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Proto-Wintun

Alice Shepherd

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Abstract

This volume represents a reconstruction of Proto-Wintun, the parent language of a group of California Indian languages. It includes a grammatical sketch of Proto-Wintun, cognate sets with reconstructions and an index to the reconstructions. The book fulfills a need for in-depth reconstructions of proto-languages for California Indian language families, both for theoretical purposes and deeper comparison with other proto- or pre-languages.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SOURCES

General Abbreviations

an. = animate
aux. = auxiliary
g. = generic aspect
gen. = genitive case
imp. = imperative
inan. = inanimate
intr. = intransitive
n. = noun
p. = particular aspect
pl. = plural
poss. = possessed
sg. = singular
tr. = transitive
voc. = vocative case

Proto-Wintun (PW)

V = unidentified vowel

C = unidentified consonant

Hyphens in PW forms indicate separately reconstructed morphemes.

Wintu (W)

W items unmarked as to source are from Pitkin 1984, 1985 and my own fieldnotes. Starred forms listed under W are pre-Wintu reconstructions from Pitkin 1985. E and O are morphophonemes representing the alternations e/i and o/u, respectively.

Other sources are indicated as follows:

C = Curtin 1898

DL = texts published in translation by Demetracopoulou [Lee] and Du Bois 1932 and Du Bois and Demetracopoulou [Lee] 1931 and microfilms of the Wintu versions of these texts housed at the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley

M = Merriam 1903-1931

Nomlaki (N)

Sources are indicated following N as follows:

B = Barrett 1908

BP = Broadbent and Pitkin 1964

BW = Blankenship and Wenger 1978

C = Curtis 1924

DK = Dixon and Kroeber 1907

G = Goldsmith 1951

H = Hill 1971

Ha = Hale 1846

J = Johnson in Schoolcraft 1853/1860

K = Kroeber 1932

T-M = Merriam 1903-1931, "Upper Thoms Creek Nomlaki"

G-M = Merriam's materials entitled "Nom-lak'-ke Rancherias between Elder Creek and Grindstone Creek," and "Grindstone Creek field check list"

Noe-W = Whistler 1980, "Noema" Nomlaki

P = Powers 1877 (Chapter XXV, The Wintun)

PS = Pitkin and Shipley 1958

S = Swadesh ca. 1950

SS = Sawyer 1975

W = Whistler 1976c

Patwin (P)

Forms marked as P are common to all Patwin dialects. Dialects are indicated following the P as follows:

C = Cortina Hill Patwin

CC = Cache Creek Hill Patwin (aka Rumsey)

H = all Hill Patwin dialects or unspecified Hill Patwin dialect

K = Kabalmem Hill Patwin (aka Lodoga)

R = River Patwin

T = Lake County Hill Patwin (aka Tebti)

Forms unmarked as to source are from Whistler 1975-1979, unless otherwise marked as from a particular publication. Other sources are identified as follows:

B and U are from Bright and Ultan 1970, an alphabetized computer printout of lexical items collected in the field by Bright and Ultan. This printout uses the following unexplained abbreviations for dialects: A, H, L, R, T. My best guess is that these may represent: H = Hill, L = Lodoga (Whistler's K), R = River and T = Tebti. "A" may represent Cortina Hill Patwin, although I do not know why the letter A was chosen. It does not appear to stand for "all."

Forms marked M are from Merriam 1903-1936.

South Patwin (SP)

Forms marked SP are from Whistler 1976e or 1980 as indicated. Other forms are marked for source as follows:

A = Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821, using English glosses provided by Golla in a worksheet accompanying Golla 1996.

G = von Gerolt's retranscription of Arroyo (Gerolt 1830)

M = Merriam's South Patwin vocabulary schedule 1906, 1917

V = Vocabulary obtained by J. Alden Mason from Platon Vallejo (in Kroeber 1932), using English glosses provided in the worksheet accompanying Golla 1996.

Comparisons with Other Languages

Resemblances in other languages cited along with reconstructions by no means imply a suggestion of genetic relationship. It is up to the reader to decide if these forms are potentially genetically related, borrowed, diffused, onomatopoeic, or coincidence. No thorough search for resemblances has been conducted. The forms listed are those cited by others in comparative studies or noticed by the author in reading a variety of publications.

Alsea, Hanis, Siuslaw and Wasco comparisons are from Golla 1997 unless otherwise noted.

Uto-Aztecan and Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA) forms are from Miller 1967 unless otherwise indicated.

Proto-Mayan (PMY) forms and citations from Mayan daughter languages are from Brown 1990. In these forms, *t^y represents a palatized apical stop.

Maidun, Miwok, Costanoan and Yokuts forms are from Callaghan 2001 unless otherwise indicated. Callaghan uses the following abbreviations:

Ceb = Northern Costanoan: East Bay (Chochen) (Chochen)

Csf = Northern Costanoan: San Francisco

Csjb = Southern Costanoan: Mutsun

Cscr = Northern Costanoan: Santa Cruz

PCo = Proto-Costanoan

PCos = Proto-Southern-Costanoan

Mie = Eastern Miwok
 Mil = Lake Miwok
 Mim = Marin Miwok
 Mins = Northern Sierra Miwok
 Mip = Plains Miwok
 Mis = Sierra Miwok
 PMi = Proto-Miwok
 PMie = Proto-Eastern-Miwok
 PMis = Proto-Sierra-Miwok
 PMiw = Proto-Western-Miwok

PU = Proto-Utian

PY = Proto-Yokuts
 PYgen = Proto-General-Yokuts
 PYn = Proto-Northern-Yokuts
 PYnim = Proto-Nim-Yokuts
 PYnv = Proto-Northern-Valley-Yokuts
 PYbv = Proto-Buena-Vista-Yokuts
 Ykr = Kings River Yokuts
 Yn = Northern Yokuts
 Yv = Valley Yokuts
 Mk = Konkaw
 Mm = Maidu
 Mn = Nisenan
 PM = Proto-Maidun

Symbols Used by Other Sources

C. Hart Merriam uses English spelling with some modifying diacritics for vowels; e.g., ā = [e·], ah = [a] or [a·], oo = [u] or [u·], ĭ = [i]. An apostrophe indicates stress or glottalization depending on placement.

Nomlaki

Barrett 1908

ī, ē, ū, ō represent the corresponding short or long vowels

The exclamation point represents glottalization

t· = t or t^h

t·c = č

L = ɭ

c = s (Barrett describes his symbol “c” as representing an “open pre-palatal surd ... similar to English sh” (1908: 52). As there is no [š] in Wintun, the symbol is taken to refer to the alveolar fricative [s].

Blankenship and Wenger 1978

c = č

kL = q', ł

tl, L = ł

The symbol "3" used in this source to represent short [a] has been replaced with a.

Curtis 1924

â = o or a

ch = č

ch! = č'

hl = ł

ě = e (short)

p· = p

k = k or q

k· = q

tl = λ'

Dixon & Kroeber 1907

L = ł

Goldschmidt 1951

tc = č or č'

tc' = č'

tl = ł or λ'

ê = i· ?

't = t' ?

ê = e

khl = ł

ó = o

ū = u·

õ = o

î = i·

J = Johnson in Schoolcraft 1853/1860

ch = č

aw = o

ee = i·

Kroeber 1932

L = ł

South Patwin

Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821

j = h

hu = w
ch = č
gl = ħ
c = s

Arroyo/Gerolt 1830

tsch = č

Mason/Vallejo

tc = č
v = u or o ?

100. THE WINTUN LANGUAGE FAMILY

The Wintun language family consists of four languages, Wintu, Nomlaki, Patwin and South Patwin, whose speakers occupied the west side of the Sacramento River Valley in Northern California and much of the upper Trinity River drainage on the west side of the North Coast Range crest. The long contiguous territory extended from the delta of the Sacramento-San Joaquin river system north of San Francisco Bay to just south of Mt. Shasta. The family's divergence is similar to that of the Romance languages, with a time depth of perhaps 2000-2500 years (for additional discussion, see Whistler 1980: 17).

Wintu, the language of the northernmost group, was originally spoken in Shasta, Trinity, and parts of Siskiyou Counties, along the drainage systems of the upper Sacramento, upper Trinity, and Pit-McCloud rivers. The territory extended from about Cottonwood Creek in the south and the South Fork of the Trinity River in the southwest almost as far as Mt. Shasta in the north and the Trinity Alps in the northwest. The eastern boundary ran close to Cow Creek in the south and farther north extended east almost as far as the present town of Big Bend. The Nomlaki occupied much of present-day Tehama County and part of Glenn County, reaching from the Wintu border in the north approximately as far south as the present town of Princeton. To the south of the Nomlaki, in the southern portion of the Sacramento River Valley, lived the Patwin who occupied present-day Colusa and Yolo Counties, reaching south about as far as Putah Creek and east to approximately the Sutter Buttes area. To their south, in present-day Yolo and Solano Counties, were the South Patwin, also called Suisun, whose territory reached south to the San Pablo Bay and Suisun Bay area. For a detailed discussion of Wintun territorial boundaries, including subgroups, see Whistler 1980: 46-53.

Based on an analysis of animal and plant nomenclature borrowed by the Patwin from the Miwok, Whistler (1977a: 166) concluded that Proto-Wintun must have been spoken in a non-Californian environment, and, based on reconstructible plant and animal nomenclature, proposed that Proto-Wintun was spoken by a people living in interior Northwest California or Southwest Oregon, most likely in the drainage of the upper Rogue River, or possibly in the middle Klamath or South

Umpqua drainages. The additional animal and plant nomenclature reconstructed in this volume does not necessitate a revision of his conclusions.

110. Subgroups and Dialects

Each Wintun group recognized several subgroups. The most commonly cited Wintu subdivisions were Upper Sacramento, McCloud, Stillwater, Keswick, French Gulch, Upper Trinity, Hayfork and Bald Hills. It is possible that some of these groups spoke minimally distinct dialects; however, there is little evidence for dialectal variation in the linguistic data that has been preserved. Kroeber (1925: 353-4) observed: "From all the evidence available, the language was remarkably uniform for a tract of this vastness, as it may justly be described under California conditions. But the very size of the territory precludes absolute identity of tongue." In my work with two speakers, Renee Coleman (representing the McCloud subgroup) and Grace McKibbin (representing the Hayfork subgroup), I found only one pair of lexical items on which they did not agree, aside from the fact that Grace McKibbin controlled a substantially larger vocabulary: Coleman used *sedet* for "coyote" and *sukuh*, a widely distributed areal form, for "dog," while McKibbin used *sedet* for "dog" and the kenning *č'arawah*, literally "one of the fields," for "coyote." The major difference between the speech of the two women was intonational. Grace McKibbin's speech differed from that described in Pitkin 1984 (representing primarily the McCloud subgroup) in the absence of hyphen juncture which is defined (*ibid.*, pp. 20-21) as a transition with the potential of a very brief pause, conditioning unreleased allophones of obstruents and modifying the contour of a phonemic word by shifting the pitch and stress. Only secondary stress may occur on syllables preceding hyphen juncture within a word, i.e., prefixes. In McKibbin's pronunciation, stress is always on the first syllable of a word, even if it is a prefix, with the exception of occasional special emphasis and some exclamation words. Further, in McKibbin's speech, those auxiliaries which are not independent words are never preceded by hyphen juncture, but are treated like suffixes and have undergone contractions as a result. For example, the long vowels of some auxiliary allomorphs, as described by Pitkin (1984: 177-183, 190-191), are usually shortened in McKibbin's speech (e.g., *-bo·* > *-bo*; *-bo·m* > *-bom*; *-ba·da* > *-bada*; *-be·* > *-be*; *-be·m* > *-bem*; *-be·skən* > *-besken*; *-bi·da* > *-bida*). The desiderative auxiliary *kOy-* is often simply *-ka* in its indicative form (instead of *-kuya*), *-kada* in the first person (instead of *-kuyada*), and *-kar* in its subordinate form (instead of *-kuyar*). She usually used a second person marker *-n* instead of *-skən*. This could be due to a contraction (e.g., *ʔibe·skən* > *ʔiben*), or an alternate shorter, possibly less formal, form of *-skən*, perhaps identical with the final *-n* in *-skən*. Any dialectal differences between the remaining subgroups were likely just as minor. The difficulty in relying on older records, such as C. Hart Merriam's, for the identification of dialects is that what appear to be differences in pronunciation are really just variations in a non-linguist's recording of the same form. Any dialects or subdialects of Wintu would certainly have represented a dialect continuum.

Of Nomlaki subdivisions, Kroeber (1925: 354) observed: "For the central Wintun one subdivision is known: that of the valley dwellers and the hillmen. But

their dialects were not very different, and there may have existed equal or greater divergences between northern and southern settlements within the group.” Whistler (1980: 19-20) listed several other Nomlaki subdivisions: “River Wailaki” or Noema (not to be confused with Athapaskan Wailaki; “Wailaki” is actually of Nomlaki origin, meaning “north talkers”), River Nomlaki (further subdivided into Red Bluff and Tehama), and Hill Nomlaki (further subdivided into Elder Creek, Paskenta, and Grindstone). The location of the Nomlaki between closely-related Wintu to the north and somewhat less closely-related Patwin to the south would have presented the ideal conditions for a dialect continuum, with the northern dialect intermediate between Nomlaki and Wintu and the southern approaching Patwin speech. Whistler (1980) has argued that this may in fact be the case at the northern end, judging from two vocabularies of Noema recorded by H.B. Brown and reprinted in Powers (1877: 520-528) as Vocabulary #4, and by A. Johnson (1852), a version of the “Reading” (Maj. P. Redding) vocabulary, reprinted in Schoolcraft (1860, Vol. 4: 414-415), reprinted in Powers (1877) as Vocabulary #2. Whistler suggested that these two vocabularies, gathered near the town of Cottonwood on the border of Wintu and Nomlaki territories, although exceedingly fragmentary, seem to indicate a dialect lexically intermediate between Wintu and Nomlaki, leaning slightly more toward Nomlaki. My own examination of these vocabularies, however, indicates that they represent Nomlaki entirely. In general, Nomlaki data is so scarce that any identification of dialects would be mere guesswork. There are distinct isoglosses separating Wintu from Nomlaki, so Nomlaki could not be considered an extension of a Wintu dialect continuum, unless there were intermediate dialects of which all evidence has been lost. However that may be, Wintu and Nomlaki would certainly have been mutually intelligible with little difficulty.

Patwin is divisible into two dialect complexes, Hill Patwin and River Patwin, according to Whistler (1980: 20-21) who further recognizes three dialects within Hill Patwin – Lodoga, Lake County and Southern Hill Patwin (with four subdialects Cortina, Rumsey, Putah, and Napa); and two dialects of River Patwin – Colusa and Grimes. From the vocabulary examined in the process of this reconstruction, it appears that all these dialects were closely related and would certainly have been mutually intelligible. Where more than one dialect is represented in the sets in this volume, approximately half are identical between the dialects. In about four percent of the sets, the only differences between dialects are in vowel length; e.g., CC *lo·yta*, young woman; *lo·yba*, plural; K *loyta*, girl, *loyba*, girls; R *loyta*, a girl (under **lo·y-*, adolescent girl; **lo(-)y-ba*, plural). About five percent show minor semantic differences; e.g., K *čopol*, pond, marshy place; R *čopol*, lake (under **kopol*, pond); CC *howe*, watersnake; T *huwe*, snake; K *howe*, gopher snake, R *howe*, gopher snake, bull snake (under **how*, to snake, watersnake). In about another five percent of the sets, the dialects differ in the details of the Patwin obstruent fronting chain, the major isogloss separating Northern from Southern Wintun, e.g., CC and K have doubly fronted a final **k* to *t* in *t'idi·t*, meat of any nut, kernel of any nut, while T has only fronted once to *č* in *t'idi·č*, meat of any nut (under **č'idik*, heart, core); K *t'ara·l*, scraper (doubly fronted) vs. R *č'art^hi/u-*, to scratch (under **k'ar-a*, scrape). K also shows aspirated *č^h* from **k* in a number of forms where the other dialects have unaspirated *č*. See Sections 262-3 for further discussion and examples. About nine

percent of the differences between the P dialects affect plant and animal nomenclature, which is often onomatopoeic or folk-etymologized; e.g., CC, K, T *ba·lbalik*, butterfly, all butterflies; K also has *ba·lbalak*, butterfly; K *bo·lbolik*, poppy, evening primrose, T, CC, C, R poppy, poppies; R *walalakai*, butterfly (under **bo·lbolVq*, butterfly; poppy); CC *kudilik*, water snake sp.; fast snake sp. that lives on dry ground (not in water); K *kudilip*, water snake, garter snake var.; R *huli·p*, snake (any), (under **hulilVk*, snake sp.). The approximately 20 percent remaining instances of dialectal variation concern differences in the exact form, meaning, function or order of grammatical morphemes. Since no grammar of Patwin is available, an analysis of these differences is beyond the scope of this volume.

South Patwin may have had a number of dialects; Whistler suggests Knight's Landing, Dixon and Suisun. However, because data is extremely scarce and of very poor quality, it is difficult to tell whether South Patwin was in fact a language in its own right rather than a southern extension of the Patwin dialect continuum, let alone subdividing it into dialects.

Nomlaki and Wintu group together as Northern Wintun, Patwin and South Patwin as Southern Wintun. The isogloss distinguishing Nomlaki from Wintu speech is that Nomlaki seems to have recently lost *r*, in some instances, replaced the consonant *r* – “recently” because a few forms still show *r* and others show variations in how the loss is treated – and has dropped some intervocalic *w* and *y* (see Section 253 for details). Southern Wintun speech differs from Northern Wintun phonologically through an obstruent fronting chain (see Sections 261-263). No clear isoglosses are apparent between Patwin and South Patwin; however, some of the South Patwin vocabulary shows additional sound changes not found in Patwin (see Section 265).

200. PHONOLOGY

210. Regular Sound Correspondences

The following table shows reconstructed phonemes and the regular sound correspondences of the Wintun languages.

Table 1: PW Phonemes and Regular Sound Correspondences

Likely PW Value	PW	Wintu	Nomlaki	Patwin	South Patwin
Consonants					
Bilabial stops					
Unaspirated	*p	p	p	p	p
Aspirated	*p ^h	p ^h	p ^h	p ^h	p ^h
Glottalized	*p'	p'	p'	p'	p'
Voiced	*b	b	b	b	b
Bilabial nasal	*m	m	m	m	m
Bilabial semivowel	*w	w	w	w	w
Apical stops					
Unaspirated	*t	t	t	t	t
Aspirated	*t ^h	t ^h	t ^h	t ^h	t ^h

Glottalized	*t'	t'	t'	t'	t'
Voiced	*d	d	d	d	d
Dental or apical-alveolar nasal	*n	n	n	n	n
Dental or apical-alveolar lateral	*l	l	l	l	l
Voiceless lateral fricative ¹	*ɬ	ɬ	ɬ	ɬ	ɬ
Glottalized apical-alveolar affricate ¹	*λ'	λ'	λ'	λ'	λ'
Voiced trill or flap	*r	r	y, Ø	r	r, y
Alveolar fricative	*s	s	s	s	s
Palatal affricates Unaspirated ²	*č	č	č	t	t
Aspirated ²	*č ^h	č	č	t ^h	t ^h
Glottalized	*č'	č'	č'	t'	t'
Palatal semivowel	*y	y	y	y	y
Velar stops Unaspirated	*k	k	k	č	č
Aspirated ³	*k ^h	k	k, k ^h (?)	č ^h	č ^h
Glottalized	*k'	k'	k'	č'	č'
Velar fricative Voiceless	*x	x	k ^h	s	s

Post-velar stops					
Unaspirated	*q	q	q	k	k
Aspirated	*q ^h	x ⁴	q ^h , k ^h , x (?)	k ^h	k ^h
Glottalized	*q'	q'	q'	k'	k'
Post-velar fricative					
Voiceless ⁴	*x	x	k ^h	h	
Glottal stop	*ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
Glottal spirant	*h	h	h	h	h
Vowels					
High-front unrounded					
Short	*i	i	i	i	i
Long	*i·	i·	i·	i·	i·
Mid-front unrounded					
Short	*e	e	e	e	e
Long	*e·	e·	e·	e·	e·
Low-central unrounded					
Short	*a	a	a	a	a
Long	*a·	a·	a·	a·	a·
Mid-back rounded					
Short	*o	o	o	o	o
Long	*o·	o·	o·	o·	o·
High-back rounded					
Short	*u	u	u	u	u
Long	*u·	u·	u·	u·	u·

Notes to table:

¹The pronunciation of *ɬ may have alternated between a voiceless lateral fricative and a laterally-released affricate [tʃ]. *ɬ' was also laterally released.

²The W and N reflexes are slightly aspirated.

³W k is slightly aspirated. N k and k^h are probably not phonemically distinct.

⁴The reconstruction of the post-velar fricative is very tentative, based on only four somewhat questionable sets (*x̣ad, *x̣ah/*x̣ir, *x̣os-a, *x̣oh), the last of which may be unreliable due to sound symbolism. N is only represented in one of these sets and the recording is unreliable phonetically. If *x̣ did not exist, these sets would be reconstructed with *q^h instead and the P reflex h interpreted as an exception to the regular k^h reflex.

220. Restrictions on Distribution of Phonemes

The plain voiceless stops (*p, *t, *k, *q), voiceless continuants (*l̥, *s, *h), voiced continuants (*w, *l, *y) and nasals (*m, *n) occur both initially and finally in syllables and words. All other consonants except *r are limited to word- and syllable-initial pre-vocalic position. *r is the only consonant that does not occur word-initially, but may occur syllable-initially; it also does not occur word-finally except perhaps in *-r (see Section 424.8).

230. Vowel Length

PW vowel length before continuants appears to be non-distinctive in many instances. E.g., *č^ha(·)y, grandchild; *lo(·)l, tobacco; *lo(·)y-ba, adolescent girls; *me(·)m, water; *pano(·)l̥, three; *pene(·)l, black oak acorn; *p'u(·)r, *p'u(·)l, wild onion; *qo(·)l, mouth. In one example, length may be distinctive before a continuant, but perhaps only because it is accompanied by a difference in vowel quality: *bo·l-e, (tell a) tale - *bal-ʔa, tell a lie. Before stops, iterative or distributive meaning can be assigned to length in a few cases. E.g., *č'eb-a· to scrape, scratch - *č'i·b-a, shave off with sweeping motion; *č^hep, hit - *č^he·p, hit repeatedly; *q^hop, stripe - *q^ho·p, striped, many stripes.

In some instances, length appears to be a fossilized remnant of an earlier derivational process in which length was either added to modify meaning or dropped in the process of adding a suffix. E.g.,

*č'e·k, rope - *č'aq-a, hang, *č^haq, net

*se·k, root - *seke·, pubic hair

*ne·r, alike - *ney, alone

*k^hi·l, thorn - *k'il-i, horn

In some cases, length reflects a lost consonant. E.g. *-e·l, *-el, locative (from the free form *ʔel, in horizontally); *-a·, realis mode suffix (from the auxiliary *-ʔa, have); *-e·, let's (from *wer, come); *ba·, eat (perhaps < *ba- + *-ʔa); *l̥a·, sit (perhaps < *l̥a- + *-ʔa).

240. Sound Changes: Wintu

241. Obstruent Merging

W has merged *k and *k^h as k, and *č and *č^h as č, respectively, which initially represent [k^h] and [č^h].

242. Frication

In W, *q^h has become x. If the post-velar fricative *x is reconstructible, W has merged its reflex with that of *q^h as x.

243. Ablaut

W has developed a system of root vowel ablaut in verbs. W root vowels e and o, reflexes of *e and *o, are raised in the process of stem formation to i and u preceding a single consonant followed by a low vowel /a/ or /a·/ in the next syllable, but remain e and o elsewhere. Synchronically, the alternations i/e and u/o are represented by the morphophonemes E and O, respectively. The a or a· in the next syllable is always either the indicative stem suffix (-a, -a· from *-a, *-a·) or the a of stative -al.

Examples are:

**bol-a*, drink > W *bula*, to drink, but *bol-*, imperative stem

*č^h*ep*, hit > W č*ipa*, to hit, whip; but č*ep*, throw! hit!

č^h'ok-i/u*, chew > W č^h*'uka·*, to chew; but nominal stem č^h*'oki*, imperative stem č^h*'oku*

**dek*, climb, step > W *dika*, to climb, step; but imperative stem *dekma·*, to cause to climb

**dol*, put long object around > W *dula·*, to tie, wrap string; but imperative and nominal stems *dol-*

**hen*, arrive > W *hina*, to arrive, come here; but imperative and nominal stems *hen-*

**het*, sudden escape of water > W *hital*, water having broken through dam; but *hete·ya*, all coming out in places

**koy-i/u*, hurt, sick, want > W *kuya·*, to be sick, suffer; but imperative and nominal stems *koy-*

**lom-u*, place a sling > W *luma·*, to be baited; but *lomuma·*, to bait, *ʔel-lomča*, to tie a sling around

**ʔel-e*, weave > W *ʔila*, to weave; *ʔel*, weave! *ʔeles*, weaving

**qor-i/u*, grind > W *qura·*, to grind; but imperative/nominal stems *qori/u-*; *nep qori*, meal of pounded grasshoppers

**q^hep*, beard, whiskers (particularly of fish) > W *xipa·*, to have a fish-head feast; but *xep*, fish head; *xepes*, head of suckerfish or sturgeon (which have whiskers)

**q^het-a*, throw solids > W *xita*, to throw solids; but imperative and nominal stems *xet-*

**sob-č^h-u-*, **sob-a/i/u-*, pull off > W *supa*, to take off, slip off; *pat-sopča*, to slip out; *sopna·*, to take off all clothes

**tob-i*, spike > W *tuba·*, raise, i.e., grow in the earth; *tobit*, that which is raised/grown; *ʔol-tubas*, stump

**t'op*, be sharp > W *t'upa·*, to stick with something sharp, get shot; *t'opča*, to sting

**wer*, come > W *wira*, to come; but imperative and nominal stems *wer-*

**yet*, name > W *yiča*, to call by name; *yet*, name

In a few cases, W has also raised the vowel before the indicative suffix -e, -e· and the stative suffix -el, probably by analogy. E.g.,

**leh-*, glide by > W *lihel*, to pass; but *lehekta*, to pass someone on one's way

**q^her*, scrape > W *xire·*, to shave, carve; but *xē(·)r*, flour

It is also possible that the e-i alternation in these cases already existed in PW.

In some cases, W has either lowered a vowel by analogy, or the alternation between high and mid vowel was already present in PW. E.g.,

**liw*, fan, wave, gesture (cf. **lew*, vibrate, oscillate) > W *liwa·*, *liwe·*, to fan, but *xun-le-wa*, to wave to someone to come; *se-lewna·*, to fan oneself. Patwin only has reflexes in i.

**yiłma*, heavy > W *yiłe*, be loaded with heavy packs; *yeł-*, imperative stem; but *yiłma·*, to be heavy

In the following cases, P shares both high and mid vowels with W, making it likely that the alternation already existed in PW:

**moy*, **muy*, bend > W *se-muyča*, to bend around; *moyi·ya*, to smile; *pantimoy*, bone behind upper teeth and lip: PCC *moyi/u*, angry; PA-U *muyła-*, cranky

**non*, **nun*, pronged, joined > W *nOn-*, prongs, pronged, join, joint; *łel-nonči*, joint; *łel-nunalas*, joint of the body; *noni*, prongs of spear; PH, R *nun*, bow, gun

**sew*, **siw*, pack > W *siwa·*, to pack, stuff, sack; *sew-*, imperative stem; *siwiy*, *siwih*, testicles; PH-B *siw*, food-pit, K *siwi·*, testicles; R *sewo-ro*, putting things away, caching

Since the development of W ablaut amounts largely to vowel raising before indicative *-a/-a·*, it is possible that it began in this context with the merger of realis **-a/-a·* with the auxiliary **-ła*, have. Note the following two reconstructions:

**koy-i-ła*, hurt, sick, want > W *kuya·*, to be sick, suffer; PR *čoyiła*, sick

**yor-i-ła*, send after, direct to > W *yura·*, to send someone after something, hire; *yo(·)runa·*, to work; PCC, PK and PR *yoriła-*, work

Assuming that **-ła* is in fact reconstructible in these forms, rather than being a P innovation, W would have changed **koyiła* to *kuya·* and **yoriła* to *yura·*. In other words, the height of the root vowel incorporated the following high vowel i (of the nominalizing/neutral mode suffix **-i*), which was lost in the process. The final *-a* was then lengthened to reflect the lost glottal stop and perhaps the lost vowel as well. W vowel raising may have begun with forms such as these and then spread by analogy to all roots with vowels e and o when followed by indicative *-a/-a·*, a suffix which originated (perhaps in pre-PW times) from **-ła*. Finally, vowel raising would have spread to roots followed by stative *-al* and some roots followed by indicative *-e/e·*.

Since PW already had forms with variant root vowels, development of a full system of ablaut in W was just a short step away. Further, Whistler (1980: 111) observed an instance of raising of e to i before a in River Patwin in the kinterm *t^hira·n*, sister's husband (cf. Hill Patwin *t^hera·n*), and (ibid. 208) raising of e to i after a in Hill Patwin *ma·ni·n*, your mother (cf. *łuy·ne·n*, his, her mother). These may exemplify drift.

250. Sound Changes: Nomlaki

251. Obstruent Merging

N probably shared the obstruent merging changes listed under W, but the recordings are too few to be certain.

252. Defrication

N appears to have shared the P defrication of *x to k^h, but the representative forms are few and not entirely reliable phonetically. If *x is reconstructible and one N form may be considered evidence (*x̄ad), *x̄ has also become k^h.

253. Loss of r, w, y

Nomlaki loses *r, with or without replacement, as follows:

Intervocalic *r is dropped and the vowels contracted into a long vowel or a diphthong:

*č^hiri-k-, fear, *č^hiri-kuma, to scare someone > N-BW čIktu-, fear, be scared by (via *č^hirik-tu)

*k^herek, spider > N-M kāk, spider (presumably representing [ke·k])

*koro, net > N-B kōma, dipnet (presumably representing [ko·ma] via *koroma)

*k'urey, young boy > N-C nēt=kui, my nephew

*moroq, move > N-B pōmōkō, earthquake (representing [po·m mo·qo] via *po·m moroqo)

*nur, salmon > N-B nūt, salmon, but N-J nu rut, salmon

*puri, dark > N-G pu:itber, third-quarter moon, moon won't be up until late (but note the final -r)

*q^hor, growl > N-BW q'Ota', q'ota-, snore (via *q^horota)

*sir-i, copulate > N-G si·pa, vulgar word for sexual intercourse (via *siripa, with benefactive)

*surut, strap, tumpline > NT-M soot', carrying band for head (representing [su·t] < *surut)

An exception is *č'aro·q(i), grass, green > NG-M chi'-yok', grass (any), C cha-yó-ka, green, most likely because ao does not make an acceptable diphthong.

Morpheme-final *r becomes y:

*č^hi·r, fish sp. > N-S ciit, fish; N-SS čiyet, fish (cf. W čirut, sucker sp. or carp)

*hur-u, sew > N-S huya, sew; BW huyut-, sew

*xurxur, sugar > N-BW kUyikut, kUikUt, sugar

*par, full > N-M pah-yahk', full (representing [payak] or [payaq])

*p^hu(·)r-u, breathe > N-S phuyna, breathe

*č'ur? calf > N-C chú-i, leg

*nor, south > N-G noy, south (perhaps in analogy with way, north (N-G wai))

*pur, third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive > N-W puy, third person singular genitive

*yeme, trail > N-H yemey, road (cf. W yemer, trail, road)

**qir*, pull > N-S *qii*, pull

**qor-i*, meal > N-B *kōi*, pinole, meal

**tir-i*, belt > NT-M *te*, belt worn by men or women (presumably representing [ti·] < **tiyi* < **tiri*)

**wer*, come > N- J *wey*, to come; G *weyam*, did you come (greeting); BW *win boya wea*’, lots of men are coming

The case of **ser-panoŋ*, six > N-DK *se-panoŋ*, six, may not be a case of dropping **r*, but rather a case of replacement of **ser* with the prefix *se-*, probably shared with W where it means “distributively, with both hands.” W also varies *sepanuŋ* and *serpanuŋ* for “six.”

**ler*, cricket > N-BW *lith*, grasshopper, may indicate that N, like W, used a pronunciation of [θ] for r followed by particular aspect h.

In three cases, intervocalic r may have been replaced by d, but since the pronunciation of r and d is similar intervocalically and the recordings not phonetically reliable, it is more likely that “d” represents r, particularly since two sets list alternate recordings in r:

**p^her-*, louse > NG-M *ped'-de*, gray back; T-M *ped-dem*, larger wasp, but note N-B *perem*, yellow jacket

**tarak*, woodpecker sp. > N-BW *tadat*, woodchuck; but again: N-B *tōratat*, red-headed woodpecker

**t'arara* ? **č'arara* ? kingfisher > NGT-M *chā-dah'-dahk'*, kingfisher

The same may be true for **p'uri*, reciprocal > N-C *-pu-di* in *dūr'-yu-pu-di*, gift dance [give-reciprocal-nominal], which at the same time introduced an r not present in the proto-form (**doy-*), perhaps through hypercorrection.

Medial r may have been replaced by l in one example, unless misrecorded for r: **her*, help > N-BW ?*Elhilci/u-*, help

Perhaps by analogy, some intervocalic w and y are also dropped:

**qewel*, house > N-PS *k-el*, house, BW *qel*, house, T-M *kā'-el*, house; but: G *kewel*, place, *kêwêl*, village. Merriam’s recording may represent an intermediate stage in the dropping of intervocalic w.

**ŋewet*, proximal third person singular objective > N-J *et*, that

**payi-ŋ*, seed plant sp. > N-G *pa-ŋ*, upright bush with fine pods

**p^hoyoq*, head > N-W *p^hoq*, head

**puyelti*, in the east + **pom*, ground > *peltipom*, way to the east

In one example, final -y is dropped:

**č^ha(·)y*, grandchild: N-W *če(·)*, grandchild; but Blankenship and Wenger record both -*c'ey* and *ce'*.

260. Sound Changes: Patwin and South Patwin

261. Obstruent Fronting Chain

The major divergence from the mostly identical reflexes is the obstruent fronting chain common to Southern Wintun (Patwin and South Patwin):

PW	Wintu	Nomlaki	Patwin	South Patwin
*č	č	č	t	t
*č ^h	č	č	t ^h	t ^h
*č'	č'	č'	t'	t'
*k	k	k	č	č
*k ^h	k	k, k ^h (?)	č ^h	č ^h
*k'	k'	k'	č'	č'
*x	x	k ^h	s	s
*q	q	q	k	k
*q ^h	x	q ^h , k ^h , x (?)	k ^h	k ^h
*q'	q'	q'	k'	k'
*x	x	k ^h	h	

If PW *x existed, its P reflex h is of course not fronted. It is possible that a fronting of *x originally resulted in P x, which was then replaced by h rather than merged with s from PW *x.

262. PK Aspiration

In almost all sets with initial *k, PK shows aspirated č^h where the other P dialects have the regular unaspirated obstruent. This may mean that K was in the process of merging č with č^h. See the sets under: *kay-i/u, shame; *kel-, far, travel; *kik-i, frost; *kol-i, something joined, added on to perimeter; *koro, net; *koy-i/u, *koy-i-ʔa, hurt, sick, want.

263. Exceptions to Fronting Chain

It is within this fronting chain that most exceptions to regular correspondences occur. They include items not fronted, doubly fronted items, interchange of glottalized and unglottalized consonants, and others. Many of the exceptions occur in animal names, cultural terms, and sound-symbolic and areal items. Exceptions cut across dialectal boundaries.

Exceptions to the fronting chain affect all consonants involved in fronting:

*č

Not fronted:

*k'eč-, yellowjacket: PCC, K, T *t'ečew*, K *t'eč^he-man*, *t'eč^hemen*, *t'ese-men*, PR *t'ečew*, yellowjacket

*q'učul, worm sp.: PK *k'uč^hay*, small black flying beetle sp., *k'uuč'ay*, worm sp., PR *k'oč'ol*, *k'očol*, acorn worm

*sič*i/u*, drill: PCC *sič'i/u-*, to drill, K *sič^hi/u*, to drill

*t'ač, split/slit two halves: PCC *t'ači*, abalone shell pendants. Compare regularly fronted PR *t'etaho*, to split open a fish, < PW *t'eča, slice

*č^hNot fronted:*č^hiqč^hiq- ? *č^hilč^hil- ? chipmunk: PCC, K and T show č^hikč^hi-ki, chipmunk*č^hur, twins: PCC has regular t^hudum, twins, while PK has č^huru-č^huru, twinsOther irregularities affecting *č and *č^h

*čala, good: PR has irregular t'ala sem, right hand, as well as regular talo·ma, to measure, straighten something out, and talo·, straight

*čuka, approach: PCC and PR have regular -tuka, as well as irregular -t'uka, toward

*č^ha·hay, gray hair: PK has regular t^ha·say, gray hair, as well as t'a·say, gray (hair or whiskers)

č'

Not fronted:*č'aro·q(i), grass, green: SP-V has tcalo'k^c, yellow, and SP-M has chul-lo'-ke, challo'-ke, white

*č'ayi(·)k, scrub jay: PCC č'ayi·t, scrub jay, any bluejay, jaybird; K č'ayi·t, scrub jay, T č'ayi(·)t, scrub jay; PR č'ayč'ayt, č'ayit, scrub jay. SP-M has si-ē'ch, California jay

*č'ekey, hair: while PCC and PR have regularly fronted t'eč^hey and t'eč^he·, respectively, the following occur not fronted: PCC si·nč'ekey, eyebrow, PK sinč^hikay, eyebrow, PR si·nč'ikiy, eyebrow, PA-U sinč'ikay, eyebrows, and SP-G sincheke, eyebrow. However SP-A has backed sinkeke, eyebrow, perhaps in a desire to reduplicate

*č'iw, hull: PH-U has unfronted č'iwilma, dogwood top frame for pounding acorns

*č'i-, red-shafted yellowhammer, flicker: PR has č'iya(·)k, red-shafted flicker and SP has č'iyak, red-tailed hawk, both folk-etymologized to mean “old man”

*č'oki/u, chew: PK č'oki/u, chew, PR č'ok^hi/u, chew (neither the initial nor the medial consonant are fronted)*č'ot- ? *č'oh- ? flow: PK č'ot^hi/u, flow, water to run

*č'on, kick: regular PCC and K t'onpa, kick (with benefactive), alongside K č'uninyali, dam (beaver or manmade), “kick the water back”

*č'oq, dry and stiff: PK has č^hoč^haro, cramped and PR has čoč^he?aro, he has cramps, both with unfronted intial (minus glottalization) and doubly fronted medial*č'ow, Western bluebird ?: PK č'owkoč'owko, bluebird, č'okoč'oko, Western bluebird; L č'owk^ha, little bluebird; P-M, cho kees', bluebird, and SP-M cho'-kah, bluebird

*č'ur-, *č'uru(C)č'uru(C), cricket: PR č'urumč'urum, cricket

Other irregularities affecting č':

*č'idok, narrow-waisted: PCC pu·suduk, PK pu·sidik, SP-M poo'-so-look, dragonfly

*č'il, black bear: PCC silay, (black) bear, bear of any kind, caterpillar; PR-B selay, bear; K t'ilo·ki silay, silti silay, black bear; silay, bear of any kind; but also regular t'ilo·ki, black bear, equal to t'ilo·ki, dark, from *č'il, black

*č'ulaq, bush sp.: PCC, PC t^holak, steeple bush

*č 'upu, wade: PCC, PR *t^hupu-*, wade

*č 'ur-, *č 'uru(C)č 'uruC, cricket: PK and T have fronted, but dropped the glottalization in PK *ture-s*, big brown grasshopper, and K and T *tortor*, cricket, while PR has not fronted (see above)

*k

Not fronted:

**kalay*, gap: PK shows *kalay*, hole (instead of *č*alay*), as well as *taluk*, gap, pass (doubly fronted)

**kaw*, basket (mortar): PCC and PK show *kawi*, mortar basket (instead of *č*awi*)

**kimu-r*, rumble, roar: PCC has *kimi*, thunder; PK *k^himi/u-*; PR *kimi-r-*, thunder

**ku*, small, child: PK and PT show *k'učun*, small, little, and PCC and PR also have forms in k'. SP shows k in Merriam's spelling which may represent k or k'.

**kudu* ?, great horned owl: PK, PT, PCC and PR all show *toko-k*, burrowing owl, with metathesis

And medial:

*č*uka*, approach: PK *-toka*, *-tuka*, against; CC *-tuka*, *-t'uka*, toward; PR *-t'uka*, *-tuka*, against, toward

*č 'oki/u, chew: PK č 'oki/u, chew; PR č 'ok^hi/u, chew

**wuk*, nod: PCC *wu·ki/u-*, to nod; cf. also PCC *wudbaya*, to nod head forward and back

PCC, K, R, and sometimes T, do not allow final č, so double fronting occurs in:

*č 'e-k, rope > PH-U, PT-U, PR-B *t'e-t*, rope

*č 'idik, heart, core > PCC and K *t'idi-t*, meat of any nut, kernel of any nut, PK *t'idit*, eyeball, but T *t'idi-č*, meat (of any nut)

*č 'i-k, rough skin > PCC and K *t'i-t*, scab, sore; PR-B *t'i-t*, sore

*č 'uduk, woodpecker sp., sapsucker sp. > PR *t'udutt^hu*, red-breasted sapsucker, woodpecker

**se-k*, root: PCC *se-t*, root (for baskets), PK *se-t*, basket root; K, T *se-t*, tulare root; PR *se-t*, tulare root; however, SP-M has regular *setch'*, root

**tarak*, woodpecker sp.: PCC, K, T *tara-t*, acorn woodpecker, and other P dialectal forms

*λ 'uk, worm: PCC λ 'ut, cutworms; T worm sp. (cutworm ?)

**iririk*, ash tree: PT *iririt*, tree ash, PR-B *ireret*, ash tree

PT varies final t with č in: *p^hut*, *p^huč*, ashes, dust < PW **p^huk*, **buk*, ashes, dust, while PK and PR allow only -t in *p^hut*, ashes, dust

Sometimes a final č is avoided by not fronting at all:

*č 'i-k, rough skin > PK *t'ik*, scales (fish or reptile)

**xok*, basket type: PCC *ʔo-k*, any basket, small chokemouth bowl; K small basket, basket for drinking soup; PR *ʔo-k*, small, chokemouth globular bowl (with dropping of initial consonant)

**sak*, pine sp.: PR *čusak*, pine

**si·k*, barn owl: PK, T, R *si·k*, barn owl
 **somV·k*, thighs, hip: PH *somak*, hip, H-B, T-B *somok*, hipbone
 **wik*, burrowing owl: PK *wik*, burrowing owl
 **yok*, meadowlark: PR *hayu·k*, Western meadowlark
 *č'*idok*, narrow-waisted: PCC *pu·suduk*, PK *pu·sidik*, and SP-M *poo'-so-look*, dragonfly (with other irregularities)

In some cases, a medial *k is not fronted or doubly fronted. For example:

**dek*, climb, step: PCC, R *deč-*, *det-*, to climb; H *hale detmu*, I'm going to climb it;
 PR č'*anda·k*, step over
 **dok*, neck?: PT *do·kuro*, stick head out
 **kuk*, to bend: PH-B *ču·ki*, to bow, PR-B, *ču·ko*, to bow
 **lik-*, hawk sp.: PR *likki?* Swainson's hawk
 **mu(·)ku*, turtle-shell shaped: PCC *mu·ki/u*, to lie on one's stomach
 **sik*, polish: PT-U *sikohos pi?*, he's polishing something
 **sokok*, cocoon rattle: PH *soko·kay*, rattle; H-B *sokokay*, cocoon; PR *sok'ot*, *sokot*, cocoon rattle (possibly a loan)
 **tek*, light: PCC *te·ki*, sunshine, light
 **t^hakč^hi*, dump (granulated solids?): PK *t^hati^hi/u-*, dump (out); perhaps *k>č>t assimilated to following t^h
 **t'ok*, spot: PK *t'oki*, one spot; *t'oku·ro bo·s*, spotted, freckled
 *λ'*ik*, dull (of senses): PCC λ'*i·ki*, pain has gone down
 **wuk*, nod: PCC *wu·ki/u*, to nod
 **sa·q-k'ur-*? rainbow: Regular PR-B, PH-B *sakč'orel*, rainbow, but double-fronted PK *sa·k t'uri·l*, rainbow
 **heke*, where: PCC *hekuła*, when, where; PR *hekeła*, where, anywhere
 **heket*, which specific one: PR-U *heketta*, which one? Note, however, that in the last two examples, k is not part of the root (*he, *hi), which may contribute to the absence of fronting

Doubly fronted:

**kalay*, gap: PK shows *kalay*, hole (instead of *č*alay*), as well as doubly fronted *taluk*, gap, pass
 **kip*, headband: PK has *tipilis*, headband

***k^h**

Not fronted:

**k^hen*, **k^henti*, down: SP-A has *kentielan*, eight, while PCC, PK and PR have č'*enti*
 **kuku*, grizzly?: PR *čuk^huy*, bear, grizzly bear

Doubly fronted:

**k^het*, trip: PCC shows *t^het^hurho*, to stagger

***k'**Not fronted:

**k'a-*, snap: PH-U shows *sem k'a-tsaʔamaro*, snap fingers

**k'ah-i/u*, wind: PR shows *k'ahu-ro*, big wind blowing, as well as doubly fronted *t'ahi*, wind (strong), gale

**k'ar-a*, scrape: PCC shows *k'ara(-)si/u-*, to scratch; *k'ara(-)*, mow, cut off little bush, cut off the ends of

**k'ay*, rodent sp. ?: PCC, T, K and R all show *k'ay*

**k'eni*, winnower: PCC and K have *k'eni* (not fronted), winnowing basket; SP-M has *ten-ne'-che*, circular winnower (doubly fronted), while PR fronts regularly to *č'e-n*, winnow by dropping or pouring

**k'ililuk*, hawk sp.: SP-M has *kel-lel'-oo*, marsh hawk, while PK has regularly fronted *č'ililuk*, horned lark

**k'opus*, screech owl: PK, T *k'upu-*, screech owl; CC *k'upu-*, small owl sp., T *k'opu-*, screech owl; PR *k'opu(-)s*, screech owl; SP-M *ko'-poo*, screech owl

**k'or*, scratch: Only PH-U shows fronting: *č'ur-ta*, slash with knife, but PCC has *k'oro-*, scratch (more than once) and PR has *k'ort^hi*, to scratch on the body (with hand)

Doubly fronted:

**k'ah-i/u*, wind: PR shows *t'ahi*, wind (strong), gale, as well as unfronted *k'ahu-ro*, big wind blowing

**k'ar-a*, scrape: PK shows *t'ara-l*, scraper

**k'eč-*, yellowjacket: PCC, K, T and R have *t'ečew*; PK has *t'eč^he-man*, *t'eč^he-man*, *t'ese-men*

Other irregularities affecting *k':

**k'at* ? mesh: PK shows *kada*, large net, mesh instead of *č'at

**k'ete-t*, one: All represented P dialects have dropped the initial consonant: PCC, K, R *ʔete-ta*, SP-M *et'-tah*

**k'ilapʔa*, afraid, have fear: While PR shows regularly fronted *č'ilapas*, afraid, PCC and K have initial s as if from PW *x: PCC *selaʔa*, afraid, scared; K *se-la-*, afraid

**k'ir*, sharp implement: PK uses č^h instead of č' in *č^hiri*, manzanita wood pin to hold net or headband on head

**k'is*, seed plant sp.: PCC and PR have č instead of č': *čisaw*

**k'ete-t*, one; PCC, K, R *ʔete-ta*, one (P may have double-fronted to **t'ete-t* and then dropped the initial t to avoid three t's in the same word. Cf. **pu-p*, roe, in which P lost the final p (PH and R *pu-*))

***q**Double fronting:

**quču*, tickle: PK *č^huku-*, PH-U *čuki*, tickle (either the initial has been fronted twice and the medial has been backed, or the consonants have been metathesized with regular fronting of *q to k, but no fronting of č)

Other:

**qa-*, green heron ? : PK *kalawk'awk'aw*, green heron, PT *k'awk'aw*, PTT *k'awk'aw*, green heron; PR *k'awk'awč'u* ?, green heron

**qo(-)la*, hide, buckskin: PK *k'olay*, hide; H-B *k'o·lay*, buckskin; PT *k'olay*, hide, skin, buckskin, and PR-B *k'o·lay*, buckskin

q^hq^h > s:

**q^hal-tu* ? spirit: PH and PR *saltu*, spirit, perhaps prompted by similar areal forms (however, this form may not be reconstructible; see discussion under set)

**q^hep*, beard, whiskers, particularly of fish: PK *sepsep*, whiskers, beard, tree moss, stream moss; *sepsep^hi·r*, catfish, carp (whisker fish); T *sepsep-t^hi·r*, carp (whisker fish); PR *sepsep*, *se·psep* (?), beard, mustache, whiskers, PR-B *sepseptu*, catfish; but regular PH-U *k^hepum*, septum (see W forms listed in cognate set for connection between “whiskers” and “septum”)

**q^hili*, minnow: PCC *se·lismen*, KT *se·lis(men)*, snail

Other:

**q^hala*, plant sp.: PK, CC, T *k'ala*, mule fat

**q^hawa* ? **q'awa* ? paddle: PH-B *č'ewayho*, soup paddle, PR-B *č'ewak*, soup paddle

**q^hed-*, **q^hič-*, cut: PCC *k'ača*, to cut one thing; PR *k'ač^hoho*, *k'ačaho*, to cut, alongside regular K *k^heda-ro*, slice once, *k^hedi*, a slice, *k^heduro*, slice into many pieces

**q^heta*, throw solids: PR *ketaketa*, scattered around

Irregularities affecting *q':

**q'ali* ? charcoal: PCC *wali*, hot coals, PR, *wali*, glowing coals

Irregularities affecting *x:

**xeb*, open by scratching: PK shows *k^hebu-*, eat (an apple), nibble, chew on

**xina*, sleep: PCC, PK, PR and SP all show *k'ana·* to sleep

**xurxur*, sugar: PK and PT-U have *k^huyk^huy*

**xo-* ... *wi-*, pigeon: PCC, PK *ʔomo·wil* and PR *ʔomo·win* have dropped the initial consonant and made other changes, perhaps in response to another, similar areal term

**xok*, basket type: PCC *ʔo·k*, any basket, small chokemouth bowl (basket type); PR *ʔo·k*, chokemouth globular bowl

264. Loss of *r

It is possible that P, like N, was in the process of replacing r with y or other consonants. Note the following forms:

*-r, genitive case > P -y, pronominal genitive and inalienable possessive case

- **p'uri*, nipple; **p'uru*, seep > PK *p'oy*, nipple, but PCC *p'uri*, a seep
 **q'ur*, dislike > PCC *k'uwči*, to hate, PH-U *kuyči*, not like a food
 **λ'ir*, roast > PK *λ'il-*, *λ'ir-*, roast, scorch
 **ʔi·rʔir*, sparrowhawk > PCC, K, T *ʔitʔit*; PR *ʔič'it*, SP *ʔit'it*
 **č'iri*, distribute liquid substance > PR *t'idi/u*, sprinkle, squirt, but PCC *t'irlaki*, to sprinkle one time
 **xurxur*, sugar > PK *k'uyk'uy*
 **lur*, shin > PCC *lu·l*
 **lor*, grind > PK *lol^hi/u*, grind, but PCC and PR *lori/u*

265. South Patwin Consonant Loss and Other Changes

Because of the scarcity of material and poor quality of recordings, little can be said about SP other than that it shares P's obstruent fronting chain. Many of the lexical items in the corpus are identical to, or differ very little from, the northern P dialects. Unless substantial differences existed in SP's grammar, it would certainly have been mutually intelligible with the P dialects.

The following SP changes include additional fronting, single fronting where the P dialects have fronted twice, lack of fronting found in P, and loss of initial glottalized consonants. The last of these may have been a sound change in progress following fronting, or may be interpreted as the loss of the nonglottal portion of a glottalized consonant.

Initial *č' is dropped, perhaps via fronting to *t', in:

- *č' *ena·*, defecate; *č' *eni*, feces > SP-V *ena·'*, defecate; *eni*, feces
 *č' *oq*, dry and stiff > SP-M *ok'*, *awk'*, firewood; *ok'*, funeral pyre
 In other forms, regularly fronted t' occurs.

Initial t' from *t' is also lost in:

- **t'ip*, make sparks > SP-M *e'-pah*, acorn bread (cf. PR *t'ipil*, to bake in ashes; *t'ip^ha*, bread)

Initial *k' is lost in one form:

- **k'ete·t*, one > SP-M *et'-tah*, *ā-tah*, one (PCC, K and R share the loss of the initial)

Initial *p' is lost in two forms:

- **p'oqita*, woman > SP-M *o-ke'-tah*, woman (cf. *o-kis'*, little girl 4-12). Note, however, that the initial consonant was not dropped in related SP-M *'pot*, old woman < **p'ot*

- **p'u(·)r*, **p'u(·)l*, wild onion > SP *ʔur*, wild onion

Cf. the loss of *p' in P: **p'ukuy*, **p'uquy*, young girl (perhaps < ***p'oq*, woman + ***kuy*, small) > PH *ʔuču-*, *ʔuču-n*, older sister (but *p'ukuytu*, shrew); PR *ʔut^hu-n*, older sister

Additional fronting initially:

- **k'eni*, winnower > SP-M *ten-ne'-che*, circular winnower (cf. PR *č'e-n*, winnow by dropping or pouring, and unfronted PCC, PK *k'eni*, winnowing basket)

Final single fronting vs. PCC and PR double fronting:

- **se·k*, root > SP-M *sətch'*, root

- **tarak*, woodpecker sp. > SP-M *ter-rah'tch*, Calif. woodpecker; cf. PR *tara·t*, (hairy) woodpecker

No fronting medially vs. PH (except K) and PR fronting:
 *seke-, pubic hair > SP-G *tschesekei*, beard; cf. PR-B *sečey*, pubic hair; H-B *sečey*,
 pubic hair; but also unfronted: K *ye·sekey*, pubic hair (woman's)

270. Irregular Correspondences

The sets include the following irregular correspondences:

271. d::b

*č 'ube, mouse, rat; W č 'udeh, white-footed mouse, fieldmouse, rat; PCC, K *t'ubes*,
 rat, woodrat; PR *t'ubes*, rat, mouse; N has both b and d (perhaps folk-etymology).

272. n::h

*nup-u, dive; W *nupe*, to dive; PH, R *hupu*, to dive

*nur, salmon; W *nu(·)r*, salmon; PH, R *hur*, salmon

Cf. *hap-a, dig ? pick up ? and W *napa*, to gather or pick acorns, and sets under
 *haw-a-l, wrap around, and *naw, robe

Whistler (1976d: 3) suggested reconstructing a voiceless nasal for the n::h
 correspondence, stating that voiceless nasals are present in Klamath and other
 Northwest languages.

273. n::m

*nu·q, smoke; W *nu·q*, smoke; PR *mo·k-*, smoke. Merriam's SP form *nook'*, smoke,
 is difficult to read and may be *mook'*

274. p::t

*par, full; W *para·*, to be full; regular PH *paro-*, to be full, but PR *taroho*, fill up

275. p^h::h

*p^heka·y- ? *hika·y- ? stand; W *hika·y-*, to stand; PH *p^heč^ha·y-*, stand up; PR *p^hič^ha·y-*,
 stand up. PH *p^hič^hi·ya*, foot of cloven hoofed, and PK *pako·*, foot log (< *waqu·,
 *waqo· ?, log) may point to a prefix *p-*, meaning "foot." If it is of PW ancestry, it
 may have combined with *hik-a·y-i/u, creating the two variants for "stand." Pitkin
 reconstructs *hE, stand, for pre-Wintu. This, together with PW *he, *hi,
 demonstrative-interrogative root and *hen, arrive, point to a word family in *he/i.

*p^hor, wreck; W *yel-horuma·*, to break, destroy, *yel-hura*, to outgrow, be spoiled,
 broken, be the remains; be left over; *po·m yelhura*, to be an earthquake, earth to be
 destroyed; PR *p^hor-*, break (off). If *p^h is correct, the wide range of meanings of W
hOr- may indicate a merger of two separate roots, *hor-, be left, remain and *p^hor,
 wreck.

276. p^h::b

*p^hem ? *bam ? grasp in one or both hands; W *bam*, put, arrange, part (hair), carry,
 close with hands (cf. *bam*, fist); PCC *p^hemtarō*, carry (held in one or both hands,
 grasped); H-U (*peru·*) *p^hemta*, choke (someone; lit. throat grasp). P may have

analogized with ?emi/u- , hold in arms (see *?imit), but this does not explain the p^h . Again, perhaps W has merged two originally separate roots.

277. w::n

*nal ? *wal ? lick; W *walikna*, animal to lick itself; *sem walikna*, to lick one's fingers; N-BW *nal'-*, *nel'-*, lick; PCC *nala·ko*, to take a taste of; K *nal-*, *na·l-*, lick; R *nal-*, lick. Since N and P agree, perhaps only *n is reconstructible, W having replaced *n with *w* for some reason, perhaps due to *wal-*, lighten, flame (see PW *wal-u , flame, lightning). However, cf. also W *t'elik*, to lick, ?el-t'alikta , to taste.

278. w::p^h

$\text{*wil-i ? *p^hil-i ?}$ smooth: W *wili·ka*, to be bare (of ground), to be a clearing, to be a cleared, flat, brushless (large) meadow; p^hoyoq wili·ka , to be bald (head smooth); N-S *wiliika*, smooth; PR p^hilik , slippery (as wet or muddy ground); p^hilikmaro ?ih , you smooth it out, you polish it. Perhaps a merger of two forms, *wil- , bare and *p^hil- , slippery, both part of a larger family with *sil , slip

279. y::l

*yir ? *lur ? leg; W *lurur*, leg; PCC, K *yir*, leg

280. y::t

$\text{*yoryor ? *tortor ?}$ cicada; W *yo(-)ryorh*, June bug, tree cricket; PCC *to·romen*, katydids; K June bug; T-U *tortor*, cricket

281. r::y

See 264.

282. s::t^h

*t^ha·p , *sap ? , wash face, wash up; W ?el-sapana· , to wash one's face; PR t^ha·punan , wash your face and hands; cf. *sub-u , smell; W *sube·*, *subu-*, to smell (tr.); PT-U *subu·ki*, cigarette; but PCC, K t^hu·bi/u- , smell, stink; PR t^hu·bu- , smell, stink. Cf. also *t'umi , fog; W *t'umi·*, fog; PT t^humi , waterfall; but K *sumuklay*, to be foggy

283. y::w

*yodo , *woto ? , peppergrass; W *yOd-*, pick or pull grass; N-G *yodôh*, peppergrass; PK *wotok* (t^ho·k), peppergrass

284. y::?

*yono , buckeye ?; W *yonot*, buckeye, < *yon , that which is shaken?; PCC ?u·nu , buckeye ball and other P reflexes in ?- . Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMi ?u·nu , which is the most likely interpretation.

*yulyul , rot; W *yulel*, to be rotten, spoiled; *yulyulel*, a lot to be spoiled or rotten; PT-U ?ul?ulumas , rotten, spoiled

285. *q'::w

**q'al-i* ?, charcoal; W *q'ali*, charcoal; PCC *wali*, hot coals; PR *wali*, glowing coals (perhaps *q' > w under the influence of *wal-u, flame, lightning)

**q'uh-i/u*, cough; W *q'uhe*, *q'uhi/u-*, cough; PCC, R regular *k'uhi/u-*, to cough, but K *wohi/u-*, to cough (perhaps imitative)

300. MORPHOPHONEMICS

310. Root and Stem Structure

Although the reconstruction of PW morphophonemics and morphological elements is hampered by the lack of a Patwin grammar, a simple grammatical sketch is possible.

311. Roots

The vast majority of roots have the shape CVC or CV·C. A few roots have the shapes CV and CV· (e.g., **ne-*, first person pronominal root; **q^ho·*, striped skunk). Some longer forms of the shapes CVCV, CVCV·, CVCVC, CV·CVC, CVCV·C, CVCV·CV are no longer analyzable, but may ultimately derive from CVC roots followed by suffixes or from compounded roots. For example, **dehe·la*, bat, can be related – perhaps via folk-etymology – to **dih*, spread open, with its **-V·l* perhaps related to the W distributive *-VIVVh* (as in *bo·loloha*, to pulverize). In most cases the (first) two vowels of these longer forms are identical. E.g., **dala*, leaf; **hosop*, light in weight; **č^ha·hay*, gray hair; **p'olo·q*, tie a knot. The longest unanalyzable forms are animal and plant names, which may be old borrowings, folk-etymologies or a combination of both; e.g., **k'ililuk*, hawk sp.

312. Root Reduplication

Roots may be reduplicated by simply doubling the entire root minus any length. Since most roots are of the shape CVC, the majority of reduplicated forms are of the shape CVC-CVC. Examples of reduplication are: **k'ok'o*, flea; **halhal*, repetitive or prolonged thinking; **tiltil*, ringing sound; **č'ereCč'ereC*, *č'iriCč'iriC* ? small bird sp.; *č'uru(C)č'uruC*, cricket; **sasasapa*, oriole. The only morphophonemic rule that applies to reduplication is that when the root has a long vowel, its copy has the corresponding short vowel. E.g., **pa·tpat*, flat tule, cattail; **ʔi·rʔir*, sparrowhawk. In **wasasa*, rattle (rustle ?), the last syllable rather than the root is reduplicated, most likely for sound-symbolic purposes. The only other form in

which the last syllable is reduplicated is **t'arara* ? **č'arara* ? kingfisher, which may be a borrowing.

313. Prefixes

The very limited set of prefixes, which are all locational or directional, are of the shapes CV or CVC; e.g. **tu-*, ahead of; **pat-*, out.

314. Suffixes

Suffixes are of the shapes **-V* (e.g., **-u*, imperative or irrealis stem-deriving suffix), **-C* (e.g., **-k*, completive); **-VC* (e.g., **-in*, locative case); **-V·C* (e.g., **-V·y*, iterative); **-CV* (e.g., **-ba*, kinterm plural); and **-CVC* (e.g., **-pel*, dual). A single suffix is of the shape **-V*, the realis stem-deriving suffix **-a* (and possibly its allomorph **-e*), the long vowel pointing to an origin in the auxiliary **-ʔa*, have (see below). All suffixes longer than a single V or a single C show more or less clear kinship with independent words, and many of the single V and single C suffixes do as well (see sets).

320. Vowel Alternations

Although there is insufficient evidence to suggest a formal system of ablaut in PW, many reconstructions indicate either rudimentary or vestigial alternations of just about any two vowels. E.g.,

i - e

**č'eba*, to scrape, scratch; **č'ibi*, nominal stem; **č'i·ba*, shave off with sweeping motion; cf. also **k'eb-*, loosen by scratching
**č^hiya*, call someone; **č'e(·)w*, talk
**č'ir-*, distribute liquid substance; **č'er-*, sand, use sand
**dih*, spread open; **dehe·la*, bat
**he*, **hi*, demonstrative-interrogative root
**lir*, rub; **ler*, cricket; cf. also **lor*, grind
**liw*, fan, wave, gesture; **lew*, vibrate, oscillate (such as stems, limbs, twigs); cf. also **low*, hang
**sew*, *siw*, pack
**t^hel-*, liquid spreads; **t^hil-ʔa*, eat with someone
**t'er*, make round; **t'ir*, twist
**ʔimit*, breast, milk; **ʔem-*, hold pectorally; cf. also **ʔu·m*, fill with liquid

i - u

**sil*, slip; **sul*, blanket, cover (note pre-Wintu **sul*, slip, slide)
**ʔiy-*, be, do, use (non-distal); **ʔu-*, do, be (distal)
**ʔimit*, breast, milk; **ʔu·m*, fill with liquid; cf. also **ʔem-*, hold pectorally

a - o

**bal-*, tell a lie; **bo·le* tale, tell a tale
 **hak*, up and down movement; **hok*, raise
 **kalay*, gap; **qo(·)l*, mouth; cf. also **holoq*, hole
 **k'at* ? mesh; **koro*, net
 **k'ar*, scrape; **k'or*, scratch; cf. also **k'ur*, tear; **q^her*, scrape
 **las*, crawl; **los*, scabble
 **law*, flabby; **low*, hang
 **qarč^h*, rake; **qor*, grind; cf. also **qir*, pull
 **q^hapla*, outer bark (as used for building); **q^hop*, cut off, slice
 **ʔa·q*, bitter; **ʔoqč^h*, vomit

a - e

**č'aq*, hang; **č'e·k*, rope
 **-na*, reflexive; **ne-*, first person pronominal root
 **na*, **nah* ? mother; **neh*, **ne·n*, mother
 **t^hał*, bump; **t^heł*, crack open; cf. also **t^hoł*, break up surface; **t^hul*, swim
 **λ'ab*, **λ'eb*, break
 **yal*, leave; **yel*, back of, behind something; cf. also **yol*, a while

a - i

**man*, miss; **min*, be nothing
 **p^hat*, press; **p^hit*, mash; cf. also **p^het*, pound with flat surface; **pit*, squeeze; **p'it*, squeeze
 **q'a- ?*, **q'i- ?* cloud; **q'a·q*, mental clouding; **q'idu*, forget

o - u

**boq*, milkweed; **buq*, pus
 **čok*, near; **čuk*, approach
 **hor*, remain; **huy*, save
 **ʔob*, bubble; **ʔubuq*, soft, round plant sp.?.; **ʔupuq*, thin, loose; **ʔupe*, drink/eat acorn mush with fingers
 **pol*, water container; **p^hul*, water container
 **p'oq*, woman; **p'oqita*, woman; **p'ot*, old woman; **p'ukuy*, **p'uquy*, young girl
 **qop*, bathe; **qum*, dip
 **sono*, nose; **subu*, smell

e - o

**bey*, **be·*, lie, be; **boh*, **bo·*, sit, be
 **he*, **hi*, demonstrative-interrogative; **ho*, past demonstrative
 **ʔel-*, in horizontally; **ʔol-*, up (i.e., vertically)

i - o

**lim*, fade away; **λ'o·m*, kill

a - u

**ma·t*, ear; **mut*, hear

Whistler (1980: 332-3) has observed vocalic alternation in kinterms, stating: “Proto-Wintun **teh* [child] shows a strong formal resemblance to **tah* [father]. This resemblance could be due to chance, but a pattern of sorts emerges when we consider some other terms. Proto-Wintun for ‘mother’ shows two alternative protoforms: **neh*-/**nah*; and Proto-Wintun **ley* ‘younger brother’ and **lay* ‘sister’ shows a similar vocalic alternation. These vowel alternations may be reflexes of some systematic distinction in Pre-Proto-Wintun. At any rate, it seems that the resemblance of Proto-Wintun ‘father’ and ‘child’ terms is not a fluke. Could they ultimately be reflexes of a single, self-reciprocal ‘father’ <--> ‘man’s child’ kinterm? Such a possibility is strongly reinforced by a comparison with Proto-Maidun, which includes **te* ‘father’ and **te·* ‘son’, and which makes widespread use of self-reciprocal kinterms involving lineal kin-types.”

He further observes (ibid. p. 333) that the following three forms may be linked by obscure phonological or morphological processes predating Proto-Wintun: **lo·y-(ta)* adolescent girl
k'urey-(ta)* young boy (perhaps < *k'u(t)*, small + **ley* at a time when r was a (stress-conditioned?) allophone of **l and/or **t.

**ɣelay*, **ilay*, baby, child, small

(The first two of these are in this volume reconstructed without the suffix **-ta* for which I found no evidence in these two kinterms.)

400. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

Identification of Patwin morphological elements is primarily based on Whistler 1977b, 1978, 1980, and 1986.

410. Reduplication

The derivational process of reduplication in most cases forms iteratives. E.g.,

*č^hepč^hep, hit (iterative)

*halhal, repetitive or prolonged thinking

*harhara, many go

*kepkep, shake (iterative)

*xinxina, many sleep

*mormor, move (iterative)

*pumpum, many stoop, (to be) all stooped

*p^hekp^heka-y- ? *hikhika-y- ?, many stand

*qirqir, pull (iterative), drag

*winwin, see (iterative)

In a couple of instances, the root may be reduplicated for symbolic reasons:

*yulyul, to rot (perhaps diminutive or intensive)

*ʔilʔil, to glare, reflect (symbolic of the reflection? intensive?)

420. Verb Structure

Verbs consist of simple or reduplicated roots preceded by optional locational or directional prefixes, and followed first by derivational, then by inflectional suffixes. Where auxiliaries were present, they most likely intervened between derivation and inflection.

421. Auxiliaries

Five auxiliaries are reconstructible, each related at a shallow diachronic level to an independent verb.

421.1 **bey* (before a vowel), **be·* (elsewhere) means “lie, be” as an independent verb. As an auxiliary, it is reflected in W as imperfective aspect while its P reflex is “to be (inanimate),” in keeping with the corresponding verbal reflex which means “to be (inanimate locational).” The meaning of the PW auxiliary could therefore be imperfective, inanimate, or, perhaps best, the common denominator of the two, “indefinite duration.” Imperfective denotes a longer or indefinite duration; an inanimate “is” or “lies” indefinitely until relocated by an animate. No complete words containing the auxiliary are reconstructible. The animate/inanimate distinction is probably innovative in P, which has also introduced an animate possessed/inanimate possessed dichotomy into its pronominal paradigms.

421.2 **boh* (before a vowel), **bo·* (elsewhere) means “sit, be” as an independent verb. As an auxiliary, it is the counterpart of **bey/*be·*, reflected in W as durative aspect, while its P reflex means “to be (animate locational)” as a verb and “to be (animate)” as an auxiliary. The meaning of the PW auxiliary could therefore be “durative,” “animate,” or combining the two, “definite duration.” The common denominator of “animate” and “durative” is duration, as an animate “is” or “sits” for a definite duration until it chooses to relocate. No complete words containing this auxiliary are reconstructible.

421.3 **har* (**hara·* with the realis stem suffix **-a·*) means “go” as an independent verb. As an andative auxiliary it translates as “going to” in both W and P, but in a somewhat more literal sense than the English future “going to.” It is not entirely clear whether **har* was an actual auxiliary in PW, or just compounded with other verbs. It is possible that some of the “going to” examples in W and P are actually loan translations.

421.4 The auxiliary **-ʔa*, “to have” is reflected in P as the auxiliary *-ʔa*, “to have,” and in W as *-ʔa*, the subordinating suffix of temporal anteriority, “after having...” The W indicative suffix *-a·*, and perhaps also its short allomorph *-a*, is probably the result of a merger of PW realis **-a·/-*a* with **-ʔa*, which P keeps separate. Perhaps the meeting point of P *-ʔa*, W *-ʔa*, and W and P *-a*, *-a·* must be placed earlier, in pre-PW. The auxiliary’s ultimate verbal origin probably lies in **ʔab*, **ʔap*, “carry on back.” Examples of complete words are: **balʔa*, tell a lie; **č’epʔa*, be bad; **koyiʔa*, hurt, sick, want; **k’ilapʔa*, afraid, have fear; **k’ilapʔama*, causing fear, frightfully, really; **q^hasi:ʔa*, have impaired vision; **q’o(·)ʔa*, dirty; **yoriʔa*, send after, direct to; **ʔa-qʔa*, be bitter; and possibly **ʔut’a*, after that (< **ʔuw*, do/be at a distance + **-ʔa*). Except for the last, these reconstructions assume that W has merged the auxiliary with realis **-a/-a·*.

421.5 The passive **-her* parallels the other auxiliaries in form and function. It is related to **her* “help,” PCC *he·r*, “reach” and PCC and PK *her-*, *he·r-*, “get.” Two complete words are reconstructible: **ba·-her*, be eaten, **č^hep-her*, be hit, as well as **mut-her*, non-visual sensorial evidential, which may have been a suffix, auxiliary or independent word.

422. Locationals and Directionals

A number of locationals and directionals are reconstructible, which most likely functioned as both independent words and prefixes in PW. PW had no other verbal prefixes.

422.1 **k^hen-*, down, reflected in W as *ken-*, down (into), below, in, downward, and in PCC as *č^hen-*, down. In W, *ken* also occurs as a non-prefixed root, but never without a suffix (e.g., *kenti*, down(ward), below, underneath) or compounded (e.g. *ken^hun*, slope). Extended with length, it can stand alone (*ke·n hara·*, to sink, to set (of the sun)) or form a verb, *ke·na*, to be deep. It has also been recorded as an independent word (*č^hen*) and suffixed with *-ti* (*č^henti*) in various P dialects.

422.2 **pat-*, out(side), reflected in W, PH and PR as *pat-*, out(ward). In both W and various P dialects it also occurs as an independent word meaning “the outside, outdoors.”

422.3 **tu-*, ahead (of), before, first, reflected in W as *tu-*, ahead, forward, and in PC as *tu-*, ahead, first. It is related to **tum*, eye. It occurs as an independent root in W followed by the suffix *-da* (*tuda*, increasive, further along, very). Related free forms in W are *tun*, ahead, in front, and *tu·n*, far ahead, long past, a while ago, a long time ago. PH and PR also have independent forms suffixed with *-pa*, *tu·pa*, front.

422.4 **yel-*, back of, behind something, reflected in W as *yel-*, away, behind, backward, and in PC as *yel-*, back, reverse, later, behind. It occurs independently in W with locative suffixes (e.g., *yelti*, the backside, back of, in back of, behind), compounded (*yelt^hun*, slope behind) and as a verb, *yela*, to leave, to go away, to be further away (cf. **yal-*, leave). In P it also occurs as an independent word, with or without suffixes (e.g., PCC *yelʔa*, late, last; PK *yel tepīta*, last spring).

422.5 **ʔel-*, in horizontally, reflected in W as *ʔel-*, in horizontally, inside, and in PCC, PK and PR as *ʔel-*, in, into. In W *ʔel* is also an independent root, but never occurs without a suffix (e.g., *ʔelti*, inside; *ʔelin*, all over). In PCC it can stand alone (e.g., *pi hamtaro bo·s kewēta ʔel*, he’s sitting inside the house). It is closely related to the suffix **-e(·)l*, **-el*, locative, toward, in (horizontally?).

422.6 **ʔol-*, up, is reflected in W as *ʔol-*, up, above and in PK as *ʔol-*, up. In W it occurs as an independent root, but not without a suffix (e.g., *ʔole·l*, up, above; *ʔolti*, above, above there). Whether the PK recording *ʔol*, up, indicates an independent word is unclear. It also occurs in PCC as *ʔole·l*, up and in PK as *ʔolel*, up. A complete word **ʔol-daw*, be face up, is reconstructible.

423. Derivation

The verb root is followed by root-deriving suffixes, modal suffixes (what Pitkin calls “stem formants” in W), stem-deriving suffixes and inflectional suffixes, in that order.

423.1 Root-deriving Suffixes

423.11 *-č^h, mediopassive, in some cases translates as transitive. See: *libč^h-, submerge; *p'irč^h-, to skin; *yuqč^h-, shake, wake up; *t^hakč^h-, dump (granulated solids?); *t^hoqč^h-, lean something against something; *λ'opč^h-, insert long things (vertically ?), poke, stick into; *minč^h-, to turn into nothing; *leqč^h-, to be tired; *larč^h-, to tie a sling; *ʔoqč^h-, to vomit; *p^hu(·)łč^h-, blow on/at; *qarč^h-, rake (toward self?); *sipč^h-, straighten, make stiff.

423.12 *-V(·)r is a continuative suffix. The length was probably not distinctive. It occurs in *kimur-, rumble, roar, and *ʔonor-, sound bee-like. It is perhaps diachronically related to *har-, go, and/or *wer-, come, or to the *-r in these forms.

423.13 *-V·y is an iterative suffix. It is reconstructible in *hila·y-, swing arms, and *p^heka·y-i/u ? *hika·y-i/u ?, stand.

423.14 *-V(·)l, stative ? W has a suffix -el-, -al-, -il which forms stative, intransitive verbs. Six PW forms, *haw-a-l-, wrap around; *kip-Vl-, roll, run continuously; *k'aral-, stative of *k'ar-a-, scrape (?), *k'uwi(·)l-, bent (crooked ? arched ?), *wital(ʔa)-, be fast, do fast, and *laqal-, play, may be evidence that this suffix is reconstructible.

423.2 Modal Suffixes

*-a, *-a·, *-e, *-e·, *-i, *-u are modal suffixes, all historically related to auxiliaries and/or independent words.

423.21 *-i was probably a nominalizing or neutral mode suffix. It derives stems with nominal meaning (e.g., *č^heki-, pitch, resin; *č'eni-, feces; *kiki-, frost; *k'eni-, winnower; *k'ili-, horn, etc.), adjectives and adverbs (e.g., *wili-, smooth; *čoki-, near; *č'aroqi-, green), as well as stems for further derivation and inflection (e.g., *koyiʔa-, hurt, sick, with the auxiliary *-ʔa). In P, stems in -i are followed by auxiliaries (e.g., PK *pi wi-ta ʔuyumuke č^hayibus*, that man is ashamed of his boy), the nominalizer -s (e.g., PT-U *čayis ču*, I'm ashamed), and the future suffix -t'i (e.g., PR *č^hu perit'i*, I'm gonna swallow (it)). It also translates the infinitive (e.g., PR *peri*, to swallow). *-i is related to *ʔiy-, be, do use (non-distal?).

423.22 *-u was probably an imperative and irrealis stem-deriving suffix. In W it is reflected as the imperative stem-deriving suffix, forming imperatives (e.g., *buqu*, build!, *č'a-wu*, sing!) and stems for further inflection (e.g., *hutup'ure*, warm each other, with reciprocal -p'ure; *bimčun dolupaq*, catch in a sling, followed by

benefactive *-paq*). In P, it translates indicatives (e.g., PK *t'unu*, to urinate), forms nouns (e.g., PR *t'u-bu*, shin), imperatives (PK *peḷa nat doyu pima*, give that to me someday), and derives stems for further inflection (e.g., PR *mile doyu^hi*, you folks give! PK *pi nat doyusa*, he gave it back to me; PR *doyule mis*, I'll give it to you). In both W and P it precedes the reflexive (W *doyuna·*, to give (to) oneself; PH-U *doyuna·nta*, he's giving up, giving self away), the animate comitative suffix (W *č'a-wuwil*, sing with someone; P *čeruwili*, kill them off), and the reciprocal (W *yalup'ure*, to separate; PCC *k^hosup'iri*, guessing game). It is diachronically related to **ʔu*, do/be at a distance, the counterpart of non-distal **ʔiy*.

423.23 **-a*, **-a·* has been tentatively identified as a realis stem-deriving suffix. It is historically related to the auxiliary **-ʔa*, have. The long-vowel allomorph reflects the loss of the glottal stop of **-ʔa*. No semantic difference has been identified in PW, W or P between forms with the long and short vowel. The fact that **-a·* (along with its allomorph **-e·* which is doubtful and only occurs in one form) is the only suffix of the shape **-V·* further confirms its origin in the auxiliary **-ʔa*.

423.24 **-e*, **-e·* appear to be allomorphs of realis **-a*, **-a·*, perhaps related to the demonstrative root **ʔe-* which forms third person proximal pronouns (see **ʔew*, proximal third person singular subjective, **ʔewe-r*, proximal third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive, and other derivatives) and is in turn related to **ʔiy*, be, do, use (non-distal). These suffixes are much rarer than **-a* and **-a·*, reconstructible in only the following: **ʔele*, weave; *ʔupe*, drink/eat acorn mush with fingers; **bere*, be hungry, starve (under **per-i/u*, swallow); **p'ile*, choose, **qere·* (the only form with long vowel, perhaps sound symbolic), belch; **t^hule*, swim. Since they are not reconstructible following a or o, they may also have arisen as harmonic variants of **-a*/**-a·*. No semantic difference is discernable between **-a*/**-a·* and **-e*/**-e·*.

423.3 Stem-deriving Suffixes

423.31 **-h* and **-s* derive verbal stems, most likely with intensive meaning. The reflexes in W are *-h*, stative intransitive intensive verb-derivational suffix “to be..., to be like,” and *-s*, intensive verb-derivational suffix, which follow the nominal or neutral mode suffix. For P, Whistler has identified verbalizers *-ho* and *-so*, as well as *-ho*, *-to*, *-ko*, plurality and temporality distributive. He also identifies *-ho* as a “theme-derivational suffix” (1981:88).

423.32 **-m*, “inanimate comitative” can be reconstructed based on W *-m*, generic comitative (which indicates that the verb has a syntactic object in the generic aspect, which may or may not be overtly expressed), frequently translated as “with” or “while doing something else,” and P *-me*, valence-changing suffix “with.” Examples are: **dekm-* to climb something; **harm-*, take/bring something inanimate; **henme*, bring (i.e., arrive with); **q'apma*, to trap. This suffix may be related to the nominal objective case suffix **-ma*, causative **-ma*, and/or W *-m*, an allomorph of the generic aspect.

423.33 **-ma* is a causative suffix. Its W reflex is *-m*, causative (usually followed by indicative *-a/-a·*); its P reflex is *-ma*, causative. It is well represented in: **ba·ma*, feed; **be·ma*, make lie, let lie; **č^hiri·kuma*, scare someone; **horuma*, save, leave behind; **k'ilapʔama*, causing fear, frightfully, really; **noquma*, make ripe; **paroma*, **paruma* ? fill; **p^hotuma*, boil (transitive); **q^honma*, dry (transitive); **werma*, make come, let come; and probably **ʔuma*, thus. It may be related to inanimate comitative **-m* and nominal objective case **-ma*. Its ultimate verbal origin is a predecessor of **mal-*, make.

423.34 **-na*, reflexive, is well represented: **č^hepna*, hit self; **doyuna·*, give (to) oneself; **leluna*, become (< **lel-*, make); **liwna*, fan oneself, **yo(·)wuna*, miss (< **yo(·)w*, lose, miss). The W reflex is *-n*, reflexive (usually followed by indicative *-a·*; the P reflex is *-na*, reflexive. Whistler 1977b also lists a reflexive auxiliary *-nan*, which may point to the verbal origin of **-na*, perhaps relating it to pre-Wintu **na*, **nan* or **nana*, truth, real, actual. **-na* may also be related to **-da*, relational nominal suffix (see Section 512.31), the first person pronominal root **ne*, and the kinterm absolutive suffix **-(·)n*.

423.35 The benefactive is **-pa* or **-paq*. W has *-paq*, P has *-pa*, and N has both. Since the loss of **-q* is easier to explain than the acquisition of a final *-q*, **-paq* is the most likely reconstruction. Reconstructible words are **henpa(q)*, meet, and **t'ikupa(q)*, pour solids on something.

423.36 **-p'ur* is the reciprocal, reconstructible in the neutral or nominal mode **-p'uri*. Two complete words are reconstructible: **č^hepp'uri*, hit each other and **ikup'uri*, fight each other. The W reflexes are *-p'ur* (root and imperative stem), *-p'ure*, indicative, and *-p'uri*, nominal form. P reflexes are *p'ir* (Whistler 1977b), *-p'ita* (PH-U), and SP has *-pisi'* (V) and *-per-re* (M). The root vowel **u* is reconstructed rather than **i* because the suffix is related to **p'ur-i*, nipple.

423.37 A nominalizer **-s* is reconstructed as the best common denominator for W *-s*, generic aspect (nominal suffix), which often functions to nominalize a verb, and P *-s*, listed by Whistler for PCC as ongoing or completive aspect (i.e., non-inceptive aspect, neutral with respect to tense). Whistler (1978) lists it as a neutral, unmarked tense suffix, which marks a verb as sentence-completing (i.e., not participial), but does not explicitly indicate tense; and Whistler 1986 identifies *-s* as unmarked tense, declarative mode. It is related to P *-sa*, definite past declarative mode. Whistler also identifies a PCC nominalizer *-s*, *-(s)tu* (?). Numerous words with **-s* are reconstructible; e.g., **ba·les*, being able to eat, going to eat; **ba·s*, food, eating; **be·s*, being; **henes*, arriving; **nupus*, diver; **ʔele·s*, there is/are no... Adjectives fall within the nominal category, e.g., **q^honos*, dry.

423.38 **-wil*, **-i(·)l* was most likely an animate comitative contrasting with **-m*, inanimate comitative. The W reflex is the particular comitative *-i·l*, *-wil*. It has not been listed as a separate suffix for P; various P reflexes are listed under **wer*, come;

**boh*, **bo·*, sit, be; **ker-u*, finish off, gone. This suffix is probably related to **win*, person.

424. Inflectional Suffixes

424.1 **-da*, first person subject, is related to the relational nominal suffix **-da* (see Section 512.31). Pitkin (1985: 107) suggests that W *-da*, first person subject, is from *-da*, intensifier “very” which also translates as “from” or “of,” which in turn is related to *-da*, suffix of adverbs of time. While I agree that the three suffixes are closely related, I believe their primary meaning is not intensive, but speaker-relational. As a first person suffix, **-da* relates an incident to the speaker (it happened to self) like a deictic, which goes well with the “from, of” meaning and the suffix occurring with adverbs of time which relate a time period to the speaker’s present. **-da* may also be related to the reflexive suffix **-na*, which also relates back to self.

424.2 **-di*, let, hortative, is reflected in both W and P as hortative, may, let. It may be related to **-da*, first person subject and **-da*, nominal relational suffix. It is reconstructible in a complete word **be·di* (under **bey*), “be + hortative, may it (not) be.

424.3 A suffix **-m* has been reconstructed with a tentative meaning of “dubitative, subjunctive.” It follows the realis stem-deriving suffix. Its W reflex is *-m*, dubitative (doubt, interrogation of second persons, absence of any evidence which could provide a degree of certainty; marks declarative statements of slight doubt or weak interrogation; more recently is often used as a third person subject marker paralleling English third person *-s*). For P, Whistler 1978 lists *-m/-mu*, general subjunctive mood marker, with special uses as negative and purposive; *-mʔa/-muʔa*, evidential “must be that,” and *-mʔu/-muʔu*, negative. Whistler 1986 lists *-m/-mu* as unmarked tense, quotative mode; *-m*, subjunctive; and *-mʔa/-muʔa*, confident inference (with *-ʔa*, have). Two words are reconstructible: **beyem* (under **bey*) and **bo·m* (under **boh*).

424.4 **-e·*, let’s, is reconstructible in a complete word **hare·*, let’s go, assuming that *har·-rā*, the SP form recorded by Merriam, represents *hare·* and means “let’s go” rather than “go away.”

424.5 **-k*, completive, can be reconstructed based on W *-k*, completive and P *-ču*, resultative state, completed state. No complete words are reconstructible. This suffix is related to **qa*, referential.

424.6 **-k^hen*, may, might, lest, related to deictic **k^he*. One complete word is reconstructible: **t’ukuk^hen*, you might drown, based on W *t’ukuken*, you might drown, lest you drown; PR *č’o·nan*, *t’učučin mi*, watch out! you might drown.

424.7 **-le* is an intentional future. The W reflex, previously called “inevitable future,” but more appropriately identified as intentional future, includes necessity,

causality, futurity, potentiality, probability and most often translates as “going to.” The P reflex also translates as “going to”; its nominal form *-les* means “can” and *-len* is “should.” This suffix is related to **lel-*, “make,” which points to a future that is “made” by an individual, which makes it inevitable provided the individual intends it. Several complete words are reconstructible: **ba·le*, going to eat (nominal form **ba·les*, being able to eat, going to eat); **doyule*, going to give; **hale*, I’ll go, we’ll go; **henle*, going to arrive; **yi·lale*, going to send; **ɫule*, going to do/be at a distance.

424.8 **-ro* ? **-r* ? is a subordinating suffix of causal or temporal anteriority. It is reconstructible in one complete word: **ba·r(o)*, eat(ing). The W reflex is *-r*, subordinating suffix of causal or temporal anteriority (often translated as “because”); the P reflex is *-ro*, which indicates related predicates sequential in time, or simultaneous predicates where one is background to the other.

424.9 **-ta* is a subordinating suffix. Its W reflex is *-ta*, subordinating inflectional suffix of temporal anteriority or simultaneity which is conditioned, dependent or resultant and marks the verb as dependent syntactically; it translates as “while, during, after, when, as.” The PCC reflex is *-ta*, participle (Whistler 1986) or continuative gerundial (Whistler 1980). Another PCC reflex may be *-t*, subordinate object form of *-ro* (ibid.). Whistler 1978 notes that *-ta* is rare in CC and standard in K. **-ta* may be related to the directional locative **-ti* (see Section 512.33).

500. SUBSTANTIVAL MORPHOLOGY

Substantives divide into nouns, kinterms and pronouns on the basis of their inflectional suffixes.

510. Nouns

The order of nominal morphemes is: root - derivation - inflection.

511. Nominal Derivation

511.1 Reduplication

In the noun, reduplication fulfills various symbolic purposes. E.g.,

**holhol*, throat (perhaps diminutive; cf. **holoq*, hole)

**xurxur*, sugar (perhaps diminutive or intensive)

**tiltil*, ringing sound (sound-symbolic)

In the following animal names and one plant name, reduplication is most likely symbolic of the animal's sound, the animal's or plant's appearance, or may in some cases be diminutive:

**bo·lboVq*, butterfly; poppy

**čeqčeq*, hawk sp.

**č^hiqč^hiq-* ? **č^hilč^hit-* ?, chipmunk

**č^holč^hol*, mountain quail

**č'ereCč'ereC* ? *č'iriCč'iriC* ?, bird sp.

**č'uru(C)č'uruC*, cricket

**k'ok'o*, flea

**pa·tpat*, flat tule, cattail

**sasasapa*, oriole

**taqa·taqa*, scorpion

**tolto* ? **totow* ?, roadrunner

**t'arara* ? **č'arara* ?, kingfisher

**wočwoč* ?, Steller's jay

*yoryor ? *tortor, cicada

*ʔalʔal, crow

*ʔatʔat ? ʔačʔat ?, magpie

*ʔi·rʔir, sparrowhawk

511.2 *-ta may be a human classifier. It occurs in *p'oqita, woman and *wi·ta, man.

511.3 *-ma is a suffix marking naturally paired objects, reconstructible based on W *haqam*, elbows (dual) and P *-ma*, suffix marking naturally or conventionally paired objects (Whistler 1980: 256), as in: *sa·ma*, eyes; *dam-ma*, pair of gambling bones. It may be the origin of W generic aspect *-m* and related to *-ma, causative, and *-ma, objective case.

511.4 *-men, “thing,” perhaps a classifier, is reconstructible in one word, *xedimen, “stinkbug” from *xedi-, fart (nominal or neutral mode). Its W reflex is *-me*, own, type, kind, variety (*-men*, generic aspect; *-met*, particular aspect), which Pitkin calls a “compounded dependent non-possessed noun.” Its P reflex is *-men*, thing. Rather than a bona fide suffix, its status in PW may have been similar to that of its W reflex – the second member of compounds which lost its independent status.

511.5 *-to or *-tu has agentive meaning. Its W reflex is the disjunctive postclitic (foregrounding, agent, focus and contrast) *-to·*; its P reflex is agentive *-tu*. It is probably related to the suffix *-tu(·), person, people. The only complete word reconstructible is *ba·sto/tu, “eater.” Because of the kinship with *-tu(·), the vowel was most likely u. Like *-men, it may have been the second member of a compound, no longer able to stand alone, rather than a genuine suffix.

511.6 *-s, nominalizer; see Section 423.37.

511.7 A suffix *-V₁l occurs in *holol, sunshine; *kopol, pond; *xerel, people of, village; *k'ala(·)l, flowers; *pene(·)l, black oak acorn; *qewel, house; *tahal, tongue; *t'eqel, palm; *yoho(·)l, toad. Its meaning is unknown at present, but it may be distantly related to the verbal stative of the same shape.

512. Inflection

512.1 Number

*-ba is a kinterm plural or human plural. It is reconstructible only in *xeriba, young men, and *lo(·)yba, adolescent girls. In P it is used with a number of kinterms (Whistler 1980: 215), while in W it forms plurals of third person pronouns (see discussion of pronouns below).

512.2 Case

512.21 *-*ma* is reconstructed as objective case, although the presence of the -*a* is in doubt. The W reflex is -*m* (after a vowel), -*um* (after a consonant), objective case; the P reflex is -*ma*, objective case (animate). The W generic aspect marker -*m* is doubtlessly related to this suffix, as is the P suffix -*ma* which marks naturally or conventionally paired objects (Whistler 1980: 256; e.g., *sa-ma*, eyes; *dam-ma*, pair of gambling bones). Cf. the discussion of *-*t*, Section 531.322, for the relationship between case and aspect.

512.22 *-*n* ? *-*no* ?, genitive case, marks alienable possessive and subordinate subjects. In P, -*n* is always followed by -*o*, which may be cognate with the W emphatic independent pronoun suffix -*o*; e.g., *neto*, mine; *niyo*, myself, I; *mato*, yours; *piyo*, he, she it (emphatic). Since in W this -*o* does not follow the genitive -*n*/ -*un*, it is not clear if it should be reconstructed. Note that SP appears to show two different possessives: SP-M *che-lo'-no hek-ke*, rabbit-skin blanket, with the general P possessive suffix -*no*, but also SP-A *tiuncuhui*, and SP-G *tiunsupui*, eyelash. If the -*un* in the last two forms is the possessive, it would be cognate with the W possessive -*un*, in which case *-*un* rather than *-*no* should be reconstructed. However, because of the poor quality of the SP recordings, the status of -*un* as a possessive remains uncertain.

512.23 *-*in*, locative case, is reconstructible based on W -*n*, -*in*, locative case, and P -*in*, locative-instrumental, but no complete words can be reconstructed.

512.3 Directional and Relational Suffixes

512.31 *-*da*, relational nominal suffix, is reflected in W as a sort of intensifier “very, from.” It also occurs with adverbs of time (*hima-da*, a little while ago, *le-nda*, yesterday). In P it is the comitative case “with.” Its basic function is relational (“with” relates two people; in the W adverbs it relates two time periods), which explains its use as, or connection with, the first person subject verbal suffix which relates an incident to the speaker. See discussion in Section 424.1.

512.32 *-*e(·)l*, *-*el*, locative, toward, in (horizontally?); cf. **ʔel-*, in horizontally. Probably non-distinctive, the vowel length most likely reflects the loss of the glottal stop of **ʔel-*. This locative is suffixed to morphemes expressing direction or distance in the daughter languages. Completely reconstructible words are: **nomel*, **nomelti*, west; **norel*, **norelti*, south; **puyel*, **puyelti*, east; **wayelti*, north (see immediately below for locative *-*ti*). A meaning “toward, in (horizontally)” is consistent with the suffix’s relationship with the prefix **ʔel-*, in horizontally. The W form *ʔole·l*, up, above, refers to a horizontal aboveness, rather than a going up vertically.

512.33 *-*ti*, directional locative is reconstructed based on W -*ti*, in, at, locative directional suffix, and P -*ti*, directional suffix, from, by. It occurs in **yelti*, behind, in back of, and with directional terms (see Section 512.32).

520. Kinterms

For a full discussion of PW kinship and detailed tables of kinship terms in the daughter languages, see Whistler 1980, who has reconstructed the kinship system as being Omaha-skewed (probably Type III).

The following kinterms are reconstructible. Some occur with **-(·)n*, kinterm absolutive suffix, related to verbal **-na*, reflexive, and the W generic aspect suffix *-n*.

**na*, **nah* ?, mother

**neh*, mother

**ne·n*, mother

**tah*, father

**ta(·)n*, father

laben*, older brother (-laben* following first or second person possessive pronoun, **-t + -l > ł*)

**ley*, younger brother

**łe·n*, brother-in-law

**soh*, **so·*, cross-sibling

**ʔapan*, grandfather

**ʔaman*, grandmother

**č^ha(·)y*, grandchild

**łe*, child

**teh*, **te·* ?, child ?

**t'e(·)s*, spouse's parent, child's spouse, in-law one generation removed

Kinterms differ from nouns in the case suffixes they take. As many of these suffixes are shared with pronominal case suffixes, they will be discussed in the section on pronouns below.

530. Pronouns

Tables 2-4 show PW pronouns that are reconstructible (listed without parentheses) and what the remainder of the paradigms would have looked like if all forms were reconstructible (forms in parentheses). Tables 5-18 show pronominal paradigms in the daughter languages.

Table 2: PW Singular Pronouns

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person proximal	3rd person nonproximal
Subjective	(*ni)	*mi	*ʔew	*pi
Objective	(*ni-s)	*mi-s	*ʔewe-t	*pu-t
Genitive	*ne-r	(*mar)	*ʔewe-r	*pu-r
Inalienable possessive	*ne-t	*ma-t	*ʔewe-r	*pu-r
Alienable possessive	(*ne-t-o)	*ma-t-o	*ʔewe-t-no ?	*pu-tu-no

Table 3: PW Dual Pronouns

	1st person	Inclusive person	2nd person	3rd person proximal	3rd person nonproximal
Subjective	*ne-pel	*p'e-pel	*mi-pel	*ʔew-pel ? *ʔew-palel ?	*pi-pel
Objective	*ne-pele-t	*p'e-pele-t	*mi-pele-t ? *ma-pele-t ?	*ʔew-pele-t	*pu-lele-t
Genitive and inalienable possessive	(*ne-pele-r)	(*p'e-pele-r)	(*ma-pele-r)	(*ʔew-pele-t)	(*pu-pele-t)
Alienable possessive	*ne-pele-no	*p'e-pele-no	*mi-pele-no ? *ma-pele-no ?	(*ʔew-pele-no)	*pu-pele-no

Table 4: PW Plural Pronouns

	1st person	Inclusive person	2nd person	3rd person proximal	3rd person nonproximal
Subjective	(*ne-le)	*p'e-le	(*ma-le ? *mi-le ?)	(*ʔew-le)	(*pi-le)
Objective	(*ne-le-t)	*p'è-le-t	*mi-le-t ? *ma-le-t ?	(*ʔew-le-t)	(*pu-le-t)
Genitive and inalienable possessive	(*ne-le-r)	(*p'e-le-r)	(*ma-le-r)	(*ʔew-le-r)	(*pu-le-r)
Alienable possessive	(*ne-le-no)	*p'e-le-no	*ma-le-no	(*ʔew-le-no)	(*pi-le-no)

Table 5: First Person Singular Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu	Nomlaki	Patwin	South Patwin
Subjective	ni niyo (emphatic)	ni	CC, K, R č ^h u	choo (M)
Objective	nis		CC, K, R nat CC na-t	choo't (M)
Alienable possessive	neto	nehtum (an. poss.) neto (inan. poss.), nehto (BW)	K, R na-min (an. poss.) CC, K, R na-no, CC na(·)nu (inan. poss.)	choo'-no (M)
Inalienable possessive	net	ne(·)t ne (BW)	CC, K, R nay K net CC -čū R -č ^h u	choo (M)
Genitive	ner	ne	CC, K, R nay	

Table 6: First Person Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu		Nomlaki	Patwin	South Patwin
	Particular	Neutral			
Subjective	ne·let	ne·l	ne·la nEl (BW)	K, R nepel	nā (M) ?
Objective	ne·lem, ne·let			K nepelet, nepet R nepet	
Alienable possessive	ne·len			H-U nepelnomin (an. poss.) nepelno (inan. poss.) R nepelenomin, nepelemin (an. poss.) nepelno (inan. poss.)	
Inalienable possessive				K, R nepeley	
Genitive					

Table 7: First Person Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu			Nomlaki	Patwin	South Patwin
	Particular	Neutral	Generic			
Subjective	nele·t, nitep'urut	nite	nite·rum, nitep'urum	nihtak (BW)	CC, K neč'u	nechu (A)
Objective	nele·tp'urum				K neč'ut	
Alienable possessive	nele·n(p'urum)		nele·len	nihtakam (BW)	K neč'u·min (an. poss.) neč'u·no (inan. poss.) R neč'u·nomin (an. poss.)	
Inalienable possessive					K neč'uy	
Genitive						

Table 8: Inclusive Person Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu			Nomlaki	Patwin
	Particular	Neutral	Generic		
Subjective	p'e·let	p'e·l	p'e·lel	p'e·l	K, R p'epel
Objective	p'e·lem		p'e·lelum, p'e·letum		K p'epelet R p'epet
Alienable possessive	p'e·len		p'e·lelun, p'e·lelen		L-U p'epelnomin (an. poss.) p'epelno (inan. poss.) R p'epeleno (inan. poss.)
					K p'epeley
Inalienable possessive					
Genitive					

Table 9: Inclusive Person Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu			Nomlaki	Patwin	South Patwin
	Particular	Neutral	Generic			
Subjective	p'ele·t	p'ele	p'ele·s	p'ele, p'etaq	K p'ele	
Objective	p'ele·m				K p'elet R p'elet	
Alienable possessive	p'ele·n		p'ele·len	pel-lā'-toon (M)	K p'ele·nomin (an. poss.) p'ele·no (inan. poss.) R p'ele·min (an. poss.)	pel-lā'-num-min (M)
					R p'eley	pā-lā (M)
Inalienable possessive						
Genitive						

Table 10: Second Person Singular Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu	Nomlaki	Patwin	South Patwin
Subjective	mi miyo (emphatic)	mi, miʔa	CC, R mi	mi (A)
Objective	mis	mis (BW)	CC, K mit R mis	mot, mit (M)
Alienable possessive	mato	mohtum (an. poss.) mota (inan. poss.) mohto (BW)	CC, K matomin (an. poss.) CC, K mato (inan. poss.) R matono (inan. poss.)	moʔ-to (M)
Inalienable possessive	mat	ma (BW)	CC ma CC, R mat	mah (M)
Genitive	mar			

Table 11: Second Person Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu		Nomlaki	Patwin	South Patwin
	Particular	Neutral			
Objective	ma·lem		ma·letum, ma·letum	K mipelet R mipet	
Subjective	ma·let	me·l	me·lel	K, R mipel	mip'pel (M)
Alienable possessive	ma·len		me·lelen, ma·lelun	H mipelnomin (an. poss.) mipelno (inan. poss.) R mapelenomin, mapelemin (an. poss.) mapeleno, mapelno (inan. poss.)	
				me·l pah-lā-toon (M)	
Inalienable possessive				K mipeley R mapeley	
Genitive					

Table 12: Second Person Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu			Nomlaki	Patwin	South Patwin
	Particular	Neutral	Generic			
Subjective	male-t(p'urut), mitep'urut, mitup'urit	mite	mite·rum, mitep'urum	mihtaq (BW)	CC, K, R mile	mile (A)
Objective	male·tp'urum	male·tp'ure			K mile·t	
Alienable possessive	male·n, male·np'urum		male·len	mā·tok·toon (M) mihtakam (BW)	H-U male·nomin T mile·nomin (an. poss.) CC, T, R male·no CC, T mile·no (inan. poss.)	
					T miley R (CC?) maley	
Inalienable possessive						
Genitive						

Table 13: Third Person Proximal Singular Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu		Nomlaki	Patwin	South Patwin
	Particular	Neutral			
Subjective	ʔeh		ʔew ʔe (BW)	CC, R ʔew	ā'-oo (M) en (A)
Objective		ʔewet	et (J)	R ʔewet (an.) T-U ʔe-wet (an.) CC ʔe· (inan.) R ʔe(·)s (inan.)	
Alienable possessive		ʔewe(r)tun	ʔetum (an. poss.) ʔeto (inan. poss.)	A-U ʔewetno (inan. poss.)	
Inalienable possessive		ʔewer		CC ʔewey	
Genitive					

Table 14: Third Person Proximal Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu			Nomlaki	Patwin	South Patwin
	Particular	Neutral	Generic			
Subjective			ʔewelel	ʔew-palel	CC ʔewpel	
Objective			ʔeweletam			
Alienable possessive						
Inalienable possessive						ā'-pah-lā (M)
Genitive						

Table 15: Third Person Proximal Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu			Nomlaki	Patwin
	Particular	Neutral	Generic		
Subjective	ʔebasp'urut, ʔebasp'urit	ʔebas	ʔebasp'urum	ʔetaq	CC ʔewle
Objective	ʔeba·np'urim, ʔeba·tp'urut, ʔeba·np'urut		ʔeba·np'urum, ʔeba·tp'urum		CC ʔewlet
Alienable possessive	ʔeba·np'urun		ʔeba·np'urun		H-U ʔewletno (inan. poss.)
					CC ʔewley
Inalienable possessive					
Genitive					

Table 16: Third Person Nonproximal Singular Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu		Nomlaki	Patwin	South Patwin
	Particular	Neutral			
Subjective		pi piyo (emphatic)	pi (BW) pe', pe'-ah (M) piʔa (S)	H, R pi	pi (M)
Objective	putam	put	put	CC ʔu(·)t (an.) K, R ʔut (an.) CC pi-t (inan.)	oot (M)
Alienable possessive		pur	putum (an. poss.) poo-toon' (M) (inan. poss.)	K ʔu-nomin (an. poss.) CC, K, R ʔu-no (inan. poss.) R ʔu-min (an. poss.)	
Inalienable possessive		putun	putuna (BW)	CC, K, R ʔuy	oo-e (M)
Genitive		pir	puy		

Table 17: Third Person Nonproximal Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu			Nomlaki	Patwin
	Particular	Neutral	Generic		
Subjective	pule·t, pu·let	pe·l	pe·lel	piloqE1 (BW)	CC, K pipe1
Objective	pule·m, pu·let		pule·lum, pule·tum, purumis		K pipelet (inan.) K, R ʔupelet R ʔupe(·)t (an.)
Alienable possessive	pule·n, pe·len, pule·np'urun		pe·lelun, pule·len, pe·lelen, pule·ntun, pe·lentun	piloqam (BW)	H-U, T-U ʔupelnomin (an. poss., an. possessor) CC ʔupe·lnomin T-U pipelnomin (an. poss., inan. possessor) CC ʔupelno (inan. poss.) R ʔupelno (inan. poss.)
					R ʔupeley
Inalienable possessive					
Genitive					

Table 18: Third Person Nonproximal Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages

	Wintu			Nomlaki	Patwin
	Particular	Neutral	Generic		
Subjective	pite·rut, pitep'urut, puba·tp'urut, pip'urit, piyap'urit	pite	pite·rum, pitep'urum, puba·tp'urum	pi·taq (W), pihtak (BW), piitaqa (S)	CC, K, R pile
Objective	puba·np'urum		putp'urim		CC, K, R ʔule·t K ʔule·t K pile·t CC pit (?) R ʔu·let (?)
Alienable possessive	puba·np'urum, pele·n, puba·np'urin		pitep'urum	pe'·tawk·toon (M) pihtakam (BW)	CC ʔule·nomin (an. poss.) ʔule·no (inan. poss., an. possessor) pile·no (inan. poss., inan. possessor) R ʔule·min (an. poss.)
					R ʔuley
Inalienable possessive					
Genitive					

531. Composition of Pronouns

The order of pronominal morphemes in PW is: root - number - case.

531.1 Pronominal Roots

All pronominal roots are of the shape CV-.

531.11 First person: **ne* (and most likely also **ni*). **ni* (if reconstructible) occurs only in the first person singular subjective and objective; **ne* elsewhere. P has innovated *ču/č^hu* for first person singular subjective and inalienable possessive, and in the first person singular objective and possessive cases also uses a root *na-* in analogy with second person *ma-*. It has suffixed *č'u*, probably a kin of *ču/č^hu*, to the root *ne-* in the first person plurals, as if reinterpreting *ne-* to mean non-singular. The glottalization of *č'u* may reflect the loss of another suffix, such as **-le*, plural. W has extended the use of the high vowel root to plural subjects where it uses an innovative plural suffix *-te*.

531.12 Inclusive person: **p'e*

531.13 Second person: **ma*, **mi*. **mi* is used in the singular subjective and objective, in the dual subjective and possibly in the plural subjective. In the dual objective, dual alienable possessive and plural objective, the reconstruction could be either **ma-* or **mi-*. Possibly the two roots were in variation in these PW forms. Elsewhere **ma* is used. P has extended the high vowel root to dual possessives (varying with the low vowel root) and to some plurals, in some cases again varying it with the low vowel allomorph.

531.14 Third person proximal, actually demonstrative and quasi-pronominal: **ʔe-*. This root actually reconstructs as **ʔew*, but the *-w* may have originally been epenthetic. *ʔe-* is found without *-w* in various non-cognate forms in the daughter languages. In PW, an epenthetic *e* is inserted between the *-w* and before case suffixes **-r* and **-t* (see below). **ʔe-* is related to **ʔiy*, be, do, use (non-distal?).

531.15 Third person nonproximal, actually demonstrative and quasi-pronominal: **pi*, **pu*. **pi* occurs in the singular subjective, the dual subjective and possibly the plural subjective; **pu* elsewhere. P uses suppletion in the nonproximal third person, partially basing it on **pi* and partially on **ʔu*, the copula of distance. **ʔu* is the counterpart of **ʔiy*, be, do, use (non-distal?), which is related to third person proximal **ʔew*. It is possible, but unlikely, that there was a third PW third-person paradigm, distal, entirely based on **ʔu*. More likely, P mixed the two roots in the creation of its paradigm, particularly since distal *ʔu-* makes a better contrast to non-distal *ʔew-* than neutral *pi-*. Note that P always uses the *p-* form before the vowel *i*, but never before *-u*, where *ʔu-* is substituted. It could be argued that P dropped the *p* of **pu-*, but there is really no good justification for this, since P does have other morphemes in *pu-*.

531.2 Number

531.21 Dual: **-pel* (**-pele* before a consonant), related to **pan* (also **pal* ?), two. W, but not P, has contracted the duals, dropping the p; e.g., **nepel* > *ne·l*, **mipel* > *me·l*, **p'epel* > *p'e·l*.

531.22 Plural: **-le* (**-le·* before a consonant). The long vowel preceding a consonant indicates that a consonant has been dropped. This consonant was most likely l, relating plural **-le* to the W root-deriving distributive pluralizer *-VIVVh*, which translates as “many separately to ...”; e.g. *bo·loloha*, to pulverize; *xi·nililiha*, many to sleep separately; *č'ewe·leleha*, many to be wide open. This W suffix is in turn related to a numeral suffix *-lel*, which means “two”; e.g., *ʔewe·lel*, these two; *hesta·mlel*, how are you two? This may be the source of W *pa·lel*, two, together with **pan-* or **pal-*, two; cf. *pan-* move (with two feet). It follows that a pre-PW plural may be reconstructible as ***·lel*.

W has introduced two new plural suffixes. One is *-te*, which occurs, in variation with other plural formations, in the first person subjective (*nitep'urut* or *nele·t*, plural subjective particular; *nite*, plural subjective neutral aspect; *nite·rum* or *nitep'urum*, plural subjective generic aspect); the second person subjective (*mitep'urut*, *mitup'urit*, *male·t*, plural subjective particular; *mite*, plural subjective neutral aspect; *mite·rum*, *mitep'urum*, plural subjective generic aspect); and the third person nonproximal subjective (*pite·rut*, *pitep'urut*, plural subjective particular; *pite*, plural subjective neutral aspect; *pite·rum*, *pitep'urum*, plural subjective generic aspect). It is not used in the inclusive person, which has the most conservative paradigm, or the third person proximal. Both third persons use a plural suffix *-ba*, from **-ba*, kinterm plural (or human plural ?). In the proximal third person, *-ba* is the only plural used (*ʔebasp'urut*, subjective particular; *ʔebas*, subjective neutral aspect; *ʔebasp'urum*, subjective generic; *ʔeba·np'urim*, *ʔeba·tp'urut*, *ʔeba·np'urut*, objective particular; notice the uncertainty concerning the status of objective case *-t*, see 531.322; *ʔeba·np'urum*, *ʔeba·tp'urum*, objective generic; *ʔeba·np'urun*, genitive and possessive particular and generic (both inalienable and alienable)). In the nonproximal third person, *-ba* varies with both *-le* and *-te* plurals: *puba·tp'urut*, *pite·rut*, *pitep'urut*, subjective particular; *puba·tp'urum*, *pite·rum*, *pitep'urum*, subjective generic; *puba·np'urum*, objective particular; *puba·np'urun*, *pele·n*, *puba·np'urin*, genitive, alienable and inalienable possessive particular. The introduction of the suffix **-ba* into the pronominal paradigm may have been hastened by the proximity of Klamath plural pronouns in a and a', such as: *na·d*, *na·l's/na·ds*, *na·l'm*, first person plural subjective, objective, possessive, respectively; *ʔa·d*, *ma·l's/ma·ds*, *mal'm*, second person plural subjective, objective, possessive, respectively; *sa*, *sas*, *sam*, third person plural subjective, objective, possessive, respectively; *ba·d*, *mna·ls*, *mna·l'm*, third person intensive subjective, objective, possessive, respectively. Note, however, that the closest resemblance is among singular, not plural, Klamath pronouns: *bas*, *bo·s*, *ba*, third person intensive singular objective (Barker 1963: 239-242).

N has introduced a plural suffix *-taq* of unknown origin; e.g. *mihtaq*, second person plural subjective; *p'etaq*, inclusive person plural subjective; *pi-taq*, third person nonproximal plural subjective; *?etaq*, third person proximal plural subjective.

531.3 Case

531.31 Subjective

Subjective case is unmarked.

531.32 Objective

531.321 Singular second (and probably also first) person objective is marked by **-s*, a suffix which is unique to the pronominal paradigms. **nis* and **mis* may have been borrowed from Klamath, where they occur with identical form and function. In Klamath, *-s* is the regular objective case suffix in the pronominal paradigm (e.g., *bas*, *bo-s*, third person intensive object; *na-l's*, *na-ds*, first person plural object; *ma-l's*, *ma-ds*, second person plural object; etc., Barker 1963: 239-242). It is possible that the original vowels in PW pronouns were **e*, **a* and **u* and that ablaut began with the borrowing of these forms and then spread to other parts of the paradigms. Klamath also has ablaut in singular pronouns: first person *i*, *e*; first person intensive *o*, *e*; third person intensive, *i*, *a*, *o*. On the other hand, vowel alternations, although not formal ablaut, were common in PW. If **nis* and **mis* were not borrowed from (pre-)Klamath, objective case **-s* may be related to the nominalizer **-s*, which in turn is related to the W generic aspect marker *-s*.

531.322 In the third persons singular and all persons in the dual and plural, objective case is marked by **-t*, which is also the objective case suffix for kinterms. It is related to W particular aspect *-t*. Presumably because of homonymy of *-t*, objective, and *-t*, particular, W has replaced the former with the nominal objective case suffix *-m*, *-um* (related to W generic aspect *-m*) from **-ma* in many pronouns. **-t* only survives in its objective meaning in W third persons singular (*put*, *?ewet*) and in some duals and plurals where it is used together with *-m*, *-um*, in some cases via suffixation of a new plural suffix *-p'ur*, related to the verbal reciprocal (e.g., *ne-letum*, first person dual objective generic, with objective *-um* suffixed directly to older **-t*, objective; *nele-tp'urum*, first person plural objective; *male-tp'urum*, second person plural objective). Although the last two forms denote particular aspect, the *-t* is not the particular suffix but the objective because it parallels alienable possessive particular *nele-n(p'urum)* where *-n* is the possessive. The PH reflex of **-t* is *-t*, objective case suffix on kinterms and pronouns.

531.33 Genitive

The genitive case is marked by **-r* in all persons and numbers. It is also used with kinterms. Its reflexes are W *-r*, which marks singular pronouns as agents of passive verbs and marks third person singular pronouns as inalienable possessors;

and P *-y*, pronominal genitive and inalienable possessive case and genitive kinterm case inflection. PW **-r* therefore most likely functioned to mark agents of passive verbs, as well as inalienable possession, except in the first and second persons singular (see immediately below).

531.34 Inalienable possessive

In the first and second persons singular, inalienable possession is marked by **-t*, related to, or identical with, the objective case suffix **-t*, and related to the W particular aspect suffix *-t*. In all other persons and numbers, inalienable possession is expressed by genitive **-r*. In the first person, P has leveled, using *nay* with genitive *-y* (from **-r*).

Whether inalienable possessive pronouns were prefixed to kinterms or stood independently is unclear at this time. The most likely candidates for prefix status would have been the singular pronouns. If they were prefixed, their status would have been like that of the directional and locational prefixes to verbs, which also functioned as independent words. In both W and P, inalienable possessive pronouns are sometimes prefixed and other times stand as independent words. E.g.,

W *net-nen* or *net ne·n*, my mother; *nettan*, my father; *pu tan* or *putan*, his, her, their father; *mani·n* (< **matnen*), your mother; *neto ne·h*, my mother (with alienable possessive pronoun)

PCC *nay t^hapa·n*, my uncle, but *mat^hapa·n*, your uncle, and *?uyt^hapa·n*, his uncle; *matapan*, your grandfather, but *?uy tapan ?is pi*, that's his grandfather

The kinterm prefix **n(i)-*, resulting from metanalysis of first person possessive, may point to an older inalienable possessive prefix **ni*, which lost its independence, necessitating the innovation of the later PW inalienable possessives (identical to objectives), which did not have sufficient time to develop into bona fide prefixes. **n(i)-* is reflected in W *niča(·)y*, grandson, *niča(·)men*, niece, granddaughter (vocatives *minčay*, *yenčay*, *niča·men*, *yenčamen*) and in P *nik'an*, co-spouse (Whistler 1980: 265).

531.35 Alienable possessive

In the singular second (and probably also first) person(s), alienable possession is marked by suffixing **-o* to inalienable possessive **-t*. In all other persons and numbers, except third persons singular, alienable possession is marked by suffixing **-no*, whose *o* may be identical with **-o*, to the number morpheme. It is also possible that singular **-o* derives from an earlier **-no*, i.e., ***mat-no* > **mat-o*. In other words, singular inalienable and alienable possessive pronouns may at one time have been identical to objective case pronouns, all marked by **-t*. Later **-no* was suffixed to **-t* to mark alienable possession, which then contracted to **-to*. Finally, first and second person objective pronouns ***net* and ***mat* were replaced with **nis* and **mis*, perhaps borrowed from pre-Klamath. Another possibility is that Nomlaki's *-um* in *nehtum*, first person singular alienable possessive (animate possessed) and *mohtum*, second person singular alienable possessive (animate

possessed) is archaic and points to an origin of *-o in ***-um*. However, a N innovation, perhaps based on nominal objective case *-um*, is just as likely in these two pronouns. Finally, *-to in *neto and *mato could also be related to agentive *-to, *-tu ?

In the singular third persons, alienable *-no still follows objective or inalienable possessive *-t. This *-t-no combination also serves as the alienable possessive marker for kinterms. Its W reflex is the alienable possessive suffix *-tun* for third person singular pronouns and kinterms. In N the same form is attested for third person singular and one plural pronoun, but not for kinterms, probably due to lack of data. The PH cognate is the kinterm alienable possessive suffix *-tno* (e.g. *ta·t-no*, father's) which does not appear to be used with pronouns.

The W reflex of *-o is *-o*, an emphatic independent pronoun suffix that occurs not only with singular possessives, but also to mark emphatic singular subjective. While it is possible that *-o*, if originally from possessive *-no, spread to non-possessive pronouns to indicate emphasis, W *-o* can also be related to the W vocative particle *yo* (related to the exclamative **yo·*) and perhaps ultimately to PW **ʔu*, do/be at a distance. However, since a vocative **ye* is reconstructible, but not a vocative **yo*, it is also possible that *yo* is a W innovation based on exclamative **yo·* in which case PW *-o cannot ultimately be derived from ***-yo*. Another possibility is that PW had two vocatives, **ye* and ***yo*, matching the proximal and distal **ʔe* and **ʔu*, in which case P has lost the reflex of ***yo*.

531.36 *-t-in ?, kinterm locative case, was tentatively reconstructed by Whistler (1980: 262). The PH reflex is *-tin*, kinterm locative, but W shows the regular *-in*, locative, without the *-t*. If *-t-in existed in PW, its formation parallels that of *-t-no; however, the addition of the *-t* may be an innovation in PH.

531.37 In addition, P has created an animate possessed/inanimate possessed distinction for alienably possessed entities by suffixing *-min* to indicate animate possessed; e.g., *na·min*, first person singular alienable possessive animate possessed vs. *na·no*, first person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed; *male·nomin*, second person plural alienable possessive animate possessed vs. *male·no*, second person plural alienable possessive inanimate possessed. This occurs in all persons and numbers.

N has innovated the same distinction, but since only a limited number of forms have been preserved, all in the singular, it is not clear if the distinction held true in all persons and numbers. The following are found: *nehtum*, first person singular alienable possessive animate possessed vs. *neto*, inanimate possessed; *mohtum*, second person singular alienable possessive animate possessed vs. *mota*, inanimate possessed; *putum*, third person nonproximal alienable possessive animate possessed vs. *putun*, inanimate possessed; *ʔetum*, third person proximal inalienable possessive animate possessed vs. *ʔeto* inanimate possessed. N makes use of a suffix *-um*, which may be of the same lineage as W objective *-um*.

531.38 The reconstruction of **ye*, vocative, is problematic because its W reflex *ye-*, *ye-* is a prefix, while the PH reflex is *-e·*, a vocative suffix (Whistler 1980: 216). The

two forms are almost certainly cognate, but their placement in PW kinterms remains uncertain.

531.39 A second vocative **-k* is reconstructible based on W *-k*, vocative suffix, and PH *-khe*, vocative suffix (Whistler 1980: 216), which combines **-k* with **ye*.

600. DEMONSTRATIVES AND DEICTICS

610. The demonstrative-interrogative root is **he*, **hi*, which probably had the same range of meanings as in the daughter languages (refer to sets). It is reconstructible in two full words, **heke*, where, and **heket*, which specific one. It may be diachronically related to **p^heka-y-i/u* ? **hika-y-i/u* ? stand (cf. W *hEk*, stop, stand, stop in a standing position) and/or **hen*, arrive. It is also related to the W particular aspect marker *-h*, perhaps via a definite article function.

Although the analysis of the PR-U form *heketta*, which one?, is uncertain, if a reconstruction of **heket*, which specific one, is correct, it may possibly indicate that **-t* already had particular or specific aspect function in PW, initiating the proliferation of the particular/generic aspect distinction in W, with *-t* being the most common particular aspect suffix.

620. **ho* is a past demonstrative root meaning “old, already, long ago, former.” It is related to **hom*, alone, and to the demonstrative-interrogative root **he*, paralleling distal **ʔu* and non-distal **ʔiy*. No complete words are reconstructible.

630. **k^he* is a deictic root reflected in P as *č^he*, “now,” and in several stems in W (see sets). It is related to **ke-*, have, own, get; **kel-*, far, travel; **k^hen*, *k^henti*, down; **-k^hen*, may, might, lest, and possibly also to **-k*, completive and **qa*, referential.

Section references to the grammatical sketch follow the reconstructions.

COGNATE SETS AND RECONSTRUCTIONS

Alphabetical Order:

a, b, č, č^h, č', d, e, h, i, k, k^h, k', l, ł, m, n, o,
p, p^h, p', q, q^h, q', r, s, t, t^h, t', λ', u, V, w, x, x, y, ?

PLEASE NOTE:

Resemblant forms cited in non-Wintun languages are not intended to suggest genetic relationship. It is for the reader to decide if they are possible cognates, borrowings, areal terms or coincidence.

a

*-a, *-a·, realis stem-deriving suffix (423.23); cf. *-ʔa, have (auxiliary)
 See *č'eb-a·, to scrape, scratch; *lel-a/i/u, make; *ley-a, throw; *lim-a, cave in;
 *man-a·, miss; *min-a, be nothing
 cf. Klamath a, indicative, declarative (Barker 1963: 41)

b

*-ba, kinterm plural (or human plural ?) (512.1); cf. *pan (also *pal ?), two;
 *pano(·)l, three

W -ba (-bas, g; -ba·t, objective; -ba·n, genitive), plural suffix occurring only
 with third person pronouns and with xeribas, “a group of young men”; cf.
 bO-, many, much, big, more

PCC, K, R -ba, human plural suffix, possibly originally a kinterm plural which
 was extended

PA-U namin hayuba čukuyba ʔibus, my dogs are good pets (here -ba occurs with
 “dog,” perhaps having been extended to an animate plural, or because dogs
 are considered family)

SP-M tā'-bah, family (cf. *teh, *te· ?, child)

Whistler (1980: 215-6) suggests that kinterm “plurals are probably in some sense
 aggregatives, with the sense of ‘a group of people who are characterized by such and
 such a kinterm relation’ rather than being formal plurals of fully specified relational
 kinterms.”

*ba·, eat (perhaps from *ba-, eat, food + auxiliary *-ʔa, have > “have food”)

W ba·, eat

N-W ba·, eat; ba·s, food

P ba·, to eat

PK ba·, food (< ba, eat)

SP-V ba, eat

SP-G ma, to eat (comer)

cf. PM *pe, *pa, to eat (Callaghan 2001: 330); Molala p'a-, p'ä-, eat (Berman 1996:
 17); Klamath p'añ, eat (Barker 1963: 306); Nez Perce papá·c, eating (nursery word)
 (Aoki 1994: 506)

*ba·-her, be eaten (with passive)

W ba·here, be eaten

PH-U t^hir wi·tano ba·heribus, the fish got eaten by the man

*ba·le, going to eat, will eat (with intentional future)

W ba·le, going to eat

PK ba·le č^hu, I'm gonna eat

PR-U ba·le, I will eat

yalule mis ba·le?, I'm going to let you be so that you can eat

SP-G chumaleina (yo comere), I will eat

*ba·le-s, being able to eat, going to eat (nominal)

W ba·le-s ni, I will, might, could, should, would, ought to eat

PCC ba·les, eat! (you tell somebody)

hatt^hu pi-t ba·les, pick it (fruit, etc.) to eat it (later)

*ba·-ma, feed (with causative)

W ba·ma, give to eat, feed; ba·ma·, make eat

PH ba·ma, to feed

PL-U ?ilayma ču namin bamas, I'm feeding my baby

*ba·-r ? *ba·-ro ? eat (subordinate)

W ba·r, eat (subordinate)

PR ?e·s ba·ro har, eat this and go!

*ba·-s, food, eating

W ba·s, food

P ba·s, food

PCC ba·s pi, he ate

PR t^hi·rma ču ba·s, I ate fish a little while ago

PT-U, PL-U ba·s ču, I'm eating

*ba·-s-to ?, *ba·-s-tu ?, eater (with agentive)

W ba·sto·, eater

PR-U t^hi·rma ču bahtu, I eat fish [I'm a fish eater]

PH-U ču hawer?an ba·stu, I'm a fast eater

*bal-?a, tell a lie; cf. *bo·l-e, tale

W bala·, to (tell a) lie

N-BW bala-, lie, deceive

PCC, K bal?a, to lie

PR balu-, to tell someone

*bam, pack tight, arrange clumped material ?

W bam-, put, arrange, part, carry, close; ken-bamča, to close down; se-bamča, to part hair or twigs of brush, to separate, cleave; xun-bamča, to pack a thing tight, as clothes in a box; cf. bam-, fist, clumped together, cleave; sem bamaqana·, to make a fist

PH-U ʔolpuro bamparo, smother (see *ʔol, up; *p^hu(·)r-u, breathe; *-pa ʔ *-paq ʔ, benefactive; *-ro ʔ *-r ʔ, subordinating suffix), “pack tight on someone’s breathing”

*baq, low-growing plant sp.

W baqi, brush, bush, thicket, woods, low brush

NT-M bah'-ke, brush or chaparral

PCC, K, T, R bak, Marah sp. (“wild cucumber”); cf. PK, PT baka·kay, oak gall;
PCC bakak, oak gall

*bay, action with fire

W baya-, to cauterize, do by fire; to look for something with a pitch torch; bayi, partially burned log (bark burned off ʔ); cf. bayi, (black oak) tree bark, bark of oak trees only

PR bay, log (i.e., heat-treated wood ʔ)

*bey (before vowel), *be· (elsewhere), lie, be; auxiliary of indefinite duration (or imperfective - inanimate connecting via duration) (421.1); cf. *pi-, *pu-, demonstrative and quasi-pronominal third person root

W bEy-, to be lying down; biya, indicative stem; be-, be-, imperative stem
bEy-, imperfective aspect attributive auxiliary; be-, be-, imperative stem

N-G maibehkuda, I would like to lie down with you

N-BW be-, to be; kEnbe-, lay down

PCC be-, to be (inanimate locational)
-be, to be (inanimate inflectional auxiliary suffix)

PCC, T -bom, -bem, quotative auxiliary (< -bo, to be, animate locational auxiliary;
-be, to be, inanimate locational aux.)

cf. Molala pi-, be (of inanimates) and Proto-Sahaptian *pe, be situated, be located (of inanimates) (Berman 2001: 346)

*be·-di, be + hortative

W be·di, prohibitive auxiliary preverb, exhortative, don't...!

PR wi·le wi·le layak behdi, let everything be okay (said when someone sneezes)

*be·-ma, make lie, let lie (with causative)

W be·ma·, to let something lie (there), make a bed for someone; bima·, to have, possess, own; qewel bohem pite·rum beme·s, they own(ed) a big house; beme·s kuyam, do you want [to be with] it?

NT-M a-la-wahk-bem'-me-nah, empty [nothing being]

PCC bema, leave it alone, let it stay there

PR-U hoya sun behmanan benta kewe, it looks like there used to be a house there

*be·-s, being (nominal)

W be·s, lying down, bed, to lie down (as a noun), being; nominal stem of imperfective auxiliary

PCC, K be·s, (it) is, there are

*bey-e-m, be + dubitative

W ?ibiyam, are you?

N-S piyaapem cala, [it is] right, correct

PK pi behem, “that one must been there”; pi behem k^honta, that they must been dry; pi behem ?ele·s, he’s gone

PL-U ?ew t^ho·k behemla p’eti bos, in that tree is a bird
(Patwin h is perhaps due to analogy with boh-, see *boh-)

*bil, burn bare; cf. *bay, action with fire; *pil-a·, hot; *wil-i/*p^hil-i, smooth

W bile·, to set fire, to back fire the brush, remove pain by burning, cauterize (cf. bay, cauterize; bih, smoke tobacco)

PCC bil-, to burn off, to fire; sala bil, bare of leaves

PR bil-, burn

*bis- cap-shaped

W-C kolchi bisi, sky cap (mythological object mentioned by Curtin, 1898: 238)

PA-U wenem bisa·, eyeball

*bit, indent

W bEt, to dent, bend, mash; bita·, to make a dent, to bend or mash, crush

PK bitt^huro, settle down (to the ground, of flying dust, etc.)

*bi·t ? Western meadowlark

N-B wīt·colok, meadowlark

PCC, K, T bi·t, Western meadowlark

PR-B bi·t, meadowlark

Irregular w:b correspondence, probably due to folk-etymology

*boh (before vowel), *bo· (elsewhere), sit, be (verb); auxiliary of definite duration (or durative - animate connecting via duration) (421.2); cf. *bey, *be·, lie, be, auxiliary

*boh-a, indicative

*-bu may or may not be reconstructible. It occurs only in the auxiliary in P and only in the verb in W. It may be an instance of drift resulting in vowel raising in both languages (see 243.)

W bOh, verb: live, reside, remain, keep, stay, be in a sitting position, sit, dwell, stay; durative aspect auxiliary

buha, to live, reside, remain, keep, stay, sit, dwell, stay, sit still, be sitting down, be staying at home (indicative); auxiliary: buha, indicative stem, occurs only in ?unibuha, sentence connective deictic shifter (sentence subject remains the same)

- boh, verb imperative stem, command: sit! stay! etc.
 bo·, contracted allomorph of imperative verb stem; imperative auxiliary stem
- PCC bo·, to be (animate locational)
 -bo, to be (animate), inflectional auxiliary suffix
 -bu(da), let's all ... (first person plural inclusive)
 bo piṭa, stay there
 -bu(da), let's all ... (first person plural inclusive) (Whistler 1981)
- PK wenem bo·, is (animate) in the middle
 č^hu bo·t'ibus, I'm gonna be here
 k'ana-ro bo· di-huro, (I) was sleeping and woke up
- PR boha nat, wait for me; misda bohle, I'll stay with you
 bo·bo mi?, are you there?
 layuk?aro č^hu bo·, I'm fine
 po werebo, who's coming
 č^hu boha-ro bo ʔut, I'm waiting for him
- PR-U pi hayu piṭa bohni hoyo, that dog was there long ago
 SP-M choo' tun-no bo'-te, I'm dancing
 SP-A yelobo, wait for

*boh-il, be-with, keep an animate (see *-wil, *-i(·)l, animate comitative)

W bohi-l, live together, be married, cohabit; to keep, maintain, keep someone, support a person (wife), be married, live with someone (cf. bohma·, to own something generic (inanimate)); -i-l, particular comitative

PCC bohil, to retain, keep

PK ʔel bohilta, he put that in, locked it up

PR-U wakama piṭa bohilta, the cattle are inside
 pi ʔila·kma bohilta, she's giving birth

*bo·-m = *bo- + dubitative, < *bohom ? (possibly both of the following apply: *bohom > bo·m > bom; or: *bo·m > bom, and *bohom > bo·m > bom; both Wintu and Patwin have both bo·m and bVhVm)

W pi po·m be·lebo·m, that ground will always be there; but: buham, hello (literally, do you live ?)

PCC pe·ma no·p bo·mʔu, why not be a deer ? (she's sure she'll be a deer)
 bo·ma pe·ma, alive or not, dead or alive (a collocation)

PK pi bohohm, that's him
 pi bo·t'ibum piṭa, I heard he's gonna be there
 pi bohohm, that's him; pi bohohm piṭa bo·s, he must be there

PL-U tihohm bom, he is alone (hearsay)
 piṭa bohohm hayu, the dog was there (know, but not from seeing)

PR nat bohohmʔurbo, don't wait for me

*bo·-s, being, is (nominal form)

W bo·s, nominal stem, generic aspect noun; afterbirth, caul, umbilicus, race, tribe, family, house, home, dwelling, camp

- ne·l bo·s, we two stayed at home
 bo·sto·t, residence, dwelling
- PCC,T bo(·)s, animate locational auxiliary “to be” (most commonly expresses continuative or imperfective aspect; Whistler 1986: 67-68)
- PCC di·huro ču bo·s, I’m already awake
 ta·ču so·rto ʔaro bo·s, my father is deaf
 pa·l piḥa pi bo·s, he’s staying there now
- PK pi muku·ro bo·s, he’s kind of mad, irritated, bothered
 pi wi·ta piḥa bo·s č^henti, that man is down there
 ʔibus, that’s his
 boni č^hu bakobus, I’m here and I’m counting
- PL-U tihom bos, he is alone (see him)
- PH-U nop piḥa ʔibus, there must be a deer there
- PA-U k^hudi bo·s, there’s a bird there (and see it)
 piḥa hu·s bo·s, there’s the buzzard
- PR-U pi hayu piḥa bo·sem na·min, that dog there is mine

*bol-a, drink

- W bOl-, bula, to drink
- N-BW bol-, suck
- PCC bo-l-, soak; T-U bola·ʔ, drink (imp.)
- SP-V bola’, drink

*bo-l-e, tale, tell a tale; cf. *bal-ʔa, tell a lie

*bo-le-s-, tell story, have mythical properties ? (intensive)

- W bo·la, tell a story, tale; make a speech; bo·lesa, to be transformed, to turn out, i.e., to have mythical properties, to be full of myth. properties; bo·las, story, tale, myth, speech; bo·laheres, myth, God (that which is told, he who is told)
- N-K bôla, shaman that works by dreaming; G baḥḥahunbo’ho, tales told to pubescent girls
- PK bo·le, dreaming man (type of shaman); T dreamer, spirit; bo·leho, to tell a story, to preach; H-B bo·le, myth
- PR bo·le, dream dance, dreamer, story; bo·leso, to tell a story

*bo-lbolVq, butterfly; poppy

- W bolboloq, butterfly; also saysayboloq; bolboloq luli, California poppy (luli, flower)
- N-W bo·lbo·lo·q, butterfly; T-M bahl’-bahl’-lūk; BW balbalak
- PCC, K, T ba·lbalik, butterfly, all butterflies; PK also ba·lbalak, butterfly
- PK bo·lbolik, poppy, evening primrose; PT, CC, C, R poppy, poppies (by metaphoric shift)
- PR walalakai, butterfly
- SP-M bŭl-lŭl’-lă-ki’, butterfly

*bolo, manzanita berries

- W boloy, black manzanita berries

N-C bâ-lâi, black manzanita-berries
 bâ-lâi=mi, black manzanita [manzanita berry tree]
 PCC polo-la, green manzanita berries (before they're ripe)
 Irregular b::p correspondence

*boq, milkweed; cf. *buq, pus

W boq, milkweed

NG-M bok', broad leaf milkweed (Asclepias)

PCC, K, T bok, milkweed (Asclepias speciosa)

PR-B bok, milkweed

*bul, protrusion; cf. *p^ho-, protrude, swell

*bul-i, hill

W *bul, excrescence, protrusion (buli, peak, hill, mountain; buł, bump; bulaq, pile; bol, lump)

PK bul-, pregnant; C buli, meadow; T buli, rolling prairie

PR buli, (low) hill, foothill

*buq, pus, full of pus; cf. *boq, milkweed

W buq (also nuq), pus, mucus, matter; buqe-, be full of pus, mucus

PK buk, pus; T festering (wound)

PR buk-, to bud out (of trees); PR-B bek, pus

č

*čal-a, good; cf. *čał-a, clear

*čal-V sem, right hand

W čala-, to be good; čalisem, right hand (sem, hand)

N-S cala, good; cali-sem, right side (good hand)

PR t'ala sem, right hand; talo-ma, to measure (put marks on for something, e.g., clothes), to straighten something out; talo-, straight

PA-U t'ala, right side

SP-M tal'-loo, good, tah'-le, new

cf. Alsea c'łyaq-, to straighten; c'łyaqa, straight, correctly (Golla 1997: 161); PMy

*cala-, with reflexes including: to be happy, to be content, happiness (Brown 1990: 46)

*čał-a, clear; cf. *čal-a, good

W čała(l), to be clean, clear

PCC, K tał-, tała-, bald

*čel, rip; cf. *čił-a, give blows to head; *č^hep, hit; *k'il, hail; *či-r, lean meat; *t^heł, crack open; *t^hil, eat with someone

W čEl-, tear, torn, stripe, strip (čelča, to tear to little pieces, se-čila-, to tear apart, rip into halves; cf. t'e-l, slit or slice fish lengthwise)

PT-U telep, stone for grinding meat by pounding

cf. Alsea *c'yał-*, to split (tr.) (Golla 1997: 161); PMy **cil*, with reflexes including: tear, tear it up, break, breaking in two, shred; Yuki *sil*, tear, rip; Plains Miwok *si:ly-*, to skin; Wakashan *clt-*, to tear (cloth); Tlingit *ya-s'eil'*, tear; Colorado *čileno*, to tear (cloth) (all from Brown 1990: 46)

**čeqčeq*, hawk sp., red-tailed ?

NT-M *chěk'-chěk-koo*, red-tailed hawk (*Buteo borealis*)

PCC, T, R *tektek*, sharp-shinned hawk

**čil-a*, give blows to the head; cf. **čel*, rip; *č^hep*, hit; **t^heł*, crack open

W *čEł-*, *čilā*, to stone, to keep hitting with a rock, to give a blow to the head with a stone or other heavy object (in order to split it open ?)

PR *tiła-p'iri*, fighting one another (could be a war, has to be enemies fighting, not just a few people)

**čok-i*, near; cf. **čuk-a*, approach

W *čoki*, near, close

N-J *chaw keen*, near

PR *toči*, shallow (of water only)

**čoł-*, walk uncertainly

W *se-čolča*, to stagger (ł dissimilated to l ?; cf. *tOh-*, stiff, rigid; *tu-t^hohčuna-*, stretch legs rigidly in front; *t^hOł-*, break, broken ?)

PCC, K *tołbak*, to limp

**čosaq*, mosquito

NG-M *choo-'sahk'*, mosquito

PCC, K, T *to·sak*; B *t'osak*, mosquito

PR *tosak*, mosquito

If we assume that P avoided a final *č* by not fronting, the reconstruction may be **čosak*. However, the ending **-aq* is more likely since it may be a fossilized derivational suffix; there are a number of other items with this ending.

**čuk-a*, approach; cf. **čok-i*, near

W *čOk-*, *čuka-*, to approach, overtake, catch up with; cf. *č'uq-*, join; *č'uq-*, help

PK *-toka*, *-tuka*, toward; CC *-tuka*, *-t'uka*, toward

PR *-t'uka*, *-tuka*, against, toward

cf. Alsea *cqi:w-*, *cqwi:naku-*, to approach, come near (Golla 1997: 161)

č^h

*-č^h, mediopassive (423.11); *-č^h-i, nominal/neutral mode; *-č^h-u, imperative or irrealis mode

W *-č*, transitive root-derivational suffix; e.g., *lakča*, to embrace; *minčuna*, for a close relative to die, “die on one”; *ʔoqčit*, one who vomited (with nominal stem)

P -t^hi, -t^hu, semelfactive

See *lib-č^h-, submerge; *p'ir-č^h-u, to skin; *yuc-č^h-, shake, wake up; *t^hak-č^h-i, dump (granulated solids ?); *t^hoq-č^h-i/u, lean against (tr.); *λ'op-č^h-, insert long things (vertically ?), poke, stick into; *min-č^h-u, to turn into nothing; *leq-č^h-u, to be tired; *lar-č^h-u, to tie a sling; *ʔoq-č^h-i/u, to vomit; *p^hu(·)l-č^h-, blow on/at; *qar-č^h-, rake (toward self ?); *sip-č^h-u, straighten, make stiff

*č^ha·hay, gray hair

W čahay, gray hair; ča·hay, some gray hair (not a whole head of it)

PK t^ha·say, gray (hair or whiskers); t^ha·say, gray hair

PR-B t^ha·say, gray-hair(ed)

cf. PT-B, PH-B, č'a·, gray paint

*č^haq, net; cf. *č'aq-a·, hang; *č'e·k, rope

N-C chák-me, dip-net (net attached to bow-and-arrow frame); K tcek, rabbit net

SP-M chel-lo'-na tak'-ke, rabbit net; tuk'-ke, fish net

As Merriam's "t" probably represents t^h, the tentative reconstruction is *č^h

*č^ha(·)y, grandchild

W niča(·)y, grandson; cf. niča(·)men, niece, granddaughter

N-W če(·), grandchild; BW -c'ey, grandson, ce', grandchild

PCC t^ha·y, grandchild; K t^hay

PR t^hay, brother's son, grandson, granddaughter, nephew, niece

*č^hek-i, pitch, resin

W čeki, pitch, resin

PCC, K, R t^heč^hi, pine gum, pitch

*č^hep, hit; cf. *čel, rip

W čEp-, čipa, to hit, whip, throw, cut, pound, slap, knock, rattle, guess

PCC t^hepe·, to hit

t^hep, [hit] once

PK t^hepe·, to whip

t^hepta, to hit (once)

t^hepe·, t^hepesok, a whip

t^hep, hit with stick or hand

PR t^hepe, to hit, to strike

t^hep, to hit or strike

cf. Alsea cxa:p'-, to throw; cpu:ʔ-, to spill, dump, upset, pour (Golla 1997: 161)

*č^hep, hit! (imperative)

W čep, guess! hit! tap!, ʁan-čep, throw it away!

PR mi t^hep, t^hep mi, you hit it!

PK ʔut t^hep, hit him!

*č^he·p, hit repeatedly

W če·pa, to rattle, če·pus, rattle (n.)

PCC t^he·p, [hit] more than once

PK ʔut bo·ni t^he·pta, pounding the hell out of him

*č^hep-na, hit self

W pomín čepna·, to throw oneself to the ground; čepna·s kalay, hitting-oneself-gap (placename); se-čepna·, to wiggle, move around

PCC t^hepnanaš č^hu, I hit myself

PK pi t^hepnanta, he hit himself

*č^hepč^hep, hit (iterative)

W čepče·pa, to hit one stick to another to keep time; čepče·pus, split stick rattle

PR-U t^hept^hepta, hit off and on

*č^hep-p'ur-i, hit each other

W se-čep'ure, to slap each other, to battle

PCC t^he·pp'iris pipel, they're hitting each other

PH-U kawayu t^hepp'ita, horses hit each other

*č^hep-her, be hit

W p'e·l čephida, we got hit

PCC t^hepheres pi nat, he let them hit me

*č^hika, raccoon

N-M che'-kahn, raccoon; B t·cīkan, raccoon

SP-M te'-chah, raccoon

The reconstruction of *č^h is based on the assumption that Merriam's "t" represents t^h

*č^hiqč^hiq-?, *č^hilč^hił-?, chipmunk

NGT-M chil'-chis-waht, chipmunk (Eutamias)

PCC, K, T č^hikč^hi·ki, chipmunk; T-U čikči·ki, chipmunk

*č^hi·r, fish sp.; cf. *č^hi·r, lean meat ? calf ?

W či·rus, či·rh, či·s, suckerfish (type of spirit); či·rut, sucker sp. or carp

N-S ciit, fish; SS čiyet, fish

PCC, K, T, R t^hi·r, fish

SP-M teer', fish

cf. Alsea c'i:š-, to cook, prepare, boil, ripen; Siuslaw tsInx-, scorch; ha-tsi:la:l, meat (ha-, locative) (Golla 1997: 161)

*č^hi·r, lean meat ? calf ?; cf. *č^hi·r, fish sp., perhaps both ultimately from "lean meat"

W či·r, meat, flesh, lean; č'uhčir, calf of leg

PR t^hi(·)r, calf

*č^hiri-k-, fear

*č^hiri-k-u-ma, to scare someone (causative)

W čiri·ka, to get scared, shocked, frightened, be horrified; čiri·kuma·, to frighten, scare; Pitkin suggests perhaps < čil, restless

N-BW cIkту-, fear, be scared by

PR-U t^hiri·č-, be scared, terrified; t^hiri·čuma, scare someone

*č^hiy-a, call someone; cf. *č'e(·)w-, talk

W čiyе-, to call; čiyamena-, to owe something to someone; cf. č'a-w-, sing

PCC, R t^hiya, to call someone

*č^ho·l, *č^ho·r, burn; cf. *č'il, black

W čo·l, cooked, done; čo·ra, nuts to be ripe

NT-M chaw'-lah, cooked, ripe

PCC t^ho·r-, burn; t^ho·ro, fire; t^ho·rma, to set fire to

PK t^hor-, t^ho·l-, burn

*č^holč^hol, mountain quail; cf. *č^hoł, mountain

W č'olč'ol (g), č'olč'oł (p), mountain quail

N-M chōl'-chūs', mountain quail (*Oreortyx*); chál-châhl, mountain quail

PCC, T t^holt^hol, mountain quail; K č^ho·lč^hol, č^holč^hol, mountain quail (irregular)

*č^hoł, mountain; cf. *č^holč^hol, mountain quail

W čol, mountain; *č'ol, mountain; čolčor, č'olč'oł, mountain quail

N-B t·coL, mountain; S choł, mountain; PS čol-, hill; C châ-âhl, mountain; coL bihtalat, mountain quail

PCC, K, R t^hoł, t^ho·ł, mountain, hill

SP-M tōs-sl, tōs^l, mountain; tos'-sl, tor's, tor^{ch}, Sonoma mountain (or peak)

cf. PY *tulaw, up, high ? > *tulul, mountain, foothill (Callaghan 2001: 323)

*č^hono, dance; cf. *č'on, kick

W čOn-, čuna, to dance; čono-, nominal stem

N č^hono, dance; č^hono k^hewel, dance-house (forms given to Whistler by PK speaker Oscar McDaniel)

PK t^hono·, a dance

č^hu t^honle, I'm gonna dance

PCC pi t^hič'am ?ele·s t^hono·, he doesn't know how to dance

t^haknanas pi t^hono·t'o, he's getting dressed up to dance

PH-U t^honpabusču, I step on it

PL-U t^honosok, dance

PT-U t^hono·, dance

PR-B t^hono, to dance

*č^hono-s, dance (n.)

W čonos, dance (n.)

PT-U t^honos win, everybody's dancing

*č^hop, stuck

W čupal, to be jammed in, stuck

PCC t^hopt^hu, t^hopt^hi, tight, stuck

*č^ho·q, tree; cf. *č'·oq, dry and stiff; *k'ok, brace

W čo·q, pole, young tree

PCC, K, T, R t^ho·k, tree, shrub, stemmed plant

PCC t^hoki, oaks all together, forest, grove

PT-U t^ho·ki, bunch of trees

*č^huday, woodpecker sp.; cf. *č'uduk, woodpecker sp.

W čuday, woodcock crest, redheaded woodpecker crest?, bird scalp

PR t^hoday, acorn woodpecker

*č^hur-, twins

W čure·s, twins, cf. č'an, (one) half, (one) side, symmetrical opposite of other half

PCC t^hudum, twins

PK č^huru·č^huru, twins (irregularly not fronted - cf. *č'ur-, cricket)

č'

*č'ap-, collect

W č'ap-, collect, arrange, stack, locate, place; č'apana·, to collect anything (junk, trash, debris)

PK tapan ?, dung beetle (Whistler 1976e, originally from Merriam; could be t'apan)

*č'aq-a·, hang (something live?); cf. *č'e·k, rope; *č^haq, net

W č'aqa·, to hang; Pitkin distinguishes č'aqa, to hang something up, and č'·aqa·, to hang up, hang an animal, person, live thing

N-BW olcaka', hang

PCC, K t'aka·, acorns [hanging] on tree

PR t'aka, acorn ("the whole thing"), a crop of acorns

*č'aro·q(-i), grass, green

W č'aru·q, grass, edible clover, greens, green; č'aru·qi, clover, grass, green

NG-M chi'-yok', grass (any); C cha-yó-ka, green

SP-V tcalo'k^c, yellow; M chul-lo'-ke, chal-lo'-ke, white (irregular)

The SP forms may be a reflex of PW *k'al, intense visual perception, in which case this is not a good set.

cf. Alsea su:lhaʔk, grass (Golla 1997: 165)

*č'at-u, morning star; cf. *č'ay-a, to light a fire

W č'atu·s, star

N-G tc'áxtitluyuk, morning star

PCC t'ati, dawn, become daylight; PK t'at^hi, t'at^hu-, daylight
 PR t'ati, t'atu-, early morning, to dawn (before sunrise)

*č'ay-a, to light a fire; cf. *č'at-u, morning star; *say-i/u, light
 W č'aya-, to split pitchwood (as for kindling into torches and candles)
 PCC, R t'a-y-, to light (a fire)

*č'ayi, fresh-water mussel
 N-C chá-it, fresh-water mussel
 PCC t'ayi, t'ayi-, small clam found in the creek; T t'ayi-, clam, fresh-water sp.,
 marsh clam sp.
 PR t'ayi, mud clam, found in marsh under the tules

*č'ayi(·)k, scrub jay
 W č'ayi(·)k, č'ayk, scrubjay
 NT-M chī'ik, G-M chī'k, California jay; BW caikcaik, jaybird; H c'ayt, bluejay
 PCC č'ayi-t, scrubjay, any bluejay, jaybird; K č'ayi-t, scrub jay; T č'ayi(·)t, scrub
 jay
 PR č'ayč'ayt, č'ayit, scrubjay
 SP-M si-ē'ch, California jay
 Irregular correspondence; widespread sound-symbolic areal term

*č'eb-a-, to scrape, scratch; *č'ib-i-, nominal stem; *č'eb-, arrow shaft; cf. *k'eb-i/u,
 loosen by scratching
 W č'iba-, č'ibe-, to scrape or scratch with a knife-type instrument; č'ibi-ya, to
 whittle; č'ipčus, arrow (especially the shaft); č'ipču-s, untipped arrow
 PCC t'eba-, to nick; PK t'ibi, whittling
 PR-U t'ebi, shaft of arrow

*č'i-b-a, shave off with sweeping motion
 W ken-č'i-ba, to shave bark, shave something clean, off, down
 PCC t'i-ba, to sweep (plural); t'i-bt^hu, to brush off (singular); K t'i-banan-,
 comb one's hair
 PR t'i-ba, to sweep, brush off; t'iba, sweeper

*č'e-k, rope; cf. *se-k, root; *č^haq, net; *č'aq-a-, hang
 W č'e-k(us), rope
 N-G tcek, strings
 PH-U, PT-U t'e-t, rope; B big rope
 PR-B t'e-t, rope

*č'ekey, hair (facial or animal); cf. *sekey, hair of body; *č'i-k, rough skin
 W č'ekey, body hair, animal fur or hair, facial hair; cf. *č'E, bind, tie, tight,
 bound, strands, long flexible material for tying (č'ek, hair; č'ew, braid; č'ey,
 lengthen; č'e-k, rope; č'it, tie)
 N-BW pEtsEke, beard

PCC t'eč^hey, fur (on any animal)
 PR t'eč^he-, fur, animal hair
 and the following irregular:
 PCC si-nč'ekey, eyebrow (forehead fur); PK sinč^hikay, eyebrow
 PR si-nč'ikiy, eyebrow
 PA-U sinč'ikay, eyebrows
 SP-A sinkeke, eyebrow; G sincheke, eyebrow
 Partially not fronted to make a semantic distinction?

*č'en-a-, defecate

*č'en-i, feces

W č'ina-, to defecate; č'eni(·)s, feces outside of body, dung; č'ina-s, feces inside of body; hard, dry feces

N-B t-cenī, excrement, dung (and irregular N-BW kEn-, kEda-, defecate)

PK, T t'en-, defecate; K t'eni-, feces; T t'ena-, to defecate; and irregular T senimen, dung beetle (Whistler 1976e from Merriam) (in analogy with *k^hedimen, stink bug)

SP-V ena-', defecate; eni, feces

*č'ep-, bad

*č'ep-ʔa, be bad

W č'ep, bad, old; č'epet, old (and sickly or pitiful; person, animal, object); č'epkala, to be bad; č'ipa, to tell dirty jokes

N-C ch!ě-pa, bad; BW c'epa', be bad, mean

PCC, K, T t'epʔa, stingy

*č'ereCč'ereC ? *č'iriCč'iriC ?, small bird sp.

W č'erepč'erep, a ground runner, a small striped bird (cf. č'iri-ka, to be slim, M che'-pis, striped)

PCC t'irim'tirim, bushtit; C, K, T tirimtirim, common bushtit (Whistler 1976e from Merriam for K and T, and Bright 1951-2 for C); CC č'enepč'enep, bird sp., little, grayish bird, stays in brush and trees, probably a bushtit

*č'er-i, sand; use sand; cf. *č'ir-i, distribute liquid substance

W č'eri, sand, grain of sand; cf. č'er-, itch, tickle

NT-M chā'-ah, acorn leach

PCC, K t'eri/u-, to leach, soak acorns; R-B t'eri, to leach

*č'e(·)w, talk; cf. *č^hiy-a, call someone

*č'e(·)we-s, talk, speech (n.)

W č'e-wa, to make a speech, preach; dawč'e-wis, speech

N-K tcewe, speaker, chief

PCC, K t'ew, talk; t'e(·)we, language; CC t'ewes, language, talk (n.)

PR t'ewe, speak, language; t'e-t'ewe, to talk

SP-V tewe, speak

*č'i-, red-shafted yellowhammer (flicker)

W č'ile, yellowhammer; č'ilew, bluejay; sapsucker; yellowhammer

N-C chi-yo, yellowhammer; BW c'iol, c'iyol, yellowhammer; M che'-o', flicker (Colaptes)

Irregular due to analogy with "old man":

PR č'ya(·)k, red-shafted flicker ("old man")

SP č'iyak, red-tailed hawk ("old man") (Whistler 1976e)

*č'idik, heart, core; cf. *č'it-, press tight; *č'idok, narrow-waisted

W č'idik, core of fruit

N-PS č'idik, heart; NC chi-dík, heart, spirit (soul)

PCC, K t'idi-t, meat of any nut, kernel of any nut; K t'idit, eyeball; T t'idi-č, meat (of any nut)

*č'idok, narrow-waisted; cf. *č'it-, press tight; *č'idik, heart, core (narrowing center ?)

W č'idok, girdled, narrow around center (< *č'E-, bind, tie, tight, bound, strands) (cf. č'ed-, short springing movement of the eyebrows, and listings under PW *č'idik, heart, core; č'itok, kingfisher; a small variety of suckerfish; M chāt', tendon, sinew)

NT-M che-dik, trinket basket (slightly choke-mouth, of Cladium root); C chí-dik, basket (generic); chi'-dahk, dragonfly

PCC pu·suduk, PK pu·sidik, dragonfly (irregular)

SP-M poo'-so-look, dragonfly

*č'i-k, rough skin; cf. *č'ekey, hair

W č'i-ka, to have a rash, be pimply, get pimples

PCC t'i-k, scale (fish or lizard); K t'ik, scales (fish or reptile)

PCC, K t'i-t, scab, sore

PR-B t'i-t, sore (n.)

*č'il, black bear; cf. *č'il, black; *sil, black

W č'il (g), č'il (p), brown bear

NG-M chēl, black bear; B t-ciL, black bear

PCC silay, (black) bear, bear of any kind, caterpillar; K t'ilo·ki silay, silti silay, black bear; silay, bear of any kind; t'ilo·ki, black bear ("that's his right name")

PR-B selay, bear

SP siliʔa-yapoti, black bear (Whistler 1976e); A silia gutia, man [siliʔa wi-ta, lit. black man]

cf. PK silti-hakam, black ant sp.; silti-tomo, hairy caterpillar; silaysilaymen, hairy caterpillar; Alsea su:ʔn, Siuslaw swaʔ, Hanis Coos swaʔ, grizzly (Golla 1997: 165)

*č'íl, black; cf. *č'íl, black bear; č^ho·l, burn; *sil, black

W sas č'ile·, to be the dark of the moon; cf. čulu·la, to be black; M 'chelth, black (representing [čuř] ?); N-J chu lu la, black

PK t'ilo·ki, dark; t'iloki, black

PR t'ilo·ki, black; U t'ilo·kuro be, it's dark

SP-M ted-dok', dark

cf. PMie *kulu-, black; PM *sil, black, Mn kylum, black, dark (weather, etc.); Ceb širke·-wis, šilke(-)-wis, black; Csf Shol co te, black (Callaghan 2001: 327)

*č'im, close eyes (*č'íl, black + *-m, causative ?)

W č'ime·qa, to have one's eyes closed, close one's eyes, be asleep
(< *č'imba·q ?)

N-M chim-me'-kit, blind

PK t'i·mbakta, blinking, winking

PR-B t'emba·ko, to close one's eyes

*č'ini·q, vine sp.; cf. *č'en-a·, defecate

W no·pun č'enis, a kind of vine which grows flat on the ground, high in the hills and is used to smoke oneself when one has lost one's luck; also called "wild deer sage"; lit. "deer's dung" (prob. a folk-etymology)

N-G tciniêk, tcinêk, ground vine sp. with many seeds

PCC t'ini·k, *Calandrinia ciliata*, red maids

PK t'ini·k, plant sp. (gather its leaves into a big pile, then beat the pile to gather seeds, a lot growing down by the river, grow into wide low plant, black seeds, purple flowers; t'ini·k, bush (about 1 ft. tall), gather the black seeds, dry them, then beat them, purple flowers, look sort of like tumbleweeds, probably Calif. buckwheat brush (*Erigonum fasciculatum*)

*č'iq, sift

W č'iqča, to be put through a sieve, cf. č'iq, disappear, č'iq, have one's eyes put out, lose an eye; č'i·qa, to wring out, squeeze, wash clothes

PK t'iki, sifted, to sift

*č'ir-i, distribute liquid substance; cf. *č'er-i, sand; use sand

W č'ire·, defecate (loosely); č'iri, loose feces (cf. č'ey-, lengthen, stretch, separate)

PCC t'irlaki, to sprinkle one time, t'irla·ki, splatter, spill out; t'irat'ira, sprinkle; t'idi, to sprinkle

PR t'idi, t'idu, sprinkle, squirt

*č'it, press tight; cf. *č'idik, heart, core *č'idok, narrow-waisted; *č'e·k, rope; *tir-i, belt

W č'it-, press, tight, squeeze, concentrate; č'ita·, to press all liquid out; č'ite·, to squeeze out of; č'itama, to tie something up, bind, wrap tightly

N-BW cit-, push; J chi ta mus, bow

PCC t'iči-mu, to pinch

cf. Klamath č'i, act upon liquid in a container (Barker 1963: 87)

*č'iw, hull

W č'Ew-, č'iwa-, to open hulls of plural objects, like peas; to take shell off one nut with hard shell, to pull off; to press pea pods apart, to take acorn out of shell, to hull

PH-U č'iwilma, dogwood top frame for pounding acorns (irregular)

*č'iwil, Western fence lizard

W č'iwil, fence lizard

NGT-M che-wil^{ch}, scaly lizard (Sceloporus)

PCC t'iwil, t'iwil, rattlesnake; K t'iwil, t'ewil, Western rattlesnake; t'ewilma, rattlesnake; č^he-n t'iwil, "down snake," kingsnake

PR t'iwil, rattlesnake

SP-M te'-wil, rattlesnake

Taboo avoidance may have resulted in P using the term for Western fence lizard to refer to rattlesnakes. Cf. W t'aw, coiled, wound up, wrapped up, round, cycled; t'awa, to be coiled (up high), as of a snake or rope; t'awila, to be round, coiled, go around

*č'ob, skin peels off; cf. *sob-č-u, pull off

*č'ub, peel off

W č'obo-ya, face to peel in many places; č'op(i), č'o-p, scalp, skin, hide, shell, hull; č'upča, č'upa, to strip or peel bark; č'upal, to peel off (intr.)

PCC t'oba-, to blister, to take skin off, pants off, etc. when burned by hot water; B t'ub, to peel

PR-B t'ub, to peel

*č'ok-i/u, chew

W č'Ok-, č'uka-, to chew; č'oki, nominal stem; č'oku, imperative stem

N-BW cahku-, chew

PK č'oki/u, chew

PR č'ok^hi/u, chew

*č'oł-?, *č'oh-?, flow; cf. *qul, flame?

W č'ohi, flow (č'Oh-)

N-M num ā-oo-ken chaw-he, upstream

PK č'oli/u-, flow, water to run

*č'on, kick; cf. *č^hono, dance

W č'On-, č'una, to kick

N-BW c'ona-, kick

PCC, K t^honpa, kick; cf. K č'uninyali, dam (beaver or manmade), "kick the water back"

*č'oq, dry and stiff; cf. *č^ho·q, tree

W č'Oq-, dead, dry, stiff (said of people and larger plants), rigor mortis, be numb, have cramps, be paralyzed; č'oqmi, a dead tree; cf. k'ok, stick; č'uqel, liquid to stop running and dry up; cf. čiqel, to be dried out, drained of water (čiqča, to drink up)

PCC, K, R t'ok, firewood; CC t'ok^hi·l, to gather firewood

SP-M ok' (awk'), firewood; ok', funeral pyre

cf. PT-U me·m č'okčis, water dries

cf. the following irregular P forms:

PK č^hoč^hʔaro, cramped

PR čoč^heʔaro, he has cramps

*č'ow Western bluebird ?

W-M chaw, Brewer blackbird

N-M chōl^d ?, bluebird (*Sialia*); chow', tsow', thrasher (*Toxostoma*)

PCC č'owkoč'owko, bluebird; č'okoč'oko, Western bluebird; T, C č'o·ka, Western bluebird; CC c'owk^ha, Western bluebird

PR č'oki:s ?, Western bluebird (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

SP-M cho'-kah, chōw'-kah, bluebird

cf. P (K, T, C, CC) k'owiłto, Calif. thrasher; W k'Ow-, peck; Klamath (Barker 1963: 515) k'aW', to peck; (p. 483) gawi, bird sp.; (p. 506) gaW', to knock; Coos k!a^u-, to peck; k!a'wat, he pecks at it (Frachtenberg 1913: 20, 205)

*č'ubi, nit

W č'ubi, a nit on the head (unhatched louse)

PH t'ubi, nit

*č'ube, mouse, rat (271.)

W č'udeh, white-footed mouse, fieldmouse, rat; cf. č'u(·)pč'u(·)bukus, striped chipmunk; P t'Ob-, pointed, pierce with sting, suck; č'opči, the skin hide of bird, mole, small rodent, etc. < č'Op, peel, skin, flay

NT-M choo-dé', GT-M choo-be-lahk, white-footed mouse (*Peromyscus*)

PCC, K t'ubes, rat, woodrat, any rat

PR t'ubes, rat, mouse

SP-M too'-běh, round-tail woodrat

The d/b correspondence is irregular. The W and NT forms may be due to folk-etymology on the basis of a form such as W č'u·da, to sit on the haunches (see PW *q^hud)

*č'uduk, woodpecker sp., red-breasted sapsucker ?; cf. *č^huday, woodpecker sp.

W č'uduk, yellow-bellied sapsucker, small woodpecker

NT-M choo-dook, red-breasted sapsucker (*Sphyrapicus ruber*)

N-C chu-dúk, red-headed woodpecker sp.

PR t'udutt^hu, red-breasted sapsucker, woodpecker (Nuttall's ?, hairy ?)

PK-M too-dit'too-dit', hairy woodpecker

*č'u·l-i/u, pour, spill

W č'u·l-, pour, č'u·l-i/u, nominal and imperative stems; č'ul-, spill, dump

PK t'u·li/u-, pour

PR t'u·li/u-, spill, pour

cf. PH-U tu·lta, leak, drip; Alsea k'lah-, go out, emerge; k'lah-ayu:, mouth of a river (Golla 1997: 162)

*č'ulaq, bush sp.

W č'ula·q, blue deer brush, blue flowering deer brush, chaparral, ceanothus

PCC, C t'olak, steeple bush (*Angelica* sp.?)

cf. Alsea su:lhaʔk, grass (Golla 1997:165)

*č'u·n-u, urine, urinate

W č'u·n, to urinate; č'u·nus, urine

N-BP č'u·na, urine

PK t'unu, to urinate; H-B t'u·nu, urine

SP-M 'too-no, urine

*č'up, *č'u·p, sharp point, bone awl; to sprout; cf. *tep-i/u, emerge, sprout, cross (meet)

W č'u·p, sharp point, awl, needle; č'u·ba, to be sharp-pointed; č'upe·, to sprout, plants to grow, to teethe; č'upč'upa, to be thorny

N-K bu'li-chūp, Bally Choop, peak sharp (name of a mountain)

PCC, K t'up, (bone) awl, point on end of pole for spearing, made of hard bone; t'up, thorns, stickers (spines of porcupine, plants, etc.); t'upo·, to sharpen a point

PT-U t'upti, something is growing

PR t'u·p, t'up, bone awl; t'upuk, sharp, pointed

cf. PMy *c'ub', with reflexes including: long, narrow, like a narrow channel, pointed, sharp; *c'up, with reflexes including: point-first, to bore with pointed things, sharp-pointed, sharp; pricked, long, pointed, to stab with pointed object; Central Sierra Miwok čup:a-, to point a stick with axe; Sierra Popoluca cu:pa, sharp; Totonac (Papantla) č'upa, to nail it in something; Classical Nahuatl tzopīnīa, to prick, jab, puncture; Pipil tsupina, to prick; Choctaw chufak, a nail, a spike, an awl; Tarahumara chu-pá, point; Quechua tupuli, the needle; cf. also PMy *c'ub', to kiss, to suck; Maidu c'obot/c'opot, to kiss; Northern Yokuts c'o:po:, to kiss; Zuni cʔuphi, to kiss; Tunica čúhpa, to kiss, caress, suck; Zoque (Copainala dialect) čupsu, suck; Terraba šup, suck; Quechua čupana, suck (all from Brown 1990: 22, who observes that some or all of the last three may be borrowed from Spanish chupar, to suck)

*č'up-u, wade

W č'upe, č'upu-, to wade, ford a river

PCC, R t^hupu-, wade

*č'ur ?, calf

W č'uhčir, calf of leg (dissimilation r>h ?; see also PW *č^hi-r; cf. č'Oy-, sprawl); M choo'-e-tam'-mus, winter moccasins for men

N-C chú-i, leg; cf. M choo'-pik, lower arm

PK t'u·bu, calf, shinbone

PR t'u·bu, shin; folk-etymology with t'up, sharp point ? see *č'up

*č'ur-, *č'uru(C)č'uruC, cricket

W č'uruč'urut, č'u·rč'urut, field cricket (*Gryllus*); cf. č'or-, backbone, fin; č'oro·ya, for a whole bunch of salmon to be with their backbone fins sticking out, for lots of things to be sticking up like a fish fin

PK ture·s, big brown grasshopper; K, T tortor, cricket

PR č'urumč'urum, cricket (irregular)

*č'us, wood ? pestle?

W č'u·s, wood, stick, club, log

PK t'usa, pounding rock, pestle (same as walking stick); PT-U, PA-U, t'usa, pestle

cf. PMis *šyš·y-, wood (Callaghan 2001: 324)

*č'us, fishbone

W č'uses, whitefish; a special white fish, very bony

PR-U t'us, fish bone

*č'ut, vulva

W č'u·t, vulva; č'ute·, to have a fat vulva

PK t'ut, cunt

*č'uy-u, suck

W xun-č'uyu·qa, to suck something out

PCC, K, T, R t'uyuluk, hummingbird; CC also t'oyuluk

cf. PUA *cun, suck

*č'uC-, straight; cf. *č'ur ?, calf

W tu-č'uye·qa, to stretch out, straighten one's legs (cf. č'uy, eel)

PK t'ur-, make straight; t'ul-, straight (not crooked)

PR t'u·ru-, be straight, straighten, aim

d

*-da, first person subject (verbal suffix) (424.1); cf. *-da, relational nominal suffix;

*-di, let, hortative

W -da, first person subject marker (verbal suffix)

N-W ?elewda t'ipnada, I'm not talking Indian. I don't understand. BW da, I

PCC -le(da), I'll ...; -bu(da), let's all ... (first person inclusive); K -leda, I'll

*-da, relational nominal suffix (512.31); cf. *-da, first person subject

W -da, intensifier (“very, from”); suffix on adverbs of time (hima·da, a little while ago; le·nda, yesterday)

PCC, R -da, with (na·da, with me; mi·da, with you); PA-U seritada loytada hara·bus, that’s a boy and a girl [boy-with girl-with going]

PC -da, comitative case (Whistler 1977)

SP-G alei mi da, go with [go-I’ll you with]

cf. PMy *t’a, in, on, at, to (preposition) (Brown 1990: 58)

*dal, flat; cf. *daw, front; *dala, leaf

W -da(·)l, location, in the direction of, to; low, lowland at the foot of anything < -da (see *-da) + ?el (see *?el)

Perhaps originally two distinct morphemes: da(·)l < *-da + *?el, in the direction of; and *dal, lowland (flat); cf. sal-, dal, leaves; deleq, deleq, plate

PCC dalak, thin, flat; dala·to, (flatten out), flat (only, i.e., not thin) of a surface

cf. PR dabak, thin

*dala, leaf; cf. *dal, flat

W dalas, leaf or leaves in any state: green or dry; twigs with green leaves; flower petals

N-M dal’-lah, dal-lah’, leaf

PCC, K dala·, leaf, leaves

PR-B dali, leaf

*dam, bet; cf. *dal, flat

W dama·, bet, wager, usually by putting something down (possibly < dam, put in indicated direction); cf. tam-, bet

N-G tami, big time

PCC, K, R dam, gambling bone

*daq, acorn meal

N-M dahk’, acorn meal before or after leaching (probably [daq])

PCC, K, R dak, acorn flour, acorn meal

cf. W dayi, salmon flour; dampaq, soak acorn meal < dam, pour, dump + paq, benefactive

*daq, burn

*daq-č^h-i/u, with mediopassive

W daqal, be burned, be scorched; daqča, to be hot; cf. t’aqiqa, to be in pain; t’aqiqma·, to hurt, be painful (as burn or open wound)

N-BW dah-, sweat

PK daka·ro, burning; pi dakčuro, it’s burnt up; PCC, R dikt^hi/u-, burn

cf. Alsea tq’wli:k’-, to be warm; tkali:lc’-, to burn, build a fire; Siuslaw tqal-, warm (Golla 1997: 166)

*daw, feast; cf. *dal, flat; *daw, front

W daw, fat meat (as from the ribs of deer); dawina, to dish out food, put food before people, give to eat to a stranger, to serve food and be hospitable; cf. daw, be or make round and flat; front, in front

PK, R dawo-, dinner, feast

*daw, front; cf. *dal, flat; *daw, feast

*ʔol-daw, be face up

W daw, be or make round and flat; front, in front; ʔol-dawa, be face up; cf. taw, flat, lay flat on; taw, spread, blanket, saddle, covering, underwear, showshoes

N-G dao'têdê, earrings; dauheimê, dance leader; M daw-tak-le, sole; dautede, bivalve shell, perhaps small clams (came from a distance)

PK daw, in front; it's outside; dawpa, front side; puybe daw wilak, Sacramento Valley (east out valley); CC, K ʔol-da-wi, turned up, face up

*dehe·la ? *damha·l- ? bat; cf. *dih, spread open

W dehela, bat, dark, gray color (dehela· ?); tehe·las (g), tehelah (p), bat; cf. de·h, be in a position with wings outstretched, de·ha, sailing (in air), gliding with outstretched wings; dEh, two halves spread wide; dEk-, climb, step; te·h-, sail, float, spread

N-C dé·he·la, bat (sailing); M dā·hā'-laht, barn swallow (*Hirundo*), cliff swallow (*Petrochelidon*)

PR damha·lay, damha·le, bat

W and N may have folk-etymologized

*dek, climb, step; cf. *dih, spread open; *t'eqel, palm

*dek-m, climb something (with *-m, inanimate comitative)

W dEk-, dika, climb, step; dekma-, to cause to climb, step up; dekma, to climb while carrying something (climb with), to step up on

N-G dehke, man who climbs trees to get nuts; T-M dek'-nah pōm, footprint; BW dEkna-, walk

PCC, R deč-, det-, to climb; H hale detmu, I'm going (in order to) climb it; cf. PR č'anda-k-, step over

cf. Alsea ti:k-, rise to the surface, (person) gets up; Hanis Coos tlk-, stand up (Golla 1997: 165)

*-di, let, hortative (424.2); e.g., see *be·-di under *bey; cf. *-da, first person subject

W -di, hortative, may, let (e.g., hardi, may he go, let him go)

PCC, K, R -di, let him, let them

*dibił, roll, turn; cf. *dir-, roll; *dil-i, fall; *t'er ?, tend in indicated direction; *t'ir, twist; *tep, emerge

W dibiłta, to turn (around, intr.); cf. se-depča, to turn inside out; depča, to gut tipi·łta, to turn over, turn upside down; tipiłta, to turn over (tr.), turn around and go in the opposite direction; biłel, to be turned (as a wrist)

PK dibilharo, rolling around (many times); dibiltoro, roll over once; CC dibilho, to roll around

PR dibilta, dibiltoro, one year

*dih, spread open; cf. *dehe·la ?, bat; *dek, climb

W dEh-, two halves spread wide; de·ha, sailing (in air), gliding with outstretched wings; se-dihalar wint^hu· biyabe· nom ?ukin, the people (corpses) lie there in the west, split apart at the pelvis; cf. dEk-, climb, step

PCC di·hi, cave, hole, animal holes, burrows; K also vagina; K dihi, home

PR di·hi, hole, home, village

SP-M de'·he, Sonoma town (place) (any village)

*dih ?, *dir ?, rub; cf. *dir, roll

W dihe·, to rub, massage; cf. di·t, wipe; dit, scrape

N-S tiiha, rub

PCC dirt^hu/i-, rub (roll on ?)

*dil-i, fall; cf. *t'al-a, fall

W dile, to fall; xan-dilma·, to lose one's relatives ("they're dropping off on one")

N-BW dila-, fall, drop; dilma-, lose

PCC dili-, lose (in game only ?)

PR dili, to lose (a game)

*dir, *dił, roll; cf. *dibił, roll, turn; *t'al-a, fall; *t'ir, twist; *dih ?, rub; *t'er-i, make round

W dir-, roll, wrap

N-B dīLa, string

PK diła·, to roll or twist twine (on knee); CC to roll up string (on knee); diła·, bowstring

PR di·r-, dir-, dił-, roll up (string)

If N is borrowed from P, only *dir may be reconstructible

*dok, neck ?; cf. *dol, throat; *holhol, throat; *dol, put long object around; *doqo, arrow, flint, obsidian

W doki, neck, throat

PT do·kuro, stick head out

Irregular. Cf. W toq, to be like a post, stand up anything long; toqi·qi, backbone, when on living body or skeletal; toqi·qit, spine

cf. Alsea tkwu:fn- (or tuku:fn-), to stick (e.g., arrows) into something (Golla 1997: 165)

*dol ?, put long object around; cf. *dok, neck ?; *dol, throat; *holhol, throat

W dOl-, dula·, to tie, wrap string

N-S dolaa, tie
 PT do-ruma, put necklace on

*dol, throat; cf. *holhol, throat; *holoq, hole; *qo(·)l, mouth; *dok, neck ?

N-W dol, neck
 P doldol, throat

*dop-u, cut notches; cf. *doqo, arrow

W dOp-, dupa-, to cut, slice, saw

N-G dopna, tattooing

PCC dobu/i-, cut a row of notches in

cf. PMy *tob', *top', with reflexes including: to break, to dislocate a joint, saw a log, cut in half; Lake Miwok túupa-, to break horizontally, cut, be broken; Wappo t'óphi?, cut with scissors, prune; Zoque (Francisco Leon) topsu, it is cut all around; Tonkawa topo, to cut (it) off, to cut (it) to bits; Natchez top'hukus, to cut in two (all from Brown 1990: 50)

*doq-, happy

N-BW duuku-, be happy (unless k represents [q], this may be a loan from P or vice versa]

PH-B ʔodo·ki-, to be happy

*doqo, arrow, flint, knife, obsidian; cf. *dok, neck ?, *dop-u, cut notches

W doqos, obsidian, arrow

N-B doko, arrow

PCC, K doko·, point, stone knife, any knife, spearhead, arrowhead, flint, obsidian

PT-U doko·, knife, obsidian, flint; PA-U, doko, knife, flint

cf. Lowland Mayan *to:k'; PMy *toq', *t'óq', with reflexes including: flint, to let blood, flint stone, fire rock; Nisenan tok, pointed, sharp (Brown 1990: 37-38)

*doy-i/u, give

W dOy-, duya-, doy-i/u, to give

N-S doya, give; G do, imp.; B dūr'-yu-pu-di, gift dance

PCC, K, R doyi/u-, to give

PR doyu, to give, you give!

doyi, to give

mile doyu·t^hi, you folks give!

pi mis pe-s doyum, what did she give you?

PCC ʔew lo-yta nat k'eni doyusa, that woman gave me a basket

PK mit č^hu doyu-ro, I loan/gave it to you

pi nat doyusa, he gave it back to me

PT-U doyi, gift, give

PT-B doyu, to give

*doy-u, give (imp.)

W doyu-, imperative stem; doyu-t, give it to me!

PH-U doyu?, give (imp.)

PR (mi) doyu, you give!

doyu nat/?ut, give it to me/her!

*doy-u-le, going to give

W doyule, will give

PR ?es mis doyule, I'll give you this

*doyu-na·, give (to) oneself

W doyuna·, to give oneself, give to oneself, tame (animals), beg

PH-U doyuna·nta, he's giving up, giving self away

*du-?, tu-?, carry

W tOw-, tuwa·, to hold, carry in hand or arms

PCC, K duh-, du·-, pack, carry on back

PR duh-, pack on back

cf. PUA *tu, carry pl. objects

*dum, dip; cf. *qum, dip

W dumča, to bathe (intr.), take a bath

PT-U du·mus, dip in water (people or things)

*dum, angelica

W du(·)m, edible greens sp., ginseng, Angelica

PK ho·ldom, angelica, angelica root; T, CC holdom, angelica root

PR holdum, dum, Angelica root; holdum, Angelica root, poisonous var. ?; cf.

Wintu xalah, wild onion or potato

*duq, promise ? beg?

W duqa·, to promise

PR du·ki/u, beg

PA-U duki, borrow

cf. W t^huqa, trade, swap, borrow; perhaps originally two separate roots *duq and *t^huq, which have merged in P.

*duq-?a, bad

W dOq-, duqa·, be good for nothing, no good, miserable, a tease, funny or queer; doqit, nominal form

PCC duk'a, bad (< *duk?a ?) (feel bad, taste bad, be a bad hunter, smell bad, etc.)

PT-U duk'ama, bad

e

*-e, *-e·, realis stem-deriving suffix (423.24)

See: *ʔel-e, weave; ʔup-e, drink/eat acorn mush with fingers; *ber-e, be hungry, starve (under *per-i/u); *p'it̄-e, choose, *qer-e·, belch; *t^hul-e, swim

*-e·, let's (424.4)

W hare·, let's go

SP-M har'-rā, go away

*-e-l, *-el, locative, toward, in (horizontally ?) (512.32); cf. *ʔel, in horizontally

W -e-l, toward, in (kele-l, far; wayti nome-l, up the hill to the northwest; ʔole-l, up, above)

PCC nome-l, to the west; sanome-l, sundown

SP-M no-mel'-te, west

wi-yel'-te, north

h

*-h, *-s, intensive verb-derivational suffixes ? (423.31)

W -h, stative intransitive intensive denominal verb-derivational suffix, “to be..., to be like...”

-s, intensive derivational verb suffix

PCC -ho (-so, -o), verbalizer

-ho (-to, -ko), plurality and temporality “distributives” (Whistler 1981:88 states that “*-o/-o would presumably be historically related to the auxiliary base -ho, which functions, considerably less productively than ʔa, as a theme-derivational suffix”)

*hak-i, up-and-down movement

W hak-, move like a lizard, up and down, squirm, energetic movements; hakiča, be industrious, diligent; cf. *ha, movement

PCC, K hač^himen, daddy-long-legs; CC hači, sieve; hačiho, to winnow, to sieve (with up and down motion)

PR wahakčemen, daddy-long-legs

SP-A jake, molars

*hal, think

*halhal, repetitive or prolonged thinking

N-S halaa, think; H halhal, think about it, PS ha-l, think

PCC, K hali/u-, think; CC halhala, think

PR hali/u-, think; B halaknan, to remember

*hal-a, whisper

W ʔel-halapta, to whisper something to someone; cf. hala, to whistle

PCC halaka, to whisper

*ham ?, sam ?, black oak acorn

N-G samtcı iuw, black oak acorn

PR hamsu, Q. kelloggii acorn

*handop-, kingsnake

W handokmet, ha·ndopmet, kingsnake

NGT-M hahn'-dō'-pit, king or milk snake (*Ophibolus boyli*)

PR hantapıl, kingsnake; B handapıl, kingsnake

*hap-a, dig ? pick up ?

W hapa:, to dig with a tool, dig deep holes; cf. napa, to gather or pick acorns

N-S hapa, dig; cf. N-BW aa-, gather

PK, R hap-, hapa-, gather, pick up (off the ground)

PCC, K, R kapi/u-, dig

*haqa, ankle

W haqam, ankle, elbow; *haq, jointed (as of elbow or ankle); haqa, elbow; haqal, elbows (dual)

PR haka, ankle

cf. Alsea haqa:n-t'xws, knee ? (< 'ankle-top') (Golla 1997: 161)

*ha·q-a, suspect; fear a loss

W ha·q-, suspect, have suspicion, be afraid of theft or loss; ha·qas biyak, they always suspect someone

PCC, R ha·ka, jealous

*har-a:, to go (verb), andative auxiliary "going to" (421.3)

W hara:, to go, move away from speaker; progressive auxiliary

PK hara:, going

mi hara·t'isay, are you gonna go?

pi nop hara·bus, that deer is gone

PCC winis č^hu č^haket winma hara·ma, I see a lot of people going

hima ʔaro nay hara·ʔa pile ʔele· besa, whenever I go, there's nobody there

hara·t'is ču, I'm gonna take off

pi yeme·na pi k'ayu·ro haras, he's walking along that trail

PR hara, going

č^hu harat'i, I'm going

ʔelhara, to sink

SP-M choo' har-rah'-bo-te, I'm going, I'm going to go

*har, imperative stem; go!

W har, go!, go (imperative stem)

PK, PR har, go!

PCC har, to go

SP-M hahr", go!

*hara-s, (a) going (noun)

W haras, nominal stem (going)

PCC haras, going (unmarked tense, declarative mode)

haras pi pa-l, he's going now

so-kunana ču haras, I'm gonna go wash myself

t^hi-rma č^hu lewisi haras, I'm going (in order) to gig fish

k'i-r puytuka haras, clouds are moving east

yelharas pi ʔu-t, following somebody

PR pi k'ana- haras, he went to sleep

ʔete-ta wi-ta haras, one man left

PK hara-s, gone (cf. -sa in: le-nč^hul č^hu harasa, yesterday I went)

*ha-le, I'll go, we'll go

W hale, let's all go

PK č^hu hale, I'm going

PCC hale, let me go (one)

ʔow hale, ok, I'll go (I'll get out of the way)

PR pučelta hale, I'm going to the camp

hale nepel, we (two) are going

hale, I'll go

PT-U hale yolo, I'm going in a little while

SP-A jalei tummi, I will go piss

*har-m-, take/bring something inanimate

W harma, to go along doing something; take something along

PCC harme, to take (inanimate)

po hiŋi- harmeta-, who took my beads?

PK pi pe- harmebus, he's taking something

harme, take it!

harmero, bringing

PT-U kalŋeya harmesa pi, he took it out (garbage, lots of things)

PR ʔes čaket harme, you take everything, take all of it!

*harhar-a-, many go

W harhara-, many to go

PCC p'ata- harharas, sparks flying

*har-e-, let's go

W hare-, let's go

SP-M har'-rā, go away

*ha-sme, yawn

W ha:sma, yawn, to keep on yawning; ha:smena-, to yawn once, sigh

PCC ha:sme, to yawn

*haw-a·l, wrap around; cf. *naw, robe

W haw-, wrap around, (a)round, coil, lasso, coil rope; e.g., xun-hawa·luna, to coil (of a snake before it strikes); doki·n hawna·s, something coiled around the neck; se-hawa, to uncoil; hawi·la, to go around many times; cf. hay, revolve

PK hawa·l, rabbit skin

*ha·w, fox

W ha·w, fox

N-BW haw, fox

PCC, K, T, R ha·w, fox

SP-M haw'-oo, how'-o, gray fox

cf. Mim Ah-wáh-ke, gray fox (from Merriam), PYnim *ʔaw'č^ha- fox (Callaghan 2001: 325); Palewyami Ow'-chah, fox (Berman 2002, from Merriam)

*he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative root (610.); cf. *hen, arrive; *ho-, past demonstrative; *qa, referential

W hE-, demonstrative-interrogative root (occurs as: hek-, hen-, hest-, he·s-, hi, hid-, him-, his-, hiw-); cf. *hE, stand (in: hEk, stand, hEy, stand bending)

N-BW hesem, how much? how many?; hiya, another

PR he·ła, where; he·ti, where from; he·tuka, where to
hič^hahta, few; how many

PCC he·ti, from someplace

he·tuka harmuʔa ka t^hayču, where's my grandson, I wonder where he is

he·ła ka harmuʔa pi wi·ta, I wonder where that man is

PK he·tipa he·ti he·ti, where are you? where are you?

he·toka mi harasay, where are you going?

PT-B he·ła, where

SP-M hā^{ch}-lah, where

cf. PM *hesi, what, something, any; PYn *han'-ta, what?; PMi *hin-ti, what, something; PU *hin-ṭi, what? (Callaghan 2001: 329)

*heke, where

W hek-, who, which one; heke, which (indicative stem as though a verb); where, to where, anywhere; hekem, whom, anyone; heker, by whom, by someone

N heke hara, where you going? (“Glenn County” Nomlaki form given to Whistler by PCC speaker Harry Lorenzo)

PCC hekuła, when, where

PR hekeła, where, anywhere

*heket, which specific one

W heket, who, someone, anyone, any, someone unknown

PR-U heketta, which one?

*hel, bank of rock or soil; cf. *hul, cave in; *q'ilaq, dirt

W hEl-, hilal, rocks and dirt to cave in (stative); hilalas, a mountain slide of dirt, a caved-in spot; hele·ya, to cave in (cf. hik, heap, mound, push or pile something into a heap or row, rake, hoe, scrape, also cave in, fall down, from a heap, such as dirt, etc., from hEk, stand, stoop)

PCC, K heli, cliff, bank of river

*hen, arrive; cf. *he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative root

W hEn-, hina, to arrive, come home

N-PS hena:, to come; BW hen-, return

PH, R hen-, to arrive

*hene-s, arriving (nominal form)

W henes, arriving (nominal stem)

PCC po henes, somebody came

PT-U henes ču, I'm arriving

PR-U henes ču, I arrived

*hen-le, going to arrive

W henle, going to arrive; let's all stop there!

PK č^hu peła henle, I'm coming over sometime

*hen-m-e, bring; i.e., arrive with (with inanimate comitative)

W henma, bring; henme-, imperative stem

PCC pi henmen han ʔinisa, used to come bringing it

PK he·nmero, bringing

PT-U henme, bring

PR č^hu henmes, I brought that along, I brought it back

*hen-pa ? *hen-paq ? meet (with benefactive)

W henpaq, visit, come to see

PCC henpa, to meet

t^ho-ł henpap'iri, [mountain] pass (mountains come together, mountains meet each other)

*-her, passive (421.5); cf. *her, help

*-here-s, nominal form

W hEr-, passive; -heres, nominal form

PCC, K -her, passive; CC t^hepheres pi nat, let them hit me

PR -hor, passive ?; ʔarohoro be-, it's already tied

cf. PCC he-r, to reach; CC, K her-, he-r-, get

*her, help; cf. *her, passive

N-BW Elhilci/u-, help

PCC, K, R hero-, help

*her-u, motion back and forth; cf. *hil, slice, cut with swinging motion

W hEr, row, paddle, swim with overhead strokes; heruna, to make the characteristic swimming movements with the arms; cf. hir, fire, burn, conflagration (perhaps fire drill motion); hay, spin, twirl; hil, swing arms; sir-, copulate; yEr-, scrape, slow back and forth motion

PK heru-, saw

*hesi ? *hisi ? dance type

W hisi, Hisi dance; hise-, to dance Hisi

N-K hisi tcono, type of dance (two singers in front of dancers)

PK, R hesi, Hesi dance

Since the P Hesi is unrelated to the W and N Hisi dance, the resemblance of the names may be coincidental. Alternatively, the Patwin may have applied an inherited term to a new dance.

*het, sudden escape of water; cf. *q^hat, *q^hot ?, wet

W hEt, break through a dam, said of water (cf. hat, escape, said of water when it has been dammed); hital, water having broken through dam; hete·ya, all coming out in places

PCC hetba·ki/u, the emotion one has at seeing something new or odd or startling: surprised, startled

*hil, slice, cut with swinging motion; cf. *hila·y, swing arms; *her-u, motion back and forth

W hil-, cut grass in swinging motion

PCC hele-to, to slice one (meat, etc.) (a very thin cut), to slice off; he·lko, to slice off (pl.)

*hil-a·y, swing arms; cf. *hil, slice, cut with swinging motion

W hila·ya, standing and waving arms

hila·yuna·, to spread (as straw), air to spread, spirit to spread air; cf. hil-, cut grass in swinging motion, move hands rhythmically to music (cf. hay, spin; hir, fire; sir, copulate); hila, to move arms rhythmically in a dance

PCC hela·yo, to swing the arms; helayho, arms pumping fast; hellay, scarf held by redcap dancers

PR hila·yo, to swing arms sideways (as when walking), also used for the motion of the arms of the women dancers

*hi·n, owl sp.

W hi·nwah (p), hi·nway (g), great horned owl

N-BW hunkut, owl

PCC hi·n, like a hawk, goes out in the field, flying low, doesn't look like an owl, smaller than ?ele?ele; Whistler 1976e CC transcription of Merriam: hi·n, short-eared owl

*hinu-, careful ? reluctant?

N-BW hinuuna-, be careful

PCC hinu-ro, reluctant; hini, “didn’t want to do it”; cf. PCC hinumatu, a brave man

Possibly a borrowing between N and P

*ho(·) ?, yes

W ho·, yes

N-BW ho, yes

PCC ʔow, okay, yes, alright; K also ʔo·, okay

PR ʔoʔ, ʔow, yes; ʔoʔ-, ʔoh-, agree

SP-M o’-re, yes; o’-oo (or o’‘), all right; A uh, yes

Widespread areal term and probably not a good set

*ho-, past demonstrative, old, already, long ago, former (620.); cf. *he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative; *hom, alone

W ho(·)n(-), old, already, long ago, early, formerly, before

N-M ho’-nah po’-men, long ago; BW hon’na, before; hoon, soon; when?

PCC, R hoya, long ago, formerly; CC hoyaʔu, already; R howel, old man

PK hoyʔo, already

hoyono bes sobok, old time rancheria (one of a long time ago)

PR hoya, long time ago

hoyabe nok’o, old arrowhead

hoyayet, long long ago, way way back

PR-B hoya, formerly

cf. Northern Sierra Miwok hoja-ʔa-, old ways, old times; hoj-a-, old, old-time, to go first, to go ahead (Callaghan 1987: 75, 76)

*hok, raise; *k’ok, brace

W hokelta, to jump from standing; hokepta, to jump along with short jumps; hoko-ra, to trot

PR hoč^hu, to raise (something) off the ground

*hol ? *hoyel ? roll

W-DL paŋi holholma-n, at Pounded-rolls-down, myth. placename

PR hoyeloho, it’s rolling (inanimate and animate); hoyelto, to move a little sideways, to shove sideways; hoyelaho, rolling, tumbling (intr.)

cf. W xun-xudurta, (head) to roll to house (myth.); ksil(a), roll; se-xosuna, roll on ground; kuyurta, roll; xuta·, slide on behind

cf. PUA *ol, ball

*holol, sunshine; cf. *qul, flame ?

W holol, sun to shine, sunshine; W-M hol’-lo-lus, sunshine

N-H holol, daytime; M po’-hōl-lōl’, today

PK holol, pretty hot

*holol-č'V·r/d-, cicada

W holol č'e-rus, sunshine rattler, cicada, summer locust bug

N-M ho-lōl-tsaḥ'-dit, cicada

PK holo(·)l č'a-dit, cicada, "hot bug" (may be borrowed from N, in which case this is not a good set)

*holhol, throat; cf. *dol, throat; *holoq, hole; *qo(·)l, mouth; *dok, neck ?

W holhol, windpipe, throat, trachea (cf. holo, dark; ho·la, pipe)

SP-M hōl-hal-lah, throat

*holoq, hole; cf. *holhol, throat; *qo(·)l, mouth; *dol, throat; *dok, neck ?

W holoq, hole

N-BW holoq, hole; M ho-lo'-men, grave in the ground

PCC holi, hole; holu, to make a hole; PK holok, vagina

PR holok, any hole, den of fox, skunk, badger, etc.

cf. PMy *xol, *ho:l, *xo:l, with reflexes including: hole, door, cave; Northern Sierra Miwok hol:aw-y-y, hole, cave, burrow; ?ol:a-, hole in ground; Plains Miwok hol:aw, opening, tunnel, manhole, chuckhole; Lake Miwok hóllu, a hollow; Central Sierra Miwok ?ól:a-, to dig a hole; Tarahumara ho-ri, hole (ho, to dig); Mayo ho:roi, hole; Cayapa hura, hole, hollow (all from Brown 1990: 35)

*holow, haunt

W holowa, to scare, haunt

N-G holówîna, if in a nightmare someone is about to kill you; holowît, spirit

PCC, T holow, to haunt, ghost to spook someone

*hoł ? *heł ? loose; cf. *hil, slice, cut with swinging motion

W hołma:, to loosen a tooth; se-huła, tooth to be loose

PCC hełek, loose (like a ring on the finger)

*hom, alone; cf. *ho-, past demonstrative

W -ho, -hom (g), -hon (p gen.), -hot (p), only, just, but

PCC t^hiho·m, all alone; K tihom, t^hihom, alone, by oneself; mi boho·m, you by yourself

PR-B tehom, alone; PT-U, tiho·m, alone

*homo·-, buzzing insect sp.

W homo-wa, hamowah, bumblebee; cf. hub, swarm (of bees); ?ol-tepuma k'alal humčit, spring bee (Anthophora)

PCC homotay (homo-tay?), the sound of the fly? name of fly?; PH humu·makay, bumblebee

PR homo·tay, housefly

Widespread, sound-symbolic term; cf. Plains Miwok hom·om·a·je-, house fly (Callaghan 1984: 251); Achumawi ham'-mo-moo'-mah, blue fly (Merriam as quoted in Olmsted 1966: 148); PUA *mu, fly (insect); *mumu, *meme, bee

Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMie *homo-, a fly.

*ho-n, *hu-n ?, unpleasant emotion, crazy

W hu-n, something that makes one go crazy; cf. M paht-hoon, forest (pat, “out”)

PCC honok’a, lonesome, sad; K ho-noka-, sad; H-U ho-nok-ʔaro, angry

PR honok’aro, being lonesome, worrying about being alone, worrying about somebody

*ho-...-q, *hu-...-q ?, tadpole

W muyhuyuk, muyhuyu-q, tadpole

N-M ho-möhl’-duk, pollywog; G hunô’ldu, pollywog

PCC hopodok, tadpoles; K hopodik, tadpole, pollywog

PR hopodik, tadpole

*hor-i/u, remain; cf. *huy, save

*hor-u-ma, save, leave behind

W hura-, to be left over, remain, be the only one left, be the last of, be left behind; horuma-, to leave a little bit behind; yel-hura, yel-hure, to outgrow, be spoiled, broken; yel-horuma-, to break, destroy

PCC, K hori/u, to save; K horumaro, leave behind, what’s left, left-over; CC horuma nat, save me

*hosop, light in weight

W hosopa, to be light in weight (Pitkin suggests derivation from *hos, generic aspect of ho, only, just; he also lists kosopas, light in weight (generic); cf. hol, light)

PT, R hosok, light

PCC hepeke, light in weight

*how, to snake, watersnake ?; cf. *hulilVk, snake sp.

W hOw-, rippling, lapping, swimming movement of fish, or of water itself, roiling; cf. hak, squirm; memhowolmet, water dog, water garter snake

PCC howe, watersnake; T huwe, snake; K howe, gopher snake ? (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

PR howe, gopher snake, bull snake

cf. Nisenan huwe·nana, we·nan, watersnake (Uldall & Shipley 1966: 274)

*hoy(..)oq, (slow?) bobbing movement

W xun-hoyokta, xun-hoyokpaq, to sneak up on; ʔol-hoyhoyokta, to go on tiptoe

PCC hoybok, to bob up and down; hoyboko, to bob up and down in water; PT-U hoyboko, to dip something up and down in water

*hu-, acorn sp.; cf. *hu-m, *hu-l, fat

N-G hulul, acorn sp.

PCC hum-t’aka-, Q. kelloggii

*hu- ? *hu·l ? *hu·n ?, wolf

NGT-M hoo' sed'-dit, big wolf [? - coyote]; cf. W hu·n, something that makes you go crazy ?

PCC, K, T, R hu·l, wolf

cf. Ybv hulapinsa-s, wolf; Mm helijene, wolf; PMi *hu·n, *hun·u, wolf (Callaghan 2001: 325)

*hul, cave in (tr.); cf. *hel, bank; *q'ilaq, dirt

W hul-, cave in, fall, roll backwards (cf. hEl-, cave in); hulal, to cave in (intr.), be caved in; hulel kirke-, the old landslide it must be

PCC p'o·k mem hulis, beavers are building a dam; p'o·k mem hulu·robes, beavers built a dam

cf. PMy *(h)u:l, with reflexes including: collapse, landslide, fall, earth that slides because of the rains, slope, gorge; Plains Miwok ho:lukse, to fall (tree), to crumble, to cave in; Lake Miwok hól/hó:l, to fall down (said of a tree), to be caved in (said of a road); Siberian Yupik ullegh-, to fall over; Luiseno hulúka/i, to fall, descend, to descend a hill; Quechua urmana, to fall (all from Brown 1990: 49)

*hulilVk, snake sp.; cf. *how, to snake

W nomel hulilek, Calif. mountain kingsnake (*Lampropeltis zonata*)

PR huli·p, snake (any)

PCC kudilik, water snake sp.; fast snake sp. that lives on dry ground (not in water)

PK kudilip, water snake, garter snake var. (probably Western gartersnake, aquatic variety); Whistler 1976e: K kudilip, water snake (*Thamnophis* sp.)

SP-M hoo·lip', snake (any), watersnake

cf. PK k^huḷipmen, probably striped racer; PCC k^husi·p, water snake sp., gopher snake

*humuq, *hut-i, warm oneself

W hute-, to warm oneself beside the fire

N-G tunhumukpa, sexual intercourse, "putting bodies together to get warm"; huh'-ti, type of contest, Huta (who could stand the most heat)

PCC humuku, warm (feeling, as by sitting by fire); p^ho· k'oḷta ham humukles, sit close to the fire so you'll get warm; hutu, (a person) is warmed up (from sitting next to a fire); hutis pile, they're getting warm; cf. PH-U huyp'it^ha, to make love ?

PR humukus, it's warm; humukusa-, real hot inside, stifling

cf. Yurok hum-, to sweat in a sweathouse (Robins 1958: 202)

*hu·m, *hu·l, fat

W hu·m, fat, grease; hu·l, fat (of a person)

N-S huum, fat, grease; H hu·lu, fat, fat meat

PCC hu·m, to be fat, greasy; hu·mu, fat (of person); hu·le, dough of pounded seeds of t'ini·k (*Calandrina* ? oily seeds); K hum-, be fat

PR hu·m, grease, fat

SP-M hoom', fat

*hur-u, sew

- W hure, huru-, to sew
 N-S huya, sew; BW huyut-, sew
 PCC huru-, to sew
 PR hur-, huru-, sew

*hur, full

- W hurma, to be full; hurmema-, to fill; qo·l hurmes, a mouthful of
 PK hura·č^haro, getting drunk
 PR hurac^ha-, drunk; PT-U hurčaa, drunk

*hu-s, buzzard

- W hu·s, buzzard
 N-B hūs, turkey buzzard
 PCC, K, R hu·s, buzzard; K, T, R turkey vulture
 SP hu-, turkey vulture (Whistler 1976e: A119)
 cf. PMis *hu·su-, buzzard, PYN *ho^h, buzzard, PM *hy·s, *hu·s, buzzard (Callaghan 2001: 325-6); PMy *ʔusex, *usex, *hos, with reflexes including: buzzard, black-headed buzzard, king vulture, carrion bird; Xinca husu, buzzard; Natchez ōshia/ósi, buzzard (Brown 1990: 35-36)

*huy, save; cf. *hor-i/u, remain

- W huye-, to save, hoard, pack
 PCC huya-, (pick something) and put it in one place to store away
 cf. SP-A “huimi” in: hueti chu mit huimi, I will go dump ... (vengo a verte) ?

i

*-i, nominalizing and neutral mode stem-deriving suffix (423.21)

- See *kay-i/u, shame; *koy-i/u, koy-i-ʔa, hurt, sick, want; *xed-i/u, fart; *k'ah-i/u, wind, wind blows; *k'eb-i/u, loosen by scratching; *lel-a/i/u, make; *wač-i/u, cry; *yal-i/u, leave; *ʔod-i/u-, itch, scratch

*-in, locative case (512.23)

- W -n, -in, locative; cf. -n, subordinating inflectional suffix, potential temporal simultaneity, “while”
 N-BW -in, in
 PCC, K, R -in, locative-instrumental case (cf. PHR -na, locative suffix)
 cf. Central Sierra Miwok -win, -in, -n, suffix forming adverbs indicating place where or time when (Berman 1983: 402)

k

*-k, completive (424.5); cf. *qa, referential

- W -k, completive
 PCC -ču, resultative or completed stative

*-k, vocative suffix (531.39)

W -k, vocative suffix

PH -k^he·, vocative suffix (Whistler 1980: 216) (combined *-k with *ye, vocative, before fronting could occur)

*kalay, gap; cf. *qo(-)l, mouth; *holoq, hole; *kan ?, *k'an ?, legs apart

W kalay, gap, among (cf. -kala·n, among); Pitkin suggests *kal, midst (?), perhaps *kala, to be in the midst (cf. ken, down, in)

N-K ka'i-pom-wa'i-kalai, name of a settlement

PK kalay, hole, ravine; cf. kabal mem, gap springs (kabal, a big canyon); irregularly not fronted, perhaps borrowed from N
Perhaps also double-fronted: taluk, gap, pass

*kan ?, *k'an ?, legs apart; cf. *kalay, gap

W kan-, have legs spread apart; cf. kaka·, crawl (Pitkin suggests < pre-Wintu *ka-, move); cf. č'an, (one) half, (one) side, symmetrical opposite of other half

PR č'anda·k-, step over something (perhaps a combination of inherited *kan- and borrowed Nomlaki č'an- side, half)

*kaw, basket (mortar); cf. *kan ? *k'an ?, legs apart

W kawi, big acorn basket, bottomless basket for pounding acorns; kawa·, to put both legs on basket for pounding acorns; cf. kawal, dawn, spreading

N-B k!awi, mortar basket

PCC, K kawi, mortar basket

Irregular and recently diffused; perhaps not a valid set

cf. Alsea ka:wł, basket; Siuslaw kauwił, fish basket; Hanis Coos ka:wıł, basket with handles (Golla 1997:161)

*kay-i/u, shame

W kaya·, to be ashamed; kayi-, nominal stem; kayu-, imperative stem

N-BW kaya-, be ashamed

PCC čayi, in-law; K č^hayi, in-laws; č^hayi/u-, be ashamed

*ke-, have, own, get; cf. *k^he, deictic

N-BW keh-, obtain

PCC čeme·, to get, to own; čeli·, to get, to own (animate)

PR-B čeli·, to have

Perhaps also:

PK pi č^hume·ro, his stuff

*kel-, far, travel; cf. *k^he, deictic

W kele·l, far, long

N-C kě-le-la, long; BW kEIEI, far

PCC čel-, to wander about

PK č^hel-, be around

PR-U pi čelni, he was around long ago
 pi čeh, he's around
 pi če-s, pi če-sa, he was around

cf. Alsea xlu:m-, to travel, move; p-xlm-i:s-, to go in a certain direction; Siuslaw xIntm-, to travel (Golla 1997: 166)

*kepkep, shake

W kEp-, knock on something, bang on something, sift; ʔel-kepke-pa, to bang on continually, to knock continually; ʔol-kepke-pa, to sift and resift

PCC čepečepeho, brush or pat one's clothes (to clean them off)

*ker-u, finish off, gone

W keruma, to finish, stop, after having ... (cf. keruma, to slaughter, hack to pieces)

PCC čeru, to be gone; čeru-ro, every last one; čeruwili, kill them off

PR-U čerima yoriʔa, Saturday, last day of work

*kid-i ? *k'id-i ? straight

W k'id-, be in a straight line, be an edge, rim, barrier; cf. k'ič, put across; tu-k'idi, rim, edge

PCC, R či·di/u-, stretch (oneself, wire, string, etc.), be straight, lined up; K č^hi·di/u-

*kik-i, frost

W kiki, frost, ice

PCC čači, ice; K č^hač^hi, frost, ice

PT-U, PL-U, čači, ice

Irregular vowel correspondence

*kim-u-r, rumble, roar

W kumu-ra, to make noise, waterfall to roar, stomach to rumble; ku-ma, to roar (waterfall, wings, etc.)

PCC kimi, K k^himi/u-, k^himu-ro, thunder; also K k'umurharo, growl, perhaps merged with *q'or, growl

PR kimi·r, thunder

Assimilation in W to kumu-r-, in P to kimi-r- ?

*kip, pull or throw up; cf. *qir, pull

W ʔol-kipa, to throw upwards; ʔol-kipama, to tip over (tr.); cf. kipča, to roll, tr.; puyti kipča, to turn or roll over; t^hup-, pull out

PCC čiplo·ki/u, to pull up when released (as a snare), to whip back; to pull up and toss away (the pulled down branch springs back and tosses him)

*kip-, headband; cf. *kip-Vl, roll; *dibił, roll

W kipa·namas, headdress

PK tipilis, headband

*kip-VI, roll, run continuously

W kip-, roll (puyti kipča, to turn or roll over; kipulma-, to roll; kipkipča, to roll)

PA-U čipel-, čipil-, run a race

*kol, join, perimeter; possibly *k^hol; cf. *kol-i, something joined

W kOl, joint, join, edge, perimeter, rim; kolit, joint; cf. koluma, trail to divide, two trails to meet

N-BW koli, foot (cf. W may-kolča, to measure tracks by putting foot on footprint < kOl)

PK pi yeme č'upa-ro bes č^holpella, the road is finished on both sides

cf. PMi *kolo, PCo *kolo, PU *kolo, foot; PY *kalas-a, lower leg (Callaghan 2001: 320)

*kol-i, something joined, added on to perimeter < *kol, join, perimeter; possibly *k^hol-i; cf. *qo(·)la, hide, buckskin; *koro, net; *q^holo, hard dome shape

W kuli, a piece added on, patch (from koli ?); ?el-kolča, to sew something to something

PCC čoli, skirt; K łaka-č^holi, tule dress, dancing jacket

PR č^holi?, čoli?, breech cloth

*kopol, pond

W kopol, lake which is part of a creek, water hole, puddle

N-B kenkopol, valley

PK čopol, pond, marshy place

PR čopol, lake

*koro, net; cf. *kol-i, something joined, added on to perimeter

W koro, net, large net, fishnet, dipnet, veil, caul (< kOr, net, veil, cataract)

N-B kō-ma, dipnet

PCC čoro, fish net, head net; K č^horo, net (any kind)

PR-B č'oro, net

cf. PUA *ku, *k^wi, bag

*koy-i/u, *koy-i-?a, hurt, sick, want

W kOy-, kuya- (< *koy-i-?a), koyi-, koyu-, to be sick, suffer; auxiliary "want"

N-BW koya', hurt; -ko-, want to, will, would like to

PCC čoyi/u-, sore, sick, hurt; K č^hoyi/u-

PR čoyi?a, sick

cf. Alsea (Buckley 1988: 27) qāyk^w-, spoil, hurt; (p. 21) łq'al'i-t-, łq'al't-, be sick;

PUA *ko, *koko, hurt (die, kill, sleep, pl.)

*ku-, small, child; cf. *k'urey, young boy

W -kur, son; ku-rit, male offspring; ku-ra, to have a child, to bear a child, to give birth, to lay an egg; ku-ruheres, offspring, children; ku-t'et, small, child, baby

N-W ku(h), child?; Noe-W ku-t'et, baby; BW -kun, son; J cru tet, small

PK, T k'uču·n, k'uč^hu·n, small, little; CC ʔew k'učiy bo·s, this one is small; k'utč^hima, a little, a little while ago

PR k'uč^huyʔaro, k'učuk'aro, is small

SP-M koo'-sook, small; koo'-too mo-tah'-te, not big enough

Whistler 1980: 270 reconstructs *kur, *kuy, small, child. However, the r and y are not represented in P or SP.

cf. Alsea qti:m, younger sister (Golla 1997: 164); Csjb ku-ti-s, a little bit, Mm k'ût', creature; cf. Mil k'úč·i, small (probably a loan word from Hill Patwin) (Callaghan 2001: 328)

*kudu· ?, great horned owl

W č'u(·)skudu·t, č'u(·)tkudu·t, great horned owl

N-C chút-ku-dút, horned owl

PK, T, CC, R toko·k, burrowing owl (metathesis)

SP-M tō-kō'k', burrowing owl; too'-koo-le, great horned owl

*kuhum, *k'uhum ?, basket root

W cf. kuh, hard, dried, stiff (as buckskin) (cf. W-M ko-hahl, slim)

N-H k^huhu·m, root (any kind, probably basket root)

PCC, K č'uhum, tulare root (the plant)

*kuk, to bend; cf. *q^hud, bend; *k'ok, brace

W p^huyeq xun-kukeles, knock-kneed, bowlegged (knees together-bowing)

PH-B ču·ki, to bow

PR-B ču·ko, to bow

PCC čoče, calf (muscle), PR-U čoče, nape

*kuku, grizzly ? (related to *kuk, to bend ?)

W kukup'iwit, myth. hero or heroine which can be a wolf or a mountain lion

PR čuk^huy, bear, grizzly bear

*kul- ?, penis; cf. *k'ul, seed

W kuli, penis

PCC yot, penis

This set according to Pitkin, personal communication 1996, with metathesis, *k>č>t finally in Patwin, l::y. It is highly irregular and perhaps not a valid set. An alternate W cognate for the PCC form may be yOt, yut, yot, pull something out; yoč, pull, jerk out. However, cf. Alsea kł-iy-s, penis (from unattested root kił), ki:la, my son! (vocative) (Golla 1997: 162), which may point to an areal term similar to *kul-.

k^h

*k^he, deictic (optative meaning ?) (630.); cf. *he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative;

*-k^hen, may, might, lest; *ke, have, own; get; *kel-, far, travel

W ke, polite (concessive) deictic, emphasis mediated with optative force: ken, generic aspect, emphasizes the individual referred to at the expense of all

others who might have been referred to (in the expectation); cf. *ken*, warning; *kele*, hearsay; Pitkin suggests perhaps from **kV*, a pronominal-demonstrative (?), possibly related to *ko*; all; cf. *k'i*, precedential

W-M *wi-ker'*, upstream (probably represents [waykeʔ]; way, “north”; *keʔ* is archaic or borrowed from N)

N-P *kekhl*, tribe (ending on tribal names) (probably represents [keʔ])

PR *č^he*, now

**k^hen*, **k^he·n*, **k^hen-ti*, down (422.1); cf. **k^he*, deictic

W *ken-*, down (into), below, in, downward; *kenti*, down (with directional); *ke·n*, in (downward), down in, from down, deep

N-BW *kEn-*, down; *kEnti*, down, under

PCC *č^hen-*, *č^henti*, down; K *č^henti*, down

PR *č^henti*, bottom, under, below; U *č^he·n*, down

SP-A *kentielan*, eight

cf. Alesá *qi:xn*, below, under, underneath; Siuslaw *qaxan*, down, below (Golla 1997: 164)

*-*k^hen*, may, might, lest (424.6); cf. **k^he*, deictic

W *-ken*, inflectional suffix of warning; e.g., *λ'o·muherken*, you might get killed; cf. *-kEl*, may, might, must be

PCC *-č^hin*, *-č^hin*, may, might, lest; K *-č^hin*

PR *-č^hin*, might

*-*k^h* is reconstructed based on the assumption of kinship with **k^he*, deictic. P reflexes without aspiration may be due to suffix position.

**k^herek*, spider

W *kerek*, spider (cf. *kOr-*, net)

N-M *kāk*, spider

PK, T, R *č^heret*, spider; CC *č^her?et*, “black spiders” (black widows)

**k^het*, trip

W *kEt-*, *kita*, stumble, stub toe; *keča*, to knock down; may *keča*, to trip someone (*may*, legs)

PCC *t^het^hurho*, to stagger

PR *č^hittupa*, trap

**k^hi·l*, thorn; cf. **k'il*, hail; **k'il-i*, horn; **k'ir*, sharp implement

W *ki·lus*, kilus, stickers, thorns, spines

NT-M *ke'-loo*, prickly briar

PK *č^hi·li*, thorns, thistle, wild rose; CC thorny plant sp.; T Calif. wild rose

PR *č^hi·li*, thorn, starthistle, any thorny bush

Whistler 1977a states that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMis **ki·li*, gooseberry. Since P has fronted **k^h*, the borrowing would have occurred prior to the P obstruent fronting chain.

*k^hila, liver

W kilah, liver

PK č^hela, liver

PR č^hila, liver

SP-M chel'-lah', liver

cf. N-BW olkin, stomach

cf. PM *kyl·a, liver, PMi *kyl·a, ky·la, liver; PCo sira, liver; PU *kyl·a, *ky(·)la, liver (Callaghan 2001: 332)

*k^hod-, move (fast ? repetitive ?); cf. *k'o-, move in a direction, move toward; *k'od-i/u, move inclined toward

W kOd-, kodo-ra, to roll fast

PK č^hodč^hod^huro, trotting (horse, actually slower than trotting, skipping);

U čodčodti, to hop

k'

*k'a· mud; cf. *q^hat, q^hot, wet

W-M kah'-me, clay (representing [k'ami] ?)

PK č'a·, white mud in the bottom, silt; H-U white clay of marsh; H-B to smear

cf. N-M cho-awl', mud

*k'a-, snap; cf. *k'ab, crack open

W *k'ał, snap ?; semum k'ałčuna·, to snap your finger joints; cf. kał, lock ? < *k'a, crack; k'am, pop, snap in the mouth and swallow

PH-U sem k'a·tsa?amaro, snap fingers

Irregular k':k' correspondence, probably due to sound symbolism

*k'ab, crack open; cf. *k'a-, snap; *q^hapla, outer bark

W k'ab, open up, of nuts, mussels, oysters (< *k'a, crack); k'aba·, to shell or hull acorns or nuts, crack acorns; k'aba-ya, to be opened up, of mussels, oysters; k'abal, to be opened up wide

PR č'abta, shelling (taking the shell off after it's cracked)

cf. PMy *k'ab', with reflexes including: half opened, to be with mouth opened, very opened, to open a little; Kiliwa kap, open, uncover (Brown 1990: 44); cf. also W k'aw, split, crack lengthwise, beat seeds; PMy *k'aw, with reflexes including: split, open a crack, open a little, with the mouth opened, remaining opened, not well closed, force open or apart; Kiliwa q^haw, break open/apart (Brown 1990: 45)

*k'ah-i/u, wind, wind blows; cf. *xos-a, air, blow

W k'ahi, wind, air; k'aha(·), k'ahu-, wind to blow, be windy

PR t'ahi, wind (strong), gale; k'ahu-ro, big wind blowing

*k'ahay, nail(s), claw(s)

W k'ahah (p), k'ahay (g), nails, claws

N-B k'ai, nails

PCC, K č'a-y, claw, fingernails; K "finger" when designating a particular finger as in k'om č'a-y, thumb, lit. big finger(nail)

PR č'a-y, fingernail, claw

cf. Alsea qwanł-i:yu:, fingernail (Golla 1997: 164)

*k'al, intense visual perception; cf. *k'ala(·)l, flowers; *wal, flame, lightning

W k'al-, stare, gaze intently, intense visual contact, glow, receive intense visual impression/sensation; cf. k'al, charcoal, glow

N-G kēntcalokta, lightning (fronted and perhaps borrowed from P)

PK č'alo-ki, white (cf. also W łuru-qi, white)

PA-U č'ali, light; pi tosamenti č'alibes ʔana, a lot of light comes from that star

SP-M chul-lo'-ke, white; chal-lo'-ke, white paint (white earth like chalk from hills)

cf. P č'am-, white; PT-U č'aril, white in eyes

cf. PYnim *č'olol (*čolol ?), white, Csjb tcalka, pal(.)ka, white (Callaghan 2001:333)

cf. the following Proto-Northern-Wintun set:

*k'al, coals; cf. PW *k'il, hail; *q'al-i, charcoal

W k'ali, hot glowing coal, coals, charcoal; cf. k'eli, charcoal; k'alal, "one who stares with a coal or dark eye"; k'alaw, a burnt log, from a stump, a dead burned tree, an ash tree ? (loan translation from English ?); k'eel, soot, ashes

N-M kah-lā', live coals or embers; cf. also N-C áli, charcoal

*k'ala(·)l, flowers; cf. *k'al, intense visual perception; *q^holo, sunflower sp.

W k'ala-la, to be lit up pretty, to stand in a row alike; no-pun ma-t k'ala-la, specific flower, "blue bells," lit. deer's ears -?; cf. qanal, to be in full bloom, to be open wide, of a flower; fragrance, sweet; yellow; qanal yemer, Milky Way; q'an, wide; q'an, wings

N-S k'alal, flower

PCC č'alal, flowers, to bloom; K č'ala(·)l, flower; čala(·)lta, to bloom, to flower

PR č'ala(·)l, flower

*k'alaq, feather; cf. *q'an, wing

W k'a-laq, k'alaq (g), k'alal (p), feather(s), feather headdress; also q'alaq, feathers

N-G kalak, duck feathers

PCC č'alak, feather necklace worn by bighead; K secondary wing feather, feathers inside the wing (near the shoulder)

*k'al, split

W ʔel-k'alčus, knife

PK č'ati/u-, split (as wood)

*k'ap, move stones; cf. *q'apa, to trap

W k'apa-, to turn over stones in dry stony place, to push off stone, to make a

“bed” to roast salmon; *ɣan-k’apa*, to clear stones at a place
 PR-B *čapen*, fish dam; PR *čapenoro*, “fishing that way”

*k’ar-a, scrape; cf. *qor, grind; *qar-č^h-, rake

*k’ar-al, stative form?

W k’ara, to scratch, scrape; k’aral(ta), to have a scratch; cf. xara-, to gnaw;
 k’ira-, to chew on; qOr-, grind

PK t’ara-l, scraper (like a knife)

PR č’art^hi/u-, to scratch

The following are not fronted or point to a PW *q’ whose W cognate has been lost:

PCC k’ara(·)si/u-, to scratch; k’ara(·), mow, cut off little bush, cut off the ends

cf. Karok *ʔakxárap*, to scratch (*ʔak-*, with the hands) (Bright 1957: 437); Northern
 Yana *k’alc’au-*, to scratch with sharp claws (Sapir & Swadesh 1960: 107)

*k’at ? mesh

W k’at-, lots of spaces, not touching or continuous surface; k’ata, to be loosely
 woven, like a basket with deliberate holes (cf. kOr, net; kum, no holes);
 k’ati, wide mesh, big mesh, thin, lots of spaces

PK kada, large net, mesh about 4 in.

Irregular; cf. N-W k^hat, stomach?

cf. Proto-Quichean (and PMy ?) *k’aht, net bag; Nisenan k’at, string (Brown 1990:
 38)

*k’ay, rodent sp. ?, gopher ? squirrel ?

W k’aysas, gray squirrel, “fast walker” (cf. PW *q’ay-i/u, walk)

N-BW k’ayuth, woodrat

PCC, T k’ay, gopher; K gopher, muskrat

PR k’ay, gopher; small gray gopher sp. (prob. meadow mouse, *Microtus*)

The PW form could be *q’ay if W folk-etymologized with k’ay-, fast. Otherwise,
 irregularly not fronted in P.

*k’eb, tall and swaying

W k’eb, be tall, straight and swaying (*k’ebuq ʔisuk*, she was tall and swayed)

PR č’ebi, wild hemp (Whistler 1976e from Kroeber)

*k’eba, lungs, chest

W k’ibah, lungs, k’ib-, hiccough; cf. k’Eh-, breathe with difficulty, clear the
 throat, k’e·ha, to breathe with difficulty, as people having asthma; k’iha-, to
 breathe as if you have TB with a rattle and a wheeze; k’e·da, to choke
 gasping for breath

PCC č’eba, chest (of human or deer; the whole thing); T-U chest, lungs

SP-M cheb’-bāh, chest

*k’eb-i/u, loosen by scratching; cf. *xeb, open by scratching or scraping

W k’Eb-, k’iba-, dig with paws, scratch in the dirt, stump; k’ibal, to be loose

after being fastened; k'ebu, imperative stem; k'ebi, nominal stem
 PK č'ebi/u- nibble (like a rodent)

*k'eč-, yellowjacket

W wenemk'e(-)či, wenemk'ečit, yellowjacket, wasp (a partial folk-etymology including wenem 'middle,' perhaps referring to the insect's narrow mid-section)

N-C tu-ká-chit, yellowjacket larvae; M too-kah'-che, yellowjacket

PCC, K, T t'ečew, yellowjacket; K t'eč^he·man, t'eč^he·men, t'ese·men, yellowjacket

PR t'ečew, yellowjacket; cf. k'eček, blue wasp sp.

*k'el, jackrabbit

W patkeles, jackrabbit (folk-etymology "outside-long one")

N-SS pátkele, jackrabbit

PCC, K č'elo·, č'elow, jackrabbit, rabbit; T č'elo·, jackrabbit, rabbit

PR č'elow, jackrabbit

SP-M 'chel'-lo, t'chel-o, black-tail jackrabbit

*k'en-i, winnower

W k'eni, k'enu-s, sifting basket, winnowing plate

N-K k'êni, parching tray; cf. tenu, sifter

PR č'e·n, winnow by dropping or pouring

and irregular:

PCC, K k'eni, winnowing basket (not fronted)

SP-M ten-ne'-che, circular winnower (double fronting)

*k'ep, break

W k'Ep, break in two, shred, bend, shape by bending

PCC, K č'ebi/u, chip pieces off

*k'es, worm

W k'e·s, angleworm

N-S k'eh, worm; M kem, worm, hairy caterpillar

PCC č'e·, earthworm, fishworm; K, T earthworm; CC č'esimen, inchworm; K, T click beetle ?

cf. PYnim *k'at^huw ? worm (Callaghan 2001: 327)

*k'ete·t, one (265.)

W k'ete·t (p), k'ete·m (g), one

N-BP k'etet, one; H k'ete·m, one

PCC, K, R ?ete·ta, one

SP-M et'-tah, ā-tah, one

Irregular *k'/? correspondence perhaps due to dissimilation after double fronting

*k'>*c'>*t'

cf. PMi *ken·e, one

*k'id, squeak

W k'ide-, to bray (of donkeys); k'i-da, to bray, gasp for breath with great effort;
k'idi-ra, squeal with laughter, giggle; cf. k'Ed, gasp

PCC č'i-tk^haʔa, to squeak (as a mouse, etc.)

*k'ih, separate into strands or slices

W k'ihe-, to comb with finger to separate or to thin out roots for strands, to
comb or brush hair; k'i-ha, to comb, to brush; cf. č'ehe, to scrape; č'ehet,
rock smoother, a scraper for skinning salmon and deer (cf. č'Eb-, sharp;
č'ebet, stone knife)

PCC č'ihī/u, to cut slices off

*k'il, hail; see also under *k'al, intense visual perception

W k'il, hail

N-M keel', hail

PR č'il, hail

cf. Alsea c'i:l, hail (Golla 1997: 161)

*k'ilap-ʔa, afraid, have fear; cf. *q'a-q, mental clouding

*k'ilap-ʔa-ma, causing fear, frightfully, really

W k'ilep, fear, afraid, frightened; k'ilepma-, to be terribly ..., be causing fear

N-BP k'ileepa, to be afraid

PR č'ilapas, č'ilapta, afraid

PCC selaʔa, afraid, scared; selaʔama, frightening, really ...; K se-la-, afraid
(irregular)

SP-M che-lah'-pah, afraid

*k'il-i, horn; cf. *k'ir, sharp implement; *k'il, hail; *k^hi-l, thorn; *q'i-l, dull; *hil,
slice; *k'ahay, nail(s), claw(s)

N-PS k'ili, horn; B k!īlī, antler

PCC, K, R č'ili, antler, horns

SP-M chil'-le, horns

W has no exact cognate, but a wide range of closely and distantly related forms
referring to sharpness or penetration, such as *k'El, break, penetrating; k'il, hail,
gravel; k'ik-, chip; k'i-r, spear; k'ilep, fear; k'Eh-, breathe with difficulty; k'el-, knife
cf. PMi *kil-i, *ki-li, PCo *či-ri, PU *kil-i, *ki-li, či-li, horn, antlers (Callaghan 2001:
321)

*k'ililuk, hawk sp., Cooper's or marsh hawk ? cf. *lik-, hawk sp.

N-M chil-lē'-lik, Cooper's hawk (*Accipiter cooperi*); cf. lik'-lik, sparrowhawk
(*Falco sparverius*)

PK č'ililuk, horned lark (Whistler 1977a from Merriam); cf. PCC, R ʔeleʔele,
marsh hawk; C ʔele-li, marsh hawk (< *k'ele-)

SP-M kel-lēl'-oo, marsh hawk

If the SP form is irregularly not fronted, it points to a proto-form in *k* or *k'*. However, this would make the N form borrowed from P. Alternatively the proto-form could be **č'*, in which case SP would have backed instead of fronted.

**k'ir*, sharp implement; cf. **k'il-i*, horn

W *k'i-r*, spear

PK *č^hiri*, manzanita wood pin to hold net or headband on head

**k'is*, seed plant sp.

W *k'is*, pepperwood seeds, specific nuts from the pepperwood tree, specific seeds like marbles, roasted and eaten or used decoratively, strung on necklaces, also used as noisemakers; *k'ismi*, wild pepperwood tree (also *k'ilmi*); cf. *k'it*, white flower deer brush

PCC *čisaw*, seed plant sp. (white “head” of flowers, round)

PR *čisaw*, seed plant sp. (up to 3', on alkali ground, graying-looking seeds)

**k'iw*, hot rock ? cf. **xiw*, embers

W *k'iwe-*, to sweat; *k'iw son*, cooking stone; cf. *xiwe-*, to heat rock, heat food; *yiw-*, acorn soup; *kir-*, singe; *hir-*, fire, burn; *k'ih-*, acorn soup sticks to cooking stones; broil, toast

N-M *kew*, cooking hole in ground; BW *k'iwa-*, sweat

PK *č'iw*, hail, CC *č'iwsin*, hail (-sin < **son*, rock ?)

**k'iy*, old man

W *k'iyē-*, man to be old; *k'iyes*, old man; *k'iyeh*, mother's brother, uncle, grandfather

N-M *nā'-tum ke'-ah*, uncle (father's brother), listed in Whistler (1980: 243) as *nehtum k'iya(h)*, along with *k'iyah*, uncle ?; *k'iyas*, old man

PCC *č'iyak*, old man; *č'iyaba*, old men; K *č^hi?akaro*, I'm getting old; *č'iyak*, *č'ekos*, old man, *č'iyak?aro*, he's getting old

PR *č'iyak*, old man, older people

SP-M *che'*, *che'-e*, old; *che'-e*, old man; if the second *e* in the last two forms represents [e] rather than [i], **k'iyē* may be reconstructible

cf. Alsea (Buckley 1988: 22) *q'á-l't*, man

**k'o-*, move in a direction, move toward; cf. **k^hod-*, move (fast ? repetitive ?); **k'od-i/u*, move inclined toward

W **k'O*, move; cf. *k'Od-*, move, be or get in indicated position or direction; **ka-*, move; *k'oduma*, to hunt

N-BW *olku-*, get up

PK *pima č'o*, get that; *č'o-*, to get (bread, etc.)

**k'od-i/u*, move inclined toward; cf. **k^hod-*, move (fast ? repetitive ?); **k'o-*, move in a direction

W k'Od-, k'uda:, k'odi-, k'odu-, be or get in indicated position or direction, move from place to place, step, visit; se-k'uda, to move around; k'oduma, to hunt

N-BW q'oda-, crawl

PCC č'odu, to walk upslope; č'o·di/u, to crawl, to climb; K č'odu-, crawl (as a baby)

PR č'odi/u-, crawl, sneak

*k'ok, brace; cf. *k'ok'o, flea; *hok, raise; *č'oq, dry and stiff

W k'Ok, brace, log, rafter, stem (k'ok, log, rafter, stick, limb, young tree; pomin k'okol, to be braced, to kneel down and brace oneself so as to shoot; ?ol-k'okuwil, to lift (tr.); ?ol-k'ukal, to lean on (intr.); k'uka:, to put rafters up or down)

N-M lol-kok, pipe; 'hlool-kok, branches; paw'-kok, fire drill

PH-B č'o·če, bridge; PT-U t^ho·ki, a brace

cf. Alsea ku:x wood, tree, stick; ko:c, tree, log (Golla 1997: 162)

*k'ok'o, flea; cf. *k'ok, brace

W k'okos, flea, "he who puts rafters on"; also q'oqos

N-B kōk!as, flea

PC, K, T č'oč'o, flea; CC č'otč^how, flea

cf. PMi *ky(·)kys, flea; PM *t'yk'ys, flea (Callaghan 2001: 327)

*k'olom, cup-type basket

W k'olom (g), k'olol (p), small cup or bowl serving basket, container, dish(es) (< k'Ol, become curled ?); cf. xolom, umbrella leaves; xolom, dipper

N-M kul'īō', large cooking bowl (twined)

PCC č'olom, acorn cup, acorn cap

PR č'olom, acorn cap

cf. Alsea kwal' (or kwla?), to gather, to pile (pl.) (Golla 1997: 162)

*k'on, clench, stiff ?; cf. *q^hon, dry

W k'On, clench, in a ball, knotted, hard; k'onil, clench; ?el-k'unal, to be stiff-jointed, numb from the cold or other cause; ?ol-k'unal, curl up and dry

PT č'onirho, to stagger

cf. Alsea qwanu:h-, fistful, handful; qwanhut-, to scoop; qwanah-a, knot (in trees) (Golla 1997: 164)

*k'op-i, basket type

W k'opi, conical burden basket (close twine)

PCC č'opol, flat, round basket for cleaning seeds, etc., winnower; č'o·b, small chokemouth bowl, tiny bowl

PR č'opol, flat basket for sifting acorn meal after it is ground, winnowing basket; č'obok, mortar

PA-U č'obil, bowl

*k'op, chop; cf. *q'op-a, break with fingers, *q^hop, cut off, slice; *k'ab, crack open; *q^hop, stripe

W k'Op-, k'upa, chop, cut in two, cut off portion from whole; k'Ob, segment
PCC, K č'op, to chop

*k'opus, *k'opos ?, screech owl

W k'opos, screech owl

PK, T k'upu-, screech owl; CC k'upu-, small owl sp.; CC, T k'opu-, screech owl

PR k'opu(·)s, screech owl

SP-M ko'-poo, screech owl

*k'or, scratch; cf. *qor-i/u, grind; *k'ur-a-, tear; *k'ar-a, scrape

W k'Or, shave, whittle, scrape, plane; cf. k'ara-, to scrape, scratch; č'Or-, skin nuts

PCC k'oro-, scratch (more than once); H-U č'u-rta, slash with knife

PR k'orti, to scratch on the body (with hand)

*k'ul, seed; cf. *kul-, penis

W k'ul, male relative, consanguineal (k'uleh, grandson, nephew, blood brother; k'uley, stepson, grandson, nephew, older brother's children) (cf. k'ur-, boy)

N-S c'uli, seed (borrowed from Patwin?)

PK č'uli, seed (any kind, inside a fruit)

*k'ur-a-, tear; cf. *k'or, scratch; *k'ar-a, scrape; *q^her, scrape

W k'Or, shave, whittle, scrape, plane; k'ura-, to shave something big like a canoe or boat; k'ure-, to chop down small limbs; cf. č'o-r, open nuts

PCC č'u-r, to tear (pl.); č'ura-, to tear (one); K č'urta, to tear with a quick motion; č'u-rta, to tear with a slow motion; č'u-raro, split open, rip apart

*k'urey, young boy; cf. *ku-, small, child

W k'ureyta, k'urita, little boy

N-C nēt=kui, my nephew

PK č'uray, boy (young, 6-10)

SP-M choo'-ri'', young

*k'uril, ribs; cf. *k'uwi-l, bent

W kuril, ribs, side

PCC č'uril, ribs

PR č'uri-l, rib(s); č'uri-was, turn on your side! lie on your side!

SP-M 'choo-ril', ribs

*k'uw-, pike

W k'uwa-l, riffle pike

PK č'uwes, small pike (Sacramento blackfish ?)

*k'uwi:l, bent (crooked ? arched ?); cf. *k'uril, ribs; *q^hud, bend
 W k'uwi:l, eyelids, eyelashes, eyebrows; cf. kup-, crippled, bowlegged
 PCC č'uwi:lo, crooked (pl., with lots of crooks); č'uwi:lʔa, bent, curved (sg.)
 cf. Alsea cawli:t, eyelash (Golla 1997: 160); Jacaltec koŋan, arched, bent in the form
 of an arch; Chuj koŋ, arched (Brown 1990: 60)

I

*labe-, *labe-n (with kinterm absolutive), older brother; *-laben following first or
 second person possessive pronoun (*-t + *-l > *ʔ)

W labe(·)h (p), labey (g), older brother; labe·nup'ulel, be two full brothers

N-C nēt=lá-ban, my elder brother; H net laban, my (younger) brother

N-BW -tlabal, sister; -tlaban, brother; T-M net'hlab-ban, my elder brother; cf. N-W
 mi-ləm ?, older brother (Whistler 1980: 243)

PCC la·b, older brother (vocative); la·beču, my older brother; la·benpel, two
 brothers; małaben pel, your two brothers; mi lombosa małabey hene·ła,
 you're happy when your older brother comes; K ʔuylaben, (his) older
 brother; na·min labač^hu, my older brother

PR laben, older brother; la·beču, my older brother

SP-M lah'-bitch-choo, lah-vā san'-choo, brother; Whistler 1980: 268: la·be,
 brother, sister ?

cf. Kato -la, man's brother's son; Mattole -e:lah, brother's son; Nongatl -la-chi,
 nephew (found widely in Athapaskan) (Golla 1998: 8)

*lak, tie; *lak-č^h- (with mediopassive)

W laka, to fasten with a rope; lakal, to be pinched together; lakas, sinew; lakča,
 put one's arms around, embrace, hug, fasten or anchor in a rivet; cf. *la,
 stretch, sinew

PK duł lakt^hunanta, tie around the head; cf. lart^huro, tied together; U la·ta, tied

*lak-o/u, hooked strap, strap with hook; cf. *law, tendon, sinew; *lak, tie

W lakum, belt, strap; laku·s, hooked stick; cf. λ'aqu·s, barbed hook < λ'aq-,
 pick off, pull off

PK lačow, Big Dipper, "hook," long pole with hook on end for knocking down
 acorns

PR lačok, straps (hooks) on pack basket

*lal-a, sting

W lala, to sting

PK, R lala-, to sting

*laq, save for

W laqa·, to leave/reserve/save something to eat for someone

PK ʔut č^hu laklakat^hebus, I'm gonna do things for him/take care of him

*laq, wild goose sp.

W laq, wild goose

N-C lak, brant; M lahk', green-wing teal (*Nettion carolinensis*); BW laklak, duck

PCC lakkas, white-fronted goose; K laklak, goose sp.

PR lakʔa, cackling goose

SP-M lah'-lok, lah'-kahs, Western Canada goose; V lala'k, white geese

Widespread imitative term found across North America

*la·s, skin; cf. *law, tendon, sinew; *law, flabby

W la·s, skin

PCC, K la·, skin, hide

PR-B la·s, skin

*las-a, crawl; cf. *los, scabble

W lasa·, crawl, creep, of bugs (cf. la·s, skin)

PC-B lasalasa, big red ant sp.; K-M lasalasa, spider (both forms cited in Whistler 1976e)

*law, tendon, sinew; cf. *lar-č^h-u, sling; *law, flabby; *lak-o/u, hooked strap; *la·s, skin

W la·w, muscle, tendon, sinew, gristle, bow string (cf. *la, stretch, sinew; lasik, bag)

N-M lah'-o, bow string, tendon, sinew

PCC, K, T, R law, tendon, sinew

PT-U law, spine

*law, flabby; cf. *law, tendon, sinew; *low, hang; *yaw, pendant

W law, be pendant, hang (cf. *la, stretch, sinew)

PCC la·wʔa, weak, body has no strength, close to death

*lay, sister (younger ?)

W la·h, layah (p), la· (g), -lah, older sister; layk'ut, younger sister; cf. ni-la·k, my relatives

N-W lahay, younger sister

P la·n, younger sibling

SP la·n, younger brother ? (Whistler 1980)

Perhaps *-t + *-l > Patwin ł; cf. *labe-, *laben, *łaben, older brother

*-le, intentional future, "going to" (424.7); cf. *lel-a/i/u, make

*-le-s, nominal form

W -le, necessity, causality, futurity, potentiality, probability, inevitable future; usually translated as "going to"; -le·s, nominal form

N-BW -le, let us

PCC -le(da), I'll ..., I'm going to ...

PC les, can (used also as a 'come and ..., go and ...' imperative); -len, should

PR -le, I'm going to ...

SP-A chu maleina, I will eat (yo comere)

*-le, *-le· before a consonant, pronominal plural (531.22)

See *male·no, *mile, *mile·t, *p'ele, *p'ele·t

*leh, glide by; cf. *lew, vibrate, oscillate; *liw, fan, wave, gesture

W lihel, to pass (in the indicated direction), lehekta, to pass someone on one's way; cf. led-, flutter, rise in the air, sail, vanish; lEd-, wings to flap; le·da, to wave back and forth; de·h-, glide

PR le·huro, gliding (as a bird), also used in dance; le·hi, used to refer to the dancers in a certain dance

*lel-a/i/u, make; cf. *-le, intentional future; *lew, vibrate, oscillate

*lel-u-na, become (with reflexive)

W lEl-a/u/i, make, become, be transformed, change, clear, clean, copy, place, lead, arrange, blame, accuse, tease; lelna·, to turn into; leluna·, to blame oneself; cf. *lEd, alternate, replicate, duplicate, dualistic movement (led, flutter; le·t, both; le·t, clear away; lEt, disperse; lel, two; lEl, transform)

PCC lela·, to make (plural of lelu); PK lel-i/u, make, fix; pi lelnanta k^hudi, he turned into a bird

PR lel-i/u, make

*len, clover, grass

W leni, leaf, leaves, green leaves

N-S leni, grass

PCC, K le·n, len, clover, grass, type of clover; T len, clover

PR-B len, clover sp.

*le·n, *le(·)n-i, yester-, last; or: the passing of one night ?

W le(·)n-, old, ancient, past; le·nda, yesterday; leni q'upus λ'ul, "old old lake"

N-G le·nitluyuk, evening star; M po len'·ne, tonight; len'·nin, yesterday; lā'·nah, night; len pah·pil', last year; B leni, night

PCC le·ni, yesterday; T le·ni, evening; lenčul, yesterday; K le·nčul, yesterday; ?ewle·niła, this evening

PR le·ni, yesterday; leniba·, evening meal

SP-M lā'·ne, day, a day (24 hours); lā'·ne wen·ne, tomorrow (lit. tomorrow [i.e., day] come)

*leq-č^h-u, tired; cf. *let, exhaust, wear out

W leqča, to be or get tired (as of fighting)

N-BW lakca-, lakcu-, be tired

PCC lekt^h-i/u, tired; K lekt^h-i, tired; lekčuna·, to be tired; cf. le·ya·ro, getting tired, exhausted, giving out

PR-U lekt-i/u, tired

cf. Alsea qli·h-, qlh-, to be tired (Golla 1997: 164); cf. also PW *xin-a, sleep

*ler, cricket; cf. *lir, rub

N-BW lith, grasshopper (probably [liθ] < lir-h)

PCC, C lerler, cricket

*le-t ? *le-r ?, clean; cf. lir, rub

W le-ta, to clear away, clear off; both; cf. le-t, both < *lEd, alternate; PW *lel-a/i/u, make

PCC le-rumas, good, clean; le-rumaro bo-s, clean

SP-M lā-le'-me-baw', good

*lew, vibrate, oscillate, such as stems, limbs, twigs; cf. *leh, glide by; *len, clover, grass; *low, hang; *liw, fan, wave, gesture

W *lew, vibrate, oscillate (leweq, limb on a tree, branch, twig; liw-, spring; liw-, fan; lew-, fan)

N-BW lEmmath, water clover

PK lew, grasses, clovers, herbs, weed, stem of flower, any small plant; CC lew, grass

PR lew, grass (any kind outside)

*ley, younger brother

W leyk'ut, younger brother, mother's sister's son, uncle; leh-, younger brother, relatives; net-leh, my relations, relatives, kinsmen; net-lehet, my younger brother; cf. k'uley, nephew ?

N-W leh, younger brother

PCC leyta, relative(s); K leyta, friend

cf. Yurok -ley?, brother (of a woman); -let, sister, female cousin (of a woman) (Robins 1958: 216)

*lib-č^h-, *lip-č^h-, submerge

W lip-, be thirsty, appease someone's (craving), lipiskuya, to be thirsty; me-m lipi-ra, water to have waves or ripples; lipča, to appease someone's thirst

N-BW lihpa-, thirst; lihpal-, be weak; M mem lē'-pah, thirsty

PCC lib^hi, to flood, go under water; yo-wesna lib^his, he jumped into the water, got in it

PR lib^hi, "means everything going under covering everything," submerge

*lik-, hawk sp., Swainson's ?; cf. *k'ililuk, hawk sp.

N-M lik'-lik, sparrow hawk (Falco sparverius)

PR likki ?, Swainson's hawk (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

If this is indeed the Swainson's hawk, a related W root may be lEk-, decorate, trim, cut a fringe, referring to this hawk's conspicuous white patch on the throat

*lim, fade away; cf. *λ'o-m-u, kill

W *lim, fade ? (lim-, be sick, ail; limon, out of sight or hearing, fading out of range of perception; limi-ra, to rumble, as of an earthquake - diminuendo; limuča, a very far off vague rumble)

PK limpe, wiping, cleaning; limo·, to kill; CC limbak, to flash or blink at intervals

PR limo·, killing; possibly cf. B limtak, to limp

*lir, rub; cf. *ler, cricket; *lor, grind

W lirik to rub

PCC lirt^hi/u, to rub on

*liw, fan, wave, gesture; cf. *lew, vibrate, oscillate

*liw-na, fan oneself

W liwa·, liwe·, to fan; xun-le-wa, to wave to someone to come; se-lewna·, to fan oneself

N-W lew, wing, feather

PCC liwnan, to fan oneself; liwko, to wave at repeatedly; liwi·ko, to gesture with hand (once) at someone to come, to beckon

*lo(·)l, tobacco

W lo(·)l, tobacco

N-B lol, tobacco

PH, R lo·l, tobacco

SP-M lōl, tobacco

*lolo-q-i/u, point; cf. *lul, cylinder

W lolo·qa, to point with the finger; *lol, point, put a curse on someone while pointing

N-K lolô'k, deer bone awl

PK, T lolo·ki/u, to point

PR lolo·ki/u, to point at

*lom-u, place a sling

W lom-, sling; ?el-lomča, to tie a sling around, put in a sling; lOm, bait (luma·, to be baited; lomuma·, to bait)

N-M lān', sling

PR-U lomuro, still being placed; lomura behta, has been placed

*lom, happy

W lo(·)m, spirits, wine; cf. lo·y, spirit; lOm, bait; lo·l, tobacco

PCC lomi/u, happy, glad; cf. K lumhi, pretty

PR lomi/u, glad

*lor, grind, sharpen by filing; cf. *los, scabble; *las-a, crawl; *lir, rub

W lor-, lo·r-, grind, rub, file

PCC lori/u, to grind, to sharpen by grinding

PK lolt^hi/u, grind; lolu·ro, to file, sharpen by filing

PH-U lori/u, sharpen by rubbing, rub, file

PR lori/u, sharpen, grind on a stone, hone

*los, scabble; cf. *lor, grind; *las-a, crawl

W loso-ra, to make the noise of the claws of a squirrel running on a tree

PR lo·st^hi/u, to rub

*low, hang; cf. *law, flabby; *lew, vibrate, oscillate

W lOw-, hang; pat-lowe, to hang out, stick out; pat-luwa, to hang out and down

PH lo·t^hu, to hang (intr.)

PR lo·tu, hang

*lo·y-, adolescent girl

*lo(·)y-ba (plural)

W lo(·)ymes, adult female virgin, girl, maiden

N-BW loyba, girl, young woman

PCC lo·yta, young woman; lo-yba, plural; K loyta, girl; loyba, girls

PR loyta, a girl

*lul, cylinder; cf. *lolo-q-i/u, point; *lul, flowers; *lur, shin

W lul, long cylinder, large log, cylindrical thing; łul, sticks, rattle; łulu·s, bunch of sticks used instead of split-stick rattle; łi·l, flute; li-lus, flute

N-M lool', trunk (of tree)

PK lul, basket stick from redbud; cf. PK lolloł, flute; PR lo·loł, flute

*lul, flowers; cf. *lul, cylinder

W luli, flowers

N-H luli·, flowers

PCC, T, R lul, redbud

*lup, stick into (vertically ?); cf. *λ'op, insert long things (vertically ?), poke, stick into

W lOp, stick in, reach in; cf. lOb, string beads (i.e., insert string); lu·p, vagina

PCC lupik spear (with flinthead)

SP-M loo'-pik, spear (for war, to kill people)

*lur, shin; cf. *lul, cylinder

W lurur, leg

PCC lu·l, shin

PR-B lupir, shin

*luyuq, ridge

W-M toom loo'-yook, too-mul'-lo-yuk, cheek bone (malar) ("face ridge")

PK luyuk, ridge, peak; CC luyuk, ridge

ł

*ł̥a-, sit (perhaps from *ł̥a-, be located + auxiliary *-ʔa, have > “have location”); cf.

*ł̥ah, fall; *ł̥u-t, dancehouse

W ł̥a-, to sit (occurs only with directional or locative prefix; e.g., kinł̥a-, to sit down; ʔelł̥a-, to sit down inside)

N-BW kEnLa-, sit; G nomtihł̥a, afternoon (“west in sit”)

PH, R -ł̥a, locative case and subordinating suffix (if, when)

SP-M sun win'-nem tlah hen'-te, noon (sun in the middle)

*ł̥ah, fall; cf. *ł̥a-, sit

W ł̥aha, to fall; ł̥ahma-, to fell a tree

PK ł̥ah-, ł̥a-, fall, fell

PR-U ł̥ah-, fall

*ł̥al-a, stink, smell rotten

W ł̥ala, to stink

N-B Lala, stinking

PCC ł̥ala, to rot, spoil

PR-B ł̥alta, rotten

*ł̥aq-a, cover

W ł̥aq̥a, to cover

PH-B ł̥aka-, roof

PR ł̥akpa, to cover something

*ł̥aqa, plant sp.

W ł̥aqas, weed; ł̥alas ł̥aqas, pennyroyal

PCC ł̥aka-, all kinds of tules; K big round tule (bulrush)

PR ł̥aka, ł̥aka-, round tule, bulrush

cf. Mim Ló-kos, big round tule (Callaghan 2001: 324 from Merriam)

*ł̥aqal, play

W ł̥aqal, play; ł̥aqama, play with something

N-S ł̥aqaala, play

PH ł̥akala, to play, gamble

*ł̥a-r, parch

W ł̥a-r, roast; ł̥aral, to be roasted; cf. λ'araq, warm; ł̥a-rat, mountain ginseng; sa-ra, sugar pine cones to ripen so that nuts fall out

PCC ł̥a-ri, to parch with coals in basket; K ł̥a-luro, ł̥a-ruro, parch (seeds, pinole in a basket)

PR ł̥ari/u, to parch

cf. Alesa ł̥a:ʔ̥-, to cook, boil (Golla 1997: 162)

*łara·q ? *łuyu·q ? porcupine; star

W łuyu·q, porcupine quill(s); star(s) (folk-etymology with łu-, stab ?, łu-, egg, seed ?)

N-BP łuyu·q, star

PCC łara·k, porcupine, white flint

PR łara·k, porcupine, star

SP-M ‘sar-rahk’, star

cf. Alsea łat, star (Golla 1997: 162)

*łar-č^h-u, tie a sling; cf. *law, tendon, sinew

W łarča, to catch with a rope, swing a lasso; łarčus, rope, lasso

PH łart^hi/u, to tie a knot; łari/u, to lace up

PR łaroho, to tie (up); łat^he·ya, sling

*łe, child

W -łe, child, children

N-W łe·ye, little boy (Whistler 1980: 267, identified as Noema dialect)

P mu·łe, male ego’s child

SP mułe, son or daughter (Whistler 1980)

*łel-e, weave; cf. *łel-a/i/u, make

*łeles weaving (nominal)

W łEl-, to weave, wind, twine, coil, wrap; łila, to weave (indicative stem); łel, weave (imperative stem); łeles, weaving (nominal stem) (Merriam lists W ^{ch}klel-lis for “twined weave” (twilled) and ^{ch}kloi-e for “coiled weave” and comments “not made by Wintu”)

N-C hlâp=hlě-lě, tule mat

PH łele; weave, make baskets; k’eni pi łeles, she’s making a basket

PR łele, to weave

*łe-n, brother-in-law (with kinterm absolutive)

*net-łe-(·)n, my brother-in-law

W łe(·)n, brother-in-law; netłen, my brother-in-law

N-W łe·n, sister’s husband, husband’s brother

PCC nay-łe·n, my brother’s wife, my sister-in-law; K netłe-nč^hu, nayłe·n, brother-in-law (wife’s brother)

PR łe·n, brother-in-law (husband’s brother)

*łes, spirit after leaving body, shadow

W łes, spirit, soul, shade, shadow, devil, ghost (Pitkin 1985: 296 suggests that this may be from *łE, the transformed one, generic aspect)

N-H łes, shadow, devil; M klěs’, spirit or soul after leaving body

PK seł, summer house; H-U se·ł, little willow summer house for shade (metathesis)

PR se·ł, shade

**ɬet*, exhaust, wear out; cf. **ɬeq-č^h-u*, tired

W *ɬiti-qa*, to be tired, exhausted, get tired; *ɬitiq*, tired, bored, sick of < *ɬEt*-, be nervous, tremble, shiver

N-BW *Letedu-*, to shake, shiver

PR *ɬe-t-*, wear out (as clothes)

cf. Alsea *ɬtaqw-*, to burst (intr.) (Golla 1997: 163)

**ɬew* ? **ɬu-* ?, gig, spear

W *ɬu-*, stab, pierce, poke; *ɬuča*, to stab

PK *ɬew-*, gig, spear

PR *ɬew-*, poke

cf. Alsea *ɬxwi:-* (or *ɬ'wi:-*), to spear, *ɬxu:-* (or *ɬ'u:-*), to force, push; Siuslaw *ɬxau:*, spear (n.) (Golla 1997: 163)

**ɬey-a*, throw

W *ɬey*, to throw (indicative and imperative stem); *ɬiya*, to throw, to throw at, to throw a stone or heavy objects (not other things)

N-S *ɬeya*, throw, hit; BW son *Le'*, you are throwing the rock, throw the rock!

PH *ɬey-*, to put, set; *ɬeypa*, to throw at, hit; *k^halɬey*, to throw away

PR *ɬey-*, put, throw

SP-A *glei*, put; M *'klā-ah'*-be mem, give me a drink

**ɬid*, throw water

W *ɬi-da*, to throw water on the fire

PK *ɬiduro*, to sprinkle

**ɬik-u-p'ur-i*, to fight (with reciprocal)

W *ɬikup'ure*, to fight (each other); *ɬikup'uri* (nominal form); cf. *ɬixča*, to bother someone

N-S *tihkupa*, fight

SP-M ^{ch}*'leb-bah'-per-re*, war

**ɬim-a*, cave in; cf. **lim*, fade away

W *ʔel-ɬimal*, to be caved in, be demolished, bashed in, bent in

N-BW *Limalna-*, be sorry, feel bad (“cave oneself in”)

PCC *ɬi-maho*, to faint

**ɬiniq*, snot

**ɬi-n-*, blow the nose

W *ɬi(·)niq*, nasal mucus; *ɬiniqa*, to blow the nose; *sono ɬi-na*, to blow the nose

PH, R *ɬinik*, nose

PR *ɬi-no*, blow the nose

Sound-symbolic, with resemblant forms in other languages

**ɫob*, bubble

- W ɫub-, bubble, boil, simmer, rise and fall, of moving things (cf. ɫum, bubble up, splash, *ɫO, spot; ɫu, egg)
 PK ɫobi, bubble; ɫobɫobta, bubbling

**ɫom-*, fisher ?; cf. **ɫom-i/u*, put up

- W ɫomu·s, rat, woodrat, mountain rat, mole
 N-M schlo·-mē·t, marten (*Mustela caurina*); C hlá-mět, fisher
 PK-M shook klum·-me, fisher

**ɫom-i/u*, put up; cf. **ɫom-*, fisher ?

- W ɫOm-, ɫuma·, to add to, fill a plate or pipe, fill something in order to boil, to put something up to cook; cf. ɫome·, to be in the middle
 N-BW kLomana-, to hide
 PCC ɫomi/u-, put away, hide, save, store; K ɫomi/u, put away
 PR ɫomu, put

ɫon*, snoreɫon-or-*, sound bee-like

- W ɫunu·ra, to purr, have the sound of waterfall hitting the water at the bottom; ʔoɫonoq, bull hornet
 N-BW Lona-, snore
 PCC ɫo·no, snoring; all kinds of bees, honeybee; ɫonoroho, to growl (dog, bear); K ɫo·no, name for bees, wasps all together; honeybee; ɫo·n-, to snore
 PR ɫo·no, bee; ɫonoroho, to growl
 cf. Alsea ɫnaq·w-, snore (Golla 1997: 162)

**ɫono(·)q*, mollusk shell; cf. **ɫob*, bubble

- W ɫono·q, olivella shell beads, olivella shell necklace; cf. siwi·ɫonoq, testicles, perhaps from ɫOn-, drooping; ɫanoq, earring; cf. *ɫO, spot, bubble, foam, boil, pimple, round, spherical
 N-G ɫônôk, earrings
 PT ɫoɫo(·)k, sea-shell, shell of snail

ɫos*, foamɫoɫ-*, to foam

- W ɫos, foam, saliva; qo·l ɫoɫo·ruma·, mouth to foam; ɫo·sa, to launder; ɫo·sis, ɫo·sas, soap; ɫoso, wave crest
 N-S ɫoca, wash; BP ɫohča, to wash; BW Loca-, wash
 PK ɫoɫa·k, foam, bubbles, lather; cf. H-B ɫo·yak, foam
 PR ɫos, foam on the water

ɫo(·)y*, weave, make a net; cf. **ɫoy...m*, grapevineɫo(·)yo-s*, weaving, web

- W ɫo·yos, net, apron, weaving; ɫoyna·, to cover oneself with a net-like cover (as a caterpillar making a cocoon); č·e·k ɫoyos, type of net (č·e·k = rope)

PCC łoyo·, spider web; ło·yomen, spider (Whistler 1976e from Merriam); K ło·yo, kerek ło·yus, spider web

PR-B łoyow, spider web

*łoy...m, grapevine; cf. *ło(·)y, weave, make a net

W łoymi, grapevine (mi = tree, brush)

PCC ło·yam, grapevine (the whole plant); K łoyom, grapevine

PR łoyam, wild grapevine

*łubuq, soft round plant sp. ? cf. *łupuq, thin, loose; *łup-e/u, drink/eat acorn mush with fingers; *ł'op, *łop, tule, bulrush

N-G łuxpux, ground creeper with red blooms and fine black seeds (redmaids ?)

PCC, C łubukmen, mushroom sp. (black inside)

cf. W łOb-, eat (eat round objects ?); cf. *łO, spot; łubeq, little round lake; ł'ub-, suck

*łup-e/u, drink/eat acorn mush with fingers; cf. *łubuq, soft round plant sp.?, *łupuq, thin, loose

*łupu-s, drinking/eating acorn soup (nominal)

*łupu·q-i/u, slurp

W łupe, to eat acorn mush with fingers; łupaq, eat (something) with acorn soup; łupus, eating, of acorn soup; łupu·q-a/i/u, suck

N-G khlup, sacred broth or porridge of roasted buckeyes boiled in sand pools with hot stones; J clu pus, soup

PCC łup-, to drink soup; yiwitma łupus pi, he's drinking acorn soup

PK łubu·ki/u, sip slowly; łupta, drinking acorn soup

PR łupu-, drink acorn soup; ču yiwitma łupus, I'm drinking acorn soup

SP-M ^{ch}loo'-bēh, acorn mush

cf. Northern Sierra Miwok nyp·a, to make acorn mushy, to make something into acorn mush, acorn mush, acorn soup (Callaghan 1987: 171); PMy *ło?, *ło?(b'), with reflexes including: eat eggs or fruit, eat something (soft things), fruit, remains of something eaten, and other similar meanings; Maidu lōp, gobble something soupy with the hands; Lake Miwok łub-, to slurp; Klamath ło:b', eat (soup); Choctaw labbi, to eat with the fingers; cf. also PMy *lu(b'), with reflexes including: soften, dampen, wet, watery, not firm, made soft by water (a road or river bank); Mam luʔč, soft: fruit rinds or egg shells (all from Brown 1990: 26, 48)

*łupuq, thin, loose; cf. *łubuq, soft round plant sp. ?; *łup-e/u, drink/eat acorn mush with fingers

W łub, be thin, watery (batter, liquids) (cf. łub, bubble, simmer); łubu·ya, to get watery, of fruit when rotting, to be too thin, of something liquid (i.e., to be fermenting, bubbling); cf. łulel, to be spoiled; łal, stink; łułal, be caved in

PCC łupuku, soft, loose

*łu·t, dance house; cf. *ła·, sit

W łu·t, semi-subterranean big dancehouse, sweathouse, earthlodge

N-BP ʔut, dance house; K Lut, earth-covered (dance) house

PCC ʔu·t, sweathouse (big dancehouse); K ʔut, ʔu·t, dancehouse

SP-M ‘s’oot, soo-‘klā, ceremonial house

Howard Berman (personal communication, 2003) suggests that *ʔu·t may be derived from *ʔa·, sit, comparing Yokuts tʰiʔ, house and Central Sierra Miwok tʔʔe-, to sit

m

*-m, dubitative, subjunctive (424.3); see *beyem under *bey and *bo-m under *boh

W -m, dubitative suffix (doubt, interrogation of second persons; absence of any evidence which could provide a degree of certainty; marks declarative statements of slight doubt or weak interrogation; more recently a third person subject marker)

PH -m/-mu, general subjunctive mood marker, with special uses as negative and purposive; -mʔa/-muʔa, evidential “must be that”; -mʔu/-muʔu, negative (Whistler 1978); -m/-mu, unmarked tense, quotative mode; -m, subjunctive; -mʔa/-muʔa, confident inference (with auxiliary -ʔa, have) (Whistler 1986)

PCC hase ba·m, let’s go eat

PR mipel ba·m, did you (two) eat ?; mi ba·m, did you eat ?

cf. PMy *ma..., negative (Brown 1990: 58)

*-m, inanimate comitative (423.32); e.g., see *dek-m, climb something (under *dek, step, climb); cf. *-ma, causative

W -m, generic comitative suffix (indicates that the verb has a syntactic object in the generic aspect, which may or may not be overtly expressed; frequently translated as “with” or “while doing something”)

PC -me, valence-changing suffix, “with” (Whistler 1977, 1978); CC -me, comitative (Whistler 1981)

*ma-, *mi-, second person pronominal root (531.13); see: *ma-le·no, *ma-t, *ma-t-o, *mi, *mi-le ?, *mi-le-t ?, *mi-pel, *mi-pele-no ?, *mi-pele-t ?, *mis

W ma-, mi-, me-, second person pronominal root

N ma-, mi-, me-, mo-, second person pronominal root

P ma-, mi-, second person pronominal root

*-ma, objective case (512.21); cf. *-ma, causative; *-ma, suffix marking naturally paired objects; *mal-i/u, make

W -m, -um, objective case

N-BW yEcam, name (obj.)

PH -ma, animate objective case

PR -ma, objective case

*-ma, causative (423.33); cf. *-m, inanimate comitative; *-ma, suffix marking naturally paired objects; *mal-i/u, make; *ʔu-ma, thus (under *ʔu)

W -m, causative suffix (followed by indicative stem formant -a·)

PH -ma, causative

cf. PMy *um, with reflexes including: first cause, original motive, infix equivalent to cause of, motive of; by, because of, on account of, cause, fault (agentive suffix), as a result of (Brown 1990: 49)

*-ma, suffix marking naturally paired objects (511.3); cf. *-ma, causative; *-ma, objective case; *may, foot

W haqam, elbows (dual); cf. haqa, ankle, elbow < *haq, jointed (as of elbow or ankle); -m, generic aspect

P -ma, suffix marking naturally or conventionally paired objects (Whistler 1980: 256; e.g., sa·-ma, eyes; dam-ma, pair of gambling bones)

*made ? *mude ? mushroom sp.

N-G mi-mude, mushroom sp.; kitmude, mushroom sp.

PK made, edible wild mushroom sp.

PT bade, toadstool ? (Whistler 1976e from Radin)

*ma-le·-no, second person plural alienable possessive

W male·n, second person plural alienable possessive particular aspect

PH-U male·nomin, second person plural alienable possessive animate possessed

PT mile·nomin, second person plural alienable possessive animate possessed

PCC, T mile·no, second person plural alienable possessive inanimate possessed

PCC, T, R male·no, second person plural alienable possessive inanimate possessed

cf. Klamath ma:l'm, 2 pl. genitive (DeLancey 1987: 462)

*mal-i/u, make; cf. *-ma, causative; *-ma, objective case

W mala·, to make; mali, nominal stem; malu-, imperative stem

N-BW mali-, make

PH, R mali/u, to doctor

*ma·l-a, bake

*ma·la-s, nominal form

W ma·la, to make patties, make bread; ma·l(as), patty, patties

N-BW maLa, bread

PCC ma·la, to bake

PR-U ma·la-, to bake; ma·las, bake bread

*man-a·, miss; cf. *min-a, be nothing

W mana·, to miss (the mark), guess wrong

N-BW manay-, miss, be off, wrong (may be borrowed from P)

PCC, R mana·yi/u, to miss; K maya·yi/u, to make a mistake

cf. Alsea man'·-, min-, to fall short, to fail (Golla 1997: 163); Northern Yana and Yahi mal-..?a, to fail to hit, to shoot at and miss (Sapir & Swadesh 1960: 121); Northern Yana malla-, absent for a long time (ibid., p. 122)

*ma-t, second person singular inalienable possessive

W mat, second person singular inalienable possessive

N-BW ma-, second person singular inalienable possessive

PCC ma-, second person singular inalienable possessive

PCC, R mat-, second person singular inalienable possessive

SP-M mah, your

cf. PM *mi-, you sg., PMi *mi(·), thou, PCo *me(·), thou, PY *ma-ʔ, thou; PY *manʔ, *min, your sg., *manan, your pl., PU *mi·ny, me·ny, thy (Callaghan 2001: 328)

*ma-t, ear; cf. *mut-u, hear

W ma-t, ear

N-W ma-t, ear

PH, R mat, ma-t, ear

*ma-t-o, second person singular alienable possessive

W mato, second person singular alienable possessive

N-W mota, second person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed;

BW mohto

PCC, K mato, second person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed

PK, CC matomin, second person singular alienable possessive animate possessed

PR matono, second person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed

SP-M mo'-to, your

*may, foot

*may-a-, follow, track

W mah (p), may (g), foot; may, feet, tracks; mayuma-, to show, demonstrate, direct, teach, give directions

N-J mat, foot; M mi'-e, tracks; BW may-, chase, go after, go with; cf. N-S nismay, with (= me-following ?)

PH, R may, foot; maya-, to track

SP-V mainodv·'k^c, toes

*me(·)m, water

W me(·)m, water

N-BP mem, water

PH, R me(·)m, water

SP-A mem, water

*men, thing (511.4)

W -me, own, type, kind, variety; -men (g), -met (p); cf. *mE, deictic; *m, classifier

PCC -men, thing

*mi, tree

W mi(·), tree

N-B mī, tree

PR mi, tree

SP-M me'·, tree

cf. Molala ma·s, fir tree (Berman 1996: 15)

*mi, second person singular subjective

W mi, second person singular subjective

N-W mi, second person singular subjective

PCC, R mi, second person singular subjective

cf. PM *mi-, you sg., PMi *mi(·), thou, PCo *me(·), thou, PY *man', *min, your sg., PU *mi·ny, me·ny, thy (Callaghan 2001: 328); Klamath mi, 2 sg. genitive (DeLancey 1987: 462)

*mi-le ? *ma-le ?, second person plural subjective

W mite, second person plural subjective, neutral as to aspect
male·t, second person plural subjective particular aspect

PCC, K, R mile, second person plural subjective

SP-A mile, you pl.

*mi-le·t ? *ma-le·t ?, second person plural objective

W male·t, second person plural subjective particular aspect

male·tp'urum, second person plural objective particular aspect

PK mile·t, second person plural objective

*min-a, be nothing; cf. *man-a·, miss

*min-č^h-u-, to turn into nothing

*men-a, unspecified ?

W min-, die, dead; -min(a), negative suffix; minčuna·, for a loved one to die, to die on someone

N-BW -mena, possibility that something will happen: might, may, perhaps it will be; implies future time

PCC mina·, to extinguish; mint^hi/u, dark, fire to go out; K me·na, alone, nothing, something unspecified, anyway

PR-B me·na-lew, ordinary grass

cf. Alsea man'·-, min-, to fall short, to fail (Golla 1997: 163); Maidu and Nisenan -men, negative suffix (Berman 1983: 407)

*mi-pel, second person dual subjective

W me·l, second person dual subjective, neutral as to aspect

N-W me·l-palel, second person dual subjective; BW mEl, you two

PK, R mipel, second person dual subjective

SP-A mip'·-pel, you two

*mi-pele-no ? *ma-pele-no ? second person dual alienable possessive

W ma·len, second person dual alienable possessive particular aspect

me·lelen, ma·lelun, second person dual alienable possessive generic aspect

PR mapelenomin, mapelemin, second person dual alienable possessive animate possessed

mapeleno, mapelno, second person dual alienable possessive inanimate possessed

PH mipelnomin, second person dual alienable possessive animate possessed;

mipelno, second person dual alienable possessive inanimate possessed

*mi-pele-t ? *ma-pele-t ? second person dual objective

W ma·let, second person dual subjective particular

PK mipelet, second person dual objective

PR mipet, second person dual objective

*mis, second person singular objective

W mis, second person singular objective

N-BW mis, second person singular objective

PR mis, second person singular objective

cf. Klamath mis, 2 sg. object (DeLancey 1987: 463)

*mit, *mut ?, cover

W panti mituna·, to cover oneself with something; ʔol-mite, to put something up on something

PCC mutt^hupas, to cover up with

PR-B mot^hopa, to cover

*molo, short version of

W *mO, short: mu·la, (to be) short, be without ears, short as to nose, be very short; molika, to be bobbed, shortened

PK molok, picture, petroglyph, doll

*mo·loq, California condor

W mo·loq, bald eagle, white eagle

N-G molok, California condor

PH, R mo·lok, condor

SP-M mo'-luk, mowl'-luk, Calif. condor

cf. Northern Sierra Miwok mol·ok-u-, eagle, C. Hart Merriam gives 'California condor' (Callaghan 1987: 154); Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMis *mol·ok, condor. If this is the case, the loan extends across Wintun.

*moł, willow sp.

W moł, willow; also edible greens

N-M mōs^{ʔ1}, mos, willow

PCC, TT moł, big, brittle willow sp. (S. goodingii?)

*mon, juniper

N-M mun', juniper (*Juniperus*)

PH, R mon, juniper berries

cf. PK, TT-M monmon, McNab cypress ?, borrowed from Miwok (Whistler 1976e); Northern Sierra Miwok mo·nok-u-, cedar tree, incense cedar (Callaghan 1987: 155); Lake Miwok mónmon, a type of cedar, probably incense cedar (Callaghan 1965: 96) Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMi *mo·n, incense cedar. If this is the case, N would have borrowed from P or directly from Miwok, or P could have received its loan via N.

*moq, straighten up, fix up

W moqos, arrow straightener; muqas kerumada, I straighten arrows

N-C máh-kâ, arrow-straightener

PCC moknan, to fix oneself up, dress up; K mo·ke, big eagle or hawk feather coat

PR mo·ki, large feather cloak; B clown in dances

cf. Alesa mi:kw-a, arrow shaft (Golla 1997: 163)

*mo·r, tamarack pine (a variety of lodgepole) ?; cf. *moy, seed

W mo·ri, tamarack (a larch sp.)

PK mo·ra t^hok, knobcone pine ? Douglas fir ? tamarack pine ? variety of lodgepole

*moroq, move

*mormor (iterative)

W moroq, alive, move; mormoroq, (plural subjects) to be alive, to move, many to move, to quiver (as with life)

N-B p̄om̄ok̄o, earthquake [po·m mo·qo]

PK mormo·ruro, itch

PCC mołok, to move

PR-B mołok, to move

The correspondence of W and N r to PCC and PR ł is irregular and perhaps due to symbolism.

*moy, *muy, bend

W se-muyča, to bend around, of something pliable like copper wire; moyi·ya, to smile; pantimoy, bone behind upper teeth and lip

PCC moyi/u, angry; K moyʔaro, mad, in a rage; moyup'iriwin, fighter, warrior; PA-U muyʔa-, cranky

*moy, seed ? cf. *mo·r, tamarack pine

W moyʔolo·q, moy ʔoloq, tomato (analysis uncertain, but perhaps containing moy, "seeds"); cf. morit, pine seeds (Du Bois 1935: 115)

PK-M moyek, seedling conifer (Whistler 1976e); PTT mo·ye, seedling conifer ? (Whistler 1976e)

*mu(·)k-u, turtle-shell shaped

W mu(·)k-, turtle-shell shaped object, to cover with a turtle-shell shaped object;
muku-, imperative stem

PCC mu·ki/u, to lie on one's stomach

*munuq, sweet

W munuq, sweet

N-B mōnūka, sweet

PK munuk, be sweet, honey, nectar

cf. Molala mumu:s, fly (Berman 1996: 12); PUA *mumu, *meme, bee

*mut-u, hear; cf. *ma·t, ear

W mute, mutu-, hear, sense, perceive, understand, feel

N-S muta, hear

PH, R mutu-, hear

*mut-her, non-visual sensorial evidential (< *mut, hear + *her, passive)

W -nt^her, non-visual sensorial evidential

PCC -mt^her, -mut^her, tentative inference; implied sufficient grounds for certain knowledge; might (Whistler 1986: 69); indicates uncertain knowledge, an opinion rather than a claim of fact, or an assumption based on tenuous evidence rather than certain knowledge; translates as: I think ..., it looks like ..., might (Whistler 1986: 71); cf. -mte, -mute, tentative inference (?), morphological variant of -mt^her/-mut^her restricted to clauses in the irrealis mode, indicates assertion based on inference of circumstantial evidence but not direct knowledge; lacks the passive element -her (Whistler 1986: 72); cf. mut, to feel, auxiliary base of personal affect

n

*-n ? *-no ?, genitive case, marks alienable possessive and subordinate subjects (512.22, 531.35)

W -n, -un, genitive case; -tun, emphatic possessive

P -no, alienable possessive (inan. possessed); -nomin, alienable possessive (an. possessed)

SP-M che-lo'-no hek-ke, rabbit-skin blanket [with -no, possessive]. SP-A tiuncuhui and SP-G tiunsupui, eyelash, may contain a possessive -un identical to the W suffix; however the analysis of these forms is uncertain

cf. PU *-ny, *-yn ? (after consonant), *-n ? (after vowel); PY *-in, genitive case (Callaghan 2003: 73); Berman (1983: 402) reconstructed Proto-California Penutian possessive *-n (with vowel stems)/*-ən (with consonant stems)

*-(·)n, kinterm absolutive suffix (520.); cf. *-na, reflexive

See: *ʔe-(·)n, brother-in-law; *ne-(·)n, mother; *ta-n, father; *p'oq, woman, wife;

*ʔapa-n, grandfather; *ʔama-n, grandmother; *labe-n, older brother

- W -(·)n, kinterm absolutive suffix (unproductive)
 P -n, kinterm absolutive suffix (Whistler 1980: 201-203)

*-na, reflexive; also *-na· ? (possibly analyzable as *-n-a, *-n-a· ?) (423.34)

- W -n, reflexive (followed by indicative stem formant -a or -a·); cf. *na, trust, real, actual; ni, first person pronoun
 PH, R -na, reflexive

*na, *nah ?, mother; cf. *neh, mother, *ne· n, mother

- N-W -na(h), mother; Noema dialect nahan, mother; T-M me'-nah, mother (addressed); cf. tahan, father under *ta-(·)n
 PH-U na:k^he, mama (voc.); H-B nak^hu·, mother; A-U ʔuwe na·, oh, mother (voc.)
 PR nak^hu, mother (voc.)
 SP-A, G na, mother

Since the form is not attested in W, the N forms could be borrowed from P or vice versa

*nal ? *wal ?, lick (277.); cf. *wal-u, flame, lightning

- W walikna·, animal to lick itself; sem walikna·, to lick one's fingers; cf. t'elik, to lick; ʔel-t'alikta, to taste
 N-BW nal'-, nel'-, lick
 PCC nala-ko, to take a taste of; K nal-, na·l-, lick
 PR nal-, lick

*nam, through to the last

- W nam-, all together, thoroughly (namal, to all get together in an action; namča, to go through a series to the end, to enumerate all)
 PCC na·me, last time

*naq, relational locative; cf. *naq, navel

- W naq, (measure, quantity) be just that far, just so full, high; naqta, filled, to fill
 PH-U ʔeteknak, side of die with the number one on it ["one-side"]
 PR pinak, from there, from that side; sunak, from here, from my side
 SP-M hen'-nok me hen'-ně, where did you come from? [demonstrative/interrogative - side you come]

*naq, navel; cf. *naq, relational locative

- W naq, navel, umbilicus; naqkenti, belly, the part between the navel and the pelvis ("navel-below")
 N-BW nakdapi, belly button
 PK nak, navel; cf. daka, belly
 PR-B nak, nakar, navel
 cf. Mk naka, navel (Callaghan 2001: 321 citing Dixon & Kroeber)

*naw, robe; cf. *haw-a-l, wrap around

W naw, robed, clothed, dressed, of leather to be tanned, therefore clinging, of buckskin, a dress (nawal, to be clinging, or form-moulding, of a dress; to be tanned, of buckskin; te·rek nawal, the buckskin is tanned, i.e., it does not stand out stiffly when worn);

cf. haw-, coil, lasso, coil rope, round, around, wrap around

PK nawakta, soft; cf. hawa-l, rabbit skin

*ne- (also *ni- ?), first person pronominal root (531.11)

See: *ne-pel, *ne-pele-no, *ne-pele-t, *ne-r, *ne-t

W ne-, ni-, first person pronominal root

N ne-, ni-, first person pronominal root

P ne-, na-, first person pronominal root

*neh, mother; cf. *na, *nah ?, mother; *ne·n, mother

W ne·h, ne·t (p); ne·n (g), mother; net·nen, net·ne·h, my mother

PCC nehe·, mother (voc., one's own); neh, mamma (voc., used by kids?)

*ne·n, mother; cf. *na, *nah ?, mother; *neh, mother

*ma-ne·n, your mother

W ne·n (g), mother; cf. ne·neh, mother's sister; nen, female cross-cousin, aunt, great aunt, stepmother; nene, aunt, cousin; neneh, aunt, auntie, great aunt, stepmother, female first cousin, female cross-cousin only; nene·, reciprocal term between female first cousins

N-H mane·n, [your] mother

N-W ne·n, mother

PCC ne·nč̣u, my mother; mane·n, mani·n, your mother; K no·p ne·n, doe (deer mother); ne·nč̣^hu, mother (address)

PR ne·n, mother

SP-M nan'·choo, (my) mother; G nenchu, my mother

cf. Molala p^(h)nän, mother (with kinterm prefix) (Berman 1996: 10)

*ne-pel, first person dual subjective

W ne·l, first person dual subjective (neutral as to aspect)

N-BW nEl, first person dual subjective; W ne·la ?

PK, R nepel, first person dual subjective

*ne-pele-no, first person dual possessive

W ne·len, first person dual possessive particular aspect

PH-U nepelnomin, first person dual alienable possessive animate possessed

PR nepeleno, ours (inan. poss.)

nepelenomin, nepelemin, first person dual alienable possessive animate possessed

*ne-pele-t, first person dual objective

W ne·let, first person dual objective particular aspect

PK nepelet (“preferred over nepet”), first person dual objective
 PR nepe·t, first person dual objective

*ne-r, first person singular genitive

W ner, first person singular genitive

PCC, K, R nay, first person singular inalienable possessive and genitive

*ne·r, alike; cf. *ney, alone; *ne-n, mother

W ne·r, like, identical, alike, (also: imitate ?); cf. *nE, deictic

PH-B ne-re, to imitate

PR-B ne·r, to imitate; U nerta, mock

*nes, sturgeon

W niswih, steelhead salmon

N-C nēs, sturgeon

PH, R ne·s, sturgeon

SP-M nã-ã, sturgeon

*ne-t, first person singular inalienable possessive

W net-, first person singular inalienable possessive

N-W ne(·)t, first person singular inalienable possessive

PK net-, first person singular inalienable possessive (as in netŕe·nč^hu, my brother-in-law, my wife’s brother, also nayŕe·n)

*ney, alone ?; cf. *ne·r, alike

W-M ne’-o-hā-dah, lonesome

PCC ne·yi, don’t get anything at hunting, animals stay away

The analysis of Merriam’s W form is very uncertain. It may or may not contain neyo, cognate with P ne·yi.

*n(i)-, kinterm prefix resulting from metanalysis of first person possessive

W niča(·)y, grandson, niča(·)men, niece, granddaughter (vocatives minčay, yenčay, niča-men, yenčamen)

PH nik’an, co-spouse (Whistler 1980: 265)

*niŕ-u, holler

W niŕe, to scream, shout, holler, give a warhoop

PCC niŕi/u, scare away, flush out

*no-, arrow

W no·t, arrow(head)

N-M nawt’, arrow

PH nok’o, arrow

PR nok’o, arrowhead

The P forms may be borrowed from Maidu; cf. PM *nok’, arrow (Callaghan 2001: 322)

*noł, to bark

W nOł-, to bark

PH, R noł-, to bark

*nom, west

*nom-el, *nom-el-ti (with locatives)

W nom, west; nome·l, west uphill; nomelti, west across canyon or river

N-BW nom, west; nomelte', a little ways west; nomtipom, Covelo

PCC nom, west; nome·l, west, way over west, far off to the west; K nom, west

PR nom, west (close by); nomel, west (farther away)

SP-M no-mel'-te, west

*non, *nun, pronged, joined

W nOn, prongs, pronged, join, joint; ?el-nonči, joint (of human body or objects); ?el-nunalas, joint of the body; noni, prongs of spear

N-B nōnī, knee

PH, R nun, bow, gun

SP-M noon', bow

*no·p, deer, venison

W no·p, deer, venison

N-W no·p, deer; BW deer, meat

PH, R no·p, deer, meat

*noq-i/u, ripe

*noq-u-ma, make ripe

W nOq- (nuqa·, noq-i/u), be ripe, ripen; noquma·, cause to ripen

PH noki/u, ripe; nokuma-, cook

PR nok^hu-, ripen, get cooked

SP-M nuk'-ke, cooked, ripe

*nor, south

*nor-el, *nor-el-ti (with locatives)

W nor, south; nore·l, no·lti (< *nore·lti), southward across river or canyon

N-G noy, south

PH wor, south (initial C changed under the influence of "north," see *way)

PR wor, south; worel, south

SP-M war-rel'-te, south; A huori, south

*nuh, boat

W nuhdoli, raft; lit. boat-tied

PH-B nu·, balsa, tule boat

PR nu·h, boat, tule raft

SP-M noo', boat (bundles of tules)

cf. Mil nú·h, boat (Callahan 2001: 322 suggest that this is "most probably a Patwin loan word"; she also compares Northern Maidun nō, boat, from Dixon & Kroeber)

*nup-u, dive (272.)

*nup-u-s, diver

*nupnup, iterative

W nupe, to dive; nupu-, imperative and nominal stem; nupustopit, diver; nupnupe, many to dive

PH, R hupu, to dive; R-U ču huphupuhtu, I'm a diver; K hupusmen, hell-diver, grebe

Irregular n/h correspondence

*nu·q, smoke (273.)

W nu·q, smoke; nu·qa, to smoke (intr.)

N-S nuuq, smoke

PR mo·k-, smoke

SP-M nook', smoke (This appears in Merriam's comparative list only and is very difficult to read; it could be mook'. However, he would have written "mok" to represent [mo·k]. As his "oo" is clearly u-, nu·k is probably correct. This still leaves the PR m unexplained.)

*nur, salmon (272.)

W nu(·)r, salmon

N-B nūt, salmon; J nu rut, salmon

PH, R hur, salmon

SP-M hoor", salmon

Irregular n/h correspondence - cf. PCo *(h)u·raka, salmon (Callaghan 2001: 333); Alea nu:ns-, to eat; nu:ns, elk (meat) (perhaps basically nu:nu:s- and reduplicated from original *nu:s-) (Golla 1997: 163); cf. PW *no·p, deer, venison

o

*-o, suffix forming alienable possessive first and second person pronouns (531.35)

W -o, independent pronoun suffix marking alienable possession (neto, my, mine; mato, your, yours) and emphatic (niyo, I; piyo, he/she/it); cf. yo, vocative particle

N -o, first person singular alienable possessive suffix (occurs only in neto, first person, singular alienable possessive pronoun inanimate possessed, and ?eto, third person proximal alienable possessive inanimate possessed, but originally also in *mato, second person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed, which has been metathesized to mota)

P -o, second person singular alienable possessive suffix (mato (H), matono (R), your, second person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed; matomin, your, second person singular alienable possessive animate possessed)

P

*-pa ? *-paq ? benefactive (423.35)

W -paq, personal transitivizer (“we bought it for him,” “chase him”)

N-BW -pak, encouraging or commanding suffix (pi leaqapak, talk to him; macet c’aawpak, sing for your grandson)

N-G si-pa, vulgar word for sexual intercourse (< *siripa, with benefactive)

PH -pa, benefactive

SP-M mem har’-pah, go get water

*pał-, crush; cf. *paq, bone

W pała-, to pound meat, fish or potatoes, to crush or mash acorns, to crush anything with stones

NT-M pah’-che, marrow; B paLī, meat

SP-M pah^{ch}-le, marrow

*pan (also *pal ?), two; cf. *pel, dual; *pano(·)ł, three

W pa-lel, two (< **pan-lel ?); cf. pam, empty-handed; pan, move (step with two feet)

W-M pin’-nel poo’re, double

N-G pale, two; B, S palel; J pat tem; M pal-lem pum, twice

PCC pampata, two (< *panpata); K papata, two; panomo, Tuesday

PR pampata, two; pampasan, two months

SP-M pah-poh’-tah, pah-pah’-tah, two; pah-pah too we’-tah, two men; A papasem, ten [two hands]

cf. PY *ponij, two, PM *pe·ne, two (Callaghan 2001: 329)

*pano(·)ł, three; cf. *pan (also *pal ?), two

W panu(·)ł, three (Pitkin distinguishes panuł, three; panu-ł, several, many)

N-B panōL, three, twelve, eighteen

PCC pono(·)łta, three; K ponołta

PR ponołta, three

SP-M po-nōs’-tah, three; V pono’lta, three; ponoLsem, fifteen (three fives)

cf. Alsea (Buckley 1988:18) psinłx, three

*pan-ti, top; cf. *-ti, directional locative

W panti, (on) top, over, on (cf. pan-, move, -ti, directional)

N-J pen ti, on top; M pahs-pahn’-te, Red Bluff (“cliff top on”)

PH, R panti, up, on top of; also H pan-, on top of (Whistler 1977); (also tan; e.g. na·no duł tanwen, top of my head; na·no kewel tanwen, top of my house (possibly dissimilation p>t/_w, but see also p>t under *par, full; P also has a locative suffix -pa)

cf. PUA *pan, high (means “on top” in some daughter languages)

*paq, bone

*paq-ʔa, to be hard

*paq-a-ma (*paq-ʔa-ma ?), make hard

- W paq, bone; paqa·, to be hard; paqama·, to made hard, make stiff
 N-S paq, bone; cf. c'anpaqna, yellow (rust color) "like bone" ?
 PCC pak, bone; pakʔa, hard; pakʔama, to tighten something up; K pak, p^hak, bone; p'akʔa-, be hard
 PR pak, bone fishhook; pakʔa, hard
 SP-M pahk', bone, bone awl used in basketry

*paq-i, dam, weir

- W paqa·, to build a dam; paqi, bridge, dam; cf. puqe, to trap; M po'-kě, snare
 N-C p'á-ku, fish weir
 PK paki, fish trap, a net with rocks at the side weighting it down; H-U pako·, bridge

*par, full (274.)

*paro-ma, *paru-ma ?, fill

- W para·, to be full; paruma·, to fill
 N-M pah-yahk', full
 PH paro·-, to be full; K paroma, fill; CC paro·ma, fill up
 PR taroho, fill up; taralta, it's full

*pat, out(side) (prefix and independent word) (422.2)

- W pat, out, outside (prefix and independent word) (*pat, outer non-core; cf. pani-k-, encircle; pali, wrapped, bundled up)

N-BW pat, out, outside

PH, R pat, outside (prefix and independent word)

SP-M paht, out

cf. PMy *pa:tʷ, with reflexes including: outside, back of the body or of an object or outer side of, underside, the outside, a side of exposed surface, back, behind, outside the house, behind the house, outside the fence, and other related meanings (Brown 1990: 29)

*pate, mountain lion

W pate (g), mountain lion

PH, R pate, mountain lion

*pa·tpat, flat tule, cattail

N-M paht'-paht-too, flat tule or cat-tail (*Typha latifolia*)

PCC pa·tpat, flat cattails; K flat tule, cattails

PR pa·tpat, the head (fluff part) of a cattail, also the whole plant

cf. Mil pátpat, cattail, flat tule (Callahan 2001: 325 suggests that this is probably a loan word from Hill Patwin; she also compares Ykr patak, tule, Yv poton, tule)

*payi·ʔ, seed plant sp.

N-C pa·ʔ, upright bush with fine pods (< *payi·ʔ); cf. W paʔ-, pound, crush

PH payi·ʔ, seed plant sp. with (yellow ?) flowers

*-pel, dual (531.21); cf. *pan (also *pal ?), two
 See: *nepelet; *nepel; *nepeleno; *mipel; *mipeleno ?, *mapeleno ?; *mipelet ?,
 *mapelet ?; *pipel; *pupeleno; *pupelet; *ʔewpel, *ʔewpalel ?; *ʔewpelet

*pene(·)l, black oak acorn

W penel (g), penel (p), black oak acorn(s)

N-W pene:l ʔiw, black mountain acorns

PCC pene:l, *Quercus kelloggii* acorn; K mountain acorn

cf. Alsea pu:la, oak (Golla 1997: 163); Lake Miwok penéel, iron oak (Callaghan 1965: 108)

*per-i/u, swallow

*ber-e, be hungry, starve

*peru-, throat, esophagus

W pira-, peri/u-, to swallow, be hungry, starve; peru-s, throat, esophagus, back of tongue; bira-, to be hungry, crave, starve (< *bEr, starve); berem, hunger, starving

PCC peru-, throat; bereč^hoyi-, be hungry (swallow want); K peru-, swallow; peru-, throat, esophagus; beraʔaro, be hungry; berečheri/u-, starve [with passive]

PR peri/u-, swallow; bereʔč^hoyi-, be hungry

SP-M choo ber'-rā ā-bo-te, I am hungry

*pes, doorway, entrance

W pes, door(way), entrance; cf. *pE, without

PR ʔolpes, smokehole in dancehouse

cf. Alsea pni:k, outside, outdoor, door; Siuslaw pInak, garden (Golla 1997: 163); cf. also PW *pat, out(side)

*pi-, *pu-, demonstrative and quasi-pronominal third person root (531.15); cf. *bey, *be-, lie, be

See: *pi, *pile-no, *pi-pel, *pu-pele-no, *pu-pele-t, *pu-r, *pu-t, *pu-t-u-no

W, N pi-, pu-, third person pronominal root

P pi-, ʔu-, third person pronominal root

*pi, third person singular subjective

W pi, third person singular subjective

N-BW pi, third person singular subjective

PH, R pi, third person singular subjective; cf. pi, declarative modal particle (Whistler 1986: 63); pi-t, then (ibid., 65)

SP-M pi, he

cf. Klamath bi, 3 sg. contrastive (DeLancey 1987: 462); Molala -pin, his, her, its; Sahaptian pən-, he, she, it (Berman 1996: 18)

*pil-a-, hot; cf. *pil-u, wrap; *pohpil, summer

W pila-, person to be hot; pilama-, weather to be hot

N-BW pElam(ha)-, hot

PCC pela·, (hot) sunshine; K CC T pela·men, cicada (hot weather bug)

PR pila·-, hot

cf. Alsea pi:u:ł, to be warm (Golla 1997: 163)

*pi-le-no, third person plural alienable possessive

W pele·n, third person alienable possessive, particular aspect

PCC pile·no, third person alienable possessive, inanimate possessed, inanimate possessor

*pil-u, wrap; cf. *pil-a·, hot

W pile·, pilu-, to wrap

PCC pili/u-, wrap around

cf. W pali, wrapped, bundled up; PMy *b'al, with reflexes including: wrapping, bundling (Mopan b'ħlik), roll up, twist, wrap up, turn over (Brown 1990: 21)

*pi-pel, third person dual subjective

W pe·l, third person dual subjective, neutral as to aspect

pe·lel, third person dual subjective generic aspect

N-BW piloqEl, they two

PCC, K pipel, third person dual subjective

*pit, *pič (also *peč ?), squeeze; cf. *p^het, pound with flat surface; *p^hat-a, press;

*p'it, squeeze; *p^hit, mash

W pEt-, squeeze, pinch, constrict, press, poke, indent; doki piča, to choke someone; xun-piča, to squeeze; pečuma·, cause to squeeze

N-S kethen petame, squeeze

PCC p^hit'a·, to squeeze, to squash (one); K piti·ki/u-, squeeze

(P t could be from *č or *t)

*po·, now, new; cf. *po·m, ground; *po·-sani, today

W po·, new, now, recently; po·pom, now; po·bes, fresh

N-M paw', now; po'-pah-il, this year; BW pobe, new

PCC pa·, pa·l, now; K pa·, young; pal, now; cf. poho·wil, summer

PR pa·be, (brand) new

*po·-san-i, today; cf. *po·, now, new; *po·m, ground; *san-i, day, daytime

W po·sani, today, now

PCC, R pa·sani, today

*pohpil ? *po·pil ?, summer; possibly from *pompil, "earth hot," cf. *pil-a·, hot;

*pomsim, winter < *po·m, ground, earth

W po·pil, summer

N-G papil, summer

PCC, T, R poho·wil, summer; K ben p^hoho·wil, big summer (July)

*pol, water container

*p^hul, water container

W pulu·q, container, deep container, basket, white grass basket, tumbler, pot, jug, bottle, water-containing vessel < *pOl, container, hollow, sac
p^huluq, bowl

PCC, R polpol, lake, pond; K p^hoko·la, basket, dipper, bowl

PCC me·mp^hul, ocean (water all around, water seen in one place)

cf. Alsea p'uʔú·ya, bucket; p'uʔú·t, full (Buckley 1988: 23); Eastern Mayan *pul, with reflexes including: container, water jug, draw water, fill a container to the top, cup for drawing water, pitcher, cup, vessel, and other related meanings; Northern Sierra Miwok pulís:a-, little basket, water-tight drinking basket; pulut:a-, dipper, bowl for dipping; Plains Miwok puluc:i-, basket, water-tight basket; Achumawi pulu:la, small mush basket or soup bowl; Tunica póluhki, bottle (all from Brown 1990: 36-37)

*po·m, ground; cf. *po·, now, new; *pomsim, winter

W po·m, ground, earth, land, world

N-B p̄om, ground

PH-U pam, ground; T pom, under; po(·)m̄a, down

PR-U po·m, down; po·m̄a, down, low

*pomsim, winter; cf. *pohpil ? summer

W pomisim, winter

N-M p̄om-sim, winter

PH, R pomsim, winter

*posolo, boil; cf. *p^hot-u, boil; *p^ho·, fire

W posoloro, to boil (tr.), cook (tr.)

PR posolo, to boil

*pot, guts, intestines

W pot, intestines, guts, umbilical cord, bowels

N-BP pot, guts

PH, R pot, guts, intestines

SP-M pot', intestines

cf. PCC bus, belly; PMiw *púluk, belly, intestines; PCo *putlu, *puslu, pertaining to the belly; PU *puṭ·ul, *puṭlu-, *puṣlu-, belly, intestines; cf. PCos *pi·ti-(n), *pit·i-(n), abdomen, belly, tripe (Callaghan 2001: 320)

*puč-, jump

W počikta, to hop (Pitkin 1985 suggests this may be from pOk-, stick, prick, pierce, puncture, legs to stick out, hop; poko·ra, birds hopping along)

PCC puta·, to jump up and down (plural); putt^hu, to jump down (sg.)

PR putt^hi/u-, putaro, jump (up)

*puluq, mourning dove

W pulu-q ley, mourning dove, folk-etymology “basket throw” (cf. PW *pol, *p^hul, water container)

PK, T puluk, mourning dove; CC dove

PR pulukpuluk, mourning dove

*pum, stoop

*pumpum, many stoop, be all stooped (iterative)

W pumel, to be stooped; pomin pumpumel, many to stoop down; cf. p’um, bend, double up, hunchback, perhaps from *p’Om, be unable to unbend

PK pumpu-m?aro, all humped up, humped over

*pu·p, roe

W pu·p, salmon eggs, fish eggs, salmon roe, ovaries of salmon, a cluster of roe with skin on

PH pu·, roe

PR-B pu·, roe

Loss of final p in P is unexplained, perhaps dissimilation

*pu-pele-no, third person dual alienable possessive

W pule-n, pe-len, third person dual possessive particular aspect

pe·lelun, pule-len, pe-lelen, third person dual possessive generic aspect

N-BW piloqam, their (dual)

PCC ?upelno, third person dual alienable possessive inanimate possessed

PR ?upeleno, third person dual alienable possessive inanimate possessed

PH-U, T-U ?upelnomin, third person dual alienable possessive animate possessed, animate possessor

PT-U pipelnomin, third person dual alienable possessive animate possessed, inanimate possessor

PCC ?upe·lnomin, third person dual alienable possessive, animate possessed, animate possessor

*pu-pele-t, third person dual objective

W pule-tum, third person dual objective generic aspect (also pule-tum and purunis)

N-BW piloqEl, them two (objective)

PR ?upelet, ?upe(·)t, third person dual objective animate

PK pipelet, third person dual objective inanimate

*puq-, blanket

W (wenem)puqas, blanket, quilt (wenem = middle)

PR p’okor, blanket type, comforter

PT-U kupu, blanket (metathesis)

*pu-r, third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive

W pir, third person singular genitive

pur, third person singular alienable possessive
 N-W puy, third person singular genitive
 PCC, K, R ʔuy, third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive

*pur-i, dark

W puri-wa, be or get dark; puri-wi, darkness
 N-G pu-itber, third-quarter moon, moon won't be up until late
 PH-U p^huy ʔaʔta, dark outside

*pu-t, third person singular objective

W put, third person singular objective, neutral as to aspect
 putam, third person singular objective particular aspect
 N-W put, third person singular objective
 PCC pi-t, third person singular objective inanimate; ʔu-t, third person singular objective animate
 PK, R ʔut, third person singular objective animate

*pu-t-u-no, third person singular alienable possessive

W putun, third person singular inalienable possessive
 N-BW putuna, his, her
 PCC, K, R ʔu-no, third person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed

*puy, east

*puy-el, *puy-el-ti (with locatives)

W puy, east; puye-l, eastward uphill; puyelti, there in the east (cf. *pu, yonder, there, those; pi, third person)
 N-H puytipom, east; BW puy-, east, puye, a little ways east, pEl-, east a short distance (a back formation from peltipom, way east, < *puyeltipom)
 PCC puytuka, east; purnapomti-, east spirit; K puybe, puytuka, east; T-B puyel, east
 PR puy, east (close by); puyel, east
 SP-M poo'-yel'-te, east; A puri, east

p^h

*p^hat-a, press; cf. *pit, squeeze; *p^het, pound with flat surface; *p^hit, mash

W p^hata-, to press

PH p^hatay, seed beater

cf. PMy *pat (or *pat^y ?), with reflexes including: to form or shape tortillas from dough, mold with mud or soft substance, to shape or make pots from clay, mold, knead; Sierra Miwok patwa-, to press something down (all from Brown 1990: 29-30)

*p^hek-a-y-i/u ? *hik-a-y-i/u ?, stand (275.); cf. *he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative root

*p^hekp^hek-a-y- ? hikhik-a-y- ? many stand (iterative)

- W hika·ya/i/u-, to stand; hikhikaya, many to be standing < hEk, stop, stand, stop in a standing position; cf. hik-, rake, hoe; hok-, jump; hik-, heap, mound, pile; *hE, stand (cf. hEy, stand bending; hE, demonstrative-interrogative)
- N-BP hekka, ʔolheka, to stand up; BW kenheka'-, stand
- PH p^heč^ha·yi/u-, stand up; cf. p^hič^hi·ya, foot of cloven hoofed; H-B piči·ya, legs of animal; CC p^hetp^heč^ha·y-, to stand (plural)
- PR p^hič^ha·yu, to stand up
- PH p^hič^hi·ya, foot of cloven hoofed, and PK pako·, foot log (< *waqu·, *waqo· ?, log) may point to a prefix p-, meaning “foot.” If it is of PW ancestry, it may have combined with *hik-a·y-i/u, creating the two variants for “stand.”

*p^he·ł, milkweed, wild hemp

- N-K peL, Indian hemp; M narrow leaf milkweed (*Asclepias*)
- PCC p^he·ł, plant used for string; K p^he(·)ł, milkweed, twine, Indian string; KT p^he·ł, wild hemp (Whistler 1976e)

*p^hem ? *bam ? grasp in one or both hands (276.)

- W bam, put, arrange, part, carry, close with hands (cf. bam, fist)
- PCC p^hemtarō, carry (held in one or both hands, grasped); H-U (peru·) p^hemta, choke (someone, lit. throat grasp); cf. *ʔemi/u-, hold in arms (under *ʔimit)

*p^her-, louse

- W p^heres, body lice
- NG-M ped'-de, gray back; T-M ped-dem, larger [than yellowjacket] wasp; B perem, yellowjacket
- PH p^heri·, (head) louse
- PR p^heris, head louse (body louse); Whistler 1976e: p^heri·, louse
- cf. PM *pedes, body louse, PYnim *p^hat^hat^h ? body louse (Callaghan 2001: 327)

*p^het, pound with flat surface; cf. *p^hit, mash (perhaps the same root); *pit, squeeze; *p^hat-a, press; *p^h'it, squeeze

- W p^hEt-, hammer, pound: p^he·ta, to pound with a heavy flat surface; p^hita, to hammer; p^hetaqas, flat
- PR p^hete, seed paddle, seed beater

*p^hil-i, cut with sharp edge, cut long objects

- W p^hi·la, p^hile, cut with scissors; p^hile·, to have a sharp edge; p^hili-, nominal form
- PK, R p^hil-, p^hili-, cut hair
- cf. *Alsea plu:h*, feather, hair (Golla 1997: 163)

*p^hil-i, crawling (like a snake), slithering (creature); cf. *wil-i, *p^hil-i ? smooth

- W p^hi·l-, crawl, slither (snake) (< p^hil-, cut long objects); p^hi·lit, mountain whipsnake, snakes; p^hiloq, earthworm
- PCC, K p^hili-men, centipede; CC t^ho·k pilimen, snake sp.; T-U t^ho·ł pilimen,

tree snake; cf. CC p^hilto·kupa, to slip (and fall)
 PR koyop^hil(i), earthworm, fishworm

*p^hintus, skunkberries, sumac berries

W p^hintus, sourberry (*Rhus trilobata*); skunk wood, skunk bush, skunk berries

NGT-M pin'-too, sour berry, aromatic sumac (*Rhus trilobata*)

PK p^hintus, skunkberries, sour berries, skunkbush sumac

*p^hit, mash; cf. *p^het, pound with flat surface (perhaps the same root); cf. also *p^hat-a, press

W p^hitel, to be smashed

PCC p^hiti/u-, smash, mash something soft

cf. PMy *pic', with reflexes including: squeeze, wring, milk, blow nose, to twist in order to squeeze out, press, disembowel, tighten, press down, press something in order to extract liquid within; Lake Miwok p^hic'a-, to squeeze, crush quickly; Classical Nahuatl pici:nilia:, to squeeze something out for someone; Totonac p'it'á, squeezes it, squeezes it with the finger; Choctaw piciffi, to squeeze; Tunica písa..., to press, to squeeze (all from Brown 1990: 30)

*p^hit, feathers

W p^hit, feathers; p^hites, pites, valley quail

N-W p^hit, eagle

PH p^hit, feathers; CC also yellowhammer band

PR p^hit, yellowhammer feather or belt

*p^ho-, protrude, swell; cf. *bul, protrusion; *p^hoyoq, head; *p^ho-, float

W *p^hOw, protrude, as in p^hoyoq, head; p^hOw-, swell; cf. p^hOb, lump, burst, spurt, fart; phoq, explode; p^hOyVq, protruberance (head, mountain, knee); mi p^hoit, knobs or knots of growth on trees; p^hulit, bulges on a sick tree; p'olčus, knobbed club

N-S phowca, swell

PCC p^ho-, ankle; phop'a, any stump, brush stump, the big burls that grow on oaks; K p'ota·k, ankle, elbow; p^hota·k, ulna ?, the forearm bone of a human, deer, etc.; H-B p^homak, knee

PH, R p^hokt^hi/u, swell; CC p^hol-, well up

SP-V podo'k, knee

*p^ho-, float; cf. *p^ho-, protrude

W p^ho(·)q-, p^hos-, float

N-S p^hoyp^hoya, float

PR p^howt^hi/u, float

*p^ho-, fire; cf. *p^hot-u, boil; *p^hu(·)ł, blow

W p^ho·h, fire

N-S p^hoh, fire

PH, R p^ho·, fire

SP-M paw', pō, pōh', fire

cf. Proto-Algonkian *po-tawe-wa, fire; *po-tawe:, make a fire (Hewson 1993: 166)

*p^hon, dew

W p^hono-ra, to drizzle, to be misty; p^huna:, to be dewy, to be dew

N-G pon, dew

PT po(·)n, dew

*p^hoq, clap; cf. *p' oq, *p^hoq, pop

W p^hoqp^ho·q-, clap

N-BW pokca-, shoot

PCC p^hoka-, to clap (pl., more than once), make a clapping noise; p^ho·kt^hi/u, to clap (sg.), clap hands together once

cf. Molala p^hak^h, “bang” (Howard Berman, personal communication, 2003); PMy *poq', with reflexes including: burst open, thunder, burst, raise blisters, explode, sound of a bean pod or of a pod of the plant *poq'* upon breaking open; Northern Sierra Miwok poktu-, to burst, explode, to blast open; Yuki pok', pop, explode; Choctaw bokafa, to break open, to crack, to burst, to open, to explode, and other similar onomatopoeic forms (Brown 1990: 41)

*p^hor, wreck (275.)

W yel-horuma:, to break, destroy; yel-hura, to outgrow, be spoiled, broken, be the remains, be left over; po·m yelhura, to be an earthquake, earth to be destroyed; < hOr, be left, remain

PR p^hor-, break (off)

*p^hot-u, boil; cf. *p^ho:, fire; *posolo, boil

*p^hot-u-ma, boil (tr.)

W p^hOt-, p^huta:, boil, steam (intr.); p^hotuma:, to boil (tr.), cause to boil

PH, R poti/u-, boil; potumaro, boiling (tr.)

*p^hoyoq, head; cf. *p^ho-, protrude, swell

W p^hoyoq, head

N-W p^hoq, head

P p^hakulul, p^hakokol, head (the first from Swadesh's Wintunian word lists, the second written in by Whistler; dialect ?)

SP-V bu·k^c, head

SP-M bük, head

*p^huk, *buk, ashes, dust

W bukul, dust, soil, dirty; dočibukul, ashes (fire making dust); p^huke:, snow to be powdery or like dust; p^huq, ashes after they're dumped (cf. p^hOq, explode, erupt ?); p^huk^hul, dust (Swadesh 200-word diagnostic list from Wintunian word lists with notes by Whistler); M poo'-tus, Indian summer, smoky haze; cf. W-P baq, dusty, misty, smoky, thick of atmosphere

N-S p^huk, ashes, dust

PK p^hut, dust, ashes
 PT p^hut, p^huč, ashes, dust
 PR p^hut, ashes, dust (fine dust only, e.g., when blowing); butiʔaro, dusty
 Widespread areal term; e.g. Klamath boqboqʔ-, become dusty, dusty-white; Nez
 Perce púxpux, dust; Sahaptin papxw, dusty, gray, faded; Molala puqp, dust; Wasco
 -spux, dust (Berman 1996: 20); Mil póʔtel, white ashes from a forest fire, Mm
 pʔidúsi, ashes (Callaghan 2001: 323)

*p^hul, see *pol

*p^hu(·)ʔ-u, blow (of person, not the wind); cf. *p^hu(·)r-u, breathe; *p^ho·, fire

*p^hu(·)ʔ-č^h, blow on, blow at

W p^hu·ʔa, p^huʔe, p^huʔu-, to blow; p^hu(·)ʔča, to blow out, blow away; cf. pʔu·ʔa, to
 spray

N-PS p^hu·ʔa, to blow; BW puLcuʔ-, blow

PCC p^hu·ʔi/u-, to whistle, blow into (plural); p^huʔ^hu-, blow on (sg.); K p^huʔ^hu-,
 blow out, exhale, blow away, blow on

PR p^huʔu, blow on, winnow; U p^hu·ʔ^hi/u, blow for a long time

Widespread areal imitative term connecting ‘fire’ and ‘blow’; cf. e.g. Proto-
 Algonkian *po·ta·čike·, he blows (Hewson 1993: 166) and Proto-Algonkian forms
 listed above under PW *p^ho·, fire

*p^hu(·)r-u, breathe; cf. *p^hu(·)ʔ, blow

*ʔol-p^hur-u, breathe

*p^hu·ru, heart

W p^hu(·)r-, p^hu(·)ru-, breathe; ʔol-p^hure, ʔol-p^huru-, to breathe; p^hu·rus, heart

N-S p^huyna, breathe; BW ʔolpuynaʔ, breathe

PCC p^hu·ru-, to rest; p^hu·ru(ma), heart; K ʔolp^huru, to breathe; p^hu·ru, heart

PR p^hu·ru-, rest; ʔolp^huru-, breathe

SP-M pooʔ-roo, heart

pʔ

*pʔač-a, spark

W pʔa·ča, send out sparks, splash; cf. pʔay, set fire to

PCC pʔata·, spark; K pʔat^ha·, (one) spark

PR pʔatah, to pop, spark

*pʔa..l..m-, *pʔa..m..l-, bobcat, wildcat

W pʔilimet, civet cat, bobcat; pʔalimet, wildcat, lynx, bobcat

PK pʔamalay, wildcat, bobcat

PR pʔamalay, wildcat, mountain lion

*pʔaq, pound

W pʔaqča, to crack acorns (with a stone)

PCC pʔaki/u-, to nail; K pound, hammer

PR p'ahta, cracking (acorn) (by hitting on top)
 SP-M choo-oot po-ko'-so-te, I struck him

*p'at, viscous
 W p'ata', to be thick (of doughy things)
 PCC p'at^{hi}/u-, viscous, thick

*p'e-, inclusive person pronominal root (531.12); cf. *p'ur-i, reciprocal
 See: *p'e-le, *p'e-le-no, *p'e-le-t, *p'e-pel, *p'e-pele-no, *p'e-pele-t
 W, N, P p'e-, inclusive person pronominal root

*p'e:l ? *p'i:l ? go out, pour out slowly; cf. *bil, burn bare
 W p'i-la, to pour out slowly, to spill liquid
 PCC p^{ho}· p'e-les, fire going out, glowing (not quite out); T-U p'ilp'ilo, water
 flowing but almost dry

*p'e-le, first person inclusive plural subjective
 W p'ele, first person inclusive plural subjective, neutral as to aspect
 N-W p'ele', first person inclusive plural subjective
 PK p'ele, first person inclusive plural subjective

*p'e-le-no, first person inclusive plural alienable possessive
 W p'ele-n, first person inclusive plural alienable possessive, particular aspect
 PK p'ele-no, first person inclusive plural alienable possessive, inanimate
 possessed

*p'e-le-t, first person inclusive plural objective
 W p'ele-t, first person inclusive plural subjective particular aspect
 PK p'elet, first person inclusive plural objective
 PR p'ele-t, first person inclusive plural objective

*p'e-pel, first person inclusive dual subjective
 W p'e-l, first person inclusive dual subjective, neutral as to aspect
 N-W p'e-l, first person inclusive dual subjective
 PK, R p'epel, first person inclusive dual subjective

*p'e-pele-no, first person inclusive dual alienable possessive
 W p'e-len, first person inclusive dual alienable possessive particular aspect
 PL-U p'epelno, first person inclusive dual alienable possessive inanimate
 possessed
 p'epelnomin, first person inclusive dual alienable possessive animate
 possessed
 PR p'epeleno, first person inclusive dual alienable possessive inanimate
 possessed

*p'e-pele-t, first person inclusive dual objective

W p'e-let, first person inclusive dual subjective particular

PK p'epelet, first person inclusive dual objective

PR p'epe-t, first person inclusive dual objective

*p'it-e, choose

W p'ite, to choose, pick, select (the favorite)

PCC p'it-, pick out; K p'ite-, pick out

*p'ir-č^h-u, to skin

W p'irča, to skin an animal

PT-U p'irtu?, skin animal (imp.)

PCC p'it^hu, to skin, peel; K p'ilt^huro, to skin

PR-B perto, to skin

*p'it, squeeze; cf. *pit, squeeze; *p^het, pound with flat surface; *p^hat-a, press; *p^hit, mash

W p'ite, to feel fruit to see if ripe, i.e., to squeeze; p'ita-, to squeeze (as through narrow confined space); cf. p'it-, thick, sound of splashing of thick liquids

PH-L p'it^hi-ko, fist

*p'od, physical injury

W p'ode-la, to (get) hurt, get injured physically, bodily; ruptured; perhaps < *p'Od, move back and forth, splash, vibrate, nod, spasm, quiver

PR p'odi, to pluck off (feathers off a bird, things off a tree)

*p'olo-q, tie a knot

W p'olo-qa, to tie a knot, to tie on a bow

N-K polō'ka, knot; BW ?Elpoloknat-, tie

PCC p'olo-ki/u-, to knot on tightly; tie on tightly

*p'oloy, potato sp.

W p'oloy, Indian potatoes; 'cat ears' (a wild edible plant)

NGT-M pos'-loi, *Brodiaea grandiflora* (Indian potato)

PK p'osoy, *brodiaea* sp. (Whistler 1976e)

*p'oq ? *p^hoq ? pop; cf. *p^hoq, clap

W p^huqa-, p^hoqa-, to erupt, blast, pop

PCC p'oka-, to pop, crackle

*p'oq, woman, wife; cf. *p'ot, old woman; *p'oqi-ta, woman; *p'ukuy, *p'uquy, young girl

W p'uqat (p), p'uqan (g), wife; p'uqaq'es, women; p'uqana, man to marry

N-S -p'oqan, wife

PCC, K, R ?onok, wife (Whistler 1980: 253 proposes *pur-un p'oq, his woman > Proto-Southern Wintun *?ur-un-ok > P ?uy-?onok, his wife; cf.

loss of p in P reflexes of *p'ukuy, *p'uquy, young girl, and loss of initial p in two SP forms: SP-M o-ke'-tah, woman < *p'oqita, and ʔur, wild onion < *p'u(-)r.)

PCC p'oksenč^hu, sister-in-law, brother's wife; p'okuytu, mouse sp.; H-B pokoytu, shrew; T p'ukuytu, shrew

PR p'oksen, sister-in-law (husband's sister, wife's sister)

PCC, K, T, R p'o·k, beaver

cf. PMiw *póč·is, woman, old woman (Callahan 2001: 331 suspects that this Proto Western Miwok form is a deep loan word from some Patwin dialect that underwent palatalization)

*p'oqi-ta, woman; cf. *p'oq, woman, wife; *p'ot, old woman

W p'o·qta, woman, female

PCC, K, R p'okita, woman

SP-M o-ke'-tah, woman; cf. o-kis', little girl (4-12)

*p'oq^hom, *p'o(t)q^hom, poison oak

W p'otxom, poison oak; cf. p'uka·s, poison

PH, R p'ok^hom, poison oak

SP-M po-cho'-kum, poison oak

cf. Klamath č'imtsam, poison oak (Barker 1963:87); Atsugewi póxóm, poison hemlock (Olmsted 1964:10)

*p'ot, old woman; cf. *p'oq, woman, wife; *p'oqi-ta, woman

W p'uta·, to be or grow old, of women; p'utah, grandmother, father's sister

N-W p'ota·s, old woman

SP-M 'pot, 'paht, 'pawt, old woman

*p'ukuy, *p'uquy, young girl (265.); cf. *p'ot, old woman; *p'oq, woman, wife; *p'oqi-ta, woman

W p'ukuy, p'uquy, niece; p'ukusta, step-daughter, young girl

N-W č'u·n, older sister (borrowed from Hill Patwin); N-H net c'u·n, my (older or younger) sister

PH ʔuču-, ʔuču·n, older sister; PCC nay ʔuču·n, my older sister; K na·min ʔuč^hu·n, ʔuč^huč^hu, my older sister; but: p'ukuytu, shrew, with preserved *p'

PR ʔut^hu·n, older sister

Whistler 1980: 110-111: "Hill Patwin shows the expected reflex of the Proto-Wintun etymon.... River Patwin, however, shows a second consonantal fronting: č>t^h... The reasons for this second, irregular fronting are obscure; conceivably it could be influenced by the regular, synchronic morphophonemic alternation between /č/ and /t/ in Patwin verbs, although the conditioning factors are not really appropriate for the kinterms." Ibid., p. 275: ">*p'oq (woman) + **kuy (small) > *p'uquy/*p'ukuy. "The recording of both q and k as the medial consonant in Wintu suggests that the medial consonant cluster simplification was never firmly resolved one way or the other, resulting in a lexical doublet."

cf. PYgen *na-ʔat^h, older sister

*p'u(·)r, *p'u(·)l, wild onion

W p'u·l, p'u·r, wild onion (p'u·l < *p'u·r + -h, particular aspect or < *p'u·l + -h ?)

PCC p'ur, wild onions

K pulway, a bulb that grows around Cooks Springs, like an onion though not as strong; pu·rway, edible bulb, like an onion; K, T busway, wild onion; H-U pu·rway, wild onion

SP ?ur, wild onion (Whistler 1976e)

*p'ur-i, nipple; cf. *p'ur-i, reciprocal

*p'ur-u, seep out

W ?i·mit p'uri, nipple; p'ure, to suckle; p'u·runa·, milk to come out of the nipple; p'u·ra, to milk a cow

PCC p'uri, a seep, a small spring; p'uri/u-, spring water to come out of the ground, to seep out; K p'oy, nipple

PR-U boy, nipple

*p'ur-i, reciprocal (423.36); cf. *p'ur-i, nipple; *p'e-, inclusive person pronominal root

W -p'ur, reciprocal; -p'ure, indicative form; -p'uri, nominal form

N-C dūr'-yu-pu-di, gift dance [give-reciprocal-nominal]

PH, R -p'ir, reciprocal

SP-V ciripisi', copulate

SP-M ^{ch}leb-bah'-per-re, war [fighting each other]

cf. Karok pura·n, each other

q

*qa-, green heron ?

W qa·tqat, duck, mudhen, coot

NG-M mem'-kawt, coot (fulica), green heron (*Ardea virescens*)

PK kalawk'awk'aw, green heron; PT k'awk'aw; TT k'awk'aw ? (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

PR k'awk'awč^hu ?, green heron (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

*qa, referential; cf. *he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative; *k, completive

W qat, referential (as for, perhaps, rather); qa, qah, or, and/or, uninflected particle, sentence connective

PT, CC ka, irrealis modal particle, a clitic (sometimes merely seems to indicate indefinite reference for a subject nominal (Whistler 1986: 63)

PR kana, but

*qaçit, hawk or falcon sp.

W qaçit, goshawk; cf. k'atit, hawk, chicken hawk (? < k'aç, crunch); k'açet, bald eagle

N-M kah'-chit, red-tailed hawk (*Buteo borealis*)

PCC kat^hit, kati·t, bullethawk, peregrine falcon; K k^hat^hi·t, bullethawk, peregrine falcon; K,T, R kati·t, prairie falcon (Whistler 1976e); cf. CC kač^hartu, sharp-shinned hawk (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

PR kati·t, hawk sp. smaller than red-tail

SP-M kah-teet', duck hawk

*qalaw, alder; cf. *k'al-, intense visual perception

W qalaw, alder

NGT-M kal-low'-me, tree alder (*Alnus oregana*)

PCC, T kalaw, white alder

cf. Alsea ql̥xa:-(?)c-t', alder (Golla 1997: 164)

*qaq, indistinct color ?; cf. *q'a·q, mental clouding; *qoq, bark

*qa·q, raven, crow

W qaqalas, faded brownish color, dirty-looking color; qa·qi, grayish; qa·qat, raven; qaqał yemer, Milky Way (also q'aqał yemer, "oblivion road," from *q'a·q, mental clouding)

N-C k·ak, raven; GT-M kakh', raven (*Corvus corax*); BW qak, crow

PK kakt^huro, light brown; kakt^hi č'alal, "pale flower," *Gilia capitata*; CC ka·k, ko·k, raven, big black bird; T ka·k, raven

PR ka(·)k, crow

SP ka·k, raven (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

Widespread imitative word for crow/raven

*qar-č^h-, rake (toward self ?, with mediopassive); cf. *k'ar-a, scrape

W se-qarča, to stir cooking; cf. se-k'ači·ča, to stir, grind; qEr-, pull

PH-U kart^hi, to rake; cf. CC k'a·do, to rake up

*qer-e-, belch

W qerča, qere·ta, qeruča, to belch; cf. qira·, to moan; qerumena·, suffer

PK kere·-, belch

*qeti, *q'eti ? wormwood

W qeti, wormwood; Pitkin also lists xeti for McCloud dialect; cf. xit, chaparral; xetin, camas

NG-M ki'-te, kã'-te, sage herb; K kêtit, wormwood; NT-M 'ki'-et-te, sage herb (*Artemisia ludoviciana*)

PH, R k'et^hi, mugwort wormwood (*Artemisia vulgaris*)

*qewel, house; cf. *xerel, people of, village

W qewel, house, home, nest; cf. kum, be without holes, be a good shelter, provide shade

N-PS k·el, house; BW qel, house (cf. hiwa, home); G kewel, place; kêtêl, village; T-M kã'-el, house (appears to be intermediate form in loss of w)

PCC kewe, house; K kewel

PR kewe?, house

SP-M kě'-wel', house

cf. Alsea qli:xw-, to hide, cover; qlxwi:-slo:, hidden place, secluded spot (Golla 1997:164); PUA *kami-l (Nichols 1981: 26). PW *qewel and *xerel may be reborrowings of the same UA form or from two UA languages.

*qir, pull; cf. *her-u, motion back and forth; *q^her, scrape; *kip, pull or throw up

*qirqir, pull (iterative), drag

W qEr-, qire, to pull, drag, draw; qirqire, to pull repeatedly, many to pull

N-S qii, pull

PCC ?olkir, to pick up with the hand (cf. -kir, to move with hand by pulling);

K ?olkir-, ?olk^hir-

PR-B ?olkir, ?olketa, to pick up

PCC -kir, to move with hand (by pulling) (a bound form, requires a prefix);

kirkiri, to drag

PK ?olkirisok, thing you pick up (fork); k'irkita, dragging

PR kirkir, to drag

*qoh, prone, inclined

W quhal, to fall prone; cf. kuk-, knock-kneed, bowlegged; qOh-, tan a bear hide, i.e., stretched out on a frame; koho-ra hara-, to walk noisily

PH-U ko-ho, cripple, limp; HT-B lame; A-U koh-, cripple

*qol, throw water on fire (making steam)

W ?ol-qolča, ?ol-qolčupaq, to throw water on the fire; ken-qula, to pour water

PK, T kula-, little sweathouse

PR-B kola, sweathouse; U k'ula-, sweathouse for ladies

*qo(·)l, mouth; cf. *holoq, hole; *k'olom, cup-type basket; *kalay, gap

W qo(·)l, mouth

N-PS qo-l, mouth

PH, R ko-l, mouth; cf. K ko-lma, sing; R-B kolto, song leader

SP-A kol, mouth

*qo(·)la, hide, buckskin

W qu-lah, qu-leh, qu-lit, qu-let, elkhide; qu-lit, qu-let, elk; qu-le, elkhide robe, elkhide armor, dressed elkhide, elkhide clothes; cf. qOh, tan bearhide; qOl, shed; qu-l, lie down undressed; k'ula, to strip off maple bark; č'ahay k'ulaw, maple bark apron; se-korča, to put buckskin across the opening of a door or window < kOr, net, veil, cataract

N-C kú-lēt, elk; kú-le, tunic armor; kâ-lat, deerskin robe

NT-M ko-lah't, buckskin (tanned)

PK k'olay, hide (snake, lizard); H-B k'o-lay, buckskin; T-U k'olay, skin, hide of human or animal

PT k'olay, hide, skin, buckskin

PR-B k'o-lay, buckskin

cf. Proto-Pomo *qá·lab?, *qalá·b?, maple (McLendon 1973: 81)

*qo·ltep, poorwill; cf. *qo(·)l, mouth, *tep-i/u, emerge, sprout, cross (meet)

W qo·ltep, poorwill

NG-M hōl-dep, poorwill (Phalaenoptilus); T-M hahl'-dēp

PK ko-l-te-pat, poorwill (mouth wide open)

*qom ? *q'om ?, big one(s) (particularly animates), “big old”

W qomos, big things, older relatives; ancestors, big, a lot, “big old”

N-B komosa, large; C ko-mó=mēm, ocean (big water)

PH k'om, big; K k'ombanomin lolol, “old-people's flute”

PR k'om, big, used for things that grow, animals, fruits, also beads

*qop, bathe; cf. *q^hat, *q^hot ?, wet; *qum, dip

W qOp, bathe, wade, swim, dive, wash

N-S qopaa, swim

PCC kowi/u-, bathe, swim (not moving through water) (*p>w ?)

PR koyi/u-, bathe, take a bath

*qoq, bark; cf. *qaq, indistinct color ?; *q^hapla, outer bark

*qoq-č, skin

W qo·q, bark; qoqči, skin, fur, hide; cf. xan-xuqa, to split off bark; qOq, peel

N-C kóh-chi, deerskin

PH kokču, skinny, thin (of person)

PR k^hoki, bark (of tree)

*qoq- ? skull

N-M tsoo-noo'-ko-ko, skull (analysis uncertain)

PH-B, R-B p^hakakay, skull; R-U pakukul; cf. *paq, bone

*qor-i/u, grind; cf. *k'ar-a, scrape; *k'or, scratch; *k'ur-a-, tear

*qor-i, meal (pinole type)

W qura-, qori/u-, to grind; nep qori, meal of pounded grasshoppers; cf. q'Ot-, hit

N-B kōī, pinole, meal

PCC kori/u-, grind; kori, pinole; cf. kurt^hu, to break up; kurči, something frail (if you hold it, it breaks, like an eggshell); K k^hori/u-, pound (pinole); kori (also k^hori ?), pinole; cf. k'ori/u-, smash up, mash up

PR kori/u, grind seeds, pound up; cf. k^hort^hi/u-, scrape, clean scales off fish

*quč-u, tickle

W qučula, quču·qa, qučuqučuča, to tickle

PK č^huku-, tickle; PH-U čuki (metathesis with regular sound change *q > k, but no fronting *č > t)

*qul, flame ?; cf. *holol, sunshine; *č'ot-, flow

W qul, waves < qOl, throw, spill, pour liquid, esp. water; č'ul, flame; cf. č'ul, pour, spill (cf. “sunlight spills”)

PR kulta, to flame (up), kulu, a flame

*qum, dip; cf. *qop, bathe; *dum, dip

W qum-, to soak dried absorbant things, crush something dry before soaking

PT-U ku-mul, to dip oneself up and down in water

q^h

*q^hal, away, other, different; cf. *q^han, away

W xal-, other, apart, separate, away from, other, different, strange

PK k^hal-, away, different

yu-ta pi k^halo-hara-bus, the rain all went away

PR k^halt^hoy, visitors, strangers, people coming from somewhere else

cf. Alsea qahal-, different, other; q^hla:hk-, to run away, escape (Golla 1997: 164);

PMY *xal/xel, with reflexes including: different, contrary, varied, opposite, differ, vary, divide, change, diverse, other, of another kind, foreign, distinct (Brown 1990: 25)

*q^hal-tu ? spirit

(The N and P forms below are shared areally, which most likely makes this a borrowing between N and P. However, PW *q^hal, away, other, different + *-tu(·), person, people, is a plausible derivation, so perhaps the term is of PW ancestry in P (with double fronting) and was then borrowed into N. W ya-paytu·, spirit, may have replaced an earlier *xal-tu(·). An alternative connection may be with *sa·l, pale)

N-W saltu, war dance man; G waisaltu, north spirits; T-M sāl-too, wild oats (Avena sativa) (spirit)

PH saltu(ma), spirit (esp. any of the spirits impersonated in the dances)

PR saltu, spirit (any) of the dances (e.g., big head), ghosts, any spirit

SP-M sol'-too-in, people (white)

cf. Alsea slu:hk'-, to dream; su:lhak'-i:yu:, dream spirit, guardian spirit, supernatural power (Golla 1997: 165); Yana (all dialects) saldu, white man, perhaps < Spanish soldado (Sapir and Swadesh 1960: 149)

*q^hala, plant sp.

W xalah, root of snakehead, wild potato, edible, wild onion; xalat, wild greens along streams; cf. xula, water lily; halat, wild grapevine

NG-M hahl-lahp, root

PK, CC, T k'ala, mule fat

cf. P forms in hol- listed under *dum

*q^ham, sack

W xam (also xami ?), net sack, carrying band

PK k^ham, sack; HT-B quiver

*q^han, away ?; cf. *q^hal, away

W xan, away, off, out

PR k^hay-leye, to throw away

Irregular n/y correspondence; perhaps not valid

*q^hap, wild grapes

N-C kap, grapes; GT-M 'kahp'-loi, wild grapevine

PH, R k^hap, wild grape

Unless N-C's k and M's 'k represent [q^h], this may be a case of borrowing between N and P.

*q^hapla, outer bark (as used for building); cf. *k'ab, crack open; *qoq, bark

W xapla, thick bark that comes out in slabs (cedar ?); cf. xOp, stripe; xOq, pull off bark slabs; xapla qewel, slabs of bark house, e.g., pine wood or any fir

PCC k^hapala, bark; K k^hapa·la, bark of any tree (easy to take off in spring when the sap is running), outer bark of any tree; cf. A-U čapo, bark house, tule house

cf. Achumawi (Olmsted 1966:13) ahphlaʔ, bark (of trees in general and of ponderosa pine); Klamath (Barker 1963) p. 482: stabl'sʔm, inner bark; p. 392: stabl', to gather inner bark; stabl'a, gathers inner bark; stabalča, goes to gather inner bark; Proto-Pomo (McLendon 1973: 66) *q^hahwalʔ, bark (of tree); Maidu (Shipley 1963: 213) kapú, kupúmi, bark in thin sheets; Nisenan (Uldall & Shipley 1966:249) kapum, bark

*q^has-i-l-ʔa, have impaired vision; *-i-l- is probably *-wil, *-i(·)l, animate comitative; cf. *q^hos, fog, steam; *q'a-q, mental clouding; *xah, *xir, dizzy

W (po·m) xasi·la, to get dusk; xa·sa, to be dimly visible in the distance; xasal, faded, pale (of color)

PCC k^hasi·lʔa, be cross-eyed

cf. Achumawi (Olmsted 1966:58) xaš, dark, dim; Klamath (Barker 1963:325) qyos, be barely audible (> qyosa : /qyosa/ is barely audible, as a voice coming very faintly from the distance; Northern Yana xal..lu-, Yahi xamlu-, pitch dark (Sapir & Swadesh 1960:179)

*q^hat, *q^hot ?, wet; cf. *qop, bathe; *het, sudden escape of water

W xat-, throw mud or pitch; xatuma, to snow wet snow; ʔel-q'atal, person to get wet; ser-q'ačaya, to splash in all directions

N-S qhułtala, wet; T-M hat'-tah-lah, wet

PR k^hot^hu, wash something

Perhaps *q^hot with assimilation in W to: łat-, wet, damp, moist, soak, drench; sat-, wet; hat-, escape of water

*q^haw-a, choke on

W xawal, to choke (not choke to death) on a bone, something to be stuck in one's throat; also xawal, to get a fish bone lodged in throat

PH, R k^haway-a-, to choke (on); cf. H-U k^haw^hi, cough up

*q^hawa ? *q'awa ? paddle

W xawas, fan-shaped seed beater; xawa-, to beat seeds into container, to thrash fruit or nuts off a tree; xawi, seed beater

NT-M ah'-wah, seed paddle

PH-B č'ewayho, soup-paddle

PR-B č'ewak, soup-paddle

cf. Jacaltec xaŋtox, to break harshly (Brown 1990: 60)

*q^haydani, autumn

W xaydani, autumn

N-H k^hayda, xayda (?), autumn

PH-B k^haydani, autumn

PR k^hada-ni, fall

*q^hed-, *q^hič-a/i/u, cut; cf. *q^her, scrape; *k'ih, separate into strands or slices

W xiča, xita, xite, xiči/u-, to cut; xe-ta, to slice, carve; xide, to cut off limbs

PK k^heda-ro, slice once; k^hedi, a slice; k^heduro, slice into many pieces

PCC k'ača-, to cut one thing; k'ač/i/u-, to cut (up, into pieces)

PR k'ač^hoho, k'ačaho, to cut

cf. Klamath (Barker 1963) qd^v, cut (pp. 316-17); qat', clear forest, cut down brush (p. 313); qodo, coccyx, base of spine (p. 323; cf. W xidi, buttocks); q'eč', pound, chip, scribble, scratch, sharpen (p. 329); gatt', break, cut in 2, chop down (p. 137); Achumawi -anakat-, to cut (with ax), to chop wood (Berman 2001: 347; Berman lists many other similar terms throughout the area); cf. PMy *q'et, with reflexes including: break the back, break with hand, tear off branches, break limb; Mixe ket, to break (for example a metate), Sierra Popoluca kit, break; Zoque, kihtu, it is broken; Nahuatl (Tetelcingo) kitlackotuna, he bursts it, he breaks it; Atakapa kec, to break; Natchez kecup, broken; Wappo ké?tekhi?, broke itself in two (all from Brown 1990: 19)

*q^hep, beard, whiskers (particularly of fish)

W xep, fish head (any species which is edible); xepes, head of suckerfish or sturgeon (which have whiskers); salmon head, the middle jelly-like part, the celluloid-cartilaginous top part or front center of a salmon skull, or fish head, a food delicacy; xipa-, to have the fish head feast

PH-U k^hepum, septum

And the following with double fronting:

PK sepsep, whiskers, beard, tree moss, stream moss; sepsept^hi-r, catfish, carp (whisker fish); T sepsep-t^hi-r, catfish, carp (whisker fish) (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

PR sepsep, se-psep (?), beard, mustache, whiskers; B sepseptu, catfish

*q^her, scrape, shave, carve; cf. *k'ar-a, scrape; *q^hed-, *q^hič-a/i/u, cut; *k'ur-a-, tear; *k'or, scratch; *qir, pull

W xe(·)r, flour; xire-, to shave, carve; cf. k'Or, shave, whittle, scrape, plane; q'Ed-, break

NT-M nō'p-chā'-ke-'kā'-te, skin scraper or dressing knife

PH, R k^her-, to scrape off, shave; cf. T k'era-, to cut down a tree; k^(h)eł-, to whittle;

K k^heda-, to slice, carve

cf. Klamath (Barker 1963: 313) qat', clear forest, cut down brush; *ibid.* p. 318: qet', clean off, scrape off, trample down > sqet'a:/sqet'a'/ scrape with a sharp instrument; Alsea tqi:sa, flour (Golla 1997: 166)

*q^hes, perforate

W xise·, squirrel to chew/chop off outside of green burr to make it edible; cf. xusi, pine nuts

PK k^hesa·, to make a hole; T k'esa·, k'esu (pl.), to perforate

cf. Achumawi (Olmsted 1966:16) -anaqē·s, qī·s, to break (inanimate agency)

*q^het-a, throw solids; cf. *k'ete-t, one

W xEt-, throw; xita, to throw solids

PR ketaketa, scattered around

*q^hili, minnow; cf. *sil, slip; *sili, gall

W xili, minnows

PCC se·lismen, snail; K, T se·lis(men), snail

*q^ho·, striped skunk cf. *xos-a, air, blow

W xo·h, skunk

N-BW qoh, skunk

PCC, K, T k^ho·, striped skunk

SP-M kow", kah'w, big skunk

*q^holo, hard dome shape; cf. *k'olom, cup-type basket; *xok, basket type; *qo(·)la, hide, buckskin; *kol-i, something joined, added on to perimeter

W xolom dipper; cf. xOm, concave; k'oles, hooves, claw

PCC k^holow, hard back (as the shell of a turtle); T k^hola, abalone (shell, the whole thing)

*q^holo, sunflower sp.; cf. *k'ala(·)l, flowers

W xolem, a little sunflower sp. which doesn't stand up high but is spread out (the seeds are pounded to make flour for bread, or browned to eat with acorn soup); č'araw xolom, sunflower; me·m xolom, waterlily; cf. kolom(sek), wild sunflower; xolom, umbrella leaves; so·tos xola, Indian rhubarb leaves; xula, waterlily, xulu·t, wild parsley; halat, wild grapevine

N-G kōlōm (khowi), sunflower; M kol-lum, kah-lahl, wyethia; C kâ-lâ-kâi, sunflower seed

PCC, K, TT k^holot, sunflower (*Wyethia augustifolia* ?) (yellow); cf. C, T, CC kulukulu, flower sp. (a lily ?); čo·loyčoloy, waterlily; č^howlulu, waterlily; K kulu·kulu(č'alal), Johnny-jump-up (lily sp.)

*q^hon, dry; cf. *k'on, clench, stiff

*q^hono-s (adjective), dry, dried

*q^hon-ma (causative) (tr.)

W xOn-, (to) dry; xonos, dry, poor; xonma·, to dry (tr.)

- N-M kon-no nawp, dried meat; BW xananop, jerky
 PCC k^hono-, dry, dried out; k^honos, is dried up; k^honma-, dry (tr.); K k^hono-, dry; k^honma-, dry (tr.)
 PR k^honta, dry; k^honohtu, a dried up (person), wizened one
 SP-M kon'-no', kōn', dry

*q^hop, stripe; cf. *k'op, chop; *q'op-a, break with fingers; *q^hop-u, cut off, slice

*q^ho-p, striped, many stripes

*q^hop-č^h-, tr. (with mediopassive)

W xOp-, stripe, wiggle; xopča, to make one stripe; xo-p, to make many stripes; xupa, to make stripes, to stripe; DL xopo-ra hara-, (the salmon) are striping along, i.e., the salmon are running upriver; xoportikuya, fish to want to jump back into the water

PK sutuma k^hobnanta-, ring-tailed; k^ho·bnanta, striped; H-U k^hopt^hunanta, escape

*q^hop-u, cut off, slice; cf. *q^hop, stripe; *q^hapla, outer bark; cf. *k'op, chop; *q'op-a, break with fingers

W xup, cut, slice; xupus, that which is cut off, sliced, a chunk

PCC k^hoba-, to cut off, cut one; k^hobi/u-, cut up into pieces; T-U kop'či, small block of wood

*q^hor, larynx, growl; *qor-i/u, grind; *k'ar-a, scrape; *k'or, scratch; *q^her, scrape

W xoro-ta, to snore, to growl (make laryngeal sounds)

N-BW q'Ota'-, q'Ota-, snore

PR k^hora, larynx

PCC, C k^hara·mananas, cleared her throat

PK k'umurharo, growl (perhaps merged with *kim-u-r, rumble, roar)

*q^hos-u, seek luck; cf. *q^hos, fog, steam

*q^hos-i (nominal form)

W xos, charm, seek power; xosi, charm; se-xosuna-, to seek good luck; xosuna-, to make up after spanking; to seek power, to want sympathy, to claim as a friend or relative

PCC k^hosup'iri, guessing game; K k^hosu-, play handgame, gamble; k^hosi, handgame, grass game, gambling song

PR k^hosi/u, to gamble; k^hosi, handgame

*q^hos, fog, steam; *q^hos-i (nominal form); cf. *xos-a, air, blow; *q^hos-u, seek luck

W xos, fog, steam, gas; xosiha, to be foggy

PCC, T, R k^hos, fog; k^hosʔa-, foggy

*q^hoso, lungs; cf. *xos-a, air, blow

W-M ho'-shā, lungs (probably represents [xoso]); cf. hosopa, hosok, be light in weight; xo-sa, be bloated

N-W k^hos, lungs

PCC k^hosol, "lights," lungs; K k^hoso(·)l, lungs, liver

SP-M kus'-sol, kos'-sol, lungs

cf. Klamath (Barker 1963: 508, 507) t'oso-q, lungs; tsa·k', be light (in weight)

*q^hud, bend, squat; cf. *xed-i/u, fart; *kuk, bend; *k'uwi-l, bent

W xudu-ra, to move in a sitting position; xuta·, to slide on behind; xutuł, mountain beaver; cf. č'u-da, to sit on haunches

NGT-M kō-too^{ch}, C ko-túhl, beaver

PR k^hudi, to bend forward; cf. H-U hudhu-di, to squat; PK hudhu-duro, crouched

The last two P forms may point to a variant in *x

cf. Klamath (Barker 1963:332) q'oč', bend; q'oč'a, bends (intr.)

*q^hur, dislike

W xure, to grudge; xurp'ure, to be jealous of each other

PCC k^huwči, to hate (anything, people, food), be sick of it, oversaturated, tired of;
H-B k^huyče-, hate; T-U ku-čis, he hates food, tired of it; H-U kuyči, not like
a food

*q^huy ? *q'uy ?, sprout

W xuyiha, to be fragile like tender shoots; wines xuyit, a special spirit in the
head, one who makes you think, see, or hear, a guardian accompanying
spirit, a spirit that is with you wherever you go (cf. "the germ of an idea")

PK k'uya, the point of an acorn, where the acorn opens up, where it germinates

q'

*q'a- ? *q'i- ?, cloud; cf. *q'a·q, mental clouding; *xos-a, air, blow; *q'i(·)r, dirt
(earth)

W q'a·h, cloud; q'a·ha, to be cloudy; cf. xahi-la, to become dusk

N-H q'aha, cloud; S q'ah, cloud; BW qaha', cloudy

PCC k'i·r?a, cloudy; k'i·r, cloud, sky

PR k'i·r, cloud

cf. PY *k'ylyj ?, cloud (Callaghan 2001: 323)

*q'aba, chin, jaw

W q'aba, jowls, jawbone; cf. qabah, cheek(bone); xaba, jaw(bone); xabah,
cheekmeat, e.g., hog jowl; xababa, base of the neck; "jaw" in McCloud
dialect

N-W q'aba, chin, jaw (whole face ?); C ká-ba, face

PCC k'aba, chin; M jaw, chin

PR k'aba, chin

cf. PY *?aw'aş, chin (Callaghan 2001: 319)

*q'al-i ?, charcoal (285.); cf. *wal-u, flame, lightning

W q'ali, charcoal (also k'eli)

PCC wali, hot coals; M coal, charcoal (perhaps *q' > w under the influence of
*wal-u, flame, lightning)

- PR wali, glowing coals
cf. PMy *q'al, *a:q'aʔl, with reflexes including: red-hot coal, charcoal, coal (Brown 1990: 18)
- *q'an, wing, armpit; cf. *k'alaq, feather; *q'an, wide
W q'an, wing, armpit; cf. q'ana-, to be wide; *q'al, feathered; q'a'h, cloud; kan, legs spread; qanal, in bloom
PCC k'an wing; kan, armpit; K k'a(·)n, wing; kan, armpit
PR k'a·n, wing of a bird; kan, armpit
cf. Alsea ql-ql, armpits (Golla 1997: 164)
- *q'an, wide; cf. *q'an, wing, armpit
W q'ana-, q'anal, to be wide
PR k'aniʔ, coarse coiling style
- *q'an-ʔala, *qan-sala ʔ, flying squirrel ʔ; cf. *q'an, wing, armpit; *ʔala, stink, smell rotten; *sala, arm, shoulder
W q'anʔalas, flying squirrel (lit. armpit stinking, folk-etym.)
N-C ka-ni=tlēt, gray squirrel, jumping squirrel; cf. G-M choos'-kah-nah'-laht, hummingbird
PK k'ansalaymen, bat (axillary smell); (Whistler 1976e from Merriam);
T k'ansalay, bat
PR k'ansalay, bat (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)
- *q'ap-a, be trapped; cf. *k'ap, move stones
*q'ap-ma, to trap (tr.)
W q'ap, trap (n.); q'apa, to be tangled up (as rope), get caught; q'apma-, to catch in a trap
PCC k'ap, to be caught; k'apa-, caught, get caught on self; k'apma, to trap; K k'apta, caught; k'apmaro, caught, hooked together
PR k'apta, caught; k'apas ču, I caught it
cf. Alsea qa:x(a)-t', net (Golla 1997: 164)
- *q'a·q, mental clouding; cf. *q'a- ʔ *q'i- ʔ, cloud; *qaq, indistinct color ʔ; *q^has-i·l-ʔa, have impaired vision; *k'ilap-ʔa, afraid; *xin-a, sleep; *xah, *xir, dizzy; *q'id-u, forget; *q'i·l, dull
W q'a·q, lose one's mind, crazy, forget, fail, lose consciousness, devil; q'aqəʔta, to be forgetful, faint, know nothing, oblivious; cf. q'i·q, tantrum, angry; k'ide·, bray (of donkeys); k'idi-ra, squeal with laughter, giggling
N-W xa·xa, q^ha·xa, drunkard; BW k'ahala', crazy; qaq-a-, get drunk; qopa-, (get) drunk
PCC k'a·ki, to refuse (to give away, a request); k'ak-, hot (primarily of weather)
PK k'akma me·m, hot water, beer, whiskey
PR k'aka, a burn (on body, clothes)
PT-U k'akma čoyis ču, I've got fever

The W and N forms and the first PCC form, along with related PW forms, point to a “mental failure” or “mental clouding” meaning. The P “hot” and “burn” forms may have arisen via an expression of the effect of hot weather on the mind, particularly in light of the PK use of “hot” for alcohol and the W related term q’i-q, tantrum, angry, which indicates a kind of mental hotness.

cf. Klamath (Barker 1963:330) q’e-gi, be absent, lacking (cf. q’ay, no, not); sneq’e-gi, loses something; cf. Alsea q’aykw-, to be crazy (Golla 1997: 164)

*q’aya, older woman

W p’uqayah, old lady, grandmother, father’s mother; cf. PW *p’ot, old woman; *p’oq, woman, wife; *p’oqi-ta, woman

PCC k’a-y, old woman; k’ayaba, women; k’a-yba, old women

PR-U k’ayaba, lot of ladies; cf. Whistler’s PR k’asas, old lady, and PK k’asal, old lady

Whistler 1980: 268 reconstructed *p’oqay. However, only W reflects the combination of the two roots *p’oq and *q’aya, older woman

*q’ay-i/u, walk; cf. *har-a-, to go

*q’ay-s-a, walk fast (intensive)

W q’aya-, to walk, go, hike, stroll; q’ayuma-, to cause to/let walk; cf. k’aysa, to walk fast, do something fast; k’ayuma-, to make something go fast

PH k’ayi/u-, walk; cf. PCC -k’ayu, to want, to be about to, to start to (auxiliary base)

PR k’ayi/u-, walk; k’aysaro, walking faster

*q’ede, arm

W q’ede, arm

N-Ha kéde, arm

PCC k’edil, wrist; K k’ede(·)k’ede, wrist; T k’edek’ede, wrist, ankle?

PR-U k’edel, wrist

*q’ep-, dip

W ʔol-q’ipča, ʔol-q’epča, to dip liquid; cf. q’opuma-, to dip water, make someone take a bath; q’upa-, to wash, bathe, soak clothes

N-BW q’Ohpa-, swim

PCC ʔalk’epi/u-, to dip out; K ʔolk’epi/u, dip (out)

PR k’epo-, dip (up, out)

*q’eq-a ?, *k’eq-a ? hiccough ? gag ?

W q’e-qa, to gag, to try to vomit unsuccessfully; q’i-qa, to try to force with exertion while defecating

PK č’ika-ro, hiccough

PR-B čeka, to hiccup

Irregular correspondence due to sound-symbolism

*q'id-u, forget; cf. *q'a·q, mental clouding
 N-BW kLidu-, forget (probably represents [q'idu] or [q̄xid̄u])
 PCC, K k'idi/u-, to forget
 PR k'idi/u-, to forget

*q'i-l, dull
 N-S q'eelca, dull
 PT k'i-lʔa, dull
 PR k'i-rʔa, dull ?; k'i-l, dull (not sharp)

*q'ilaq, dirt (earth) (collected ? piled ?); cf. *q'i(·)r, dirt (earth), ground; *wilaq, *welaq, earth; *hul, cave in
 W q'i-laq, cemetery, graveyard, grave, dirt (earth) (cf. q'il, smear)
 PR k'ilak, silt

*q'i(·)r, dirt (earth), ground; cf. *q'ilaq, dirt (earth)
 W q'i(·)r, mud, dirt
 PCC k'ir, ground, dirt; K k'i(·)r, ground, earth
 PR k'i-r, fine, powdery dust, clay ?
 SP-M k̄a-ret, land

*q'oba, red paint
 N-G k'oba, blood-red paint
 PCC k'oba, paint (of any color); P, H, T-B k'o·ba, ochre
 SP-M ko'-bah', red paint (of red earth or rock)
 Unless the N form represents [q'oba], this may be borrowed.

*q'oł, borrow
 W q'uła·, to borrow (also q'ała·)
 PCC k'ołe·, K k^hołe·, to borrow
 PR k'ołey, to lend

*q'oł ? *k'oł ? seed plant sp.
 N-G k'ôł, a grass with white blooms and knoblike pods
 PCC k'oł, seed plant sp. (prob. Compositae); K, T seed plant sp. (Achyrrachaena mollis ?)
 If N k' does not represent [q'], the form may be borrowed between N and P. However, the existence of W k'ołma·, to pound acorns fine, may be evidence of a larger word family.

*q'op-a, break with fingers; cf. *k'op, chop; *q^hop, stripe
 W q'Op-, q'upa, pick off tips of grass, of branches, twigs; ɣan-q'upal, to break off; q'o·pa, bobtailed
 N-S qepa, cut

PH k'opa-, to cut or break off; k'opt^hu, cut off, broken off; k'upum, finger; K also toe

PR k'opt^hu, half, cut

*q'or, grab a handful; cf. *koro, net

W xan-q'ura-, to pick grass in fistfuls, to tear off grass or clover; cf. q'Op-, pick off tips of grass

PCC k'ort^hi/u, to grab up, gather; cf. k'uru-t, new growth twigs on a tree in spring

PR k'ori/u-, grab a handful (like grass, etc., without picking out things individually)

*q'ot, split ?

W q'ot-, strong, stout, forceful, loud, hard, deep, brave; q'ut-, much noise, of the voice; ma-t q'ute, to have one's ears displeased; cf. qOt-, quta-, to get hit

N-S khotyu, split

SP-M kot-toot, cut him

cf. Alsea qta:w-, qtu:-, to dance the war dance (Golla 1997: 164)

*q'o(·)t-ʔa, dirty; cf. *q^hat, *q^hot ? wet

W q'o-ta, to be dirty

N-S q'oota, dirty

PH k'otʔa, k'o-tʔa, dirty

PR-B k'o-t-a, to get dirty

*q'učul, worm sp.

W q'učulah, potato bug

PK k'uč^hay, small black flying beetle sp. ?; k'uuč'ay, worm sp. smaller than fishworm, red (birds dig them out when it rains)

PR k'oč'ol, k'očol, acorn worm

*q'uh-i/u, cough

W q'uhe, q'uhi/u-, cough

N-W qoha-, to cough; BW q'uha'-, cough

PCC, R k'uhi/u-, to cough; cf. K wohi/u-, to cough

*q'un, moldy, muddy

W q'une-, to be moldy, water to be muddy or dirty; cf. W-M kon, koon, koo'-në, blue

PH k'unʔa, muddy, roiled

PR k'un, moldy (acorns, etc.)

r

*-r, genitive case (531.33)

W -r, marks singular pronouns as agents of passive verbs; also marks third person singular pronouns as inalienable possessors

- N-W -y, genitive (in: puy, third person singular genitive)
 P -y, pronominal genitive and inalienable possessive case
 PCC -y, genitive kinterm case inflection

*-ro ? *-r ?, subordinating suffix of causal or temporal anteriority (424.8)

- W -r, subordinating suffix of causal or temporal anteriority (“because”)
 PCC -ro (_V/-taro _C) (+/- aux. -bo/be), functions to indicate related predicates sequential in time, or simultaneous predicates where one is background to the other

s

*-s, nominalizer (423.37)

- W -s, generic aspect
 PCC -s, ongoing or completive aspect (i.e., non-inceptive aspect, neutral with respect to tense); -s, -(s)tu (?), nominalizer
 cf. Nez Perce -s and Sahaptian -š, both nominalizers, Klamath -s, noun suffix, and Molala -s, which forms nouns from verbs and is used in underived nouns as a general suffix of concrete nouns, and Mutsun -s, nominalizer, instrumental (Berman 1996: 11-12, 25)

*-s, objective case suffix for singular second (and first ?) person (531.321)

See: *mis, second person singular objective

*-s, see *-h

*sa-, *sas, light (source ?); see also *san-i, day, *say-i/u, light

- W *sa, light: sa(·)s, luminary, sun; say, light; san, day; sah, blurred; satawil, sunstroke; sawa·tuq, glow worm; satu·s, stars
 PH sa·, eye; cf. H-B sat'a, to look for ?
 PR sas, eye; B sa, eye; cf. B saso, to look for
 cf. PY *sasa-, eye (Callaghan 2001: 318)

Jespersen (1946: 163) mentions a Malay taboo on the word for “eyes” during hunting season and compares Irish súel, “eye” from the Proto-Indo-European word for sun [*saw-el, *saw-en]. Something similar may have occurred in P.

*sak, pine sp.

- N-C sák=mi, yellow pine; T-M sahk'-me, Ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*); sahk-me' bah'-ke, forest (timber brush)
 PH sakmu t^ho-k, Ponderosa pine ? Douglas fir ? any tall pine ?
 PR čusak, pine (any kind ?); U ču·sak, evergreen trees

The Nomlaki recordings are unreliable. Unless k represents [q], the form could be borrowed. Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMie *sak·y, digger pine. This is supported by the fact that the PH and PR forms are not closely related. The N form could have been borrowed from P or vice versa after borrowing from Miwok. Cf. W t'aqa·smi·, fir tree, Douglas fir or spruce

*sa·l, pale; cf. *sala, leaves, foliage; *tal, lack of color

W tum sa·lala, face to be pale

PK sa·lt^huro pi bo·s, he's pale (getting blue-colored, whitish, don't look too good)

*sala, leaves, foliage; cf. *sa·l, pale

W sala, leaf, leaves, dry leaves, leaves green and on the trees, falling dry leaves, dry leaves and on the tree, turning autumn leaves; cf. salal, be/turn yellow, of leaves; being/turning pale of leaves; to turn fawn-colored, said of a deer in the spring; to turn reddish brown (to lose original color); salal ha·w, red fox; salal lubeles, red wolf; cf. sah, blurred, probably originally "lose substance" - cf. sali·q, thin; xalat, edible greens sp.

PCC sala, leaves (of oaks, cottonwood, etc.), foliage, leaf on tree; K leaves on the ground, leaves all bundled up, foliage (lots of leaves and plants, leaves altogether); cf. CC sa·l, sweet, big clover; K sa·l, California burclover (*Medicago hispida*); T sa·l, sweet clover sp.

PR-B sala, leaf; R sa·l, sweet clover sp.

*sala, arm, shoulder; cf. *sat, hold in hand

W salas, back (bodypart), shoulder(s); scapula, shoulder blades

N-W sala, arm; T-M sal-lah', shoulder

PH sala·, arm

PR sala, arm (the whole thing)

SP-M sol-lah', sō-lah', arm

*san-i, day, daytime; cf. *sa-, *sas, light(source?); *say-i/u, light

W sani, daytime

N-BP salat, moon

PCC san, sun; sana·r, moon; sani?a, daytime; wenem sani, middle of the day; sanisani, every day; K san, sun; sanibo, daytime

PR san, sun, month (lunar); sani, daytime; sanar, moon

SP-M sun', sahn', sun; sun-nahr', sahn'-nar, moon

cf. PMi *šynty, *šyt·y (*šyt ?), eye; PCo *hinte, hi(·)n, eye; PU šynty, eye; PM *hi(·)n, eye, (small) seed; PMi *hi·s, PCo *(h)is-men, PU *hi·s, sun (Callaghan 2001: 318, 322)

*sapasapa, oriole

W sapasapat, sapat, oriole, red-breasted

NT-M sap-pah'-sā'-put, oriole (*Icterus*)

PK sapa·sapa, Bullock's oriole (or any oriole)

PR č'apč'ap, oriole (Bullock's or any) (Whistler 1976e, from Merriam's chahp'-chahp, oriole)

*saq, spear

NT-M sahk', spear (for fish); paw'-sahk, poker [fire-spear]; ahn-sahk, cache for acorns (built on posts)

PCC sak, long, straight stick; K gig (noun), fish pole, shaft (of a spear)

PR sak, stick

cf. W ɣaq, hit or punch with fists; Merriam lists for W: sak-lub'-bit, Orion, which may possibly contain saq, spear

*sa·q, blood; cf. *sa·q-k'ur-?, rainbow

W sa·qa, to bleed; sa·q, color of blood? blood stain? (obsolete); cf. sa·q, colored, colors

N-S saaq, blood; B sakat-cīL, brown bear; T-M sah'-kah, raw

PH, R sa·k, blood

SP-M sahk', blood; cf. sah'-kan-nan'-now, robin

*sa·q-k'ur-?, rainbow; cf. *sa·q, blood

W sa·q-kuwčī, a rainbow standing curved, arching over (kuw-, bend, curve; cf. k'uwi-l, eyebrow); cf. sa·q-hikayi, rainbow

NT-M sah'-koo-lah-mah, rainbow; C ku-lá-ma, rainbow

PK sa·k t'uri-l, rainbow; H-B sakč'orel; T-U sakč'ori-l

PR-B sakč'orel, rainbow

cf. Nisenan (Uldall & Shipley 1966: 229) ʔole·sykyn, rainbow; with the second part of the PW form, compare these UA forms for "rainbow": Mayo kurués, Yaqui kurúes

*sat, hold in hand

W sač-, hold, carry in arms, embrace, hold in lap < sat-, hold, carry, lift (smooth, flat objects?); cf. sataq, pestle

N-B cot-ok, pestle

PCC sat-, to grope for, feel around, search around for with hand

*sa·w, acorn bread

W sa·w, black acorn meal bread, made with red dirt

N-G sau, acorn bread; T-M sow, sah'-o, meal baked on hot stones

PK sa·w, acorn bread; H-U black acorn bread

PR-U sawa, big clods of dirt

cf. Maidu (Shipley 1963: 216) sawó, buckeye; Central Yana sau(na), acorn bread (Sapir & Swadesh 1960: 149); Karok sárA, bread (Bright 1957: 378)

*say, maple (big-leaved)

W-M si'-e-choos, si'-me, maple

NT-M sī'-e-kō'k, maple (*Acer macrophyllum*); si'-kōk, skirt of maple bark worn by women; G-M si'-kōk, maple; C sai-kok=mi, maple

PK, TT saysay, big-leaved maple

PR say?, big-leaved maple

*say-i/u, light; cf. *sa-, sas, light(source?); *san-i, day; *č'ay-a, to light a fire

W saya-, to (turn on the) light; sayi, light (n.); sayuna-, to have torch-light; nomway sayi, North Star

PCC sayu, light, put the light on; sayi, light (n.), lamp; K sayi/u-, light up

*sede, coyote

W sedet, coyote, dog

N-B sedet, coyote

PH sedew, coyote

PR sedew, loon sp. (sounds like coyote)

*se·k, root, especially basket root; cf. *č'e·k, rope

W se·k, root

N-S sek, root; T-M sã'k, root, pine root

PCC se·t, root (for baskets); K basket root; K, T tulare root (the root)

PR se·t, tulare root (plant and root); the ground material (buff), runs around and around on baskets, around the willow basket sticks which run lengthwise in the coiled baskets

SP-M sětch', root

*seke-, *sekey, pubic hair, perhaps body hair in general; cf. *č'ekey, hair

W sekey, body hair; seke-, pubic hair; sekeya, to be pubic hair

N-BP s·eke·y, body hair; T-M ket-sek'-ket, beard

PK ye·sekey, pubic hair (woman's); T sečey ?, pubic hair; H-U ye·seke, man's pubic hair; H-B sečey, pubic hair; seč^hey (seč'ey) pubic hair (man's); L-U seče-, pubic hair

PR-B sečey, pubic hair

SP-G tscheseki, beard

*sel, side, sides; cf. *sem, hand, finger; *ser, crosswise

W sel, both, all; selet, both, selet harma, to surround, selet le·t, both, on each side; me·m selet, edge of water where it flushes up on the ground; seletin hara-, hair to part itself

PK puysel, east side, the people in the east; nomsel, west side

*sem, hand, finger; cf. *sel, side, sides; *ser, crosswise

W sem (g), se· (p), hand, finger(s)

N-W sem, hand, fingers

PH, R sem, hand

SP-M sem, hand, fingers

cf. PM *jim, arm (elbow to shoulder) (Callaghan 2001: 319)

*sen, digging stick

W sen č'u-s, digging stick; senmi-, the brush digging sticks are made of (Ceanothus or Cuncatus)

NT-M sen', digging stick

PKT sen, digging stick

*se·qtu, chief?

N-K sêktu, chief

PCC, R se·ktu, chief, captain

Most likely a borrowing between N and P and ultimately from a Miwok language (cf. Mip ceka-, chief (Callaghan 2001: 321)); note, however the PW suffix *-tu(·)

*ser, crosswise, twice; cf. *sel, side; *sem, hand, finger

W ser-, crosswise, twice, in two directions

PH, R serpołta, six (twice three); PT sert^hupus, wade across

*ser-panoł, six; cf. *pano(·)ł, three; *ser, crosswise, twice

W serpanuł, sepanuł, six

N-DK se-panoL, six

PH, R serpołta, six

*sew, *siw, pack

*siw-i, testicles

W siwa:, sewi/u-, to pack, stuff, sack; siwiy (g), siwih (p), testicles

N-BP sewet, testicles

PH-B siw, food-pit; K siwi-, testicles

PR sewo-ro, putting things away, caching

*si-, tooth, teeth, seed(s); cf. *siwi, testicles, under *sew, *siw, pack

W si-, tooth, teeth, seeds, pits

N-H si-, teeth

PCC si-, teeth; K teeth, fangs; T-U si-, seed

PR si?, tooth

SP-A sii, teeth

cf. PMi *ky(·)t, *kyt·y; PCo *si(·)t, *sit·e, PU *ky(·)t, *kyt·y, tooth, teeth (Callaghan 2001: 318)

*sič-i/u, drill

NT-M se'-chah', fire drill block (of cedar, Libocedrus); C sí-chu, fire drill

PCC sič'i/u-, to drill; K sič^hi/u-

May be borrowed between N and P, but is part of a larger word family with W sEr-, swirl (cf. PW *sir-i, copulate) and PW *sis-, squirm

*sid, move light-weight things

W side·, pick, gather, bring in little, light-weight things (e.g., pine needles);
sidel, to be blown away, blown off the ground; cf. sikča, to sweep; di(·)t,
wipe

PCC si-da, to clean off dust, leaves, etc. (with hand, not with brush or broom)

*sik, polish

W sikča, to sweep; si·kus, broom

PT-U sikohos pi?, he's polishing something

*si-k, barn owl

NT-M se'-ik, barn owl (Strix)

PK, T, R si·k, barn owl
 PR-U si·k, screech owl
 SP-M she'·ik, barn owl
 Possibly borrowed between N and P

*sil, slip

W *sil, smooth, slip; siloq, smooth, slick; cf. tilo·qa, shine; suluqta, sliding, to slip; *sul, slip, slide; xalila, to be slippery, slick; sali·qa, be flat, thin
 PH-U siltokoparo, to slip
 cf. Central and Northern Yana (Sapir & Swadesh 1960:179) -xalili-, smooth

*sil, black; cf. *č'il, black

W silel, to be blind
 PCC, K sil-, black
 PR-B selti, black
 SP-M sil-le'·ah, black

*sili, gall

W silih, gall
 PCC sili, gall; K gall bladder
 PR-U silli, gall

*sip-č^h-u, straighten, make stiff

W sip-, pull off, out; pomín sipču, get tangles out (esp. of hair); cf. xan-xipča, to pull off, of cloth
 PCC sipt^hi/u-, stiff (like untanned leather, joints, muscles, anything not limber)

*sir-i, copulate; cf. *sis, squirm

W sire, copulate
 N-G si·pa, vulgar word for sexual intercourse [< *siripa]
 PK sil-, si·r-, copulate; H-U, siri·
 SP-V ciripisi', copulate

*sis, squirm; cf. *sir-i, copulate

W sis-, squirm; pat-sise, to wriggle, squirm, working themselves out of a hole (rattlesnake, otter)
 PR sisamen, bigger (lizard), blue underneath, which was killed for poison

*sob-č^h-u- (with mediopassive), *sob-a, pull off; cf. *č'ob, skin peels off; *t^hub-u ? *t^hub-u ? pull out

W supa, to take off, slip off (as clothes); pat-sopča, pat-sopču-, to slip out (as heart out of dead body, tr.); sopna·, to take off all clothes (to bathe or swim)
 PCC soba·, to come off, pull off; sobu, to pull off (pl.); sobal, to come off; sobt^hu, to come off; sobi, to pull off lots; K sobt^huro, anything come off
 PR soppitta, taking out, cleaning out

*soč- ?, badger

W patsočit, patsačit, badger; memsačit, beaver (folk-etymology, cf. pat-, outside; mem, water; sat-, be wet, or sat-, to carry)

N-C sá-châk, badger; cf. T-M kok-saw'-chit, nuthatch (*Sitta aculeata*) (meaning of kok- unknown)

PCC, K, T čotom, badger

cf. Puget Salish šaw'kʷɪ, mountain beaver (Hess 1976: 456)

*soh, *so-, cross-sibling

W soh, sibling; net-soh, my sibling; soheres, relation; so·ha, to have a sibling of the opposite sex; so·has, dead sibling of the opposite sex; so·hap'ulel, a man and his sister; cf. sO·, kin, show affection (especially to consanguineal kin); so, kin, especially siblings; somo·n, samo·n, brother-in-law

Nnoe-W -so(h), brother?; so(·)s, twins; cf. G sômôn, brother-in-law; T-M net sum'-mon, husband's sister

PCC nay so·, my sister; K so·hona pel, two sisters; pipel so·honap'ita, them two brother and sister; nay so·, my sister(s) (younger or older)

*sokok, cocoon rattle

W soko·kus, cocoon rattle

PH soko·kay, rattle; H-B sokokay, cocoon

PR sok'ot, sokot, cocoon rattle

Irregular; possibly a loan

*somVk, thighs, hip

W somik, hip

PH somak, hip; H-B, T-B somok, hipbone

Irregular

*son, rock; *sos, big rock; cf. *sono, nose

W son (g), rocks; sos, big rocks; suna·, to be rocky

N-BW son, rock

PK so·s, boulder; sos, sandstone, rough rock of a special kind used to grind down beads to make a grinding rock; black, glassy rock, obsidian ?

PR-U sos, big rock

SP-A conoi, stone

*sono, nose; cf. *sub-u, smell; *su(·)t, inhale; *son, rock

W sono, nose (< sO, stone, rock, nose, beak, i.e., bare protruberance; cf. *sO, denuded; *sOn-, shed feathers; sOp, undress, flay; sOt, pull off hair)

N-W sono·, nose; PS sono

SP-M sun-no', so-naw, sō-naw, nose; A sonom, nose

Note the relationship between “nose” and “rock” which is also found in Indo-European. PIE *nas-, “nose, nostril” is reflected in Old Norse as nes “promontory.” Perhaps an underlying meaning of “outcropping.”

**soq, thing*

W soqo, unknown kind, whatever kind, strange, eerie, pejorative (probably from so, unspecified + ʔoqti, identity, kind), classifier of uncertainty; soqot, whatever kind of thing (it is) < *sO, ancient, unknown; cf. suk, perfective; -so, temporal anteriority

N-W čəpasoko, grandfather, great-grandfather, gpb [grandparent's brother], spgrandfather [spouse's grandfather] (“-soko is clearly a suffix added to the term now restricted to mother's brother, etc., in order to distinguish G+2 ‘grandfathers.’” Whistler 1980: 117-119)

PH -sok, instrumental, locative (e.g., PCC ła-risok, parching basket)
cf. Yurok so·k, noun, sort, thing (Robins 1958: 250)

**sow, shrub sp.*

W sow, Indian file, a kind of plant

PCC, K, T sow, chamise

**sub-u, smell; cf. *su(·)t, inhale; *sono, nose*

W sube·, subu-, to smell (tr.)

N-PS su·ba, to smell (tr.)

PT-U subu·ki, cigarette

cf. PCC, K tʰu·bi/u-, smell, stink; PR tʰu·bu-, smell, stink; PH-B somsomī, smell; T-U sumsu·muʔ, smell this (imp.); PR-B somsomoho, to smell

cf. Puget Salish sub(u), smell (Hess 1976: 448)

**sud-u, to smoke something*

W su·da, to smoke (tr., as a trap to kill odor); sudu·ra, smoke to come out, to be smoking (intr.); sudu·ruma·, to scorch; xun-su·da, to put pipe in mouth and suck

PCC sudu, to smoke something/someone out

**suku, dog*

W suku (g), dog

N-W suhkuṭ, dog; BW sukuṭ

PH-U suhkuṭ, dog

SP-V tɕukuʔ, dog

Diffused throughout California. cf. e.g. PMis *čuku-, dog (Callaghan 2001: 325).

Whistler 1977 suggests that the SP form is borrowed from Miwok

**sul, blanket, cover*

W sulaq, suloq, blanket, bedding (perhaps < *sul, slip, slide)

PCC su·l, floor; K floor covering (rug, skin); H-U blanket or cover

PR-B su·l, mat

cf. Alsea cu:lqw, blanket (Golla 1997: 161)

**sumu, sugar pine*

W sumuhmi·, sugar pine (with -mi·, tree)

N-C sú-mu, sugar pine nuts; su-mú=mi, sugar pine
 PCC sumu (t^ho·k), like redwood, but smaller, cedar; K T sumu, sugar pine
 cf. Nisenan (Uldall & Shipley 1966: 229) sumu·, sugar pine

*sunu, nest

W sunus, nest, (snake) den

N-G sunu, bird's nest

PH sunu·, nest

PR-B sonu·, nest

*surut, strap, tumpline

W-C surut womulmit, hair-belt woman; cf. sub, unravel string, twine; su·r, parallel?; č'u·ra, to carry a lot in a lifted lap of apron or dress (cf. č'ur, spawn)

N-B cūt, burden net; T-M soot', carrying band for head

PCC suruk, packing strap; surut, carrying strap, tumpline; K surut, burden net, pack net (carried on back)

*su(·)t, inhale; cf. *sub-u, smell; *sono, nose

W xun-su·da, to put a pipe in the mouth and suck; M poo'-roo-soo'-tā-mus, lungs ["breath inhalers"]

PCC sutu·ko, to inhale (sg.), to cure by sucking; su·tko, to inhale (pl.), puff (pl.); K sutu·ki, to inhale, suck in

*sutu, tail

W sutu, tail

N-W soltu, tail; H so·tu

PH, R sutu, tail

SP-M soo'-too, tail

*suy-u, slide

W suyewilna·, to slide, ride on sled; suyu·qča, to slide (*sOy-, slide, shuffle, probably from *sO, denude(d); cf. sayawil, to slip; se-soyokmes, type of dance; *sul, slip, slide)

PCC suyu·to, slide (down, as a pole, on your rear, on your feet in snow, etc.)

t

*-t, objective case suffix for kinterms and pronouns (531.322)

W -t, objective case suffix with inalienably possessed nouns, third person pronominal root pi/pu and ʔewe < ʔe, third person proximal root; cf. -t, particular aspect

PH -t, objective case suffix on kinterms and pronouns

*-t, inalienable possessive suffix for first and second person singular, perhaps originally identical with *-t, objective (531.34)

See: *ma-t, second person singular inalienable possessive; *ne-t, first person singular inalienable possessive

-t-n, alienable possessive suffix for third person singular pronouns and kinterms (-t, objective + *-n, *-no, genitive)

W -tun, alienable possessive suffix for third person singular pronouns and kinterms

N -tun, alienable possessive suffix attested for third person singular and one plural pronoun

PH -tno, kinterm alienable possessive suffix

*-t-in ?, kinterm locative case ? (531.36)

W -in, locative

PH -tin, kinterm locative

*-ta, human classifier ? (511.2)

See *p'oqi-ta, woman and *wi-ta, man

*-ta, subordinating suffix (424.9)

W -ta, subordinating inflectional suffix, indicates temporal anteriority or simultaneity which is conditioned, dependent, or resultant, and marks the verb as dependent syntactically, translates as “while, during, after, when, as”

PCC -t, subordinate object form of -ro (?); PK, PCC -ta, participle (consonant stems) (Whistler 1986)

*tah, father; cf. *ta-(·)n, father; *teh, *te· ? child ?

W -tah, spouse's parent, child's spouse; ta-ta, father (voc.)

N-H ne(·)t tah, father (my); N-W mi-tah, father (voc.) (Whistler 1980: 243)

PCC tah, father; ta-ču, my father; K tah, father!

SP-M tah', father

cf. Tututni -ta?, father (Golla 1976: 219)

*tahal, tongue

W tahal, tongue

N-B tahal, tongue

PCC tahal, tongue; K taha-l

PR tahal, tongue

SP-M tah-hahl, tongue

cf. PYnim *t^halxat^h, tongue (Callaghan 2001: 319)

*tal, lack of color; cf. *sa-l, pale

W talal, to have changed color, be faded, be pale, turn (of leaves in the fall), to have turned (of leaves), to lose color like a dress that fades

PCC taluk, clearing (on a hillside)

*ta-(·)n, father (with kinterm absolutive suffix *-(·)n); cf. *tah, father

*ma-ta·n, your father

W ta·n, father; ta·na, to father, to have a father, to make a father; ta·nit, father, the one who fathered, sired; nettan, my father; mata·n, your father; ye·ta, father (addressive)

N-S -taan, father; BW -tan; N-W tahan, father (Whistler 1980:267, Noema dialect; cf. nahan, mother, under *ne·-n)

PCC ta·n, father; mata·n, your father; K ʔuy tan, his father

PR tan, t^hanč^hi, father; tanč^hu, naytan, my father

SP-M mah-tahn, your father

*tapl-, clover sp.

W tapleh, a dry, edible clover

PCC tapan, clover sp. (smaller than sa·l); T clover sp. (big, dark leaves)

*taqa·taqa, scorpion; cf. *daq, burn

W t^haqat^haqat, taqa·taqat, scorpion; t^haqat^haqat, black widow spider; cf. taq, slash; tah, sharp

NT-M tah^h-kwaht^h, scorpion

PCC, T taka·taka, scorpion; K takakwayt (Whistler suggests borrowing from Nomlaki); taka·taka (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

PR taka·taka, potato bug (not centipede)

cf. PMy *t^ha:h, with reflexes including: knife, obsidian, blade, sharp stone, a kind of caterpillar with spines that hurt if they penetrate you, nettle with thorns on little leaves, sharpen, slice; Lake Miwok táhti, a round, featherless arrow shaft which is pointed at the end; Zoque (Rayon) t^hahu, he pricked it, he pierced it (like a thorn); Mixe tahšp, to let blood; Chatino ča:, sharp; Mixtec (San Juan Colorado) t^haá ti, it stings (insects, etc.); Kiowa t^ha, knife (all from Brown 1990: 28)

*tarak, woodpecker sp.

W buli tarak, big red-headed woodpecker which makes a big noise (scalp used to make headband for luck); cf. č^hura·t, Calif. woodpecker, acorn woodpecker, small red-headed woodpecker

N-BW tadatat, woodchuck; B tōratat, red-headed woodpecker

PCC, K, T tara·t, acorn woodpecker (red head); K nom-tara·t, pileated woodpecker

PR tara·t, (hairy) woodpecker; red section of hairy woodpecker's scalp

SP-M ter-rah^htch, Calif. woodpecker

cf. Karok (Bright 1957:363) kúrat, Calif. woodpecker

*tede, red; cf. *t^hedVq, ant

W te·di, red; te·da, to be red; tede·ki, blood

N-B tedēkit, red

PR t^hededusč^hu, I'm hot (from a fire); t^hededumaro, it's real hot (heat falling on someone from a fire, radiant heat)

*teh, *te· ? child ?; cf. *tah, father

W k'uteh, nephew, male cross-cousin; cf. t'e(-)s, in-law, esp. child-in-law

N-W te·, son

PCC ʔuy te·, his children (sons or daughters, mother's children); pi harasa ʔuy tehetin, she went to her son's; K mate·, your kid; teč^hu, his child (boy or girl)

PR teč^hu, my daughter; ʔuyte, her son or daughter

SP-M tā'-bah, family

Whistler 1980: 133 suggests that -t'e(h) "is probably related to the suffix -t'et with a diminutive sense noted in Nomlaki (and possibly also to the "in-law" term t'e(-)s, although this latter connection would have to be very old.)" Cf. W t'e, alone, exclusive, only; ku-t'et, small, child, baby (see *ku-, small, child)

*tek, *tik ?, light

W tik-, light, daylight, flash; tikal, daylight, to be daylight, to be light, of day

N-BW tEkala, bright

PCC te·ki, sunshine, light

*tel, dice ?

N-G tel·a, type of women's dice game; tedela, type of women's dice game

PK tela, Indian dice (made of elderberry hearts); T tella, dice

Areal term, likely borrowed between N and P.

*tep-i/u, emerge, sprout, cross (meet)

W tEpi/u-, emerge, be transformed, appear, behind, sprout, previously unseen to appear, cross over, rise, come; tep, behind, the last, the end; tepča, come to life, emerge, come out; cf. dib, overflow sluggishly, thickly, used when speaking of muddy water or lava, to have become ooze

N-G wînteptcit, God, man come from dead; BW tepa, tomorrow; G tēp, both aces in the right hand; cf. S thepca, flow

PCC tepi/u, to come out, emerge, come to life again; tep, guess on the left side; K come out, cross, get out, be born, sprout, start growing, come up, go out; tep, fork (of tree); crotch, groin

PR tepi/u-, appear, go out, come out; tepi, out

cf. Alesa ta:p-, to fly, jump; ta:p-s, wings (Golla 1997; 165)

*tet^h-i/u, drink

N-B tēt·ī, tetūle, drink

PH tet^hi/u-, to drink

PR-B tet^hi/u-, to drink

Probably borrowed between N and P.

*tewe, to fly, go up

W tEw-, sail, float, fly, blow up; tewe·la, to fly; tewelta, to be swept away by the wind; t^hEw-, t^hiwa, tiwa, to fly; tew, dangerous, mysterious (perhaps from tEw, float; cf. tiw, search, hunt, and tiwi, to foretell the future; yuken

tewe·ya, to feel a premonition of danger; tewismet, “the devil”); t^he·ha, to be flying a short distance, flying real high up, spread wings and take off; cf. t^he·rit, bird, t^he·ra, to fly (obsolete)

PCC, R tewe-, to fly; K tewe-, jump; cf. K warnapom ti·, north spirit
cf. Yurok terit, sandpiper; Cayuse ti-in-tuks-tin, to fly (Berman 1996: 23, from Henshaw); Molala tyen-, fly (Berman 1996: 23)

*tey, forehead

W teyi, forehead, top of pelvis; cf. teyča, pick flowers (bend down to pick?);
see PW *tey

NT-M tā, forehead; BW teth, forehead

PK teyete·ye, chest, breast

SP-M ‘ter, tār, forehead

*tey, pick one at a time

W teyča, to pick flowers one at a time

PR teyi, to pick berries

*-ti, directional locative suffix (512.33)

W -ti, in, at; locative directional suffix

PC -ti, directional suffix, from, by (Whistler 1977b, 1978)

SP-M [-ti attested in:] no-mel’-te, west; wi-yel’-te, north

cf. Klamath and Molala locative suffixes -t (Berman 1996: 11)

*tiCe·, drum; cf. *tiltil, ringing sound

W tide·, to bray, make music; tidit, musical instrument; tiduma(·), to make music

N-K tilê’t, hollow log drum

PH tine·l, drum

PR-B ti·nel, drum

*til, *t^hil ?, shine

W tilo·qa, to shine, glare, glitter; p^hoyoq te·la, to be bald (head to shine)

PCC t^hilt^hilos, twinkling (as a star, continual)

P-M teel’-bo-ko, lightning

P tilamen, star (Dixon & Kroeber 1919 quoted in Callaghan 2001: 332)

cf. PMi *tyʔle, star ? (Callaghan *ibid.*); PMy *til, with reflexes including: suddenly shine, sparkle, glitter, lighten, flash, sparkle, catch fire, burn, to light, illuminate; Kwakiutl c’eliqa, something shiny (Brown 1990: 28)

*tiltil, ringing sound; cf. *tiCe·, drum

W tile·, to ring, tilča, ring a bell, bell to ring, to spring a trap; tilti·la, to ring (of a bell); tiltiliha, to jingle (diminutive of tilti·la)

N-BW tiltil, cricket

PK tiltil, ti·ltil, crickets

*tip, *t'ip ? try

W t'ipe-, to try; t'ipemena-, to practice; t'ipewilp'ure, to dare or challenge each other; ?el-t'ipe, to taste or sample something

PCC tipana-, try to do; H-U tipananta, try on clothes

*tir-i, belt

W tire-, to put on or wear a belt; tiri, tiru-s, tiruma-s, belt; cf. č'i-r, look through almost closed eyes, squint; č'iri-k-, thin, slim, narrow, attenuated

NT-M te, belt worn by men or women

PCC tiri, dance belt; K tiridiyak, belt (about 3 in. long, made of fine beads, valuable) (cf. CC tirči/u, tight-fitting; diyak, belt worn by the bighead; K diyak, dancing belt; belt, any kind)

SP-M te-re, ter-re, belt worn by men

*tiw, search for

W tiwe, search for, hunt for

PCC tiwnan, to buy (hunt for oneself, get for oneself)

*tiwi-t, killdeer

W tuwetetək, shrieking sound made by a bird (Du Bois & Demetracopoulou 1931: 359); cf. M til'-le-hah, te-le'-to-lit, te-le'-lit, kil-te'-de, killdeer; te-le'-hah, meadowlark

NGT-M te-wē'-dē'-dik, killdeer (*Oxyechus vocifera*)

PCC, K, T tiwi-t, killdeer

PR tiwi-t, killdeer (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

SP tiwit, killdeer (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

Sound-imitative with similar terms in other California languages; e.g., Palewyami Che'-e-e'-te, killdeer (Berman 2002: 439)

*to-, pole; cf. *t'u, cane

W tolo(·)q, pole, paddle, fire-poker; toloy, mush paddle; cf. tole, leg; toki(t), handgame sticks

PK yay to-yi, house retaining stakes, back posts; yayto-yi, house posts (side)

*-to ?, *-tu ? agentive (511.5); cf. *-tu(·), person, people

W -to-, disjunctive postclitic (foregrounding, agent, focus, contrast)

PH -tu, agentive

*tob-i, spike; cf. *t'op, be sharp; *to-l, stick up

W tOb-, tuba-, raise, i.e., grow in the earth (i.e., grow without implication of increase), own a pet; tobit, that which is raised/grown; ?ol-tubas, stump

PK to-bitō, buck with unforked horns

*tok-i ? *t'ok-i ? sticks; cf. *toq, stand up long things

W toki, handgame sticks; t'Ok-, sticks, make sticks, gambling sticks, set long thin things even or into the ground

N-G tohki', sticks (Hesi regalia)
 PCC t'ok, stick; K toki, stick used for counting money in grassgame; t'ok, little stick

Diffused, irregular correspondence.

*to·l, stick up; cf. *tob-i, spike

W to·la, plants to grow

PCC to·li/u-, stick (head) out, up

*tolto- ? *totow- ?, roadrunner

W-M pum'-taw'-taw-what', pum-to'-waht, roadrunner [with po·m, ground]

PR-B ^hult^hul, roadrunner; ^holt^how (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

Most likely diffused and not a good set

*ton, willow sp. or basket sticks from that willow

W ton, willow; white willow wood, bark and the sticks of white willow wood (used for baskets); tonmi·, (white) willow tree; toni č'u·s, willow stick; (-mi·, tree; č'u·s, wood, stick)

NT-M ton'-me, willow (*Salix hindsiana*)

PCC ton, a pole, upright post; K ton, basket stick

PR-B ton, post supporting house

cf. PCC, K tunuk, baby cradle; H-U t'unu·k, baby cradle from willow; A-U, T-U tunuk, cradle basket; PR-B t'onok, baby basket

*toq, stand up long things; cf. *toq ? *tuq ?, nape of neck; *tok-i ?, t'ok-i ?, sticks

W toq-, to be like a post, stand up anything long, from tOq, set long thin things even or into the ground; toqči, a post; toqča, to set a post in the ground; cf. ^hOh, rigid; tok, dancing place

PK toktok, primary wing feathers

*toq ? *tuq ? nape of neck ?; cf. *toq, stand up long things

W toqi·qi, (back ?) part of the neck; backbone, when on living body or skeletal, toqi·qit, spine; cf. doki, neck, throat; toro·r, ridge

NT-M dok'-kon', back bone (vertebrae)

PCC tukutuku, neck (esp. back of neck), whole neck, back of neck high up on head; cf. ʔakit, back of the neck; K tuku·tuku, neck; cf. PR čoč^he, neck (archaic word), nape of neck

cf. Alsea ta:kw-, to swallow (Golla 1997: 165); Mins, Mip to·pa-, nape (Callaghan 2001: 331)

*toqo ? *doqo ? beetle sp.

W doqos, bulletin bug; cf. doqos, arrow, bullet (folk-etymology)

NG-M daw-kaw, beetle (all kinds)

PCC toko·men, water beetle; K toko·k, a bug that lives in the ground, makes a hole about 3/4" deep, about the size of a fly; K CC ant lion

*tos, basket type

N-C tâs, burden-basket; cf. W t^ho·s, camp(ground)

PK tos, kind of basket (big)

*to·to, dance type ?

N-G to·totcono, fast type of dance

PK to·to, name of old (pre-Kuksu) dance type

PR to·to, “shakehead dance,” with feather costume, old-time dance

Most likely a loan between N and P and not reconstructible

*tu, ahead of, before, first; prefix: ahead (422.3); cf. *tum, eye

W tu-, straight ahead, forward, in front; tuda, much further along; tune, forward, front, first; tuwa, tuʔa(·), a little further along, further on; tu·ntaqa, first; tuwa kele·l, further out; tu·n, still, yet, far ahead, long past, a while ago, a long time ago; tu·nʔukin, long ago; tu·n-p’uta·č’epet, ancestress; tu·nku·ra, to have the first child

PC tu-, ahead, first (prefix) (Whistler 1977b)

PCC tu·so, to go first < *tu·, first + ho, verbalizer; K tu·patuka č^hu hara·bus, I’m going ahead; tube, early morning

SP-M too’-pe, first; too’-pe-win, first people

cf. Alsea tu:, tu:-c (particle) here!, an-tu:-n, that there; Siuslaw tu:(a), that one (Golla 1997: 166)

*-tu(·), person, people; cf. *-to ? *tu- ?, agentive; *t^hu(·)n, body; whole

W -tu·, -t^hu·, classifiers meaning something like “people” or “beings”; e.g., ya·paytu·, shamanistic spirit, killer spirit, white person; wint^hu·h, person, people

N-G łakaltu, male supernatural being; K sêktu, chief

PCC se·ktu, chief, boss of any kind, captain

PR se·ktu, chief, headman, captain

*tum, eye; cf. *tu, ahead of, before, first

*tus-men, tears

*tusupuy, eyelashes

W tum (g), eye, eyes, face; tuh (p), one eye, particular eye(s); tusmen, tears; tusupuy, eyelashes

N-Ha tumút, eye

PCC, T tu·men, tears; tusupuy, eyelash; K tus, whole face, cheek; tusupuy, eyelash; T tus, face, cheek

PR tus, face; tusmen, tears (in eyes); tusupuy, eyelashes

SP-M too’-mah, too’, eye

cf. PMy *tum, center, middle (Brown 1990: 58)

t^h

*t^hah, berry sp.

W t^hah, sarvice berry, service berries; cf. t^habat, (wild) service berries; t^hahmi, service berries, salmon berries [tree]

N-C tá-hi, service-berries; cf. ták-chi, raspberries

PC-M tah', chokecherry

*t^hak, put on a hat

*t^hak-i, hat

W t^haka-, to put on one's hat; t^haki(t), hat, cap; cf. panti čaxča, to put a deerhead up as a decoy

N-BW thaki, hat

PCC t^hači, hat; K t^hač^hi, cap, hat

and irregular:

PCC, K, T t^haknan, to get dressed (up), to ready one's house, the dancehouse, etc., get things arranged when expecting someone

cf. Nez Perce tá-qmał, hat; Sahaptin táqmał, hat; Molala taqām, taqqam?, taqqām, hat (Berman 1996: 21)

*t^hak-č^h-i, dump (granulated solids ?)

W t^hakča, to shove, push, spill granulated solids; t^hakal, solids to be spilled; t^hakči, nominal form

PK t^hatt^hi/u-, dump (out)

*t^hał-, bump

W ?el-t^hałča, to break

PR t^hałalas ču, I bumped (myself); t^hałalta, bumped

*t^ha·p ?, *sap ?, wash face, wash up (282.)

W ?el-sapana·, to wash one's face

PH-U ta·punanta, wash your face

PR t^ha·punan, wash your face and hands; t^ha·punanat^hi, everyone wash up! (before eating)

*t^hapa, sand

W wenemt^hapa, to be a mound or island in the river ("middle-sand" ?)

PR t^hapa, sand

*t^haw, left

*t^haw sem, left hand

W t^haw-, left; t^hawsem, left hand

N-BP thaw-(sem), left side

PH-B t^haw, left-handed

PR t^haw sem, left hand

*^hel-a-, liquid spreads; cf. *^hil-ʔa eat with someone

W ^hela-, liquid to spread out

PCC ^hela-, (water) spreads out (after spilling)

*^heł, crack open; cf. *^hoł-i/u, break up surface

W ^hełča, to break or wreck things; ^hilal, broken, burst, cracked open; cf. čEl-, to be a rip, split on cloth; čEł-, to stone, hit with a rock

PCC ^hełu, to slice wood down, to cut thin shavings off so as to make something fit in

cf. Proto-Cholan *til/*tihl, with reflexes including: fall, collapse, crush (chile peppers), break (arm, leg), fall apart, tear down completely or into bits, and other related meanings; Totonac (Papantla) tilha, he breaks it to pieces, he destroys it; Tonkawa tilʔaye-, to crush (it) (by falling on ...), to hurt, injure (it) by pressure (all from Brown 1990: 39-40)

*^hil-ʔa eat with someone; cf. *^hel-a-, liquid spreads; *^heł, crack open

W ^hEl-, ^hila-, to eat with someone

PH-U ^hilʔa henta, lunch

*^hoł-i/u, break up surface; cf. *^heł, crack open; *^hulu ? *^holo ?, pestle

W *^hOł-, break (< *^hol, stir, as in: ^holoh, mush paddle; cf. ^hul-, swim, i.e., “break water’s surface” ?); ^huła-, to chip; ^hołča, to break; ^hułal, broken; cf. tuł, bang, roar, thunder, shoot with rifle, to be popeyed

PH-U, T-U toli, pound (anything, e.g., meat); cf. A-U ^hulup, rock acorn cracker

PR ^hoł-ʔaro, “crazy,” what happens to someone caught by a spirit up on Sutter Buttes, when they get trapped or distracted while up there [“cracked (up)”?]

*^hoq-č^h-i/u, lean against (tr.)

W ʔel-^hoqča/i/u-, to lean something up against (as a board against the entrance so as to close it); ʔol-^huqa, to stand up long things (as poles); cf. tuka-, to make handgame sticks; kento-k, to put into the ground (tree, pole)

PR ^hokt^hi/u, to lean (something) against

*^hub, spit

W ^hube-, to spit (once)

N-BW tuba’-, spit

PK ^huba-, to spit

PR ^huba, to spit

cf. PMy *^huhb’-i, to spit, *^huhb’, saliva; Maidu t’up, spit; Zoque (Francisco Leon dialect) čuhpiʔu, spit; Popoluca (Oluta) tičuhpa, spit; Choctaw tufa, spit; Natchez cufhagiš, spittle; Keresan šupšup, spit; Colorado tuʔpakeno, spit; Mosetan čupi, spit (all from Brown 1990: 26)

*^hul-e/i/u, swim; cf. *^hoł-i/u, break up surface

W ^hule·, ^huli/u-, swim; Pitkin distinguishes ^hule, to swim, and ^hule·, to travel by boat; to travel on the water either swimming or in a boat; ^hu·la, to glide on the water

N-J tu-le, swim

PCC ^huli/u-, swim

PR ^huli/u-, swim; ^hule, you swim!

cf. Also tlu:q'w, land close to the shore, beach (Golla 1997: 166)

*^hulu ? *^holo ? pestle; cf *^hoł-i/u, break up surface

W ^holoh, pestle, mush stirrer; ^holo·y, cooking paddle, paddle for stirring

PCC ^hulup, pestle

*^hu(·)n, body, whole; cf. *-tu(·), person, people

W win^hu·n ^hunis, (the whole) body; ^hunama·, altogether, all over all of it; ^hunin hina, to come together (for war), enter into trance, come up to someone; ^hu·n, back (body part), slope, back above waist, back of the body slope (^hu·n, steep, slope); cf. tu, tu·n, ahead; tu·nmaq, chest, breastbone

N-BW tun, body; T-M toom', whole body; N-W ^hu·n, chest

PCC, K ^hu·n, body; T-U ^hu·n, lots

PR ^hu·n, body

SP-M toon', whole body

*^hup-u ? *^hub-u ? pull out; cf. *sob-č-u, *sob-a, pull off

W ^hupuwil, to pull out weeds or plants; ?ol-^hupča, to pull up (as traps)

N-BW tip-, thip-, pull

PCC ^hubu·-, to pull out

PR t'ubu·-, pull

*^huq, single thing or individual emerges; cf. *čuk-a, approach

W ^huqča, to pull out, to pull out a single hair, to pull out something by the roots, to take out a splinter; ^huqe, to tweeze hair

PT-U ^huktis, he comes out (as in kewena ^huktis, he's coming out through the house)

t'

*t'a-, chew; perhaps *t'ač and identical with *t'ač, split/slit two halves

W t'ača·, to chew on, eat on something (perhaps < *t'ad-, split, cut)

PR t'ała·k, to chew; cf. H-U, T-U t'ačoho, chew

*t'ač, split/slit two halves; cf. *t'a-, chew

W t'ača, to split without separating wide open; se-t'a·t, to split open, to split apart, to split twigs, wood, watermelon (< *t'ad-, split, cut); cf. t'e·l, slit

PCC t'ači, abalone shell pendants; T-U abalone and abalone shell

*t'al-a, fall; cf. *dil-i, fall

W t'ala, to fall off

N-S t'ala, fall

PCC, K t'al, to fall; CC t'alma, to drop (tr.)

PR t'alta, fall (of nuts, people), fall down; t'alma, to drop

*t'ał-a, clothe, clothes; cf. *t'amu·, shoe

W t'ała, to wear clothes

NT-M tah-hlah-pen'-peet, naked [clothes-without]

PCC, K t'ała·, clothes

PR t'ała, clothes, clothing

*t'amu·, shoe; cf. *t'ał-a, clothes

W t'amu·s, shoe(s); t'ama·, to wear shoes

N-SS tami, shoes

PT-U t'amu, t'amu·, shoe; t'amu·, foot; t'amu, footprint

*t'aq-i/u, pound

W t'aqā·, to pound, pulverize, grind with a stone; pukit'aqi, acorn mush before cooking

PCC, K t'aki/u-, pound, grind, smash up

PR t'ak^{hi}/u-, pound

*t'aq, slap

W t'aq-, slap, pet, pat; t'aqča, slap, slap on the body, slap one slap, spank

PH-U t'akči, t'ak'a, to slap; sem t'akt'akči, clap hands

*t'ara, mushroom sp.

W t'a-rak, lily mushroom

PCC, K t'arap, mushroom sp.; T mushroom sp., shelf-type (on cotton-woods?)

PR t'arap, mushroom sp. (flat, on trees)

*t'arara ? *č'arara ? kingfisher

W t'a-rarak, belted kingfisher

NGT-M chā-dah'-dahk', kingfisher (Ceryle)

PCC č^ha-rara, kingfisher; K č^harara, belted kingfisher; KT č^ha-rara·, belted kingfisher

PR č'arara, kingfisher

SP č^haraw, č^hararaw, belted kingfisher (Whistler 1976e)

cf. Palewyami Cho-taw'-to-klōs', kingfisher (Berman 2002: 439)

*t'eb, split apart; cf. *t'eč-a, slice; *č'eb-a·, to scrape, scratch; *λ'ab, λ'eb, break

W t'epča, to skin a deer; se-t'epča, to cut open, tear open (an animal)

PK t'ebap'iri, t'ebapita, to split apart (as a long stick), split open (tearing cloth or tearing open deer guts); t'ebč^hopita, already split off (as a large branch falling down off a tree)

*t'eč-a, slice; cf. *t'eb, split apart, *t'ač, split/slit two halves

W se-t'eča, to cut fish or deer apart

PR t'etaho, to split open a fish (down the middle into two pieces); T-U, te-te, fish cut in slices; H-U te-lta, sliced meat

*t'edVq, ant; cf. *tede, red

W t'ido·q, red ant (or “ant” when modified, e.g., lalas t'ido·q, little black ant)

NG-M ted'-dawk', ants (all kinds)

PCC t'edek, big (red?) ant sp.; dark-colored big ants (in ground); T big red ant sp.

PR t'edek, big red ant sp.

*t'el, smoke hole

W-M tel' hol'-luk, smoke hole; cf. pat-čeli, door; xeli, door; M puluk (teluk), cooking basket, close twine

PK ʔolt'el, smoke hole

*t'eqel, palm; cf. *dek, climb, step

W ʔol-t'eqel, forehead (“upper palm?”); cf. t'aqal, palm or under-foot, sole < t'aq, pat, pet, slap, pound; cf. tep-t'ikil, heel

NT-M dow-tak-le, sole

PCC, T-B t'ekel, palm of hand

PR-B t'ekel, palm of hand

SP-V t'ikīlīlī'u, baby's heel

*t'er ?, tend in indicated direction; cf. *t'ir, twist

W t'Er, move, act, tend, in indicated direction; cf. t^hEr-, glide, spread the feathers to glide

PCC čentere, to hang down; K wayt^here, “face the north,” the Colusa place with the dancehouse

*t'er-i, make round; cf. *dir, *dił, roll; *t'ir, twist

W t'ira-, to catch fish in net, hold out net to catch fish; xun-t'erča, to fold, close; ʔol-t'ira, to hold up a dish to catch water; t'e-ri, big pack basket

PT-U t'eri, anything round

*t'es, sneeze

W t'ise-, to sneeze

PCC č'esi, to sneeze; K č'esi/u-

PR č'esi/u-, to sneeze

Irregular correspondence due to sound symbolism. Widespread similar forms.

*t'e(·)s, spouse's parent, child's spouse, in-law one generation removed

W t'e·s, -t'es, spouse's parent, child's spouse

N-W t'es, spouse's parent, child's spouse

PCC t'e·s, in-law (generation higher); nay t'e·s, my father-in-law, my mother-in-law; K nayt'es, father-in-law (wife's father, husband's father), son-in-law (daughter's husband)

PR t'e·s, daughter/son/father/mother-in-law, in-laws in general

*t'i-, *t^{hi}- ?, know; cf. *t'ip, make sparks; *t'ihit-u, ask

W t'ipna-, to know

N-BW t'ipna-, know

PCC t^{hi}č'a, to know, understand (< *t^{hi}č - ?a ?) (also t^{hi}č^ha ?)

PR t^{hi}č^ha, know, understand

*t'ihit-u, ask; cf. *t'i-, *t^{hi}- ?, know

W t'ihit-a, t'ihit-u-, to ask a question, ask for advice

N-BW tihitE-, hand over, get, give

PCC, K t'ihit-u-, ask

PR-B t'ehiti, tiito, t'ehitu, to ask

*t'ik-i/u, pour solids

*t'ik-u-pa(q) (with benefactive)

W panti t'ika, panti t'ike-, to pour solids on something; t'ikel, to be filled with solids; doči bukulin t'ikupaq, bake it in the ashes!

PCC t'ičo-, to put in a sack; t'iči, to bury (tr.), to cover up with dirt; t'iči kewe, sweat house; cf. t'i·ki, sand; K t'ič^hi/u-, throw dirt on/over; t'ič^ho·ro, put in (a sack); t'ič^hikewel, sweat house; ?ut t'ič^huparo, threw (dirt, gravel) on/over him

PR t'ič^hu-, bury; B t'ič^hu-t, sweat house

*t'ip, make sparks; cf. *t'i-, *t^{hi}- ?, know

W t'ipe-, sparks to fly, to send out sparks, fire to crackle; ?el-t'ipel, something to be in one's eye; cf. M che'-pok, ashes

PCC t'ipili, to roast in earth oven, (cover with ashes) meat roasted in pit with ashes over it; K roasted squirrel; cf. t'ipa, acorn bread

PR t'ipil, to bake in ashes; cf. t'ip^ha, bread

SP-M e'-pah, acorn bread

Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms for acorn bread are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMiw *cíp·a. If this is the case, P would have folk-etymologized the borrowing and changed c to t. However, W dibilis, acorn bread when the dough is thick (dib-, ooze, overflow sluggishly, thickly) and tibil, make acorn cakes, indicate that these forms involve a root of older lineage.

*t'ir, twist; cf. *dir, *dił, roll; *t'er, tend in indicated direction

W č'anin t'i·ra, to twist to one side; cf. č'anin t'ili·ka, to twist (someone's arm); t'ilikta, to wind; t'ile-, to twist and roll wild iris to make rope; t'il-, spiral,

twist, wind, roll, bore, focus; t'ile-, to be twisted, as a vine around a pole or tree

PCC t'ir-, to twist (in the fingers)

*t'ok, spot

W t'okča, to have a spot; t'uka-, to have (a) spot(s); t'oko-ra, to be spotted (all over); cf. luk-, spot; luxča, to have chickenpox

PK t'oki, one spot; t'oku-ro bo-s, spotted, freckled
cf. Klamath (Barker 1963: 538) lto·q', be spotted

*t'oli, dragonfly

W t'oy bolma, dragon fly (folk etymologized: lit. penis suck)

PR-U t'oli, dragonfly

*t'on, tarweed

N-G t'on, tarweed

PCC, K t'o·n, white tarweed sp. (prob. Hemizonia rudis, hayfield tarweed)

Possibly a loan between N and P

*t'op, *t'up, be sharp; cf. *tob-i, spike

W t'Op-, spear, stab, stick, pierce, thorns, prickles, be sharp, be pricked, joint, set ends together, guess in gambling, hornet, wasp; t'upa-, to stick with something sharp, get shot; t'opča, to sting

PCC t'opelto, get up, raise oneself up; K pi ʔete·ta t'opu·l bes, that's a pole; t'opu-ro, put (net) down in water to catch fish; U t'o·pt'opma, itching all over body

PR t'u·p, spear (n.); t'up, spear, slice finely

SP-M tup'-pel-to, stand up!

cf. PMy *t'op, to pinch (Brown 1990: 58)

*t'or, pinch

W t'or, bite, pinch, nip at (< t'Or-, take acorns out of cups ?)

PCC t'oriʔa, be stuck on

*t'ot, thick liquid

W t'Ot-, t'uta-, to throw thick liquid, make acorn flour into dough; cf. čutupa, to be thick

PH-U, A-U tote, nasal mucus

*t'u-, cane; cf. *to-, pole

W t'uwe-s, cane, crutch; t'uwemena-, to walk with a cane

PCC t'uha, the stick held by a dancer ?; T-U t'uha-, walking cane; K t'usa, walking stick

*t'ubuq, mortar ?

W t'ubuq, largest storage basket

PR č'obok, mortar; B mortar hole

If cognate, P would have backed *t' to *č' in a reversal of the fronting chain (an early hypercorrection ?)

*t'uduy, *t'uy, stone, small round rock

W t'ud-, round, ball, naked; t'uduy, ball; t'udu·q, t'uduq, round; se-t'udu-ra, to roll around; M too-doo, small stone for splitting acorns; C notudui ulumus, he stoops picks up stones; cf. t'une·, to make (into) a ball; xun-t'uye, to make bundles; č'u-d-, to sit on haunches

N-BW tuduhu, ball; G tudut, puck (knob of wood for shinny)

PC dudi, ball

PR t'uduy, rock; R-U small rock

SP-M 'too-yook, round like ball

cf. PCC, R-B t'odoy, short; SP-M 'to-dok, short; PH-U t'odo·k-ʔaro, stingy

*t'uk-u, drown

W t'uke·, to (die by) drown(ing), to be submerged; t'uku-, imperative stem

PR t'uč^hu, t'uči/u-, to drown

PH-B t'usi, to drown (irregular)

*t'uk-u-k^hen, you might drown (with *-k^hen, may, might, lest)

W t'ukuken, you might drown, lest you drown

PR č'o·nan, t'učučin mi, watch out! you might drown

*t'ul, to finger

W t'ulčuhes, the one it is tabu to touch, the one made handsome, Tulcuheres, the Sun (with evidence from myth, perhaps 'the one who was beaten as a (potential) spouse'; cf. tul, to beat a spouse; tuk, throb, pulsate); C translates "tulchuherris" as "dug out of the ground," which may refer to a person originating on earth in contrast to Sun in the myth. The most likely meaning of the root t'ul- is "touch, stick fingers in to touch or dig up." Cf. č'uli·ka, flames, flames going along, licking about

PCC t'ulukpale, I'm gonna stick my fingers in and get it out [e.g., into mouth of a choking person]; K t'ulukta, grabbing, fondling

*t'umi, fog

W t'umi·, fog (Pitkin and Shipley 1958: 181)

N-S t'umiit, fog

PT t^(h)umi, waterfall; cf. K sumuklay, to be foggy

SP-M too'-më, fog

*t'uw, pine ?

W t'uwe·s, crutch, cane

N-G t'u-wa, walking stick

PCC t'uwa·, pine tree; K T t'uwa· (t^hok), digger pine

*t'uy, seal (close)

*t'uy-č^h-i, net

W t'uy-, plug up, stop up, fill up, seal, bundle up, spurs, bird's down; C tuichi kelis, feathered head net; tuichu kilis, net faced with white down; cf. č'yuyih, be cramped, cramps, rheumatism, be numb

PK t'uyi/u-, close (door), dam up, (water) to back up; cf. CC, K, R toyi/u-, to stop, quit, end, edge; SP-M toi'-yu'-pah, full

PR-U t'uyt^hi, sack from twine; t'uyt'uyta, separating acorn seeds rotating basket

λ'

*λ'ab, *λ'eb, break; cf. *t'eb, split apart

W *λ'e-, to interrupt a physical continuity, break; λ'Eb, λ'Ep, break, tear; λ'abalpom, French Gulch (Whistler 1980: 24: "... the most promising phonemic interpretation of the term [for French Gulch] seems to be /λ'abalpom/. La Pena (1978: 324) offers a translation as 'good (peaceful) ground', but I consider a more appropriate translation to be 'broken up-place (or country).' This could refer either to the natural topography of the French Gulch area, or, if the term is a late coinage, to the local disruptive effects of 19th century mining in the area. The root /λ'ab-/ seems to be somewhat uncommon in Wintu, but survives as a common root in Patwin. Cf. WPCC /λ'aba-/ 'to break (one thing) to pieces; to shatter' and /λ'ab-ču/ 'broken into pieces; shattered.' The -al ending on the Wintu form is presumably related to the Wintu {el} stative root-deriving verbal suffix.")

PCC λ'ebu, to chip (pl.); λ'eba·, to break (like an eggshell, bust up); λ'ebi, to chip, to round bead blanks by chipping; λ'ebλ'e-bis, nibble; λ'abu, to break (pl.) into pieces; λ'aba·, to break (sg.) into pieces (flowerpot, bottle on a rock, etc.)

cf. Alesa łxwmt- (or t'ł'umt-), to tear (Golla 1997: 163)

*λ'al, (empty ?) shell

W λ'al, shell; λ'ala·s, abalone shell, seashell, clam, mussel, oyster, earring

N-G ma-tlala, earrings; TG-M klal', any shell

PCC, K λ'al, shell (any; oyster, snail, turtle, nut, acorn)

PR λ'al, empty shells of acorns, walnuts, beans, etc.

*λ'ap-u ? *t'op-u ? fit

W λ'apure, to suit, match, fit; λ'apura·, to try on; λ'apurma·, evenly (divided)

PR t'opu-, fit

*λ'aq, finish; *λ'aq-č^h (with mediopassive) (*λ'ak-č^h ?)

W λ'aqama, to stop snowing; cf. λ'aq, obsidian, chip ?; λ'akama, rope to break; łaq, cover; λ'akča, to burn up (tr.)

PK λ'att^hi, done (of the dancing), finish, wind it up

PR λ'akt^hi, to finish a period of fasting, to be over with it, last finishing up of the dance, ceremonies

*λ'aqa, (dry ?) grass

W λ'aqas, řaqas, weed

PCC, K λ'akan, hay, dry grass

*λ'aq-a, strike at

W λ'aqa·, to flake, retouch obsidian; cf. λ'ak-, make arrowheads

PR λ'aka-, kick

*λ'ar, white stone

W λ'a·buruq, marble, white stone, agate; cf. řuru·qi, white

PK λ'ara·k, small white rocks (heavier than gravel, only come from certain places, maybe in some dry spots in the creek; white, black, small)

*λ'ař, rattle; cf. *λ'al, (empty ?) shell

W λ'ař, live mollusc (in its shell; e.g., oyster, abalone, mussels, clams), mussel (shell); cf. λ'asa·sus, rattle, split rattle, wooden rattle; řas, stick for rattling; řasa·sus, řasa·sunas, any stick used for rattling, music, song; řada·rus, elderberry rattle

NT-M 'kah'-sah'-soo, rattle; C ka-hlá-hlu, rattle (split-elder baton); H λ'aλ'aři, rattle (clapperstick); BW kaLaLu, kaLalu, singing stick

PK λ'aři, big clapper sticks used by dancer, small clapper sticks used in singing, rattle, singing stick

*λ'er, pierce through; cf. *λ'ab, λ'eb, break

W λ'eriča, to shoot low (tr.); sanihas λ'eriča, Morning Star ("daylight archer"?)

PCC λ'eru, to punch holes (pl.) in; λ'era·, to go through an opening (flying or walking), punch a hole in (with awl, etc.); cf. λ'er-, shout, cry out; K λ'er-, scream

*λ'erew, bulb sp. (*Brodiaea* sp. ?)

W λ'ere(·)w, tigerlily (bulbs), mountain lily

PCC, K λ'erew, harvest brodiaea ?

*λ'et, ground squirrel

W λ'et, California ground squirrel; also řet, ground squirrel < řEt, be nervous, tremble, shiver (perhaps a folk-etymology)

N-W λ'et, ground squirrel

PCC, K, R λ'et, ground squirrel

SP λ'ek ?, ground squirrel (Whistler 1977a)

*λ'ey-e, bare the teeth

W si· λ'eya, to show all the teeth (smile broadly, i.e., spread lips); si· λ'eyes, a person whose teeth are always showing

PK λ'e·y-, laugh, neigh; T-U λ'eye, laugh

PR λ'ey, to laugh; B to smile

*λ'ik, dull (of senses)

W ma-t λ'ikeles, stopped up ears

PCC λ'i-ki, pain has gone down (refers just to pain)

*λ'ił-, shelled and dried acorns

W λ'iłe, acorns

N-C tli-hla, acorns (shelled and dried)

PCC t'iła, hulled and dried acorn kernel (without the skin)

PR t'iła, dried acorn kernels

The P forms may have been dissimilated *λ'>t'/_ł

*λ'ir, roast

W λ'idi-ruma-, to fry (dissimilation *r > d/_r ?)

PK λ'il-, λ'ir-, roast, scorch (hair off a squirrel)

*λ'itq-, apply light pressure with hand

W λ'i-tqa, to feel, touch

PCC λ'iti-ko, to squeeze (sg.), squeeze easy, press lightly; λ'itko, to squeeze (pl.), press down, squeeze or press on lightly repeatedly

*λ'o-m-u, kill; cf. *lim, fade away

W λ'o-ma, to kill, slaughter, murder; cf. ło-m, stick; ław, hit; łu, stab, pierce;
λ'u, stick in (all from *łO- ?)

PCC, K lum-, lu-m-, die, dead

PR lu-m-, dead, die

SP-M loo'-mir-rit ?, dead; lum-o'-oot, kill [him, her, it] (an animal, man)

P may have changed *λ' to l by contamination with lim-, see *lim

cf. Ałsea łxma:n-, (or tł'a:mn-), to kill; Siuslaw tł'xmai-, kill, tł'xmi:ti:, bow (Golla 1997: 163)

*λ'op, *łop, tule, bulrush

W λ'op, flat tule; łupul, tule, needle grass, rat-tailed grass

NG-M 'hlup', big round tule; T-M 'hlüp' (Scirpus lacustris); B Lap, tule

PCC łop, round tule, bulrush; T λ'op

cf. Mim șappa, tule (Callaghan 2001: 324)

*λ'op, *λ'op-č^h-, *łop-č^h-, insert long things (vertically ?), poke, stick into; cf.

*λ'ut, *λ'uč^h-, apply sharp pointed object

W λ'Op, λ'upa, put, stick in long things vertically; λ'upča, to stick into the ground, bow one's head; łol-λ'upča, to tack up hides against the house; ken-λ'upča, to throw or put a person in deep water; λ'opča, to put something into, dump (acorns, hide), also łopča, to spill out on the ground, to dump out or down

PCC λ'opt^hu, to put in (sg.); λ'o-p, to fill (pl. of λ'opt^hu); λ'optaro, filling, putting in (a lot of things)

łupa-, to poke with a needle, prick; łopt^hunana, put on (as shoes or gloves) (insert one's fingers or toes into); łopt^hup'iri, put together; łu-pi, to put feathers on head

PK łupa-ro, stick in hand, stick in anyplace, with a needle; łopt^huro, put on, attach; łopt^hupita, joint

PR me-mł̩a λ'opt^hu?, put it in the water, soak it in the water; U λ'opt^hunan, ring (put one's finger into); λ'opt^hu, łopt^hu?, to put together

*λ'or-, protruberance

W λ'Or-, λ'ura-, to pile up rocks or earth; λ'uru-m, mound; cf. łor, freckles, pimples; łOr-, add; łur-, small dots or freckles

PR λ'ora, knee; cf. λ'uri?, earwax ?

*λ'uk, worm

W λ'uk, worm, cutworm, pinworm, maggot; cf. łu-q, worm

N-BP λ'uk, worm

PCC λ'ut, cutworms (greenish); T worm sp. (cutworm ?)

PR łupłup, worms

cf. PMy *luqu:m, worm (Brown 1990: 18)

*λ'uq, remove from body

W λ'uqe, to pluck (chicken), pick (fruit); λ'uqel, hair to come loose or off; λ'uqča, to pick (flowers); cf. xOq-, pull off large slaps of bark

PCC λ'uku-, to gut (a deer), cut open; K λ'uk-, gut, degut, take guts out

cf. Alsea ĩ:q-iy-s, feather; ĩ:x, tail feather (Golla 1997: 162)

*λ'ut, *λ'uč-, apply sharp pointed object; cf. *λ'op, *λ'op-č^h-, *łop-č^h-, insert long things (vertically ?), poke, stick into

W λ'u, stick in, plant; λ'učuna-, to stab oneself, to pierce oneself with a sharp pointed object; λ'u-t, stick up, erect something sharp; cf. se-λ'očo-ya, mash; q'ay λ'oča, chew up; λ'ač-, mash, weight down; cf. łuča, łuče, stab, gig, spear

PCC λ'utu-ko, to scratch (sg.); λ'u-tko, to scratch (pl.) (with nails, claws, brush); K λ'utu-, pinch; λ'oč^hu-, pick up with pinch-like motion

cf. PMy *luč, with reflexes including: remove thorn (with needle, etc.), prick, remove with needle, to gore; Huitoto Murui llutade, to inject, puncture, prick one time with a small thing; Zapotec (Isthmus) rudu, to give a poke, to perforate, to jab (animals); Shuswap łu?, to poke, stab, sting (all from Brown 1990: 23)

u

*-u, imperative or irrealis stem-deriving suffix (423.22)

See *kay-i/u, shame; *koy-i/u, koyi-ʔa, hurt, sick, want; *xed-i/u, fart; *k'ah-i/u, wind, wind blows; *k'eb-i/u, loosen by scratching; *lel-a/i/u, make; *wač-i/u, cry; *yal-i/u, leave; *ʔod-i/u-, itch, scratch

V

*-V(·)l, stative ? (423.14)

See: *kip-Vl, roll, run continuously; *k'aral, stative of *k'ar-a, scrape (?); *k'uwi·l, bent; *witol(-ʔa), be fast, do fast; *łaqal, play

*-V₁l, suffix of unknown meaning (511.7)

See: *holol, sunshine; *kopol, pond; *xerel, people of, village; *k'ala(·)l, flowers; *pene(·)l, black oak acorn; *qewel, house; *tahal, tongue; *t'eqel, palm; *yoho(·)l, toad

*-V(·)r, continuative (423.12); see *kim-u·r, rumble, roar; *łon-or, sound bee-like; cf. *har-a·, go; *wer, come

*-V·y, iterative (423.13); see *hil-a·y, swing arms; *p^hek-a·y-i/u ? *hik-a·y-i/u ?, stand

W

*wač-i/u, cry

W wača·, wači/u-, cry, weep, keen, sob, wail

N-BW wOca-, cry

PCC, K wa^hi/u-, cry, whine

PR-U wa^ti/u-, cry

SP-A hueti chu huati, I will weep

cf. PR-U waru·k, red; PK watwa·ti, red (prob. originally referring to eyes and face, but in H-U forms also used with light, redwing blackbird, house, which may, however, be loan translations.)

cf. PŸn *wa·xil, to cry, PM *wak, to cry out (Callaghan 2001: 330); Klamath swaqča, cries, weeps (Barker 1963: 397)

*wak, wide (open ?); cf. *waw, open mouth

W wa·k, widen ?; se-wa·k, to open up wide; waku, open it wide!; cf. wa·w, wide open; waw, open wide

PR-U wač'akta, wide

*wal-u, flame, lightning; cf. *k'al, intense visual perception; *nal ? *wal ?, lick;

*q'al-i ?, charcoal

W walu·qa, to lighten; p^ho·h walwaluq, flame; cf. ʔalula, glimpse

N-S woloola, burn

PCC wa·lbok, lightning to flash; walʔa, to flame; K wa·lbok-, lightning to flash, spark; cf. H-U we·la, light

PR-B wa·lboko, lightning

SP-M wal-loo'-mah, cremation; wal'-le, flame or blaze

cf. PU *wil·ep, lightning; PŸnim *walam, walma, lightning; Mins wil·ep·y-, Cscw wilep, lightning; PM *wis·p'il, lightning (Callaghan 2001: 323)

**walu, barren*

- N-G walusa, hermaphrodite [barren-intensive]
 PCC walu, barren woman (has borne no children)

**wan, end point*

- W wan, end, top of tree, tip of nose; wana-, -wana, to be or move in a certain direction (toward the end point?); kenwani, evening, late; M wahn', a point
 N-H t^hu·ku ke·nwana, sundown, sunset
 PT-U wan, point, end

**waqu·, *waqo· ? log*

- W waqu·s, log; waq-, to pile < waq, log ends/tips; cf. wosik, hollow log
 PK wako·, log, limb; pako·, foot log (for crossing stream); cf. PCC wakne, waves

**wasasa, *wasas-ʔa ?, rattle (rustle ?)*

- W was, dry leaves, rustle (of dry leaves), make a noise like dry vegetation; wasa·sa, to rattle (not organically), to rattle the instruments to make a specific sound (music), the sound of deer hoof rattles
 N-C wâ·sâ·su, rattle (cluster of oak-galls)
 PCC sawar, a rattle (of rattler); sawarho, rattling; K wasasʔaro, rattling (intr.); wasasamaro, shaking (tr.) it (like a rattle, etc.) [make it rattle]
 cf. SP-M pah·sas·lah, elderberry stick

**wataq, frog*

- W wataqmet, frog
 N-W wataq, frog; BP watak, frog
 PCC, K, T wata·k, frog
 PR-U wata·k, frog, toad

**waw, open mouth; cf. *wak, wide (open ?)*

- W se·waw, to open one's mouth and leave it open; se·wawča, to open someone's mouth with one's hands
 PCC wa·woʔ, open up (mouth)!; wawč^his, jaw (the whole thing); K wa·wi/u-, mouth open; wa·wis, hornet ?
 PR wa·wis, hornet, wasp
 cf. Jacaltec ɲawŋomi, to laugh (opening the mouth wide) (Brown 1990: 60)

way, north*way-el-ti (with locatives)*

- W way, north; wa·lti (< *wayelti), north across canyon or river; waye·l, uphill north
 N-G wai, north
 PCC, K way, north
 PR way, north (close by); wayel, north
 SP-M wi·yel'·te, north

**we(·)ł, salt*

W we(·)ł, salt, < *wEł, mix, combine, salt, season; cf. wiłewil, people to be mixed together in a crowd

N-S weł, salt; BW wiLca, also

PCC, R we·ł, salt

SP-M wes', salt

**wenem, middle, center*

W wenem, middle, center

N-G wîněmpom, aces in the center

PCC, K wenem, middle, center

PR-B wenem, center

SP-M wen'-nem, middle

**wer, come*

W wEr-, wira, wer-, come

N-J wey, to come; G weda, I came (greeting); weyam, did you come (greeting);
BW we-, come, bring, give; win boya wea', lots of men are coming

PCC, K, R wer-, come

cf. Alsea wi:l-, to arrive, come to stop (Golla 1997: 166)

**wer, come!*

W war, come! (cf. har, go!); we·?, come! we·e· war, (be sure to) come!

N-W ?el ba we, come and eat

PK wer, come here! CC, R wer, come!

**were-s, coming, a coming*

W weres, coming, nominal stem

PCC po weres yemena, someone coming along the road

PT-U keweti weres, he's coming from house

PR po weres, who's coming? somebody's coming

**were, imperative stem*

W were, imperative stem

PCC po pi were·t'i behna, somebody is gonna come tomorrow

PK pile nattuka were·bus, they're coming home

PR po werebo, who's coming

**were, bring inanimate*

W were, to bring something inanimate; were·n, while bringing

PCC were·, to bring (inanim.), to bring back; cf. weri·, to bring along (animate)

were, bring!

pima pi were·sa, he brought that

were·m?u, didn't bring it

- PK pi were·bus, he bring it out to me
pe· were·le, (he's) gonna bring something
- *wer-i-l, to bring an animate; cf. *-wil, *-i(·)l, animate comitative
- W weri-l, to bring something animate, come with someone, bringing someone (live, animate) here
- PCC weri·, to bring along (animate)
pi ʔut wi·tama weri·sa, he brought that man along
- PR nay k'elt^hiʔa ʔut weri·le, when I return, I'll bring this back (animate?)
- *wer-ma, let come, make come (with causative)
- W werma·t hara·-wira ʔibi·da, I've got to go; they want me to come
- PK ... lew wermaro, to make plants grow (come)
ʔut wermato, he'll come to me (“gonna let him come”)

*wer, struggle

- W se-wiruna·, to kick continuously with both feet; se-wirunama·, to make someone wiggle by holding on to him when he is trying to get away; cf. ʔol-wirčuna·, to flip oneself up in the air
- PH-U weri·p'inanta, fight back when trapped

*wey, stuff feathers

- W wEy-, wiya, to stuff (feathers only ?); ʔel-weyu k'alaq, stuff the feathers in! [stuffed dancing outfit?]
- PK weya, dancing outfit; pi weya k'apta, she got caught by a feather

*wi-ta, man; cf. *win, person; *wiy, *wi·, man, husband

- W wi-ta, man
- N-G notwîta, male supernatural being; G ketewitat, one thousand, one big man
- PCC, K, R wi-ta, man
- SP-M we'-tah, man, guessing game: the small object

*wik, pull

- W wikča, to do, be doing, touch; cf. wihila, to touch
- PCC wiči-si/u, to pull; K wič^hi-, pull

*wik, move hips ?

- W wik-, sway, rock, tip, prod, nudge, poke
- PK wičok, hipbone (the ridge sticking up to left and right)
cf. PMy *ŋihk, to shake, to move (Brown 1990: 60)

*wik, burrowing owl

- W-M wik', poorwill
- NG-M wē'-ĕ, burrowing owl; T-M wē'-ĕk, burrowing owl; C wiük, ground owl
- PK wik, burrowing owl

*wil-i ?, *p^hil-i ?, smooth (278.); cf. *p^hil-i, crawling, slithering; *wil, to coat, coating

W wili·ka, to be bare (of ground); to be a clearing, to be a cleared, flat, brushless (large) meadow; p^hoyoq wili·ka, to be bald (head smooth); cf. siloqa, to be smooth or slick

N-S wiliika, smooth

PR p^hilik, slippery (as wet or muddy ground); p^hilikmaro ?ih, you smoothe it out, you polish it

*wil, to coat, coating; cf. *wilaq, earth; *-wil, *-i(·)l, animate comitative; *q'ilaq, dirt (earth); *win, see; *wil-i?, *p^hil-i?, smooth

W wile·, to make paint waterproof by varnishing with salmon skin, perhaps 'to make shiny'; cf. wEl, move swiftly, visibly

PK wi·l-, spread on, put on the surface, scrape on; wi·lisok, paint; peru· wilu·ro, hoarse (throat covered) (cf. W doki t^hilel, to be hoarse of the throat; analogized in P to wil- ?)

*-wil, *-i(·)l, animate comitative (423.38); see *bohil under *boh, sit, be; *weri·l under *wer, come; cf. *win, person

W -wil, -i(·)l, particular comitative

P -wil, -i-, -il, comitative?

*wilaq, *welaq, earth; cf. *win, person; *q'ilaq, dirt (earth)

W wilaq, clay of any color, esp. white; weloq, red clay; łuru·qi weloq, white clay

PCC wilak, country, the whole world; K world, all over, everything, valley, country; welak, earth, land

PR wilak, land, earth, ground

cf. PUA *k^vi, *k^viya, earth

*wile, may it be

W wile, please, let me, well (e.g., wile wi·n, let me see); cf. wil, wake up; wilna, to awake, restore to consciousness, awaken

N-Ha wila, wile, see, or let me see

PK wi·le, happy

PR wi·le, good fortune (?), everything to be on the good side (a lot of songs have that word in them); wi·le wi·le layuk behdi, let everything be ok (in old days when people sneeze, people would say...)

*win, fly

NT-M win'-nah, to fly; S winna, fly

PCC winit-, get up; K winit-, fly

Probably a loan between N and P, but cf. W ken-wisirta, to jump up (when bitten by insect), cf. PW *wer, struggle

*win, in-laws, relatives; cf. *win, person

W wines, parallel cousins, relatives, relations, in-laws

PCC neč'uwin, relatives, kinfolk

PK k'asalwinle, mother-in-law

*win, person; cf. *win, in-laws, relatives; *wiy, *wi-, man, husband; *wi-ta, man; *wilaq, earth

W win, person

N-BW win, Indian, man

PCC -win, person (nominalizer); patwin, Indian people; K patwin, Indian person (any tribe) (pat-, outside, i.e., “the other” people; cf. Huchnom < Yuki hučnom', “outside people”)

PR patwin, Indians

SP-M pot'-too-in, pot'-win, people (Indian); too'-pe-win, first people

cf. PMy *winaq, man, person; Mixe vin-, person; Zoque (Copainalá) win, person, one's self, body; Xinca winak, witch; Yakama winsh, man (all from Brown 1990: 31)

*win-t^hu(·)n, people; cf. *tu(·), person, people; *t^hu(·)n, body, whole

W wint^hu·h, person, people; wint^hu·n (attributive)

N-W wint^hun laxa, talking Indian; S wintuun, person

PCC wint^hun, lots of people, crowd of people

PR wint^hun, the Wintun peoples (a name), includes all Patwins and people north

Note PT-U wint^hu·n?asa, t^hu·n?asa win, lots of people

*win, see

W wi·n, to see, look; wine, to look, see, visit, help, get, bring, fetch

N-BP wina·, wini, to see

PCC, K, R win, see

*win-i-s, see (nominal stem)

W winisana·, to show oneself

PCC winis č^hu ʔut, I see him

PR č^henpa č^hu ʔut winisa/winis, I saw him down below

*winwin, see (iterative)

W winwine, many to see, many to look

PR-U no·pma ču winwinis, I saw a deer a lot of times

*wisbo- ? robin

N-H wisbotbot, robin

PCC, K, T, R li·sbok, robin

May be a borrowing between N and P; however, cf. W č'i·kbas, robin, lit. seed-eater, possibly reshaped from *wisbo- through folk-etymology

cf. Klamath wisgaq, robin; Sahaptin əwísqaqa, robin; Molala wisqaq, robin (Berman 1996: 22)

*witol(-ʔa), be fast, do fast

W witol, quick(ly), fast; wтила, to do fast

N-BW wтила-, wтили-, run

PCC witi·lo, to run; witolʔa, to be fast; K witi·li/o-, to run

PR witi·li/u-, to run

SP-M wit'-tel-loo, run!

*wiy, *wi-, man, husband; cf. *wi-ta, man; *win, person

W wi(·)h, wi(·)y (g), wi·t (p), wiyi, husband; netwiyi, net-wi-, my husband; cf. wi·ye-, to marry; wih, chief

N-S -wii, husband

PCC mat wiy, your husband; K naywi-, my husband; cf. CC wiyaba, men

PR-B wi-a, woman to marry

SP-M choo'-yu-we, [her] husband

*woč-, *wočwoč ?, Steller's jay

W woč'ot, Steller's jay; cf. womol, topknot

N-C wát-wat, crested bluejay

PCC, C, K wotwot, poorwill; cf. CC, K, T weswes, Steller's jay; R (Whistler 1976e from Merriam) weswes, mockingbird ? (or Calif. thrasher ?)

SP-M wes', crested jay

*wok, great blue heron, crane

W wok, crane, great blue heron

N-BW woksu, wOksu, crane; C wák, heron; GT-M wahk'-se, great blue heron (Ardea herodias); wahk', cormorant (Phalacrocorax)

PCC, K wak, night heron; CC woksu, egret, great blue (any large crane);

K wokse, common white egret

PR wakwak, great blue heron

SP-M wahk', night heron; wahk'-soo ?, great blue heron

Widespread areal term; e.g. Yawelmani wa-xat', crane; Palewyami Wah-'het-te, great blue heron (Berman 2002: 438)

*wol, close sides

W wole, eyelid(s); cf. wOw, open and split ventrally; woli·ka, to shrink < wol, slit

PK yaynabe wole, sides (of the house, the retaining wall); C -wol, contrastive, the only, the very (Whistler 1978), H-U woleh, inside

cf. SP-M wol'-lis, ocean

*woq, home

W-C wakuphas, world fire (when the first world was burned)

PK na·no wok, my home, my house (the building)

*wuk, nod

- W pomin wu·ka, to nod the head once (down); pomin wukwu·ka, to nod assent looking down; ʔol-wukč̣a, to nod head up just once; cf. wOk, scoop
 PCC wu·ki/u-, to nod; wudbaya, to nod head forward and back

x

*xeb, open by scratching or scraping; cf. *k'eb-i/u, loosen by scratching

- W xEb-, xiba·, to dig, to dig in a hole such as a ground squirrel nest, to uncover an old hole, to take the bark off a tree; xibal, to have earth slide off; xep-, open what is closed
 PK k^hebu-, eat (an apple), nibble, chew on
 Irregular; perhaps imitative or areal influence
 cf. PMy *xeb', with reflexes including: open, open what is closed, be opened; Maidu hépesto, crack open, as bread in baking; Shuswap x^oep-t, to blow up, to open, to come open (package, sore) (all from Brown 1990: 24)

*xed-i/u, fart; cf. *xed-i-men, stinkbug

- W xEd-, xedis, gas; xida, to fart
 PCC se·di/u, bend over, stoop over; sedse·di/u, to be stooped over; K sedi, raise your back up; sedu-ro, to rear (of a horse, deer, etc.); sete-, fart
 PR sete-tu, striped skunk (“farter”)

*xed-i-men, stinkbug; cf. *xed-i/u, fart

- W xedismet, skunkbug, stink beetle (Tenebrionidae) (also kedismet)
 PCC sedi, one black stink bug; sedimen, black stink bug (more than one); K sedimen, large black stink bug

*xerel, people of, village; cf. *qewel, house; *xerit, young man

- W xerel, settlement, village, where people are living, village site, where could be or had been houses, a flat place suitable for building, a secluded spot; Grace McKibbin: xerilpom, old campground or village where people used to live who are now all dead, the place where one's parents used to live, a sad place
 PK lo·l̥sel, tobacco people, the people at Tebthi
 PR -sere, people of ...

*xerit, young man

*xeri-ba, young men

- W xerit, young man (18 or 19); xeribas, a group of young men
 PCC serita, young boy, young man (up to 20 years old); seriba, young men; K serita, young boy (14, 16, 18 years old)
 PR seritta, young boy, young man; R-B serekta, boy; but Kroeber lists for PR: ilain che'riba, young men, initiates in Kuksu, where *x > č irregularly (Kroeber 1932: 328)
 cf. PMis *sali-, boy, young man (Callaghan 2001: 317)

*xew, ask to accompany

W xiwa, ask someone to accompany one

P-T sewu, to get to accompany

*xin, forehead

W xin, hair over forehead, bangs, curl over forehead (Pitkin suggests this may be derived from xi·n, sleep); xink'upa, to cut bangs

PCC, K, R si·n, forehead

SP-G sincheke, eyebrow

cf. Nisenan (Uldall & Shipley 1966: 229) syn, forehead

*xin-a, sleep; cf. *q'a·q, mental clouding

*xinxina, many to sleep

W xi·na, to sleep; xinxina, many to sleep

N-BP k^hi·na, sleep

PCC, K, R k'ana·, to sleep; k'ank'ana(·), many to sleep

SP-V k'ana', sleep

Irregular *x > k', perhaps due to *q'a·q

cf. PYnim *k'aniw ?? to lie (vocalism unclear) (Callaghan 2001: 330)

*xiw, embers; cf. *k'iw, hot rock ?

W xiwe·, heat rocks in fire, heat food

PT-U siw, embers

*xiw, spin, swing

W xiwi·la, to spin, twirling, specific dance; cf. siri·wa, whirlwind; kEw, whirl, spin, turn, screw; sEr-, twirl; se-xewel, to be drunk; se-xewe·la, to walk zigzag

PCC siwa·yo, to swing slowly; siwayho, to swing fast

cf. PCC, K sibi·ro, to spin (pl.); sibirto, to turn around (sg.); CC sipi·rmen, whirlwind

*xo...wi-, band-tailed pigeon

W xowit, band-tailed pigeon

PCC ʔomo·wil, pigeon; K (wild) pigeon, rock dove, tame pigeon, band-tailed pigeon

PR ʔomo·win, band-tailed pigeon (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

Irregular *x > ʔ

*xok, basket type (265.)

W xOk-, shaped like a turtle shell? basket-shaped, dome-shaped, coiled, to open circularly; xokot, a specific coiled basket

N-B kōko, basket

PCC ʔo·k, any basket; small chokemouth bowl (basket type); K small basket, basket for drinking soup

PR ʔo·k, small, chokemouth globular bowl

Irregular *x > ʔ

*xoy, lie prone

W tu-xuye, to slide up closer (as when lying on the ground watching something)
(cf. suyewilna-, slide, ride on sled; suyu-qča, slide)

PCC soyt^hu, to lie down; K lie on one's belly; soyti, lie down; H-U soyt^hi, lean

*xun, here, toward self

W xun, toward (oneself), here, nearer, together, along; cf. sunu(s), nest

N-S khunc'aka, hold, take

PCC, K sun, here, this way, toward; cf. sun-, nest

PR sun, here

SP-M soon, here

cf. Chasta Costa xun, there (Sapir 1914: 297); Alsea hų:-, here (Golla 1997: 161)

*xurxur, sugar; cf. *k'ar-a, scrape; *qor-i/u, grind

W xurxur, sugar, pine sugar; cf. sa-ra, sugar pine cones to ripen and open up so
that the nuts fall out

N-BW kUyikut, kUikUt, sugar

PK k^huyk^huy, sugar, sweet substance from sugar pines (in hollow trees); PT-U
k^huyk^huy, sugar

PK k^h is irregular, perhaps due to borrowing from N or Miwok

cf. Proto-Western-Miwok *kój-, to be sweet (Callaghan 1970: 39)

ᶯ

*xad, pick small things one by one

W xad-, gather small pieces of wood for fire; cf. č'ad-, take off the best part and
leave the useless or undesirable part; č'ada-yi, to pull off as leaves from a
vegetable; kada-, pick up pieces; suda-, pluck (chicken); side, pick, gather
little things

N-BW kadba-, pick

PCC hatt^hu, to pick (plants)

PR hatt^hi/u, to pick fruit, etc. (one by one)

cf. Takelma k!adã^Fn, I pick them (Sapir 1912: 60 (1990: 76))

*xah, *xir ?, dizzy; cf. *q^has-i-l-ʔa, have impaired vision

W xahi-la, to become dusk; p^hoyoq xahi-la, to be or get dizzy

PCC hiri·ki/u-, be dizzy; K hiri·ki/o-, be or get dizzy, get drunk; cf. W hir, fire,
burn, conflagration (perhaps fire drill motion), under *her-u, motion back
and forth

*xoh, pant, grunt

W xoxoqča, grunt (bear, pig; cf. kukup'iwit, myth. wolf or mountain lion)

PCC hohi, to pant (any animal)

*xos-a ?, air, blow; cf. *k'ah-i/u, wind; *q'a ?, *q'i ?, cloud; q^hos, fog, steam; *q^hos-u, seek luck; q^hos-o, lungs

W xo-sa, to be bloated (with velar, not post-velar); xos, fog, steam; ʔol-xusal, be swollen

PCC hasu, to cool off; hasa-ko, draft to be blowing, drafty; K hasa-k, wind, air; hasi te-pʔas, it's steaming (hasi refers to the steam itself, steam coming off)

PR huspayi/u-, to wish, hope

SP-M hah'-se, wind

cf. Alsea (Buckley 1988:27) hã-s, breath

y

*yal-i/u, leave; cf. *yel, back of, behind something; *yi-l-a, send

W yala-, yali/u-, to stop, quit, leave

N-BW yala-, leave; kEnyalo'-, throw

PK yali/o-, leave, quit

PR yali/u-, leave, leave behind

cf. Alsea ya:la:s, to come back, return, go home; taʔ-ya:l, last thing (e.g., '[they bet their] last thing, possession [on the game]') (Golla 1997: 166)

*ya-pay, summoned gathering; cf. *yoh, supernatural; *yom, doctor, poison

W ya-paya, to argue, discuss, surround enemies, attack, to call people together (for a dance); ya-paytu-, killer spirit, white man, supernatural, shamanistic spirit. (Du Bois and Demetracopoulou 1931: 315: "When you kill a person, his people come to surround you.")

N-G waiypai, north dance (type of ceremony); yapaitu, spirit; K yā'pai-tu, type of spirit possessed by shaman

PK ya-payo, to dance; ya-payi (noun)

PR ya-payi/u-, to dance; ya-payi, dance (noun)

*yaw, pendant; cf. *law, flabby; *low, hang

W yaw-, flap, be pendant; yawa, to slap up and down; yawal, to have pendant or flabby buttocks, breasts, or penis (derisive term); cf. yawuq, sweet anise

PCC yaw t^hok, elderberry bush [also k'aw t^hok, possibly folk-etymologized to yaw]; H-B, T-B, R-B yaw, elderberries; cf. K (Whistler 1976e from Merriam) yawi-la, chaparral honeysuckle ?

*yay, base; cf. *yel, back of, behind something

W yay, back, side; yay-kawi, the whole back, the backbone covered with flesh and skin, the ribs in back

NT-M yi'-kow-we, hip

PK yaywere, the bottom, the root, the end; yaysole, yaysoli, buttocks; H-B yay, buttocks; CC, K yay-, to start (to bud, to make a basket)

PR yay, hip, beginning of anything, including a tree, e.g., from the bottom upwards; B buttocks

*ye-, spread to dry; cf. *yeb, rip in half

W ye·ka, to hang up or spread out to dry (as herbs); cf. ʔi·ka, to dry by the fire
PH-U yewa·ro, drying (meat, clothes)

*ye, vocative (531.38)

W ye-, ye·-, kinterm vocative prefix
PH -e·, vocative suffix (Whistler 1980: 216)

*yeb, rip in half (probably of skins and cloth materials); cf. *ye-, spread to dry

W yEb-, yiba·, to rip, rip buckskin, clothes, moccasins; undo sewing; yep-, push up, rip, flap, toss, shake (especially of cloth)
PL-U yepči, half

*yečew, dream

W yečew, dream, to dream
PK yet^hew-, yet^he·w-, dream; T yet^he·w-
PR-U yet^hew-, yet^he·w-, dream

*yel, back of, behind something (422.4); cf. *yal-i/u, leave; *yay, base; *ʔel, in horizontally

*yel-ti, behind, in back of

*yel-in, behind, in back

W yel-, verbal prefix: back(ward), away, behind; yelin, in/at the back, backward, at the rear; yelti, in back of, behind, hind (legs)

N-BW yEl(win), wait

PCC yelʔa, late, last; yeltiʔas, it's late; yelʔaro, be behind, come later, be last; yelti, behind; yiltiʔas, getting late; yelel, youngest, little (finger); K yelin, yilti, behind, back; yel/yil tepila, last spring

PC yel-, prefix: back, reverse, later, behind (Whistler 1977b)

PR-B yelte, behind

SP-A yelobo, wait for

cf. PMy *ʔe:l, to go out; *e:l, to leave; Northern Sierra Miwok ʔel:y, to leave, to abandon; Central Sierra Miwok ʔél:y, to leave, to leave behind (Brown 1990: 35)

*yeme, trail

W yemer, trail, road

N-H yemey, road; S yeme, road

PCC yeme, trail, road; K yemeʔ, road, trail

PR-B ye·me, road

*yet, name; real, really

W yet, name; yiča, to call by name, to name; yiča, really ...

N-BP ye(t), name

PCC yet^ho·, to name; -yet, real; K yet, name; yet^ho·, to name

PR yet, really ...; B yet, name, U yet^ho·-, to name

*yi·l-a, send; cf. *yal-i/u, leave; *yel, back of, behind something

*yi·la-le, going to send

W yi·la, to send someone, let someone go; yi·lale, let's leave

PCC, K yi·la, to send; K yi·lale, going to send

PR-B yi·la, to send

*yiłma, heavy

W yEł-, yiłe, be loaded with heavy packs; yiłma-, to be heavy

N-S yiłma, heavy

PCC, R yiłma, heavy; K yi·łma

SP-M ye^{ch}le'-mah, heavy

*yir ? *lur ?, leg (279.)

W lurur, leg

PCC, K yir, leg; BW leg from knee on down

SP-M yēr, whole leg

*yiwit, acorn soup

W yiwit, acorn soup, acorn mush, wild oats mush, < yEw-, mix, stir; se-yiwe, to stir cooking

N-W yiwit, acorn soup

PCC yiwit, acorn soup

PR-B yuwet, acorn soup

*yo·, exclamation

W yo·, exclamation; cf. yo, vocative; -o, emphatic

PK yo· ʔolp^hutta, sigh

*yo·, move away; cf. *yo(·)w, lose, miss; *yo·w, desolate

W ɣan-yo·ma, to chase away verbally, tell someone to go away; cf. yopuna·, to say good-bye, take leave; yOq-, wash, rinse (off)

PCC yo·t^hi/u, yolt^hi/u-, to move, change residence; cf. yo·w-, lose

*yodo, *woto ?, peppergrass (283.)

W yOd-, pick or pull grass; yodos, picked/plucked grasses

N-G yodôh, peppergrass

PK wotok (t^ho·k), peppergrass

*yoh, supernatural; cf. *yom, doctor, poison; *ya·pay, summoned gathering;

*yoho(·)l, toad; *yo(·)w, lose, miss

W *yo·, supernatural, poison, curse, think, behave, accomplish by non-physical means, i.e., by supernatural or by mental means; to be homesick, lonesome; yo-, supernatural power; yoh, shaman novice; nomyoh, a specific tribe of Indians from the coast, people who turned at will into animals, potent spirits of the Indians of the northwest coast of California who turned themselves

into beasts; M yah', doctor or shaman
 PT-U yuhu·la, devil

*yoho(·)l, toad; cf. *yoh, supernatural

W yoho·lmet, toad; the mythological Toad who predicted the end of the world and wove a basket to serve as an “ark”; frog, waterfrog, tree frog ?; cf. yoho·la, to have pimples

NT-M yo-hō'1^{ch}, toad (Bufo); NG-M yah-hōs^l, toad

PK yohol (watak), toad (originally pimple frog ?; cf. *wataq); H-U yoho·l, big toad, frog

According to Whistler 1976e, PK yohol, toad, is a borrowing from Nomlaki; if this is the case, the term may only be reconstructible for Proto-Northern-Wintun. Cf. however PT-U yuhu·la, devil, under *yoh

*yok, meadowlark

N-C yó-ko-lot, meadowlark; yo-ko-ló=ya, yellow (meadowlark - ?); G-M yo'-kul-lut; T-M yo'-kūl-lah

PR hayu·k, Western meadowlark; cf. yoka, brown towhee (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

SP hayuk, Western meadowlark (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

*yok...l-, *yol...k- ? white oak acorn

W yokila, white oak acorn

PT yulak, long variety of acorn; cf. yuy, long

PR yu·la, long acorn from the hills (white oak)

*yol, a while; cf. *ʔol, up

W yole, a while, not right away

PCC yolo, for a while

*yo·l, snow

W yo·la, snow

N-B yōla, snow

PCC, K, R yo·l, snow

SP-M yō'-lō, snow

cf. PUA *yu, snow

*yom, doctor, poison; cf. *yoh, supernatural; *yo(·)w, miss, lose; *ya·pay, summoned gathering

W yOm-, poison, magic, shamanistic power to poison, in: yomluli, flower possessed by shamans; yome·n liya, to poison by curse, witchcraft; M yum', poison; cf. yo·m, poison; yo, supernatural power

N-H yom, doctor; G yôm, poison

PCC, K, R yomta, doctor; yomba, poison man; A-U yom, kind of power

cf. Maidu (Shipley 1963: 247) jòmím májdy, shaman; Nisenan (Uldall & Shipley 1966: 273) jom, shaman; PUA *yo, *yowa, *yoya, cure (reflected as “shaman,

medicine” in some daughter languages); Mil jómta, doctor (Callahan 2001: 321 suggests this may be a loan from Patwin); PM *jom, spiritual power (Callaghan, *ibid.*)

*yono, buckeye ?

W yonot, buckeye, < *yon, that which is shaken ?; cf. yin, shake

PCC ʔu·nu, buckeye ball; K ʔu·na, fruit of buckeye tree; H-B ʔu·no, buckeye

PR-U ʔu·no, buckeye

SP-M oo'-noo, buckeye

Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMi ʔu·nu. This is a good possibility since the P and W forms do not correspond regularly. However, cf. the loss of P y in *yulyul, rot

*yor, *yor-i-ʔa, *yor-a/i/u-, send after, direct to

W yOr-, yura-, yori-, to send someone after something, hire; yo(·)runa-, to work

PCC yoru, to tell to, to direct one to; yoriʔa, to work; K yora-, yoriʔa-, yoro-, work

PR yoriʔa, (to) work

*yoryor, *tortor ?, cicada (280.)

W yo(·)ryorh, “June bug,” tree cricket

PCC to·romen, katydids; K June bug; T-U tortor, cricket

*yo(·)w, lose, miss; cf. *yo·, move away; *yo·w, desolate

*yo(·)wu-na, miss (reflexive); cf. *yoh, supernatural; *yo·w, desolate; *yom, doctor, poison

W yowuna-, to look for or worry about someone; yo·wanuma-, to be quiet, quiet down (wind or storm), to be out of sight; yowuma-, to startle, scare; yo·wana, to look for someone, to expect someone home, to be lonesome for someone

PCC yo·wunan-, miss someone; yo·wi/u-, lose, get lost, be missing; K yowi/u-, lose, get lost; yoha/o-, disappear, spoil

PR yo·ma-, lose; B yo·wo, to disappear

*yo·w, desolate; cf. *yo(·)w, miss, lose

W yo·w, desolate

PCC yo·wes, ocean

PR-B yo·wes, ocean

cf. SP-M wol'-lis, ocean

*yuken, enemy

W yukeh, enemy, enemies (the source of the name Yuki); yuken, dangerous, at war, Shasta (attributive)

N-G yukên, enemy

PCC yučin, enemy

PR-U yučen, soldier Indians

*yulyul, rot

W yulel, to be rotten, spoiled; yulyulel, a lot to be spoiled or rotten

PT-U ʔulʔulumas, rotten, spoiled

cf. Northern Yana and Yahi yuu-, yuʔla-, rotten (Sapir & Swadesh 1960: 192)

*yuq-č^h-, shake, wake up (tr.)

W se-yuqe, earth to shake, to shuffle one's feet; yuqu-ra, to shake, tremble, shiver; yuqča, to wake up (tr.)

PCC yukt^hi, to pat dust off, shake clean; yuki/u-, to wake up (tr.); K yukt^huro, shake out (last bit out of sack), to flap (cloth to get dust out)

PR yuku-, to wake up (tr.); B yokto, to shake

cf. PMy *yu:q', with reflexes including: stir, shake, shake up, earthquake, and other similar meanings; Yuki yuk-, shake, swing, dangle; Zoque (Francisco León) yoʔkoʔu, it shook it up; Popoluca (Oluta) tinyukyĩšpe, I am shaking it; Totona yuʔkúʔ, it rocks it, it shakes it; Tlingit sha-ka-ya-yook-, shake (general); Yaqui yókte, to shake (a tree, etc.) (all from Brown 1990: 42)

?

*-ʔa, have (auxiliary) (421.4); cf. *ʔab-, *ʔap-, carry on back

W -ʔa, subordinating suffix of temporal anteriority, "after having..." ; -a, -a-, indicative stem suffixes

PCC -ʔa, to have (auxiliary, verb-deriving suffix)

*ʔab, *ʔap, carry on back; cf. *-ʔa, have (auxiliary)

W ʔabaʔ, ʔapaʔ, to carry, pack on back

PCC ʔapaʔ, to carry a person on the back; ʔabaʔ, packing basket, burden basket; K ʔabaʔ, pack basket, funnel-shaped basket used to gather seeds

PR ʔaba, ʔabah, pack basket; ʔabaʔ, seed-gathering basket; ʔap^haʔ-, carry (a baby)

SP-M ab-bahʔ, ah-bah, burden basket

cf. Northern Sierra Miwok ʔapaʔ-t-y-, to pack, carry (a baby) on the back (Callaghan 1987: 265)

*ʔal-, hurt

N-BW alama-, to hurt

PCC ʔalba·ki/u, to strain a muscle; K ʔalba·ki/u-, to hurt, sprain

*ʔa:l, *ʔalʔal, crow

W ʔalal, ʔa:l, crow

NG-M ah'-lahs, crow; T-M ahl'-lahs; C á-lahl

PCC, T ʔa:l, crow; K ʔa:l, ʔalʔal, ʔa:lʔal

SP-M ahl', raven

*ʔa:l-a, crawl in, go in, sun to set

W ʔa:l-a, to crawl into, enter a hole, sun to set

PCC ʔa:l-a, to precipitate, to go in, sun to set; K go in (as squirrel into hole in tree)

PR ʔaɫ-a, get darker and darker, towards evening; ʔaɫas, evening
cf. PMy *ahlaŋ, under, below, down (Brown 1990: 58)

*ʔama-n, grandmother (with kinterm absolutive); cf. *ʔapa-n, grandfather
N-W ne-čəman, my grandmother (Whistler 1980: 242)
PCC ʔam, grandma (voc.); ʔamaču, my grandma; ʔuyt^hama-n, his grandma;
K ʔamač^hu, grandmother; ʔam, grandmother (address)
PR ʔamak^hu, grandmother; ʔami, granny (as kids say, for short); ʔam, grandma!
SP-M ah'mah-choo, father's mother; A ama, grandmother
cf. PMis *ʔam(·)a-, grandmother (Callaghan 2001: 335)

*ʔan-, turtle; cf. *ʔanaq, body joint
W ʔa·n-p^hoyoq, turtle head
N-B an, turtle; M ahn'-ko'-what, turtle; BW ʔaankoham, turtle
PCC ʔano·, turtle; K ʔanow, turtle
PR ʔanu·s, turtle
SP-M ah'-nō', turtle
cf. PMie *ʔaw(·)an·a-, turtle; Yn on, turtle (Callaghan 2001: 326)

*ʔanaq, body joint, knee; cf. *ʔan-, turtle
W ʔanaq, joint of the body; may ʔanaq, ankle
N-BW anaq, knee
PK ʔanak, knee, elbow
cf. PMie *hon·oj, *ho·noj, knee (Callaghan 2001: 320)

*ʔapa-n, grandfather (with kinterm absolutive); cf. *ʔama-n, grandmother
N-W ne-čəpan, my mother's brother (Whistler 1980: 242 suggests that this form
originated from a metanalysis **net-hapan > ne-t+hapan > ne-čəpan)
N-C ně-cha-pa-sá-ka, father's father, mother's father
PCC -t^hapa(·)n, grandfather, mother's or father's brother; ʔa·p, ʔa·paču, grandpa;
K ʔa·p, grandfather; ʔa·pač^hu, grandfather
PR ʔa·pač^hu, grandfather, uncle; R-U ʔa·p, grandfather (voc.)
SP-M ah'-poo-choo, father's father; A apu, grandfather
cf. W ha·pa, father (voc.)
cf. PMie *pa·pa-, grandfather, PCo *pa·pa, grandfather, PU *pa·pa, grandfather,
PYgen *no-p^hop^h, father (Callaghan 2001: 335)

*ʔa·q-ʔa, be bitter; cf. *ʔay-...l, *ʔuy-...l ?, sour; *ʔoq-č^h-i/u, vomit; *ʔa·w-a, unripe,
sour

W ʔa·qa, to be bitter
PK ʔakʔa-, ʔakʔaro, bitter
Pr ʔa·k'a, ʔa·kʔama, ʔa·kʔa, bitter

*ʔatʔat, *ʔačʔat ? magpie
N-B atat, blackbird; H ʔa-tʔaɫ, magpie
PCC ʔa·čʔač, magpie; K T yellow-billed magpie

PR ʔačʔat, magpie

SP ʔačʔač , yellow-billed magpie (Whistler 1976e)

*ʔa·w-a, unripe, sour; cf. *ʔay-...l, *ʔuy-...l ?, sour; *ʔa·q-ʔa, be bitter

W ʔa·wa, sour, spoiled, unripe, to be unripe (of berries, such as blackberries, etc.)

PCC ʔa·wa, to behave as a spoiled child; ʔawatal, yellow

cf. PR-B ʔuwas, grape; PR-U ʔu·was, grapes < Spanish uva ?

*ʔay, exclamative

W ʔay, uninflected exclamative, ingratiating, weak “please”

PK pʔepel muhuse ʔay, let’s sing together

*ʔay-...l-, *ʔuy-...-l ?, sour; cf. *ʔa·q-ʔa, be bitter; *ʔa·w-a, unripe, sour; *ʔey, bite

W ʔuyu·la, to be sour; ʔuyu·l, pʔuyu·l, grape

N-Ha uyúlu, grape; T-M i-yeʔ-kah, sour

PK ʔayʔa·yuma, sour

PR-U ʔalʔa·lus, jaw feels funny when you bite; cf. T-U ʔalʔalomas, bitter-sour like apple

*ʔay-čʰ-, wink, squint ?

W ʔayča, to make up to the opposite sex, to flirt, to invite < ʔay, flirt, prostitute, promiscuous

PA-U ʔayču-, squint

*ʔe-, demonstrative and quasi-pronominal third person proximal root; cf. *ʔiy, be, do, use (non-distal ?)

See: *ʔew, *ʔewe-r, *ʔewe-t, *ʔewe-t-no ?, *ʔew-pel

W, N, P ʔe-, demonstrative and third person proximal quasi-pronominal root

*ʔel, in horizontally (prefix and independent root) (422.5); cf. *-e-l, *-el, locative, toward, in (horizontally ?)

W ʔel, in (prefix and independent root)

N-S ʔelʔew, in; BW ʔElba, eat

PCC, K, R ʔel-, in, into; CC ʔel, inside (independent word; e.g., pi hamtaro bo-s kewela ʔel, he’s sitting inside the house)

SP-M elʔ-botʔ-te, in

*ʔelew, no, not

*ʔele-s (nominal form “there is/are no...”)

W ʔelew, no, not; ʔele-s, nominal stem; Pitkin suggests *-w, privative

N-S ʔelew ... mena, not; B elēwa, no

PCC, K ʔele·, not to have; T pʔata·m ʔele·s, there’s no sparks; K ʔele·s na·no, no, it’s mine

PR ʔele·-, not; ču ʔele·s, I refused, I didn’t go along (with them)

SP-A ele, no

*ʔel-i, wild potato

W ʔeli, wild potato < ʔEl-, dig by scraping

N-C ě-li, bulbous and tuberous roots

PCC ʔeli, Indian potatoes, wild potatoes; K bulbs, edible roots; K, T blue dicks
(Whistler 1977a suggests “*Brodiaea pulchella*” for *ʔeli, but it may also be a generic term for bulbs and roots)

*ʔeł, pay

W ʔEł-, ʔiła, to pay, be loaded, fully recompense

PR ʔeyłeye, to sell

*ʔem-, hold pectorally; see *ʔimit, breast, milk

*ʔew, proximal third person singular subjective (531.14)

W ʔew, proximal third person singular subjective generic aspect

N-W ʔew, proximal third person singular subjective

PCC, R ʔew, proximal third person singular subjective

SP-M ā'-oo, now

*ʔewe-r, proximal third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive

W ʔewer, proximal third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive

PCC ʔewey, proximal third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive

*ʔewe-t, proximal third person singular objective

W ʔewet, proximal third person singular objective

N-J et, that

PT-U ʔe-wet, this, that (animate)

PR ʔewet, proximal third person singular objective animate

*ʔewe-t-no ?, proximal third person singular alienable possessive

W ʔewertun, proximal third person singular alienable possessive

N-W ʔetum, proximal third person singular alienable possessive animate
possessed

ʔeto, proximal third person singular alienable possessive inanimate
possessed

PA-U ʔewetno, proximal third person singular alienable possessive inanimate
possessed

*ʔew-pel, proximal third person dual subjective

W ʔewełel, proximal third person dual subjective generic aspect

N-W ʔew-paleł, proximal third person dual subjective (the use of “two” here may
be a loan translation rather than a dual)

PCC ʔewpel, proximal third person dual subjective

*ʔey, bite; cf. *ʔay-...l, sour

W ʔEy-, ʔiya, to bite, grasp in the mouth gently or softly

N-S ʔeya, to bite
 PCC, K ʔey, to bite; K T R gnat
 cf. Klamath (Barker 1963: 547) ʔe·y', black weevil

*ʔi(·), *ʔi(·)w, acorn
 W ʔi·w (g), acorns; ʔi·h (p), one particular acorn
 N-W ʔiw, acorns
 PCC ʔiw, dry acorn (ripe, but unshelled on ground); K pile of acorns, acorns gathered and piled together, one acorn from the valley oak
 PR ʔi, (green) acorns (on tree); ʔiʔ, any acorn, acorn (specific kind), valley oak acorn; ʔi, Q. lobata
 cf. PUA *k^wi, *k^wini, *wi, acorn; PMy *i:ŋa:x, seed (Brown 1990: 60)

*ʔib, *ʔip, shimmer; cf. *ʔilʔil, glare, reflect
 W ʔipo·qa, to glitter like diamonds, to sparkle
 PK ʔibi, mirage (in hot weather heat makes everything shimmer, sometimes makes reflection)

*ʔilay, *ʔel-, baby, child, small; cf. *ʔin, small
 W ʔilay (g), ʔilah (p), baby, child, small
 N-H,S ʔelet, infant; T-M el-let', infant; ē-lē'st-ēt-win, little boy (4-12); W ʔilis-t'et, small
 PCC ʔilay, baby; K ʔela·man, child; ʔelayč^hu, baby; ʔilay, baby, one kid
 PR ʔilay, small child, small
 SP-M el-lah'-men, young woman; ah-lah'-win, many children; el-lahn, el-li'-mah, little boy (4-12)
 cf. PUA *ʔili, *ʔali, small (*ʔili is reflected as “baby” in some daughter languages); PMiw *ʔélaj, child (Callahan 2001: 317 suggest this form is most likely a loan from PCC)

*ʔilʔil, glare, reflect; cf. *ʔib, *ʔip, shimmer
 W ʔilʔiloqma, a mirror, anything that reflects, something shiny; cf. ʔal, glimpse
 PCC ʔilʔi-li/u, to be dazzled, blinded; K ʔilʔiluma-, glaring, shining, too bright to look at

*ʔimit, breast, milk; cf. *ʔu·m, fill with liquid
 *ʔem-, hold pectorally
 W ʔi(·)mit, milk, breast; ʔEm-, hold pectorally, carry in arms, embrace
 N-BP ʔimit, breast
 PCC ʔemi/u-, to hug; K ʔimit, breast, milk; ʔemi/u-, hold in arms (as a bundle); T ʔimit, breast
 PR ʔimik, woman's breast; ʔemu-, carry or grab in the arms; B ʔemet, breast
 SP-M im-meet', female breasts
 cf. PMy *ʔi:m, breast; Central Yupik emulek, nipple; Choctaw ibish, nipple (Brown 1990: 33)

*ʔim(il), blackberry

W ʔim, berry, blackberry, gooseberry

N-BW imil, blackberries; S ʔimiil, fruit; H ʔemmil, ʔemil (?), berries; T-M ē'-mē'l-bah^{ch}-i, blackberry (*rubus vitifolius*); NG-M e-mil, blackberry

PCC, K, T ʔimil, blackberry, blackberries

PR-B ʔemil, blackberry

SP-M e'-mil, blackberry

cf. Klamath ʔiwam, huckleberry; Molala ʔi:m, huckleberry (Berman 1996: 21)

*ʔin, small (intensive ?); cf. *ʔilay, *ʔel-, baby, child, small

W ʔina, intensive diminutive

N-B ʔin̄stet, small; k!aina, boy; S ʔiniisa, small; ʔiniste, few

SP-M hin'-nah', baby

*ʔirik, ash tree

W ʔirikmi, cotton tree

PT ʔirit, tree ash (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

PR-B ʔeret, ash tree

*ʔi-rʔir ?, sparrowhawk

W ʔi-rʔir (g), ʔi-rʔirh (p), sparrowhawk, little red-tailed lizard hawk

PCC, K, T ʔitʔit, sparrowhawk

PR ʔič'it, sparrowhawk

SP ʔit'it, sparrowhawk (Whistler 1976e)

cf. Chinook it!ē't!ē, hawk (stem: t!ē) (Boas 1911 (1969): 655)

*ʔiy, be, do, use (non-distal ? cf. *ʔu-, do/be at a distance); *ʔe-, demonstrative and quasi-pronominal third person proximal root

W ʔiye, ʔi-, ʔih, ʔis-, be, do, use, put; auxiliary verb of doing nearby; ʔise-, perfective auxiliary; ʔibe-, are, imperfective auxiliary

P ʔi-, to do, to use (irregular < *ʔiy) (Whistler 1981)

ʔi, to be (copula) (inflectional aux. suffix) (Whistler 1981)

PCC pima pi ču ʔi-t'i, I'm gonna use that

pima ʔile, I'll use it

Since this root is related to PW *ʔew, proximal third person singular subjective, cf.

PMi *ʔi-, *ʔi, that, he, she, it; Ceb ʔi, his, her, its; PU *ʔi-, *ʔi, that, 3 sg; PY *xi-, this near; PYNv *hiʔ, he? < **hi- this near (Callaghan 2001: 328)

*ʔih, imperative stem

W ʔih, imperative stem

PR ʔewun ʔih, do it like this!

*ʔi-s, nominal stem

W ʔis, nominal stem

ʔiskuyam, do you want it?

PCC pi layuk wi-ta ʔis, he's a good man

*ʔod-i/u-, itch, scratch body

*ʔod-u-na, scratch oneself (with reflexive)

W ʔoduna-, to scratch (oneself); ʔOd-, scratch, tickle, measles (chicken pox);
ʔuda-, to scratch (animal or person)

N-S ʔoduna, scratch

PCC ʔodi-, to scratch (oneself, just fingers moving), scratch with hand (a flipping
of fingers, as scratching one's side or back); K ʔoduna-, scratch oneself;
ʔodi/u-, itch, tickle

PR ʔodi/u-, itch, scratch

*ʔol, up (prefix and independent root) (422.6); cf. *yol, a while

*ʔol-e-l, up, above

W ʔol-, ʔole-l, up, above

N-H ʔolel, up, heaven, sky; BW ʔol-, up

PCC ʔole-l, up, up high; ʔolkiri, to pick up with one hand; K ʔol, up; ʔole tuka,
up(wards)

PR ʔolel, up (just upwards direction)

SP-M o-lel', up

*ʔolhen, late

W ʔol-hen, late (e.g., ʔol-hen ken-panas-biyak, she gets up late)

PCC ʔolheni, fall

*ʔom, pet ?

W ʔome-, lullaby; ʔome-hča, to rock baby in arms

PCC ʔomʔo-mi, to kiss

PR ʔomoy' (ʔomoy'), a greeting (along with patting the arms)

*ʔoq-č^h-i/u, vomit; cf. *ʔa-q-ʔa, be bitter

W ʔoqča, to vomit; ʔoqči/u-, nominal and imperative stems

N-S ʔoqca, to vomit

PCC ʔo·kt^hi/u, to vomit; K ʔokt^hi/u-

PR ʔokt^hi/u, to throw up

*ʔo·n, gather, gathering basket

W ʔo·n, shallow and round or shovel-shaped tray (open twine); ʔo·nk'opi,
conical burden basket, a specific funnel-shaped sifting basket, open funnel-
shaped main food gathering basket, lattice Indian sifter basket (sifts out
manzanita berries from leaves), specific basket, gathering funnel, loosely
woven, open weave basket carried on back

PT-U ʔo·no, to gather

*ʔu, do, be (distal), copula; quotative root

W ʔuw, auxiliary copula verb of doing distally

PC -ʔu, auxiliary "to do, to say" (Whistler 1978); root for third person non-
proximal and various deictics such as: PK ʔu·sani le·nč^hul, day before

yesterday; $\text{ʔeʔu}\cdot\text{ʔa}$, this time of year; ʔupu , evidential of hearing, they say, I hear; PK piʔuro , but; PCC piʔu , things [“this that”]

SP-M oo-e, his or hers

* $\text{ʔu}\cdot\text{le}$, going to do/be at a distance

W $\text{ʔule}\cdot\text{s}$, would do, must do; $\text{ʔule}\cdot\text{s } \text{ʔuni}$, just like that, almost like that

PK $\text{č}^{\text{h}}\text{u } \text{piʔule}$, I’m gonna do that

$\text{č}^{\text{h}}\text{u } \text{ʔewʔule}$, I’m gonna do this way

* $\text{ʔu}\cdot\text{ma}$, thus (with causative, see *-ma)

W $\text{ʔum}\cdot$, demonstrative with causal force ($\text{ʔuw}\cdot$, distal doing + m, causative); $\text{ʔuma}\cdot$, thus, that way

PCC $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{o}\cdot \text{mint}^{\text{h}}\text{is } \text{piʔum } \text{ʔis}$, fire went out by itself

piʔumʔu , don’t do that, don’t be that way

PK $\text{mi } \text{ʔuma}\cdot\text{say}$, are you done?

$\text{pi } \text{ʔuma}\cdot\text{bes}$, that’s done

$\text{peʔuman } \text{mi } \text{lahit}\cdot\text{isay}$, how you gonna do that?

* ʔuna , * ʔuni , thus

W $\text{ʔun}\cdot$, be/do thus, then (root for quotative and sentence connectives); $\text{ʔuna}\cdot$, do or be thus, and then, at last, now, finally, that’s enough (sentence connective implying change in focus or topic, often paragraph division); ʔuni , be thus, do thus, like that, like this, and then (sentence connective and quotative, indicates that a quote follows or has been made)

P -ʔunan , evidential (someone else’s definite assertion; with reflexive) (Whistler 1986)

PC $\text{ʔunibe}\cdot\text{ʔa}$, even though ?

$\text{piʔun } \text{piʔun}$, that’s right! that’s right!

PK $\text{peʔuni } \text{mi } \text{lahit}\cdot\text{isay}$, how you gonna do that?

PR $\text{piʔun } \text{ʔih}$, go ahead and do it that way

* ʔut , the other ? (with objective case ?)

W ʔut , sentence connective, then, and then, so then, and yet (switch reference), clause connective which implies a change in subject

P ʔut , non-proximal third person animate objective

cf. PMy * ʔu :m, to finish, to come to pass (Brown 1990: 58)

* $\text{ʔu}\cdot\text{m}$, fill with liquid; cf. * ʔimit , breast, milk

W $\text{ʔu}\cdot\text{m}$, to fill the mouth with water to inflate the cheeks

PK $\text{sa}\cdot\text{k } \text{ʔum}^{\text{h}}\text{uro}$, bruise (“bloodshot”); cf. $\text{ʔu}\cdot\text{mumen}$, tripe, second stomach;

$\text{ʔu}\cdot\text{numen}$, second stomach of ruminants [dissimilation < $\text{ʔu}\cdot\text{mumen}$?]

cf. PMy * ʔu :m, * u :m, with reflexes including: to have something in the mouth, to have water in the mouth, to have a mouth full of liquid or food, to sip, take a mouthful, hold in mouth, to rinse (the mouth); Aymara $\text{umku}\theta\text{a}$, to fill the mouth

with food or drink without swallowing (uma = water); Aguaruna umut, to drink, a drink (Brown 1990: 48)

*ʔut'a, after that (< *ʔuw, do/be at a distance + *-ʔa, have, auxiliary)

W ʔut'a, and after that (< ʔut + ʔa)

PK ʔu·t'atupa, day after tomorrow

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 in-law one generation removed, spouse's parent, child's spouse, *t'e(-)s
 inclined, prone, *qoh
 inclusive person pronominal root, *p'e-
 indefinite duration auxiliary, *bey
 indent, *bit
 indistinct color ?, *qaq
 inhale, *su(·)t
 insect sp. (buzzing), *homo·-
 insert long things, poke, stick into, *λ'op
 intense visual perception, *k'al
 intensive verb-derivational suffix, *-h
 intentional future, going to, *-le
 intestines, guts, *pot

irrealis stem-deriving suffix, imperative, *-u
 itch, scratch, *ʔod-i/u-
 iterative, *-V·y

jackrabbit, *k'el
 jaw, chin, *q'aba
 join, perimeter, *kol
 joined, added on to perimeter, *kol-i
 joined, pronged, *non
 jump, *puč-
 juniper, *mon

keep, *boh
 kick, *č'on
 kill, *λ'o-m-u
 killdeer, *tiwi·t
 kingfisher, *t'arara ?
 kingsnake, *handop-
 kinterm absolutive suffix, *-(·)n
 kinterm locative case, *-t-in ?
 kinterm plural (or human plural), *-ba
 kinterm prefix, *n(i)-
 knee, *ʔanaq
 knife, arrow, flint, obsidian, *doqo
 knot (tie a), *p'olo·q
 know, *t'i-

lack of color, *tal
 larynx, *q^hor
 last, yester-, *le·n
 late, *ʔolhen
 leaf, *dala
 lean against, *t^hoq-č^h-i/u
 lean meat?, *č^hi·r
 leave, *yal-i/u
 leaves, foliage, *sala
 left, left hand, *t^haw
 leg, *yir ?
 legs apart, *kan ?
 lest, might, may, *-k^hen
 let, hortative, *-di
 let's, *-e·
 lick, *nal
 lie, be, *bey
 lie prone, *xoy
 lie, tell a lie, *bal-ʔa

light, *say-i/u, *tek
 light (source ?), *sa-
 light a fire, *č'ay-a
 light in weight, *hosop
 lightning, flame, *wal-u
 liquid spreads, *t^hel-a·
 liquid (thick), *t'ot
 liver, *k^hila
 lizard sp.: Western fence lizard, *č'iwil
 locative, toward, in (horizontally ?), *-e-l
 locative case, *-in
 log, *waqu· ?
 long ago, already, old, former, past demonstrative, *ho-
 loose, *hoł ?
 loose, thin, *łupuq
 loosen by scratching, *k'eb-i/u
 lose, miss, *yo(·)w
 louse, *p^her-
 lungs, *q^hoso
 lungs, chest, *k'eba

 magpie, *ʔatʔat
 make, *lel-a/i/u, *mal-i/u
 make sparks, *t'ip
 man, *wi-ta
 man, husband, *wiy
 manzanita berries, *bolo
 maple, *say
 mash, *p^hit
 may it be, *wile
 may, might, lest, *-k^hen
 meadowlark, *yok
 mediopassive, *-č^h
 meet, *hen-pa ?
 mental clouding, *q'a(·)q
 mesh, *k'at ?
 middle, center, *wenem
 might, may, lest, *-k^hen
 milk, breast, *ʔimit
 milkweed, *boq
 milkweed, wild hemp, *p^he-ł
 minnow, *q^hili
 miss, *man-a·
 miss, lose, *yo(·)w
 moldy, muddy, *q'un
 mollusk shell, *łono(·)q

- morning star, *č'at-u
 mortar, *t'ubuq ?
 mortar basket, *kaw
 mosquito, *čosaq
 mother, *neh, *na, *ne-n
 motion back and forth, *her-u
 mountain, *č^hoł
 mountain lion, *pate
 mountain quail, *č^hołč^hoł
 mourning dove, *puluq
 mouse, rat, *č'ube
 mouth, *qo(·)l
 mouth open, *waw
 move, *moroq
 move away, *yo·
 move (fast ? repetitive ?), *k^hod-
 move in a direction, move toward, *k'o-
 move inclined toward, *k'od-i/u
 move hips ?, *wik
 move light-weight things, *sid
 move stones, *k'ap
 mud, *k'a·
 muddy, moldy, *q'un
 mushroom sp., *t'ara, *made ?
 mussel, fresh-water, *č'ayi
- nail(s), claw(s), *k'ahay
 name, real, really, *yet
 nape of neck ?, *toq ?
 narrow-waisted, *č'idok
 navel, *naq
 near, *čok-i
 neck, *dok
 nest, *sunu
 net, *koro, *č^haq, *t'uy-č^h-i
 new, now, *po·
 nipple, *p'ur-i
 nit, *č'ubi
 no, not, *ʔelew
 nod, *wuk
 nominalizer, *-s
 nominalizing and neutral mode stem-deriving suffix, *-i
 non-visual sensorial evidential, *mut-her
 north, *way
 nose, *sono
 not, no, *ʔele-w

nothing (be), *min-a
 now, new, *po·

objective case, *-ma
 objective case suffix for kinterms and pronouns, *-t
 obsidian, knife, arrow, flint, *doqo
 old, already, long ago, former, past demonstrative, *ho-
 old man, *k'iy
 old woman, *p'ot
 older brother, *labe-
 older woman, *q'aya
 one, *k'ete·t
 open by scratching or scraping, *xeb
 open mouth, *waw
 optative ?, deictic, *k^he
 oriole, *sapasapa
 oscillate, vibrate, *lew
 other, away, different, *q^hal
 other ?, *ʔut
 out(side), *pat
 owl sp.: great horned, *kudu·
 owl sp.: barn owl, *si·k
 owl sp.: burrowing, *wik
 owl sp., *hi·n
 own, have, get, *ke-

pack, *sew
 pack tight, *bam
 paddle, *q^hawa ?
 paired objects, suffix marking, *-ma
 pale, *sa·l
 palm, *t'eqel
 pant, grunt, *xoh
 parch, *ʔa·r
 passive, *-her
 past demonstrative, old, already, long ago, former, *ho-
 pay, *ʔet
 peel off, *č'ub
 pendant, *yaw
 penis, *kul-
 people, *win
 people, person, *-tu(·)
 people of, village, *xerel
 peppergrass, *yodo ?
 perforate, *q^hes
 perimeter, join, *kol

person, *win
 person, people, *-tu(·)
 pestle, *t^hulu ?
 pestle?, wood ?, *č'us
 pet, *ʔom
 physical injury, *p'od
 pick one at a time, *tey
 pick small things one by one, *xad
 pick up ?, dig ?, *hap-a
 pierce through, *λ'er
 pigeon: band-tailed, *xo-...wi-
 pike, *k'uw-
 pinch, *t'or
 pine, *t'uw
 pine sp., *sak
 pitch, resin, *č^hek-i
 place a sling, *lom-u
 plant sp., *ʔaqa, *q^hala
 plant sp.: low-growing, *baq
 plant sp.: soft, round, *ʔubuq
 play, *ʔaqa
 point, *lolo·q-i/u
 poison, doctor, *yom
 poison oak, *p'oq^hom
 poke, stick into, insert long things, *λ'op
 pole, *to-
 polish, *sik
 pond, *kopol
 poorwill, *qo·ltep
 pop, *p'oq ?
 poppy, butterfly, *bo·lboVq
 porcupine, star, *ʔara·q ?
 potato, *ʔel-i
 potato sp., *p'oʔoy
 pound, *t'aq-i/u, *p'aq
 pound with flat surface, *p^het
 pour, spill, *č'u·l-i/u
 pour out slowly, go out, *p'e·l ?
 pour solids, *t'ik-i/u
 press, *p^hat-a
 press tight, *č'it
 promise ? beg ?, *duq
 prone, inclined, *qoh
 pronged, joined, *non
 pronominal plural, *-le
 protruberance, *λ'or-

protrude, swell, *p^ho-
 protrusion, *bul
 pubic hair, *seke
 pull, *wik, *qir
 pull off, *sob-č^h-u-
 pull or throw up, *kip
 pull out, *t^hup-u ?
 pus, full of pus, *buq
 put long object around, *dol
 put on a hat, *t^hak
 put up, *łom-i/u

quotative root, *ʔu

raccoon, *č^hika
 rainbow, *sa·q-k'ur- ?
 raise, *hok
 rake (toward self ?), *qar-č^h-
 rat, mouse, *č'ube
 rattle, *λ'at
 rattle (cocoon), *sokok
 rattle (rustle ?), *wasasa
 raven, *qaq
 real, really, name, *yet
 realis stem-deriving suffix, *-a, *-e
 reciprocal, *p'ur-i
 red, *tede
 red paint, *q'oba
 red-shafted yellowhammer (flicker), *č'i-
 referential, *qa
 reflect, *ʔilʔil
 reflexive, *-na
 relational nominal suffix, *-da
 relational locative, *naq
 relatives, *win
 reluctant ?, careful ?, *hinu-
 remain, *hor-i/u
 remove from body, *λ'uq
 resin, pitch, *č^hek-i
 ribs, *k'uril
 ridge, *luyuq
 right hand, *čal-
 ringing sound, *tiltil
 rip, *čel-
 rip in half, *yeb
 ripe, *noq-i/u

roadrunner, *tolto- ?
 roar, rumble, *kim-u·r
 roast, *λ'ir
 robe, *naw
 robin, *wisbo- ?
 rock, *son
 rock (small, round), stone, *t'uduy
 rodent sp., *k'ay
 roe, *pu·p
 roll, *dir, *dibił, *hol ?
 roll, run continuously, *kip(-VI)
 root, especially basket root, *se·k
 rope, *č'e·k
 rot, *yulyul
 rotten smell, stink, *ıal-a
 rough skin, *č'i·k
 rub, *lir, *dih ?
 rumble, roar, *kim-u·r
 run continuously, roll, *kip(-VI)
 rustle ?, rattle, *wasasa

sack, *q^ham
 salmon, *nur
 salt, *we(·)ı
 sand, *č'er-i, *t^hapa
 save, *huy
 save for, *laq
 scare someone, *čiri·k-u-ma
 scorpion, *taqa·taqa
 scrabble, *los
 scrape, *k'ar-a, *q^her
 scrape, scratch, *č'eb-a·
 scratch, *k'or
 scratch, scrape, *č'eb-a·
 scratch body, itch, *ʔod-i/u
 screech owl, *k'opus
 scrub jay, *č'ayi(·)k
 seal (close), *t'uy
 search for, *tiw
 second person pronominal root, *ma-
 see, *win
 seed, *k'ul, *moy
 seed plant sp., *k'is, *q'oł ?, *payi·ı
 seek luck, *q^hos-u
 seep out, *p'ur-u
 send, *yi·l-a

send after, direct to, *yor
 sensory input decreasing ?, *λ'ik
 separate into strands or slices, *k'ih
 sew, *hur-u
 shadow, spirit after leaving body, *les
 shake, *kepkep
 shake, wake up, *yuq-č^h-
 shame, *kay-i/u
 sharp (to be), *t'op
 sharp implement, *k'ir
 sharp point; to sprout, *č'up
 sharpen by filing, grind, *lor
 shave, *q^her
 shell (empty?), *λ'al
 shell (verb), *k'ab
 shell of mollusk, *lono(·)q
 shelled and dried acorns, *λ'it-
 shimmer, *ʔib
 shin, *lur
 shine, *til
 shoe, *t'amu·
 short version of, *molo
 shoulder, arm, *sala
 shrub sp., *sow
 sick, hurt, want, *koy-i/u
 side, *sel
 sift, *č'iq
 sinew, tendon, *law
 single thing or individual emerges, *t^huq
 sister, *lay
 sit, *la·
 sit, be, *boh
 six, *ser-panoł
 skin, *la·s, *qoq
 skin (verb), *p'ir-č^h-u
 skin peels off, *č'ob
 skull, *qoq- ?
 skunk (striped), *q^ho·
 skunkberries, sumac berries, *p^hintus
 slap, *t'aq
 sleep, *xin-a
 slice, *t'eč-a
 slice, cut with swinging motion, *hil
 slice, cut off, *q^hop-u
 slide, *suy-u
 sling, *lom-u

sling (tie a), *ɫar-č^h-u
 slip, *sil
 slit/split two halves, *t'ač
 slithering (creature), crawling (like a snake), *p^hil-i
 slurp, *ɫupu·q-i/u
 small, child, *ku-
 small, child, baby, *ʔilay
 small (intensive ?), *ʔin
 smell, *sub-u
 smell rotten, stink, *ɫal-a
 smoke, *nu·q
 smoke (verb), *sud-u
 smoke hole, *t'el
 smooth, *wil-i
 snake (verb), *how
 snake sp., *how, *hulilVk
 snap, *k'a-
 sneeze, *t'es
 snore, *ɫon
 snot, *ɫiniq
 snow, *yo·l
 soft round plant sp., *ɫubuq
 sound bee-like, *ɫon
 sour, *ʔay-...l-
 sour, unripe, *ʔa·w-a
 south, *nor
 spark, *p'ač-a, *t'ip
 sparrowhawk, *ʔi·rʔir
 spear, *saq
 spear, gig, *ɫew ?
 speech, *č'e(·)we-s
 spider, *k^herek
 spike, *tob-i
 spill, pour, *č'u·l-i/u
 spin, *xiw
 spirit, *q^hal-tu ?
 spirit after leaving body, shadow, *ɫes
 spit, *t^hub
 split, *k'ał
 split apart, *t'eb
 split/slit two halves, *t'ač
 split, *q'ot
 spot, *t'ok
 spouse's parent, child's spouse, in-law one generation removed, *t'e(·)s
 spread open, *dih
 spread to dry, *ye-

sprout, *q^huy ?
 sprout, to; sharp point, *č'up
 sprout, emerge, cross (meet), *tep-i/u
 squat, *q^hud
 squeak, *k'id
 squeeze, *pit, *p'it
 squint, *ʔay-č^h-
 squirm, *sis
 squirrel: flying ?, *q'an-łala ?
 stand, *p^hek-a·y-i/u ?
 stand up long things, *toq
 star, porcupine, *łara·q ?
 starve, be hungry, *per-i/u
 stative ?, *-V(·)l
 steam, fog, *q^hos
 Steller's jay, *woč-
 step, climb, *dek
 stick into, poke, insert long things, *ł'op
 stick into (vertically ?), *lup
 stick up, *to·l
 sticks, *tok-i ?
 stiff ?, clench, *k'on
 stiff, straighten, *sip-č^h-u
 sting, *lal-a
 stink, smell rotten, *łal-a
 stinkbug, *xed-i-men
 stone, small round rock, *t'uduy
 stone (white), *ł'ar
 stoop, *pum,
 straight, *č'uC-, *kid-i ?
 straighten, make stiff, *sip-č^h-u
 straighten up, fix up, *moq
 strap with hook, hooked strap, *lak-o/u
 strap, tumpline, *surut
 strike at, *ł'aq-a
 stripe, *q^hop
 striped skunk, *q^ho·
 struggle, *wer
 stuck, *č^hop
 stuff feathers, *wey
 sturgeon, *nes
 subjunctive, dubitative, *-m
 submerge, *lib-č^h
 subordinating suffix, *-ta
 subordinating suffix of causal or temporal anteriority, *-ro ?
 suck, *č'uy-u

sudden escape of water, *het
 suffix forming alienable possessive pronouns, *-o
 sugar, *xurxur
 sugar pine, *sumu
 sumac berries, skunkberries, *p^hintus
 summer, *pohpil ?
 summoned gathering, *ya·pay
 sun to set, *ʔał-a
 sunflower sp., *q^holo
 sunshine, *holol
 supernatural, *yoh
 suspect, fear a loss, *ha·q-a
 Swainson's hawk ?, *lik-
 swallow, *per-i/u
 sweet, *munuq
 swell, protrude, *p^ho-
 swim, *t^hul-e/i/u
 swing, *xiw
 swing arms, *hil-a·y

 tadpole, *ho-...-q
 tail, *sutu
 take/bring something inanimate, *har-m-
 tale, tell a tale, *bo·l-e
 talk, *č'e(·)w
 tall and swaying, *k'eb
 tamarack pine, *mo·r
 tarweed, *t'on
 tear, *k'ur-a·
 tears, *tum
 tell a lie, *bal-ʔa
 tell a tale, *bo·l-e
 tend in indicated direction, *t'er ?
 tendon, sinew, *law
 thick liquid, *t'ot
 thighs, hip, *somVk
 thin, loose, *ʔupuq
 thing, *soq, *men
 think, *hal
 thorn, *k^hi·l
 three, *pano(·)ʔ
 throat, *dol, *holhol
 throat, esophagus, *peru·
 through to the last, *nam
 throw, *ʔey-a
 throw or pull up, *kip

throw solids, *q^het-a
 throw water, *ʔid
 throw water on fire, *qol
 thus, *ʔu-
 tickle, *quč-u
 tie, *lak
 tie a knot, *p'olo·q
 tie a sling, *ʔar-č^h-u
 tired, *leq-č^h-u
 toad, *yoho(·)l
 tobacco, *lo(·)l
 today, *po·-sani
 tongue, *tahal
 tooth, *si·
 top, *pan-ti
 toward self, here, *xun
 toward, in (horizontally ?), *-e-l
 trail, *yeme
 trap (verb), *q'ap-ma
 trapped, *q'ap-a
 travel, far, *kel-
 tree, *č^ho·q, *mi
 trip, *k^het
 try, *tip
 tule (flat), cattail, *pa·tpat
 tule, bulrush, *λ'op
 tumpline, strap, *surut
 turn into nothing, *min-a
 turn, roll, *dibił
 turtle, *ʔan-
 turtle-shell shaped, *mu(·)k-u
 twice, crosswise, *ser
 twins, *č^hur-
 twist, *t'ir
 two, *pan

 unpleasant emotion, crazy, *ho·n
 unripe, sour, *ʔa·w-a
 up, *ʔol
 up-and-down movement, *hak-i
 urine, urinate, *č'u·n-u
 use, do, be (non-distal ?), *ʔiy

 venison, deer, *no·p
 vibrate, oscillate, *lew
 village, people of, *xerel

vine sp., *č'ini-q
 viscous, *p'at
 vision impaired, *q^has-i·l-ʔa
 vocative, *ye
 vocative suffix, *-k
 vomit, *ʔoq-č^h-i/u
 vulva, *č'ut

 wade, *č'up-u
 walk, *q'ay-i/u
 walk uncertainly, *čoʔ-
 want, hurt, sick, *koy-i/u
 warm oneself, *humuq
 wash face, wash up, *t^ha-p
 water, *me(·)m
 water container, *pol
 watersnake ?, *how
 wave, fan, gesture, *liw
 wear out, exhaust, *ʔet
 weave, *ʔel-e
 weave, make a net, *ʔo(·)y
 web, weaving, *ʔoy
 weir, dam, *paq-i
 west, *nom
 Western bluebird, *č'ow
 Western fence lizard, *č'iwil
 Western meadowlark, *bi-t ?
 wet, *q^hat
 where, *he
 which specific one, *he
 whiskers (particularly of fish), beard, *q^hep
 whisper, *hal-a
 white stone, *λ'ar
 white oak acorn, *yok...l-
 whole, body, *t^hu(·)n
 wide, *q'an
 wide (open ?), *wak
 wife, woman, *p'oq
 wild goose sp., *laq
 wild grapes, *q^hap
 wild onion, *p'u(·)r
 wildcat, *p'a...l...m
 willow sp., *moʔ
 willow sp. or basket sticks from that willow, *ton
 wind, wind blows, *k'ah-i/u
 wing, *q'an

wink, *ʔay-č^h-
 winnower, *k'en-i
 winter, *pomsim
 wolf, *hu- ?
 woman, *p'oqi-ta
 woman, wife, *p'oq
 woman (old), *p'ot
 woman (older), *q'aya
 wood ?, pestle ?, *č'us
 woodpecker sp., *č^huđay, *tarak, *č'uduk
 worm, *λ'uk, *k'es
 worm sp., *q'učul
 wormwood, *qeti
 wrap, *pil-u
 wrap around, *haw-a·l
 wreck, *p^hor

 yawn, *ha·sme
 yellowjacket, *k'eč-
 yes, *ho(·) ?
 yester-, the passing of one night ?, *le-n
 young boy, *k'urey
 young girl, *p'ukuy
 young man, *xerit
 younger brother, *ley

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Abbreviations

AA, American Anthropologist

AL, Anthropological Linguistics

IJAL, International Journal of American Linguistics

IJAL-NATS, IJAL Native American Texts Series

JAF, Journal of American Folklore

SSILA, The Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas

UCPL, University of California Publications in Linguistics

UCPAAE, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology

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