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Yuki Grammar

With Sketches of Huchnom and Coast Yuki

Uldis Balodis
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Uldis Balodis

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
To my mother, Māra, who taught me my native Latvian language and its value.
Yuśkin k'ą:ne ḋi: naham ṭałtelek.
(I never forgot how to talk Yuki.)
- Arthur Anderson
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Matt Gordon and I both share an interest in the Finnic languages and also the languages of Northern California. Early in my graduate studies Matt and I cooperated on research on the prosody of Livonian and other less spoken Finnic languages. At that time prosody was an entirely new field of linguistic study for me and I’m deeply grateful to Matt for introducing me to this field and for allowing me to benefit from his knowledge. Thanks to Matt and the research we cooperated on, I was able to write a much more in-depth study of Yuki prosody for this grammar. I’m deeply thankful to
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Carmen Jany is the author of *Chimariko Grammar*, which was based on her dissertation – a study very much like this grammar. Her work laid the foundation for a great deal of my own thinking of how to approach the task of writing a complete description of a language based only on archival material and a few recordings. I was delighted when Carmen agreed to be a member of my committee and in the ensuing months her insight, advice, and comments proved invaluable in bringing this grammar to its final form. I’m deeply thankful and grateful to Carmen for all she has done to help me complete this work.

I wish to thank the speakers of Yuki, Huchnom, and Coast Yuki, as well as the researchers who worked with these speakers. All of these individuals deserve a profound amount of gratitude and appreciation for their labor and cooperation in the documentation of these languages. In particular I would like to express my indebtedness for the work of Yuki speaker Ralph Moore and Alfred L. Kroeber, which yielded the amazing wealth of Yuki language material that allowed for this description of the Yuki language to be written. Many other researchers have written excellent studies of aspects of Yuki grammar, but I would express my gratitude and appreciation in particular to Alice Schlichter-Shepherd for her excellent and insightful work. *Yuki Vocabulary*, which she co-authored with Jess Sawyer, her study of Yuki tone, and reconstruction of Proto-Northern Yukian proved invaluable in the course of the writing of this grammar.

I would like to thank Tim Powell and Charles Greifenstein of the American Philosophical Society and Andrew Garrett, Justin Spence, and John Sylak of the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages for their help during the course of my research. I would like to express my gratitude to the American Philosophical Society and the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages for providing the bulk of the Yuki language materials I consulted in writing this grammar.

I would like to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to Carol Genetti for her teaching and the great amount that I learned from her about language documentation and description. I would also like to express my thanks and appreciation to Willem de Reuse for his friendship and for teaching me so much about field linguistics.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude and indebtedness to Mary Rae Staton, whose friendship, support, and counsel have meant so much to me during the years of my graduate studies and since. I would also like to thank Dana Spoonerow, Karen Barteld, Cami Helmuth, and Ra Thea for their kindness and help over the years. I would like to thank Alex Walker for providing insight and information on the Southern Pomo
language and also for many wonderful conversations about Northern California languages in the time we both were students at UCSB and in the years since that time. I would also like to thank him for his help in finding certain articles and other materials necessary to me during the editing of this grammar prior to its publication. I would also like to thank Andrea Berez for her friendship, support, and good sense of humor during the course of our doctoral studies. I would like to express my appreciation to Anda Kalnača for the thoughtful insight regarding the wording of the dedication. I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to Ofelia Zepeda, Leslie Tolbert, and Tapani Salminen, for their support, friendship, and inspiration from my earliest years as a linguist.

My mother, Māra Trapāne, who shares my passion for language and knowledge, has been a constant support and source of inspiration and encouragement throughout my life and especially during my years of graduate school. My step-father, Andris Trapāns, and my father, Agnis Balodis, unfortunately did not live to see the day that I completed my doctorate, but both served as a model and inspiration to me for the joys of living a life of the mind. I wish to express my deepest and most heartfelt love and gratitude to my parents for all of their support and love over the course of my lifetime. I would also like to thank them for teaching me and for raising me speaking our family’s Latvian language. Though it is my first language, my initial interest in linguistics came through my knowledge of Latvian and my fascination in comparing it to English and to its relatives, Lithuanian and Old Prussian.

I would also like to express a great measure of thanks to my entire family, both those related to me by blood and those related to me by the bonds of love and friendship. The encouragement and love of my husband, Caleb Roehrig, has been amazing and I’m forever grateful to him for supporting me and being there with me through these years. I’d also like to especially thank my good friend Dirk C. van Raemdonck whose friendship, counsel, and insight have been so valuable to me throughout these years and especially during the writing of this grammar and its subsequent editing. My dear friend and brother, Todd Kessler, my dear family and friends, Lelde Gilman, Ilze Menneking, Vija Valters, Gabriela Balodis, Romeo P. Guzman, Lauryn Salazar, John Burnett, Leticia Burnett, Lucca Burnett, Rosemary Martin-Moore, Maria Pinheiro, Kirk Hickey, Monica Moon, Marika Lockhart, J.P. Shub, Eric Proctor, Katya Proctor, Chris Donlay, Verónica Muñoz Ledo, Tim Henry, Ayla Applebaum, Angela Parrish, Mary Pomerantz, Fred Kuttnner, Damon Wolf, Kathryn Nichols, Amy Roehrig, Charles Roehrig, Erkki Mäkelä, the Roehrig, Nichols, Moore, Kessler, Menneking, Lielbriedis, Karlsson, Balodis, Shub, and Guzman families have given me their love, friendship, and support.
during the writing of this grammar and over the years. Without them, this work would not have been possible.
# Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
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<td>AND</td>
<td>andative</td>
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<td>animate</td>
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<td>agent</td>
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<td>kinship</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative (-kot; other locative elements, e.g. ka’in ‘around here’)</td>
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<td>new topic (switch-reference marker)</td>
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<td>NOML</td>
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<td>Proto-Northern Yukian</td>
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<td>same topic as previous clause (switch-reference marker)</td>
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<td>first person</td>
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<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>uncertain or not completely settled meaning</td>
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</table>
Abbreviations

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 varieties: Yuki (Proper), Huchnom, 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).

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 unanswerable due to the lack of speakers of any of these languages or extant Coast Yuki and Huchnom communities.

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 húčn̪oʔom̥ 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 [hutʃnoʔom] 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.

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).

1.1.3. Identity

Prior to contact with Euro-Americans, the Yuki divided themselves into villages, also called rancherias, 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 tribelet (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’. Two further minor subdivisions are also recorded immediately to the south of the Ukomnom’. These were the Laikutnom’ and Ontitnom’ (Miller 1978:249). Huchnom tribal subdivisions are not known, though the

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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 Gifford (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

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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-eŋk’un, and my daughter (lit., “my child my mother”), il’il-eŋk’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. Tillotson 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 contact, intermarriage, and multilingualism among members of these communities (Haas 1976, Mithun 1999, Conathan 2004).

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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

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 Schlichter\textsuperscript{14} 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

\textsuperscript{14} In more recent publications, Schlichter published as Alice Shepherd.

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

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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

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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.

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 other. 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 Trail. 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.

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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 Conners 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 Severality 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 1870\textsuperscript{20} 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-Maru 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-Maru 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-Maru 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-Maru Religion (1974:324).

\textsuperscript{20} For a detailed description of the Ghost Dance of 1870 see DuBois (1939).
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 these [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 unable 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: onhaknamliki (one who sewed the earth together)...[or] miatk’onitatasi 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

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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’ïlal-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’ïlalwoknam (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’ïlalwoknam. 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’ïlalwoknam. Kroeber (1925 [1976]:216) does not record the Coast Yuki practicing the Taykómolwoknam; however he does record them practicing a ceremony like the Hulk’ïlalwoknam, 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

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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. 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 ...
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 text. 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 Logan. 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 texts 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 function.

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

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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 loi 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, hąˀ`ye ‘now’ from Yuki Vocabulary is used as the underlying form for hą́ye (OG:6) and hą́ˀye (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 -ląm, 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 *nändąkwį* ‘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 §2.1.1.8.1, 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 *wokʼ* ‘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 *wó̱oksikít* ‘while dancing’ (CW:135) and *wačokʼesmil* ‘(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 *wokʼ* 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 *miṭó̱k* ‘joints’, and Ralph Moore, as in *hočk* ‘is big’ (Kroeber 1901a:37), *šáčkčam* ‘sometimes’ (FD:22), and *hłamuu* ‘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 *Ašíyam Nánąʼak*. 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).

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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 games\textsuperscript{31} 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 myths\textsuperscript{32}:

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’ukAmnom, 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’ânom, 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

\textsuperscript{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.”

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):

\begin{itemize}
  \item sot cut
  \item sōt scratched (with finger-nails)
\end{itemize}

The ō here has a peculiar quality, like intermediate between â and ō and nearly short

Kroeber (1902a:13a):

\begin{itemize}
  \item ō close
  \item o open
\end{itemize}

Kroeber (1902b:1a):

\begin{itemize}
  \item ō = the sound between â and ō
  \item ï = ” ” ” “ “ i and è
  \item î = ” ” ” “ i and e)
\end{itemize}

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 the 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> (ã). Rare symbols include /a/ and /i/ with circumflex (/â, î/) and /a/, /i/, /o/, and /u/ with breve (/ă, ĭ, ŏ, ľ/) 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 vowels. Still, the general correspondence of the macron to

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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 ‘uňkʰóṭ ‘ocean’ (literally ‘u’k’ ‘water’ + hoṭ ‘large’ OG:75 (RM)), or words beginning with body prefixes, for example nq̂ən̂kmil ‘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, î. 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 <ɔw> in the later transcriptions and î corresponding to a [ĵ] off-glide.

Similarly, â, î, and ô indicate vowels with a unique vowel quality, based on Kroeber’s notes cited above. This is likely also the case for ā, ī, and ü as well as other vowels
Introduction

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 (\(\underline{a}\)). 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 [VʔV] sequences. Since [V:] often results from [VʔV] 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 mōˈos. 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 moˈos. Therefore, a glottal stop is inserted in such cases even if not written by Kroeber in his orthography. Also, some words, such as hulkˈoˈi ‘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 /t̚/ or /ṭ/. 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

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<td>t'</td>
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<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
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<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>t!, t.'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tc</td>
<td>tf</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>č</td>
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<td>č</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tc!, tc'</td>
<td>tf'</td>
<td>č'</td>
<td>č'</td>
<td>č'</td>
<td>č'</td>
<td>tf'</td>
</tr>
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<td>j</td>
<td>d3</td>
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<td>k, k̂</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>k!, k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td>s'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>š</td>
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<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
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<td>š</td>
</tr>
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<td>w</td>
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<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
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<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?w</td>
<td>?w, w'</td>
<td>w'</td>
<td>w'</td>
<td>w'</td>
<td>w'</td>
<td>?w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
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<td>l</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>l̂</td>
<td>l̂</td>
<td>l̂, l'</td>
<td>l', l̂</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>tl̄</td>
<td>l̄</td>
<td>tl̄</td>
<td>tl̄</td>
<td>tl̄</td>
<td>tl̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y, ʰ</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?y</td>
<td>y'</td>
<td>y'</td>
<td>y'</td>
<td>y'</td>
<td>y'</td>
<td>y'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
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<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
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<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?m</td>
<td>?m</td>
<td>?m, m'</td>
<td>?m, m'</td>
<td>m'</td>
<td>m'</td>
<td>?m</td>
</tr>
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<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>?n</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>?n</td>
<td>?n</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>?n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>C'</td>
<td>C', C'</td>
<td>C', C'</td>
<td>C (aspirated stop)</td>
<td>C (aspirated stop)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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35 Uldall uses <i> to indicate an off-glide in the diphthong [iy], as in 'imumil 'he said', which would be rewritten as 'imiymil in the orthography used in this grammar.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>i, ı</th>
<th>i, ı</th>
<th>i, ı</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>i ~ ɨ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ɛ, e</td>
<td>ɛ, e</td>
<td>ɛ, e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>e ~ ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u, ʊ</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
<td>ʊ ~ ʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o, Ω</td>
<td>o, o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o ~ ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aⁿ</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ə, ə</td>
<td>ə, ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a, A</td>
<td>a, A, ə</td>
<td>a, A, ə</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ə ~ ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiⁿ</td>
<td>āi, āi</td>
<td>āy</td>
<td>āy, āi</td>
<td>āy</td>
<td>āy</td>
<td>āj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auⁿ</td>
<td>āw</td>
<td>āw, āw</td>
<td>āw</td>
<td>āw</td>
<td>āw</td>
<td>āw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vi 37</td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>Vy</td>
<td>Vy</td>
<td>Vy</td>
<td>Vy</td>
<td>Vj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu</td>
<td>Vw</td>
<td>Vw</td>
<td>Vw</td>
<td>Vw</td>
<td>Vw</td>
<td>Vw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oⁿ</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uⁿ</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ɨ</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>σ 38</td>
<td>σ</td>
<td>σ</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VV 39</td>
<td>Vː</td>
<td>Vː, Vː</td>
<td>Vː</td>
<td>Vː</td>
<td>Vː</td>
<td>Vː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Yuki and Huchnom Orthographies

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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 [VʔV] sequences. Since [Vː] often results from [VʔV] 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 /$\text{s}$/ 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 =ą, 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
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 =namli, 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)\(^4\).

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>PLAIN</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GLOTTALIZED</td>
<td>m’</td>
<td>n’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>PLAIN</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ũ</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GLOTTALIZED</td>
<td>p’</td>
<td>ũ’</td>
<td>ū’</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td>?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>PLAIN</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>č’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GLOTTALIZED</td>
<td>č’</td>
<td>č’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>PLAIN</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s’</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GLOTTALIZED</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
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<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GLOTTALIZED</td>
<td>(w’)</td>
<td>y’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>PLAIN</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GLOTTALIZED</td>
<td>l’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\(^4\) 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. /$'$ is not attested. Schlichter (1985:22) suggests /$'/ 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 sequence. Compare (1a) and (1b) to see this
process for hąk’- ‘split.’

(1a)  
hąk’eta
   hąk’-t-a
   split-INTR?-IMP
   ‘split it!’ MF

(1b)  
ki    ’ol    hąqʾkṭek
ki?   ’ol    hąk’-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.
Affricates are found only in one place of articulation, palato-alveolar. Fricatives are
distinguished in three places of articulation: alveolar, palato-alveolar, 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 [tɬ]. -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 [tɬ’] can occur. See (80) in §7.4.3.2 for a verb ending in [tɬ’].

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

Yuki distinguishes two /t/ phonemes: an alveolar stop /ṭ/, which has an apico-alveolar pronunciation, and a dental stop /t̯/. 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 consonants. In Logan’s pronunciation the place of articulation of these sounds is close to that of /ṭ/.

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

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44 Langdon and Silver (1984:151) recognize Yuki as having a dental stop /ṭ/, an alveolar or postalveolar stop /t̯/, and a postalveolar or retroflex fricative /š/, 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 «ṣ», as in: hą́:ʂimil ‘(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 §2.1.8.8.1. 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 moˀos (AA, MF) or mos (AA)47. Schlichter (1985:21) reconstructs this pronoun as Proto-Northern Yukian (PNY) *miˀ ~ *moˀ ‘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: *moˀ’ ~ *-s = Yuki: *moˀs > moˀos.

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 naˀa:w, naw ‘honeybee’ and Coast Yuki nά’ ’αw ‘yellowjacket’ and earlier Yuki forms, such as na’ǝ̨m ‘yellowjacket’ recorded from Minnie Fulwider by Sydney Lamb (Schlichter 1985:378).

/w’/ never appears as [ˀw] or [w’] 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: mɔ’s ‘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 mi’ ‘2SG.AGT’ and mos = mo’os ‘2PL.AGT’ correspond well to Eastern Pomo mi’ ‘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 hewˀ ‘yes’ and Coast Yuki héw’ ‘yes’, but not in Yuki hqwaˀ ‘yes’ (AA).

A phonemic glottalized form /y'/ 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 kómmuṭ ‘came’ when -mą, a verbal suffix indicating movement, is suffixed onto the verb root kom- ‘come.’

(2) káṭa ˀąp  kómmuṭ
    káṭa ˀąp  kóm-mą?-wiṭ
  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)  
\begin{align*}
\text{musp} & \quad \text{‘woman’} \quad \text{AA, MF} \\
\text{p’ans} & \quad \text{‘wind’} \quad \text{AA, MF} \\
\text{kayt̯} & \quad \text{‘early, long ago’} \quad \text{AA, MF} \\
\text{k’an’k} & \quad \text{‘knee’} \quad \text{AA}
\end{align*}

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)\textsuperscript{51}  
\begin{align*}
\text{ˀí:t̯in sak} & \quad \text{‘my child’} \\
\text{ˀí:t̯in [z]ak} & \quad \text{‘my child’} \quad \text{FL}
\end{align*}

(4b)  
\begin{align*}
\text{hánpis ’ap kómmuṭ} & \quad \text{‘I came from the house.’} \\
\text{hán[b][z] ’ap kómmuṭ} & \quad \text{‘I came from the house.’} \quad \text{FL}
\end{align*}

(4c)  
\begin{align*}
\text{hálčaʔ} & \quad \text{‘children’} \\
\text{hál[dʒ]aʔ} & \quad \text{‘children’} \quad \text{RM}\textsuperscript{52}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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) \(\text{káṭa ˀap kómmu} \) ‘I came here.’
\(\text{káṭa ˀap kómmu[ʔt]} \) ‘I came here.’ FL

(5b) \(\text{miṭók} \) ‘joints’
\(\text{miṭó[ʔk]} \) ‘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:ˀakik ‘killed,’ while (7b) shows the deletion of word-final /t/ in hąt ‘branch or limb of a tree.’

(6) \(\text{miṭók} \) ‘joints’
\(\text{miṭó[ʔ]} \) ‘joints’ FL

(7a) \(\text{ˀap li:ˀakik} \) ‘I killed it.’
\(\text{ˀap li:ˀaki} \) ‘I killed it.’ FL

(7b) \(\text{hąt} \) ‘branch or limb of a tree’
\(\text{hąt} \) ‘branch or limb of a tree’ FL

2.1.1.8.4. [ṭ] ~ [tʃ]

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

(8a) \(\text{ˀap witliwi} \) ‘I turned it over.’
\(\text{ˀap witliwi[ʃ]} \) ‘I turned it over.’ FL

(8b) \(\text{ˀi: ˀu:k kiwtu} \) ‘I was thirsty.’
\(\text{ˀi: ˀu:k kiwtu[ʃ]} \) ‘I was thirsty’ FL
2.1.1.8.5. [l] ~ [ɽ] ~ [ɭ]

Logan’s pronunciation of syllable-initial /l/ shows a great deal of variation\(^{53}\) ranging from an apical dental lateral approximant to a pronunciation approximating a retroflex tap [ɽ] 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)  
\[\text{lil} \quad \text{‘stone’} \]
\[\text{[l][l]} \quad \text{‘stone’ FL} \]

(9b)  
\[\text{ló:pis} \quad \text{‘jackrabbit’} \]
\[\text{[ɭ][p][s]} \quad \text{‘jackrabbit’ FL} \]

(10a)  
\[\text{ˀó:lam} \quad \text{‘bush’} \]
\[\text{ˀó:[l]am} \quad \text{‘bush’ FL} \]

(10b)  
\[\text{ńamlá:t̯} \quad \text{‘tongue’} \]
\[\text{ńam[ɽ][t̯]} \quad \text{‘tongue’ FL} \]

(10c)  
\[\text{k’á:li} \quad \text{‘thorn, sticker’} \]
\[\text{k’á[ɭ][i]} \quad \text{‘thorn, sticker’ FL} \]

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)  
\[\text{inkąːwəm} \quad \text{‘flowers’} \]
\[\text{i[ŋ][kąːwəm} \quad \text{‘flowers’ FL} \]

\(^{53}\) 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)  opmahadż 'four'

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 intervocically. 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 form\(^{54}\) containing a VʔV sequence instead of the long vowel. For example, ’u’uk ‘water’ is also attested as ’u’uk. The same process is observed for roots ending in a glottal stop. Compare si’ ‘clover’ (MF) with its variant si’i (MF)\(^{55}\).

The VʔV ~ V: allophony seen in words like ’u’uk ~ ’uk ‘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 *’uk’ ‘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 *’uk’ ‘water’ > Yuki ’u’uk ‘water’.

\(^{54}\) For reasons which are unclear, occasionally one encounters forms where the VʔV sequence occurs as well as morpheme-final glottalization, as in wa’ok’imul ‘(we) dance’ (FD:22).

\(^{55}\) si’i is taken from Siniard 1967b:1, where it originally appeared with tone marks as part of the phrase si’i sik ‘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 pitch. Sometimes this long vowel is further shortened to a short vowel.

2.1.1.8.8.2. VhV ~ V:

Less common than VʔV ~ 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) nʔhan ‘mouth’
     nʔzn ‘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.

(14) /p ~ p’/                  /t ~ t’/                  /ṭ ~ ṭ’/                  /č ~ č’/                  /k ~ k’/
    /t̯ ~ t̯’/                  /či:put ‘rattle’ AA          /či:mit ‘bird’ AA
    t̯u:m ‘rain’ FL             t̯’u: ‘heart’ AA

56 See §2.2.2.
The examples in (15) show the contrast between plain and glottalized forms of /t̯/ and /ṭ/ in word-initial position.

(15) /t̯ ~ ṭ/  
    t̯u:m ‘rain’ FL  
    ṭu:m ‘noise’ AA

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

(16) /s ~ š/  
    sīk ‘blue’ FL  
    šīk ‘black’ 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/  
    šīk ‘black’ 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  
    sum ‘evening’ AA, 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/  
    ḥap ‘song’ AA, MF  
    ḥap ‘I (agt.)’ AA, MF, FL
The examples in (20) show the phonemic contrast between syllables ending in /ʔ/ and open syllables.

(20) /ʔ ~ Ø/
    miʔ ‘you (sg. agt.)’ AA, MF
    mi: ‘we (incl.)’ AA, MF

2.1.1.9.2. Resonants

The examples in (21) show the contrast between the liquid and nasal phonemes in word-initial and final position.

(21) /l ~ m ~ n/
    liʔ ‘little, few’ AA     ṭol ‘tree’ FL
    miʔ ‘you (sg. agt.)’ AA, MF ṭqm ‘guts’ FL
    nih ‘hole’ AA, MF ṭon ‘ground’ FL

The examples in (22) show the contrast between the two bilabial resonants /m/ and /w/ in word-initial and final position.

(22) /m ~ w/
    mis ‘you (sg. pat.)’ AA, MF hqm ‘belt’ AA
    wîs ‘old’ AA, MF hqw ‘fish, salmon’ AA, MF

The examples in (23) show the contrast between plain and glottalized resonants in final position.

(23) /m ~ m’/ /n ~ n’/
    kum ‘salt’ AA, MF kon ‘dry’ FL
    kum’ ‘there’ AA kon’ ‘father’ FL

    /l ~ l’/ /y ~ y’/
    šal ‘seed’ MF hay ‘pocket’ MF
    hal ‘top’ AA k’ay ‘mushroom’ AA, MF
2.1.2. Vowels

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ą</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 phonemic. 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 ~ nuč’ ‘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

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57 See §2.1.2.2.2 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, respectively.\(^9\)

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & \text{Front} & \text{Central} & \text{Back} \\
\hline
\text{High} & i & [i] & \\
\hline
\text{Mid} & (e) & [ə ~ ɨ] & a & [ʌ ~ ə] & o & [o ~ ɔ]
\hline
\text{Low} & a & [ɨ]
\hline
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & \text{Front} & \text{Central} & \text{Back} \\
\hline
\text{High} & i & [i] & u & [ʊ] \\
\hline
\text{Mid} & (e) & [ə ~ ɨ] & a & [ʌ ~ ə] & o & [ɔ]
\hline
\text{Low} & a & [ɨ]
\hline
\end{array}
\]

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

\(^9\) 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. 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)  kiːʔ máčliwa 'I met him.'
     kiːʔ máč[e]wa 'I met him.' FL

(25a)  mihóṭ ‘thumb’
       m[e]hóṭ ‘thumb’ FL

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

An additional harmonic variation occurs for /ą/ in the speech of the last two Yuki speakers, Minnie Fulwider and Arthur Anderson. Schlichter and Saywer (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 /ˀ/. 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) ṡap  ḥuṭ'éwič  ‘I was working.’
     ṡap  ḥuṭ/[eː]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 /ą/ 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).

(27a) k'aw  ‘light, clear’  AA, MF
     ṭ'aw  ‘war’  AA
     hiw  ‘full’  AA
     šuwki  ‘sugar’  FL

(27b) hay  ‘pocket’  MF
     ḷayṭ  ‘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 ṡimi- ‘say’ and the switch-reference marker si indicating a new topic encliticized with the hearsay evidential ṡi.

(28a) ṡimėy[mil  ‘said’  RM
     se’ey  ‘and then’  RM

(28b) ṡimiy[mil  ‘said’  RM
     si’iy  ‘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(Cα)(Cβ) 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) \(/a ~ ą ~ i ~ o ~ u/\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yuki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>as</code></td>
<td><code>ʔas</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ʔas</code></td>
<td><code>ʔą</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ʔiše</code></td>
<td><code>ʔišə</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ʔos</code></td>
<td><code>ʔus</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ʔus</code></td>
<td><code>ʔus</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) \(ma ~ ɱa ~ mi: ~ ho: ~ ću:/\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yuki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>ma</code></td>
<td><code>-même</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ɱa</code></td>
<td><code>ɱa</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mi:</code></td>
<td><code>mi:</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ho:</code></td>
<td><code>ho:</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ću:</code></td>
<td><code>ću:</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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 one syllable. 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).

(31a) ḋąp   lák,tu
    ḋąp   lak'-t-wi
    1SG.AGT  emerge-INTR-PST1
    ‘I went out.’  FL

(31b)  káč,pis
       kač=pis
     left=ABL.
    ‘on the left’  FL

For reasons which are unclear, primary stress occasionally appears to occur on non-initial syllables, as in ḋą:híšti ‘blazing up’ (CW:24).

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 body.

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

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).

(32a) ˀi: nąnák.uč

(32b) ˀi: nąnák-wič

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 nąnák- means ‘remember’, but by itself nák- does not mean anything anymore.

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.

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 ną-. Therefore it seems that a distinction between these two prefixes may not have existed for him.

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 nąnák- means ‘remember’, but by itself nák- does not mean anything anymore.
(32b) *me.t̯áš* ‘finger’ FL

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

(33) ˀ *i:*                     *hą*.*ńą*yáwuč*
     *i:*                     *hą*ńayá-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) ˀ *iŋ-k’íč*
     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) ˀ *ùk-hóṭ*
     water-large
     ‘ocean’ FL

---

68 Primary stress is marked with an acute accent and secondary stress is marked with a grave accent.
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).
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-initial\(^{72}\) 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 \(\text{wilíṭ-} \) ‘pass.’

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(37) } & \text{no}^2\text{ap} \quad \text{wi.lí.ṭu} \\
& \text{no}^2\text{=ap} \quad \text{wilíṭ-wi} \\
& \text{camp=LAT} \quad \text{pass-PST1} \\
& \text{‘I passed through the camp.’ FL}
\end{array}
\]

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 \(\text{wilíṭ-} \) ‘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 roots\textsuperscript{73} 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 $f_0$ level. The secondary stressed syllable will typically have the next highest $f_0$ level and next longest vowel duration after the $f_0$ level and vowel duration of the primary stressed syllable. Examples of this are shown in (38b) and (38c).

(38a) \begin{align*}
ki′ & \quad wą.ki.wič \\
ki′ & \quad wąk-wič \\
3SG.PAT & \quad \text{pay/lend-PST2} \\
& \quad \text{‘I lent it to him.’ FL}
\end{align*}

(38b) \begin{align*}
?i & \quad ną.ná.kuč \\
?i & \quad nąnak-wič \\
1SG.PAT & \quad \text{know-PST2} \\
& \quad \text{‘I remember it.’ FL}
\end{align*}

(38c) \begin{align*}
?uk.hót & \\
?uk′-hót & \\
\text{water-large} & \\
& \quad \text{‘ocean’ FL}
\end{align*}

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.

\textsuperscript{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, $f_0$ 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 system. Duration is the most significant correlate of stress; $f_0$ 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 $f_0$ and intensity. Duration, $f_0$, 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, $N=13$, $p=0.000$)

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$^{74}$ 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; f0 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 f0 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 f0 of vowels in trisyllabic words with monosyllabic roots
(Standard Error of Mean: σ1=6 Hz, σ2=7 Hz, σ3=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: σ1=0.6 dB, σ2=0.6 dB, σ3=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 f0 and intensity were not statistically significant in differentiating stress between the initial and penultimate syllables, but that f0 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 f0 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 f0 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High-level tone</th>
<th>High-falling tone</th>
<th>Unreduced form leading to high-falling tone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sák ‘child’</td>
<td>sâk ‘baby’</td>
<td>sáˀak ‘baby’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sák ‘tooth’</td>
<td>sâk ‘baby tooth’</td>
<td>sâˀak ‘baby tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mepât ‘hand’</td>
<td>mepât ‘palm’</td>
<td>mepâˀat̯ ‘palm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nân ‘head’</td>
<td>nân ‘mouth’</td>
<td>náhan ‘mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mâl ‘river’</td>
<td>mâl ‘new, young’</td>
<td>mâhâl ‘new, young’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 f0 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(Cα)(Cβ). 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', t, t', τ', k, k', ?, č, c, s, š, h, w, y, l. All consonants except for glottalized stops and affricates can be coda consonants: m, m', n, n', p, t, t', k, ?, 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, ą, 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, uk’ ‘water’ is realized as uuk ~ uk ~ uk. Occasionally, one finds forms such as ukt’ ‘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 uk’ ‘water’. Examples of Yuki words divided into syllables are shown in (39).
Noun and verb roots are usually monosyllabic and more rarely disyllabic. 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 roots. 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). Additionally, it is common to find an alternate form for these verb roots given, which ends in a glottal consonant. Thus ha-: ‘run’ (AA) is found alongside ha:h- (MF) and hoˀu: ‘quit’ (AA) is attested along with hoˀuˀ- (AA). In these cases it may be that this final glottal consonant either /h/ in ha(:)h- ‘run’ or /ʔ/ in hoˀuˀ- ‘quit’ is lost yielding a phonetic long vowel according to the process described in §2.1.8.8.1 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.

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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, tuˀ ‘push over’ in tuˀ i: hamik ‘I like to push things over’ yiˀ ‘play’ in yiˀ i: hamik ‘I like to play’ (Siniard 1967b:99,100).
Other examples support this analysis. For example, šuˀ- ‘sit, stay’ (AA, MF) shows the VʔV sequence characteristic of the spreading of root final glottalization in the accompanying form šuˀuhek ‘sitting’ (MF). Similarly, while only t’u:– ‘rain’ (AA, MF) and not t’uː is given in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984), the accompanying sentence t’uʼuwičk ‘it rained’ (MF) shows the same VʔV 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 niː in this example where it is followed by inessive –k’e, nik’e kapek ‘he put it into the hole’ (AA); t’uː ‘heart’ (AA) also appears as t’u(h) (MF). CVʔ noun roots often occur also as CVʔV, for example siˀ ‘clover’ (MF) and siː (MF). No CV noun roots have been found so far where CVʔ yields an alternate CV: form. However, since the VʔV ~ 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 miː and the second person singular agent pronoun miʔ which often appears as miːʔ show that there is at least a single word in Yuki, the first person plural inclusive agent pronoun mi, which is CV. 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 CVʔ 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

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81 The full example is: ka ?ap ʔonk’e šatk’e šuˀuhek ‘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 sīʔ sīk ‘Clover is green’.
83 No other alternate form for mi other than miː is ever observed.
reasons. For example, the CVCV verb root *la-le-‘crawl’ (MF) is likely actually *la-l-. It is not uncommon to find /e/-/i/ following verb roots as this is the epenthetic vowel common in Yuki for dividing consonant clusters. An example of this in use would be /i/ following the root *wa-k-‘pay, lend’ in *wa-kiwič ‘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-le-‘mule’ (MF). There are some rare non-borrowed CVCV noun roots such as *mq-we ‘marked bone used in handgame’ (AA).

Some CVCV verb roots from earlier documentation and analysis such as *ha-na-‘know’ are later recorded by other linguists as having a final consonant; in this case this is *ha-na-k- (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  ti: ‘tea’ MF (unclear if non-borrowed CV noun roots exist)
        CVC  p’iṭ ‘door’ AA, MF
        CVCV  *mq-we  ‘marked bone used in handgame’ AA
        CVCVC  *ĉi:miṭ ‘bird’ AA

(40b) CV  ha:- ‘run’ AA (unclear if this is ha- or actually hah-)
        CVC  yuy’- ‘swing, rock’ AA
        CVCV  *hu-t’o- ‘meet’ MF
        CVCVC  *wi:liṭ- ‘pass’ FL

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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 /ą/. 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.

![Vowels Diagram]

Coast Yuki           Huchnom

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(ʔ) 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 [tl]. -ʔ has not been observed following other resonants; however, this could just be due to the limited nature of the available data. -a(ʔ) is found in all other environments. It appears that the vowel [a] in -a(ʔ) 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(ʔ) are shown in (1) and (2).

(1) Coyote and the World: 20, RM
náweta(ʔ)88
nqw-t-aʔ
see-INTR-IMP
‘look!’

(2) Coyote and the World: 28, RM
kómaʔ
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

'?alap  \textit{pq}'qnčsi'?

'?al=ap  \textit{pq}'qnč-s-?

stick=LAT  \textbf{write-CAUS-IMP}

'write on stick! / make the marks on the stick'

(4) Siniard 1967a: 103, MF

\textit{table ap}  \textit{pq}'qnčmal'  \textit{namtli'}?

\textit{table=ap}  \textit{pq}'qnč-mol'  \textit{nqm-tl-}?

\textit{table=LAT}  \textbf{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; \textit{pq}'qnčsi' and \textit{pq}'qnčsa' 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

'?alap  \textit{pq}'qnčsa'

'?al=ap  \textit{pq}'qnč-s-a'

stick=LAT  \textbf{write-CAUS-IMP}

'write on stick! / make the marks on the stick'

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

(6) Coyote and the World: 371, RM

\textit{náwkil' nqw-k-il-}?

see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP

'look!'
(7) Siniard 1967a: 103, MF
yąškil’
yąš-k-il-ˀ
stand-PNCT-MPSV-IMP
‘stand up!'

(8) Schlichter 1985:205, AA
mišap                 laktl’
miš=op               lak’-tl-ˀ
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 hąwáysam ‘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
hąwáysam
hąwąy-s-m-(ˀ)
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 =qp ~ =op enclitics.
(10) Origins: 53, RM
mač ál ma
mačalam=q
elbow=PAT
‘with elbow’

(11) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 76, AA
meč ál mап
mečalam=qap
elbow=LAT
‘on (my) elbow’

The same process is observed in (12). ˀolam ‘brush’ becomes ˀolm- in ˀól mоп ‘in the brush’

(12) Coyote and the World: 416b, RM
ˀólmоп
ˀolam=op
brush=LAT
‘in the brush’

Similarly in (13), ˀiwop ‘man’ becomes ˀiw p- upon the addition of patient case =q.

(13) North Wind and Sun: 7, RM
ˀiwpa
ˀiwop=q
man=PAT
‘man’

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

(14) Coyote and the World: 47, RM
ˀiwupa
ˀiwop=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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kayt} & \quad \text{'i} & \quad \text{naham} & \quad \text{mil'} \\
\text{kayt} & \quad \text{'i} & \quad \text{nah} & \quad \text{ham-mil'} \\
\text{long.ago} & & \text{1SG.PAT} & \text{bake} & \text{like/want-PHAB} \\text{‘I used to like to make bread’}
\end{align*}
\]

(16) Siniard 1967b: 79, MF

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?apil} & \quad \text{hot}^h & \quad \text{hu'tmil} & \quad \text{nahismil’} \\
\text{?apil} & \quad \text{hoṭ} & \quad \text{huˀutmil} & \quad \text{nah-s-mil’} \\
\text{1SG.EMPH?} & & \text{large} & \text{bread} & \text{bake-CONT?-PHAB} \\text{‘I used to make a lot of bread a long time ago’}
\end{align*}
\]

(17) Siniard 1967b: 79, MF

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?apil} & \quad \text{hot}^h & \quad \text{hu'tmil} & \quad \text{nahismilha} \\
\text{?apil} & \quad \text{hoṭ} & \quad \text{huˀutmil} & \quad \text{nah-s-mil’-ha} \\
\text{1SG.EMPH?} & & \text{large} & \text{bread} & \text{bake-CONT?-PHAB-Q} \\text{‘Did I (use to) make bread a long time ago?’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 structure\(^8\). Non-final Yuki syllables have the form CV(C); however, CVC\(\alpha\)C\(\beta\) structure is observed in the final syllable of some words, where C\(\alpha\) and C\(\beta\) 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.

\(^8\) 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 verbs.

In (18), the verb root k’ąk’- ‘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
   kąk.si.mil
   k’ąk’-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’ąk’- ‘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
   ką:.kes.pa
   k’ąk’-s-paˀ
   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 nąw- ‘see’ becomes the onset of the syllable [we].

(20) Coyote and the World: 127 (excerpt), RM
   ną.wé.saˀ
   nąw-s-aˀ
   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
\[
ka:.pi.si.mil \\
kap-s=mi{l}
\]
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 [tɬi] in huˀútli ‘finished’.

\[(22)\] Coyote and the World: 196 (excerpt), RM
\[
káp.ti \quad šú:kmil \\
kap-t \quad šuˀ-k=mi{l}
\]
enter-INTR sit/stay-PNCT=FIN
‘having gone in, he sat down.’

\[(23)\] Coyote and the World: 311 (excerpt), RM
\[
lák.ti \quad nąwkílmil \\
lak'-t \quad nąw-k-il=mi{l}
\]
emerge-INTR see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘going out, the boy looked.’

\[(24)\] Coyote and the World: 342 (excerpt), RM
\[
huˀútli \quad liːtnámilkon \\
huˀ'uˀ-tl \quad liˀ-t=namli=kon
\]
quit-TR kill-INTR=DEP=though
‘finished, although killed’

Similarly in (25), an epenthetic [i] is inserted at the end of piłqt ‘sun’, which is followed by kákespa ‘shall rise’. (26) shows an epenthetic [i] occurring at the end of k’omlámi ‘sounding’, which is followed by the distal demonstrative ki:

\[(25)\]
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 wačísímil ‘showed’, kaṭá(w)pis ‘from here’ and mi: ‘you’, or ˀonk’olámwit ‘toward the east’ and kó:tampa?’ ‘shall go’.
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 ᵜʔi. From the few examples available, it seems that ᵜʔi is realized as y following vowels, but as ᵜʔi following consonants. Examples of this alternation are shown in (28).

(28) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB
    p’alímay    ‘I fall down’
    ᵜʔintay    ‘I am sleepy’
    ᵜʔatay     ‘I am sick’
    ᵜʔateʔékay ‘I have been sick’
    šemetékay  ‘I have got well, I feel better’
    šemʔi      ‘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 demonstratives. 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 terms and a series of possibly frozen prefixes referring to parts of the body is found in nouns and verbs. Verbs and nouns are the most complex classes morphologically.

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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 enclitic\(^94\) =ą, the dative =ąt, 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 verbs\(^95\).

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Core Cases</th>
<th>Agent: (-\emptyset)</th>
<th>• Noun case used for grammatical agents.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patient: (=q \sim =a)</td>
<td>• Noun case used for grammatical patients.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Often used for argument of verbs describing bodily functions, mental state, emotions, and for arguments of predicate adjective clauses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Used to mark the recipient in three-argument clauses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Overtly marked only for human referents or personified non-humans, such as mythological beings.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• On rare occasions found on some non-human animates, such as animals, possibly because these referents are</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
highly affected by an action or because they are a particular group of non-human animates.
- Used to mark referents that are being addressed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oblique Cases</th>
<th>Dative: (=qt \sim =at)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Used to mark the affected person in three-argument clauses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Used as the base for forming oblique forms of human nouns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Used as a possessive ending for nouns. Dative pronouns are also used as possessive forms, except in first person singular, where the possessive pronoun (?itin) differs from the dative pronoun (?it).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inessive: (=k'i \sim =k \sim =i)</th>
<th>• in, at, on, into.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second Inessive: (-(')qm \sim -((')am)</td>
<td>• A locative case meaning ‘in’ or ‘into’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Also found in some deictics such as (kim) ‘over there’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative: (-kot)</td>
<td>• Rare locative used to express the meanings ‘in’ or ‘at’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subessive: (=han, =hqhin)</td>
<td>• ‘under’, possibly also ‘within’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lative: (=op \sim =ap \sim =ap)</td>
<td>• on, in, at, through.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative: (=wit)</td>
<td>• to, toward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Indicates motion toward landmarks or general directions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminative: (=k'il)</td>
<td>• to, toward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Indicates motion toward individuals and smaller, more well-defined locations (e.g. (han) ‘house’ instead of (kuhtki) ‘north’).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• May also be used to indicate motion to an endpoint with the implication that movement ends at that point.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ablative:</th>
<th>• from, out of, away from.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=$pis$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juxtapositive:</td>
<td>• near, on the edge of.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=$iṭ ~ =iṭ ~ =ič$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 'around':  | • around.  
• May be an independent word. |
| =$mik'al$ | |
| Instrumental:  | • with (as in ‘with an ax’), by (as in ‘scorched by fire’)  
• Seems to only occur with inanimate nouns. |
| -$ok$ | |

**Derivational Morphology and Other Enclitics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diminutive, etc.:</th>
<th>• More than a diminutive, also found in words with a collective, distributive, or plural meaning.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=$-ič$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 'diminutive; part of':  | • 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. |
| =$-V-, -hV-$ | |
| 'only': =$kič$ | • An enclitic meaning 'only'. |

**Verbalization**

|  | • 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 argument 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 datives.
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 language. 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.

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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.
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 'us ‘we’ is the argument of wá’ok’iṣmil ‘dance’. In (2), the agent hulk’oʔi ‘Coyote’ is the argument of nqwímil ‘saw’.

(1) Feather Dance Narrative: 22 (excerpt), RM
šą́:kč’am pą́wi wí:ṭ ˀus wá’ok’iṣmil.
šąq’qč’am pqwi wiṭ ‘us wok’-s=mil
sometimes one work/week 1PL.EXCL.AGT dance/sing-CONT=FIN
‘…sometimes we dance one week.’

(2) Coyote and the World: 24, RM
są́ey yım yą:híšti nqwímil hulk’oʔi
sq=ʔi yım yąh-s-t nqw=mil hulk’oʔi
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 hulk’oʔá ‘Coyote=PAT’ is the argument of háltmil ‘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
seʔéy hulk’oʔá háltmil.
si=ʔi hulk’oʔá=q hql-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT hear-INTR=FIN
‘And Coyote heard.’
(4) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM

ˀi: hoč’k
ˀi hoṭ=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’óˀi ‘Coyote’.

(5) Coyote and the World: 350, RM

sq=kit=ˀi hašmol=q pilqt=q=k’il
SAME=then=HSY1 morning.star=PAT sun=DAT=TERM

sáŋkiṭey hášmó:la piląt=ąt=k’il

sąˀey ú:t(e)mil táykómola.
sąˀ-ˀi út’t=mil táykomol=ą
SAME=HSY1 give=FIN Taykómol=PAT
‘and gave it to Taykómol.’

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

(6) Origins: 67, RM

sáˀey út(e)mil táykómola.
sáˀ-ˀi út’t=mil táykomol=q
SAME=HSY1 give=FIN Taykómol=PAT
‘and gave it to Taykómol.’

In (7), the patient hulk’óˀá ‘to Coyote’ is the recipient of the action of the verb út’t=mil ‘handed’. The affected argument of the action is the non-human inanimate t’úy ‘pitch’ and is not overtly marked for case.
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 *k'ayimilpa* ‘will speak’ is the first person agent pronoun *ʔap*. In (10), the argument of *wá'ok'ismil* ‘dance’ is the first person plural exclusive agent pronoun *ʔús*. 
(9) Origins: 132d, RM
yú:kin ŋqph ka k’ayemikí: k’ayimilpa.
yukin ŋqph 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’

(10) Feather Dance Narrative: 22, RM
šą:kč’am ŋs ŋopi nák šą:kč’am
šąq’kčam ŋs ŋopi nąk šąq’kčam
sometimes 1PL.EXCL.AGT two dark/night sometimes

molmi nák šą:kč’am pą́wi wí:ṭ
molmi nąk šąq’kčam pąwi wí
three dark/night sometimes one work/week

ńus wá’ok’iṣmil.
ńus 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 patients. The verbs in (11) - (13) refer to hearing, thinking, and liking. In (11), the hearer is the first person singular patient pronoun i. In (12), the knower is the patient case form of hulk’ó’i ‘Coyote’. In (13), the argument of ḥqwáti ‘like, is glad about’ is also hulk’ó’q ‘Coyote=PAT’. The non-human argument ‘on ‘earth’ is unmarked for case.

(11) Coyote and the World: 18, RM
ki hałle ŋi kúp hałamų’ ŋ’meymil hulk’ó’i
ki? =hál ŋi kúp hál-m-wí ŋ’mi=mil hulk’ó’i
DST =INFR1 1SG.PAT sister’s.son hear-IMPFV-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’ó’i ‘Coyote’ is the one seeing in sáq’ey im yahisti nąwimil hulk’ó’i ‘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

sonˀéy nánákmil hulk’óˀa káyit
sonˀi nqak=mil hulk’óˀi=q kayit

therefore=HSY1 know=FIN Coyote=PAT long.ago

ˀinámtnamlíka
ˀinam-t=namlì=ka?
dream-INTR=DEP=PRX
‘but Coyote knew it from dreaming it before (they came).’

(13) Origins: 73, RM

seˀéy hulk’óˀq kip ˀon hqwáti kímil mil hulk’óˀi.

si=ˀi hulk’óˀi=q kip ˀon hqwáti kí-mil=mil hulk’óˀi

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 móš ʼ2PL.AGTʼ is performing the action of whipping and putting out the patient ʼanwís=ą ʼorphanʼ. The agent móš is in control of these actions, while the patient ʼanwís=ą is not at all in control of being whipped or put out and is only affected by these actions. In (15), the agent ʼqp ʼ1SG.AGTʼ is performing the action of showing something to the patient móšiyq ʼ2PL=PATʼ. ʼqp ʼ1SG.AGTʼ is marked as having a higher degree of control rather than móšiyq ʼ2PL=PATʼ, because ʼqp is performing the action of showing, while móšiyq has no control over this action.

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

… ʼanwís=ą móš ŉqwíli lákšiwichì ʼ...

ʼanwís=q moˀos ŉqwíl lak’-s-wìchì=ki?

orphan=PAT 2PL.AGT whip emerge-CAUS-PST2=DST

‘the orphan whom you whipped and put out’

(15) Thunder’s Twins: 136 (excerpt), RM

ʼáp móšiyq wátimik
ʼqp moˀos=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 hąl- is used with an agent argument hi:liʔ ‘all of them’ it has the meaning ‘listen’.  

\[(16)\] Coyote and the World: 10, RM
\[
\begin{align*}
    seʔéy & \quad hi:liʔ \quad hąkilmil. \\
    si=ʔi & \quad hil-i \quad hąl?-k-il=mił \\
    NEW=HSY1 & \quad all-ANIM \quad hear-PNCT-MPSV=FIN \\
    ‘So all listened.’
\end{align*}
\]

In (17) and (18), when hąl- ‘hear’ is used with a patient argument hulk'oʔá ‘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 hąl- ‘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
\[
\begin{align*}
    seʔéy & \quad hulk'oʔá \quad hąltmil. \\
    si=ʔi & \quad hulk'oʔi=q \quad hąl-t=mił \\
    NEW=HSY1 & \quad Coyote=PAT \quad hear-INTR=FIN \\
    ‘And Coyote heard.’
\end{align*}
\]

\[(18)\] Coyote and the World: 120, RM
\[
\begin{align*}
    seʔéy & \quad hulk'oʔá \quad hąlammil \\
    si=ʔi & \quad hulk'oʔi=q \quad hąl-m=mił \\
    NEW=HSY1 & \quad Coyote=PAT \quad hear-IMPFV=FIN \\
    ‘And Coyote understood them,’
\end{align*}
\]

\[100\] hi:liʔ ‘all of them’ is marked for grammatical agent or grammatical patient forms when used as a pronominal argument. An example of the patient form hila ‘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
...ʔ̣p kup mís noʷwinmawi ʔey
ʔ̣p kup mis nqw-n-mq-wi =ʔi
1SG.AGT sister's.son 2SG.PAT see-AND-DIR1-PST1 =HSY1

ʔi=imey mil hulk'óʔi
ʔi=imi=mi= mil hulk'óʔi
say=FIN Coyote

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

(20) Coyote and the World: 132, RM
se=ʔye hâye hiwák mo'ošiyat ʔáša
si=ʔi hâʔqye hiwák mo'ošiyat ʔus=q
NEW=HSY1 now in.turn 2PL.AGT.DAT 1PL.EXCL=PAT

wok náwi hámek ʔey ʔi=imey mil hulk'óʔi k'óʔola
wok' nqw ham=k =ʔi ʔi=imi=mi= 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 kîʔa is shown in an elicited example.

(21) Siniard 1967b:11, MF
kîʔa po'owik
kîʔ=q po'=wik
DST=PAT burn=PST2?
‘he burned (himself)’

In (22), the singular patient form kîʔá is shown functioning as a demonstrative in kîʔá hulk'óʔa ‘that Coyote’.
In (23) and (24), the distributive plural patient demonstrative *kimasa ~ kimaša* is found in *kimaša múš’aʔ* ‘those women’ and in *kimaša ṭpi* ‘them both’.

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

`...ʔímeymil hulk’óʔi kimaša múš’aʔ
ʔímí=mil hulk’óʔi kìʔ-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

`...ʔímeymil kimasa ṭpi nakahik
ʔímí=mil kìʔ-mas=q ṭpi nák’oh=k
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*. In (25), the distributive plural patient pronoun *kimasa* occurs as part of *mihnámlikimáša* ‘those who had been’.

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

`sakítay háye huʔ aːtát mihnámlikimáša
sq=kitʔi hq’aye huʔ aːtat mih=namli=kìʔ-mas=q
SAME=then=HSY1 now before people be=DEP=DST-DSTR=PAT

---

101 See §15.10 for discussion of this use.
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’ákin’ and ‘Šiwkitín’ 102 and a personified non-human ‘olkáčma ‘Mouse’. The ‘Wailaki’ ‘k’ól’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
sąˀéy t’uynaˀákin yą́wweymil
yąw=mil
name/call=FIN
‘And [Coyote] named T’uyna’ákin and Šiwkitín.’

Coyote and the World: 114
sqópey olkáčma yąwweymil kimáše
sq=kop=ˀi olkaṭam=q yąw=mil kiˀ-mas-i
SAME=then=HSY1 Mouse=PAT name/call=FIN DST-DSTR-ANIM

102 It is unclear whether Šiwkitín is marked for patient case or if this name ends in the conjunction =nq ‘and.’
k’ó’ola  haykiyúniakpámìki:  kimáṣa.
k’o’ol=q  hayk’ayu-n- khăn-pa’ám=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’. pilą́:t ‘sun’ is a personified non-human in this story and therefore is overtly marked as the patient pilą́:tq ‘sun=PAT’

(27)  Coyote and the World: 283, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
t’óktli & ?q p kipáw’kíl kú:pa ?q \\
t’ok-tl & ?q p kipáw=k’íl kú:p=q ?q \\
arrive-TR & 1SG.AGT back=TERM sister’s.son=PAT 1SG.AGT \\
náwwinemapa? & hil kú:pa wačmíkí: ?icy \\
nqw-n-mq-pa? & hil kú:p=q wač’-m=ki? =’í \\
see-AND-DIR1-FUT & all sister’s.son=PAT teach-IMPFV=DST =HSY1
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
?ímeymil & hulk’ó’i pilą́:tq \\
?imi=mil & hulk’ó’i piląt=q \\
say=FIN & Coyote sun=PAT
\end{align*}
\]

“‘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), ’aṭat ‘people’ is part of the patient argument kipat ’a:ṭáta ‘his people=PAT’.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
?ímeymil & kipat ’a:ṭáta hulk’ó’i \\
?imi=mil & kip=q t’áṭat=q hulk’ó’i \\
say=FIN & 3R=DAT people=PAT Coyote
\end{align*}
\]

‘… 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=ˀi                     kiˀ-mas-i                     mus
NEW=then=HSY1    DST-DSTR-ANIM   women
mil                          hqwâyisammil
mil                          hqway-s-m=mil
meat/deer  food/eat-CONT?-IMPFV=FIN
‘And those women were eating the meat.’

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

(30) Coyote and the World: 24, RM
sáˀey                           yım                   yá:hîšti                        nqwimil       hulk’ôˀi
sqˀ=i                           yım                   yáh-s-t                        nqw=mil        hulk’ôˀi
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’. 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
\[
\text{mil} \quad ki? \quad li?:\text{akha} \\
\text{mil} \quad ki? \quad li?:\text{ak}=\text{ha} \\
\text{meat/deer} \quad \text{DST} \quad \text{kill-SEM-Q}
\]
‘did he kill that deer (meat)?’

(32) Siniard 1967a:51, MF
\[
\text{mila} \quad ?\text{ap} \quad li:q\text{kik} \\
\text{mil}=\text{q} \quad ?\text{ap} \quad li:q=k \\
\text{meat/deer}=\text{PAT} \quad 1\text{SG.AGT} \quad \text{kill-SEM}=\text{DECL}
\]
‘I just killed deer.’

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

(33) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:62, MF
\[
\text{mil} \quad ?\text{ap} \quad \text{matkwe} \\
\text{mil} \quad ?\text{ap} \quad \text{mat-k-wi} \\
\text{meat/deer} \quad 1\text{SG.AGT} \quad \text{shoot-PNCT-PST1}
\]
‘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 liqkik ‘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(ą) ?ap li:ąkek ‘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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
imla \quad ^\text{?ey} \quad mî' \quad mîli \quad mîpa \quad ^\text{?an} \\
mîl=q \quad ^\text{?i} \quad mî' \quad mî \quad mîh-pa? \quad ^\text{?an} \\
\text{meat/deer=PAT} \quad ^\text{=HSY1} \quad 2\text{SG.AGT} \quad \text{meat/deer} \quad \text{be-FUT} \quad \text{long.time}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
^\text{?aṭätat} \\
^\text{?aṭat=qt}
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{l}
^\text{haqway’ol’} \\
^\text{haqway-ol’}
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{l}
\text{people=DAT} \\
\text{food/eat-AG/INST}
\end{array}
\quad
\begin{array}{l}
\text{‘to the deer} \\
\text{(he said), “You, deer, shall always be food for humans.”}
\end{array}
\]

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔiwp ‘man’</td>
<td>ʔiwis ‘men’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mus ‘woman’</td>
<td>mus ‘women’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayp ‘girl’</td>
<td>na’es ‘girls’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 ʔap ‘1SG.AGT’ and ʔus ‘1SG.EXCL.AGT’, as well as, mîʔ ‘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

\[\begin{align*}
\text{sop}'\text{éy} & \quad \text{mú:s} & \quad \text{si'?} & \quad \text{líttnamlikimáse} & \quad \text{hil} \\
\text{sop}=\text{i} & \quad \text{mus} & \quad \text{si'?} & \quad \text{lit-n=namli=ki'?-mas-i} & \quad \text{hil} \\
\text{but}=\text{HSY1} & \quad \text{women} & \quad \text{clover} & \quad \text{do-AND=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM} & \quad \text{all}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{wit'mam} & \\
\text{wit-ma} & =\text{mil}
\end{align*}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{turn-DIR1=FIN} \\
\text{‘Also the women who had gone clover gathering all came returning.’}
\end{align*}

Coyote and the World: 321

\[\begin{align*}
\text{si'?ey} & \quad \text{háye} & \quad ʔiwis & \quad \text{kiw} & \quad \text{nó'itili} & \quad ʔey \\
\text{si'=i} & \quad \text{háq?aye} & \quad ʔiwis & \quad \text{kiw} & \quad \text{no'?it-il?} & \quad =\text{i} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1} & \quad \text{now} & \quad \text{men} & \quad \text{arrow} & \quad \text{carry-MPSV?} & \quad =\text{HSY1}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{téwtlm} & \quad \text{wákop} & \quad \text{hulk'ó'a} \\
\text{tiw-tl}=\text{mil} & \quad \text{wák}=\text{op} & \quad \text{hulk'ó'i}=\text{q}
\end{align*}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{pursue-TR=FIN} & \quad \text{after=LAT} & \quad \text{Coyote=PAT} \\
\text{‘And now the men carrying arrows pursued after Coyote.’}
\end{align*}

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 stems\textsuperscript{104}. 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.

\textsuperscript{104} By this term Kroeber appears to be referring to hil ‘all’ and -mas-i ‘distributive plural.’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kroeber's original interpretation</th>
<th>More recent elicitation and interpretation</th>
<th>Proposed analysis and explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mil-i</em> ‘deer’</td>
<td><em>mile</em> ‘deer’ (AA, MF)</td>
<td>Epenthesis or possibly animate -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>su’s-i</em> ‘ducks’</td>
<td><em>sus</em> (AA), <em>su:se</em> (MF) ‘duck’</td>
<td>Epenthesis or possibly animate -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>č’op-i</em> ‘flies’</td>
<td><em>č’op</em> ~ <em>č’opi</em> (AA), <em>č’o:pe</em> (MF) ‘duck’</td>
<td>Epenthesis or possibly animate -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>p’al-p’o-i-l</em> (for <em>p’al-p’ol-i</em>) ‘butterflies’</td>
<td>unavailable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mil-i</em> ‘white oaks’</td>
<td>unavailable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šip-i</em> ‘willows’</td>
<td><em>ši:p</em> ~ <em>ši:pe</em> ‘willow (white)’ (AA)</td>
<td>Epenthesis or possible loss of final consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hil-i</em> ‘all’</td>
<td><em>hi:l</em> ~ <em>hi:li</em> ‘all of it’ (FL)</td>
<td>Animate -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>-maš-i</em> ‘plural of demonstratives’</td>
<td><em>kima:se</em> ‘they’ (AA, MF)</td>
<td>Animate -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šup-a</em> ‘blackbirds’</td>
<td><em>šu:pá</em> ‘blackbird’ (FL)</td>
<td>No affix, -a is part of this word.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tok-a</em> ‘fleas’</td>
<td><em>t’okoˀ</em> ~ <em>t’oke</em> ‘flea’ (AA)</td>
<td>No affix, -a is most likely part of this word and a variation of the pronunciation of final -o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koy-a</em> ‘gophers’</td>
<td>unavailable</td>
<td>Based on analysis of texts, -a is probably marking this noun as a patient case argument. For discussion see §5.3.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ku’s-a</em> ‘geese’</td>
<td>unavailable</td>
<td>-a 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 a-like vowel. This word may be a borrowing from English.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Analysis of Kroeber’s proposed plural noun forms

(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. -Ø 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
saʔ k'oʔoyik
sak koʔ.ʔ=k
cild go-PROG=DECL
‘The baby’s coming’

(37) Sinard 1967b:63, MF
ʔitin haʔalš mamlamik
ʔitin halč mam-ląm=k
1SG.POSS children grow-INCH=DECL
‘My children are starting to grow.’

(38) Siniard 1967a:79, MF
ʔink’uʔη muʔumam matwičk
ʔin-k’uń’ muʔumam maʕ-wičk
1SG.KIN.POSS-father grapes eat-PST2
‘My father used to eat grapes.’
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

\[ \text{'I’m a woman.'} \]

(41) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 26, MF

\[ \text{‘I’m in the middle of the creek.’} \]

5.3.2.2. =ą ~ =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), hálǰa ‘children=PAT’ is the single argument of yícilpa ‘shall be playing’.
(42) Coyote and the World: 397, RM

\[
\text{siki} \quad \text{hálja} \quad \text{ho} \quad \text{yíkilpaâ} \\
si=ki \quad \text{halč=q} \quad \text{ho} \quad \text{ni}-k-il-paâ} \\
\text{NEW=then children=PAT large play-PNCT-MPSV-FUT} \\
\text{“children also shall be playing much,”}
\]

In (43), hulk’óʔi kiŋk’í:la ˀiwomą́ ‘Coyote’s son, a young man=PAT’ is the single argument of k’olítmil ‘died’. k’ol- ‘die’ describes an event over which one has no control, but is significantly affected by it.

(43) Origins: 136, RM

\[
sop=\text{ey} \quad \text{hanìyi:lop} \\
sop=’i \quad \text{han=it-yl-ol=op} \\
\text{but=HSY1 house=JXT-PROG-MPSV=when Coyote} \\
\text{kiŋk’í:la} \quad \text{ˀiwomą́} \quad \text{ˀey} \quad \text{k’olítmil}. \\
\text{kim-k’ili=q} \quad \text{ˀiwom=q} \quad =’i \quad \text{k’ol-t=mi} \\
\text{DST.KIN.POSS-son=PAT young.man=PAT =HSY1 die-INTR-mil} \\
\text{‘Then, when they were near (their) house, Coyote’s son, a young man, died.’}
\]

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

(44) Origins: 51, RM

\[
sq=\text{ey} \quad \text{hulk’óʔq wíčtilmil} \quad =’on \quad \text{ˀuhmikí:.} \\
sq=’i \quad \text{hulk’óʔi=q wit-t-il=mil} \quad =’on \quad \text{ˀuh-m=kiʔ} \\
\text{SAME=NEW Coyote=PAT work-INTR-MPSV=FIN earth sew-IMPFV=DST} \\
\text{‘And he [Taykómol] made Coyote work for him as he was about to sew the earth.’}
\]

In (45), a number of other non-human mythological characters are shown with patient marking. In Coyote and the World, hawmól’ ~ hašmól’ ‘morning star’ and pilapt ‘sun’ are personified. In Clause 350, hášmó:la ‘morning star=PAT’ is the patient argument of hattíli k’ó’t(e)mil ‘went carrying’. In Clause 351, pilá:tą ‘sun=PAT’ is the patient argument
in the relativized construction pil̄ą́:tq šú:htlnamlikiṭa ‘where (he) had set the sun’. In Clause 352, hą́wmoˀola ‘morning star=PAT’ is the patient argument of ką́ksimil ‘made rise’.

(45) Coyote and the World: 350, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sāk̃itey} & \quad \text{hāšmō:lā} & \quad \text{pil̄ą́:tq} & \quad \text{pạ:n} & \quad \text{hą́wmoˀola} & \quad \text{hą́wmoˀola} \\
\text{sq=k̃it=q̄i} & \quad \text{hāšmol̄=q} & \quad \text{pil̄q̄t=q̄k̃} & \quad \text{hạ̄:t-il} & \quad \text{hą́wmoˀola} & \quad \text{hą́wmoˀola}
\end{align*}
\]

SAME=then=HSY1 moring.star=PAT sun=DAT=TERM carry-INTR-MPSV

k̃oˀot(e)mil hulk’oˀi
koˀ-t=mil hulk’oˀi
go-INTR=FIN Coyote
‘Then Coyote went carrying the morning star toward the sun;’

Coyote and the World: 351

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sā=kiṭ=ˀi} & \quad \text{pil̄q̄t=q̄} & \quad \text{sạ́kiṭey} & \quad \text{pil̄q̄t=q̄} & \quad \text{pil̄q̄t=q̄} & \quad \text{pil̄q̄t=q̄} \\
\text{SAME=then=HSY1} & \quad \text{sun=PAT} & \quad \text{sạ́kiṭey} & \quad \text{sun=PAT} & \quad \text{sun=PAT} & \quad \text{sun=PAT}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sā=kiṭ=ˀi} & \quad \text{pil̄q̄t=q̄} & \quad \text{šú:htlnamlikiṭa} & \quad \text{ʔey} & \quad \text{kό̣mmil} \\
\text{SAME=HSY1} & \quad \text{sun=PAT} & \quad \text{ʔey} & \quad \text{kό̣mmil} & \quad \text{kό̣mmil}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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’oˀi ‘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), či:mítą ‘birds’ are the patient-marked argument that are being addressed. In (47), míla ‘deer’ and k’ol
kimása ki hótam kimása ‘those others that are large’ 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sikít} & \quad \text{či:mitq} & \quad \text{móš} & \quad \text{č'imit} & \quad \text{mípa} \\
\text{si=kit} & \quad \text{č'imit=q} & \quad \text{mo'os} & \quad \text{č'imit} & \quad \text{mih-pa'} \\
\text{NEW=then} & \quad \text{bird=PAT} & \quad \text{2PL.AGT} & \quad \text{bird} & \quad \text{be-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

Coyote and the World: 416b

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sąkí:} & \quad \text{móš} & \quad \text{ʔómop} & \quad \text{nó'opa'} \\
\text{są=ki} & \quad \text{mo’os} & \quad \text{ʔolam=op} & \quad \text{no'-pa'} \\
\text{SAME=and} & \quad \text{2PL.AGT} & \quad \text{brush=LAT} & \quad \text{live-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(47) Coyote and the World: 417, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sikiṭéy} & \quad \text{míla} & \quad \text{nq} & \quad \text{k’ol} & \quad \text{kimása} \\
\text{si=kit=q} & \quad \text{mil=q} & \quad =\text{nq} & \quad \text{k’ol} & \quad \text{ki²-mas=q} \\
\text{NEW=then=HSY1} & \quad \text{meat/deer=PAT} & \quad =\text{and} & \quad \text{other} & \quad \text{DST-DSTR=PAT}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ki} & \quad \text{hó:tam} & \quad \text{kimása} & \quad \ldots & \quad \text{ʔimeymil} & \quad \text{hulk’ó’i} \\
\text{ki²} & \quad \text{hot-am} & \quad \text{ki²-mas=q} & \quad \text{ʔimi=mil} & \quad \text{hulk’o’i} \\
\text{DST} & \quad \text{large-NOML} & \quad \text{DST-DSTR=PAT} & \quad \text{say=FIN} & \quad \text{Coyote}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 hátimil ‘rubbed (them) with marrow’.

---

\[106\] This is referring to large animals.
Then he took them out of the storeroom,

'and rubbed them with marrow.'

In (49), 'stone' is found in 'Šiwkítin hurled with his stone'.

Then Šiwkítin again hurled [his] stone

So Šiwkítin hurled a at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying

In (51), 'stone’ is once again marked with this oblique ending, but also now appears with the instrumental suffix -ok as līla’ok. There is insufficient data to determine the reasons for the use of instrumental -ok in (51) but its absence in (49) and (50).
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 argument. The dative case is also used for beneficiaries and also with a possessive meaning.

This use of the dative is seen several times in elicited examples. In (52), the verb hanaˀ ‘believe, know’ does not have an agent argument. In the example the recipient of the action of the verb mit ‘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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mit} & \quad ?i; \quad \text{hanaˀ}^-\text{ataŋk} \\
\text{mit} & \quad ?i; \quad \text{hanaˀ}^-\text{tan=k} \\
\text{2SG.DAT} & \quad \text{1SG.PAT} \quad \text{believe-NEG=DECL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I don’t believe you’

In (53), ham- ‘like, want’ appears with hat- ‘doctor’. ham- does not have an agent argument, thus the argument performing the action of liking is the patient case pronoun kiˀa. The recipient of the action described by hat- ‘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 nanákmil ‘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 $i\mathfrak{t}^h$ ‘1SG.DAT’.

(53) Siniard 1967b:109

\[
\begin{align*}
kiˀa & \quad \mathfrak{i}:\mathfrak{t}^h \quad h\mathfrak{t}^h\mathfrak{am} \quad h\mathfrak{am}^k \\
kiˀ=q & \quad \mathfrak{i}t \quad h\mathfrak{t}^-m \quad h\mathfrak{am}=k
\end{align*}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{DST=PAT} & \quad \text{1SG.DAT} \quad \text{doctor-IMPFV like/want=DECL} \\
\text{‘he likes to doctor me’}
\end{align*}

In connected speech this use of the dative is also observed. $\mathfrak{i}n\mathfrak{am}$ ‘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 $\mathfrak{a}:\mathfrak{t}^\mathfrak{at}$ $\mathfrak{l}a\mathfrak{s}^\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{aw}^\mathfrak{ol}'$ $\mathfrak{n}a$ $\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{aw}^\mathfrak{mol}'$ $\mathfrak{t}u\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{oh}^\mathfrak{il}^\mathfrak{ik}^\mathfrak{im}^\mathfrak{a}^\mathfrak{sh}^\mathfrak{at}$ ‘those people that kept the moon and the morning star’.

(54) Coyote and the World: 287, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
si\mathfrak{k}^\mathfrak{q}^\mathfrak{e}^\mathfrak{y} & \quad \mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}^\mathfrak{a} \quad \mathfrak{i}n\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{mt}^\mathfrak{mil} \quad \mathfrak{a}:\mathfrak{t}^\mathfrak{a} \quad \mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{s}^\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{w}^\mathfrak{ol}^\mathfrak{'} \\
si=\mathfrak{k}^\mathfrak{q}=\mathfrak{i} & \quad \mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}^\mathfrak{a} \quad \mathfrak{i}n\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{m}=\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{m}^\mathfrak{i}l \quad \mathfrak{a}:\mathfrak{t}^\mathfrak{a} \quad \mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{s}^\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{w}^\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{w}^\mathfrak{ol}^\mathfrak{'} \\
\text{NEW=thereupon=HSY1 again dream=INTR=FIN} & \quad \text{people moon}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
na & \quad \mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{aw}^\mathfrak{mol}^\mathfrak{'} \quad tu\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{oh}\mathfrak{i}^\mathfrak{t}^\mathfrak{i}k^\mathfrak{im}^\mathfrak{a}^\mathfrak{sh}^\mathfrak{at} \\
=\mathfrak{nq} & \quad \mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{aw}^\mathfrak{mol}^\mathfrak{'} \quad tunoh^-i\mathfrak{l}=ki^-m^s=\mathfrak{q}^\mathfrak{t} \\
=\text{and morning.star} & \quad \text{keep-MPSV?=DST-DSTR=DAT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Thereupon he dreamed again, of \textbf{those people that kept the moon and the morning star}.’

In (55), the recipient of $\mathfrak{a}:\mathfrak{t}^\mathfrak{m}^\mathfrak{i}l$ ‘put on’ is the patient $\mathfrak{a}:\mathfrak{t}^\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}^\mathfrak{a}$ ‘people’, while the dative argument $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{q}^\mathfrak{t}^\mathfrak{in}^\mathfrak{at} \mathfrak{m}ip\mathfrak{a}^\mathfrak{t}^\mathfrak{at}$ ‘Lizard’s hands’ is the affected argument.
(55) Coyote and the World: 412a, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
sąˀéy & \quad są:ṭ'ínat \quad mipá,tat \quad kimá,ś \quad ?ey \quad há,ye \\
są=ˀi & \quad sąṭ'in=ąt \quad mipat=ąt \quad kiˀ?-mas \quad =ˀi \quad hąˀąye \\
SAME=HSY1 & \quad Lizard=DAT \quad hand=DAT \quad DST-DSTR =HSY1 \quad now \\
\end{align*}
\]

`Lizard’s hands` he put on people;`

The dative case is also used for beneficiaries. In (56), `hulk'óˀi` ‘Coyote’ stands and sings ‘for them’. The beneficiary `kimáṣat` ‘for them’ is marked with dative case.

(56) Coyote and the World: 66, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
?átlmil & \quad ?aˀtá\,ta \\
?at'?-t?=mil & \quad ?aṭat=q \\
\end{align*}
\]

fasten-TR?=FIN \quad people=PAT

‘Lizard’s hands’ he put on people;’

In (57), the beneficiary is also marked with dative case, `kimášat` `kum'noˀomat` ‘for those Kumnom’.

(57) Origins: 167, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
?ey & \quad ki: \quad ?atá \quad kimá,śat \quad kum'noˀomat \quad k'qk'ë,šimil. \\
=ˀi & \quad kiˀ? \quad ?aˀtá \quad kiˀ?-mas=ąt \quad kumnom'=ąt \quad k'qk'-'s=mi,\,l \\
=HSY1 \quad DST \quad again \quad DST-DSTR=DAT \quad Kumnom'=DAT \quad exist-CAUS=FIN \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 hán’k’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 pilqtqt forming pilqtqt=k’il ‘toward the sun’.

(58) Coyote and the World: 284, RM

sākît’ey  kôˀort(e)mil  hánˀk’il  hulk’óˀi
sq=kîtˀ=’i  koˀ-t=mil  han=k’il  hulk’oˀi
SAME=then=HSY1  go-INTR=FIN  house=TERM  Coyote

‘Then Coyote went [toward] home.’

(59) Coyote and the World: 350, RM

sākît’ey  háʃmó:la  pilq=t’k’il  haˀt-il
sq=kîtˀ=’i  hašmol’=q  pilq=t=q’k’il  ha’-t-il
SAME=then=HSY1 morning.star=PAT  sun=DAT=TERM  carry-INTR-MPSV

kôˀort(e)mil  hulk’óˀi
koˀ-t=mil  hulk’oˀi
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 lilpą́tk’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
lilpą́tk’i  hul  p’óyčpaˀ
lil-pqt=k’i  hul  p’oy-t-paˀ
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
sąˀéy  húčki  kéytlmil
sq=ˀi  huč=kí  ki-tl=ml
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’olą́:tk in/at the place of other people.

109 An alternative interpretation could be that inessive =k is attached to a contracted form of ˀaṭat ‘people’. In his recording of this text, Kroeber records k’olą́:ṭątap ‘to another’s place’ as an acceptable alternate form for k’olą́:tk. However, there is precedent for dative =ąt 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 miyątkil’ ‘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

\[
sąˀéy \quad k'olq':tk \quad t'ōk'tlmil \\
\text{SAME=HSY1} \quad \text{other=DAT?=IN} \quad \text{arrive-TR=FIN}
\]

‘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

\[
sikimás \quad ki \quad taykómol \quad k'ólki \quad yúyyikit \quad ?ey \quad hulk'o'i \\
si=kimas \quad ki? \quad taykomol \quad k'ol=ki \quad yuy'=kit \quad =i \quad hulk'o'i \\
\text{NEW=thus} \quad \text{DST} \quad \text{Taykómol} \quad \text{other=IN} \quad \text{do=when} =\text{HSY1 Coyote}
\]

\[
pí:ṭąkik \quad ?ey \quad kímilnamlikík \quad ?ey \quad taykómol \quad kommil. \\
píṭąkik \quad =i \quad ki?-mil=namli=kik \quad =i \quad taykomol \quad kom=mil \\
\text{dry.grave} \quad =\text{HSY1 bury=DEP=there} \quad =\text{HSY1 Taykómol come=FIN}
\]

‘And Taykómol being engaged (“doing thus”) elsewhere, Coyote having dug a hole and buried him, Taykómol arrived.’

In (64), the inessive is used with ũ̂nol ‘quiver’ to form ũ̂nol’iˀ ‘in (his) quiver’.

(64) Coyote and the World: 53, RM

\[
sąˀéy \quad nánšil \quad ũ̂nol’iˀ \quad k'ó:ṭilmil. \\
\text{SAME=HSY1 black.oak-skin quiver=IN} \quad \text{be.in-INTR-MPSV=FIN}
\]

‘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).

loˀopsˀą́tk’il ‘to Jackrabbit’. In the context where this form appears, Jackrabbit is a character in a story and a personified non-human animate.
5.4.3. -(ʔ)qm ~ -(ʔ)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 -(ʔ)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 ‘iwilhánam ‘in the ceremonial house’.

In (67), ‘iwilhan appears with =k’i as ‘iwilhánk’i ‘in the ceremonial house’.

-(ʔ)qm can also be used with a directional locative meaning ‘into’, as shown in (68). Compare this use to ‘iwilhánam ‘in the ceremonial house’, in (66).
-\( ^* \)ąm is used with han ‘house’ and with other nouns in elicited examples as shown in (69) - (71).

(69) Silver 1967:13, MF

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hąnam} & \quad ^*\text{ap} \quad \text{mi:we}^2 \\
\text{han-qm} & \quad ^*\text{ap} \quad \text{mih-wi} \\
\text{house-IN2} & \quad \text{1SG.AGT be-PST1}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I’m in the house.’

(70) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:112, AA

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{woyol’} & \quad ^*\text{ap} \quad \text{nahanqm} \quad \text{mukmel’} \\
\text{woyol’} & \quad ^*\text{ap} \quad \text{nahan-qm} \quad \text{muk-mil’}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I used to hold the tobacco in my mouth.’

(71) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:112, AA

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{powe} & \quad \text{šqumum} \quad ^*\text{i:} \quad \text{tat} \quad \text{hālmek} \\
pqwi & \quad \text{šqm-qm} \quad ^*\text{i:} \quad \text{tat} \quad \text{hql-m=k} \\
\text{one} & \quad \text{ear-IN2} \quad \text{1SG.PAT good/make hear-IMPFV=DECL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I hear good in one ear.’

The second inessive also appears in some deictics and locative forms. In (72), kim’ ‘over there’ may be derived from the distal demonstrative ki’ and the second inessive -\( ^* \)ąm. kim’ precedes hán’am and together forms the expression ‘in that house’.
In (72), \textit{kiqwa} ‘back’ is suffixed with the second inessive and precedes \textit{hán’aam} forming the expression ‘back into the house’.

In (73), \textit{háhin} ‘under’ is suffixed with the second inessive forming \textit{háhin’aam}, which likely means approximately ‘into underneath’.

In (74), \textit{háhin} ‘under’ is suffixed with the second inessive forming \textit{háhin’aam}, which likely means approximately ‘into underneath’.
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
mọ'ọšampú:lamláčkot ma'íyi yú:ta ʔiymq ...
mo'ọšampulamlač-kot ma'íyi yuta ʔiymq
Mo'ọšampulamlač-LOC something happen? ?
“‘At Mo’ọšampulamlač something is happening!’”

(76) Origins: 75 (excerpt), RM
... haye ʔukhόt mi:pamikí: húykot ʔu' namtlmil ...
haq'aye ʔuk-hόt mih-pam=ki? huy-kot ʔuk' nqm-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, =hqhin subessive

The subessive =han is used to express the meaning ‘under’ and possibly also ‘within’. (77) - (79) show examples of =han and hqhin in use with individual words.

(77) Kroeber 1911:356, RM
ʔukhan
ʔuk'=han
water=SUBE
‘under water’

(78) Kroeber 1911:356, RM
ʔukhqhin
ʔuk'=hqhin
water=SUBE
‘under water’
(79) Kroeber 1911:356, RM
    lilhąhin
    lil=hąhin
    rock=SUBE
    ‘under the rock’

(80) shows an example of =hąhin used in the texts. Note the sequence of oblique forms of 'on 'earth, ground'. In this excerpt Coyote has just stolen some food and is now scattering the food 'under the ground', ṭonhąhin, so that it would grow 'up out of the ground', ṭonpis.

(80) Coyote and the World: 389, RM
    sq’ey    kimáš    ?aṭāta    wáčyikít
    sq=i     ki’-mas    ṭat=q     wač’-y?=kiṭ
SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR people=PAT teach-PROG?=when

    ?ey    ṭaˀq̌k    ṭonhąhin    píntimil
    =i     ṭaˀq̌k    ṭon=hąhin    pin-t=mil
=HSY1    some.of  earth=SUBE  be.scattered-INTR=FIN

    ki:    hilkšiˀoˀ    ṭonpis    čáhampamikí:  
    ki?  hilkšiˀoˀ?  ṭon=pis    č’uh-m-pa’am=ki?
DST  everything  earth=ABL  grow-IMPFV-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
    se’ey    ṭatá?    šul    k’áklamil
    si=i     ṭaˀta?    šul    k’q̌k’-lqm=mil
NEW=HSY1  again  body  exist-INCH=FIN
kiṭá  *ʔusúʔophan.*
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 ~ =q p* 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 *kipqwop* ‘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’.

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

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
seʔéy & haye & híli & *ʔónop & nó:hikímaṣa & *ʔey \\
siʔi & hɑʔye & hil-i & *on=op & noʔ-h=kiʔ-mas=q & *ʔi \\
\end{array}
\]

NEW=HSY1 now all-ANIM earth=LAT live-DUR=DST=DSTR=PAT =HSY1

*ʔínkóptmil*

*ʔínkóp*-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
\[\text{sìkəqéy} \quad \text{đnkōp} \quad \text{kāpˈéyakmil} \quad \text{kəˈiɬ} \]
\[\text{si=qa=i} \quad \text{ŋqk=op} \quad \text{kəpˈəq=ml} \quad \text{kəˈiɬ} \]
\[\text{NEW=thereupon=HSY1 dark/night=LAT kill-SEM=FIN Wailaki} \]
‘Thereupon in the night the Wailaki killed them.’

In (84), =op is used in kəˈoɬat ən̩op ‘in/at the Wailaki country’.

(84) Coyote and the World: 118, RM
\[\text{sàqéy} \quad \text{kəˈoɬat} \quad \text{ən̩op} \quad \text{təktlmil} \]
\[\text{sə=q=i} \quad \text{kəˈoɬ=qt} \quad \text{ən̩=op} \quad \text{tək-tl=ml} \]
\[\text{SAME=HSY1 Wailaki.PL=DAT earth=LAT arrive-TR=FIN} \]
‘And they reached [arrived in/at] the Wailaki country.’

In (85), =op is used in nəb ‘through the camp’.

(85) Crawford 1953, FL
\[\text{nəb} \quad \text{wiliɬu} \]
\[\text{nəʔ=op} \quad \text{wil-t-wi} \]
\[\text{camp=LAT pass-INTR-PST1} \]
‘I passed through the camp.’

In (86), =op appears as the allomorph =ap in kipat ən̩ap ‘at your own place’

(86) Coyote and the World: 349, RM
\[\text{sàkɨmî} \quad \text{ʔdţá} \quad \text{kuɬ} \quad \text{kipat} \quad \text{ən̩ap} \quad \text{kaṭá} \]
\[\text{sə=q=mi} \quad \text{ʔatɬ} \quad \text{kuɬ} \quad \text{kip=qt} \quad \text{ən̩=ap} \quad \text{kaṭa} \]
\[\text{SAME=? now sister’s.son 3R=DAT earth=LAT here} \]
\[\text{təˈokespaʔ} \quad \text{ʔiɬ} \quad \text{ʔimemil} \quad \text{huləˈʔiɬ} \quad \text{laʃkˈawɬa} \]
\[\text{tək-s-paʔ =ʔiɬ} \quad \text{ʔimɬ=ml} \quad \text{huləˈʔiɬ} \quad \text{laʃkˈawɬ=q} \]
\[\text{arrive-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote moon=PAT} \]
‘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 yó’ọtōp ‘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

se’ey yó’ọtōp mik’op kapéni’akmil
si=’i yoṭ=op mik’op kap-n-qk=mił
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

są’ey kipáwwop wí:tákmił ‘olkąčá̱m
sq=’i kipqw=op wít-qk=mił ‘olkatam
SAME=HSY1 back=LAT turn-PNCT=FIN Mouse

hąwayi móneti t’únamlíkîta
hąway mon-t t’u=namli=kîta
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:khó’ọtawit ‘toward the ocean’. =wit is not used with human or other animate nouns. The relationship, if any, between allative =wit and past tense -wît is not known. Other noun case endings, including =k’il, =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 =k’il: “terminalis, to, toward.” (89) - (91) show examples of =wit in use.
(89) Coyote and the World: 347, RM

sąkiṭéy  ?ąq  miš  wačísimil
sq=kiṭ=i  ?ąq  miš  wač=-s=miš
SAME=then=HSY1  too  road  teach-CAUS?=FIN

lašk’áwola  katá(w)pis  mí:  kup  'onk’olámwit
lašk’awol’q  kaṭa=pis  mí’  kup  'onk’ol-am=wit
moon=PAT  here=ABL  2SG.AGT  sister’s.son  east-NOML=ALL

kó:tampa?
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

są̄ey  kimás  háyk  p’oyitli  ?áta
sq-i  ki-mas  hay=k  p’oy-tl  ?áta
SAME=HSY1  DST-DSTR  net.sack=IN  put-TR  again

ko’temi  ‘u:khó’otamwit.
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  ?aṭat  wó:manamkimáse
si=kiṭ=i  k’ol=k’il  ?aṭat  wok’-mq=namli=ki’-mas-i
NEW=then=HSY1  other=TERM  people  dance/sing-DIR1=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

?ey  tük’timil  lalkúhtkiwit.
=’i  tuk-t=miš  lalkuhtki=wit
=HSY1  move-INTR=FIN  Lalkuhtki=ALL
‘Then the people who had come there to dance traveled (back) in another direction to Lalkúhtki.’
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'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(92) } & \text{ Coyote and the World: 95, RM} \\
\text{sq'ey} & \text{ \quad } \text{hánk'il} & \text{\quad} \text{tá:mil'hípmamil} \\
\text{sq=ʔi} & \text{ \quad } \text{han=k'il} & \text{\quad} \text{tá:mil'ip-mq=mil} \\
\text{SAME=HSY1} & \text{\quad} \text{house=TERM} & \text{\quad rolling.hoop.game-DIR1=FIN} \\
\text{‘So they were racing toward the houses.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(lopis'átk'il\) 'out to Jackrabbit'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(93) } & \text{ Coyote and the World: 12 (excerpt), RM} \\
\text{... ha'téyli} & \text{ \quad} \text{lák(t)e}mil & \text{\quad} \text{hulk'ó'i} \\
\text{ha'-t-il} & \text{ \quad} \text{lak'-t=mil} & \text{\quad} \text{hulk'oʔi} \\
\text{carry-INTR-MPSV} & \text{\quad} \text{emerge-INTR=FIN} & \text{\quad Coyote} \\
\text{lopis'átk'il} & \text{} \\
\text{lopis=qt=k'il} & \text{} \\
\text{Jackrabbit=DAT=TERM} & \text{} \\
\text{‘... carrying it with him, he [Coyote] went out to Jackrabbit.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In (94), the terminative is used to indicate the direction and endpoint of an action. \(píl'át\) 'sun' is being broken up by being dashed \(lílk'il\) 'against the rock'.
(94) Coyote and the World: 250 (excerpt), RM

sąˀéy pilát llkʾil čą́kʾik lą́čtlmil ...
są=ˀi pilát ilₐkʾil čąkʾ=k lat⁻tₐₐₐₐₐₐ=-mil
SAME=HSY1 sun rock=TERM hit=DECL break-TR=FIN
‘And dashing the sun against the rock and breaking it up...’

The terminative is also found attached to verbs or to demonstratives suffixed to verbs and acting as relativizing suffixes. In both instances the terminative indicates a direction and/or endpoint to the action described in the clause. In (95), a group of men are pursuing Coyote and they have caught up with him in order to question him. The terminative =kʾil in ᵁmilkʾil ’as they caught (him)’ appears to act as a subordinating morpheme indicating that the pursuit of Coyote by the men has come to completion, and now the men are questioning Coyote.

(95) Coyote and the World: 324, RM

seˀéy ᵁmilkʾlikʾil kiwismil.
si=ˀi ᵁmil-k-il=kʾil kiw-s=mil
NEW=HSY1 overtake-PNCT-MPSV=TERM ask-CAUS=FIN
‘And as they caught him they questioned.’

In (96), the demonstrative ki? is suffixed to nąˀhi- ‘hold down’ and is acting as a nominalizer in forming nąˀhiki ‘the place where it is held down’. The terminative =kʾil is added to this nominalized verb forming nąˀhikʾikʾil ‘to the place where it was held down’.

(96) Coyote and the World: 35, RM

sąkíṭey hąˀye hulmúnin tát
są=kit=ˀi hąˀıye hulmunin tat
SAME=then=HSY1 now spider good/make

yim nąˀhikʾikʾil ?ey ṭuktimil
yim nąˀh=kʾi=kʾil =ˀi ṭuk-t=mil
fire hold.down-DUR=DST=TERM =HSV1 move-INTR=FIN
‘Then they traveled to where Spider was holding down the fire (by squatting on it).’
(97) is another example of this same use. Terminative \(=k'į\) appears with the nominalized verb \(yąşı(i)kį\) ‘place where (he) was standing’ forming \(yąşı(i)kik'į\) ‘to the place where he was standing’.

(97) Coyote and the World: 13, RM
\[sq'ęy \quad yąşı(i)kik'į \quad hámml.\]
\[sq=q'i \quad yąš=qk=q'ı \quad ham=mil\]
SAME=HSY1 \hspace{0.5cm} stand=DST=TERM \hspace{0.5cm} bring=FIN

‘And brought it to where he was standing.’

5.4.9. Difference between allative \(=wit\) and terminative \(=k'į\)

The allative differs from the terminative in that the terminative indicates motion toward particular individuals, as in \(piląta:k'įl\) ‘toward the sun’ (CW:350) and toward locations that appear to be small, usually well-defined, perhaps also enclosed, such as \(hánk'įl\) ‘(came) to the house’ (CW:293). The allative indicates motion toward cardinal directions, as in \(kú:ktkiwit\) ‘to the north’ (CW:107) and other major landmarks, such as \(ʔukhóʔatamwit\) ‘toward the ocean’ (CW:276) and \(lakúhtkīwit\) ‘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 \(ʔu:kpis\) ‘from the water, out of the water’, in (98), and in \(hánpis\) ‘out of the house’, in (99).

(98) Origins: 33, RM
\[se'ęy \quad haye \quad ki \quad taykómol \quad 'u:kpis\]
\[si=q'i \quad hąʔaye \quad ki' \quad taykomol \quad 'u:k'=pis\]
NEW=HSY1 \hspace{0.5cm} now \hspace{0.5cm} DST \hspace{0.5cm} Taykómol \hspace{0.5cm} water=ABL
Now Taykómol leaped from the water and stood.

In (100), =pis is used along with juxtapositive =iṭ in ˀu: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.

What shall I do?” that one said from out of the foam.”
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’qwapis 'out of his insides' or 'out of his entrails'.

(102) Origins: 56, RM

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{sá’ey} & \text{kipát} & \text{č’qwapis} & \text{k’it} & \text{k’ila} \\
\text{sq=’i} & \text{kip=qt} & \text{č’qw=pis} & \text{k’it} & \text{k’i-la} \\
\text{SAME=HSY1} & \text{3R=DAT} & \text{entrails=ABL} & \text{awl} & \text{DST-INST}
\end{array}
\]

ˀú(h)mol la’ek’ekilmil.

=’h-mol’ lak’-q-k-įł=mił

’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 ˀolką́ṭąm ‘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

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{se’ęy} & ˀolką́ṭąm & \text{húčki} & \text{láktipis} & \text{’ey} & \text{piląt} \\
\text{si=’i} & ˀolkąʕąt & \text{huč=ki} & \text{lak’-t=pis} & \text{=’i} & \text{piląt} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1  Mouse} & \text{outside=IN} & \text{emerge-INTR=ABL} & \text{=HSY1  sun}
\end{array}
\]

káktlháli k’a:wikmil
k’ éc’k’-tl=ḥqil k’aw-t=mił

exist-TR=INFR1  light-INTR=FIN

‘Then Mouse having gone outdoors, the sun being about to rise, it was day.’
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 \( ſu:k \) 'water' forming \( ſu:k’iṭ \) ~ \( ſu:k’ič \) 'water-edge, shore'.

In (105), the juxtapositive is found in \( méšiṭ \) '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, mišít is glossed as ‘near the road’ (Kroeber 1902d:12).

(105) Coyote and the World: 148, RM
sąʾéy  tuktámiyaki  wil(l)op  t’ú:mil
sąʾi  ṭuk-t-m-ąk  wil=op  t’uʾ=mil
SAME=HSY1 move-INTR-IMPFV-SEM far=LAT lay=FIN

miš=it  kiṭa  ?aṭát  kómpa: mikí:
miš=it  kiṭa  ?aṭat  kom-paʾam=ki?
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=it=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 kuyítpis ‘from there’.

(107) Coyote and the World: 160, RM
sópey  ku:yítpis  kʾóʾil  kímoʾoséyyq
sop=ʾi  kuy=it=pis  kʾoʾil  kimoʾosiyyq
but=HSY1 there=JXT=ABL Wailaki DSTR.R?

mat-tíli  ?ʾey  lu:mtíṭ  sǒʾotʼammil  káyit  ᵇolkąʾčam
mat-t-il  =ʾi  lum-ṭíṭ  soṭʾ=mimil  káyit  ᵇolkąṭam
shoot-INTR-MPSV =HSY1 bow?-string cut-IMPFV=FIN long.ago Mouse
lu:mtiṭ  čil-yakanmlikiː.
lum-ṭiṭ  čil-ąq=namli=kiʔ
bowʔ-SEM=DEP=DET
‘But as the Wailaki from [near?] there shot at them, their bow strings snapped which Mouse had previously notched.’

In (108), the juxtapositive is affixed to the verb mih- ‘be’ in hąwlám miˀíčop ‘when the beginning of the day is near’.

(108) Coyote an the World: 358, RM
sikiṭ  háwmolʼ  hąwlám  miˀíčop  kíč  kąːkespa
si=kiṭ  hawmolʼ  hawlam  mih=įṭ=ıp  =kíč  k’ąk’-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 verb ˀičyí: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
sq  miʔ  ˀátá  kámeš  ˀon  wáčyi  kiṭa
sq  miʔ  ˀaṭaʔ  kaʔ-miš  ˀon  wač’-y  kiṭa
SAME  2SG.AGT  again  PRX-DSTR  earth  teach-PROG  there
miʔ  kup  ˀičyí:lop …
miʔ  kup  iṭ-y-il=ıp
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’ul ‘around’ also appears to be an independent word functioning as a verb.
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

\[ yim=mik’al \quad ‘around the fire’ \]
\[ ?on=mik’al \quad ‘around the world’ \]

(111) shows an example of mik’al in connected speech.

(111) Coyote and the World: 395, RM

\[ sâk’ómey \quad ?al \quad t’u’akmil \quad hâčmik’ál \]
\[ sq’om=i \quad ?al \quad t’u’-qk=mi\l \quad hâč=mik’al \]
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 =iṭ 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

\[ sâkí: \quad mi’ \quad kup \quad k’uchk’iwit \quad tákílk \]
\[ sq’i \quad mi’ \quad kup \quad kuhtk’iwit \quad ta’-k-il=k \]
SAME=and 2SG.AGT sister’s.son north=ALL flow-PNCT-MPSV=DECL

\[ mi’ \quad kup \quad mik’áltil \quad tíma \]
\[ mi’ \quad kup \quad mik’al-t-il \quad tíma \]
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.”’
-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

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{sikítéy} & \text{šákma} & ?qṣéyqkilmil & \text{yimok} \\
\text{si=kít=ʔi} & \text{šaqmi=q} & ?qṣ=qk-il=mi & \text{yim-ok} \\
\text{NEW=then=HSY1 some=PAT hot-SEM-MPSV=FIN fire-INST} & \\
\text{‘and some were scorched by the fire.’}
\end{array}
\]

In (114), lila’ok ‘with his stone’ is affixed with instrumental -ok.

(114) Coyote and the World: 168, RM

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{sikąˀéy} & ?qta & šiwkítin & kipat & \text{lila’ok} \\
\text{si=ką=ʔi} & ?qta? & šiwkítin & kip=q & \text{lil=q?-ok} \\
\text{NEW=thereupon=HSY1 again Šiwkítin 3R=DAT rock=OBL-INST} & \\
\text{witkìmil} & \\
\text{wit-k=mil} & \\
\text{hurl-PNCT=FIN} & \\
\text{‘Then once more Šiwkítin threw at them with his stone’}
\end{array}
\]

In (115), instrumental -ok is used with k’o’olk’ani ‘Wailaki language’ forming k’o’olk’ána’ok ‘by/through the agency of the Wailaki language’. 

5.4.13. -ok instrumental
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 lilaˀok ‘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’oˀol 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 ſon ‘earth’.

(116) Coyote and the World: 105, RM
sikíṭey šą́kmi ſonwičop ſtlmil
si=kit=ˀi šąkmi ſon=wič=op ſ?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 Newville’. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:146) define this term as “salt people; Nomlaki; Stonyford, Salt Pomo; Wintun of Stony Creek.’
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 -ˀV-, -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 -iṭ or between diminutive -ič and =kič ‘only’ is unclear. Kroeber provides a list of examples of -ič in use, shown in (118).
Nouns

(118) Kroeber 1911:354, RM

k’amlič ‘wild cat (k’amol ‘panther’)
ʔəsič ‘red’ (ʔas ‘blood’)
tatič ‘pretty’ (tat ‘good’)
nuʔič, nu ‘gravel’
suʔič ‘fish in general’
k’ilîč ‘fish roe’
halič ‘children’ (sak ‘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 =iṭ and second inessive -ąm. In (119), one of the words from Kroeber’s list of examples for -ič, ʔəsič ‘red’ is found in ʔəsičamil ‘has a red head’.

(119) Coyote and the World: 85, RM

sikí?ey ʔəséyma nan ʔəsičamil
si=kt=ʔi ʔəsiman nan ʔəsič-a=mil
NEW=therefore=HSY1 Woodpecker head red-?=FIN
‘That is why Woodpecker has a red head.’

In (120), -ič is found in k’ilîč ‘seed’. k’il can mean ‘child’ or ‘grain’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:266). k’ilîč is also translated above as ‘fish roe’ by Kroeber.

(120) Coyote and the World: 387, RM

... k’ilîč woʔot ḥqawaysampaʔimikí: ?ey
k’ilîč woʔt’ ḥqaway-s-m-ʔam=kt? =ʔi
seed seed.meal/pinole food/eat-CAUS-IMPFV-FUT=DST =HSY1

háyyop p’oyísimil
hay=op p’oy-s=mil
net.sack=LAT put-CAUS=FIN
‘... [Coyote] put the seeds which they ate as seed-meal into a bag.’
5.5.2. -ˀV-, -hV- diminutive; part of

The infix -ˀV-, -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 root\footnote{The first syllable of \textit{mepat} ‘hand’ is a body prefix and therefore is not treated as the first syllable of the root of this noun.} 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

\begin{align*}
sak & \quad \text{‘child’} > \quad saˀak & \quad \text{‘baby’} \\
sąk & \quad \text{‘tooth’} > \quad sąˀąk & \quad \text{‘baby tooth’} \\
mepat & \quad \text{‘hand’} > \quad mepaˀat & \quad \text{‘palm’} \\
nan & \quad \text{‘head’} > \quad nahan & \quad \text{‘mouth’}
\end{align*}

(122) shows an example of this morpheme from the texts. The leftmost vowel in \textit{pąki} ‘one’ is reduplicated\footnote{\textit{/ą/} is not reduplicated faithfully in this example; however, this is not surprising as \textit{/ą/} is an unstable vowel. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:11) state: “\textit{/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 \textit{/u/} and \textit{/o/}, but also \textit{/e/}.”}, forming \textit{paˀą́k} ‘alone, one of them’.

(122) Coyote and the World: 198, RM

\begin{align*}
\text{seˀéy} & \quad \textit{paˀą́k} \quad \text{läkti} \quad \text{kapmika} \\
\text{si=ˀi} & \quad \textit{paˀą́k} \quad \text{lak’-t} \quad \text{kap-m=ka’?} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1} \quad \textbf{alone} & \quad \text{emerge-INTR} \quad \text{enter-IMPFV=PRX?}
\end{align*}
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 šičkič ‘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 kič’ilkič ‘only obsidian’. In (124), =kič is attached to an adverbial clause in hawlám mi’ičop kič ‘only when the beginning of the day is near’.

(123) Coyote and the World: 407, RM

se’éy sáť’in iyú’a’=kim’ ?án hánop
si’=i sat’in iyú’=a’=kim’ ?an han=op
NEW=HSY1 Lizard why?=over.there? long.time house=LAT

šu’ik kič’ílkič páṭispa tanháli(k) kí:la?
šu’=k kič’íl=kič paṭ-s-paʔ tan=hál kí’-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?”’

(124) Coyote and the World: 358, RM

sikiṭ háwmol’ hawlám mi’ičop kič k’ąk’espa
si’=kít hawmol’ hawlám mih=it=op =kič k’ąq’-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.”
5.6. Verbalization

Nouns are verbalized through the addition of verb morphology. (125) shows hąway 'food' used as a verb hąwáyisammil 'eating'.

(125) Coyote and the World: 391, RM
siˀéy hąyé kimáš aːṭát hąwáyisammil
si=ˀi hqˀaye kimas aṭat hąway-s-m=mil
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 hąp šú: kopwóktlmil 'sing, sit, and dance the feather dance'116

(126) Feather Dance Narrative: 12, RM
sámi: kimáše hąšá’ hąp šú:
sq=mi kiˀ=mas-i hąšq? hąp šuʔ
SAME=and.then DST-DSTR-ANIM again song/sing sit/stay
kopwóktlmil tátkí:li.
kop-wok’-tl=mil tat-k-il
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 tátkí:li ‘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 híli ‘all of them’ and the demonstrative pronoun kimási ‘they’ attached to the dependent clause enclitic =namli in noʾnamlikimási ‘(those) who lived there’ marked for animacy correlating with mú:s ‘women’.

(127) Coyote and the World: 386 (excerpt), RM

\[
\begin{align*}
... & \quad \text{sákop} & \quad \text{híli} & \quad \text{mú:s} & \quad \text{noʾnamlikimási} \\
sq=kop & \quad \text{híli-i} & \quad \text{mus} & \quad \text{noʾ=namli=kiʾ=mas-i} \\
\text{SAME=then} & \quad \text{all-ANIM} & \quad \text{women} & \quad \text{live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM} \\
\text{sí?} & \quad \text{línikiṭ} & \quad \text{ʔìwis} & \quad kʾolʾkʾil & \quad mĩl & \quad múhnikíṭ} \\
\text{sí?} & \quad \text{liʾ=n=kiṭ} & \quad \text{ʔìwis} & \quad kʾöl=kʾil & \quad mīl & \quad muh=n=kiṭ}
\end{align*}
\]

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 phrases\(^{117}\) containing a numeral and a noun.

\(^{117}\) Noun phrases are given in bold in (128) - (130).
(128) Feather Dance Narrative: 22, RM

šą́:kč’am ʔus ʔopí nák šą́:kč’am
šą’qkčam ʔus ʔopí ną́k šą’qkčam
sometimes 1PL.EXCL.AGT two dark/night sometimes

molmi ná́k šą́:kč’am pą́wi wi’t
molmi ną́k šą’qkčam pąwi wi’t
three dark/night sometimes one work/week

ʔus vá’ok’iśmil.
ʔus wok’-s=mil
1PL.EXCL.AGT dance/sing-CONT=FIN
‘Sometimes we dance two nights, sometimes three nights, sometimes one week.’

(129) Coyote and the World: 314, RM

sikiṭey hulk’óˀi łaš’k’awol’ na hawmól’ na
si=kiṭ=ˀi hulk’oˀi łaš’k’awol’ =nq hawmol’ =nq
NEW=then=HSY1 Coyote moon =and morning.star =and

lákesa háyk p’óytíml
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 demonstrative\textsuperscript{118}. The first noun phrase kiṇās hoṭ kí:t ‘those many bones’ also contains a quantifier hoṭ ‘many, much, large’.

\textsuperscript{118}The entire noun phrase is given in bold, while its constituent noun phrases are underlined.
5.7.1. Placement of Case Enclitics

Case enclitics typically occur at the end of the noun phrase. In (131), the patient case enclitic =ą occurs at the end of the noun phrase hil č’ímaita ‘all the birds’ and in (132), =q occurs at the end of the noun phrase ópi k’o’ola ‘two Wailaki’.

(131) Ioi: 13, RM
sq’ey ki kiwismil hil č’ímaita.
sq=ʔi kiʔ kiw-s=mil hil č’imit=q
SAME=HSY1 DST ask-CAUS?=FIN all bird=PAT
‘He asked all the birds.’

(132) Coyote and the World: 176, RM
sikítey ’ópi k’o’ola šáyyanamlikimáse
si=kit=ʔi ’ópi k’o’ol=q šay-a=namli=kiʔ-mas-i
NEW=then=HSY1 two Wailaki.PL=PAT raw/alive-?=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

ʔey kipqw=toktl ʔey hušk’áyesmil
=ʔi kipqw=ki 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).’
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 optional\(^{119}\) 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se} & \text{ ey} & \text{ ki} & \text{ ?imemil} & \text{ ki} & \text{ a} & \text{ múśp} & \text{ a}. \\
\text{si} & = \text{ i} & \text{ ki} & ? & \text{ imi} & = \text{ mil} & \text{ ki} & = q & \text{ musp} = q \\
\text{NEW} & = \text{ HSY1} & \text{ DST} & \text{ say} = \text{ FIN} & \text{ DST} = \text{ PAT} & \text{ woman} = \text{ PAT} \\
\text{‘He said to her:’}
\end{align*}
\]

(133b) Coyote and the World: 416c, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
?i & \text{ yyy} & \text{ imemil} & \text{ kimása} & \text{ ku:ški} & \text{ a} \\
= & \text{ i} & \text{ imi} = \text{ mil} & \text{ ki} - \text{ mas} = q & \text{ kuški} = q \\
= & \text{ HSY1} & \text{ say} = \text{ FIN} & \text{ DST} - \text{ DSTR} = \text{ PAT} & \text{ small} \text{ one} = \text{ PAT} \\
\text{‘And to the (small) birds, “You shall be birds and shall live in the brush; and jackrabbit and rabbit shall live in the brush”, he said to those small ones.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(134) Coyote and the World: 412b, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{namekí} & \text{ ey} & \text{ ká} & \text{ ?a:šáta} & \text{sá:šinat} & \text{ mipat} & \text{ šiló} \\
\text{namekí} & = \text{ i} & \text{ ka} & \text{ ?aṭa} = q & \text{sqṭ'in} = \text{ at} & \text{ mipat} & \text{ šiló} \\
\text{therefore} & = \text{ HSY1} & \text{ PRX} & \text{ people} = \text{ PAT} & \text{ Lizard} = \text{ DAT} & \text{ hand} & \text{ like} \\
\text{?aṭamíl} & \text{ ?a:šáta} \\
\text{?aṭat} & = \text{ mil} & \text{ ?aṭat} = q \\
\text{fasten} = \text{ FIN} & \text{ people} = \text{ PAT} \\
\text{‘that is why these humans have on hands like Lizard’s.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{119}\) 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 ‘unšil ’small’. Patient case =q does not occur at the the end of the noun phrase, but instead follows the proper noun čaminkapin.

(135) Coyote and the World: 101, RM  
sikitéy čaminkápina120 ˀunšilkil  
si=kit=ˀi čaminkapin=q ˀunšil=k‘il  
NEW=then=HSY1 Čaminkapin=PAT small=TERM  
čak’ikilmil  
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 ᵉuk ‘water’ and hoṭ ‘large’. -am is a nominalizing suffix. In this example the allative case ending =wit is found at the end of the compound in ᵉukhóˀoṭamwit ‘toward the ocean’.

120 According to Kroeber, Čaminkapin is “a small bird” (Kroeber 1932:920).
(136) Coyote and the World: 265, RM

są́ˀey         kímas          háyk          p’oyitli        ˀátá
sqʷ-i          kí-mas         ḥay=k          p’oy-tl          ˀaṭaˀ
SAME=HSY1     DST-DSTR      net.sack=IN    put-TR       again

koˀ-t=mil          ˀu:khóˀoṭamwit.
koˀ-t=mil          ˀuk’-hoṭ-am=wit
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. hulk’oˀi ‘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), hulk’oˀi ‘Coyote’ is shown marked for patient case as hulk’óˀa.

(137) Coyote and the World: 322, RM

są́ˀey        ˀamilkílmil                           hulk’óˀa
sqʷ-i         ˀamil-k-il=mil                           hulk’oˀi=q
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), čąminkapin, the name of a character in Coyote and the World, is marked for patient case as čą́: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.
And they were trying to club little Čaminkapin.

In (139), lalkúhtki, a placename, is marked with allative =wit: lalkúhtkiwit ‘to Lalkúhtki’.

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 sub-class of nouns in Yuki. A unique series of possessive prefixes 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.
(140) Coyote and the World: 278, RM

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{sámi} & \quad \text{šú} \text{nóhkiltána} & \quad \text{kup} \\
\text{sq}=\text{mi} & \quad \text{šú} \text{ño}^{2-} \text{h-k-il-tan-a} & \quad \text{kup} \\
\text{SAME}=\text{but} & \quad \text{sit/stay-live-DUR-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP} & \quad \text{sister's son} \\
\text{mi} & \quad \text{kó}^{\circ} \text{÷ima} \\
\text{mi}^{?} & \quad \text{kó}^{\circ} \text{÷ima} \\
\text{2SG.AGT} & \quad \text{go} & \quad \text{self} \\
\text{“But not sitting there to stay long, sister's son, you are to go on.”} 
\end{align*} \]

In (141), \( k'i:kan' \) ‘mother's brother’ appears in its prefixed form as \( 'aŋk'i:kan' \) ‘my mother's brother’.

(141) Origins: 145, RM

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{se}^{?} \text{ey} & \quad \text{mi}^{?} & \quad 'aŋk'i:kan' & \quad \text{nánákʰq} \\
\text{si}=\text{i} & \quad \text{mi}^{?} & \quad 'am-k'ikan' & \quad \text{nának-hq} \\
\text{NEW}=\text{HSY1} & \quad \text{2SG.AGT} & \quad \text{1SG.KIN.POSS-mother's brother} & \quad \text{know-Q} \\
\text{kímilmil} & \quad '?ey' & \quad '?\text{meymil}. \\
\text{ki}=\text{mil}=\text{mil} & \quad '='i & \quad '?\text{imi}=\text{mil} \\
\text{say-?=FIN} & \quad '='\text{HSY1} & \quad \text{say}=\text{FIN} \\
\text{‘So, “You, my mother's brother, say that you know”, (Taykómol) said.’} 
\end{align*} \]
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
\[ \text{epe:} \quad \text{'a'l h}k\text{miki} \]
1SG.AGT wood going.to.split
'I am going to split wood.'

(143) Lamb 1955:94, LJ
\[ \text{epe:} \quad \text{hamp s}e'\text{leme'li}k\text{i} \]
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
\[ \text{ka} \quad \text{'i: t'u}k\text{li}y\text{a} \]
PRX 1SG.PAT stabbed
'this fella stabbed me'
Lamb 1955:124, LJ

(145)  
\textit{ka}  \; 'i. \textit{ lallikε}  
\text{PRX} \; \textbf{1SG.PAT} \; \text{kicked}  
\text{"this fella kicked me"}  

(146)  
\textit{ka}’a’ \; \textit{lalla’}  
\text{PRX.PAT} \; \text{kick.IMP}  
\text{"kick this fella!"}  

(147) - (155) show clauses with verbs that take patient arguments.

Lamb 1955:77, LJ

(147)  
\textit{'i:} \; \textit{n̪aŋhna’k’i’}  
\textbf{1SG.PAT} \; \text{know.it}  
\text{"I know it."}  

(148)  
\textit{'i:} \; \textit{n̪aŋh̪amk’i’}  
\textbf{1SG.PAT} \; \text{don’t.know}  
\text{"I don’t know"}  

(149)  
\textit{ka’a} \; \textit{hampše:} \; \textit{hamč’i}  
\text{PRX.PAT} \; \text{song.sing likes}  
\text{"he likes to sing"}  

(150)  
\textit{'i:} \; \textit{ha’qmpa’i}  
\textbf{1SG.PAT} \; \text{will.forget.it}  
\text{"I will forget it"}  

(151)  
\textit{'i:} \; \textit{nahana’kč’i’}  
\textbf{1SG.PAT} \; \text{remember.it}  
\text{"I remember it"}
(152) Lamb 1955:110, LJ

\[ \text{ke}^?_4: \text{ wok' } \text{hušil}'i \]
\[ \text{DST.PAT} \text{ dance likes/loves} \]
\['\text{he likes/love to dance}'\]

(153) Lamb 1955:111, LJ

\[ \text{ka}^?a: \text{ muhšil' } \text{hamč}'i \]
\[ \text{PRX.PAT} \text{ laugh likes} \]
\['\text{this one likes to laugh}'\]

(154) Lamb 1955:117, LJ

\[ ?'in\text{amh}^?e: \text{'i:} \]
\[ \text{had.dream} \text{ 1SG.PAT} \]
\['\text{I had a dream.'}\]

(155) Lamb 1955:125, LJ

\[ \text{tiwho } \text{'i} \text{ } ?'uk'hamuštîke \]
\[ \text{very} \text{ 1SG.PAT} \text{ be.thirsty} \]
\['\text{I am very thirsty'}\]

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

\[ \text{lila } \text{'i} \text{ } \text{wičiya } \text{ka}? \]
\[ \text{rock.PAT} \text{ 1SG.PAT} \text{ hit} \text{ PRX} \]
\['\text{he hit me with [a] rock'}\]

(157) Lamb 1955:86, LJ

\[ \text{mipa'}\text{ţa} \text{'i} \text{ } \text{tuk'liyq} \]
\[ \text{hand.PAT} \text{ 1SG.PAT} \text{ hit} \]
\['\text{he hit me with [a] fist'}\]
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. *han’m* ‘in the house’ resembles Yuki *hanam* ‘in the house’, *hanmehtap* ‘on top of the house’ would correspond to Yuki *han-miṭ=op* (house-top=LAT), *han *hʌ̨hɪmˀim* ‘underneath the house’, would correspond to Yuki *han hʌ̨hɪn-am* (house under-IN2), *hanpis* in *hanpis lak’ta*’ ‘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. *iĉ* in *han iĉ’iyoh* ‘close by the house’ corresponds to the the Yuki juxtapositive case -iṭ ~ iĉ.

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.
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
\[ 'ʔŋka' 'mother' \]
\[ miska: 'your mother' \]

(162) Yuki: Sawyer & Schlichter 1984:137, 245
\[ 'am-k'an' 'my mother' AA \]
\[ mis-k'an' 'your mother' MF \]

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 'ʔŋka' really just meant ‘mother’ instead of ‘my mother’, thus necessitating the use of the separate possessive pronoun \[ e̞te \] ‘my’.

(163) Lamb 1955:59, LJ
\[ 'ʔŋka' 'mother' \]
\[ e̞te 'ʔŋka' 'my mother' \]

(164) shows much of Lamb’s list of Huchnom kinship terms and related elicited short sentences.
(164) Lamb 1955:59-62, LJ

ˀʌ̨ŋka’ ‘mother’
εt̯ε ‘my mother’
miska: ‘your mother’
ŋk’u: ‘my (?) father’
misk’u: ‘thy father’
k’il’ka? ‘daughter, son’
εt̯ε: k’il’ka? ~ εt̯ε: ɪʔk’il’ka? ‘my daughter’
’eyeme’ hayi maʔa’k’il’ka? ‘what [are] you doing, my daughter?’
ŋk’e:? ‘brother, male cousin’
muč’a: ‘sister, female cousin’
’ŋk’e-k’a’ ‘mother’s brother’
’ɪpoyε ‘father’s sister’
’ikas ‘mother’s sister’
misk’eč’a ɪša’ ‘father’s younger brother’
ɪša’ ‘younger brother’
ŋk’e? ‘old brother, old sister’
muč’a: ‘sister’
e? mɪs muč’a: koʔa ‘where’s your sister going?’
it’e? ‘mother’s mother’
ip’e? ‘mother’s father’
ɪpah ‘father’s mother’
ɪʔas ‘father’s father’
ahamčaʔ ‘daughter’s children, sibling’s children’
ahamčaʔ ke:maʔ ‘son’s children’
’iʔa? ‘father’s young brother’
muč’aʔ nahalč ‘sister’s children’
εt̯ε: ohoʔ ‘my husband (my old man)’
εt̯ε: ʊg‘ ‘my wife (my old woman)’
orwehel ‘wife’s father, husband’s father’
’ehwe’ʔ ‘daughter’s husband’
isuhtam ‘son’s wife’
isuhtam ke:maʔ ‘son’s wife’s mother (?)’
ɪpoyim ‘uncle’s wife’
ŋk’e-ka’ ‘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

- nokonmɨ ‘Little Lake Indians’
- weʔoʔuk’am ‘Eton Valley Yuki’

(166) Lamb 1955:114, LJ

- hučnoʔom uk’am ‘Redwood Valley’

(167) Lamb 1955:115, LJ

- mahʔuk’am noʔmahmal ‘Eel River (“‘Yuki Creek’”)’

(168) Lamb 1955:112-113, LJ

- k’oʔnoʔ ‘Sunday’
- puʔwikoʔnoʔ ‘Monday’
- ṭopilakštike ‘Tuesday’
- molmilakštike ‘Wednesday’
- kesʔopilakštike ‘Thursday’
- puʔpučlakštik ‘Friday’
- puʔtatʃlakštike ‘Saturday’

(169) Lamb 1955:116, LJ

- panyol k’ahin ‘Mexican language’
- huʔuʔah k’ahin ‘English language’
- hučnoʔmah k’ahin ‘Redwood language’
- mahʔuk’amə k’ahin ‘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 Yuki. However, the agent/patient structure of Coast Yuki can be seen in elicited pronouns and elicited short phrases.

The first person singular pronoun obtained through elicitation by Kroeber (1902c:72) is ˀépe and by Harrington (1942-1943:373-375) is ˀébbæ. This form corresponds to the first person singular agent pronouns in Yuki (ˀąpq) and Huchnom (epec) 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 ˀi in the following examples.

In (170), compare the third person form dɪˈdæˀ ‘he is sick’ and the first person form dɪˈday ‘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
    dɪˈdæˀ ‘he is sick’
    dɪˈday ‘I am sick in bed’
    wάxˀday ‘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 ˀi in šemˀ ‘I am well’.

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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.
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

ˀα̂wʻdɪkʻ ‘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 miˀ- ~ meˀ-. In the examples in (173), it seems likely that the verb root is also mi- and that the initial vowel in each verb ˀaˑ- is a reduced form of the first person singular agent pronoun ˀépe ~ ˀébbæ126.

(173) Harrington 1942-1943: 386, LP

ˀʊˑk' ˀaˑmɪ̂ˑgæˀ ‘I already drank.’

126 The vowel is different than in the elicited independent pronoun ˀépe ~ ˀébbæ, but still very similar to elicited forms of the Yuki first person singular agent ˀq̓p ~ ˀq̓p. Schlichter (1985:30) notes a regular correspondence between Yuki /q̓/, Huchnom /ʌ/, and Coast Yuki /e/. This is also seen in comparing the Yuki third person singular patient pronoun kiˀą with its corresponding Coast Yuki form kiˀe.

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 ˀt̓: hamster ‘I like to talk.’ (Siniard 1967b:97, MF)
performing the act of ‘liking’. miˀαt’ is the second person singular dative pronoun and is found in the role of experiencer, as it is being liked by the patient kíˀe.

(174) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB
- miˀαt’hamyham ‘I like you’
- kíˀeˀαt’ham ‘I like him’
- móˀseˀαt’ham ‘I like ye’
- miˀat’kíˀeham ‘he likes you’

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 kíˀe is similar to the same pronoun in Yuki kiˀą. Recall that in Yuki the patient case form of nouns is marked with the same ending =ą 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 kíˀe, such as, -e.

As in Yuki, dative and possessive pronouns are generally the same forms in Coast Yuki. Coast Yuki móˀseˀαt is used as a dative pronoun móˀseˀat’ayhám ‘I like you (pl.)’ (Kroeber 1902c:72) and as a possessive pronoun in móˀs̥æˑʻtʻhéntʻǝl’‘your (pl.) noses’ (Harrington 1942-1943:133). In addition the possessive form of the interrogative pronoun ûe’ ‘who?’ (1942-1943:397) is ūeˑt‘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 héntʻǝl’ ‘nose’ possessed by a non-human noun k’ámóˀl’ ‘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 -eˑt’ as a possessive marker from his description of Coast Yuki possessive pronouns. He notes that “‘eˑt’ not allowed” on k’ámóˀl’ ‘cat’. If a non-human noun like k’ámóˀl’ ‘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
- k’ámóˀl’héntʻǝl’ ‘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’tr̥’i? ‘inside’, which does not appear to be cognate with any known form in Yuki.

(177) Harrington 1942-1943:135, LP
hént’al’ bí’tr̥’i? ‘inside the nose’

5.11.2.3. Number

Just as in Yuki, 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
náy’p’ ‘maiden’
náy’š ‘maidens’

(179) Kroeber 1902c:97h, SS
ʔiwup ‘man’
ʔiwis ‘men’
músp ‘woman’
mus ‘women’
čunčets ‘child’
háltče ‘children’

Postalveolar t 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 t̊ is pronounced as “ch.”

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'ɪ́mmeˀt' kʻoʻpʻ ‘bird-feathers’

(181) Harrington 1942-1943:154, LP
hént’i ʼok’ ‘snot’ (lit. nose-water)

(182) Harrington 1942-1943:391, LP
ˈok’-wɪˑtʻ ‘whisky (lit. water-bitter)’

(183) Harrington 1942-1943:42, LP
ˈoˑmes̥-šóˀ ‘a bear hide’

(184) Harrington 1942-1943:102, LP
kʻʊ́č’-ˀőllαm ‘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 ˀɪ́d̥d̥æ ˀôˑˀt’æˑ ‘my father’ (~ ‘my mother’?). In this example, ˀôˑˀt’æˑ ‘father’ appears with same first person singular possessive pronoun ˀɪ́d̥d̥æ as used for non-kinship terms, as in ˀɪ ́d̥d̥æ  góˑd̥ž̥æˀ ‘my hog’. ˀɪ́d̥d̥æ is cognate with the Yuki first person singular possessive pronoun ˀitin and first person singular dative pronoun ˀit.

Other kinship terms appear to be prefixed with ˀi(n)-, which would be cognate with the Yuki first person singular kinship possessive prefixes ˀam- and ˀi(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).
The kinship term ᵙᵽᵽₖᵃ’hᵃˡ’ ‘uncle’ also shows the likely presence of a prefix ᵙⁱ-. In Yuki, ‘young uncle, mother’s younger brother’ is ᵙⁱ⁻ᵏ’ⁱᵏᵃⁿ’ in its unpossessed form, but is ᵙⁱ⁻ᵏ’ⁱᵏᵃⁿ’ as ‘my mother’s younger brother’ (MF) and documented by Curtis as ᵙⁱ⁻ᵏⁱ⁻ᵏᵃ’ ( Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:225). This also suggests that ᵙⁱ⁻ is a kinship possessive prefix in Coast Yuki ᵙⁱⁿ’ᵃ’hᵃˡ’.

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).
5.11.2.6. Proper Nouns

(187) and (188) show Coast Yuki proper nouns referring to local tribes.

(187)  Kroeber 1902c:90-91, SS
  ῦukoʔpartners ila’ ‘Coast Yuki (name of tribe)’ ¹³¹
  qoʔol ‘Cahtos (in C[oast] Yuki)’ ¹³²
  ῦuʔtiʔnóʔom ‘Usal-Shelter Cove Tribe’ ¹³³

(188)  Harrington 1942-1943:321, LP
  yóʔki,yóʔkiʔ át’et ‘Yukis’ ¹³⁴

¹³¹ Harrington (1942-1943:356) gives the Coast Yuki tribal name as ῦʊ́ˑk’-hoʔ-ʔont’il’q̥æʔ 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 ῦuʔti ‘reeds, water-grass’ + nóʔom ‘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

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<td>'self'</td>
<td>ʔima</td>
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Table 11: Yuki Personal and Possessive Pronouns (I = inclusive, E = exclusive, ANIM = animate, INANIM = inanimate)

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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 kamasा 'these people' without any other context. kamasą 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 kipąt 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 kimosiyąt ‘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 kimo’osiyąt. 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 plural. 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 singular. The first person singular dative pronoun is ˀit, while the first person singular possessive pronoun is ˀitin. One elicited example exists of ˀitin used with a benefactive meaning shown in §6.1.1. In the texts ˀitin 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 kimoˀosiyq 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 kipq=q is the default possessive form for third person referents. The coreferential dative form kipq=q can be used in consort with the distal demonstrative kiˀqt and/or proximal demonstrative dative kaˀat to distinguish possession between two third person referents.

A reflexive/emphatic pronoun ṭima is used to emphasize action by an argument. Also, there exists an alternate form of the first person singular pronoun ṭapil, which is claimed by Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:111) to be an emphatic form of ṭap ˀ1SG.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 ˀitin, is glossed 1SG.POSS, as it differs from the first person singular dative pronoun ˀit.
6.1.1. First Person Singular

Examples of the first person singular agent pronoun ‘qp’ are shown in (1) - (3).

(1) Coyote and the World: 182, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{‘qp} & \quad \text{mátilkon} \quad \text{pák} \quad \text{pap’eyakpa} \quad \text{‘ey} \quad \text{1SG.AGT} \\
\text{‘qp} & \quad \text{mat- tl= kon} \quad \text{pák} \quad \text{pap’-qk-pa} \\
& \quad \quad \quad =\text{‘i} \\
\text{‘im} & \quad \text{hulk’ó’i} \\
\text{‘imi= mil} & \quad \text{hulk’o’i} \\
\text{say=FIN} & \quad \text{Coyote} \\
\text{‘I do this, but one of them will pop (crackle inside)”, he said.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) Origins: 132d, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yú:kin} & \quad \text{‘qp} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{k’ayemikí:} \quad \text{k’ayimilpa} \quad \text{PRX} \quad \text{talk-IMPFV=DST} \quad \text{talk-?-FUT} \\
\text{‘the Yuki will speak this which I am speaking’}
\end{align*}
\]

(3) Coyote and the World: 197, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sq’éy} & \quad \text{‘qp} \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{‘únmawi} \quad \text{ki:} \\
\text{sq=’i} & \quad \text{‘qp} \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{‘un-mq-wi} \quad \text{ki} \\
\text{SAME=HSY1} & \quad \text{1SG.AGT} \quad \text{meat/deer} \quad \text{carry-DIR1-PST1} \quad \text{DST} \\
\text{kápisa} & \quad \text{hqwayilitia} \quad \text{‘ey} \quad \text{...} \\
\text{kap-s-’a} & \quad \text{hqway-lit-a} \quad =\text{‘i} \\
\text{enter-CAUS-IMP} & \quad \text{food/eat-DIR2-IMP} \quad \text{=HSY1} \\
\text{‘And, “I have brought a deer, bring it in to eat!”...’}
\end{align*}
\]

Examples (4) and (5) contrast the use of the first person singular patient pronoun ‘i’ and the first person singular agent pronoun ‘qp’. In these examples ‘qp’ occurs with the verbs kom- ‘come’ and ko’- ‘go’; ‘i’ occurs with the verb yat- ‘be gone’ and with yqw- ‘name, call’.
(4) Coyote and the World: 378, RM

\[\text{'ey} \quad \text{'imeymil} \quad \text{kipat} \quad \text{míspá}
\]
\[\text{=HSY1} \quad \text{say=FIN} \quad 3R=DAT \quad \text{woman=PAT}
\]

“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

... \text{mihtan} \quad \text{'iy} \quad \text{yáqwml} \quad \text{hoː}t \quad \text{niŋ}p \quad \text{han}
\]
\[\text{mihtan} \quad \text{'iy} \quad \text{yáqwml} \quad \text{hoː}t \quad \text{noŋ}q\text?=op? \quad \text{han}
\]

‘... 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 \text{?'itin} and the first person singular dative pronoun \text{?'it}. (7) is the only example of \text{?'itin} found thus far showing a use other than that of a possessive pronoun.

(6) Origins: 132e, RM

\[\text{sq}kopot \quad \text{?'itin} \quad \text{háp} \quad \text{?'áp}a \quad \text{?'ey} \quad \text{?'imeymil} \quad \text{taykómol.}
\]
\[\text{sq}=kop \quad \text{?'itin} \quad \text{hap} \quad \text{?'ah-pa} \quad =\text{?i} \quad \text{?'imi}=mil \quad \text{taykomol}
\]

SAME=then \text{1SG.POSS} song/sing hold-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol

‘And they shall hold my song”, said Taykómol.’
(7) Siniard 1967a:11, MF
ki’a ?itin t’ukli?
kt=q ?itin t’uk-l-?
DST=PAT 1SG.POSS? kick/hit-PFV?-IMP
‘(you) kick him for me’

(8) Coyote and the World: 232, RM
se’éy hulk’o’i kí hâle ?iyt k’ápki
si=’i hulk’o’i kí?=hâli ?it k’apki
NEW=HSY1 Coyote DST =INFR1 1SG.DAT below
hó:ṭ sunlámuˀ? ?i’y ?’imeymil hulk’o’i
hoṭ sun-ląm-wi =’i ?’imil=mi hulk’o’i
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.’

?ąpil ~ ?ąpel is described as a first person singular emphatic pronoun (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:111). An elicited example of ?ąpil is shown in (9).

(9) Siniard 1967b:102, MF
?ąpil ki matlik
?ąpil ki? mat-tl=k
1SG.EMPH? DST do-TR=DECL
‘I did that.’

In the texts, a single use of ?ąpil appears in ‘Coyote and the World’ and is shown in (10). ?ąpil is glossed and translated by Kroeber as ‘one another’ and is not associated with the first person at all.

(10) Coyote and the World: 246, RM
sq’éy hâye ká mí:kon mi=ya hâha’ima
sq=’i hâq’aye ka? mî:h-kon mi=q hâha’-ima
SAME=HSY1 now PRX be=? 1PL.INCL=PAT deceive-?
‘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
...katá(w)pis mli: kup miʔ onk’olámwit
katá=pis miʔ kup onk’ol-am=wit
here=ABL 2SG.AGT sister’s.son east-NOML=ALL

kó’tampaʔ
koʔ-t-m-paʔ
go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT
‘...From here you, sister’s son, shall go toward the east.’

(12) Coyote and the World: 354, RM
sikiṭey ká mi:t kup onapaʔ an
si=kiṭ=ʔi kaʔ mit kup on-aʔ-paʔ an
NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister’s.son earth-?-FUT long.time

son miʔ kup kákkutispaʔ
son miʔ kup k’ak’-kut-s-paʔ
therefore 2SG.AGT sister’s.son exist-INC-P-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
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{są̆kiṭéy} & \quad ?aŋk'i:k'án' & \quad \text{mis} & \quad \text{hamloʾótha} \\
\text{sq=kiṭ=i} & \quad ?ăm-k'ikan' & \quad \text{mis} & \quad \text{hamlot'-ha}
\end{align*}
\]
SAME=then=HSY1 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother’s.brother 2SG.PAT hungry-Q

?im kíwismil hulk’oʔá.
?im kiw-s=mil hulk’oʔi=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 milontitami ‘elk’.

(14) Ents and Upek: 7, RM
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{seʔey} & \quad \text{ki} & \quad č'al & \quad \text{p'ákakmil} & \quad \text{lákta} & \quad \text{káṭá} \\
\text{siʔi} & \quad \text{ki} & \quad \text{č'al} & \quad \text{paŋ'qakmil} & \quad \text{lak'-t-a} & \quad \text{kaṭa}
\end{align*}
\]
NEW=HSY1 DST loud shout-SEM=FIN emerge-INTR-IMP here

?ol ṭąl=op milontitami mey mámekilpa
?ol ṭąlŏp milontitam mi mąm-k-il-paʔ
tree NEG=when elk 1PL.INCL.AGT fight-PNCT-MPSV-FUT

mey wóktlpa.
mí 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 ῦúsa nqwésa? ‘show us your dance’, they use the exclusive patient pronoun ῦúsa, 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se}^2\text{éy} & \quad \text{háye} & \quad \text{k’ó’il} & \quad \text{kiwsmil} & \quad \text{wóktl} \\
\text{si}^\text{ˀúsa} = \text{-redux} & \quad \text{hqw}^\text{ˀúsa} & \quad \text{k’ó’il} & \quad \text{kiw-s=mil} & \quad \text{wok’-tl} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1} & \quad \text{now} & \quad \text{Wailaki} & \quad \text{ask-CAUS=FIN} & \quad \text{dance/sing-TR} \\
\text{ˀus=ą} & \quad \text{nqw-s-a} & \quad =\text{-redux} & \quad \text{imi=mil} \\
\text{1PL.EXCL=PAT} & \quad \text{see-CAUS-IMP} & \quad =\text{-redux} & \quad \text{say=FIN} \\
k’ó’il & \quad \text{hulk’ó’a} \\
k’ó’il & \quad \text{hulk’o’i=q} \\
\text{Wailaki} & \quad \text{Coyote=PAT} \\
\text{‘Then the Wailaki asked: “Show us (your) dance”, they said to Coyote.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Similarly, in (16), the exclusive forms ῦúsa ‘1PL.EXCL=PAT’ and ῦús ‘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

\[
\begin{align*}
kayit & \quad \text{ˀúsa} & \quad \text{nqnakwi} & \quad \text{sikiki} & \quad \text{ˀús} \\
kayit & \quad \text{ˀus=q} & \quad \text{nqnak-wi} & \quad \text{sikiki} & \quad \text{ˀus} \\
\text{long.ago} & \quad \text{1PL.EXCL=PAT} & \quad \text{know-PST1} & \quad \text{therefore} & \quad \text{1PL.EXCL.AGT} \\
k’ólam & \quad \text{tíweyu} & \quad =\text{-redux} & \quad \text{imi=mil} & \quad \text{kip’íwwop} \\
k’ol-am & \quad \text{tiw-wi} & \quad =\text{-redux} & \quad \text{imi-mq-l-il=mil} & \quad \text{kipqw=op} \\
\text{other-NOML} & \quad \text{pursue-PST1} & \quad =\text{-redux} & \quad \text{say-DIR1-?-MPSV=FIN} & \quad \text{back=LAT}
\end{align*}
\]
(17a) shows an interesting example of both inclusive and exclusive pronouns used in a quote spoken by the same individual.

In (17a), the speaker uses the exclusive pronoun šay=a ‘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 šay=a ‘1PL.INCL=DAT’ is used instead of the exclusive form šay=a ‘1PL.EXCL=DAT’ in šay=a piląːt ‘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 šay=a ‘1PL.EXCL.AGT’ to refer to themselves as they, not the entire group, killed Coyote. However, piląːt ‘sun’ belongs to the entire group, both those who killed Coyote and those hearing the story, therefore the inclusive dative pronoun šay=a ‘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 'ùṣ'at '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 'ùṣ'at pilą́: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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sq'éy} & \quad \text{kiwisi}l \quad ?'ím \quad 'ùṣ'at \quad \text{pilq:t} \\
\text{sq'ì} & \quad \text{kiw-s-mil} \quad ?'im \quad 'us-at \quad \text{pilq:t}
\end{align*}
\]

SAME=HSY1 ask-CAUS=FIN where 1PL.EXCL=DAT sun

\[
\begin{align*}
'ùṣ'at & \quad \text{wàtimwičkí:k} \quad \text{ka'en} \quad \text{k'omláme} \\
'us=qt & \quad \text{waṭ'-m-wič=kì} \quad \text{ka'ìn} \quad \text{k'om-làm}
\end{align*}
\]

1PL.EXCL=DAT steal-IMPFV-PST=DST PRX.LOC? make.noise-INCH

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mis} & \quad \text{hāltha} \quad ?'ey \quad ?'im \quad \text{kiwisi}l \\
\text{mis} & \quad \text{hql-t-ha} \quad ='ì \quad ?'im \quad \text{kiw-s-mil}
\end{align*}
\]

2SG.PAT hear-INTR-Q =HSY1 thus ask-CAUS=FIN

\[
\begin{align*}
hulk'òʼa & \quad \text{kimáši} \\
hulk'o=ì & \quad \text{ki'-mas-i}
\end{align*}
\]

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 'ùṣq't used as a possessive.

(18) Coyote and the World: 306, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se'ey} & \quad \text{ki} \quad ?'i:pšák \quad 'ùṣq't \quad \text{ki} \quad t'ô'ot \quad \text{pan} \\
\text{si'=ì} & \quad \text{ki'?} \quad ?'psak \quad 'us=qt \quad \text{ki}? \quad t'ot \quad \text{pan}
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=HSY1 DST boy 1PL.EXCL=DAT DST carrying.basket hang
6.1.4. Second Person Plural

Examples of the second person plural agent pronoun mo’os are shown in (19) and (20).

(19) Coyote and the World: 27, RM

\[ ?'ey \quad mo'os \quad miwismil \quad héli \quad lákti \]
\[ =?i \quad mo'os \quad miw-s=mil \quad hil-i \quad lak'-t \]
\[ =HSY1 \quad 2PL.AGT \quad disbelieve-CONT?=FIN \quad all-ANIM \quad emerge-INTR \]

\[ ?'iwilhánpis \quad sq \quad náwkil' \]
\[ ?'iwihan=pis \quad sq \quad náw-k-il-ʔ \]

ceremonial.house=ABL \quad SAME \quad see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP

“\textbf{You} who disbelieve me all come out of the ceremonial house and look!”

(20) Coyote and the World: 415 (excerpt), RM

\[ ... \quad mo'os \quad \text{'awhami} \quad mípa \quad \text{'aatat} \quad ?'ey \]
\[ mo'os \quad \text{'awham} \quad mih-pa? \quad \text{'atat=qt} \quad =?i \]
\[ 2PL.AGT \quad animal \quad be-FUT \quad people=DAT \quad =HSY1 \]

\[ ?'imeymil \quad hulk'ó'i \]
\[ ?'imi=mil \quad hulk'ó'i \]

say=FIN \quad Coyote

“\textbf{... you} shall be game for people”, said Coyote.’

The second person plural patient pronoun mo’osiyq is found rarely in the texts. The example in (21) shows mo’osiyq in use.

(21) Thunder's Twins: 136, RM

\[ sˀq'ey \quad ?'iyi \quad yúyaŋk \quad mo'os \quad kimat \]
\[ sq=?i \quad ?'iyi \quad yuy'-m=k \quad mo'os \quad kimat \]
\[ SAME=HSY1 \quad what \quad do-IMPFV=DECL \quad 2PL.AGT \quad ? \]
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 mo’oṣiyat.

(22) Coyote and the World: 132, RM

“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, ka’ 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 ka’a and a proximate dative form ka’at in his description of Yuki demonstratives; however, none of these occur in the texts, though ka’a and ka’at 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 kipąt is used as the default third person singular possessive form. The distal demonstrative dative ki’at 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 ka’at, 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 ki’ used as a pronoun.

(23) Coyote and the World: 390, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
s&q’ëy & kim\acute{a}s & ki: & hu’ulmil & hqwáyi & wáčmaki: \\
\text{sq}=?i & kimas & ki’ & hù’u?-tl=ml & hqway & wàt’-ma=ki’ \\
\text{SAME=HSY1} & \text{thus} & \text{DST} & \text{quit-TR=FIN} & \text{food/eat} & \text{steal-DIR1=DST} \\
\end{align*}
\]

?’ukhó’ttámís
?’uk’-hoṭ-am=pís
water-large-NOML=ABL
‘And so he finished that stealing of food from the coast.’

(24) Coyote and the World: 221, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se’ey} & \text{ kf: } hil & hayé & piśtmil \\
\text{si}=?i & \text{ ki’ } hil & hąyé & piś-t=ml \\
\text{NEW=HSY1 } & \text{ DST } & \text{ all } & \text{ now } & \text{ take.off-INTR=FIN} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘So now he stripped them all off;’

(25) and (26) show ki’ used as a demonstrative with inanimate and animate referents, respectively. Also, Kroeber often translates ki’ 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔim} & \text{ kf: } yim & čiyi:mmilamha & \text{kup} & \text{ʔiy} \\
\text{ʔim} & \text{ ki’ } yim & čiy-ma-il-m-ha & \text{kup} & \text{ʔiy} \\
\text{where } & \text{ DST } & \text{ fire } & \text{ glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-Q } & \text{ sister’s.son } =\text{HSY1} \\
\text{ʔimeymil} & \text{ hulk’ó’i} \\
\text{ʔimi=ml} & \text{ hulk’ó’i} \\
\text{say=FIN } & \text{ Coyote} \\
\text{“Where does that fire gleam at times, sister’s son?” said Coyote.’}
\end{align*}
\]
(26) Coyote and the World: 307, RM

hlíkšiloˀ hulk’o’i kip kíwsiki ṭey kiṭa yą́w
hlkšiloˀ hulk’o’i kip kiw-s=ki? =ʔi kiṭa yqwa
everything Coyote 3R ask-CAUS=DST =HSY1 there name

wá:česmil ki ṭipsák
wač’-s=mil kiʔ ṭipsak

‘Everything that Coyote asked him, the boy told (showed) the name there.’

(27) and (28) show examples of kaˀ ‘this’ used as a pronoun. In (27), kaˀ is used to mean ‘this one’, referring to a person. In (28), kaˀ is used to mean ‘this way’, referring to a state of affairs.

(27) Coyote and the World: 246, RM

sq’ey haye ká míkon míya hahą’ima
sq=ʔi hq’aye kaʔ mih=kon mi=q haha’-ima
SAME=HSY1 now PRX be=? 1PL.INCL=PAT deceive-?

ʔey ṭimikálmil ṭápil
ʔʔi ṭimi-k-il=mil ṭápil
=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

sikíṭa haye ka mípaʔ ṭiʔy
si=kiṭa hq’aye kaʔ mih-paʔ =ʔi
NEW=then now PRX be-FUT =HSY1

ʔïmeymil hulk’o’i piláta.
ʔimi=mil hulk’o’i pilat=q
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 ki’a used as a pronoun.
(29) Ents and Upek: 2, RM
\[\begin{align*}
  &haye \ ki: \ mušp \ ?an \ huškayesna \ ki?ä \\
  &haq'aye \ ki? \ musp \ ?an \ hušk'ay-s=nq? \ ki?=q
\end{align*}\]
now \ DST \ woman \ long.time \ tell-CONT=and? \ DST=PAT

\[\begin{align*}
  &kóti \ milontitma \ ?anilma. \\
  &koˀ=t \ milontitam=q \ ?anil-m-a \\
  &go-INTR \ elk=PAT \ lead-IMPFV?-IMP
\end{align*}\]
‘Now this woman always said to him “Go bring elk!”’

(30) shows the distal demonstrative patient case form kiˀa used as a demonstrative in kiˀa ?iwóta, which Kroeber gives as ‘the old man’ in his free translation.

(30) Coyote and the World: 237 (excerpt), RM
\[\begin{align*}
  &?iy \ ?im \ kíwismil \\
  &=?i \ ?im \ kiw-s=mil \\
  &=HSY1 \ thus \ ask-CAUS?=FIN
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
  &ki?ä \ ?iwóta \ han \ hási \ ki?ä \\
  &ki?=q \ ?iwot=q \ han \ hq'=s \ ki?=q \\
  &DST=PAT \ old.man=PAT \ house \ build-CAUS \ DST=PAT
\end{align*}\]
‘...thus they asked the old man who was building a house.’

(31) shows the proximal demonstrative patient case form kaˀa used as a pronoun\(^{143}\) 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
\[\begin{align*}
  &kaˀa \ ?ap \ mušpa \ kitiwi \\
  &ka?=q \ ?ap \ mušp=q \ kit-wi
\end{align*}\]
PRX=PAT \ 1SG.AGT \ woman=PAT \ go.with=PST
‘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 *kiˀat* 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 *kiˀat* are found, as is shown in (32) and (33). Dative uses of the proximal demonstrative dative pronoun *kaˀat* have not been observed, though presumably such uses were possible.

(32) Siniard 1967b:35, MF

\[
\begin{align*}
&kiˀat & mis & hušilha \\
&kiˀ=qt & mis & huš-l-ha
\end{align*}
\]

DST=DAT 2SG.PAT happy?-MPSV?-Q

‘You like that fellow?’

(33) Siniard 1967b:95, MF

\[
\begin{align*}
&kiˀqt & ʔi: & ʔah & hamik \\
&kiˀ=qt & ʔi & ʔah & ham=k
\end{align*}
\]

DST=DAT 1SG.PAT hold like/want=PST1

‘I like to hold him.’

(34) shows *kaˀ* ‘this’ and *kiˀ* ‘that’ used as demonstratives in two successive clauses with the same noun *hąp* ‘song’.

(34) Origins: 29, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
&seˀéy & ʔap & lákmiˀkίτa & ka & hą:šp \\
&siˀ=i & ʔap & lak’-m=kiτa & kaˀ & hąp
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=HSY1 1SG.AGT emerge-IMPFV=when PRX song/sing

\[
\begin{align*}
&wóktlinˀk & ʔimeymil & ki & taykomol & hulk’oˀq. \\
wok’-tl-nik & ʔimi=mil & kiˀ & taykomol & hulk’oˀi=ą
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
&seˀéy & háye & ki & hąp & kūtítmil & taykómol. \\
&si’=i & hą’aye & kiˀ & hąp & kut-t=mił & taykomol
\end{align*}
\]

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 ˀaːṭa `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
są’ey kipat ?aṭáta woktl ˀímeymil
sq=ˀi kip=q t ᑄaṭat=q wok’-tł ˀimi=il
SAME=HSY1 3R=DAT people=PAT dance/sing-TR say=FIN
‘and told his people to dance.’

seˀey  kimáse wóktlmil
si=ˀi  kiˀ-mas-i wok’-tl=il
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
są’ey  kimás háyk p’oyitli ˀaṭa
sq=ˀi  kiˀ-mas hay=k p’oy-tl ᑄaṭa?
SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR net.sack=IN put-TR again

koˀ-t=il ˀuk’-hoṭ-am=it
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 wąk’i ki hu’ú(tli) ᑄey milmuši ną
si=kit=ˀi wąk=k’i ki ᑄi hu’u(-tł) =ˀi milmuš =ną
NEW=then=HSY1 after=IN DST finish(-TR)=HSY1 Polecat =and

siskina ną ᑄelkáčam kimáse mólmaˀ ᑄey
siskina =ną ᑄolkaṭam kiˀ-mas-i molmi=a =ˀi
Skunk =and Mouse DST-DSTR-ANIM three=ˀ =HSY1
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tâtikilmil \(\rightarrow\) wok’ágk
tat-k-il=mil \(\rightarrow\) wok’-m=k
good/make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN dance/sing-IMPFV=DECL
‘Then, after that ended, Polecat and Skunk and Mouse, those three adorned themselves for the dance.’

(38) Coyote and the World: 207, RM

\[\begin{align*}
sikiṭéy & \quad kimáši & \quad mú:s & \quad milhúyisk \\
si=kiṭ=ˀi & \quad kiˀ-mas-i & \quad mush & \quad mil-huy-s=k \\
\end{align*}\]
NEW=then=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM women meat-cook-CAUS=DECL

\[\begin{align*}
hąwáyisammil \\
hąway-s-m=mil \\
food/eat-CAUS-IMPFV=FIN \\
\end{align*}\]
‘Then those women, having broiled the meat, ate it.’

In (39), the inanimate agent form kimas is used as a determiner referring to ‘sticks’. A distributive demonstrative is used in this instance, because the sticks are a group of individual items that are being laid down over a span of time.

(39) Coyote and the World: 398, RM

\[\begin{align*}
sikiț & \quad sak & \quad k'iniˀákkii & \quad k'iniˀakpa & \quad ˀeyy \\
si=kiț=ˀi & \quad sak & \quad k'in-qk=ki? & \quad k'in-qk-paˀ & \quad =ˀi \\
\end{align*}\]
NEW=then child cry-SEM=DST cry-SEM-FUT =HSY1

\[\begin{align*}
ˀimeymil & \quad kimás & \quad ˀáľ & \quad t'u & \quad huˀátli & \quad hulk'ōˀi \\
ˀimi=mil & \quad kiˀ-mas & \quad ˀal & \quad t'u & \quad huˀaˀ-tl & \quad hulk'ọi \\
\end{align*}\]
say=FIN DST-DSTR-ANIM lay quit-TR Coyote

‘and crying babies shall cry’, said Coyote as he finished laying the sticks thus.’

In (40), the patient form kimasq is acting as a demonstrative in the noun phrase kimáša múśaˀ ‘those women’.
(40) Coyote and the World: 197 (excerpt), RM
... ˀímeymil    hulk’óˀi       k
kimáša                     músˀaˀ
imi=mil       hulk’óˀi       kiˀʔ-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’óˀi       ˀáˀtá       k
kimášat       hą́p               yąškímil.
sop=ˀi        hulk’óˀi       ˀaṭaˀ       k
kiˀ-mas=ąt       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
siˀéy                 k
kimášat       k’únat       k
kimášat       k’ánat
si=ˀi       kiʔ-mas=qt       k’un ^=qt       kiʔ-mas=qt       k’an ^=qt
NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR=DAT father=DAT DST-DSTR=DAT mother=DAT

ˀey            na:nákmil      t’ól
=ˀi            nqnak=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 kiʔqt 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 kiʔqt used as a possessive pronoun.
(43)  Siniard 1967b:7, MF
\[kiˀat\]  \textit{hqw ˀi: ˀčanik}\n\[kiˀ=ąt\]  \textit{hqw ˀi: ˀčan=k}\n\textbf{DST=DAT}  \textit{fish 1SG.PAT} \textit{give=DECL}\n
‘He gave me his \textit{(someone else’s)} fish’

(44) shows an example of a series of translations for ‘his knife’ elicited by Kroeber. These show \textit{kiˀat}, \textit{kipat}, and \textit{kaˀat} used as third person possessive pronouns. The translations for these examples are those given by Kroeber in his original notes.

(44)  Kroeber 1901a:17, RM
\[kiˀat\textit{ kuči} \quad \text{‘his knife’}\n\[kipat\textit{ kuči} \quad \text{‘his (own)? knife’}\n\[kaˀat\textit{ kuči} \quad \text{‘his knife’}\n
In certain contexts, \textit{kiˀat} may possibly be acting as just an indicator of a different third person referent without any indication of possession. In (45), \textit{kiˀat} is added to the dependent clause marker \textit{=namli} in Clause 374 to distinguish other third person referents, shown in bold face, from the main third person referent who is underlined. In Clause 373, the third person referent, Coyote, is not explicitly stated, but understood from previous clauses. In Clause 374, the use of \textit{kiˀat} in the dependent clause marker \textit{=namli=kiˀ=ąt} in the relative clauses \textit{lążə́ tunóːṭilnamlikíˀat} ‘those who kept stored away the acorns’ and \textit{háwáyi tunóːṭilnamlikíˀat} ‘those who kept every kind of food’ is differentiating Coyote from the people he is dreaming of, who stored away the acorns and kept every kind of food.

(45)  Coyote and the World: 373, RM
\[sąkimás\textit{ huˀútlikíṭ ˀéy}\n\[są=kimas\textit{ huˀuˀ-tl=kiṭ ˀi}\nSAME=thus \text{quit-TR=when} \textit{=HSY1}\n
ˀ\textit{inkílmil} \quad \textit{aṭaˀ}
\text{sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN} \text{again}\n
‘So when \text{he [Coyote]} had finished everything like this, \text{he [Coyote]} went to sleep again.’
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 kiˀqt is not surprising. If in possessive constructions the coreferential dative pronoun kipqt is used as the default possessive for third person referents and kiˀqt and/or kaˀat are used to distinguish possession by other third person referents, then in a relative clause kiˀqt or kaˀat 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 ţunó:tilnamlikˀat ‘those who kept every kind of food’, a hypothetical non-attested form like hqwáyi ţunó:tilnamlikipqt 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, kimoˀosiyq.

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 *kiʔipsák* ‘the boy’ in Clause 306.

(46) Coyote and the World: 306, RM

Coyote and the World: 307

In (47), *kip* refers to *hulk’ó’i* ‘Coyote’.

(47) Coyote and the World: 411, RM
So now Coyote did what Lizard told him:

In (48), kipá in Clause 206 acts as a benefactive and refers to hulk’óˀi ‘Coyote’ in Clause 205.

(48) Coyote and the World: 205, RM

są’ey
mas
hqwáysam
wič
káyikap
sq=ˀi
mas
hqwáy-s-m-(ˀ)
wič
koˀ=y=kop
SAME=HSY1 thus food/eat-CAUS-IMPFV-IMP far go-PROG=when

máy
hiwitwiča
wičkiː
may
ˀínlâm’
may’
hiw-t-wič-a
wič=ki
may’
ˀin-lqm
who/someone tired-INTR-PST2=ˀ far=IN who/someone sleep-INCH

ˀey
ˀîmeymil
hulk’óˀi
=ˀi
ˀimi=mil
hulk’óˀi
=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

są’ey
náŋkilmil
k’amolšil
sq=ˀi
nqm-k-il=mil
k’amol-šil
SAME=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN puma-skin

kipq
tátlnamlikí
kip=q
tat-tl=namli=ki?
3R=PAT good/make-TR=DEP=DST
‘And he lay down on a puma skin which they arranged for him.’
6.1.7.2. kip<sub>t</sub>

The coreferential dative pronoun kip<sub>t</sub> is used as a dative pronoun and most commonly as a possessive pronoun for third person singular referents. (49) shows the coreferential dative pronoun kip<sub>t</sub> used as a possessive.

(49) Coyote and the World: 226, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{są'ey} & \quad \text{kipat} & \quad \text{háyki} & \quad \text{k'ó'tli} & \quad ?\text{ey} \\
\text{sq'=i} & \quad \text{kip=qt} & \quad \text{hay=ki} & \quad \text{k'o'-tl} & \quad '='i \\
\text{SAME=HSY} & \quad 3\text{R=DAT} & \quad \text{net.sack=IN} & \quad \text{be.in-TR} & \quad =\text{HSY1}
\end{align*}
\]

háye ha'temil

háq'aye ha'^t=mil

now carry-INTR=FIN

‘And putting it in his net sac, he took it off.’

(50) shows the coreferential dative pronoun kípat used as a benefactive.

(50) Origins: 46, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{są'ey} & \quad \text{hoṭ} & \quad \text{kimáš} & \quad \text{háwáyi} & \quad \text{kipat} & \quad \text{t'u'qki} \\
\text{sq'=i} & \quad \text{hoṭ} & \quad \text{ki'-mas} & \quad \text{háway} & \quad \text{kip=qt} & \quad \text{t'u'=qk} \\
\text{SAME=HSY} & \quad \text{much} & \quad \text{DST-DSTR} & \quad \text{food/eat} & \quad 3\text{R=DAT} & \quad \text{lay-SEM}
\end{align*}
\]

?eyy ímeymil hulk'o'i.

='i ?i=mi=mil hulk'o'i

=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

‘So he laid down much food for him, Coyote told (later)’

6.1.7.3. kimo'osiyq

Kroeber (1911:367) records an additional pronoun kimosiyq<sup>145</sup> 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.

<sup>145</sup>In his original description of Yuki, Kroeber (1911:367) writes this pronoun as ki-mos-i-at.
kimoˀṣeyyat lánˀa ‘their brother’ occurs in this original version (Kroeber 1902a:18), though kimoˀseyyat does not appear to mean ‘they themselves’ and may be the third person distributive plural dative kimasąt.

A similar-looking form kimoˀosiỳą is found in a few instances in the texts. kimoˀosiỳą 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 kipą, kimoˀosiỳą seems to only refer to previous agent arguments.

In (51), kimasę́ya ‘they to themselves’ appears to behave as a coreferential pronoun, in that it refers to the subject of the previous clause k’ol ˀaṭát ‘the rest of the people’.

(51) Thunder's Twins: 133, RM
sìˀéyy  k’ol ˀaṭát ˀey  táyišyakmil
si=ˀi  k’ol ˀaṭat ˀ=ˀi  ṭay-s-q=mil
NEW=HSY1 other people =HSY1 caught-CAUS?-SEM=FIN
‘And the rest of the people butchered them.’

Thunder's Twins: 134
seˀéy  húytlì ˀeyy  kimoˀseyyą  čani ˀeyy  ˀiñeymil
si=ˀi  huy-tl ˀ=ˀi  kimoˀosiỳą  čan ˀ=ˀi  ˀimi=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), kímoˀoséyyą ‘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
sò̌ėy  t’ōl  tuťtimil  hqawayikčła
sq=ˀi  t’ol  tuk-t=mil  hqway=kiˀ-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
sò̌ėy  kuyiṭpis  k’ōˀil  kìmoˀoséyyą
sop=ˀi  kuy=įṭ=pis  k’ôˀil  kìmoˀosiỳą
but=HSY1 there=JXT=ABL Wailaki DSTR.R
‘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’.

Then as they were approaching the houses, the Wailaki said, “Some people are going toward us in numbers”.

‘And he entered the ceremonial house though none of them said to him, “Enter”!’
(53) is a significant example. In (51), kimoˀosiyą functions as a recipient where meat is given to the argument referred to with kimoˀosiyą. In (52), kimoˀosiyą functions as either a recipient or experiencer of the action of being shot at. In (53), however, kimoˀosiyą functions as an agent. In this example kimoˀosiyą refers to the Wailaki, who are not asking him (Coyote) to enter the ceremonial house. The verb 'imí-‘say’ always takes an agent argument. This shows that kimoˀosiyą is different than the distributive plural patient pronoun kimasą, which only functions as a patient argument.

6.1.8. ŭima ~ tima ~ t’ima ‘self’

ťima ‘self’ refers to the agent, or to the patient, if the verb has no agent argument. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:153) define ŭima as ‘oneself’.

In (54) ŭima refers to a third person singular argument, which is not overtly stated in the clause, while in (55) ŭima is referring to a second person singular argument.

(54) Origins: 123, RM

sąk’eyʔey ŭima ḥąšá ?imísimil.
sq=kiʔi ŭima ḥąšqʔ? ?im-s=mil
SAME=and=HSY1 self again try-CAUS?=FIN
‘Thereupon again he himself tried it.’

(55) Coyote and the World: 280, RM

sąkí: miʔ kup k’ú:htkiwit tákílk
sq=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 ŭima
miʔ kup mik’al-t-il ŭima
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 ŭima used with a first person singular argument.
(56) Sawyer and Schlichten 1984:153, AA

\[
\begin{align*}
\begin{array}{lll}
;qpt'ima & ki & matlek \\
;qp=t'ima & ki' & mat-tl=k \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

1SG.AGT=Self DST do-TR=DECL

‘I’ve done that alone, by myself.’

\(ṭima\) can also add a necessitative meaning\(^{146}\). (57) shows a series of clauses in which \(ṭima\) is used primarily with second person arguments. In Clauses 277-280, \(ṭima\) conveys a meaning of ‘you are to do X’ or ‘you must do X’. Note that in Clause 279, \(ṭima\) refers to a patient pronoun, \(mis\) ‘2SG.PAT’, indicating that \(ṭima\) can be used with patients, as well as agents. In Clause 281, \(ṭima\) does not refer to a second person argument. However, \(k’awlám ṭima\ ‘it is to begin to become light’ could be understood as having a necessitative meaning of a sort, as the implication is that light must begin to appear.

In (57), \(ṭima\) follows verbs without tense morphemes. This is noteworthy, because unless verbs are part of a serial verb construction or end in a relative clause marker, they do end in a tense morpheme. Thus, it may be that \(ṭima\) is being cliticized onto the verb itself.

(57) Coyote and the World: 277, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\begin{array}{llllllll}
sikíṭ & mi & kóyi & kíta & huyki & yič \\
si=kiṭ & miˀ & koˀ-y & kíta & huy=ki & yič \\
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=then 2SG.AGT go-PROG there middle=IN for.a.while

\[
\begin{align*}
\begin{array}{lllll}
hqwaykil & \quad ṭima? \\
hqway-k-il & \quad ṭima \\
food/eat-PNCT-MPSV & \quad self
\end{array}
\end{align*}
\]

‘And when you have traveled to the middle, you are to eat for a while.’

---

\(^{146}\) The necessitative meaning may come out of an emphasis of a particular argument using \(ṭima\). With such an interpretation, perhaps the relevant parts of Clauses 277-280 in (57) would read as ‘you yourself eat, you yourself go on, you yourself fall into the water, you yourself make your way around’. The relevant part of Clause 281 is more difficult to rephrase in this way. However, utilizing a less literal translation one could approximate this type of meaning here too: ‘the sun itself will begin to shine’ or ‘the day itself will begin to dawn’. Such a reading of these examples also could be seen as having a necessitative meaning.
Coyote and the World: 278

\[ \text{sámi} \text{ šúˀnóhkiltána} \text{ kup} \]
\[ \text{squ=mi} \text{ šuˀ-noˀ-h-k-il-tan-a} \text{ kup} \]
SAME=b ut sit/stay-live-DUR-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP sister’s son

\[ \text{mi} \text{ kóˀo} \text{ ṭima} \]
\[ \text{miˀ} \text{ koˀ} \text{ ṭima} \]
2SG.AGT go self

“‘But not sitting there to stay long, sister’s son, you are to go on.’”

Coyote and the World: 279

\[ \text{siką} \text{ mís} \text{ ˀú:k’op} \text{ č’úk} \text{ ṭima} \]
\[ \text{si=ką} \text{ mis} \text{ ˀuk’=op} \text{ č’uk} \text{ ṭima} \]
NEW=thereupon 2SG.PAT water=LAT fall self

“‘And then you are to fall into the water.’”

Coyote and the World: 280

\[ \text{sąkí:} \text{ miˀ} \text{ kup} \text{ k’ú:htkiwit} \text{ tákîlk} \]
\[ \text{są=ki} \text{ miˀ} \text{ kup} \text{ kuhtki=wit} \text{ taˀ-k-il=k} \]
SAME=and 2SG.AGT sister’s son north=ALL flow-PNCT-MPSV=DECL

\[ \text{miˀ} \text{ kup} \text{ mik’átil} \text{ ṭima} \]
\[ \text{miˀ} \text{ kup} \text{ mik’al-t-il} \text{ ṭima} \]
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.’”

Coyote and the World: 281

\[ \text{są} \text{ miˀ} \text{ ˀátá} \text{ ká:meš} \text{ ˀon} \text{ wáčyi} \text{ kíṭa} \]
\[ \text{są} \text{ miˀ} \text{ ˀaṭaˀ} \text{ kaˀ-miš} \text{ ˀon} \text{ wač’-y} \text{ kíṭa} \]
SAME 2SG.AGT again PRX-DSTR? earth teach-PROG there

\[ \text{147 A more accurate free translation might be: ‘Therefore don’t sit there and stay long, sister’s son, you are to go on.’} \]
miˀ  kup  ičyîlop  k'awlám  țima
miˀ  kup  ič-y-il=op  k'aw-lq̃m  țima
2SG.AGT  sister’s.son  JXT-PROG-MPSV=when  light-INCH  self

ˀi:y  ˀimeymil  pilàta  hulk’ôˀi
=ˀi  =ˀimi=mil  pilàt=q  hulk’oˀi
=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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Person</strong></td>
<td>ˀam-, ˀi(t)-, ˀin-</td>
<td>miˀq- ~ miyq-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second Person</strong></td>
<td>mis-</td>
<td>mo’osiyqt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third Person</strong></td>
<td>kim-, ki’at</td>
<td>kimasat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 miˀq̃t ~ miyq̃t 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.
The examples below show kinship prefixes in use. (60) - (62) show the first person singular kinship prefixes 'am-, 'i(t)-, 'in-. These prefixes do not differ in meaning and each seems to be associated with particular kinship terms.
Pronouns

kímil mil ey imey mil.
ki=mil=mil =i =imi=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
sq’ey kipawksil kápt(i) ?iyman’
sq’i kipqw=k’il kap-t ?i-mun’
SAME=HSY1 back=TERM enter-INTR 1SG.KIN.POSS-younger.sister

?ey sá:k’lik ?ey imey mil
?i sak’il=k =i =imi=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
?in-k’ič ko:ma?
?in-k’ič kom-a?
1SG.KIN.POSS-older.brother come-IMP
‘Older brother (sister), come here!’

(63) and (64) are elicited examples of kinship terms with the second person singular prefix mis-.

(63) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:245, MF
misk’an
mis-k’an’
2SG.KIN.POSS-mother
‘your mother’

148 ?in- may be an allomorph of ?am-. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:35) give an example ?in-k’ič ~ ?an-k’ič ‘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
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
sikąˀéy kíŋk’ún’ lil há:mąkil
si=kqˀ=i kim-k’un’ lil haˀ-mq-k-il
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 DST.KIN.POSS-father rock carry-DIR1-PNCT-MPSV
witik ṭ’ąlàčtlmil háwomin(i)k
wit=k ṭ’ąt-lat-tl=mil hawom-nik
throw=DECL leg-break-TR=FIN daylight-NEC?
ka míkilímtlaˀ hil ṭ’ů́t’ismil’
kaˀ mih-k-il=imi-tl(h)αˀ hil ṭ’ů́t’-s=mil=im’
PRX be-PNCT-MPSV-say-TR-Q all foolish-CONT?=FIN=where?
ˀi:y ḳíŋk’ún’
ˀi imeymil kíŋk’ún’
ˀ=i ḳíŋk’ún’
=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 kiˀat 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 kiˀat are used are unknown.
(66) Kroeber 1901a:52, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ki'at} & \quad \text{mun} \\
\text{ki'=qt} & \quad \text{mun}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \textit{mi'qt} ~ \textit{miyqt}.

(67) Origins: 15, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se'ey} & \quad \text{haye} & \quad \text{ki:} & \quad \text{mi'ak'ún'} & \quad \text{k'ąkm'ili} & \quad \text{?ey} \\
\text{si='i} & \quad \text{hą'aye} & \quad \text{ki'?} & \quad \text{mi'?-k'ün'} & \quad \text{k'ąk'-ma-il} & \quad \text{='i}
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=HSY1 now DST 1PL.KIN.POSS-father exist-DIR1-MPSV =HSY1

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ki} & \quad \text{č'o'okšilóˀ} & \quad \text{úk'=op} & \quad \text{mik'al} & \quad \text{ta'óhamwički:} \\
\text{ki'} & \quad \text{č'o'ok=šiloˀ} & \quad \text{uk'=op} & \quad \text{=mik'al} & \quad \text{ta'~h-m-wiṭ=ki?} \\
\end{align*}
\]

DST down.feather=like water=LAT =around flow-DUR-IMPFV-PST2=DST

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?ey} & \quad \text{k'i} & \quad \text{hiṭmil.} \\
\text{='i} & \quad \text{ki'?} & \quad \text{hiṭ=mil}
\end{align*}
\]

=HSY1 DST stop=FIN

‘Now that \textit{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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{namliki} & \quad \text{?ey} & \quad \text{ki:} & \quad \text{méymil} & \quad \text{kimás} & \quad \text{k'ąkésinamlíkí} \\
\text{namliki} & \quad \text{='i} & \quad \text{ki'} & \quad \text{mih=mił} & \quad \text{kimas} & \quad \text{k'ąk'-s=namli=ki?}
\end{align*}
\]

therefore =HSY1 DST be=FIN thus exist-CAUS=DEP=DST

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{miyahk'į:kan' } \\
\text{mi'?-k'įkan' }
\end{align*}
\]

1PL.KIN.POSS-mother’s.brother

‘That is why it is thus, because he caused it to become so, \textit{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
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{kiˀi} & \quad \text{moˀosiyet} & \text{k’aˀanq} \quad \text{nqwewe} \\
\text{kiˀ} & \quad \text{moˀosiyqt} & \text{k’an’=q} \quad \text{nqw-wi}
\end{align*} \]
\begin{align*}
\text{DST} & \quad \text{2PL.DAT mother=PAT} & \text{see-PST1} \\
& \quad \text{‘He saw your mother.’}
\end{align*}

(70) shows kinship terms with a third person distributive plural possessor.

(70) Coyote and the World: 180, RM
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{siˀ’ey} & \quad \text{kimášat} & \text{k’únat} & \text{kimášat} \\
\text{siˀ’} & \quad \text{ki’-mas=qt} & \text{k’un’=qt} & \text{ki’-mas=qt}
\end{align*} \]
\begin{align*}
\text{NEW=HSY1} & \quad \text{DST-DSTR=DAT father=DAT} & \text{DST-DSTR=DAT} \\
\text{k’á:nat} & \quad \text{ey} & \text{nanákmil} & \text{t’ól} \\
\text{k’an’=qt} & \quad \text{=ˀi} & \text{nqának=mił} & \text{t’ol} \\
\text{mother=DAT} & \quad \text{=HSY1} & \text{know=FIN} & \text{hair} \\
& \quad \text{‘Then their fathers and mothers knew the scalps.’}
\end{align*}

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 nouns\textsuperscript{149}.

In (71) miyá̱tk’il ‘toward us’ is formed by adding the terminative case enclitic =k’il to the first person inclusive plural dative pronoun miyát.

(71) Coyote and the World: 119, RM
\[ \begin{align*}
\text{se} & \quad \text{hánkil} & \text{kó̱lityi} & \text{ey} & \text{’iyinom’} \\
\text{si} & \quad \text{han=k’i̱l} & \text{ko̱-lit-y} & \text{=ˀi} & \text{’iyi-nom’}
\end{align*} \]
\begin{align*}
\text{NEW} & \quad \text{house=TERM} & \text{go-DIR2-PROG} & \text{=HSY1} & \text{what-people/tribe}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{149} See §5.4.1.
miyq:tk’il  munaʔ  kóyik  ?ey  ?imeymil  k’ó’il
mi=q=t-k’il  munaʔ  koʔ-y=k  =ʔi  ?imi=mił  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.”’

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 kiʔqt, as
discussed in §6.1.6. Oblique third person forms based on kipqt 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 kiʔqt, forming kiʔq:tap ‘on him’.

(72)  Origins: 34, RM
sopéy  kíta  hulk’o’i  kiʔq:tap  pántlilmil.
sop=ʔi  kíta  hulk’o’i  kiʔq=at=ap  pan-tl-il=mił
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
seʔey  hánkil  kayit  naŋáka  ?ey
si=ʔi  han=k’il  kayit  naŋak=k’áʔ  =ʔi
NEW=HSY1  house=TERM  long.ago  know=PRX?  =HSY1

humą’s  kí:k’il  kómmil
humąs  kiʔ=k’il  kom=mił
straight/correct  DST=TERM  come=FIN
‘And already knowing the house, he came straight toward it.’
6.1.11. Interrogative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hąy ‘how’</td>
<td>Origins: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hąy ‘how’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hąy ‘what’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?iyi ‘what’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?iyiki ‘what (there)’</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?iyon ‘what’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?im ‘where’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may’ ~ may ~ moy ‘who’</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayq ‘who=PAT’</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayet ‘whose’ (who=DAT)</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?i:up ‘why’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumuč ‘why don’t (you)... (impolite)’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Yuki Interrogative Pronouns

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 hąy ‘how’ and (75) shows an example of hąy ‘how many’.

(74) Origins: 4, RM

seʔey    ?i:meymil  hulk’óʔi    ?im    hąy ‘how’ kí  mihálk
siʔi    ?imi=mi  hulk’oʔi    ?im    hąy ‘how’ kí  mih=hq=k
NEW=HSY1  say=FIN  Coyote  ?  how  DST  be=INFR1=DECL

hąy ‘how’  nqwiwálk.

hąy ‘how’  nq=hq=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.
The difference between ḥąy ‘what’, ḯiyi ‘what’, and ḯiyon ‘what’ is not completely clear, as ḥąy and ḯiyon are known only from Kroeber’s (1911:367) report of these forms. In his list of Yuki interrogative pronouns, while glossing ḥąy as ‘what?’, he glosses ḯiyi and ḯiyon as ‘what? something’. (76) shows an example of ḯiyi ‘what’.

(76) Coyote and the World: 16, RM

se initView ḯiyi ḱap ḥøyimitéyha ḱey ḱimeymil.

NEW=HSY1 what 1SG.AGT too-say-Q =HSY1 say=FIN

“This ḥoy’my what am I telling about?” he said.’

ӄiyi ‘what’ can also be made to ask a more particular question by adding the inessive case ending =ki, as in ḯiyiki ‘what (there)’, as shown in (77) and (78).

(77) se initView hulk’ọ’i h’il(i)kšiloʔ kúp=k’il Ḯiyiki

NEW=HSY1 Coyote everything point=TERM? what=IN

pánhaʔ ḱey ḱimismil
pan-haʔ =’i ḱimi-s=mil
hang-Q =HSY1 say-CONT?=FIN

‘Pointing at everything, Coyote said, “What is that hanging?”’

(78) Coyote and the World: 308, RM

símeyʔey ši’am wítk’am Ḯiyőkî

si=mi=’i ši’am wík’-ám Ḯiɣi=ki

NEW=then=HSY1 after.a.while rear?=IN2 what=IN
kiŋki                         pánhaˀ          ˀeyy         ˀímeymil       hulk'oˀi
kim'=ki                     pan-haˀ      =ˀi               ˀimi=mil        hulk'oˀi
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.’

ˀiyi can also be used as a modifier meaning ‘some’ or ‘some kind’ in words like ˀeyyínom’ ‘some tribe’ (ˀiyi ‘what’ + nom’ ‘people, tribe’), as shown in (79).

(79) Coyote and the World: 96, RM
seˀéy                 ˀeyyínom’    miyątkil’           ko:lítyik
si=ˀi                   ˀiyi-nom’    mi=qt=k’IL      koˀ^2-lit-y=k
NEW=HSY1  what-people/tribe 1PL.INCL=DAT=TERM go-DIR2-PROG=DECL

ˀey            ˀimą ́lilmil                                        k’óˀil
=ˀi             ˀimi-mą-l-il=mil                             k'oˀil
=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 ˀiyqwan ‘when’.

(80) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 235, MF
ˀiyqwan maʼ (~mi’)    koʻotpaʼamha
ˀiyqwan miʼ    koˀ^2-t-pa’am-ha
when 2SG.AGT    go-INTR-FUT-Q
‘When are you going?’

(81) shows an example of ˀim ‘where’.

(81) Coyote and the World: 19, RM
ˀim                 ki:  yim   չիyimʃləmha        kup     ˀiy
ˀim                 ki?  yim   չiʃ-mq-i-l=ha     kup     =ˀi
where DST fire  glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-Q sister’s.son =HSY1
“Where does that fire gleam at times, sister’s son?” said Coyote.

(82) shows an example of ʼmay’ ‘who’.

(82) Coyote and the World: 122 (excerpt), RM

\[\begin{align*}
\text{māy} & \quad ?i\text{wop mih-tan } ?i: \quad yáwmil \quad ho:τ \quad nə:p \\
\text{māy’} & \quad ?i\text{wop mih-tan } ?i \quad yqw=\text{mil} \quad ho:τ \quad nə=op? \\
\text{who/someone} & \quad \text{man be-NEG 1SG.PAT name/call=FIN large live=while?}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{han } & \quad ?a: \quad kó:mil \quad ?iy \quad ?\text{imeymil } hulk’o:i \\
\text{han } & \quad ?a: \quad kó\’=\text{mil} \quad =?i \quad ?\text{imi=mil } hulk’o:i \\
\text{but } & \quad 1\text{SG.AGT go=FIN } =\text{HSY1 say=FIN Coyote}
\end{align*}\]

\[k’o\’\text{olk’ána=k}ok\]
\[ko\’\text{ol-k’}q=\text{q=}-\text{ok}\]

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.’

\textit{may’} ‘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 \textit{māyq }’ohišś ‘who is swift’, which contains a patient-marked question word\(^{151}\), \textit{māyq} ‘who=PAT’ is \textit{pāwkq} ‘one in particular’ (‘one=PAT’).

(83) Coyote and the World: 52, RM

\[\begin{align*}
\text{sópey} & \quad \text{māyq} \quad ?\text{ohišś milimaʔ} \quad \text{pāwkq} \quad =?y \\
sop=ʔi & \quad \text{māy’}=q \quad ?\text{ohišś milimaʔ} \quad \text{pāwkq} \quad =?i \\
\text{but=HSY1} & \quad \text{who/someone=PAT} \quad \text{swift nobody.I.think one.PAT } =\text{HSY1}
\end{align*}\]

\(^{151}\) See §5.3.2 for discussion of grammatical patients and other core argument types.
swift-IMPFV=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

*mąyet*            *kiṭe*  *ke*     *meha*
*mąy’=qt*           *kiṭi*   *kiʔ*   *mih-ha*

*who/someone=DAT*  *cat*   *DST*   *be-Q*

‘*Whose* cat is that?’

(85) shows an example of *ˀiyup* ‘why’.

(85) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 237, AA

ˀiyup  *meʔ*         *ki*       *matlha*
ˀiyup  *miʔ*         *kiʔ*      *mat-tlʔ-ha*

*why*  2SG.AGT   *DST*  *do-TRʔ-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

*sumuč* *kimase*     *han*     *koʔ*    *ṭałtele(k)*
*sumuč* *kiʔ-mas-i*  *han*     *koʔ*    *ṭql-t-l=k*

*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 kaʔ 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 ʔehkil’ ‘towards me’ and ʔehpis ‘away from me’, the case ending appears to be affixed to a pronoun ʔeh ~ ?eh, which is different than the Huchnom first person singular agent pronoun epe ~ epeː.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yuki</th>
<th>Huchnom</th>
<th>Coast Yuki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG.AGT</td>
<td>ṭąp</td>
<td>ṭepe ~ ṭepe:</td>
<td>ṭébbæ ~ ṭépe ~ ṭa:~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG.PAT</td>
<td>ṭi</td>
<td>ṭi:</td>
<td>ṭi ~ ṭ-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG.DAT</td>
<td>ṭit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.AGT</td>
<td>miˀ</td>
<td>me ~ meˀ</td>
<td>miˀ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.PAT</td>
<td>mis</td>
<td>mis</td>
<td>mis ~ -s (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG.DAT</td>
<td>mit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.AGT</td>
<td>kiˀ (DST), kaˀ (PRX)</td>
<td>keˀ, ka</td>
<td>ki (DST), ka (PRX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.PAT</td>
<td>kiˀq (DST)</td>
<td>keˀ, ka</td>
<td>ki’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.DAT</td>
<td>kipat (3R)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ki’e̱at ^152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DST=DAT</td>
<td>ki’qt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRX=DAT</td>
<td>kaˀqt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL.AGT</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>mi:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL.PAT</td>
<td>miyą</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL.DAT</td>
<td>miyąt</td>
<td>mǐët</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL.AGT</td>
<td>ṭus</td>
<td>ṭus</td>
<td>ṭʰs ~ ṭus:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL.PAT</td>
<td>ṭusq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL.DAT</td>
<td>ṭusq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL.AGT</td>
<td>moˀos</td>
<td>mó, meˀ kanė</td>
<td>moˀs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL.PAT</td>
<td>moˀosiyą</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL.DAT</td>
<td>moˀosiyąt</td>
<td></td>
<td>moˀseˀat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.AGT</td>
<td>kimas (animate)</td>
<td>mase</td>
<td>máse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.PAT</td>
<td>kimasq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL.DAT</td>
<td>kimasq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Northern Yukian Pronouns ^153 (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 ki’at. It is not clear from context whether Coast Yuki ki’e’at is anything other than a third person dative pronoun. See (95) for an elicited clause containing ki’e’at.

^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 epé contrasts with first person patient ſí.

(87a) Lamb 1955:81, LJ
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ke} & \quad ?i' \quad \text{čəniyə} \\
\text{DST} & \quad \text{1SG.PAT} \quad \text{gave.it}
\end{align*}
\]
‘he gave it to me’

(87b) Lamb 1955:81, LJ
\[
\begin{align*}
?epe' & \quad \text{čəniyə} \\
\text{1SG.AGT} & \quad \text{gave.it}
\end{align*}
\]
‘I gave it to him’

Huchnom dative pronouns are poorly documented. In (88), the oblique first person forms ᵇehkil’ ‘towards me’ and ᵇehpis ‘away from me’ are formed from ᵇeh ~ ᵇeh.

(88a) Lamb 1955:79, LJ
\[
\begin{align*}
mʌ̨y' & \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{ko'yiki} \quad \text{ʾehkil’} \\
mʌ̨y' & \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{ko'yiki} \quad \text{ʾeh=kil’}
\end{align*}
\]
somebody PRX coming me=towards
‘somebody coming towards me’

(88b) Lamb 1955:79, LJ
\[
\begin{align*}
?ehpis & \quad \text{ko'tike} \\
?eh=pis & \quad \text{ko'tike}
\end{align*}
\]
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 ‘us ‘we’. This would appear analogous to Yuki first person plural exclusive agent ‘us.

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:  mik’a:lisaʔ
house 1PL.INCL go.around.IMP
‘let’s go around the house’

(90) Lamb 1955:66, LJ
kΩ:maʔ    mi:     k’esin’
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
keʔ   kΩ:mƗkɪʻ
DST coming
‘he is coming’

(91b) Lamb 1955:73, LJ
εpe    pƛʔkƛ   kαʔyƛ:
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.
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). In (93), the first person singular agent pronoun æbbæ ~ æpe appears phonetically reduced as æa- preceding the verb root mi- ‘drink’.

(93) Harrington 1942-1943:386, LP
Æk’ æaminæ?
Æk’ æami=minnæ?
water 1SG.AGT=going.to.drink
‘I am going to drink water’

In (94), the first person singular patient pronoun ì appears as =y in di’day ‘I am sick in bed’. Also, note the absence of =y in the third person form di’dæ ‘he is sick’, which shows that =y is marking first person in di’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
Di’day ‘I am sick in bed’
Di’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, \textit{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. \textit{-a-} in some pronouns, such as \textit{mi`atay} ‘2SG.DAT=1SG.PAT’, is most likely an epenthetic vowel.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{mí`atay} ham ‘I like you’
\item \textit{ki`e`atay} ham ‘I like him’
\item \textit{mó`se`atay} hám ‘I like ye’
\item \textit{mi`at} \textit{kr`e} hám ‘he likes you’
\end{itemize}

Kroeber (1902c:72) translates Coast Yuki \textit{ki} as ‘he’, but also as ‘that one’ and \textit{ka} as ‘that one (here)’, which suggests that \textit{ki} and \textit{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 \textit{ki} and \textit{ka} are only found functioning as pronouns.

In (96), distal \textit{k`i`} is acting as a third person pronoun ‘that fellow’, and in (97), proximal \textit{k`áw} is also acting as a third person pronoun.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{t`ó`o`l k`í` mehe` DST is ‘that fellow is a boss’}
\item \textit{k`áw méhhæ PRX is ‘this here, it is here’}
\end{itemize}

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: \textit{`u:s} elicited by Kroeber and \textit{`ʊ`s} 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 \textit{mi`et ‘our’} (SS), which resembles the Yuki and Huchnom first person plural inclusive series of pronouns. No clauses exist containing Coast Yuki \textit{mi`et ‘our’}, therefore its
function relative to ‘ōsə‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yuki</th>
<th>Huchnom</th>
<th>Coast Yuki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>'itin</td>
<td>'ête ~ 'ête:</td>
<td>'ɪ̋d̥d̥æ~ 'îte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>mit</td>
<td>me?</td>
<td>mɪ́d̥d̥æ~ mîte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>kipqt</td>
<td>ká:</td>
<td>kʻɪ́ˀæʻt'ɪ̋l'α, kʻɪ́ˀæʻtʻ ~ kʻet (DST)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kʻα'α't'il'α, kʻā'α't' ~ ká'at (PRX)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>miyát (inclusive)</td>
<td></td>
<td>mî'et 'our'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>'usåt (exclusive)</td>
<td>'úsa</td>
<td>'ōsə‘t'ɪl'α, 'ōsə‘t’ 'our'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>mo'osiyát</td>
<td></td>
<td>m{o}sə‘t'il'α, m{o}sə' t'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>kimasåt</td>
<td></td>
<td>má'sə‘ t'il'α, má'sə' t'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
ète han    ‘my house’
ká: han    ‘his house’
me' han    ‘your house’
'úsa han    ‘our house’
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'ɪl'α. No clear cognate form is known in Yuki or Huchnom. 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'ɪl'α to my or s[singular] yours.” There also existed a long and short form for the possessive interrogative pronoun: ᐯé’eˑt’ ᣇ̂nt’ǝl’, ᐯé’eˑt’ɪ ̋l’α ᣇ̂nt’ǝl’ ‘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

ґȏ’d̥d̥z̥æ’ ‘my nose’

mí’d̥d̥æ’ henties’l’ ‘your nose (sg.)’

k’í’æˑt’ɪ’ll’α henties’l’ ‘his nose, that fellow’s nose’

’d̥s̥æˑt’ɪ’ll’α henties’l’, ’d̥s̥æˑt’ ‘our noses’

k’ă’æˑt’ɪ’ll’α henties’l’, k’ă’æˑt’ ‘this one’s nose’

mò’š̥æˑt’ ‘henties’l’, mò’š̥æˑt’ɪ’ll’α henties’l’ ‘yer noses’

máˑs̥æˑt’ ‘henties’l’, máˑs̥æˑt’ɪ’ll’α henties’l’ ‘their noses’

(100) Harrington 1942-1943:258, LP

ґȏ’d̥d̥z̥æ’ ‘hog’

’f̥d̥d̥æ’ gó’d̥d̥z̥æ’ ‘my hog’

mí’d̥d̥d̥æ’ gó’d̥d̥z̥æ’ ‘your (sg.) hog’

’oˑs̥æˑt’ɪ’ll’α gó’d̥d̥z̥æ’ ‘our pig [hog]’

mò’št’ɪ’ll’α gó’d̥z̥æ’ ‘yer pig’

One possible connection could be to Yuki ṭima ‘self’. Coast Yuki -t’ɪl’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.
Pronouns

(101) Harrington 1942-1943: 286, LP

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hên} & \quad \text{‘house’} \\
?i?d?q\text{æ} \ hên & \quad \text{‘my house’} \\
k‘fy\text{yæ’} \ t’r’il\text{a} \ hên & \quad \text{‘that’s his house’} \\
?o?s\text{æ’t’il\text{a} hên} & \quad \text{‘that’s our house} \\
m\text{o’sæ’t’il\text{a} hên} & \quad \text{‘it is yer house’}
\end{align*}
\]

(102) shows a short clause\(^{156}\) containing the possessive pronoun \(m\text{ité ‘your’}\).

(102) Kroeber 1902c:97h, SS

\[
\begin{align*}
m\text{olme } m\text{ité } hew\text{šet } mehe \\
\text{three your dog be} \\
\text{‘I [you?] have 3 dogs.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Coast Yuki also distinguishes two types of first person plural possessive pronouns \(m\text{ité ‘our’ and òs\text{æ’t’ ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yuki</th>
<th>Huchnom</th>
<th>Coast Yuki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>haymás</em> ‘how, how much, how many’</td>
<td><em>haymas</em> ~ <em>há’ymas</em> ‘how, how many’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hay</em> ‘what’</td>
<td><em>hAY</em> ‘what’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>?iyi</em> ‘what’</td>
<td><em>?igaë</em> ‘what’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>?iyiki</em> ‘what (is) that’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>?iwin</em> ~ <em>?iyowan</em> ~ <em>?iyowan</em> ‘when’</td>
<td><em>?iyowan</em> ‘when’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>?im</em> ‘where’</td>
<td>*’em’ ~ <em>’em’m</em> ‘where’</td>
<td><em>?ên</em> ‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>’em’kil</em> ‘to where’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>’em’pis</em> ‘from where’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>may</em> ‘who’</td>
<td><em>may</em> ‘who’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*may’k’a ‘who (is) this?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mayq</em> ‘who=PAT’</td>
<td></td>
<td>*?é’ ‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mayet</em> ‘whose’ (who=DAT)</td>
<td></td>
<td>*?é’e’t’, <em>?é’e’t’l’æ</em> ‘whose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>?iyup</em> ‘why’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 yəwʔə* ‘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
\[h_{4}\text{y}m_{4}s\text{ m}u_{4}spe:\text{ m}eh\text{'}h_{4}\text{ 'h}ow\text{ m}any\text{ g}irls?\]

An example of \(h_{4}\text{y}\) 'what' is shown in (106).

(106) Lamb 1955:119, LJ
\[h_{4}\text{y}\text{'}imiy}_{4}a:\text{ 'w}hat\text{ h}e\text{ s}ay?\]

\(?_{4}y_{4}w_{4}m_{4}\) ‘when?’ is shown elicited as a single word in (107) and (108).

(107) Lamb 1955:41, LJ
\[?_{4}y_{4}w_{4}m_{4}\] ‘when?’

(108) Lamb 1955:72, LJ
\[?_{4}y_{4}w_{4}m_{4}\] ‘when’

Examples of \(?_{4}m_{4}\) ‘where’ are shown in (109).

(109) Lamb 1955:41–2, LJ
\[?_{4}m_{4}\text{'}m_{4}\] ‘where?’
\[?_{4}m_{4}\text{'}k_{4}e\text{'}meh\text{'h}_{4}\] ‘where is he?’
\[?_{4}m_{4}\text{'}m_{4}\text{' me\text{' m}eh\text{'a}\] ‘where are you (sg.)?’

\(?_{4}m_{4}\) ‘where’ can also be affixed with locative case endings forming directional question words, as shown in (110).

(110) Lamb 1955:103, LJ
\[?_{4}m_{4}\text{'}k_{4}i_{4}l_{4}\text{'}m_{4}\text{' k}_{4}o_{4}h_{4}\] ‘(to) where are you going?’
\[?_{4}m_{4}\text{'}p_{4}i_{4}s_{4}\text{ m}e\text{' k}_{4}o_{4}m_{4}\] ‘where you coming from?’

An example of \(m_{4}y_{4}\) ‘who’ is shown in (111). (112) shows \(m_{4}y_{4}\) ‘who’ followed or affixed with the proximal demonstrative \(k_{4}a\), forming the question \(m_{4}y_{4}\text{'k}_{4}a\) ‘who’s this?’ This same process is seen in the Yuki question \(?_{4}y_{4}i_{4}k_{4}\) ‘what (is) that’.

(111) Lamb 1955:52, LJ
\[m_{4}y_{4}\text{'} m_{4}s\text{ y}_{4}w_{4}ah_{4}n_{4}a:\text{li}_{4}\text{ 'w}ho\text{ n}amed\text{ you?}\]
When not used as a question, may’ ‘who’ can also be used as a pronoun meaning ‘someone’, as shown in (113).

(113) Lamb 1955:57, LJ

hanps m4y’ ko’oki ‘somebody going away from here’

hanki’ m4y’i ko’oki ‘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

’ên’ me’lo’ ‘where is it?’

(115) Harrington 1942-1943:397, LP

’ígá mák’me’lo’ ‘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 present\footnote{See Chapter 3 for further discussion of morphophonology.}

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 itself\footnote{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, šarteštek’e ‘I’m getting cold’ < šartešek + ʔi. The pronoun is here intermediate between a word and a suffix... Compare, however, čarna ʔi ‘Give it to me’, where the pronoun follows the verb but remains an independent word. (2) In the speech of Arthur Anderson, ’ap ’I’ sometimes becomes ’ap, its vowel being assimilated to an u in the following verb, for example, kawaye ’ap munhek ’I’m going to steal that horse.’ In this case, the pronoun could be considered prefixed to the verb.”}. Instead, arguments are referenced using switch-reference markers\footnote{See §14.1.} 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 constructions\footnote{See §15.10.4.}, verbs can occur as bare roots without any additional verb morphology.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body Prefixes</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi- / me-</td>
<td>-lqm</td>
<td>-mq,</td>
<td>-h</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'belonging to the hand or foot'</td>
<td>inchoative</td>
<td>directional</td>
<td>punctual</td>
<td>causative</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>-kut</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-tl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'belonging to the head'</td>
<td>inceptive</td>
<td>andative</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>continuative-iterative</td>
<td>transitive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-</td>
<td>-lit</td>
<td>-q, ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'belonging to the head or mouth'</td>
<td>directional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha- / ham-</td>
<td>-q, ?</td>
<td>-lim ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'unclear, perhaps 'to do with the senses'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>IX</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>XII</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-il</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-mil'</td>
<td>-ṭam</td>
<td>=mil</td>
<td>=ki'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mediopassive</td>
<td>semelfactive</td>
<td>past habitual</td>
<td>negative</td>
<td>finite</td>
<td>dependent clause marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(a)m</td>
<td></td>
<td>-law(h)</td>
<td></td>
<td>=k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td></td>
<td>permissive</td>
<td></td>
<td>declarative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-pa',</td>
<td>(pa'am occurs before</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ha(’)</td>
<td>-ha(’) in questions; -kop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>imperativ</td>
<td>in adverbial clauses)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-a(’)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>-nik</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-han</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wiṭ(k)</td>
<td>completed past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>=hāli</td>
<td>inferential evidential</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>=sik</td>
<td>hearsay evidential</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>=namli</td>
<td>dependent clause marker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 CVC\(^{162}\). Words of other word classes can function as verb roots when suffixed with verb morphology\(^{163}\). Examples of this are shown in Table 18.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woknám ‘initiation’ (OG:115a)</td>
<td>woknámespa’ ‘(they) shall make initiation’ (OG:177b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kimás ‘thus’ (CW:185)</td>
<td>kimáseypamikí ‘thus (they) would do’ (CW:36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tat ‘good, well’ (CW:255)</td>
<td>tatállmil ‘(he) made himself over’ (CW:255)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 nqw- ‘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)ol’. As in šu- ‘sit, stay’ and šuhol ‘one who stays’ (CW:255). See §7.5.7 for further discussion.
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 \textasciitilde{nq}_- ‘belonging to the head or mouth’ occurs in \textasciitilde{nq}nákuč ‘remembered’ and \textasciitilde{ha}_m- ‘(perhaps) to do with the senses’ occurs in \textasciitilde{ha}_mlótu ‘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 classifier\textsuperscript{164}.

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, -\textasciitilde{wi} ‘past’ and -\textasciitilde{wi}\textasciitilde{tk} ‘completed past’, and also a future tense -\textasciitilde{pa}\textasciitilde{t}. In the texts, the finite verb enclitic =\textasciitilde{mi}_l is very common.

7.4.1.1. =\textasciitilde{mi}_l finite

The function of =\textasciitilde{mi}_l is described by Kroeber (1911:371) as: “The suffix -\textasciitilde{mi}_l ... 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.”

=\textasciitilde{mi}_l is ubiquitous in the many Yuki legends and myths recorded by Kroeber. =\textasciitilde{mi}_l is also found throughout the Feather Dance Narrative, which appears to be a description

\textsuperscript{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
siˀéy haye kimás huˀdtlmil
siˀ=ˀi haˀqaye kiˀ-mas huˀuˀˀ-tl=ˀmil
NEW=HSY1 now DST-DSTR quit-TR=FIN
‘So now he completed that.’

Coyote and the World: 403b
sqˀéy haye mipát ˀuˀk’ámːnːːma tatilmil
sqˀ=ˀi haˀqaye mipat ˀuˀk’omnom=ˀq tat=mil
SAME=HSY1 now hand Ukomnom=PAT good/make=FIN
kip=ˀil mio=E ˀey ˀáˀt’ismil
kip=ˀiq ˀil mio=E=ˀt=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
simópey háye sˀáˀṭ’in kómːmil hulk’oˀ’i mipat
si-mop=ˀi haˀqaye sˀáˀṭ’in kom=mil hulk’oˀ’i mipat
NEW-but=HSY1 now Lizard come=FIN Coyote hand
ˀaˀt’ata kípat ˀiló=r ˀiló=r ˀáˀt’ismil
ˀaˀt’at=q kíp=q ˀiló=r=s=ˀt
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 kiˀ yaːštiwǐčk
sum kiˀ yqš-t-wiṭk
yesterday DST stand-INTR-PST2
‘He stood up yesterday.’

(3) Siniard 1967a:47, MF
sum ḯq woktlįwǐčk
sum ḯq wok’-tl-wiṭk
yesterday 1SG.AGT dance/sing-TR-PST2
‘I danced yesterday.’

(4) Crawford 1953, FL
 ḯq k’oːtlįlwǔč
 ḯq k’oˀ-tl-il-wiṭ
1SG.AGT scratch-TR-MPSV-PST2
‘I scratched myself.’

(5) Crawford 1953, FL
 ḯq č’a:klitwit
 ḯq č’ak’-lit-wiṭ
1SG.AGT club-DIR2-PST2
‘I clubbed it.’

(6) Crawford 1953, FL
 ḯq hiːletu
 ḯq 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’otliwuč may be the same as k’oˀ ‘be in.’
speakers conceived of time and chose to express that conception in their language. However, it is consistent with the available evidence that \textit{mil} is used in Yuki as a means for marking events that occur without a specific time reference.

The status of \textit{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 \textit{mil}. Therefore, instead of being suffixed to individual verbs, \textit{mil} comes at the end of the verb phrase. An example of \textit{mil} at the end of serial verb constructions is shown in (7) and (8).

\begin{verbatim}
(7) Coyote and the World: 12, RM
siʔey hulk’oʔi mil ʔojic2 nq2 sopes tit
siʔi hulk’oʔi mil ʔoʔic2 =nq sopes tit
NEW-HSY1 Coyote meat/deer pounded =and shoulder together.on.top

ʔey ʔoʔic2ki p’oyi ʔey haʔtéyli
ʔi ʔoʔic2ki p’oy =ʔi haʔ-t-il
=HSY1 winnowing.basket=IN put =HSY1 carry-INTR-MPSV

lák(e)mil hulk’oʔi loʔopsʔat’k’il
lak’-t=mil hulk’oʔi lopis=qt=k’il
emerge-INTR=FIN Coyote Jackrabbit=DAT=TERM
‘And Coyote putting pounded meat and shoulder in an (openwork basketry) plate, and \textbf{carrying it with him, he went out} to Jackrabbit.’

(8) Feather Dance Narrative: 17, RM
sámey kimáše ʔán hqp šú:kmil.
sq-mí kiʔ-mas-i ʔan hqp šuʔ-k=mil
SAME-and.then DST-DSTR-ANIM long.time song/sing sit/stay-PNCT=FIN
‘And then they \textbf{sit down and sing}.’
\end{verbatim}
7.4.1.2. -paˀ, -paˀam future

-\(\text{pa}\) is used as a marker of the future tense\(^{166}\). This suffix has the form \(-\text{pa}ˀ\am\) before the interrogative suffix \(-\text{ha}\), the adverbial clause enclitic \(\text{=kop}\) ‘though, although’, and in dependent clauses formed by suffixing the distal demonstrative \(\text{ki}ˀ\).

In (9) and (10), the reference to a future time is also shown using \(\text{haw}\) ‘tomorrow’.

(9) Siniard 1967a:47, MF
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haw} & \quad \text{ki}'? & \quad \text{k'\text{in}-pa}' \\
\text{tomorrow} & & \text{cry-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘She’s \text{gonna cry} tomorrow.’

(10) Siniard 1967a:59, MF
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mo'os} & \quad \text{haw} & \quad \text{nan} & \quad \text{t'\text{i}-qk-pa}' \\
\text{2PL.AGT tomorrow fence fly-SEM-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘You fellows \text{are gonna jump} over the fence tomorrow.’

(11) and (12) show examples of \(-\text{pa}\) used in the texts.

(11) Coyote and the World: 354, RM
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{siki\text{tey}} & \quad \text{ká} & \quad \text{mit} & \quad \text{kup} & \quad \text{?onapa}' & \quad \text{?an} \\
\text{si=qit=’} & \quad \text{ka'?} & \quad \text{mit} & \quad \text{kup} & \quad \text{?on-a?-pa}' & \quad \text{?an} \\
\text{NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister's.son earth-?-FUT long.time}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{son} & \quad \text{mi'?} & \quad \text{kup} & \quad \text{k'qk'\text{ít-s-pa}'} \\
\text{therefore 2SG.AGT sister's.son exist-INC-CAUS-FUT}
\end{align*}
\]

“\text{This, sister's son, shall always be your place; but you shall rise first.”}
sąkiṭa ˀiťin ʰáp  wo’ókešpaʔ
sq=kiṭa ˀiťin hap  wok’-s-paʔ
SAME=then 1SG.POSS song/sing dance/sing-CAUS-FUT
‘My song they shall sing.’

Origins: 177b
sąkiṭa ˀāp  woknámtlu  kimáš
sq=kiṭa ˀāp  woknam-tl-wi  kiʔ-š-mas
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.’

Origins: 178
sąkiṭa ˀtiʔol  k’qk’ampaʔ  ʔey  ʔímeymil
sq=kiṭa ˀtiʔol  k’qk’-m-paʔ  =ʔi  ʔími=šmil
SAME=then chief exist-IMPFV-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

taykómol ˀu:k’omnóʔoma.
taykomol ˀuk’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 -paʔ 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 -paʔ and -pa’am.
(13) Siniard 1967a:101, MF
>i:yowin miˀ kʰoˀʔotpaˀamha
>i:yowin miˀ koˀ-t-paˀam-ha
where 2SG.AGT go-INTR-FUT-Q
‘Where are you going?’

(14) Coyote and the World: 385, RM
seˀéy hâye šúˀumil kómpaˀaŋkon
siˀ=i ḥâˀaye šuˀ=mil kom-paˀam=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 kiˀ. As stated above, in such clauses the future tense allomorph -paˀam is used instead of -paˀ.

(15) Coyote and the World: 251 (excerpt), RM
sikiṭéy t’íma hoy ta:tʃkilpaːmikí:
si=kit=ˀi tiːma hoy tat-k-il-paˀam=kiˀ
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
ˀey šaˀąk onhâhin píntimil
ˀey saˀąk on=hâhin pin-t=mil
=HSY1 some.of earth=under be.scattered-INTR=FIN
ki: hilkšiloˀ ˀónpis čúhampaːmikí:
ki: hilkšiloˀ ˀon=pis č’uh-m-paˀam=kiˀ
DST everything earth=ABL grow-IMPFV-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
komwi ‘came’
lįʔaku ‘killed’
mihwič koy ‘has been there before’
ʔapəl kowič ‘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
si ki nąk ʔey hulk’oʔá ʔinámtmil
si kiʔ nąk =ʔi hulk’oʔi=q ʔinam-t=mil
NEW DST dark/night =HSY1 Coyote=PAT dream-INTR=FIN

ʔətət kúhtkiwit yíːtiwi kimáša
ʔətət kuhtki=wit yíʔ-t-wi kiʔ=mas=q
people north=ALL play-INTR-PST1 DST-DSTR=PAT

liːtámšik ʔiy ʔimeymil hulk’oʔi
liʔ-t-m-sik =ʔi ʔimi=mił hulk’oʔi
kill-INTR-IMPFV-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

\[ \text{Kayít} \quad \text{ʔúša} \quad \text{nqánákwí} \quad \text{sikéki} \quad \text{ʔús} \quad k'ólam \]
\[ \text{Kayít} \quad \text{ʔus=q} \quad \text{nqnak-wí} \quad \text{sikiki} \quad \text{ʔus} \quad k'ol-am \]

long.ago 1PL.EXCL=PAT know-PST1 therefore 1PL.EXCL.AGT other-NOML

tíweyu  \quad \text{ʔey} \quad \text{ʔcmálíml} \quad kip’áwwop

tiw-wi  \quad =\text{i} \quad \text{ʔimi-mq-l-il=mil} \quad kipqw=op

\text{pursue-PST1} =\text{HSY1} \quad \text{say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN} \quad \text{back=LAT}

šayya?  \quad \text{ʔóp'a} \quad k'óil \quad toktlnámikimási
šay=a  \quad \text{ʔopi=a} \quad k'ó'il \quad t'ok-tl=namli=kiʔ-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

sqʔéy  \quad \text{ʔqp} \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{ʔúnmawi} \quad \text{ki:}

sq=\text{i} \quad \text{ʔqp} \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{ʔun-mq-wí} \quad \text{kiʔ}

SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT meat/deer carry-DIR1-PST1 DST

kápisa  \quad ḥqawayilitia  \quad \text{ʔey} \quad \text{ʔimeyml} \quad hulk'ó'ĩ
kap-s-a  \quad ḥqaway-lit-aʔ  \quad =\text{i} \quad \text{ʔimi=mel} \quad hulk'ó'ĩ

enter-CAUS-IMP food/eat-DIR2-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

kimáša  \quad musʔaʔ
kiʔ-mas=q  \quad 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 kiʔ acting as a relativizer. Verbs ending in -wi are not found with relativizers. In (21), ‘úk'op mik’al taʔćhamwičkí: ‘(he) who had been floating in a circle in the water’ and in (22), piląt ʔús'at waṭimwičkí: ‘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.

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167 See §15.10.3 for further discussion of relative clauses formed with =kiʔ.
(21) Origins: 15, RM

se’ey haye ki: mi’ak’un’ k’ąkmíli ?ey
si=’i haq’aye ki’ mi’q-k’un’ k’ąk’-mq-il =’i

NEW=HSY1 now DST 1PL.KIN.POSS-father exist-DIR1-MPSV =HSY1

ki č’o’okšiló’ ?ú:k’op mik’ál
ki’ č’o’ok=šilo’ ?uk’=op =mik’al

DST down.feather=like water=LAT =around

’taʔóhamwičkí: ?ey ki hiʔmil.
taʔ-h-m-wiṭ=kiʔ =’i ki’ hiʔ=mil

flow-DUR-IMPFV-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

sqʔéy kíwismil ’im ’usʔat pilát:
sq=’i kíw-s=mil ’im ’us=qt pilát

SAME=HSY1 ask-CAUS=FIN where 1PL.EXCL=DAT sun

’usʔat wáʔtimwičkí: ká’en k’omläme
’us=qt wáʔt’-m-wič=kiʔ ka’in k’om-ląm

1PL.EXCL=DAT steal-IMPFV-PST2=DST PRX.LOC? make.noise-INCH

mis hą́ltha ?ey ’im kíwismil hulk’ó’a
mis hąl-t-ha’ =’i ’im kíw-s=mil hulk’o’i=q

2SG.PAT hear-INTR-Q =HSY1 thus ask-CAUS=FIN Coyote=PAT

kimási
kiʔ-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 meaning\(^{168}\) ‘just now’. This may be an additional nuance in the meaning of -wi.

(23) Origins: 139, RM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sê'ey</td>
<td>hulk'o'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si=ʔi</td>
<td>hulk'o'i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NEW=HSY1 Coyote **die-INTR-PST1** NEW 1SG.AGT bury-PST1

> ʔimeymil hulk'o:i.
> ʔimi=mil hulk'o:i
> say=FIN Coyote

‘And, “He just died, so I buried”, Coyote said.’

(24) Origins: 177b, RM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sâkîta</td>
<td>ʔap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sq=sêkîta</td>
<td>ʔap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SAME=then 1SG.AGT **initiation-TR-PST1** DST-DSTR

> woknâmespaʔ 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. -ląm ~ -lam inchoative

The inchoative -ląm indicates the onset of a change of state or beginning of an action. Kroeber (1911:361) refers to -ląm 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 *nâkimik* ‘getting dark’, *k’ollimik* ‘dying’, *šat’limik* ‘getting cold’, which

---

\(^{168}\) This is not always the case, as above in (19), tîweyu is translated as ‘pursued’ instead of ‘pursued just now.’
is reminiscent of the use of -\textit{łam} in examples such as (25). \textit{nəkłaməq} ‘it’s getting dark, night’ in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:59) is suffixed with inchoative -\textit{łam} and appears to be the source of Schlichter’s reconstructed PNY form *\textit{nəklimik} ‘getting dark’. Therefore, Schlichter’s *-\textit{lim} and inchoative -\textit{łam} are likely one and the same\textsuperscript{169}.

-\textit{łam} can be used to indicate a change of state in a feeling or experience, as in the change from wakefulness to sleepiness in \textit{ʔinlamek} ‘getting sleepy’ in (25), and also for verbs expressing an action, as in \textit{k’ąklamil} ‘begin to come into existence’ in (26)\textsuperscript{170}.

\begin{enumerate}[label=(\arabic*)]
\item[(25)] Coyote and the World: 212, RM
\begin{verbatim}
simεyʔεy p̣k ꞌinlamek ꞌey ꞌi̟eymil
si=mi=ʔi p̣k ꞌin-łam=k =ʔi ꞌi̟i̟ṃi̟=mil
\end{verbatim}
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 one sleep-INCH=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN
\textit{‘Thereupon one said, “I am getting sleepy”,’}

\item[(26)] Origins: 16, RM
\begin{verbatim}
seʔεy mip’an ꞌk’ą̟ḳlamil ꞌi̟ṭaʔ usuʔophan.
si=ʔi mipan ꞌk’ą̟ḳ’-łam=mi̟l ꞌi̟ṭa usuʔ=op=han
\end{verbatim}
NEW=HSY1 foot exist-INCH=FIN there water.foam=LAT=SUBE
\textit{‘Then his feet \textbf{began to come into existence} there in the foam.’}

\item[(27)] shows an example of -\textit{łam} used with a noun acting as a verb root. The noun \textit{nəkhuy} ‘middle of the night’ is affixed with the -\textit{łam}, resulting in a verb meaning ‘becoming the middle of the night.’

\item[(27)] Coyote and the World: 131, RM
\begin{verbatim}
sə̟εy hu’úṭmil nə̟khyuylámop
sq=ʔi hu’uʔ-tl=mi̟l nə̟k-huy-łam=op
SAME=HSY1 quit-TR=FIN dark/night-half-INCH=while
\end{verbatim}
\textit{‘And they stopped \textbf{as it was becoming the middle of the night}.’}
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{169} It is unclear whether -\textit{lim} discussed in §7.5.9.2 is an allomorph of -\textit{łam} or a unique suffix.

\textsuperscript{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 -lám, where it is used to indicate the beginning of an action.\(^{171}\)

(28) Kroeber 1911:358, RM

\(\text{oṭ-kut-mik} \quad \text{oṭ'-kut-m=k} \)

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 actions.\(^{172}\) 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

\(\text{sikitey} \quad \text{ká} \quad \text{mít} \quad \text{kup} \quad \text{?onapa}^2 \quad \text{?an} \)

\(\text{si=kit=}^?i \quad \text{ka}? \quad \text{mit} \quad \text{kup} \quad \text{?on-a?-pa}^? \quad \text{?an} \)

NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister’s.son earth-?-FUT long.time

\(\text{son} \quad \text{mi'?} \quad \text{kup} \quad \text{kąkkútispa}^? \)

\(\text{son} \quad \text{mi'?} \quad \text{kup} \quad \text{k’qk’-kut-s-pa}^? \)

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

\(\text{soméy} \quad \text{kup} \quad \text{wil’isk} \)

\(\text{som=}^?i \quad \text{kup} \quad \text{wil-s=k} \)

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 kąkkútispa’ 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.
hán'ām     kápsilpa
han-ām     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
síkiṭ     hayé     piláti     ká:kespa     ʔiy     ʔímeymil
si=kiṭ    hąˀąye    pilat    k’ąk’-s-paʔ     =ʔi    =ʔi=mil
NEW=then  now      sun   exist-CAUS-FUT =HSY1  say=FIN

kimasa                   ʔópi    nakahik
kiˀ-mas=q                ʔopi    nąk’oh=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

sĩqéy hánam kapísimil págqìwop
si=kq=i han-qm kap=s-nil págqìwop

NEW=thereupon=HSY1 house-IN2 enter-CAUS=FIN one man

‘So one man took him into the house,’

Coyote and the World: 297

sãqéy k’amolšil tátlík’éyq šútšmil
sq=qì k’amol-shil tat-tl=kiq šu^2-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

sĩqéy šúmil
si=qì šu^2=mil

NEW=HSY1 sit/stay=FIN

‘And he sat.’

(31) Coyote and the World: 282, RM

sãqéy qiṭéy káta kup šu’hinik yìčmah
sq=qì qiṭi káta kup šu^2-h-nik yìčmah
SAME=HSY1 a.while here sister’s.son sit/stay-DUR=NEC for.a.while

hánkil kómil
han=k’il ko^2=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 šuhół ‘stayer, one who stays’, which is the verb šu^2 ‘sit, stay’ affixed with the durative -h and the agentive-instrumental -(m)ol’.
In (33), *nqw-* ‘see’ is affixed with durative -h in *nqwhiméykiṭ* ‘when (he) watched (them)’.

(33) Coyote and the World: 240, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sikitéi} & \quad \text{*nqwhiméykiṭ} & \quad ?\text{ey} & \quad ?\text{a’tq} \\
\text{si=kit}=?i & \quad \text{*nqw-h-m=kiṭ} & =?i & \quad ?\text{aṭa}?
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=then=HSY1 see-DUR-IMPFV=when =HSY1 again

\[
\begin{align*}
k’ol’k’il & \quad kóṭ(e)mil & \quad \text{pilqṭ} & \quad \text{há’tili}.
\end{align*}
\]

k’ol=k’il ko^2-t=mil pilqṭ ha^2-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.’

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174 Kroeber’s (1902d:27) note on Clause 225: “This speech is in C[oyote] language. šup = kup All the š and s 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 -aqk 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 šuˀ- ‘sit, stay’ with and without punctual -k. In (34), šúkmil ‘(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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sikitéy} & \quad \text{kápti} & \quad \text{šúˀukmil} \\
\text{si=kit=ʔi} & \quad \text{kap-t} & \quad \text{šuˀ-k=mil} \\
\text{NEW=then=HSY1 enter-INTR sit/stay-PNCT=FIN} \quad & \quad \text{sat down.}
\end{align*}
\]

(35) Coyote and the World: 296, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sikq̃éy} & \quad \text{hanam} & \quad \text{kapísimil} & \quad \text{pá:k} & \quad \text{ʔiwp} \\
\text{si=q̃=ʔi} & \quad \text{han-ʔm} & \quad \text{kap-s=mil} & \quad \text{pák} & \quad \text{ʔiwp} \\
\text{NEW=thereupon=HSY1 house-IN2 enter-CAUS=FIN one man} \quad & \quad \text{So one man took him into the house,}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Coyote and the World: 297’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sąˀéy} & \quad \text{k’amolšil} & \quad \text{tátlık’ę́y} & \quad \text{šútlmil} \\
\text{są=ʔi} & \quad \text{k’amol-šil} & \quad \text{tat-tl=ki̲ʔ} & \quad \text{šuˀ-tl=mil} \\
\text{SAME=HSY1 puma-skin good/make-TR=DST sit/stay-TR=FIN} \quad & \quad \text{and had him sit on puma skin which they prepared for him.}
\end{align*}
\]

---

\(^{175}\) 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.
(36) and (37) contrast excerpts containing verbs with the punctual -k and semelfactive -ąk. The verb roots in these two examples, wiṭ- 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

seʔéy siʔéy šiwkítin lil haʔnamlikí:la ?ey
siʔi si=ʔi šiwkiṭin lil ha=namli=kiʔ-la =ʔi
NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wiṭkmil koʔoła
wiṭ-k=ąk 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

sikit’éy sohókilmil
si=kit=ʔi soh-k-ı=il=ımil
NEW=then=HSY1 applaud/cheer-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘Thereupon they gave a whoop,’

‘Coyote and the World: 158’

sqʔéy kipāwwop wiṭtákamil ?olkąčam
sq=ʔi kipaw=op wiṭ-qk=ąk mil ?olkątám
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 wíṭkmil ‘hurled’ is a transitive action and wíṭtákamil ‘went back’ is intransitive.
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həwayi móneti t’únamlikiṭa
həway mon-t t’uʔ-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 wítákmił ‘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. -ąk semelfactive

The semelfactive aspect -ąk 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 -ąk is used with the verb pąp’- ‘pop’ in pąp’éyakpa ‘will pop’ and pąp’íyakmil ‘was making a sound (a pop)’ indicating a single instance of “pop” sounds being produced. The semelfactive -ąk also occurs with lak’- ‘emerge’ in lak’íyakmil ‘took them (out)’ indicating a single instance of the items in the acorn storeroom being removed.

(38) Coyote and the World: 182, RM

ˀąp mátl=kon pąk pąp’éyakpa ey
ˀąp mat-tl=kon pąk pąp’-ąk-paʔ =ʔi
1SG.AGT do-TR=but one pop-SEM-FUT =HSY1

ˀímeymil hulk’oʔi.
ˀimi=mil hulk’oʔi
say=FIN Coyote
“‘I do this, but one of them will pop (crackle inside)’, he said.’
Coyote and the World: 182a

namlik ʔéy wák nqwéti ʔey pák pap’iyakmil
namlikí =ʔi wák nqw-t =ʔi pák pap’-qk=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

sikəʔéy lak’iyakmil číwpis
si=kə=q’i lak’-ʔqk=mil čiw=pis
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 leave-SEM=FIN acorn.storeroom=ABL
‘Then he took them out of the storeroom,’

In (39), the semelfactive -qk is used with liʔ ‘kill’ in liʔánknamlikimási ‘they who had slain’. Note the use of the punctual aspect -k in lāčkilu ‘(he) broke’ in miʔat pilált lílk’il lāčkilu ‘(he) broke our sun against a rock’.

(39) Coyote and the World: 254, RM

səʔey ʔus tahí k’oli san miʔat pilált
sq=ʔi ʔus tah k’ól son? mi=ʔt pilált
SAME=HSY1 1PL.EXCL.AGT find kill but? 1PL.INCL=DAT sun

lílk’il lāčkilu ʔiy ʔim hušk’ayesmil
lil=ʔk’il laṭ-k-il-wi =ʔi ʔim hušk’ay-s=mil
rock=TERM break-PNCT-MPSV-PST1 =HSY1 thus tell-CAUS?=FIN

ki hulk’o’a liʔánknamlikimási
kiʔ hulk’o’ʔi=q liʔ-ʔqk=namli=kiʔ-ʔmas-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

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{seˀéy} & \text{míya} & \text{k’óˀil} & \text{tíwyik} & ?'ey \\
\text{si=ˀi} & \text{mi=q} & \text{k’óˀil} & \text{tiw-y=k} & =?i \\
\text{NEW=HSY1} & \text{1PL.INCL=PAT} & \text{Wailaki} & \text{pursue-PROG=DECL} & =HSY1
\end{array}
\]

'And “The Wailaki are pursuing us”, said Coyote.'

(41) Coyote and the World: 163

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{seˀéy} & \text{k’óˀil} & \text{tíwiyimil} & ?'č & \text{wążkop} \\
\text{si=ˀi} & \text{k’óˀil} & \text{tiw-y=mil} & =? & \text{wąk=op} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1} & \text{Wailaki} & \text{pursue-PROG=FIN} & =JXT & \text{after=LAT}
\end{array}
\]

'Then the Wailaki were following close behind.'

The verbs containing progressive -y in (40) are contrasted with tíwimil ‘followed’ in (41). tíwimil describes an action that is not in progress and is not ongoing.

(42) Coyote and the World: 172, RM

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{sikiṭéy} & \text{?’óp’a} & \text{k’óˀil} & \text{k’olámwit} & \text{tfwiːmil} \\
\text{si=kiṭ=ˀi} & \text{?opiˀa} & \text{k’óˀil} & \text{k’ol-am=wit} & \text{tiw=mil} \\
\text{NEW=then=HSY1} & \text{two=?} & \text{Wailaki} & \text{other-NOML=ALL} & \text{pursue=FIN}
\end{array}
\]

'but two of them followed off on the side.'

Additional examples of progressive -y, k’olíyi ‘were approaching’ and kóyik ‘are going’, are shown in (42).
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 ?imã́lilmil ‘said to one another’ (CW: 294). -l may also have historically formed part of the transitivizer -tl in verbs like hą́: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. č’učlik ‘throw’, laklik ‘has come out’, t̯uklik ‘gig’ 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 gigged, the action is complete.

177 As stated earlier, such forms are vanishingly rare in the texts; therefore all examples provided here are elicited.

178 ‘Gigging fish’ is a method for spear fishing.
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 tense\(^{179}\) –paˀ and most often or perhaps also always with finite\(^{180}\) =mil. -m is most commonly seen before declarative =k and also before the demonstratives kiˀ 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 -(a)m and -m do not co-occur within a single word.

Also, in the texts and elicited examples, -(a)m and -m seem to alternate within the same or similar words. In the texts (Origins: 5) Kroeber gives k'ąyyeyami 'is talking' as an alternate form\(^{181}\) for k'ąyyeyimi. For their examples for the verb hąṭ- 'doctor', Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:68) give a form containing -(a)m 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 construction\(^{182}\). In (45b), this same root hąṭ- 'doctor' followed by -(a)m is suffixed with declarative =k yielding a form hąṭmek 'is doctoring' containing the -m form of this morpheme instead of -(a)m.

\(^{179}\) There may be a special relationship between -(a)m and -paˀ that remains to be understood. In polar questions the future tense -paˀ takes on the form -paˀam.

\(^{180}\) In CW:53, the verb pāïyimimil 'raised' occurs. -mi- 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

\[ki'q\quad ?'i:t\quad hq'tam\quad hamek\]
\[ki'^q\quad ?'it\quad hq't-m\quad ham=k\]
DST=PAT 1SG.DAT doctor-IMPFV like/want=DECL

‘He wants to doctor me.’

(45b) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 68, MF

\[?i:\quad hq'tmek\]
\[?i\quad hq't-m=k\]
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 allomorph\(^{*}\) is used in yú:yaŋk ‘are doing’ in (46a) and likely also yú:yi:amˀi:k ‘are doing’ in (46b).

(46a) Thunder’s Twins: 136 (excerpt), RM

\[sä'ey\quad ?'yi\quad yú:yaŋk\quad ma'oš\quad kimat\]
\[sq'=i\quad ?'yi\quad yuy'-m=k\quad mo'os\quad kimat\]
SAME=HSY1 what do-IMPFV=DECL 2PL.AGT ?

hqwáýisílnámeliki
hqway-s-i1=namli=ki?’
food/eat-CAUS-MPSV=DEP=DST
‘And saying, “What are you doing, you who eat one another? ...”’

(46b) Coyote and the World: 410, RM

\[mi'\quad hąkoč\quad yú:yi:amˀi:k\quad ?'iy\]
\[mi'\quad hąkoč\quad yuy'-m=k\quad =?i\]
2SG.AGT bad do-IMPFV=DECL =HSY1

\(^{*}\) The reason for the presence of a glottal stop in yú:yi:amˀi:k ‘are doing’ in (46b) is not known.
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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme as identified by Kroeber</th>
<th>Kroeber’s (1911) description of this morpheme</th>
<th>Analysis suggested in this grammar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-m</td>
<td>“appears to indicate involuntary, inanimate actions and automatic motions or sounds (361)”</td>
<td>-(a)m ‘imperfective’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am</td>
<td>“continuative, habitual usitative (359)”</td>
<td>-(a)m ‘imperfective’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mik</td>
<td>“perhaps expresses an immediate futurity or a future intent (362)”</td>
<td>-(a)m ‘imperfective’ + =k ‘declarative’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  ki  nąk  ?ey  hulk’oʔá  ?inámtmil  ?aːtát
si  ki? nąk =ʔi  hulk’oʔá=q  ?inam-t=mil  ?aːtát

NEW DST dark/night =HSY1 Coyote=PAT dream-INTR=FIN people
```

```
kú:htkiwit  yí:tiwi  kimáša  li:támšik
kuhtki=wi  yíʔ-t-wi  kiʔ-mas=q  liʔ-t-m-sik
north=ALL play-INTR-PST1 DST-DSTR=PAT kill-INTR-IMPFV-HSY2
```
‘And at night Coyote dreamed: “The people who went north playing are being killed”, Coyote said.’

(48) Coyote and the World: 317, RM

sąʾey máy múš komwičo’okiʔ
sqʔi may’ musp kom-wič-o=kiʔ
SAME=HSY1 who/someone woman come-PST2-?=DST

míyąt lašk’awól’ na hawmół’ na wąčameyk
mi=ąt lašk’awol’ =ną hawmol’ =ną wąṭ’-m=k
1PL.INCL=DAT moon =and morning.star =and steal-IMPFV=DECL

‘And “The woman who came is stealing our moon and morning star”, said the boy.’

(49) Origins: 132b, RM

hílónč’am k’ol ?aṭáta hi:la
hil’-on-čam k’ol ?aṭat=q hil=q
all-earth-? other people=PAT all=PAT

kimás yúyyampa.
kimas yuy’-m-paʔ
thus do-IMPFV-FUT
‘Everywhere all the different peoples (tribes) will do thus.’

(50) Origins: 133, RM

hílikšilʔ? ?ey yuʔiyamil títampa:miʔiʔ
hílikšilʔ? =ʔi yuy’-m=mił titam-pa’am=kiʔ
everything =HSY1 do-IMPFV=FIN rope-IMPFV-FUT=DST =HSY1
Verbs

yu’iyamil ˀaːtːtː tiθsākpaːmikː ˀey  yūyyamil.
yuy’-m=mil ˀaːtːtː tiθsak-pa’ˀam=kiˀ  =ˀi  yuy’-m=mil
do-IMP=FIN people  snare-FUT=DST =HSY1  do-IMP=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
sekːk  wāʔoksǐmi  hu’uxmlmil.
si=ˀik  wok’-s-m  hu’uʔ-tl=mil
NEW=right.there  dance/sing-CAUS?-IMP  quit-TR=FIN
‘Right there having danced they quit.’

(52) Origins: 29, RM
seˀéy ˀq̷p  lðkmiˀkiţa
si=ˀi ˀq̷p  lak’-m=kiţa
NEW=HSY1  1SG.AGT  emerge-IMPFV=when
ka  hāp  wōktlinˀk
ka?  hap  wok’-tl-nik
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 hāltmil ‘heard’ with that of hālammil ‘understood’. In the latter example, hālammil ‘understood’, the verb root hāl-‘hear’ is suffixed with imperfective -(a)m, which could be interpreted as meaning “went on hearing.”

(53) Coyote and the World: 8, RM
seˀéy  hulk’o’á  hāltmil.
si=ˀi  hulk’o’i=q  hql-t=mil
NEW=HSY1  Coyote=PAT  hear-INTR=FIN
‘And Coyote heard.’
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 =k.

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
kimasi hamp ši’imik
ki’-mas-i hq̃ ši’-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
ʔapil 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

ˀuˀuk  pʰuː.tʰmik  
ˀuk’  put-m=k

water  boil-IMPFV=DECL

‘water’s bubbling, boiling’

(58) Siniard 1967a:29

ˀan  ?ap  ᵐo:ymik  
ˀan  ?ap  ᵐoy-m=k

long.time  1SG.AGT  run-IMPFV=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

ˀqtqymik  ‘shoes creek’
ˀk’omek  ‘flutters’
ˀi: 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

ˀi:yi  tanʰaɬ(e)  kuk’á  yik’am  
ˀi:yi  tan=ʰaɬi  kuk’a  yik-am

what  NEG?=INFR1?  way.over.there  make.fire-NOML

čɪ:yiɪmɪlmik  siki  mil  šay
čɪy-mq-il-m=k  si=ki  mil  šay
glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV=DECL  NEW=then  meat/deer  raw/alive

ˀáwilk  ᵐéy  nqwilɑ̃kik  ?ap  ᵐiˈmeu  
ˀaw-l=k  =i  nqwil-ɑ̃k=k  ?ap  ᵐiˈmi-wi

eat-PFV=DECL  =HSY1  whip-SEM=DECL  1SG.AGT  say-PST1
"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

sikiṭey ˀolką́čam ˀą́ṭey  yič
si=kit=ˀi ˀolkaṭam ˀą́ṭi  yič
NEW=then=HSY1 Mouse a.while for.a.while

lákmik ˀímil ˀey lákt(e)mil  hučki
lak’-m=k ˀimi=mil =ˀi  lak’-t=mil  huč=ki
emerge-IMPFV=DECL say=FIN =HSY1 emerge-INTR=FIN outside=IN

k’óˀíl  woˀoksikiṭ
k’oˀíl  wok’-s=kit
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 hut’óˀopismil ‘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.
Verbs

(62) Coyote and the World: 382, RM

\[ \text{si=kéy} \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{hut'óˀopismil} \]

\[ \text{si=ki} \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{hut’op-s=mil} \]

\[ \text{NEW=therefore meat/deer} \quad \text{hunt-CONT=FIN?} \]

‘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

\[ \text{sikiṭéy} \quad \text{hayúmi} \quad \text{hulmúninát} \quad \text{nák’i:} \]

\[ \text{si=kiˀi} \quad \text{hayum} \quad \text{hulmunin=ąt} \quad \text{nąk?=ki} \]

\[ \text{NEW=then=HSY1 Dove} \quad \text{Spider=DAT near=IN} \]

\[ \text{šilóˀ} \quad \text{ey} \quad \text{nąŋ kilmil’} \quad \text{hayúmi} \]

\[ \text{šiloˀ} \quad =’i \quad \text{näm-k-il=mi’} \quad \text{hayum} \]

\[ \text{like =HSY1 laying-PNCT-MPSV=FIN? Dove} \]

‘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

\[ \text{ˀapil} \quad \text{hoṭ} \quad \text{huˀutmil} \quad \text{nähismil’} \]

\[ \text{ˀapil} \quad \text{hot} \quad \text{hu’utmil} \quad \text{na-h-s-mil’} \]

\[ \text{1SG.AGT.EMPH? large bread bake-DUR-CONT-PHAB} \]

‘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).
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

ˀap      musp\(^b\)  mihik
ˀap      musp    mih=k

1SG.AGT  woman  be=DECL

‘I’m a woman.’

(67) Siniard 1967a:43, MF

ˀal ˀap    lu:sik
ˀol ˀap    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’a:nik is translated as past tense ‘gave’, while lu:hnik 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

\[
\begin{align*}
{\text{ki}\text{'i}} & \quad {\text{hqw}} & \quad {\text{č'a:nik}} \\
{\text{ki}\text{'i}} & \quad {\text{hqw}} & \quad {\text{čan=k}}
\end{align*}
\]

DST fish give=DECL

‘He gave me his (own) fish.’

(69) Siniard 1967a:43, MF

\[
\begin{align*}
{\text{ˀal}} & \quad {\text{ʔap}} & \quad {\text{lu:(h)mik}} \\
{\text{ˀol}} & \quad {\text{ʔap}} & \quad {\text{luh-m=k}}
\end{align*}
\]

wood 1SG.AGT chop-IMPFV=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 huˀuˀík ‘ceasing to travel’ states the circumstances where the dancing described by wókesmil ‘(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 huˀúsk ‘stopping the dance’ states the circumstances where the traveling described by ṭáłá ṭúkeymil ‘traveled on once more’ occurs.

(70) Coyote and the World: 36, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
{\text{sáˀéy}} & \quad {\text{šákčam}} & \quad {\text{ʔan}} & \quad {\text{túk}} & \quad {\text{huˀuˀík}} & \quad {\text{ʔey}} \\
{\text{sáˀi}} & \quad {\text{šáˀakčam}} & \quad {\text{ʔan}} & \quad {\text{ʔuk}} & \quad {\text{huˀuˀík}} & \quad {\text{ʔey}}
\end{align*}
\]

SAME=HSY1 sometimes long.time move quit=DECL =HSY1

\[
\begin{align*}
{\text{wó}′\text{o kesmil}} & \quad {\text{ʔan}} & \quad {\text{kimáseypa:mikí}}. \\
{\text{wók′=s=mi}} & \quad {\text{ʔan}} & \quad {\text{kimas-pa’am=ki}}^\text{?}
\end{align*}
\]

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’

sikéy ʔátá ki: wók ʔukúsk ʔey
sikʔi ʔataʔ kíʔ wókʔ huʔuʔ-s=k ʔi
then=HSY1 again DST dance/sing quit-CAUS=DECL =HSY1

ʔátá túcëymil
ʔataʔ tuk=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 kimáṣeymil ‘[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. kimáṣeymil occurs in a situation where kípqwikil kóʔok kúhtkipis ‘[Taykómol] was coming back from the north’ and when ʔonmikʼáltíli kípqwikil kók ‘[Taykómol] had gone encircling the earth’.

(71) Origins: 135, RM
kipáwikil ko:k kúhtkipis ʔonmikʼáltíli
kipáwikil koʔ=k kuhtkipis ʔon=mikʼal-t-il
back=TERM go=DECL north=ABL earth=around-INTR-MPSV

kipáwikil kóʔok ʔey kimáṣeymil.
kipáwikil koʔ=k =ʔi kiʔ-mas=mil
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.
Verbs

(72) Siniard 1967a:37, MF

ˀač kʰo:ntik
ˀač kon-t=k
clothes dry-INTR=DECL
'The clothes are already dry.'

(73) Siniard 1967a:37, MF

ˀi: hąˀye ṭaṭk
ˀi hąyi 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

seˀéy ki hąkóčk ey imeymil hulk’óˀi
si=ˀi ki hąkoč=k =ˀi =ˀimi=mil hulk’oˀi
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 ‘where’ resulting in ˀim=eyk ‘is where’ or ‘where would have’.

(75) Origins: 132a, RM

sačamey kimási mil hut’óˀopíspa
sq-čam=ˀi ki=mas-i mil hut’op-s-pa’
SAME-ˀ=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM meat/deer hunt-CAUS?-FUT

ˀim=eyk yáyyamil.
ˀim=k yuy’-m=mil
where=DECL do-IMPFV=FIN
‘Also he arranged where they would have their deer-hunting grounds.’

Declarative =k is also used in təlk ‘no’, where it is attached to the negative verb təl-, as shown in (76).
The imperative mood -a(ˀ) ~ -C# ~ Ø is used to form imperatives and prohibitives. 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(ˀ) 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 and *-’ (glottalization of the final consonant) as the imperative forms in PNY.

Imperative -a(ˀ) takes the place of other tense or mood suffixes and occurs at the end of the verb. nqweta ‘look!’ in (77), tatísa? ‘make!’, in (78) and possibly both verbs in kápisa hqwayilitia ‘bring (it) in to eat!’, in (79).

185 Allomorphs of the imperative mood are taken from Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:111.

186 Prohibitives are negative imperatives.
Verbs

**tatísáʔ**
Verb meaning "good/make-CAUS-IMP"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tat-s-a</td>
<td>good/make-CAUS-IMP</td>
<td>3R say-PROG =HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thereupon he dreamed; that it told him to **make** human beings, he dreamed."187"

187 A more accurate free translation might be: 'Thereupon he dreamed; that it was saying to him "Make human beings!" he dreamed.'

---

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).

---

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, -ak, -ak, -kis, 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

mišap laktl’
mishi laktl-
road=LAT emerge-TR-IMP
‘cross the road!’

The reduced form of the imperative is rarely found in the texts. náwkil’ ‘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

móšampú:lamláčkot maíyi yú:ta iymq móš
mošampulamlač-kot maíyi yuta iymq mošos
Mošampulamlač-LOC something happen? 2PL.AGT

míniskin’ hilkišilo’ hili
min-s-kin’ hilkišilo’ hil-i
doubt-CONT?-? everything all-ANIM

lákti hánpis náwkip
lak-t han=pis nqw-k-il-
emerge-INTR house=ABL see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN

kipat ?aṭáta hulk’o’i
kip=qat ?aṭat=q hulk’o’i
3R=DAT people=PAT Coyote
‘“At Mošampulamlač 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

sq’ey maš hqwáysam
sq=i mas hqway-s-m-(’)
SAME=HSY1 thus food/eat-CAUS-IMPFV-(IMP) far go-PROG=when
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 ṭiʔ?akʔtanʔaʔ
nan ṭiʔ-qk-ʔtan-ʔaʔ
fence fly-SEM-NEG-IMP
‘Don’t jump over the fence!’

(84) Coyote and the World: 278, RM
sámi šúʔnoʔhkitána kup
sq=mi šuʔʔ-noʔ-ʔʔ-k-il-ʔtan-ʔa kup
SAME=but sit/stay-live-DUR-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP sister’s.son

mi koʔo tima
miʔ koʔ tima
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(ˀ) ~ -ˀa(ˀ) interrogative

The interrogative mood -ha(ˀ) ~ -ˀa(ˀ) 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 -ha as the “interrogative” and Schlichter (1985:64) reconstructs *ˀa as the interrogative mode suffix in PNY.

(85) and (86) show elicited examples of the interrogative in use.

(85) Schlichter 1985:207, AA

\[?'im \ ki \ nqmˀa\]
\[?'im \ ki'? \ nqm-ˀa\]

where DST lay-Q
‘Where is it (lying)?’

(86) Siniard 1967a:43, MF

\[ki'i \ sum \ ?al \ luːhisha\]
\[ki'? \ sum \ ?ol \ luh-ś-ha\]

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

\[seˀéy \ ˀiyi \ ˀq̪ \ hoyyímeyha \ ˀey \ ˀîmeymil.\]
\[si=ˀi \ ˀiyi \ ˀq̪ \ hoy=ˀimi-ha \ =ˀi \ ˀimi=mi1\]
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

\[?'im \ kiː \ yim \ čiy-yiːmflamha \ kup\]
\[?'im \ ki'? \ yim \ čiy-mq-il-m-ha \ kup\]

where DST fire glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-Q sister’s.son

---

190 Allomorphs of the interrogative mood are taken from Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:114.
7.4.3.4. -nik ~ -n’k ~ -nk necessitative

The necessitative mood -nik ~ -n’k ~ -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

są́key kípat múšpa tát šú:hin’k
sq=ˀi kí=pɑt musp=q tɑt šuˀ-h-nik
SAME=?=HSY1 3R=DAT woman=PAT good/make sit/stay-DUR-NEC

tát halč tatéymin(i)k ṭey ṭim
 tat halč tat-m-nik ṭi ṭim

good/make children good/make-IMPFV-NEC =HSY1 thus

kipat múspa nak’óˀohimmil
kip=qɑt musp=q nɑk’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 šu’- ‘sit, stay’ marked with the necessitative -nik in (90) and not marked with this ending in (91). In (90), šu’- is suffixed with the necessitative suffix forming šu’hinik ‘(you) must stay’. In (91), šu’- is suffixed only with the declarative mood =k forming šu’ik ‘sitting’.

(90) Coyote and the World: 282, RM

sq’ey ṭqťey káta kup šu’hinik yičmah
sq=ˀi ṭqti kɑta kup šuˀ-h-nik yičmah
SAME=HSY1 a.while here sister’s.son sit/stay-DUR-NEC for.a.while
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

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

Then Lizard “How is it to happen that always eating indoors they will only chip obsidian, it seems, with that?”
Verbs

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.” 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 mi? pis-lawha
DST 2SG.AGT hide-PRM-Q
‘can you hide it?’

(94) Siniard 1967b:73, MF
?ap pistlawk
?ap 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: muklawetwì ‘moved to seize with the mouth, tried to bite’, ‘ahlawetwì ‘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.
(95) and (96) show -law with the meaning ‘might X’ or ‘might be able to X’.

(95) Siniard 1967b:75, MF

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mis} & \quad \text{hilyu'utlawk}^h \\
\text{mis} & \quad \text{hilyu}'-t-law=k \\
\text{2SG.PAT} & \quad \text{sick-INTR-PRM=DECL} \\
\text{you} & \quad \text{might get sick}
\end{align*}
\]

(96) Siniard 1967b:87, MF

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haw} & \quad ?\text{ap} \quad \text{hap} \quad \text{ši:lawk} \\
\text{haw} & \quad ?\text{ap} \quad \text{hap} \quad \text{ši}?'-law=k \\
\text{tomorrow} & \quad \text{1SG.AGT} \quad \text{song/sing} \quad \text{sing-PRM=DECL} \\
\text{‘I might be able to sing tomorrow.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(97) and (98) are examples of -law in the texts. In (97), 'amílkiláwxk' ‘will overtake’ is not translated with a meaning of ‘can’ or ‘be able’. Given the context, however, it is possible that the implication of the translated meaning of mis 'amílkiláwxk' ‘(he) will overtake you’ is ‘(he) will be able to overtake you’.

(97) Coyote and the World: 55, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sikágé} & \quad ?\text{aṭát} \quad \text{tάlk} \quad \text{panóp} \quad \text{mi}' \quad \text{mik’áł} \\
\text{si=q} & \quad ?\text{aṭat} \quad \text{tālk} \quad \text{panop} \quad \text{mi} \quad \text{=mik’al} \\
\text{NEW=thereupon=HSY1} & \quad \text{people} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{close/near?} \quad \text{2SG.AGT?} \quad \text{=around} \\
\text{sika} & \quad \text{mis} \quad \text{’amílkiláwxk} \quad \text{’} \quad \text{ey} \\
\text{si=q} & \quad \text{mis} \quad \text{’amíl-k-il-law=k} \quad \text{=i} \\
\text{NEW=thereupon} & \quad \text{2SG.PAT} \quad \text{overtake-PNCT-MPSV-PRM=DECL} \quad \text{=HSY1} \\
\quad \text{’imqilmil} & \quad \text{aṭát}. \\
\quad \text{’imi-mq-l-il=il} & \quad \text{aṭat} \\
\text{say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN} & \quad \text{people} \\
\text{‘Then, “No, he will overtake you (as you) circle close by”, said the people} \\
\text{to one another.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In (98), -law has the meaning of ‘be able to X’ or ‘can X’ in pátšislawxk ‘can keep chipping’.
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.

\(^{192}\) 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 -\textit{han}.

(101) Siniard 1967a:53, MF
\begin{align*}
\text{haw} & \quad \text{ki}^? & \quad \text{mila} & \quad \text{li}^?\text{-akhan} \\
\text{haw} & \quad \text{ki}^? & \quad \text{mil=q} & \quad \text{li}^?\text{-qk-han}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
tomorrow & \quad \text{DST} & \quad \text{meat/deer=PAT} & \quad \text{kill-SEM-SPEC}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{‘he might kill that deer tomorrow’}
\end{align*}

(102) Siniard 1967a:77, MF
\begin{align*}
\text{ˀamp} & \quad \text{ˀu:pan} & \quad \text{si:kin} & \quad \text{nawwihan} \\
\text{ˀap} & \quad \text{ˀu:pan} & \quad \text{si:kin} & \quad \text{nqw-han} \\
\text{1SG.AGT} & \quad \text{snake} & \quad \text{see-han}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{‘maybe I’ll see a snake’}
\end{align*}

\textbf{7.4.3.7. -\textit{tan} negative}

Verbs are negated with the negative -\textit{tan}. A separate negative verb \textit{tal}- is used to form negative clauses\textsuperscript{193}. Kroeber (1911:361) notes the use of -\textit{tan} and \textit{tal}- as negatives and Schlichter (1985:254) reconstructs *tǝl (*tal?) as the negative in PNY.

(103) and (104) are elicited examples of negated verbs.

(103) Siniard 1967a:63, MF
\begin{align*}
\text{mušak\textit{tan}paˀ}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{muš-qk-\textit{tan}-paˀ}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{laugh-SEM-NEG-FUT}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{‘He’s not gonna laugh’}
\end{align*}

(104) Siniard 1967a:106, MF
\begin{align*}
\text{ki} & \quad \text{ˀi} & \quad \text{hqw} & \quad \text{ča:n\textit{tan}} \\
\text{ki}^? & \quad \text{ˀi} & \quad \text{hqw} & \quad \text{čan-\textit{tan}}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{DST} & \quad \text{1SG.PAT} & \quad \text{fish} & \quad \text{give-NEG}
\end{align*}
\begin{align*}
\text{‘He \textbf{won’t give} that fish to me.’}
\end{align*}

(105) and (106) are examples of negated verbs in the texts.

\textsuperscript{193} The negative verb \textit{tal}- is discussed in §15.9.2.
(105) Coyote and the World: 62, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sikitêy} & \quad \text{hîli} & \ ?\atq & \ wôktl\text{mil} \\
\text{si=kit=ˀi} & \quad \text{hil-i} & \ ?\atq^+ & \ wok'-\text{tl}=\text{mil} \\
\text{NEW=then=HSY1} & \quad \text{all-ANIM} & \ ?\text{again} & \ \text{dance/sing-TR=FIN} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘And all danced on.’

‘Coyote and the World: 63’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sonˀéy} & \quad \text{hulmûnina} & \ \text{mú:šantamnîl} \\
\text{son=ˀi} & \quad \text{hulmunin=q} & \ \text{muš-m-tan=mil} \\
\text{however=HSY1} & \quad \text{Spider=PAT} & \text{laugh-IMPFV-NEG=FIN} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘However Spider did not laugh.’

(106) Origins: 148, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sik} & \quad ?\text{ey} & \ ?\atqât & \ \text{k’ápmikimáse} & \ ?\text{ey} \\
\text{si=ki} & \quad =ˀi & \ ?\atqât & \ \text{k’ap’-m=ki\text{-mas-i}} & \ =ˀi \\
\text{NEW=therefore} & \quad \text{=HSY1} & \ \text{people} & \ \text{kill-IMPFV=DECL-DSTR-ANIM} & \ \text{=HSY1} \\
\text{k’ápaŋk} & \quad \text{kipâwik} & \ \text{ko\text{-otamtan}mil} \\
\text{k’ap’-am=k} & \quad \text{kipqw=k’il} & \ \text{ko’-t-m-tan=mil} \\
\text{kill-IMPFV=DECL} & \quad \text{back=TERM} & \ \text{go-INTR-IMPFV-NEG=FIN} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hulk’ô’a} & \quad \text{wâytamnlikí.} \\
\text{hulk’o’?i=q} & \quad \text{wayt=namli=ki’} \\
\text{Coyote=PAT} & \quad \text{refuse=DEP=DST} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘And therefore people who die, when they are dead do not come (go) back, because Coyote refused.’

\[\text{194} \text{ The original free translation is: ‘But did not make Spider laugh.’ The free translation given in the example is a retranslation of Clause 63 that seems to match the original Yuki more closely.}\]
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evidential</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>ˀi ~ ˀi: ~ ˀiy ~ ˀey</code></td>
<td>HSY1</td>
<td>Indicates that speaker does not have personal knowledge of preceding material (Kroeber 1911:378, 380).</td>
<td>Immediately following the switch-reference marker, quoted speech and major clausal constituents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>=haši</code></td>
<td>INFR1</td>
<td>‘it seems, being about to’</td>
<td>An enclitic attaching to nouns and verbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>-sik</code></td>
<td>HSY2</td>
<td>‘I hear, they say’</td>
<td>An enclitic or suffix attaching to verbs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>šiloˀ</code></td>
<td>INFR2</td>
<td>‘seems to’</td>
<td>Noun and verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21: Yuki Evidentials

### 7.4.4.1. `ˀi ~ ˀi: ~ ˀiy ~ ˀey` hearsay evidential

The most ubiquitous element in Yuki connected speech may be `ˀi`. Kroeber (1911) calls the hearsay evidential `ˀi` 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 `ˀi`. 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 ˀi. 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 ˀi is used. This suggests that Kroeber’s original description
of ˀi, as a marker of information that the speaker has no personal experience with, is
correct.

ˀi immediately follows the switch-reference marker and coordinating suffix, if it is
present, and immediately following quoted speech. ˀi is also found following larger
consituents within the clause, such as verb arguments and following individual verbs
within serial verb constructions. (107) and (108) show ˀi immediately following the
switch-reference marker and immediately following quoted speech.

(107) Origins: 64, RM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>seˀey</th>
<th>t’uyna’ákin</th>
<th>ˀáha</th>
<th>miˀat</th>
<th>ˀon</th>
<th>mihikoˀi:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si=ˀi</td>
<td>t’uyna’ákin</td>
<td>ˀáha</td>
<td>mi=qt</td>
<td>ˀon</td>
<td>mih-koˀi:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NEW=HSY1 T’uyna’ákin yes 1PL.INCL=DAT earth be-?

miˀat mi:paˀá:č ˀey ˀimey mil t’uyna’ákin.
mi=qt mih-paˀ-ač =ˀi ?imi=mil t’uyna’ákin
1PL.INCL=DAT be-FUT-? =HSY1 say=FIN T’uyna’ákin

Origins: 65

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sq?ey</th>
<th>ˀút’mil</th>
<th>t’úy</th>
<th>hulk’oˀá.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sq=ˀi</td>
<td>ˀat’mil</td>
<td>t’uy</td>
<td>hulk’oˀ’i=ˀa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SAME=HSY1 give=FIN pitch Coyote=PAT

‘And T’uyna’ákin, “Yes, our earth it is, ours shall it be”, T’uyna’ákin said, and
handed the pitch to Coyote.’

(108) Coyote and the World: 15, RM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sqk’iléy</th>
<th>kíwsmil</th>
<th>ˀiyi</th>
<th>šiŋkími</th>
<th>kúp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sq=k’il=ˀi</td>
<td>kíw-s=mil</td>
<td>ˀiyi</td>
<td>šiŋkími</td>
<td>kup</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SAME=TERM?=HSY1 ask-CAUS=FIN what ? sister’s.brother

hoymiye šílómwi ˀey ˀimey mil hulk’oˀ’i
hoymiye šíl’-m-wi =ˀi ?imi=mil hulk’oˀ’i
? like-IMPVF-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
'Thereupon he asked him, “What was that, sister’s son, that you seemed to be telling about?” said Coyote to Jackrabbit, asking him.'

In Kroeber’s transcription, ˀi usually is written as a single word with the switch-reference marker or switch-reference marker and coordinating suffix. In other positions Kroeber typically writes it as a separate word, but its position suggests that it is a clitic marking certain types of constituents as reported or uncertain knowledge. This can be seen in the above examples where ˀi is marking the referent specified by the switch-reference marking as reported and the quote as reported.

ˀi is also often found affixed to larger constituents within a clause. In (109), the argument ki lalkú:tk ˀaṭat ˀóykilnamlikimáse ‘those that had crowded into Lalkúhtki’ is separated by ˀi from the verb mît̓kilmil ‘filled up’ and its argument lál ‘lake’.

(109) Coyote and the World: 83, RM

sikît̓ey ki lalkú:tk ˀaṭat
si=kit̓=ˀi ki? lalkuhtki ˀaṭat
NEW=then=HSY1 DST Lalkúhtki.IN people

ˀóykilnamlikimáse ˀey lál
ˀoy-k-il=namli=kiˀ-mas-i =ˀi lal
run-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1 lake

mît̓kilmil.
mit̓-k-il=mil
cover-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘Then they who had crowded into Lalkúhtki filled up the lake.’
7.4.4.2. =həli inferential evidential

=həli is a type of inferential evidential usually translated as ‘it seems’, ‘seems to’, or ‘must be’. It is most likely derived from the verb həl- ‘hear’. In Kroeber’s original transcriptions of the texts, =həli is often glossed as ‘I guess’. =həli attaches to verbs, but is also found following the demonstrative kə? that is acting as a nominal ‘that one’. =həli is not mentioned in earlier studies of Yuki.

(110) - (113) are examples of =həli used in the texts. In (110) and (111), =həli is found in t’átlhəli ‘seemed to touch it’ and náwinhəle ‘going to look, it seems’, respectively. In (110), =həli is also found in k’o’həlikə: ‘where it was’ or ‘where it was inside’. 195

(110) Coyote and the World: 224, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sami}:?i & \quad \text{háye} & \text{pilq̓:ta} & \quad \text{k’o’həlikə:} & \quad ?ey & \text{háye} \\
\text{sa}=\text{mi}=?i & \quad \text{həq’áye} & \text{pilq̓:t}=q & \quad \text{k’o’}=\text{həli}=\text{ki} & \quad =?=i & \text{həq’áye} \\
\text{SAME}=\text{then}=\text{HSY1} & \quad \text{now} & \quad \text{sun}=\text{PAT} & \quad \text{be.in}=\text{INFR1}=\text{DST} & \quad =\text{HSY1} & \quad \text{now}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{t’átlhəli} & \quad =?=i & \quad \text{muč’uytitmil} \\
\text{t’ə’}-\text{tl}=\text{həli} & \quad =?=i & \quad \text{muč’uyt}=\text{mil} \\
\text{touch-TR}=\text{INFR1} & \quad =\text{HSY1} & \quad \text{squeal-INTR}=\text{FIN}
\end{align*}
\]

‘But now where the sun was inside, as he seemed to touch it, it squealed.’

(111) Coyote and the World: 313, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se’ey} & \quad \text{wíley} & \quad \text{kə’otti} & \quad ?ey & \quad \text{náwinhəle} & \quad =?=i \\
\text{si}=?=i & \quad \text{wili} & \quad \text{kə’}=t & \quad =?=i & \quad \text{nqwu}=\text{həli} & \quad =?=i \\
\text{NEW}=\text{HSY1} & \quad \text{far} & \quad \text{go-INTR} & \quad =\text{HSY1} & \quad \text{see-AND}=\text{INFR1} & \quad =\text{HSY1}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yat(e)mil} & \\
\text{yat}=\text{mil} & \\
\text{be.gone}=\text{FIN}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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.’
In (112) and (113), =hålì follows ki’ ‘DST’ with the meaning ‘that must be the one’. In
(112), =hålì also follows wilísìwi? ‘went by’, but Kroemer only translates =hålì in reference
to its use with ki’ as ‘that must be the one’. The reasons for this are unclear, but they
may be the same as those discussed for (110).

(112) Coyote and the World: 232, RM

\begin{align*}
\text{seʔéy} & \quad \text{hulk’óʔi} & \quad \text{kí} & \quad \text{håle} & \quad ?\text{yí} & \quad \text{k’àpki} \\
\text{si=ʔi} & \quad \text{hulk’óʔi} & \quad \text{ki’} & \quad =\text{hålì} & \quad ?\text{t} & \quad \text{k’àpki}
\end{align*}

NEW=HSY1 Coyote DST =INFR1 1SG.DAT below

\begin{align*}
\text{hóʔ} & \quad \text{sunlámuʔ} & \quad ?\text{i} & \quad \text{ʔí} & \quad \text{ñeymil} & \quad \text{hulk’óʔi} \\
\text{hoṭ} & \quad \text{sun-ląm-wi} & \quad =\text{i} & \quad \text{ʔím} & \quad \text{ñeymil} & \quad \text{hulk’óʔi}
\end{align*}

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.’

(113) Coyote and the World: 244, RM

\begin{align*}
\text{seʔéy} & \quad \text{kí:} & \quad \text{håle} & \quad \text{k’àta} & \quad \text{wilísìwiʔ} & \quad \text{hålì} & \quad \text{hoʔòt} \\
\text{si=ʔi} & \quad \text{ki’} & \quad =\text{hålì} & \quad \text{k’àta} & \quad \text{wil-s-wi} & \quad =\text{hålì} & \quad \text{hoṭ}
\end{align*}

NEW=HSY1 DST =INFR1 here pass-CONT-PST1 =INFR1 large

\begin{align*}
\text{k’om lám-wi} & \quad ?\text{éyy} & \quad ?\text{íñeymil} \\
k’om-ląm-wi & \quad =\text{i} & \quad \text{ʔími=ñîl}
\end{align*}

make.noise-INCH-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN

\begin{align*}
\text{ʔiwoṭ} & \quad \text{ki} & \quad \text{k’ày’áʔeyki} \\
\text{ʔiwoṭ} & \quad \text{ki’} & \quad \text{k’ày’-a-y=ktí}
\end{align*}

old.man DST mushroom-?-PROG=DST

“‘That must be the one that went by here, resounding loudly along”, said
that old mushroom-picking man.’
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

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{są’ey} & \text{kipat} & ?aṭáta & \text{hušk’áyesmil} & ?inám \\
& sq=ˀi & kip=/qt & ?aṭat=q & \text{hušk’áy-s=mit} & ?inam \\
& \text{SAME}=\text{HSY1} & \text{3R}=\text{DAT} & \text{people}=\text{PAT} & \text{tell-CAUS}=\text{FIN} & \text{dream} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{hušk’áyestaná’} & \text{k’ophán} & \text{?áp} & \text{ko:mi:lámsik} \\
& \text{hušk’áy-s-tan-a’=kop=han} & \text{?áp} & \text{ko’-mq-il-m-sik} \\
& \text{tell-CAUS?-NEG?-=while-but} & \text{1SG.AGT} & \text{go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-HSY2} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{są} & \text{?áp} & \text{ko’omi:lik} & \text{?ey} & \text{?ím} \\
& \text{są} & \text{?áp} & \text{ko’-mq-il=k} & =ˀi & \text{?im} \\
& \text{SAME} & \text{1SG.AGT} & \text{go-DIR1-MPSV=DECL} & =\text{HSY1} & \text{say} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{kipat} & \text{?aṭáta} & \text{hušk’áyesmil} & \text{tatón} & \text{nóhinik} & \text{?ey} \\
& \text{kip=qt} & \text{?aṭat=q} & \text{hušk’áy-s=mit} & \text{tatón} & \text{no’-h-nik} & =ˀi \\
& \text{3R}=\text{DAT} & \text{people}=\text{PAT} & \text{tell-CAUS}=\text{FIN} & \text{good} & \text{live-DUR-NEC} & =\text{HSY1} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{?imiyišít} & \text{?ey} & \text{kótemil} & \text{hulk’ó?i} \\
& \text{?imiyišít} & =ˀi & \text{ko’-t=mit} & \text{hulk’ó?i} \\
& \text{say-PROG=then} & =\text{HSY1} & \text{go-INTR=FIN} & \text{Coyote} \\
& \text{‘So he told his people, not telling them the dream, but “I am to go, they say, and I shall go”, thus he told his people; “Stay here well”, Coyote said and went.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(115) Coyote and the World: 375, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{są’ey} & \text{?átá} & ?àp & \text{ko:mi:lámšik} & \text{?ey} \\
& \text{są=ˀi} & \text{?ática} & ?àp & \text{ko’-mq-il-m-sik} & =ˀi \\
& \text{SAME}=\text{HSY1} & \text{again} & \text{1SG.AGT} & \text{go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-HSY2} & =\text{HSY1} \\
\end{align*}
\]
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. \textit{li:támšik} ‘are being killed’ in (116) is an example of this lack of translated evidential meaning.

(116) Coyote and the World: 107, RM

\begin{verbatim}
si  ki  nák  ?ey  hulk’oʾá  ?inámtmil  ?aṭát
si  kiʾ  nák  =ʾi  hulk’oʾi=q  ?inam-t=mil  ?aṭát
NEW  DST  dark/night  =HSY1  Coyote=PAT  dream-INTR=FIN  people

kú:hktiwit  yé:tiwi  kimáša  li:támšik
kuhtki=wit  yiʾ-t-wi  kiʾ-mas=q  liʾ-t-m-sik
north=ALL  play-INTR-PST1  DST-DSTR=PAT  kill-INTR-IMPFV-HSY2

ˀiy ˀ imeymil  hulkʾóʾi
=ʾi ˀ imi=mil  hulkʾoʾi
=HSY1  say=FIN  Coyote
\end{verbatim}

‘And at night Coyote dreamed: “The people who went north playing are being killed”, Coyote said.’

\section{7.4.4.4. \textit{štlo}$^7$ inferential evidential}

\textit{štlo}$^7$ can act as a hearsay evidential and may also have other uses\footnote{See §13.2.1 for a description of other uses of \textit{štlo}.}. As an evidential, \textit{štlo}$^7$ means ‘seems to’ and follows the word it is characterizing, \textit{štlo}$^7$ 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 \textit{štlo}$^7$:

\begin{quote}
-\textit{ciló} [-\textit{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
\end{quote}
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 yiiki-ciloo-wi [yiikišílo: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), šiloˀ is found in hoyyímíy šiloˀómik ‘seems to be trying tell.’

(117) Coyote and the World: 9, RM

sąˀey ʔa:ṭáta ʔiwilhánam mihikimása
sqˀ=i ʔaṭat=q ʔiwilhan=qm mih=kiˀ-mas=q
SAME=HSY1 people=PAT ceremonial.house-IN2 be=DST-DSTR=PAT

ʔiyi ʔiy hą́ltikhil ʔanwisq móˀoš nqwíli
ʔiyi ?i hąl-t-k-il? ʔanwis=q moˀos nqwíl
something 1SG.PAT hear-INTR-PNCT-MPSV orphan=PAT 2PL.AGT whip

lákšiwičkíˀ hoyyímyi šiloˀómik ʔey
lak’-s-wiṭ=kiˀ hoy=ʔim-y šiloˀ-m=k =ʔi
emerge-CAUS-PST2=DST tooˀ=try-PROG like-IMPF=DECL =HSY1

ʔímeymil hulk’ósˀi ʔa:ṭata ʔiwilhánam
ʔimi=mil hulk’oˀʔi ʔaṭat=q ʔiwilhan=qm
say=FIN Coyote people=PAT ceremonial.house-IN2

nóhikimáša
noˀ-h?=kiˀ-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), šilo? is found in tînti:li šiló?otmil ‘seemed to be level’ and also in yą́kpa šilo? ‘appearing to stand.’

(118) Origins: 72, RM

sîkiṭˀey  hîł’îl  tát
sî=kiṭ=ˀi  hîl’îl  tat
NEW=then=HSY1  everywhere  earth  level  =INFR2-INTR=FIN  good

?on  n'am'-ti  ?i’yî  han  yą́kpa  šiló?  ’ol  han
?on  nąm-t  ?i’yî  han  yą́k-pa?  =šilo?  ’ol  han
earth  lay-INTR  what  but  stand-FUT  =INFR2  tree  but

yą́kpa  =šilo?  ?ey  tát  wânanol  ?on  ?ey
yą́k-pa?  =šilo?  =ˀi  tat  wah-nw-ol’  ?on  =ˀi
stand-FUT  =INFR2  =HSY1  good  wide-see-AGT/INST?  earth  =HSY1

nám’ṭmil.
nąm-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), šilo? is found in náŋk’i: šilo? ‘as it were near’, which could be understood as meaning ‘appearing to be near’ or ‘seemingly near’.

(119) Coyote and the World: 61, RM

sîkiṭéy  hayú:mi  hulmúninát  náŋk’i:  šiló?’
sî=kiṭ=ˀi  hayum  hulmunin=qt  nąk’=ki  =šilo?’
NEW=then=HSY1  Dove  Spider=DAT  near=IN  =INFR2

=逯1  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 ~ -ṭ 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. Krooher (1911:361) describes -t as “intransitive, unintentional, not causative action.” Schlichter (1985:64) reconstructs *-Vt/ṭ, š, C’, ľC--t/… as the effective voice\(^{197}\) in PNY.

(120) - (122) show that through the addition of -t, nqw- ‘see’ takes on an intransitive meaning nqw-t- ‘look’. In (120) and (121), nqw- is a transitive verb with an agent that sees or looks at something. nqw-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
č’imit ṭąp nqwek
bird 1SG.AGT see-DUR=DECL
‘I looked at the bird, I watched the bird.’

(121) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:182, MF
mis ṭąp nqwek
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.
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 kipąwwap 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, kipąwwap kó’otekiṭ is translated as ‘returned’ due to the presence of kipąwwap ‘back=LAT’ rather than due to the fact that -t is present in the verb.
(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 nq ʔqš móp(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

seʔéy lašk’áwol’ na háwmol’ ʔey pístlmil
siʔi 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.’
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 affricate\(^{198}\). 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

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{są'éy} & \text{pilá:t} & \text{lilk'íl} & \text{čák'ik} & \text{lácžílmil} \\
\text{sq=ˀi} & \text{pilá:t} & \text{lil=k'íl} & \text{čák'=k} & \text{lat-tl=mi} \\
\text{SAME=HSY1} & \text{sun} & \text{rock=TERM} & \text{hit=DECL} & \text{break-TR=FIN} \\
\text{lilpátk'i} & \text{hul} & \text{p'óyčpa'} & \text{huluk} & \text{kí:la} \\
\text{lil-páq=k'í} & \text{hul} & \text{p'oy-t-pa'} & \text{huluk} & \text{ki̯=la} \\
\text{rock-crack=IN} & \text{eye} & \text{put-INTR-FUT} & \text{tear} & \text{DST-INST} \\
\text{sumám} & \text{ki̯=la} & \text{p'óyyičpa'} & \text{ʔi} & \text{ʔúmeymil} \\
\text{su'umam} & \text{ki̯=la} & \text{p'oy-t-pa'} & \text{ʔ=} & \text{ʔúmi=mi} \\
\text{brain} & \text{DST-INST} & \text{put-INTR-FUT} & \text{=HSY1} & \text{say=FIN} \\
\end{array}
\]

\(^{198}\) Kroeber writes -tl as <L> in the texts, but as -t-l in his (1911) published sketch of Yuki.
Verbs

kípa                k’oˀolísí
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
sq̱’ey                kimás              háyk               p’oyitli       ’qtá
sq̱-i                  ki̱-mas              hay=k               p’oy-tl        ’ata?
SAME=HSY1        DST-DSTR  net.sack=IN        put-TR     again

ḵoˀotemil            ’u:khoˀotamwit.
ḵo̱-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).’

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
kí’       mešet          nqmhek
kí’       miš=iṭ           nqm-h=k
DST   road=JXT  lay-DUR=DECL
‘He’s laying in the road.’

(129) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:125, AA
’im           ki       nqm’a
’im           ki’       nqm-’a
where   DST   lay-Q
‘Where is it (lying)?’

(130) Coyote and the World: 204, RM
sq̱’ey                no’namlíkíčk       hámpeyit   námtlmil
sq̱-i                  no’-namlí=kik     hamp=it   nqm-tl=mil
SAME=HSY1 live=DEP=there    back=JXT  lay-TR=FIN
ki: mîl
kiˀ mil
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), tátlík’éyˀ ‘which they prepared (for him)’.

(131) Coyote and the World: 297, RM
sq’éy k’amolšîl tátlík’éyˀ šútlmil
sq’i k’amol-šîl tat-tl=kiˀ šuˀ-tl=mîl
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, ˀi:tlmil ‘had fled’.

(132) Coyote and the World: 105, RM
sîkîṭey šą̜kmi ˀonwičop ˀi:tlmil
si=kiṭ=ˀi šąkmi ˀon=wič=op ˀiˀ?-tl=mîl
NEW=then=HSY1 some earth=ALL=LAT fleece?-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 circumstances. 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
?onk’e ?aq č’učlik
?on=k’i ?aq č’uč-l=k
earth=IN 1SG.AGT throw-PFV=DECL
‘I throw ’m down on the ground.’

(134) Siniard 1967a:35, MF
hqw ț’uklik
hqw ț’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. Table 22 summarizes Kroeber’s original descriptions of the -Cil morphemes.

---

200 -Cil = Consonant + -il ‘mediopassive’
Morpheme & Kroeber's description (1911:359-360) \\
-\textit{il} & “meaning unknown” \\
-\textit{mil} & “meaning unknown” \\
-\textit{\textit{til}} & “to cause to, to have for, to make to be, to want to do, to direct to do” \\
-\textit{lil} & “reflexive or reciprocal action” \\
-\textit{\textit{kil}} & “single action, or repeated at a single period, contrasting with -\textit{am}” \\
-\textit{\textit{sil}} & “appears to emphasize the idea of motion without describing it, leaving this to the verb stem” \\

Table 22: Kroeber’s description of the -\textit{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, -\textit{\textit{il}} is described by Kroeber as expressing “reflexive or reciprocal action,” as in \textit{\textit{im\textit{a}lilmil}} ‘said to one another’ and \textit{\textit{mis kipat hu\textit{\textit{s}ilh\textit{\textit{\textit{a}}}}} ‘do you like yourself?’ However, other “morphemes,” such as -\textit{\textit{sil}}, have no obvious consistent function and Kroeber’s description is unsatisfying: “-\textit{\textit{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, -\textit{\textit{Cil}}, would suggest that there is some unified function for the common part, -\textit{\textit{il}}, of these morphemes.

Schlichter (1985:64, 288) analyzes *-\textit{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 *-\textit{il} in PNY is also applicable to Yuki itself. Across the different -\textit{\textit{Cil}} suffixes, several major functions emerge. Verbs containing -\textit{\textit{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 *-\textit{il} for PNY is adopted in this grammar for -\textit{\textit{il}} in Yuki.

Kroeber’s original series of -\textit{\textit{Cil}} “morphemes” can be reanalyzed as sequences of aspect morphemes and mediopassive -\textit{\textit{il}}, with some of these sequences having more well-defined function than others. Table 23 summarizes the proposed analysis for all of the -\textit{\textit{Cil}} “morphemes” described by Kroeber.
Verbs

Kroeker | Proposed Analysis
---|---
-mil | -mq ‘directional’ + -il ‘mediopassive’; unclear in some cases
-ṭil | -t ~ -t ‘intransitive’ + -il ‘mediopassive’
-lil | -l ‘perfective’ + -il ‘mediopassive’
-kil | -k ‘punctual + -il ‘mediopassive’
-sil | -s ‘causative’ + -il ‘mediopassive’

Table 23: Proposed analysis of Kroeker’s -Cil morphemes

The morpheme sequences shown in Table 23 pick out particular functions of the mediopassive. 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 meaning, as shown in (137).

(135) Coyote and the World: 31, RM

<sikit> k’ół’il šąkmi
si=kit=ˀi k’ol=k’il šąkmi
NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM some

*taw=mililyqk̓mil.
taw=ˀimi-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> ˀeyyínom’ miyątki’ ko:l̕ityik
si=ˀi ˀiyi-nom’ mi=ąt=k’i’l ko=ˀl̕i-t-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 with and without mediopassive -il, see káptilyak̓mil ‘caused them to enter’ and kátx(m)il ‘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 imålilmil k’ō’il
=?i ?imi-mq-l-il=mil k’o’īl
=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’éy iwilhánam káptilyakmil
si=?i iwilhan-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;’

(138) shows a use of -t-il, há’iti:li ‘carrying’, which does not seem to have a causative meaning.

(138) Coyote and the World: 240, RM
sikiṭéiy nqwhiméykit ?ey ?a’tá k’olk’il
si=kît=?i nqw-h-m=kit =?i ?aṭa’ k’ol=k’il
NEW=then=HSY1 see-DUR-IMPFV=when =HSY1 again other=TERM

kó:t(e)mil pilát há’iti:li.
koʔ-t=mil pilq t haʔ-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 -C-il “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 kápsilyakmil ‘enter’, in (140). Following causative -s, the presence of mediopassive -il has a detransitivizing effect in kápsilyakmil ‘entered’.
(139) Coyote and the World: 203, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se'ey} & \quad \text{hulk'ó'í} \quad \text{lák\textquoteleft i} & \quad \text{kapísimil} \\
\text{si}=\hat{\text{i}} & \quad \text{hulk'ó'í} \quad \text{lak'\textacute{t}} & \quad \text{kap-s=mil}
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=HSY1 Coyote emerge-INTR enter-CAUS=FIN

‘Then Coyote going out brought it in.’

(140) Coyote and the World: 98, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se'ey} & \quad \text{ká:psilyakmil} \\
\text{si}=\hat{\text{i}} & \quad \text{kap-s-il-qk=mil}
\end{align*}
\]

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 wíṭkmil ‘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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se'éy} & \quad \text{šiwkítin} \quad \text{lil} & \quad \text{ha'namlikí:'la} \quad \text{?ey} \\
\text{si}=\hat{\text{i}} & \quad \text{šiwkítin} \quad \text{lil} & \quad \text{ha'=namli=ki=la} \quad =\hat{\text{i}}
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wíṭkmil} & \quad \text{kó'ola} \\
\text{wiṭ-k=mil} & \quad \text{ko'ol=q?}
\end{align*}
\]

hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki.PL=OBL?

‘So Šiwkítin hurled at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying.’

---

\(^{203}\) ha'= '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

sikit’ey  
so:hókilmil

si=kit=’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 -mq and the mediopassive -il 205. In (143) - (145), -mil has the meaning of ‘going to do X’ in šąšme:lek ‘going to bite’, hamme:lek ‘going to bring’, and wiṭmide:lek ‘going off to work’.

(143) Schlichter 1985: 76, MF

mis  šąšme:lek
mis  šąš-mq-il=k

2SG.PAT  bite-DIR1-MPSV=DECL

‘He’s going to bite you.’

(144) Schlichter 1985:76, MF

kimaset  ˀap  ˀal  ha:mme:lek
kt?-mas=qt  ˀap  ˀol  ham-mq-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

ˀap  wiṭmide:lek
ˀap  wiṭ-mq-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 -mq and mediopassive -il. In k’aymil’išk ‘spoke’, in (146), the meaning of non-final -mil is not known 206.

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 ˀap kominiališk ‘I learn I am to go’ (CW:375) and čįyeyimišk ‘(fire) gleams at intervals’ (CW:7). Also, imperfective -m does not have a directional meaning like that of directional -mq.
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’inhílmil ‘felt sad’. There are no examples in the texts of this verb 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’inhílmil 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
sé̊éy                   kimásá                   k’inhílmil                   šąkna
siʔi                   kʔʔ̣-mas=ą                   k’inh-h-il=mil                   šąkmi=ą
NEW=HSY1       DST-DSTR=PAT       cry-DUR-MPSV=FIN       some=PAT
‘And some of them felt sad;’

(148) Ents and Upek: 12, RM
sq        k’inhmil.
sq        k’inh=mil
SAME        cry=FIN
‘It cried.’

---

206 -mil does not seem to be indicating direction of speech, as in OG:22 the same verb k’aymilmil ‘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 ʈ’qˀqkselek ‘is shaving’, while in (150), mediopassive -il follows andative -n in the verb ʈ’qˀqkne: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 ʈ’qk’- as ‘shave, bald’. There are no available examples of ʈ’qk’- 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
    nakoš ʈ’qˀqkselek
    nakoš ʈ’qk’-s-il=k
    beard shave-CAUS-MPSV=DECL
    ‘He is shaving.’

(150) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:185, AA
    nakoš ʈ’qˀqkne:lek
    nakoš ʈ’qk’-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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sá}^=\text{ey} & \quad \text{yím} & \quad \text{yq}':\text{hštì} & \quad \text{\textit{nqwímil}} & \quad \text{hulk'o}^=\text{i}
\end{align*}
\]

SAME=HSY1 fire blaze-CONT-INTR see=FIN Coyote

‘And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.’

(152) Coyote and the World: 127, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se}^=\text{ey} & \quad \text{háye} & \quad k'o^=\text{il} & \quad \text{kiwismil} & \quad \text{wóktl}
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=HSY1 now Wailaki ask-CAUS=FIN dance/sing-TR

\[
\begin{align*}
?\text{ús}a & \quad \text{\textit{nqwésa}^?} & \quad ?\text{ey} & \quad \text{\textit{?imeymil}}
\end{align*}
\]

1PLEXCL=PAT see-CAUS-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN

\[
\begin{align*}
k'o^=\text{il} & \quad \text{hulk'o}^=\text{a}
\end{align*}
\]

Wailaki Coyote=PAT

‘Then the Wailaki asked: “Show us (your) dance”, they said to Coyote.’

(153) Coyote and the World: 81, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{siki}tèy} & \quad \text{wák}^=\text{op} & \quad \text{hulmú}nîn
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=then=HSY1 after=LAT Spider

\[
\begin{align*}
tèw'tlnamlikàn & \quad ?\text{ey} & \quad \text{hutá}ŋ
\end{align*}
\]

pursue-TR=DEP=though =HSY1 halfway

\[
\begin{align*}
k'o^=\text{letmil} & \quad \text{tót} & \quad \text{namnamlîki}tä.
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
k'o^=\text{ol-t}^=\text{mil} & \quad \text{tót} & \quad \text{nám}^=\text{namli}=\text{ki}tä
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
die-INTR=FIN & \quad \text{log} & \quad \text{lay}=\text{DEP}=\text{there}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then though Spider pursued him, he died halfway where a log was lying,'
(154) Coyote and the World: 250, RM

saʔéy    pilát    lílk’il     čąk’ık     ląčtlmil
sq=ˀi     pilát    lil=’k’il   čąk=’k     laṭ-tl=’mil
SAME=HSY1 sun     rock=TERM     hit=DECL    break-TR=FIN

lilpát’k’i    hul    p’óyčpaʔ    húluk    kíla
lil-paʔ=k’i    hul    p’oy-t-paʔ    huluk    ki’2-la
rock-crack=IN eye      put-INTR-FUT     tear     DST-INST

sumám    kílaʔ    p’óyyičpaʔ    ʔi:ya    ʔimeymil
su’umam    ki’2-la    p’oy-t-paʔ    =ʔi    ʔimi=’mil
brain    DST-INST      put-INTR-FUT    =HSY1     say=FIN

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), luḥsek ‘chopping wood’ and ʔuʔuksek ‘barking (at something)’ are actions that are repetitive and on-going, but are not causative.

(155) Schlichter 1985:121, AA

ʔap    ʔal    luḥsek
ʔap    ʔol    luḥ-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’olsi ‘killed’ (CW:250).
Verbs

(156) Schlichter 1985:121, AA

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{?iye} & \quad \text{?at̃woṣet} & \quad \text{?u\textsuperscript{’}uksek} \\
\text{?i yi} & \quad \text{?at̃woṣit} & \quad \text{?u\textsuperscript{’}uk-s=k} \\
\text{something} & \quad \text{dog} & \quad \text{bark-CONT=DECL} \\
\end{align*} \]

‘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\textsuperscript{’}opismil ‘snored’.

(157) Coyote and the World: 209, RM

\[ \begin{align*}
sq & \quad \text{?intāla’han} & \quad \text{?inkó\textsuperscript{’}opismil} \\
\text{SAME} & \quad \text{sleep-NEG-?-but} & \quad \text{snore-CONT=FIN} \\
\text{And even though not asleep he snored.’} \\
\end{align*} \]

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

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{se\textsuperscript{’}éy} & \quad \text{?an} & \quad \text{wo’okesmil} & \quad \text{k’ó’il} \\
\text{si=’i} & \quad \text{?an} & \quad \text{wok’-s=mil} & \quad \text{k’ó’il} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1} & \quad \text{long.time} & \quad \text{dance/sing-CONT=FIN} & \quad \text{Wailaki} \\
\text{And they danced long.’} \\
\end{align*} \]

Coyote and the World: 137

\[ \begin{align*}
siκa\textsuperscript{’}éy & \quad \text{?an} & \quad \text{hulk’ó’i} & \quad \text{?in} & \quad \text{háwesmil} \\
\text{si=kq=’i} & \quad \text{?an} & \quad \text{hulk’ó’i} & \quad \text{?in} & \quad \text{haw-s=mil} \\
\text{NEW=thereupon=HSY1} & \quad \text{long.time} & \quad \text{Coyote sleep wish-CONT=FIN} & \quad \text{Coyote was wishing them sleepy.’} \\
\text{But all the time Coyote was wishing them sleepy.’} \\
\end{align*} \]

In (159), ‘at̃q ... nakohísímil ‘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.
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 nqw- ‘see’ is compared in (160) and (161). In (160), nqw- is affixed with andative -n forming náwinhále ‘going to look, it seems’, while in (161), nqw- appears without -n or other suffixes as náwímil ‘saw’ and has no inherent directional meaning.

(160) Coyote and the World: 313, RM

seʔéy wíley koʔoti ?ey náwinhále ?ey
siʔi wili koʔ-t =ʔí nqw-n=háli =ʔí
NEW=HSY1 far go-INTR =HSY1 see-AND=INFR1 =HSY1

yqí(t,é)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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Coyote} & \quad \text{s\rq{}ey} \quad \text{y\im} \quad \text{y\q{}:h\q{}\q{}sti} \quad \text{nqw\textsuperscript{m}il} \quad \text{hulk\rq{}o\rq{}i} \\
\text{Coyote} & \quad \text{s}=\text{i} \quad \text{yim} \quad \text{y\q{}h-s-t} \quad \text{nqw=mil} \quad \text{hulk\rq{}o\rq{}i} \\
\text{SAME=HSY1} & \quad \text{fire} \quad \text{blaze-CONT-INTR} \quad \text{see=FIN} \\
\text{‘And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(162) provides two further examples of the andative, \textit{lit\textsuperscript{m}inmil} ‘went to gather’ and \textit{hut\rq{}\q{}\textsuperscript{o\textsuperscript{p}inmil} ‘went to hunt’.

(162) Coyote and the World: 299, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Coyote} & \quad \text{sik\textit{\textsuperscript{ni}}t\textit{\textsuperscript{ey}}} \quad \text{mus} \quad \text{s}=\text{i} \quad \text{lit\textsuperscript{m}inmil} \quad \text{hil-i} \\
\text{Coyote} & \quad \text{s}=\text{kit}=\text{?} \quad \text{mus} \quad \text{s}=\text{i} \quad \text{lit-n=mi}\text{l} \quad \text{hil-i} \\
\text{NEW=then=HSY1} & \quad \text{women} \quad \text{clover} \quad \text{do-AND=FIN} \quad \text{all-ANIM} \\
\text{‘Then the women all \textit{went} to \textit{gather} clover,’}
\end{align*}
\]

Coyote and the World: 300

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Coyote} & \quad \text{sik\textit{\textsuperscript{ni}}t\textit{\textsuperscript{ey}}} \quad \text{\textit{\textsuperscript{i}}wis} \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{hut\rq{}\q{}\textsuperscript{o\textsuperscript{p}inmil}} \\
\text{Coyote} & \quad \text{s}=\text{kit}=\text{?} \quad \text{\textit{\textsuperscript{i}}wis} \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{hut\rq{}\textsuperscript{o\textsuperscript{p}-n=mi}\text{l}} \\
\text{NEW=then=HSY1} & \quad \text{men} \quad \text{meat/deer} \quad \text{hunt-AND=FIN} \\
\text{‘and the men [went] to \textit{hunt} deer.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In (163), andative \textit{-n} is used in conjunction with semelfactive \textit{-qk} resulting in an apparent iterative meaning in \textit{kap\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{n}\textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{a}kmil} ‘dashed in and out of the grass’.

(163) Coyote and the World: 102, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Coyote} & \quad \text{se\rq{}ey} \quad \text{yo\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{o\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{o}}t\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{op}}} \quad \text{mi\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{k}}\textsuperscript{p}op} \quad \text{kap\textsuperscript{e}\textsuperscript{n}\textsuperscript{i}\textsuperscript{a}kmil}} \\
\text{Coyote} & \quad \text{s}=\text{i} \quad \text{yo\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{ot\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{op}}}}} \quad \text{mi\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{k}}\textsuperscript{p}op} \quad \text{kap-n-qk=mi}\text{l} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1} & \quad \text{grass=LAT} \quad \text{quick} \quad \text{enter-AND-SEM=FIN} \\
\text{‘But he dashed quickly \textit{in and out} of the grass’.
}\end{align*}
\]
7.5.6.2. -mq directional

The directional aspect -mq 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 PNY.\(^{210}\)

In general the motion described by -mq is directed away from the speaker or actor, but in some cases it can also be directed towards the speaker or actor. In (164), haˀ- appears without any directional or motion suffixes and has the meaning ‘carry’, but in (165), haˀ-mq- has the meaning ‘pick up’ or ‘carry toward’. In this example -mq is indicating motion towards the actor, the one picking up the stone.

(164) Coyote and the World: 164, RM

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{seˀéy} & \text{šiwkítin} & \text{lil} & \text{hdˀnamlí:k̂:la} & \text{?ey} \\
\text{siˀ=i} & \text{šiwkítin} & \text{lil} & \text{haˀ=namlí=kiˀ-la} & \text{=ˀi} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1 Šiwkítin rock carry(DEP=DST-INST} & \text{=HSY1} \\
\text{witk̂mil} & \text{koˀola} \\
\text{wit-k=mil} & \text{koˀol=q?} \\
\text{hurl-PNCT=FIN} & \text{Wailaki.PL=OBL?} \\
\text{‘So Šiwkítin hurled at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying’}
\end{array}
\]

(165) Coyote and the World: 368 (excerpt), RM

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{sikáˀéy} & \text{kíŋkʻún'} & \text{lil} \\
\text{si=ˀi} & \text{kim-kʻun'} & \text{lil} \\
\text{NEW=thereupon=HSY1 DST.KIN.POSS-father rock} \\
\text{haˀ:mqkil} & \text{witik} & \text{tʻqláçtlmil} \\
\text{haˀ=mq-k-il} & \text{wit=k} & \text{tʻq̂t-lat-tl=mil} \\
\text{carry-DIR1-PNCT-MPSV} & \text{throw=DECL leg-break-TR=FIN…} \\
\text{‘Thereupon his father having picked up a stone and throwing it broke his leg...’}
\end{array}
\]

\(^{210}\)Kroeber (1911:359) and Schlichter (1985:62) speculate that directional -mq is the source of -m in certain verbs with an inherent directional meaning, such as kom- ‘come’ (koˀ- ‘go’ + -mq) and ham- ‘bring’ (haˀ- ‘carry’ + -mq).
-mq 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 -mq in this circumstance is unclear, however it may be used to emphasize the idea of motion already inherent in the verb itself. Compare téwmqmil ‘pursued’ and tíwimil ‘followed’ in (166).

(166) Coyote and the World: 171, RM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coyote and the World: 171, RM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se’ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si='i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW=HSY1, again other DST-DSTR-ANIM Wailaki</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**téwmqmil**

**tiw-mq=mil**

**pursue-DIR1=FIN**

‘And still other Wailaki pursued;’

Coyote and the World: 172

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coyote and the World: 172</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sikiṭéy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si=kit='i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEW=then=HSY1, two=? Wailaki other-NOML=ALL purs=FIN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘but two of them followed off on the side.’

-mq is also found in clauses containing directional obliques. The use of -mq 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 =k’il becomes hánk’il ‘to the house’. ‘un- ‘carry’ suffixed with -mq becomes ‘ùnmqmil ‘brought’.

(167) Coyote and the World: 192, RM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coyote and the World: 192, RM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sq’éy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sq='i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAME=HSY1, house=TERM carry-DIR1=FIN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘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 -mq.
The use of -mq may also extend to situations where the motion towards the goal is abstract or metaphorical. In (168), *kimálilikit* ‘were telling one another’ there is no actual motion. -mq may be being used here to emphasize the idea expressed with the sequence -l-il, which, as discussed in §7.5.3, typically has a reflexive meaning: the idea of conversation being exchanged back and forth among speakers.

(168) Coyote and the World: 56 (excerpt), RM

... sq hí:li ?ohí:šq

sq hil-i ?ohiš=a

SAME all-ANIM swift=?

kimálilikit ?ey hayú:mi k'ayyéyamtápm'il.

ki-mq-l-il=kiṭ =ʔi hayum k'ay-m-tan=mil

say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=when =HSY1 Dove talk-IMPFV-NEG=FIN

‘... and while all **were telling one another** that they were swift, Dove did not talk at all.’

### 7.5.6.3. -lit directional 212

-lit appears to have a directional meaning, but the precise nature of this meaning is unclear213. Kroeber (1911:359) states that the meaning of -lit is unknown. Schlichter (1985) does not reconstruct -lit for PNY.

-lit appears infrequently in the texts. It occurs most often with the verb koˀ- ‘go’, as in koˀlíːtmamil ‘traveled (back)’, in (169), and koˀolítimil ‘went (back)’, in (170).

(169) Origins: 150, RM

sákiṭey kipawk’ił’ káyt han hulk’ó’i

sq=kiṭ=ʔi kipaw=k’ił kayt han hulk’o’i

SAME=then=HSY1 back=TERM long.ago house Coyote

---

212 The position of -lit in the verb template is not entirely clear. In examples provided by Kroeber (1911) -lit occurs to the right of causative or continuative -s. In examples such as (169), -lit seems to occur to the left of -mq, which is very close to the verb root. See the verb template in §7.2 for additional details.

213 There exists an independent verb lit- ‘do, feel, pick’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:269), therefore it is possible that the verbs containing -lit are actually serial verb constructions.
Verbs

Then they traveled together back to where Coyote had built a house.

(170) Coyote and the World: 252, RM

sq ki mátlikít ki=p a hulk’ó=a k’óli
sq ki mat-tl=kit ki=q hulk’o’=q k’ol
SAME(?) DST do-TR=when DST=PAT Coyote=PAT kill

sqkit ?ey kipáwwap ko’olitmil.
sq=kit =?i kipqw=ap ko’litmil
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 kápisa hqawayilitia ‘bring it in to eat!’

(171) Coyote and the World: 197, RM

sq=qey ?ap mil ?únmawi ki:
sq=q i ?ap mil ?un-mq-wi ki?
SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT meat/deer carry-DIR1-PST1 DST

kápisa hqawayilitia ?ey ?imeymil hulk’ó’i
kap-s-a’ hqway-lit-a’ =?i ?imi=mit 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.’

In (172), the meaning of -lit is unclear in lawólícyakmil ‘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

*są*kiṭéy hāye hil mik’āl ?ey háye ki: lil pā:t

ساكيتية حاي هيل ميكال اي حاي كي ليتل

SAME=then=HSY1 now all =around =HSY1 now DST stone flat

šilokí: ?ey háye mik’āl ˀu:k’ít t’úˀąki ?ey

شيلوكية هي ياي ميكال اوكيت تىوكيت ياي

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.’

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

...h[yˈjánop] *šuhól* mį: šup méy(h)tan ...

...هايجلوپ سوخلو مي شوب ميتهان...

han=op *šu’-h-ol’* miʔ kup mih-tan

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), *ʔaːtátat hqaway’ol* ‘food for humans’ is derived from *hqaway* ‘food, eat’. *hqaway* can function as either a verb or a noun.
(174) Coyote and the World: 413b, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{mila} \quad \text{?ey} \quad \text{mi} \quad \text{mili} \quad \text{mipa} \quad \text{?an} \\
&\text{mil}=q \quad =?i \quad \text{mi} \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{mih-pa} \quad \text{?an} \\
&\text{meat/deer=PAT} \quad =\text{HSY1} \quad 2\text{SG.AGT} \quad \text{meat/deer be-FUT long.time}
\end{align*}
\]

\['a:ṭat \quad hqwáy?ol' \]
\['aṭat=ąt \quad hqwáy-ol' \]
\text{people=DAT food/eat-AG/INST}

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

In (175), ‘ú(h)mol ‘awl’ is derived from ‘uh- ‘sew’. In this excerpt Taykómol is in the process of sewing the earth and to do so he needs an ‘ú(h)mol or ‘instrument for sewing’.

(175) Origins: 56, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
&s=qey \quad \text{kipát} \quad \text{č’ąwpis} \quad k’ít \quad k’dla \\
&sq=?i \quad \text{kip}=qt \quad \text{č’qw=pis} \quad k’ít \quad k’i-la \\
&\text{SAME=HSY1 3R=DAT entrails=ABL awl DST-INST}
\end{align*}
\]

\['ú(h)mol \quad \text{la’ek’ekilmil}. \]
\['uh-mol’ \quad \text{lak’-q-k-il=mil} \]
\text{sew-AG/INST \ emerge-?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN}

‘an awl to sew it with he [Taykómol] took out of his own body’

-(m)ol’ 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 lašk’áwol’ ‘moon’ and háwmol’ ‘morning star’ (CW:287). The analysis of lašk’áwol’ ‘moon’ is unclear, but háwmol’ ‘morning star’ can be analyzed as haw ‘daylight, morning, tomorrow’ + -(m)ol’ ‘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 juxtopositive =iṭ is found in haqwlâm miˀičop ‘when the beginning of the day is near’.

(176) Coyote and the World: 358, RM

sikiṭ hawmol’ haqwlâm miˀičop kîč ką́:kespa
si=kiṭ hawmol’ hawlam mih=iṭ=op =kič k’qk’-s-pa’
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 =k’il is found in 'amilk’k’il ‘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

seˀéy 'amilk’lik’il kíwismil.
siˀi 'amil-k-il=k’il kiw-s=mil
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

sì? kimáši kipáwwap kó’otekiṭ hiwák’i’
si’ ki’-mas-i kipaw=ap ko’’t=kiṭ hiwák=ı’
NEW DST-DSTR-ANIM back=LAT go-INTR=when in.turn=IN?
Less commonly -q also occurs in other contexts as in *nawiląsik* 'whipped', in (179).

(179) Coyote and the World: 11, RM

seʔéy lóʔopši k’ínk’op mil šáy ʔáwilk

NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit cry=while meat/deer raw/alive eat-PFV?=DECL

ʔiy *nqwılsik* ku’t’a ká: yım

1SG.PAT whip-?-HSY2? way.over.there fire

čiyimílmik ئyi ʔımeymıł lóʔopší.

čiy-mq-il-m=k =ʔi ʔımi=ml lopis

glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPVF=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.'
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 -ląm, 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 -ląm.

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 hap wá’okesk ‘singing that song he says’ appears to imply that the speaking occurs along with singing\(^\text{214}\).

\[(180)\] Origins: 12, RM
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se’éy} & \quad \text{’imeymil} & \quad \text{hulk’o’i} & \quad \text{så’ey} & \quad \text{ki’lim-sk} \\
\text{si’i} & \quad \text{’imi=mil} & \quad \text{hulk’o’i} & \quad \text{så’i} & \quad \text{ki’-lim-s=k} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1} & \quad \text{say=FIN} & \quad \text{Coyote} & \quad \text{SAME=HSY1} & \quad \text{say-as-CONT?=DECL}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{hap} \quad \text{wd’okesk} \quad \text{’imša} \quad \text{’a haymátliko} \quad \text{ey} \quad \text{Haymátliko} \quad \text{say=HSY1}
\]
\[
\text{song/sing} \quad \text{dance/sing-CONT?=DECL} \quad \text{what.will.I.do} =\text{HSY1}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{’imeymil} & \quad \text{ki} & \quad \text{hapus} & \quad \text{hu’úsik} \\
\text{’imi=mil} & \quad \text{ki’} & \quad \text{hap} & \quad \text{hu’u’a’-s=k}
\end{align*}
\]
\text{say=FIN} \quad \text{DST} \quad \text{song/sing} \quad \text{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 ’imeymil ló’opsi’ hulk’o’g’ hušk’áyesk ‘said Jackrabbit to Coyote informing him’ (CW:17), Kroeber often translates the verbs with a similar meaning as seen in kilímisk hap 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

sikiṭéy t'íma hoy tattikilpamikí: hoy
si=kiṭ=ˀi tíma hoy tat-k-il-paˀam=ki? hoy
NEW=then=HSY1 self too good/make-PNCT-MPSV-FUT=DST too

p'išpal hāhinč'am ṭas čąk(t)lámtpaˀ sikiṭ
p'iš-pal hāhin=it-qm ṭas čąk-ląm-t-pa? si=kiṭ
sunflower-leaf under=JXT-IN2 blood stick-INCH-INTR-FUT NEW=then

k'í:t Ḁán p'išpal hāhinč’am pínntpaˀ
k'í:t Ḁán p'iš-pal hāhin=it-qm pin-t-pa? NEW=then
bone long.time sunflower-leaf under=JXT-IN2 be.scattered-INTR-FUT

ˀimeymil kip táyşyąːki hőt Ḁam hiwiyąḳi hőt
ˀimi=mil kip ṭay-s-ąk hőt Ḁam hiw-ąk hőt
say=FIN 3R cut-CONT-SEM large guts spill-SEM large

pič pínntlon ṭey kilímismil hulk’óˀi
pič pin-tl-on =ˀi ki-lim-s=mil hulk’oˀi
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. kímil ‘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

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{seˀéy} & \text{hulk'óˀq} & \text{kip} & \text{'on} & \text{h₃wáti} \\
&\text{st=ˀi} & \text{hulk'óʾi=q} & \text{kip} & \text{'on} & \text{h₃wat}
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT 3R earth glad/like

‘Then “Coyote himself is glad about the earth”,’

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{kímilmil} & \text{hulk'óʾi} \\
&\text{ki-mil=mil} & \text{hulk'oʾi} \\
&\text{say-ˀ=FIN} & \text{Coyote}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 -tal is analogous to the Yuki negatives -tan and tal.

(183) Lamb 1955:59, LJ

\[
\begin{align*}
&epe \text{nʌ̨ːwɪki} & \text{‘I see it.’} \\
&\text{ˀepe nǝːwit̯ǝlki} & \text{‘I don’t see it.’} \\
&\text{hʌ̨n ˀa nʌ̨ːwɪki} & \text{‘I see the house.’} \\
&\text{hǝn ˀa nǝːwit̯ǝlki} & \text{‘I don’t see the house.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(184) and (185) show examples of imperatives in Huchnom\textsuperscript{16}. 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\textsuperscript{2}. In (185), the final consonant of the Huchnom verb is glottalized forming the imperative form h₄wzykil‘eat!’.

\textsuperscript{16} See §15.7.1.1 for additional examples of Huchnom imperatives.
Verbs

(184) Lamb 1955:56, LJ

*hanpis lak’ta* ‘come out of house’

(185) Lamb 1955:52, LJ

*k̓ə̨maː h̓aʔwaykil’* ‘come on and eat!’
k̓ə̨maː m̓ɬ h̓aʔwaykil’ ‘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’em’e kiktiki ‘bird flying thither [to over there]’, while -yi appears to indicate ‘movement toward direction of speaker’ in č’em’e kikyiki ‘bird flying hither [to here].’

(186) Lamb 1955:67, LJ

č’em’e kikyiki ‘bird flying hither’
č’em’e’ kiktiki ‘bird flying thither’
mehtɪ’ kiktɪkɪ ‘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

uʔk’’əymol’ ‘boat’
nan pəhkmol’ ‘hat’

---

217 With the exception of the roots in šọʔ’mol ‘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 Schllichter 1984: woy- ‘smoke’, ’ay- ‘glide’ (’uk’ ‘water’), pək- ‘cover’ (nan ‘head’), həway- ‘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
šọ́t̯mol’ ‘oriole’

(190) Lamb 1955:91, LJ
hąwoyʌ́mol’ ‘table (thing for eating)’

(191) Lamb 1955:92, LJ
moymeˑmol’ ‘pencil (something to write with)’

(192) Lamb 1955:130, LJ
šuhmʌ́l’ ‘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
yîk’am šáτ’lɛm’ ‘the fire is dying down or going out’

(194) Harrington 1942-1943:227, LP
’ö̌k’-ɛ’m’ ˈw’lɛ ˈnó’ok’ ‘snake lives in the water’

(195) Harrington 1942-1943:240, LP
’ɛn bʊ́t’ær’ ‘he is raising up the dirt on the surface’ (said of the mole)
(196) - (177) show examples of Coast Yuki imperatives.

(196) Harrington 1942-1943:386, LP

\[ \text{mugæ} \] ‘[you (sg.)] drink!’

(197) Harrington 1942-1943:391, LP

\[ ?\text{o}k’ \text{hāmma} \] ‘give me water, \text{pass} me water!’
\[ ?\text{o}k’ \text{diʃʰhɑq̂e} \] ‘dip up the water!’

(198) Harrington 1942-1943:275, LP

\[ \text{héwey} \] ‘food, grub’
\[ \text{hósshəš} \] ‘come on (+ eat)!
\[ \text{liʃək’} \] ‘you (sg.) hurry up!’
\[ \text{liʃək’ hewéygolk’} \] ‘you (sg.) hurry up + eat!’

(199) shows an example of a Coast Yuki question.

(199) Harrington 1942-1943:385, LP

\[ ?\text{o}k’ ?\text{iʃ’i-hámdæ} \] ‘do [you (sg.)] want water?’

Coast Yuki also has an agentive/instrumental affix -\text{mɨ́el’} ~ -\text{mɨ́ɪl’} ~ \text{məl’} cognate with Yuki -(m)əl’. Examples of this are shown in (200) and (201).

(200) Harrington 1942-1943:285, LP

\[ \text{woyimɨ́el’} ~ \text{woyimɨ́ɪl’} \] ‘tobacco-pipe’

(201) Harrington 1942-1943:89, LP

\[ \text{hiʃ’i’mal’} \] ‘salal-berry’

---

218 See §15.7.1.2 for additional examples of Coast Yuki imperatives.
219 cf. Yuki wo’y- ‘smoke’ (AA, MF), wo’yam ~ wo’yom ‘smoke’ (AA), wo’yəl’ ‘tobacco’ (AA, MF), and wo’yəl’ ət(m)əl’ ‘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 hoṭ ‘large’ follows the noun t’um ‘rain’.

(1) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 30, AA

\[%t’um\   hoṭ\   ki\   t’um\%e
rain   large   DST   rain=DECL
\]

‘it’s raining \texttt{big drops}’

In (2), both noun-adjective word orders are given as possible alternatives of each other.

(2) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:99, AA

\[%^i\on\   sik\   ~\   sik\   ^i\on\%e
\]

‘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'ey  lópši  k'ínk'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

sá’ey  čánimil  l’óopsa  mil  jojič  na

sá=’i  čan=mil  lopis=q  mil  čočič =nq

SAME=HSY1  give=FIN  Jackrabbit=PAT  meat/deer  pounded  =and

sopes  tit

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

sá’ey  k’áyimílmil  hoṭ  ?iwupa  han  hilk

sá=’i  k’áy-mil=mil  hoṭ  ?iwop=q  han  hilk

SAME=HSY1  talk-?=FIN  large  man=PAT?  but  all/something?

hąkóčmi ...

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
   ˀiwis puhiča 'short men'
   puhiča 'a short person'

(7) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
   mičči hóṭ'a 'a big deer'

(8) and (9) show examples of the adjectives hoṭ ‘large’ and tat ‘good’ occurring without =ˀaˀ 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, =ˀaˀ is also found on adjectives referring to inanimates. In (10), hoːta ‘a large one’ refers to the inanimate noun han ‘house’.

(10) Ioi: 22, RM
    seˀey kimáši kómmil huhąyk'i han=k'i
    si=ˀi ki-mas-i kom=mil huhàyk'i han=k'i
    NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM come=FIN furthest house=IN

让他们来到最远的房子，那是一个大房子。

In copular clauses, =ˀaˀ 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

\[
\begin{align*}
?ap & \quad ho:\mathbf{t}'a & \quad mihik \\
?ap & \quad ho\mathbf{t}=a & \quad mih=k
\end{align*}
\]

1SG.AGT large=? be=DECL

‘I am a big one.’

(12) Kroeber 1901a:36, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\mathbf{c}'al & \quad m:wi \\
\mathbf{c}'al=a & \quad mih=wi
\end{align*}
\]

white=? be=PST1

‘he is/was white’

(13) Kroeber 1901a:36, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
?at'w\mathbf{\dot{\text{s}}}it & \quad \mathbf{c}'al & \quad ?i\mathbf{\dot{t}}in & \quad mihik \\
?at'w\mathbf{\dot{\text{s}}}it & \quad \mathbf{c}'al=a & \quad ?i\mathbf{\dot{t}}in & \quad mih=k
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
mil & \quad \mathbf{?u}n\mathbf{\dot{\text{s}}}il & \quad ?ap & \quad li\mathbf{\dot{a}}ku \\
mil & \quad \mathbf{?u}n\mathbf{\dot{\text{s}}}il & \quad ?ap & \quad li\mathbf{\dot{a}}-ak-wi
\end{align*}
\]

deer small 1SG.AGT kill-SEM-PST1

‘I killed a small deer’

It should also be noted that =(_:a) ~ =(_:a) 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 kim\text{\text{"a}}si mólma ‘those three’. In this example there would be no reason for the argument of \text{"q}\text{"a}nk\text{"o}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 adjectives\textsuperscript{220}.

(15) Coyote and the World: 67, RM
\[
\begin{array}{l}
sop^{?} \text{éy} & \text{kimási} & \text{mólm\text{"a}} & ?\text{qlajko}^{?} \text{otimil} \\
sop^{?} i & \text{k\text{"i}-mas-i} & molmi=a & ?\text{qlajko}^{?} \text{t-mil} \\
\text{but=HSY1} & \text{DST-DSTR-ANIM} & \text{three=??} & \text{dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN}
\end{array}
\]
‘But the three danced in a row to the side.’

In (16), it makes sense for mólmíya ‘three’ to be a grammatical patient as it is the recipient of the action of the verb nak’óhisą ‘teaching’ and indeed its form is different from that of molma ‘three’ in (15). Therefore, the patient case enclitic =\text{"a} is most likely the morpheme at the end of mólmíya ‘three’.

(16) Coyote and the World: 357, RM
\[
\begin{array}{l}
somíy & ?\text{ey} & \text{hil} & \text{mólmíya} & \text{hílk’il} & \text{nak’óhisą} \\
som=\text{"i} & \text{=\text{"i}} & \text{hil} & \text{molm}\text{"i}=q & \text{hílk’il} & \text{nak’oh-sq} \\
\text{however=HSY1} & \text{=HSY1} & \text{all} & \text{three=\text{PAT}} & \text{separately teach-??}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
?\text{imiymil} & \text{lašk’aw\text{"}l}=q & \text{n̄k}=\text{op} & \text{kič} & \text{mi̊} & \text{kup} \\
?\text{imi}=\text{mil} & \text{lašk’awol}=q & \text{n̄k}=\text{op} & \text{=kič} & \text{mi̊} & \text{kup} \\
\text{say=FIN} & \text{moon=PAT} & \text{dark/night=LAT} & \text{=only} & \text{2SG.AGT} & \text{sister’s.son}
\end{array}
\]
\[
kó’tampa
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ko}\text{"}t-m-pa\text{"} \\
go-INTR-IMPFV-FUT
\end{array}
\]
‘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 =\text{"a}. páwi ‘one’ and ḥopi ‘two’ also appear without any other marking. The absence of =\text{"a} could be due to the fact that nák ‘night’ and wí:t ‘week’ are inanimate. As shown already in this section, =\text{"a} appears infrequently with attributive adjectives describing inanimate nouns, so this is likely also the case for numerals.

\textsuperscript{220} Use of a morpheme cognate with =\text{"a} is also observed with numeral in Huchnom as discussed in §9.4.1. For a complete description of Yuki numerals see Chapter 9.
Kroeber describes =ˀa(ˀ) as an animacy marker in his sketch of Yuki (1911:368). It is true that =ˀa(ˀ) does occur most often with animate nouns, but a further examination of the pattern of use of =ˀa(ˀ) 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 =ˀa(ˀ) 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 =ˀa(ˀ) with the same noun-adjective pairs, suggesting that the function of =ˀa(ˀ) 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 ˀat’wašit ‘dog’ occurs with
the same adjective č’al ‘white’, yet in (18) the noun phrase ʔat’wašit č’al ‘white dog’ is not marked with =ˀ(ʔ)a(ʔ), while in (19) the same noun phrase is marked with =ˀ(ʔ)a(ʔ).

(18) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
ʔat’wašit č’al ʔqp nqwiwi
ʔat’wašit č’al ʔqp nqw-wi
dog white 1SG.AGT see-PST1
‘I saw a white dog’

(19) Kroeber 1901a:36, RM
ʔat’wašit č’ala ʔitin mihik
ʔat’wašit č’al=a ʔitin mih=k
dog white=ʔ 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 =ˀ(ʔ)a(ʔ) marking on adjectives. Thus, although =ˀ(ʔ)a(ʔ) and the patient case enclitic =ą ~ =a look similar, =ˀ(ʔ)a(ʔ) functions differently from patient case marking in this regard as well.

The examples below show that affectedness does not influence the use of =ˀ(ʔ)a(ʔ). In elicitation, where a referent is not affected at all, one finds the example shown in (20) where the noun phrase milili hoṭ ‘big deer’ is marked with =ˀ(ʔ)a(ʔ), while in (21) and (22) where the noun phrases mil ˀunšil ‘small deer’ and ˀiyi opi ‘two (of the enemies)’ are highly affected by the verb liˀ- ‘kill’, no =ˀ(ʔ)a(ʔ) marking is found on these noun phrases. This is especially noteworthy in (22), as the affected referent is human.

(20) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
milili hoṭ’a ‘a big deer’

(21) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
mil ˀunšil ʔqp liaku
mil ˀunšil ʔqp liˀ-qk-wi
deer small 1SG.AGT kill-SEM-PST1
‘I killed a small deer’
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

\[?i: \text{hoč’k} \]
\[?i \text{hoṭ=k} \]

1SG.PAT large=DECL

'I am big.'

(24) - (26) show hač’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 hačám’mil ‘was solid’ and hač’am’t’mil ‘was firm’ is much as expected from a predicate adjective: \( X \text{ is <adjective>} \). In (26), the meaning of hačámečyakmil ‘made strong (fast)’ seems to extend beyond the area typically seen for predicate adjectives.

(24) Origins: 70, RM

\[se’éy \text{ hačámmil } ?\text{ńšil.} \]
\[si=’i \text{ hač’am=mil } ?\text{ńšil} \]

NEW=HSY1 strong=FIN small

‘Now it was a little solid.’

\[221 \text{ The source of the causative meaning of hačámečyakmil ‘made strong (fast)’, a verb containing intransitive -t, is unknown.} \]
(25) Coyote and the World: 262, RM
siʔéy   híl   hąʔyé   hačʔámt’mil.
siʔ=ʔí   hil   hąʔye     hąč’am-t=mil
NEW=HSY1  all222 now  strong-INTR=FIN
‘and everything was firm.’

(26) Coyote and the World: 68, RM
seʔéy   háye   kiːla   ?on   hąčámečyakmil
seʔí   hąʔye   kiʔ-la   ?on   hąč’am-t-qk=mil
NEW=HSY1  now  DST-INST earth  strong-INTR-SEM=FIN
?
?on   kútčam.
?on   kut=iṭ-ʔm
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 hąkoč ‘bad’ functioning as a predicate adjective.

(27) Origins: 121, RM
seʔéy   hąkóčmil.
seʔí   hąkoč=mil
NEW=HSY1  bad=FIN
‘And it was unsatisfactory.’

(28) Origins: 109, RM
seʔéy   ki   hąkóčk   ?ey   ?imeymil   hulk’óʔi.
seʔí   kiʔ   hąkoč=k   =ʔí   =ʔim=mil   hulk’óʔi
NEW=HSY1  DST  bad=DECL =HSY1  say=FIN Coyote
‘“That is bad”, Coyote said.’

222 Note that híl ‘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 =ˀa(ˀ). This use suggests that =ˀa(ˀ) 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

ˀąpel                         hoṭ=a         mih=k           mis            ˀunšil
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

ˀampil                      mahaˀ          mihik          kiˀ      ˀolwis    mihik
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), leˀ ‘little’ is combined with ˀunšil ‘small’ to emphasize the small size of ĉ’imit ‘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

ka       ĉ’imit   le’    ˀunšil
PRX   bird     little small
‘This is the s[lalest] bird.’
Similarly, in (32) miṭ ‘up, over’ is used with hoṭ ‘large’ in order to emphasize the large size of č’imit ‘bird.

(32) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:30, AA

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PRX} & \quad \text{bird} \quad \text{up/over} \quad \text{large} \\
\text{ka} & \quad \text{č’imit} \quad \text{miṭ} \quad \text{hoṭ} \\
\text{ka’} & \quad \text{č’imit} \quad \text{miṭ} \quad \text{hoṭ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PRX} & \quad \text{one} \quad \text{men} \quad \text{be-FUT=DST-DSTR=PAT} \\
\text{są’ey} & \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{tu’ákmil} \quad \text{páwi} \quad \text{ʔiwis} \quad \text{mić’pa’mikima’sa} \\
\text{sq=’i} & \quad \text{mas} \quad \text{tu’-q=’míl} \quad \text{páwi} \quad \text{ʔiwis} \quad \text{mih-pa’ám=ki’-mas=q} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SAME=HSY1} & \quad \text{thus} \quad \text{lay=SEM=FIN} \\
\text{ʔey} & \quad \text{ho’otmič} \quad \text{t’úmíl}. \\
\text{=’i} & \quad \text{hoṭ} \quad \text{miṭ} \quad \text{t’ú’=míl} \\
\text{=HSY1} & \quad \text{large} \quad \text{up/over} \quad \text{lay=FIN} \\
\text{‘So he laid them (that for) those who would be men he (first) laid larger ones.’}
\end{align*}
\]

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), -’et ‘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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PRX} & \quad \text{work} \quad \text{easy} \quad \text{be=DECL} \\
\text{ka} & \quad \text{wiṭ} \quad \text{laq} \quad \text{mehek} \\
\text{ka’} & \quad \text{wiṭ} \quad \text{laq} \quad \text{mih=k} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘This is easy work.’
One final form also appears in the texts. In (35) and (36), adjectives ending in -niˀ are translated with a comparative meaning by Kroeber. ūnšil is ‘small’ and ūnšilniˀ is translated by Kroeber as ‘smaller’.

In (36) káčeyni is translated by Kroeber as ‘younger’. The word that káčeyni would be derived from, kač, is not known.

’aiy  kita  mîmil.
’q’i  kita  mîh=îmil.
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 ṣolwisam ‘old people’ below in (37) or nouns which occur in groups such as ḡqwwħόt̂am ‘whale(s)’ in ṭomaẖqi t hqwwhόt̂am ‘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). ṣolwisam ‘old people’ is derived from the adjective ṣolwis ‘old’ and refers to a group of old people.

(37) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:152, AA

ṣolwisam  ḡq̱ʔ kel
ṣolwis-am  ḡq̱ʔ-k’il
old-NOML   listen-PNCT-MPSV
‘Old people, listen!’

In (38), m jálam is used to refer to a group of people described by the plural noun ṭiwis ‘men’.

(38) Feather Dance Narrative: 16 (excerpt), RM

sími:  kíṯ'    ṭan   wok’ol   míːhāḻekí
si=mi    kíta   ṭan   wok’-ol’   mih=ẖl=kí?
NEW=and.then  there  long.time  dance/sing-AG/INST  be=INFR1?=DST
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
miˀat   hanlam
miˀat  han-lam
1PL.INCL=DAT house-NOML
‘our houses (each one has one)’

(40) Kroeber 1901:13, RM
miˀat   han
miˀat  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 hąw hoṭ ‘large fish’ forming hąwwhóˀoṭam ‘whale(s)’.

(41) Origins: 86 (excerpt), RM
sqˀey  ṭomahqt hąwwhóˀoṭam k’ap’ìyakmil.
sqˀi  ṭomahqt hąw-hoṭ-am k’ap’-q’=mil
SAME=HSY1 four fish-large-NOML kill-SEM=FIN
‘And he slew four whales...’

It is not known whether or not hąw hoṭ without -am also means ‘whale’. However, ukhoṭ ‘ocean’, which literally means ‘large water’ is used without -am, as shown in (42).
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

sąˀey ᖈu:khoṭam t'óktlmil
sq=ˀi ᖈuk'−hoṭ-am t'ok-tl=mil
SAME=HSY1 water-large-NOML arrive-TR=FIN
‘And he reached the coast (west).’

(44) Coyote and the World: 265, RM

sąˀey kimás háyk p'oyitli ᖈdtá
sq=ˀi kি=mas hay=ki p'ay-tl ᖈtā
SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR net.sack=IN put-TR again

koˀotemil ᖈu:khoṭamwit.
koˀ−t=mil ᖈuk'−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
ˀi:yi  tân-hałę  kuk’á  yî:kam
ˀiyi  tan=hlı  kuk’a  yik-am
what  NEG?=INFR1  way.over.there  make.fire-NOML

čîyimîlmik
čiy-mq-il-m=k
glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV=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.

lɪl  òlsɪ’l
rock  small  road  wide
‘small rock’  ‘wide road’

’o’məsɛ:k’  ’úk’  sàxt’,
’o’m-sə:ɛ:k’  water  cold
ground-blue  ‘cold water’
‘blue clay’
In Huchnom, \(=a\) is cognate with Yuki \(=(\)'a(\)'. In Lamb’s elicited material, it appears that the pattern of use of Huchnom \(=a\) is the same or very similar to that of \(=(\)'a(\)’ in Yuki. \(=a\) is found on adjectives and numerals in copular clauses and in elicitation. As with \(=(\)'a(\)’ in Yuki, \(=a\) in Huchnom appears to be common though not obligatory on adjectives and numerals describing human referents.

In (47), the adjective \(\text{‘olsi}’l ‘little’ appears without \(=a\) when it describes an inanimate referent \(\text{‘lil} ‘rock’, but also when it describes a human referent \(\text{‘iwop} ‘man’.

\begin{align*}
(47) & \text{Lamb 1955:32, LJ} \\
& \text{'iwop ‘olsi}’l ‘little man’ \\
& \text{‘lil ‘olsi}’l ‘little rock’
\end{align*}

(48) and (49) show additional examples of numerals occurring with inanimate nouns.

\begin{align*}
(48) & \text{Lamb 1955:39, LJ} \\
& \text{‘opi ‘inay’ ‘2 days’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(49) & \text{Lamb 1955:155, LJ} \\
& \text{puwɨ hɨn ‘one house’} \\
& \text{‘opi hɨn ‘2 houses’}
\end{align*}

The fact that \(=a\) is not obligatory for human arguments\(^{223}\) can also be seen in (50) and (51). In these examples Lamb records forms with and without \(=a\) as translations for the same English term. In both examples the noun being described is human, \(\text{‘iwop} \sim \text{‘iwop} ‘man’.

\begin{align*}
(50) & \text{Lamb 1955:32, LJ} \\
& \text{‘iwop kayi ‘tall man’} \\
& \text{‘iwop káyya? ‘tall man’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(51) & \text{Lamb 1955:32, LJ} \\
& \text{‘iwop ‘olsi}’l ‘little man’ \\
& \text{‘iwop ‘ósila? ‘little man’}
\end{align*}

\(^{223}\) See (9) in §9.4.1 for additional examples of human nouns with and without \(=a\) 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 ‘őlsil ‘little’ is affixed with =a? morpheme which is cognate with Yuki =a(?) found on attributive adjectives in Yuki and =a? in Huchnom. (52) shows examples of Coast Yuki attributive adjectives.

(52) Lamb 1955:101, LJ

músp ‘őlsilá’ kά? méhč’i
músp ‘őlsil=á’ kά? méh-č’i
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 -æˀ, which it is reasonable to conjecture as being cognate with =a(?) found on attributive adjectives in Yuki and =a? in Huchnom. (53) shows examples of Coast Yuki attributive adjectives.

(53) Harrington 1942-1943:388, LP

ˀʊ̂wǝp’ k’éyæ’ ‘a tall man’
ˀʊ̂wǝp’ bό’hæ’ ‘a short/chubby man’
ˀʊ̂wǝp’ hό’tr̥’æ’ ‘a big man’
múšp’ hό’tr’æ’ ‘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 ♂i may be encliticized onto the predicate adjective. In (54), the adjective ‘sick’ appears in an uninflected form dɪ́ʻdæˀ, but functions as a predicate adjective meaning ‘he is sick’. In (55), dɪ’day ‘I am sick in bed’ and wάx’day ‘I am sick but walking around’ end in the first person singular patient pronoun ♂i.

224 The internal structure of dɪ’day ‘I am sick in bed’ and wάx’day ‘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 ♂i may be encliticized onto the predicate adjective in Coast Yuki.
(54) Harrington 1942-1943: 387, LP
   \text{dɪˈdæˀ} 'he is sick'
   \text{hóˈtˈ dɪˈdæˀ} 'he is very sick'

(55) Harrington 1942-1943: 387, LP
   \text{dɪˈdæˈday} 'I am sick in bed'
   \text{wáxˈday} '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 \text{šemˀi} 'I am well', presumably ends in a consonant and therefore \text{ˀi} is maintained and not reduced to a glide\textsuperscript{225}.

(56) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB
   \text{ˀintay} 'I am sleepy'
   \text{tɪˈatay} 'I am sick'
   \text{šemˀi} 'I am well'

In (57), the predicate adjective may be affixed with an ending in Coast Yuki analogous to Yuki declarative =\text{k}.

(57) Kroeber 1902c:73, TB
   \text{tɪˈatɛˈékay} 'I have been sick'\textsuperscript{226}

Coast Yuki uses a nominalizer -\text{am} or -\text{em}, which is likely cognate with the Yuki nominalizer -\text{am}. In (58), the nominalizer is affixed to \text{ˀól} 'tree' and \text{hótr} 'big' forming \text{ˀól-hótrˈam} 'big tree place'.

\textsuperscript{225} This alternation is also discussed in §3.5.
\textsuperscript{226} The root of \text{tɪˈatɛˈékay} 'I have been sick' is likely the same as \text{dɪˈdæˈday} '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  ˀónnæ’

`ól-hótr=am  ˀónnæ’

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 languages. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yuki</th>
<th>Huchnom</th>
<th>Coast Yuki</th>
<th>Wappro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pąwe, powe</td>
<td>p'iwe</td>
<td>bowik</td>
<td>báwe, báwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ˀope, ˀopa</td>
<td>ˀóp'e</td>
<td>ˀ'opik</td>
<td>hópi, hóbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mólme</td>
<td>mólme</td>
<td>molmik</td>
<td>hobóka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ˀopmahą:t, ˀomahą:t</td>
<td>kesópe</td>
<td>hilkilópik</td>
<td>ˀóla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>huyk'o</td>
<td>puc'puč</td>
<td>powbát</td>
<td>gáda, gáta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(mek'as) č'ilke</td>
<td>p'utal</td>
<td>powtít</td>
<td>baténawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>mikasko</td>
<td>ˀópinun</td>
<td>ˀóbedot</td>
<td>hopídenawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>pawmpat, mipatalawa</td>
<td>kinasánun</td>
<td>mólmetit</td>
<td>hopíhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>hučampqwiran</td>
<td>hélpiso p'utal</td>
<td>hilkilópetit</td>
<td>bálak, bawalák</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>hučamopisul</td>
<td>hélpiso humač</td>
<td>bo:batédit</td>
<td>maháyš, mahays</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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.


Coast Yuki Source: Kroeber 1902c:97g. Speaker: Sam Slick. Recorded: September 22, 1902, at Westport, California. Speaker raised at Westport.


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”
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>molmisul</td>
<td>helpiso pu:tu:tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>’omahatsul</td>
<td>helpiso ’opetik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>huykosul</td>
<td>helpiso molmetik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>mikaschikisul</td>
<td>’a’lap:tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>mikaskosul</td>
<td>’a’la’w’x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>huyc:ot</td>
<td>’a’lap:tu:tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>pawihuyluk</td>
<td>’a’la’h ’opetik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>’opihuyluk</td>
<td>’a’la’h kinosonuintik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>molmihuy poy</td>
<td>pu:’alyak pu:tu:tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>’omahqthuypoy</td>
<td>pu:’alyak ’op kekene:slak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>hopihol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td>hopihol bal:en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>hopihol hopilen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>misaw ’op’alya</td>
<td>mol kekene:slak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>huy:ot pawmpat</td>
<td>’op’alya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>misaw momalya</td>
<td>powpat kekene:slak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>momalya</td>
<td>bat’enawkhol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>’omahq: sam op</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>misaw ’openun:alye</td>
<td>hopidénawkhol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>misaw kinosonanalyo</td>
<td>hopihanhol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>kinosononalyo</td>
<td>bal:akhol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>pu:’a:</td>
<td>po ’al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>’op:’al</td>
<td>’op: ’al</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

229 Kroeber does not record ‘thirteen’ in his list of Wappo numerals. mahaí: pokale:wen ‘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)”
233 Kroeber’s note: “1 straight stick”
234 Radin (1929:138) records a different form: haíshol ‘one hundred.’
Table 24: Cardinal numerals of the Yukian languages

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>molmaˀal</td>
<td>molmaˀal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>kesopaˀal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>pʻubučal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td>putalal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td>ʼopanundal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td>kínosununˀal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>helpiso putalal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>helpisoˀal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 9.1. Equals(?) on Numerals

Kroeber (1911:365–6) proposes that animacy is marked for numerals pąk or pąwi ‘one’ vs. pąwa ‘one (animate)’, ʼopi ‘two’ vs. ʼopa ‘two (animate)’, and molmi ‘three’ vs. molma ‘three (animate)’. As discussed in §8.1.2, =ʼa(ʼ) ~ =ʼq(ʼ), 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 =ʼa(ʼ) occurring with animate nouns. For this reason the precise conditions when =ʼa(ʼ) 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 ʼomahąt ‘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

mółm’a míli  ‘three deer, (not molmi)’
ʼop’a pułam  ‘two cottontail rabbits (not ʼop’i)’
ʼiwis ʼop’a  ‘two men’
ʼiwis molma  ‘three men’
ʼiwis ʾomʼaháta  ‘four men’

(2) shows an example of ʾomahąt ‘four’ describing an animate noun hqwwhóʾotam ‘whale(s)’. This example demonstrates that =ʼa(ʼ) is not obligatory for numerals

236 Kroeber’s note: “in counting beads, for every 100 a stick is put out”
238 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 ꞌíwis ꞌom’ahą́ta ‘four men’ in (1) where ꞌom’ahą́t ‘four’ occurs with an animate noun ꞌíwis ‘men’ and does end in ꞌa(´).

(2) Origins: 86, RM
s̄eey ꞌomahą́t hqwwhóʔtam k’ap’ıyakmil.
s̄i ꞌomahą́t hqw-hot-am k’ap’-q=k=mił
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 p̄wi ꞌone’ acting as a noun and affixed with inessive =k’i, forming p̄wik’i ‘in one place’.

(3) Coyote and the World: 32, RM
s̄eey híli p̄wik’i mó̄p’tilmil.
s̄i hil-i p̄wi=k’i mop-t-il=mił
SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM one=IN gather-INTR-MPSV=FIN
‘And all gathered in one place’

ꞌopi ‘two’ is also used to mean ‘both’. In (4), ꞌopi is shown as a part of ꞌopkí:ya ‘both of them=PAT’.

(4) Coyote and the World: 201, RM
s̄eey ꞌopkí:ya sá̄k’ilmil
s̄i=k’i ꞌopi=k’i=s q sak’il=mił
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 mó̄lm’a miłi ‘three deer’, and follow the noun, as in ꞌíwis ꞌom’ahą́ta ‘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

\[ sikítéy \quad \text{?óp'a} \quad k'ó?il \quad k'olámwit \quad tíwilmil \]
\[ si=kit=ì \quad \text{?opi=a} \quad k'o?il \quad k'ol-amwit \quad tiw=mil \]
NEW=then=HSY1 \( \text{two=} \) Wailaki other-NOML=ALL pursue=FIN
‘but \text{two of them [those Wailaki]} \] followed off on the side.’

(6) Coyote and the World: 195, RM

\[ se'?éy \quad \text{?ópa} \quad mus \quad nómil \]
\[ si=?ì \quad \text{?opi=a} \quad mus \quad no=mil \]
NEW=HSY1 \( \text{two=} \) women live=FIN
‘Two \text{women} \] lived there.’

(7) Origins: 86 (excerpt), RM

\[ sá Platt \quad \text{?omahqt} \quad hqwwhó?o?am \quad k'ap'i?akmil. \]
\[ sá=?i \quad \text{?omahqt} \quad hqw-ho?am \quad k'ap-?ak=mil \]
SAME=HSY1 \( \text{four} \) fish-large-NOML kill-SEM=FIN
‘And he slew \text{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 numerals\(^{238}\) with nouns in Huchnom.

(8) Lamb 1955:30, LJ

\( p^h \text{awi} \text{ lìl} \quad ‘\text{one rock}’ \]
\( ?\text{opi} \text{ lìl} \quad ‘\text{two rocks}’ \)

(9) shows examples of numerals occurring with nouns and adjectives. Note that in \text{opi} \( \text{rwis} \) \text{kayya}? ‘two tall men’ the adjective \text{kay} ‘tall’ ends in \( =a? \) which is cognate with Yuki \( =?a(?) \), but in \text{opi} \( a? \) \text{kayi}: ‘two long sticks’ the same adjective occurs without \( =a? \). 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 =a².

(9) Lamb 1955:32, LJ

`opi `iwis hohtam ‘two big men’
`opi `iwis kayyaʔ ‘two tall men’
`opiʔ aːl kʌyiː ‘two long sticks’

(10) shows a number of examples of the Huchnom noun `iwpeːč’ ‘boy’ and muspeʔ ‘girl’ along with mehek, which appears to be the declarative form of meh- ‘be’ used in a series of copular clauses. Note that when the numeral follows the noun it ends in =a², as in muspeʔ `opaʔ mehek ‘two girls’, but when the numeral precedes the verb it does not end in =a², as in `opi `iwpeːč’ mehek ‘two boys’. This strongly suggests that in Huchnom numerals marked with =a² are being treated as attributive adjectives much as kay ‘tall’ is marked with =a² when it follows `iwis ‘men’ in opi `iwis kayyaʔ ‘two tall men’, in (9).

(10) Lamb 1955:153-4, LJ

puwi `iwpeːč’ mehek ‘one boy’
`opi `iwpeːč’ mehek ‘two boys’
`iwpeːč’ molma mehek ‘three boys’
`iwpeːč’ `opaʔ mehek ‘two boys’
puwi muspeʔ mehek ‘one girl’
muspeʔ `opaʔ mehek ‘two girls’
muspeʔ molmaʔ mehek ‘three girls’

(11) shows an example of a numeral and noun occurring in a short clause.

(11) Lamb 1955:109, LJ

molmi n̕ ʷ ak wok’melamsiki ~ wok’mamsiki ‘X going to dance 3 nights.’

239 This conjecture is made based on the similarity of mehek to Yuki mih- ‘be’ in such copular clauses as:

Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:26, MF

kiʔt =a kə: mehek
kiʔ=t=ʔt =a kə’ mih=k
DST=DAT stick PRX be=DECL
‘This is his stick.’
Numerals

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. ‘óba’ ‘two’ is used to refer to both ‘noses’, in (12), and ‘maidens’, in (13). It is unclear whether ‘óba’ in Harrington’s transcription in (12) and (13) is different from ópe in Kroeber’s transcription in (14).

(12) Harrington 1942-1943:132, LP
‘óba’ hént’el’ ‘two noses’

(13) Harrington 1942-1943:310, LP
‘óba’ náy’s ‘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 ‘ópe’ ‘two deer’

(15) Kroeber 1902c:97h, SS
mil mólme méhe ‘3 deer’ (Probably: ‘there are three deer’)
10. QUANTIFIERS

Commonly used Yuki quantifiers include hil ‘all’, hoṭ ‘many, large’, munaˀ ‘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
siʾéy hâye hìl han k’áltlmil
si=i hqʾaye hìl han k’al-tl=mil
NEW=HSY1 now all house burn-TR=FIN
‘and all the house was consumed.’

Examples of hoṭ ‘many, large’ are shown in (2).

(2) Coyote and the World: 401, RM
san hō:ṭ kʾóʾil kʾáni qap mátlókon namliki:
san hoṭ kʾoʾil kʾän qap mat-tl=kon namliki
SAME? large Wailaki language/word 1SG.AGT do-TR=because therefore

hō:ṭ kʾoʾil kʾawλąŋk kʾayyínįʔakmil
hoṭ kʾoʾil kʾaw-lm=k kʾy-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 munaˀ ‘many’ is shown in (3).

(3) Coyote and the World: 48, RM
sqʾey ?im kʾan paʾétmil hulkʾóʾi militiaki
sq=i ?im kʾän paʾt=mil hulkʾoʾi militiaki
SAME=HSY1 where language/word get.up-INTR=FIN Coyote Militiki
**Quantifiers**

\[
múna’? \text{’á}:	ext{tat} \quad \text{š}’\text{knamlikik} \quad \text{tóktli} \\
muna’? \text{’ât}at \quad \text{š}’\text{–k=namli=kik} \quad \text{t’ok-} \text{tl} \\
\text{many people} \quad \text{sit/stay-PNCT=DEP=there} \quad \text{arrive-TR} \\
\]

‘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 *hí:li* ‘all of them’.

(4) Coyote and the World: 58, RM

\[
si’\text{éy} \quad \text{h}’\text{fl}i \quad \text{k}’\text{k’i wok} \quad ?\text{iy} \quad \text{m}’\text{y}’\text{lilmil} \\
si=’\text{i} \quad \text{h}’\text{il}’\text{i} \quad \text{kik wok’} =’\text{i} \quad \text{m}’\text{q}’\text{–}’\text{l}’=\text{mil} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM there dance/sing =HSY1 practice-PFV-MPSV=FIN} \\
\]

\[
sq \quad \text{hu’útli} \quad ?\text{à}’\text{tq tük(i)mil}. \\
sq \quad \text{hu’u’-tl} \quad ?\text{à}’\text{tq t}’\text{uk-t=} \text{mil} \\
\text{SAME quit-TR again move-INTR=FIN} \\
\text{‘All practiced dancing there; and finishing they traveled on.’} \\
\]

In (5), *hil* ‘all’ is shown marked for patient case as *hí:la* ‘all of them=PAT’.

(5) Coyote and the World: 142, RM

\[
se’\text{éy} \quad \text{haye} \quad \text{h}’\text{la} \quad ?’\text{nîtmil} \\
si=’\text{i} \quad \text{h}’\text{aq’aye} \quad \text{h}’\text{il}=q’\text{’in-t=} \text{mil} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1 now all=PAT sleep-INTR=FIN} \\
\text{‘And now all of them slept’,} \\
\]

**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. *munkɪ v’ ‘lots’ and *muna’ ‘everybody’ are analogous to Yuki *muna ‘many’. *he:li ‘all’ in *t’ayhe:l ~ *t’ayhe:l ‘everything’ is analogous to Yuki *hi:li ‘all’.

(6) Lamb 1955:72, LJ
   kušneʔ ‘a few’
   ?eʔ’ munki’ ‘lots of lice’

(7) Lamb 1955:108, LJ
   munaʔ wok’amsiki’ ‘everybody’s dancing’

(8) Lamb 1955:83, LJ
   t’ayhe:l ‘everything’
   t̯’ayhe:l eʔ’aʔ’il’ ‘wash everything!’

As shown in (9), Huchnom he:l ‘all’ can also be used as a pronoun he:le. Final -e in he:le 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:le ʔus noʔaʔuka ‘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 munki’ ‘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’, *'ata* ‘again’, *hą'aye* ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>'ałwa</em></td>
<td>at the same time that</td>
<td>CW:327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'an</em></td>
<td>always/long</td>
<td>CW:47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*'an ki *'an</td>
<td>just the same</td>
<td>OG:182b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'ata</em></td>
<td>again</td>
<td>CW:49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'ątey</em></td>
<td>for a while?</td>
<td>CW:135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kayit</em></td>
<td>long ago</td>
<td>CW:56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kayit</em></td>
<td>already, previously</td>
<td>CW:60, 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>halšilo</em></td>
<td>differently</td>
<td>OG:183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ħašq</em></td>
<td>again</td>
<td>CW:234, 288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hą'aye</em></td>
<td>now</td>
<td>CW:64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ <em>haye</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hilk'il</em></td>
<td>separately</td>
<td>CW:357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hiwąk</em></td>
<td>in turn</td>
<td>CW:132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hiwąk'i</em></td>
<td>after</td>
<td>CW:255, 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hu</em></td>
<td>before</td>
<td>CW:266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaytkil</em></td>
<td>long ago</td>
<td>CW:363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>k'o'l-am</em></td>
<td>separately</td>
<td>CW:177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'onwa</em></td>
<td>anyway</td>
<td>OG:117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ši'am</em></td>
<td>after a while</td>
<td>CW:141, 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tək</em></td>
<td>never</td>
<td>Crawford 1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>țiwho</em></td>
<td>very, much</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yič</em></td>
<td>for a while?</td>
<td>CW:135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 25: Yuki Adverbs*
(1) and (2) show examples of the adverb ˀan. This adverb is common in the texts and is translated with the meanings ‘long’ and ‘always’.

(1) Coyote and the World: 136, RM

seˀéy ˀan woʾokesmil  k’óˀíl
si=ˀi ˀan wok’-s= mil  k’óˀíl
NEW=HSY1 long.time dance/sing-CONT=FIN Wailaki
‘And they danced long.’

(2) Coyote and the World: 354, RM

sikiṭey  ká mít kup ˀonapa? ˀan
si=kīṭ-i  ka? mit kup ˀon-a-?pa? ˀan
NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister’s.son earth-?-FUT long.time

son  miˀ  kup  k’ąk’kútispaˀ
son  miˀ  kup  k’ąk’-kut-s-paˀ
therefore 2SG.AGT sister’s.son exist-INCP-CAUS-FUT
‘“This, sister’s son, shall always be your place; but you shall rise first.”’

An example of ẗiwho ‘very, much’ is shown in (3).

(3) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:173, MF

ẗiwho  t’u’ulämek
ẗiwho  t’ul-’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

\[ \text{sikiṭéy haye hulk'óˀi hánpis lakti č'áł} \]
\[ \text{si=kít=ˀi hq'aye hulk'oˀi han=pis lakt'-t č'al} \]

NEW=then=HSY1 now Coyote house=ABL emerge-INTR loud

\[ \text{pąk'ényakmil} \]
\[ \text{pąk'-qk=mil} \]

\text{shout-SEM=FIN}

‘But now Coyote coming out of the house shouted loudly’

(5) Coyote and the World: 353, RM

\[ \text{seˀéy ˀúnšil k'áwtmil} \]
\[ \text{siˀi ˀunšil k'aw-t= Milo} \]

NEW=HSY1 small light-INTR=FIN

‘and it shone a little.’

(6) Coyote and the World: 377 (excerpt), RM

\[ \text{sąkíṭey kipat múspa ˀimeymil tát ˀaṭatá} \]
\[ \text{są=kiṭ=ˀi kip=ąt musp=ą ˀimi=mil tat ˀaṭat=q} \]

SAME=then=HSY1 3R=DAT woman=PAT say=FIN good/make people=PAT

\[ \text{hqwáysinˀk ka hánap kótámika ˀeyy ...} \]
\[ \text{hqway-s-nik ka? han=op koˀt-m=ka? =ˀi} \]

\[ \text{food/eat-CAUS-NEC PRX house=LAT go-INTR-IMPFV=PRX =HSY1} \]

‘Thereupon he told his wife, “You must feed well the people coming to this house...”

(7) Coyote and the World: 154, RM

\[ \text{sikiṭéy hoˀoṭ hánal yq':htilmil} \]
\[ \text{si=kít=ˀi hoṭ hanal yqʰ-tl=mil} \]

NEW=then=HSY1 large walls blaze-TR=FIN

‘And the walls blazed up greatly’.
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
   kǝ̨yt ɑp  hǝ̨wǝ̨ykil  ‘I already ate’

(10) Lamb 1955:88, LJ
    ka? ʔi: ʔonə ʔo:nə ʔeʔi  ‘this fella is always punching (poking) me’

(11) Lamb 1955:140, LJ
    hʌ̨ˀyɪˀ  ‘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  p’onseʔ liʔe:  ‘wind’s blowing hard’

In (13), huši: ‘sweet’ and kaʔčim ‘no good, bad’ characterize the action expressed by the verb naṭemmikiʔ ~ natam’iki ‘tastes’. 
(13) Lamb 1955:44, LJ

**huši:** naʔammiṅi’ 
‘tastes sweet’

**kaʔčim:** natamʾiṅi
‘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’daṃ** ʔ-መ’gæ’

**k’é’daṃ** ʔ-መ’gæ’

already 1SG.AGT-drank
‘I already drank.’

(15) Harrington 1942-1943:370, LP

**k’ē’ši’may** ʔok’læ’ yɪ’k’imbiš

**k’ē’ši’ma’y** ʔok’læ’ yɪ’k’im-biš

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

**hō’t’** ʔi’dæ’

**hō’t’** ʔi’dæ’

**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 ‘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’.

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 -ṭa 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 -ṭa 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.

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240 See Table 28 for examples and references.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yuki</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka?</td>
<td>‘this one’</td>
<td>ka?</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PRX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaṭa</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>kaṭa</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>here</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaṭa’apis</td>
<td>‘from here’</td>
<td>kaṭa=pis</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PRX=ABL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaṭel’</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>kaṭa-il’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PRX=EDGE?</td>
<td>1984:217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka’in</td>
<td>‘around here’</td>
<td>ka?=in</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PRX=?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka:k</td>
<td>‘right here’</td>
<td>ka?=k’i</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PRX=IN</td>
<td>1984:217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka:k’e</td>
<td>‘here’</td>
<td>ka?=k’i</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PRX=IN</td>
<td>1984:217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kay’</td>
<td>‘up here’</td>
<td>ka?=y’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PRX=?</td>
<td>1984:217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 26: Locative terms derived from the proximal demonstrative ka?*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yuki</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kiʔ</td>
<td>‘that one’</td>
<td>kiʔ DST</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiʔa</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td>kiʔa</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiʔaʔapis, kiʔaʔopis</td>
<td>from where; there, near this side of it</td>
<td>kiʔaʔapis there=ABL</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 22, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiʔiʔiʔisa</td>
<td>‘approaching’</td>
<td>kiʔiʔiʔisa it-sa DST=JXT-?</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiʔiʔin</td>
<td>‘around there’</td>
<td>kiʔiʔiʔin DST-?</td>
<td>Origins: 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kik’i’il</td>
<td>‘toward it’</td>
<td>kik’i’il DST=TERM</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kik</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td>kik’i’ DST=IN</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kik’i’⁴⁴</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td>kik’i’ DST=IN</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kim’</td>
<td>‘there, right (over) there’</td>
<td>kik’i’⁴⁴ m’ DST-?</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 266, Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kimpis</td>
<td>‘from there’</td>
<td>kik’i’⁴⁴ m=pis DST-?=ABL</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinji</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td>kik’i’⁴⁴ m=ki DST-?=IN?</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 308</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27: Locative terms derived from the distal demonstrative kiʔ

---

⁴⁴ kik’i’ and kik may be the same word, with kik a reduced form of kik’i’. The same may be true for kak ‘right here’ and kak’e ‘here’, with kak a reduced form of kak’e (presumably ka’’this’’ + -k’i’’inessive’’).
(1) - (3) show examples of some of the locative terms shown in Tables 26 and 27. (1) shows kaṭáˀapis ‘from here’ and kíṭáˀapis ‘from there’ used in the same clause.

(1) Coyote and the World: 22, RM

seˀéy kaṭáˀapis ˀap yą́šhi kíṭáˀapis ną́weta
si=ˀi kaṭa=pis ˀap yaš=h kíṭa=pis naqw=t-aˀ
NEW=HSY1 here=ABL 1SG.AGT stand-DUR there=ABL see-INTR-IMP

ˀey imeymil lówpsi hulk’oˀa
=i i mi=mil lopis hulk’oˀi=q
=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

kay’ haˀatl’
kay’ haˀ-tl-ˀ
up.here carry-TR-IMP
‘Put it up here!’

(3) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:217, AA

kaṭel’ ˀap noˀohek
kaṭel’ ˀap noˀ-h=k
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’. ‘umey ‘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’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yuki</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuːt-</td>
<td>‘downhill’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuːk-</td>
<td>‘down’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuːk('e)</td>
<td>‘down, south’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuːk(e)wit</td>
<td>‘down here’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuːk’a ~ kuːuk’a ~ kuːuk k’a ~ kuːk’e</td>
<td>‘down there’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuːt’a ka ~ ku”ka</td>
<td>‘far yonder’</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 7, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuːk’a</td>
<td>‘far yonder’</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku’y’</td>
<td>‘there’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku’yitpis</td>
<td>‘from there’</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku’m’</td>
<td>‘there, over there’</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˀumey</td>
<td>‘uphill’</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28: Locative terms derived from ku-

(4) Coyote and the World: 7, RM

sikón’ey                      k’iníkop            kuːt’a  ká:         yim
si=kon=’i                    k’in=kop            kuːt’a  ka’       yim
NEW=but=HSY1            cry=while          way.over.there  fire

čí:yeyimilmik       ˀey  ˀîmeymil  ló’opši.
číy-y?-m=il-m=k     ˀi  ˀimi=mil   lopis
 glitter-PROG?-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV=DECL  =HSY1  say=FIN  Jackrabbit
‘But while he wept, “Far yonder, fire gleams at intervals”, said Jackrabbit.’

(5) Coyote and the World: 160 (excerpt), RM

sópey   ku:yítpis       k’ó’i̱l   kímo’óséiyq
sop=’i ku’y=ît=pis        k’ó’i̱l   kímo’ósíyq
but=HSY1 there=JXT=ABL  Wailaki  DSTR.R?
mą̀tli ...
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 *عالج* ‘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 *عالج* is described in more detail in §5.4.11 as the juxtapositive case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yuki</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hučki</em></td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
<td><em>huč=ki</em> outside=IN</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hučkipis</em></td>
<td>‘from outside’</td>
<td><em>huč=ki=pis</em> outside=IN=ABL</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>huyki</em></td>
<td>‘to the middle’</td>
<td><em>huy=ki</em> middle=IN</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kipqw</em></td>
<td>‘back’</td>
<td><em>kipqw</em> back</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mik’al</em></td>
<td>‘around’</td>
<td><em>mik’al</em> around</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 395, Origins: 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nął'į:į</em></td>
<td>‘near’</td>
<td><em>nął=k'i</em> near?=west=IN</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wąk</em></td>
<td>‘after, later, closely’</td>
<td><em>wak</em> after/last</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 182a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wik’am</em></td>
<td>‘to the rear’</td>
<td><em>wik-ąm</em> back?=IN2</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wil’į?</em></td>
<td>‘way up, way off’</td>
<td><em>wil=ı</em> far?=IN</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>عالج</em></td>
<td>‘near’ (juxtapositive case)</td>
<td><em>عالج</em> JXT</td>
<td>Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 29: Other Yuki locative and directional words*
(6) and (7) show examples of some of the terms in Table 29. An example of wilˀiˀ '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
śąˀey      wílˀiˀ    lákti    tąšil    holíyammil.
śąˀ=ˀi      wilˀ=ˀiˀ  lakˀ=ˀt  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
namlik    ?éy      wąk     nąwéti    ?éy     pąk     pąp’iyakmil
namliki   =ˀi      wąk     nąw-t    =ˀi      pąk     pąp’-qk=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. kipqw ‘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 kipqw ‘back’. Note that some terms can be used as verb roots, as illustrated by kipqw’iyakmil ‘got back’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yuki</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kipqw</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
<td>kipqw</td>
<td>Coyote and the World; 257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kipqwam</td>
<td>‘back into’</td>
<td>kipqw=qm</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>back-IN2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kipqwiyit</td>
<td>‘back toward’</td>
<td>kipqw=iṭ</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>back=JXT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kipqwki</td>
<td>‘back toward’</td>
<td>kipqw=ki</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>back=IN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kipqwk’il</td>
<td>‘back toward’</td>
<td>kipqw=k’il</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 108, 319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>back=TERM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kipqwop ~</td>
<td>‘back toward’</td>
<td>kipqw=op</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 158, 252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kipqwwap</td>
<td></td>
<td>back=LAT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kipqw’akmil</td>
<td>‘got back’</td>
<td>kipqw=qk=mil</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>back=SEM=FIN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30: Locative terms derived from kipqw ‘back’
(8) and (9) show examples of some of the terms in Table 30. An example of kipqw affixed with the lative case enclitic -op is shown in (8) and an example of kipqw used as a verb is shown in (9).

(8) Coyote and the World: 158, RM

\begin{verbatim}
sq=ˀi  kipqw=op wiṭ-q=mil  ˀolkaṭam
SAME=HSY1  back=LAT  turn-PNCT=FIN  Mouse

hąwayi  móneti  t'únamlikíta
hąway  mon-t  t'uˀ=namli=kiṭa
food/eat  steal-INTR  lay=DEP=there
‘and went back to where Mouse had piled the stolen food.’
\end{verbatim}

(9) Coyote and the World: 185, RM

\begin{verbatim}
seˀéy  kimas  hąye  ˀá:ṭat  kipqw=ąk=mil  hulk'óˀi
si=ˀi  kimas  hąˀąye  ˀaṭat  kipqw-q=mil  hulk'óˀi
NEW?=HSY1  thus  now  people  back-SEM=FIN  Coyote
‘So thus now Coyote got back his people.’
\end{verbatim}

12.2.2. wil ‘far’

Table 31 shows locative terms formed from wil ‘far’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yuki</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wilˀiˀ, wiley</td>
<td>‘way up, way off, farther’</td>
<td>wil=ˀiˀ</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 103, 313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilˀám</td>
<td>‘far over’</td>
<td>wil-qm</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wil(l)op</td>
<td>‘off to a distance’</td>
<td>wil=op</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wilipis</td>
<td>‘from farther’</td>
<td>wil=pi̱</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 312</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
sikq’éy                  hulk’o’i      wfilipis   nákwil      ?imeymil
si=ka’i                  hulk’o’i      wil=pis    náw-k-il   ?imi=mil
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 Coyote  far=ABL  see-PUNCT-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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yuki</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wąk</td>
<td>‘after, later, closely’</td>
<td>wąk</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 182a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wąk’í</td>
<td>‘afterward’</td>
<td>wąk=k’i</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wąkop</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
<td>wąk=op</td>
<td>Coyote and the World: 81, 106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 =k’i 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
sikit’ey      wąk’í       ki    hu?uí(tl)   ?ey ...
si=kit=’i     wąk=k’í     ki?    hu?uí(-tl)   =’i
NEW=then=HSY1 after=IN  DST  finish(-TR)    =HSY1
‘Then, after that ended ...’

(12) Coyote and the World: 106, RM
sikit’ey      wąk’op    čaminkapin  kómil
si=kit=’i     wąk=op    čaminkapin  ko’=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 ‘umey ‘uphill’ (CW:42) and kutwit ‘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 kата ‘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 kuhtɪˀ ‘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 kата ‘here (right here)’, which is nearly identical to Yuki kата ‘here’, and other terms, such as ‘umɪt ‘over there’, which appear cognate to less commonly seen forms, such as Yuki ‘umey ‘uphill’. A selection of Huchnom locative terms is given in (13) and (14).

(13) Lamb 1955:67, LJ

mehtɪ ‘up’
onk’e ‘down’ [Probably: on ‘earth’ + -k’e ‘inessive case’]

(14) Lamb 1955:72, LJ

kата ‘here (right here)’
‘umɪt ‘over there’
‘umɪt ᵃ ᵃ oyα: ‘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

\begin{align*}
\text{kuht\textit{ikil}'} & \text{ mi: k'\textit{esin}' } \text{‘let's swim downstream'} \\
\text{kuht\textit{t}\textit{ip}'} & \text{ Ay\textit{ta}'} \text{ ‘going downstream'} \\
\text{m]\textit{\textit{API}'} & \text{ ‘upstream'}
\end{align*}

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 \textit{kuht\textit{t}\textit{ip}'} ‘downstream’ shows the original meaning of Yuki \textit{kuht\textit{ki}'} ‘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

\begin{align*}
\text{ki } & \text{‘he, that one’ (distal)} \\
\text{ka } & \text{‘that one (here)’ (proximal)}
\end{align*}
(17) shows examples of Coast Yuki locative terms in short clauses with méhæʔ ~ méhhæʔ ‘be’. ḍómet’ ‘over there’ is cognate with Huchnom ṭumif ‘over there’ and probably also Yuki ṭumey ‘uphill’. ḏaw is the proximal demonstrative ka, written in Harrington’s transcription.

(17) Harrington 1942-1943:382, LP

ómet’ méhæʔ ‘he or it is over there’
k’aw méhhæʔ ‘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 *ña* ‘and’ and *han* ‘but’ are described.

13.1.1. =ña ~ =na ‘and’

=ña ‘and’ is a conjunction that connects nouns with other nouns and attaches to the end of each noun phrase being connected. In (1), =ña follows *hulk'oˀi* ‘Coyote’ and *kipat ˀaṭát* ‘his people’.

(1) Coyote and the World: 178, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sikištéy} & \quad \text{haye} & \quad \text{hóñ} & \quad \text{ˀiwilhántilkop} \\
\text{si=kiṭ=ˀi} & \quad \text{hąye} & \quad \text{hoṭ} & \quad \text{ˀiwilhan-t-il=kop} \\
\text{NEW-there=HSY1} & \quad \text{now} & \quad \text{large} & \quad \text{ceremonial.house-INTR-MPSV=while} \\
\text{noˀnamlikíṭa} & \quad \text{ˀe} & \quad \text{hąye} & \quad \text{wí:tmahilmil} & \quad \text{hulk'oˀi} & \quad \text{nq} \\
\text{noˀ=namli=kiṭa} & \quad \text{ˀi} & \quad \text{hąˀyε} & \quad \text{wi̇t-mq-h-il=mil} & \quad \text{hulk'oˀi} & \quad \text{=nq} \\
\text{live=DEP=there} & \quad \text{=HSY1} & \quad \text{now} & \quad \text{turn-DIR1-DUR-MPSV=FIN} & \quad \text{Coyote} & \quad \text{=and} \\
\text{kip=ˀaṭat} & \quad \text{na} \\
\text{kip=qṭ} & \quad \text{ˀaṭat} & \quad \text{=nq} \\
\text{3R=DAT} & \quad \text{people} & \quad \text{=and} \\
\text{‘Thereupon Coyote and his men returned to where they lived at their great ceremonial house.’}
\end{align*}
\]

=ña following the final noun in a sequence can sometimes be omitted. In (2), Kroeber writes =ña in parentheses following the final noun *milontí:tam* ‘elk’, suggesting it can be omitted.

(2) Coyote and the World: 415, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sikišt} & \quad \text{ˀan} & \quad \text{t'úliš} & \quad \text{nq} & \quad \text{káki} & \quad \text{nq} & \quad \text{pú:lam} \\
\text{si=kiṭ=ˀi} & \quad \text{ˀan} & \quad \text{tu líš} & \quad \text{=nq} & \quad \text{káki} & \quad \text{=nq} & \quad \text{pulam} \\
\text{NEW=then long.time} & \quad \text{valley.quail} & \quad \text{=and} & \quad \text{mountain.quail} & \quad \text{=and} & \quad \text{cottontail}
\end{align*}
\]
=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
... mih-tan ˀi:  yą́w=imil  hoṭ  nóp  =han ˀaq  ko=imil ...
  mih-tan ˀi  yąw=imil  hoṭ  noˀ=op?  =han ˀaq  koˀ=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
sqˀey  k’ay-imimil  hoṭ  ˀiwup=ə  =han  hilk
sq=ˀi  k’ay-mil=imil  hoṭ  ˀiwop=ə  =han  hilk
SAME=HSY1 talk-?=FIN large man=PAT? =but all/something?
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 šiloʔ ‘like’ and k’ol ‘other’ are described, as well as, the Yuki words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’.

13.2.1. šiloʔ ‘like’

šiloʔ ‘like’ is a common word, which also appears as part of hilkšiloʔ ‘everything’ and halšiloʔ ‘differently’. It is unclear whether šiloʔ is an independent word, clitic, or both. On verbs šiloʔ acts as an evidential with a meaning of ‘it seems like’ or ‘it appears like’.

(5) - (7), are examples šiloʔ ‘like’ following nouns.

(5) Coyote and the World: 412b, RM
namliki ʔey ká ʔatáta sq:t’inat mípat šilóʔ
namliki =ʔi kaʔ ʔat=q sq’in=q mípat šiloʔ
therefore =HSY1 PRX people=PAT Lizard=DAT hand like

ʔatmil ʔat’áta
ʔat’=mil ʔat=q
fasten=FIN people=PAT
‘that is why these humans have on hands like Lizard’s.’

(6) Origins: 15, RM
seʾey haye ki: miʾak’ún’ k’qmíli ʔey
si=ʾi hqʾye kʔ miʾq-k’un’ kʾqk’-mq-il =ʔi
NEW=HSY1 now DST 1PL.KIN.POSS-father exist-DIR1-MPSV =HSY1
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

‘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:ṭat ‘other peoples’, as an adverb in kimáse k’ól’ yú:yampa:mikí: ‘who ever would do differently’, and is affixed with juxtapositive =iṭ and nominalizer -am in k’olčam ‘elsewhere about’. Table 33 shows k’ol ‘other’ in other words.

(8) Origins: 165, RM

sąˀéy                   ki:      huˀú:tl(i)kíṭ            ˀey           k’olá:ṭat      ká:xtiwit
sq=ˀi                    kiˀ      huˀuˀ-tl=kiṭ         =ˀi             k’ol=ˀaṭat      kuhtki=wit
SAME=HSY1 DST quit-TR=then =HSY1 other=people north=ALL

ˀá:ṭát  ˀán     kimási                  yuy:yampa:mikí:     ˀey     wa
ˀaṭat   ˀan      kiˀ-mas-i             yuy’-m-paˀam=kiˀ     =ˀi     wa
people long.time DST-DSTR-ANIM do-IMPFV-FUT=DST =HSY1 everywhere

háye         k’ąkésimil;       kúm’nóm’      mi:pa:mikí:    ˀey
haˀˀyε      k’ąk’-s=mil     kumnom’        mih-paˀam=kiˀ     =ˀi
now exist-CAUS=FIN Kumnom’     be-FUT=DST =HSY1

ki:         k’ąk’=s=mil     ˀan         kimáse         k’ól’
kiˀ         k’ąk’-s=mil     ˀan         kiˀ-mas-i       k’ol
DST exist-CAUS=FIN long.time DST-DSTR-ANIM other

yú:yampa:mikí:.
yuy’-m-paˀam=kiˀ?
do-IMPFV-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
--- | --- | --- | ---
k’olk’il | ‘elsewhere, in another direction’ | k’ol=k’il other=TERM | Coyote and the World: 31, 78
k’olki | ‘elsewhere’ | k’ol=ki other=IN | Origins: 137
k’olam | ‘aside, separately’ | k’ol-am other-NOML | Coyote and the World: 56, 177
k’olčam | ‘elsewhere, in other places’ | k’ol=it-qm other=JXT-IN2 | Origins: 165
k’olkiˀa | ‘other one=PAT’ | k’ol=kיני=q other=DST=PAT | Coyote and the World: 215
k’olop | ‘behind’ | k’ol=op other=LAT | Coyote and the World: 238
ˀonk’olam | ‘east (another land)’ | ˀon-k’ol-am earth-other-NOML | Coyote and the World: 273
k’ol- | ‘die’ (possible connection) | k’ol-die | Origins: 149

Table 33: Words containing k’ol ‘other’

13.2.3. ˀq ‘yes’, tqlk ‘no’

The Yuki words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’ occur in the texts as ˀq ‘yes’ and tqlk ‘no’. tqlk is the negative verb tql- affixed with the declarative mood suffix -k. (9) and (10) show examples of ˀq and tqlk.

(9) Coyote and the World: 127, RM
seˀéy háye k’óˀil kíwismil wóktl
si=ˀi hq’yey k’óˀil kiw=s=mil wok’-tl
NEW=HSY1 now Wailaki ask-CAUS=FIN dance/sing-TR

ˀúsa’nqwésaˀ ˀey ˀímeymil
ˀus=q nqw-s-aˀ =ˀi ˀimi=mil
1PL.EXCL=PAT see-CAUS-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN
Then the Wailaki asked: “Show us (your) dance”, they said to Coyote."

And he said, “Yes”,”

Then, “No, he will overtake you (as you) circle close by”, said the people to one another.”
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 ˀi, which is usually realized phonetically as either [ey] or [iy]. Together this clause-initial reference connective takes the form shown in Figure 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Switch-reference marker or Clause Connector</th>
<th>Connective enclitic</th>
<th>Hearsay evidential ˀi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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 ˀi. 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” [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"-k [sq-k], si-k-ii, sa"-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"-kiṭ-ii [sq-kiṭ-ii], etc., is equivalent to “and then”... -ka" [-ka], forming si-ka" [si-ka], 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 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"-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 34[^245]. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Description of connective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>NEW Current clause has a new or different topic than the previous clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sq</td>
<td>SAME Current clause has the same topic as the previous clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sop</td>
<td>but ‘but’, ‘and’; This marker links coordinate clauses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>son</td>
<td>but ‘but’; This marker links coordinate clauses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>som</td>
<td>however ‘however’; This marker links coordinate clauses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sik</td>
<td>then ‘then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namlik(i)</td>
<td>therefore ‘and then’, ‘therefore’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^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 hulkoˀi ‘Coyote’. Clause 24 begins with sq- indicating that the topic continues to be hulkoˀi ‘Coyote’, the same as in the previous clause.

(1) Coyote and the World: 22, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se′ey} & \quad \text{kaṭáˀapis} & \quad \text{′ap} & \quad \text{yąšhi} & \quad \text{kįṭaˀapis} & \quad \text{náweta} \\
\text{si=ˀi} & \quad \text{kaṭaˀap} & \quad \text{′ap} & \quad \text{yąš-h} & \quad \text{kίṭaˀap} & \quad \text{nąw-t-aˀ}
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=HSY1 here=ABL 1SG.AGT stand-DUR there=ABL see-INR-IMP

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{′ey} & \quad \text{′imeymil} & \quad \text{lówpsi} & \quad \text{hulk’oˀa} \\
\text{ˀi} & \quad \text{′im=mi} & \quad \text{lopis} & \quad \text{hulk’oˀi=q}
\end{align*}
\]

=HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT

‘And “From here where I stand, from there look!” Jackrabbit said [to Coyote].’

Coyote and the World: 23

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se′ey} & \quad \text{lóˀopsi} & \quad \text{yąšnamlíkik’apis} & \quad \text{yąšt} & \quad \text{kía} \\
\text{si=ˀi} & \quad \text{lopis} & \quad \text{yąš=namli=kik=pis} & \quad \text{yąš-t} & \quad \text{kía}
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit stand=DEP=there=ABL stand-INTR there

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋąwétmil.} & \quad \text{ŋąw-t=mi} \\
\text{see-INTR=FIN}
\end{align*}
\]

‘And standing where Jackrabbit had stood, he looked from there.’

Coyote and the World: 24

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sq′ey} & \quad \text{yı́m} & \quad \text{yąhíšti} & \quad \text{ŋąwímil} & \quad \text{hulk’oˀi} \\
\text{sq=ˀi} & \quad \text{yı́m} & \quad \text{yąh-s-t} & \quad \text{ŋąw=mi} & \quad \text{hulk’oˀi}
\end{align*}
\]

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\textsuperscript{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 hulkoˀi ‘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

\texttt{sąˀéy \ šą̄kčam \ ?an \ tūk \ huˀuˀik \ ?ey}
\texttt{sąˀ=i \ šąlovakčam \ ?an \ tūk \ huˀuˀ=k \ =ˀi}
SAME=HSY1 sometimes long.time move quit=DECL =HSY1

\texttt{wóˀokesmil \ ?an \ kimáseypamikí:}
\texttt{wok’-s=mil \ ?an \ kimas-pa’am=ki?}
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

\texttt{sopˀey \ hulk’o’i \ hap \ yaššímil.}
\texttt{sopˀ=i \ hulk’o’i \ hap \ yaš-s-ilm=mil}
\texttt{but=HSY1 \ Coyote \ song/sing \ stand-CAUS-MPSV=FIN}
‘But Coyote stood and sang for them.’

\textsuperscript{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.
(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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{síkitéy} & \quad \text{wák’}i \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{hú’ú(tli)} \quad \text{?ey} \quad \text{milmú:ši} \quad \text{nq} \\
\text{sí} & =\text{kít-i} \quad \text{wák’=k’i} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{húú(-tl)} \quad =\text{i} \quad \text{milmúš} \quad =\text{nq} \\
\text{NEW} & =\text{then=HSY1} \quad \text{after=IN} \quad \text{DST} \quad \text{finish(-TR)} \quad =\text{HSY1} \quad \text{Polecat} \quad =\text{and} \\
\text{sískín} & \quad \text{nq} \quad \text{?olkáčam} \quad \text{kimá} \quad \text{mólma’} \quad \text{?ey} \\
\text{sískina} & =\text{nq} \quad \text{?olkátaam} \quad \text{ki’-mas-i} \quad \text{molm} =\text{a} \quad =\text{ʔi} \\
\text{Skunk} & =\text{and} \quad \text{Mouse} \quad \text{DST-DSTR-ANIM} \quad \text{three=} \quad =\text{HSY1} \\
\text{táti} & \text{kílmil} \quad \text{wók’áŋk} \\
\text{tat-k-il=mil} & \quad \text{wók’-m=k} \\
\text{good/make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN} \quad \text{dance/sing-IMPFV=DECL} \\
\text{‘Then, after that ended, Polecat and Skunk and Mouse, those three adorned themselves for the dance.’}
\end{align*}
\]
Coyote and the World: 67

\( \text{sop'ey} \) \( \text{kimá} \) \( \text{mólma'} \) \( ?q\text{laŋkō'timil} \)

\( \text{sop'=i} \) \( \text{ki'-mas-i} \) \( \text{molmi=a} \) \( ?q\text{laŋko'2-t=mil} \)

\( \text{but=} \text{HSY}1 \) 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

\( \text{są=ˀi} \) \( \text{kipaw} \) ?ey \( ?q\text{laŋkō'tim'il} \)

\( \text{są=ˀi} \) \( \text{kipaw} \) =ˀi \( ?q\text{laŋko'2-t=mil} \)

SAME=HSY1 back =HSY1 dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN

‘And they danced back.’

In (4), \( \text{son-} \) is used to draw a contrast with information in the preceding clause. In Clause 62, \( \text{hőli} \) ‘all’ are dancing, but in Clause 63, \( \text{hulmunin} \) ‘Spider’ is not laughing despite everyone’s dancing. As with \( \text{sop-} \), it appears that \( \text{son-} \) is also used by the speaker to indicate a relationship between the information in two clauses. Note that while \( \text{son-} \) does not mark switch-reference itself, it is still taken into account for noting switch reference in the next clause. Clause 64 begins with \( \text{si} \), because its topic, \( \text{hőli} \) ‘all’, is different than that of Clause 64, \( \text{hulmú} \) ‘Spider’.

(4) Coyote and the World: 62, RM

\( \text{sikiṭéy} \) \( \text{hőli} \) ?tq \( \text{wóktlmil} \)

\( \text{si=kī=ˀi} \) \( \text{hil-i} \) ?tq' \( \text{wot'-tl=mil} \)

NEW=then=HSY1 all-ANIM again dance/sing-TR=FIN

‘And all danced on.’

Coyote and the World: 63

\( \text{son?ey} \) \( \text{hulmú} \) \( \text{mūšamta} \) \( \text{mil} \)

\( \text{son'=i} \) \( \text{hulmunin=q} \) \( \text{muš-m-tan=mil} \)

\( \text{but=} \text{HSY}1 \) Spider=PAT laugh-IMPFV-NEG=FIN

‘But did not make Spider laugh.’ [Probably: Spider did not laugh.]
Coyote and the World: 64
sɨʔéy  híli  haye  wók  huʔútlmil.
sɨʔi  hil-i  hʔaye  wok’  huʔuʔ-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 sq- indicating that the topic of that clause is the same as that of the previous clause, hulkoʔi ‘Coyote’.

(5) Coyote and the World: 108, RM
sɨʔiʔey  híʔkilnamlikimáse ʔey
siʔiʔi  híʔ-k-il=namli=kiʔ-mas-i  =ʔi
NEW=then=HSY1  come.out-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM  =HSY1
kipą́wk’il  t’óktlmil
kipaw=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’áyestanm’il  k’óʔil  ʔáṭat
sonʔi  hušk’ay-s-tan=mil  k’oʔil  ʔatat
but=HSY1  tell-CAUS?-NEG=FIN  Wailaki  people

liʔiʔaknamlíki:
liʔʔ-ak=namli=kiʔ
kill-SEM=DEP=DST
‘They did not tell that the Wailaki had killed the people;’
Coyote and the World; 110

\[ \text{son}^2 \text{éy} \quad \text{ná:nákmil} \quad \text{hulk}’o’a \quad \text{káyit} \]

\[ \text{son}=^i \quad \text{nqnaq=mil} \quad \text{hulk}’o^i=q \quad \text{kayit} \]

\[ \text{but}=\text{HSY1} \quad \text{know}=\text{FIN} \quad \text{Coyote}=\text{PAT} \quad \text{long.ago} \]

\[ ^?\text{inámtnamlíka} \]

\[ ^?\text{inam-t=namli}=ka? \]

dream-INTR=DEP=PRX?

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

Coyote and the World; 111

\[ \text{sq}^2 \text{éy} \quad \text{háye} \quad \text{t’áw} \quad \text{káyakmil} \]

\[ \text{sq}=^i \quad \text{háˀáye} \quad \text{t’áw} \quad \text{k’ák=mil} \]

\[ \text{SAME}=\text{HSY1} \quad \text{now} \quad \text{war} \quad \text{want?-SEM}=\text{FIN} \]

‘And now he wanted to make war upon them for it.’

\[ \text{som}- \text{is rarely found and may either be the same as} \ \text{son} \ \text{or possibly the same as} \ \text{sq}=\text{mi}- \text{since it is often seen as} \ \text{somey} \ \text{in use}^{247} \]. \ \text{Examples of} \ \text{som} \ \text{are shown in Clauses 355 and 357, in} (6). \]

(6) Coyote and the World: 354, RM

\[ \text{sikiṭey} \quad \text{ká} \quad \text{mit} \quad \text{kup} \quad \text{ˀonapa}? \quad \text{ˀan} \]

\[ \text{si}=\text{kiṭ}=?^i \quad \text{ka}? \quad \text{mit} \quad \text{kup} \quad \text{ˀon-a?-pa}? \quad \text{ˀan} \]

\[ \text{NEW}=\text{then}=\text{HSY1} \quad \text{PRX} \quad \text{2SG.DAT} \quad \text{sister’s.son} \quad \text{earth-?-FUT} \quad \text{long.time} \]

\[ \text{son} \quad \text{mi}^? \quad \text{kup} \quad \text{kákkútispa}? \]

\[ \text{son} \quad \text{mi}^? \quad \text{kup} \quad \text{k’ák’-kut-s-pa}? \]

\[ \text{therefore} \quad \text{2SG.AGT} \quad \text{sister’s.son} \quad \text{exist-INC-CAUS-FUT} \]

‘“This, sister’s son, shall always be your place; but you shall rise first.”’

Coyote and the World: 355

\[ \text{soméy} \quad \text{kup} \quad \text{wil’isk} \]

\[ \text{som}=^i \quad \text{kup} \quad \text{wil-s=k} \]

\[ \text{however}=\text{HSY1} \quad \text{sister’s.son} \quad \text{pass-CONT=DECL} \]

---

\[ ^{247} \text{As discussed later in this chapter,} \ ^{–}\text{mi} \text{is often translated as ‘thereupon’ or ‘however’. Its use may be connected with the presence of quotes.} \]
Switch-Reference and Connective Enclitics

hánˀam kápsilpa
han-qm kap-s-il-paˀ
house-IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-FUT
“However, sister’s son, having gone a distance, you shall enter (your) house.”

Coyote and the World: 356

NEW=then now sun exist-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kimasa ?ópi nakahik
kiˀ-mas=q ?opi nąk’oh=k
DST-DSTR=PAT two teach=DECL
“‘And then the sun shall rise’, he said, teaching them both.’

Coyote and the World: 357

however=HSY1 =HSY1 all three=PAT separately teach-?

say=FIN moon=PAT dark/night=LAT =only 2SG.AGT sister’s.son

kó:tampa
koˀ-t-m-paˀ
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

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
są́ˀey                    kíṭa          šúˀumil              ˀan
są=ˀi                     kiṭa          šuˀ=mil              ˀan
SAME=HSY1 there sit/stay=FIN long.time
‘and stayed there long.’

Coyote and the World: 382
sıkéy             mil             hut’óˀopismil
sık=ˀi             mil             hut’op-s=mil
then=HSY1 meat/deer hunt-CONT=FIN?
‘Then he used to go deer-hunting.’

Coyote and the World: 383
sık’ey     šúˀumil
sık=ˀi     šuˀ=mil
then=HSY1 sit/stay=FIN
‘and stayed on.’

Coyote and the World: 384
símika         õey         musp         kíṭa         mînamlíki:         õey
si=mi=ka?= =ˀi         musp         kíṭa         mih=namlí=ki?= =ˀi
NEW=thereupon=PRX?= =HSY1 woman there be=DEP=DST =HSY1
naxk’mil
noˀ-hˀ?-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

\[
sq’̣ey \; šą̱kčam \; ?an \; tūk \; hu’u’îk \; ?ey
\]
\[
sq=ˀi \; šą̱qkčam \; ?an \; tūk \; hu’u’=k \; =ˀi
\]
SAME=HSY1 sometimes long.time move quit=DECL =HSY1

\[
wó’okesmil \; ?an \; kimáseyapa:mi:ki:.
\]
\[
wok’-s=mi: \; ?an \; kimas-pa’am=ki?:
\]
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

\[
sop’̣ey \; hul’o’i \; hap \; yą̱šśilmil.
\]
\[
sop=ˀi \; hul’o’i \; hap \; yą̱š-s-il=mi:
\]
but=HSY1 Coyote song/sing stand-CAUS-MPSV=FIN
‘But Coyote stood and sang for them.’

Coyote and the World: 38

\[
sìk’éy \; ?ą̱ṭa’ \; ki: \; wók \; hu’úsk \; ?ey \; ?ą̱ṭa’
\]
\[
sìk=ˀi \; ?ą̱ṭa’ \; ki’ \; wok’ \; hu’ú’-s=k \; =ˀi \; ?ą̱ṭa?
\]
then=HSY1 again DST dance/sing quit-CAUS=DECL =HSY1 again

\[
tūkeymil
\]
\[
tūk=mi:
\]
move=FIN
‘And stopping the dance, they traveled on once more.’
Coyote and the World: 39

sąʔéy       mál    kapísimil
są=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

ˀąp               mátlikon       pąk    pąp’ęyakpa              ˀey
ˀąp               mat-tl=kon    pąk    pąp’-ąk-paˀ            =ˀi
1SG.AGT   do-TR=but   one   pop-SEM-FUT    =HSY1

ˀímeymil    hulk’óˀi.
ˀimi=mil     hulk’oˀi
say=FIN    Coyote

‘I do this, but one of them will pop (crackle inside)”, he said.’

Coyote and the World: 182a

namlik(i) ˀéy       wąk       nąwéti             ˀey           pą́k      pąp’íyakmil
namlik       =ʔi       wąk       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.’

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

sąʔéy                    są:t’ínat             mipátat            kimás                ˀey          hą́ye
są=ʔi                    sąt’in=qat          mipat=qat          kiʔ-mas          =ʔi            hąˀąye
SAME=HSY1    Lizard=DAT    hand=DAT    DST-DSTR    =HSY1    now

ˀátlmil                      ˀa:táta
ˀat’-tl?=mil              ˀatat=q
fasten-TR?=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

\textit{namlikí} \textit{?ey} \; ká \; ?aṭáta \; sōt’ìnat \; mīpat \; šiló'

\textit{namliki} \textit{=?i} \; ka? \; ?aṭat=q \; sōt’in=qt \; mīpat \; šiló'

\textbf{therefore} \; \textit{=HSY1} \; \textbf{PRX} \; \textbf{people=PAT} \; \textbf{Lizard=DAT} \; \textbf{hand} \; \textbf{like}

\textit{?atmil} \; \textit{?aṭáta}

\textit{?at’=mil} \; \textit{?aṭat=q}

\textbf{fasten=FIN} \; \textbf{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 35.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=ką</td>
<td>Typically translated as 'thereupon' or 'then'. Appears to occur only following si 'NEW'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ki</td>
<td>'therefore', shows a causal relationship when occurring with si 'NEW'; 'and', when occurring with sq 'SAME'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=kit(a)</td>
<td>'and then' (the action in the current clause is happening following the action in previous clause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=kon</td>
<td>'but' (may be the same as =kon on verbs where it has the additonal meanings 'although', 'though', 'because')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=kop</td>
<td>'then' (but may be the same as =(k)op seen on verbs that means something like 'while'), 'also'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=mi</td>
<td>'(and) then', 'but', 'thereupon', 'however'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=mika</td>
<td>'thereupon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=mop</td>
<td>'but', 'as'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=kim'</td>
<td>'over there' (may not really be a clitic, just a deictic in this position)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=k’om</td>
<td>'there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=kimas</td>
<td>'thus'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. =ką 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 =ką= 'thereupon' in use.

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249 For Kroeber’s description of the connective enclitics see the beginning of §14.1.
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

\[
\text{\textit{sikiṭey} } \quad \text{\textit{šákma}} \quad \text{\textit{ʔséyqilmil}} \quad \text{\textit{yímok}} \\
\text{\textit{si=kiṭ=ʔi}} \quad \text{\textit{šqmi=q}} \quad \text{\textit{ʔqs-ʔk-il=ml}} \quad \text{\textit{yim-ok}} \\
\text{NEW=then=HSY1 some=PAT hot-SEM-MPSV=FIN fire-INST}
\]

‘and some were scorched by the fire.’

Coyote and the World: 85

\[
\text{\textit{sikí:ʔey} } \quad \text{\textit{ʔśéyma}} \quad \text{\textit{nan}} \quad \text{\textit{ʔśíčamil}} \\
\text{\textit{si=ki=ʔi}} \quad \text{\textit{ʔśima}} \quad \text{\textit{nan}} \quad \text{\textit{ʔśíč-a=ml}} \\
\text{NEW=therefore=HSY1 Woodpecker head red-?=FIN}
\]

‘That is why Woodpecker has a red head.’

Coyote and the World: 86

\[
\text{\textit{sikéyʔi} } \quad \text{\textit{šúpá}} \quad \text{\textit{sópis}} \\
\text{\textit{si=ki=ʔi}} \quad \text{\textit{šupa}} \quad \text{\textit{sopis}} \\
\text{NEW=therefore=HSY1 Blackbird shoulder}
\]

\[
\text{\textit{ʔśiyqilmlikíː} } \quad \text{\textit{ʔey}} \quad \text{\textit{ʔśéyč}} \quad \text{\textit{t’ákłamammil}} \\
\text{\textit{ʔqs-ʔ-k-il=namli=ki?}} \quad \text{\textit{=ʔi}} \quad \text{\textit{ʔśíč}} \quad \text{\textit{t’ák-ʔq-ʔm-m=ml}} \\
\text{hot-?-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST =HSY1 red ?-INCH-IMPFV=FIN}
\]

‘That is why Red-winged Blackbird being scorched on the shoulder has a red spot there.’

Coyote and the World: 87

\[
\text{\textit{síkiṭ} } \quad \text{\textit{hulk’oʔa}} \quad \text{\textit{ʔśítnamlikíː} } \quad \text{\textit{ʔey}} \\
\text{\textit{si=kiṭ} } \quad \text{\textit{hulk’oʔi=q}} \quad \text{\textit{ʔqs-t=namli=ki?}} \quad \text{\textit{=ʔi}} \\
\text{NEW=then Coyote=PAT hot-INTR=DEP=DST =HSY1}
\]

\[
\text{\textit{kúš} } \quad \text{\textit{ʔsámil}} \\
\text{\textit{kuš} } \quad \text{\textit{ʔsamíl}} \\
\text{fur yellowish}
\]

‘And Coyote’s fur was yellowish because he had been scorched.’
(13) and (14) show examples of $s\dot{q}=k$ in use.

(13) Coyote and the World: 301, RM
\[
\text{siki} \text{tey} \quad \text{páwi} \quad ?i:s\acute{a}ka \quad \text{wíst(e)mil}
\]
\[
\text{si=kit}=?i \quad \text{páwi} \quad ?i:jak=q \quad \text{wis-t=mil}
\]
\[
\text{NEW=then=HSY1 \quad one \quad boy=PAT \quad remain-INTR=FIN}
\]
\[
'\text{and one boy was left,}'
\]

Coyote and the World: 302
\[
\text{s\dot{q}kí} \quad =i \quad \text{šú=mil}
\]
\[
\text{s\dot{q}=k} \quad =i \quad \text{šú=mil}
\]
\[
\text{SAME=and} \quad =\text{HSY1 \quad sit/stay=FIN}
\]
\[
'\text{and stayed.}'
\]

(14) Coyote and the World: 120, RM
\[
\text{se}’\text{éy} \quad \text{hulk’o’á} \quad \text{hålammil}
\]
\[
\text{si=’i} \quad \text{hulk’o’i=q} \quad \text{hål-m=mil}
\]
\[
\text{NEW=HSY1 \quad Coyote=PAT \quad hear-IMPFV=FIN}
\]
\[
'\text{And Coyote understood them,}'
\]

Coyote and the World: 121
\[
\text{s\dot{q}kí:’ey} \quad \text{húšk’ayyesmil} \quad \text{kipat} \quad ?’átáta
\]
\[
\text{s\dot{q}=k}=’i \quad \text{húšk’ay-s=mil} \quad \text{kip=q} \quad ?’átat=q
\]
\[
\text{SAME=and=HSY1 \quad tell-CAUS?=FIN \quad 3R=DAT \quad people=PAT}
\]
\[
'\text{and told his own people.'}
\]

(15) shows $=k$ $i$ $t$ used in several clauses. In each case $=k$ $i$ $t$ has a meaning similar to ‘then’, implying that the activity in the $k$ $i$ $t$-marked clause and the activity in the preceding clause are sequential, or a meaning similar to ‘while’, indicating that the activity in the $k$ $i$ $t$-marked clause and the activity in the preceding clause are either simultaneous or overlapping.

(15) Coyote and the World: 171, RM
\[
\text{se’éy} \quad ’\acute{a}tq \quad \text{’kól} \quad \text{kimáse} \quad \text{k’o’il}
\]
\[
\text{si=’i} \quad ’\acute{a}tta’ \quad \text{’kól} \quad \text{ki’-mas-i} \quad \text{k’o’il}
\]
\[
\text{NEW=HSY1 \quad again \quad other \quad DST-DSTR-ANIM \quad Wailaki}
\]
And still other Wailaki pursued;

But two of them followed off on the side.

Then Šiwkítin again hurled with his stone

And knocked them over

And again they went on.
‘Thereupon the two Wailaki who were alive came back and told (what had happened).’

=kiṭa is a variant of =kiṭ and has the same meaning as =kiṭ ‘then’, in (16).

(16) Coyote and the World: 274, RM

seʔéy káwtmil
siʔi káw-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 light-INTR=FIN
‘Then light showed.’

Coyote and the World: 275

sikíṭa haye ka mípaʔ ʔìy
si=kiṭa hqʔaye kaʔ mih-paʔ =ʔi
NEW=then now PRX be-FUT =HSY1

ʔímeymil hulk’oʔ pilātə.
ʔimi=mil hulk’oʔi piląt=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

sikón’ey k’inikop kút’a káʔ 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’á ‘way over there’.
In (18), =kop can be interpreted as placing the events of Clause 114 contemporaneously with or immediately following those of Clause 113.

(18) Coyote and the World: 112, RM

[Coyote and the World: 112, RM]

Coyote and the World: 113

[Coyote and the World: 113]

Coyote and the World: 114

[Coyote and the World: 114]

=mi is used with the meanings ‘(and) then’, ‘but’, ‘thereupon’, or ‘however.’ (19) shows an example of =mi used with the meaning ‘then’. Clause 20, in (19), is marked
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

\[ \text{seʾéy} \quad hāye \quad māhič \quad nq \quad kiṭa \quad miʾpát \quad kʾįklamil. \]
\[ \text{si=ʾi} \quad hqʾaye \quad māhič \quad =nq \quad kiṭa \quad mipat \quad kʾįkʾ-ľam=mil} \]
\[ \text{NEW=HSY1} \quad \text{now} \quad \text{arm} \quad =\text{and} \quad \text{there} \quad \text{hand} \quad \text{exist-INCH=FIN} \]

‘Then now his arms and hands appeared.’

Origins: 20

\[ \text{simeyéy} \quad hāye \quad nán \quad kʾįklamil. \]
\[ \text{si=mi=ʾi} \quad hqʾaye \quad nan \quad kʾįkʾ-ľam=mil} \]
\[ \text{NEW=then=HSY1} \quad \text{now} \quad \text{head} \quad \text{exist-INCH=FIN} \]

‘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

\[ \text{sikąʾéy} \quad hāye \quad ʾinháwtlmil \quad hana \quad ʾey \]
\[ \text{si=ką=ʾi} \quad hqʾaye \quad ʾin-haw-tl=mil \quad hana \quad =ʾi} \]
\[ \text{NEW=thereupon=HSY1} \quad \text{now} \quad \text{sleep-wish-TR=FIN} \quad ? \quad =\text{HSY1} \]

\[ \text{háwesmil} \]
\[ \text{haw-s=mil} \]
\[ \text{wish-CAUS=FIN} \]

‘And now he wished them sleepy; to himself he wished it.’

Coyote and the World: 212

\[ \text{simeyéy} \quad pąk \quad ʾinlámek \quad ʾey \quad ʾimeymil} \]
\[ \text{si=mi=ʾi} \quad pąk \quad ʾin-ląm=k \quad =ʾi \quad ʾimi=mil} \]
\[ \text{NEW=thereupon=HSY1} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{sleep-INCH=DECL} \quad =\text{HSY1} \quad \text{say=FIN} \]

‘Thereupon one said, “I am getting sleepy”’,
Coyote and the World: 213

sąˀéy                  naŋkílmil
są=ˀi                   nąm-k-il=mil
SAME=HSY1   lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘and lay down.’

Clause 278, in (21), is also marked with =mi and conveys a meaning similar to ‘however’ or ‘but’. Switch-reference is tracked in 278 with są indicating that 278 has the same topic as 277.

(21) Coyote and the World: 277, RM

sikíṭ                    mi                kóyi              kiṭa        húyki               yíč
si=kiṭ                  miˀ               koˀ-y            kiṭa        huy=ki             yič
NEW=then 2SG.AGT go-PROG there middle=IN for.a.while

hargaWykíl                                 ṭimaˀ
harga-way-k-il                              ṭima
food/eat-PNCT-MPSV self

‘And when you have traveled to the middle, you are to eat for a while.’

Coyote and the World: 278

sámi                     šü’ňóhkiltána              kup
sq=mi                     šuˀ^2-noˀ^2-h-k-il-tan-a  kup
SAME=but                  sit/stay-live-DUR-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP sister’s.son

mi                  koˀ’o       ṭima
miˀ                koˀ          ṭima
2SG.AGT     go         self

‘But not sitting there to stay long, sister’s son, you are to go on.’

(22) and (23) show that other types of information can be placed in the position where the connective enclitic is usually found, between the switch-reference marker and the hearsay evidential. In (22) kí nák ‘that night’ specifies the time of the event and in (23),

252 A more accurate free translation might be: ‘Therefore don’t sit there and stay long, sister’s son, you are to go on.’
hánkil kóˀolítyi ‘approaching the houses’ specifies the circumstances under which the event in (23) occurred.

(22) Coyote and the World: 107, RM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEW</th>
<th>DST</th>
<th>dark/night</th>
<th>=HSY1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>kí</td>
<td>nąk</td>
<td>ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>kíʔ</td>
<td>nąk</td>
<td>=ʔi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coyote=PAT</td>
<td>dream-INTR=FIN</td>
<td>people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kú:htkiwit    yíttiwi    kimáša    littámšik
kuhtki=wit    yíʔ-t-wi    kiʔ-mas=q    liʔ-t-m-sik
north=ALL    play-INTR-PST1 DST-DST= PAT kill-INTR-IMPFV-HSY2

=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.’

(23) Coyote and the World: 119, RM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEW</th>
<th>house=TERM</th>
<th>go-DIR2-PROG</th>
<th>=HSY1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>hánkil</td>
<td>kóˀolítyi</td>
<td>ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>han=k’il</td>
<td>koʔ-lit-y</td>
<td>=ʔi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wailaki</td>
<td>what-people/tribe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

miyą́:tk’il    múnaʔ kóyik    ey    =ʔim=mil k’oʔil
mi=ʔk’il      munaʔ koʔ-y=k    =ʔi   =ʔimi=mil k’oʔil
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.
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’.

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.
naxk’mil
noʔ-hʔ-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
sąʔéy ḥaye mipát ʔuk’ámnó:ma tatímil
sq=ʔi ḥqʔaye mipat ʔuk’omnom’=q tat=mil
SAME=HSY1 now hand Uk’omnom’=PAT good/make=FIN

kípat ıklıʔ mipát ʔey ʔá:t’ismil
kip=qt ıkloʔ mipat =ʔi ʔat’=s=mil
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
simópey ḥáye sá:ṭ’in kómmil hulk’óʔi mípat
si=mop=ʔi ḥqʔaye sáʔ’in ko=mil hulk’óʔi mpat
NEW=but=HSY1 now Lizard come=FIN Coyote hand

ʔatáta kípat ıklıśik
ʔatat=q kip=qt ıklo-sík
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 Yuki\(^{253}\). 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 clause\(^{254}\). Yuki clauses tend to be verb-final\(^{255}\), 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’os mu:šakwičk
sum mo’os muš-ąk-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 ˀi 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

\[ hąw \ ?i: \ t'uktl \ ha:mik \]
\[ hąw \ ?i \ t'uk'-tl \ ham=k \]
fish 1SG.PAT hit/kick/stab-TR like/want=DECL
‘I like to gig (hunt) fish’

(3) Siniard 1967a: 91, MF

\[ kiˀ ?i: \ kiˀaṭ \ saˀak \ ča:nik \]
\[ kiˀ ?i \ kiˀ=ąt \ saˀak \ čan=k \]
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

\[ [są́ˀéy \ hí:li \ nqw-nil'mil. ] \]
\[ sq=ˀi \ hil-i \ nqw-k-il=mil \]
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

\[ [sikiṭéy \ k'ol'kil \ šąkmi \ tiw=mi-l-il-ąk=mil ] \]
\[ si=kiṭ=ˀi \ k'ol=k'il \ šąkmi \ tiw=ˀimi-l-il-ŋq=mi\]l
NEW=then=HSY1 other=TERM some pursue-say-PFV-MPSV-SEM=FIN
‘And some notified one another elsewhere.’

Coyote and the World: 32

\[ [są́ˀey \ hí:li \ pąwí'ki\̓m \ môpˀt-il=mi ] \]
\[ sq=ˀi \ hil-i \ pąwì=k'i \ mop-t-il=mi \]
SAME=HSY1 all-ANIM one=IN gather-INTR-MPSV=FIN
‘And all gathered in one place’
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 ˀímeymil 'said', which comes immediately after the quote rather than at the end of the main clause. It is followed by its agent argument hulk'ó'i 'Coyote'. (6) also contains a patient k'óˀola 'to the) Wailaki', which follows the agent hulk'ó'i 'Coyote'.

(5) Coyote and the World: 152, RM
seˀéy
si=ˀi
NEW=HSY1

[ˀq̓    hitli     ˀuṣ        láktik] ˀey
ˀq̓    hil-i     ˀus        lak'-t=k =ˀi
yes  all-ANIM 1PL.EXCL.AGT emerge-INTR=DECL =HSY1

[ˀìmeymil    hulk'ói.]
ˀimi=mil    hulk'ó'i
say=FIN Coyote
“‘Yes, we all have gone out’, Coyote said.’
Similarly, in (7), non-verb-final word order is observed in $nq\text{wim}il$ $hulk'\text{o}i$ ‘Coyote saw’, which follows $yim\ yq:h\text{hi}sti$ ‘fire blazing up’. In this case too the agent follows the verb.

(7) Coyote and the World: 24, RM
\[ yim\ yq:h\text{hi}sti \]
\[ fire\ blaze-\text{CONT-INTR} \]
\[ nq\text{wim}il\ hulk'\text{o}i \]
\[ nqw=\text{mil} \]
\[ see=\text{FIN} \]
\[ Coyote \]

‘And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.’

Non-final verb word order is also seen following adverbial phrases\(^{256}\). 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
seˀéy šiwkiṭín lil haˀnamlikí:la ?ey
si=ˀi šiwkiṭín lil ha=ˀnamli=kiˀ-la =?i
NEW=HSY1 šiwkiṭín rock carry=DEP=DST-INST =HSY1

wiṭkmil kóˀola
wiṭ-k=mil koˀol=a?
hurl-PNCT=FIN Wailaki.PL=OBL?
‘So Šiwkiṭín hurled at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying’

(9) Coyote and the World: 178 (excerpt), RM
... noˀnamlikíṭa ?ey
noˀ=namli=kíta =?i
live=DEP=there =HSY1

háye wiṭtmahilmil hulk’óˀi nq kípat ?atát na
háq’aye wiṭ-mq-h-il=mil hulk’óˀi =nq kíp=qt ?atña =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 clauses[^57] contain a lexical verb and differ from imperative clauses and questions with respect to their Position XI morphology[^58]. Of the morphemes in this position, verbs in imperative clauses and questions can only be suffixed with imperative -a(ˀ) or interrogative -ha(ˀ), respectively. All other Position XI morphemes, excluding -a(ˀ) and -ha(ˀ), 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.

[^57]: Declarative clauses do not necessarily contain verbs ending in the declarative mood marker -k.
[^58]: See the Yuki verb template in Table 17 in §7.2.
 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), ˀap ‘I’ is the single argument in this clause and muspʰ ‘woman’ is the predicate.

(12) Siniard 1967a: 35, MF
ˀap       muspʰ       mihik
1SG.AGT woman be=DECL
‘I’m a woman.’

(13) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 26, MF
kiˀq̈t ˀal  ka: mehek
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
ˀus=q\textsuperscript{t} kiti mihik
ˀus=qt kiti mih=k
1PL.EXCL=DAT cat be=DECL
‘it’s our (excl.) cat’

(15) Siniard 1967b: 11, MF
miˀq\textsuperscript{t} 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
ˀat'wąšit č'al=a itin mih=k
ˀat'wąšit č'ala ˀítin mihik
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 míli ‘deer’ and then addresses lōˀopši ‘Jackrabbit’ telling both that they will always be ˀa:ṭátat hąwáyˀol’ ‘food for humans.’

(17) Coyote and the World: 413b (excerpt), RM
miˀ [míli mípa ˀan ˀa:ṭátat hąwáyˀol’]
miˀ mil míh-pa? ˀan ˀaṭat=q\textsuperscript{t} hąwąy-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

síkiṭ miˀ [lóˀopśi mí:pə? an
si=kiṭ miˀ lopis mih-pa? an
NEW-then 2SG.AGT Jackrabbit be-FUT long.time

ˀaṭat hąwáyol’
ˀaṭat=ąt hąwąy-ol’
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 kaˀa ‘she, this one’ and in (19), the single argument is k’aˀa ?on ‘this ground’. In both clauses the predicate is tatk ~ ṭaṭk ‘is good’²⁵⁹.

(18) Siniard 1967a: 3, MF
kaˀa tatk
kaˀ=q tat=k
PRX=PAT good/make=DECL
‘she [this one] is good’

(19) Siniard 1967a: 3, MF
k’aˀa ?on ṭaṭk
kaˀ=q ?on 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 /ṭ/.
(20) and (21) are also elicited examples of predicate adjective clauses. In both clauses the single argument is the first person patient pronoun \textit{i}. The predicate in (20) is \textit{unšilek} ‘is little’, while in (21), the predicate is \textit{hoč’k} ‘is big’.

(20) Kroeber 1901a:38, RM
\begin{verbatim}
ˀi: ˀunšilek
ˀi ˀunšil=k
1SG.PAT  small=DECL
‘I am little’
\end{verbatim}

(21) Kroeber 1901a:37, RM
\begin{verbatim}
ˀi:  hoč’k
ˀi  hoṭ=k
1SG.PAT  large=DECL
‘I am big’
\end{verbatim}

15.5. Predicate Oblique Clauses

Predicate oblique clauses are copular clauses formed with \textit{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
\begin{verbatim}
ml       hu:yp              ˀąp               mehek
ml       huy=ąp              ˀąp              mih=k
river   middle=LAT   1SG.AGT   be=DECL
‘I’m in the middle of the creek.’
\end{verbatim}

(23) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 27, MF
\begin{verbatim}
misk’an’              sum       tinta’ak’e   mːwe
mis-k’an’             sum       tinta’=k’i   mih-wi
2SG.KIN.POSS-mother  yesterday  town=IN  be-PST1
‘Your mother was in town yesterday.’
\end{verbatim}
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 \textit{mih}– ‘be’, (25) does not differ from the predicate oblique clause in (24).

(25) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 26, MF
\begin{align*}
sahol’ & \quad \text{kim’} \quad \text{mih=k} \\
\text{eagle} & \quad \text{over.there} \quad \text{be=DECL} \\
\text{‘there’s an eagle over there’}
\end{align*}

15.7. Imperative Clauses

Imperative clauses are formed by adding the imperative suffix - \textit{a(’)} or one of its allomorphs to the end of the verb \textsuperscript{260}. (26) and (27) are elicited examples of imperative clauses.

(26) Siniard 1967a: 101, MF
\begin{align*}
\text{’alap} & \quad \text{pq’ančsa’} \\
\text{stick=LAT} & \quad \text{write/make.marks-CAUS-IMP} \\
\text{‘write/make the marks on the stick’}
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{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

\[\text{table appis } \text{p}q\text{’}n\text{č} \text{mal’} \quad \text{ha’} \text{amal’} \]
\[\text{table=} \text{ap=} \text{pis } \text{p}q\text{’}n\text{č} \text{mol’} \quad \text{ha’}^{2} \text{mq} \text{l’} \]
\[\text{table=} \text{LAT=} \text{ABL} \quad \text{write-AG/INST} \quad \text{carry-DIR1-}?-\text{IMP} \]

‘take the pencil off the table’

(28) is an example of an imperative clause from connected speech.

(28)  Coyote and the World: 28, RM

\[\text{s} \quad \text{h} \text{i} \text{l} \text{i} \quad \text{K} \text{a} \text{m} \text{a}’ \quad \text{k} \quad \text{n} \text{a} \text{w} \text{e} \text{ta}’ \]
\[\text{s} \quad \text{h} \text{i} \text{l}-\text{i} \quad \text{k} \text{o} \text{m} \text{a}’ \quad \text{k} \text{a}’ \quad \text{n} \text{a} \text{w}-\text{t}-\text{a}’ \]

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 -a’ 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 -a’. Imperative and declarative forms of each clause are contrasted in these examples. The verb root in (29) is \text{ham}šē’- or \text{ham}šēl’- ‘sing’ and in (30), it is \text{h}\text{q}k- ‘split’.

(29)  Lamb 1955: 94, LJ

\[\text{ham}šē’\text{la}’? \quad \text{‘sing!’} \quad \text{(imperative)} \]
\[\text{?epe: } \text{ha}m\text{p}šē’\text{leme:liki} \quad \text{‘I am going to sing’} \quad \text{(declarative)} \]
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 wiţ- or wiţe:l- 'turn around'.

(31) Lamb 1955: 79, LJ
namkil?’ kāy’ ‘lie down right here!’ (imperative)
kata’ ?a namkīlpā’ ‘I will lie down here’ (declarative)

(32) Lamb 1955: 100, LJ
kāţa’ wiţe:l’ ‘turn around this way!’ (imperative)
?epe: wiţe:l’mé:likī ‘I am going to turn around’ (declarative)

(33) shows both types of imperatives in the same clause. The imperative of hąk- ‘split’ is formed with -a’ and the imperative of hąwą:y- ‘eat’ is formed by glottalizing verb-final /l/.

(33) Lamb 1955: 87, LJ
santīya’hą:kisā’hąwą:ykil’ ‘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 nēwas ‘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
‘ūk’ dźįh̉ad̮q̃e’ ‘dip up the water!’
‘ūk’ há:mma? ‘give me water, pass me water!’

261 See §7.6.2 for additional examples of Coast Yuki imperatives.
15.8. Questions

Questions are formed by adding the interrogative suffix -ha(ˀ) or one of its allomorphs to the end of the verb. 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mila} & \quad \text{mi}^? & \quad \text{li}^?\text{amha} \\
\text{mil}=\overline{q} & \quad \text{mi}^? & \quad \text{li}^?\text{-m-ha}
\end{align*}
\]

meat/deer=PAT 2SG.AGT kill-IMPFV-Q

‘Do you want to kill that deer?’

(38) Siniard 1967a: 53, MF

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔqha}^? & \quad \text{ʔap} & \quad \text{li}^?\text{imik} \\
\text{ʔqha}^? & \quad \text{ʔap} & \quad \text{li}^?\text{-m=k}
\end{align*}
\]

yes 1SG.AGT kill-IMPFV=DECL

‘Yes, I’ll kill him.’

(39) - (42) are additional examples of elicited polar questions, which show interrogative -ha(ˀ) following various other types of verb morphology.

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262 Lamb (1955:80) records the cognate forms for Huchnom: paʔqa’ ‘get up! (from lying position)’, yaʔqa’ ‘stand up!’

263 See §7.4.3.3 for additional discussion on the interrogative suffix -ha(ˀ).
(39) Siniard 1967a: 73, MF
\[
\begin{align*}
ki & \quad mi' \quad p.ix\!stl\!ha \\
ki' & \quad mi'' \quad pis-tl-ha
\end{align*}
\]
DST 2SG.AGT hide-TR-Q
‘Did you hide it?’

(40) Siniard 1967a: 73, MF
\[
\begin{align*}
ki & \quad mi' \quad p.ix\!s\!law\!ha \\
ki' & \quad mi'' \quad pis-law-ha
\end{align*}
\]
DST 2SG.AGT hide-PERM-Q
‘Can you hide it?’

(41) Siniard 1967b: 77, MF
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kayt} & \quad mi' \quad hu\!tm\!il \quad nah\!is\!mil\!ha \\
\text{kayt} & \quad mi'' \quad hu'utmil \quad nah-s\!-mil'\!-ha
\end{align*}
\]
long.ago 2SG.AGT bread make-CAUS?-PHAB-Q
‘Did you use to make bread long ago?’

(42) Siniard 1967b: 77, MF
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kayt} & \quad mis \quad hu\!tm\!il \quad nah\!am\!mil\!ha \\
\text{kayt} & \quad mis \quad hu'utmil \quad nah \quad ham-mil'\!-ha
\end{align*}
\]
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 ‘\text{qha}’ ‘yes’ or ‘\text{t\!l\!k}’ ‘no’. Instead in (44), Coyote responds with a conjecture about the location of the sun.
(43) Coyote and the World: 231 (excerpt), RM

\[ \ldots \text{ká’en} \quad \text{k’omláme} \quad \text{mis} \quad \text{hįltha} \]
\[ \text{ka’in} \quad \text{k’om-ląm} \quad \text{mis} \quad \text{hąl-t-ha} \]

PRX.LOC? make.noise-INCH 2SG.PAT hear-INTR-Q

\[ ?’y \quad ?’im \quad \text{kiwismil} \quad \text{hulk’o’i} \quad \text{kimási} \]
\[ =?’i \quad ?’im \quad \text{kiw-s=mil} \quad \text{hulk’o’i=q} \quad \text{ki’-mas-i} \]

=HSY1 thus ask-CAUS=FIN Coyote=PAT DST-DSTR-ANIM

\text{‘Have you heard it sounding anywhere about here?’} \text{ so they asked Coyote.’}

(44) Coyote and the World: 232, RM

\[ \text{se’éy} \quad \text{hulk’o’i} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{hąle} \quad ?’yt \quad \text{k’ápki} \]
\[ \text{si=’i} \quad \text{hulk’o’i} \quad \text{ki’} \quad =\text{hąli} \quad ?’it \quad \text{k’apki} \]

NEW=HSY1 Coyote DST =INFR1 1SG.DAT below

\[ \text{hó’t} \quad \text{sunlámu’?} \quad ?’y \quad \text{ĩmeymil} \quad \text{hulk’o’i} \]
\[ \text{ho’t} \quad \text{sun-ląm-wi} \quad =?’i \quad \text{imi=mil} \quad \text{hulk’o’i} \]

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 pronoun\textsuperscript{264}. 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

\[ \text{ma’i} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{mattha} \]
\[ \text{ma’i} \quad \text{ki’} \quad \text{mat-tl-ha} \]

who DST do-TR-Q

‘Who did that?’

\textsuperscript{264} See §6.1.11 and §6.2.3.
(46) Siniard 1967b: 102, MF
ˀąpil                   ki        matlik
ˀąpil                   kiˀ        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
ˀiyi         miˀ               haˀye      yuˀuyamha
ˀiyi         miˀ               hąˀąye    yuy’-m-ha
what 2SG.AGT now do-IMPFV-Q
‘What are you doing now?’

(48) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 235, AA
ˀim           meˀ            koˀotha
ˀim           miˀ             koˀ-t-ha
where 2SG.AGT go-INTR-Q
‘Where do you go?’

(49) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 235, MF
ˀimwit               meˀ              koˀomelhaˀ
ˀim=wit             miˀ               koˀ-mą-il-haˀ
where=ALL 2SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-Q
‘(To?) where are you going?’

(50) Sawyer and Schlichter 1984: 237, AA
ˀiyup     meˀ             ki          matlha
ˀiyup     miˀ              kiˀ         mat-tl-ha
why 2SG.AGT DST do-TR-Q
‘Why did you do that?’
(51) Siniard 1967b: 83, MF

\[
\begin{align*}
hąymas &\quad mi? &\quad ki &\quad matlha \\
hąymas &\quad mi? &\quad ki? &\quad mat-tl-ha
\end{align*}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{how} &\quad 2\text{SG.AGT} &\quad \text{DST} &\quad \text{do-TR-Q} \\
\text{‘How do you do that?’}
\end{align*}

(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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'im} &\quad \text{ki:} &\quad \text{yim} &\quad \text{či:yi:m} &\quad \text{či} &\quad \text{či} &\quad \text{mi} &\quad \text{lamha} \\
\text{'im} &\quad \text{ki?} &\quad \text{yim} &\quad \text{čiy} &\quad \text{mq} &\quad \text{il} &\quad \text{m} &\quad \text{ha}
\end{align*}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{where} &\quad \text{DST} &\quad \text{fire} &\quad \text{glitter-} &\quad \text{DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-Q} &\quad \text{sis} &\quad \text{ter’s.son} &\quad \text{=HSY1}
\end{align*}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'imeymil} &\quad \text{hulk’oˀi} \\
\text{'im} &\quad \text{mi} &\quad \text{mil} &\quad \text{hulk’oˀi}
\end{align*}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{say=FIN} &\quad \text{Coyote} \\
\text{‘Where does that fire gleam at times, sister’s son?’ said Coyote.’}
\end{align*}

(53) Coyote and the World: 20, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
kú:tak’á: &\quad \text{mas} &\quad \text{yáhiyáklí} &\quad \text{šatam} &\quad \text{mil} &\quad \text{más} \\
kutak’a &\quad \text{mas} &\quad \text{yáh} &\quad \text{q} &\quad \text{il} &\quad \text{?} &\quad \text{šat} &\quad \text{m} &\quad \text{mil} \\
\text{way.over.there thus} &\quad \text{blaze-} &\quad \text{PNCT-MPSV} &\quad \text{put.out} &\quad \text{fire-IMPFV=FIN} &\quad \text{thus}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
náweta(á) &\quad \text{ey} &\quad \text{'imeymil} &\quad \text{lópsi} &\quad \text{hulk’oˀq.} \\
nqw-t-a? &\quad =ˀ'i &\quad \text{'imi} &\quad \text{mil} &\quad \text{lopsi} &\quad \text{hulk’oˀq} &\quad =ˀq
\end{align*}
\]

\begin{align*}
\text{see-INTR-IMP} &\quad \text{=HSY1} &\quad \text{say=FIN} &\quad \text{Jackrabbit} &\quad \text{Coyote=PAT} \\
\text{‘Over there, thus blazing up it stops, thus, look!’ said Jackrabbit to Coyote.’}
\end{align*}
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 -ˀą, which may possibly be cognate with the Yuki interrogative -ha.

Compare the question in (54a) with its answer in (54b). Note the presence of -ˀą at the end of the verb hayima:ˀą ‘doing’ in the question in (54a), and its absence on the same verb in (54b).

(54a) Lamb 1955: 31, LJ
     ˀe:ye     meˀ             hayima:ˀą
     what   2SG.AGT   do
     ‘What are you doing?’

(54b) Lamb 1955: 31, LJ
     ˀe:ye     ˀa                 hoyima:    t̯alki
     what   1SG.AGT   do            nothing
     ‘I’m not doing anything’

(55) is an example of another content question. In this example the verb yašˀą ‘standing’ also ends in -ˀą.

(55) Lamb 1955: 31, LJ
     mąy'     kaˀ        yašˀą
     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 -ˀą. It is assumed that the
verb *hamehˀą* 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  
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  
‘Where is it?’  
‘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  
‘(Do) you see me?’

(59) Kroeber 1902c:71, TB  
‘I don’t see you’

Kroeber (1902c:71) gives the Coast Yuki yes/no words as *héw* ‘yes’ and *e* ‘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 -ṭan to the verb\(^{265}\). There is also a negative verb ŭal-, the use of which is not fully understood. In connected speech, use of -ṭan is much more common than ŭal-. In elicited speech, -ṭan is also more common, and ŭal- is almost never seen.

15.9.1. Negation using -ṭan

(60) and (61) are elicited near minimal pairs of negative and affirmative clauses. These two clauses have different agent arguments, mi? 'you' and ŭap 'I', respectively. The verbs in both clauses contain the same morphology, except for the presence of negative -ṭan in (60).

(60) Siniard 1967a: 43, MF
\begin{verbatim}
ʔal      mi?      luchtlanpaʔ
ʔol      mi?      luh-tl-ṭan-paʔ
\end{verbatim}
\begin{itemize}
  \item wood 2SG.AGT chop-TR-NEG-FUT
  \item ‘You’re not going to chop wood’
\end{itemize}

(61) Siniard 1967a: 43, MF
\begin{verbatim}
ʔal      ŭap       luchtipaʔ
ʔol      ŭap       luh-tl-paʔ
\end{verbatim}
\begin{itemize}
  \item wood 1SG.AGT chop-TR-FUT
  \item ‘I’m going to be chopping wood.’
\end{itemize}

(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 -ṭan, while the verb in the affirmative clause (63) does not.

(62) Siniard 1967a: 53, MF
\begin{verbatim}
haw       mila    ŭap       li:?aktanpaʔ
haw       mil=q    ŭap       li:?-qk-ṭan-paʔ
\end{verbatim}
\begin{itemize}
  \item tomorrow meat/deer=PAT 1SG.AGT kill-SEM-NEG-FUT
  \item ‘I’m not going to kill that deer tomorrow’
\end{itemize}

\(^{265}\) For additional discussion about the use of the negative morpheme -ṭan see §7.4.3.7.
(63) Siniard 1967a: 52, MF

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{haw} & ?\text{ap} & \text{mila} & \text{ho}\text{t}^h \text{li:akpa}^? \\
\text{haw} & ?\text{ap} & \text{mi} \text{=q} & \text{ho}\text{t}^? \text{li}^?\text{-qk-pa}^? \\
\end{array}
\]

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 \textit{ṭal-}

The use of \textit{ṭal-} 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. \textit{ṭal-} also appears in the Yuki negative response to polar questions: \textit{ṭal}k ‘no’ or ‘(it) is not’.

In (64) and (65), \textit{ṭal-} is used as an independent verb. In each of its uses in these two examples, it occurs in the same form, \textit{ṭa}\textit{lṭilinik} ‘do not let yourself, must not let yourself’.

(64) Coyote and the World: 377 (excerpt), RM

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{m}^? & \text{h}^\text{kw}^\text{áy} & \text{h}^\text{ámilhan} & \text{ṭa}\text{lṭilin(i)k} \\
\text{m}^? & \text{h}^\text{kw}^\text{áy} & \text{ha}^\text{=mil}^\text{han} & \text{ṭa}\text{l-ṭil-ŋiŋ} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
?\text{e}^\text{yy} & ?\text{im}^\text{eymil} & \text{hold}=\text{FIN}=\text{but}? & \text{NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC} \\
\text{?=i} & ?\text{im}^\text{i}=\text{mil} & \text{say}=\text{FIN} \\
\text{=HSY1} & \text{NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘… you must not let yourself seem to withhold food”, he said.’

(65) Coyote and the World: 276, RM

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{s}^\text{q}^\text{e}^\text{y} & \text{k}^\text{i}^\text{t}^\text{a} & \text{h}^\text{áye} & \text{nak’}^\text{o}^\text{’ohimil} & \text{p}^\text{il}^\text{á} \\
\text{s}^\text{q}^\text{=i} & \text{k}^\text{i}^\text{t}^\text{a} & \text{h}^\text{á}^\text{y}^\text{e} & \text{nak’}^\text{o}^\text{’oh}=\text{mil} & \text{p}^\text{il}^\text{á} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{SAME}=\text{HSY1} & \text{there} & \text{now} & \text{teach}=\text{FIN} & \text{sun} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{ka} & \text{m}^\text{i}^\text{s}^\text{h} & \text{m}^? & \text{ha}^\text{ámt}^\text{níhan} & \text{ṭa}\text{lṭilin}^k \\
\text{ka}^? & \text{m}^\text{i}^\text{s}^\text{h} & \text{m}^? & \text{ha}^\text{’}^\text{am-t-il}^\text{han} & \text{ṭa}\text{l-ṭil-ŋiŋ} \\
\text{PRX} & \text{road} & \text{2SG.AGT} & \text{carry-?}-\text{MPSV}=\text{but} & \text{NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC} \\
\end{array}
\]
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 təl- following verbs that have a negative meaning. təl- was originally transcribed by Kroeber as part of the verb in these examples, but it is unknown whether təl is encliticized to the preceding verb or an independent verb. In (66), təl- is found in kopholiltəl ‘without taking their feathers off’. In (67), təl- is found in ᵂiⁿ’təl’hən ‘though not asleep’.

‘Then after a time those who were dancing went to sleep without taking their feathers off.’
Clause Structure

In Clause 248 in (68), ṭḷk 'no’ is ṭḷ- encliticized with declarative =k. ṭḷk 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
¡ušá mi minšil wáč̣isšúl eyy
µus=q mi minšil wač’-s-šul =i
1PL.EXCL=PAT 2SG.AGT lie teach-CAUS?-apparently =HSY1

¡ímeymil p̣ák
¡imi=mil p̣á
say=FIN one
‘... you are telling us lies, apparently”, one of them said.’

Coyote and the World: 248, RM
sè’éy ṭlk ímeymil
si=¿i ṭlk=k ími=mil
NEW=HSY1 NEG=DECL say=FIN
‘But, “No”, he said.’

15.9.3. Negative Questions

Negative questions are formed by adding the negative -ṭan and interrogative -ha(’) to the verb. (69) and (70) contrast negative and affirmative forms of the same question.

(69) Siniard 1967a: 107, MF
¡ohwitanha
¡oh-ṭan-ha
run-NEG-Q
‘Isn’t he running?’
(70) Siniard 1967a: 107, MF
loyd-ha
loyd-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
loyd im
loyd us=ąt
loyd piląt wątwički:
loyd im
loyd us=ąt
loyd piląt wąt'-wič=ki?
thus 1PL.EXCL=DAT sun steal-PST2=DST

mis hqlamtanka kǎ=en ʔiy ʔim kiwismil
mis hqł-m-tan-ha ka=in =ʔi ʔim kiw-s=mil
2SG.PAT hear-IMPFV-NEG-Q PRX.LOC? =HSY1 thus ask-CAUS?=FIN

kiʔa ʔiwóța han hāsi kiʔa
kiʔ=q ʔiwot=q han həʔ-s kiʔ=q
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
seoʔe kj hql ʔit k'olop họt
sj=ʔi kj =hql ʔit k'oł=op hoṭ
NEW=HSY1 DST =INFR1 1SG.DAT other=LAT large

sunlámwi ʔiy ʔimeymil ki ʔiwot
sun-ləm-wi =ʔi ʔimi=mil kiʔ 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 -\textit{tan} is added to the verb along with imperative -\textit{a(ˀ)}. (73) and (74) contrast prohibitive and imperative constructions.

(73) Siniard 1967a: 57, MF
\begin{verbatim}
nan tʰiː'aktanˀa' nan tʰiˀ-qk-ˀtan-ˀa' fence fly-SEM-NEG-IMP 'Don’t jump over the fence!'\end{verbatim}

(74) Siniard 1967a: 57, MF
\begin{verbatim}
miˀi
  nan tʰiː'ika' nan tʰiˀ-qk-a' 2SG.AGT fence fly-SEM-IMP 'You jump over the fence!'\end{verbatim}

(75) Siniard 1967b: 105, MF
\begin{verbatim}
hač'ap
  nan kil'tanˀa' hač=ap
  nan k'il-tan-ˀa' house/camp/floor=LAT lay-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP
'Don’t lie on the floor!'\end{verbatim}

(76) Siniard 1967b: 105, MF
\begin{verbatim}
hač'ap
  nan kil' hač=ap
  nan k-il- house/camp/floor=LAT lay-PNCT-MPSV-IMP
'Lie on the floor!'\end{verbatim}
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 -t̯al is added to the verb in order to negate it. The Huchnom negative -t̯ǝl appears similar in form to the Yuki negatives -ṭan and ṭal-

Contrast the negative sentences in (77) and (78) with the affirmative clause in (79).

(77) Lamb 1955: 59, LJ

ˀepe nǝ:wit̯ǝlki
ˀepe nǝ:wi-t̯ǝl-ki
1SG.AGT see-NEG-?
‘I don’t see it’

(78) Lamb 1955: 59, LJ

hǝn ᵇa nǝ:wit̯ǝlki
hǝn ᵇa nǝ:wi-ᵽ̟al-ki
house 1SG.AGT see-NEG-?
‘I don’t see the house’

(79) Lamb 1955: 59, LJ

ˀepe na:wiki
ˀepe na:wi-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 ᵇ:i:ma- or ᵇ:i:mi-
and verbs in these clauses are affixed with -t. In the few available examples, ˀi:ma-, ˀi:mi- is found only in negative clauses.

(80) and (81) show contrasting pairs of negative and affirmative clauses.

(80a) Kroeber 1902c:71, TB
ˀí:mas                      né:wit
ˀima=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
ˀí:may                      miˀáat          hamt
ˀima=y                     miˀαat          ham-t
NEG?=1SG.PAT   2SG.DAT   like-NEG?
‘I don’t like you’

(81b) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB
miˀαtay                       ham
miˀαt=y                        ham
2SG.DAT=1SG.PAT  like
‘I like you’

(82) is another example of a negative clause.

(82) Kroeber 1902c:72, TB
ˀí:mi=s                       ˀiˀαt             hamt
ˀi:mi=ís                     ˀiˀαt             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 \(=\text{namli}\) to the verb, by attaching the demonstrative \(=\text{ki}\) or one of its derived forms, such as \(\text{kimasi}\) 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 \(=\text{namli}\) displaces the mood and tense markers found in Position XI on the verb template\(^{266}\). Other enclitics, such as \(=\text{ka}\) in (97) and \(=\text{ki}\) 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 \(=\text{namli}\) or one of its derived forms to the verb. Alternatively, they can be formed by attaching \(=\text{ki}\) 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 \(=\text{namli}\), one of the adverbial forms of \(=\text{ki}\), 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 \(=\text{mil}\).

15.10.1. \(=\text{namli}\) dependent clause marker

\(=\text{namli}\) is the dependent clause marker used to indicate relative and adverbial clauses. \(=\text{namli}\) never occurs on its own on verbs. It is always further encliticized with the distal demonstrative \(\text{ki}\), one of its derived forms, or the temporal coordinating enclitics \(=(k)\text{on} ~ =\text{kan}\) ‘though’ or \(=\text{ka}\) ‘when’. Therefore in addition to marking a clause as dependent, \(=\text{namli}\) 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 \(=\text{namli}\) observed in the texts. Examples of each of these \(=\text{namli}\) forms are provided in §15.10.2 and §15.10.3.

\(^{266}\) See §7.2.
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, =k(ıt(a), =ka. Yet, as shown in Table 35 in §14.2, there are many more

---

Table 36: Inventory of derived forms of the dependent clause marker =namli

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enclitic</th>
<th>Morphemic Analysis</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=namli=ki?q-mas-i</td>
<td>=DEP=DST-DST-ANIM</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td>CW: 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=ki?=mas=q</td>
<td>=DEP=DST-DST=PAT</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td>CW: 413a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=ki?=mas=qt</td>
<td>=DEP=DST-DST=DAT</td>
<td>‘whose’</td>
<td>CW: 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=ki?=qt</td>
<td>=DEP=DST=DAT</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td>CW: 374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=kik</td>
<td>=DEP=there</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
<td>CW: 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=kik=pis</td>
<td>=DEP=there=ABL</td>
<td>‘from where’</td>
<td>CW: 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=kik=la</td>
<td>=DEP=DST=TERM</td>
<td>‘to where’</td>
<td>CW: 189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=kik=la</td>
<td>=DEP=there=ABL</td>
<td>‘from where’</td>
<td>CW: 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=(k)on ~ =namli=kan</td>
<td>=DEP=though</td>
<td>‘though’</td>
<td>CW: 81, 342, 365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=kan</td>
<td>=DEP=from</td>
<td>‘therefore, because’</td>
<td>CW: 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=ka</td>
<td>=DEP=PRX?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>CW: 110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ngm- ‘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.

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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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enclitic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=(k)op</td>
<td>‘while’, ‘as’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=kit(a)</td>
<td>‘while’, ‘as’, ‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=kon ~ =kan</td>
<td>‘though’, ‘although’, ‘because’, ‘but’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ka</td>
<td>‘when’ (?), ‘as’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=(k)on ~ =namli=kan</td>
<td>‘though’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=ka</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namliki</td>
<td>‘because’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 37: Adverbial Clause Enclitics

15.10.2.1. =(k)op ‘while, as’

Events in adverbial clauses marked with =(k)op occur during or simultaneously with events in the main clause. Kroeber (1911:364) does not differentiate =(k)op 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 =(k)op and translated as ‘while he wept’.

---

269 See Table 36 for a morphemic analysis of the =namli-derived enclitics.
Coyote and the World: 7, RM

(83) Coyote and the World: 7, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
sikón'ey & \quad k'iníkop \quad kút'a \ ká: \quad yim \\
sí=kon'í & \quad k'in=kop \quad kut'a \ ka? \quad yim \\
NEW=but=HSY1 & \quad cry=while \quad way\over.there \quad fire
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cry} \text{i} \text{y} \text{e} \text{y} \text{i} \text{m} \text{i} \text{l} \text{m} \text{i} \text{k} & \quad =\text{i} \quad \text{i} \text{m} \text{i} \text{m} \text{i} \text{l} \text{e} \text{y} \text{m} \text{i} \text{l} \text{m} \text{i} \text{k} \text{op} \text{s} \text{i} \text{.} \\
\text{c} \text{i} \text{y} \text{y} \text{i} \text{m} \text{i} \text{l} \text{m} \text{i} \text{k} & \quad =\text{i} \quad \text{i} \text{m} \text{i} \text{m} \text{i} \text{l} \text{e} \text{y} \text{m} \text{i} \text{l} \text{m} \text{i} \text{k} \text{op} \text{s} \text{i} \text{.} \\
glitter-\text{PROG}-\text{DIR}1-\text{MPSV}-\text{IMPFV}=\text{DECL} & \quad =\text{HSY}1 \quad \text{say}=\text{FIN} \quad \text{Jackrabbit} \\
\text{But} & \quad \text{while} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{wept}, \quad \text{“Far} \quad \text{yonder,} \quad \text{fire} \quad \text{gleams} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{intervals}, \quad \text{said} \quad \text{Jackrabbit.”}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
wó:kśik\text{ŋ}:kóp & \quad 'i\text{n\text{}}\text{i}š\text{a}t\text{a} \quad =\text{ey} \\
wok'-'s-kq=kóp & \quad 'in-s-t-a \quad =?i \\
dance/sing-\text{CONT}?-=\text{while} & \quad \text{sleep}-\text{CAUS-INTR-IMP} \quad =\text{HSY}1
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
'im\text{ey}m\text{i}l & \quad hulk'o?i \\
'im\text{i}m\text{i}l & \quad hulk'o?i \\
say=\text{FIN} & \quad Coyote \\
\text{“...} & \quad \text{As you are dancing} \quad \text{become sleepy!} \quad \text{said Coyote.”}
\end{align*}
\]

In (85), a character named T'uyAna?ákın exclaims “T'oś!” and while doing so claps his hands. The clause containing the verb t'ač- ‘clap’ is encliticized with =kop and translated as ‘[while] clapping his hands’.

(85) Coyote and the World: 153, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
sóp'\text{ey} & \quad \text{mipat} \quad t'\text{áčtlkop} \quad =\text{ey} \\
sop?=?i & \quad \text{mipat} \quad t'ač-tl=kopot \quad =?i \\
\text{but}=\text{HSY}1 & \quad \text{hand} \quad \text{clap?=TR}=\text{while} \quad =\text{HSY}1
\end{align*}
\]
t’oš ˀimeyil  t’uynaˀákin

‘But then, [while] clapping his hands, “T’oš” said T’uynaˀákin.

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 ˀah- ‘seize, hold’ is encliticized with =op and translated as ‘as they moved to seize him’.

(86) Coyote and the World: 249, RM

seˀéy  hāye  kip  ˀá:mop  lilkātitiˀ  pilqāt
siˀ=i  hqˀaye  kip  ˀah−mqˀ=op  lil−kut=ˀiˀ  pilqt
NEW=HSY1  now  3R  hold−DIR1=while  stone−start=IN  sun

namtlnamlikí  ˀiːčˀakmil

‘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. =kiṭ ‘while, as, when’

Events in adverbial clauses marked with =kiṭ 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 =kiṭ is translated as ‘while’ or ‘as’, it is unclear how the use of =kiṭ differs in meaning from the use of =kop ‘while, as’. Kroeber (1911:364) describes =kiṭ as, ‘“while’ or ‘when’; probably derived from the demonstrative ki; possibly the demonstrative locative ki−ta, 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 =kiṭ and is translated as ‘as they were killing him’.

---

270 An exclamation.
(87) Coyote and the World: 327, RM

&'ey  kip  k'ó=olikit  'ey  p'išpál  hāhinčam
si=ˀi  kip  k'ol=kit  =ˀi  p'ish-pal  hāhin=it-qm

NEW=HSY1  3R  die=as  =HSY1  sunflower-leaf  under=JXT-IN2

'ās  čąłámtpa?  síkit  '?án  p'íšpal
'as  čąk-lam-t-pa?  si=kit  '?an  p'íš-pal

NEW=then  long.time  sunflower-leaf

blood  stick-INCH-INTR-FUT  NEW=then  long.time  sunflower-leaf

hāhinčam  k'ít  píntpa?  'ey  'imeyml
hāhin=it-qm  k'it  pin-t-pa?  =ˀi  'imi=ml

under=JXT-IN2  bone  be.scattered-INTR-FUT  =HSY1  say=FIN

kip  k'ó=oli  'qlwä?
kip  k'ol  'qlwa?
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 and is translated as ‘while all were telling one another that they are swift’.

(88) Coyote and the World: 56 (excerpt), RM

... sq  htíli  'ohišq  kimqililikit  'ey
sq  hil-i  'ohiš=a  ki-mq-l-il=kit  =ˀi
SAME  all-ANIM  swift=?  say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=while  =HSY1

hayúmi  k'ayyéyamtním'il.
hayum  k'ay=m-tan=mil
Dove  talk-IMPFV-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’uyná’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’uˀ ‘quit’ is encliticized with =kiṭ and is translated as ‘when (T’uyná’ákin) had finished smearing everything with pitch.’

(89) Coyote and the World: 149, RM

sikiṭey hâye hil hâye hâčki
si=kiṭ=ˀi hâq’aye hil hâčki
NEW=then=HSY1 now all paint quit.TR=when?

ˀéy hâye hâčki
=ˀi hâq’aye hâčki
=HSY1 now all-ANIM emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN outside=IN
‘And now when (T’uyná’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 nqw- ‘see’ is encliticized with =kiṭ and is translated as ‘when he had watched them’.

(90) Coyote and the World: 240, RM

sikiṭéiy nqwhiméykiṭ ˀey ˀaˀtā’ k’olk’il
si=kiṭ=ˀi nqw-h-m=kiṭ ˀi aˀtā’ k’ol=k’il
NEW=then=HSY1 see-DUR-IMPFV=when =HSY1 again other=TERM

ˀkó:t(e)mil pilq’t hâʔtizli.
koˀ-t=mil pilq’t haˀt-il
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. \(=\text{kon} \sim =\text{kan}\) ‘although, though, because, but’

\(=\text{kon} \sim =\text{kan}\) is translated as ‘though’, ‘although’, ‘because’, or ‘but’. In (91) and (92), \(=\text{kon}\) is translated as meaning ‘although’ and ‘though’ respectively.

(91) Coyote and the World: 385, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se} \text{ey} & \quad \text{háye} \quad \text{šú} \text{umil} \quad kómpa'\text{aŋ} \text{kon} \\
\text{si} & \text{=} \quad \text{hq} \text{aye} \quad \text{šu} \text{=} \text{mil} \quad \text{kom}-\text{pa}'\text{am} \text{=} \text{kon}
\end{align*}
\]

NEW=HSY1 now sit/stay=FIN come-FUT=although

‘And now he was staying there \textit{although he would come (back).’}

(92) Coyote and the World: 396, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sá} \text{ey} & \quad \text{q} \text{p} \quad \text{mat}-\text{f} \text{=} \text{kon} \quad \text{hót} \quad k'\text{áyt} \text{pa}' \\
\text{sq} & \text{=} \text{i} \quad \text{q} \text{p} \quad \text{mat}-\text{t} \text{=} \text{kon} \quad \text{hót} \quad k'\text{ay}-\text{t} \text{=} \text{pa}'
\end{align*}
\]

SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT do-TR=though large talk-INTR-FUT

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'qatá} & \quad k'\text{ay} \text{y} \text{imiy} \text{q} \text{ki} \quad \text{'uk} \text{omnom'} \quad k'\text{á} \text{n} \\
\text{'qatá} & \quad k'\text{ay} \text{m} \text{=} \text{q} \text{k} \quad \text{'uk} \text{omnom'} \quad k'\text{á} \text{n}
\end{align*}
\]

people talk-IMPFV-SEM Uk’omnom’ language/word

‘And, \textit{“Though I do thus} there shall be a great babble of people speaking
Yuki (Uk’omnom’) speech);’"

In (93), \(=\text{kan}\), which appears to be a variant of \(=\text{kon}\), is used with the meaning ‘though’.

(93) Coyote and the World: 47, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sá} \text{ey} & \quad \text{k'ay} \text{imil} \text{mil} \quad \text{hót} \quad \text{?iwup} \text{a} \quad \text{han} \quad \text{hilk} \\
\text{sq} & \text{=} \text{i} \quad \text{k'ay} \text{mil} \text{=} \text{mil} \quad \text{hót} \quad \text{?iwop} \text{=} \text{q} \quad \text{han} \quad \text{hilk}
\end{align*}
\]

SAME=HSY1 talk-?=FIN large man=PAT? but all/something?

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{háko} \text{?o} \text{čmi} & \quad \text{?an} \quad \text{mú} \text{na} \text{?} \quad \text{koyyyik} \text{ta} \quad \text{hilkil} \\
\text{hákoč-} \text{mih} & \quad \text{?an} \quad \text{muna} \text{?} \quad \text{ko} \text{?} \text{=} \text{ki} \text{ta} \quad \text{hilkil} \\
\text{bad-be?} & \quad \text{long} \text{,time} \quad \text{many} \quad \text{go} \text{-} \text{PROG} \text{=} \text{while} \quad \text{one} \text{.another}
\end{align*}
\]
‘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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{san } & \text{hóˀt} \quad k'óˀil \quad k'ányi \quad ?q & \text{matl=kon} \\
\text{same?} & \text{large} \quad \text{Wailaki} \quad \text{language/word} \quad 1SG.AGT \quad \text{do-TR=because} \\
\text{namlikí:} & \text{hóˀt} \quad k'óˀil \quad k'áwlan̓ k \quad k'ayyín̓ i̓ akmil \\
\text{namliki:} & \text{hóˀt} \quad k'óˀil \quad k'aw-łam=k \quad k'ay-n̓ ak=ml \\
\text{therefore} & \text{large} \quad \text{Wailaki} \quad \text{light-INCH=DECL} \quad \text{talk-AND-SEM=FIN} \\
\text{“Many Wailaki shall speak Wailaki speech because I do this”; therefore many} \\
\text{Wailaki were speaking when it began to be day.”}
\end{align*}
\]

(95) Coyote and the World: 182, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
?q & \text{matl=kon} \quad pák \quad pap'éyakpa \quad ?ey \\
?q & \text{mat-tl=kon} \quad pák \quad pap'-qk-pa? \quad =?i \\
\text{1SG.AGT} & \text{do-TR=but} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{pop-SEM-FUT} \quad \text{HSY1} \\
?ímeymil & \text{hulk'óˀi}. \\
?imi=mil & \text{hulk'óˀi} \\
\text{say=FIN} & \text{Coyote} \\
\text{“I do this, but one of them will pop (crackle inside)”, he said.”}
\end{align*}
\]
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
seˀey  hulk’óˀi  nqwwit(i)ka  ?ey  ?imilmil
siˀ=i  hulk’oˀi  nqw-wit=ka  =ˀi  ?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
sq’esey  hu’ú:ṣk  koˀi  t’úk=mil  kóya
sqˀ=i  hu’uˀ-s=k  koˀi  t’uk’=mil  koˀi=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. \textit{=namli=(k)on ~ =namli=kan} ‘though’, \textit{=namli=ka}

\(=\text{(k)on} ~ =\text{kan} ‘\text{though}’ \text{ and } =\text{ka} ‘\text{when}’\) can also be attached to the dependent clause morpheme \textit{=namli}. For \textit{=namli=(k)on ~ =namli=kan} the resulting adverbial clauses appear to have the same meaning as adverbial clauses formed with \(=\text{(k)on} ~ =\text{kan}\). For \textit{=namli=ka} only a single example has been found and its meaning is unclear.

(98) and (99) show examples of \textit{=namli=kon} and \textit{=namli=ka} in use.

(98) Coyote and the World: 342 (excerpt), RM
\begin{verbatim}
sá’ey         kimás       tátikil         hu’útli  
sq=q’i        kimas        tat-k-il        hu’u?q’tl  
SAME=HSY1       thus        good/make-PNCT-MPSV     quit-TR
\end{verbatim}
\textit{li:tnámilkon}
\textit{li=q-t=namli=kon}
\textit{kill-INTR=DEP=though}
‘And thus he finished (re)making himself \textit{although killed}.’

(99) Coyote and the World: 110, RM
\begin{verbatim}
són’éy        nánánámil       hulk’ó=a       káyit  
són=q’i        nának=mil       hulk’ó=i=q       káyit  
therefore=HSY1       know=FIN  Coyote=PAT     long.ago
\end{verbatim}
\textit{’inámtnamlíka}
\textit{’inam-t=namli=ka}
\textit{dream-INTR=DEP=’}
‘but Coyote knew it \textit{from dreaming}.’

15.10.2.6. \textit{=namliki} ‘therefore, because’

\textit{=namliki} ‘therefore, because’ is not further analyzable morphologically and is treated as being monomorphic. It is different in meaning than \textit{=namli=ki؟ ‘which, who’}. \textit{=namliki} can occur encliticized to the dependent clause or can occur at the beginning of the dependent clause. Also, as shown in §14.2, \textit{=namliki} can occur clause-initially in place of the switch-reference markers \textit{sí} and \textit{sq}. In (100), \textit{=namliki} is encliticized to the dependent clause while in (101), it introduces the dependent clause.
(100) Coyote and the World: 87, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{síkiṭ} & \quad \text{hulk’ó?a} & \quad ?\text{siṭnamlikiː:} & \quad \text{‘ey} \\
\text{si=kiṭ} & \quad \text{hulk’oˀi=q} & \quad ?\text{q-s-t=namliki} & \quad =?i \\
\text{NEW=then Coyote=PAT} & \quad \text{hot-INTR=because} & \quad =\text{HSY1}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
kú:š & \quad \text{ʔasámil} \\
\text{kuš} & \quad \text{ʔasamíl} \\
\text{fur} & \quad \text{yellowish}
\end{align*}
\]

‘And Coyote’s fur was yellowish because he had been scorched.’

(101) Coyote and the World: 401, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{san} & \quad \text{hó:ṭ} & \quad \text{k’oˀi\text{ll}} & \quad \text{k’áni} & \quad \text{ʔap} & \quad \text{mátlí:kon} \\
\text{san} & \quad \text{hó:ṭ} & \quad \text{k’oˀi\text{ll}} & \quad \text{k’àn} & \quad \text{ʔap} & \quad \text{mat-tl=kon}
\end{align*}
\]

SAME? large Wailaki language/word 1SG.AGT do-TR=because

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{namlikiː:} & \quad \text{hó:ṭ} & \quad \text{k’oˀi\text{ll}} & \quad \text{k’áwlaŋk} \\
\text{namliki} & \quad \text{hó:ṭ} & \quad \text{k’oˀi\text{ll}} & \quad \text{k’aw-ląm=k} \\
\text{therefore large Wailaki} & \quad \text{light-INCH=DECL}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
k’ayyíniˀakmil \\
k’ąy-n-ąk=mil \\
\text{talk-AND-SEM=FIN}
\end{align*}
\]

“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 ki? or one of its derived forms. An alternative method is to attach =ki? or one of its derived forms directly to the verb. The =ki? 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enclitic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>=namli=ki?</td>
<td>‘which, who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=ki?-mas-i</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=ki?-mas=q</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=ki?-qt</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=ki?-mas=qt</td>
<td>‘whose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=kik</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=kik=pis</td>
<td>‘from where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=kita</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=namli=ki?=k’il</td>
<td>‘to where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ki?=la</td>
<td>‘with which’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ki?=mas</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ki?-mas=q</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=kita=pis</td>
<td>‘from where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=ki?=k’il</td>
<td>‘to where’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 38: Relative Clause Enclitics

In (102), the verb tat- ‘good/make’ is encliticized with =namli=ki? ‘which’ and is modifying k’amolšįl ‘puma skin’ in the main clause.

---

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{same} &= \text{HSY1} \\
\text{lay} &= \text{PNCT-MPSV} = \text{FIN} \\
\text{puma} &= \text{skin}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kip} &= \text{tátlnamlikí} \\
\text{kip} &= \text{q} \\
\text{tát-} &= \text{tl=} \text{namlí} = \text{ki}'
\end{align*}
\]

3R=PAT  \text{good/make-TR=DEP=DST}

‘And he lay down on a puma skin \textit{which they arranged for him}.’

In (103), \textit{ṭuk-} ‘move’ is encliticized with \textit{=namli=ki'?-mas-i} ‘who’ and is modifying ki '?atát ‘the people’ in the clause.

(103) Coyote and the World: 44, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NEW} &= \text{then} = \text{HSY1} \\
\text{DST} &= \text{people} \\
\text{move} &= \text{DEP} = \text{DST-DSTR-ANIM} = \text{HSY1}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mílitiki} &= \text{ey} \\
\text{tóktlmil}.
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then the people \textit{who were traveling} reached Mílitiki.’

In (104), the relative clause is formed without utilizing the dependent clause marker \textit{=namli}. Instead \textit{=ki'?} is attached to the final verb \textit{lak'-} ‘emerge’ in a serial verb construction. \textit{nq wilí lákšiwički'} modifies \textit{a’nwísą‘ orphan=PAT’}.

(104) Coyote and the World: 9, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ orphan} &= \text{PAT} \\
\text{2PL.AGT} &= \text{whip} \\
\text{emerge-CAUS-PST2=DST}
\end{align*}
\]
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 ‘iwilhánam nó’námlikimási ‘(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

seˀéy  hi:li  ‘iwilhánam
siˀ=i  hil-i  ‘iwilhan-qm
NEW=HSY1  all-ANIM  ceremonial.house-IN2

nó’námlikimási  ‘ey  láksilyąkmil
noˀ=namli=ktˀ-mas-i  =ˀi  lak’-s-il-ak=mil
live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1  emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN
‘And all who were in the ceremonial house came out.’
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 lālk’il ląčkilnamli: ‘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.
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), ‘un- ‘carry’, affixed with the dependent clause marker =namli=ki ‘which, who’, follows the nominal hil(i)kšilo ‘everything’.

(108) Coyote and the World: 179, RM

są‘ey kí:h hil(i)kšiloʔ ?unmanamlik:i: ey
sq=i kí:k híl(i)kšiloʔ ?un-mq=namli=ki’ =i
SAME=HSY1 there everything carry-DIR1=DEP=DST =HSY1

kipat ?aṭata nåwhsimil
kip=qt ?aṭat=q nqw-h?-s=mil
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

seʔéy haye hí:li ?ónop nå:hikimása
si’i hqwʔaye hil-i ?on=op noʔ-h=kiʔ-mas=q
NEW=HSY1 now all-ANIM earth=LAT live-DUR=DST=DSTR=PAT

?ey ?inkóptmil
=ʔi ?inkop’t=mil
=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

sikítey       hiˀ’kilnamlikimáse  ey
si=kiˀ=ʔi       hiˀ’-k-il=namli=kiˀ’-mas-i  =ʔi
NEW=then=HSY1 come.out-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

kipą́wk’il   t’óktlmil
kipw=q’il   t’ok-tl=mil
back=TERM arrive-TR=FIN
‘Then whoever had escaped arrived again.’

In (111), hap šú:h- ‘sing and sit’ is affixed with =kiˀ’-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:       híli       tat’   hu’útlíli   hgye
si-mi       hil-i       tat   hu’ú’-tl-il   hq’gye
SAME-and.then all-ANIM good/make quit-TR-MPSV now

hap       šú:hikimáse       híli
hap       šu’-h=ki’-mas-i      hil-i
song/sing sit/stay-DUR=DST-DSTR-ANIM all-ANIM

míṭi      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’, =namli=kiˀ=k’il ‘to where’. Locative relative clauses can also be formed by attaching =kiˀ=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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sąˀey} & \quad ?'im & \quad k'an & \quad pa'etmil & \quad hulk'óˀi & \quad militěiki \\
sq=ˀi & \quad ?'im & \quad k'än & \quad paˀ-t=mil & \quad hulk'óˀi & \quad militiki \\
\end{align*}
\]
SAME=HSY1 where language/word get.up-INTR=FIN Coyote Militiki

\[
\begin{align*}
m\text{únaˀ} & \quad ?'at & \quad šúknamlikik:k & \quad tóktli \\
m\text{unaˀ} & \quad ?'at & \quad šuˀ=namli=kik & \quad t'ok-tl \\
\end{align*}
\]
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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{seˀéy} & \quad lóˀopsi & \quad yąšnamlikik:kpis & \quad yąšít & \quad ká:ta \\
\text{siˀi} & \quad lopis & \quad yąš=namli=kik=pis & \quad yąš-t & \quad kuta \\
\end{align*}
\]
NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit stand=DEP=there=ABL stand-INTR there

\[
\begin{align*}
n\text{qwět}mil. \\
nqw-t=mil \\
\end{align*}
\]
see-INTR=FIN

‘And from where Jackrabbit had stood, standing there he looked.’

(114) Coyote and the World: 90, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sopéy} & \quad ?'at & \quad úkipis & \quad lácksilyąki & \quad náw'namlikitা \\
\text{sop=ˀi} & \quad ?'at & \quad ?ukˀ=pis & \quad lak'='s-il-qk & \quad noˀ=namli=kitा \\
\end{align*}
\]
but=HSY1 people water=ABL emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM live=DEP=there

\[\text{Note that } =\text{kit(a)} \text{ in } =\text{namli}=\text{kit(a)} \text{ ‘where, to where’ is not the same morpheme as the connective enclitic } =\text{kit} \text{ ‘then’. Instead it appears that this is the deictic } \text{kit} \text{ ‘there’ is encliticized to the dependent clause marker } =\text{namli}.\]
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=kiˀ-lawith which'. (115) and (116) show examples 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

só póy hayú:mi ˀolč’ok ˀánamlikf:la
sop=ˀi hayum ˀol-č’ok ˀha=namli=kiˀ-law
but=HSY1 Dove  wood-dry?/rotten?  carry=DEP=DST-INST

há ˀháhinˀam ˀlúktlmil.
=ˀi háhin-ṃm  luk-tl=mel
=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

seˀéy ˀšiwkiṭin ˀlil  ánamlikf:la ˀéy
si=ˀi ˀšiwkiṭin ˀlil  ha=namli=kiˀ-law  =ˀi
NEW=HSY1 ˀŠiwkiṭin  rock  carry=DEP=DST-INST  =HSY1

witkmil  koˀola
wit-k=mel  koˀoł=q?
hurl-PNCT=FIN  Wailaki.PL=OBL?
‘So Šiwkiṭin hurled at the Wailaki with the stone he was carrying.’

Oblique relative clauses are also formed using =kiˀ=k’il ‘to where’ and =kiˀa=pis ‘from where’. In (117), =kiˀ=k’il ‘to where’ is attached to yaşˀ ‘stand’ forming yaşil(ˀ)k’i: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

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{sq”éy} & \text{yqši(;)k}:k’i1’ & \text{hámmil} \\
&\text{sq}=?i & \text{yqš}=ki’=k’i1’ & \text{ham}=mil \\
&\text{SAME}=\text{HSY1} & \text{stand}=\text{DST}=\text{TERM} & \text{bring}=\text{FIN}
\end{align*}
\]

‘And brought it to where he was standing.’

In (118), =kiṭa=pis ‘from where’ is attached to yqš-h- ‘stand’ forming yqšhikítá’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

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{se”éy} & \text{káta”apis} & ?a’p & \text{yqšhikítá’apis} & \text{náweta} \\
&\text{si}=?i & \text{káta}=pis & ?a’p & \text{yqš-h}=kiṭa=pis & \text{nqw-t-a’} \\
&\text{NEW}=\text{HSY1} & \text{here}=\text{ABL} & 1\text{SG.AGT} & \text{stand-DUR}=\text{there}=\text{ABL} & \text{see-INTR-IMP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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
characteristics described above. In the examples in this section, serial verb constructions are given in bold.

In (119), the serial verb construction is *hąp šú: kopwóktlmil* ‘sing, sit, and dance the feather dance.’ Two bare verb roots *hąp* ‘sing’ and *šú:* ‘sit’ precede *kopwóktlmil*, which ends in finite =mil.

(119) Feather Dance Narrative: 12, RM

```
| sámi: | kimáse | hąşá? | hąp | šú: |
| sq-mi | kiʔ-mas-i | hąşqʔ | hąp | šuʔ |
SAME-and.then | DST-DSTR-ANIM | again | song/sing | sit |
| kopwóktlmil | tátkíli. |
| kop-wok’-tl=ml | tat-k-il |
| feather-dance/sing-TR=FIN | good/make-PNCT-MPSV |

‘And then in turn these others *sing, sit, and dance the feather dance* and fix themselves up.’
```

In (120), the serial verb construction is *lákti nąwkílmil* ‘going out the boy looked’. The first verb root *lak’* ‘emerge’ is affixed with the intransitive marker -t, but only the final verb in the sequence *nąwkílmil* ‘looked’ ends in the finite =mil.

(120) Coyote and the World: 311, RM

```
| seʔéy | lákti | nąwkílmil | ki | ʔipsák |
| siʔi | lak’-t | nąw-k-il=ml | kiʔ | ʔipsak |
NEW=HSY1 | emerge-INTR | see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN | DST | boy |

‘Then *going out*, the boy *looked.*’
```

In (121), the serial verb construction contains two verbs, *hattíli* ‘carrying’ and *kóʔot(e)mil* ‘went’. Both verbs have the same actor, Coyote. *hattíli* ‘carrying’ also has a patient argument *hášmó:la* ‘morning star’ and an oblique argument *pilqatq’il* ‘toward the sun’.

```

```
(121) Coyote and the World: 350, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sákiṭey} & \quad \text{hášmóla} & \quad \text{pîlqâ:tk’il} & \quad \text{ha:tf:li} \\
\text{sq=kit’i} & \quad \text{hašmol’=q} & \quad \text{pîlq=t=k’il} & \quad \text{ha=t-il} \\
\text{SAME=then=HSY1} & \quad \text{morning,star=PAT} & \quad \text{sun=DAT=TERM} & \quad \text{carry-INTR?-MPSV}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kóˀot(e)mil} & \quad \text{hulk’óˀi} \\
\text{koˀ-t=mil} & \quad \text{hulk’oˀi} \\
\text{go-INTR=FIN} & \quad \text{Coyote}
\end{align*}
\]
‘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\ yq̨hísti\ ‘fire blazing up’ occurs before the verb \[nqwímil\ ‘saw’, in the usual position of an argument.

(122) Coyote and the World: 24, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{s̲e̲} & \quad \text{ey} \\
\text{sq=’i} \\
\text{SAME=HSY1}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[yím} & \quad \text{yq̨hísti]} \\
\text{yim} & \quad \text{yq̨h-s-t} \\
\text{fire} & \quad \text{blaze-CONT-INTR} \\
\text{[nqwímil} & \quad \text{hulk’óˀi]} \\
\text{nqw=mil} & \quad \text{hulk’oˀi} \\
\text{see=FIN} & \quad \text{Coyote}
\end{align*}
\]
‘And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.’

Quotations\textsuperscript{275} also occupy the preverbal position typical of arguments and clauses functioning as arguments. In (123) the quotation precedes the verb \[’ìmeymil\ ‘said’.

\textsuperscript{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

\[
\begin{align*}
&[\text{mí}^\prime \ hąkoč \ yúˈyamˈi:k]\quad ?ìy \\
&\text{mi}^\prime \ hakoč \ yuyˈ-m=k \quad =?i \\
&\text{2SG.AGT} \ \text{bad} \ \text{do-IMPFV=DECL} \quad =\text{HSY1}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&[ˈɪmeymil \ sáṭˈi:n \ hulkˈóˈa]\quad \\
&?imi=mi\quad sáṭˈi:n \ hulkˈoˈi=q \\
&\text{say=FIN} \ \text{Lizard} \ \text{Coyote=PAT}
\end{align*}
\]

“‘You are doing badly’, said Lizard to Coyote.’

15.12. Coordination

The coordination of two non-contrastive clauses occurs through the use of switch-reference marking\textsuperscript{276}. It is unclear whether =ña ‘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-contrastive clauses.

In (124), “and Taykómol turnd 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

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{seˈe}y \ \text{kipqwiyet} \ \text{wittlilmil} \ \text{taykómol}.
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{si=}?i \ \text{kipqw=it} \ \text{wit-tl-il=mi} \ \text{taykomol}
\end{align*}
\]

‘And Taykómol turned back.’

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{saˈe}y \ \text{kipqwewiyet} \ \text{koˈt=mi}.
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{sa=}?i \ \text{kipqw=it} \ \text{koˈ=t=mi}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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.

\textsuperscript{276} See Chapter 14.
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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sopˀey} & \quad \text{hulkʻoˀi} & \quad \text{hqp} & \quad \text{yqşśilmil}. \\
\text{sop=ˀi} & \quad \text{hulk'oˀi} & \quad \text{hqp} & \quad \text{yqş-s-il=mil} \\
\text{but=HSY1} & \quad \text{Coyote} & \quad \text{song/sing} & \quad \text{stand-CAUS-MPSV=FIN}
\end{align*}
\]

‘But Coyote stood and sang.’

(127) Coyote and the World: 176, RM

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sikíṭey} & \quad ˀópi & \quad k'oˀola & \quad šáyyanamlikimáse \\
\text{si=kit=ˀi} & \quad ˀopi & \quad k'oˀol=q & \quad šay-a=namli=kiˀ-mas-i \\
\text{NEW=then=HSY1} & \quad \text{two Wailaki.PL=PAT} & \quad \text{raw/alive-?=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ˀey} & \quad \text{kipɁwki} & \quad \text{toktlı} & \quad ˀey & \quad \text{huşk'ødyesmil} \\
\text{ˀi} & \quad \text{kipqw=ki} & \quad \text{t'ok-tl} & \quad \text{ˀi} & \quad \text{huşk'ay-s=mil} \\
\text{ˀi} & \quad \text{back=IN} & \quad \text{arrive-TR} & \quad \text{ˀi} & \quad \text{tell-CONT?=FIN}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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 kimoˀséyya kápta ˀimeytanan ‘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
sąˀéy                  ˀiwilhánam                            kápšilyakmil
są=ˀi                   ˀiwilhan-$qm                           kap-s-il-qk=mił
SAME=HSY1   ceremonial.house-IN2    enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

máy                    kimoˀséyya       kápta                        ˀímeytanan.
máy’’                    kimoˀosiya       kap-t-a                     ˀimi-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!”’
Appendix 1

Natural and Manmade Landmarks of the Northern Yukian Speech Area

This map\textsuperscript{277} 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

\textsuperscript{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). Variously 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 (Mishke-un-ontilka)
14 = Kasolak (Mishke-un-ontilka)
15 = Ok’omet / Shipoi / Olom (Mishke-un-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 = mamolšíšmol
- 30 = probable site of muthót
- 31 = čočhohanuk
- 32 = námol
- 33 = lilt’am
- 34 = hulpótinhankač
- 35 = ukšat
- 36 = mulkús
- 37 = sonkáš
- 38 = probable site of títwa
Appendix 2: Map of Northern Yukian Villages

39 = ólkat
40 = u’wit
41 = onwís
42 = nu’
43 = totimúl
44 = olámmtu’
45 = ontít
46 = alniúki
47 = yúksa’ut
48 = ólkat
49 = sóípit
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 = tfitam
65 = múlčal
66 = kíčil
67 = nuíčkat
68 = yúkat
69 = núntač
70 = lìlta’
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’  
c = Sukšaltatamnom’  
d = Huititnom’  
e = Huuititnom’  
f = Onkoluknomnom’  
g = Witukomnom’
Appendix 4

Map of the Language Families of California\textsuperscript{278}

\textsuperscript{278} Map and accompanying information reproduced from Golla 2011:2.
# Language families and isolates of the California region

**Algic**
1. Wiyot
2. Yurok

**Penutian**
18. Takelma
19. Wintuan
20. Klamath-Modoc

**Athabaskan (Na-Dene)**
3. Lower Columbia Athabaskan (not shown)
4. Oregon Athabaskan
5. California Athabaskan

**Uto-Aztecan**
25. Numic
26. Takic
27. Tubatulabal

**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

**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

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 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.

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

- s̥ʊ́y’ ‘foam’
- mêlem ‘creek’
- mêl ‘little canyons, gulches’
- k’ó-nišdæˀ ‘it is low tide’
- k’á-bišdæˀ ‘the tide is coming in 10 mins later do(?)’
- lɪ ̂l wα̂w’ ‘you can’t see the rocks (when the tide is high)’
- t’ɪ́ˑyɪ́šdæˀ ‘wave, the water is springing up’
- ŋó’k’ (ho’t’) t’ɪ́dæˀ ‘the ocean makes a noise’
- ŋó’k’ k’áʔɛ’-yædæˀ ‘the water is rough/stormy (given when I ask it is high tide)’
- t’ówōldæˀ ‘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

- ’uk’-ho’t’-hewwey ‘ocean-grub’
- lɪ ̂lbαl’ ‘sea lettuce (lit. rock leaves)’

(3) Harrington 1942-1943:56, LP

- k’ómml’ ‘giant kelp’ (k’óm ‘salt’)

(4) Harrington 1942-1943:191, LP

- nó’k’ ‘mussel’
Appendix 6: Terminology Describing the Natural World of the Coast Yuki

(5) Harrington 1942-1943:201, LP
lɪ́l bʊ́hlαm ‘perrywinkles’ (lit. chubby (short) rock)

(6) Harrington 1942-1943:213, LP
hêw bá-t’æˀ ‘flounder’ (lit. flat salmon)

The terms in (7) describe other parts of the natural environment.

(7) Harrington 1942-1943:28-34, LP
mɪ́t’ ‘sky’
billé’t ~ billéht’ ‘watch, clock, sun’
lášk’ewel’ ‘moon’
č’ɪ́b̥b̥eˑˀtʻ ~ č’ɪ́b̥b̥eˀtʻ ‘star’
hʊ́ˑlk’éˑlel’ mɪ̂š ‘milky way (dead person road)’
ʔenéy’ ‘day’
k’áw’dae ‘daylight, dawn’

Harrington expresses some doubts about this form.
Appendix 7

Northern Yukian Population Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yuki</th>
<th>Huchnom</th>
<th>Coast Yuki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>6,880</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>[no data]</td>
<td>no data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>[no data]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>[no data]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>[no data]</td>
<td>[no data]</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>[no data]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>[no data]</td>
<td>[no data]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Miller\(^{282}\) (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 1920s

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 Aši'yam Nána’ak284 (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 texts:

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’ukAmnom, 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 Lalkänom, 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 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

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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.
When all human beings were non-existent, Taykómol in the beginning came into existence as a down-feather.

When all earth was not, and only spread-out water and grayish mist lay (as) the earth was invisible;

(it was) as if nothing could be done with it,

no one to do anything with it.

Alternate form given: yatop

be.gone=when
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) säˈey taykómol k’ąyyéyammi kímás ʔusúˈóphan.
sä=ˈi taykomol k’ay-=-mil kimas ʔusu=ˈop=han
SAME=HSY1 Taykómol talk-IMPFV=FIN thus water.foam=LAT=SUBE
‘And Taykómol was speaking in the foam.’

(4) seˈey ?iˈmeymil hulk’óˈi ˈim haymaš kí miːháˈlk
si=ˈi ˈimi=mil hulk’oˈi ˈim haymaš kiʔ miːh=häuser=k
NEW=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote ? how DST be=INFR1?=DECL
haymás nawiˈhlk.
haymas nwa=häuser=k
how see=INFR1?=DECL
‘Then Coyote said, “How can he be there? How can he see?”’

(5) seˈey ʔusúˈop han taykómol k’ąyyéyimí289 ?iˈmeynq.
si=ˈi ʔusu=ˈop han taykomol k’ay-=-mi ʔimi=ˈnq
NEW=HSY1 water.foam=LAT but Taykómol talk-PROG-? say=and?
‘And he said, “Taykómol is speaking in the foam.”’

(6) seˈey hąˈye ki ʔusúˈmikˈál miː hóham ʔúˈkˈop hán.
si=ˈi hąˈaye kiʔ ʔusu=ˈmikˈal miː hoham ʔukˈ=op han
NEW=HSY1 now DST water.foam=around be circle? water=LAT but

289 Glossed by Kroeber: ‘it was in there with it’, ‘feather entered the foam repeatedly’.

289 Alternate form given: k’ąyyéyami ‘is talking’.
(7)  simey?éy  haʔye  k'i  hí:i(í)  ʔimeymil  ki  hulk'ó:i
NEW=then?=HSY1  now  DST  stop  say=FIN  DST  Coyote

haymas  ki?  mi:hałk.

how  DST  be=INF=DECL

‘And, “(Just) now the foam was spinning on the water, but now it stopped”,
said that Coyote; “How can he be there?”’

(8)  sá  ki  ʔusú?  ʔí:yíhan  ʔey  k'ąymílmil.
SAME?  DST  water.foam  what=JXT=SUBE  =HSY1  talk-?=FIN

‘And from the foam (Taykomol) talked.’

(9)  ʔimša?  ʔa hąymá:liko  ki  ʔusú  huyítpis.
what  will.1.do  say=FIN  DST  water.foam  middle=JXT=ABL

‘What shall I do?’ that one said from out of the foam.’

(10)  sq?éy  haye  k'ąymílmil
SAME=HSY1  now  talk-?=FIN

‘So now he spoke:

ʔimša:  haýmátliko
what  will.1.do

“‘What shall I do?’”

291 Bolded text is spoken in Huchnom. Kroeber (1902a:3) gives the following explanation: “This spoken phrase is Hutcnom language [.] The Hutcnom are supposed to be better actors than the Yuki. This is because, they claim, T[aykomol] spoke their language first.”
said that one who looked like foam long floating about on the water;'

'(and) he sang a song.'

'Then Coyote said,'

'Always that song with which he will make himself, with which he will come into existence, always that song he was singing.'
(12) seˀéy ʔimeymil hulk’ô’i sêtey ʔimeymil hulk’ô’i
si=’i ʔimi=mil sêt=i ʔimi=mil
NEW=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote SAME=HSY1 say=?-CONT?=DECL

si=ˀi ʔimi=mil  hulk’ôˀi  są́ˀey                   kilímisk
si=ˀi ʔimi=mil  hulk’ôˀi  są=ˀi                    ki-lim-s=k

NEW=HSY1    say=FIN Coyote SAME=HSY1    say=?-CONT?=DECL

hąp                  wáˀokesk
hap                wok’-s=k

NEW=HSY1    say=FIN Coyote SAME=HSY1    say=?-CONT?=DECL

song/sing    dance/sing-CONT?=DECL    what.will.1.do
ki         hą́:p                huˀúsík.
kiˀ        hąp                 huˀuˀ-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) seˀey  ną́wik  hulk’ô’i  ʔimeymil.
si=ˀi  nqw=k  hulk’ô’i  ʔimi=mil
NEW=HSY1 see=DECL Coyote say=FIN
‘Thus Coyote said watching.’

(14) kąyt  kip  k’ąkísinamlík
ki   wíʧi(häl(i)namlíkí
kayt  kip  k’ąk’-s-namlí=ki?  kiˀ  wiṭi=hăl=namli=ki?
long.ago 3R exist-CAUS?=DEP= DST?  DST  ?=INF1=DEP=DST

kiˀ  năw(x)námlímil’. 295
kiˀ  nqw=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) seˀey  haye  ki:  mi’ak’ún’  k’ąkmíli  ʔey
si=’i  hâ’aye  ki’  mi’q-k’un’  k’ąk’-mq-il =ˀi
NEW=HSY1 now  DST 1PL.KIN.POSS-father exist-DIR1?-MPSV? =HSY1
'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) seʔey mip’án k’áklamil kiṭáʔ ?usúʔophan.
siʔ=i miʔan k’ą́k’-ląm=mil kiṭaʔ ?usuʔ=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) seʔey ʔán ki matlám(i) ʔéy miʔil k’áklamil.
siʔ=i ʔan kiʔ mat-ląm =ʔi mil’ k’ą́k’-ląm=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.’

(18) seʔey ʔaṭaʔ šul k’áklamil
siʔ=i ʔaṭaʔ šul k’ą́k’-ląm=mil
NEW=HSY1 again body exist-INCH=FIN

kiṭáʔ ?usúʔophan.
kiṭaʔ ?usuʔ=op=han
there water.foam=LAT=SUBE
‘And again his body began to take form there in the foam.’

(19) seʔey háyε mahič ną̱ kiṭaʔ miʔpát k’áklamil.
siʔ=i hą̱ʔaye məhič =ną̱ kiṭaʔ miʔpət k’ą́k’-ląm=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  ha’aye  nan  k’ak’-lqm=mi
NEW=then=HSY1  now  head  exist-INCH=FIN
‘Then also his head appeared.’

(21)  sópey  húlyoˀ  náhin  húl  na?  hántîl  kimás  ?iy
sop=ˀi  hulyoˀ  nahan  hul  =nq  hań’t’il  ki?=mas  =ˀi
?=HSY1  face  mouth  eye  =HSY1  nose  DST-DSTR  =HSY1

k’áklamil  miˀaka  húlyoˀát  kimás
k’ak’-lqm=mi  mi=qt-kaˀ?  hulyoˀ=qt  kiˀ=mas
exist-INCH=FIN  1PL.INCL=DAT-PRX?  face=DAT  DST-DSTR

ˀi:y  k’áklamil.
=ˀi  k’ak’-lqm=mi
=HSY1  exist-INCH=FIN
‘And so his face, mouth, eyes, and nose, came into existence, like our own
face they came into existence.’

(22)  sàˀey  hi:l  k’ak’íšto  ?ey  k’aymilmil  ki  taykomol.
sà=ˀi  hil  k’ak’-sto  =ˀi  k’ay-mil=mil  ki?  taykomol
SAME=HSY1  all  exist-?=HSY1  talk-?=FIN  DST  Taykómol
‘And being altogether in existence, Taykómol spoke.’

(23)  seˀey  ?imeymil  ki  hulk’óˀi  náwik
si=ˀi  ‘imi=mil  ki?  hulk’oˀi  nqw=k
NEW=HSY1  say=FIN  DST  Coyote  see=DECL
‘And Coyote watching said,’

sikí  taykómol
si=ki  taykomol
NEW=therefore?  Taykómol
“Now as Taykómol was as if putting on his spreading headdress, the water resounded loudly”;

‘said Coyote.’

(24) seˀéy hāye hulk’óˀq k’aymúmil ki taykómol
siˀi hq’aye hulk’oˀi=q k’qy=mil=mi kiˀ taykomol
NEW=HSY1 now Coyote=PAT talk-?=FIN DST Taykómol
‘Now Taykómol spoke to Coyote,’

káyt t’u: hópišto
kayt t’uh hop-što
long.ago heart eager-?
‘already his heart being eager (hasty, uneasy),’

káyt ˀá:ṭat k’ákéštö.
kayt ˀaṭat k’ak-što
long.ago people exist-?
‘already having taken human form.’

297 nan yu’ is ‘headress’ (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 hopíšto as ‘in a hurry, anxious’ in (24) and as ‘anxious’ in (25).

299 Alternate form given: k’ąkíštö ‘turned’.
Appendix 10: Yuki Texts (Origins)

(25) seˀéy háp’ ˀey hušk’ayesmil ̃hulk’oˀq
si=ˀi hap =ˀi hušk’ay-s=mil hulk’oˀi=q
NEW=HSY1 song/sing =HSY1 tell-CAUS?=FIN Coyote=PAT
‘His song he taught (told) to Coyote,’

ká hą́p wó:kšinik ˀaŋk’í:kan’
kaˀ hąp wok’-s-nik ˀam-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,”

kayt mámi ˀíwop mihik ˀímilkin’
kayt mami ˀiwop mih=k ˀimi=mil-kin’
long.ago ? man be=DECL say=FIN-?

kaytmay t’u: hopíšta
kaytmay t’uh hop-što
long.ago? heart eager?-?
‘“long ago you said you were a man, long ago I have been eager,”’

ˀímeymil taykomol.
ˀimi=mil taykomol
say=FIN Taykómol
‘said Taykómol.’

(26) seˀéy ki taykomol hap wóktlmil.
si=ˀi ki taykomol hap 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) seʾéy hulkʾóʾi hap nánesmil.
    siʾʔi hulkʾóʾi hap nan-s=ɪmil
NEW=HSY1 Coyote song/sing help-CAUS?=FIN
‘And Coyote tried to help him sing (with lisping s-sounds injected)’

(28) sopéy taykómol mušʾʔ yakilmil kimilmil.
    sopʾi taykomol=q mušʾʔ-k-il=ɪmil ki=ɪmil=ɪmil
?=HSY1 Taykómol=PAT laugh-ʔ-PNCT-MPSV=FIN say-ʔ=FIN
‘And because of that Taykómol said he felt like laughing.’

(29) seʾéy ʔap lákmiʾkîta
    siʾʔi ʔap lakʾ-ɪ=mîl
NEW=HSY1 1SG.AGT emerge-IMPFV=when
    ka hap wòkʾtlnik
kaʾ hap wokʾt-nik
PRX song/sing dance/sing-TR-NEC
‘As I emerge, I go to sing this song, ’

ʔîmeymîl ki taykomol hulkʾóʾq.
ʔimi=ɪmil kiʾ taykomol hulkʾóʾi=q
say=FIN DST Taykómol Coyote=PAT
‘he said to Coyote.’

(30) seʾéy háye ki hap kûtîtmîl taykómol.
    siʾʔi ḡaqʾaye kiʾ hap kut-t=ɪmil taykomol
NEW=HSY1 now DST song/sing start-INTR=FIN Taykómol
‘And [Taykómol] began to sing that song.’

(31) seʾéy haye hulkʾóʾi ki ḡap wòkʾtlmîl
    siʾʔi ḡaqʾaye hulkʾóʾi kiʾ ḡap wokʾt-ɪmil
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.”
Appendix 10: Yuki Texts (Origins)

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ką́yt ʔey nak’ōhimil 302
kayt =ʔi nąk’oh=mil
long.ago =HSY1 teach=FIN
‘already (Taykómol) having taught him.’

mi’ma ʔank’ikan’
miʔ-ма ʔam-k’ikan’
2SG.AGT=ʔ 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother’s.brother

ʔiwop mihi kímilkin’.
ʔiwop mih ki=mil-kin’
man be say-ʔ-ʔ?
“You said, my mother’s brother, that you were a man;’”

(32) hoy ʔimi=k kiṭki ʔáp ʔiwop mihi kímilmil’
hoy ʔimi=k =kiṭ=kï’ ʔáp ʔiwop mih ki-mil=mil
too? say=DECL =when?=DST? 1SG.AGT man be say-ʔ=FIN

ʔimeymil taykómol qamúlisk ki hulk’ö’i.
ʔimi=mil taykomol=q hąq’-mil-s=k ki hulk’o’i
say=FIN Taykómol=PAT listen-ʔ-CAUS?=DECL DST Coyote
“I do not know why I said I was a man,” Coyote said answering Taykómol (in
song).’

(33) seʔéy haye kí taykómol ʔukpis
si=ʔi hąq’aye kì? taykomol ʔuk’=pis
NEW=HSY1 now DST Taykómol water=ABL

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302 The stress pattern of this verb suggests that the root is a compound. In this case, the first syllable ną-
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’.
‘Now Taykómol leaped from the water and stood.’

(34) sopéy kíta hulk’oˀi kiˀ’átap pántlilmil.
sop=ˀi kíta hulk’oˀi kiˀ=qt=ap pàn-tl-il=mil

‘And because of that Coyote hung himself on him.’

(35) sąˀéy ki hulk’óˀi hêy hêy hêy šáha hahaha ----- híii
są=ˀi ki hulk’óˀi hey hey hey šáha hahaha híii
SAME=HSY1 DST Coyote hey hey hey šáha hahaha híii

‘And as Coyote said: “Hey hey hey šáha hahaha”, Taykómol went as if toward the north.’

(36) sopéy kíta ?án p’anmil ki hulk’óˀi.
sop=ˀi kíta ?an pàn=mil ki’ hulk’oˀi

‘But Coyote hung there.’

(37) seˀéy kipqwíyet wíttlilmil taykómol.
si=ˀi kipqw=ˀít wít-tl-il=mil taykómol
NEW=HSY1 back=JXT turn=TR-MPSV=FIN Taykómol

‘And Taykómol turned back.’

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303 This verb root šuš- occurs with the meaning ‘sit’ in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984), which they attribute to Kroeber. However, Kroeber glosses šuštlmil 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’. kilímismil in (40) is glossed as ‘said all the time’ by Kroeber in the original notes.
(38) sq'ey kipəwwiyet ko'otmil.
sq='i kipəw=ît ko'=t=mil
SAME=HSY1 back=JXT go=INTR=FIN
‘And went back.’

(39) sopéy kiṭá ?atá pánmil hulk'o'i.
sop='i kiṭa ?ata' pan=mil hulk'o'i
?-HSY1 there again hang=FIN Coyote
‘But Coyote again hung there.’

(40) sq’ey kilímismil hény hény šáhaaháaha hi -----
sq='i ki-lim-s=mil hey hey šahaahaaaha hi
SAME=HSY1 talk=?-?=FIN hey hey šahaahaaaha hi

?eyy ?imeymil hulk'o'i.
=i ?imi=mil hulk'o'i
=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
‘“He [Taykómol] kept saying ‘hey hey šahaahaaaha hi’”, said Coyote.’

(41) sq ?omahátlikop ?ey ki yu:kilnamliki: ?ey
SAME four-TR=when =HSY1 DST put.on-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST =HSY1

hólilyakmil 305 ki taykómol.
hol-il-?qk=mil ki? taykomol
pull?-MPSV?-SEM=FIN DST Taykómol
‘And when he had gone four times (twice north, twice south), Taykómol took
off himself that (headdress) which he had put on,’

(42) sq’ey t’ú’qkmil.
sq='i t’ú’-qk=mil
SAME=FIN lay-SEM=FIN
‘and laid down.’

305 This verb root may be the same as hol- ‘untie’ or hul- ‘pull (teeth) ’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:226, 167). Without other examples of this root in use it is difficult to say with certainty whether it is the same
as one of these other roots or even if perhaps all of these roots are the same verb.
(43)  sąkiṭéy  'ąŋk’i:k’áin’  mis  hamlo’ótha
sq=kiṭ=ˀi  ‘am-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?”’

ˀim  kíwismil  hulk’o’q.
ˀim  kiw-s=mil  hulk’o’i=q
thus  ask-CAUS?=FIN  Coyote=PAT
‘thus he asked Coyote.’

(44)  seˀéy  hulk’óʔi  ˀá  ˀi̱meymil.
si=ˀi  hulk’oʔi  ˀá  ˀi̱mi=gil
NEW=HSY1  Coyote  yes  say=FIN
‘And Coyote said, “Yes”.’

(45)  seˀéy  kípat  šúlpis  hąwáyi  láktilmil
si=ˀi  kip=ˀat  šul=pis  hąwáy  lak’-t-il=gil
NEW=HSY1  3R=DAT  body=ABL  food/eat  emerge-INTR-MPSV=FIN
pokom  hútmil  ną  šąč  hútmil  ną
digger.pine.nut  bread  =and  sugar.pine.nut  bread  =and

ˀolmam  hútmil  ną.
ˀolmam  húutmil  =ną
hazelnut  bread  =and
‘So from his own body (Taykómol) took out food, diggerpine-nut bread, and
sugarpine-nut bread, and hazelnut bread.’

(46)  sq’éy  hoṭ  kimáš  hąwáyi  kípat  t’ůʔqki  ˀeey
sq=ˀi  hoṭ  kiˀ-mas  hąwáy  kip=ˀat  t’uʔqki  =ˀi
SAME=HSY1  much  DST-DSTR  food/eat  3R=DAT  lay-SEM  =HSY1
‘So he laid down much food for him,’
 Reduxmil hulk’ö̀i.

’say=FIN Coyote
‘Coyote told (later)’

(47) sąkîtey ˀonpàkili 306 naŋkîli 307
są=kit=׳ey ˀon-pan?-k?-il? nąm-k-il
SAME=then=HSY1 earth-hang?-PNCT?-MPSV? lay-PNCT-MPSV
‘Thereupon he lay prone,‘

Reduxmil hulk’ö̀i.

’say=FIN Coyote
‘Coyote said.’

(48) sq kimás nāmik hap wó’okši
sq kimas nąm=k hap wok’-s
SAME thus lay=DECL song/sing dance/sing-CONT?
‘And lying so he sang,’

Reduxmil hulk’ö̀i.

’say=FIN Coyote
‘Coyote said.’

(49) sìkiṭ hąwáysami kímilmil hulk’ö̀i
si=kit hąwày-s-m ki=mil=mil hulk’ö̀i
NEW=then food/eat-CONT?-IMPFV say-?=FIN Coyote
‘Then as he was eating, Coyote said,’

káčmaʔ taykómol mihì
ka’ačam=a taykomol mih
bad=ʔ Taykómol be
“Bad is Taykómol”;

306 Kroeber glosses ’onpàkili ‘with face to the ground’.
307 Alternate form given: naŋkîli ‘he lay’. 
"Stinking (raw) is Taykómol,'

"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.'

And he made Coyote work for him as he was about to sew the earth.'

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308 Kroeber’s note on šaykína?: “said of blood, menstruation”.
(52) sḵéy sówonšíloʔp ḥiʔi ʔimíšímíł.
sḵ=ʔi sonʔšiloʔ=op ḥiʔi ʔim=ʔs=šmil
SAME=HSY1 tules/rushes=like=LAT? what? try-CAUS?=FIN
‘He tried (to make it) as it seemed of rushes,’

(53) sḵéy kítá mačálma páʔiyimíšímíł.
sḵ=ʔi kíta mačalam=q? paʔ-y-m=šmil
SAME=HSY1 there elbow=OBL get.up-PROG-IMPFV=FIN
‘and raised himself on it with his elbow,’

(54) sḵéy hąč’am tąlámmíł.
sḵ=ʔi hąč’am tąl-m=šmil
SAME=HSY1 strong NEG-IMPFV=FIN
‘but it was not strong (enough).’

(55) sákíšéy kí títóʔolop ḥuʔákmíł.
sḵ=kíʔi kíʔ títol=op ḥuʔ=ʔq=šmil
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) sḵéy kipát čʔąwpis k’íʔ kíʔla
sḵ=ʔi kip=ʔt čʔąw=pis k’it kíʔ-la
SAME=HSY1 3R=DAT entrails=ABL awl DST-INST

ʔú(h)mol laʔek’ekšíšilmíł.
ʔuh-mol’ lak’-q-k-ʔil=šmil
sew-AG/INST emerge=PNCT-MPSV=FIN
’an awl to sew it with he took out of his own body,’

(57) sḵéy hap woʔókesmil.
sḵ=ʔi hap wok=ʔs=šmil
SAME=HSY1 song/sing dance/sing-CAUS?=FIN
‘and sang.’
(58) sākītēy ʔū:k’op tāʾik ʔū:hmil. 
   sa=kit=ʔi ʔukʾ=op taʾ=k ʔuh=mil
SAME-then=HSY1 water=LAT float=DECL sew=FIN
‘So he sewed floating on the water.’

(59) seʾēy ʔīmeymil hulkʾoʾi nāw(w)ik.
   si=ʔi ʔimi=mil hulkʾoʾi nāw=k
NEW=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote see=DECL
‘Thus said Coyote watching.’

(60) sāʾey taykōmol kīṭa pā ʔimi ʔūnšil hąkō:hana. 309
   sa=ʾi taykomol kīṭa paʾ im ʔūnšil hąkô=na
SAME=HSY1 Taykōmol there get.up try small loose=and?
‘And then, Taykōmol trying to raise himself on it, it was (still) a little loose.’

(61) sīʾēy hāye kīʾa hulkʾoʾá tʾuynaʾákinat tʾuy
   si=ʾi hāʾaye kīʾ=q hulkʾoʾi=q tʾuynaʾakin=qat tʾuy
NEW=HSY1 now DST=PAT Coyote=PAT Tʾuynaʾákin=DAT pitch
   tunōhanamlǐk: ʾey hulkʾǝʾa ʾūtʾin
   tunoh-a=namli=kiʾ =ʾi hulkʾoʾi=q ʾutʾ=ɲ
keep-?=DEP=DST =HSY1 Coyote=PAT give-AND
   ʾīmeymil taykōmol.
   ʾimi=mil taykomol
say=FIN Taykōmol
‘So now he told Coyote to go to bring the pitch which Tʾuynaʾákin (a small
bird) had where he lived.’

(62) sīʾēy hulkʾoʾi kōṭi tʾuynaʾákin nōʾonamlikə
   si=ʾi hulkʾoʾi koʾ= tʾuynaʾakin nōʾ=namli=kiʾ
NEW=HSY1 Coyote go-INTR Tʾuynaʾákin live=DEP=DST

309 Alternate form given: hąkō:na ‘it was loose, it was not quite solid.’ Also, hąkoč ‘bad’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:255).
t’óhtli 310 ʔey kiwismil.
t’ok-tl =ʔi kiw-s=mił
arrive-TR =HSY1 ask-CAUS?=FIN
‘Then Coyote going to where T’uyna’ákin lived, and arriving there, asked him,’

(63) kíla ʔon ʔúhaŋk ʔey t’úy mis kiwisik
kiʔ-la ʔon ʔuh-m=k =ʔi t’uy mis kiw-s=k
DST-INST earth sew-IMPFV=DECL =HSY1 pitch 2SG.PAT ask-CAUS?=DECL
taykómol ʔiy
taykomol =ʔi
Taykómol =HSY1
“For that with which he will sew the earth, Taykómol asks for your pitch”,

ʔímeymil hulk’óʔi.
ʔimi=mil hulk’oʔi
say=FIN Coyote
‘said Coyote.’

(64) seʔey t’uyna’ákin ʔáha miʔat ʔon mǐhikoʔi:
si=ʔi t’uyna’akin ʔáha mi=qt ʔon mih-koʔi:
NEW=HSY1 T’uyna’ákin yes 1PL.INCL=DAT earth be-?
‘And T’uyna’ákin, “Yes, our earth it is,”’

miʔat miːpaʔáč ʔey
mi=qt mih-paʔ-ač =ʔi
1PL.INCL=DAT be-FUT-? =HSY1
“ours shall it be”,’

ʔímeymil t’uyna’ákin.
ʔimi=mil t’uyna’akin
say=FIN T’uyna’ákin
‘T’uyna’ákin said,’

310 Alternate form given: t’óktli ‘he got there’.
(65) saʔey ʔút’mil ʔúy hulk’o’d.
    saʔ=ʔi ʔut’=mil ʔuy hulk’oʔi=q
SAME=HSY1 give=FIN pitch Coyote=PAT
‘and handed the pitch to Coyote.’

(66) seʔey kimáš ʔut’éli kipáwk’il kómmil.
    siʔi kimas ʔut’=il? kipqw=k’il kom=mil
NEW=HSY1 thus give-MPSV? back=TERM come=FIN
‘So carrying it he came back,’

(67) saʔey ʔút(e)mil taykómola.
    saʔ=ʔi ʔut’=mil taykomol=q
SAME=HSY1 give=FIN Taykómol=PAT
‘and gave it to Taykómol.’

(68) seʔey háye kíla ʔon hąçámečyakmil
    siʔi hąʔąye kiʔ-la ʔon hąç’am-t-ąk=mil
NEW=HSY1 now DST-INST earth strong-INTR-SEM=FIN
ʔon kú:tčam.
ʔon kut=it’am earth root=JXT-IN2
‘Then he now made the earth fast (strong) at its root.’

(69) sákitcey kiṭá paʔ ʔįmimil titó:lop.
    saʔ=kit=ʔi kiṭa paʔ ʔįm=mil titol=op
SAME=then=HSY1 there get.up try=FIN coiling=LAT
‘Thereupon he tried there to raise himself on the coiling.’

(70) seʔey hąçámmil ʔimonials
    siʔi hąç’am=mil ʔunšil
NEW=HSY1 strong=FIN small
‘Now it was a little solid.’
Then he said, "Weyyi" 312,

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.’

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’tilmil ‘lay’. 
(73) seˈéy hulkˈoʔq kip ʔon hąwáti 315
si=ʔi hulkˈoʔi=ʔq kip ʔon hąwat
NEW=HSY1 Coyote=PAT 3R earth glad/like
‘Then “Coyote himself is glad about the earth”,’

kímilmil hulkˈoʔi.
ki-mil=mił hulkˈoʔi
say-?=FIN Coyote
‘Coyote said to him.’

(74) sikiṭey háye ki: ʔiʔukpis lakmikí: ʔéy
si=kiṭ=ʔi hąʔaye kiʔ uk=ʔpis lakˈ-m=kiʔ =ʔi
NEW=then=HSY1 now DST water=ABL emerge-IMPFV=DST =HSY1

hąye kiʔá hulkˈoʔq nąkˈóhisimil
hąʔaye kiʔ=q hulkˈoʔiʔ=q nąkˈoh=ʔ=mił
now DST=PAT Coyote=PAT teach-CAUS?=FIN
‘Thereupon, having come out of the water, (Taykómol) taught Coyote:’

mímaʔ ʔajkˈikan’ ʔiʔwop mihi
miʔ-maʔ ʔam-kˈikan’ ʔiʔwop mih
2SG.AGT-ʔ 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother’s.brother man be

kímilkín’ ʔiʔy
ki-mil-kin’ =ʔʔi
say-ʔʔi =HSY1
‘“You, my mother’s brother, say that you are a man”,’

ʔimeymil.
ʔimi=mił
say=FIN
‘he said.’

315 hąwáti appears to be functioning as a verb. Its argument hulkˈoʔq is in the patient case, as one would expect for a verb expressing a mental or emotional process like liking. Similarly, the main argument of the verb ham- ‘like’ is also in the patient case. Kroeber glosses hąwáti as was ‘glad, liked it’ in (73).

316 Glossed as ‘you’ by Kroeber. The meaning of the ending -maʔ is unknown.
(75) sąkimás hil ?on hu?útlí ki ?ey haye ?uḵhọt
są=kimas hil ?on hu?uˀ-tl kiˀ =?i haˀqyaye ?uḵ’-hoṭ
SAME=thus all earth quit-TR DST =HSY1 now water-large

$mīpamikĭ: hūykoṭ ?uˀ namtlmil$
$mih-pa’am=ki? huy-kot ?uḵ’ nām-tl=mil$
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,’

$k’ol aṭat ?an k’olk’il mipamikĭ:$
$k’ol aṭat ?an k’ol=k’il mih-pa’am=ki?$
other people long.time other=TERM be-FUT=DST
‘here where we were to be, but other peoples to be in other directions.’

(76a) sq’ey haye ?uḵ’iṭ tātmikĭ: kiṭa
sq=ˀi haˀqyaye ?uḵ’=iṭ tat-m=ki? kiṭa
SAME=HSY1 now water=JXT good/make-IMPFV=DST there

$pānap ?uḵ’impa’amikĭ:$
$pānap ?uḵ’-im=pa’am=ki?$
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) sq’ey lilšiló’ pāt’wá ?ey ?uḵ’iṭ
sq=ˀi lil=šilo’ pat’-wah? =?i ?uḵ’=iṭ
SAME=HSY1 stone=like flat-wide? =HSY1 water=JXT
namtlikí: ˀey ku`tkti lawótłmil.

nqm-til=ki? ˀi kuhtki lawo-til=ml

lay-TR=DST =HSY1 north fasten-TR=FIN

‘placing something flat and stone-like, he fastened it in the north.’

(77) säktéy  haye hil mik’ál ˀey háye ki: lil pát

SAME=then=HSY1 now all =around =HSY1 now DST stone flat

šiló:ki: ˀey háye mik’ál ˀuk’it t’u’q’ki ˀey

šilo=ki=ˀi  hąˇye =mik’al ˀuk=it t’u=q=ki? ˀi

like=DST =HSY1 now =around water=JXT lay=DST =HSY1

lawólìcyakmil.

lawo-lit-qk=ml

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) säktéy  kipat ˀqṭiš  yą́k yą́k Taykómol šilo’ič yą́k

SAME=then=HSY1 3R=DAT ?=JXT? stand Taykómol like=JXT? stand

ˀey kíta hil’k’il hanóhiṭ yą́k=ml

=ˀi kíta hil=k’il hanohiṭ yąk=ml

=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) säktéy kímpis p’ansí:mo:l ˀonš’ampa:mkí:?

SAME=then=HSY1 over.there=ABL wind-AG/INST storm-IMFPV-FUT=DST

317 Alternate form given: säktény ‘and there at those places’.

318 May be related to ‘qṭ- ‘wait’ or ‘qṭi ‘a while’.

319 Alternate form given: p’ansí:mo:k ‘the wind would come’.
And he made those (images) that from there the wind should storm; that is why human beings know that when the wind blows from the north, a great storm storms.

And when it would blow from the south it (would) storm.

So [when it blew] from the south, [a great rain would rain. And so it is that when the wind comes from the north, it becomes good weather. So he finished making those things.]

fish-large-NOML =HSY1 die-CAUS-NEC SAME flay-INTR-NEC
['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) seˀéy hulkóˀi kóˀotmil.
siˀ=i hulk’óˀi koˀt=mil
NEW=HSY1 Coyote go-INTR=FIN
‘So Coyote went.’

(86) sąˀéy ŋómahat hqwwhóˀotam k’ap’iyakmil.
są=ˀi ŋomahat hqw-hot-am k’ap’-ak=mil
SAME=HSY1 four fish-large-NOML kill-SEM=FIN

(87) sąˀéy šoˀhók’et’mil.
są=ˀi šoˀhok’-t=mil
SAME=HSY1 flay-INTR=FIN

(88) sąˀéy kimás taykómolátkil ŋá’t’manmila hulkóˀi.
są=ˀi kiˀ-mas taykomol=qt=k’il ŋat’-m=mi=la hulkóˀi
SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR Taykómol=DAT=TERM give-DIR1=FIN Coyote
destroys 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)  sæ’ey    hu’útl(i)mil.
    sæ’i    hu’u’-tl=mil
SAME=HSY1  quit-TR=FIN
‘And finished it.’

(94)  sæ’ey    haye    taykómol    ’álnanátlam    kim’
    si=’i    hq’aye    taykomol    ’al-nan-atlam    kim’
NEW=HSY1    now    Taykómol    stick-head-?    over.there

    hán’am    t’u’çyakmil    hqchılpis.
    han-qm    t’u’-t?q=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.’

(95)  sæ’ey    mas    tu’ákmil    páwi    ’iwis
    sæ’i    mas    t’u’-q=mil    pəwi    ’iwis
SAME=HSY1    thus    lay-SEM=FIN    one    men

    mícpanikimása    ’ey    ho’ômíc’    t’úmil.
    mih-pa’am=ki=mas=q    =’i    hoṭ    miṭ    t’u’=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)  sækey’ey    múšp    mi’hlikí:    ’únšilni?
    sæ’ki=’i    musp    mih=hli=ki?    ’unšil-ni?
SAME=and=HSY1    woman    be=INFR1=DST    small-?

    ’álnanát    ’ey...
    ’al-nan=qt    =’i
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’óʔi náwhi kímilmil.

kímas hulk’óʔi náw-h? ki=mił=mił

thus Coyote see-DUR? say-?=FIN

[‘And thus] Coyote saw it, he said.’

(100) namlikiː hawlámmop ?ey hoʔoʔt kayitmil háljaʔ 321

namliki hawlam=op =ʔi hoʔ k’ay-t=mił halč=q

therefore dawn=LAT =HSY1 large talk-INTR=FIN children=PAT

yíːkili hoyhil sák k’inyą́ki yúːtmil.

yíʔ-k-il hoyhil sak k’in-ąk yuy’-t=mił

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 ʔimeynamlikiː ki taykomol.

kiʔ mat-paʔ ʔimi=namli=kiʔ kiʔ taykomol

DST do-FUT say=DEP=DST DST Taykómol

‘Thus they did, as he had said it would be, this Taykómol.’

(102) sqʔey haye ʔatát hulk’ilal woknám thịt-pamikíː

sq=ʔi hąʔaye ʔatat hulk’ilal woknam-t-il-pa’am=kiʔ

SAME=HSY1 now people ghost initiation-INTR-MPSV-FUT=DST

ʔiy háye hulk’όʔa ʔimisapaʔ ey ʔimeymil

=ʔi hąʔaye hulk’óʔi=q ʔim-s-a =ʔi ʔimi=mił

=HSY1 now Coyote=PAT try-CAUS-IMP? =HSY1 say=FIN

321 Alternate form given: hálčaʔ ‘children’.
‘Then now Taykómol told Coyote that he should try that human beings would make the Hulk’ilál initiation.’

(103) \[\text{se'ey} \quad \text{?átey} \quad \text{hulk'ilál} \quad \text{humås} \]
\[\text{si=’i} \quad \text{?åti} \quad \text{hulk'ilál} \quad \text{humås} \]
NEW=HSY1 for.a.while ghost straight/correct

\[\text{tatísimil} \quad \text{taykómol}. \]
\[\text{tat-s=mil} \quad \text{taykómol} \]
good/make-CAUS=FIN Taykómol

‘And for a while Taykómol made real Hulk’ilál for him.’

(104) \[\text{se'ey} \quad \text{halčå} \quad \text{náwtámmil} \quad \text{sąkilho’itnom’a} \]
\[\text{si=’i} \quad \text{halč=q} \quad \text{nqw-t-m=mil} \quad \text{sąkilhoṭnom’=q} \]
NEW=HSY1 children=PAT see-INTR-IMPSV=FIN Sąkilhoṭnom’=PAT

\[\text{no’ho} \quad \text{?îmeyk}. \]
\[\text{no’-ho} \quad \text{?îmi=k} \]
live-? say=DECL

‘Then he took the children (initiates) to watch where the actual Sákilhotnom’ lived.’

(105) \[\text{sikq’ey} \quad \text{k’áp(am)mil} \]
\[\text{si=q’i} \quad \text{k’ap’-(m)=mil} \]
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 kill-(IMPFV)=FIN

‘Thereupon (the initiates) died.’

(106) \[\text{simon’ey} \quad \text{hulk’ó’i} \quad \text{?iwilhån} \quad \text{hå’tlmil}. \]
\[\text{si=mon’i} \quad \text{hulk’ó’i} \quad \text{?iwilhan} \quad \text{hå’-tl=mil} \]
NEW=?=HSY1 Coyote ceremonial.house build-TR=FIN

‘And then Coyote built a ceremonial house.’

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322 Sąkilhotnom’ ‘big spring people, graduates of hulk’ilál woknam’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:199)
323 Alternate form given: k’áptmil ‘they died’.
sąk’ámey kípat hálč woknámtlmil.
są=k’am=ˀi kíp=qt hálč woknam-tl=mil
SAME=ˀ=HSY1 3R=DAT children initiation-TR=FIN
‘And in that he initiated his own children.’

seˀey sąkilhá:ṭnom’ humáša mihí ˀéy
si=ˀi sąkilhoṭnom’ humas=a mih =ˀi
NEW=HSY1 Sąkilhotnom’ straight/correct=? be =HSY1
hal(i)č hulˀk’óˀQT k’áˀapt(e)mil.
halč hulk’oˀi=qt k’apˀ-t=mil
children Coyote=DAT kill-INTR=FIN
Then real Sąkilhotnom’ being in there, Coyote’s children died.’

seˀéy ki ḥąkóčk ˀey ˀimeymil hulk’oˀi.
si=ˀi kiˀ ḥąkoč=k =ˀi ˀimi=mil hulk’oˀi
NEW=HSY1 DST bad=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
‘“That is bad”, Coyote said.’

siˀéy haye taykomol ...
si=ˀi hąˀąye taykomol
NEW=HSY1 now Taykómol
‘So now Taykómol
[. . .] "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) ˀimi=mil taykomol hul’k’ilal woknám háp
say=FIN Taykómol ghost initiation song/sing
máy’ ˹aẕTa-pa’ ˀan
may’ ˹aẕ-Tał-pa’ ˀan
who/someone wait-NEG-FUT long,time
Taykómol said; ‘one shall not ever beat time for the Hulk’ilál-initiation songs (in vain), but when he has them (seriously) in mind, then he shall beat time for them.’

‘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’ilál-initiation songs”, said Taykómol.’
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,” Taykόmol said to Coyote.

And now his rib he made come into existence as his wife.

And he made (her) vagina so that people would have intercourse.

Thereupon he tried it himself.
(121) seˀéy  hąkóčmil.
si=ˀi  hąkoč=mil  
NEW=HSY1  bad=FIN  
‘And it was unsatisfactory.’

(122) seˀey  kóˀinum  ?y  níhˀiyi  mištlmil.
si=?i  k’oˀi-nuˀ-am?  =ˀi  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) sák’eyˀey  tíma  hąšá  ˀi:mísimil.
sq=ki=?i  рош  hąšą  ˀim-s=mil  
SAME=and=HSY1  self  again  try-CAUS?=FIN  
‘Thereupon again he himself tried it.’

(124) seˀey  ki  ‘atá  hąkóčmil.
si=?i  ki  ‘aṭa  hąkoč=mil  
NEW=HSY1  DST  again  bad=FIN  
‘And once more it was unsatisfactory.’

(125) seˀey  haye  ˀuk’hóṭítop  núˀhan  ki  mih
si=?i  hą’aye  ˀuk’-hoṭ=it=op  nu=han  ki  mih
NEW=HSY1  now  water-large=JXT=LAT  sand-SUBE  DST  be

ki:  ?y  haye  níhˀiyi  mihtlmil.
ki?  =ˀi  hą’aye  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) sákeyˀey  ‘atá  ˀi:mísímil.
sq=ki=?i  ‘aṭa  ‘im-s=mil
SAME=and=HSY1  again  try-CAUS=FIN
‘Thereupon again he tried it.’
(127) sikīta Ṝey ka Ṝatāta wiyampaːnikī
si=kiṭa =ʔi ka? Ṝat=q wiy-m-pa’am=ki?
NEW=then =HSY1 PRX people=PAT have.emission-IMPFV-FUT=DST

ʔey wītmil.
=ʔi wiy-t=mil
=HSY1 have.emission-INTR=FIN
‘And this emission which human beings would have, he had.’

(128) seʔéy ka? miʔpa Ṝey Ṝimey̤mil taykōmol ki:
si=ʔi ka mih-pa?=ʔi Ṝimi=mil taykomol ki?
NEW=HSY1 PRX be-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Taykōmol DST

mūśʔq páyyakpaːnikī. 324
mus=q payʔak-pa’am=ki?
women=PAT vagina-SEM-FUT=DST
‘Then, “This shall be”, said Taykόmol, “there shall be set a vagina on
women.”’

(129) seʔéy Ṝimey̤mil hulk’ōʔi.
si=ʔi Ṝimi=mil hulk’oʔi
NEW=HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
‘Said Coyote.’

(130a) sqkiṭey háye hulk’ōʔa Ṝaniltí:li
sq=kiṭ=ʔi hq’aye hulk’oʔi=q Ṝnil-t-il
SAME=then=HSY1 now Coyote=PAT lead-INTR-MPSV

kúʔtikiwit kōʔotemil.
kuhkti=wit kōʔ-t=mil
north=ALL go-INTR=FIN

(130b) ki: Ṝatāt k’an Ṝatāt k’ayeyampaːnikī:
kiʔ Ṝat=q k’aqn Ṝat=k’ay-y-m-pa’am=ki?
DST people language/word people talk-PROG-IMPFV-FUT=DST

324 Alternate form given: páyyóʔpaːnikī: ‘vulva will be on the woman’.
‘Now then taking Coyote with him he went north to speak everywhere the human languages with human beings would speak.’

(131) saʔéy káht(e)ki tóktli ʔey ʔonmik’áltímil
sá=ʔi kuhtki t’ok-tl =ʔi ʔon=mik’al-t-il=ml
SAME=HSY1 north arrive-TR =HSY1 earth=around-INTR-MPSV=FIN

‘And arriving in the north, he went all around the earth, everywhere speaking another language; “On this earth the people who shall be shall speak this,” he said, “everywhere that people live.”’

(132a) saʔčamey kimási mil hut’ó’opispa ʔim’eyk
sq-čam=’i kiʔ-mas-i mil hut’op-s-paʔ =’im=k
SAME=ʔ=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM meat/deer hunt-CAUS?-FUT where=IN

‘And arriving in the north, he went all around the earth, everywhere speaking another language; “On this earth the people who shall be shall speak this,” he said, “everywhere that people live.”’

(132b) hílónčam k’ol ʔatáta hi:la
hil-ʔon=it-qm k’ol ʔatat=q hil=q
all-earth=JXT-IN2 other people=PAT all=PAT

yúyam.  
yuy’-m=ml

do-IMPF=FIN
kimás yúyyampa.
kimas yuy'-m-paʔ
thus do-IMPFV-FUT

(132c) k’oˀil k’ol yuymikiˀt.
k’oˀil k’ol yuy'-m=kiˀ
Wailaki other do-IMPFV=while

(132d) yúːkin ?aq ka k’ayemikiː k’ayimilpa.
yukin ?aq kaˀ k’ay-m=ki? k’ay-mil-paʔ
Yuki 1SG.AGT PRX talk-IMPFV=DST talk-?=FUT

(132e) săḳop ˀitin háp ?áhpə ?ey ˀimeymil taykómol.
sa=qkop ˀitin hap ˀah-pa? =ˀi ˀimi=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) hílikšiloˀ ˀey yuˀiyamil tiːtamamikíː ˀey
hilikšiloˀ =ˀi yuy'-m=mil tiṭam-paˀam=kiʔ =ˀi
everything =HSY1 do-IMPFV=FIN rope-IMPFV=FUT=DST =HSY1

yuˀiyamil ˀaʔát  tiṣsákmikíː ˀey yúyyamil.
yuy'-m=mil ˀaṭat tiṣtsak-paˀam=kiʔ =ˀi 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) híːl ˀaṭáta ˀey k’ol hušk’ayeyimil pqwi ˀaʔát
hil ˀaṭat=q =ˀi k’ol hušk’ay-y=mil pqwi ˀaṭat
all people=PAT =HSY1 other tell-PROG=FIN one people
míˀkon k’ol yúˀiyampa ?ey ῾i’meymil.
míˀkon k’ol yuy’-m-pa? =?i ῾imi=mil
but? other do-IMPFV-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN
‘All the peoples he taught differently; “But each people will do differently”, he said.’

(135) kipawkwil kωk kuhtkipis ῾onmik’ältéli
kipqw=k’i1 koˀ=k kuhtki=pis ῾on=mik’al-t-il
back=TERM go=DECL north=ABL earth=around-INTR-MPSV

kipawkwil kóˀok ?ey kimáṣeymil.
kipqw=k’i1 koˀ=k =?i kiˀ-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) sopˀéy hanícyilop hulk’óˀi kimk’í:la 325
sop=ˀi han-iṭ-y-il=op hulk’oˀi kim-k’ili=q
but=HSY1 house=JXT-PROG-MPSV=when Coyote DST.KIN.POSS-son=PAT

ˀiwomá ˀey k’olítmil.
ˀiwom=q =?i 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’ölik yúyiyikít ῾ey hulk’óˀi
si=kimas ki? taykomol k’ol=ki yuy’-kít =?i hulk’oˀi
NEW=thus DST Taykómol other=IN do=when =HSY1 Coyote

piṭąkik ῾ey k’i:mlamlikí:k ῾ey taykómol kommil.
piṭąkik =?i k’i-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.’

325 Alternate form given: kimk’í:la.
(138)  səʔey  iʔimisk’ili  ʔey
səʔi  ʔim  mis-k’ili  =ʔi
SAME=HSY1 where 2SG.KIN.POSS-son =HSY1

ʔim  kiwismil  hulk’oʔa.
ʔim  kiw-s=mi  hulk’oʔi=ʔ
thus  ask-CAUS?=FIN  Coyote=PAT
‘So, “Where is your son?” he asked Coyote.’

(139)  seʔey  hulk’oʔi  k’alítu  326  si  ʔap  k’ʔyuʔ
siʔi  hulk’oʔi  k’ol-t-wi  si  ʔap  k’ʔuʔ-
NEW=HSY1  Coyote  die-INTR-PST1  NEW  1SG.AGT  bury-PST1

ʔimeymil  hulk’oʔi.
ʔimi=mi  hulk’oʔi
say=FIN  Coyote
‘And, “He just died, so I buried”, Coyote said.’

(140)  seʔey  taykómol  kími:  náwwin  ʔimeymil
siʔi  taykomol  kiʔʔim?  nqw-n  ʔimi=mi
NEW=HSY1  Taykómol  bury-where?  see-AND  say=FIN

taykomol  hulk’oʔa.
taykomol  hulk’oʔi=ʔ
Taykómol  Coyote=PAT
‘“Let us go to see where he is buried”, Taykómol said to Coyote.’

(141)  seʔey  hikílmil. 327
siʔi  hiʔʔ-k-il=mi
NEW=HSY1  come.out-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

326 Alternate form given: k’olítu ‘he died’.
327 Alternate form given: hiykílmil ‘they went’. Also: hiʔʔ- ‘come out’ (Sawyer and Schlichter 1984:256).
(142) sáˀey toktml.
sáˀ-i t’ok-tl=mil
SAME=HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN
‘So they went together and arrived.’

(143) seˀey taykómol kipáw ˀap ˀôtam k’oˀísini
si=ˀi taykomol kipaw ˀat-am k’oˀ-sini
NEW=HSY1 Taykómol back 1SG.AGT breathe-NOML be.in-?
ˀey ˀimeymil taykómol.
=ˀi ˀimi=mil taykomol
=HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol
‘Then Taykómol said, “Let me again put breath into him”, Taykómol said.’

(144) seˀey hulk’óˀi tálp káyt k’á:pajˀk 328 ˀím kipáwkil
si=ˀi hulk’oˀi tálˀk káyt k’ap’-m=k ˀim kipqw=k’il
NEW=HSY1 Coyote no long.ago kill-IMPFV=DECL why? back=TERM
koˀotamnilimaˀá ˀiy ˀimeymil hulk’óˀi.
koˀ-t-m=nilima-ˀa =ˀi ˀimi=mil hulk’óˀi
go-INTR-IMPFV-?-Q =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
‘But, “No, why should those who are already dead wish to come back?” said Coyote.’

(145) seˀey miˀ ˀaŋk’i:kan’ nanákhq
si=ˀi miˀ ˀam-k’ikan’ nąnak-hq
NEW=HSY1 2SG.AGT 1SG.KIN.POSS-mother’s.brother know-Q
kímlmil ˀey ˀimeymil.
kí=mil=mil =ˀi ˀimi=mil
say-=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN
‘So, “You, my mother’s brother, say that you know”, (Taykómol) said.’

328 Alternate form given: k’ápamˀk ‘when they die’.
“That shall be forever”, said Taykómol, when he had wished to return breath to his son.

But it was Coyote who refused.

And therefore people who die, when they are dead do not come (go) back, because Coyote refused.

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So thus he made it to be that those people who should die, would not come back when they had died.

Then they traveled together back to where Coyote had built a house.

And for a time there he instructed Coyote what to ordain for people everywhere.

Alternate form given: nak'ohimil 'he taught him'.
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.

Then Coyote and (he) both went back north.

And all the way Taykómol sang.

And he arrived, and, as he had spoken it before, he spoke the Wailaki language.

Thus house build-CAUS=FIN when live-FUT=DST
‘Then when he would thus have a house for them to live in, he had Coyote build it.’

(157) seʔéy ḥąʔtmil.
si=ʔi ḥąʔ-tl=mi
NEW=HSY1 build-TR=FIN
‘And he built it.’

(158) sikéy kimás ʔáʔát k’ąqutlikí: mǐnamlí:kí: šíloʔ
si=ki kimas ʔáʔat k’ąq’-ktl=kiʔ mǐ=namli=kiʔ šíloʔ
NEW=therefore? thus people exist-INCH-TR=DST be=DEP=DST like

‘Then as before he made come into existence the people who were, so again he did thus (to) people.’

(159) sąʔéy ʔal t’úʔakmil.
sq=ʔi ʔal t’uʔ-ąk=mi
SAME=HSY1 stick lay-SEM=FIN
‘He laid down sticks.’

(160) sqkipey ʔi’y k’aymilmi k’oʔi’il k’áni
ds=kip=ʔi ʔi’ k’ay-mili k’o’il k’án
SAME=ʔ=HSY1 =HSY talk-?=FIN Wailaki language/word

(161) ká: mo’oš k’ayéyampaʔ ʔey ʔímeymil taykómol.
kaʔ mo’os k’ay-m-paʔ =ʔi ʔím=mi’taykómol
PRX 2PL.AGT talk-IMPFV-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN Taykómol
‘After that, “I spoke Wailaki language; this you shall speak”, Taykómol said.’
(162) sąkey            kimáš             hąww             hut’ôˀopisamikí:  
sq=ki              kimas             hąw              hut’op-s-pa’am=ki?             SAME=and             thus             fish             hunt-CAUS-FUT=DST

k’ó’il             ki              ˀéy              haye              ˀatá              ki              yúnyakmil\footnote{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.}

k’ó’il             ki              =ˀi              haʔaye              ˀaṭa?              ki              yun-ak=mil  
Wailaki        DST             =HSY1             now             again             DST             do-SEM=FIN

kimáš            k’ó’il             hąw(w)             litpaamikí:.  
kimas            k’ó’il             hąw              lit-pa’m=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) sąkopey           hilkšilô?             háye             k’ó’il             yúyampaamikí:  
sq=kop=ˀi          hilkšilo?             hąʔaye             k’ó’il             yuy’-m-pa’am=ki?             SAME=then=HSY1             everything             now             Wailaki        do-IMPFV-FUT=DST

ˀéy              háye            kimáš             yú(y)yammil.  
=ˀi              hąʔaye      kimas        yuy’-m=mil  
=HSY1           now             thus             do-IMPFV=FIN

‘And everything that the Wailaki would do, thus he did now.’

ka?             mih-pa?            ka?             yuy’-m-pa?         k’ó’il            =ˀi           ˀimi=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) sq’éy             ki:             huʔú:tl(ˀ)kít             ˀéy              k’oláṭat             káxtkiwit  
sq=ˀi            ki?            hu’uʔ-rl=ki’t            =ˀi            k’ol-ˀaṭat             kuhtki=wit  
SAME=HSY1        DST             quit-TR=then             =HSY1             other-people             north=ALL
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.

Then again he spoke the Kumnom' language.

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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.’

Alternate form given: k’ąk’ési mil ‘he made’.
And also everything that they would always do he made come into existence there for those Kumnom.

(168) kimáse ʔan woknámṭilpa:mikí: ną
kiʔ-mas-i ʔan woknam-t-il-paʔam=ki? =ną
DST-DSTR-ANIM long.time initiation-INTR-MPSV-FUT=DST =and

kópawóʔokešpa:mikí: ną ʔey k’ąč’esimil.
kopa-wok’-s-paʔam=ki? =ną =ʔi k’ąč’-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.’

And 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)sañnk, tá(a)sampa:miki:, tá(e)sampa:miki: ‘snare’.

334 Alternate form given: tá(a)sampa:miki: ‘will snare’.

(169) kimáše mil hut’oʾópisk lópis
kiʔ-mas-i mil hut’op-s=k lopis
DST-DSTR-ANIM meat/deer hunt-CAUS?=DECL jackrabbit
tá(e)saŋk 333 ną p’úhlam tá(e)sampa:miki: 334 na
tas-m=k =ną pulam tas-m-paʔam=ki? =ną
snare-IMPFV=DECL =and cottontail snare-IMPFV-FUT=DST =and

kimás(e) ʔán k’ől’ yúyampá:mikí:
kiʔ-mas-(i) ʔán k’ol yuy’-m-paʔam=ki?
DST-DSTR-(ANIM) long.time other do-IMPFV-FUT=DST

ʔ’ey k’ąč’ésimil.
=ʔi k’ąč’-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.’
(170) namlikí: ˀey kumnó’m’ k’ol ˀan yú:yamamil
namliki =ˀi kumnom’ k’ol ˀan yuy’-m=mil
therefore =HSY1 Kumnom’ other long.time do-IMPFV=FIN

káyt taykómol k’ąk’ésinamlikí:
kayt taykomol k’ąk’-s=namli=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) sq’éy ki: huˀútli ˀey háye yú:kin (’uk’omnom’i)335
sq=ˀi ki ˀu’-tli =ˀi háq’aye yukin (’uk’omnom’)
SAME=HSY1 DST quit-TR =HSY1 now Yuki (UK’omnom’)

k’ąyyéyampa:mikí: ˀey k’ąymilmil.
k’ąy-m-pa’am=ki? =ˀi k’ay=mil=mil
talk-IMPFV-FUT=DEP=FIN =HSY1 talk-?=FIN
‘Having finished that, he spoke what the Uk’omnom’ Yuki would speak.’

(172) sqkóp’ey kiṭa ˀán hulk’óˀa han há:smil.
sq=ˀi kiṭa ˀan hulk’oˀi=q han háˀ-s=mil
SAME=ˀi there long.time Coyote=PAT house build-CAUS=FIN
‘And so he told Coyote to build a house there.’

(173) siˀey hulk’óˀi há:tlmil.
si=ˀi hulk’oˀi háq’-tl=mil
NEW=HSY1 Coyote build-TR=FIN
‘And Coyote built it.’

(174) sq’ey kím’ ˀál tuˀákmil hąčmik’ál.
sq=ˀi kím’ ˀal t’uˀ-qk=mil hąč=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) sąkítäˀéy ˀap  mátl’ìkon  hótˀ  ’ú:k’ómnom’
są=kiṭa=ˀi ˀap  mat-tl=kon  hoṭ  ’uk’omnom’
SAME=then=HSY1 1SG.AGT do-TR=but large Uk’omnom’

k’áni  k’ayímiˀakpa336.
k’an  k’ay-milˀ-qk-pa? language/word talk-?-SEM-FUT
‘Then, ‘I do this, but many will speak Uk’omnom’ speech.’

(176) sąkítay  ’ú:k’ómnom’  ?an  k’ól’  ’ap
są=kiṭ=ˀi  ’uk’omnom’  ?an  k’ol  ’ap
SAME=then=HSY1 Uk’omnom’ long.time other 1SG.AGT

yúyamwičkí:  ’áṭpa? 337.
yuy’-m-wît=kiʔ  ’qt-pa? do-IMPFV-PST2=DST wait -FUT
‘And the Uk’omnom’ always will follow their way according to what I am
doing.’

(177a) sąkítä  ’ínin  háp  wo’ókešpa’
są=kiṭa  ’itin  hap  wok’-s-paʔ
SAME=then 1SG.POSS song/sing dance/sing-CAUS-FUT
‘My song they shall sing.’

(177b) sąkítä  ’áp  woknámtlu  kimás
są=kiṭa  ’áp  woknam-tl-wi  kíʔ-ìs-paʔ
SAME=then 1SG.AGT initiation-TR-PST1 DST-DSTR

woknámespaʔ2  taykomol wo’knám.
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’ayyemiˀakpa ‘they will talk’.
(178) sákīta ṭiˀol k’āk’ampa? ʾey ʾimeymil
sā=kīta ṭiˀol k’āk’-m-pa? =ʾi ʾimi=mi
SAME=then chief exist-IMPFV-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN
taykómol ʾu:k’omnom’=oma.
taykomol ʾuk’omnom’=q
Taykómol Uk’omnom’=PAT
‘And chiefs will be made by that, said Taykómol to the Uk’omnom’

(179) sákīta ʾey hulk’ı̇lal woknám ʾap woknámtlu
sā=kīta =ʾi hulk’ilal woknam ʾap woknam-tl-wi
SAME=then =HSY1 ghost initiation 1SG.AGT initiation-TR-PST1
kimáš ʾan woknámespa? ʾimeymil taykómol.
ki’-mas ʾan woknam-s-pa? ʾimi=mi taykomol
DST-DSTR long.time initiation-CAUS-FUT say=FIN Taykómol
‘“And as I have just made the Hulk’ı̇lal-initiation, so always they shall make
that initiation”, said Taykómol.’

(180) sákī: huʾú:tlikīṭ ʾey ʾāta mil mūhpa’emikī:
sā=kī huʾuˀ-tl=kiṭ =ʾi ʾaṭa mil muh-paˀam=kiˀ?
SAME=and quit-TR=then =HSY1 again meat/deer snare-FUT=DST
ną̯ sì hąwayisampa:miki: ną̯ ʾālič
=ńą̯ sì hąway-s-m-paˀam=kiˀ? =ńą̯ ʾālič
=and clover food/eat-CONT?-IMPFV-FUT=DST =and potato
kiʾin hąwayisampa:miki: ʾey ʾimeymil taykómol.
kiʾin hąway-s-m-paˀam=kiˀ? =ʾi ʾimi=mi taykomol
around.there food/eat-CONT?-IMPFV-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.’

ʾālič as ‘potato’, while giving hintil papus as the term meaning ‘Indian potato’.
'And the Uk’omnom’ (Yuki) whom he made come into existence came into existence from the sticks which he had laid around the floor,'

Taykómol do-IMPFV=DEP=DST =HSY1 do-IMPFV=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.’

'So having finished showing the Uk’omnom’ (Yuki) everything,’
(182b) sākiṭey hučnoˀöma ṅän ki? ṅän wáčeymil
sā=kiṭ=ˀi hučnomˀ=q ṅän ki? ṅän wačˀ=mil
SAME=then=HSY1 Huchnom=PAT just.the.same teach=FIN

?uk’omnomˀ=q wačˀ-y?
Uk’omnomˀ=PAT teach–PROG?
‘he showed the Huchnom the same as he had showed the Uk’omnom (Yuki).’

(183) kimás sākop han ṅey ṅu:komnommát k’áni šiló: han
kimas sā=kop han =ˀi ?uk’omnomˀ=qt k’án šiloˀ han
thus SAME=then but =HSY1 Uk’omnomˀ=DAT language/word like but

k’ol k’ayimilnamlikí: ṅey
k’ol k’ay=mil=namli=ki? =ˀi
other talk-?=DEP=DST =HSY1
‘And he spoke like the Yuki but differently;’

hučnoˀömi k’ayyéyammil háhlšíloˀ
hučnom’ k’ay-m=mil halšílo?
Huchnom talk–IMPFV=FIN differently
‘(that is why) the Huchnom speak somewhat differently,’

k’áyit taykómol kimáš hílk’il ṅu:komnó:ma
k’ayt taykomol kimas hilk’il ?uk’omnomˀ=q
long.ago Taykómol thus separately Uk’omnomˀ=PAT

ŋa hučnoˀöma wáčeynamlikí: ṅey kipqw šílo? 339
=ŋa hučnomˀ=q wačˀ=namliki =ˀi kipqw šílo?
=and Huchnom=PAT teach=therefore? =HSY1 back like

339 kipqw šílo? may mean ‘alike’.
yúyamml yúl
yuy'-m=mil yúl

do-IMPFV=FIN everything
‘long ago Taykómol thus taught the Uk’omnom’ and Huchnom dividedly;
that is why they do everything nearly alike;

namlikí ey yúkín na hučno’ómi ey
namliki =i yúkín =na hučnom’ =i
therefore =HSY1 Yuki =and Huchnom =HSY1

yúyamml taykómol kilménamlikí.
yuy'-m=mil taykomol kí-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) kimas yúy'i ey nákhi kilmil hulk'ó'i.
kimas yuy' =i nák-h? kí-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, dd 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)  ...kipą́w                             nahámˀámil.  
kipqw                             nāhąm-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)  sikónˀey                         k’inikop         küxt’a ká:  
si=kon’i                        k’in=kop         kut’a      yim  
NEW=but=HSY1   cry=while  way.over.there  fire

čiy-y?-mq-il-m=k  =?i       ?imi=mil  lopis  
glitter-PROG?-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV=DECL   =HSY1  say=FIN  Jackrabbit  
‘But while he wept, “Far yonder, fire gleams at intervals”, said Jackrabbit.’

(8)  seˀéy                 hulk’o’dá         háltmil.  
si=?i                 hulk’o=ı=q       hält=t=mil  
NEW=HSY1   Coyote=PAT   hear-INTR=FIN  
‘And Coyote heard (him).’

(9)  sáˀey                  ?a:ṭáta         ?iwilhánam                          mihikimása  
sq=?i                  ?atat=q       ?iwilhan-qm                           mih=kiˀ-mas=q  
SAME=HSY1   people=PAT   ceremonial.house-IN2  be=DST-DSTR=PAT

?'iyi                    ?iy        háltlikhil                   ?anwisq    móˀoš 342  nąwil  
?'iyi                    ?i         hält-t-k-il?               ?anwis=q    moˀos       nąwil  
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: moˀos ‘ye’.  

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.

So all listened.

And Jackrabbit, in weeping, “Raw meat they are eating: me they whipped: far yonder fire gleams at intervals”, Jackrabbit said.

Alternate form given: 343 kimása 'those'.

Alternate form given: 344 kuʔ k’a ‘way over there’.
(12) $\text{si}=\text{ˀey} \quad \text{hulk}'oˀi \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{jojǐc} \quad \text{na}^? \quad \text{sopes} \quad \text{tit} \quad \text{NEW}=\text{HSY1} \\
\quad \text{Coyote meat/deer pounded} \quad \text{=and} \quad \text{shoulder} \quad ?$

$\text{si}=\text{ˀey} \quad \text{hulk}'oˀi \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{cọčić} \quad \text{=}\text{na} \quad \text{sopis} \quad \text{tit} \\
\text{=HSY1 winnowing basket=IN put =HSY1 carry-INTR-MPSV}$

$\text{lák}(e)\text{mil} \quad \text{hulk}'oˀi \quad \text{lo}^?\text{ops=}\text{ątk}'il$

$\text{emerge-INTR=FIN} \quad \text{Coyote Jackrabbit=DAT=TERM}$

‘And Coyote putting pounded meat and shoulder in an (openwork basketry) plate, and carrying it with him, he went out to Jackrabbit.’

(13) $\text{sq}=\text{ˀey} \quad \text{yqši}(,:)\text{̺k}'il' \quad \text{hámmil}.$

$\text{sq}=\text{ˀi} \quad \text{yqš}=\text{ki}=\text{k}'il \quad \text{ham}=\text{mil}$

$\text{SAME}=\text{HSY1 stand=DST=TERM bring=FIN}$

‘And brought it to where he was standing.’

(14) $\text{sq}=\text{ˀey} \quad \text{cánimil} \quad \text{lō}^?\text{opsa} \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{jojǐc} \quad \text{na}$

$\text{sq}=\text{ˀi} \quad \text{càn}=\text{mil} \quad \text{lopis=}\text{q} \quad \text{mil} \quad \text{cọčić} \quad \text{=}\text{na}$

$\text{SAME}=\text{HSY1 give=FIN Jackrabbit=PAT meat/deer pounded} \quad \text{=and}$

$\text{sopes} \quad \text{tit} \quad \text{SAME}=\text{HSY1 give=FIN Jackrabbit=PAT meat/deer pounded =and}$

$\text{sopis} \quad \text{tit}$

$\text{shoulder} \quad ?$

‘And gave Jackrabbit pounded meat and shoulder.’

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345 Alternate form given: cọčić ‘pounded’.
346 Alternate form given: sopis ‘shoulder’.
347 Kroeber glosses tit ‘together on top’.
348 Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:165) list a verb ḫu:t ‘pound’. jojǐc ~ cọčić is likely derived from this verb.
349 Alternate form given: cànemil ‘he gave’.
350 Alternate form given: cọčić ‘he gave’.
351 Kroeber glosses tit ‘with it’. 
(15) sąk’iléy kiwismil ˀi:yi šiŋkími 352 kúp
sq=k’il=i kiw-s=mil ˀi:yi šinkimi kup
SAME-ʔ=HSY1 ask-CAUS=FIN what ʔ sister’s.brother

hoymiye 353 šilómwi ˀey ˀîmeymil
hoy=ˀim=ʔ-y šiloˀ-m-wi =ʔi ˀimi=mil
too?=say?-PROG like-IMPFV-PST1 =HSY1 say=FIN

hulk’oˀi  lóˀopsa kiwisk.
hulk’oˀi  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) seˀéy ˀi:yi ˀąp hoyyímeyha ˀey ˀîmeymil.
si=ˀi ˀiyi ˀąp hoy=ˀimi-ha =ʔi ˀimi=mil
NEW=HSY1 what 1SG.AGT too?=say-Q =HSY1 say=FIN
“‘What am I telling about?’ he said.’

(17) ˀi:yi tánhål(e) 354 kuk’á yíkam
ˀiyi tan=håli kuk’a yik-am
what NEG?=INFR1? way.over.there make.fire-NOML

čiyimílmik sîkiṭ mil šáy
čiy-mq-il=m=k sî=kiṭ mil šay
-glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV=DECL NEW=then meat/deer raw/alive

ˀáwilk ˀéy nqwílåkik ˀaq ˀîmeyu 355
ˀaw-l=k =ʔi nqwíl=qk=k ˀaq ˀimi-wi
eat-PFV=DECL =HSY1 whip-SEM=DECL 1SG.AGT say-PST1

352 Kroeber glosses ˀi:yi šiŋkími ‘what was that’.
353 Alternate form given: hoyyímíy ˀilómwi.
354 Kroeber glosses tánhål(e) ‘This is what I said’.
355 Alternate form given: ˀîmîy ‘said’.
"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) ki  hōle  ?i  kūp  hālamu?  ?īmeymil  hulk'ō?i
ki?  =hāl  ?i  kup  hāl-m-wi  ?īmi=mil  hulk'o?i
DST  =INFR1  1SG.PAT  sister’s.son  hear-IMPFV-PST1  say=FIN  Coyote

"That it seems is what, sister’s son, I just heard", said Coyote.

(19) ?im  ki:  yim  čīyi:mālhamha  kup  ?icy
?im  ki?  yim  čiy-mq-il-m-ha  kup  =?i
where  DST  fire  glitter-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-Q  sister’s.son  =HSY1

?īmeymil  hulk'ō?i
?īmi=mil  hulk'o?i
say=FIN  Coyote

"Where does that fire gleam at times, sister’s son?’ said Coyote.’

(20) kūtak’a:  más  yāhīyąkli  ša:tammil  más
kutak’a  mas  yah-q-k-il?  šat-m=mil  mas
way.over.there  thus  blaze-?-PNCT-MPSV?  put.out.fire-IMPFV=FIN  thus

nāweta’(d)  ?ey  ?īmeymil  lōpsi  hulk’o?q.
nqw-t-a?  =?i  ?īmi=mil  lopis  hulk’o?i=q
see-INTR-IMP  =HSY1  say=FIN  Jackrabbit  Coyote=PAT

"Over there, thus blazing up it stops, thus, look!’ said Jackrabbit to Coyote.’

(21) se’?ey  hulk’ō?i  nąwwit(ı)ka  ?ey  ?īmil=mel
si=?i  hulk’o?i  nqw-wit=ka  =?i  ?īmil=mil
NEW=HSY1  Coyote  see-PST2=when?  =HSY1  blind=FIN

‘And Coyote looked but could see nothing.’
(22) seˀéy kaṭáˀapis ˀap yą́šhikíˀapis ną́weta
   si=ˀi kaṭa=pis ˀap yąš-h=kiṭa=pis nąw-t-aˀ
   NEW=HSY1 here=ABL 1SG.AGT stand-DUR=there=ABL see-INTR-IMP

   ˀey ˀimeymil lówpsi hulk'oˀa
   =ˀi ˀimi=mil lopis hulk'oˀi=q
   =HSY1 say=FIN Jackrabbit Coyote=PAT
   ‘And “From here where I stand, from there look!” Jackrabbit said [to Coyote].’

(23) seˀéy lóˀopsi yašnamlikiǩ̊pís yąšít kú:ta
   si=ˀi lopis yąš=namli=kik=pis yąš-t kuta
   NEW=HSY1 Jackrabbit stand=DEP=there=ABL stand-INTR there

   nąwétmil.
   nąw-t=mil
   see-INTR=FIN
   ‘And standing where Jackrabbit had stood, he looked from there.’

(24) są́ˀey yím yą:híšti nąwímil hulk’óˀi
   są=ˀi yim yąh-s-t nąw=mil hulk’óˀi
   SAME=HSY1 fire blaze-CONT-INTR see=FIN Coyote
   ‘And Coyote saw the fire blazing up.’

(25) sikqá̱̊ ey humámtohilmil 356
   si=ká̱̊ i hum-m-to-h-il=mil
   NEW=thereupon=HSY1 glad-IMPFV-?-DUR-MPSV=FIN
   ‘Thereupon he was glad.’

(26) sąkítêy hamláčk’i yaˀ’iti ˀiy č’al
   są=kiṭ=ˀi hamláč=ki yaˀ=t =ˀi č’al
   SAME=then=HSY1 smoke.hole=IN climb-INTR =HSY1 loud

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356 Unclear whether the morpheme in the middle is -to or -t.
pąk’ényakmil.
pąk’-ąk=mił
shout-SEM=FIN
‘And climbing to the smoke-hole he shouted loudly:

(27) ᶲey mo’os mįwismil hí:li lákti
=ˀi mo’os miw-s=mił hil-i lak’-t
=HSY1 2PL.AGT disbelieve-CONT?=FIN all-ANIM emerge-INTR

᭣wilhánpis sq nówkil’
 объявлhan=piś sq nów-k-il-ˀ
ceremonial.house=ABL SAME see-PNCT-MPSV-IMP

(28) síkiṭ šąkmiˀ tiwî:mîlyá:ka sq hí:li
si=kiṭ šąkmi tiw=ˀimi-ˀil-ˀak-a sq hil-i
NEW=then some pursue-say-PFV-MPSV-SEM-IMP SAME all-ANIM

kómaˀ ka nóweta’’’ hil ᶲanwis=s 357 mo’os
kom-aˀ ka nów-t-a’’’ hil ᶲanwis=q mo’os
come-IMP PRX see-INTR-IMP all orphan=PAT 2PL.AGT

nówil lakïwìčkì ᶲiyi t’ðh’ik ᶲey mo’os
nówil lak’-s-wît=ki’ ᶲiyi t¾h=k =ˀi mo’os
whip emerge-CAUS-PST2=DST something find=DECL =HSY1 2PL.AGT

mı̄nismil hîlkšîlóˀ ᶲey ˀimëymîl hulk’ò’i.
min-s=mîl hîlkšîloˀ =ˀi ˀimi=mîl hulk’ò’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: ᶲanwis=ì ‘the orphan’.
(29) seˀéy  hi:li  ?wilhánam  nól̓námlikimási
si=ˀi  hil-i  ?wilhan-qp  noˀ=naml̓=kiˀ-mas-i
NEW=HSY1  all-ANIM  ceremonial.house-IN2  live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

?ey  lāksilyąkmil
=ˀi  lak’-s-il-qk=mil
=HSY1  emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN

(30) są̃ˀéy  hi:li  nąwkil’mil.
są=ˀi  hil-i  nąw-k-il= mil
SAME=HSY1  all-ANIM  see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘And all who were in the ceremonial house came out, and looked.’

(31) sikňéy  k’ılk’il  šákmi  tiwíːmililıyąkmil.
si=kň=ˀi  k’ol-k’il  šákmi  tiw=ˀimi-l-il-qk= mil
NEW=then=HSY1  other=TERM  some  pursue-say-PFV-MPSV-SEM=FIN
‘And some notified one another elsewhere.’

(32) są̃ˀey  hiːli  pąwík’i  mópˀṭilmil.
są=ˀi  hil-i  pąwí=k’i  mop-t-il= mil
SAME=HSY1  all-ANIM  one=IN  gather-INTR-MPSV=FIN
‘And all gathered in one place’

(33) są̃ˀey  kí:k  wóktlmil  hulk’oˀi
są=ˀi  kik  wok’-tl=mil  hulk’oˀi  =ˀi
SAME=HSY1  there  dance/sing-TR=FIN  Coyote  =HSY1

hap  yáškil’mil.
hap  yáš-k-il= mil
song/sing  stand-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘There they danced; Coyote stood and sang for them.’

(34) sopéy  hiːli  wóktlmil.
sop=ˀi  hil-i  wok’-tl= mil
but=HSY1  all-ANIM  dance/sing-TR=FIN
‘So they all danced.’

Appendix 10: Yuki Texts (Coyote and the World)
Then they traveled to where Spider was holding down the fire (by squatting on it).

And every so often ceasing to travel, they danced, thus they would do.

But Coyote stood and sang for them.

And stopping the dance, they traveled on once more.
(39)  sq'éy  m̓ąl  kapísimil  
     sq=ˀi  m̓ąl  kap-s=mil
SAME=HSY1  river  enter-CAUS=FIN
‘And they entered the river.’

(40)  sq'ey  híli  ṭú  láksiliʔakmil.
     sq=ˀi  hil-i  ṭuk  lak'-s-il-q=mił
SAME=HSY1  all-ANIM  water  emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN
‘And all came out (on the other side).’

(41)  sikít'éy  hulk'oʔa  taʔétmil.  
     si=kit=ˀi  hulk'oʔi=q  ṭaʔ-t=mił
NEW=then=HSY1  Coyote=PAT  drown-INTR=FIN
‘But Coyote drowned.’

(42)  sikít'éy  láksiliʔaki  ṭúmey
     si=kit=ˀi  lak'-s-il-ąk  ṭúmi
NEW=then=HSY1  emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM  up.hill
k'ąk'ilmil.
k'ąk'-l=mil
exist-PFV?=FIN
‘So having come out, they went on up hill.’

(43)  sikít'éy  hulk'oʔá  táʔlam  h̓a̓l̓i  yātmil.
     si=kit=ˀi  hulk'oʔi=q  ṭaʔ-ląm  =h̓a̓l̓i  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)  sikít'ey  ki  ṭukíʔat tükínámlikimáse  ṭéy
     si=kit=ˀi  kiʔ  ṭuk=namli=kiʔ-mas-i  =ˀi
NEW=then=HSY1  DST  people  move=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM  =HSY1

358 Alternate form given: kapísimil 'they came to'.
359 Alternate form given: taʔítmil 'was drowned'.
militiki ʔey tóktlmil.
militiki =ʔi t’ok-tl=mil
Mílitiki =HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN
‘Then the people who were traveling reached Mílitiki.’

(45) sq’ęy kik híli nóˀokmil yíč
sq=ʔi kik hil-i noˀ-k=mil yíč
SAME=HSY1 there all-ANIM live-PNCT=FIN for.a.while
‘And there all stayed for a while.’

(46) sópey kík hulk’ơi kómmil.
sop=ʔi kik hulk’oˀi kom=mil
but=HSY1 there Coyote come=FIN
‘But there Coyote came up.’

(47) sq’ęy k’ayimilmil hōṭ ʔiwupa han hilk
sq=ʔi k’ay-mil=mil hoṭ ʔiwop=q han hilk
SAME=HSY1 talk-?=FIN large man=PAT? but all/something?

hąkóˀočmi ʔan múnaˀ koyyıkįta hílkil
hąkoč-mih? ʔan munaˀ koʔ-y=kįta hílkil
bad-be? long.time many go-PROG=while one.another

kíwikilmil sq yatámil sq ᵃn
kiw-k-il=mil sq yata=mil sq ᵃn
ask-PNCT-MPSV=FIN SAME discover=FIN SAME long.time

hunákilmil ᵃn káčma mihikan.
huna-k-il=mil ᵃn ka’áčam=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) səʔey ʔim k’an paʔétmil hulk’oʔi militéiki
sq=ʔi ʔim k’än paʔ-t=mil hulk’oʔi militiki
SAME=HSY1 where language/word get.up-INTR=FIN Coyote Militiki

múnaʔ ʔáʔat šünknamlikí: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 Militiki, where the crowd having arrived was sitting.’

(49) səʔey ʔáʔa kí:k múnaʔ ʔáʔa woktlmil
sq=ʔi ʔaʔa kik múnaʔ =ʔi ʔaʔa wok’-t=mil
SAME=HSY1 again there Militiki =HSY1 again dance/sing-TR=FIN

hulk’oʔi hap yěškilop
hulk’oʔi hap yəš-k-il=op
Coyote song/sing stand-PNCT-MPSV=while
‘And there at Militiki they danced once more, Coyote standing and singing for them’

(50) səʔey huʔátli ʔáʔa túktimil.
sq=ʔi huʔuʔ-tl ʔaʔa tuk-t=mil
SAME=HSY1 quit-TR again move-INTR=FIN
‘And ceasing, they traveled on.’

(51) səʔey haye hulmúnin yim náhikiʔičí:sisa
sq=ʔi həʔaye hulmunin yim náʔ-h?=k?ʔič-sa
SAME=HSY1 now Spider fire hold.down-DUR?=DST=JXT=?”

ʔey háye kí:k woktlík ʔey ʔáʔat
=ʔi həʔaye kik wok’-t=k =ʔi ʔaʔat
=HSY1 now there dance/sing-TR=DECL =HSY1 people
‘And now, approaching the place where Spider was holding down the fire, dancing there the swiftest ones danced the circle dance.’

(52) sópey máyą ſohiš 362 milimáʔ páwkwȩ ʔeyy
sop=ʔi may=ʔq ſohiš milimáʔ páwkwȩ =ʔi
but=HSY1 who/someone=Pat swift nobody.I.think one.PAT =HSY1

‘Then, “Who is swift? I think I alone am a swift one”, said Coyote.’

(53) są́ʔéy nánšil ſúnolʔi k’ştilmil.
są=ʔi nan-šil ʔunol=ʔi k’š=ť=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) sikčéy ſáyam máya ſohiš ʔqánop han
si=kiṭ=ʔi ſáyam may=ʔq ſohiš-q-tan=op han
NEW=then=HSY1 Buzzard who/someone=Pat swift-ʔ-NEG=while but

1SG.AGT far fly-INTR=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN Buzzard
‘Then Buzzard, “No one is (so) swift but I fly long”, said Buzzard.’

(55) sikąéy ſʔátąt tálk panóp miʔ mik’al
si=ką=ʔi ſʔat tálk pan=op miʔ mik’al
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 people no hang=ʔ=while? 2SG.AGT? around

360 Alternate form given: wilikilmil ‘dance wilol’ wok in circle’.
361 May be the same verb as t’il ‘add, count, read’, which is included in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:19).
362 Alternate forms given: ‘ohišsamu, ‘ohišq.'
Appendix 10: Yuki Texts (Coyote and the World)

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sika                             mis               ˀamílkilláwxk’                                                  ˀey
si=ką                            mis               ˀamil-k-il-law=k                                             =ˀi
NEW=thereupon   2SG.PAT     overtake-PNCT-MPSV-PRM=DECL =HSY1

ˀim(ml)mil                      ˀaṭát.
ˀimi-qa-l-il=mil                 ˀaṭat
say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN people
‘Then, “No, he will overtake you (as you) circle close by”, said the people to
one another.’

(56) sikitéy                       hayú:mi    k’án                              ṭáyyałˀk             ˀá:ṭatnók363
si=kit=ˀi                       hayum       k’ən                              ṭəl?=k               ˀaṭat=nok
NEW=then=HSY1    Dove    language/word NEG?=DECL     people=near

k’ołam                         ˀey                   k’ó immil        ˀolːok           káyit             t’áhe364
k’ol-am                       =ˀi                   ko=̣mil            ˀol-č’ok                          kəyit             ṭəh
other-NOML               =HSY1    go=FIN     tree-rotten/dry?    long.ago    find

ˀunol’=i         ˀimon’365      há=̣mil       sq       híli           ˀohiːq
ˀunol’=i         ˀimon’           ha=̣mil       sq       hil-i           ˀohiː=a
quiver=IN scarcely.visible    hit=FIN     SAME     all-ANIM     swift=?

kimálilikit                   ˀey                   hayú:mi    k’g’iyêtam$tam’il.
ki-qa-l-il=kit                   =ˀi                  hayum       k’ay-m-tan=mel
say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN =HSY1    Dove    talk-IMPFV-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: ˀá:ṭatnák ‘near people’.
364 Alternative forms given: t’á, t’áhi ‘he found’.
365 The surface form is given only with the <σ> vowel, the vowel may not be /o/, could also be /a/.
(57)  sıʔey  ?atƛ  wóktlmil.
  sq=ʔi  ?ataʔ  wok‘-tl=mil
SAME(?)=HSY1  again  dance/sing-TR=FIN
‘And again they danced.’  ['And again Dove danced.’ ?]

(58)  sıʔey  híli  kí:k’i  wok  ?iy  mąʔ’ilmil
  si=ʔi  hil-i  kik  wok’  =ʔi  mqʔ-l-tl=mil
NEW=HSY1  all-ANIM  there  dance/sing  =HSY1  practice-PFV-MPSV=FIN
  sq  huʔúltli  ?aʔtq  tūkt(i)mil.
  sq  huʔuʔ-tl  ?ataʔ  ṭuk-t=mil
SAME  quit-TR  again  move-INTR=FIN
‘All practiced dancing there; and finishing they traveled on.’

(59)  sqʔey  hulmnin  yim  náʔi  kitáʔopis
  sq=ʔi  hulmunin  yim  nʔ-hʔ  kiʔa=pis
SAME=HSY1  Spider  fire  hold-DUR?  there=ABL?366
  ?ey  tóktlmil.
  =ʔi  t’ok-tl=mil
=HSY1  arrive-TR=FIN
‘And they arrived near where Spider was holding down the fire.’

(60)  sqʔey  ?aʔtq  wóktlmil  kíʔ  káyit
  sq=ʔi  ?ataʔ  wok‘-tl=mil  kiʔ  kayit
SAME=HSY1  again  dance/sing-TR=FIN  DST  long.ago

toktlìki:
t’ok-tl=kiʔ
arrive-TR=DST
‘And having reached it, they danced again.’

(61)  sikiʔey  hayúmi  hulmninat  nák’i:  šilóʔ
  si=kit=ʔi  hayum  hulmunin=ʔ  nák=ʔ  =šiloʔ
NEW=then=HSY1  Dove  Spider=DAT  near?=IN  =INFR2

366  kiʔaʔopis  is  glossed  as ‘there, near this side of it’.
ey náŋkilmil' hayú:mi
=ʔi nám-k-il=mil' hayum
=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN? Dove
‘Then Dove laid himself down as it were near Spider.’

(62) sikitëy híli ʔaqá wóktlmil
si=kit=ʔi hil-i ʔaṭa wok'-tl=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 all-ANIM again dance/sing-TR=FIN
‘And all danced on.’

(63) sonʔéy hulmnínina múšamtanmil.
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.]

(64) siʔéy híli hąye wók huʔútlmil.
si=ʔi hil-i hąʔaye wok' huʔu'-tl=mil
NEW=HSY1 all-ANIM now dance/sing quit-TR=FIN
‘And now all stopped dancing.’

(65) sikitëy wąk’í ki huʔú(tli) ʔey milmu:ši nq
si=kit-i wąk=k’i ki' huʔu(-tl) =ʔi milmuš =nq
NEW=then=HSY1 after=IN DST finish(-TR) =HSY1 Polecat =and

siskína nq ʔolkáčam kimáse mólmaʔ ʔey
siskina =nq ʔolkaṭam ki’-mas-i molmi=a =ʔi
Skunk =and Mouse DST-DSTR-ANIM three=ʔ =HSY1

tátikilmil wok’áŋk
tat-k-il=mil wok’-m=k
good/make-PNCT-MPSV=FIN dance/sing-IMPFV=DECL
‘Then, after that ended, Polecat and Skunk and Mouse, those three adorned
themselves for the dance.’
(66) 
`sopey hulk’o:i ?á’tá kimásat hap yaškilmil.
sop=ˀi hulk’oˀi ?aˀáˀaˀ kiˀ-r-mas=qat hap yaš-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) 
sopˀéy kimási múlmaˀ ?qlaŋkó’otimil
sop=ˀi kim=ˀi molmi=a ?qlaŋkoˀ-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) 
sqˀey kipáw ?ey ?qlaŋkó’otim’il
sq=ˀi kipáw =ˀi ?qlaŋkoˀ-t=mil
SAME=HSY1 back =HSY1 dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN
‘And they danced back.’

(69) 
sqˀéy kipáwki ?aˀáˀaˀ ?qlaŋkóʾotim’il.
sq=ˀi kipáw=ki ?aˀáˀaˀ ?qlaŋkoˀ-t=mil
SAME=HSY1 back=IN again dance.in.a.row-INTR=FIN
‘And again they danced to the side.’

(70) 
sqˀéy ?áˀtá kipáwiyit ?qlaŋkó’top ?ey ?olkáčeam
sq=ˀi ?áˀtá kipáw=iṭ ?qlaŋkoˀ-t=op =ˀi ?olkatam
SAME=HSY1 again back=JXT dance.in.a.row-INTR=while =HSY1 Mouse

ˀunol’ ˀuntilnamlikí: ˀey ˀonop
ˀunol’ ˀun-t-il=namli=ki=ˀ ˀon=op
quiver carry-INTR-MPSV=DEP=DST =HSY1 earth=LAT

hítltimil.
hi-tl-t=mil
drag-TR?=FIN
‘And as they danced back, Mouse dragged on the ground the quiver he was carrying.’
Appendix 10: Yuki Texts (Coyote and the World)

(71) săkopéy  kipát  sín’  k’iktamil

să=kop=ˀi  kip=qt  sín’  k’ik’-ta=mil
SAME=then=HSY1  3R=DAT  anus  scratch-=?=FIN
‘And then he scratched his anus.’

(72) sopéy  hí:li  sohókilmil.

sop=ˀi  hil-i  soh-k-il=mil
but=HSY1  all-ANIM  applaud/cheer-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘But all applauded.’

(73) sopéy  hulmúinina  hą!  ˀímṭ’mil

sop=ˀi  hulmunin=ą  hą  ˀim-t=mil
but=HSY1  Spider=PAT  EXC  try-INTR=FIN
‘And Spider went (imt ‘involuntarily tried’) “HA”.’

(74) sī’ey  ˀúnšil  k’ástemil

si=ˀi  ˀunšil  k’aš-t= mil
NEW?=HSY1  small  rise-INTR=FIN
‘And rose a little.’

(75) sópéy  hąyú:mi  ˀolč’ok  ˀσlč’ok  háˀnamlikí:la

sop=ˀi  hąyum  ˀol-č’ok  ˀol-č’ok  haˀ=namli=kiˀ-la
but=HSY1  Dove  wood-dry?/rotten?  carry=DEP=DST-INST

ˀéy  hą ́hinˀam  lúktlmil.

=ˀi  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’iktálimil ‘scratched’.
368 Uncertain whether it is <t> or <ṭ>.
369 Alternate form given: k’aśtemil ‘he rose up’.
(76) sqˀéy  toˀótimil.
sqˀ=ˀi  ṭoˀ-t=mil
SAME=HSY1  burn-INTR=FIN
‘And he set fire (to the grass).’

(77) sopéy  hulmúnin  wąk  tewtlmil 370
sopˀ=ˀi  hulmunin  wąk  tiw-tl=mil
but=HSY1  Spider  after  pursue-TR=FIN
‘But Spider pursued him closely.’

(78) sikiṭéy  k’olk’il  ˀa[at  wamanamlikimáse
si=kiṭ=ˀi  k’ol=k’il  ˀa-fat  wok’-mq=naml=i=ki’-mas-i
NEW=then=HSY1  other=TERM  people  dance/sing-DIR1=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM
ˀey  túktimil  lalkúhtkiwit.
=ˀi  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.’

(79) sqˀéy  hicli  lalkúhtki  p’ó’ikilmil
sqˀ=ˀi  hil-i  lalkuhtki  p’oy’-k-il=mil
SAME=HSY1  all-ANIM  Lalkuhtki  put?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘And all went into Lalkúhtki.’

(80) sikiṭéy  wilˀám  onkú:tam
si=kiṭ=ˀi  wil-ąm  on-kut-am
NEW=then=HSY1  far-IN2  earth-start-NOML

toˀiltlmil  371  háyu:mi
toˀil-tl=mil  hayum
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: tiˀútlmil ‘pursued him right behind’.
371 Possibly related to ṭoˀ- burn, which is found in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:38).
Appendix 10: Yuki Texts (Coyote and the World)

(81) sikiṭéy wąkop hulmúnin
si=kiṭ=?i wąk=op hulmunin
NEW=then=HSY1 after=LAT Spider

téwtlnamlikán ?ey hutáŋ
tiw-tl=namli=kan =?i hutam
pursue-TR=DEP=though =HSY1 halfway

k’óletmil tót namnamlikiṭa.
k’ol-t=mil ṭoṭ nam=namli=kiṭa
die-INTR=FIN log lay=DEP=there

(82) siˀéy pómil
si=ʔi poˀ=mil
NEW=HSY1 burn=FIN
‘Then though Spider pursued him, he died halfway where a log was lying, and was consumed.’

(83) sikitéy ki lalkútk ʔatát
si=kiṭ=?i ki? lalkuhtki ʔatat
NEW=then=HSY1 DST Lalkúhtki people

ʔóykinamlikimáse ?ey lál
ʔoy-k-il=namli=kiʔ-mas-i =?i lal
run-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1 lake

mítkilmil.
mit-k-il=mil
cover-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘Then they who had crowded into Lalkúhtki filled up the lake,’

(84) sikiṭéy šákma ʔaqéyakilmil yímok
si=kiṭ=?i šákmi=q ʔaq-il=mil yim-ok
NEW=then=HSY1 some=PAT hot-SEM-MPSV=FIN fire-INST
‘and some were scorched by the fire.’
NEW=therefore=HSY1 Woodpecker head red-IMPFV=FIN
‘That is why Woodpecker has a red head.’

NEW=therefore=HSY1 Blackbird shoulder hot-?-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST

‘That is why Red-winged Blackbird being scorched on the shoulder has a red spot there.’

NEW=then Coyote=PAT hot-INTR=because =HSY1

‘And Coyote’s fur was yellowish because he had been scorched.’

NEW=HSY1 long.time earth burn-IMPFV=FIN
‘And now for a long time the world was in conflagration,’

‘but then it extinguished.’

Kroeber glosses šámnátmil ‘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 ťa:m- ‘cold, of a person or the weather’, which could be connected to the verb root in šámnátmil.
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(90) sopéy ˀaːtāt ˀukpis  laːksiliyāki  nāwˀnamlikīṭa
sop=ˀi ˀaṭat ˀuk'=pis  lak'-s-il-ąk  noˀ=namli=kiṭa
but=HSY1  people  water=ABL  emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM  live=DEP=there

ˀey  túːmamil  hiːli.
=ˀi  ṭuk?=mₐ=mil  hil-i
=HSY1  move-Dir1=FIN  all-ANIM
‘But the people all coming out of the water, returned to where they lived,’

(91) s̄ey  kik  iwiːhánk'i  wōktłmil
sq=ˀi  kik  iwilhan=k'i  wok'-tl=mil
SAME=HSY1  there  ceremonial.house=IN  dance/sing-TR=FIN
‘and there they danced in the ceremonial house.’

(92) seˀey  haye  i̲ːmilhíp  tʔ̲l'ilmil
si=ˀi  hʔ̲aye  i̲milhip  t'q-I-il=mil
NEW=HSY1  now  rolling.hoop.game  have.race-PFV-MPSV=FIN

ˀiwiːs  mąːlam  kūːktkiwit
ˀiwiːs  mą̄l-am  kuhtki=wit
men  young-NOML  north=ALL
‘And now the young man [men?] had a race rolling hoops along to the north.’

(93) seˀe̲y  kuht'k'i  tōktłmil
si=ˀi  kuhtki  t'ok-tl=mil
NEW=HSY1  north  arrive-TR=FIN

tʔ̲milhíp't=namli=kiʔ'?-mas-i
rolling.hoop.game-INTR=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM
‘Then those who were rolling arrived in the north;’

373 t’āmil hip is identified as the name of the rolling hoop game by Kroeber in the original notes. In clause 92, Kroeber glosses t’āmil ‘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’āmilhip ‘hoop game’ attributed to Foster.
(94)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sq'ey} & \quad \text{k'olą́:tk} & \quad \text{t'öktlmil} \\
\text{sq=i} & \quad \text{k'ol=qt=k} & \quad \text{t'ok-tl=mil}
\end{align*}
\]
SAME=HSY1 other=DAT=IN arrive-TR=FIN
‘and they had reached the place of other (people).’

(95)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sq'ey} & \quad \text{hánk'il} & \quad \text{t'ą́:milhpmamil} \\
\text{sq=i} & \quad \text{han=k'il} & \quad \text{t'ą́milhpm=mp=ml}
\end{align*}
\]
SAME=HSY1 house=TERM rolling.hoop.game-DIR1=FIN
‘So they were racing toward the houses.’

(96)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se'ey} & \quad \text{?eyínom'} & \quad \text{miytkil'} & \quad \text{kölityik} \\
\text{si=ˀi} & \quad \text{ˀiyi-nom'} & \quad \text{mi=ąt=k'il} & \quad \text{koˀ-lit-y=k}
\end{align*}
\]
NEW=HSY1 what-people/tribe 1PL.INCL=DAT=TERM go-DIR2-PROG=DECL

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SE'ey} & \quad \text{ˀimá́lilmil} & \quad \text{k'ö́il} \\
=ˀi & \quad \text{ˀimi-mq-l-ı=ml} & \quad \text{k'óil}
\end{align*}
\]
=HSY1 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN Wailaki
‘And the Wailaki said to one another, “People of some tribe are coming toward us”.

(97)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se'ey} & \quad \text{?wilhánam} & \quad \text{káptilyakmil} \\
\text{si=ˀi} & \quad \text{ˀiwilhan-ąm} & \quad \text{kap-t-il-ąk=mil}
\end{align*}
\]
NEW=HSY1 ceremonial.house-IN2 enter-INTR-MPSV-SEM=FIN
‘Then they caused them to enter the ceremonial house;’

(98)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se'ey} & \quad \text{kápsilyakmil} \\
\text{si=ˀi} & \quad \text{kap-s-il-ąk=ml}
\end{align*}
\]
NEW=HSY1 enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN
‘and they entered.’

(99)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sikq'ę́y} & \quad \text{nákop} & \quad \text{k'ap'ę́yakmil} & \quad \text{k'ö́il} \\
\text{si=kq=ˀi} & \quad \text{nąq=op} & \quad \text{k'ap'ę́q=ml} & \quad \text{k'ö́il}
\end{align*}
\]
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 dark/night=LAT kill-SEM=FIN Wailaki
‘Thereupon in the night the Wailaki killed them.’

---

374 Alternate form given: k’olą́:ṭap ‘to another’s place’.
375 kápsilyakmil ‘they caused them to enter’ is given as a possible though uncertain alternative.
Appendix 10: Yuki Texts (Coyote and the World)

(100) sikítéy šákmi hákilmil
si=kitʔi šákmi hah-k-il=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 some run-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘But some escaped.’

(101) sikítéy čá:minká:pina 376 ?únšilkil
si=kitʔi čáminkapin=q ?unšil=k’il
NEW=then=HSY1 Čaminkapin=PAT small=TERM
č’ak’ikilmil
č’ak’-k-il=mil
club-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘And they were trying to club little Čaminkapin.’

(102) seʔey yóʔotop mik’óp kapénì’akmil 377
si=ʔi yoṭ=op mik’op kap-n-ʔk=mil
NEW=HSY1 grass=LAT quick enter-AND-SEM=FIN
‘But he dashed quickly in and out of the grass,’

(103) sqʔey wílʔi lákti tášil holýammil.
sq=ʔi wíl=ʔi 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 ʔimeymil čá:minká:pin
sik=ʔi tál tál tál ʔim=mi=il čáminkapin
then=HSY1 no no no say=FIN Čaminkapin
‘and Čaminkapin said “No, no, no!”’

(105) sikítéy šákmi ʔonwičop ʔıtłmil 378
si=kitʔi šákmi ʔon=wič=op ʔiʔ-tl=mił
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: kapínì’akmil ‘he went in and out there’.
378 Kroeber glosses ʔıtłmil ‘they got (from where they flee)’.
(106) sikitéy wą́k’op čą:minká:pin kóːmil
si=kit=ˀi wąk=op čaminkapin koˀ=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 after=LAT Čaminkapin go=FIN
‘but Čaminkapin came behind.’

(107) si ki náŋ ?ey hulk’oˀá ?inámtmil ?aːṭáːt
si kiˀ náŋ =ˀi hulk’oˀi=q ?inam-t=mil ?aṭat
NEW DST dark/night =HSY1 Coyote=PAT dream-INTR=FIN people
kúːhtkiwit yiːt-wi kimáša lítámsik
kuhtki=wit yiˀ-t-wi kiˀ-mas=q liʾt-m-sik
north=ALL play-INTR-PST1 DST-DSTR=PAT kill-INTR-IMPFV−HSY2 =HSY1

'And at night Coyote dreamed: “The people who went north playing are being killed”, Coyote said.’

(108) sikíṭey híʾkilnamlikimáse
si=kit=ˀi híʾ-k-il=namli=kiˀ-mas-i
NEW=then=HSY1 come.out-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1
kipą́wk’il tʾóktlmil
kipw=k’il t’ok-tl=mil
back=TERM arrive-TR=FIN
‘Then whoever had escaped arrived again.’

(109) sóney hušk’áyestam’m’il k’óˀil ?aːṭáːt liʾįyaknamlikí:
son=ˀi hušk’ay-s-tan=mil k’oˀi=liʔaṭat liʾʔ-qk=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: lítámsik ‘were killed’.
(110) sonˀéy ną́:nákmil hulk’óˀa ką́yit
son=ˀi nąnak=mil hulk’oˀi=ą kąyit
but=HSY1 know=FIN Coyote=PAT long.ago

ˀinámtmnmlíka
ˀinam-t=namli=ka?
dream-INTR=DEP=PRX?
‘but Coyote knew it from dreaming it before (they came).’

(111) sqʾéy háye t’áw ką́yakmil
sq=ˀi hqˀaye t’aw ką?=ąk=mil
SAME=HSY1 now war want?-SEM=FIN
‘And now he wanted to make war upon them for it.’

(112) sqʾey ṭá:ṭat t’člakmil kimáša ṭaniltčli
sq=ˀi ṭat t’či-ąk=mil kiˀ-mas=ą ṭanil-t-il
SAME=HSY1 people count-SEM=FIN DST-DSTR=PAT lead-INTR-MPSV

k’oˀóla ṭ’ąwlí:tinik
k’oˀol=ą ṭ’ąw-lit-nik
Wailaki.PL=PAT war-DIR2-NEC
‘And he counted the people he was about to take to war on the Wailaki.’

(113) sqʾey t’uynaˀákin=ą ną šiwkí:ṭiną ṭeyy yąwweymil
sq=ˀi t’uynaˀakin=ą =ną šiwktiŋ=ą =ˀi yąw=mil
SAME=HSY1 T’uynaˀákin=PAT =and Šiwkítin=PAT =HSY1 name/call=FIN
‘And named T’uynaˀákin and Šiwkítin.’

(114) sqkópey ṭolká:čma yąwweymil kimáša
sq=kop=ˀi ṭolkatam=ą yąw=mil kiˀ-mas-i
SAME=then=HSY1 Mouse=PAT name/call=FIN DST-DSTR-ANIM

Kroeber glosses ką́yakmil ‘he wanted to give them for it’. Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:266) include the form k’qť- ‘wish’, which may be the same as the root of this verb or a root that is somehow related.
k’óˀola haikiyúniakpá:miki: kimáṣa.  
k’oˀol=q hayk’ayu-n-ak-paˀam=ki? kiˀ-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) seˀey kimási kó:tmil
siˀi kiˀ-mas-i koˀ-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM go-INTR=FIN
‘Then they went:’

(116) sopéy múnaˀ kó:tmil
sop=ˀi munaˀ koˀ-t=mil
but=HSY1 many go-INTR=FIN
‘many went,’

(117) sopéy hulk’óˀi ˀqwęhyádktemil
sop=ˀi hulk’oˀi ˀqwę-huyak-t=mil
but=HSY1 Coyote war-leader?-INTR=FIN
‘but Coyote was war leader.’

(118) sqˀény k’óˀolat ṭ’ónop tóktlmil
sq=ˀi k’oˀol=qt ṭ’on=op t’ok-tl=mil
SAME=HSY1 Wailaki.PL=DAT earth=LAT arrive-TR=FIN
‘And they reached the Wailaki country.’

(119) se hánkil kóˀolítyi ṭ’ey ṭ’iyinom’
si han=k’i’l koˀ-lit-y ˀsi ˀyi-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 kó’tmil. Difficult to tell if the glottalization has been crossed out or not.
Then as they were approaching the houses, the Wailaki said, “Some people are going toward us in numbers”.

And Coyote understood them,

and told his own people.

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.

Alternate form given: k'o'olk'ána'ok ‘in Wailaki language’.
‘And he (Coyote) entered the ceremonial house though none of them said to him, “Enter!”’

‘Then some of the Wailaki said, “They sit down as if they thought they would return alive”.’

‘And Coyote understood’

‘and told his people.’
Then the Wailaki asked: “Show us (your) dance”, they said to Coyote.

And he said, “Yes,”

and told his people to dance.

So they danced.

And they stopped as it was becoming the middle of the night.

‘And they stopped as it was becoming the middle of the night.’
"Now in turn we want to see your dance", Coyote said to the Wailaki.

(133) seˀéy k’oˀil woktlmil
si=ˀi k’oˀil wok’-tl=mil
NEW=HSY1 Wailaki dance/sing-TR=FIN
‘Then the Wailaki danced.’

(134) sikąˀéy hulk’óˀi in háwtlmil
si=ką=ˀi hulk’oˀi in haw-tl=mil
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 Coyote sleep wish-TR=FIN
‘Thereupon Coyote wished them sleepy.’

(135) sikiṭéy ˀolką́čam ˀą́ṭey yič
si=kiṭ=ˀi ˀolkaṭam ˀą́ṭi yič
NEW=then=HSY1 Mouse a.while for.a.while
lákmik ˀímil ˀey lákt(e)mil hučki
lak’-m=k ˀimi=mil =ˀi lak’-t=mil huč=ki
emerge-IMPFV=DECL say=FIN =HSY1 emerge-INTR=FIN outside=IN
k’oˀil wóˀoksikiṭ
k’oˀil 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.’

(136) seˀéy ˀan woˀokesmil k’oˀil
si=ˀi ˀan wok’-s=mil k’oˀil
NEW=HSY1 long.time dance/sing-CONT=FIN Wailaki
‘And they danced long.’
(137) sikąˀéy  an  hulk’óˀi  in  hawesmil
si=ką=ˀi  an  hulk’oˀi  in  haw-s=mil
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 long.time Coyote sleep wish-CONT=FIN
‘But all the time Coyote was wishing them sleepy.’

(138) seˀéy  šą́kmi  k’óˀil  ?inlámek  ?ey  ?ey
si=ˀi  šąkmi  k’oˀil  ?in-lq=m=k  ?i  =ˀi
NEW=HSY1 some Wailaki sleep-INCH=DECL 1SG.PAT =HSY1

?imáłilmil
?imi-q-l-il=mil
say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN
‘Then some of the Wailaki said to one another, “I am getting sleepy.”’

(139) sikąˀey  haye  hulk’óˀi  ?iníštaˀ?
si=ką=ˀi  hąˀaYE  hulk’oˀi  ?in-s-t-aˀ?
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 now Coyote sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP

?iníštaˀ?  lil  hul  p’oyíštaˀ?
?in-s-t-aˀ?  lil  hul  p’oy-s-t-aˀ?
sleep-CAUS-INTR-IMP stone eye put-CAUS-INTR-IMP

wok’-s-ką=kop  ?in-s-t-aˀ?  =ˀi  ?imi=mil  hulk’oˀi
dance/sing-CONT?-?=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) seˀéy  haye  hí:li  ?ónop  nóchikimásá  ?ey
si=ˀi  hąˀaYE  hil-i  ?on=op  noˀ-h=kiˀ-mas=q  =ˀi
NEW=HSY1 now all-ANIM ground=LAT live-DUR=DST-DST=DSTR=PAT =HSY1

?inkóptmil
?inkop’-t=mil
snore-INTR=FIN
‘And now all those who were lying on the ground snored (in their sleep).’
Then after a time those who were dancing went to sleep without taking their feathers off.

And now all of them slept,

and were performing a great snore, the Wailaki did.

But now Coyote said aloud, “Become sleepy! Become sleepy! Turn your eyes to stone!”
(145) sikiṭéy  haye  t’uynaˀákin=á  k’ąy-mil=mil  hulk’ő?i  
si=kit=ˀi  hąˀq’ye  t’uyna’ãkin=q  k’ą-y-mil=mil  hulk’ő?i  
NEW=then=HSY1  now  T’uyna’ãkin=PAT  talk=FIN  Coyote

  t’úy  haˀq’al  hąnˀal  na  ˀá:ṭat  nóhikîta  hil
  t’úy  hąˀ-tl  hanal  =na  ˀaṭat  noˀ-h=kiṭa  hil
pitch  rub-TR  wall  =and  people  live-DUR=then?/where?  all
  ‘Thereupon he spoke to T’uyna’ãkin: “Rub pitch on the walls and wherever
people are lying.”’

(146) seˀéy  t’uyna’ãkin  t’úy  haˀnamlîkîla  ˀey
  si=ˀi  t’uyna’ãkin  t’úy  hąˀ=namlî=kiˀ-la  =ˀi
NEW=HSY1  T’uyna’ãkin  pitch  rub=DEP=DST-INST  =HSY1

  t’úyy  tiktîmil 384  hánˀal  na  ˀá:ṭat  nóhikîta
  t’uy  ṭik-tl=mil  hanal  =na  ˀaṭat  noˀ-h=kiṭa
pitch  paint-TR=FIN  walls  =and  people  live-DUR=then
  ‘Then T’uyna’ãkin smeared the pitch which he had on the walls and on the
people who lay about.’

(147) sikiṭéy  káyit  ˀolkáčam  hąwáy  móneti 385
  si=kit=ˀi  káyit  ˀolkâṭam  hąwáy  mon-t
NEW=then=HSY1  long.ago  Mouse  food/eat  steal-INTR

  lumtît  ʃâyaki  čiɼi’yakîk  ˀey  ˀá:ṭat  k’óˀil
  lum-ṭît  ʃây-ąk  ɼiɼ-ąk=ɼ  =ˀi  ˀaṭat  k’óˀil
bow?=string/rope  chew-SEM?  notch-SEM=DECL  =HSY1  people  Wailaki

384 Glossed by Kroeber as ‘rubbed’, but this probably refers to ha’. tik- shows up as ‘paint’ in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984), which seems like a plausible gloss here.
385 Alternate form given: móniti ‘stole’.
‘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’êy tuktâmiyąki wíl(l)op t’úmil
SAME=HSY1 move-INTR-IMPFV-SEM far=LAT lay=FIN

míšit kîta ‘atát kompa:mi: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 hil t’uy t’k hu’útlîkîṭ
NEW=then=HSY1 now all pitch paint quit-TR=when

=ð’êt háye hil-i lakšîlyakmil huχi
=HSY1 now all-ANIM emerge-CAUS-MPSV-SEM=FIN outside=IN

‘And now when (T’uynaˀákin) had finished smearing everything with pitch, all went outdoors,’

(150) sikiṭéy pąw kah wístmil t’uynaˀákina
NEW=the=HSY1 one PRX? remain-INTR=FIN T’uynaˀákin=PAT

‘and only this T’uynaˀákin remained.’

(151) sq’êy kayit hil-i lákta386 =ð’îy =ð’imeymil
SAME=HSY1 long.ago all-ANIM emerge-INTR-Q =HSY1 say=FIN

386 Alternate form given: láktq ‘gone out’.
hulk’oˀá kíwisk
hulk’oˀi=q kiw-s=k
Coyote=PAT ask-CAUS?=DECL
‘And, “Has everybody already gone out?” he said, asking Coyote.’

(152) seˀéy ˀq hiːli ˀus láktik ˀey
siˀi ˀq hi-l-i ˀus lak’-t=k =ˀi
NEW=HSY1 yes all-ANIM 1PL.EXCL.AGT emerge-INTR=DECL =HSY1

ˀímeymil hulk’ói.
ˀimi=mil hulk’ó:i
say=FIN Coyote
‘“Yes, we are all out”, Coyote said.’

(153) sóp’ey mipát t’ačtlkop 387 ˀey
sop=ˀi mipat t’ač-tl=kop =ˀi
but=HSY1 hand clap?-TR=while =HSY1

t’óš 388 ˀímeymil t’uynaˀákín
t’oš ˀimi=mil t’uynaˀákín
t’oš say=FIN T’uynaˀákín
‘But then, clapping his hands, “T’oš” said T’uynaˀákín.

(154) sikiṭéy hóˀq t’óš tána yąh-tl=mil
si=kiṭ=ˀi hoˀ t’óš hanal yąh-tl=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 large walls blaze-TR=FIN
‘And the walls blazed up greatly,’

(155) sikiṭéy ˀatát noˀnamlikimáse
si=kiṭ=ˀi ˀatat noˀ=namli=kiˀ-mas-i
NEW=then=HSY1 people live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM

387 Alternate form given: t’ačtlkop ‘clapped’. May be the same verb root as t’q’t- ‘slap’ included in Sawyer and Schlichter (1984:189).
388 An exclamation.
pa’silkókimlika ˀey ˀat’óhamil
paˀ-s-il-kok-im-l-ka ˀi ˀat’-oha=mil
get.up-CAUS?-MPSV?-try-PFV-?=HSY1 fasten-?=FIN
‘and the persons who were lying there, when they tried to arise were fastened together.’

(156)  siˀéy  háye  hi:l  han  k’áltlmil
    si=ˀi  hąˀaye  hil  han  k’al-tl=mil
NEW=HSY1 now all house burn-TR=FIN
‘and all the house was consumed.’

(157)  sikiš’éy  sohókilmil
    si=kš=ˀi  soh-k-il=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 applaud/cheer-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘Thereupon they gave a whoop,’

(158)  sı̊’ey  kipáwwop  wítákmil ˀolkakčám
    sq=ˀi  kipáw=op  wiṭ-qk=mil ˀolkaṭam
SAME=HSY1 back=LAT turn-SEM=FIN Mouse

    hąwayi  móneti  t’únamlíkíta
    hąway  mon-t  t’uˀ=namli=kišta
food/eat steal-INTR lay=DEP=there
‘and went back to where Mouse had piled the stolen food.’

(159)  sı̊’ey  t’ól  túktimil  hąwayi  ki’la
    sq=ˀi  t’ol  ṭuk-t=mil  hąway  ki’-la
SAME=HSY1 hair move-INTR=FIN food/eat DST-INST
And they went carrying the scalps with the food.’

(160)  sópey  kuyítpis  k’š’il  kímo’oséyya
    sop=ˀi  kuy=iṭ=pis  k’oˀ’il  kímo’osiya
but=HSY1 there=JXT=ABL Wailaki DSTR.R
‘But as the Wailaki from there shot at them, their bow strings snapped which Mouse had previously notched.’

‘Then the Wailaki followed after them.’

‘And “The Wailaki are pursuing us”, said Coyote.’

‘Then the Wailaki were following close behind.’

‘Then the Wailaki are pursuing us’, said Coyote.‘
wiṭkmil k'o'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’

(165) sq’ey t’ak 39 námtilm k’o’ola
sq=’i t’ak nām-tl=mil k’o’ol=q
SAME=HSY1 ? lay-TR=FIN Wailaki.PL=PAT
‘and knocked them over dead.’

(166) sqkiṭey ?’at tūktim hulk’o’i
sq=kiṭ=’i ?’aṭa tūk-t=mil hulk’o’i
SAME=then=HSY1 again move-INTR=FIN Coyote
‘So Coyote (and his) and went on carrying,’

(167) siką’ey ?’at k’éil wąkop t’ıwmann
si=ką=’i ?’aṭa k’éil wąk=op tiw-m=q=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) siką’ey ?’at šiwktín kipat lila?ok wiṭkmil
si=ką=’i ?’aṭa šiwktín kip=ąt lila=ą?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) sq’ey ?’at t’’ak námtilm
sq=’i ?’aṭa t’’ak nām-tl=mil
SAME=HSY1 again ? lay-TR=FIN
‘and knocked them over dead;’

39 Kroeber does not gloss this word in either example where it appears in the texts. A similar verb root t’ak- ~ t’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 t’ak in (169).
(170)  sąkiṭéy  ṭük-t=mil  hulk’oˀi
sq=kit=ˀi  ṭuk-t=mil  hulk’oˀi
SAME?=then=HSY1  again  move-INTR=FIN  Coyote
‘and Coyote went on.’

(171)  seˀey  ṭuk-t=mil  hulk’oˀi
si=ˀi  ṭuk-t=mil  hulk’oˀi
NEW=HSY1  again  other  DST-DSTR-ANIM  Wailaki

téwmąmil
tiw-mq=mil
pursue-DIR1=FIN
‘And still other Wailaki pursued;’

(172)  sikiṭéy  ṭük-t=mil  k’olamwit  tiw=mil
si=kit=ˀi  ṭuk-t=mil  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)  seˀey  šiwkiṭin  lílaˀ  wiṭ-k=mil
si=ˀi  šiwkiṭin  lil=ąˀ  wiṭ-k=mil
NEW=HSY1  again  Šiwkítin  stone=OBL  hurl-PNCT=FIN
‘Then Šiwkítin again hurled with his stone’

(174)  sqˀey  ṭ’ąk  namtlmil  ṭ’aˀa
sq=ˀi  ṭ’ąk  nam-tl=mil  ṭ’aˀa
SAME=HSY1  ?  lay-TR=FIN  again
‘and knocked them over dead.’

(175)  sikiṭey  ṭük-t=mil
si=kit=ˀi  ṭuk-t=mil
NEW=then=HSY1  again  move-INTR=FIN
‘and again they went on.’
‘Thereupon the two Wailaki, who were alive came back and told (what had happened).’

‘We knew in time, that is why we pursued separately”, they said to the others, those two Wailaki who came back alive.’
‘Thereupon Coyote and his men returned to where they lived at their great ceremonial house.’

‘And there he showed his people everything that they had brought.’

‘Then their fathers and mothers knew the scalps.’

‘So now Coyote put them into an acorn storeroom along with their bones which he had gathered, rubbing them with marrow.’
“I do this, but one of them will pop (crackle inside)”, he said.

‘And when he looked a little later, one of them was making a sound.’

‘Then he took them out of the storeroom,’

‘and rubbed them with marrow.’

‘So thus now Coyote got back his people.’

‘And then, lying down, he went to sleep.’
(187) sikąˀéy ˀaːṭát pilá:t námṭilnamlikí:
si=kąˀi ˀaːṭat pilat nąm-t-il=namli=ki?
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 people sun lay-INTR-MPSV=DEP=DST

ˀiy ˀinámtnmil
=ˀi ˀinam-t=mił
=HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN
‘Thereupon he dreamed of the people who kept the sun.’

(188) sąˊey kipat ˀaːṭáta hušk’áyesmil ˀinám
sq=ˀi kip=ąt ˀaṭat=q hušk’ay-s=mił ˀinam
SAME=HSY1 3R=DAT people=PAT tell-CAUS?=FIN dream

hušk’áyestanáˀk’ophán ˀáp kɔmiːldámsik
hušk’ay-s-tan-aˀ=kop=han ˀap kɔʔ-mq-il-m-sik
tell-CAUS?-NEG?=while?=but 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-HSY2

sq ˀáp kɔʔomilik ˀey ˀim
sq ˀap kɔʔ-mq-il=k =ˀi ˀim
SAME 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV=DECL =HSY1 say

kipat ˀaːṭáta hušk’áyesmil tat nôhinik ˀey
kip=ąt ˀaṭat=q hušk’ay-s=mił tat noʔ-h-nik =ˀi
3R=DAT people=PAT tell-CAUS?=FIN good live-DUR-NEC =HSY1

ˀimiyikíˀ ˀey kátemil hulk’óˀi
ˀimi-y=kiṭ =ˀi kɔʔ-t=mił hulk’oˀi
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) sąˊey ˀinámtnamlikítaˊ humáːs kɔʔomil
sq=ˀi ˀinam-t=namli=kiṭa humaːs kɔʔ=mił
SAME=HSY1 dream-INTR=DEP=there straight/correct go=FIN
‘And he came straight to where he had dreamed.’

(190) sq’ény  han’üčyilkop  mil  tayamamil
sq=’i   han=it-y-il=kop  mil  tay-m=mil
SAME=HSY1  house=JXT-PROG-MPSV=when  meat/deer  cut-IMPFV=FIN
‘And when he came near the house(s), he killed a deer,’

(191) sq’ény  háyk  k’otlamil
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’ény  hán’k’il  ’ànmmqmil
sq=’i  han=k’il  ’un-mq=mil
SAME=HSY1  house=TERM  carry-DIR1=FIN
‘and brought it to the house,’

(193) sq’ény  húčki  kéytlmil
sq=’i  huč=ki  ki?-tl=mil
SAME=HSY1  outside=IN  drop?-TR=FIN
‘and dropped it outside.’

(194) sqk’itéy  hánam  káptmil
sq=kit=’i  han-qm  kap-t=mil
SAME=then=HSY1  house-IN2  enter-INTR=FIN
‘Then he went into the house.’

(195) se’ény  ’ópa  mus  nómil
si=’i  ’opi=a  mus  no’-mil
NEW=HSY1  two=?  women  live=FIN
‘Two women lived there.’
(196) sikiṭéy  kápti  šúˀukmil
si=kitˀ=i  kap-t  šuˀ2-k=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 enter-INTR sit/stay-PNCT=FIN
‘So having gone in, he sat down.’

(197) sq̓éy  ˀąp  mil  ˀánmawi  ki:
sq=ˀi  ˀąp  mil  ˀun-mq-wi  ki? 
SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT meat/deer carry-DIR1-PST1 DST

kápisa  hąwayilitia'  ?ey  ˀîmeymil  hulk’oˀi
kap-s-a?  hąway-lite-a?  =ˀi  ˀimi=mil  hulk’oˀi
enter-CAUS-IMP food/eat-DIR2-IMP =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote

kimāša  múś’ə?
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) se̓éy  paʔ’k  lákti  kapmíka
si=ˀi  paʔ’k  lak'-t  kap=maal? 
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) sq̓éy  kipáwkil  kápt(i)  ˀîymún’
sq=ˀi  kipaw=k’il  kap-t  ˀi-mun’ 
SAME=HSY1 back=TERM enter-INTR 1SG.KIN.POSS-younger.sister

ˀey  sá:k’lik  ?ey  ˀîmeymil
ˀi  sak’il=k  =ˀi  ˀimi=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: hąwayilitínyaka ‘and eat it!’
(200) seʔéy kiⱭik'ič miwánʔk láktmíl
si="i kim-k'ič miw-a-nik lak'=t=mi1
NEW?=HSY1 DST.INAL.POSS-older.sister help?-?NEC? emerge-INTR=FIN
'So she went out to help her older sister.'

(201) sikąʔéy ?opkí:ya sá:k'ilmíl
si=kq=ʔi ?opi=ki=q sak'il=mi1
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 two=DST=PAT heavy?=FIN
'But both of them could not lift it.'

(202) sqʔéy kápsiliyąki ʔúša sálik
sq=ʔi kap-s-il-qk ʔus=q sak'il
SAME=HSY1 enter-CAUS-MPSV-SEM 1PL.EXCL=PAT heavy?
hoʔt hanóʔ mih ʔey ʔimey mišáki mus
hot hanóʔ mih =ʔi ʔimi=mi1 ki?-mas-i mus
large heavy be =HSY1 say=FIN DST-DSTR-ANIM women
'And coming in together, “We cannot raise it it is very heavy”, said those
cwomen.'

(203) seʔéy hulk'oʔi lákti kapísimíl
si="i hulk'oʔi lak'=t kap-s=mi1
NEW=HSY1 Coyote emerge-INTR enter-CAUS=FIN
'Then Coyote going out brought it in.'

(204) sqʔéy noʔnamlikí:k hámpeyit námtlmíl ki: mil
sq=ʔi noʔ=namli=kik hamp=it nāmt-ml=mi1 ki?: mil
SAME=HSY1 live=DEP=there back=JXT lay-TR=FIN DST meat/deer
'And he laid that deer behind where they were sitting.'

(205) sqʔéy maš³⁹¹ hqwáysam wič kóyikap
sq=ʔi mas hqwáys-s-m-(ʔ) wič koʔ-y=kop
SAME=HSY1 thus food/eat-CAUS-IMPFV-IMP far go-PROG=while?

³⁹¹ Alternate form given: maš ‘thus’.
máy                            hiwitwiča                           wičkí:          may                            ?ínlam'.

may’                         hiw-t-wič-a                        wič=ki      may’                         ?in-łam

who/someone      tired-INTR-PST2-?   far=IN who/someone     sleep-INCH

?ey                         imeymil        hulk’oˀi
=ˀi                         ḫim=mi         hulk’oˀi
=HSY1          say=FIN    Coyote

“We, eat! From coming far I am exhausted, that is why I am sleepy”, said Coyote.

(206)  sq’ey                    náŋkilmil                            k’amolšil
sq=ˀi                     nąm-k-il=mil                      k’amol-šil
SAME=HSY1 lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN puma-skin

kipá            tatlnamlikí
kip=q              tat-tl=namlikí
3R=PAT good/make-TR=DEP=DST

‘And he lay down on a puma skin which they arranged for him.’

(207)  sikitéy                  kimáši                müs           mil           húyisk
si=kit=ˀi               kiˀ-mas-i                         mus           mil           huy-s=k
NEW=then=HSY1 DST-DSTR-ANIM women meat/deer cook-CAUS=DECL

hąwáyisammil
hąwáy-s-m=mil

‘Then those women, having broiled the meat, ate it.’

(208)  sikitéy                    hulk’oˀi        námmil
si=kit=ˀi                     hulk’oˀi                        nąm=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 Coyote lay=FIN

‘And so Coyote lay there.’

Alternate form given: iłám’ ‘sleepy’.
(209)  sq  ⚫?intálaˀhan  ⚫?inkóˀopismil
       sq  ⚫?in-tql-ʔ=han  ⚫?inkopˀ=s=mil
SAME  sleep-NEG-?=but  snore-CONT=FIN
‘And even though not asleep he snored.’

(210)  sikítéy  kimási  mú:s
       si=kit=ʔi  kiˀ-mas-i  mus
NEW=then=HSY1  DST-DSTR-ANIM  women

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

(211)  sikáˀéy  høy  ⚫in  háwtlmil  hana  ⚫?ey
       si=káˀ=ʔi  høy=ʔye  ⚫in  haw-tl=mil  hana 393  ⚫?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.’

(212)  simeyˀéy  pąk  ⚫inlámek  ⚫?ey  ⚫?imeymil
       si=mi=ʔi  pąk  ⚫in-ləm=k  =ʔi  ⚫?im=mil
NEW=thereupon=HSY1  one  sleep-INCH=DECL  =HSY1  say=FIN
‘Thereupon one said, “I am getting sleepy”;’

(213)  sqʾéy  naŋkilmil
       sq=ʔi  nqš-k-il=mil
SAME=HSY1  lay-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘and lay down.’

393 Alternate form given: ‘an ʔi ‘all the time’. Kroeber glosses hana ʔey ‘to himself, secretly, in his mind’. May possibly be hana(ʔk)- know, perhaps with a meaning ‘(he) knew, (he) wished it’.
(214) sik^ëy ʰinítmil
si=k^q=i ʰin-t=mil
NEW=thereupon=HSY1  sleep-INTR=FIN
‘And then she slept.’

(215) sikîtéy ʰol^k^a hoy ʰinlâmmil
si=kît=i ʰol=kí=q hoy ʰin-lâm=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 other=DST=PAT too  sleep-INCH=FIN
‘Then the other one too got sleepy.’

(216) se^ëy ʰan ʰin hâwesmil ʰey ʰîmeymil
si=^i ʰan ʰin haw-s=mil =^i ʰîmi=mil
NEW=HSY1 long.time sleep wish-CAUS=FIN =HSY1 say=FIN

mûsp ʰîy hoy ʰîllâń’ ʰîmyîka ʰey
musp ʰi hoy ʰîn-lâm? ʰîmi-y=ka =^i
woman 1SG.PAT too sleep-INCH say-PROG=when? =HSY1

tôtî ʰinítmil mipâ:t’ey mil hâ²
tôt ʰin-t=mil mipat=^i mil hâ²
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) se^ëy hâye hîl^la ʰinítmil.
si=^i hâq’aye hil=q ʰin-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 now all=PAT sleep-INTR=FIN

(218) se^ëy hôt ʰînok’opt’mil
si=^i hôt ʰînok’opt=t=mil
NEW?=HSY1 large snore-INTR=FIN
‘So now they all slept and snored much.’
‘Then Coyote arose.’

‘And where he knew the sun lay many bear skins and puma skins and all kinds of skins covered it.’

‘So now he stripped them all off;’

‘and piled them together:’

‘in two (heaps) he piled them together.’
Appendix 10: Yuki Texts (Coyote and the World)

(224) samí:?i: háye pilá:ta k’oˀ’hali:kí: ?ey háye
     qa=mi=ˀi háq’yaye pilat=q k’oˀ’hali=ki? =ˀi háq’yaye
SAME=but=HSY1 now sun=PAT be.in=INFR1=DST =HSY1 now

itational=TR=INFR1 =HSY1 squeal-INTR=FIN
‘But now where the sun was inside, as he seemed to touch it, it squealed.’

(225) sikáˀéy čičičičisúp ši:ya haymáša šup
     si=káˀi čičičičisup ki=q haymas=q? kup
NEW=therefore=HSY1 hush.hush.hush DST=PAT how?=PAT? sister’s.son

míˀ kačáˀ an šú:pá h[y]ánop šuhól
míˀ kaṭa?ˀ an šúˀ-páˀ han=op šúˀ-h-ol’
2SG.AGT here? long.time sit/stay-FUT house=LAT sit/stay-DUR-AG/INST

mí: šup méy(h)tan mát k’olám mihik
míˀ kup míh-tan mit k’ol-am mih=k
2SG.AGT sister’s.son be-NEG 2SG.DAT other-NOML be=DECL

sikí: sí: kú:pat šanákeštö so ˀáp
si=kí sí kup=qت hanak-što so? ˀaq
NEW?=therefore NEW? sister’s.son=DAT think-? ? 1SG.AGT

kup míʃ nőˀ’winmawi ?ey ˀ’imeymil hulk’oˀ’i
kup mis nqw-n-mq-wi =ˀi ˀ’imi=mil hulk’oˀ’i
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 Kroeber’s note on (225): “This speech is in Coyote language. šup = kup All the s and š are about š; and lisped a little.”
(226) sąʔey kipat háyki k'ótlí ʔey
są=ʔi kip=qt hay=ki k'oʔ-tl =ʔi
SAME=HSY1 3R=DAT net.sack=IN be.in-TR =HSY1

háye hátemil
haʔaye haʔ-t=mil
now carry-INTR=FIN
‘And putting it in his net sac, he took it off.’

(227) seʔey haye tałtahi ʔey háye múna
si=ʔi haʔaye təl-ta-hi =ʔi haʔaye múnaʔ
NEW=HSY1 now NEG?-?-? =HSY1 now many

ʔaʔát téwtl=mil wákop
ʔaʔat tiw-tl=mil wák=op
people pursue-TR=FIN after=LAT
‘Then missing it, many people pursued after.’

(228) seʔey háye hulk’óʔa ?amilkilmil.
si=ʔi haʔaye hulk’oʔi=ähr ?amil-k-il=ml
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.

\[\text{ʔuk hóčamwit saʔey kiʔ tóktlmil máy kaṭa}\]
\[\text{ʔuk':hot-am-wit sa}=ʔi \text{ kiʔ t'oʔ-tl=ml máy}' kaṭa}\]
water-large-NOML?=ALL SAME=HSY1 DST arrive-TR=FIN who here

\[\text{kómwičoki miyjít piláṭ wáčaméyk } ʔey ʔimikilmil\]
\[\text{komwičoki mi=qt pilat wát-am=k}=ʔi \text{ ?im(i)-k-il=ml}\]
people 1PL.INCL=DAT sun steal-IMPFV?=DECL =HSY1 say/try-PNCT-MPSV=FIN

\[\text{sąʔey wákop téwtl=ml } ʔaʔát sahóney hat'enkilmil}\]
\[\text{są=ʔey wák=op tiw-tl=ml } ʔaʔat sahon=ʔey hat'in-k-il=ml}\]
SAME=HSY1 after=LAT pursue-TR=FIN people =HSY1 ?-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
(229) **seˀéy  hulk'óˀi  ?iwọt  k'ąk'-a-k-il  tóṭk'il**
\[NEW=HSY1\] Coyote  old.man  exist-?-PNCT-MPSV  log=TERM
yikšilk'il  ˀey  námmil  ˀamílto
yik-t-il=k'il  =ˀi  nąm=mil  ˀamil-to
make.fire-INTR-MPSV=TERM  =HSY1  lay=FIN  overtake-?
‘Then Coyote, having become an old man, was lying toward a log which he had put fire against, when he was overtaken.’

(230) **seˀéy  kimáse  kík  téwmašmil**
\[NEW=HSY1\] DST-DSTR-ANIM  there  pursue-DIR1=FIN
‘So they followed him there,’

(231) **sqˀéy  kiwismil  ˀim  ˀúsˀat  pilát**
\[SAME=HSY1\] ask-CAUS=FIN  where  1PLEXCL=DAT  sun
ˀúsˀat  wą́timwičkí:  káˀen  k'omláme  397
ˀus=ąt  wąṭ'-m-wič=kiˀ  kaˀin  k'om-ląm
1PLEXCL=DAT  steal-IMPFV-PST=DST  PRX.LOC?  make.noise-INCH
mis  hą́ltha  ˀey  ˀim  kiwismil
mis  hąl-t-ha  =ˀi  ˀim  kiw-s=mil
2SG.PAT  hear-INTR-Q  =HSY1  thus  ask-CAUS=FIN
hulk'óˀa  kimási
hulk'oˀi=ˀq  kiˀ-mas-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.’

396 Alternate form given: káˀin ‘anywhere about’.
397 Alternate form given: k'omlámha ‘making a noise, sounding’ (a question?).
(232) seˀéy hulk’ó’i kí hąlę ˀiyt k’ápkı
si=ˀi hulk’ó’i kíˀ =hąli ˀit k’apki
NEW=HSY1 Coyote DST =INFR1 1SG.DAT below

họ’t sunlám’uˀ ˀiy ˀimeymil hulk’ó’i
họ’t sun-lám-wi =ˀi ˀimi=mil hulk’ó’i
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.’

(233) seˀéy kíta téwtlmil
si=ˀi kíta tiw-tl=mi
NEW=HSY1 there pursue-TR=FIN
‘So they pursued there.’

(234) sikítéy náwhimi k’ólk’il pilâ:t
si=kít=ˀi nqw-h-m k’ol=k’il pilât
NEW=then=HSY1 see-DUR?-? other=TERM sun

há’timil hąšá
haˀ-t=mi hąšąˀ
carry-INTR=FIN again

‘And having watched them, he took the sun off again in another direction.’

(235) seˀéy ˀ qa’tá k’ol kimási kip ˀamîlemi ˀey
si=ˀi ˀ qa’tá k’ol kiˀ-mas-i kip ˀamîl-mi =ˀi
NEW=HSY1 again other DST-DSTR-ANIM 3R overtake-?=HSY1

ˀ qa’tá ˀiwoˀt han hás’mil
ˀ qa’tá ˀiwoˀt han hąˀ-s=mi
again old.man house build-CAUS?=FIN

‘Then again more of them almost overtaking him, an old man was building a
house.’
(236) seˀéy kí:k téwmamil

si=ˀi kí:k tiw-mq=mil

NEW=HSY1 there pursue-DIR1=FIN

‘And they followed to him.’

(237) ſim ſúṣqt pilą́:t wątwičkí: mis

ʔim ſúṣq=qt pilą́t wąt’-wič=kiʔ mis

thus 1PLE.EXCL=DAT sun steal-PST2=DST 2SG.PAT

hą́lamtanka káˀen ʔiy ʔim kíwismil

həl-m-tan-haʔ kaʔin =ˀi ʔim kiw-s=mil

hear-IMPFV-NEG-Q? PRX.LOC? =HSY1 thus ask-CAUS?=FIN

kiʔa ʔiwóṭa han hą̃si 398 kiʔa

kiʔ=q ʔiwoṭ=q han hą̃q=s kiʔ=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) seˀéy kí həle ʔi:t k’olop hőt

si=ˀi kiʔ =həl ʔi t k’ol-op hőt

NEW=HSY1 DST =INFR1 1SG.DAT other=LAT large

sunlámwi ʔiy ʔimemil ki ʔiwóṭ

sun-lam-wi ʔi timi=mil kiʔ ʔiwoṭ

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 kíʃa téwtlmil

sop=ˀi kíʃa tiw-tl=mil

?=HSY1 there pursue-TR=FIN

‘So they pursued that way;’

398 hənḥáši is glossed by Kroeber as ‘house-building’.
(240) sikîtêy nawkhimêykit ?ey ?a’tâ k’olk’îl
si=kit=’i nawk-h-m=kit =’i ?a’tâ k’ol-k’îl
NEW=then=HSY1 see-DUR-IMPFV=when =HSY1 again other=TERM

kó’t(e)mil pilâ:t hä’tili.
go-INTR=FIN sun carry-INTR-MPSV
‘but when he had watched them, he went the other way carrying the sun.’

(241) seˀéy haye ?â’tâ kîta ?â’tâ ?amîllaŋk
si=’i hâ’gâye ’â’tâ kîta ’â’tâ ?amîl-lâm=k
NEW=HSY1 now again there again overtake-INCH=DECL

’iwóṭ k’áy’ámil
old.man mushroom-?=FIN
‘And now as they were about to overtake him again, (he was) an old man
picking mushrooms.’

(242) seˀéy kîk tiwinamlikimáse ?ey kómmil
si=’i kik tiw=namli=k?i-mas-i =’i kom=mil
NEW=HSY1 there pursue=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1 come=FIN
‘Then those who were pursuing him came there.’

(243) seˀéy ?im ?uš’at pilâ:t wâ’timwičkí:
sq=’i ?im us=’at pilât wâṭ’-m-wîič=kî
SAME=HSY1 where 1PL.EXCL=DAT sun steal-IMPFV-PST2=DST

ká’în mis hâlamha k’omlämi ki: ?eyy
ka’în mis hâl-m-ha k’om-lâm ki? =’i
PRX.LOC? 2SG.PAT hear-IMPFV-Q make.noise-INCH DST =HSY1

399 Kroeber glosses k’áy’ámil ‘mushrooms he was picking’.
“Where is our sun which was stolen? Did you hear it sounding about here?” they asked.

“Where must be the one that went by here, resounding loudly along”, said that old mushroom-picking man.’

‘Then again they pursued that way.’

‘And now, “This one perhaps is deceiving us”, they said to one another.’

400 Alternate form given: hahá’ima ‘not telling the truth’.

401 Though ’apil 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.
And coming back, “It is you apparently, but you are telling us lies, apparently”, one of them said.

‘But, “No”, he said.’

Then as they moved to seize him, he went near where he had laid the sun at the base of a rock.

‘Then as they moved to seize him, he went near where he had laid the sun at the base of a rock.’
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.

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.
'And when they had done this to Coyote after they had killed him, they went back,"

'and arrived where they lived.'

"We found and killed him, but he broke our sun against a rock", thus they reported, they who had slain Coyote.'
And after they had returned, gathering his bones and blood, gathering everything well, now he made himself over on sunflower stalks (as a frame).'*

sąˀey huˀú:ṣk koˀi t’ú:kmil kóya
sqˀi huˀuˀ-s=k koˀi t’ukˀ=mil koˀiq
SAME=HSY1 quit-CAUS?=DECL gopher hit/kick/stab=FIN gopher=PAT
pú:tesika
put’-s=ka
‘And finishing that, he stabbed at gophers as they emerged (from their holes).

sikąˀéy kipą́w ṭáhąmil
si=kąˀi kipąw ṭah-ą=mil
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 back piece?-?=FIN
‘Then he came all to pieces again.’

sąˀey háye ?ámsóp tátikılmil.
sqˀi hąqˀaye ?áms=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.’

sąˀey ?átq koˀi t’úktlmil
sqˀi ?aṭaˀ k’oˀi t’ukˀ-tl=mil
SAME=HSY1 again gopher hit/kick/stab-TR=FIN
‘And again he stabbed at gophers,’
(260) $\text{siˀéy } \text{háye } \text{háč'ámml} \\
\text{si=ˀi } \text{háʔaye } \text{háč'am=ml} \\
\text{NEW?=HSY1 now strong=FIN} \\
‘and now he was strong.’ [Possibly: And now it was strong.]

(261) $\text{seˀéy } \text{ʔátaʔ } \text{koʔi } \text{t'úktlmil} \\
\text{si=ˀi } \text{ʔaṭaʔ } \text{koʔi } \text{t'uk'-tl=ml} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1 again gopher hit/kick/stab-TR=FIN} \\
‘Again he stabbed at gophers.’

(262) $\text{siˀéy } \text{hí:l } \text{háʔyé } \text{hač'ám't'ėl} \\
\text{si=ˀi } \text{hil } \text{háʔąye } \text{háč'am-t=ml} \\
\text{NEW=HSY1 all now strong-INTR=FIN} \\
‘and everything was firm.’

(263) $\text{są̂ey } \text{šihí: } \text{máyeten } \text{hilp'āhs} \\
\text{są=ˀi } \text{šihi: } \text{may'-tan } \text{hil-p'ahis} \\
\text{SAME(?)=HSY1 EXC who/someone-NEG all-do.anything?} \\
\text{lóṃmil' }^{403} \text{ʔi:y } \text{ʔimeymil } \text{tat } \text{hu'útlóli} \\
\text{loʔo=ml }=^{ʔi } \text{ʔimi=ml } \text{tat } \text{hu'u'2-tl-il} \\
\text{can/may/should=FIN }=\text{HSY1 say=FIN good/make quit-TR-MPSV} \\
‘And, “Šihi!: (his laugh)” No one can do anything to me”, he said when he 
\text{had finished making himself.’}

(264) $\text{są̂kíṭey } \text{háye } \text{pilá:t } \text{lílk'il } \text{lqč'kölnamlikí:} \\
\text{są̂=kit=ʔi } \text{háʔaye } \text{pilá:t } \text{lǐl=k'il } \text{laṭ-k-il=namli=kiʔ} \\
\text{SAME=then=HSY1 now sun rock=TERM break-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST} \\
\text{ʔey } \text{háye } \text{lilpátpis } \text{lak'iyakmil } \text{hul } \text{ŋq} \\
\text{=ʔi } \text{háʔaye } \text{lil-páṭ=pis } \text{lak'-qk=ml } \text{hul } \text{ŋq} \\
\text{=HSY1 now rock-crack=ABL emerge-SEM=FIN eye }=\text{and}

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403 $\text{lo'ök}$ 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'ö in this clause.
sonmám\textsuperscript{404} na.
suˀumam =naq
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.’

\begin{Verbatim}(265)\end{Verbatim}
\begin{quote}
sq̄ey kimás háyk p’oyitli ˀáta
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
sq=ˀi ki=ˀ-mas hay=ki p’oy-tl ˀaṭa?
\end{quote}
SAME=HSY1 DST-DSTR net.sack=IN put-TR again

\begin{quote}
kóˀotemil ˀu:khoˀóṭamwit.
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
kó=ˀt=mil ˀuk’h=ot-am=wit
\end{quote}
go-INTR=FIN water-large-NOML=ALL
‘And putting them into his net sack, he went toward the ocean (the west).’

\begin{Verbatim}(266)\end{Verbatim}
\begin{quote}
sq̄ey kím’ háye pil̄̄t̄a tat̄̄s̄imil hįl
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
sq=ˀi kim’ haye pil̄̄t=q tat-s=mi however
\end{quote}
SAME=HSY1 over.there then sun=PAT good/make-CAUS=FIN all

\begin{quote}
huˀ minamlikimátli
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
huˀ mih=namli=kiˀ-matli
\end{quote}
before be=DEP=DST-? ‘And there he made the sun all as it had been before.’

\begin{Verbatim}(267)\end{Verbatim}
\begin{quote}
sq̄ey háye kim’ kάk ˀt̄̄m̄it’ilmil
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
sq=ˀi hq’aye kim’ k’ḡk’ ˀim-t-il=mi however
\end{quote}
SAME=HSY1 now over.there exist try-INTR-MPSV=FIN ‘And there then he tried to make it rise.’

\begin{Verbatim}(268)\end{Verbatim}
\begin{quote}
siˀéy nákmil.
\end{quote}
\begin{quote}
si=ˀi ną̄k=mi however
\end{quote}
NEW=HSY1 dark/night=FIN ‘Then it (remained) dark.’

\footnote{Alternate form given: sumam ‘brains’.}
(269) seʼéy  ʔátaq  hátemil.
si=ʔi  ʔatq  hah-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 then run-INTR=FIN
‘So he took it off again’

(270) sqʼey  kuhtkipis  ʔey  ką́kτilmil.
sqʔi  kuhtki=pis  =ʔi  k’qk’-t-il=mil
SAME=HSY1 north=ABL =HSY1 exist-INTR-MPSV=FIN
‘and had it rise from the north.’

(271) seʼéy  nąkmil
si=ʔi  nąk=mil
NEW=HSY1  dark/night=FIN
‘But it (remained) dark.’

(272) seʼéy  ʔátaq  hatéyli  kótemil
si=ʔi  ʔatəʔ  haʔ-t-il  koʔ-t=mil
NEW=HSY1  again  carry-INTR-MPSV  go-INTR=FIN
‘So taking it once more, he went,’

(273) sqʼey  ʔonk’ól’am  ʔiy  ką́kṣimil
sqʔi  ʔon-k’ol-am  =ʔi  k’qk’-s=mil
SAME=HSY1  earth-other-NOML =HSY1  exist-CAUS=FIN
‘and made it rise in another land (the east).’

(274) seʼéy  k’áwtmil
si=ʔi  k’aw-t=mil
NEW=HSY1  light-INTR=FIN
‘Then light showed.’

(275) sikíta  haye  ka  mípaʔ  ʔicy
si=kitə  hq’aye  kaʔ  mih-paʔ  =ʔi
NEW=then  now  PRX  be-FUT =HSY1
‘So now, “This (is how it) shall be”, Coyote told the sun.’

(276) sáŋcy kíta háye nak’ó’ohimíl pilát
sq=’i kíta haŋ’aye nak’oh=míl pilát
SAME=HSY1 there now teach=FIN sun

ka míš mi’ ha’ámtilhan táštalin’k
ka’ míš mi’ ha’-mq?-t-il=han tál-t-il-nik
PRX road 2SG.AGT carry-DIR1?-INTR-MPSV=but NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC

k’ústo kimílk mi kup ha’ámtilhan
k’us-to ki-mil=’k mi’ kup ha’-mq?-t-il=han
tired-? say-?=DECL 2SG.AGT sister’s.son carry-DIR1?-INTR-MPSV=but

taxšilín káta mi’ kup k’ašxiší:
taxłtín káta mi’ kup k’aš’-s=ki?
NEG-INTR-MPSV-NEC here 2SG.AGT sister’s.son exist-CAUS=DST

’úkhó’óathamwit mi’ kó’otam tíma?
’uk’-hoš-am=wit mi’ ko’-t-m tíma
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.”’

(277) sikít mi kóyi kíta háyki yíč
si=kít mi’ ko’-y kíta huy=ki yíč
NEW=then 2SG.AGT go-PROG there middle=IN for.a.while
hąwąykíl ṭima?
hąwąy-k-il ṭima
dfood/eat-PNCT-MPSV self

‘And when you have traveled to the middle, you are to eat for a while.’

(278) sámi šú?nóhkiltána kup
sa-mi šuⁿ-noʰ-k-il-tan-a kup
SAME-therefore sit/stay-live-DUR-PNCT-MPSV-NEG-IMP sister’s.son

mi kāʔo ṭima
miʔ koʔ ṭima
2SG.AGT go self

‘But not sitting there to stay long, sister’s son, you are to go on.’

(279) siką mís ʔú:k’op č’úk ṭima
si=ką mis ʔukʰ=op č’uk ṭima
NEW=thereupon 2SG.PAT water=LAT fall self

‘And then you are to fall into the water.’

(280) sąkį: miʔ kup k’úhtkiwit tákílk
są=ki miʔ kup kuhtki=wit taʰ-k-il=k
SAME=and 2SG.AGT sister’s.son north=ALL flow-PNCT-MPSV=DECL

miʔ kup mik’áltil ṭima
miʔ kup mik’al-t-il ṭima
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) sq miʔ ʔátá ká:meš 之夜 on wáčyi kiṭa
sq miʔ ʔaʔaʔ kaʔ-miš 之夜 waʔ-y kiṭa
SAME 2SG.AGT again PRX-DSTR? earth teach-PROG there

405 Alternate form given: ká:miš ‘this’ Could be ‘this road’. 
miˀ k̈up ˀičyálop kaẅlám tıma
miˀ k̈up ič- y-il=op kaẅ-l̈am tıma
2SG.AGT sister’s.son JXT-PROG-IMPSV=when light-INCH self

ˀi:y ˀimeymil pilāẗa hulk’ōˀi
ˀi ˀimi=mïl pil̈̈q hulk’öˀi
=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) sq’ey ˀq̈téy ˀi=k̈ätä kup ᶒu’hinik yîčmah
sq=ˀ ˀq̈ti kätä kup ᶒu’-h-n̈ik yîčmah
SAME=HSY1 a.while here sister’s.son sit/stay-DUR-NEC for.a.while

hánkil k̈omil
han=kïl 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 ˀap k̈ip̈áwk’ïl k̈äpa
t’ok-tl ˀap k̈ip̈aw=k’ïl kup=ˀ
arrive-TR 1SG.AGT back=TERM sister’s.son=PAT

ˀap n̈̈ẅwinemapaˀ ˀïhil k̈äpa wa’cmikí:
ˀap n̈w-n-m̈q-paˀ ˀïhil kup=ˀ wa’-m=kiˀ
1SG.AGT see-AND-DIR1-FUT all sister’s.son=PAT teach-IMPFV=DST

ˀi:y ˀimeymil hulk’ōˀi pil̈aẗq
ˀi ˀimi=mïl hulk’oˀi pil̈̈q
=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 given: ˀq̈ti ˀ‘for a while’.
(284) sąkiṭey kőˀot(e)mil hánˀk’il hulk’oˀi
są=kiṭ=ˀi koˀ-t=mil han=k’il hulk’oˀi
SAME=then=HSY1 go-INTR=FIN house=TERM Coyote
‘Then Coyote went home.’

(285) sąˀey háye noˀonamlikíṭa ?ey háye
są=ˀi hąˀąye noˀ=namli=kiṭa =ˀi hąˀąye
SAME=HSY1 now live=DEP-there =HSY1 now
tóktlmil
t’ok-tl=mil
arrive-TR=FIN
‘Now where he lived he arrived at;’

(286) sąˀey ?inkílmil
są=ˀi ?in-k-il=mil
SAME=HSY1 sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘and he slept.’

(287) sikąˀéy ?atá ?inámtmil ?aṭát lašk’áwol’
si=kąˀi ?aṭaˀ ?inam-t=mil ?aṭat lašk’awol’
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 again dream-INTR=FIN people moon

na háwmol’ tunóh’ilikimášat
=ŋq hawmol’ tunoh-il=kˀi-mas=ŋt
=and morning/star keep-MPSV?=DST-DSTR=DAT
‘Thereupon he dreamed again, of those people that kept the moon and the
morning star.’

(288) sąʾey ?ātq kipat ?ātāta nakohísimil
są=qˀi ?aṭaˀ kip=ŋt ?aṭat=q nak’oh-s=mil
SAME=HSY1 again 3R=DAT people=PAT teach-CONT=FIN
hąšá ˀap kə̊̃omilmik ˀey ˀimey mil hulk’ó’i
again 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-HSY2 =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
‘And again he instructed his people: “Now I am told I must go”, said Coyote.’

(289) sákit’ey kátemil
sq=kit’i ko=t=mi l
SAME=then=HSY1 go-INTR=FIN
‘So he went.’

(290) sá’ey ˀán kó̊̃mil
sq=i an ko=mi l
SAME=HSY1 long.time go=FIN
‘He traveled a long time.’

(291) sá’ey haničtlkop ˀi músp
sq=i han=iti=t=ko p =’i músp
SAME=HSY1 house=JXT-TR=while =HSY1 woman

k’ą́k’akilmil
k’ąk’-a-k-il=mil
exist-ʔ-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘And when near the house(s) he turned himself into a woman;’

(292) sákópy ˀonk’at pāy yąkt’il mil
sq=kop’i onk’at pā yąk-t’il=mi l
SAME=then=HSY1 mud vagina stand-INTR-MPSV=FIN
‘a vagina of mud he stuck on himself.’

(293) sá’ey hánk’il kó̊̃m mil
sq=’i han=k’il ko m=mi l
SAME?=HSY1 house=TERM come=FIN
‘And he came to the house.’
(294) sikąˀéy maŋ ka múšp táta
si=ką=ˀi may’ kaˀ musp tat=a
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 who/someone PRX woman good=?

kó(i)yik  407  ˹ey  ˀi:mįlilmil  ˀaṭat  ki  ˀónap  408
koˀ-y=k =ˀi  ˀimi-mq-l-il=mil  ˀaṭat  kiˀ  ˀon=ap
go-PROG=DECL =HSY1 say-DIR1-PFV-MPSV=FIN people DST earth=LAT

noˀhi kimáse  409
noˀ-h kiˀ-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) seˀey hánkil kayit nąnáka ˀey
si=ˀi han=k’ǐ̌ kil kayit nąnak=ka =ˀi
NEW=HSY1 house=TERM long.ago know=when? =HSY1

humás kík’ǐ̌ kommil
humqs kiˀ=k’ǐ̌ kom=mil
straight/correct DST=TERM come=FIN
‘And already knowing the house, he came straight toward it.’

(296) sikąˀéy hánam kapísímil pąk ˀiwop
si=ką=ˀi han=qᵐ kap=s=mil pąk ˀiwop
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 house-IN2 enter-CAUS=FIN one man
‘So one man took him into the house,’

(297) sqˀéy k’amolšil tátlık’éy  410 šútlmil
sq=ˀi k’amol-šil tat-tl=kǐ̌ šuˀ-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 ˀónap ‘in that land’.
409 Alternate form given: kimási ‘who’.
410 Alternate form given: tátlık’ǐ̌ ‘that they fixed for him’.
(298)  siˀéy  šúmil
si=ˀi  šuˀ=mil
NEW=HSY1  sit/stay=FIN
‘And he sat.’

(299)  sikiṭey  múːs  siˀ  liːtinmil  hilˀi
si=kitˀ=ˀi  mus  siˀ  lit-n=mil  hil-i
NEW=then=HSY1  women  clover  do-AND=FIN  all-ANIM
‘Then the women all went to gather clover,’

(300)  sikiṭey  ˀiwis  mil  hut’oˀopinmil
si=kitˀ=ˀi  ˀiwis  mil  hut’op-n=mil
NEW=then=HSY1  men  meat/deer  hunt-AND=FIN
‘and the men to hunt deer,’

(301)  sikiṭey  pąʾwi  ˀiːpsáka  wíːst(e)mil
si=kitˀ=ˀi  pąwi  ˀipsak=ą  wis-t=mil
NEW=then=HSY1  one  boy=PAT  remain-INTR=FIN
‘and one boy was left,’

(302)  sákˀí  ˀey  411  šúˀmil
sá=ki  =ˀi  šuˀ=mil
SAME=and  =HSY1  sit/stay=FIN
‘and stayed.’

(303)  sīkáˀéy  hulk’oˀi  múːs  yikilnamlikí
si=kaˀ=ˀi  hulk’oˀi  musp  yiˀ-k-il=namli=kiˀ
NEW=thereupon=HSY1  Coyote  woman  play-PNCT-MPSV=DEP=DST

  ˀey  ˀiːpsáka  hǐlḵšiloˀ  kíwismil  hánal  sulkí:
  =ˀi  ˀipsak=q  hǐlḵšiloˀ  kiw-s=mil  hanal  sul=kiˀ
=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: ˀiy.
(304) seˀéy ʾi:psák hušk’āy-s=mił
si=ʾi ʾipsak hušk’ay-s=mił
NEW=HSY1 boy tell-CAUS?=FIN
‘So the boy informed him.’

(305) seˀéy hulk’oʾi hil(i)šiló? kúpič’iši ʾiyi=ki
si=ʾi hulk’oʾi hilšilo? kup=k’il ʾiyi=ki
NEW=HSY1 Coyote everything point=TERM? what=IN
pánha? ʾey ʾimismil
pan-ha? =ʾi ʾimi-s=mił
hang-Q =HSY1 say-CONT?=FIN
‘Pointing at everything, Coyote said, “What is that hanging?”’

(306) seˀéy ki ʾi:psák ʾusṭ ki ʾt̥oʾot pan
si=ʾi kiʾ ʾipsak ʾus=qt kiʾ ʾt̥ot pan
NEW=HSY1 DST boy 1PL.EXCL=DAT DST carrying.basket hang
ʾiy ʾimismil
=ʾi ʾimi-s=mił
=HSY1 say-CONT?=FIN
‘So the boy said, “That is our carrying basket hanging”.’

(307) hílšilo? hulk’oʾi kip kiwšiki ʾey kīta yq̄w
hílšilo? hulk’oʾi kip kwı̊s=kiʾ =ʾi kīta yqw
everything Coyote 3R ask-CAUS=DST =HSY1 there name/call
wáč’esmil ki ʾi:psák
wač’-s=mił kiʾ ʾipsak
teach-CAUS=FIN DST boy
‘Everything that Coyote asked him, the boy told (showed) the name there.’

(308) sámeʾey šiʾam wı̊k’am ʾiyi=kı
si=miʾi šiʾam wı̊k’am ʾiyi=kı
NEW=then=HSY1 after.a.while rear?-IN2 what=IN
kiŋki                         pánhaˀ          ˀeyy         ˀímeymil     hulk’oˀi
kim’-ki                     pan-haˀ      =ˀi               ˀimi=mil      hulk’oˀi
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) seˀéy                   ki         ˀipšák      hųšk’ą́yestanmil                hulk’oˀi       kip
si=ˀi                     kiˀ       ˀipsak      hušk’ąy-s-tan=mil             hulk’oˀi       kip
NEW=HSY1   DST    boy      tell-CAUS?-NEG=FIN Coyote 3R

kiwsi                 ˀey           k’an                           haˀámilmil
kiw-s               =ˀi              k’ąn                           hąˀ-mil=mil
ask-CAUS =HSY1   language/word listen-=FIN
‘Then the boy did not tell; he did not answer Coyote asking.’

(310) simey’ey                 ˀim            lití:tl  hąlikí:                     hučkipis
si=mi=ˀi                           ˀim            lit-tl=hąli=kiˀ                   huč=ki=pis
NEW=then=HSY1  where do-TR=INFR1=DST outside=IN=ABL

náwkil                            ˀeyy           ˀimeymil       ˀi:psáka           hulk’óˀi
náw-k-il                       =ˀi                ˀimi=mil        ˀipsak=ą          hulk’oˀi
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) seˀéy                  lákti                          nąwkílmil                            kí          ˀipsák
si=ˀi                    lak’-t                        nąw-k-il=mil                        kiˀ        ˀipsak
NEW=HSY1   emerege-INTR    see-PNCT-MPSV=FIN DST boy
‘Then going out, the boy looked.’

(312) siajaran’ei                       hulk’oˀi    wilipis nąw kil  ˀi:meymil
si=k’a=ˀi                        hulk’oˀi     wil=pis nąw-k-il        ˀimi=mil
NEW=thereupon=HSY1  Coyote far=ABL see-PNCT-MPSV say=FIN
‘Thereupon Coyote said, “Look from farther.”’
'So going farther to look, it seems, he was not (in sight any longer).'

'Then Coyote taking out the moon and the morning star put them into his net sack.'

'And going outside, he went off to another (direction).'

'Then the boy coming back entered the house.'
Appendix 10: Yuki Texts (Coyote and the World)

lašk'awól’ na hawmól’ na wąčameyk ˀeyy
lašk'awol' =na hawmol' =na wąṭ'-m=k ˀi
moon =and morning.star =and steal-IMPFV=DECL =HSY1

ˀimeymil ki ˀipsák
ˀimi=mil ki? ˀipsak
say=FIN DST boy
‘And “The woman who came is stealing our moon and morning star”, said the boy.’

(318) səq' ey húčki lákti pąk'eyakmil
sq=ˀi huč=ki lak'-t pąk'-qk=mil
SAME=HSY1 outside=IN emerge-INTR shout-SEM=FIN
‘And going outdoors he shouted.’

(319) si ˀey haye mil hut'o'öpinnamlikimáse ˀey
si=ˀi hąqaye mil hut'op-n=namli=kiʔ=mas-i ˀi
NEW=HSY1 now meat/deer hunt-AND=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM =HSY1

hąye kipąw'k'il wít'mamkil
hąqaye kipaw=k'il wıt-mq=mil
now back=TERM turn-DIR1=FIN
‘Then those who had gone deer hunting came back.’

(320) sop' ey mú: s si? ličínnamlikimáse hil
sop=ˀi mus si? lit-n=namli=kiʔ=mas-i hil
but=HSY1 women clover do-AND=DEP=DST-DSTR all

wıt’mamkil
wit-mq=mil
turn-DIR1=FIN
‘Also the women who had gone clover gathering all came returning.’

(321) si ˀey háye ˀíwis kíw nó'itili ˀey
si=ˀi hąqaye ˀiwis kíw nοʔ-t-il ˀi
NEW=HSY1 now men arrow carry-INTR-MPSV =HSY1
tēwṭlmil wąkop hulk’oˀa
tiw-tl=mil wąk=op hulk’oˀi=q
pursue-TR=FIN after=LAT Coyote=PAT
‘And now the men carrying arrows pursued after Coyote.’

(322) są’ey ?amilk’ilmil hulk’oˀa
sq=ˀi ?amil-k-il=mil hulk’oˀi=q
SAME=HSY1 overtake-PNCT-MPSV=FIN Coyote=PAT
‘And they caught up with Coyote.’

(323) seˀéy lašk’áwol’ na háwmol’ ?ey pístlmil
si=ˀi lašk’awol’ =nq háwmol’ =ˀi pis-tl=mil
NEW=HSY1 moon =and morning.star =HSY1 hide-TR=FIN
‘Then he hid the moon and morning star.’

(324) seˀéy ?amilk’ilk’il kiwismil.
si=ˀi ?amil-k-il=k’il kiw-s=mil
NEW=HSY1 overtake-PNCT-MPSV=TERM ask-CAUS?=FIN
‘And as they caught him they questioned.’

(325) seˀéy ?’im ?ey naháŋk ?’ey ?’imeymil hulk’oˀi
si=ˀi ?’im ?i nąhan=k =ˀi ?’imi=mil hulk’oˀi
NEW=HSY1 thus 1SG.PAT know=DECL =HSY1 say=FIN Coyote
‘So, “Indeed I do not know”, said Coyote.’

(326) sikán’ey liˀqkmil
si=kq=ˀi liˀ-qk=mil
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 kill-SEM=FIN
‘However, they slew him.’

(327) seˀéy kip k’oˀ’olikiṭ ?’ey p’išpál hāhinčam
si=ˀi kip k’ol=k’iṭ =ˀi p’iš-pal hāhin=it-ąm
NEW=HSY1 3R die=as =HSY1 sunflower-leaf under=JXT-IN2
‘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)  siˀéy  háye  k’ol  sãkìt  kipáwik’il  koˀolìtimil
 NEW=HSY1  now  kill  SAME=then  back=TERM  go-DIR2=FIN

(329)  lašk’áwol  na  háwmol  hást  hulk’ó’i
 moon =and  morning.star  without  Coyote

pístl(i)ñamlìkišt  sq  kimási  kołítìkišt
hide-TR=because  SAME  DST-DSTR-ANIM  go-DIR2=then

hiwàk’i  hil  p’ìšpal  hâhinčam  ‘qìs
in.turn=IN?  all  sunflower-leaf  under=JXT-IN2  blood

čâklámtnamlikit  na  p’ìšpál  hâhinčam  k’ìt
stick-INCH-INTR=DEP=DST  =and  sunflower-leaf  under=JXT-IN2  bone
Then, having killed him, they went back without the moon and morning star because Coyote had hidden them; and so they went off. Afterwards, gathering all the blood which had stuck on under the sunflower leaves and all the bones which were scattered under the sunflower leaves, he made himself again.’

‘On sunflower stalks he made (himself).’

‘So now gophers emerged (from their holes).’

‘Then with a stick he stabbed at them.’

‘Then he came to pieces again.’
(334) sqéy  ámsop  tátekilmil
sq=ˀi  ˀams=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) sopéy  ātqá  kýa  putʾtlmil
sop=ʾi  ʾaṭaˀ  koʾi=q  putʾ-tl?=mil
but=HSY1 again gopher=PAT emerge-TR?=FIN
‘And again gophers emerged.’

(336) sikąéy  ˀalok  súʾtlmil
si=ką=ˀi  ˀal-ok  sutʾ-tl?=mil
NEW-thereupon=HSY1 stick-INST stab-TR?=FIN
‘Then with a stick he stabbed at them.’

(337) síʾey  hąčʾámnil
si=ʾi  hąʾčʾam=mil
NEW=HSY1 strong=FIN
‘Then he was firm.’

(338) síʾey  ātq  kýa  putʾtlmil
si=ʾi  ʾaṭaˀ  koʾi=q  putʾ-tl?=mil
NEW=HSY1 again gopher=PAT emerge-TR?=FIN
‘And again gophers emerged,’

(339) síʾey  ātq  súʾtlmil
si=ʾi  ʾaṭaˀ  sutʾ-tl?=mil
NEW=HSY1 again stab-TR?=FIN
‘and again he stabbed,’

(340) seʾéy  hąye  hil  hąčʾámʾtmil
si=ʾi  hąʾqye  hil  hąʾčʾam-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 now all strong-INTR=FIN
‘and now he was altogether firm.’ [Probably: all was altogether firm]
'Then, “Šihéy (his laugh), no one can do anything (to me)”, said Coyote.'

'And thus he finished (re)making himself although killed. And he went again, having taken out and carrying the moon and the morning star which he had hidden.'

'And he reached the coast (west).’

'And there he made the moon rise.'
Then it shone a little.

Then, “This, sister's son, will be your place (land)”, said Coyote to the moon.

And to the moon too he showed his way: “From here you, sister's son, shall go toward the east.”
“And when you have arrived there, sister’s son, from there you shall go back again,”

(349)  sąkí:mi  "atá  kup  kipat  ?onap  kaṭá
są=kiem  "at  kup  kip=at  on=ap  kaṭa
SAME  now  sister’s son  3R  place

"and here at your own place, sister’s son, you shall arrive”, said Coyote to the moon.’

(350)  sąkítey  hášmóla  pilqt=tk’iil  hahíli
są=kiṭ=į  hašmol’ą  pilqt=įt=įil  hah’-t-il
SAME=then  morning star  sun  carry-INTR-MPSV

‘Then Coyote went carrying the morning star toward the sun;’

(351)  są’ey  pilqt=ty  šú:htlamlikṭa  ?ey  kómmil
są=į  pilqt=q  šu’h-tl=namli=kiṭa  =į  kom=mil
SAME=HSY1  sun  sit/stay-DUR-TR=DEP=there  =HSY1  come-INTR-FIN
‘where he had set the sun he came.’

(352)  są’ey  háwmo’ola  kíṭa  káksimil
są=į  hawmol’q  kiṭa  k’qk’-s=mil
SAME=HSY1  morning star  there  exist-INTR-FIN
‘And there he made the morning star rise;’

^412 Alternate form given: ‘onap  place’.
(353) seʾéy ?úńšil k’áwtmil
si=ʔi ?úńšil k’aw-t=mił
NEW=HSY1 small light-INTR=FIN
‘and it shone a little.’

(354) sikitey ká mit kup ?onapa? 413 ?an
si=kit=ʔi kaʔ mit kup ?on-aʔ-paʔ ?an
NEW=then=HSY1 PRX 2SG.DAT sister’s.son earth-?-FUT long.time

This, sister’s son, shall always be your place; but you shall rise first.”

(355) soméy kup wíliʾisk
som=ʔi kup wil-s=k
however=HSY1 sister’s.son pass-CONT=DECL

hánʔam kápsilpa
han-ʔam kap-s-il-paʔ
house-IN2 enter-CAUS-MPSV-FUT
‘However, sister’s son, having gone a distance, you shall enter (your) house.’

(356) sīkit hayé piláti kákespa ?ʔiy ?ʔimeymil
si=kit hqʔaye pilat k’ʔk’-s-paʔ =ʔi ?ʔimi=mił
NEW=then now sun exist-CAUS-FUT =HSY1 say=FIN

kimasa ʔópi nakahik 414
kiʔ-mas=q ʔópi næk’oh=k
DST-DSTR=PAT two teach=DECL
‘And then the sun shall rise”, he said, teaching them both.’

413 Alternate form given: ?onapaʔ ‘will be country, place’.
414 Alternate form given: nák’ahik or nák’ohik ‘instructing, giving them understanding’, vowel is unclearly written.
'However, teaching all three separately, he said to the moon, “At night only, you, sister’s son, shall travel.”'

'And the morning star shall rise only when the beginning of the day is near.’

‘And when the morning star enters his house, the sun shall rise”, thus he taught them.’

‘Thereupon he traveled toward his house,’
(361) sáˀey t’óktlmil
  sq=ˀi t’ok-tl=mil
SAME=HSY1 arrive-TR=FIN
‘and reached it,’

(362) sáˀey ᖈ inkílmil
  sq=ˀi ᖈ in-k-il=mil
SAME=HSY1 sleep-PNCT-MPSV=FIN
‘and went to sleep.’

(363) siˀey kánytkil 𝑑 imeynamlıkí: ey k’áwlámmil
  si=ˀi kánytkil ᖌ imi=namli=kiˀ =ˀi k’aw-lq̓ł=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 ᖢ a:ṭáta nahámqamil
  son=ˀi ᖢ aṭat=ą naham̓-q?=mil
but=HSY1 people=PAT not.know-?=FIN
‘But the people did not know it.’

(365) siˀéy hí:l k’áwtmil nąknámlon
  si=ˀi hil k’aw-t=mil nąk=namli=on
NEW=HSY1 all light-INTR=FIN dark/night=DEP=though
‘So it was full day though it seemed night to them.’

(366) seˀéy ᖨ olkátam húčki láktipis ey pilą:tı
  si=ˀi ᖨ olkatam huč=ki lak’-t=pis =ˀi piląt
NEW=HSY1 Mouse outside=IN emerge-INTR=ABL =HSY1 sun
káktlháli k’a:witmil
k’q̓q’-tl=q̓łi k’aw-t=mil
exist-TR=INFR1 light-INTR=FIN
‘Then Mouse having gone outdoors, the sun being about to rise, it was day.’
'Then, “Our daylight, our daylight”, said Mouse.'

'Thenupon 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.'

'So Mouse went back into the house.'
sikiṭéy hąye hulk'ó’í hánpis lakti č’ál
si=kit=’i ha’aye hulk’o’í han=pis lak’-t č’al
NEW=then=HSY1 now Coyote house=ABL emerge-INTR loud

pa’k’eyakmil
pa’k’-ę’=mil
shout–SEM=FIN
‘But now Coyote coming out of the house shouted loudly.’

mo’ošampulamlač-kot ma’i’yi yú:ta ئىmyq mo’oš
mo’ošampulamlač-LOC something happen? 2PL.AGT

miniskin’ hilkšil’ hí:li lákti
min-s-kin’ hilkšilo’ hil-i lak’-t
doubt–CONT?–? everything all-ANIM emerge–INTR

hánpis náwkil’ ئىey ئىmeymil
han=pis nqw-ki=’i =’i =’i=mi= mil
house=ABL see–PNCT–MPSV–IMP =HSY1 say=FIN

kipat ئى’aṭáta hulk’ó’í
kip=at ئى’at=q hulk’o’í
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.’

náwkílmil pilá:ti ką’kyekí
nqw-ki=’i mil pílat k’ą’k’-č’=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 huˀútlikit ?éy ?inkílmil ?ątq
są=kimas huˀ’uˀ-tl=kit ??’i ?i-n-k-il=mil ?ʔaʔa’
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) sikąˀéy ląl tunoh-t-il=namliˀ=ąt
si=kı=ʔi ląl tunoh-t-il=namli=kiˀ=qt
NEW=thereupon=HSY1 acorn keep-INTR-MPSV=DEP=DST=DAT

?éy ?i’námtmil hilšilöˀ? həwáyì
=ʔi ?ijamin-t=mil hilšiloˀ? həway
=HSY1 dream-INTR=FIN everything food/eat

tunoh-t-il=namli=kiˀ=qt
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.’

są=ʔi ?ataˀ? ap koˀ=mq-il-m-sik =ʔi
SAME=HSY1 again 1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV-IMPFV-HSY2 =HSY1

?ımeymil kipat ?ataată
?imi=mil kip=qt ?atat=q
say=FIN 3R=DAT people=PAT
‘And, “Again I learn I am to go”, he said to his people.’

(376) săkey kípat múšpa tát șúchantk
są=ki kip=qt musp=q tat șuˀ-h-nik
SAME=and 3R=DAT woman=PAT good/make sit/stay-DUR-NEC

tát halč tatéymin(i)k ?éy ?im
tat halč tat-m-nik =ʔi ?im
good/make children good/make-IMPFV-NEC =HSY1 thus

417 Alternate form given: ko:mi:lámsik ‘hear I have to go’.
'And [to] his woman (wife), “You must stay well; look well after the children”, thus he instructed his wife.'

(377) sákíṭey kipat múspa ʔimeymil tát ʔaṭáta
sq=kit=ʔi kip=qt musp=q ʔimi=mil tat ʔaṭat=q
SAME=then=HSY1 3R=DAT woman=PAT say=FIN good/make people=PAT

hąwáŷsínʔk ka hánap 418 kótámika ʔeyy
hąway-s-nik kaʔ han=op koʔ-t-m=kaʔ =ʔi
food/eat-CAUS-NEC PRX house=LAT go-INTR-IMPFV=PRX =HSY1

yá̂tímýʔk’op miʔ hąwáy hámilhan
yat-m-yi=kop miʔ hąway haʔ=mił=han
be.gone-IMPFV-?=though 2SG.AGT food/eat carry=FIN=but?

tał̕tílin(i)k ʔeyy ʔimeymil
tal-t-ił-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.’

(378) ʔán ʔi:y yá̂tpaʔ simón ʔap kompaʔ
ʔan ʔi yat-paʔ si=mon ʔap kom-paʔ
long.time 1SG.PAT be.gone-FUT NEW?-but? 1SG.AGT come-FUT

ʔey ʔimeymil kipat múspa
=ʔi ʔimi=mil kip=qt musp=q
=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: hánap ‘house to’.
Thus having instructed her, he traveled to what he had dreamed of, 

and arrived, 

and stayed there long. 

Then he used to go deer-hunting, 

and stayed on. 

Alternate form given: nok'öh 'advising'. 
Appendix 10: Yuki Texts (Coyote and the World)

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naxk'mil
noʔ-h-k=mil
live-DUR?-PNCT=FIN
‘Thereupon a woman who was there lived with him.’

(385) seʔéy háye šúʔumil kompaʔąŋkon
siʔi hqayə 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).’

(386) soméyʔey lāl na hilkšiloʔ hqwáy tunóʔohanamlikí:
sq?=miʔi lāl =nq hilkšiloʔ hqway tunoh=namli=kiʔ?
SAME?=then=HSY1 acorn =and everything food/eat keep=DEP=DST

?ey haye wáčammil noʔ haháʔ sákop héli
=ʔi hqayə wât'-m=mil noʔ haháʔ sq=kop hil-i
=HSY1 now steal-IMPFV=FIN deceive SAME=then all-ANIM

mús noʔ=namlikimási siʔ línikiṭ ?iwis
mus noʔ=namli=kiʔ-mas-i siʔ liʔ-n=kiṭ ?iwis
women live=DEP=DST-DSTR-ANIM clover gather-AND=when men

k’ólk’il mil múhnikiṭ
k’ol=k’il mil muh-n=kiṭ
other=TERM meat/deer snare-AND=when
‘And so now deceivingly 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 paʔqk hulk’óʔi šúʔuhimli ?ey kimáš
sop=ʔi paʔqk hulk’óʔi šuʔ=himli =ʔi kiʔ-mas
but=HSY1 alone Coyote sit/stay=-?

Alternate form given: nohkmil ‘with him they lived together’.
'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.'

And he carried all the kinds of food back to where he lived.'

Alternate form given: kimás 'those'.
‘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.’

‘And so he finished that stealing of food from the coast.’

‘And now the people (lived by) eating that [those things].’

‘And again he went to sleep.’

‘Thereupon he dreamed; that it told him to make human beings, he dreamed.’
(394) sq’ey han hą:tlmil
    sq=ˀi han hąˀ-tl=mil
SAME=HSY1 house build-TR=FIN
‘So he built a house.’

(395) sqk’ómey ḍal t’u’akmil hąičmik’ál
    sq=k’om=ˀi ḍal t’uˀ-qk=mil hąč=mič’al
SAME-there=HSY1 stick lay-SEM=FIN house/camp/floor=around
‘And there he laid sticks around the floor.’

(396) sq’ey ḍap matlíčkon hoť k’áytpa’
    sq=ˀi ḍap mat-tl=kon hoṭ k’ay-t-pa’
SAME=HSY1 1SG.AGT do-TR=though large talk-INTR-FUT

  ḍaṭat k’ayyimiyak’i ḍuk’omnom’ k’án
  aṭat k’ay-m-ak ‘uk’omnom’ k’án
people talk-IMPFV-SEM Uk’omnom’ language/word
‘And, “Though I do thus there shall be a great babble of people speaking
Yuki (Uk’omnom’) speech”;’

(397) sikiṭ hálja 422 hoť yíkilpa’
    sikiṭ halč=ą hoṭ yiˀ-k-il-pa’
NEW=then children=PAT large play-PNCT-MPSV-FUT
‘“children also shall be playing much,”’

(398) sikiṭ sak k’ini’ákki k’ini’akpa ḍeyy
    sikiṭ sak k’in-qk=ki’ k’in-qk-pa’ =ˀi
NEW=then child cry-SEM=DST cry-SEM-FUT =HSY1

  ḍimey̌mil kimás ḍal t’u’ hu’útlí hulk’ó’i
  ḍimi-mil kiˀ-mas ḍal t’u’ hu’ú’-tl hulk’o’i
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)  săkīṭey  ḍan  k’oʔila  tāt(e)miki:
sā=kiṭ=ˀi  ḍan  k’oˀil=ą  tat-m=ki?  
SAME=then=HSY1  long.time  Wailaki=PAT  good/make-IMPFV=DST

AllowAnonymous: Thereupon he built a house to make the Wailaki.

(400)  săk’omey  ḍan  kīmás  ˀāl  pitḷṃil
sā=k’om=ˀi  ḍan  kimas  ˀal  pin-tl=mił
SAME-there?=HSY1  long.time  thus  stick  be.scattered-TR=FIN

‘And there he scattered sticks thus:’

(401)  san  ḥōṭ  k’ōʔil  k’ānī  ḍap  mātli̱ḳon
san  ḥōṭ  k’oʔil  k’än  ḍap  mat-tl=kon
SAME?  large  Wailaki  language/word  1SG.AGT  do-TR=because

namḷiḳi:  ḥōṭ  k’ōʔil  k’awḷaŋk  k’ayyíṇiʔakmil
namliki  ḥōṭ  k’oʔil  k’aw-ł̣aŋ=k  k’ay-n=q̣̣̣̣mil
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)  sikiṭey  ḍuk’am’nōʔomi  423  ḍuk’amk’ānī  424
sī=kiṭ=ˀi  ḍuk’omnom’  ḍuk’om-k’ān
NEW=then=HSY1  Uk’omnom’  Uk’omnom’-language/word

k’ayyíṇiʔakmil
k’āy-n=q̣̣̣̣mil

talk-AND-SEM=FIN

‘And the Yuki (Uk’omnom’) also were speaking Yuki (Uk’omnom’) speech.’

423 Alternate form given: ḍuk’am’nōʔomi ‘the Yukis’.
424 Alternate form given: ḍuk’amk’ānī ‘Yuki language’.
(403a) siˀéy haye kimás huˀútlmil  425
si=ˀi haˀq'aye kimas huˀuˀ-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 now thus quit-TR=FIN
'So now he completed that.'

(403b) sąˀéy haye mipát ˀuk'ámnó:ma 426 tatímil
są=ˀi hąˀąye mipat ˀuk'omnom'=q tat=mil
SAME=HSY1 now hand Ukomnom'=PAT good/make=FIN
kípat šilóˀ mipát ˀey ˀát'ismil
kip=qt šiloˀ mipat =ˀi ˀat'=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 háye sáṭ'ın kómnil hulk'óˀi mípat
si=mop=ˀi haˀq'ye sqt'ın kom=mil hulk'oˀi mípat
NEW=but=HSY1 now Lizard come=FIN Coyote hand
ˀaṭáta kípat šilosik
ˀaṭat=q kip=qt šiloˀ-sik
people=PAT 3R=DAT like-HSY2?
'But now Lizard came as Coyote was causing people’s hands to resemble his own.'

(405) sąˀéy haymáhěsk miˀ kimás mípat
są=ˀi hayma-h-s=k miˀ kiˀ-mas mípat
SAME=HSY1 how-DUR?-CAUS?=DECL? 2SG.AGT DST-DSTR hand
ˀátishah ˀeyy ˀimeymil sāṭ'ın
ˀat'=s-ha =ˀi ˀimi=mil sqt'ın
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: ˀuk'ómné:ma 'Yukis'.
Then Coyote, “What is the matter then? With that they can keep chipping obsidian well”, Coyote said.'

Then Lizard, “How is it to happen that always sitting indoors they will only chip obsidian, it seems, with that?”'

“Making bows, arrows, ropes, nets they will make, everything they will make holding it well with the hand.”
(409) ˀitin  mipát  šiló  ˀátł  lóhán  
ˀitin  mipat  šiloˀ  ˀat’-tl?  lo’o=han  
1SG.POSS  hand  like  fasten-TR?  can/may/should=?

“Like mine you should put on a hand!”

(410)  miˀ  hąkóč  yú:’yam ipti:k  ˀiy  
miˀ  hąkoč  yuy’-m=k  =ˀi  
2SG.AGT  bad  do-IMPFV=DECL  =HSY1

ˀímeymil  săł’in  hulk’ó’a  
ˀimi=mil  săł’in  hulk’ó=q  
say=FIN  Lizard  Coyote=PAT

“‘You are doing badly’, said Lizard to Coyote.’

(411)  seˀey  háye  hulk’ó’i  săł’in  kip  hušk’áyesi  
siˀi  hąq’aye  hulk’ó’i  săł’in  kip  hušk’áy-s  
NEW=HSY1  now  Coyote  Lizard  3R  tell-CAUS?

ki  ˀeyi  haye  yání’akmil  
kiˀ  ˀiyi  hąq’aye  yuy’-n-ak=mil  
DST  what  now  do-AND-SEM=FIN

‘So now Coyote did what Lizard told him:’

(412a)  să’es  saq’t’ınat  mipátat  kimás  ˀey  háye  
sa=ˀi  saq’t’in=q  mipat=q  kiˀ-mas  =ˀi  hąq’aye  
SAME=HSY1  Lizard=DAT  hand=DAT  DST-DSTR  =HSY1  now

ˀátłmil  ˀa:ṭáta  
ˀat’-tl?=mil  ˀatat=q  
fasten-TR?=FIN  people=PAT

‘Lizard’s hands he put on people;’

(412b)  namlikí  ˀey  ká  ˀa:ṭáta  saq’t’ınat  mipát  šiló?  
namlikí  =ˀi  kaˀ  ˀatat=q  saq’t’in=q  mipat  šiloˀ  
therefore  =HSY1  PRX  people=PAT  Lizard=DAT  hand  like
‘that is why these humans have on hands like Lizard’s.’

(413a) sąkíṭey ḥáye hu' ṭatá míhnámlimáṣa
są=kiṭ=i ḥąˀaye huˀ ṭat míh=náml=-ki'^-mas=q
SAME=then=HSY1 now before people be=DEP=DST-DSTR=PAT

‘Thereupon he made those who had first been people to become animals;’

(413b) míla ṭatá míli mípa ?an
mil=q =?i miˀ mil mih-paˀ ?an
meat/deer=PAT =HSY1 2SG.AGT meat/deer be-FUT long.time

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

(414) sikiṭ miˀ lópezî mi̱paˀ ?an
si=kiṭ miˀ lopis mih-paˀ ?an
NEW=then 2SG.AGT Jackrabbit be-FUT long.time

‘“And you also, Jackrabbit, shall always be food for people.”’

(415) sikiṭ ?an t’úliś nq káki nq pú:lám
si=kiṭ ?an tūliš ṭ=ň̂q kāk =ň̂q pulam
NEW=then long.time valley.quail =and mountain.quail =and cottontail
‘And always quail and mountain quail and cottontail rabbit and robin and meadowlark and grouse and squirrel and ground squirrel and bear and elk, you shall be game for people’, said Coyote.’

(416a) síkit čëmitəq móς čëmit mípa
NEW=then bird=PAT 2PL.AGT bird be-FUT

(416b) sáké móς ṭółmop nóʔopaʔ
SAME=and 2PL.AGT brush=LAT live-FUT

(416c) síkitə ṭ’an lópsi nq púlam ṭółmop
NEW=then long.time jackrabbit =and cottontail brush=LAT

‘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) sikiṭéy  mila  nq  k’ol  kimása  ki
si=kit=ˀi  mil=q  =nq  k’ol  kiˀ-mas=q  ki? 
NEW=then=HSY1  meat/deer=PAT =and  other  DST-DSTR=PAT  DST

hó:ṭam  kimása  mő’os  ?on  hó:ṭop  no?opa  ?an
hot-am  kiˀ-mas=q  mo’os  ?on  hot=op  noˀ-pa?  ?an
large-NOML  DST-DSTR=PAT  2PL.AGT  earth  large=LAT  live-FUT  always

ˀawhámi  mí:hkon  ˀa:ṭátat  hqwáyol’  mő’os
ˀawham  mih=kon  ˀaṭat=qt  hqway-ol’  mo’os
animal  be=because  people=DAT  food/eat-AG/INST  2PL.AGT

mípaˀ  ?eyy  ?imeymil  hulk’ó’i
mih-paˀ  =ˀi  ˀimi=mil  hulk’o’i
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  ˀa:ṭašáy  k’ąk’ísąk
k’ayt  ˀaṭat-šay  k’ąk’-s-ąk
already  people-raw/alive  exist-CAUS-SEM
‘already having caused human beings to come into existence.’

(418b) sákimas  ˀey  huˀú:tlmil
są=kimas  =ˀi  huˀuˀ-tl=mil
SAME-thus  =HSY1  quit-TR=FIN
‘Thus he completed that.’

(419) seˀ'éy  kimása  k’inhilmil  ʃąkma
si=ˀi  kiˀ-mas=q  k’in-h-il=mil  ʃąkmi=q
NEW=HSY1  DST-DSTR=PAT  cry-DUR-MPSV=FIN  some=PAT
‘And some of them felt sad;’
(420) sikánˀéy  awhám  k’äng’etmil
si=kqˀ=i  awham  k’äng’-t=mil
NEW=thereupon=HSY1  animal  exist-INTR=FIN
‘but they became animals.’

(421) siˀéy  haye  kimási  ?aːtát  həwəsmil
siˀ=i  həq’yə  kiˀ-mas-i  ?aːtət  həwəy-s-m=mil
NEW=HSY1  now  DST-DSTR-ANIM  people  food/eat-CONT-IMPFV=FIN
ki:  həwəyəsəmpamikí:
ki?  həwəy-s-m-pə’am=ki?
DST  food/eat-CONT-IMPFV-FUT=DST
‘And now people at them whom they would continue to eat.’

(422) si  haye  ki  hil’  kimás  həʔú:ləmil  hulk’oˀi
si  həq’yə  ki?  hil  kimas  həʔú=t-l=mil  hulk’oˀi
NEW  now  DST  all  thus  quit-TR=FIN  Coyote
‘And so now Coyote completed all that thus.’

(423) namliki  ?ey  ki:  méymil  kimás  k’äng’sənamlíki
namliki  =ˀi  ki?  mih=mil  kimas  k’äng’-s=namli=ki?
therefore  =HSY1  DST  be=FIN  thus  exist-CAUS=DEP=DST
miyəh’k’ikan’
mi’q-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 ʔi 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  ñimsop
      kopa-wok’-łam  ñimi-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  ñus  kík’íl  ko:litámmil
muna?  ñus  kí’=k’íl  ko’=lit-m=mi
many  1PL.EXCL.AGT  DST=TERM  go-DIR2-IMPFV=FIN

wok  náwtáŋk
wok’  nqw-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
kí’-mas-i  wok’-ma-m-s
DST-DSTR-ANIM  dance/sing-DIR1-IMPFV?-?

k’ol  ñatát  wókmamsi.
k’ol  ñatat  wok’-ma-m-s
other  people  dance/sing-DIR1-IMPFV?-?
B: ‘They will dance and other people will dance’
K: ‘they will dance other people will dance.’

(2)  símili  ñus  wokútismil
si=mili  ñus  wok’-kut-s=mi
NEW=and.then  1PL.EXCL.AGT  dance/sing-INCP-CAUS=FIN

427 Due to the presence of causative -s in wókmansi, ‘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: ˀuṣ ˀąṭí:
wok’-m=ki? ˀus ˀąṭi
dance/sing-IMPFV=DST 1PL.EXCL.AGT a.while

hap  šuˀ:kútismil.
hap  šuˀ’-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)  símili?  wókmikkimási  kámešna  sapátina
si=mili  wok’-m=ki’-mas  kamiš=ną  sapati=ną
NEW=and.then  dance/sing-IMPFV=DST-DSTR  shirt=and  shoe=and

híšilmil
hiˀ’-s-ił=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

sq  hap  šú:  hukiṭ  tat’lilmil.
sq  hap  šuˀ  huˀ’uˀ’kiṭ  tat-q-ł-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:  hiści  tat’  huˀ’átlėli
si=mi  hil-i  tat  huˀ’uˀ’-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  hap  šú:wikimáse  hí:li
háʔaye  hap  šuʔ-h=kiʔ-mas-i  hil-i
now  song/sing  sit/stay-DUR=DST-DSTR-ANIM  all-ANIM

miːti  yöletmil.
mit  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 get up and stand.’

(5)  sekí:k  pánk  ʔáti  wokútlmitl.
si=kí:k  pák  ʔáti  wok'-ktl=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)  sákí:k  ʔúnʔsil  wóktlimi:  háye  yimq'ilʔk
sq=kí:k  ʔunšil  wok'-tl-mi  hqʾaye  yim-q'ilk
SAME=right.there  small  dance/sing-TR-IMPFV?  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)  sqó:kí:k  háye  wóktlimil.
sq=kí:k  hqʾaye  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)  sekék     múna  ?aṭát  nąwkílmil.  
si=kik  muna?  ?aṭat  nąw-k-il=il
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)  sekék     wáˀoksími                                        huˀú:tlmil.  
si=kik  wok’-s-m                                          huˀuˀ-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  sohíkil’mil.  
sop  muna?  soh-k-il=il
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     šą́kma     t’u:wayhil  
sop  šąkmi=q  t’uh-way-h-il
but.then  some=PAT?  heart-jealous?-DUR-MPSV
ki:mąlílmil.  
ki-mą-l-il=il
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                            hąšáˀ           hąp  šú:  
są=mi     kį’-mas-i                           hąšqˀ           hąp  šuˀ
SAME=and.then  DST-DSTR-ANIM  again  song/sing  sit
kopwóktlmil tátktí:li.
kop-wok'-tl=mil tat-k-il
feather-dance/sing-TR=FIN good/make-PNCT-MPSV
B: 'And then in turn these others sit, sing, and dance the feather dance and
fix themselves up.'
K: 'And then they (who were jealous) again (in turn) sit and sing dance fix
up.'

(13) samí: kimáse ?án huˀ
sq=mi kíˀ-mas-i ?an huˀ
SAME=and.then DST-DSTR-ANIM long.time before

wóktlimí:kimáṣ ?án wóktlmil yimálek'.
wok'-tl=m=kiˀ-mas ?án wok'-tl=mil yim-ąlik
dance/sing-TR-IMPFV=DST-DSTR long.time dance/sing-TR=FIN fire-near?
B: 'They dance just the same dance as those that danced before near the fire'
K: 'They dance just the same dance as those that danced before.'

sq=kik wok'-s-m ?an huˀuˀ-tl=mil
SAME=right.there dance/sing-CAUS-IMPFV long.time quit-TR=FIN
B: 'And right there they stopped dancing.'
K: 'Right there dance quit.'

(15) sími: wok'ą́yakikí
si=mi wok'ų-a-q=kiˀ
NEW=and.then dance/sing-?SEM=DST
B: 'And then one of them made up the dance:'
K: 'And then the one made up the dance:'

kimás ?q té y méy huˀú:tlik
kimas ?q ti mi huˀuˀ'-tl=k
thus a.while 1PL.INCL.AGT quit-TR=DECL
B: "That's enough for a while, we quit."
K: "That's enough for a while we quit;"
míyą        kį        k’ólpis
mi=q        kį’        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          náwinemá’mi:kímáse
wok’          náw-n-má-mi=kį’-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) sámi:        kįtà?        ?an        wok’ol          mícháleki
si=mi          kįta        ?an        wok’-ol’          mih=hál=ki’
NEW=and.then there long.time dance/sing/AG/INST be=INFR1?=DST

k’áyemílemi    kipat        ?áṭat        ?iwis        málam        yíwisímil.
k’áy-mí-mi      kip=áṭ        ?áṭat        ?iwis        mál-am       yíw-símil
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) sámey       kimášé        ?án           hap
sq=mi          kį’-mas-i        ?án           hap
SAME=and.then DST-DSTR-ANIM long.time song/sing
šú:kmil.
šuˀ-k=mil
sit/stay-PNCT=FIN
B: ‘And then they sit down and sing.’
K: ‘And then those sit down and sing.’

(18) sémi ˀán  kimási  wóktlika
si=mi ˀan  kiˀ-mas-i  wok’-tl=ka
NEW=and.then long.time DST-DSTR-ANIM dance/sing-TR=then

ˀuṣ  náwkmil
ˀus  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;’

híli ˀaṭát  k’ol  kimáse
hil-i ˀaṭat  k’ol  kiˀ-mas-i
all-ANIM people other DST-DSTR-ANIM

wok  náwinˀmikimáṣq
wok’  nqw-n-mi-mi=kiˀ-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,’

ˀuṣ  wókt’ilmil ˀąṭéy
ˀus  wok’-t-il=mil ˀąṭi
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.’

wáˀok’ispaˀaŋkón.
wok’-s-paˀam=kon
dance/sing-CAUS-FUT=though
B: ‘Though we will dance (soon).’
K: ‘We will dance (soon).’
(19) sími: hawlámop kapitán hąwáyˀi k’ąyákmil.
si=mi hawlam=op kapitan hąwąy k’ąy-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 hąwą́y t’oktmil híli
si=mili hąwąy t’ok-t=mil hil-i
NEW=and.then food/eat arrive-INTR=FIN all-ANIM

waˀok’isˀ́kímášë.
wok’-s=ki’-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 huˀú:ti
si=mi hąwąy hil huˀuˀ-t
NEW=and.then food/eat all quit-INTR
B: ‘Then they all finish eating.’
K: ‘Then (“food”) eating all done.’

háye ki nák híli haye ˀónˀwah
hąq’aye kiˀ nąk hil-i hąq’aye ˀon-wah
now DST dark/night all-ANIM now earth?-wide?

wáˀok’esmil.
wok’-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’kč’am ˀús ˀopi nák šą’ke’am molmi
šą’qkčam ˀus ˀopi nąk šą’qkčam molmi
sometimes 1PL.EXCL.AGT two dark/night sometimes three
náŋ $\check{s}\acute{q}\acute{k}\check{c}\check{\acute{a}}m$ p\text{"}wi wíť $\check{\acute{u}}s$
$nąk$ $\check{s}\acute{q}\acute{k}\check{c}\check{a}m$ p\text{"}wi wíť $\check{\acute{u}}s$
dark/night sometimes one work/week 1PL.EXCL.AGT

wá$\acute{o}$k’í$\check{\acute{s}}$mil.
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 ioi are originally Chinook myths, which appeared in Franz Boas’ Chinook Texts in 1894. Ents and Upek appears as Ėntx!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 ?ey ?int nq kimteyt
kiṭa =?i ?int =nq kim-ṭit’
there =HSY1 Ents =and DST.KIN.POSS-maternal.grandmother

?Upek mihnq.
?upek mihn=nq
Upek be=and?
‘There were Ents and his grandmother Upek.’

(2) haye ki: mušp ?an hųškayesna kiˀa
hųˀąye kiˀ musp ?an hųšk’ay-s=nq? kiˀ=q
now DST woman long.time tell-CONT=and? DST=PAT

kóti milontitam=ˀanilma.
koˀˀt milontitam=q ?anil-m-a
go-INTR elk=PAT lead-IMPFV?-IMP
‘Now this woman always said to him “Go bring elk!”’

(3) hil k’awlaŋk ?iyi kiˀa kóṭilmil
hil k’awlam=k =?i kiˀ=q koˀˀt-il=mil
all morning=DECL =HSY1 DST=PAT go-INTR-MPSV=FIN
‘Every morning she made him go.’

kiˀ=q kimaṣa ?aniltilmil.
kiˀ=q kiˀ-mas=q ?anil-t-il=mil
DST=PAT DST-DSTR=PAT lead-INTR-MPSV=FIN
‘She made him bring them.’

(4) seˀéy ki kim k’oˀi k’aŋ’imil.
siˀ=i kiˀ kim k’oˀi k’aŋ’=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.
kiˀ       kim      šiškič         k’ap’=mil
DST only squirrel kill=FIN

k’ol’ind’ai       ki?       ⌥olkočam      kič       k’apimil.
k’olˀ-inay’       ki?       ⌥olkaṭam =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)  siˀey                 ki        šą:kč’am         ˀan                  k’óˀotammil.
si=ˀi                   kiˀ      šąˀąkčam        ˀan                  koˀ-t-m=mil
NEW=HSY1 DST sometimes long.time go-INTR-IMPFV=FIN
‘He went maybe several times.’

(6)  simeyey                  ki        k’óˀote         ˀéy         ˀol tql kiṭa      šúmil.
si=miˀi                   kiˀ       k’oˀ-t         =ˀi         ˀol tql kiṭa      šuˀ=mil
NEW=then=HSY1 DST be.in-INTR =HSY1 tree NEG there sit/stay=FIN
‘Then he went and stayed on the prairie.’

(7)  seˀey                     ki          č’al         p’ąkakmil
si=ˀi                       kiˀ         č’al         pąk’-ąk=mil
SAME=HSY1 DST loud shout-SEM=FIN
‘He shouted:

lákta                                  káṭá      ˀol           tłop
lakˀ-t-a                              kaṭa      ˀol           tł̕=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 ˀol tql kiṭa, 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’: káṭá ˀol tł̕op, which is glossed by Kroeber as ‘here where no trees’. Presumably, ‘here where there are no trees.’
milontitam mi  mąmekilpa
elk 1PL.INCL.AGT fight-PNCT-MPSV-FUT
‘elk, we will fight,’

meiy wóktlpə.
mi wok’-tl-pa?
1PL.INCL.AGT dance/sing-TR-FUT
‘we will dance.’

(8) símey ?i[yi lakt
si=mi ?i[yi lak’-t
NEW=then something emerge=INTR
‘Then something came out,’

nq hučki lopis miy
=ñq huč=ki lopis mi?
=and? outside=IN jackrabbit be?
‘it was a rabbit.’

?ími:mil.
?ími=mi
say=FIN
He said;

(9) ki ?ap yuwistan’we
ki? ?ap yqwa-tan’wi
DST 1SG.AGT name/call-CONT?-NEG-PST1
‘That is the one I didn’t call;’

ki?at šam nok šilök ?ahmol k’ayyam mihk.
ki?=at šam nok šilo’=k ?ahmol k’ayyam 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 k’iŋiʔákmil.
si=mi =ʔi lopis k’in-qk=mil
NEW=then =HSY1 jackrabbit cry-SEM=FIN
‘Then the rabbit cried’

(11) sq’ey kipáwkil ʔol hóčkil kóʔot’mil.
sq=ʔi kipqw=k’il ʔol hoṭ=k’il koʔ-t=mil
SAME=HSY1 back=TERM wood much=TERM go-INTR=FIN
‘and went back into the woods.’

(12) sq k’inmil.
sq k’in=mil
SAME cry=FIN
‘It cried.’

(13) seʔéy k’i p’ákeyákmil hąšá
si=ʔi kiʔ pąk’-qk=mil hąšąʔ
NEW=HSY1 DST shout-SEM=FIN again
‘Then he shouted again:’

lákta káṭá ʔol tål kíta milonti:tmi.
lak’-t-a káṭa ʔol tál kíta 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  kípat  káčeyni  kimlána  č'ąy
**Ioi** =ną  kip=q=F  kačini  kim-lan'  č'ą'i
Ioi  =and  3R=DAT  younger  DST.KIN.POSS-younger.brother  Bluejay

kiṭa  mímil.
kiṭa  mih=mil.
there  be=FIN
‘Ioi and her younger brother Bluejay were there.’

(2) **pąwi** nak  ˀey  ˀaṭat  ˀon  hulkílal  ˀanilmamil  mus. 433
**pąwi** nąk  =ˀi  ˀaṭat  ˀon  hulk'ilal  ˀanil-mą=mil  mus
one  dark/night  =HSY1  people  earth  ghost  lead=DIR1=FIN  women
‘One night the ghosts brought a wife.’ 434

(3) **Ioiˀą**  toketmil.
**Ioi=q**  t'ok-t=mil
Ioi=PAT  arrive-INTR=FIN
‘Ioi was brought (there).’ 435

(4) **kimót**  
**kiˀ-mas=ąt?**  
**kiˀ-mas=ąt?**  
DST-DSTR=DAT?  bead  =HSY1  take=FIN  DST=PAT  woman=PAT
‘Their beads were taken for her.’

(5) **kiṭa**  mu:štemil  ki  ną́k.
**kiṭa**  muš-t=mil  kiˀ  nąk
there  marry-INTR=FIN  DST  dark/night
‘She was married there at night.’

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432 Kroeber glosses ˀaṭat ˀon 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) seˀéy ḕiŋy toˀoktmil.
    si=ʔi  ‘inay’ t’ok-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 day arrive-INTR=FIN
‘Then it became day.’

(7) seˀey haye loʔq yátitmil.
    si=ʔi  hʔqye lo=q yat-t=mil
NEW=HSY1 now loi=PAT be.gone-INTR=FIN
‘And now loi was gone.’

(8) seˀey čʔey kiṭa ḍan méymil.
    si=ʔi  č’ąi  kiṭa  ḍan  mih=mil
NEW=HSY1 Bluejay there long.time be=FIN
‘Then Bluejay was there a long time.’

(9) k’olanísti p’awi pilwánti ḋi ḍimeymil.
    k’olaništì pawi pilwant =ʔi  ḍim=qmil
afterwards one year  =HSY1 say=FIN
‘After a year he said:’

(10) ḍap kówmíšlik háymilk
    ḍap koʔ-mq-il=k háy-mq-il=k
1SG.AGT go-DIR1-MPSV=DECL look.for-DIR1-MPSV=DECL

‘ɪŋkɪč’a.
‘in-kič=q
1SG.KIN.POSS-elder.sister=PAT
‘“I am going to look for my elder sister.”’

(11) sq’ey ki kiwismil hil ʔdí’a ḍq’háŋk.
    sq=ʔi  kiʔ kiw-s=mil hil ʔol=q  ḍq-h=m=k
SAME=HSY1 DST ask-CAUS?=FIN all tree=PAT find-IMPFV=DECL
‘He asked all the trees, trying to find out.’
Appendix 10: Yuki Texts (ioi)

(12)  sq'éy  ki  kiwismil
sq='i  ki?  kíw-s=mil
SAME=HSY1  DST  ask-CAUS?=FIN
‘He asked:

 '?imás  '?á tat  k'ó tamn'am?lik  k'olmikíc.
'?imas  '?á tat  k'oʔ-t-m=namli=k  k'ol-m=ki?
whereabouts  people  be.in-INTR-IMPFV=DEP=?  die-IMPFV=DST
“Where does a person go when he dies?”

(13)  sq'éy  ki  kiwismil  hil  č'ímita.
sq='i  ki?  kíw-s=mil  hil  č'imit=q
SAME=HSY1  DST  ask-CAUS?=FIN  all  bird=PAT
‘He asked all the birds.’

(14)  se'éy  kímasë  wač  táltilmil.
si='i  kiʔ-mas-i  wač'  tál-t-il=mil
NEW=HSY1  DST-DSTR-ANIM  teach  NEG-INTR-MPSV=FIN
‘They did not tell him.’

(15)  se'éy  kółk’a  wejʔa  kíwismil.
si='i  kół=kiʔ=q  wej=q  kíw-s=mil
NEW=HSY1  other=DST=PAT  wedge=PAT  ask-CAUS?=FIN
‘Next he asked the wedge.’

(16)  se'éy  kiʔa  ?imeymil.
si='i  kiʔ=q  ?imi=mil
NEW=HSY1  DST=PAT  say=FIN
‘It said to him:’

(17)  wąktl’  ?éy
wąk-tlʔ  =ʔi
pay/lend-TR-IMP  =HSY1
“Pay me!”
(18)  
siki  wáktlml.  

(19)  
Si=ki  wák-tl=mil  
NEW=therefore  pay/lend-TR=FIN  
‘He paid it.’  

(20)  
See'y  wéǰ'na  čą'í  toktlmil  hoč  nókil.  

(21)  
Kiṭa  ey  woyam  tálammil  hoṭ  hánlamop  han.  
there  =HSY1  smoke  NEG-IMPFV=FIN  large  house-NOML=LAT  =but  
‘There was no smoke at the houses.’  

(22)  
See'y  kimáši  kómml  huháyk'i  hánki  

hoṭa  namlik'i:k.  

hoṭ=a  =namli=kik  

large=  =DEP=there  
‘They came to the last house, which was a large one.’  

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436 The meaning of the apostrophe in Kroeber’s transcription of wéǰ'na is unclear.  
437 Glossed as ‘rancheria’ by Kroeber in his recording of this texts in his notes.
(23)  haye  ey  kita  woyam  tāmil
    hā'aye  =i  kita  woyam  tāh=amil
now  =HSY1  there  smoke  find=FIN
‘Now he saw smoke there.’

(24)  kita  ey  ki  káptmil.
    kita  =i  ki  kap-t=amil
there  =HSY1  DST  enter-INTR=FIN
‘He went into that one.’

(25)  kita  ey  tā'mil  k'injik'ičča.
    kita  =i  tāh=amil  kim=k'ič=q
there  =HSY1  find=FIN  DST.KIN.POSS-elder.sister=PAT
‘He found his elder sister there.’

(26)  haway  itin  koč'eyni  i:lán  438  ìmeymil  ki:
    haway  itin  koč'ini  i-lan'  ìmi=amil  ki?
oh  1SG.POSS  younger  1SG.KIN.POSS-younger.brother  say=FIN  DST
    mušp  ki'a.
    musp  ki=q
woman  DST=PAT
‘“Ah my younger brother,” she said to him.’

(27)  im'pis  mi  komha.
    im'=pis  mi'  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 ìi-lan’ as ‘my younger brother’, therefore ìi:lán is likely a possessed form even though Kroeber glosses ìi:lán simply as ‘brother’.
The meaning of ‘im is unclear in ‘im-i: k’ol tą́lek ‘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 ‘imi, ‘ima begins the negative clause and -t is suffixed to the verb root, as in the following example:

Kroeber 1902d:71, TB

‘I don’t see you.’
Appendix 10: Yuki Texts ( loi )

\[
\begin{align*}
k’\text{ink’i}:\text{čatnákei}.
k’\text{im}-k’i\text{č}=q\text{t}=n\text{ak} \\
\text{DST.KIN.POSS-elder.sister=DAT=near} \\
‘\text{One skull and bones lay near his elder sister.}'
\end{align*}
\]

(34) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{se’ey} & \quad \text{ki} & \quad ʔ\text{imeymil} & \quad \text{ki}^\circ & \quad \text{müšp’a}.
\text{si=’i} & \quad \text{ki} & \quad ʔ\text{imi=mil} & \quad \text{ki}^\circ & \quad \text{mus}^\circ \text{p}=q
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NEW=HSY1} & \quad \text{DST} & \quad \text{say=FIN} & \quad \text{DST=PAT} & \quad \text{woman=PAT}
\end{align*}
\]
‘He said to her:

(35) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔi’yí} & \quad \text{mi} & \quad \text{yúni’akpa} & \quad \text{kimáš} & \quad \text{hoṭ} & \quad \text{kítna}
\text{ʔi’yí} & \quad \text{mi} & \quad \text{yuy’-n-qk-pa}? & \quad \text{ki}^\circ & \quad \text{mas} & \quad \text{hoṭ} & \quad \text{k’it=na}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{what} & \quad \text{2SG.AGT} & \quad \text{do-AND?-SEM-FUT} & \quad \text{DST-DSTR} & \quad \text{large} & \quad \text{bone=and}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka} & \quad \text{nank’i’tna}.
\text{ka} & \quad \text{nan-k’i’t=na}
\end{align*}
\]
‘“What are you going to do with those many bones and this skull?”’
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