kiʔ	<i>hil</i>	<i>həʔəye</i>	<i>piš-t=mil</i>
NEW=HSY1	DST	all	now	take.off-INTR=FIN

‘So now **he** stripped them all off;’

(25) and (26) show *kiʔ* used as a demonstrative with inanimate and animate referents, respectively. Also, Kroeber often translates *kiʔ* as ‘the’ in free translation when it is used as a demonstrative. For example, in (26), *ki ʔipsák* is translated as ‘the boy’ by Kroeber.

(25) Coyote and the World: 19, RM

<i>ʔim</i>	ki:	<i>yim</i>	<i>čiyi:mílamha</i>	<i>kup</i>	<i>ʔi:y</i>
<i>ʔim</i>	kiʔ	<i>yim</i>	<i>čiy-mə-il-m-ha</i>	<i>kup</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
where	DST	fire	glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-Q	sister’s.son	=HSY1
<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>				
<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>				
say=FIN	Coyote				

“‘Where does **that** fire gleam at times, sister’s son?’” said Coyote.’

- (26) Coyote and the World: 307, RM

hílikšilo? *hulk'ó?i* *kip* *kiwsiki* *ʔey* *kíʔa* *yáw*
hilkšilo? *hulk'ó?i* *kip* *kiw-s=ki?* =ʔi *kiʔa* *yq̄w*
 everything Coyote 3R ask-CAUS=DST =HSY1 there name

wá:česmil **ki** *ʔipsák*
wačʔ-s=mil **kiʔ** *ʔipsak*
 teach-CAUS=FIN **DST** boy

‘Everything that Coyote asked him, **the** boy told (showed) the name there.’

(27) and (28) show examples of *kaʔ* ‘this’ used as a pronoun. In (27), *kaʔ* is used to mean ‘this one’, referring to a person. In (28), *kaʔ* is used to mean ‘this way’, referring to a state of affairs.

- (27) Coyote and the World: 246, RM

sáʔey *haye* **ká** *mí:kon* *míya* *haháʔima*
sá=ʔi *hąʔaye* **kaʔ** *mih=kon* *mi=q̄* *haháʔ-ima*
 SAME=HSY1 now **PRX** be=? 1PL.INCL=PAT deceive-?

ʔey *ʔi:mikílmil* *ʔá:pil*
 =ʔi *ʔimi-k-il=mil* *ʔqpil*
 =HSY1 say-PNCT-MPSV=FIN one.another

‘And now, “**This one** perhaps is deceiving us”, they said to one another.’

- (28) Coyote and the World: 275, RM

sikíʔa *haye* **ka** *mípaʔ* *ʔi:y*
si=kíʔa *hąʔaye* **kaʔ** *mih-paʔ* =ʔi
 NEW=then now **PRX** be-FUT =HSY1

ʔimeymil *hulk'ó?i* *pilq̄ta*.
ʔimi=mil *hulk'ó?i* *pilq̄t=q̄*
 say=FIN Coyote sun=PAT

‘So now, “**This** (is how it) shall be”, Coyote told the sun.’

(29) shows the distal demonstrative patient case form *kiʔa* used as a pronoun.

(29) Ents and Upek: 2, RM

hąye ki: mušp ʔan huškąyesna kiʔa
hąʔaye kiʔ musp ʔan huškʔay-s=ną? kiʔ=q
 now DST woman long.time tell-CONT=and? **DST=PAT**

kó:ti milonti:tma ʔanilma.
koʔ-t milontitam=q ʔanil-m-a
 go-INTR elk=PAT lead-IMPV? IMP
 ‘Now this woman always said to **him** “Go bring elk!”’

(30) shows the distal demonstrative patient case form *kiʔa* used as a demonstrative in *kiʔa ʔiwóta*, which Kroeber gives as ‘the old man’ in his free translation.

(30) Coyote and the World: 237 (excerpt), RM

ʔiy ʔim kíwismil
=ʔi ʔim kiw-s=mil
 =HSY1 thus ask-CAUS?=FIN

kiʔa ʔiwóta han hąsi kʔa
kiʔ=q ʔiwot=q han hąʔ-s kiʔ=q
DST=PAT old.man=PAT house build-CAUS DST=PAT
 ‘...thus they asked **the old man** who was building a house.’

(31) shows the proximal demonstrative patient case form *kaʔa* used as a pronoun¹⁴³ or possibly as a demonstrative. As stated previously, proximal case forms used as pronouns are quite rare in Yuki and primarily occur, as this example does, in elicited data.

(31) Kroeber 1901a:18, RM

kaʔa ʔąp mušpa ki:tiwi
kaʔ=q ʔąp mušp=q kit-wi
PRX=PAT 1SG.AGT woman=PAT go.with=PST1
 ‘I went with **this** woman.’

¹⁴³ If used as a pronoun, the meaning of this example could be: ‘[With] her, I went with [this] woman.’

In the texts, dative uses of the distal demonstrative dative pronoun *kiʔat* are not observed, with the possible exception of its use in a relative clause construction shown in (45). In elicited examples, however, dative uses of *kiʔat* are found, as is shown in (32) and (33). Dative uses of the proximal demonstrative dative pronoun *kaʔat* have not been observed, though presumably such uses were possible.

(32) Siniard 1967b:35, MF

kiʔat *mis* *hu:šilha*
kiʔ=qt *mis* *huš-l-ha*
DST=DAT 2SG.PAT happy?-MPSV?-Q
 ‘You like **that fellow**?’

(33) Siniard 1967b:95, MF

kiʔqt *ʔi:* *ʔah* *ha:mik*
kiʔ=qt *ʔi* *ʔah* *ham=k*
DST=DAT 1SG.PAT hold like/want=PST1
 ‘I like to hold **him**.’

(34) shows *kaʔ* ‘this’ and *kiʔ* ‘that’ used as demonstratives in two successive clauses with the same noun *həp* ‘song’.

(34) Origins: 29, RM

seʔéy *ʔəp* *lákmiʔkíṭa* **ka** **hə:p**
si=ʔi *ʔəp* *lakʔ-m=kíṭa* **kaʔ** **həp**
 NEW=HSY1 1SG.AGT emerge-IMPV=when **PRX** **song/sing**

wóktlinʔk *ʔimeymil* *ki* *taykomol* *hulkʔóʔq.*
wokʔ-tl-nik *ʔimi=mil* *kiʔ* *taykomol* *hulkʔóʔi=q*
 dance/sing-TR-NEC say=FIN DST Taykómol Coyote=PAT
 ‘‘As I emerge, I go to sing **this song**’’, he said to Coyote.’

Origins: 30

seʔéy *həye* **ki** **həp** *kútitmil* *taykómol.*
si=ʔi *həʔqye* **kiʔ** **həp** *kut-t=mil* *taykomol*
 NEW=HSY1 now **DST** **song/sing** start-INTR=FIN Taykómol
 ‘And [Taykómol] began to sing **that song**.’

6.1.5.2. Distributive Plural Demonstratives and Third Person Pronouns

In the third person, demonstratives or demonstratives functioning as plural pronouns are used only with certain types of referents. *-mas* in Yuki third person plural pronouns has been called a distributive marker (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:65). Corbett (2000) gives this description of distributives:

Distributives mark the separation of members of a group whether entities, events, qualities or locations. Each is considered distinct in space, sort or time. Distributive marking on nouns has two primary functions: it may spread (distribute) entities over various locations or various sorts (types) (111-112) ... Distributive markers indicate that entities are to be construed individually, as separate and distinct (119).

The distributive grammatical category is not a type of number, per se, but is instead a means for indicating that a group of referents is individuated and varied in their type or in their location in space or time. It is common for humans to be considered as having both of these qualities, and therefore human referents can often take distributive marking. In cases like these¹⁴⁴ the difference in meaning is slight between a distributive meaning of ‘a group of various types of people’ and the plural meaning of ‘more than one person’ (Corbett 2000:116).

In Yuki, distributive *-mas* is found on distal, and less commonly on proximal, demonstratives acting as demonstratives or third person pronouns. Agent and patient forms are distinguished for the distributive plural pronouns and demonstratives. In addition, animate and inanimate forms are distinguished with a final *-i* on distributive plural pronouns referring to animates. This is the same process observed in Chapter 10 for quantifiers acting as pronouns. *hil* ‘all’ becomes the pronoun *hili* ‘all of them’ referring to animates.

In the texts, distributive forms are most often found referring to human referents or mythical figures in stories that have the attributes of humans. However, the distributive is also used with non-human inanimate referents.

In (35), the animate form *kimáse* is used as a pronoun referring to *kipat* ‘*a:ʔáta* ‘his people=’PAT’ in the previous clause.

¹⁴⁴ Corbett (2000:116) mentions the case of Quileute where among younger speakers the meaning of the distributive marking has shifted from indicating distributivity to indicating a plural number.

(35) Coyote and the World: 129, RM

sáʔey *kipat* *ʔa:ʔáta* *woktl* *ʔímeymil*
sá=ʔi *kip=ʔt* *ʔaʔat=q* *wokʔ-tl* *ʔimi=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 3R=DAT people=PAT dance/sing-TR say=FIN
 ‘and told his people to dance.’

seʔey ***kimáse*** *wóktlmil*
si=ʔi ***kiʔ-mas-i*** *wokʔ-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 **DST-DSTR-ANIM** dance/sing-TR=FIN
 ‘So **they** danced.’

In (36), the inanimate form *kimás* is used as a pronoun referring to inanimate objects in a previous clause.

(36) Coyote and the World: 265, RM

sáʔey ***kimás*** *háyk* *pʔoyitli* *ʔáta*
sá=ʔi ***kiʔ-mas*** *hay=k* *pʔoy-tl* *ʔataʔ*
 SAME=HSY1 **DST-DSTR** net.sack=IN put-TR again

kó:temil *ʔu:khó:ʔamwit.*
koʔ-t=mil *ʔukʔ-hoʔ-am=wit*
 go-INTR=FIN water-large-NOML=ALL
 ‘And putting **them** into his net sack, he went toward the ocean (the west).’

In (37) and (38), the animate agent form *kimasi* is acting as a determiner.

(37) Coyote and the World: 65, RM

sikitéy *wáqʔi* *ki* *huʔú(tli)* *ʔey* *milmú:ši* *ná*
si=kit=ʔi *wáqk=kʔi* *kiʔ* *huʔu(-tl)* *=ʔi* *milmuš* *=ná*
 NEW=then=HSY1 after=IN DST finish(-TR) =HSY1 Polecat =and

si:skina *ná* *ʔolkáçam* ***kimáse*** ***mólmaʔ*** *ʔey*
siskina *=ná* *ʔolkaçam* ***kiʔ-mas-i*** ***molmi=a*** *=ʔi*
 Skunk =and Mouse **DST-DSTR-ANIM** **three=?** =HSY1

- (40) Coyote and the World: 197 (excerpt), RM
 ... [?]ímeymil hulk'ó'i **kimáša** **mús'a'**
 imi=mil hulk'ó'i **ki'-mas=q** **mus=q**
 say=FIN Coyote **DST-DSTR=PAT** **women=PAT**
 '... Coyote said to **these [those] women.**'

In (41), the dative form *kimášat* is functioning as a personal pronoun.

- (41) Coyote and the World: 66, RM
 sopey hulk'ó'i [?]á'tá **kimášat** há:p yąškílmil.
 sop=[?]i hulk'ó'i [?]áta' **ki'-mas=qt** hąp yąš-k-il=mil
 but=HSY1 Coyote again **DST-DSTR=DAT** song/sing stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 'And Coyote again stood and sang **for them.**'

In (42), the dative form *kimášat* is functioning as a possessive pronoun.

- (42) Coyote and the World: 180, RM
 si'éy **kimášat** k'unat **kimášat** k'anat
 si=[?]i **ki'-mas=qt** k'un'=qt **ki'-mas=qt** k'an'=qt
 NEW=HSY1 **DST-DSTR=DAT** father=DAT **DST-DSTR=DAT** mother=DAT

[?]ey nanáknil t'ól
 =[?]i nąnak=mil t'ól
 =HSY1 know=FIN hair
 'Then **their** fathers and mothers knew the scalps.'

6.1.6. Distinguishing two different third person referents

The distal demonstrative dative form *ki'qt* is used to distinguish possession between two different third person referents and therefore functions not unlike a fourth person pronoun. It may also have been used to differentiate between two third person referents, without implying possession, in the relative clause ending =*namli*. It appears to also have been possible to differentiate possession between two third person referents using the proximal demonstrative dative form *ka'at*, though examples of this use are very rare and appear only in a few examples elicited by Kroeber. (43) shows an example of *ki'qt* used as a possessive pronoun.

Coyote and the World: 374

<i>sikq'áy</i>	lql	ṭunó:ṭilnamlikí'at
<i>si=kq='i</i>	lql	tunoh-t-il=namli=ki'=qt
NEW=thereupon=HSY1	acorn	keep-INTR-MPSV=DEP=DST=DAT

<i>'ey</i>	<i>'inámtmil</i>	<i>hilkšiló:ʔ</i>	<i>hqwáyi</i>
<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>'inam-t=mil</i>	<i>hilkšiloʔ</i>	<i>hqwqy</i>
=HSY1	dream-INTR=FIN	everything	food/eat

ṭunó:ṭilnamlikí'at

tunoh-t-il=namli=ki'=qt

keep-INTR-MPSV=DEP=DST=DAT

'Thereupon he [Coyote] dreamed of those who kept stored away the acorns, of those who kept every kind of food.'

However, this type of use of *ki'qt* is not surprising. If in possessive constructions the coreferential dative pronoun *kipqt* is used as the default possessive for third person referents and *ki'qt* and/or *ka'at* are used to distinguish possession by other third person referents, then in a relative clause *ki'qt* or *ka'at* would be the forms one would expect to see when referring to another third person referent, unless the relative clause is referring to the previously mentioned third person referent in the main clause. In the available Yuki data, relative clauses such as that in (45) are very rare. Relative clauses incorporating the coreferential dative pronoun *kipqt* are never encountered. Still it may be that such clauses were possible to form. So instead of *hqwáyi ṭunó:ṭilnamlikí'at* 'those who kept every kind of food', a hypothetical non-attested form like *hqwáyi ṭunó:ṭilnamlikí'at* may have been possible and may have meant 'he himself who kept every kind of food'.

6.1.7. Coreferential Pronouns

This section describes the coreferential pronouns of Yuki: *kip*, *kipq*, *kipqt*, *kimo'osiyq*.

6.1.7.1. *kip*, *kipq*

Mithun (2008:7) describes the coreferential agent pronoun *kip* and patient pronoun *kipq* as "used for third person arguments that are coreferential with the subject of their

clause or a higher clause.” Thus far examples have only been found with the coreferential pronouns *kip* and *kipq* referring to agents. However, given that Yuki verbs can take not just agents, but also patients and possibly also datives, as their primary arguments, it seems likely that the coreferential pronouns are indeed referencing subjects rather than specifically agents in the matrix clause. Known examples in connected speech show *kip* and *kipq* referring to previously mentioned arguments, but it cannot be excluded that these pronouns can refer to arguments that follow it within the same clause. In (46), *kip* in Clause 307 refers to *ki* *ʔipsák* ‘the boy’ in Clause 306.

(46) Coyote and the World: 306, RM

<i>séʔey</i>	<u><i>ki</i></u>	<u><i>ʔi:psák</i></u>	<i>ʔusqt</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ʔoʔot</i>	<i>pan</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<u><i>kiʔ</i></u>	<u><i>ʔipsak</i></u>	<i>ʔus=qt</i>	<i>kiʔ</i>	<i>ʔot</i>	<i>pan</i>
NEW=HSY1	<u>DST</u>	<u>boy</u>	1PL.EXCL=DAT	DST	carrying.basket	hang

ʔi:y *ʔimismil*
 =ʔi *ʔimi-s=mil*
 =HSY1 say-CONT?=FIN

‘So the boy said, “That is our carrying basket hanging”.’

Coyote and the World: 307

<i>hílikšiloʔ</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>	<i>kip</i>	<i>kíwsi</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>kíta</i>	<i>yáw</i>
<i>hilkšiloʔ</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔi</i>	<i>kip</i>	<i>kiw-s</i>	<i>kiʔ</i>	=ʔi	<i>kíta</i>	<i>yáw</i>
everything	Coyote	3R	ask-CAUS	DST	=HSY1	there	name

wá:česmil *ki* *ʔipsák*
wačʔ-s=mil *kiʔ* *ʔipsak*
 teach-CAUS=FIN DST boy

‘Everything that Coyote asked **him**, the boy told (showed) the name there.’

In (47), *kip* refers to *hulkʔóʔi* ‘Coyote’.

(47) Coyote and the World: 411, RM

<i>seʔey</i>	<i>háye</i>	<u><i>hulkʔóʔi</i></u>	<i>sátʔin</i>	<i>kip</i>	<i>huškʔáyesi</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>haʔáye</i>	<u><i>hulkʔoʔi</i></u>	<i>sátʔin</i>	<i>kip</i>	<i>huškʔay-s</i>
NEW=HSY1	now	<u>Coyote</u>	Lizard	3R	tell-CAUS

ki ʔeyi haʔe yúniʔakmil
 kiʔ ʔiyi haʔaʔe yuyʔ-n-aʔk=mil
 DST what now do-AND-SEM=FIN
 ‘So now Coyote did what Lizard told **him**.’

In (48), *kipá* in Clause 206 acts as a benefactive and refers to *hulk’óʔi* ‘Coyote’ in Clause 205.

(48) Coyote and the World: 205, RM

sáʔey maš haʔwáysam wič kóyikap
 sáʔ=ʔi mas haʔwáʔy-s-m-(?) wič koʔ-ʔ=kop
 SAME=HSY1 thus food/eat-CAUS-IMPFV-IMP far go-PROG=when

máy hiwítwiča wički: may ʔínlamʔ
 mayʔ hiw-t-wič-a wič=ki mayʔ ʔin-lám
 who/someone tired-INTR-PST2-? far=IN who/someone sleep-INCH

ʔey ʔimeymil hulk’óʔi
 =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulk’óʔi
 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘‘So, eat! From coming far I am exhausted, that is why I am sleepy’’, said Coyote.

Coyote and the World: 206

sáʔey náŋkilmil k’amolšíl
 sáʔ=ʔi náŋm-k-il=mil k’amol-šíl
 SAME=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN puma-skin

kipá tátlnamliki
kip=q tat-tl=namli=kiʔ
3R=PAT good/make-TR=DEP=DST

‘And he lay down on a puma skin which they arranged **for him**.’

6.1.7.2. *kipqt*

The coreferential dative pronoun *kipqt* is used as a dative pronoun and most commonly as a possessive pronoun for third person singular referents. (49) shows the coreferential dative pronoun *kipat* used as a possessive.

(49) Coyote and the World: 226, RM

<i>sáʔey</i>	<i>kipat</i>	<i>háyki</i>	<i>kʔó:tl</i>	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>kip=qt</i>	<i>hay=ki</i>	<i>kʔoʔ-tl</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
SAME=HSY1	3R=DAT	net.sack=IN	be.in-TR	=HSY1

háye *há:temil*
hqʔaye *haʔ-t=mil*
 now carry-INTR=FIN

‘And putting it **in his net sac**, he took it off.’

(50) shows the coreferential dative pronoun *kipat* used as a benefactive.

(50) Origins: 46, RM

<i>sáʔey</i>	<i>hoʔ</i>	<i>kimás</i>	<i>hqwáyi</i>	<i>kipat</i>	<i>tʔúʔaki</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>hoʔ</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas</i>	<i>hqwáy</i>	<i>kip=qt</i>	<i>tʔuʔ-ak</i>
SAME=HSY1	much	DST-DSTR	food/eat	3R=DAT	lay-SEM

ʔeyy *ʔimeymil* *hulkʔóʔi*.
=ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *hulkʔoʔi*
 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘So he laid down much food **for him**, Coyote told (later)’

6.1.7.3. *kimoʔosiyq*

Kroeber (1911:367) records an additional pronoun *kimosiyqt*¹⁴⁵ in his description of Yuki pronouns. He defines it as ‘they themselves’ and lists it as a plural counterpart to the coreferential pronoun *kip*, which he translates as ‘he himself’. This pronoun has not been observed in elicitation, but may occur once in the texts. The *Wildcat and Coyote* myth in Kroeber’s original notes is longer than the version in his 1911 Yuki sketch.

¹⁴⁵ In his original description of Yuki, Kroeber (1911:367) writes this pronoun as *ki-mos-i-at*.

kimoʔseyyat lánʔa ‘their brother’ occurs in this original version (Kroeber 1902a:18), though *kimoʔseyyat* does not appear to mean ‘they themselves’ and may be the third person distributive plural dative *kimasqt*.

A similar-looking form *kimoʔosiyq* is found in a few instances in the texts. *kimoʔosiyq* does appear to be a distributive plural counterpart to *kip*, though it occurs so infrequently that it is difficult to make this claim with absolute certainty. Like *kip* and *kipq*, *kimoʔosiyq* seems to only refer to previous agent arguments.

In (51), *kimo:séya* ‘they to themselves’ appears to behave as a coreferential pronoun, in that it refers to the subject of the previous clause *kʻol ʔatát* ‘the rest of the people’.

(51) Thunder’s Twins: 133, RM

siʔéyy kʻol ʔatát ʔey táyišyakmil
 si=ʔi kʻol ʔatat =ʔi ʔay-s-qk=mil
 NEW=HSY1 other people =HSY1 caught-CAUS?-SEM=FIN
 ‘And the rest of the people butchered them.’

Thunder’s Twins: 134

seʔéy húytli ʔeyy **kimo:séyya** čani ʔeyy ʔímeymil
 si=ʔi huy-tl =ʔi **kimoʔosiyq** čan =ʔi ʔimi=mil
 NEW=HSY1 cook-TR =HSY1 **DSTR.R** give =HSY1 say=FIN
 ‘And roasting them they said **they** gave (meat of) those **to themselves**.’

In (52), *kímoʔoséyyq* ‘them’ is referring to Coyote and his traveling companions. They are mentioned in the English translation of the previous clause, but in the Yuki are mentioned across a number of earlier clauses and are talked about as a group.

(52) Coyote and the World: 159, RM

sáʔey tʻól túktimil hqwayikí:la
 sq=ʔi tʻol ʔuk-t=mil hqway=kiʻ-la
 SAME=HSY1 hair move-INTR=FIN food/eat=DST-INST
 And they went carrying the scalps with the food.’

Coyote and the World: 160

sópey kuyítpis kʻóʻil **kímoʔoséyyq**
 sop=ʔi kuy=iʔ=pis kʻoʻil **kimoʔosiyq**
 but=HSY1 there=JXT=ABL Wailaki **DSTR.R**

mątli [?]ey *lu:mtít* *só:ʔammil* *káyit* [?]olkáčam
mat-t-il =[?]i *lum-ʔit* *soʔ'-m=mil* *kayit* [?]olkařam
 shoot-INTR-MPSV =HSY1 bow?-string cut-IMPV=FIN long.ago Mouse

lu:mtít *či:líyaknamlí:*

lum-ʔit *čil-ąk=namli=ki?*

bow?-string notch-SEM=DEP=DST

‘But as the Wailaki from there shot at **them**, their bow strings snapped which Mouse had previously notched.’

In (53), *kimo'séyya* ‘them’ refers to *k'óil* ‘Wailaki’.

(53) Coyote and the World: 119, RM

se *hánkil* *kó'olítyi* [?]ey [?]í:yinom'
si *han=k'il* *ko'-lit-y* =[?]i [?]iyi-nom'
 NEW house=TERM go-DIR2-PROG =HSY1 what-people/tribe

miyą:t'k'il *múna?* *kó:yik* [?]ey [?]ímeymil *k'ó'il*
mi=ąt=k'il *muna?* *ko'-y=k* =[?]i [?]imi=mil *k'ó'il*
 1PL.INCL=DAT=TERM many go-PROG=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Wailaki

‘Then as they were approaching the houses, the Wailaki said, “Some people are going toward us in numbers”.’

...

Coyote and the World: 123

są'éy [?]iwilhánam *kápšilyakmil*
są=[?]i [?]iwilhan-ąm *kap-s-il-ąk=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 ceremonial.house-IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

máy ***kimo'séyya*** *kápta* [?]ímeytanan.
mąy' ***kimo'osiya*** *kap-t-a* [?]imi-tan=han?
 who/someone **DSTR.R** enter-INTR-IMP say-NEG=but?

‘And he entered the ceremonial house though none of **them** said to him, “Enter”!’

(53) is a significant example. In (51), *kimo'osiyq* functions as a recipient where meat is given to the argument referred to with *kimo'osiyq*. In (52), *kimo'osiyq* functions as either a recipient or experiencer of the action of being shot at. In (53), however, *kimo'osiyq* functions as an agent. In this example *kimo'osiyq* refers to the Wailaki, who are not asking him (Coyote) to enter the ceremonial house. The verb *'imi-* 'say' always takes an agent argument. This shows that *kimo'osiyq* is different than the distributive plural patient pronoun *kimasq*, which only functions as a patient argument.

6.1.8. *ṭima ~ tima ~ t'ima* 'self'

ṭima 'self' refers to the agent, or to the patient, if the verb has no agent argument. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:153) define *ṭima* as 'oneself'.

In (54) *ṭima* refers to a third person singular argument, which is not overtly stated in the clause, while in (55) *ṭima* is referring to a second person singular argument.

(54) Origins: 123, RM

<i>sqk'ey'ey</i>	<i>tima</i>	<i>hqšá</i>	<i>'i:misimil.</i>
<i>sq=ki=?i</i>	<i>tima</i>	<i>hqšq?</i>	<i>'im-s=mi</i>
SAME=and=HSY1	self	again	try-CAUS?=FIN

'Thereupon again **he himself** tried it.'

(55) Coyote and the World: 280, RM

<i>sqkí:</i>	<i>mi?</i>	<i>kup</i>	<i>k'ú:htkiwit</i>	<i>tákílk</i>
<i>sq=ki</i>	<i>mi?</i>	<i>kup</i>	<i>kuhtki=wit</i>	<i>ta²-k-il=k</i>
SAME=and	2SG.AGT	sister's.son	north=ALL	flow-PNCT-MPSV=DECL

<i>mi?</i>	<i>kup</i>	<i>mik'áltil</i>	<i>ṭima</i>
<i>mi?</i>	<i>kup</i>	<i>mik'al-t-il</i>	<i>ṭima</i>
2SG.AGT	sister's.son	around-INTR-MPSV	self

“‘And from there, sister’s son, floating to the north, you **will make your way around.**”

(56) is an elicited example showing *ṭima* used with a first person singular argument.

miʔ *kup* *ʔičyí:lop* *k'awlátm* *ʔima*
miʔ *kup* *ič-y-il=op* *k'aw-lám* *ʔima*
 2SG.AGT sister's.son JXT-PROG-MPSV=when **light-INCH** **self**

ʔiy *ʔimeymil* *piláta* *hulk'óʔi*
 =ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *pilát=q* *hulk'óʔi*
 =HSY1 say=FIN sun=PAT Coyote

“And when you are near this place again which I showed you, sister’s son, **it is to begin to become light**”, Coyote said to the sun.’

6.1.9. Kinship Possessive Pronominal Prefixes

Table 12 summarizes the Yuki kinship possessive pronominal prefixes and pronouns.

	Singular	Plural
First Person	<i>ʔam-</i> , <i>ʔi(t)-</i> , <i>ʔin-</i>	<i>miʔq- ~ miyq-</i>
Second Person	<i>mis-</i>	<i>moʔosiyát</i>
Third Person	<i>kim-</i> , <i>kiʔat</i>	<i>kimasat</i>

Table 12: Yuki Kinship Possessive Prefixes and Pronouns

Possession of kinship terms is shown by pronominal possessive prefixes in the singular that are different from the singular dative pronouns used to show possession of other types of nouns. For first person plural, a possessive prefix which may be a reduced form of the first person plural inclusive dative pronoun *miʔat ~ miyát* is used for kinship terms. For second and third person plural, the regular dative pronouns are used as possessives.

Sawyer and Schlichter (1984) refer to these kinship possessives as inalienable pronouns and all other possessive pronouns as alienable. Kinship terms often do occur with a possessor, but can also occur unpossessed both in the texts and in elicitation in the Logan recording. Kinship terms are different from other nouns, because of the unique possessive morphology used for them.

(58) and (59) are examples of kinship terms used without possessive prefixes.

(58) Coyote and the World: 282, RM

sáʔey *ʔátéy* *káṭa* **kup** *šuʔhinik* *yí:čmah*
sá=ʔi *ʔaṭi* *kaṭa* **kup** *šuʔ-h-nik* *yičmah*
 SAME=HSY1 a.while here **sister's.son** sit/stay-DUR-NEC for.a.while

hánkil *kó:mil*
han=k'il *koʔ=mił*
 house=TERM go=FIN

“And for a while [you must] stay here, **sister's son**; for a little I am going home;”

(59) Coyote and the World: 347, RM

sąkitéy *ʔatą* *mi:š* *wačísimil*
są=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔatą* *miš* *wačʔ-s=mił*
 SAME=then=HSY1 too road teach-CAUS?=FIN

laš'áwola *kaṭá(w)pis* *mí:* **kup** *ʔonk'olámwit*
laš'awol'=q *kaṭa=pis* *miʔ* **kup** *ʔonk'ol-am=wił*
 moon=PAT here=ABL 2SG.AGT **sister's.son** east-NOML=ALL

kó:tampaʔ
koʔ-t-m-paʔ
 go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

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

The examples below show kinship prefixes in use. (60) - (62) show the first person singular kinship prefixes *ʔam-*, *ʔi(t)-*, *ʔin-*. These prefixes do not differ in meaning and each seems to be associated with particular kinship terms.

(60) Origins: 145, RM

seʔey *míʔ* *ʔaŋk'i:kanʔ* *nanákhą*
si=ʔi *miʔ* *ʔam-k'ikanʔ* *nąnak-hą*
 NEW=HSY1 2SG.AGT 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother's.brother know-Q

kímilmil *ʔey* *ʔímeymil*.
ki=mil=mil =*ʔi* *ʔimi=mil*
 say-?=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN

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

- (61) Coyote and the World: 199, RM

sáʔey *kipáwkil* *kápt(i)* *ʔiymánʔ*
sá=ʔi *kipáw=kʔil* *kap-t* *ʔi-munʔ*
 SAME=HSY1 back=TERM enter-INTR **1SG.KIN.POSS-younger.sister**

ʔey *sá:kʔlik* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil*
ʔi *sakʔil=k* =*ʔi* *ʔimi=mil*
 1SG.PAT heavy=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN

‘And coming back in, “**My younger sister**, I cannot raise it”, she said.’

- (62) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:34, MF

ʔin-kʔič *ko:maʔ*
ʔin-kʔič *kom-aʔ*
1SG.KIN.POSS-older.brother come-IMP
 ‘Older brother (sister), come here!’¹⁴⁸

(63) and (64) are elicited examples of kinship terms with the second person singular prefix *mis-*.

- (63) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:245, MF

miskʔan
mis-kʔanʔ
 2SG.KIN.POSS-mother
 ‘your mother’

¹⁴⁸ *ʔin-* may be an allomorph of *ʔam-*. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:35) give an example *ʔin-kʔič* ~ *ʔan-kʔič* ‘Jesus (lit. (my) older brother)’ (AA) where these two forms of the first person singular kinship possessive prefix appear interchangeable.

- (64) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:245, AA

*mislan'**mis-lan'*

2SG.KIN.POSS-younger.brother

'your younger brother'

(65) shows the third person singular kinship prefix *kim-* in use.

- (65) Coyote and the World: 368, RM

*sikáʔéy**kɪŋk'ún'**lil há:mqkil**si=kq=ʔi**kim-k'un'**lil háʔ-mq-k-il*NEW=thereupon=HSY1 **DST.KIN.POSS-father** rock carry-DIR1-PNCT-MPSV*wítik**t'qláčtlmil**háwomin(i)k**wit=k**t'qt-laʔ-tl=mil**hawom-nik*

throw=DECL leg-break-TR=FIN daylight-NEC?

*ka míkílmítl(h)áʔ**hil ʔú:t'ismilim'**kaʔ mih-k-il=ʔimi-tl-(h)áʔ**hil ʔuʔ'-s=mil=im'*

PRX be-PNCT-MPSV-say-TR-Q all foolish-CONT?=FIN=where?

*ʔi:y ʔimeymil kɪŋk'ún'**=ʔi ʔimi=mil kim-k'un'*=HSY1 say=FIN **DST.KIN.POSS-father**

'Thereupon **his father** having picked up a stone and throwing it broke his leg. "There cannot be day! What makes you say so? You are altogether foolish!" said **his father**.'

Kroeber also records the distal demonstrative dative *kiʔat* used with a kinship term in an elicited example shown in (66). This does not occur in connected speech data, therefore the parameters determining whether *kim-* or *kiʔat* are used are unknown.

- (66) Kroeber 1901a:52, RM
kiʔat mu:n
kiʔ=qt mun
 DST=DAT younger.sister
 ‘his younger sister’

(67) and (68) show kinship terms with a first person plural possessor. The possessive prefix appears to be prefixed onto the kinship term and seems to be a slightly phonetically reduced form of the first person plural inclusive dative pronoun *miʔqt* ~ *miyqt*.

- (67) Origins: 15, RM
seʔey haʔye ki: miʔakʔúnʔ *kʔqkmí:li* *ʔey*
siʔi haʔʔaye kiʔ miʔq-kʔunʔ *kʔqkʔ-mq-il* *=ʔi*
 NEW=HSY1 now DST **1PL.KIN.POSS-father** exist-DIR1-MPSV =HSY1

ki *čʔoʔokšilóʔ* *ʔú:kʔop* *mikʔál* *taʔóhamwički:*
kiʔ *čʔoʔok=šiloʔ* *ʔukʔ=op* *=mikʔal* *taʔ-h-m-wiʔ=kiʔ*
 DST down.feather=like water=LAT =around flow-DUR-IMPV-FV-PST2=DST

ʔey *kʔi* *hiʔtmil.*
=ʔi *kiʔ* *hiʔ=mil*
 =HSY1 DST stop=FIN

‘Now that **our father** was about to come into existence, he who had been floating in a circle on the water like a down-feather stopped moving.’

- (68) Coyote and the World: 423, RM
namlíkí ʔey ki: méymil kímás kʔqkésinamlíkí
namlíkí =ʔi kiʔ mih=mil kimas kʔqkʔ-s=namlí=kiʔ
 therefore =HSY1 DST be=FIN thus exist-CAUS=DEP=DST

miyahkʔí:kanʔ
miʔq-kʔikanʔ
1PL.KIN.POSS-mother’s.brother

‘That is why it is thus, because he caused it to become so, **our mother’s brother**.’

Examples of a second person plural referent possessing a kinship term are not found in the texts. (69) shows an elicited example of this use.

- (69) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:245, MF
ki'i mo'osiyet k'a'anq nqwewe
ki? mo'osiyqt k'an'=q nqw-wi
 DST 2PL.DAT mother=PAT see-PST1
 'He saw **your mother.**'

(70) shows kinship terms with a third person distributive plural possessor.

- (70) Coyote and the World: 180, RM
si'ey kimášat k'unat kimášat
si=?i ki?-mas=qt k'un'=qt ki?-mas=qt
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR=DAT father=DAT DST-DSTR=DAT

k'á:nat ?ey nanákmil t'ól
k'an'=qt =?i nqnak=mil t'ol
mother=DAT =HSY1 know=FIN hair
 'Then **their fathers and mothers** knew the scalps.'

6.1.10. Oblique Pronominal Forms

Oblique forms of pronouns are formed by attaching the oblique case ending to the dative form of the pronoun, which is the same method used for forming oblique forms of human nouns¹⁴⁹.

In (71) *miyátk'il* 'toward us' is formed by adding the terminative case enclitic =*k'il* to the first person inclusive plural dative pronoun *miyáq*.

- (71) Coyote and the World: 119, RM
se hánkil kó'olítyi ?ey ?'iyinom'
si han=k'il ko'-lit-y =?i ?'iyi-nom'
 NEW house=TERM go-DIR2-PROG =HSY1 what=people/tribe

¹⁴⁹ See §5.4.1.

miyq:tk'il *múna?* *kó:yik* *ʔey* *ʔimeymil* *k'ó'il*
mi=qt=k'il *muna?* *ko?-y=k* =*ʔi* *ʔimi=mil* *k'o'íl*
1PL.INCL=DAT=TERM many go-PROG=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Wailaki
 'Then as they were approaching the houses, the Wailaki said, "Some people are going **toward us** in numbers".'

Oblique third person forms referring to non-humans are based on *kiʔ* and those referring to humans are based on the distal demonstrative dative pronoun *kiʔat*, as discussed in §6.1.6. Oblique third person forms based on *kipat* have not been observed. In (72), *kiʔq:tap* 'on him' is formed by attaching the lative case enclitic =*ap* to the distal demonstrative dative form *kiʔat*, forming *kiʔq:tap* 'on him'.

(72) Origins: 34, RM

sopéy *kíta* *hulk'o'í* ***kiʔq:tap*** *pántlilmil*.
sop=ʔi *kíta* *hulk'o'í* ***kiʔ=qt=ap*** *pan-tl-il=mil*
 but=HSY1 there Coyote **DST=DAT=LAT** hang-TR-MPSV=FIN
 'And because of that Coyote hung himself **on him**.'

(73) is an example of a pronominal oblique referring to an inanimate noun *han* 'house'. In this case the terminative case enclitic =*k'il* is attached directly onto the distal demonstrative *kiʔ*, forming the oblique *kí:k'il* 'toward it'. This is the same method used for forming oblique forms of inanimate or non-human nouns.

(73) Coyote and the World: 295, RM

sé'ey *hánkíl* *kayit* *nənáka* *ʔey*
si=ʔi *han=k'il* *kayit* *nənak=kaʔ* =*ʔi*
 NEW=HSY1 house=TERM long.ago know=PRX? =HSY1

humás ***kí:k'il*** *kómmil*
huməs ***kiʔ=k'il*** *kom=mil*
 straight/correct **DST=TERM** come=FIN
 'And already knowing the house, he came straight **toward it**.'

6.1.11. Interrogative Pronouns

Pronoun	Source
<i>həymas</i> ‘how’	Origins: 4
<i>həymas</i> ~ <i>haymas</i> ‘how much, how many’	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:108
<i>həy</i> ‘what’	Kroeber 1911:367
[?] <i>iyi</i> ‘what’	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:234
[?] <i>iyiki</i> ‘what (there)’	Coyote and the World: 308
[?] <i>iyon</i> ‘what’	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:234
[?] <i>i:win</i> ~ [?] <i>iyəwan</i> ~ [?] <i>iyowan</i> ‘when’	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:235
[?] <i>im</i> ‘where’	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:235
<i>məy</i> ’ ~ <i>məy</i> ~ <i>moy</i> ‘who’	Coyote and the World: 122
<i>məyq</i> ‘who=PAT’	Coyote and the World: 52
<i>məyet</i> ‘whose’ (who=DAT)	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:236
[?] <i>iyup</i> ‘why’	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:237
<i>sumuč</i> ‘why don’t (you)... (impolite)’	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:237

Table 13: Yuki Interrogative Pronouns¹⁵⁰

Attested Yuki interrogative pronouns are shown in Table 13. As at least certain noun case endings can be added to these pronouns, there are most likely other interrogative pronouns in Yuki in addition to those shown in the table.

(74) shows an example of *həymas* ‘how’ and (75) shows an example of *həymas* ‘how many’.

(74) Origins: 4, RM

<i>se[?]ey</i>	[?] <i>imeymil</i>	<i>hulk’ó[?]i</i>	[?] <i>im</i>	<i>həymas</i>	<i>kí</i>	<i>mí:há[?]lk</i>
<i>si=[?]i</i>	[?] <i>imi=mil</i>	<i>hulk’ó[?]i</i>	[?] <i>im</i>	<i>həymas</i>	<i>ki[?]</i>	<i>mih=həl=k</i>
NEW=HSY1	say=FIN	Coyote	?	how	DST	be=INFR1?=DECL

həymás *nəwihá[?]lk.*

həymas *nəw=həl=k*

how see=INFR1?=DECL

‘Then Coyote said, “**How** can he be there? **How** can he see?”’

¹⁵⁰ Interrogative pronouns attributed to Kroeber 1911 or Sawyer and Schlichter 1984 are not found in the texts in this volume and are given without sentence examples in these two sources.

- (75) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:108, AA
 ?al **haymas** me? ha?ha?
 ?al **həymas** mi? ha?-ha?
 stick **how.many** 2SG.AGT carry-Q
 ‘How many sticks do you have?’

The difference between *hay* ‘what’, *?iyi* ‘what’, and *?iyon* ‘what’ is not completely clear, as *hay* and *?iyon* are known only from Kroeber’s (1911:367) report of these forms. In his list of Yuki interrogative pronouns, while glossing *hay* as ‘what?’, he glosses *?iyi* and *?iyon* as ‘what? something’. (76) shows an example of *?iyi* ‘what’.

- (76) Coyote and the World: 16, RM
 se?éy ?i:**yi** ?əp hoyyímeyha ?ey ?ímeymil.
 si=?i ?**iyi** ?əp hoy=?imi-ha =?i ?imi=mil
 NEW=HSY1 **what** 1SG.AGT too-say-Q =HSY1 say=FIN
 “**What** am I telling about?” he said.’

?iyi ‘what’ can also be made to ask a more particular question by adding the inessive case ending =*ki*, as in *?iyiki* ‘what (there)’, as shown in (77) and (78).

- (77) se?éy hulk’ó?i híl(i)kšiló? kúpik’il ?i:**yiki**
 si=?i hulk’o?i hilkšilo? kup=k’il ?**iyi=ki**
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote everything point=TERM? **what=IN**
- pánha? ?ey ?ímismil
 pan-ha? =?i ?imi-s=mil
 hang-Q =HSY1 say-CONT?=FIN
 ‘Pointing at everything, Coyote said, “**What** is that hanging?”’

- (78) Coyote and the World: 308, RM
 símey?ey ší’am wík’am ?i:**yfki**
 si=mi=?i ší’am wik’-əm ?**iyi=ki**
 NEW=then=HSY1 after.a.while rear?-IN2 **what=IN**

kiŋki *pánhaʔ* *ʔeyy* *ʔímeymil* *hulkʔoʔi*
kimʔ=ki *pan-haʔ* =ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *hulkʔoʔi*
 over.there=IN hang-Q =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
 ‘So after a time, “At the rear of the house, **what** is that hanging there?” asked Coyote.’

ʔiyi can also be used as a modifier meaning ‘some’ or ‘some kind’ in words like ʔeyyínom’ ‘some tribe’ (ʔiyi ‘what’ + nom’ ‘people, tribe’), as shown in (79).

- (79) Coyote and the World: 96, RM
- | | | | |
|--------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| <i>seʔéy</i> | ʔeyyínomʔ | <i>miyqtkilʔ</i> | <i>ko:lítíyk</i> |
| <i>si=ʔi</i> | ʔiyi-nomʔ | <i>mi=qt=kʔil</i> | <i>koʔ-lit-y=k</i> |
- NEW=HSY1 **what-people/tribe** 1PL.INCL=DAT=TERM go-DIR2-PROG=DECL

ʔey *ʔimqílilmil* *kʔóʔil*
 =ʔi *ʔimi-mq-l-il=mil* *kʔóʔil*
 =HSY1 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN Wailaki
 ‘And the Wailaki said to one another, “People of **some tribe** are coming toward us”.’

(80) shows an example of ʔiyawan ‘when’.

- (80) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 235, MF
- | | | |
|----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| ʔiyawan | <i>meʔ (~miʔ)</i> | <i>koʔotpaʔamha</i> |
| ʔiyawan | <i>miʔ</i> | <i>koʔ-t-paʔam-ha</i> |
- when** 2SG.AGT go-INTR-FUT-Q
 ‘**When** are you going?’

(81) shows an example of ʔim ‘where’.

- (81) Coyote and the World: 19, RM
- | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|-------------|
| ʔim | <i>ki:</i> | <i>yim</i> | <i>čiyi:mílamha</i> | <i>kup</i> | <i>ʔi:y</i> |
| ʔim | <i>kiʔ</i> | <i>yim</i> | <i>čiy-mq-il-m-ha</i> | <i>kup</i> | =ʔi |
- where** DST fire glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-Q sister’s.son =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi

ʔimi=mil hulk'óʔi

say=FIN Coyote

“**Where** does that fire gleam at times, sister’s son?” said Coyote.’

(82) shows an example of *mąy* ‘who’.

(82) Coyote and the World: 122 (excerpt), RM

mąy	<i>ʔiwop</i>	<i>mihtan</i>	<i>ʔi:</i>	<i>yáwmil</i>	<i>ho:ʔ</i>	<i>nó:p</i>
mąy’	<i>ʔiwop</i>	<i>mih-tan</i>	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>yqw=mil</i>	<i>hoʔ</i>	<i>noʔ=op?</i>
who/someone	man	be-NEG	1SG.PAT	name/call=FIN	large	live=while?

han ʔap kó:mil ʔi:y ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi

han ʔap koʔ=mil =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulk'óʔi

but 1SG.AGT go=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

k'óʔolk'ánaʔok

koʔol-k'ąn=qʔ-ok

Wailaki.PL-language/word=PAT?-INST

‘...“**Who** is a man? There is no one I name, but I come where many live”, said Coyote speaking Wailaki.’

mąy ‘who’ can be inflected for patient and dative case suggesting it bears the same role in questions as other pronouns do in statements. For example, as shown in (83), the response given to the question *mąyq ʔohi:š* ‘who is swift’, which contains a patient-marked question word¹⁵¹ *mąyq* ‘who=PAT’ is *pąwką* ‘one in particular’ (‘one=PAT’).

(83) Coyote and the World: 52, RM

<i>sópey</i>	mąyq	<i>ʔohi:š</i>	<i>milimáʔ</i>	<i>pąwką</i>	<i>ʔeyy</i>
<i>sop=ʔi</i>	mąy’=q	<i>ʔohiš</i>	<i>milimaʔ</i>	<i>pąwką</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
but=HSY1	who/someone=PAT	swift	nobody.I.think	one.PAT	=HSY1

¹⁵¹ See §5.3.2 for discussion of grammatical patients and other core argument types.

?ohi:šammil ?eyy ?imeymil hulk'o'i
 ?ohiš-m=mil =?i ?imi=mil hulk'o'i
 swift-IMPV=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
 'Then, "**Who** is swift? I think I alone am a swift one", said Coyote.'

(84) shows an example of *mąyet* 'whose', which is the dative-marked form of *mąy* 'who'.

- (84) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 237, MF
- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>mąyet</i> | <i>kite ke me:ha</i> |
| <i>mąy'=qt</i> | <i>ki?i ki? mih-ha</i> |
| who/someone=DAT | cat DST be-Q |
- '**Whose** cat is that?'

(85) shows an example of *?iyup* 'why'.

- (85) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 237, AA
- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>?iyup me?</i> | <i>ki matlha</i> |
| <i>?iyup mi?</i> | <i>ki? mat-tl?-ha</i> |
| why | 2SG.AGT DST do-TR?-Q |
- '**Why** did you do that?'

(86) shows an example of *sumuč* 'why don't (you)...', which Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:237) list as being impolite.

- (86) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 237, AA
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>sumuč kima:se</i> | <i>han ko? ʔqltele(k)</i> |
| <i>sumuč ki?-mas-i</i> | <i>han ko? ʔql-t-l=k</i> |
| why | DST-DSTR-ANIM house go NEG-INTR-MPSV=DECL |
- '**Why** don't they go home?'

6.2. Pronouns in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

This section describes the pronouns and pronoun morphology of Huchnom and Coast Yuki.

6.2.1. Personal Pronouns

Table 14 compares Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki personal pronouns. Huchnom and Coast Yuki third person personal pronouns, just as in Yuki, can also be used as demonstratives. Lamb's (1955) elicited Huchnom material shows more frequent use of proximal *ka*² as a third person pronoun than the Yuki material. An inclusive/exclusive is made for first person plural pronouns in Yuki and Huchnom, and there is evidence that such a distinction may have also existed in Coast Yuki.

All three languages distinguish agent and patient pronouns. Yuki and Coast Yuki dative pronouns are documented. The existence of dative pronouns in Huchnom can only be inferred from oblique pronominal forms. In Yuki such oblique pronouns are formed by attaching the case ending to a dative pronoun. Similarly, in Huchnom *'ehkil* 'towards me' and *'ehpis* 'away from me', the case ending appears to be affixed to a pronoun *'eh* ~ *'eh*, which is different than the Huchnom first person singular agent pronoun *epe* ~ *επε:*.

	Yuki	Huchnom	Coast Yuki
1SG.AGT	ʔap	ʔepe ~ επε:	ʔébbæ ~ ʔépe ~ ʔa:-
1SG.PAT	ʔi	ʔi:	ʔi ~ -y
1SG.DAT	ʔit		
2SG.AGT	miʔ	me ~ mεʔ	míʔ
2SG.PAT	mis	mis	mis ~ -s (?)
2SG.DAT	mit		miʔat
3SG.AGT	kiʔ (DST), kaʔ (PRX)	keʔ, ka	ki (DST), ka (PRX)
3SG.PAT	kiʔq (DST)	keʔq, kaʔa	kiʔe
3SG.DAT	kipqʔ (3R)		kiʔeʔat ¹⁵²
DST=DAT	kiʔqt		
PRX=DAT	kaʔqt		
1PL.INCL.AGT	mi	mi:	
1PL.INCL.PAT	miyq		
1PL.INCL.DAT	miyqt		míʔet
1PL.EXCL.AGT	ʔus	ʔus	ʔô-ʂ ~ ʔu:s
1PL.EXCL.PAT	ʔusq		
1PL.EXCL.DAT	ʔusqt		
2PL.AGT	moʔos	mó, mεʔ kanε	moʔs
2PL.PAT	moʔosiyq		
2PL.DAT	moʔosiyqt		móʔseʔat
3PL.AGT	kimasi (animate)	mase	má:se
3PL.PAT	kimasq		
3PL.DAT	kimasqt		

Table 14: Northern Yuki Pronouns¹⁵³ (Huchnom: Lamb 1955, Kroeber 1901/1903/1908:9, Coast Yuki: Harrington 1942-1943:373-375, Kroeber 1902c:71, 72, 97h)

¹⁵² Translated as 'him' by Kroeber, but appears similar to Yuki fourth person *kiʔat*. It is not clear from context whether Coast Yuki *kiʔeʔat* is anything other than a third person dative pronoun. See (95) for an elicited clause containing *kiʔeʔat*.

¹⁵³ Gaps in the paradigm indicate the absence of a documented form, but do not imply that this form did not exist.

6.2.1.1. Huchnom

Huchnom personal pronouns show most of the same characteristics as Yuki pronouns. In elicited examples the agent/patient distinction is seen, as shown in (87), where first person agent *ʔepeʔ* contrasts with first person patient *ʔiʔ*.

(87a) Lamb 1955:81, LJ
kε ʔiʔ čaniyλ
 DST **1SG.PAT** gave.it
 'he gave it to **me**'

(87b) Lamb 1955:81, LJ
ʔepeʔ čaniyλ
1SG.AGT gave.it
 'I gave it to him'

Huchnom dative pronouns are poorly documented. In (88), the oblique first person forms *ʔehkilʔ* 'towards me' and *ʔehpɪs* 'away from me' are formed from *ʔeh ~ ʔeh*.

(88a) Lamb 1955:79, LJ
mɔyʔ ka koʔyiki ʔehkilʔ
mɔyʔ kaʔ koʔyiki ʔeh=kɪlʔ
 somebody PRX coming **me=towards**
 'somebody coming **towards me**'

(88b) Lamb 1955:79, LJ
ʔehpɪs koʔtike
ʔeh=pɪs koʔtike
me=away.from going
 'going **away from me**'

An inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural pronouns is not documented, but its existence can be inferred from several elicited forms. Lamb's (1955) collection of elicited Huchnom material does not contain very many examples of the first person plural pronoun in use, and the incomplete lists of Huchnom pronouns

available in field notes (Lamb 1955:30, Kroeber 1901/1903/1908:9) give the form ^ʔus ‘we’. This would appear analogous to Yuki first person plural exclusive agent ^ʔus.

In several elicited examples, shown in (89) and (90), another form, *mi:*, is seen. This would be analogous to first person inclusive agent *mi* in Yuki. The uses in both of these examples are hortative, ‘let’s go’ and ‘let’s swim’, which seems like a natural environment for the use of an inclusive pronoun. An inclusive meaning ‘you and me, let’s go’ is much more logical in this circumstance than an exclusive meaning ‘me and the rest of us, but not you, let’s go!’

- (89) Lamb 1955:56, LJ
han mi: mikʼalisaʔ
 house **1PL.INCL** go.around.IMP
 ‘let’s go around the house’

- (90) Lamb 1955:66, LJ
kɔ:maʔ mi: kʼɛ:sinʔ
 come.IMP **1PL.INCL** swim.IMP?
 ‘come on, let’s swim’

Examples of Huchnom pronouns in short clauses are shown in (91) and (92). Two intransitive clauses with agent arguments are shown in (91).

- (91a) Lamb 1955:73, LJ
kɛʔ kɔ:mikiʔ
DST coming
 ‘**he** is coming’

- (91b) Lamb 1955:73, LJ
ɛpɛ pɔʔkɔ kɔʔyɔ:
1SG.AGT alone went
 ‘**I** went alone.’

Examples of two-argument clauses are shown in (92). Note the use of the patient arguments as recipients.

- (92a) Lamb 1955:81, LJ
h_ɬ[?]wiše:[?] ʔača:niya^ʔ ke[?]ɬ:
h_ɬ[?]wiše:[?] ʔa=ča:niya^ʔ ke[?]ɬ:
 dog 1SG.AGT=gave **DST.PAT**
 ‘I gave **him** that dog.’

- (92b) Lamb 1955:81, LJ
h_ɬ[?]wiše: ʔi ke[?] ča:niya^ʔ
 dog **1SG.PAT** DST gave
 ‘he gave **me** dog’

6.2.1.2. Coast Yuki

Coast Yuki distinguishes most or all of the same categories for personal pronouns as Yuki and Huchnom. Due to a paucity of data the full paradigm for agent, patient, and dative pronouns is not known. However, the fact that this distinction was made can be seen when comparing clauses like (93) and (94)¹⁵⁴.

In (93), the first person singular agent pronoun *ʔébbæ* ~ *ʔépe* appears phonetically reduced as *ʔa*- preceding the verb root *mi*- ‘drink’.

- (93) Harrington 1942-1943:386, LP
ʔó:k’ ʔa·mínnæ[?]
ʔó:k’ ʔa’=mínnæ[?]
 water **1SG.AGT**=going.to.drink
 ‘I am g[oin] to drink water’

In (94), the first person singular patient pronoun *ʔi* appears as =y in *dí‘day* ‘I am sick in bed’. Also, note the absence of =y in the third person form *dí‘dæ[?]* ‘he is sick’, which shows that =y is marking first person in *dí‘day* ‘I am sick in bed’. See §15.7.1.2 for a possible example of encliticization of the second person singular patient pronoun onto a verb in Coast Yuki.

- (94) Harrington 1942-1943:387, LP
dí‘day ‘I am sick in bed’
dí‘dæ[?] ‘he is sick’

¹⁵⁴ For additional discussion of Coast Yuki argument structure see §5.11.2.1.

Dative pronouns are shown in (95). In this example, *ham-* ‘like’ does not take an agent argument. The actor for this verb is a patient and experiencers are marked as datives. In these examples the dative pronouns are given in bold and patient pronouns are underlined. *-a-* in some pronouns, such as *miʔatay* ‘2SG.DAT=1SG.PAT’, is most likely an epenthetic vowel.

(95) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB

<i>miʔatay</i>	<i>ham</i>	‘I like you ’
<i>kiʔeʔatay</i>	<i>ham</i>	‘I like him ’
<i>móʔseʔatay</i>	<i>hám</i>	‘I like ye ’
<i>miʔat</i>	<i>kiʔe hám</i>	‘ he likes you ’

Kroeber (1902c:72) translates Coast Yuki *ki* as ‘he’, but also as ‘that one’ and *ka* as ‘that one (here)’, which suggests that *ki* and *ka* were used as pronouns and also as demonstratives, as in Yuki and Huchnom. No elicited examples exist definitely showing a noun occurring with a demonstrative. In the available Coast Yuki data *ki* and *ka* are only found functioning as pronouns.

In (96), distal *kʻiʔ* is acting as a third person pronoun ‘that fellow’, and in (97), proximal *kʻáw* is also acting as a third person pronoun.

(96) Harrington 1942-1943:316, LP

tʻóʔoʔl kʻiʔ meheʔ
 boss **DST** is
 ‘**that fellow** is a boss’

(97) Harrington 1942-1943: 382-383, LP

kʻáw méhhæʔ
PRX is
 ‘**this** here, **it** is here’

Elicited data show that Coast Yuki did distinguish two types of first person plural pronouns. Only a single type of agent pronoun is found in elicited data: *ʔu:s* elicited by Kroeber and *ʔô:ʂ* elicited by Harrington are both glossed as ‘we’ in the original notes. However, Kroeber (1902c:97h) elicited an additional type of first personal plural form *míʔet* ‘our’ (SS), which resembles the Yuki and Huchnom first person plural inclusive series of pronouns. No clauses exist containing Coast Yuki *míʔet* ‘our’, therefore its

function relative to $\text{ʔúʂæ}^{\text{'t}}$ ‘our’ is not known for certain. The similarity to Yuki and Huchnom inclusive and exclusive pronouns, respectively, is highly suggestive that the same type of distinction probably also existed in Coast Yuki.

6.2.2. Possessive Pronouns

Due to a lack of documentation, it is unknown whether, as in Yuki, dative and possessive pronouns were mostly identical also in Huchnom and Coast Yuki. Therefore they are presented separately in this section. The pronouns used to show possession in the Northern Yukian languages are compared in Table 15. Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki kinship possessive prefixes are discussed respectively in §6.1.9, §5.11.1.4, and §5.11.2.5.

	Yuki	Huchnom	Coast Yuki
1SG	ʔitin	$\text{ʔéte} \sim \text{ε̄ε̄}$	$\text{ʔíḍḍæ}^{\text{'}} \sim \text{ʔíte}$
2SG	mit	$\text{me}^{\text{'}}$	$\text{míḍḍæ}^{\text{'}} \sim \text{míte}$
3SG	kipqt	ká:	$\text{k'íʔæ}^{\text{'t}}\text{ʔl'α}, \text{k'íʔæ}^{\text{'t}} \sim \text{kí'et}$ (DST) $\text{k'á'α}^{\text{'t}}\text{ʔl'α}, \text{k'á'α}^{\text{'t}} \sim \text{ká'at}$ (PRX)
1PL	miyqt (inclusive)		mí'et ‘our’
1PL	ʔusqt (exclusive)	ʔúsa	$\text{ʔúʂæ}^{\text{'t}}\text{ʔl'α}, \text{ʔúʂæ}^{\text{'t}}$ ‘our’
2PL	$\text{mo}^{\text{'}}\text{osiyqt}$		$\text{mó}^{\text{'}}\text{sæ}^{\text{'t}}\text{ʔl'α}, \text{mó}^{\text{'}}\text{ʂt'illα}, \text{mó}^{\text{'}}\text{sæ}^{\text{'t}}$
3PL	kimasqt		$\text{má}^{\text{'}}\text{sæ}^{\text{'t}}\text{ʔl'α}, \text{má}^{\text{'}}\text{ʂt'illα}, \text{má}^{\text{'}}\text{sæ}^{\text{'t}}$

Table 15: Northern Yukian Possessive Pronouns (Huchnom: Lamb 1955, Kroeber 1901/1903/1908:9, Coast Yuki: Harrington 1942-1943:133, 152, Kroeber 1902c:97h)

6.2.2.1. Huchnom

Few examples exist of Huchnom possessive pronouns. (98) shows examples of these pronouns with *han* ‘house’.

- (98) Kroeber 1901/1903/1908:9, LH
- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| éte han | ‘my house’ |
| ká: han | ‘his house’ |
| $\text{me}^{\text{'}} han$ | ‘your house’ |
| ʔúsa han | ‘our house’ |

6.2.2.2. Coast Yuki

Coast Yuki possessive pronouns appear similar to those used in Yuki. The main difference is that all possessive pronouns, except those used for first person singular and second person singular, have a longer form ending in *-t'il'α*. No clear cognate form is known in Yuki or Huchnom¹⁵⁵. Harrington (1942-1943:133) also notes that first and second person singular forms with this affix are not possible, stating that one “can’t add *-t'il'α* to my or s[ingular] yours.” There also existed a long and short form for the possessive interrogative pronoun: *ʔéʔe't' hént'əl*, *ʔéʔe't'ɪ'l'æ hént'əl* ‘**whose** nose’.

The difference in meaning between long and short possessive pronoun forms is unknown and Harrington makes no mention of any difference in meaning between forms. It is also unclear whether both forms could be used with all nouns or whether there existed some type of other division.

Examples of Coast Yuki possessive pronouns used with different nouns are shown in (99) - (101).

(99) Harrington 1942-1943:133, LP

<i>ʔíq̄q̄æʔ</i> <i>hént'əl</i>	‘my nose’
<i>míq̄q̄æʔ</i> <i>hént'əl</i>	‘your nose (sg.)’
<i>k'íʔæ't'ɪ'l'α</i> <i>hént'əl</i> , <i>k'íʔæ't'</i> <i>hént'əl</i>	‘his nose, that fellow’s nose’
<i>ʔóʂæ't'ɪ'l'α</i> <i>hént'əl</i> , <i>ʔóʂæ't'</i> <i>hént'əl</i>	‘our noses’
<i>k'áʔα't'ɪ'l'α</i> <i>hént'əl</i> , <i>k'áʔα't'</i> <i>hént'əl</i>	‘this one’s nose’
<i>móʔʂæ't'</i> <i>hént'əl</i> , <i>móʔsæ't'ɪ'l'α</i> <i>hént'əl</i>	‘yer noses’
<i>máʂæ't'</i> <i>hént'əl</i> , <i>máʂt'ɪ'l'α</i> <i>hént'əl</i> , <i>máʂæ't'ɪ'l'α</i> <i>hént'əl</i>	‘their noses’

(100) Harrington 1942-1943:258, LP

<i>gô·d̄d̄žæʔ</i>	‘hog’
<i>ʔíq̄q̄æ</i> <i>gó·d̄d̄žæʔ</i>	‘my hog’
<i>míq̄q̄æ</i> <i>gó·d̄d̄žæʔ</i>	‘your (sg.) hog’
<i>ʔóʂæ'tt'ɪ'llα</i> <i>gó·d̄d̄žæʔ</i>	‘our pig [hog]’
<i>móʔʂt'fllα</i> <i>gó·d̄d̄žæʔ</i>	‘yer pig’

¹⁵⁵ One possible connection could be to Yuki *ʔima* ‘self’. Coast Yuki *-ɪ'l'α* or *-t'ɪ'l'α* might be emphasizing the possession of the noun by the possessor in some way, though this is pure conjecture as no such practice is observed in Yuki.

- (101) Harrington 1942-1943: 286, LP
- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>hên</i> | ‘house’ |
| <i>ʔíq̄q̄æ hên</i> | ‘ my house’ |
| <i>kʻíyyæʻ tʻíʻllα hên</i> | ‘that’s his house’ |
| <i>ʔʊ̄sæʻtʻíllα hên</i> | ‘that’s our house’ |
| <i>moʻsæʻttʻíllα hên</i> | ‘it is yer house’ |

(102) shows a short clause¹⁵⁶ containing the possessive pronoun *mí:te* ‘your’.

- (102) Kroeber 1902c:97h, SS
- | |
|----------------------------------|
| <i>molme mí:te hewšet mehe</i> |
| three your dog be |
| ‘I [you?] have 3 dogs.’ |

Coast Yuki also distinguishes two types of first person plural possessive pronouns *míʻet* ‘our’ and *ʔʊ̄sæʻtʻí, ʔʊ̄sæʻtʻíʻllʻa* ‘our’. The difference between these two forms is not known, but they resemble, respectively, the inclusive and exclusive first person series of pronouns distinguished in Yuki and Huchnom.

¹⁵⁶ While Kroeber’s original free translation appears with the example, given the meaning of each individual word, the translation of this clause must be ‘You have three dogs.’

6.2.3. Interrogative Pronouns

The Northern Yukian interrogative pronouns are compared in Table 16.

Yuki	Huchnom	Coast Yuki
<i>haymás</i> ‘how, how much, how many’	<i>haymas</i> ~ <i>hɔ́ymas</i> ‘how, how many’	
<i>həy</i> ‘what’	<i>hɔ́y</i> ‘what’	
ʔ <i>iyi</i> ‘what’		ʔ <i>igə́</i> ‘what’
ʔ <i>iyiki</i> ‘what (is) that’		
ʔ <i>twin</i> ~ ʔ <i>iyəwan</i> ~ ʔ <i>yowan</i> ‘when’	ʔ <i>iyəwɪn</i> ‘when’	
ʔ <i>im</i> ‘where’	ʔ <i>e:m</i> ~ ʔ <i>e:mʔm̩</i> ‘where’	ʔ <i>ən</i> ‘where’
	ʔ <i>e:m</i> ‘kil’ ‘to where’	
	ʔ <i>e:m</i> ‘pɪs’ ‘from where’	
<i>məy</i> ‘who’	<i>məy</i> ‘who’	
	<i>məy</i> ‘k’a’ ‘who (is) this?’	
<i>məyq</i> ‘who=PAT’		ʔ <i>ə</i> ‘ ‘who’
<i>məyet</i> ‘whose’ (who=DAT)		ʔ <i>é</i> ‘e’ <i>t</i> , ʔ <i>é</i> ‘e’ <i>t</i> ’ <i>l</i> ’ <i>ə</i> ‘whose’
ʔ <i>iyup</i> ‘why’		

Table 16: Northern Yukian Interrogative Pronouns (Huchnom: Lamb 1955, Coast Yuki: Harrington 1942-1943:133, 390, 397)

6.2.3.1. Huchnom

Huchnom interrogative pronouns appear to be similar or effectively the same as those in Yuki. The examples below show Huchnom interrogative pronouns in elicited examples. Examples of *haymas* ‘how, how many’ are shown in (103) - (105).

(103) Lamb 1955:52, LJ

haymas *mis* *yɔw’ə* ‘**what**’s your name?’ [Probably: ‘**How** are you called?’]

(104) Lamb 1955:112, LJ

haymas *ona’ka’* *meh’q* ‘**how** old is this one?’

- (105) Lamb 1955:154, LJ
hʌ ymas mu:spe:ʔ mehʔʌʰ ‘**how many** girls?’

An example of *hʌy* ‘what’ is shown in (106).

- (106) Lamb 1955:119, LJ
hʌy ʔimiyʌ: ‘**what** he say?’

ʔiyəwɪn ‘when?’ is shown elicited as a single word in (107) and (108).

- (107) Lamb 1955:41, LJ
ʔiyəwɪn ‘when?’

- (108) Lamb 1955:72, LJ
ʔiyəwən ‘when’

Examples of *ʔe:m* ‘where’ are shown in (109).

- (109) Lamb 1955:41-2, LJ
ʔe:mʔŋ ‘where?’
ʔe:mʔ keʔ mehʔʌ ‘**where** is he?’
ʔe:mʔ meʔ mehʔa ‘**where** are you (sg.)?’

ʔe:m ‘where’ can also be affixed with locative case endings forming directional question words, as shown in (110).

- (110) Lamb 1955:103, LJ
ʔe:mʔkilʔ meʔ kʔoʔʌ ‘**(to) where** are you going?’
ʔe:mʔpɪs meʔ kɔma ‘**where** you coming **from**?’

An example of *mʌy* ‘who’ is shown in (111). (112) shows *mʌy* ‘who’ followed or affixed with the proximal demonstrative *kʔa*, forming the question *mʌyʔkʔa* ‘who’s this?’ This same process is seen in the Yuki question *ʔiyiki* ‘what (is) that’.

- (111) Lamb 1955:52, LJ
mʌyʔ mɪs yʌwahnna:lɪki ‘**who** named you?’

- (112) Lamb 1955:72, LJ
mɔy'k'a 'who's this?'

When not used as a question, *mɔy* 'who' can also be used as a pronoun meaning 'someone', as shown in (113).

- (113) Lamb 1955:57, LJ
hanpɪs mɔy' koʔtiki 'somebody going away from here'
hankil' *mɔy*'i koʔɔki 'somebody coming to the house'

6.2.3.2. Coast Yuki

Only a few examples exist of interrogative pronouns used in short clauses. These are shown in (114) and (115).

- (114) Harrington 1942-1943:390, LP
 ?*ɛn*' mɛ'lo' 'where is it?'
- (115) Harrington 1942-1943:397, LP
 ?*ɪgɛ* mækʔmɛlo' 'what are you (sg.) talking about?'

7. VERBS

This chapter describes the morphology of Yuki verbs. The discussion begins with an overview of the major characteristics of Yuki verb morphology and the verb template. The discussion is further divided into sections on inflectional and derivational morphology.

7.1. Overview

Yuki verbs are root-initial and, with the exception of the body prefixes discussed in §2.2.1.1 and §7.3.2, all inflectional and derivational verb morphology takes the form of suffixes or enclitics. The boundaries between morphemes in the verb are generally fairly clear phonologically, though some assimilation and allomorphy is present¹⁵⁷.

Verbs are suffixed with a rich collection of morphology indicating tense, aspect, mood, transitivity, negation, questions, evidentiality, and dependent clauses. The Yuki verb has a templatic structure: suffixes are attached to the root in a particular order relative to each other. Yuki shows no argument marking on the verb itself¹⁵⁸. Instead, arguments are referenced using switch-reference markers¹⁵⁹ and/or with actual noun or pronoun arguments.

7.2. Verb Template

The Yuki verb template is shown in Table 17. The template shows the order that verb morphology takes within a verb. All verb morphology, except for the body prefixes, follows the verb root and takes the form of either suffixes or enclitics. No verbs exist with all positions filled on the template. Most verbs have only a few slots filled on the template. Within serial verb constructions¹⁶⁰, verbs can occur as bare roots without any additional verb morphology.

¹⁵⁷ See Chapter 3 for further discussion of morphophonology.

¹⁵⁸ Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:12) note that in two circumstances personal pronouns act as clitics: “(1) If a sentence consists of only a verb and a patient pronoun, the pronoun is postponed to the verb; for example, *ša'tešte'ek'e* ‘I’m getting cold’ < *ša'tešte'ek* + *'i*. The pronoun is here intermediate between a word and a suffix... Compare, however, *ča'na 'i* ‘Give it to me!’, where the pronoun follows the verb but remains an independent word. (2) In the speech of Arthur Anderson, *'q̄p* ‘I’ sometimes becomes *'up*, its vowel being assimilated to an *u* in the following verb, for example, *kawaye 'up munhek* ‘I’m going to steal that horse.’ In this case, the pronoun could be considered prefixed to the verb.”

¹⁵⁹ See §14.1.

¹⁶⁰ See §15.10.4.

Body Prefixes	Root						I	II	III	IV	V	VI
<i>mi-</i> / <i>me-</i> 'belonging to the hand or foot'							<i>-lqm</i> inchoative	<i>-mq</i> , directional	<i>-h</i> durative	<i>-k</i> punctual	<i>-s</i> causative	<i>-t</i> intransitive
<i>nq-</i> 'belonging to the head'							<i>-kut</i> inceptive		<i>-y</i> progressive		<i>-s</i> continuative -iterative	<i>-tl</i> transitive
<i>nq-</i> / <i>nam-</i> 'belonging to the head or mouth'							<i>-n</i> andative					<i>-l</i> perfective
<i>hq-</i> / <i>ham-</i> unclear, perhaps 'to do with the senses'							<i>-lit</i> directional					
							<i>-q</i> ?					
							<i>-lim</i> ?					

VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
-il mediopassive	-qk semelfactive	-mil' past habitual	-iṭṭṇ negative	=mil finite	=ki' dependent clause marker
-(a)m imperfective		-law(h) permissive		=k declarative	
				-paʔ, -paʔam future (-paʔam occurs before -haʔ(?) in questions; =kop in adverbial clauses)	=(k)op, =kit, =kon, =ka adverbial clause markers
				-haʔ(?) interrogative	
				-aʔ(?) imperative	
				-mik necessitative	
				-han speculative	
				-wi past	
				-wiṭ(k) completed past	
				=hqli inferential evidential	
				-sik hearsay evidential	
				=namli dependent clause marker	

Table 17: Yuki Verb Template

Schlichter (1985:61) reconstructs six position classes for Proto-Northern Yukian (PNY)¹⁶¹, noting that there may well have been additional position classes in PNY. Kroeber (1911) describes the morphology and characteristics of the Yuki verb, but does not provide any information on the relative order of morphology attached to the verb root.

7.3. Verb Root and Body Prefixes

7.3.1. Verb Root

The verb root is usually monosyllabic and CVC¹⁶². Words of other word classes can function as verb roots when suffixed with verb morphology¹⁶³. Examples of this are shown in Table 18.

Non-Verb	Verb
<i>woknám</i> ‘initiation’ (OG:115a)	<i>woknámespaʔ</i> ‘(they) shall make initiation’ (OG:177b)
<i>kimás</i> ‘thus’ (CW:185)	<i>kimáseypa:mikí</i> ‘thus (they) would do’ (CW:36)
<i>tat</i> ‘good, well’ (CW:255)	<i>ta:táqilmil</i> ‘(he) made himself over’ (CW:255)

Table 18: Verbalized words of other word classes

Verb roots can be affixed with many types of derivational morphology to derive new meanings. For example, as shown in Table 19, the verb roots *kap-* ‘enter’ and *nəw-* ‘see’ can take on the following meanings depending on the verb morphology that has been affixed to the root.

¹⁶¹ Schlichter refers to her reconstruction as that of Proto-Yukian, however, as all of her data refer only to Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki, her term is changed to Proto-Northern Yukian here as this is the name used here to refer to this subgroup of Yukian, with Wappo forming the other subgroup of Yukian by itself.

¹⁶² See §2.4 for further discussion of Yuki root structure.

¹⁶³ The opposite process, by which verbs act as members of other word classes, is also possible, but is limited to nominalization. Verbs can act as nouns through the addition of the agentive/instrumental suffix *-(m)olʔ*. As in *šuʔ-* ‘sit, stay’ and *šuhol* ‘one who stays’ (CW:255). See §7.5.7 for further discussion.

kap- ‘enter’	nq̄w- ‘see (transitive)’
<i>kap-t-</i> ‘enter’ (CW: 316)	<i>nq̄w-t-</i> ‘look’ (intransitive) (CW:182a)
<i>kap-t-il-</i> ‘cause to enter’ (CW:97)	
<i>kap-s-</i> ‘bring in, take in’ (CW: 39)	<i>nq̄w-s-</i> ‘show’ (CW: 127)
<i>kap-s-il-</i> ‘enter’ (CW: 355)	

Table 19: Examples of derived meanings of verb roots

7.3.2. Body Prefixes

The ‘body prefixes’ are found in verbs and nouns. The meaning of these words relates to the part of the body described by the prefix. Thus *nq-* ‘belonging to the head or mouth’ occurs in *nq̄nákũč* ‘remembered’ and *ham-* ‘(perhaps) to do with the senses’ occurs in *hamlótu* ‘was hungry’. It is unknown whether the body prefixes were already fully incorporated into the verb root during the period in which Yuki was documented or whether these prefixes acted in any way as an independent component of the verb root, perhaps as a kind of classifier¹⁶⁴.

7.4. Inflectional Morphology

Yuki verb roots are suffixed with inflectional morphemes indicating tense, aspect, and mood.

7.4.1. Tense

Yuki verbs are marked minimally for tense. Two types of past tense are distinguished, *-wi* ‘past’ and *-wiṭ(k)* ‘completed past’, and also a future tense *-paʔ*. In the texts, the finite verb enclitic *=mil* is very common.

7.4.1.1. *=mil* finite

The function of *=mil* is described by Kroeber (1911:371) as: “The suffix *-mil* ... replaces the finite tense endings but is itself indefinite as to time, indicating merely that the verb to which it is added is the principal or finite verb of the sentence.”

=mil is ubiquitous in the many Yuki legends and myths recorded by Kroeber. *=mil* is also found throughout the Feather Dance Narrative, which appears to be a description

¹⁶⁴ See §2.2.1.1 for further discussion and other examples of the body prefixes.

by Ralph Moore of an event that he had actually witnessed, but perhaps without reference to a specific instance of witnessing this event.

In the free translation of the texts, verbs ending with =*mil* are usually translated in the past tense by Kroeber, as shown in the excerpt in (1).

(1) Coyote and the World: 403a, RM

<i>si'áy</i>	<i>haye</i>	<i>kimás</i>	hu'útlmil
<i>si=?i</i>	<i>hə'qye</i>	<i>ki'-mas</i>	hu'u'-tl=mil
NEW=HSY1	now	DST-DSTR	quit-TR=FIN

'So now he **completed** that.'

Coyote and the World: 403b

<i>sq'áy</i>	<i>haye</i>	<i>mipát</i>	<i>ʔu:k'ámnó:ma</i>	tatímil
<i>sq=?i</i>	<i>hə'qye</i>	<i>mipát</i>	<i>ʔuk'omnom'=q</i>	tat=mil
SAME=HSY1	now	hand	Ukomnom'=PAT	good/make=FIN

<i>kípat</i>	<i>šilóʔ</i>	<i>mipát</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	ʔá:t'ismil
<i>kip=qt</i>	<i>šiloʔ</i>	<i>mipát</i>	<i>=?i</i>	ʔat'-s=mil
3R=DAT	like	hand	=HSY1	fasten-CAUS=FIN

'And now he **made** the Yuki hands; like his own hands he **put** them on.'

Coyote and the World: 404

<i>simópey</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>sát'in</i>	kómmil	<i>hulk'óʔi</i>	<i>mípat</i>
<i>si-mop=?i</i>	<i>hə'qye</i>	<i>sát'in</i>	kom=mil	<i>hulk'óʔi</i>	<i>mípat</i>
NEW-but=HSY1	now	Lizard	come=FIN	Coyote	hand

<i>ʔaʔáta</i>	<i>kípat</i>	<i>šilósik</i>
<i>ʔaʔat=q</i>	<i>kip=qt</i>	<i>šiloʔ-s=k</i>
people=PAT	3R=DAT	like-CAUS=DECL

'But now Lizard **came** as Coyote was causing people's hands to resemble his own.'

The frequency of =*mil* in the texts stands in contrast its complete absence in past tense forms in elicited material. In the material elicited from Frank Logan by James Crawford and the material elicited from Minnie Fulwider by Roy Siniard, past tense forms given in English are never translated by the speakers into Yuki with a verb

ending in *=mil*. As shown in (2) - (6), if the past tense is overtly translated at all, the preferred past tense endings are *-wiṭ(k)* and *-wi ~ -u*.

- (2) Siniard 1967a:103, MF
sum kiʔ ya:šitwičk
sum kiʔ yqš-t-wiṭk
 yesterday DST **stand-INTR-PST2**
 'He **stood up** yesterday.'
- (3) Siniard 1967a:47, MF
sum ʔqp wotliwičk
sum ʔqp wok'-tl-wiṭk
 yesterday 1SG.AGT **dance/sing-TR-PST2**
 'I **danced** yesterday.'
- (4) Crawford 1953, FL
ʔqp k'o:tlilwuč¹⁶⁵
ʔqp k'o'-tl-il-wiṭ
 1SG.AGT **scratch-TR-MPSV-PST2**
 'I **scratched** myself.'
- (5) Crawford 1953, FL
ʔqp č'a:klitwit
ʔqp č'ak'-lit-wiṭ
 1SG.AGT **club-DIR2-PST2**
 'I **clubbed** it.'
- (6) Crawford 1953, FL
ʔqp hi:letu
ʔqp hil-t-wi
 1SG.AGT **open-INTR-PST1**
 'I **opened** it.'

It may be that there are other reasons contributing to the choice between *=mil* 'finite' and the past tense forms *-wiṭ* and *-wi ~ -u*, such as the way in which Yuki

¹⁶⁵ The root of *k'o:tlilwuč* may be the same as *k'o'*- 'be in.'

speakers conceived of time and chose to express that conception in their language. However, it is consistent with the available evidence that =*mil* is used in Yuki as a means for marking events that occur without a specific time reference.

The status of =*mil* as an enclitic rather than a suffix can be seen in serial verb constructions. In these sequences, each verb can take various aspectual or modal suffixes, but only the final verb in the construction is marked with =*mil*. Therefore, instead of being suffixed to individual verbs, =*mil* comes at the end of the verb phrase. An example of =*mil* at the end of serial verb constructions is shown in (7) and (8).

(7) Coyote and the World: 12, RM

<i>si'áy</i>	<i>hulk'ó'i mil</i>	<i>ǰójíč</i>	<i>nq'</i>	<i>sopes</i>	<i>tít</i>
<i>si=?i</i>	<i>hulk'ó'i mil</i>	<i>čočič</i>	= <i>nq</i>	<i>sopes</i>	<i>tit</i>

NEW=HSY1 Coyote meat/deer pounded =and shoulder together.on.top

<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔo'opíčk'i</i>	<i>p'óyi</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ha'téyli</i>
= <i>ʔi</i>	<i>ʔopič=ki</i>	<i>p'oy</i>	= <i>ʔi</i>	<i>ha'-t-il</i>

=HSY1 winnowing.basket=IN **put** =HSY1 **carry-INTR-MPSV**

lákt(e)mil *hulk'ó'i* *lo'ops'átk'il*
lak'-t=mil *hulk'ó'i* *lo'pis=qt=k'il*
emerge-INTR=FIN Coyote Jackrabbit=DAT=TERM
 'And Coyote **putting** pounded meat and shoulder in an (openwork basketry) plate, and **carrying it with him, he went out** to Jackrabbit.'

(8) Feather Dance Narrative: 17, RM

<i>sámeý</i>	<i>kimáše</i>	<i>ʔán</i>	<i>həp</i>	<i>šú:kmil.</i>
<i>sq-mi</i>	<i>ki'-mas-i</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>həp</i>	<i>šu'-k=mil</i>

SAME-and.then DST-DSTR-ANIM long.time **song/sing sit/stay-PNCT=FIN**
 'And then they **sit down and sing.**'

7.4.1.2. *-paʔ, -paʔam* future

-paʔ is used as a marker of the future tense¹⁶⁶. This suffix has the form *-paʔam* before the interrogative suffix *-ha*, the adverbial clause enclitic *=kop* ‘though, although’, and in dependent clauses formed by suffixing the distal demonstrative *kiʔ*.

In (9) and (10), the reference to a future time is also shown using *haw* ‘tomorrow’.

- (9) Siniard 1967a:47, MF

həw *kiʔ* ***kʔinpaʔ***
haw *kiʔ* ***kʔin-paʔ***
tomorrow DST **cry-FUT**
‘She’s **gonna cry** tomorrow.’

- (10) Siniard 1967a:59, MF

moʔos *haw* *nan* ***tʰi:ʔəkpaʔ***
moʔos *haw* *nan* ***ʔiʔ-qk-paʔ***
2PL.AGT tomorrow fence **fly-SEM-FUT**
‘You fellows **are gonna jump** over the fence tomorrow.’

(11) and (12) show examples of *-paʔ* used in the texts.

- (11) Coyote and the World: 354, RM

sikɪtey *ká* *mít* *kup* ***ʔonapaʔ*** *ʔan*
si=kiʔ=i *kaʔ* *mit* *kup* ***ʔon-aʔ-paʔ*** *ʔan*
NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister’s.son **earth-?-FUT** long.time

son *míʔ* *kup* ***kɔkkútispaʔ***
son *miʔ* *kup* ***kʔqkʔ-kut-s-paʔ***
therefore 2SG.AGT sister’s.son **exist-INCP-CAUS-FUT**
“‘This, sister’s son, shall always be your place; but you shall rise first.’”

¹⁶⁶ Kroeber (1911:362) describes this suffix as, “*-pa*, future.”

(12) Origins: 177a, RM

<i>səkíta</i>	[?] <i>ítin</i>	<i>há:p</i>	wo'ókešpa'
<i>sə=kiṭa</i>	[?] <i>itin</i>	<i>hap</i>	wok'-s-pa'
SAME=then	1SG.POSS	song/sing	dance/sing-CAUS-FUT

'My song they **shall sing**.'

Origins: 177b

<i>səkíta</i>	[?] <i>áp</i>	<i>woknám tlu</i>	<i>kimás</i>
<i>sə=kiṭa</i>	[?] <i>ap</i>	<i>woknam-tl-wi</i>	<i>ki[?]-mas</i>
SAME=then	1SG.AGT	initiation-TR-PST1	DST-DSTR

woknámepa'	<i>taykómol</i>	<i>woknám.</i>
woknam-s-pa'	<i>taykomol</i>	<i>woknam</i>

initiation-CAUS-FUT *Taykómol* initiation

'As I have just made initiation, so they **shall make initiation** with the *Taykómol*-initiation.'

Origins: 178

<i>səkíta</i>	<i>ṭi[?]ol</i>	k'qk'ampa'	[?] <i>ey</i>	[?] <i>imeymil</i>
<i>sə=kiṭa</i>	<i>ṭi[?]ol</i>	k'qk'-m-pa'	= [?] <i>i</i>	[?] <i>imi=mil</i>
SAME=then	chief	exist-IMPV-FUT	=HSY1	say=FIN

taykómol [?]*u:k'omno[?]oma.**taykomol* [?]*uk'omnom'=q**Taykómol* *Uk'omnom'=PAT*

'And chiefs **will be made** by that, said *Taykómol* to the *Uk'omnom*'

(13) and (14) show *-pa'am*, which is the allomorph of *-pa'* seen before the interrogative suffix *-ha* and the adverbial cause enclitic *=kon* 'though, although, because, but'. There is no evidence for any difference in meaning between *-pa'* and *-pa'am*.

- (13) Siniard 1967a:101, MF

ʔi:yowin miʔ kʰoʔotpaʔamha
 ʔiyowin miʔ koʔ-t-paʔam-ha
 where 2SG.AGT go-INTR-FUT-Q
 ‘Where **are** you **going**?’

- (14) Coyote and the World: 385, RM

seʔéy háye šúʔumil kómpaʔaŋkon
 si=ʔi hqʔaye šuʔ=mil kom-paʔam=kon
 NEW=HSY1 now sit/stay=FIN come-FUT=although
 ‘And now he was staying there **although he would come (back)**.’

(15) and (16) show dependent clauses formed by suffixing the distal demonstrative *kiʔ*. As stated above, in such clauses the future tense allomorph *-paʔam* is used instead of *-paʔ*.

- (15) Coyote and the World: 251 (excerpt), RM

sikiṭéy tʔíma hoy ta:tʔkilpa:miki:
 si=kiṭ=ʔi ṭíma hoy tat-k-il-paʔam=kiʔ
 NEW=then=HSY1 self too good/make-PNCT-MPSV-FUT=DST
 ‘Then **that he might remake** himself...’

- (16) Coyote and the World: 389 (excerpt), RM

ʔey šáʔqk ʔonhąhin píntimil
 =ʔi šaʔqk ʔon=hąhin pin-t=mil
 =HSY1 some.of earth=under be.scattered-INTR=FIN

ki: hilkšiloʔ ʔónpis čúhampa:miki:
 kiʔ hilkšiloʔ ʔon=pis čʔuh-m-paʔam=kiʔ
 DST everything earth=ABL grow-IMPV-FUT=DST

‘...part of it he scattered under the ground **that every kind should grow up** out of the ground.’

7.4.1.3. *-wi ~ -u* past / *-wiṭ(k) ~ -wič(k)* completed past

Kroeber (1911:362) defines *-wi ~ -u* as “ordinary past time,” differentiating this suffix from *-wiṭ ~ -wič(k)*, which he defines as “completed past time.” Kroeber provides the example forms, given in (17), for the two types of past tense.

- (17) Kroeber 1911:362-363, RM
- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>komwi</i> | ‘came’ |
| <i>liʔaku</i> | ‘killed’ |
| <i>mihwič koy</i> | ‘has been there before’ |
| <i>ʔqel kowič</i> | ‘I was walking’ |

Both *-wi* and *-wiṭ* forms are found in the texts, but *-wiṭ* forms usually occur followed by the distal demonstrative *kiʔ* acting as a relativizer. *-wi* forms are rare in the material elicited from Minnie Fulwider by Roy Siniard and the material elicited from Frank Logan by James Crawford. In the elicited materials the *-wiṭ* forms are more common and do not occur with relativizers. In the texts the use of *-wi* and *-wiṭ* appears to confirm Kroeber’s original description of these two verb endings.

In (18) - (20), all of the verbs ending in *-wi* are past tense forms and seem to generally be used in contexts where no precise endpoint is identified.

- (18) Coyote and the World: 107, RM
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|------------|------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| <i>si</i> | <i>kí</i> | <i>nák</i> | <i>ʔey</i> | <i>hulk’oʔá</i> | <i>ʔinámtil</i> |
| <i>si</i> | <i>kiʔ</i> | <i>nák</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>hulk’oʔi=q</i> | <i>ʔinam-t=til</i> |
| NEW | DST | dark/night | =HSY1 | Coyote=PAT | dream-INTR=FIN |
-
- | | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| <i>ʔa:át</i> | <i>kú:htkiwit</i> | <i>yí:tiwi</i> | <i>kimáša</i> |
| <i>ʔa:at</i> | <i>kuhtki=wit</i> | <i>yiʔ-t-wi</i> | <i>kiʔ-mas=q</i> |
| people | north=ALL | play-INTR-PST1 | DST-DSTR=PAT |
-
- | | | | |
|---------------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>li:támšik</i> | <i>ʔiy</i> | <i>ʔímeymil</i> | <i>hulk’óʔi</i> |
| <i>liʔ-t-m-sik</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔimi=mil</i> | <i>hulk’oʔi</i> |
| kill-INTR-IMPV-HSY2 | =HSY1 | say=FIN | Coyote |
- ‘And at night Coyote dreamed: “The people who **went** north **playing** are being killed”, Coyote said.’

(19) Coyote and the World: 177, RM

kayit [?]úša **nq̄nákwi** *sikí:ki* [?]ús *k'ólam*
kayit [?]us=q **nq̄nak-wi** *sikiki* [?]us *k'ol-am*
 long.ago 1PL.EXCL=PAT **know-PST1** therefore 1PL.EXCL.AGT other-NOML

tíweyu [?]ey [?]i:máq̄lilmil *kip'áwwop*
tiw-wi =[?]i [?]imi-mq̄-l-il=mil *kipqw=op*
pursue-PST1 =HSY1 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN back=LAT

šayya? [?]óp'a *k'ó'il* *tó:ktlnámilkimási*
šay=a [?]opi=a *k'ó'il* *t'ok-tl=namlí=ki[?]-mas-i*
 raw/alive=? two=? Wailaki arrive-TR=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

“We **knew** in time, that is why we **pursued** separately”, they said to the others, those two Wailaki who came back alive.’

(20) Coyote and the World: 197, RM

sá[?]éy [?]q̄p *mil* **[?]únmawi** *ki:*
sá=[?]i [?]q̄p *mil* **[?]un-mq̄-wi** *ki[?]*
 SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT meat/deer **carry-DIR1-PST1** DST

kápisa *hąwayilitia* [?]ey [?]ímeymil *hulk'ó'i*
kap-s-a *hąwqy-lit-a[?]* =[?]i [?]imi=mil *hulk'ó'i*
 enter-CAUS-IMP food/eat-DIR2-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

kimáša *mús[?]a[?]*
ki[?]-mas=q *mus=q*
 DST-DSTR=PAT women=PAT

‘And, “I have **brought** a deer, bring it in to eat!” Coyote said to these women.’

In (21) and (22), all of the verbs containing *-wiṭ* are followed by the distal demonstrative *ki[?]* acting as a relativizer¹⁶⁷. Verbs ending in *-wi* are not found with relativizers. In (21), *‘ú:k'op mik'ál ta'óhamwički:* ‘(he) who had been floating in a circle in the water’ and in (22), *pilq̄t 'ús[?]at wáq̄timwički:* ‘our sun which was stolen’, it does seem that *-wiṭ* conveys a sense of actions which occurred in the past and have been completed in the past.

¹⁶⁷ See §15.10.3 for further discussion of relative clauses formed with *=ki[?]*.

(21) Origins: 15, RM

se^ʔey haye ki: mi^ʔak'ún' k'ákmí:li ^ʔey
 si^ʔi hq^ʔqye ki^ʔ mi^ʔq-k'un' k'áq'-mq-íl =^ʔi
 NEW=HSY1 now DST 1PL.KIN.POSS-father exist-DIR1-MPSV =HSY1

ki č'o^ʔokšilo^ʔ ^ʔú:k'op mik'ál
 ki^ʔ č'o^ʔok=šilo^ʔ ^ʔuk'=op =mik'al
 DST down.feather=like water=LAT =around

ta^ʔóhamwičkí: ^ʔey k'i hí:tmil.
 ta^ʔ-h-m-wič=ki^ʔ =^ʔi ki^ʔ hič=mil
flow-DUR-IMPV-FV-PST2=DST =HSY1 DST stop=FIN

'Now that our father was about to come into existence, he **who had been floating** in a circle on the water like a down-feather stopped moving.'

(22) Coyote and the World: 231, RM

sq^ʔéy kíwismil ^ʔím ^ʔús^ʔat pilá:t
 sq=^ʔi kiw-s=mil ^ʔím ^ʔus=qt pilát
 SAME=HSY1 ask-CAUS=FIN where 1PL.EXCL=DAT sun

^ʔús^ʔat **wá:timwičkí:** ká^ʔen k'omláme
^ʔus=qt **wá:č'-m-wič=ki^ʔ** ka^ʔin k'om-lám
 1PL.EXCL=DAT **steal-IMPV-FV-PST2=DST** PRX.LOC? make.noise-INCH

mis háłtha ^ʔey ^ʔím kíwismil hulk'ó'a
 mis háł-t-ha^ʔ =^ʔi ^ʔím kiw-s=mil hulk'o^ʔi=q
 2SG.PAT hear-INTR-Q =HSY1 thus ask-CAUS=FIN Coyote=PAT

kimási

ki^ʔ-mas-i

DST-DSTR-ANIM

'and asked him, "Where is our sun **which was stolen** from us? Have you heard it sounding anywhere about here?" so they asked Coyote.'

As shown in (23) and (24), in his free translation of *Origins* and *Coyote and the World*, Kroeber often translates *-wi* verbs ending in *-u* with a recent past meaning¹⁶⁸ ‘just now’. This may be an additional nuance in the meaning of *-wi*.

(23) Origins: 139, RM

<i>sé'ey</i>	<i>hulk'ó'i</i>	<i>k'alítu</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>kí'yuʔ</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>hulk'ó'i</i>	<i>k'ol-t-wi</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>kiʔ-wi</i>
NEW=HSY1	Coyote	die-INTR-PST1	NEW	1SG.AGT	bury-PST1

ʔimeymil hulk'ó'i.

ʔimi=mil hulk'ó'i

say=FIN Coyote

‘And, “He **just died**, so I buried”, Coyote said.’

(24) Origins: 177b, RM

<i>sákiṭa</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>woknámtlu</i>	<i>kimás</i>
<i>sq=kiṭa</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>woknam-tl-wi</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas</i>
SAME=then	1SG.AGT	initiation-TR-PST1	DST-DSTR

woknámespaʔ taykómol woknám.

woknam-s-paʔ taykomol woknam

initiation-CAUS-FUT Taykómol initiation

‘As I have **just made initiation**, so they shall make initiation with the Taykómol-initiation.’

7.4.2. Aspect

7.4.2.1. *-lqm* ~ *-lam* inchoative

The inchoative *-lqm* indicates the onset of a change of state or beginning of an action. Kroeber (1911:361) refers to *-lqm* as “the usual inchoative or inceptive.” Schlichter (1985:63) reconstructs a suffix **-lim*, which she refers to as the resultative/patient progressive in PNY. Schlichter’s reconstructed **-lim* has the meaning of ‘getting’ or ‘becoming’, as in **nəklimik* ‘getting dark’, **k’ollimik* ‘dying’, **šat’limik* ‘getting cold’, which

¹⁶⁸ This is not always the case, as above in (19), *tíweyu* is translated as ‘pursued’ instead of ‘pursued just now.’

is reminiscent of the use of *-lqm* in examples such as (25). *nqklmqk* ‘it’s getting dark, night’ in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:59) is suffixed with inchoative *-lqm* and appears to be the source of Schlichter’s reconstructed PNY form **nəklimik* ‘getting dark’. Therefore, Schlichter’s **-lim* and inchoative *-lqm* are likely one and the same¹⁶⁹.

-lqm can be used to indicate a change of state in a feeling or experience, as in the change from wakefulness to sleepiness in *ʔinlamek* ‘getting sleepy’ in (25), and also for verbs expressing an action, as in *kʔkklamil* ‘begin to come into existence’ in (26)¹⁷⁰.

(25) Coyote and the World: 212, RM

<i>simeyʔéy</i>	<i>pá:k</i>	<i>ʔinlámek</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>
<i>si=mi=ʔi</i>	<i>pək</i>	<i>ʔin-lqm=k</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>
NEW=thereupon=HSY1	one	sleep-INCH=DECL	=HSY1	say=FIN

‘Thereupon one said, “**I am getting sleepy**”,’

(26) Origins: 16, RM

<i>seʔéy</i>	<i>mipʔán</i>	<i>kʔkklamil</i>	<i>kiʔáʔ</i>	<i>ʔu:súʔophan.</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>mipan</i>	<i>kʔkʔ-lqm=mil</i>	<i>kiʔa</i>	<i>ʔusuʔ=op=han</i>
NEW=HSY1	foot	exist-INCH=FIN	there	water.foam=LAT=SUBE

‘Then his feet **began to come into existence** there in the foam.’

(27) shows an example of *-lqm* used with a noun acting as a verb root. The noun *nqkhuy* ‘middle of the night’ is affixed with the *-lqm*, resulting in a verb meaning ‘becoming the middle of the night.’

(27) Coyote and the World: 131, RM

<i>sqʔey</i>	<i>huʔútlmil</i>	<i>nqkhuylámop</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>huʔuʔ-tl=mil</i>	<i>nqk-huy-lqm=op</i>
SAME=HSY1	quit-TR=FIN	dark/night-half-INCH=while

‘And they stopped **as it was becoming the middle of the night.**’

¹⁶⁹ It is unclear whether *-lim* discussed in §7.5.9.2 is an allomorph of *-lqm* or a unique suffix.

¹⁷⁰ The example form is given in bold face in the Yuki, as well as in the gloss and English free translation.

7.4.2.2. *-kut* inceptive

The inceptive *-kut* is found with two types of meanings. As shown in (28) *-kut* can have a meaning similar to the inchoative *-lqm*, where it is used to indicate the beginning of an action¹⁷¹.

- (28) Kroeber 1911:358, RM
 ?oʔt-*kut*-mík
 ?oʔʔ-*kut*-m=k
 suck-INCP-IMPFV=DECL
 ‘will begin to suck’

The other meaning found for *-kut* is seen in the free translation of the texts. Verbs affixed with *-kut* indicate that a particular action is the first of a series of actions¹⁷². In (29), Coyote has made the morning star and the sun. He instructs the morning star, referred to as *kup* ‘sister’s son’, to rise first before the sun rises.

- (29) Coyote and the World: 354, RM
- | | | | | | |
|------------------|------------|------------|--------------|-------------------|------------|
| <i>sikiṭey</i> | <i>ká</i> | <i>mít</i> | <i>kup</i> | <i>ʔonapaʔ</i> | <i>ʔan</i> |
| <i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i> | <i>kaʔ</i> | <i>mit</i> | <i>kup</i> | <i>ʔon-aʔ-paʔ</i> | <i>ʔan</i> |
| NEW=then=HSY1 | PRX | 2SG.DAT | sister’s.son | earth-?-FUT | long.time |
-
- | | | | |
|------------|------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>son</i> | <i>míʔ</i> | <i>kup</i> | <i>kqkkútispaʔ</i> |
| <i>son</i> | <i>miʔ</i> | <i>kup</i> | <i>kʔqkʔ-kut-s-paʔ</i> |
| therefore | 2SG.AGT | sister’s.son | exist-INCP-CAUS-FUT |
- “‘This, sister’s son, shall always be your place; but **you shall rise first.**”

Coyote and the World: 355

<i>soméy</i>	<i>kup</i>	<i>wiliʔisk</i>
<i>som=ʔi</i>	<i>kup</i>	<i>wil-s=k</i>
however=HSY1	sister’s.son	pass-CONT=DECL

¹⁷¹ This is the meaning that Kroeber (1911:358) gives for *-kut*, stating that “*-kut* forms an occasional inchoative.”

¹⁷² It is possible that this meaning of ‘first’ is an artifact of Kroeber’s translation of the Yuki into English. It may be that *kqkkútispaʔ* in Clause 354 just means ‘(you = morning star) start to rise’ and the notion of ‘first’ comes out of the fact that the sun rises as well in Clause 356.

hánʔam *kápsilpa*
han-qm *kap-s-il-paʔ*
 house-IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-FUT

“‘However, sister’s son, having gone a distance, you shall enter (your) house.’”

Coyote and the World: 356

sikiṭ *hayé* *piláti* *ká:kɛspa* *ʔiy* *ʔímeymil*
si=kiṭ *haʔqye* *pilát* *kʔakʔ-s-paʔ* =ʔi *ʔimi=mil*
 NEW=then now sun exist-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kimasa *ʔópi* *nakahik*
kiʔ-mas=q *ʔopi* *nəkʔoh=k*
 DST-DSTR=PAT two teach=DECL

“‘And then the sun shall rise”, he said, teaching them both.’

As noted by Kroeber (1911:358), the inceptive *-kut* may be an independent verb, as there is also a verb *kut-* ‘start’. *-kut* may be a separate verb occurring as part of a serial verb construction, rather than an aspect morpheme that is an integral part of a verb. The element *kut-* also appears as part of other words with meanings that are related to the idea of beginning, such as *kutkin* ‘root’, and other words that may have a metaphorical connection to beginning, such as *kuhtki* ~ *kutki* ‘north’¹⁷³.

7.4.2.3. *-h* durative

The durative aspect *-h* marks an action or state that is ongoing and has duration rather than being instantaneous. Kroeber (1911) does not mention *-h* in his sketch of Yuki. Schlichter (1985:147) reconstructs **-h* for the durative aspect in PNY.

(30) and (31) compare excerpts containing the verb *šuʔ-* ‘sit, stay’. In (30), *šuʔ-* occurs without the durative *-h* and means ‘sit’, in (31), *šuʔ-* occurs with *-h* and means ‘stay’ or perhaps ‘sit for an ongoing period’.

¹⁷³ In *Coyote and the World*, which Kroeber identifies as the second part of the Yuki Creation myth (“An Indian Who Gave,” 1902:7), north is the first direction that Coyote goes as he is setting up the world. Due to the likely significance of this particular story to the Yuki worldview, it is possible that this also is the reason for the inclusion of *kut-* ‘start, beginning’ into the word *kuhtki* ~ *kutki* ‘north.’

- (30) Coyote and the World: 296, RM

sikq'áy *hánam* *ka:písimil* *pá:k* *ʔiwop*
si=kq=ʔi *han-qm* *kap-s=mil* *pək* *ʔiwop*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 house-IN2 enter-CAUS=FIN one man
 ‘So one man took him into the house,’

Coyote and the World: 297

sq'áy *k'amolšil* *tá:tlík'áyʔ* **šútlmil**
sq=ʔi *k'amol-šil* *tat-tl=kiʔ* **šuʔ-tl=mil**
 SAME=HSY1 puma-skin good/make-TR=DST **sit/stay-TR=FIN**
 ‘and **had him sit** on puma skin which they prepared for him.’

Coyote and the World: 298

si'áy **šúmil**
si=ʔi **šuʔ=mil**
 NEW=HSY1 **sit/stay=FIN**
 ‘And he **sat**.’

- (31) Coyote and the World: 282, RM

sq'ey *ʔqéy* *káta* *kup* **šuʔhinik** *yí:čmah*
sq=ʔi *ʔq̄i* *kaṭa* *kup* **šuʔ-h-nik** *yičmah*
 SAME=HSY1 a.while here sister's.son **sit/stay-DUR-NEC** for.a.while

hánkil *kó:mil*
han=k'il *koʔ=mil*
 house=TERM go=FIN

“‘And for a while [you **must**] **stay** here, sister’s son; for a little I am going home;”

(32) and (33) show two further examples of durative *-h*. In (32), *-h* is found in *šuhól* ‘stayer, one who stays’, which is the verb *šuʔ-* ‘sit, stay’ affixed with the durative *-h* and the agentive-instrumental *-(m)ol*’.

(32) Coyote and the World: 225 (excerpt), RM ¹⁷⁴

sikq^ʔéy čičičičisúp š:yaq haýmáša šup
 si=kq=^ʔi čičičičisup ki^ʔ=q haýmas=q kup
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 hush.hush.hush DST=PAT how?=PAT? sister's.son

mí^ʔ kačq ʔan šú:pa h[ɣ]ánop
 mi^ʔ kača? ʔan šu^ʔ-pa^ʔ han=op
 2SG.AGT here long.time sit/stay-FUT house=LAT

šuhól mí: šup méy(h)tan ...
šu^ʔ-h-ol' mi^ʔ kup mih-tan
sit/stay-DUR-AG/INST 2SG.AGT sister's.son be-NEG

“Hush! hush! hush! sister’s son! Is it, sister’s son, that you shall be here always?
 You are not, sister’s son, a **stayer** in the house ...’

In (33), *nqw-* ‘see’ is affixed with durative *-h* in *nqwhiméykiṭ* ‘when (he) watched (them)’.

(33) Coyote and the World: 240, RM

sikitéiy **nqwhiméykiṭ** ʔey ʔa^ʔtá
 si=kiṭ=^ʔi **nqw-h-m=kiṭ** =^ʔi ʔaṭa^ʔ
 NEW=then=HSY1 **see-DUR-IMPV=when** =HSY1 again

k'olk'il kót(e)mil pilá:t há^ʔti:li.
 k'ol=k'il ko^ʔ-t=mil pilat ha^ʔ-t-il
 other=TERM go-INTR=FIN sun carry-INTR-MPSV

‘but **when he had watched them**, he went the other way carrying the sun.’

¹⁷⁴ Kroeber’s (1902d:27) note on Clause 225: “This speech is in C[oyote] language. šup = kup All the s and š are about š; and lisped a little.”

7.4.2.4. -k punctual

The punctual aspect *-k* is often used to indicate actions that occur all in one moment and are not continuous; in some cases the meaning of *-k* is unclear. *-k* is more commonly found along with the mediopassive *-il*¹⁷⁵. The relationship, if any, between punctual *-k* and semelfactive *-qk* is not known, though the meanings of these two aspect morphemes are similar. Punctual *-k* should also not be confused with the declarative mood *-k*.

Kroeber (1911:359) describes punctual *-k* as “somewhat indefinite in force. It appears to be used with intransitive verbs to indicate an action, as contrasted with a state, of the conception implied by the verb stem.” Schlichter (1985:238) reconstructs **-k* as the momentaneous aspect in PNY.

(34) and (35) contrast excerpts containing *šú*² ‘sit, stay’ with and without punctual *-k*. In (34), *šú:kmil* ‘(he) sat down’ is an action that occurs a single time and then is completed. In (35), *šúmil* ‘he sat’ is an ongoing continuous action.

(34) Coyote and the World: 196, RM

<i>sikiṭéy</i>	<i>kápti</i>	šú²ukmil
<i>si=kiṭ=²i</i>	<i>kap-t</i>	šú²-k=mil

NEW=then=HSY1 enter-INTR **sit/stay-PNCT=FIN**
 ‘So having gone in, he **sat down**.’

(35) Coyote and the World: 296, RM

<i>sika²éy</i>	<i>hánam</i>	<i>ka:písimil</i>	<i>pá:k</i>	<i>?iwop</i>
<i>si=ká=²i</i>	<i>han-qm</i>	<i>kap-s=mil</i>	<i>pqk</i>	<i>?iwop</i>

NEW=thereupon=HSY1 house-IN2 enter-CAUS=FIN one man
 ‘So one man took him into the house,’

‘Coyote and the World: 297’

<i>sá²éy</i>	<i>k’amolšíl</i>	<i>tá:tlik’éy²</i>	<i>šútlmil</i>
<i>sá=²i</i>	<i>k’amol-šil</i>	<i>tat-tl=ki²</i>	<i>šú²-tl=mil</i>

SAME=HSY1 puma-skin good/make-TR=DST sit/stay-TR=FIN
 ‘and had him sit on puma skin which they prepared for him.’

¹⁷⁵ This use is discussed separately in §7.5.3, in order to discuss the relationship between mediopassive *-il* and other verb morphemes together in a single section.

'Coyote and the World: 298'

si[?]éy **šúmíl**
 si=[?]i **šu[?]=míl**
 NEW=HSY1 **sit/stay=FIN**
 'And he **sat**.'

(36) and (37) contrast excerpts containing verbs with the punctual *-k* and semelfactive *-qk*. The verb roots in these two examples, *wit-* and *wiṭ-*, may be the same verb root. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:299) translate both as 'turn', though *wiṭ-* is translated with the additional meaning 'hit'¹⁷⁶.

(36) Coyote and the World: 164, RM

se[?]éy šiwkítin lil há[?]namlíkí:la [?]ey
 si=[?]i šiwkítin lil ha[?]=namlí=ki[?]-la =[?]i
 NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wítkmil kó[?]ola
wiṭ-k=mil ko[?]ol=q?
hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki.PL=OBL?

'So Šiwkítin hurled at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying'

(37) Coyote and the World: 157, RM

sikít[?]éy so:hókilmil
 si=kiṭ=[?]i soh-k-il=mil
 NEW=then=HSY1 applaud/cheer-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

'Thereupon they gave a whoop,'

'Coyote and the World: 158'

sá[?]éy kipáwwop **wí:tákml** [?]olkáčám
 sá=[?]i kipáw=op **wiṭ-qk=mil** [?]olkaṭam
 SAME=HSY1 back=LAT **turn-SEM=FIN** Mouse

¹⁷⁶ If the verb root is indeed the same in both examples, then it is worth noting that the two verbs are the same in all respects except for the difference in aspect marker, yet *wítkmil* 'hurled' is a transitive action and *wítákmil* 'went back' is intransitive.

həwayi *móneti* *t'únamlíkíṭa*
həwəy *mon-t* *t'u[?]=namli=kiṭa*
 food/eat steal-INTR lay=DEP=there
 'and went back to where Mouse had piled the stolen food.'

In these examples, *wíṭkmil* 'hurled' seems more isolated to a single moment than *wí:tákmil* 'went back'. This difference is consistent with Comrie's (1976:42) description of punctual and semelfactive aspects. He writes that "a punctual situation, by definition, has no internal structure" and semelfactive refers "to a situation that takes place once and only once." Thus 'hurl' is a punctual action that occurs in a single moment and has no internal structure, but 'go back' can be semelfactive because it does have internal structure, but can also occur just a single time.

7.4.2.5. -qk semelfactive

The semelfactive aspect -qk is used to indicate when an action occurs a single time. Kroeber (1911:359) describes the suffix as, "-ak, -yak, single action."

In (38), the semelfactive -qk is used with the verb *pəp'*- 'pop' in *pəp'əyakpa* 'will pop' and *pəp'iyakmil* 'was making a sound (a pop)' indicating a single instance of "pop" sounds being produced. The semelfactive -qk also occurs with *lak'*- 'emerge' in *lak'iyakmil* 'took them (out)' indicating a single instance of the items in the acorn storeroom being removed.

(38) Coyote and the World: 182, RM

[?]əp *mátli:kon* *pək* ***pəp'əyakpa*** [?]ey
[?]əp *mat-tl=kon* *pək* ***pəp'-qk-pa'*** =[?]i
 1SG.AGT do-TR=but one **pop-SEM-FUT** =HSY1

[?]imeymil *hulk'ó'i*.

[?]imi=mil *hulk'ó'i*

say=FIN Coyote

"I do this, but one of them **will pop (crackle inside)**", he said.'

Coyote and the World: 182a

namlik ^ʔéy wák nąwéti ^ʔey pąk **pąp'íyąkmil**
namliki =^ʔi wák nąw-t =^ʔi pąk **pąp'-ąk=mil**
 therefore =HSY1 after see-INTR =HSY1 one **pop-SEM=FIN**
 'And when he looked a little later, one of them **was making a sound.**'

Coyote and the World: 183

siką'éy **lak'íyąkmil** číwpiš
si=ką=ʔi **lak'-ąk=mil** čiw=piš
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 **leave-SEM=FIN** acorn.storeroom=ABL
 'Then he **took** them out of the storeroom,'

In (39), the semelfactive *-ąk* is used with *li*²- 'kill' in *li'áknąmlikimási* 'they who had slain'. Note the use of the punctual aspect *-k* in *ląčkilu* '(he) broke' in *mi'at piląt lílk'il ląčkilu* '(he) broke our sun against a rock'.

(39) Coyote and the World: 254, RM

są'ey ^ʔuš *tąhi* k'olí san *mí'at* *piląt*
są=ʔi ^ʔus *tąh* k'ol son? *mi=ąt* *piląt*
 SAME=HSY1 1PLEXCL.AGT find kill but? 1PL.INCL=DAT sun

lilk'il **ląčkilu** ^ʔiy ^ʔim *hušk'ąyesmil*
lil=k'il **ląt-k-il-wi** =^ʔi ^ʔim *hušk'ąy-s=mil*
 rock=TERM **break-PNCT-MPSV-PST1** =HSY1 thus tell-CAUS?=FIN

ki *hulk'o'a* **li'áknąmlikimási**
ki' *hulk'o'i=q* **li'-ąk=nąmli=ki'-mas-i**
 DST Coyote=PAT **kill-SEM=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM**
 "We found and killed him, but he **broke** our sun against a rock", thus they reported, **they who had slain** Coyote.'

7.4.2.6. -y progressive

The progressive aspect -y indicates an ongoing action in progress. Kroeber (1911) does not mention -y in his sketch of Yuki. Schlichter (1985:63) reconstructs *-y for the progressive aspect in PNY.

Examples of *tiw-* ‘pursue’ are shown in (40) affixed with progressive -y. The verbs *tíwyik* ‘are pursuing’ and *tíwiyimil* ‘were following’ indicate an ongoing action in progress.

(40) Coyote and the World: 162, RM

<i>seʔéy</i>	<i>míya</i>	<i>kʔóʔil</i>	<i>tíwyik</i>	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>mi=q</i>	<i>kʔóʔil</i>	<i>tiw-y=k</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
NEW=HSY1	1PL.INCL=PAT	Wailaki	pursue-PROG=DECL	=HSY1

ʔímeymil hulkʔóʔi

ʔimi=mil hulkʔóʔi

say=FIN Coyote

‘And “The Wailaki **are pursuing** us”, said Coyote.’

Coyote and the World: 163

<i>seʔéy</i>	<i>kʔóʔil</i>	<i>tíwiyimil</i>	<i>ʔič</i>	<i>wąkɔp</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>kʔóʔil</i>	<i>tiw-y=mil</i>	<i>=it</i>	<i>wąk=ɔp</i>
NEW=HSY1	Wailaki	pursue-PROG=FIN	=JXT	after=LAT

‘Then the Wailaki **were following** close behind.’

The verbs containing progressive -y in (40) are contrasted with *tíwi:mil* ‘followed’ in (41). *tíwi:mil* describes an action that is not in progress and is not ongoing.

(41) Coyote and the World: 172, RM

<i>sikitéy</i>	<i>ʔópʔa</i>	<i>kʔóʔil</i>	<i>kʔólámwit</i>	<i>tíwi:mil</i>
<i>si=kit=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔopi=a</i>	<i>kʔóʔil</i>	<i>kʔól-am=wit</i>	<i>tiw=mil</i>
NEW=then=HSY1	two=?	Wailaki	other-NOML=ALL	pursue=FIN

‘but two of them **followed** off on the side.’

Additional examples of progressive -y, *kóʔolityi* ‘were approaching’ and *kóyik* ‘are going’, are shown in (42).

(42) Coyote and the World: 119, RM

se hánkil kóʔolftyi ʔey ʔi:yinomʔ
si han=kʔil koʔ-lit-y =ʔi ʔiyi-nomʔ
 NEW house=TERM **go-DIR2-PROG** =HSY1 what-people/tribe

miyá:tkʔil munaʔ kó:yik ʔey ʔimeymil kʔóʔil
mi=qt=kʔil munaʔ koʔ-y=k =ʔi ʔimi=mil kʔóʔil
 1PL.INCL=DAT=TERM many **go-PROG=DECL** =HSY1 say=FIN Wailaki
 ‘Then as they **were approaching** the houses, the Wailaki said, “Some people **are going** toward us in numbers”.’

7.4.2.7. -l perfective?

The meaning of *-l* is not entirely evident from the texts. *-l* is tentatively designated as a perfective marker based on Schlichter’s analysis of this morpheme for PNY, which is discussed below. *-l* occurs by itself very rarely and is more commonly found in conjunction with mediopassive *-il* in verbs like *ʔimá:lilmil* ‘said to one another’ (CW: 294). *-l* may also have historically formed part of the transitivizer *-tl* in verbs like *há:tlmil* ‘built’ (CW: 394). Kroeber (1911:360) does not differentiate between *-l* and mediopassive *-il*. He just writes that *-il* has an unknown meaning.

Schlichter (1985:62) reconstructs **-l* as the perfective aspect marker for PNY. This analysis is plausible for Yuki verbs containing only perfective *-l* without mediopassive *-il*¹⁷⁷. *čʔučlik* ‘throw’, *laklik* ‘has come out’, *tuklik* ‘gig’¹⁷⁸, in (43) and (44), are perfective as these actions have a defined endpoint. Once ‘they’ have been thrown down on the ground, the action is complete. Once the fish has been giggered, the action is complete.

(43) Siniard 1967a:13, MF

ʔonkʔe ʔap čʔučlik
ʔon=kʔi ʔap čʔuč-l=k
 earth=IN 1SG.AGT **throw-PFV=DECL**
 ‘I **throw** ’m down on the ground.’

¹⁷⁷ As stated earlier, such forms are vanishingly rare in the texts; therefore all examples provided here are elicited.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Giggering fish’ is a method for spear fishing.

- (44) Siniard 1967a:35, MF
həw tʰuklik
həw tʰuk-l=k
 fish **gig**-PFV=DECL
 'you **gig** a fish'

7.4.2.8. -(a)m imperfective

The imperfective aspect *-(a)m* is used to indicate actions which are ongoing and without a defined endpoint. Schlichter (1985:62) reconstructs **-am/_C, CC_~m/* as the imperfective aspect marker in PNY. In Yuki, one also encounters these two different forms for this morpheme: *-am* and *-m*, with the latter typically realized as *-mi*. However, the environment that Schlichter proposes for this morpheme in PNY does not describe the distribution in Yuki of *-am* compared to *-m*. Instead it appears that *-am* is the form which occurs always with future tense¹⁷⁹ *-paʔ* and most often or perhaps also always with finite¹⁸⁰ *=mil*. *-m* is most commonly seen before declarative *=k* and also before the demonstratives *kiʔ* and *kimas(i)* and *kit(a)* 'here' when these are suffixed onto the verb in order to create a dependent clause. Also, it should be noted that *-am* and *-m* do not co-occur within a single word.

Also, in the texts and elicited examples, *-am* and *-m* seem to alternate within the same or similar words. In the texts (Origins: 5) Kroeber gives *kʰəyeyami* 'is talking' as an alternate form¹⁸¹ for *kʰəyeyimi*. For their examples for the verb *həʔ-* 'doctor', Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:68) give a form containing *-am* in the example shown in (45a), but a form containing *-m* in (45b).

In (45a), the matrix clause 'I like/want to...' is being used to elicit a bare root or in this case a root without tense morphology. In this example the matrix clause is creating a serial verb construction¹⁸². In (45b), this same root *həʔ-* 'doctor' followed by *-am* is suffixed with declarative *=k* yielding a form *həʔmek* 'is doctoring' containing the *-m* form of this morpheme instead of *-am*.

¹⁷⁹ There may be a special relationship between *-am* and *-paʔ* that remains to be understood. In polar questions the future tense *-paʔ* takes on the form *-paʔam*.

¹⁸⁰ In CW:53, the verb *páʔiyimimil* 'raised' occurs. *-mí-* may be the imperfective or it may possibly be a misheard form of *-mil-*, which, according to the analysis of this grammar, can either be directional *-mq* followed by mediopassive *-il* or, alternatively, a morpheme with an unknown meaning *-mil*.

¹⁸¹ Throughout the texts Kroeber occasionally gives alternate forms for certain words. No explanation is given in the texts or accompanying notes detailing the origin of these forms.

¹⁸² See §15.10.4 for further discussion of serial verb constructions.

(45a) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 68, MF

<i>kiʔq</i>	<i>ʔit</i>	hqtam	<i>ha:mek</i>
<i>kiʔ=q</i>	<i>ʔit</i>	hqt-m	<i>ham=k</i>

DST=PAT 1SG.DAT **doctor-IMPFV** like/want=DECL
 ‘He wants **to doctor** me.’

(45b) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 68, MF

<i>ʔi:</i>	hq:tmek
<i>ʔi</i>	hqt-m=k

1SG.PAT **doctor-IMPFV=DECL**
 ‘He **is doctoring** me.’

It should also be noted that, in the texts there is variation in the pronunciation of this morpheme even when one would expect one allomorph instead of the other. In (46a) and (46b), *yuy* ‘do’ is suffixed with *-(a)m* and declarative *=k*. One would expect the *-m* allomorph of imperfective *-(a)m* preceding *=k*, as in examples (55) - (58). Instead, the *-am* allomorph¹⁸³ is used in *yú:yaŋk* ‘are doing’ in (46a) and likely also *yú:ʔyamʔi:k* ‘are doing’ in (46b).

(46a) Thunder’s Twins: 136 (excerpt), RM

<i>sqʔey</i>	<i>ʔiyi</i>	yú:yaŋk	<i>maʔoš</i>	<i>kimat</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔiyi</i>	yuy’-m=k	<i>moʔos</i>	<i>kimat</i>

SAME=HSY1 what **do-IMPFV=DECL** 2PL.AGT ?

həwávisilnámeliki

həwəy-s-il=namli=kiʔ

food/eat-CAUS-MPSV=DEP=DST

‘And saying, “What **are** you **doing**, you who eat one another? ...”

(46b) Coyote and the World: 410, RM

<i>míʔ</i>	<i>həkóč</i>	yú:ʔyamʔi:k	<i>ʔiy</i>
<i>míʔ</i>	<i>həkóč</i>	yuy’-m=k	<i>=ʔi</i>

2SG.AGT bad **do-IMPFV=DECL** =HSY1

¹⁸³ The reason for the presence of a glottal stop in *yú:ʔyamʔi:k* ‘are doing’ in (46b) is not known.

ʔimeymil s̥ɬ'in hulk'óʔa
 ʔimi=mil s̥ɬ'in hulk'óʔi=q
 say=FIN Lizard Coyote=PAT
 “You **are doing** badly”, said Lizard to Coyote.’

Kroeber (1911) describes the suffixes shown in Table 20 as unique morphemes, but for the reasons stated above these instead can be analyzed as imperfective *-(a)m* or in the case of *-mik*, discussed below, *-(a)m* followed by declarative *=k*. Imperfective *-(a)m* followed by declarative *=k* can also be pronounced [aŋk], as shown above in (46b).

Morpheme as identified by Kroeber	Kroeber’s (1911) description of this morpheme	Analysis suggested in this grammar
<i>-m</i>	“appears to indicate involuntary, inanimate actions and automatic motions or sounds (361)”	<i>-(a)m</i> ‘imperfective’
<i>-am</i>	“continuative, habitual usitative (359)”	<i>-(a)m</i> ‘imperfective’
<i>-mik</i>	“perhaps expresses an immediate futurity or a future intent (362)”	<i>-(a)m</i> ‘imperfective’ + <i>=k</i> ‘declarative’

Table 20: Suggested analysis of morphemes containing imperfective *-(a)m* in Kroeber (1911)

(47) - (50) show examples of the *-am* form of the imperfective preceding different verb morphemes.

(47) Coyote and the World: 107, RM

si kí n̥qk ʔey hulk'óʔá ʔinámtmil ʔa:ʔát
 si kiʔ n̥qk =ʔi hulk'óʔi=q ʔinam-t=mil ʔaʔat
 NEW DST dark/night =HSY1 Coyote=PAT dream-INTR=FIN people

kú:htkiwit yí:tiwi kimáša **li:támšik**
 kuhtki=wit yiʔ-t-wi kiʔ-mas=q **liʔ-t-m-sik**
 north=ALL play-INTR-PST1 DST-DSTR=PAT **kill-INTR-IMPV-HSY2**

ʔiy ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi
 =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulk'oʔi
 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

'And at night Coyote dreamed: "The people who went north playing **are being killed**", Coyote said.'

- (48) Coyote and the World: 317, RM

sáʔey máy múšp komwičoʔokiʔ
 sq=ʔi maqʔ musp kom-wič-o=kiʔ
 SAME=HSY1 who/someone woman come-PST2-ʔ=ʔDST

míyqt lašk'awól' na hawmól' na wáčameyk
 mi=qt lašk'awol' =nq hawmol' =nq wáč'-m=k
 1PL.INCL=DAT moon =and morning.star =and **steal-IMPV=DECL**

ʔeyy ʔimeymil ki ʔi:psák
 =ʔi ʔimi=mil kiʔ ʔipsak
 =HSY1 say=FIN DST boy

'And "The woman who came **is stealing** our moon and morning star", said the boy.'

- (49) Origins: 132b, RM

hí:lónč'am k'ol ʔaʔáta hi:la
 hil-ʔon-čam k'ol ʔaʔat=q hil=q
 all-earth-ʔ other people=PAT all=PAT

kimás yúyyampa.

kimas yuy'-m-paʔ

thus **do-IMPV-FUT**

'Everywhere all the different peoples (tribes) **will do** thus.'

- (50) Origins: 133, RM

hílikšiloʔ ʔey **yuʔiyamil** tí:ʔampa:mikí: ʔey
 hilikšiloʔ =ʔi **yuy'-m=mil** ʔiʔam-paʔam=kiʔ =ʔi
 everything =HSY1 **do-IMPV=FIN** rope-IMPV-FUT=DST =HSY1

yu'iyamil [?]a:tát tíʔsákpa:mikí: [?]ey *yúyyamil.*
yuy'-m=mil [?]a:tát tíʔsak-pa'am=ki' =[?]i *yuy'-m=mil*
do-IMPFV=FIN people snare-FUT=DST =HSY1 **do-IMPFV=FIN**
 'Everything he **arranged**; how they would make ropes, he **arranged**; how
 people would set snares, he **arranged**.'

(51) and (52) show examples of the *-m* form of the imperfective.

- (51) Feather Dance Narrative: 9, RM
- | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>sekí:k</i> | wá'oksími | <i>hu'ú:tlmil.</i> |
| <i>si=kik</i> | wok'-s-m | <i>hu'u²-tl=mil</i> |
| NEW=right.there | dance/sing-CAUS?-IMPFV | quit-TR=FIN |
- 'Right there **having danced** they quit.'

- (52) Origins: 29, RM
- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| <i>se'éy</i> | [?] ap | lákmi'kíʔa |
| <i>si=[?]i</i> | [?] ap | lak'-m=kiʔa |
| NEW=HSY1 | 1SG.AGT | emerge-IMPFV=when |

<i>ka</i>	<i>há:p</i>	<i>wóktlin[?]k</i>
<i>ka[?]</i>	<i>háp</i>	<i>wok'-tl-nik</i>
PRX	song/sing	dance/sing-TR-NEC

“As I emerge, I **go to sing** this song”;

(53) and (54) show an interesting example of possible lexicalization of the verb root involving imperfective *-(a)m*. Compare the meaning of *háltmil* ‘heard’ with that of *hállammil* ‘understood’. In the latter example, *hállammil* ‘understood’, the verb root *hál-* ‘hear’ is suffixed with imperfective *-(a)m*, which could be interpreted as meaning “went on hearing.”

- (53) Coyote and the World: 8, RM
- | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>se'éy</i> | <i>hulk'o'á</i> | háltmil. |
| <i>si=[?]i</i> | <i>hulk'o'[?]i=q</i> | hál-t=mil |
| NEW=HSY1 | Coyote=PAT | hear-INTR=FIN |
- 'And Coyote **heard**.'

- (54) Coyote and the World: 120, RM
se²éy *hulk²ó²á* **hɔ́lammil**
si²i *hulk²ó²i=q* **hɔ́l-m=mil**
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT **hear-IMPFV=FIN**
 ‘And Coyote **understood** them,’

7.4.2.8.1. -mik

-mik has been proposed in the past as being a suffix indicating actions in the immediate future. Kroeber (1911:362) describes -mik as expressing “perhaps an immediate futurity or a future intent.” Siniard (1967a:116) also treats -mik as a unique morpheme describing the immediate future. Instead, due to the fact that this immediate future meaning is not consistent across elicited material and absent from the texts, it is proposed here that -mik is most likely imperfective -m followed by declarative =k¹⁸⁴.

In elicited material from Siniard, analyzing -mik as an immediate future morpheme seems quite convincing as there are many elicited examples, which are given as having an immediate future meaning, such as those shown in (55) and (56).

- (55) Siniard 1967b:3, MF
kima:si *həmp* **ši²imik**
ki²-mas-i *həp* **ši²-m=k**
 DST-DSTR-ANIM song/sing **sing-IMPFV=DECL**
 ‘Them fellows **are gonna sing.**’

- (56) Siniard 1967b:5, MF
q(m)pil *mil* **huymik**
[?]*qpil* *mil* **huy-m=k**
 1SG.EMPH meat/deer **cook-IMPFV=DECL**
 ‘I’m **gonna** cook the meat.’

However, as shown in (57) and (58), other examples recorded by Siniard ending in -mik are not translated with an immediate future meaning.

¹⁸⁴ -i in -mik is an epenthetic vowel.

- (57) Siniard 1967b:23, MF
 ?u?uk **p^hu:t^hmik**
 ?uk' **put-m=k**
 water **boil-IMPV=DECL**
 'water's bubbling, boiling'
- (58) Siniard 1967a:29
 ?an ?ap ?o:ymik
 ?an ?ap ?oy-m=k
 long.time 1SG.AGT **run-IMPV=DECL**
 'I **run** all the time.'

Also, as shown in (59) in Kroeber's description of imperfective *-m* there occur some words ending in *-mik* without an immediate future meaning.

- (59) Kroeber 1911:361
 ?qtaymik 'shoes creek'
 k'omek 'flutters'
 ?i:yičmik 'I tremble'

As previously stated, in the texts *-mik* is not found with an immediate future meaning in free translation, as can be seen in (60) and (61).

- (60) Coyote and the World: 17, RM
 ?i:yi tánhəl(e) kuk'á yí:kam
 ?i:yi tan=həli kuk'a yik-am
 what NEG?=INFR1? way.over.there make.fire-NOML

čí:yimilmik	<i>síkɪt</i>	<i>mil</i>	<i>šáy</i>
čiy-mq-il-m=k	<i>si=kiɪt</i>	<i>mil</i>	<i>šay</i>
glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV=DECL	NEW=then	meat/deer	raw/alive

<i>áwilk</i>	<i>éy</i>	<i>nəwilákik</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>ímeyu</i>
<i>ʔaw-l=k</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>nəwil-ək=k</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>ʔimi-wi</i>
eat-PFV=DECL	=HSY1	whip-SEM=DECL	1SG.AGT	say-PST1

ʔeyy ʔimeymil lóʔopsiʔ hulkʔóʔq huškʔáyesk.
 =ʔi ʔimi=mil lopis hulkʔoʔi=q huškʔay-s=k
 =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT tell-CAUS?=DECL

“‘This is what I said: ‘Far yonder fire **gleams at intervals**, but eating raw meat they whip me’, I said just now”, said Jackrabbit to Coyote informing him.’

- (61) Coyote and the World: 135, RM

sikiṭéy ʔolkáčam ʔáṭey yi:č
 si=kiṭ=ʔi ʔolkaṭam ʔaṭi yič
 NEW=then=HSY1 Mouse a.while for.a.while

lákmi ʔímil ʔey lákt(e)mil húčki
lak'-m=k ʔimi=mil =ʔi lak'-t=mil huč=ki
emerge-IMPFV=DECL say=FIN =HSY1 emerge-INTR=FIN outside=IN

kʔóʔil wóʔoksikiṭ
 kʔoʔil wok'-s=kiṭ
 Wailaki dance/sing-CONT=while

‘And Mouse, saying he **was going out** for a while, went outdoors while the Wailaki were dancing.’

7.4.2.9. -mil’ past habitual

The past habitual aspect *-mil’*, not to be confused with *=mil* ‘finite’, has the meaning of “used to do X.” Kroeber (1911) does not describe this suffix in his sketch of Yuki. In the texts this suffix is either not used or Kroeber was not able to discern the difference between *=mil* ‘finite’ and *-mil’* ‘past habitual’ when recording the speech of his Yuki consultants.

In the texts, *mil hutʔóʔopismil* ‘used to go deer-hunting’, shown in (62), is translated with a past habitual meaning, but glottalization is not marked on the final /l/ in the verb.

(62) Coyote and the World: 382, RM

<i>si=kéy</i>	<i>mil</i>	hut'ó'opismil
<i>si=ki</i>	<i>mil</i>	hut'op-s=mil
NEW=therefore	meat/deer	hunt-CONT=FIN?

'Then he **used to go deer-hunting**.'

In other cases glottalization is marked on the final /l/ of the verb, but the translated meaning of the verb does not have a past habitual meaning, as shown in (63). Such cases are not frequent and the reason for them is not entirely clear. It could be a mishearing of glottalization where there was none, sporadic glottalization by the consultant, or perhaps that the free translation does not convey a past habitual meaning, which such examples would be understood to have by Yuki speakers.

(63) Coyote and the World: 61, RM

<i>sikitéy</i>	<i>hayú:mi</i>	<i>hulmúninát</i>	<i>nák'i:</i>
<i>si=kit=?i</i>	<i>hayum</i>	<i>hulmunin=qt</i>	<i>nák=?ki</i>
NEW=then=HSY1	Dove	Spider=DAT	near=IN

<i>šiló'</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	náŋkilmil'	<i>hayú:mi</i>
<i>šilo'</i>	<i>=?i</i>	nám-k-il=mil'	<i>hayum</i>
like	=HSY1	lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN?	Dove

'Then Dove **laid himself down** as it were near Spider.'

Examples of the past habitual *-mil'* are found in elicited material, as shown in (64).

(64) Siniard 1967b:79, RM

<i>ʔapil</i>	<i>hot^h</i>	<i>hu:tmil</i>	nahismil'
<i>ʔqpil</i>	<i>hoʔ</i>	<i>huʔutmil</i>	na-h-s-mil'
1SG.AGT.EMPH?	large	bread	bake-DUR-CONT-PHAB

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

In polar questions, the interrogative *-ha* is added following *-mil'* instead of replacing *-mil'*. Past habitual *-mil'* differs in this respect from finite *=mil*. The interrogative *-ha* never follows finite *=mil*, but instead replaces it in polar questions. Note the loss of glottalization in past habitual *-mil'* in (65).

- (65) Siniard 1967b:79, MF
 ?apil hot^h hu:tmil **nahismilha**
 ?qipil hoṭ hu?utmil **na-h-s-mil'-ha**
 1SG.AGT.EMPH? large bread **bake-DUR-CONT-PHAB-Q**
 'Did I used to make a lot of bread?'

7.4.3. Mood

The Yuki system of mood distinguishes declarative, imperative, interrogative, necessitative, permissive, speculative, and negative moods.

7.4.3.1. =k declarative

The declarative mood =k describes a state of affairs or an action without reference to a specific time. Kroeber (1911:362) describes declarative =k as "generally translatable by the present tense of English. It may imply continuance. It makes verbs of adjectival stems." Schlichter (1985:64) reconstructs *-k or *-ki as the declarative endings for adjectives and *-ik or *-iki as the declarative endings for verbs.

As shown in (66) and (67) in elicited examples the declarative mood often occurs in examples that are translated as present tense in English.

- (66) Siniard 1967a:35, MF
 ?ap musp^h **mihik**
 ?qip musp **mih=k**
 1SG.AGT woman **be=DECL**
 'I'm a woman.'

- (67) Siniard 1967a:43, MF
 ?al ?ap **lu:sik**
 ?ol ?qip **luh-s=k**
 wood 1SG.AGT **chop-CONT=DECL**
 'I'm chopping wood.'

However, the declarative is also found translated as other tenses. In (68) and (69), č'anik is translated as past tense 'gave', while lu:(h)mik is translated as future or immediate future tense 'gonna chop (right now)'. This shows that declarative =k is not

an indicator of present tense and does not of itself make reference to a particular time.

(68) Siniard 1967a:39, MF

kiʔi hɔw ʃʔa:nik

kiʔ hɔw ʃan=k

DST fish **give=DECL**

‘He **gave** me his (own) fish.’

(69) Siniard 1967a:43, MF

ʔal ʔap lu:(h)mik

ʔol ʔap luh-m=k

wood 1SG.AGT **chop-IMPV=DECL**

‘I’m **gonna chop** wood (right now).’

In connected speech, verbs ending in =k seem to be “setting the stage” or describing the circumstances under which the events or actions described by other verbs in the clause take place.

In Clause 36, in (70), *túk huʔuʔík* ‘ceasing to travel’ states the circumstances where the dancing described by *wók:kesmil* ‘(they) danced’ occurs. In Clause 38, when it is time for the travelers to stop dancing and to travel again, the same construction is used in reverse. *wók huʔúsk* ‘stopping the dance’ states the circumstances where the traveling described by *ʔátá túkeymil* ‘traveled on once more’ occurs.

(70) Coyote and the World: 36, RM

sɔʔéy ʃáqčam ʔan túk huʔuʔík ʔey

sɔʔ=ʔi ʃáʔqkčam ʔan ʔuk huʔuʔ=ʔ =ʔi

SAME=HSY1 sometimes long.time **move quit=DECL** =HSY1

wóʔokesmil ʔan kimáseypa:mikí:

wokʔ-s=mil ʔan kimas-paʔam=kiʔ

dance/sing-CONT?=FIN long.time thus-FUT=DST

‘And every so often **ceasing to travel**, they danced, thus they would do.’

...

'Coyote and the World: 38'

<i>sikéy</i>	<i>ʔátá</i>	<i>ki:</i>	<i>wók</i>	huʔúsk	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>sik=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔaʔaʔ</i>	<i>kiʔ</i>	<i>wokʔ</i>	huʔuʔ-s=k	<i>=ʔi</i>
then=HSY1	again	DST	dance/sing	quit-CAUS=DECL	=HSY1

ʔátá túkeymil
ʔaʔaʔ ʔuk=mil
 again move=FIN

'And **stopping** the dance, they traveled on once more.'

In (71), declarative =*k* is used the same way as in the previous example. The entire clause is leading up to the final verb *kimáseymil* '[Taykómol] did these things'. The declarative-marked verb *ko:k* ~ *kóʔok* 'coming, returning' is used to describe the circumstances by which this action takes place. *kimáseymil* occurs in a situation where *kipáwkil kóʔok kúhtkipis* '[Taykómol] was coming back from the north' and when *ʔonmikʔáltí:li kipáwkil kó:k* '[Taykómol] had gone encircling the earth'.

(71) Origins: 135, RM

<i>kipáwkil</i>	ko:k	<i>kúhtkipis</i>	<i>ʔonmikʔáltí:li</i>
<i>kipáw=kʔil</i>	koʔ=k	<i>kuhtki=pis</i>	<i>ʔon=mikʔal-t-il</i>
back=TERM	go=DECL	north=ABL	earth=around-INTR-MPSV

<i>kipáwkil</i>	kóʔok	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>kimáseymil.</i>
<i>kipáw=kʔil</i>	koʔ=k	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas=mil</i>
back=TERM	go=DECL	=HSY1	DST-DISTR=FIN

'It was as he **was coming** back from the north, when he had gone encircling the earth as he [Taykómol] **was returning**, that he did these things.'

Declarative =*k* can be used with adjectives functioning as verbs. In practice these are predicate adjectives or "verbs of adjectival stems" as Kroeber (1911:362) refers to them in this context. (72) and (73) show elicited examples of adjectives ending in =*k* functioning as verbs..

(72) Siniard 1967a:37, MF

ʔač **k^ho:ntik**

ʔač **kon-t=k**

clothes **dry-INTR=DECL**

‘The clothes are already **dry**.’

(73) Siniard 1967a:37, MF

ʔi: hqʔye **ʔatʔk**

ʔi hqyi **tat=k**

1SG.PAT now **good/make=DECL**

‘I’m **luck[y]** (**good**) now.’

Predicate adjectives with declarative =k are also seen in the texts, as shown in (74).

(74) Origins: 109, RM

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

si=ʔi kiʔ **hqkoč=k** =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulk’oʔi

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

‘‘That is **bad**’’, Coyote said.’

(75) is an additional example showing that declarative =k may also be used with words of other word classes functioning as verbs. In this example =k is affixed to ʔim ‘where’ resulting in ʔimʔeyk ‘is where’ or ‘where would have’.

(75) Origins: 132a, RM

sqčamey kimási mil hut’óʔopispa

sq-čam=ʔi kiʔ-mas-i mil hut’op-s-paʔ

SAME-ʔ=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM meat/deer hunt-CAUS?-FUT

ʔimʔeyk yúyyamil.

ʔim=k yuy’-m=mil

where=DECL do-IMPV=FIN

‘Also he arranged **where** they **would have** their deer-hunting grounds.’

Declarative =k is also used in ʔalk ‘no’, where it is attached to the negative verb ʔal-, as shown in (76).

- (76) Coyote and the World: 248, RM
se^ʔ*éy* **tq̣lk** ʔ*imeymil*
si^ʔ*i* **tq̣l=k** ʔ*imi=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 **NEG=DECL** say=FIN
 ‘But, “No”, he said.’

7.4.3.2. -a(ʔ) ~ C#’ ~ Ø imperative

The imperative mood -a(ʔ) ~ -C#’ ~ Ø¹⁸⁵ is used to form imperatives and prohibitives¹⁸⁶. No formal distinction is made between commands given to one person, versus commands given to more than one person. Imperative verb forms are created by either affixing -a(ʔ) to the verb or by glottalizing the final consonant of the verb. Sometimes no overt marking may be present in imperatives (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:111). Kroeber (1911:363) calls -a the “usual imperative” and Schlichter (1985:65) reconstructs *-a^ʔ and *-’ (glottalization of the final consonant) as the imperative forms in PNY.

Imperative -a(ʔ) takes the place of other tense or mood suffixes and occurs at the end of the verb. *nq̣weta* ‘look!’, in (77), *tatísaʔ* ‘make!’, in (78) and possibly both verbs in *kápisa hq̣wayilitia* ‘bring (it) in to eat!’, in (79).

- (77) Coyote and the World: 22, RM
se^ʔ*éy* *kaṭáʔ**apis* ʔ*q̣p* *yáṣhi* *kítáʔ**apis* **nq̣weta**
si^ʔ*i* *kaṭa*=*pis* ʔ*ap* *yq̣š-h* *kíta*=*pis* **nq̣w-t-a**
 NEW=HSY1 here=ABL 1SG.AGT stand-DUR there=ABL **see-INTR-IMP**

ʔ*ey* ʔ*imeymil* *lówpsi* *hulk’oʔa*
 =ʔ*i* ʔ*imi=mil* *lopis* *hulk’oʔi=q̣*
 =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT

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

- (78) Coyote and the World: 393, RM
*sikáʔ**éy* ʔ*inámt(e)mil* ʔ*a:tašáy*
si=kq=ʔ*i* ʔ*inam-t=mil* ʔ*aṭat-šay*
 NEW=therefore=HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN people-raw/alive

¹⁸⁵ Allomorphs of the imperative mood are taken from Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:111.

¹⁸⁶ Prohibitives are negative imperatives.

tatísaʔ kip ʔimiye ʔey ʔinámtemil
tat-s-a kip ʔimi-y =ʔi ʔinam-t=mil
good/make-CAUS-IMP 3R say-PROG =HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN
 ‘Thereupon he dreamed; that it told him to **make** human beings, he dreamed¹⁸⁷.’

(79) Coyote and the World: 197, RM

sqʔéy ʔqp mil ʔúnmawi ki:
sq=ʔi ʔqp mil ʔun-mq-wi kiʔ
 SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT meat/deer carry-DIR1-PST DST

kápisa *həwayilitia* ʔey ʔímeymil hulkʔóʔi
kap-s-aʔ *həwəy-lit-a* =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulkʔoʔi
enter-CAUS-IMP **food/eat-DIR2-IMP** =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

kimáša *músʔaʔ*
kiʔ-mas=q *mus=q*
 DST-DSTR=PAT women=PAT

‘And, “I have brought a deer, **bring it in to eat!**” Coyote said to these women.’

Kroeber (1911:363) observed that not all imperative verb forms end in *-aʔ*, but did not note that in place of *-aʔ* the final consonant of the verb would be glottalized to form the imperative¹⁸⁸. The reduced form of the imperative occurs in the elicited example (80).

¹⁸⁷ A more accurate free translation might be: ‘Thereupon he dreamed; that it was saying to him “**Make** human beings!” he dreamed.’

¹⁸⁸ Kroeber (1911:363) wrote “-a, the usual imperative suffix. It is used on certain stems, and after -k, -ak, -t, -is, and other suffixes. Other stems, and the suffixes -am, -tl, -kil, -ʔil, -lil, -sil, -il, and others, express the imperative without any suffix.” The likely reason for the distribution of these two imperative forms is phonological. Glottalized resonants regularly occur word-finally in Yuki in words like *kim* ‘over there’, *hal* ‘top’, and in the agentive/instrumental suffix *-(m)ol*. Thus the elision of /a/ and assimilation of the glottal stop in imperative *-aʔ* into the /l/ or /m/ in resonant-final verbs would yield words that are phonetically acceptable to Yuki speakers. Word-final glottalized obstruents never occur in surface forms; thus in verbs ending in obstruents, it is not surprising that the full form of the imperative suffix *-aʔ* is maintained.

- (80) Schlichter 1985:205, AA
mišq̣p **laktl'**
miš=op **lak'-tl-ʔ**
 road=LAT **emerge-TR-IMP**
 'cross the road!'

The reduced form of the imperative is rarely found in the texts. *nq̣wkił'* 'look!' is shown in (81). An additional example is shown in (82). *hqwáysam* 'eat' is translated as an imperative form, but the final glottalization is not written. Therefore the glottalization was either not present or not heard by Kroeber.

- (81) Coyote and the World: 371, RM
moʔošampú:lamláčkot *maʔíyi* *yú:ta* *ʔiymaq* *mós*
moʔšampulamláč-kot *maʔiyi* *yuta* *ʔiymaq* *moʔos*
 Moʔošampulamláč-LOC something happen? ? 2PL.AGT

míniskin' *hilkšiloʔ* *hí:li*
min-s-kin' *hilkšiloʔ* *hil-i*
 doubt-CONT?-? everything all-ANIM

lákti *hánpis* ***nq̣wkił'*** *ʔeyy* *ʔimeymil*
lak'-t *han=pis* ***nq̣w-k-il-ʔ*** =ʔi *ʔimi=mil*
 emerge-INTR house=ABL **see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP** =HSY1 say=FIN

kipat *ʔa:тата* *hulk'óʔi*
kip=qt *ʔatat=q* *hulk'óʔi*
 3R=DAT people=PAT Coyote

“At Moʔošampulamláč something is happening! You who could not believe me in anything, all come out of your houses and **look!**” said Coyote to his people.’

- (82) Coyote and the World: 205, RM
sq̣ʔey *maš* ***hqwáysam*** *wič* *kóyikap*
sq̣=ʔi *mas* ***hqwqy-s-m-(ʔ)*** *wič* *koʔ-y=kop*
 SAME=HSY1 thus **food/eat-CAUS-IMPV-(IMP)** far go-PROG=when

<i>máy</i>	<i>hiwítwiča</i>	<i>wičkít:</i>	<i>máy</i>	<i>ʔínlamʔ</i>
<i>máyʔ</i>	<i>hiw-t-wič-a</i>	<i>wič=ki</i>	<i>máyʔ</i>	<i>ʔin-lqm</i>
who/someone	tired-INTR-PST2-ʔ	far=IN	who/someone	sleep-INCH

ʔey *ʔimeymil* *hulkʔóʔi*
 =ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *hulkʔóʔi*
 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“So, **eat!** From coming far I am exhausted, that is why I am sleepy”, said Coyote.

Prohibitives, or negative imperatives, are formed by negating the verb using *-tan* ‘negative’ and then adding imperative mood suffix to the end of the negated verb. (83) and (84) show examples of prohibitives in elicitation and in the texts, respectively.

- (83) Siniard 1967a:57, MF
nan **ʔʰi:ʔakʔanʔaʔ**
nan **ʔiʔ-ʔk-ʔan-aʔ**
 fence **fly-SEM-NEG-IMP**
 ‘**Don’t jump** over the fence!’

- (84) Coyote and the World: 278, RM
sámi **šúʔnóhkiltána** *kup*
sq=mi **šúʔ-noʔ-h-k-il-tan-a** *kup*
 SAME=but **sit/stay-live-DUR-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP** sister’s.son

mi *kóʔo* *ʔima*
miʔ *koʔ* *ʔima*
 2SG.AGT go self

“But not sitting there to stay long [**don’t sit there and stay long**], sister’s son, you are to go on.”¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ A more accurate free translation might be: ‘Therefore don’t sit there and stay long, sister’s son, you are to go on.’

7.4.3.3. *-ha(?) ~ -ʔa(?)* interrogative

The interrogative mood *-ha(?) ~ -ʔa(?)*¹⁹⁰ is used in the formation of polar questions and content questions. The interrogative *-ha* or one of its allomorphs is attached to the end of verb in place of any other tense or mood marking. Kroeber (1911:363) refers to *-haʔ* as the “interrogative” and Schlichter (1985:64) reconstructs **-ʔa* as the interrogative mode suffix in PNY.

(85) and (86) show elicited examples of the interrogative in use.

(85) Schlichter 1985:207, AA

ʔim ki nq̄mʔa

ʔim kiʔ nq̄m-ʔa

where DST **lay-Q**

‘Where **is** it (**lying**)?’

(86) Siniard 1967a:43, MF

kiʔi sum ʔal lu:hisha

kiʔ sum ʔol luh-s-ha

DST yesterday wood **chop-CONT-Q**

‘**Did** he **chop** wood yesterday?’

(87) and (88) are examples of the interrogative *-ha* used in the texts.

(87) Coyote and the World: 16, RM

seʔéy ʔiyi ʔap hoyyímeyha ʔey ʔímeymil

si=ʔi ʔiyi ʔap hoy=ʔimi-ha =ʔi ʔimi=mil

NEW=HSY1 what 1SG.AGT **too-say-Q** =HSY1 say=FIN

“‘What **am** I **telling** about?’” he said.’

(88) Coyote and the World: 19, RM

ʔim kí: yim čí:yi:mílamha kup

ʔim kiʔ yim čiy-mq-il-m-ha kup

where DST fire **glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-Q** sister’s.son

¹⁹⁰ Allomorphs of the interrogative mood are taken from Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:114.

?i:y ?ímeymil hulk'ó'i

=?i ?imi=mil hulk'ó'i

=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“Where **does** that fire **gleam at times**, sister’s son?” said Coyote.’

7.4.3.4. -nik ~ -nʔk ~ -nk necessitative

The necessitative mood -nik ~ -nʔk ~ -nk is used to convey the meaning ‘must do X’ or ‘have to do X’. The necessitative mood is not described in earlier studies of Yuki. Examples of the necessitative -nik are shown in (89).

(89) Coyote and the World: 376, RM

sáʔkey	kípat	múšpa	tát	šú:hinʔk
sá=k=?i	ki=pát	musp=q	tat	šuʔ-h-nik
SAME=?=HSY1	3R=DAT	woman=PAT	good/make	sit/stay-DUR-NEC

tát	halč	tatéym(i)k	?ey	?im
tat	halč	tat-m-nik	=?i	?im
good/make	children	good/make-IMPFV-NEC	=HSY1	thus

kipat múšpa nak'ó'ohimmil

kip=qat musp=q naʔ'oh-m=mil

3R=DAT woman=PAT teach-?=FIN

‘And his woman (wife), “You **must stay well; look well** after the children”, thus he instructed his wife.’

Examples are shown contrasting šuʔ- ‘sit, stay’ marked with the necessitative -nik in (90) and not marked with this ending in (91). In (90), šuʔ- is suffixed with the necessitative suffix forming šuʔhinik ‘(you) must stay’. In (91), šuʔ- is suffixed only with the declarative mood =k forming šuʔik ‘sitting’.

(90) Coyote and the World: 282, RM

sáʔey	?atéy	káʔa	kup	šuʔhinik	yíčmah
sá=?i	?atí	kaʔa	kup	šuʔ-h-nik	yíčmah
SAME=HSY1	a.while	here	sister’s.son	sit/stay-DUR-NEC	for.a.while

hánkil *kó:mil*
han=k'il *ko²=mil*
 house=TERM go=FIN

“And for a while [you **must**] **stay here**, sister’s son; for a little I am going home;”

- (91) Coyote and the World: 407, RM

se'ey *sá:t'in* *'i:yu'a'kim'* *'án* *hánop*
si=?i *sá:t'in* *'iyu'a'=kim'* *'an* *han=op*
 NEW=HSY1 Lizard why?=over.there? long.time house=LAT

šu'ik *ki:č'ilkíč* *pá:tispa* *tanhq̄li(k)* *kí:la'*
šu'=k *kič'il=kič* *paṭ-s-pa'* *tan=hq̄l* *ki'²-la*
sit/stay=DECL obsidian=only chip-CONT-FUT NEG?=INFR1? DST-INST
 “Then Lizard, “How is it to happen that always **sitting** indoors they will only chip obsidian, it seems, with that?””

Additional examples of the necessitative *-nik* are shown in (92).

- (92) Coyote and the World: 377, RM

sá:kíṭey *kipat* *múspa* *'imeymil* *tát* *'aṭáta*
sá=kiṭ=?i *kip=ṭ* *musp=q* *'imi=mil* *tat* *'aṭat=q*
 SAME=then=HSY1 3R=DAT woman=PAT say=FIN good/make people=PAT

hąwáysin'k *ka* *hánap* *kó:támika* *'eyy*
hąwąy-s-nik *ka'* *han=op* *ko²-t-m=ka'* *=?i*
food/eat-CAUS-NEC PRX house=LAT go-INTR-IMPV=PRX =HSY1

yátimiyik'op *mí'* *hąwáy* *hámilhan*
yat-m-yi=kop *mí'* *hąwáy* *ha=mil=han*
 be.gone-IMPV-?=though 2SG.AGT food/eat hold=FIN=but?

tqłtilin(i)k ʔeyy ʔimeymil
tqł-t-il-nik =ʔi ʔimi=mil
NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC =HSY1 say=FIN

‘Thereupon he told his wife, “You **must feed** well the people coming to this house; even though I am gone you **must not** let yourself seem to withhold food”, he said.’

7.4.3.5. -law ~ -lawh permissive

Kroeber (1911:358) describes the permissive *-law*, which he writes *-lau*‘, as having “the force of English can, and is either an independent verb or suffix.”¹⁹¹ Elicited examples of *-law* indicate that Kroeber’s description is accurate, and that *-law* has the meaning ‘to be able to X’ or ‘can X’, but that *-law* also shows several other meanings in use. Elicited examples are also translated with the meaning ‘might be able to X’ or ‘might X’. *-law* may be an enclitic, but it is probably not an independent verb as *-law* is never seen in any contexts other than preceding the declarative *=k* or interrogative *-ha* at the end of a verb.

(93) - (96) show elicited examples of the permissive *-law*. (93) and (94) show *-law* with the meaning ‘to be able to X’ or ‘would like to X’.

- (93) Siniard 1967b:73, MF
ki miʔ p^hislawha
kiʔ miʔ pis-law-ha
 DST 2SG.AGT **hide-PRM-Q**
 ‘**can** you **hide** it?’

- (94) Siniard 1967b:73, MF
ʔap p^histlawk^h
ʔap pis-t-law=k
 1SG.AGT **hide-INTR-PRM=DECL**
 ‘**maybe** I’ll **hide** it, I **would like to hide** it’

¹⁹¹ Kroeber (1911:359) also describes another verb morpheme *-law* as “having the meaning of making a motion to perform the action indicated by the verb stem.” Kroeber gives the following examples of this form: *muklawetlwi* ‘moved to seize with the mouth, tried to bite’, *ʔahlawetlu* ‘made a motion to seize.’ This other *-law* morpheme is not seen in the texts or in elicited records and so it is unclear what Kroeber is describing.

- (98) Coyote and the World: 406, RM

si'éy hulk'ó'í'a 'íyi yú:m' tánhqli tát(k) kí:la
 si='í hulk'ó'í='a 'íyi yum' tan=hqli tat kí'-la

NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT? what ? NEG?=INFR1? good/make DST-INST

tát kí:tíl pá:ʔisláwxk 'eyy 'imeymil hulk'ó'í
 tat kitil paʔ-s-law=k ='í 'imi=mil hulk'ó'í

good obsidian **chip-CONT-PRM=DECL** =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

'Then Coyote, "What is the matter then? With that they **can keep**

chipping obsidian well", Coyote said.'

7.4.3.6. -han speculative

The speculative mood *-han* is only observed in elicited examples. In these examples it is used to describe events that might happen. It is typically translated as 'might' or 'maybe'¹⁹². It is unclear whether speculative *-han* has any connection to *-han* 'but', discussed in §13.1.2 and §15.12 or the subessive case enclitic *-han*, discussed in §5.4.5. The speculative mood is not described by Kroeber in his 1911 sketch of Yuki.

(99) and (100), contrast examples with and without the speculative mood suffix *-han*.

- (99) Siniard 1967a:5, MF

ki' mu:la mis t'ukhan

ki' mula mis t'uk'-han

DST mule 2SG.PAT **hit/kick/stab-SPEC**

'that mule **might** kick you'

- (100) Siniard 1967a:5, MF

mu:la 'i: t'uktlik

mula 'i t'uk'-tl=k

mule 1SG.PAT **hit/kick/stab-TR=DECL**

'the mule **kicked** me'

¹⁹² In Table 17, *-han* is shown in Position XI. This classification is uncertain. In elicited examples *-han* is never followed by other verb morphology and is always found at the end of the verb, just as the other morphemes in Position XI. Also, as seen in *li:'akhan* 'might kill' in (101), *-han* follows semelfactive *-qk*, which is in Position VIII.

(101) and (102) are two additional examples of verbs marked with speculative *-han*.

(101) Siniard 1967a:53, MF

haw ki[?] mila li:[?]akhan
haw ki[?] mil=q li[?]-qk-han
 tomorrow DST meat/deer=PAT **kill-SEM-SPEC**
 ‘he **might kill** that deer tomorrow’

(102) Siniard 1967a:77, MF

[?]amp [?]u:pan si:kin nawwihan
[?]qp [?]upan sikin nqw-han
 1SG.AGT snake **see-SPEC**
 ‘**maybe I’ll see** a snake’

7.4.3.7. *-tan* negative

Verbs are negated with the negative *-tan*. A separate negative verb *ʔql-* is used to form negative clauses¹⁹³. Kroeber (1911:361) notes the use of *-tan* and *ʔql-* as negatives and Schlichter (1985:254) reconstructs **təl* (**tal?*) as the negative in PNY.

(103) and (104) are elicited examples of negated verbs.

(103) Siniard 1967a:63, MF

mu:šakʔanpa[?]
muš-qk-ʔan-pa[?]
 laugh-SEM-NEG-FUT
 ‘He’s not gonna laugh’

(104) Siniard 1967a:106, MF

ki [?]i hqw ča:niʔan
ki[?] [?]i hqw čan-ʔan
 DST 1SG.PAT fish **give-NEG**
 ‘He **won’t give** that fish to me.’

(105) and (106) are examples of negated verbs in the texts.

¹⁹³ The negative verb *ʔql-* is discussed in §15.9.2.

(105) Coyote and the World: 62, RM

sikiṭéy *hí:li* *ʔatq* *wóktmil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *hil-i* *ʔatqʔ* *wok'-tl=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 all-ANIM again dance/sing-TR=FIN
 'And all danced on.'

'Coyote and the World: 63'

sonʔéy *hulmúnina* *mú:šamtanmil.*
son=ʔi *hulmunin=q* *muš-m-tan=mil*
 however=HSY1 Spider=PAT **laugh-IMPV-NEG=FIN**
 'However Spider **did not laugh**.'¹⁹⁴

(106) Origins: 148, RM

siki *ʔey* *ʔa:tát* *k'á:pmikimáse* *ʔey*
si=ki *=ʔi* *ʔatát* *k'ap'-m=kiʔ-mas-i* *=ʔi*
 NEW=therefore =HSY1 people kill-IMPV=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

k'á:pank *kipáwkil* *koʔotamtánmil*
k'ap'-am=k *kipqw=k'il* *koʔ-t-m-tan=mil*
 kill-IMPV=DECL back=TERM **go-INTR-IMPV-NEG=FIN**

hulk'óʔa *wáytnamlíki:*
hulk'oʔi=q *wayt=namli=kiʔ*
 Coyote=PAT refuse=DEP=DST

'And therefore people who die, when they are dead **do not come (go) back**, because Coyote refused.'

¹⁹⁴ The original free translation is: 'But did not make Spider laugh.' The free translation given in the example is a retranslation of Clause 63 that seems to match the original Yuki more closely.

7.4.4. Evidentiality

Yuki evidentials are used primarily to indicate that information is not directly known by the speaker. Table 21 provides an overview of the different types of evidentials found in Yuki.

Evidential	Gloss	Meaning	Location
=ʔi ~ ʔi: ~ ʔiy ~ ʔey 'hearsay evidential'	HSY1	Indicates that speaker does not have personal knowledge of preceding material (Kroeber 1911:378, 380).	Immediately following the switch-reference marker, quoted speech and major clausal constituents.
=hqli 'inferential evidential'	INFR1	'it seems, being about to'	An enclitic attaching to nouns and verbs.
-sik 'hearsay evidential'	HSY2	'I hear, they say'	An enclitic or suffix attaching to verbs.
šiloʔ 'inferential evidential'	INFR2	'seems to'	Noun and verb

Table 21: Yuki Evidentials

7.4.4.1. ʔi ~ ʔi: ~ ʔiy ~ ʔey hearsay evidential

The most ubiquitous element in Yuki connected speech may be ʔi. Kroeber (1911) calls the hearsay evidential ʔi the dubitative particle and gives the following descriptions of its use:

Particle used in myths to indicate that the narrative does not rest on the personal experience of the narrator (1911:378)...dubitative particle, here indicating the cessation of the direct discourse in which it is not used, and the resumption of the narrative (380).

Most of the texts collected by Kroeber were myths. Therefore all of these texts are replete with ʔi. Other texts, such as the translated *Ents and Upek* story, where the speaker, Ralph Moore, still would not have had personal knowledge or experience of

the events in those texts, are also filled with uses of *ʔi*. The one text that seems to be a telling by Moore of an event that he personally witnessed, the Feather Dance Narrative, contains no instance where *ʔi* is used. This suggests that Kroeber's original description of *ʔi*, as a marker of information that the speaker has no personal experience with, is correct.

ʔi immediately follows the switch-reference marker and coordinating suffix, if it is present, and immediately following quoted speech. *ʔi* is also found following larger constituents within the clause, such as verb arguments and following individual verbs within serial verb constructions. (107) and (108) show *ʔi* immediately following the switch-reference marker and immediately following quoted speech.

(107) Origins: 64, RM

seʔey	<i>tʔuynaʔákin</i>	<i>ʔq̄ha</i>	<i>míʔat</i>	<i>ʔon</i>	<i>míhikoʔi</i> :
si=ʔi	<i>tʔuynaʔákin</i>	<i>ʔq̄ha</i>	<i>mi=qt</i>	<i>ʔon</i>	<i>mih-koʔi</i> :
NEW=HSY1	Tʔuynaʔákin	yes	1PL.INCL=DAT	earth	be-ʔ

<i>miʔat</i>	<i>mi:paʔáč</i>	ʔey	ʔímeymil	<i>tʔuynaʔákin</i> .
<i>mi=qt</i>	<i>mih-paʔ-áč</i>	=ʔi	ʔimi=mil	<i>tʔuynaʔákin</i>
1PL.INCL=DAT	be-FUT-ʔ	=HSY1	say=FIN	Tʔuynaʔákin

Origins: 65

sqʔey	<i>ʔútʔmil</i>	<i>tʔúy</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔá.</i>
sq=ʔi	<i>ʔutʔ=mil</i>	<i>tʔuy</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔi=ʔa</i>
SAME=HSY1	give=FIN	pitch	Coyote=PAT

‘And Tʔuynaʔákin, “Yes, our earth it is, ours shall it be”, Tʔuynaʔákin said, and handed the pitch to Coyote.’

(108) Coyote and the World: 15, RM

sqkʔiléy	<i>kíwismil</i>	<i>ʔi:yi</i>	<i>šɨjkími</i>	<i>kúp</i>
sq=kʔil=ʔi	<i>kiw-s=mil</i>	<i>ʔiyi</i>	<i>šinkimi</i>	<i>kup</i>
SAME=TERM?=HSY1	ask-CAUS=FIN	what	?	sister's.brother

<i>hoymiye</i>	<i>šilómwi</i>	ʔey	ʔímeymil	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>
<i>hoymiye</i>	<i>šiloʔ-m-wi</i>	=ʔi	ʔimi=mil	<i>hulkʔoʔi</i>
?	like-IMPV-PST1	=HSY1	say=FIN	Coyote

7.4.4.2. =hqli inferential evidential

=hqli is a type of inferential evidential usually translated as ‘it seems’, ‘seems to’, or ‘must be’. It is most likely derived from the verb hql- ‘hear’. In Kroeber’s original transcriptions of the texts, =hqli is often glossed as ‘I guess’. =hqli attaches to verbs, but is also found following the demonstrative ki[?] that is acting as a nominal ‘that one’. =hqli is not mentioned in earlier studies of Yuki.

(110) - (113) are examples of =hqli used in the texts. In (110) and (111), =hqli is found in t’á:tlhqli ‘seemed to touch it’ and nqwinhqlé ‘going to look, it seems’, respectively. In (110), =hqli is also found in k’o[?]hqliki: ‘where it was’ or ‘where it was inside’.¹⁹⁵

(110) Coyote and the World: 224, RM

samí: [?] i:	háye	pilá:ta	k’ó[?]hqliki:	[?] ey	háye
sa=mi= [?] i	hq [?] aye	pilát=q	k’o[?]=hqli=ki[?]	= [?] i	hq [?] aye
SAME=then=HSY1	now	sun=PAT	be.in=INFR1=DST	=HSY1	now

t’á:tlhqli	[?] ey	muč’úyitmil
t’a[?]-tl=hqli	= [?] i	muč’uy-t=mil
touch-TR=INFR1	=HSY1	squeal-INTR=FIN

‘But now where the sun **was inside**, as he **seemed to touch** it, it squealed.’

(111) Coyote and the World: 313, RM

se [?] éy	wiley	kó [?] oti	[?] ey	nqwinhqlé	[?] ey
sí= [?] i	wili	ko [?] -t	= [?] i	nqw-n=hqli	= [?] i
NEW=HSY1	far	go-INTR	=HSY1	see-AND=INFR1	=HSY1

yqt(e)mil
yat=mil
be.gone=FIN

‘So **going farther to look, it seems**, he was not (in sight any longer).’

¹⁹⁵ The free translations seem to incorporate many of the nuances in meaning expressed through the morphology of the original Yuki. However, the free translations were originally published to be read by an English-speaking audience, therefore it may be that Kroeber avoided using “seems” twice in this example due to the awkwardness of this use in English: ‘But now where the sun seemed to be inside, as he seemed to touch it, it squealed.’

7.4.4.3. *-sik* hearsay evidential

-sik is another type of hearsay evidential translated with meanings like ‘they say’ or ‘I learn that I am to X’, *-sik* is not mentioned in earlier descriptions of Yuki. (114) - (116) show *-sik* in examples from the texts.

(114) Coyote and the World: 188, RM

<i>sáʔey</i>	<i>kipat</i>	<i>ʔa:táta</i>	<i>huškʔáyesmíl</i>	<i>ʔínám</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>kip=qt</i>	<i>ʔaʔat=q</i>	<i>huškʔay-s=mil</i>	<i>ʔinam</i>
SAME=HSY1	3R=DAT	people=PAT	tell-CAUS?=FIN	dream

<i>huškʔáyestanáʔ kʔophán</i>	<i>ʔáq</i>	<i>ko:mi:lámšik</i>
<i>huškʔay-s-tan-aʔ=kop-han</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>koʔ-mq-il-m-sik</i>
tell-CAUS?-NEG-?=while-but	1SG.AGT	go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-HSY2

<i>sq</i>	<i>ʔáq</i>	<i>kóʔomi:lik</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔím</i>
<i>sq</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>koʔ-mq-il=k</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔim</i>
SAME	1SG.AGT	go-DIR1-MPSV=DECL	=HSY1	say

<i>kipat</i>	<i>ʔa:táta</i>	<i>huškʔáyesmíl</i>	<i>tat</i>	<i>nóhinik</i>	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>kip=qt</i>	<i>ʔaʔat=q</i>	<i>huškʔay-s=mil</i>	<i>tat</i>	<i>noʔ-h-nik</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
3R=DAT	people=PAT	tell-CAUS?=FIN	good	live-DUR-NEC	=HSY1

<i>ʔimiyikít</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>kó:temil</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔi</i>
<i>ʔimi-y=kiť</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>koʔ-t=mil</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔi</i>
say-PROG=then	=HSY1	go-INTR=FIN	Coyote

‘So he told his people, not telling them the dream, but “**I am to go, they say**, and I shall go”, thus he told his people; “Stay here well”, Coyote said and went.’

(115) Coyote and the World: 375, RM

<i>sáʔéy</i>	<i>ʔátá</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>ko:mi:lámšik</i>	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔaʔaʔ</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>koʔ-mq-il-m-sik</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
SAME=HSY1	again	1SG.AGT	go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-HSY2	=HSY1

ʔimeymil kipat ʔatáta
 ʔimi=mil kip=q̄t ʔat̄at=q̄
 say=FIN 3R=DAT people=PAT
 ‘And, “Again I learn I am to go”, he said to his people.’

In some cases verbs ending in *-sik* are not translated with an evidential meaning. The evidential meaning may have existed in the original Yuki, but it is not translated by Kroeber into English. *li:támšik* ‘are being killed’ in (116) is an example of this lack of translated evidential meaning.

(116) Coyote and the World: 107, RM

<i>si</i>	<i>kí</i>	<i>n̄q̄k</i>	ʔey	<i>hulk’o’á</i>	ʔinám̄tmil	ʔa:t̄át
<i>si</i>	<i>kíʔ</i>	<i>n̄q̄k</i>	=ʔi	<i>hulk’o’i=q̄</i>	ʔinam-t=mil	ʔat̄at
NEW	DST	dark/night	=HSY1	Coyote=PAT	dream-INTR=FIN	people

<i>kú:htkiwit</i>	<i>yít̄iwi</i>	<i>kimáša</i>	<i>li:támšik</i>
<i>kuhtki=wit</i>	<i>yiʔ-t-wi</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas=q̄</i>	<i>liʔ-t-m-sik</i>
north=ALL	play-INTR-PST1	DST-DSTR=PAT	kill-INTR-IMPV-HSY2

ʔiy ʔimeymil *hulk’óʔi*
 =ʔi ʔimi=mil *hulk’o’i*
 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘And at night Coyote dreamed: “The people who went north playing **are being killed**”, Coyote said.’

7.4.4.4. *šiloʔ* inferential evidential

šiloʔ can act as a hearsay evidential and may also have other uses¹⁹⁶. As an evidential, *šiloʔ* means ‘seems to’ and follows the word it is characterizing. *šiloʔ* can take the form of an enclitic or can be affixed with verb morphology and function as a verb. Kroeber (1911:358) provides this description for *šiloʔ*:

-*cilo* [-*šilo*] is a frequent suffix with the meaning “appearing to.” Often it can be translated by “as it were,” or “it seems.” This suffix often has sufficient stress-accent to furnish some justification for considering it an independent

¹⁹⁶ See §13.2.1 for a description of other uses of *šiloʔ*.

word; but no other words intervene between it and the verb-stem to which it refers. There is usually nothing but accent and phonetic feeling to determine whether such forms as *yiki-ciloo-wi* [*yi:kišilo:wi*] are one word or two; the words if separate would stand in the same position and have the same form, the first being in that case participially subordinate to the second: “playing he appeared.”

In (117), *šilo?* is found in *hoyyímyi šilo?ómik* ‘seems to be trying tell.’

(117) Coyote and the World: 9, RM

<i>sá?ey</i>	<i>?a:тата</i>	<i>?iwilhánam</i>	<i>mihikimása</i>
<i>sq=?i</i>	<i>?aťat=q</i>	<i>?iwilhan-qm</i>	<i>mih=ki?-mas=q</i>
SAME=HSY1 people=PAT ceremonial.house-IN2 be=DST-DSTR=PAT			

<i>?í:yi</i>	<i>?iy</i>	<i>háltikhil</i>	<i>?anwí:sq</i>	<i>mó'oš</i>	<i>nqwli</i>
<i>?iyi</i>	<i>?i</i>	<i>hql-t-k-il?</i>	<i>?anwis=q</i>	<i>mo'os</i>	<i>nqwil</i>
something 1SG.PAT hear-INTR-PNCT-MPSV orphan=PAT 2PL.AGT whip					

<i>lákšiwički?</i>	<i>hoyyímyi</i>	<i>šilo?ómik</i>	<i>?ey</i>
<i>lak'-s-wiť=ki?</i>	<i>hoy=?im-y</i>	<i>šilo?-m=k</i>	<i>=?i</i>
emerge-CAUS-PST2=DST	too?=try-PROG	like-IMPF=DECL	=HSY1

<i>?imeymil</i>	<i>hulk'ó?i</i>	<i>?a:тата</i>	<i>?iwilhanam</i>
<i>?imi=mil</i>	<i>hulk'o?i</i>	<i>?aťat=q</i>	<i>?iwilhan-qm</i>
say=FIN	Coyote	people=PAT	ceremonial.house-IN2

nóhikimáša

no?-h?=ki?-mas=q

live-DUR?=DST-DSTR=PAT

‘And to the people who were in the ceremonial house, “Something I hear; the orphan whom you whipped and put out **seems to be trying to tell something**”, said Coyote to the people who were living in the ceremonial house.’

In (118), *šiloʔ* is found in *tínti:li šilóʔotmil* ‘seemed to be level’ and also in *yáqpa šiloʔ* ‘appearing to stand.’

(118) Origins: 72, RM

<i>sikiʔey</i>	<i>hílk'il</i>	<i>ʔon</i>	<i>tínti:li</i>	<i>šilóʔotmil</i>	<i>tát</i>
<i>si=kiʔ=ʔi</i>	<i>hílk'il</i>	<i>ʔon</i>	<i>tíntil</i>	<i>=šiloʔ-t=mil</i>	<i>tat</i>
NEW=then=HSY1	everywhere	earth	level	=INFR2-INTR=FIN	good

<i>ʔon</i>	<i>nám'-ti</i>	<i>ʔí:yi</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>yáqpa</i>	<i>šilóʔ</i>	<i>ʔól</i>	<i>han</i>
<i>ʔon</i>	<i>nəm-t</i>	<i>ʔiyi</i>	<i>han</i>	<i>yək-paʔ</i>	<i>=šiloʔ</i>	<i>ʔól</i>	<i>han</i>
earth	lay-INTR	what	but	stand-FUT	=INFR2	tree	but

<i>yáqpa</i>	<i>šilóʔ</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>tát</i>	<i>wánawol</i>	<i>ʔon</i>	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>yək-paʔ</i>	<i>=šiloʔ</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>tat</i>	<i>wah-nəw-ol'</i>	<i>ʔon</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
stand-FUT	=INFR2	=HSY1	good	wide-see-AGT/INST?	earth	=HSY1

nám'tmil.

nəm-t=mil

lay-INTR=FIN

‘Then he said, “Weyyi”, and in every direction (“toward all”) the earth **seemed to be (spread out) level**, lying there a good earth, nothing **appearing to stand** on it, no trees **appearing to stand** on it, it lay a good earth open to view.’

In (119), *šiloʔ* is found in *náq'i: šiloʔ* ‘as it were near’, which could be understood as meaning ‘appearing to be near’ or ‘seemingly near’.

(119) Coyote and the World: 61, RM

<i>sikiʔéy</i>	<i>hayú:mi</i>	<i>hulmúninát</i>	<i>náq'i:</i>	<i>šilóʔ</i>
<i>si=kiʔ=ʔi</i>	<i>hayum</i>	<i>hulmunin=ət</i>	<i>náqʔ=ki</i>	<i>=šiloʔ</i>
NEW=then=HSY1	Dove	Spider=DAT	near=IN	=INFR2

<i>ʔey</i>	<i>náqkilmil'</i>	<i>hayú:mi</i>
<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>nəm-k-il=mil'</i>	<i>hayum</i>
=HSY1	lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN?	Dove

‘Then Dove laid himself down **as it were near** Spider.’

7.5. Derivational morphology

This section describes derivational morphology for Yuki verbs.

7.5.1. *-t* ~ *-t̥* intransitive

The intransitive voice suffix *-t* decreases the transitivity of verb roots, although inherently intransitive verbs are found sometimes with, sometimes without *-t* marking. This suffix is derivational rather than inflectional in nature and that intransitive Yuki verbs are not defined by the presence of this suffix. Verbs marked with *-t* tend to be single argument verbs. *-t* may also overtly mark as intransitive verbs with incorporated nouns. Kroeber (1911:361) describes *-t* as “intransitive, unintentional, not causative action.” Schlichter (1985:64) reconstructs **-Vt/t̥, ʒ, C_, L_C~t/...* as the effective voice¹⁹⁷ in PNY.

(120) - (122) show that through the addition of *-t*, *nq̄w-* ‘see’ takes on an intransitive meaning *nq̄w-t-* ‘look’. In (120) and (121), *nq̄w-* is a transitive verb with an agent that sees or looks at something. *nq̄w-t-* ‘look’, in (122), is an intransitive verb with only a single argument, which is the argument performing the act of looking.

(120) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 182, MF

<i>č'i:mit</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>nq̄whek</i>
<i>č'imit</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>nq̄w-h=k</i>
bird	1SG.AGT	see-DUR=DECL

‘I **looked** at the bird, I **watched** the bird.’

(121) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:182, MF

<i>mis</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>nq̄wek</i>
<i>mis</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>nq̄w=k</i>
2SG.PAT	1SG.AGT	see=DECL

‘I **saw** you, I **see** you.’

¹⁹⁷ Schlichter (1985) does not provide a definition detailing the function of the ‘effective voice’ in her reconstruction of Proto Northern-Yukian.

(122) Coyote and the World: 20, RM

<i>kú:tak'á:</i>	<i>más</i>	<i>yá'híyqkli</i>	<i>ša:tammil</i>	<i>más</i>
<i>kutak'a</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>yah-qk-il?</i>	<i>šat-m=mil</i>	<i>mas</i>
way.over.there	thus	blaze-SEM-MPSV?	put.out.fire-IMPV=FIN	thus

<i>nq̣weta'(á)</i>	[?] ey	[?] imeymil	<i>ló:psí</i>	<i>hulk'o'q.</i>
<i>nq̣w-t-a'</i>	= [?] i	[?] imi=mil	<i>lopis</i>	<i>hulk'o'i=q</i>
see-INTR-IMP	=HSY1	say=FIN	Jackrabbit	Coyote=PAT

“Over there, thus blazing up it stops, thus, **look!**” said Jackrabbit to Coyote.’

As stated earlier, *-t* is also found affixed to verbs that are inherently intransitive. However, inherently intransitive verbs do not require *-t* and also occur without it. Compare *ko'ome:lek* ‘going to go’, in (123), and *kipq̣wwap kó'otekiṭ* ‘after (they) had returned, in (124). In both cases the verb *ko'-* ‘go’ is intransitive. It may be that when attached to intransitive verbs *-t* can be used to derive other meanings of that verb. In (124), however, *kipq̣wwap kó'otekiṭ* is translated as ‘returned’ due to the presence of *kipq̣wwap* ‘back=LAT’ rather than due to the fact that *-t* is present in the verb.

(123) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:94, MF

<i>kim'wit</i>	[?] ap	<i>ko'ome:lek</i>
<i>kim'=wit</i>	[?] ap	<i>ko'-mq-il=k</i>
over.there=ALL	1SG.AGT	go-DIR1-MPSV=DECL

‘I’m going someplace.’

(124) Coyote and the World: 255, RM

<i>si'</i>	<i>kimáši</i>	<i>kipq̣wwap</i>	<i>kó'otekiṭ</i>	<i>hiwq̣k'i'</i>
<i>si</i>	<i>ki'-mas-i</i>	<i>kipq̣w=ap</i>	<i>ko'-t=kiṭ</i>	<i>hiwq̣k=i'</i>
NEW	DST-DSTR-ANIM	back=LAT	go-INTR=when	in.turn=IN?

<i>k'ít</i>	<i>nq̣</i>	[?] qs	<i>móp(e)ti</i>	<i>hi:l</i>	<i>tát</i>	<i>mópeti</i>
<i>k'it</i>	= <i>nq̣</i>	[?] qs	<i>mop-t</i>	<i>hil</i>	<i>tat</i>	<i>mop-t</i>
bone	and	blood	gather-INTR	all	good	gather-INTR

[?]ey háyé p'íški'ólop [?]ey ta:tq̄lilmil
 =[?]i hą[?]qye p'íš-ki'ol=op =[?]i tat-q-l-il=mil
 HSY1 now sunflower-stalk=LAT =HSY1 good/make-?-PFV-MPSV=FIN
 'And **after they had returned, gathering** his bones and blood,
gathering everything well, now he made himself over on sunflower stalks
 (as a frame).'

(124) shows another example of the *-t* in use. The verb *mop-* 'gather' is transitive. In both instances that *mop-* occurs in this example it is affixed with *-t*, yet *mopéti* 'gathering' appears along with other words that seem to be acting as recipients. It may be that *-t* has been incorporated into the verb root and that it has lost its detransitivizing function in verbs such as *mop(e)ti* 'gather', which appear to be functioning as transitive verbs in the texts.

Another possible explanation is that in cases such as this, the arguments of a verb affixed with *-t* are incorporated into the verb. This would be consistent with the role of *-t* as the intransitive morpheme, as noun incorporation can be a transitivity reducing operation and a means for seemingly transitive verbs to function as intransitive verbs. If the arguments of *mópeti* 'gathering' in (124) are incorporated then *k'ít ną ʔq̄s mop(e)ti* would be understood as 'bone-and-blood-gathering' rather than '[they were / had been] gathering his bones and blood'. Similarly, *hi:l tát mópeti* would be 'all-things-well-gathering' rather than '[they were / had been] gathering all things well.'

It is unclear whether (124) is an example of noun incorporation. Comparing (124) to an example with a transitive verb and its arguments in (125), there are few differences. The possible role of *-t* in noun incorporation is an area to be further explored in future research.

(125) Coyote and the World: 323, RM

se[?]éy lašk'áwol' na háwmol' [?]ey pístlmil
 si=[?]i lašk'áwol' =ną hawmol' =[?]i pis-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 moon =and morning.star =HSY1 hide-TR=FIN
 'Then he hid the moon and morning star.'

7.5.2. *-tl* transitive

In his published sketch of Yuki, Kroeber (1911:361) writes *-tl* as *-t-l* and states that this morpheme indicates “transitive, intentional, causative action.” Verbs containing *-tl* tend to be transitive, but can also be intransitive and are rarely causative. In general, *-tl* seems to be a transitive morpheme that may stand in contrast to intransitive *-t*. As not all transitive verbs are suffixed with *-tl*, this suffix is derivational rather than inflectional in nature. Therefore transitive verbs in Yuki are not defined by the presence of this suffix.

Transitive *-tl* was apparently pronounced as a single consonant: a voiceless lateral affricate¹⁹⁸. This makes *-tl* unique as lateral affricates are found nowhere else in Yuki and sequences of obstruents are typically avoided by the insertion of epenthetic vowels. The fact that this sequence is maintained in this position, suggests that it possesses a special kind of unity. As lateral affricates are found nowhere else in Yuki, one might understandably propose at first that this is a sequence of separate morphemes; however, synchronically, this does not appear to be the case.

p'oy- ‘put’ is shown in (126) suffixed with *-t* and in (127) suffixed with *-tl*. *p'oy-t-* in *p'oyčpa?* ‘shall enter’ is intransitive. *p'oy-tl-* in *p'oyitli* ‘putting in’ is transitive.

(126) Coyote and the World: 250, RM

<i>sqʔéy</i>	<i>pilq:t</i>	<i>lilk'il</i>	<i>čqk'ik</i>	<i>lqčtlmil</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>pilqt</i>	<i>lil=k'il</i>	<i>čqk'=k</i>	<i>lat-tl=mil</i>
SAME=HSY1	sun	rock=TERM	hit=DECL	break-TR=FIN

<i>lipqtk'i</i>	<i>hul</i>	<i>p'oyčpa?</i>	<i>huluk</i>	<i>kí:la</i>
<i>lil-pqt=k'i</i>	<i>hul</i>	<i>p'oy-t-pa?</i>	<i>huluk</i>	<i>ki?-la</i>
rock-crack=IN	eye	put-INTR-FUT	tear	DST-INST

<i>sumám</i>	<i>kí:laʔ</i>	<i>p'oyyičpa?</i>	<i>ʔiy</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>
<i>suʔumam</i>	<i>ki?-la</i>	<i>p'oy-t-pa?</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>
brain	DST-INST	put-INTR-FUT	=HSY1	say=FIN

¹⁹⁸ Kroeber writes *-tl* as <L> in the texts, but as *-t-l* in his (1911) published sketch of Yuki.

kípa *k'o'ólísi*
kip=q *k'ol-s*
 3R=PAT die-CAUS

‘And dashing the sun against the rock and breaking it up, “In the rock cracks the eyes **shall enter**, with the tears and the brains they **shall enter**”, he said while they killed him.

- (127) Coyote and the World: 265, RM

sá'ey *kimás* *háyk* **p'oyitli** *ʔáta*
sá-ʔi *kiʔ-mas* *hay=k* **p'oy-tl** *ʔaʔaʔ*
 SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR net.sack=IN **put-TR** again

kó'otemil *ʔu:khóʔoʔamwit.*
koʔ-t=mil *ʔuk'-hoʔ-am=wit*
 go-INTR=FIN water-large-NOML=ALL

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

Similarly, in (128) - (130), through the addition of transitive *-tl*, the intransitive verb *nqm-‘lay’* in (128) and (129) becomes the transitive verb *nam-tl-‘lay (down)’* in (130).

- (128) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:125, AA

kiʔ *me:šet* **nqmhek**
kiʔ *miš=iʔ* **nqm-h=k**
 DST road=JXT **lay-DUR=DECL**

‘He’s **lying** in the road.’

- (129) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:125, AA

ʔim *ki* **nqmʔa**
ʔim *kiʔ* **nqm-ʔa**
 where DST **lay-Q**
 ‘Where is it (**lying**)?’

- (130) Coyote and the World: 204, RM

sá'ey *noʔnamlik:k* *hámpeyit* **námtmlil**
sá-ʔi *noʔ=namli=kik* *hamp=iʔ* **nqm-tl=mil**
 SAME=HSY1 live=DEP=there back=JXT **lay-TR=FIN**

ki: míl
 kiʔ míl
 DST meat/deer
 ‘And he **laid** that deer behind where they were sitting.’

In some contexts, Kroeber translates verbs with *-tl* with a causative meaning. In (131), *šútlmil* is translated as ‘had him sit’. Also note the other *-tl* verb in (131), *tá:tlíkʔéyʔ* ‘which they prepared (for him)’.

- (131) Coyote and the World: 297, RM
 sqʔéy kʔamolšíl tá:tlíkʔéyʔ **šútlmil**
 sq=ʔi kʔamol-šil tat-tl=kiʔ **šuʔ-tl=mil**
 SAME=HSY1 puma-skin good/make-TR=DST **sit/stay-TR=FIN**
 ‘and **had him sit** on puma skin which they prepared for him.’

(132) gives an example of a verb that is most likely intransitive with *-tl*, *ʔi:tlmil* ‘had fled’.

- (132) Coyote and the World: 105, RM
 sikítey šqkmi ʔonwíčop **ʔi:tlmil**
 si=kiʔ=ʔi šqkmi ʔon=wič=op **ʔiʔʔ-tl=mil**
 NEW=then=HSY1 some earth=ALL=LAT **flee?-TR=FIN**
 ‘Then some **had fled** a long way,’

7.5.3. *-il* mediopassive

The mediopassive voice suffix *-il* is one of the most common verb suffixes found in Yuki. In many of its uses *-il* shows characteristics of a middle voice morpheme. It is used to form reflexives, reciprocal expressions (i.e. we talked to one another), and can act as a detransitivizer in certain circumstances¹⁹⁹. In some cases *-il* is used in conjunction with intransitive *-t* to form a causative construction, which is not a prototypical feature of a middle voice morpheme. In still other cases the reasons for its use are unclear. However, as in general *-il* appears in middle voice-like contexts, the analysis of *-il* as a middle voice morpheme is adopted here. This is taken, as discussed below, from

¹⁹⁹ Reflexive, reciprocal, and detransitivizing meanings are characteristic of middle voice constructions (Kemmer 1988:338,343-344).

Schlichter's reconstruction of *-*il* for PNY as the reflexive-mediopassive-reciprocal morpheme. In this text the more simplified term mediopassive is used, as reflexive and reciprocal meanings are both also characteristic of middle voice.

It is extremely difficult to tell whether or not mediopassive *-il* can occur by itself without a preceding verb aspect morpheme. The existence of perfective *-l* complicates this problem further. However, it is certain that perfective *-l* and mediopassive *-il* are not the same morpheme, as these two suffixes can occur as a sequence *-l-il*, which is discussed in more detail below. Interestingly, verbs interpreted in this grammar as having only perfective *-l* are extremely rare. In the texts, perfective *-l* always is used with mediopassive *-il*. In elicitation one finds occasional examples such as (133) and (134). The verbs in these examples are assumed to contain perfective *-l*, as they describe actions which are momentary and completed. Such actions are commonly associated with the perfective aspect.

(133) Siniard 1967a:13, MF

ʔonk'e ʔap č'učlik
 ʔon=k'i ʔap č'uč-l=k
 earth=IN 1SG.AGT **throw-PFV=DECL**
 'I **throw** 'm down on the ground.'

(134) Siniard 1967a:35, MF

həw ʔ'uklik
 həw ʔ'uk-l=k
 fish **gig-PFV=DECL**
 'you **gig** a fish'

The meaning of *-il* is colored by the aspect morpheme that precedes it. This is likely the reason why Kroeber (1911) does not really describe *-il* as a separate morpheme. He makes mention of a morpheme *-il* with an unknown meaning (1911:360), but focuses on describing a series of morphemes of the shape *-Cil*²⁰⁰. Table 22 summarizes Kroeber's original descriptions of the *-Cil* morphemes.

²⁰⁰ *-Cil* = Consonant + *-il* 'mediopassive'

Morpheme	Kroeber's description (1911:359-360)
<i>-il</i>	"meaning unknown"
<i>-mil</i>	"meaning unknown"
<i>-ṭil</i>	"to cause to, to have for, to make to be, to want to do, to direct to do"
<i>-lil</i>	"reflexive or reciprocal action"
<i>-kil</i>	"single action, or repeated at a single period, contrasting with <i>-am</i> "
<i>-sil</i>	"appears to emphasize the idea of motion without describing it, leaving this to the verb stem"

Table 22: Kroeber's description of the *-Cil* morphemes

Kroeber's analysis is tantalizing for anyone attempting to describe Yuki verb morphology. Some of these "morphemes" seem to have fairly consistent functions. For example, *-lil* is described by Kroeber as expressing "reflexive or reciprocal action," as in *ʔimqilmil* 'said to one another' and *mis kipat hušlilha* 'do you like yourself?' However, other "morphemes," such as *-sil*, have no obvious consistent function and Kroeber's description is unsatisfying: "*-sil* appears to emphasize the idea of motion without describing it leaving this to the verb stem." The fact alone that Yuki would have a series of morphemes in the same position in the verb and with such similar shape, *-Cil*, would suggest that there is some unified function for the common part, *-il*, of these morphemes.

Schlichter (1985:64, 288) analyzes **-il* as a separate morpheme in PNY, classifying it as the reflexive-mediopassive-reciprocal. As her reconstruction of PNY is motivated largely by Yuki, due to the fact that Yuki is much more thoroughly documented than Huchnom or Coast Yuki, her classification of **-il* in PNY is also applicable to Yuki itself. Across the different *-Cil* suffixes, several major functions emerge. Verbs containing *-il* can be reflexive, reciprocal, or have a detransitivizing function, all of which are characteristics of middle voice constructions (Kemmer 1988:338, 343-344). Therefore, Schlichter's classification of **-il* for PNY is adopted in this grammar for *-il* in Yuki.

Kroeber's original series of *-Cil* "morphemes" can be reanalyzed as sequences of aspect morphemes and mediopassive *-il*, with some of these sequences having more well-defined function than others. Table 23 summarizes the proposed analysis for all of the *-Cil* "morphemes" described by Kroeber.

Kroeber	Proposed Analysis
-mil	-mq 'directional' + -il 'mediopassive'; unclear in some cases
-ṭil	-t ~ -ṭ 'intransitive' + -il 'mediopassive'
-lil	-l 'perfective' + -il 'mediopassive'
-kil	-k 'punctual' + -il 'mediopassive'
-sil	-s 'causative' + -il 'mediopassive'

Table 23: Proposed analysis of Kroeber's -Cil morphemes

The morpheme sequences shown in Table 23 pick out particular functions of the mediopassive²⁰¹. Thus verbs containing the sequence *-l-il* do tend to be reflexive or have reciprocal meaning, as shown in (135) and (136), and verbs containing the sequence *-t-il* often have a causative meaning²⁰², as shown in (137).

(135) Coyote and the World: 31, RM

sikitéy *k'ólk'il* *šqkmi*
si=kit=?i *k'ol=k'il* *šqkmi*
 NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM some

tiwí:mililyqkmi.

tiw=?imi-l-il-qk=mil

pursue-say-PFV-MPSV-SEM=FIN

'And some **notified one another** elsewhere.'

(136) Coyote and the World: 96, RM

se'éy *?eyyínom'* *miyqtkil'* *ko:lítyik*
si=?i *?iyi-nom'* *mi=qt=k'il* *ko²-lit-y=k*
 NEW=HSY1 what-people/tribe 1PL.INCL=DAT=TERM go-DIR2-PROG=DECL

²⁰¹ It may be that these sequences were grammaticalizing as unitary morphemes at the time that Yuki was still spoken. Also, the meaning of the morpheme joining with the mediopassive may be obscured as a result of combining with the mediopassive. Thus *-l-il* may not always be perfective, though it contains perfective *-l*, and *-t-il* may not always be intransitive, though it contains intransitive *-t*.

²⁰² For a comparison of verbs containing intransitive *-t* and without mediopassive *-il*, see *káptilyakmil* 'caused them to enter' and *kót(e)mil* 'carrying' in (137) and (138), respectively. For similar examples for perfective *-l*, see (135) and (136) for verbs suffixed with both *-l* and *-il*, and (133) and (134) for verbs suffixed with *-l* but not with *-il*.

?ey ?imɔlilmil k'ó'il
 =?i ?imi-mɔ-l-il=mil k'o'íl
 =HSY1 **say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN** Wailaki
 'And the Wailaki **said to one another**, "People of some tribe are coming toward us".

- (137) Coyote and the World: 97, RM
- | | | |
|-------|-------------|------------------------|
| se'ey | ?iwilhánam | káptilyakmil |
| si=?i | ?iwilhan-ɔm | kap-t-il-qk=mil |
- NEW=HSY1 ceremonial.house-IN2 **enter-INTR-MPSV-SEM=FIN**
 'Then they **caused them to enter** the ceremonial house;'

(138) shows a use of *-t-il*, *há'ti:li* 'carrying', which does not seem to have a causative meaning.

- (138) Coyote and the World: 240, RM
- | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|-----|-------|-----------|
| sikitéiy | nɔwhiméykit | ?ey | ?a'tá | k'olk'íl |
| si=kit=?i | nɔw-h-m=kit | =?i | ?ata' | k'ol=k'íl |
- NEW=then=HSY1 see-DUR-IMPV=when =HSY1 again other=TERM

kó:t(e)mil	pilá:t	há'ti:li
ko?-t=mil	pilát	ha'-t-il

go-INTR=FIN sun **carry-INTR-MPSV**
 'but when he had watched them, he went the other way **carrying** the sun.'

-l-il seems fairly consistent in its reflexive and/or reciprocal meaning in the texts, therefore, it could be argued that *-l-il* may already have developed into a unitary reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-lil*. However, given the uncertainty of claiming such an analysis for most other *-Cil* "morphemes", this analysis is not suggested for any of the *-C-il* morpheme sequences discussed in this section including *-l-il*. This does remain, however, an intriguing and complex area of further inquiry and research.

The presence of mediopassive *-il* can also change the transitivity of the verb, a function not mentioned by Kroeber. Compare *kapsímil* 'brought (it) in', in (139), and *ká:psilyakmil* 'enter', in (140). Following causative *-s*, the presence of mediopassive *-il* has a detransitivizing effect in *ká:psilyakmil* 'entered'.

- (139) Coyote and the World: 203, RM
seʔey *hulkʔóʔi* *lákti* ***kapʔsimil***
si=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi* *lakʔ-t* ***kap-s=mil***
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote emerge-INTR **enter-CAUS=FIN**
 ‘Then Coyote going out **brought it in.**’

- (140) Coyote and the World: 98, RM
seʔey ***ká:psilyakmil***
si=ʔi ***kap-s-il-qk=mil***
 NEW=HSY1 **enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN**
 ‘and they **entered.**’

In other cases, such as *-kil* and *-mil* it seems that the source of the meaning as understood by Kroeber is the aspect morpheme rather than the mediopassive or the sequence of the aspect morpheme and mediopassive. Thus *-kil* is described by Kroeber (1911:360) as “single action, or repeated at a single period.” *-k-il* is a sequence of the punctual aspect *-k* and the mediopassive *-il* and the punctual aspect refers to actions that happen in a single moment or period of time. (141) and (142) show verbs suffixed with punctual *-k* and contrast the verb in (142), which is suffixed with mediopassive *-il*, with the verb in (141), which does not contain the mediopassive suffix. The time dimension of the actions described by *wiʔkmil* ‘hurled (a stone)’, in (141), and *so:hókilmil* ‘gave a whoop’, in (142), seem to both be instantaneous and concentrated in a single moment.

- (141) Coyote and the World: 164, RM
seʔéy *šiwkítin* *lil* *háʔnamlikí:la*²⁰³ *ʔey*
si=ʔi *šiwkítin* *lil* *haʔ=namli=kiʔ-la* *=ʔi*
 NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wiʔkmil *kóʔola*
wiʔ-k=mil *koʔol=qʔ*
hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki.PL=OBL?

‘So Šiwkítin **hurled** at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying.’

²⁰³ *haʔ*- ‘carry (with the arms)’ is the definition given in YV and could be linked to the body prefix *ha-*.

- (142) Coyote and the World: 157, RM
sikiṭ'éy **so:hókilmil**
si=kiṭ=?i **soh-k-il=mil**
 NEW=then=HSY1 **applaud/cheer-PNCT-MPSV=FIN**
 'Thereupon they **gave a whoop.**'

*-mil*²⁰⁴ may be a sequence of the directional aspect *-mą* and the mediopassive *-il*²⁰⁵. In

- (143) - (145), *-mil* has the meaning of 'going to do X' in *šqšme:lek* 'going to bite', *ha:mme:lek* 'going to bring', and *wiṭmi:lek* 'going off to work'.

- (143) Schlichter 1985: 76, MF
mis **šqšme:lek**
mis **šqš-mą-il=k**
 2SG.PAT **bite-DIR1-MPSV=DECL**
 'He's **going to bite** you.'

- (144) Schlichter 1985:76, MF
kima:set ^{?q}p ^{?a}l **ha:mme:lek**
ki[?]-mas=qt ^{?q}p ^{?o}l **ham-mą-il=k**
 DST-DSTR=DAT 1SG.AGT tree/stick **bring-DIR1-MPSV=DECL**
 'I'm **going to bring** a stick for them.'

- (145) Schlichter 1985:77, AA
^{?q}p **wiṭmi:lek**
^{?q}p **wiṭ-mą-il=k**
 1SG.AGT **work-DIR1-MPSV=DECL**
 'I'm **going off to work.**'

In other cases it is unclear whether *-mil* in this position is a sequence of directional *-mą* and mediopassive *-il*. In *k'aymilmil* 'spoke', in (146), the meaning of non-final *-mil* is not known²⁰⁶.

²⁰⁴ *-mil* discussed in this section is not the same morpheme as *=mil* 'finite' or *-mil* 'past habitual.'

²⁰⁵ It is unlikely that *-mil* is a sequence of imperfective *-m* and mediopassive *-il*, because *-m* occurs to the right of the mediopassive *-il* on the verb template as evidenced by verbs containing both morphemes, such as ^{?q}p *ko:milámšik* 'I learn I am to go' (CW:375) and *č'eyimilmik* '(fire) gleams at intervals' (CW:7). Also, imperfective *-m* does not have a directional meaning like that of directional *-mą*.

(146) Coyote and the World: 145, RM

<i>sikiṭéy</i>	<i>haye</i>	<i>t'uyna'ákina</i>	<i>k'qymilmil</i>	<i>hulk'ó'i</i>
<i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i>	<i>hqʔqye</i>	<i>t'uyna'akin=q</i>	<i>k'qy-mil=mil</i>	<i>hulk'ó'i</i>
NEW=then=HSY1	now	T'uyna'ákin=PAT	talk-?=FIN	Coyote

<i>t'úy</i>	<i>haʔqtl</i>	<i>hánʔal</i>	<i>nq</i>	<i>ʔá:ṭat</i>	<i>nó:hikíṭa</i>	<i>hil</i>
<i>t'uy</i>	<i>hqʔ-tl</i>	<i>hanal</i>	<i>=nq</i>	<i>ʔaṭat</i>	<i>noʔ-h=kiṭa</i>	<i>hil</i>
pitch	rub-TR	walls	=and	people	live-DUR=then	all?

‘Thereupon he **spoke** to T'uyna'ákin: “Rub pitch on the walls and wherever people are lying.”’

It should also be noted that there are cases where mediopassive *-il* occurs following verb aspect morphemes, for which Kroeber did not recognize a meaning as he did for the sequences shown in Table 22. In (147), mediopassive *-il* follows durative *-h* in *k'inhilmil* ‘felt sad’. There are no examples in the texts of this verb²⁰⁷ containing durative *-h* but not mediopassive *-il*. The most similar available example containing the verb *k'inmil* ‘cried’ is shown in (148). Comparing (147) and (148), the effect of *-il* is not completely clear. Based on known reflexive and reciprocal meanings of verbs containing *-il*, one can also imagine a kind of reflexive meaning for *k'inhilmil* in (147): and some of them went on crying to themselves for a long time. However, there is no way to know whether this is how this verb would be understood by Yuki speakers.

(147) Coyote and the World: 419, RM

<i>seʔéy</i>	<i>kimása</i>	<i>k'inhilmil</i>	<i>šákma</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas=q</i>	<i>k'in-h-il=mil</i>	<i>šákmi=q</i>
NEW=HSY1	DST-DSTR=PAT	cry-DUR-MPSV=FIN	some=PAT

‘And some of them **felt sad**.’

(148) Ents and Upek: 12, RM

<i>sq</i>	<i>k'inmil</i> .
<i>sq</i>	<i>k'in=mil</i>
SAME	cry=FIN

‘It **cried**.’

²⁰⁶ *-mil* does not seem to be indicating direction of speech, as in OG:22 the same verb *k'qymilmil* ‘spoke’ is used without an addressee.

²⁰⁷ For examples of other verbs with durative *-h* see §7.4.2.3.

In (149), mediopassive *-il* follows causative *-s* in the verb $\text{ʔ}^{\text{q}}\text{qkselek}$ ‘is shaving’, while in (150), mediopassive *-il* follows andative *-n* in the verb²⁰⁸ $\text{ʔ}^{\text{q}}\text{qkne:lek}$ ‘went to shave’. While *-s-il* is among the sequences discussed by Kroeber and shown in Table 22, *-n-il* is not. Both of these examples describe the action of shaving, presumably oneself, which is an inherently reflexive kind of action. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:185) define the verb root $\text{ʔ}^{\text{q}}\text{k}'$ - as ‘shave, bald’. There are no available examples of $\text{ʔ}^{\text{q}}\text{k}'$ - without mediopassive *-il*, thus it is difficult to know for certain whether or not mediopassive *-il* is indeed being used in these verbs in order to give them a reflexive meaning. However, given the use of *-il* with other verb aspect morphemes it is plausible that indicating a reflexive action is indeed the function of *-il* in these examples.

(149) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:185, AA

nqkoš $\text{ʔ}^{\text{q}}\text{qkselek}$

nqkoš $\text{ʔ}^{\text{q}}\text{k}'\text{-s-il=k}$

beard **shave-CAUS-MPSV=DECL**

‘He is **shaving**.’

(150) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:185, AA

nqkoš $\text{ʔ}^{\text{q}}\text{qkne:lek}$

nqkoš $\text{ʔ}^{\text{q}}\text{k}'\text{-n-il=k}$

beard **shave-AND-MPSV=DECL**

‘He **went to shave**.’

7.5.4. *-s* causative

There exist two *-s* morphemes in Yuki: causative *-s* and continuative-iterative *-s*. These morphemes do not co-occur within verbs. It is unclear whether any historic link exists between these morphemes. Causative *-s* is described in this section and continuative-iterative *-s* is described in the next section.

Kroeber (1911:361) describes *-s* as “the ordinary causative.” Schlichter (1985) does not reconstruct a causative morpheme for PNY. The addition of causative *-s* to *nqw*- ‘see’, in (151), and *k’ol*- ‘die’, in (153), results in *nqw-s*- ‘show’ (i.e. ‘cause to be seen’), in (152), and *k’ol-s*- ‘kill’ (i.e. ‘cause to die’), in (154).

²⁰⁸ For examples of other verbs with andative *-n* see §7.5.6.1.

(151) Coyote and the World: 24, RM

<i>sáʔey</i>	<i>yím</i>	<i>yq:híšti</i>	nqwmil	<i>hulk'óʔi</i>
<i>sá=ʔi</i>	<i>yim</i>	<i>yqh-s-t</i>	nqw=mil	<i>hulk'óʔi</i>
SAME=HSY1 fire blaze-CONT-INTR			see=FIN	Coyote

‘And Coyote **saw** the fire blazing up.’

(152) Coyote and the World: 127, RM

<i>seʔéy</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>k'óʔil</i>	<i>kíwismil</i>	<i>wókti</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>háʔáye</i>	<i>k'óʔil</i>	<i>kiw-s=mil</i>	<i>wok'-tl</i>
NEW=HSY1 now		Wailaki	ask-CAUS=FIN	dance/sing-TR

<i>ʔúsa</i>	nqwésaʔ	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>
<i>ʔus=q</i>	nqw-s-aʔ	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>
1PL.EXCL=PAT	see-CAUS-IMP	=HSY1	say=FIN

k'óʔil *hulk'óʔa*

k'óʔil *hulk'óʔi=q*

Wailaki Coyote=PAT

‘Then the Wailaki asked: “**Show** us (your) dance”, they said to Coyote.’

(153) Coyote and the World: 81, RM

<i>sikitéy</i>	<i>wáqop</i>	<i>hulmúnin</i>
<i>si=kit=ʔi</i>	<i>wák=op</i>	<i>hulmunin</i>
NEW=then=HSY1 after=LAT		Spider

<i>téwtlnamlikán</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>hutáj</i>
<i>tíw-tl=namli=kan</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>hutam</i>
pursue-TR=DEP=though	=HSY1	halfway

k'óletmil *tóʔ* *namnamlikiʔa*.

k'ol-t=mil *ʔoʔ* *nqm=namli=kiʔa*

die-INTR=FIN log lay=DEP=there

‘Then though Spider pursued him, he **died** halfway where a log was lying,

(154) Coyote and the World: 250, RM

sq[?]éy pilq:t lílk'il čqk'ik lqčtlmil
 sq=[?]i pilq:t lil=k'il čqk'=k laṭ-tl=mil
 SAME=HSY1 sun rock=TERM hit=DECL break-TR=FIN

lilpátk'i hul p'óyčpa[?] húluk kí:la
 lil-pqt=k'i hul p'oy-t-pa[?] huluk ki[?]-la
 rock-crack=IN eye put-INTR-FUT tear DST-INST

sumám kí:la[?] p'óyyičpa[?] ?i:y ?imeymil
 su'umam ki[?]-la p'oy-t-pa[?] =[?]i ?imi=mil
 brain DST-INST put-INTR-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kípa **k'o'olísi**
 kip=q **k'ol-s**
 3R=PAT **die-CAUS**

'And dashing the sun against the rock and breaking it up, "In the rock cracks the eyes shall enter, with the tears and the brains they shall enter", he said while they **killed** him.

7.5.5. -s continuative-iterative

Kroeber (1911:361) describes *-is* as "continuative, iterative"²⁰⁹. Schlichter (1985:63) reconstructs *-Vs/_C, C'-s/... as the continuative-iterative aspect. In (155) and (156), *luhsek* 'chopping wood' and *?u?uksek* 'barking (at something)' are actions that are repetitive and on-going, but are not causative.

(155) Schlichter 1985:121, AA

?qp ?al **luhsek**
 ?qp ?ol **luh-s=k**
 1SG.AGT wood **chop-CONT=DECL**

'I was just **chopping** wood, I'm **chopping** wood.'

²⁰⁹ Causative *-s* and continuative-iterative *-s* can both appear preceded or followed by epenthetic /i/. Thus *-is* is not a unique form of continuative-iterative *-s* distinguishing it from causative *-s*. For example, causative *-s* appears as *-is* in *k'o'olísi* 'killed' (CW:250).

- (156) Schlichter 1985:121, AA
 ?iye ?aṭwošet ?u?uksek
 ?iyi ?aṭwošit ?u?uk-s=k
 something dog **bark-CONT=DECL**
 ‘the dog is **barking** at something’

In the texts examples can be found with the same type of continuative or iterative meaning. Snoring is an action that is ongoing and repetitive. In (157), ?inkop’- ‘snore’ appears with -s in ?inkó?opismil ‘snored’.

- (157) Coyote and the World: 209, RM
 sq ?intq̄laʰan ?inkó?opismil
 sq ?in-tq̄l-aʰ-han ?inkop’-s=mil
 SAME sleep-NEG-?-but **snore-CONT=FIN**
 ‘And even though not asleep he **snored**.’

In other cases verbs containing -s appear with an adverb that also has a continuative or iterative meaning. For example in (158), ?an wo’okesmil ‘danced long’ and ?an ... ?in háwesmil ‘all the time ... wishing (them) sleepy’.

- (158) Coyote and the World: 136, RM
 seʹéy ?an wo’okesmil k’óʹil
 si=ʹi ?an wok’-s=mil k’oʹil
 NEW=HSY1 **long.time** **dance/sing-CONT=FIN** Wailaki
 ‘And they **danced long**.’

Coyote and the World: 137

- sikaʹéy ?an hulk’óʹi ?in háwesmil
 si=kq=ʹi ?an hulk’oʹi ?in haw-s=mil
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 **long.time** Coyote **sleep** **wish-CONT=FIN**
 ‘But **all the time** Coyote **was wishing them sleepy**.’

In (159), ?átq ... nakohísimil ‘again (he) instructed’ may have an iterative meaning. Coyote has instructed before and this instance of instruction is another in a series of such instances that is continuing and repeating.

(159) Coyote and the World: 288, RM

<i>sqʔey</i>	ʔátq	<i>kipat</i>	<i>ʔaʔáta</i>	<i>nakohísimil</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	ʔaʔaʔ	<i>kip=qt</i>	<i>ʔaʔat=q</i>	<i>nqkʔoh-s=mil</i>
SAME=HSY1	again	3R=DAT	people=PAT	teach-CONT=FIN

<i>hqšá</i>	<i>ʔqp</i>	<i>kóʔomilámsik</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>
<i>hqšqʔ</i>	<i>ʔqp</i>	<i>koʔ-mq-il-m-sik</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔi</i>
again	1SG.AGT	go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-FV-HSY2	=HSY1	say=FIN	Coyote

‘And **again he instructed** his people: “Now I am told I must go”, said Coyote.’

7.5.6. Motion and Direction

Yuki uses a number of verb suffixes to express motion or direction.

7.5.6.1. -n andative

The andative *-n* is used to indicate the meaning ‘going to do X’. Schlichter (1985:63) reconstructs this same form **-n* for PNY, referring to it as “move in order to.” Kroeber (1911:359) is not certain of the meaning of *-n*.

Two forms of *nqʔ-* ‘see’ is compared in (160) and (161). In (160), *nqʔ-* is affixed with andative *-n* forming *nqʔwinhql* ‘going to look, it seems’, while in (161), *nqʔ-* appears without *-n* or other suffixes as *nqʔimil* ‘saw’ and has no inherent directional meaning.

(160) Coyote and the World: 313, RM

<i>seʔéy</i>	<i>wíley</i>	<i>kóʔoti</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>nqʔwinhql</i>	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>wili</i>	<i>koʔ-t</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>nqʔ-n=hqli</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
NEW=HSY1	far	go-INTR	=HSY1	see-AND=INFR1	=HSY1

*yat(e)mil**yat=mil*

be.gone=FIN

‘So **going farther to look, it seems**, he was not (in sight any longer).’

(161) Coyote and the World: 24, RM

<i>sqʔey</i>	<i>yim</i>	<i>yq:hšti</i>	<i>nqwímil</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>yim</i>	<i>yqh-s-t</i>	<i>nqw=mil</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>

SAME=HSY1 fire blaze-CONT-INTR **see=FIN** Coyote
 ‘And Coyote **saw** the fire blazing up.’

(162) provides two further examples of the andative, *lí:tinmil* ‘went to gather’ and *hutʔóp:pinmil* ‘went to hunt’.

(162) Coyote and the World: 299, RM

<i>sikitey</i>	<i>mús</i>	<i>siʔ</i>	<i>lí:tinmil</i>	<i>hi:li</i>
<i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i>	<i>mus</i>	<i>siʔ</i>	<i>lit-n=mil</i>	<i>hil-i</i>

NEW=then=HSY1 women clover **do-AND=FIN** all-ANIM
 ‘Then the women all **went to gather** clover.’

Coyote and the World: 300

<i>sikitey</i>	<i>ʔiwis</i>	<i>mil</i>	<i>hutʔóp:pinmil</i>
<i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔiwis</i>	<i>mil</i>	<i>hutʔop-n=mil</i>

NEW=then=HSY1 men meat/deer **hunt-AND=FIN**
 ‘and the men [**went**] **to hunt** deer.’

In (163), andative *-n* is used in conjunction with semelfactive *-qk* resulting in an apparent iterative meaning in *kapéniʔakmil* ‘dashed in and out of the grass’.

(163) Coyote and the World: 102, RM

<i>seʔey</i>	<i>yóʔoṭop</i>	<i>mikʔop</i>	<i>kapéniʔakmil</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>yot=op</i>	<i>mikʔop</i>	<i>kap-n-qk=mil</i>

NEW=HSY1 grass=LAT quick **enter-AND-SEM=FIN**
 ‘But he **dashed** quickly **in and out** of the grass’.

7.5.6.2. -mą directional

The directional aspect -mą is used to indicate motion toward something. Kroeber (1911:359) describes this suffix as denoting “motion toward” and Schlichter (1985:62) reconstructs *-m or *-ma as a verbal derivational suffix denoting “motion toward the speaker” in PNY²¹⁰.

In general the motion described by -mą is directed away from the speaker or actor, but in some cases it can also be directed towards the speaker or actor. In (164), ha²- appears without any directional or motion suffixes and has the meaning ‘carry’, but in (165), ha²-mą- has the meaning ‘pick up’ or ‘carry toward’. In this example -mą is indicating motion towards the actor, the one picking up the stone.

(164) Coyote and the World: 164, RM

se²éy šiwkí:tin lil **há²namlík:la** ʔey
 si=²i šiwkí:tin lil **há²=namlí=ki²-la** =²i
 NEW=HSY1 šiwkítin rock **carry=DEP=DST-INST** =HSY1

wítkmil kó²ola
 wít-k=mil ko²ol=q?
 hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki.PL=OBL?

‘So šiwkítin hurled at the Wailaki with the stone he was **carrying**’

(165) Coyote and the World: 368 (excerpt), RM

siká²éy kíjk’ún’ lil
 si=ká²=²i kim-k’un’ lil
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 DST.KIN.POSS-father rock

há:mąkil wítik t’qláçtlmil
há²-mą-k-il wit=k t’q̄t-laç-tl=mil
carry-DIR1-PNCT-MPSV throw=DECL leg-break-TR=FIN...

‘Thereupon his father having **picked up** a stone and throwing it broke his leg ...’

²¹⁰ Kroeber (1911:359) and Schlichter (1985:62) speculate that directional -mą is the source of -m in certain verbs with an inherent directional meaning, such as kom- ‘come’ (ko²- ‘go’ + -mą) and ham- ‘bring’ (há²- ‘carry’ + -mą).

-*m̩q* also is used with verbs that already have a directional meaning, such as *tiw*- ‘pursue’. The nuance in meaning that is expressed through the use of -*m̩q* in this circumstance is unclear²¹¹, however it may be used to emphasize the idea of motion already inherent in the verb itself. Compare *téwm̩qmil* ‘pursued’ and *tíwi:mil* ‘followed’ in (166).

(166) Coyote and the World: 171, RM

<i>seʔey</i>	<i>ʔátq</i>	<i>kʻol</i>	<i>kimáse</i>	<i>kʻoʔil</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔataʔ</i>	<i>kʻol</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas-i</i>	<i>kʻoʔil</i>

NEW=HSY1 again other DST-DSTR-ANIM Wailaki

téwm̩qmil

tiw-m̩q=mil

pursue-DIR1=FIN

‘And still other Wailaki **pursued**;

Coyote and the World: 172

<i>sikitéy</i>	<i>ʔópʻa</i>	<i>kʻóʔil</i>	<i>kʻolámwit</i>	<i>tíwi:mil</i>
<i>si=kiʔ=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔopi=a</i>	<i>kʻoʔil</i>	<i>kʻol-am=wit</i>	<i>tiw=mil</i>

NEW=then=HSY1 two=? Wailaki other-NOML=ALL **pursue=FIN**
‘but two of them **followed** off on the side.’

-*m̩q* is also found in clauses containing directional obliques. The use of -*m̩q* in this circumstance may be similar to its use with verbs that already have a directional meaning: to emphasize the motion inherent in the action expressed by the verb.

In (167), *han* ‘house’ occurs with terminative =*kʻil* becomes *hánkʻil* ‘to the house’. *ʔun*- ‘carry’ suffixed with -*m̩q* becomes *ʔúnm̩qmil* ‘brought’.

(167) Coyote and the World: 192, RM

<i>sqʔéy</i>	<i>hánkʻil</i>	<i>ʔúnm̩qmil</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>han=kʻil</i>	<i>ʔun-m̩q=mil</i>

SAME=HSY1 house=TERM **carry-DIR1=FIN**
‘and **brought** it to the house’.

²¹¹ Kroeber is not consistent in his use of ‘pursue’ and ‘follow’ for translating *tiw*-. In other clauses, such as ‘Coyote and the World: 176’, *tiw*- is translated as ‘pursue’ even though it is not suffixed with -*m̩q*.

hátlnamlikí:kil **ko'ł:tmamil.**
hq²-tl=namli=ki²=k'il **ko²-lit-ma=mil**
 build-TR=DEP=DST=TERM **go-DIR2-DIR1=FIN**
 'Then they **traveled** together back to where Coyote had built a house.'

(170) Coyote and the World: 252, RM

sq *ki* *mátlikit* *ki²a* *hulk'ó²a* *k'óli*
sq *ki²* *mat-tl=kit* *ki²=q* *hulk'ó²i=q* *k'ol*
 SAME(?) DST do-TR=when DST=PAT Coyote=PAT kill

sqkit *²ey* *kipáwwap* **ko'olítimil.**
sq=kit =*²i* *kipáw=ap* **ko²-lit=mil**
 SAME=then =HSY1 back=LAT **go-DIR2=FIN**
 'And when they had done this to Coyote after they had killed him, they **went** back'.

In (171), *-lit* is found again in a context with a directional meaning as part of *káписа hqwayilitia* 'bring it in to eat!'

(171) Coyote and the World: 197, RM

sq²éy *²qp* *mil* *²únmawi* *ki:*
sq²=i *²qp* *mil* *²un-má-wi* *ki²*
 SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT meat/deer carry-DIR1-PST1 DST

káписа **hqwayilitia** *²ey* *²ímeymil* *hulk'ó²i*
kap-s-a² **hqwáy-lit-a²** =*²i* *²imi=mil* *hulk'ó²i*
enter-CAUS-IMP **food/eat-DIR2-IMP** =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

kimáša *mús²a²*
ki²-mas=q *mus=q*
 DST-DSTR=PAT women=PAT

'And, "I have brought a deer, **bring it in to eat!**" Coyote said to these women.'

In (172), the meaning of *-lit* is unclear in *lawóličyakmil* 'fastened it'. It may be that *-lit* takes on a different meaning in combination with semelfactive *-qk*. Alternatively, the

root *lawo-* ‘fasten’ may have a meaning that implies motion, as the activity of fastening around the water may involve some sort of associated motion.

(172) Origins: 77, RM

<i>sq̣kiṭéy</i>	<i>hąye</i>	<i>hil</i>	<i>mik’ál</i>	<i>’ey</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>ki:</i>	<i>lil</i>	<i>pát</i>
<i>sq̣=kiṭ-’ey</i>	<i>hą’ąye</i>	<i>hil</i>	<i>=mik’al</i>	<i>=’i</i>	<i>hą’ąye</i>	<i>ki’</i>	<i>lil</i>	<i>pat’</i>
SAME=then=HSY1	now	all	=around	=HSY1	now	DST	stone	flat

<i>šilo:kí:</i>	<i>’ey</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>mik’ál</i>	<i>’u:k’ít</i>	<i>t’ú’q̣ki</i>	<i>’ey</i>
<i>šilo’=ki’</i>	<i>=’i</i>	<i>hą’ąye</i>	<i>=mik’al</i>	<i>’uk’=iṭ</i>	<i>t’u’-q̣=ki’</i>	<i>=’i</i>
like=DST	=HSY1	now	=around	water=JXT	lay-?=DST	=HSY1

lawóličyákmil.

lawo-lit-q̣k=mil

fasten-DIR2-SEM=FIN

‘And now setting this which looked like flat stone all around, around the shore (of the earth), he **fastened** it.’

7.5.7. Nominalization *-(m)ol’* agentive-instrumental

Verbs are nominalized using the agentive-instrumental suffix *-(m)ol’*. The agentive-instrumental can also be used to derive new nouns from other nouns. Kroeber (1911:352) describes *-(m)ol’* as “a very common suffix denoting the instrument or actor, equivalent to English *-er*, but added to noun-stems as well as to verbs.” Schlichter (1985:73) reconstructs **-mol’* as the agentive-instrumental in PNY.

In the texts, there are comparatively few examples of *-(m)ol’* in use. In (173), *šuhól* ‘stayer’ is derived from *šu’-* ‘sit, stay’ + *-h* ‘durative’.

(173) Coyote and the World: 225 (excerpt), RM

<i>...h[y]ánop</i>	šuhól	<i>mí:</i>	<i>šup</i>	<i>méy(h)tan ...</i>
<i>han=op</i>	šu’-h-ol’	<i>mi’</i>	<i>kup</i>	<i>mih-tan</i>
house=LAT	sit/stay-DUR-AG/INST	2SG.AGT	sister’s.son	be-NEG

‘You are not, sister’s son, a **stayer** in the house.’

In (174), *’a:tátat hąway’ol’* ‘food for humans’ is derived from *hąway* ‘food, eat’. *hąway* can function as either a verb or a noun.

(174) Coyote and the World: 413b, RM

<i>míla</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>míʔ</i>	<i>míli</i>	<i>mípa</i>	<i>ʔan</i>
<i>mil=q</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>miʔ</i>	<i>mil</i>	<i>mih-paʔ</i>	<i>ʔan</i>
meat/deer=PAT	=HSY1	2SG.AGT	meat/deer	be-FUT	long.time

<i>ʔa:ʔátat</i>	<i>hqwáyʔolʔ</i>
<i>ʔátat=q</i>	<i>hqwáy-olʔ</i>
people=DAT	food/eat-AG/INST

‘to the deer (he said), “You, deer, shall always be **food for humans.**”’

In (175), *ʔú(h)mol* ‘awl’ is derived from *ʔuh-* ‘sew’. In this excerpt Taykómol is in the process of sewing the earth and to do so he needs an *ʔú(h)mol* or ‘instrument for sewing’.

(175) Origins: 56, RM

<i>sáʔey</i>	<i>kipát</i>	<i>čʔw̄pis</i>	<i>kʔit</i>	<i>kíla</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>kip=q</i>	<i>čʔw̄=pis</i>	<i>kʔit</i>	<i>kiʔ-la</i>
SAME=HSY1	3R=DAT	entrails=ABL	awl	DST-INST

<i>ʔú(h)mol</i>	<i>laʔekʔekilmil.</i>
<i>ʔuh-molʔ</i>	<i>lakʔ-q-k-il=mil</i>
sew-AG/INST	emerge-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘an **awl** to sew it with he [Taykómol] took out of his own body’

-(*m*)*olʔ* appears in many nouns. The name of the primary Yuki deity, *Taykómol*, is an example. Foster analyzes this name as ‘he who walks alone’ and Curtis analyzes it as ‘solitude walker’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:207). Other examples are *laškʔáwolʔ* ‘moon’ and *háwmolʔ* ‘morning star’ (CW:287). The analysis of *laškʔáwolʔ* ‘moon’ is unclear, but *háwmolʔ* ‘morning star’ can be analyzed as *haw* ‘daylight, morning, tomorrow’ + -(*m*)*olʔ* ‘agentive-instrumental’.

7.5.8. Noun Morphology on Verbs

Verbs are also found occasionally with noun morphology. In addition to adverbial clause morphemes, such as, =*op* ‘while’, noun case enclitics are also found on verbs.

In (176), the juxtapositive =*iṭ* is found in *həwłám miʔiṭop* ‘when the beginning of the day is near’.

(176) Coyote and the World: 358, RM

<i>sikiṭ</i>	<i>háwmołʹ</i>	<i>həwłám</i>	<i>miʔiṭop</i>	<i>kíč</i>	<i>ká:kespa</i>
<i>si=kiṭ</i>	<i>hawmołʹ</i>	<i>hawlam</i>	<i>mih=iṭ=op</i>	= <i>kič</i>	<i>kʹəkʹ-s-paʔ</i>
NEW=then	morning.star	dawn	be=JXT=while	=only	exist-CAUS-FUT

“‘And the morning star shall rise only **when the beginning of the day is near.**”

In (177), terminative =*kʹil* is found in *ʔamilkʹil* ‘as they caught (him)’, indicating the goal or endpoint of the action in this clause: the overtaking and catching of him.

(177) Coyote and the World: 324, RM

<i>seʔéy</i>	<i>ʔamilkʹil</i>	<i>kʹiwismil.</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔamil-k-il=kʹil</i>	<i>kiw-s=mil</i>

NEW=HSY1 **overtake-PNCT-MPSV=TERM** ask-CAUS=FIN
‘And **as they caught** him they questioned.’

7.5.9. Unknown Meanings

7.5.9.1. -*q*

The meaning of -*q* is unclear and not discernible from available materials. In the texts, -*q* is often found immediately preceding -*l-il* ‘perfective + mediopassive’, as shown in (178).

(178) Coyote and the World: 255, RM

<i>siʔ</i>	<i>kimási</i>	<i>kipáwwap</i>	<i>kóʔotekiṭ</i>	<i>hiwákʹiʔ</i>
<i>si</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas-i</i>	<i>kipáw=ap</i>	<i>koʔ-t=kiṭ</i>	<i>hiwák=iʔ</i>

NEW DST-DSTR-ANIM back=LAT go-INTR=when in.turn=IN?

k'ít nq ʔqš móp(e)ti hi:l tát mópeti
 k'it =nq ʔqs mop-t hil tat mop-t
 bone =and blood gather-INTR all good gather-INTR

ʔey háyé p'iški'ólop ʔey **ta:tq̄lilmil**
 =ʔi hq̄ʔqye p'iš-ki'ol=op =ʔi **tat-q-l-il=mil**
 HSY1 now sunflower-stalk=LAT =HSY1 **good/make-?-PFV-MPSV=FIN**
 'And after they had returned, gathering his bones and blood, gathering everything well, now he **made himself over** on sunflower stalks (as a frame).'

Less commonly -q also occurs in other contexts as in *nqwilq̄sik* 'whipped', in (179).

(179) Coyote and the World: 11, RM

se'éy ló'opši k'ínik'op mil šáy ʔáwilk
 sí=ʔi lopis k'in=kop mil šay ʔaw-l=k
 NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit cry=while meat/deer raw/alive eat-PFV?=DECL

ʔiy **nqwilq̄sik** ku:t'a ká: yim
 ʔi **nqwil-q-sik** ku'ta ka? yim
 1SG.PAT **whip-?-HSY2?** way.over.there fire

či:yimilmik ʔey ʔimeymil ló'opsí.
 či:y-mq-il-m=k =ʔi ʔimi=mil lopis
 glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit
 'And Jackrabbit, in weeping, "Raw meat they are eating: me they **whipped**: far yonder fire gleams at intervals", Jackrabbit said.

7.5.9.2. *-lim*

This suffix is found synchronically in Yuki, but is not described by Kroeber (1911). Schlichter (1985:63) reconstructs a suffix **-lim* for PNY; however, **-lim* appears to be related to the inchoative *-lqm*, as described in §7.4.2.1. *-lim* is found once in *Origins* and once *Coyote and the World*. *-lim* has not yet been observed in elicited examples nor is it known whether *-lim* is an allomorph of inchoative *-lqm*.

The meaning of *-lim* in Yuki is not completely clear. In (180) and (181) *-lim* may indicate an action or event that is ongoing and occurs alongside another action or event. In (180), *kilímisk hq̣p wá'okesk* 'singing that song he says' appears to imply that the speaking occurs along with singing²¹⁴.

(180) Origins: 12, RM

<i>se'éy</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>hulk'óʔi</i>	<i>sáʔey</i>	<i>kilímisk</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>hulk'óʔi</i>	<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>ki-lim-s=k</i>
NEW=HSY1	say=FIN	Coyote	SAME=HSY1	say-as-CONT?=DECL

<i>hq̣p</i>	<i>wá'okesk</i>	<u><i>ʔimša ʔq̣ haymátliko</i></u> ²¹⁵	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>hq̣p</i>	<i>wok'-s=k</i>	<i>ʔimša ʔq̣ haymatliko</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
song/sing	dance/sing-CONT?=DECL	what.will.I.do	=HSY1

<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>hq̣p</i>	<i>huʔúsík.</i>
<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>kiʔ</i>	<i>hq̣p</i>	<i>huʔuʔ-s=k</i>
say=FIN	DST	song/sing	quit-CAUS=DECL

'And Coyote said, "**Singing that song he says**, 'What shall I do?', and having said that he ceases his song".'

In (181), the meaning of *-lim* may be the same as in (180), though this is less clear. Coyote describes the many things being done to him and then *kilímismil* '(as) [Coyote] said' occurs at the end of this quote. This could be taken to mean that Coyote is

²¹⁴ This ongoing or progressive meaning could also be due to the presence of declarative =*k* in (180). In phrases with at least one verb ending in declarative =*k*, such as *ʔimeymil lóʔopsiʔ hulk'óʔq̣ hušk'áyesk* 'said Jackrabbit to Coyote informing him' (CW:17), Kroeber often translates the verbs with a similar meaning as seen in *kilímisk hq̣p wá'okesk* 'singing that song he says', in (180).

²¹⁵ Underlined text spoken in Huchnom.

speaking as all of these things that he is describing occur to him, or it could be that things Coyote described would happen to him occurred as he had described them.

(181) Coyote and the World: 251, RM

<i>sikitéy</i>	<i>t'íma</i>	<i>hoy</i>	<i>tat:tkilpa:miki:</i>	<i>hoy</i>
<i>si=kit=?i</i>	<i>ṭíma</i>	<i>hoy</i>	<i>tat-k-il-pa'am=ki?</i>	<i>hoy</i>
NEW=then=HSY1	self	too	good/make-PNCT-MPSV-FUT=DST	too

<i>p'íšpal</i>	<i>hāhinč'am</i>	<i>ʔas</i>	<i>čqk(t)lámtpa?</i>	<i>sikit</i>
<i>p'íš-pal</i>	<i>hāhin=iṭ-qm</i>	<i>ʔas</i>	<i>čqk-lqm-t-pa?</i>	<i>si=kit</i>
sunflower-leaf	under=JXT-IN2	blood	stick-INCH-INTR-FUT	NEW=then

<i>k'ít</i>	<i>ʔán</i>	<i>p'íšpal</i>	<i>hāhinč'am</i>	<i>píntpa?</i>
<i>k'it</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>p'íš-pal</i>	<i>hāhin=iṭ-qm</i>	<i>pin-t-pa?</i>
bone	long.time	sunflower-leaf	under=JXT-IN2	be.scattered-INTR-FUT

<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>kip</i>	<i>táyšyq:ki</i>	<i>hoṭ</i>	<i>ʔam</i>	<i>híwiyq:ki</i>	<i>hoṭ</i>
<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>kip</i>	<i>ṭay-s-qk</i>	<i>hoṭ</i>	<i>ʔam</i>	<i>hiw-qk</i>	<i>hoṭ</i>
say=FIN	3R	cut-CONT-SEM	large	guts	spill-SEM	large

<i>pí:č</i>	<i>píntlon</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>kilmismil</i>	<i>hulk'ó'i</i>
<i>pič</i>	<i>pin-tl-on</i>	<i>=?i</i>	<i>ki-lim-s=mil</i>	<i>hulk'ó'i</i>
flesh	be.scattered-TR=while	=HSY1	say-as-CONT?=FIN	Coyote

‘Then that he might remake himself, “Under the sunflower leaves that blood shall stick on, and the bones shall scatter under them too”, he said as they were cutting him up, spilling his guts and scattering his flesh about, (as) Coyote **said.**’

In the texts, *-lim* only appears with *ki-* ‘say’. There are no examples of *ki-* without other verb morphology. *kílimil* ‘said’, in (182), is closest to such an example, which suggests that *ki-* instead of *kilim-* is the verb root in all examples in this section.

(182) Coyote and the World: 73, RM

se'éy *hulk'ó'q* *kip* *'on* *həwáti*

si='i *hulk'o'i=q* *kip* *'on* *həwat*

NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT 3R earth glad/like

'Then "Coyote himself is glad about the earth",'

kímilmil *hulk'ó'i.*

ki-mil=mil *hulk'o'i*

say-?=FIN Coyote

'Coyote **said** to him.'

7.6. Verbs in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

Verbs in Huchnom and Coast Yuki are structured in the same way as in Yuki.

7.6.1. Huchnom

Huchnom is an agglutinating language, and many verb endings are recognizable and similar to those of Yuki. (183) shows examples of corresponding affirmative and negative clauses. The Huchnom negative *-təl* is analogous to the Yuki negatives *-tan* and *tal*.

(183) Lamb 1955:59, LJ

epe *nΔ:wiki* 'I see it.'

'epe *nə:witəlki* 'I don't see it.'

hΔn *'anΔ:wiki* 'I see the house.'

hən *'a nə:witəlki* 'I don't see the house.'

(184) and (185) show examples of imperatives in Huchnom²¹⁶. Huchnom imperatives appear to be structured exactly as in Yuki. In Yuki imperatives can be formed by adding an imperative morpheme *-(?)a'* to the end of the verb or by glottalizing the final consonant. (184) shows the Huchnom verb *lak'* 'come out' with an imperative suffix *-a'*. In (185), the final consonant of the Huchnom verb is glottalized forming the imperative form *hΔwəykil'* 'eat!.'

²¹⁶ See §15.7.1.1 for additional examples of Huchnom imperatives.

- (184) Lamb 1955:56, LJ
hanpis lak'ta? 'come out of house'
- (185) Lamb 1955:52, LJ
kɔ:ma: hɔwəykil' 'come on and eat!'
kɔma: mi| hɔwəykil' 'come on and eat meat'

(186) shows examples of several verbs that suggest Huchnom may have directional verb morphology in addition to that found in Yuki. In Yuki there are various directionals, such as the andative *-n* and general directional *-mq*. The examples in (186) show that Huchnom may distinguish translocative *-ti* and cislocative *-yi* verb suffixes. *-ti* appears to indicate 'movement in direction away from speaker' in *č'ε:me? kiktiki* 'bird flying thither [to over there]', while *-yi* appears to indicate 'movement toward direction of speaker' in *č'ε:me kikyiki* 'bird flying hither [to here].'

- (186) Lamb 1955:67, LJ
č'ε:me kikyiki 'bird flying hither'
č'ε:me? kiktiki 'bird flying thither'
mehti? kiktiki 'bird flying up high'
mehti? 'up'

The agentive/instrumental is used in Huchnom, just as in Yuki, to nominalize verbs²¹⁷. (187) - (192) show possible examples of Huchnom words ending in *-(m)ol'*.

- (187) Lamb 1955:67-69, LJ
woyme?ol 'tobacco'
- (188) Lamb 1955:71, LJ
u?k' ?aymɔl' 'boat'
nɔn pɔhkmɔl' 'hat'

²¹⁷ With the exception of the roots in *šɔt^hmol* 'oriole' and *moyme'mol* 'pencil', the verb roots that are being nominalized here are also found in Yuki, as can be seen in these roots taken from Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: *woy-* 'smoke', *?ay-* 'glide' (*?uk* 'water'), *pɔk-* 'cover' (*nan* 'head'), *hɔwəy-* 'food/eat', *šu?* 'sit'. In the case of *moyme'mol* 'pencil', as can be seen in (191), Lamb glosses this word also as 'something to write with' therefore implying that the root is a verb meaning 'write'.

- (189) Oswalt 1980, BF
šóŋ^hmol ‘oriole’
- (190) Lamb 1955:91, LJ
həwoyməl ‘table (thing for eating)’
- (191) Lamb 1955:92, LJ
moyme·mol ‘pencil (something to write with)’
- (192) Lamb 1955:130, LJ
šuhmal ‘chair’

7.6.2. Coast Yuki

There exist few data on Coast Yuki verbs compared to the available material on Yuki and Huchnom. Therefore little can be said about the specific structure or nature of Coast Yuki verb morphology except that at a glance it seems similar to that of Yuki and Huchnom.

As can be seen in the examples below, there appear to be some endings recognizable from Yuki, such as a possible declarative ending *-k'* in (194), an imperative perhaps ending in a final glottal stop or a glottal stop followed by a vowel in (196) and (197), a question suffix that also appears to include a vowel and a glottal stop in (199), and an agentive/instrumental ending that appears similar to that seen in Yuki and Huchnom in (200) and (201). At the same time, as can be seen in (198), apparently some imperatives also end in *-k'*, which is different from what is known in Yuki and Huchnom.

(193) - (174) show examples of Coast Yuki declarative clauses.

- (193) Harrington 1942-1943:178, LP
yí'k'əm šát'ləm ‘the fire is **dying down or going out**’
- (194) Harrington 1942-1943:227, LP
ʔó'k'-č'im ʔiw'la nóʔʔok' ‘snake **lives** in the water’
- (195) Harrington 1942-1943:240, LP
ʔón bótʔʔəʔ ‘he is **raising up** the dirt on the surface’ (said of the mole)

(196) - (177) show examples of Coast Yuki imperatives²¹⁸.

(196) Harrington 1942-1943:386, LP

mugæʔ '[you (sg.)] drink!'

(197) Harrington 1942-1943:391, LP

ʔóʔk' hâ·mmaʔ 'give me water, pass me water!'

ʔóʔk' dʒf̥b̥əɔd̥d̥eʔ 'dip up the water!'

(198) Harrington 1942-1943:275, LP

héwey 'food, grub'

húššəš 'come on (+ eat)!

líššæ'k' 'you (sg.) hurry up!'

líššæ'k' hewéyqolk' 'you (sg.) hurry up + eat!'

(199) shows an example of a Coast Yuki question.

(199) Harrington 1942-1943:385, LP

ʔó'k' ʔíšʔf̥·há·mdæʔ 'do [you (sg.)] want water?'

Coast Yuki also has an agentive/instrumental affix *-míʔʔel'* ~ *-míʔʔil'* ~ *mal'* cognate with Yuki *-(m)ol'*. Examples of this are shown in (200) and (201).

(200) Harrington 1942-1943:285, LP

woymíʔʔel' ~ *woymíʔʔil'* 'tobacco-pipe'²¹⁹

(201) Harrington 1942-1943:89, LP

híší'mal' 'salal-berry'

²¹⁸ See §15.7.1.2 for additional examples of Coast Yuki imperatives.

²¹⁹ cf. Yuki *woy-* 'smoke' (AA, MF), *woyam* ~ *woyom* 'smoke' (AA), *woyql'* 'tobacco' (AA, MF), and *woyql'* *ʔot'(m)ql'* 'pipe' (lit. tobacco smoke instrument') (AA) (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984).

8. ADJECTIVES

This section discusses adjectives and their morphology. Attributive and predicate adjectives act as distinct subclasses of adjectives in Yuki. Predicate adjectives are suffixed with verb morphology and function as verbs.

8.1. Attributive Adjectives

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

8.1.1. Word Order within the Noun Phrase

(1) and (2) are elicited examples. In (1), the adjective *hoʔ* ‘large’ follows the noun *t’um* ‘rain’.

(1) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 30, AA

t’u:m ho:ʔ ki t’u:mek
t’um hoʔ kiʔ t’um=k
rain large DST rain=DECL
‘it’s raining **big drops**’

In (2), both noun-adjective word orders are given as possible alternatives of each other.

(2) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:99, AA

ʔon si:k ~ si:k ʔon
ʔon sik sik ʔon
earth blue/green blue/green earth
‘blue clay’

In connected speech attributive adjectives are uncommon, but show the same variation. The adjective follows the noun in (3) and (4).

- (3) Coyote and the World: 11 (excerpt), RM
se'éy *ló:pši* *k'ínik'op* **mil** **šáy** ?áwilk ...
si=?i *lopis* *k'in=kop* **mil** **šay** ?aw-l=k
 NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit cry=while **meat/deer** **raw/alive** eat-PFV?=DECL
 'And Jackrabbit, in weeping, "Raw meat they are eating ...'

- (4) Coyote and the World: 14, RM
sq'éy *čánimil* *ló'opsa* **mil** **jojič** *na*
sq=?i *čan=mil* *lopis=q* **mil** **čočič** =nq
 SAME=HSY1 give=FIN Jackrabbit=PAT **meat/deer** **pounded** =and

sopes *tít*
sopis *tit*
 shoulder ?
 'And gave Jackrabbit **pounded meat** and shoulder.'

In (5) the noun ?iwupa 'man' follows the adjective *hoṭ* 'large, great'.

- (5) Coyote and the World: 47 (excerpt), RM
sq'éy *k'ayimílmil* **hóṭ** ?íwupa *han* *hilk*
sq=?i *k'ay-mil=mil* **hoṭ** ?iwop=q *han* *hilk*
 SAME=HSY1 talk-?=FIN **large** **man=PAT?** but all/something?

hąkó:čmi ...
hąkoč-mih
 bad-be?
 'And he talked: "Since even a **great man** may have something go badly with him ...'

8.1.2. Use of =(?)a(?) ~ =(?)q(?) with attributive adjectives

Attributive adjectives referring to human and often also non-human animate nouns frequently, though not always, appear with the ending =(?)a(?). Occasionally, this enclitic is also found on adjectives referring to inanimates. The precise conditions when =(?)a(?) is used or not used cannot be determined.

(6) and (7) show =(?)a(?) on the adjectives *puhič* 'short' and *hoṭ* 'large', which are

referring to human and non-human animate nouns in these examples.

- (6) Kroeber 1911:368, RM
 ?iwis puhiča 'short men'
 puhiča 'a short person'

- (7) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
 mi:li hó:ʔa 'a big deer'

(8) and (9) show examples of the adjectives *hot* 'large' and *tat* 'good' occurring without =(?)a(?) referring to human and/or animate nouns.

- (8) Kroeber 1901a:23, RM
 hot' hqwayyol 'big eater'
- (9) Kroeber 1901/1903:7, RM
 musp tat 'good woman'

Occasionally, =(?)a(?) is also found on adjectives referring to inanimates. In (10), *ho:ta* 'a large one' refers to the inanimate noun *han* 'house'.

- (10) Ioi: 22, RM
- | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>sé'ey</i> | <i>kimáši</i> | <i>kómmil</i> | <i>huháyk'i</i> | <i>hánki</i> |
| <i>si=?i</i> | <i>ki-mas-i</i> | <i>kom=mil</i> | <i>huháyk'i</i> | <i>han=k'i</i> |
| NEW=HSY1 | DST-DSTR-ANIM | come=FIN | furthest | house=IN |

ho:ʔa *namlík'i:k*.

hot=a =*namlí=kik*

large=? =DEP=there

'They came to the last house, which was **a large one**.'

In copular clauses, =(?)a(?) is also typically found on adjectives referring to human and frequently also non-human animate nouns. Examples of this are shown in (11) - (13).

- (11) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
 ?q̣p **ho:ʔ'a** mihik
 ?q̣p **hoʔ=a** mih=k
 1SG.AGT **large=?** be=DECL
 'I am a **big one**.'
- (12) Kroeber 1901a:36, RM
č'ala mí:wi
č'al=a mih=wi
white=? be=PST1
 'he is/was **white**'
- (13) Kroeber 1901a:36, RM
 ?at'wq̣šit **č'ala** ?itin mi:hik
 ?at'wq̣šit **č'al=a** ?itin mih=k
 dog **white=?** 1SG.POSS be=DECL
 'I have a **white dog**'

In other types of clauses, such as (14), =(?)a(?) is absent from adjectives referring to the same types of nouns.

- (14) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
mil ?unšil ?q̣p liaku
mil ?unšil ?q̣p li[?]-q̣k-wi
deer **small** 1SG.AGT kill-SEM-PST1
 'I killed a **small deer**'

It should also be noted that =(?)a(?) ~ =(?)q(?) is quite similar in form to the patient case enclitic =q ~ =a; however, these two morphemes do appear to be distinct. The relationship between these enclitics, if any, is unclear. (15) and (16) demonstrate that =(?)a(?) and the patient case enclitic are distinct morphemes.

In (15), *molma*[?] 'three' occurs in *kimási mólma*[?] 'those three'. In this example there would be no reason for the argument of ?q̣laykó:timil 'danced in a row to the side' to be a grammatical patient. Therefore, =(?)a(?) is most likely the morpheme at the end of *molma*[?] 'three'. As this is the same ending seen on attributive adjective examples

already discussed in this section, it can be said that the numerals in (15) and (16) are treated as attributive adjectives²²⁰.

(15) Coyote and the World: 67, RM

<i>sop[?]éy</i>	<i>kimási</i>	<i>mólma[?]</i>	<i>ʔqlaŋkó[?]otimil</i>
<i>sop=[?]i</i>	<i>ki[?]-mas-i</i>	<i>molmi=a</i>	<i>ʔqlaŋko[?]-t=mil</i>
but=HSY1	DST-DSTR-ANIM	three=?	dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN

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

In (16), it makes sense for *mólmiya* ‘three’ to be a grammatical patient as it is the recipient of the action of the verb *nak’óhisq* ‘teaching’ and indeed its form is different from that of *molma[?]* ‘three’ in (15). Therefore, the patient case enclitic =q ~ =a is most likely the morpheme at the end of *mólmiya* ‘three’.

(16) Coyote and the World: 357, RM

<i>somý</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>hi:l</i>	<i>mólmiya</i>	<i>híl’k’il</i>	<i>nak’óhisq</i>
<i>som=[?]i</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>hil</i>	<i>molmi=q</i>	<i>hilk’il</i>	<i>nqk’oh-sq</i>
however=HSY1	=HSY1	all	three=PAT	separately	teach-?

<i>ʔímiymil</i>	<i>laš’áwl’a</i>	<i>nqkop</i>	<i>kíč</i>	<i>mí[?]</i>	<i>kup</i>
<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>laš’awol’=q</i>	<i>nqk=op</i>	<i>=kič</i>	<i>mi[?]</i>	<i>kup</i>
say=FIN	moon=PAT	dark/night=LAT	=only	2SG.AGT	sister’s.son

kó:tampa

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

go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

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

(17) shows an example of *molmi* ‘three’ by itself without either the patient case enclitic or =(?)a(?). *páwi* ‘one’ and *ʔopi* ‘two’ also appear without any other marking. The absence of =(?)a(?) could be due to the fact that *nák* ‘night’ and *wít* ‘week’ are inanimate. As shown already in this section, =(?)a(?) appears infrequently with attributive adjectives describing inanimate nouns, so this is likely also the case for numerals.

²²⁰ Use of a morpheme cognate with =(?)a(?) is also observed with numeral in Huchnom as discussed in §9.4.1. For a complete description of Yuki numerals see Chapter 9.

(17) Feather Dance Narrative: 22, RM

šq:kč'am	ʔús	ʔopi	nák	šq:kč'am	molmi
šq'qkč'am	ʔus	ʔopi	nqk	šq'qkč'am	molmi
sometimes	1PL.EXCL.AGT	two	dark/night	sometimes	three
nák	šq:kč'am	pqwi	wi:ṭ	ʔus	
nqk	šq'qkč'am	pqwi	wiṭ	ʔus	
dark/night	sometimes	one	work/week	1PL.EXCL.AGT	

wá'ok'išmil.

wok'-s=mil

dance/sing-CONT=FIN

'Sometimes we dance 2 nights, sometimes 3 nights, sometimes one week.'

Kroeber describes $=(?)a(?)$ as an animacy marker in his sketch of Yuki (1911:368). It is true that $=(?)a(?)$ does occur most often with animate nouns, but a further examination of the pattern of use of $=(?)a(?)$ shows that the occurrence with animate nouns is more a symptom of its use rather than an explanation for its use.

First, it must be noted that for Yuki nouns in general the distinction between animate and inanimate referents is not one of primary importance. Instead the distinction that matters most in Yuki is that between human and non-human referents. Core case-marking, for example, occurs for human, personified non-human, and also occasionally for highly affected non-human referents; however, in general, non-human animate referents are not marked for core case. Thus, it would be strange that in word classes such as adjectives and numerals that often occur with nouns or, in the case of numerals, can even function as nouns themselves, there would exist a significant grouping (animate vs. inanimate) different from that seen for Yuki nouns in general (human vs. non-human).

Second, it is true that $=(?)a(?)$ does occur almost always on adjectives and numerals referring to human nouns, even in elicitation, and also commonly those adjectives referring to animate non-human nouns or even inanimates, as shown in the examples in §8.1.2. One can also observe inconsistent use of $=(?)a(?)$ with the same noun-adjective pairs, suggesting that the function of $=(?)a(?)$ is not to mark animacy itself, but some other yet to be determined feature such as focus and contrast discussed below in §8.3. Compare (18) and (19). In the two examples the same noun $ʔat'wqšit$ 'dog' occurs with

the same adjective *č'al* 'white', yet in (18) the noun phrase *ʔat'wqšit č'al* 'white dog' is not marked with $=(?)a(?)$, while in (19) the same noun phrase is marked with $=(?)a(?)$.

- (18) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
ʔat'wqšit č'al ʔqp nqwiwi
ʔat'wqšit č'al ʔqp nqw-wi
 dog **white** 1SG.AGT see-PST1
 'I saw a **white** dog'
- (19) Kroeber 1901a:36, RM
ʔat'wqšit č'ala ʔitin mi:hik
ʔat'wqšit č'al=a ʔitin mih=k
 dog **white=?** 1SG.POSS be=DECL
 'I have a **white** dog'

Third and finally, affectedness can play a role in whether or not certain nouns receive core case marking in Yuki, including patient case. By contrast, the degree to which a referent is affected by the actions of a verb is not connected with $=(?)a(?)$ marking on adjectives. Thus, although $=(?)a(?)$ and the patient case enclitic $=q \sim =a$ look similar, $=(?)a(?)$ functions differently from patient case marking in this regard as well.

The examples below show that affectedness does not influence the use of $=(?)a(?)$. In elicitation, where a referent is not affected at all, one finds the example shown in (20) where the noun phrase *mi:li ho:t* 'big deer' is marked with $=(?)a(?)$, while in (21) and (22) where the noun phrases *mil ʔunšil* 'small deer' and *ʔiyi opi* 'two (of the enemies)' are highly affected by the verb *li²-* 'kill', no $=(?)a(?)$ marking is found on these noun phrases. This is especially noteworthy in (22), as the affected referent is human.

- (20) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
mi:li ho:tʔa 'a **big** deer'
- (21) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
mil ʔunšil ʔqp liaku
mil ʔunšil ʔqp li²-qk-wi
deer small 1SG.AGT kill-SEM-PST1
 'I killed a **small deer**'

- (22) Thunder's Twins: 18, RM
mikíṭa ʔʔyi ʔópi liʔqkmil
mikiṭa ʔʔyi ʔopi liʔ-qk=mil
 that.time **what two** kill-SEM=FIN
 'That time they [the boys] killed **two** [of the enemies].'

8.2. Predicate Adjectives

Predicate adjectives can be suffixed with verb morphology and function as verbs. Human arguments of predicate adjectives are grammatical patients. This can be seen in Kroeber's elicited material, as shown in (23).

- (23) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
ʔi: hočʔk
ʔi hoṭ=k
 1SG.PAT **large=DECL**
 'I **am big**.'

(24) - (26) show *hqč'am* 'strong, solid' affixed with different types of verb morphology. These examples show some of the range of the predicate adjective in Yuki. The meaning of *hqčámmil* 'was solid' and *hač'ámt'mil* 'was firm' is much as expected from a predicate adjective: *X is <adjective>*. In (26), the meaning of *hqčámečyakmil* 'made strong (fast)' seems to extend beyond the area typically seen for predicate adjectives²²¹.

- (24) Origins: 70, RM
seʔéy hqčámmil ʔúnšil.
si=ʔi hqč'am=mil ʔunšil
 NEW=HSY1 **strong=FIN** small
 'Now it **was** a little **solid**.'

²²¹ The source of the causative meaning of *hqčámečyakmil* 'made strong (fast)', a verb containing intransitive -t, is unknown.

- (25) Coyote and the World: 262, RM

si'áy *hí:l* *hə'yé* **hač'ámt'mil.**
si'=i *hil* *hə'aye* **hač'am-t=mil**
 NEW=HSY1 all²²² now **strong-INTR=FIN**
 'and everything **was firm.**'

- (26) Coyote and the World: 68, RM

se'áy *háye* *kí:la* *'on* **hačámečyakmil**
se'i *hə'aye* *ki'-la* *'on* **hač'am-t-qk=mil**
 NEW=HSY1 now DST-INST earth **strong-INTR-SEM=FIN**

'on *kútčam.*

'on *kut=ič-qm*

earth root=JXT-IN2

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

(27) and (28) are examples of other predicate adjective clauses and show *həkoč* 'bad' functioning as a predicate adjective.

- (27) Origins: 121, RM

se'áy **həkóčmil.**
si'=i **həkoč=mil**
 NEW=HSY1 **bad=FIN**
 'And it **was unsatisfactory.**'

- (28) Origins: 109, RM

se'áy *ki* **həkóčk** *'ey* *'imeymil* *hulk'ó'i.*
si'=i *ki'* **həkoč=k** *=i* *'imi=mil* *hulk'ó'i*
 NEW=HSY1 DST **bad=DECL** =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
 "That **is bad**", Coyote said.'

²²² Note that *hí:l* 'all' in (25) does not receive patient case marking, because it does not refer to an animate noun.

8.3. Comparatives and Superlatives

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

One method for forming comparatives is to place two adjectives in apposition. In (29), ‘I am bigger than you’ is expressed by saying ‘I am big, you [are] small’. In this type of construction, one adjective is marked with $=(?)a(?)$. This use suggests that $=(?)a(?)$ may function as a marker of focus and contrast in Yuki, as here a contrast appears to be drawn between two statements referring to two different referents.

- (29) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:30, MF
- | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>ʔqpel</i> | <i>ho:ta</i> | <i>mehek</i> | <i>mis</i> | <i>ʔunšil</i> |
| <i>ʔqpel</i> | <i>hoɬ=a</i> | <i>mih=k</i> | <i>mis</i> | <i>ʔunšil</i> |
| 1SG.AGT.EMPH | large=? | be=DECL | 2SG.PAT | small |
- ‘I’m big, you are small.’

In (30), the same type of construction is used to express a comparative meaning. “I am a young one, s/he is old” is used to say “I am a younger woman than s/he is”.

- (30) Siniard 1967a:71, MF
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>ʔampil</i> | <i>mahaʔ</i> | <i>mihik</i> | <i>kiʔ</i> | <i>ʔolwis</i> | <i>mihik</i> |
| <i>ʔqpil</i> | <i>mah=a</i> | <i>mih=k</i> | <i>kiʔ</i> | <i>ʔolwis</i> | <i>mih=k</i> |
| 1SG.AGT.EMPH | young=? | be=DECL | DST | old | be=DECL |
- ‘I’m a younger woman than s/he is.’

In other instances particular words are used to highlight the superlative nature of the adjective. In (31), *leʔ* ‘little’ is combined with *ʔunšil* ‘small’ to emphasize the small size of *čʔi:mit* ‘bird’. This may be analogous to similar constructions in colloquial English: “she lives in a little, little house” or “he has a big, big appetite.”

- (31) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:191, AA
- | | | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------|---------------|
| | <i>ka</i> | <i>čʔi:mit</i> | <i>leʔ</i> | <i>ʔunšil</i> |
| | <i>kaʔ</i> | <i>čʔimit</i> | <i>leʔ</i> | <i>ʔunšil</i> |
| | PRX | bird | little | small |
- ‘This is the **smallest** bird.’

Similarly, in (32) *miṭ* ‘up, over’ is used with *hoṭ* ‘large’ in order to emphasize the large size of *č'i:mit* ‘bird’.

(32) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:30, AA

ka č'i:mit miṭ hoṭ
kaʔ č'imit miṭ hoṭ
 PRX bird **up/over large**
 ‘This is the **biggest** bird.’

This “type” of comparative/superlative is the only one that is found both in the elicited examples in Sawyer and Schlichter 1984 and also in the texts. (33) is an example showing *miṭ* ‘up, over’ used to form the same type of construction in connected speech.

(33) Origins: 95, RM

sqʔey mas tuʔákmil pąwi ʔiwis mí:pamikimáša
sq=ʔi mas tʔuʔ-qk=mil pąwi ʔiwis mih-paʔam=kiʔ-mas=q
 SAME=HSY1 thus lay-SEM=FIN one men be-FUT=DST-DSTR=PAT

ʔey hoʔoṭmíč tʔú:mil.
=ʔi hoṭ miṭ tʔuʔ=mil
 =HSY1 **large up/over** lay=FIN

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

Other constructions are occasionally found, but it is unclear the extent to which these can be generalized for forming comparatives or superlatives in Yuki. In (34), *-ʔet* ‘be like’ is used to emphasize the easiness of the work, thereby creating a kind of comparative or superlative.

(34) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:74, AA

ka wiṭ lq mehek
kaʔ wiṭ lq mih=k
 PRX work **easy** be=DECL
 ‘This is **easy** work.’

ka wiṭ **lq'et (~le'et)** mehek
 ka' wiṭ **lq-ʔet** mih=k
 PRX work **easy-be.like** be=DECL
 'This is the **easiest** work.'

One final form also appears in the texts. In (35) and (36), adjectives ending in *-niʔ* are translated with a comparative meaning by Kroeber. *ʔunšil* is 'small' and *ʔunšilniʔ* is translated by Kroeber as 'smaller'.

- (35) Origins: 96, RM
 sḳeyʔéy múšp miʔhqlíkí: ʔúnšilniʔ
 sḳ=ki=ʔi musp mih-ʔql=kiʔ ʔunšil-niʔ
 SAME=and=HSY1 woman be-ʔ= DST **small-?**

ʔalnanát ʔey ...
 ʔal-nan=qt =ʔi
 stick-head=DAT =HSY1
 'And (for) those [that] would be a woman he laid **smaller** sticks with heads...'

In (36) *káčeyni* is translated by Kroeber as 'younger'. The word that *káčeyni* would be derived from, *kač*, is not known.

- (36) Ioi: 1, RM
 Ioi nḳ kípat **káčeyni** kimlána
 Ioi =nḳ kíp=qt **kačini** kim-lan'
 Ioi =and 3R=DAT **younger** DST.KIN.POSS-younger.brother

č'ḳy kíṭa mí:mil.
 č'ḳ'i kíṭa mih=mil.
 Bluejay there be=FIN
 'Ioi and her **younger** brother Bluejay were there.'

8.4. *-am, -lam* nominalizer

The nominalizer *-am, -lam* is used most often with adjective roots and less commonly with verb roots. In Kroeber's description of Yuki, this suffix appears in several places. However, it appears that in all of these cases Kroeber is talking about the nominalizer *-am*. In his description of noun morphology, Kroeber (1911:353) writes: "*-am, -lam*, collective. It is the regular plural suffix of certain words denoting persons and ending in a suffix. It also forms the usual plural of certain inanimate nouns, such as house, in which the collective or distributive and plural meanings are apt to coincide; and of compound nouns containing an adjective." In his description of adjectives, Kroeber (1911:368) describes *-am* as a "noun-forming suffix", while in his description of verb suffixes and structure (1911:365) he writes: "noun-derivative *-am* and collective *-am* are probably identical".

The analysis of *-am* in use suggests that it is not a plural form, but that acting as a nominalizer it can be used to derive nouns with collective plural meanings, such as *ʔolwi:sam* 'old people' below in (37) or nouns which occur in groups such as *hąwwhó:tam* 'whale(s)' in *ʔómahą:t hąwwhó:tam* 'four whales' in (41). As discussed in Chapter 5, there does not appear to be a regular plural form for nouns in Yuki. Only a small number of nouns have plural forms.

The collective meaning of *-am* can be seen in (37). *ʔolwi:sam* 'old people' is derived from the adjective *ʔolwis* 'old' and refers to a group of old people.

(37) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:152, AA

ʔolwi:sam *hąʔąkel*
ʔolwis-am *hąʔ-k-il*
old-NOML listen-PNCT-MPSV
 'Old people, listen!'

In (38), *mąlam* is used to refer to a group of people described by the plural noun *ʔiwis* 'men'.

(38) Feather Dance Narrative: 16 (excerpt), RM

<i>sími:</i>	<i>kiʔáʔ</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>wok'ol</i>	<i>mí:hąlekí</i>
<i>si=mi</i>	<i>kiʔa</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>wok'-ol'</i>	<i>mih=hąl=kiʔ</i>
NEW=and.then	there	long.time	dance/sing-AG/INST	be=INFR1?=DST

k'áyyemilemi *kipat* *ʔá:ʔat* *ʔiwis* ***málam*** *yíwismil*.
k'áy-mil-mi *kip=ʔat* *ʔat* *ʔiwis* ***má-lam*** *yiw-s=mil*
 talk-?-and.then? 3R=DAT people men **young-NOML** call-CAUS?=FIN
 'And then, the leader of the other tribe called to the **young** men...'

There is an allomorph *-lam* for this nominalizing suffix and while it is not found in the texts, it appears in the elicited example shown in (39). (40) is shown for comparison. Examples of the *-lam* allomorph are so infrequent that its distribution relative to the more common *-am* form is not known.

- (39) Kroeber 1901:13, RM
miʔat ***hanlam***
mi=ʔat ***han-lam***
 1PL.INCL=DAT **house-NOML**
 'our **houses** (each one has one)'

- (40) Kroeber 1901:13, RM
miʔat *han*
mi=ʔat *han*
 1PL.INCL=DAT house
 'our house'

The nominalizer *-am* can also be suffixed to adjectives, which are arguably part of a lexicalized term. In (41), *-am* is added to *həw hoʔ* 'large fish' forming *həwwhóʔotam* 'whale(s)'.
 'whale(s)'.
 'whale(s)'.

- (41) Origins: 86 (excerpt), RM
sáʔey *ʔomahə:ʔ* ***həwwhóʔotam*** *k'ap'iyakmil*.
sə=ʔi *ʔomahə:ʔ* ***həw-hoʔ-am*** *k'ap'-ək=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 four **fish-large-NOML** kill-SEM=FIN
 'And he slew four **whales**...'

It is not known whether or not *həw hoʔ* without *-am* also means 'whale'. However, *ukhoʔ* 'ocean', which literally means 'large water' is used without *-am*, as shown in (42).

(42) Origins: 75, RM

sąkimás *hi:l* *ʔon* *huʔútli* *ki* *ʔey* *hąye* *ʔu:khóṭ*
są=kimás *hil* *ʔon* *huʔuʔ-tl* *kiʔ* *=ʔi* *hąʔąye* *ʔukʔ-hoṭ*
 SAME=thus all earth quit-TR DST =HSY1 now **water-large**

mi:paʔmiki: *húykot* *ʔuʔ* *namtlmil*
mih-paʔam=kiʔ *huy-kot* *ʔukʔ* *nąm-tl=mil*
 be-FUT=DST half-LOC water lay-TR=FIN

‘Thus all the earth being finished, now, (for) the **ocean** which was to be, he put down water in the middle.’

Suffixed with *-am*, the meaning of *ukhoṭ* ‘ocean’ does not necessarily change. In the free translations used for the texts recorded by Kroeber, the resulting word *ukhoṭam* is used to mean coast but also ocean. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:47,152) define *ukhoṭ* as both ‘ocean’ and also ‘coast’, therefore it does not seem that the nominalizer *-am* is deriving a new meaning, but in both (43) and (44) it does seem that the end point of the motion is the area directly adjacent to the ocean, rather than the ocean itself.

(43) Coyote and the World: 343, RM

sąʔey *ʔu:khóʔoṭam* *tʔóktmil*
są=ʔi *ʔukʔ-hoṭ-am* *tʔok-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 **water-large-NOML** arrive-TR=FIN
 ‘And he reached the **coast** (west).’

(44) Coyote and the World: 265, RM

sąʔey *kimás* *háyk* *pʔoyitli* *ʔątá*
są=ʔi *kiʔ-mas* *hay=ki* *pʔoy-tl* *ʔąṭaʔ*
 SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR net.sack=IN put-TR again

kóʔotemil *ʔu:khóʔoṭamwit.*
koʔ-t=mil *ʔukʔ-hoṭ-am=wit*
 go-INTR=FIN **water-large-NOML=ALL**

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

(45) shows an example of the nominalizer *-am* used with a verb root. The verb *yik-*, which Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:83) define as ‘make a fire’ is nominalized to mean

‘fire’. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:82) define the nominalized form *yi:kam* as ‘fire that is built’.

(45) Coyote and the World: 17 (excerpt), RM

<i>ʔi:yi</i>	<i>tán-hq̄le</i>	<i>kukʼá</i>	<i>yí:kam</i>
<i>ʔiyi</i>	<i>tan=hq̄li</i>	<i>kukʼa</i>	<i>yik-am</i>
what	NEG?=INFR1	way.over.there	make.fire-NOML

čʔyimílmik

čiy-mq-il-m=k

glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV=DECL

“‘This is what I said: ‘Far yonder **fire** gleams at intervals...’”

8.5. Adjectives in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

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

8.5.1. Huchnom

In Huchnom attributive adjectives typically follow the noun. (46) shows examples in Huchnom of noun phrases translated by Lamb as consisting of nouns and attributive adjectives.

(46) Lamb 1955:28, LJ

lil *ɔ:lsɪʔ*

rock small

‘small rock’

Lamb 1955:42, LJ

mehš *wah*

road wide

‘wide road’

Lamb 1955:113, LJ

ʔo:mse:kʼ

ʔo:m-se:kʼ

ground-blue

‘blue clay’

Lamb 1955:51, LJ

ʔúkʼ *sâ:tʰ*

water cold

‘cold water’

In Huchnom, =aʔ is cognate with Yuki =(ʔ)a(ʔ). In Lamb's elicited material, it appears that the pattern of use of Huchnom =aʔ is the same or very similar to that of =(ʔ)a(ʔ) in Yuki. =aʔ is found on adjectives and numerals in copular clauses and in elicitation. As with =(ʔ)a(ʔ) in Yuki, =aʔ in Huchnom appears to be common though not obligatory on adjectives and numerals describing human referents.

In (47), the adjective ʔɔlsɪʔ 'little' appears without =aʔ when it describes an inanimate referent *lɪ* 'rock', but also when it describes a human referent ʔiwɔp 'man'.

- (47) Lamb 1955:32, LJ
 ʔiwɔp ʔɔlsɪʔ 'little man'
lɪ ʔɔlsɪʔ 'little rock'

(48) and (49) show additional examples of numerals occurring with inanimate nouns.

- (48) Lamb 1955:39, LJ
 ʔopi ʔinayʔ '2 days'
- (49) Lamb 1955:155, LJ
 puwɪ hɔn 'one house'
 ʔopi hɔn '2 houses'

The fact that =aʔ is not obligatory for human arguments²²³ can also be seen in (50) and (51). In these examples Lamb records forms with and without =aʔ as translations for the same English term. In both examples the noun being described is human, ʔiwɔp ~ ʔiwəp 'man'.

- (50) Lamb 1955:32, LJ
 ʔiwɔp kayi 'tall man'
 ʔiwəp káyyaʔ 'tall man'
- (51) Lamb 1955:32, LJ
 ʔiwɔp ʔɔlsɪʔ 'little man'
 ʔiwəp ʔɔlsilaʔ 'little man'

²²³ See (9) in §9.4.1 for additional examples of human nouns with and without =aʔ on the numerals and adjectives describing them.

(52) is an example of an attributive adjective in a short clause. No examples are available of predicate adjectives in Huchnom. Note that *ʔólsil* ‘little’ is affixed with *=aʔ* morpheme which is cognate with Yuki *=(ʔ)aʔ* on *hoʔ* ‘large’ in *ʔqp ho:ʔa míhik* ‘I am a big one’, in (11).

- (52) Lamb 1955:101, LJ
músp ʔólsiláʔ kàʔ méhčʔi
músp ʔólsil=aʔ kàʔ méh-čʔi
 woman **little=?** PRX be-?
 ‘this is a **little** woman’

8.5.2. Coast Yuki

Examples of Coast Yuki attributive adjectives have thus far been found only for human nouns. These all end in *-æʔ*, which it is reasonable to conjecture as being cognate with *=(ʔ)aʔ* found on attributive adjectives in Yuki and *=aʔ* in Huchnom. (53) shows examples of Coast Yuki attributive adjectives.

- (53) Harrington 1942-1943:388, LP
ʔəwəpʔ kʔéyæʔ ‘a tall man’
ʔəwəpʔ bəʔhæʔ ‘a short/chubby man’
ʔəwəpʔ həʔtʔæʔ ‘a big man’
múšpʔ həʔtʔæʔ ‘a big woman’

Coast Yuki predicate adjectives function much as in Yuki. No examples of predicate adjectives in Huchnom have thus far been found. The difference is that the Coast Yuki patient pronoun *ʔi* may be encliticized onto the predicate adjective. In (54), the adjective ‘sick’ appears in an uninflected form *díʔdæʔ*, but functions as a predicate adjective meaning ‘he is sick’. In (55), *díʔday* ‘I am sick in bed’ and *wáxʔday* ‘I am sick but walking around’²²⁴ end in the first person singular patient pronoun *ʔi*.

²²⁴ The internal structure of *díʔday* ‘I am sick in bed’ and *wáxʔday* ‘I am sick but walking around’ is unknown, as it is for much of the Coast Yuki data cited throughout this grammar. In this case these two words likely have different roots. The intent in including them is to show that the first person singular patient pronoun *ʔi* may be encliticized onto the predicate adjective in Coast Yuki.

- (54) Harrington 1942-1943: 387, LP

dí'dæʔ 'he is sick'*hó't' dí'dæʔ* 'he is very sick'

- (55) Harrington 1942-1943: 387, LP

dí'day 'I am sick in bed'*wáxʔday* 'I am sick but walking around'

In (56) the same pattern of encliticization of the first person singular patient pronoun to the predicate adjective is seen for several other predicate adjectives. Note that the adjective in the predicate adjective form *šemʔi* 'I am well', presumably ends in a consonant and therefore *ʔi* is maintained and not reduced to a glide²²⁵.

- (56) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB

ʔintay 'I am sleepy'*tiʔatay* 'I am sick'*šemʔi* 'I am well'

In (57), the predicate adjective may be affixed with an ending in Coast Yuki analogous to Yuki declarative =*k*.

- (57) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB

tiʔateʔékay 'I have been sick'²²⁶

Coast Yuki uses a nominalizer *-am* or *-em*, which is likely cognate with the Yuki nominalizer *-am*. In (58), the nominalizer is affixed to *ʔól* 'tree' and *hótr* 'big' forming *ʔól-hótrʔam* 'big tree place'.

²²⁵ This alternation is also discussed in §3.5.

²²⁶ The root of *tiʔateʔékay* 'I have been sick' is likely the same as *dí'day* 'I am sick in bed' in (41). The difference in spelling is due to differences in the transcription of the two linguists, Kroeber and Harrington, respectively, who originally recorded these examples.

- (58) Harrington 1942-1943:40, LP
 ?ól-hótr?am ?ónnæ?
 ?ól-hótr=am ?ónnæ?
tree-big=NOML land/country.?
 'monte, lit. **big tree** country'

In (59), the nominalizer is affixed to *k'ew* 'to blossom' forming *k'éwem* 'flower'.

- (59) Harrington 1942-1943: 46, LP
k'éwem 'flower'
k'ew 'to blossom'

9. NUMERALS

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

The Yuki system of counting - and it alone among the Yukian languages - is not decimal or quinary, but octonary. Only the Salinan and Chumash, far to the south, follow an analogous quaternary method. It is remarkable that the Yuki counted on their fingers as regularly as any other people in the State. The explanation is that they did not count the fingers but the spaces between them, in each of which, when the manipulation was possible, two twigs were laid. Naturally enough their "hundred" was 64.

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

The Yuki managed their count with only three real numeral words: *pa'wi*, one; *opi*, two; *molmi*, three. Every other word denoting numbers up into the hundreds is a description of the process of counting. Thus, a translation of their numerals four to twenty runs as follows: two-forks, middle-in, even-chilki, even-in, one-flat, beyond-one-hang, beyond-two-body, three-body, two-forks-body, middle-in-body, even-chilki-body, even-in-body, middle-

none, one-middle-project, two-middle-project, three-middle-project, two-forks-middle-project. Sixty-four is two-fork-pile-at. There are sometimes several ways of denoting a number. Thus eight is one-flat, or hand-two-only (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:176-177).

Table 24 shows the cardinal numerals of the four Yukian languages²²⁷. Ordinal numerals are not recorded and not found in the texts. The data in Table 24 is given to illustrate the numerals of the Yukian languages and to show the similarity in form of the numerals in these four languages.

	Yuki	Huchnom	Coast Yuki	Wappo
1	<i>pqwe, powe</i>	<i>p'úwe</i>	<i>bowik</i>	<i>báwe, báwa</i>
2	<i>'ope, 'opa</i>	<i>'óp'e</i>	<i>'opik</i>	<i>hópi, hóbi</i>
3	<i>molme</i>	<i>mólme</i>	<i>molmik</i>	<i>hobóka</i>
4	<i>'opmahq̄t, 'omahq̄t</i>	<i>kesópe</i>	<i>hilkilópik</i>	<i>'óla</i>
5	<i>huyk'o</i>	<i>pu:p'uč</i>	<i>powbát</i>	<i>gáda, gáta</i>
6	<i>(mek'qs) č'ilke?</i> ²²⁸	<i>p'u:tal</i>	<i>powtít</i>	<i>baténawk</i>
7	<i>mikasko</i>	<i>'ópinun</i>	<i>'óbedot</i>	<i>hopídenawk</i>
8	<i>pawmpat, mipatalawa</i>	<i>kinasánun</i>	<i>mólmetit</i>	<i>hopíhan</i>
9	<i>hučampq̄wipan</i>	<i>hélpiso p'u:tal</i>	<i>hilkilópetit</i>	<i>bá:lak, bawalák</i>
10	<i>hučamopisul</i>	<i>hélpiso humač</i>	<i>bo:bátedit</i>	<i>maháyš, mahays</i>

²²⁷ Yuki Sources: Numerals 1-6 (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984), Speakers: Arthur Anderson, Minnie Fulwider; Numerals 7-20 (Dixon and Kroeber 1907:677), Speaker not given, possibly Ralph Moore; Numerals 40, 64 (Kroeber 1901/1903/1908: loose notes in notebook), Speaker: not given, possibly Ralph Moore. Recorded April 11, 1906.

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

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

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

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

²²⁸ Sawyer and Schlichter's (1984:189) note: "six, lit. (fingers) spouting"

11	<i>molmisul</i>	<i>hélpiso p'u:tik</i>		<i>mahayš pawalen</i>
12	<i>ʔomahqtsul</i>	<i>hélpiso ʔópetik</i>		<i>mahayš hopilen</i>
13	<i>huykosul</i>	<i>hélpiso molmetik</i>		<i>mahaís pokaléwen</i> ²²⁹
14	<i>mikasčilkisul</i>	<i>ʔaʔlapú:tan</i>		<i>mahayš olalen</i>
15	<i>mikaskosul</i>	<i>ʔaʔlávʔx</i>		²³⁰
16	<i>huyčot</i>	<i>ʔaʔlapú:tik</i>		²³⁰
17	<i>pqwihuyluk</i>	<i>ʔaʔlaʔh ʔópetik</i>		²³⁰
18	<i>ʔopihuyluk</i>	<i>ʔaʔlaʔh kinosonúntik</i>		²³⁰
19	<i>molmihuy poy</i>	<i>p'u:ʔályak p'u:tan</i>		<i>mahayš ba:laken</i>
20	<i>ʔomahqthuypoy</i>	<i>p'uʔályak</i> ²³¹	<i>ʔop keškenešlak</i>	<i>hopihol</i>
21				<i>hopihol ba:len</i>
22				<i>hopihol hopilen</i>
23				<i>hopihol bókalen</i>
30		<i>misq̣w ʔop'álya</i>	<i>mol keškenešlak</i>	<i>bókohol</i>
40	<i>huyšot pawmpat poy</i>	<i>ʔop'álya</i>	<i>hilkilop keškenešlak</i>	<i>ʔolol</i>
50		<i>misaw momálya</i>	<i>powpat keš kenešlak</i>	<i>gátahol</i>
60		<i>momálya</i>		<i>baténawkhol</i>
64	<i>ʔomahq̣t šam op</i>			
70		<i>misq̣w ʔopenunálye</i> ²³²		<i>hopidénawkhol</i>
80		<i>misq̣w kinosonanalyo</i>		<i>hopihanhol</i>
90		<i>kinosononalyo</i>		<i>ba:lakhol</i>
100		<i>p'uʔal</i> ²³³	<i>po ʔál</i>	<i>bawaséntu</i> ²³⁴
200		<i>ʔopaʔál</i>	<i>ʔope ʔal</i>	

²²⁹ Kroeber does not record 'thirteen' in his list of Wappo numerals. *mahaís pokaléwen* 'thirteen' is taken from Radin (1929:138)

²³⁰ Kroeber indicates that 15-18 are formed according to this same method in his notes, but does not provide actual numerals.

²³¹ Kroeber's note: "1 stick (standing)"

²³² Dixon and Kroeber (1907:677) do not give a Huchnom numeral 'ninety' and give different names for 'seventy' and 'eighty': *misau kinasanun-alya* 'seventy', *kinasanun-alya* 'eighty.'

²³³ Kroeber's note: "1 straight stick"

²³⁴ Radin (1929:138) records a different form: *haišhol* 'one hundred.'

300		<i>molmaʔal</i> ²³⁵	<i>molma ʔal</i> ²³⁶	
400		<i>kesopaʔál</i>		
500		<i>pʔubučal</i>		
600		<i>pu:talál</i>		
700		<i>ʔopanunál</i>		
800		<i>kínosununʔal</i>		
900		<i>helpiso pu:talál</i>		
1000		<i>helpisoʔál</i>		

Table 24: Cardinal numerals of the Yukian languages

9.1. $=(?)a(?) \sim =(?)q(?)$ on Numerals

Kroeber (1911:365-6) proposes that animacy is marked for numerals *pək* or *pəwi* ‘one’ vs. *pəwa* ‘one (animate)’, *ʔopi* ‘two’ vs. *ʔopa* ‘two (animate)’, and *molmi* ‘three’ vs. *molma* ‘three (animate)’. As discussed in §8.1.2, $=(?)a(?) \sim =(?)q(?)$, which is the morpheme at the end of these numerals, most likely does not mark animacy. This is due to the fact that occasional examples are found, such as (2), showing numerals without $=(?)a(?)$ occurring with animate nouns. For this reason the precise conditions when $=(?)a(?)$ is used or not used cannot be determined.

(1) shows examples of numerals with human and non-human animate nouns elicited by Kroeber²³⁷. Note that in this series *ʔomahq̄t* ‘four’ also occurs with *-a*. These examples are reproduced with Kroeber’s original notes concerning numeral forms that are not permitted with a particular noun.

(1) Kroeber 1901a:6, RM

<i>mólmaʔa míli</i>	‘three deer, (not <i>molmi</i>)’
<i>ʔopʔa pu:lám</i>	‘two cottontail rabbits (not <i>ʔopʔi</i>)’
<i>ʔíwis ʔopʔa</i>	‘two men’
<i>ʔíwis mólma</i>	‘three men’
<i>ʔíwis ʔomʔahq̄ta</i>	‘four men’

(2) shows an example of *ʔomahq̄t* ‘four’ describing an animate noun *həwəwhóʔotám* ‘whale(s)’. This example demonstrates that $=(?)a(?)$ is not obligatory for numerals

²³⁵ Kroeber’s note: “in counting beads, for every 100 a stick is put out”

²³⁶ Kroeber’s note: “*al* = stick”

²³⁷ See §5.7 for additional discussion of numeral and noun word order within noun phrases.

occurring with animate nouns. Compare this with *ʔíwis ʔom'aháta* 'four men' in (1) where *ʔom'ahát* 'four' occurs with an animate noun *ʔíwis* 'men' and does end in *=(?)a(?)*.

(2) Origins: 86, RM

<i>sáʔey</i>	ʔómahq:t	<i>həwwhóʔotam</i>	<i>k'ap'íyakmil.</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	ʔomahq:t	<i>həw-hot-am</i>	<i>k'ap'-qk=mil</i>
SAME=HSY1	four	fish-large-NOML	kill-SEM=FIN

'And he slew **four** whales'

9.2. Numerals as Nouns or Pronouns

Numerals can be used as nouns or pronouns. (3) shows *pəwi* 'one' acting as a noun and affixed with inessive *=k'i*, forming *pəwík'i* 'in one place'.

(3) Coyote and the World: 32, RM

<i>sáʔey</i>	<i>hí:li</i>	pəwík'i	<i>mópʔílmil.</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>hil-i</i>	pəwi=k'i	<i>mop-t-il=mil</i>
SAME=HSY1	all-ANIM	one=IN	gather-INTR-MPSV=FIN

'And all gathered **in one place**'

ʔopi 'two' is also used to mean 'both'. In (4), *ʔopi* is shown as a part of *ʔopkí:ya* 'both of them=PAT'.

(4) Coyote and the World: 201, RM

<i>sikáʔéy</i>	ʔopkí:ya	<i>sá:k'ílmil</i>
<i>si=kq=ʔi</i>	ʔopi=kiʔ=q	<i>sak'il=mil</i>
NEW=thereupon=HSY1	two=DST=PAT	heavy=FIN

'But **both of them** could not lift it.'

9.3. Numerals in the Noun Phrase

As shown in (1), numerals can both precede the noun, as in *mólma míli* 'three deer', and follow the noun, as in *ʔíwis ʔom'aháta* 'four men'. In the texts, numerals are rare and are found only preceding nouns, as shown in (5) - (7).

- (5) Coyote and the World: 172, RM
sikiṭéy *ʔóp'a* *k'ó'íl* *k'ólámwit* *tíwi:mil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔopi=a* *k'o'íl* *k'ol-am=wit* *tiw=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 **two=?** **Wailaki** other-NOML=ALL pursue=FIN
 'but **two of them [those Wailaki]** followed off on the side.'
- (6) Coyote and the World: 195, RM
se'éy *ʔópa* *mus* *nó:mil*
si=ʔi *ʔopi=a* *mus* *noʔ=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 **two=?** **women** live=FIN
 '**Two women** lived there.'
- (7) Origins: 86 (excerpt), RM
sáʔey *ʔómahq:t* *hqwwhóʔoṭam* *k'ap'íyakmil.*
sá=ʔi *ʔomahqṭ* *hqw-hot-am* *k'ap'-qk=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 **four** **fish-large-NOML** kill-SEM=FIN
 'And he slew **four whales**...'

9.4. Numerals in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

Yuki, Huchnom, Coast Yuki, and Wappo numerals are compared in Table 24. In Huchnom, numerals are used just as numerals in Yuki.

9.4.1. Huchnom

(8) shows examples of numerals²³⁸ with nouns in Huchnom.

- (8) Lamb 1955:30, LJ
p^hawɪ lɪl 'one rock'
ʔopi lɪl 'two rocks'

(9) shows examples of numerals occurring with nouns and adjectives. Note that in *opi rwis kayyaʔ* 'two tall men' the adjective *kay* 'tall' ends in =aʔ which is cognate with Yuki =(ʔ)a(?), but in *opiʔ a:l kayi:* 'two long sticks' the same adjective occurs without =aʔ. This suggests that in Huchnom, just as in Yuki, attributive adjectives can be marked with

²³⁸ See (48) and (49) in §8.5.1 for additional examples of numerals describing nouns in Huchnom.

this ending when occurring with human nouns. However, it should be noted that none of the numerals in (9) end in =aʔ.

- (9) Lamb 1955:32, LJ
 ʔopi ʔiwis hoŋtam 'two big men'
 ʔopi ʔiwis kayyaʔ 'two tall men'
 ʔopiʔ ʔa:l kayi: 'two long sticks'

(10) shows a number of examples of the Huchnom noun ʔiwpe:čʔ 'boy' and muspe:ʔ 'girl' along with *meheki*, which appears to be the declarative form of *meh-* 'be' used in a series of copular clauses²³⁹. Note that when the numeral follows the noun it ends in =aʔ, as in *muspe:ʔ ʔopaʔ meheki* 'two girls', but when the numeral precedes the verb it does not end in =aʔ, as in ʔopi ʔiwpe:čʔ *meheki* 'two boys'. This strongly suggests that in Huchnom numerals marked with =aʔ are being treated as attributive adjectives much as *kay* 'tall' is marked with =aʔ when it follows *iwis* 'men' in *opi iwis kayyaʔ* 'two tall men', in (9).

- (10) Lamb 1955:153-4, LJ
 puwi ʔiwpe:čʔ *meheki* 'one boy'
 ʔopi ʔiwpe:čʔ *meheki* 'two boys'
 ʔiwpe:čʔ *molma meheki* 'three boys'
 ʔiwpe:čʔ ʔopaʔ *meheki* 'two boys'
 puwi *muspe:ʔ meheki* 'one girl'
muspe:ʔ ʔopaʔ meheki 'two girls'
mu:spe:ʔ molmaʔ meheki 'three girls'

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

- (11) Lamb 1955:109, LJ
molmi nak wok'me:lamsiki ~ wok'mamsiki 'X going to dance 3 nights.'

²³⁹ This conjecture is made based on the similarity of *meheki* to Yuki *mih-* ~ *meh-* 'be' in such copular clauses as:

Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:26, MF
 kiʔqt ʔal ka: **mehek**
 kiʔ=qt ʔal kaʔ **mih=k**
 DST=DAT stick PRX **be=DECL**
 'This is his stick.'

9.4.2. Coast Yuki

Few examples exist of Coast Yuki numerals in available documentation. The available examples do not show a contrast between human and non-human or animate and inanimate nouns in terms of numeral endings. *ʔóbæʔ* ‘two’ is used to refer to both ‘noses’, in (12), and ‘maidens’, in (13). It is unclear whether *ʔóbæʔ* in Harrington’s transcription in (12) and (13) is different from *ópe* in Kroeber’s transcription in (14).

(12) Harrington 1942-1943:132, LP
ʔóbæʔ héntʔélʔ ‘two noses’

(13) Harrington 1942-1943:310, LP
ʔóbæʔ náyʔš ‘two maidens’

(14) and (15) show other examples of Coast Yuki numerals. (15) is translated by Kroeber as ‘3 deer’, but it may actually mean ‘there are three deer’ or ‘three deer are/exist’ due to the presence of *méhe*, which appears to be the copular verb cognate with Yuki *mih-* ‘be’.

(14) Kroeber 1902c:67, TB
pow mil, powe mil ‘one deer’
mil ʔópe ‘two deer’

(15) Kroeber 1902c:97h, SS
míl mólme méhe ‘3 deer’ (Probably: ‘there are three deer’)

10. QUANTIFIERS

Commonly used Yuki quantifiers include *hil* ‘all’, *hoʔ* ‘many, large’, *munaʔ* ‘many’; Some quantifiers, such as *hil*, can be affixed with the animate *-i* suffix and used as pronouns. An example of *hil* ‘all’ is shown in (1).

- (1) Coyote and the World: 156, RM
siʔéy háye hi:l han kʰáltmil
si=ʔi hqʔqye hil han kʰal-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now **all house** burn-TR=FIN
 ‘and **all the house** was consumed.’

Examples of *hoʔ* ‘many, large’ are shown in (2).

- (2) Coyote and the World: 401, RM
san hó:ʔ kʰóʔil kʰáni ʔq̄p mátlí:kon namlí:kí:
san hoʔ kʰoʔil kʰq̄n ʔq̄p mat-tl=kon namlíki
 SAME? **large Wailaki** language/word 1SG.AGT do-TR=because therefore

hó:ʔ kʰoʔil kʰáwlaŋk kʰayyíniʔakmil
hoʔ kʰoʔil kʰaw-lq̄m=k kʰay-n-qk=mil
large Wailaki light-INCH=DECL talk-AND-SEM=FIN
 “**Many Wailaki** shall speak Wailaki speech because I do this”; that is why **many Wailaki** were speaking when it began to be day.’

An example of *munaʔ* ‘many’ is shown in (3).

- (3) Coyote and the World: 48, RM
sáʔey ʔim kʰan paʔétmil hulkʰóʔi mi:litéiki
sá=ʔi ʔim kʰq̄n paʔ-t=mil hulkʰoʔi militiki
 SAME=HSY1 where language/word get.up-INTR=FIN Coyote Militiki

múnaʔ *ʔá:ʔat* *šúknamlík:k* *tóktli*
munaʔ *ʔaʔat* *šuʔ-k=namlí=kik* *tʔok-tl*
many people sit/stay-PNCT=DEP=there arrive-TR
 ‘So Coyote preached (“lifted his voice”) at Mílitiki, where the **crowd** having arrived was sitting.’

(4) shows an example of *hil* ‘all’ affixed with animate *-i* and used as a pronoun *híli* ‘all of them’.

- (4) Coyote and the World: 58, RM
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------------|---------------|-------------|------------|---------------------|
| <i>siʔéy</i> | <i>hí:li</i> | <i>kí:kʔi</i> | <i>wok</i> | <i>ʔiy</i> | <i>máʔlilmil</i> |
| <i>siʔi</i> | <i>hil-i</i> | <i>kik</i> | <i>wokʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>máʔ-l-il=mil</i> |
- NEW=HSY1 **all-ANIM** there dance/sing =HSY1 practice-PFV-MPSV=FIN
- sq* *huʔútlí* *ʔaʔtq* *túkt(i)mil.*
sq *huʔuʔ-tl* *ʔaʔaʔ* *tuk-t=mil*
 SAME quit-TR again move-INTR=FIN
 ‘**All** practiced dancing there; and finishing they traveled on.’

In (5), *hil* ‘all’ is shown marked for patient case as *hí:la* ‘all of them=PAT’.

- (5) Coyote and the World: 142, RM
- | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|---------------------|------------------|
| <i>seʔey</i> | <i>haye</i> | <i>hí:la</i> | <i>ʔínitmil</i> |
| <i>siʔi</i> | <i>həʔaye</i> | <i>hil=q</i> | <i>ʔín-t=mil</i> |
- NEW=HSY1 now **all=PAT** sleep-INTR=FIN
 ‘And now **all of them** slept’,

10.1. Quantifiers in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

10.1.1. Huchnom

(6) - (8) show a selection of quantifiers or words derived from quantifiers in Huchnom. Many of these have cognates in Yuki. *munkiʔ* ‘lots’ and *munaʔ* ‘everybody’ are analogous to Yuki *muna* ‘many’. *he:l* ‘all’ in *tʔayhe:l* ~ *tʔayhe:l* ‘everything’ is analogous to Yuki *hí:l* ‘all’.

- (6) Lamb 1955:72, LJ
ku:šnɛʔ 'a few'
ʔɛʔk' munkiʋ' 'lots of lice'
- (7) Lamb 1955:108, LJ
munaʔ wokʔlamsiki 'everybody's dancing'
- (8) Lamb 1955:83, LJ
tʔayhe:l 'everything'
tʔayhe:l čʔaʔkʔil 'wash everything!'

As shown in (9), Huchnom *he:l* 'all' can also be used as a pronoun *he:lɛ*. Final *-ɛ* in *he:lɛ* may be a marker of animacy analogous to *-i* in the Yuki pronoun *hili* 'all of them' in (5).

- (9) Lamb 1955:30, LJ
he:lɛ ʔus nɔʔɔhɪkɪ 'all of us [are] living'

10.1.2. Coast Yuki

Few examples exist of Coast Yuki quantifiers in use. (10) shows Coast Yuki *mún'e* 'lots, many', which is cognate with Yuki *munaʔ* 'many (of them)' and Huchnom *munkiʋ'* 'lots' and *munaʔ* 'everybody'.

- (10) Kroeber 1902c:97h, SS
mil' mún'e 'lots of deer'

11. ADVERBS

A list of Yuki adverbs is given in Table 25. These adverbs form a limited or possibly closed set of terms that include mainly references to time, such as *hu* 'before', *ʔata* 'again', *haʔaye* 'now'. This type also includes some terms referring to manner, such as *halšilo* 'differently' and *hilk'il* 'separately'. Adjectival roots can also function as adverbs. These adverbs differ from adjectives in that they do not take nominal morphology.

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

Table 25: Yuki Adverbs

(1) and (2) show examples of the adverb *ʔan*. This adverb is common in the texts and is translated with the meanings ‘long’ and ‘always’.

- (1) Coyote and the World: 136, RM

seʔéy **ʔan** *woʔokesmil* *kʔóʔil*
si=ʔi **ʔan** *wokʔ-s=mil* *kʔoʔil*
 NEW=HSY1 **long.time** dance/sing-CONT=FIN Wailaki
 ‘And they danced **long**.’

- (2) Coyote and the World: 354, RM

sikitey *ká* *mít* *kup* *ʔonapaʔ* **ʔan**
si=kit=ʔi *kaʔ* *mit* *kup* *ʔon-aʔ-paʔ* **ʔan**
 NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sisterʔs.son earth-ʔ-FUT **long.time**

son *míʔ* *kup* *kákkútispaʔ*
son *míʔ* *kup* *kʔqkʔ-kut-s-paʔ*
 therefore 2SG.AGT sisterʔs.son exist-INCP-CAUS-FUT
 “‘This, sisterʔs son, shall **always** be your place; but you shall rise first.’”

An example of *ʔiwho* ‘very, much’ is shown in (3).

- (3) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:173, MF

ʔiwho *tʔuʔulqmek*
ʔiwho *tʔulʔ-m=k*
very rain?-IMPFV=DECL
 ‘a **big** rain-storm is coming (lit. it’s going to rain **hard**)’

As stated above, adjectival roots can function adverbs, but differ from adjectives in that they are not affixed with nominal morphology. (4) - (8) show examples of adjectival roots functioning as adverbs. The adverb and verb are given in bold in each example. See Chapter 8 for discussion and examples of adjectives.

- (4) Coyote and the World: 370, RM

sikítéy *haye* *hulk'ó'i* *hánpis* *lakti* **č'ál**
si=kiṭ=ʔi *haʔaye* *hulk'o'i* *han=pis* *lak'-t* **č'al**
 NEW=then=HSY1 now Coyote house=ABL emerge-INTR **loud**

pqk'éyakmil***pqk'-qk=mil*****shout-SEM=FIN**‘But now Coyote coming out of the house **shouted loudly**’

- (5) Coyote and the World: 353, RM

seʔéy **ʔúnšil** **k'áwtmil**
si=ʔi **ʔunšil** **k'aw-t=mil**
 NEW=HSY1 **small** **light-INTR=FIN**
 ‘and it **shone a little**.’

- (6) Coyote and the World: 377 (excerpt), RM

sakítéy *kipat* *múspa* *ʔimeymil* **tát** *ʔaṭáta*
sq=kiṭ=ʔi *kip=qt* *musp=q* *ʔimi=mil* **tat** *ʔaṭat=q*
 SAME=then=HSY1 3R=DAT woman=PAT say=FIN **good/make** people=PAT

hqwáysinʔk*ka**hánap**kó:támika**ʔeyy ...****hqwáy-s-nik****kaʔ**han=op**koʔ-t-m=kaʔ**=ʔi***food/eat-CAUS-NEC** PRX house=LAT go-INTR-IMPV=PRX =HSY1‘Thereupon he told his wife, “You **must feed well** the people coming to this house ...’

- (7) Coyote and the World: 154, RM

sikítéy **hóʔoṭ** *hánal* **yq:htmlmil**
si=kiṭ=ʔi **hoṭ** *hanal* **yqh-tl=mil**
 NEW=then=HSY1 **large** walls **blaze-TR=FIN**

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

- (8) Coyote and the World: 397, RM
sikiṭ *hálʃa* **ho:ṭ** *yí:kilpaʔ*
si=kiṭ *halč=q* **hoṭ** *yiʔ-k-il-paʔ*
 NEW=then children=PAT **large** **play**-PNCT-MPSV-FUT
 “children also **shall be playing much**,”

11.1. Adverbs in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

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

11.1.1. Huchnom

(9) - (11) show examples of Huchnom adverbs analogous to the Yuki adverbs shown in Table 4.

- (9) Lamb 1955:16, LJ
kəyt *ap həwəykil* ‘I **already** ate’
- (10) Lamb 1955:88, LJ
kaʔ ʔi: ʔan ʔonaʔ nɬ:ʔčʔi ‘this fella is **always** punching (poking) me’
- (11) Lamb 1955:140, LJ
hɬʔyɪʔ ‘now’

(12) and (13) show examples of adjectival roots functioning as adverbs in Huchnom. In (12), *hoṭ* ‘big’ occurs at the beginning of the clause, and intensifies the action expressed by the verb.

- (12) Lamb 1955:41, LJ
hoṭ *pʔənsɛʔ liʔe*: ‘wind’s blowing **hard**’

In (13), *huši*: ‘sweet’ and *kaʔčim* ‘no good, bad’ characterize the action expressed by the verb *nəṭəmmiki* ~ *natam:iki* ‘tastes’.

- (13) Lamb 1955:44, LJ
huši: nətəmmiki' 'tastes **sweet**'
kaʔčim natam'iki 'tastes **no good**'

11.1.2. Coast Yuki

(14) and (15) show examples of Coast Yuki adverbs analogous to the Yuki adverbs shown in Table 4.

- (14) Harrington 1942-1943:386, LP
k'é'dæm ʔa·mî'gæʔ
k'é'dæm ʔa·mî'gæʔ
already 1SG.AGT-drank
 'I **already** drank.'
- (15) Harrington 1942-1943:370, LP
k'éʃi'may č'ók'læʔ yî'k'imbis̆
k'éʃi'ma-y č'ók'læʔ yî'k'im-bis̆
already-1SG.PAT warm fire-ABL
 'I am **already** warm from the fire.'

(16) and (17) show examples of adjectival roots functioning as adverbs in Coast Yuki.

- (16) Harrington 1942-1943:283, LP
dâ·t' neddêm héwwey
dâ·t' neddêm héwwey
good tastes food
 'the food tastes **good**'
- (17) Harrington 1942-1943: 387, LP
hó't' dí'dæʔ
hó't' dí'dæʔ
big sick
 'he is **very** sick'

12. LOCATIVE TERMS

This section describes words in Yuki connected with describing the location of referents or speech events. Yuki locative terms can be formed on the base of the proximal demonstrative *kaʔ*, the distal demonstrative *kiʔ*, and other locative terms including *kipqaw* ‘back’, *wil* ‘far’, and *wąk* ‘after, later’. Locative terms are understood here to mean any type of word indicating position or direction. This sets the locative terms apart from noun case suffixes and enclitics, which are almost never found as independent words and are almost always attached to a particular noun or verb. Yuki does not have a clearly defined word class of adpositions.

12.1. Locative Terms formed from Demonstratives

A large number of Yuki locative terms are formed on the base of the demonstratives *kaʔ* ‘PRX’ (proximal) and *kiʔ* ‘DST’ (distal). A number of other such terms are formed on the base *ku-*. Kroeber generally translates *ku-* type deictics with an overdistal meaning, such as *kuk’a* ‘far yonder’, while Sawyer and Schlichter mostly translate these locative terms with a meaning related to ‘down’²⁴⁰.

Yuki demonstratives distinguish two degrees of proximity: proximal and distal. Some locative terms derived from the demonstratives *kaʔ* ‘PRX’ and *kiʔ* ‘DST’ are formed by attaching noun case endings, as in the case of *kik’il* ‘toward it’ (*kiʔ* ‘DST’+ *=k’il* ‘TERM’). Other locative terms of this type are affixed with morphology that is different from that used for forming oblique forms of nouns. Kroeber analyzes *-ta* as a locative on demonstratives. It appears in *kaṭa* ‘here’, *kiṭa* ‘there’, and possibly also in *kut’a ka* ‘far yonder.’ No examples have been found of *-ta* used with word classes other than demonstratives.

Tables 26 and 27 provide an overview of locative terms formed from *kaʔ* and *kiʔ*, respectively. This is not necessarily an exhaustive list, as there may have been other terms of this type beyond the ones shown. These tables represent a fairly comprehensive overview of locative terms derived from demonstratives found in the texts and in *Yuki Vocabulary*.

²⁴⁰ See Table 28 for examples and references.

Yuki	Meaning	Analysis	Source
<i>kaʔ</i>	‘this one’	<i>kaʔ</i> PRX	Coyote and the World: 28
<i>kaʔa</i>	‘here’	<i>kaʔa</i> here	Coyote and the World: 244
<i>kaʔaʔapis</i>	‘from here’	<i>kaʔa=pi</i> PRX=ABL	Coyote and the World: 347
<i>ka:ʔelʔ</i>	‘here’	<i>kaʔa-ilʔ</i> PRX-edge?	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217
<i>kaʔin</i>	‘around here’	<i>kaʔ-ʔin</i> PRX-?	Coyote and the World: 231
<i>ka:k</i>	‘right here’	<i>kaʔ=kʔi</i> PRX=IN	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217
<i>ka:kʔe</i>	‘here’	<i>kaʔ=kʔi</i> PRX=IN	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217
<i>kayʔ</i>	‘up here’	<i>kaʔ-yʔ</i> PRX-?	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217

Table 26: Locative terms derived from the proximal demonstrative *kaʔ*

Yuki	Meaning	Analysis	Source
<i>kiʔ</i>	‘that one’	<i>kiʔ</i> DST	Coyote and the World: 197
<i>kiṭa</i>	‘there’	<i>kiṭa</i>	Coyote and the World: 381
<i>kiṭaʔapis</i> , <i>kiṭaʔopis</i>	‘from where; there, near this side of it’	<i>kiṭa=pi</i> there=ABL	Coyote and the World: 22, 59
<i>kiʔičisa</i>	‘approaching’	<i>kiʔ=iṭ-sa</i> DST=JXT-?	Coyote and the World: 51
<i>kiʔin</i>	‘around there’	<i>kiʔ-ʔin</i> DST-?	Origins: 180
<i>kikʔil</i>	‘toward it’	<i>kiʔ=kʔil</i> DST=TERM	Coyote and the World: 295
<i>kik</i>	‘there’	<i>kiʔ=kʔi</i> DST=IN	Coyote and the World: 49
<i>kikʔi</i> ²⁴¹	‘there’	<i>kiʔ=kʔi</i> DST=IN	Coyote and the World: 58
<i>kimʔ</i>	‘there, right (over) there’	<i>kiʔ-mʔ</i> DST-?	Coyote and the World: 266, Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 215
<i>kimpis</i>	‘from there’	<i>kiʔ-m=pi</i> DST-?=ABL	Coyote and the World: 348
<i>kiŋki</i>	‘there’	<i>kiʔ-m=ki</i> DST-?=IN?	Coyote and the World: 308

Table 27: Locative terms derived from the distal demonstrative *kiʔ*

²⁴¹ *kikʔi* and *kik* may be the same word, with *kik* a reduced form of *kikʔi*. The same may be true for *ka:k* ‘right here’ and *ka:kʔe* ‘here’, with *ka:k* a reduced form of *ka:kʔe* (presumably *kaʔ* ‘this’ + *-kʔi* ‘inessive’).

(1) - (3) show examples of some of the locative terms shown in Tables 26 and 27. (1) shows *kaṭáʔapis* ‘from here’ and *kíṭáʔapis* ‘from there’ used in the same clause.

(1) Coyote and the World: 22, RM

<i>seʔéy</i>	<i>kaṭáʔapis</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>yáṣhi</i>	<i>kíṭáʔapis</i>	<i>náweta</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>kaṭa=pis</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>yáṣ-h</i>	<i>kiṭa=pis</i>	<i>náw-t-aʔ</i>
NEW=HSY1	here=ABL	1SG.AGT	stand-DUR	there=ABL	see-INTR-IMP

<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>lówpsi</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔa</i>
<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>lopis</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔi=q</i>
=HSY1	say=FIN	Jackrabbit	Coyote=PAT

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

(2) is an example of *kay* ‘up here’ and (3) is an example of *kaṭel* ‘here’.

(2) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217, AA

<i>kay</i>	<i>haʔat!</i>
<i>kay</i>	<i>haʔ-tl-ʔ</i>
up.here	carry-TR-IMP
‘Put it up here! ’	

(3) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217, AA

<i>kaṭel</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>noʔohek</i>
<i>kaṭel</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>noʔ-h=k</i>
here	1SG.AGT	live-DUR=DECL
‘I live here. ’		

Table 28 provides an overview of locative terms formed from *ku-*. The *ku-* series of terms appears infrequently in the texts. As stated above, Kroeber’s translations for these terms suggest an overdistal degree of proximity, but the analysis from Sawyer and Schlichter 1984, suggests that *ku-* type locative terms are derived from a word meaning ‘down’. *ʔumey* ‘uphill’ is also included in Table 28. It occurs a single time in the texts, and no other related locative terms are recorded. Note that Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:264) translate *ku:t-* as ‘downhill’. *ku:t-* ‘downhill’ may also have a connection with *kuhtki* ‘north’ and *kut-* ‘start, beginning’.

mątli ...

mat-t-il

shoot-INTR-MPSV

‘But as the Wailaki **from there** shot at them ...’

12.2. Other Locative Terms

Table 29 shows other Yuki locative terms. Utilizing the same methods used to form additional locative terms from the demonstratives, other locative terms can likewise be formed from many of the words shown in Table 29. *mik'al* ‘around’ and *ʔič* ‘near’ are included in the list, but straddle the boundary between case ending and independent word. *mik'al* is described in more detail in §5.4.12 and *ʔič* is described in more detail in §5.4.11 as the juxtapositive case.

Yuki	Meaning	Analysis	Source
<i>hučki</i>	‘outside’	<i>huč=ki</i> outside=IN	Coyote and the World: 135
<i>hučkipis</i>	‘from outside’	<i>huč=ki=pis</i> outside=IN=ABL	Coyote and the World: 310
<i>huyki</i>	‘to the middle’	<i>huy=ki</i> middle=IN	Coyote and the World: 277
<i>kipąw</i>	‘back’	<i>kipąw</i> back	Coyote and the World: 257
<i>mik'al</i>	‘around’	<i>mik'al</i> around	Coyote and the World: 395, Origins: 6
<i>nąk'i:</i>	‘near’	<i>nąk=k'i</i> near?/west=IN	Coyote and the World: 61
<i>wąk</i>	‘after, later, closely’	<i>wak</i> after/last	Coyote and the World: 182a
<i>wik'am</i>	‘to the rear’	<i>wik-ąm</i> back?-IN2	Coyote and the World: 308
<i>wil'ʔi'</i>	‘way up, way off’	<i>wil=i</i> far?=IN	Coyote and the World: 103
<i>ʔič</i>	‘near’ (juxtapositive case)	<i>ʔič</i> JXT	Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:147

Table 29: Other Yuki locative and directional words

(6) and (7) show examples of some of the terms in Table 29. An example of *wil'?* 'way up, way off' is shown in (6) and an example of *wąk* 'after' is shown in (7)

(6) Coyote and the World: 103, RM

sq'ey **wil'?** *lákti* *tąšil* *holiyammil*.
sq=?i **wil=?i?** *lak'-t* *tąšil* *hol-m=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 **way.up/off=IN** emerge-INTR quiver pull?-IMPFV=FIN
 'and escaping to **a distance** shook his quiver at them'

(7) Coyote and the World: 182a, RM

namlík *'éy* **wąk** *nąwéti* *'ey* *pąk* *pąp'iyakmil*
namliki *=?i* **wąk** *nąw-t* *=?i* *pąk* *pąp'-ąk=mil*
 therefore =HSY1 **after** see-INTR =HSY1 one pop-SEM=FIN
 'And when he looked **a little later**, one of them was making a sound.'

12.2.1. *kipąw* 'back'

Tables 30-32 show three locative terms that are commonly found used as the base for forming other such terms. Table 30 shows the locative terms formed from *kipąw* 'back'. Note that some terms can be used as verb roots, as illustrated by *kipąwyakmil* 'got back'.

Yuki	Meaning	Analysis	Source
<i>kipąw</i>	'back'	<i>kipąw</i> back	Coyote and the World; 257
<i>kipąwam</i>	'back into'	<i>kipąw-ąm</i> back-IN2	Coyote and the World: 369
<i>kipąwiyit</i>	'back toward'	<i>kipąw=iť</i> back=JXT	Coyote and the World: 70
<i>kipąwki</i>	'back toward'	<i>kipąwk=ki</i> back=IN	Coyote and the World: 316
<i>kipąwk'il</i>	'back toward'	<i>kipąw=k'il</i> back=TERM	Coyote and the World: 108, 319
<i>kipąwop</i> ~ <i>kipąwap</i>	'back toward'	<i>kipąw=op</i> back=LAT	Coyote and the World: 158, 252
<i>kipąwyakmil</i>	'got back'	<i>kipąw-ąk=mil</i> back-SEM=FIN	Coyote and the World: 185

Table 30: Locative terms derived from *kipąw* 'back'

(8) and (9) show examples of some of the terms in Table 30. An example of *kipq̄w* affixed with the lative case enclitic =*op* is shown in (8) and an example of *kipq̄w* used as a verb is shown in (9).

(8) Coyote and the World: 158, RM

sáʔéy **kipq̄wwop** *wí:tákmił* ʔolkačám
sq=ʔi **kipq̄w=op** *wiṭ-q̄k=mił* ʔolkačam
 SAME=HSY1 **back=LAT** turn-PNCT=FIN Mouse

hąwayi *móneti* *t'únamlikíṭa*
hąway *mon-t* *t'uʔ=namli=kíṭa*
 food/eat steal-INTR lay=DEP=there
 'and went **back to** where Mouse had piled the stolen food.'

(9) Coyote and the World: 185, RM

seʔéy *kimás* *hąye* ʔá:ṭat **kipq̄wyakmił** *hulk'óʔi*
si=ʔi *kimas* *hąʔaye* ʔat **kipq̄w-q̄k=mił** *hulk'oʔi*
 NEW?=HSY1 thus now people **back-SEM=FIN** Coyote
 'So thus now Coyote **got back** his people.'

12.2.2. *wil* 'far'

Table 31 shows locative terms formed from *wil* 'far'.

Yuki	Meaning	Analysis	Source
<i>wilʔiʔ</i> , <i>wiley</i>	'way up, way off, farther'	<i>wil=iʔ</i> <i>far=IN</i>	Coyote and the World: 103, 313
<i>wilʔám</i>	'far over'	<i>wil-qm</i> <i>far-IN2</i>	Coyote and the World: 80
<i>wil(l)op</i>	'off to a distance'	<i>wil=op</i> <i>far=LAT</i>	Coyote and the World: 148
<i>wilipis</i>	'from farther'	<i>wil=pis</i> <i>far=ABL</i>	Coyote and the World: 312

Table 31: Locative terms derived from *wil* 'far'

(10) shows an example of one of the terms in Table 31: an example of *wil* affixed with the ablative case enclitic =*pis* is shown in (10).

- (10) Coyote and the World: 312, RM
sikaʔéy *hulkʔóʔi* **wfli:pis** *náwkwil* *ʔimeymil*
si=kq=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi* **wil=pis** *náw-k-il* *ʔimi=mil*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 Coyote **far=ABL** see-PNCT-MPSV say=FIN
 ‘Thereupon Coyote said, “Look from **farther**.”’

12.2.3. *wąk* ‘after, later’

Table 32 shows locative terms formed from *wąk* ‘after, later’.

Yuki	Meaning	Analysis	Source
<i>wąk</i>	‘after, later, closely’	<i>wąk</i> after	Coyote and the World: 182a
<i>wąkʔi</i>	‘afterward’	<i>wąk=kʔi</i> after=IN	Coyote and the World: 65
<i>wąkop</i>	‘behind’	<i>wąk=op</i> after=LAT	Coyote and the World: 81, 106

Table 32: Locative terms derived from *wąk* ‘after, later’

(11) and (12) show examples of some of the terms in Table 32. An example of *wąk* affixed with the inessive case enclitic =*kʔi* is shown in (11) and an example of *wąk* affixed with the lative case enclitic =*op* is shown in (12).

- (11) Coyote and the World: 65, RM
sikiṭéy **wąkʔi** *ki* *huʔú(tli)* *ʔey ...*
si=kiṭ=ʔi **wąk=kʔi** *kiʔ* *huʔu(-tli)* =ʔi
 NEW=then=HSY1 **after=IN** DST finish(-TR) =HSY1
 ‘Then, **after** that ended ...’

- (12) Coyote and the World: 106, RM
sikiṭéy **wąkʔop** *čą:minká:pin* *kó:mil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi **wąk=op** *čaminkapin* *koʔ=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 **after=LAT** Čaminkapin go=FIN
 ‘but Čaminkapin came **behind**.’

12.3. Riverine and Montane Deictics

Riverine deictic systems, used for telling direction according to the flow of water in a river or rivers, are common among California indigenous languages (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:15-16). Specifically riverine terms are not found in the texts, though Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:226) do record at least one riverine deictic *mulk'il* 'upstream'. However, at least two montane deictics, which are deictics oriented according to mountains, are also recorded *ʔumey* 'uphill' (CW:42) and *ku:twit* 'downhill' (MF) (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:69). It may be that in the valley environment inhabited by the Yuki, mountains and general locative terms, such as *kaṭa* 'here' and *kiṭa* 'there' were more important in terms of directions than referring to rivers. It also may be that some terms, which originally had riverine meanings, changed over time. Huchnom has riverine deictics. One of these deictics *kuhtiʔ* 'downstream' is similar to Yuki *kuhtki* ~ *kutki* 'north'.

12.4. Locative Terms in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

12.4.1. Huchnom

Huchnom has some of the same locative terms found in Yuki, such as *kaṭaʔ* 'here (right here)', which is nearly identical to Yuki *kaṭa* 'here', and other terms, such as *ʔumit* 'over there', which appear cognate to less commonly seen forms, such as Yuki *ʔumey* 'uphill'. A selection of Huchnom locative terms is given in (13) and (14).

- (13) Lamb 1955:67, LJ
mehtiʔ 'up'
onk'e 'down' [Probably: *on* 'earth' + *-k'e* 'inessive case']
- (14) Lamb 1955:72, LJ
kaṭaʔ 'here (right here)'
ʔumit 'over there'
ʔumit^θ *kωʔoya*: 'he went **over there**'

One of the most interesting aspects of the Huchnom system of locative terms is the existence of riverine deictics. Riverine deictic systems orient directions according to position relative to the flow of water in a river or system of rivers. It is also

characteristic of other languages of the area in which Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki were spoken (Kroeber 1925 [1976]:15-16).

A selection of Huchnom riverine deictics is shown in (15).

- (15) Lamb 1955:66, LJ
kuhtkil' *mi: k'ɛ:sin'* 'let's swim **downstream**'
kuhtɹ' *ɬyʔa'* 'going **downstream**'
mɔl'i' 'upstream'

Kroeber notes that Maidu terms referring to cardinal directions may have originally been riverine, but under the influence of the Kuksu cult been transformed to a directional system relative to the sun. Kroeber (1925 [1976]:16) writes:

The cognate Maidu words [names for directions] are said to have the same meaning as our own. But it is possible that the Maidu have given a sun-determined meaning to original drainage terms under the ritualizing influence of the Kuksu cult. This may also be what happened among southern Wintun, Pomo, and Yuki, who constantly use words like "north," while the central Wintun think in terms of waterflow. It has been customary among inquirers to assume that Pomo *yo* means "south" because a group consistently uses it for that direction; which, of course, is no proof. In any event, it is likely that exact south, when they knew a south, was determined for most California tribes by the prevailing direction of their streams as much as by the meridian of the sun.

Therefore it is possible that the Huchnom riverine meaning for *kuhtɹ'* 'downstream' shows the original meaning of Yuki *kuhtki* 'north', as well.

12.4.2. Coast Yuki

The same proximal/distal distinction seen in the Yuki and Huchnom third person pronouns and demonstratives is also seen in Coast Yuki, as shown in (16).

- (16) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB
ki 'he, that one' (distal)
ka 'that one (here)' (proximal)

(17) shows examples of Coast Yuki locative terms in short clauses with *méhæ?* ~ *méhhæ?* ‘be’. *ʔómet* ‘over there’ is cognate with Huchnom *ʔumɪt* ‘over there’ and probably also Yuki *ʔumey* ‘uphill’. *k’áw* is the proximal demonstrative *ka*, written in Harrington’s transcription.

- (17) Harrington 1942-1943:382, LP
ʔómet *méhæ?* ‘he or it is **over there**’
k’áw *méhhæ?* ‘**this here**, it is **here**’

Coast Yuki locative terms can also be formed by affixing locative case endings to other such terms. In (18), *hóyk’æ* ‘in the middle’ is formed by attaching inessive *k’æ* to *hóy* ‘middle’. The same form is found in Yuki as *huyki* ‘to the middle’.

- (18) Harrington 1942-1943:383, LP
hóyk’æ ‘in the middle’

Further information on the Coast Yuki system of locative terms is not available. Therefore it is not known whether the Coast Yukis used any type of unique reference system, such as the riverine and montane deictics seen in Huchnom and Yuki.

13. CONNECTIVES AND OTHER MINOR WORDS

13.1. Connectives

In this section the connectives *nq* ‘and’ and *han* ‘but’ are described.

13.1.1. =*nq* ~ =*na* ‘and’

=*nq* ‘and’ is a conjunction that connects nouns with other nouns and attaches to the end of each noun phrase being connected. In (1), =*nq* follows *hulk’o’i* ‘Coyote’ and *kípat* ‘a:ʔát’ ‘his people’.

(1) Coyote and the World: 178, RM

<i>sikitéy</i>	<i>haye</i>	<i>hó:ʔ</i>	<i>ʔiwilhántilkop</i>
<i>si=kiʔ=ʔi</i>	<i>hqʔaye</i>	<i>hoʔ</i>	<i>ʔiwilhan-t-il=kop</i>
NEW=there=HSY1	now	large	ceremonial.house-INTR-MPSV=while

<i>noʔnamlikíʔa</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>wí:tmahilmil</i>	<i>hulk’o’i</i>	<i>nq</i>
<i>noʔ=namli=kiʔa</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>hqʔaye</i>	<i>wiʔ-mq-h-il=mil</i>	<i>hulk’o’i</i>	=<i>nq</i>
live=DEP=there	=HSY1	now	turn-DIR1-DUR-MPSV=FIN	Coyote	=and

<i>kípat</i>	<i>ʔa:ʔát</i>	<i>na</i>
<i>kip=qʔ</i>	<i>ʔaʔat</i>	=<i>nq</i>
3R=DAT	people	=and

‘Thereupon Coyote **and** his men returned to where they lived at their great ceremonial house.’

=*nq* following the final noun in a sequence can sometimes be omitted. In (2), Kroeber writes =*nq* in parentheses following the final noun *milontítam* ‘elk’, suggesting it can be omitted.

(2) Coyote and the World: 415, RM

<i>sikiʔ</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>t’úliš</i>	<i>nq</i>	<i>káki</i>	<i>nq</i>	<i>pú:lam</i>
<i>si=kiʔ</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>ʔuliš</i>	=<i>nq</i>	<i>káki</i>	=<i>nq</i>	<i>pulam</i>
NEW=then	long.time	valley.quail	=and	mountain.quail	=and	cottontail

nq	ʔí:ʔit	nq	kú:čmol	nq	ʔitú:kam	nq	nq:tam
= nq	ʔitit	= nq	kučmol	= nq	ʔitukam	= nq	nařtam
= and	robin	= and	meadowlark	= and	grouse	= and	gray.squirrel

šišan	nq	wqšit	nq	milontítam	(nq)	kimási
šišan	= nq	wqšit	= nq	milontitam	(= nq)	ki [?] -mas-i
ground.squirrel	= and	bear	= and	elk	(= and)	DST-DSTR-ANIM

mo [?] os	ʔawhámi	mí:pa	ʔa:řátat	ʔey
mo [?] os	ʔawham	mih-pa [?]	ʔařat=ař	= [?] i
2PL.AGT	animal	be-FUT	people=DAT	=HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk'ó[?]i

ʔimi=mil hulk'ó[?]i

say=FIN Coyote

“And always quail **and** mountain quail **and** cottontail rabbit **and** robin **and** meadowlark **and** grouse **and** squirrel **and** groundsquirrel **and** bear **and** elk, you shall be game for people”, said Coyote.’

13.1.2. =han ‘but, even’

=han is translated with the meaning ‘but’ and on one occasion with the meaning ‘even’. Examples of =han are shown in (3) and (4). =han is also discussed in §15.12.

(3) Coyote and the World: 122 (excerpt), RM

... mihtan	ʔi:	yqwmil	ho:ř	nó:p	han	ʔap	kó:mil ...
mih-tan	ʔi	yqw=mil	hoř	no [?] =op [?]	= han	ʔap	ko [?] =mil
be-NEG	1SG.PAT	name/call=FIN	large	live=while [?]	= but	1SG.AGT	go=FIN

‘... There is no one I name, **but** I come where many live ...’

(4) Coyote and the World: 47, RM

sq [?] ey	k'qyimilmil	hót	ʔiwupa	han	hilk
sq= [?] i	k'qy-mil=mil	hoř	ʔiwop=q	= han	hilk
SAME=HSY1	talk-?=FIN	large	man=PAT [?]	= but	all/something [?]

hąkó'očmi ...

hąkoč-mih?

bad-be?

'And he talked: "Since **even** a great man may have something go badly with him...'

13.2. Other Minor Words

In the section the Yuki words *šilo*' 'like' and *k'ol* 'other' are described, as well as, the Yuki words for 'yes' and 'no'.

13.2.1. *šilo*' 'like'

šilo' 'like' is a common word, which also appears as part of *hilkšilo*' 'everything'²⁴² and *halšilo*' 'differently'. It is unclear whether *šilo*' is an independent word, clitic, or both. On verbs *šilo*' acts as an evidential with a meaning of 'it seems like' or 'it appears like'.²⁴³

(5) - (7), are examples *šilo*' 'like' following nouns.

- (5) Coyote and the World: 412b, RM

<i>namlíkí</i>	[?] ey	<i>ká</i>	[?] a:táta	<i>sq:t'inat</i>	<i>mípat</i>	<i>šiló'</i>
<i>namlíki</i>	= [?] i	<i>ka'</i>	[?] a:at=q	<i>sq:t'in=qt</i>	<i>mípat</i>	<i>šilo'</i>
therefore	=HSY1	PRX	people=PAT	Lizard=DAT	hand	like

[?]atmil [?]a:táta

[?]at'=mil [?]a:at=q

fasten=FIN people=PAT

'that is why these humans have on **hands like Lizard's**.'

- (6) Origins: 15, RM

<i>se'ey</i>	<i>hąye</i>	<i>ki:</i>	<i>mi'ak'un'</i>	<i>k'ąkmí:li</i>	[?] ey
<i>si=[?]i</i>	<i>hą'ąye</i>	<i>ki'</i>	<i>mi'ą-k'un'</i>	<i>k'ąk'-mą-il</i>	= [?] i
NEW=HSY1	now	DST	1PL.KIN.POSS-father	exist-DIR1-MPSV	=HSY1

²⁴² Literally: 'like all.'

²⁴³ See §7.4.4.4 for a discussion of *šilo*' as an evidential.

ki **č'o'okšiló'** ?ú:k'op mik'al ta'óhamwički:
 ki? **č'o'ok=šilo'** ?uk'=op mik'al ta'-h-m-wiṭ=ki?
 DST **down.feather=like** water=LAT around flow-DUR-IMPV-FIN=DST

?ey k'i hí:tmil.
 =?i ki? hiṭ=mil
 =HSY1 DST stop=FIN

'Now that our father was about to come into existence, he who had been floating in a circle on the water **like a down-feather** stopped moving.'

(7) Origins: 76b, RM

sá?ey **lilšiló'** pá:t'wá ?ey ?u:k'iṭ
 sá=?i **lil=šilo'** pat'-wah? =?i ?uk'=iṭ
 SAME=HSY1 **stone=like** flat-wide? =HSY1 water=JXT

namtlíkí: ?ey ku:tkí lawótlmil.
 nqm-tl=ki? =?i kuhkti lawo-tl=mil
 lay-TR=DST =HSY1 north fasten-TR=FIN

'Now where he would make the shore (water-edge), right there as far as the water would extend, placing something flat and **stone-like**, he fastened it in the north.'

13.2.2. *k'ol* 'other'

k'ol 'other' is another common word, also appears in a number of other derived forms. In (8), *k'ol* is seen in all three of these roles. It acts as an adjective in *k'olá:ʔat* 'other peoples', as an adverb in *kimáse k'ól' yú:yampa:mikí:* 'who ever would do differently', and is affixed with juxtapositive =*iʔ* and nominalizer *-am* in *k'olčam* 'elsewhere about'. Table 33 shows *k'ol* 'other' in other words.

(8) Origins: 165, RM

<i>sáʔéy</i>	<i>ki:</i>	<i>huʔú:tl(i)kiʔ</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>k'olá:ʔat</i>	<i>kú:xtkiwit</i>
<i>sá=?i</i>	<i>kiʔ</i>	<i>huʔuʔ-tl=kiʔ</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>k'ol=?aʔat</i>	<i>kuhtki=wit</i>
SAME=HSY1	DST	quit-TR=then	=HSY1	other=people	north=ALL

<i>náʔ</i>	<i>k'ólčam</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>kí:wit</i>	<i>ná</i>	<i>kumnóm'ʔt'amwit</i>
<i>=nq</i>	<i>k'ol=iʔ-qm</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>kiʔ=wit</i>	<i>=nq</i>	<i>kumnom'ʔt-qm=wit</i>
=and	other=JXT-IN2	long.time	DST=ALL	=and	Kumnom'=DAT-IN2=ALL

<i>ʔa:ʔát</i>	<i>ʔán</i>	<i>kimási</i>	<i>yu:yampa:mikí:</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>wa</i>
<i>ʔaʔat</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas-i</i>	<i>yuy'-m-paʔam=kiʔ</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>wa</i>
people	long.time	DST-DSTR-ANIM	do-IMPV-FUT=DST	=HSY1	everywhere

<i>háye</i>	<i>k'qk'ésimil;</i>	<i>kúm'nóm'</i>	<i>mi:pa:mikí:</i>	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>háʔaye</i>	<i>k'qk'-s=mil</i>	<i>kumnom'</i>	<i>mih-paʔam=kiʔ</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
now	exist-CAUS=FIN	Kumnom'	be-FUT=DST	=HSY1

<i>ki:</i>	<i>k'qk'ésimil</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>kimáse</i>	<i>k'ól'</i>
<i>kiʔ</i>	<i>k'qk'-s=mil</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas-i</i>	<i>k'ol</i>
DST	exist-CAUS=FIN	long.time	DST-DSTR-ANIM	other

yú:yampa:mikí:

yuy'-m-paʔam=kiʔ

do-IMPV-FUT=DST

'And when this was finished, then he made come into **existence other peoples** toward the north and **elsewhere about** and toward the region of the Kumnom' and how they would act; he made the Kumnom' **who ever would act differently.**'

Yuki	English	Analysis	Example
<i>k'olk'il</i>	'elsewhere, in another direction'	<i>k'ol=k'il</i> other=TERM	Coyote and the World: 31, 78
<i>k'olki</i>	'elsewhere'	<i>k'ol=ki</i> other=IN	Origins: 137
<i>k'olam</i>	'aside, separately'	<i>k'ol-am</i> other-NOML	Coyote and the World: 56, 177
<i>k'olčam</i>	'elsewhere, in other places'	<i>k'ol=ič-qm</i> other=JXT-IN2	Origins: 165
<i>k'olki'a</i>	'other one=PAT'	<i>k'ol=ki'=q</i> other=DST=PAT	Coyote and the World: 215
<i>k'olop</i>	'behind'	<i>k'ol=op</i> other=LAT	Coyote and the World: 238
<i>ʔon'olam</i>	'east (another land)'	<i>ʔon-k'ol-am</i> earth-other-NOML	Coyote and the World: 273
<i>k'ol-</i>	'die' (possible connection)	<i>k'ol-</i> die	Origins: 149

Table 33: Words containing *k'ol* 'other'

13.2.3. ʔq 'yes', *tɔlk* 'no'

The Yuki words for 'yes' and 'no' occur in the texts as ʔq 'yes' and *tɔlk* 'no'. *tɔlk* is the negative verb *tɔl-* affixed with the declarative mood suffix *-k*. (9) and (10) show examples of ʔq and *tɔlk*.

(9) Coyote and the World: 127, RM

<i>se'éy</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>k'ó'il</i>	<i>k'íwismil</i>	<i>wóktl</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>hqʔaye</i>	<i>k'o'il</i>	<i>kiw-s=mil</i>	<i>wok'-tl</i>
NEW=HSY1	now	Wailaki	ask-CAUS=FIN	dance/sing-TR

<i>ʔúsa</i>	<i>nqwésaʔ</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>
<i>ʔus=q</i>	<i>nqw-s-aʔ</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>
1PL.EXCL=PAT	see-CAUS-IMP	=HSY1	say=FIN

14. SWITCH-REFERENCE AND CONNECTIVE ENCLITICS

A separate chapter is devoted to the Yuki system of marking switch-reference and some of the other morphology that is found with the switch-reference markers, because these words and affixes form an important morphological class in Yuki. Switch-reference is the use of grammatical markers to indicate whether two subsequent clauses have the same or different topic (Jacobsen 1967, Austin 1981:309). Much like neighboring languages, such as Eastern Pomo (McLendon 1996:539-541), Central Pomo (Mithun 1993), and Southern Pomo (Walker 2013). The Yuki switch-reference complex, discussed in §14.1, tracks referents between clauses and notes the temporal dimension of these events. That means the Yuki system allows speakers to state whether events occurred in sequence, simultaneously, or as a result of each other.

14.1 Switch-Reference Markers and Clause Connectors

In Yuki, switch-reference is indicated with a series of morphemes that nearly always occur clause-initially. These switch-reference markers can be affixed with a connective enclitic and are nearly always followed by the hearsay evidential *?i*, which is usually realized phonetically as either [ey] or [iy]. Together this clause-initial reference connective takes the form shown in Figure 9.

Switch-reference marker or Clause Connector	Connective enclitic	Hearsay evidential <i>?i</i>
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Figure 9: Form of the clause-initial reference complex

The clause-initial reference complex does not have to have all three slots filled. If the reference complex is present at the start of a clause, it will always contain the switch-reference marker and then optionally a connective enclitic and/or the hearsay evidential *?i* ²⁴⁴. The switch-reference marker does not usually appear alone, but is typically followed by one or both of the other elements of the reference complex.

Kroeber (1911:369-370) does not differentiate between the switch-reference markers, clause connectors, or connective enclitics in his description of this system:

²⁴⁴ The connective enclitics are discussed in §14.2.

*Sa*ⁿ [sq] indicates that the subject of the sentence which it opens is the same as the subject of the preceding sentence. *Si* indicates a corresponding change of subject...-*k*, forming *si-k*, *sa*ⁿ-*k* [sq-*k*], *si-k-ii*, *sa*ⁿ-*k-ii* [sq-*k-ii*], is about equivalent to “and,” implying that the action of the verb in the sentence which it introduces is contemporaneous with the action of the verb in the preceding sentence. *-m*, forming *si-m-ii*, etc., may be translated “and finally”... *-kiṭ*, forming *si-kiṭ*, *sa*ⁿ-*kiṭ-ii* [sq-*kiṭ-ii*], etc., is equivalent to “and then”... *-ka*ⁿ [-*kq*], forming *si-ka*ⁿ [si-*kq*], etc. can often be translated as “thereupon”...A stem *so-* is also used as a base for forming several connectives. The words derived from it seem to indicate the relation of the ideas in two adjacent sentences, rather than the identity or difference of their subjects as expressed by *sa*ⁿ and *si*. *So-p* is translatable as “and,” also “on account of that.” *So-n* is “but.” *So-m* is also found. There are a number of other connectives such as *kop-han*, *sa*ⁿ-*kop* [sq-*kop*], *si-mo-n*, *si-mo-p*, *si-k-on*, whose meaning is not yet clear.

In analyzing the switch-reference markers, clause connectors, and connective enclitics in the texts, many of Kroeber’s descriptions proved to be accurate. In other cases additional or different uses of these morphemes were observed in the texts. The switch-reference markers and clause connectors as they are observed used in the texts are summarized in Table 34²⁴⁵. Note that in examples in this chapter, terms in free translations corresponding to the connectives in Tables 34 and 35 are not given in bold as these translations do not always convey the complete meaning of these connectives in Yuki.

	Gloss	Description of connective
<i>si</i>	NEW	Current clause has a new or different topic than the previous clause
<i>sq</i>	SAME	Current clause has the same topic as the previous clause
<i>sop</i>	but	‘but’, ‘and’; This marker links coordinate clauses.
<i>son</i>	but	‘but’; This marker links coordinate clauses.
<i>som</i>	however	‘however’; This marker links coordinate clauses.
<i>sik</i>	then	‘then’
<i>namlík(i)</i>	therefore	‘and then’, ‘therefore’

Table 34: Summary of Switch-Reference Markers and other Clause Connectors

²⁴⁵ For a description of the connective enclitics see Table 35.

Based on analysis of the texts, the switch-reference marker specifies whether the current clause has the same, *sq-*, or different, *si-*, topic as the previous clause. This switch-reference marking appears not to pay any heed to agent and patient distinctions, but instead is specifically marking the change in topic between clauses.

Clause 23, in (1), begins with *si-* indicating that the topic of this clause is different than in the previous clause. In Clause 22, *lówpsi* ‘Jackrabbit’ is the topic, but in Clause 23, the topic is *hulko’i* ‘Coyote’. Clause 24 begins with *sq-* indicating that the topic continues to be *hulko’i* ‘Coyote’, the same as in the previous clause.

(1) Coyote and the World: 22, RM

se’éy	<i>katá’apis</i>	<i>’ap</i>	<i>yášhi</i>	<i>kítá’apis</i>	<i>náweta</i>
si=’i	<i>kaṭa=pis</i>	<i>’ap</i>	<i>yáš-h</i>	<i>kiṭa=pis</i>	<i>náw-t-a’</i>
NEW=HSY1	here=ABL	1SG.AGT	stand-DUR	there=ABL	see-INTR-IMP

<i>’ey</i>	<i>’imeymil</i>	<i>lówpsi</i>	<i>hulko’á</i>
<i>=’i</i>	<i>’imi=mil</i>	<i>lopis</i>	<i>hulko’i=q</i>
=HSY1	say=FIN	Jackrabbit	Coyote=PAT

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

Coyote and the World: 23

se’éy	<i>ló’opsi</i>	<i>yášnamliki:kpis</i>	<i>yášít</i>	<i>kú:ta</i>
si=’i	<i>lopis</i>	<i>yáš=namli=kik=pis</i>	<i>yáš-t</i>	<i>kuta</i>
NEW=HSY1	Jackrabbit	stand=DEP=there=ABL	stand-INTR	there

náwétmil.

náw-t=mil

see-INTR=FIN

‘And standing where Jackrabbit had stood, he looked from there.’

Coyote and the World: 24

sá’ey	<i>yím</i>	<i>yá:híšti</i>	<i>náwímil</i>	<i>hulko’í</i>
sq=’i	<i>yim</i>	<i>yáh-s-t</i>	<i>náw=mil</i>	<i>hulko’í</i>
SAME=HSY1	fire	blaze-CONT-INTR	see=FIN	Coyote

‘And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.’

The three markers beginning with *so-* do not track reference, but instead link coordinate clauses. *sop* has an approximate meaning of ‘but’, *son* clauses will often be negative and so it has an approximate meaning of ‘however’, and *som* also has an approximate meaning of ‘however’ and may be an allomorph of *son*²⁴⁶. The subsequent clause starting with a switch-reference marker will still take the previous clause into account, even if it begins with a *so-* marker that does not mark switch-reference itself.

In (2), it appears that *sop-* ‘but, and’ is used by the speaker to signal a connection between two ideas. In Clause 36, the topic of the clause, ‘they’, are stopping their travels and dancing. In the *sop*-marked clause, Clause 37, Coyote sings for the travelers mentioned in Clause 36. It may be that the use of *sop-* in Clause 37 indicates a relationship between the two events: they stop to dance, but then Coyote stands and sings.

Also, note that the switch-reference marking in Clause 38 is based on the topic of Clause 37. In Clause 36, the topic is ‘they’, in Clause 37, the topic is *hulkoʔi* ‘Coyote’, and in Clause 38, the topic is once again ‘they’. Clause 38 begins with *si-* indicating that the topic of that clause is different than that of the previous clause.

(2) Coyote and the World: 36, RM

<i>sqʔéy</i>	<i>šqkčam</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>túk</i>	<i>huʔuʔík</i>	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>sq=ʔi</i>	<i>šqʔqkčam</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>ʔuk</i>	<i>huʔuʔ=k</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
SAME=HSY1	sometimes	long.time	move	quit=DECL	=HSY1

<i>wóʔokesmil</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>kimáseypa:mikí:</i>
<i>wokʔ-s=mil</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>kimas-paʔam=kiʔ</i>
dance/sing-CONT?=FIN	long.time	thus-FUT=DST

‘And every so often ceasing to travel, they danced, thus they would do.’

Coyote and the World: 37

<i>sopʔey</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>	<i>həp</i>	<i>yqššilmil.</i>
<i>sop=ʔi</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>	<i>həp</i>	<i>yqš-s-il=mil</i>
but=HSY1	Coyote	song/sing	stand-CAUS-MPSV=FIN

‘But Coyote stood and sang for them.’

²⁴⁶ *sop* and *son* may be related to the connective enclitics *=kop* and *=kon*. The connective enclitics are also found on verbs in the adverbial clause enclitics *=(k)op* and *=kon*. It may be that the *-op* and *-on* components in all of these elements are related diachronically or perhaps even synchronically. For discussion of the connective enclitics see §14.2. For discussion of the adverbial clause enclitics *=(k)op*, *=kon* see §15.10.2.

Coyote and the World: 38

sikéy ʔátá ki: wók huʔúsk ʔey ʔátá
 sik=ʔi ʔaʔaʔ kiʔ wok' huʔuʔ-s=k =ʔi ʔaʔaʔ
 then=HSY1 again DST dance/sing quit-CAUS=DECL =HSY1 again

túkeymil

tuk=mil

move=FIN

'And stopping the dance, they traveled on once more.'

(3) shows an example where two adjacent clauses are marked with *sop-*. Once again the switch-reference marker in the clause following the *sop-* clauses is based on the topic in the immediately preceding clause. The switch-reference marker in Clause 68 indicates that the topic in that clause is the same as in the previous and indeed in both Clause 67 and 68 the topic is 'the three (dancers).'

(3) Coyote and the World: 65, RM

sikitéy wəq'í ki huʔú(tli) ʔey milmú:ši nə
 si=kiʔ-i wəq=k'í kiʔ huʔu(-tli) =ʔi milmuš =nə
 NEW=then=HSY1 after=IN DST finish(-TR) =HSY1 Polecat =and

si:skína nə ʔolkəčam kimáse mólmaʔ ʔey
 siskina =nə ʔolkaʔam kiʔ-mas-i molmi=a =ʔi
 Skunk =and Mouse DST-DSTR-ANIM three=? =HSY1

tátikilmil

wok'əjk

tat-k-il=mil

wok'-m=k

good/make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN dance/sing-IMPV=DECL

'Then, after that ended, Polecat and Skunk and Mouse, those three adorned themselves for the dance.'

Coyote and the World: 66

sopey hulk'óʔi ʔáʔaʔ kimáʂat há:p yəškílmil.
sop=ʔi hulk'óʔi ʔaʔaʔ kiʔ-mas=qt həp yəš-k-il=mil
but=HSY1 Coyote again DST-DSTR=DAT song/sing stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 'And Coyote again stood and sang for them.'

Coyote and the World: 67

sop^ʔéy *kimási* *mólmaʔ* *ʔqlajkó:timil*
sop=^ʔi *ki²-mas-i* *molmi=a* *ʔqlajko²-t=mil*
but=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM three=? dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN
 ‘But the three danced in a row to the side.’

Coyote and the World: 68

sá^ʔey *kipáw* *ʔey* *ʔqlajkó:tim'il*
sá=^ʔi *kipáw* *=ʔi* *ʔqlajko²-t=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 back =HSY1 dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN
 ‘And they danced back.’

In (4), *son-* is used to draw a contrast with information in the preceding clause. In Clause 62, *hí:li* ‘all’ are dancing, but in Clause 63, *hulmunin* ‘Spider’ is not laughing despite everyone’s dancing. As with *sop-*, it appears that *son-* is also used by the speaker to indicate a relationship between the information in two clauses. Note that while *son-* does not mark switch-reference itself, it is still taken into account for noting switch reference in the next clause. Clause 64 begins with *si*, because its topic, *hí:li* ‘all’, is different than that of Clause 64, *hulmúnina* ‘Spider’.

(4) Coyote and the World: 62, RM

sikitéy *hí:li* *ʔqtá* *wóktmil*
si=kit=^ʔi *hil-i* *ʔatáʔ* *wok'-tl=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 all-ANIM again dance/sing-TR=FIN
 ‘And all danced on.’

Coyote and the World: 63

son^ʔéy *hulmúnina* *mú:šamtanmil.*
son=^ʔi *hulmunin=q* *muš-m-tan=mil*
but=HSY1 Spider=PAT laugh-IMPFV-NEG=FIN
 ‘But did not make Spider laugh.’ [Probably: Spider did not laugh.]

Coyote and the World: 64

si[?]éy *hí:li* *həye* *wók* *hu[?]útlmil.*
si=[?]i *hil-i* *hə[?]əye* *wok'* *hu[?]u[?]-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM now dance/sing quit-TR=FIN
 'And now all stopped dancing.'

(5) provides another example of *son-* in use. Clauses 109 and 110 draw a contrast with the preceding clause. In Clause 108, those who escaped arrive again, but in Clause 109, despite the fact that these individuals had arrived, they still decided not to divulge what they knew about the Wailaki. Clause 110 draws a further contrast stating that despite the fact that these individuals decided not to tell what they knew, Coyote knew that information anyway, because it had come to him in a dream. Clause 111 is marked with *sə-* indicating that the topic of that clause is the same as that of the previous clause, *hulko[?]i* 'Coyote'.

(5) Coyote and the World: 108, RM

sikítey *hí[?]kilnamlikimáse* *ʔey*
si=ki[?]=[?]i *hi[?]-k-il=namli=ki[?]-mas-i* *=[?]i*
 NEW=then=HSY1 come.out-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

kipəwk'il *t'óktmil*
kipəw=k'il *t'ok-tl=mil*
 back=TERM arrive-TR=FIN
 'Then those who had escaped arrived again.'

Coyote and the World: 109

sóney *hušk'əyestam'il* *k'ó'il* *ʔá:tat*
son=[?]i *hušk'əy-s-tan=mil* *k'ó'il* *ʔá:tat*
but=HSY1 tell-CAUS?-NEG=FIN Wailaki people

li[?]tyaknamlik:

li[?]-ək=namli=ki[?]

kill-SEM=DEP=DST

'They did not tell that the Wailaki had killed the people;'

Coyote and the World: 110

son[?]éy nq:nákmil hulk'ó'a káyit

son=[?]i nqnak=mil hulk'ó'i=q káyit

but=HSY1 know=FIN Coyote=PAT long.ago

[?]inámtnamlíka

[?]inam-t=namli=ka[?]

dream-INTR=DEP=PRX[?]

'but Coyote knew it from dreaming it before (they came).'

Coyote and the World; 111

sq[?]éy háye t'áw káyakmil

sq=[?]i hq[?]áye t'áw kq-qk=mil

SAME=HSY1 now war want?-SEM=FIN

'And now he wanted to make war upon them for it.'

som- is rarely found and may either be the same as *son* or possibly the same as *sq=mi-* since it is often seen as *som* in use²⁴⁷. Examples of *som* are shown in Clauses 355 and 357, in (6).

(6) Coyote and the World: 354, RM

sikítey ká mí:t kup 'onapa[?] 'an

si=kit=[?]i ka[?] mit kup 'on-a?-pa[?] 'an

NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister's.son earth-?-FUT long.time

son mí[?] kup kákkútispa[?]

son mí[?] kup k'qk'-kut-s-pa[?]

therefore 2SG.AGT sister's.son exist-INCP-CAUS-FUT

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

Coyote and the World: 355

soméy kup wíli[?]isk

som=[?]i kup wil-s=k

however=HSY1 sister's.son pass-CONT=DECL

²⁴⁷ As discussed later in this chapter, =*mi* is often translated as 'thereupon' or 'however'. Its use may be connected with the presence of quotes.

hánʔam kápsilpa
han-qm kap-s-il-paʔ
 house-IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-FUT

“However, sister’s son, having gone a distance, you shall enter (your) house.”

Coyote and the World: 356

sikiṭ hayé piláti ká:kɛspa ʔiy ʔimeymil
si=kiṭ haʔqye pilat kʔakʔ-s-paʔ =ʔi ʔimi=mil
 NEW=then now sun exist-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kimasa ʔopi nakahik
kiʔ-mas=q ʔopi naqʔoh=k
 DST-DSTR=PAT two teach=DECL

“And then the sun shall rise”, he said, teaching them both.’

Coyote and the World: 357

somfy ʔey hi:l mólmíya hílkʔil nakʔohisq
som=ʔi =ʔi hil molmi=q hílkʔil naqʔoh-sq
however=HSY1 =HSY1 all three=PAT separately teach-ʔ

ʔimiymil laškʔawlʔa náqkop kíč míʔ kup
ʔimi=mil laškʔawolʔ=q naq=op =kič miʔ kup
 say=FIN moon=PAT dark/night=LAT =only 2SG.AGT sister’s son

kó:tampa
koʔ-t-m-paʔ
 go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

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

Coyote and the World: 358

sikiṭ háwmolʔ hawlám miʔiçop kíč ká:kɛspa
si=kiṭ hawmolʔ hawlam mih=iṭ=op =kič kʔakʔ-s-paʔ
 NEW=then morning.star dawn be=JXT=while =only exist-CAUS-FUT

“And the morning star shall rise only when the beginning of the day is near.”

sik appears in only very few clauses, but appears to be different from *si=ki*. These express, respectively, a temporal relationship and a causal relationship between clauses. Just as for *sop* and *son*, switch-reference is not tracked in either word, thus *sik* is probably also used to show that the clauses they mark are linked to an earlier clause.

sik seems to express a meaning like ‘then’, just showing that the events in one clause occur after the events in the previous clause. Thus in Clause 381, in (7), the ‘he’ has come to stay in a place and after he had come to stay in this place, in Clause 382, he would go deer-hunting and then in Clause 383, he would continue to stay on. The switch-reference marker *si* in Clause 384 indicates that the topic has changed from Clause 383 to 384.

- (7) Coyote and the World: 381, RM
sqʔey *kíʔa* *šúʔumil* *ʔan*
sq=ʔi *kíʔa* *šuʔ=mil* *ʔan*
 SAME=HSY1 there sit/stay=FIN long.time
 ‘and stayed there long.’

Coyote and the World: 382
sikéy *mil* *hutʔóʔopismil*
sik=ʔi *mil* *hutʔop-s=mil*
then=HSY1 meat/deer hunt-CONT=FIN?
 ‘Then he used to go deer-hunting.’

Coyote and the World: 383
síkʔey *šúʔumil*
sik=ʔi *šuʔ=mil*
then=HSY1 sit/stay=FIN
 ‘and stayed on.’

Coyote and the World: 384
símika *ʔey* *musp* *kíʔa* *mi:namlíkí:* *ʔey*
si=mi=kaʔ =ʔi *musp* *kíʔa* *mih=namlí=kiʔ* =ʔi
 NEW=thereupon=PRX? =HSY1 woman there be=DEP=DST =HSY1

naxk'mil
no²-h?-k'=mil
 live-DUR?-PNCT=FIN
 'Thereupon a woman who was there lived with him.'

In Clause 37, in (8), Coyote is singing for the individuals whose dancing is described in Clause 36. *sik* in Clause 38 indicates that after Coyote had begun singing for the dancers, they stopped dancing at some point and continued on their travels. *sq* in Clause 39 indicates that the topic has not changed from Clause 38.

(8) Coyote and the World: 36, RM

<i>sq²éy</i>	<i>šqkčam</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>túk</i>	<i>hu²u²ʔk</i>	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>sq=²i</i>	<i>šq²qkčam</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>ʔuk</i>	<i>hu²u²=k</i>	<i>=²i</i>
SAME=HSY1	sometimes	long,time	move	quit=DECL	=HSY1

<i>wó²okesmil</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>kimásey²pa:mik².</i>
<i>wok²-s=mil</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>kimas-pa²am=ki²</i>
dance/sing-CONT?=FIN	long,time	thus-FUT=DST

'And every so often ceasing to travel, they danced, thus they would do.'

Coyote and the World: 37

<i>sop²ey</i>	<i>hulk²ó²i</i>	<i>həp</i>	<i>yqššilmil.</i>
<i>sop=²i</i>	<i>hulk²ó²i</i>	<i>həp</i>	<i>yqš-s-il=mil</i>
but=HSY1	Coyote	song/sing	stand-CAUS-MPSV=FIN

'But Coyote stood and sang for them.'

Coyote and the World: 38

sikéy	<i>ʔátá</i>	<i>ki:</i>	<i>wók</i>	<i>hu²úsk</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔátá</i>
sik=²i	<i>ʔa²a²</i>	<i>ki²</i>	<i>wok²</i>	<i>hu²u²-s=k</i>	<i>=²i</i>	<i>ʔa²a²</i>
then=HSY1	again	DST	dance/sing	quit-CAUS=DECL	=HSY1	again

túkeymil
ʔuk=mil
 move=FIN
 'And stopping the dance, they traveled on once more.'

Coyote and the World: 39

sqʔéy mál kapísimil
sq=ʔi mál kap-s=mil
 SAME=HSY1 river enter-CAUS=FIN
 ‘And they entered the river.’

namlik(i) ²⁴⁸ is found clause-initially acting as a connective with a meaning ‘and as a result’ or ‘therefore’, as shown in (9) and (10).

(9) Coyote and the World: 182, RM

ʔap mátl:kon pák papʔéyakpa ʔey
ʔap mat-tl=kon pák papʔ-ák-paʔ =ʔi
 1SG.AGT do-TR=but one pop-SEM-FUT =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulkʔóʔi.

ʔimi=mil hulkʔóʔi

say=FIN Coyote

‘‘I do this, but one of them will pop (crackle inside)’’, he said.’

Coyote and the World: 182a

namlik ʔéy wák nąwéti ʔey pák papʔíyakmil
namliki =ʔi wák nąw-t =ʔi pák papʔ-ák=mil
therefore =HSY1 after see-INTR =HSY1 one pop-SEM=FIN
 ‘And when he looked a little later, one of them was making a sound.’

(10) Coyote and the World: 412a, RM

sqʔéy sq:tʔínat mipátat kimás ʔey háye
sq=ʔi sqtʔin=qt mipat=qt kiʔ-mas =ʔi hąʔąye
 SAME=HSY1 Lizard=DAT hand=DAT DST-DSTR =HSY1 now

ʔátlmil ʔa:táta

ʔatʔ-tlʔ=mil ʔátat=q

fasten-TRʔ=FIN people=PAT

‘Lizard’s hands he put on people;’

²⁴⁸ See §15.10.2.6 for discussion of the use of *namlik(i)* in adverbial clauses. See §15.10.1-15.10.3 for discussion of dependent clauses formed with the dependent clause marker =*namli*.

Coyote and the World: 412b

<i>namlíkí</i>	^ʔ ey	ká	^ʔ a:ʔáta	sá:ʔ'inat	mípat	šilóʔ
<i>namliki</i>	=ʔi	kaʔ	^ʔ aʔat=q	sáʔ'in=q	mípat	šiloʔ
therefore	=HSY1	PRX	people=PAT	Lizard=DAT	hand	like

^ʔatmil ^ʔa:ʔáta

^ʔat'=mil ^ʔaʔat=q

fasten=FIN people=PAT

'that is why these humans have on hands like Lizard's.'

14.2. Connective Enclitics

The second element of the clause-initial reference complex is an element noting the relative order in which events occur. Unlike with *sop*, *son*, *som* discussed in the previous section, switch-reference is still marked in clauses containing the enclitics discussed in the current section. These enclitics as they are observed used in the texts are summarized in Table 35²⁴⁹.

	Description
=kq	Typically translated as ‘thereupon’ or ‘then’. Appears to occur only following <i>si</i> ‘NEW’.
=ki	‘therefore’, shows a causal relationship when occurring with <i>si</i> ‘NEW’; ‘and’, when occurring with <i>sq</i> ‘SAME’
=kit(a)	‘and then’ (the action in the current clause is happening following the action in previous clause)
=kon	‘but’ (may be the same as =kon on verbs where it has the additional meanings ‘although’, ‘though’, ‘because’)
=kop	‘then’ (but may be the same as =(k)op seen on verbs that means something like ‘while’), ‘also’
=mi	‘(and) then’, ‘but’, ‘thereupon’, ‘however’
=mika	‘thereupon’
=mop	‘but’, ‘as’
=kim’	‘over there’ (may not really be a clitic, just a deictic in this position)
=k’om	‘there’
=kimas	‘thus’

Table 35: Connective Enclitics

=ki, =kit, =kon, and =kop are affixed to either *sq* ‘same topic as previous clause’ or *si* ‘different topic than previous clause’. =kit, =kon, and =kop are also found on verbs with the same meaning they have when affixed to the switch-reference markers *sq* and *si*. =kq has only been observed occurring following *si* ‘different topic than previous clause’.

Other enclitics also occur, including =kimas, which, despite its similarity to the distributive plural pronoun/demonstrative *kimas(i)*, means ‘thus’ when affixed to *sq* or *si*. (11) provides an example of =kq- ‘thereupon’ in use.

²⁴⁹ For Kroeber’s description of the connective enclitics see the beginning of §14.1.

(11) Coyote and the World: 97, RM

se'éy *ʔiwilhánam* *káptilyakmil*
si=ʔi *ʔiwilhan-qm* *kap-t-il-qk=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 ceremonial.house-IN2 enter-INTR-MPSV-SEM=FIN
 'Then they caused them to enter the ceremonial house;'

Coyote and the World: 98

se'ey *ká:psilyakmil*
si=ʔi *kap-s-il-qk=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN
 'and they entered.'

Coyote and the World: 99

sikq'éy *nákop* *k'ap'éyakmil* *k'ó'il*
si=kq=ʔi *nqk=op* *k'ap'-qk=mil* *k'ó'il*
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 dark/night=LAT kill-SEM=FIN Wailaki
 'Thereupon in the night the Wailaki killed them.'

Coyote and the World: 100

sikitéy *šqkmi* *hákilmil*
si=kit=ʔi *šqkmi* *hah-k-il=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 some run-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 'But some escaped.'

When used with *si* 'different topic than previous clause', =*ki* is used to express causality between events in two clauses. When used with *sq* 'same topic as previous clause', =*ki* appears to mainly be used to connect two clauses with the meaning 'and'.

(12) shows an example of *si=ki* (that is, the switch-reference marker *si-* combined with the connective enclitic =*ki* in Table 35). In Clause 84, in (12), some of the characters are scorched by fire. In Clause 85 and 86, *si=ki* is used to connect the fact that Woodpecker's head is red and that Red-winged Blackbird's shoulders are red with the scorching described in Clause 84.

(12) Coyote and the World: 84, RM

sikiṭéy šákma ʔqséyqkilmil yímok
si=kiṭ=?i šákmi=q ʔqs-qk-il=mil yim-ok
NEW=then=HSY1 some=PAT hot-SEM-MPSV=FIN fire-INST
 ‘and some were scorched by the fire.’

Coyote and the World: 85

sikf:ʔey ʔqséyma nan ʔqsičamil
si=ki=?i ʔqsima nan ʔqsič-a=mil
NEW=therefore=HSY1 Woodpecker head red-?=FIN
 ‘That is why Woodpecker has a red head.’

Coyote and the World: 86

sikéyʔi šúpá sópis
si=ki=?i šupa sopis
NEW=therefore=HSY1 Blackbird shoulder

ʔqsíyqkilmamlikí: ʔey ʔqséyč t'áklamammil
 ʔqs-q-k-il=namli=kiʔ =ʔi ʔqsič t'ák-lqm-m=mil
 hot-?-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST =HSY1 red ?-INCH-IMPV=FIN
 ‘That is why Red-winged Blackbird being scorched on the shoulder has a red spot there.’

Coyote and the World: 87

sikiṭ hulk'óʔa ʔqsiṭnamlikí: ʔey
si=kiṭ hulk'oʔi=q ʔqs-t=namli=kiʔ =ʔi
NEW=then Coyote=PAT hot-INTR=DEP=DST =HSY1

kú:š ʔqsámil
kuš ʔqsamil
 fur yellowish

‘And Coyote’s fur was yellowish because he had been scorched.’

(13) and (14) show examples of *sq=ki* in use.

(13) Coyote and the World: 301, RM

<i>sikiṭey</i>	<i>páwi</i>	<i>ʔi:psáka</i>	<i>wí:st(e)mil</i>
<i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i>	<i>pqwi</i>	<i>ʔipsak=q</i>	<i>wis-t=mil</i>

NEW=then=HSY1 one boy=PAT remain-INTR=FIN
 ‘and one boy was left,’

Coyote and the World: 302

<i>sqkí</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>šúʔmil</i>
<i>sq=ki</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>šúʔ=mil</i>

SAME=and =HSY1 sit/stay=FIN
 ‘and stayed.’

(14) Coyote and the World; 120, RM

<i>seʔéy</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔá</i>	<i>háqlammil</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔi=q</i>	<i>hál-m=mil</i>

NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT hear-IMPV=FIN
 ‘And Coyote understood them,’

Coyote and the World: 121

<i>sakí:ʔey</i>	<i>huškʔayyesmil</i>	<i>kipat</i>	<i>ʔa:áta</i>
<i>sq=ki=ʔi</i>	<i>huškʔay-s=mil</i>	<i>kip=q</i>	<i>ʔa:at=q</i>

SAME=and=HSY1 tell-CAUS?=FIN 3R=DAT people=PAT
 ‘and told his own people.’

(15) shows *=kiṭ* used in several clauses. In each case *=kiṭ* has a meaning similar to ‘then’, implying that the activity in the *kiṭ*-marked clause and the activity in the preceding clause are sequential, or a meaning similar to ‘while’, indicating that the activity in the *kiṭ*-marked clause and the activity in the preceding clause are either simultaneous or overlapping.

(15) Coyote and the World: 171, RM

<i>seʔey</i>	<i>ʔátq</i>	<i>kʔol</i>	<i>kimáse</i>	<i>kʔoʔil</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔa:áʔ</i>	<i>kʔol</i>	<i>kiʔ-mas-i</i>	<i>kʔoʔil</i>

NEW=HSY1 again other DST-DSTR-ANIM Wailaki

téwmqmil
tiw-mq=mil
 pursue-DIR1=FIN
 ‘And still other Wailaki pursued;’

Coyote and the World: 172

sikiťey ʔóp'a k'ó'il k'olámwit tíwi:mil
si=kiť=i ʔopi=a k'o'il k'ol-am=wit tiw=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 two=? Wailaki other-NOML=ALL pursue=FIN
 ‘but two of them followed off on the side.’

Coyote and the World: 173

seʔey ʔáťq šiwkíťin lílaʔ wíťkimil
si=i ʔaťaʔ šiwikiťin lil=qʔ wiť-k=mil
NEW=HSY1 again Šiwkítin stone=OBL hurl-PNCT=FIN
 ‘Then Šiwkítin again hurled with his stone’

Coyote and the World: 174

sáʔey ť'ąk namtlmil ʔáťq
sq=i ť'ąk nqm-tl=mil ʔaťaʔ
SAME=HSY1 ? lay-TR=FIN again
 ‘and knocked them over’

Coyote and the World: 175

sikiťey ʔáťq túktimil
si=kiť=i ʔaťaʔ ťuk-t=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 again move-INTR=FIN
 ‘and again they went on.’

Coyote and the World: 176

sikiťey ʔopi k'o'ola šáyyanamlikimáse
si=kiť=i ʔopi k'o'ol=q šay-a=namli=kiʔ-mas-i
NEW=then=HSY1 two Wailaki.PL=PAT raw/alive-?=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey kipáwk toktli ʔey hušk'áyesmil
 =ʔi kipqw=k t'ok-tl =ʔi hušk'ay-s=mil
 =HSY1 back=IN arrive-TR =HSY1 tell-CONT?=FIN

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

=kiṭa is a variant of =kiṭ²⁵⁰ and has the same meaning as =kiṭ 'then', in (16).

(16) Coyote and the World: 274, RM

se'éy k'áwtmil
 si=ʔi k'aw-t=mil
 NEW=HSY1 light-INTR=FIN

'Then light showed.'

Coyote and the World: 275

sikṭa hāye ka mípaʔ ʔi:y
si=kiṭa hāʔāye kaʔ mih-paʔ =ʔi
NEW=then now PRX be-FUT =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk'oʔi pilqta.
 ʔimi=mil hulk'oʔi pilat=q
 say=FIN Coyote sun=PAT

'So now, "This (is how it) shall be", Coyote told the sun.'

(17) shows an example of =kon used with the meaning 'but'. As stated previously, =kon is also found on verbs with the meanings 'but', 'though', 'although', 'because'. Its use with verbs is further discussed in §15.10.2.3.

(17) Coyote and the World: 7, RM

sikónʔey k'iníkop kú:t'a ká:²⁵¹ yim
si=kon=ʔi k'in=kop kut'a kaʔ yim
NEW=but=HSY1 cry=while way.over.there fire

²⁵⁰=kiṭ and =kiṭa 'then' seem certain to be historically connected with kiṭa 'there', though their meanings had diverged by this point. Perhaps kiṭa used as an enclitic kept its distal demonstrative meaning, but it came to be applied only to time, as in 'that time', which means about the same thing as 'then.'

²⁵¹ Alternate form given: ku k'a 'way over there'.

with =*mi* and is also marked for switch-reference with *si*. The use of *si* is indicating that '(his) head' is a new topic.

(19) Origins: 19, RM

se'ey *háye* *mahič* *nq* *kiṭa* *mi'pát* *k'áklamil*.
si=?i *hq'aye* *mahič* =*nq* *kiṭa* *mipát* *k'ák'-lám=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 now arm =and there hand exist-INCH=FIN
 'Then now his arms and hands appeared.'

Origins: 20

simeyéy *háye* *nán* *k'áklamil*.
si=mi=?i *hq'aye* *nan* *k'ák'-lám=mil*
NEW=then=HSY1 now head exist-INCH=FIN
 'Then also his head appeared.'

(20) shows an example of =*mi* used with the meaning 'thereupon'. Clause 212, in (20), is marked with =*mi* and is also still marked for switch-reference with *si*, indicating that 'one' is a new topic. Clause 213 is marked with *sq* indicating that the topic in 213 is the same as that in 212.

(20) Coyote and the World: 211, RM

siká'ey *háye* *ʔinháwtmil* *hana* *ʔey*
si=kq=?i *hq'aye* *ʔin-haw-tl=mil* *hana* =*i*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 now sleep-wish-TR=FIN ? =HSY1

háwesmil

haw-s=mil

wish-CAUS=FIN

'And now he wished them sleepy; to himself he wished it.'

Coyote and the World: 212

simey'ey *pá:k* *ʔinlámek* *ʔey* *ʔimeymil*
si=mi=?i *pák* *ʔin-lám=k* =*i* *ʔimi=mil*
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 one sleep-INCH=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN
 'Thereupon one said, "I am getting sleepy",'

hánkil kó'olítayi 'approaching the houses' specifies the circumstances under which the event in (23) occurred.

(22) Coyote and the World: 107, RM

<i>si</i>	<i>kí</i>	<i>nqk</i>	<i>'ey</i>	<i>hulk'o'á</i>	<i>'inámtmil</i>	<i>'a:át</i>
<i>si</i>	<i>ki'</i>	<i>nqk</i>	<i>=?i</i>	<i>hulk'o'i=q</i>	<i>'inam-t=mil</i>	<i>'a:át</i>
NEW	DST	dark/night	=HSY1	Coyote=PAT	dream-INTR=FIN	people

<i>kú:htkiwit</i>	<i>yítwi</i>	<i>kimáša</i>	<i>litámšik</i>
<i>kuhtki=wit</i>	<i>yi'-t-wi</i>	<i>ki'-mas=q</i>	<i>li'-t-m-sik</i>
north=ALL	play-INTR-PST1	DST-DSTR=PAT	kill-INTR-IMPV-HSY2

<i>'iy</i>	<i>'imeymil</i>	<i>hulk'o'i</i>
<i>=?i</i>	<i>'imi=mil</i>	<i>hulk'o'i</i>
=HSY1	say=FIN	Coyote

'And at night Coyote dreamed: "The people who went north playing are being killed", Coyote said.'

(23) Coyote and the World: 119, RM

<i>se</i>	<i>hánkil</i>	<i>kó'olítayi</i>	<i>'ey</i>	<i>'íyinom'</i>
<i>si</i>	<i>han=k'il</i>	<i>ko'-lit-y</i>	<i>=?i</i>	<i>'íyi-nom'</i>
NEW	house=TERM	go-DIR2-PROG	=HSY1	what-people/tribe

<i>miyá:tk'il</i>	<i>múna'</i>	<i>kó:yik</i>	<i>'ey</i>	<i>'imeymil</i>	<i>k'o'il</i>
<i>mi=qt=k'il</i>	<i>muna'</i>	<i>ko'-y=k</i>	<i>=?i</i>	<i>'imi=mil</i>	<i>k'o'il</i>
1PL.INCL=DAT=TERM	many	go-PROG=DECL	=HSY1	say=FIN	Wailaki

'Then as they were approaching the houses, the Wailaki said, "Some people are going toward us in numbers".'

Other less common enclitics also occur. In (24), the deictic *kim'* 'over there' follows the switch-reference marker and appears to have the same meaning as it does as an independent word.

- (24) Coyote and the World: 348, RM

sqkím' t'ó'ok sikít mí' kup ?átá
sq=kim' t'ok si=kiť mí' kup ?ata'
SAME=over.there? arrive NEW=then 2SG.AGT sister's.son again

kímpis *kipáwk'il* *kó:tampa*
kim'=pis *kipqw=k'il* *ko²-t-m-pa'*
 over.there=ABL back=TERM go-INTR-IMPV-FUT

“‘And when you have arrived there, sister’s son, from there you shall go back again,’”

In (25) and (26), =*k'om* is affixed to the switch-reference marker and seems to mean ‘there’. =*k'om* resembles =*kon*, but is probably not the same enclitic as their meanings are distinct: =*kon* is used to mean ‘but’.

- (25) Coyote and the World: 395, RM

sqk'ómey ?al t'u'akmil hqčmik'al
sq=k'om=?i ?al t'u²-qk=mil hqč=mik'al
SAME=there=HSY1 stick lay-SEM=FIN house/camp/floor=around
 ‘And there he laid sticks around the floor.’

- (26) Coyote and the World: 400, RM

sqk'omey ?an kimás ?ál pintlmlil
sq=k'om=?i ?an kimas ?al pin-tl=mil
SAME=there?=HSY1 long.time thus stick be.scattered-TR=FIN
 ‘And there he scattered sticks thus:’

In (27), the switch-reference marker is followed by =*mika*, which might be related to =*mi* or may be a unique enclitic. The meaning given to this enclitic in Kroeber’s free translation is ‘thereupon’; however this is also Kroeber’s translation for several other enclitics in this position.

- (27) Coyote and the World: 384, RM

símika ?ey musp kíta mi:namlíkí: ?ey
si=mi=ka? =?i musp kíta mih=namlí=ki? =?i
NEW=thereupon=PRX? =**HSY1** woman there be=DEP=DST =HSY1

naxk'mil

no²-h?-k=mil

live-DUR?-PNCT=FIN

'Thereupon a woman who was there lived with him.'

In (28), =*mop* is affixed to the switch-reference marker and appears to mean 'but, as' in this context. Clause 404 describes an event that is contrasted with the event in Clause 403b. Coyote is making the hands of the Yukis the same as his, but as he is doing this, Lizard arrived. Thus the meaning of =*mop* may have a component that contrasts two clauses (A happens, but B also happens.) and also temporal component stating that the events in these two clauses happen contemporaneously.

(28) Coyote and the World: 403b, RM

<i>sá²éy</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>mipát</i>	<i>ʔu:k'ámnó:ma</i>	<i>tatímil</i>
<i>sá=²i</i>	<i>há²aye</i>	<i>mipat</i>	<i>ʔuk'omnom'=q</i>	<i>tat=mil</i>
SAME=HSY1	now	hand	Uk'omnom'=PAT	good/make=FIN

<i>kípat</i>	<i>šiló²</i>	<i>mipát</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔát'ismil</i>
<i>kip=qt</i>	<i>šilo²</i>	<i>mipat</i>	<i>=²i</i>	<i>ʔat'-s=mil</i>
3R=DAT	like	hand	=HSY1	fasten-CAUS=FIN

'And now he made the Yuki (Uk'omnom') hands; like his own hands he put them on.'

Coyote and the World: 404

<i>simópey</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>sá:t'in</i>	<i>kómmil</i>	<i>hulk'ó²i</i>	<i>mípat</i>
<i>si=mop=²i</i>	<i>há²aye</i>	<i>sát'in</i>	<i>kom=mil</i>	<i>hulk'o²i</i>	<i>mipat</i>
NEW=but=HSY1	now	Lizard	come=FIN	Coyote	hand

<i>ʔaṭáta</i>	<i>kípat</i>	<i>šilósik</i>
<i>ʔaṭat=q</i>	<i>kip=qt</i>	<i>šilo-sik</i>
people=PAT	3R=DAT	like-HSY2?

'But now Lizard came, just as Coyote was making people's hands look like his own.'

14.3. Switch-Reference in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

No information is available on switch-reference in Huchnom or Coast Yuki. This is likely due to the fact that all Huchnom and Coast Yuki materials are elicited and no records of connected speech exist in either language.

15. CLAUSE STRUCTURE

This chapter describes the major clause types of Yuki²⁵³. These include declarative, predicate nominal, predicate adjective, predicate oblique, question, imperative, and negative clauses. Dependent clauses, including adverbial and relative clauses, and complement clauses are also described.

There exist few earlier descriptions of Yuki syntax. Kroeber (1911:372) presents a summary of his observations pertaining to syntax and word order. He also presents a short text in Yuki with his observations of the function and meaning of individual words, along with these other comments on Yuki syntax. The other main study pertaining to Yuki syntax is presented by Mithun (2008), who describes Yuki argument structure.

15.1. Constituent Order within the Clause

The most basic Yuki clause can contain just a verb. Clauses can also optionally contain agent, patient, and dative arguments, adverbs, and obliques. This section describes constituent order within the clause²⁵⁴. Yuki clauses tend to be verb-final²⁵⁵, but some variation in word order does occur. (1) - (3) are examples of elicited clauses showing verb-final word order. Verbs are given in bold in each example clause.

- (1) Siniard 1967a: 61, MF
sum mo^ʔos **mu:šakwičk**
sum mo^ʔos **muš-qk-wičk**
yesterday 2PL.AGT **laugh-SEM-PST2**
'you fellows **laughed** yesterday'

²⁵³ Argument structure is discussed in §5.2.

²⁵⁴ For constituent order within noun phrases see §5.7. Determiners are the other main type of constituent that occur within noun phrases generally precede nouns within the noun phrase. Numerals show more variation in position. See §9.3 for further discussion. Attributive adjectives can precede or follow nouns, as discussed in §8.1.1.

²⁵⁵ The hearsay evidential *ʔi* is sometimes encliticized to an entire clause with the verb as the morphological host, and therefore can be found following the verb in connected speech. Such cases are counted as verb-final in this discussion.

- (2) Siniard 1967a: 81, MF

həw [?]*i:* **t'uktl** *ha:mik*
həw [?]*i* **t'uk'-tl** *ham=k*
 fish 1SG.PAT **hit/kick/stab-TR** like/want=DECL
 'I like to gig (hunt) fish'

- (3) Siniard 1967a: 91, MF

ki? [?]*i:* *ki'aṭ* *sa'ak* **ča:nik**
ki? [?]*i* *ki'=qṭ* *sa'ak* **čan=k**
 DST 1SG.PAT DST=DAT baby **give=DECL**
 'he **gave** me his (someone else's) baby'

(4) is a sequence of clauses in connected speech. In this example, each clause is marked off with square brackets and verbs are given in bold. Verbs are clause-final in every instance.

- (4) Coyote and the World: 30, RM

[sá'éy *hí:li* **nəwkl'mil.**]
*sq=?*ⁱ *hil-i* **nəw-k-il=mil**
 SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM **see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN**
 'And all [who were in the ceremonial house came out, and] **looked.**'

Coyote and the World: 31

[sikitéy *k'ól:k'il* *šəkmi* **tiwí:mililyəkmil.**]
*si=kiṭ=?*ⁱ *k'ol=k'il* *šəkmi* **tiw=?imi-l-il-ək=mil**
 NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM some **pursue-say-PFV-MPSV-SEM=FIN**
 'And some **notified** one another elsewhere.'

Coyote and the World: 32

[sá'ey *hí:li* *pəwík'i* **móp'ṭilmil.**]
*sq=?*ⁱ *hil-i* *pəwi=k'i* **mop-t-il=mil**
 SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM one=IN **gather-INTR-MPSV=FIN**
 'And all **gathered** in one place'

Coyote and the World: 33

[sáʔéy kík wóktlmi]

sá=ʔi kík wok'-tl=mi

SAME=HSY1 there dance/sing-TR=FIN

[hulk'óʔi ʔey hɔp yqškil'mil.]

hulk'óʔi =ʔi hɔp yqš-k-il=mi

Coyote =HSY1 song/sing stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

'There they danced; Coyote **stood and sang** for them.'

A non-verb-final word order occurs when a sentence contains a complement clause. This happens most often following quotations, as shown in (5) and (6), where quotative inversion can be observed. The verbs in both quotes are clause-final. The verb in the main clause in both examples is ʔimeymil 'said', which comes immediately after the quote rather than at the end of the main clause. It is followed by its agent argument hulk'óʔi 'Coyote'. (6) also contains a patient k'óʔola '(to the) Wailaki', which follows the agent hulk'óʔi 'Coyote'.

(5) Coyote and the World: 152, RM

seʔéy

si=ʔi

NEW=HSY1

[ʔq hili ʔuʂ láktik] ʔey

ʔq híl-i ʔus lak'-t=k =ʔi

yes all-ANIM 1PL.EXCL.AGT **emerge-INTR=DECL** =HSY1

[ʔimeymil hulk'ói.]

ʔimi=mi hulk'óʔi

say=FIN Coyote

'“Yes, we all **have gone out**”, Coyote **said**.'

(6) Coyote and the World: 132, RM

se^ʔeysi=^ʔi

NEW=HSY1

[háye hiwáq mo^ʔosíyat ^ʔúsa wok **nqwi hámek**
 ha^ʔaye hiwáq mo^ʔosiyat ^ʔus=q wok' **nqw ham=k**
 now in.turn 2PL.DAT 1PL.EXCL=PAT dance/sing **see like/want=DECL**

^ʔey [**imeymil** hulk^ʔo^ʔi k^ʔola]
 =^ʔi **imi=mil** hulk^ʔo^ʔi k^ʔol=a
 =HSY1 **say=FIN** Coyote Wailaki.PL=PAT

“Now in turn we **want to see** your dance”, Coyote **said** to the Wailaki.’

Similarly, in (7), non-verb-final word order is observed in *nqwímil hulk^ʔo^ʔi* ‘Coyote saw’, which follows *yím yq:híšti* ‘fire blazing up’. In this case too the agent follows the verb.

(7) Coyote and the World: 24, RM

sq^ʔeysq=^ʔi

SAME=HSY1

[yím **yq:híšti**
 yim **yqh-s-t**
 fire **blaze-CONT-INTR**

[**nqwímil** hulk^ʔo^ʔi]
nqw=mil hulk^ʔo^ʔi
see=FIN Coyote
 ‘And Coyote **saw** the fire **blazing up**.’

Non-final verb word order is also seen following adverbial phrases²⁵⁶. In (8) and (9) the adverbial phrase is underlined and the verb in the main clause is given in bold. In

²⁵⁶ A non-final verb word order is not obligatory for these. See, for example, Origins: 62.

both examples the verb in the main clause occurs immediately following the adverbial phrase, rather than at the end of the main clause.

- (8) Coyote and the World: 164, RM

se'ey šiwkí:tin lil há'namlíkí:la 'ey
 si=?i šiwkítin lil ha'=namli=ki'-la =?i
 NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wítkmil kó'ola
wiṭ-k=mił ko'ol=a?
hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki.PL=OBL?
 'So Šiwkítin **hurled** at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying'

- (9) Coyote and the World: 178 (excerpt), RM

... no'namlíkíta 'ey
 no'=namli=kíta =?i
 live=DEP=there =HSY1

háye **wí:tmahilmil** hulk'ó'i nq kípát 'a:át na
 hq'aye **wiṭ-mq-h-il=mił** hulk'o'i =nq kip=qt 'a:at =nq
 now **turn-DIR1-DUR-MPSV=FIN** Coyote =and 3R=DAT people =and
 'Coyote and his men **returned** to where they lived...'

15.2. Declarative Clauses

Declarative clauses²⁵⁷ contain a lexical verb and differ from imperative clauses and questions with respect to their Position XI morphology²⁵⁸. Of the morphemes in this position, verbs in imperative clauses and questions can only be suffixed with imperative *-a(?)* or interrogative *-ha(?)*, respectively. All other Position XI morphemes, excluding *-a(?)* and *-ha(?)*, can be attached to verbs declarative clauses, but cannot be attached to verbs in imperative clauses or questions. (10) and (11) are examples of declarative clauses.

²⁵⁷ Declarative clauses do not necessarily contain verbs ending in the declarative mood marker *=k*.

²⁵⁸ See the Yuki verb template in Table 17 in §7.2.

- (10) Coyote and the World: 142, RM
se^ʔey haye hi:la ʔinimil
si=ʔi hq^ʔaye hil=q ʔin-t=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now all=PAT sleep-INTR=FIN
 ‘And now all of them slept,’

- (11) Coyote and the World: 154, RM
sikitáy hóʔot hánal yq̄:htmil
si=kit=ʔi hoʔ hanal yqh-tl=mil
 NEW=then=HSY1 large walls blaze-TR=FIN
 ‘And the walls blazed up greatly,’

15.3. Predicate Nominal Clauses

Predicate nominal clauses are copular clauses formed with *mih-* ‘be’. In predicate nominal clauses the single argument of the predicate is marked morphologically as an agent. (12) is an elicited example of a predicate nominal clause. In (12), *ʔap* ‘I’ is the single argument in this clause and *musp^h* ‘woman’ is the predicate.

- (12) Siniard 1967a: 35, MF
ʔap musp^h mihik
ʔap musp mih=k
 1SG.AGT woman be=DECL
 ‘I’m a woman.’

(13) is also an elicited example of a predicate nominal clause.

- (13) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 26, MF
kiʔqt ʔal ka: mehek
kiʔ=qt ʔal káʔ mih=k
 DST=DAT stick PRX be=DECL
 ‘This is his stick.’

The single argument can also be omitted from predicate nominal clauses, as shown in (14) and (15).

- (14) Siniard 1967b: 11, MF
 ?usa_t^h kiti mihik
 ?us=qt kiti mih=k
 1PL.EXCL=DAT cat be=DECL
 ‘it’s our (excl.) cat’

- (15) Siniard 1967b: 11, MF
 mi[?]a_t^h kiti mihik
 mi=qt kiti mih=k
 1PL.INCL=DAT cat be=DECL
 ‘it’s our (incl.) cat’

The same construction as in (14) and (15) is used to express possession. In (16), the single argument is omitted. The literal translation of this clause would be “My white dog is”.

- (16) Kroeber 1901a:36, RM
 ?at’wəšit č’ala ?itin mihik
 ?at’wəšit č’al=a ?itin mih=k
 dog white=? 1SG.POSS be=DECL
 ‘I have a white dog.’

(17) is an example of two successive predicate nominal clauses in connected speech. In the part of the text from which this example is drawn, Coyote is addressing different animals and telling them their role in the world. In this example, he first addresses *mīli* ‘deer’ and then addresses *lō’opši* ‘Jackrabbit’ telling both that they will always be *?a:tátat* *həwáy’ol’* ‘food for humans.’

- (17) Coyote and the World: 413b (excerpt), RM
 mī[?] [mīli mīpa ?an ?a:tátat həwáy’ol’]
 mi[?] mil mih-pa[?] ?an ?at=qt həwáy-ol’
 2SG.AGT meat/deer be-FUT long.time people=DAT food/eat-AG/INST
 “‘You, deer, shall always be food for humans.’”

Coyote and the World: 414

sikiṭ *miʔ* [lɔʔopši *mí:paʔ* ʔan
si=kiṭ *miʔ* *lopis* *mih-paʔ* ʔan
 NEW-then 2SG.AGT Jackrabbit be-FUT long.time

ʔa:tátat *həwáyolʔ*
 ʔaʔat=q̄t *həwəy-olʔ*
 people=DAT food/eat-AG/INST
 “‘And you also, Jackrabbit, shall always be food for people.’”

15.4. Predicate Adjective Clauses

In Yuki predicate adjective clauses, adjectives function as verbs. This is evidenced by the affixation of verb morphology to adjectives. The single argument of the predicate is marked morphologically as a patient.

(18) and (19) are elicited examples of predicate adjective clauses. In (18), the single argument is *kaʔa* ‘she, this one’ and in (19), the single argument is *kʔaʔa ʔon* ‘this ground’. In both clauses the predicate is *tatk* ~ *ʔat̚k* ‘is good’²⁵⁹.

(18) Siniard 1967a: 3, MF

kaʔa *tatk*
kaʔ=q̄ *tat=k*
 PRX=PAT good/make=DECL
 ‘she [this one] is good’

(19) Siniard 1967a: 3, MF

kʔaʔa ʔon ʔat̚k
kaʔ=q̄ ʔon *tat=k*
 PRX=PAT earth good/make=DECL
 ‘this ground is good’

²⁵⁹ Some phonemic differences are difficult to hear and show a wide variety of attestations in collected data. In these examples the predicate is the same, despite the fact that one form was recorded with /t/ and the other form with /t̚/.

(20) and (21) are also elicited examples of predicate adjective clauses. In both clauses the single argument is the first person patient pronoun *ʔi*. The predicate in (20) is *ʔunšilek* ‘is little’, while in (21), the predicate is *hočʔk* ‘is big’.

- (20) Kroeber 1901a:38, RM
ʔi: ʔunšilek
ʔi ʔunšil=k
 1SG.PAT small=DECL
 ‘I am little’

- (21) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
ʔi: hočʔk
ʔi hoč=k
 1SG.PAT large=DECL
 ‘I am big’

15.5. Predicate Oblique Clauses

Predicate oblique clauses are copular clauses formed with *mih*-‘be’. In predicate oblique clauses the single argument of the predicate is marked morphologically as an agent. (22) - (24) are elicited examples of predicate oblique clauses.

- (22) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 26, MF
mɔl hu:yɔp ʔɔp mehek
mɔl huy=ɔp ʔɔp mih=k
 river middle=LAT 1SG.AGT be=DECL
 ‘I’m in the middle of the creek.’

- (23) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 27, MF
misk’an’ sum tintaʔak’e mi:we
mis-k’an’ sum tintaʔ=k’i mih-wi
 2SG.KIN.POSS-mother yesterday town=IN be-PST1
 ‘Your mother was in town yesterday.’

- (24) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 27, MF
pəwe nək ʔəp kaʔa mi:pa
pəwi nək ʔəp kaʔa mih-paʔ
 one dark/night 1SG.AGT there be-FUT
 ‘I’ll spend one night there.’

15.6. Existential Clauses

Yuki does not have a unique existential clause construction. (25) is translated by Sawyer and Schlichter (1984) as an existential clause. However, in terms of the types of constituents present in this clause, which include a noun, a deictic, and *mih-* ‘be’, (25) does not differ from the predicate oblique clause in (24).

- (25) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 26, MF
səhol’ kim’ mehek
səhol’ kim’ mih=k
 eagle over.there be=DECL
 ‘there’s an eagle over there’

15.7. Imperative Clauses

Imperative clauses are formed by adding the imperative suffix *-a(?)* or one of its allomorphs to the end of the verb ²⁶⁰. (26) and (27) are elicited examples of imperative clauses.

- (26) Siniard 1967a: 101, MF
ʔalap pəʔənčsaʔ
ʔal=ap pəʔənč-s-aʔ
 stick=LAT write/make.marks-CAUS-IMP
 ‘write/make the marks on the stick’

²⁶⁰ See §3.1 and §7.4.3.2 for additional discussion on the imperative suffix *-a(?)* and its allomorphs.

(27) Siniard 1967a: 103, MF

table appis *pqʔqnčmalʔ* *haʔamalʔ*
table=ap=pis *pqʔqnč-molʔ* *haʔ-mq-l-ʔ*
 table=LAT=ABL write-AG/INST carry-DIR1-?-IMP
 ‘take the pencil off the table’

(28) is an example of an imperative clause from connected speech.

(28) Coyote and the World: 28, RM

...sq *hi:li* *kó:maʔ* *ka* *náwetaʔ*
sq *hil-i* *kom-aʔ* *kaʔ* *nqw-t-aʔ*
 SAME all-ANIM come-IMP PRX see-INTR-IMP
 “...all come out of the ceremonial house and look!”

15.7.1. Imperative Clauses in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

This section describes imperative clauses in Huchnom and Coast Yuki. This section elaborates on the discussion in §7.6 by adding additional examples of imperatives in short elicited clauses.

15.7.1.1. Huchnom

Imperatives in Huchnom appear to be formed by the same method as in Yuki. Huchnom imperatives are formed by adding *-aʔ* to the verb or by glottalizing the final consonant. In Yuki this final glottalization is only observed for resonants. In Huchnom it has thus far been observed only for verbs ending in /l/.

In (29) and (30), imperatives are formed through the addition of *-aʔ*. Imperative and declarative forms of each clause are contrasted in these examples. The verb root in (29) is *hamšeʔ-* or *hamšel-* ‘sing’ and in (30), it is *hək-* ‘split’.

(29) Lamb 1955: 94, LJ

hamšeʔlaʔ ‘sing!’ (imperative)
 ʔepe: *hampšeʔleme:liki* ‘I am going to sing’ (declarative)

- (30) Lamb 1955: 87, LJ
 ?a:l **hakiʔaʔ** ‘split wood!’ (imperative)
 ?epe: ?a:l **həkmiki** ‘I am going to split wood’ (declarative)

In (31) and (32), imperatives are formed through glottalization of verb-final /l/. The verb root in (31) is *nam-* ‘lie down’ and in (32), it is *wiʔ-* or *wiʔte:l-* ‘turn around’.

- (31) Lamb 1955: 79, LJ
namkilʔ ka:y’ ‘lie down right here!’ (imperative)
 kataʔ ?a **namkilpaʔ** ‘I will lie down here’ (declarative)
- (32) Lamb 1955: 100, LJ
 ka:ʔaʔ **wiʔte:lʔ** ‘turn around this way!’ (imperative)
 ?epe: **wiʔte:lmé:liki** ‘I am going to turn around’ (declarative)

(33) shows both types of imperatives in the same clause. The imperative of *həq-* ‘split’ is formed with *-aʔ* and the imperative of *həwə:y-* ‘eat’ is formed by glottalizing verb-final /l/.

- (33) Lamb 1955: 87, LJ
 santiyaʔ **hə:kisaʔ** həwə:ykilʔ ‘split the watermelon and eat it!’

15.7.1.2. Coast Yuki

The mechanism for forming imperatives in Coast Yuki is unclear from available data. (34) - (36) show examples of Coast Yuki imperatives²⁶¹. In (35), *-s* in *néwas* ‘I see you’ is most likely an encliticized form of the second person patient pronoun *mis*. See §6.2.1.2 for discussion of the encliticization of first person patient pronouns.

- (34) Harrington 1942-1943: 391, LP
 ?úʔkʔ **dʒʔhəʔdʒeʔ** ‘dip up the water!’
 ?úʔkʔ **hə:mməʔ** ‘give me water, pass me water!’

²⁶¹ See §7.6.2 for additional examples of Coast Yuki imperatives.

- (35) Kroeber 1902c:71, TB
nawwet'e 'see!' (imperative)
néwas 'I see you' (declarative)
- (36) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB²⁶²
pá:ti 'get up!'
yeškílk 'stand up!'

15.8. Questions

Questions are formed by adding the interrogative suffix *-ha(?)* or one of its allomorphs to the end of the verb ²⁶³. The interrogative suffix is found in both polar questions and content questions.

15.8.1. Polar Questions

(37) and (38) are elicited examples of a polar question and its answer, respectively.

- (37) Siniard 1967a: 53, MF
mila *mi?* *li'amha*
míl=q *mi?* *li'-m-ha*
 meat/deer=PAT 2SG.AGT kill-IMPV-FV-Q
 'Do you want to kill that deer?'

- (38) Siniard 1967a: 53, MF
 ?qhq? ?ap *li'imik*
 ?qhq? ?ap *li'-m=k*
 yes 1SG.AGT kill-IMPV-FV=DECL
 'Yes, I'll kill him.'

(39) - (42) are additional examples of elicited polar questions, which show interrogative *-ha(?)* following various other types of verb morphology.

²⁶² Lamb (1955:80) records the cognate forms for Huchnom: *pa'íta?* 'get up! (from lying position)', *yaşıta?* 'stand up!'.

²⁶³ See §7.4.3.3 for additional discussion on the interrogative suffix *-ha(?)*.

- (39) Siniard 1967a: 73, MF
ki mi^ʔ p^histlha
ki^ʔ mi^ʔ pis-tl-ha
 DST 2SG.AGT hide-TR-Q
 ‘Did you hide it?’
- (40) Siniard 1967a: 73, MF
ki mi^ʔ p^hislawha
ki^ʔ mi^ʔ pis-law-ha
 DST 2SG.AGT hide-PERM-Q
 ‘Can you hide it?’
- (41) Siniard 1967b: 77, MF
kayt mi^ʔ hu:tmil nahismilha
kayt mi^ʔ hu^ʔutmil nah-s-mil’-ha
 long.ago 2SG.AGT bread make-CAUS?-PHAB-Q
 ‘Did you use to make bread long ago?’
- (42) Siniard 1967b: 77, MF
kayt mis hu:tmil naha:mmilha
kayt mis hu^ʔutmil nah ham-mil’-ha
 long.ago 2SG.PAT bread make like/want-PHAB-Q
 ‘Did you use to like to make bread long ago?’

(43) and (44) are examples of a polar question and its response in connected speech. In this example, the sun has been stolen and when the individuals searching for the sun ask Coyote if he has seen it, he does not introduce his response with *ʔqhaʔ* ‘yes’ or *tqk* ‘no’. Instead in (44), Coyote responds with a conjecture about the location of the sun.

- (43) Coyote and the World: 231 (excerpt), RM

...káʔen kʼomláme mis hq̄ltha
 kaʔin kʼom-lqm mis hq̄l-t-ha
 PRX.LOC? make.noise-INCH 2SG.PAT hear-INTR-Q

ʔey ʔim kíwismil hulkʼóʔa kimási
 =ʔi ʔim kiw-s=mil hulkʼóʔi=q kiʔ-mas-i
 =HSY1 thus ask-CAUS=FIN Coyote=PAT DST-DSTR-ANIM

‘Have you heard it sounding anywhere about here?’ so they asked Coyote.’

- (44) Coyote and the World: 232, RM

seʔéy hulkʼóʔi kí hq̄le ʔiyt kʼápmi
 si=ʔi hulkʼóʔi kiʔ =hq̄li ʔit kʼápmi
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote DST =INFR1 1SG.DAT below

hó:t sunlámuʔ ʔiy ʔimeymil hulkʼóʔi
 hoʔ sun-lqm-wi =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulkʼóʔi
 large make.noise-INCH-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘And Coyote, “That must be the one which just now moved along resounding loudly below me”, said Coyote.’

15.8.2. Content Questions

Content questions begin with an interrogative pronoun²⁶⁴. In addition the interrogative suffix *-ha* is added to the verb.

(45) and (46) show elicited examples of a content question and its response.

- (45) Siniard 1967b: 102, MF

maʔi ki matlha
 maʔi kiʔ mat-tl-ha
 who DST do-TR-Q
 ‘Who did that?’

²⁶⁴ See §6.1.11 and §6.2.3.

- (46) Siniard 1967b: 102, MF

?qpil ki matlik
 ?qpil ki? mat-tl=k
 1SG.EMPH? DST do-TR=DECL
 'I did that'

(47) - (51) show additional examples of elicited content questions using different types of interrogative pronouns.

- (47) Siniard 1967b: 100, MF

?iyi mi? ha?ye yu?uyamha
 ?iyi mi? ha?aye yuy'-m-ha
 what 2SG.AGT now do-IMPFV-Q
 'What are you doing now?'

- (48) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 235, AA

?im me? ko?otha
 ?im mi? ko?-t-ha
 where 2SG.AGT go-INTR-Q
 'Where do you go?'

- (49) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 235, MF

?imwit me? ko?omelha?
 ?im=wit mi? ko?-mq-il-ha?
 where=ALL 2SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-Q
 '(To?) where are you going?'

- (50) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 237, AA

?iyup me? ki matlha
 ?iyup mi? ki? mat-tl-ha
 why 2SG.AGT DST do-TR-Q
 'Why did you do that?'

(51) Siniard 1967b: 83, MF

həymas miʔ ki matlha
həymas miʔ kiʔ mat-tl-ha
 how 2SG.AGT DST do-TR-Q
 ‘How do you do that?’

(52) and (53) are examples of a content question and its response in connected speech. The fire mentioned in this example plays an important role in the beginning of the ‘Coyote and the World’ story. In (52), Coyote asks Jackrabbit where the fire is gleaming and in (53), Jackrabbit responds.

(52) Coyote and the World: 19, RM

ʔim kʔ: yim čt:yimlamha *kup ʔi:y*
ʔim kiʔ yim čiy-mq-il-m-ha *kup =ʔi*
where DST fire glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-Q sister’s.son =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk’óʔi

ʔimi=mil hulk’óʔi

say=FIN Coyote

“**Where does that fire gleam at times**, sister’s son?” said Coyote.’

(53) Coyote and the World: 20, RM

kú:tak’á: más yáhíyqkli ša:tammil más
kutak’a mas yqh-q-k-il? šat-m=mil mas
 way.over.there thus blaze-?-PNCT-MPSV? put.out.fire-IMPV=FIN thus

nəwetaʔ(á) ʔey ʔimeymil ló:psí hulk’óʔq.

nəw-t-aʔ =ʔi ʔimi=mil lópis hulk’óʔi=q

see-INTR-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT

“Over there, thus blazing up it stops, thus, look!” said Jackrabbit to Coyote.’

15.8.3. Questions in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

This section describes questions in Huchnom and Coast Yuki.

15.8.3.1. Huchnom

Lamb (1955:31) records several Huchnom content questions and their responses. The questions begin with a question word, as in Yuki. The verbs in these questions appear to be affixed with $-ʔq$, which may possibly be cognate with the Yuki interrogative $-ha$.

Compare the question in (54a) with its answer in (54b). Note the presence of $-ʔq$ at the end of the verb *hayima:ʔq* ‘doing’ in the question in (54a), and its absence on the same verb in (54b).

- (54a) Lamb 1955: 31, LJ
 ʔeye meʔ hayima:ʔq
 what 2SG.AGT do
 ‘What are you doing?’

- (54b) Lamb 1955: 31, LJ
 ʔeye ʔa hoyima: talki
 what 1SG.AGT do nothing
 ‘I’m not doing anything’

(55) is an example of another content question. In this example the verb *yašʔq* ‘standing’ also ends in $-ʔq$.

- (55) Lamb 1955: 31, LJ
 maqʔ kaʔ yašʔq
 who PRX stand
 ‘Who’s this fella standing?’

Polar questions are rare in Lamb’s Huchnom notes, therefore it is difficult to make generalizations regarding their characteristics. (56) shows an example of a polar question. As in (54a-b) and (55), the question in (56) ends in $-ʔq$. It is assumed that the

verb *ha:mehʔq* means ‘want’ due to its similarity in appearance to the Yuki verb of the same meaning (see, for example, *hámek* ‘want’ in CW:132).

- (56) Lamb 1955: 124, LJ
mis *ʔukʔ* *ha:mehʔq*
 2SG.PAT water want
 ‘are you thirsty?’

15.8.3.2. Coast Yuki

Harrington (1942-1943:390) records a single Coast Yuki content question and response. The verb root can be discerned as *méh-* ‘be’, but aside from this too little is known of Coast Yuki verb morphology to classify the morphemes attached to *méh-*. (57) shows this question and answer pair.

- (57) Harrington 1942-1943: 390, LP
ʔên méʔloʔ ‘Where is it?’
kʔáw méheʔ ‘Here it is.’

Kroeber records an example of a Coast Yuki polar question with its answer. This question and answer pair is given in (58) and (59).

- (58) Kroeber 1902c:71, TB
né:wiloyime
né:wi-loyime
 see-?
 ‘(Do) you see me?’
- (59) Kroeber 1902c:71, TB
ʔi:mas *né:wit*
ʔi:ma=s *ne:wi-t*
 NEG?=2SG.PAT see-NEG?
 ‘I don’t see you’

Kroeber (1902c:71) gives the Coast Yuki yes/no words as *héw* ‘yes’ and *ʔe* ‘no’.

15.9. Negative Clauses

The primary method for negation in Yuki is the negation of the verb by the suffixation of a negative morpheme *-ʔan* to the verb²⁶⁵. There is also a negative verb *ʔal-*, the use of which is not fully understood. In connected speech, use of *-ʔan* is much more common than *ʔal-*. In elicited speech, *-ʔan* is also more common, and *ʔal-* is almost never seen.

15.9.1. Negation using *-ʔan*

(60) and (61) are an elicited near minimal pair of negative and affirmative clauses. These two clauses have different agent arguments, *miʔ* ‘you’ and *ʔap* ‘I’, respectively. The verbs in both clauses contain the same morphology, except for the presence of negative *-ʔan* in (60).

- (60) Siniard 1967a: 43, MF
 ʔal miʔ lu:htlanpaʔ
 ʔol miʔ luh-tl-ʔan-paʔ
 wood 2SG.AGT chop-TR-NEG-FUT
 ‘You’re not going to chop wood’

- (61) Siniard 1967a: 43, MF
 ʔal ʔap lu:htlipaʔ
 ʔol ʔap luh-tl-paʔ
 wood 1SG.AGT chop-TR-FUT
 ‘I’m going to be chopping wood.’

(62) and (63) are another elicited pair. Once again the only difference is that the verb in the negative clause (62) contains the negative suffix *-ʔan*, while the verb in the affirmative clause (63) does not.

- (62) Siniard 1967a: 53, MF
 haw mila ʔap li:ʔaktanpaʔ
 haw mil=q ʔap liʔ-qk-ʔan-paʔ
 tomorrow meat/deer=PAT 1SG.AGT kill-SEM-NEG-FUT
 ‘I’m not going to kill that deer tomorrow’

²⁶⁵ For additional discussion about the use of the negative morpheme *-ʔan* see §7.4.3.7.

- (63) Siniard 1967a: 52, MF

<i>haw</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>mila</i>	<i>hot^h</i>	<i>li:akpaʔ</i>
<i>haw</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>mil=q</i>	<i>hoʔ</i>	<i>liʔ-qk-paʔ</i>
tomorrow	1SG.AGT	meat/deer=PAT	large	kill-SEM-FUT

‘I’m going to be killing deer all day tomorrow.’

15.9.2. Negative Verb *ʔal-*

The use of *ʔal-* is not fully understood. It appears as an independent verb with a negative meaning akin to ‘to be not’ and also is found at the end of verbs, which are translated with a negative meaning. *ʔal-* also appears in the Yuki negative response to polar questions: *ʔalk* ‘no’ or ‘(it) is not’.

In (64) and (65), *ʔal-* is used as an independent verb. In each of its uses in these two examples, it occurs in the same form, *ʔqłʔilinik* ‘do not let yourself, must not let yourself’.

- (64) Coyote and the World: 377 (excerpt), RM

...	<i>miʔ</i>	<i>həwáy</i>	<i>hámilhan</i>	<i>ʔqłʔilin(i)k</i>
	<i>miʔ</i>	<i>həwəy</i>	<i>ha=mil=han</i>	<i>ʔqł-t-il-nik</i>
	2SG.AGT	food/eat	hold=FIN=but?	NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC

<i>ʔeyy</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>
=ʔi	ʔimi=mil
=HSY1	say=FIN

‘... you **must not let yourself** seem to withhold food”, he said.’

- (65) Coyote and the World: 276, RM

<i>səʔey</i>	<i>kıta</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>nak’ó’ohimil</i>	<i>pilát</i>
<i>sə=ʔi</i>	<i>kıta</i>	<i>həʔəye</i>	<i>nək’oh=mil</i>	<i>pilát</i>
SAME=HSY1	there	now	teach=FIN	sun

<i>ka</i>	<i>mú:š</i>	<i>miʔ</i>	<i>haʔámtılhan</i>	<i>ʔqłʔilinʔk</i>
<i>kaʔ</i>	<i>miš</i>	<i>miʔ</i>	<i>haʔ-am-t-il=han</i>	<i>ʔqł-t-il-nik</i>
PRX	road	2SG.AGT	carry-?-MPSV=but	NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC

k'ú:sto kimílk mi kup ha'ámtíhan
 k'us-to ki-mil=k mi' kup ha²-am-t-il=han
 tired-? say-?=DECL 2SG.AGT sister's.son carry-?-INTR-MPSV=but

tqłtflin káṭa mí: kup k'qksikí:
tqł-t-il-nik kaṭa mi' kup k'qk'-s=ki'
NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC here 2SG.AGT sister's.son exist-CAUS=DST

ʔu:khóʔoṭamwit mi' kóʔotam tíma'
 ʔuk'-hoṭ-am=wit mi' ko²-t-m tima
 water-large-NOML=ALL 2SG.AGT go-INTR-IMPFV self

'And there he taught the sun, "This path **do not ever let yourself** leave holding it as you move, saying you are tired, sister's son; **do not ever let yourself** leave holding it as you move, sister's son, when rising there [here?] you are to go toward the ocean.'"

(66) and (67) show *tqł-* following verbs that have a negative meaning. *tqł-* was originally transcribed by Kroeber as part of the verb in these examples, but it is unknown whether *tqł* is encliticized to the preceding verb or an independent verb. In (66), *tqł-* is found in *kopholiltqł* 'without taking their feathers off'. In (67), *tqł-* is found in *ʔintqłlaʔhan* 'though not asleep'.

(66) Coyote and the World: 141, RM

sikṭey ší'am wo'oksikimása ʔey
 si=kiṭ=ʔi ší'am wok'-s=ki²-mas=q =ʔi
 NEW=then=HSY1 after.a.while dance/sing-CAUS=DST-DSTR=PAT =HSY1

ʔi:nítmil **kopholiltqł**
 ʔin-t=mil **kop-hol-il-tqł**
 sleep-INTR=FIN **feather-pull-MPSV?-NEG**

'Then after a time those who were dancing went to sleep **without taking their feathers off.**'

- (67) Coyote and the World: 209, RM
 sɔ ʔintɔ́laʔhan ʔinkóʔopismil
 sɔ ʔin-tɔ́l-aʔ=han ʔinkopʔ-s=mil
 SAME sleep-NEG-?=but snore-CONT=FIN
 ‘And **even though not asleep** he snored.’

In Clause 248 in (68), *tɔ́lk* ‘no’ is *tɔ́l-* encliticized with declarative *=k*. *tɔ́lk* is used as a negative response to polar questions and in other contexts, such as that shown in (68).

- (68) Coyote and the World: 247 (excerpt), RM
 ʔuʂá miʔ mínsil wá:čisšúl ʔeyy
 ʔus=q miʔ minsil wačʔ-s-šul =ʔi
 1PL.EXCL=PAT 2SG.AGT lie teach-CAUS?-apparently =HSY1

 ʔímeymil pɔ́:k
 ʔimi=mil pɔ́k
 say=FIN one
 ‘... you are telling us lies, apparently’, one of them said.’

Coyote and the World: 248, RM
 seʔéy tɔ́lk ʔímeymil
 si=ʔi tɔ́l=k ʔimi=mil
 NEW=HSY1 NEG=DECL say=FIN
 ‘But, “**No**”, he said.’

15.9.3. Negative Questions

Negative questions are formed by adding the negative *-tan* and interrogative *-ha(?)* to the verb. (69) and (70) contrast negative and affirmative forms of the same question.

- (69) Siniard 1967a: 107, MF
 ʔohwitanha
 ʔoh-tan-ha
 run-NEG-Q
 ‘Isn’t he running?’

- (70) Siniard 1967a: 107, MF

ʔohwiha

ʔoh-ha

run-Q

'Is he running?'

(71) is an example of a negative question in connected speech. The sun has been stolen and the people searching for the sun ask Coyote, who appears as an old man, whether he has not heard the sun moving through the area. Coyote's response to this negative question is given in (72).

- (71) Coyote and the World: 237, RM

ʔim	ʔúʂqt	pilá:t	wątwičkí:
ʔim	ʔus=qt	pilqt	wąť'-wič=kiʔ
thus	1PL.EXCL=DAT	sun	steal-PST2=DST

mis	hąlamtanka	<i>káʔen</i>	ʔiy	ʔim	<i>kiwismil</i>
mis	hąl-m-tan-ha	<i>káʔin</i>	=ʔi	ʔim	<i>kiw-s=mil</i>
2SG.PAT	hear-IMPFV-NEG-Q	PRX.LOC?	=HSY1	thus	ask-CAUS?=FIN

<i>kiʔa</i>	ʔiwóta	<i>han</i>	<i>hąsi</i>	<i>kiʔa</i>
<i>kiʔ=ą</i>	ʔiwot=ą	<i>han</i>	<i>hąʔ-s</i>	<i>kiʔ=ą</i>
DST=PAT	old.man=PAT	house	build-CAUS	DST=PAT

“Our stolen sun, **did you not hear** it about here?” thus they asked the old man who was building a house.’

- (72) Coyote and the World: 238, RM

<i>seʔéy</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>hąle</i>	ʔit	<i>kʔólop</i>	<i>hót</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>kiʔ</i>	=hąl	ʔit	<i>kʔol=op</i>	<i>hoť</i>
NEW=HSY1	DST	=INFR1	1SG.DAT	other=LAT	large

<i>sunlámwi</i>	ʔiy	ʔimeymil	<i>ki</i>	ʔiwót
<i>sun-ląm-wi</i>	=ʔi	ʔimi=mil	<i>kiʔ</i>	ʔiwot
make.noise-INCH-PST1	=HSY1	say=FIN	DST	old.man

“That must be the one that was resounding loudly as it went along behind me”, said the old man.’

15.9.4. Prohibitives

Prohibitives, or negative imperatives, are formed in a manner analogous to that used for negative questions. To form a prohibitive, the negative *-tan* is added to the verb along with imperative *-a(?)*. (73) and (74) contrast prohibitive and imperative constructions.

- (73) Siniard 1967a: 57, MF
nan tʰi:ʔakʔanʔaʔ
nan tʰiʔ-qk-ʔan-aʔ
 fence fly-SEM-NEG-IMP
 ‘Don’t jump over the fence!’

- (74) Siniard 1967a: 57, MF
miʔi nan tʰi:ʔikaʔ
miʔ nan tʰiʔ-qk-aʔ
 2SG.AGT fence fly-SEM-IMP
 ‘You jump over the fence!’

(75) and (76) are two additional examples also contrasting prohibitive and imperative constructions.

- (75) Siniard 1967b: 105, MF
hačʔap nanʔkilʔtanʔaʔ
hačʔ=ap nanʔm-k-il-tan-ʔaʔ
 house/camp/floor=LAT lay-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP
 ‘Don’t lie on the floor!’

- (76) Siniard 1967b: 105, MF
hačʔap nanʔkilʔ
hačʔ=ap nanʔm-k-il-ʔ
 house/camp/floor=LAT lay-PNCT-MPSV-IMP
 ‘Lie on the floor!’

15.9.5. Negation in Huchnom and Coast Yuki

This section describes negation in Huchnom and Coast Yuki.

15.9.5.1. Huchnom

To the extent that it is understood, negation in Huchnom appears to function in much the same way as in Yuki. A negative morpheme *-təl* is added to the verb in order to negate it. The Huchnom negative *-təl* appears similar in form to the Yuki negatives *-tan* and *təl-*.

Contrast the negative sentences in (77) and (78) with the affirmative clause in (79).

(77) Lamb 1955: 59, LJ

ʔepe nə:wɪtəlki
ʔepe nə:wɪ-təl-ki
 1SG.AGT see-NEG-?
 ‘I don’t see it’

(78) Lamb 1955: 59, LJ

hən ʔa nə:wɪtəlki
hən ʔa nə:wɪ-təl-ki
 house 1SG.AGT see-NEG-?
 ‘I don’t see the house’

(79) Lamb 1955: 59, LJ

ʔepe na:wiki
ʔepe na:wɪ-ki
 1SG.AGT see-?
 ‘I see it’

15.9.5.2. Coast Yuki

A small number of minimal pairs show the contrast between negative and affirmative clauses. It seems from these examples that Coast Yuki may have employed a different method for negation than Yuki or Huchnom. Negative clauses begin with *ʔi:ma-* or *ʔi:mi-*

and verbs in these clauses are affixed with *-t*. In the few available examples, *ʔi:ma-*, *ʔi:mi-* is found only in negative clauses.

(80) and (81) show contrasting pairs of negative and affirmative clauses.

- (80a) Kroeber 1902c:71, TB
ʔi:mas *né:wit*
ʔi:ma=s *ne:wi-t*
 NEG?=2SG.PAT see-NEG?
 'I don't see you'

- (80b) Kroeber 1902c:71, TB
néwas
néwa=s
 see=2SG.PAT
 'I see you'

- (81a) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB
ʔi:máy *miʔát* *hamt*
ʔi:ma=y *miʔat* *ham-t*
 NEG?=1SG.PAT 2SG.DAT like-NEG?
 'I don't like you'

- (81b) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB
miʔatáy *ham*
miʔat=y *ham*
 2SG.DAT=1SG.PAT like
 'I like you'

(82) is another example of a negative clause.

- (82) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB
ʔi:mis *ʔiʔát* *hamt*
ʔi:mi=s *ʔiʔat* *ham-t*
 NEG?=2SG.PAT 1SG.DAT like-NEG?
 'you don't like me'

15.10. Dependent Clauses

Dependent clauses are formed in Yuki by attaching the dependent clause marker *=namli* to the verb, by attaching the demonstrative *=kiʔ* or one of its derived forms, such as *kimasi* directly to the verb, or by attaching to the verb one of several enclitics that are also typically found with the switch-reference marker. The dependent clause marker *=namli* displaces the mood and tense markers found in Position XI on the verb template²⁶⁶. Other enclitics, such as *=ka* in (97) and *=kiʔ* in (109) are found attached to mood and tense markers. Since these enclitics do not displace mood and tense markers, they are placed in Position XII of the verb template (cf. §7.2).

Relative clauses can be formed by attaching the relative clause marker *=namli* or one of its derived forms to the verb. Alternatively, they can be formed by attaching *=kiʔ* or one of its derived forms to the verb. Relative clauses in Yuki are either postnominal or headless. Adverbial clauses are formed by attaching one of the adverbial forms of *=namli*, one of the adverbial forms of *=kiʔ*, or one of several temporal coordinating enclitics to the verb.

Serial verbs are another dependent clause construction found in Yuki. Non-final verbs in the serial verb construction can be inflected with aspect markers, but only the final verb in the sequence is marked with finite *=mil*.

15.10.1. *=namli* dependent clause marker

=namli is the dependent clause marker used to indicate relative and adverbial clauses. *=namli* never occurs on its own on verbs. It is always further encliticized with the distal demonstrative *ki*, one of its derived forms, or the temporal coordinating enclitics *=(k)on* ~ *=kan* 'though' or *=ka* 'when'. Therefore in addition to marking a clause as dependent, *=namli* also acts as a base for attaching other morphology that specifies the type of relative or adverbial clause. Table 36 shows all of the derived forms of *=namli* observed in the texts. Examples of each of these *=namli* forms are provided in §15.10.2 and §15.10.3.

²⁶⁶ See §7.2.

Enclitic	Morphemic Analysis	Meaning	Example
=namli=kiʔ	=DEP=DST	‘which’, ‘why’, ‘who’	CW: 70, 86, 187
=namli=kiʔ-mas-i	=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM	‘who’	CW: 29
=namli=kiʔ-mas=q	=DEP=DST-DSTR=PAT	‘who’	CW: 413a
=namli=kiʔ-mas=qt	=DEP=DST-DSTR=DAT	‘whose’	CW: 147
=namli=kiʔ=qt	=DEP=DST=DAT	‘who’	CW: 374
=namli=kik	=DEP=there	‘where’	CW: 48
=namli=kik=pis	=DEP=there=ABL	‘from where’	CW:23
=namli=kiʔ(a)	=DEP=there	‘where’, ‘to where’	CW: 81, 329
=namli=kiʔ=k’il	=DEP=DST=TERM	‘to where’	CW: 189
=namli=kiʔ-la	=DEP=DST-INST	‘with which’	CW: 75
=namli=(k)on ~ =namli=kan	=DEP=though	‘though’	CW: 81, 342, 365
=namliki	=because, =why	‘therefore’, ‘because’	CW: 87
=namli=ka	=DEP=PRX?	?	CW: 110

Table 36: Inventory of derived forms of the dependent clause marker =namli ²⁶⁷

Kroeber (1911:364-365) provides some examples of some of the forms of =namli and refers to them as “relative suffixes.” He also considers the origin of =namli, which bears a resemblance to the verb root *nəm-* ‘lay’. Kroeber (1911:364) writes: “*Nam* is the root for the idea of lying; but no connection of meaning is traceable between this root and the relative suffix *-nam*.” Kroeber does not propose an analysis for *-li* in =namli.

15.10.2. Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are formed in Yuki through the addition of a series of enclitics to the end of the verb of the adverbial clause. These enclitics are of three types. One type has the same form and meaning as four of the connective enclitics discussed in §14.2: =kop, =(k)on ~ =kan, =kiʔ(a), =ka²⁶⁸. Yet, as shown in Table 35 in §14.2, there are many more

²⁶⁷ =namli=kan, =namli=kon, =namlon appear to be variants of the same adverbial clause marker. All three forms are used with the same meaning in the texts. Also, note that for relative clause markers ending in *-la*, *=k’il*, and *=pis*, these endings are connected in meaning with the verb in the main clause, instead of the verb in the relative clause, as shown in §15.10.3.3.

²⁶⁸ It is unclear whether =ka is the same morpheme as that seen in connective enclitics, such as =mika, which are found following the clause-initial switch-reference marker.

types of connective enclitics, which are never observed in adverbial clauses. Therefore it is unclear whether the enclitics found in adverbial clauses are the same morphemes as the connective enclitics found in the clause-initial switch-reference complex.

The second type of enclitic used for forming adverbial clauses contains the dependent clause marker *=namli* and is further encliticized with either *=(k)on* ~ *=kan* or *=ka*. The difference in meaning between *=(k)on* ~ *=kan* and *=namli=(k)on* ~ *=namli=kan* is unclear, as is the difference between *=ka* and *=namli=ka*. *=namliki* ‘because’ is also used in adverbial clauses. Table 37 shows the adverbial clause enclitics. In the examples in this section, adverbial clauses are given in bold.

The third type of adverbial enclitic is the unanalyzable element *=namliki* ‘because’, which is treated as synchronically monomorphemic here.

Enclitic	Meaning
<i>=(k)op</i>	‘while’, ‘as’
<i>=kiṭ(a)</i>	‘while’, ‘as’, ‘when’
<i>=kon</i> ~ <i>=kan</i>	‘though’, ‘although’, ‘because’, ‘but’
<i>=ka</i>	‘when’ (?), ‘as’
<i>=namli=(k)on</i> ~ <i>=namli=kan</i>	‘though’
<i>=namli=ka</i>	?
<i>=namliki</i>	‘because’

Table 37: Adverbial Clause Enclitics ²⁶⁹

15.10.2.1. *=(k)op* ‘while, as’

Events in adverbial clauses marked with *=kop* occur during or simultaneously with events in the main clause. Kroeber (1911:364) does not differentiate *=kop* from the lative case enclitic *=op* used with nouns and states that “when added to a verb [=op] gives the meaning ‘when.’”

In (83), Jackrabbit speaks the quoted text, and while doing so he weeps. The clause containing the verb *k'in-* ‘cry, weep’ is encliticized with *=kop* and translated as ‘while he wept’.

²⁶⁹ See Table 36 for a morphemic analysis of the *=namli*-derived enclitics.

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

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

<i>čí:yeyimilmik</i>	<i>[?]ey</i>	<i>[?]imeymil</i>	<i>ló'opši.</i>
<i>čiy-y?-mq-il-m=k</i>	<i>=[?]i</i>	<i>[?]imi=mil</i>	<i>lopis</i>
glitter-PROG?-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV=DECL	=HSY1	say=FIN	Jackrabbit

'But **while he wept**, "Far yonder, fire gleams at intervals", said Jackrabbit.'

In (84), Coyote is giving a command to become sleepy. He states that this is to occur as the individual he is speaking to is dancing. The clause containing the verb *wok'* 'dance/sing' is encliticized with *=kop* 'as you are dancing'.

- (84) Coyote and the World: 139 (excerpt), RM

... <i>wó:ksikq:kop</i>	<i>[?]iníšta[?]</i>	<i>[?]eyy</i>
<i>wok'-s-kq=kop</i>	<i>[?]in-s-t-a[?]</i>	<i>=[?]i</i>
dance/sing-CONT?-?=while	sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP	=HSY1

<i>[?]imeymil</i>	<i>hulk'ó[?]i</i>
<i>[?]imi=mil</i>	<i>hulk'o[?]i</i>
say=FIN	Coyote

"... **As you are dancing** become sleepy!" said Coyote.'

In (85), a character named T'uyna[?]ákin exclaims "T'óš!" and while doing so claps his hands. The clause containing the verb *ṭ'ač-* 'clap' is encliticized with *=kop* and translated as '[while] clapping his hands'.

- (85) Coyote and the World: 153, RM

<i>sóp[?]ey</i>	<i>mipát</i>	<i>ṭ'áčtlkop</i>	<i>[?]ey</i>
<i>sop=[?]i</i>	<i>mipat</i>	<i>ṭ'ač-tl=kop</i>	<i>=[?]i</i>
but=HSY1	hand	clap?-TR=while	=HSY1

t'óš²⁷⁰ ?ímeymil t'uyna'ákin
 t'óš ?imi=mil t'uyna'ákin
 t'óš say=FIN T'uyna'ákin

'But then, [**while**] **clapping his hands**, "T'óš" said T'uyna'ákin.

In (86), the sun has been lost and the people searching for the sun are about to seize Coyote. Just as they go to do this, Coyote lays down the sun at the base of a rock. The clause containing the verb ?ah- 'seize, hold' is encliticized with =op and translated as 'as they moved to seize him'.

(86) Coyote and the World: 249, RM

se'éy	háyē	kip	?á:mop	lilkú:ti'?	pilá:t
sí=?i	hą'ąye	kip	?ah-mą=?op	lil-kut=i'	piląt
NEW=HSY1	now	3R	hold-DIR1=while	stone-start=IN	sun

namtlnamlikí ?i:č'ąkmil
 nąm-tl=namli=ki' =iř-ąk=mil
 lay-TR=DEP=DST =JXT-SEM=FIN

'**Now as they moved to seize him (Coyote)**, he went near where he had laid the sun at the base of a rock.'

15.10.2.2. =kiř 'while, as, when'

Events in adverbial clauses marked with =kiř can occur during or simultaneously with events in the main clause or immediately preceding events in the main clause. In the cases where the meaning of =kiř is translated as 'while' or 'as', it is unclear how the use of =kiř differs in meaning from the use of =kop 'while, as'. Kroeber (1911:364) describes =kiř as, "'while' or 'when'; probably derived from the demonstrative ki; possibly the demonstrative locative ki-řa, at that, there."

In (87), an individual is speaking a long quote as he is being killed. The verb k'ol- 'die' is encliticized with =kiř and is translated as 'as they were killing him'.

²⁷⁰ An exclamation.

(87) Coyote and the World: 327, RM

se^ʔéy kip k'ó^ʔolikit^ʔ ^ʔey p'íšpál hq̄hinčam
 si=^ʔi kip k'ol=kit^ʔ =^ʔi p'íš-pal hq̄hin=iṭ-qm
 NEW=HSY1 3R die=as =HSY1 sunflower-leaf under=JXT-IN2

^ʔqs čqklámtpa^ʔ síkit^ʔ ^ʔán p'íšpal
^ʔqs čqk-lqm-t-pa^ʔ si=kit^ʔ ^ʔan p'íš-pal
 blood stick-INCH-INTR-FUT NEW=then long.time sunflower-leaf

hq̄hinčam k'ít pínṭpa^ʔ ^ʔey ^ʔimeymil
 hq̄hin=iṭ-qm k'it pin-t-pa^ʔ =^ʔi ^ʔimi=mil
 under=JXT-IN2 bone be.scattered-INTR-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kip k'ó^ʔoli ^ʔqlwá^ʔ
 kip k'ol ^ʔqlwa^ʔ
 3R die at.the.same.time.that

'Then, **as they were killing him**, "Under the sunflower leaves the blood shall stick on and under the sunflower leaves the bones shall lie scattered," he said at the time they were killing him.'

In (88), Dove is not speaking, but at the same time others are telling one another how swift they are. The clause containing the verb *ki-* 'say, tell' is encliticized with =*kit*^ʔ and is translated as 'while all were telling one another that they are swift'.

(88) Coyote and the World: 56 (excerpt), RM

... s̄q h̄f:li ^ʔohí:šq kim̄qlí:likit ^ʔey
 s̄q hil-i ^ʔohiš=a ki-mq-l-il=kit^ʔ =^ʔi
 SAME all-ANIM swift=? say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=while =HSY1

h̄yú:mi k'qyýyamt̄q̄nm'il.
 h̄yum k'qy-m-tan=mil
 Dove talk-IMPV-NEG=FIN

'... and **while all were telling one another that they were swift**, Dove did not talk at all.'

In (89), =*kiṭ* is translated with a slightly different meaning. Instead of marking an action that is occurring at the same time as the action in the main clause, =*kiṭ* appears to indicate that the action in the adverbial clause immediately precedes the action in the main clause. In this example, the character T'uyna'ákin, who had been introduced by name in an earlier clause, has just finished smearing everything with pitch. After this has been completed, everyone goes outdoors. The clause containing the verb *hu'u'*- 'quit' is encliticized with =*kiṭ* and is translated as 'when (T'uyna'ákin) had finished smearing everything with pitch.'

(89) Coyote and the World: 149, RM

<i>sikiṭey</i>	<i>hąye</i>	<i>hi:l</i>	<i>t'uy</i>	<i>tík</i>	<i>hu'útlikiṭ</i>
<i>si=kiṭ=?i</i>	<i>hą'ąye</i>	<i>hil</i>	<i>t'uy</i>	<i>ṭik</i>	<i>hu'u'-tl=kiṭ</i>
NEW=then=HSY1	now	all	pitch	paint	quit-TR=when?

<i>ʔéy</i>	<i>hąye</i>	<i>hi:li</i>	<i>la:kšilyakmil</i>	<i>húčki</i>
<i>=?i</i>	<i>hą'ąye</i>	<i>hil-i</i>	<i>lak'-s-il-qk=mil</i>	<i>huč=ki</i>
=HSY1	now	all-ANIM	emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN	outside=IN

'And **now when (T'uyna'ákin) had finished smearing everything with pitch**, all went outdoors.'

Similarly in (90), the =*kiṭ*-marked clause occurs immediately preceding the events in the main clause. The character being spoken about has just watched another group of individuals. Subsequent to that he went the other way carrying the sun. The clause containing the verb *nąw*- 'see' is encliticized with =*kiṭ* and is translated as 'when he had watched them'.

(90) Coyote and the World: 240, RM

<i>sikiṭéiy</i>	<i>nąwhiméykiṭ</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔa'tą</i>	<i>k'olk'il</i>
<i>si=kiṭ=?i</i>	<i>nąw-h-m=kiṭ</i>	<i>=?i</i>	<i>ʔa'aʔ</i>	<i>k'ol=k'il</i>
NEW=then=HSY1	see-DUR-IMPV=when	=HSY1	again	other=TERM

<i>kó:t(e)mil</i>	<i>piląt</i>	<i>há'ti:li.</i>
<i>ko²-t=mil</i>	<i>piląt</i>	<i>ha²-t-il</i>
go-INTR=FIN	sun	carry-INTR-MPSV

'but **when he had watched them**, he went the other way carrying the sun.'

15.10.2.3. =kon ~ =kan ‘although, though, because, but’

=kon ~ =kan is translated as ‘though’, ‘although’, ‘because’, or ‘but’. In (91) and (92), =kon is translated as meaning ‘although’ and ‘though’ respectively.

(91) Coyote and the World: 385, RM

se ^ʔ ey	háye	šú ^ʔ umil	kómpa^ʔajkon
si= ^ʔ i	hə ^ʔ aye	šu ^ʔ =mil	kom-pa^ʔam=kon
NEW=HSY1	now	sit/stay=FIN	come-FUT=although

‘And now he was staying there **although he would come (back)**.’

(92) Coyote and the World: 396, RM

sə ^ʔ ey	ʔap	matlí:kon	hó:ɬ	k’áytpa ^ʔ
sq= ^ʔ i	ʔap	mat-tl=kon	hoɬ	k’ay-t-pa ^ʔ
SAME=HSY1	1SG.AGT	do-TR=though	large	talk-INTR-FUT

ʔq:tát	k’ayyímiyaqi	ʔú:k’omnom’	k’áni
ʔa:at	k’ay-m-qk	ʔuk’omnom’	k’an
people	talk-IMPV-FV-SEM	Uk’omnom’	language/word

‘And, “**Though I do thus** there shall be a great babble of people speaking Yuki (Uk’omnom’) speech;”’

In (93), =kan, which appears to be a variant of =kon, is used with the meaning ‘though’.

(93) Coyote and the World: 47, RM

sə ^ʔ ey	k’ayimilmil	hót	ʔiwupa	han	hilk
sq= ^ʔ i	k’ay-mil=mil	hoɬ	ʔiwop=q?	han	hilk
SAME=HSY1	talk-?=FIN	large	man=PAT?	but	all/something?

həkó ^ʔ očmi	ʔan	múna ^ʔ	koyyikíṭa	hílkil
həkoč-mih?	ʔan	muna ^ʔ	ko ^ʔ -y=kiṭa	hilkil
bad-be?	long.time	many	go-PROG=while	one.another

kíwikmil *sq* *yatámil* *sq* *ʔán*
kiw-k-il=mil *sq* *yata=mil* *sq* *ʔan*
ask-PNCT-MPSV=FIN SAME discover=FIN SAME long.time

huná:kilmil *ʔan* *ká:čma* *mihikan.*
huna-k-il=mil *ʔan* *kaʔačam=a* *mih-kan*
wait.for-PNCT-MPSV=FIN long.time **bad=?** **be-though**

‘And he talked: “Since even a great man may have something go badly with him, many traveling together should always ask one another and discover and wait for him, **though he were worthless.**”

In (94) and (95), =kon is used with the meaning ‘because’ and ‘but’, respectively.

(94) Coyote and the World: 401, RM

san *hó:ɬ* *k’óʔil* *k’áni* *ʔap* *mátli:kon*
san *hoɬ* *k’óʔil* *k’qn* *ʔap* *mat-tl=kon*
SAME? large Wailaki language/word 1SG.AGT **do-TR=because**

namlík: *hó:ɬ* *k’óʔil* *k’áwlawk* *k’ayyiniʔakmil*
namliki *hoɬ* *k’óʔil* *k’aw-ləm=k* *k’ay-n-qk=mil*
therefore large Wailaki light-INCH=DECL talk-AND-SEM=FIN

“Many Wailaki shall speak Wailaki speech **because I do this**”; therefore many Wailaki were speaking when it began to be day.’

(95) Coyote and the World: 182, RM

ʔap *mátli:kon* *pqk* *pap’éyakpa* *ʔey*
ʔap *mat-tl=kon* *pqk* *pap’-qk-paʔ* *=ʔi*
1SG.AGT **do-TR=but** one pop-SEM-FUT =HSY1

ʔimeymil *hulk’óʔi.*

ʔimi=mil *hulk’óʔi*

say=FIN Coyote

“**I do this, but** one of them will pop (crackle inside)”, he said.’

15.10.2.4. =ka ‘when (?), as’

Few examples are found of =ka in the texts and the meaning of this enclitic is not entirely clear. Kroeber (1911:364) gives this morpheme as -ika rather than =ka and describes it as, “if, when, also seems demonstrative in form.”

In (96), despite the use of ‘but’ in Kroeber’s translation, it does not appear that this is the meaning of =ka. Instead, =ka is attached to the portion of the clause meaning “And Coyote saw.’ The flow of events suggests that =ka may be used in a manner similar to =kon ~ =kan with a meaning like ‘though’. In this case, (96) could be understood as “though Coyote looked, he could see nothing” with the implication being that these events are occurring simultaneously. Alternatively, the meaning of =ka may just be to indicate two events in immediate succession. Thus, after looking Coyote could not see anything.

(96) Coyote and the World: 21, RM

se [?] éy	hulk’ó[?]i	nqwwít(i)ka	[?] ey	[?] ímilmil
si= [?] i	hulk’o[?]i	nqw-wít=ka	= [?] i	[?] imil=mil
NEW=HSY1	Coyote	see-PST2=when?	=HSY1	blind=FIN

‘And **Coyote looked** but could see nothing.’

In (97), =ka appears more clearly to be used to indicate that the events in the adverbial clause are occurring simultaneously with events in the main clause. Thus the character in this excerpt is stabbing at gophers as the gophers are emerging.

(97) Coyote and the World: 256, RM

sá [?] éy	hu [?] ú:šk	ko [?] i	t’ú:kmil	kóya
sq= [?] i	hu [?] u [?] -s=k	ko [?] i	t’uk’=mil	ko [?] i=q
SAME=HSY1	quit-CAUS?=DECL	gopher	hit/kick/stab=FIN	gopher=PAT

pú:tesika

put’-s=ka

emerge-CAUS?=as

‘And finishing that, he stabbed at gophers **as they emerged** (from their holes).

15.10.2.5. =namli=(k)on ~ =namli=kan ‘though’, =namli=ka

=(k)on ~ =kan ‘though’ and =ka ‘when’ can also be attached to the dependent clause morpheme =namli. For =namli=(k)on ~ =namli=kan the resulting adverbial clauses appear to have the same meaning as adverbial clauses formed with =(k)on ~ =kan. For =namli=ka only a single example has been found and its meaning is unclear.

(98) and (99) show examples of =namli=kon and =namli=ka in use.

- (98) Coyote and the World: 342 (excerpt), RM

<i>sáʔey</i>	<i>kimás</i>	<i>tátikil</i>	<i>huʔútli</i>
<i>sá=ʔi</i>	<i>kimas</i>	<i>tat-k-il</i>	<i>huʔuʔ-tl</i>
SAME=HSY1	thus	good/make-PNCT-MPSV	quit-TR

lí:tnámilkon

liʔ-t=namli=kon

kill-INTR=DEP=though

‘And thus he finished (re)making himself **although killed.**’

- (99) Coyote and the World: 110, RM

<i>sonʔéy</i>	<i>ná:nákmil</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔa</i>	<i>káyit</i>
<i>son=ʔi</i>	<i>nqnak=mil</i>	<i>hulkʔoʔi=q</i>	<i>káyit</i>
therefore=HSY1	know=FIN	Coyote=PAT	long.ago

ʔinámtnamlíka

ʔinam-t=namli=ka

dream-INTR=DEP=?

‘but Coyote knew it **from dreaming.**’

15.10.2.6. =namliki ‘therefore, because’

=namliki ‘therefore, because’ is not further analyzable morphologically and is treated as being monomorphemic. It is different in meaning than =namli=kiʔ ‘which, who’. =namliki can occur encliticized to the dependent clause or can occur at the beginning of the dependent clause. Also, as shown in §14.2, =namliki can occur clause-initially in place of the switch-reference markers *si* and *sá*. In (100), =namliki is encliticized to the dependent clause while in (101), it introduces the dependent clause.

(100) Coyote and the World: 87, RM

sikiṭ *hulk'ó'a* *ʔqsitnamlikt:* *ʔey*
si=kiṭ *hulk'oʔi=q* *ʔqs-t=namliki* =ʔi
 NEW=then Coyote=PAT hot-INTR=because =HSY1

kú:š *ʔqsámil*
kuš *ʔqsamil*
 fur yellowish

'And Coyote's fur was yellowish **because he had been scorched.**'

(101) Coyote and the World: 401, RM

san *hó:ṭ* *k'ó'il* *k'áni* *ʔap* *mátl:kon*
san *hoṭ* *k'o'il* *k'qn* *ʔap* *mat-tl=kon*
 SAME? large Wailaki language/word 1SG.AGT do-TR=because

namlikt: *hó:ṭ* *k'o'il* *k'áwlanḵ*
namliki *hoṭ* *k'o'il* *k'aw-lqm=k*
 therefore large Wailaki light-INCH=DECL

k'ayyini'akmil
k'qy-n-qk=mil
 talk-AND-SEM=FIN

“Many Wailaki shall speak Wailaki speech because I do this”;
therefore many Wailaki were speaking when it began to be day.'

15.10.3. Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are formed in Yuki by attaching the dependent clause marker *=namli* to the verb along with a morpheme identical to the third-person pronoun/demonstrative *kiʔ* or one of its derived forms. An alternative method is to attach *=kiʔ* or one of its derived forms directly to the verb. The *=kiʔ* morphemes found in both types of relative clause refer to a particular noun or pronoun in the main clause. The difference between these two relative clause types is unclear. The enclitics used to form relative clauses are shown in Table 38. In the examples in this section, the relative clause is underlined and the head noun is given in bold.

Enclitic	Meaning
<i>=namli=kiʔ</i>	‘which, who’
<i>=namli=kiʔ-mas-i</i>	‘who’
<i>=namli=kiʔ-mas=q</i>	‘who’
<i>=namli=kiʔ=q</i>	‘who’
<i>=namli=kiʔ-mas=q</i>	‘whose’
<i>=namli=kik</i>	‘where’
<i>=namli=kik=pis</i>	‘from where’
<i>=namli=kiʔa</i>	‘where’
<i>=namli=kiʔ=k’il</i>	‘to where’
<i>=namli=kiʔ-la</i>	‘with which’
<i>=kiʔ</i>	‘who’
<i>=kiʔ-mas</i>	‘who’
<i>=kiʔ-mas=q</i>	‘who’
<i>=kiʔa=pis</i>	‘from where’
<i>=kiʔ=k’il</i>	‘to where’

Table 38: Relative Clause Enclitics²⁷¹

In (102), the verb *tat-* ‘good/make’ is encliticized with *=namli=kiʔ* ‘which’ and is modifying *k’amolšil* ‘puma skin’ in the main clause.

²⁷¹ See Table 36 for a morphemic analysis of the *=namli*-derived enclitics. Also, note that for relative clause markers ending in *-la*, *=k’il*, and *=pis*, these endings are connected in meaning with the verb in the main clause, instead of the verb in the relative clause, as shown in §15.10.3.3.

(102) Coyote and the World: 206, RM

sáʔey *náŋkilmil* *k'amolšil*
sá=ʔi *nəm-k-il=mil* *k'amol-šil*
 SAME=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN puma-skin

kipá* *tátlnamlikí

kip=q* *tat-tl=namli=kiʔ

3R=PAT good/make-TR=DEP=DST

'And he lay down on a puma skin **which they arranged for him.**'

In (103), *tuk-* 'move' is encliticized with *=namli=kiʔ-mas-i* 'who' and is modifying *kiʔa:tát* 'the people' in the clause.

(103) Coyote and the World: 44, RM

sikitey *ki* *ʔa:tát* *túkinámlíkimáse* *ʔey*
si=kiʔ=ʔi *kiʔ* *ʔatat* *tuk=namli=kiʔ-mas-i* *=ʔi*
 NEW=then=HSY1 DST people **move=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM** =HSY1

militi:ki *ʔey* *tóktlmil*.

militiki *=ʔi* *t'ok-tl=mil*

Militiki =HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN

'Then the people **who were traveling** reached Militiki.'

In (104), the relative clause is formed without utilizing the dependent clause marker *=namli*. Instead *=kiʔ* is attached to the final verb *lak'*- 'emerge' in a serial verb construction. *nqwíli lákšiwíčkiʔ* modifies *aʔnwí:sq* 'orphan=PAT'.

(104) Coyote and the World: 9, RM

... *ʔanwí:sq* *móʔoš* *nqwíli* *lákšiwíčkiʔ*
ʔanwis=q *moʔos* *nqwil* *lak'-s-wiʔ=kiʔ*
orphan=PAT **2PL.AGT** **whip** **emerge-CAUS-PST2=DST**

hoyýímyi *šiloʔómik...*
hoy=?im-y *šiloʔ-m=k*
 too?=try-PROG like-IMPF=DECL

‘... the orphan whom you whipped and put out seems to be trying to tell something...’

15.10.3.1. Restrictive vs. Non-Restrictive Relative Clauses

There does not appear to be any morphological distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in Yuki. Restrictive relative clauses identify the referent out of a larger group of possible referents. Non-restrictive relative clauses provide additional information about the referent, but this information does not aid in identifying the referent.

Relative clauses with both functions have the same structure. The relative clause is encliticized with a derived form of the dependent clause marker =*namli* and follows the noun phrase it modifies.

(105) and (106) are examples of restrictive relative clauses. In (105), the relative clause *ʔiwilhánam nóʔnámlíkimási* ‘(those) who were in the ceremonial house’ is modifying *hi:li* ‘all’. Instead of talking about everyone everywhere coming out, only all of those individuals located in the ceremonial house came out.

(105) Coyote and the World: 29, RM

seʔéy *hi:li* *ʔiwilhánam*
si=?i *hil-i* *ʔiwilhan-qm*
 NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM ceremonial.house-IN2

nóʔnámlíkimási *ʔey* *láksilyqkmil*
noʔ=namli=kiʔ-mas-i =?i *lakʔ-s-il-qk=mil*
live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1 emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN
 ‘And all who were in the ceremonial house came out.’

In (106), the relative clause *wó:manamlíkimáse* ‘(those) who had come there to dance’ is modifying *ʔa:tát* ‘people’. Instead of talking about people in general, the relative clause indicates that only those people who came to dance are traveling onward to a place called Lalkúhtki.

(106) Coyote and the World: 78, RM

<i>sikiṭéy</i>	<i>k'olk'il</i>	<u><i>ʔa:tát</i></u>
<i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i>	<i>k'ol=k'il</i>	<u><i>ʔatat</i></u>
NEW=then=HSY1	other=TERM	<u>people</u>

wó:manamlikimáse	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>túktimil</i>
wok'-mq=namli=ki?-mas-i	=ʔi	<i>ṭuk-t=mił</i>
dance/sing-DIR1=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM	=HSY1	move-INTR=FIN

lalkúhtkiwit.

lalkuhtki=wił

Lalkuhtki=ALL

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

(107) is an example of a non-restrictive relative clause. In (107), the relative clause *lilk'il lačkilnamliki*: 'which he had broken against the rock' is modifying *pilát* 'sun'. There is only one sun and the fact that it had been broken against a rock does nothing to further specify the sun as the referent. Instead this relative clause is only giving additional information about the sun in the context of this story.

(107) Coyote and the World: 264, RM

<i>sąkíṭey</i>	<i>háye</i>	<u><i>pilát</i></u>	<i>lilk'il</i>
<i>sq=kiṭ=ʔi</i>	<i>hqʔaye</i>	<u><i>pilaṭ</i></u>	<i>lił=k'il</i>
SAME=then=HSY1	now	<u>sun</u>	rock=TERM

lačkilnamliki:	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>háye</i>	<i>liłpátpis</i>
laṭ-k-il=namli=kiʔ	=ʔi	<i>hqʔaye</i>	<i>lił-pát=pił</i>
break-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST	=HSY1	now	rock-crack=ABL

<i>lak'iyakmil</i>	<i>hul</i>	<i>ną</i>	<i>sonmám</i>	<i>na.</i>
<i>lak'-qk=mil</i>	<i>hul</i>	=ną	<i>suʔumam</i>	=ną
emerge-SEM=FIN	eye	=and	brain	=and

'Then the sun **which he had broken against the rock**, its eyes and brains now he took out of the crack in the rock.'

15.10.3.2. Headed vs. Headless Relative Clauses

Examples of both headed and headless relative clauses are found in Yuki. In a headed relative clause, the relative clause follows an overt nominal head.

(108) and (109) are examples of headed relative clauses. In (108), *ʔun-* ‘carry’, affixed with the dependent clause marker *=namli=kiʔ* ‘which, who’, follows the nominal *híl(i)kšiloʔ* ‘everything’.

(108) Coyote and the World: 179, RM

<i>sáʔey</i>	<i>kí:k</i>	<u><i>híl(i)kšiloʔ</i></u>	<i>ʔúnmanamlikí:</i>	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>sá=ʔi</i>	<i>kik</i>	<u><i>hilkšiloʔ</i></u>	<i>ʔun-má=namli=kiʔ</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
SAME=HSY1	there	<u>everything</u>	carry-DIR1=DEP=DST	=HSY1

<i>kipat</i>	<i>ʔa:ʔáta</i>	<i>náwhsimil</i>
<i>kip=qt</i>	<i>ʔáʔat=q</i>	<i>náw-hʔ-s=mil</i>
3R=DAT	people=PAT	see-DUR?-CAUS=FIN

‘And there he showed his people everything that they had brought.’

In (109), *noʔ-* ‘live’, affixed with *=kiʔ* ‘who’, follows the nominal *hí:li* ‘all those (people)’.

(109) Coyote and the World: 140, RM

<i>seʔéy</i>	<i>haye</i>	<u><i>hí:li</i></u>	<i>ʔónop</i>	<i>nó:hikimása</i>
<i>si=ʔi</i>	<i>háʔaye</i>	<u><i>híli-i</i></u>	<i>ʔon=op</i>	<i>noʔ-h=kiʔ-mas=q</i>
NEW=HSY1	now	<u>all-ANIM</u>	earth=LAT	live-DUR=DST-DSTR=PAT

<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔinkóptmil</i>
<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔinkopʔ-t=mil</i>
=HSY1	snore-INTR=FIN

‘And now all those who were lying on the ground snored.’

In (110), *hiʔ-* ‘come out’ is affixed with the dependent clause marker *=namli=kiʔ-mas-i* ‘who’, but it does not follow a coreferential noun phrase. It is an example of a headless relative clause.

(110) Coyote and the World: 108, RM

sikíṭey *híʔkilnamlikimáse* ʔey
si=kiṭ=ʔi *hiʔ-k-il=namli=kiʔ-mas-i* =ʔi
 NEW=then=HSY1 **come.out-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM** =HSY1

kipáwk'il *t'óktmil*
kipáw=k'il *t'ok-tl=mil*
 back=TERM arrive-TR=FIN

'Then **whoever had escaped** arrived again.'

In (111), *həp šú:h-* 'sing and sit' is affixed with *=kiʔ-mas-i*, but does not follow a noun phrase. It too is an example of a headless relative clause.

(111) Feather Dance Narrative: 4, RM

sími: *hí:li* *tat'* *huʔútlí:li* *háye*
si-mi *hil-i* *tat* *huʔuʔ-tl-il* *həʔəye*
 SAME-and.then all-ANIM good/make quit-TR-MPSV now

həp ***šú:hikimáse*** *hí:li*
həp ***šúʔ-h=kiʔ-mas-i*** *hil-i*
song/sing **sit/stay-DUR=DST-DSTR-ANIM** all-ANIM

mí:ṭi *yóletmil.*
miṭi *yol-t=mil*
 up stand-INTR=FIN

'And then, all finish fixing themselves up. Now **those that are sitting and singing** all get up and stand.'

15.10.3.3. Location and Other Oblique Relative Clauses

Relative clauses referring to location are formed by encliticizing deictics to the dependent clause marker *=namli*. The types of locative relative clause marker thus far observed include²⁷²: *=namli=kik* 'where', *=namli=kik=pis* 'from where', *=namli=kiṭ(a)*

²⁷² For a morphemic analysis of these locative relative clause markers see Table 36.

‘where’²⁷³, =namli=ki’=k’il ‘to where’. Locative relative clauses can also be formed by attaching =ki’=k’il ‘to where’ or =kiṭa=pis ‘from where’ to verbs. (112) - (114) show examples of relative clauses using locative relative clause markers. Note that in (113), ablative =pis is connected in meaning with the verb in the main clause not the verb in the relative clause. Ablative =pis indicates looking from a point, not standing from a point.

(112) Coyote and the World: 48, RM

sáʔey	ʔim	k’an	paʔétmil	hulk’óʔi	mi:litéiki
sq=ʔi	ʔim	k’q̄n	paʔ-t=mil	hulk’oʔi	militiki
SAME=HSY1	where	language/word	get.up-INTR=FIN	Coyote	Militiki

múnaʔ	ʔá:ṭat	šúknamlikí:k	tóktli
munaʔ	ʔaṭat	šuʔ-k=namli=kik	t’ok-tl
many	people	sit/stay-PNCT=DEP=there	arrive-TR

‘So Coyote preached (“lifted his voice”) at Mílitiki, **where many people were sitting** having arrived.’

(113) Coyote and the World: 23, RM

seʔéy	lóʔopsi	yq̄šnamlikí:kpis	yq̄šít	kú:ta
si=ʔi	lopis	yq̄š=namli=kik=pis	yq̄š-t	kuta
NEW=HSY1	Jackrabbit	stand=DEP=there=ABL	stand-INTR	there

nq̄wétmil.

nq̄w-t=mil

see-INTR=FIN

‘And **from where Jackrabbit had stood**, standing there he looked.’

(114) Coyote and the World: 90, RM

sopéy	ʔa:ṭat	ʔú:kpis	lá:ksilyáki	náwʔnamlikíṭa
sop=ʔi	ʔaṭat	ʔuk’=pis	lak’-s-il-q̄k	noʔ=namli=kiṭa
but=HSY1	people	water=ABL	emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM	live=DEP=there

²⁷³ Note that =kiṭ(a) in =namli=kiṭ(a) ‘where, to where’ is not the same morpheme as the connective enclitic =kiṭ ‘then’. Instead it appears that this is the deictic kiṭa ‘there’ is encliticized to the dependent clause marker =namli.

[?]ey tú:mamil hi:li.
 =[?]i tük?-mq=mil hil-i
 =HSY1 move-DIR1=FIN all-ANIM
 ‘But the people all coming out of the water, returned to **where they lived**,’

The instrumental oblique relative clause marker also occurs in the texts. This is =namli=ki[?]-la ‘with which’. (115) and (116) show examples²⁷⁴ of this marker in use. Much as in (113), in these examples instrumental -la is connected in meaning with the verb in the main clause, not the verb in the relative clause. Instrumental -la indicates pushing with wood instead of carrying with wood in (115) and hurling with a stone rather than carrying with a stone in (116).

(115) Coyote and the World: 75, RM

sópéy hqyú:mi [?]olč’ok há[?]namlikí:la
 sop=[?]i hqyum [?]ol-č’ok ha[?]=namli=ki[?]-la
 but=HSY1 Dove **wood-dry?/rotten?** carry=DEP=DST-INST

[?]éy hqhin[?]am lúktmil.
 =[?]i hqhin-qm luk-tl=mil
 =HSY1 under-IN2 go.down-TR=FIN

‘But Dove pushed under (him) **with the rotten wood he was carrying**.’

(116) Coyote and the World: 164, RM

se[?]éy šiwkítin lil há[?]namlikí:la [?]ey
 sí=[?]i šiwkítin lil ha[?]=namli=ki[?]-la =[?]i
 NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin **rock** carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wítkmil kó’ola
 wít-k=mil ko’ol=q?
 hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki.PL=OBL?

‘So Šiwkítin hurled at the Wailaki **with the stone he was carrying**.’

Oblique relative clauses are also formed using =ki[?]=k’il ‘to where’ and =ki[?]a=pis ‘from where’. In (117), =ki[?]=k’il ‘to where’ is attached to yqš- ‘stand’ forming yqš(i(:)ki:k’il ‘to (the place) he was standing’. As for (113), it is important to note that in (117) terminative

²⁷⁴ (115) and (116) may be analyzed as object relative clauses by other scholars.

=*k'il* is indicating motion with respect to the verb in the main clause, not the verb in the relative clause. Terminative =*k'il* indicates bringing to a place, not standing from a place.

(117) Coyote and the World: 13, RM

<i>sq'áy</i>	<i>yqši(:)kí:k'il'</i>	<i>hámmil.</i>
<i>sq=?i</i>	<i>yqš=ki'?=k'il</i>	<i>ham=mil</i>

SAME=HSY1 **stand=DST=TERM** bring=FIN
 'And brought it **to where he was standing.**'

In (118), =*kiṭa=pis* 'from where' is attached to *yqš-h-* 'stand' forming *yqšhikíṭá'apis* 'from where (I) stand'. See (113) for an example of an oblique relative clause ending in =*namli=kik=pis*. As in (113) and (117), ablative =*pis* is connected in meaning with the verb in the main clause, not the verb in the relative clause. Ablative =*pis* indicates looking from a point, not standing from a point.

(118) Coyote and the World: 22, RM

<i>se'áy</i>	<i>kaṭá'apis</i>	<i>ʔq̄p</i>	<i>yqšhikíṭá'apis</i>	<i>náweta</i>
<i>si=?i</i>	<i>kaṭa=pis</i>	<i>ʔap</i>	<i>yqš-h=kiṭa=pis</i>	<i>nq̄w-t-a'</i>

NEW=HSY1 here=ABL 1SG.AGT **stand-DUR=there=ABL** see-INTR-IMP

<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>lówpsi</i>	<i>hulk'o'a</i>
=?i	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>lopis</i>	<i>hulk'o'i=q</i>

=HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT
 'And "**From** here **where** I **stand**, from there look!" Jackrabbit said to Coyote.'

15.10.4. Serial Verb Constructions

In Yuki serial verb constructions, non-final verbs can be bare verb roots or can be verb roots affixed with derivational morphology. The non-final verbs in the serial verb construction are never marked for tense or with =*mil*. The final verb in the sequence will be affixed with finite =*mil*. Serial verbs will often show actions which occur in a sequence, such as those in (119) and (120). Some serial verb constructions, such as the example shown in (121), will have meanings that are more like those of compound verbs and describe actions which occur at the same time. However, morphologically, all of the serial verb constructions shown in these examples display the same

(121) Coyote and the World: 350, RM

sq̣ḳiṭey *hášmó:la* *pilqṭq:tk'il* **ha:tí:li**
sq̣=kiṭ=?i *hašmol'=q* *pilqṭ=qt=k'il* **ha?-t-il**
 SAME=then=HSY1 morning.star=PAT sun=DAT=TERM **carry-INTR?-MPSV**

kó'ot(e)mil *hulk'ó'i*

ko?-t=mil *hulk'o'i*

go-INTR=FIN Coyote

'Then Coyote **went carrying** the morning star toward the sun;'

15.11. Complement Clauses

Complement clauses in Yuki are not identified with unique morphology. The presence of a complement clause is sometimes correlated with a change from the expected verb-final word order. In (122) the complement clause *yím yq̣:híšti* 'fire blazing up' occurs before the verb *nq̣wímil* 'saw', in the usual position of an argument.

(122) Coyote and the World: 24, RM

sq̣'ey

sq̣=?i

SAME=HSY1

[*yím* *yq̣:híšti*]

yim *yqh-s-t*

fire blaze-CONT-INTR

[*nq̣wímil* *hulk'ó'i*]

nq̣w=mil *hulk'o'i*

see=FIN Coyote

'And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.'

Quotations²⁷⁵ also occupy the preverbal position typical of arguments and clauses functioning as arguments. In (123) the quotation precedes the verb *'imeymil* 'said'.

²⁷⁵ Quotations are also discussed in §15.1 and in the discussion of the position of the hearsay evidential *'i* in §7.4.4.1.

(123) Coyote and the World: 410, RM

[míʔ	hąkóč	yú:ʔyamʔi:k]	ʔi:y
miʔ	hąkoč	yuy'-m=k	=ʔi
2SG.AGT	bad	do-IMPV=DECL	=HSY1

[ʔímeymil	sąt'in	hulk'óʔa]
ʔimi=mil	sąt'in	hulk'oʔi=q
say=FIN	Lizard	Coyote=PAT

‘“You are doing badly”, said Lizard to Coyote.’

15.12. Coordination

The coordination of two non-contrasting clauses occurs through the use of switch-reference marking²⁷⁶. It is unclear whether =nq ‘and’ can also be used to connect two clauses or if its use is limited only to connecting nominals. (see §5.7)

Serial verb constructions can be used to join several verbs together in a single clause. The meaning of some serial verb constructions appears to be similar to that of conjoined non-contrasting clauses.

In (124), “and Taykómol turned back and went back” is broken up into two clauses, with the switch-reference marking serving as the connective between the two clauses.

(124) Origins: 37, RM

seʔéy	kipąwiyet	wittlilmil	taykómol.
si=ʔi	kipąw=ił	wił-tl-il=mil	taykomol
NEW=HSY1	back=JXT	turn-TR-MPSV=FIN	Taykómol

‘And Taykómol turned back.’

Origins: 38, RM

sąʔey	kipąwwiyet	koʔotmil.
są=ʔi	kipąw=ił	koʔ-t=mil
SAME=HSY1	back=JXT	go-INTR=FIN

‘And went back.’

Similarly, in (125), ‘he stripped them all off and piled them together’ is broken up into two clauses with the switch-reference marking connecting the two.

²⁷⁶ See Chapter 14.

(125) Coyote and the World: 221, RM

se^ʔey kɪ: hɪl hɔyɛ pišítmil
 si=^ʔi ki^ʔ hɪl hɔ^ʔaye piš-t=mil

NEW=HSY1 DST all now take.off-INTR=FIN

‘So now he stripped them all off;’

Coyote and the World: 222, RM

sɔ^ʔéy pɔwík'i šil t'ú:mil
 sɔ=^ʔi pɔwi=k'i šil t'u^ʔ=mil

SAME=HSY1 one=IN skin lay=FIN

‘and piled them together.’

In (126) and (127), serial verb constructions are used to express meanings similar to the coordination of non-contrasting clauses. In (126), Coyote stood and sang. In (127), two Wailaki, who were alive, came back and told what had happened.

(126) Coyote and the World: 37, RM

sop^ʔey hulk'ó^ʔi hɔp yqššlml.
 sop=^ʔi hulk'ó^ʔi hɔp yqš-s-il=mil

but=HSY1 Coyote **song/sing** **stand-CAUS-MPSV=FIN**

‘But Coyote **stood and sang.**’

(127) Coyote and the World: 176, RM

sikítey ʔopi k'ó'ola šáyyanamlikimáse
 si=kiṭ=^ʔi ʔopi k'ó'ol=q šay-a=naml=ki^ʔ-mas-i

NEW=then=HSY1 two Wailaki.PL=PAT raw/alive-?=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey **kipqwk** **toktli** ʔey **hušk'qyesmil**
 =^ʔi **kipqw=ki** **t'ok-tl** =^ʔi **hušk'qy-s=mil**
 =HSY1 **back=IN** **arrive-TR** =HSY1 **tell-CONT?=FIN**

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

The coordination of two contrasting clauses occurs through the use of =han ‘but, even’ (see also §13.1.2). Kroeber (1911:364) describes =han as meaning “although, even, though” and states that =han may be the subessive case noun enclitic =han.

In (128), =*han* is attached to the end of the second clause *máy kimo'séyya kápta ?imeytanan* 'though none of them said to him "Enter!"". Coyote enters the ceremonial house, despite the fact that no one has explicitly invited him in.

(128) Coyote and the World: 123, RM

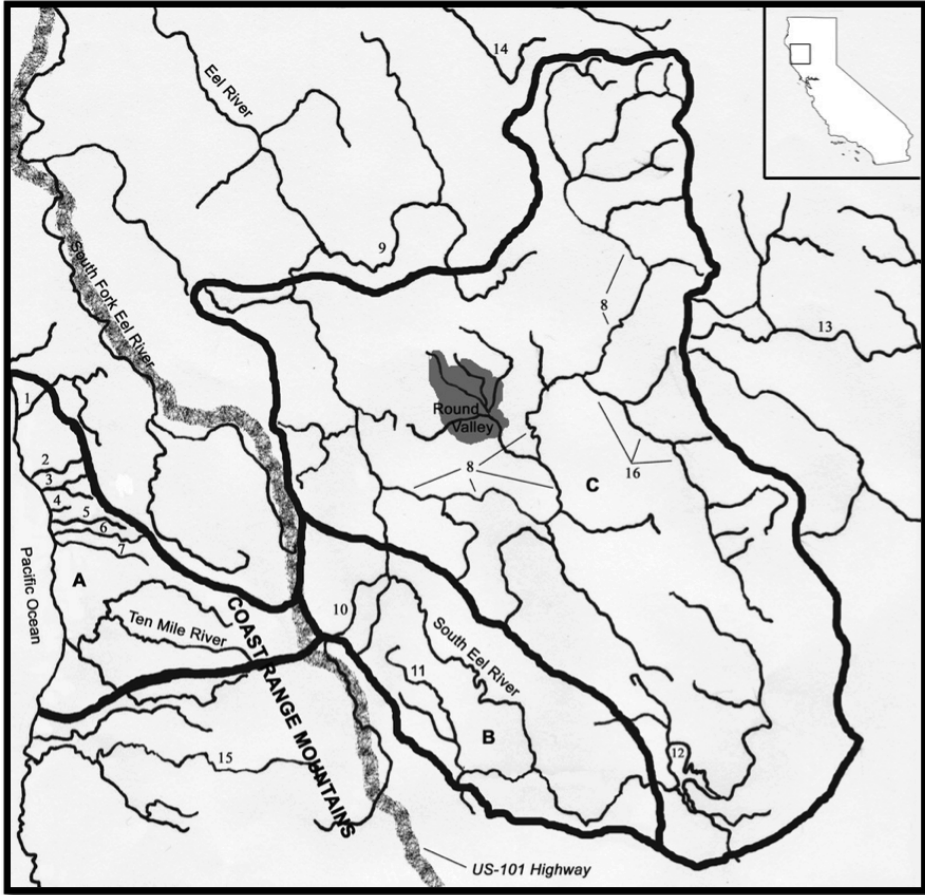
<i>sá'éy</i>	<i>?iwilhánam</i>	<i>kápšilyakmil</i>
<i>sá=?i</i>	<i>?iwilhan-qm</i>	<i>kap-s-il-qk=mil</i>
SAME=HSY1	ceremonial.house-IN2	enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

<i>máy</i>	<i>kimo'séyya</i>	<i>kápta</i>	<i>?imeytanan.</i>
<i>má'y'</i>	<i>kimo'osiya</i>	<i>kap-t-a</i>	<i>?imi-tan=han</i>
who/someone	DSTR.R	enter-INTR-IMP	say-NEG=but

'And he (Coyote) entered the ceremonial house **though none of them said to him, "Enter!"**

Appendix 1

Natural and Manmade Landmarks of the Northern Yukian Speech Area



This map²⁷⁷ shows the location of the major natural features of this region, as well as the location of the US-101 Highway, which is a major contemporary manmade feature of this area. The highway is marked with a thick light gray line. The boundaries of the Coast Yuki, Huchnom, and Yuki Proper speech areas and the location of the natural

²⁷⁷ The basic outlines of the maps in Appendices 1-3 are based on a tracing by me of a map in Foster (1944:154).

landmarks are based on boundaries given in Foster (1944:154) and Miller (1978:249). The location of the Coast Range Mountains and the US-101 Highway are based on a map of Northern California found in the *Rand McNally Road Atlas* (2001:12).

Northern Yukian Languages

A = Coast Yuki

B = Huchnom

C = Yuki

Natural Landmarks

1 = Cottoneva Creek

2 = Hardy Creek

3 = Alviso Creek, also called Juan Creek

4 = Little Howard Creek

5 = Howard Creek

6 = De Haven Creek, also called Packard Creek or Gordon Creek

7 = Wages Creek

8 = Middle Fork Eel River

9 = North Fork Eel River

10 = Outlet Creek

11 = Tomki Creek

12 = Lake Pillsbury

13 = Willow Creek

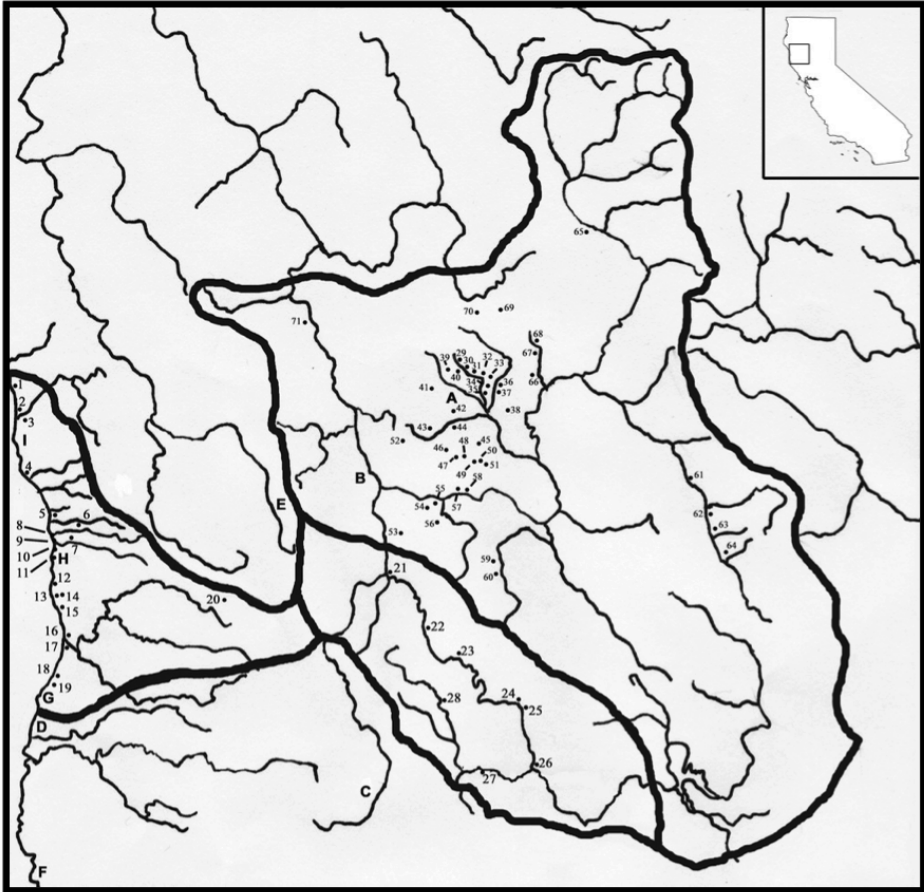
14 = Mad River

15 = Noyo Creek

16 = Black Butte Creek

Appendix 2

Map of Northern Yukian Villages



This map is not an exhaustive and full depiction of all Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki village sites. In this map of village sites, the locations of the Yuki villages and contemporary cities are taken from Foster (1944:154,158). The location of the Huchnom village sites was reconstructed based on written descriptions by Barrett (1908:258-60) and Kroeber (1925 [1976]:203), which were then located on a searchable USGS map online (“Trailhead Vagabond” 2010). The location of the Coast Yuki villages was reconstructed by me based on written descriptions by Gifford (1965:5-13), which I then

located on an online USGS map of the region. The spelling of settlement names was not changed from the spelling as it was in their original source. The spelling of the placenames in this section has been left in the form found in the original reference.

At least one Yuki word is found in placenames in Round Valley in the present day. In 1896, Poonkiny post office was established 12 miles southwest of Covelo. This post office was closed in 1900 (Durham 1998:43). Its name, Poonkiny, derives from Yuki *punkini*, *punk'ini* 'wormwood' (Kroeber 1916:56). Various spelled, Poonkiny survives in the names of several locations in the Covelo area including Poonkinny Creek, Poonkinny Lake, and Poonkinny Ridge ("Trailhead Vagabond" 2011). Poonkiny is also found in the name of Poonkinney Road and in the names of a number of businesses in the Covelo area.

Contemporary Cities

A = Covelo	F = Mendocino
B = Dos Rios	G = Cleone
C = Willits	H = Westport
D = Fort Bragg	I = Rockport
E = Laytonville	

Coast Yuki Settlements

These settlements were called "Camps" by Gifford (1965). The name of the Coast Yuki tribelet inhabiting each village is given in parentheses following the name of each village.

- 1 = Onch'ilka (Onch'ilka-ontilka)
- 2 = Onchilem (Oluntehem-ontilka)
- 3 = Shuwakem (Oluntehem-ontilka)
- 4 = Es'im (Melemisimok-ontilka)
- 5 = Hisimelauhkem (Hisimelak-ontilka)
- 6 = Onbit (Alwasa-ontilka)
- 7 = Pol'u (Mishbul-ontilka)
- 8 = Lilp'inkem (Alwasa-ontilka)
- 9 = Nuhanwakem / Nuhanwahatumut (Mishbul-ontilka)
- 10 = Nuhanwahatdape (Mishbul-ontilka)
- 11 = Shipoi (Mishkei-ontilka)
- 12 = K'etim (Mishkei-ontilka)

- 13 = Lilem (Mishkeun-ontilka)
- 14 = Kasolak (Mishkeun-ontilka)
- 15 = Ok'omet / Shipoi / Olom (Mishkeun-ontilka)
- 16 = Metkuyaki (Metkuyak-ontilka)
- 17 = Metkuyakolselem (Metkuyak-ontilka)
- 18 = *Unknown* (Lilhuyak-ontilka)
- 19 = Lalim (Lalim-ontilka)
- 20 = Ch'il (Mishkei-ontilka?)

Some Coast Yuki settlements described in Gifford (1965) could not be reliably located on the maps based on the written description. These villages are:

- Melhomi'ikem [located near Juan Creek] (Melemisok-ontilka)
- Ukmaslak [located near Juan Creek] (Melemisok-ontilka)
- Nes'palem [located near Westport] (Mishkei-ontilka)

Huchnom Settlements

- 21 = Shipomul
- 22 = Nonhohou
- 23 = Yek
- 24 = Mot
- 25 = Mupan
- 26 = Mot-kuyuk
- 27 = Hatupoka
- 28 = Pukemul

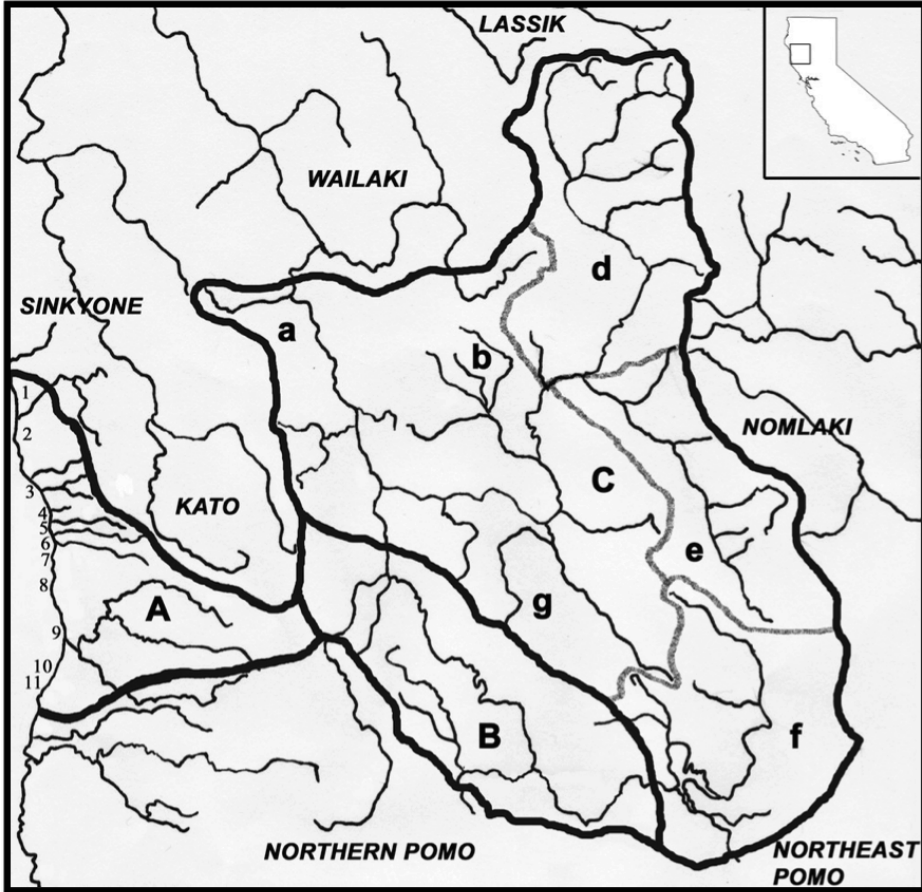
Yuki Settlements

- 29 = mamolšišmol
- 30 = probable site of muthót
- 31 = čočhohanuk
- 32 = námol
- 33 = lilt'am
- 34 = hulpótinhanč
- 35 = ukšat
- 36 = mulkús
- 37 = sonkáš
- 38 = probable site of títwá

- 39 = ólkat
- 40 = u'wít
- 41 = onwís
- 42 = nu'
- 43 = totimúl
- 44 = olámtu'
- 45 = ontít
- 46 = alniúki
- 47 = yúksa'ut
- 48 = ólkat
- 49 = sofpit
- 50 = milíti
- 51 = totimant
- 52 = sonlál
- 53 = muniúkom
- 54 = úkpi
- 55 = ukšišmulhánt
- 56 = suk'á
- 57 = hasikat
- 58 = uklámol
- 59 = witúkom
- 60 = ukomtítam
- 61 = huitít
- 62 = suk'húi
- 63 = pilíl
- 64 = títam
- 65 = múlčal
- 66 = kíčil
- 67 = nuíčkat
- 68 = yúkat
- 69 = núnlač
- 70 = lilta'
- 71 = k'ášasič

Appendix 3

Map of Yuki Tribal Subdivisions and Surrounding Languages



This map shows the approximate location inhabited by members of the Yuki tribal subdivisions and Coast Yuki tribelets. The map also shows the location of other tribes surrounding the Northern Yukian speech region. The location of the Coast Yuki tribelets is based on written descriptions from Gifford (1965:5-16), which were then located using a USGS topographical map of this region (“Trailhead Vagabond” 2010). The location of tribal subdivisions within the Yuki speech area and the approximate boundaries between some of these subdivisions are based on Foster (1944:154). The

location of the tribes surrounding the Northern Yukian speech area is based on Foster (1944:154), Miller (1978:249), and Baumhoff (1958:177).

Northern Yukian Languages

A = Coast Yuki

B = Huchnom

C = Yuki

Coast Yuki tribelets

1 = Onch'ilka-ontilka

2 = Oluntehem-ontilka

3 = Melemisimok-ontilka / Melemisikem-ontilka

4 = Hisimelak-ontilka

5 = Alwasa-ontilka

6 = Mishbul-ontilka / Nanket-ontilka

7 = Mishkei-ontilka

8 = Mishkeun-ontilka

9 = Metkuyak-ontilka

10 = Lilhuyak-ontilka

11 = Lalim-ontilka

Yuki Tribal Subdivisions

a = Ta'nom'

b = Ukomnom'

d = Sukšaltatamnom'

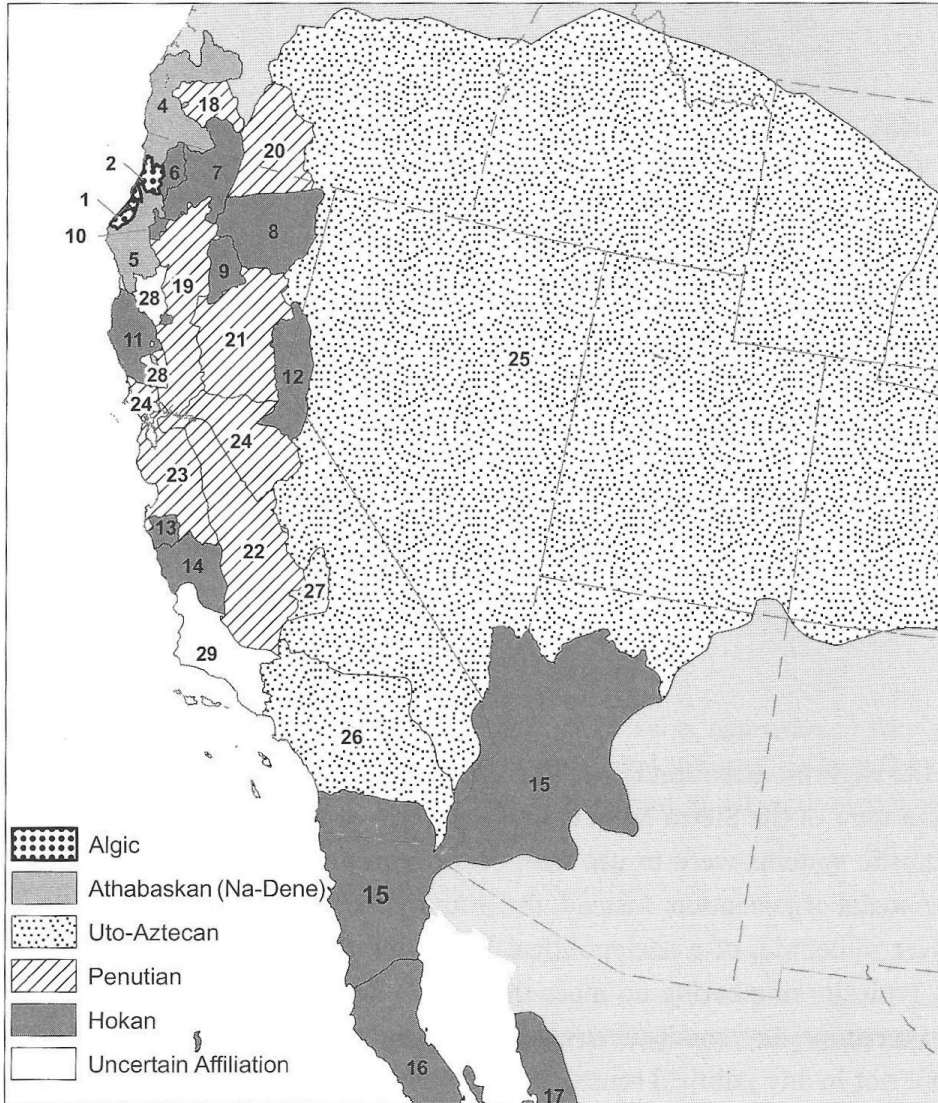
e = Huititnom'

f = Onkolukomnom'

g = Witukomnom'

Appendix 4

Map of the Language Families of California²⁷⁸



²⁷⁸ Map and accompanying information reproduced from Golla 2011:2.

Language families and isolates of the California region

Algic

1. Wiyot
2. Yurok

Athabaskan (Na-Dene)

3. Lower Columbia Athabaskan (not shown)
4. Oregon Athabaskan
5. California Athabaskan

Hokan

6. Karuk
7. Shastan
8. Palaihnihan
9. Yana
10. Chimariko
11. Pomo
12. Washo
13. Esselen
14. Salinan
15. Yuman
16. Cochimí
17. Seri

Penutian

18. Takelma
19. Wintuan
20. Klamath-Modoc
21. Maiduan
22. Yokuts
23. Costanoan
24. Miwok

Uto-Aztecan

25. Numic
26. Takic
27. Tubatulabal

Uncertain affiliation

28. Yukian
29. Chumash
30. Waikuri (and other languages of the southernmost part of Baja California) (not shown)

Appendix 5

*Kroeber's History of the Recording of Yuki*²⁷⁹

I heard my first Yuki in December 1901, spending about a month at Covelo, past New Year's eve (with its celebrating detonations of gunpowder between two anvils), until early January 1902. The sun was warm, but the nights cold at 1300 plus feet, and the Coast Range mountains enclosing Round Valley were white with snow most of the time. I filled notebooks 19 to 23 with Yuki language and culture, including a Huchnom Yuki vocabulary in book 22. My earliest entries of date are Dec. 5 and 7, then Dec. 14. My informant for speech was Ralph Moore, and largely for culture too. He was then about 27 years old, and perhaps a dozen years out of Round Valley Reservation school.

I returned to San Francisco, and within a little more than a month later, Ralph had come to San Francisco, where I was there lodging and where we could work with less loss of time than when he had to travel from his house on the reservation to a hotel in Covelo once or twice a day. I found lodgings for him two or three blocks away, and most meals we ate together. When I had to go to the university, or other business, he went to neighborhood restaurants with which he had become familiar, attended nickelodeons, or otherwise saw sights or amused himself. Notebooks 27 to 32 were the fruit of this visit; the dates I encounter are February 14 for book 28, 17 for 29, 18 for 30. The bulk of our work consisted of recording and interlinear translating of narratives. These I also rendered into standard English and published in *Anthropos* in 1932 as *Yuki Myths*. Alongside the texts recorded in 1902 were grammatical extensions and ethnographic explanations, as s customary.

The greatest bulk of Yuki data were put down on paper in the winter of 1901-02; but my structured hearing of the language was still crude.

In the fall of 1902, I was back at Round Valley. I probably made some inquiries among other tribes, but for at least three days, September 25-27, I worked with two old Yuki, Diddle and Pike, with Ralph interpreting, at assembling data on the Creator, Ghosts, and Flint "schools" or initiations, on the shaman dance and bear doctors, on the nearly forgotten Yuki octonary count, and on place names in Ta'nom tribal territory.

²⁷⁹ This description is reproduced verbatim from Kroeber (1958b). Kroeber noted in the margins that this description is incomplete. However, it is reproduced here as it is a fascinating first hand account of Kroeber's work with Yuki and of the people involved in this work.

I slipped, or had slipped for me, the data on the Yuki language in the following years, and worked on it as I could, but there were many languages and cultures needing attention in California.

In 1910 I visited Round Valley for the U.S. Census and spent two days in the Superintendent's office with Ralph Moore, which showed chiefly that many of the tribal attributions entered in the Government books in the 1860's were quite random, but that they had been passed on to children and grandchildren.

In 1911 I published a section on Yuki (pp. 345-383) in *The Languages of the Coast of California North of San Francisco*, as no. 3 of volume 9 of the *American Archaeology and Ethnology* series of University publications. For a preliminary report, the morphology is not bad, but the phonological underpinning is weak.

I had also arranged with Boas for a contribution to the *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, of which the first volume also appeared in 1911; but I had asked to be released. The *Handbook* consisted of studies some of which were final and all of which had had far more time expended on them than I had been able to give Yuki. My account of it as published in Berkeley was one of a group of preliminary reports - some of them quite brief sketches; it would have been out of setting in the context of matured grammars by Goddard, Swanton, Boas, Dixon, Jones, and Thalbitzer.

There is one statement on page 370 of the 1911 exposition which it seems pertinent to withdraw and deny explicitly. It is to the effect that the study of Yuki offers less than expectable difficulty "on account of the scarcity of phonetic changes in derivation and suffixation." This was said before morphophonemics had been discovered; but the highly complex and subtle morphophonemic interactions of Yuki might have been recognized then, under another designation, if I had been better able to hear the tones and glottalizations of the language.

About this period, I learned from Goddard of the kymograph tracings devised by Rousselot, one of whose brass machines Goddard had persuaded President Wheeler to acquire for the University. Between 1911 and 1914 I published on Mohave, Diegueño, and Marshall Micronesian phonetics and mode tracings of Papago and other languages. Later I realized that these visible renderings of speech could not replace properly trained hearing as a foundation, and that Sapir was right in his view that they might serve, like a crutch, in an emergency, but not as a basic method of development of understanding. I think now - after some recent preoccupation with Goddard's Athabascan materials - that Goddard's hearing was fairly sensitive, but remained unsure; and I know that I was unsure, and not only about Yuki. At any rate, in 1912, I had Ralph Moore down to the University again, and recorded some 50 sheets of tracings

of Yuki, each bearing perhaps 25 to 50 word tracings. I also had a dentist's palate made to fit Ralph's mouth and used it by dusting with powdered soapstone.

In 1923 I had Ralph at the University once more and this time went over my whole slip catalog of the morphemes of the language, writing on the slips in new green ink what I then heard. This rendering was maturer than before: I recognized durations and breaths pretty satisfactorily, glottal stops and effects better than previously, and might have worked out a rather adequate proto-phonemic system had I not remained deaf to the tones.

It may have been at this time that Lowie dropped in where I was working with Ralph, listened a while, heard tones, and convinced me.

At any rate, in May 1927, I was back at the kymograph with Ralph running it this time at high speed to stretch out the voice vibrations so that the number of them = per inch or centimeter might be counted and the pitch of vowel be ascertained objectively. Again, a case of unsureness, not trusting myself to learn to recognize such tones as there might be - after which the measured counts might have had confirmatory value - I again leaned on the machine to make decisions for me. Quite properly for my pains, I did a lot of counting and measuring with mainly inconclusive results. The most distinct pitch profile that emerged from the counts was a rising one! And its few occurrences do not coincide in their distribution with any take of Uldallian stem tone.

During the same summer of 1927, Fang-Kuei Li, thru a student of Sapir's at Chicago was studying Athabascan Mattole in the county adjoining that in which Round Valley Reservation and Covelo are situated. His publication Mattole, an Athabascan Language appeared in 1930. He had, in the same summer of 1927, some briefer experiences with two other Athabascan languages: Hupa, which Sapir was then studying at Hoopa, and Wailaki, on Round Valley Reservation. At Sapir's request, he undertook to see if any Yuki were available, and to report on the tones. Ralph Moore seems to have been away, and Li did not connect with Eben Tillotson whom George Foster worked with on culture a few years later, and whom I saw at Hull's Valley on a brief visit made with Frank Essene in the summer of 1938. Li did secure material from two informants, [blank] and [blank]

The next effort was through Hans Uldall, the Danish linguist trained by Jones the British phoneticist. He was in the country on a fellowship from the Committee on [blank], of which Boas was chairman for [blank]. The fellowship was for about two years, during which time Uldall lived in Berkeley, except when off in the back country with Indian informants. He worked on Maidu, supplementing Dixon's study; also on Achomawi and perhaps other California languages, in collaboration with Jaime de

Angelo and L.S. Freeland. He agreed, with Boas' consent, to detach himself temporarily from these commitments and do what he could to put the Yuki house of tones in order. Ralph Moore again came down to the University, and the three of us began work in 1931. But Ralph had a cough and felt unwell; we had him examined; the report was tuberculosis and diabetes. We persuaded him to enter a Sanitarium which the Bureau of Indian Affairs maintained in the Sierra Nevada. So the quest was checked once more.

Ralph's health definitely improved, and in 1932 he returned for a renewed stay at Berkeley, which lasted [blank]

Appendix 6

Terminology Describing the Natural World of the Coast Yuki

This section lists some forms elicited by Harrington relating to the natural world of the Coast Yuki. There are a few verbs in these word lists, which were included due to their relevance to the describing the environment of the home territory of the Coast Yuki.

The Coast Yuki, as their name suggests, lived along the coast. The terms in (1) describe the ocean and the coast.

- (1) Harrington 1942-1943:24-25, 28-34, LP
- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>ʃóy'</i> | 'foam' |
| <i>mélem</i> | 'creek' |
| <i>mêl</i> | 'little canyons, gulches' |
| <i>k'ó'níʃdæʔ</i> | 'it is low tide' |
| <i>k'á'bíʃdæʔ</i> | 'the tide is coming in 10 mins later do(?)' |
| <i>lil wâw'</i> | 'you can't see the rocks (when the tide is high)' |
| <i>t'í'yíʃdæʔ</i> | 'wave, the water is springing up' |
| <i>ʔóʔk' (ho't) t'í'dæʔ</i> | 'the ocean makes a noise' |
| <i>ʔóʔk' k'áʔč'-yædæʔ</i> | 'the water is rough/stormy (given when I ask it is high tide)' |
| <i>t'ówóldæʔ</i> | 'man, woman, or ocean is getting angry...the ocean is stormy.' |

The terms in (2) - (6) refer to some of the plant and animal life encountered in the ocean.

- (2) Harrington 1942-1943: 53-54, LP
- | | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>ʔuk'-ho't'-hewwey</i> | 'ocean-grub' |
| <i>lilbál'</i> | 'sea lettuce (lit. rock leaves)' |
- (3) Harrington 1942-1943:56, LP
- | | |
|----------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>k'ómml'</i> | 'giant kelp' (<i>k'óm</i> 'salt') |
|----------------|------------------------------------|
- (4) Harrington 1942-1943:191, LP
- | | |
|--------------|----------|
| <i>nó·k'</i> | 'mussel' |
|--------------|----------|

- (5) Harrington 1942-1943:201, LP
líl bóhlám 'perrywinkles' (lit. chubby (short) rock)
- (6) Harrington 1942-1943:213, LP
hêw bá-t'æʔ 'flounder' (lit. flat salmon)

The terms in (7) describe other parts of the natural environment.

- (7) Harrington 1942-1943:28-34, LP
mít' 'sky'
billèt' ~ billéht' 'watch, clock, sun'
lášk'ewel' 'moon'
č'íḷḷeʔt' ~ č'íḷḷeʔt' 'star'
hó'lk'é'lel' mîš 'milky way (dead person road)' ²⁸⁰
ʔenény' 'day'
k'áw'dæ 'daylight, dawn'

²⁸⁰ Harrington expresses some doubts about this form.

Appendix 7

Northern Yukian Population Data

Year	Yuki	Huchnom	Coast Yuki
1850	6,880	2,100	750
1864	300	[no data]	50
1870	238	79	[no data]
1880	168	50	[no data]
1910	95	15	15
1926	[no data]	[no data]	4
1937	50	8	[no data]
1973	32	1	0
2000	435 ²⁸¹	[no data]	[no data]

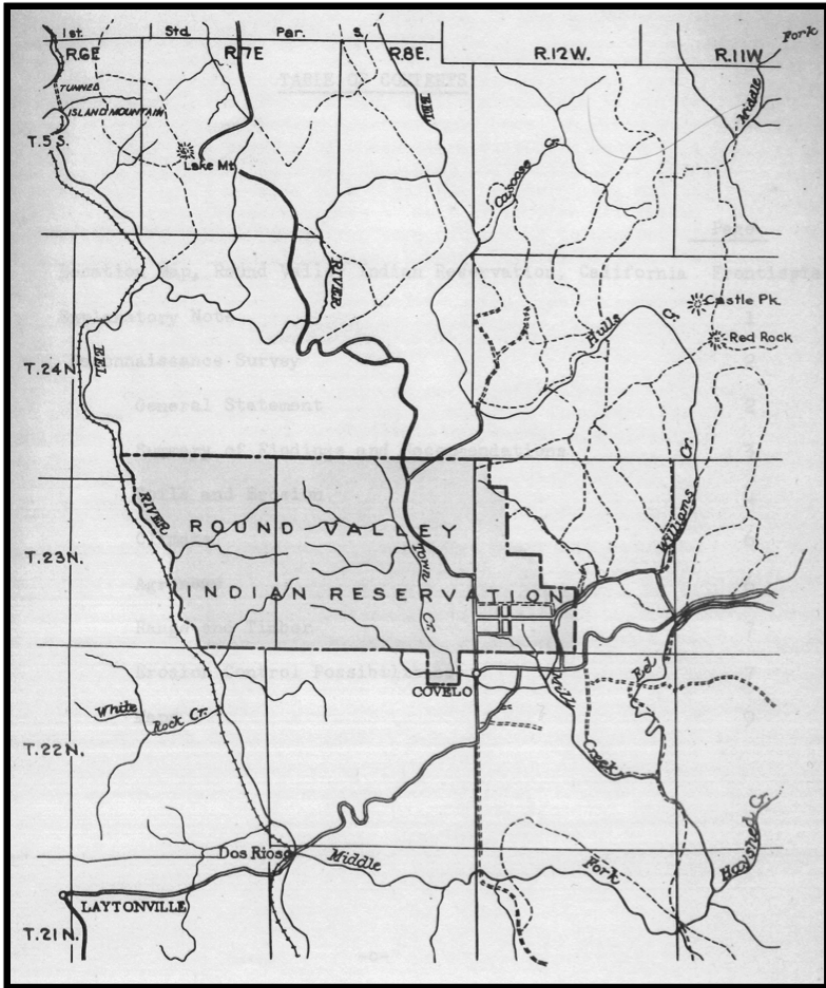
Figures given in the table reflect the number of individuals identified or identifying as Yuki, Huchnom, or Coast Yuki. These figures do not reflect the number of speakers of the Yuki, Huchnom, or Coast Yuki languages. Data for 1850-1973 are reproduced verbatim from Miller²⁸² (1978:250). As discussed in §1.3.1, pre-contact figures for the Yuki population vary quite a bit. These range from Kroeber's (1925 [1976]:168) estimate of 2,000 to that of Oandasan (1980:5) who gives a wide range from 2,000-3,000 up to 6,000-9,000.

²⁸¹ U.S. Census Bureau 2003:12. The 2000 United States Census (2003:558) also states that 387 Yukis lived in California of the 435 listed nationally and that 50.6 percent of the Yukis were 18 years or younger at the time of the census (2003:171).

²⁸² See Miller 1978:250 for detailed information on the origin of these figures.

Appendix 8

Map of Round Valley Indian Reservation in the 1920s²⁸³



²⁸³ Reproduced from Harbison et al 1939. The map is described as the “Covelo Topographic Sheet” of the “U.S.G.S. Topographic Quadrangle” and based on the “Survey of 1923-1924.” This map shows Round Valley Indian Reservation, as it appeared in the first half of the twentieth century.

Appendix 9

Photograph of Ralph Moore

This photograph of Ralph Moore appeared along with an article in the *Sunday Call Magazine* of San Francisco, California on March 16, 1902. This article (“An Indian Who Gave Our College Professors Pointers”) describes Alfred Kroeber’s work with Ralph Moore and the recording of the Yuki creation story and several types of Yuki songs.



Appendix 10

Yuki Texts

The texts in this collection were told by Yuki speaker Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber. Ralph Moore (ca. 1874/1875 - 19??) was born on the Round Valley Indian Reservation and was Alfred Kroeber's primary Yuki language consultant. Moore's Yuki name is recorded by Kroeber as *Aší:yam Nána'ak*²⁸⁴ (Kroeber 1931-1932/1958).

The numeration within each text preserves the original numeration by Kroeber in his original handwritten notes. This numeration generally corresponds to sentence divisions. The morphological analysis of these texts is based on my analysis of Yuki described in this grammar. The first two narratives, *Origins* and *Coyote and the World*, are described by Kroeber as the two parts of the Yuki account of the origin of the world ("An Indian Who Gave," 1902:7). An excerpt from this description²⁸⁵ detailing how these two texts were recorded is given below:

It was ascertained that among the Yukis only one old man knew the whole legend of his tribe. From other Yukis part of it could be learned, but he alone could teach it completely. But he was unable to tell it in English. At this point Ralph Moore's services came into use.

Night after night the two worked at it up there at the reservation. Moore went to the old man's home and listened to him while he recounted the myth slowly and laboriously. Over and over his pupil repeated it until he had it perfect. Then he covered it with his best hat, took the Mendocino stage and came to the university.

Down here he devoted the most of his two weeks' time to relating and explaining this myth to the anthropologists. Much of the Yuki language was recorded in this way.

It was first written in the Yuki language as told by the old man. Then it was translated word for word into English. Obscure passages were gone over and explained. Songs occurred in this course of the story and these were recorded

²⁸⁴ An English translation for Moore's Yuki name is not recorded by Kroeber.

²⁸⁵ This description appeared as part of an article ("An Indian Who Gave Our College Professors Pointers") in the *Sunday Call Magazine* of San Francisco, California on March 16, 1902. It describes Kroeber's work with Ralph Moore and the recording of the Yuki creation story and several types of Yuki songs.

carefully. The result is that the Yuki account of the creation is now recorded in its totality and with nearly absolute accuracy.

In 1932, Kroeber published the English version of these two texts along with a number of other texts. In the introduction to that collection, Kroeber (1932:905-6) gives an additional description with other details of his work with Ralph Moore and other consultants who worked with Kroeber to record these Yuki texts²⁸⁶:

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

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

Ralph has an excellent memory, is accurate and conscientious, and worked hard to help me record right. To his personality is due the preservation of these

²⁸⁶ The Roman numeral indexes in Kroeber's description refer to the following Yuki texts: I = Origins: Taikomol, II = Origins: Second Version, III = Origins: Third Version, IV = Coyote and the World, V = Thunder's Twins, VI = Born-by-Washing, VII = Wildcat, VIII = Coyote and Crow, IX = Three Coyote Episodes. I and VIII appear in this collection of Yuki texts.

interesting myths. His contemporaries mostly know less and seem uninterested, the present younger generation on the reservation is almost wholly ignorant of tribal lore, and his elder would have been unable, for temperamental reasons, slowly to dictate long texts consecutively.

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

The third narrative in this collection is an account by Ralph Moore of the *Kopawok* or Feather Dance. The last two narratives are translations by Moore from English into Yuki. These two narratives, *Ents and Upek* and *Ioi*, are Chinook myths recorded and published by Franz Boas (1894). The Yuki translations are based on excerpts of Boas' English translations of these two myths.

1. ORIGINS

Recorded in 1902, Alfred Kroeber (1902b) writes that this myth was told to him by Ralph Moore, but that Moore had been taught the myth by a Yuki speaker named Diddle, who was “recognized as the old man who best knew it [this myth].” In these notes, Kroeber calls this the *Taikomol myth*, but later calls it *Origins* in his (1932) published English translations of the myths that were told to him by Ralph Moore. The English free translations of this myth are taken from one of these translations (Kroeber 1932:906-912).

In comparing the original Yuki recorded in Kroeber’s notes with the translations, it quickly became apparent that the 1932 free translations of *Origins* and *Coyote and the World* were sentence-by-sentence translations of the original Yuki. The free translations are largely unaltered from Kroeber’s original. In rare cases alterations were made when a translation for a particular sentence did not seem to match the original Yuki as well as it could have. Material present in the English translation, but not in the original Yuki, either because of missing pages or other unknown reasons, is given in square brackets. *Origins* is recorded in Notebook 29 (Kroeber 1902b). In some cases Kroeber notes alternate forms. These are given as footnotes in this version. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations of these alternate forms are taken from the glosses provided by Kroeber in his original notes.

- (1) *hi:l* *ʔá:ʔat* *yátʔey*²⁸⁷ *ʔey* *taykómol* *ʔu:kʔop*
hil *ʔat* *yat=ʔi* *=ʔi* *taykomol* *ʔukʔ=op*
 all people be.gone=HSY1? =HSY1 Taykómol water=LAT

kʔakéilmil *čóʔok* *ʔey*
kʔakʔ-k-il=mil *čoʔok* *=ʔi*
 exist-PNCT-MPSV=FIN down.feather =HSY1

‘When all human beings were non-existent, Taykómol in the beginning came into (was in) existence as a down-feather,’

hu:kú:t *hil* *ʔon* *tálop* *ʔú:kič* *nám* *nq*
huʔuʔ-kut *hil* *ʔon* *tq|=op* *ʔukʔ=kič* *nqm* *=nq*
 quit-INCP all earth NEG=while water=only lay =and

pót *nq* *ʔimi* *ʔón* *nqwišiloʔ* *ʔuʔuk* *námmil*
poʔ *=nq* *ʔimi* *ʔon* *nqw=šiloʔ* *ʔukʔ* *nqm=mil*
 grayish.mist =and where? earth see=INFR2 water lay=FIN

‘while the whole earth was not, and only spread-out water and grayish mist lay (as) the earth was invisible;’

ʔiyi *háymasólʔ* *tqł*
ʔiyi *háymas-olʔ* *tqł*
 something how?-AG/INST NEG

‘(it was) as if nothing could be done with it,’

máyʔím *háymasólʔ* *tqł.*
máyʔ-amʔ *háymas-olʔ* *tqł*
 who/someone-NOML? how?-AG/INST NEG

‘no one to do anything with it.’

- (2) *siʔéy* *káʔ* *miʔakʔún* *mi:páʔmikiʔ* *kʔqkmí:li*
si=ʔi *kaʔ* *mi=at-kʔun* *mih-paʔam=kiʔ* *kʔqkʔ-mq-il*
 NEW=HSY1 PRX IPL.INCL=DAT-father be-FUT=DST exist-DIR1?-MPSV?

²⁸⁷ Alternate form given: *yatop*

yat=op

be.gone=when

kí: ?éy ?ú:k'op čó'okšiló? ?ú:sú'op
ki? =?i ?uk'=op čo'ok=šilo? ?usu?=op
 DST =HSY1 water=LAT down.feather=like water.foam=LAT

nəp'ohom nq.
nəp'ohom =nq
 ?²⁸⁸ =and

'Then this our father, who was about to come into existence on the water, entered (was in?) the water-foam like a down-feather.'

- (3) *sá?ey taykómol k'ayyéyammil kimás ?u:sú'ophan.*
sá=?i taykomol k'ay-m=mil kimas ?usu?=op=han
 SAME=HSY1 Taykómol talk-IMPV=FIN thus water.foam=LAT=SUBE
 'And Taykómol was speaking in the foam.'

- (4) *se?ey ?imeymil hulk'ó'i ?im haymas kí mi:hq̄lk*
si=?i ?imi=mil hulk'o'i ?im haymas ki? mih=hq̄l=k
 NEW=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote ? how DST be=INFR1?=DECL

haymás nq̄wihq̄lk.
haymas nq̄w=hq̄l=k
 how see=INFR1?=DECL

'Then Coyote said, "How can he be there? How can he see?"'

- (5) *se?éy ?u:sú'op han taykómol k'ayyeyimi²⁸⁹ ?imeynq.*
si=?i ?usu?=op han taykomol k'ay-y-mi ?imi=nq
 NEW=HSY1 water.foam=LAT but Taykómol talk-PROG-? say=and?
 'And he said, "Taykómol is speaking in the foam."'

- (6) *se?éy háye ki ?u:súmik'ál mi: hóham ?ú:k'op hán.*
si=?i hq̄'aye ki? ?usu?=mik'al mih hoham ?uk'=op han
 NEW=HSY1 now DST water.foam=around be circle? water=LAT but

²⁸⁸ Glossed by Kroeber: 'it was in there with it', 'feather entered the foam repeatedly'.

²⁸⁹ Alternate form given: *k'ayyeyami* 'is talking'.

- (7) *simeyʔéy* *hąʔye* *kʔi* *hít:(i)* *ʔimeymil* *ki* *hulkʔóʔi*
si=mi=ʔi *hąʔqye* *kiʔ* *hiṭ* *ʔimi=mil* *kiʔ* *hulkʔoʔi*
 NEW=then?=HSY1 now DST stop say=FIN DST Coyote

hąymas *kiʔ* *mi:hąk.*
hąymas *kiʔ* *mih=hąk=k*
 how DST be=INFR1?=DECL

‘And, “(Just) now the foam was spinning on the water, but now it stopped”,
 said that Coyote; “How can he be there?”’

- (8) *są* *ki* *ʔu:súʔ* *ʔiyithan* *ʔey* *kʔymílmil.*
są *kiʔ* *ʔusuʔ* *ʔiy=iṭ=han* *=ʔi* *kʔy=mil=mil*
 SAME? DST water.foam what=JXT=SUBE =HSY1 talk-?=FIN
 ‘And from the foam (Taykómol) talked.’

- (9) ***ʔímšaʔ***²⁹⁰ ***ʔą*** ***hąymátli*** ***koʔ***²⁹¹ *ʔimeymil* *ki* *ʔu:sú* *huyítpis.*
ʔimšaʔ *ʔą* *hąymatli* *koʔ* *ʔimi=mil* *kiʔ* *ʔusuʔ* *huy=iṭ=pis*
 what will.I.do say=FIN DST water.foam middle=JXT=ABL
 “‘What shall I do?’” that one said from out of the foam.’

- (10) *sąʔéy* *hąye* *kʔymílmil*
są=ʔi *hąʔqye* *kʔy=mil=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 now talk-?=FIN
 ‘So now he spoke:’

ʔímša: hąymátliko

ʔimša *hąymatliko*

what will.I.do

“‘What shall I do?’”

²⁹⁰ Alternate form given: *ʔimsaʔ* ‘what’.

²⁹¹ Bolded text is spoken in Huchnom. Kroeber (1902a:3) gives the following explanation: “This spoken phrase is Huchnom language [.] The Huchnom are supposed to be better actors than the Yuki. This is because, they claim, T[aykomol] spoke their language first.”

ʔimeymil kɪʔ ʔu:súʔ šilóʔophan ʔán
 ʔimi=mil kɪʔ ʔusuʔ šiloʔ=op=han ʔan
 say=FIN DST water.foam like=LAT=SUBE long.time

kiʔ ʔú:kʔop taʔðhajkon²⁹² ʔey
 kiʔ ʔukʔ=op taʔ-h-m=kon =ʔi
 DST water=LAT flow-DUR-IMPFV=about? =HSY1
 ‘said that one who looked like foam long floating about on the water;’

háp woʔókesmil.
 hɔp wokʔ-s=mil
 song/sing dance/sing-CAUS?=FIN
 ‘(and) he sang a song.’

- (11) seʔey ʔimeymil kí hulkʔóʔi
 si=ʔi ʔimi=mil kɪʔ hulkʔóʔi
 NEW=HSY1 say=FIN DST Coyote
 ‘Then Coyote said,’

ʔán ʔey ki: há;p
 ʔan =ʔi kɪʔ hɔp
 long.time =HSY1 DST song/sing

kítaʔ tátmilki: kʔqmilki: ʔiyi ki
 kíta tat-mil=kiʔ kʔqʔ-mil=kiʔ ʔiyi kɪʔ
 there good/make-?=DST exist-?=DST? what DST

ʔán háp wó:kesmil.
 ʔan hɔp wokʔ-s=mil
 long.time song/sing dance/sing-CAUS?=FIN
 ‘‘Always that song with which he will make himself, with which he will come
 into existence, always that song he was singing.’’

²⁹² Alternate form given: taʔðhomkon ‘he was floating about’.

- (12) *se'ey* *ʔimeymil* *hulk'ó'i* *sq'ey* *kilímisk*
si=ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *hulk'o'ʔi* *sq=ʔi* *ki-lim-s=k*
 NEW=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote SAME=HSY1 say-?-CONT?=DECL

həp *wá'okesk* ²⁹³ ***ʔimša ʔq həymátliko*** ²⁹⁴ *ʔey* *ʔimeymil*
həp *wok'-s=k* *ʔimša ʔq həymatliko* =ʔi *ʔimi=mil*
 song/sing dance/sing-CONT?=DECL what.will.I.do =HSY1 say=FIN

ki *há:p* *hu'úsik.*
ki' *həp* *hu'u'-s=k*
 DST song/sing quit-CAUS=DECL

'And Coyote said, "Singing that song he says, 'What shall I do?', and having said that he ceases his song'"

- (13) *se'ey* *nəwik* *hulk'ó'i* *ʔimeymil.*
si=ʔi *nəw=k* *hulk'o'ʔi* *ʔimi=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 see=DECL Coyote say=FIN
 'Thus Coyote said watching.'

- (14) *káyt* *kíp* *k'ək'ísínamlík* *ki* *wí:tiḥál(i)namlíkí*
kəyt *kip* *k'ək'-s-namli=ki'ʔ* *ki'* *wiṭi=həl=namlí=ki'*
 long.ago 3R exist-CAUS?=DEP=DST? DST ?=INFR1=DEP=DST

ki' *nəw(x)námli'mil'.* ²⁹⁵
ki' *nəw=namlí=mil*
 DST see=DEP=?

'He who long ago had come into existence himself, and for that it was he could watch him, it seems.'

- (15) *se'ey* *həye* *ki:* *mi'ak'un'* *k'əkmí:li* *ʔey*
si=ʔi *həq'əye* *ki'* *mi'q-k'un'* *k'ək'-mə-il* =ʔi
 NEW=HSY1 now DST 1PL.KIN.POSS-father exist-DIR1?-MPSV? =HSY1

²⁹³ Alternate form given: *wó'okesk* 'sings'.

²⁹⁴ Bolded text spoken in Huchnom.

²⁹⁵ <x> presumably refers to a voiceless velar fricative.

ki č'o'okšiló' ?ú:k'op mik'al ta'óhamwički:
 ki' č'o'ok=šilo' ?uk'=op =mik'al ta²-h-m-wiṭ=ki'
 DST down.feather-like water=LAT =around flow-DUR-IMPV-FV-PST2=DST

?ey k'i hí:ṭmil.
 =?i ki' hiṭ=mil
 =HSY1 DST stop=FIN

'Now that our father was about to come into existence, he who had been floating in a circle on the water like a down-feather stopped moving.'

- (16) se'éy mip'án k'áklamil kiṭá' ?u:sú'ophan.
 si=?i mipan k'ák'-lám=mil kiṭa ?usu'=op=han
 NEW=HSY1 foot exist-INCH=FIN there water.foam=LAT=SUBE
 'Then his feet began to come into existence there in the foam.'

- (17) se'éy ?án ki matlám(i) ?éy mi'íl k'áklamil.
 si=?i ?an ki' mat-lám =?i mil' k'ák'-lám=mil
 NEW=HSY1 long.time DST do-INCH =HSY1 leg exist-INCH=FIN
 'Then it was long going on that way and his legs came into existence.'²⁹⁶

- (18) se'ey ?atá' šul k'áklamil
 si=?i ?ata' šul k'ák'-lám=mil
 NEW=HSY1 again body exist-INCH=FIN

kiṭá ?u:sú'ophan.
 kiṭa ?usu'=op=han
 there water.foam=LAT=SUBE

'And again his body began to take form there in the foam.'

- (19) se'éy háye mahič nq kiṭa mi'pát k'áklamil.
 si=?i ha'aye mahič =nq kiṭa mipat k'ák'-lám=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now arm =and there hand exist-INCH=FIN
 'Then now his arms and hands appeared.'

²⁹⁶ Translation not included in Kroeber (1932).

- (20) *simeyéy haye nán k'áklamil.*
si=mi=?i hq'aye nan k'ák'-lám=mil
 NEW=then=HSY1 now head exist-INCH=FIN
 'Then also his head appeared.'
- (21) *sópey húlyo' náhin húl na' hánṭil kimás ?iy*
sop=?i hulyo' nahan hul =nq hanṭ'il ki'-mas =?i
 ?=HSY1 face mouth eye =HSY1 nose DST-DSTR =HSY1
- k'áklamil mí'aka húlyo'át kimás*
k'ák'-lám=mil mi=qt-ka?? hulyo'=qt ki'-mas
 exist-INCH=FIN 1PL.INCL=DAT-PRX? face=DAT DST-DSTR
- ?iy k'áklamil.*
=?i k'ák'-lám=mil
 =HSY1 exist-INCH=FIN
 'And so his face, mouth, eyes, and nose, came into existence, like our own face they came into existence.'
- (22) *sá'ey hi:l k'ák'ísto ?ey k'qymílmil ki taykomol.*
sq=?i hil k'ák'-sto =?i k'qy-mil=mil ki? taykomol
 SAME=HSY1 all exist-? =HSY1 talk-?=FIN DST Taykómol
 'And being altogether in existence, Taykómol spoke.'
- (23) *se'ey ?ímeymil ki hulk'ó'i nq'wik*
si=?i ?imi=mil ki? hulk'o'i nqw=k
 NEW=HSY1 say=FIN DST Coyote see=DECL
 'And Coyote watching said,'
- sikí taykómol*
si=ki taykomol
 NEW=therefore? Taykómol

*yu'q̄lilhq̄li*²⁹⁷ *ho'ot̄* *ʔu:k'ómommil* *ʔiy*
yu'q̄-l-il=hq̄li *hoṭ* *ʔuk'-ʔomom=mil* =ʔi
 put.on-?-PFV-MPSV=INFR1? large water-sound=FIN =HSY1
 “Now as Taykómol was as if putting on his spreading headdress, the water
 resounded loudly”,’

ʔimeymil *hulk'o'ʔi*
ʔimi=mil *hulk'o'ʔi*
say=FIN Coyote
 ‘said Coyote.’

- (24) *se'éy* *haye* *hulk'ó'q̄* *k'aymilmil* *ki* *taykómol*
si=ʔi *hq̄'aye* *hulk'o'ʔi=q̄* *k'ay=mil=mil* *kiʔ* *taykomol*
 NEW=HSY1 now Coyote=PAT talk-?=FIN DST Taykómol
 ‘Now Taykómol spoke to Coyote,’

káyt *t'u:* *hópišto*²⁹⁸
kayt *t'uh* *hop-što*
 long,ago heart eager?-?
 ‘already his heart being eager (hasty, uneasy),’

káyt *ʔá:tat* *k'q̄kéšto*.²⁹⁹
kayt *ʔatat* *k'q̄k'-što*
 long,ago people exist-?
 ‘already having taken human form.’

²⁹⁷ *nan yu'* is ‘headdress’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:103), thus it is possible that *yu'* either is derived from this term or specifically related to the actions associated with wearing a headdress (*nan* means ‘head’). It may also be connected with the verb *yuy'*- ‘do, make’.

²⁹⁸ *hop* ‘light in weight, thin’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:257). Kroeber glosses *hopišto* as ‘in a hurry, anxious’ in (24) and as ‘anxious’ in (25).

²⁹⁹ Alternate form given: *k'q̄kišto* ‘turned’.

- (25) *se'áy* *há:p* *'ey* *hušk'ayesmil*³⁰⁰ *hulk'ó'q*
si=?i *həp* *=?i* *hušk'ay-s=mil* *hulk'ó'i=q*
 NEW=HSY1 song/sing =HSY1 tell-CAUS?=FIN Coyote=PAT
 'His song he taught (told) to Coyote,'

ká *há:p* *wó:kšinik* *'əjk'i:kan'*
ka' *həp* *wok'-s-nik* *'am-k'ikan'*
 PRX song/sing dance/sing-CAUS-NEC 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother's.brother
 "To go to sing this song, my mother's brother,"

kəyt *mámi* *'iwop* *mihik* *'imilkin'*
kəyt *mami* *'iwop* *mih=k* *'imi=mil-kin'*
 long.ago? ? man be=DECL say=FIN-?

kəytməy *t'u:* *hopíšta*
kəytməy *t'uh* *hop-što*
 long.ago? heart eager?-?
 "long ago you said you were a man, long ago I have been eager,"

'imeymil *taykomol.*
'imi=mil *taykomol*
 say=FIN Taykómol
 'said Taykómol.'

- (26) *se'áy* *ki* *taykomol* *həp* *wóktmil.*
si=?i *ki'* *taykomol* *həp* *wok'-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 DST Taykómol song/sing dance/sing-TR=FIN
 'So Taykómol sang his song.'

³⁰⁰ *hušk'ay-* appears with the meanings 'teach' and 'tell' in the texts; 'tell' is used as the gloss as it seems to be the meaning at the base of the other meanings that Kroeber recorded for this verb. While, *k'ay-* is 'talk', the meanings given by Sawyer and Schlichter (1984) for *huš* are 'happy' and 'sweet'. Thus *hušk'ay-* may be a compound of these two words, though for reasons which are not currently understood completely.

- (27) *se'áy hulk'ó'i hɔp nánesmil.*
si=?i hulk'ó'i hɔp nan-s=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote song/sing help-CAUS?=FIN
 'And Coyote tried to help him sing (with lisping s-sounds injected)³⁰¹.'

- (28) *sopéy taykómola mu:š'ɣɔkilmil kimilmil.*
sop=?i taykomol=q muš-q?-k-il=mil ki=mil=mil
 ?=HSY1 Taykómol=PAT laugh-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN say-?=FIN
 'And because of that Taykómol said he felt like laughing.'

- (29) *se'áy ?ɔp lákmi?kíta*
si=?i ?ɔp lak'-m=kíta
 NEW=HSY1 1SG.AGT emerge-IMPFV=when

ka há:p wóktlin?k
ka? hɔp wok'-tl-nik
 PRX song/sing dance/sing-TR-NEC
 "As I emerge, I go to sing this song,"

?imeymil ki taykomol hulk'ó'q.
?imi=mil ki? taykomol hulk'ó'i=q
 say=FIN DST Taykómol Coyote=PAT
 'he said to Coyote.'

- (30) *se'áy háye ki hɔp kútitmil taykómol.*
si=?i hɔq'aye ki? hɔp kut-t=mil taykomol
 NEW=HSY1 now DST song/sing start-INTR=FIN Taykómol
 'And [Taykómol] began to sing that song.'

- (31) *se'áy háye hulk'ó'i ki: hɔp wóktlmil*
si=?i hɔq'aye hulk'ó'i ki? hɔp wok'-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now Coyote DST song/sing dance/sing-TR=FIN
 'Now Coyote sang that song.'

³⁰¹ Kroeber's comment: "This song C[oyote] sings lisping, with many interjected s."

káyt [?]*ey* *nak'óhimil* ³⁰²
káyt =[?]*i* *nqk'oh=mil*
 long.ago =HSY1 teach=FIN
 'already (Taykómol) having taught him.'

mí[?]ma [?]*ank'í:kan'*
mi[?]-ma [?]*am-k'ikan'*
 2SG.AGT-? 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother's.brother

[?]*íwop* *mihi kímilkin'*
[?]*íwop* *mih ki=mil-kin'*
 man be say-?-?
 "You said, my mother's brother, that you were a man;"

- (32) *hóy* [?]*imí:k* *kiṭkí* [?]*áq* [?]*íwop* *míhi kímilmil'*
hoy [?]*imi=k* =*kiṭ=ki?* [?]*aq* [?]*iwop* *mih ki-mil=mil*
 too? say=DECL =when?=DST? 1SG.AGT man be say-?=FIN

[?]*imeymil* *taykómola* *hqmilisk* *ki* *hulk'ó'i.*
[?]*imi=mil* *taykomol=q* *hq[?]-mil-s=k* *ki?* *hulk'ó'i*
 say=FIN Taykómol=PAT listen-?-CAUS?=DECL DST Coyote
 "I do not know why I said I was a man," Coyote said answering Taykómol (in song).'

- (33) *se[?]éy* *haye* *kí* *taykómol* [?]*u:kpis*
si=[?]i *hq[?]aye* *ki?* *taykomol* [?]*uk'=pis*
 NEW=HSY1 now DST Taykómol water=ABL

³⁰² The stress pattern of this verb suggests that the root is a compound. In this case, the first syllable *nq-* could be the body prefix (see Table 6) associated with the head. The second syllable *k'oh-* could perhaps be analyzed as the verb *k'o-* 'get in, put' followed by the durative suffix *-h*, yielding a meaning along the lines of 'to get into the head on an ongoing basis'.

tʰʷqk šúštlmil.³⁰³

tʰʷ-qk šuš-tl=mil

fly-SEM stand-TR=FIN

‘Now Taykómol leaped from the water and stood.’

- (34) *sopéy kíṭa hulk’o’i ki’q:tap pántlilmil.*
sop=?i kíṭa hulk’o’i ki’=qt=ap pan-tl-il=mil
 but=HSY1 there Coyote DST=DAT=LAT hang-TR-MPSV=FIN
 ‘And because of that Coyote hung himself on him.’

- (35) *sq’éy ki hulk’ó’i héy héy héy šahahaha ---- híi*
sq=?i ki’ hulk’o’i hey hey hey šahahaha híi
 SAME=HSY1 DST Coyote hey hey hey šahahaha híi

ʔiyi ʔimik kak’ikúhtkiwit šiló’ ko’otmil taykomol.
 =ʔi ʔimi=k kak’-kuhtki=wit =šilo’ ko’-t=mil taykomol
 =HSY1 say=DECL ?-north=ALL =INFR2 go-INTR=FIN Taykómol

‘And as Coyote said: “Hey hey hey šahahaha híi”, Taykómol went as if toward the north.’

- (36) *sopéy kíṭa ʔán p’anmil ki hulk’ó’i.*
sop=?i kíṭa ʔan pan=mil ki’ hulk’o’i
 ?-HSY1 there long.time hang=FIN DST Coyote
 ‘But Coyote hung there.’³⁰⁴

- (37) *se’éy kipqawíyet wíttlilmil taykómol.*
si=?i kipqaw=iṭ wiṭ-tl-il=mil taykomol
 NEW=HSY1 back=JXT turn-TR-MPSV=FIN Taykómol
 ‘And Taykómol turned back.’

³⁰³ This verb root šuš- occurs with the meaning ‘sit’ in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984), which they attribute to Kroeber. However, Kroeber glosses šúštlmil as ‘stood up’ in his recording of *Origins*.

³⁰⁴ (36) - (40) are not given an English free translation by Kroeber (1932). The translations are my attempt at translating these clauses. The gloss of *p’an-* in (36) and *pan-* (39) is based on Kroeber’s translation of (34), with *pan* ‘hang’. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:280, 284) define *pan-* as ‘hang, nest, fall’ and *p’an-* as ‘fall’. *kilimismil* in (40) is glossed as ‘said all the time’ by Kroeber in the original notes.

- (43) *sąkitéy* *ʔaŋk'i:k'án'* *mis* *hamlo'ótha*
są=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔam-k'ikan'* *mis* *hamlot'-ha*
 SAME=then=HSY1 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother's.brother 2SG.PAT hungry-Q
 'Thereupon, "My mother's brother, are you hungry?"'

ʔim *kíwismil* *hulk'o'ǎ.*
ʔim *kiw-s=mil* *hulk'o'ʔi=q*
 thus ask-CAUS?=FIN Coyote=PAT
 'thus he asked Coyote.'

- (44) *se'éy* *hulk'o'ʔi* *ʔǎ* *ʔimeymil.*
si=ʔi *hulk'o'ʔi* *ʔǎ* *ʔimi=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote yes say=FIN
 'And Coyote said, "Yes".'

- (45) *se'éy* *kipat* *šúlpis* *hąwáyi* *láktilmil*
si=ʔi *kip=qt* *šul=pis* *hąwqy* *lak'-t-il=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 3R=DAT body=ABL food/eat emerge-INTR-MPSV=FIN

pokom *hú:tmil* *nq* *šqč* *hútmil* *nq*
pokom *hu'utmil* =*nq* *šqč* *hu'utmil* =*nq*
 digger.pine.nut bread =and sugar.pine.nut bread =and

ʔolmam *hú:tmil* *nq.*
ʔolmam *hu'utmil* =*nq*
 hazelnut bread =and

'So from his own body (Taykómol) took out food, diggerpine-nut bread, and sugarpine-nut bread, and hazelnut bread.'

- (46) *sǎ'ey* *hoṭ* *kimás* *hąwáyi* *kípat* *t'ú'ąki* *ʔeyy*
są=ʔi *hoṭ* *ki'-mas* *hąwqy* *kip=qt* *t'u'-qk* =*ʔi*
 SAME=HSY1 much DST-DSTR food/eat 3R=DAT lay-SEM =HSY1
 'So he laid down much food for him.'

?imeymil hulk'ó'i.
 ?imi=mil hulk'ó'i
 say=FIN Coyote
 'Coyote told (later)'

- (47) sqk̄itey ?onp̄ákili³⁰⁶ nan̄k̄ili³⁰⁷
 sq=k̄iṭ=?ey ?on-pan?-k?-il? n̄m-k-il
 SAME=then=HSY1 earth-hang?-PNCT?-MPSV? lay-PNCT-MPSV
 'Thereupon he lay prone,'

?imeymil hulk'ó'i.
 ?imi=mil hulk'ó'i
 say=FIN Coyote
 'Coyote said.'

- (48) sq kimás n̄ámik h̄ap wó'ok̄ši
 sq kimas n̄m=k h̄ap wok'-s
 SAME thus lay=DECL song/sing dance/sing-CONT?
 'And lying so he sang,'

?imeymil hulk'ó'i.
 ?imi=mil hulk'ó'i
 say=FIN Coyote
 'Coyote said.'

- (49) sík̄iṭ h̄awáysami k̄imilmil hulk'ó'i
 si=k̄iṭ h̄away-s-m ki=mil=mil hulk'ó'i
 NEW=then food/eat-CONT?-IMPFV say-?=FIN Coyote
 'Then as he was eating, Coyote said,'

ká:čma? taykómol míhi
 ka?áčam=a taykomol mih
 bad=? Taykómol be
 "“Bad is Taykómol”,’

³⁰⁶ Kroeber glosses ?onp̄ákili 'with face to the ground'.

³⁰⁷ Alternate form given: nan̄k̄ili 'he lay'.

ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi
 ʔimi=mil hulk'óʔi
 say=FIN Coyote
 'said Coyote.'

taykómola šaykínaʔ³⁰⁸ míhi
 taykomol=a šay-kin=a mih
 Taykómol=? raw/alive-stinking=? be
 "Stinking (raw) is Taykómol",'

ʔey ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi.
 =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulk'óʔi
 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
 'said Coyote.'

- (50) huʔkú:t ʔiy hilkšiloʔ tɔlop ʔey kipat č'áwpis
 huʔuʔ-kut =ʔi hilkšiloʔ tɔl=op =ʔi kip=qt č'qw=pis
 quit-INCP =HSY1 everything NEG=when =HSY1 3R=DAT entrails=ABL

ʔey taykómol hilkšiloʔ la:k'á:lilmil kí:laʔ
 =ʔi taykomol hilkšiloʔ lak'-q-l-il=mil ki'-la
 =HSY1 Taykómol everything emerge-?-PFV-MPSV=FIN DST-INST

ʔon ʔuh(u)mikí: káyt hi:l ʔá:tat šu:lišto.
 ʔon ʔuh-m=kiʔ káyt hil ʔatát šul-sto
 earth sew-IMPFV=DST long.ago all people body-?

'In the beginning when it seemed as if there was nothing, Taykómol took from out of himself all that with which he would sew the earth, having already all the body of a person.'

- (51) sáʔey hulk'óʔq wíčtilmil ʔon ʔuhmikí:
 sáʔ=ʔi hulk'óʔi=q wič-t-il=mil ʔon ʔuh-m=kiʔ
 SAME=NEW Coyote=PAT work-INTR-MPSV=FIN earth sew-IMPFV=DST
 'And he made Coyote work for him as he was about to sew the earth.'

³⁰⁸ Kroeber's note on šaykínaʔ: "said of blood, menstruation".

- (52) *sáʔey* *sóʔonšiloʔp* *ʔiyi* *ʔi:mísimil.*
sá=ʔi *sonʔ=šiloʔ=op* *ʔiyi* *ʔim-s=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 tules/rushes=like=LAT? what? try-CAUS?=FIN
 ‘He tried (to make it) as it seemed of rushes,’
- (53) *sáʔéy* *kiṭá* *mačálma* *páʔiyimímil.*
sá=ʔi *kiṭa* *mačalam=qʔ* *paʔ-y-m=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 there elbow=OBL get.up-PROG-IMPV=FIN
 ‘and raised himself on it with his elbow,’
- (54) *seʔey* *hąčʔám* *tąlámmit.*
si=ʔi *hąčʔam* *tał-m=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 strong NEG-IMPV=FIN
 ‘but it was not strong (enough).’
- (55) *sákiṭéy* *ki* *titóʔolop* *ʔu:hąkmil.*
sá=kiṭ=ʔi *kiʔ* *titol=op* *ʔuh-qk=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 DST coiling=LAT sew-SEM=FIN
 ‘So he sewed it on a coiled foundation (“warp” or ridge of a coiled basket);’
- (56) *sáʔey* *kipát* *čʔáwpis* *kʔit kʔila*
sá=ʔi *kip=qṭ* *čʔaw=pis* *kʔit kʔiʔ-la*
 SAME=HSY1 3R=DAT entrails=ABL awl DST-INST

ʔú(h)mol *laʔekʔekimil.*
ʔuh-molʔ *lakʔ-q-k-il=mil*
 sew-AG/INST emerge-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘an awl to sew it with he took out of his own body,’
- (57) *sáʔéy* *hąp* *woʔókesmil.*
sá=ʔi *hąp* *wokʔ-s=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 song/sing dance/sing-CAUS?=FIN
 ‘and sang.’

- (58) *sąkitéy* *ʔú:k'op* *táʔik* *ʔú:hmil.*
są=kit=ʔi *ʔuk'=op* *taʔ=k* *ʔuh=mil*
 SAME-then=HSY1 water=LAT float=DECL sew=FIN
 'So he sewed floating on the water.'
- (59) *seʔéy* *ʔimeymil* *hulk'oʔi* *nąw(w)ik.*
si=ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *hulk'oʔi* *nąw=k*
 NEW=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote see=DECL
 'Thus said Coyote watching.'
- (60) *sąʔey* *taykómol* *kíta* *pá* *ʔími* *ʔúnšil* *hąko:hana.*³⁰⁹
są=ʔi *taykomol* *kíta* *paʔ* *ʔim* *ʔunšil* *hąkoha=na*
 SAME=HSY1 Taykómol there get.up try small loose=and?
 'And then, Taykómol trying to raise himself on it, it was (still) a little loose.'
- (61) *siʔéy* *hąye* *kiʔa* *hulk'oʔá* *t'uynaʔákinat* *t'uy*
si=ʔi *hąʔaye* *kiʔ=q* *hulk'oʔi=q* *t'uynaʔakin=q* *t'uy*
 NEW=HSY1 now DST=PAT Coyote=PAT T'uynaʔakin=DAT pitch
- tu:nóhanamlikí:* *ʔey* *hulk'óʔa* *ʔút'in'*
tunoh-a=namlí=kiʔ *=ʔi* *hulk'oʔi=q* *ʔut'-n*
 keep-?=DEP=DST =HSY1 Coyote=PAT give-AND
- ʔimeymil* *taykómol.*
ʔimi=mil *taykomol*
 say=FIN Taykómol
 'So now he told Coyote to go to bring the pitch which T'uynaʔákin (a small bird) had where he lived.'
- (62) *siʔéy* *hulk'óʔi* *kó:ti* *t'uynaʔákin* *nóʔonamlikíʔ*
si=ʔi *hulk'oʔi* *koʔ-t* *t'uynaʔákin* *noʔ=namlí=kiʔ*
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote go-INTR T'uynaʔákin live=DEP=DST

³⁰⁹ Alternate form given: *hąko:čna* 'it was loose, it was not quite solid.' Also, *hąkoč* 'bad' (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:255).

*t'óhtli*³¹⁰ ?ey *kíwismil*.
t'ok-tl =?i *kiw-s=mil*
 arrive-TR =HSY1 ask-CAUS?=FIN

'Then Coyote going to where T'uyna'ákin lived, and arriving there, asked him,'

- (63) *kí:la* ?on ?úh'arjk ?ey *t'úy* *mis* *kíwisik*
ki'-la ?on ?uh-m=k =?i *t'uy* *mis* *kiw-s=k*
 DST-INST earth sew-IMPV=DECL =HSY1 pitch 2SG.PAT ask-CAUS?=DECL

taykómol ?i:y
taykomol =?i
 Taykómol =HSY1

“For that with which he will sew the earth, Taykómol asks for your pitch”;

?ímeymil *hulk'ó'i*.
 ?imi=mil *hulk'o'i*
 say=FIN Coyote
 'said Coyote.'

- (64) *se?ey* *t'uyna'ákin* ?áha *mi?at* ?on *míhiko'i:*
si=?i *t'uyna'ákin* ?áha *mi=qt* ?on *mih-ko'i:*
 NEW=HSY1 T'uyna'ákin yes 1PL.INCL=DAT earth be-?
 'And T'uyna'ákin, “Yes, our earth it is,”

mi?at *mi:pa'á:č* ?ey
mi=qt *mih-pa'-ač* =?i
 1PL.INCL=DAT be-FUT-? =HSY1
 “ours shall it be”;

?ímeymil *t'uyna'ákin*.
 ?imi=mil *t'uyna'ákin*
 say=FIN T'uyna'ákin
 'T'uyna'ákin said,'

³¹⁰ Alternate form given: *t'óktli* 'he got there'.

- (65) *sáʔey* *ʔú:tʰmil* *tʰúy* *hulkʰoʰá.*
sq=ʔi *ʔutʰ=ʰmil* *tʰuy* *hulkʰoʰi=q*
 SAME=HSY1 give=FIN pitch Coyote=PAT
 ‘and handed the pitch to Coyote.’
- (66) *seʰéy* *kimáš* *ʔutʰi:li* *kipáwkʰil* *kómmil.*
si=ʔi *kimas* *ʔutʰ-ilʔ* *kipáw=kʰil* *kom=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 thus give-MPSV? back=TERM come=FIN
 ‘So carrying it he came back.’
- (67) *sáʔey* *ʔú:t(e)mil* *taykómola.*
sq=ʔi *ʔutʰ=ʰmil* *taykomol=q*
 SAME=HSY1 give=FIN Taykómol=PAT
 ‘and gave it to Taykómol.’
- (68) *seʰéy* *háye* *kí:la* *ʔon* *hąčámečyakmil*
si=ʔi *hąʔqye* *kiʰ-la* *ʔon* *hąčʰam-t-qk=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 now DST-INST earth strong-INTR-SEM=FIN
- ʔon* *kú:tčam.*
ʔon *kut=ič-qm*
 earth root=JXT-IN2
 ‘Then he now made the earth fast (strong) at its root.’
- (69) *sąkįey* *kiřá* *paʰ* *ʔimimil* *titó:lop.*
sq=kiř=ʔi *kiřa* *paʰ* *ʔim=mil* *titol=op*
 SAME=then=HSY1 there get.up try=FIN coiling=LAT
 ‘Thereupon he tried there to raise himself on the coiling.’
- (70) *seʰéy* *hąčámmil* *ʔúnšil.*
si=ʔi *hąčʰam=mil* *ʔunšil*
 NEW=HSY1 strong=FIN small
 ‘Now it was a little solid.’

- (71) *sq[?]ey* *háye* *w'íy'³¹¹* *ʔímeymil.*
sq=[?]i *hq[?]aye* *w'iy'* *ʔimi=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 now w'iy' say=FIN
 'Then he said, "Weyyi"³¹²,'

- (72) *sikiṭ[?]ey* *hílk'il* *ʔon* *tínti:li* *šiló[?]otmil³¹³*
si=kiṭ=[?]i *hilk'il* *ʔon* *tintil* *=šilo[?]-t=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 everywhere earth level =INFR2-INTR=FIN
 'and in every direction ("toward all") the earth seemed to be (spread out)
 level,'

tát *ʔon* *nám'ti*
tat *ʔon* *nəm-t*
 good/make earth lay-INTR
 'lying there a good earth,'

ʔíyi *han* *yáqpa* *šiló[?]*
ʔiyi *han* *yáq-pa[?]* *=šilo[?]*
 what but stand-FUT =INFR2
 'nothing appearing to stand on it,'

ʔól *han* *yáqpa* *šiló[?]*
ʔol *han* *yáq-pa[?]* *=šilo[?]*
 tree but stand-FUT =INFR2
 'no trees appearing to stand on it,'

ʔey *tát* *wánawol* *ʔon* *ʔey* *nám'ṭmil.³¹⁴*
=[?]i *tat* *wah-nəw-ol'* *ʔon* *=[?]i* *nəm-t=mil*
 =HSY1 good wide-see-AG/INST? earth =HSY1 lay-INTR=FIN
 'it lay a good earth open to view.'

³¹¹ Alternate form given: *weyyi*.

³¹² *w'iy'* / *weyyi* is an exclamation. *w'iy'* is written as *wiy!* by Kroeber. It is unclear whether he is indicating an exclamation with <!> or glottalization.

³¹³ Alternate form given: *šiló[?]otmil* 'like'.

³¹⁴ Alternate form given: *nám'ṭmil* 'lay'.

- (75) *sąkimás* *hi:l* *ʔon* *huʔútli* *ki* *ʔey* *hąye* *ʔu:khót*
są=kimas *hil* *ʔon* *huʔuʔ-tl* *kiʔ* *=ʔi* *hąʔąye* *ʔukʔ-hoʔ*
 SAME=thus all earth quit-TR DST =HSY1 now water-large

mi:paʔmiki: *húykot* *ʔuʔ* *namtlmil*
mih-paʔam=kiʔ *huy-kot* *ʔukʔ* *nəm-tl=mil*
 be-FUT=DST half-LOC water lay-TR=FIN

‘Thus all the earth being finished, now, (for) the ocean which was to be, he put down water in the middle,’

kátá *mey* *młhikiʔ*
kata *mi* *mih=kiʔ*
 here 1PL.INCL.AGT be=when?

kʔol *ʔaʔat* *ʔan* *kʔolkʔil* *mi:pamiki:*
kʔol *ʔaʔat* *ʔan* *kʔol=kʔil* *mih-paʔam=kiʔ*
 other people long.time other=TERM be-FUT=DST

‘here where we were to be, but other peoples to be in other directions.’

- (76a) *sąʔey* *hąye* *ʔú:kʔit* *tátmikí:* *kíʔa*
są=ʔi *hąʔąye* *ʔukʔ=iʔ* *tat-m=kiʔ* *kíʔa*
 SAME=HSY1 now water=JXT good/make-IMPV=DST there

pąnap *ʔu:kʔimpaʔamiki:*
pąnap *ʔukʔ-ʔimʔ-paʔam=kiʔ*
 right.there water-where?-FUT=DST

‘Now where he would make the shore (water-edge), right there as far as the water would extend,’

- (76b) *sąʔey* *lilšilóʔ* *pátʔwá* *ʔey* *ʔu:kʔiʔ*
są=ʔi *lil=šiloʔ* *patʔ-wahʔ* *=ʔi* *ʔukʔ=iʔ*
 SAME=HSY1 stone=like flat-wide? =HSY1 water=JXT

namtlíkí: ʔey ku:ʔtkí lawótlmil.
 nqm-tl=kiʔ =i kuhtki lawo-tl=mil
 lay-TR=DST =HSY1 north fasten-TR=FIN
 ‘placing something flat and stone-like, he fastened it in the north.’

- (77) sákiṭéy háye hil mik’ál ʔey háye ki: lil pá:t
 sq=kiṭ=iʔ hqʔaye hil =mik’al =i hqʔaye kiʔ lil pat’
 SAME=then=HSY1 now all =around =HSY1 now DST stone flat

šilo:kí: ʔey háye mik’ál ʔu:k’ít t’úʔqki ʔey
 šiloʔ=kiʔ =i hqʔaye =mik’al ʔuk’=it̄ t’uʔq=kiʔ =i
 like=DST =HSY1 now =around water=JXT lay=DST =HSY1

lawóličyakmil.

lawo-lit-qk=mil

fasten-DIR2-SEM=FIN

‘And now setting this which looked like flat stone all around, around the shore (of the earth), he fastened it.’

- (78) sáki:ṭey³¹⁷ kipat ʔq̄tič³¹⁸ yáki taykómol šiloʔič yáki
 sq=kiṭ=iʔ kip=qt ʔq̄t-itʔ? yqk taykomol šiloʔ=iṭʔ? yqk
 SAME=then=HSY1 3R=DAT ?=JXT? stand Taykómol like=JXT? stand

ʔey kíṭa híl’k’il hanóhiṭ yákmil.
 =i kíṭa hil=k’il hanohiṭ yqk=mil
 =HSY1 there all=TERM watch.that,place stand=FIN

‘Then there in all (directions) Taykómol stationed something like himself, set up in his own shape, to watch.’

- (79) sákiṭey kímpis p’ansí:mo:l³¹⁹ ʔonšát’ampa:mikí:
 sq=kiṭ=iʔ kim’=pis p’ans-mol’ ʔonšat’-m-pa’am=kiʔ
 SAME=then=HSY1 over.there=ABL wind-AG/INST storm-IMFPV-FUT=DST

³¹⁷ Alternate form given: sáki:ney ‘and there at those places’.

³¹⁸ May be related to ʔq̄t- ‘wait’ or ʔq̄ti ‘a while’.

³¹⁹ Alternate form given: p’ansí:mok ‘the wind would come’.

ʔiy ʔimeymil taykómol hulk'ó'a kí:laʔ
 =ʔi ʔimi=mil taykomol hulk'ó'i=q kiʔ-la
 =HSY1 say=HSY1 Taykómol Coyote=PAT DST-INST

mi:ttátayk.

miṭ-tat-m=k

sky-good/make-IMPFV=DECL

[‘And now when he was about to make the sky, he caused Coyote to go to the ocean]

to kill four whales and flay them, with which he would make the sky,
 Taykómol told Coyote.’

- (85) seʔéy hulkóʔi kóʔotmil.
 siʔi hulk'óʔi koʔ-t=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote go-INTR=FIN
 ‘So Coyote went.’

- (86) sqʔey ʔómahq:t hqwwhóʔoʔam k'ap'iyakmil.
 sqʔi ʔomahqʔ hqww-hot-am k'ap'-qk=mil
 SAME=HSY1 four fish-large-NOML kill-SEM=FIN

- (87) sqʔey šoʔhók'et'mil.
 sqʔi šoʔhok'-t=mil
 SAME=HSY1 flay-INTR=FIN

- (88) sqʔey kimáš taykómolqtkil ʔú:t'mamil hulk'óʔi.
 sqʔi kiʔ-mas taykomol=qʔ=k'il ʔut'-mq=mil hulk'óʔi
 SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR Taykómol=DAT=TERM give-DIR1=FIN Coyote
 ‘And he slew four whales, and flayed them, and brought them to Taykómol,

[who with them now thought he would make the sky. And Coyote said (to people later) that he himself watched. Then having finished making the sky, “This shall be”, (Taykómol) said. Thereupon, now being about to make human beings, he caused Coyote to build a human house. And Coyote said that he (had) built.”]

- (93) *sáʔey huʔútl(i)mil.*
sq=ʔi huʔuʔ-tl=mil
 SAME=HSY1 quit-TR=FIN
 ‘And finished it.’

- (94) *seʔéy haʔye taykómol ʔálnanátlam kímʔ*
si=ʔi haʔʔaye taykomol ʔal-nan-atlam kimʔ
 NEW=HSY1 now Taykómol stick-head-? over.there

hánʔam tʔuʔíçyakmil hačhílpis.
han-qm tʔuʔ-tʔ-qk=mil hač-hil=pis
 house-IN2 lay-INTR?-SEM=FIN house/camp/floor-all?=ABL
 ‘Now Taykómol laid down sticks with head in that house, all around the sides of the floor.’

- (95) *sáʔey mas tuʔákmil páwi ʔíwis*
sq=ʔi mas tʔuʔ-qk=mil páwi ʔíwis
 SAME=HSY1 thus lay-SEM=FIN one men

mí:pamikimáša ʔey hoʔotmíč tʔú:mil.
mih-paʔam=kiʔ-mas=q =ʔi hoʔ miʔ tʔuʔ=mil
 be-FUT=DST-DSTR=PAT =HSY1 large up/over lay=FIN
 ‘So he laid them (that for) those who would be men he (first) laid larger ones.’

- (96) *sákeyʔéy múšp miʔhqlíkí: ʔúnšilniʔ*
sq=ki=ʔi musp mih=hqli=kiʔ ʔunšil-niʔ
 SAME=and=HSY1 woman be=INFR1=DST small-?

ʔálnanát ʔey ...
ʔal-nan=qt =ʔi
 stick-head=DAT =HSY1
 ‘And (for) those [that] would be a woman he laid smaller sticks with heads,

[close to (the first), and those to be children he laid all around the circle of the floor; thus he placed them. “This I do; but at dawn many children shall play, and elsewhere babies shall cry and there will be great talking”, said Taykómol.]

- (99) ... *kímas hulk'ó'i nq̄whi kímilmil.*
kimas hulk'ó'i nq̄w-h? ki=mil=mil
 thus Coyote see-DUR? say-?=FIN

['And thus] Coyote saw it, he said.'

- (100) *namlíkí: hawlámmop ʔey ho'ot̄ kayitmil háłjaʔ³²¹*
namliki hawlám=op =ʔi hoṭ k'ay-t=mil halč=q
 therefore dawn=LAT =HSY1 large talk-INTR=FIN children=PAT

yí:kili hóyhil sák k'inyáki yú:tmil.
yi²-k-il hoyhil sak k'in-ąk yuy'-t=mil
 play-PNCT?-MPSV? other child cry-SEM do-INTR=FIN

'Which is why at dawn there was a great babble of children playing and elsewhere babies crying.'

- (101) *ki mátpaʔ ʔimeynamliki: ki taykomol.*
kiʔ mat-paʔ ʔimi=namlí=kiʔ kiʔ taykomol
 DST do-FUT say=DEP=DST DST Taykómol

'Thus they did, as he had said it would be, this Taykómol.'

- (102) *sąʔey háye ʔa:át̄ hulk'íląl woknámṭilpa:mikí:*
są=ʔi hąʔaye ʔaṭat hulk'ilal woknam-t-il-paʔam=kiʔ
 SAME=HSY1 now people ghost initiation-INTR-MPSV-FUT=DST

ʔiy háye hulk'ó'a ʔi:mísa ʔey ʔimeymil
=ʔi hąʔaye hulk'óʔi=q ʔim-s-a =ʔi ʔimi=mil
 =HSY1 now Coyote=PAT try-CAUS-IMP? =HSY1 say=FIN

³²¹ Alternate form given: *háłčaʔ* 'children'.

- taykómol* *hulk'ó'a*.
taykomol *hulk'o'i=q*
 Taykómol Coyote=PAT
 'Then now Taykómol told Coyote that he should try that human beings would make the Hulk'ilál initiation.'
- (103) *se'ey* *ʔátéy* *hulk'ilal* *humás*
 si=?i *ʔati* *hulk'ilal* *humás*
 NEW=HSY1 for.a.while ghost straight/correct
- tatísimil* *taykómol*.
tat-s=mil *taykómol*
 good/make-CAUS=FIN Taykómol
 'And for a while Taykómol made real Hulk'ilál for him.'
- (104) *se'ey* *halčá* *náwtámmil* *sákiho'itnom'a*³²²
 si=?i *halč=q* *nqw-t-m=mil* *sákihoṭnom'=q*
 NEW=HSY1 children=PAT see-INTR-IMPSV=FIN Sákihoṭnom'=PAT
- noʔho* *ʔímeyk*.
noʔ-ho *ʔimi=k*
 live-? say=DECL
 'Then he took the children (initiates) to watch where the actual Sákihoṭnom' lived.'
- (105) *sikáʔey* *k'á:p(am)mil*³²³.
 si=ká=?i *k'ap'-(m)=mil*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 kill-(IMPFV)=FIN
 'Thereupon (the initiates) died.'
- (106) *simonʔéy* *hulk'ó'i* *ʔiwilhán* *há:tlmil*.
 si=mon=?i *hulk'o'i* *ʔiwilhan* *háʔ-tl=mil*
 NEW=?=HSY1 Coyote ceremonial.house build-TR=FIN
 'And then Coyote built a ceremonial house.'

³²² *Sákihoṭnom'* 'big spring people, graduates of *hulk'ilal woknam*' (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:199)

³²³ Alternate form given: *k'áptmil* 'they died'.

- (107) *sąk'ámeý kípát hálč woknámłmil.*
są=k'am=?i kíp=ąt hálč woknam-łłmil
 SAME=?=HSY1 3R=DAT children initiation-TR=FIN
 'And in that he initiated his own children.'

- (108) *se'ey sąkilhó:łnom' humąsa młhi 'éý*
si=?i sąkilhołnom' humąs=a mih =?i
 NEW=HSY1 Sąkilhołnom' straight/correct=? be =HSY1

hal(i)č hul'k'ó'ąt k'á'apt(e)łmil.
halč hulk'ó'i=ąt k'ap'-t=łmil
 children Coyote=DAT kill-INTR=FIN
 Then real Sákilhotnom' being in there, Coyote's children died.'

- (109) *se'éý ki hąkóčk 'ey 'imeýmil hulk'ó'i.*
si=?i ki? hąkoč=k =?i 'imi=łmil hulk'ó'i
 NEW=HSY1 DST bad=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
 "That is bad", Coyote said.'

- (110) *si'éý hąye taykomol ...*
si=?i hą'ąye taykomol
 NEW=HSY1 now Taykómol
 'So now Taykómol

[told him "Try raw human beings (actual persons)". Then Coyote tried human beings (to impersonate the ghosts) when he initiated his children (again). And that was good. And, "This will be good", said Taykómol. And therefore people now always do it thus. "It is good, but again it shall not be good",']

- (115a) ... 'imeýmil taykómol hul'k'łlal woknám hą:p
 'imi=łmil taykomol hulk'łlal woknam hąp
 say=FIN Taykómol ghost initiation song/sing

mąý' 'ąttapa' 'an
mąý' 'ął-tął-pa' 'an
 who/someone wait-NEG-FUT long,time

- (115b) *sikiṭ* ^ʔ*an* *k'o^ʔiyąklikí:* ^ʔ*an* ^ʔ*ąṭpa^ʔ.*
si=kiṭ ^ʔ*an* *k'o^ʔ-ąk-likí* ^ʔ*an* ^ʔ*ąṭ-pa^ʔ*
 NEW=then long.time be.in-SEM-? long.time wait-FUT
 ‘Taykómol said; ‘one shall not ever beat time for the *Hulk’ílál*-initiation songs (in vain), but when he has them (seriously) in mind, then he shall beat time for them.’

- (116) *sąkí:* *tát* ^ʔ*ey* *máktpa^ʔ* *tát’ą* *mil*
są=ki *tat* =^ʔ*i* *mak’-t-pa^ʔ* *tat=a* *mil*
 SAME=and good/make =HSY1 wake-INTR-FUT good/make=? meat/deer

táyypa *tát’ą* *hąw* *t’ukłpa*
ṭay-m-pa^ʔ *tat=a* *hąw* *t’uk’-tl-pa^ʔ*
 cut-IMPFV-FUT good/make=? fish hit/kick/stab-TR-FUT

tát’ą *šišlúl* ^ʔ*ąwyakpa* ^ʔ*imeyk* *mihin^ʔk*
tat=a *šiš-lul* ^ʔ*aw-ąk-pa^ʔ* ^ʔ*imi=k* *mih-nik*
 good/make=? squirrel-fat eat-SEM-FUT say=DECL be-NEC

hulk’ílal *woknám* *hąp* *k’ó^ʔąlilki:*
hulk’ílal *woknam* *hąp* *k’ó^ʔ-ą-l-il=ki^ʔ*
 ghost initiation song/sing be.in-?-PFV-MPSV=DST

^ʔ*iy* ^ʔ*imeymil* *taykómol.*
 =^ʔ*i* ^ʔ*imi=mil* *taykomol*
 =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol

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

- (117) *sikiṭ* *ka* *yuyimikítą* *ną* *ka* *nąwi^ʔíkita*
si=kiṭ *ka^ʔ* *yuy’-m=kiṭa* =*ną* *ka^ʔ* *nąw=kiṭa*
 NEW=then PRX do-IMPFV=when =and PRX see=when

<i>hilkónwa</i>	<i>hqwáyikil</i>	<i>tqłt'ílin(i)k</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>
<i>hilkonwa</i>	<i>hqwáy-k-il</i>	<i>tqł-t-il-nik</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>
anything.anyway	food/eat-PNCT-MPSV	NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC	say=FIN

taykomol hulk'o'á.

taykomol hulk'o'ʔi=q

Taykómol Coyote=PAT

“‘And when they shall be doing this and when they watch this (rite), they shall cause them not to eat any kind of food (i.e., refrain from meat and fat) in any manner”, Taykómol said to Coyote.’

- (118) *sq̄k̄itey* *háye* *kipát* *hqpút* *ʔey* *kípat* *múšp'a*
sq=kiṭ=ʔi *hqʔaye* *kip=qṭ* *hqpṭ* *=ʔi* *kip=qṭ* *musp=q*
 SAME=then=HSY1 now 3R=DAT rib =HSY1 3R=DAT woman=PAT

k'qk'ésimil.

k'qk'-s=mil

exist-CAUS=FIN

‘And now his rib he made come into existence as his wife.’

- (119) *sq̄ʔey* *ʔa:ṭát* *múyispamikí:* *ʔey*
sq=ʔi *ʔaṭat* *muy-s-paʔam=kiʔ* *=ʔi*
 SAME=HSY1 people copulate-CAUS-FUT=DST =HSY1

páy *tatísimil.*

páy *tat-s=mil*

vagina good/make-CAUS=FIN

‘And he made (her) vagina so that people would have intercourse.’

- (120) *sq̄k'ey'éy* *tíma* *ʔi:mísimil.*
sq=ki=ʔi *ṭima* *ʔim-s=mil*
 SAME=and=HSY1 self try-CAUS?=FIN

‘Thereupon he tried it himself.’

- (121) *se'ey* *hąkóčmil.*
si=?i *hąkoč=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 bad=FIN
 'And it was unsatisfactory.'
- (122) *se'ey* *kó'inum* *?iy* *níh?íyi* *míštlmil.*
si=?i *k'o?i-nu?-am?* *=?i* *nih=i* *mih-s-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 gopher-sand-NOML? =HSY1 hole=IN be-CAUS-TR=FIN
 'So he caused gopher-soil to be in the opening.'
- (123) *sąk'ey?ey* *tíma* *hąšá* *?i:mísimil.*
są=ki=?i *řima* *hąšą?* *?im-s=mil*
 SAME=and=HSY1 self again try-CAUS?=FIN
 'Thereupon again he himself tried it.'
- (124) *se'ey* *ki* *?atá* *hąkóčmil.*
si=?i *ki?* *?ata?* *hąkoč=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 DST again bad=FIN
 'And once more it was unsatisfactory.'
- (125) *se'ey* *hąye* *?u:khóřítóp* *nú?han* *ki* *míhi*
si=?i *hą?qye* *?uk'-hoř=iř=op* *nu?=han* *ki?* *mih*
 NEW=HSY1 now water-large=JXT=LAT sand-SUBE DST be

ki: *?íy* *hąye* *níhi?íy* *mihłmil.*
ki? *=?i* *hą?qye* *nih=i* *mih-tl=mil*
 DST =HSY1 now hole=IN be-TR=FIN
 'So now the sand which is on the ocean shore, he caused that to be in the opening.'
- (126) *sąkey?ey* *?řta* *?i:mísimil.*
są=ki=?i *?ata?* *?im-s=mil*
 SAME=and=HSY1 again try-CAUS=FIN
 'Thereupon again he tried it.'

- (127) *sikíṭa* *ʔey* *ka* *ʔa:ṭáta* *wíyampa:mikí*
si=kiṭa =^ʔ*i* *kaʔ* *ʔaṭat=q* *wiy-m-paʔam=kiʔ*
 NEW=then =HSY1 PRX people=PAT have.emission-IMPV-FUT=DST

ʔey *wítmil.*

=^ʔ*i* *wiy-t=mil*

=HSY1 have.emission-INTR=FIN

‘And this emission which human beings would have, he had.’

- (128) *seʔéy* *kaʔ* *míʔpa* *ʔey* *ʔimeymil* *taykómol* *ki:*
si=ʔi *kaʔ* *mih-paʔ* =^ʔ*i* *ʔimi=mil* *taykomol* *kiʔ*
 NEW=HSY1 PRX be-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol DST

múšʔq *páyyaḳpa:mikí.*³²⁴

mus=q *páy-aḳ-paʔam=kiʔ*

women=PAT vagina-SEM-FUT=DST

‘Then, “This shall be”, said Taykómol, “there shall be set a vagina on women.”’

- (129) *seʔéy* *ʔimeymil* *hulk’óʔi.*
si=ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *hulk’óʔi*
 NEW=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
 ‘Said Coyote.’

- (130a) *sáḳiṭey* *háye* *hulk’óʔa* *ʔaniltíli*
sq=kiṭ=ʔi *hqʔaye* *hulk’óʔi=q* *ʔanil-t-il*
 SAME=then=HSY1 now Coyote=PAT lead-INTR-MPSV

kú:tkiwit *kóʔotemil.*

kuhtki=wit *koʔ-t=mil*

north=ALL go-INTR=FIN

- (130b) *ki:* *ʔá:ṭat* *k’an* *ʔá:ṭat* *k’ayyeyampa:mikí:*
kiʔ *ʔaṭat* *k’ṇ* *ʔaṭat* *k’ay-y-m-paʔam=kiʔ*
 DST people language/word people talk-PROG-IMPV-FUT=DST

³²⁴ Alternate form given: *páyyóʔpa:mikí:* ‘vulva will be on the woman’.

kimás yúyyampa.
kimas yuy'-m-pa'
 thus do-IMPFV-FUT

(132c) *k'ó'il k'ol yuymikiṭ.*
k'o'il k'ol yuy'-m=kiṭ
 Wailaki other do-IMPFV=while

(132d) *yú:kin ʔap ka k'ayyemikí: k'ayimilpa.*
yukin ʔap ka' k'ay-m=ki' k'ay-mil-pa'
 Yuki 1SG.AGT PRX talk-IMPFV=DST talk-?-FUT

(132e) *sáqkop ʔitin há:p ʔáhpá ʔey ʔimeymil taykómol.*
sá=qop ʔitin háp ʔah-pa' =ʔi ʔimi=mil taykomol
 SAME=then 1SG.POSS song/sing hold-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol
 'Also he arranged where they would have their deer-hunting grounds:
 "Everywhere all the different peoples (tribes) will do thus; while the Wailaki
 will do differently, the Yuki will speak this which I am speaking; and they
 shall hold my song", said Taykómol.'

(133) *hílikšilo' ʔey yuʔiyamil tí:ṭampa:mikí: ʔey*
hilikšilo' =ʔi yuy'-m=mil tiṭam-pa'am=ki' =ʔi
 everything =HSY1 do-IMPFV=FIN rope-IMPFV-FUT=DST =HSY1

yuʔiyamil ʔa:ṭát tíṭsákpa:mikí: ʔey yúyyamil.
yuy'-m=mil ʔaṭat tiṭsak-pa'am=ki' =ʔi yuy'-m=mil
 do-IMPFV=FIN people snare-FUT=DST =HSY1 do-IMPFV=FIN
 'Everything he arranged; how they would make ropes, he arranged; how
 people would set snares, he arranged.'

(134) *híl ʔaṭáta ʔey k'ól hušk'ayyeyimil pąwi ʔa:ṭát*
híl ʔaṭat=q =ʔi k'ol hušk'ay-y=mil pąwi ʔaṭat
 all people=PAT =HSY1 other tell-PROG=FIN one people

míʔkon k'ol yúʔiyampa ʔey ʔimeymil.
miʔkon k'ol yuy'-m-paʔ =ʔi ʔimi=mil
 but? other do-IMPFV-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

‘All the peoples he taught differently; “But each people will do differently”, he said.’

- (135) *kipáwkil ko:k kúhtkipis ʔonmik'áltíli*
kipáw=k'il koʔ=kuhtki=pis ʔon=mik'al-t-il
 back=TERM go=DECL north=ABL earth=around-INTR-MPSV

kipáwkil kóʔok ʔey kimáseymil.
kipáw=k'il koʔ=kuhtki=pis =ʔi kiʔ-mas=mil
 back=TERM go=DECL =HSY1 DST-DSTR=FIN

‘It was as he was coming back from the north, when he had gone encircling the earth as he was returning, that he did these things.’

- (136) *sopʔéy haničy:ilop hulk'óʔi kɪŋk'í:la*³²⁵
sop=ʔi han-iṭ-y-il=op hulk'oʔi kim-k'ili=q
 but=HSY1 house=JXT-PROG-MPSV=when Coyote DST.KIN.POSS-son=PAT

ʔiwomá ʔey k'olítmil.
ʔiwom=q =ʔi k'ol-t=mil
 young.man=PAT =HSY1 die-INTR=mil

‘Then, when they were near (their) house, Coyote’s son, a young man, died.’

- (137) *sikimás ki taykómol k'ólki yúyyikiṭ ʔey hulk'oʔi*
si=kimas kiʔ taykomol k'ol=ki yuy'=kiṭ =ʔi hulk'oʔi
 NEW=thus DST Taykómol other=IN do=when =HSY1 Coyote

pí:ṭáqkik ʔey kí:milnamlikí:k ʔéy taykómol kommil.
piṭáqkik =ʔi kiʔ-mil=namli=kik =ʔi taykomol kom=mil
 dry.grave =HSY1 bury-?=DEP=there =HSY1 Taykómol come=FIN

‘And Taykómol being engaged (“doing thus”) elsewhere, Coyote having dug a hole and buried him, Taykómol arrived.’

³²⁵ Alternate form given: *kimk'í:la*.

- (138) *sáʔey* *ʔimiskʔili* *ʔey*
sá=ʔi *ʔim* *mis-kʔili* =ʔi
 SAME=HSY1 where 2SG.KIN.POSS-son =HSY1

ʔim *kiwismil* *hulkʔóʔa*.
ʔim *kiw-s=mil* *hulkʔóʔi=q*
 thus ask-CAUS?=FIN Coyote=PAT
 ‘So, “Where is your son?” he asked Coyote.’

- (139) *séʔey* *hulkʔóʔi* *kʔalítu* ³²⁶ *si* *ʔap* *kiʔyuʔ*
si=ʔi *hulkʔóʔi* *kʔol-t-wi* *si* *ʔap* *kiʔ-wi*
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote die-INTR-PST1 NEW 1SG.AGT bury-PST1

ʔimeymil *hulkʔóʔi*.
ʔimi=mil *hulkʔóʔi*
 say=FIN Coyote
 ‘And, “He just died, so I buried”, Coyote said.’

- (140) *seʔéy* *taykómol* *kí:mi:* *náwwin* *ʔimeymil*
si=ʔi *taykomol* *kiʔ-imʔ* *náw-n* *ʔimi=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 Taykómol bury-where? see-AND say=FIN

taykomol *hulkʔóʔa*.
taykomol *hulkʔóʔi=q*
 Taykómol Coyote=PAT
 “Let us go to see where he is buried”, Taykómol said to Coyote.’

- (141) *seʔéy* *hi:kílmil*. ³²⁷
si=ʔi *hiʔ-k-il=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 come.out-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

³²⁶ Alternate form given: *kʔolítu* ‘he died’.

³²⁷ Alternate form given: *hiykílmil* ‘they went’. Also: *hiʔ-* ‘come out’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:256).

- (142) *sqʔey toklmil.*
sq=ʔi tʔok-tl=mil
 SAME=HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN
 ‘So they went together and arrived.’

- (143) *seʔey taykómol kipáw ʔq̄p ʔótam kʔoʔisini*
*si=ʔi taykomol kipáw ʔq̄p ʔot-am kʔoʔ-*sini**
 NEW=HSY1 Taykómol back 1SG.AGT breathe-NOML be.in-ʔ

ʔey ʔimeymil taykómol.
=ʔi ʔimi=mil taykomol
 =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol

‘Then Taykómol said, “Let me again put breath into him”, Taykómol said.’

- (144) *seʔey hulkʔóʔi tálʔk káyt kʔá:paŋʔk³²⁸ ʔím kipáwkil*
si=ʔi hulkʔoʔi tálʔk káyt kʔapʔ-m=k ʔim kipáw=kʔil
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote no long.ago kill-IMPV=DECL why? back=TERM

koʔotammilimaʔá ʔiy ʔimeymil hulkʔóʔi.
koʔ-t-m=milima-ʔa =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulkʔoʔi
 go-INTR-IMPV-ʔ-Q =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘But, “No, why should those who are already dead wish to come back?” said Coyote.’

- (145) *seʔey mĩʔ ʔaŋkʔi:kanʔ nanákhq̄*
si=ʔi miʔ ʔam-kʔikanʔ nq̄nak-hq̄
 NEW=HSY1 2SG.AGT 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother’s.brother know-Q

kímilmil ʔey ʔimeymil.
ki=mil=mil =ʔi ʔimi=mil
 say-ʔ=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN

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

³²⁸ Alternate form given: *kʔapanʔk* ‘when they die’.

- (146) *sáʔey* *ki* *mi:paʔá:t* *ʔan* *ʔimeymil* *taykómol*
sq=ʔi *kiʔ* *mih-paʔ-at* *ʔan* *ʔimi=mil* *taykomol*
 SAME=HSY1 DST be-FUT-? long.time say=FIN Taykómol

kipkʔi:la *kipqaw* *ʔóʔotam* *kipqawmón.*
kim-kʔila *kipqaw* *ʔot-am* *kipqaw-món*
 DST.KIN.POSS-son back breathe-NOML back-?

“That shall be forever”, said Taykómol, when he had wished to return breath to his son.’

- (147) *sáʔéy* *hulkʔóʔa* *wáytmil.*
sq=ʔi *hulkʔoʔi=q* *wayt=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 Coyote=PAT refuse=FIN

‘But it was Coyote who refused.’

- (148) *sikí* *ʔey* *ʔa:tát* *kʔá:pmikimáse* *ʔey*
si=ki *=ʔi* *ʔatát* *kʔapʔ-m=kiʔ-mas-i* *=ʔi*
 NEW=therefore =HSY1 people kill-IMPV=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

kʔá:pank *kipqáwkil* *koʔotamtánmil*
kʔapʔ-m=k *kipqaw=kʔil* *koʔ-t-m-tan=mil*
 kill-IMPV=DECL back=TERM go-INTR-IMPV-NEG=FIN

hulkʔóʔa *wáytnamlikí.*
hulkʔoʔi=q *wayt=namli=kiʔ*
 Coyote=PAT refuse=DEP=DST

‘And therefore people who die, when they are dead do not come (go) back, because Coyote refused.’

- (149) *sáʔey* *háye* *kimáš* *ʔá:tát* *kʔólampa:mikí:* *ʔey* *ki:*
sq=ʔi *háʔaye* *kimas* *ʔatát* *kʔol-m-paʔam=kiʔ* *=ʔi* *kiʔ*
 SAME=HSY1 now thus people die-IMPV-FUT=DST =HSY1 DST

k'ʔqkísimil *k'olan̄k* *kipq̄wkil* *kó:tamtánpa:mikí:*
k'qk'-s=mil *k'ol-m=k* *kipq̄w=k'il* *ko²-t-m-tan-pa²am=ki²*
 exist-CAUS=FIN die-IMPV=DECL back=TERM go-INTR-IMPV-NEG-FUT=DST
 'So thus he made it to be that those people who should die, would not come
 back when they had died.'

- (150) *sq̄kit̄ey* *kipq̄wk'il'* *kq̄yt* *han* *hulk'ó'i*
sq̄=kit̄=²i *kipq̄w=k'il* *kq̄yt* *han* *hulk'ó'i*
 SAME=then=HSY1 back=TERM long.ago house Coyote

hátlnamlikí:kil *ko²lí:tmamil.*
hq²-tl-namli=ki²=k'il *ko²-lit-mq̄=mil*
 build-TR=DEP=DST=TERM go-DIR2-DIR1=FIN
 'Then they traveled together back to where Coyote had built a house.'

- (151) *sq̄²ey* *²at̄éy* *ki:k* *hulk'ó'a* *²á:t̄at* *wáh*
sq̄=²i *²at̄i* *kik* *hulk'ó'i=q̄* *²at̄at* *wah*
 SAME=HSY1 a.while there Coyote=PAT people wide

k'q̄kmikí: *²éy* *nak'áhimil*³²⁹.
k'q̄k'-m=ki² *=²i* *nq̄k'oh=mil*
 exist-IMPV=DST =HSY1 teach=FIN
 'And for a time there he instructed Coyote what to ordain for people
 everywhere.'

- (152) *simey²éy* *kipat* *músp'a* *tat* *šú²hinik*
si=mi=²i *kip=q̄t* *musp=q̄* *tat* *šu²-h-nik*
 NEW=?=HSY1 3R=DAT woman=PAT? good/make sit/stay-DUR-NEC

tat *hálč* *tatí:yan̄k* *míhin(i)k*
tat *halč* *tat-y-m=k* *mih-nik*
 good/make children good/make-PROG-IMPV=DECL be-NEC

³²⁹ Alternate form given: *nak'óhimil* 'he taught him'.

ʔey ʔim nak'áhisimil kipat músp'a.
 =ʔi ʔim naq'oh-s=mil kip=qt musp=q
 =HSY1 thus teach-CAUS=FIN 3R=DAT woman=PAT?

'And his wife to be good and stay (at home) and to take care well of the children, thus he had him instruct his wife.'

- (153) sqkíṭey hulk'óʔi nq ʔóʔpa kipawk'il
 sq=kíṭ=ʔi hulk'óʔi =nq ʔopi=a kipaw=k'il
 SAME=then=HSY1 Coyote =and two=? back=TERM

kú:xtki kó:temil.

kuhtki koʔ-t=mil

north go-INTR=FIN

'Then Coyote and (he) both went back north.'

- (154) sikíṭa ʔey ʔán há:p wók'eymil taykómol.
 si=kíṭa =ʔi ʔan háp wok'=mil taykomol
 NEW=then =HSY1 long.time song/sing dance/sing=FIN Taykómol
 'And all the way Taykómol sang.'

- (155) sqʔey t'óktmil húʔ kilímeynamilki: ʔey
 sq=ʔi t'ok-tl=mil huʔ ki-lim=namli=kiʔ =ʔi
 SAME=HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN before talk-?=DEP=DST =HSY1

k'óʔil k'áni k'qymílyakmil

k'oʔil k'qn k'ay-mil-qk=mil

Wailaki language/word talk-?-SEM=FIN

'And he arrived, and, as he had spoken it before, he spoke the Wailaki language.'

- (156) sqk'opʔéy kimáš han há:sikop nó:ʔpa:mikí:
 sq=k'op=ʔi kimas han háʔ-s=kop noʔ-paʔam=kiʔ
 SAME=then=HSY1 thus house build-CAUS?=when live-FUT=DST

- ?ey hulk'ó'a han hq:šimil.
 =?i hulk'o'i=q han hq²-s=mil
 =HSY1 Coyote=PAT house build-CAUS=FIN
 'Then when he would thus have a house for them to live in, he had Coyote build it.'
- (157) se'éy hq²tlmil.
 sí=?i hq²-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 build-TR=FIN
 'And he built it.'
- (158) sikéy kimás ?átat k'qkutlikí: mi:namlíkí: šiló?
 sí=ki kimas ?atat k'qk'-kut-tl=ki? mih=namlí=ki? šilo?
 NEW=therefore? thus people exist-INCH-TR=DST be=DEP=DST like
 ?atq ?atat kimátlmil.
 ?ata? ?atat kimas?-tl=mil
 again people thus?-TR=FIN
 'Then as before he made come into existence the people who were, so again he did thus (to) people.'
- (159) sq'éy ?al t'ú'akmil.
 sq=?i ?al t'u²-qk=mil
 SAME=HSY1 stick lay-SEM=FIN
 'He laid down sticks.'
- (160) sqkipey ?iy k'qymilmil k'o'il k'áni
 sq=kip=?i =?i k'qy-mil=mi k'o'il k'an
 SAME=?=HSY1 =HSY talk-?=FIN Wailaki language/word
- (161) ká: mo'os k'ayyéyampa? ?ey ?imeymil taykómol.
 ka? mo'os k'ay-m-pa? =?i ?imi=mil taykomol
 PRX 2PL.AGT talk-IMPV-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol
 'After that, "I spoke Wailaki language; this you shall speak", Taykómol said.'

- (162) *sáqkey* *kimáš* *hąww* *hut'ó'opispa:mikí:*
sá=ki *kimas* *hąw* *hut'op-s-pa'am=ki'*
 SAME=and thus fish hunt-CAUS-FUT=DST

k'ó'il *ki* *'éy* *hąye* *'atá* *ki* *yúnyakmil*³³⁰
k'o'il *ki'* *=?i* *hą'ąye* *'ata'* *ki'* *yun-ąk=mil*
 Wailaki DST =HSY1 now again DST do-SEM=FIN

kimáš *k'óil'* *hąw(w)* *litpa:mikí:*
kimas *k'o'il* *hąw* *lit-pa'am=ki'*
 thus Wailaki fish do-FUT=DST

'And there how the Wailaki would take salmon, that now again he arranged, how the Wailaki would fish.'

- (163) *sąkopez* *hilkšiló'* *hąye* *k'o'il* *yú:yampa:mikí:*
są=kop=?i *hilkšilo'* *hą'ąye* *k'o'il* *yuy'-m-pa'am=ki'*
 SAME=then=HSY1 everything now Wailaki do-IMPFV-FUT=DST

'ey *hąye* *kimáš* *yú(y)yammil.*
=?i *hą'ąye* *kimas* *yuy'-m=mil*
 =HSY1 now thus do-IMPFV=FIN

'And everything that the Wailaki would do, thus he did now.'

- (164) *ká* *mípa'* *ka:* *yúyyampa'* *k'ó'il* *'ey* *'imeymil* *taykómol.*
ka' *mih-pa'* *ka'* *yuy'-m-pa'* *k'o'il* *=?i* *'imi=mil* *taykomol*
 PRX be-FUT PRX do-IMPFV-FUT Wailaki =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol
 "This shall be, this the Wailaki shall do", Taykómol said.'

- (165) *są'éy* *ki:* *hu'ú:tl(i)kít* *'ey* *k'olá:tat* *kú:xtkiwit*
są=?i *ki'* *hu'u?-tl=kít* *=?i* *k'ol-?atát* *kuhtki=wit*
 SAME=HSY1 DST quit-TR=then =HSY1 other-people north=ALL

³³⁰ Kroeber glosses *yúnyakmil* 'he did'. *yun-* does not occur as a verb root elsewhere in the texts. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:102) include a verb *yuni* 'hang down', which was recorded by Foster. There may be a connection between *yuni* and *yúnyakmil*.

ná? k'ólčam ?an kí:wit ná kumnóm'qt'amwit³³¹
 =nq k'ol=iṭ-qm ?an ki'=wit =nq kumnom'=qt-qm=wit
 =and other=JXT-IN2 long.time DST=ALL =and Kumnom'=DAT-IN2=ALL

?a:tát ?án kimási yu:yampa:mikí: ?ey
 ?aṭat ?an ki²-mas-i yuy'-m-pa'am=ki² =?i
 people long.time DST-DSTR-ANIM do-IMPV-FUT=DST =HSY1

wa háye k'qkésimil³³²; kúm'nóm' mi:pa:mikí:
 wah ha'qye k'qk'-s=mił kumnom' mih-pa'am=ki²
 wide now exist-CAUS=FIN Kumnom' be-FUT=DST

?ey ki: k'qk'ésimil ?an kimáse k'ól'
 =?i ki² k'qk'-s=mił ?an ki²-mas-i k'ol
 =HSY1 DST exist-CAUS=FIN long.time DST-DSTR-ANIM other

yú:yampa:mikí:

yuy'-m-pa'am=ki²

do-IMPV-FUT=DST

'And when this was finished, then he made come into existence other peoples toward the north and elsewhere about and toward the region of the Kumnom' and how they would act; he made the Kumnom' who ever would act differently.'

- (166) sqkíṭa?ey ?atá kúmnom' k'áni k'qymíłmil.
 sq=kiṭa=?i ?aṭa? kumnom' k'qn k'qy=mił=mił
 SAME=then=HSY1 again Kumnom' language/word talk-?=FIN
 'Then again he spoke the Kumnom' language.'

- (167) sokóp ?án kiṭá? hilkšilo? kimáse yu(y)yampa:mikí:
 so-kop ?an kiṭa hilkšilo? ki²-mas-i yuy'-m-pa'am=ki²
 ?-then long.time there everything DST-DSTR-ANIM do-IMPV-FUT=DST

³³¹ *Kumnom'* is variously defined. In (165) as 'Stony Creek and Paskenti and Newville', 'Wintun, Salt People', 'Nomlaki'. In Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:146): "salt people; Nomlaki; Stonyford, Salt Pomo; Wintun of Stony Creek.'

³³² Alternate form given: *k'qkísimil* 'he made'.

ʔey ki: ʔatá kimášat kum'noʔomat k'qk'ésimil.
 =ʔi kiʔ ʔataʔ kiʔ-mas=qt kumnom'=qt k'qk'-s=mil
 =HSY1 DST again DST-DSTR=DAT Kumnom'=DAT exist-CAUS=FIN
 'And also everything that they would always do he made come into
 existence there for those Kumnom.'

- (168) kimáše ʔan woknámtilpa:miki: nq
 kiʔ-mas-i ʔan woknam-t-il-paʔam=kiʔ =nq
 DST-DSTR-ANIM long.time initiation-INTR-MPSV-FUT=DST =and

kópawóʔokešpa:miki: nq ʔey k'qk'ésimil.
 kopa-wok'-s-paʔam=kiʔ =nq =ʔi k'qk'-s=mil
 feather-dance/sing-CAUS-FUT=DST =and =HSY1 exist-CAUS=FIN
 'And he ordained that they would make the initiation and would dance the
 feather-dance.'

- (169) kimáše mil hut'oʔópisk ló:pis
 kiʔ-mas-i mil hut'op-s=k lopis
 DST-DSTR-ANIM meat/deer hunt-CAUS?=DECL jackrabbit

tá(e)sajnk³³³ nq p'úhlam tá(e)sampa:miki:³³⁴ na
 tas-m=k =nq pulam tas-m-paʔam=kiʔ =nq
 snare-IMPV=DECL =and cottontail snare-IMPV-FUT=DST =and

kimás(e) ʔán k'ól' yú:yampa:miki:
 kiʔ-mas-(i) ʔan k'ol yuy'-m-paʔam=kiʔ
 DST-DSTR-(ANIM) long.time other do-IMPV-FUT=DST

ʔey k'qk'ésimil.
 =ʔi k'qk'-s=mil
 =HSY1 exist-CAUS=FIN

'How they would hunt deer and (net) jackrabbits and snare cottontail rabbits
 and how always they would do things differently, he ordained.'

³³³ Alternate forms given: *tá(a)sajnk*, *tá(a)sampa:miki*, *tá(e)sampa:miki*: 'snare'.

³³⁴ Alternate form given: *tá(a)sampa:miki*: 'will snare'.

- (170) *namlíkí: ?ey kumnóm' k'ol ?an yú:yammil*
namlíki =?i kumnóm' k'ol ?an yuy'-m=mil
 therefore =HSY1 Kumnom' other long,time do-IMPV=FIN

káyt taykómol k'qk'ésinamlíkí.
káyt taykomol k'qk'-s=namlí=ki?
 long.ago Taykómol exist-CAUS=DEP=DST

'And therefore the Kumnom' always act differently, because long ago
 Taykómol made them come into existence like that.'

- (171) *sá?éy ki: hu?ú:tli ?ey háye yú:kin (?u:k'omnóm'i)*³³⁵
sá=?i ki? hu?u?tl =?i hq?aye yukin (?uk'omnom')
 SAME=HSY1 DST quit-TR =HSY1 now Yuki (Uk'omnom')

k'ayyéyampa:mikí: ?ey k'aymilmil.
k'ay-m-pa'am=ki? =?i k'ay=mil=mil
 talk-IMPV-FUT=DST =HSY1 talk-?=FIN

'Having finished that, he spoke what the Uk'omnom' Yuki would speak.'

- (172) *sákóp?ey kíta ?án hulk'ó'a han há:simil.*
sá=kóp=?i kíta ?an hulk'ó'i=q han hq?-s=mil
 SAME=?=HSY1 there long.time Coyote=PAT house build-CAUS=FIN
 'And so he told Coyote to build a house there.'

- (173) *si?ey hulk'ó'i há:tlmil.*
si=?i hulk'ó'i hq?-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote build-TR=FIN
 'And Coyote built it.'

- (174) *sá?ey kím' ?ál tu?ákmil hqčmik'ál.*
sá=?i kím' ?al t'u?-qk=mil hqč=mik'al
 SAME=HSY1 over.there stick lay-SEM=FIN house/camp/floor=around
 'And in it (Taykómol) laid sticks around the circuit of the floor.'

³³⁵ The Uk'omnom' are one of the subgroups of Yuki speakers.

- (175) *sąkíta'ény* [?]ąp *mátł'ł:kon* *hó:ṭ* [?]ú:k'omnóm'
są=kiṭa=ʔi [?]ąp *mat-tł=kon* *hoṭ* [?]uk'omnom'
 SAME=then=HSY1 1SG.AGT do-TR=but large Uk'omnom'

k'áni *k'ayími'akpa* ³³⁶.

k'ąn *k'ąy-mil?-ąk-paʔ*

language/word talk-?-SEM-FUT

'Then, 'I do this, but many will speak Uk'omnom' speech.'

- (176) *sąkítey* [?]u:k'omnóm' [?]an *k'ól'* [?]ąp
są=kiṭ=ʔi [?]uk'omnom' [?]an *k'ol* [?]ąp
 SAME=then=HSY1 Uk'omnom' long.time other 1SG.AGT

yúyamwičkí: [?]ąṭpaʔ ³³⁷.

yuy'-m-wiṭ=kiʔ [?]ąṭ-paʔ

do-IMPV-FUT=DST wait -FUT

'And the Uk'omnom' always will follow their way according to what I am doing.'

- (177a) *sąkíta* [?]itin *há:p* *wo'ókešpaʔ*
są=kiṭa [?]itin *hąp* *wok'-s-paʔ*
 SAME=then 1SG.POSS song/sing dance/sing-CAUS-FUT
 'My song they shall sing.'

- (177b) *sąkíta* [?]ąp *woknámłu* *kimás*
są=kiṭa [?]ąp *woknam-tł-wi* *kiʔ-mas*
 SAME=then 1SG.AGT initiation-TR-PST1 DST-DSTR

woknámésapaʔ *taykómol* *woknám.*

woknam-s-paʔ *taykomol* *woknam*

initiation-CAUS-FUT Taykómol initiation

'As I have just made initiation, so they shall make initiation with the Taykómol-initiation.'

³³⁶ Alternate form given: *k'ayyemi'akpa* 'they will talk'.

³³⁷ *ąṭ*- 'think, mimic' (w/o nasal vowel) in Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:340.

- (178) *sąkíṭa* *ṭiʔol* *kʔákʔampaʔ* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil*
są=kiṭa *ṭiʔol* *kʔákʔ-m-paʔ* =ʔi *ʔimi=mil*
 SAME=then chief exist-IMPV-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

taykómol *ʔu:kʔomnoʔoma.*

taykomol *ʔukʔomnomʔ=q*

Taykómol Ukʔomnomʔ=PAT

‘And chiefs will be made by that, said Taykómol to the Ukʔomnomʔ’

- (179) *sąkíṭa* *ʔey* *hulkʔílal* *woknám* *ʔap* *woknámṭlu*
są=kiṭa =ʔi *hulkʔílal* *woknam* *ʔap* *woknam-tl-wi*
 SAME=then =HSY1 ghost initiation 1SG.AGT initiation-TR-PST1

kimás *ʔan* *woknámepaʔ* *ʔímeymil* *taykómol.*

kiʔ-mas *ʔan* *woknam-s-paʔ* *ʔimi=mil* *taykomol*

DST-DSTR long.time initiation-CAUS-FUT say=FIN Taykómol

‘‘And as I have just made the Hulkʔílal-initiation, so always they shall make that initiation’’, said Taykómol.’

- (180) *sąkí:* *huʔú:ṭlikíṭ* *ʔey* *ʔáṭa* *mil* *múhpaʔemikí:*
są=ki *huʔuʔ-tl=kiṭ* =ʔi *ʔáṭaʔ* *mil* *muh-paʔam=kiʔ*
 SAME=and quit-TR=then =HSY1 again meat/deer snare-FUT=DST

ną *sí* *hąwáyisampa:mikí:* *ną* *ʔálič*³³⁸

=*ną* *síʔ* *hąwáy-s-m-paʔam=kiʔ* =*ną* *ʔalič*

=and clover food/eat-CONT?-IMPV-FUT=DST =and potato

kiʔin *hąwáyisampa:mikí:* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil* *taykómol.*

kiʔin *hąwáy-s-m-paʔam=kiʔ* =ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *taykomol*

around.there food/eat-CONT?-IMPV-FUT=DST =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol

‘And when he had finished, Taykómol also said (that) they would drive deer and gather clover as food and find brodiaea-bulbs for food.’

³³⁸ Kroeber glosses *ʔálič* ‘I. potatoes’, presumably ‘Indian potatoes’. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984) define *ʔálič* as ‘potato’, while giving *hintil papus* as the term meaning ‘Indian potato’.

- (181) *ki: k'áq'esanamlikí ?ey ?u:k'omnómi k'áq'išto ?al*
ki? k'áq'-s=namli=ki? =?i ?uk'omnom' k'ak'-sto ?al
 DST exist-CAUS=DEP=DST =HSY1 Uk'omnom' exist-? stick

kimoš ?éyya hăč mik'al
ki²-mas ?iyya hăč =mik'al
 DST-DSTR there.were.but? house/camp/floor =around

tú²ak námlon

t'u²-qk-namli=on

lay-SEM=DEP=though?

'And the Uk'omnom' (Yuki) whom he made come into existence came into existence from the sticks which he had laid around the floor.'

kaytkil ?imeynámlik taykómol namlikí: ?ey ?ál
kaytkil ?imi=namli=ki? taykomol namliki =?i ?al
 long.ago say=DEP=DST Taykómol therefore =HSY1 stick

hon ?a:tát kqkíšto ?ey kimás híl(i)kšilo?
han ?atát k'áq'-sto =?i ki²-mas hilkšilo?
 but people exist-? =HSY1 DST-DSTR everything

taykómol yúyyamnamlikí ?ey yú:yammil ?u:komnó:mi.
taykomol yuy'-m=namli=ki? =?i yuy'-m=mil ?uk'omnom'
 Taykómol do-IMPV=DEP=DST =HSY1 do-IMPV=FIN Uk'omnom'
 'as Taykómol had said before; that is why, although sticks, coming into existence as human beings, the Uk'omnom' (Yuki) did everything as Taykómol had said before.'

- (182a) *sq²éy híl: kí: ?u:k'omnó²oma hu²ú:tl(i) wáč*
sq=²i híl ki? ?uk'omnom'=q hu²u²-tl wáč
 SAME=HSY1 all DST Uk'omnom'=PAT quit-TR teach
 'So having finished showing the Uk'omnom' (Yuki) everything,'

- (182b) *sąkiṭey* *hučnoʔoma* *ʔán kí: ʔan* *wáčeymil*
są=kiṭ=ʔi *hučnom'=q* *ʔan kiʔ ʔan* *wač'=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 Huchnom=PAT just.the.same teach=FIN

ʔu:komno:ma *wáčeyi.*
ʔuk'omnom'=q *wač'-yʔ*
 Uk'omnom'=PAT teach-PROG?

'he showed the Huchnom the same as he had showed the Uk'omnom (Yuki).'

- (183) *kimás* *sąkop* *han* *ʔey* *ʔu:komno:mát* *k'áni* *šiló: han*
kimas *są=kop* *han* *=ʔi* *ʔuk'omnom'=qt* *k'qn* *šiloʔ han*
 thus SAME=then but =HSY1 Uk'omnom'=DAT language/word like but

k'ol *k'ąyimilnamlikí:* *ʔey*
k'ol *k'ąy=mil=namli=kiʔ* *=ʔi*
 other talk-?=DEP=DST =HSY1

'And he spoke like the Yuki but differently.'

hučnoʔómi *k'ąyyéyammil* *háhlšilóʔ*
hučnom' *k'ąy-m=mil* *halšiloʔ*
 Huchnom talk-IMPV=FIN differently

'(that is why) the Huchnom speak somewhat differently.'

k'áyit *taykómol* *kimás* *hilk'il* *ʔu:komnoʔoma*
k'ayt *taykomol* *kimas* *hilk'il* *ʔuk'omnom'=q*
 long.ago Taykómol thus separately Uk'omnom'=PAT

ną *hučnoʔoma* *wáčeynamlikí:* *ʔey* *kipąw* *šilóʔ*³³⁹
=ną *hučnom'=q* *wač'=namliki* *=ʔi* *kipąw* *šiloʔ*
 =and Huchnom=PAT teach=therefore? =HSY1 back like

³³⁹ *kipąw šilóʔ* may mean 'alike'.

yú:yammil hílksíló?
yuy'-m=mil hilkšilo?
 do-IMPFV=FIN everything
 'long ago Taykómol thus taught the Uk'omnom' and Huchnom dividedly;
 that is why they do everything nearly alike;'

namlíki 'ey yú:kin na hučno'ómi 'ey
namliki ='i yukin =nq hučnom' ='i
 therefore =HSY1 Yuki =and Huchnom =HSY1

yú:yammil taykómol kílmeynamlíki.
yuy'-m=mil taykomol ki-lim=namli=ki?
 do-IMPFV=FIN Taykómol say-?=DEP=DST
 'that is why the Yuki and the Huchnom do (alike, because) Taykómol said it so.'

- (184) *kimás yúy'i 'ey nqwhi kímilmil hulk'ó'i.*
kimas yuy' ='i nqw-h? ki-mil=mil hulk'o'i
 thus do =HSY1 see-DUR? say-?=FIN Coyote
 'That he watched him doing, Coyote said.'

['The following were obtained only in outline in English. He made the mountains, and the rivers and springs. He went north, married, and had two sons. He went across the ocean to visit his sister. There he made fish for Coyote to catch, but, as always, did not himself eat. Also he caused his own brother to stand at the (north) end of the world in summer, his sister in winter. After other acts, he went to the sky with his two sons.']

2. COYOTE AND THE WORLD

In 1902, *Coyote and the World* was told by Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber (1902b, 1902d). Kroeber calls this text the *Coyote myth* in his original notes, but later calls it *Coyote and the World* in his (1932) published English translations of the myths that were told to him by Ralph Moore. The English free translations of this myth are taken from one of these translations (Kroeber 1932:918-927). In comparing the original Yuki recorded in Kroeber's notes with the translations, it quickly became apparent that the 1932 free translations of *Origins* and *Coyote and the World* were sentence-by-sentence translations of the original Yuki. The free translations are largely unaltered from Kroeber's original. In rare cases small alterations were made when a translation for a particular sentence did not match the original Yuki as well as it could have. Material which was present in the English translation, but not in the original Yuki, either because of missing pages or other unknown reasons, is given in square brackets. The numbering of the clauses is kept consistent with Kroeber's own numbering in his original notes. Therefore, this text begins with clause (6). (6) - (91) are recorded in Notebook 29 (Kroeber 1902b). (92) - (423) are recorded in Notebook 31 (Kroeber 1902d). In some cases Kroeber notes alternate forms. These are given as footnotes in this version. Unless otherwise indicated, the translations of these alternate forms are taken from the glosses provided by Kroeber in his original notes.

[‘Once a great village was living where the people had built a ceremonial house. And now as they lived without fire and without any daylight and in continual darkness, they continually all ate meat raw. But whipping Jackrabbit and giving him no meat, they always drove him out doors. And standing outdoors, Jackrabbit wept.’]

- (6) ...kipáw nahámʔámil.
kipáw nąhąm-a=mil
at.the.same.time not.know-?=FIN

[‘And thereupon he discerned fire; but] nevertheless he did not know it (for what it was).’

- (7) sikónʔey kʔinikop kú:tʔa ká:³⁴⁰ yim
si=kon=?i kʔin=kop kutʔa kaʔ yim
NEW=but=HSY1 cry=while way.over.there fire

čt:yeyimilmik³⁴¹ ʔey ʔimeymil lóʔopši.
čiy-yʔ-mą-il-m=k =?i ʔimi=mil lopis
glitter-PROG?-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit
‘But while he wept, “Far yonder, fire gleams at intervals”, said Jackrabbit.’

- (8) seʔéy hulkʔoʔá hąłtmil.
si=?i hulkʔoʔi=q hął-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT hear-INTR=FIN
‘And Coyote heard (him).’

- (9) sąʔey ʔa:táta ʔiwilhánam mihikimása
są=?i ʔaʔat=q ʔiwilhan-qm mih=kiʔ-mas=q
SAME=HSY1 peop=PAT ceremonial.house-IN2 be=DST-DSTR=PAT

ʔíyi ʔiy hąłtikhil ʔanwí:są móʔoš³⁴² nąwíli
ʔiyi ʔi hął-t-k-il? ʔanwis=q moʔos nąwíl
something 1SG.PAT hear-INTR-PNCT-MPSV orphan=PAT 2PL.AGT whip

³⁴⁰ Alternate form given: *ku k'a* ‘way over there’.

³⁴¹ Alternate form given: *čiyimilmik* ‘sparks fly up (blaze up at intervals)’.

³⁴² Alternate forms given: *moʔos* ‘ye’.

<i>lákšiwíčkiʔ</i>	<i>hoyyímyi</i>	<i>šiloʔómik</i>	<i>ʔey</i>
<i>lak'-s-wiṭ=kiʔ</i>	<i>hoy=ʔim-y</i>	<i>šiloʔ-m=k</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>
emerge-CAUS-PST2=DST	tooʔ=try-PROG	like-IMPFV=DECL	=HSY1

<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>	<i>ʔaṭata</i>	<i>ʔiwilhanam</i>
<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>hulkʔóʔi</i>	<i>ʔaṭat=q</i>	<i>ʔiwilhan-qm</i>
say=FIN	Coyote	people=PAT	ceremonial.house-IN2

*nóhikimáša*³⁴³

noʔ-hʔ=kiʔ-mas-q

live-DURʔ=ʔDST-DSTR=PAT

‘And to the people who were in the ceremonial house, “Something I hear; the orphan whom you whipped and put out seems to be trying to tell something”, said Coyote to the people who were living in the ceremonial house.’

- (10) *seʔéy* *hi:liʔ* *hákilmil.*
si=ʔi *hil-i* *həlʔ-k-il=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM hear-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘So all listened.’

- (11) *seʔéy* *lóʔopši* *kʔínikʔop* *mil* *šáy* *ʔáwilk*
si=ʔi *lopis* *kʔin=kop* *mil* *šay* *ʔaw-l=k*
 NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit cry=while meat/deer raw/alive eat-PFVʔ=DECL

<i>ʔiy</i>	<i>nqwilq̄sik</i>	<i>ku:tʔa ká:</i> ³⁴⁴	<i>yim</i>
<i>ʔi</i>	<i>nqwil-q-sik</i>	<i>kuʔta kaʔ</i>	<i>yim</i>
1SG.PAT	whip-ʔ-HSY2ʔ	way.over.there	fire

<i>či:yimilmik</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>lóʔopší.</i>
<i>čiy-mq-il-m=k</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>lopis</i>
glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV=DECL	=HSY1	say=FIN	Jackrabbit

‘And Jackrabbit, in weeping, “Raw meat they are eating; me they whipped: far yonder fire gleams at intervals”, Jackrabbit said.

³⁴³ Alternate form given: *kimása* ‘those’.

³⁴⁴ Alternate form given: *kuʔkʔá* ‘way over there’.

- (12) *si[?]éy* *hulk'ó[?]i* *mil* *ǰǰič³⁴⁵* *nq[?]* *sopes³⁴⁶* *tít³⁴⁷*
si=[?]i *hulk'ó[?]i* *mil* *čočič³⁴⁸* =*nq* *sopis* *tit*
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote meat/deer pounded =and shoulder ?

ʔey *ʔoʔopičk'i* *p'óyi* *ʔey* *ha[?]téyli*
 =*ʔi* *ʔopič=ki* *p'oy* =*ʔi* *ha[?]-t-il*
 =HSY1 winnowing.basket=IN put =HSY1 carry-INTR-MPSV

lákt(e)mil *hulk'ó[?]i* *loʔopsʔátk'il*
lak'-t=mil *hulk'ó[?]i* *lopis=qt=k'il*
 emerge-INTR=FIN Coyote Jackrabbit=DAT=TERM

'And Coyote putting pounded meat and shoulder in an (openwork basketry) plate, and carrying it with him, he went out to Jackrabbit.'

- (13) *sq[?]éy* *yqš(i(:)kí:k'il'* *hámmil.*
sq=[?]i *yqš=ki'=k'il* *ham=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 stand=DST=TERM bring=FIN
 'And brought it to where he was standing.'

- (14) *sq[?]éy* *čánimil³⁴⁹* *ló'opsa* *mil* *ǰǰič³⁵⁰* *na*
sq=[?]i *čan=mil* *lopis=q* *mil* *čočič* =*nq*
 SAME=HSY1 give=FIN Jackrabbit=PAT meat/deer pounded =and

sopes *tít³⁵¹*
sopis *tít*
 shoulder ?

'And gave Jackrabbit pounded meat and shoulder.'

³⁴⁵ Alternate form given: *čóčič* 'pounded'.

³⁴⁶ Alternate form given: *sopis* 'shoulder'.

³⁴⁷ Kroeber glosses *tít* 'together on top'.

³⁴⁸ Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:165) list a verb *tut'*- 'pound'. *ǰǰič* ~ *čočič* is likely derived from this verb.

³⁴⁹ Alternate form given: *čánemil* 'he gave'.

³⁵⁰ Alternate form given: *čočič* 'pounded'.

³⁵¹ Kroeber glosses *tít* 'with it'.

- (15) *sąk'iléy* *kíwismil* *ʔi:yi* *šįŋkími* ³⁵² *kúp*
są=k'il=ʔi *kiw-s=mil* *ʔi:yi* *šinkimi* *kup*
 SAME-?=HSY1 ask-CAUS=FIN what ? sister's.brother

hoymiye ³⁵³ *šilómwi* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil*
hoyʔ=ʔim?-y *šilo?-m-wi* *=ʔi* *ʔimi=mil*
 tooʔ=say?-PROG like-IMPFV-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN

hulk'óʔi *lóʔopsa* *kíwisk.*
hulk'óʔi *lopis=q* *kiw-s=k*
 Coyote Jackrabbit=PAT ask-CAUS=DECL

'Thereupon he asked him, "What was that, sister's son, that you seemed to be telling about?" said Coyote to Jackrabbit, asking him.'

- (16) *seʔéy* *ʔi:yi* *ʔąp* *hoyyímeyha* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil.*
si=ʔi *ʔi:yi* *ʔąp* *hoy=ʔimi-ha* *=ʔi* *ʔimi=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 what 1SG.AGT tooʔ-*say-Q* =HSY1 say=FIN
 "What am I telling about?" he said.'

- (17) *ʔi:yi* *tánhąl(e)* ³⁵⁴ *kuk'á* *yí:kam*
ʔi:yi *tan=hąli* *kuk'a* *yik-am*
 what NEG?=INFR1? way.over.there make.fire-NOML

čtyimilmik *sikiṭ* *mil* *šáy*
čiy-mą-il-m=k *si=kiṭ* *mil* *šay*
 glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV=DECL NEW=then meat/deer raw/alive

ʔáwilk *ʔéy* *nąwiląkik* *ʔąp* *ʔímeyu* ³⁵⁵
ʔaw-l=k *=ʔi* *nąwil-ąk=k* *ʔąp* *ʔimi-wi*
 eat-PFV=DECL =HSY1 whip-SEM=DECL 1SG.AGT say-PST1

³⁵² Kroeber glosses *ʔi:yi šįŋkími* 'what was that'.

³⁵³ Alternate form given: *hóyímyi' šilómwi*.

³⁵⁴ Kroeber glosses *tánhąl(e)* 'This is what I said'.

³⁵⁵ Alternate form given: *ʔimiyu* 'said'.

ʔeyy ʔimeymil lóʔopsiʔ hulkʔóʔq huškʔáyesk.
 =ʔi ʔimi=mil lopis hulkʔóʔi=q huškʔáy-s=k
 =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT tell-CAUS?=DECL

“This is what I said: ‘Far yonder fire gleams at intervals, but eating raw meat they whip me’, I said just now”, said Jackrabbit to Coyote informing him.’

- (18) kí hqle ʔi kúp hqlamuʔ ʔimeymil hulkʔóʔi
 kiʔ =hq ʔi kup hq-l-m-wi ʔimi=mil hulkʔóʔi
 DST =INFR1 1SG.PAT sister’s.son hear-IMPV-PST1 say=FIN Coyote
 “That it seems is what, sister’s son, I just heard”, said Coyote.’

- (19) ʔim kí: yim čy:miłamha kup ʔiy
 ʔim kiʔ yim čy-mq-il-m-ha kup =ʔi
 where DST fire glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-Q sister’s.son =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulkʔóʔi

ʔimi=mil hulkʔóʔi

say=FIN Coyote

“Where does that fire gleam at times, sister’s son?” said Coyote.’

- (20) kú:takʔá: más yqhíyqkli ša:tammil más
 kutakʔa mas yqh-q-k-ilʔ šat-m=mil mas
 way.over.there thus blaze-?-PNCT-MPSV? put.out.fire-IMPV=FIN thus

nq̄wetaʔ(á) ʔey ʔimeymil ló:psí hulkʔóʔq.

nq̄w-t-aʔ =ʔi ʔimi=mil lopis hulkʔóʔi=q

see-INTR-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT

“Over there, thus blazing up it stops, thus, look!” said Jackrabbit to Coyote.’

- (21) seʔéy hulkʔóʔi nq̄wwít(i)ka ʔey ʔimilmil
 si=ʔi hulkʔóʔi nq̄w-wít=ka =ʔi ʔimil=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote see-PST2=when? =HSY1 blind=FIN
 ‘And Coyote looked but could see nothing.’

- (22) *se'áy* *kaṭá'apis* *ʔap* *yáṣhíkíṭá'apis* *náweta*
si=?i *kaṭa=pis* *ʔap* *yáṣ-h=kiṭa=pis* *náw-t-aʔ*
 NEW=HSY1 here=ABL 1SG.AGT stand-DUR=there=ABL see-INTR-IMP

ʔey *ʔimeymil* *lówpsi* *hulk'o'a*
=?i *ʔimi=mil* *lopis* *hulk'o'i=q*
 =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT

'And "From here where I stand, from there look!" Jackrabbit said [to Coyote].'

- (23) *se'áy* *ló'opsi* *yáṣnamlik:kpis* *yáṣít* *kú:ta*
si=?i *lopis* *yáṣ=namli=kik=pis* *yáṣ-t* *kuta*
 NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit stand=DEP=there=ABL stand-INTR there

náwétmil.

náw-t=mil

see-INTR=FIN

'And standing where Jackrabbit had stood, he looked from there.'

- (24) *sá'ey* *yím* *yá:híṣti* *náwímil* *hulk'ó'i*
sq=?i *yim* *yáḥ-s-t* *náw=mil* *hulk'o'i*
 SAME=HSY1 fire blaze-CONT-INTR see=FIN Coyote
 'And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.'

- (25) *siká'áy* *humámtohilmil* ³⁵⁶
si=ká=?i *hum-m-to-h-il=mil*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 glad-IMPV-?-DUR-MPSV=FIN
 'Thereupon he was glad.'

- (26) *sákíṭey* *hamláčk'i* *yá'íti* *ʔiy* *č'al*
sq=kiṭ=?i *hamlač=ki* *ya'-t* *=?i* *č'al*
 SAME=then=HSY1 smoke.hole=IN climb-INTR =HSY1 loud

³⁵⁶ Unclear whether the morpheme in the middle is -to or -t.

pək'éyakmil.

pək'-ək=mil

shout-SEM=FIN

'And climbing to the smoke-hole he shouted loudly.'

- (27) *ʔey moʔos m'wismil h'li lákti*
 =ʔi moʔos miw-s=mil hil-i lak'-t
 =HSY1 2PL.AGT disbelieve-CONT?=FIN all-ANIM emerge-INTR

ʔiwilhánpis sq n'wkwil'
ʔiwilhan=pis sq n'w-k-il-ʔ
 ceremonial.house=ABL SAME see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP

- (28) *sikiť šqkmiʔ tiwimilyq:ka sq h'li*
si=kiť šqkmi tiw=ʔimi-l-il-ək-a sq hil-i
 NEW=then some pursue-say-PFV-MPSV-SEM-IMP SAME all-ANIM

kó:maʔ ka n'wetaʔ hil ʔanwisa³⁵⁷ moʔos
kom-aʔ kaʔ n'w-t-aʔ hil ʔanwis=q moʔos
 come-IMP PRX see-INTR-IMP all orphan=PAT 2PL.AGT

n'wili laksiwički ʔiyi t'q'h'ík ʔey moʔos
n'wil lak'-s-wiť=kiʔ ʔiyi tqh=k =ʔi moʔos
 whip emerge-CAUS-PST2=DST something find=DECL =HSY1 2PL.AGT

mínismil hilkšiloʔ ʔey ʔimeymil hulk'ó'i.
min-s=mil hilkšiloʔ =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulk'o'i
 doubt-CONT?=FIN everything =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“‘You who disbelieve me all come out of the ceremonial house and look! And some go about and notify one another, and let all come and see this! The orphan whom you whipped and thrust out has discerned something, you who doubt everything!’” said Coyote.’

³⁵⁷ Alternate form given: ʔanwisi ‘the orphan’.

- (29) *se'ey hi:li ?iwilhánam nó'námlíkimási*
si=?i hil-i ?iwilhan-qm no'=namli=ki?-mas-i
 NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM ceremonial.house-IN2 live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

?ey láksilyqkmil
=?i lak'-s-il-qk=mil
 =HSY1 emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

- (30) *sá'ey hí:li náwki'l'mil.*
sá=?i hil-i náw-k-il=mil
 SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

'And all who were in the ceremonial house came out, and looked.'

- (31) *sikítéy k'ólk'il šákmi tiwí:mililyqkmil.*
si=kiť=?i k'ol=k'il šákmi tiw=?imi-l-il-qk=mil
 NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM some pursue-say-PFV-MPSV-SEM=FIN

'And some notified one another elsewhere.'

- (32) *sá'ey hí:li pąwík'i móp'tilmil.*
sá=?i hil-i pąwi=k'i mop-t-il=mil
 SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM one=IN gather-INTR-MPSV=FIN

'And all gathered in one place'

- (33) *sá'ey kík wóktmil hulk'ó?i ?ey*
sá=?i kik wok'-tl=mil hulk'o?i =?i
 SAME=HSY1 there dance/sing-TR=FIN Coyote =HSY1

hap yąškil'mil.
hap yąš-k-il=mil
 song/sing stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

'There they danced; Coyote stood and sang for them.'

- (34) *sopéy hí:li wóktmil.*
sop=?i hil-i wok'-tl=mil
 but=HSY1 all-ANIM dance/sing-TR=FIN

'So they all danced.'

- (39) *sq[?]éy* *má:l* *kapísimil* ³⁵⁸
sq=[?]i *má:l* *kap-s=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 river enter-CAUS=FIN
 ‘And they entered the river.’
- (40) *sq[?]ey* *hí:li* *ʔúʔ* *lá:ksiliʔakmil.*
sq=[?]i *hil-i* *ʔukʔ* *lakʔ-s-il-qk=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM water emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN
 ‘And all came out (on the other side).’
- (41) *sikitéy* *hulkʔóʔa* *taʔétmil.* ³⁵⁹
si=kiʔ=[?]i *hulkʔoʔi=q* *taʔ-t=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 Coyote=PAT drown-INTR=FIN
 ‘But Coyote drowned.’
- (42) *sikitéy* *lá:ksiliyáki* *ʔúmey*
si=kiʔ=[?]i *lakʔ-s-il-qk* *ʔumi*
 NEW=then=HSY1 emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM up.hill
- kʔáqkilmil.*
kʔáqʔ-l=mil
 exist-PFV?=FIN
 ‘So having come out, they went on up hill.’
- (43) *sikitéy* *hulkʔoʔá* *táʔlam* *hąli* *yátmil.*
si=kiʔ=[?]i *hulkʔoʔi=q* *taʔ-ląm* =hąli *yat=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 Coyote=PAT drown-INCH =INFR1 be.gone=FIN
 ‘And Coyote was missing, as if he were floating off drowned.’
- (44) *sikitéy* *ki* *ʔa:ʔát* *túkinámlíkímáse* *ʔey*
si=kiʔ=[?]i *kiʔ* *ʔaʔat* *tuk=namlí=kiʔ-mas-i* =ʔi
 NEW=then=HSY1 DST people move=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

³⁵⁸ Alternate form given: *kapésimil* ‘they came to’.

³⁵⁹ Alternate form given: *taʔitmil* ‘was drowned’.

mi:liti:ki [?]ey *tóktmil*.
militiki =[?]i *t'ok-tl=mil*
 Militiki =HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN

'Then the people who were traveling reached Mílitiki.'

- (45) *sá[?]éy* *ki:k* *hi:li* *nó[?]okmil* *yí:č*
sá=[?]i *kik* *hil-i* *no[?]-k=mil* *yič*
 SAME=HSY1 there all-ANIM live-PNCT=FIN for.a.while
 'And there all stayed for a while.'

- (46) *sópey* *kí:k* *hulk'ó'i* *kómmil*.
sop=[?]i *kik* *hulk'o'i* *kom=mil*
 but=HSY1 there Coyote come=FIN
 'But there Coyote came up.'

- (47) *sá[?]ey* *k'ayimilmil* *hót* *'íwupa* *han* *hilk*
sá=[?]i *k'ay-mil=mil* *hoť* *'iwop=q* *han* *hilk*
 SAME=HSY1 talk-?=FIN large man=PAT? but all/something?

hąko[?]očmi [?]an *múna[?]* *koyyikířa* *hílkil*
hąkoč-mih? [?]an *muna[?]* *ko[?]-y=kiřa* *hílkil*
 bad-be? long.time many go-PROG=while one.another

kíwikilmil *są* *yatámil* *są* *'án*
kiw-k-il=mil *są* *yata=mil* *są* *'an*
 ask-PNCT-MPSV=FIN SAME discover=FIN SAME long.time

huná:kilmil [?]an *ká:čma* *míhikan*.
huna-k-il=mil [?]an *ka'ačam=a* *mih=kan*
 wait.for-PNCT-MPSV=FIN long.time bad=? be=though

'And he talked: "Since even a great man may have something go badly with him, many traveling together should always ask one another and discover and wait for him, though he were worthless.'"

- (48) *sáʔey* *ʔím* *kʻan* *paʔétmil* *hulkʻóʔi* *mi:litéiki*
sq=ʔi *ʔim* *kʻqn* *paʔ-t=mil* *hulkʻoʔi* *militiki*
 SAME=HSY1 where language/word get.up-INTR=FIN Coyote Militiki

múnaʔ *ʔá:ʔat* *šúknamlík:k* *tóktli*
munaʔ *ʔat* *šuʔ-k=namlí=kik* *tʻok-tl*
 many people sit/stay-PNCT=DEP=there arrive-TR

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

- (49) *sáʔey* *ʔátqʔ* *kík* *milití:ki* *ʔey* *ʔáʔtq* *woktlmil*
sq=ʔi *ʔataʔ* *kik* *militiki* =ʔi *ʔataʔ* *wokʻ-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 again there Militiki =HSY1 again dance/sing-TR=FIN

hulkʻóʔi *həp* *yéškilop*
hulkʻoʔi *həp* *yəš-k-il=op*
 Coyote song/sing stand-PNCT-MPSV=while

‘And there at Mílitiki they danced once more, Coyote standing and singing for them’

- (50) *sáʔey* *huʔútli* *ʔáʔtq* *túktimil*.
sq=ʔi *huʔuʔ-tl* *ʔataʔ* *ʔuk-t=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 quit-TR again move-INTR=FIN

‘And ceasing, they traveled on.’

- (51) *sáʔey* *həye* *hulmúnin* *yim* *nəhiki:ʔi:čisa*
sq=ʔi *həʔaye* *hulmunin* *yim* *nəʔ-hʔ=kiʔ=ʔič-sa*
 SAME=HSY1 now Spider fire hold.down-DUR?=DST=JXT-?

ʔey *həye* *kík* *wóktlik* *ʔey* *ʔátat*
 =ʔi *həʔaye* *kik* *wokʻ-tl=k* =ʔi *ʔat*
 =HSY1 now there dance/sing-TR=DECL =HSY1 people

ʔi:líkilmil³⁶⁰ ʔohí:škimása.
 ʔil-k-il=mil³⁶¹ ʔohiš=ki²-mas=q
 count-PNCT-MPSV=FIN swift=DST-DSTR=PAT

‘And now, approaching the place where Spider was holding down the fire,
 dancing there the swiftest ones danced the circle dance.’

- (52) sópey máyq ʔohí:š³⁶² milimáʔ páwka ʔeyy
 sop=ʔi máy'=q ʔohiš milimáʔ páwka =ʔi
 but=HSY1 who/someone=PAT swift nobody.I.think one.PAT =HSY1

ʔohí:šammil ʔeyy ʔimeymil hulk'óʔi
 ʔohiš-m=mil =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulk'oʔi
 swift-IMPV=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
 ‘Then, “Who is swift? I think I alone am a swift one”, said Coyote.’

- (53) sqʔéy nánšil ʔúnol'iʔ k'ó:ṭilmil.
 sq=ʔi nan-šil ʔunol'=iʔ k'o²-t-il=mil
 SAME=HSY1 black.oak-skin quiver=IN be.in-INTR-MPSV=FIN
 ‘And he was keeping black-oak bark in his quiver (as tinder).’

- (54) sikiṭéy ʔáyam máya ʔohí:š ʔqtánop han
 si=kiṭ=ʔi ʔayam máy'=q ʔohiš-q-tan=op han
 NEW=then=HSY1 Buzzard who/someone=PAT swift-ʔ-NEG=while but

ʔqp wič ʔi:timil ʔey ʔimeymil ʔáyam.
 ʔqp wič ʔi²-t=mil =ʔi ʔimi=mil ʔayam
 1SG.AGT far fly-INTR=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN Buzzard
 ‘Then Buzzard, “No one is (so) swift but I fly long”, said Buzzard.’

- (55) sikaqéy ʔa:ṭát tǫlk panóp miʔ mik'ál
 si=kq=ʔi ʔaṭat tǫlk pan=op miʔ mik'al
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 people no hang?=while? 2SG.AGT? around

³⁶⁰ Alternate form given: *wilkilmil* ‘dance wilol’ wok in circle’.

³⁶¹ May be the same verb as ʔil- ‘add, count, read’, which is included in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:19).

³⁶² Alternate forms given: ʔohí:šamu, ʔohí:šq.

sika *mis* *ʔamílkilláwxkʔ* *ʔey*
si=kq *mis* *ʔamil-k-il-law=k* =ʔi
 NEW=thereupon 2SG.PAT overtake-PNCT-MPSV-PRM=DECL =HSY1

ʔi:mq̄lilmil *ʔa:tát.*
ʔimi-mq̄-l-il=mil *ʔaʔat*
 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN people
 ‘Then, “No, he will overtake you (as you) circle close by”, said the people to one another.’

(56) *sikiʔéy* *həyú:mi* *kʔán* *táyyq̄lʔk* *ʔá:tatnók*³⁶³
si=kiʔ=ʔi *həyum* *kʔan* *tq̄lʔ=k* *ʔaʔat=nok*
 NEW=then=HSY1 Dove language/word NEG?=DECL people=near

kʔólám *ʔey* *kóʔimil* *ʔolčʔók* *káyt* *tʔhe*³⁶⁴
kʔol-am =ʔi *koʔ=mil* *ʔol-čʔok* *kayit* *tq̄h*
 other-NOML =HSY1 go=FIN tree-rotten/dry? long.ago find

ʔunolʔiʔ *ʔimσnʔ*³⁶⁵ *háʔmil* *sq* *hí:li* *ʔohi:šq*
ʔunolʔ=iʔ *ʔimonʔ* *haʔ=mil* *sq* *hil-i* *ʔohiš=a*
 quiver=IN scarcely.visible hit=FIN SAME all-ANIM swift=?

kimq̄lil:likiʔ *ʔey* *həyú:mi* *kʔəyyəyamtənmʔil.*
ki-mq̄-l-il=kit =ʔi *həyum* *kʔəy-m-tan=mil*
 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=while =HSY1 Dove talk-IMPV-NEG=FIN
 ‘Then Dove, refraining from talk, went aside a little from the people, and having before found rotten wood, hit it imperceptibly in his quiver, and while all were telling one another that they were swift, Dove did not talk at all.’

³⁶³ Alternative form given: *ʔá:tatnák* ‘near people’.

³⁶⁴ Alternative forms given: *tʔ*, *tʔhi* ‘he found’.

³⁶⁵ The surface form is given only with the <σ> vowel, the vowel may not be /o/, could also be /a/.

- (57) *sáʔey* *ʔatá* *wóktmil*.
sá=ʔi *ʔaʔaʔ* *wokʔ-tl=mil*
 SAME(?)=HSY1 again dance/sing-TR=FIN
 ‘And again they danced.’ [‘And again Dove danced.’ ?]
- (58) *siʔéy* *hí:li* *kí:kʔi* *wok* *ʔiy* *máʔlilmil*
si=ʔi *hil-i* *kik* *wokʔ* =ʔi *máʔ-l-il=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM there dance/sing =HSY1 practice-PFV-MPSV=FIN
- sá* *huʔútl* *ʔaʔtá* *túkt(i)mil*.
sá *huʔuʔ-tl* *ʔaʔaʔ* *tuk-t=mil*
 SAME quit-TR again move-INTR=FIN
 ‘All practiced dancing there; and finishing they traveled on.’
- (59) *sáʔey* *hulmúnin* *yim* *náhi* *kitáʔopis*
sá=ʔi *hulmunin* *yim* *náʔ-hʔ* *kiʔa=piš*
 SAME=HSY1 Spider fire hold-DUR? there=ABL?³⁶⁶
- ʔey* *tóktmil*.
=ʔi *tʔok-tl=mil*
 =HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN
 ‘And they arrived near where Spider was holding down the fire.’
- (60) *sáʔéy* *ʔaʔtá* *wóktmil* *kí:* *káyit*
sá=ʔi *ʔaʔaʔ* *wokʔ-tl=mil* *kiʔ* *káyit*
 SAME=HSY1 again dance/sing-TR=FIN DST long.ago
- toklikí:*
tʔok-tl=kiʔ
 arrive-TR=DST
 ‘And having reached it, they danced again.’
- (61) *sikiʔéy* *háyú:mi* *hulmúninát* *náʔkʔi:* *šilóʔ*
si=kiʔ=ʔi *háyum* *hulmunin=qt* *náʔk=i* =šiloʔ
 NEW=then=HSY1 Dove Spider=DAT near?=IN =INFR2

³⁶⁶ *kitáʔopis* is glossed as ‘there, near this side of it’.

ʔey nánkilmil' hayú:mi
 =ʔi nqm-k-il=mil' hayum
 =HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN? Dove
 'Then Dove laid himself down as it were near Spider.'

(62) sikiťéy hí:li ʔqtq wóktmil
 si=kiť=ʔi hil-i ʔataʔ wok'-tl=mil
 NEW=then=HSY1 all-ANIM again dance/sing-TR=FIN
 'And all danced on.'

(63) sonʔéy hulmúnina mú:šamtanmil.
 son=ʔi hulmunin=q muš-m-tan=mil
 but=HSY1 Spider=PAT laugh-IMPV-NEG=FIN
 'But did not make Spider laugh.' [Probably: Spider did not laugh.]

(64) siʔéy hí:li haye wók huʔútlmil.
 si=ʔi hil-i hqʔaye wok' huʔuʔ-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM now dance/sing quit-TR=FIN
 'And now all stopped dancing.'

(65) sikiťéy wək'í ki huʔú(tli) ʔey milnú:ši nq
 si=kiť-i wək=k'i kiʔ huʔu(-tl) =ʔi milmuš =nq
 NEW=then=HSY1 after=IN DST finish(-TR) =HSY1 Polecat =and

si:skína nq ʔolkáčam kimáse mólmaʔ ʔey
 siskina =nq ʔolkaťam kiʔ-mas-i molmi=a =ʔi
 Skunk =and Mouse DST-DSTR-ANIM three=? =HSY1

tátikilmil wok'áŋk
 tat-k-il=mil wok'-m=k
 good/make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN dance/sing-IMPV=DECL

'Then, after that ended, Polecat and Skunk and Mouse, those three adorned themselves for the dance.'

- (66) *sopey hulk'ó'i ?á'tá kimáşat há:p yqşkílmil.*
sop=?i hulk'o'i ?ata? ki?-mas=qt hap yqş-k-il=mil
 but=HSY1 Coyote again DST-DSTR=DAT song/sing stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 'And Coyote again stood and sang for them.'

- (67) *sop'éy kimási mólma? ?qlaŋkó?otimil*
sop=?i ki?-mas-i molmi=a ?qlaŋko?-t=mil
 but=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM three=? dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN
 'But the three danced in a row to the side.'

- (68) *sá?ey kipáw ?ey ?qlaŋkó?otim'il*
sá=?i kipaw =?i ?qlaŋko?-t=mil
 SAME=HSY1 back =HSY1 dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN
 'And they danced back.'

- (69) *sá'éy kipáwki ?ata ?qlaŋkó?otimil.*
sá=?i kipaw=ki ?ata? ?qlaŋko?-t=mil
 SAME=HSY1 back=IN again dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN
 'And again they danced to the side.'

- (70) *sá?ey ?átq kipáwiyit ?qlaŋkó:top ?ey ?olkáčam*
sá=?i ?ata? kipaw=i? ?qlaŋko?-t=op =?i ?olkařam
 SAME=HSY1 again back=JXT dance.in.a.row-INTR=while =HSY1 Mouse

?únol' ?untilnamlikí: ?ey ?onop
?únol' ?un-t-il=namli=ki? =?i ?on=op
 quiver carry-INTR-MPSV=DEP=DST =HSY1 earth=LAT

híltimil.

hi-tl-t=mil

drag-TR-?=FIN

'And as they danced back, Mouse dragged on the ground the quiver he was carrying.'

- (71) *sąkopéy* *kipát* *sín'* *k'iktamil*³⁶⁷
są=kop=?i *kip=qt* *sin'* *k'ik'-ta=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 3R=DAT anus scratch-?=FIN
 'And then he scratched his anus.'
- (72) *sopéy* *hí:li* *sohókilmil.*
sop=?i *hil-i* *soh-k-il=mil*
 but=HSY1 all-ANIM applaud/cheer-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 'But all applauded.'
- (73) *sopéy* *hulmúnina* *hą!* *?ímṭ'mil*³⁶⁸
sop=?i *hulmunin=q* *hą* *?im-t=mil*
 but=HSY1 Spider=PAT EXC try-INTR=FIN
 'And Spider went (*ímtmil* 'involuntarily tried?') "HA".'
- (74) *si'éy* *?únšil* *k'áštēmil*³⁶⁹
si=?i *?unšil* *k'aš-t=mil*
 NEW?=HSY1 small rise-INTR=FIN
 'And rose a little.'
- (75) *sópéy* *hąyú:mi* *?olč'ok* *há'namlíkí:la*
sop=?i *hąyum* *?ol-č'ok* *ha?=namli=ki'-la*
 but=HSY1 Dove wood-dry?/rotten? carry=DEP=DST-INST
- ?éy* *hąhin'am* *lúktlmil.*
=?i *hąhin-ąm* *luk-tl=mil*
 =HSY1 under-IN2 go.down-TR=FIN
 'But Dove pushed under (him) with the rotten wood he was carrying (and caught fire in it).'

³⁶⁷ Alternate form given: *k'iktąlimil* 'scratched'.

³⁶⁸ Uncertain whether it is <t> or <ṭ>.

³⁶⁹ Alternate form given: *k'ástēmil* 'he rose up'.

- (76) *sqʔéy toʔótíml.*
sq=ʔi ʔoʔ-t=ml
 SAME=HSY1 burn-INTR=FIN
 ‘And he set fire (to the grass).’
- (77) *sopéy hulmúnin wək téwtlml*³⁷⁰
sop=ʔi hulmunin wək tiw-tl=ml
 but=HSY1 Spider after pursue-TR=FIN
 ‘But Spider pursued him closely.’
- (78) *sikítéy kʰolkʰil ʔa:ʔát wó:manamlikimáse*
si=kiʔ=ʔi kʰol=kʰil ʔaʔat wokʰ-mə=namli=kiʔ-mas-i
 NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM people dance/sing-DIR1=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM
- ʔey túktíml lalkúhtkiwit.*
=ʔi ʔuk-t=ml lalkuhtki=wit
 =HSY1 move-INTR=FIN Lalkuhtki=ALL
 ‘Then the people who had come there to dance traveled (back) in another direction to Lalkúhtki.’
- (79) *sqʔéy hi:li lalkú:htki pʰóʔikílmil*
sq=ʔi hil-i lalkuhtki pʰoyʔ-k-il=ml
 SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM Lalkuhtki putʔ-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘And all went into Lalkúhtki.’
- (80) *sikítéy wílʔám ʔonkú:tam*
si=kiʔ=ʔi wíl-qm ʔon-kut-am
 NEW=then=HSY1 far-IN2 earth-start-NOML
- toʔíltlml*³⁷¹ *háyú:mi*
toʔil-tl=ml háyum
 burn.up.in.streak-TR=FIN Dove
 ‘Then far to the end of the earth Dove set fire (to the vegetation, flying straight on).’

³⁷⁰ Alternate form given: *tíʔútlml* ‘pursued him right behind’.

³⁷¹ Possibly related to *ʔoʔ-* burn, which is found in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:38).

- (81) *sikiṭéy* *wáḳop* *hulmúnin*
si=kiṭ=?i *wáḳ=op* *hulmunin*
 NEW=then=HSY1 after=LAT Spider

téwtlnamlikán *ʔey* *hutáj*
tiw-tl=namli=kan =?i *hutam*
 pursue-TR=DEP=though =HSY1 halfway

k'óletmil *tóṭ* *namnamlikiṭa.*
k'ol-t=mil *ṭoṭ* *nám=namli=kiṭa*
 die-INTR=FIN log lay=DEP=there

- (82) *siʔéy* *pómil*
si=?i *poʔ=mił*
 NEW=HSY1 burn=FIN

‘Then though Spider pursued him, he died halfway where a log was lying, and was consumed.’

- (83) *sikiṭéy* *ki* *lalkú:tk* *ʔaṭát*
si=kiṭ=?i *kiʔ* *lalkuhtki* *ʔaṭat*
 NEW=then=HSY1 DST Lalkúhtki people

ʔóykilnamlikimáse *ʔey* *lál*
ʔoy-k-il=namli=kiʔ-mas-i =?i *lal*
 run-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1 lake

míṭkilmil.
miṭ-k-il=mil
 cover-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

‘Then they who had crowded into Lalkúhtki filled up the lake,’

- (84) *sikiṭéy* *šáḳma* *ʔaséyáqilmil* *yímok*
si=kiṭ=?i *šáḳmi=q* *ʔas-qk-il=mil* *yim-ok*
 NEW=then=HSY1 some=PAT hot-SEM-MPSV=FIN fire-INST
 ‘and some were scorched by the fire.’

- (85) *sikí:ʔey* *ʔqséyma* *nan* *ʔqsičamil*
si=ki=ʔi *ʔqsima* *nan* *ʔqsič-mʔ=mil*
 NEW=therefore=HSY1 Woodpecker head red-IMPV?=?FIN
 ‘That is why Woodpecker has a red head.’

- (86) *sikéyʔi* *šúpá* *sópis* *ʔqsíyqilnamlikí:*
si=ki=ʔi *šupa* *sopis* *ʔqs-q-k-il=namli=kiʔ*
 NEW=therefore=HSY1 Blackbird shoulder hot-?-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST

ʔey *ʔqséyč* *tʔklamammil*
 =ʔi *ʔqsič* *tʔk-lam-m=mil*
 =HSY1 red ?-INCH-IMPV=FIN

‘That is why Red-winged Blackbird being scorched on the shoulder has a red spot there.’

- (87) *sikiṭ* *hulkʔóʔa* *ʔqsiṭnamlikí:* *ʔey*
si=kiṭ *hulkʔoʔi=q* *ʔqs-t=namliki* =ʔi
 NEW=then Coyote=PAT hot-INTR=because =HSY1

kú:š *ʔqsámil*
kuš *ʔqsamil*
 fur yellowish

‘And Coyote’s fur was yellowish because he had been scorched.’

- (88) *seʔey* *ʔán* *ʔon* *kʔálammil*
si=ʔi *ʔan* *ʔon* *kʔal-m=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 long.time earth burn-IMPV=FIN
 ‘And now for a long time the world was in conflagration,’

- (89) *simeyéy* *šámní:tmil* ³⁷²
si=mi=ʔi *šamniʔ-ʔ-t=mil*
 NEW=?=then=HSY1 begin.stop.burning-INTR=FIN
 ‘but then it extinguished.’

³⁷² Kroeber glosses *šámní:tmil* ‘it began to stop burning’. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:47) include the forms *ša:t-* ‘cold, mostly of an object or the weather, fire to go out’ and *ʔa:m-* ‘cold, of a person or the weather’, which could be connected to the verb root in *šámní:tmil*.

- (90) *sopéy* *ʔa:tát* *ʔú:kpis* *lá:ksiliyáki* *náwʔnamlikíʔa*
sop=ʔi *ʔatát* *ʔuk'=pis* *lak'-s-il-qk* *noʔ=namli=kiʔa*
 but=HSY1 people water=ABL emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM live=DEP=there

ʔey *tú:mamil* *hi:li.*
 =ʔi *ʔuk?-mɔ=mi* *hil-i*
 =HSY1 move-DIR1=FIN all-ANIM

'But the people all coming out of the water, returned to where they lived.'

- (91) *sáʔey* *kí:k* *ʔiwilhánk'i* *wóktlmil*
sá=ʔi *kik* *ʔiwilhan=k'i* *wok'-tl=mi*
 SAME=HSY1 there ceremonial.house=IN dance/sing-TR=FIN
 'and there they danced in the ceremonial house.'

- (92) *seʔey* *haye* *ʔ'á:milhip*³⁷³ *t'áqilmil*
si=ʔi *həʔaye* *ʔ'amilhip* *t'á-l-il=mi*
 NEW=HSY1 now rolling.hoop.game have.race-PFV-MPSV=FIN

ʔiwis *má:lam* *kú:htkiwit*
ʔiwis *má-l-am* *kuhtki=wi*
 men young-NOML north=ALL

'And now the young man [men?] had a race rolling hoops along to the north.'

- (93) *seʔéy* *ku:hʔt'ki* *tóktlmil*
si=ʔi *kuhtki* *t'ok-tl=mi*
 NEW=HSY1 north arrive-TR=FIN

təmilhíptinamlikimáši

ʔ'amilhip-t=namli=kiʔ-mas-i

rolling.hoop.game-INTR=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

'Then those who were rolling arrived in the north;'

³⁷³ *ʔ'amil hip* is identified as the name of the rolling hoop game by Kroeber in the original notes. In clause 92, Kroeber glosses *ʔ'amil* 'rolled' and *hip* 'hitting', but then notes that together these form the name of this game. Also, it is unclear whether the verb in the clause is the same as that in the name of the game. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:107) include *t'amilhip* 'hoop game' attributed to Foster.

- (94) *sq[?]ey* *k'olá:tk*³⁷⁴ *t'óktmil*
sq=[?]i *k'ol=qt=k* *t'ok-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 other=DAT=IN arrive-TR=FIN
 'and they had reached the place of other (people).'
- (95) *sq[?]ey* *hánk'il* *tá:milhípmamil*
sq=[?]i *han=k'il* *t'qmilhip-mq=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 house=TERM rolling.hoop.game-DIR1=FIN
 'So they were racing toward the houses.'
- (96) *se[?]éy* *ʔeyyínom'* *miyátkil'* *ko:lítýik*
si=[?]i *ʔiyi-nom'* *mi=qt=k'il* *ko[?]-lit-y=k*
 NEW=HSY1 what-people/tribe 1PL.INCL=DAT=TERM go-DIR2-PROG=DECL

ʔey *ʔimáílilmil* *k'ó'il*
=ʔi *ʔimi-mq-l-il=mil* *k'ó'il*
 =HSY1 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN Wailaki
 'And the Wailaki said to one another, "People of some tribe are coming toward us".'
- (97) *se[?]éy* *ʔiwilhánam* *káptilyakmil*³⁷⁵
si=[?]i *ʔiwilhan-qm* *kap-t-il-qk=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 ceremonial.house-IN2 enter-INTR-MPSV-SEM=FIN
 'Then they caused them to enter the ceremonial house;'
- (98) *se[?]ey* *ká:psilyakmil*
si=[?]i *kap-s-il-qk=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN
 'and they entered.'
- (99) *siká[?]éy* *nákop* *k'ap'éyakmil* *k'ó'il*
si=ká=[?]i *náq=op* *k'ap'-qk=mil* *k'ó'il*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 dark/night=LAT kill-SEM=FIN Wailaki
 'Thereupon in the night the Wailaki killed them.'

³⁷⁴ Alternate form given: *k'olá:qtatp* 'to another's place'.

³⁷⁵ *kápsilyakmil* 'they caused them to enter' is given as a possible though uncertain alternative.

- (100) *sikiṭéy* *šákmi* *hákiłmil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *šákmi* *hah-k-il=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 some run-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘But some escaped.’
- (101) *sikiṭéy* *čáminká:pina*³⁷⁶ *ʔúnšilkil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *čáminkapin=q* *ʔunšil=k'il*
 NEW=then=HSY1 Čaminkapin=PAT small=TERM

čák'íkilmil
č'ak'-k-il=mil
 club-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘And they were trying to club little Čaminkapin.’
- (102) *seʔey* *yóʔoṭop* *mik'óp* *kapéniʔakmil*³⁷⁷
si=ʔi *yot=op* *mik'op* *kap-n-ək=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 grass=LAT quick enter-AND-SEM=FIN
 ‘But he dashed quickly in and out of the grass,’
- (103) *sáʔey* *wílʔiʔ* *lákti* *tášíl* *holíyammil*.
sá=ʔi *wil=ʔiʔ* *lak'-t* *tášil* *hol-m=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 way.up/off=IN emerge-INTR quiver pull?-IMPFV=FIN
 ‘and escaping to a distance shook his quiver at them’
- (104) *sik'éy* *tál tál tál* *ʔímeymil* *čáminká:pín*
sik=ʔi *tál tál tál* *ʔimi=mil* *čáminkapín*
 then=HSY1 no no no say=FIN Čaminkapin
 ‘and Čaminkapin said “No, no, no!”’
- (105) *sikiṭey* *šákmi* *ʔonwíčop* *ʔi:tlmil*³⁷⁸
si=kiṭ=ʔi *šákmi* *ʔon=wič=op* *ʔiʔʔ-tl=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 some earth=ALL=LAT flee?-TR=FIN
 ‘Then some had fled a long way,’

³⁷⁶ Kroeber glosses Čaminkapin as the ‘name of a bird, a small bird’.

³⁷⁷ Alternate form given: *kapíniʔakmil* ‘he went in and out there’.

³⁷⁸ Kroeber glosses *ʔi:tlmil* ‘they got (from where they flee)’.

- (106) *sikiṭéy* *wąk'op* *čq:minká:pin* *kó:mil*
si=kiṭ=?i *wąk=op* *čaminkapin* *ko?=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 after=LAT Čaminkapin go=FIN
 'but Čaminkapin came behind.'
- (107) *si* *kí* *nąk* *ʔey* *hulk'o'á* *ʔinámtil* *ʔa:tát*
si *kiʔ* *nąk* *=ʔi* *hulk'o'ʔi=q* *ʔinam-t=mil* *ʔaʔat*
 NEW DST dark/night =HSY1 Coyote=PAT dream-INTR=FIN people
- kú:htkiwit* *yí:tiwi* *kimáša* *li:támšik*³⁷⁹ *ʔiy*
kuhtki=wi *yiʔ-t-wi* *kiʔ-mas=q* *liʔ-t-m-sik* *=ʔi*
 north=ALL play-INTR-PST1 DST-DSTR=PAT kill-INTR-IMPV-HSY2 =HSY1
- ʔimeymil* *hulk'óʔi*
ʔimi=mil *hulk'óʔi*
 say=FIN Coyote
 'And at night Coyote dreamed: "The people who went north playing are being killed", Coyote said.'
- (108) *sikiṭey* *hiʔkilnamlikimáse* *ʔey*
si=kiṭ=?i *hiʔ-k-il=namli=kiʔ-mas-i* *=ʔi*
 NEW=then=HSY1 come.out-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1
- kipąwk'il* *t'óktmil*
kipąw=k'il *t'ok-tl=mil*
 back=TERM arrive-TR=FIN
 'Then whoever had escaped arrived again.'
- (109) *sóney* *hušk'ąyestanm'il* *k'ó'il* *ʔa:tát* *liʔiyaknamlikí:*
son=?i *hušk'ąy-s-tan=mil* *k'o'il* *ʔaʔat* *liʔ-ąk=namli=kiʔ*
 but=HSY1 tell-CAUS?-NEG=FIN Wailaki people kill-SEM=DEP=DST
 'They did not tell that the Wailaki had killed the people;'

³⁷⁹ Alternate form given: *li:támšik* 'were killed'.

- (110) *sonʔéy ná:nákmil hulkʔóʔa káyit*
son=ʔi nqnak=mil hulkʔóʔi=q kayit
 but=HSY1 know=FIN Coyote=PAT long.ago
- ʔinámtnamlíka*
ʔinam-t=namlí=kaʔ
 dream-INTR=DEP=PRX?
 ‘but Coyote knew it from dreaming it before (they came).’
- (111) *sqʔéy háye ʔʔw káyakmil* ³⁸⁰
sq=ʔi hqʔaye ʔʔw kqʔ-qk=mil
 SAME=HSY1 now war want?-SEM=FIN
 ‘And now he wanted to make war upon them for it.’
- (112) *sqʔey ʔá:ʔat ʔʔl:lakmil kimáša ʔaniltí:li*
sq=ʔi ʔaʔat ʔʔil-qk=mil kiʔ-mas=q ʔanil-t-il
 SAME=HSY1 people count-SEM=FIN DST-DSTR=PAT lead-INTR-MPSV
- kʔoʔóla ʔʔwli:tinik*
kʔoʔol=q ʔʔw-lit-nik
 Wailaki.PL=PAT war-DIR2-NEC
 ‘And he counted the people he was about to take to war on the Wailaki.’
- (113) *sqʔéy tʔuynaʔákina nq šiwkítiną ʔeyy yqwweymil*
sq=ʔi tʔuynaʔakin=q =nq šiwkítin=q =ʔi yqw=mil
 SAME=HSY1 Tʔuynaʔákin=PAT =and Šiwkítin=PAT =HSY1 name/call=FIN
 ‘And named Tʔuynaʔákin and Šiwkítin.’
- (114) *sqkópey ʔolkáčma yqweymil kimáše*
sq=kop=ʔi ʔolkaʔam=q yqw=mil kiʔ-mas-i
 SAME=then=HSY1 Mouse=PAT name/call=FIN DST-DSTR-ANIM

³⁸⁰ Kroeber glosses *káyakmil* ‘he wanted to give them for it’. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:266) include the form *kʔat-* ‘wish’, which may be the same as the root of this verb or a root that is somehow related.

k'ó'ola *haikiyúniakpá:miki*:³⁸¹ *kimáša*.
k'o'ol=q *hayk'ayu-n-qk-pa'am=ki?* *ki²-mas=q*
 Wailaki.PL=PAT destroy-AND-SEM-FUT=DST DST-DSTR=PAT
 'Also he named Mouse (among) those who would do injury to the Wailaki.'

(115) *se'ey* *kimási* *kó:tmil*³⁸²
si=?i *ki²-mas-i* *ko²-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM go-INTR=FIN
 'Then they went.'

(116) *sopéy* *múna?* *kó:tmil*
sop=?i *muna?* *ko²-t=mil*
 but=HSY1 many go-INTR=FIN
 'many went,'

(117) *sopéy* *hulk'ó'i* *ṭ'áwhuyáktmil*
sop=?i *hulk'ó'i* *ṭ'áw-huyak-t=mil*
 but=HSY1 Coyote war-leader?-INTR=FIN
 'but Coyote was war leader.'

(118) *sq'éy* *k'ó'olat* *ʔónop* *tóktlmil*
sq=?i *k'o'ol=qt* *ʔon=op* *t'ok-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 Wailaki.PL=DAT earth=LAT arrive-TR=FIN
 'And they reached the Wailaki country.'

(119) *se* *hánkil* *kó'olítyi* *ʔey* *ʔíyinom'*
si *han=k'il* *ko²-lit-y* *=?i* *ʔiyi-nom'*
 NEW house=TERM go-DIR2-PROG =HSY1 what-people/tribe

³⁸¹ Kroeber glosses *haikiyúniakpá:miki*: 'would treat the worst[,],do bad to, injure without redress'. The root of this verb seems almost certainly to be *hayk'ayu-* 'destroy' included in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:62).

³⁸² Possibly written as *kót'mil*. Difficult to tell if the glottalization has been crossed out or not.

miyá:tk'il *múna?* *kó:yik* *ʔey* *ʔimeymil* *k'ó'il*
mi=qt=k'il *muna?* *ko?-y=k* =ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *k'o'il*
 1PL.INCL=DAT=TERM many go-PROG=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Wailaki
 'Then as they were approaching the houses, the Wailaki said, "Some people are going toward us in numbers".'

- (120) *se'éy* *hulk'o'á* *hqlammil*
si=ʔi *hulk'o'í=q* *hql-m=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT hear-IMPFV=FIN
 'And Coyote understood them.'

- (121) *sáki:ʔey* *hušk'qyyesmil* *kipat* *ʔa:táta*
sá=ki=ʔi *hušk'qy-s=mil* *kip=qt* *ʔatát=q*
 SAME=and=HSY1 tell-CAUS?=FIN 3R=DAT people=PAT
 'and told his own people.'

- (122) *sá'éy* *han'íč* *ko:yikóp* *hulk'o'í* *k'o'il*
sá=ʔi *han=ič* *ko?-y=kop* *hulk'o'í* *k'o'il*
 SAME=HSY1 house=JXT go-PROG=when Coyote Wailaki

k'áni *k'qymil* *na* *máy* *ʔiwop* *mihtan* *ʔi:*
k'qn *k'qy=mil* =nq *máy'* *ʔiwop* *mih-tan* *ʔi*
 language/word talk=FIN =and who/someone man be-NEG 1SG.PAT

yáwmil *hoʔot* *nóʔop* *han* *ʔqp* *kóʔomil* *ʔiy*
yáw=mil *hoʔ* *noʔ=op?* *han* *ʔqp* *koʔ=mil* =ʔi
 name/call=FIN large live=while? but 1SG.AGT go=FIN =HSY1

ʔimeymil *hulk'ó'i* *k'o'olk'ána'ok*³⁸³
ʔimi=mil *hulk'o'í* *ko'ol-k'qn=q?-ok*
 say=FIN Coyote Wailaki.PL-language/word=PAT?-INST
 'And when they came near the houses, Coyote talked Wailaki: "Who is a man? There is no one I name, but I come where many live", said Coyote speaking Wailaki.'

³⁸³ Alternate form given: *k'o'olk'áno'ok* 'in Wailaki language'.

- (123) *sqʔéy* *ʔiwilhánam* *kápšilyakmil*
sq=ʔi *ʔiwilhan-qm* *kap-s-il-qk=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 ceremonial.house-IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

máy *kimoʔséyya* *kápta* *ʔímeytanan.*
máqʔ *kimoʔosiya* *kap-t-a* *ʔimi-tan=han*
 who/someone DSTR.R enter-INTR-IMP say-NEG=but

‘And he (Coyote) entered the ceremonial house though none of them said to him, “Enter!”’

- (124) *seʔéy* *šákmi* *kʔóʔil* *šáyamasi* *wítʔak*
si=ʔi *šákmi* *kʔóʔil* *šay-a-mas-i* *wiṭ-ak*
 NEW=HSY1 some Wailaki raw/alive-?-DSTR-ANIM turn-SEM?

paʔájk *šiloʔmaʔmási* *nóhkil* *ʔey*
panʔ=k *šiloʔ-maʔ-mas-i* *noʔ-h-k-il* *=ʔi*
 think?=DECL like-?-DSTR-ANIM live-DUR?-PNCT?-MPSV =HSY1

ʔimeymil *šákmi* *kʔóʔil*
ʔimi=mil *šákmi* *kʔóʔil*
 say=FIN some Wailaki

‘Then some of the Wailaki said, “They sit down as if they thought they would return alive”.’

- (125) *seʔey* *háqlammil* *hulkʔóʔa*
si=ʔi *hql-m=mil* *hulkʔóʔi=q*
 NEW=HSY1 hear-IMPFV=FIN Coyote=PAT
 ‘And Coyote understood’

- (126) *síkey* *wá:česmil* *kipat* *ʔa:ṭáta.*
si=ki *wačʔ-s=mil* *kip=qt* *ʔaṭat=q*
 NEW=therefore? teach-CAUS?=FIN 3R=DAT people=PAT
 ‘and told his people.’

- (127) *se'ey* *háye* *k'ó'il* *kíwismil* *wóktl*
si=?i *hą'ąye* *k'ó'il* *kiw-s=mil* *wok'-tl*
 NEW=HSY1 now Wailaki ask-CAUS?=FIN dance/sing-TR

?úsa *nąwésa'* *?ey* *?imeymil*
?us=q *nąw-s-a'* =?i *?imi=mil*
 1PL.EXCL=PAT see-CAUS-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN

k'ó'il *hulk'ó'a*
k'ó'il *hulk'ó'i=q*
 Wailaki Coyote=PAT

'Then the Wailaki asked: "Show us (your) dance", they said to Coyote.'

- (128) *se'ey* *?ą* *?imeymil* *hulk'ó'i*
si=?i *?ą* *?imi=mil* *hulk'ó'i*
 NEW=HSY1 yes say=FIN Coyote
 And he said, "Yes",'

- (129) *są'ey* *kipat* *?a:тата* *woktl* *?imeymil*
są=?i *kip=qt* *?atát=q* *wok'-tl-(? ?)* *?imi=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 3R=DAT people=PAT dance/sing-TR-(IMP?) say=FIN
 'and told his people to dance.'

- (130) *se'ey* *kimáse* *wóktmil*
si=?i *ki?-mas-i* *wok'-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM dance/sing-TR=FIN
 'So they danced.'

- (131) *są'ey* *hu?útlmil* *nąkhuyłámop*
są=?i *hu'u?-tl=mil* *nąk-huy-lám=op*
 SAME=HSY1 quit-TR=FIN dark/night-half-INCH=while
 'And they stopped as it was becoming the middle of the night.'

- (132) *se'ey* *háye* *hiwąk* *mo'osiyat* *?úsa*
si=?i *hą'ąye* *hiwąk* *mo'osiyat* *?us=q*
 NEW=HSY1 now in.turn 2PL.DAT 1PL.EXCL=PAT

wok nąwi hámek ʔey ʔimeymil hulk'oʔi k'ó'ola
 wok' nąw ham=k =ʔi ʔimi=mil hulk'oʔi k'o'ol=q
 dance/sing see like/want=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote Wailaki.PL=PAT
 "Now in turn we want to see your dance", Coyote said to the Wailaki.'

- (133) se'éy k'ó'il woktlmil
 si=ʔi k'o'il wok'-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Wailaki dance/sing-TR=FIN
 'Then the Wailaki danced.'

- (134) sikaʔéy hulk'ó'i ʔin háwtlmil
 si=kq=ʔi hulk'oʔi ʔin haw-tl=mil
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 Coyote sleep wish-TR=FIN
 'Thereupon Coyote wished them sleepy.'

- (135) sikiťéy ʔolkáčam ʔáťey yi:č
 si=kiť=ʔi ʔolkaťam ʔaťi yič
 NEW=then=HSY1 Mouse a.while for.a.while

lákmiK ʔímil ʔey lákt(e)mil húčki
 lak'-m=k ʔimi=mil =ʔi lak'-t=mil huč=ki
 emerge-IMPV=DECL say=FIN =HSY1 emerge-INTR=FIN outside=IN

k'ó'il wó'oksikiť
 k'o'il wok'-s=kiť
 Wailaki dance/sing-CONT=while
 'And Mouse, saying he was going out for a while, went outdoors while the
 Wailaki were dancing.'

- (136) se'éy ʔan wo'okesmil k'ó'il
 si=ʔi ʔan wok'-s=mil k'o'il
 NEW=HSY1 long.time dance/sing-CONT=FIN Wailaki
 'And they danced long.'

- (137) *sikáʔéy* *ʔan* *hulkʔóʔi* *ʔin* *háwesmil*
si=kq=ʔi *ʔan* *hulkʔoʔi* *ʔin* *haw-s=mil*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 long,time Coyote sleep wish-CONT=FIN
 ‘But all the time Coyote was wishing them sleepy.’

- (138) *seʔéy* *šqkmi* *kʔóʔil* *ʔinlámek* *ʔey* *ʔey*
si=ʔi *šqkmi* *kʔoʔil* *ʔin-lqm=k* *ʔi* *=ʔi*
 NEW=HSY1 some Wailaki sleep-INCH=DECL 1SG.PAT =HSY1

ʔi:mq̄lilmil

ʔimi-mq-l-il=mil

say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN

‘Then some of the Wailaki said to one another, “I am getting sleepy.”’

- (139) *sikáʔey* *haye* *hulkʔóʔi* *ʔi:níštaʔ*
si=kq=ʔi *hqʔaye* *hulkʔoʔi* *ʔin-s-t-aʔ*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 now Coyote sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP

ʔi:níštaʔ *lil* *hul* *pʔoyíštaʔ*

ʔin-s-t-aʔ *lil* *hul* *pʔoy-s-t-aʔ*

sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP stone eye put-CAUS-INTR-IMP

wó:ksikq:kop *ʔi:níštaʔ* *ʔeyy* *ʔimeymil* *hulkʔóʔi*

wokʔ-s-kq=kop *ʔin-s-t-aʔ* *=ʔi* *ʔimi=mil* *hulkʔoʔi*

dance/sing-CONT?-ʔ=while sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘Thereupon Coyote said, “Become sleepy! Become sleepy! Turn your eyes into stone! As you are dancing become sleepy!”’

- (140) *seʔéy* *haye* *híli* *ʔónop* *nó:hikimása* *ʔey*
si=ʔi *hqʔaye* *hil-i* *ʔon=op* *noʔ-h=kiʔ-mas=q* *=ʔi*
 NEW=HSY1 now all-ANIM ground=LAT live-DUR=DST-DSTR=PAT =HSY1

ʔinkóptmil

ʔinkopʔ-t=mil

snore-INTR=FIN

‘And now all those who were lying on the ground snored (in their sleep).’

- (141) *sikiṭey* *šʔam* *woʔoksikimása* *ʔey*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *šʔam* *wokʻ-s=kiʻ-mas=q* =ʔi
 NEW=then=HSY1 after.a.while dance/sing-CAUS=DST-DSTR=PAT =HSY1

ʔi:nítmil *kopholiltáḷ*
ʔin-t=mil *kop-hol-il-tḷ*
 sleep-INTR=FIN feather-pull-MPSV?-NEG

‘Then after a time those who were dancing went to sleep without taking their feathers off.’

- (142) *seʔey* *hąye* *hi:la* *ʔínitmil*
si=ʔi *hąʔaye* *hil=q* *ʔin-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 now all=PAT sleep-INTR=FIN
 ‘And now all of them slept.’

- (143) *seʔey* *hóʔoṭ* *ʔínkóp* *litíniʔakmil* *kʻóʔil*
si=ʔi *hoṭ* *ʔínkopʻ* *lit-n-qk=mil* *kʻoʔil*
 NEW=HSY1 large snore do-AND-SEM=FIN Wailaki
 ‘and were performing a great snore, the Wailaki did.’

- (144) *sopéy* *hąye* *hulkʻóʔi* *čʻal* *ʔi:níštaʔ*
sop=ʔi *hąʔaye* *hulkʻoʔi* *čʻal* *ʔin-s-t-aʔ*
 but=HSY1 now Coyote loud sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP

ʔi:níštaʔ *lil* *hul* *pʻoyíštaʔ*
ʔin-s-t-aʔ *lil* *hul* *pʻoy-s-t-aʔ*
 sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP stone eye put-CAUS-INTR-IMP

ʔi:y *ʔímeymil* *hulkʻóʔi*
 =ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *hulkʻoʔi*
 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘But now Coyote said aloud, “Become sleepy! Become sleepy! Turn your eyes to stone!”

- (145) *sikiṭéy* *həye* *t'uyna'ákiná* *k'əymilmil* *hulk'ó'i*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *həʔəye* *t'uyna'ákin=q* *k'əy-mil=mil* *hulk'ó'i*
 NEW=then=HSY1 now T'uyna'ákin=PAT talk-?=FIN Coyote
- t'úy* *ha'ətl* *hán'al* *nə* *ʔá:ʔat* *nó:hikṭa* *hil*
t'uy *həʔ-tl* *hanal* =*nə* *ʔat* *noʔ-h=kiṭa* *hil*
 pitch rub-TR wall =and people live-DUR=then?/where? all
 'Thereupon he spoke to T'uyna'ákin: "Rub pitch on the walls and wherever people are lying."
- (146) *seʔéy* *t'uyna'ákin* *t'úy* *ha'namlíkí:la* *ʔey*
si=ʔi *t'uyna'ákin* *t'uy* *həʔ=namlí=kiʔ-la* =ʔi
 NEW=HSY1 T'uyna'ákin pitch rub=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1
- t'úyy* *tíktlmil*³⁸⁴ *hán'al* *na* *ʔá:ʔat* *nó:hikṭa*
t'uy *ṭik-tl=mil* *hanal* =*nə* *ʔat* *noʔ-h=kiṭa*
 pitch paint-TR=FIN walls =and people live-DUR=then
 'Then T'uyna'ákin smeared the pitch which he had on the walls and on the people who lay about.'
- (147) *sikiṭéy* *káyit* *ʔolkáčam* *həwáy* *móneti*³⁸⁵
si=kiṭ=ʔi *kəyit* *ʔolkačam* *həwəy* *mon-t*
 NEW=then=HSY1 long.ago Mouse food/eat steal-INTR
- lumtṭ* *šəyaki* *čilíyəkik* *ʔey* *ʔá:ʔat* *k'ó'il*
lum-ṭṭ *šəy-qk* *čil-qk-=k* =ʔi *ʔat* *k'ó'il*
 bow?-string/rope chew-SEM? notch-SEM=DECL =HSY1 people Wailaki

³⁸⁴ Glossed by Kroeber as 'rubbed', but this probably refers to *haʔ*. *tík-* shows up as 'paint' in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984), which seems like a plausible gloss here.

³⁸⁵ Alternate form given: *móniti* 'stole'.

ki k'ap'ényaknámlíkimášat t'ól 'ey monítmil
ki' k'ap'-qk=namlí=ki'-mas=qt t'ól =?i mon-t=mil
 DST kill-SEM=DEP=DST-DSTR=DAT hair =HSY1 steal-INTR=FIN
 'And Mouse, having already stolen their food and gnawed their bow-strings
 until they were notched nearly through, stole (also) the hair (scalps) of the
 people whom the Wailaki had killed,'

- (148) *sq'éy tuktámiyaqi wíl(l)op t'ú:mil*
sq=?i tuk-t-m-qk wíl=op t'u'=mil
 SAME=HSY1 move-INTR-IMPV-FV-SEM far=LAT lay=FIN

mú:šit kíta 'a:tát kómpa:mikí:
miš=iṭ kíta 'a:tat kom-pa'am=ki'
 road=JXT there people come-FUT=DST
 'and going off with it to a distance, laid it on [near] the trail by which the
 people would come.'

- (149) *sikiṭey háye hi:l t'uy tík hu'útlikiṭ*
si=kiṭ=?i ha'qye hil t'uy ṭik hu'u'-tl=kiṭ
 NEW=then=HSY1 now all pitch paint quit-TR=when

'éy háye hi:li la:kšilyakmil húcki
=?i ha'qye hil-i lak'-s-il-qk=mil huč=ki
 =HSY1 now all-ANIM emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN outside=IN
 'And now when (T'uyna'ákin) had finished smearing everything with pitch,
 all went outdoors,'

- (150) *sikiṭéy paq kah wí:stmil t'uyna'ákina*
si=kiṭ=?i paqi ka?? wis-t=mil t'uyna'ákin=q
 NEW-there=HSY1 one PRX? remain-INTR=FIN T'uyna'ákin=PAT
 'and only this T'uyna'ákin remained.'

- (151) *sá'ey kayit hí:li lákta³⁸⁶ 'íy 'imeymil*
sq=?i kayit hil-i lak'-t-ha =?i 'imi=mil
 SAME=HSY1 long.ago all-ANIM emerge-INTR-Q =HSY1 say=FIN

³⁸⁶ Alternate form given: *lákta* 'gone out'.

hulk'o'á *kíwisk*
hulk'o'i=q *kiw-s=k*
 Coyote=PAT ask-CAUS?=DECL

'And, "Has everybody already gone out?" he said, asking Coyote.'

- (152) *se'éy* *ʔq* *hi:li* *ʔuʂ* *láktik* *ʔey*
si=ʔi *ʔq* *hil-i* *ʔus* *lak'-t=k* =ʔi
 NEW=HSY1 yes all-ANIM 1PL.EXCL.AGT emerge-INTR=DECL =HSY1

ʔimeymil *hulk'ói.*
ʔimi=mil *hulk'o'i*
 say=FIN Coyote
 "Yes, we are all out", Coyote said.'

- (153) *sóp'ey* *mipát* *t'áčtlkop*³⁸⁷ *ʔey*
sop=ʔi *mipát* *t'ač-tl=kop* =ʔi
 but=HSY1 hand clap?-TR=while =HSY1

*t'oš*³⁸⁸ *ʔimeymil* *t'uyna'ákin*
t'oš *ʔimi=mil* *t'uyna'ákin*
t'oš say=FIN T'uyna'ákin
 'But then, clapping his hands, "T'oš" said T'uyna'ákin.

- (154) *sikitéy* *hó'oṭ* *hánał* *yq:htmlmil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *hoṭ* *hanal* *yqh-tl=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 large walls blaze-TR=FIN
 'And the walls blazed up greatly,'

- (155) *sikitéy* *ʔa:tát* *noʔnamlikimáse*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔa:tát* *noʔ=namli=kiʔ-mas-i*
 NEW=then=HSY1 people live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

³⁸⁷ Alternate form given: *t'átstlkop* 'clapped'. May be the same verb root as *t'qt-* 'slap' included in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:189).

³⁸⁸ An exclamation.

mątlí ^{ʔey} *lu:mtít* *sóʔotʼammil* *káyit* ^{ʔolkáčam}
mat-t-il =^{ʔi} *lum-ťit* *soťʼ-*m*=mil* *kayit* ^{ʔolkařam}
 shoot-INTR-MPSV =HSY1 bow?-string cut-IMPFV=FIN long.ago Mouse

lu:mtít *či:liyaknamlí:*
lum-ťit *čil-řk=*n*amli=*ki*ʔ*
 bow?-string notch-SEM=DEP=DST

‘But as the Wailaki from there shot at them, their bow strings snapped which Mouse had previously notched.’

- (161) *seʔéy* *háye* *wąkop* *tíwtlmil* *kʼoʔil*
si=ʔi *hąʔaye* *wąk=op* *tiw-tl=*m*il* *kʼoʔil*
 NEW=HSY1 now after=LAT pursue-TR=FIN Wailaki
 ‘Then the Wailaki followed after them.’

- (162) *seʔéy* *míya* *kʼóʔil* *tíwyik* ^{ʔey}
si=ʔi *mi=ř* *kʼoʔil* *tiw-y=*k** =^{ʔi}
 NEW=HSY1 1PL.INCL=PAT Wailaki pursue-PROG=DECL =HSY1

^{ʔimeymil} *hulkʼoʔi*
^{ʔimi=*m*il} *hulkʼoʔi*
 say=FIN Coyote

‘And “The Wailaki are pursuing us”, said Coyote.’

- (163) *seʔéy* *kʼóʔil* *tíwiyimil* ^{ʔič} *wąkop*
si=ʔi *kʼoʔil* *tiw-y=*m*il* =*ič* *wąk=op*
 NEW=HSY1 Wailaki pursue-PROG=FIN =JXT after=LAT
 ‘Then the Wailaki were following close behind.’

- (164) *seʔéy* *řiwkítin* *lil* *háʔnamlí:*la** ^{ʔey}
si=ʔi *řiwkítin* *lil* *haʔ=*n*amli=*ki*ʔ-*la** =^{ʔi}
 NEW=HSY1 řiwkítin rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wiṭkmil *kó'óla*
wiṭ-k=mil *ko'ol=q?*
 hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki.PL=OBL?
 'So Šiwkítin hurled at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying'

(165) *sáʔey* *ṭ'ák*³⁸⁹ *námtmil* *k'ó'óla*
sá=ʔi *ṭ'ak* *nəm-tl=mil* *k'ó'ol=q*
 SAME=HSY1 ? lay-TR=FIN Wailaki.PL=PAT
 'and knocked them over dead.'

(166) *sákiṭey* *ʔáṭq* *túktimil* *hulk'ó'i*
sá=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔaṭaʔ* *ṭuk-t=mil* *hulk'o'i*
 SAME?=then=HSY1 again move-INTR=FIN Coyote
 'So Coyote (and his) and went on carrying,'

(167) *sikáʔéy* *ʔáṭq* *k'ó'il* *wáqkop* *t'íwmqmil*
si=ká=ʔi *ʔaṭaʔ* *k'o'il* *wáq=op* *tiw-mq=mil*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 again Wailaki after=LAT pursue-DIR1=FIN

k'ol *kimási*
k'ol *ki'-mas-i*
 other DST-DSTR-ANIM
 'but other Wailaki pursued again.'

(168) *sikáʔéy* *ʔáṭq* *šiwkí:ṭin* *kipat* *lílá'ok* *wiṭkimil*
si=ká=ʔi *ʔaṭaʔ* *šiwkiṭin* *kip=qṭ* *lil=q?-ok* *wiṭ-k=mil*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 again Šiwkítin 3R=DAT rock=OBL?-INST hurl-PNCT=FIN
 'Then once more Šiwkítin threw at them with his stone'

(169) *sáʔéy* *ʔáṭq* *ṭ'ák* *námtmil*
sá=ʔi *ʔaṭaʔ* *ṭ'ak* *nəm-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 again ? lay-TR=FIN
 'and knocked them over dead;'

³⁸⁹ Kroeber does not gloss this word in either example where it appears in the texts. A similar verb root *ṭ'ák-* ~ *ṭ'ak'*- 'shave, bald', appears in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:185). It is unclear whether this verb root is the same as or is related to *ṭ'ák* in (169).

- (170) *sąkiṭéy* *ʔáʔtą* *ṭúktimil* *hulk'óʔi*.
są=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔaṭaʔ* *ṭuk-t=mil* *hulk'oʔi*
 SAME?=then=HSY1 again move-INTR=FIN Coyote
 'and Coyote went on.'
- (171) *seʔey* *ʔáʔtą* *k'ol* *kimáse* *k'oʔil*
si=ʔi *ʔaṭaʔ* *k'ol* *kiʔ-mas-i* *k'oʔil*
 NEW=HSY1 again other DST-DSTR-ANIM Wailaki
- téwmąmil*
tiw-mą=mil
 pursue-DIR1=FIN
 'And still other Wailaki pursued;'
- (172) *sikiṭéy* *ʔóp'a* *k'óʔil* *k'olámwit* *tíwi:mil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔopi=a* *k'oʔil* *k'ol-am=wit* *tiw=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 two=? Wailaki other-NOML=ALL pursue=FIN
 'but two of them followed off on the side.'
- (173) *seʔey* *ʔáʔtą* *šiwkí:ṭin* *lilaʔ* *wiṭkimil*
si=ʔi *ʔaṭaʔ* *šiwkiṭin* *lil=q?* *wiṭ-k=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 again Šiwkítin stone=OBL hurl-PNCT=FIN
 'Then Šiwkítin again hurled with his stone'
- (174) *sąʔey* *ṭ'ąk* *namtlmil* *ʔáʔtą*
są=ʔi *ṭ'ąk* *nąm-tl=mil* *ʔaṭaʔ*
 SAME=HSY1 ? lay-TR=FIN again
 'and knocked them over dead.'
- (175) *sikiṭey* *ʔáʔtą* *túktimil*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔaṭaʔ* *ṭuk-t=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 again move-INTR=FIN
 'and again they went on.'

- (176) *sikiṭey* *ʔopi k'oʔola* *šáyyanamlikimáse*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔopi k'oʔol=q* *šay-a=namli=kiʔ-mas-i*
 NEW=then=HSY1 two Wailaki.PL=PAT raw/alive-ʔ=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey kipqwk tokkli ʔey hušk'áyesmil
=ʔi kipqw=ki t'ok-tl =ʔi hušk'ay-s=mil
 =HSY1 back=IN arrive-TR =HSY1 tell-CONTʔ=FIN

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

- (177) *kayit ʔúša nqñákwi sikí:ki ʔús k'ólám*
kayit ʔus=q nqñak-wi sikiki ʔus k'ol-am
 long.ago 1PL.EXCL=PAT know-PST1 therefore 1PL.EXCL.AGT other-NOML

tíweyu ʔey ʔi:mq̄lilmil kip'áwwop
tiw-wi =ʔi ʔimi-mq-l-il=mil kipqw=op
 pursue-PST1 =HSY1 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN back=LAT

šayyaʔ ʔóp'a k'óʔil tó:ktlnámilkimási
šay=a ʔopi=a k'oʔil t'ok-tl=namli=kiʔ-mas-i
 raw/alive=ʔ two=? Wailaki arrive-TR=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

“We knew in time, that is why we pursued separately”, they said to the others, those two Wailaki who came back alive.'

- (178) *sikiṭey hqye hó:t ʔiwilháñtilkop*
si=kiṭ=ʔi hqʔaye hoṭ ʔiwilhan-t-il=kop
 NEW=then=HSY1 now large ceremonial.house-INTR-MPSV=while?

noʔnamlikíṭa ʔey háye wí:tmahilmil
noʔ=namli=kiṭa =ʔi hqʔaye wiṭ-mq-h-il=mil
 live=DEP=there =HSY1 now turn-DIR1-DUR-MPSV=FIN

hulk'ó'i nq kípát ʔa:tát na
hulk'ó'i =nq kíp=qt ʔatát =nq
 Coyote =and 3R=DAT people =and

'Thereupon Coyote and his men returned to where they lived at their great ceremonial house.'

- (179) *sáʔey kík híl(i)kšiloʔ ʔúnmanamlikí: ʔey*
sá=ʔi kik hilkšiloʔ ʔun-mq=namli=kiʔ =ʔi
 SAME=HSY1 there everything carry-DIR1=DEP=DST =HSY1

kipat ʔa:táta náwhsimil
kip=qt ʔatát=q náw-h?-s=mil
 3R=DAT people=PAT see-DUR?-CAUS=FIN

'And there he showed his people everything that they had brought.'

- (180) *siʔéy kimášat k'únat kimášat k'á:nat*
si=ʔi kiʔ-mas=qt k'un'=qt kiʔ-mas=qt k'an'=qt
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR=DAT father=DAT DST-DSTR=DAT mother=DAT

ʔey na:nákmil t'ól
=ʔi nqnak=mil t'ól
 =HSY1 know=FIN hair

'Then their fathers and mothers knew the scalps.'

- (181) *seʔéy haye hulk'ó'i k'ít:thil mop'ítnamlikí:*
si=ʔi hqʔaye hulk'ó'i k'it-hil mop-t=namli=kiʔ
 NEW=HSY1 now Coyote bone-all? gather-INTR=DEP=DST

ʔey číwki p'oyyíčyakmil
=ʔi čiw=k'i p'oy-t-qk=mil
 =HSY1 acorn.store.house=IN put-INTR-SEM=FIN

k'ilúla há:ʔta
kilul=q? hqʔ-t-q
 marrow=OBL rub-INTR-?

'So now Coyote put them into an acorn storeroom along with their bones which he had gathered, rubbing them with marrow.'

- (182) *ʔq̄p* *mátli:kon* *páq̄k* *p̄q̄pʔéyakpa* *ʔey*
ʔq̄p *mat-tl=kon* *p̄q̄k* *p̄q̄pʔ-q̄k-paʔ* =ʔi
 1SG.AGT do-TR=but one pop-SEM-FUT =HSY1

ʔimeymil *hulkʔóʔi*

ʔimi=mil *hulkʔóʔi*

say=FIN Coyote

“I do this, but one of them will pop (crackle inside)”, he said.’

- (182a) *namlík* *ʔéy* *wáq̄k* *n̄q̄wéti* *ʔey* *páq̄k* *p̄q̄pʔiyakmil*
namlíki =ʔi *wáq̄k* *n̄q̄w-t* =ʔi *p̄q̄k* *p̄q̄pʔ-q̄k=mil*
 therefore =HSY1 after see-INTR =HSY1 one pop-SEM=FIN
 ‘And when he looked a little later, one of them was making a sound.’

- (183) *sík̄q̄ʔéy* *lakʔiyakmil* *č̄iw̄pis*
si=k̄q̄=ʔi *lakʔ-q̄k=mil* *č̄iw̄=pis*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 take.out-SEM=FIN acorn.storeroom=ABL
 ‘Then he took them out of the storeroom,’

- (184) *s̄q̄ʔéy* *kilúla* *h̄q̄:timil*
s̄q̄=ʔi *kilul=q?* *h̄q̄ʔ-t=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 marrow=OBL rub-INTR=FIN
 ‘and rubbed them with marrow.’

- (185) *seʔéy* *kimás* *h̄aye* *ʔá:ʔat* *kip̄q̄wyakmil* *hulkʔóʔi*
si=ʔi *kimas* *h̄q̄ʔaye* *ʔat̄at* *kip̄q̄w-q̄k=mil* *hulkʔóʔi*
 NEW?=HSY1 thus now people back-SEM=FIN Coyote
 ‘So thus now Coyote got back his people.’

- (186) *s̄q̄kit̄éy* *n̄án̄k̄ilk* *ʔink̄ilmil*
s̄q̄=kit̄=ʔi *n̄am-k-il=k* *ʔin-k-il=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=DECL sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘And then, lying down, he went to sleep.’

- (187) *sikáʔéy* *ʔa:tát* *pilá:t* *námtilnamlikí:*
si=kq=ʔi *ʔatát* *pilát* *nəm-t-il=namli=kiʔ*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 people sun lay-INTR-MPSV=DEP=DST

ʔiy *ʔinámtil*
 =ʔi *ʔinam-t=mil*
 =HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN

‘Thereupon he dreamed of the people who kept the sun.’

- (188) *sáʔey* *kipat* *ʔa:táta* *huškʔyesmil* *ʔinám*
sq=ʔi *kip=qt* *ʔatát=q* *huškʔy-s=mil* *ʔinam*
 SAME=HSY1 3R=DAT people=PAT tell-CAUS?=FIN dream

huškʔyestanáʔkʔophán *ʔáp* *ko:mi:lámsik*
huškʔy-s-tan-aʔ=kop=han *ʔap* *koʔ-mq-il-m-sik*
 tell-CAUS?-NEG-?=while?=but 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-FV-HSY2

sq *ʔáp* *kóʔomilik* *ʔey* *ʔim*
sq *ʔap* *koʔ-mq-il=k* =ʔi *ʔim*
 SAME 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV=DECL =HSY1 say

kipat *ʔa:táta* *huškʔyesmil* *tat* *nóhinik* *ʔey*
kip=qt *ʔatát=q* *huškʔy-s=mil* *tat* *noʔ-h-nik* =ʔi
 3R=DAT people=PAT tell-CAUS?=FIN good live-DUR-NEC =HSY1

ʔimiyikíʔ *ʔey* *kó:temil* *hulkʔóʔi*
ʔimi-y=kiʔ =ʔi *koʔ-t=mil* *hulkʔóʔi*
 say-PROG=then =HSY1 go-INTR=FIN Coyote

‘So he told his people, not telling them the dream, but “I am to go, they say, and I shall go”, thus he told his people; “Stay here well”, Coyote said and went.’

- (189) *sáʔey* *ʔinámtnamlikíʔaʔ* *humá:s* *kóʔomil*
sq=ʔi *ʔinam-t=namli=kiʔa* *humás* *koʔ=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 dream-INTR=DEP=there straight/correct go=FIN

- ?inámtnamlikí:k'il
 ?inam-t=namli=ki?=k'il
 dream-INTR=DEP=DST=TERM
 'And he came straight to where he had dreamed.'
- (190) sq'áy han'íčyilkop mil táyammil
 sq=?i han=ič-y-il=kop mil tay-m=mil
 SAME=HSY1 house=JXT-PROG-MPSV=when meat/deer cut-IMPV=FIN
 'And when he came near the house(s), he killed a deer,'
- (191) sq'áy háyk k'ótlmil
 sq=?i hay=k k'o'-tl=mil
 SAME=HSY1 net.sack=IN be.in-TR=FIN
 'and put it in his net sack,'
- (192) sq'áy hánk'il ?únmqmil
 sq=?i han=k'il ?un-mq=mil
 SAME=HSY1 house=TERM carry-DIR1=FIN
 'and brought it to the house,'
- (193) sq'áy húčki kéytlmil
 sq=?i huč=ki ki?-tl=mil
 SAME=HSY1 outside=IN drop?-TR=FIN
 'and dropped it outside.'
- (194) sqkítay hánam káptmil
 sq=kič=?i han-qm kap-t=mil
 SAME=then=HSY1 house-IN2 enter-INTR=FIN
 'Then he went into the house.'
- (195) se'áy ?ópa mus nó:mil
 si=?i ?opi=a mus no'=mil
 NEW=HSY1 two=? women live=FIN
 'Two women lived there.'

- (196) *sikitáy* *kápti* *šú'ukmil*
si=kit=?i *kap-t* *šu'-k=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 enter-INTR sit/stay-PNCT=FIN
 'So having gone in, he sat down.'
- (197) *sá'éy* *ʔq̄p* *mil* *ʔúnmawi* *ki:*
sá=?i *ʔq̄p* *mil* *ʔun-mq-wi* *ki?*
 SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT meat/deer carry-DIR1-PST1 DST
- kápisa* *h̄qwayilitia*³⁹⁰ *ʔey* *ʔimeymil* *hulk'ó'i*
kap-s-a' *h̄qway-lit-a'* *=?i* *ʔimi=mil* *hulk'o'i*
 enter-CAUS-IMP food/eat-DIR2-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
- kimáša* *mús'a'*
ki'-mas=q *mus=q*
 DST-DSTR=PAT women=PAT
 'And, "I have brought a deer, bring it in to eat!" Coyote said to these women.'
- (198) *se'éy* *pa'q̄k* *lákti* *kapmíka*
si=?i *pa'q̄k* *lak'-t* *kap-m=ka'?*
 NEW=HSY1 alone emerge-INTR enter-IMPFV=PRX?
- sá:k'ilmil*
sak'il=mil
 heavy=FIN
 'So one of them, having gone out to bring it in, could not raise it.'
- (199) *sá'ey* *kipáwkil* *kápt(i)* *ʔymún'*
sá=?i *kipqw=k'il* *kap-t* *ʔi-mun'*
 SAME=HSY1 back=TERM enter-INTR 1SG.KIN.POSS-younger.sister
- ʔey* *sá:k'lik* *ʔey* *ʔimeymil*
ʔi *sak'il=k* *=?i* *ʔimi=mil*
 1SG.PAT heavy=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN
 'And coming back in, "My younger sister, I cannot raise it", she said.'

³⁹⁰ Alternate form given: *h̄qwayilitínyaka* 'and eat it!'

<i>máy</i>	<i>hiwítwiča</i>	<i>wičkí:</i>	<i>may</i>	<i>ʔínlam</i> ³⁹²
<i>mąy'</i>	<i>hiw-t-wič-a</i>	<i>wič=ki</i>	<i>mąy'</i>	<i>ʔin-ląm</i>
who/someone	tired-INTR-PST2-?	far=IN	who/someone	sleep-INCH

ʔey *ʔimeymil* *hulk'óʔi*
=ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *hulk'óʔi*
 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

“So, eat! From coming far I am exhausted, that is why I am sleepy”, said Coyote.

(206) *sáʔey* *náŋkilmil* *k'amolšíl*
są=ʔi *nąm-k-il=mil* *k'amol-šil*
 SAME=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN puma-skin

kipá *tátlnamlikí*
kip=q *tat-tl=namli=kiʔ*
 3R=PAT good/make-TR=DEP=DST

‘And he lay down on a puma skin which they arranged for him.’

(207) *sikiťéy* *kimáši* *mú:s* *mil* *húyisk*
si=kiť=ʔi *kiʔ-mas-i* *mus* *mil* *huy-s=k*
 NEW=then=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM women meat/deer cook-CAUS=DECL

hąwávisammil
hąwąy-s-m=mil
 food/eat-CAUS-IMPV=FIN

‘Then those women, having broiled the meat, ate it.’

(208) *sikiťéy* *hulk'óʔi* *námmil*
si=kiť=ʔi *hulk'óʔi* *nąm=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 Coyote lay=FIN

‘And so Coyote lay there.’

³⁹² Alternate form given: *íllám* ‘sleepy’.

- (209) *sq* *ʔintq̄laʔhan* *ʔinkóʔopismil*
sq *ʔin-tq̄l-aʔ=han* *ʔinkopʔ-s=mil*
 SAME sleep-NEG-ʔ=but snore-CONT=FIN
 ‘And even though not asleep he snored.’
- (210) *sikiṭéy* *kimási* *mú:s*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *kiʔ-mas-i* *mus*
 NEW=then=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM women
- mil* *hqwáyisammil*
mil *hqwáy-s-m=mil*
 meat/deer food/eat-CONT?-IMPFV=FIN
 ‘And those women were eating the meat.’
- (211) *sikáʔéy* *haye* *ʔin* *háwtlmil* *hana* *ʔey*
si=kq=ʔi *həʔəye* *ʔin* *haw-tl=mil* *hana*³⁹³ *=ʔi*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 now sleep wish-TR=FIN ? =HSY1
- háwesmil*
haw-s=mil
 wish-CAUS=FIN
 ‘And now he wished them sleepy; (to himself) he wished it.’
- (212) *simeyʔéy* *pq:k* *ʔinlámek* *ʔey* *ʔimeymil*
si=mi=ʔi *pqk* *ʔin-lqm=k* *=ʔi* *ʔimi=mil*
 NEW-thereupon=HSY1 one sleep-INCH=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN
 ‘Thereupon one said, “I am getting sleepy”,’
- (213) *sqʔéy* *naṅkilmil*
sq=ʔi *naṅm-k-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘and lay down.’

³⁹³ Alternate form given: *ʔan ʔi* ‘all the time’. Kroeber glosses *hana ʔey* ‘to himself, secretly, in his mind’. May possibly be *hana(k)*- know, perhaps with a meaning ‘(he) knew, (he) wished it’.

- (214) *sikáʔéy* *ʔi:nítmil*
si=ká=ʔi *ʔin-t=mil*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 sleep-INTR=FIN
 ‘And then she slept.’
- (215) *sikitéy* *k’olkíʔa* *hoy* *ʔínlámmil*
si=kit=ʔi *k’ol=kiʔ=á* *hoy* *ʔin-lám=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 other=DST=PAT too sleep-INCH=FIN
 ‘Then the other one too got sleepy.’
- (216) *seʔéy* *ʔan* *ʔin* *háwesmíl* *ʔey* *ʔímeymil*
si=ʔi *ʔan* *ʔin* *haw-s=mil* *=ʔi* *ʔimi=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 long.time sleep wish-CAUS=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN
- músp* *ʔíy* *hoy* *ʔillánʔ* *ʔimyíka* *ʔey*
musp *ʔi* *hoy* *ʔin-lámʔ* *ʔimi-y=ka* *=ʔi*
 woman 1SG.PAT too sleep-INCH say-PROG=when? =HSY1
- ʔóʔi* *ʔi:nítmil* *mipá:tʔey* *mil* *háʔ*
ʔoʔ *ʔin-t=mil* *mipat=ʔi* *mil* *háʔ*
 fall.over sleep-INTR=FIN hand=IN meat/deer carry
 ‘And all the time he wished them to sleep and the woman said, “I too am sleepy”; saying that she fell over and slept holding the meat in her hand.’
- (217) *seʔéy* *haye* *hí:la* *ʔi:nítmil*.
si=ʔi *háʔaye* *híl=á* *ʔin-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 now all=PAT sleep-INTR=FIN
- (218) *seʔéy* *hót* *ʔinkóʔoptʔmil*
si=ʔi *hoʔ* *ʔinkopʔ-t=mil*
 NEW?=HSY1 large snore-INTR=FIN
 ‘So now they all slept and snored much.’

- (219) *sikiṭéy* *hayé* *páʔitmil* *hulkʻóʔi*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *həʔəye* *paʔ-t=mil* *hulkʻoʔi*
 NEW=then=HSY1 now get.up-INTR=FIN Coyote
 ‘Then Coyote arose.’

- (220) *sáʔey* *ki* *pilá:t* *nám* *nanákʻá* *ʔey* *hót*
səʔ=ʔi *kiʔ* *piləṭ* *nəm* *nənək-q* *=ʔi* *hoṭ*
 SAME=HSY1 DST sun lay know-? =HSY1 large

wəšitʻšil *na* *kʻamolšil* *hil(i)kšiloʔat* *šil*
wəšit-šil *=nə* *kʻamol-šil* *hilkšiloʔ=ət* *šil*
 bear-skin and puma-skin everything=DAT skin

ʔey *wáwmil*

ʔi *waw=mil*

HSY1 cover=FIN

‘And where he knew the sun lay many bear skins and puma skins and all kinds of skins covered it.’

- (221) *seʔey* *kí:* *hil* *hayé* *pištmil*
si=ʔi *kiʔ* *hil* *həʔəye* *piš-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 DST all now take.off-INTR=FIN
 ‘So now he stripped them all off;’

- (222) *səʔéy* *pəwíkʻi* *šil* *tʻú:mil*
səʔ=ʔi *pəwi=kʻi* *šil* *tʻuʔ=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 one=IN skin lay=FIN
 ‘and piled them together.’

- (223) *sáʔey* *ʔopíčam* *tʻu:mil* *pəwíkʻi*
səʔ=ʔi *ʔopi=it-qm* *tʻuʔ=mil* *pəwi=kʻi*
 SAME=HSY1 two=JXT-IN2 lay=FIN one=IN
 ‘in two (heaps) he piled them together.’

- (224) *samí:ʔi:* *háye* *pilá:ta* *k'óʔhqliki:* *ʔey* *háye*
sq=mi=ʔi *hqʔqye* *pilát=q* *k'óʔ=hqlí=kiʔ* =ʔi *hqʔqye*
 SAME=but=HSY1 now sun=PAT be.in=INFR1=DST =HSY1 now

ʔá:tlhqli *ʔey* *muč'úyitmil*
ʔ'aʔ-tl=hqli =ʔi *muč'uy-t=mil*
 touch-TR=INFR1 =HSY1 squeal-INTR=FIN

'But now where the sun was inside, as he seemed to touch it, it squealed.'

- (225) *sikáʔéy* *čičičičisúp* *ši:ya* *həymáša* *šup*
si=kq=ʔi *čičičičisup* *kiʔ=q* *həymas=qʔ* *kup*
 NEW=therefore=HSY1 hush.hush.hush DST=PAT how?=PAT? sister's.son

míʔ *kačq* *ʔan* *šú:pa* *h[y]ánop* *šuhól*
míʔ *kačaʔ* *ʔan* *šuʔ-paʔ* *han=op* *šuʔ-h-ol'*
 2SG.AGT here? long.time sit/stay-FUT house=LAT sit/stay-DUR-AG/INST

mí: *šup* *méy(h)tan* *mít* *k'olám* *míhik*
míʔ *kup* *mih-tan* *mit* *k'ol-am* *mih=k*
 2SG.AGT sister's.son be-NEG 2SG.DAT other-NOML be=DECL

sikí: *si:* *kú:pat* *šanákešto* *šo* *ʔáp*
si=ki *si* *kup=qt* *hanak-što* *soʔ* *ʔap*
 NEW?=therefore NEW? sister's.son=DAT think-? ? 1SG.AGT

kup *míš* *nóʔwinmawi* *ʔey* *ʔimeymil* *hulk'óʔi*
kup *mis* *nqw-n-mq-wi* =ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *hulk'óʔi*
 sister's.son 2SG.PAT see-AND-DIR1-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
 "Hush! hush! hush! sister's son! Is it, sister's son, that you shall be here always?
 You are not, sister's son, a stayer in the house. Thinking about you being
 elsewhere, sister's son, that is why I came to see you, sister's son", said
 Coyote.³⁹⁴

³⁹⁴ Kroeber's note on (225): "This speech is in C[oyote] language. šup = kup All the s and š are about š; and lisped a little."

- (226) *sqʔey* *kipat* *háyki* *kʔótli* *ʔey*
sq=ʔi *kip=qt* *hay=ki* *kʔoʔ-tl* =ʔi
 SAME=HSY1 3R=DAT net.sack=IN be.in-TR =HSY1

háye *há:temil*
hqʔaye *haʔ-t=mil*
 now carry-INTR=FIN
 ‘And putting it in his net sac, he took it off.’

- (227) *seʔéy* *haye* *táltáhi* *ʔey* *háye* *múna*
si=ʔi *hqʔaye* *tál-ta-hi* =ʔi *hqʔaye* *munaʔ*
 NEW=HSY1 now NEG?-?-? =HSY1 now many

ʔa:tát *téwtmil* *wáqop*
ʔatát *tiw-tl=mil* *wáq=op*
 people pursue-TR=FIN after=LAT
 ‘Then missing it, many people pursued after.’³⁹⁵

- (228) *seʔéy* *háye* *hulkʔʔa* *ʔamílkimil*.
si=ʔi *hqʔaye* *hulkʔʔi=q* *ʔamil-k-il=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 now Coyote=PAT overtake-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘And now they had almost caught up with Coyote.’

³⁹⁵ This text is included in the original notes after (227), but is crossed out by Kroeber. Possible glosses are added by me.

ʔu:k *hó:čamwit* *sqʔéy* *kiʔ* *tótkmil* *máy* *kaṭa*
ʔukʔ-hot-am=wit *sq=ʔi* *kiʔ* *tʔok-tl=mil* *mayʔ* *kaṭa*
 water-large-NOML?=ALL SAME=HSY1 DST arrive-TR=FIN who here

kómwičó:ki *miyát* *pilát* *wáčaméyk* *ʔéy* *ʔi:mílkimil*
komwičóki *mi=qt* *pilát* *watʔ-am=k* =ʔi *ʔim(i)-k-il=mil*
 ? 1PL.INCL=DAT sun steal-IMPV?=DECL =HSY1 say/try-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

sqʔey *wáqop* *téwtmil* *ʔa:tát* *sahóney* *hatʔenjkimil*
sq=ʔey *wáq=op* *tiw-tl=mil* *ʔatát* *sahon=ʔey* *hatʔin-k-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 after=LAT pursue-TR=FIN people ?=HSY1 ?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

- (236) *se'áy* *kí:k* *téwmamil*
si=?i *kik* *tiw-mq=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 there pursue-DIR1=FIN
 ‘And they followed to him.’
- (237) *?im* *?úşqt* *pilq:t* *wqtwički:* *mis*
?im *?us=qt* *pilqt* *wqt'-wič=ki?* *mis*
 thus 1PL.EXCL=DAT sun steal-PST2=DST 2SG.PAT
- hqlamtanka* *ká'en* *?iy* *?im* *kíwismil*
hql-m-tan-ha? *ka'in* *=?i* *?im* *kíw-s=mil*
 hear-IMPV-NEG-Q? PRX.LOC? =HSY1 thus ask-CAUS?=FIN
- ki'a* *?iwóta* *han* *hąsi*³⁹⁸ *ki'a*
ki'=q *?iwot=q* *han* *hą'-s* *ki'=q*
 DST=PAT old.man=PAT house build-CAUS DST=PAT
 “‘Our sun which was stolen, did you not hear it about here?’” thus they asked
 the old man who was building a house.’
- (238) *se'áy* *kí* *hql* *?it* *k'ólop* *hót*
si=?i *ki?* *=hql* *?it* *k'ol=op* *hoť*
 NEW=HSY1 DST =INFR1 1SG.DAT other=LAT large
- sunlámwi* *?iy* *?imeymil* *ki* *?iwót*
sun-lqm-wi *=?i* *?imi=mil* *ki?* *?iwot*
 make.noise-INCH-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN DST old.man
 “‘That must be the one that was resounding loudly as it went along behind
 me”, said the old man.’
- (239) *sop'éy* *kíta* *téwtmil*
sop=?i *kíta* *tiw-tl=mil*
 ?=HSY1 there pursue-TR=FIN
 ‘So they pursued that way;’

³⁹⁸ *hanhąsi* is glossed by Kroeber as ‘house-building’.

- (240) *sikiṭéiy* *nəwhiméykit* *ʔey* *ʔaʔtá* *k'olk'il*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *nəw-h-m=kiṭ* =ʔi *ʔaṭaʔ* *k'ol=k'il*
 NEW=then=HSY1 see-DUR-IMPV=when =HSY1 again other=TERM

kó:t(e)mil *pilá:t* *háʔti:li*
koʔ-t=mil *pilá:t* *háʔ-t-il*
 go-INTR=FIN sun carry-INTR-MPSV

'but when he had watched them, he went the other way carrying the sun.'

- (241) *seʔéy* *haye* *ʔáṭá* *kíṭa* *ʔáṭa* *ʔamllayk*
si=ʔi *haʔaye* *ʔaṭaʔ* *kíṭa* *ʔaṭaʔ* *ʔamil-ləm=k*
 NEW=HSY1 now again there again overtake-INCH=DECL

ʔiwóṭ *k'áyʔánil* ³⁹⁹
ʔiwot *k'ayʔ-a=mil*
 old.man mushroom-?=FIN

'And now as they were about to overtake him again, (he was) an old man picking mushrooms.'

- (242) *seʔéy* *kí:k* *tíwinamlikimáse* *ʔey* *kómmil*
si=ʔi *kik* *tiw=namli=kiʔ-mas-i* =ʔi *kom=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 there pursue=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1 come=FIN
 'Then those who were pursuing him came there.'

- (243) *sáʔey* *ʔim* *ʔúšʔat* *pilá:t* *wá:timwički:*
sq=ʔi *ʔim* *ʔus=qt* *pilá:t* *wáʔʔ-m-wič=kiʔ*
 SAME=HSY1 where 1PL.EXCL=DAT sun steal-IMPV-PST2=DST

káʔin *mis* *həlamha* *k'omlámi* *ki:* *ʔeyy*
káʔin *mis* *həl-m-ha* *k'om-ləm* *kiʔ* =ʔi
 PRX.LOC? 2SG.PAT hear-IMPV-Q make.noise-INCH DST =HSY1

³⁹⁹ Kroeber glosses *k'áyʔánil* 'mushrooms he was picking'.

[?]im kíwismil

[?]im kiw-s=mil

thus ask-CAUS?=FIN

“‘Where is our sun which was stolen? Did you hear it sounding about here?’
they asked.’

- (244) sé[?]ey kí: hąle káta wi:lísiwi[?] hąli ho[?]ót
 si=[?]i kí[?] =hąli káta wil-s-wi =hąli ho[?]t
 NEW=HSY1 DST =INFR1 here pass-CONT-PST1 =INFR1 large

k’omlámwi [?]éyy [?]ímeymil
 k’om-lám-wi =[?]i [?]imi=mil
 make.noise-INCH-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN

[?]iwo[?]t ki k’áy[?]á[?]eyki
[?]iwo[?]t ki[?] k’áy’-a-y=ki[?]
 old.man DST mushroom-?-PROG=DST

“‘That must be the one that went by here, resounding loudly along’, said
that old mushroom-picking man.’

- (245) si[?]éy [?]átá kíta téwtlmil
 si=[?]i [?]ata[?] kíta tiw-tl=mil
 NEW=HSY1 again there pursue-TR=FIN
 ‘Then again they pursued that way.’

- (246) sá[?]ey hąye ká mí:kon míya hahá[?]ima⁴⁰⁰
 sá=[?]i hą[?]aye ká[?] mih=kon mi=q haha[?]-ima
 SAME=HSY1 now PRX be=? 1PL.INCL=PAT deceive-?

[?]ey [?]í:mikílmil [?]á:pil⁴⁰¹
 =[?]i [?]imi-k-il=mil [?]apil
 =HSY1 say-PNCT-MPSV=FIN one.another

‘And now, “This one perhaps is deceiving us”, they said to one another.’

⁴⁰⁰ Alternate form given: hahá[?]imi ‘not telling the truth’.

⁴⁰¹ Though [?]á:pil looks as if it should be glossed as the first person singular emphatic pronoun [?]apil, Kroeber glosses this word as ‘one another’ in his original notes.

- (247) *sáʔey* *kipáwk'il* *kó:ma* *míʔ* *mí:šul* *síkon*
sá=ʔi *kipáw=k'il* *koʔ-ma* *miʔ* *miʔ-šul* *si=kon*
 SAME=HSY1 back=TERM go-DIR1 2SG.AGT 2SG.AGT-EVID? NEW=but

ʔušá *míʔ* *mínsil* *wá:čisšúl* *ʔeyy*
ʔus=q *miʔ* *minsil* *wač'-s-šul* *=ʔi*
 1PL.EXCL=PAT 2SG.AGT lie teach-CAUS?-EVID? =HSY1

ʔimeymil pá:k

ʔimi=mil pąk

say=FIN one

'And coming back, "It is you apparently, but you are telling us lies, apparently", one of them said.'

- (248) *seʔéy* *tálk* *ʔimeymil*
si=ʔi *tąl=k* *ʔimi=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 NEG=DECL say=FIN

'But, "No", he said.'

- (249) *seʔéy* *háye* *kip* *ʔá:mop* *lilkú:tiʔ* *pilá:t*
si=ʔi *háʔaye* *kip* *ʔah-mąʔ=op* *lil-kut=iʔ* *piląt*
 NEW=HSY1 now 3R hold-DIR1=while stone-start=IN sun

namtlnamlikí *ʔi:čiʔąkmil*

nąm-tl=namli=kiʔ *=ʔit-ąk=mil*

lay-TR=DEP=DST =JXT-SEM=FIN

'Then as they moved to seize him, he went near where he had laid the sun at the base of a rock.'

- (250) *sáʔéy* *pilá:t* *lilk'il* *čąk'ik* *ląčtlmil*
sá=ʔi *piląt* *lil=k'il* *čąk'=k* *ląt-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 sun rock=TERM hit=DECL break-TR=FIN

lilpątk'i *hul* *p'óyčpaʔ* *huluk* *kí:la*

lil-pąt=k'i *hul* *p'oy-t-paʔ* *huluk* *kíʔ-la*

rock-crack=IN eye put-INTR-FUT tear DST-INST

<i>sumám</i>	<i>kí:laʔ</i>	<i>p'óyyičpaʔ</i>	<i>ʔi:y</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>
<i>suʔumam</i>	<i>kiʔ-la</i>	<i>p'oy-t-paʔ</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>
brain	DST-INST	put-INTR-FUT	=HSY1	say=FIN

<i>kípa</i>	<i>k'oʔolisi</i>
<i>kip=q</i>	<i>k'ol-s</i>
3R=PAT	die-CAUS

‘And dashing the sun against the rock and breaking it up, “In the rock cracks the eyes shall enter, with the tears and the brains they shall enter”, he said while they killed him.

(251)	<i>sikiṭéy</i>	<i>t'íma</i>	<i>hoy</i>	<i>tat:kiłpa:miki:</i>	<i>hoy</i>
	<i>si=kiṭ=ʔi</i>	<i>ṭima</i>	<i>hoy</i>	<i>tat-k-il-paʔam=kiʔ</i>	<i>hoy</i>
	NEW=then=HSY1	self	too	good/make-PNCT-MPSV-FUT=DST	too

<i>p'íšpal</i>	<i>hąhinč'am</i>	<i>ʔqs</i>	<i>čqk(t)lámtpaʔ</i>	<i>sikiṭ</i>
<i>p'iš-pal</i>	<i>hąhin=it-qm</i>	<i>ʔqs</i>	<i>čqk-lqm-t-paʔ</i>	<i>si=kiṭ</i>
sunflower-leaf	under=JXT-IN2	blood	stick-INCH-INTR-FUT	NEW=then

<i>k'ít</i>	<i>ʔán</i>	<i>p'íšpal</i>	<i>hąhinč'am</i>	<i>p'íntpaʔ</i>
<i>k'it</i>	<i>ʔan</i>	<i>p'iš-pal</i>	<i>hąhin=it-qm</i>	<i>pin-t-paʔ</i>
bone	long.time	sunflower-leaf	under=JXT-IN2	be.scattered-INTR-FUT

<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>kip</i>	<i>táyšyq:ki</i>	<i>hóṭ</i>	<i>ʔam</i>	<i>híwiyąki</i>	<i>hóṭ</i>
<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>kip</i>	<i>ṭay-s-qk</i>	<i>hoṭ</i>	<i>ʔam</i>	<i>híw-qk</i>	<i>hoṭ</i>
say=FIN	3R	cut-CONT-SEM	large	guts	spill-SEM	large

<i>pí:č</i>	<i>píntlon</i>	<i>ʔey</i>	<i>kilímismil</i>	<i>hulk'óʔi</i>
<i>pič</i>	<i>pin-tl=on</i>	<i>=ʔi</i>	<i>ki-lim-s=mil</i>	<i>hulk'oʔi</i>
flesh	be.scattered-TR=when	=HSY1	say-?-CONT?=FIN	Coyote

‘Then that he might remake himself, “Under the sunflower leaves that blood shall stick on, and the bones shall scatter under them too”, he said as they were cutting him up, spilling his guts and scattering his flesh about, (as) Coyote said.’

- (252) *sq ki mátlíkít ki'a hulk'o'a k'óli*
sq ki' mat-tl=kiť ki'=q hulk'o'i=q k'ol
 SAME(?) DST do-TR=then DST=PAT Coyote=PAT die

sqkiť ey kipáwwap⁴⁰² ko'olítimil.
sq=kiť =i kipqw=ap ko'-lit=mil
 SAME=then =HSY1 back=LAT go-DIR2=FIN

'And when they had done this to Coyote after they had killed him, they went back.'

- (253) *sá'ey no?'namlikíta ey tóktmil*
sq=?i no'=namli=kiť =i t'ok-tl=mil
 SAME=HSY1 live=DEP-there =HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN
 'and arrived where they lived.'

- (254) *sá'ey uş tqhi k'olí san m'at pilq:t*
sq=?i us řah k'ol son? mi=qť pilqť
 SAME=HSY1 1PL.EXCL.AGT find die but? 1PL.INCL=DAT sun

líl'íl lăčkilu iy im huşk'ayesmil
lil=k'íl lať-k-il-wi =i im huşk'ay-s=mil
 rock=TERM break-PNCT-MPSV-PST1 =HSY1 thus tell-CAUS?=FIN

ki hulk'o'a li'áknamlíkímási
ki' hulk'o'i=q li'-qk=namli=ki'-mas-i
 DST Coyote=PAT kill-SEM=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

“‘We found and killed him, but he broke our sun against a rock”, thus they reported, they who had slain Coyote.’

- (255) *si' kimási kipáwwap k'ó'otekiť hiwqk'i'*
si ki'-mas-i kipqw=ap ko'-t=kiť hiwqk=i'
 NEW DST-DSTR-ANIM back=LAT go-INTR=when in.turn=IN?

⁴⁰² Alternate form given: *kipáwwap* 'back'.

k'ít nq ʔqš móp(e)ti hi:l tát mópeti
k'it =nq ʔqs mop-t hil tat mop-t
 bone and blood gather-INTR all good gather-INTR

ʔey háyé p'iškiʔólop ʔey ta:tálmil
=ʔi hqʔaye p'iš-kiʔol=op =ʔi tat-q-l-il=mil
 HSY1 now sunflower-stalk=LAT =HSY1 good/make-?-PFV-MPSV=FIN
 'And after they had returned, gathering his bones and blood, gathering everything well, now he made himself over on sunflower stalks (as a frame).'

- (256) *sáʔey huʔú:šk koʔi t'ú:kmil kóya*
sq=ʔi huʔuʔ-s=k koʔi t'ukʔ=mil koʔi=q
 SAME=HSY1 quit-CAUS?=DECL gopher hit/kick/stab=FIN gopher=PAT

pú:tesika

putʔ-s=ka

emerge-CAUS?=as

'And finishing that, he stabbed at gophers as they emerged (from their holes).

- (257) *sikaʔéy kipáw táhqmil*
si=kq=ʔi kipáw tah-q=mil
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 back piece?-?=FIN
 'Then he came all to pieces again.'

- (258) *sáʔey háye ʔámsóp tátikílmil.*
sq=ʔi hqʔaye ʔams=op tat-k-il=mil
 SAME=HSY1 now digging.stick.wood=LAT good/make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 'So this time he made himself on (a frame of) digging-stick wood.'

- (259) *sáʔey ʔátq koʔi t'úktlmil*
sq=ʔi ʔaʔaʔ k'oʔi t'ukʔ-tl=mil
 SAME=HSY1 again gopher hit/kick/stab-TR=FIN
 'And again he stabbed at gophers.'

- (260) *si'áy* *háye* *həč'ámmil*
si=?i *hə'əye* *həč'am=mil*
 NEW?=HSY1 now strong=FIN
 'and now he was strong.' [Possibly: And now it was strong.]
- (261) *se'áy* *'átá* *ko'i* *t'úktmil*
si=?i *'ata'* *ko'i* *t'uk'-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 again gopher hit/kick/stab-TR=FIN
 'Again he stabbed at gophers,'
- (262) *si'áy* *híl* *hə'yé* *həč'ámt'mil.*
si=?i *hil* *hə'əye* *həč'am-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 all now strong-INTR=FIN
 'and everything was firm.'
- (263) *sə'ey* *šihí:* *máyetan* *hilp'áhis*
sə=?i *šihi:* *məy'-tan* *hil-p'ahis*
 SAME(?)=HSY1 EXC who/someone-NEG all-do.anything?
- ló:mil'* ⁴⁰³ *'i:y* *'imeymil* *tat* *hu'útlí:li*
lo'o=mil *=?i* *'imi=mil* *tat* *hu'u'-tl-il*
 can/may/should=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN good/make quit-TR-MPSV
 'And, "Šihi:!" (his laugh)" No one can do anything to me", he said when he had finished making himself.'
- (264) *sə'kítəy* *háye* *pilá:t* *líl'k'il* *ləčkilnamlikí:*
sə=kit=?i *hə'əye* *pilət* *lil=k'il* *lət-k-il=namli=ki'*
 SAME=then=HSY1 now sun rock=TERM break-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST
- 'ey* *háye* *lilpát'pis* *lak'iyakmil* *hul* *nə*
=?i *hə'əye* *lil-pət=pis* *lak'-qk=mil* *hul* *=nə*
 =HSY1 now rock-crack=ABL emerge-SEM=FIN eye =and

⁴⁰³ *lo'ok* is defined as 'may, can' by Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:133). It is unclear whether it is the same form as or related to the permissive suffix *-law*, which has a similar meaning and appears in a similar place relative to the tense suffixes and lexical verb root as *lo'o* in this clause.

sonmám⁴⁰⁴ na.
 su[?]umam =nq
 brain =and

‘Then the sun which he had broken against the rock, its eyes and brains now he took out of the crack in the rock.’

- (265) sá[?]ey kímás háyk p’oyitli [?]q̄tá
 sq=[?]i kī[?]-mas hay=ki p’oy-tl [?]aṭa[?]
 SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR net.sack=IN put-TR again

kó[?]otemil [?]u:kho[?]ótamwit.
 ko[?]-t=mil [?]uk’-hoṭ-am=wit
 go-INTR=FIN water-large-NOML=ALL

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

- (266) sá[?]ey kím’ háye pilá:ta ta:tísimil h́:l
 sq=[?]i kím’ háye pilát=q tat-s=mil hil
 SAME=HSY1 over.there then sun=PAT good/make-CAUS=FIN all

hu[?] minamlikimátli
 hu[?] mih=namli=ki[?]-matli
 before be=DEP=DST-?

‘And there he made the sun all as it had been before.’

- (267) sá[?]ey háye kím’ k̄qk [?]im̄[?]ilmil
 sq=[?]i h̄q[?]aye kím’ k’qk’ [?]im-t-il=mil
 SAME=HSY1 now over.there exist try-INTR-MPSV=FIN

‘And there then he tried to make it rise.’

- (268) sí[?]éy n̄qkmil.
 sí=[?]i n̄qk=mil
 NEW=HSY1 dark/night=FIN

‘Then it (remained) dark.’

⁴⁰⁴ Alternate form given: *sumám* ‘brains’.

- (269) *seʔéy* *ʔátq* *há:temil.*
si=ʔi *ʔatq* *hah-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 then run-INTR=FIN
 ‘So he took it off again’
- (270) *sáʔey* *kuhtkipis* *ʔey* *káqʔmil.*
sq=ʔi *kuhtki=pis* =ʔi *kʔakʔ-t-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 north=ABL =HSY1 exist-INTR-MPSV=FIN
 ‘and had it rise from the north.’
- (271) *seʔéy* *nákmil*
si=ʔi *náq=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 dark/night=FIN
 ‘But it (remained) dark.’
- (272) *seʔéy* *ʔátq* *ha:téyli* *kó:temil*
si=ʔi *ʔaʔaʔ* *haʔ-t-il* *koʔ-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 again carry-INTR-MPSV go-INTR=FIN
 ‘So taking it once more, he went,’
- (273) *sáʔey* *ʔonkʔólʔam* *ʔiy* *káqʔsimil*
sq=ʔi *ʔon-kʔol-am* =ʔi *kʔakʔ-s=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 earth-other-NOML =HSY1 exist-CAUS=FIN
 ‘and made it rise in another land (the east).’
- (274) *seʔéy* *kʔáwtmil*
si=ʔi *kʔaw-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 light-INTR=FIN
 ‘Then light showed.’
- (275) *sikíʔa* *haye* *ka* *mípaʔ* *ʔiy*
si=kíʔa *háyʔaye* *kaʔ* *mih-paʔ* =ʔi
 NEW=then now PRX be-FUT =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulk'oʔi piláta.

ʔimi=mil hulk'oʔi pilát=q

say=FIN Coyote sun=PAT

'So now, "This (is how it) shall be", Coyote told the sun.'

(276) sáʔey kíta háye nak'óʔohimil pilát

sá=ʔi kíta hqʔaye nək'oh=mil pilát

SAME=HSY1 there now teach=FIN sun

ka mí:š miʔ haʔámtílhan táltilinʔk

kaʔ miš miʔ haʔ-mqʔ-t-il=han tál-t-il-nik

PRX road 2SG.AGT carry-DIR1?-INTR-MPSV=but NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC

k'ú:sto kimíl k mi kup haʔámtílhan

k'us-to ki-mil=k miʔ kup haʔ-mqʔ-t-il=han

tired-? say-?=DECL 2SG.AGT sister's.son carry-DIR1?-INTR-MPSV=but

táltilin káta mí: kup k'áksikí:

tál-t-il-nik kaʔa miʔ kup k'áq'-s=kiʔ

NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC here 2SG.AGT sister's.son exist-CAUS=DST

ʔu:khóʔotamwit miʔ kóʔotam tímaʔ

ʔuk'-hoʔ-am=wit miʔ koʔ-t-m tíma

water-large-NOML=ALL 2SG.AGT go-INTR-IMPV self

'And there he taught the sun, "This path do not ever let yourself leave holding it as you move, saying you are tired, sister's son; do not ever let yourself leave holding it as you move, sister's son, when rising there [here?] you are to go toward the ocean.'"

(277) sikít mi kóyi kíta húyki yíč

si=kiʔ miʔ koʔ-y kíta huy=ki yíč

NEW=then 2SG.AGT go-PROG there middle=IN for.a.while

həwəykíl *ʔimaʔ*
həwəy-k-il *ʔima*
 food/eat-PNCT-MPSV self
 ‘And when you have traveled to the middle, you are to eat for a while.’

- (278) *sámi* *ʃúʔnóhkiltána* *kup*
sa-mi *ʃuʔ-noʔ-h-k-il-tan-a* *kup*
 SAME-therefore sit/stay-live-DUR-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP sister’s.son

mi *kóʔo* *ʔima*
miʔ *koʔ* *ʔima*
 2SG.AGT go self
 ‘But not sitting there to stay long, sister’s son, you are to go on.’

- (279) *síkə* *mís* *ʔú:k’op* *č’úk* *ʔima*
si=kə *mis* *ʔuk’=op* *č’uk* *ʔima*
 NEW=thereupon 2SG.PAT water=LAT fall self
 ‘And then you are to fall into the water.’

- (280) *səki:* *miʔ* *kup* *k’ú:htkiwit* *tákílk*
sə=ki *miʔ* *kup* *kuhtki=wit* *taʔ-k-il=k*
 SAME=and 2SG.AGT sister’s.son north=ALL flow-PNCT-MPSV=DECL

miʔ *kup* *mik’átil* *ʔima*
miʔ *kup* *mik’al-t-il* *ʔima*
 2SG.AGT sister’s.son around-INTR-MPSV self
 ‘And from there, sister’s son, floating to the north, you will make your way around.’

- (281) *sə* *miʔ* *ʔátá* *ká:meš*⁴⁰⁵ *ʔon* *wáčyi* *kíʔa*
sə *miʔ* *ʔataʔ* *kaʔ-miš* *ʔon* *wáč’y* *kíʔa*
 SAME 2SG.AGT again PRX-DSTR? earth teach-PROG there

⁴⁰⁵ Alternate form given: *ká:mis* ‘this’ Could be ‘this road’.

mi[?] kup ?ičyí:lop k'awlám ʔima
 mi[?] kup ič-y-il=op k'aw-lam ʔima
 2SG.AGT sister's.son JXT-PROG-MPSV=when light-INCH self

?i:y ?imeymil piláta hulk'ó'i
 =?i ?imi=mil pilát=q hulk'ó'i
 =HSY1 say=FIN sun=PAT Coyote

'And when you are near this place again which I showed you, sister's son, it is to begin to become light", Coyote said to the sun.'

(282) sá[?]ey ?qtéy⁴⁰⁶ káta kup šu[?]hinik yí:čmah
 sá=i ?qti kaťa kup šu[?]-h-nik yičmah
 SAME=HSY1 a.while here sister's.son sit/stay-DUR-NEC for.a.while

hánkil kó:mil
 han=kil ko[?]=mil
 house=TERM go=FIN

"And for a while [you must] stay here, sister's son; for a little I am going home;"

(283) t'óktli ?qp kipáwk'il kú:pa
 t'ok-tl ?qp kipaw=k'il kup=q
 arrive-TR 1SG.AGT back=TERM sister's.son=PAT

?qp náwwinemapa[?] hi:l kú:pa wačmiki:
 ?qp nąw-n-mą-pa[?] hil kup=q wač'-m=ki[?]
 1SG.AGT see-AND-DIR1-FUT all sister's.son=PAT teach-IMPV=DST

?i:y ?imeymil hulk'ó'i pilá:ta
 =?i ?imi=mil hulk'ó'i pilát=q
 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote sun=PAT

"having arrived there, I shall come to see you, sister's son, to tell you everything", Coyote said to the sun.'

⁴⁰⁶ Alternate form gvien: ?qth 'for a while'.

- (284) *sq̣ḳı̣tey* *kóʔot(e)mil* *hánʔkʼil* *hulkʼóʔi*
sq̣=kịṭ=ʔi *koʔ-t=mil* *han=kʼil* *hulkʼoʔi*
 SAME=then=HSY1 go-INTR=FIN house=TERM Coyote
 ‘Then Coyote went home.’

- (285) *sq̣ʔey* *háye* *noʼonamlíḳı̣ta* *ʔey* *háye*
sq̣=ʔi *hqʔqye* *noʔ=namli=ḳı̣ta* *=ʔi* *hqʔqye*
 SAME=HSY1 now live=DEP-there =HSY1 now

tókṭmil

tʼok-tl=mil

arrive-TR=FIN

‘Now where he lived he arrived at;’

- (286) *sq̣ʔéy* *ʔinḳı̣mil*
sq̣=ʔi *ʔin-k-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘and he slept.’

- (287) *siḳaʔéy* *ʔatá* *ʔináṃtmil* *ʔa:ʔát* *laṣ̌kʼáwolʼ*
si=ḳa=ʔi *ʔaʔaʔ* *ʔinam-t=mil* *ʔaʔat* *laṣ̌kʼawolʼ*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 again dream-INTR=FIN people moon

na *háẉmolʼ* *tu:nóḥilikimạ́šat*

=*nq* *haẉmolʼ* *tunoh-il=kiʔ-mas=q̣t*

=and morning.star keep-MPSV?=DST-DSTR=DAT

‘Thereupon he dreamed again, of those people that kept the moon and the morning star.’

- (288) *sq̣ʔey* *ʔáṭa* *kipat* *ʔaṭáta* *nakohíṣimil*
sq̣=ʔi *ʔaṭaʔ* *kip=q̣t* *ʔaṭat=q̣* *nq̣kʼoh-s=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 again 3R=DAT people=PAT teach-CONT=FIN

hąšá ^ʔ*ap* *kóʔomilámsik* ^ʔ*ey* ^ʔ*imeymil* *hulkʔóʔi*
hąšąʔ ^ʔ*ap* *koʔ-mą-il-m-sik* =^ʔ*i* ^ʔ*imi=mil* *hulkʔóʔi*
 again 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-FIN-HSY2 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
 ‘And again he instructed his people: “Now I am told I must go”, said Coyote.’

(289) *sąkıtey* *kó:temil*
sq=kit=ʔi *koʔ-t=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 go-INTR=FIN
 ‘So he went.’

(290) *sąʔey* ^ʔ*án* *kó:mil*
sq=ʔi ^ʔ*an* *koʔ=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 long.time go=FIN
 ‘He traveled a long time.’

(291) *sąʔey* *haničtlikop* ^ʔ*i* *músp*
sq=ʔi *han=it-tl=kop* =^ʔ*i* *musp*
 SAME=HSY1 house=JXT-TR=while =HSY1 woman

kʔakʔakilmil
kʔakʔ-a-k-il=mil
 exist-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘And when near the house(s) he turned himself into a woman;’

(292) *sąkopéy* ^ʔ*onkʔat* *páy* *yąktłmil*
sq=kop=ʔi ^ʔ*onkʔat* *pąy* *yąk-t-il=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 mud vagina stand-INTR-MPSV=FIN
 ‘a vagina of mud he stuck on himself.’

(293) *sąʔey* *hánkʔil* *kómmil*
sq=ʔi *han=kʔil* *kom=mil*
 SAME?=HSY1 house=TERM come=FIN
 ‘And he came to the house.’

- (294) *sikáʔéy* *máy* *ka* *múšp* *táta*
si=ká=ʔi *máʔ* *kaʔ* *musp* *tat=a*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 who/someone PRX woman good=?

kó(i)yik ⁴⁰⁷ *ʔey* *ʔi:máʔlilmil* *ʔa:tát* *ki* *ʔónap* ⁴⁰⁸
koʔ-y=k =ʔi *ʔimi-má-l-il=mil* *ʔatát* *kiʔ* *ʔon=ap*
 go-PROG=DECL =HSY1 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN people DST earth=LAT

nóʔhi *kimáse* ⁴⁰⁹
noʔ-h *kiʔ-mas-i*
 live-DUR DST-DSTR-ANIM
 ‘Thereupon, “Who is this pretty woman coming?” said the people to one another who lived in that land.’
- (295) *séʔey* *hánkil* *kayit* *nənáka* *ʔey*
si=ʔi *han=kʔil* *kayit* *nənak=ka* =ʔi
 NEW=HSY1 house=TERM long.ago know=when? =HSY1

humá:s *kí:kʔil* *kómmil*
huməs *kiʔ=kʔil* *kom=mil*
 straight/correct DST=TERM come=FIN
 ‘And already knowing the house, he came straight toward it.’
- (296) *sikáʔéy* *hánam* *ka:písimil* *pá:k* *ʔiwop*
si=ká=ʔi *han-əm* *kap-s=mil* *pək* *ʔiwop*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 house-IN2 enter-CAUS=FIN one man
 ‘So one man took him into the house,’
- (297) *sáʔéy* *kʔamolšil* *tá:tlikʔéy?* ⁴¹⁰ *šútlmil*
sá=ʔi *kʔamol-šil* *tat-tl=kiʔ* *šuʔ-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 puma-skin good/make-TR=DST sit/stay-TR=FIN
 ‘and had him sit on puma skin which they prepared for him.’

⁴⁰⁷ Alternate form given: *kó(o)yik* ‘coming’.

⁴⁰⁸ Alternate form given: *ki ʔónop* ‘in that land’.

⁴⁰⁹ Alternate form given: *kimási* ‘who’.

⁴¹⁰ Alternate form given: *tá:tlikʔiʔ* ‘that they fixed for him’.

- (298) *si'ény* *šúmil*
si=?i *šu?=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 sit/stay=FIN
 'And he sat.'
- (299) *sikīṭey* *mús* *si'* *lítinmil* *hi:li*
si=kiṭ=?i *mus* *si'* *lit-n=mil* *hil-i*
 NEW=then=HSY1 women clover do-AND=FIN all-ANIM
 'Then the women all went to gather clover,'
- (300) *sikīṭey* *?iwis* *mil* *hut'ó'opinmil*
si=kiṭ=?i *?iwis* *mil* *hut'op-n=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 men meat/deer hunt-AND=FIN
 'and the men to hunt deer,'
- (301) *sikīṭey* *pąwi* *?i:psáka* *wí:st(e)mil*
si=kiṭ=?i *pąwi* *?ipsak=q* *wis-t=mil*
 NEW=then=HSY1 one boy=PAT remain-INTR=FIN
 'and one boy was left,'
- (302) *sąkí* *?ey*⁴¹¹ *šú'mil*
są=ki *=?i* *šu?=mil*
 SAME=and =HSY1 sit/stay=FIN
 'and stayed.'
- (303) *siką?éy* *hulk'ó'i* *mús* *yikilnamlikí*
si=ką=?i *hulk'o'i* *musp* *yi'-k-il=namli=ki'*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 Coyote woman play-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST
- ?ey* *?ipsáka* *hílkšilo?* *kíwismil* *hánal* *sulkí:*
=?i *?ipsak=q* *hílkšilo?* *kiw-s=mil* *hanal* *sul=ki'*
 =HSY1 boy=PAT everything ask-CAUS?=FIN wall hang=DST
 'Now Coyote who was playing woman asked the boy everything (about those things) which hung on the house walls.'

⁴¹¹ Alternate form given: *?iy*.

- (304) *se'áy* *ʔi:psák* *hušk'áyesmil*
si=ʔi *ʔipsak* *hušk'ay-s=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 boy tell-CAUS?=FIN
 'So the boy informed him.'
- (305) *se'áy* *hulk'óʔi* *híl(i)kšiloʔ* *kúpik'il* *ʔi:yiki*
si=ʔi *hulk'óʔi* *hilkšiloʔ* *kup=k'il* *ʔiyi=ki*
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote everything point=TERM? what=IN
- pánhaʔ* *ʔey* *ʔímismil*
pan-haʔ =ʔi *ʔimi-s=mil*
 hang-Q =HSY1 say-CONT?=FIN
 'Pointing at everything, Coyote said, "What is that hanging?"'
- (306) *sé'ey* *ki* *ʔi:psák* *ʔuʂat* *ki* *ʔ'ó'ot* *pan*
si=ʔi *kiʔ* *ʔipsak* *ʔus=at* *kiʔ* *ʔ'ot* *pan*
 NEW=HSY1 DST boy 1PL.EXCL=DAT DST carrying.basket hang
- ʔiy* *ʔímismil*
 =ʔi *ʔimi-s=mil*
 =HSY1 say-CONT?=FIN
 'So the boy said, "That is our carrying basket hanging".'
- (307) *hílikšiloʔ* *hulk'óʔi* *kip* *kíwsiki* *ʔey* *kíta* *yq̄w*
hilkšiloʔ *hulk'óʔi* *kip* *kiw-s=kiʔ* =ʔi *kíta* *yq̄w*
 everything Coyote 3R ask-CAUS=DST =HSY1 there name/call
- wá:česmil* *ki* *ʔipsák*
wač'-s=mil *kiʔ* *ʔipsak*
 teach-CAUS=FIN DST boy
 'Everything that Coyote asked him, the boy told (showed) the name there.'
- (308) *símeʔey* *ší'am* *wí:k'am* *ʔi:yiki*
si=mi=ʔi *ší'am* *wik'-qm* *ʔiyi=ki*
 NEW=then=HSY1 after.a.while rear?-IN2 what=IN

kiŋki *pánhaʔ* *ʔeyy* *ʔimeymil* *hulk'oʔi*
kim'=ki *pan-haʔ* =ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *hulk'oʔi*
 over.there=IN hang-Q =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘So after a time, “At the rear of the house, what is that hanging there?” asked Coyote.’

- (309) *seʔéy* *ki* *ʔipšák* *hušk'áyestanmil* *hulk'oʔi* *kip*
si=ʔi *kiʔ* *ʔipsak* *hušk'áy-s-tan=mil* *hulk'oʔi* *kip*
 NEW=HSY1 DST boy tell-CAUS?-NEG=FIN Coyote 3R

kíwsi *ʔey* *k'an* *haʔámilmil*
kiw-s =ʔi *k'q̄n* *hqʔ-mil=mil*
 ask-CAUS =HSY1 language/word listen-?=FIN

‘Then the boy did not tell; he did not answer Coyote asking.’

- (310) *simeyʔey* *ʔim* *litít:tl* *hqlíkí:* *hučkipis*
si=mi=ʔi *ʔim* *lit-tl=hqlí=kiʔ* *huč=ki=pis*
 NEW=then=HSY1 where do-TR=INFR1=DST outside=IN=ABL

náwkil *ʔeyy* *ʔimeymil* *ʔi:psáka* *hulk'óʔi*
náw-k-il =ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *ʔipsak=q* *hulk'oʔi*
 see-PNCT-MPSV =HSY1 say=FIN boy=PAT Coyote

‘So after a while, “Look from outdoors where they may be gathering”, said Coyote to the boy.’

- (311) *seʔéy* *lákti* *náwkílmil* *kí* *ʔipsák*
si=ʔi *lak'-t* *náw-k-il=mil* *kiʔ* *ʔipsak*
 NEW=HSY1 emerge-INTR see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN DST boy

‘Then going out, the boy looked.’

- (312) *sikqʔéy* *hulk'óʔi* *wlí:pis* *náwkil* *ʔimeymil*
si=kq=ʔi *hulk'oʔi* *wíl=pis* *náw-k-il* *ʔimi=mil*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 Coyote far=ABL see-PNCT-MPSV say=FIN

‘Thereupon Coyote said, “Look from farther.”’

- (313) *se'ey* *wiley* *ko'óti* *'ey* *náwinhale* *'ey*
si=?i *wil* *ko²-t* *=?i* *nəw-n=həli* *=?i*
 NEW=HSY1 far go-INTR =HSY1 see-AND=INFR1 =HSY1

yət(e)mil

yat=mil

be.gone=FIN

'So going farther to look, it seems, he was not (in sight any longer).'

- (314) *sikīey* *hulk'ó'i* *laš'awól'* *na* *hawmól'* *na*
si=kiṭ=?i *hulk'o'i* *laš'awól'* =nə *hawmol'* =nə
 NEW=then=HSY1 Coyote moon =and morning.star =and

lákesa *háyk* *p'óytlmil*

lak'-sa *hay=k* *p'oy-tl=mil*

emerge-? net.sack=IN put-TR=FIN

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

- (315) *sá'ey* *lákti* *k'ólk'il* *kó'ot(e)mil*
sq=?i *lak'-t* *k'ol=k'il* *ko²-t=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 emerge-INTR other=TERM go-INTR=FIN
 'And going outside, he went off to another (direction).'

- (316) *sikīey* *kipáwki* *ki* *'i:pšák* *kó:ma* *hanam*
si=kiṭ=?i *kipəw=ki* *ki?* *'ipsak* *ko²-ma* *han-qm*
 NEW=then=HSY1 back=IN DST boy go-DIR1 house-IN2

kápt(e)mil

kap-t=mil

enter-INTR=FIN

'Then the boy coming back entered the house.'

- (317) *sá'ey* *máy* *múšp* *komwič'o'oki?* *míyqt*
sq=?i *məy'* *musp* *kom-wič-o=ki?* *mi=qt*
 SAME=HSY1 who/someone woman come-PST2-?=DST 1PL.INCL=DAT

lašk'awól' na hawmól' na wáčameyk 'eyy
lašk'awól' =nq hawmol' =nq wqʔ'-m=k =ʔi
 moon =and morning.star =and steal-IMPV=DECL =HSY1

ʔimeymil ki ʔi:psák
ʔimi=mil kiʔ ʔipsak
 say=FIN DST boy

‘And “The woman who came is stealing our moon and morning star”, said the boy.’

- (318) *sáʔey húčki lákti pąk'éyakmil*
są=ʔi huč=ki lak'-t pąk'-ąk=mil
 SAME=HSY1 outside=IN emerge-INTR shout-SEM=FIN
 ‘And going outdoors he shouted.’

- (319) *siʔéy háye mil hut'o'ópinnamlikimáse 'ey*
si=ʔi hąʔaye mil hut'op-n=namli=kiʔ-mas-i =ʔi
 NEW=HSY1 now meat/deer hunt-AND=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

háye kipąwk'il wítmaqmil
hąʔaye kipąw=k'il wiṭ-mą=mil
 now back=TERM turn-DIR1=FIN

‘Then those who had gone deer hunting came back.’

- (320) *sopʔéy mú:s siʔ lítinnamlikimáse hil*
sop=ʔi mus siʔ lit-n=namli=kiʔ-mas-i hil
 but=HSY1 women clover do-AND=DEP=DST-DSTR all

wí:t'mąmil
wiṭ-mą=mil
 turn-DIR1=FIN

‘Also the women who had gone clover gathering all came returning.’

- (321) *siʔey háye ʔiwis kíw nóʔitili 'ey*
si=ʔi hąʔaye ʔiwis kíw nóʔ-t-il =ʔi
 NEW=HSY1 now men arrow carry-INTR-MPSV =HSY1

- téwtmil* *wáqkop* *hulk'ó'a*
tiw-tl=mil *wqk=op* *hulk'ó'i=q*
 pursue-TR=FIN after=LAT Coyote=PAT
 'And now the men carrying arrows pursued after Coyote.'
- (322) *sá'ey* *ʔamilkílmil* *hulk'ó'a*
sq=ʔi *ʔamil-k-il=mil* *hulk'ó'i=q*
 SAME=HSY1 overtake-PNCT-MPSV=FIN Coyote=PAT
 'And they caught up with Coyote.'
- (323) *se'ey* *lašk'áwol'* *na* *háwmol'* *ʔey* *pístmil*
si=ʔi *lašk'awol'* =nq *hawmol'* =ʔi *pis-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 moon =and morning.star =HSY1 hide-TR=FIN
 'Then he hid the moon and morning star.'
- (324) *se'ey* *ʔamilkílik'il* *kíwismil.*
si=ʔi *ʔamil-k-il=k'il* *kiw-s=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 overtake-PNCT-MPSV=TERM ask-CAUS?=FIN
 'And as they caught him they questioned.'
- (325) *se'ey* *ʔim* *ʔey* *naháŋk* *ʔey* *ʔimeymil* *hulk'ó'i*
si=ʔi *ʔim* *ʔi* *nqhan=k* =ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *hulk'ó'i*
 NEW=HSY1 thus 1SG.PAT know=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
 'So, "Indeed I do not know", said Coyote.'
- (326) *sikán'ey* *li'qkmil*
si=kq=ʔi *li'-qk=mil*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 kill-SEM=FIN
 'However, they slew him.'
- (327) *se'ey* *kip* *k'ó'ólikit* *ʔey* *p'íšpál* *hąhinčam*
si=ʔi *kip* *k'ol=kit* =ʔi *p'íš-pal* *hąhin=iṭ-qm*
 NEW=HSY1 3R die=as =HSY1 sunflower-leaf under=JXT-IN2

ʔqs čąklámtpaʔ síkiṭ ʔán p'íšpal
 ʔqs čąk-ləm-t-paʔ si=kiṭ ʔan p'íš-pal
 blood stick-INCH-INTR-FUT NEW=then long.time sunflower-leaf

hąhinčam k'ít píntpaʔ ʔey ʔimeymil
 hąhin=iṭ-qm k'it pin-t-paʔ =ʔi ʔimi=mil
 under=JXT-IN2 bone be.scattered-INTR-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kip k'oʔóli ʔqlwáʔ
 kip k'ol ʔqlwaʔ
 3R die at.the.same.time.that

'Then, as they were killing him, "Under the sunflower leaves the blood shall stick on and under the sunflower leaves the bones shall lie scattered," he said at the time they were killing him.'

(328) siʔéy háye k'óli sąkiṭ kipąwk'il koʔolítimil
 si=ʔi hąʔaye k'ol są=kiṭ kipąw=k'il koʔ-lit=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now kill SAME=then back=TERM go-DIR2=FIN

(329) lašk'áwol na háwmol hą:t hulk'óʔi
 lašk'awol' =ną hawmol' hąṭ hulk'óʔi
 moon =and morning.star without Coyote

pístl(i)námlikit są kimási ko:lítikit
 pis-tl=namliki są kiʔ-mas-i koʔ-lit=kiṭ
 hide-TR=because SAME DST-DSTR-ANIM go-DIR2=then

hiwąk'i hil p'íšpal hąhinčam ʔqs
 hiwąk=iʔ hil p'íš-pal hąhin=iṭ-qm ʔqs
 in.turn=IN? all sunflower-leaf under=JXT-IN2 blood

čąklámtnamlikí: na p'íšpál hąhinčam k'it
 čąk-ləm-t=namlí=kiʔ =ną p'íš-pal hąhin=iṭ-qm k'it
 stick-INCH-INTR=DEP=DST =and sunflower-leaf under=JXT-IN2 bone

- (334) *sqʔéy* *ʔámsop* *tátekilmil*
sq=ʔi *ʔams=op* *tat-k-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 digging.stick.wood=LAT good/make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘So he made (himself) on digging-stick wood.’
- (335) *sopʔéy* *ʔqtá* *kóya* *púʔtmlil*
sop=ʔi *ʔaʔaʔ* *koʔi=q* *putʔ-tlʔ=mil*
 but=HSY1 again gopher=PAT emerge-TRʔ=FIN
 ‘And again gophers emerged.’
- (336) *sikqʔéy* *ʔálo:k* *súʔtmlil*
si=kq=ʔi *ʔal-ok* *sutʔ-tlʔ=mil*
 NEW-thereupon=HSY1 stick-INST stab-TRʔ=FIN
 ‘Then with a stick he stabbed at them.’
- (337) *siʔéy* *hqčʔámmil*
si=ʔi *hqčʔam=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 strong=FIN
 ‘Then he was firm.’
- (338) *siʔey* *ʔqtq* *kóya* *púʔtmlil*
si=ʔi *ʔaʔaʔ* *koʔi=q* *putʔ-tlʔ=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 again gopher=PAT emerge-TRʔ=FIN
 ‘And again gophers emerged.’
- (339) *siʔey* *ʔqtq* *súʔtmlil*
si=ʔi *ʔaʔaʔ* *sutʔ-tlʔ=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 again stab-TRʔ=FIN
 ‘and again he stabbed,’
- (340) *seʔéy* *háye* *hil* *hqčʔámʔtmlil*
si=ʔi *hqʔaye* *hil* *hqčʔam-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 now all strong-INTR=FIN
 ‘and now he was altogether firm.’ [Probably: all was altogether firm]

- (345) *se'éy* *ʔúnšil* *k'áwtmil*
si=?i *ʔunšil* *k'aw-t=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 small light-INTR=FIN
 'Then it shone a little.'

- (346) *se'éy* *ká* *mít* *kúp* *ʔónapa* *ʔey* *ʔimeymil*
si=?i *kaʔ* *mit* *kup* *ʔon-a-paʔ* *=?i* *ʔimi=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister's.son earth-?-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

hulk'oʔi *lašk'áwla*
hulk'oʔi *lašk'awol'=q*
 Coyote moon=PAT

'Then, "This, sister's son, will be your place (land)", said Coyote to the moon.

- (347) *sąkitéy* *ʔatq* *mi:š* *wačísimil*
są=kiṭ=?i *ʔatq* *miš* *wač'-s=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 too road teach-CAUS?=FIN

lašk'áwola *kaṭá(w)pis* *mí:* *kup* *ʔonk'olámwit*
lašk'awol'=q *kaṭa=pis* *miʔ* *kup* *ʔonk'ol-am=wit*
 moon=PAT here=ABL 2SG.AGT sister's.son east-NOML=ALL

kó:tampaʔ
koʔ-t-m-paʔ
 go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

'And to the moon too he showed his way: "From here you, sister's son, shall go toward the east."'

- (348) *sąkím'* *t'oʔók* *sikíṭ* *míʔ* *kup* *ʔátá*
są=kim' *t'ók* *si=kiṭ* *míʔ* *kup* *ʔaṭaʔ*
 SAME-over.there? arrive NEW=then 2SG.AGT sister's.son again

kímpis *kipáwk'il* *kó:tampa*
kim'pis *kipáw=k'il* *ko²-t-m-pa²*
 over.there=ABL back=TERM go-INTR-IMPV-FUT

“And when you have arrived there, sister’s son, from there you shall go back again,”

- (349) *sáki:mi* *ʔátq* *kup* *kipat* *ʔonap*⁴¹² *kaṭá*
sá=kimi *ʔátq* *kup* *kip=qt* *ʔon=ap* *kaṭa*
 SAME-? now sister’s.son 3R=DAT earth=LAT here

t’ó’okespa² *ʔiy* *ʔimeymil* *hulk’ó’i* *laš’áwla*
t’ok-s-pa² =ʔi *ʔimi=mil* *hulk’o’i* *laš’awol’=q*
 arrive-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote moon=PAT

“and here at your own place, sister’s son, you shall arrive”, said Coyote to the moon.’

- (350) *sákitey* *hášmó:la* *piláq:tá:tk’il* *ha:tí:li*
sá=kiṭ=ʔi *hašmol’=q* *piláq=qt=k’il* *ha²-t-il*
 SAME=then=HSY1 morning.star=PAT sun=DAT=TERM carry-INTR-MPSV

kó’ot(e)mil *hulk’ó’i*
ko²-t=mil *hulk’o’i*
 go-INTR=FIN Coyote

‘Then Coyote went carrying the morning star toward the sun;’

- (351) *sá’ey* *piláq:tá* *šú:htlnamlikíṭa* *ʔey* *kómmil*
sá=ʔi *piláq=q* *šú²-h-tl=namli=kiṭa* =ʔi *kom=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 sun=PAT sit/stay-DUR-TR=DEP=there =HSY1 come=FIN
 ‘where he had set the sun he came.’

- (352) *sá’ey* *háwmo’ola* *kíṭa* *káksimil*.
sá=ʔi *hawmol’=q* *kíṭa* *k’áq’-s=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 morning.star=PAT there exist-CAUS=FIN
 ‘And there he made the morning star rise;’

⁴¹² Alternate form given: *ʔonap* ‘place’.

- (353) *se'áy* *ʔúnšil* *k'áwtmil*
si=ʔi *ʔunšil* *k'aw-t=mi*
 NEW=HSY1 small light-INTR=FIN
 'and it shone a little.'

- (354) *sikiṭey* *ká* *mít* *kup* *ʔonapaʔ*⁴¹³ *ʔan*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *kaʔ* *mit* *kup* *ʔon-aʔ-paʔ* *ʔan*
 NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister's.son earth-?-FUT long.time

son *miʔ* *kup* *kákkútišpaʔ*
son *miʔ* *kup* *k'áq'-kut-s-paʔ*
 therefore 2SG.AGT sister's.son exist-INCP-CAUS-FUT

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

- (355) *soméy* *kup* *wliʔisk*
som=ʔi *kup* *wil-s=k*
 however=HSY1 sister's.son pass-CONT=DECL

hánʔam *kápsilpa*
han-əm *kap-s-il-paʔ*
 house-IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-FUT

“However, sister’s son, having gone a distance, you shall enter (your) house.”

- (356) *sikiṭ* *hayé* *piláti* *ká:kəspa* *ʔiy* *ʔimeymil*
si=kiṭ *həʔəye* *pilət* *k'áq'-s-paʔ* *=ʔi* *ʔimi=mi*
 NEW=then now sun exist-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kimasa *ʔópi* *nakahik*⁴¹⁴
kiʔ-mas=q *ʔopi* *nək'oh=k*
 DST-DSTR=PAT two teach=DECL

“And then the sun shall rise”, he said, teaching them both.’

⁴¹³ Alternate form given: *ʔonopaʔ* ‘will be country, place’.

⁴¹⁴ Alternate form given: *nak'ahik* or *nak'ohik* ‘instructing, giving them understanding’, vowel is unclearly written.

- (357) *somíy* *ʔey* *hi:l* *mólmiya* *híl'k'il* *nak'óhisq*
som=ʔi =ʔi *hil* *molmi=q* *hilk'il* *nqk'oh-sq*
 however=HSY1 =HSY1 all three=PAT separately teach-?

ʔimiymil *laš'áwl'a* *náqop* *kíč* *mi'* *kup*
ʔimi=mil *laš'awol'=q* *nqk=op* =*kíč* *mi'* *kup*
 say=FIN moon=PAT dark/night=LAT =only 2SG.AGT sister's.son

kó:tampa

koʔ-t-m-paʔ

go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT

'However, teaching all three separately, he said to the moon, "At night only, you, sister's son, shall travel.'"

- (358) *síkít* *háwmoł'* *háwłám* *mí'íčop* *kíč* *ká:kespa*
si=kít *hawmol'* *hawlam* *mih=ič=op* =*kíč* *k'qk'-s-paʔ*
 NEW=then morning.star dawn be=JXT=while =only exist-CAUS-FUT
 "And the morning star shall rise only when the beginning of the day is near."

- (359) *síkít* *piláti* *háwmoł'* *hán'am* *kapsí:likít* *pilá:ti*
si=kít *pilqt* *hawmol'* *han-am* *kap-s-il=kít* *pilqt*
 NEW=then sun morning.star house-IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV=then sun

ká:kespaʔ *ʔi:y* *ʔim* *nak'óhismil*
k'qk'-s-paʔ =ʔi *ʔim* *nqk'oh-s=mil*
 exist-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 thus teach-CAUS?=FIN

"And when the morning star enters his house, the sun shall rise", thus he taught them.'

- (360) *sáqítēy* *hánk'il* *kó:tmil*
sq=kít=ʔi *han=k'il* *koʔ-t=mil*
 SAME=then=HSY1 house=TERM go-INTR=FIN
 'Thereupon he traveled toward his house,'

- (361) *sáʔey* *tʔóktmil*
sq=ʔi *tʔok-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN
 ‘and reached it,’
- (362) *sáʔey* *ʔinkílmil*
sq=ʔi *ʔin-k-il=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 ‘and went to sleep.’
- (363) *siʔey* *káytkil* *ʔimeynamlikí:* *ʔey* *kʔáwlamíml*
si=ʔi *kaytkil* *ʔimi=namlí=kiʔ* *=ʔi* *kʔaw-lám=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 long.ago say=DEP=DST =HSY1 light-INCH=FIN
 ‘Then as he had long ago said, it began to dawn.’
- (364) *sonéy* *ʔa:ʔáta* *nəhámqmil*
son=ʔi *ʔatát=q* *nəhám-qʔ=mil*
 but=HSY1 people=PAT not.know-ʔ=FIN
 ‘But the people did not know it.’
- (365) *siʔéy* *hí:l* *kʔáwtmil* *nəknámlon*
si=ʔi *hil* *kʔaw-t=mil* *nək=namlí=on*
 NEW=HSY1 all light-INTR=FIN dark/night=DEP=though
 ‘So it was full day though it seemed night to them.’
- (366) *seʔéy* *ʔolkáʔám* *húčki* *láktipis* *ʔey* *pilá:t*
si=ʔi *ʔolkaʔam* *huč=ki* *lakʔ-t=pis* *=ʔi* *pilát*
 NEW=HSY1 Mouse outside=IN emerge-INTR=ABL =HSY1 sun

káktlháli *kʔa:wítmil*
kʔakʔ-tl=háli *kʔaw-t=mil*
 exist-TR=INFR1 light-INTR=FIN
 ‘Then Mouse having gone outdoors, the sun being about to rise, it was day.’

- (370) *sikiṭéy* *haye* *hulk'ó'i* *hánpis* *lakti* *č'ál*
si=kiṭ=?i *hq'aye* *hulk'o'i* *han=pis* *lak'-t* *č'al*
 NEW=then=HSY1 now Coyote house=ABL emerge-INTR loud

pəq'éyakmil

pəq'-əq=mil

shout-SEM=FIN

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

- (371) *mó'ošampú:lamláčkot* *ma'tiyi* *yú:ta* *ʔiymaq* *mó'os*
mo'ošampulamlač-kot *ma'iyi* *yuta* *ʔiymaq* *mo'os*
 Mo'ošampulamlač-LOC something happen? ? 2PL.AGT

míniskin' *hilkšiló'* *hí:li* *lákti*
min-s-kin' *hilkšilo'* *hil-i* *lak'-t*
 doubt-CONT?-? everything all-ANIM emerge-INTR

hánpis *nəwkil'* *ʔeyy* *ʔimeymil*
han=pis *nəw-k-il-'* =?i *ʔimi=mil*
 house=ABL see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN

kipat *ʔa:táta* *hulk'ó'i*
kip=qt *ʔatát=q* *hulk'o'i*
 3R=DAT people=PAT Coyote

“At Mo'ošampulamlač something is happening! You who could not believe me in anything, all come out of your houses and look!” said Coyote to his people.'

- (372) *sé'ey* *hí:li* *hánpis* *la:ksilyq:ki*
si=?i *hil-i* *han=pis* *lak'-s-il-qk*
 NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM house=ABL emerge-CAUS?-MPSV-SEM

nəwkílmil *pilq:ti* *kəkyeki:*
nəw-k-il=mil *pilqt* *k'əq'-y=ki'*
 see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN sun exist-PROG=DST

'Then all of them coming out of their houses looked at the sun rising.'

- (373) *sąkimás hu²útlikit² ?éy ?inkílmil ?átq*
są=kimas hu²u²-tl=kit² =²i ?in-k-il=mil ?a²a²
 SAME-thus quit-TR=when =HSY1 sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN again
 ‘So when he had finished everything like this, he went to sleep again.’

- (374) *siką²éy ląl tunó:tilnamlikí²at*
si=ką=²i ląl tunoh-t-il=namli=ki²=ąt
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 acorn keep-INTR-MPSV=DEP=DST=DAT

?ey ?inąmtmil hilkšiló:² hąwáyí
=²i ?inam-t=mil hilkšilo² hąwąy
 =HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN everything food/eat

tunó:tilnamlikí²at

tunoh-t-il=namli=ki²=ąt

keep-INTR-MPSV=DEP=DST=DAT

‘Thereupon he dreamed of those who kept stored away the acorns, of those who kept every kind of food.’

- (375) *są²éy ?átą ?ąp ko:mi:lámšik⁴¹⁷ ?ey*
są=²i ?a²a² ?ąp ko²-mą-il-m-sik =²i
 SAME=HSY1 again 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPV-FV-HSY2 =HSY1

?imeymil kípát ?a²áta
?imi=mil kíp=ąt ?a²at=ą
 say=FIN 3R=DAT people=PAT

‘And, “Again I learn I am to go”, he said to his people.’

- (376) *sąkey kípát múšpa tát šú:hin²k*
są=ki kíp=ąt musp=ą tat šu²-h-nik
 SAME=and 3R=DAT woman=PAT good/make sit/stay-DUR-NEC

tát halč tatéymin(i)k ?ey ?ím
tat halč tat-m-nik =²i ?im
 good/make children good/make-IMPV-FV-NEC =HSY1 thus

⁴¹⁷ Alternate form given: *ko:mi:lámšik* ‘hear I have to go’.

- kipat múspa nak'ó'ohimmil*
kip=qt musp=q nqk'oh-m=mil
 3R=DAT woman=PAT teach-IMPV=FIN
 'And [to] his woman (wife), "You must stay well; look well after the children", thus he instructed his wife.'
- (377)

<i>sqkítēy</i>	<i>kipat</i>	<i>múspa</i>	<i>ʔimeymil</i>	<i>tát</i>	<i>ʔatáta</i>
<i>sq=kiṭ=ʔi</i>	<i>kip=qt</i>	<i>musp=q</i>	<i>ʔimi=mil</i>	<i>tat</i>	<i>ʔatát=q</i>
SAME=then=HSY1	3R=DAT	woman=PAT	say=FIN	good/make	people=PAT
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| <i>həwáysinʔk</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>hánap</i> ⁴¹⁸ | <i>kó:támika</i> | <i>ʔeyy</i> |
| <i>həwəy-s-nik</i> | <i>kaʔ</i> | <i>han=op</i> | <i>koʔ-t-m=kaʔ</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> |
| food/eat-CAUS-NEC | PRX | house=LAT | go-INTR-IMPV=PRX | =HSY1 |
- | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>yátimyk'op</i> | <i>míʔ</i> | <i>həwáy</i> | <i>hámilhan</i> |
| <i>yat-m-yi=kop</i> | <i>miʔ</i> | <i>həwəy</i> | <i>haʔ=mil=han</i> |
| be.gone-IMPV-ʔ=though | 2SG.AGT | food/eat | carry=FIN=but? |
- | | | |
|---------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>tqłtilin(i)k</i> | <i>ʔeyy</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> |
| <i>tqł-t-il-nik</i> | <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔimi=mil</i> |
| NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC | =HSY1 | say=FIN |

'Thereupon he told his wife, "You must feed well the people coming to this house; even though I am gone you must not let yourself seem to withhold food", he said.'
- (378)

<i>ʔán</i>	<i>ʔi:y</i>	<i>yátpaʔ</i>	<i>simón</i>	<i>ʔəp</i>	<i>kómpaʔ</i>
<i>ʔan</i>	<i>ʔi</i>	<i>yat-paʔ</i>	<i>si=mon</i>	<i>ʔəp</i>	<i>kom-paʔ</i>
long.time	1SG.PAT	be.gone-FUT	NEW?-but?	1SG.AGT	come-FUT
- | | | | |
|------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>ʔey</i> | <i>ʔimeymil</i> | <i>kipat</i> | <i>múspa</i> |
| <i>=ʔi</i> | <i>ʔimi=mil</i> | <i>kip=qt</i> | <i>musp=q</i> |
| =HSY1 | say=FIN | 3R=DAT | woman=PAT |

"A long time I shall be gone; but I shall come (back)", he said to his wife.'

⁴¹⁸ Alternate form given: *hánop* 'house to'.

- (379) *kimás* *nak'óh*⁴¹⁹ *hu'útlíkít* *'ey* *kó:t(e)mil*
ki'-mas *nək'oh* *hu'u'-tl=kiṭ* =^{?i} *ko'-t=mil*
 DST-DSTR teach quit-TR=when =HSY1 go-INTR=FIN

'inámtnamlikí:k'il

'inam-t=namli=ki'=k'il

dream-INTR=DEP=DST=TERM

'Thus having instructed her, he traveled to what he had dreamed of.'

- (380) *sq'ey* *t'óktmil*
sq=?i *t'ok-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN
 'and arrived.'

- (381) *sq'ey* *kíṭa* *šú'umil* *'an*
sq=?i *kíṭa* *šu'=mil* *'an*
 SAME=HSY1 there sit/stay=FIN long.time
 'and stayed there long.'

- (382) *sikéy* *mil* *hut'ó'opismil*
si=ki *mil* *hut'op-s=mil*
 NEW=therefore meat/deer hunt-CONT?=FIN?
 'Then he used to go deer-hunting.'

- (383) *sík'ey* *šú'umil*
si=ki *šu'=mil*
 NEW=therefore sit/stay=FIN
 'and stayed on.'

- (384) *símika* *'ey* *musp* *kíṭa* *mi:namlikí:* *'ey*
si=mika =^{?i} *musp* *kíṭa* *mih=namli=ki'* =^{?i}
 NEW-? =HSY1 woman there be=DEP=DST =HSY1

⁴¹⁹ Alternate form given: *nok'oh* 'advising'.

naxk'mil ⁴²⁰

no²-h-k=mil

live-DUR?-PNCT=FIN

'Thereupon a woman who was there lived with him.'

- (385) *se²éy* *háye* *šú²umil* *kómpa²aykon*
si²=²i *há²qye* *šu²=mil* *kom-pa²am=kon*
 NEW=HSY1 now sit/stay=FIN come-FUT=although
 'And now he was staying there although he would come (back).'

- (386) *soméy²ey* *lál* *na* *hilkšilo²* *hąwáy* *tunó²ohanamlikí:*
są²=mi=²i *lál* *=ną* *hilkšilo²* *hąway* *tunoh=namli=ki²*
 SAME?²=then=HSY1 acorn =and everything food/eat keep=DEP=DST

²ey *háye* *wá:čammil* *no²* *hahá²* *sąkop* *híli*
 =²i *há²qye* *wą²'-m=mil* *no²* *haha²* *są=kop* *hil-i*
 =HSY1 now steal-IMPFV=FIN live deceive SAME=then all-ANIM

mú:s *no²namlikimási* *si²* *lí:nikiṭ* *²iwis*
mus *no²=namli=ki²-mas-i* *si²* *li²-n=kiṭ* *²iwis*
 women live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM clover gather-AND=when men

k'ólk'il *míl* *múhnikṭ*
k'ol=k'il *mil* *muh-n=kiṭ*
 other=TERM meat/deer snare-AND=when

'And so now deceptively living with her, he stole the acorns and all the kinds of food which they kept for themselves, when all the women who lived there were gone to gather clover and the men were gone deer-snaring elsewhere.'

- (387) *sopéy* *pá²ąk* *hulk'ó²i* *šú²uhimli* *²ey* *kimás*
sop=²i *pa²ąk* *hulk'ó²i* *šu²-himli* *=²i* *ki²-mas*
 but=HSY1 alone Coyote sit/stay-? =HSY1 DST-DSTR

⁴²⁰ Alternate form given: *nohkmil* 'with him they lived together'.

həwáy *wá:č(i)mi* *hil* *ʔá:tat* *ya:tíštikiṭ*
həwəy *wəṭ'-mi* *hil* *ʔatət* *yat-s-t=kiṭ*
 food/eat steal-? all people be.gone-CAUS?-INTR?=when

^ʔ*ey* ^ʔ*ol'úhop* *ləl* ^ʔ*olú(h)k'i* *p'óytlikiṭ*
 =^ʔ*i* ^ʔ*ol'uh-op* *ləl* ^ʔ*olu(h)=k'i* *p'oy-tl=kiṭ*
 =HSY1 openwork.basket=LAT acorn openwork.basket=IN put-TR=when

k'ilič *wo'ot* *həwəysampa'imikí:* ^ʔ*ey*
k'ilič *woṭ'* *həwəy-s-m-pa'am=ki'* =^ʔ*i*
 seed seed.meal/pinole food/eat-CAUS-IMPV-FUT=DST =HSY1

háyyop *p'oyísimil*
hay=op *p'oy-s=mil*
 net.sack=LAT put-CAUS=FIN

'So staying alone, Coyote, stealing the food while all the people were away, after he had put the acorns into an openwork carrying-basket, put the seeds which they ate as seed-meal into a bag.'

- (388) *səʔey* *hilikšiloʔ* *həwáy* ^ʔ*ey* ^ʔ*únmahmil*
sə=ʔi *hilikšiloʔ* *həwəy* =^ʔ*i* ^ʔ*un-mq-h=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 everything food/eat =HSY1 carry-DIR1-DUR=FIN

kipəwk'il *noʔnamliki:k'il*
kipəw=k'il *noʔ=namli=ki'=k'il*
 back=TERM live=DEP=DST=TERM

'And he carried all the kinds of food back to where he lived.'

- (389) *səʔey* *kimás*⁴²¹ *ʔa:táta* *wáčyikiṭ*
sə=ʔi *kimás* *ʔatət=q* *wáč'-y?=kiṭ*
 SAME=HSY1 thus people=PAT teach-PROG?=when

^ʔ*ey* *šáʔqk* ^ʔ*onhəhin* *píntimil*
 =^ʔ*i* *šáʔqk* ^ʔ*on=həhin* *pin-t=mil*
 =HSY1 some.of earth=under be.scattered-INTR=FIN

⁴²¹ Alternate form given: *kimás* 'those'.

- ki: hilkšiloʔ ʔónpis čúhampa:mikí:*
kiʔ hilkšiloʔ ʔon=pis č'uh-m-paʔam=kiʔ
 DST everything earth=ABL grow-IMPV-FUT=DST
 'And when he had shown it to the people, part of it he scattered under the ground that every kind should grow up out of the ground.'
- (390) *sqʔéy kimás ki: huʔútlmil hąwáyí wáčmaki:*
sqʔ=i kimas kiʔ huʔuʔ-tl=mil hąway wąť'-mą=kiʔ
 SAME=HSY1 thus DST quit-TR=FIN food/eat steal-DIR1=DST

ʔukhóʔotámpis
ʔuk'-hoť-am=pis
 water-large-NOML=ABL
 'And so he finished that stealing of food from the coast.'
- (391) *siʔéy hąyé kimás ʔa:ťát hąwáyisammil*
siʔ=i hąʔqye kimas ʔaťat hąway-s-m=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now thus people food/eat-CONT-IMPV=FIN
 'And now the people (lived by) eating that [those things].'
- (392) *sqʔey ʔatq ʔinkilmil*
sqʔ=i ʔaťaʔ ʔin-k-il=mil
 SAME=HSY1 again sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 'And again he went to sleep.'
- (393) *sikqʔéy ʔinámt(e)mil ʔa:ťaşáy*
si=kqʔ=i ʔinam-t=mil ʔaťat-şay
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN people-raw/alive

tatísaʔ kip ʔimiye ʔey ʔinámtmil
tat-s-aʔ kip ʔimi-y =ʔi ʔinam-t=mil
 good/make-CAUS-IMP 3R say-PROG =HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN
 'Thereupon he dreamed; that it told him to make human beings, he dreamed.'

- (394) *sqʔey* *han* *hą:tlmil*
sq=ʔi *han* *hą²-tl=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 house build-TR=FIN
 ‘So he built a house.’
- (395) *sąkʔómey* *ʔal* *tʔuʔakmil* *hąčmikʔal*
sq=kʔom=ʔi *ʔal* *tʔu²-qk=mil* *hąč=mikʔal*
 SAME-there=HSY1 stick lay-SEM=FIN house/camp/floor=around
 ‘And there he laid sticks around the floor.’
- (396) *sąʔey* *ʔqp* *matli:kon* *hó:t* *kʔytpaʔ*
sq=ʔi *ʔqp* *mat-tl=kon* *hot* *kʔy-t-paʔ*
 SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT do-TR=though large talk-INTR-FUT
- ʔą:tát* *kʔyímiyąki* *ʔú:kʔomnomʔ* *kʔáni*
ʔątat *kʔy-m-qk* *ʔukʔomnomʔ* *kʔqn*
 people talk-IMPV-SEM Ukʔomnomʔ language/word
 ‘And, “Though I do thus there shall be a great babble of people speaking Yuki (Ukʔomnomʔ) speech;”’
- (397) *sikiṭ* *hálja*⁴²² *ho:t* *yí:kilpaʔ*
si=kiṭ *halč=q* *hot* *yi²-k-tl-paʔ*
 NEW=then children=PAT large play-PNCT-MPSV-FUT
 “‘children also shall be playing much,”’
- (398) *sikiṭ* *sak* *kʔiniʔákki* *kʔiniʔakpa* *ʔeyy*
si=kiṭ *sak* *kʔin-qk=kiʔ* *kʔin-qk-paʔ* *=ʔi*
 NEW=then child cry-SEM=DST cry-SEM-FUT =HSY1
- ʔimeymil* *kimás* *ʔal* *tʔu* *huʔútli* *hulkʔóʔi*
ʔimi=mil *ki²-mas* *ʔal* *tʔuʔ* *huʔu²-tl* *hulkʔoʔi*
 say=FIN DST-DSTR stick lay quit-TR Coyote
 “‘and crying babies shall cry”, said Coyote as he finished laying the sticks thus.’

⁴²² Alternate form given: *hálča* ‘children’.

- (399) *sqkítēy* *ʔan* *k'oʔila* *tát(e)miki:*
sq=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔan* *k'oʔil=q* *tat-m=kiʔ*
 SAME=then=HSY1 long.time Wailaki=PAT good/make-IMPFV=DST

ʔey *han* *hq:tmlil*
=ʔi *han* *hqʔ-tl=mlil*
 =HSY1 house build-TR=FIN

‘Thereupon he built a house to make the Wailaki.’

- (400) *sqk'omey* *ʔan* *kimás* *ʔál* *píntlmil*
sq=k'om=ʔi *ʔan* *kimas* *ʔal* *pin-tl=mlil*
 SAME-there?=HSY1 long.time thus stick be.scattered-TR=FIN

‘And there he scattered sticks thus:’

- (401) *san* *hó:ṭ* *k'oʔil* *k'áni* *ʔq̄p* *mátlí:kon*
san *hoṭ* *k'oʔil* *k'qn* *ʔq̄p* *mat-tl=kon*
 SAME? large Wailaki language/word 1SG.AGT do-TR=because

namlíkí: *hó:ṭ* *k'oʔil* *k'áwlayk* *k'ayyíniʔakmil*
namliki *hoṭ* *k'oʔil* *k'aw-lqm=k* *k'ay-n-qk=mlil*
 therefore large Wailaki light-INCH=DECL talk-AND-SEM=FIN

‘‘Many Wailaki shall speak Wailaki speech because I do this’’; therefore many Wailaki were speaking when it began to be day.’

- (402) *sikítēy* *ʔu:k'am'nóʔomi*⁴²³ *ʔú:k'amk'áni*⁴²⁴
si=kiṭ=ʔi *ʔuk'omnom'* *ʔuk'om-k'qn*
 NEW=then=HSY1 Uk'omnom' Uk'omnom'-language/word

k'ayyíniʔakmil
k'ay-n-qk=mlil
 talk-AND-SEM=FIN

‘And the Yuki (Uk'omnom') also were speaking Yuki (Uk'omnom') speech.’

⁴²³ Alternate form given: *ʔu:k'am'nóʔomi* ‘the Yukis’.

⁴²⁴ Alternate form given: *ʔú:k'omk'áni* ‘Yuki language’.

- (403a) *si[?]éy* *haye* *kimás* *hu[?]útlmil* ⁴²⁵
si=[?]i *hə[?]qye* *kimas* *hu[?]u[?]-tl=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 now thus quit-TR=FIN
 ‘So now he completed that.’

- (403b) *sə[?]éy* *haye* *mipát* *ʔu:k’ámno:ma* ⁴²⁶ *tatímil*
sə=[?]i *hə[?]qye* *mipat* *ʔuk’omnom’=q* *tat=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 now hand Ukomnom’=PAT good/make=FIN

kípat *šilo[?]* *mipát* *ʔey* *ʔá:t’ismil*
kip=qt *šilo[?]* *mipat* *=[?]i* *ʔat’-s=mil*
 3R=DAT like hand =HSY1 fasten-CAUS=FIN
 ‘And now he made the Yuki hands; like his own hands he put them on.’

- (404) *simópey* *haye* *sə[?]t’in* *kómmil* *hulk’ó[?]i* *mípat*
si=mop=[?]i *hə[?]qye* *sət’in* *kom=mil* *hulk’o[?]i* *mipat*
 NEW=but=HSY1 now Lizard come=FIN Coyote hand

ʔa[?]áta *kípat* *šilósik*
ʔa[?]at=q *kip=qt* *šilo[?]-sik*
 people=PAT 3R=DAT like-HSY2?
 ‘But now Lizard came as Coyote was causing people’s hands to resemble his own.’

- (405) *sə[?]ey* *haymáhesk* *mí[?]* *kimás* *mípat*
sə=[?]i *hayma-h-s=k* *mi[?]* *ki[?]-mas* *mipat*
 SAME=HSY1 how-DUR?-CAUS?=DECL? 2SG.AGT DST-DSTR hand

ʔátishah *ʔeyy* *ʔímeymil* *sət’in*
ʔat’-s-ha *=[?]i* *ʔimi=mil* *sət’in*
 fasten-CAUS-Q =HSY1 say=FIN Lizard
 ‘And, “Doing how are you putting the hands on thus?” said Lizard.’

⁴²⁵ (403a) and (403b) are both numbered (403) by Kroeber in the original notes.

⁴²⁶ Alternate form given: *ʔuk’ámno:ma* ‘Yukis’.

- (406) *si'áy* *hulk'ó'i'a* *'íyi* *yú:m'* *tánhqli* *tát(k)* *kí:la*
si=?i *hulk'o'i=q?* *'iyi* *yum'* *tan=hqli* *tat* *ki²-la*
 NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT? what ? NEG?=INFR1? good/make DST-INST

tát *kí:tí:l* *pá:ṭisláwxk* *'eyy* *'imeymil* *hulk'ó'i*
tat *kitil* *paṭ-s-law=k* *=?i* *'imi=mil* *hulk'o'i*
 good obsidian chip-CONT-PRM=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
 'Then Coyote, "What is the matter then? With that they can keep chipping
 obsidian well", Coyote said.'

- (407) *se'áy* *sá:ṭ'in* *'i:yú'a'kim'* *'án* *hánop*
si=?i *sáṭ'in* *'iyu'a'-kim'* *'an* *han=op*
 NEW=HSY1 Lizard why?-over.there? long.time house=LAT

šu'ík *ki:č'ílkič* *pá:ṭispa* *tanhqli(k)* *kí:la'*
šu'=k *kič'il=kič* *paṭ-s-pa'* *tan=hql* *ki²-la*
 sit/stay=DECL obsidian=only chip-CONT?-FUT NEG?=INFR1? DST-INST
 'Then Lizard, "How is it to happen that always sitting indoors they will only
 chip obsidian, it seems, with that?"'

- (408) *lu:wáṭ* *tá:ṭik* *kíwk* *'an* *tí:ṭanj*
luwáṭ *tat=k* *kiw=k* *'an* *ṭiṭam=k*
 bow good/make=DECL arrow=DECL long.time rope=DECL

t'olkó'ol *tá:ṭipá:miki:* *híl(i)kšilo'* *mipá:t'a'*
t'olkol' *tat-pa'am=ki'* *hilkšilo'* *mipat=q?*
 net good/make-FUT=DST everything hand=OBL

tátáhik *yú:yampa:miki:*
tat-a-h=k *yuy'-m-pa'am=ki'*
 good/make-?-DUR?=DECL do-IMPFV-FUT=DST
 "Making bows, arrows, ropes, nets they will make, everything they will
 make holding it well with the hand."

- (409) *ʔítin mipát šiló ʔátl ló:han*
ʔítin mipat šiloʔ ʔat'-tl? loʔo=han
 1SG.POSS hand like fasten-TR? can/may/should=?
 “Like mine you should put on a hand!”

- (410) *míʔ həkóč yú:ʔyamʔi:k ʔi:y*
míʔ həkóč yuy'-m=k =ʔi
 2SG.AGT bad do-IMPV=DECL =HSY1

ʔimeymil sət'in hulk'ó'a
ʔimi=mil sət'in hulk'ó'i=q
 say=FIN Lizard Coyote=PAT

“You are doing badly”, said Lizard to Coyote.’

- (411) *seʔey háye hulk'óʔi sət'in kip hušk'áyesi*
siʔi hqʔaye hulk'óʔi sət'in kip hušk'áy-s
 NEW=HSY1 now Coyote Lizard 3R tell-CAUS?

ki ʔeyi háye yúniʔakmil
kiʔ ʔiyi hqʔaye yuy'-n-qk=mil
 DST what now do-AND-SEM=FIN

‘So now Coyote did what Lizard told him:’

- (412a) *səʔéy sət'ínat mipátat kimás ʔey háye*
səʔi sət'in=qət mipat=qət kiʔ-mas =ʔi hqʔaye
 SAME=HSY1 Lizard=DAT hand=DAT DST-DSTR =HSY1 now

ʔátlmil ʔa:тата
ʔat'-tl?=mil ʔaʔat=q
 fasten-TR?=FIN people=PAT
 ‘Lizard’s hands he put on people;’

- (412b) *namlíki ʔey ká ʔa:тата sət'ínat mípat šilóʔ*
namliki =ʔi kaʔ ʔaʔat=q sət'in=qət mipat šiloʔ
 therefore =HSY1 PRX people=PAT Lizard=DAT hand like

- ?atmil ?a:ʔáta
 ?at'=mil ?aʔat=q
 fasten=FIN people=PAT
 'that is why these humans have on hands like Lizard's.'
- (413a) sáqkíʔey háʔye huʔ ?a:ʔát míhnámlikimáʂa
 sá=kiʔ=?i hqʔaye huʔ ?aʔat mih=namlí=kiʔ-mas=q
 SAME=then=HSY1 now before people be=DEP=DST-DSTR=PAT
- ?ey ?awhám k'qk'ésimil
 =?i ?awham k'qk'-s=mil
 =HSY1 animal exist-CAUS=FIN
 'Thereupon he made those who had first been people to become animals;'
- (413b) míla ?ey míʔ míli mípa ?an
 míl=q =?i míʔ míl mih-paʔ ?an
 meat/deer=PAT =HSY1 2SG.AGT meat/deer be-FUT long.time
- ?a:ʔátat hqwáyʔol'
 ?aʔat=qʔ hqwáy-ol'
 people=DAT food/eat-AG/INST
 'to the deer (he said), "You, deer, shall always be food for humans."'
- (414) síkiʔ míʔ lóʔopši mí:paʔ ?an
 sí=kiʔ míʔ lopis mih-paʔ ?an
 NEW=then 2SG.AGT Jackrabbit be-FUT long.time
- ?a:ʔátat hqwáyol'
 ?aʔat=qʔ hqwáy-ol'
 people=DAT food/eat-AG/INST
 "And you also, Jackrabbit, shall always be food for people."
- (415) síkiʔ ?an t'úliš nq káki nq pú:lam
 sí=kiʔ ?an ʔulíš =nq kák =nq pulam
 NEW=then long.time valley.quail =and mountain.quail =and cottontail

nq ʔí:ʔit nq kú:čmol nq ʔitú:kam nq nq:tam
 =nq ʔiʔit =nq kučmol =nq ʔitukam =nq naʔam
 =and robin =and meadowlark =and grouse =and gray.squirrel

šišan nq wqšit nq milontit:am (nq)
 šišan =nq wqšit =nq milontitam (=nq)
 ground.squirrel =and bear =and elk (=and)

kimási moʔos ʔawhámi mí:pa ʔa:ʔátat ʔey
 kiʔ-mas-i moʔos ʔawham mih-paʔ ʔaʔat=ʔt =ʔi
 DST-DSTR-ANIM 2PL.AGT animal be-FUT people=DAT =HSY1

ʔimeymil hulkʔóʔi
 ʔimi=mil hulkʔóʔi
 say=FIN Coyote

“And always quail and mountain quail and cottontail rabbit and robin and meadowlark and grouse and squirrel and groundsquirrel and bear and elk, you shall be game for people”, said Coyote.’

(416a) sikiʔ čí:mítq mós čí:mit mípa
 si=kiʔ čʔimit=q moʔos čʔimit mih-paʔ
 NEW=then bird=PAT 2PL.AGT bird be-FUT

(416b) sqki: mós ʔól mop nóʔopaʔ
 sq=ki moʔos ʔolam=op noʔ-paʔ
 SAME=and 2PL.AGT brush=LAT live-FUT

(416c) sikiʔa ʔan ló:psi nq pú:lam ʔól mop
 si=kiʔa ʔan ló:psi =nq pulam ʔolam=op
 NEW=then long.time jackrabbit =and cottontail brush=LAT

nóʔopaʔ ʔiyy ʔimeymil kimása ku:škiʔa
 noʔ-paʔ =ʔi ʔimi=mil kiʔ-mas=q kuški=q
 live-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN DST-DSTR=PAT small.one=PAT

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

- (417) *sikitéy* *míla* *nq* *k'ol* *kimása* *ki*
si=kiṭ=ʔi *mil=q* =*nq* *k'ol* *ki²-mas=q* *ki²*
 NEW=then=HSY1 meat/deer=PAT =and other DST-DSTR=PAT DST
- hó:ṭam* *kimása* *móʔos* *ʔon* *hóʔoṭop* *noʔopa* *ʔan*
hoṭ-am *ki²-mas=q* *moʔos* *ʔon* *hoṭ-op* *no²-pa²* *ʔan*
 large-NOML DST-DSTR=PAT 2PL.AGT earth large=LAT live-FUT always
- ʔawhámi* *mí:hkon* *ʔa:ṭátat* *hqwáyol'* *móʔos*
ʔawham *mih=kon* *ʔaṭat=qṭ* *hqwáy-ol'* *moʔos*
 animal be=because people=DAT food/eat-AG/INST 2PL.AGT
- mípaʔ* *ʔeyy* *ʔimeymil* *hulk'óʔi*
mih-paʔ =*ʔi* *ʔimi=mil* *hulk'óʔi*
 be-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
- ‘And then to the deer and those others that are large, “You shall live on great (rough) ground because being game shall always be food for people”, said Coyote,’

- (418a) *k'áyt* *ʔa:ṭašáy* *k'qk'ísqk*
k'áyt *ʔatat-šay* *k'qk'-s-qk*
 already people-raw/alive exist-CAUS-SEM
 ‘already having caused human beings to come into existence.’

- (418b) *sqkimás* *ʔey* *huʔú:tlmil*
sq=kimas =*ʔi* *huʔu²-tl=mil*
 SAME-thus =HSY1 quit-TR=FIN
 ‘Thus he completed that.’

- (419) *seʔéy* *kimása* *k'inhílmil* *šqkma*
si=ʔi *ki²-mas=q* *k'in-h-il=mil* *šqkmi=q*
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR=PAT cry-DUR-MPSV=FIN some=PAT
 ‘And some of them felt sad;’

- (420) *sikán'áy* *ʔawhám* *k'qk'etmil*
si=kq=ʔi *ʔawham* *k'qk'-t=mil*
 NEW=thereupon=HSY1 animal exist-INTR=FIN
 'but they became animals.'
- (421) *si'áy* *haye* *kimási* *ʔa:ʔát* *həwqysamil*
si=ʔi *həʔqye* *kiʔ-mas-i* *ʔaʔat* *həwqy-s-m=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 now DST-DSTR-ANIM people food/eat-CONT-IMPV=FIN
- ki:* *həwáysampa:mikí:*
kiʔ *həwqy-s-m-paʔam=kiʔ*
 DST food/eat-CONT-IMPV-FUT=DST
 'And now people at them whom they would continue to eat.'
- (422) *si* *hə́ye* *ki* *hil'* *kimás* *hu'ú:tlmil* *hulk'o'í*
si *həʔqye* *kiʔ* *hil* *kimas* *hu'uʔ-tl=mil* *hulk'o'í*
 NEW now DST all thus quit-TR=FIN Coyote
 'And so now Coyote completed all that thus.'
- (423) *namlikí* *ʔey* *ki:* *méymil* *kimás* *k'qkésinamlikí*
namliki *=ʔi* *kiʔ* *mih=mil* *kimas* *k'qk'-s=namli=kiʔ*
 therefore =HSY1 DST be=FIN thus exist-CAUS=DEP=DST
- miyahk'í:kan'*
miʔq-k'ikan'
 1PL.KIN.POSS-mother's.brother
 'That is why it is thus, because he caused it to become so, our mother's
 brother.'

3. FEATHER DANCE NARRATIVE

The *Feather Dance Narrative* was told by Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber (1901/1903) on December 14, 1901, but is not given a title by him. This narrative is unique in the collection of Yuki narratives recorded by Kroeber. This narrative is neither a myth nor a translated text. Instead it reflects the personal experience of the Yuki speaker, Ralph Moore. As noted in §7.4.4.1, the hearsay evidential *?i* is absent from this narrative, yet is ubiquitous in all of the other narratives, which do not reflect the personal experience of the speaker. Kroeber does not provide a free translation for this text. Instead two types of translations are given with each clause. The translations beginning with “B:” (for Balodis) are my own free translations based on the Yuki. The translations beginning with “K:” (for Kroeber) are the glosses given by Kroeber for each Yuki word. Strung together in this way, these glosses form a free translation of a kind, which can also provide an insight into the meaning of the Yuki. The Feather Dance Narrative is recorded in Notebook 20 (Kroeber 1901/1903).

- (1) *kopa'wóklami* *ʔímsop*
kopa-wok'-lám *ʔimi-s=op*
 feather-dance/sing-INCH say-CAUS?=while
 B: 'The Feather Dance happens, (as) they say,'
 K: 'Feather-dance-will have they say;'
- múna* *ʔus* *kí:k'il* *ko:litámmil*
munaʔ *ʔus* *kiʔ=k'il* *koʔ-lit-m=mil*
 many 1PL.EXCL.AGT DST=TERM go-DIR2-IMPFV=FIN
- wok* *náwtájk*
wok' *náw-t-m=k*
 dance/sing see-INTR-IMPFV=DECL
 B: 'many people go there to see the dance.'
 K: 'lot of us toward there we go to see the dance,'
- kimasi* *wókmamsi*
kiʔ-mas-i *wok'-ma-m-s*
 DST-DSTR-ANIM dance/sing-DIR1-IMPFV?-?
- k'ol* *ʔaʔát* *wókmamsi.*
k'ol *ʔaʔat* *wok'-ma-m-s*
 other people dance/sing-DIR1-IMPFV?-?
 B: 'They will dance and other people will dance⁴²⁷.'
 K: 'they will dance other people will dance.'
- (2) *símili* *ʔus* *wokú:tismil*
si=mili *ʔus* *wok'-kut-s=mil*
 NEW=and.then 1PL.EXCL.AGT dance/sing-INCP-CAUS=FIN

⁴²⁷ Due to the presence of causative -s in *wókmamsi*, 'will' is probably used here in a causative sense, not just a statement of the future: all people here will be caused to dance.

wokmikí: ʔuʃ ʔqʔí:
 wok²-m=kiʔ ʔus ʔqʔi
 dance/sing-IMPV=DST 1PL.EXCL.AGT a.while

həp šú:kú:tismil.
 həp šu²-kut-s=mil
 song/sing sit/stay-INCP-CAUS=FIN

B: 'And then we are the first to dance, but to dance we first sit and sing for a while.'

K: 'And then we (excl.) dance first going to dance we for a while sit down and sing first.'

- (3) símiliʔ wókmikkimáʃi kámešna sapátina
 sí=miili wok²-m=ki²-mas kamiš=nə sapati=nə
 NEW=and.then dance/sing-IMPV=DST-DSTR shirt=and shoe=and

hišilmil
 hi²-s-il=mil
 come.out-CAUS-MPSV=FIN

B: 'And then those who are going to dance, take off their shirts and shoes.'

K: 'And then those who are going to dance shirts shoes slip/take off'

sə həp šú: hukit tatá:lilmil.
 sə həp šu² hu²u²=kit tat-q-l-il=mil
 SAME song/sing sit quit=while good/make?-PFV-MPSV=FIN

B: 'and fix themselves up while they sit still and sing.'

K: 'while they sit still and sing, fix themselves up.'

- (4) sími: hí:li tat' hu²útlí:li
 sí=mi híl-i tat hu²u²-tl-il
 NEW=and.then all-ANIM good/make quit-TR-MPSV

B: 'And then, all finish fixing themselves up.'

K: 'And then, all go through fixing up with feathers.'

háye hɔp šú:hikimáse hí:li
hɔʔaye hɔp šúʔ-h=kiʔ-mas-i hí:li
 now song/sing sit/stay-DUR=DST-DSTR-ANIM all-ANIM

mí:ti yóletmil.
miʔ yol-t=mil
 up/over stand-INTR=FIN

B: 'Now those that are sitting and singing all get up and stand.'

K: 'Now those that are sitting and singing all up get up and stand.'

- (5) *sekí:k pɔnk ʔáti wokútlmitl.*
si=kik pɔk ʔáti wok'-kut-tl=mil
 NEW=right.there one a.while dance/sing-INCP-TR=FIN

B: 'Right there one (of them) danced first for a while.'

K: 'Right there for a while danced first.'

- (6) *sqkí:k ʔúnʔšil wóktlimi: háye yimáʔk*
sq=kik ʔunšil wok'-tl-mi hɔʔaye yim-ɔlik
 SAME=right.there small dance/sing-TR-IMPV? now fire-near?

wok lák'esimil.
wok' lak'-s=mil
 dance/sing come.out-CAUS?=FIN

B: 'Right there they dance a little and then they come out to dance near the fire.'

K: 'Right there a little they dance and then/now near the fire they come out/forward to dance.'

- (7) *sqkí:k háye wóktlmil.*
sq=kik hɔʔaye wok'-tl=mil
 SAME-right.there now dance/sing-TR=FIN

B: 'And then right there they dance.'

K: 'And then right there they dance.'

- (8) *sekí:k* *múna* *ʔa:tát* *nqwkílmil*.
si=kik *munaʔ* *ʔaʔat* *nqw-k-il=mil*
 NEW=right.there many people see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
 B: 'Right there many people look at them [watch them?].'
 K: 'Right there lots of people look at them.'
- (9) *sekí:k* *wáʔoksími* *huʔú:tlmil*.
si=kik *wok'-s-m* *huʔuʔ-tl=mil*
 NEW=right.there dance/sing-CAUS?-IMPFV quit-TR=FIN
 B: 'Right there having danced they quit.'
 K: 'Right there having danced they quit.'
- (10) *sop* *múna* *sohíkíl'mil*.
sop *munaʔ* *soh-k-il=mil*
 but.then many applaud/cheer-PNCT?-MPSV=FIN
 B: 'But many made a roar (applause).'
 K: 'And many made a roar, made much noise (applause).'
- (11) *sop* *šqkma* *t'u:wayhil*
sop *šqkmi=q* *t'uh-way-h-il*
 but.then some=PAT? heart-jealous?-DUR-MPSV
- kí:mqlílmil*.
ki-mq-l-il=mil
 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN
 B: 'But many others (the other tribe) say to each other that they are surprised over their dancing.'
 K: 'And some others (the other tribe) don't want to/are jealous/ are surprised (over their dancing) they say to themselves.'
- (12) *sámi:* *kimáse* *hqšáʔ* *hqp* *šú:*
sq=mi *kiʔ-mas-i* *hqšqʔ* *hqp* *šuʔ*
 SAME=and.then DST-DSTR-ANIM again song/sing sit

míyq *ki* *k'ólpis*
mi=q *ki'* *k'ol=pis*
 1PL.INCL=PAT DST other=ABL

B: “we from the other side [the other tribe],”

K: “we from the other side [other tribe]”

wok *náwinema'mi:kimáše*
wok' *náw-n-má-mi=ki'-mas-i*
 dance/sing see-AND-DIR1-?=DST-DSTR-ANIM

B: “those that came to see us dance”

K: “those that came to see us dance”

mi: *wok* *náwkil* *ló'ok.*
mi *wok'* *náw-k-il* *lo'o=k*
 1PL.INCL.AGT dance/sing see-PNCT-MPSV can/may/should=DECL

B: “we ought to see them dance.”

K: “we ought to see them dance.”

- (16) *sími:* *kiťá'* *ʔan* *wok'ol* *mí:hąlekí*
si=mi *kiťa* *ʔan* *wok'-ol'* *mih=hąl=ki'*
 NEW=and.then there long.time dance/sing-AG/INST be=INFR1?=DST

k'áyyemilemi *kipat* *ʔá:tat* *ʔiwis* *mąlam* *yíwismil.*
k'áy-mil-mi *kip=át* *ʔátat* *ʔiwis* *mąl-am* *yiw-s=mil*
 talk-?-and.then? 3R=DAT people men young-NOML call-CAUS?=FIN

B: ‘And then, the leader of the other tribe called to the young men, “If there are any dance leaders there, would like to see them,” saying to the young men.’

K: ‘And then if there are any dance leaders there would like to see them he was saying to his own tribe young men he (leader of other side) called them.’

- (17) *sámeý* *kimáše* *ʔán* *hąp*
sq=mi *ki'-mas-i* *ʔan* *hąp*
 SAME=and.then DST-DSTR-ANIM long.time song/sing

šú:kmil.

šu²-k=mil

sit/stay-PNCT=FIN

B: 'And then they sit down and sing.'

K: 'And then those sit down and sing.'

- (18) sémi ʔán kimási wóktlika
 sí=mi ʔan ki²-mas-i wok'-tl=ka
 NEW=and.then long.time DST-DSTR-ANIM dance/sing-TR=then

ʔuʂ náwkilmil

ʔus nqw-k-il=mil

1PL.EXCL.AGT see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

B: 'And then we looked at those dancing;'

K: 'And then those dancing we looked at them;'

hí:li ʔa:tát k'ol kimá:se
 hil-i ʔatát k'ol ki²-mas-i
 all-ANIM people other DST-DSTR-ANIM

wok náwin²mimikimáʂa

wok' nqw-n-mi-mi=ki²-mas=q

dance/sing see-AND-?-IMPFV?=DST-DSTR=PAT

B: 'all those of the other tribe came to see our dance.'

K: 'all those of the other tribe came to see our dance.'

ʔuʂ wókt'ilmil ʔá:téy
 ʔus wok'-t-il=mil ʔatí
 1PL.EXCL.AGT dance/sing-INTR-MPSV=FIN a.while

B: 'We had them dance for a while.'

K: 'we asked/made them to dance for a while.'

wáʔok'ispaʔaŋkón.

wok'-s-paʔam=kon

dance/sing-CAUS-FUT=though

B: 'Though we will dance (soon).'

K: 'We will dance (soon).'

- (19) *sími:* *hawlámop* *kapitán* *hąwáyʔi* *kʔayákmil.*
si=mi *hawlám=op* *kapitan* *hąwáy* *kʔay-ąk=mil*
 NEW=and.then dawn=while captain food/eat talk-SEM=FIN
 B: ‘And then as it became light, the captain made a speech for food.’
 K: ‘And then at getting daylight captain made a speech for food.’

- (20) *símili* *hąwáy* *tʔoktmil* *hí:li*
si=mili *hąwáy* *tʔok-t=mil* *hí:l-i*
 NEW=and.then food/eat arrive-INTR=FIN all-ANIM

waʔokʔisʔi:kimáse.

wokʔ-s=kiʔ-mas-i

dance/sing-CONT?=DST-DSTR-ANIM

B: ‘And then food comes to all those that have been dancing.’

K: ‘And then when food comes to ... all of them that have been dancing.’

- (21) *sími:* *hąwáy* *hil* *huʔú:ti*
si=mi *hąwáy* *hil* *huʔuʔ-t*
 NEW=and.then food/eat all quit-INTR
 B: ‘Then they all finish eating.’
 K: ‘Then (“food”) eating all done.’

hąye *ki* *nák* *hí:li* *hąye* *ʔónʔwah*
hąʔaye *kiʔ* *nąk* *hí:l-i* *hąʔaye* *ʔon-wah*
 now DST dark/night all-ANIM now earth?-wide?

wáʔokʔesmil.

wokʔ-s=mil

dance/sing-CAUS=FIN

B: ‘Now that night everybody dances then in any way they please.’

K: ‘Now that night everybody then/now in any way they please they danced.’

- (22) *šą:kčʔam* *ʔús* *ʔopi* *nák* *šą:kčʔam* *molmi*
šąʔąkčam *ʔus* *ʔopi* *nąk* *šąʔąkčam* *molmi*
 sometimes 1PL.EXCL.AGT two dark/night sometimes three

<i>nák</i>	<i>šá:kč'am</i>	<i>páwi</i>	<i>wí:ṭ</i>	<i>ʔus</i>
<i>nək</i>	<i>šáʔqkčam</i>	<i>pəwi</i>	<i>wiṭ</i>	<i>ʔus</i>
dark/night	sometimes	one	work/week	1PL.EXCL.AGT

wáʔok'išmil.

wok'-s=mil

dance/sing-CONT=FIN

B: 'Sometimes we dance 2 nights, sometimes 3 nights, sometimes one week.'

K: 'Sometimes we 2 nights sometimes 3 nights sometimes one week (= work [from Sunday to Sunday, one period of work; is not the English word "week"]) we danced.'

4. ENTS AND UPEK

Ents and Upek was translated from English into Yuki by Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber in 1902. *Ents and Upek* and *Io* are originally Chinook myths, which appeared in Franz Boas' *Chinook Texts* in 1894. *Ents and Upek* appears as *Ēntx!X* in *Chinook Texts*. It appears that Kroeber based the English translations on a short excerpt of both myths and had Ralph Moore translate the English into Yuki. The free translations provided below are mostly those given by Kroeber (1902e) along with the original Yuki. *Ents and Upek* is recorded in Notebook 28 (Kroeber 1902e).

- (1) *kiṭa* ^ʔ*ey* ^ʔ*Int* *nq* *kimteyt*
kiṭa =^ʔ*i* ^ʔ*int* =*nq* *kim-ṭit'*
 there =HSY1 Ents =and DST.KIN.POSS-maternal.grandmother

^ʔ*Upek* *mi:nq.*

^ʔ*upek* *mih=nq*

Upek *be=and?*

'There were Ents and his grandmother Upek.'

- (2) *haye* *ki:* *mušp* ^ʔ*an* *huškayesna* *ki'a*
həʔəye *ki'* *musp* ^ʔ*an* *hušk'əy-s=nq?* *ki'=q*
 now DST woman long.time tell-CONT=and? DST=PAT

kó:ti *milonti:tma* ^ʔ*anilma.*

koʔ-t *milontitam=q* ^ʔ*anil-m-a*

go-INTR elk=PAT lead-IMPV?-IMP

'Now this woman always said to him "Go bring elk!"'⁴²⁸

- (3) *hil* *k'awlaŋk* ^ʔ*iyi* *ki'a* *kó:ṭilmil*
hil *k'awlam=k* =^ʔ*i* *ki'=q* *koʔ-t-il=mil*
 all morning=DECL =HSY1 DST=PAT go-INTR-MPSV=FIN
 'Every morning she made him go.'

ki'a *kimaša* ^ʔ*anilṭilmil.*

ki'=q *ki'-mas=q* ^ʔ*anil-t-il=mil*

DST=PAT DST-DSTR=PAT lead-INTR-MPSV=FIN

'She made him bring them.'⁴²⁹

- (4) *seʔéy* *ki* *kim* *k'o'i* *k'a:p'imil.*
si'=i *ki'* *kim* *k'o'i* *k'ap'=mil*
 NEW=HSY1 DST only gopher kill=FIN

⁴²⁸ The original English sentence matching (2) in Kroeber's notes is 'Now she always told him to go and get elk.'

⁴²⁹ The original English sentence matching (3) in Kroeber's notes is 'Every morning he went to get them.'

ki: kim šiškič k'ap'emil.
 kiʔ kim šiškič k'ap'=mil
 DST only squirrel kill=FIN

k'ol'ináʔi kiʔ ʔolkočam kič k'a:pimil.
 k'ol-'inay' kiʔ ʔolkačam =kič k'ap'=mil
 other-day DST mouse =only kill=FIN

'He only killed gophers, he only killed squirrels, sometimes he only killed mice.'

- (5) siʔey ki šq:kč'am ʔan k'óʔotammil.
 si=ʔi kiʔ šqʔqč'am ʔan koʔ-t-m=mil
 NEW=HSY1 DST sometimes long.time go-INTR-IMPV=FIN
 'He went maybe several times.'

- (6) simeyey ki k'óʔote ʔéy ʔol tqł kíta šú:mil.
 si=mi=ʔi kiʔ k'oʔ-t =ʔi ʔol tqł kíta šuʔ=mil
 NEW=then=HSY1 DST be.in-INTR =HSY1 tree NEG there sit/stay=FIN
 'Then he went and stayed on the prairie.'⁴³⁰

- (7) seʔey ki č'al p'qkakmil
 si=ʔi kiʔ č'al p'qk'-qk=mil
 SAME=HSY1 DST loud shout-SEM=FIN
 'He shouted.'

lákta kátá ʔol tqłop
 lak'-t-a kača ʔol tqł=op
 emerge-INTR-IMP here tree NEG=LAT
 "'Come out on the prairie [where there are no trees],'"

⁴³⁰ In (6) and (15), Ralph Moore translates 'prairie' as ʔol tqł kíta, which is glossed by Kroeber as 'tree-not-where'. Presumably, 'the place where there are no trees.' In (7), a different construction is used by Moore for 'prairie': kátá ʔol tqłop, which is glossed by Kroeber as 'here where no trees'. Presumably, 'here where there are no trees.'

milonti:tmi *mey* *mámekilpa*
milontitam *mi* *mám-k-il-pa'*
 elk 1PL.INCL.AGT fight-PNCT-MPSV-FUT
 “‘elk, we will fight,’”

meiy *wóktlpa.*
mi *wok'-tl-pa'*
 1PL.INCL.AGT dance/sing-TR-FUT
 “‘we will dance.’”

- (8) *símey* *ʔí:yi* *lakt*
 si=mi *ʔí:yi* *lak'-t*
 NEW=then something emerge=INTR
 ‘Then something came out,’

nq *húčki* *lóʔopsi* *méy*
 =*nq* *huč=ki* *lopis* *mih?*
 =and? outside=IN jackrabbit be?
 ‘it was a rabbit.’⁴³¹

ʔími:mil.
ʔími=mil
 say=FIN
 He said;’

- (9) *ki* *ʔqp* *yúwistan'we*
 kiʔ *ʔqp* *yáw-s-tan-wi*
 DST 1SG.AGT name/call-CONT?-NEG-PST1
 “‘That is the one I didn’t call;’”

kiʔat *šam* *nók* *šiló:k* *ʔahmol* *kʔyyam* *mihk.*
kiʔ=at *šám* *nok* *šiloʔ=k* *ʔahmol* *kʔyyam* *mih=k*
 DST=DAT ear spoon like=DECL handle long be=DECL
 “‘his ears like spoons with long handles.’”

⁴³¹ Perhaps literally this clause is: ‘and outside, there was a rabbit’.

- (10) *simi: ʔey lóʔopši kʻiniʔákmil.*
si=mi =ʔi lopis kʻin-ʔk=mil
 NEW=then =HSY1 jackrabbit cry-SEM=FIN
 ‘Then the rabbit cried’
- (11) *sqʔey kipáwkil ʔol hóčkil kóʔotʻmil.*
sq=ʔi kipaw=kʻil ʔol hot=kʻil koʔ-t=mil
 SAME=HSY1 back=TERM wood much=TERM go-INTR=FIN
 ‘and went back into the woods.’
- (12) *sq kʻinmil.*
sq kʻin=mil
 SAME cry=FIN
 ‘It cried.’
- (13) *seʔéy kʻi pʻákeyákmil hášá*
si=ʔi kiʔ paʔkʻ-ʔk=mil hášáʔ
 NEW=HSY1 DST shout-SEM=FIN again
 ‘Then he shouted again: ‘
- láкта káťá ʔol táľ kiťa milonti:tmi.*
lakʻ-t-a kaťa ʔol táľ kiťa milontitam
 emerge-INTR-IMP here tree NEG there elk
 ‘‘Come out on the prairie, elk!’’’

5. IOI

Ioi was translated from English into Yuki by Ralph Moore and recorded by Alfred Kroeber in 1902. *Ents and Upek* and *Ioi* are originally Chinook myths, which appeared in Franz Boas' *Chinook Texts* in 1894. *Ioi* appears as *Blue-Jay and Iō'i* in *Chinook Texts*. It appears that Kroeber based the English translations on a short excerpt of both myths and had Ralph Moore translate the English into Yuki. The free translations provided below are mostly those given by Kroeber (1902e) along with the original Yuki. *Ioi* is recorded in Notebook 28 (Kroeber 1902e).

- (1) Ioi ną kípát káčeyni kimlána č'ąy
 Ioi =ną kip=qt kačini kim-lan' č'q'i
 Ioi =and 3R=DAT younger DST.KIN.POSS-younger.brother Bluejay

kíṭa mǐ:mil.

kíṭa mih=mil.

there be=FIN

'Ioi and her younger brother Bluejay were there.'

- (2) pąwi nak ʔey ʔaṭat ʔon hulkílal⁴³² ʔanilmamil mus.⁴³³
 pąwi nąk =ʔi ʔaṭat ʔon hulk'ilal ʔanil-mq=mil mus
 one dark/night =HSY1 people earth ghost lead=DIR1=FIN women
 'One night the ghosts brought a wife.'⁴³⁴

- (3) Ioiʔq toketmil.
 Ioi=q t'ok-t=mil
 Ioi=PAT arrive-INTR=FIN
 'Ioi was brought (there).' ⁴³⁵

- (4) kimót hąsól' ʔi: ʔútemil kiʔa múšp'a.
 kiʔ-mas=qt? hąsol' =ʔi ʔut=mil kiʔ=q musp=q
 DST-DSTR=DAT? bead =HSY1 take=FIN DST=PAT woman=PAT
 'Their beads were taken for her.'

- (5) kíṭa mu:štemil ki nąk.
 kíṭa muš-t=mil kiʔ nąk
 there marry-INTR=FIN DST dark/night
 'She was married there at night.'

⁴³² Kroeber glosses ʔaṭat ʔon hulkílal as 'ghosts', but in other texts *hulk'ilal* by itself is glossed as 'ghost(s)'.
⁴³³ *mus* is 'women', but is glossed as 'wife' in this text by Kroeber.
⁴³⁴ The original English sentence matching (2) in Kroeber's notes is 'One night the ghosts bought a wife.'
⁴³⁵ The original English sentence matching (3) in Kroeber's notes is 'Ioi was bought.'

- (6) *se'áy ʔináy to'oktmil.*
si=?i ʔináy' t'ok-t=mil
 NEW=HSY1 day arrive-INTR=FIN
 'Then it became day.'
- (7) *se'ey haye loiʔq yátitmil.*
si=?i həʔaye loi=q yat-t=mil
 NEW=HSY1 now loi=PAT be.gone-INTR=FIN
 'And now loi was gone.'
- (8) *se'áy čəʔey kíʔa ʔán mémil.*
si=?i č'əʔi kiʔa ʔan mih=mil
 NEW=HSY1 Bluejay there long.time be=FIN
 'Then Bluejay was there a long time.'
- (9) *k'olaníšti p'əwi pilwánti ʔi: ʔímeymil.*
k'olaníšti pəwi pilwant =?i ʔimi=mil
 afterwards one year =HSY1 say=FIN
 'After a year he said.'
- (10) *ʔəp kówmil:lik háymilk*
ʔəp koʔ-mə-íl=k həy-mə-íl=k
 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV=DECL look.for-DIR1-MPSV=DECL
- ʔiŋkí:ča.*
ʔin-kič=q
 1SG.KIN.POSS-elder.sister=PAT
 "I am going to look for my elder sister."
- (11) *səʔey ki kiwismil hil ʔól'a t'qhá:ŋk.*
sə=?i kiʔ kiw-s=mil hil ʔol=q təh-m=k
 SAME=HSY1 DST ask-CAUS?=FIN all tree=PAT find-IMPV=DECL
 'He asked all the trees, trying to find out.'

- (12) *sqʔéy ki kiwismil*
sq=ʔi kiʔ kiw-s=mił
 SAME=HSY1 DST ask-CAUS?=FIN
 ‘He asked.’
- ʔimás ʔá:tat k’ó:tamnamʔlik k’olmikí.*
ʔimas ʔatát k’oʔ-t-m=namlí=k k’ol-m=kiʔ
 whereabouts people be.in-INTR-IMPV=DEP=? die-IMPV=DST
 “‘Where does a person go when he dies?’”
- (13) *sqʔey ki kiwismil hil č’í:mita.*
sq=ʔi kiʔ kiw-s=mił hil č’imit=q
 SAME=HSY1 DST ask-CAUS?=FIN all bird=PAT
 ‘He asked all the birds.’
- (14) *seʔéy kimáse wač tǫłtilmil.*
si=ʔi kiʔ-mas-i wačʔ tǫł-t-il=mił
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM teach NEG-INTR-MPSV=FIN
 ‘They did not tell him.’
- (15) *seʔéy k’olkíʔa wejʔa k’íwismil.*
si=ʔi k’ol=kiʔ=q wej=q kiw-s=mił
 NEW=HSY1 other=DST=PAT wedge=PAT ask-CAUS?=FIN
 ‘Next he asked the wedge.’
- (16) *seʔéy kiʔa ʔimeymil.*
si=ʔi kiʔ=q ʔimi=mił
 NEW=HSY1 DST=PAT say=FIN
 ‘It said to him.’
- (17) *wǫktl’ ʔéy*
wǫk-tl-ʔ =ʔi
 pay/lend-TR-IMP =HSY1
 “‘Pay me!’”

- ?amis ?úntini.
 ?ap mis ?un-t-ni
 1SG.AGT 2SG.PAT carry-INTR?-?
 “I will carry you!”
- (18) *siki wáktmil.*
si=ki wák-tl=mil
 NEW=therefore pay/lend-TR=FIN
 ‘He paid it.’
- (19) *si?ey ?únti?mil ki?a ?on hul’k’ílalk’íl.*
si=?i ?un-t=mil ki?=q ?on hul’k’ílal=k’íl
 NEW=HSY1 carry-INTR?=FIN DST=PAT earth ghost=TERM
 ‘It carried him to the ghosts.’
- (20) *se?éy wěj’na⁴³⁶ čq’i toktmil hoč nó:kil.⁴³⁷*
si=?i wej=nq č’q’i t’ok-tl=mil hoṭ nokil
 NEW=HSY1 wedge=and Bluejay arrive-TR=FIN large rancheria
 ‘The wedge and Bluejay arrived at a village.’
- (21) *kiṭa ?ey woyam tqlámmil hóṭ hánlamop han.*
kiṭa =?i woyam tql-m=mil hoṭ han-lam=op =han
 there =HSY1 smoke NEG-IMPV=FIN large house-NOML=LAT =but
 ‘There was no smoke at the houses.’
- (22) *sé?ey kimáši kómmil huháyk’i hánki*
si=?i ki?-mas-i kom=mil huhayk’i han=k’i
 NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM come=FIN furthest house=IN
- ho:ṭa namlik’ik.*
hoṭ=a =namli=kik
 large=? =DEP=there
 ‘They came to the last house, which was a large one.’

⁴³⁶ The meaning of the apostrophe in Kroeber’s transcription of *wěj’na* is unclear.

⁴³⁷ Glossed as ‘rancheria’ by Kroeber in his recording of this texts in his notes.

- (23) *haye* *ʔey* *kɪ̄ta* *wóyam* *tɑ:mil*
hɑʔaye =ʔi *kɪ̄ta* *woyam* *tɑh=mil*
 now =HSY1 there smoke find=FIN
 ‘Now he saw smoke there.’
- (24) *kɪ̄ta* *ʔey* *ki* *káptmil*.
kɪ̄ta =ʔi *kiʔ* *kap-t=mil*
 there =HSY1 DST enter-INTR=FIN
 ‘He went into that one.’
- (25) *kɪ̄ta* *ʔey* *tɑ́mil* *k’iŋk’í:ča*.
kɪ̄ta =ʔi *tɑh=mil* *kim=k’ič=q*
 there =HSY1 find=FIN DST.KIN.POSS-elder.sister=PAT
 ‘He found his elder sister there.’
- (26) *hɑwáy* *ʔitin* *koč’eyní* *ʔi:lán*⁴³⁸ *ʔimeymil* *ki:*
hɑway *ʔitin* *koč’ini* *ʔi-lan’* *ʔimi=mil* *kiʔ*
 oh 1SG.POSS younger 1SG.KIN.POSS-younger.brother say=FIN DST

mušp *kiʔa*.
musp *kiʔ=q*
 woman DST=PAT
 ‘‘Ah my younger brother,’’ she said to him.’
- (27) *ʔimpis* *mi* *komha*.
ʔim=pis *miʔ* *kom-ha*
 where=ABL 2SG.AGT come-Q
 ‘‘Where did you come from?’’
- (28) *mis* *k’oletha*.
mis *k’ol-t-ha*
 2SG.PAT die-INTR-Q
 ‘‘Are you dead?’’

⁴³⁸ Sawyer and Schlicher (1984:35) give *lan*’ as ‘younger brother’, but *ʔi:lán*’ as ‘my younger brother’, therefore *ʔi:lán* is likely a possessed form even though Kroeber glosses *ʔi:lán* simply as ‘brother’.

- (29) *ki* *ʔimeymil* *tǎlek* *ʔim* *ʔi:* *kʻol* *tǎlek.*⁴³⁹
kiʔ *ʔimi=mil* *tǎl=k* *ʔim* *ʔi* *kʻol* *tǎl=k*
 DST say=FIN NEG=DECL NEG? 1SG.PAT die NEG=DECL
 ‘He said, “No, I am not dead.”’
- (30) *ki* *weǰ* *ʔúnmawi* *ʔey* *kǎǰa* *kípát* *hámpo:k*.
kiʔ *weǰ* *ʔun-mǎ-wi* *=ʔi* *kaǰa* *kíp=ǎt* *hámp-ok*
 DST wedge carry-DIR1-PST1 =HSY1 here 3R=DAT back-INST
 “‘The wedge brought me here on its back.’”
- (31) *sǎʔey* *híl* *hanʔk* *hiliʔakmil.*
sq=ʔi *híl* *han-ʔk* *híl-qk=mil*
 SAME=HSY1 all house-? open-SEM=FIN
 ‘He opened all those houses.’
- (32) *ki* *hánlamop* *kʻi:tkič* *nopʻítinʔa.*
kiʔ *han-lǎm=op* *kʻit=kič* *nǎpiṭ-nʔa*
 DST house-NOML=LAT bone=only full-?
 ‘The houses were filled only with bones.’
- (33) *pʻǎwi* *nankʻít* *nǎ* *hoṭ* *kʻit* *tú:čamil*
pǎwi *nan-kʻit* *=nǎ* *hoṭ* *kʻit* *tuč=mil*
 one head-bone =and large bone lay=FIN

⁴³⁹ The meaning of *ʔim* is unclear in *ʔimʻi: kʻol tǎlek* ‘I am not dead’. This negative clause is reminiscent of negation in Coast Yuki, discussed in Chapter 15 where two negative morphemes seem to be used: a morpheme *ʔimi*, *ʔima* begins the negative clause and *-t* is suffixed to the verb root, as in the following example:

Kroeber 1902d:71, TB

ʔi:mas *né:wit*

ʔi:ma=s *ne:wí-t*

NEG?=2SG.PAT see-NEG?

‘I don’t see you.’

k'ink'i:čatnákei.

k'im-k'ič=qt=nak

DST.KIN.POSS-elder.sister=DAT=near

'One skull and bones lay near his elder sister.'

- (34) *se'ey ki 'imeymil ki'a múšp'a.*
si=?i ki? 'imi=mil ki?=q musp=q
 NEW=HSY1 DST say=FIN DST=PAT woman=PAT
 'He said to her:'

- (35) *?i:yí mi yúni?akpa kimáš hoṭ kítna*
?iyi mi? yuy'-n-qk-pa? ki?-mas hoṭ k'it=nq
 what 2SG.AGT do-AND?-SEM-FUT DST-DSTR large bone=and

ka nank'ítna.

ka? nan-k'it=nq

PRX head-bone=and

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

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