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THE MUTSUN DIALECT OF COSTANOAN BASED ON THE VOCABULARY OF DE LA CUESTA

BY

J. ALDEN MASON

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INTRODUCTION

A century ago Father Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, one of the most earnest and indefatigable members of the order of St. Francis, collected a mass of 2884 words, phrases, and sentences from the language of the Mutsun Indians, spoken at his mission of San Juan Bautista near Monterey, California. At about the same time he composed a grammar of the language, which is one of the branches of the Costanoan linguistic group. manuscripts were sent by Alexander S. Taylor to the Smithsonian Institute, which loaned them for publication to John G. Shea, in whose Library of American Linguistics they appear as volumes IV and VIII, 1861 and 1862. Together they form one of the fullest and most complete collections of data extant on a Pacific Coast language. There is little doubt that the missionary knew the language well and interpreted its psychology and spirit fairly correctly. In his grammar there appears less strict adherence to the form and structure of Latin grammar, less subconscious premise of Latin as the standard par excellence than is generally found in grammars of this time and type. Nevertheless, in spite of the comparative excellence of the grammar, but because of its lack of scientific arrangement, unphonetic orthography, and the foreign tongue, it is deemed better to rearrange and formulate the grammar, using as a basis the phrases of the vocabulary.

The phrase-book is likewise unfortunate in that it is at present almost inaccessible to the modern student, due to its faulty arrangement. This is done alphabetically according to the initial letter of the sentence, the various stems being scattered throughout the nearly three thousand sentences. The same difficulties of unphonetic orthography and Spanish language likewise obtain here.

Several years ago Dr. Kroeber had the majority of the phrases comprising the more important of the sentences copied to a card-index. I have recently spent some time in working over the material thus secured, arranging cards according to stems and isolating grammatical particles. The following paper embodies the results of this research.

While the grammar of De la Cuesta is the most complete ever published on a Costanoan language, several more scientific treatises have been produced in the last few years, principally by the University of California. These are, "Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco," and "The Chumash and Costanoan Languages." Other pertinent works are "Phonetic Constituents of the Native Languages of California," and "New Linguistic Families in California."

The present paper consists of two parts, first an exposition of the etymological and morphological elements upon which the structure of the language is based, and second a list of the various stems of all classes found in the material, though, since not all of the phrases were transferred to cards, this does not entirely exhaust all those in the original phrase-book. These are appended partly as reference for the examples of morphological and etymological word-structure previously cited, but more particularly as an aid to the larger work of comparison of Mutsun with kindred Costanoan and other extra-group languages. The recent proposal of the "Penutian" linguistic family, to which Mutsun would belong, renders such a glossary invaluable for purposes of comparison.

¹ A. L. Kroeber, present series, II, 29-80, 1904.

² Ibid., IX, 237-271, 1910.

³ Ibid., x, 1-12, 1911.

 $^{^4}$ R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, American Anthropologist, n.s., v, 1-26, 1903.

⁵ Ibid., n.s., xv, 647-655, 1913.

PART I. STRUCTURE

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The surprisingly close similarity between the general morphologic structure and Sprachgeist of Costanoan and other languages of its type and Indo-European has already been noted but is none the less striking. The main characteristics of the language may be thus summarized. Phonetic simplicity and comparative unimportance of rules of phonetic change; complete lack of incorporation, either nominal or pronominal; complete absence of prefixes; independent pronouns; nominal case endings; and comparative simplicity of categories of mood, tense and number, necessitating an immense number of dissimilar stems of relatively slight difference in significance.

PHONETIC SYSTEM

The phonetic system of Mutsun and of Costanoan appears to be relatively simple. The vowels are a, e, i, o, u, all appearing open in quality. The Spanish orthography is perfectly satisfactory for expressing these sounds and no change has been made in transcription. Rarely a vowel is found in the phrase-book with circumflex accent and very rarely with acute accent, but as no uniformity in thus spelling any word is evident, and as the phonetic variation thus expressed is not described, such marks have been disregarded.

The consonants seem to be only w, y, m, n, l, r, s, c, x, h, p, t, t, k, and tc. m, n, l, r, s, p, and t (dental or interdental) are probably correctly expressed in De la Cuesta's Spanish orthography and are left unchanged. w is generally expressed in Spanish by hu with following vowel. De la Cuesta writes hua, hue, hui, and once $h\ddot{u}o$. He further uses often gua, $g\ddot{u}e$, $g\ddot{u}i$, and guo which denote in Spanish gwa, gwe, gwi and gwo. There is no sonant g in Costanoan, though the k has an intermediate quality. We find, however, that, though the hu- and gu- orthographies are each generally used consistently for certain stems,

there are occasional cases of identity, e.g., guallun, huallun, kuolon, "be envious;" huilo, guilo, "signal 'yes' with the eyes;" huipa, güipa, "invite"; güeren, weren, "rabbit." Similarly the gu- orthography without the diaresis, gue, gui, is found often. This denotes pure sonant g in Spanish, a sound missing in Costanoan. Instances of a stem both with and without the diaresis are common, e.g., gueiero, güeierogmin, "great," and it is probable that such omissions of the diaresis are accidental. Therefore all hu- and gu- orthographies have been changed uniformly to w. Medial w is probably expressed by u with following vowel, but it often is difficult to decide whether a given u is vocalic or consonantal.

y is expressed correctly except in certain combinations; De la Cuesta's \tilde{n} probably denotes ny. (In a few cases of doubt it has been retained as \tilde{n} , as in suffix $pa\tilde{n}$.) i and y are sometimes interchanged, as yttug, ittug, "a seed." Here also it is often difficult to distinguish vowel and consonant.

 $c\ (sh)$ is not definitely distinguished by De la Cuesta but is suggested by certain sh, sch orthographies. Had he distinguished the sound he would probably have written it with an x in accord with older Spanish usage.

x (palatal surd fricative) presents some difficulties. Initially it is doubtless represented by ja, ge, gi, jo, ju. Medially the same orthography is utilized. Final x seems to be represented by g, e.g., uming, $m\bar{u}'ix$, "wolf;" eg, ex, "squirrel." De la Cuesta's g in consonantal combinations offers the most uncertain of the phonetic problems. tigsin, "skunk," is checked by Kroeber's tixsin, erendering it practically certain that g in this case represents x. On the other hand, g before m and n probably represents k. Thus cma and gma are both used as a plural suffix. gne is a common passive suffix. Kroeber has nimikne $w\bar{a}kai$, "he hit me," doubtless the same suffix. Kroeber transcribes tansagte, "ten," tansakte, but atsiagnis, atsiaxnis. Substitution has here been made on the theory that g before a surd represents the continuant x, while before a sonant or intermediate it represents the palatal stop k.

⁶ A. L. Kroeber, MS.

⁷ See postscript below, p. 470.

Initial and medial h may be silent, as in modern Spanish, but since it is regularly employed in certain stems, and as both h and x are found in most Costanoan texts, it is retained.

t is the tongue-blade *t* found in the Costanoan and neighboring languages. De la Cuesta wrote variously *tr*, *th*, *thr*, *thrs*, *trs*, etc. It is often difficult to decide whether the last consonant of the complex is a distinct sound or not.

Following Spanish usage, k is denoted by De la Cuesta by c before a, o and u, and by qu before e and i.

The affricative tc is regularly written by De la Cuesta ch but often confused with t.

Doubled letters, both consonants and vowels, are frequently met with in De la Cuesta's orthography. As these are foreign to the Spanish language, except in the cases of ll and rr, it is assumed that the device is employed to express length or duration of the sound and is therefore expressed in the present paper as the simple sound followed by inverted period, in accord with modern usage.

The Spanish language is, on the whole, a far better medium for the recording of unfamiliar languages by an untrained ear than the unrevised English. In the great majority of cases there is no question as to the exact phonetic rendering of the native words, and in a great number of cases they may be left in their original forms. Only in cases where sounds unfamiliar to the Spanish ear occur is difficulty found. Such are w, the peculiar tongue-blade t common to certain California languages, and un-Castillian combinations of sounds. Little difficulty has therefore been encountered in transcribing the native words to modern phonetic orthography, which is doubtless an advisable procedure.

The chances for frequent error in so many transcriptions and changes in authorship are too great to allow any phonetic discrimination or any elucidation of the finer and less evident points of the language. Shea's impression is replete with errors of transcription from the Padre's manuscript, and these may be increased in the present digest. Many words are spelt variantly, sometimes on the authority of the original, at other times manifestly due to improper reading of the manuscript. This is particularly true with regard to the easily confused m, n, u, and i.

Nevertheless, a few pertinent remarks may be made on Mutsun phonetic laws. The language is phonetically smooth and simple, the average word being an orderly alternation of consonant and vowel. Either consonant or vowel may begin or end a word, but consonantal combinations seem to be missing initially or finally, the few recorded cases being probably due to error. Medially certain combinations are permitted, though it is not easy to determine these. Thus, lalak-na, "go for geese," becomes by metathesis lalkana. Similarly, certain suffixes are varied in order to avoid unwieldly and harsh complexes, as kai-s, but men-se (interrogative); uta-kma, but inis-mak (plural). There appears also to be a feeling for vocalic harmony, and some suffixes are varied to the end that their vowel may correspond and harmonize with the characteristic or stem vowel of the word. Thus sumi-ri-ni, but towo-ro-ste; xana-ksa, but tare-kse. Again certain vowels seem to be dominants and survive in assimilation or elision. Thus the past tense suffixes -is and -in are dominant and -kne-is becomes -knis; -pu-in, -pin. A thorough phonetic study of the language would doubtless codify all these rules and elucidate many others.

PARTS OF SPEECH

Mutsun recognizes as parts of speech the noun, pronoun, verb, adjective and particle, though, as in English, the division is a more or less artificial one, the lines of demarcation are not hard and fast, and it is sometimes difficult to assign properly a given word, which may not uncommonly function in several categories without change in form.

Nouns

The great majority of Mutsun nominal stems are dissyllabic or trisyllabic. A few of the most common stems, such as many body-parts, are monosyllabic, and a very few apparently polysyllabic stems are found. Nominal stems appear never to be compounded and are varied only by the addition of a few suffixes. Stems appear to begin and end with either vowel or consonant without discrimination, and there seem to be no categories of stem types, such as for animate or inanimate, natural or arti-

ficial. That is, it is not possible to infer from the form of the word or from its suffix the category to which it belongs. Yet there are a few etymological suffixes in occasional use. Those making verbs are given below; those forming nouns follow here.

Etymological Suffixes of Nouns

1. -n, resultative, infinitive. Suffixed to verbal or other stems denotes result or phenomenon of an act.

noso-n	breath, spirit, soul
sike-n	flatus
paine-n	menstruation
ots.io-n	\mathbf{wound}
sawe-n	\mathbf{song}

Possible cognate:

tor-on	amole
xasi-om	shame
mira-mi-n	gift
es(x)e-n	dress
isme-n	sun

2. -s, -s·e, (-se, -si), causative, abstractive. Suffixed to verbal or other stems denotes cause or phenomenon of an act, and is generally used with words of abstract significance.

una	cure	una-s	remedy
ritea	speak	ritca-s-e	language
isut	dream	isut-s.e	a dream
kapal(a)	embrace	kapala-si	an embrace
kai	hurt	kai-s	pain
ețe	sleep	et-se	sleepiness
xase	become angry	xa-s	anger
xemtso	silent	xenkotst.e	silence

Probable cognate is:

3. -pis, (-mis, -sis), instrumental. Suffixed to verbal or other stems denotes instrument or means for the performance of an act.

xewe	cast shadow, re- flect	xewe-pis	shadow, reflection
at-ue	watch	at-as-pis	lookout
eyes	beard, shave	eyes-pis	beard-napkin

itok	cleanse	itok-pis	table-cloth, napkin
roro(s)	play	roro-mis	toy
isme-n	sun	isme-sis	clock
sukumu	smoke	sukumu-s-pis	end of cigar

4. -msa, (-nsa), instrumental. Suffixed to verbal or other stems denotes instrument or means for the performance of an act.

humiri	baptize	humiri-msa	baptismal font
ene	write	ene-msa	eraser, blotter
ama	eat	ama-nsa	meals
tcala	urinate	tcala-msa	bladder
iisi	owe	isi-msa	debts

Probably also:

unupimsa	handkerchief
rotemsa	papers
siamalpimsa	confession
visuwaninsa	corns

5. -pan, -pañ, agentive. Suffixed to verbal stems denotes the more or less habitual doer of an act or the exponent of a quality.

yume-pañ	liar
maxer-pan	one who makes sport of another with
	the eyes
notio-pañ	one who denies the truth
nimi-pañ	beater
yoso-pañ	lustful, lecherous
latue-pan	one who is always making signs with
	the tongue
ol∙ue-pañ	one who signals with his hand
pitciwi-pan	cleanser of hair
li-pan	hider
nimi-pan	striker, hitter

Other isolated examples of etymological nominal suffixes are:

ruk	cord	ruk-esma	doubled cord
upu	buy	upu-nsatpa	payment
usupu	fast	usupu-hai	Lent, time of fast- ing
mai-xi	laugh	mai-t	a laugh, laughing
mira	give present	mira-x, mira- mi-n	gift
koxo	load of meat	koxo-enis	bringer of load of meat
pux-ţa	make bread	pux-uṭs	bread

krak-e	name, call	krak-at	a name
soko-te	laurel	soko-tci	laurel fruit
rițe	decorate with beads	rițe-ni	feminine adorn- ment
mukur-ukispu	act like a	mukur-ma	woman
•	woman		

Reduplication seems to play an unimportant role in Mutsun morphology. A few words are found in which the first syllable is reduplicated but there is no evidence that the phenomenon is of any morphological importance. Practically all of the instances occur with names of animals or plants.

mumuri	fly
mumulaluk	butterfly
lalak	geese
lukluk	geese
kakari	raven
soksokian	sensonte
porpor	cottonwood
țoțolua	plantain

Morphological Suffixes of Nouns

The Mutsun language is a comparatively simple one morphologically, being quite comparable to modern European languages in this respect. But few changes in inflection for the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs are found. These will be noted below.

The noun is inflected for differences in number, case, and in some cases even for person. Gender is, as commonly in American languages, not recognized, unless in sporadic etymological categories.

Many, if not all, animate nouns take a pluralizing suffix. This is:

6. -kma, -mak, plural.

sini	boy	sini-kma, sin-	boys
		ksma	
		ataspis-mak	lookouts
		uṭa-kma	parents
		uhinis-mak	fishermen
		uras-mak	hole-diggers
atsia	girl	atsiai-kma	girls

pasear	(Sp.)	<i>pasear-</i> is-mak watcir∙on-mak	passers-by the Guachirunos
ka	daughter	ka-kma	daughters
inis	son	inis-mak	sons

It is also used with substantive adjectives.

-kma is doubtless the original form and is used after a vowel, -mak being employed after a consonant to avoid harsh complexes, though there are exceptions.

There appears to be no dual number.

The various nominal case relations are expressed by suffixes which may be interpreted as postpositions, but are probably as correctly explained as true case inflections. These are:

7. -was, -uas, compositional, partitive, material.

ores-was tap	hide of bear
xut-was tote	meat of belly
xurek-war ruk	cord of sinew
orpe-was etse	middle of night

8. -me, terminative.

patre-me	into the house of the Padre
me-me	to you, with you

9. -se, -s·e, -ne, -he, objective.

aisa-ne	(see) them
kairka-s-e	(try) pinole
moro-s-e	(hunt) moles
krakat-se	(know) name
kapxan-ne	(strike) three
inu-se	(take) road
soton-he	(blow) fire
etc.	

10. -sun, -sum, -um, instrumental.

ak-sun	(die) of nunger
mait-sun	(die) of laughing
țala-sun	(die) of heat
ekwets-sum	(conceived) in sin, (choked) with sir
xai-um	(speak) with the mouth
urkan-um	(thresh) with the mortar

11. -tka, -tak, locative.

tapur-tak	(hung) in tree
urkan-tak	(grind) in mortar
xumes-tak	(hidden) in grass
oțe-tka	(speak) in ear
wima-k-tak	(wound) in wing
ekwaesti-tak	(wallow) in sin

-tka seems to follow vowels, -tak consonants to avoid complexes.

12. -tu, comitative.

tanses-țu (eat) with younger brother ap-a-țu (dance) with father

A possible suffix with more the force of a postposition is:

13. -tun, -tum, regressive.

tina here tina-tun, tina- from here tum

In the case of terms of relationship there are sometimes diverse endings according to the grammatical person. Thus:

The basis of this is plainly an infixation of -s- before the characteristic vowel for the first person possessive and the substitution of -n8n for the third person, where 8 represents the characteristic vowel. The 8k of tar-ek-se and xan-ak-sa are sporadic. This may be the vestige of a once fully functional genitive case. No other instances are found in the language. The -t- of the second person is very dubious.

Pronouns

The pronoun, as before stated, is independent and never morphologically welded with the verb or other part of speech. The six representatives of the two numbers and three persons are distinct and those of the third person seem to have little or no demonstrative force. The case endings, particularly the -s of the objective, are suffixed also to the pronouns. The possessive pronoun is often identical with the subjective form, though generally one form is exclusively subjective. The pronoun has a tendency toward combination with other pronouns and particles. Thus we find such forms as ka-mes, "I-you," this being the most frequent; kat (ka-et), "I in future time"; kas-hiha, "I also."

The pronominal stems are monosyllabic or at the most dissyllabic and quite dissimilar for the various persons. The first and second personal plural pronouns, however, commence with the syllable mak-, doubtless cognate with the pluralizing suffix -mak.

Demonstrative and adjectival pronouns are numerous and invariable.

Detailed lists of all classes of pronouns will be found in Part II.

VERBS

The typical Mutsun verbal stem is dissyllabic, ending in a characteristic vowel. This may even be the invariable rule, apparent infractions and exceptions being due to error or presence of unsuspected etymological or morphological elements. The characteristic vowel is not inalienably welded to the stem, since certain infixes are added between stem and characteristic.

Like nouns, verb stems take no prefixes, all morphological mechanism being attained by means of suffixes. A few solitary examples of possible verb-stem combination have been found which may be differently interpreted on fuller acquaintance with the language.

up-xi(ni)	roll, fall (scissors)
xin(e)	go, walk
up-uru(ni)	slip, fall (person)
uru(ni)	fall
up-ki	roll, seize (log)
at-ki	break, seize (log)
at.e. atse	break

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Reduplication of verbal stems is practically unknown in Mutsun. A few sporadic cases are found, however, which seem to have the iterative significance frequently denoted by this means in American languages.

polso	painted	polpolsi	dotted, streaked
tule	knock	tultul∙e	palpitate
		pulpul∙e	palpitate
tipe	wander	tiptipe	wander

It is a difficult and largely an artificial task to separate verbal particles into etymological and morphological elements. Nevertheless certain of these appear to belong to the former category and others may be placed there merely for the lack of evidence of morphological significance.

Etymological Suffixes of Verbs

17. -te, possessive. Suffixed to nominal stems denotes possession of the object.

otco-te	possess ears
kraka-te	possess name
sitnun-te	have children
pultci-te	have full breasts

18. -kis-, (-wis-, -pwis-), imitative. Suffixed to nominal or other stems denotes imitation of person or act. The reflexive suffix -pu is normally added.

mam.anxa-kis-pui	act like a fool
mukene-pwis-pu	act like a man
mukuru-kis-pu	act like women
monsie-kis-pu, (-wis-pu)	act like a sensible person
sawe-wis-pu	pretend to sing

19. -na, purposive. The verbal suffix -na, "go to do," functions also as an etymological suffix to noun stems, denoting in this case "go for."

lalak	geese	lalka-na	go for geese
sirak	nuts	sirka-na	go for nuts
weren	rabbit	were-na	go for rabbits

20. -mi, dative. Likewise the verbal suffix -mi may be suffixed directly to nouns, functioning as an etymological suffix and denoting gift of the object. It is generally or always used with the imperative and the first person singular object.

ruxe	arrow	ruxe-mi-tit	give me arrows
ma-ter	tobacco	ma-sue-mi-tit	give me tobacco
setne	acorn-bread	setne-si-mi-t	give me bread

21. -ti, substantive. A possible substantive suffix is found once:

tanses brother tanses-ti-(s) be a brother

22. -u-, oppositional. Infixed before characteristic vowel of verbal or other stems denotes significance opposite to that of simple stem.

xiț.a	sew	xit•ua	rip
pit∙e	tie	pit ue	untie
pat·i	seize, grab	paț.ue	loose
rotko	knot	rotuk	untie knot
kitea	lock with key	kitcua	open with key
rotcio	enveloped	rotciwe(wi)	freed
tcuni, țunuu	fold, pleat	tcunuhwi	open, unfold

23. -r-, excessive. Followed by the characteristic vowel appears to denote a psychological cause for the condition described.

sumi	be content	sumi-ri-ni	sleep from satiety
siwi	burn	siwi-ri-ni	surrocate from heat
towo	be rigid	towo-ro-ste	be stiff from cold
seso	shiver	seso-r-po, (seso-n)	shiver from fear

24. -t-, corporeal. Followed by a vowel in harmony with preceding one generally refers to action with or on parts of body.

kapata

latue-te long tongue, (he) extends his tongue l·el·uer-te roll (eyes) too much kai-ți tighten (it)! make (it) fast! rau-ta-smin with large occiput mup-ţu shut your mouth! pelțe, pețe shut eyes pețe(ni) keep mouth closed poto pluck hairs

cross hands

25. -te, -ti, (-it).

```
tere-ti-s
                             (you) have cut (your hair)
nam-ti, nam-it
                             (I have not) understood, heard
kili-te
                             (it) sparkles
yata-ti, xop.o-ti,
                             (did he give you) anything, a drink,
 ilsi-mi-ti, olte-mi-ti
                                meat, pinole?
insu-ti, insu-te
                             (you) know (it)
upxi-ti (or upxi)
                             (let me) drink a little
wipa-ti
                             (will) invite (you)
                             (I) seized (it), (what) could (you
ole-ti
                                do ?)
ina-ti-s
                             (I) became sick
esoni-ti
                             (you) hate (the language)
                             grew mouldy (wheat)
lopx-ti-ni-n
```

Possibly the same suffix is found in the imperative with first person singular object, -t or -ti-t. It is a doubtful suffix; no attempt is made to explain it.

26. -wi, -we.

```
inu-wi-me-i remind (him)!
rus-u-wi-kne spit
tip-wi (you) shorten (confession)
nansa-we (he went) to try
pak-a-we (may they) gather (them)!
lala-wi-s he threw him
```

27. -si.

```
scratch the boys' heads!
xasiwa-si
                             (have you) satisfied (him)?
xeksio-si-n
                             (we) have searched for (them)
xima-si-kun
                             (let me) be seeing; look!
mexe-si
                             (that which) he has in his hand
pati-si
                             (I) was listening (to them)
nan-mi-si
                            he seeks (us)
pak.a-si
                             (I) am blowing (the fire)
puti-si
uta-si-mi-t
                             guard me!
at-se-i
                             break it!
xelue-si-tit (xelue-mi-tit)
                            flay, strip for me!
                             (child) is sucking
musi-si
```

This suffix may be cognate with the mandatory -si (No. 45) but the resemblance is not evident.

Other possible etymological suffixes are:

rukesma	a doubled cord	rukesma-te	make countless in- terweavings
xotio	a bag	xotio-(si)-nme	(order to) make a bag
ruk-a	house	ruk-sap-(in)	(they have) made houses
maț-er	tobacco	maț-uk-(ti) mațere-gn-in	give (me) tobacco (he) was intoxi- cated
wi-xi	fish	wi-ni	catch fish
tor-on	amole	tor-ke	bring amole
xasi-om	shame	xasi-mun	be ashamed
xan an	wife	xan an mi-(n)	(was) married
xakua	mussels	xakua-ikus	I went for mussels

Morphological Suffixes of Verbs

The verbal stem is variously modified for considerations of tense, voice, various modal significances, and to some extent for number.

The unmodified stem is used alone for the present tense and with temporal adverbial particles to express the future.

The most frequent temporal suffix is -n. This is generally translated by the Spanish preterit, but frequently also by the present. It may have an indefinite or a oristic sense, or denote incompleteness or continuance of action, and is found mainly with intransitive verbs.

28. -(i)n, indefinite.

totio-n	(whenever I) err
tio-n	(I) shoot (with my left hand)
ilo-n	(whenever a house) burns
towo-n	(you will be) frozen
ketio-n	(I) argue (with him)
yați-n	(he) follows (you)
xați-n	(I) am dying
xirwi-ni-n	(rain) is ceasing
tursi-ni-n	(he) is cold
terpe-ni-n	(I) have peppered my throat
tempe-ni-n	(soon the river) will dry up
loe-ni-n	(he) nauseated (you)
letse-ni-n	(I) liked (that)
isiwe-n	(when they) rest

29. -(i)s, past tense. This is less common than -n. It appears to be a more definite past and is found mainly with transitive verbs.

yoreti-s (he) chased (me)
katia-mi-s (he) gave (you)
mistu-s (you) warmed yourself
mexe-npi-s (I) have seen (them)
wipa-s (I) invited (you)

30. -(i)kun, past tense. This is the less frequent past ending and appears principally with transitive verbs. It is probably the most remote of the past tenses, but as all three of these are regularly translated by the bare Spanish preterit, it is most difficult to delimit their respective spheres. The examples seem to imply completion of action.

uxsini-kun(you) have increasedut-ui-kun(I) guarded (it)uxei-kun(I) have guarded (it)oioi-kun(he) seized (it)oisio-kun(it) happened again

The distinction between the categories of intransitive and transitive is not as close as in many Pacific languages, and there is no invariable designating particle for either. Certain suffixes, however, pertain to one or the other type. One of the commonest suffixes in the language is -ni, which appears on the whole to be a kind of intransitive suffix.

31. -ni. intransitive.

```
orko-ni-n, (orko-ste)
                             (we) were frightened
                             (you could not) imagine (me)
inu-ni-n
in.u-ni-n
                             (I) awoke
                             (I) dreamt or (you)
istu-ni-n
                             (fire) is dying, (is-going dying)
(wate-na) xamu-ni-n
                             (sun) is rising, (is-going rising)
(wate-na) lak-e-ni-n
                             (I was going) to forget (it)
eme-ni-n
                             (I) am sick, have become sick, (you)
inxa-ni-n
                                are sick
                             (I) am old woman
muk.ie-ni-n
                             (it wants little time for me) to die
semo-ni-n
                             (he) is cold
tursi-ni-n
tupu-ni-n
                             (I) put my finger in my eye
                             it was finished, consumed, used up
suiu-ni-n (suiu-ste)
                             (did this) break ?-
tisku-ni-n
                             (my hair) is fixed and prepared
xupse-ni-n
                             (be ye not) sad
xasli-ni-n
   ad infinitum
```

suffix:

The nearest approach to a transitive suffix is -np, which seems to express action directed toward another person.

32. -np(e), transitive.

he defended (me) titi-np-in pull me out! itco-np-itit (I will) break (your feet) tolso-npe lilui-npe (we will) amuse (you) do not disturb (him) ruima-npe (ye have) soiled it munsu-npe mus.i-np-itit-yut warm ye me! (how can I) forget (you?) mene-npe (has he) forgotten (ye?) mane-np-in

tupu-np-in (I) put my finger in (his) eye

Reflexive relations are very frequent and expressed by the

33. -pu, -p-, reflexive.

lixin-pu I will kill myself
lix-p-in she killed herself
ita-pu (do you) wash yourself?
eves-pu shave oneself

eyes-pu shave oneself tcai-pu praise oneself

axa-pu (have ye not) combed yourselves?

xat-a-pu-i hit yourself

tak-e-p-is (I) measured myself orko-p-in-se-me did you frighten yourself? un-pi-na (I) am going to cure myself

In many cases -pu appears to be used idiomatically, the reflexive function being obscure.

	bu y	upu-s-pu	sell
uni	crave, wish	uni-s-pu	consent
inu	awake, remem- ber	inu-s-pu	observe, know, see, feel
nip.a	teach	nip∙a-p-in	they will teach (him never)
ritca	speak	ritca-pu	play, entertain

Reciprocal relations are expressed by the suffix:

34. -mu, reciprocal.

xaṭa-mu let us fight
lix-mu we will kill each other
keye-mu (do not) trample each other
is-u-mu play together!
hutcu-mu-t lift each other!

The passive voice is of considerable importance in Mutsun morphology and seems to be preferred to the active as a method of expression whenever possible. It is expressed by the suffix:

35. -kne, passive voice.

mexe-kne (me)	(you) will be seen
mira-kne (me)	(you) will be given a gift
mupa-kne (nep·e)	(this) is sucked
ole-kne	(they) are (not) caught
like-kne (me)	(you) will be killed
lokuk-kne (xin)	(the eye) is put out
lala-kn-is (haka)	(he) was thrown down
ut·u-kne (nep∙e)	(this) is guarded
liwa-kn-is	(arrow) was hidden
matere-kn-in	(he) was intoxicated

Probably cognate with this is the suffix -ne with which it is in cases interchangeable. -ne often denotes a future passive, at other times its exact use is not clear.

36. -ne, future passive.

nansa-si-ne	(when we) try
mexe-si-ne	(you) will be seen
yume-si-ne	(you) will be cheated
xiraste-pu-ne	will (you) be reprimanded?
eise-kte-ne-s	have (you) shaved yourself?

Another suffix with a passive force is -stap. This seems to refer entirely to completed passive action, and a great number of the examples noted have a first person singular subject.

37. -stap, perfect passive.

ruta-stap	(feathers) recently pulled
pele-stap	(with what) was (this) stuck?
potsie-stap	(I) was censured
katia-stap	they gave rations
ixtci-stap	(he) was bitten by a snake
liki-stap	(I) was killed
xise-stap	(the fat ones) have been selected
mutiku-stap	(I) have been tickled

The modal categories are considerably less extensive than commonly in American languages but rather better developed than in Indo-European.

The imperative is expressed by suffixes varying for number and person of subject and object. Thus:

```
Intransitive or
    Imperative
                            1st pers. obj.
                                                   3d pers. obj.
                         38. -t, -tit
2d pers. sing. subj.
                                                   39. -i
2d pers. plu. subj.
                         40. -tyut, -tityut
                                                   41. -(i)yut
         xima-t
                                      seek me!
         ima-t
                                      show me (it)!
         oltemi-tit
                                      give me pinole!
         ip.e-i
                                      turn around!
         oio-i
                                      seize it!
         xima-i
                                      seek him!
         ok.wo-i
                                      send them!
         ot emi-tit-yut
                                      give me pinole!
         sumua-ti-yut
                                      give me wood!
                                      go for atole!
         oto-yut
         otciko-yut
                                      be quiet!
        laisaisi-yut
                                      sing slowly!
         at.e-ti-yut
                                      give him!
                                      give him!
         ara-ti-yut
        hutcu-m-ut
                                      lift each other!
```

Another suffix with an imperative force is -is. This implies going to some other place to accomplish the command and may be termed the

42. -is, missionary imperative.

```
monse-is go and tell (them)!
sak-a-is go and bring (pinole)!
taska-is go and walk (in the field)!
etue-is go and release (it)!
oi-is go and get (it)!
xi-is go for fire!
```

There appear to be some terminations having the effect of a subjunctive. These are:

43. -tkun, subjunctive, hypothetical.

```
ara-tkun (you) should give (him)
kati-tkun thus should (I dress)
ko-tkun (you) should tell (me)
ko-tkun, kwo-tkum
on-o-tkun (he) would have made sport (of you),
speaking (of you) after death
oi-tkun (I) would get (it if I wanted it)

44. -kane, conditional.
ole-ti-kane if I could only catch them!
```

ole-ti-kane if I could only catch them toko-kti-kane if the bed is of tax-kane when it is asked ak-niu-kane when he is thirsty

There may be some relation to the passive particle kne.

Iterative or frequentative relations are expressed by the suffix or infix -s, placed between the stem and the characteristic vowel.

45. -s, iterative.

ak.u	enter	aksu	many enter
ele-pu	go	else-pu	many go
epe	\mathbf{pass}	epse	many pass
semo(n)	die	semso(n)	many die

De la Cuesta pays considerable attention to this suffix in his grammar, suggesting that it is frequent with every verbal stem. Strangely, very few unquestionable examples of it are found in the phrase-book.

Probably the same morphological element is that found in many cases following the characteristic vowel, particularly before the reflexive -pu, denoting in that case plural or iterative reflexive. It is also commonly found in words denoting occupations, i.e., one who performs an act continually. Compare the nouns denoting personal categories in Part II.

```
amae-s-pu (do not) amuse yourselves
roroi-s-pu (do not) disport yourselves like boys
siole-s-p-is (we) were talking among ourselves
xewe-s-pu (we) both look together into the mirror
```

Other usages are more idiomatic and less evident.

```
ritca-is-pu recount, converse (ritcapu, play)
upu-s-pu sell (upu, buy)
siole-s-pu (they) are solitary and sad
mexe-s-pu (like as he) looked
```

The mandatory or causative relation is expressed by the suffix:

```
46. -si, (-se), mandative.

xotio-si-nme
mana-si-s

you have ordered that they make a bag
(you) commanded to extinguish it
```

ața-si-s (you) commanded (me) to steal pina-se-s did (I) order this?

Three relations implying motion are of importance in Mutsun. The first, -na, denotes motion to a distant place or outdoors.

19. -na, purposive motion hence.

lixni-na	(he) is going to kill (it)
xiisi-na	(I) am going to catch (them)
paita-na	(let us) go and catch (them)
wate-na (lak-e-nin)	(sun) is rising; (going-rising)
wate-na (wetere-nin)	(it) is increasing; (going-increasing)
ereksi-na-ka	I am going to bathe

The second, -su, denotes motion to a nearby place or indoors.

47. -su, purposive motion hence.

nam-isi-su	(I) am going to hear (them)
ertse-su	(I) am going to supper
were-su	(I) am going to catch rabbits nearby
ețsțe-su	(I) am going to sleep

The third, -inyi, denotes motion hither.

48. -inyi, (-im), purposive motion hither.

liw-inyi	(I) come to kill (you)
monse-im	(I) come to advise (you)
nesep-inyi	(we) come to beg permission
pasip-inyi	(I) come to salute (you)
warep-inyi	(I) come to visit (you)

A very rare and doubtful suffix, -knit (misspelled in the grammar as guit, or wit), has been termed "prohibitional." This may be the passive kne plus the future adverb et; i.e., "you must not be struck."

49. -knit, prohibitive.

```
tamṭa-knit, xaṭa-knit he must not strike you
```

A second very obscure suffix, -ksi, is translated by De la Cuesta "perfectly well," perfectamente bien, and is termed by Kroeber "excellentive."

50. -ksi, excellentive.

xeksio-ksi	(let me) satisfy (him)
ruisiu-ksi	do not (ye) tremble
ruisu-ksi	(your hand) trembles
nipa-ksi	(we) are teaching (him)
rinsi-ksi	(they) take the lower (key)
siaksu-ksi-t	(speak) to me softly (in my ear)
xaune-ksi	(would that) someone would bring (water)
siru-ksi-ste	(it) is pulverized
polso-ksi	(what is this) painted?

⁸ The Chumash and Costanoan Languages, op. cit., p. 253.

The verbal suffix -mi (cf. nominal suffix -mi) seems to denote an indirect personal object or an action done for the benefit of a person. It is most frequently found with the imperative and first person object, "do this for me."

20mi, -	me, beneficial.		
katia(stap)	gave (food)	katia-mi(s)	gave (clothes to thee)
xelu(ksi)	strip off bark	xelue-mi(tit)	strip bark (for me)!
monse(t)	advise (me)	monse-mi(tit)	advise (me)!
monsie	relate	monsie-mi(tit) monsie-me	recount (me)! relate to you
riri	put selvage on	riri-mi(tit)	put selvage on (for me)!
iisi	owe	iisi-me	(you) owe (me), (I-you)
musi-si	\mathbf{suck}	musi-mi	suckle, give suck
țika <i>etc</i> .	chew	\dot{t} ika-mi(t)	chew (for me)!

Two suffixes of the greatest frequency are evidently cognate. These are -kte and -ste. The former is listed by De la Cuesta merely as a preterit tense suffix, the latter, though of frequent occurrence, not mentioned at all, though a suffix -miste, probably a hortatory, is described.

Both seem to have the sense of a past participle, and, like the latter, are frequently used adjectively. They express completed action or achieved condition. Though little difference is discernable between the two, it would appear that -kte is used principally for transitive relations, -ste for intransitive ones. They are frequently translated by the Spanish ya, "already."

51. -kte, (-xte?), perfect transitive (participle), adjectival.

mit∙ci-kte	(bow) is unstrung
esko-kte	(it is) torn, impure
rițe-kte	(it) is decorated with beads
laki-kte	(it) is lifted, hung
tolo-kte	(they) have donned their regalia
lip a-kte, lixwa-kte	it is hidden
liisu-kte	toothless
posio-kte	hairless
riski-kte	pug-(nosed)
sitl·u-kte	small
niotsio-kte	short
husiero-kte	big (mouth)
nutiri-kte	big-nosed

52. -ste, perfect intransitive (participle), adjectival.

```
xiwa-ste
                             (they) have (not) arrived
semso-ste
                             (they) have died
toilo-ste
                             (they) are seated
                            he was displeased (at me)
pelke-ste
xutcu-ste
                             (he) has eyes
kome-ste
                             (I) am tired already
wane-ste
                             (I) am satiated
                            it is soiled
siksa-ste, mikna-ste
sesuk-ste, sumu-ste
                             (it) has decayed
unxu-ste, (unxu-smin)
                            snotty
natka-ste
                            black
rinta-ste
                            lean
                            large (feet)
noioro-ste
   ad infinitum
```

The interrogative is expressed by the suffixation of the enclitic -s, -se. This may be suffixed to other words than the verb. more commonly to the initial word of the phrase. Thus:

53. -s, -se, interrogative.

kan-se	is this my ?	
kai-s	it is painful?	
ekwe-s	did not ?	
lalka-na-s	did (you) go for geese?	
men-se	did vou !	

-s regularly follows a vowel, -se a consonant, thus avoiding terminal consonantal complexes.

The negative is formed by the independent particle ekwe. epsie is sometimes used with negative imperatives, but the more common method in this case is the use of the bare pronoun men.

Some of the isolated and unexplained suffixes, indicated by italics, are:

```
siru-mpi, siru-mpe (siru-ksi-ste)
                                   grind (salt); (ground)
man-ti-kte; man-tci-s-te
                                   it went out; is going out
   (man-sa, man-as)
                                      (put it out!)
yoko-rte
                                   (cigar) has become ash
menso-rte
                                   (they) have drowned
mup-il·u-rte
                                   (boy) keeps his mouth closed
                                   (you said you) went to see (him)
ainwe-iam
paka-inini-s
                                   (he wanted) to find (us)
ole-mospo
                                   (he) can (run) well
ton-se-s
                                   (I) met (him)
ton-enp-is
                                   (I) lost (this)
țisku-kse-i
                                   split it!
```

kil-e, kil-ile, kil-pulme, kil-ite sparkle kipi-ni-pu-i wink (your eyes) kai-nawin narrow, difficult kutc-kets.i very well tied, very strongly bound satar-a, satar-e, satar-pu open the mouth tcite-sin-i dance for me! sam-ursi(they all) have long hair sam-aipu; sam-iante (I), (they all) cut their front hair xute-punk fire is made xit-kin (I will not) cleanse myself nansi-ke (you will soon) be known xeksio-ie-i satisfy (him)! xase-sen (teach me before I) get angry! xat-xasti; xat-xatsi it is well swept; very clean nip.a-pin (they will never) teach him lop-kti-nin, lop-xe-ste (wheat) moulded ipi-re-i (ip-e-i) turn (this)! (turn around!) ina-ti-s; ina-k-pu (I) became sick; (will you not) become sick? we-solo-kte, we-yero-kmin, large, great we-sare-kte we-tan; we-tere-npe-i is great; increase it for me! (he is) growing old yer-oepin matala-mu-i; matalu-ni-stap; place face downward; (I) was placed; (wait for him) to place himself matula-ni (I will not) forget mene-npo give me that which you were given! mir-ma-mi-t shut his mouth! shut his mouth with mup-i-pu-i; mup-e-i; your hand! (he) keeps his mouth mup-il·u-rte; shut; shut your mouth! mup-us-pu-i; mup-tu (they) laugh at (your speech) mai-xi-ni-ste we become sad (when . . .) tcorok-pumk (I) owed; (I do not) owe (you anyii-ps-is; ii-si-me thing) (I) am thirsty; (when) one is thirsty ak-eni-ni-n; ak-niu-kane (I) have no (...) ekwe-na uni-spu, uni-spate, umi-spak (he wished) to agree (you) can (not) ole-ri remind (him)! inu-wi-me-i lift me! lift him! itma-ni-t; itma-nu-i (we have) corrected them it-wime (I) am tired of journeying inu-i-ni-n (your hand) trembles; (do not ye) rui-su-ksi; rui-siu-ksi; shudder; (who) trembles? he rui-sin-ksi; rui-ma-np-in; rui-nga-t; rü-ki-np-in moved him; move me! I moved (they) flew umsu-mi-n scratch (him)! wax-tci-i (you) will arise (early) ele-mau-pu (he) slept (little) et-oe

ADJECTIVES

Adjectives display close relations with both verbs and nouns. A few of them appear to be definite adjectival stems without terminations, a small number seem to be derived from nouns, but by far the greater number are akin to verbal stems. As allied to nouns they may take the pluralizing suffix and stand as substantives, as weyero-mak, "the big ones." As allied to verbs they commonly take the verbal perfect suffixes -kte and -ste and may be interpreted either as verbs or as adjectives, e.g., "the cloth has been soiled." "the cloth is soiled." or "soiled cloth."

In addition to the verbo-adjectival endings -kte and -ste there are two others, evidently cognate, used solely with adjectives. These are -kmin and -smin. The distinction between them is not evident, as, for instance, both nutka-kmin and humulu-smin mean "black" (sing.) and natka-mak and natka-ste "black" (plu.). Other suffixes likewise seem to be interchangeable under certain circumstances, as both orko-ni-n and orko-ste mean "he was frightened;" unxu-smin and unxu-ste both mean "snotty." -kmin is probably cognate to -kne and -smin to -ste.

54. -kmin, adjectival. patka-kmin

heavy, deep white

pelo-kmin bald nutka-kmin black

hihul-i-kmin something cut, as a pole

isiwa-kmin newborn kuti-kmin very small kipinyi-kmin a winker kits-u-kmin twisted

55. -smin, adjectival.

selpe-smin

an.e-smin

xop-tie-smin

(are you) intoxicated?

climber turtles

ritca-smin liberal, generous waksa-smin miserable, vile ritcua-smin silly, foolish

rauta-smin with large back of neck and occiput

samili-smin putrified humulu-smin black unxu-smin snotty

pelso-smin large-tongued, garrulous

paisa-smin runner xase-smin brave, fierce

ad infinitum

An infix -ti- is occasionally found before adjectival endings. It is placed between the simple stem and the characteristic vowel. Its import is not clear but it seems to imply an adjectival-agentive sense.

56. -ti-, adjectival-agentive.

xop.e	climb	xop-ti-e-(smin)	climber
tcala	urinate	tcal-ti-a-(smin)	urinator
muxe	suspect,	mux-ti-e-(ste)	one who makes
	misconstrue		wrong judgments
wilo	signal "yes"	wil-ti-o-(n.in)	one who signals
	with the eyes		"yes" with the
			eyes

Another etymological element giving an adjectival significance is:

57. -se, -si, adjectival.

in-se	tear-ful
yer-se	torn
polpol-si	dotted

PARTICLES

Particles are independent and invariable. They range from monosyllabic to polysyllabic, the longer ones being probably compounded. For purposes of reference they are divided into locative adverbs, temporal adverbs, descriptive adverbs, and interjections.

Two enclitics are met. The first is a conjunctive, -hiha or -hia, "and, also, as well."

kas-hiha me also

The second is an adjectival pronoun, -sia, "alone, only, solely."

men-sia you alone wak-sia he alone

PART II. CLASSIFIED LIST OF STEMS

The following lists are arranged in the order of the phonetic alphabet. First the vowels, a, e, i, o, u, then the semi-vowels w and y, the nasals m and n, the liquid l and the trill r, the spirants s, x, and h, the surd stops p, t, t, and k, and the affricative tc.

Nouns

Animals

aiaraț	magpie
auni-smin, anni-smin	turtles
are	bird like a heron
asurian, asit	sparrow
ațaț	magpie
akaț	conch
elei-min	goshawk
ex, hex	squirrel
eksen	quail
intkx	large hare
ipiwa	(rattle) snake
omkon	maggot
ores	bear
oțol, oțon	red ant
okom	bird
uminx	wolf
untcu-smin	black beetle
uraka	salmon
wawisaes, -ses, -soes,	coyote
wakisaes	
wal·en	owl
wasaka	eagle
wakarat-smin	frog
weren	rabbit
wilo-pan	blackbird
wireskan	bat
wixi	fish
wipsur	fleas
yurah	black duck
maian	coyote
marițe	young deer
mițis	little moulting bird (jestingly)
mumul·al·uk	butterfly
mumuri	fly
muniek, musiek	small bird with black feet

niwes faun notot blackbird with yellow head lalak geese lesokwa earthworms lisana snake l·uopo yearling calves lukluk geese rames weasel rax white louse rinya rat risui young coyote rumai young hare saiae jays sanraruk large geese sakar nits siol.ekon mole like a dormouse siuvuts sea-otter siul·il·uk butterfly sisin small bird sitikna, sitcikna, young squirrel sikikna sikot mole soksokian bird like sensonte swesusu large ducks mussel xakua, (xaakan) xun.un small dove hutce(kinis) dog woodpecker paratu penie, penik cat perisiana young quails pil.okian martin pitcina maggot, insect polokis grasshoppers polten young rabbit flea por poskoi-min black ant potol blackbird with yellow head young deer, young fallow-deer pukwie, pukwi pukului-min toad tamala leopard (puma?) tatci a small animal tiwiem fallow-deer tiwituk bird tira-smin spider skunk tixsin tipih-smin earthworm

seal

wild-cat

gray blackbird

tominis

toroma

torpaes, torsiepa

tote deer, cattle, meat

tayankal blackbird

taiaskal blackbird with watery eyes

tiwak bird time whale tuilun vulture

kaul-epat bird with large mouth

kaxai black louse kakari raven hawk kaknu kotewes snakes kulian blackbird tcaxi hawk tceies hare tcil·iskan hawk tcirit-min bird tcorena, tcoltcolua cricket tcurutu woodpecker

Botanical

aisaae, inkis·e acorns
ama-knis seeds
anii a white tree

arwe oak

ahamen bundle of fire-wood enena blackberries it-ux a seed owos seed, fruit ortor-kmin hay

uwena very pink flower
uner wild onion
upit acorn shell
wara an herb
yarkas an herb

yarkas an herb
yukis acorn
momox a small, salty seed
morot acorn shell

muren an edible herb
lumuimin an herb
ransona an herb
rapak oak
repit acorn shell

rețeți blackberry bramble

riris vine
ripin oak
rore an herb
ruskes an herb
sawana a thicket
sasuk moss

herb with a dark, hard seed sapa sak small pinenut siutotok wetemak poisonous plant filberts, hazelnuts sirak sipuruna a white root somon hole in a tree sokote laurel fruit of laurel sokotci sumna, sumua sticks of wood green tule xale xireni, (xirena, xiremi) large pine-nut xipur a tree xit.iani tuna xitna, xitia elderberries pine xikot shell, chaff of acorn xolopis xop larch, a red tree xumes hay xumi-smin wild rice seed xur willow patax chia pat.i paţ tuno pakir plant like tule piţ.ui seeds cottonwood porpor tree like white cottonwood porpor onien pururis small fruit a dark edible root tamet small, white willow tarax tree, wood tapur tiwis flowers a small fruit toinon oak tuxe reeds, straw tapis taki fruit tree plantain totolua sweet herb kamer kamun tuno

Body Parts

leaves

hav

alder

an herb

a well-known tree, testicles of hog

awis left hand eyes beard tears

ketex

tcasuni

tcisnan

tcatia

kirit-smin, kirit-skin

raras

ritok

sit

isu, is·u hand ihatu ear-cavity itcie, itcik pudenda back of neck olot otco, ote ear bullet wound ots.io-n una bangs, hair on forehead mucus from nose unux hair uri nostrils us watex stomach wel.ewel(min) point of the lips wima, wimak wing wilopa the red head of the blackbird yisuwani-nsa yutxa tumor on neck marax skin maxul spittle, phlegm mak.us knees miţla thigh head moxel skull moxot bosom, preasts mus mutis front teeth muktiokris, (muxtioxris) ankle noso-n breath, spirit, soul las-e tongue lasin finger-joints lit-akwa veins lom brain lopohs, lop-ots navel lup.us anus

rikex piliu prepuce of penis pimples, wart romos, rutcu rumes spine, backbone rus saliva sama right hand sanan groin sarka blind eye sapa-xin pupil of eye sinpur eyebrows sire heart, mind sip.os feathers

molar teeth

intestines

teeth

sik-en wind broken, flatus

somsom armpits sok-o-s testicles

soko-rena, sioko-rena scrotum sute pudenda xai mouth xahie voice xat.a palm and sole xakana tail (of snake) xelien skin xeser birth-mark, scar xin eye xorko-s throat xop.o back, upper part of back xumuţ skull xunyois arm xurek ligament carbuncle xupur xutu, xut·u belly, abdomen paine-n menstruation pat.ian blood pakar rash shoulder-blade pak.a potcor scalp sores pusi, piliu, pat.os, patsa, pudenda pelsi belly, abdomen put-u-s put.us thumb roof of mouth tankar crown of head tap.is ribs tak.e takutspis shin-bone tima forehead tiras buttocks tolso, toolos knees tote flesh, meat tokol syphilitic sores turis nails turtunin throat, neck tuksus ears tup·ui, tupui tail tutper lips tukai chest bosom tukmur Adam's apple cheeks, face tamus hide tap tat.i bone turum skin molar teeth karkas kapis little finger

katak, katcak, katak

katcitci

nape of the neck, occiput

pudenda

koro

(kukas), xukas

tcapal tciri tc.oxo tcukuri foot

anus, buttocks

kidneys
horn
pudenda
evacuations

Manufactures, Instruments

an.ipu aren axe-s

axe-s ata-s-pis-mak at-e ațin

akat eyes-pis ene-msa

ene-kmin, enko-kmin

erests

esxen et.cer

ets eksen

iiot imini

iru-kmin isme-sis itok-pis oxoț

ot.eme unupi-msa, un.opi-msa

ulis urkan usek

utis uțel

utcir-min walexin ware warsan wetcok

yaṭan, lasun yoxo

mas mater, master lawan

rires rițai pillow knot comb watch-towers

acorn-bread feminine ornament ornament of conch shell

napkin blotter, eraser writing, letter

real, a piece of money

dress, clothes

iron bed nest

sacred stick, fetish?

pinole arrow-point clock, watch table-cloth, napkin basket with handle

pinole handkerchief basket mortar whistle, flute

arrow-point (arrow-shaft) ear-ornament of feathers

small needle small basket feather ornament small basket small basket

 \mathbf{net}

load of meat beads tobacco bow

arrow-cord, spear-cord rabbitskin clothes

talis

riteni feminine ornament rițs coarse pinole rote-msa portfolio ruris bow-string ruxe arrows, spears ruk cord ruk-esma doubled cord ruka house sak.in broom setne bread of acorns and momgo sianexan skirt of tule or plants siotok basket for holding water siwen basket with a pyramid in the bottom simirin seed-gatherer sinpie, siupia handkerchief sipirek bone awl sipuksan large comb, brush comb soxoi ornament of beads and feathers sokwe supik small cloth sutia poker, digging-stick xasa-pis opening of pocket xats ian, xas ian ornament of conch-shell xel·emok, xel·emon cloth, rag xitca-mis, xitsia, xiteha-mis toy xotio bag xotox shoes xurpu beads, feather ornament homoron potsherd humeren har humiri-msa baptismal font palsi-n muller of metate parsex belt, sash pakuts-mis ball for game pelo-maes comb of straw piroi net puxut, puput, puyut bread tio-x, tio-s spear, arrow without point tiwix, tiwi beads, feather ornament tilai basket with a good base tirtisen belt, sash small basket for amole tipsin tor-on amole toko, tok.o bed tuyuwa broom tupen sweathouse țainwen, țaiuwen bread of acorns and momgo

wooden awl

temox arrow with point

ţiр-е knife kitirox, kitirox, kitirxo skirt kit.cas, kitcas key kurka, kurea pinole tcakar, tcawar seat, chair tcakini stringless bow tciles

bell

tcopoma fret, bric-a-brac tcokon sacred stick, fetish?

Natural Phenomena

north (dedo de carazon) awar $am \cdot ani$ rain at.ar, atar mud, mire $ak \cdot e$ day salt ak.es, awes inu road, trail irek stone

isin, isiin hole (of animal)

isme-nsun ixutun drop hole urani

upak lump, clod, white paint

wakani dew!

wakis river, torrent light? wixax wika afternoon hail yopok cinders, ashes yokon

dirt on hands yumus isir earth, dirt mun dirt, filth mun.s murtei, murteis, murtoeis night night murtcu food notson latun drop rays of sun raxopa

rokie, rokse powder, dust open hole, cavity rutis

water si fire soton suw, sus charcoal drop skoxe

shadow, reflection xewe-pis

wind xitus

conflagration, great fire xutepa fine dust, atoms pelek

tcok

world, atmosphere, weather, etc. pire pitak lint, dust pitil.an mole-track whirlwind pusninyis tamar hill titin seashore taska, tatska plain thunder tura tuxis day kau seashore kar, kat smoke koloi spring of water kure red paint kutui hole in ground tcarak sky tcarko light hole in ground tcape place full of holes tcopolotesi

Words of More Abstract Significance

clod, lump of mud

thirst ak etina puatis a game sleep et-se ekets, ekests, ekaest sins a method of making fun of a periwe, ik.e impe-s sign dreams isut-s.e a method of making fun of a peron.o son oroe-s hunger otciko silence us·ix sadness smile mai-ta method of making fun of a permorke son love? muisin, yenko length, height layaya game of revolving until dizzy laxi great height lat.iaya child's game rakat ritca-se language, speech samili putrid matter a method of making fun of a persat.e sting of an insect senena confession siamalpi-msa

suwene song sunk, sune hunger proof xamapu xas anger xasi-om, xasi-un shame xenkotst-s-e silence xuți game paya lightness peleta children's game

taula-si something held in the arms

tursi cold tala heat tis, tihs life

tuma scent, pleasant odor kai-s pain, misery, sorrow

kapala-si an embrace kapnen Wednesday

kotcopo a method of making fun of a per-

son

krak-at, (xrak-at?) name
teakir odor
teopopiswai Friday

tcukuri bodily evacuations, movements

Terms of Relationship and Personal Categories

ana mother
ana-knis stepmother
ap-a father

apapat nephew, grandson

atia, atsia-knis, atcai-nis girl atsiai-kma girls at maku-kmin widow

ete, et·e maternal grandfather or uncle inis son (father speaking of son) inxoksima, yuxoksima adult men, elderly men

intiste-mak elderly men isiwa-kmin newly born child ixatute godmother

ițxine man (address term)
urxes-mak bride and groom
uxi. mother-in-law
uța parents
mak·u, makas husband

mene maternal grandmother
meres, moeres nephew, grandson
mirte-mak, mitte-mak adult men, elderly men
mos son (father speaking to son)

mukene man

tikiro-mak kotcino-knis, -kma

tcite-s-mak

mukur-ma women mukniue-sima, mukienin elderly women sini, sinyi, sin-ksma boy, youth, boys sit-nun child, (foetus), baby (mother speaking) sit-sus stepchild (mother speaking) xan.a, (xau-nan) wife paitcu-kte man, person, cultured person parane grandmother mother's grandfather (maternal papa grandfather?) taure, tauro child (mother speaking) elder sister ta, taha taka, tak.a elder brother tanses, (tauses) younger brother or sister, elder brother tare younger brother or sister tețo-min sister-in-law tares, tcares men tuta young man daughter (father speaking) ka tcire paternal grandmother maiden tcorsi an-pi-s cook, toaster, roaster ali-s competitor iwo-pan liar, cheat, bully millers ika-s-mak onei-a companion onei-kma-s-e neighbors friend un·e-mu ura-s-mak hole-diggers fishers uhini-s-mak wizards, witches uten-mak angry donor, unwilling giver waixi-s-pan enemy wayas-mu deer-hunters werxo-s-mak Tulareños yawisun lisieni-s walkers toreador rite-pan sirka-s-mak nut-hunters callers, shouters xawa-pis-mak meat-carrier xixon, koxoeni-s humaia countrymen cook, roaster, toaster teye-s

kneelers, those on knees

servant, boys

dancers

Numerals

emettca, emetka, hemettca, one hemetca, emestca emetspu once emetotca the one utxin, ustxin two utstina twice usxinya they both kapxan three usit, uțit four parues, parnes five nakitci sixtakitci seven taitimin eight watsu, pak·i nine tanat, tansa-kte, matsu ten

Pronouns

ka I (subjective) kan I (subjective), my (possessive) kan.is, kanis, me (objective) kas, (kak), (kax) kat I (subjective with future particle) kames I you kanmes you-my me thou (subjective) men thou (subjective), thy (possessive) mes thee (objective) met thou (subjective with future particle) waka, haka he (subjective) wak, hak he (subjective), his (possessive) haks, hakas him (objective) makse we (subjective), our (possessive), us (objective) mak our (possessive), we (subjective) mak.e, marke we (subjective) (dual?) mak.et, makset we (subjective with future particle) makam, ma m you (subjective), your (possessive) makams you (objective) aisa, ai they (subjective), their (possessive) aisan, aiske them (objective) nuk it (neuter objective), him (objective)

Demonstratives

ne, nepee this (close)
nepean these
nane, nina, nemis, nenis, this

unta, ister, nep er

nisia this (farther)

nunis, nunisia, nup-i that nupean those

numan which, that which (relative)

pina this (more distant)

Adjectival Pronouns

aipire some aimukte, aixames all, exclusively aman so many ams-e the other ani, anyi another at.ia only, alone exil·iste alone all (personal) imin, imiu, imi·u iruk all wasi(a) much yasir much, very niat, nihia, nuia, nua only, no more l·el·uerte too much hisha any himself, itself siok, siokwe, siwene

pisnie nothing tolon much teyo much ke-se, kes-e much

Interrogative Pronouns

an... where? anpi, ampi which?

at·e who? whon? (singular) at·ekin, at·ekinta who? whon? (plural)

in at, inuat when?
inxam, inxan how many?
intis, (imtis) what? why? where?

inka what? (do)
inkai what? (say)

ista what? (thing), why?

VERBS

*The stems preceded by the asterisk are those occurring only once or twice and which therefore are more or less doubtful.

A

aiw, ainwe, aiuwe, axuwe, see aixu, aipu, arxuwe *aisa.e, inkis.e desire, crave *aixuwes withdraw, depart *auye awake, awaken ayi come *ayimi-ni lose, stop ambe (substantive) *am(a) speak truth ama eat *ama-ni appear ameis, amaes play ami, ami-si give, bring, hold, carry, preserve amiu(m), amoi teach amne-ni, am-a-ni rain, wet amsa endanger, injure ana pardon *ana desire to, long to *ana-pu be injured *anure bend, bulge backward *ansam paint *ansemi keep watch, be vigilant *ale, luwi break and leave place ara, arsa quarrel, fight (between women) *arespi *ars.e observe, conceal *arke-n increase, grow *arki-ni take the road *asa part the hair *asi-n flow in (water) sneeze asinu-n, as-nu *asiknene hate aski, askin, askun cut axa comb axe-niak-e-n flee *axi, arimi give again *axtu-n break a tooth *apere chase flies with a branch at break, split ata examine *at.e insult, grumble, quarrel *at∙ia cease talking, be silent atue view, watch

*at·uemi	correct, put right
*at-mu	quarrel, fight (boys)
*at(ki)	seize
at	steal, cheat
*aṭa	congeal
*aṭua	mend, fix
*aṭski	crack, split (earth)
$\mathbf{a}\mathbf{k}\cdot\mathbf{a}$	leave, depart
*akan	leave, permit
*ak·ara	look up
*ake, ak∙e	rise, jump, get up
ak∙u	enter
at.cun	make, finish
	E
eies, eis.e	shave
eme, emse, enen	forget
*eme-ni	wait, detain
emre-n, hemren	be envious
ene	write, paint
eno	stay, remain
*enusi	signal with the finger
ele, else	raise, lift, arise
*elie	goad, spur, hurry
*eraes	praise one's self
*ere	bathe
*erenmite	finish, end, complete
ertse, ertste	eat supper
*ese	dress
*esier	\mathbf{say}
esoni, esosoni	hate
*exenmi	leave, depart
epe, epse	pass by
*etueis	disentangle, extricate, fre
ețe-n	sleep

Ι

	-
*iweke, inke	gather plants
*iwini	đo
iwo	dispute, quarrel
ima	\mathbf{show}
ime	join
*imu	arise
*in	đo
ina, inxa-n (una)	sicken
ina-n, insa-n	fall
inanme	rain

inu	observe, feel, conjecture, remem- ber, recall
insu	know
*inkai	speak, talk, say
*inke-ni	seize, grasp
ilo	burn
iluwi, ilpi, ili	put on sash or cloth
ilsi-mi	give meat
*ilkun	lift skirts
irko	defecate
isento, is inte	walk carefully, watchfully
*isi	await
isia	be hungry
isiwa, isiwi	give birth, be born
isiwe, isuwe	rest
isi-m, ispan, iisi-me, iipsi	owe
isu	play at hand game
*isnu, isu	follow, imitate
istu, isut	dream
iskani, itskani	pay
*iske-ni, xitske-ni	hiccup
ixime	trembie
*ixironi	sprinkle
*ixiras	kick
*ixisa	walk in mud
*ixuk·a	shout, cry
ixwi, iuie	go, walk (many)
*ixtei	sting, be stung by (snake)
ipili, ipile	lie down, lay down
ipire, ip.e	turn around
*it.iu	get the better of one
itok	cleanse, purify
itma	lift, raise
ița, ițu	wash
*iṭanai	arise
ițe, ițu	spur, incite, urge
ițe	disparage
*iți-ni	bruise, mangle hand
ițo, it.co	leave, depart
*iţui	spread (acorns in the sun)
*iţso, iţu, iţsku	doubt
*itcile	be ashamed
itco-ni	come out
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	•
oio, (oit), oiis	seize, take, bring
*oiwi	tie, clasp, bind
*ouso	order, instruct
*owe	return a favor, give the thing dreamt

*one	sit down, seat
*oneia	accompany
*on.ome	hunt deer
*onsie	ask, inquire
ole	can, be able, gain
olo	become blind
*ol·ue	signal
*olhs.e	kill many
olte-mi	give
orso-n	belch
orko	frighten
*osehe	speak, reply also
*oswe	scatter manure
*opiweis	discover, bring out
o t∙o	mend, fix
*ot.o(po)	dirty, render filthy
ot·mo	piller
*oṭo	regain
oṭs.io	wound
otspe-n	have a pain in the penis
ok, oke, ok∙o	\mathbf{send}
*ok∙e	confess, be exposed
*otcenuix	discharge, dismiss
otciko	de deaf, be quiet
*otciko	desire, have desire, covet
	Ū
*uwin	kill someone
*::	floo

kill someone
flee
cure
quiet, cause to be silent
desire, covet
stop, cease
be sad, cry, be unable
dig holes
make sport of, anger, feel, cause feeling
fall
have, carry
learn (language)
have hang-nails on the fingers
smell, have an odor
conceive (child)
depart
go out (fire)
give seeds
surpass, conquer
be sad

uspu, usupu fast whistle *ustu *uska cure by removing stick (sucking by shaman?) *uske mend, fix, repair uxe, uxue, (uxwe) guard; bring the object guarded uxsi-ni increase *uhisoni desire, crave, covet up roll *upi cover one's self (clothes) upu pay, buy, sell *upxi, upxiti sip, drink a little *utisi bargain, trade, buy, crave, desire, covet *utix crave, covet utu guard, place, sow (seed) *utue make a grimace *utku double, fold uta-si guard, protect (child) *uke bring water *uk·ini-ni wish to fall, walk around (dizziness() drink water uk·isi, uk·esi, uk·osi, uknesi *utci close *utcu open utcu, utu, hutcu carry someone, raise, lift

w

waian miss, err wane *wane-ni *walektis wal·u-n, wolo-n wara, warsa cut warak, warka *warepi waris warse, warsi warta, wanta *was-e *wasi *wasi *washski, (wacki?) waxa, waktci, wak, waxu *waxaiam *waxa-ni *wata seize, bring, take atole wate come, go

satiate, cloy wound one's self follow in file be envious weep, cry visit, salute dislike follow, perform hide behind cut and dry meat beg a great deal hate, abandon pulverize (with the teeth) scratch, scrape be thirsty do an act slowly

stomach and entrails

wate *waterei, wetere	lack, fail, be wanting augment, make great
*wak.u	open the stomach and ent
wakun	drown at childbirth
wakna, waka-ni	freeze
wel·o	cover the head
wesi, xuksi	kindle, light
wexe	shield, cover
*wetso	take out the belly
wi	commence, begin
wiya	light, enlighten
wilki	unfold
wilo	affirm with the eyes
*wiltu	slope backwards above
wilkwo, welko	swell up (tule)
wire	blow upon, cure
*wirwe	illumine with a brand
wisa	display, show, teach
*wis·a	scratch (birds)
*wisen	dress a person
*wisen	spill, scatter
*wisol	uncover, disclose
*wispe	flash lightning
wixe	split feathers for arrows
wixi, wini, uxi-ni	fish, turn about, cure
wixia	dispute, question
wipa	invite
*wit	bow, stoop, jump
witi	fall, be thrown
*witu	break a fingernail
wik.e, wiwe	tremble, shake
*woso-ni	choke (with pinole)
*wopo	boil
•	

\mathbf{Y}

*yam	catch (moles)		
*yan	boast		
*yanu-ni	have pain in the stomach from running		
*yasa	not take		
*yat·ia	frighten		
yata-ti	give anything		
*yatan, lasun	be full (net)		
yati	follow, accompany		
*yats.e	be urged, impelled		
*yeikmi, yere-ni	remain, continue, be suspended		
*venko	divide love (%)		

yer *yiusie *yim-, yumile *yilu *yira *yika yono, yons *yoreti *yoron *yoxon *yoso, yusu *yoporon *yopok yoke yoko *yuwi-ni *yuya yume, yame yura *yuxi(s) *yupki-ni

*yutu-n

grow old, become torn happen, succeed turn seat around commence, enter (season)

pick, prick grind in metate cut hair chase, pursue pile up

loosen, slacken, ease

have carnal intercourse inter se

make, manufacture

hail

make sport of one make ash, become ashes

remain, stay bathe, swim deceive, cheat kill by hand hope to

break the bottom off run, fall, flow (tears)

M

*ma mai *mai-a, mai-x man mala, male *mali *malu-n *maxe *maxer maxi, mawi maxu *max-tci *map.is matal-, matulani matmu, matnui *mak∙a makai, maki maku *maku mene, (mane) *menomi, monomi *meno-ni, menso *mensie

*merke

look laugh, smile view, behold quench, put out soak, wet cover the genitals come down for the night look down, view beneath make sport of one with the eyes close open be blind, unable to see put hand over or in mouth place face downward stink, have bad odor be indistinct cover, place in order to clean get married go to eat forget sink to the bottom of the water

drown in the water be ignorant of, not understand move from the house

mexe, maxe	look, see
mete	hide (in the grass)
*miwe, miwik, mixu	strike?
*milan	spread on the ground (bread)
*milka	rob one without apprehension
mira	give presents, regale
*mire	fix the head like newborn chil- dren
*mistu	warm oneself
*mixira	pluck the skin on the hand, graze
*mipti	brood in nest
*mito-n	fall (bread)
*mike	test with the point of the finger
mit.ci, mitcui, mintcui	sharpen, temper, blunt (arrow)
*moil·el·e	run in a crowd
*moitce, moiți	gather, collect, come together
mome-n, (monie-n)	be late, delay
*momo	place something face downward
*monoi	enmesh, entangle
monse	advise
monsie	relate, recount
*moro	beg and accumulate (grain)
morke (morwe)	make sport of one by shouting
*moxo-n	submerge, sink
moho, molio	dance above (women)
*motiolpese	make a reverence
*motuhe-n	appear, grow (hair)
moko	be born, leave
*muisi-n	love, desire, covet
*muiku	swallow without chewing
muma, mapu (mupa)	suck
*mumi	join, combine, meet (roads)
munse, munsu	soil, dirty
*mure	camp, prepare for night
mursu-n	ache in molar teeth
musi	suckle
musi	heat, warm
*musi	like, covet
*musiuru-ni	tickle in the nose
*musuk·te	rub, pulverize in the hands
muxe	suspect, misconstrue
*muxi	be hot (weather)
*muxuki, ixikan	finish grinding pinole
mup-	close the mouth
mut-	tickle in the hands and feet
*mut·ie	eat pinole
*muku	hawk, cough
*mutcipi	eat breakfast

N

*nayate go gathering, get nam, nanm hear, listen to, understand *nane, nene count, pass in list, miss nansa (nausa, namma) experiment, test nansi know, recognize *nasu-ni fall, break (fire, brand) *natka-u blacken, cause to become black *neike be quiet, gentle nesepa ask permission *niatin cease doing, quit nimi strike, beat, kill nipa teach noso-po breathe *noxi guard, hide lie, deny the truth notio noto slap face, box ear *nue *nuiri desire to, wish to *nuisin love *numa-ni increase (pain) nusa-ni pant, breathe heavily *nuski snore

${f L}$

*laisaisi sing rapidly lala fell, throw lalei fan, winnow *lalu-n lose, miss the road, wander *laski(nis) depart for another place *latue signal with the tongue lak.e, lawe rise, climb (sun) laki hang laku-n, lauku-n, lusku-n gulp, eat without chewing change from one to another *lakwa-n *lakpom trip, fall, roll and lose something remain in one place *latcia *lelţe turn the eyes too much *lek.o stink, have a bad odor letsen, lessen, lelsem like, enjoy, please. liwa, lixwa hide in the grass liwi, (lik(.)i, liewi, likni, beat, cudgel, kill lixin, lix, uwi) *l∙imuok steal, run, return and not catch lilui amuse, entertain lisko-n, lisa-n slip, slide, scrape, graze

lipa *lik.wa loe *lole *l.olio *l.opopoi *lopxe, lopkti lok(oi)s, loksio, lokosi *lokuk *luismu *lulpus luxu-n, lux-u-n *lut.apa *lutie *luka *lutcuma

hide in any place plaster, daub, smear, gloss loath, nauseate, repudiate cause to speak, break a speech be content, appeased, cease ang pass between become mouldy (wheat) lie, make a mistake put out (eye) fall from weight play the flute stick in mud or clay, be stuck wallow (in sin) hang (like a swing) soften the hair get wet, soaked

\mathbf{R}

*ranu-n *rats-a *ratcami *remomae *rensik *rete, rekte *retie *reke *riwi riri *ristest ripa *ripu, rotciwewi ripu *ripsa rița *rite ritca roroi-s, (roro-s) rote roto *rotuk, rotko *roko rotcio, rotcue, rotciwe ruisu, ruisiu, ruisin, ruima, rüki, ruinxa runa rusu *ruxi

have pain in the neck increase, crackle be swelled up with plants go from one place to another interrupt, confuse gather, collect hang in a hidden place change oneself, move transform, change put selvage on cloth serve, do hit with the fist release, disentangle, cleanse, purit prick open with a knife cry, shout make dried meat speak, talk, converse, recoun play, entertain play, entertain, divert, amuse be (substantive) drown untangle, untie knot, knot, tie kno put in the embers enmesh, entangle, free, disentangl move, stir, tremble, shake

dance spit, expectorate hide in the rear ruta

speak about a person, or thing, re-

cut, gather (wheat, feathers, etc.) ruta rutus conceive (child) *rutuk signal "no" with the head *ruţu-n surround by water, isolate S sawe sing saya shout, cry *sayal lie face upward *samai, samia cut the forelock *sanae approach, draw near *salu-ni get a cinder in the eye salpa hang, place in a cleft or fissure *salki split, fall apart pray in one's room *sare *saromi administer extreme unction sarpa patch, disappear from view discover, find (land) *sasamake sport of one by naming him sate satar(a), siatar(a) open the mouth toast sate sak.a. bring a little sakeri-ni stick in the uvula *satcepume bring coals, embers lengthen, expand seye semo-n, semso-n, (semxo-n) look backward sele, sehele selpe intoxicate with tobacco or liquor, be crazy sese walk in file shiver seso-n swell with pride, become haughty *sesort-po sesuk decay

siole
siotio
*siokole-n
*siurire, similile
*siuspu-ni
*siuto

sepe (spepe)
*sepie-n

siaxu, siaksu

*sialwini

*sietco-ni

talk, converse among selves, be sad tie hair in a tuft become hoarse, unable to speak have a ringing in the ears be blinded by the sun

hunt moles

cut hair

satiate, cloy

split a flute

speak softly hit (in stones)

siwe-n, sik-e-n break wind disappear (smoke, thirst) *siwi-ni, sixi-ni siwi(ri-n) suffocate with heat, burn *sin·a-n become bald kiss *sinmekpi act like a boy, otacer sinsi *sintcu, suitcu toast, cook in earth-oven sinkuru, siukuru tickle in the body *silku lift skirt, pull shirt-tail *siru grind salt *sixu-ni, suxu-ni rush, gush *sitia-ni have feet asleep crumble, chip, make small *siti-npe spread (fire) site soil, dirty siksa, sikila, (sika) cry with pain or weeping *sitcitce *soinwe enmesh, entangle flow, gush soro disappear, dim, recede, vanish, *sorpo fade extend the feet *soter-pu-ni darken, become night *sokoro *sokto-n get a drop of water in the eye *suman, sumula become soiled, dirty *sumiri-ni sleep from satiety be content sumixi-ni, sunii-n, s.umiu decay sumu die su-n, swi-ni *sulu-ni drop or cinder fall in the eye *surire-n die out, go out, extinguish (fire) *sur-ni heat, warm oneself be afraid, fearful susu *susxe act foolishly, play the fool dream of one *supe-ni tie, bind supi *sut∙u-ni break, crack pinch the mouth *sutwi *sutki. sut.e stretch the ears *suka go to meet sukumu smoke (tobacco) suksi, sukis think, watch, observe, disapprove swi-n, swi-u consume, use up, finish, die *swisia-ni singe the hair swixe, sinxe skin, take off hide *switcu toast

set, place

*stcekele (cekele?)

X

xaisku, xasku, (xaise-n) tickle, itch *xaune draw, fetch water xawa call put on a veil *xawei *xawimi enclose, lock in *xawi-ni still, quiet, be quiet *xamu-ni die out, go out (fire) xa-mpin, xa-npu eat again *xan-ni desire, crave, covet *xalawe strike sparks xalas lie, make a mistake *xaleti play *xalsi-npe-ne kindle, light (flint and steel) xalki stretch, extend xari begin, commence *xarxare befall ill, happen badly *xarpa disappear, fade away, become invisible *xartcute lack a bit, a little missing xas.a desire to, want to xase-n, xasese-n become angry xasiwa scratch xasi-mu-n be ashamed, shame xasli-n (xarli) fear, be afraid xastitinme, xatirinine enter wind and cold *xapu cleanse, withdraw dirt xata sweep *xatu gather, assemble (fleas) *xatki cleanse, purify go to the other side *xatki-ni xata hit *xatuel·e grumble, complain *xake-ni be flatulent, full of wind *xakwa-iku go for mussels xatci-n, xatsi-n, xați-n die of hunger, thirst, laughing, etc. *xeiwele, xeixeie earthquake, tremble (earth) xewe, xewi cast shadow, reflect xemko set (sun) *xelue strip off bark xelxelte float xeksio, (xeisio) satisfy *xiețe hiccup xii, wi, xihi, xiixi, xiisi go for fire, light fire xiwa arrive, bring *xiwis take off rope around neck xima seek, search *ximsu roll the head xine, (xinkone) go, walk

*xile xiras, xirat xiri *xirwi-ni xise xisie, (xitsik) *xisli-n *xixwi xipu *xiteti xiti, xitui, (xite) *xitu-ni *xiţa *xițe *xite pet.o xiția, (xița) *xiţi-mi xito, (xita, xikto) *xitorpi *xitske-n xiksi, xiwis, xikoi *xitsik xoin-we, xoixu-we, xoaxu *xowo *xomo *xon(·)o(ti) *xonkote, xonxote *xolome, xauni xorko xope xopo *xot.oro, xot.ori *xotpo *xotcolon *xuma, (xutna) xu-mi *xu-ni xute *xuta xuți *xuț∙u-n *xutski, xutoki *xuka

be wounded, have wounds scold, quarrel, lift the voice make dried meat lessen, be ceasing (rain, wind) select, choose, elect make have pain in teeth disdain, reject carry rub together cleanse oneself catch the hand in the door make dried meat spur, prick, goad, stick stop (wind) sew become indebted stretch, crawl throw, put, carry outside be contented tie, bind make cotton cloth carry shout ho! ho! skin, take off hide evolver al arco bundle, collect in a bundle ignore, not invite gulp, swallow climb, mount give water, give drink put hand in vagina set (sun) make a hole (water) grind (mortar or metate) give anything finish life, approach death kindle, light fire place inside play game remove dust, powder seize, withdraw, remove change (song)

\mathbf{H}

*hairmurnik.ui hius.e, hinse, wise, ihuse-n *hiuti

*xutcu

lift with one hand wish, desire, want throw, east

carry on shoulder

```
*hihe(pim)
                                   be defiant
*hume
                                   join, impinge, strike
*humi-n
                                    wash oneself
 humiri, (umiri, tumiri)
                                   baptize
 humu-n, humsu-n,
                                   flу
    (umsu-n, unsu-n)
*hun.i
                                   mix, stir
                               \mathbf{P}
 paita
                                   hunt (geese)
*paye
                                   be pregnant
 paya
                                   run
*pala
                                   slap, hit with the palm
*palsi-mi-n
                                   toast, cook
                                   gleam, appear light
*parsa
 parki
                                   weigh
*part.cipu
                                   saw a pine
*pasipi
                                   visit, salute
*paskei
                                   secure fire with flint and steel
 paxat, paxtca
                                   know, recognize
*patiami-n
                                   bet, wager
pati
                                   have, hold in hand
*patue
                                   release, loose
*patsxin, patski
                                   strike sparks
paka
                                   seek, call, crack mussels
*pak.ak
                                   marry
*paka-ksi
                                   beat
*pakeit
                                   obtain fire, make fire
*pakere
                                   start (tears)
                                   give hand, shake hands
*pakul
*paksa
                                   shine, lighten (fire)
patci
                                   fall dew, sprinkle
pele, pelke
                                   stick, join together, loosen, sep-
                                       arate
pelțe, pețe
                                   shut eyes
pesoi(po)
                                   remember, think
*pepena
                                   espigar castellanamente
*pet-e
                                   guard fried fish
*pet·e
                                   escape, flee, fly, go
*pețe-ni
                                   keep mouth closed
*petole
                                   keep feet together
*piisokri
                                   knock with fingers
pio
                                   cleanse teeth
*pinawai
                                   have pain (neck)
*pilpul·e, pulpul·e, tultul·e
                                   beat, palpitate (heart, pulse)
pira
                                   inhume, bury
*pirka-n
                                   scratch (birds)
*pisieks.i
                                   grind, pulverize
pixi, pixe
                                   split, open
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*pixu-ni burst pus pinch, squeeze *pitilu, pistu pitipu, pitui-ni cleanse intestines of excrement *pitu-ni flow, gush (tears) *pitsi frighten, frighten away pițe, pițue, pițui tie, bind, unloose, untie *pits.a signal "no" with eyes pitciwi shake, cleanse the hair *poistco-ni, poitco-ni break wind without knowledge *poiko-ni frighten, scare *polo sunt sodomicici paint, draw pol·o *porpore doze cut, singe hair with brand posio, pasio *pos.o check, suspend, equal intend to dispute *posol·o ats be drunk, intoxicated *poso(poi) get the hives *poxoro-n poto pull out down, fine hair, pluck *poko-ni swell, puff up potsie grumble, censure *punsi-wi catch (birds) *punsi-ni view with close attention pulki-ni break off bottom *puriure quake, tremble, earthquake pusa satiate, fill, cloy twist like a whirlwind *pusi-n *puxi recover, feed, give to eat *put.i cover and guard put.in involve, wrap, gather *putu return and go from place to place puţa bring acorns, etc. puți, puțe, putci-ri blow pull hair putski make the sound "put, put" *putske burn brightly, make no smoke *putsiule, potsinle (fire)

\mathbf{T}

hold in arms *taula-si go quietly *taye *tamin, tan. double, fold warm oneself in the sun, take the tamu sun *tamxa-ni have earache tamta strike, beat lift skirts *tanu, tanyu, tan. embrace, lift in arms *tanta

*talu-ni	make blisters on hands
talțu	extend the palms of the hands
*talku	spring, jump
*tasiute	watch, dance
*tasţu	display palms of hands
*taxara	follow, go after
tax(e)	ask, question
tapa	turn the tables, pay back in own
*tapi	measure
tata	touch
*taṭska	extend hand
*taka-ni	burn
*tak∙e	measure
taku-ni	choke, strangle
teme-n, temo, temso	sleep by fire, warm oneself by fire
tenpe, tempe	dry up (water, river)
tere	cut hair
terpe	smart, pucker (pepper)
tie, tik	grumble, complain
tio	shoot arrow
*tiusi-n	flower, be in flower
*timire-ni	have headache
*timu-ni	trip, stumble
tinke-ni	jump, spring, leap
*tilo	don regalia
*tiru	miscarry
*tirsu-n	cut, break
*tisi	cure the itch
*tixi	slice meat, make dried meat
*tixiro-ni	slip, slide, fall
tipe, tiptipe	wander, walk about
*tipur	cut hair
*tipso-ni	rattle, make a noise (bone)
*tipki	cut hand
*titi-n	cover with shoulder
*titu	fray, unweave
*tituk	lie on one side
*tiţu	extend hand
*tit·ci	drown
*toutosi	harden, strengthen
*towo-n	remain rigid, frozen
tone, tonse	lose, find
*tolso	break knees
tor-ke	bring amole
*toxere-ni	be constipated
*topope	extend fingers and do top, top
totio-n	err, mistake, lie
*totoro-n	put in salt, salinify

*totue tokso, (tokse) *tuine *tuisu, tuiu-rure *tume-n, tume-mels tun.e. (tunk) tunute, (tanute) tule, (tulk) *tuluk tulku tur-si *tusi-n *tusu-n tupu-n *tuta *tutiu-n *tutisi *tukitce

put on shawl rumble, make great noise, snore make wooden bridge tremble (hand, belly) make food finish, complete, end conceive (child) knock at door, call cover one (for the night) give rap, fillip be cold, chilly watch a dance await, expect finish, complete, end cover one, put on hat die? string a bow lift earth, (encorrar)

\mathbf{T}

*tayuwire tala *tasak *tata *tatu-n *tatuhule *takarpite teyo *temelele *tele țetesi *teke *tien tiwi *tinai *tiniwi *țil∙usi *tis-ektene, tcirsextene tisku *țixța țipe *țipe(spi) *tip-wi *ţiţi tika *toilo ton(o)me

*tonko-n

smile, chuckle, half laugh be hot (weather), put in sun clear, clarify (sky, weather) possess much, own much cease pain speak between teeth sit down, sink blaze, heat, be afire burn much go in file, follow push, jostle, squeeze, hold tip-toe, walk on toes put in bag, pocket tighten, constrain milk listen to attentively, hear cover with ashes split, break, smash hide in sand, be hidden thresh grain make thongs, straps for the capote cut, shorten, clip, abbreviate defend chew, masticate be seated seek a dead animal wither, become ury (seeds)

ketio kil-e

*toxoro pass, go by (water) *tox(pe) dry up (water, river) *ţu strike in the eye tuma-s, (tumas, tumsa-n) like, enjoy, please tunku, (tunuk) signal "no" with nostrils, constricting them *tulu make a hole *tura thunder *tursu, tutsu walk continually, never stop tupu-ni put finger in eye tuka beg, ask K kai, (kayi, kaixi) smart, be strong, bitter, bite *kai-ți tighten, constrain *kawak advise, notify *kam do, make kama(i), kamexe look, watch, see, behold *kamu lend (wife) *kamutce, xamutce lack a bit, be missing a piece *kane go to the quarrel, fight *kanxi dry up defend kale *kal·u bite *kar be fortunate, happen well grind, rub in the palms *kara *karapu give tobacco *karka kindle fire with small sticks *karki bargain, trade, barter bite kase *kaxi louse, expel lice kapal(a) embrace cross the arms, hands *kapata *kapi carry a large bundle under the arm katia give (clothes, food) *katu kill with teeth (lice) *katu-ni dry up (water) be full of crickets, insects; expel *katca, katcue them *kat·ci drown gather, collect, come together *keie(k) obstruct, intercept kewe, keinwe *kelete, kelte frown upon, watch with disapprobation play by pinching *kelok(mo), kelox(mo) *kenem put in proper place

argue, dispute, contradict

shine, glare, glitter

*kiriwire, kiripire write *kixți, kikți have pain in throat kipi wink inflate, swell cheeks *kipuhs hide in hollow of a tree kitpa *kita make fire with two sticks *kitca, kitcua close, lock with key; open, unlock ko, ko., kwo., kwa, kua say kome tire, become tired rumble, grumble (intestines) *koliole *kwie, kuie whistle kunile (kupile) smoke (fire) wash kusa meet, encounter, see *kusinwi hide among rocks *kuxa double, bind, tie kuta(s), kuta(r), kutcuru, kuturu tolerate, suffer, endure *kut.a $krak(\cdot)e, xrak(\cdot)e$ name, call

TC tcai(es) praise tcaora, tcausara, (tcaura) be seated, be (positional substantive) *tcauri stink, smell bad walk with shoulders raised *tcantcane tcala, (tcalsa, tcasali) urinate take the higher part (song) *tcahel·e, tcehel·e prick, stick, pinch tcapu bring, arrive *tcaka, tcaksa leave, depart *tcak.i, tcaxki hate, desert *tcaku-niti go ahead *tcakna-n treat ill, hinder, impede *tcimun, tcaimun bump the head *tcimu-ni *tcile ring bell cry, shout tcirpi reside, live *tcikri-n, tcixri-n dance tcite prick, punch the eyes *tcitmo water moves in intestines *tcoliote moisten, dampen *tcorowe sadden, become sad tcorok be in file or line *tcotle have pain (in mouth or ear) tcokse, tcos.o wrap, extend, shorten, double, teunu, teuni, tunu; (teun.), lift, fold, unfold tcunuhwi jump, spring, leap tculu

*tculki *tcuspa strangle, choke by squeezing neck

*tcukuri-ni defecate, void excrement

ADJECTIVES

aul·i salty, saline

austu sweet-toothed, gluttonous

auxe high, tall amaya nude, naked amank famous ansi left-handed antiwin small

distinct, different asia

apsie, apsik good ateitak so great atcien thievish atciwa silly, filthy euți sweet el·emo soft (ground) elepis, elewia straight, in file emxe very soft, gentle, easy

98.0 lewd, unchaste leafless, bare etsxe ina ill, sick in-se lachrymose irk-ti-o, irx-ti-o flatulent

isiwa newborn ițas, ițsa new itce small, little owos obedient, faithful omxol·e light, without weight

olsie soft, easy umulu filthy, vile unxu snotty, filthy unkum thin, rare ursi big-headed

usula, (usuna) deep-set (eyes) crippled ukumi

utcili full-lipped, thick-lipped wartci difficult, narrow, small (road) was a, waska, waksa streaked, soiled

wasiwe

playful we-solo, we-yero, we-saro large, great large, great we-tan wetemes.ate lean, gaunt, thin

wiman lazy witina sticky witcuktel, witcuxtel, wits-u narrow, small

womo	bearded
wot.olo	deep-set (eyes)
yamutsi	unequal, different
yatcomas, yatceme	torn, full of holes
yer-se	torn, old, broken
yolto, yot∙a	big-eared
yopono	ruptured
yusulu	fat, pot-bellied
mam.oxa, mam.oka,	foolish, stupid, silly
mam.anxa	
maxul·u	catarrhal, expectorant
mața	long-haired
matini, matil·i	large, great
meilo	large-mouthed
mex-el, max-ele	blear-eyed
metske	cloudy, clouded
minua	narrow, difficult (road)
misi-min, misi-mpin,	pretty, nice, pleasant, beautiful,
misi-a	good
mitile	curved, crooked, bent
mom-ti-e	slow, late, tardy
murețu, murtcu, murțu,	dark, black, like night
murt.eu	
muse	full-breasted
muţimte	fat-buttocked
mutcira	pleated
natka	dark, black
niotsio	short, bob-tailed
noioro	big-footed
noti-ti-o	lying, untruthful
nop-ti-o	short in time, quick
nuxurikonin, nuxurixonin	flat-nosed
nutiri	big-nosed
laița	long in time, tall, high, long
laskan	even, smooth, plain
lațem	long, large-tongued
lakțe, laxțe	big-headed
lexete	long, tenuous, stringy (phlegm)
l·e-ti-o, l·e-t·i-o, loito, l·ok-ti-o	soft. easy, loose, not hard
lisu, liisu	toothless, gums
lisnie	empty, clear
lit-imo	wet (hair)
lopote	firmly resolute
lopteo	ruptured
luplupsi	equal, straight, untwisted
lutcuma, luspi, l∙uspi,	wet hair
l∙uţspi, luţspi	
luteți	big-bellied, hairless

with big occiput, back of head rauta rinta thin, lean riski flat-nosed ritca liberal, frank, generous, beneficent ritcua silly, foolish, stupid rikți protruding (eyes) romso granular ropto dirty-eyed roteiteo, ritera, roteiko blear-eyed rutis open, uncovered, excavated ruțai congealed saure, (sauri) fat, greasy saru ruptured saxirinme sweet, odoriferous satara unclean siat.cara clear, rare, thin sieperero woolly, fleecy, hairy simke silent sitl·u, sit·ia small, young somsie lewd, unchaste sotolo, sokolo, sotitco big-lipped, large-mouthed supiri watered sup.u like a bladder, blister xan an married xalea blind xas, xase brave, fierce xaska brunet, dark-skinned xat-xatsi, xat-xasti clean, well-swept xemtso silent xene unequal xel·wen content, satisfied leafless, sharp-pointed, keen xetoesi xetsxe tired, worn-out xitsu, xitsiu insipid, tasteless empty, void (mussels), melanxontce, xonxontce choly, crestfallen xos-ti-o, xoiskore light, with little weight xo-ti-es foolish, silly xo-ti-o, xoie loose, hanging xotpe, xot∙iko bare, without fruit with deep-set eyes and bushy xotsu eyebrows xokoi(o) scabby, itchy hituktei, hituxtei mixed, intricate howos well-served hoxehen tardy, late humulu black husiero big-mouthed

huklemesate delicate, fine, light paine bloody paisa good at running pal(.)ka white patka pink, flesh-color, red, cream pel·emo, pelsiek, pelek soft pelo (Sp.?) bald, hairless pelso garrulous pertewe soft (bread) pitko pot-bellied polso painted, colored polpol-si pinto, spotted, full of points, streaked porsie trained (maker of unusual things) porko artistic poxolo prominent, bulging, protruding (eyes) potsinle smokeless (fire) potxe light, little weight potco quick, active punțu, puțur big-bellied, with much intestines pultci-te full-breasted putarte newly-born put.u, pultu, polto protruding, extremely bulging (eyes) putcete anxious, desirous tamtcite partly painted, colored tasiri hard, tough taxarute drunken, reeling taxara in file, in a line, straight tap.an good tapţa serious tepțe shady tirsi, tirtci clear, limpid, pure tirsia large-buttocked tixima, tilto high-browed, with a large forehead tikili large-eyed twisted, rounded titira, titiru shivering with cold towo-ro torte ashy, ash-colored silly, foolish, lying, untruthful to-ti-o tokolo syphilitic tokororoi smooth, straight, even tumuru tupsiu humpbacked, crooked, bent, curved dwarfed taila spotted tanara tasku, tasas pink, flesh-colored, red

taxiale
tata
tak.i
takuruṭe
tesele
tomto
tonko
tok.i-ti-e
tuiuru
tuṭuare
tuṭuna
kai-nawin

katiţu kaţili kakxa, kax•a kel(sie) kelţe kero

kaltcitce

kasl·u

kexil·on ketciwesi kirsi, kiṭs·i kipi, kipiri

kipuroro, kiwuroro kititae

kits u koro kuinu, kwinu

kuti kutis

kutcs-keṭs-i tcal-ti-a tcalka tcarka

tcarki tcakulsi, tcuki tcese, tcixu

tcekere tcirti tcisire

tcomelei tcoxisi, tcopsoxsi, tcopsoksi

tcoxorore, tcokere

teopolotesi teuierte teupea teutsu, teutu clear, limpid, pure

rich, well supplied with garments

heavy with fruit (trees) clear, thin, full of holes

pink below with loose clothes big-footed

good at running, swift

wrinkled blunt-nosed small-eyed

narrow, difficult, small strong, pungent loud-voiced small-headed pot-bellied, fat with prominent teeth

bitter raw

opaque-eyed, blind twisted (tree) hoarse

ready, prepared well-painted

twisted, not straight, (feet, road)

twisted, streaked creaking, grating one-eyed, squint-eyed thin, gaunt, lean narrow (road)

small clear

very well tied, bound urinous, fond of urinating

white clear (sky) quiet, restrained

downcast, head downward

blue (eyed) torn open, ripped yellow moro

provoked, angry, in bad humor

cowering, squat pock-marked full of holes open, uncovered adorned, decorated white, flesh-colored

green

ADVERBS

Locative Adverbs

an.it, anit, an.i, an.epe, where? anta, an

distant, far ansia

apart, another place a.xe

far down, very distant, indistinct emxe out of sight

enenum esen ințis, ințo iti ițian, iț ayate orpei usiun, usionte winimui (wirimui) naxana, nuxana, nuxu

ne, ni, nia, nitun, niatun, nime

nu, nua

lewetes

ramai (resmai) rini rinsiksi sanae, saeanae sinki

xut.ui

tapere ti

tina (pina), tina-tum,

tina-tun, titun

tipilikte, tipilile, tikilakte

titu kari

emen

behind where? there, distant backward in the middle further on, further below, under there (farther) here, hither

there (nearer)

low within above high hither end, edge

before, preceding above

there, behind

right here, close, hence

round about on one side outside

Temporal Adverbs

auxaie yet, still

ameren a little time, little while ar, aru already (past time)

aruta, (arua) tomorrow artiskun, atskun suddenly

at, ara shortly, soon (near future or re-

cent past) still, yet, although

et, ete, yete, (yote, ikte, soon (indefinite future) iste)

imi, ima. always, all the time

in at, inuat when?

kutis, kuti

tcien

tcira

inya, inyaha, (yu'aha) shortly, at once, (immediate future) ipsiun a little while, a short time iti after some time itixsina at last, today itma early in the morning itsia, it ia, itsia, ițian, afterward, soon, shortly it-iomtum, it-aiate osioi, oisio again, another time ume, uni when, whenever ule yet, still, as yet wisi past time wika yesterday yas ever, at any time yeteste shortly, soon, in a short time maran, markum, markutkus future time maha at once mes, met future time naha today nua yet, still, although xapuhu, xaputca never hokse, hoks a long time ago, formerly huyakse, wiyakse this afternoon pinawai then, therefore, in that case tabax, taba today, day kane, kaneme before, earlier than ketciwesi, (kotciwesi, soon, at once, ready kepiresi) kotcop, (koph) when, whenever kus in the olden times, once upon a time

Descriptive and Miscellaneous Adverbs

presently, very soon, a little while

now, at once

always, continually

aereis, eraeis so, thus, truly aman so many amane in truth, truly amanis.e uninvited (?) amun, amu, amn in order that, concerning, because asaha truly, certainly atpesi good, truly ațs, ați without, no ewe, ene and, but (past desiderative) ewoye, eye, etmoye enohek but (apposition) es-e just as if

(indirect discourse)

esiensen, esiersem

exe, xehe, he, lxi, hi, hexe, yes sexe epaeis, acepaeis perchance, perhaps no! do not! epsie, epsik ekwe no, not imatkun, imaten. if (contrary to fact condition) isap, isu truly, certainly ipsen, utix more ortco, yenko equally usi why, because uksi without more ado, heedlessly feet to head and head to feet walte wele (substantive?) wisi because yas.e also, as well more, much more yekere either . . . or yuta yuta ma truly mots tell me! (interrogative) muisin (among them?) nan, nami, nani perhaps, maybe nu at·ia yes, of course nuhilu, nitshim cachibajo sata like, as if sire

xiţepu hai, hahi, aiu, aia, hia, hiha pini, pinyi, (pinya)

taxe tukne taman kaitis

xatxatci

xene-kte

xenkots.e

xeheresi

xetskere

kati, kata, katam

kua, kuai, kuawe

tciel.e

silently low (voice) crawling

strongly and, also (enclitic) perhaps, perchance

(interrogative, final position) would that! (past optative)

half

strongly

unequal

stepping high

with this, no more

like, resembling, just as if

thus

high (voice)

INTERJECTIONS

ain., aiun, auin., anin atena rautik еţ iske

it·ie, iuie

give me it! bring me it! shout at middle of dance shout at gambling game wait a moment! come on! let's go!

iklamini wait a moment! oto run! go!

uruksia(ne) would that! (vehement desire)

yela, yelamini wait a moment!
yuma come on! let's go!
yupe, yu run! go!
waras upon my life!
nami, nani let's see! we'll see!

lalei get out!

linei shout at gambling game
ranx shout at beginning of dance
sotoi shout at gambling game
sukai shout at gambling game
xep shout at gambling game

xine look!

xouwoshout at end of dancexuțishout at gambling gametuiishout of gambling gamețiushout of gambling game

kama look!

kari shout of gambling game

ke listen! look! kie who knows!

tcaorak shout at gambling game teit, teitsk shout at gambling game

POSTSCRIPT

At Pleasanton, California, live a small number of Indians, members of various central Californian groups, gathered here by reason of community of interest. They speak Spanish and Plains Miwok among themselves. A visit was paid them for a few hours in January, 1916, for the principal purpose of securing terms of relationship and notes on social organization. One of the two informants visited proved to be an elderly woman from San Lorenzo and from her a vocabulary of a hundred odd words was secured. A comparison of this with De la Cuesta's Mutsun shows actual identity in many cases. The practical identity of so many words proves first, the phonetic simplicity of the language, the care with which it was recorded and the value of the Spanish language as a medium for the recording of such aboriginal speech; second, the slight change which has taken place in this unliterary language in the past century, and third, the correctness of the recent transcription from Spanish to phonetic orthography. As regards the latter point, the correctness of the transcription of gm and gn to km and kn is demonstrated, while that of gs to xs in accordance with tigsin, tixsin is discounted by the record of tugsus as tuksus. No data were secured to elucidate the problem of gt and other g combinations.

The glossary secure	d follows	here for pur	poses of con	parison :
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oriš oto'imin ma'i·yan ha'mui	bear snake coyote fish	hun pīrēwiš rcukuti'	wolf rattlesnake dog
a'rwexf	oak	Ta'Por	wood
yu'kiš	live oak	Tiwïš	flower
in	tears	si're	liver
išu	hand	xu.s	nose
urix, urí	hair	hēyek'	beard
we'per	mouth	hiñ	eye
mi.'nyix	heart	horko'sa	throat
mōtel, mo·tel	head	Ta·mas	eyebrows
mu·c	breasts	Tim.auxf	forehead
las.e	tongue	rumiš, tumš	leg, loins
eran.ai	back of neck	Tu·R·	nail
ri.Tuk	irtestines	Tukšuš	ear
si.T, sit	teeth	korō'	foot

inux*	road	°ru′wai'	house	
hu′t∙i	bow and arrow	tepla'i'	basket	
apa.	father	šīnīn	daughter, child	
ana.	mother	ši'nmatc¹	small child	
añci	paternal aunt	sulta'wu	white people	
аітакіš	woman	ha'uak'	wife	
a'TCiaKic	virgin	hu'nTatc ¹	old man	
eTe.	uncle or aunt	PaPa	paternal grand-	
īnīš	son		father	
uetreš	chief, shaman	Taka.	elder brother	
u'xi	mother-in-law	Ta∙riš	man	
mele.	grandmother	rale.	younger sister	
mák.o	husband	та′∙nan	elder sister	
mayin	wife of chief	Tanšikiš	younger brother	
merē'i	father-in-law	Katenetc*	old woman	
mē'riš	daughter-in-law	Kot.co	young man	
muekma	people	tcotcou	grandson	
a.we	morning star	yuk∙i	ashes	
īrek'	stone	sī	water	
•	kw sea, arroyo	°šī′·Tic	fog	
oš∙e′	stars	hi'yis	fire	
warē'p'	land	hišmen	$\operatorname{\mathbf{sun}}$	
yo∙ko	live coal	Kormei	moon	
ui K ∙ani	yesterday	$hiwe^{i}$	shaman's dance	
ne Tuhi	today	hu∙ši′š	tomorrow	
°rī′sīmu	hill near town	ka'n∙o	north	
makišmo'.To		it is cloudy		
makiš a'.m°r	10	it is raining		
yuwa'kne m	iak¹šamne	it ceased raining		
herwe		it is hot		
kauwi'		it is cold		
lōškōwiš, loš	ško ʻiš	it is white		
sirkewiš		it is black		
pultewis		it is red		
we'ter		it is large		
kutcu'iš		it is small		
šumikiš		give me!		
man∙i rōti		where is it?		
rī.Tcikmin		shouting of shaman at dance		
hu'.tukne		he died		
ka'∙nak hu't	usin	I am going to die		
me·nem hu·t		you will die		
wa ka hu tu		he will die		
maki.n mak		we will die		
makam kam	hu'tusin	you (plu.) will die		
wa kamakea	hu'tusin	they will die		
hu'.tukne'ĸ		I have died		

oʻ.miš ni'm i' ka'.na ekni'mi oriš me.nek' snimi ma'kam kisni'mi wa'.kamax makisni'mi'sim

Ka'·nak tō'·fhe ka·na ektca'·u^vra ne ca tca · u v ra ка·na ка'yin pí∙n ka'in ka·'iKsiKsiT ka.iksikmo.tel kiška·iKTumš Kanak u'tkani ka.naksa'wi ka na ki'ši ka na kwarka ka·na eki" wi ka.'nakra'pona ka.'nakio'TCyen a'Tcišmente ekit' kankana anini.k' hi'ntoka'masin akwet' kinšušte takaa'ma ka-nak tcatce

ka·nak·emle ka·nak eṭe Ka·nak i'tma Ka·nak hō'pe Ka·nak e'son Ka·nak yoken I am going to kill you
I am going to kill the bear
you will kill me
you (plu.) will kill me
they will kill me

I run
I sit
now I sit
I am ill
he is ill
my tooth aches
my head aches

my head aches
my back aches
I am playing
I am singing
I am dancing
I am weeping
I am shouting
I am going to stir
I am laughing
I want to vomit
I am hungry
I am thirsty
I am going to eat

I don't know what I will eat

I am standing
I am lying down
I am sleeping
I got up

I get down I am tired

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