

The
Collected Works
of
Edward Sapir

XIV



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The
Collected Works
of
Edward Sapir

XIV

Northwest California Linguistics

Volume Editors

Victor Golla
Sean O'Neill

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Edward Sapir in Hoopa Valley, Summer 1927
(Courtesy of Sapir family)

Edward Sapir (1884–1939) has been referred to as “one of the most brilliant scholars in linguistics and anthropology in our country” (Franz Boas) and as “one of the greatest figures in American humanistic scholarship” (Franklin Edgerton). His classic book, *Language* (1921), is still in use, and many of his papers in general linguistics, such as “Sound Patterns in Language” and “The Psychological Reality of Phonemes,” stand also as classics. The development of the American descriptive school of structural linguistics, including the adoption of phonemic principles in the study of non-literary languages, was primarily due to him.

The large body of work he carried out on Native American languages has been called “ground-breaking” and “monumental” and includes descriptive, historical, and comparative studies. They are of continuing importance and relevance to today’s scholars.

Not to be ignored are his studies in Indo-European, Semitic, and African languages, which have been characterized as “masterpieces of brilliant association” (Zellig Harris). Further, he is recognized as a forefather of ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic studies.

In anthropology Sapir contributed the classic statement on the theory and methodology of the American school of Franz Boas in his monograph, “Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture” (1916). His major contribution, however, was as a pioneer and proponent for studies on the interrelation of culture and personality, of society and the individual, providing the theoretical basis for what is known today as symbolic anthropology.

He was, in addition, a poet, and contributed papers on aesthetics, literature, music, and social criticism.

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Preface

Volumes VII-XV of *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir* are devoted to republication of Sapir's works of monograph length — grammars, dictionaries, text collections, and ethnographies, including works that were edited and published posthumously — and to the publication for the first time of edited versions of projects that were left in manuscript at the time of Sapir's death in 1939. This volume falls into the latter group and represents the first major addition to the corpus of Sapir's published work in several decades.

Included in this volume are the fruits of Sapir's field trip to Hoopa Valley in Northwest California during the summer of 1927. The most important of these is Sapir's documentation of the language and culture of the Athabaskan Hupas: 77 narrative texts, a substantial lexicon, and numerous ethnographic notes. Sapir also collected some valuable Yurok data, including three texts, as well as some miscellaneous linguistic materials on Chimariko. The Hupa corpus has been edited and provided with thorough annotation by Victor Golla, with assistance in some sections from Sean O'Neill. The Yurok texts have been edited and annotated by Howard Berman, who has also contributed a detailed assessment of the Chimariko materials. Editorial responsibility for the entire volume rests with Golla and O'Neill jointly.

Preparation of all of the monographic volumes of *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir* was aided by grants from the National Science Foundation (grant no. BNS-8609411), the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Funding for the work on the Yurok and Chimariko materials was specifically provided in the NSF grant. Work on the Hupa material has additionally been supported by a fellowship (to Golla) from the American Council of Learned Societies and a research assistantship (to O'Neill) from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Davis.

Special recognition must be given to the Hoopa Valley Tribe, both collectively and individually, for their sustained help in the decades-long project of preparing Sapir's Hupa texts for publication.

The editors would like to give specific thanks to several individuals for their special contributions to the preparation of this volume: Philip Sapir, who in addition to serving as Editor-in-Chief of *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir* contributed immeasurably to understanding the personal context of his father's work; Michael Sapir and Helen (Sapir) Larsen, for their memories of the sum-

mer of 1927; Catherine Griggs, secretary for the Sapir editorial project at George Washington University, 1986-89; and Howard Berman, of Seattle, Washington, who was unhesitatingly willing, so many years after completing the editorial work, to correct the proofs of the Yurok and Chimariko sections.

Introduction

Several significant chapters of Edward Sapir's research were devoted to the languages of Northern California and Oregon. His earliest field project, in 1905, was a study of Wishram Chinook on the Columbia River (Volume VII), followed by studies of Takelma of Southwest Oregon (Volume VIII) and Yana of Northeast California (Volume IX). From 1913 onwards he played an important role, together with Roland B. Dixon and Alfred L. Kroeber, in the establishment of deeper genetic connections among the languages of this area, and between California and Oregon languages and languages in other parts of the continent. This included linking Yurok and Wiyot of Northwest California to the Algonquian family, expanding Dixon and Kroeber's Penutian stock to include a number of Oregon languages (Takelma and Chinook among them), and exploring the relationships of several Northern California languages within Dixon and Kroeber's Hokan stock (in particular Yana and Chimariko). However, it was none of these areal concerns that led him, beginning in 1921, to plan a field trip to Northwest California. The intended subject of this new investigation was quite specifically Hupa, one of the California Athabaskan languages, and Sapir's immediate goal was to obtain a more accurate phonological and grammatical record of that language than Pliny Earle Goddard had presented in his numerous publications (most importantly Goddard 1905 and 1911). The broader goal was a clearer understanding of the Athabaskan languages, and of the deeper genetic relationships which Sapir believed Athabaskan to have both in North America and in Asia.

In 1921, Sapir's only field experience with an Athabaskan language was a brief encounter with Chasta Costa of Oregon during his Takelma work (Sapir 1914c). A deeper interest in these languages was first stimulated during his continent-wide search for deep genetic connections. Although the Athabaskan languages stood apart from the Algic, Penutian and Hokan relationships, by 1914-15 he had accumulated what seemed persuasive evidence for a "Na-Dene" stock that encompassed not only Athabaskan and Tlingit, which had previously been thought to be related by Swanton, but also Haida (Sapir 1915d). Unlike the Algic, Penutian, and Hokan relationships, however, further linkages of Na-Dene in North America were not forthcoming. Instead, Sapir began to note evidence pointing to the startling possibility that the Na-Dene group was a branch of an ancient stock that straddled the Bering Strait and included Sino-Tibetan (see Volume VI, pp.133-140). This possibility so fascinated him that by 1920-21 he was devoting a substantial part of his research time to assembling com-

parative data in support of both Na-Dene and "Sino-Dene", as well as to reconstructing the details of Proto-Athabaskan. As his work progressed the need for richer and more accurate descriptive data became acutely apparent, in particular from Athabaskan languages. As soon as funding for research became available again after the economies of World War I, Sapir began laying plans for an extensive program of field work on Na-Dene languages in Canada and the western United States.

In the early 1920s Hupa, despite its peripheral geographical position in the family, was probably the best known Athabaskan language, and Goddard's publications on it had done much to determine the paradigm for Athabaskan linguistics. A reassessment of Hupa was a major item on Sapir's research agenda, and his first Athabaskan field trip, in the summer of 1921, was to include both a study of Sarcee (Tsut'ina) in Alberta and a quick visit to Northern California to obtain fresh data on Hupa (Golla 1984a: 368-369). This trip had to be cancelled, in large part because of the illness of Sapir's wife Florence. He was able to reschedule the Sarcee work for the summer of 1922, although not the additional trip to California. Sarcee, however, proved quite rewarding in its own right. Sapir collected a substantial number of texts (to appear in Volume XIII) and sufficient phonological and grammatical data to justify a deeply revised model of Athabaskan structure, in particular one that took into account the fact that Sarcee had revealed itself to be a thoroughgoing tone language. Sapir was now convinced that Goddard had ignored or seriously misinterpreted a number of facts about Hupa, not least that, in all likelihood, it too had tonal distinctions (Sapir 1922a, 1925f; for the evolution of Sapir's thinking on tone and other features of Athabaskan phonology and grammar, see Krauss 1986).

Sapir began making plans for a Hupa trip the following year (1923) (Golla 1984a: 402). Again, however, personal difficulties made the journey impractical. It was necessary for Sapir to spend the field season of 1923 at a sanatorium in Pennsylvania convalescing from a broken leg as well as tending to his now seriously ill wife. Providentially, Sapir discovered that two young Athabaskan men from Alaska were working at a nearby summer camp, and he seized the opportunity to collect data on Anvik (Ingalik, Deg Hit'an) and Kutchin (Gwich'in) (to appear in Volume XIII). But interesting as this material was to him — Kutchin, if not Anvik, had a tone system clearly cognate with that of Sarcee — Hupa still required attention.

It would be three more years, however, before another opportunity to visit Northwest California presented itself. Florence Sapir died early in 1924, leaving Sapir's life in turmoil for many months and prompting a major career change. In 1925 he resigned from his research and curatorial position with the Victoria Museum in Ottawa to take an Associate Professorship at the University of Chicago. The only new Athabaskan data he was able to collect during his first two years of teaching were on Navajo, which he obtained from a speaker living in

Chicago. His discovery that Navajo also possessed the Sarcee-Kutchin tone system underscored the need to set the record straight on Hupa. After the years of delay, plans finally solidified for a Hupa field trip in the summer of 1927.

Sapir was accompanied to California by a graduate student, Fang-Kuei Li, who had begun studying with him the year before. Li, a native speaker of Mandarin, had come to the University of Chicago for advanced study in comparative linguistics, but had quickly been drawn into Sapir's orbit. Believing that Li's acquaintance with tone languages would make him an excellent field researcher on Athabaskan languages, Sapir had him familiarize himself with Athabaskan structure by writing a study of Sarcee verb stems based on Sapir's 1922 notes (published as Li 1931). On the 1927 trip the plan was for Li to work directly with Sapir on Hupa for a few weeks, then to strike off on his own to find speakers of other Athabaskan languages in the area (see Appendix, "Reminiscences about Edward Sapir"). Li spent a month in Petrolia, Humboldt County, working with a speaker of Mattole, and a second month on the Round Valley Reservation, Mendocino County, working on Wailaki. His Mattole material, which is largely paradigmatic elicitations, served as the basis for his doctoral dissertation, which was published in 1930. His Wailaki material, which contains many texts, is of equally high quality but has been published only in part (Seaburg 1977a, 1977b).

Sapir and Li, together with Sapir's teen-aged son Michael, arrived in Hoopa Valley in the last week of June, 1927. Li left for his own field work in early July, and shortly afterwards Sapir and his son were joined by Sapir's (second) wife, Jean, and his daughter Helen. Jean Sapir, a psychiatric social worker, collected English versions of several Yurok narratives (J. Sapir 1928). The group was enlarged further in August by the musicologist George Herzog, who had recently come to America from Hungary to study Indian music under Boas. In 1927, supported by Boas and the American Museum of Natural History, Herzog made an extended field trip through California and the Southwest, arranging to visit Hoopa Valley during Sapir's stay. Herzog collected twenty-two cylinder recordings of Hupa songs, now preserved in the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University (Seeger and Spear 1987: 54). Sapir had also hoped that Alfred Kroeber would be able to spend some time in Hoopa while he was there, but Kroeber's schedule did not make this possible (see Appendix, "Letters from the field to A. L. Kroeber"). Jean and Helen Sapir left Hoopa in late August, and Sapir himself, together with Michael, followed on September 7. Li returned to Chicago independently two weeks later.

Sapir considered his Hupa study to have been "eminently successful" (Appendix, "An Expedition to Ancient America"), although he found himself embarrassingly wrong about phonemic pitch. Hupa, unlike Navajo and Sarcee, is not a tone language, as subsequent research has shown to be true of a significant number of Athabaskan languages (Krauss and Golla 1981: 69-71). But if

Goddard was right on this score (see Goddard 1928), the new data showed that Goddard's morphological analysis, as Sapir had suspected, was quite inadequate. Although Hupa was revealed to have a number of unique or unusual features, it differed from Sarcee and the other Athabaskan languages Sapir had investigated much less dramatically than Goddard's description had suggested. A new grammar of Hupa, and a new comparative grammar of Athabaskan, needed to be written.

Sapir also found Hupa traditional culture much richer than he had expected, and the Indian people with whom he worked — particularly his chief consultant and interpreter, Sam Brown — unusually knowledgeable and articulate. He later described his extensive Hupa texts as “probably the best I ever collected” (Sapir to Kroeber, August 25, 1938, UCB), and recommended to Kroeber that he “get in closer and closer contact with the Hupa Indians and take a good look at their religion,” predicting that he would find it “a most exciting and rewarding task” (Sapir to Kroeber, August 2, 1930, UCB).

Although the primary motive for Sapir's Northwest California trip was to document Hupa and related Athabaskan languages, he did not forego the opportunity to collect smaller amounts of data on other languages of the area. Early along in his stay, he (and Li) set the routine of taking Sundays off from Hupa to work a few hours on Yurok with Mary Marshall, a half-Yurok woman fluent in both Hupa and Yurok. (Mrs. Marshall was also the source of several Hupa texts.) Although Sapir's interest in Yurok dated back to 1913, and his demonstration that Yurok and Wiyot (the “Ritwan” languages) were distantly but firmly related to Algonquian (Sapir 1913h), there is no indication that he wanted to devote more than a limited amount of time to the language. His primary motive seems to have been to provide others — primarily Kroeber — with a detailed phonetic record, and to make suggestions for future investigation.

Although a similar opportunity to gather data on Karuk seems not to have been pursued, the chance to hear Chimariko — a nearly-extinct Hokan language of considerable importance to understanding that stock (see Sapir 1920d; Golla 1984a, 316) — could not be passed up, even if it entailed a long automobile trip over the back roads of Trinity County. In the end, the speakers Sapir found were poor and the scanty Chimariko data he collected were less useful than he had hoped they would be. Furthermore, on his return from California Sapir was distressed to discover that John P. Harrington had secretly made an extensive study of Chimariko a few years earlier with the last fluent speaker, and had been continuing field work with other speakers. The days that Sapir had “lost” from his Hupa work thus went largely for naught (see Appendix, “Letters to J. P. Harrington regarding fieldwork on Chimariko”).

Other than the two brief summaries he wrote immediately after his return (see Appendix) Sapir published only one fragment of his Hupa material, an ethnographic essay on Hupa tattooing based on the text on that subject (text 15 in the

present edition), together with some notes and diagrams, that he had obtained from Sam Brown (Sapir 1936e). A typescript version of the Hupa texts and ethnographic notes, the organization of the latter apparently the work of Leslie Spier, circulated privately among California anthropologists in the 1940s and 1950s. Another typescript version of English translations of the texts was prepared by the senior editor for the Hoopa Tribe in the early 1980s. Full publication of this material, together with the Yurok and Chimariko notes, was assigned high priority by the Editorial Committee of the *Collected Works of Edward Sapir* at its first meeting in 1984. That it has taken more than a decade and a half to redeem this pledge is due to the usual exigencies of scholarly work, exacerbated by the size of the corpus and the conviction of the senior editor that the texts deserved full linguistic and ethnographic annotation.

Hupa Texts, with Notes and Lexicon

Edward Sapir and Victor Golla

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Preface

This edition of the Hupa texts and other materials that Edward Sapir collected in the field during the summer of 1927 is the product of 38 years of intermittent labor by Victor Golla, materially aided since 1996 by Sean O'Neill. Over this span of time Golla's own work on Hupa has become so intricately intertwined with Sapir's that co-authorship rather than editorship is the more accurate attribution, similar to the role Morris Swadesh took with *Nootka Texts* (1939) or Harry Hoijer with *The Phonology and Morphology of the Navaho Language* (1967). The texts themselves are presented in as diplomatic an edition of Sapir's originals as the circumstances permit, with editorial departures from the content of the notebooks explicitly marked. The free translations, however, are entirely Golla's, as are many of the textual notes. Sapir's ethnographic notes are partly incorporated into the textual notes, and partly into the Ethnographic Lexicon. The linguistic analysis reflected in the annotations and lexicon is Golla's, although based on the model of Athabaskan morphosyntax that is explicit in Sapir's published work on other Athabaskan languages and implicit in the organization of his Hupa files. Whatever the balance of authorship in any specific part of the work, however, the ultimate responsibility for all errors and infelicities rests with Golla.

History of the Work

Sapir obtained the primary materials on which this work is based during an eleven-week stay on the Hoopa Valley Reservation, California, from late June to early September, 1927 (see Appendix). He mainly worked with six fluent speakers of Hupa: Sam Brown, Emma Frank, John Shoemaker, Mary Marshall, Jake Hostler, and Oscar Brown. He also interviewed several others, including Berman Lack and Ada Masten, for shorter periods of time and without obtaining texts. In all, Sapir transcribed from dictation 77 narrative texts. He collected these in eleven top-bound field notebooks, each with 62 double pages, and entered associated lexical and grammatical data on approximately 5,000 4" x 6" slips (Sapir ms. 1927a). Copious ethnographic notes are also found in the notebooks, usually on the pages opposite (above) the texts. Many of the notes on file slips are keyed to specific words and phrases in the texts, and consist of nominal and aspectual paradigms and other elicited data explicating the textual form. All of the texts are in interlinear format, a Hupa line in broad phonetic

transcription alternating with an English line that translates the Hupa line word by word, although occasionally glosses are omitted or abbreviated when predictable from context. The procedure that Sapir apparently followed was to transcribe the Hupa text from dictation without pausing for translation, and later to go over the text with Sam Brown, who provided careful English interpretations and supplementary linguistic data. Most of the ethnographic data was also supplied by Sam Brown.

Between 1927 and Sapir's death in 1939 some preliminary steps were taken to organize these materials for publication. An assistant typed all of the Hupa texts, with two carbon copies, penciling in the English glosses on the original copy, and a similar typescript was made of all ethnographic and textual notes contained in the notebooks (Sapir ms. 1927b). Sapir, however, created no secondary grammatical files, and so far as is known he prepared no analysis of the language beyond what is implied in his original notes. He outlined his preliminary findings in two short publications, and in letters to colleagues written at the time of his work (see Appendix). He alluded to some particulars of Hupa structure in two publications (Sapir 1931b and 1936f), and he briefly discussed Hupa phonology and grammar in a course at Yale on Athabaskan linguistics (Haas ms. 1936, Newman ms. 1936). Sapir's only publication of the narrative texts was an English translation and ethnographic commentary on text 15, "Tattooing", written for Alfred Kroeber's festschrift (Sapir 1936e).

After Sapir's death his Hupa notebooks and files, together with the typescripts, were placed in the care of Harry Hoijer, together with all of Sapir's other Athabaskan materials. Leslie Spier appears to have had at least some of the Hupa materials in his possession later in the 1940s. He planned to write an ethnographic report on Hupa based on Sapir's data, similar to the ethnographies of Wishram and Yana that he had edited from Sapir's notes (Spier and Sapir 1930; Sapir and Spier 1943). A preliminary typescript of the ethnographic notes, organized into broad categories, was prepared, but no further work was done.¹ A typescript of the texts, under the title "Hupa Myths, Formulas, and Ethnological Narratives in Text and Translation", appears to have circulated among California anthropologists, and was available to William J. Wallace and Edith Taylor during their ethnographic work on Hupa in the late 1940s.

Golla began working on Hupa in 1962, conducting independent fieldwork for three summers (1962-64) as well as the autumn of 1963. In 1963 Hoijer turned Sapir's notebooks and files over to Golla along with a copy of the typescript of the texts. With Hoijer's encouragement, Golla incorporated Sapir's grammatical and lexical materials into the data set that formed the basis of his dissertation, a study of Hupa grammar. In reciprocaion, Hoijer requested Golla to edit Sapir's texts for publication.

Golla finished his dissertation in 1970 and (keeping a photocopy of the notebooks) returned Sapir's original materials to Hoijer, who shortly thereafter de-

posited them in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. In 1975 Golla received a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies that allowed him to prepare a preliminary phonemic version of the texts, with free translations and ethnographic annotations. Except for an annotated version of text 61, “Coyote and Frog” (Golla 1977b), this version remained unpublished. In the early 1980s Golla worked under contract to the Hoopa Tribe to prepare a typescript edition of his free English translations, with basic ethnographic notes. This compilation has circulated in photocopied form among Hoopa Tribal members for cultural education and language restoration purposes.

The present publication began to take shape in 1996 when, during a year at the University of California, Davis, Golla began working with Sean O’Neill, a graduate student in Linguistic Anthropology. Under Golla’s direction, O’Neill prepared a full computer file of Golla’s 1975 preliminary edition, restoring from the (photocopies of the) original notebooks various details that had been regularized. Golla and O’Neill then drafted linguistic annotations to the texts (for the final version of which Golla must assume responsibility), and Golla reedited the textual notes and compiled an ethnographic glossary. O’Neill drafted an element list based on earlier materials of Golla’s, which Golla revised and linked to a morphological outline.

The Consultants

Of the speakers of Hupa whom Sapir interviewed during his stay, the following six were the sources of the narrative texts and ethnographic data in his notebooks:

Sam Brown (the source of thirty-nine texts, all those not noted below) was Sapir’s chief consultant and interpreter. He had earlier served as Goddard’s interpreter (1904: 93), and in later years would work with other anthropologists. A bachelor, he often wore a (woman’s) basket cap and excelled in such traditional female occupations as basket weaving, acorn processing, and cooking. By middle age, when Sapir knew him, he had become one of the chief authorities on World Renewal matters, as well as for a number of other rituals. Although his father was White, his mother came from a branch of the family that owned the *xontah nikʷaʷ* in *taʷkʷimil-dij*. He died in 1959 at the age of 80.

Emma Frank (texts 13-14, 16, 23-25, 37, 39-40, 45-46, 51-53, 61-62, 68) was in her late 60s at the time of Sapir’s visit. The source of three of his *Hupa Texts*, she is described by Goddard as a “very conservative” woman who “surpasses all other Hupa women in basket-making” (1904: 324). She was one of the last woman to have been fully trained as a traditional doctor, and for that and other reasons she was generally referred to by her Indian name, *tahse-nčʷeʷ*. Before marrying Henry Frank her (non-Indian) maiden name was Emma Dusky.

John Shoemaker (texts 6-9, 41, 44, 47-48, 56, 67, 75), also called “Shoemaker John”, was in his 70s at the time of Sapir’s visit, and a respected elder from the upper half of Hoopa Valley (the *meʔdilxʷe*). He was the younger half-brother of Robinson Shoemaker, the source of three of Goddard’s *Hupa Texts* (1904: 237, 265) and the last person to officiate at the First Salmon Feast (text 6). John Shoemaker died at an advanced age in 1949.

Jake Hostler (texts 4, 38, 63, 69, 72) was a member of a prominent family from *taʔkʷimit-dij*, but otherwise little is known of him other than that he was the great-uncle of Jasper Hostler, a contemporary Hupa elder.

Mary Marshall (texts 3, 42, 50, 66) was half Yurok on her mother’s side (a woman from the village of Saʔa opposite Kepel [Map C-19] who was married to a Hupa), and spoke both Hupa and Yurok fluently. She was the wife of James Marshall and the mother of Julius Marshall. All three worked with Goddard, and Mary Marshall was the source of nine of the narratives in Goddard’s *Hupa Texts* (1904: 93, 150; see also Goddard 1907: 4, and plates 1-2). Kroeber, who obtained information from Mary Marshall on the World Renewal ceremonies at Kepel (Kroeber and Waterman 1938), describes her as “intelligent, friendly, and helpful, and patient about dictating slowly” (Kroeber ms. n.d.).

Oscar Brown (text 60), Sam Brown’s older brother, is described by Kroeber as “a burly, hearty, extraverted man of about my age [Kroeber was born in 1876] who rented me saddle horses and helped steer me around when I was new to Hupa. He left most religious matters to his sensitive younger brother Sam, inclining rather to the practical and skeptical” (Kroeber ms. n.d.). Oscar Brown also served as Goddard’s interpreter in 1901 and the source of three of his *Hupa Texts* (1904: 93, 135).

Golla’s independent data on Hupa were largely obtained in 1962-64 from three primary consultants:

Ned Jackson and his wife **Louisa Jackson**. Ned was Sam Brown’s nephew, his mother being Sam’s sister. Ned and Louisa were the parents of James “Jimmy” Jackson, who at the present time (2000) is the most knowledgeable Hupa elder.

Minnie Reeves, Louisa Jackson’s older sister. Louisa and Minnie were children of the Hill family, and were born at *noleh-dij* (Map D-5), the last Redwood Creek (*xʷiytqʷid*) village to be inhabited. Although both sisters had lived in Hoopa Valley since 1888, their speech may have retained a few characteristics of the Redwood Creek dialect.

General Editing Conventions

In the presentation of the Hupa texts, all Hupa forms are retranscribed in the phonemic orthography described in the accompanying Key to the Orthography, but are otherwise unaltered except for: (1) editorial emendations, which are indicated by square brackets; (2) the restoration of consonants elided by the rules of external sandhi (Morphological Outline §71), which are indicated by parentheses. Similarly, all glosses are printed as they stand in Sapir's notebooks, and missing glosses supplied by the editors are indicated by square brackets.

All Hupa words (including underlying forms) are printed in italics, except for words and phrases that are in the General Glossary, which are printed in unitalized boldface. Thus, a boldfaced Hupa word in a free translation or textual note refers the reader to a specific entry in the General Glossary.

Hupa words are alphabetized according to the order in the Key to the Orthography, which is basically the order of the English alphabet, with special conventions.

Annotation

In addition to notes specifically on the form and content of the texts, which are printed as textual notes immediately following the free translations, the texts have been provided with a substantial amount of additional linguistic and ethnographic annotation.

The linguistic annotation takes the form of a separate section of Linguistic Notes to the Texts. These notes — for which Golla takes primary responsibility, with acknowledgement of important editorial contributions from Sean O'Neill — are intended to elucidate the phonological and morphosyntactic structure of forms whose structure is not immediately obvious to a reader familiar with the basic principles of Hupa word formation. The linguistic notes are also designed to be a pedagogical aid for anyone who might wish to use the texts to learn the grammar of Hupa, and to this end they are extensively cross-referenced. The grammatical terminology used in these notes is explained in the Morphological Outline.

Sapir collected ethnographic information on the Hupas only incidentally to his linguistic work, although for some subjects with considerable thoroughness. Most of this material has been incorporated into the present work, either as further notes to the texts or as items in the General Glossary. The only significant pieces of ethnographic data omitted pertain to a few special subjects, such as personal names, which require more focused treatment than can be given here.

Both in the textual notes and in the General Glossary efforts have been made to refer the reader to all relevant published sources of information on traditional

Hupa culture, some of them postdating Sapir's work. Quotations from these sources are frequently included, with appropriate attribution. In general, all un-attributed ethnographic commentary is Sapir's, usually reflecting information from Sam Brown.

Note

1. These materials are now filed with the earlier typescript of the Hupa material, described above, in the American Philosophical Society Library (Sapir ms. 1927b).

Key to the Orthography

All Hupa words in this volume are written in a phonemic orthography closely modeled on the one Sapir used in his separate publication of text 15 “Tattooing” (Sapir 1936e). The conventions of this orthography follow general Americanist practice as it was standardized in Haas et al. (1934). Although this orthography differs from the writing system adopted by the Hoopa Tribe and used for cultural and educational materials (cf. Golla 1996b) the two systems are interconvertible. The only phonological feature marked in the present orthography that is not represented in the Tribe’s writing system is the high pitch cadence, marked by a circumflex accent.

In his 1927 notes Sapir transcribed Hupa in a broad phonetic orthography in which he distinguished the principal allophones of the Hupa phonemes as indicated below in square brackets:

Vowels:

- a* [a]; [ä] before *y*
- a'* [a']
- e* [ɛ] (occurs only before a laryngeal)
- e'* [e'] before *y*; [ɛ'] elsewhere
- i* [i] before *y* or a palatal stop (*gy*, *ky*, *ky'*); [ü] before *W*; [u] before *w*; [ɪ] elsewhere
- o* [o] before laryngeal; [ɔ] before *y*; [u] elsewhere
- o'* [o']

Sapir usually noted a (light) aspiration of final long vowels: *tse'* ‘stone’ [ts'e'·], sometimes putting the length mark in parentheses [ts'e'(·)'].

Consonants

- b* [b] — Unaspirated (“intermediate”) bilabial stop. Rare.
- c* [ts'] — Voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate.
- c'* [ts'] — Glottalized alveolar affricate.
- č^w* [tc'w] — Voiceless alveo-palatal affricate with labialized aspiration.
- č'* [tc'] — Glottalized alveo-palatal affricate.
- d* [D'] or [d'] syllable-finally, [d] elsewhere. — Unaspirated (“intermediate”) alveolar stop; lightly aspirated finally.

- g [g] — Unaspirated (or “intermediate”) mid-velar stop; lightly aspirated finally.
- g^y [g] — Unaspirated (or “intermediate”) front-velar stop; lightly aspirated finally.
- ḡ [ḡ] — Unaspirated (or “intermediate”) back-velar stop; lightly aspirated finally.
- h [h] initially, [ʰ] elsewhere. — Strong aspiration.
- k [kʰ] — Aspirated mid-velar stop.
- k̄ [k̄ʰ] — Glottalized mid-velar stop.
- k^y [kʰ] — Aspirated front-velar stop.
- k̄^y [k̄ʰ] — Glottalized front-velar stop.
- l [l̥] syllable-finally, [l] elsewhere
- l̥ [l̥] — Voiceless lateral spirant.
- ʎ [tʰ] — Glottalized lateral affricate.
- m [m] — Bilabial nasal.
- n [ŋ] finally; [n] elsewhere. — Alveolar nasal.
- ŋ [ŋ] — Velar nasal.
- qʰ [qʰ] or [kʰ^y] — Glottalized back-velar stop.
- s [s] — Voiceless alveolar sibilant.
- ʃ [ç] — Voiceless alveo-palatal sibilant. Rare.
- t [tʰ] — Voiceless aspirated alveolar stop.
- t̥ [t̥] — Glottalized alveolar stop.
- w [w̥] syllable-finally; [w] elsewhere. — Voiced bilabial semivowel.
- W [W̥] — Voiceless bilabial semivowel.
- x [x] — Voiceless velar fricative.
- x^w [x^w] — Labialized voiceless velar fricative.
- y [i] finally (as the second element in a diphthong); [y] initially; [ɣ] finally where /yi/ is the underlying phonemic sequence. — Voiced palatal semivowel.
- ʒ [tsʰ] or [Dzʰ] finally; [dz] elsewhere. — Unaspirated (or “intermediate”) alveolar affricate; lightly aspirated finally.
- ʒ̄ [tcʰ] or [Djʰ] finally; [dj] elsewhere — Unaspirated (or “intermediate”) alveo-palatal affricate; lightly aspirated finally.
- ʔ [ʔ] — Glottal stop.

Prosodic features

Sapir used an acute accent to mark the syllable of a word or phrase on which primary stress falls. Since the position of the stressed syllable is predictable

from the (underlying) phonological structure of the phrase, it is not marked in the phonemic orthography employed here.

Two other prosodic features marked by Sapir are not predictable, and are marked in the present orthography:

^ A circumflex accent on a vowel indicates a syllable with noticeably higher pitch than preceding syllables. The function of this cadence is not clear.

+ A plus immediately following a vowel or consonant indicates an unusual prolongation of that phoneme (noted mainly in exclamations or song vocables).

Alphabetical Order

The order of the Hupa phonemic alphabet is as follows: *ʔ, a, a', b, c, c', č^w, č', d, e, e', g^y, g, g, h, i, k^y, k, k^y, k, l, ł, ł', m, n, ŋ, o, o', q', s, š, t, t', w, W, x, x^w, y, ʒ, ʒ.*

I. CEREMONIES

1. The White Deerskin Dance

Narrated by Sam Brown. Notebook I, pp. 44a-61; II, pp. 1-12.

- (1) *hay-de'd* This *xonsit-č'idilye* Summer Dance. (2) *č'ide'ilye?-te'l-id*¹ They always dance-will-when, *camehsłon*² women
- ya'kve'icid* they pound acorns, *widwâd* acorn flour *ya'atč'we?*³ they make *ta?-že'nis* all day. (3) *hayahažid* [Then]
- hay* the *xo'osday* man, men *'aht'in* all *že'lo?-me?* in storage baskets *no'ya'aliW* they put down *hay* the
- dilxiž-tigay* white deerskins, *k'iq'eh-na'diwal* wolf-skin head-dresses, *k'iwow?* worn around head. (4) *hayah-mit* [Then]
- yehna'lge'd* feather plumes *č'e'ya'aliW* they take out (of basket), *ce'l-nehwân* red flint *q'ina?* also, *to'-nehwân* black flint,
- xosa'ŋ'ay* whistle, *na'k'idilyay* (&) necklaces. (5) *hayahažid* [Then] *'e'nilwil-mit* when it is dark, *te'na'aliW* they build a fire
- xontah-nik'a-w-dij* at the Big House *min'day?* outside of. (6) *hayahažid* [Then] *na'd[i]ya?* he goes around
- xontah mitiwa* house - amongst (= from house to house) *xixe'x*⁴ boys *te'kve'ilaw* he (dance-maker) gathers them, *yaydilye-miŋ*⁵ so (the boys) may dance.
- (7) *hayahažid* [Then] *na'ne'idâW* he comes back *xontah-nik'a-w-dij* [house-big-place] *min'day?* [outside of]
- hay te'na-wila-dîŋ* the fires-have-been-built-place. (8) *hayahažid* [Then] *xontah-me?* [house] - into *yehna'[a]dâW* he goes back in, *hižid* and
- č'e'ixâW* he carries them out (in basket) *hay* the *mit-č'idilye* regalia. (9) *hayah* There *č'e'iliW* he takes them out
- že'lo?-me?* storage basket - in *hay* the *dilxiž* deer-skins, *na'k'idilye* necklaces, *'aht'in* all (of it) *no'o'âW* he lays down
- yo-w-id* there (outside of Big House).

- (10) *hayahaʒid* *qʻad* *ʔahtʻin* *čineʻinaWi-mit* *hay* *xixex*
 [Then] now, all when (people) come the boys
 at last (to house),
- xowaʻatiliW* *wiloyʻ* *kʻiɣeh-naʻdiwal* *yehnaʻlgeʻd* *naʻkʻidilyay*
 he gives to them grass-bundles, [wolf-skin head-dresses,] [eagle-feather headdresses]; necklaces
- xosowot* *yehyaʻkʻitiliW* (11) *hayahaʒid* *xʷa* *yehnaʻyaʻtiʻeʻʃ*
 his, their he puts them on. [Then] for them he sticks (feathers) into
 throats (straw bundles)
- yehnaʻlgeʻd* (12) *hayahaʒid* *miɣeh* *yehkʻitigod* *hay* *dilxiʒ*
 feather [Then] into, he pokes (its the deerskins.
 headdress. through skin), sticks in
- (13) *hayahaʒid* *xowaʻyaʻtigod* *hayah* *čineʻitʻikʻy⁶* *hay*
 [Then] to the (boys) he pokes the there (the boys) are the
 (skins with sticks put in); strung in a line
- taʻkʻiW-dij* *minʻdayʻ* *hayah* *naʻneʻittal* *witwit-dij*
 sweathouse place outside, there they kick, dance stamping in the evening,
- ʔixex* *Wane* (14) *hayahaʒid* *qʻad* *tahčeʻinaW⁷* (15) *hayahaʒid*
 boys only. [Then] now they quit dancing. [Then]
- ʔahtʻin* *yaʻxokʻeʻiwaʻn⁸* *miŋ-xʷ* *hay* *xiʃeʻ-danʻ-dij*
 all (people) they sleep in order that that early morning time
- ʔinaʻyaʻasdeʻtt-te* (16) *hayahaʒid* *xiʃeʻ-danʻ-dij* *ʔinaʻyaʻseʻindil*
 they may get up. [Then] early in the morning they get up,
- hiʒid* *to-čʻiŋʻ* *naʻyaʻkʻeʻiweʻ* *ʔahtʻin* *hay* *čʻidečʻwiŋ⁹*
 [and] to the water they pack everything: the household goods,
 (back and forth) cooking utensils
- hay* *mit-čʻidilye* *qʻinaʻ* *kʻiwiyal-tah¹⁰* (17) *hayahaʒid*
 the things with which too food also. [Then]
- meʻdil-meʻ* *ʔahtʻin* *yehyaʻaliW* (18) *hayahaʒid* *yinag* *yaʻteʻitgeʻd*
 in canoes all they put their [Then] upstream they shove the
 (things) in. (boats) along.
- (19) *hayah-mit* *meʻlah* *naʻgid-xʷ* *saʻeʻideʻn*
 [Then] some of the people on the dry land they always travel
 in company.
- (20) *ʔahtʻin* *čineʻinaW-e¹¹* *xowaŋqʻid* *hay* *noʻkʻiwiltaʻʃ*
 All then arrive there Campbell's Farm, the stamping ground,
 dancing place

saʻan-dij
 where it is.

(21) *hayah-miṭ* *hay* *meʔdil-meʔ* *ʔaht'in* *č'ineʔinaWi-miṭ*
 [Then] [the] [in canoes] [all] when they arrive

to-č'iŋʔ *xodaʔatindil* *xolân* *xa-yaʔkʔisiwiW-miŋ*
 to the river they always went down to help them in order to pack the loads
 (the people), up the hill.

(22) *hayahažid* *ʔaht'in* *xa-yaʔkʔiseʔiwiW-miṭ* *č'e-yaʔtixâW* *hay*
 [Then] [all] when they packed it uphill they take out the
 severally

widwaʔd (23) *hayahažid* *hay* *camehsʔon* *to-č'iŋʔ*
 acorn flour. [Then] the women to the water

xoda-yaʔkʔitixaW *kʔita-yaʔaʔci(d)-miŋ* (24) *hayahažid* *hay-yô-w*
 they all went down in order each to soak it. [Then] that
 (with baskets of flour)

xoʔisday *č'idilye-č'iṭč'we* *č'ixoteʔisôw* *hay-yoʔw*
 man who makes the dance sweeps, scratches the earth that

č'idiwilyeʔ-teht-diŋ *mixač'eʔ-xolêʔn* *miṭ* *te-naʔaliW*
 place where they are to dance at [incense root] with it he makes a fire.

(25) *hayahažid* *xonʔ* *yaʔawiW*¹² *yoʔwi* *yiceʔni-xoliW*¹³ *noʔoʔwiW*
 [Then] fire he picks up, from down the hill, off he puts the
 there some distance away (fire) down

hay *xonʔaʔdiwilah-teht-diŋ*¹⁴ (26) *hayahažid* *hayah*
 (at) the place where they are going to paint and put on regalia. [Then] there

daʔaʔkʔeʔilfʔw *hay* *miṭ-č'idilye* *miqeh* *yehkʔitigod*
 he unpacks things the things with which along, he severally pokes
 they dance, into it into (them)

hay *dilxiž* (27) *hayahažid* *ʔa-ya-xoṭč'ideʔineʔ* *xaʔ* *nohdiṭ*
 the deer-skins. [Then] he tells them, "All right come here ye,

digʔaŋ *dohtye* (28) *hayahažid* *qʔad* *ʔaht'in*
 here do ye dance!" [Then] now all

č'ineʔinaW-miṭ *xowa-yaʔtiliW* *wiloyʔ* *hay*
 when they come he hands the (regalia) out to them head bundles, that

*ʔaʔdiq'i(d)-no-yaʔtiliW*¹⁵ (29) *hayahažid* *xoniŋʔ* *yaʔkʔeʔitiw*
 on themselves - they severally [Then] their faces they paint, smear
 put them down. with

*miṭ-xonʔaʔdiṭʔeʔn*¹⁶
 face paint.

- (30) *hay-yo'w* *xoʒe'wan-na'asde'ʔʔ-te'* *Wa'ne'* *kʷiwoʔ*
 That [flint carriers] alone the (seal) teeth,
 "hooks"
- xowa'ya'aliW* *diŋkʷin*¹⁷ *nahnin* *ce'l-nehwân* *xowa'ya'aliW* *nahnin*
 he gives them 4 people: 2 people red-flint he gives to, 2 people
 to them
- to'-nehwa'n* (31) *taq'in* *ya'kʷita'ʔa'aw* *hayi Wa'ne'*
 black-flint. (The) three (who) sing the songs them only
 people (of the White Deerskin Dance) (singers)
- dilxiʒ-tigay* *xowa'ya'agod* *hay* *ʔa[h]-xʷ* *tehtq'id*¹⁸ *ʔenʔ*
 white deerskins he pokes them to that just, only common however
 them, dancers
- ʔa[h]-xo* *dilxiʒ* (32) *hayahaʒid* *xat'a-hayah* *na'ne'itʔal*
 (he gives) (common) [Then] right there they stamp dance
 just deerskins. (people with skins),
- nahdiŋ*¹⁹ *xoʒe'way-č'e'indil-mit* *hiʒid* *yehč'e'inâ-W* *hay* *xoʒʒ*
 twice after they have danced [then] they go in (to main the regular,
 with [the flints]) dancing ground) the main
- no-kʷiwilta'ʔ* *sa'an-diŋ* *hayah* *č'ide'ilyeʔ* (33) *hayahaʒid*
 dancing ground, where it lies, there they dance. [Then]
 it is stamped on
- q'ad* *tahč'e'inâ-W-mit* *kʷiye'* *me'dil-xʷ-e'* *xoŋ'a'de'iliw*
 now when they quit again people of they dress themselves
 dancing, me?dilding up in regalia.
- (34) *hayah-mit* *q'ad* *hay-yo'w* *camehsʔon* *xa'na'ya'kʷisitixa'W*
 [Then] now those women they bring (acorn mush in
 baskets) up back,
- hiʒid* *ta'ya'kʷe'imil* (35) *hayahaʒid* *q'ad* *hay-yô-w* *me'dil-xʷ-e'*
 then they cook the [Then] now those people of
 mush. me'dil-diŋ
- kʷiye'* *yehč'e'inâ-W* *č'ide'ilyeʔ* (36) *hayi* *no'ya'de'ilyeʔ-mit*
 again they come in, [and] they That they quit dancing - when,
 dance.
- ʔah't'iŋ* *yehna'xotiʔ'aʔ* *ʔah't'iŋ* *hay* *na'wâŋ*
 all they invite them in severally all the going about,
 (for dinner at several camps), people present
- kʷe'iyā'n*
 they eat.

(37) *ʔaht'ij* *hay* *mižin* *ʔaʔant'e*²⁰ *hayah* *noʔolxid*²¹
 All the people who belong to it there they set up their
 (the dance) dance camps,

ʔaht'ij *ya:xoʔena:wilay?* *xolen* (38) *q'ad* *hay*
 all their (own) dance those who own. Now (it's been the
 camps, "fires" given to them)

k'iwinyaʔnyân *na:na:ndeʔ-ê-dan?* *ya:xw'a* *ʔa:na:č'ilâw*
 Indians they've got to be, human for them he (maker of White
 inhabitants - ever since Deerskin Dance) made it.

(39) *hayi-mân* *do: mitis* *ya:xože:ye?*²² *hay* *ya:xoʔena:wilay?*
 That - for reason of they do not forget that their camping places.

(40) *hayah-miʔ* *q'ad* *hay* *noʔdeʔilčʷaʔn* *na:na:k'eʔidil*
 [Then] now they quit eating in they go around
 company, (close to dancing place)

taʔ-že:nis (41) *q'a:de?* *ʔeʔilwil-zi-miʔ*²³ *k'iyē* *xoŋʔaʔdeʔiliw*
 all day. After a while when barely the again they dress
 evening comes themselves up,

hižid *k'iyē* *č'ideʔilye?* *nahxowe:dimit* (42) *hayah-miʔ*
 then again they dance on both sides, each party having [Then]
 its dance at dancing ground.

k'iyē *tahč'eʔina:W-miʔ* *na:naʔdeʔilčʷaʔn* *ʔaht'ij*
 again when they quit dancing, they eat in company all.

(43) *hayahažid* *q'ad* *xw'e:tilwil*²⁴ *yisxande?* *xižeʔ-danʔ-diŋ*
 [Then] finally they all next day early in the
 camp, morning

inaʔsitindil (44) *k'ye:yaʔitna?* *hay* *camehsʔôn* (45) *hayahažid*
 they get up. They cook the women. [Then]

naʔdeʔilčʷaʔn *ʔaht'ij* *hižid* *q'ad* *xižeʔ-dan?* *k'iyē*
 they eat all, then now in the morning again
 (after breakfast)

č'ideʔilye? (46) *noʔodeʔilyeʔ-miʔ* *xoda:naʔidge:d*²⁵ *yide?*
 they dance. When they quit several boats go back downstream (to)
 dancing down (to the river)

ce-miʔah *me:naʔidge:d*
ce-miʔah several boats go
 (danceground) back to land.

(47) *hayahaʒid* *hayah* *kʷiye* *xaʔaʔyaʔaniw* *hay* *camehsʔon*
 [Then] there again they do that way: the women

kʷe:yaʔaʔnaʔ *hay-yôʔw* *xoʔosday* *qʷinaʔ* *kʷiye* *ʔahtʷin*
 they cook, (and) those men also again all

čʷe:yaʔaliW *hay* *miʔ-čʷidilye* (48) *hayahaʒid* *kʷiye* *hayah*
 they take out the with which they [Then] again there
 dance.

ʔaʔdiqʷi(d)-noʔyaʔtiliW (49) *hay* *čʷidilye-čʷiʔčʷe* *qʷad*
 on themselves - they lay The dance-maker now
 down, put on (regalia).

hayah *kʷiye* *xaʔaʔanʷ* *xoʔzi-koh*²⁶ *čʷixoteʔisow* *hay*
 there again he does in that carefully he sweeps the the
 way;

čʷidiwilyeʔ-teht-din (50) *hayahaʒid* *qʷad* *čʷideʔilyeʔ*
 place where they are [Then] now, finally they dance.
 to dance.

(51) *nah-din* *tahčʷeʔinaʔW-miʔ* *naʔnaʔdeʔilčʷaʔn* (52) *hayah-miʔ*
 Twice when they've quit again they eat. [Then]
 dancing,

*ceʔeh-zi-din*²⁷ *naʔnaʔkʷeʔidil-miʔ* *ʔeʔilwil* (53) *hayahaʒid*
 for a short time when they go around night comes. [Then]
 here & there (talking),

kʷiye *ʔaʔdiqʷi(d)-noʔiliW* (54) *čʷideʔilyeʔ* (55) *kʷiye* *nah-din*
 again on themselves - they They dance. Again twice
 put the (regalia).

yehčʷeʔinaʔW-miʔ *cid* *ʔahtʷin* *naʔnaʔdeʔilčʷaʔn* *hiʒid*
 when they've gone in first all they eat; [then]
 to dance (each division)

čʷinititečʷ (56) *ʔahtʷin* *hayah* *xʷeʔilwil* (57) *hayahaʒid*
 they, all of them, All there they camp. [Then]
 lie down.

xiʔeʔ-danʔ *kʷiye* *ʔinaʔsitindil* *naʔdeʔilčʷaʔn* *hiʒid* *čʷideʔilyeʔ*
 in the morning again they all get up, they eat, then they dance

ʔaʔa-xiʔeʔ-danʔ *niʔwah-xʷ* *nah-din* *yehčʷeʔinaʔW*
 all morning, separately from each twice they go in (each twice).
 other (2 divisions)

(58) *hayi tahč'e?inaW-miŋ* *me?dil* *diŋkʷi* *me?iŋge'd*
 When they've finished canoes four they shove to shore,
 going, dancing, land in (side by side)

to-din *ta?ay-din*²⁸ (59) *hayahažid* *hay-yôw* *dilxiž* *?ahŋ'in*
 at the river in one place. [Then] those deer-skins all

že'lo?-me? *no'na?aliW* *hay* *č'ideč'win-tah* *ta?ay-din*
 in storage basket he sets them down again, the cooking outfit in one place
 [as well]

no'na?aliW *hižid* *to-č'in?* *na'ya?kʷe?iwe?* (60) *hayahažid*
 they put them down [and to the river they always pack them back. [Then]
 (all in one pile), then]

q'ad *hay-yôw* *ya'dilye* *to-č'in?* *č'e'ya?andil* *hižid*
 now those who dance to the river they walk out, [then]
 go down,

me?dil *yehč'itindil* *hay* *kʷiwo?-me?* *kʷinin?-din*
 canoes they go in, the hook dancers at the end, bow,
 of the boat

niŋma?n *no?ondil* *ta?a* *me?dil-me?* *nahnin* *kʷiwo?-me?*
 on both sides, they settle, one boat in two men with 'hooks'

kʷinin?-din *č'ine?ica'd* (61) *hay* *kʷiq'eh-na'diwal-me?* *?ahŋ'in*
 at the bow they sit down. The dancers with fringed all
 headdresses of wolfskin on

niŋq'eh-dinan *č'e?iye'n* *niŋgantaga* *dahkʷislây* *tiwan*
 behind one another they stand on each other's resting their one man
 facing one way shoulders hands,

kʷiŋa?-din *č'ine?ica'd* *hay* *kʷiwint'oh-te* (62) *hay-yôw*
 at the stern he sits down the one who is going Those
 to paddle.

nahxi *q'ina?* *me?dil* *camehsʷôn* *me?* *no?ondil* *hay*
 two also boats women in they sit down, (which)
 them the

č'ideč'wiŋ *me?-silây* *hayi* *me'ne'qi* *na'ya?kʷiwini?ah-te*
 cooking outfits are lying in, they behind (who) are going
 (are) them to sing.

(63) *hayahažid* *?ahŋ'in* *yima'ni-yinaga-dice?*²⁹ *no?oliW*
 [Then] all (boats) across south heading, facing, they put them, point
 the (canoes),

hižid *tiwa(n)*³⁰ *me?kʷe?itiw*³¹ *hay* *Wiŋ*
 [then] one man he sings, measures (song) the song.

(64) *xa't'a-hayah* *č'wola?-diŋ* *no'o'aW* *hižid* *ta'axiW*³²
 Right there five times he stops singing,
 puts (song) down, [then] (as) the canoes
 float out

yimân *dice?* *no'o'ttal* *ʔaht'in* *nin'se'indil*
 across the pointed they stamp down, all (standing
 river to dance kicking, up) they dance bobbing
 up & down,

hay *k'iwō?-me?* *xosaŋ'ây* *ya'de'itne?* (65) *hayahažid*
 the "hook" dancers the whistle in his, they play it. [Then]

yide? *č'ite'ittal* *mis-q'id* *yinahč'i(n)-mit*³³ *na'ta'-xo*³⁴
 downstream they stamp from above downstream in a different way
 along, (= moving down toward)

ʔana'ya'de'ine? (66) *hayah-mit* *hay* *camehsʔon* *Wa'ne:*
 they again make a [Then] the women only
 sound.

ya'k'ita'a'aw (67) *hayah-mit* *ce'yehk'ixax'W* *miže?-diŋ*
 they sing along. [Then] [a place above *mis-q'id*] in front of it

no'oxiW-mit *k'iyē:* *me'na'k'ye'it'iw* *hay* *Wiŋ*
 when (the canoes) again the (dancers) again sing that song.
 float to that place

(68) *hayahažid* *mis-q'i(d)* *miyeh-mit* *tiwimah-č'in?-dice?* *no'oliW*
 [Then] *mis-q'id* right even on the shore-toward- they lay, turn
 with, pointed

hay *me'dil* *me'ixiW* *mintan-diŋ* *yimâni* *me'na'ałč'wid*
 the boats, (the canoes) 10 times [and] to the they push it [back]
 land several times.

(69) *hayahažid* *q'ad* *hay* *k'iyē:* *me'na'ałtâl*³⁵ *tahya'andil*
 [Then] that time again [they dance to they get out of
 last shore] the boats,

na'qi-yidač *č'ide'ilye?* *hayah* *xowa'tigod* *dilxiž*
 up the gravel bar they dance there, they poke to them
 each one deerskins,

ta[h]-xo *ce'loč'e?-mit* *xožewan-na'dil* *hayah*
 just with bedrock they dance in with flints there.
 (flat rocks on shore)

(70) *hayahmit* *tahč'e'inâ'W-mit* *na'na'de'ilč'w'a'n* *x'e'tilwil*
 [Then] when they finish they eat again, they camp
 dancing

hayah
 there.

(71) *xiʔeʔ-danʔ* *ʔinaʔsitindil* *naʔdeʔilɛʔaʔn* *hiʒid* *ʔahtʔin* *kʔiye*
 In the morning, they get up they eat, then all again

meʔdil *yehyaʔtaʔaW*³⁶ *hiʒid* *xodaʔtidgeʔd* *cʔilân-din* *meʔiliW-eʔy*
 boats they gather it [then] the boats go (at) cʔilan-din they land the (boats) there.

(72) *hayahaʒid* *hayah* *kʔiye* *xaʔaʔyaʔaniw* *taʔa-ʒeʔnis* *hayah*
 [Then] [there] [again] they do as before all day there

ɕideʔilyeʔ *hiʒid* *kʔiye* *hayah* *xʔeʔtilwil* (73) *yisxandeʔ*
 they dance, [then] again there they camp (73) Next day
 severally.

xiʔeʔ-danʔ *cid* *ɕideʔilyeʔ* *hiʒid* *ʔahtʔin* *meʔdil-meʔ-ɕiŋʔ*
 in the morning first they dance, [then] all into the boats

naʔnaʔyaʔkʔeʔiweʔ *hiʒid* *yinagi* *naʔyaʔteʔitgeʔd*
 they pack back again, [then] upstream they pull, shove the boats back,

*ɕeʔindigoʔ-di(n)*³⁷ *miyeh* *xaʔnaʔyaʔseʔitgeʔd-eʔy* (74) *hayahaʒid*
ɕeʔindigoʔ-din at the foot of it they shove (the boats) back up (from cʔilan-din) to it. [Then]

hayah *kʔeʔyaʔatnaʔ* *hay* *camehsʔôn* *hayah* *naʔdeʔilɛʔaʔn*
 there they cook the women, there they eat,

taʔa-ʒeʔnis *kʔin-naʔayaʔ*³⁸ (75) *hayahaʒid* *hayah* *kʔiye*
 all day they gamble. [Then] [there] [again]

xʔeʔtilwil (76) *yisxandeʔ* *xiʔeʔ-danʔ* *kʔiye* *ʔahtʔin* *meʔdil-meʔ*
 they camp. [Next day] [in the morning] again all boats into

yehnaʔyaʔtaʔaW *hiʒid* *xodaʔtidgeʔd* *yideʔ*
 they put the (things) [then] the boats go downstream,
 in again, down

ce-kʔiwoʔ-din *meʔiliW-eʔy*
ce-kʔiwoʔ-din they land.

- (77) *hayahaʒid* *hayah* *kʷiye* *kʷe-yaʔatnaʔ* *hay* *camehsʔôn*
 [Then] [there] [again] [they cook] [the] [women,]
- hiʒid* *hay-yô-w* *čʷidilye-čʷilčʷe* *čʷixoteʔisôw* *hay-yô-w*
 [then] that dance-maker he sweeps the ground that
 (for dancing)
- čʷidiwilyeʔ-teht-din* *hiʒid* *kʷiye* *xowaʔtiliW* *hiʒid*
 about-to-be [then] again he hands the (regalia) then
 dancing place, to them,
- ʔaʔdiqʷi(d)-no-yaʔtiliW* (78) *hayahaʒid* *qʷad* *čʷideʔilyeʔ*
 they put them on themselves. [Then] at last they dance
- taʔa-ʒe-nis* *wilwił-din* *qʷinaʔ* *ʔahtʷin* *naʔnaʔdeʔilčʷaʔn* *hiʒid*
 all day, in the evening too, all (people) eat, [then]
- xilʔeʔ-danʔ* *ʔinaʔsitindil* *hiʒid* *naʔdeʔilčʷaʔn* *ceʔehs-zi-din*
 [in the morning] [they get up,] [then] [they eat,] for a little while
- čʷideʔilyeʔ* *hiʒid* *ʔahtʷin* *kʷiye* *taʔay-din* *noʔna-yaʔaʔaw*
 [they dance,] [then] [all] [again] in one place they lay them together
 again
- hay* *diyWoʔ-ʒ*³⁹ *hiʒid* *meʔdil-meʔ* *yimaʔni* *yehyaʔatxiW*⁴⁰
 the things, [then] in canoes across the river they haul it over
 in their boats.
- (79) *hayahaʒid* *ʔahtʷin* *me-yaʔkʷisitiwiW*⁴¹ *dah-sitaʔn-e-qʷid* *yidaq*
 [Then] all (people) pack things up hill *dah-sitaʔn-e-qʷid* uphill
 severally from;
- ʔahtʷin* *naʔalyeʔW* *hay* *naʔalyeʔW-naʔaʔ-din* (80) *hayahaʒid*
 all they rest (there) that resting place. [Then]
- qʷad* *saʔeʔideʔn* *hay* *čʷidilye* *mitineʔ-qʷeh* (81) *hayahaʒid*
 [now] they start off for where the dancing its trail along. [Then]
 they are heading
- doʔqʷaʔ* *xaʔsindil* *xoʔaʔdeʔiliw* *qʷad hayi* *miʒin-din*
 before they get up they paint right there where it belongs
 to it, themselves to it,
- hayah* *čʷideʔilyeʔ* *ceʔeh-zi-din* *hiʒid* *xarʷi-meʔ* *saʔeʔideʔn*
 [there] they dance for a little while, [then] with the (regalia) they start off.
 still on
- (82) *yaʔteʔigod* *hay* *dilxiʒ*
 They poke them along the deer-skins.

- (83) *hayahažid* [Then] *q'ad* at last *hayah* there *xaʔseʔindil-ê-y* they've come up to it *hay* the
- noʔkʷiwiltaʔx-din* dancing-place, *niłtaga-layʔ* *niłtagalayʔ*. (84) *hayah* There *č'ixoteʔisow* he clears away the ground
- hay* the *ma-č'igał* the one who leads the dancers. (85) *hayahažid* [Then] *yehč'eʔi nâ-W* they go in to dance,
- hižid* [then] *hayah* there *č'ideʔilyeʔ* they dance *łaʔa-ženis* all day, *hižid* [then] *naʔnaʔdeʔilčʷaʔn* they eat.
- (86) *hayahažid* [Then] *wilwit-din* when evening comes *kʷiye* again *č'ideʔilyeʔ* they dance, *hižid* [then] *kʷiye* [again]
- naʔnaʔdeʔilčʷaʔn* again they eat (supper), *hižid* [then] *hayah* there *xʷe-tilwil* they camp *kʷiye* again. (87) *hayahažid* [Then]
- xilʔeʔ-daŋʔ* [in the morning] *ʔinaʔsitindil* [they get up,] *naʔdeʔilčʷāʔn* [they eat,] *hižid* [then] *kʷiye* [again]
- ʔadiq'i(d)-noʔoliW* on themselves they put the things, *hižid* [then] *łaʔa-ženis* [all day] *č'ideʔilyeʔ* [they dance,] *niłmaʔn-ê-mił*⁴² on both sides, each division (one after the other)
- nah-din* twice *yehč'eʔinaʔW* they go into the dance, *hižid* [then] *hay* the *taʔkʷimit-xʷ-e* people of *taʔkʷimit-din* *na-miqeħ*⁴³ the last
- yehnaʔadaʔW* they go in again, *łaʔay-xʷ* all, nothing but *dilxiži-tigay* white deerskins *Wa-ne* only *mił* with *č'eʔit'ikʷ*⁴⁴ they are strung out,
- hayi* that *q'ad* now, at last *mił do-č'oʔolaʔn*⁴⁵ with which they always quit. (88) *hayahažid* [Then]
- xehł* loads *wan-naʔnaʔadil*⁴⁶ they fix them up again, *hižid* [then] *yaʔnaʔyaʔkʷitiwiW* again they pack them up on their backs off *to-č'iŋʔ* to the river
- ce-kʷiwoł-č'iŋʔ* towards *ce-kʷiwoł-din* *naʔnaʔnitindil* they cross (river) back to (camp). (89) *hayahažid* [Then]
- naʔnaʔdeʔilčʷaʔn-e-y* they eat again (supper), *hayah* there *xʷe-na-tilwil* they camp again severally *łah* one (night); *hayah* there
- naʔyaʔneʔiłyeʔ* they eat up (again) has been left over *hay* that *kʷiwiyal* food.

- (90) *q'ad* *hayi-q'i* *Wa'ne* *hay-de* *xonsit-č'idilye*
Now in this way only, all this White Deerskin Dance.
- (91) *do* *k'vitiyo'l* *č'idilye-din* (92) *do* *q'itwe-q'i-3*⁴⁷
One never swears at the dance, where they dance. Not funny talk, joking, frivolous
- č'ixineW* (93) *do* *k'ân* *hay-yôw* *no'k'iwilta'ł* *me:xandin*
they talk. Not they eat that danceground near it.
- (94) *č'a'al* *do* *k'a'al* (95) *do* *č'itondita'n*⁴⁸
Chewing gum they do not chew. Not - they hold on to each other.
- (96) *ʔah'tin* *hayd[e]* *ʔa'winiw*⁴⁹ *miq'eh* *na'ʔas'ʔa'-de*⁵⁰
All the, this way of doing if one minds it,
niWoj-xw *č'isdiyan-te*⁵¹ *yo'wi-ʔe'n?* *hayi* *ʔah'tin*
well, in a good way one will be old, but on the other hand that all
na'milah *ʔa'č'idyah-de?* *do xolin* *č'idya'n* *ta[h]-xo*
opposite, contrariwise if one does, one does not get old, just
do-niWô'n-me? *č'igah't-wint'e-te*⁵² (97) *hay-âŋ?* *mân*
bad (luck) - in he will always walk. That is the reason why
*me'niwilg'id*⁵³ *hayi* *xa'ʔawiniw* (98) *do* *niWô'n*
it is feared the (forbidden) way of doing it. Badly
č'ixe:nehW-de? *č'idilye-din* *ninis'ân* *č'win?-da'wit'in-te*⁵⁴
if he talks where they dance, world he will spoil it.
- (99) *x'iyłq'id-xw-e* *do* *yitehs'ē'n*⁵⁵ *miže'ʔi-di(n)-mił*
Redwood Creek Indians not they can look on right in front, from in front
- (100) *hay-yôw* *no'k'iwilta'ł* *noŋʔa-din* *Wa'ne*
That dancing ground where it reaches up to, the limit only
mił *yite'ē'e'n* (101) *hayi-xo* *Wa'ne* *hay-de'd* *č'idilye*
from, at they could see. In this way only this dance.

The White Deerskin Dance [a]

(1) This is the White Deerskin Dance, the summer World Renewal ceremony (*xonsit-č'idilye*).

(2) When they are about to have the dance, the women pound acorns — they prepare acorn flour all day. (3) Then the men take out from the storage baskets all their white deerskins (*dilxiž-licay*), wolf-fur head-bands (*k'iq'eh-na'diwal*), and crowns of seal-teeth (*k'iwō?*). (4) They get out feather

plumes (**yehna'lge'd**), red obsidian blades (**ce'l-nehwa'n**), black obsidian blades (**to'-nehwa'n**), whistles (**xosaŋ'ay**), and necklaces (**na'k'idilyay**). [b]

(5) Then, in the evening, they build a fire outside the Big House (**xontah-nik'a'w**). [c] (6) The dance-maker (**č'idilye-č'ilč'e**) goes around from house to house and gathers boys for the dance.

(7) Then he comes back to outside the Big House where the fire has been built. (8) He goes back in the house and brings out the baskets full of dance regalia. [d] (9) He takes the deerskins and necklaces out of the storage baskets, and he lays them all down there.

(10) Then, at last, after all the people come, he gives the boys grass-bundles (**wiloy'**), wolf-fur head-bands, and feather plumes; he puts necklaces around their throats. (11) He sticks the feather plumes into their head-bands for them. (12) He pokes sticks into the deerskins. (13) Then he hands them to the boys, who form a line there outside the sweathouse; they dance there during the evening, the boys only. (14) Finally, they quit dancing. (15) Then everybody sleeps, so they can get up early in the morning.

(16) Then they get up early in the morning, and pack everything down to the river: the cooking utensils, dance regalia, and also the food. (17) They put everything in canoes. (18) They paddle the canoes upstream. (19) Some of them travel on ahead by land. (20) Then everyone arrives at Campbell Farm (**xowaŋ-q'id**), where the dance ground is located. [e] (21) When all those in canoes arrive, they go down to the river to help pack the loads uphill. (22) Then, when they've packed everything uphill, they take out the acorn flour. (23) Then women go down to the river with baskets of flour to soak it.

(24) Then the man who is the dance-maker (**č'idilye-č'ilč'e**) sweeps the ground where they are going to dance, and makes a fire there with incense root (**mixač'e'-xole'n**). [f] (25) Then he picks up some of the burning pieces, and sets them down some distance down the bank from there, at the place where the dancers are going to dress up. (26) He unpacks the dance regalia there, then he sticks a stick into each of the deerskins. (27) Then he tells them, "All right! Come and dance here!" [g]

(28) Then, when at last they have all come, he hands a head-bundle out to each of them, which they put on. (29) Then they smear their faces with paint (**mił-xoŋ'a'dil'e'n**).

(30) To those four men alone who are to be obsidian-blade carriers (**xože'wan-na'dil**) he gives the seal-teeth crowns — to two of them he gives red obsidian blades, to the other two black obsidian blades. (31) To the three people who sing songs, and to them only, he hands white deerskins — the common dancers get plain deer-skins. [h]

(32) Then they dance right there (at the dressing place); [i] after the obsidian-blade carriers have danced in front of the line twice, they go in to the main dance ground, and there they dance. (33) Then, when at last they quit dancing, the **me[?]dilx[?]e** dress up. [j]

(34) The women bring the baskets of acorn mush up from the river now, and they cook the mush.

(35) Then the **me[?]dilx[?]e** come in to the danceground and dance. (36) After they have finished dancing, everybody is invited in for dinner at the various camps, and everyone who is there eats. (37) Everyone who belongs to the dance goes to set up their camp; everyone has their own camping place. [k] (38) They were made for them when the Indians were created. (39) That is the reason they do not forget their camping places. (40) After they have finished eating, they spend the rest of the day close to the dance ground.

(41) Later, at the beginning of the evening, they dress up again, and again both sides dance. (42) When they have all finished dancing, they eat again. (43) Finally, they all camp for the night; then, the next day, early in the morning, they get up. (44) The women cook. (45) Everyone eats, and then, in the late morning, they dance again. (46) When the dancing is finished, several canoes go downstream to **ce-mit[?]ah**. [l]

(47) They do things there again the same way: the women cook, and the men take out all the regalia again. (48) They dress up again there. (49) The dance-maker does things the same way there, and carefully sweeps the danceground. (50) Then, finally, they dance.

(51) When they have danced twice, [m] they eat again. (52) Then, after they go around visiting for a short time, night falls. (53) They dress up again. (54) Again they dance. (55) After they've gone in to dance twice, they all eat again, and later they all lie down. (56) Then they camp there for the night.

(57) In the morning they get up again, eat, and dance all morning, each side doing in to dance twice.

(58) When they've finished dancing, they land four canoes [n] at one place on the riverbank. (59) They put all the deerskins, and everything in the storage baskets, and all the cooking gear, together in one place, and they carry it all down to the river.

(60) Then the dancers go down to the river, and they get into canoes, the "hook dancers" (**k[?]iwo[?]-me[?]**) getting down side by side at the bow of each boat—two men with "hooks" sit at the bow of each boat. [o] (61) All the men in fringed head-dresses stand in a row, facing one way, resting their hands on each other's shoulders, [p] while the man who is going to paddle sits down at the stern. [q] (62) The two other boats, with woman sitting in

them and cooking utensils stowed, follow the ones who will be singing. (63) Then they point all the canoes across upstream, [r] and one man sings the Boat Dance song. [s]

(64) While the canoes are in that position he sings it five times, then as the canoes move out into the stream and face across the river they all sing and dance; they dance up and down in place, while the "hook men" blow on whistles. (65) Then they sing and dance downstream, and as they come from upstream toward **mis-q'id**, they make a different sound. [t] (66) Only the women are singing. [u]

(67) Once they have floated up abreast of **ce-yehk'ixa-W** [v] the dancers again sing the Boat Dance song.

(68) When they come even with **mis-q'id** they turn the boats in to shore; the canoes land ten times, and each time they push them back across. [w] (69) Then finally they kick on to shore, get out of the canoes, and have a dance up on the gravel bar, distributing ceremonial deerskins and doing the obsidian-blade dance there with mere riverbank rocks. [x]

(70) When they finish dancing, they eat again, and the parties camp there for the night. [y]

(71) In the morning, they get up, eat, and gather everything into the boats, then they go downstream and land at **c'ilan-diŋ**. (72) There they do again all day what they did before: they dance there, and again each party camps there for the night.

(73) The next day in the morning, first thing, they dance, then they pack everything back into the boats and go back upstream, paddling up to just below **č'e'indigot'-diŋ**. (74) The women cook there, they eat, and they gamble all day. (75) They camp there for the night..

(76) The next day in the morning they bundle everything back into the boats again and go downstream, landing at **ce'kiwoł'-diŋ**.

(77) Again the women cook there, and the dance-maker sweeps the place where they are to dance; then he again hands out the regalia, which they put on. (78) They dance all day, and in the evening too; everybody eats; and in the morning they get up, eat, dance for a little while, and again pile all the stuff in one place and ferry it across the river in canoes.

(79) Then everybody helps carry it up to **dahsita'ne-q'id**; [z] everybody rests there at that resting place.

(80) Then they set off along the dance trail (leading up Bald Hill). (81) Before they get up to where they're going, they put on ceremonial paint, right there at the place designated for it; they dance there for a little while, then they set off, still in their regalia. (82) They carry the deerskins along on poles.

(83) Then at last they get up to the danceground at **nihtaga-lay?** (84) The dance leader (**ma-č'iga'l**) clears away the ground. [aa] (85) Then they go in to dance; they dance there all day, and then they eat. (86) When evening comes, they dance again, and then, once more, they eat; then they camp there for the night.

(87) Then in the morning they get up, eat, and again put on regalia; they dance all day, each division going in to dance twice, with the **ta?k'vimitx'e** going back in for a final (fifth) time, lined up with nothing but white deerskins, and that's the way they quit. [bb]

(88) Then they fix up loads and pack things back to the river, crossing back over to **ce-k'iwox-diq**. (89) There they eat again; they each camp again, for one night, and finish up the food there.

(90) Now that is the only way of doing the Summer Dance.

RULES:

(91) People don't swear (**k'itihyo'l**) at the danceground.

(92) People don't talk frivolously (**q'ilwe'q'iz**).

(93) People don't eat near the danceground.

(94) People don't chew gum. [cc]

(95) People don't hold onto each other. [dd]

(96) If one minds these rules, one will grow old in a good way — but if one does the opposite, one won't get to be old, and will always have bad luck. (97) That is the reason why people are afraid of doing these things. (98) If one talks in a bad way during a World Renewal dance, one will spoil the world. [ee]

(99) The Redwood Creek people (**x'iyłq'id-x'e**) can't watch the dance from in front. (100) They can watch it only from the end of the danceground. [ff]

(101) That is the only way of doing this dance.

[a] The White Deerskin Dance and the Jump Dance (see texts 2-4) are the two principal public ceremonies (**č'idilye'**) of the Hupa World Renewal religion, their version of the complex, multifaceted religious system shared by the three major tribes of northwestern California, the Hupa, Yurok, and Karuk (Kroeber and Gifford 1949). These two ceremonies have been performed at least every other year throughout the postcontact period, with the exception of a seven-year hiatus following the disastrous flood of 1955 when many of the ceremonial sites in Hoopa Valley were destroyed. The White Deerskin Dance is usually held in August or early September and is called **xonsit-**

č'idilye ('summer-World Renewal ceremony'); the Jump Dance, normally held in the fall after the White Deerskin Dance, is called **xay-č'idilye**: ('winter-World Renewal ceremony') or **tanq̄i-č'idilye** ('fall-World Renewal ceremony').

The White Deerskin Dance was the subject of a short but thorough monograph by Goldschmidt and Driver (1940) and is otherwise represented in the ethnographic literature by briefer descriptions in Woodward (1892), Goddard (1903: 82-85), Curtis (1924: 31-33), and Kroeber and Gifford (1949: 56-65; 127-28).

The White Deerskin Dance is closely associated with the Big House (**xontah-nikʷaw**) at the village of **taʷkʷimildiq** (Hostler Ranch). The head of the Big House family was sometimes referred to as the "chief" of the Hupas, and in more recent decades has been called the "spiritual leader" of the tribe. This person (or a delegate) is the "dance-maker" (**č'idilye-č'ileʷe**), who announces the beginning of the dance and distributes the regalia; he also usually serves as the **ma-č'iga'l** who carries the ceremonial fire and leads the **taʷkʷimilxʷe** participants in the dance. Albert Montgomery was the most prominent man in the Big House family at the time of Sapir's visit, and often served as the dance-maker (Goldschmidt and Driver 1940: 106 [he is "M"]; Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 64). However, when he was unable or unwilling to participate, his cousin, Mrs. George Socktish, took the lead, as she did in 1927. Since she could not, as a woman, participate in the dance herself, she appointed a male relative (in 1927 Milo Ferry), to serve as dance-maker and **ma-č'iga'l** in her place.

The dance-maker also has the right to serve as the priest (**č'ixolč'we**) who prepares the danceground and tends the sacred fire, burning incense root (**mixač'eʷ-xole'n**, angelica) for the **kʷixinay** while praying to them on behalf of the people. Frequently, however, the dance-maker delegates this role to a respected elder who knows the prayers well. In the 1920s and 1930s this was usually Charles Tracy.

The participants in the dance are ceremonially divided into those from the downstream half of Hoopa Valley (**taʷkʷimilxʷe** 'people of **taʷkʷimil-diq**') and those from the upstream half (**meʷdilxʷe** 'people of **meʷdil-diq**'). Technically, the Big House family has ownership only of the **taʷkʷimilxʷe** portion of the ceremony; the **meʷdilxʷe** have their own dance-maker and **ma-č'iga'l**, and set up their own camps. However, the dance cannot proceed without the dance-maker of the **taʷkʷimilxʷe** side, and on at least one occasion at the turn of the century his refusal to participate resulted in the cancellation of the entire ceremony (Goddard 1904: 202).

Sam Brown's description adds a number of small details, but is a relatively cursory recitation of the sequence of events at the various dancegrounds. He obviously knew the ceremony well, as did all traditional Hupas of his generation, but he was a somewhat peripheral participant. Although he could claim connections to the Big House through his mother, his father was white, and so far as is known he never served as the dance-maker, **ma-č'iga'l**, or priest. On at least one occasion, however, he was delegated by Mrs. George Socktish to serve the food at the family's dance camp (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 64).

[b] These are the ceremonial objects or regalia that will be "danced with" (**mit-č'idilye**), i.e., that will be used by participants in the dance. Most of them are also articles of considerable value and were the principal index of wealth in traditional times.

They are considered, however, to “belong to the dance” (*č'idilye mižin*) and individual ownership is downplayed in the ceremony.

[c] The Big House is the largest of the semisubterranean living houses in the Hostler Ranch village (*ta'k'imit-diq*). The White Deerskin Dance can begin only there and, technically, is owned by the family that formerly occupied the house (including families that occupied houses that “branched off” from it).

[d] Individuals own their own ceremonial regalia, but when the White Deerskin Dance is about to be held they are notified by the leader of the dance (*č'idilye-č'ilč'e*) and they donate their things to him for distribution to the dancers. After the ceremonies each item is returned to its proper owner. Although the items of dance regalia are private property and constitute personal wealth, they “belong to the dance” and may not be used except at the appropriate time and place.

[e] On the west side of the river not far downstream from *diyštaŋ'a-diq*. This is the first of several sites other than *ta'k'imit-diq* where the White Deerskin Dance is performed. These dancegrounds were ordained by the *k'ixinay* who created the ceremony, and no others may be used.

[f] This is the role of the priest (*č'ixolč'e* ‘he prepares the place’), and while the dance-maker himself can do it as Sam Brown implies here, he frequently delegates the task to a knowledgeable elder.

[g] *xa' nohdit digyan dohtye* (‘All right! Come (you all)! Perform a World Renewal ceremony here!’). As the “owner” of the ceremony, only the *ta'k'imit-diq* dance-maker has the right to command that the dance begin.

[h] White Deerskin Dance songs (*xonsil-č'idilye-Wiŋ'*) are led by a single singer in the center (*k'ita'a'n*), who kicks the ground as he sings, joined in chorus by two “helpers”, one on each side. In addition to these three singers (*ya'k'ita'aw*) there are four obsidian-blade carriers (*xože'wan-na'dil*). The others (*tehi-q'id*), numbering from four to a dozen or more, carry deerskins, accompany the singers with *he? he?* and yells of *geh gê-w*, and keep time by stamping. The actual owners of the obsidian blades and other regalia are not necessarily those who dance. Generally, younger people are asked to dance, whoever is good at it. The deerskins are divided into two groups, one for each division (*ta'k'imitx'e* and *me'dilx'e*). There is no rule according to which any individual gets a particular skin; they keep changing skins and dancers. The skins are white, gray, tanned, and black. There are no rules about displaying these deerskins; they can be shown to people at any time.

[i] Although this is a rehearsal or warm-up for the actual dancing in the danceground, it is considered part of the ceremony and is never omitted.

[j] The two ceremonial divisions (or “sides”) of the Hupa, *ta'k'imitx'e* and *me'dilx'e*, dance alternately at a *č'idilye*, with the *ta'k'imitx'e* having ritual precedence. The White Deerskin Dance is the property of *ta'k'imit-diq*, and must always begin at the *xontah-nik'a-w* there. The *me'dilx'e* join in at *xowaŋ-q'id*, but are not allowed at *ta'k'imit-diq* at the beginning of the dance.

[k] There are eight camping sites or “fires” (*te'na-wilay*) at each of the White Deerskin Dance dancegrounds. (In recent decades these have come to be called “tables” in local English, since picnic tables are now a standard feature.) These are maintained by

individual families, who look after the needs of all participants at their own expense. Four of the “fires” are claimed by **taʔkʷimil-diq** families, four by **meʔdil-diq** families, and are an index of social prestige. The location of the camp sites at each danceground was designated by the **kʷixinay** who ordained the dance.

[l] A danceground several miles downstream, near the mouth of Hostler Creek. In Goddard’s time (ca. 1900), and apparently as late as the time of Sapir’s visit in 1927, participants in the White Deerskin Dance moved from danceground to danceground in the traditional fashion by canoe. By the mid-1930s they were travelling in cars and trucks (Goldschmidt and Driver 1940: 113).

[m] Once for each side (**taʔkʷimilxʷe** and **meʔdilxʷe**).

[n] These are for the Boat Dance (**taʔaltal**). There are two canoes for each division, one for the dancers, one to carry women and supplies.

[o] Two men on each canoe wear crowns of sealion tusks (**kʷiwoʔ**) and most of the other regalia of the obsidian-blade carriers, but do not carry obsidian blades. They squat at the prow, holding paddles across to the other canoe to keep the two abreast. Their faces are painted solid black and they move their heads around slowly, blowing on their whistles. (Goldschmidt and Driver 1940: 110-111.)

[p] These are the singers. The first in line leans on a stick planted against the bottom of the canoe, the others lean on the shoulder of the man in front. (Goldschmidt and Driver 1940: 111; plate 1b.)

[q] In 1927 each of the canoes had two men with sea-lion “hooks”, four singers standing in line behind them, and one paddler at the stern. It was said that formerly, when boats were larger, they had a larger number of singers in each boat.

[r] The term used (*yimani-yinac*) means ‘across the river-upstream’, but it is probably being used here in the more general sense of ‘south’ (see linguistic note 1.29). The canoes are pointed south, toward one of the mythical abodes of the **kʷixinay**.

[s] The song is specific to the Boat Dance, and may never be sung, even for practice, on any other occasion.

[t] The singers now, instead of singing the Boat Dance song, chant (*hah heʔ hah heʔ, he; hah heʔ, hah heʔ, heʔ*), while the “hook” men keep time with whistles. The men stop their song in order to give the women in the canoes behind a chance to have their voices ring out.

[u] They sing ordinary songs (**kʷitaʔaw**), not **čʷidilye** songs (**meʔkʷiltiw**), which only men are allowed to do.

[v] On the east bank, upstream from **mis-qʷid**, where a large rock overlooks the river.

[w] This is on the west bank opposite **mis-qʷid** (Shenon Bar, **misqʷi-mimānčʷiqʷ**).

[x] A mock dance, with much clowning.

[y] The camps of the two divisions are on opposite sides of the river on this night, the **taʔkʷimilxʷe** camps on the west bank, the **meʔdilxʷe** on the east.

[z] A ridge near the foot of Bald Hill, where there is an established resting place (**naʔalyeW-naŋʔaʔ-diq**). Resting here is part of the ceremony. If you don’t rest here when you climb up Bald Hill, you won’t live long.

[aa] The leader of the **taʔkʷimilxʷe** dancers, usually the same individual as the dance-maker (**čʷidilye-čʷilčʷe**). He must not eat or drink before this dance, or else it will rain. (See note f above.)

[bb] That is, they display only the most valuable deerskins as a grand finale.

[cc] Traditional chewing gum (**čʷaʔal**) was made from milkweed (**dinaʔ**) cooked with sugar-pine pitch

[dd] Sam Brown said that the reason for this rule was that if someone is going to die, anyone who holds on to him at the dances will die too.

[ee] The world's "spoiling" or "going down to ruin" (**čʷinʔ-da·nyay**) is what the ceremonies of the World Renewal religion are intended to prevent.

[ff] The Redwood Creek people (**xʷiyłqʷidxʷe**) had no World Renewal ceremonies of their own. However (despite what Sam Brown says here) the lower Redwood Creek people—from the village of **qʷaxis-tah-diŋ** downstream—could come to the Hupa dances and take part, as "honorary Hupas". It was only people from above that village who were not allowed to dance and could only look on from a distance. This distinction between lower and upper Redwood Creek corresponds to the ethnographic labels "Chilula" and "Whilkut" respectively (Wallace 1978: 177-179).

2. The Jump Dance

Narrated by Sam Brown. Notebook II, pp. 13-39.

- (1) *xay -č'idilye*
Winter Dance.
- (2) *č'ide?ilye?-te-l-id*
When they are about
to dance
- xiŋe?-daŋ?*
in the morning
- ina?adge?*
he (dance leader)
gets up,
- č'i[te?i]nâ·W¹*
he walks off
along
- ta?k'imit-dij*
at *ta?k'imitdij*
- ynagi-yima'n*
above - across (= SW),
- na?ne?ina·W*
he crosses over
- me?dil-me?*
in a canoe,
- hižid*
[then]
- yidagi*
uphill
- me?se?ina·W*
he always
goes up
- tišč'i*
lumber,
Indian boards
- mixa*
after it,
- do· k'iwidyān²*
without eating.
- (3) *dantaŋWo?-dij*
Several times, what number
of times is not known
- ye?itxa?³*
days pass
- xa?a?r'iŋ-x^w4*
while he
does so.
- (4) *hayahažid*
[Then]
- ?aht'in*
all
- č'e?itiW-miŋ*
when he brings them out
(to the place near him)
- hay*
the
- tišč'*
boards
- to-č'iŋ?*
to the river,
- k'iyē*
again
- mixa*
after them
- č'ite?inâ·W*
he goes off
- č'ime·ya·W⁵*
young growth
of fir
- hay*
which
- č'ine·tno?-te*
he's going to stand up
for posts.
- (5) *milay?*
Their tops
- do· k'e?k'itcil*
he doesn't pound off,
- do· č'it[gy]a's⁶*
he doesn't break them off
by hand (the tops of firs),
- hâyi*
that
- ?alye·⁷*
is called
- k'in-tigay*
white sticks.
- (6) *hay*
The
ones
- č'iniwiŋe?ŋ-te*
which he is going ones
to put crosswise
- q'ina?*
too
- ?isdê·w*
madroña
- ta?*
one
- k'e?k'e?itcil*
he pounds it off
- hâyi*
that
(madroña)
- mič'in?*
to it
(pine poles)
- no?otiW*
he lays
down
- hay*
the
- č'ime·ya·W*
young fir poles,
fir saplings.
- (7) *?aht'iŋ*
All (of
these poles)
- miwina*
all around
them
- xoda·k'iwisow*
scratched down their
length
- č'e?itč'e?⁸*
he makes
them.
- (8) *hayahažid*
[Then]
- wilwiŋ-dij*
in the evening
- na?ne?iliW*
he brings them over
(across to Hostler Ranch),
- hay-yô·w*
(to) that
- no·k'iwilta·ŋ*
dance-ground
- sa?an-dij⁹*
where it lies.

- (9) *hayah* *niłmaʔn* *xaʔkʷeʔiWeʔ* *hiʒid* *hayi-meʔ*
 There on both sides, at each end (of danceground) he digs a hole, [then] in that
- naʔdeʔiʔeʔ* *hay* *čimeyâW* *yideʔenʔ-čiŋ* *ʔisde:w*
 he stands them up the fir saplings, on the north side madroña
- mičʔinʔ* *noʔkʷeʔigod* *hay* *čimeyaW* (10) *hayahaʒid*
 to them, against it he stands it up the fir saplings. [Then]
- čineʔiʔeʔ* *hay* *kʷin-ʒiwol-ʒi-ne:s*¹⁰ (11) *hayahaʒid*
 he puts the the long fir-sapling poles. [Then] (2 long poles) across
- meʔiloyʔ* *niłmaʔn* *ʔohs-čilʔeʔni-mił* (12) *hayahaʒid*
 he ties the (2 cross pieces) to the (posts) on both sides with long twisted hazel switches. [Then]
- niłmaʔn-e* *łaʔa* *meʔneʔiʔaʔ* *hay* *kʷin-ʒiwol-ʒ*
 on both sides, one he makes it lean against it the fir-sapling poles,
- hiʒid* *meʔiloyʔ* *ʔohs-čilʔeʔni-mił* (13) *hayahaʒid* *to-čiŋʔ*
 [then] [he ties the (cross pieces) to the posts] [with long twisted hazel switches.] [Then] [to the river]
- xodaʔanaʔW* *kʷiye* *mixaʔ* *hay* *łisčʔ* *ʔahtʔiŋ* *yaʔan-čiŋ*¹¹
 he goes down [again] [for it] [the] boards (for walls), all from across, to this side
- naʔneʔiłxiW* *meʔdil-meʔ* *hiʒid* *ʔahtʔiŋ* *xaʔseʔiliW* *hay-yô:w*
 he moves them across (in canoe) in canoe, [then] all he brings up (to the top) that
- čidiwilyeʔ-teht-din* *hiʒid* *čeʔiłmeʔn*¹² *hay* *xontah*
 place where they are to dance, [then] he builds the "house".
- (14) *hayahaʒid* *meʔqʔ* *čixoteʔisow* *hay* *čidiwilyeʔ-teht-din*
 [Then] inside it he sweeps out the place the place where they are to dance.
- (15) *hayahaʒid* *meʔiłxiw-mił* *xontah-nikʔaʔw-din* *yehnaʔadaʔW*¹³
 [Then] when he finishes, Big House-place he goes back in,
- hiʒid* *mixaʔčeʔ-xolê-ni-mił* *łenaʔaliW*¹⁴ *ta:kʷiW-nikʔaʔw-meʔ*
 [then] with incense root he builds a fire sweathouse-big-in
- qʔinaʔ* *hiʒid* *ma-deʔdaʔaʔaW*¹⁵ *niWôni* *Waʔne* *waŋ-ʔxeʔineʔW*¹⁶
 also, [then] for it - he puts the (roots) in the fire (for the *kʷixinay*), good things only he talks about it.

(16) *yisxande?* *xiŕe?-daŋ?* *yehna?ada?W* *xontah-nikʷa-w-me?*
 [Next day] [in the morning] he goes back into Big House in,

hižid *xon?* *č'e?iwiW* *min?day?* (17) *hayahažid* *te'na?aliW*
 [then] he takes out the fire outside. [Then] he builds a fire

mixa?č'e?-xole-ni-miŕ *xontah-nikʷa-w-di(n)* *min?day?*
 with incense root [House-big-place] outside of.

(18) *kʷixinay* *Wa'ne* *waŋ-?xe?ine?W* *kʷixinay* *mixoda'nč'e?* 17
kʷixinay only he talks about, *kʷixinay*'s wind blowing down
 (he talks about);

kʷič'ind *do-xoliŋ-xoliw* 18 *č'ide?ine?* *niWoŋ-xʷ* *na'diŕ-te*
 sickness it-is-not plenty-the he talks about, well things, people
 will go about

kʷiwinya?nyâ'n (19) *hayahažid* *kʷiwinya?nyâ'n* *yo?otč'id*
 Indians. [Then] Indians they know
 (what's going on)

q'ad hay *xontah* *ya?atč'is* *hižid* 19 (20) *hayahažid* *q'ad*
 just as soon as house they perceive when. [Then] now

č'initindŕl *hay-yô-w* *te'na-wila-diŋ* (21) *hayahažid*
 they severally that where the fire is built. [Then]
 arrive there

mixa? *yehna?adâ?W* *hay* *miŕ-č'idilye?* *hižid* *?aht'in*
 for it - he goes in again that with which they dance, [then] all

č'e?ixâ?W *hay* *me-wi-na'sita'n* *na?kʷidilyay* *na?wehž*
 he brings it out the woodpecker scalp beads in strings, ceremonial
 in baskets headdresses or "rolls" basket,

wiloy? *yehna'lge'd* *miŕ-xoŋ?a'diŕ'e'n* *kʷise?god* *t'e?*
 grass bundle, feathers for face paint, headdress, buckskin
 headdress, apron.

(22) *?aht'in* *nite-l-e-xʷ* 20 *no?oliW* *hay* *mewi-na'sita'n* *hižid*
 All spread out, he lays them out, the "rolls", [then]
 widely

xowa?tiliW *hay-yô-w* *na?kʷidil* 21 *wiloy?* *mič'i(n)?*
 he gives them (to) those people walking about grass bundles to them
 to the (people), (in a crowd)

na'sa?â'n *hay* *mewi-na'sita'n*
 which lie along with the "rolls".

- (23) *ta'kviW-di(n)* *min'day'* *ʔa'di'q'i(d)-no'ya'aliW* *hi'ʒid*
Sweathouse-place outside it they put them on themselves, [then]
- ʔah't'in* *na'ʔk'idi'lyay* *xosowot* *yehya'aliW*
all bead strings their throats he puts them into, around.
- (24) *hayahaʒid* *t'eʔ* *xowa'ya'ʔiti'k'yo:s* *hi'ʒid* *na'ʔwehʒ*
And then buckskin he gives them [then] ceremonial
aprons to each of them, baskets
- xowa'ya'ʔiliW* (25) *hayahaʒid* *hay-yô-w* *te'na-wilây*
he gives them [Then] that fire which has
to each of them. been built
- miydeʔenʔ-č'iŋʔ²²* *no'xota'aW²³* (26) *mine'ʒid* *č'e'ʔiye'ʔn²⁴*
on its north side they all run In their midst (of dancers) stands
to that place.
- hay* *na'ʔk'iviŋ'ʔah-te'* *hay* *ya'ʔk'ita'ʔah-te'²⁵* *q'inaʔ*
the "one who is going the ones who are to do the singing too.
to sing,"
- (27) *hayahaʒid* *xona'd* *no'xota'aW* *hay* *ta[h]-x^w*
[Then] around them they all run, the just
(3 center-people) rush there
- ya'ʔdiwilyeʔ-te'* (28) *hayahaʒid* *q'ad* *na'ce'* *ya'ʔatiW*
ones who are going [Then] now first, before he raises
to dance. the rest
- hay* *na'ʔwehʒ* (29) *ʔah't'iŋ* *xoq'eh* *ʔa'aniw* (30) *nah-diŋ*
the ceremonial All after him they do. Twice
basket.
- ya'ʔaliW* *hi'ʒid* *ya'ʔk'ita'ʔa'aw* *hi'ʒid* *dicigʔ* *te'na'ya'asow*
they raise [then] they (two singers) [then] unshelled they scrape them
them, begin to sing, acorns together,
- hay* *teht'q'id-ya'ʔdilye'* (31) *nah-diŋ* *no'ʔo'aWi-miŋ* *hay-yô-w*
the common dancers. Twice when they lay it down that
(= stop dancing),
- č'ixoŋč'e'* *xonʔ* *ya'awiw* *xontah-nikʔa'w-di(n)* *min'dayʔ-miŋ*
the one who carries the burning brand from outside the Big House.
prepares the ground
- (32) *hayahaʒid* *ma-č'ite'ina'W* *ʔah't'in* *niŋ'q'eh*
[Then] for it he walks all behind each
(= he leads in single file), other
- Wa'ne'* *č'ite'indil*
only (single file) they walk along.

- (33) *hayahažid* [Then] *hay* [the] *meʔ-čʻidilye-din* in it - they dance - place (= danceground) *minʔ-dayʔ* outside it
- yideʔe-nʔ-čʻinʔ-čʻinʔ*²⁶ on the north side of *naʔneʔital* they always stamp there. (34) *nah-din* Twice
- naʔneʔital-mił* when they have stamped, *hižid* [then] *yehčʻeʔinaW* they go in to dance, *čʻineʔitʻikʷ* they string out in single file, *hižid* [then] *dicigʻi* unshelled acorns
- łe-naʔyaʔasow* they scratch together. (35) *hayahažid* [Then] *hay* the *minež-i-naʔkʷaʔâw* one who "sings" in the center
- naʔce* first *yaʔatiW* he raises *naʔwehž* ceremonial basket. (36) *ʔahʻin* All *xoqʻeh* after him *ʔaʔaniw* they do.
- (37) *nah-din* Twice *yaʔatiW* he raises it, *hižid* after, when, then *yaʔkʷitaʔaʔaw* they start singing, *dicigʻi* acorns *qʻinaʔ* also
- łe-naʔasow* they scrape together. (38) *niłmaʔni* On both sides the two (real singers) *nah-din* twice *naʔyaʔkʷineʔaʔaw-mił* when they again sing,
- no-naʔandil* they sit down. (39) *hayah-mił* [Then] *kʷiye* again *ʔinaʔnaʔyaʔseʔindil* they get up, *kʷiye* again
- yaʔdeʔilyeʔ* they dance. (40) *ta-qʻi-din* Three times *xaʔaʔyaʔaniw-mił* when they have done so, *łeʔ* "blankets" *noʔoliW* they lay them down,
- hižid* [then] *hay* the *naʔwehži* ceremonial baskets *qʻina* too *no-naʔandil* they sit down. (41) *hayahažid* [Then] *hay* that
- kʷiye* again (= second time) *ninaʔnaʔseʔindil*²⁷ they get up again, *hižid* then *ʔahʻin* all *yaʔnteʔilkʷid*²⁸ they get hold of each other, *hižid* [then]
- dicigʻi* acorns *łe-naʔyaʔasow* they scrape together. (42) *hayahažid* [Then] *ya-xoʔoʔaW*²⁹ they jump up in dancing, *nah-din* twice
- ya-na-xoʔoʔaWi-mił* when they have jumped up (again), *hižid* [then] *yaʔkʷitaʔaʔaw* they begin to sing; *hay-yôw* those *qʻinaʔ* too
- tehtqʻid* common dancers *dicigʻi* acorns *łe-naʔyaʔasow* they scratch together.

- (43) *ta'q'i-din* *ya'na:xo'o'aW-mit* *t'e?* *ya'na:ya'aliW* *aht'in*
 Three times when they have jumped up, "blankets" they pick up all,
- hižid* *č'e'na:ya'andil* *hay* *dâ'n* *yehč'ite'de:xi-q'eh*³⁰
 [then] they go out of the the who a had gone in to the dance -
 "house" (=dance wall), ones while ago that way (by road)
- yide?* *xontah-nik'a:w-č'in?* *na:ya'ne'indil-e'y* *ʔaht'in*
 to the north House-big toward they go back to all (of them).
- (44) *hayahažid* *hayah* *ʔaht'in* *ʔa'diwa'na:ya'nde'iliW*³¹
 [Then] there ("wall") all they take the (regalia) off
 themselves again.
- (45) *hayahažid* *na'na:k'ye'idil*³² *ła'a-žen:nis*
 [Then] they again all go about all day.
 here and there
- (46) *q'a'de?* *k'yiye'* *ʔe'ilwil-mit* *č'ide'ilye?* *k'yiye'*
 After a while again when night they dance; again
 comes,
- xa'a'anîw* *hay-yô:w* *ma'-na'way* (47) *no'diwilye'it*³³ *hižid*
 he does that the one walking about When they have stopped [then]
 as before for it (dance leader). dancing successive times,
- k'wiyan'it*³⁴ *hay* *ma'-na'way* (48) *hayahažid* *ta'q'i-din*
 he eats time after time, the leader. [Then] three times
- ye'itxa'-mit* *ła'a-din* *diŋk'vi-din* *ye'itxa?* *hižid*
 when the day has passed, sometimes four times days have passed when,
- me'dil-x'e'* *no:ya'alxid*³⁵ *ce'wina'l-din* *miyeh* (49) *hayahažid*
me'dil-din people they move camp *ce'wina'l-din* at its foot. [Then]
- teht'e'te?-č'e'itč'we?-din* *ya'ne'iwîW* *hay ya:xomit-č'idilye'*
 "mud one makes" place they pack it there their own dance paraphernalia
 (that of the *me'dilx'e'*)
- (50) *hayahažid* *hayah* *č'initindil* *k'wiwinya'nyân* *hay*
 [Then] there they arrive there, people, Indians, the
- ya'diwilye?-te'* (51) *hayahažid* *hayah* *k'yiye'* *xowa'tiliW*
 ones who are going [Then] there again he hands to
 to dance. them
- hay* *mit-č'idilye'* *hižid* *hayah* *na'ne'it'al*
 the dancing [then] there they dance
 paraphernalia, stamping.

(52) *nah-din* *na?ne?ittal-miṭ* *xoṭgoč'i-me-q'i* *yide?*
 Twice when they have danced, "the hollow place in" to the north

ma xon? čite?iwiW *ṭiwan* *hay* *č'idilye-č'iṭčwe*
 he packs the fire as leader one, a certain man the dance maker.

(53) *hayahažid* *hay* *tini-ne's* *niŋ'a-dij*³⁶ *na?ne?ittal* *kviye*
 [Then] the Trail-long where it runs they stamp up again.
 to there

(54) *nah-din* *na?ne?ittal-miṭ* *ya?te?indil* *hay* *me?-č'idilye-dij*
 [Twice] [when they have danced,] they go on the place for dancing in

*yidah-č'iŋ*³⁷ (55) *hayahažid* *kviye* *hayah* *na?ya?ne?ittâl*
 down from above. [Then] again there they dance up to

hay *me?-č'idilye-di(n)* *min?day?* *hay* *ta?k'imit-xw-e*
 the dance-place ("wall") outside of, the people of *ta?k'imitdij*

na?ya?niṭaṭ-dij (56) *q'ad* *hay* *?ahriŋ* *ya:xožin*³⁸
 place where they have been stamping. Time that all (people) (danceground)
 (= That time) belongs to them.

(57) *hayah* *nah-din* *na?ya?ne?ittal-miṭ* *yehya?andil*
 There twice when they have stamped, they go in
 (to the wall),

ya?de?ilye? *hay-yôw* *ta?k'imit-xw-e* *?aya?t'ê-n-q'*
 they dance that people of as they had done.
 (people of *me?dil-dij*) *ta?ky'imit-dij*

(58) *hayahažid* *q'ad* *tahč'e?ina?Wi-miṭ* *hay* *kviwinya?nyân*
 [Then] now when they quit dancing, the people

ahri'n *na?ya?dil* *yehna?xotiṭ'a?* *me'lah*
 all who walk around he invites them all in some of them
 (to his campground),

*ce?wina-l-č'iŋ?*³⁹ *me'lah* *ta?k'imit-dij* (59) *hayahažid* *q'a-de?*
 to Senalton Camp, some at *ta?k'imit-dij*. [Then] after a while

*no?de?ilčw'a?ni-miṭ*⁴⁰ *kvin* *na?na?aya?* *ṭa?a-dij* *kviye?igiž*
 when they've quit eating, they gamble, sometimes they play the
 billet-tossing game.

(60) *yiwidinde?* *mintan-dij* *ye?itxa?* *xa?aya?tiŋ-xw*⁴¹
 At last ten times morning doing that way
 has come (as described).

(61) *mintan-di(n)* *ye'itxa?-mit* *xiʔe'dan?-diŋ* *č'ide?ilye?*
 Ten times when morning has come, early in the morning they dance,

niłma?ni-mit *ta'q'i-din* *yehč'e'inâ·W* (62) *hayahažid*
 on both sides, 3 times they go in dancing. [Then]

ta'k'imit-xw-e *k'iyē* *xoq'id* *na'ʔalʔa? 42* *hay* *q'ad*
 people of *ta'k'imit-diŋ* again on them it (regalia) lies, that now

mit do č'o-wila'n-te (63) *hayahažid* *q'ad* *k'iyē*
 where with they are going to quit. [Then] now again

na'ne?ittâl *hayah* *k'iyē* *xa'ʔa'ya'anîw* *hay* *da'ni*
 they dance up there again they do as before, the before (way)
 to there;

ʔa'ya'ʔ'e-ni-q' (64) *hayahažid* *hay* *č'idilye-diŋ* *ya'ne?indil*
 as they had done. [Then] the dance-place they go to it

k'iyē *hižid* *hayah* *k'iyē* *nah-din* *na'ne?ittal* *hižid*
 again, [then] there again twice they dance, [then]

me?dil-xw-e *meʔ-no'naʔandil* (65) *hayahažid* *yehč'e'ina·W*
me?dil-diŋ *they sit down* [Then] *they go in to dance*
 people inside. (*ta'k'imit-xw-e*),

cid *ya'de?ilye?* (66) *ta'q'i-diŋ* *ya'na·xo'ʔoʔaW-mit* *ʔina'na'se?indil*
 the first they are Three times when they jump up again they get up
 to dance.

me?dil-xw-e *niłma?ni* *na'ne?it'ikʔ 43* (67) *hayahažid* *ʔaht'ij*
me?dil-diŋ people, on each side they fall back in line. [Then] all (things)

č'ine?ixa·W *hay* *mit-č'idilye* *hižid* *ʔaht'ij* *xowa'ya'tiliW*
 they bring out the dancing things; then all he hands out to them
 ("rolls") (that wish to dance)

hay *ya'dilye-ne'in* *wit-daŋ?* *na'sdaʔandeh-tah 44*
 the ones who had danced yesterday (or) it may be the day before,

meʔ-č'e'na'ya'dilye-miŋ 45 (68) *hayahažid* *meʔ-no'naʔandil*
 so that they may again dance [Then] they sit down there in
 going out (of wall) dressed therein. (between 2 rows of dancers)

hayi (69) *hayahažid* *hay-yô·w* *niłma?ni* *na'niwint'ikʔ 46*
 those (who've put [Then] those people on both sides fall back in line.
 on old things).

(70) *mintandi(n)* *ya'na'xo'o'aW-miṭ* *ʔahr'in* *ta'ay-din*
 Ten times when (again) they jump up all close together
 in one bunch,

na'aye'n *niṭq'eh-dinaŋ* (71) *na'te'ildixid*⁴⁷ *de-xo yide'*
 they stand facing behind each other, [They start this way downstream
 in one direction. off back]

*č'e'na'aldixidi-miṭ*⁴⁸ *hay* *na'ne'itṭaṭ-diŋ* *me'* *no'o'aW*
 when they again crowd the (little place) where in it they lay it (dance)
 out dancing, they danced down, quit,

ta'kviimit-x'e- (72) *hay* *kviye'* *ya'na'aliW-miṭ* *camehsxôn*
 those of *ta'kviimit-diŋ*. When again they raise up the ceremonial blankets), women

me'ne'qi *na'na'ya'kve'i'aw* (73) *ʔisdiya'n-čwiŋ*
 behind the (dance) they also sing. Widow
 (close to men)

že'ŋ'kvilây *do* *me'ne'qi* *na'kya'aw*⁴⁹ (74) *hay*
 (and) woman who again allows not behind them she sings. The ones
 hair to grow after mourning

da'n-tah *wiṭda'n-tah*⁵⁰ *ya'k'vita'ah-ne'in* *ʔahr'in* *na'ya'k'vita'a'aw*
 either little or yesterday who had sung, all again they sing
 while ago

hay *že'na'aldixidi-miṭ*⁵¹ (75) *hayah-miṭ* *hay* *kviye'*
 the where they again separate - Starting from that again
 from, at this point. there (= then) (basket)

ya'na'aliW *hižid* *me'dil-x'e-* *hayah* *na'ne'indil*
 they raise up, [then] *me'dil-diŋ* people there they reach

ta'kviW-misgiy'zi^{52-diŋ} *hižid* *no'o'aW* (76) *hay*
 sweathouse-small-place, [then] they put the (dance) down, quit That
 dancing (*ta'kviimit-diŋ* people).

ya'na'aliW (77) *xontah-nikvâ-w* *min'-č'e'ŋ'ay-diŋ*⁵³
 again they raise Big House where it sticks out of the roof
 (baskets). (side pole running length of house)

hižid *kviye'* *no'o'aW* (78) *hay* *ya'na'aliW*
 when (they) again they quit The again they
 arrive at) dancing. (baskets) raise.

- (79) *hay-yô-w* That *naʔneʔittat-din* place of dancing up to *wehtqʻis* one side of, on the side of *noʔnaʔaldixid*⁵⁴ they reach it going back,
- hižid* when *noʔoʔaW* they stop singing. (80) *hayahažid* [Then] *kʻiye* again *yaʔnaʔaliW* they raise the (baskets). (81) *digʻa(n)* Here
- nohoł* with us (Indians) *yimaʔni-yideʔ-čʻinʔ* across the ocean — downriver towards (= northwest) *čʻwolaʔ-din* five times *noʔoʔaW* they stop singing
- hayah* at that place. (82) *hayahažid* [Then] *de-xo* this way *yinagi-yidag* northeast *dinaŋ* facing
- naʔnaʔdeʔilyaʔ*⁵⁵ they (again) come to a stand *hayaʔ-čʻinʔ* toward that direction *dinaŋ* facing. (83) *kʻiye* Again *čʻwolaʔ-din* five times
- noʔoʔaW-mił* when they stop dancing *hay* the *xontah-di(n)* house-place *minʔ-dayʔ* outside *teʔnaʔwila-din* where the fire had been built
- hižid* when (arriving at) *do-čʻoʔolaʔn* they quit. (84) *hayah* There *ʔaʔdiwanaʔndeʔiliW* they take off again the (regalia).
- (85) *ʔahtʻin* All (regalia) *hayah* there *niłqʻi(d)* on top of each other *noʔnaʔyaʔaliW* they lay them down, *hižid* [then] *hay* the
- meʔwi-naʔsitân* “rolls” *ʔahtʻin* all *naʔnaʔaʔeʔ* they hang it up again, *hay* the *yehnaʔlgê-d* standing feathers *qʻinaʔ* also.
- (86) *hayahažid* [Then] *ʔahtʻin* all (people) *kʻeʔiyaʔn* they eat, *hižid* [then] *naʔyaʔteʔindil* they go back home.
- (87) *qʻad* Now *hayi-qʻ* in that way *Waʔne* only *hay-de-d* this *xay-čʻidilye* Winter Dance.

The Jump Dance [a]

(1) The winter World Renewal ceremony (**xay-čʻidilye**).

(2) When they are about to have the ceremony, (the dance maker) gets up early one morning and goes off upstream across the river from **taʔkʻmił-din**, crossing over in a canoe, and goes up the mountain to get boards (**fišč**), eating nothing. [b] (3) He does this (i.e., fasts) for several days.

(4) Then, after he has brought all the boards out to the riverbank, he goes off again to get fir saplings (**čʻime-yaʔW**) to use for posts. [c] (5) The tops of these are not chopped or broken off; they are called “white sticks” (**kʻin-**

ficay). (6) He also cuts down fir saplings to use as crosspoles, and a madrone (?isde·w) which he lays next to the fir saplings. [d] (7) On all the fir saplings he makes marks down the side by stripping off a spiral of bark. [e]

(8) Then, in the evening, he ferries these across the river [f] to the place where the dance will be held. [g] (9) There he digs two holes, in each of which he stands up a fir sapling; then he stands the madrone next to the pole on the downstream side. (10) He lays the long poles across. (11) Then he ties them on with hazel switches (xohs-čil'e·n) at both ends. (12) And then he leans a pole against each end and ties it on with hazel switches. [h]

(13) Then he goes down to the riverbank again to get the planks, brings them all across the river in a canoe, carries them to where they will be dancing, and builds the Jump Dance fence (or "house"). [i] (14) Then he clears off the place inside where they will dance. [j]

(15) Then, when he has finished with this, he goes back to the Big House (xontah-nik'a·w) and builds a fire with incense root (mixar'č'e'-xole·n) there and in the Big Sweathouse (ta'k'iW-nik'a·w), and prays with it, speaking only of good things. [k] (16) The next morning he goes back into the Big House and carries some of the fire outside. (17) Then he burns incense root in a fire on the terrace of the Big House. (18) He talks only about the k'ixinay and about their wind coming down from the mountains [l] — he talks also about there being an absence of sickness (k'ič'ind), and about people being well. [m]

(19) As soon as people see the dance fence they know what is happening. (20) One by one they start coming to where the fire is built. [n] (21) Then the dance-maker goes into the Big House to get the dance regalia (mit-č'idilye), bringing it all out in baskets: woodpecker-scalp headdresses (me·wi-na'sita·n), necklaces (na'k'idilyay), Jump Dance baskets (na'wehž), grass bundles (wiloy?), feather plumes (yehna'lge'd), face paint (mit-xoŋ'a'diŋ'e·n), hoods (k'ise·god), and deerhide blankets (t'e?). (22) He spreads everything out, then he hands out woodpecker headdresses to the crowd there, a grass bundle with each headdress. [o] (23) They put the regalia on outside of the sweathouse; the dance-maker puts a necklace around everyone's neck. (24) Then he gives a deerhide and a Jump Dance basket to each of them.

(25) Then they all run to the fire on the downstream side (of the danceground). [p] (26) The "singer" stands in the center [q] along with the (two others) who are going to do the singing. (27) Then the ones who are only going to dance run up around these. (28) The (center man) is the first to raise his Jump Dance basket. (29) All the others do the same after him. (30) They raise them twice, and then the singers commence [r], while the common dancers (teht-qid) say "who-o-o" (dicigy-te·na'asow). [s]

(31) After they have sung two groups of songs, the dance-maker picks up a piece of the fire from the Big House terrace. (32) Then he goes off in the lead, all the others following him in single file. (33) Just outside the danceground, toward the downstream side, they stamp-dance. [t] (34) After dancing there twice, they go inside the danceground, string out in a line, and say "who-o-o". (35) The center man raises his Jump Dance basket first. (36) Everyone else does so after him. (37) After raising the basket twice, the singers commence and the others say "who-o-o". (38) After each of the two singers has sung twice, they sit down. [u] (39) Then they get up again and do another dance. [v] (40) After doing this three times, they lay down their deerhides and Jump Dance baskets and sit down. (41) Then once again they get up, all take hold of one another's hand, and say "who-o-o". (42) Then they jump-dance (*ya·xoʔaW*), [w] and, after they have jumped-danced twice, the singers commence while the common dancers say "who-o-o". (43) After they have jumped three times, they pick up their deerhides and go out (of the dance fence) the way they had come in before, and then they all go back downstream to the Big House. [x] (44) There they take off all their regalia. (45) And then they go about their own business the rest of the day.

(46) After a while, when it gets dark, they dance again while the dance leader (*ma-naʔway*) does what he did before. (47) Only when the dancing is over each day does the dance leader eat. [y]

(48) When three days, sometimes four, have passed, the *meʔdil-diq* people (*meʔdilxʷe*) move their camp to just below *ce-winaʔl-diq*. (49) They pack their regalia to *lehtʔeteʔ-čʰeʔilčʰeʔ-diq*. (50) Then the (*meʔdilxʷe*) people who are going to dance arrive there. [z] (51) Regalia is handed out to them, and they stamp-dance there. (52) After stamp-dancing twice, one of them, their dance maker [aa] (*čʰidilye-čʰilčʰe*), carries their fire and leads them downstream to *xoʔgoč-meqʰ*. (53) Then they stamp-dance again where the 'Long Trail' (*tini-nes*) runs. (54) After dancing there twice, they go on to the danceground, approaching it from uphill. (55) Then they stamp-dance in the place just outside the danceground where the *taʔkʷimilxʷe* do their stamp-dancing. (56) At this time it belongs to everyone. (57) After stamp-dancing there twice, they go into the dance fence area and dance just as the *taʔkʷimilxʷe* had done. (58) Then, when they finish dancing, everyone who is around is invited to eat, some to *ce-winaʔl-diq*, some at *taʔkʷimil-diq*. (59) After a while when they have finished feasting, there is gambling and sometimes they play the stick game.

(60) Finally ten days pass in this fashion. [bb] (61) Early in the morning of the tenth day they dance, each side going in to dance three times. (62) Then the *taʔkʷimilxʷe* put on the (fancy) regalia with which they are going to finish the dance. [cc] (63) They stamp-dance and do things just as they have on previous days. (64) Then they go over to the danceground again,

and stamp-dance outside twice while the **me'dilx^we** sit inside. [dd] (65) Then they go inside and are the first to dance. (66) After they jump-dance three times, the **me'dilx^we** get up and form a line opposite them. [ee] (67) Then they bring out all the dance regalia and hand it out to those who have danced on previous days so they can dance again at the end with these things on. [ff]

(68) Then these people sit in the middle. (69) Then the others line up opposite each other again. (70) After jump-dancing ten times, they all stand close, one behind the other. (71) The crowd starts off back in the downstream direction; after they have moved out of the dance house in a crowd, the **ta[?]k[?]vimitx^we** sing one group of songs in the place where they stamp-dance. (72) When they start off again, the women sing along behind them. (73) Widows, and widows past mourning, do not sing behind there. (74) All those who have sung on the previous days sing again when the divisions separate. (75) After they start off again, the **me'dilx^we** go to the "Little Sweathouse" (**ta[?]k[?]viW-misgiy[?]zi-diŋ**) [gg] where they sing one group of songs. (76) They start off again. (77) When they get to where the roof beam sticks out of the Big House (**min[?]-č'eŋ[?]ay-diŋ**), they again sing one group of songs. (78) They start off again. (79) Then they move back in a crowd to one side of the stamp-dancing place, and sing one group of songs. (80) They start off again. (81) They head to the west and sing five groups of songs. (82) Then they head to the east and come to a stop still facing that direction. [hh] (83) After singing five more groups of songs, they finish up at the place outside the house (the Big House), where the fire was built.

(84) Then they take off their regalia there. (85) Then they stack it up, including the woodpecker-scalp headdresses, and they hang up the eagle-feather plumes. (86) Then everyone eats and they go home.

(87) That is the only way to do the Jump Dance.

[a] This is the second of Sam Brown's descriptions of the Hupa World Renewal ceremonies (**č'idilye**), and is probably the fullest account on record of a traditional performance of the ceremony. Short ethnographic reports of varying degrees of accuracy can be found in Powers (1877: 79-83), Woodward (1892), Goddard (1903: 85-87), Curtis 1924: 33-34), and Kroeber and Gifford (1949: 56-65). Barrett (1963) is a remarkably full account from one of California's great ethnographic observers, but Barrett witnessed a less elaborate ceremony in 1962 than Sam Brown described for Sapir a generation earlier. Norton (1971) is an analysis of the structure and symbolism of the Jump Dance by a native scholar who has himself participated in the ceremony.

There were originally two Jump Dances regularly performed in Hoopa Valley, one in the spring at the village of **mis-q'id** (see text 4), and one in the autumn at **ta[?]k[?]vimit-diŋ**, ten days after the conclusion of the White Deerskin Dance (**xonsit-č'idilye**) and associated with the Acorn Feast (**no[?]k[?]iqxan**; see text 5). Only the autumn Jump Dance survived into the 20th century, and that is what Sam Brown describes here.

Some sources (Goddard 1903: 83; Curtis 1924: 33; Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 62) indicate that this ceremony was earlier called **ʔanq̄i-č̄idilye** 'autumn-World Renewal ceremony' and that it was the **mis-q̄id** dance in the spring that was more commonly called **xay-č̄idilye**. However, one of the earliest published descriptions of the autumn Jump Dance (Woodward 1892) refers to it as "Hi-jit-delia", which is apparently a transcription of *xay-č̄idilye*.

The earliest published description of the Hupa Jump Dance comes from Stephen Powers (1877: 79-83), who calls it the "dance of peace...[that] signifies that the tribe are at peace with all their neighbors." He reports that it ceased to be performed shortly after the white invasion of 1850, being revived only in 1871. From at least the early 1890s to 1953 the two principal Hupa **č̄idilye** were performed in sequence every two years, in odd-numbered years, with the exception of 1901 when only the Jump Dance was performed (Goddard 1903: 85). Because of flood damage to the dancegrounds in the winter of 1954-55, no dances were held between 1955 and 1962. The Jump Dance was revived in the fall of 1962 (Barrett 1963) and the biennial schedule of both **č̄idilye** was resumed in 1963.

[b] These should be hand-hewn planks of cedar, about ten feet long and a foot wide, and may be prepared several months in advance in order to allow time for the wood to dry (Norton 1971: 11). After their use in the Jump Dance fence they are used as roofing on the Big House (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 65). In the 1962 revival there was insufficient time to prepare the planks by hand, so milled lumber was used (Barrett 1963: 78).

[c] In 1962, the dance-maker and an assistant "made a considerable journey, perhaps two or three miles...into the forest-clad hills on the west side of the valley" (Barrett 1963: 74-78). The area is ritually specified, and is supposed to be the exact location from which the originator of the dance first obtained the posts (Norton 1971: 11).

[d] Sam Brown neglects to mention the tan oak (**k̄inehst̄'a'n**) sapling that must also be cut for a pole.

[e] That is, he makes a spiral mark down the poles by picking off the dark green bark, leaving the poles looking white and dark green. All six of the fir saplings used for poles are known as **k̄in-ž̄iwol-ž̄** 'little round sticks'.

[f] The poles must never be left alone and must be transported speedily across the river to the danceground the day before the dance is to begin. Under no circumstances may any of them be allowed to touch the ground in transit (Barrett 1963: 77).

[g] The Jump Dance danceground is about 50 yards south (upriver) from the village of **taʔk̄vimit̄-d̄iŋ**.

[h] Six fir saplings in all: one at each end as posts, two parallel beams tied together to join on top, and a brace against each of the posts. The madrone is tied to the post on the north (downstream) side, the tan oak to the post on the south (upstream) side.

[i] The wall of boards curves toward the brace side of the crosspoles. It is called **xontah** ('living house'), but it is not at all like an ordinary house. There is no pit or roof. It is a wall of planks, rather more like a fence than a house. During the ceremony

no one may go behind the structure, since that is where the originator of the dance (now a **kʷixinay**) comes to watch.

[j] The area in front of the dance fence where the dance takes place is considered to be “inside” the “house”. The formula repeated by the dance maker while preparing the danceground can be found in Goddard (1904: 226-227).

[k] The dance-maker burns incense root (**mixač'e[?]-xole'n**) at the Big House in order to pray to the **kʷixinay**. On this occasion he makes three scented fires: one inside the Big House, one in front of it, and one in the sweathouse that belongs to the Big House.

[l] A wind blowing from the east, where the **kʷixinay** live, toward the north. The dance-maker prays for this wind to come down from the mountains to the danceground for good luck.

[m] For a version of this prayer see Goddard (1904: 228). The primary function of the Hupa Jump Dance is to ward off disease: “a prophylactic ceremony for good health” (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 56).

[n] That is, in front of the Big House. Unlike the White Deerskin Dance, there is no formal announcement by the dance-maker of the beginning of the Jump Dance.

[o] Most of this regalia belongs to others, who lend it to the dance-maker for distribution to the dancers. At the end of the dance, each piece is returned to its private owner.

[p] This fire is in front of the Big House, not the ceremonial fire at the danceground. The **ta[?]kʷimilx^we** dancers rehearse here and then move on to the dance fence (Goddard 1903: 86). There is a similar staging area for the **me[?]dilx^we** dancers about 100 yards upstream from the danceground, but the **me[?]dilx^we** join the dance only after the **ta[?]kʷimilx^we** have danced the first set.

[q] This “singer” or “center man” does not actually sing himself but leads the others. He is the first one to raise his **na[?]weh^ʒ** and gives the signal for the dancers and their actions.

[r] The songs have no words, and time is kept by stamping and raising of the **na[?]weh^ʒ**. Each of the two singers has his individual repertoire of songs. They sing one at a time, with no rule as to who begins.

[s] They lift their Jump Dance baskets and say *who-o-o*, and when a song is being sung they say *wə hey-y-y-ya* as a background rhythm, stamping at *ya*. The technical term for this, **dicig[?] ləna[?]asow**, means ‘they scratch unshelled acorns together’ and it is supposed to be good luck for the acorn yield. For an analysis of Jump Dance music see Keeling (1992: 93-99).

[t] Such stamp-dancing in a circle (*na[?]nittal* ‘they stamp-dance’) is different from the regular Jump Dance that is done in a line in front of the dance fence.

[u] After the singers alternate twice the center man lifts his **na[?]weh^ʒ** with a shout of *hoh!*, and there is a pause, signalling the completion of a unit of dancing (*no[?]niq[?]an* ‘they put it down’). During the interval the dancers lay down their Jump Dance baskets and sit down. The center man and the two singers sit on three stone seats that are a permanent part of the danceground; the others sit on the ground (which is presumably why the common dancers are called **tehl-qid** ‘flat on the ground’).

[v] That is, another unit of dancing, structured as before, with the two singers alternating twice. After another pause there is a third group of dances of the same basic type, but in this one they also carry deerhide blankets (**te'**).

[w] The dancers put down their Jump Dance baskets and join hands and jump with both feet. This is the distinctive dance step that gives its name to the entire ceremony.

[x] As noted above, the first unit of two dances is followed by another two dances, and then three dances with blankets. This is followed by three more dances with hands joined together for jumping (**ya-xo'aw**). Only after completing this set of ten dances can the dancers retire from the danceground. A ten-dance set is called *tah yehč'iwinyay* 'he came in once', and is indivisible. It is "against the rules" to break it up in any way.

[y] He can't eat until all the sets of dances for that day are completed. On the first few days only one or two sets are danced, since only **ta'k'imitx'e'** dancers participate. After the **me'dilx'e'** join in there are four ten-dance sets each day, two for each party. Only when these four sets are over does the dance-maker eat, not before. This lasts through the ninth day. On the tenth day there are five sets, with the **ta'k'imitx'e'** last, and he can't eat until all five sets are over.

[z] Dancers from the **me'dilx'e'** division usually do not join the dance until the third or fourth day. (In 1962 they made their first appearance only on the eighth day [Barrett 1963: 82].) On that day one of their side looks on, and at the end of the first **ta'k'imitx'e'** set he rushes back to the **me'dilx'e'** camp upstream to tell them to get ready, and they join in in time to take care of second set. After that, the two parties work together alternately. On the tenth day, two parties separate, each going to its own fire.

[aa] The **me'dilx'e'** have their own regalia, fire, and dance leader.

[bb] In the 1962 Jump Dance that Barrett witnessed, it rained continuously all day on the tenth day, so the final day's dances were postponed to the eleventh day. If anything makes it impossible to finish the tenth day it must be held over and finished when conditions permit (Barrett 1963: 83.)

[cc] The best **na'wehž** are brought out. Also, two new songs are added to each set of ten dances on the last day.

[dd] They sit in front of the dance fence, waiting for the **ta'k'imitx'e'** to finish.

[ee] They face each other (both divisions) and jump-dance ten times, then separate. Women join in this dance, two girls from each division, at the end of the line. The girls do not dance with a **na'wehž** and dance in the jumping part only. They do not drink water; they paint their faces with soot (two horizontal stripes on each cheek, three stripes on chin—one in the center, one on each mouth corner—if not tattooed); they wear **dižid**, a head chaplet strung with sea-shells, or braided porcupine quills (**k'oh**) on a circular chaplet on top of head; and they wear abalone-shell dresses that are so fragile they can't sit down or they might break the shells. As the ceremony comes to an end, the women sing **'e'** on a shrill tone, like crickets, and turn around to face the fence, eastwards.

[ff] All materials which had been used and which had been gradually set aside to make way for new outfits must now be used again at end of dance. Nothing must be left out.

The people who put on these old articles of regalia sit between the rows of dancers. After the final set of dances they will join in the procession out of the danceground.

[gg] The sweathouse belonging to the house immediately upstream from the Big House.

[hh] They turn from west to east and move along very slowly. According to Norton (1971:10) they face “a point of land where the dance is given back to the creating beings.” The dancers then “move ten more times to the special rock upon which the leader steps to end the ceremony.”

3. The Origin of the Jump Dance

Narrated by Mary Marshall. Notebook IX, pp. 40-43.

- (1) *taʔkʷimitdin* *čʻin*¹ *kʷixinay* *cʻisleʔn*
 At Hostler Ranch they say *kyʻixinay* he became.
- (2) *ʔahʻiŋ-qʻi* *xoh*² *xʷa* *ʔaʔkʷeʻiliw*³ (3) *h[ayaʔ]*
 In all kinds of ways in vain for him they did things. [Then]
- xoʔʒi-xo-di(n)* *dahxoʔo-xoW* *ʔaʔneʻiteʔ* *mineʻʒixomit* *do* *kʷaʔn*⁴ *sileʔn*⁵
 more and more worse, in some way he used to act; he got not to eat.
 (= he became more and more out of the ordinary) [finally, after some time]
- (4) *h[ayaʔ]* *yeʻitxaʔ* *naʔkʷaʔah-xʷ*⁶ *taʔkʷiW-meʔ*
 [Then] [days pass] he singing [at the sweat-house]
- čʻidilye-Wiŋʔʔ* (5) *h[ayaʔ]* *xoh* *xʷa čʻideʻilyeʔ*
čʻidilye song. [Then] in vain for him they danced
 the Jump Dance,
- mineʻʒixomit* *yaʔxoʔcaʔn* *xonʔ-naʔxowilaw*⁸ (6) *h[ayaʔ]* *hayahaʒid*
 [some time later] they saw him dressed up. [Then] at that time
- ʔaʔdeʔneʔ* *We-ʔeʔn* *doʔŋʔ* *de* *nohoʔ* *yideʻi-yimaʔn-čʻiŋʔ*⁹
 he said, "I myself it is [from us here] downstream across to
- naʔaWWaʔ*¹⁰ (7) *qʻaʔdeʔ* *čʻitindit-te* *hay xoʔ* *yaʔteʔseʻya-te*¹¹
 I always go. After a while they'll be coming with those people I'll go off
 along
- tehsʻiŋʔ* (8) *hayi-qʻi* *de* *ʔaʔaniw* (9) *h[ayaʔ]*
 to look on." Thus come to find out he had been doing. [Then]
- čʻidiwilyeʔ* *taʔkʷimit-din* *xʷa* (10) *h[ayaʔ]* *yaʔxoʔŋʔaʔn*
 [they danced] [at *taʔkʷimit-din*] [for him.] [Then] they jumped up
 and down
- hayi-qʻi* *čʻidiwilyeʔ* (11) *h[ayaʔ]-aŋʔ* *mintan-di(n)* *yisxaʔn*
 thus (in the Jump Dance way) they danced. [Then] ten times - it dawned
 (= ten days passed)
- čʻidilye-xʷ* (12) *hayaʔ-aŋʔ* *hay yiceʔn wiŋʔaʔ*¹² *-miʔ*
 they dancing. [Then] it is when the sun set westward,
- yiniʔkʷid*¹³ *ʔaŋ-gʻaʔ* *misʒe*
 the fog reaching (to the house) they saw. fog.

- (13) *taʔay-xʷ* *do* *xo-wehsʔeʔn*¹⁴ *hay-yo-w* *čʻidilye-din*
 At once one could not see that *čʻidilye*-dancing place.
- (14) *h[ayaʔt]* *yanaywiʔdikʻid* *saʔkʻidin* *ʔaŋ-gʻaʔ*
 [Then] the fog rose up again, [they were surprised] [to see]
- do* *čʻixolen-e*¹⁵ *hay* *xʷa* *čʻidilye-neʔin* (15) *ye-w-xo yidaŋ*
 he was gone, the one for whom they had been dancing. Way uphill
- noʔniŋʔa-n-e-cʻeh*¹⁶ (16) *kʻiye* *nah-di[n]* *noʔniŋʔa-ni-miʔ*
 they heard him stop singing. Again twice when he had stopped singing,
- qʻa(d)* *do* *nanaywincʻaʔn-e-cʻiw* (17) *h[ayaʔt]*
 [then] they could [no longer] hear him (singing). [Then]
- nah-di[n]* *yisxa-ni-miʔ* *čʻitehsyay* *taʔkʻimit-di(n)-miʔ* *miqʻičʻiŋʔ-xʷ*
 [when two days had passed], he went off from *taʔkʻimit-din* to Hostler Ranch flat.
- (18) *hayah* *ʔaŋ-gʻaʔ* *čʻixoʔcaŋ* (19) *h[ayaʔt]*
 [There] [he saw] he saw him. [Then]
- ʔa-xoʔčʻide-ne*¹⁷ *ta-h-xʷa* *ʔanitdiWni-miŋ*¹⁸ *hay-de* *ʔa-ditcis*
 [(the man) said to him,] "Just that I might tell you this (that) (my)self be seen
- nisehtčʻweʔn*¹⁹ *hay xʷe-di-qʻi* *čʻidiwilyeʔit-te*²⁰
 I made you in what way people will dance *čʻidilye*.
- (20) *mintan-di(n)* *yisxa-ni-miʔ* *do* *hay* *tišči* *na-deʔeʔkʻ-čʻiŋʔ*
 After ten days, on the tenth day not the boards they stand up - direction
- xeʔe-čʻo-yaʔa-heh-ne*²¹ (21) *hayah-miʔ* *na-te-Wʻiŋʔit*^{22-te}
 let [no] one pass. From there I shall always be looking back."
- (22) *ʔahtiʻiŋ* *xoʔ* *čʻixowiligi*²³ *hay xʷe-di-qʻi* *čʻidiwilyeʔit-te*
 All to him he told him, in what way they will be dancing.
- (23) *hayah-miʔ* *ninisʔân* *xoʔzi* *nonaʔdxisit*^{24-te} *xoʔčʻide-ne*²⁵
 "Then the world properly, well will fall back always into place," he told him
- (24) *h[ayaʔt]* *ʔa-xoʔčʻide-ne*[?] *We* *ʔeŋʔ* *qʻad* *hay*
 [Then] [he told him], "I however now the
- kʻixinay* *se-liŋʔ*
kʻixinay I have become."

The Origin of the Jump Dance [a]

(1) He became a *k'ixinay* at *ta'k'imit-diq*, it is said. (2) They tried all kinds of things to help him, but in vain. (3) He got more and more peculiar, and finally stopped eating. (4) He would sing World Renewal songs in the sweathouse for days on end. (5) They held a World Renewal ceremony for him [b], but it did no good; then, one day, they found him all dressed up in dance regalia. (6) He said, "I belong in the downstream heaven. (7) They will be coming in a while, the ones with whom I will go off to watch (you)."

(8) In this way, they discovered what he had been doing. [c] (9) Then they danced at *ta'k'imit-diq* for him. (10) They jump-danced, doing a World Renewal ceremony in that fashion. (11) They danced for ten days. (12) Then, when the sun was setting, they saw fog coming in. (13) All at once the danceground could not be seen. (14) When the fog rose back up, they found that the man they had been dancing for was no longer there. (15) Far uphill they heard him singing a set of Jump Dance songs (*no'niq'a'n*). (16) After he had sung two more sets of songs, they could hear him no longer.

(17) Two days later someone was going from *ta'k'imit-diq* to *miqi-č'iŋ'* [d] (18) There he came upon (the man). (19) (The man) said to him, "I have only made myself visible to you in order to tell you the way they are to do the World Renewal ceremonies. (20) For ten days let no one pass where the boards are standing. [e] (21) I shall always be looking on from there." (22) Then he told him everything about how to do the World Renewal ceremonies. (23) "After doing that, the world will always fall back into its proper place," [f] he said. (24) Then he told him, "As for me, now I have become a *k'ixinay*."

[a] The origin myth of the Hupa Jump Dance (specifically the main—or *ta'k'imit-diq*—Jump Dance, *xay-č'idilye'*, see text 2) is quite distinctive in the northwest California World Renewal tradition. Rather than being set in a mythic pre-human world populated by *k'ixinay*, it is the story of a man from *ta'k'imit-diq* who went into a trance, visited the world of the *k'ixinay*, and was carried away to heaven in the fog. He reappears briefly to give instructions for the performance of the Jump Dance, then disappears again, promising to return to look on at each future dance.

A fuller version of this story, told by McCann in 1901, can be found in Goddard (1904: 229-232). A more recent version was recorded by Victor Golla in 1963 from Minnie Reeves (transcribed in Golla 1984b: 27-34). A short English summary, from Sam Brown, can be found in Kroeber and Gifford (1949: 65), and the essence of the story can be glimpsed in the Christianized and sentimental "Legend of Gard" that Powers relates (1877: 80-81).

[b] Since the Jump Dance did not exist at this point, the term *č'idilye'* ('perform a World Renewal ceremony') must be taken in a general sense. In historical times,

however, it was a version of the Jump Dance that was performed “whenever pestilence or some calamity threatened” (Goddard 1903: 87).

[c] That is, his spirit had been going to a **kʷixinay** heaven.

[d] A place near **taʷkʷimil-diq**.

[e] One of the rules of the Jump Dance is that no dogs or people are allowed to go behind the “house” (**xontah**), or plank fence, that forms the backdrop for the dancers, nor be at the back (upstream) end of the Big House. This is because these places are reserved for the Indian who went off to **čʷidilye**-heaven and comes back at every dance to look on.

[f] The fundamental purpose of the World Renewal dances (**čʷidilye**) is to restore the world to its proper state and position. If the ceremonies are not performed regularly or properly, the accumulation of human wrongdoing causes the world (**ninisʷan**) to be “ruined” (**čʷinʷ-danyay**); it gets out of joint and does not “sit right”.

4. The Origin of the Misq̄id Jump Dance

Narrated by Jake Hostler. Notebook X, pp. 11-18.

- (1) *maʒiwilayʔ* (Mountain in Bald Hill county) *čitehčʷê:n*¹ he grew up *kʷitna:dil -kʷiwaŋxoya:n* Wolf-old man.
- (2) *haya:t* [Then] *xʷe:daʔay* his head - it went into (= he heard) *yehwinyay* *čiwil* a yelling sound - went around - was audible *nahsyaʔ-c'iw*²
- (3) *h[aya:t]* [Then] *ʔač'ondehsneʔ*³ [he thought,] *xʷe:di-gʷaʔaW-ʔaŋʔ* "I wonder what it is" *ʔahdiyaw* that did so
- hay-de* this *ʔa-kʷidenʔ-c'iw*⁴ which is heard to make a sound!" (4) *hayah-mit* [Then] *ʔač'ondehsneʔ* [he thought,]
- kʷeh wiWah:t*⁵ "Let me go over (and see)!" (5) *h[aya:t]* [Then] *čitehsyay* [he went off] *xʷiytq̄i(d) yidač'iy*⁶-*q'eh* coming up from downriver along Redwood Ridge
- (6) *h[aya:t]* [Then] *ʒohWalʔ-layʔ* (top of Hupa Bald Hill) *xaʔasya-hid* [when he reached its summit] *čiwil na'wa-c'iw* he heard a yelling sound going around,
- ʔilexiži-hid*⁷ in imagination *lah-xʷ*⁸ just *yehč'iwixic-te-nehwaŋ-hid* as if one would fall into (sound and be overwhelmed).
- (7) *h[aya:t]* [Then] *taʔkʷimit-din* [taʔkʷimit-din] *č'ininyay* [he came to]. (8) *tiŋ ʔanʔan*⁹ Very many
- naʔway* were going *hay* [the] *kʷixinay* [kʷixinay.] (9) *h[aya:t]* [Then] *ʔač'ondehsneʔ* [he thought,] about
- daxʷe:di-q'i-gʷaʔaW* "I wonder how" *ʔaʔone*¹⁰ [they will think about, treat] *hay-de:d* this *kʷič'indi* sickness *q'a(d)* now
- tehtč'wiŋ-xola:n*¹¹ which has become evidently. (10) *hay-yo:w* That (clouds) *niniʔa:n-me-q'i-tah* all around the world, in every spot seen *miq'os* its neck
- yine-tnoʔ*¹² it (clouds) has stood up *ʔah* big clouds, *nikʷa:w* the *hay* the *kʷič'indi-meʔ* sickness which grew in it (the clouds) (= in which sickness grows) *tehtč'we:n*
- (11) *h[aya:t]* [Then] *ʔač'ondehsneʔ* [he thought,] *hayi-q'a* "In that way" *ʔahdiyah-te* it will do."
- (12) *kʷila:dosč'eʔ* Fir bark *mixa:* after it *čitehsyay* he went off, *č'inije:n*¹³ he packed it to the place.

- (13) *h[aya-t]* *xontah* *yehč'ite-de-š* (14) *h[aya-t]*
 [Then] house the (dancers) all went
 into the house.
- niŋq'eh-dinan* *na'de'lya?* *c'e-y-ticow* *na'lmarc'*¹⁴ *xw'eda'ay*
 facing one way, behind they stood, myrtle twigs in the form of a their heads
 each other (facing east), circle, in a wreath
- mina'ya?k'vist'ikʷ* *k'vida'ma'ce?* *ʔolye*¹⁵ (15) *h[aya-t]* *q'ad*
 they stretched it 'its mouth-circle' it is called. [Then] [now]
 around them, (= 'eel mouth')
- niŋ'isde-š*¹⁶ *niŋq'eh-dinan* *niŋgantaga* *dah-k'vislay*¹⁷ (16) *Wiŋ*
 they start dancing [facing one way, with hands on each other's (16) *Wiŋ*
 all together behind each other] shoulders. Song
- me?k'iwittiw*¹⁸ *hayi-miŋ* *niŋ'isde-š* *min'r'ah-miŋ*
 he (Wolf) sang it, with which they danced from the entrance
 into the (Big House)
- yo'ni-yinaga-č'in?-dinaŋ* (17) *h[aya-t]* *no'o'aWi-miŋ*
 to the opposite corner upstream facing. [Then] when they end
 their dance
- ya'aWil*¹⁹ *ʔah'tiŋ* *xola?* *te?k'e'itma'r'* *k'o'le+*²⁰ *ya'de'ine?*
 the (dancers) yell, all their hands they clap, "Let lots of [they said].
 fish become!"
- (18) *h[aya-t]* *mina(n)* *me?k'e'itmiŋ-miŋ* *h[aya-t]* *te'na'aliW*
 [Then] ten songs when he has [then] he makes a fire,
 sung,
- č'ine'itno?* *hay* *k'vila'dosč'e?* *xon?-diŋ*
 he stands them up the bark pieces (stood up
 against each other) at the fire.
- (19) *h[aya-t]* *ne'nse'indil* *xo(n)?* *mina'd* *č'ite'ina-W*
 [Then] they all dance jumping, around the fire they all dance
 around,
- č'ite'idyo's*²¹ (20) *h[aya-t]* *hayi* *ʔah'tiŋ* *na'ʔalid*
 they all stretch. [Then] [it] [all] it always burns up
- xon? na'na'adahW* *hižid* *do-č'o'ola'n-e-y* *hay* *niŋ'sindil*
 (and) when the fire has [then] they quit, the ones dance up and
 come down, who down.
- (21) *č'wola?-di(n) ye'itxa?* *xa'a'ya'r'iŋ-xw'*
 Five days go by they doing so.

(22) *h[ayaʔ]* *xontah-meʔ* *yaʔdeʔilyeʔ* *hayi q'inʔ* *čʷolaʔ-di(n)*
 [Then] [inside the house] they dance, [that one] [also] [five times]
č'idilye' dance,

yeʔitʃaxaʔ *č'idilye'-xʷ* (23) *hayah-mil* *hay* *yaʔdilye'*
 [it dawns] [as they dance.] [Then] the dancers

no-yaʔdeʔilye'-miʔ *tahč'eʔinaWi-miʔ* *no-naʔtindil* *hiʒid* *xoninʔ*
 when they have stopped when they come out they sit down [then] their
 dancing, of the dance, again; faces

*na-naʔaleʔ*²² *me-wi-na-sita-ni-meʔ* *Wi(n)-miʔ* *ʒiwa-naʔkʷeʔiliW*²³
 they move from dressed in rolls, with a song, "they crack acorns."
 side to side always,

(24) *mintan-di(n)* *yisxaʔni-miʔ* *yideʔ* *xonʔ* *č'itehswê-n*
 [When ten days have passed] down-stream fire he carried
 along

misq'i(d)-č'iyʔ (25) *ninʔi-meʔ-xaʔsindiʔ-diy* *yideʔe-nʔ-č'iyʔ*
 to *misq'id* (all dancers (Place between *taʔkʷimit-diy* & *misq'id*) on the lower side
 follow him).

*xonʔ noʔniŋe-n*²⁴ (26) *hayahaʒid* *mixač'eʔ-xole-n* *xolaʔ-meʔ*
 he set the fire down. [Then] [incense root] in his hand

wiŋqʷay (27) *xʷe-di-gʷaʔaW-ʔanʔ-te* (28) *h[ayaʔ]* *taʔnaʔn*
 he rubbed it. "What I wonder is going to be?" (he says). [Then] "Water"

č'ide-neʔ (29) *h[ayaʔ]* *taʔnaʔn* *ʔaht'in-diy* *xa-kʷinyoW*
 he said. [Then] water everywhere it flowed up, boiled up.

(30) *h[ayaʔ]* *ʔač'ondehsneʔ* *do- niwiŋWon[ʔ]*²⁵ *teht*
 [Then] [he thought,] "Not it will be good"

(31) *ʒahda* *wintaŋʔ*²⁶ *hay-yô-w* *tinyayxe-neW*²⁷
 Too many it got those (*kʷixinay*) had gone wrong
 in speech (taboos).

(32) *h[ayaʔ]* *ya-naʔwiŋê-n* *yideʔ* *misq'i(d)-yinag* *hayah*
 [Then] he picked up the downriver above *misq'id* there
 (torch) again;

noʔniŋe-n *hay* *xoŋʔ* (33) *h[ayaʔ]* *to-č'inʔ* *naʔteʔiŋʔ-hid*
 he put it the fire. [Then] down to when he looked
 down, the river back,

ta-ne-ʒi(d)-yinag *toqʷi* *xaʔkad*
 in the middle of the a salmon jumped up.
 river upstream

- (34) *h[aya-t]* *ʔač'ondehsneʔ* *kʷisleh* ²⁸-*teht* *xolan* *digʷaŋ*
 [Then] [he thought,] "It will be lots evidently here."
 (of fish caught)
- (35) *h[aya-t]* *hayah* *ʔaya:xołč'ide:neʔ* *hay-yô w*
 [Then] [there] he told them, those
- tinyaʔxe:nehW* ²⁹-*neʔin* *nohni-ʔeʔn* *ʔoh* *na'sohdilinʔ* ³⁰-*te:*
 who had sinned in speech, "You (pl.) for your part grass you will turn into,
- kʷimâ w* *ʔa:noht'e-te* (36) *hayah-mit* *hayi* *yaywehsyoʔ* ³¹
 medicine you will be." [Then] that they all liked.
- (37) *h[ayahaʒi]d* *q'ad* *hayah* *č'idiwilyeʔ* *naʔnehłtaʔ*
 [Then] right there they danced, they stamp danced.
- (38) *h[ayahaʒi]d* *yideʔ* *č'itehswe:n* *hay* *xoŋʔ*
 [Then] downstream he carried it along, [the] [fire]
- misq'id* *yinace:nʔ-č'iŋʔ* *hayah* *noʔniŋe:n* *hay* *xoŋʔ*
 on the river bank above *mis-q'id*; there he put it down [the] [fire]
- hayah* *naʔnehłtaʔ* (39) *hayah-mit* *misq'id-č'iŋʔ*
 [there] they stamped. [Then] to *mis-q'id*
- č'iniŋe:n* *hay* *xoŋʔ* *hiʒid* *hayah* *noʔniŋiŋ-hid*
 he brought it, [the] [fire,] [then] there when he had put it down,
- hayah* *č'idiwilyeʔ* (40) *h[aya-t]* *hay-yô w* *tinyaʔxe:nehW* ³²-*neʔin*
 [there] [they Jump Danced.] [Then] [those who] [had done wrong (in speech taboos)]
- ʒahda:* *wintaʔn* *kʷixinay* *hayi* *ʔoh* *na:yaʔasdileʔn*
 got to be too many *kʷixinay*, those all turned into weeds.
- (41) *h[ayahaʒi]d* *hay* *č'eʔidiniŋeʔ* *q'ad hay*
 [Then] that their finishing up the dance as soon as
- mintan-di(n)* *yisxâ:ni-mit* *hay* *kʷixinay-neʔin* ³³ *tahsyay*
 ten days passed the *kʷixinay* [past] they went off each to his place.
- (42) *h[aya-t]* *hay* *do-niWo:n* *ʔeʔŋ* *q'ad*
 Then the ones who were bad for their part then
- xa:di* *de:di-meqʔ* *ʔoh* *na:yaʔasdileʔn*
 right in this (valley) weeds they all turned into.

(20) When all of the fir-bark had burned up and the fire died down, the dancers finished. (21) They did it like this for five days.

(22) Then they did the Jump Dance in the house, also for five days. [m]

(23) When the dancers stopped dancing, and came out of the dance, they sat down and moved their faces from side to side, [n] dressed in “rolls” (**me-wi-na-sita-n**), to the accompaniment of a song — they “cracked acorns”. [o]

(24) After ten days, he (Wolf) carried the fire off downstream toward **mis-q'id**. (25) He set the fire down on the downstream side of **nin?-me?-xa'sindit-diq**. [p]

(26) Then he rubbed some incense-root in his hand. (27) “I wonder what is going to happen?” [q] (28) Then he said, “Water!” [r] (29) And water surged out of the ground everywhere. (30) And he thought: “It won't be good!” (31) There had gotten to be too many wrong-doers. [s]

(32) He picked up the fire again and took it to a place further downriver just upstream from **mis-q'id**. (33) Looking down to the river, he saw a salmon jump up in the middle of the river upstream.

(34) And he thought, “It seems that lots of fish will be here.”

(35) Then he told the wrong-doers there, “You, for your part, will turn into grass. You will be medicine.”

(36) They all liked that. (37) They did the Jump Dance and stamped right there. (38) Then he carried the fire downstream to the riverbank above **mis-q'id**, where he put the fire down and they again stamp-danced. [t]

(39) Then he took the fire into **mis-q'id**, and when he had put it down there, they did the Jump Dance. [u] (40) And all those wrongdoing **k'ixinay** turned into weeds.

(41) After ten days, the dance was finished and the **k'ixinay** dispersed. (42) The ones who were bad, for their part, they turned into grass right there in the valley.

(43) And he said: “When people come down to earth, they will always do things in this way when they hear about sickness anywhere the world.

(44) It is for the Indians that I have done this. (45) Thus it will be that they will Jump Dance in the face of sickness.”

(46) Thus only it is.

[a] This is the formula of the Jump Dance which used to be danced in the springtime at **mis-q'id** after a preliminary dance at **ta?k'imit-diq**. (The other — primary — Jump Dance, held in the fall following the White Deerskin Dance, is danced only at **ta?k'imit-diq**.) It has not been performed since the beginning of this century, but the details of the ceremony are outlined in Goddard (1903: 82) and in Kroeber and Gifford (1949: 62). According to Sam Brown (quoted in Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 63) the last performance

of the Misq'id Jump Dance occurred in 1908 or 1909. The timing of the Misq'id Jump Dance is not clear. It was apparently a spring dance, loosely correlated with the spring run of salmon, but some informants indicated that the dance could be held at any time that sickness or calamity threatened the Hupas (Goddard 1903: 87; Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 62).

The formula follows the general pattern of World Renewal origin myths among the Yuroks and Karuks, in that it takes place in pre-human times, when animal beings and *k'ixinay* inhabited the world. It is structured as a medicine formula for a ceremony that is basically a preventive against epidemic illness, but allusions to the abundance of salmon (line 17 and 33-34) also indicate some connection with a first-fruits ritual. Wolf's discovery of the correct place for the ceremony in *mis-q'id* by trial and error (cf. lines 26-34) is typical of Yurok myths, and there are parallel incidents in Lame Billy's version of the Origin of the Weitspus Deerskin and Jumping Dances (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 117-120.)

Some of the incidents of the Misq'id Jump Dance formula given here can be found in a section of the myth of *yiman-tiw'winyay*, dictated by Sally Lewis in 1901, in Goddard (1904: 104-105, 127). Goddard (1904: 234-36) also gives another text, specifically identified as a formula for the spring Jump Dance, that was dictated by Senaxon in 1901. This formula, however, is quite different from the present one in incident and structure.

[b] A mountain in the Bald Hills country, northeast of Redwood Creek.

[c] The noise was being made by people (or *k'ixinay*) running about doing crazy things, breaking the rules, and not living properly. This was ruining the world, and causing sickness to come.

[d] The noise was of the different kinds of people ruining the world and not of the sickness.

[e] These are thunder clouds which always cause sickness. When Indians saw too many of them they said sickness was coming.

[f] What follows from here to the end of the text is a detailed description of the contemporary ceremony, related as the actions of its institutor in pre-human times. This is the standard structure of a medicine formula.

[g] The priest for the ceremony (*k'isčiw* 'the one who has peeled bark') goes out each day to gather fir-bark for the ceremonial fire. He is accompanied by a girl who wears a wreath of myrtle twigs and neither the priest nor the girl can eat or drink during this time. They peel the bark from standing trees (dead bark must not be used) on a mountain on the west side of Hoopa Valley, back of Oscar Brown's residence. In addition to the bark they bring back two pieces of tan-oak wood to lay over the fireplace to support the bark. (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 62).

[h] A preliminary sweat dance (*xoŋ' mina-č'itina'w* 'fire-they go around') is danced for five days and nights around a hot fire in the Big House (*xontah-nik'arw*) at *ta'k'imit-diŋ*.

[i] The priest sits in the house while the dancing is going on, while the dancers, all men, wear deerskin robes and myrtle-twig wreaths (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 62).

[j] The leader enters first followed by the other dancers in line, each putting his hands on the shoulders of the one ahead (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 62).

[k] This indicates a tie between the spring Jump Dance and first-fruits rites for the salmon run, which would parallel a similarly loose integration in Yurok and Karuk World Renewal ceremonies (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 128). However, the Hupa First Salmon ceremony (see text 6) apparently had no connection with the spring Jump Dance or with any other World Renewal ceremony.

[l] The fire is hot, the dancers sweat and get burned, and it is something of a feat of endurance. The dancers can not quit or pause even to rub their legs if they are blistered by the heat. The roof boards of the Big House are removed to let out the light of the fire in order to frighten away sickness. Much incense root (*mixač'e?-xolern*) is burned (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 62). It is not clear what is meant by "stretching" (*č'itidyos* 'they stretch themselves') in this context.

[m] After the preliminary sweat-dance, the dancers return to the *xontah-nik'a-w* for a regular Jump Dance, this time only with a small fire.

[n] They look to right and move their heads slightly, then to left (no special rule as to which side first).

[o] The appropriate term to refer to the head motion and song. The motion must not be referred to literally but only as "cracking acorns". In general, words for foods are used in this ceremony as substitutions for more common words, especially words for sickness and rain (see note r below).

[p] A place on the riverbank between *ta'k'imit-diq* and *mis-q'id*. Wolf-Old Man is being the dance leader (*ma-č'iga'l*), carrying the fire from one danceground to another. The dancers follow him.

[q] He is testing the place to see if it is an appropriate danceground.

[r] A word that is forbidden at a Jump Dance. Instead of *ta'n'an* 'water' you must say *k'insinto?* 'grease'. A number of common words are tabooed (*tiŋxiniwidyeH*) at all World Renewal dances, but the rules were particularly strict at the *mis-q'id* dance.

[s] If the people had been sinless he might have risked having the dance at this place, but with things being the way they were (the noise everywhere, etc.) he couldn't take the chance. He had to find a place where nothing would happen when he mentioned a forbidden thing.

[t] This place is called *mine-žix*-na'ne?ihtał-diq* ('half way-where they stamp-dance').

[u] They dance for ten days at *mis-q'id* in a pit or depression in front of a newly-erected fence of boards. The *ta'k'imit-diq* people go home every night, whereas the *me'dil-diq* people, being too far from home, camp out (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 62).

5. The Acorn Feast

Narrated by Sam Brown. Notebook III, pp. 1-20.

- (1) *t'anq'i te'inahW-te'l-id* *xa:ya'ane?ite?*¹ *hay* *da:ydi-diŋ*
 Fall, at the time of acorn falling – they look for it, the what - at place,
 when it is to go, become when it is to go, become where

- k'iwinya'n*² *ninyay* (2) *hayahažid* *q'ad* *hay* *na:k'e'idiw-miŋ*
 acorns come, are [Then] [now] [that] when the (acorns) begin
 plentiful. to drop to the ground,

- xoh ta'a-heh*³ *ya:ya'wa'aWil*⁴ *xoh q'ad* *hay* *mina?*⁵ *heh*
 even if only one, they pick them up one even the ones with worm-holes
 by one, as they go along in them (won't ripen).

- (3) *žij-k'o'w-id* *Wa'ne* *k'a'da'ane?* (4) *wilwiŋ-diŋ* *do* *na?'atxiŋ*
 By day only they gather acorns. In the evening they never handle them

- k'iwinya'n* *doŋq'a?* *ma' -de'ida'aW*⁶ *te'ixisi-ma'n*
 acorns before they pray (in the because they (acorns)
 Acorn Feast ceremony) fly away, become scarce.

- (5) *hayahažid* *q'ad* *hay* *do-ta'n-zi-heh*⁷ *dah-č'iwizižil*⁸
 [Then] then when even if but little they put them up one after another
 (acorns) (day by day) on drying platform.

- (6) *yiwidin-de?* *?e'ita'n-e'y*⁹ *xa'at'iŋ-x'* (7) *q'a(d)* *tân*
 Finally it becomes so doing. Now many
 [plentiful]

- ?e'iliv-miŋ* *xowan-ya?[a]nitinâ·W*¹⁰ *hay* *ya?k'iwincid-te'*
 when they he (or she) goes to each one, the ones who are going to pound
 become, (women constituting Acorn Lodge)

- (8) *č'ixoya-de'itxid* *hay q'ad* *me'ya?wintaj?*¹¹ *xola'n*
 He (or she) asks them all if already it has become the as it seems
 enough to them all

- ta'h* *k'icid* (9) *hayahažid* *q'ad* *hay* *č'o'ot'ic'idi-miŋ*
 (for) one pounding. [Then] when finally when he learns it
 (that there are enough),

- ?ayaxot'ide'ine?* *hayah-de?* *ya:k'iwidicid-te'*
 he tells them, "At that we will pound acorns."
 (future) time

(10) *hayahažid* *q'ad hay* *me?ina?Wi-mił* *?aht'iŋ* *hay*
 [Then] when finally the time comes all those

k'iwincid-te *č'ine?inâ?W* (11) *wilwił-diŋ* *xontah-nik'a?w-diŋ*
 who are to pound acorns they come there. In the evening (to) the Big House

ya?ne?iwi?W *hay* *k'iwinya?n* *?aht'iŋ* *hay* *č'ide-č'wiŋ*
 they pack it there the acorns, all the cooking utensils,

hay *mił* *wana?asde?X*^{12-te} *ło?q'* *łiwi?Wxâ?n*¹³ *hay*
 that with which they will be busy, salmon, eels, the

miq'eh *no?ya?k'iniŋxan-te*¹⁴ (12) *hayahažid* *hayah*
 [(fish) which they will use for the feast.] [Then] there

*xwe?ya?alwil*¹⁵ *hay* *xontah-me?* (13) *hayahažid* *xiłe?-daŋ?*
 they (women) all camp over night, the Big House in. [Then] in the morning

yehč'e?ina?W *hay* *yinagi-č'isdây* *č'islin?-te*¹⁶ (14) *hayahažid*
 he comes in, the one who "Acorn Provider" is about to become. [Then]

č'e?il?W *mixa-č'e?-xole?n* *ma?-de?da?a?aw*¹⁷ (15) *hayahažid*
 he brings out incense root he puts it in the fire (= prays with it). [Then]

yo?w *camehsłon*¹⁸ *?aht'in* *na?ame?* (16) *xoninč'wine?*^{19-mił}
 those women all swim, bathe. Their face dirt - with (= with dirty faces)

do *k'vicid* (17) *hayahažid* *q'ay?te* *me?* *no?oli?W*
 [there is no pounding]. [Then] basket plate in it he lays it down

mixa-č'e?-xole?n *hay* *ce?-k'viŋ?a?g'a?n* *q'ad* *hay*
 incense root (and) the stone-pipe, [now] the one

mižin *hay* *xontah-nika?w-diŋ* (18) *hay q'ad*
 that belongs to it the Big House place. That time when

k'iwinya?nyâ?n *na?na?nde?X-daŋ?*²⁰ *wiŋ?a?*²¹ *hay*
 Indians got to live - since then, it lies there the

k'viŋ?a?g'a?n (19) *q'ad* *hayi* *mižin* *hay-yô?w*
 pipe. Now it (pipe) belongs to that (to which the pipe belongs)

no?k'viŋxan *na?ŋ?a?*
 picnic-ground it (ground) lay there, lies still.

- (20) *kʷiwinyaʔnyān* do midenaw²² ʔa[h]-x^w²³ (21) qʻad hay
 Indians they never touch it for no reason, Now those
 without cause.
- kʷiwinyaʔn* čʻoʔoʔyoht^{24-te} hiʒid čʻeʔaʔaW hay
 acorns they'll blow at them that time they bring out the
 (= pray with incense),
- kʷiŋʔaʒyaʔn* hay ʔahtʻiŋ hay mixačʻeʔ-xolēn tah
 pipe, that all the incense root also,
- ʔaʔay-din* noʔoliW hay-yô-w qʻayʔte-meʔ (22) hayahaʒid
 in one place they lay it down that in basket-tray. Then
- čʻeʔaʔaW* miʔ-xoŋʔaʔdiʔeʔn hiʒid ʔaʔ[kʷ]oʔw-e-din xoniŋʔ
 he brings black soot with which they hiʒid ʔaʔ[kʷ]oʔw-e-din xoniŋʔ
 it out paint themselves, then all over his face
- xaʔldeʔ*²⁵ naʔaʔčʻeʔ xoxaʔeʔ qʻinaʔ (23) hayahaʒid de-xo
 dotted over he makes it again, his body too. [Then] this way
- yinagi-dinan* čʻineʔicaʔ (24) hayahaʒid hay camehsʔôn
 [facing] upstream he sits down. [Then] the women
- yaʔkʷiwincid-te* naʔce-din xoniŋʔ qʻayʔ-nehs čʻeʔiʔčʻeʔ
 who are going first (ahead of her face long marks he makes
 to pound other women) (vertical) them
- hayi* ma-kʷicid (25) ʔahtʻiŋ xaʔx^weʔiliw (26) hayahaʒid
 the leading pounder. All he does that to them. [Then]
- qʻad* kʷiwaʔdi-meʔ naʔyaʔditiʔwal²⁶ (27) hayahaʒid
 now winnowing pan - in they spill the acorns [Then]
 (for blowing of their skins) (shelled and seasoned).
- dahyaʔkʷideʔiʔčʻwoʔy*²⁷ xonʔ-čʻinʔ-dinaŋ (28) ʔahtʻin
 they shake them up & down facing toward the fire. All
 & blow skins off
- dahyaʔkʷideʔiʔčʻwoʔyi* hiʒid qʻad yaʔkʷeʔicid naʔce-din
 they shake and clean, [and] then they pound; first
- naʔneʔiʔcił* hay ma-kʷicid (29) ʔahtʻin do kʷiwidyaʔn
 she comes down the leading pounder. All never eat, without eating
 with her pestle,
- do ta-winaʔn*²⁸ (30) hayahaʒid qʻad ʔahtʻiŋ yaʔacidi-miʔ
 never drink, [Then] now all when they've
 without drinking. (acorns) pounded them
- yaʔkʷiteʔiwaʔd* hiʒid kʷiye kʷeʔsdeʔ naʔyaʔacid
 they fan them when again acorn lumps still again they pound them.
 (into *kʷiwaʔd*); unpounded

- (31) *hayahažid* [Then] *hayi* that (*kʷe:sdeʔ*) *taːnaːyaʔatcił-mił* when they've pounded it up, *kʷiyeː* again
yaʔkʷiteʔiwad they shake it (into *kʷiwad* from *mił-kʷitiwad*).
- (32) *hayahažid* [Then] *qʻad* now *ʔahʔi[n]* all *miłtoːy-meʔ* into cooking basket
naːyaʔdeʔitwāl they dump the (acorns) *hižid* [and] *meʔisd* pestles *łaʔay-din* in one place *noːnaːyaʔaliW* they lay them down,
qʻayʔkʷisdi-tah also basket *hižid* that time, *ʔahʔin* all *hay* the *čʻidečʻin* cooking utensils *qʻayʔtimit-meʔ* in the burden- basket
noːyaʔaliW they lay them down; *hižid* [then] *toːčʻinʔ* towards the river *xodaːyaʔkʷeʔiwiW* they pack the things (pl.) down, *xoŋʔ* fire *qʻinaʔ* too
yaʔteʔiwiW they pack it along. (33) *hayahažid* [Then] *hayah* there *kʷitaːlcid* acorn-soaking *wan-naʔadil* they go about it.
- (34) *tiwan* One (woman) *čʻwž* wood *čʻoneʔičʻid* she goes after it *tintaw*²⁹ off in the woods; *doː deʔditiW* [they] never put into the fire
*noːkʷixiW*³⁰ what floats on to (= driftwood), *doː-niWoni-man* not-good it is - for that reason (to do so). (35) *kʷinehstʻaːn* Tan-oak wood *Waːneː* only
ʔisdeːw-hił madroña-with it, too *mił teːnaʔaliW* they build a fire with. (36) *hayahažid* [Then] *qʻad* now *kʷitaːyaʔatcił* they soak the (acorns).
- (37) *qʻadeʔ* After a while *kʷeʔilxaʔni*³¹-mił when it becomes sweet, *naːyaʔkʷeʔilaːW* they rinse it off; *hižid* [then] *tiwan* one (woman)
naʔteʔidaːW she goes back to the house; *yohtciʔid*³² to know *čʻixʷeʔitčʻeʔ* she makes him *hay* the *yinagi-cʻisday* 'upriver sitter'
cʻisleʔn he who has become. (38) *hayahažid* [Then] *yinagi* upriver *naʔneʔidâːW* she arrives back; *hižid* [then] *xoŋʔ* fire
xaːnaʔseʔiwiW the (head pounder) carries it back up *noʔkʷinxaːn-din* picnic ground *hay* the *maː-kʷicid* leading pounder. (39) *ʔahʔin* All
xaːnaːyaʔkʷiseʔixaːW bring vessels with acorns going back up to (cooking place) *hayah* there.

(40) *hayahažid* *xoʔži* *ʔe'naʔaliW* *nikʔah-xʷ* *ʔisde'w* *ma-noʔotiW*³³
 [Then] really big the make a big-ly; madroña at the bottom she puts it,

kʔinehstʔan *miqʔis* (41) *hayahažid* *ce'lnat'* *xa'yaʔsitiwiW*
 tan-oak along [Then] rocks which are each one packs it with it. used to cook acorns up to it (place).

(42) *hayahažid* *ʔahʔiŋ* *hayi* *de'yaʔdeʔiliW* (43) *hayahažid* *qʔad*
 [Then] all these they put them into [Then] now, (rocks) the fire. at last

hay *ta'yaʔkʔeʔimil*³⁴-*mił* *hay* *yinagi-cʔisdây* *cʔisleʔn* *čʔeʔina'W*
 when they start stirring the 'Acorn Provider'-impersonator he goes out the (mush),

*xontah-nikʔa'w-din-dag*³⁵ (44) *hay* *niłtagi* *na'daʔay* *mideʔina'W*
 of the Big House, up to the hills. The black standing he goes close past oak there it.

(45) *nahxi-le'n* *xoniŋʔ-q'eh* *čʔe'kʔiŋxar'*³⁶
 Two buckskins sewed together, along his face he/it had it Indian blanket covered over.

(46) *mixa'čʔeʔ-xolê'n-mił* *xonʔ* *čʔiteʔiwiW* *qʔayʔte-meʔ*
 Incense root with fire he packs off, in the basket plate

čʔiteʔixâ'W *hay* *ce-kʔiŋʔa'gʔan* *mixa'čʔeʔ-xolê'n-hił*³⁷
 he carries along in vessel the stone pipe [incense root] along with.

(47) *hayahažid* *hay-yô'w* *noʔkʔiŋxan-din* *mitineʔ* *niŋʔay-q'eh*
 [Then] that picnic ground its road along where it runs

čʔiteʔinâ'W *čʔineʔina'W-e'y*³⁸ *hayah* (48) *hayahažid* *čʔineʔicardi*
 he goes off, he then arrives there. [Then] he sits down

hayah *de-xo* *yinagi-dinaŋ* *kʔiwinyaʔnyâ'n* *do' čʔinehłʔe'n*
 there, this way facing up the river; people he never looks at.

(49) *hayahažid* *qʔa(d)* *kʔeʔiteʔeʔi-mił* *łiwan* *kʔiwinyaʔyâ'n*
 [Then] now when everything is cooked, one person Indians, people

*mixa'*³⁹ *naʔteʔida'W* (50) *hayahažid* *qʔad* *ʔahʔin* *čʔineʔinâ'W*
 after them he goes back [Then] [now] all arrive there, (to village).

hižid *nahxi-lê'n* *noʔotkʔô's* *hay-yo'w* *yinaga-cʔisdây* *cʔisleʔn*
 [then] double he (takes it all off &) that Acorn Provider actor. buckskin blanket puts it down

- (51) *hayahaʒid* [Then] *ma-xodaʔana:W* (actor) takes the lead in going down *to-č'inʔ* to the river. (52) *ʔaht'in* All
- xoq'eh* following him *xodaʔana:W* they go down; *hiʒid* [then] *naʔameʔ* they swim; *ce* (little) rocks *ya:yaʔtiliW* they all pick up
- na:q'* gravel; *tehyaʔkʔeʔičʔaʔ⁴⁰-mit* when they throw them into the water, *ʔa:yaʔdeʔineʔ* they say, *kʔo:le⁴¹* "Let lots (of fish) become!"
- (53) *ʔaht'in* All *naʔameʔ-mit* when they bathe, after bathing, *xa:naʔsitindil* they all come back up to, *hiʒid* [then] *qʔad* now
- naʔneʔilčʔaʔn⁴²-ey* they eat. (54) *tinʔ* Dogs *do* never come there *nina:W* the *hay* noʔkʔiŋxa:n-diŋ picnic place.
- (55) *hayahaʒid* [Then] *qʔad* now *ʔaht'in* all *kʔeʔiyaʔni-mit* having eaten *sahnaʔadeʔn⁴³* they go back (to village).
- (56) *ʔaht'in* All *cid* first *xolaʔ* their hands *na:naʔkʔeʔitdiw* they wash (again), *doŋqʔaʔ* before
- naʔtida:W⁴⁴* they go off home. (57) *hayahaʒid* [Then] *xoʔʒi* really *nikʔah-xo* in a big way *te:naʔaliW* they build a fire.
- (58) *tiwan* One *kʔehta:n* maiden (having had courses), *hay* the one who *daʔni* a while before *ce* rocks *kʔičʔinʔ⁴⁵* to the (old) pile
- noʔoliW* had added, put down, *yo-č'inʔ* to that pile *naʔdeʔitwal* always dumps them down. (59) *hayi* That (girl) *mixa:čʔeʔ-xole:n* incense root
- čʔeʔicid* she pounds (before they bring acorn flour to the river); *hiʒid* that time *ʔaht'in* all *na:yaʔxʔeʔitmeʔ* she bathes them (humans), sprinkles water on them,
- hay* the *ce* rocks *na:yaʔasdileʔn* that had become *čʔixolčʔe-daŋʔ* in days when things become transformed; *hay* the *noʔkʔiŋxa:n* picnic ground *miceʔ* rocks
- na:diwilwaʔλ-diŋ* where they had been dumped down *yinag-e:nʔ-čʔiŋʔ* on the upriver side *dahya:yaʔwiŋʔeʔλ* which are sitting up (human) *hay-a:ŋʔ* they are the ones
- hay* who *čʔixolčʔe-daŋʔ* at the transformation time *xine:W* talking, what they were told (by chiefs) *do* not they minded, *miq'eh-na:yaʔasʔaʔ⁴⁶*
- ce* rocks *na:yaʔasdileʔn⁴⁷* they turned into *hayah* there.

- (60) *hay-a[n]ʔ-mâ:n* *hay-yô·w* *kʷehtca'n* *na'yaʔxʷeʔitmeʔ*
That is the reason that maiden bathes them all.
- (61) *ʔahʔiŋ* *xaʔa'yaʔxʷeʔiliw-miʔ* *naʔneʔidâ·W* *hay-yo·w*
All having done so to them all, she comes back (to) that
- noʔkʷiŋxa'n-dij* (62) *miʒeʔe'din* *q'ad hay* *miʒin(i)-ʔant'e*
picnic ground. Infants, children already belonging to it (Acorn Feast)
- ʔahr'i[n]* *miniŋʔ* *xa'ldeʔ*⁴⁸ *č'eʔiʔčʷeʔ* (63) *hayahaʒid*
all their faces dotted up he makes them. Then
- hay-yô·w* *no'ndiyaʔn*⁴⁹ *kʷiwiyal* *ʔahʔiŋ* *na'naʔatid* *hiʒid*
that left over food all they burn up; [then]
- ʔaʔdeʔineʔ* *kʷiya·W* *mikʷan* *niwindinʔ-te* *hay* *niniʔa'n*
he says: "Birds their insides will get oily, filled up, no appetite (for acorns); (in) that world
- no'ŋʔa-dij* *tehtčʷin-neʔin* *digʷaŋ* *no'nandixic'-te*
as far as it reaches (acorns) which grew here (Hoopa Valley) they will fly back.
- (64) *do-xoliŋ* *kʷiya·W* *ta'n* *yita'n*⁵⁰ (65) *niWoŋ-xʷ*
Not it is, will be birds much that it eats, they eat. Well
- naʔasʔaʔ-te* *kʷiwiyal* *hayi* *xoʔ-tehtʔin*^{51-te} (66) *hayi-ma'n*
they, he will handle, food, that one with him - it will reach long, will hold out." That is the reason why
- wilwiʔ-din* *do* *naʔatxiʔ* *kʷiwinyaʔn* *do* *č'ohtyoht*^{52-daŋʔ}
in the evening they never handle acorns before they blow at it (have Acorn Feast).
- (67) *ʔeʔilwil-miʔ* *ʔahr'i[n]* *me'naʔkʷeʔiʔtaxaʔ* *hay* *č'iniŋe'n*⁵³
When evening comes all (acorns) over, she covers them the ones she brought
- kʷiwinyaʔn* (68) *do* *saʔkʷixa·W* *do* *ʔo'lyoht-daŋʔ*
acorns. They never eat the acorns before it's been blown at.
- (69) *kʷiwinyaʔni-yâ:n* *miynilgʷid*⁵⁴ *hay-da* *ʔa'winiw*
Indians are afraid of it this way of doing (breaking laws).

(70) *miŋ-kʷilʷe:n*⁵⁵ *do* *čʷininâ·W* *hayah* (71) *daxo-qʷ* *ʷačʷintʷe*
 Menstruating woman she never comes there. In some way - he acts
 (= one who has had relations)

do *čʷinina·W* *xonistʷeʷ* *mičʷeʷn*⁵⁶ *do* *kʷa:n*⁵⁷ *hayah*
 not he comes there; his body which is dirty from copulation not he eats there;

*me·niwilgʷid*⁵⁸ (72) *hay* *čʷidilye·* *čʷiniŋʷân* *hay*
 it is feared, dangerous. The one the [World Renewal] dance who brought, the one

de *noʷkʷiŋxa:n* *hił* *hay* *taʷkʷimitdiŋ* *kʷixinay*
 this Acorn Feast too, that one at *taʷkʷimitdiŋ* *kʷixinay*

čʷisleʷn (73) *hayi* *naha·* *naʷasčʷeʷn* *hayda*⁵⁹ *ʷawiniw*
 turned into, became. That one for us he made it this way of doing.
 over

(74) *ʷahtʷiŋ* *hayi* *ʷaʷde·neʷ* *xaʷawineht-te* *digʷan* *yo·w-d*
 All that (which) he said in that way it would happen here at that, then

*čʷidiwilye-l-mit*⁶⁰ (75) *hayahažid* *qʷad* *ʷahtʷin* *naʷalidi-mit*
 when every time they dance. [Then] now all when it burns

hay-yô-w *nondiyaʷn-neʷin* *ʷahtʷin* *yideʷi* *naʷneʷidâ·W*
 that what had been left over (from eating), all down (to village) they go back and arrive

taʷkʷimit-čʷiŋʷ *hižid* *naʷkʷiteʷigiž* (76) *taʷa-diiŋ*
 toward *taʷkʷimitdiŋ*; [then] they play the tossing game. Sometimes

kʷin-na·naʷayaʷ (77) *cid* *xʷe·na·yaʷalwil* *łah*
 stick (gambling) game they play. The first time (before going home) they stay overnight once (one night)

hay *yaʷkʷicid* *xontah-nikʷa·w-meʷ* (78) *do* *naʷtida·W*
 the acorn-pounders in the Big House. Not each one goes back

xarʷa *hayi* *ženis* (79) *hay* *yeʷitxaʷ* *hižid* *xilʷe-čʷinʷ*
 that same day. That next day that time toward night

žiwaʷkʷiliW *ʷeʷiliw* (80) *qʷad* *hayi-qʷ* *Wa·ne*
 that they shell acorns it becomes (possible). Now that way only

ʷa·wilâw *hay-de·di* *noʷkʷiŋxâ·n* *naʷŋʷaʷ*⁶¹
 now it is done, this Acorn feast [which] lies there, is.

The Acorn Feast [a]

(1) When it is about to become autumn (**t'anq'**), people search for places where acorns are plentiful. [b] (2) Then, at the moment when acorns begin to fall, even if it's only one, they go along picking them up, even the ones with wormholes. [c] (3) They gather only by daylight. (4) They never touch acorns at night before they pray (in the Acorn Feast), lest the acorns stop ripening. [d] (5) However few there are, they keep piling them up on the drying platform.

(6) After doing this for a while, the acorns begin to accumulate. (7) When a lot of acorns have finally accumulated, [e] he [f] goes to each of the women who are going to be pounders. [g] (8) He asks them if there seems to be enough (of the acorns) for one pounding. (9) Then, when finally he learns that there are, he tells them: "Soon we will pound acorns."

(10) When finally the time comes, all who are going to pound acorns come together. (11) In the evening, they carry to the Big House the acorns, all the cooking utensils that they will be using, and the salmon and eels they will eat before finishing the Acorn Feast. (12) They stay overnight in the house.

(13) Then in the morning the man who is going to be the Acorn Provider (**yinagi-c'isday**) comes in. [h] (14) He takes out incense root (**mixa'č'e-xole'n**) and prays with it. (15) Then all those women bathe. [i] (16) They don't pound acorns with dirty faces.

(17) Then, in a basket plate, he [j] lays some incense root and the stone pipe (**ce-k'iq'arg'an**) that belongs to the Big House. (18) At the same time that people came to live on earth this pipe came into being. (19) The pipe (also) belongs to the Acorn Feast ground. (20) Indians never touch the pipe without cause. [k] (21) When they are about to pray over the acorns, he takes out the pipe, along with the incense root, and puts them down together in that basket tray. (22) Then he takes out some black body-paint (**mit-xoŋ'a'dil'e'n**) and makes dots all over his face and over his body too. (23) Then he sits down, facing upstream. [l]

(24) Then he puts long vertical marks (**q'ay[?]-nehs**) on the face of the leading pounder, before the women who are going to pound. [m] (25) He does that to them all.

(26) Then at this point they pour the acorns into a winnowing pan (**k'iward**). (27) Then they shake them up and down to remove their skins, facing toward the fire. [n]

(28) When they have shaken the skins off all of them, they pound; the leading pounder comes down with her pestle first. (29) None of the pounders eat or drink.

(30) Then, when they've pounded them all, they sift the meal, and they pound the remaining lumps (*k'v'esde*?) again. (31) When they have pounded these to pieces, again they sift the meal. [o] (32) At this point they dump it all into a cooking basket (*miltory*); they lay down the pestles in one place, together with the basket hoppers, and they put all the cooking utensils in a burden basket and they carry the them down to the river, along with the fire. [p] (33) Then they set about making leaching pits (*k'vita'leid*). [q]

(34) One woman goes to fetch firewood in the woods — they never put driftwood on the fire, because it isn't a good thing. (35) They build the fire only with tan-oak, together with madrone. [r]

(36) Then they leach the acorn flour. (37) After a while when it becomes sweet, they rinse it off, and one of the women goes back to the Big House to let the Acorn Provider impersonator know. (38) Then she comes back upriver, and the leading pounder carries the fire back up the bank to the feast ground (*no?k'iqxa'n-dig*). [s] (39) All the others carry the filled baskets (of leached acorn meal) back up there.

(40) Then they build a really big fire; [t] they put in madrone with tan-oak alongside it. [u] (41) Then each person carries a cooking rock up the bank. (42) They put all these rocks into the fire. [v] (43) Then, as soon as they start stirring the mush, [w] the Acorn Provider impersonator comes out of the Big House, going upslope. [x] (44) He goes past the black oak standing there. (45) A sewn buckskin blanket (*nahxile'n*) hangs over his face. [y] (46) He carries a burning piece of incense root, and, in a basket plate, he carries the stone pipe along with incense root. (47) Then he goes off along the trail to the Acorn Feast ground, and arrives there.

(48) Then he sits down there, facing upriver, never looking at the people. [z] (49) Then, when everything is cooked, [aa] one person goes back (to the village) to fetch the people.

(50) Then finally they all arrive, [bb] and the Acorn Provider impersonator puts down the buckskin blanket. [cc] (51) He takes the lead in going down to the river. (52) Everyone goes down following him, and they bathe — they all pick up stones and gravel, and as they throw them into the water, [dd] they say, "Let there be lots of fish!"

(53) After they have all bathed, [ee] they all go back up to the Acorn Feast ground and eat. [ff] (54) Dogs never come to the Acorn Feast ground. [gg] (55) When everyone has finished eating, they set off for home. (56) Everyone first washes their hands before leaving for home. [hh] (57) Then they build a really big fire. (58) One young woman, who a while before had put last year's rocks on the pile, dumps (this year's rocks) there (at the fire). [ii] (59) She pounds incense root and bathes all of those people who had become rocks in myth time (*č'ixolč'e-dag?*) [jj] — these are

ones who sit up on the upriver side of the Acorn Feast rock pile, the people who in myth time didn't mind what they were told, and turned into rocks there. [kk] (60) That is the reason why the girl bathes them. (61) Having done so to them all, she comes back to the Acorn Feast ground.

(62) Then they paint with dots the faces of the children who are participating in (the Acorn Feast). (63) Then any left-over food is burned, [ll] and they say, "Birds' insides will get greasy; [mm] the acorns which have been growing at the (far) end of the world will fly back here. (64) Birds won't eat many of them. (65) For him who handles it well, food will be sufficient." [nn] (66) This is the reason why they never touch acorns in the evening before praying over them (during the Acorn Feast). (67) When the evening comes, one covers up all the acorns one has gathered. (68) They never taste acorn mush before they've prayed. (69) People are afraid of doing this kind of thing.

(70) A menstruating woman never comes there (to the Acorn Feast). (71) One who "does something" (has sexual relations) never comes, nor does one whose body is dirty (from copulation) ever eat there — this is feared. [oo] (72) The one who brought the Jump Dance, and this Acorn Feast too, became a *k'ixinay* at *ta'k'imit-diq*. (73) It was he who created these practices for us. (74) Everything that he said will continue to be done that way every time they perform the World Renewal dances here.

(75) Then when all the left-over food has burned up, everyone goes back downstream (to *ta'k'imit-diq*) and they play the stick game (*k'itigiž*). [pp] (76) Sometimes they gamble.

(77) Before doing anything else the acorn-pounders stay one more night in the Big House. [qq] (78) They don't go back to their own houses that same day. (79) The next day at nightfall, it is all right to shell acorns.

(80) That is the only way to do the Acorn Feast.

[a] Among Northwest California groups only the Hupas had a first-fruits ceremony specifically for the acorn. The Acorn Feast (*sa'k'iŋxa'n*) was grouped with the First Salmon ceremony (texts 6 and 7) as a "feast" (*no'k'iŋxa'n*), marking the ceremonial beginning of the harvest and the removal of the restrictions on utilizing it. According to Goddard (1903: 80), no one belonging to the *ta'k'imit-diq* division was allowed to eat acorns of the new year's growth until the feast was held.

Unlike the Salmon ceremony, however, the Acorn Feast is also loosely integrated into the complex of World Renewal dances, usually being held at the time of the Jump Dance at the beginning of October, whatever the condition of that year's acorn crop. It is said to have been instituted by the same being who instituted the Jump Dance (see text 4), and this human-turned-*k'ixinay* is believed to return and keep watch over the performances of the Acorn Feast as well as the Jump Dance. Like the White Deerskin and the Jump Dances, the Acorn Feast also "belongs" to *ta'k'imit-diq*, more

particularly to the family of the Big House (**xontah-nikʷaʷ**), which provides both the priest and the leading pounder.

Some of the features of the Acorn Feast echo the First Salmon ceremonies that were performed by the Karuks at Amikiaram and the **meʹdixʷe** Hupas at Sugar Bowl, but the strongest affinities seem to be with Yurok rituals. The stone pipe (now lost) that was buried in the Big House at **taʹkʷimil-diq**, and used by the Acorn Feast priest and Acorn Provider Impersonator, was nearly identical in ritual function (and probably in shape) to the twin steatite pipes used in the Yurok First Salmon ceremony at WeLkwew, at the mouth of the Klamath River (Spott and Kroeber 1942: 171-172). The supernatural Acorn Provider (**yinaci-cʹisday**) is paralleled in Yurok belief by the long-bearded dwarf *megwomec* and impersonation of this figure plays a role in the World Renewal ceremonies at Kepel (Waterman and Kroeber 1938: 72).

The ceremony as described here by Sam Brown is the elaborate traditional ritual, which in 1927 had not been performed in its entirety for many years. An abbreviated ceremony, without a priest or Acorn Provider impersonator, continued until at least 1942. Mary Socktish, who was the leading pounder in these later years, gave a detailed description of the ceremony to Gifford in 1940 (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 57-59). Goddard collected the brief texts of two prayers or formulas connected with the Acorn Feast (1904: 233).

[b] Usually the Acorn Feast is held in early October, but if tanbark-oak acorns (the ones preferred by the Hupas) ripen early enough, and a sufficient amount can be gathered to feed the assemblage, it may be held in late September. It thus tends to be held at the same time as the Jump Dance, but there is no necessary correlation (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 57).

[c] Literally 'the (ones with) eyes' (*hay minaʹ*). These are used so as to get enough for the feast.

[d] After the Acorn Feast ritual has been completed, people can handle acorns after sundown (that is, pick them up, crack them, prepare them). Before then all acorns must be covered up at nightfall, for fear that someone may touch them. For the Feast, acorns must be cracked with teeth, not with rocks. Otherwise birds will get after acorns and pick at them all the time.

[e] Acorns from the year before may be used, provided there are some of the new crop (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 57).

[f] It is not clear whether this is to be done by the (male) priest or by the (female) leading pounder (cf. notes [g] and [h] below).

[g] Between four and six women do the pounding. The leading pounder (**ma-kʷicid**) must always be a woman belonging to the family that owns the Big House (**xontah-nikʷaʷ**) in **taʹkʷimil-diq**. Several women aid her. Sam Brown's mother used to be a helper.

[h] In addition to the women who do the pounding, a (male) priest used to carry out the preliminary rituals and then impersonate the Acorn Provider (**yinaci-cʹisday** 'he who sits upstream', the supernatural dwarf who looks after the acorn crop), although by 1927 this had not been done for many years and the women performed most of the ceremony on their own. The right to play **yinaci-cʹiday** resides in the Big House at **taʹkʷimil-diq**,

though it is not necessarily the head of the family who does it. — “In olden days there was a priest for the acorn ceremony. The last one was Old Roger [see Goddard 1903: plate 12, figure 4], my mother’s cousin, who served twice. The priest before him was Sanixson” (Mary Socktish, in Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 58).

[i] “I get up at 3 a.m. I go into the river and bathe in the cold water. My helpers do the same” (Mary Socktish, in Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 57).

[j] That is, the Acorn Provider impersonator. At this point, however, he is not in costume and is carrying out the functions of a priest.

[k] Sam Brown is speaking of the past. This pipe was lost or stolen about 1900. A set of two pipes—“male” and “female”—of a similar nature belonged to a house in the Yurok village of Welk^wew (Hupa **ce’lč’e?-diŋ**), at the mouth of the Klamath. These were made of single pieces of steatite (soapstone) and were about a foot long. They were kept in a stone box beneath the house-pit floor, and were used only in the Yurok First Salmon ceremony (Spott and Kroeber 1942: 171-172).

[l] He is now in the costume of the Acorn Provider. The impersonator sits on a stool (**miq’id-c’isday**), facing the rear wall of the house, and does not look at the women or at what they are doing. The lead pounder addresses him from time to time, but he does not respond.

[m] The lines are painted over the cheekbones.

[n] Each woman has a winnowing tray. They put some incense root into the fire as they do this, while the lead pounder addresses the Acorn Provider impersonator: “The smoke of the acorns will rest on the acorn mountains here. The acorns that grow far away will fly back to our mountains where the smoke rises” (Mary Socktish, in Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 57).

[o] The coarse pieces that are left are taken to the Acorn Feast ground to burn (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 57).

[p] They leave the Acorn Provider impersonator alone in the vacant Big House. No one must enter it while the leaching is being done. (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 57).

[q] Shallow leaching pits are made on the gravel bar, lined with sand, one basin for each woman. (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 57-8).

[r] This fire is for heating stones which are then used to heat the leaching water. These stones are discarded and not used for cooking the acorns.

[s] About 300 yards upstream from **ta’k’imit-diŋ**.

[t] Formerly this fire was laid by the Acorn Provider impersonator/priest (Goddard 1903: 81; Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 57-58).

[u] Madrone is laid at the bottom, tan-oak wood is laid next on top of it, and then any kind of wood except driftwood. — The sticks are first laid down in the form of a square, the first two pointing upstream toward the Acorn Provider’s country. The one who lays the sticks asks the Acorn Provider for acorns as long as a finger (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 57).

[v] These cooking stones are different from those used for heating the leaching water, and are called **ce’lnat’** (‘licked rocks’), because the women used to lick off what was left of the mush. The men, however, did not sample the mush from these rocks, for it was believed that if they did they might be easily hit in a fight.

[w] The mush is stirred with large wooden paddles, in the baskets as it is cooking. The word for this is *taʔkʷimit*, from which the name of the village of *taʔkʷimit-dij* is derived.

[x] A messenger from the Feast ground has informed him that the old cooking stones have been collected and added to the pile (see note ii below). He comes out between the sweathouse and the Big House (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 57).

[y] He wears a headband of mink, with the blanket on top of his head screening his face; he has another deerskin wrapped around his body like an apron.

[z] Nor do people look at him. When he comes out of the house you must not look at him, or else a tree will fall on you.

[aa] Salmon is broiled on sticks around the fire. Venison, however, is tabooed: a hunter who brought venison to the Acorn Feast would never kill another deer. The acorns cook while the salmon is broiling. Small cooking baskets with acorn dough are given to the visitors to cook for themselves. (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 58).

[bb] The people come along a special trail from *taʔkʷimit-dij*. Visitors from *meʔdildij* or elsewhere must follow the same trail. (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 58).

[cc] He lays it on the basket plate that contains the sacred stone pipe (Goddard 1903: 81).

[dd] Making it look as if salmon were leaping. According to Goddard (1903: 81) the impersonator says, "May as many salmon jump out of the river this fall."

[ee] The men bathe; the women just wash their faces (Goddard 1903: 81).

[ff] They eat in a circle, the men sitting on special stones that are part of the Acorn Feast ground (Goddard 1903: 81; Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 58).

[gg] In addition, the same prohibition is in force as at the White Deerskin and Jump Dances: one cannot call a dog by that term but must call him *toq-maʔaʔ* ('salmon louse'). According to Mary Socktish (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 58) this was so there would be plenty of salmon.

[hh] "If you go away unwashed, you are packing away all the acorns and they will be scarce that season." (Mary Socktish, in Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 58).

[ii] The rocks are left at the fire place until the next year, when a young unmarried woman clears them away before the new fire is built. She puts them on a large pile that has accumulated over the years, while the impersonator sits on a rock-stool nearby. One must never monkey around near this pile. If you do, you may get burnt or a tree may fall on you. — The pile measured 17 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 23 inches high (Goddard 1903: 81; plate 28). Kroeber estimated that it contained between 5,000 and 12,000 rocks. Since he observed at least 60 rocks being used for cooking at the 1901 Acorn Feast, as many as 200 ceremonies may have been represented (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 59). The pile was washed out in the flood of 1955.

[jj] Goddard (1903: 80) says that this ritual is separate from the Acorn Feast: "When frosts come in the fall someone from the TakimiLdiñ division, a man or a virgin, takes a basket of water with incense root and washes all these stones, praying, as he does it, that gentle rain may come and that the frost may go away."

[kk] One never touches the rocks on the banks or knolls above the Acorn Feast ground, because these are *kʷixinay* people who were transformed into rocks for disobeying rules. — According to Goddard (1903: 80), another account holds that these rocks (some of them standing in rows, others lying scattered about) were placed there by the *taʷkʷimit-diq* man who established the Jump Dance, to watch over the Acorn Feast.

[ll] Every year, at the end of the ceremony, all the scraps left over must be burnt, including the particles sticking to the cooking rocks.

[mm] That is, the birds will already be satisfied, so that they won't want to eat acorns.

[nn] The preceding lines are a paraphrase of the Acorn Feast formula, which is recited by the leading pounder and the other women while standing close over the fire. The full text is in Goddard (1904: 233).

[oo] The pounders can always tell if there are people present who have just had sexual relations. The pounders get headaches and become sick to their stomachs, because the *kʷixinay* don't like this.

[pp] A version of shinny.

[qq] According to Mary Socktish (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 58) only the head pounder spends the night: "The helpers follow me to the sacred living house, where I stay all night, while the helpers go home. I pray and wish for plenty of food."

6. The First Salmon Ceremony

Narrated by John Shoemaker. Notebook VIII, pp. 31-33.

- (1) *dahč'ine?ica'd* *tah-x^w* (2) *haya't* *č'iwiŋxan-te'*
 He sits down to fish [only, alone.] [Then] he will catch
 in a dip net
- to'q'* *xalo'qe?* (3) *haya't* *q'iW-mit* *k'ye-da'ây¹*
 salmon, silverside. [Then] alderwood-with fish-head
- č'iwitwe?-te'* (4) *haya't* *λohsč'il'ê-n* *misa?wił'ik'2-te'*
 he'll fight, strike it. [Then] hazel-switch rope he'll run it in its mouth,
- č'e'nit̄tin-te'³* *k'ixa'q'i-me?* (5) *hayah-de?-ž* *no?niłtin-te'*
 he'll take it out (from) in the dip-net. And then he lays it down.
 of the (fish net)
- (6) *haya't* *yisxande?-ž⁴* *no?k'iyxa'n* *na'nta'n-e-te'⁵*
 [Then] the [very] next day, feast [will come to lie there again.]
- (7) *hayah-mit* *niŋ?k'iywił'a'λ^{6-te'}* *miq'eh* *č'e?k'iyinint'a'c-te'*
 [Then] he'll cut the salmon, along it lengthwise, he cuts
 the length of it out
- do' na'te'dye-č'⁷* (8) *hayahde?ž* *xon?-č'i[n]?*
 while holding his breath. [Then] to the fire
- no?k'iyinigo(d)-te'* (9) *hayah-de?-ž* *na'na?wiłtin-de?* *t'ehW-q'i(d)*
 he'll put it on and stick (from) [Then] when he's taken it down
 it on to (spit roasting). again (off the stick), on charcoal
 (heated)
- no?niłte-n-e-te'* (10) *h[ayahažid]* *mixa'č'e?-xolê-n*
 he'll lay it down. Then [incense root, angelica]
- miq'i(d)* *dah-č'iwila-de?-ž-id* *t'ehW* *meq'i(d)* *dah-na?wila-de?-ž*
 on it (salmon) - just when he has charcoal when he has put it on again,
 put (the incense root) on, (another layer)
- haya't* *k'iyiwint'e?-te'* (11) *haya't* *tahna?k'is'an^{8-te'}*
 [then] it will be cooked. [Then] he takes the (salmon) out
 of the fire again.

- (12) *h[ayahaʒid]* *daŋWoʔ-gʷaʔ* *čiwinyanʔ-te* (13) *xoŋ* *hay*
 Then anybody at all eats it. He himself the one
 (whoever wants it)
- čixâW* *q'inʔ* *naʔwinyanʔ⁹-te* (14) *daŋWoʔ* *do* *yitaⁿ 10*
 who caught it also he too will eat it. Somebody does not eat
 in a dip-net [savor] it
- hay* *toq'* *hay* *mixač'eʔ-xole'ni-mił* *kʷe'lnaʔ 11* *tiwanin*
 the salmon, the (salmon) with [incense root] which is
 cooked; one alone
- č'eʔiyaʔn* *taʔa-din* *nahnin* (15) *hayah-mił* *hâyi*
 eats it, sometimes two. [Then] that (priest)
- do* *ta:winaʔn 12* *naʔayaʔ* *xoł-teʔilid* (16) *raŋq'*
 without drinking water goes about, with him it burns
 (he smokes himself). Fall
- me'na'diwiŋʔaʔ 13-deʔ-ʒ* *taʔwinaʔn-e-te* (17) *hayał-ʔeŋʔ* *q'ad*
 when it is close to it, nearly he will drink again. [Then] they, for
 joined to it again, their part now
- ʔah'iŋ* *hay* *yaʔaxâW 14* *kʷ[iwinyaʔnyan]* *yeʔiyaʔn 15*
 all that [he catches] [people] they eat.
- (18) *minłan-diŋ* *yisxa'ni-mił* *hay* *toq'i* *tahc'isten 16* *q'ad*
 Ten days after the salmon he has taken
 out of the water [now]
- hayah-mił* *yide:xoneʔiyiw 17* (19) *q'ad* *hayi-q'* *Wa'ne*
 [when] its time is up [Now] [that way] [only.]
 (and people do as they like).

The First Salmon Ceremony [a]

(1) (The priest) sits at his fishing net alone. [b] (2) He will catch a salmon in the net, a silverside (*xaloq'e*). [c] (3) He will strike it on the head with an alderwood (club). (4) He will run hazel twine (*χohs-č'il'e'n*) into its mouth and will take it out of the net. (5) And then he will lay it aside. [d]

(6) The next day the First Salmon feast (*noʔk'wiŋxa'n*) will be held at that place. (7) He will butcher the salmon, cutting it out lengthwise [e] while holding his breath. (8) Then he will roast it on a spit. (9) When he takes it off the spit, he will lay it down on hot charcoal. (10) After he puts incense root on it and puts (some more) charcoal on it, it will get cooked. (11) Then he will take it out of the fire.

(12) Anybody can eat it. (13) The one who catches it can also eat it. (14) Nobody likes to eat salmon which has been cooked with incense root — one person alone eats it, sometimes two. [f]

(15) The (priest) goes without drinking water, and sweats himself. (16) He will drink again (only) when it is nearly fall. [g]

(17) Finally, the people eat all the salmon he catches. (18) Ten days after he takes the first salmon from the water, the ceremonial restrictions (on the eating of salmon) are ended. [h]

(19) So that is the way it is.

[a] The First Salmon Ceremony, like the Acorn Feast held in the fall at **ta'k'imit-dij** (text 5), is basically a first fruits ritual performed to ensure the regular appearance of an important source of food. Both are occasions for communal eating, and are both called "feasts" (**no'k'iqxa'n**, literally 'setting baskets (of food) down (before diners)'). But while the Acorn Feast is linked to **ta'k'imit-dij** and has important connections with the fall Jump Dance there, the site of the Salmon Ceremony is near the upstream end of Sugar Bowl (the small valley south of Hoopa Valley) and belongs to the **me'dil-dij** division. Just as the right to be the leading acorn pounder or the priest who impersonates the Acorn Provider belongs to the family of the Big House at **ta'k'imit-dij**, the ritual of catching the first fish of the spring run can only be performed by a **me'dilx'e** man. In pre-reservation times this man usually came from **xahslin-dij**, the village upstream from Sugar Bowl.

The last Salmon Ceremony was held about 1910. John Shoemaker's father, and his older half-brother, Robinson, were the last officiants. Although John Shoemaker learned the formula (text 7) and believed that he knew enough to perform the ceremony, he never in fact carried it out. According to Sam Brown, John once asked Sam to learn the ceremony, saying that Sam was eligible because he was related to the Shoemakers through his mother's father, who came from the village of **me'dil-dij**. But Sam declined, preferring to concentrate on **ta'k'imitx'e** ceremonies.

Goddard's description of the Salmon Ceremony (1903:256-269) agrees in most of its details with the information here. For a general treatment of first salmon rites along the Pacific Coast see Gunther (1926, 1928).

[b] He wears beads around his neck and his face painted red, and carries a fish-skin quiver (Goddard 1903: 265).

[c] The first run of King salmon (*Onchorhynchus tshawytscha*). The timing of this run depends on the state of the river in any given year. In a wet year, when the river is high, there may be a spring run on the Klamath-Trinity system, beginning as early as March or as late as May. More reliably there is a summer run, beginning in July (Kroeber and Barrett 1960: 4-5). The Hupas distinguish between the **xalo'qe'**, the first run of King salmon, whether in spring or early summer, and the **č'alo'qe'**, the second or "summer" run. The Salmon Ceremony is held only for the **xalo'qe'**, which is considered a **k'ixinay** fish.

[d] He is not supposed to remove the fish from the net with his hands. — According to Gifford this prohibition is lifted after the fifth day of fishing. "Careful handling of salmon at all times, it was believed, was necessary to maintain success in fishing. Two spirits who dwell in the rocks on either side of the river above Sugar

Bowl made their business to watch how people handled the salmon. A fish must never be picked up by its tail or cast down hard. If it were handled by the tail 'the world would be ruined'" (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 60). See also Gunther (1928: 150-55).

[e] Leaving only the tail, according to Sam Brown; the guts are cleaned out. — Gifford observed John Shoemaker cut the fish "with a sharp flake of stone, not a hafted knife. Holding his breath, he drew the flake from head to tail down the backbone. Then further incisions were made to remove the viscera, but he need not hold his breath while making them. He left the knife at the fire." He also reports that the fish was laid "on a bed of bunch grass (so^oacho^o) from the high mountains, and tinačteke (a plant with white bell-like flowers which mature into long tomato-colored fruits)" (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 60).

[f] The priest is supposed to eat the whole fish. If he can do that, he is going to be lucky. The remains of the salmon are burned up with incense root. — According to Gifford, the ceremonially cooked first salmon is eaten only by the priest. The angelica gives the fish an unpalatable flavor, making the eating of it an ordeal, but the more the ceremonialist could eat, the luckier he would be. If he could eat all of it, he would be very lucky. (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 60).

[g] He goes without drinking water, although other liquids, such as thin acorn soup, are permitted. Although the text implies going without water for about 3 months, Sam Brown later said it was about 10 or 20 days. If this is not done, he will be bitten easily by a rattlesnake. — According to information John Shoemaker provided Gifford in 1940, this period both preceded and followed the first catching: "For ten nights before catching the first salmon the man prayed and sweated himself in the sweathouse at [xahslin-diŋ]. When sleeping, he placed angelica root under head and held it in his hand...For ten mornings he gathered sweathouse wood to burn at night...He drank no water during these ten days. Indeed, until Fall he drank only thin acorn soup and sweated himself occasionally. In the Fall he resumed a normal diet" (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 59).

[h] Until the First Salmon ceremony is held, people were not supposed to eat fresh salmon, although how widely this restriction was observed is not certain. Gifford (in Kroeber and Gifford 1949:60) quotes John Shoemaker as saying that the **ta^ok^ov^oimil-diŋ** were free to eat salmon even if the ceremony had not been performed. To mark the lifting of the restriction, a communal feast is held 10 days after the ritual catching of the First Salmon. During this period the priest continues to catch salmon; only he is permitted to do so. A woman assistant dries and smokes them in preparation for the feast on the tenth day. Anyone can attend the feast, except for menstruating women (**miŋk^ovil^oen**) or those who have recently given birth or had a miscarriage.

7. The Origin of the First Salmon Ceremony

Narrated by John Shoemaker. Notebook VIII, pp. 34-38.

(1) *ninisʔaʔn* *neʔži-xʷ* *sileʔni-mił* *ʔačʔondehsneʔ* *ʔisdoʔ*
 World in the middle when it had become, he thought, "I wish

łoqʔi *wilčʷêʔn*¹ *ye* *ʔileh*² (2) *hayał* *ʔačʔondehsneʔ*
 salmon is made in this way it becomes." [Then] [he thought,]

yidaɠ *yohčʔid* *xoWčʷeʔ*³ (3) *hayał* *qʔa(d)*
 "Up above they (it) should know it I'll make it." [Then] [now]

čʔitehsyay *yoʷ* *yidaɠ-e* *čʔininya-yeʔy* *nahslindiŋ*
 [he went off]; there above he arrived there at Katimin.

(4) *čʔininya-hid* *čʔiłtał-cʔiw* *taʔkiW-meʔ* (5) *minʔdayʔ*
 When he came there, he heard kick dancing [in the sweat house.] Outside

*čʔiwinyeʔn*⁴ (6) *taʔkiW-meʔ* *ʔaʔaʔdeʔneʔ* *daŋWoʔoW*⁵ *cʔisyiŋ*⁶
 he stood, came to stand. In the sweathouse they said, "Somebody is standing

minʔdayʔ (7) *hayał* *yaʔxonełʔeʔn* (8) *hayał-ʔaŋʔ*
 outside." [Then] they (came out and) looked at him. [Then] it is

ʔaʔdeʔneʔ *diniŋʔxinêW* (9) *hayał* *ʔaʔdeʔneʔ* *ʔaʔxotdêʔn*⁷
 one said, "A Hupa Indian." [Then] he said, "Tell him

*yehčʔoʔyaʔ*⁸ *yehčʔiwinyay* *hayał* (10) *hayał* *saʔa*
 he should come in;" he went in then. [Then] a long time

čʔiwindaʔe-y *dantaŋ-Woʔ-din* *xoW* *xʷełweł* (11) *h[ayahaʔid]*
 he stayed; several [it seemed] days he stayed there. Then

naʔtehsdiyay (12) *łe-nałdin* *čʔe-naʔandiya-hid* *łoqʔ*
 he set off for home. Weitchpec when he arrived back down, out from above salmon

miłxe-deʔ *yehnindilin*⁹-e-y *naʔtinixo-qʔeh*
 scales he saw scattered in (the Trinity) along through [Hoopa Valley].

- (13) *xahslindiŋ* *naʔandiya-ye-y* *toqi* *čisčʷeʔn-e-xolaŋ*
 At *xahslindiŋ* he came back; salmon he noticed they had made
- ʔaŋ-gʷaʔ* (14) *h[ayahaʒid]* *hay* *toqi* *nileh-xolân*
 he saw, Then the salmon that had, as he saw, arrived perceived. there [swimming]
- maʔ* *ce-yeh* *čisčʷeʔn* *hiʒid* *meʔ* *naʔleh* *čisčʷeʔn*
 for it hole in the he made, [then] in it (hole) it swims he let it. (salmon) ground around
- (15) *h[ayahaʒid]* *mič'inʔ* *čixeneW* *ʔahč'ide-neʔ* *diyWoʔ*
 Then to it he talked, he told it, "Something (food other than salmon)
- niq'eh* *čiwinyanʔ-deʔ* *xwe-da* *ʔandiyah 10-te* (16) *hayaʔ*
 after you if one eats, what are you going to do?" [Then]
- dah-wehslel 11* (17) *hayaʔ* *xa'ti-ʒ* *kviye* *naʔnahsliw*
 (near) the top it [Then] shortly again again it began [hovered]. to swim around.
- (18) *hayaʔ* *kviya* *ʔahč'ide-neʔ 12* *xaʔant'e* *niq'eh*
 [Then] [again] [he said (to the fish)], "Of that kind [after you]
- čiwinyanʔ-deʔ* *xwe-da* *ʔandiyah-te* (19) *hayaʔ* *kviye*
 [if he eats] [what] [are you going to do?"] [Then] [again]
- dahwehslel* (20) *hayaʔ* *kviya* *ʔahč'ide-neʔ* *xaʔant'e*
 it came to a halt [Then] [again] he said to the (fish), ["Of that kind] diving about.
- niq'eh* *čiwinyanʔ-deʔ* *ʔeŋʔ* *xwe-d* *ʔandiyah-te*
 [after you] [if he eats] [indeed!] [what] [are you going to do?"]
- (21) *hayaʔ* *xokʷaŋ-kviya-d 13* *niq'eh* *čiwinyanʔ-deʔ 14*
 [Then (he says),] "One who has after you [if she eats] miscarried
- xwe-da* *ʔandiyah-te* (22) *xa-wila-d* (23) *h[ayahaʒid]*
 [what] are you going It floated up [Then] to do?" to the top.
- č'e naʔnitŋ* *hiʒid* *naʔnahsliw*
 he took it out again, [then] it swam around again (in river).

- (24) *h[ayahaʒid]* *č'iniloy?* *yima'n-yinah-č'iŋ* *hay* *ma-dahwile'l*
 [Then] he led it [hither from across the leading (salmon), upstream]
- hay minaʔt'anʔ-tah* *kʷiyaW-me-daʔay* (25) *h[ayahaʒid]* *digʷa(n)*
 the one whose eyelashes (are) woodpecker scalps. Then here
- miq'eh* *yida-č'iŋ* *č'ite'loy?* (26) *hayah* *me?*
 along (upriver) [hither from he led it along. There in it downstream] (rock hole)
- č'iniloy?-ey* (27) *h[ayahaʒi(d)]* *miq'eh* *nindeʔ* *hay* *ʔo-q'*
 he led it to. [Then] after it they came, the salmon.
- (28) *h[ayahaʒid]* *naʔdiwinč'wid* *hiʒid* *na'tehsdilw* *hay* *ʔo-q'*
 Then he let go of the [and] it started swimming [the] [salmon.], back to is home,
- (29) *hayi* *miq'eh* *nindêʔ* *yima'ni-yinaga-č'iŋ?* *hayah*
 These after it it followed to the upstream ocean there
 (to that place);
- nandiliw*^{15-e} (30) *hayah* *ma-dahna-wehslɛl*^{16-e}
 he returned swimming There again it stayed floating near the surface back there. for it (leader of the fish).
- (31) *q'ad* *hayi-q'* *Wa'ne*
 [Now] [this way] [only.]

The Origin of the First Salmon Ceremony [a]

(1) When the world had been half made, [b] he thought, "I wish that salmon would be created!" [c] (2) Then he thought, "Let me let me make people aware of it up-country" [d] (3) Then he went off and arrived there up-country at Katimin (**nahslin-diŋ**). [e]

(4) When he got there, he heard the sound of kick-dancing (**č'ihʔal**) in the sweathouse. (5) He came up and stood outside.

(6) In the sweathouse they said: "Someone is standing outside." (7) They came out and took a look at him. (8) Then someone said, "A Hupa Indian! (**diniŋʔxineW**)" [f]

(9) Then someone said, "Tell him he should come in." He went inside then. [g] (10) He stayed there a long time, spending several nights.

(11) Then he set off for home. (12) When he arrived downstream at Weitchpec (**ʔena'l-diŋ**), he saw that there were salmon scales scattered along the river in through Hoopa Valley (**na'tinix***). [h]

(13) When he arrived back at **xahslin-diŋ** it was apparent that a salmon had been created there. [i]

(14) Then he made a hole along the riverbank for the salmon he saw had swum up there, [j] and he let it swim around in it.

(15) Then he talked to it [k] and said, "If a person eats something else after you, what are you going to do?" (16) It stopped swimming and lay still in the water. [l] (17) Then after a short while, it began swimming around again.

(18) Then he said, "If someone eats something of that kind after you, what would you do?" (19) And again it lay still in the water. [m]

(20) Then once more he asked, "If someone eats something of (another) kind after you, then what, in this instance, would you do?"

(21) Then again he said to it, "If a woman who has miscarried eats something after you, what would you do?" (22) It floated up to the surface. [n] (23) Then he took it out of the hole and let it swim around again in the river. [o]

(24) Then he brought the First Salmon (**ma·dahwilel**), [p] the one whose eyelashes are redheaded woodpecker scalps (**kviya·w-me·daʔay**), here from across the upstream ocean. (25) He led it along here, coming from downstream. [q] (26) He led it right there to inside the hole. (27) Then the other salmon came after it. (28) And then, when he let go of it, the First Salmon swam off back home. (29) The others followed it there — it returned there across the upstream ocean.

(30) There (at the upstream ocean) it remains the First Salmon.

(31) That is the only way it is.

[a] This is the formula which is to be recited by the man who performs the ritual of the First Salmon at Sugar Bowl (see text 6). Two other versions have been recorded. Goddard obtained a version from Robinson Shoemaker, John Shoemaker's half-brother, in 1901 (1904: 265-69). John Shoemaker, in addition to the present text, dictated an English version to E.W. Gifford in 1940 (in Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 124). Of the three versions—the two previously published and the present one—Goddard's is the fullest. According to Gifford (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 60) Robinson Shoemaker did not teach the formula to his half-brother, who learned it directly from his father and grandfather, and this may account for the many differences in the details of the narratives.

The formula makes a symbolic link between the Hupa ceremony and the Karuk First Salmon ceremony at Amikiaram, and the sacred sweathouse there with which it is associated. On the other hand, according to Sam Brown, the Yuroks looked down on this ceremony, and had no equivalent to it. It was believed that it rained in Orleans country when too many Yuroks came to the Karuk feast, and while Karuks could eat the salmon at the Hupa feast, Yuroks could not. This distancing of the Yuroks from the First Salmon ceremony is reflected mythically in Gifford's version of John Shoemaker's formula, where two Yurok **kvi·xinay** are said to have come to Karuk country before the

Hupa from **xahslin-diŋ**, but are sent away. The Hupa, however, is invited into the sweathouse.

These beliefs about the Yuroks seem somewhat at variance with the ethnographic facts, since there was an important First Salmon ceremony at the Yurok village of Welkew, (Hupa **ce'k'e'-diŋ**) at the mouth of the Klamath (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 99-100; Spott and Kroeber 1942: 171-179). While a number of the features of the Welkew rite have obvious Hupa parallels—such as cooking the fish in angelica to make the eating of it a (luck-bringing) ordeal—other features seem more closely connected with the Acorn Feast at **ta'k'imil-diŋ** (text 5), particularly the soapstone (steatite) pipes that were kept at the house with which the ceremony was associated.

[b] That is, when the **k'ixinay**, the first race of beings to inhabit the world, were about to move away and leave everything to the Indians.

[c] In Hupa cosmogony, the present state of the world is largely attributable to the actions of the **k'ixinay**, particularly the one called **yima'n-tiw'winay** ('he who went away across'), who transformed the "half-finished" world that they were abandoning into a place suitable for humans to inhabit.

[d] That is, over the mountains to the northeast, in Karuk country. The implication is that the salmon run (and the First Salmon ceremony) was intended first for the Karuks. In Robinson Shoemaker's version, three **k'ixinay** at **xahslin-diŋ** decide to create salmon, but only one of them goes off on this journey (Goddard 1904: 265, lines 1-4).

[e] An important Karuk village at Ishi Pishi Falls (Karuk *ka'tim'in*) on the Klamath River above Orleans, where the Salmon River joins the Klamath. The Karuk hold their First Salmon ceremony nearby at Amaikiaram (Karuk *'ameekvaaram* 'salmon-making place', Hupa **ʒe'lo'-diŋ** 'storage-basket place'). In Robinson Shoemaker's version no mention is made of the proceedings in Karuk country, and Orleans (**yow'i-yidag** 'far upcountry') is specified as the destination, not Katimin (Goddard 1904: 265, line 3).

[f] A Hupa **k'ixinay** is meant, presumably. Gifford makes it clear that the characters in this story are **k'ixinay** (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 124).

[g] In the version collected by Gifford, two Yuroks (i.e., **k'ixinay** from Yurok country) come first, but are sent away (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 124).

[h] According to Yurok belief, when the First Salmon swims upstream he rubs off one of his scales at every fishing place, arriving at the head of the river completely smooth (Spott and Kroeber 1942: 175).

[i] In the more coherent version of this story that Gifford collected (Kroeber and Gifford 1949: 124), it is made clear that the **k'ixinay** who makes the trip to Karuk country and returns to find the salmon already present is not the same as the **k'ixinay** whose actions are described from here to the end of the text. The latter (specifically identified as **yima'n-tiw'winay**) stays behind at **xahslin-diŋ**. After waiting several days for the traveller to return, he goes in search of him. He crosses the ocean, finds the First Salmon, and leads it back to **xahslin-diŋ**. In the present version, this episode is added at the end (lines 24-29), almost as an afterthought. In Robinson Shoemaker's version (Goddard 1904:269), the returning **k'ixinay** finds **xahslin-diŋ** deserted and tracks the others to Sugar Bowl, after which he takes his place (as a rock?) at **ce-**

yehkʷixəw-qʷid, a small flat at the upper end of Hoopa Valley, to “keep watch” over the salmon.

[j] He made a special hole in the rocky river flat (**ce-yeh** ‘rock-underneath’), which then filled with water.

[k] This is the idiom for ‘pray to (something)’, although here it could be meant literally.

[l] The fish lies quietly in the water to indicate that it doesn’t matter; it is content with being eaten in that way. The man has not yet mentioned things that are taboo after eating salmon, or people who shouldn’t eat salmon. (According to Sam Brown, John Shoemaker should have been more explicit about mentioning different foods to the salmon.)

[m] Again it does not matter — he hasn’t mentioned anything tabooed.

[n] That is, the salmon floated dead on its back. The breaking of a taboo has finally been mentioned: a woman who has miscarried can’t eat salmon.

[o] In Robinson Shoemaker’s version (Goddard 1904: 265-69) the dead fish is left to lie on the bank for five days. Then the two brothers cut it up and ritually eat it, thus instituting the First Salmon ceremony.

[p] The mythical fish that leads the first run of King salmon each year. This is not the salmon that was tested in the **ce-yeh**.

[q] He went south (upstream) across the ocean that circles the world (**de-nohol-yima-ni-yinac**) to fetch this creature, and then led it back to Sugar Bowl via the northern ocean, the Klamath, and the Trinity. — This episode is considerably elaborated in Robinson Shoemaker’s version (Goddard 1904: 265-69). One of the two brothers who stay behind goes down to the river, where he makes a “stone cup” (**ce-xayc’a?**). A salmon appears in it, and he makes the salmon lead him downstream and into the ocean. They make a complete circuit of the disc of the world, going counterclockwise (“upstream”), and come back up the Klamath and Trinity to the starting place.

8. Bathing the Rain Rock at Sugar Bowl

Narrated by John Shoemaker. Notebook VIII, pp. 27-30.

(1) *hayi yisxan-de?* *no?kviŋxân* *na?ntan?-te*¹ *wilwit-dij*
 The (day) after which it is day feasting will lie [in the evening]
 (= the day before the feast)

q'ay?kvisdi-me? *kviwinya?n* *no?oxâ·W* *hay* *ce·xat'-q'id*
 in a basket hopper acorns she puts down (on rock) the mortar - on

*dehsmiŋ*² *me?isdi-me?* *na·na?kvine?it'a?*³ (2) *xoŋgay*⁴
 full (of acorns) (basket); pestle - in it she lays it cross-wise. [Dawn]

te?ina·Wi-miŋ *kve?icid* (3) *h[aya·t]* *me?itxiw*⁵-*miŋ*
 [when it comes] she pounds (acorns). [Then] [when she finishes],

h[aya·t] *sa?e?ide?n*⁶ *no?kviŋxan-č'iŋ?* (4) *h[aya·t]* *hayah*
 [then] they all go off there to the feasting place. Then [there]

ya?ne?indil *hižid* *kvi·ta?atcid* (5) *me?itxiw-miŋ* *ta?kve?imil*
 they arrive there, [and] she soaks acorns. [When she is finished] she makes (stirs) mush.

(6) *h[aya·t]* *ma·de?da?a?a·W*⁷ (7) *h[aya·t]* *xowa·yaŋ?xe?ine·W*⁸
 [Then] he burns incense root and preaches Then he talks about them,

hayi *miyi-me?* *no·na?te·de?k-tah* (8) *hayi* *č'e?xe?ine·W*⁹
 the people in the *miy* places who have severally settled down at. When he is through talking,

h[aya·t] *de·di* *noh·qi(d)-č'iŋ?* *waŋ?xe?ine·W* *hayah* *hay*
 then this-us-on-to (= to the sky) he talks about it (= sky-to); there the

mišže· *hay* *ninis'a·n* *mine·ži-x^w* *no·naykviwit't'ô-l*¹⁰ *hay*
 fog, the mountains half-way (down) it is always slipping back the
 down to that point

mišže· (9) *haya·t* *?a?de?ine?* *hay* *kvi·xinay-tah-dij*
 fog. [Then] [he says], "The in the *kvi·xinay* places

xoda·nč'e· *hay* *xonse·lži*¹¹-*miŋ* *xoda·nč'e·* *hayi* *ye·*
 wind that the slightly-warm with wind that that (wind) pray!
 blows down, blows down

dig·yaŋ *xoda·na·kviwe·sinč'e?*¹²-*te·*
 here you will blow down back."

- (10) *hayaʔ* *q'a(d)* *naʔdeʔilčʷaʔn* (11) *hayah-miʔ* *hay* *qʻad*
 And then [now] they eat together. Just when
- naʔdeʔilčʷaʔn-te*¹³-*miʔ* *mixa-čʻeʔ-xolêʔn* *čʻeʔʻicid* *hiʒid*
 they are about to eat, [incense root] he pounds it, [then]
- tehčʻeʔimil* (12) *mitoʔ* *čʻeʔʻitčʻweʔ* *xanisčʻilʻe-n-meʔ*
 into the water he throws (the roots). Its [juice] he makes in the dipper,
- ce- sisêl* *tehčʻeʔʻitqʻas* *hiʒid* *čʻiteʔixâ-W* *hiʒid*
 hot rocks he throws into the water (of the dipper); [then] he carries off the (dipper and incense root) (to the rock); [then]
- meʔkʻeʔimil* *hay* *miy* *miceʔ* (13) *ʔahčʻideʔineʔ*
 he sprinkles that *miy* *miceʔ* He says to it,
 (the water) on it,
- do- weʔsyoʔ*¹⁴ *niŋxostiŋ* (14) *do- miqʻeh* *naʔdʻaʔi-heh*¹⁵
 "Not I like it, ice. Do not mind it
- kʻ[iwinyaʔnyaʔn]* *do-niWôʔn* *ʔaniʔêʔn*¹⁶ *hay* *niniʔeʔ*
 people bad who do it (what they should not do) to you, the ones your body
- do- yohtčʻid*¹⁷ (15) *Widaʔ-qʻeh* *naʔnaŋʔaʔ*¹⁸ *We- qʻad* *xoʔʒ*
 who do not know. Following my mind, heed I now really
 mouth (= As I say)
- niniʔeʔ* *waj* *We-xolyâʔn*¹⁹ *hayde-* *ʔaniʔdiWne-*
 your body for it I who have understanding, this thing which I am telling you.
- (16) *kʻičʻindi-neʔin* *do-na-xoʔdile-*²⁰ *da-yWoʔ* *niniʔâʔn*
 Sickens that was, let it become (to) some (other) country
 has been no more;
- ʔaʔnaʔdidiwinčʻwi(d)*²¹-*te-*
 you (sickness) will let yourself go off."

Bathing the Rain Rock at Sugar Bowl [a]

(1) The day before the feast (**noʔkʻiŋxaʔn**) is to take place, in the evening, a woman puts a basket hopper (**qʻayʔkʻiʔisd**) filled with acorns on her mortar stone (**ce-xatʻ**). She puts a pestle (**meʔisd**) in it crossways. (2) When dawn comes, she pounds the acorns. (3) Then, when she finishes, they go off to the feast ground. [b] (4) When they arrive there, she leaches the acorn meal. (5) When she is finished, she cooks acorn mush.

(6) Then someone burns incense root and prays (**ma-deʔdaʔaW**). (7) He speaks about the **kʻixinay** who have settled down at the various **miy** places. [c] (8) Having spoken this, he talks to the sky above, there where the

fog is that has been slipping half-way down the mountains. [d] (9) Then he says: "Wind that blows in the *k'ixinay* places, wind that blows with mild weather, would that you blow here!" [e]

(10) And then they gather to eat. (11) Then, just as they are about to eat, he pounds some incense root and throws it into water. (12) Then he makes a soup of it, in a dipper basket; he throws hot rocks into it; then he carries it off and he sprinkles it on the *miy* rock. [f] (13) He tells the rock: "I do not like ice. (14) Pay no attention to the people who do bad things, who don't know your body. (15) Pay attention to my words, this is what I am telling you — I who truly understand your body. (16) Let sickness cease to be — sickness, take yourself to some other country!"

[a] This rock-bathing ceremony took place at the *miy* site (locally called the Rain Rock) in Sugar Bowl (*xayah-me?*), the small valley a mile upstream from Hoopa Valley where the First Salmon ceremony also took place (texts 6-7). Like both the First Salmon ceremony and the Acorn Feast, it was an occasion for public feasting (*no'k'ixan*) and people from throughout Hoopa Valley were expected to attend. Bathing the *miy* rock with incense root brought warm weather, and was good medicine for the acorn crop. No other *miy* rocks were bathed in Hupa country, although a similar bathing of the *k'ixinay* rocks near *ta'k'imil-diŋ* was associated with the Acorn Feast (text 5, line 59). In former times, they had the ceremony at least once every year in the spring to ensure a good summer, and it could be carried out at other times when better weather was desired. During the summer the *miy* spirit did not do much harm, but he did not forget wrongs done him. The worst sin was for a person who had recently had a relative die to pass by the rock going upstream. Anyone who did this had to appear at the spring *miy* rock bathing to ask the spirit's pardon. According to Goddard, the one who offended was expected to make public apology "for his wrong-doing in passing near the god's dwelling in such unholy condition" (1903: 80).

[b] Goddard (1903: 79) describes the journey in detail: "All are expected to attend, although few do so nowadays. They leave their homes in the morning without breaking their fast and collect at the southern end of the valley. Just north of Campbell creek above the road they build a fire on a rock. On top of the mountain where the wagon road crosses a mining ditch they build a second fire. By the rain-rock the last fire is built. The food for the feast is cooked over this fire and all the remains of the feast are burned in it."

[c] He recites the formula in text 9.

[d] That is, the fog cloaks the mountains closely halfway down their length.

[e] The cold mists and fogs that cling to the mountains in the winter are being asked to lift. Note that the prayer is addressed to natural forces, not to the *miy* rock or to the *k'ixinay*. — Goddard (1904: 273-274) gives the text of the prayer as: "West it will draw back, north too it will draw back, east too it will draw back, south it will draw back. There will be sunshine. It will be good weather in the world. It will be wet. The frost will melt. Dew will settle. I brought it down."

[f] Goddard (1903: 80): “The priest makes a prayer for warm winds and gentle rain to melt the frost, while sprinkling the rock with water in which incense root has been put. If cessation of the undue rain is wished the root is sprinkled on the rock dry.”

9. Formula for Bathing the Rain Rock

Narrated by John Shoemaker. Notebook VIII, pp. 22-26.

(1) *hay kʷixinay nanaʔndeʔ*¹ *minoʔaydiŋ*² *naʔaʔtehtdičʷêʔn*³
 The *kʷixinay* [who came to live] alongside of it, them they grew up

*hay do-niWôʔn*⁴ *ʔaʔaʔant'e* (2) *hayaʔ* *xokʷač'iŋʔ*
 the bad they are of that sort. [Then] away from there

*taʔahsyay*⁵ *hay do-yaʔniwiŋWoʔni*⁶-*maʔn* (3) *hayah-miʔ*
 they moved away, for the reason that they had become bad. [After this,]
 abandoned (them),

ʔaʔač'ondehsneʔ *hayi do-niWôʔn yaʔsidilinʔ-te* *kʷič'ind*
 they (bad ones) thought those, "Bad people we shall become, sickness

yaʔsidilinʔ-te (4) *ʔaht'in-diŋ* *ninisʔani-me-q'* *taʔ*
 we shall become." Everywhere, in world - inside of one (of
 all directions bad people)

*č'iteʔteʔay*⁷ (5) *hayaʔ hay dant'an-diŋ digʔaŋ*
 each went off [Then] the as many as here (in this
 to a separate place. there were world)

*windaʔ*⁸ *ʔaʔaʔdeʔneʔ* *We digʔa(ŋ) we-daʔ*⁹-*te* (6) *kʷ[iwinyaʔnyâʔn]*
 who stayed they said, "I here will stay. People,

*hay do-niWôʔn ʔahdiyah*¹⁰-*diŋ* *Wiq'i(d)-xʷ* *č'itehsya-deʔ*
 the unlucky thing, when it happens (= when on me if he goes off,
 misfortune there's a death in the family),

*xowiŋq'ac'*¹¹-*te* (7) *do ʔaʔWondehsneʔ*¹²-*deʔ* *hayi-q'* *ʔant'e*
 it will get cold. If he does not think of me, in that way being

ʔaŋʔ *ʔaʔant'e*¹³ *hayaʔ* *ʔa-de-y*¹⁴ *xosehtč'winʔ-te*
 it is he (rock) is of then my own - I'll make him
 that sort (to cause cold), (= claim him as my own, he'll
 never get well, be always sick)."

(8) *hayaʔ tiwaŋ xahslini-q'eh naʔnehsday hayi ʔaʔdeʔneʔ*
 [Then] one along *xahslindiŋ* sat down again that said,
 creek to live there; one

*We ʔeʔn daxoʔ-q'*¹⁵ *ʔač'int'e*¹⁶ *č'itiwinaʔWiʔ*¹⁷-*deʔ*
 "I for my part in some way he is so (= has a if he ever goes by (*miy* rock)
 death in his family)

*naʔwidizi*¹⁸ *č'e-wiWaʔWiʔ-te*
 (as) whirlwind I shall go out."