THE CHIMARIKO INDIANS AND LANGUAGE

BY
ROLAND B. DIXON

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BY

ROLAND B. DIXON.

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PART I. CULTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

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

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

TERRITORY AND HISTORY.

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

Whether or not the so-called Chimalakwe of New River formed a portion of the Chimariko, or were identical with them, is a matter which must apparently remain unsettled. Powers declares\(^1\) that the Chimalakwe occupied New River, and that they were in process of conquest and absorption by the Hupa at the time of the first appearance of the whites. The upper portion of New River, about New River City and perhaps below, was occupied according to Shasta accounts by a small branch of the Shastan family, speaking a distinct dialect.\(^2\) Satisfactory statements in regard to the occupants of lower New River cannot now be secured. The survivors of the Chimariko most emphatically deny that they ever permanently occupied any part of New River, stating that they merely visited and ascended it a short distance, and only for the purpose of hunting. The people living on New River are declared to have been very few, and to have spoken a Hupa dialect. It is unquestionable that the name Chimalakwe, given to the New River tribe by Powers, is derived from the same stem \(tc睁开mal, tc睁开mar\)\(^3\) as Chimariko. Inasmuch as

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\(^3\) \(t\) is English ch, \(c\) is sh. See the discussion of phonetics in the linguistic part.
these New River people are entirely extinct, and the Chimariko virtually so, it seems doubtful if the question of their relationship can now be definitely settled.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The food supply of the Chimariko was formerly abundant. The Trinity River supplied them with ample quantities of salmon, which were split and dried in the usual manner, and preserved either in this or in powdered form. Eels were another important source of food. Deer, elk, and bear constituted the
larger part of the game supply, in addition to which mountain-lion and several other animals supplied an occasional meal. Yellow-jacket larvae were considered delicacies, but grasshoppers and worms, relished by the Sacramento Valley tribes, were not eaten.

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

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

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

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

The furnishings of the houses were simple. Baskets exclusively were used for storage and cooking, and the soap-stone troughs and vessels of the Hupa appear to have been lacking. For stirring acorn-mush a simple paddle was in use. Information as to spoons was contradictory, one informant declaring that carved spoons like those of the Hupa\(^5\) were employed, the other that this was not the case. The cylindrical wooden trunks of the Hupa were not known.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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\(^5\) Goddard, op. cit., pl. 16.
\(^6\) Ibid., pl. 11.
\(^7\) Ibid., pl. 17.
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

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

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

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

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

Puberty ceremonials for women were as a whole simple. The girl had to remain secluded in the house for a period of about a month. Much of this time she was obliged to lie down, and be covered up with skins. She was subject to many food restrictions, and ate sparingly, always alone, at dawn and sunset. Throughout the period of her seclusion she was obliged to use a scratching-stick. At times, she was supposed to dance, usually outside the house. In these dances her hair, cut in a bang on
the forehead, was made with pitch into a series of tassels or tassel-like ringlets, and these were long enough to fall down over her eyes. When the period of seclusion was over, there was generally a feast given by her parents, and another dance, and then the whole was regarded as completed. The ceremony was apparently not repeated at any of the subsequent menstrual periods.

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

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

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

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

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RELIGION.

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

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

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

In the summer time occasionally people would hold the "round-dance" merely for pleasure. This consisted simply in a number of people dancing around in a circle, without ornaments or paraphernalia of any sort, and was repeated as often as desired. It seems to have had little or no religious or ceremonial importance.
Of the mythology of the Chimariko, only one or two fragments could be obtained. Concerning the creation, it is said that the dog was the most powerful being. He knew everything beforehand, and told the coyote that a great wind was coming, which would blow all people away. He counselled the coyote to hold tightly to a tree, but when the wind came, the coyote whirled round and round, twisted the tree off, and blew away. Later the coyote returned, and the dog sang songs over him, and made him strong. The dog next prophesies a flood, and to escape it the two build a house of stone with an underground chamber. The flood comes, and all other people are destroyed, except the frog, mink, and otter, and one man. The flood subsides, finally, and the man finds a small fragment of bone in the canoe in which the frog has taken refuge. This piece of bone he preserves in a basket, and it later comes to life as a girl child. The man marries the child, and from this pair all Chimariko are descended. There is possibly an element of missionary teaching in this tale, but it constitutes all that could be learned in regard to ideas of the origin of things.

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

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

These tales do not show any close resemblance to any recorded from the Hupa or Wiyot, as representatives of the Northwestern Californian culture. As little relation appears to
the tales known from the Wintun. With the tales from the Shasta there appears to be slightly greater similarity, although here the agreement is not at all striking. At best, however, these fragments do not offer very satisfactory material to judge from, and the most that can be said is that what association there is, appears more clearly with the Shasta than with any other of the stocks in the vicinity.

CONCLUSIONS.

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

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

Any attempt to discuss the past history or determine the movements of the Chimariko must be almost wholly speculative. On the one hand we may regard them as the remnant of a once much larger stock, subjected to pressure and attack on several sides, and so reduced to the small compass and unimportance which were theirs when discovered; on the other, we might perhaps assume from their cultural colorlessness and lack of close agreement with either the Northwestern or Central Californian cultures, that they are more closely affiliated with the Shastan stock, which appears to have been pushing in a south-southwesterly direction. With them also, as already stated, such resemblances as may be noted in the myths are most apparent. The two outlying dialectic groups of this stock, the Konomihu and the New River, apparently occupy advance positions beyond
the natural physiographic boundaries of the main area of the stock. Moreover, the language of the Chimariko shows in general greater similarities both formal and lexical, to the Shasta than to either the Hupa or the Wintun. These similarities, which are discussed in the linguistic portion of the paper, in fact are so numerous as to make it seem most likely that the two languages are genetically related. Further, it was among the Shasta, chiefly, that the remnants of the Chimariko took refuge when they fled from the Trinity River in the sixties. The paucity of material secured in regard to the Chimariko culture of course adds to the difficulty, and as usual in California, we get no aid here from any tradition of migration or earlier habitat. All things considered, the second of the above two suggestions appears the more reasonable, and we may conclude that, so far as the evidence goes, the Chimariko are to be regarded as related culturally most closely to the Shastan stock, and in origin probably forming part of it. Their historical affiliations therefore run northward and northeastward towards the interior of southwestern Oregon.
PART II. LANGUAGE.

INTRODUCTION.

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

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

PHONETICS.

The vowel sounds occurring in Chimariko are i, e, a, o, u. As a rule the vowels are not short enough to be obscure, the only exception being in the the case of e, written E when obscure. Doubling of vowels or their extreme length, particularly in the case of a and o, is not uncommon, and the language is apparently
fond of combinations of two vowel sounds, separated by ' , a faint glottal catch. The sound of ö, although occurring, is not common. There is some doubt as to whether long open è should not be written ä. A broad a or open o sound resembling English aw has been represented by å. Of all the vowel sounds, a is by far the most frequent. Nasalized vowels do not occur, and the infrequency of ä, ö, and û, so common in the adjacent languages, as for instance the Shasta, is noticeable. The vowels may be represented as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{i} & \text{e} & \text{ä} & \text{ë} \\
\text{ä} & \text{a} & \text{å} \\
\text{ø} & \text{o} & \text{ö} \\
\text{u} & & \\
\end{array}
\]

In the consonants, the sonant group is somewhat more developed than the surd. A true b seems to be lacking, although an intermediate sound, between surd and sonant, occasionally occurs. Of the two sonants g and d, neither is common initially, the latter perhaps never so occurring, and generally being found in combination with n as nd. The velar surd stop q is of moderately frequent occurrence, but its corresponding sonant is absent. Nasals are represented only by n and m, ñ(ng) being absent. The surd l sounds common in the languages adjacent, are absent, although ordinary 1 is common. There are apparently two r sounds. Besides the ordinary, rather strongly trilled r, there is a velar or uvular r, almost equivalent to spirant guttural x. T followed by r seems to be a sound similar to tc, as one was often written for the other. A single instance of the use of an interdental, ò, has been noted. The consonants in Chimariko may be shown as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccccccc}
\text{q} & \text{g} & \text{k} & \text{t} & \text{p} & \text{ts, tc} & \text{d} & \text{x} & \text{s, c (}=sh) & \text{ð} & \text{n} \\
\text{k} & \text{ð} & \text{t} & \text{d} & \text{b} & \text{j} & \text{l, r, r} & \text{y; w; h, '} & \text{m} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{10 It is not certain whether ð represents a stop or a spirant. Several California languages possess a t whose interdental quality causes it to resemble English th. The character ' , whether following k or another sound, indicates aspiration.}\]
INITIAL SOUNDS.

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

TERMINAL SOUNDS.

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

DIALECTICAL DIFFERENCES.

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

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

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

INFLUENCE OF SOUNDS ON ONE ANOTHER.

Chimariko is in accord with many of the languages of Northern Central California, in that there is little apparent modification of sounds through juxtaposition. There is a slight tendency for the connecting vowel between the pronominal prefix and the instrumental prefix, or the pronominal prefix and the verbal stem, to show some relationship to the vowel of the stem. This is, however, noticeable only in the case of o and u and perhaps a stems. In these cases, the connecting vowel is either the same as that of the stem, or near it in the regular vowel series. Such instances are retroactive. In other cases, the influence is proactive, the vowel of the negative prefix being assimilated to the vowel of the pronominal prefix, where this changes in the first person plural, as tcaxawini, I am old, teoxowini, we are old. So far as consonants are concerned, euphonic and other changes in sound are not of very common occurrence. The following are the more important of those noted. K is sometimes softened to x, owakni becoming owaxni, and is generally elided before x, as in yeta(k)xani, I shall sing. One instance occurs where x is replaced by w: ixusni, I blow, qowusni, ye blow. For euphony, m is sometimes inserted after a before d, x, or g. In some cases,
g changes to x after tc. There are a number of instances where one stem-consonant may be replaced by another without apparent change of meaning, as: mum, muk; sum, sux; sim, six; am, ak; tcut, teuk; pen, hen; pat, hat. In these cases t and m are replaced by k or x, and p by h. Contraction occurs not uncommonly, as in yaateiman for yayateiman; natcidut for noatcidut; -wax, -wak, -wok, -wauk for -watok.

SUMMARY.

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

RE Duplication.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a'a, deer</th>
<th>himinite, grouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pipilla, chipmunk</td>
<td>lalo, goose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsokokotei, bluejay</td>
<td>teitei, buzzard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaxate, duck</td>
<td>tsadad, kingfisher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yekyek, hawk</td>
<td>hutat, crane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masomas, red-salmon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COMPOSITION.

Investigation of the processes of composition and derivation for purely etymological purposes, does not reveal a very extensive use. The following cases illustrate the principle examples noted:
aqa, water
aqa-qot, aqa-kat, river ("at the water")
aqa-rêda, aqa-toeta, ocean (probably "water-large")
aqa-xatsa, spring, "water-cold"
apu-n-aqa, "fire-water," whiskey
tcitci-aqa-i, "manzanita-water," cider
aqa-mateitsxol, water-fall, "water-dust"

asi-n-alla, sun, day-sun
himi-n-alla, moon, night-sun

hi-pxa, intestine
hi-pxa-dji, skin, bark

ama, earth, place, country
ama-yâqa, sand
ama-idatei-ku, nowhere
ami-texamut, earthquake

wec, antler
wec-naqalne, spoon

tira, di'la, bird
tira-cela, teila-teele, blackbird

-sot, eye
-so-xa, tears (eye-water*)
-sot-nimi, eyebrow
-su-nsa, eyelash

xuli, bad
xuli-teni, left hand
hô-akta-xoli-k, lame
hisi-kni, good
hisi-deni, right hand

-kos-, to blow
i-kos-eta, wind

apu, fire
apu-n-aqa, fire-water
apu'-natxui, fire-drill base
apo-teitpid-akta, smoke-hole

tcim-ar, person, Indian
tcim-tukta, white man

acot-n-o-umul, "winter-salmon," steelhead
umul-iteawa, "salmon-large," sturgeon

pa, to smoke
oni-pa, pipe
atexu, net
atexu-nde, rope
a’a, deer
a’ėno, sanok, elk
am, ama, eat
ame-mtu, hungry
hime, himi, night
hime-tasur, hime-tacus, morning
himi-nalla, moon
hime-da, to-morrow
himok, evening
himok-ni, night
himoq-anan, noon
himi-santo, ‘‘devil’’

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

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

Some verb stems are identical with body-part terms that execute the action of the verb.
cam, sem, ear, or to hear
tu, wing, feather, or to fly
pen, tongue, or to lick

Derivation is by suffixes, of which the most important are:
-alla, -illa, -olla, diminutive, especially on names of animals:
xar-illa, xal-ala, baby
teiteam-illa, apxante-olla, fox
bëmox-ola, jack-rabbit
ipüit-ella, bluebird
itr-illa, boy
itrine-illa, old man
cunh-illa, old woman
punts-illa, girl
ōel-ulla, bachelor
o-ella-i, my son
mas-olla-i, my daughter
ite-illa-i, my father
mag-olla-i, my uncle
teisum-ulla, orphan
pāśinjajax-ola, water-ousel
pip-illa, wis-illa, chipmunk, beaver(?)
pqo-ella, cooking basket (pok, to wash)
cite-ella, site-ela, dog (cite-illa, wolf)
cid-ulla, a spring
tumtit-ella, swallow
aw-illa, who(?)
maidjahute-ulla, Yoeumville
-na, tree, wood, stick, bush, plant:
apū'ensa, fire-drill, lit. fire-wood
axac-na, puktca-ensa, chaparral
ētxol-na, madrone
haqēw-ina, sugar-pine (haqēu, the cone)
hau-na, tinder
hawu 'una, grass
hepīiteci'-ina, live oak
kipi'-ina, fir
mūne'-ensa, black oak (muni, the acorn)
mutuma-na, redwood (mutuma, canoe)
qapu-na, deer brush
ipxadji'-ina, trūpxadji'-ina, maple
paktō'-ensa, alder
tētēu-na, fern
tseli-na, gooseberry bush
tcimia-na, serviceberry bush
tcita-na, manzanita
tsuna-na, digging stick
xaxec-na, poison oak
yaqā-na, white oak
yutxū-ina, tan-bark oak
-cu, forms nouns from verbal stems:
aqed-eu, wild oats
ahat-eu, dentalium
axād-eu cat's cradle
hā'-eu, mortar basket
haq-eu, sugar-pine cone
hām-eu, food (am, ama, eat)
habukēd-ēu, slave
hekot-ēu, tattoo
hiéktcand-eu, woman's skirt
hiveumūdad-ēhu, cup and ball game
ho'-eu, board
hohankut-eu, fish spear
hâp-eu, acorn soup
hâsunwed-eu, spear
isekdâd-iu, tongs
itraxaid-eu, chief
petson-eu, grass-seed
trémanute-eu, thunder
teen-eu, acorn-bread
trun-eu, belly
xápun-eu, bow

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

apo-teitpid-aktca, smoke-hole
atcib-uksa, arrow-flaker
haim-uksa, ham-uktca, ax
hamamë-gutca, fish-line, hook
hâma’an-aksia, table (ama, eat)
hateinuar-utsa, bed
hax-aktca, deer trap
hëmuim-ektsa, split stick rattle
hëuma-kutca, grass game
hiasmai-gutca, paddle
himí-gutca, sling
himînid-uktca, red lizard
hipun-aktca, button
hisamsam-aksia, window
hiñxi-gutca, saw
hiwoanad-atsa, chair
hose-kteá, hâsus-akta, quiver
hâtsi-kteá, fire-drill (hatsir, make fire)
hôtsi-na-ktca, cedar (-na, wood)
ixa-gutca, thief
ixod-akta, clock
opum-akta, storage basket

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

Perhaps also:
tsat-ur, grasshopper (tsat, fishweir)
awkwee-ur, gray squirrel
tsabok-or, mole
pis-or, quail
himetas-ur, morning

-xol, -xal, -xul:
mateits-xol, or matre-pa, dust
aqa-mateits-xol, waterfall
pate-xal, cocoon rattle
't'amite-xul, red ant
pēte-xol, hawk
sap-xel, spoon
ēt-xol-na, madrone-tree

-teci, on names of animals, especially birds. The syllable preceding the
suffix is usually reduplicated, and therefore probably often onomatopoeic:
himiminc-teci, grouse
xaxa-teci, duck
teuuku-teći, owl
konana-teći, woodpecker
trelek-teći, humming-bird
tsokoko-teći, blue-bird
čxoi-teći, otter
qępaxmi-teći, fisher
qērek-teći, humming-bird

-tada, suffix of tribal names:
maitrok-tada, Hyampom people
qataidıwak-tada, Arcata Wiyot
hādınaktce-hāda, Cedar Flat, a place (hātsinaktce, cedar)

-dji, -dje, local suffix:
äqi-teci, Salt Ranch (äqi, salt)
tśudamda-dji, Burnt Ranch
paktōna-dji, Patterson’s (paktō'zma, alder)
mäidjatči-dje, Cecelville (maitra, a flat or bench)
hitūai-dje, Willow Creek
and many others given in the list of place names in the vocabulary.

-ma, -mu, on place names:
tcitcan-ma, Taylor’s Flat (tcitcana, manzanita)
tcitxap-mu, Big Flat (tcitxap, sun-flower)
tranqo-ma, Hyampom
hisā-mu, Weaverville

-matci, on names of seasons:
ahan-matci, summer
kieu-matci, spring
kieu-matci, spring (kisum, crane)
qā-suk-matci, when

-ckt, privative:
aqye-ckt, tail-less
itra-ckt, handleless
hu-po-ckt, footless
punktari-ckt, wife-less, bachelor
itri-d-uk, old maid

-gu, -ku, negative; perhaps also indefinite:
xani-gu, by and by
curai-gu, some time ago (sul, long ago)
patecam-ku, something (pateci, what)
patei-ku, no
amaidateci-ku, nowhere
-da, on terms of direction:
  wise-da, down-stream
  wai-da, up-stream, east
  qadai-da, south
  xunoi-da, north
  teem-da, across stream
  tranmi-da, down-stream
Possibly also:
  hime-da, to-morrow

'-i, on terms of color and other adjectives, both syllables of the stem showing the same vowel:
  teele-'i, black
  mene-'i, white
  wili-'i, red
  sōte'-i, blue (♀)
  tono'-i, dull
  mata-'i, clean
  cupu-i, sharp

-in, -n, -mi, on adjectives, is evidently the verbal suffix indicating present or incompleted action:
  atexum-ni, dry
  elox-ni, hot
  hadoha-n, straight
  hēmuadja-n, bitter
  hiqüi-ni, sweet
  hisik-ni, good
  hitcu-n, hitcē-eni, long, high
  hoqatā-eni, square
  hukēna-n, deaf
  hutcolana-n, empty
  huteula-n, low
  quoyo-in, sour
  kumite-in, all
  lo'ore-n, soft
  lūyu-in, smooth
  nodadub-ni, rough
  pepe-'in, thick
  p'qele-'in, crooked
  tqe'er-'in, thin
  teele-'in, dirty
  teuxum-mi, deep
  texale-n, light
  xē'ire-n, xerē-'in, narrow, wide
  xodala-n, poor
  xuitcule-n, short

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

Pronominal:

tc, first person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with adjetival stems. Prefixed as object of transitive verbs. Prefixed as possessive, with nouns where possession is inherent.

i, y, first person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with verbal stems. Prefixed as subject of transitive verbs. Suffixed as possessive with nouns where possession is accidental.

m, mi, second person singular. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs. Prefixed as subject or object of transitive verbs, or as possessive with nouns where possession is inherent. Suffixed with nouns where possession is accidental.

n, second person singular. Imperative. Prefixed.

h, 't, third person singular and plural. Prefixed (as h) or suffixed (as 't) as subject of intransitive verbs. Prefixed as possessive with nouns where possession is inherent.

tea, teo, first person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with adjectival stems. This suffix is distinguished from singular te- by change of vowel. If the singular has a as connecting vowel, the plural has o, and vice-versa. Prefixed as object of transitive verbs.

tee, first person plural. Suffixed with nouns where possession is accidental.

ya, we, w, first person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs, with verbal stems. Prefixed (ya-) as subject of transitive verbs.

q, qo, qe, second person plural. Prefixed or suffixed as subject of intransitive verbs. Prefixed as subject or object of transitive verbs. Suffixed as possessive with nouns where possession is accidental.

Affix used with verbal stems:

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

B. PREFIXES.

Instrumental, with verbs:

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

*With pronominal stems:*
  - *owa* Combined with the independent pronouns of the first and second persons to form the inclusive and exclusive first person plural.

*With nominal stems:*
  - Locative, instrumental.
    - *-dan, -danku* ablative
    - *-mdj, -mdu* instrumental
  - Miscellaneous.
    - *-hni* many
    - *-tan* many
    - *-rotpin* only a, just a
    - *-gulan* merely, only (Cf. negative affix -*g*)
    - *-abo* also, too

*With verbal stems:*
  - Ideas of motion or direction.
    - *-dam, -tam, -ktam* down
    - *-ama* into
    - *-nak* into
    - *ha* up
    - *-hot* down
    - *-lo* apart (†)
    - *-mi* down (†)
    - *-puye* around, about
    - *ro* up
    - *-sku* towards
    - *-smu* across
    - *-tap* out
    - *-tpi* out of
    - *-usam* through
    - *-xun* into
  - Modal, temporal.
    - *-ak* completed action, past
    - *-n, -ni, -in* incompleted action, present
    - *-sun* present. Used apparently as the auxiliary verb to be.
    - *-xan, -gon* future. (Former with verbal, latter with adjectival stems.)
    - *-soop* conditional
    - *-dialhin* dubitative
    - *-hun* continuing
    - *-pum* iterative
    - *-wet* continuing
    - *-teai* desiderative (†)
    - *-ye* reflexive
    - *ye* interrogative
-a interrogative
-pu interrogative
-da, -ida, -inda, -tinda present participle

Miscellaneous.
-tei Used to indicate plurality, generally of the object, but occasionally of the subject.
-nan, -an A general verbal suffix of uncertain meaning, possibly temporal (Cf. -ni, -in).

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

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

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

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

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

PRONOUN.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nōut</td>
<td>nōutowa (excl.)</td>
<td>natcidut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mamut</td>
<td>mamutowa (incl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>hamut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

DEMONSTRATIVES.

Two demonstratives are known with certainty. These are formed with the stem qē-, near the speaker, here; and pa-, at a distance, there. These stems take the intensive suffix -ut, becoming thus qēwot, qāt, this, and pamut, paut, pāt, that.

INTERROGATIVES.

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

- qomas or awilla: who
- qātei or pātei: what
- qomalla: where
- qosīdajji: why
- qāsuk: when
- qātalā: how many
- qāteu: how far
- qātramdu: how often
NOUN.

CASE SUFFIXES.

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

NUMBER.

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

POSSESSIVE.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accidental:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masomas-i</td>
<td>my red-salmon</td>
<td>āwa’-i</td>
<td>my house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masomas-mi</td>
<td>thy red-salmon</td>
<td>āwa-mi</td>
<td>thy house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masomas-ye</td>
<td>his red-salmon</td>
<td>āwa-ida</td>
<td>his house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masomas-itee</td>
<td>our red-salmon</td>
<td>āwa’-itee</td>
<td>our house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masomas-qe</td>
<td>your red-salmon</td>
<td>āwa-qe</td>
<td>your house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masomas-ye</td>
<td>their red-salmon</td>
<td>āwa-ida</td>
<td>their house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inherent:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teũ-po</td>
<td>my foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mũ-po</td>
<td>thy foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hũ-po</td>
<td>his foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teũ-sam</td>
<td>my ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-sam</td>
<td>thy ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi-sam</td>
<td>his ear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

VERB.

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

PRONOMINAL AFFIXES.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. te, i, y</td>
<td>tc, ts, ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. m, mi</td>
<td>q, qe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. h, '</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As compared with the independent forms of the pronoun, it is evident that there is correspondence in the second and third persons, the first person being on the other hand entirely distinct. A further difference lies in the apparent absence, in the affixed form, of any distinction between inclusive and exclusive plurals. In use these pronominal elements seem normally to be prefixed,
being so used in over seventy per cent. of the cases known. In the remainder of the instances they are suffixed, with one or two possible cases where they seem to be infixed. From the small number of instances of this latter usage, however, it is not possible to be sure that the syllable following the pronominal element is really a part of the verbal stem. What principle determines the use of one or the other of these positions is obscure, such verbs as sing, work, be good, be blind, taking the elements as prefixes, whereas grow, die, be hungry, sick, take them as suffixes. One distinction can however be made, namely that verbs indicating action or movement invariably take the pronominal affixes prefixed.

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

The pronominal elements as given, are, when used as prefixes, attached to the verb by means of connecting vowels. These, as stated in discussing the phonetic characteristics of the language,
often show some relation to the vowel of the verbal stem, but this is noticeable chiefly in the case of o and u stems. The first persons singular and plural are distinguished from each other only by the change in this connecting vowel. As a rule, the first person singular is tco or tcu, whereas the plural is tca. In one or two instances, however, this seems to be reversed.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>me</th>
<th>thee</th>
<th>him</th>
<th>us</th>
<th>ye</th>
<th>them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td></td>
<td>i-atem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>mi-, me-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>tca-, tea-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td></td>
<td>tca-, ya-</td>
<td>qo-, qa-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>qo-</td>
<td>qo-</td>
<td></td>
<td>qo-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>tca-, tea-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td></td>
<td>tca-</td>
<td></td>
<td>qo-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

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

Vowel of prefix same as that of stem:
- i: hi-wi, hi-mina, hi-ni, hi-mi, hi-ki, hi-pel, hi-teipe, hi-pen.
- u: hu-traneu, hu-txun, hu-tau, hu-tu, hu-sot, hu-po.
- a: ha-wa.

Vowel of prefix differing from stem:
- i: hi-ta, hi-tanpu, hi-sam, hi-wax, hi-ma, hi-pxa, hi-pxadji, hi-txa, hi-txanimaxa, hi-taxai, hi-suma, hi-mosni.
- u: hu-si, hu-santei, hu-tananundjatun.
- e: e-qe, e-que.

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

Nominal object:

- **i-miteitni citeela** I kick you
- **mi-miteitida citeela** You kick you
- **hi-miteitni citeela** I kick him
- **ya-miteitni citeela** We kick him
- **qo-miteiti citeela** Ye kick you
- **hi-miteiti citeela** They kick you

Pronominal object:

- **i-miteitni** I kick you
- **i-patni** I poke you
- **i-mamni** I see you
- **i-puimukni** I pinch you
- **i-miteitinda** I kick him
- **i-patni pamut** I poke him
- **i-mamni** I see him
- **i-puimukni** I pinch them
- **i-miteitinda** I kick you
- **i-patnitci** I poke you
- **i-puimuknitci** I pinch them
- **me-miteiti** You kick me
- **me-patni** You poke me
- **me-puimukni** You pinch me
- **me-miteitni** You kick him
- **mi-puimuk** You pinch him
- **mi-miteiti** You kick us
- **teu-miteiti** He kicks me
- **teu-hatni** He pokes me
A feature of considerable importance in the structure of the verb lies in the apparent use, although rarely, of nominal incorporation, and possibly of complete incorporation of both subject and object pronominal elements. In the texts as obtained occur the forms ápexadjit and ápisuxta, translated respectively as "fire he steals" and "fire he throws away." The noun fire is ápu, and the verbal stems -xadj, to steal, and -sux-, to throw, occur frequently without any such apparent incorporation of nominal object. As these are the only clear cases, nominal incorporation is hardly a characteristic of the language. The tendency toward such forms may however be seen also in the words for wink and to shake the head, (nu)sulaplap, (teu)maitisat, the former incorporating the stem for eye (-sot-), the other that for head (-ma). A single instance of apparent incorporation of both subject and object pronominal elements occurs in the form ye-mam-i-xan, probably for ye-mam-mi-xan, I-feed(eat)-you-will, I will feed you. As the verbal stem here ends in m, it is difficult to tell whether the i really stands for mi or is simply euphonic before the future suffix.

REFLEXIVE.

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

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

The noun fire is ápu, and the verbal stems -xadj, to steal, and -sux-, to throw, occur frequently without any such apparent incorporation of nominal object. As these are the only clear cases, nominal incorporation is hardly a characteristic of the language. The tendency toward such forms may however be seen also in the words for wink and to shake the head, (nu)sulaplap, (teu)maitisat, the former incorporating the stem for eye (-sot-), the other that for head (-ma). A single instance of apparent incorporation of both subject and object pronominal elements occurs in the form ye-mam-i-xan, probably for ye-mam-mi-xan, I-feed(eat)-you-will, I will feed you. As the verbal stem here ends in m, it is difficult to tell whether the i really stands for mi or is simply euphonic before the future suffix.

REFLEXIVE.

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

- i-teut-ēyiyeu I strike myself
- mi-teut-ēyiyeu you strike yourself
- hi-teut-ēyiyeuni pamut he strikes himself
IMPERATIVE.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
n\text{-} & \text{tak} & \text{na-tak} & \text{sing!} \\
n\text{-} & \text{miteit} & \text{ni-miteit} & \text{kick him!} \\
n\text{-} & \text{puimuk} & \text{ni-puimuk} & \text{pinch him!} \\
n\text{-} & \text{ama} & \text{n\text{-}ama} & \text{eat!} \\
y\text{-} & \text{txuau} & \text{ya-tcxuai} & \text{let us fight!} \\
y\text{-} & \text{traxismu} & \text{ya-traxismu} & \text{let us run!} \\
y\text{-} & \text{amma} & \text{y\text{-}amma} & \text{let us eat!} \\
\end{align*}
\]

FORMATIVE AFFIXES.

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
a & \text{with a long object} \\
e & \text{with the end of a long object} \\
\text{ma} & \uparrow \\
\text{me} & \text{with the head} \\
\text{mitei} & \text{with the foot} \\
\text{te} & \uparrow \\
\text{teu} & \text{with a round object} \\
\text{tu} & \text{with the hand} \\
\text{wa} & \text{by sitting on(\uparrow)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
n\text{-} & \text{a\text{-}axiaxe} & \text{rub with long thing (side of)} \\
n\text{-} & \text{a\text{-}klue} & \text{knock over with bat} \\
n\text{-} & \text{e\text{-}kluem} & \text{knock over with end of pole by thrust} \\
\end{align*}
\]
ni-e-kmu roll log with end of pole
ni-me-kmu roll log with head, by butting
i-me-kemu knock over with head, butt over
ni-mitei-kluemu knock over with foot, kick over
ni-mitei-kmu roll log with foot
ni-teu-kluemu knock over with a stone, ball
ni-tu-kluemu knock over with hand
ni-tu-kmu roll log with hand
ni-tu-xiaxe rub with hand
ni-wa-teexu break by sitting on.

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

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

Examples:
nu-tu'-ema jump into
ma-ar-ha climb up
wak-ti-he-inda they travel about
ni-sap-hot-mi slide down roof
ni-tu-k-tam roll down with hand
ni-te-xa-lo pull out tooth
hu-tsut-min he flies down
hu-tut-puye he flies around
hu-tsu-sku he flies toward
ni-tu-smu jump across toward
hu-tsu-tap-ni he flies out
nu-tu-tap-ni jump out of
nu-tu-tusam jump, run under
nu-teu-wa-teexu hammer into down (a nail)
TEMPORAL AND MODAL AFFIXES.

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

-\text{n}i, -\text{nin}, -\text{in}, present, incompleted action:
  \begin{tabular}{ll}
  i-mam-ni & I see you \\
  tcu-kei-ni & he hears me \\
  s\text{o}dr\text{e}-i-ni & I bleed \\
  \end{tabular}

-\text{sun}, present. Used apparently as the auxiliary verb to be.

-\text{ak}, -\text{k}, past, completed action:
  \begin{tabular}{ll}
  amentuin-ak & I was hungry \\
  ya-hada-ak & we were rich \\
  ecomdum-q\text{a}-te-ak-cur & ye were cold then \\
  \end{tabular}

-\text{gon}, -\text{xan}, future:
  \begin{tabular}{ll}
  pala-tee-gon & we shall be strong \\
  amentu-tu-gon xani & I shall be hungry and by \\
  ye-hade-\text{e}-gon & I shall be rich \\
  yo-wam-xanan & I shall go \\
  hi-mum-han & he will run \\
  ye-ko-xanan & I shall kill him \\
  \end{tabular}

-\text{da}, -\text{ida}, -\text{inda}, -\text{tinda}, present participle:
  \begin{tabular}{ll}
  puntari-da anowesta itrila & woman-being she whipped boy \\
  imim-da i-txa-\text{e}ni & I stop running (running I stop) \\
  i-mam-ni samxun-ida & I saw him dancing \\
  hi-samxun-inda ye-ko-n & I kill him while dancing (dancing I kill) \\
  qo-xowin-tinda & ye being old, ye are old \\
  i-mitcit-inda & I (am) kicking him \\
  \end{tabular}

-\text{ye}, -\text{e}, interrogative:
  \begin{tabular}{ll}
  ma-ko-ye & are you going to kill me? \\
  mi-ke'ye & do you hear me? \\
  \end{tabular}

-\text{soop}, conditional:
  \begin{tabular}{ll}
  mi-mum-\text{soop ye-nuwe-xan} & if you run, I shall whip you \\
  himeta hitak-\text{soop} yu-wam-xan & if it rains to-morrow, I will go \\
  q\text{e}-\text{soop} & if (I) should die. \\
  \end{tabular}

-\text{dialhin}, dubitative:
  \begin{tabular}{ll}
  qe-te-ok-dialhin & perhaps I shall be sick (sick-I-perhaps) \\
  mi-mitcit-dialhin & you kick he may (he may kick you) \\
  \end{tabular}
-hun, -nihun, continuative:
  ye-tak-nu-hun  I continue to sing
  ye-man-hun  I continue to eat

-wet, continuative:
  i-mum-wet  I run all the time
  ye-ma-wet  I eat continually

-teai, desiderative:
  xo-wam-gu-teai-nan  not-go-not-wish

-pu, interrogative.

-xa, -xo, -xu, -xe, -gu, -k, negative:
  ma-xa-hada-nan  you are not rich
  tce-o-xu-nan  I am not fat
  xe-tak-nan  I am not singing
  pala-mi-gu-nan  you are not strong
  me-xe-puimuk-unan  you are not pinching me

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

VERBAL STEMS.

In a limited number of instances, a different verbal stem is employed in the plural from that in the singular. Not infrequently, however, informants, on giving such forms, on closer questioning admitted that the singular stem might also be used, and that the variant stem first given for the plural might be
used also in the singular, i.e., the two stems were merely synonyms. Only two cases were found which did not appear to be explainable in this manner, and the second seems only to belong partly to this category, inasmuch as the distinction holds good only in the present tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sit</td>
<td>-wo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Run</td>
<td>-mum-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-teaxis-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Monosyllabic:**

- **ap** get off
- **ar** climb
- **at** strike
- **ax** lose, get lost
- **bis** split
- **dai** pay
- **djek** go in a boat
- **hà, hoa** stand
- **hai** spit, vomit
- **ham** carry
- **hap** take down
- **hen, pen** lie
- **húc, xuc, kos** blow
- **koc** whisper
- **k** roll
- **kat** break, separate
- **kè** understand
- **ki** lean
- **kim, gím** float, hang
- **kir** scratch
- **klú** slip, slide (Cf. lu)
- **kluc** knock over (Cf. luc)
- **kmu** make, do (Cf. mu)
- **ko** talk
- **kot** tat'too
- **ku** cut
- **kut** keep (†)
- **lè** hiccough
- **lot** mash
- **lu** drink
- **lus** drop

**Polysyllabic:**

- **luc** shake, throw
- **mai** carry
- **man** fall
- **maq** roast
- **ma, ama** eat
- **mat** find
- **mo** fall
- **mu** make
- **mum** run
- **pa** smoke
- **pák** burst (†)
- **pat** sit
- **pim** play
- **po** dig
- **poi** sleep
- **pu** work
- **pū** shoot
- **pxel** twist
- **qè** die
- **qi** carry on head
- **qo** pour
- **qō** kill
- **qol** shatter
- **sáp** slide
- **sax** cough
- **sek** swallow
- **sik, sim** accompany
- **cik** cover up
- **sit** sharpen
- **six** sweep
- **su** throw
ADJECTIVES.

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

NUMERALS.

The numeral system of the Chimariko is quinary up to ten and then continues decimally. Six is 1-cibum, seven is 2-sbum, eight is 4-cibum, nine is 1-teigu, ten is sa’an-1, eleven is 1-lasut or 1-rasut, twelve is 2-risut or 2-lsut, thirteen is 3-risut or 3-ulsut, and so on regularly to twenty, which is two-ten, xoku-mtun.
sa'anpun. Thirty is three-ten, xoda-m-tun sa'anpun, and one hundred is wood-one, pucua-pun. Numerals seem to be unchanged, and do not vary with things counted.

POSTPOSITIONS.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{awā xunoi yeaxu'nmoxanan} & \quad \text{house into I shall go} \\
pusua hiya'talot teśmū & \quad \text{board it lies under}
\end{align*}
\]

CONNECTIVES.

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

ORDER OF WORDS.

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

CONCLUSION AND RELATIONS.

Compared with neighboring linguistic families, Chimariko occupies a somewhat intermediate position. In phonetic character it lies rather between the smooth, vocalic languages of the Central Californian type, and the harsher, more consonantal Northwestern type. In this respect it is like the Shastan family, and may be regarded on the whole as belonging to that group. In its use of incomplete incorporation and its lack of plural it also
resembles this type, but differs from it in its lack of syntactical cases, and its greater paucity of nominal locative suffixes. In common with the Shastan languages, and some of those of Central California, is its use of verbal instrumental prefixes. It will be seen, therefore, that Chimariko does not fall distinctly into either the Central or Northwestern morphological group, and may more properly be regarded as belonging to the Shastan type. In the general classification of Californian languages recently proposed,\(^1\) Chimariko was placed with the Northwestern type, but it was stated that it showed less clearly than the others of that group the distinctive features upon which the group was based.

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

\(^{13}\) Dixon and Kroeber, The Native Languages of California, Am. Anthr., n. s., V, 18, 1903.
that the larger number of similarities are not between Chimariko and its immediate neighbor the Shasta, but between Chimariko and the Atsugewi and Achomawi, members of the Shastan family, but separated from the Chimariko by the whole extent of Wintun and Yanan territory. As has been pointed out, the Achomawi and Atsugewi are lexically widely divergent from the Shasta, and in many cases Chimariko agrees with forms in Achomawi or Atsugewi where their stems differ wholly from Shasta. If borrowing is the explanation of these agreements, then we must assume that the Chimariko and Achomawi and Atsugewi were formerly contiguous peoples, since separated by migration. Such movements must have been however relatively old, as no traditions or other evidences of migration are observed. If, on the other hand, the similarities are regarded as of such character and number as to point to real genetic relationship, then we have another instance of the great degree of differentiation which has taken place within the Shastan family. That this is unquestionably great, is shown by both Achomawi and Atsugewi, and the problematical Konomihu, with which latter indeed, there are one or two agreements in Chimariko. The fact that, in spite of the close association of the Chimariko with the Wintun, there has been practically no borrowing, and that the phonetics and grammar of the Chimariko show close similarities with those of the Shastan family, makes the probability of real relationship much greater.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chimariko</th>
<th>Shasta</th>
<th>Achomawi</th>
<th>Atsugewi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>-tanpu</td>
<td>lapau</td>
<td>rapau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armpit</td>
<td>ciléiteumuni</td>
<td>amdjilex</td>
<td>tumiteiđeňa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>côñri</td>
<td></td>
<td>icurii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>-sam</td>
<td>isak</td>
<td>isat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>-sot</td>
<td></td>
<td>a 'sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excrement</td>
<td>-waxni</td>
<td></td>
<td>wehki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-na(Konomihu) lax</td>
<td>naxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intestines</td>
<td>-pxa</td>
<td>ipxai</td>
<td>bitsxol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>-txan</td>
<td>xatis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>-ei</td>
<td></td>
<td>āpei</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chimariko</th>
<th>Shasta</th>
<th>Achomawi</th>
<th>Atsugewi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>milk</td>
<td>ciira</td>
<td>itsik</td>
<td>etsit</td>
<td>atoiska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>(ha)wa</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>ap 'bo</td>
<td>ap 'bo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td></td>
<td>op 'ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teeth</td>
<td>-tsu</td>
<td>etsau</td>
<td>itsa</td>
<td>itsau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>-pen, -hen</td>
<td>chena</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>itri, itci</td>
<td>ie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>puntear</td>
<td>daritei</td>
<td></td>
<td>minridsara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>pelo 'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>blamasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>a 'a</td>
<td>adau, arau</td>
<td></td>
<td>toh 'kaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raccoon</td>
<td>yeto 'a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rattlesnake</td>
<td>qawu</td>
<td>xowatid</td>
<td>häuta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>citeiwi</td>
<td>teiwa</td>
<td>tsiyu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acorn</td>
<td>yutri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yummi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>willow</td>
<td>pate'xu</td>
<td>bas</td>
<td>pateu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>ase</td>
<td>atcaii</td>
<td>assiyi</td>
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<td>fog</td>
<td>aptum</td>
<td></td>
<td>datumumdji</td>
<td>pah 'yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>a 'pu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>qe</td>
<td></td>
<td>maqets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone</td>
<td>qa</td>
<td>kwasunip</td>
<td>(Konomihu)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>alla</td>
<td></td>
<td>tsul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>atsa</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>ats 'si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winter</td>
<td>asoti</td>
<td></td>
<td>astsui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>sá</td>
<td></td>
<td>sat (arrow-point)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow</td>
<td>xâpuncu</td>
<td>xau</td>
<td></td>
<td>hatsda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer-trap</td>
<td>hazaktea</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishline, hook</td>
<td>hamamegutea</td>
<td>amai</td>
<td>damame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spear</td>
<td>hasunwedeu</td>
<td></td>
<td>lasu</td>
<td>nasu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soup-basket</td>
<td>poqelita</td>
<td>yapuk</td>
<td>hak</td>
<td>hoki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>xok 'u</td>
<td>xokwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>xodai</td>
<td>xatski</td>
<td>tsasdi</td>
<td>kitsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>tsanehe</td>
<td>etsa</td>
<td></td>
<td>tsanse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to eat</td>
<td>-am-, -ama-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-am-</td>
<td>-ammi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to carry</td>
<td>-mai-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mu-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to cry</td>
<td>-wo-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-wo-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to dent</td>
<td>-kxol-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-qol-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to drop</td>
<td>-lus-, -lur-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-lup-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to pull off</td>
<td>-pul-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-pil-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to see</td>
<td>-mam-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nima-</td>
<td>-ima-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with the foot</td>
<td>miteti-</td>
<td></td>
<td>tsei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with the hand</td>
<td>tu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by sitting on</td>
<td>wa-</td>
<td></td>
<td>to-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>downwards</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>across, through</td>
<td>-smu (into)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-smu (into)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>out of</td>
<td>-smu</td>
<td></td>
<td>-smu (into)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>qe</td>
<td></td>
<td>qepi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the present state of our knowledge of the extent to which borrowing has taken place in California at large, it is difficult to arrive at a definite solution of the question of the relationship of Chimariko with the Shastan family. The extent of the similarity in this case, however, points to the necessity of a thorough investigation of the whole matter of borrowing throughout the state. The question also involves the much wider one of the real limits of genetic relationship, in the need of determining the character and number of agreements which shall be regarded as essential to establish common descent.

**TEXTS.**

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

**I. THE SORCERER.**

---

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>himi’santo</th>
<th>haa’tpika³</th>
<th>teima’r</th>
<th>oha’tida²</th>
<th>hako’t³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Sorcerer)</td>
<td>he comes out</td>
<td>a person shooting magically</td>
<td>he kills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pokela’dop⁴</th>
<th>itexu’t dúxta⁵</th>
<th>teima’r</th>
<th>akodée’nda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basket</td>
<td>hiding it away</td>
<td>a person</td>
<td>missing him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kowa’doknanda⁶</th>
<th>puntsar</th>
<th>wa’xnî⁷</th>
<th>qowä’doknanda</th>
<th>ä’wa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he does not return</td>
<td>woman went away</td>
<td>she did not return</td>
<td>house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>natiwa’mda⁸</th>
<th>qowa’doknanda</th>
<th>hō’wadokta⁹</th>
<th>qē’wokinda¹⁰</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>she went to</td>
<td>she did not return</td>
<td>she did not return</td>
<td>(f) said she was sick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wa’xnî</th>
<th>qowa’doknan¹¹</th>
<th>itse’xnî</th>
<th>mütu’m</th>
<th>qäh’suk¹²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>went away</td>
<td>she did not return</td>
<td>she took</td>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>why</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hoida’nda¹³</th>
<th>qowa’dokdanda¹⁴</th>
<th>mā’ta</th>
<th>xunoï</th>
<th>ateū’dat¹⁵</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>did she not return</td>
<td>she did not return</td>
<td>sweathouse</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>he lay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
drowned he went off track
he has gone he stays I see him didn't look at him
staying he lies down one woman
he eats I am going tomorrow Salmon River to

NOTES.

1 ha-a-tpik-ta. The suffix -tpi, out of, seems sometimes to occur with a final k. The suffix -ta may be the participle. The stem is a.
2 The stem -hat- also occurs in the following: nihatxa, poke; nobat'oi, close window. -ida is the participial suffix.
3 Probably contracted from ha-ko-tinda.
4 Contracted from pokelaida-op. The suffix is the intensive.
5 This stem occurs also as -txat-. The suffix occurs also in himai'dukta, he carried it home. See note 6.
6 Ko is xo, negative prefix. -wa-dok, to return, from -wa-, -owa-, to go, and -dok a suffix apparently meaning backwards, or toward speaker.
7 Perhaps contracted from əwa'xni.
8 Perhaps nātei-awamda, we go. The first person plural has not been found elsewhere without the intensive suffix -dut.
9 Probably participial.
10 This stem also occurs as qēdjak-, qētcok-.
11 Shortened from qowa'doknanda.
12 Interrogative of uncertain meaning.
13 Verbal stem here is obscure. Negative prefix ho- is xo-.
14 No explanation of the difference between -danda and -nanda could be secured.
15 The stem -teu- is also used for to sleep. The ending -t occurring quite frequently in the texts, after participial and other endings, is found but rarely in the paradigms secured. Its function has not been made out.
16 The stem here is -teuk-.
17 Abbreviated (?) from howam'danda.
18 Literally his-foot.
19 The stem appears to be qā', which occurs also in nuqā'duha, lie on back, nuqā'ohunmi, lie on belly.
20 For hiwo'nda. The stem apparently also occurs as -wam-, as in iwa’mdaxanan, I'll stay. Owa-, -owam- on the other hand means to go.
21 Analyzed as i-mam-ni, i being the pronominal prefix of the first person singular, and -ni the suffix of the present tense.
22 Probably for howa’mxanan. The stem is owam, howam, with the future suffix -xan.
23 See previous note.
II. THE FLOOD.

wai’da howa’mda\(^1\) citec’lla teitindo’sa hitake’gon\(^2\)

Eastwards going dog coyote it will rain

hiko’se’gon yū’triina ma’wimuda’texun\(^3\) teitindo’sawi

it will blow live-oak acorns hold tight coyote

yū’tri ino’p\(^4\) iko’tkut\(^5\) teitcindo’sa exo’kut\(^6\) citec’lla

live-oak tree (f) it blew coyote blew away dog

huoa’dan’dat\(^7\) nuwan’k pala’mixan\(^8\) nuwan’k iko’tce\(^9\)

he stood up "Come back! you shall be strong, come back! blows (f)"

citec’lla pai’t\(^11\) a’wawum\(^12\) la’mipukni\(^13\) teugu’tce\(^14\)

dog he said go back you are weak I do not want to

teitindo’sa xowomgutca’i’nau yeko’xanana\(^15\) awu’m\(^16\)

coyote I do not wish to go I will kill you let’s go

mowa’m\(^17\) nuwa’m\(^18\) pol’am teitindo’sa hawè’da\(^19\)

you go go on! alone coyote he was angry with

citec’lla yà’texu’al\(^20\) teitindo’sa teugu’tcen yuwau’mni\(^21\)

dog let’s fight coyote I don’t want to I’m going

amà’misudaye\(^22\) a’mamiknati’nda\(^23\) yowa’mdaxanana\(^24\)

is that your place that is not your place I shall go

yúwa’ktakta’i’nau citec’lla xomi’’inanana\(^25\) awkdaxa’n\(^27\)

I do not want to go around dog I don’t like let’s go around

miceq’\(^28\) awkdaxa’n mica’kui\(^29\) mago’lla\(^30\)

"miceq’" let’s go around nephew uncle

husi’kdakta’i’nau yetcu’mdaxanan\(^22\) miceq’ teitindo’sa

he doesn’t want to follow I’m going to get married "miceq’" coyote

howa’ktayanaxa’nan\(^23\) yetcu’mdan a’qitec’kdumhut\(^34\)

I am not coming back I am married water flood

tce’te’exanan\(^35\) qè’wot tca’’ldan a’wu a’wa yâmu\(^36\)

we all shall die this metal mountain house we will fix

yawè’risa\(^37\) homò’xat\(^38\) a’wa yâ’mut omû’xana\(^39\)

we make holes through it fell down house we fix all fell down

tca’xadjisen\(^40\) qè’tce nû’nû aqitec’knini\(^41\) hita’kta\(^42\)

all do not wish die (f) water coming raining

hita’kta hipū’\(^1\) itexun’nim\(^44\) a’mêcatra’djixan\(^45\) hita’kta

raining it snowed it got deep all will starve raining

aqâ’ hitu’knini\(^46\) aqitec’ksas è’ye (q) etcexa’non pu’namar\(^47\)

water it came water comes all will die not one
qudro’tpinan
left puhi’tsedan
went about in boat aqi’ktan
he floated me’matinda
alive itxa’ndakutat
I keep it xara’lima’t
baby aumgilo’da
in basket itxa’ndaguta’ndat
I keep it always puntsa’la
girl

tci’mar
person
tci’mar
baby

aqitcu’ktam
had children mahinoi’yat
people yu’tri
acorns

mu’nè
black-oak

ameba’nda
hè’cigo

hè’puteiina
hateisani’nda

amèbando
hè’lie

hè’cigo

yfi’tri
acorns

ameba’nda
hè’lie

amèbando
hè’lie

hè’puteiina

hè’lie

hè’lie

hè’lihida

hè’pateiga

many

hù’kta’tadaman
owed’kthëiena

te’mar

pohimta’nda
hosa’m

hùnide’u

pohimta’nda

they slept

dance

they came

people

they slept

people

they slept
wa’ktixeinda\textsuperscript{83} went about
hepata’nda\textsuperscript{84} they stayed
ha’matanda they ate
ha’madèu\textsuperscript{85} food
hitxa’itanda\textsuperscript{86} they finished
xema’non\textsuperscript{87} yuma’mxanan they ate
xema’non food
pomii’yen howa’ngutcaiman I’m going off
qèdjo’kni\textsuperscript{88} hlitimhukca’nan I’m eating
I’m not eating
I’m not going I am sick
I’m sleepy follow
nuiwa’man I don’t want to
a’wam himollai’ you go
mowa’mimi’ina9 you want to go.

NOTES.

1 Probably participial.
2 The more common future suffix -xan is sometimes -gon, as here, and elsewhere.
3 The verbal stem here is -imu-, to hold. The form is second person, future, the force of the suffix -ate being here obscure.
4 The more usual word for tree seems to be at’a, atsa.
5 The usual stem for “to blow” is -kos-, koc-, -xos-. This form -kot- appears again below, and also in hekoteu, tattoo-mark. The suffix -ku implies separation.
6 Another form of the stem for “to blow,” seen also in teoxù’xanan, I shall blow away, and in yoxu’ot, I whistle.
7 The stem is -hoa-, -hà; seen also in yohô’adaxanan, I shall stand up, nubá’dá, stand up!
8 With the imperative prefix n-. -wauk is probably a contraction from -watok-. Other forms are -wok-, -wak-, -wax-.
9 Pala- is the stem, -xan the future suffix, -mi the suffix of the second person singular.
10 The suffix -tee appears also in such forms as moxolitee, you are bad, maxawintcei, you are old.
11 The stem here is pa-.
12 Probably the same stem as -owa-. Occurs also in natcidut á’wam, we go, ya’ayak, I go for, awu’m, let’s go.
13 One of the apparent cases of infixed pronouns, la-mi-puk-ni. La- also occurs as la-i-dam-ni, I am tired, la-mi-dam-a, are you tired?
14 Apparently from a stem -tcai-, -te-, to wish, desire. Seen also in such forms as xowá’ngutcaínan, I won’t go.
15 The stem is -ko-. Ye- is the pronominal prefix of the first person singular, -xanan the future suffix.
16 See note 12.
17 Stem is -owa-. M- is the pronominal prefix of the second person singular.
18 Imperative.
19 The stem here is apparently -wà-, seen also in teawà’pan, I am angry with you, mawë’ni, you are mean, surly.
20 This stem -texua- is seen also in yetexua’xanan, I shall fight; métexua’, have you been, are you fighting?
21 Y- is the pronominal prefix of the first person singular; the stem is -owa- and the suffix -ni is that of the present tense.
22 Ama-mi-su-da-ye. Perhaps “place-your-being?”; see under Pronoun, possessive.
The -k- here is the negative.

The use of the prefix -da with the suffix of the future is frequent.

Probably contracted from y-uwa-tok-da-k-teai-nan, the -k- being the negative. For -teai- see note 14; -tok-, -ok is a suffix meaning backwards.

The negative prefix xo-, with the stem -mi'inan-.

See note 12. The -k- is here again negative.

An exclamation characteristic of Coyote, and frequently used by him.

Not the usual form, which is himollai.

Either maternal or paternal apparently.

The stem is -sik-, seen also in yusi'mxan, I'll follow; mexasi'-mnatem-xun, don't you follow. The prefix is that of the third person singular.

The stem is -tcum-.

The prefix h- is apparently the negative, which is more usually x-.

Obscure. The same stem appears in niteu'ktam, to lie on ground, of a round thing; also perhaps in hitcu'kni, he drowns.

Probably modified from tect-qe'-teexan. The use of teex- both before and after the stem -qe-, to die, seems intended to intensify the meaning, we all.

The stem here is -mu-, appearing also in i'muxanan, I will fix. The prefix is that of the first person plural.

The stem is -wer-, -wel-, seen also in hawe'lsamni, it goes through a hole.

Translation doubtful. Probably homu'xat, from the same stem as ya'mu.

See note 38.

Translation doubtful. Apparently teaxa-djisen, the stem -dji- being perhaps related to -teai-, to wish, desire.

See note 34.

Probably participial. The stem -tak- seems to be homophonous with that for to sing.

The stem is apparently -pu'-i, not to be confounded with -pu-imu- as in i-pui-mukni, I pinch (with-fingers-press, hold-tightly).

Probably hi-teuxun-mi-t. The prefix teu- indicates a bulky object. The stem -xun- appears also in niteuxunmi, pound down a nail; niteuxunmu, bore a hole; niteuxunmutpu, put cap on pen, cover on box. The suffix -mi seems to refer generally to the ground, or motion downwards, as naya'mi, a flat thing lies on ground; nuqa''ohumi, lie on belly.

See note 35. The two forms seem to be identical, except for the addition here of ame-, meaning hunger.

See note 34.

Fun is the numeral 'one.'

Translation doubtful. The suffix -rotpin occurs in the forms pu'nutrotpin, one left; xo'kosrotpin, two left.

Probably aqi-teuxan, for aqi-teuk-xan. See note 34.

The stem seems to be -tse-, seen also in itse'xni, she took boat.

The stem here, -dje-ko- teek-, seems to be related to that in itse'xni.

 Probably participial. Two explanations of this form seem possible, either aqi-k-tan, water-rolling (-k-, to roll, move over surface), or (h)a-qik-tan, the stem -qik- being for -qim- 'kim', seen in aki'mni, he floats.

See note 35.

Compare ma-i-mat-ni, I am alive; ma-mi-mat-a, are you alive?

Po is elsewhere always used for foot.
55 Stem is -mat- seen also in ima’tni, I find. Probably participial.
57 Other comparable forms are, mitt’nda kutaxu’na, shall you keep it; icche’nda kutaxa’na, I shall keep it. Itxan is the word for leg.
58 The stem is apparently -xota-, seen also in: ixo’taxanan, I shall watch; yaxotal’yaxan, we shall look for. The xo- does not seem to be the negative. The suffix -wet is a continuative. Compare imu’mwet, I run continually; yema’wet, I eat constantly.
59 If -wo- is the stem, this means to sit, as in I’wo, I sit; hi’wotinda, he sits. For -xun- see note 44. The ending is puzzling.
60 Apparently a case of nominal incorporation, xarala-himat’ta, baby-he-finding. Another form for the noun was given as xalulu’la.
61 Small is ulu’da. This is apparently run together in rapid speech with hima’t’ta.
62 See note 57.
63 Noun formed from the stem -am-, -ama-, to eat.
64 The usual form would be ha’ma. The pronominal prefix of the third person is however quite frequently omitted. The final -t here and in other cases does not occur in the paradigms of verbal forms secured.
65 From puntsar, woman. The suffix -la occurs in many names of animals and of relations, the form here being probably puntsalsia, the interchange or equality of r and l being clearly marked in many words.
66 See note 59.
67 Derived from the demonstrative stem pa-. Other derivatives are seen in pòtes/mbu, something; pàtei, what; pàteigun, no. The suffix -gun, -gut is the negative.
68 Probably for xoxu’litca. Cf. tcima’rtca, we are men, Chimarikos.
69 The stem -pa- occurs also in ya’patcen, we stay.
70 The intensive suffix -op, -ot. Refers to the particular man previously spoken of.
71 The stem is apparently -pà-, to shoot. The xa- may be the negative, in the sense of not shooting, i.e., stalking, hunting, I stalk game being given as yexap’unu. The same prefix (1) occurs apparently also in nesadu’mxu, cook, boil it!
72 The usual word for boy is itri’la. This same stem appears again in òwe’tlulu, bachelor.
73 From ëta, many, with future suffix and final -t.
74 See note 70.
75 Literally ‘‘man-becoming.’’
76 The only comparable form is na’tap, sift!
77 Elsewhere the stem a-me- means hungry.
78 Perhaps connected with ëta, many.
79 The stem is -samxu-. Cf. iis’mxuni, I dance; miss’mxuni, you dance.
80 The more common stem is -wentso: hiwe’mtson, he gambles.
81 In the paradigms secured, this is given as owà’kni, or owà’ktinda.
82 The stem is -po- or -poi-. Cf. poi’mbi, I sleep; pomu’yen, I am sleeping; poa’ñnu, are you sleeping?
83 See note 81.
84 See note 69.
85 See note 63.
86 The stem is apparently -txa-. Cf. itxa’zni, I stop, cease.
87 Negative. Cf. ma’mut maxa’mana, you are not eating; nà’tcídut yu’xamantan, we are not eating.
88 Derived from the stem qé-, to die.
89 Compound form, from -wa-, -owa-, to go, and -mi’ina-, to wish.
III. THE UNSUCCESSFUL HUNTER.

Čeapi'umuti hako'wadukta hi'tcipe himai'dukta
He hunted he didn't kill his thigh he carried back

Hu'trinė'ta imai'dukta tca'ko'asun a'a kogutku'kni intestines he brought back I'm good hunter deer you don't like me

I'triroki'k aqa' ya'aye pu'ntsarop yatcaxi'sxun wise'da that man water I go for that woman they ran off down river

Awatmun axa'wayaguktcainan Ėwō'mut i'trirop went did not want to come back he cried that man

Kuto'kutecai'dananda te'im tceitim tcsi'i't hatcise'nda never coming back (?) (?) I said not following

Ėwō'maminda I'trirop I'trirop Ėwō'munda pu'ntsarop still crying that man that man crying that woman

Xomi' inanan xowa'mgutcai'danan uwi'r ya'patcen uwi'r I don't like I do not wish to go (?) we stay (?)

Ya'pa'en xowa'mgutcainan yowa'manda xo'wadumgutca'i'nan we stay with don't want to go I going don't want to go home again

Awamai yā'pat hisi'k teutexē'mun ēlo'hni (?) (?) good (?) (?)

Xowa'mgutcai'nan teugut'cen xomai'muktcainan hi'midanda I don't want to go I don't want to I don't want to carry it is heavy

texalē'gu imai'momen xuxodaktei'nan xugonaktei'nan light-not I carry I don't want to watch I won't talk to you
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tcudi ’ineman tcupi’tan24 xowa’mgucteainan
(†) my foot is sore I don’t want to go

moxoligé ’éumi25 tcuí’texëmun26 xowa’mgucteainan tcumai’idan
you are no good I drag away (†) I don’t want to go I carrying
tcuwa’xyen éxë’u itexu’ëman27 yexu’yexanan28 éxëu trxol
(†) shell I like I’ll go and swim shell crayfish
imi ’inan28 trá’wel ülë’tcida hetcë’tcöö poqë’mtrolla
I like trout little suckers small suckers
yeko’oxan ameeqe’êda29 ye’man xatcî’la hama’axon
I’ll kill dying of hunger let’s eat children they will eat
xëma’non31 lü'in32 lümi’ginn'ye naupi’ yëxadumxode’u
I am not eating I drink don’t you drink (†) I cook soup
ni’maqai nitcxu’eki nō’mux33 nima’qai nëxadu’mxu
roast it! put it in fire fix it! roast it! cook it!
ye’man mûkûwa’tkunat34 ice’mdamdan35 xëma’axonan
let’s eat you did not come I have been listening shall not eat
nâ’ma xëmakte’nan tcu’xoda’mdan pohmu’ddan36
eat! I don’t want to eat you look at me sleeping
xama’nан qō’ma aqâ’dieu komatrâ’zni tremu’mtxu
not eating grass-seed grass-seed yellow daisy a yellow flower
tcî’ntcei teexé’ma kowate’mxu pë’tsoneu yemo’rsa
sunflower-seed a sort of flower (†) (†) (†)

NOTES.

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

From -wo-, to cry, weep.

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

There is a stem -teu- which means "to sleep." Cf. yeteu'yecon, I shall sleep. Another stem -teum- has the meaning of "to marry." Cf. yeteu'madaxanana, I shall get married.

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

See note 12.

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

The stem appears to be -mi-.

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

See note 18.

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

The stem is -go- or -go'na-. Other examples are nego'kna, talk to me!; igó'enecon, I'll talk to you.

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

The stem here is clearly -xoli-, or -xuli-, meaning bad. Other examples are teoxu'xoligni, I am bad; qoxoye'uteoyi, ye bad; xuli'da, he is bad; xuli mà'xakni, you sing poorly. The suffix -eu may be that used to form nouns from verbs, so that the form here would be "you are a bad-one."

Apparently teu-ite-xe-mun. The stem -xe- occurs also in niixê''xê swee! The prefix te- is a very common one, and seems to be similar in its meaning to t- or to-, meaning with the hands, or by force. Other instances of its use are ni-te-xe-tipik, pull out nail; ni-te-xo-lo, pull out tooth; nu-te-oru-ba, reach up for, etc., etc.

The stem is -texu- or -texue-. Other instances of its use are ya'texu'nanan, I wish, want (to eat); mitexu'una, you wish, want.

The stem is -xu-, as in ixu', I swim; nixu'ya'xana, shall you swim? What seems to be the same stem however is used with several other meanings, as: teoxu'xanana, I shall blow away; noxi', whistle; teoxu'xn, I am fat; q'uxunda, ye are fat, etc. In this latter case, the u is generally short however, but it is certainly long in the other cases.

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

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

See note 87, text II.

The stem is lu-. Cf. lumi'ginaye.

See note 36, text II.

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

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

See note 82, text II.
FREE TRANSLATION.

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

IV. THE THEFT OF FIRE.

Waida howamda apēxadjit¹ tcitindosa xåtcile pun Eastwards he went fire-steal Coyote child one xēxadjit² tcitindosa mice'qe himû'kta apisu'kta yuwaum'mia he stole Coyote "mice'qe" running fire throwing I go mice'qe yaxatel'ya pa'tcimam³ itukmusun⁴ mice'qe "mice'qe" I steal everything I make "mice'qe" yuwaumxanan mice'qe kimidjunû'mdju⁵ yowamxa'nan I shall go "mice'qe" to the head of the river I'll go yuwaumxa'nan wisè'da puntsa'r ē'tasun mice'qe ā'ma I'll go down river woman many are "mice'qe" place yuwaupa'kasun mice'qe a'ma pun xo'nasun⁶ mice'qe I go around "mice'qe" place one I'll not "mice'qe"

lure'djasun xu'umde tcitindó'sa tcusato"mun qâ'qatee quick (†) Coyote I choke a bird nū'wam tcusato"smun⁷ tcē'tcē nū'wam tcusato"smun go! I'm choking Buzzard go! I'm choking yekoxa'nan nā'tcoidut ā'wam iwa'mdaxanan⁸ xē'oqotcainan I'll kill you we go I'll stay I won't kill him tci'marut qē'sop⁹ xu'nogidji mice'qe nagi'teuk ice'mtina¹⁰ people if die I'll get well (†) "mice'qe" (†) listening (†) imitci'gut¹¹ we'lmu mice'qe yowa'mxanan mice'qe I kiek it open quickly "mice'qe" I'll go "mice'qe" te'n'sigasun¹² mice'qe yē'koxanan mice'qe me'xemî'inanan I'm handsome "mice'qe" I'll kill "mice'qe" you don't like me mice'qe megutxu'kni xuwo'ktcainan hamē'u i'tcimkan¹³ "mice'qe" you don't like me I don't want to come back food not growing hamē'u pā'teigun hamē'u idan mitexū'na¹⁴ mowa'mxana food none food (†) do you like you shall go xusi'muktecainan tōgu'teem iwo'mdaxanan tcusi'mxanan I don't want to follow I don't want to I'll stay me shall follow
tcuguteentama  he'wu  a'man  xatcile'gulan
I don't want  all right  place  children only
cuinuhulaigulan  itr'e'igulan  xatcile'gulan  xotxagutcainan
old woman only  men only  children only  I don't want to stop
itr'e'igukscaidananan  i'nadaxan  i'woxanan  xowajxgutcainan
(?)  I'll wait  I'll stay  I won't go off
itr'icuxai'de'n  texo'g'anatan  xowo'ktoainan  yowa'mxnanan
I'm a chief  they don't talk to me  I don't want to return  I'll go
i'woxantin  iwato'gennon  ye'tcuyegon  iwom'tegon  iwaun'tegon
I'll stay  I'm coming back  I shall sleep  I'll stay  I'll come
yuwa'tegon  qedde'gon  xowatoknop  isumda'mdegoneg
I'm coming back  will pay (?)  I may not return  I'll seek (?) you
mowatokate'xun  miwo'mtohon  yuwaugegan
you better all return  you stay  I'll go
me'inadama'date'kun  misamda'mdate'kun  me'inadate'kun
do ye wait for me  do ye all listen  do ye wait for me
ye'tcudamdegoneg  mowau'gatekon  yowa'tokegon  yeaxte'egon
I'll lie down  ye all return  I'll return  I'll get lost
i'go'na'mdegoneg  teima'r  imamde'egon  ixotama'degoneg
I'll talk to them  people  I shall see  I shall watch
xowa'tokegon  yuwaamxan'an  amemtu'ini  uluidaitice
I'll not come back  I'll go  I'm hungry  my brother
yuwa'mxnanan  mekoj'tee  yowa'mxnanan  yuwokegon
I'll go  brother-in-law  I'll go  I'll return
yuwa'tokegon  imi'inan  yuwa'mxnanan  yuyu'ke'egon
I'll return  I like you  I'm going home  (?)
mowatxanan  te'kehen  yapatamama  axangugte' adamana
are you going  (?)  we'll sit  don't want to go
xateiteenta  pola  yuwa'mxnanan  xotai'rete  awa'mxnanan
all lazy  alone  I'll go  three  will go
husamutnie  yekoi'yaxanan  tcuguteen  paladjesun
he stays  I'll kill  I don't want to  I'm strong
la'mipuknii  palaidje  yuwa'mni  xokolotee  awa'mxnanan
you are weak  I'm strong  I go  two of us  will go
iwo'mdaxanan  nuigwu'mna  niwo'mta  isumdan
I shall stay  don't go!  stay  I look for
iko'mdaxanan  mo'xogoanan  niya'tcima  mametini  nikomoda
I'm going to talk  don't you talk  laugh!  (?)  talk!
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nůwaw’um nixo’ta mugu’tcen niiwau’m nixo’ta mugu’tcen
niiwau’m nixo’ta mugu’tcen
you stay aren’t you coming back? shall you sleep you’ll listen
mowmdatexun mowa’mkunaxana po’mōxana mie’mxana
miwomdatcxun mowa’mkunaxana po’mōxana mie’mxana
po’la iwa’megonye xokol’e’tee awa’mxanan xā’rale niki’dá
alone I shall go two of us will go child carry
mug’teen ni’cehedà trë’úlot niche’em xai’rot you don’t want to take it that big one take it! that little one
niki’dá yowa’mxanan niceheda po’la iwomté’ègon
carry! I’ll go take it! alone I’ll stay
nuwaw’mhini teugu’tteen nówaw’má man ameq’e’eni nohá’tamda go on! I don’t want to go! I’m dying of hunger look at me!
nitu’kta teugu’tteen nowaw’mhini xowa’mgutceinan há’yè take it (?) I don’t want to go on! I don’t want to go (?)
tee’pini nate’idá nā’xaman hamé’u mupte’eeaxini lie down! don’t eat! food you are too lazy (?)
ümte’ndakéye miwó’rhanàqte mug’teen a’wam teugu’tteen
you better cry out I talk you better cry out
(?) you don’t want to let’s go I don’t want to
te’pini nate’idá nā’xaman hamé’u mupte’eeaxini
(?) lie down! don’t eat! food you are too lazy (?)
uhwe’aqi yamai’íta imai’íta puntsa’r itri puntsa’ríè
(?) my place (?) (?) woman man wife
ulũ’idaida miko’modahaxanani yowa’mxanan hisi’kni xol’e’ini
sister you will talk I’m going good bad
iko’modaxanan yako’onéwa mo’xoligo’se’ee miçe’mxana
I will talk we are going to talk you are no good are you going to take him
mowa’mxana nůwaw’má man xosi’mgutceinan teugu’tteen are you going go on! I don’t want to follow I don’t want to
xomi’’inanan qáqo’n qó’ni niko’muda ko’omítuxun I don’t like you you kill me I cry out I talk you better cry out
anó’tei laibu’kni poimu’yen yahai’tca he’u awa’mán
(?) weak I’m sleepy let’s get food all right we’ll go
nä’tcidut xowa’mgutceinan nowaw’má man xowokte’ian nan
we I don’t want to go go on! I don’t want to stay
mitciumaxa’na madaqa’ana awa’m yaxo’da nisu’kta
you sing let’s go we look look back!
himó’ aqe’mtuini li’”mixana nuwá’gai yuwa’dkun
yes I’m thirsty shall you drink come on! I’m coming
I see him you drink (†) I’m going I shall growl

I’ll go and growl aren’t you going to go? I’m going

I shall talk I always growl you stay I’ll give you

ma’musqo’sexana he’wu mowa’mxana ye’koaxanan nō’nu shall you give him too yes are you going I’ll kill him don’t

nowa’m tcugu’tcen ni’koxun mala’ nuwa’m hēu himō’ go on! I don’t want to see you cry out! (†) go on! yes yes

miko’moda ye’éni a’ta magollai ma’tri’i matco’lai you talk (†) (†) uncle nephew grandmother

matrici’ ulū’idai mateo’lai ma’lai’i muta’lai massa’lai nephew brother grandmother maternal sister mother’s sister (†)

himo’lai a’ntxasai xā’wilai ulū’idaxaiye mitoi’nūlūlai father’s sister’s child older sister paternal grandfather younger sister (†)

NOTES.

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

Chief is itrixaidin. The pronominal element here is inserted apparently into the structure of the noun, which may perhaps be analyzed as itri, men, -xai-, stem for to make, create, and the suffix -eu which usually forms nouns from verbs.

The stem is -go- or -go'na-. Cf. note 23, text III.

The stem is -teu-. Cf. yaxuteu'ixan, we shall not sleep; yeteu'decon, I shall lie down, sleep.

Cf. idai'goxan, I shall pay; teadai'gunip, we pay.

Cf. isu'mni, I follow. The suffix -(?) -dam occurs also in such forms as melinada'mda, you look for me; yeteu'damdegon, I'll lie down.

The suffix -ate seems to denote plurality. Cf. naticdut = (1) nacaci-duti.

Probably for miwo'mtaxan.

The stem is apparently -inada.

The usual form is xowamgutcaidanan.

Cf. i'samutni, I come back; ya'samuta, we come back.

Apparently a case of infixing the pronominal element. Cf. la'teipukni, I am weak.

The stem here is clearly the same as in the next word. It is tempting to regard the -mo as perhaps an incorporated second personal objective element, but there are no other cases to support this view. Cf. nikomoda, talk, speak!

See note 14, text II.

The stem is apparently -cehe-. See next line.

Shows the use of the intensive suffix -ot, with an adjective.

Perhaps related to xara'li, xaru'la, baby.

Elsewhere -xotam-.

The stem -teuk-, or what appears to be but one such stem, has many meanings. As iteu'ktamnip, I put down a round thing; nitcu'ktean, drive a nail; teiteu'kni, I drown; nitcu'klo, pull off button. See note 34, text II.

See note 55, text II.

See note 25, text III.

The stem -hai- elsewhere has the meaning of to spit, to vomit.

The stem is -tak-. Cf. yetakni, I sing; ya'tak, we sing.

This stem does not occur elsewhere. To throw is -sux-.

Cf. ame'mtuini, I am hungry.

Perhaps for -wauk- contracted from -watok-.

Perhaps for yuwa'tokun.

By "growling" was meant, it was explained, "talking big."

The suffix -qose apparently means "also, too."

Meaning doubtful. The stem -wo- elsewhere means to cry, whereas wo- is the form used in the singular for "to sit."

FREE TRANSLATION.

Coyote went eastwards to steal fire. There was one child only of the owner at home. Coyote stole the fire, and ran off down river, where there were many women. He ran so fast that he choked, then surrendered the brand to a bird, who did likewise, giving it up to the Buzzard. (The latter portion of this tale also is apparently extremely confused, and it seems impossible to make any connected sense out of it.)
V. A MYTH.13

nisè’it1 iwo’t2 mäta hi’wot2 atcalaitañ hiwot2 North lived sweat house lived with his grandmother lived

ówatgu’t3 o’a’mta4 owa’temut owa’mdaw’a’temut bädji’mdu5 started went went up went up stream what for

Imámátécimi6 waitamtuwmatmut bâtekíte7 owamut have you come? come back come back went

wá’ta8 i’tusait iwo’t2 uwá’wuktan tımar idá’t9 went where his sister lived you must talk people many

cícimit’ni’ c’ai’k’et10 hoxada’kte’a’nat11 tsusutáíik-’et’ come to see the dance I am ashamed I don’t want to watch do not be ashamed

xé’manat12 nimamí13 hoca’íkunit14 hòcapunat15 yuá’mta16 I do not eat (?) (?) not dance I know nothing arrived

bo’unmut17 èq’íctan18 a’manikú’mkiyat ni’tehó’dat19 slept what do you say? you act foolishly have you sense?

xa’nimosainoxosa’n20 lú’it21 idji’tmit22 yåca’íkunit23 do you know what you do? drink I sit on one side that is why I dance

yasá’mta24 i’djitmi nåxama’nán25 qösi’n26 imica’íkunit27 thus I do I sit do not eat how did you dance?

nòxopí’mni’ mài’k’et10 a’manot29 yuwa’tmun29 nòt21 fí’qorok32 do not play are you ashamed? recently I came to my language

mi’qot33 mídja’15 miqow’g’an34 xöl’ik maliniqo’nag’an35 you speak do you know you will always talk that bad you will always have to talk

aqó’sit è’wanmu36 ô’u’xaik-ç’nan10 bá’tcaamnì17 why do you cry? you are no good

nò’xojimta38 iqó’irot32 dira’mda qé’g’edatei djéwu imamni39 you do not know long ago pray large look for

moxolikaxa’winta40 ba’dja37 muxá’ínat41 dira’mda mi’tcapu’ta15 two old men sat nothing made long ago you know

ôtuntsa42 . . . . yåca’íkunaxan23 ètcut43 feathers we will dance long

13 Obtained in 1901 by Dr. A. L. Kroeber from Doctor Tom, the Chimariko informant mentioned below in connection with the vocabulary. While the thread of the story cannot be made out from the disjointed narrative, it evidently is a myth. Doctor Tom passes among the Indians as being more or less out of his mind. As he is old and knows practically no English, the translation had to be given by him in the Hupa language, with which Dr. Kroeber is unacquainted, and translated into English by a Hupa. While loose, it is however shown to be approximately correct by the analysis that can be made of many forms.
yàxø'taxan 44  mukice'ta 45  onicema'ri  najjidi'itim 46
we will see  you do not wish to go  once more we must go  then they stay
yùpq'a'radjimni  'ixø'taxanen 47  pà'tcuyama 48  bà'tce
I get up now  I will see him  what will we eat?  what
qøteseseka'ìnen  yacamknim  nàecia'rácmim  bà'ikinaesà
must we do?  we dance  I must stretch myself  I will dance about
hø'tceu  yùtiwë'ìni  nimiina't 49  xo'miinana'n 50  nèg'a'da'txumà'i
fall in water  you like  I do not like  yourself
wè'yiit  imitsamà'kot  nà'pàata  mutsuñita  ničikio'50
dance  hold!  me (1) surpassed  make a fire!
ìxø'ta'x 47  imà'm 51  qøsnì'ni 52  làdjìn  xèpaki'n  bòë'mxan 52
let me look!  I see how I am tired  I am dizzy  I am sleepy
ìxøtàn 53  hinì  ixòtemdjuhe'hèn 54  e'g'èta  tcìmèsà'ìta 55
do not care to look  you make
nitxà'xana 56  là'djìn  qøsnì'ni  mìca'ñùnit 57  ìwonhì'ni 58
stop!  tired how you will dance  I stay here
xo'sìni  qø'sìni  làwitama 51  ciraku 59  mà'ämta 60  bàtce'xà'hatà 61
what makes you tired already you start  I have nothing
nàmaù'ìcìwuñ  nuà'mdat 52  nà'cìa'ñélà'xanan  yà'apù'tmin
you will eat  you must go  you must take it in  go home
à'manidja'pùì 53  nitcó'u 54  qø'sìn  nìtcó'ù  tél'sagkùn 55  tcás'wèita 56
you know  stretch yourself  how you stretch  I am exhausted  I am angry
dàvuxton  yùtsù'ñà 57  djuklù'uxut 58  làdjìdà'mda 59  eìcà'ñkùni
I do not jump in  jump in  become tired  I dance
là'djìn  yè'matsisin  mìite'cëxòtax 70  nùpù'o  à'wàntú'71
tired  I want to eat  look at it  what for? with mouth
mikòt 33  xa'ni  mìko'xà'nat 72  nà'wùtìmnì'73  yuàka'ñat
you talk by and by  you will talk  we must play
nàcìbì'mdaxanan 73  òtsûmì'74  nàmàtà(n)  hèì  nà'iækùdjhèn 74
we must play  jump in  do you pick berries  do not want to
nù'tsuxunmuñ 75  nitxà'ñemæxa 76  nìciè'ì  nàebà'ceikùm 77
jump into the ground  your knees are sore  I do not want
i'xòtama'ri  bì'maranù'tcxø  à'tcàwë'ìt  ni'wèkàdppuñ 78  qócum
I want to see you  mash it  are you afraid? bring him out?  how
tsi'rokòñ 79  i'mamni  e'xainì'  nòot  qè'xèta 80  ìma'ìnta
did I talk  I see  I make  I make  I see
tcé'mtæ 81  ixo'tat  icà'mxù'nìt  gù'utcèt 82  hèmà'ìtì 83  xà'niikù 84
always  I see  I dance  do not want to carry him soon
himèn⁸⁵ hi’mitci’ilateila⁸⁵ ā’si’u⁸⁶ xo’djabutnat⁸⁷ mi’siek-eb’i⁸⁸
dark middle of night day do not know make right
mi’qoxanat⁷² naxaik-ëna⁷⁶ miatci’mataku’u⁷⁰ mò’xoci’inta⁹¹
you will talk do not be ashamed might laugh at you if you do not know
niice’x ná’maxanat⁹² ni’icex- nià’i nìdè’ek nà’witmi⁹³
want you will see want blind let me look lie down!
na’p’ha⁸⁴ yuwö’mmi⁸⁵ teupa’i⁹⁶ itsawi’sen djëopo’i’n
get him up! I am going home my feet are sore do not wish
maxà’ikun⁹⁷ hàtcuutan⁹⁸ nimama hà’teadarup⁹⁹ u’a’mxanat¹⁰⁰
make it! lies there you see it surely will go
yè’wetdaxana’c nà’sieta’mxanan¹⁰¹ là’mitamakun¹¹ hi’tat⁹
I shall catch him it will be day tired many
é’icamkunit¹⁰² ilà’djin¹¹ l’à’miunti’ita¹⁰³ badji maxà’ia
I dance tired I am hungry nothing you can make
qö’maixë’ë’nun isis’ë’nimà’mda wu’tsunat¹⁰⁴ katö’oxu’ni’nìnanan¹⁰⁵
know I breathe I see I am not sick I do not like you
gai’i’ektcan¹⁰⁶
how do you know?

NOTES.

1 Perhaps for wisè-da, down-stream, i.e., north.
2 -wö-, to sit, to stay. Cf. hiwotinda, he sits.
3 -wa-tok, -owa-tok, return (?). Cf. muku-watku-nat, you did not come, page 347, line 8 of text.
4 -wam-, -owam-, to go; -ta, participle.
5 patei, what; -mdu, instrumental.
6 -mat-, to find; -mamat-, alive. Cf. ma-i-mat-ni, I am alive.
7 Cf. ante, badji-mdu.
8 wai-da, west or up-stream.
9 Cf. étasun, many.
10 c-, probably for te-, I; -akie-, ashamed.
11 Cf. note 22, text III.
12 Cf. xemanon, page 347, line 6 of text.
13 Perhaps ni-, imperative, and -mam-, to see.
14 ho-, negative; -samxu-, to dance.
15 ho-, negative; teapu- probably -trahu, to know.
16 Cf. note 4.
17 -po-, to sleep. Cf. po-anmu, you sleep.
18 Probably -qu-, -ko-, -komo-, to talk; e- perhaps interrogative. Cf. i-mi-canku-nit, did you dance?; a-qosit, why?; e-wanmu, do you cry?
19 Probably -teaho-, for -trahu, to know. Cf. ante hotesapunat.
20 Perhaps xani, by and by;
21 -lu-, to drink. Cf. page 347, line 6 of text.
22 i-, I; -tcit-, to sit; -mi, the verbal suffix, down; -t probably the intensive suffix, -ut, -ot, -t.
23 ya-, we; -samxu-, to dance.
24 Probably -sam-, to listen(?). Cf. mi-sam-damdatekun, page 350, line 8 of text.
25 na-, second person imperative; x-, negative; -ama-, to eat; -nan, verbal suffix. Cf. xèmanat, ante line 6.
26 Interrogative stem qo.
27 i, perhaps interrogative. Cf. note 18.
28 no, imperative; xo-, negative; -pim-, to play; -ni, suffix of present tense.
29 Cf. aman-itri, young; aman-inhu, new. Perhaps also a'maniku'mkiyat ante, line 7.
30 y-, for i-, I; -uwat-, -owat-, to come.
31 Contracted from nòut.
32 Evidently from the stem -ko-, -qo-, -go-, to speak. The form is obscure, as the possessive -i, my, is always suffixed.
33 mi-, you; stem as in the previous word.
34 mi-, you; -ko- to talk; -we, perhaps for -wet, continuative; -g'an for -xan, future.
35 It is possible that the first portion of this word is the Wintun pronoun for the second person dual, malin. A Hupa word is inserted in the following text.
36 Cf. ewo'imamni, I cry.
37 Cf. pà'tceam-ku, something(nothing?).
38 no-, imperative; xo-, negative; -ta, participle. The stem -jim-(tcim) does not occur elsewhere in the material collected.
39 i-, I; -mam-, to see; -ni, present tense.
40 Obscure. -xoli, may be xuli, bad; xawin, old. Cf. note 25, text III.
41 mu-, you; -xai-, to make.
42 hu-tu, its feather.
43 Cf. hiteun, long.
44 ya-, we; -xota-, to see; -xan, future.
45 Cf. -gute-, -guteai-, do not wish, as in teu-guteen, I do not wish.
46 na-, imperative; -jid-(tcit) (reduplicated), to sit. So “do ye sit down one after the other”? (?).
47 i-, I; -xota-, to see; -xan, future.
48 patei, what; y-, I; -ama-, to eat.
49 ni, second person imperative; -mîinan-, to like.
50 -cīlot perhaps for -cekta-, to build fire.
51 la-, weak, tired; -tei, I; -in, incompleted action. In other instances, -mi, you.
52 -po-, to sleep; -xan, future. Cf. poimni, I sleep.
53 Cf. ixota'x, line before.
54 Cf. note 45.
55 tei-, I; me-, actions done with hand(?); -xai-, to make; -ta, participle.
56 ni-, second person imperative; -txa-, to stop; -xan, future.
57 mi-, you; -samxu-, to dance. The phrase “how you will dance” seems to mean “thus you will always dance in the future.”
58 -won-, for -wom, to stay.
59 ciraku, curaigu, from cur-, long ago, and the negative -gu.
60 mu-, you; -wam-, to go; -ta, participle.
61 Seems to contain the negative.
62 nu, second person imperative; -wam-, to go.
Cf. note 29. Perhaps -pu is the interrogative suffix. Cf. mexadjipu, have you stolen?
64 ni-, second person imperative; -teo-, cf. -teu-, to lie down, to sleep.
65 tei-, I; -sag-, cf. -sax-, to cough(†).
66 tea-, I; -awè, angry; -ta, participle.
67 -teu-, -tsun-, to jump.
68 dju-, teu-, I; -klu-, to fall.
69 Cf. note 51. -dam is a verbal suffix of uncertain meaning in this case. Cf. meinadamda, you look for me.
70 Contains -xota-, to look, watch.
71 ha-wa, his mouth; -mdu, instrumental.
72 Or else from -ko-, to kill. Cf. ye-ko-xan-an, I'll kill you, text IV, line 9.
73 -pim-, to play.
74 Cf. tcuguten, I don't want to, text IV, line 15.
75 ni-, second person imperative; -tsu-, to jump; -xun, verbal suffix meaning into; -mu, verbal suffix of uncertain meaning. Cf. naimu, chop; nitupmu, roll along, etc.
76 hi-txanemaxa, his knee.
77 Cf. pateigun, no.
78 -xe-, for -xai-, to make.
79 teem-da means "across a stream."
80 Cf. note 74.
81 Perhaps he- is the negative, xe-; -mai-, to carry.
82 xani, by and by; -gu, the negative. Cf. note 59.
83 himi, himokni, night. The -n appears in hime-n-ala, moon.
84 asi, asse, day. Cf. asi-n-ala, sun.
85 xo-, negative; djabu- (tecapu ante) for -trahu-, to know.
86 hisikni, hisiki-, good; -e6i perhaps -eye, reflective.
87 na-, second person imperative; x-, negative; -aikie-, ashamed.
88 mi-, you, object; -yatei, to laugh; -xun is either the future -xan, or the continuative -hun.
89 mo-, you; -xo, negative; -cim-, -cem-, to listen; -ta, participle.
90 n-, second person imperative; -ama-, to eat; -xan, future.
91 na-, second person imperative; -mi, -tmi, verbal suffix, down; -wi-, cf. hawi'ida, driv deer; ha-wi-maxan, poke hole in sheet of paper.
92 n-, second person imperative; -ap-, to get off horse; -ha, up.
93 y-, I; -owam, to go.
94 teu-, my; hu-po, his foot.
95 ma-, perhaps for na-, second person imperative; -xai, to make.
96 -teu-, to lie down, sleep.
97 -up, intensive.
98 -owam, to go; -xan, future; -at(†) for -ut, -ot, intensive.
99 asi, day; -xan, future.
100 zi-, for i, I.
101 amemtu-, hungry; -i, I; -ta, participle.
102 The final -t, -at, probably the intensive -ut, -ot is of frequent occurrence.
103 xu-, negative; -mi'ina-, to like; -nan, verbal suffix.
104 -aikie-, ashamed.
VI.14

yê'ma¹ t'waxanin² ē'kocxanan³ tei'mitcakun kolalai yua'mni
  I eat I will defecate I will urinate enough sick I go
nîmâ'ama⁴ nidjdimag'a'na⁵ nîpâ'itca⁶ bâ'tcki' ū ic'i'cnû'xni i'sâ'n⁷
  you see say so pick up no bring wood sleepy
xa'nisama⁸ xe'ma⁹ dji'txanak¹⁰ hôsetdjanîwu' nîmîna¹¹ hîsî'ktâ¹²
  soon head blanket sick behind good
hi'edât hîdqunî¹³ hi'djutbitan¹⁴ nâdja'ldan¹⁵ nàxô'cxu¹⁶ misâ'gü¹⁷
  fall in drown a spring rock cut in mouth
nisâ'wkâ hîtâi¹⁸ kô'on¹⁹ hîtëiwàmda nîxota²⁰ muxu'likâ²¹ âwàm
  put in mouth much talk go down look! say go
nûâktâ²² xà'yê dji'ë'tu²³ miwu' xumâmnan²⁴ yacangxu'n²⁵
go' small large give do not see let us dance
yâxu'teu nici'nâte'î nò'sexana'n²⁶ nîmâma' nàeco yôku'n
go to bed cover me! suckle me look make basket
nè'wu pà'dju²⁷ nuwî'ë²⁸ xoda'la²⁹ nitex'sè'm³⁰ nitex'e'ako³¹
give enough carry little drag! stop!
mî'tcapu³² hî'wanâ'dan nà'klo badxa'la nuxu'mâmnà³²
go on see two enough not see
yokumramni'p³³ mitcxa'ni³³ yêko'n²⁴ tcâwî'n mèxo'tan³⁵
run small kill I fear on
yutsuxa'mni³⁶ yuwa'wuke'n³⁷ bô'anmu³⁸ nà'waxâii³⁹ muxuli'îni⁴⁰
fall down I come back you sleep your mouth is small you are ugly
xà'se hîtema' nimama nimaitce⁴¹ yamat imâ'mta nîmâ'mxanat
grass (?) cook see food I see you will see
nàot xu'noita⁴² nîntji⁴³ â'ma ìxà'ita xo'se hîmòu
  I go up your nose earth I made grass yes
exâni'p²⁴ yê'kûn²⁴ nàjidi'li nàxâ²⁵ huwa'm xa'ni
  I make I kill play flute! stop go soon
lâdjitamni djo'pa-elo'ni⁴⁶ eloneh'e⁴⁶ ni'djitmi⁴⁷ nitcx'e'mku³⁰
tired too hot hot sit down! drag!
djemta nuamatcexun⁴⁸ wësatkâ'â xe yû'tsû'txamu⁴⁹ hawalla⁴⁹
across river go! sleepy fall down who are you
lâ'mitama nâmâxuni xâlalâ'îdjî'ni diramda diramd ua'kdat⁵⁰
tired around go home long ago long ago came

¹⁴ Part of a text obtained in the same way as the last.
hica’mniman ni’xota djë’wut\(^\text{23}\) i’te’ixni xunö’ita\(^\text{42}\) lûtsaktu’u\(^\text{38}\) not see you look! large play up fall in
mu’adokni\(^\text{21}\) teigtuxotne’i\(^\text{52}\) yëaxtu’u wëtcë’o mïgåatexü’ën\(^\text{48}\) you come back lonely I return near leave
nåcuämni’ hitäi ko’on hûpucnë’\(^\text{54}\) mëmamnë’\(^\text{54}\) mï’tcapu
go away much talk his leg straight I see you you know
nämä wë’lemü’\(^\text{55}\) ëdjëcëéné’i nëma’iradjim\(^\text{55}\) nëtexe’m nïgüyâ’t\(^\text{57}\) eat! quickly shoot carry! drag! make fire!
nïxaii teä’xawinta\(^\text{58}\) nï’mamxa’nat ëtcë’ixa’\(^\text{58}\) koma namaxana’t make it! I am old you will see grow seeds
watcel nï’mamxananat koma hëcigu djimia’na pepper-nuts you will see seeds hazel-nuts service-berry
haikyë’u hatchø’u hosiri’na\(^\text{60}\) sugar-pine-nuts digger pine-nuts cedar

NOTES.

1 i-, I; -ama-, to eat.
2 i-, I; hi-wax, his excrement; -xan, future; -in, incomplete action.
3 e-que, his urine.
4 ni-, second person imperative; -mam-, to see.
5 ni-, second person imperative; -teit-, to sit; -gan, -xan, future.
6 ni, second person imperative; -pa-, perhaps -pa-, to smoke.
7 Cf. iisan, text V, next to last line.
8 xani, soon, by and by.
9 hi-ma, his head.
10 teitxa, blanket.
11 Cf. himinatee, behind; himinna, back.
12 hisiki-, hisikni, good.
13 -teuk-, a stem of varied meaning. Cf. niteuktan, drive nail; niteukt-tapku, take out a round thing; iteukar, drowned; text I, line 7.
14 -tut, to strike(?); -pi, -tpi, suffix, out, out of.
15 Cf. tcaldan, metal.
16 Cf. tea-xos-amu, I yawn.
17 Cf. note 65, text V.
18 Cf. note 9, text V.
19 From -ko-, to speak.
20 nu-, second person imperative; -xota, to look, watch.
21 Cf. note 40, text V.
22 nu-, second person imperative; -wak-, to come; -ta, participle.
23 djèn, teëu, tràëu, large.
24 xu-, negative; -mam-, see; -nan, verbal suffix.
25 ya-, we; -samxu-, to dance; -ni, incomplete action.
26 no, second person imperative; -sex-, cf. -sek-, to swallow; -xan, future.
27 Cf. padju, grizzly-bear.
28 nu, second person imperative; -wi, cf. ha-wi’-ida, drive deer.
29 xodallan, poor.
30 Cf. teu-ixex-mun, page 347, line 2 of text.
31 mi-, you; -tea-, to chew; -pu, perhaps interrogative.
32 Cf. (f) nipe-ram-ram, to taste.
33 Cf. (f) ni-texa-lo, pull out tooth; itexa-posta, Dyer's ranch.
34 ye-, I; -ko-, to kill; -n, incomplete action.
35 mi-xota-n(?)
36 -tsu, to jump. Cf. note 67, text V. But hu-tsu-tmin, fly down; -xam, suffix, down; -ni, incomplete action.
37 y-, I; -owak, to come, here apparently reduplicated; -ne, -ni, incomplete action.
38 Cf. note 17, text V.
39 ha-wa, his mouth.
40 mu-, you; -xuli-, bad. Cf. note 21.
41 Cf. -mai-, to carry.
42 xunoi-da means west or north.
43 A Hupa word. The Chimariko would be mo-xu.
44 e-, for i-, I; -xai-, to make; -ni, incomplete action; -p, intensive.
45 Cf. i-txa-xui, I stop.
46 elo-xi, elo-ta, hot.
47 ni-, second person imperative; -tcit-, to sit; -mi, suffix, down.
48 Cf. mo-watok-atcxun, page 350, line 7 of text.
49 avilla, who.
50 -wak-, to come; -da, participle; -t, intensive.
51 mu-, you; -atok-, -watok, return; -ni, incomplete action.
52 Cf. teigule, we all. Or more probably, tei-, I; gu-, negative.
53 hu-po, his leg.
54 me-, for mi-, you; -mam-, to see; -nei, cf. preceding word, and, post, djè-nei.
55 welmu, quickly.
56 ne-, second person imperative; -mai-, to carry.
57 ni, second person imperative; -cekta-, make fire.
58 tea-, I; -xawi-ni, old; -ta, participle.
59 Cf. -itri-, -itei-, to grow, a man.
60 Cedar is hatsinaketea; hosu, xosu is yellow-pine nut. The tree would be hosu-na.

SENTENCES.

punta lot hamtatinda citeelot
punta lot himiteitinda teimal
citeela hanpukeini hemxolla
  woman whipped dog
  man kicked the woman
dog caught the jack-rabbit
mimitcitinda citeela
  you are kicking the dog
hipuimuktinda citeela
  they are pinching the dog
imiteitinda
memiteitida
  I am kicking him
teu'minatinda
  you are kicking me
qonowectinda
  he likes me
imiteixnanan citeelot
  ye are whipping me
niteut citeela
  I shall kick the dog
hit the dog!
imamni I see thee, him
imi’inanatén I like ye
mepatni you are poking me
tcumamni he sees me
qomamapu do ye see me
hiwotinda he sits
miwemtsodida you gamble
qatezundjulinda ye are thin
qewoktinda he is sick
nout yematinda I eat
teawawintinda teigule we all are old
mamatindak you ate
hisamxunin he dances
yawemtsom we gamble
mixun you are fat
qaxatcužni ye are short
hama he eats
imumni I run
yetakni I sing
haomiüktsaida his hat
awaida his house
onipaida his pipe
qomas musuda who are you
qomas asuda who is he
patej suda what is this
awitida mohatida who shot you
puntsarida anowestia itrila woman whipped boy
mitinda kutaxana are you going to keep it?
awomunda still crying
imumda itxamni I stop running
imumda tehotimen while running, he shot me
imamni haqomelamda I saw him running, hurrying away
hisamxuninda yekon while he was dancing, I killed him

VOCABULARY.

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

Words marked with an asterisk, *, are from Powers' Tribes of California, pages 474-477, slightly transcribed to conform to the present orthography. Those marked with a dagger, †, were obtained by the author, but are given in identical form by Powers, allowing for the fact that Powers does not distinguish k and q and writes no glottal catches.
Words in parentheses, ( ), were obtained by Dr. A. L. Kroeber from the informant Friday in 1902, and those in brackets, [ ], from Doctor Tom, an old feeble-minded Chimariko at Hupa, in 1901 and 1902. Many of the more common words, having been obtained by Dr. Kroeber in a form identical with that recorded by the writer, are not separately given.

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

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**ENGLISH-CHIMARIKO.**

Abalone, sulhim
Abandon, -txax-
Accompany, -sim-
Acorn, yütri, (texupun)
Acorn (black-oak), [(muni)]
Acorn-bread, teéneu
Acorn-meal (leached), pæi
Acorn-meal (unleached), yóma
Acorn-soaking place, matçiya
Acorn-soup, hâpêu
Acorn (shelled), ihitei
Across-stream, tcem-da
Again, (tabum)
Alder, pakto'ëna
Alive, -mamat-
All, (kumitein)†
Alone, pola
Angry, -awè-
Ankle, hi-xanlèdé, hi-xanlede
Ant (black), pêlo'a
Ant (red), t'amitéxul
Antlers, ho- wee
Anus, hi-wi
Arm, hi-tanpu, [hi-teanpu], hi-teanpo* 
Arm-pit, ci.teumuni
Armor, t'ummi
Arrow, sa'a
Arrow-flaker, atcibuksa
Arrow-point, qaku
Ashes, matripxa, matripa
Aunt (paternal), ulûida-i(†)
Aunt (maternal), mälai-i, mûtala-i
Autumn, asödiwukni, nomatci*
Awl, cibui
Axe, haimuka, hamukten*
Baby, xarûlla, xalûla, (xalala), halalla*
Back, hi-mina
Bad, xuli, holi-ta*
Bark (of tree), hi-pxadji, hi-patei*
To bark, wowoin
Basket-hat, ho'miükka
(Baamiatka)
Basket (burden), sangen,
(ealıkken)
Basket (cooking), poquela
Basket (mortar), há'eu
Basket (open tray), powa
Basket (sifting), atanisuk
Basket (spoon), kalüwè
Basket (storage), (opumaktca)
Basket (tray), p'unna
Bat, teemxateila
Bachelor, punsariéeku, öélalla
Beads (disk), mendrahè
Bear (black), teisamra, (djicamla),
[djisamara], teisamra*
Bear (grizzly), pãdjù, (poten)
Beard, (hu-puteu-n-xame), [ha- budju-n-xami], o-puteu-hama*
Beaver, wisilla
Bed, hateiinarutsa
Beetle, qô'a
Belly, hu-trunèu, (hu-teeneu), u-teuniwa*
Belt, bi-ca'amatat
To bend, -koru-
Bird, (di'la), tirha*
Bitter, hemùdadjan
Black, teëlei, teeli-t*
Blackberry, xamoaana
Blackbird, tira-cela, tëila-teele
Blanket, teitxa
To bleed, södrè-
Blind, -suxommen, -xosanmun
Blood, sòtri, citrqi, sitso*
To blow, -hus-, -xuc-, -xu-
Blue (†-cf. blood), sòtè'ì
Bluebird, ipùitella
Bluejay, tsokokotee
Board, ho 'eu
To boil, -potpot-, -dum-
Bone, hu-txun
Born, -dah-
Bow, xàpunèu
Boy, itrilla, iteilat
Brain, hi-ni
To break, -kat-, -teex-, -xòtòs-
Breast, hu-si*
Breast (woman's), sì'lìye, sirha,†
[ci'da]
To breathe, -saxut-
To bring, -hak-, -hek-
Brother, ulùida
Brother-in-law, meki-i
Buckeye, yonot
Buckskin, teirhuntol
To burn, -ni, -maa-
To bury, -tot-
Butterfly, tsamila
Button, hi-punakte
Buzzard, teètèbi
By and by, punuslala, xani, tamini
To call, kò, -kòkò-
Cane, hutatat
Canoe, mûtumma, motuma*
To carry, -maï, -ham-, -qi-, -xù-
Caterpillar, xawin, qawin
Cats-craddle, axàdèu
Cedar, hâtinaktea, hâtinaktansa
Chair, hi-woanadatsa
Chaparral, pukte'a'ìna, axaena
Cheek, hu-tanundjatun
To chew, -teate-
Chief, itra-xai-dèu, itci-haitie*
Chimariko, (teimaliko)
Chin, tsuna, wètu
Chipmunk, pipila, wisilla(†)
Civet-cat, kakesmillalo
To clap hands, -putata
Clean, mata'ì
To clear (weather), -teemux-
To climb, -ar-
Clock, ixodaktea
Cloud, hawèdam, [awetama],
(awatamaxni)
Clover, kateu
Coals, kòwa
Cold, eco-, (xatsa), eso-ta*
Comb, tanatei
To comb, -kma-
To comb, watok-, -wok-, -owak
To cough, -sax-
Cousin, antxala-i
Country, ama
Coyote, teitinòdëa, (maidjandela),
[maidjandera]
Cradle, wenteu
Crane, kisum, kàsàr
Cray-fish, trxol
Crooked, p'qèlè'in
Crow, wa'da, wa'la
To cry, -wo-
Cup and ball, hitumùdadehu
To cut, -kut-, -jolo-
To dance, -samxu-
Daughter, masola-i, maisula-i*
Daughter-in-law, teu-simda
Day, assè,† [asi]
Deaf, hukènà
Deep, teuxunmin (†)
Deer, ò'a, aa*
Deer (buck), (xuweteci)
Deer (dœ), (yetcawè)
Deer-brush, qapuna
Deer-trap, harxaktea
To dent, -xkol-, -tran-
Dentalia, hateidi, t'ôôdôôhi
[ahateu]
'‘Devil’’ (prob. sorcerer), himisanto, (himisamtu)
Dew, qoido
To die, -qē-
To dig, -po-, -tsik-
Digging-stick, tsunana
To dip up, -hedo- (†)
Dirty, teelē'in
To dismount, -ap-
Dog, siteela, siteelat
Door, wessa
Dove, yūra
Downwards, tramuida
Down stream, wisōda
To drag, -sik-
Dragon-fly, hitinemnem
To dream, -maka-
To drink, lū-
To drive, -sik-
To drop, -lul-, -lus-, -lurim-
To drown, -teuk- (†)
Drum, hisamquni
Dry, atexumni
Duck, xaxatci, hahatce* (=mallard)
Dull, tono'i
Dust, matcitsxol, matrepa

Eagle, wemer, tsāwitcau, (djāwidjau)
Ear, hi-sam, hi-cam*
Earth, [ama]†
Earthquake, amitxamut
East, up stream, waida, (waída)
To eat, -ama-, -ma-
Eddy, apenmaspoi
Eel (lamprey), ṭsāwa
Egg, anōqai, amoka*
Eight, xodaitcibum, hotaitcipum
Elder tree, teitxōi
Eleven, pundráuxt, saānput
punaust
Elk, a'eno, aanok*
Empty, huteolanan
Evening, himok*
Everything, patcimam (†)
Excrement, hi-wax
Eye, hu-sot, hu-oct*
Eyebrow, hu-soctnimi
Eyelashes, hu-sunsu
Face, hi-suma*
To fall, -man-, -mo-, -klu-
Fat (n.), pi'a
Fat (adj.), -xu-
Father, iteila-i†
Father-in-law, teu-maku
Feather, hu-to, hi-mi†
Fern, tēutēuna
To fight, -texua-
To find, -mat-
Finger, hi-ta, hi-tra, (hi-tea), hi-teanka*
Finger-nail, bolaxot, (bulaxut)
Fir, kipi'tiŋa, (kimpina)
Fire, ā'pu, apu*
To make fire, -cekta-, hatsir
Fire-drill, apū'guna, ātsiktca
Fire-drill base, apū'naxtui
Fire-place, akamina ā'pu
Fish-line, hook, hamamēgutea
Fish-net, atexū
Fish-trap, weir, tsāt
Fisher, qūpxamiteči
Five, tsānehe, tranēhe
To fix, -mu-
Flat, river-bench, maitr
Flea, t'amina
To float, -kim- (†)
Floor, wēboqam
Flower, atrēi
Fly, mūsaswa, mūsotri, mosotee*
To fly, -tu-
Foot, hu-po†
Forehead, hi-mosni,j [hi-muclei]
Four, qūigu, qūigu
Frog, tsécamulla, apxanteolla,
haur* Friend, [imikot], imi-mut (=love)
Frog, qātus, (axanteibot)
Full, hiteolam
To gamble, -wemtsu-
Girl, puntsūla, punctalla*
To give, -hak- (†), awu-t*
To go, -a-, -wam-, -waum-, -wawum-, -owa-
Good, hisikni, (hikiki-), hisi-ta*
Goose, lālo, lalo*
Gooseberry, tselina
Gopher, yúmate
Grandfather (paternal), xáwila-i
Grandson, himolla-i
Grass, hawunna, (áwuna), koteu*
Grass-game, bëmakutca
Grasshopper, tsatur, tsatul
Grass-seed, qömma
Green, himamto, (ímamcu),
 himamsu-t*
Grouse, himinitee
To grow, -itri-

Hair, hi-ma†
Hand, hi-ta, hi-tra, hi-tea*
To hang, -kim-
Happy (†), teumidan
Hard, teaxi
Hawk, yékéyék, pëtxol
Hazel, heczgo
He, hamut
Head, hi-ma†
To hear, -ké-
Heart, hu-sà’anteé, (hu-santcei),
 u-santce*
Heavy (†), teumidan
Heel, in66kta§
Hemlock, xuctxu
Here, this side of stream, kántcuk
To hiceup, là-
To hide, -txat-
High, hitecáni
To hit, -at-
To hold, -imu-
Honey, hùwùnúkai§
Hornet, husù
Hot, elo, (eloxni), elo-ta*
House, áwà†
How long, far, giàteu
How many, qátala
How often, qátramดน
Humming-bird, qërekte, trëlekteéi
To be hungry, -ame-, -amentu-
Hupa, person, hitexù; place,
hitéwàmai
Hyampom people, maitroktada
hitéwàmai

I, nùut
Ice, hateen, atci*
Intestines, hi-pxa
Into, xunoi(†)

To jump, -tudu.
To keep, -kut-
To kick, -mitei == with foot
To kill, -ko-
King-fisher, tsàdadàk
Knee, hi-txanimaixa,
 [hi-txanemaxa]
To kneel, -komat- (†)
Knife, teisili, teididi, teeselli*
To know, -trahu-

Ladder, ha’anputni
Lake, teitaha
Lame, hëoka-xolik
Large, trëwu-t, (dëjëwu), teeu-t*
To laugh, -yatei-†
Leaf, hi-taxai, tahalwi*
Left-hand, xuti-teni
Leg, hi-txan, hi-tal*
To lie, -pen-, -hen-
To lie on ground, -teu
Light, txalën
Lightning, itëkasaëlxun,
 hitékësësël-ta*
To like, -mi’inan-
To listen, -cem-
Liver (†), hu-ci. See breast
Lizard, taktceel
Lizard (red), hìminiduktça
Log, sàmu
Long, hiteún
Long ago, eul, eur, [diramda],
 (dilamda)
To lose, -lixu-, lùùux-
Low, huteulan (†)

Madrone, étzolna, [hetzolna],
 (hetzolna)
To make, -xai-
Man, itri, itci*
Many, much, èts, (hitat), itat*
Manzanita, teitecana, teiteci
Manzanita-eider, teiteiáqai
Maple, trùxadji’ína, ipxadji’ína
To marry, -teum-
Marten, xuñeri, qàpam
To mash, -lot-
Meat (dried), pitëxun
To meet, -hayaqom-
Milk, cira, ci’ila
Mink, hunëri (†—see marten)
Mistletoe, hakilasaqam
Moccasin, pa, ipa†
Mole, tsabokor, xosanmu
Moon, himen alla,† [him-i-n-ala]
Morning, himetasur, himetacus*
Morning-star, munoïêta
Mortar, kâ’a
Mosquito, tsêlêye
Moss, hikîna
Mother, cido-i, sito-i*
Mother-in-law, teu-makosa
Mountain, awu,† aumiai, [âma]
Mountain-lion, teerâsmu,
 [teidasmu]
Mouse, pusudr
Mouth, ha-wa,† [ha-wa]
Mud, lâdido
Narrow, xê’iren
Navel, ho-napu
Nest, hemut
Nephew, mieaku-i, himolla-i
Nest, hemut
New, amaninha
Niece, himolla-i
Night, hime, himokni, [himi]
Nine, puntéigu
No, pâteigun, (pâteikun), patcut*
To nod, -pukim-, -pupil-
Noon, himoqanan
North (west†), xunoida
Nose, ho-xu
Nowhere, amaidâtciku
Oak (black), muñe ’ená, (munena)
Oak (live, hepûitei’ina
 (hepeteina) *
Oak (poison), xaxeena
Oak (tan-bark), yütûxina
Oak (white), yaqâna
Oats (wild), aqêđêu
Ocean, aquarêda, aka-teeta*
Old, xawini, hahawîn-ta*
Old maid, itrîdûsku, amâlûlla
Old man, itrîncûlla
Old woman, cunhûlla
One, pun, p’un
Onion, sâpxi
Orphan, teisumula
Otter, êxoiiteêi, [haiokwoitee]
Ripe, hōmat
River, aqaqot
To roast, -maq-
Robin, srito, citra
Roe, hi-txayi
To roll, -k-
Root, ātei
Rope, atexundē
Rough, nodaduhni
Round, rolle
To rub, -xixae-
To run, -mum-

Salmon, ūmul, omul*
Salmon (dog), (djėida)
Salmon (hook-bill), (bitcoqolmu)
Salmon (red), masomas
Salmon (steelhead), (acotno-umul)
Salmon (summer), (umul-teani)
Salmon (dried, crumbled), tsamma
Salmon-river people, hūnomiteku
Salmon-trout, heetsama
Salt, aqi, aki*
Sand, amayaqa
Service-berry, teimiana
Saw, hi-uxigutca
To say, -pa, -patci-
Scorpion (†—see crayfish), teisitcin, txol
To scowl, -suta-
To scrape, -xèdo-
To scratch, -kirkir-, -xolgo-
To see, -mam-
To sell, -teiwa-
Seven, xākusomp, qāqiepom
Shade, qatrāta
To shake, -nu克莱
Shallow, txodchunmi
Shaman, teōwu, (te'ū)
Sharp, cuupui
Shell, ēxēu
Shell (conical), teanapa
To shiver, -nini-
To shoot, -pū-
Short, xūtciulan
Shoulder, hi-ta
To sing, -tak-
Sister (older), antxasa-i
Sister-in-law, maxă-i
To sit, -teit-, -wo-, -pat-

Six, p'untecibum, p'untepom
Skin, hi-pxadjī
Skirt (woman's), hiēktcandēu(†) ēxwał
Skunk, pxieira, [pēciu]
Sky, teēmu†
Slave, habukēđēu
To sleep, -po-
To slide, -sāp-, -sāpho-
Sling, hi-migutea
To slip, -klu-
Slowly, xowēnīla
Small, ulēta
Smoke, qē
To smoke, -pa-
Smoke-hole, āpotcetpīdaktea
Smooth, lūyūin
Snake, nixetai
Snake (king), manusi
To sneeze, -nxinu-
To snore, -xātudu
Snow, hipī, hipue*
Snowshoes, hipū ipa, panna
Soft, loōren
Something, pāteamkū
Son, oēlla-i, oxalla-i*
Son-in-law, itcumlwa
Soot, nagotpi
Sour, qoiyūin
South, qāaida
Spear, hūsunwēđēu
Spear (fish), hohankutēu, altar

Squirrel, kwanpūtčikta
Spider-web, kō'okoda
To spill, -qox-
To spit, -haibus-
To split, -bis-
Spoon, wēnaqalne, sāpxel
Spotted, lētretē
A spring, cidālla, (aqa-xatsa)
Spring, kisumatci, kiucumateci*
Square, hoqatā'zni
To squeeze, -tei-
Squirrel (gray), akwēčur, [akuitcit]
Squirrel (ground), ta'ira
To stand, -hoa-, -hā
Star, munu, mono*
Star (falling), munūtummi
To stay, -wo-, -wom-
To steal, -xadj-
Stepfather, matrida
To stink, -mitexu-
Stone, qā'a, kaa*
To stop, -txa-
Straight, hādohan
To strike, -teut-
Striped, qisō, ēxaduquisman
Strong, pala
Sturgeon, (umul-itawa)
Sucker, ēxamati
Summer, ahānmateci, ahemmateci*
Sun, alla,† ulla, [asi-n-alla]
Sunflower-seed, tcinteči
Sunrise, ēxatatkun
Sunset, biwohunmi
To swallow, -sek-
Swallow, tumbitiella
Swamp, hixut, cita
Sweet, hiqūni
To swim, -xū-
Table, hāma'anaeksia
Tail, aqüye
To talk, -kō-, -gō-
Tattoo, hekotēu
To tear, -tra-, -xata-
Tears, hu-so'xa
Teeth, hu-tsut
Ten, sānpun
That, pāmut, paut, pāt
Thick, pepe'in
Thief, ixaqueta
Thigh, hi-teipe
Thin, tēq'erin
This, qewot, qāt
Thou, mamut
Three, xoda'i, hotai
To throw, -su-, -sux-
Thumb, hi-teiteceta*
Thunder, tremumūta, tremumuto'xu, [djememoxtei], teimumuta*
To tie, -wuqam-
Tinder, hauna
Tobacco, ūwū†
Today, kimāse, assef†
Tomorrow, himēda, himēta†
Tongs, isekeđādui

Tongue, hi-pen†
To touch, -na-
Trail, hissa
Tree, ā't'a (†), atsa*
Trout, trāwel, (teawal)†
Tump-line, himā'īdan, kāsusū
To twist, -pxel-
Two, xoku, qāqū
Uncle (m. or p.), magolai
Under, teumu(†), wisē§
Unripe, xomanat
Up, (-tsu, wiemu)
Urine, e-quc
Vagina, e-qā
Valley, hitexāeni (†), maiteitecam*
Village, ēwitat, teimāretanama†
To vomit, -haima-
To wake, -suhi-
Warrior, hētewat
To wash, -pok-
To watch, -xota
Water, ā'ka, aqa, aka*
Water-fall, aqamateixol
Water-ousel, ēxamijaxola
We, nāteidut, nōutowa, tcigule
Weak, lāpuki
Wedge, tranper
Wet, eidji'īn
What, pātei, qātei
When, qāsukmateci
Where, qomalu, (qosi)
To whip, -nuwee-
To whistle, -xū-
White, mēnē'i, mēne*
White-man, teimtūkta,
(djemduakta)
Whiskey, (apu-n-aqa)
Who, qomas, komas, awilla
Why, kosidaq
Wide, xerē'īn
Widow, lasa
Widow (remarried), yapada§
Widower, mamutxū (†)
Wife (my), punsair-īo, (punsal-i), punsair-hī†
Wild-cat, tagnir, tagnili,
hīōxamutečila
Willow, pāte'xu
Wind, ikosē-ta, ikosiwa*
Window, hisūsamdaksia
Wing, utū, hu-tu
To wink, -raprap-, -laplap-
Winter, asōdi, asuti*
Wintun, pātexuai
To wish, -tcxfif, -teai-
To yawn, -xaca-

Wind-tick, tsina
To work, -pu-
Worm, hēmuta
To yawn, -xaca-

Ye, qākule
Yellowhammer, tsēyamen, trfyamen, (teiaman)
Yesterday, mō'ā, moo*
Young, āmanitri, amanit-īta

CHIMARIKO-ENGLISH

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

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

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

-a-, to go. See also -wam-, -waum-, -wawum-, -owa-
ā'a, aa,* deer
ā'ē-no, aa-nok,* elk
ā'asawi, wild potato. See also
sāwū, qāwal, sanna
ahān-matei, ahen-matei,* summer
[(ahateu)], dentalia. See also
ðatekdrī, t'ödödöhi

āqa, ā'ka, aks,* water
aqarēda, aka-teeta,' ocean
āqa-mateixol, water-fall,
(‘‘water-dust’’)
aqa-treduwaktada, Wiyot
sitjiu-aqui, Hoboken
aqaxentsa, water-cold, spring
[agaxteca-djį], a place name
akamina a'pu, fire-place
aqéd-eu, wild oats
aqi, salt
aqi-teć, [aiki-dje], Salt Ranch
aqyűe, tail
akwéčur, [akuitcut], gray squirrel
alla, ülla, [asi-n-ala], sun
-am-a, -ma-, to eat
hám-eu, food
-ame-mtu-, to be hungry
h-ama’na-ksiia, table
ama, [ama], country, earth, ground
ama-yáqa, sand
ama-idáteiku, nowhere. Cf. patcikun, no.
ami-txamut, earth’dake
[ama-teele-dji], place name
amáólla, old maid
amani-nhu, new
ámamani-tri, amaniti-ta, * young
[amimamuco], place name
(amitsuhe-dji), [amitsepi], village
at foot of Hupa Valley
åno’a, pitch
anóqai, amoka, * egg
antxala-i, cousin
antxa-sa-s, older sister
-ap-, to dismount, get off a horse
apenmaspoi, eddy
a’pu, apu, * fire
apú ’-zna, fire-drill. Also hátsikte, apú-ns-txui, fire-drill base
apó-tcitpick-akte, smoke-hole
(apu-n-aqa), fire-water, whiskey
áptum, fog
apxante-ella, fox. Also teitcamúlla, haura
-ar-, to climb
asse, [asi], day, today
asôdi, asutí, * winter
asôdi-wunki, autumn
(acotno-umul), winter-salmon, steelhead
-at-, to hit
at-ar, fish-spear. Also hohankutē
åt’a, atsa, * tree
atáníšuk, sifting basket
atréi, flower. Cf. next
áteci, root. Cf. last
ateib-uksa, arrow-flaker
åteugi-djē, Bennett’s Forks of Salmon
atexû, fish-net
atexundē, rope
atexumni, dry
åwa, * house
awi-tat, village
-awē, angry
awilla, who. See qōmas
awu, * aumiya, mountain. See ama
awu-t, * give
axac-na, chaparral. Also
pukte-’zna
axåd-eu, cats-cradle. Cf. ahateu,
dentalia, which were strung
(axantelbow), frog. See qātus
č, today. See also kimase
éxatatkun, sunrise
eło-ta, * (elo-xní), hot
eso-ta, * eco-, cold
čta, (hitat), many
ci-xol-na, [hetxolna], (hetxol-na),
madrone
exatatkun, sunrise.
ciol-teči, [hiakwoitee], otter
ha’amputni, ladder
hā’-eu, basket (acorn-mortar)
hahawin-ta, * old
-hai-hu-, to spit
-hai-ma-, to vomit
haim-uksa, ham-uktse, * axe
-hak-, to bring. See also -hek-
hak- (?), to give
(haq-eu), [haik-eu], sugar pine
cone
haq-ew-ina, sugar pine
-ham-, to carry. See also -mai-, -qî, -xu-
hamaidajjî, [amaita-dji],
Hawkin’s Bar
hamamé-gutca, fish-line, hook
hamut, he
baomi-úksa, (haamikte), basket-
hat
habukked-eu, slave
-hada-, rich. See also hitam
hādoha-n, straight
hatcen, atéi,* ice
hat'hō, digger-pine (cone or nut)
hate’-zna, digger pine
ihatcinar-utsa, bed
ihatcibri, dentalia. See also
t'ododothi, ahateu
hatcugiri, cloud
hatcudam, [awatama], (awatama-
xni), cloud
hawu-nna, (āwu-na), grass
haxa-ktsa, deer-trap
-hayagom-, to meet
heetsama, salmon-trout
-hek-, to bring. See also -haku-
hekot-ēu, tattoo
hēmox-ola, emob-olla, jackrabbit
hēmuime-ktsa, split-stick rattles
hemut, nest
hēmutsa, worm
hemūdađa-n, bitter
-hen-, to lick. See also -hen-
-hepūtei carr, (hepūtei-na), live oak
hecigo, hazel
-hedo- (f), to dip up
hêteespula, sucker
hêtsawat, warrior
hēunama-kutea, grass-game
-hi-, to burn. See also -maa-
hāsmai-gutea, paddle
hiēkteand-ēu( f), woman's skirt.
See also oxwai
[hiikda-dji], a place name
hikī-inna, moss
hīqūi-ni, sweet
hīmū'idan, tump-line. See also kāsūsū
himamto, green; (imameu), blue;
himansu-t, green, blue, yellow
hime, [himi], night
himen alla, hime-n-alla,
himi-n-alla, moon
himē-da, himē-ta, tomorrow
hime-tasur, hime-tačus, morning
himok, evening
himok-ni, night
himq-anan, noon
himē-šanto, (himi-samtu),
"devil," sorcerer
hınaq-tec, Big Creek
himī-gutea, sling
himī-tečī, grouse
himindu-ktsa, red lizard
himō, [(himmō)], yes
[(hiye)], yes
himolla-i, brother's child, father's
sister's child, grandson
hipū, hipue, snow
hipu ipa, snowshoes. See also panna
hipuna-ktsa, button
hisea, trail
[hisaa-da-mu], a place name
hisē-mu, Weaverville
hi-ca'amatat, belt
hisi-kni, hisi-ta, (hisi-ki), good
hisi-dēni, right hand
[hisatsai-dje], a place name
hisūsanda-ksi, window
hitak, itak-ta, rain
hitam, rich. See also -hada-
hitūtai-dji, Willow Creek
hitxaiyi, oe
hiteinemmem, dragon-fly
hiteolam, full
huiteolanan, empty
hiteu-n, hiteū-zni, long, high
xū-iteu-lan, short
hitcumūdād-ēu, cup and ball game
hitexāni (f), valley
hitexū, [hitchu], Hupa (person)
hitowāmai, Hupa (place)
hūxī-gutea, saw
hixut, swamp. See also cita
-ho-, ḡā, to stand
hō-a-kta-xoli-k, lame
ho'ēu, board
hohankut-ēu, fish spear. See also atar
hoqatū'zni, square
hākīlasaqam, mistletoe
hōmat, ripe
xomanat, unripe
hāp-ēu, acorn-soup
[(bohe-ta-dji)], Hostler village,
Hupa, where an annual acorn
ceremony is held
hāra, owl. See also teukuktecī
hāsunwed-ēu, spear
hāsusu-kta, [(hose-ktsa)], quiver
hotai, xodai, three
hotai-teci-pum, xodaitcibium, eight
hatsir, to make fire
hâtsi-ktea, fire-drill. See also
apu'âna
hâtsi-na-ktea, cedar
hâdi-na-kteo-hâda, Cedar Flat
hoxu-dji, a place name
hunoini,* Trinity river; [hunoini-
wam], South Fork of the Trinity
hûnomitecku, Salmon-river people
-hus,-xuc,-kos,-xu, to blow
husê, hornet
hutatf, cane
huteulan (?), low. See hitcolam,
full, huteolanan, empty
[hutsutsaie-dje], a place name
huwita-dji, a place name
(ihitei), shelled acorns
imimu-t,* to love; -mi'inan, to like
[imikot], my friend
-imu, to hold
inôktsa,§ heel
ipüit-ella, bluebird
isekdâd-iu, tongs
-iti, to grow
itri, itei,* man
itri-lia, itei-la,† boy
itri-nc-ulla, old man
itri-dûsku, old maid
itri-xai-d-êu, itei-haitie,* chief
itei-la-i, itei-lia-i,* father
[(iteikut)], a place name
itekasel-xun, bitekessel-set-la,*
lightning
[(iteul)], a place name
itemunda, son-in-law
[itsutsamti-djei], a place name
itekaposta, Dyer's Ranch
-kê, to roll
qâ'a, kaa, stone
kâ'a, mortar
qâ-ku, arrow-point
e-gâ, vagina
[qatxata], a place name
[kaimandot], a place name
qaiyausmâ-dji, Forks of New River
kakesmilla,§ civet-cat
qâ'kule, ye
kalâwê,§ spoon basket
qâpam, marten. See also xunêri
qapu-na, deer-brush
-kat-, to break. See also -teex,
xî tôs-
qadai-da, south
qatai-duwaktada, Wiyot at Arcata
qatrâs, shade
qâwal, wild potato. See also sâwu,
â'asawi, sanna
qawu, kawu-teane,* rattlesnake
-kê, to hear
hu-kê-nan, deaf
qê, smoke
-qê, to die
qê-hêwa, 'pain,' magic cause
of disease
qêpxami-teéi, fisher
qêrek-teee, humming-bird. See also
trelekteêi
qêwot, this. See qât
kê-ntcuk, here, this side of stream
hi-ki,† neck
-qi, to carry. See also -mai,-
-ham,-xû-
-kim-, to hang, to float (?)
kimâse, today. See also ê
kipi'îna, [kimpi-na], fir
-kir-, to scratch. See also -xolgo-
qis-đi, exadu-qis-mam, striped
kisum, crane. See also kâsar
kisu-mate, kicu-matce,† spring
-klu, to slip; also to fall, for which
see also -man,-mo-
-kma-, to comb
-kö-, to kill
-kô-, -gô-, -kôkô-, to talk, to call
[kokomâtxami], a place name
-kos,-xuc,-hus,-xu, to blow
i-kos-âs, i-kos-iwa,* wind
-qo-, to pour
-qox-, to spill
qoido, dew
qô-masu,† who. See also awilla
qâ-tece, what. See also pâtece
qô-malu, (qo-si), where
qâ-iteu, how long, how far
ko-sidaji, why
qâ-sukmatei, when
qâ-tala, how many
qâ-tramdu, how often
qő’a, beetle
kő’okoda, spider-web
qāqū, xoku, two
qōigu, qūigu, four
qāqic-pom, xákus-pom, seven
-komat- (†), to kneel
qōmma, grass-seed
qo’omēniwinda, New River City
konona-teči, woodpecker. See also teuredhu
-koru-, to bend
kās-ar, kisum, crane
kāsuu, tump-line. See also himā’idan
qāt, qewot, this
kātecu, clover; koten,* “grass”
qātus, frog
kōwa, coals
qoiyō-in, sour
kumite-in,* all
e-uc, urine
-kut-, to keep
-kut-, to cut. See also -lolo-
kwapanūteikta, spider
-kxol-, to dent. See also -tran-
-laplap, -raprap-, to wink
lasa, widow
ląpuk-ni, weak
lè, to hiecup
lētrotė, spotted
-lolo-, to cut. See also -kut-
lālo, lalo,* goose
-lot-, to mash
-lo’or-en, soft
lād-ido, mud
lù, lult-, to drink
-lul-, -jurim-, -lus-, to drop
luredja, quickly. See also welmu
-luclue, to shake
luyu-in, smooth
hi-ma,† hear, hair. Cf. himāidan
ma-mut, thou
-mau-, to burn. See also -hi-
-maq-, to roast
-mai-, to carry. See also -ham-
-qi-, -xū-
hi-māidan, tump-line
maitra, flat, river-bench
maiteiteam,* valley
maidja-hūtecula, Yocumville
maidpə-sōre, Thomas’, a place
maidja-tū-djē, Cecilville
maidō-lēda, Jordan’s
maito-tōu-djē, Summerville
maito-ktada, Hyampom people
(maidjandela), [maidjandera],
tcitindosa, coyote
-maka-, to dream
mago-la-i, (my uncle, maternal or paternal
-teu-maku, father-in-law
-teu-mako-sa, mother-in-law
-maxi-i, sister-in-law
mālai-i, (my) aunt, (maternal)
-mam-, to see
-mat-, to find
-mamat-, alive
mamsūidji, a place
mamusi, king-snake
manuxā (†), widower
-man-, to fall. See also -mo-, -klu-
masola-i, maisola-i, daughter
masomas, red salmon
mata’i-i, clean
mattu, sweat-house
matrepa, matcitxol, dust
matripxa, ashes
matrida, step-father
mateiya, acorn-soaking place
mēku-i, brother-in-law
mēne’-i, mene,* white
men-drah, disk beads
hi-mi,† feather. See also hu-tu
hi-mina, back
hi-mina-tec, behind, outside
mēaku-i, nephew
-miteci-, to kick, with foot
-mitedu-, to stink
-mo-, to fall. See also -man-, -klu-
māo’a, moo,* yesterday
hi-moani, hi-musni,* [hi-nuclei],
forehead
-mu-, to fix
-mum-, to run
[(muni)], black-oak acorn
mūne’-ena, (mune-na), black oak
munn, mono,* star
munō-ičta, morning-star
munū-tumni, falling star
músaswa, musotri, mosotee,* fly
mûtala-i, maternal aunt
mûtumma, mutuma,* canoe
mutuma-na, redwood
[(mutuma-dji)], Captain John’s village at Hupa, which is reached only by boat
-na-, to touch
nagopipi, soot
ho-napu, navel
nâcitudut, we. See also noutowa, teigule
[nerâdji], village at head of Hupa valley
hi-ni, brain
-nini-, to shiver
-ninux-, to sneeze
nîxêal,§ snail
nolle, round
hi-wi-nolollom, rabbit (cotton-tail)
no-matei,* autumn
-nook-, to recover
nodaduh-ni, rough
nôt, I
nôtowa, we. See also natcitudut, teigule
-nuwe, to whip
o-êîla-i, o-alla-i,* my son
ôêîl-lla, bachelor. See also puntsariêêêku
onîpá,† pipe. Cf. -pa-, to smoke
(opuma-ktea), storage basket
-owa, to go
-owa-tok, to come
ôxwai, woman’s skirt. See also hiêctandeu
-pa-, to smoke. Cf. onîpa, pipe
-pa-, to say
pa, ipa,† moccasin
pa-nna, snowshoes. See also hipui ipa
paktô-êna, alder
paktôna-dji, baktuna-dji, Patterson’s
pala, strong
pâmût, pâmût, pât, that
paces, leached aecorn-meal
pâsinjâx-ola, water-ousel
-pa-, to poke
-pat-, to sit. See also -teit-, -wo-
-pâtcî, what. See also qâtei
-pâtcî-âmku, something
pâtei-gun, (pâtei-kun), no
pâtei-mâm (*), everything
pâtcut,§ no
pâtxal, cocoon rattle
pâtx’xu, willow
pâtxûai, Wintun
pâtu, rat
pât, pâmût, pât, that
hi-pel, [hi-be], penis
pêlo’a, black ant
-pen-, -hen-, to lick
hi-pen,† tongue
pepe’-in, thick
dêtxol, hawk. See also yêkyêk
pi’a, fat (noun)
-pim-, to play
pip-îla, chipmunk. See also wisilla
-bis-, to split
pis-ôr, pis-ôl, quail
pîtîtixun, dried meat
(hiteqolmu), hook-bill salmon
p’qêêî, crooked
lu-po,† foot
lu-po-ckun, footless
-po-, to dig. See also -tsik-
-po-, to sleep
-pok-, to wash
pqõ-ela, cooking basket
pola, alone
bola­xot, (bulaxut), finger-nail
pât, pâmût, pât, that
pâdu, [pote], grizzly bear
-potpot-, to boil. See also -dum-
powa, open-work tray basket
-poxo­xol-, to paint
-pu-, to work
-pû-, to shoot
-puí­muk-, to pinch
pun­uslala, by and by
-pukim-, -pupul, to nod
puktia-, êna, chaparral. See also axacna
pun, p’un, one
p’un-­tei­bun, p’un­tep­om, six
pun­te­igu, nine
pun-drâs­ut, eleven. See also sa­n­pun­un­lasut
p’un­na, tray basket
punts-ar, woman
puntsar-i'ë, punctear-hi,* (punsal-i),
my wife
puntsari-čeku, bachelor. See
also čči-lulça
punts-dla, puncte-alla,* girl
-pupil,-pukim,- to nod
punuslala, by and by
pusu,† wood
pusdr, mouse
-putata, to clap hands
(hu-pute-č-n-xame), [hu-budju-n-xami], o-pute-č-n-hama,* beard
hi-pxa, intestines
hi-pxadji, hi-patei,* skin, bark
i-pxadji'j-ina, trè-pxadji'j-ina, maple (**'bark-tree
-pixel, to twist
pxicra, [piecu], skunk
sa'ã, arrow
hi-sam, hi-cam,* ear
-cem, to listen
-samvu, to dance
hi-samuqi, drum
sanna, wild potato. See also sawu,
qâwal, ā'asawi
sangen, (čankeen), burden basket
sânpun, ten
sânâpun punlasut, eleven. See also punđrasut
hu-sa'antëe, (hu-sanctee), u-santee,¢ heart
sâpxel, spoon. See also wëc-naqalne
sâpxi, onion
sawu, wild potato. See also qâwal,
ā'asawi, sanna
-sax, to cough
-saxutxtut, to breathe
-sek, to swallow
-sektå, to make fire. See also hillsir
hu-ci, liver; (husi), u-si,* breast
-sik, to drive
siga, pretty
cira, cilâla, sî'îye, sirha,† [cîda],
woman's breast, milk
elèi-teðuni, arm-pit
[ciloki], a place
-sim, accompany
teu-simda, daughter-in-law
cibui, awl
cita, swamp. See also hixut
citīmâa-ðji, Big Bar
cido 'i, sito-i,* (my) mother
citra, srito, robin
citqi, söri, sitô,* blood
södrë, to bleed
cite-ella, site-ela,† dog
cite-ivi, site-ivi, wolf
cidji'j-in, wet
sitjwâqai, Hoboken
cid-ôlla, a spring
sâmù, log
-sâp, sãpho, to slide
hu-sot, hu-cot,* eye
hu-sot-nimi, eyebrow
hu-sunsa, eyelashes
hu-so-xa, tears
sötë'j, blue (*cf. blood)
-su, -sux, to throw
-suñi, to wake
cul-, cur, long ago
sulhim, abalone
-sum, to follow
hi-suma,* face
hi-cum-axutulla, wild-cat
cun-hûlla, old woman
cupui, sharp
-suta, to scowl
[suta-dji], a place
-sux, -su, to throw
hu-santcei, (hu-santcei), u-santce,¢ born
heart
tagnir, teiledhu, wild-cat
hu-sa, arrow
-sa'antcei, (hu-santcei), u-santce,¢ heart
sâpxel, spoon. See also wëc-naqalne
sâpxi, onion
sawu, wild potato. See also qâwal,
ā'asawi, sanna
-sax, to cough
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cira, cilâla, sî'îye, sirha,† [cîda],
woman's breast, milk
elèi-teðuni, arm-pit
[ciloki], a place
-sim, accompany
teu-simda, daughter-in-law
cibui, awl
cita, swamp. See also hixut
tonö'-i, dull
-tö-, to bury
tööööhi, hateidri, dolal. See also ahateu
-Ü-, to fly
hu-tü, u-tü,† feather, wing.
See also hi-mi
-tüdö-, to jump
dum-, to boil. See also -potpot-
tumti-tüla, swallow
'tümmi, armor. See also teitxa
-txä-, to stop
hi-txän, hi-tal,† leg
hi-txänmaxa, [hi-txanemaxa], knee
hi-txän-löde, hi-kxän-löde, ankle
-txat-, to hide
-txax-, abandon. Cf. -ttxat-
txol, txxol, scorpion (?), crayfish.
See also teisitec
txodëhumni, shallow
hu-txun, bone
hi-tra, hi-ta, (hi-ta),* hand, finger, arm, shoulder
trançhé, tsånéhe, five
hi-teanka,† fingers
hi-tcänpu, [hi-tcänpu], hi-tcanpo,† arm
hi-tei-tecta, thumb
-tra-, to tear. See also -xara-
-trahu-, to know
-tea-(f), -texü-, to wash
treagnil, tagnir, wild-cat
tsamila, butterfly
tsâmma, dried crumbled salmon
-tran-, to dent. See also -txol-
tcanapa, conical shell
tranmi-da, downwards
tranqoma, Hyampon
tranper, wedge
tsbak-or, mole
tsät, fish-trap, weir
tsâdadâk, king-fisher
tsat-ur, grasshopper
-teatei-, to chew
tsâwa, lamprey eel
tråwel, [teamal],† trout
(djâwidjau), eagle. See also wemer
txäxiva, hard
djelda), dog-salmon
-teex-, to break. See also -kat-,
xôtôs-
telë-i, telë-t,† black
telë*-in, dirty
treleketëi, qéréktee, humming-bird
tselëye, mosquito
tseli-na, gooseberry
[(tcem-da)], across stream
tëmu,† sky
-teemux-, to clear (weather)
tremu-muta, trëma-mutc-ëu,
temus-muta,† thunder
tem-xate-ila, bat
tëen-eu, acorn-bread
teerâsmu, [teidasmu], mountain-lion
tesundan, pestle
teetëi, buzzard
tréwut, tceu-t,† (djewu), large
trexanmatefu, rainbow
-tei-, to squeeze
tem-ar, teim-al, (teim-al),
[djim-ar], person, Indian
(teim-al-ık), Chimariko
temâr-etanama,† village
tem-tükta, (djem-duakta), white-
temia-na, service-berry
tsina, wood-tick
-tsik-, to dig. See also -po-
tcigule, we. See also natcëdut,
noutowa
teintxap-mu, [djundxap-mu], Big
Flat
hi-tcipe, thigh
teirhuntol, buckskin
teisamra, teisamra,† (djicamla),
[djisamara], black bear
teisili, teesseli,† teididi, knife
tcicitec, scorpion. See also txol,
txol
teciscum-ula, orphan
-teit-, to sit. See also -wo, -pat-
tcitaba, tcitaha,† lake
tcitra, Trinity River
tcicindösa, coyote. Cf. teicem-ulla, fox
tcitra, armor. See also t'ümmi
tcicwa-, to sell
tecicem-ulla, fox. See also apxantc-
tolla, haura. Cf. teicindösa, coyote
te'itec-na, manzanita
te'itec-ma, [djitecan-ma], Taylor
Flat
teite-taqai, manzanita-cedar
teitexii, elder tree
triyamen, tséyamen, (tciaman),
yellowhammer
(tao), up. See also wiemu
tsokokotce, bluejay
teolidasum, [djalintasun, djalitasom],
New River
tešwu, (tesu), shaman
hu-tsii, u-tsu,* teeth
-teuk- (f), to drown
teu kata'ii, owl. See also hára
-teum-, to marry
tcumiidan, happy (f), heavy (f)
tcumi (f), under
tsun, chin. See also hu-wetu
tsun-na, digging-stick
hu-trun-e, (hu-teen-eu), u-teuniwa,
belly
trúpxadi-'ina, ipxadi-'ina, maple
terredhun, (teutli), woodpecker. See also konanakitee', dedima, dirima
-tu't, to strike
tsúdamda-dji, [djídamada-dji],
Burnt Ranch
teuxummin (f), deep
texa-, texet-, to pull. See also
texet-
texul-e, light
texet-, texa, to pull
trxol, txol, cray-fish, scorpion (f)
texuana-, to fight
(texupun), acorn. See also yutri
texüi, -te'ii, to wish
uléta, small
uluída-i, (my) paternal aunt
umul, omul,* salmon
(unumul-itcawa), sturgeon (“large-
salmon”)
(unumul-teani), summer salmon
uí,† tobacco
ha-wa,† mouth
wai-da, east; (wai-da), up-stream
-wak, -watok, to come
wa'la, wa'da, crow
-wam-, -waum-, -wawum-, -a, to go
-watok, -wak, to come
wateel, pepper-wood
hi-wax, excrement
welmu, quickly. See also luredja
wemer, eagle. See also djawidjau
-wentso-, to gamble
wentu, cradle
wèboqâm, floor
ho-wec, antlers, horn
wèc-nagame, spoon
wéss, door
hu-wétu, chin. See also tsuna
-whék, to push
hi-wi, anus
(wiemu), up. See also tao
wil'i, wil'i, * red
wisè-da, down-stream
wisilla, chipmunk (f), beaver (f).
See also pipila
-wo-, to cry
-wo-, -wom, to sit, to stay. See also -teit-, -pat-
hi-woanad-atsa, chair
hi-wo-hunmi, sunset
wowoin, to bark
-wuqam-, to tie
-xai-, to make
xamoa-na, blackberry
xar-ūlla, hal-alla, * (xal-ala), baby
-xacs-, to yawn
-xata-, to tear. See also -tra-
xadji, to steal
i-xa-gutea, thief
(xatsa), cold
(xaumtći-dji), a village in Hupa,
below the Ferry
[xawaamai], Mad River
xaxa-te'ë, duck; hahatec, * mallard
duck
xaxec-na, poison oak
xawin, caterpillar
xawi-ni, old
xe'ir-en, xer'é-in, narrow (f),
wide (f)
-xëdo-, to scrape
-xiaxe-, to rub
xoku, qaqü, two
xaku-spom, qahi-epom, seven
-xolgo-, to scratch. See also -kirkir-
xomé, to forget
xâpuq-in, bow
[xoraxdu], a place
xösü, hōsu,* yellow pine
xodal, hotai, three
xodal-tei, hotai-teipum, eight
xodal-an, poor. Cf. -hada-, rich
-xötös-, to break. See also -kat-,
-tcex-
-xatudu, to snore
xowen-ila, slowly
xōwu, yellow-jacket
-xu-, -xuc-, -hus-, -kos-, to blow
-xū-, to whistle
-xū-, to swim
-xū-, to carry. See also -mai-, -ham-
-ho-xu, nose
-xu-, fat (adj.)
-xuc-, -xu-, -hus-, -kos-, to blow
xūtcu-lan, short
xuli, holli-ta,* bad
xuli-teni, left-hand

xunëri, hunëri, marten(f), mink(f).
See also qämam
xunoi-da, west (f), north (f)
-xutaxun-, to remember
xutexu, hemlock
(xuwetci), deer (buck). Cf. -wec, antlers

yaqā-na, white oak
[yaqana-dji], a place
yanunüwa, yanunwa,* pigeon
-yatei-, iatci-mut,* to laugh
yōkyēk, hawk. See also pëtxol
yōtō’a, [yeteiwa], raccoon
(yetcawe), deer (doe)
yōma, unleached acorn-meal
yonot, buckeye
yūmate, gobber
yūtrī, acorn
yūtüstū-na, tan-bark oak
yūura, dove

PLACE NAMES.

Taylor Flat
teičanma [djiteanma]
Cedar Flat
hādinaktecohāda
Burnt Ranch
tsūdamađadji [djīdāmadadji]
Hawkin’s Bar
hamaidadji [amaitadji]
Dyer’s ranch
itexaposta
Patterson’s
paktōnadji [baktunadadji]
Thomas’
maidjasōre
Forks of New River
qaïyausmdūdi
New River City
qo‘ōmēniwinda
Willow Creek
hiitūtadji
Big Bar
citimāādji
Weaverville
hīsaēmu
New River
teolīdasem [djalintasun, djalitasom]
Big Creek
hiṃčautee
Trinity River
teitra
Hoboken
sitjwāqai
South Fork Trinity River
hāteugidjē
Summerville
maidolōda
Jordan’s
maidjateudjē
Coelicville
maidjateudjē
Yeoumville
maidjshāuteula
Bennett’s
āteugidjē
Hyampom
tranqōma
Big Flat
teičanpā [djundxapmu]
Salt Ranch
āqiteč [aikidje]
Mad River
[xawaamai]
Hupa, village at foot of valley  (amitsihedji) [amitsepi]
Hupa, village below Ferry  [hobetadji]
Hupa, Hostler village  (xaumtadji)
Hupa, Captain John’s village  [(mutuma-dji)]
Hupa, village at head of valley  [(neradji)]

Unidentified place names mentioned by Doctor Tom to Dr. A. L. Kroeber: amimamuco, hikdadji, kaimandot, itcikut, itcui, hoxudji, sutadji, hisitsaidje, huwitadji, qetzata, yaganadji, amateledji, itsutsatmidji, agax-teeadji, baktunadji, hisadamu, xoraxdu, hutsutsaiedje, ciloki, kokomatxami.