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The language of the Kitanemuks of California

Anderton, Alice Jeanne, Ph.D.
University of California, Los Angeles, 1988

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA Los Angeles

THE LANGUAGE OF THE KITANEMUKS OF CALIFORNIA

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

by

Alice Jeanne Anderton

1988

The dissertation of Alice Jeanne Anderton is approved.

Nina Byers

James Lockhart

Victoria Fromkin

Pamela Munro

William O. Bright, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles
1988

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"I reasoned to myself (though I would not have dared say it to Harrington), that the people who spoke or had spoken these languages had also existed as human beings, had lived and loved and felt."

Carobeth Laird

Encounter with an angry god:

recollections of my life with

John Peabody Harrington, p.59

Table of Contents

In	troduction	1
I.	Phonology	
	A. Choosing an orthography	5
	B. Segment inventory	2
	C. Morpheme structure constraints	6
	D. Phonological rules	9
11.	Morphological categories and inflectional morphology	
	A. Nouns	4
	B. Verbs	4
	C. Pronouns	
	D. Clitics	8
	E. Adjectives	
	F. Adverbs	
	G. Quantifiers	
	H. Conjunctions	8
Ш.	Derivational morphology	
	A. Noun-forming derivations	0
	B. Verb-forming derivations	
	C. Derivations producing both nouns and verbs 160	
	D. Adjective derivations	
	E. Adverb derivations	
	F. Numeral derivations	

IV. Syntax

	A. Possession	166
	B. Number	173
	C. Case	175
	D. Agreement	201
	E. Negation	207
	F. Time reference	210
	G. Word order	215
	H. Questions and indefinites	217
	I. Complex sentences	224
	J. Modals	239
	K. tɨm	242
	L. nehe	244
	M. Imperatives	249
	N. Predicator	252
	O. Text	253
VI.	Dictionary	
	A. Kitanemuk-English dictionary	256
	B. English-Kitanemuk index to the dictionary	595
VII.	Appendices	
	A. Some sample pages from Harrington	655
	B. Kitanemuk forms from A.L. Kroeber	657
	C. Kitanemuk forms from C.H. Merriam	666
	D. Kitanemuk forms from J.W. Hudson	685
	E. Kitanemuk forms from C.E. Kelsev	687

F. Kitanemuk forms from van Valkenburg and Farmer	689
G. The layout of Harrington's typewriter	. 691
H. Deverbal nominals	692
I. Classes of verbs	698
J. Imperative verb forms	. 700
K. Spanish and Chumash glossary	. 704
VIII. References cited	

FIGURES, MAPS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1.	Where Kitanemuk was spoken.	p. 3
Fig. 2.	The Uto-Aztecan family (in brief) and	
	Takic subfamily	p. 3
Fig. 3.	Sample file slip based on Harrington notes	p. 8
Appendix A. Some sample pages from Harrington		p. 655-6
Appendix G.	The layout of Harrington's typewriter	p. 691

PHOTOS

Magdalena Olivas, Kitanemuk speaker	p. 1
Tejón ranchería, early twentieth century	p. 14

(Both photographs were taken by J.P. Harrington and are on file in the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C.) ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE GRAMMAR

1p, 2p, 3p first, second, or third person singular prefix

1s, 2s, 3s first, second, or third person plural prefix

3-1s, etc. person and number of subject and object in clitic

ABS absolutive suffix

AGT agentive nominalizing suffix

AUG augmentative suffix
CHAR characterizing suffix
COMP object complement
DEC deceased suffix

DEC deceased suffix
DESID desiderative suffix
DIR directional suffix

GEN general nominalizing suffix

HRT hortative first person plural prefix

IMP imperative clitic INF infinitive suffix

INST instrumental nominalizing suffix

N noun
OBJ object
PL plural

PN passive nominal suffix

Q question clitic

RDP reduplicative prefix

sp. species (of biota); plural spp.

St stem

TR transitivity suffix TrN tribename suffix

V verb

VN vowel plus n verb stem extender

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This work is based primarily on data collected by John P. Harrington and Maurice L. Zigmond. Without their careful work it would not have been possible. I would like to thank John Johnson who brought other fieldnotes to my attention, and Geri Anderson who copied some of the Harrington notes at the Smithsonian and made them available to me.

Data without benefit of analysis is of little use. For training in linguistic analysis I thank my teachers, Pam Munro, Vicki Fromkin, and Bill Bright. I especially thank Bill Bright, who introduced me to the Harrington notes and encouraged me to write a dissertation on this topic.

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PUBLICATIONS

Review of <u>Encounter with an angry god</u>, by Carobeth Laird. Language 54:1 (1978), pp. 221-2.

Chem'ivillu', by Katherine Siva Sauvel and Pamela Munro, with the assistance of Brent de Chene et al. (Los Angeles: UCLA American Indian Studies Center and Malki Museum, 1981)

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Language of the Kitanemuks of California

by

Alice Jeanne Anderton

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 1988

Professor William O. Bright, Chair

Kitanemuk was a Uto-Aztecan language of the Takic subgroup, spoken near the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley, in the Tehachapi Mountains, Antelope Valley, and neighboring areas of southern California. It was spoken by a few speakers as late as the 1930's, but is apparently extinct today. In 1917, John Peabody Harrington, working as a research ethnologist for the Smithsonian Institution, did linguistic and anthropological fieldwork on the Kitanemuk, producing some 2000 pages of raw notes which he

never prepared for publication. This dissertation is a description of the Kitanemuk language as it is revealed in the Harrington notes and a smaller corpus of linguistic and ethnobotanical fieldnotes taken by Maurice L. Zigmond in 1937, as well as a few forms from A.L. Kroeber, C.E. Kelsey, Richard van Valkenburgh, Malcolm Farmer, and John W. Hudson. The original source material is described, as well as the methodology for organizing it into a grammar and dictionary. The grammar, including chapters on phonology, morphology and syntax, and the dictionary, consisting of some 1650 Kitanemuk entries and an English index, are written using a spelling system designed to represent the morphophonemics of Kitanemuk and to be compatible with systems used in published descriptions of related languages. Samples of the source material are given, and original transcriptions are cited in the dictionary entries. It is shown that Kitanemuk was a language with relatively free word order, with four noun classes defined by absolutive suffixes, with several verb classes, with absolutive suffixes appearing generally in non-possessed NP's but with some interesting departures in this regard from the typical Uto-Aztecan or Takic pattern, with an array of post-clitics appearing in second position in the clause, and with many parallels between noun and verb structure. A substantial amount of information is made available to Uto-Aztecan and southern California specialists as well as to historical and comparative linguists on an otherwise undescribed language.



Magdalena Olivas, Kitanemuk speaker

1

INTRODUCTION

Kitanemuk¹ (also Jaminate, Haminat)² was a language of the Uto-Aztecan family spoken in Southern California, in the vicinity of present-day Ft. Tejón, Tejón Creek, the Tehachapi Mountains, and the Antelope Valley area adjoining the upper Mojave Desert (Figure 1). No description of the language has ever been published.

Kitanemuk is apparently extinct, although three native speakers were consulted as recently as 1937. The language belonged to the Takic (or Southern California Shoshonean) branch of the Uto-Aztecan family; its closest relatives were Serrano, Gabrielino,³ Luiseño, Cahuilla, and Cupeño (Figure 2).

¹ Malcolm Farmer (van Valkenburgh and Farmer 1934) used the spelling "Gitanemuk"; he generally uses the name "Hamenot". Kroeber (1925: 612) speculates that both the name Kitanemuk and another name, "Kikitanum" or "Kikitamkar" are based on the word for 'house' (Kit. kič). Harrington consultants translate kitanamukam as their own name for their language, which they also accept as a name for their people; they also give <u>Pakikitam</u> as a "real name" for themselves, but offer no etymology. It could be related to <u>kitamik</u> 'east'.

²This last name was used, according to the Harrington fieldnotes, by other Indians in the area, as well as Spanish speakers ("Jaminat" is the Spanish version) as a name or nickname for the Kitanemuks. It is a Kitanemuk question word meaning 'what', 'why', or 'how', and figures in the greeting haminat_m+kač 'how are you'; it would have been one of the first words a stranger heard from the Kitanemuks. Its use is described in chapter IV, section I.

³Some southern California groups were named by the Spanish according to the missions near which they lived; thus "Gabrielinos" lived near Mission San Gabriel (in what is today the greater Los Angeles area), the "Luiseños" near Mission San Luis Rey, and so forth. These names have been adopted to describe the languages, as well. Here I am using the word "Gabrielino" as a cover term for Gabrielino and Fernandeño (named after the Mission at San Fernando), which were apparently very closely related

Fig. 1. Where Kitanemuk was spoken

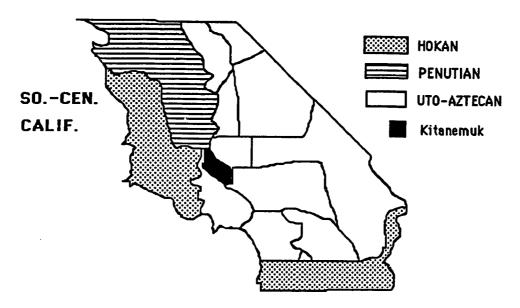
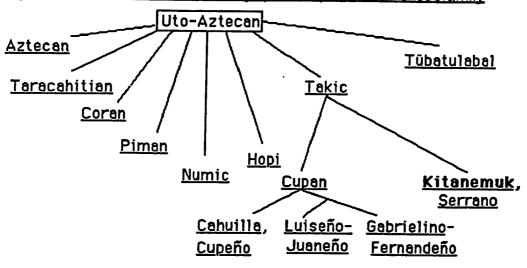


Fig. 2. The Uto Aztecan family (in brief) and Takic subfamily4



dialects, and Luiseño to cover Luiseño and Juaneño (named after Mission San Juan Capistrano).

⁴This tree is based on Sydney Lamb's (1964) conservative Uto-Aztecan classification, plus William Bright's (1974) classification of Takic. (The commas indicate separate languages, while the hyphens indicate dialects.) (Some scholars group Numic, Hopi, Takic and Tübatulabal together as Northern Uto-Aztecan.)

(Of these languages, Cahuilla, Luiseño, and perhaps Serrano are still spoken.) Kitanemuk was more distantly related to Hopi, Tübatulabal, Nahuatl, and other Uto-Aztecan languages of Mexico and the southwest United States. The Kitanemuks' closest neighbors in pre-Mission days were Serranos, Ventureño Chumash (who spoke a Hokan language), Yokuts (who spoke a Penutian language), and Fernandeños.

The speakers of Kitanemuk were a small group, numbering perhaps 500 to 1,000 in the historic period, and occupying a territory of 400 square miles or so. They were primarily mountain dwellers, but made seasonal hunting and gathering migrations into lower areas (Blackburn and Bean 1978: 65). The Kitanemuks were enemies of the Yokuts and perhaps the Tataviam (a little-known group of disputed affiliation),⁵ but enjoyed friendly relations with the Chumash and the Tübatulabal (Blackburn and Bean 1978). There was a lot of cultural intermingling and trade among neighboring groups in this area; even the Mojave from the Colorado River area (who spoke a Yuman language of the Hokan family) made regular visits.⁶ Many of the Kitanemuk were probably killed off during the early period of white contact, as was the case with so many of the

⁵Cf., e.g., Johnson (1978) and references therein for some discussion of this point.

⁶For a fuller ethnographic description of the Kitanemuk, cf. Blackburn and Bean (1978) and Kroeber (1925).

people who lived in California at that time. But linguistically and ethnically they probably suffered more than anything else from assimilation, which began with "missionization" at San Fernando, San Gabriel, and perhaps San Buenaventura (Blackburn and Bean 1978) and continued when the Kitanemuk and other Indians working on private ranches used Spanish as a lingua franca on the job. Some may have lived for a time on the Tule River reservation. Relatively little is known about the Kitanemuks specifically, since they were a small group; at times they may have been confused with Serranos, Yokuts, Chumash, or Fernandeños by observers in the nineteenth century.

In 1916 John Peabody Harrington, working for the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, arrived in the area near Fort Tejón with his wife Carobeth (later Carobeth Laird),⁷ and spent some time (probably at least several months all told) in 1916 and 1917 doing fieldwork on Kitanemuk. No one worked on the analysis of the resulting field notes for many years.

In 1972 William Bright obtained a xerox copy of a batch of the Harrington Kitanemuk notes (some 1200 8 1/2" x 11" pages of raw fieldnotes, mostly handwritten) from the Linguistics Department at the University of California, Berkeley. He asked me

⁷For a description of their trips to this area, cf. Laird (1975); for more biographical background on Harrington, cf. Walsh (1976); for a review of the Laird book and some overview of scholarly opinions of Harrington, cf. Anderton (1978).

as his research assistant to identify Kitanemuk morphemes from the notes, so that some of them could be entered into his Uto-Aztecan cognate file. The notes consist mostly of single words and short sentences, and lexically reflect Harrington's special emphasis on plant and animal names and placenames. These notes form the foundation of the analysis I offer here, and are labeled "H" (for Harrington) in the dictionary entries.

There are many problems in working with these notes. The writing is not always legible. The Kitanemuk forms are translated into English or Spanish, or sometimes a mixture of the two; there are also occasional Chumash translations. (In the dictionary I translate the Spanish wherever its meaning is clear, but retain it wherever it is ambiguous or untranslatable; in the latter cases I standardize the spelling somewhat and suggest a translation in square brackets.) Although the utterances of several speakers of Kitanemuk are represented,⁸ it is usually not clear which words were spoken by which speaker. Nor is the chronology of the notes clear; a few sessions are dated, but many are not. These two facts make it hard to evaluate differing transcriptions of the same word: are dialect differences involved? are the forms in free variation? has Harrington decided to represent the same sound with a

⁸Harrington's consultants included Angela Montes, Magdalena Olivas, Eugenia Mendes, and perhaps others.

different symbol⁹ for some reason? There are of course some gaps in the material which must remain forever unfilled (there are for example no sentences with a third person subject and a second person plural object); but with the wealth of data many linguistic patterns are undeniable. (Some sample pages from these notes are reproduced in Appendix A.)

During the period of my early work on Kitanemuk, Geraldine Anderson, a fellow graduate student at UCLA at the time, came across and copied some Kitanemuk notes at the National Anthropological Archives in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. She found them while she was there for the purpose of gathering Gabrielino materials. I began analyzing the Harrington data—both Anderson's notes and the Berkeley set—in detail. I created a morpheme-by-morpheme slip file (illustrated in Fig. 3), fully cross-referenced and listing every instance of every morpheme from the two sets of notes, exactly as they were transcribed. In so doing, I noticed that parts of the Smithsonian notes were in fact a revision of the Berkeley set; many entries were precisely the same except for a minor change in spelling

⁹Laird, in an appendix to <u>Mirror and Pattern</u> called "Linguistic Note" (Laird 1984: 321-8) throws some light on the Harrington transcriptions, mentioning explicitly, for instance, that he experimented sometimes by changing symbols in the middle of his work, and sometimes changing them back. She also gives explicit phonetic values for the symbols he and she used in working with Chemehuevi, another Northern Uto-Aztecan language which Harrington studied at about the same time as the Kitanemuk work. Of course there is a small community of scholars who have worked with Harrington's notes on various languages, and so a number of his abbreviations and symbols have become well-known.

-conventions, for example, or the addition of another form or two to a verb paradigm. Some of the material had been transferred to 4" x 6" grammar file slips from the original notes, or typed onto 8 1/2" x 11" pages by Harrington or his wife on trips to Washington.10 (It is because of the occasional revisions that the two sources are cited separately in the dictionary.) Having decided to write a dissertation on Kitanemuk, I went to Washington and examined the Smithsonian notes. I recorded all of the linguistic forms which

Fig. 3. A sample file slip based on the Harrington notes

neck

nohots -neck. Plu. m.
ninoho' -mi pescueso
nohowst -pescuezon. Plu. m.
nihju nohotsaj -I saw a neck.
nihju menohotsaj -I saw your neck.
nihju penohotsaj -I saw their necks. (lllob,lllla)
frakwk anoho' -his pescuezo is noarse, el esta
ronco.
frakwk ninoho' -I am hoarse. (1098a)

(akwk anoho' -belesta gangoso, talks through
his nose. (ll38a)

anoho' varavara'j -his neck is colgado. (lllla)

KTLIN

¹⁰A diagram of the keyboard layout of Harrington's custom-made typewriter with special linguistic symbols is included as Appendix G.

did not seem to duplicate the Berkeley notes. These notes were added to my files, and form a second (much smaller) source for this study, labeled "R" (for "revised notes") in the dictionary entries. 11

As I continued to work with the Harrington notes, the structure of the language began slowly to emerge, and I was able to begin presenting the preliminary results of my work at conferences of anthropologists and Uto-Aztecanists. It was at the First Friends of Uto-Aztecan Working Conference in Reno in 1973 that I met Maurice L. Zigmond. I had just finished giving a brief grammatical sketch of Kitanemuk when Dr. Zigmond took me aside and mentioned very modestly that he had done some work on Kitanemuk on a break from his Kawaiisu work in Tehachapi in 1937.12 He suggested that as his expertise and interests lay more in the field of ethnobotany than of linguistics per se, I would probably not get much out of his slip file or notebook; but he kindly offered to lend them to me. I was delighted to have another source on this extinct language. I incorporated entries from both the slip file (labeled "ZS") and the notebook (labeled "ZN") into the dictionary. The notes consist mostly of single words and simple sentences, translated into English; there is an emphasis on plant

¹¹Both sets of Harrington notes are now in the collection of Harrington materials recently published in microfilm by Kraus (Mills and Brickfield, eds., 1986)

¹²Zigmond's consultants were Marcelino Rivera, Isabella Gonzales and Refugia Duran. He feels that they may have been the last three speakers of Kitanemuk alive at that time.

names and plant uses; the notebook is especially helpful in that it gives the botanical names of many plants not identified by Harrington.

I added to my files the Kitanemuk wordlist collected by A.L. Kroeber and published in his article "Shoshonean dialects of California" (Kroeber 1907). I also added a few placenames and tribenames compiled from Kroeber's <u>Handbook of the Indians of California</u> (Kroeber 1925). The complete list of Kroeber forms from both sources is reproduced in Appendix B, and the forms are entered in the dictionary with the code "K".13

My fourth source of data is a set of fieldnotes taken by the biologist and ethnologist C. Hart Merriam, 14 taken in 1903 and 1905, and made available to me by John Johnson of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. 15 It was Merriam's belief that Indian languages could be adequately transcribed for his purposes

¹³Kroeber does not mention what native speakers he consulted for the <u>Handbook</u>. His consultants for the article were an elderly Yokuts man named Chalola, raised among the Kitanemuks at Tejon since childhood, and a woman named Isabel, who was born there and was apparently a native speaker of Kitanemuk (Kroeber 1907: 69).

¹⁴Cf. Robert F. Heizer's introduction to Merriam 1966 for a fuller discussion of Merriam's life and work.

¹⁵Merriam's consultants were Alta Mirando Vadio and Mrs. J.V. Rosemyer (the wife of "Rosemeyer", the owner of a store at Tejon Canyon, mentioned by Harrington in his notes; I am not sure which spelling of her name is correct).

using English spellings; 16 thus it is not surprising that there are inconsistencies in the correspondences between his orthography and that of Harrington and Zigmond. I do not feel justified in making any phonological statements based on them, but these notes for the most part still corroborate in a broad way the other sources. They are reproduced in Appendix C, and the forms are entered in the dictionary with the label "M".

John Johnson also brought to my attention three other brief sets of fieldnotes by John W. Hudson, C.E. Kelsey, and Richard van Valkenburgh and Malcolm Farmer. The original Hudson notes are at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. Johnson had labeled them "recorded at Tejón ca. 1899-1902, with Gabrielino consultants". Some of the words do seem to be Gabrielino, and some are overtly labeled "San Gabriel", but some of the others labeled "Tijon" are Kitanemuk.¹⁷ In Appendix D is a list of the words gleaned from these notes which look like Kitanemuk and have been included in the dictionary with the label "JW".

¹⁶Kroeber (quoted in Merriam 1966: 6) described Merriam's transcriptions by saying that he "did not set out to do linguistics, did not profess to, and obviously would not have known how".

¹⁷One of the consultants mentioned by name is a Mrs. Rosemeyer, described as "a full-blood San Gabriel woman, who lived near Tijon from the time she was a girl until a few years ago [who] speaks both Indian languages there ["Shoshonean" and "Maraposan" in Hudson's terminology], and also Spanish". She is undoubtedly the same Mrs. Rosemeyer consulted by Merriam, and clearly a speaker of Kitanemuk.

The Kelsey notes include some numerals elicited from a "Mrs. James Rosemyre¹⁸, of Tejon, at Bakersfield, Cal., March 4, 1906".¹⁹ These forms match fairly well the numbers collected by Harrington, Zigmond and Merriam, but go all the way up to ninety. They are listed in Appendix E, and entered in the dictionary with the label "CK".

The van Valkenburgh and Farmer notes, "Notes on the Hamenot Indians" (van Valkenburgh and Farmer 1934), were in the form of a report to the LA County Museum of Natural History on archaeological research in the Tejon area. They contain a few Kitanemuk words obtained from Marcelino Rivera, who is described as "a full-blooded Hamenot Indian ... born at the rancheria of Mauvi in 1874". These words are listed in Appendix F and entered in the dictionary with the label "VF".

My goal in this work was to make available a large corpus of salvaged Kitanemuk data and an accompanying analysis of it. I have compiled the data from the various sources into a systematic listing in the dictionary, in both original form and a standardized spelling more convenient for further research. Using these entries

¹⁸Apparently this is the same Mrs. Rosemyre/Rosemeyer mentioned by Harrington as the wife of J.V. [James?], the storeowner, and consulted by Merriam. She must have been the most famous Kitanemuk speaker among ethnographers in the first two decades of this century.

¹⁹C.E. Kelsey, "Some numerals from the California Indian languages" (University of California Berkeley Archaeological Research Facility MS #424).

and the original notes, I have sought to describe to the fullest extent possible, given the limitations of the data, the grammar of the Kitanemuk language—its phonology, morphology and syntax. I have always found appealing the wording of Sally McLendon in the preface to her Grammar of Eastern Pomo, where she says that she has striven for "the greatest amount of informative generalization with the least amount of abstraction" (McLendon 1975). Although I state grammatical rules formally whenever possible, in order to be as explicit as possible, my priority is to present as much data as possible in an understandable and usable form, rather than to advance any particular theoretical viewpoint. I hope that my efforts have made more accessible some of the linguistic riches of another day.

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CHAPTER I: PHONOLOGY

A. CHOOSING AN ORTHOGRAPHY

1. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

This work is based on the fieldwork of other researchers who worked with different speakers and quite independently of each other. They used differing transcription systems for recording data. For this reason some discussion of orthography is necessary as a prelude to a discussion of the phonology itself.

Of the various sources I trust Harrington's transcriptions more than those of Merriam and Zigmond, because of his much greater experience with the language, because his corpus is so much larger than the others, and because he seems to have been more attentive to the recording of fine phonetic details. But the Harrington materials, which comprise by far the largest part of the corpus, are recorded in a transcription which is too narrow to be practical for citing examples in the grammar, and which fails to capture many generalizations about the sound system of Kitanemuk; so I have abstracted away from his symbols, in phonologically appropriate ways. I began the procedure of phonological analysis with his data, and later fit the other sources into that analysis.

established the rudiments of the phonology of Having Kitanemuk, I could still have chosen in principle any symbol for each of the significant segments that I wanted to represent in my orthography—any number of combinations of the various orthographies in the Kitanemuk sources might have been usable. In deciding whether to use the symbol used by Harrington or Zigmond, or some other symbol for a particular segment, I used three (a) general linguistic usage, which suggests either IPA symbols or IPA with some of the symbols more traditionally used by Americanists (thus, e.g., \underline{y} for IPA \underline{j}); (b) compatibility with other works available on the Takic languages, to permit greater ease of comparison for anthropologists investigating artifacts, kinterms, etc., and for linguists doing historical placenames. studies; and (c) where possible, a "one sound, one segment" rule to avoid ambiguities of the type raised by digraphs like ch (I have made an exception to this rule for kw (for [kw]), for reasons explained in section D, rule 3: "Glide formation"). The symbols needed for a phonemic transcription of Kitanemuk are a fairly manageable set of simple symbols with a few diacritics. They are listed later in this chapter. In the Kitanemuk-to-English dictionary, the original transcriptions are given following the phonemicized entry. For Harrington's backed k symbol

X

which resembles a Greek or Russian \underline{k} , I have used Greek kappa: $\underline{\kappa}$.

Before presenting the orthography used in this work, I will present the orthographies of Harrington, Zigmond and Merriam, and some of the spelling systems already used for other Takic languages.

2. HARRINGTON'S TRANSCRIPTIONS

The Harrington notes, which are the main source of materials used in this work, are written for the most part in a narrow transcription, 1 using Harrington's somewhat esoteric but fairly well understood phonetic transcription system.

Harrington Symbols:

¹Harrington seems to have transcribed more narrowly on some days than on others, however, or paid less attention sometimes to the phonetic detail of one type of segment than to variations in others which he was focusing on at the time. The fact that most of the session notes are undated makes it harder to reconstruct his thinking. Thus one has to suppose that a lack of, for example, length or stress marking on a particular token which appears on other tokens of the same item is at least sometimes a case of underspecification rather than a different pronunciation of the word. Because a number of careful educated guesses of this kind are inevitable in this type of work, I have listed original transcriptions in the dictionary.

Notes on Harrington's transcription:

Borrowings from Spanish, of which there are many (cf. the section on borrowings in Chapter II) suggest that many of Harrington's symbols have their usual values. We know how the Spanish is pronounced; we can deduce that after the necessary adaptations to Kitanemuk morpheme structure constraints and stress assignment have been allowed for, the other symbols can be matched at least approximately to their Spanish counterparts. Some further confirmation of the status and meaning of symbols is given in Harrington's own comments in the fieldnotes, and his Smithsonian revisions; these are retained in the dictionary. The following are comments on the symbols that need further explanation.

Segment length is profusely recorded using macrons, but is non-phonemic (as will be shown in section D, rule 1: "Segment length"). All vowels and most consonants (not <u>s.r.?</u>) are sometimes marked long.

Stress is recorded with an acute accent over certain vowels, and all vowels in the inventory are subject to stress, but it is also non-phonemic (as will be shown in section D, rule 2: "Stress").

Sonorants are sometimes recorded with a small circle beneath, apparently to mark them as devoiced; this symbol also appears, inconsistently, under the \underline{r} of \underline{t} \underline{r} , \underline{r} , presumably to indicate the voiceless \underline{r} release of retroflex consonants.

The symbol # appears very infrequently; its meaning is not clear.

Raised vowels are sometimes used to indicate what Harrington calls "echo vowels"; these are apparently very short, probably voiceless vowels which follow syllables closed by 2.

q is a velar allophone of h, corresponding to IPA [x], not [q].2

 $\underline{\kappa}$ is a backed variety of the phoneme /k/—probably IPA [q]; dotted k (\underline{k}) seems to be a notational variant of $\underline{\kappa}$.

Inferior hooks opening to the right are occasionally used on vowels; they apparently indicate vowels which are slightly more open than usual, as in modern IPA usage; cf. the final vowel of $t\acute{u}qu?$ 'effeminate man', and the note in the entry for $t\dotplus{v}o?it$ 'animal', where open o is equated with o.3

²This is confirmed by Laird (1984: 323) in her description of Harrington's transcription system for Chemehuevi, a language which she and he studied during and after his work with Kitanemuk. It is also reported to be Harrington's spelling of [x] in a number of other languages (William Bright, p.c., Pamela Munro, p.c.).

³But note that Kroeber (1907: 91) claims that "e and o are generally open in Shoshonean, at least in the California dialects."

The symbol \pm is used in words which are probably borrowed. It apparently represents a voiceless \underline{I} . In the phonemic representation I spell Harrington's words containing this symbol with a plain \underline{I} .

The symbols \underline{f} , \underline{d} , $\underline{\delta}$ and \underline{g} occur only in borrowings from Spanish. They are assumed to represent the sounds associated with them in IPA usage.

Raised <u>w</u> and <u>h</u> occur following certain segments; they are assumed to represent light offglides, probably very faint.

A period (.) occurs rarely between vowels in, e.g., haits 'reed sp.' (which is also transcribed hájits háits haits and ha?jts); its meaning can only be guessed at; it may mark a hiatus (indicating that neither vowel has become a glide), or it may simply draw attention to the fact that there is no glottal stop separating two vowels. Note that contiguous vowels are more often transcribed without the period than with it, including iu, ia, io, aa, ai, ea, ua, ui, oa, oi, aa, ao.

- ' marks aspiration (in some but not all cases this is /h/).
- ə represents a high central vowel [i], not [a].
- ' is a glottal stop (rendered in this work as ?, for greater readability).

3. ZIGMOND'S TRANSCRIPTIONS

The Zigmond transcription is different from Harrington's:

Ziamond symbols

Notes on Zigmond's transcriptions:

In the vowel chart, the symbol $\underline{\upsilon}$ represents Zigmond's script-style $\underline{\upsilon}$ symbol (the usual Americanist lax $\underline{\upsilon}$ symbol), corresponding to IPA [ϖ].

A single raised dot following a segment indicates length.

An acute accent over a vowel represents stress.

Zigmond has told me that <u>a</u> probably represents a high central vowel.

Zigmond (p.c.) describes <u>a</u> with a small circle beneath as the sound of <u>ow</u> in "how", or <u>au</u> in German; it corresponds to Harrington's <u>aw</u> in some entries.

- a corresponds to [ay] (in , e.g., wanaypac).
- ' following stops represents aspiration
- α stands for the vowel sound in Eng. <u>nut</u>, according to Zigmond (p.c.)—presumably IPA [\wedge]; it corresponds to Harrington's α in some forms such as $-\frac{y}{\alpha}k$ (/-y $+\frac{i}{\alpha}k$ /) 'locative'.

The enclosure of some segments in parentheses may mean optional, or devoiced, or uncertainty on Zigmond's part.

The exact phonetic value represented by $\frac{3}{2}$ is not clear; but the sound corresponds to Harrington's $\frac{1}{2}$ in such words as $\frac{23}{2}$ in Such words as $\frac{23}{2$

The exact meanings of \underline{k} , of \underline{k} with breve beneath, of \underline{k} with strike-through are not clear.

The meaning of \underline{a} is unknown, but perhaps it indicates a more open \underline{a} , as in IPA usage.

4. MERRIAM'S TRANSCRIPTIONS

The Merriam system seems to be the least internally consistent, but fairly narrow and still useful in combination with the other two. He was insistent that the sounds of other languages could be represented using only English-type spelling (which is at least as inappropriate to Kitanemuk as it is to English) and a few diacritics.

Merriam Symbols

p t ts tr,ch k kw ' i,ee,ē u,oo b,v,
$$\Phi$$
 s shr ch h e o m n ng a,ah r w y

Notes on Merriam's transcriptions:

Many glottal stops are omitted (more by Merriam than by Harrington and Zigmond).

Merriam capitalized the first word of each entry; I have substituted lower case characters.

Merriam sometimes uses a raised ^{ch} to represent [x] or [h], which he reportedly (W. Bright, p.c.) confuses in syllable-final position (but this is not an important distinction in Kitanemuk). Vowels are written with macrons or breves over them, as well as plain.

An acute accent follows stressed syllables.

An entry for 'old woman', <u>no"taht</u>, is the only instance of something that looks like a double quote; it probably represents aspiration (actually phonological /h/) closing a stressed syllable.

The high central vowel of Harrington's and Zigmond's transcription is sometimes represented in Merriam's notes by oo, breve e, o, or u.

5. PHONEMIC SYMBOLS USED IN OTHER TAKIC DESCRIPTIVE WORKS

The following charts are presented to show how the spelling system used in this work compares with that of a sampling of other publications in the field of Takic linguistics. Omitted are, e.g., Hyde (1971) and Sauvel and Munro (1981), whose practical orthographies take into account some factors not relevant to this work (e.g. compatibility with the spelling of English).

Serrano (Crook 1974a)

Luiseño (Bright 1968)

```
Ptčk,kwq,qw?iufssišx,xwhheovdamnngri
```

Cupeño (Bright and Hill 1967)

```
t c č
P
               k
                                             i
                                                     u
                                                          i:
                                                                  u:
     SŞ
               X
                   xw h
                                                              a: o:
                                                              a:
m
     n
          ny
               ŋ
     r
     1
         ly
W
         У
```

Cahuilla (Seiler 1977)

As can be seen, these orthographies for Takic languages differ primarily in terms their representation of rounded velars (in this case I use $\underline{k}\underline{w}$ for Kitanemuk, as will be explained below in section D, rule 3: "Glide formation") and palatal liquids (which do not occur in Kitanemuk). In this work I use \underline{y} for IPA [j], in keeping with the usage of these other works and of American Indian linguistics in general. I have opted for unitary symbols for \underline{s} , \underline{c} , and $\underline{\eta}$ (as have the works represented above) as a personal and theoretical preference, and because no practical consideration of ease of

readability by native speakers literate only in English or Spanish applies in the case of Kitanemuk.

6. ORTHOGRAPHY USED IN THIS WORK

Given the phonological structure of the language and the symbols used in related languages, then, the following orthography has been adopted for use in this work.

		CONSONANTS				VOWELS			
	labial	alv.	pal.	velar	glottal	[-ba] [+ba]			
obstruent	s p	t c	č	k kw	ን	i i u	[+hi]		
fricatives	V	S	š		h	e o			
nasals	m	n		ŋ		8	[+ 0]		
rhotic		r		•					
lateral		1							
glides	W		У						

- morpheme boundary
- : length (not a phonemic phenomenon)
- ' stress (not a phonemic phenomenon)

Table I summarizes the correspondences between my orthography (AJA), the orthographies of Harrington (JPH), Zigmond (MLZ), and Merriam (CHM), and their probable International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) equivalents.

Table I: Correspondences of the various spelling systems4

AJA	JPH	MLZ	СНМ	IPA
P	Р	p,b	Р	Р
t	t	t	t	t
С	ts	С	ts	C
k	k, ķ ,K	k,g,q	k	k
kw	kw	kw	kw	k ^w
7	', Ø	ን	,,	ን
V	V	۷,Φ	v,β,b	ν, Φ
S	s		S	· s
s č š	tʃ,tʃr	s C S	tr,ch,tch	tʃ,tſ
	ʃ, ʃr	š	shr	1, 1
h	h,q	h,x	h	h,x
W	W	W	W	W
У	j	y,dy	У	j
r	r	r	r	ŕ
	1	1		1
i	i	i	ē, ee,ε	i
е	e	e,ε	е	е
8	8	a	a, ah, uh	8
ŀ	ə	r,ə,ນ,ä	u,oo,e,o	÷
)	0	3	0	0
Į	u	u	u,oo,ü	u

⁴This table is merely intended as a guide to the most frequently encountered spelling conventions of the major sources, and is not an exhaustive presentation of correspondances, especially in the case of Merriam. I have no specific information on the transcription systems of Hudson, Kelsey, or van Valkenburgh and Farmer. For some explanation of Kroeber's transcription system, see Appendix B.

7. CONVENTIONS OF PRESENTATION

In the rest of this chapter, phonological rules are stated wherever possible in terms of phonological features. The examples illustrating the rules give underlying phonological forms, between slash marks, followed by an arrow indicating the application of the rule under discussion, and the resulting output of the rule for that form, in square brackets (as is a common convention in phonological discussions). The fact that there are no native speakers to consult, to check the phonetic description as presented in the various sources. has necessitated some peculiarities presentation, however, which the reader should be aware of. many instances there is some disagreement between the sources: indeed, within each source there are various versions of phonetic output transcribed for different tokens of the same form, This is partially due to allophony. identical contexts. sometimes is due to difficulty in identifying a sound; for example, a sound recorded sometimes as \underline{a} , sometimes as lax \underline{u} , may really In the case of Harrington's transcriptions, differences are more often due to the fact that his transcriptions varied from session to session as to their narrowness. Thus, for example, one token will have the first syllable accented, and another will have no accent marks at all, either because when the second token was being transcribed Harrington was paying attention to something else-perhaps consonant length, vowel quality, morphology or syntax, and not focusing on stress, or because he had developed a

theory by this time about how stress was assigned, and had decided not to mark it any more unless it departed from the usual patterns. All this would be easier to sort out if it could be determined which notes were taken before which others. Unfortunately this is not for the most part possible.5 The fact that at least some of the notes copied from the Smithsonian are revisions of the earlier notes is occasionally helpful; thus the sources labeled "H" [the originals acquired from Berkeley] and "R" (the partially revised notes at the Smithsonian) are listed separately in the dictionary, so that whatever light they may shed on these questions will not be lost. One has to look at a whole range of tokens of the same form, and abstract away from them somewhat in order to come up with a justifiable level of representation that one might want to "phonetic output". While it is a truism that phonetic transcriptions are in themselves an abstract representation of a continuous soundstream, the problem is considerably magnified here, since the phonologist has never heard the acoustic signal. Part of my task has been to judge which abstract representation best suits the sounds which I have not personally witnessed. think the best approach to this is to be as conservative as possible in the claims that I make about phonetic output, while also

⁵A few fieldwork sessions are dated, but most are not. The raw notes from Berkeley are numbered with a stamp, which results in page numbers which can be referred to, but it is not clear whether Harrington or someone at the archives applied the number stamps, and in any case it is certainly clear that the pagination is not chronological, since some of the later dated sessions have lower numbers than the earlier dated ones.

including a representation of all the phonetic recordings in the dictionary, alongside the abstract phonological representation.

In the phonological examples, situations arise of the following sort: suppose I wish to exemplify the lengthening of consonants. Should I cite a transcribed form where an underlying /i/ is glided, or another token where it is not (where the gliding or lack of it has no bearing on the lengthening of a consonant or lack of it)? To resolve such dilemmas I have followed the convention of listing in the phonetic output only those phonetic details which are clearly and consistently recorded for that example, and not other phonetic details which are inconsistently recorded and not relevant to the discussion at that point. This means that the "phonetic" square brackets are not always the phonetic transcriptions of tokens (that is, they may not match any of the source forms in the dictionary exactly); they are frequently underspecified for phonetic detail. They are in a sense one level of abstraction further removed from raw data than the source transcriptions themselves, since they are abstractions formed across transcription tokens, not speech tokens per se. The reader can of course refer to the source citations in the dictionary to see the actual transcribed forms.

I use another convention unique to this work. In this chapter an asterisk means non-occurring, rather than rejected by speakers. In general there are very few starred forms in the data; those that are indicated are found in such comments as "no endingless form" [for nouns with no non-possessed form] and a few starred morphological combinations [Harrington actually uses an asterisk in some few cases]. There are no forms recorded as being rejected for purely phonological reasons.

B. SEGMENT INVENTORY

The segments /s/ and /l/ are rather rare; they occur in a few borrowings and perhaps two dozen other words for which there is no evidence of borrowing (e.g. ?anu?si 'small', hu?usinak 'ant sp.', nillik 'catch up with'). Some Spanish loans show /r/ being substituted for [l] (e.g. karvaša?, 'gourd', from "calabaza" and rihir 'beans', from "frijól").

[f,d,ð,g,4] also occur, but only in borrowings.

The three-way contrast for nasals is illustrated by the words hama-t 'grass', hana-t 'ant sp.', and hana' 'bee sp.'

The vowels /e/ and /o/ are infrequent; [e] and [o] are sometimes allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively.

Kroeber (1907: 90) suggests that Kitanemuk <u>p</u>, <u>t</u>, and <u>k</u> are often unaspirated or only lightly aspirated. This is corroborated partially by van Valkenburg and Farmer's spelling "Gitanemuk" for the language name.

Kroeber says (1907: 90) that \underline{v} is "always bilabial, and by an untrained observer ... readily heard as \underline{b} or \underline{w} ", which suggests it is $[\beta]$; but I know of no further evidence bearing on this claim. He also

comments that "interdental or lower dental 1 ... has been noted in Gitanemuk".

The phonemes /č/ and /š/ are perhaps retroflex at the level of systematic representation; certainly they have retroflex allophones (cf. discussion under "Retroflection" below).

The digraph \underline{kw} represents both the sequence /kw/ and the unitary segment /kw/. (I have intentionally maintained this ambiguity in the orthography, because there are cases in which it is not possible to distinguish between /kw/ and /kw/.)

Both Harrington and Zigmond use the symbol \underline{a} for the vowel I represent here as $/\frac{1}{4}$, but there are reasons to interpret it as a high back vowel rather than the mid vowel usually represented by \underline{a} : (1) Zigmond (p.c.) is almost sure that he used \underline{a} to represent $[\frac{1}{4}]$; 6 (2) Laird's (1984) description of Harrington's transcription system indicates that he used \underline{a} for $[\frac{1}{4}]$; 7 (3) Harrington may have been motivated to use \underline{a} by the convenience of a unitary symbol for a

⁶One should bear in mind that Zigmond was trying to remember the facts some 40 years after his fieldwork on Kitanemuk; but it seems likely that he is remembering correctly. He did use <u>a</u> for a high central vowel in his early work on Kawaiisu.

⁷Laird (1984: 323) also describes well the frustration of working with Harrington fieldnotes. In spite of the great care which he obviously took to record exact pronunciations, he of course heard things differently on different occasions (like all linguists). But he also changed the symbols during his work, with no overt statement in the notes of having done so!

Linguistic symbols had not been standardized at the time I worked with Harrington; and had they been, he would have felt no compulsion to adopt them. He was constantly experimenting—constantly striving to perfect for his own use a system of phonetic writing that would be quick, clear, and fully representative of the sounds he heard. Evidence of this experimentation is scattered throughout certain texts. I find pages copied over and over, each time with different symbols.

high central vowel, both in handwriting and in typing (Harrington's typewriter had no $\underline{\underline{\ }}$ or $\underline{\underline{\ }}$, but it did have a $\underline{\underline{\ }}$).8

For purposes of rule statement, the segments above will be assumed to be describable in terms of the features in Table II. on the following page (based on Chomsky and Halle 1968).

⁸See Appendix G for a representation of the layout of Harrington's special typewriter.

Table II: SIGNIFICANT FEATURES OF KITANEMUK SEGMENTS

			_								
	VOC	cons	<u>voi</u>	<u>high</u>	back	round	ant	<u>102</u>	cont	nas	<u>d.rel.</u>
P	-	+	-	-	-	•	+	-	-	-	
t	-	+	•	-	-	-	+	+	•	-	-
С	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
č	•	+	•	+	-	•	-	+	-	-	+
k	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
kw	•	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	
7	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
V	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	
s	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
š	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+.	-	
h	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	
W	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	
у	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	
r	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
1	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	
m	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	
n	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	
ŋ	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
i	+	-	+	+	-	-					
÷	+	-	+	+	+	-					
u	+	-	+	+	+	+					
е	+	-	+	•	-	-					
0	+	-	+	-	+	+					
А	_	_	_		_	-					

C. MORPHEME STRUCTURE CONSTRAINTS

All morphemes in Kitanemuk begin with a single consonant (or glide-this statement will be further refined in section D, rule 3: "Glide formation"), with the exception of a few suffixes and clitics which begin with vowels9. Vowels occur singly or in clusters of two in the underlying representation. Vowel clusters include iu, ia, io, ia, ii, ea, ua, ui, oa, oi, ai and ao. There are from one to four vowels per morpheme. Morphemes end in a vowel or one to three consonants. Medial consonants are limited to clusters of There are rules such as absolutive affixation and transitive derivation which create final clusters of a wide variety in full The morpheme structure could be broadly characterized by words. the following formula (the first syllable to be amended slightly in the glide section, below):

CV(V)(C)(CV(V)(C)(CV(V)(C)(CV(V)(((C)C)C))))

It is in morpheme-final position that the most interesting variation occurs. Following are some examples of morphemes ending zero, one, two and three consonants.

⁹I have assumed that words recorded with initial vowels in fact begin with the consonant ?. Otherwise glottal stop would be the unique consonant which never occurs initially, and rules to insert it in most prefixed and reduplicated forms would have to be constructed.

Morpheme-final position

<u>- V</u> ?imi? 'you' pis 'arrive' Panaya, 'all right' hu? 'burn' pop 'near' ?imiha 'mute' kač 'be' purpur 'worm sp.' pea 'be finished' kim 'come' yik 'scream' pumu, pomo 'shoulder' kwišušu?i? 'swirl' yorin 'plow' ma?aya?i 'easy' muka? 'white person'

-CC
cipk 'a little' hipipk 'rub buckskin' mwiršk 'sad'
hitk 'abreast' waravk 'intensive adv.' ra?wh- 'sit'
ka?m 'crazy' ?i?vk 'raise up'

A closer look at the examples above reveals that some of the consonant cluster examples are subject to doubt. First of all the glides in 'sit' and 'sad' may be derived from underlying vowels; they could be instances of either phonemic or derived glides, and so are not necessarily clusters at the level of morpheme structure. Secondly, many of the final C's in these clusters are k; -k is a transitivizing (usually causative) suffix common on verbs and adjectives derived from verbs; so 'rub buckskin', 'raise up', 'a little', 'abreast', and 'sad' are possibly polymorphemic (although the related forms which would confirm this are absent from the corpus). In addition, the rein 'sad' may be merely an indication of the retroflection of the sthat follows it. That leaves only 'intensive adv.' and 'crazy' as likely final consonant cluster morphemes, and they also could conceivably be derived. It seems

quite likely, then, that the best formula to summarize maximum morpheme structure, with a few exceptions at the most, is the following:

 $(CV(V)(C))_1^4$

that is, one to four sequences of CV(V) or CV(V)C strung together. The full picture is not determinable from the data on which this work is based.

Final clusters in words are created primarily, then, if not wholly, by the suffixation of consonantal suffixes—either the absolutive suffix (-1, -c, -c) or the verbal suffix -k. The role of the absolutive suffix will be discussed in chapter II; briefly, it has no inherent meaning, but appears on non-possessed, non-case-suffixed noun forms, before the object suffix, or word-finally on subjects and possessors.:

Clusters due to suffixation of absolutive
h+n-t 'snake' ?inok-t 'bird sp.'
hu?-č 'star' pačuk-t 'bow'

The -k suffix relates verbs as in the following examples:

Clusters on causative verbs
curup-k 'put in' (cf. curup-ik 'enter')
hamut-k 'take down' (cf. hamut-ik 'climb down')
?iy-k 'lean' (cf. ?iy-ik 'be leaning')
ka?m-k 'make drunk' (cf. ka?m-ik 'be crazy')
ra?wh-k 'seat' (cf. ra?wh-ik 'sit')
pit(-)k 'fill' (no corrsponding -ik verb in data)

D. PHONOLOGICAL RULES

1. SEGMENT LENGTH

Length on both consonants and vowels is indicated by both Harrington and Zigmond, but inconsistently; that is, it is sometimes noted and sometimes not. The consonants marked long when length is being noted vary in different tokens of the same word. The recording of length on vowels in some vowels is more consistent, which is slightly troubling, especially in light of the fact that other Takic languages—Cahuilla, Cupeño, Luiseño and Serrano—have been reported to have distinctive vowel length. 10 All vowels occur in both long and short variants11, and so do most consonants (those never marked long are: ?, h, l [?], r, s, v).¹² Since there are no minimal pairs for length, I have omitted all indication of length from the phonemicized spelling, except to write twin segments separated by a morpheme boundary where that is the source of a phonetic long segment, as in the following example:

¹⁰ Pam Munro has said (p.c.) that she finds a similar situation in Gabrielino, for which the major source is also Harrington notes, and is similarly puzzled.

¹¹ This distribution is unlike that in Gabrielino (where long or stressed ii, í and ee, é alternate with short unstressed e, and similarly uu/ú and oo/ó alternate with short unstressed o) and Luiseño (where short u and o, and short i and e, neutralize as the high vowel)(Munro, p.c.).

¹²The one exception is 2 shivi? pač 'shore', which in one token only has a long v.

/mɨ-kɨm-mat-ø/ for source məkəmat [mɨkɨm:at]
2s make FUT 2-3s
'You are going to make it.'

As a general rule, consonants are long following stressed vowels. Since stress in Kitanemuk is initial, stem-initial consonants are long when prefixed with either a reduplicative syllable or a personal prefix.

/?a-mi/ -> [?ám:i] 'S/he is going' 3s go

There are also many morpheme-internal intervocalic long consonants, and it is likely that some of them are lengthened due to the same general principle—that is, they may follow a vowel with secondary stress (which is usually not recorded). Many of them may be due to paralinguistic effects, slow speech effects (most of the corpus consists of phrases and sentences rom one to three words long), and other such non-phonological or para-phonological factors.

2. STRESS

General

Stress is almost entirely predictable, occurring on the initial vowel in the word. A small residue of anomalous forms not covered by the initial stress rule can be explained as borrowings,

or as mistranscriptions.¹³ My convention in citing the source transcriptions in the dictionary is to give forms with accents as distinct transcriptions only where the stress is marked other than on the first syllable only (which is unusual). Otherwise the reader should understand that all forms of a type either did not record the position of stress, or recorded it on the first syllable only, or some mixture of the two, across tokens.

Initial stress rule

The primary stress falls on the first vowel of the word, regardless of whether this is part of a stem or prefix14. Even words borrowed from Spanish with non-initial stress are adapted to the Kitanemuk pattern by having stress shifted to the first vowel (e.g. káreta 'cart', < Span. "carréta") or to a vowel inserted to break up an initial cluster (e.g. táriwi 'wheat', < Span. "trígo") another pattern, seen in rítis 'ear of corn', (< Span. "elótes"), is to delete the Spanish initial unstressed vowel. Still another pattern is to keep the stressed vowel as in Spanish, and also stress the initial, which leads to an otherwise rare stress pattern of first and second vowels stressed, as in tíltiva 'tortilla', (< Span. "tortílla") (I think that most cases of contiguous stressed vowels are probably borrowings from some other language; but a very few

¹³There are very few exceptions, e.g. <u>t+t+vim</u> 'eleyewu dancers' (cf. <u>t+vit</u> 'eleyewu dancers') which may be transcription errors.

¹⁴Wanakik Cahuilla is reported by Seiler (1977) to have this same rule.

reduplicated forms have stress on the prefix as well as the stem vowel.) 15

Examples:

hánin	'winnow!'	t‡mki-c	'cave'		
níhanin	'I winnow'	t‡h-t‡mki-c	'caves'		
káŋa-c	'beard'	wťpšat	'trap'		
ni-kaŋa	'my beard'	wťwipšaha-ve	'Old Tejon'		
ni-puh-puyur	m 'my friends'	wihaka?y	'fish sp.'		

Secondary stress

The assignment of secondary stress is more a matter of speculation, since it is only infrequently marked in the sources. There is, however, some support for the hypothesis that secondary stress is penultimate, as in

/kwimika/, transcribed kwimika, kwimika [kwimika]? 'north'

¹⁵In these Spanish examples an accent mark is superimposed on the Spanish orthographic forms, for expository purposes only; they are not spelled with an accent in Spanish.

Long consonants in some words suggest the presence of secondary stress on the preceding vowel with consequent lengthening of the consonant:

/pa-vea-tam/, transcribed p aviatam; [pá:viàt:am] ?

'Yokuts from Kern Lake'

The plural of the above noun shows the same consonant lengthening:

pa-pa-vea-tam, transcribed pápā viatam; [páp:a:viàt:am]?
'Yokuts, plu.'

This is clearly not always the case, however, and I suspect that the rule may take into account the difference between suffixes and stems, or some other factor. In any case, the tokens with recorded secondary stress are too few to justify the specification of a rule.

Interaction of stress and other rules

Stress is assigned after the gliding rule has applied (see "Glide formation", below), and after reduplicative syllable formation (see "Reduplication", below).

3. GLIDE FORMATION

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ are subject to devocalization under certain conditions; the high central vowel /i/ is excluded

from the operation of this rule by the specification that rounding and backness must match in the segment to be glided.

This is a rough approximation of the rule needed to account for the variant realizations, e.g., of the instrumental suffix -<u>ihwa?</u> on vowel-final and consonant-final stems (recall that certain suffixes are the only vowel-initial morphemes in Kitanemuk):

```
/mu-ihwa?-t/-> [muyhwa?t] 'mortar' (< 'grind' + 'inst.')
/ca?cakin-ihwa?t/-> [ca?cakinihwa?t] 'winnowing basket'
```

It also can be used to derive the surface glides in forms like the following:

?a-hw-iva 'that burned' (cf. ?a-hu 'it burns')

Thus at least some surface [y] and [w] are underlying /i/ and /u/, respectively. They result from the gliding of one of the vowels in underlying vowel clusters. The morpheme structure rules must allow for some underlying vowel clusters, anyway, since there are words like the following, with VV sequences on the surface which do not glide.

?∔ac 'jaw' meah 'go!' ?uvea 'already'

rearn-k 'bend' tameat 'sun' hai 'yes' taoč 'thunder'

Note that the gliding rule ignores an intervening glottal stop:

/kwara?-ihwa?-t/-> [kwara?yhwa?t] 'ointment'('smear' + 'inst.')

/kuruku?itat/ -> [kuruku?ytat] 'a type of basket'16

Not all surface glides can be derived in this way; some are underlying glides, like the initial glide of wean 'go'. To derive it from underlying /u/ would necessitate positing underlying VVV sequences, which never surface and are otherwise unnecessary. All intervocalic glides within a morpheme are considered to represent phonemic glides, not vowels, for the same reason.

There is a large residue of surface forms containing glides the source of which cannot be determined. This is due in some cases to gaps in the data—a lack of helpful derived forms, for instance, and in some cases to the fact that there is no conceivable synchronic evidence that could bear on the question, as in

[ihwa?] 'inst. suffix' (equally well < /ihua?/ or /ihwa?/)

¹⁶Note that the glide in this word must be an underlying vowel, or else the morpheme structure limitation on medial clusters will be violated.

In some cases the decision can be made by taking into consideration the morpheme structure rules. I have claimed that there are no initial clusters in Kitanemuk morphemes. If this is taken to mean that all morphemes begin with no more than one [-vocalic] segment, then initial CG clusters will be disallowed; if it is taken to mean that morphemes begin with no more than one [+consonantal] segment, then initial CG clusters would be allowed, but not CC clusters.

[mwiršk] 'sad' < /mwiršk/ or /muiršk/

In the dictionary I have adopted the convention of representing such indeterminable cases as having underlying glides—since, as has already been shown, underlying glides are part of the phonemic inventory of the language in any case, and I prefer to take a conservative approach as to how many rules I am claiming operate in each form. (The morpheme structure rules, then, are assumed to allow #CGV..., but not #CCV....) Then again, the morpheme structure constraint that all morphemes except certain suffixes do begin with a consonant (or, now, a consonant plus a glide) will also dictate the phonemicization of all stem-initial surface glides, as in

[wir] 'lots'

as glides. Those which precede VV sequences are already covered above, but this will cover all the rest. Only glide-initial suffixes such as -w + t 'augmentative' will remain indeterminate; these I will phonemicize as glides, following the conservative preference just mentioned. Examples are

```
/kay-c/ 'mountain' /-ay/ 'obj. suffix'.
```

Problems remain. This rule as discussed so far does <u>not</u> determine which of two high vowels in a sequence will glide in forms like the following:

```
/?a-R-hiu/ -> [?a-hi-hyu] 'he is seeing' (cf. ?a-hyu 'he sees') /?a-hu-iv\dot{+}/ -> [?a-hw-iva] 'that burned' (cf. ?a-hu 'it burns')
```

One might suppose that the first of two high vowels glides; but the rule in general applies to either the first or the second vowel (presumably this is no different when the nongliding vowel is high). One might suppose that there is a preference for /i/ to glide, or a preference for /u/; but the pair of forms just given show this not to be true.

/ni-hiu/ -> [nihyu] 'I see'
/ni-niu/ -> [niniw] 'my possession'
/hiu/ -> [nihyu] 'I see'
/hui?t/ -> [hwi?t] 'rabbit'

Some other constraint is still needed. This problem could be solved in some cases by simply assuming the glides are underlying glides rather than vowels (since these are needed anyway), but there are still problems with variant realizations of the same underlying morpheme in different environments:

```
/niu/ -> [niniw] 'my possession'

/ni-niu-y/ -> [niniuy, ninyuy] 'my possession, obj.'

/?a-R<sup>17</sup>-niu-y/ -> [?anihniuy] 'his possessions, obj.'<sup>18</sup>
```

Apparently one relevant constraint required to get the right vowel devocalized has to do with permissible and non-permissible consonant clusters which would result, and perhaps other tactors. Devocalization always occurs when the potential gliding vowel is adjacent to a word boundary and a vowel (i.e., word-final following a vowel); it never occurs when adjacent to kw or another glide, or a consonant cluster adjacent to word boundary (i.e., final consonant cluster).

```
/kwioc-k/ -> [kwiock] 'bend' (avoids *#kwy)
/hui?t/ -> [hwi?t] 'hare' (avoids *y?t#)
/?a-hu?-i/ -> [?ahu?i] 'burned' (avoids *?y?#)
```

¹⁷I am using R to represent reduplication at the morphemic level.

¹⁸Another hypothesis for this morpheme has been suggested by Pamela Munro (p.c.), and deserves further examination: perhaps 'possession' is /niw/, and the /w/ is vocalized to [u] by a rule which simplifies glide clusters to vowel plus glide.

In fact, the example below suggests that perhaps a single wordfinal consonant creates a non-gliding environment.

But there certainly <u>are</u> surface glides preceding word-final consonants:

If [muic] is to be explained by disallowing glide formation before word-final consonants, the form [?amayt], of course, could be derived with underlying /y/. This seems like a reasonable hypothesis, in light of the following form of 'pinole':

Here, apparently, the resulting shape of the word with the vowel glided is not disallowed; the [y] goes with the preceding [u], and the [c] with the following object suffix to form, one supposes, two well-formed syllables. With further work perhaps the appropriate constraints could be built into the devocalization rule or more general principles of the phonology.

Another problem with this analysis is that there remains in the corpus one surface VV sequence where one of the vowels should be glided according to the rule:

kua 'call'

This is unexplainable according to any of the principles established so far. One hypothesis would be that this is a mistranscription; there are only two tokens of this word—nikua 'I called' and kuan 'call!'; but this is an explanation of last resort. Could it be, e.g., /kuwa/, with the w "lost" perceptually in the rounding of the preceding vowel u? Or could it be /kwua/, with an initial labiovelar preventing gliding but being mis-heard in the environment of the u? This is one of the unfortunate indeterminables in a project of this kind.

The glide rule analysis presented allows us to simplify the inventory of consonants by deriving surface hw, mw, η w, pw from permissible underlying CGV sequences, without claiming that these transcribed sequences represent unitary phonemes /hw, mw, η w, pw/.

/hwi?t/ or /hui?t/'hare' hwi?t

/ŋwapa-m/ or /ŋwapa-m/'referee' ŋwápam /mwiršk/ or /muiršk/ 'sad' mwiršk

/pwičiwamiŋ/ 'plcnm.' pwičiwamiŋ

But we do not want to do away with /kw/ in this fashion, because only it may appear before surface VV sequences:

kwea 'lasso' kwioc-k 'bend' ni-kwiatin 'l plow'

There is no need to posit underlying VVV sequences other than to avoid admitting a segment \underline{kw} . It also acts like a single consonant in the formation of reduplicated prefixes. The underlying $/k^w/$ of 'woman' is exactly parallel to the underlying /h/ of 'see', but an underlying /ku/ for 'woman' would give a wrong result:

'women' 's/he is seeing it' 'women'
/R-kwihaka-m/ /?a-R-hiu-ø/ /R-kuihaka-m/
kwikwihakam ?ahihiu kukuihakam REDUP.
- ?ahihyu *kukwihakam GLIDING

(Note that there are no CCV- or CGV- reduplicative syllables attested.) Of course, due to certain gaps in the data, there are still words in the corpus for which it cannot be determined whether surface $\underline{k}\underline{w}$ is a reflex of an underlying $/\underline{k}\underline{w}/$ segment, or of underlying $/\underline{k}\underline{w}/$ or $/\underline{k}\underline{w}/$:

kwara 'smear' kwoha 'foam' kwiyač 'acorn sp.'

This is one reason I have used the digraph $\underline{k}\underline{w}$ instead of $\underline{k}\underline{w}$ to represent both unitary and sequential $\underline{k}\underline{w}$'s; thus I make no possibly erroneous claim as to the status of the undecidable cases.

Interaction of stress and aliding

Perhaps stress is assigned after the gliding rule has applied, as in the following example (but such forms as this may have underlying glides, as noted above; so a requirement for this ordering is doubtful):

/nuapam/ --> [nwapam] (not *[nuapam]) 'game referee'

4. STEM-FINAL VOWEL LOSS

There is a rule of stem-final vowel loss, affecting a subset of nouns. Many of these nouns for which absolutive forms are given belong to the $-\underline{c}$ or $-\underline{\check{c}}$ absolutive classes; many are of undeterminable absolutive class since no non-possessed forms are given. The rule drops the final \underline{a} of stems, typically in possessed but non-suffixed forms:

a -> Ø /]Poss ... _]N St

The stems affected form an arbitrary class, and are marked (A) in the dictionary. A typical \underline{a} -loss noun stem is /huna/ 'heart':

```
/huna-c/ -> [hunac] 'heart, abs.'

/?a-huna/ -> [?ahun] 'his heart'

/ni-huna-vea/ -> [nihunavea] 'in my heart'
```

Compare another <u>c</u>-class noun, /kava/ 'ear', which does not undergo <u>a</u>-loss:

```
/kava-c/ -> [kavac] 'ear, leaf' / ?a-kava/ -> [?akava] 'her ear' / ni-kava-vea/ -> [nikavavea] 'in my ear'
```

Examples of other \underline{a} -loss nouns follow. There are about two dozen in all.

```
/kwacita-c/ -> [kwacitac] 'tail, abs.'
/ni-kwacita/ -> [nikwacit] 'my tail'

/ni-?acita/ -> [ni?acit] 'my pet'
/ni-?acita-ivi/ -> [ni?acita?yvi] 'my dead dog'19

/pi?aka/ -> [pi?ak] 'Sphinx moth'20
```

¹⁹The 2 is inserted by the rule of glottal stop insertion, described below.

 $^{^{20}}$ Note that this last example is not a possessed noun, though most <u>a</u>-loss nouns demonstrate the effect in possessed forms. This is because they otherwise end in -<u>t</u>, -<u>c</u>, or -<u>č</u>, the absolutive suffix, when not possessed; this "protects" the <u>a</u> from dropping. <u>pia?aka</u> belongs to the smaller ø-suffix absolutive class, so its stem-final <u>a</u> is unprotected even though the stem is in absolutive form. There are two other nouns

For many noun stems ending in <u>ha</u>, this process of <u>a</u>-loss accompanies a change of final <u>h</u> to <u>r</u>; that is, the <u>a</u>-loss rule leaves the stem ending in <u>h</u>, and the rhotacization rule (discussed in the rule 5, "Rhotacization") then changes that <u>h</u> to <u>r</u>. It is appropriate to state the process as two separate rules, however, because although <u>a</u>-loss rule feeds the rhotacization rule, it applies more generally than to just <u>ha</u>-final stems (and rhotacization applies more generally—to verbs as well as nouns). Examples of other <u>a</u>-loss nouns which also undergo rhotacization follow.

```
/koha-č/
               -> [kohač]
                                'older' [in nimayr
                                kohač, 'my older daughter']
/ni-koha/
               -> [nikor]
                               'my older sister'
/ni-koha-m/ -> [nikoham]
                               'my older sisters'
/m + -koha - y/ -> [m + kohay]
                               'your older sister, obi.'
/paha-č/
               -> [pahač]
                               'older' [-mayr pahač 'older son']
/ni-paha/
               -> [nipar]
                               'my older brother'
/ni-paha-m/ -> [nipaham]
                               'my older brothers'
/ni-taha/
              -> [nitar]
                               'my uncle (maternal)'
/pɨ-taha-m/ -> [pɨtaham]
                               'their uncles'
/ni-yiha/
              -> [niy+r]
                               'my aunt'
/pɨ-yɨha-m/ -> [pɨyɨham]
                               'their aunts'
/m + y + ha - y / -> [m + y + hay]
                              'your aunt, obj.'
/ni-y i h a - i v i / -> [niy i h a ? i v i ] 'my dead aunt'
```

which may be analyzed as undergoing <u>a-loss</u> in absolutive forms—<u>hit a</u> 'what', and <u>p a čuk a</u> 'man'; but these both have irregular morphology in other respects and might better be considered simply irregular stems.

It is interesting that most of these nouns are typically inalienable—body parts and kin terms (but also 'pet' and 'Sphinx moth').

This rule of <u>a</u>-loss precedes the rule of glottal stop insertion (discussed in 9: "Glottal stop insertion", below):

/ni-hintua/

nihintu

a-LOSS

nihintu?

GLOTTAL STOP INSERTION

5. RHOTACIZATION

Word-final \underline{h} , with the exception of two words in the corpus, becomes \underline{r} , as stated in the rule of rhotacization²¹:

Although this is designed to handle only a dozen or so stems, it can be stated as a general rule applying to all the data. There are only two exceptions: (woh [*wor] 'two', and coh [*cor] 'fish sp.'). These may be borrowings.²² The rule of a-loss which applies to certain

²¹While a change of <u>h</u> to <u>r</u> may not seem very natural, it should be pointed out that the words in question derive from Takic protoforms containing *<u>s</u>, so a historical change of *<u>s</u> to <u>r</u> and *<u>s</u> to <u>h</u>. The change of *<u>s</u> to <u>h</u> is characteristic of the Serran branch of Takic, according to Bright (1974).

²² The stem <u>coh</u> is likely a borrowing—it belongs to the ø absolutive class which is the route borrowings take into the language, and probably there were not a lot of fish in

noun stems (see above) feeds this rule by putting medial <u>h</u>'s into word-final position:

```
/ni-paha/
nipah
[nipar] 'my older brother'
```

But rhotacization applies to verb stems, as well:

```
/?a-pih/
                         [?apir]
                                         'He is nursing.'
/ni-pih-an/
                         [nipihan]
                                         'I suckle him.'
/pi-?ah-an/
                         [pɨʔahan]
                                         'They wash it.'
                   ->
/?a-?ah/
                         [?a?ar]
                   ->
                                         'He bathes [himself].'
/ni-?ah/
                         [niʔar]
                   ->
                                         'I bathe (myseif).'
/ni-?ah-ivi/
                         [ni?ahivi]
                                         'I bathed'
                   ->
/ni-?ah-an/
                   ->
                         [ni?ahan]
                                         'I bathe it.'
/ni-mi-mat ?ah-ik/ -> [nimimat ?ahik] 'I am going to bathe.'
/ni-?ah-nehe/
                        [ni?arnehe]
                                         'I bathed myself.'
/?a-kwah/
                        [?akwar]
                                         'He cooks.'
/?a-kwah-hea/
                        [?akwahi]
                                         'It's cooked.'
/ni-tuh-mat/
                        [niturmat]
                                        'I will grind it.'
/tuh-ihwa?-t/
                        [tuhiwhwat]
                  ->
                                        'grinding stone
                                        [inst. nom.]'
```

Kitanemuk territory in the days before reservoirs were stocked; but the <u>woh</u> form is more unsettling—the numeral 'two' is not something that one would expect a language to borrow, and it looks like a good Takic stem (cf. Luis. <u>weh</u> (Hyde 1971), Cah. <u>wih</u> (Sauvel and Munro 1981); still it could have been borrowed from a Takic language, replacing some other native term for 'two.' Or conceivably the existence of the borrowed <u>coh</u> and of <u>wohea</u> 'twice' (derived from 'two') may have conspired in some way to make speakers feel that an /o/ before the /h/ blocks the rhotacization rule.

The rule also applies before clitic boundary:

(Clitic boundary has not been represented with a special symbol in the dictionary, but the number of clitics is small and they are easily recognized by consulting the section on clitics in Chapter II.)

Clitic data, incidentally, could provide a good argument against restating the h ~ r alternation as a rule

$$r \rightarrow h / V$$
.

Unfortunately we do not have any examples of <u>h</u>-final stems before vowel-initial clitics. But there is a reason for not stating the rule this way—the not uncommon occurrence of <u>r</u> intervocalically--cf. e.g. <u>kwara?</u> 'smear'.

There are according to this analysis a number of word-final \underline{r} 's for which we don't have evidence from related forms to decide whether they represent underlying /r/ or underlying /h/; for example, is $[w \dotplus r]$ 'a lot', $/w \dotplus h/$ or $/w \dotplus r/$. I have taken my customary conservative approach of minimalizing unsupported derivations by listing these words with underlying /r/.

6. REDUPLICATION

A reduplicated prefix is used in Kitanemuk for two functions: on nouns it creates plurals (the plural suffix -(a)m or -yam may be used either instead of or along with reduplication, and the choice seems to be free—cf. chapter II); on verbs it creates a progressive tense form usually translated by English 'be V-ing' or Spanish 'estar V-ando'. The reduplicative prefix in each case consists of a copy of the first consonant and vowel of the stem, with or without an h:

$$[C_1V_1...]_{Stem} \rightarrow C_1V_1(h)-C_1V_1...$$

The choice of CVh versus CV as a prefix does not seem to be predictable based on the form of the stem. It is unclear whether it is a free option, though; the only example in the corpus which is recorded with both variants is <u>huč</u>, which is <u>h</u>-initial, as shown in Table III.

Table III: Reduplicative prefixes

<u>Stem</u>		CVh-	
-piša?	'head'	p∔-pih-piša?	'their heads'
taŋatat	'sack'	tah-taŋatat	'sacks'
-tama '	'tooth'	pɨ-tah-tama	'their teeth'
pandri? '	'priest'	pah-pandri?-yan	n 'priests'
-cima '	'branch'	?a-cih-cima	'its branches'
kuru? '	'stab'	ni-kuh-kuru?	'I poke'
mɨmɨ-t '	'lake'	mɨh-mɨmɨ-t	'lakes'
namu '	fight'	p÷-nah-namu	'they are battling'
Wik '	hit'	ni-wih-wik	'I am hitting'
		mi-cih-cia-y	'your elbows, obj.'

<u>Stem</u>		CV-	
pačuk	'man'	pa-pačukam	'men'
?a-ho	'its hole'	?a-ho-ho	'its holes'
t∔vo?y-t	'animal'	ti-tivo?y-m	'animals'
ku?a-č	'worm'	ku-ku?a-m	'worms'
š‡ri-c	'stingy'	ši-širi-m	'stingy, of many'
?a-?ayk	'he laps it'	?a-?a-?ayk	'he is lapping it'
?a-mukpi	'his nose'	?a-mu-mukpi?	'points of land'
nohta-t	old woman'	no-noht a-m	'old women'

Interaction of stress and reduplication

Stress is assigned after reduplicative syllable formation has applied:

timki-c 'cave' tih-timki-c 'caves'²³

 $^{^{23}}$ There is at least one exception to this in the corpus: $\underline{\text{tih-tivi-m}}$ 'type of dancer', which is perplexing.

Reduplication and Glide formation

Glides are formed after the formation of reduplicative prefixes, as the following examples illustrate:

ni-hiu 'l see'

ni-hi-hyu 'I am looking'

There is one form which at first seems like a counterexample to this, but can be explained as a stem beginning with the single consonant <u>kw</u>, not a sequence <u>ku</u> or <u>kw</u> as the spelling might suggest:

kwi-kwihakam

'women'

Stem reduplication

There may be a process of stem reduplication on nouns and verbs, as well. The reduplicated forms are related semantically to the non-reduplicated forms in less predictable ways than the reduplicative prefix forms cited above. For this reason, and because there is only a small number of such pairings of plain stem and stem-reduplicated forms in the corpus, it may be the case that these forms are relatively 'frozen'—that is, that there was at the time the corpus was obtained no active process of stem reduplication at all. All attested examples are noted in the dictionary. The following are some examples.

Simple form	<u>Meaning</u>	Stem-redup, form	<u>Meaning</u>
ni-v i ?y-k	I touch	ni-vi?y-vi?y-k	I feel
wo?n-∔k	nod head	wo?n-wo?n-ik	be nodding head
tuah∔k-mat	walk, fut.	?a-tuah-tuah-∔k	He is walking.

In addition, some bird names and a few other nouns have a structure that could be called stem-reduplicated, for reasons no doubt related to onomatopoeia (the bird names sometimes have a ? in the second string of sounds):

hayha?y	'bird sp.'
huyhu?y	'bird sp.'
cayca?y	'bird sp.'
Paciwiciwi	'deer rattle'

7. CONSONANT BACKING AND FRONTING

This section contains discussion of three cases of allophonic variation in consonants, the exact mechanism of which is unclear, but which deserve mentioning. Consider the pair

```
Pivic 'this' Pivič-ivin 'this' + 'to me' clitic
```

The change of \underline{c} to $\underline{\check{c}}$ provides more confirmation that Harrington's $\underline{\underline{s}}$ is $\underline{\underline{+}}$. The exact rule is unclear; it may either make the \underline{c} either retroflex or palatal. It can be loosely envisioned as

The relationship of \underline{c} and $\underline{\check{c}}$ is confusing in a number of ways. Retroflex \underline{c} seems to be an allophone of both (\underline{kic} , \underline{kic} 'house abs.', vs. \underline{kicay} 'house, obj.' shows \underline{c} as a reflex of /c/, while \underline{pac} , $\underline{pa\check{c}}$ 'water' shows it as a reflex of $/\check{c}/$). Yet the two sounds do contrast, as shown by the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:

mac 'arm' mač 'forest or mountain'

?oc 'bone' ?oč 'mesquite'

pac 'that' pač 'water'

pi?c 'breast' pič 'down [feathers]'

There is perhaps a consonant-backing rule which also accounts for the backing of \underline{k} to \underline{k} (or $\underline{\kappa}$) and $\underline{k}\underline{w}$ to $\underline{k}\underline{w}$ (or $\underline{\kappa}\underline{w}$), though the situation here is not entirely clear. There are no minimal pairs for the more front versus the more back versions, and almost every token with κ or $\kappa \underline{w}$ has a mate elsewhere in the notes with k or $k\underline{w}$; both occur between most combinations of vowels (though there is a tendency for the further back versions to be adjacent to back vowels), and in all word positions; perhaps the sounds are in free variation, or the transcription was inconsistent. In any case, they are phonemicized to /k/ and $/k\,w/$ in this work. The rule(s) may be optional; there are cases of (morpheme-internal) [c] before [$\dot{+}$], such as $\underline{h}\underline{u}\underline{c}\dot{+}\underline{k}$ 'fall', and there are many words transcribed sometimes with \underline{k} and sometimes with $\underline{\kappa}$, which even occurs before front vowels ($\underline{\kappa}\underline{i}\underline{m}\underline{a}\underline{t}\underline{f}\underline{f}$, 'flicker'). It

would be normal for Harrington to be especially attentive to the velar-uvular distinction, since it is phonemic in some other Takic languages.²⁴

A similar difficulty exists in understanding the relationship between \underline{x} and \underline{h} . They are apparently allophonic variants of the same phoneme /h/. There are no minimal pairs for \underline{x} (Harrington's orthographic \underline{q}) and \underline{h} , yet both occur in overlapping environments (the former is considerably less frequent), and some words are transcribed using sometimes \underline{x} , sometimes \underline{h} (e.g. \underline{m} \underline{a} \underline{q} \underline{u} \underline{a} \underline{t} \underline{r} , \underline{m} \underline{a} \underline{h} \underline{t} \underline{r} reed sp.'). There may be a rule

which would account for, e.g., [?ayoxk] (Harrington orthographic $\underline{\text{áioqk}}$), [? $\underline{\text{ánixt}}$] (Harrington $\underline{\text{anaqt}}$) 'ant sp.' (but we also see $\underline{\text{anaht}}$ for the same word), and [xaxavit] (Harrington orthographic $\underline{\text{qaqavat}}$) 'clothes' (but we see also $\underline{\text{hahavat}}$). The rule may be optional, or the transcription may have varied in narrowness, but in any case the two sounds do not contrast phonemically.

8. <u>DEVOICING OF SONORANTS</u>

The following segments occur at times in the Harrington transcription with circles underneath, assumed to indicate de-

²⁴Cf. the Takic orthography charts in section A, above.

voicing: \underline{v} , \underline{m} , \underline{n} , $(\underline{\eta})$, \underline{w} , \underline{v} , \underline{r} . Some orthographic \underline{h} also seem to represent devoicing of preceding segments.

This can be stated in the form of a rule

Consonants are also sometimes devoiced word-finally (but there are no recorded examples of $\mathfrak r$ in this environment):

```
/?ama-y/->[?amaj] 'that (obj.)'

/?a-nip-k-i-m/->[?anipkim] 'dead people'

/wiv/->[wiy] 'get well' (cf. wivanea? 'cure')

/kiyaw/->[kiyaw] 'whale' (two transcriptions: circle, and hw)
```

This can be accomplished with a rule

The two rules together would serve to assure that all final consonants and consonant clusters (with the possible exception of <u>r</u>) are voiceless. This appears natural and likely.

The word for 'ant sp.', written with h t in the singular absolutive singular but with no h before the plural m suffix, I have phonemicized as /? an i h-t/, on the theory that the h was clearly heard preceding the t but no perceived (or deleted by rule?) before the devoiced final m.

As with many inconsistently recorded phenomena in the corpus, it is impossible to state a firm obligatory rule.

9. GLOTTAL STOP INSERTION

Glottal stops are sometimes added to possessed nouns, when their stem-final vowels become word-final or precede a suffix which begins with a vowel or consonant plus vowel:

Non-possessed form

?ikihu-c 'breastbone'

mi?ikihu? 'my breastbone'

mi?ikihu? cay 'your breastbone, obj.'

kava-c 'ear'

kupki-t 'cradle hood'

yayka-t 'counter stick'

?aci-t 'pet' (/?acita/)

Possessed

ni?ikihu? 'my breastbone'

mi?ikihu? 'my breastbone'

nikava? 'my ear'

rakupki? 'its hood'

niyayka? 'my counter stick'

ni?acita?ivi 'my dead or former pet'

This is not consistently shown, however; a few forms such as nikana 'my beard' (kanac 'beard'), ?ayiva 'its door', and ?apano 'its egg' do not show it. Probably it is an exceptionless rule, but simply not always noted (cf. Harrington's transcription of nikava 'my ear', alongside Zigmond's form cited above, with final ?). The rule, which would have roughly the form

$$\emptyset \rightarrow ? / V]_{NSt} = \{ \begin{matrix} \# \\ CV \end{matrix} \}$$

[+poss.] VC

has the effect of not creating final -2 m clusters which would result in the plurals of these nouns, if the environment were not constrained as it is. Glottal stop insertion must follow the rule of a-loss, to prevent the addition of glottal stops to possessed nouns like /ni-paha/, 'my older brother', which is pronounced [nipar], not *[nipha?]. It also must follow glide formation, to prevent forms like /ni-niu/ from surfacing as *[niniu?] instead of the attested [niniw].

10. VOWEL ELISION

There is a rule of vowel elision in Kitanemuk, which deletes the initial vowel of suffixes or clitics when they attach to vowelfinal stems.

That is, the initial vowel of a suffix or clitic is deleted following another vowel and morpheme boundary. The vowels deleted by this rule are the initial vowels of, the verb stem extender -(a)n, and the past clitic -(u)vu?, and the plural imperative clitic -ič, the object clitic -ici (used for first person object with second person subject) and a few others.

```
/ca-kwa-ič/-> [cakwač] 'Let's eat'
1p eat lmp.pl.

/kay-ici? hiu/-> [kayci hyu] 'Do not look at me'
NEG 2-1 see

/mi-mi-it/-> [mimit] 'Are you going?'
2s gp Q
```

The rule appears to apply only to back vowels. The initial high vowel of the "deceased" suffix -(i)v +, for example, glides instead of eliding:

/ni-?acita-ivi/-> [ni?acita?yvi] 'my dog that died'

The rule sometimes ignores an intervening glottal stop: $kwa?-\check{c}$ 'eat (plu.)!' [< $\underline{kwa?} + -\underline{(i)\check{c}}$ 'imperative plural']

11. RETROFLECTION

Words with underlying /š/ are variously transcribed by Harrington with $\underline{\Gamma}$, $\underline{\Gamma}$, $\underline{\Gamma}$, and $\underline{\Gamma}$ (cf. entries for $\underline{\S}$ 'flower', \underline{K} + $\underline{\S}$ $\underline{\bullet}$?

'no good', <u>ši?</u> 'urine', and others). None of these contrast phonemically. Similarly, words containing /č/ are variously transcribed with <u>tf</u>, <u>tfr</u>, <u>tfr</u>, and occasionally <u>tr</u>. These also do not contrast phonemically and do not seem to be predictable based on environment (cf. the entries for <u>Pačawat</u> 'raven', <u>yivač</u> 'door', <u>hučic</u> 'plant sp.', and others). In each case words are written with a retroflex version of the consonant and also elsewhere with the non-retroflex version. This suggests that the segments /č and /š/ are retroflex consonants in Kitanemuk, and is confirmed by Harrington's comment, noted in section B, suggesting that they are usually retroflex.

12. ECHO VOWELS

Harrington transcribes a number of words which end with 2 in the underlying representation with small raised vowel symbols following the glottal stop. The vowel is a copy, but for its raised format (which presumably indicates a lack of prominence, meaning perhaps short, and faint or devoiced), of the vowel which precedes the 2.

/ni-konaka?/-> [nikonaka?a] 'my necklace' (also [nikonaka?])
cf. konakat 'necklace, abs.'

These vowels he refers to as "echo vowels"; and his comments, as well as related forms of these morphemes, suggest that they are not what a modern analysis would call "phonemic". Harrington comments of one such vowel, for example, "not real <u>i</u>—mere echo vowel". These are perhaps derived from a rule which inserts them, something like

These echo vowels, like so many phenomena, are inconsistently and not often recorded. Assuming that there is such a rule, it must follow the rule of glottal stop insertion which inserts the 2 in the possessed form of 'necklace' above.

13. <u>k-Loss</u>

There are two verb suffixes, $-\frac{1}{2}\frac{k}{k}$ and $-\frac{k}{k}$, which mark certain (not all) intransitive and transitive verbs, respectively. The $-\frac{k}{k}$ suffix, on some of these verbs only, is lost before clitics beginning with a consonant (that is, $-\frac{mat}{t}$ 'future' and $-\frac{mehe}{t}$). Whether or not this happens is a property of the individual verb, and not predictable on strictly phonological grounds. (The morphophonemic trigger is not marked with any special symbol in the dictionary, but verb forms with attached clitics are given in the dictionary whenever they are present in the corpus, because they tend to subclassify verbs as to whether or not they are $[+\frac{k}{t}]$. The rule is something like the following:

$$k \rightarrow \emptyset / C]_{V St} = C$$

[+ \underline{k} -loss]

Examples of the operation of \underline{k} -loss rule follow:

/ni-murah-k=nehe/-> [nimuraxnehe] 'l let it loose'
/ni-horoh-k=mat/-> [nihorohmat] 'l'm going to pierce'

14. i. u VERSUS e. o

The vowels /e/ and /o/ are infrequent and somewhat overlapping. They are sometimes allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively (cf. the variant transcriptions -pomo, -pumu for 'shoulder', and -pea, -pia 'locative'). On the other hand, they do sometimes contrast (cf. hoč 'dig', vs. huč 'star'). One is tempted to derive as many as possible of the mid vowels by rule from high vowels; but the data do not justify going too far out on any theoretical limbs; I have chosen to phonemicize a vowel with a mid vowel whenever the transcriptions are fairly consistently mid; inconsistent or confusing cases are noted in the dictionary.

15. VOWEL CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION

The suffixes -<u>vea</u> and -<u>pea</u> (noun-class variants of the locative suffix) are sometimes shortened to -<u>ve</u> and -<u>pe</u>:

/?a-hivi-vea/-> [?ahivive], [?ahivivea] 'its edge or shore'
The "accompaniment" suffix -mea?, and the past adverb, <u>?uvea</u>, are
also sometimes shortened to in this way:

/hiyavi-mea?/-> [hiyavime?] 'with salt' /?uvea y + ha ': it is already late [evening]'

These variants can be produced by the application of the following (apparently optional) rule of vowel cluster simplification:

ea -> e / _ (?)
$$\#^{25}$$

The fact that there are no recorded instances of the verbal suffix -hea being pronounced -he is of concern here, though. The rule could be rewritten to require a preceding \underline{p} , \underline{v} , or \underline{m} ; but that would be very ad hoc. Perhaps the rule is simply a morphophonemic rule applying to a few morphemes.

²⁵At least two other rules—glide formation and elision—may ignore an intervening <u>2</u>.

16. SUMMARY OF MAJOR RULES AND ORDERING

Reduplicative syllable formation
Glide formation
a-loss
Rhotacization
Stress assignment
Consonant lengthening
Glottal stop insertion
Vowel elision
Echo vowels
k-loss

The preceding list is given for convenience, although specific claim is not made about every relative ordering in it; for instance the ordering of consonant lengthening and glottal stop insertion relative to each other appears to be indeterminable and irrelevant. Evidence for the paired orderings which are relevant is discussed under the description of the particular rules above; the crucial orderings are the following:

Reduplicative syllable formation precedes stress assignment.

Reduplicative syllable formation precedes glide formation.

Glide formation precedes stress assignment.

a-loss precedes rhotacization.

<u>a</u>-los:s precedes glottal stop insertion.

Stress assignment precedes consonant lengthening.

Glide formation precedes glottal stop insertion.

CHAPTER II:

MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES AND INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

Kitanemuk contains the following categories of morphemes: nouns, verbs, pronouns, clitics, adjectives, adverbs, quantifiers, conjunctions, prefixes, and suffixes. Each of these types will be discussed in this chapter, with the affixes discussed under the headings of the morpheme types to which they attach.

A. NOUNS

Noun words in Kitanemuk consist of a simple or compound root, with zero, one or two prefixes and one or more suffixes. The affixes that can be associated with a noun stem, and their relative order, are summarized in Table I; discussion and examples of each affix are given following that.

Every noun can be assigned to one of four absolutive¹ classes, depending on its absolutive suffix. The four possible suffixes are - \underline{t} , - \underline{c} , - $\underline{\check{c}}$, and - $\underline{\sigma}$. Noun classes need to be recognized in order to

¹Note that "absolutive" in the sense in which it is used here has nothing to do with absolutive versus ergative case. It is a term well known to students of Uto-Aztecan languages, used to describe a noun suffix with somewhat different distributions in each language, but generally contrasting with possessiveness and oblique case marking. It will be described in detail below, in 5: "Absolutive".

properly account for the distribution of the variants of the plural suffixes (-am vs. -yam) and locative suffixes (-pea vs. -yea).² The derivational suffixes, as one would expect, are closest to the root; they create complex stems of a particular absolutive class, according to the derivational suffix: "deceased" creates a c-class stem, "augmentative" creates a t-class stem, and "characterizing" creates a ø-class stem. These derivations are described in detail in Chapter III.

The items in parentheses in Table I are optional (in the sense that a noun word can be complete without them), with one clarification: any noun which is not in possessed form and has no case suffix attached must appear with the absolutive suffix (or plural where appropriate).³ In addition, objects require the absolutive suffix (the oblique cases exclude it), and there may be another use of the absolutive in phrases (cf. chapter IV, section C: "Case"). Even some (but perhaps not all) possessed nouns may be suffixed with the absolutive when they are objects (for examples and discussion see Chapter IV). The situation is quite a bit more complicated than it is in languages such as Luiseño and Cahuilla,

²Margaret Press (p.c.) pointed out to me that the distribution of -pea and -yea probably is the remnant of a system partially reconstructed by Langacker (1977: 23) for Proto-Uto-Aztecan and realized in Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi as a system of "spirantizing" and "non-spirantizing" stems. For discussions of this well-documented system, cf., e.g., Sapir (1930), Press (1979: 29).

³Cf. chapter IV, section B: "Number" for some further considerations of when plurality is marked, and through what means.

and is to be suspected of having been very much in a state of transition at the time the data were collected.

Table I: Nouns

PREFIXES		S	STEM		SUFFIXES		
(poss.)	(redup.)	NO	UN RC	ЮΤ	(deriv.)	(abs.) (plu.)	(obj.) (dir.) (inst.) (loc.)

(accomp.)4

1. Possessor Prefixes

The possessor prefixes, which are formally identical to the subject prefixes on verbs, are listed in Table II. (In examples throughout the text, the singular pronominal prefixes are glossed as 1s,2s, and 3s, and the plurals as 1p, 2p, and 3p.)

Table II. Pronominal prefixes

<u>Singu</u>	<u>lar</u> <u>Plural</u>
1 ni-	ci-
2 mi-	?‡-
3 7a-	p÷-

⁴Note: these "case endings" can attach to independent pronouns and demonstratives, as well as to nouns: n±'mea? 'with me', ?±m±nea? 'with you (pl.), ?ima?mea, 'with these', ?amea? 'with that one'.

The appropriate prefix is attached to the noun stem (but cf. also indirect possession, chapter IV, section A), and the absolutive suffix, if any, is dropped, as in the following example:

ki-c 'house'
ni-ki 'my house'
ni-ki-vea 'in my house'

2. REDUPLICATION

A reduplicated syllable preceding a noun stem indicates plurality; plurality can also be marked with the plural suffix -am, occurring in the absolutive slot to the right of the stem; reduplication and the plural suffix may occur independently, or both may occur on the same noun; there seems to be no systematic phonological or semantic way of predicting in which way plurality will be marked. In fact, as examples below show, the same noun stem may occur with sometimes reduplication, sometimes the suffix, and sometimes both (as a matter of fact, plurality is sometimes not marked in either way; cf. Chapter IV, section B: "Number"); this seems to entail no difference in interpretation of the plurality (e.g. ± distributive). The shape of the reduplicative syllable is the same for nouns, where it shows plurality, as for verbs, where it shows progressive aspect. For more examples and a detailed discussion of the form of the reduplicated syllable, see Chapter I, section D, rule 6: "Reduplication". Reduplication generally takes the form of a prefixed copy of the first consonant

and vowel of the stem, with or without <u>h</u>. It can be schematized as follows (R represents a trigger for reduplication):

Examples of reduplication on nouns

haka-t 'willow sp.' ha-haka-t 'willows'

hu?-č 'star' hu-hu?-m 'stars' hu-hu?-č 'stars'

pandri?, pantri? 'priest' pah-pandri?-yam 'priests'

kava-c 'ear' [abs.] pi-kah-kava 'their ears'

3. STEM AND ROOT

In the dictionary the entries for nouns take as their heading the noun stem (where known), in its absolutive singular form—that is, what might be considered semantically the least marked form, the citation form, which is also appropriate as verbal subject. In these headings a hyphen separates the root from the absolutive suffix (except in the case of the ø-class nouns, which carry no suffix in this form), and in the case of derived stems a hyphen separates the root from the derivative suffix and the derivative suffix from the absolutive.

4. DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

For a discussion of the derivational suffixes "augmentative", "characterizing", and "deceased", see "Noun forming derivations" in Chapter III.

5. ABSOLUTIVE

In general, the absolutive suffix is required on all nouns which are not possessed or marked for some oblique case (nouns marked for objective case, however, do take the absolutive suffix). It has no inherent meaning. (In addition to this morphological fact, there may be a syntactic marker as well; cf. chapter IV, section C: "Case".) The form of the absolutive suffix is -1, -c, -c, or -a; and the matching of suffix to stem is an inherent lexical feature; for this reason each noun is listed in the dictionary with its appropriate absolutive suffix, to indicate its class.

```
'sleeping mat' [abs.]
hona-t
               'my sleeping mat'5
ni-hona?
mihi-c
               'neck' [abs.]
               'someone's neck' [poss.]
?a-mihi
ka-č
              'rat' [abs.]
ka-č-ay
              'rat' [obj.]
?a?a?
              'crow'
7a7a7-pea
              'Joaquin Flat' [plcnm. < 'crow']
```

⁵The glottal stop is added to some possessed nouns by the rule (#6 in chapter I, section D) of glottal stop insertion.

Sometimes two nouns differ in form only because one belongs to one absolutive class, and one to another:

kwina-c 'gap in the mountains' kwina-c 'crystal'

tivi-t 'certain type of dancer' 'lime'

There seems generally to be no correlation between the semantic properties and the absolutive class of a stem. Most of the ø-class nouns are borrowings or onomatopoetic (see the list under 9: "ø-class nouns"). Borrowed stems are most often assigned to the ø-class, but occasionally (in what are perhaps older borrowings) to the t-class.

vurewi? 'lamb' (< Span. "borrego")
vurewi?-yam 'lambs'

kavayo?, kavayo?t 'horse' (< Span. "caballo")
kavayo?-t-ay 'horse,obj.'</pre>

Thus the process of borrowing initially feeds the \emptyset -class, but ultimately the \underline{t} -class.

A few other nouns seem to waver between the \emptyset -class and the \underline{t} -class:

wahi? 'coyote' wahi?-t 'coyote'

6. PLURAL

There are two categories of number—singular and plural. Plurality is expressed by reduplication (described in 2, above), or the plural suffix, or both. The plural suffix is generally -am; the post-vocalic variant is -m. ø-class nouns take the plural suffix -yam, which is therefore common in tribenames (these are often borrowings and thus enter the language as ø-class nouns). The plural suffix is the same on absolutive and possessed nouns.

```
hača-č
               'spit' [abs.]
hača-m
               'spittle' (formally plu.)
havi-t
               'blanket, clothes' [abs.]
havi-m
               'blankets, clothes' [plu.]
               'my clothes' [poss.]
ni-havi?
mi-ha-havi? 'your clothes' [plu. poss.]
hana-č
               'yellow jacket' [abs.]
               'yellow jackets' [plu.]
hana-m
               'snake' [abs.]
hin-t
              'snakes' [plu.]
hin-a m
ku?muš
              'sealion' [abs.]
kumuš-yam
              'sealions [piu.]
```

Plurality is not always overtly marked on [-human] nouns, when they are direct objects, but seems to be optional, at least on unspecified or mass objects:

ni-hiyn-met hwi?-tey 'I will hunt rabbits'

?a-yu?ynan ?a-tama-y 'He grits his teeth.'

A noun associated with a plural numeral does not occur with any overt plural marking. (Numerals themselves are unusual in that, although they act like nouns, they take neither plural suffixes nor object suffixes; cf. section G, "Quantifiers".)

ni-horor-mat mi-kava-y 'l'll pierce your ears.'
mahač kuci? 'five dogs'

Most tribenames are specified [-count] in the lexicon. This is illustrated here for 'Kitanemuk(s)'. Note that there may be some overlap in the use of singular and plural forms for tribenames.

tiva-pea-tam-it ?əmə?? 'Are you a Tübatulabal?' piñon LCC TrN Q you

hawkup ta-tavi-yam 'one Tataviam'

ni? ?akikitam 'I am a Kitanemuk.'
?akikitam ?icač 'We are Kitanemuks.'
?akikitam-yam 'Kitanemuks'

marina? 'tribename of Serranos near San Bernardino 'marina?-yam 'person or people from San Bernardino'

7. OBJECT SUFFIX

The object suffix is $-\underline{a}\underline{v}$; the post-vocalic variant is $-\underline{y}$. The object suffix is obligatorily preceded by the absolutive suffix appropriate to the noun's class, unless the noun is possessed. Personal names and other $\underline{\sigma}$ -class stems which end in a vowel take

the objective suffix -tay; that is, they are grouped with the t-class when it comes to the attachment of the object suffix. In respect to this link between absolutive and object suffixes (which is similar to the situation in other Takic languages), the object case is distinct from the other four (oblique) cases, whose affixes attach directly to the stem without an absolutive suffix.

```
kuča-t
                 'stick' [abs.]
kuča-t-ay
                 [obj.]
hu?-č
                 'star' [abs.]
hu?-č-ay
                 [obj.]
ki-c
                 'house' [abs.]
ki-c-ay
                 [obj.]
pan
                 'bread' [abs.]
pan-t-ay
                 [obj.]
mi-kava-c
                 'your ear' [poss.]
mi-kava-y
                 'your ear' [poss. obj.]
```

The Kitanemuk absolutive differs from that reported for other Takic languages, in that in some cases it appears on possessed objects, as well as unpossessed.

```
mi-?ikihu-c-ay 'your (sg.) breastbone' [obj.]
ni-curi?-t-ay 'my grandmother' [obj.]
```

This happens on two types of nouns—kin terms and body part terms— but it happens inconsistently. That it happens at all is

surprising; that it happens precisely on the type of nouns which normally do not occur unpossessed is interesting, however. It means that there is in effect another object suffix available in these cases: -tey. This of sequence is used, then, to mark objects in (a) the \underline{t} -class (largest class) of nouns, (b) \varnothing -class nouns (including personal names such as manwel-tay 'Manwel, obj.' which are never possessed), and (c) some kin terms and body part terms (which are more or less obligatorily possessed-there are a few absolutive forms for body parts in the corpus, but one suspects them of being somewhat forced or artificial). I take this to mean that there was at the time this data was collected a reanalysis in progress, whereby the \underline{t} that figures in the suffix of so many object forms was coming to be seen as part of the object suffix itself, rather than a morpheme having to do (in object position) with the contrast between possessed and non-possessed.

Objective case is broadly interpreted by Kitanemuk grammar, to include indirect objects and some other obliques as well as direct objects. On the other hand, the marking of objects in Kitanemuk is more restricted than in many languages, in that objects of imperative verbs are not object-marked (a phenomenon reported for other Northern Uto-Aztecan languages as well—Cahuilla, Hopi, and Southern Paiute, and marginally Serrano and Tübatulabal, according to Langacker (1977: 56), and for non-

negative imperatives in Kawaiisu according to Zigmond et al (1988: 36)):

Puves ni-?ank y+vs-č-ay already is open door ABS OBJ [already] opened the door.'

Panki yiva-č open door ABS 'Open the door!'

Quantified direct objects are inconsistently marked as objects. Some other modified objects are also not object-marked. One might speculate that these are examples of embedded clauses, where the noun head is insulated from object-marking by the clause boundary (cf. Chapter IV, section C).

8. OBLIQUE CASE SUFFIXES

I use the term "case" to describe other inflected forms of nouns which show location, instrument, accompaniment, and direction (cf. chapter IV, section C for a justification of this analysis).

Locative suffix

The locative suffix, translated 'at' or 'in' and also used in placenames, takes one of two forms; the variant -pea is used for t-class and ø-class nouns, and the variant -vea is used with c-class and $\underline{\check{c}}$ -class stems. The word for 'August' demonstrates that

a reference to location in time as well as space can be referred to with -pea/-vea.

ki-c 'house' [abs.] ki-vea 'in the house'

ku-t 'fire' [abs.]

ku-pea 'in the fire' [loc.]

kava-c 'ear' [abs.] mi-kava-vea 'in your ear'

tiva-pea 'August' (lit. 'in the piñones') [< tiva-t]

tiva-vea 'on the ground' [< tiva-č]

Instrumental suffix

The instrumental suffix is $-\underline{n}$. It attaches to nouns which play the instrumental case role in the sentence.

ni-kwara? hana-ni 1s smear tar INS 'I smeared it with tar.'

ni-win hama-t-ay ?ašarin-ni 1s pluck vegetation ABS OBJ hoe INS 'I weed with hoe.'

kučara?-ni ci-kwa? spoon INS 1p eat 'We eat with a spoon.'

Accompaniment suffix

The accompaniment suffix is -mea? (sometimes shortened to -me?). (It may have some historical relation to mi 'go'.) Although I

call this suffix "accompaniment", note that it attaches to inanimates as well as to animates.

```
ni-?očik nati?-mea? 'I climbed up with a cat' [accomp.]

hyavi-t 'salt' [abs.]

ni-ko? hyavi-me? 'I eat it with salt'

timi-t 'stone' [abs.]

ni-hocik timi-mea? 'I got up with a stone in my hand'
```

The suffix -ve? is only attested in a few sentences, but seems to indicate accompaniment as well:

```
ni-mi ni-?acita-va? 'I'm going on my horse.'
1s go 1s pet ACC
```

The suffix -civa? may be another accompaniment suffix; it is only attested a few times in the corpus, e.g.

```
ni-kim pi-civa? ?ima? 'I came with these [people].'
1s come 3sObl<sup>6</sup> with these
```

Directional suffix

The directional suffix, -y + k, usually attaches to nouns which are translated 'toward N'; since there are also a few placenames containing this suffix, it must also have a locative meaning; it is unclear in these cases whether it means the same as -pea/-vea

⁶For the third person singular oblique construction, cf. section C, 4: "Demonstrative pronouns".

('at' or 'in'), or has a distinct meaning, perhaps 'near N'. A second directional suffix indicates motion from; its form is -nu?. It does not occur in placenames.

ni-mi-mat tyenda?-yik is go FUT store DIR 'I will go to the store'

kuče-yik wood DIR 'Gorman's Staton'

?a-purak+k ?a-huna-nu? 3s go out 3s heart DIR 'S/he left the inside of the house.'

ni-tuhtutu? ?imi-yik

1s play you DIR

'I'm playing with you.' [apparently 'play' selects this case]

9. THE Ø-CLASS OF NOUNS

There is a class of nouns in Kitanemuk which take neither the -1, the -2, nor the -2 absolutive ending; they are listed below and in Table III. They belong to what I call the ø-absolutive class. They typically have a plural in -yom and objective form in -1-ay. A large percentage of these nouns are borrowings from Spanish or some other language; many are onomatopoetic; the unexplained ones may be borrowings from extinct languages. This noun class, then, is interesting for two reasons—its peculiar behavior in the synchronic grammar and its potential for revealing the history of the language by presenting evidence of language contact.

Borrowings from Spanish

Kitanemuk has borrowed more words from Spanish than from any other identifiable source. Some typical adaptations made to these words as they are integrated into Kitanemuk include (a) stress shift from the Spanish pattern to word-initial, (b) addition of 2 to words that end in a vowel in Spanish, (c) segment changes such as g to g, g to v, and v to w. (d) morpheme structure adjustments such as the breaking up of initial clusters by dropping consonants or adding vowels, and (e) addition of Kitanemuk morphology such as the ø-class plural suffix -v am and object suffix -t av. Mostly nouns were borrowed, and semantic areas favored for borrowing included terms for introduced agriculture and foods, names for manufactured goods and religious vocabulary. The following list is a sampling of the borrowings from Spanish identified to date. The dictionary lists all borrowings with their Spanish sources.

borrowed form	gloss	Spanish source
apyo?	celery	apio 'celery'
kalavo?	nail	clavo 'nail'
kalesa?	buggy	calesa 'buggy'
kape?	coffee	café 'coffee'
rih÷r	beans	frijol 'bean(s)'

tariw+?	wheat	trigo 'wheat'
vitavel	sugarbeet	betabel 'sugarbeet'
y avlu?	devil	diablo 'devil'
yewaš	mare	yeguas 'mares'

The last form shows that sometimes Spanish plural rather than singular nouns are used as the model, although the Kitanemuk word is singular.

Although most borrowed nouns are in the \emptyset -class, the following are in the \underline{t} -class; perhaps these are older, more integrated borrowings.

kavayo?-t 'horse' (< Span. "caballo")
mula?-t 'mule' (< Span. "mula")
pedro?-t 'Pedro'
vaka?-t 'cow' (< Span. "vaca")

Borrowings from languages other than Spanish

Kitanemuk also borrowed words from English, Chumash, Gabrielino, Mojave, and undoubtedly other languages. The following are a few examples. (Others are listed in the dictionary.)

Borrowed word	<u>Gloss</u>	Source
?amahava?	Mojave person	Mojave
čum a ?	Chumash person	Chumash
marina?	a tribename	Serrano

witin

button

English

It would be interesting to determine if the other members of the ø-class are also borrowings. Table III is a list of the those not yet identified as borrowings.

Table III: ø-class nouns not borrowed from Spanish

citation form gloss Comment

78787 crow onomatopoeia?

Panuci? baby not a N?

?atap meat possessed N?

Patavatava butterfly not a N?

cayca?y bird sp. onomatopoeia?

cicinavri? Californios of the

country; gente de razón

coh fish sp. borrrowed? h#, not r#

cɨpɨ?kɨ beaver borrowed?

corcor cricket onomatopoeia?

kanaypucic squirrel sp.

koymi? referee in peón occurs in So.Calif.

kuci? dog occurs in So.Calif.

kukukuniti mussel sp. borrowed?

kuyku?y plant sp. borrowed?

nonom(-)t grass sp. borrowed?

pagaca? duck borrowed?

papamas myth chars. borrowed?

Table III (cont'd.): ø-class nouns not borrowed from Spanish

citation form aloss Comment pašuk(-)t bow/collarbone borrowed? picalala dragonfly pišni fish sp. borrowed? purpur borrowed? worm sp. pituru? hummingbird borrowed? gallineta [mng. unclear] putan ri?rik ansara [goose?] borrowed? sisi?-yam great grandrelatives back-formation from kinterm? šawmi cone-shell borrowed? šiwši?wi bird sp. onomatopoeia? ti?iriri bird sp. borrowed? tuhu? effeminate person borrowed? Wahi? coyote wakasi? borrowed? mouse yupivu? bird sp. onomatopoeia?

B. VERBS

Table IV shows the morphemes which occur in verb words, and their relative ordering. All elements except the stem are parenthesized to show that they are not required for the verb word to be complete; but a non-imperative verb does require at least a subject prefix.

Table IV: Verb schema

(SUBJ) (REDUP.) STEM (TRANSITIVITY) (IMPER. EXTENSION)

(CAUSATIVE) (DESIDERATIVE)

(PASSIVE)

Note that Table IV does not include morphemes to indicate tense and aspect or imperative mood, all of which are reflected in Kitanemuk morphology. This is because all these are expressed using clitics (there is a slight possibility that "desiderative" is another—cf. secton D). Refer to section D, "Clitics", for a description of the insertion of clitics in "second position" in the sentence The word to which they become attached is sometimes a verb word, but often not; when they do attach to a verb word, they are the right-most element, following both suffix slots shown here. The clitics have a relative ordering among themselves, which is described in section D. The schema is tentative, but may not be able to be developed much further due to the limitations of the data (gaps in paradigms which cannot be checked). It is unlikely, for instance, that causative and passive are really mutually

exclusive; but a form which definitely contains both has not been found in the corpus; all that can be said about the matter is that when either occurs, it is to the right of the stem slot, and to the left of the desiderative slot; the relative ordering when both occur (assuming they can co-occur) is simply unknown.

It is interesting to note how much the verb schema looks like the noun schema, given above in Table I. Both contain personal prefixes as the first element (indicating subject of verb or possessor of noun), followed by a reduplicative syllable (indicating plurality for nouns and progressive or repetitive aspect for verbs), followed by a stem and derivational suffixes. The only distinctive verb morphology, then, is the array of derivational suffixes. Verbs which are complements to other verbs may take an -i ending which is very reminiscent of the -ay ~ -y ending which is used to mark nouns as objects (cf. chapter IV, section J). The morpheme niw is used in a parallel way in noun phrase and auxiliary verb constructions (cf. chapter IV, section A, "Possession", and section F: "Time reference"). The morphology for turning verbs into nouns and nouns into verbs (cf. chapter III) is nonetheless very rich.

NUMBER

Number is never shown independently of the prefix specification on the verb except in imperatives. That is, the plural prefix in each person category is distinct from the singular;

but there is no other way of telling a verb with a plural subject from a verb with a singular subject by looking at the verb alone. The one exception to this is in, the imperative, where the clitic $-\frac{1}{2}$ indicates a plural subject; but the clitic is not part of verb morphology per se.

ni-kwa? 'I eat'
ci-kwa? 'we eat'
ca-kwa?-č 'let's eat'
ni-?ic 'I ladle'
?ic 'ladle!'
?ic-ič 'ladle! (plu. subject)'

TENSE/ASPECT

The tense/aspect forms are simple (the unmarked form, usually translated as present or recent past tense), reduplicated (usually translated as present progressive, but occasionally with nuances of distributive aspect), future (± proximal), and past. The non-proximal future and the past are formed using the clitics -mat and -uvu? respectively. (The proximal future is a construction using the auxiliary verb niw, with the prefixed verb, and is described in chapter IV, section F.)

⁷A second pattern of reduplication, stem reduplication, is associated less predictably with a variety of meaning changes, including present progressive.

Examples illustrating verb morphology

ni-mi 'I go/went.' 'I will go.' ni-mi-mat ?a-yu 'He sings/sang.' ?a-yuh-yu 'She is singing.' ni-?ic-uvu? 'I ladled out (water).' Puvea ni-Pic 'I ladled out (water).' ni-?ic ?uvea 'I ladled out (water).' ?a-hin-∔k 'It floats.' ?a-hi?n-k 'It (water) carries it (floating object).' ?a-kim 'it spilled' ni-kim-ea? 'I spilled it.' 7a-huc-ik 'It fell.' ?a-huc-k 'He dropped it.' ?a-huc-k-in-ea?-vin 'He made me fall.' 2a-mu 'He shot/threw it.' ?a-mu-hea ?a-hun-ay 'He was shot in the heart.' ?a-mu-hea-mat 'He will be shot.' ?a-mu-ivana? '[his] spear' ?a-mu-ihun 'He aims [wants to shoot].' 7a-ya? 'He flies.' 'He flaps his wings preparatory to ?a-ya?-ihun

flying [wants to fly].'

CAUSATIVES, IMPERATIVES, AND VERB CLASSES

Although all the details are not yet clear, there seem to be distinct verb classes in Kitanemuk. There are -i k/-k verbs, -e a

verbs, and -<u>u</u> verbs. There are also a few impersonal verbs. Syllables of the form -<u>Vn</u> are added to imperatives and derived forms of some verbs, but not to others. All these classes of verbs are exemplified in Appendix I.

The intransitive suffix $-\frac{1}{2}$ occurs in all tenses of a certain class of verbs [but is reduced to \underline{k} in derived forms]. The causative suffix $-\underline{e}$ a? is added to intransitive verbs such as \underline{k} im 'spill'. $-\underline{k}$, the transitive (often causative) suffix, occurs only on the class of verbs which have an intransitive suffix (that $-\frac{1}{2}$ is indeed a suffix is shown by stem-reduplicated forms such as $\underline{2}$ a- \underline{k} w a \underline{c} - \underline{k} w a \underline{c} - \underline{i} k 'he has syphilis'). (I mention these suffixes here, even though they are derivational, in order to make clearer the structure of some of the examples.)

TRANSITIVITY AND VOICE

In this slot in the schema we see such alternations as $-\frac{1}{2}$ (intransitive) versus $-\frac{1}{2}$ (transitive) and ø (intransitive) versus $-\frac{1}{2}$ (transitive):

?a-hin-ik 'It floats'
ni-hi?n-k 'I make it float'
?a-yuaš-ik 'it's wet'
ni-yuaš-k 'I wet it'
?a-kim 'It spilled'
ni-kim-ea? 'I poured it'

No intransitive forms end in $-e \cdot a \cdot 2$. But several transitive forms (not contrasting with an intransitive or non-causative in the data) end in $-e \cdot a \cdot 2$; these seem to be synchronically monomorphemic:

kamea 'bury'
puhea 'blow'
cinea? 'pound (meat)'

The morpheme -(h)ea derives what I have called "passives" (the translation often corresponds to English passive voice, but apparently this is really a suffix deriving verbs of unspecified subject from transitive or intransitive verbs). A mysterious -Vn-occurs in conjunction with it, for some verbs (cf. e.g. 'name', 'erase', and forms in Appendix I); it seems to carry no meaning of

its own, and its distribution is not well understood. The last example, 'sick', shows that the causative sense of -e a? can be a bit loose or metaphorical (perhaps not unlike English 'I make you to be an honest person').

Examples of -(h)ea:

mu 'crush'

mu-hea 'be crushed'

pi? 'throw/hit/bewitch'

pi?-hea 'be bewitched'

tiw 'name' tiw-an-ea 'be named'

?u? 'take, grab'?u?-hea 'be grabbed'

nirk 'erase' nirk-in-ea 'be erased'

hayin 'rest'

hayin-ea-vea 'resting place'

hi?n-ik 'float,VI' hi?n-k 'float, VT'

?a-hi?n-k-ea-vea 'plcnm.: where a flood passed'

yuv-k 'put s'th in boiling water'
yuv-ea? 'fry something' [causative?]

mi-muk 'you are sick'

mi-muk-ea 'you're sick, I think' [causative?]

DESIDERATIVE SUFFIX

<u>Puyhun</u> 'want/love' can be used as a matrix verb with an object complement, but if the subject of both clauses is the same, the suffix -ihun the desiderative suffix ('want to'), can be used instead (the -<u>Vn</u>- syllables appear again in these forms, with certain verbs). I take <u>Puyhun</u> to be a lexicalized desiderative form of '<u>PuP</u> 'take'.

Examples of desiderative verbs:

?a-ya?'he flies'3s fly?a-ya?-ihun 'he flaps his wings preparatory to flying'

kum 'sleep'
ni-kum-an-ihun 'I am sleepy [want to sleep]'
1s sleep Vn DES

naw ni-nakša-ihun 'I don't want to wrestle.'

naw ?a-w-?uyhun nimi, mutu?-mat ni-mi neg 3s RDP? want 1s go still FUT 1s go 'He doesn't want me to go, but I'm going to go anyway.'

ni-namu-ihun 'I want to fight' naw ni-namu-ihun ni? 'I don't want to fight' NEG 1s fight DES I

pir 'nurse, VI' pih-an 'to suckle, VT' ni-pih-ihun 'I want to nurse'

vank 'sweep'
naw ni-vank-in-ihun 'l don't want to sweep.'

(I have no examples of this construction with a verb and associated object, e.g. 'I don't want to sweep the house.')

IMPERATIVES

Kitanemuk has second person singular and plural commands as well as a first person plural imperative or "hortative" ('let's V!') form. All three are based on the imperative stem, which sometimes differs from the simple verb stem. Once the second person singular imperative form is known, the other imperatives can generally be deduced from it. Plural imperatives require the use of the plural imperative clitic $-\frac{1}{1}$ in the sentence.

Examples of regular imperatives:

ci? 'pick up' win 'cut'

ci? 'pick it up!' win 'cut it!'

ci?-č 'y'all pick it up!' win-ič 'y'all cut it!'

ca-ci?-č 'let's pick it up!' ca-win-ič 'let's cut it!'

Negative second person imperatives use a special negative morpheme $k a y (m)^8$ rather than the general Negative n a w (cf. chapter IV, section E for examples). There are no third person or first person singular imperatives, or negative first person plural imperative forms in the data. The same object clitics are used as

⁸The optional -m occurs in imperative sentences that have no direct objects. I discuss in chapter IV, section C, the notion that perhaps this is because it is the object clitic for 'you', and imperative subjects are marked as if they were objects.

in the indicative, and they precede the imperative plural clitic, (as described in section D:); however non-pronominal objects of second person imperatives are not object-marked (cf. chapter IV, section C).

There are six separate kinds of relationship which may hold between the indicative stem and the imperative stem (all of these are exemplified in Appendix J):

(a) The second person singular imperative forms are often identical with the present stem:

ni-ayk 'I lap it [with tongue]' ?ayk 'lap it!'

(b) The imperative stem sometimes consists of the indicative plus -i:

ni-?a?nk 'l open it' ?a?nki 'open it' ka?vik 'l listen!'

(b) The imperative stem sometimes consists of the indicative plus $-\underline{u}$:

hu?eaha 'work' hueahaw 'work!'

(d) The imperative stem may use $-\underline{k}$ where indicative uses $-\underline{i}\,k$:

ka?vik 'listen' ka?vk 'listen!'

(e) The imperative form may require the addition of -<u>Vn</u> to the indicative base:

ni-kamea? 'I bury it' kamea?-n 'bury it!'

kɨm 'make' kɨm-an 'make it!'

(f) There are very few imperative forms which simply must be called "irregular":

ni-kim 'I come' kiva 'come!' ni-hiu 'I'm looking' tihiu, hiu(h) 'look!'

Once the second person singular form is known, the first and second person plural forms are predictable from it—the plural imperative clitic $\underline{-(i+)}\check{c}$ occurs with the latter two forms. The first person plural imperative, or hortative, also has the personal prefix $\underline{c}\,a$ - attached to it. (This prefix is distinct from the indicative first person plural prefix $\underline{c}\,i$ -.) A final \underline{w} occurring in the singular imperative may be deleted in the imperative form (the vowel of the clitic may then also be deleted):

hakwaw 'stir' hakwa-č 'stir!' yaw 'grab' ya-i č 'grab!'

⁹There is one apparent counterexample to this—<u>mi</u>, 'go', which has the irregular second person singular imperative form <u>meah</u>, second plural <u>meč</u> and first plural <u>camič</u>. The second person form is actually underlying <u>mea-+č</u>, as evidenced by the negative <u>kay-m-+č</u> <u>mea</u>, 'y'all don't gol', so the plural imperative forms are irregular, even given the singular form as a base.

Examples of imperative morphology

indic.stem	2nd sg.	2nd plu.10	1st plu.	gloss
hayin	hayin	hayin-∔č	ca-hayin-ič	rest
Pic	?ic	?ic-∔č		ladle
kim	kiva	kiva-č		come
kwa?	kwa?		ca-kwa?-č	eat
Win	win	win-∔č	ca-win-∔č	cut
yaw	yaw	ya-∔č		grab

¹⁰The plural imperative forms are listed with the clitic attached to the verb, which is the commonest kind of form found in the corpus; but of course the clitic may be attached to another kind of word, if it is first in the sentence.

C. PRONOUNS

There are five different classes of pronominal elements in Kitanemuk. These are the pronominal prefixes, the independent pronouns, the subject-object clitics, the reflexive stem, and the indefinite/interrogative pronouns.

1. PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

The pronominal prefixes are used to express the subjects of verbs and the possessors of nouns. These prefixes are obligatory in each of their roles. The pronominal prefixes are listed in section A, table II. The following are some examples of their use in the possession construction.

Examples of pronominal prefixes (subjects)

ni-hiu paka?-t-ay 1s see clown ABS OBJ I saw the [ceremonial] clown.

ci-pa? hakwa-y-c-ay 1p drink stir PNABS OBJ

We drank some chia batida.

mi-mi-mat piyan 2s go FUT far You're going far.

?÷m÷?÷ haoŋanica-m you pl. poor PL

You [pl.] are poor.

?a-hamut∔k 3s descend

He climbed down.

pi-kim vaka?-yam 3p come cow PL. The cows are coming.

Examples of pronominal prefixes (possessors)

ni-havi?

my clothing

ni-huna-vea

in my heart

ci-hun

'our hearts'

mi-?aka?

your pespibata box

74-7+č

'your blood'11

?a-huna-vea

inside [in its heart]

pi-na-m

their fathers

2. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

The class of independent pronouns includes three distinct demonstrative pronouns as well as first and second person independent forms, as shown in Table V. These are stems which, like nouns, are inflected for number and case. They are different from nouns in that they take the object suffix without an intervening absolutive. They are generally optional (i.e., the sentence is grammatical without them), and seem to be used mainly for emphasis, although their use in non-third person predicate nominatives is presumably obligatory.

¹¹This form, in the Zigmond notes, was translated 'our blood', but was apparently glossed in error; elsewhere he gives <u>?+</u>- as 'our'.

Table V: Independent pronouns

	<u>Singular</u>	Plural	Meaning
1	ni?	Picač	I, we
2	?÷m÷?	?ɨmɨ?ɨ	you
3	PiviP	?im	this, these
	pata?, pac	p am	that, those (proximal)
	?ama, ?amac	? am	that, those (distal)

The demonstratives (with some minor irregularities) and the independent pronouns also take the case suffixes $-\frac{y+k}{n}$, $-\frac{mea}{n}$, $-\frac{nu?}{n}$, $-\frac{pea}{n}$, but have a special third person prefix $\frac{p+}{n}$ which occurs in both singular and plural in these case forms:

Examples of independent pronouns

ni-hak <u>nɨ ?</u> mɨmk. I'm t

I'm telling the truth.

1s tell I true

naw-vin ?a-šamin <u>ni-y</u> ?iyci-c. Poison oak doesn't hurt me. NEG 3-1s 3s harm IOBJ poison oak ABS

ni-?aka? <u>nɨ?</u>

my tobacco box

1s tobacco box I

<u>ni</u>-yik I DIR to me

Pivic pi-yik 'with this one' this 3s oblique DIR

?imi-nu? ni-mi you DIR 1s co 'I went [away] from you.'

'with us'

Picami-mea us ACCOMP

pata? šušava-č that one liar ABS

'He is a liar.'

Pakikitam Picač Kitanemuk we

'We are Kitanemuks.'

The independent pronouns can also combine with clitics (described in section D), when they are the first word in the sentence. Since word order is fairly free, an independent pronoun and attached subject-object clitic may be coreferent:

<u>ni?</u>-m-ne ni-yamk. I remembered you.

I 1-2s nehe¹² 1s remember

ni-y-ivin ?a-?i-?ihama? 'He is joshing me.'
I OBJ 3-1s 3s RDP tease

3. EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

The emphatic pronouns, listed in Table VI, can be analyzed as a combination of the independent pronouns with an emphatic stem, but with irregularities—the resulting words are not quite what this analysis would predict (the third person singular form recalls the pi- of oblique phrases exemplified in 2: "Independent pronouns"). Note that this third person singular form can occur preceding the bare first or second person independent pronoun in a phrase apparently equivalent to the inflected first or second person forms alone. Examples follow the table.

¹²The clitic nehe is discussed in chapter IV, section L.

Table VI: Emphatic pronouns

Singular **Meaning**

1 nuk I myself, only I

2 Pumuk you yourself, only you

3 punuk she herself, he himself, only s/he, only it

Plural Meaning

1 ?icamuk we ourselves, only we 2 Pumuk you yourselves, only you

3 pumuk they themselves, only they

Examples of emphatic pronouns

nɨ ?-nuk nɨ-?ɨn. 'I myself know. '

nuk ni-?in. 'Only I know.'

punuk ni? = ni?-nuk 'only l'

?imi? ?umuk mi-?in. 'You yourself know.'

punuk ?ɨmɨ? 'you only'

punuk ?a-?in. 'He himself knows.'

punuk ?a-nipik. 'He died alone.'

?icam icamuk ci-?in. 'We ourselves know.'

?icamuk 'we alone'

?imi?i umuk ?i-?in. 'You yourselves know.'

pumuk pɨ-ʔɨn. 'They themselves know.'

4. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The three demonstrative pronouns (?ivi? 'this', pata? 'that, proximal', and ?ama? 'that, distal') were introduced in section 2: "Independent pronouns", since they are used in the third person in a manner quite parallel to the first and second person independent pronuns. They are also used in attribution to nouns; in this structure the demonstratives agree in case (apparent exceptions are discussed in chapter IV, section C, "Case"), but need not agree in number, with the noun they modify (cf. chapter IV, section D, "Agreement"):

?ivi? timi-t this rock ABS 'this rock'

Pivi? ti-timi-t

'these rocks'

putu? ?ivi? karnea tough this meat

'This meat is tough.'

?ivi? kuci? nahki?hyi-t this dog biter ABS

'This dog bites.'

?im kuci?-yam kih-kiša? these dog PL RDP no good 'These dogs are no good.'

ni-kwa?-mat ?ivi-y ?atapa-y 'l'll eat this meat.'
1s eat FUT this OBJ meat OBJ

Pa-he?rk-ivin Pivi? pačuk 3s point 3-1s this man

'This man is pointing at me.'

yoat pata? snow that

'That is snow.'

Pama? timit that stone

'that rock'

Table VII lists the singular and plural subject, object and oblique forms of the demonstrative pronouns (there are some gaps in the data). (Generally the shorter forms are used attributively, and the long forms, and sometimes the short forms, are used when the demonstrative is standing alone. But the plural object forms which include \underline{y} are attested only when the demonstrative is attributive.)

Table VII: Demonstrative pronouns

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>	Singular object	Plural object
PiviP, Pivic	?im, ?im∔	Piviy	?imiy, ?imi
PamaP, Pamac	?am, ?am∔	?amay	?am∔y, ?am∔
pata?, pac	pam, pami	pay	pamiy, pami

Singular oblique Plural oblique Piviyik, Pivic piyik Pim pimik Pamac piyik —

5. SUBJECT-OBJECT CLITICS

Another set of pronominal forms is comprised of the subjectobject clitics, which are shown in Table VIII (a). These clitics
occur in second position in the sentence (cf. section D, "Clitics",
for a discussion of the meaning of second position, and of the
position of the subject-object clitics relative to other clitics).
They are portmanteau morphemes which contain information about
the subject as well as the object of the verb. Note that apparently
the number of the object, but not of the subject, is relevant to the

form used. "—" indicates gaps in the data. The reflexive morpheme -tak (which is not a clitic), described in 6: "Reflexives", is used in sentences with identical subject and object. The initial vowels are dropped following a vowel or vowel plus glottal stop. (The negative imperative word kay, which ends in a glide, needs to be lexically marked as triggering initial vowel loss in a following clitic.) These clitics generally seem to be obligatory sentence elements, but inconsistency on the right of the chart suggests that the third person subject forms may be optional or obsolescent.

Table VIII: Subject-object pronominal clitics (a)

			O.	SUECT		
SUB.	JECT 1sg.	1pl.	2sg.	2pl.	3sg.	3pl.
1 s	-tak	_	-i m	Ø	Ø	Ø
1p		-tak	*TarAdinia		Ø	_
2s	-ici?	-icim	-tak		Ø	-÷v÷(m)
2p	-ici?	_	_	-tak	Ø	-V i
3s	-ivin	-ivicim	-∔ m	-V ‡	ø/-tak	- i v i ?
3р	-ivin	-ivicim	-i m	_	Ø	-v∔, ø/-tak

Clearly there are some gaps in Table VIII (a), where certain person and number combinations are lacking or vowel-initial forms were not available, but it seems likely that Table VIII (b) is a correct summary of the facts (omitting third person reflexives for simplicity of presentation). These morphemes are glossed in examples with numbers indicating the person of the subject,

followed by the person and number of the object—with an "s" for singular or a "p" for plural--thus, 1-2s, 1-2p, 3-1s, 3-1p, etc.

Table VIII: Subject-object pronominal clitics (b)

	OBJECT					
SUBJ	1sg.	1pi.	2sg.	2pi.	3sg.	3pl.
1	-tak		-∔ m	Ø	Ø	Ø
2	-ici?	-icim	-tak	—	Ø	- i v i
3	-ivin	-ivicim	-i m	- i v i	Ø	-ivi? a

Examples of subject-object clitics

mi-yik-mat-ici?

2s answer FUT 2-1s

kay-ci? hiu!

NEG 2-1s look

kay-vim hiu!

NEG 2-3p look

ni-y-ivin ?a-?i-?ihama?

I OBJ 3-1s 3s RDP tease

'You will answer me.'

'Don't look at me!'

'Don't look at them!'

'He is joshing me.'

'I'm joshing him.'

1s RDP tease 1-3s (ø)
mɨ-mɨk-<u>ɨcɨm</u> 'You hit us.'
2s hit 2-1p

?a-hi-hyu-<u>vin</u>, ni? himik ni-hi-hyu
3s RDP look 3-1s I back 1s RDP look
He's looking at me, and I'm looking [back] at him.

?a-kon-<u>ivi?</u> ?a-?acita-m-i pedro?-t 3s kill 3-3p 3s pet PLOBJ Pedro ABS Pedro killed his swine.

ni? ni-kon-mat-<u>ivi?</u> ŋati?-yam-iy I 1s kill FUT 1-3p cat PL OBJ I am going to kill all the cats.

An impersonal construction consisting of an adjective and object clitic (cf. yahanih, micane?) uses another clitic, -ikwan, but the data are too scanty to be sure of the exact distribution:

micane?-vin 'It hurts me.'
micane?-kwan 'It hurts him.'

6. REFLEXIVE STEM

The reflexive stem tak (probably etymologically related to takat 'person' and -tahtaka 'body') shows agreement through pronominal prefixes with the person and number of the subject:

ni-tak ni-puhci?, numa-ik
1s REFL 1s take care good ADV
I am taking good care of myself.

pi-pi?k <u>pi-tak</u>
3p fan 3s REFL
They are fanning themselves.
ni-hi-hiu <u>ni-tak</u>
1s RDP see 1s REFL
I am looking at myself.

?a-m+k <u>?a-tak</u> 3s kill 3s REFL He killed himself. Note that although the sentence clitic in each case is \emptyset , indicating that there is a third person singular object, the -<u>tok</u> word itself carries no object suffix.

7. INDEFINITE/INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The indefinite/interrogative pronouns are stems which figure in indefinite and interrogative expressions. Table IX lists them, and examples follow the table. (For a fuller explanation of the full array of indefinite/interrogative expressions, cf. chapter IV, section I, "Questions and indefinites".)

Table IX: Indefinite and interrogative expressions

Stem Indefinite

<u>Negative</u>

Interrogative

hami? tum hami?, someone naw hamic, no one hami?, hamic, who

hit tum hit, something naw hit, nothing hit, what, what kind

Examples of indefinite and interrogative expressions

hami? who 'Who is it?'

naw hamic-am ?a-tuhtututu?

NEG someone PL 3s play

'He is playing alone.' [He is not playing with anyone.]

hit-i t

'What is it?'

what O

hi?tay mi-hiu tiy-t-ay what OBJ 2s see ghost ABS OBJ 'What kind of ghost did you see?' naw ?a-ŋɨčk naw-hit ?a-tama NEG 3s cut NEG something 3s tooth 'The knife is dull.' [Its tooth cuts nothing.]

tum-mat hami? ni-mak
tum FUT INDEF 1s give
'I'm going to give it to anyone.'

D. CLITICS

1. CLASSES AND POSITION OF CLITICS

There are five classes of clitics in Kitanemuk. They occur in a fixed order relative to each other, as shown in Table X (there are, presumably by accident of elicitation, no sentences containing both a tense clitic and the question clitic):

Table X: Order of clitics:

The clitic or clitic complex attaches postclitically to a word of any category in the sentence which happens to be the first element of its clause. The question clitic $-\frac{1}{2}$ is used in yes-no questions, and sometimes in wh-questions.

¹³ Harrington gave the following two sentences and translations:

niničkit I'm gonna cut it.

niŋɨčkɨtuvu? (past)

Given the form of 'cut' in all other examples, I think it is fair to interpolate that there is a question clitic following the stem in each case, the effect of which Harrington missed in the translation.

mi-wawt-ik-it 'Are you tired?'
2s tired INTR O

hamic-it ?a-ki 'Whose house is it?' who Q 3s house

The tense clitics -mat 'future' and -uvu? 'past' are discussed further in chapter IV, section F: "Time reference".

takat-uvu? 'He used to be a person.'

ni-haman-mat ni-ki 'I'm going to roof my house.'
1s thatch FUT 1s house

naw-mat ni-mi 'You aren't going to go.'
NEG FUT 1s go

hami?-mat ni-kwa? 'I'll eat it later.' sometime FUT 1s eat

Pama?y-mat Pa-hu? 'Now it is going to burn.'

The past clitic $-\underline{u}\underline{v}\underline{u}\underline{?}$ is not to be confused with the "deceased" derivational suffix $-\underline{i}\underline{v}\underline{+}$, which may appear on nouns. The confusion is especially possible because \underline{u} sometimes occurs in variants of words containing $\underline{+}$, especially $\underline{+}$ adjacent to a labial consonant. Such a confusion may have resulted in Harrington's trying to use the nominal suffix as a clitic in the pair below, which resulted in starred forms.

ni-hiu pi-waki? kuča-m 'I saw dry sticks.'

*ni-hiu-vi pi-waki? kuča-m 'l saw dry sticks.'

The subject-object clitics are discussed above in section C, part 5. Here are a few examples:

?a-kivaw-vin-ne pa-č-ay S/he asked me for water. 3s ask for 3-1s nehe water ABS OBJ

Puvea-vin Pa-yohk already 3-1s 1s anger

I'm angry ['it angered me'].

Pip-mat-im ni-puhci? here FUT 1-2s 1s wait

I'll wait for you here.

The imperative plural clitic $-\frac{1}{2}$ is used in first and second person plural imperatives, but appears in a few instances in first person plural indicative sentences as well.

y a-∔č grasp IMP

Grab it!

ca-ya-∔č 1p grasp IMP

Let's grab it!

kay-m-ič šušava? ni-yik NEG 2-1s IMP lie | DIR

Don't you [plu.] lie to me!

Here are two non-imperative sentences which show the imperative plural marker being used with a future clitic:

ca-mi-mat-∔č

'Vamos ir' ['we will go', or 'let's go'].

ca-kim-mat-∔č

We're going to come.

In each case the ending which looks rather like the imperative plural clitic was transcribed with a "u"; it is possible that this is not the same morpheme at all, but some otherwise unattested morpheme I have not identified. But other clitics occasionally appear in variants with <u>u</u> for underlying /ɨ/. Another possibility is that this is indeed the plural imperative clitic -ɨč, and that its use is not restricted to what we think of as imperatives (or "hortative" first person imperatives). A third possibliity is that these two expressions which are so parallel and both involve simple verbs of motion, are some kind of idiomatic or frozen forms and really need not be handled by grammatical rules.

The meaning of the very common clitic -nehe is not at all clear; it is discussed in chapter IV, section L.

n+7-nehe ni-šipk 'I chilled it.'
1s nehe 1s chill

haypa?y-nehe 'Where is it?' where nehe

The clitic $-mek \sim -mekwaču$ is used in contrary-to-fact clauses and is discussed in chapter IV, section J. The initial vowels of all of these clitics are dropped when they follow a vowel.

ni-kač-mek ?ap 'Would that I were there.'
1s be mek there

There are a very few cases where the future clitic -mat occurs as the first element in the clause; this is not attested for the other clitics.

ni-kwara-mat pakwini-ni
1s smear FUT mud INS
I am going to plaster the cracks with mud.

mat ni-kwara? pakwini-ni
FUT 1s smear mud INS
I am going to plaster the cracks with mud.

mat-?a-kim hiwač tivač next year [another year FUT 3s come another year that will come?]

The data are so scanty that it is impossible to say with certainty whether clitics generally may occur in first position as reported for Serrano by Hill (n.d.) and Crook (1974a), or whether the counterexamples are sentence fragments or due to some kind of error. Steele (1975) gives an interesting discussion of Luiseño clitics, which also occur in second position; this is defined as either after the first word or the first constituency break; unfortunately the Kitanemuk data are too scanty to give such a refined analysis for this language. In most cases in the recorded data, clitics attach to the first word in the clause; however two sentences at least (and there are no examples to the contrary) suggest that the relevant level of element may be the phrase, rather than the word:

?ivi? tameat-mat ni-ya-hea [this day] FUT I catch, PASS Today they're gonna catch me.

ošit pa-y+k-mat ni-mi hot waterDIR. FUT. I go I'm going to go towards the hot water. ni-tih-tin-mat ivi-y ?anocita-y tyenda?-yik = 1s RDP send FUT this OBJ boy OBJ store DIR nahponoma-yik-mat ni-tih-tin ?ivi-y ?anocita-y store DIR FUT 1s RDP send this OBJ boy OBJ I'm going to send this boy to the store.

There are a few apparent exceptions to this rule of attachment to the first element in the clause, but most of them can be explained in terms of the sentence containing more clauses than is readily apparent. For instance, the sentence

Pip Pa-kač-uvu It was here. here it be PAST

may be conceived of as meaning something more like 'It is here that it was'; that is, perhaps some focusing strategy has created a higher clause than the one in which the tense clitic belongs. Here is one more example of this kind:

kumu?k ni-ta-nehe I put it face down. face down I put nehe

It may seem a bit ad hoc to propose this analysis, but these are the unique cases in the corpus where an initial adverb is followed by another sentence element with an attached clitic. Clearly there is no prohibition against clitics attaching to initial adverbs in general, as the future clitic does in the following example:

Pip-mat ni-ra?wk I'm going to sit down here.

and there is certainly no prohibition against initial words containing 'be' having clitics attached:

?a-kač-mat yuahk S/he is going to be hanged.

(As further support for the notion that adverbial clauses may be built above another clause, consider the fact that the NEG in the form of either <u>naw</u> 'not' or <u>kay</u> 'don't' is usually the first word in the sentence, but adverbs do sometimes precede NEG:

Pama?y naw ni-mirin ni-tuhtu?-i now NEG 1s can 1s dance COMPL Now I can't dance.

Perhaps a rule of adverb fronting and raising applies at some point in the derivation after both the positioning of NEG and the atachment of clitics.) One other counter-example may be explained in a parallel way. The following sentence has an initial independent pronoun followed by a verb with attached clitics:

ni-kon-mat-ivi? ŋati?-yam-iy I I kill all FUT I-3 cat PLU. OBJ. I'm going to kill all the cats.

The independent pronouns, which are used mostly for emphasis, often occur in first position, suggesting that this is indeed a position of emphatic focus. If it is assumed that the placement of the emphatic $\underline{n+2}$ in the sentence above takes place at a point in the derivation beyond the point where clitics are attached, the rule of clitic attachment in "second position" will be preserved.

2. CO-OCCURRENCE OF CLITICS

The following are some examples of the wide variety of strings of multiple clitics that are possible.

ni-ŋɨčk-ɨt-uvu?

'Did I cut it?'

1s cut Q PAST

kay-vim-ič hiu NEG 2-3p IMP look

'Don't look at them!'

haypea-t-ne ?a-kač

'Where was it?'

where Q nehe 3s be

?a-kivaw-vin-nehe

'He asked me for it.'

3s ask for 3-1s nehe

?a-kivaw-vin-ne pa-č-ay 'He asked me for water.' 3s ask for 3-1s nehe water ABS OBJ

ni-ayn-mat-um

'I will show it to you.'

1s show FUT 1-2s

mi-yik-mat-utsi 2s answer FUT 2-1s 'You will answer me.'

3. CLITICS IN LOWER CLAUSES

Clitics that occur later in the sentence than on the first element are not exceptions to the rule of clitic placement, but rather instances of clitics attached to the first element of an embedded clause.

ni? ni-ta pačukat-ay ?a-hu?eaha-mat I 1s put man OBJ3s work FUT I put this man to work. ?a-ya?-nehe ?a-kim-ivin mak-ik ?aši-y kim-an-i-c-ay 3s carry nehe 3s come 3-1 give INF flower OBJ make Vn PN ABS OBJ She brought me a bunch of flowers.

kiva ca-kwa-č come 1p eat IMP PL Come to eat!

naw ?a-uyhun ni-mi NEG 3s want 1s go He doesn't want me to go.

ni-puk-mat ?a-tarahu?-č-ay ni-ta-mat ?ati?a-vea tarahu-pea 1s remove FUT 3s cradle ABS OBJ 1s put FUT big LCC cradle LOC I am going to take him off the first cradle and put him on the [big one].

cipk ?amariyo? ni-?ošan-mat a little yellow 1s paint FUT I am going to make it yellow.

naw ?aw-?uyhun ni-mi, mutu?-mat ni-mi NEG 3s want 1s go still FUT 1s go He doesn't want me to go, but I'm going to go anyway.

The following must be an actual exception to the first element of the clause rule, but it is a sentence spoken by a guardian spirit, and therefore perhaps in an archaic or special ritualistic form of Kitanemuk:

7+m+ 7ivi ni-mak+m-mat-+m pačuk you this 1s give 1-2 FUT 1-2 man [I give you this;] now you are a man.

Or, perhaps the -mat is not attached as presented above, but is a case of clause-initial future clitic. (In this case gloss should actually be 'I give you this; you will be a man'.) Of course, since

-mat is the only clitic which is attested in initial position in the corpus, there is one more possible explanation—that there is an adverb mat homoponous with the clitic; this is not implausible, given the existence of the past adverb <u>?uvea</u> 'already'.

4. <u>k-LOSS BEFORE CLITICS</u>

Some verbs ending in -k lose the -k before a consonant-initial clitic [or, vacuously, suffix], which means that they lose it before -mat and -nehe. Other verbs do not; the difference is simply a fact about verbs that must be marked. There are no examples of other words ending in k that drop the k when -mat or -nehe is attached. [find examples of it NOT happening.] The morphophonological class of -k verbs that do undergo k-deletion is exemplified below:

Examples of k-deleting verbs:

No deletion	<u>Deletion</u>	
ni-mirurk	ni-mirur-mat	
I twist it.	I will twist it.	

ni-m+nk	ni-m∔n-mat		
I swallow it.	! will swallow it.		

ni-horohk	ni-horoh-mat
I pierce it.	I will pierce it.

ni-nahnipk	ni-nahnip-mat
I win it.	I will win it.

ni-ŋililk	ni-ŋilil-m a t
I catch up with someone.	I will catch up with someone.

ni-ŋ∔čk I cut it.

ni-rivk I win it.

ni-murahk I loosened it. ni-ŋɨč-mat I will cut it.

ni-riv-mat I will win it.

ni-murah-nehe I loosened it.

Examples of k-retaining verbs:

No deletion enironment

ni-ra?wk I set it

ni-napk I paste it

ni-na?r∔k I help.

ni-con k I am washing (clothes).

?a-hin∔k It is floating.

ni-puk I take it off Deletion environment

ni-ra?wk-mat I will set it

ni-napk-mat I will paste it

ni-narik-mat I will help.

ni-conhk-mat I'm going to wash.

?a-hi?nik-nehe
It is floating.

ni-puk-mat I will take it off

It is possible that this rule only applies to verbs that have an $\pm k/-k$ contrast; this would explain all the k-retentions in the second list except napk, which could simply be an exception or an error.

E. ADJECTIVES

There are at least three kinds of adjectives in Kitanemuk: adjectives, -V?1 adjectives, and monomorphemic adjectives. All these adjectives have in common their use as attributives, either on the sentential level in what might be called a predicate adjective construction (with or without the verb kač 'be') or in attribution to nouns within a noun phrase. They correspond for the most part to English adjectives or participles. Some have stemreduplicated plurals, and some have plural forms in -am. It is important to note, however, that some English adjectives are translated by nouns in Kitanemuk, like numuač 'good', and yaynat 'alive', which have most of the formal properties of other nouns. In fact, it is probably possible to consider the other "adjectives" to be a sub-class of ø-absolutive nouns; this would account for their plural forms and their ability to play the sentential roles of nouns (in spite of their lack of an absolutive suffix). I have labeled them "Adj." in the dictionary, however, to draw attention to their semantic properties, lack of an absolutive suffix, and possible formal distinctions which may have been obscured by the very small number of adjective form—especially in non-subject position—in the corpus (for example, these forms may only be reduplicated by stem reduplication). Adjectives are also a unitary class in that they alone can be modified by adverbs like cipk 'a little' and waravk 'very'.

1. -K ADJECTIVES

The -k adjectives are mostly derived from verb stems. They tend to end in -k where some transitivity is inherent in their meaning, or in -ak or -ak where they are more plausibly derived from an intransitive verb (attested in the data or not). (There are sometimes minor inconsistencies with regard to the appearance and disappearance of glottal stop or h in the two forms.)

-k adjective corresponding verb ?ana?k 'open' ?a?nk 'open, VT' caka?k 'one-sided' cakahik 'shift to one side, V' Peana?k 'bent' Pea?nk 'bend back, VT' mayhak 'who recently gave birth' mayha 'give birth' mayhak-am (plu.) rupk 'straight' rupk 'straighten, VT' timk 'shut' timk 'shut, VT' Winikaik 'smart' winikaw 'think, remember' yovok 'dark' yo?vok 'soot oneself.VI' yuvk 'boiling in water' yuvk 'put in boiling water'

Many adjectives end in \underline{k} , but do not correspond to any verb in the corpus; this may be an accident of elicitation. The following are some examles.

Adjectives in -k with no corresponding verb

Paya?k 'white' kwitk 'multicolored'

huyuyk 'conceited' šarork 'rough on the surface'

yaŋk 'quiet' vačk 'flat and circular' (plu. vačvačk)

yuahk 'hanged' mɨmk 'true'

Some examples of -k adjectives in sentences follow:

?a-kač-mat <u>yuahk</u> 'S/he is g 3s be FUT hanged

'S/he is going to be hanged.'

rupk ?a-kač straight 3s be

'it's straight ahead.'

cono?k

ni-mi

'I ride standing up.'

stopped/standing 1s go

ni-narik mayha-k-ay 'I'm helping the new mother.'
1s help having given birth OBJ

šoyo?k ni-kač

"I make a bad face."

scowling 1s be

<u>Voiš-voiš-k</u> pi-kač doubled up 3p be

'They are doubled up.'

A few adjectives seem to be derived from nouns, rather than verbs, by the addition of $-\underline{\mathbf{k}}$:

Pohanak 'tarweed [consultant says it means 'tarry']
(cf. - Pohana? 'gum, poss.')

2. ADJECTIVES IN -V?

There are a few adjectives ending in -a?i and other vowels plus ?i, some or all of which may be derived. There are two few cases to be sure. The following are some -V?i adjectives:

cutata?i

'peppery'

haruharu?i

'slipping down' (cf. harukrik 'come down')

nama?i

'soft'

nanana?i 'flat'

piša?i? 'sweet', plu. piša?i-m 'they are sweet'

rikwarikwa?i 'smooth' (cf. <u>rikwatik</u> 'slip, VI')

varavara?i 'hanging', (cf. varvark 'hanging')

3. MONOMORPHEMIC ADJECTIVES

Some but not all monomorphemic adjectives are borrowings. The following are some examples of monomorphemic adjectives:

yu?u 'lame' kwitkwitk 'multi-colored'

toho? 'foolish' šivi? 'cold'

Poši? 'hot' Pamariyo? 'yellow'

4. ATTRIBUTIVE NOUNS

The following are attributive nouns, which have absolutive endings just like most nouns. It is not clear whether they have typical nominal case and number inflections, since case-inflected forms are rare in the corpus.

Singular Meaning Plural Other forms

numua-č 'good' nuh-numua-c ni-numua-na? 'my right hand'

šɨri-c 'stingy' šɨri-m

kavawavit 'deaf' kah-kavawavi-m

wip-t 'fat' wip-im wip-cu 'get fat'

5. CASE FORMS OF ADJECTIVES

There are only a few adjectives in noun phrases in object position in the corpus, and these differ as to whether the adjective is object-marked or not:

ni-hiu naha-č-ay numua-č 1s see girl ABS OBJ good ABS I saw a good girl.

ni-hiu mi-ma-mayha-m-iy paha-m-iy 1s see 2s RDP child PL OBJ oldest PL OBJ I saw your oldest children.

Perhaps object marking is optional, or marked on plural adjectives only; perhaps there is difference between a noun plus adjective construction and a nouns in apposition construction, which may distinguish the two sentences above. Further research may clarify this, but the paucity of appropriate forms makes that doubtful.

Adjectives sometimes are the only word in a noun phrase. The following sentence shows the adjective <u>mimk</u> 'true' being used as a noun; it is not object-marked.

ni-hak nɨ? mɨmk 1s tell i truly

'I'm telling the truth speaking truly?]'

F. ADVERBS

Adverbs are invariant in form; they modify adjectives and adverbs (and perhaps sentences, depending on one's analysis of the negative and time adverbs), and indicate such things as degree, direction, time, place, and manner. Some of them are monomorphemic and others are derived from adjectives.

1. MONOMORPHEMIC ADVERBS

The following list is a sampling of monomorphemic adverbs:

mutu?	'always'	moc	'again'
?ip	'here'	7ap	'there'
waravk	'hard, very'	cipk	'a little'
Pova?	'up'	wici?k	'down'
p÷yan	'far'	?uve a	'aiready'
mick	'together'	pucuk	'firmly'
naw	'not'	kay	'don't'

Past tense adverbs

Past tense glosses correspond to sentences with the past clitic -uvu, or the adverb <u>?uvea</u> (a separate word placed at the beginning or end of the sentence. There is also another past tense adverb, <u>?u?uvea</u> 'long ago'. These adverbs are illustrated below:

ni-?ic-uvu?

Puvea ni-Pic }

'I ladled out (water).'

ni-ic ?uvea

PuPuvea Pa-kim

'S/he came a long time ago.'

long ago 3s come

?u?uvea-vu? ?a-kim 'S/he came a long time ago.'

long ago PAST 3s come

2. DERIVED ADVERBS

Some adverbs are derived from adjective stems by the addition of -ik:

num a-č

'good'

numua-ik

'well'

nama?i

'soft'

nama?i-k

'quickly'

Examples of adverbs in sentences

· <u>cipk</u> ?a-šivik

a little 3s blow wind

'It's a little windy.'

mea ʔuʔ pa-č <u>ʔamuk</u>

take water ABS there

'Go over ther and bring (me)

some water.'

cipk kava-wavi-t ni?

a little deaf ABS I 'I'm a little deaf.'

hamik ni-niw

again 1s db 'I do it again.'

?a-pic <u>?ip</u> muk-i-c 3s arrive here sick PN ABS

'There arrived here a disease.'

mutu? ?a-?amihik always 3s forget

'S/he always forgets'

<u>namayk</u> m∔nki quickly swallow	'Swallow it [quick]!'
ni-mi-mat ?aru?k 1s go FUT upcanyon	'I'm going to go up-canyon.'
numua?ik ni-?icuk well 1s fix up	'I fixed it up well.'
mi-mi-mat <u>piyan</u> 2s go FUT far	'You're going to go far.'
ni-yaw <u>pucuk</u> 1s grasp firmly	'I grasp it firmly.'
waravk-ivin ?a-tur intens.adv. 2-1 3s bother	'He is bothering me a lot.'
ni-hiu <u>Wici?k</u>	'i looked down at the ground.'

1s see

G. QUANTIFIERS

Numerals and other quantifiers form a separate morphological class in Kitanemuk. They are not marked for case or number, although they modify nouns. The counting numbers, which also modify nouns, are exemplified below, with the numbers from one to ten.

hawkup	'one'	pavahi?	'six'
woh	'two'	kwackaveyki	'seven'
pahi?	'three'	wahwaca	'eight'
Waca	'four'	makaveyki	'nine'
mahač	'five'	wehmahač	'ten'

The quantifier $\underline{w+r}$ 'a lot' is like the numerals in that it quantifies nouns, and nouns so quantified are never object marked (cf. chapter IV, section C). The word \underline{puyu} 'all' is apparently an adverb rather than a quantifier, since objects in sentences with \underline{puyu} are object-marked:

ni-hiu puyu mɨ-niu-y 'I saw all your things.'
1s see all 2s possession OBJ

H. CONJUNCTIONS

Kitanemuk has both coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. <u>Pap</u> 'and' conjoins both words and clauses, and is positioned between the two conjuncts:

?+m+? ?ap n+? 'you and I'
you and I

ni-tun-nehe wari? ?ap ?a-curup-ik
1s chase nehe nevertheless and 3s enter INTR
I chased him out but he came in again.

hamik (asometimes hamak) 'back, again' sometimes seems to be an adverb, but is clearly sometimes a conjunction:

nati hamik kuci? 'the cat and the dog'

It certainly occurs in sentences with no other overt conjunction.

?a-hi-hiu-vin, ni? hamak ni-hi-hiu
3s RDP look 3-1s I back 1s RDP look
He is looking at me and I am looking at him, too.

ti is translated as 'but' in the following sentence,

pi-?uyhun ni-kim-an-i ti naw ni-kim-an-ihun 3p want 1s & Vn COMPbutNEG 1s & Vn DESID They made me do it, but I did not want to.

But it is translated 'if' in conditional sentences:

ti-mekwaču ni-cik, ?a-yu?-mekwaču?

if contrary to fact is stick is cry contrary to fact

If I had stuck him with the scissors, he would have cried.

The subordinating conjunctions <u>mahmat</u> 'when' and <u>Pamatan</u> 'therefore' are illustrated in chapter IV, section J.

CHAPTER III: **DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY**

A. NOUN-FORMING DERIVATIONS

1. DENOMINAL NOUNS

Augmentative suffix

The augmentative suffix derives a -1 noun from a verb or from a noun of any class,1 and adds an element of meaning along the lines of "large" or "having a lot of" (for the denominal forms) or "habitual V-er" (for the deverbal forms). The form is -wi, -yi, or -±; rules for the alternanation are not apparent.2 Examples of this suffix in its two subtypes follow.

<u>Noun</u> Noun + -wi-t

kana-c 'beard' kana-wi-t 'big-bearded person' beard ABS

beard AUG ABS

pahina-č 'chia sp.' pahina-i-t 'bigger species of chia' chia ABS. **AUG ABS** chia

?a-poho 'his body hair' poho-wi-t 'furry person' 3s fur fur AUG ABS

¹This is one of several instances of morphology common to verbs and nouns. (Actually, one could analyze the -w+ suffix as two homophonous suffixes-a deverbal "habitual action" suffix, and a denominal "augmentative" suffix; I have considered it to be a single suffix because of the formal identity and some semantic common ground.

²Instead of the vowel \pm , occasionally \underline{u} occurs, but only in the \underline{w} variant. This is additional evidence that orthographic 2 is [+], easily mistaken for [u], especially in rounding environments.

Noun

Noun + - w + -t

?a-to? 'his belly'

to?-wi-t 'big-bellied person'

3s belly

belly AUG ABS

ni-?ič 'my blood'

?∔č-w∔-t 'bloody'

1s blood

blood AUG ABS

kaka-č 'quail'

kaka-i-t 'partridge'

quail ABS

ear ABS

quail AUGABS

kava-c 'ear'

kava-wi-t 'big-eared person'

ear AUG ABS

.

kah-kava-wi-t 'big-eared person'

RDP ear AUG ABS

kah-kava-wi-m 'big-eared people'

RDP ear AUG PL

mihi-c 'neck'

mihi-wi-t 'bird sp. with a long neck'

neck ABS

neck AUG ABS

mihi-wi-m 'pl.'

<u>Verb</u>

Verb + wit

kwa? 'eat'

kwa?-wi-t 'big eater'

eat

AUG ABS

kur 'fight'

kuh-yi-t 'fighter'

fight

fight AUG ABS

In some cases there is a slightly different meaning shift between the plain stem and the augmentative derived form:

tama-c 'tooth'

tama-wi-t 'sharp'

tooth ABS

tooth AUG ABS

hamina-t 'what?'

hamina-wi-t 'what? (emph.)'

what ABS

what AUG ABS

yuhaha-t 'myth figure' yuhaha-i-t 'older brother of yuhahat'

pers.name ABS

pers.name AUG ABS

Sometimes changes in the stem are associated with the addition of the augmentative suffix:

hača-č 'spit'

hača?a-wi-t 'slobbery'

spit ABS

spit **AUG ABS**

pa? 'drink'

pa?h-yi-t 'drunkard'

drink

drink AUG ABS

wi? 'yell'

wini-wi-t 'ceremonial shouter'

yell

yell AUGABS

tuhtu? 'dance'

tuhtuh-yi-t 'good dancer'

dance

dance AUGABS

The following two words contain a morpheme -wa; it occurs in some words containing the augmentative suffix, and its exact meaning is unknown:3

kaka-wa-i-t 'chicken' ? AUGABS (cf. kaka-č 'quail' and kaka-i-t 'partridge')

?a?a 'crow'

?ač-wa-t 'raven'

tukut 'bobcat? [gato montes]'

tukučuwat 'mountain lion'

It is quite possible that these forms are related only etymologically and not by an active derivational process.

³Two more sets seem to be related by way of the same -we suffix, but with concomitant stem changes.

makaho-a-i-t 'large dove sp. dove ? AUG ABS (cf. 'makaho-t 'dove sp.')

Characterizing suffix

to-to?-kam RDP belly CHAR

The characterizing suffix derives stems of the \varnothing -class from nouns of any class; they have the meaning "one characterized by N", where N is the noun root. The singular form of this suffix is - $\frac{k \cdot 3 \cdot 7y}{k \cdot 3 \cdot 2y}$; its irregular plural is $\frac{k \cdot 3 \cdot 7y}{k \cdot 3 \cdot 3 \cdot 3}$. The allomorph before the $\frac{k \cdot 3 \cdot 3}{k \cdot 3 \cdot 3}$ (see example under "Tribenames" in this section). In the one example where a directional suffix is also attached, the suppletive variant is $\frac{k \cdot 3}{k \cdot 3 \cdot 3}$. Examples of this suffix follow:

'furry; caterpillar sp.' poho-ka?y fur CHAR poho-kam 'caterpillar sp. pl.' CHAR fur havi-ka?y 'Christian' blanket CHAR havi-ka-m 'baptized people' blanket CHAR PL niw-ka?y 'rich' possession CHAR to?-ka?y 'pregnant' belly CHAR

'pregnant, pl.'

yoa-kah-yik 'toward a mountain that's always snowy' snow CHAR DIR

Deceased suffix

The deceased suffix derives a $\underline{\check{c}}$ -noun⁴ from a noun of any class, adding the element "dead" or "former" to its meaning. It is found most often on kin terms, and is probably related to a taboo against mentioning deceased people in a casual (unmarked) way.⁵ The form of the suffix is $-iv\dot{i}$.

ni-na? 'my father'

ni-na?-ivi 'my dead father'

ni-kukit 'my grandrelative ni-kukit a?-ivi 'my dead gr'relative'

ni-?acita 'my pet' 1s pet ni-acita-ivi 'my dead dog'

1s pet DEC

ni-?acita-ivi-m 'my dead dogs'

1s pet DEC PL

Compound nouns

Compound nouns take the form

STEM_A-STEM_B-(ABS./PLU.)

where STEMA is the attributive noun and STEMB is the head noun. There are a number of examples of this in the corpus, but it is not clear whether the data are the result of an ongoing productive

⁴Actually, this is doubtful, since the only attested absolutive form is <u>PacitaPiv+č</u>, glossed 'perro que era' ['dog that was'], and which I suspect of being a forced or artificial form.

⁵California Indians often had taboos against mentioning the names of dead people (cf. e.g. Kroeber 1925:181) or special names for deceased people, or special terms for kin related through a deceased person (William Bright, p.c.).

process in the language or perhaps frozen forms which are the residue of some obsolete rule (noun compounding is not productive in the other Takic languages). One absolutive suffix only appears on these compounds, attached to the second stem, and it is of the class which would be appropriate for the head noun alone. Examples follow:

pa-hukah-t 'elk' [lit., 'water-deer'] water deer ABS

y÷ha-hu-č 'evening star' evening star ABS

hin-kim-an-i-c 'rattlesnake figure on basket'

taka-kim-an-i-c 'people figures on basket' person make an PASS ABS

šɨ-mɨa-č 'March' [lit., 'flower-month'] flower moon ABS

?a-kwaka-?u?-a? 'enemy scalp (cut off)' 3s soldier take GEN

This construction is not to be confused with the attributive + noun construction, which consists of two full nouns with absolutive or other affixes (as appropriate) on each noun:

mu-i-c t‡va-t 'piñon pinole' grind PN ABS piñon ABS

ni-mayr paha-č 'my oldest son' 1s child oldest ABS

<u>Placenames</u>

The placename suffixes $-\underline{pea}/-\underline{vea}$ and $-\underline{y+k}$ form placename nouns from noun stems:

<u>Base</u>		<u>Placename</u>	
78787	'crow'	?a?a?-pea	'Joaquin Flat'
haka-t	'willow'	haka-pea	'Cummings Valley'
78	'soft white rock'	?a?y-vea	'a mountain east of
?÷yci-č	'ivy' ("hiedra")	?÷yci-vea	Tejón ranchería' 'Chanaco Canyon'
kayak	'angelica'	kayak-yik	'a range southeast of Tehachapi town'
kuča-t	'wood'	kuča-y∔k	'Gorman'
huči-c	'willow sp.'	huči-yʻi k	'a spring where
?ipko-č	'mulefat'	?ipko-y∔k	they used to shear' 'El Pleito'

Placenames in -na/-n are perhaps all out of Kitanemuk territory, and thus borrowed (from Gabrielino or Fernandeño); this theory could be tested with a study of the precise locations of placenames; it is suggested by a comment recorded by Harrington to the effect that yavea is the Kitanemuk version of the Gabrielino placename yana 'Los Angeles village' (in Gabrielino territory). (-na as a locative suffix occurs in a few expressions such as ninumuana 'on my right'; but these may also have been borrowed.)

There are a few cases of two placenames based on the same noun stem, with one formed using -y + k and the other formed using -p + a/-y + a:

haka-pea 'Cummings Valley'
haka-yik 'placename over by Hills place'
[apparently a distinct place]

tuvi-yik 'Brite Valley' tuvi-pea 'Brite Valley'

But it is possible that -y + k is really just a locative suffix and not a placename-deriving suffix, in spite of glosses like the above. There is one form glossed as a placename, which contains both -vea and -y+k:

pa-vea-yik 'Buena Vista Lake' water plcnm. DIR/plcnm.

There is also a form in -y + k glossed in one entry as a placename, and in another as a directional expression:

hunai-yik 'Los Osos' [< hunait 'bear']
ni-mi hunai-yik 'I go to Los Osos.'

Although there is a -pea/-yea inflectional (locative) suffix (discussed in chapter II, section A), it is apparently homophonous with the derivational placename suffix, as evidenced by the fact that placenames in -pea/-yea can be suffixed with the directional suffix -y+k, or even the locative suffix -pea/-yea (although the number of sentences that demonstrate this fact is small.) Sentences with -y+k placenames in a role which would require an inflectional suffix are absent from the corpus, but it is possible that there is a derivational suffix -y+k which is also able to take

inflectional suffixes. The following are some examples of inflected forms of placenames:

pakwinipea-yik 'toward Ventura'
?a-mucki-pea-vea 'variant of a placename'

On the other hand, we also find in the notes the following pair:

tahič-pea 'Tehachapi (Old Town)' tahič-yik 'to Tehachapi'

It is possible that the first term is a locative expression rather than a true placename. In any case the placename-deriving status of -pea/-yea in Kitanemuk is undeniable.

Tribenames

Some tribenames are derived from placenames by the addition of the tribename suffix -t am.6

tiva-pea-tam 'Tübatulabal Indians' piñon plenm. TrN

⁶Note that the designation "tribename" as used here is an arbitrary categorization not limited to names of people organized into a social tribe structure.

ya-vea-tam p.oak plcnm. TrN 'people of the Los Angeles area'

pakwini-pea-tam mud plcnm. TrN 'Ventureños'

Other tribenames are formed with the suffix -yam (which is otherwise a plural suffix characteristic of borrowed nouns), without a preceding placename suffix. (Of course many, but not all, tribenames are borrowed nouns.)

mɨmɨ-yam 'people from the lake of Chico López' lake PL

yoa-ka-yam 'people from a mountain that's always snowy' snow CHAR PL

Some tribenames have a singular and plural; some have a plural-looking form only:

hayku? (sg.)

hayku?-yam

'Mexican(s)'

Mexican ø-ABS

Mexican PL

hawkup kiša?-n-i-hunu-kam one bad VN PN language CHAR PL

'one Ventureño' ['bad language people']

2. <u>DEVERBAL NOUNS</u>

There are four very common types of deverbal nouns—the general, agentive, passive, and instrumental nominals, described in the following paragraphs. (An extensive listing of all four types of forms is Appendix H: Deverbal nominals.)

General nominals

The general deverbal nominals are formed using the suffix -a (with a -t or -c absolutive) or -a? (possessed). The resulting nouns correspond to a variety of underlying case roles—agentive, instrumental, etc.

Stem h u n u ? k a ? v(-) i k nahponom pavuh aču? tuhtutu?	Meaning speak, say listen sell sow play	Nominal ni-huŋu?-a? kav-a-c nahponom-a-t ni-pavuhaču?-a? ni-tuhtutu?-a?	Meaning my language ear store my planting my tov
tuntutu? šitu?	play sprout	ni-tuhtutu?-a? ?a-šito?-a?	my toy
	oprout	1 4-31(0 F- 6 F	sapling

Some general nominals show slight irregularities:

```
cinea pound (meat) -cinea?na? rooster's comb
?iyi(-)w steal + take? ?iyi-a? lover [!]
wihika(-)w beg wihika?-a-č beggar
```

(It is not clear what the disappearing \underline{w} 's are in the second and third forms above; they may be derived from $\underline{2u2}$ 'take'.)

Agentive nominals

The agentive deverbal nominals belong to the $-\underline{\check{c}}$ class; they are formed with the suffix $-\underline{i}2\underline{a}$. They refer to the person who is the logical subject of a transitive or intransitive verb. The resulting subject nominalizations are typically agentive, although $\underline{ciu}2\underline{n}i2\underline{a}\check{c}$ 'ashamed' is perhaps exceptional in this regard; derived from the transitive verb $\underline{ciu}2$ 'be ashamed of', it may or may not be seen as semantically agentive.

<u>Stem Meaning Nominal Meaning</u>
rio?in shear rio?in-i?a-č shearer [person who shears]
tuhtutu play tuhtutu?-i?a-č playful person

One -i?a nominal, pahpahk-i?a-č 'plant sp.', is exceptional in that it does not refer to a person; it may be seen as a personifying name of this 'popper' plant. The object of the verb from which these nominals are derived may also appear, as in

ki-c-ay kim-an-i?a-č 'carpenter' house ABS OBJ make VN AGT ABS

Passive nominals and participles

Passive deverbal nouns belong to the -c class; they are formed with the suffix -i. The words thus formed usually refer to the logical object of the verb in the underlying clause (with a few exceptions, such as k + s + r - i - c 'ugly', n + r + i - c 'shrine', m + r + i - c 'illness'). (The role of the -v + r + v + c suffix that is so common in these derivations, is not well understood; for other examples of this suffix in other deverbal forms, see chapter II, section B, and Appendices I and J.) Examples follow:

<u>Stem</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Nominal</u>	Meaning
ca?cakin	winnow	ca?cakin-i-c	winnowed
ŋɨč-k	cut	ŋɨč-ŋɨč-k-in-i-	cut (said of fringe)
pučahk	play ball	pučahk-in-i-c	a game of ball
purikaw		purikaw-n-i-m	
rio?in	shear	rio?in-i-c	sheared off

There is a similar deverbal form, which I have tentatively categorized as "participle"; these derived attributive nouns are formed from the verb stem or extended verb stem with the addition of -i (or sometimes -i?) and also take the personal prefix a-. (It is possible that the full array of prefixes can be used, but this is doubtful since plurals like ?aničkim do not contain the plural personal prefix pi-; the critical sentences to evaluate this are not in the corpus.)

?a-hu?-i? 3s burn PN	'what's burned'
?a-hu?-i?-m 3s burn PN PL	'burned, pl.'
?a-hin-k-i? 3s float TR PN	'driftwood' [app. 'floated']
?a-kop-k-i 3s break TR PN	'broken'
?a-ŋ∔čk-i-m 3s cut PNPL	'amputees'

The following are a few sentences showing the use of the passive nominal and participle in context:

c+-pa? hakwa-i-c-ay

1p drink stir PN ABS OBJ

= 'stirred up (stuff)'

We drank some chia batida.

?uvea hama?n-i-c
already thatch PN ABS
= 'thatched (thing)'
It is already thatched.

ni-hyu-ne mi-herk-in-i-č-ay lsee nehe 2s point Vn PN ABS OBJ = 'your pointed thing' l saw your forefinger.

?uvea yorin-i-c already plow PN ABS = 'plowed (thing)' It is already plowed.

?a-tuhtu? pucuk, tɨm ?a-ka?m-k-i?
3s dance hard like 3s craze TR PN
= 'crazed (person)'
He's dancing fast, like a crazy man.

7a-pic 7ip muk-i-c 3s arrive here sick PN ABS A sickness arrived here.

ni-?in kim-an-i-c tirtiya?-t-ay 1s know make VN PN ABS tortilla ABS OBJ I know how to make tortillas?

?a-ya? nehe ?a-kim-ivin mak-ik ?aši-y kim-an-i-c-ay
3s bring nehe 3s come 3-1 give INF flower OBJ make Vn PN ABS OBJ
= 'flower made up (thing)'
She brought me a (tied up) bunch of wildflowers.

ni? kiša?-n-i-c 1s no good Vn PN ABS I am ugly.

⁷The absence of object marking on the passive nominal here is unexplained.

Instrumental nominals

Instrumental deverbal nominals are formed using the suffix -ihwa?, or -ivana? (when possessed), and belong to the -t absolutive class. They usually refer to a noun which has the instrument role in the underlying clause; the personal prefix, if any, corresponds to the logical subject of the verb, either transitive or intransitive, in the underlying clause.

<u>Stem</u> rio?in ca?cakin tuhtutu	<u>Meaning</u> 'shear' 'winnow' 'play'	Nominal rio?in-ihwa?-t ca?cakin-ihwa?-t tuhtutu?-ihwa?-t	Meaning 'shears' 'winnow. basket' 'toy'
pučahk	'play ball'	pučahk-in-ihwa?-t ni-pučahk-in-ivana?	'game ball'
win	'cut hair'	win-ihwa?-t	'my game ball" 'scissors, shears'

There is one deverbal nominal of this form which refers to a human:

ni-na?o-ivana? pi-yik 1s marry INST 3s with 'my fiancée'

B. VERB-FORMING DERIVATIONS

1. COMPOUND VERBS

There is only one clear compound verb in the data: ya-nim 'go carrying something' ('andar con algo'). It consists of the transitive verb stem ya 'carry', combined with the intransitive verb stem nim 'walk'. The result is apparently a transitive derived verb stem, as can be seen in the following examples. (This seems to suggest that unlike noun compounds, in verb compounds, the 'attributive' or secondary stem follows the head; but of course given only one form, one can't claim that this is a productive process, in any case.)

ni-ya-nim timi-t-ay 'I go carrying a stone' ('ando con piedra')
1s carry walk stone ABS OBJ

ku-t-ay ?a-ya-n+m 'burning worm [glow worm?]' fire ABS OBJ 3s carry walk

2. NOUN INCORPORATION

A simple or reduplicated noun stem can be 'incorporated' into a verb word, by being inserted just before the verb stem. Due to the paucity of examples and the lack of starred forms, It is unclear what restrictions may apply to the process, or whether indeed it is a productive process; the recorded examples show no systematic meaning difference between the incorporated and non-incorporated forms of verb plus noun.

?a-hc-k÷m 3s hole make 'he hole-makes'

?a-k∔m ?a-ho-y

'he digs a hole'

3s make 3s hole OBJ

mi-ho-ho-kim-it 2s RDP hole make O 'Are you making holes?'

ni-kaŋa-win 1s beard pluck hair

'I pluck my beard-hairs'

kana-win-ihwa-t 'clam' [shells were used as tweezers] beard cut INSTABS

?a-mani-muk 3s toloache sick, dead 'he is drunk with toloache'

pa-ya-i-t water carry AUG ABS 'ladle' [lit., 'water-carrier']

?a-ŋah-ŋayka-muk 'he has a hernia'
3s RDP thigh[groin?] sick

ni-piči-huna ?imi-y 'I depend on you' ('estoy atenido a Vd.')
1s weight embrace you OBJ

ni-t+kwaka?-yaw 'l'm going to shade myself in the shade'
1s shadow grab/take

tikwaka-ya-ici 'shade me!' shadow grab 2-1

Pa-pa-k+ha-m 'tapeworms, pinworms'
3s water spoil, VT PL

3. DEVERBAL VERBS

-k/-ik verbs

Some verbs have paired transitive and intransitive forms, marked by the suffixes $-\underline{k}$ and $-\underline{i}\underline{k}$ respectively. The transitive forms are usually causative derivations from the intransitive basic meaning. The following pairs exemplify this alternation. More examples can be found in Appendix I and in the dictionary.

curup-ik 'enter' curup-k 'put in'

hin-ik 'floats' hi?n-k 'make (something) float'

muahk-ik 'be smoky' muah-k 'smoke (e.g. bacon)'

wawt-ik 'be tired' wawt-k 'tire (someone)'

yuaš-ik 'be wet' yuaš-k 'wet (something)'

-ea? verbs

A few pairs of verbs are related by the presence of a suffix - ea? in the causative form, and its absence in the non-causative form:

kɨm 'spill' kɨm-ea? 'pour'
yamk 'remember' yamkɨn-ea? 'remind'

-Vn suffix

Some verbs require a suffix that takes the form -<u>Vn</u> in the imperative and certain derived forms. It apparently has no meaning of its own, but simply derives a longer stem appropriate to the derived form from the short stem used in simple indicative forms.

A few examples are given here, but there are more in the dictionary and in Appendices H and I.

horohk 'pierce' horohk-in-ihwa?-t (instrumental nominal) kim 'make' kim-an-i?a-č (agentive nominal) mink 'swallow' mink-in-ivana? (instrumental nominal) timk 'shut' timk-in-ihwa?-t (instrumental nominal) wanak 'run' wanak-an-ea? (causative) wišk 'winnow' wišk-in-i-c (passive nominal)

Imperative extension suffix

Some verbs require a suffix of -i in imperative forms. They are exemplified in Appendix J and a few are given below:

<u>Stem</u>	Sa. Imp.	Plural Imp.
hiyk 'swing'	hɨykɨ	hiykič
kawtk 'break'	kawtki	kawtkič
wirapk 'let go'	wirapki	

Desiderative suffix

The desiderative suffix -ihun derives verbs meaning 'want to V' from plain verb stems. The following are a few of the many examples.

kum	'sleep'	kum-an-ihun	'want	to	sleep'
kwa?	'eat'	kwa?-ihun	'want	to	eat'
mu	'shoot'	mu-ihun	'want	to	shoot'
ya?	'fly'	y a ?-ihun	'want	to	fly'

4. DENOMINAL VERBS

There are at least two suffixes which derive verbs from nouns. The suffix -ivan, meaning 'put' or 'make', is exemplified below:

Noun

Verb in -van

hawkup 'one'

haw kup-ivan 'put one [in what you're making]'

woh 'two'

wo-van 'put two [in what you're making]'

numua-č 'good'

numua-van mi-hun 'don't be sad'

[lit. 'make good your heart']

The suffix $-(t)u? \sim -cu? \sim -tun$, meaning 'make' or 'become', is exemplified below:⁸

Base

Verb in -tu?

ca-č 'shaman'

cač-u 'sing [ceremonially]'

havin 'soap'

havin-tun 'to soap up clothes'

hawkup(i) 'one (time)'

hawkupi-ču? 'assemble'

hunai-t 'bear'9

hunai-tu? 'play bear [tag]'

-ič 'blood'

?ič-cu? 'be bloody'

mɨmɨ-t 'lake, sea' wanɨ-t 'river'

mɨmɨ-tu? 'make puddles' wanɨ-tu? 'trickle down'

wipt 'fat, lard'

wip-cu? 'get fat'

The following two verbs are derived from stems other than nouns, but also may contain the suffix -tu?:

naw 'NEG'

naw-tu 'disappear'

yu?u? 'lame'

yu?u?-tu? 'be rheumatic, crippled'

⁸Cf. Luis. suffix -<u>č-u</u> 'make a' (< *t-u): <u>kii-ča</u> 'house', <u>kii-ču</u> 'make a house'.

⁹Both <u>hune-t</u> and <u>hune-t-t</u> are attested for 'bear'; the latter apparently contains the augmentative suffix.

C. DERIVATIONS PRODUCING BOTH NOUNS AND VERBS

The prefix ti-

The following are examples of a possible nominal prefix \underline{t} : (or perhaps evidence of an obsolete derivation new only visible in frozen forms):10

Simple form	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>ti-form</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
vač-k	wide, circular	t∔-va-č	earth, N
?ayn	show	ti-?ayn	be an evil omen, V
yua-t	snow	t+-yua-t	frost, N
mua(?)-t	smoke, haze	t+-mua-t	soot, N

<u>na(h)-</u>

The deverbal prefix <u>nah-</u> (sometimes <u>na-</u>) derives both nouns and verbs:

Verb stem	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>nah-nominal</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
?i?ihama	joke	na-?ihama-t	ill-bred person, brat
kamea?	bury, roast	nah-kamea?-n-i-c	cemetery
k i ?	bite	nah-kɨhjɨ-t	biter (dog or bedbug)
ma	give	na-mak-a-t	generous person
tanimakan	teach	nah-tanimakan-ak	teacher
tɨmuhivan	envious,VT	nah-tɨmuhivan-iʔa-d	envious person

<u>Verb_stem</u>	Meaning	<u>nah-verb</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
hucik, huci	fall, drop	nah-huck	give birth (be born?)
tanimakan	teach	nah-tanimakan	advise (?)
tɨhtɨŋ	order, send	nah-tɨhtɨŋ	be capitán, in charge
yu	sing	nah-yu	deerhoof-sing
yu	sing	nah-yu	deerhoof-sing

¹⁰It has been suggested (P. Munro, p.c.) that the $\underline{t}\underline{+}$ - in at least some of these words might be a compounding element from $\underline{+}\underline{t}\underline{+}$ 'rock'.

D. ADJECTIVE DERIVATION

Some adjectives are formed from verb stems with the addition of $-\underline{k}$. Where these are based on $-\underline{k}/-\underline{i}\cdot\underline{k}$ verbs they look just like the simple verb forms without the personal prefix. Others exhibit numerous irregularities as to the presence of a vowel (sometimes matching the last vowel of the stem), glottal stop, or \underline{h} before the $-\underline{k}$.

Verb stem		Adjective	2
7an(-)k	'open'	?ana?k	'open'
cakah∔k	'shift to one side'	caka?k	'all on one side'
kwioc-k	'bend'	kwiock	'bent'
muk	'be sick'	mukuk	'sick'
mom-k	'pile up'	momk	'piled up'
winika(-)w	'remember'	winika∔k	'smart'

Some adjectives may be derived from verb stems by the addition of -V?i (cf. chapter II, section D for more discussion):

haruharu?i 'slipping down' (cf. haruharu?i 'slipping down' (cf. haruharu?i 'slipping down' (cf. harukrik 'come down') 'slipping down' (cf. harukrik 'slipping down' (cf. harukrik 'come down') 'slipping down' (cf. harukrik 'slipping down' (cf. harukrik 'slipping down' (cf. harukrik 'slipping down' (cf. harukrik 'slipping down'

E. ADVERB DERIVATION

Some adverbs may be formed from noun stems by the addition of the suffix -ik; the only two clear examples in the corpus are numeik and poketki?ik:

numua-ik 'well' good ADV

pokatk-i?-ik ?a-nipik 'He died of fright' frighten PNADV

One other adverb in -ik seems to be derived, but from another adverb, and with an idiosyncratic meaning shift not associated with the adverb derivations above:

?ama?y

'now'

?ama?y-ik

'just now'

One other adverb may be derived from an adjective by the addition of -ik, but again there is an unpredicted meaning shift:

nama?i?

'soft'

nama?ik

'quickly'

Given the paucity of these forms and the varying semantic shifts, I would guess that this may be a matter of frozen forms rather than an ongoing derivational process in the language.

F. NUMERAL DERIVATIONS

Kitanemuk has unique (non-derived) words for 'one', 'two', 'three', 'four', 'seven', and 'nine'. 'Five' is clearly related to \underline{m} a'hand'. The number 'six' is related to 'three' by reduplication (plus lenition of the \underline{p}), 'eight' is related to 'four' by reduplication, and 'ten' is derived from 'five' by the prefixation of something that is similar to 'two'. All the higher numbers to 100 are derived syntactically from combinations of 1-10 plus adverbials and the conjunction \underline{h} amak.

Numerals in Kitanemuk use some special derivational suffixes. The counting numbers are listed below. Adverbs, in the second column, are usually formed with the suffix -hea; verbs meaning 'put or make [number]' are in column three; they are formed with the suffix -ivan, also occuring in numua-van 'put right' and ?oši-van 'make hot'.

<u> Cοι</u>	inting numbers	X_times	Put/make X
1.	hawkup	hawkup-i	haw kup-ivan
2.	wo, woh	wo-hea, wovak	wo-van
3.	pahi, pahi?	pahea	pahi-van, pahivak
4.	Waca	waca-hea	wacahavan
5.	mahač	mahača-hea	mahačivan
6.	pavahi(?)	pavahea	
7.	kwackaveyki, -vi?ki	kwačkavea?ki-h	ea
8.	wah(a)waca	wahwaca-hea	
9.	makaveyki, -viki	makavea?ki-hea	
10.	wehmahač	wehmahača-hea	

- 11. we?mahač hamak hawkup (ten and one)
- 12. wehmahač woh (ten two)
- 20. wohea we?mahač (two tens)
- 30. pahi we?mahač (three tens)
- 100. hawkup ti?uh-i-c (one counted)

As in many other languages, days of the week are named by number (but in Kitanemuk Monday and Sunday have special non-numerical names); the derivational morphology by which this is done is irregular, and evidently peculiar to these special words.

<u>Day</u>	<u>Name</u>	Meaning
Monday	ca-mavi tum-hita-y	'Let's do something.'
Tuesday	?a-woh	< 'two' ['second'?]
Wednesday	?a-pahi?	< 'three' ['third'?]
Thursday	?a-waca	< 'four' ['fourth'?]
Friday	?a-mahač	< 'five' ['fifth'?]
Saturday	pavahi?	'six' [sic]
Sunday	Win-i-c	'stopped'

There are a few other de-numeral forms which I will simply list here, although they may indeed be frozen forms that do not illustrate ongoing derivational processes:

hawkupiču?	unite, V
hawkup-iva	together, Adv.
ha-hukup	one by one; separate
wohona	two together (Adv. describing singing)
wohona pɨʔ-očɨk	two together (Adv. describing riding on
	horse one behind the other)
pahina	three together (Adv. describing singing)

The following terms related to money (the <u>tiwone</u> part may mean something like 'is called'):

hawkup ?a-tiwane 'one "real" of bead money'11
wa? ?a-tiwane 'two reales'
wac ?a-tiwane 'four reales'
pavahi ?a-tiwane 'six reales'
pahi-tikwe 'twelve reales'

The syntactic consequences of numerals with respect to number marking and object marking are discussed in chapter IV, sections B and C respectively.

¹¹One real is equivalent to a "bit", or 12 1/2 cents, as described for Gabrielino by Kroeber (1925: 565-6).

CHAPTER IV: SYNTAX

In this chapter we will examine various aspects of Kitanemuk syntax and morpho-syntax. In general the purpose here is to look at phenomena on a grosser level than was done in the previous two chapters. We will examine the various constructions for showing possession, the role of number and case in the grammar, agreement, negation, time reference, word order, questions, indefinite expressions, and complex sentences. Next some particular morphemes will be presented whose analysis is unclear; the problems they present can only be fully appreciated once the overview of Kitanemuk grammar is complete. Finally, a brief Kitanemuk text will be presented and analyzed.

A. POSSESSION

A noun can be possessed in one of two ways—directly or indirectly. In the direct possession construction, the appropriate personal prefix (described in chapter II, section A), representing the possessor, is attached to the simple or reduplicated noun stem. The absolutive suffix, if any, is dropped (any plural or case suffix is retained whether the stem is possessed or not). Three morphophonemic processes which may apply to possessed nouns are described in chapter I, section D: a glottal stop is sometimes

suffixed to vowel-final stems; a stem-final /h/ becomes [r]; a stem-final <u>a</u> is dropped, for a subset of possessed stems. These facts are illustrated in the following examples:

<u>Absolut</u>	ive	Possessed	
hilos	'gizzard'	?a-hilos	'his gizzard'
ho-č	'hole'	?a-ho	'its hole or cave'
		?a-ho-ho	'its caves'
		?a-ho-y	'its cave, obj.'
		?a-ho-ho-y	'its caves, obj.'
huna-c	'heart'	?a-hun	'his heart'
		ni-huna-vea	'in my heart'
kava-c	'ear'	mi-kava	'your ear'
		pi-kah-kava	'their ears'
		?a-kava hwi-t	'rabbit's ear' [plant]
yayka-t	c 'counting stick'	ni-yayka?	'my counting stick'
[no abs.	form]	ni-yir mi-yiha-y pi-yiha-m	'my aunt' 'your aunt, obj.' 'their aunts'

Some nouns—kin terms and other relational words, and names for body parts—have no attested absolutive form in the data, and probably never occur unpossessed. They can nevertheless sometimes be assigned to one of the four noun classes on the basis of the possessed object form, which sometimes includes the absolutive (cf. section C).

[no abs. form] mi-?ana-c-ay 'your brother-in-law'

[no abs. form] ?a-?uva-č-ay 'his eyes'

[no abs. form] mi-kwari?-t-ay 'your grandfather'

The possessor may appear within the possessive noun phrase, in the form of an absolutive noun or as an independent pronoun; or it may be deleted after the relevant features have been copied onto the possessive prefix:

(n÷?) ni-hav÷? 'my blanket' I s blanket/pelt

?a-havi? hwi-t 'rabbit's pelt'

3s blanket/pelt rabbit

ni-hiu ?a-povo-y vaka-t 'I saw the cow kidneys.' 1s see 3s kidney OBJ cow ABS

A very few nouns have irregular possessed forms—that is, something is added in certain possessed forms—like the $k \neq i$ in 'mother' below, or the 2 + 2 in 'rib'—which does not occur in other forms, and which is particular to that morpheme:

ni-y÷? 'my mother' ni-y÷?-iv÷ 'my late mother' m÷-y÷k÷-y 'your mother, obj.' [no absolutive form]

?amu-c 'rib' ?amu-m (plu.) ni-?amu?a? 'my rib'

The second, or indirect, type of possessive construction involves the use of the classifier stems -niw and -2 acit. In this construction, the possessive prefix is attached not to the stem of

the noun, but to the classifier stem -niw 'possession', if the possessed noun is inanimate, or -?acit 'pet or domesticated animal', if the noun is animate¹. The possessed classifier stem and noun are then placed in apposition to each other.

?ivi? no? ni-niw 'This is mine.'
this I 1s possession

?a-niw pa-č 'his water' [around embryo]

3s possession water ABS

ni-?acit 'my pet'
1s pet

ni?-vu? ni-?acit pata? ŋati? 'It used to be my cat.'

I PAST 1s pet that cat

There are in the corpus two examples of -niw in an indirect possession phrase with an animate noun, which suggests that the distribution is actually -niw with inanimates and humans (other than kinterms, which are only directly possessed), and <u>Pacit</u> with animate non-humans:

ni-niw nacavorakam 'my twins'

ni-niw pačuk 'my man'

ni-?acit 'my dog' (*ni-kuci? 'my dog', directly possessed)

¹Actually it is not clear that -<u>?acit</u> works exactly like -<u>niw</u>; it occurs mostly alone, as a sort of pro-animal form (thus <u>ni?acit</u> is variously translated 'my dog', 'my horse', my swine', etc.).; and the sentence which just precedes this paragraph, <u>ni?acit pata? nati?</u>, could mean literally either 'that used to be my (pet) cat' or 'that cat used to be my pet'.

The situation for possessed plants is not clear, as there is only one relevant example in the corpus. The example uses -niw, but it is not known whether direct possession of plants is possible, or whether there might also be available a classifier used for plants only.

ni-niw pata? ?o-č 'That is my mequite tree.'

It is common in Uto-Aztecan languages for there to be an obligatory indirect possession strategy for animates; the -niw type, is less common (but is reported for Serrano and Cahuilla); it is an optional construction in Kitanemuk (except where animate non-possessibles are involved, where it is the only strategy for possession):

ki-c ?a-niw = ?a-ki 'his house' house ABS 3s possession 3s house

hilos ?a-niw = ?a-hilos 'his gizzard' gizzard 3s possession 3s gizzard

ni-niw pučahk-in-ihwa?-t = ni-pučahk-in-ihwa?-t
1s possession play shinny VN INST ABS
'my shinny stick'

The indirectly possessed noun appears, if at all, without possessive prefix, in absolutive form. Indirectly possessed noun phrases in object position carry object marking on the possessed noun, but not on the classifier. But these stems for indirect possession can also stand alone, if the possessed thing or animal is not expressed overtly; in that case they take case inflections:

Puve a ni-hiu mi-niu-y 'I looked at your things.' already 1s see 2s possession OBJ

ni-hiu ki-c-ay mi-niw 'I saw your house.'
1s see house ABS OBJ 2s possession

pi-mahwa?-mat ?a-niu-y kika-t 3p burn FUT 3s possession OBJ chief ABS 'They're going to burn the possessions of the dead chief.'

naw ni-wirapk ki-vea ni-?acita-y NEG 1s let house in 1s pet OBJ 'I don't let my dog in the house.'

The order of possessor versus possessed noun or of classifier versus possessed noun varies:

?a-yiva yivar-t = yivar-t ?a-yiva 'the door of the church'
3s door church ABS church ABS 3s door

?am pi-ki = pi-ki ?am 'their house'

pa-č ni-niw 'my water'

?a-niw pa-č 'his water'

See section C, 2: "Constituency absolutive" for a discussion of a special use of the absolutive suffix in possessed noun phrases.

A construction using <u>kač</u> 'be' is roughly equivalent to the English construction "to have an X"; the <u>kač</u> may be deleted:

?a-ya-hea ?a-kač 'It has a handle.'
3s carry PASS 3s be

wir ?a-?ačim lots 3s flea

'He has many fleas.'

?a-kač ?a-niw ku-t 'firefly'3s be 3s possession fire ABS

B. NUMBER

Number is a weak category in Kitanemuk, in that it is often not expressed on plural nouns and inconsistently specified on verbs (some sentences with plural subjects have verbs marked with a third person singular prefix, as described in section D, "Agreement"). The subject-object clitics do consistently match the number of the subject, and the imperative plural clitic that of the imperative subject (as described in chapter II, section C).

Tribenames

Tribenames often have only a plural-looking form which is used both in the singular and the plural, or a choice of a plural or singular form in the singular:

hayku?, hayku?-yam

'Mexican'
'Mexicans'

hayku?-yam

haw kup kɨša-nɨ-huŋu-kam one no good? language CHAR

'one Ventureño'

ni-mik-ivi hawkup tatavia-m-i 'l killed one Tataviam.' 1s kill PAST² one RDP+sunny? PL OBJ

ni-mik-ivi woh tatavia-m-i 'I killed two Tataviams.'
1s kill PAST two RDP+sunny? PL OBJ

²In this and the next example, transcribed $-\frac{1}{2}$ presumably represents the past clitic, $-\frac{1}{2}$

Numerals and number

Numerals sometimes occur after the noun, but usually before it. Like all quantifiers, they have no special objective forms. The noun they occur with is never marked for plurality.

mahač kuci? 'five dogs' five dogs'? 'five dogs'? 'five dogs'? 'He gave me five eggs.' 3s give 3-1s egg five 'I saw one of his ribs.'

3s

rib

one

Number in borrowings

1s see

Some borrowings from Spanish have a reflex of the Spanish plural <u>s</u>, but are themselves singular:

Kitanemuk
PuvasMeaning
grapeSpan, source
uvasperašpearperasyewašmareyeguasritišear of green cornelotes

C. CASE

1. Analysis of the oblique cases:

My analysis of the suffixes -yik 'toward', -mea? 'with' (accomp.), -nu? 'from', -vea/-pea (locative), and -ni 'with' (inst.) has been to treat them as case inflections, although they are very similar to what have been called "postpositions" frequently in the literature on Uto-Aztecan (in e.g. Langacker 1977, Crook 1976a,b, Zigmond et al 1988). They are in paradigmatic opposition to absolutive and object cases. They have no freedom of mobility, being bound to noun stems, independent pronouns and demonstratives (many of the demonstrative case forms are irregular) in a case-like way which includes distribution across subparts of noun phrases (described in section D: "Agreement").

Pimi-mea? ni-kim you ACCOMP1s ∞me 'with these'

ni-mea?

'with me'

?a-tuhtutu?-ihun ni-yik 3s play DES I DIR

'S/he wants to play with me.'

ni-mi-mat ni-ki-yik 1s go FUT 1s house DIR

'I'm going to my house.'

ni-tama-ni is tooth INST

'with my teeth'

?icam÷-nu? we DIR

'from us'

mi-kava-vea 2s ear LCC 'in your ear'

A special personal prefix pi-, not used elsewhere in the grammar, is required in a pronoun copy case construction with demonstratives, in the singular only; in the plural, pi-, the usual personal prefix that marks subjects of verbs and possessors of nouns, is used. It is unclear which ordering of demonstrative and case-marked word is the underlying one. It is also not certain that this construction is used only with demonstratives as the antecedent; the data in my file include no other examples, however. There are no instances of this construction with non-third person forms.

ni-nahnamu pac pi-yik 1s fight that 3s DIR 'I'm fighting with that one.'

ni-nahnamu ?amac pi-yik 1s fight that 3s DIR 'I'm fighting with that one.'

ni-nahnamu ?ivic pi-yik
1s fight this 3s DIR
'I'm fighting with this one.'

ni-nahnamu ?im pɨm-ɨk 1s fight that 3p DIR 'I'm fighting with these.'

ni-kim pi-civa? ?imi? 1s come 3p with these 'I came with these.' ni-tuhtutu?-ihun pi-yik pata?

1s play DESID3s DIR that
'I want to play with that one.'

All the clear examples of this construction that I have found involve the use of the suffix -y + k. It may have been possible with the other case suffixes, but the relevant data are not available. One suffix, at least, the suffix -c + v + 2 'with', however, uses the regular third person singular personal prefix in this construction (perhaps instead of p + 2):

?a-mi ?a-c+va? manwel-t-ay 3s go 3s with Manuél ABS OBJ 'She went with Manuél.'

2. Constituency absolutive

There is a syntactic use of the absolutive suffix which goes beyond the inflectional use that I have described in chapter II, section A and which is so well known in other Uto-Aztecan languages. Crook (1976a) describes a similar phenomenon (the discovery of which he credits to Ronald Langacker) for the Serrano absolutive. He calls this syntactic use of the absolutive a "constituency suffix". The suffix appears on possessor nouns in the pronoun copy possessive construction, on the non-inflected noun in the pronoun copy postpositional construction, and on the subject noun in certain embedded clauses; it takes the form -1 on non-possessed nouns, and -2 on possessed nouns (-1 and -2 are two of the absolutive suffixes he describes for Serrano). This absolutive

marks the noun to which it is suffixed as coreferential to a pronominal prefix in the same constituent—that is, the possessive prefix in a possessive noun phrase, the postpositional prefix in a postpositional phrase, or the subject prefix in an embedded clause (the verbs of embedded clauses, but not of main clauses, are marked with personal prefixes in Serrano). It even attaches to proper nouns and possessed nouns which otherwise do not take the absolutive suffix. I am not aware that this phenomenon has ever been reported for any other Uto-Aztecan language, but the corpus for Kitanemuk suggests that something very similar took place in this language as well.

The following examples illustrate the use of an absolutive suffix in possessive noun phrases in Kitanemuk, on nouns that in other contexts do not take the absolutive suffix (note that as in Serrano, the -1 absolutive is the one used in all these examples, except for the possessed forms which are marked with -c and -c, according to the absolutive that they take in object form). As in Serrano, the absolutive here seems to mark the noun to which it is attached as being co-referential with a personal prefix in the same constitutent.

nati?-t ?a-ki = ?a-ki nati?-t cat ABS 3s house 3s house cat ABS 'the cat's house'

Pivi-c Pa-ki-vea kwihaka-t this ABS 3s house LOC woman ABS in this woman's house'

Pa-šahi mɨ-pi-c 3s juice 2s breast ABS 'your breast milk'

?a-koco? ni-piša-č 3s skin 1shead ABS

'my scalp'

The constituency absolutive also appears on main clause subjects of Kitanemuk sentences, but only in those cases where there is a prefixed verb as predicate (the verbs of main clauses, unlike those in Serrano, carry personal prefixes coreferential with the subject):

Wahi?-t-ay ?a-wohik kuci?-t coyote ABS OBJ 3s bark dog ABS 'The dog is barking at the coyote.'

Puves ?s-ysw wakssi?-t-sy nsti?-t already 3s grab mouse ABS OBJ cat ABS 'The cat already caught the mouse.'

y+č kuci? where dog 'Where's the dog?'

The constituency absolutive also appears in a few pronoun copy case constructions:

?c-na?c? pi-yik ?a-hintoa-č 3s marry 3s DIR 3s relative ABS 'S/he married a relative.'

The use of the constituency suffix on subjects of verbs is inconsistent. Given the freedom of word order in Kitanemuk (cf. section G) and the coreference of the verb prefix and subject noun,

it is possible that the constituency absolutive has an important use in establishing which noun is the subject of a sentence (objects are not always object marked; cf. number 3 in this section). So little data is available on this that I don't feel justified in stating that this is the case. But if the following pair of sentences is typical, the constituency suffix may be used in just this way:

?a-cunpituru? ?a-ši-y 3s suck hummingbird 3s flower 'The hummingbird is sucking flowers.'

?a-pir ?a-ši-y pituru?-t 3s suck 3s flower OBJ hummingbird ABS 'The hummingbird sucks this flower.'

The data need to be examined more with this theory in mind, but if the above sentences are not misleading us, it is at least possible that the unmarked sentential word order is VSO, or at least has the subject preceding the object, and that the constituency suffix is obligatory in just those cases where the unmarked order is violated. Similarly, the following pair suggest that the unmarked word order for possessive noun phrases is with the possessor preceding the possessed noun:

nakarakara a-wakavea = a-wakavea nakarakara-t chameleon 3s fiesta 3s fiesta chameleon ABS 'chameleon fiesta'

But again, further research needs to be done to check the facts; it is of course possible that the constituency suffix is optional at

least some of the time, in which case not much can be made of such a pair.

In summary, it does seem plausible (though it is by no means certain), that just as the absolutive suffix was extending its range in object forms (cf. number 5 below) to be considered part of the object marking itself, so it was perhaps extending its use in the area of subjects, possessors and case-related nouns as a marker of nouns coreferential with the prefix of another word in the same constituent.

3. Objective case: overview

The objective case suffix marks the direct object of a verb, and a few other obliques (indirect objects, described in number 10, and nouns associated with certain relational expressions, described in number 11). But non-pronominal objects of second person imperative verbs are not so marked (cf. number 8). In addition, quantified objects are not always object marked:

ni-hiu hawkup ?a-?amu?a? 'I saw one of his ribs.'
1s see one 3s rib

?a-mak-ivin ?apano mahač 'S/he gave me five eggs.' 3s give 3-1 egg five

In some cases, where no numeral is involved, the object is object marked:

?a-pa? wir hwiski-t-ay
3s drink lots whiskey ABS OBJ
'She drank [a lot of] whisky and died of it.'

Demonstratives, and sometimes attributive nouns, agree in case with the nouns they modify (cf. section D for examples).

4. Body part objects

There is one class of counterexamples to the general principles of object marking, where object marking appears on the possessor noun and also on the possessed noun of the possessive NP acting as object in the sentence. When one performs an action on someone's body, a noun referring to the body part will be object-marked; if the person (the "owner" of the body part) is mentioned, either in a subject-object clitic or using an independent pronoun, it is also object-marked (I haven't found many examples yet with full noun possessors):

?a-yaw-vin ni-kopo-y 3s grab 3-1 1s hair OBJ 'He grabbed me by my hair.'

ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-?amu?a? 1s grab 1-2 nehe 2s rib 'I saw your rib.'

ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-?ati?a-y 1s see 1-2s nehe 2s thumb 'I saw your thumb.'

ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-herk-in-ivana? 1s see1-2s nehe 2s point W INST 'I saw your forefinger.' ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-(mah)-ma-y 1s see 1-2s nehe 2s RDP hand OBJ 'I saw your hand(s).'

ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-tunu?-č-ay 1s see 1-2s nehe 2s chest ABS OBJ 'I saw your chest.'

The following example suggests that this clitic marking is optional:

ni-yaw-mat mi-kopo-y 1s grab fut 2s hair OBJ 'I grabbed your hair.'

Perhaps the body part object vs. body part and personal object distinction is analogous to the English 'I hit you on the arm' vs. 'I hit your arm'; the body part object then would be an instance of objective case being used for "certain other obliques" (cf. number 3 above).

This perhaps explains how a body part such as 'arm' in the following passive sentence comes to be object-marked, even though it has more of an association with the subject than with any other sentence part, and is not the surface object of any verb:

ni-mu-hea ni-ma-y 1s shoot PASS 1s arm OBJ 'I was shot in the arm.'

The double object-marked body part construction is used in at least one case with a non-human possessor in a possessed NP which is object of the sentence:

ni-puk-mat ?a-koco-y naranha?-t-ay 1s take off FUT 3s skin OBJ orange ABS OBJ 'I am going to peel the orange.'

It may not be irrelevant in this case (unique in the data), that the stem koco 'skin', is used not only to describe shells and peels, but also human skin. Or, perhaps the relevant feature is not animacy, but "alienability" (though obviously a shell or one's skin can be removed).

Detached body parts, however, do no get double object marking; instead they are simply part of a normal possessive noun phrase (as described in number 5. below):

ni-hyu hukah-t ?a-?ac-ay 1s see deer ABS 3s horn OBJ 'I saw a deer-horn.'

ni-hyu ?a-povo-y vaka?-t 1s see 3s kidney OBJ cow ABS 'I saw the [cow] kidneys.'

5. Directly possessed objects and object suffix reanalysis

A large number of possessed objects which refer to body parts or kin terms include an absolutive-like consonant before the

objective -ay, even though they are possessed nouns and therefore would not be expected to have absolutive ending in any form:

Nouns which add pseudo-absolutive

possessed N. obi. Mng. mi-?ahkana-c-ay 'your nephew, niece' mi-curi?-t-ay 'your grandparent' 'your breastbone' [abs.: kihuc] mi-?ikihu?-c-ay mi-herk-in-i-c-ay 'your forefinger' [abs.: herkinic] mɨ-hintua?-č-ay 'your relative' ?a-ŋayka?-č-ay 'his thigh' [abs.: ŋaykac] mi-noho-c-ay 'your neck' [abs. obj.: ŋohocay] ?a-pavahata-c-ay 'his bladder' ni-piša-č-ay 'my head' [abs.: pišač] ?a-?uva-č-ay 'his eyes' mi-Puyka-č-ay 'your girlfriend'

On the other hand, a comparable number of similar nouns are recorded without the pseudo-absolutive:

Nouns which do not add pseudo-absolutive

possessed N. obi. Mng. mi-?amcita-y 'your nephew/niece' mɨ-hamu-y 'your sibling' mi-koha-y 'your elder sister' [abs.: kohač] m∔-kwaš∔-y 'your parent-in-law' ?a-kwacita-y 'his tail' [abs.: kwacitacay] mi-ma-y 'your arm' [abs.: macay] mi-mayha-y 'your offspring' mi-paha-y 'your older brother' mi-paro-y 'your shinbone' [abs.: parocay] mi-tahay 'your uncle'

mi-tahay 'your uncle' Pa-tama-y 'his teeth' mi-yiha(-)y 'your aunt'

(A more complete listing of nouns that do and do not take the pseudo-absolutive appears as Appendix L.) The situation is almost analogous to the treatment of borrowed and other -ø class nouns which have no absolutive ending in subject/citation form, but are assigned one before the objective suffix (but the ø-class nouns always get -t, while the "pseudo absolutive" in these cases is -c, $-\underline{t}$, or $-\underline{\check{c}}$). The kin and body-part terms are like the ø-class nouns in that they usually have no absolutive form, since they do not normally occur unpossessed (the few exceptions mostly refer to food parts or artifacts made from animal bones, etc.). One might almost (taking a stab in the dark) wonder if the treatment of ø-class nouns isn't being extended by analogy to obligatorily possessed nouns. The suggestion that there is instability—that some change in rules may be taking place—is seen

in forms like 'belly', which can have the "absolutive" consonant or not,

$$?a-to?-\check{c}-ay = ?a-to?-y$$
 'his belly, obj.'

and in the fact that there seems to be no semantic or other criterion characterizing the absolutive-adding nouns from the non-absolutive-adding nouns. But the added "absolutive" consonant for \varnothing -class nouns is always - \underline{t} , whereas the possessed nouns get various ones: - \underline{c} , - \underline{t} and - \underline{c} . There is one noun that is neither a kin term nor a body-part, but nevertheless appears in the list of possessed nouns taking the pseudo-absolutive:

It is derived from a verb by means of the instrumental suffix -ivana?, whose suppletive absolutive counterpart is -ihwa?-t.

Once again, then, a pseudo-absolutive marker has been inserted in the very place where a true absolutive would never go.

In some cases there is a discrepancy between the pseudoabsolutive consonant which is added and the noun class that there is another reason to assign the noun to:

mɨ-tunu?-č-ay	'your chest, obj.' [attested abs.: tunuc;
mi-timki-c-ay	loc. form tunu-pea (not -vea)] 'your glottis, obj.' [apparently the same word as abs. t+mk+-t 'lid']

This is an odd but interesting situation, and one which surely has some historical explanation. Perhaps we can reconstruct the missing facts someday. Perhaps there is a reanalysis going on from $-\frac{1-ay}{2}$ for object formation to $-\frac{1}{2}$ with the pivotal case being the ø-class nouns.

6. Indirectly possessed objects

Another kind of special case with regard to object marking is a phrase of indirect possession, where -niw is in apposition with a noun. In these cases, the noun is object marked but the -niw word is not:

ni-hiu ki-c-ay mi-niw 'I looked at your house.'

1s see house ABS OBJ 2s possession

pi-mahwa?-mat ?a-niu-y kika-t 3p burn FUT 3s possession OBJ chief ABS 'They're going to burn the dead capitán's things.'

When -niw is acting as a lexical noun stem rather than just a part of the indirect possession construction, it does receive object marking as direct object:

ni-hiu mi-niu-y 1s see 2s possession OBJ

'I looked at your things.'

ni? ni-hiu puyu mi-niu-y
I 1s see ali 2s possession OBJ

'I looked at all your things.'

7. Plural objects

While the objective suffix in the singular is -(a)y, following the plural suffix -m or -y am, it takes the form $-\frac{1}{2}y$. Examples of plural objects of this type follow.

```
ni-hiu kikika-m-iy
 I see chief PL OBJ
 'I saw the capitanes [chiefs].'
ni-hiu nini-m-iy
I see tongue PL OBJ
'I saw tongues.'
ni-hiu mi-ma-mayha-m-iy paha-m-iy
I see 2s RDP child PLOBJ elder PLOBJ
'I saw your oldest children.'
ni-hiu mi-ma-mayha-m-iy pita-m-iy
I see 2s RDP child PL OBJ younger PL OBJ
'I saw your youngest children.'
ni-hiu-nehe pačuk-yam-iy
I see nehe bow PL OBJ
'I saw your bows [sic; non-poss.].'
?a-kon-ivi ?a-?acita-m-iy pedro?t
3s kill past? 3s
                 pet PLOBJ Pedro
'Pedro killed his swine.'
```

However, plurals formed through reduplication without plural suffixation take the same object ending as singular nouns, -(a)y:

```
ni-hiu ?a-ho-ho-y 'I saw [its] caves.'
ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-mah-ma-y 'I looked at your hands.'
ni-hiu mi-ci-cia(-)y 'I saw your elbows.'
```

And in fact some plural objects are not formally marked plural at all:

```
ni-hiu pi-noho-c-ay 'I saw their necks.'
1s see 3p neck ABS OBJ
```

There are a few unexplained plural objects which do not fit either of the two patterns above:

mik-an-ia-č takat-am-a kill VN AGTABS person PL OBJ? 'murderer' [people-killer]

?a-kon-ivi? muŋu-m-i 3s kill PAST? owl PL OBJ? 'He killed owls. '[?]

?a-mayha nacavorakam-a
3s give birth twins OBJ?
'She gave birth to twins.'
[but elsewhere nacavorakam-iy]

These may all be mistranscriptions; after all, they occur several syllables down the line from the primary stress, in an environment that may easily be either reduced in rapid speech or missed in inattentive listening.

8. Imperative objects

Second person imperatives have object nouns unmarked for objective case; but first person imperatives apparently take either unmarked or object-marked nouns. A similar phenomenon has been reported, for second person affirmative imperatives, for Kawaiisu

by Zigmond et al (1988: 36), for Serrano by Crook (1974b, 1976a: 9), for Chemehuevi by Munro (1974, 1978), and for Cahuilla, Hopi, Southern Paiute and some Tübatulabal imperatives by (Langacker 1977: 56)³. The Kitanemuk data do not answer the question of whether this non-object marking is restricted to affirmative sentences.

The following pairs of sentences illustrate that in affirmative imperatives⁴ an object noun is not marked for object case, as it would be in the indicative:

ni-kwa?-mat ?ivi-y ?atap-ay 1s eat FUT this OBJ meat OBJ 'I'm going to eat this meat.'

ni-hiu ni? ?ivi-y timi-t-ay
1s see | this OBJ rock ABS OBJ
'I looked at this rock.'

ni-?icu?k ni-huna-y
1s fix up 1s heart OBJ
'I cheered up [fixed up my heart].'

Patap PiviP kwaP meat this eat 'Eat this meat!'

ti-hiu ?ivi? timi-t see this rock ABS 'Look at this rock!'5

PicuPki mi-hun fix up 2s heart 'Cheer up!'

³Munro (1978) proposes an analysis that relates the non-marking logical objects in imperatives to parallel phenomena in the passive and perfective constructions in Chemehuevi.

⁴Imperatives are described in chapter II, section B, and in section M of this chapter.

⁵The verb \underline{hyu} 'see, look at', is the only verb in the corpus which takes this special prefix, $\underline{t+}$, in the imperative.

The following hortative, or first person plural imperative, sentences, show inconsistent object marking (and incidentally also inconsistent use of the plural imperative clitic):

ca-kwa?-č mu-i-c-ay 1p eat IMP PL grind PN ABS OBJ

'Let's eat pinole.'

ca-punita? pavuta-t 1p play ball puffball ABS 'Let's play ball.'

ca-punita? pavuta-t-ay
1p play ball puffball ABS OBJ

'Let's play with an oak puffball.'

More examples of imperative objects follow:

ti-hiu Pošan-i-t

'Look at the painting!'

see paint PN ABS

'Open your mouth!'

Pa?nki mi-šiča open 2s mouth

?a?nki yiva-č 'Open the door!' open doorABS

kwea?ki ?ivi? mukuk lay down this sick

'Put this sick man to bed!'

ta? mi-konaka? put 2s necklace

'Put on your necklace!'

mak-an pa-č give water ABS

'Give me some water!'

tah mi-ha-havi? put 2s RDP clothes 'Put your clothes on!'

mea ?u? pa-č ?amuk go take water ABS over there 'Go over there and bring me some water!'

This non-marking of imperative objects as objects is a surface matter relating to noun inflection, however; the true object status of imperative objects is reflected in the object clitics (when the person and number categories are appropriate to make a non-zero clitic surface):

win-ici?

'Cut my hair!'

cut 2-1s

puhci-ci

'Take care of me!'

take care 2-1s

puhcea?-č ?imi? take care PLIMP these 'Take care of these!'

puhcea?-č ti-timi-t

'Take care of the stones!'

take care IMP PL RDP stone ABS

None of the negative imperatives in the data have noun objects, so it isn't known whether they share the non-object-marking of nouns: however the following examples show that the clitics which surface in this construction, as in the affirmative, are the same ones one would expect in the indicatives:

kay-ci? hiu

'Do not look at me!'

NEG 2-1s see

kay-cim hiu

'Don't look at us!'

NEG 2-1p see

kay-vɨm-ɨč

'Don't [you pl.] look at them!'

NEG 2-3p IMP PL see

9. Object raising

The infinitive construction in Kitanemuk (described below in section I, number 2) is a reduced underlying complement clause. Sentences like the following, where the subject-object clitic appears on the first word of the higher clase, not the embedded one (as in other dependent clauses such as the second example), suggest that there is a rule of object raising from infinitives to the higher verb:

?a-kim-ivin mak-ik ?aši-y kim-an-i-c-ay 3s come 3-1s give INF flower OBJ make VN PASS ABS OBJ 'She brought me [came to give me] [done-up] flowers.'

ni? ni-ta pačukat-ay ?a-hu?eaha-mat I 1s put man OBJ 3s work FUT I put this man to work.'

10. Indirect objects

Indirect objects take the same object marking, and subjectobject clitics, as direct objects:

?a-kivaw-vin-ne pa-č-ay 'S/he asked me for water.'
3s ask 3-1 nehe water ABS OBJ

One sentence which at first appears to be a counterexample to object-marking principles is not. The noun which seems to be an indirect object according to the English or Spanish translation, is really the possessor noun of a possessed noun phrase which as a whole is the direct object. (In a possessive NP, the possessed noun

is marked with the object suffix if it is an object, but the possessor noun is not.)

ni-ya?-mat ?a-poku(-)ya-y ?ama-c 1s carry FUT 3s lunch OBJ that one ABS 'I am going to carry to that man his lunch.'

11. Lexically specified object marking

There are certain expressions that one might cail "relational", which, though they are not verbs, require objective marking on at least singular nouns. These include "in the middle of", "on top of", and "in the company of", as illustrated below:

huna-vea tuk-ay heart LOC night OBJ.

'midnight'

huna-vea pa-č-ay tiva-č heart LOC water ABS OBJ land ABS

'island'

pa?pi ?a-n+m pa-č-ay hukah-t 'The spider walks on top of on top 3s walk water ABS OBJ spider ABS the water.'

pa?pi ?a-kač pa-č-ay on top 3s be water ABS OBJ

'It is on top of the water.'

Pa-mi Pa-civa? manwel-t-ay 3s go 3s accompany Manwel ABS OBJ. 'Isabel already left [She went] with Manuel.'

puyu (?ivi) tɨva-č-ay all this earth ABS OBJ

'the whole world'

but cf.

puyu ni-puh-puyu-m all 1s RDP friend PL 'all my friends'

The object clitic with 'where' in the following sentence is completely unexpected (object marking does not show up on nouns in such sentences).

yič-at-am where Q? 3-2

'Where are you?'

The following two examples seem to involve a relationship of having or using something for the purpose of something else, which is not expressed through any relational word as such, but only by the presence of the objective case. The thing that is serving the purpose is in the objective.

ni-k+p+na? kuča-t-ay
1s pillow wood/stick ABS OBJ
'I lie on my back with my head against wall [a stick for a pillow].'

ni-konaka? ni-šim-ivana?-č-ay 1s necklace 1s scrape INST ABS OBJ 'I wear my scratcher as a necklace.'

?a-kim-ivin hik-a?y 3s come 3-1s see,INFOBJ 'He came to see me.'

There are still other examples of what one might call obliques, of a different sort. At first glance these sentences look like they have both intransitive verbs and direct objects. But apparently the truth is that the verbs are intransitive verbs, and the object-marked forms are obliques of another type than direct object. The examples are arranged in groups based on the type of

oblique realtionship being signified—whether locative, directional, or instrumental.

Instrumental

ni-?očik-mat ni-?acita-y 1s ascend FUT 1s pet OBJ 'I'm going to mount a horse (subir de caballo).'

ni-?awkik-mat ni-havi-č-ay 1s be covered FUT 1s blanket ABS OBJ 'I will be covered with a blanket.'

Locative

ni-pona?y ni-huna-y cf. ?a-pona?y ?ivi-c
1s hurt 1s heart OBJ 3s hurt this ABS
'I am sick at my stomach.' 'This man has an ache.'

pi-pona?y pi-tunu 3p hurt 3p breast 'Their breasts hurt them.' [no obj.]

?a-hakwivahik ?a-huna-y 3s injured 3s heart OBJ '(Pedro) hurt himself in his heart/got his chest hurt.'

ni-nim ?a-hivi-y
1s walk 3s edge OBJ
'I go [walk] along the shore ... or edge.'

ni-?itahik-mat ki-c-ay 1s climb FUT house ABS OBJ 'I'm going to go on top of the house.'

Directional

pi-ša? karni?-t-ay
3p defecate meat ABS OBJ
'(The flies) are defecating on the meat.'

wahi?-t-ay ?a-wohik kuci-t coyote ABS OBJ3s bark dogABS 'The dog is barking at the coyote.'

pi-?a-?ayain tivah-č-ay 3p RDP pray earth ABS OBJ 'They are praying to God [the earth].'

Pa-tohovik-ivin ni-y 3s spit 3-1s IOBJ 'He spit on me.'

ni-puk-mat ?atarahu?-č-ay, ni-ta-mat ?ati?a-vea tarahu-pea 1s take off FUT 3s? cradle ABS OBJ 1s put FUT big LCC cradle LCC 'I am going to take him off the first cradle and put him on the horcón [big] cradle.'

<u>Other</u>

kam-k-i-c-ay tuhtu-i-c crazy TR PN ABS OBJ dance PN ABS 'last dance at wakač Sunday night' [crazed danced-thing]

?a-koroma-y ?a-tohov‡k 3s phlegm OBJ3s spit 'He spit up phlegm.'

In at least some of the examples, the same meaning can be expressed using the locative rather than the objective case:

?a-ši? ku-t-ay = ?a-ši? ku-pea 3s urinate fire ABS OBJ 3s urinate fire LOC 'He peed in the fire.'

Some locative adverbs appear regularly with object-like marking:

?a-purahik pape-ay 'He left from this place.'
3s go out from there, proximate?

Pa-purahik Pipe-ay 'He left from this place.'
3s go out from here

?a-purahik ?ape-ay 3s go out from there, distal?

'He left from that place.'

but cf.

?a-purahik kuci-t ?a-ho-no? 3s goout dog ABS 3s RDP DIR

'He left Tejón [Dog's Hole].'

Forms of 'where' are truly baffling:

hayp

'where?'

haypa?y ?a-mayha?

'Where did she give birth?'

haypa?y-nehe

'Where is it?'

haypea-t-ne ?a-kač

'Where was it?'

(Some of the variation in 'where' forms may be allomorphy between -a(y) and -a(y) and -a(y) and -a(y) and -a(y) and -a(y) which occurs sporadically elsewhere.)

12. Objects surfacing in nominals and infinitives

Objects of embedded clauses which become nominals, adjectives, or infinitives sometimes appear on the surface; if so they carry normal object marking:

Nominals

ni-?in kim-an-i-c tirtiya?-t-ay 1s know make VN PN ABS tortilla ABS OBJ 'I know how to make tortillas.' [no obj.]

ni-?in kim-an-i-c wi(-)c-ay
1s know make VN PN ABS acom mush OBJ
'I know how to make acom mush.'

ki-c-ay kim-an-i?a-č house ABS OBj make VN AGT ABS 'carpenter' [house maker] ?a-m∔čk kareta 3s pull wagon 'ox' (it pulls wagon)

tav-ihwa?-t kiwiš-t-ay
put !NST ABS pot ABS OBJ
'potrest stone' [placing instr. for pots]

Adjectives

kavo-č-ay kim-an-ak make VN Adj? iron ABS OBJ 'smith'

Infinitives

ya mɨ-mi-mat hik mɨ-curi?-t-ay INTERJ 2s go FUT see, inf. 2s grandmo. ABS OBJ 'You're going to see your gr.mo.'

ni-mi hiyn-ik hukah-t-ay 1s go hunt INF deer ABSOBJ 'i am going deer hunting.'

ni-mi-mat ?u-ik ci?w-t-ay 1s go FUT take INF lime ABS OBJ 'I'm going to collect lime.'

pi-mi nan-ik cika-t-ay 3p go look for INF shellfish ABS OBJ 'They're going to look for shellfish.'

?a-mu-yvana? kihu-č-ay 3s shoot INST fish ABS OBJ 'salmon spear' [hitter of fish]

ni-mi ?u?-ik pa-č-ay 1s go take INF water ABS OBJ 'I'm gonna go bring water.'

ni-mi ?u?-ik kuča-t-ay 1s go take INF wood ABS OBJ 'I'm gonna go bring firewood.'

D. AGREEMENT

1. NUMBER AGREEMENT

Subject

Generally the personal prefix on a verb agrees in number with its subject (cf. chapter II, section B). But there are some cases in the corpus where this is not the case:

Weh ?a-?inik 'Two are face up.' [in walnut dice game] two 3s face up

woh ?a-kumik 'Two are face down.' two 3s face down

?a-hiči woh 'Two remained.'
3s remain two

These examples, all of which contain numeric subjects, recall the lack of plural marking on some nouns modified by plural numbers (cf. chapter II, section A6). They contrast with the following sentences, where the expected number agreement occurs:

pɨ-yahyɨk puyu 'They're all finished.'
[of extinction of the Tataviam]

pi-ku?mik puyu 'They are all face down.'

But recall (chapter II, section G) that 'all' may be best considered an adverb; so the agreement here may be with a non-expressed subject 'they'.

Possessor

Possessed nouns agree with the person and number of their possessor, as demonstrated above in section A.

Adjectives and Demonstratives

Adjectives and demonstratives generally agree in number with the nouns they modify; but a noun which is marked as plural by reduplication can count as either singular or plural for purposes of agreement:

Demonstratives

?ivi? timi-t 'this stone' ?ivi? ti-timi-t 'these stones' ?im ti-timi-t 'these stones' pata? tɨmɨ-t 'that stone (proximate)' pata? ti-timi-t 'those stones' pam ti-timi-t 'those stones' pata? nati? 'that cat' pam nati?-yam 'those cats' Pama? timi-t 'that stone (distal)' Pama? ti-timi-t 'those stones' PiviP kuciP 'this doa' ?im kuci?-yam 'these dogs'

Adjectives

?im kuci?yam kɨh-kɨša? 'These dogs are no good.'
?im šɨtšɨtk 'These are bald.'
tɨ-tɨmɨ-t kwašɨpk 'The stones are red.'
ŋatɨ?-yam kwašɨp-kwašɨp-k'The cats are red.'
ŋatɨ? yovo?k 'a black cat'
ŋatɨ?-yam yo?v-yovok 'black cats'
hawŋanamɨ takat-am 'The people are poor.'
poor PL person PL

Quantifiers sometimes do and sometimes do not agree in number with the nouns they modify:

wir takatam

'lots of people'

2. CASE AGREEMENT

Demonstratives and sometimes attributive nouns agree in case with the noun they modify.

ni-kwa?-mat ?ivi-y ?atapa(-)y 1s eat FUT this OBJ meat OBJ 'I'm going to eat this meat.'

ni-hiu mi-mayha-y pačuka-t-ay 1s see 2s child OBJ man ABS OBJ 'I saw your son.'

ni-hiu mi-mayha-y pita-č-ay 1s see 2s child OBJ younger ABS OBJ 'I saw your youngest son/dtr.'

ni-hiu mɨ-mayha-<u>mɨ-y</u> pita-<u>mɨ-y</u> 1s see 2s child PL OBJ younger PL OBJ 'I saw your youngest sons/dtrs.'

ni-puk-mat ?atarahu?-č-ay,

1s take off FUT cradle ABS OBJ

ni-ta-mat ?ati?a-vea tarahu-pea

1s put FUT big LCC cradle LCC

'I am going to take him off the first cradle

and put him on the horcón [big] cradle.'

Pa-ya?-nehe Pa-kim-ivin mak-ik, Paši-y kim-an-i-c-ay
3s carry nehe 3s come 3-1s give INF flower OBJ make VN PN ABS OBJ
'She brought me a (tied up) bunch of wildflowers.'

pi-waka?-mat kikah-t-ay muk-i-t-ay
3p give fiesta FUT chief ABS OBJ dead PN ABS OBJ
'They are having a mourning fiesta for the dead capitán.'

ni-mi-mat hik-a?y ?ama-ypačukah-t-ay 1s go FUT see, inf. OBJ that OBJ man ABS OBJ 'I am going to visit that man.'

nahponoma-yik-mat ni-tihtin ?ivi-y ?anoci-t-ay store DIR FUT is send this OBJ boy ABS OBJ 'I am going to send this boy to the store.'

ni-hiu ni? ?ivi-y timi-t-ay
1s see I this OBJ stone ABS OBJ
'I looked at this stone.'

naw ni-cicik ?imiy ti-timi-t NEG 1s not like these RDP stone ABS 'I don't like these stones.'

ni-pamuk-un-ea? ?ivi-y ŋati?-t-ay 1s drown VN CAUS this OBJ cat ABS OBJ 'I drowned this cat.'

ni? ni-hiu ?ivi-y nati?-t-ay
I 1s see this OBJ cat ABS OBJ
'I saw this cat.'

ni? ni-hiu ?imi-y ŋati?-t-ay
I 1s see these OBJ cat ABS OBJ
'I saw these cats.'

ni? ni-hiu ?imi-y nati?-yam-iy I 1s see these OBJ cat PL OBJ 'I saw these cats.'

Puvea ni-mak ?imiy ti-timi-t-ay ?imiy pa-pačukam-iy already 1s give these, OBJ RDP stone ABS OBJ these, OBJ RDP man PL OBJ 'I gave the stones to these men.'

But:

ni-hiu naha-č-ay numua-č 'I saw a good girl.' 1s see girl ABS OBJ good ABS [agreement rejected]

(There are a few sentences with $\underline{?ivi?}$ 'this' not object marked—both as a modifier of a noun and when it stands alone as object; these I attribute to difficulty in hearing the \underline{y} glide following $\underline{i?}$.) Adjectives don't agree in case; in fact the nouns they modify are not even object-marked:

ni? ni-hiu yovo?k takat 'I saw a negro.'

I 1ssee dark person

ni? ni-hiu namumuk ki-c 'I looked at the first house.'

I 1ssee first house ABS

Numerals do not allow object-marking in their noun phrases:

ni-hiu hawkup ?a-?amu?a? 'I saw one of his ribs.' 1s see one 3s rib

colo?-t ?a-?icaka?y weh mahač peso? tyenda-pea Cholo ABS3s owe ten dollar store LCC 'Cholo owes \$10 at the store.'

?a-mak-ivin ?apano mahač 3s give 3-1s egg five 'He gave me five eggs.'

Other quantifiers do, but like numerals, they are never objectmarked themselves:

?a-pa? wir hwiski-tay ... 3s drink lots whiskey OBJ 'She drank a lot of whiskey.'

ni-hiu cipk, naw wir 1s see little NEG lots [I see a little, not a lot.]

puyu-vin ?a-?ayn ?a-nih-niu-y all 3-1s 3s show 3s RDP possession OBJ 'S/he showed me all his/her things.'

hawkup ni-kim

'I made one.'

1s make one

Puvea mi-rivik pink already 2s lose real 'You already lost one real.'

There is no surface case agreement within pronoun copy case phrases; instead there is an appositional-type construction where the noun or pronoun appears in the absolutive alongside a casemarked resumptive pronominal form:

?ivi-c pi-yik ?im pim-ik pa-c pim-ik

'with this one' 'with these'

Pama-c pi-yik ni-tuhtutu?-ihun pi-yik ivi?

'with that one (ése)' 'with that one (aquél)'

ni-tuhtutu?-ihun ?ivi-yik

'I want to play with this one.' 'I want to play with this one.'

E. NEGATION

The general negative word is <u>naw</u>. The special negative word <u>kay</u> is used in imperative sentences.

The negative wordgenerally appears first in the clause; only an adverb or conjunction may precede it.

naw 'No.'

naw (pata?) mɨmk 'That isn't true.'
naw ni-ʔən 'I don't know.'
naw-mat mɨ-mi 'You won't go.'

naw ni-mirin 'l can't.'

naw-it mi-ciu? 'Aren't you ashamed?'

[ans. follows]

new ni-ciu? hite-y 'I'm not ashamed of anything.'

new-hem ni-muk 'I am still not sick.'

[cf. hami? ni-muk 'I am still sick.']

naw ni-?in mi-hunu?-y 'I don't know your language.'
naw-vin ?a-šamin ni-y ?iycic 'Poison oak doesn't hurt me.'

naw ni-namu-ihun ni? 'I don't want to fight.'

naw tihimik hita-y 'I'm not afraid of anything.' [sp.]

n+? pačuk, naw hita-y ni-t+m+k
'I'm a man, I'm not afraid of anything.'

naw ni-?in haypay-it ?a-nipik
'I don't know where he died.'

?ama?y naw ni-mirin ni-tuhtu?-y 'Now I can't dance.'

waravk ni? yu?u?, ?amatan naw ni-tuhtu? 'I'm crippled, and therefore I can't dance.'

?uvea-vu? ni-mirin ?ap ?ama?y naw 'I used to be able to, but now I can't.'

naw-ham ni-konokwa?

ham ?a-hikaw

[sic?!]

?a-naw-tu?

naw ?uvea ni-mi-hun

mit naw mi-hu mi-šiča-y

'I'm (still) full.'

'He no longer is breathing.'

'He disappeared.'

'I changed my mind'

[I no longer want to go]

'Why doesn't your mouth burn?'

[Won't you burn your mouth?

fishy transcr.?]

The negative word new may also appear in other positions as part of an indefinite expression (section I, "Questions and indefinites"), where it has a more local scope. In this construction, new may be fronted, and thus separated from the indefinite stem, or not. "Double negatives" are apparently grammatical; that is, a sentence-initial new and negative indefinite later in the sentence do not yield a positive meaning; perhaps the new is copied from the indefinite expression to sentence-initial position, leaving the original new behind or not.

naw ?a-ŋɨč-k naw-hit ?a-tama 'The knife is dull.'
NEG 3s cut TR NEG s'thing 3s tooth [Its tooth cuts nothing.]

A related verb, <u>naw-tu?</u>, consists of <u>naw</u> plus the verbalizer -<u>tu?</u>; it means 'to disappear'.

The special negative morpheme \underline{kay} is used in negative imperatives only⁶. It takes the form \underline{kaym} in intransitive commands (including ones like the 'bite' example below, where the verb may take an object, but one is not expressed). The $\underline{-m}$ looks like the second person object clitic; this may be the remnant of a system of imperative case-switching, which has been described for Kawaiisu [ref. and further discussion; mention that Kit. agrees with Kaw. in not object marking imperative objects]. (There are no examples in the corpus of negative first person imperatives, nor any third person imperatives.)

kay-ci? hiu 'Do not look at me.'
kay-cim hiu 'Don't look at us!'
kay-vim hiu 'Don't look at them!'

kay-vim-ič hiu 'Don't you (pl.) look at them!'

kay-m šušava? nɨ-yɨk 'Don't you lie to me!' kay-m-ɨč šušava? nɨ-yɨk 'Don't you (pl.) lie to me!'

kay-m ki? 'Don't bite!' kay-ci? ki? "Don't bite me!'

kay-m mea Don't go!'

kay-m-ɨč mea 'Don't go (plu.)!'

naw-t mi-cu?r-ik NEG Q 2S get stuck 'Que no te atasques' ['Don't get stuck!']
[app. = 'You won't get stuck?']

⁶The one apparent counterexample to the replacement of <u>naw</u> with <u>kay</u> in imperatives is the following sentence, which appears to be syntactically a question rather than a command:

F. TIME REFERENCE

1. UNMARKED VERBS

Sentences which contain no tense clitic or future auxiliary (described in number 4 below) are usually translated into English with a present or past tense, or into Spanish with a present or preterite tense; I assume that their time reference covers a range extending from the present into the recent past.

ni-mi 'l go.' or 'l went.'

?a-yu 'He sings.' or 'He sang.'

If the verb stem is reduplicated, the aspect, rather than the tense, changes; the translation is usually with a progressive tense.

Pa-yuh-yu 'She is singing.'

2. PAST

The past tense is expressed by means of the past tense clitic -uvu?, or the adverb <u>?uvea</u>, or both.

ni-?ic-uvu?
?uvea ni-?ic } 'I ladled out (water).'
ni-?ic ?uvea

Note that there are two morphemes with a sort of past reference in Kitanemuk—the clitic -uvu? and the derivational suffix -ivi (described in chapter II, section A) which are easily

confused. One finds -<u>uvu?</u> most frequently on verbs, and -<u>ivi</u> most frequently on nouns, but in fact -<u>uvu?</u> 'past' is a clitic which attaches to the first element of the sentence (whatever part of speech that is), while -<u>ivi</u> is a noun suffix meaning 'deceased', 'dead', 'destroyed', or 'no longer in a relationship to the possessor'.

Past clitic -uvu?

?a-kač-uvu? 'It was here.'

timi-t-uvu? 'It used to be rock.'

ni-muk-uvu? 'I was sick.'

?uvea-vu? ni-mirin 'I could before, but now I can't.'

Pap PamaPy naw

Deceased suffix -ivi

ni-hintu?-ivi 'my dead relatives'

?a-hinu?-ivi-m muki-t 'mourners [former relatives of the

dead]'

ni-nimihuna?-ivi 'my dead or divorced wife'

The fact that (as noted in chapter II, section B) verbs and nouns share so many other similarities of form makes the confusion of these two morphemes by the analyst all the more likely. Participles can be suffixed with -ivi, since they are nominal in character, even though they carry personal prefixes:

?a-hu-i-vi tiva-č 'placename ['that burned before']

?a-cun-i-vi "said when the flower is already dried

out" ['sucked before']

VS.

?a-cun-uvu? 'he [hummingbird] sucked it before.'

?a-ki-ki-i-vi '(The stick is rat-)gnawed'

Possessed nouns can thus take both -uvu? and -ivi:

ni-?acit-uvu?

'It was my animal.'

ni-?acita-ivi

'my dead dog, dog that I had before'

ni-po?-uvu?

'It was my trail.'

ni-po?-ivi

'my old trail'

The restriction of -ivi to nominal forms allows it to be used as a test of nominal status. Thus for example the following form

?a-wiro?y-n-i-vi wahi-t 'placename, where the coyote played'

is apparently some kind of sentential nominal, such as 'the former playing of coyote'; and the form

Pa-kim-an-i-vi ca-nihpa tiva-č 'God made the world.'

is best analyzed as 'the earth (was) formerly made by our god'.

3. FUTURE

There are three ways of expressing future tense in Kitanemuk. The use of the future clitic -mat is the most common; sentences containing it are translated with an unmarked English future using 'will'. English sentences with the 'going to' construction, however, sometimes translate Kitanemuk sentences with -mat, and sometimes sentences with a literal verb of going, mi.

Pa-mu-hea Pa-huna-y 3s shoot PASS 3s heart OBJ

'He was shot in the heart.'

?a-mu-hea-mat 'He will be shot.' 3s shoot PASS FUT

ni-mi hiyn-ik hukah-t-ay 'I am going to hunt deer.' 1s go hunt INF deer ABSOBJ

nihniw, which looks like the verb niw 'do', with a reduplicative prefix, seems to be used in sentences with a more proximate future than -mat sentences (see next paragraph).

4. <u>nihniw FUTURE</u>

The future auxiliary <u>nihniw</u> (probably related to <u>niw</u> 'do') occurs in a number of future sentences. Due to the large number of translations with ya 'already, soon', I suspect this is a more immediate future than the -mat future.

ni-nahuck 'I am giving birth.'

ni-nihniw ni-nahuck 'I'm about to ("ya voy a") give birth.'

Pa-Poši? Pa-niniw 'May' ['it's going to be hot'] 20**š**i2

'hot'

?a-ma?n∔k tameat 'name for change of seasons'

return

?a-niniw ?a-manik tameat 'The sun is about to go back again.' FUT 3s return sun

ni-pi?-mat 'I will peck a metate.' ni-niniw ni-pi? 'I'm going to peck it.'

28-kuhkururu 'thunder'

?a-nihniw ?a-kuhkururu 'It's about to thunder.'

?a-muk 'It is waning' [of moon; 'it dies'] ?a-nihniw ?a-muk 'It is about to wane.'

This appears, from the glosses, to be synchronically unrelated to the use of <u>niw</u> as an auxiliary underspecified verb 'do' (or for that matter as a possessive classifier).

haminat ?ama?y ni-niw ?ivi? ?a-nipki?
what now 1s & this dead person
'What am I going to do with the dead person?'

ni-nihniw ni-kayi?

1s db 1s winnow a certain way
'I am doing winnowing process kayi?.'

G. WORD ORDER

There is a limit to what can be said about word order in Kitanemuk based on the present corpus, since word order was not a particular interest of Harrington's (much less the other researchers), and a number of orders were not tested in elicitation. In spite of this, there are a number of observations which can be Word order in general is not very restricted. The main sentential elements appear in at least the following orders: VSO, VOS, SVO, OVS (unfortunately by far the majority of the data consist of one or two word sentences). The use of the constituency absolutive may be in some way related to preferred word order (cf. section C, 2; but since it is only recognizable on nouns that would otherwise have no absolutive suffix, the number of useful examples is too small to allow a firm conclusion). Within phrases, numerals may precede or follow their heads; possessors may precede or follow possessed nouns; adjectives may precede or follow the nouns they modify.

Some orderings are more fixed: conjunctions, questionwords, and negative words are almost always clause-initial; demonstratives generally precede their heads; the preposition-like element -t+m precedes its complement; adverbs usually precede the adjectives they modify; sentential adverbs are usually sentence-initial (but also occur sentence-finally); clitic placement

is always in second position (though it is not clear how precisely to define "second position", and even so, one has to posit movement of certain elements from other positions to sentence-initial position after clitic placement; cf. chapter II, section D), except for the future clitic which occurs infrequently in initial position.

H. QUESTIONS AND INDEFINITES

1. YES-NO QUESTIONS

Questions in general are signaled by the question clitic, $-\frac{1}{1}$ (- $\frac{1}{1}$ following a vowel). This clitic alone suffices for yes-no questions.

mi-wawtik-it 2s be tired Q 'Are you tired?'

naw-it mi-ciu? NEG Q 2s be ashamed

'Aren't you ashamed?'

PAST Q 3-2 it angered

'Are you angry?'

tɨvapeatam-ɨt ʔɨmɨʔ Tübatulabal Q you

'Are you a Tübatulabal?'

mi-?in-it kitanamu?ic 2s knowQ speak Kitanemuk 'Do you know how to speak Kitanemuk?'

mɨ-konakwa?-t 2s full Q

'Are you full [after eating]?'

Puvea-t mɨ-kač mɨ-puhciva 'Are you ready?' already Q 2s be 2s ready

2. QUESTION WORD QUESTIONS

Question words like <a href="https://h

must be the first word in the question clause; an exception is yiča 'where' (which can follow a noun). The question word haminat 'what, how, etc.', by which the Kitanemuk language was known to the Spanish as well as some other native groups (Harrington used the Spanish version of the term, "Jaminates", more often than "Kitanemuks"), is somewhat peculiar in that it does not seem to co-occur with the question clitic (I say "seem to" because starred forms are lacking); it also has a wider range of meanings than the other question words, and it is not used in indefinites as hit and the others are (cf. "Indefinites", no. 3 in this section).

Examples of question words

hami(c)	plu. haym

hami?, hamic

'who?'

hamic-it ?a-hintu?

who Q 3s relative 'Whose relative is he?'

haym-it

'Who are they?'

hamic-it ?a-taŋat Q 3s trunk

'Whose trunk is it?'

hamic-it pi-yik mi-na?u? 'Who did you marry?' Q 3s DIR 2s marry

hamic-it ?ivi? ?a-mayr who Q this 3s child

'Whose [child] is this?'

hamina-t

hamina-t ?ama

what ABS that

'What is that?'

hamina-t mɨ-hak

what ABS 2s say

'What are you saying?' [note no obj.]

hamina-t ?a-niw

what ABS 3s do

'What's happening?'

hamina-t, hamina-t

'Why, why?'

hamina-t mi-kač

How are you?'

how Q2s be

hamina-t mɨ-tɨwanea?

'What is your name?'

how Q2s called

hamina-t ?ama?y ni-niw ?ivi? ?a-nipk-i? what Q now 1s do this 3s die PN 'What am I going to do with the dead one?'

hamina-t mɨ-hun ʔa-kɨhahɨk 'Why are you sad?' why Q2s heart 3s no good

hamina-t-ɨci? mɨ-hihinitun 'Why do you bother me?' why Q 2-1s 2s worry

hamina-wi-t

'Well, what is it?' 'What the devil?'

what AUGABS

'Why not?' 'How not?'

haypea, haypay

hayp

where

'where?'

haypa?y-nehe

. nehe 'Where is it?'

haypea-t-ne ?a-kač

where Qnehe 3s be

'Where was it?'

haypa?j ?a-mayha? where 3s be born

'Where did she give birth?'

haypaye?-t-am mi-cane?

'Where does it hurt you?'

where Q 3-2s 2s hurt

[NB obj. case]

haypay-t ?a-na?ak where Q 3s separate

'Where do they [the roads] part?'

he?rki, ?ayn-aci? haypea-t ?a-kač 'Point, show me where it is.' point,IMP show 2-1s where Q 3s be

<u>hiniki?:</u>

hiniki?

'how many?'

hinipa?

hinipa?

'When?'

hinipa?-t ?ama?y mi-puycu? 'When are you going to begin?' when Q now 2s begin

hit(a), plu, hinim

hit, hit-at

'what?' 'What is it?'

hita-t Pamay-t

'What's new?'

what Q new ABS

hita-t pata?

'What are they? What is that?'

what Q that

hita-t mi-tihwa? what Q 2s tell news 'What news do you bring?'

pam-it hinim = hinim-it pam 'What are those?' those Q what,PL what,PL Q those

hita-y-t mɨ-mavi?

'What are you doing?'

what OBJ Q 2s ф

al OBJ Q 2S B

hita-y-t-am ?a-mak what OBJ Q 3-2s 3s give

'What did s/he give you?'

y<u>iča?</u>

yiča? visente? where Vicente

'Where is Vicente?'

ŋwapac y∔ča?

'Where is the coime [peón umpire]?'

coime where

yɨš me mɨ-ʔuyk where ? 2s girlfriend 'Where is your girlfriend?'

[me unidentified; apparently a clitic,

since č--> š]

yič (?ama?) kuci? where that dog

'Where is the dog?'

y∔č-at-am

'Where are you?'

where Q 3-2s

[object clitic unexplained]

There is one example of an apparent question without a question clitic or question word; perhaps intonation signals that it is a question:

mi-tavia?

'You're speaking Tataviam?'

3. INDEFINITE EXPRESSIONS

Indefinites are formed by preposing the word $\underline{t+m} \sim \underline{tum}$ (I suspect the underlying form has $\underline{+}$ and the rounding comes from the \underline{m}) to the question word for the positive ('something', 'somewhere', etc.), or $\underline{n*w}$ for the negative ('nothing', 'nowhere', etc.). This may be the same morpheme as $\underline{t+m}$ 'same, like', described below in

section K. (I don't have examples of all the question words participating in this (e.g. not $y + \tilde{c}$ 'where'):

Positive indefinites:

tum-hit

'anything'

tum-hit numua-č

'Anything is good.' [Span.

tim what good ABS

"cualesquier cosa"]

pi-kwa? tum-hita-y 3p eat tim what OBJ

'They eat anything.'

tum hami?

'anybody'

'I'm going to kill anybody.' [Span.

ni? ni-mik tum hami-y I 1s kill tim who OBJ

"cualesquier persona"]

ni?-mat ni-mik tum hami-y 'l'm going to kill anybody.'

I FUT 1s kill tim who OBJ [Spanish "cualesquier persona"]

tum-mat hami? ni-mak

'I'll give it to anyone.'

tim FUT who 1s kill

[shows tim a sep.word]

tum-haminikit numuaš pačuk 'He's a good man anyway tim how good man (although he is one-eyed).'

Negative indefinites:

naw-hit

'nothing, there isn't any'

NEG what

Puvea naw-hit

'There isn't any more.'

already NEG what

naw-hit ?uvea kafe?

'There is no coffee.'

NEG what already coffee

naw ni-tihmik hita-y = naw hita-y ni-tihmik
NEG 1s afraid what OBJ NEG what OBJ 1s afraid
'I'm not afraid of anything.'

naw-hamic-am ?a-tuhtutu? 'I am playing alone.' NEG who PL 3s play

naw-ne hami? ki-vea 'There wasn't anyone in the house.'

4. INDIRECT QUESTIONS

In indirect questions (described below in section I, number 2D), the question word and clitic are initial to the embedded clause:

?imi? mi-?in hita-y-t ni-mavi? 'You know what I am doing.' you 2s know what OBJ Q 1s &

he?rki, ?ayn-aci? haypea-t ?a-kač point,IMP show 2-1 where Q3s be 'Point, show me where it is.'

wirapki tim hamina-t-nehe mi-hyu leave,IMP like how Qnehe 2s see 'Leave the door as you found it.'

I. COMPLEX SENTENCES

1. CONJOINED SENTENCES

Two clauses may be joined into one coordinated structure using <a>2ap 'and, but' and/or <a>hemik 'and, back', both of which are also used to conjoin nouns:

Puvea?-vu? ni-mirin <u>Pap</u> Pama?y naw before PAST is can but now NEG 'I could before, but now I can't.'

hiwiva? mi-?ikea ?ap ni? hiwiva? ni-?ikea
apart 2s lie? and I apart 1s lie?
'You have your room apart, and I have my room apart.'

Pa-mi-nehe Pap naw moc/hamik Pa-kim 3s go nehe and NBG again back 3s come 'He went away and didn't come back'

ŋatɨʔ <u>hamɨk</u> kuciʔ cat and dog

'the cat and the dog'

?əmɨ? <u>hamɨk</u> nɨ? you and i

'you (sg.) and me'

?əmɨʔ<u>ʔap</u>nɨʔ you and l

'you and me'

we?-mahač <u>hamak</u> hawkup ten and one

'eleven'

?a-hi-hiu-vin, ni? hamak ni-hi-hiu
3s RDP see 3-1s | back 1s RDP see
'He is looking at me and I am looking at him, too.'

A third conjoined sentence type is fairly common in the notes. It consists of two sentences strung together without benefit of conjunction. Of course these could be "run-on" sequences of separate sentences; it is impossible to evaluate the actual level of grammaticality of two sentences juxtaposed with no more [recorded] marking than a comma presumably indicating a pause.

ni-puk-mat ?a-tarahu?-č-ay, ni-ta-mat ?ati?a-vea
1s take off FUT 3s cradle ABS OBJ 1s put FUT big LCC
'I am going to take him off the first cradle and put him on the horcón [big] cradle.'

numuaš takat, pucuk ʔɨmɨʔ ʔɨn-an-a-t good person very you know VN GN ABS 'You are a good fellow, you know a lot.'

naw hami takat, wahi? pata?
no longer person coyote that
'He's no longer a person, he's a coyote.'

ni? pačuk, naw hit-ay ni-tihmik
I man NEG what OBJ 1s afraid
'I'm a man, I'm not afraid of anything.'

One lone sentence suggests a special structure for 'but' conjunction:

pi-?uyhun ni-kiman-i ti naw ni-kim-an-ihun 3p want 1s make VN COMP but NEG 1s make VN DESID 'They made me make it, but I did not want to.'

Two other sentences translated with 'but' use 2ap:

ni? ni-hiu ŋati?-t-ay ?ap naw-vin ?a-hiu I see cat ABSOBJ but NEG 3-1s 3s see 'I saw the cat but it didn't see me.'

ni-tun-nehe wari? <u>Pap</u> ?a-curup?ik 1s chase nehe nevertheless and 3s enter 'I chased him out but he came in again.'

2. COMPLEMENTATION: (A) INFINITIVES

There are three types of complements in Kitanemuk. The first, I call the "infinitive" complement because it is a reduced clause, lacking tense or subject marking on the verb (although any associated object clitic will rise to the higher clause—i.e., clause boundary is lost). It is schematized below:

Subj-Verb₁ Verb₂-ik

(This seems to be one of the few cases of very fixed word order in Kitanemuk; the infinitive verb always follows the other verb.) All the recorded examples of this construction have mi 'go' or kim 'come' as the first verb. This is an equi-subject construction; that is, the subjects of both verbs are the same, and the second verb surfaces with the -ik "infinitive" ending and no subject prefix. Verbs which take the -Vn stem extender in derived forms take it before the infinitive suffix.

Examples of infinitives

ni-mi-mat ?u-ik ciw-t-ay = ni-?u?-mat ci?w-t-ay
1s go FUT take INF lime ABS OBJ
1s take FUT lime ABS OBJ
1 am going to collect lime.'

ni-mi ?u-ik ku-t-ay
1s go take INF fire ABS OBJ

'I'm going to bring fire.'

ni-mi-mat ?u-ik pa-č-ay 'I'm going to bring water.' 1s go FUT take INF water ABS OBJ

ni-mi-mat kwa?-ik 1s qoFUT eat INF

'I'm going to go eat.'

ni-mi-mat hik-a?y ?amay pačukah-t-ay 1s go FUT see OBJ that man ABSOBJ 'I am going to visit that man.' [purpose object marking]

ni-mi-mat kum-an-ik 1s go FUT sleep VN INF 'I'm going to go sleep.'

ni-mi hurk-in-ik

'I'll go look out.'

1s go look out VN INF

im-mi nahwin-ik

'You two are going to deposit at the shrine.'

2p go deposit INF

pi-mi nan-ik cika-t-ay " 3p go look for INF shellfish ABS OBJ

'They're going to look for shellfish.'

ya mɨ-mi-mat hi-k mɨ-curitay INTERJ 2s go FUT see,INF 2s grandmother 'You are going to see your grandmother [a fighting curse].'

Pa-kim-ivin hi-k-a?y

'He came to see me'

3s come 3-1s see,INF OBJ

[purpose object marking]

In similar sentences in the imperative mood, both verbs are imperative in form and there is no infinitive ending (the order of verbs is apparently fixed as in the indicative).

kiva kwa? come,IMP eat,IMP

'Come eat!'

mea ?u? pa-č ?amuk go,IMP take water ABS there 'Go over there and bring (me) some water.'

The examples that end in -282y may carry more of a connotation 'for the purpose of'.

COMPLEMENTATION: (B) OBJECT COMPLEMENTS

A second complement construction, the object complement [name?], has the form schematized below and allows for both equisubjects and non-equi-subjects.

Subj - Verb₁ Subj - Verb₂ - i

Verb₁ can be any of various verbs, including <u>hiu</u> 'see', <u>ma?y</u> 'finish', <u>puycu?</u> 'begin', <u>?in</u> 'know' and <u>hahavik</u> 'not quite'. The stemextending syllable -<u>Vn</u> intervenes between Verb₂ and -<u>i</u>, for some verbs; this is the same sequence which sometimes occurs in infinitive complement forms and imperatives. Following are some examples of this construction. Imperative or simple present verb forms are given in parentheses for comparison.)

ni-hi-hiu ?a-kwa?-i 1s RDP see 3s eat COMP 'I watch him eating.'

?uvea ni-ma?y ni-ti?uh-i already 1s finish 1s count COMP

'I (already) finished counting.'

?a-puycu? ?a-tuhtu?-i 3s begin 3s dance COMP 'He began to dance.'

Puvea ni-mapy ni-wick-in-i 'I (already) finished irrigating.' already 1s finish 1s irrigate VN COMP

?a-?in ?a-rio?in-i 3s know 3s shear COMP

'He knows how to shear.'

ni-hahavik ni-ya-i 1s not quite 1s grasp COMP

'I didn't quite succeed in reaching it.'

?ivič-ivin ?a-mak ni-pameatu?-i this 3-1s 3s give 1s thirsty COMP It makes me thirsty.

ni-?in ni-hunu?-i 1s know 1s speak COMP 'I know how to speak.'

naw ni-ʔɨn mɨ-huŋuʔ-i NEG 1s know 2s speak COMP 'I don't understand you[r talk].'

A parallel complement structure has a deverbal noun or adjective in place of Verb₁. The two cases in the corpus involve the deverbal noun <u>nihnihy+t</u> 'good at', and the adjective <u>toho</u> 'foolish, queer':

ni? nihnih-yi-t ni-kim-an-i pan-t-ay l accustomed AUG ABS 1s make VN COMP bread ABS OBJ 'I'm good at making bread.'

toho ?a-huŋu-i foolish 3s talk COMP 'He stutters.'

Another complement or auxiliary construction, the proximate future, is shown below; it is specific to the verb <u>nih-niw</u> 'be about to' (probably related to <u>niw</u> 'do'), and is also discussed in section F).

Subj. - Verb₁ Subj. - Verb₂ [The order can be reversed.]

Note that there is no -i complementizer on Verb2. Examples follow.

?a-nih-niw ?a-kuh(-)kururu 3s nihniw 3s RDP? thunder

'It's going to thunder.'

?a-nih-niw ?a-mayha? 3s nihniw 3s give birth

'She's just about to give birth.'

ni-nih-niw ni-nahuck 1s nihniw 1s give birth 'I'm about to give birth.'

ni-nih-niw ni-pi? 1s nihniw 1s peck

'I'm going to peck [hit] it [metate].'

Pa-nih-niw Pa-yawvik
3s nihniw 3s get clear

'It dawns.'

?a-nih-niw ?a-manik tamea-t 3s nihniw 3s return sun ABS 'The sun is about to go back behind again.'

The verb <u>?uyhun</u> 'want, love', can be used as the matrix verb with the -i object complement type.

naw ?a-w-?u-yhun ni-mi, mutu?-mat ni-mi. NEG 3s RDP? want 1s go still FUT 1s go 'He doesn't want me to go, but I'm going to go anyway.'

If the subject of both clauses is the same, the "desiderative" suffix -ihun is used instead, and there is only one surface clause. (Note that the verb ?uyhun itself appears to consist of ?u? + -ihun.)

ni-pih-ihun 1s nurse DESID

'I want to nurse.'

I have no examples of this construction with a verb and associated noun object, e.g., 'I want to sweep the house.'

COMPLEMENTATION: (D) INDIRECT QUESTIONS AND INDIRECT STATEMENTS

The general question marker is $-(\frac{i}{1})\frac{1}{2}$. This clitic by itself suffices to signal a yes/no question. The question-words hit 'what', haypea 'where', etc., occur either alone or in combination with $-(\frac{i}{1})\frac{1}{2}$, but always as the first word of the question clause (except $\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$ 'where', which can occur following a noun). I have only a few examples of indirect questions. The question clause in these cases has no special marking that would distinguish it from a direct question, but the presence of the clitic $-(\frac{i}{2})\frac{1}{2}$ does serve to signal the beginning of the embedded clause.

?imi? mi-?in [hita-y-t ni-mavi?]Q you 2s know what OBJQ 1s & 'You know what I am doing.'

he?rki, ?ayn-aci? [haypea-t ?a-kač]_Q point, IMP show 2-1s where Q 3s be 'Point, show me where it is.'

There is only one example of an indirect statement (indirect quotation) in the notes:

ni?-ne ni-hak [naw hit pa-č]_S
I nehe 1s tell NEG what water ABS
'I told him there was no water.'

It carries no unusual morphology; each of the two clauses appears as it would if it stood alone. The clause boundary is signaled by the clause-initial NEG.

3. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

An adverb <u>Pamatan</u> 'therefore' can connect two clauses by marking the beginning of the second, as in the following examples (it occurs at the beginning of a single clause in the third example, but semantically at least this sentence seems a bit elliptical):

?a-pa? wir hwiski-t-ay ?amatan ?a-nipik
3s drink lots whiskey ABS OBJ therefore 3s die
'She drank [much] whiskey, and therefore she died.'

ni-tičičk ?amatan ?a-rikwatik 1s shove therefore 3s slip 'I gave him a shove and therefore he fell down.'

ramata? ni-yunu?
therefore 1s praise
'Because of that I praise him.' [apparently n#n -> ?#n here]

waravk ni? yu?u?, ?amatan naw ni-tuhtu? INTENSIVE I crippled therefore NEG 1s dance 'I am [very] crippled, and therefore I don't dance.'

A conjunction <u>mahmat</u> (which looks like a reduplicated form of <u>mat</u>, the future clitic) is used to introduce "when" or "if" clauses with future reference.

mahmat ?uvea ?a-nipik, ?api ca-purahik ?ipeay when already 3s die there 1p go out from here 'When the man dies, we will go there (?api [?]) from here.'

mahmat ni-mik ?ivi? pačuka-t-ay, naw-mat hami-c ?a-?in when 1s kill this man ABSOBJ NEG FUT who ABS 3s know 'If I kill this man, no one will know.'

mahmat ni-mi, naw-mat-um ni-hiu when 1s go NEG FUT 1-2s 1s see 'If I go, I will not see you (anymore).'

mahmat naw ni-mi, ni-hiu-mat-um ?uveahpea when NEG 1s go 1s see FUT 1-2s tomorrow 'If I do not go, I will see you tomorrow.'

4. CONDITIONALS

There is a small number of contrary-to-fact conditional sentences of the type <u>ti-mek(waču) S. S.</u>, 'if S, then S'. The data on this construction are scanty, but it seems that <u>ti</u> is the regular word for 'if', and that <u>mekwaču?</u> ("contrary-to-fact"?) is a clitic, which has a short variant <u>mek</u>, perhaps conditioned by following <u>nehe</u> (or perhaps <u>waču?</u> is a separate morpheme, mutually exclusive with <u>nehe</u>). The clitic appears in both clauses.

ti-mekwaču? ni-cik, ?a-yu?-mekwaču? if CONT-TO-FACT 1s stick 3s cry CONT-TO-FACT 'If I had stuck him with the scissors, he would have cried.'

ti-mek-nehe naw ?a-nipik, ?a-kač-mek-nehe ki-vea if CONT-TO-FACT nehe NEG 3s die 3s be CONT-TO-FACT nehe house LOC 'If the man hadn't died, he would still be living in the house.'

The clitic <u>mek</u> also occurs in one single-clause sentence, where it also has a contrary-to-fact connotation:

nikač mek ap 'estuviera yo ay [would that I were there].'

One other type of clause uses the suffix -<u>iva?</u> 'if, because' in the dependent clause (possibly related to the instrumental suffix -<u>?ivana?</u>?):

ni-waw-mat-um, mi-yu?-iva? 1s hit FUT 1-2s 2s cry if 'I'm going to hit you, if you cry.'

?a-vihinik ni-ra?wk-iva?
3s break 1s sit if
'The box broke when I sat down on it.'

ni-kuman-iva? ni-ŋirihrik 1s sleep if 1s edge down 'I slid down [bed] while sleeping.'

5. NOMINALS DERIVED FROM UNDERLYING CLAUSES

There are three very common de-verbal nominal types in Kitanemuk, which were described in chapter III: the instrumental (verb base + -ihwa?-t (-ivana? if possessed), the agentive (verb base $+ -i?a-\check{c}$), and the passive (verb base + -i-c). These are exemplified below; the verb stems from which they are derived appear in parentheses.

rio?in-ihwa?-t 'shears' (< rio?in, 'shear')

ca?cakin-ihwa?-t 'winnowing basket'

(< ca?cakin 'winnow in a certain way.')

tuhtutu?-ihwa?t 'toy' (< tuhtutu 'play')

pučahk-in-ihwa?-t 'game ball' (< pučahk, 'play ball') ni-pučak-in-ivana? 'my game ball'

rio?in-i?a-č '[sheep-]shearer' (< rio?in, 'shear')

tuhtutu?-i?a-č 'playful person' (< tuhtutu, 'play')

rio?in-i-c 'what's sheared off' (< rio?in, 'shear')

ca?cakin-i-c '(something) winnowed'

(< ca?cakin, 'winnow in a certain way')

pučahk-in-i-c '[ball] game' (< <u>pučahk</u> 'play ball')

I mention these nominals here, because they are clearly derived from underlying clauses, and not just lexically derived forms. In at least a few cases, other 'pieces' of the underlying clause surface with the nominal:

ki-c-ay kim-an-i?a-č 'carpenter' house ABS OBJ make VN AGT ABS

mɨk-an-ia-č takat-am-a 'murderer' kill VN AGTABS person PL OBJ?

ni-na?o?-ivana? pi-yik 'my fiancée' 1s marry INST 3s DIR

6. RELATIVE CLAUSES

It is unclear whether there are relative clauses in Kitanemuk.

Positing a head-internal relative clause construction is one

possible way to explain the lack of object marking on certain nouns, as in the following examples:

ni-hiu(-ne) ?a-waki? kuča-t 'I saw a dry stick.' 1s see (nehe) 3s dry stick ABS

ni-hiu pi-waki? kuča-m 'I saw dry sticks.' 1s see 3p dry stick PL

vs.
ni-hiu-ne kuča-t-ay 'I saw a stick.'
1s see nehe stick ABS OBJ

ni-ni-hiu ?a-ti-?a ti-mi-t 'I saw a big stone.'
I 1s see 3s big stone ABS

ni? ni-hiu ?a-tih-ti?a ti-timi-t 'I saw big stones.'
I 1s see 3s RDP big RDP stone ABS

That is, the noun itself is not the object; the clause is; therefore object marking on the noun is inappropriate [cf. GA notes: kut [rat]: One wonders if perhaps quantified NP's, which also do not carry object marking, are head-internal relative clauses (which would perhaps mean that numbers are predicative rather than attributive).

Wir ni-hiu kuča-t 'I saw a lot of wood.' lots 1s see stick ABS

?a-mak-avin ?apano mahač 'He gave me five eggs.'
3s give 3-1s egg five

(For more discussion of object marking, see the sections on agreement and object marking.) The following phrases may also be

relative clauses; they are not translated as such, but are names of animal species and thus clearly noun phrases, and are clearly derived from underlying sentences:

kihu-č ?a-ti-? ?a-piša? fish ABS 3s big 3s head

'fish sp.' (pescado cabezón) ['fish whose head is big'?]

kwašipk ?a-piša red 3s head

'bird sp. with red head' ['whose head is read'?]

The analysis of the following sentence is unclear, but it may mean literally 'I am going to put myself in the tree which is holow'.

ni-curup-ik-mat ?ap mat ?a-horopk kuča-t 1s enter TR FUT there? FUT 3s hollow tree ABS 'I'm going to put myself in the hollow tree.'

The following two sentences from the text in section O may be examples of conjoined clauses or of relative clauses. Harrington's Spanish translations indicate conjunction, although there is no overt conjunction in either sentence (recall that conjoined clauses without an overt conjunction are acceptable in Kitanemuk, however). I have given an English gloss with a relative clause because it seems more fluent and seems to capture the meaning, given the surrounding text.

?a-pis-nehe pačuk ?a-pa-ihun pa-č-ay 3s arrive nehe man 3s drink DESID water ABS OBJ Ilegó un hombre y quiso tomar agua 'A man arrived who wanted to drink some water.' ?a-pic ?ip pačukat ?a-iyiw=vin ni-pala?-c-ay 3s arrive here man 3s steal 3-1 1s shovel ABS OBJ llego un hombre y me robo mi pala 'a man came here who stole my shovel.'

It is conceivable that further examination of the corpus will find more possible relative clauses (if the above examples are indeed relative clauses, they would be easy to overlook, given their lack of distinctive marking).

J. MODALS

What might be called "modals" in English translation are expressed in Kitanemuk using three morphemes (at least, in addition to the expression of indicative and imperative modes already described): -key 'possibly' I at first analyzed as a clitic occurring late in the clitic schema (following at least Q and TNS); the few examples in the corpus follow:

hamina-t-kay
what ABS possibly
[cf. hamina-t
what ABS

'What can be the matter?'

'What is it?']

hami-c-it-kay who ABS Q possibly

'Who can it be?'

?a-nip+k hami-t-kay?
3s die who ABS possibly
[cf. hami, hami-c, 'who']

'Someone died, who can it be?'

mi-muk-mat-kay 2s sick FUT possibly

'Maybe you're going to be sick.'

ni-muk-mat-kay 1s die FUT possibly 'Maybe I'm going to die.'

But two examples with -kay show a distribution uncharacteristic of clitics. In the first (a difficult string to analyze with certainty—see dictionary), kay seems to occur in non-initial

⁷This is another possible candidate for a relative clause, meaning perhaps 'Who could [the person] who died be?'

position (though the sentence may mean either 'Could I be dying now' or 'I'm sick; could it be now'; in the latter case the kay is arguably attached to the first element in its clause). In the second case, kay stands alone; none of the other clitics are shown doing this anywhere in the corpus, and it is not in the nature of clitics to do so. These examples suggest that it may be better to consider -kay [perhaps also -pay?—see below] an adverb8 rather than a clitic.

ni-mukik ?ama?y-t(-)kay 1s sick now Q possibly kay

[Said when you don't know if you're going to get well or die.]
'Maybe.' [in ans. to 'Do you think you're sick now?']

Another possible clitic, -pay, may be modal, expressing something like 'should', or it may be a demonstrative element relating to the objects; it is impossible to be sure from the examples.

hami-mat ca-hunu?-pay vaka-tay... 'Let's talk [we should when? FUT 1p talk should? cow ABS OBJ talk?] about the cow some other time...'

naw-pay ni-?in punita?-ihwa?-t-ay 'I don't understand NEG should? 1s know play ball INST ABS OBJ that game.' [?]

⁸It is interesting that this <u>key</u> is homophonous with (perhaps identical to?) the NEG word used in imperative sentences.

The morpheme -mek(waču), the contrary-to-fact clitic, can also be used in simple sentences with a modal connotation (described above in section I, number 4).9

naw ni-mirin

'l can't.'

NEG 1s can

'Yes, I can [do it].'

hai ni-mirin maykw yes 1s can do?

mutu? ni-mirin always 1s can 'I always can.'

⁹In addition, the verb <u>mir in</u> 'be able' expresses ability to do something:

K. tɨm

One word, tim (or tihm?) 'same, like', expresses a relationship in a way that makes one think of prepositions; it occurs before a noun that it is declaring related to something else (but can also stand without a noun). It can't be a clitic (at least a post-clitic), because it occurs first in its clause in all the examples below (except the negative one); perhaps it is one of a small class of sentential adverbs which generally occur first in the clause (naw is another example of one, and so would be competing for first position with tim in the negative example). Here are all of the examples of tim; any noun it appears with is in normal citation form. Note that it sometimes appears with a particle-like sequence (m)ea (sometimes attached and sometimes separated from it):

tim ?a?p like and?

'It is the same.'

tim-mat ?a?pea like FUT and?+particle? 'It's going to be the same.'

tihm(-)ea

'look like, be same as'; a regular verb

tihmea ?a-par

'He looks like his brother.'

resemble 3s brother

but:

tim pata?mea ?a-par like that particle? 3s brother 'He resembles his brother.'

242

tihmea-vu?

'It was the same.'

tɨm tɨy-t like devil ABS

'He looks like a devil.'

tɨm kuci? like da

'He looks like a dog.'

tim ni? like |

'He resembles me.'

?a-uva? mohk, tɨm kɨhu-č 'He has blue eyes, he looks like a fish.'

(tim) mon-monkik like RDP piled up 'It is (like) hills/hillocks.'

wirapki tim hamina-t-nehe mi-hiu leave,IMP like how Q nehe 2s see 'Leave the door as you found [saw] it.'

tim ni-puycu?

'I started it.' [mng. unclear here]

like? 1s begin

naw tɨm

'It isn't the same.'

NEG same

?a-tuhtu? pucuk, tɨm ?a-ka?mk-i? 3s dance hard like 3s crazy PN 'He's dancing fast, like a crazy man.'

This morpheme may be the same as the marker for indefinite expressions, $\underline{t + (h)m}$. Note that in all of the examples above, as well as in the indefinite expressions, $\underline{t + m}$ occurs before its(for want of a better word) complement.

L. nehe

It is not yet clear exactly what the function of nehe is. Although Harrington wrote it as a separate word, it appears to be a clitic-that is, it positions itself in clauses like the other clitics, but after all the other clitics (except -ič, which it doesn't cooccur with), and it triggers a rule of consonant deletion before clitics (cf. chapter I, section D, number 13). It occurs in indicative, declarative, and interrogative sentences, but not in The fact that Harrington consistently recorded nehe imperatives. as a separate word suggests that it is stressed on its first syllable, like words. It is possible that it (1) has some kind of past meaning or connotation (all but two or three instances are translated as past; but so are most of the sentences in the corpus), (2) has a discourse function of some kind in narratives (in this regard, cf. the text in section O), (3) is an evidential marker (counter-evidential marker, or something like 'on the contrary', as suggested by the consultant observation "used when denying something"), or (4) is a proposal marker (request for confirmation, like French "ne-est-ce pas"). Some of the explanatory comments made by the consultants could be construed as supporting any of these hypotheses, but they provide no clear basis for choosing between them; and unfortunately there are no starred forms or discussions of the sort "Can you say that without nehe, and if so does it mean the same thing, and would it be used under the same

circumstances." There are a few comments in the notes that indicate that Harrington had asked what the <u>nehe</u> meant in a sentence; the answer, several times, was something like "it means that I'm telling you." Another sentence supports theory (4):

?a-hi?nik-nehe ?ama-c pa?pi ?a-nim pa-č-ay
3s float nehe that ABS on top 3s walk water ABS OBJ
'It is still afloat, isn't it, it walks on top of the water.'

Perhaps some combination of (1) through (4) is the real meaning of nehe. More narrative texts would perhaps help solve the mystery, but in all likelihood the text in section O is the only one we will ever have. Because its exact function is not clear, the morpheme nehe (and its shorter form, ne, which a speaker described as a rapid speech variant) are simply glossed "nehe" in the examples in the text. Other features of nehe include the following: it occurs only on complete sentences; is not repeated in the second of two conjoined clauses; it is optional, at least in some sentences; it co-occurs with the past tense clitic -uvu? and the adverb ?uve a 'already', but not with future -mat (which could of course be an a mere elicitation gap); it occurs in negative sentences. The next four pages give a complete listing of nehe sentences from the corpus.

Examples of nehe ni-?ar-nehe 'I bathed myself.' ni-hiu-nehe ?akwacita-y 'I saw his tail.' ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-mah-ma-y 'I looked at your hands.' [but also: ni-hiu-m mi-ma-y 'I looked at your hand.'] ni-nanukaw-nehe 'I swapped it.' (..."I tell someone") ni?-nehe ni-no?mk 'I bought it.' ni-hiu-nehe pačuk-t-ay 'I looked at the bow.' ni-hiu-nehe pačuk-yam-iy 'I looked at the bows.' ni-hiu-nehe mi-pačuk-yam-iy 'i looked at your bows.' ni-purahk-nehe ni-ni-ni 'I stuck out my tongue.' ni-hiu-nehe mi-šika-c-ay 'I saw your shoulder blade.' ni?-nehe ni-šipk 'I chilled it.' ni-hiu-nehe mi-tamo-č-ay 'I saw your knee.' ni-hiu-nehe tavi-yik I saw taviyik. ni-hiu-nehe tihpi-c-ay 'I saw the lomo.' ni-hiu-nehe mɨ-tɨmkɨ-č-ay 'I saw your tapadera.' ?a-kivaw-vin-nehe 'He asked me for it.' ni?-nehe ni-ti?ur 'I am counting (them).' ni-tiw-nehe ni-canank 'I opened my eyes.' ci-hyu-nehe mi-?anosi? 'I saw your little finger.' Pa-pokatk-ivin-nehe 'He frightened me.' ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-?ati?a-y 'I saw your thumb.' ni-hiu-nehe mi-?ikihu?-c-ay 'I saw your breastbone.' ?ini?k ni-ta-nehe 'I put it face up.' [but cf. next] Pinik Pa-kač 'The dish is face up.' haypa?y-nehe 'Where is it?' naw-ne hami? ki-vea 'There wasn't anyone in the house.' Pa-hiu-nehe Piviy 'He saw this one.' ni-pič-nehe tumuka 'I arrived day before yesterday.' tuk-ne ni-pič 'l arrived yesterday.' ni-hiu-nehe yivan venta?nu? 'I looked out through the window. kumu?k ni-ta-nehe 'I put it face down.' ni-kučaw-nehe 'Yo leñé [i chopped wood]'

'It was here.'

'It was here.'

Pip Pa-kač-uvu?

?a-kač-ne(he) ?ip

Examples of nehe, (cont'd) ?a-hiu-nehe ?a-mu-i cohono?k-nehe ni-kač ni-hiu-nehe mi-uykačay ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-waci ni?-nehe ni-wivanea? ni?-ne ni-nahponom ni-kim-ne tipuck haypea-t-ne ?a-kač ?a-kač-ne ?ip ni?-ne ni-hak ni-hiu-ne mi-herk-in-ic-ay ni?-ne ni-hi-hinitun ni?-m-ne ni-yamk ni?-ne ni-ka?mk ni?-ne ni-ki? ni?-ne ni-cu?mk Puvea-ne ni-wiw Puvea-ne ni-wi ?a-hiu-m-nehe ?imi-y ?a-hiu-m-nehe ?ivic Pa-hiu-nehe Pamay Pa-hiu-nehe Pivi-y ni?-nehe ni-horork

mɨ-yamk-ɨt-acin-nehe

'S/he saw him shoot.' 'yo me hinqué [l kneeled down]' 'I saw your girlfriend.' 'I saw your (finger)nail.' 'I cured him/her.' 'I sold it.' 'I made it thick.' 'Where was it?' 'It was here.' 'I told him (to make him bite you).' 'I saw your forefinger.' 'yo lo apuré [l hurried him]' 'I remembered you.' 'I got him/her drunk.' 'Lo mordí [l bit him/her/it]' 'I closed the dead man's eyes.' 'I leached the acorn meal.' "I already made atole." 'S/he saw you.' 'This one saw you.' 'He saw that one.' 'He saw that one.' 'I made a hole in it' 'You reminded me.' [app. 'Did you remind me?']

Pa-pic-it-nehe Pamea 'He came to your house.'

ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-herk-in-ivana? 'I saw your forefinger.'

ni-hiu-nehe yivan venta?nu? 'I looked out through the window. '

ni-ni-hiu-nehe ni-kwah-kwačamuk-iva? 'I saw him in a dream.'

ni-?ank-nehe kalesa?-t-ay, ni-kwitu?mik'l met a buggy, and turned out.'

ni-tun-nehe moc ?a-curupik
'I chased the dog out, but he entered again.'

Examples of nehe, (cont'd)

ni-ya?-nehe

'I brought it.' ("The nehe is added when

I am avisando a alguno [informing

someone].")

?a-hiu-ne(he) pay

'He saw that one.' [Always abbreviate

to ne in quick talk; used when denying

something.]

?a-mi-nehe ?ap naw moc ?a-kim 'S/he went away and never came back.'

?a-ya?-nehe ?akim-ivin makik, ?aši-y kim-an-i-c-ay 'She brought me a (tied up) bunch of wildflowers.'

ni-ya?-nehe

'I brought it ["lo trají"]' ["The nehe is

added when I am avisando a alguno."]

?imi?-ne mi-kwiock

'tú lo chuecatis [You made it

bowlegged?]'

?ɨmɨ-t-ne ʔap mɨ-kač hawkupiču?y-vea

'estabas en la junta' [apparently a question: 'Were you there?']

?uvea-ne ni-wahea

'ya está chamuscado [it's already

singed].'

ni-maš-nehe

'I heard.' (add nehe when you are avi-

sando á otro [informing another

person]).

ti-mek-nehe naw ?a-nipik, ?a-kač-mek-nehe ki-vea 'If the man hadn't died, he would still be living in the house.'

?a-curup-ik-nehe ni?-yik, ki-vea 'He entered where I was, in the house.'

M. IMPERATIVES

Imperatives have been discussed elsewhere (chapter II, section B, and chapter IV section C), but a brief recap at this point is perhaps in order, since imperatives do have some special syntactic properties.

The same object clitics are used as in the indicative, and they precede the imperative plural clitic, (as described in chapter II, section D); however non-pronominal objects of second person imperatives are not object-marked (cf. section C of this chapter).

If the command is negative, a special negative, kay, is used instead of the usual <u>naw</u>. If the imperative verb is intransitive, the special negative takes the form kaym; this extra <u>m</u> is reminiscent of the second person object clitic; it may in some way represent the second person "understood" subject of these

commands, at least in a historical sense.¹⁰ It would be interesting to see if the <u>kaym</u> is just a fossil of a former state of affairs in the proto-language, or if it is still a "live" strategy, which might be evidenced by the ability of this second person object clitic (if that is what it is), to appear on other words than <u>kay</u> when they appear first in the sentence. Unfortunately the data don't show any such examples; they would probably be ruled out, in any case, by the rule that generally places the negative at the beginning of sentences.

Examples of negative imperatives:

kay-ci? hiu

'Do not look at me!'

NEG 2-1s see

kay-ci? ki?

'Don't bite me!'

NEG 2-1s bite

kay-m ki?

'Don't bite!'

NEG bite

kay-m mea

'Don't go!'

NEG go,IMP

kay-m-ič mea

'Don't [y'all] go!'

NEG IMP PL go, IMP

kay-m šušava? ni-yik

'Don't lie to me!'

NEG lie I DIR

kay-m-ič šušava? ni-yik NEG IMP PL lie I DIR

'Don't [y'all] lie to me!'

¹⁰Thanks to Pamela Munro for suggesting this insight to me.

First person imperative or hortative forms use a special personal prefix \underline{c} a (as opposed to the usual first person plural \underline{c}). The objects of hortative forms are inconsistently marked with object case, and the use of the plural imperative clitic on hortatives is also inconsistent.

N. PREDICATOR

The analysis thus far presented has overlooked a small class of morphemes for which very little data is available, but which I will mention here for completeness' sake, even though the appropriate analysis is by no means clear. The morpheme is -±, and is exemplified in sentences below, with similar forms lacking the suffix also presented for comparison.

?ama?-∔

'That's the thing; right there'

?ama-c

'that'

hamina-t ?ama?

'What is that?'

pata?-i

'That's the thing.'

pata? tɨmɨ-t

'that stone'

naw pata? mɨmk

'That's not true.'

?ivi?-i

'This is it.'

PiviP, Pivic

'this one'

PiviP timi-t

'this stone'

I will hypothesize that the $-\pm$ is a "predicator"—that is, something (presumably a suffix or clitic) that differentiates a mere nominal from a sentence with the nominal as predicate (thus the above sentences would actually mean 'it's that,' 'it's this,' etc.). Perhaps the same morpheme occurs in the following sentence:

pucuk meta?-i? pokt very long ? road 'The path is very long.'

252

O. TEXT

The following very brief text by Angela Montes was found on a paper slip in a group of Harrington's grammatical slips at the Smithsonian. It is the only text in all the corpus. It is given here in lines which match the lines of the slips, with a morpheme-bymorpheme gloss, a phonemic transcription interpreting Harrington's spelling, and with the Spanish or English translation recorded on the slips as well my translation into English. equals sign is used to show clitic boundary. Note the use of nehe in most lines. It seems that every event in the narrative that is not merely an amplification of some preceding event is marked with nehe in its first clause. Unfortunately the text sample is not large enough to suggest a more a more precise statement, or a clear definition of "event", or "amplification".

pəmi nehe puju tākatam pɨ-mi=nehe puyu takat-am: 3p go nehe all person PL se fueron toda la gente 'Everyone left.'

nuk nikat jr ap nuk ni-kač ?ap EMPH 1s be there yo quedé solo 'I was there all alone.'

apis nehe pāt [ruk apā j hun pat [raj]?a-pis=nehe pačuk ?a-pa-ihun pa-č-ay
3s arrive nehe man 3s drink DESID water ABS OBJ
llegó un hombre y quiso tomar agua
'A man arrived who wanted to drink some water.'

na? ne nihak nahwit pāt fr ni?=ne ni-hak naw-hit pa-č I nehe 1s tell NEG something water ABS I told him there was no water 'I told him there was no water.'

ninan nehe nipala?tsaj ni-nan=nehe ni-pala?-c-ay 1s look for nehe 1s shovel ABS OBJ yo busqué mi pala 'I looked for my shovel.' naw ne nihju naw=ne ni-hiu NEG nehe 1s see no lo encontré 'I didn't see it.'

apitsiva? nina?n, nitaho,
?a-pic-iva? ni-ŋa? ni-1, ni-tiho,
3s arrive when 1s father I 1s tell news
when my father came, lo avise,
'When my father came, I told him what had happened:

apits ip pat frukat a?ajuvan nipala?tsaj
?a-pic ?ip pačukat ?a-iyiw=vin ni-pala?-c-ay
3s arrive here man 3s sieal 3-1 1s shovel ABS OBJ
llego un hombre y me robo mi pala
a man came here who stole my shovel.'

¹¹The $\underline{\mathbf{n}}$ of Harrington's transcription may represent $\underline{\mathbf{n+2}}$ as I theorize in the phonemicized line; but it could equally well be part of a special possessed form of 'father' (which Harrington seems to have assumed in his transcription). Only $\underline{\mathbf{nina2}}$ and $\underline{\mathbf{nina2a}}$ are attested elsewhere in the corpus for the subject form of 'my father', but since 'my father' here is the subject of an embedded clause, it may be marked in some special way (note that an objective form containing $\underline{\mathbf{n}}$ is attested: $-\underline{\mathbf{na2nay}}$).

INTRODUCTION TO THE DICTIONARY

Due to the unusual nature of the data on which it is based (mostly archival materials, from various sources, in varying transcriptions), this "dictionary" is less than a complete dictionary; some gaps and indeterminacies are unavoidable. At the same time it is more extensive than a strict lexicon along formal linguistic principles, because listing only the unpredictable features of each entry would presuppose a more detailed understanding of the language than is possible on the basis of these incomplete records. My goal has been to provide the best possible compendium of what is known about this language from all sources. Hopefully this analysis will make more understandable what is available, and will also serve adequately those researchers who are only interested in a distillation of the source material. For these reasons, the dictionary entries give information as to the probable phonological representations, morphological and grammatical characteristics, and meaning of each entry, but also cite the transcribed forms on which these conclusions are based. Just as the grammatical section has suggested some generative-type rules but has had ultimately to settle on being more taxonomic than predictive, the dictionary suggests a formal analysis wherever possible, but also retains as much as possible of the surface facts in their original form. The meanings I give are closely based on the glosses in the sources. In some cases the meanings of glosses are unclear, either

because of ambiguities in the English or Spanish, or because I have been unable to translate the gloss; in these cases the glosses as originally transcribed are shown verbatim, so that the reader can better appreciate exactly what is and what is not clear; I have even retained such peculiarities of the original as Harrington's non-standard Spanish usage (e.g. vini for vine 'I came'), so as to ensure that as little information as possible risks being lost due to possible misinterpretations on my part. Most of the Spanish I have translated myself, using mostly Peers et al. (1959) and Toro y Gisbert (1964) as references; Santamaría (1959) was also consulted for a few terms. For German I use Sasse et al. (1966). A few Spanish and Chumash terms well known to researchers in this area, but perhaps not to others, are left untranslated; these are defined in Appendix K.

The dictionary entries are presented in the following format:

[phonemic representation of simplest form, with morpheme boundaries if determinable] — [meaning, and grammatical category if known]. [original transcriptions and glosses, labeled with the code for each source (the meaning given by the source is given here, in parentheses, only if it differs from that given for the entry as a whole)]

[derived and inflected forms, listed as subentries, first in phonemic representation and then in the source forms on which the phonemiciation is based; listed in order of increasing complexity]

[comments regarding related forms, sources for borrowings, points of particular grammatical interest, etc.]

The abbreviations I use are listed at the end of this introduction; I also give a brief list of abbreviations which I don't introduce, but which appear in some of the quoted material from the Harrington notes.

In general every form of a stem is given exactly as it appears in the source material, except that noun and verb stems may not be cited in all their personal-prefixed forms. I try to cite a representative sampling of a morpheme in different contexts, to make its usage clear. Sentences whose structure is unclear are cited in their entirety. The following sample data and resulting dictionary entry illustrate the format and conventions mentioned above:

Harrington (Berkeley) notes:

kiwəs olla (p.961)

kíwə) ollas de barro ... or stone (p.1348a)

kíwəs olla of soapstone (p.1311b)

kíwəs stone olla (p.1304b) kiwəs any olla (p.1595a)

távihwat kíwastaj pot-rest stone (p.1348a)

kiwə kəmanits ball of mashed islay kernals (lit., "olla made")

kiwəs kəmanim plu. (p.961)

κiwə∫ təmət

wikihwat təmət cachimba (p.1238b)

Zigmond slipfile notes:

ki[.]wəš

pot

Merriam notes:

ke'-was

kettle or vessel for cooking

Based on this data, the following entry was constructed:

kiwiš — pot, gen., N. H: kiwəʃ (olla [pot]); kiwəʃ (clay or stone olla, soapstone olla, stone olla); kiwəʃ (any olla); kiwəʃ kəmanits (ball of mashed islay kernels [pot-made]); kiwəʃ kəmanim (plu.: balls of mashed islay kernels); kiwəʃ təmət, wikihwat təmət (clay pipe); ZS: kiwəš (pot); M: ke'-was (kettle or vessel for cooking) kiwiš-t-ay (obj.). H: távihwat kiwəʃtaj (pot-rest stone)

DICTIONARY ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Grammatical and general abbreviations:					
(A)	(<u>a</u> -loss stem)	nom.	nominal		
abs.	absolutive	obj.	object		
accomp.	accompaniment	part.	participle		
Adj.	adjective	pass.	passive		
Adv.	adverb	p.c.	personal communication		
agt.	agentive	perh.	perhaps		
aug.	augmentative	pers.	personal		
caus.	causative	plcnm.	placename		
cf.	refer to; compare	plu.	plurai		
char.	characterizing	poss.	possessed stem		
comp.	complement	Q	question clitic		
conj.	conjunction	quan.	quantifier		
dec.	deceased	redup.	reduplicated		
dir.	directional	sg.	singular		
des.	desiderative	s/he	she or he		
e.g.	for example	sp.	species (plu. spp.)		
fut.	future	V	verb		
gen.	generic term	VI	intransitive verb		
gen. nom.	_	VT	transitive verb		
hort.	hortative	-	morpheme boundary		
imp.	imperative		(stem-initial means		
incorp.	incorporated form		stem is always		
inf.	infinitive		prefixed)		
inst.	instrumental	*	nonexisting form		
10	indirect object	<	derived from (precedes		
loc.	locative		historical source)		
mng.	meaning	1p, etc.	plural personal prefixes		
N	noun	1s, etc.	singular personal		
NB	note; important		prefixes		
neg.	negative	1-2s, et	tc. subject-object clitics		

Language names:

Eng.	English	Ser.	Serrano
Fer.	Fernandeño	Span.	Spanish
Gab.	Gabrielino	Tüb.	Tübatulabal
Kaw.	Kawaiisu	Yok.	Yokuts
Kit.	Kitanemuk	VCh	Ventureño Chumash

Abbreviations and conventions appearing in Harrington's notes

ca. approximate transcription

d.q. information sought via direct question

inf. informant (language consultant)

Jam. Jaminate (Kitanemuk)

ms man speaking (for kin terms)

nesc. nescit (does not know)
rec. reciprocal (of kin terms)
Serr. "Serrano" (that is, Kawaiisu)

Tat. Tataviam V. Ventureño

ws woman speaking (for kin terms)

underlining prefix

Underlining, unless otherwise noted, indicates guesses at sequences that were illegible in the original.

Source codes:

H J. P. Harrington notes, 1916-17, formerly stored at Berkeley

R J. P. Harrington partially revised notes from the Smithsonian¹

ZS M. L. Zigmond slips, 1937

ZN M. L. Zigmond notebook, 1937

K A. L. Kroeber, forms from 1925 Handbook and Kroeber (1907)

M C. H. Merriam notes, 1903, 1905

JW John W. Hudson notes, ca.1899-1902

CK C.E. Kelsey notes, 1906

VF Richard van Valkenburgh and Malcolm Farmer notes, 1934

Alphabetical order used:

a,b,c,č,d,e,h,i,i,k,kw,l,m,n,n,o,p,r,s,š,t,u,v,w,y. ? is discounted.

¹Both sets of the Harrington notes are now available in Kraus's microfilm publication, Mills and Brickfield (1986).

KITANEMUK-ENGLISH

-a-

?a?a?—crow, N. H: a?ā?ā; ZS: ?a·?a·; ZN: ?a·?a·; K: a'ā
?a?a?-yam (plu.). H: ?a?a?jam
?a?a?-t-ay (obj.). H: ?a?a?taj
?a?a?-pea (loc.: Joaquin Flat). H: ?a?a?pea, ?a?āpe,
a?awpe; R: ?a?a?pea
[cf. ?ačawat 'raven']
[Harrington seems to claim 'crow' shows a phonemic length
contrast with 'horn': a?a?ā 'its horn' vs. a?ā?ā 'crow'; ZS:
?a·?a· vs. ?a?a 'its horn'; ZN: ?a·?a· vs. ?a?a 'its horn']

- Pa?atuk-pea plcnm. at El Oso. H: ?a?atukpea; R: ?a?atukpea (El Oso or someplace near there)
- ?a?aywea plcnm.: a mountain ridge. H,R: ?a?ajwea [cf. <u>?ayc</u>; = <u>?a-?ay-vea</u> 'gathering mountain'?]

?a-c — horn, N. H: ?āt s ?a-m (plu.). H: ?ām

-?a-c-ay (obj.). H: -?ātsaj

- -?a? (poss.). H: -?a?, ?a?a; ZS: ?a?a 'horn'; ZN: ?a?a (its horn)
- [cf. <u>?a?a?</u> 'crow'; NB: "#<u>a?a?</u>a 'horn'; #<u>a?ā?</u>a 'crow'; Harrington: "am not quite sure of the dif." ZS: <u>?a?a</u> 'horn' vs. <u>?a:?a:</u> 'small crow'; ZN: <u>?a:?a:</u> 'crow' vs. <u>?a?a</u> 'its horn']

?aca? - axe, N. H: ?atsa?

-?aca? (poss. obj. [sic—no -y]). R: nitama?n ni?atsa? (I sharpened my axe)

[< Span. "hacha"].

- Pacantcit Pa-ho-vea ? plcnm.; app. means 'X's hole'. VF: ah-cant-sita-hovie (Montes ranch in Tejón)
- ?aca?tu? prick, VT, get a splinter, VI. H,R: ?atsa?tu? [perh. < ?ac 'horn'; perh. influenced by Span. "hacha"]
- ?acaw kika(-)yik west, dir. ZS,ZN: ?atsáwkikajuk
- -?aci-t pet, domesticated animal, N(A). H: -?atsit, -?ātsit (pet); ni-?acit-mat (it will be my animal); ni-?acit-uvu? (it was my animal); R: -?ātsit; M: ah-ah`-tse-tom'-mas ko-tse (his dog); ne-ah'-tsit ko-tse (my dog); moo-ah'-tsit ko-tse (your (singular) dog); poo'-ah-tsi tom-mas (their (plural) dog) [the tom-mas part of these expressions is puzzling]
 - -?acita-m, (plu.). H: -?atsitam, -?atsitam; R: a?átsitama (his swine)
 - -?acita-y, (obj.). H: -?atsitaj, -?atsitaj, ?ātsitaj; R:
 -?ātsitaj (horse or dog, obj., poss.); R: -?ātsitaj (my dog or horse, obj.)
 - -?acita-m-i (pets, obj.). H: -?atsitamə ?acita-ivi-č (dec.). H: ?ātsitajvæt∫r (dead dog)
 - -?acita?-iv+ (dec., poss.). H: -?ātsita?jv- (dead dog, poss.)
 - -?acita?-ivi-m (dec., poss.). H: -?ātsita?jvəm (dead dogs, poss.)
 - -?acita-va? (by horse). H: nimi ni?ātsitava? (l'm going to go by [my] horse); R: -?atsitava?, -?ātsitava? (on horseback) [NB: no stem-final <u>a</u> before clitics]
- -?aci-ivana? deer headdress (poss. of an inst. nominal). H: ?á?átsəjvana?ā

- ?acot-k-i-ni-vea-yik? plcnm.: ridge in Tejón creek canyon. VF: ah-cuh-kin-ne-who-yōōk (ridge at head of Tejón Creek canyon just southeast of the school)

Pacotki-yam (Fernandeños). H, R: Patsotkajam [related to cotik 'sink in sand, of water'?]

- ?ačawa-t, ?ačava-t big crow, raven [app. = irreg. aug. of 'crow'],
 N. H: ?atʃawat, ?atʃrawat,atʃrawat, atʃrawat, atʃrawat;
 ačawat (aug.). ZS: ?ačawat'; ZN: ?ačawat
 - Pačava-kay-c (plcnm.: Crow Mountain). H: alfravakajts (Crow Mountain)
- ?ačaw miss (the mark), V (no examples with overt objects). H: ?ātʃraw; R: ātʃraw (miss (one's target in shooting))
- ?ač‡mawát plant sp.? ZN: ?ačá·mawát (doves eat it)
- ?adovea adobe. R: ?adovea (adobe), also aðovea. Said in Spanish, for adobe.
 - [relates to -<u>ea</u> vs. -<u>e</u>, described in chapter I, section D, part 15] [< Span. "adobe"]
- ?ah take a bath, VI. H: ?ār, ?ar; R: ?ar, ?ār ?ah-ik (inf.) H: ?ahik; R: ?ahik [NB: *?ahanik?] ?ah-ivi (nomoinalization with dec. suffix). H: a ?āhivə (s/he bathed; "on tākutʃa?aihivu" [apparently Harrington was trying to verify the latter form, and in response the

consultant gave a similar form to part of the suggested cue; the deceased suffix, rather than the past clitic, shows this to be a nominalized form of 'bathe'])

ah-ia-č (preferred), aq-iwha?-t (animal's bathing place). H:

ahiat [r (preferred), aqiwha?t; R: aqiwha?t, āqihwa?t,
āhiat [r (bañadero [bathing place of animals])

?a-?ah-ea-vea (plcnm: Winters Ranch—means bear bathed there). R: ?a?āheavea

-?ah-mat (fut.). R: -?armat. [NB: not *?ahamat or *?ahmat]

?ah-an (VT: bathe someone, wash something, baptize, serve as midwife). H: ?āhan

mi-ah(-)ea-y (your bathing pool, obj.). H: maāheaj

- ?a(-)haykipea last. R: na? nihju ahajkapea kits (I saw the last house); ahajkapea amuk (the last house ['last one over there'])
- ?ahir nephew or niece, N. H: ?ahir (nephew or niece; relation of Magdalena to Eugenia [Magdalena's father's sister]); ZN: ?ahir (nephew)

Pahyam (plu.). H: Pahjam Pahir-c-ay (obj.). H: Pahirtsaj

?ahɨŋ-t, ahɨŋh-t — eagle, N. H: ?ahəŋt, ahəŋt, ahəŋht; ZS: ?arhərnkt, ?arhərŋkt; ZN: ?arhərnkt; K: axüñt ?ahɨŋam ? (plu.). H: ?ahəŋəm ?ahɨŋ-t, ?ahɨŋ-t ?a-ho (plcnm.); H: ?ahəŋt aho (plcnm.: mountain other side of Tehachapi); R: ahəŋt (plcnm.: where eagle lives, on naqkamea?nijək mountain), ?ahəŋt ahovea (the sierra below Tehachapi town; = snake)

- ?a(-)h+va fine (of meal). H: ?ahəva [perh. related to h+p+č 'cattail flour']
- ?ahkana nephew or niece (through brother?), N; stepchild. H: ?ahkaña, ?aqkana (nephew or niece; stepchild)

- ?ahkana-m (plu.). H: ?aqkaram, ?ahkaram ?ahkana-c-ay (obj.). H: ?ahkanatsaj
- ?ahkwik here [or near?]. H: kiva ?aqkwak (come here); R: ahkak kiva, ŋərərk ahkwak (arrimate! [draw near])
- ?a-ka?pi? the bunch of feathers on top of the plumero [hand-held ceremonial feather ornament], N. R: ?aka?pi?

 [cf. <u>kahpišakam</u> 'Yokuts from the Tular']
- ?aka-t pespibata box, N. H: ākat (pespibata box: a cylinder to carry it in—1" in diameter)
 ?aka-m (plu.). H: ?ākam
 -?aka? (poss.). H: -āka?
- ?a(-)ka? fruit (gen.), N. ZN: ?aká (acorn); ZS: ?aká? (fruit, gen., on the tree)
- ?akačo?a? oak moss or mistletoe, N. H: ?akat [ro?a?a
- Pakikitam, Pakikitam-yam Kitanemuk(s), N. H: Pakikitam, akikitam, akikitam (Kitanemuk(s)), war akikitamjam (Kitanemuks [only token containing this form—perh. only used as plu.]; R: Pakikitam (Kitanemuk(s)); ZN: Pakikitam (Kitanemuks); ZS: Pakikitam (Kitanemuks); VF: aquitaum, ah-huh-keet-um (name of the [Kit.] tribe)
- ?a(-)ko?ona mistletoe from sycamore (used for abortion) or juniper (used for asthma), N. ZN: ?akó?ona (mistletoe from sycamore—<u>Phoradendron longispeum</u> Trel.— or juniper; first used for abortion, second for asthma)
- Pákúre?en plcnm.: Newhall. H: Pákúre?en; R: Pakure?en

- ?akutucyam tribename: Kawaiisu. H: ?akututsjam, akututsjem (tribename: Serranos; = V. ?alaktpələle); R: ?akututsjam; ZN: ?akútuciyam, ?akútucyam (the Kawaiisu, [called] "Serrano", "Piute"); ZS: ?akútuč(i)yam (the Kawaiisu; Span. "Serrano"); K: agutushyam, agudutsyam, akutusyam (name used by the Kitanemuk and Vanyume Serrano for the Kawaiisu (that is, Tehachapi or Caliente) Indians)
- ?alfalfa? alfalfa, N. H: ?alfalfa? [< Span. "alfalfa"].
- ? almendra almond, N. H: ? almendra [ligature under dr] [< Span. "almendra"].
- ?alčunukš app. = Europeans, including Sonoreños [Mexicans from Sonora] and Americanos. H: ?a/t unuk [VCh?]
- ?alvertigo apricot, N. H: ?alvertigo [< Span. "alberchigo"].
- ?alwodon cotton, N. H: ?alwoðon [< Span. "algodón"].
- ?am they, those. [cf. ?ama-c 'that one']
- ?ama?, ?ama-c that (distal), demonstrative pronoun. H:
 ?ama?(a), ?amats, ?amac; R: ?amats, ?amats ([it]), ?amats aki
 (his house); áma? (he, that one); amats; amats pəjək, pəjək
 amats (con aquél [with that one]); amatsəvən amək (that one hit
 me); ama? təmət (that stone); ama? tələmət (those stones);
 amats ahihjuvən nehe (that man sees me); ama? ŋatə? (that
 cat); amats aki (his house, that one's house); ama? aki (that is
 a house); ZS: ?am(·)a?, ?am·ac (he, she); M: ah-mah, ah-mah'
 (that); ah'-mah' (he (him, she, or her)); K: ama-ts

- ?ama-y (obj.). H: ?amaj; R: ?amaj; amaj, amaj; amajət [with question clitic]; nə? nihjuh amaj ŋatə?taj (I looked at that cat)
- ?ama?i (That's it). H: ?ama?a
- ?am (plu.). H: ?am (they); R: am; ama? pahihjuvan nehe
 (those see me); am papāt frukam (those men); am
 nata?jam (those cats); am nikiki, am nikiki (those houses
 of mine [literally, 'those my houses']); amavan pamak
 (those hit me); paki am = am paki (house of those); M: ah mu-mah'p (the same [those same?])
- ?ami? (plu. obj.). H: ?amea?; R: ?ama; nihihjuva ama (I saw them); ahjtwa ama (he saw them); na? nihju amaj nata?jama (I looked at those cats)
- ?amahava? Mojave, N. H,R: ?amaqava?

 ?amahava?-yam (plu.). H,R: ?amaqava?jam; ZN: ?amaxa·va

 (Colo. R. Indians, maybe Mojaves); K: amahaba tribename:
 the Mojave of the Colorado River, welcome guests among
 the Kitanemuk, and frequent trading partners
 [< Mojave hamakhaav(a) (P. Munro, p.c.)]
- ?ama?(-)pea same? H: ?amā?pea (el mismo hombre [the same man]); R: amāpea (el mismo (hombre) [the same (man)])
- Pamariyo? yellow, Adj. H: Pamarijo?o, Pamarijo?; R: amarijo?, amarijo?, amarijo? (< Span. "amarillo").
- ?amatan therefore, Conj.. H: ?amatan; R: amatan
- ?amawiš plant sp.: <u>Berula erecta</u> (Huds.). ZN: ?amá·wiš [= mawiš?]
- ?ama?y now, Adv. H: ?ama?j, ní-mūkutkama?jtkaj ("said when no sabes si vas a sanar o morir..." [said when you don't know

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whether you'll get well or die; perh. = 'Am I going to die now?']);
    R: ?ama?i, ama?i
       ?ama?y-ik (just recently). R: amaj?ik nikim (ahora no mas
         vini [l just came])
       Pama?y waca (today). H: Pama?i watsa
      [related to ma?v 'finish'?]
 ?amay(-)t — new. H: ?amajt; R: amajt; M: ah-mīt, ah-mī't
 Pamcita — nephew, niece, N(A).
      ?amcit — nephew, niece (of man or woman)(poss.). H:
         -amtsit; ZN: -?amcit (niece) [through sister?]
      -Pamcita-m (plu.). H: -amtsilam
      -?amcita-y (obj.). H: -amtsita i
Pamihik — forget, VT. H: Pamihak; R: PamiPhak
?amipikita(-)ve — plcnm.: Tejon Creek (means it goes widening and
   narrowing). H: ?amipikitave; R: ?amipiki?tavea (all the arroyo
   below El Monte)
?amihkini(-)yik — plcnm.: mountain in Tehachapi region. H:
   ?aməqkini jə k
     [perh. < m + k 'kill']
Pamu-c — rib, N. H: Pamuts
     ?amu-m (plu.). H: ?amum
     -?amu?a? (poss. [irreg.]). H: -?amu?a?
     -?amu?a? (poss.obj. [irreg.]). H: -?amu?a?
     ?amu-c-ay (obj.). H: -?amu?a?, ?amutsaj
Pamuci — coarse (of meal). H: Parnutsi
?amuk — over there, Adv. H: ?amuk, ?amuk, ?amu; R: ámuk; amuk
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nikat fr (i live there); amuk akat fr (there s/he is; "cannot say

- ap here, for it means something like 'here'"); ZS: ?a·muk (over there); M: ah'-mook, ah-mök; me-ah-ah'-muk (go away); K: amuk
- ?amunakinivi plcnm.: sierra where the bird lived that boiled people. H: ?amunakiniva, ?amunaqkinipa. R: amunaqkinijak (sierra due east of pāt/r awvapea [Castaic Lake])
- ?amuvayu?— to or on the other side. H: ?amuvajo?o, ?amuvaju? ipey amuvayu?-nu? (from this side). H: ipej amuvaju?nu?
- -?ana brother-in-law, poss. H: -?ara; ZN: -?ana -?ana-m (poss. plu.). H: ?aram -?ana-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: -?aratsaj
- ?anih-t ant sp.: big, red, applied to body for pain, N. H: ?anaht',
 ?anaqt, ?araht. ZN: ?anat' (big red ant—eat for pain)
 ?anih-m (plu.). H: ?aram
- ?antap ritual leader in a ceremony, N. H: ?antap [< Chumash <u>?antap</u> 'initiated members of a ritual cult which served the <u>siliyik</u> [council of ritual officials]' (Hudson et al 1977: 110)].
- ?antipsneke?y [mng. not clear] H: ?antipsneke?j (cachora [=
 Span. cachorra 'cub'?]; "nesc. V. ?orihokok")
 [< Chumash?]</pre>
- ?anuci? baby, small, little finger, N. H: ?anttsi?, ?afutsi (baby); ?ano?si [Harrington comment: "have difficulty telling whether it is <u>u</u> or <u>o</u>; but it is <u>o</u>"], no ?ano?si? (I am small); R:

?ano?si? (small), ni?anu?si (my little finger), antsi? (baby) [All three of these forms were provided by Eug., which suggests c ~ ?s and u ~ o alternations are not dialectal]; ZS: ?anu·si (small); ZN: ?anu·si (small); M: ah-no-se-keets (sweat house [app., little house]), an-no'-se ho'-ko-pe-tat (small mush or soup bowl (coiled)), an-no'-tse (baby), an-no'-se, ah-noo'-se (small); too-mut an'-noo-wus-se, ah-noo'-se-tu-mut (small rock (stone)); K: antsi (small)

?anuci?-yam (plu.). H: ?anutsi?jam (babies); R: ?anohno?si
 (they're small)
?a-nosi-c (little finger). H: ?anosits
-?anu?si? (poss.). H: ni?anu?si? (my finger)
-?anosi? (poss. obj. [irreg.]). H: ma?anosi? (your finger, obj.)
?anoci-t-ay (obj.). H: ?anotsitaj (little boy, obj.)

?a-noh-no?si (small, they're small). H: anunusi takatam (dwarves of myth); ?anohno?si; R: ?anohno?si (small, small ones])

?a-noh-no?si-t-ay (obj., plu.). H: ?anohno?sitaj

- Panaya all right, o.k. (agreement token). H: Panaja (all right, o.k. [agreement token; note: Harrington heads slip "n ti a"])
- Paŋk meet someone or something, V. H, R: ʔaʔŋk, ʔaŋk
- ?a(-)ŋorki? tumpline, N. H: ?aŋorki? (forehead strap [app. =
 tumpline])
 [cf. -ŋoho 'neck']
- ?a?opawe?— [mng. unclear] H: ?a?opawe? (mng. unclear—has to do with pitch), a(-)opawe? (its [deer's] marrow? [mixed with piñon pitch to make ink])
- ?ap and, same?, but; possibly a relative clause marker. H: ?ap; R: mohmoho?k ap aki[m] (He comes to intrude on us); nittn nehe ware? ap atsurupak (I chased him out, but he came in again);

- nə? nihju ŋatə?taj ap nawvən ahju (I saw the cat but it did not see me); əmə? ap nə? (you and I); M: ah-mu-mah'p (the same)
- ?ap there, Adv. H: ?ap; R: ?ap; nuk nikat fr ap (I was left [there]
 alone)
 ap an (right there). H,R: ap an
 apeay (from there). H: apeaj
- Papacicin plcnm.: boggy aguaje at or on same arroyo as tikacin.

 H: Papafsifsin; R: Papatsitsin (aguaje near asakajak, La Paleta.)
- ?apaŋayu?nɨ day after tomorrow. R: apaŋaju?nə
- Papaša? dewy. H: Papa∫ra?
- ?apihi string of beads wrapped around head to hold hair. H:?ápáhi
- ?apop, ?apopi? soon, Adv. R: apopi? (ahorita [right now; very soon]); apop nimi (ahorita voy ir [I'm going soon])
- ?apyo? celery, N. H: ?apjo? [< Span. "apio"].
- ?ar [cf. 2ah 'bathe']
- ?arara name applied to Kawaiisu, N. R: ?arara (name applied to Serranos [Kawaiisu])
- ?araro? plow, N. H: ?arāro? (plow; = jōrinihwa?t) [< Span. "arado"].
- ?arawku-č crane, N. H: ?arawkut∫ç ?arawku-m (plu.). H: ?arawkum

?aro?mik — flame up, VI. H: ?aro?mak, ?aro?mak; R: ?aro?mak, ?aro?muk; M: ah-ar'-ro-muk, ah'-ro-ah-ro'-e, ah-ah-rum-ko (flame or blaze)

?aros-t-ay — rice, N, obj.. H: ?arostaj [< Span. "arroz"].

?aru?k — upstream, Adv. H: ?aru?k; R: aru?k; M: ar-ro'k'

?ašaykuya — nit, nits, N. H: ?aʃrajkuja, ?aʃrajkuja

?ašarin-ni — hoe, inst. H: ?a∫rarənnə [< Span. "azadón"].

?a(-)š+kwiri — fledgeling, N. H: ?aʃrəkwiri ?aš+kwiri-m (plu.). H: ?aʃəkwirim

?ašinina? — rainbow, N. H: ?a∫əniħa?

?ašova — be rotten, V. H: ?aʃrova, ʔāʃrova; R: āʃriva (be rotten, of wood [= head of page with aʔāʃrova, the log is rotten; the heading is handwritten; perh. second vowel is an error?]

Patakuciva — whirlwind, N. H: Páłakutsiva

?atavatava — butterfly, moth, N. H: ?ātavatava, ?āfavatava (butterfly), ?atavatava (moth)

Patavatava?-yam (plu.). H: Pātavatava?jam Patavatava?-t-ay (obj.). H: Pātavatava?taj Patavatava-kim-an-i-c (butterfly figure). H: ātavatavakəmanits

?at+?(-)a — big. H: ?at+?a, ?at+?; R: ?at+?a (big, be big), ?at+?a t+m+t (big stone, obj. [sic]), at+?a kits (a big house); ZS, ZN:

?atə?a (big); M: at-too'-ah, ah-tŭ-ah (large); at-too'-ah (thick [by measure]); too'-mut at'-too-mah, tŭ-mut-ah-tŭ-ah (big rock); K: atū a (large)

?atɨh-tɨ?a (plu.). R: atəhtə?a tətəmət (plu. obj.)

?atɨ?a-vea (loc.). H: ?atə?āvea

?atɨ?a-c (thumb). H: ?atə?ats

-?atɨ?a (thumb, poss.). H: -?atə?a

-?atɨ?a-y (thumb, obj.). H: -?atə?aj

?at?iswinis — man with three or four guardian spirits (attained through fast), N. H: ?at?ə[wənə].

?atiwane — one "real" [one measuring around hand of bead money].
H: ?atawane

?atoli? — mush, N. H: ?atoli?i [< Span. "atole"].

?a(-)tu?ci? — purgative. H: ?atu?tsi? (una purga [purgative]) ?atu?ci-m (plu.). H: atu?tsim

Patucit — flea, N(A). H: Patutsit; R: atutsit (pulgas [fleas]); K: adutsit

Patucit-am (plu.). H: atūtsitam

?a?uy kisa(-)yik — south. ZS,ZN: ?a?úy-kisayuk

?avana(-)č — reed sp.: Rumex crispus L.; edible seeds. H: ?avanat [r (reed sp.; made raw bread from seeds); ZN: ?avá·nac (Rumex crispus L. ... seeds eaten).

?aveha?-yam — bees, N. H: ?aveqa?jam [< Span. "abeja"].

?a?viki — here comes (presentational word). H: ?a?viki

- ?a?vimiyki (plu.: here come ...). H: ?a?vimajki
- ?avuha needle, N. H: ?ávúqa [< Span. "aguja"]
- ?awčivina(-)č plant sp.: <u>Mirabilis froevellii</u> (Behr) Greene; ground root used for swellings, sores blisters. ZN: ?awčiva·náč
- ?awkik be covered (with a blanket), V. H: ʔāwκəκ -ʔawkik-mat (fut.). H: ʔāwkəkmat
- ?awohwora?-pea plcnm.: a cove between two points. H: ?awohwora?pe [perh. < woh 'two']
- ?ay interjection. H: ?aj, ?āj (interjection: vaya, oh woe) [< Span. "ay"].
- ?ayain pray. (that prayed to is in obj. case.). H: ?ajaən, ?ajāən
- ?a(-)yak white. H: ?āja?k; R: ?āja?k, ájak (it is white), āja?kəwat (será blanco ['it's probably white', or 'it will be white']); ja?kət (is it white?); ZN,ZS: ?a·yak; M: i-yah-kik, i'yok, i-yah-kik (white); ah'-yah-kik, toh'-weets (white paint); K: āya-k; aiaikik-am (white man)
- Payakha ? [mng. unclear]. H: Pajak'a (<u>ubari</u> prieto [dark] or any kind)
- Payanik enramada. H: Pajanik'

- ?ayap soil sp.: fine, black and white, N. H: ?ajap'
 [< Chumash ?ayip, perh. meaning 'alum' (suggested by J. Johnson, p.c.)]
- ?ayawitu?(i?) accustomed (?). H: ?ajawatu?(i?) (impuesto)
 [idiom < yaw 'grasp'?]</pre>
- ?ayawcik? wet. M: i-yaw'-suk
- ?ayayakahe(-)ve plcnm.: a hill by El Comanche. H: ?ajajakaheve [perh. = 'spotted with white'? cf. <u>?ayak</u> 'white']
- ?a?y-c? a type of soft, white rock, N. R: ?ajts ?a?y-vea (loc.: sierra east of Tejon ranchería). R: ?a?jvea
- ?a(-)y+wha(-)t a type of basket (?), carrying net (?). H: ?aj>what [inst. nom. < <u>yaw</u> 'carry'?]
- Payk lap or lick, V. H: Pajk, Pājk [versus <u>Pay-ik</u> 'harvest, inf.']
 Payk (imp.). H: Pajk
 Payk-mat (fut.). H: Pajkmat
- ?aykikah(-)yik plcnm: sierra in front of Eugenia's house. R:
 ?ajkikahjak
 [< ?ajak 'white'; = 'white mountain'?]</pre>
- ?ayn show someone something, VT. H: ?ajn
 ?ayn(-)aci? (imp.: show me). H: ?ajnatsi?
 [cf. ti?ayn 'give an omen'].

- C -

ca ... †č — hortatory verb affix combination: 'let's ____'. H: tsa ...
tfr [many examples throughout; but one is odd in that it contains

future: tsamimatut[r]; R: -ca (hortatory), ca- (indicative) ("2 entirely different prefixes; this has never been clearer to me than from words which Magd. [Magdalena Olivas] said today"); R: hitajt ama'j tsakwa? (qué vamos a comer [NB: tsa, not tsa], aninhiw tsakwa? (vamos á comer), tsakwa?mat (vamos á comer); M: san-neu poo-yu, tsoo'-neu (ours (plural)), tsah'-ahtsit ko-tse, tsoo-neŭ ko-che (our (dual) dog)

ca? — tea, N. H: tsa?

- [< Span.? ultimately from Chinese, perh. via Spanish of the Philippines (suggestion of W. Bright, p.c.)]
- ca?a-č a type of basket: small openwork basket for collecting acorns, N. H: tsá?atr, tʃá?atr (small openwork basket for collecting acorns (= V. tsája)); ZS: cá?a·č (basket permitting water to pass through); ZN: cá?a·č (basket allowing water to pass through), ca?ač (not a winnower; to bring water in, if lined with mud as in story)

cacakin-ihwa?-t — winnower. ZN: cácakiniwàt [cf. <u>cacakin</u> 'winnow']

winnowing basket, V. H: tsatsakin, tsa?tsakin, tsatsakin ca(?)cakin-ihwa?-t (inst.: winnowing basket for this purpose; also = something put over baby lying in cradle-basket, to shade it [this suggests a gloss of "filter/filter winnow" might be appropriate]). H: tsatsakinihwat [1st a stressed or not & followed by glottal or not, second t and n long or not, glottal before t or not—check combo's], tsatsakiniwhat; ZS: các akinihwát (winnower [NB stress]) ca(?)cakin-i-c (part.: winnowed). H: ?uvea tsa?tsakinits (it's [winnowing's] finished now) [perh. related to cakahik 'shift to one side']

cacaw(-)pi? — kill from afar, V. (answer to how they say a medicine man becomes invisible). H: tsatsawapi? [perh. < redup. form of cač + pi? 'throw, hit']

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ca-\check{c} — shaman, N. H: tsat_{\Gamma}, t_{\Gamma}at_{\Gamma}, t_{\Gamma}at_{\Gamma}, t_{\Gamma}at_{\Gamma}, t_{\Gamma}at_{\Gamma}, t_{\Gamma}at_{\Gamma}
    tfrātfr (witch-doctor, brujo [witch]); ZS: ca·č, ca·č (doctor); ZN:
    ca'č, cá'č (shaman—good or bad; doctor); JW: tsatc (charman or
    medicine man)
       ca-m, cah-ca-m (plu.). H: tsáhtsam; ZN: ca·m
       ca-č-ay (obj.). H: tsāt [raj
       ca-ču (VI: sing). H: tsatfru? (sing, said of person
          or chicharra [cicada]); R: tsat [ru? (sing); ; ZS: ca-ču?
          (sing); ZN: ca·ču? (sing)
       caču?-mat (fut.). R:-tsatfru?mat
       caču?-vu? (past). R: -tsat [ru?vu?
       caču-hyi-t (shaman's assistant singer). R: tsatfru?hjat
          (singer); ZS: cá čuy-hut; ZN: sá čuyhyut (the singing
          assistant [to shaman]); M: tsah'-cho-hut (a singer)
       caču?-hy∔-m (plu.). R: tsat∫ru?hjəm
       [note hy in sg. and plu. inst.; perh. devoicing due to preceding
          2?]
       caču-i-č (pass. nom.: song). M: tsah'-choo-itch (a song); K:
         tsad-uits (sing [sic; app. 'song'])
      caču-hea-i-t )(nom.?: singer or song). M: saw'-tro-hea'-it (a
         singer); saw'-tro-hea'-it, (a song)
cahaka?-pea ni-kamik? — it seems that I'm drunk. H:
   tsahaka?pea nika?mək, tsahakaptəm (parece [it seems]); M:
   tsă'-hok (perhaps)
cahawik — be lean, V. H: tsahawak
      cahwk-i-t - lean (of person or cow). H: tsawkit
      caw-cawk-i-m (plu.). H: tsawtsawkim
cahivi -- the effigy or mono burned at the ceremony for the dead. H:
   tséhivə, tséhivə, tsehivə
      cahiva (obj. [irreg. or mistranscribed]). H: tsahīva
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cahiva-m (plu.). H: tsahīvam
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- cahu-c earring, N. H: tsahuts
 - cahu-m (plu.). H: tsahum pakih (earring's house [! mng.?])
 - -cahu (poss.). H: -tsahu, -tsahu, -tsaqu (harete [sic] ... earring)
 - -cah-cahu (poss. plu.). H: tsahtsahu
- caka-c foot, leg, N. H: tsākāts; M: ne-sah'-kah, ah-tsah'-kah (foot), ne-tsah'-kah (thigh); K: a-tsaka ([his/her] leg, foot) caka-m (plu.). H: "plu.-m"
 - -caka (poss.). H: tsaka, tsāka; R: aŋətʃrki? atsaka (his leg is cut off)
 - -cah-caka (plu. poss.). H: ?atahtsaka wər (lots of feet; centipede—not real name?)
 - -caka-y (poss. obj.). H: -tsākaj, nita pa?pi nitsakaj (I cross my legs), ?aqwanqwahnak hawkup atsakaj (he hops on one leg); R: ?amonikak atsāqaj, ?amonikak atsaqaj (he kicks up dust with toes as he runs [I don't understand app. obj. case here]); nita pa?pi nitsakaj (I cross my legs)
 - -cah-caka-y (plu. poss. obj.). H: -tsahtsakaj; R: nikwa?jk nitsahtsakaj (I spread my legs apart)
 - caka-c (obj.). H: tsākatsaj
 - -caka-ni (poss. inst.). H: nimimat nitsakana (I'm going on foot—not on horseback or in buggy); R: tsakana (on foot)
- cakacakat crow sp. (the kind that says ηqqqq κqqqqq). Η: tsaκatsaκat
- cakacaka-č yellow bird ("canario" [canary]). H: tsákatsakat∫r
- cakahik shift to one side, VI. H: tsakāhak (ladearse)

- caka?k shifted to one side (Adj.). H: ?auva? tsaka?k (his eye is ladeado [shifted to one side]); R: tsaka?k (estar ladeado [be shifted to one side]) caka?kikah-yik (plcnm.: a spring; means ladeado [shifted to one side]). R: tsaka?kikah-jak [perh. related to ca?cakin 'winnow']
- tsákaqkik small red beads sold by Americans. H: tsákaqkik,
 tsákaqkiks [sic] (a single red bead or pomegranate kernel)
 [sounds like a likely candidate for borrowing; small red beads
 with white inside were sold by Tejon soldiers to Indians
 (J. Johnson, p. c.)]
- cakanahist a game. H: tsakahanişt [this may be the walnut dice game; form from Angela Lozada]
 [Kit. or Yok. word?]
- cake?e plant sp., N. H: tsáke?e tsáκé?è ("3 syllables—last e is not e"; romerillo [Artemisia californica, an aromatic shrub (Librado 1977: 118); [tie flowers to head for a headache; also, smoke of this and wikwat together is a cure for dreaming of dead people]; green romero, or romerillo) cah-cake?e (plu.). H: tsahtsake?e
- caktacin-ihwa?-t? [mng. unclear]. H: tsaktatsiniwhat ("= V. tsaja")

 [something to do with <u>cacakinihwat</u> 'winnowing basket'?]
- cakwina-č, cakwina-t bird sp.: madrugador [early riser] or correcuervo ([kingbird?] "inf. has seen them chase a hawk away"). H: tsakwinatfr, tsakwinatfr, tsakwinat cakwina-m (plu.). H: tsakwinām, tsakwinām, tsakwinam
- cana?nk, canaha?nik, ca?nik?— open one's eyes, V. H: tsanank, tsanaha?nak; R: nitsanaha?nak = nitsa?nak = nia?nk (i open my eyes), na? nehe nitsanank (i opened my eyes)

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cana?nk (imp.?). H: tsana?nk (imp.—?—=?a?nki!), R: tsana?nk ([unglossed; app. open, of eyes])
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- caniman Chinese person, N. H: tsāniman (Chino); R: tsāniman (Chinaman) [< Eng. "Chinaman", perh. adapted to <u>ca?</u> 'tea']
- cana-č iguana, N. H: tsanat fr (cachora with blue belly and black back)

 cana-m (plu.). H: tsana-m
- cawayun plcnm.: San Francisquito? a cowboy or hunting camp at a spring below Newhall? H: tsawajun ((no breaking [Harrington reference to glottal stop]) a vaquero camp), tsawaju?un, tsawaju?un (a spring below Newhall—used to be hunters there; San Francisquito); R: tsawajun (San Francisquito; another time Eug. said it is a spring below Newhall (toward Ventura from N.)
- ca?yk select or choose something; pick out, V. H: tsa?jk
- cayca?y bird sp.: bluish, no crest, harsh scream, seen in oak
 trees. H: tsajtsa?j
 cayca?y-am (plu.). H: tsajtsa?jam
 ?a-caycay(-)k(-)ivi plcnm.: where the [bird sp.] sang. H:
 ?atsajtsajkiva, ono [?] t∫ajt∫ajkivu [with hook under j]
- ceakik look back over one's shoulder, VI. H,R: tseakak
 ceah-ceakik (stem redup.). H,R: tseahtseakak
 [perh. contains the stem of (reduplicated) ciciakin 'tell a
 myth']
- ci? pick up something, V. H,R: tsi?, tsi? [R also defines as "juntar" [collect, harvest]]
 ci? (imp.). H,R: tsi?
 ci?-č (imp. plu.). H,R: tsi?tſr
 ca-ci?-ič (hort.: let's pick it up). H,R: tsatsi?tſr

- cici?akin tell a myth or story, V. R: tsitsi?ākin (tell a story) cici?akin (imp.). R: tsitsi?ākin
 - cici?akin-mat (fut.). H: tsitsi?ākinmat
 - cici?akin-i-c (pass. nom.: a story or myth). H: tsitsi?ākinits (a story); R: tsitsi?ākinits, tsitsi?ākinits (a story), naw ni?ən tsitsi?ākinits (yo no se cuento)
 - cici?akin-i-c-ay uviha-tay (obj.). H: tsitsi?ākinītsaj uvihataj (an old story, obj.)
 - ciciakin-i-m (plu.). H: tsitsiakinim (stories of first people before flood)
 - [perh. a reduplicated form based on the same stem as ceakik
 'look back over one's shoulder']
- cicikwin copy, mimic, VT. H: tsitsiκwin; R: tsitsikwin, tsitsiκwin (immitate)
- cicinavri tribename: Californios; "gente de razón". H: tsítsinavra (Californios "del pais"; excludes Americans); R: tsítsinavra?, tsítsinavra?jam (persona del pais, Californio)
 - cicinavrə?-yam (plu.). H: tsítsínavrəjam, tsitsinavrə?jam (plu.: gente de razon; = V. ?a+tʃunuκʃ, = S. ?ə́kəqam (wear hats)); R: tsitsinavrə?, tsítsinavrə?jam (person del pais, Californio)
 - [< Gab. <u>čečiinavro?</u>, <u>čiinavro?</u> 'white man', 'Spaniard', 'persona de razón' (forms provided by P. Munro (p.c.)); cf. <u>činamri?</u> 'Mexican'?]
- -cicka, -čička featherskirt, feather apron, poss. H: -tsitska, -tsitska, -tsitska
- cikara-t shell sp.; the beads made from them [Harrington gives a drawing—long and conical]. H: tsikarat, tsikarat, tsikarat,

tsikarāt, tsiķerat, tsikarat (abalone, conch [can these be the same?] (big red ones or small blue ones, this also names the beads made from it); ZS: ci-karat', či-karat' (shell; MR gives with c, IG gives with č); ZN: či-(?)karat(') (shell; when lime not available, used shell; mixed with tobacco cake; shaman would have some kind of shell in his mouth before sucking); JW: tsikarat (abalone gorget)

cikara-m (plu.). H: tsikeram [probably 'abalone' (Tom Blackburn, p. c.)]

- cika(-)t mussel, shellfish, clam (almeja). H: tsikat, tsikat cika(-)t-ay (obj.). H: tsikata j
- cikuru tickle, VT. cikuru?-mat-um (tickle you, fut.) [< Eng.? suggests Eng. 17 heard as c/č]
- cim hatch out (of chicks), or branch out, V. H: tsim (hatch out)

 cima (nom.: a branch or bough). H: -tsima (branch or bough of
 a tree)

 -cih-cima, cima-m (plu. nom.). H: tsihtsima, tsimam
- cinakik stand on one's head, VI. H,R: tsimakak
 cinakik-mat (fut.). H,R: tsimakakmat
 ca-cinakak-ič (hort.). H: tsatsimakakatſr (they are standing
 on their heads); R: tsatsimakakatſr (Harrington gives "they
 are ___", but then "mistake for let us __?")

- cinonokt plant sp.: "petota" [mng.?]; grows under trees in the shade; seed small and black, used for peppery atole; greens used also; flower white. H: tsironokt, tsironokt cinonokt (plu.). H: "plu. same"
- cinea? pound meat, V. H: tsinea?
 -cinea?(-)n(-)a? (nom.: comb of a rooster). H: -tsinea?na?
- ciŋk kick, VI?. H: tsiŋk; R: tsiŋk
 ciŋim (VT: kick someone). H: tsiŋim
 ciŋim (imp.). H: tsiŋim
 ciŋim-ɨč (imp. plu.). H: tsiŋimət[r
- cipk a little, Adv. H,R: tsipk (a little), tsipk amarijo? (it is yellowish), tsipk al-fivak (poco hace viento [there's a little breeze], = a breeze [meaning of the small raised I not known]), tsipk a hat i akwahi (the soup is nearly done—falta poco [almost]), tsipk putu? (a little hard); M: tseep'k, che"pk (few, or not much), che'-ipk (not enough)
- ciram, cilam-pea plcnm.: a spring of, or ridge above, Brite's Valley. H: tsilampe [this one transl. as the ridge]; R: tsilampea (a ridge that runs between where the 2 Brites live, below twipea)
 - [r ~ I makes this look borrowed]
- cirea chile, N. H: nitsīra?mūk (made it hot [apparently really = 'I got sick from the chile?']); tsirea [< Span. "chile"; NB Span e# --> Kit. ea#]
- ciripik have something in eye, V. H: tsirapak
 [< Span. "chiribita" 'mote in eye'; this may be related to ciripin 'buck']

- ciripu ant lion, N. H: tsíripu, tsíripu (ant lion—an insect whose bite causes itching; the cure is to put on your sister's dress and walk around the house 3 times; this shames him)

 ciripu-m (plu.). H: tsírtpu'm [± aspiration mark, and ± length mark; Harrington does not specify combinations]
- cir+pin buck, V., of a horse. H: tsir*pin

 [cf. cirip+k 'have something in eye'; < Span. "chiribita"

 'furious', or 'mote in eye'? < Eng. "jalopy"? [which is perh. < Span. "chulapear"] < Span. "chulapear" [verb < "chulo"

 'daring, fine')?]
- cirk trap in a fall-trap, N. H: -{sirhk (fall-trap (a stone that falls on rat, etc.))
- ciruku? lizard; cachora (iguana), N. H: tsiruku?, tsiruku ciruku?-m (plu.). H: tsiruku?m
- ciscik like something, VT. R: tsistsik
 ciscik-it (quest.). R: mətsistsikət (do you like it?)
 ciscik-mat (fut.). R: tsistsikmat
 ciscik-uvu? (past). R: tsistsikuvu?
 [cf. ciscikwin 'imitate'?]
- ciu?- be ashamed, V; be ashamed of, VT. H: tsiu?, tsiu?

 ciu?-n-i?a-č (agt.: ashamed or bashful). H: tsiu?ni?āt fr

 [interesting that usually "agentive" nominalizing derivation

 applies to this semantically experiential verb—perh.

 related to the fact that it can take obj.?]
- civato? goat (male or female), N. H: tsivato? [< Span. "chivato"]
- civu? bitter, N; wild tobacco, N. H: tsivu?, tsivu? (pespibata [wild tobacco]); R: tsivu? (it's bitter) civu?-civu? (redup.). H: tsivu?tsivu?

civu-pa-č (plcnm.: at a fork in a river; bitter water there useful as a medicinal purge). H: tsivu?pāt(r; R: tsivu?pāt fr (the bitter-water place beyond Tacuya; drank the water as a purgative) civu-t (wild tobacco). H: tsivut, tsivut; ZS: civut' (tobacco); ZN: cf vut (Nicotiana Bigelosii Wats. [preparation and many uses described; the plant was cultivated]), čivut' (tobacco sp.; made into cakes with pine nuts); M: tse'-woot, chewoot (tobacco), tse'-woot, che-woot (Indian tobacco (Nicotiana attenuata and other species)); K: tsiwut (tobacco); JW: tsiut (lime for snuff mixing and medication); tsiwut (snuff); atciwu (seed food, abundant and popular, 2 1/2' tall, has a small yellowish flower, grows on sandy plains, gathered in fall when fully ripe, ground up with stone pestle, slightly cooked in a pot, eaten as a thin mush) civu-t-ay (obj.). H: tsivutaj civu-t pa-vea (plcnm.: spring at El Comanche). H: tsivutpave, tsívutpáve, tsivutpāvea, tsivutpāvea (plcnm.: a spring; means bifter water; = Comanche Spring or El Comanche); R: tsivut pāvea (El Comanche); ZS: cìvu-pa-ve (Comanche point, a spring; where the "Comanches" lived; = bitter water); ZN: čívutpá ve (Comanche Point; where the "Comanches" lived); K: chivutpa-ve (placename: on Comanche Creek, called by the Yokuts "Sanchiu"); chivutpave (Comanche Creek) civu-y+k (plcnm.: pespibata). H: tsivujak; R: tsivujak (place above where J. J. Fustero lives) civu-mu-ihwa-t (small pespibata mortar, a type of tákwij). H: tsívumüjhwat civu-t ?a-šahi, ?a-šahi civu-t (wild tobacco soup). H: tsivut

a)rāhi, ?á)rahi tsivut (caldo de pespibata)
[NB: Adj. forms have 2; N forms -t and no 2]

civun — plcnm. H: tsivun (spring site where the now extinct people spoke Kitanemuk, at or near Willow Springs)

[same root as civu? 'bitter'?]

- ci?w, či?w lime used in preparing pespibata (fossil shell, clam shell, etc.), N. H: tsi?w, tʃiw?
 ci?w-t-ay (obj.). H: tsi?wtaj
- ciway hanging? R: tsiwaj

 [Kit. loan form of VCh tsiwaja; cf. tukuvič 'sea otter']
- ciwiciwi-č rattle made from deer hooves, N. H: tsiwitsiwitſr ciwiciwi-m (plu.). H: "plu -m" -ciwiciwi (poss.). H: atsiwitsiwi, átsíwitsiwi
- ci we, our (personal prefix). M: tsi-yuk, tsoo-yu (our (dual) mother)
- cia-c elbow, corner, N. H: tsaats cia-m (plu.). H: tsaam
 - -cia (poss.). H: -tsaa (poss.: elbow), ?átsaa, ?atsavea (corner, of room, etc.)
 - -cia-y (poss. obj.). H: -tsaaj
 - -cia-vea (poss. loc.). M: at-soo'-av-ve (end)
 - -cih-cia (poss. plu.). H: -tsətsəa
 - -cih-cia-y (poss. plu. obj.). H: -tsəhtsəai
 - ?a-cia-vea (loc. poss.: (in) the corner). H: ?átsəa, ?atsəvea
 (corner, of room, etc.), ?atəavea [sic] (loc. poss.)
 [cf. cihcik 'spur a horse'?]
- cicamur plant sp.: "aifilarillo (not food—only horse feed)". H: tsətsamur, tsətsamur ("no plu.")
- cihirik choke or sneeze, VI. H,R: tsəhərək (choke, get food or drink stuck in throat); ZS,ZN: cəhərək (sneeze)

- c+k stick or stab, VT. R: ts+k (stick someone with scissors), ts+k (stab with knife)
 - c+h-c+k (spur a horse). H: tsahtsak; R: uvea nitsaqtsak (ya lo puñaleé ['I already stabbed him'; is reduplication here to indicate multiple stabs? NB: reduplication co-occurs with past adverb])
 - c+k-mat (fut.). H: nitsatmakun (I am going to prick, pierce,
 or stab you [app. = ni-c+k-mat-+m; typo or speech error?]);
 R: -tsakmat
 - cikin, ci-cikin (imp. ± redup.). R: tsakan, tsaqtsakan (imp. [no meaning difference indicated])
 - ci-cikin-ič (plu. imp.). R: tsatsakanatjr
 - cikin-ik (inf.). R: tsakanik
 - cik-uvu? (past). R: -tsakuvu?
 - cikin-ihwa?-t (inst.: spur). H: tsəkənihwa?t
- cɨnɨn bird sp.: dark, sings little. H: tsənən (bird sp.: dark, sings little; like the tukuahpač. tɨnɨ-m (plu.). H: tənəm [sic]
- cɨpɨʔkɨ? beaver, N. H: tsə́pəʔkə [no 2 on abs. sg.; Harrington: "could hear no breaking"]
 cɨpɨkɨ?-yam (plu.). H: tsə́pəkəʔjam
- ciri? shell kernels on a metate, V. H: tsərə? (shell islay kernels on a metate)
 ciri? (imp.). H: tsərə?
 ciri?-ihwa?-t (inst.: metate). H: tsərə?jhwat
- -civa?, -civa with (accomp.)[apparently = the verb 'to accompany'; note third person personal prefixe of the verb subject type are used, unlike special prefix to which postpositions like -yik attach; note also obj. case in 'Isabel' sentence below.]. H: mətsəva? (with you), nitəva (with me [sic here, but in R, Harrington says "mistake for nitsəva??"; apparently it is], ?atsəva (with him), ?afni ?atsəva? manweltaj (Isabel went away with Manuel; R: tsəva? (go along with),

nimimat mətsəva? (I'm gonna go with you), nikim pətsəva? imə? = imə? pətsə?va? nikim (I came with these people), atsə?va? ne nikim = atsə?va? nikim (me vini con aquel [I came with that guy]), nimimat atsəva? amats (voy ir con aquel), nimimat pətsəva? am (__ con aquellos [with those guys]), amimat nitsəva? (he's going to go with me)

c+w+hu? - plant sp.: a hardwood chamiso. R: tsawahu?

- co? scratch or pinch, V. H: tso? (scratch, done by human or cat);
 R: atso?vən (it scratched me)
 co?-mat-um (fut., with 2nd obj.). R: tso?matum (pinch you, fut.)
- cohk choke, VT. H: tsoqk (choke someone by grabbing at throat) cch-mat-um (choke you, fut.). H: tsoqmatum [cf. cokihwa?t 'anvil'?]
- cohvik? melt, VI. H: tsoqvak, tsoqovak, tsoqovak
- cok-ihwa?-t anvil board or anvil stone, N. H: tsókihwat
- cok-t bird sp.: "vijita"; dark colored. H: tsókt (= Span. vijita; pardito color); ZS: cokt (bird, like robin but smaller) coko-m? (plu.). H; tsokm
- colo?-t pers. name: Cholo. H: tsolo?t [< Span. "Cholo"]

- comač yucca, sp.?; root used to dye baskets red. H: tsómatʃr [ligature under tʃr], tsómatʃr (the big palm of Antelope Valley; fruit app. not eaten; palmilla [small palm]); ZS: cɔ·mač, cɔ́·mač ("Joshua tree"; app. cactus in desert, called "cholla" in Spanish); JW: tsomat (yucca, a red root used for basket patterns)
- co?n-ik stop, be standing up, VI. H: tso?nak; R: tso?nak (stand up, be erect)

co?n-k (erect, VT). R: tso?nk

co?n-mat (erect, fut.). R: tso?nmat

co?n-ki (imp.). H: tso?nki (imp.: "step it!"); R: tso?nki (VT imp.)

co?n-ki-č (VT imp. plu.). R: tso?nkitfr

- cohono?k (stopped, standing up, Adj.). H: tsohono?k ... -katſr (be stopped, have stopped), niwən tsono?k (yo estoy parado [I am stopped]), tsono?k awən woŋat (the cloud está parado), tsono?k nimi (I ride in train or wagon standing up as I ride); R: akatſr tsonu?k (está parado [it's/he's stopped])
- co?niham plcnm.? "the large rocky hill Caliente-ward from manijak ..." [looks plu.]. H: tsó?niqam (the little hills just SW of where we live at the ra. [Tejón Canyon ranchería] here); R: tso?niqam
- conk wash clothes, V (no examples with overt obj.). H: tsonk; R: tsonk (wash); tsunk

conk-mat, con-mat (fut.)? H: tsonhkmat; R: tsonmat [Angela Montes; "Eug.: nitsonmat, voy a lavar [I'm going to wash]"—did Harrington revise form in R?] conk-in-ik (inf.). R: tsonkinik

copotat, cupotat — narrow-mouthed storage basket or container, N. H: tsópotat (= V. <u>q?i?m</u> ... stored chia, etc., in them; made some a foot or so high, some 5 ft. high; also called baskets <u>tsópotat</u>),

tsopotat (small-mouthed cora; = V. q?i?m, q?omho; used as work baskets, etc.), tsopotat (big storage basket of junco [rush], for storing kakaat and anything; has a lid like a basket tray), tsopotat (coiled basketry basket 4 ft. high; = q?i?m), tsupotat (narrow-mouthed baskets); M: tso'-po-taht (subglobular chokemouth bowl); JW: tsopotat (granery [sic] or meal jar)

corcor — cricket, N. H: tsórtsor corcor-yam (plu.). H: tsórtsorjam

- cotik sink, VI. R: tsotak (sink in sand—of water)

 ?a-cotki-pea (plcnm.: San Fernando). H: atsotkapea (San

 Fernando; = F. pá]akna; < atsotak, "the water sinks thus")
- coven plant sp.: yerba mansa. H: tsóven (yerba del manso [Santamaría (1974: 1233) identifies both "yerba mansa" and "yerba del manso" as <u>Anamopsis californica</u>, a native plant of Baja California, which grows in moist places and has medicinal properties]; medicinal tea; makes you feel like vomiting) ZN: cóven (yerba mansa; <u>Anemopsis californica</u> Hook.; medicine for cold, whooping cough)
- cuic-pea plcnm.: at López's house. H: tsúitspe(a) (hthajmatfr) (= V. ts(')ujts; casa de López; means middle of the mountain [second word]); R: tsujtspea (the mountain between the vaquero [cowboy] camp and Tejón Viejo); ZS,ZN: tsúitfpe (village, known to kapifakam [Yokuts] as tinliu) [NB no gliding of stressed u]
- cukit pers. name of a mythical character: legendary mother of the races, sister of hukaht, one of the legendary seven giants, sayo—opponent—of the sun in peon game. H: tsukit, tsukit
 - Pama? tsukit nawhinipamumuk, mat nawhinip muk tsukit, amatan nitahan pujuk mahat [ram awahwat [ram ("call them thus when don't want to call their names ... 'yo nunca oia decir que aquí estás enfermo, aquí estás tirado tsuKit.

Vds. son cinco viejos [tribal seers]" [app. this is how to address elders who are somehow representative of the myth figure: 'I never heard that you were sick here; here you are ... You are five old men.'])

cukui? — plant sp.: 'alfilarillo' [mng.?], 2' high; only good as food for animals. H: tsúku.i?'

[NB: failure of \underline{u} to glide to \underline{w} unexplained]

cukulate? — chocolate. H: tsukulate? [< Span. "chocolate"]

cukwa? — bitter, sour, salty, Adj. H: tsukwa?, tsukwa?, tsukwa?, tsukwa?; R: tsukwa? ([much] too salty); M: soo-kwah, tsoo-kwah' (sour)

cukwa? pa-č (plcnm.: salty water). H: tsukwa? pāt fr; R:
tsukwa? pāt fr = tsukwat apāōvea (name of the next
canyon beyond Tacuya; from tsukwat fr, a medium sized
hawk with a blackish tail; Manuela and others of Las Tunas
went over there to drink the bitter water as a purgative,
so tsukwa?pāt fr, 'salty water', might also be applied)

cukwa-t ?a -pao-vea (spring of a kind of gavilan blanco ['white sparrow-hawk'; is this same word as cukwa? 'bitter'?]). H: tsukwat apāovea

cukwik? (V: salt). R: nitsuk(u)wu?k mat hjaviha (I'm going to salt it)

cukwa-t - hawk, sp. R: tsukwat fr (a medium sized hawk with a blackish tail)

[cf. cukwa? 'bitter, sour, salty']

cukwavi-c — dirt, grime, N. H: tsūkwavit (mugre [dirt, grime])
-cukwavi (poss.). H: -tsūkwavi, -tsūkwavi, wir
nitsūkwavi (I am dirty)

- cumanat arrow straightener stone, N. JW: cumanat (arrow straightener stone, in another dialect here) [< Gab.?]
- cu?m-ək close one's eyes, VI. H,R: tsu?mək
 cu?m-k (VT: to close another person's eyes). H,R: tsu?mk
 cu?m-ki (imp. of VI). H,R: tsu?mki (shut your eyes!)
 [-ik/-k distinction neutralized in imperative forms?]
- cuŋ suck, V. H: tsuŋ(suck, as hummingbird does a flower),
 nitsuʔŋk (I suck lemonade through a straw [unclear if k form is
 VT, ŋ form VI])

cu?ŋki (imp.). H: tsu?ŋki

- ?a-cuŋ-uvu? (past). H: ?atstŋuvu? (he sucked it—lo chupaba antes [he sucked it before])
- ?a-cuŋ-i-vɨ (part. + dec.). H: ?atstŋivə [a reference to hummingbird sucking flowers; said when the flower is already dry]
- cuŋ itch, VI (also used transitively or impersonally with experiencer as object). H: ?atsūŋ (tiene comezón [he itches]; = joqk), ?atsūŋukwan (le da comezón a él ['it makes him itch'; NB odd suffix]), ?atsūŋuvə (les da comezón a ellos [it makes them itch]), ?atsūŋutam (te da comezón [apparently a question: 'does it make you itch?'], ?atsūŋəvən (= joqkəvən; me da comezón [it makes me itch), wara?vkavən atsuŋ (me dió comezón muncho [it made me itch a lot), ʃəmatsi? nitsūŋ (scratch my back). [cf. cuŋ 'suck'?]

cupotat [cf. copotat 'basket or container']

-curi? — grand-relative, poss. H: -tsu?ri?, -tstri? (grandmother, granddaughter, mother's mother, daughter's son or daughter, w.s.--rec. same); ZN: curi (grandmother); M: nit-soo'-de, tsoo-rets (grandmother)

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-cu?ri?-ivi (poss. + dec.). H: -tsu?ri?ivə
-curi?-t-ay (poss. obj.). H: -tstri?taj
-curi?-yam (plu.). H: -tstri?jam, -tstri?jam[sic]; ZN: -
curi?yam (grandchildren)
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cu?r-ik — get stuck or bogged down, VI. R: tsu?rak (atascarse [get stuck])

cuh-cu?r-k-ea-vea (loc.). R: tsuhtsu?rkeavea (bog—e.g. where we got the watercress) cur-cur-k (Adj.: boggy). H: tsurtsurk (atascoso [boggy])

curup-ik — enter, go or come in, VI. H: tʃrurupək, tsurupək; R: tsurupək, tsurupək (enter), trurupək (enter [but Harrington heading on slip says "tsurupək"—app. an alternation between c and c̃]); tsutsupək [error?]

curup-ək-mat (fut.). H: tsurupəkmat R: turupəkmat curup-ɨk-uvu? (past). R: turupəkuvu? [check sp.]

curup-k (VT: to put in). H,R: tsurupk

curup-k (imp., VI [-+k/-k neutralization in imp.?]. H: trurupk (come in!)

curup-k-i-m (part., VI). H: tsúrukinm jávarpe, tsúrupkim jávarpe (= V. ?antap; means those who enter the enclosure called javar; candidate had to pay money or basket or fast 5 yrs. to be admitted)

curup-k-in-i-m (part. of VT). H: tsúrukinim jávarpe, tsúrupkim jávarpe [cf. the preceding line]

cutata?i — peppery, strong (but not as much as micani?). H: tsutata?j

- čalamaš-pea plcnm.: willow grove above Brite's Valley; means estafiate sp. H: t slamašpe; R: t slamaspea (the willow grove below Brite's Valley; means estafiate sp. [mng.?])
 [cf. ciram 'placename'?]
- čičaro? peas, N. H: tʃftʃaro? [< Span. "chicharo"]
- -čička ceremonial eagle feather skirt, N. ZS,ZN: -číčka (ceremonial eagle feather skirt; Steward plate 7d)
- činamra? Mexican person, N. H: t finamra?

 [cf. cicinavri? 'Californios, gente de razón']
- čiyo lime, N. ZS,ZN: čiyo (lime; travertine [crystalline calcium carbonate]?)
 [cf. ci?w 'lime']
- či, či go away, go away! (said by <u>Pantap</u> in the <u>vivar</u> to someone who doesn't belong there). H: tʃə, tʃə
- čuču? plcnm.: Las Tunas. H: trútruw [< Yokuts (J. Johnson, p.c.)]
- čuma? tribename: Chumash. H: tʃuma? (one Chumash); R: tʃuma? (northern island Indian)
 - čuma?-yam (plu.). H: tsuma?jam, tsuma?jam (the Kit. called all the people of the islands thus)
 - [< Chumash cum aš, c?um aš 'Santa Cruz Island' (Blackburn 1975: 341)]

dulse — sweet. H: ðulse? (dulce) [< Span. "dulce"; cf. medulse? 'strawberry'].

dyos — God. H: djos [< Span. "dios"].

- e -

Peana?k — bent, Adj. H: Peana?k; "not yana?k"
Pea?nk (VT: bend something). H: Peana?k (bent), Pea?nk
(bend something).

?eleyewu — dancer at paying ceremony, N. H: ?elejewu [< Chumash <u>?eleye?wun</u> 'swordfish; undersea supernatural beings' (Blackburn 1975: 345)]

?erekina? — [mng. unclear: an arrangement of the hair?]. H: ni?erekina?a (mi tupe [mng. unclear; could be tupé 'forelock or toupée'])

?esetuna? — olive(s), N. H: ?esetuna? [< Span. "aceituna"].

- f -

fayro? — Fido [dog's name?]. H: fajro? [< Eng. "Fido"]

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ha?ci?hik — sneeze, VI. R: ha?tsi?hak
ha?ci?k-ihun (des.). R: ha?tsi?kihun
[NB morphophonemics: <u>?hk</u> --> <u>?k</u>]
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hača-č — saliva, N. H: hat frat fr (baba [saliva])
-hača (poss.). H: -hat fra
hača-m (plu.). H: hat fram
hača?-wi-t (person who slobbers a lot). H: hat fra?awət
hača?a-wi-m (plu.). H: hát fra?awəm
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hahak — scold, VT. H, R: hahak (scold), hahakəvən (scold me) [cf. <u>ha(h)k</u> 'annoy']

hahavik — fail, VI? H, R: nihahavak nijaj, nihahavak nijaj (no alcancé á agarrarlo [Eng. mng. given next:], I could not reach it to grasp it)

[cf. havkic 'widow']

hahk — annoy, V. H: hāq k
hakhkik (pest). H: hāκ'kik
hakhkik-am (plu.). H: hāκ'kikam (note: "or the κ is possibly
q")
[cf. hahak 'scold']

hahukup — one by one, Adv. H: hahukup [cf. hawkup 'one']

hahvik — widow, VT. H: ahayakavan (she made me a widower, by dying)
hahv-k-ea? (pass.: be widowed). H: ahaykea (he's already widowed)
hahvk-i-c (widow, widower). H: haykita, haykita
hahvk-i-m (plu.). H: havkim
[cf. havit 'blanket'?]

- hai yes; perhaps also emphatic marker. H: haa, háa (yes), haa nimirin majkw (yes, I can); R: haa, haa (yes), haa nipametu? (sí tengo [sed][yes, I am thirsty]), haa, nimirin majkw (yes, I can (Eug.)[note comma here not in H entry]); ZS: haw (yes); M: how'ŏ, hah"-o (yes); K: hāu (yes)
- hak say, tell, VT. H: hak, hak (say); nihak no momk (I'm telling the truth); R: hak (tell), nihakmatum (I'm going to tell you), no ne nihak nahwit pāt fr (I told him there was no water), haminat máhak (what do you want? [actually 'what did you say?']), omo?tsi mohak (you told me)
- haka-t willow, N. H: hakat (sauz); ZS: hakat' (willow sp.); ZN: hákat, hakat' (willow, used in coiled basketry), hákat

ha-haka-t (plu.). H: háhakat

haka-yik (loc.). H: hakajak, hakajak

haka-pea (picnm.: Cummings Valley), ha-haka-pea (picnm.).

H: haka pe a, hákape; R: hakapea

ha-haka-pe (picnm.). H: hahakape (picnm.; = V.

sisawqa?w—en los saucos [sic—in the elders; app. Kit. mentions <u>sauces</u> 'willows'], an aguage [spring] this way from Mojave town).

haka(-)koŋač — tree sp. (apparently willow sp.). H:
hákakoŋat∫r (tree sp.: sauz chino [small willow])
haka(-)koŋa-m (plu.). H: hákakoŋam

hakú hilpo?w — greeting. H: hakú hilpo?w (cómo estás hermano [how are you brother]) [may not be Kit.]

hākwakwa?y — yawn, V. H,R: hākwakwa?j

- hakwaču? be hungry, V. H,R: hakwatʃru?, hākwatʃru?,
 hakwatʃru?; ZS,ZN: hakwaču; M: ne-hah' kwah'-tsoo, ne-hah'kah-soo (I am hungry), hah-kwahts (hungry)
 hakwaču'-i?a-č (hungry person). H,R: hākwatʃru?i?atʃr
 hakwaču?-i?a-m (hungry person, plu.). H,R: hākwatʃru?i?am
- hakwaw stir, whip, V. H: hakwaw (batir [stir, beat] with spoon in water).

hakwaw (imp.). H: hakwawa hakwa-ič (imp. plu.). H: hakwaət∫r

hakwa-i-cay (chia batida [a drink from chia seeds mixed with water], obj.). H: hakwajtsaj

- hakwivah-ik get hurt, VI (the part hurt is in obj. case). H:
 hakwivahak, hakwivahak; R: hakwava?hak, hakwivahak,
 hakwivahak (meet with an accident, desgraciarse), ama?
 makamara?, ahakwivahak (he got hurt and it's your fault)
 hakwivah-k (VT: hurt). H: hakwivak; R: hakwivak (hurt
 someone)
- halpana pers. name: Indian name of Bill Skinner; means 'skinny'.
 H: qalpaña?
 [apparently a kind of calque or joke on English name]
- ham still, Adv. H: hām, qam; R: qam; ham akat fr (todavía hay [there's still some]); pāt fruit, qam aqopak (the handkerchief is wet, still dripping)
 - naw-ham (not yet?). H: nawhām (still); R: náwhām atut [r (s/he is still growing ['s/he's not yet grown'?]); naqwam akwat [rak (s/he still didn't stand up); nahwam hit (there still isn't any); nahwan hit nihiw (todavía no miro nada [l still don't see anything] [spelling errors for naw-ham, ni-hyu?])

hamak? — again, more, back, and, Adv. H: hamak, hamak, hamak, amana(-)hamak (it rolls); R: ama? hamak na? (you and I); ŋata? hamak kutsi? (the cat and the dog); ahihjuvan, na? hamak nihihju (he is looking at nd I am looking at him too); ZN: wé? mahač hámak háwkup (eleven ["2 5 and 1]); M: hah'-mūk, hah'-muk (more), hah'-māk-maht (next time); CK: wĕ' mā hāch' hā' mūk hau' kūp (eleven); we' mā hāch' hā' mūk wā(q)' (twelve); we' mā hāch' hā' mūk pā hē' ā (thirteen); we' mā hāch' hā' mūk wāt' sā (fourteen); we' mā hāch' hā' mūk mā hāch' (fifteen); we' mā hāch hā' mūk pā' vā hì' (sixteen); we' mā hāch' hā' mūk wāt sā (eighteen); we' mā hāch' hā' mūk mā' kā vī' kō (nineteen)

hama-t — grass, etc., N. H: hāmat (this refers to green grass, zacate [hay], dry grass, hay, alfalfa, barley, any rama [shoot, sprig, branch]); ZN: hámat (plant, spp. [describes tea for eyes from one sp., tea for laxative from another²]); M: kee-sah'-maht (brush wikiup ['house' + 'grass']); K: hamat (grass)

hama-m (plu.). H: hāmam
hama-t-ay (obj.). H: hamataj, hāmataj
hama?n (thatch, VT). H: hama?n, hāman
hama?n-ic (pass nom: thatched). H: hāma?nits (thatch

hama?n-ic (pass. nom.: thatched). H: hāma?nits (thatched), aqu? a?aro?mək áhāmañe (the roof is burning)

hami(?) — sometime? still?, Adv. H: hami?, hami (unclear, apparently Adv. for 'sometime'), hami? (later), hāmi (still); R: hāmi? nimuk (l'm still sick); M: now-hah'-me, nah-mi'k (soon) naw hami(?) — no longer? never? H: naqwami? (she isn't here), naw hami takat, wahi? pata? ("no es gente, es coyote" [he isn't people, he's coyote])

² Maurice Zigmond (p.c.): "probably the general name for 'wild plant'—cf. Kawaiisu mahavi."

hami(c) — who?; who/_ poss.-N. H: hamits, hamits, hami? (who is it?); R: hami? (who? who is it?); hamits (who?); hamit, hami?t (who is it?); hamitsək aki (whose house is it?); hami?t ivi? (who is this man?); new ni?en hami?t (I don't now who); new hemitsen etuqtutu? (I am playing alone, without playmate [Harrington's underlining]); M: ham'-me tu-mu' (Who are you? [M. mis-segments: hamit ?+m+]); ham'-me-sa-tan'-yu, hah-mats, hahm-ëts (whose? [last form is 'who']), ham-me't, hah-me (who?); o-we-hah'-me sah'-kim (somebody is coming); K: hamits hamič-it (who?, incl. Q). H: hamitʃət; R: hamitṣət haym-it (plu.). H: hajmət naw hamic (no one). H: naw hamitsam atuqtutu? (I am playing alone [with mea 'accomp.'? or actually -in '3-1s obj.'?]); R: naw ... hamits (nobody) tum-hami? (anyone). H: tumhami? tum-hami-y (anyone, obj.). H: tumhamij naw hami? (no one). R: nawmat hamits a?an (no one will know); naw ne hami? kivea (there was no one in the house)

hamina-t — what, why, how, how are you. Also used as a nickname for the Kitanemuks. H: haminat, hamināt (how (in Q and IQ), what, why, how are you?; onde quiere esa palabra haminat [that word [is used] everywhere], that is why they call us thus), also haminata [for presence of final vowel, cf. pata??]; R: haminat (why, how—e.g. haminat ama?j niniw (what am I going to do now?), haminat (nickname for Jaminates), haminatətsi? məhihintun (why are you hurrying me?), haminat ənətʃr əhihju (why are you looking at me?); haminat (what; what is it?); haminat, haminat (why, why?); haminat məkatʃr (how are you?); ZS: háminat (what, what is it, how, nickname for Kitanemuks); ZN: haminat, háminat (what, how); M: hah'-menaht, hah-me-naht' (how, what is it), ham'-me-nat (why, what is

it),ham'-me-nat muk'-katch, yah"ham'-me-nat muk-katch (greeting [how are you]); K: hāmināt (what is it? what do you wish?); VF: hame-e-not (name of the [Kitanemuk] tribe)

hamina-wit? (aug.?). H: haminawat, hamināwat (que es, pues? how not? why not? [may include naw (neg.) and -it (Q), but if so, order is odd, with clitic on second word; perh. better conceived as the simple noun stem haminaplus aug. suffix wi, plus abs.; this suggests that plain haminat is just a stem + abs., not hamin- + Q]); R: haminawat, haminawat (why not; how not?); M: hah-menaht'-now (why not)

haminat-kay (what, with -kay clitic). H: haminatkaj (what can be the matter?)

haminikit — how? H: haminikit (cf. tumhaminikit); R: haminiki?t kwaſrəpkət, jovo?kət, āja?kət (como es [how is it], red? black? white?); M: hah-me-ne-kit (which),

-hamu — sibling (brother, sister, older or younger than self), poss. H: -hamu

-hamu-m (plu.). H: -hamum -hamu-y (obj.). H: -hamuj

hamuk-it — (to) where?; includes question clitic. H: hamukat

hamut-ik — climb down, VI. H: qamutək; R: qamutək (dismount, descend)

hamut-k (VT: take down). H: qamutk, hamutk (take down); R: qamutk, hamutk (lower something)

hana(-)t — ant sp.: small and black; comes into house. H: hanat

hana-t — tar, N. H: hanat, hānət; ZN: hánat (tar used on arrows)
hana-yam (tarry). H: hānajam
hana-nɨ (inst.). H,R: hānana

- hu?-hana-t (the notch of an arrow ['arrow' + 'tar']). H: hu?hanat
- hanin winnow in a certain way (pouring, air method), V. H: hānin hanin (imp.). H: hānin hanin-ič (imp.plu.). H: hāninət fr hanin-ic (winnowed). H: hāninit ş hinea? (thresh wheat—morphology unclear). H: harea?
- haŋa-č bee sp.: yellow jacket. H: haŋatʃr
 haŋa-m (plu.). H: hāŋ a m
 pa-haŋa?ač (bee sp., larger; = 'water-bee'?). H: pāhaŋa?atʃr
 pa-haŋa?a-m (plu.). H: pāhaŋa?am
- haona, haonan poor, Adj.? H: haona, haonanitsat [poor us?]; R: haonan kutsi? (poor dog!), haonan tākatam (poor people!), hawnanama tākatam (poor people!) [note number agreement optional]; M: how"ng-ahn (poor) hawnanami (Adj. plu.), haonanica-m (n. plu.). H: hawnanama, haonanitsam
- haruhrik come down, VI [note: distinct from hamutik 'climb down']. H: qāruhrak; R: haroharak (descend a hill on foot or on horseback).

 haru?-haru?y (Adj.: falling down (of pants)). H: haru?haru?j
- havi-yik? plcnm. VF: ha-ve-youk (placename at Temescal ranch)
- havin soap, N. H,R: havan
 havin-tun (soap clothes, V). H,R: qavantun
 [< Span. "jabón"]
- havi-t skin, blanket, clothes, N. H: havat; M: no'-mah-wah-sah-hak'-vah (clothed [perh. = numuač ahahavi?])

havə-m, ha-havɨ-t (plu.). H: havəm, qáqavət
-havɨ? (poss.). H: -havə?, -havə?ə
-ha-havɨ? (plu. poss.). H: -hahavə?, -qaqavə?ə-hahavə?ə
-havɨ-č-ay (poss.obj.). H: -havətʃraj
-ha-havɨ?-č-ay (plu. poss. obj.). H: -hahavə?tʃaj,
-hahavə?tʃraj
havɨ-ka?y (char.: a baptized person). H: havəka?j; R:
havutkaj (Christian, "ca.")
havɨ-kam (plu.). H: havəkam
havɨ?-to? — (get dressed, V.). H: havəʔto? [? unexplained]

ha-havokah-pea — plcnm.: El Aliso. [cf. <u>havoč</u> 'alder']

havo-č — sycamore tree, N. H: havot fr, havot g; ZS: havoč; ZN: havoč [notes inner bark used for tea and shallow wood seed storage trays; sp. = Platanus racemosa Nutt.]
havo-m (plu.). H: havom
ha-havo(-)kah-pea (plcnm: Aliso Canyon). H: hahavokahpea

havrik — be low tide, VI. H: gavrak

hawa?y, hawaye? — whisper, VI. H: hawa'j, qawaje', hawaje; hawa'j, qawaje (whisper or talk low); R: hawa?j (whisper or talk low) ca-hawaye? (hortative). R: tsaqawaje?

hawawa?i, hawana?i — light, swift, Adj. H: hawawa'j, hawana'j; M: how-wi't, how'-wah'-wā (light)

hawawa-č — mosquito, gnat, N. H: hawawat fr hawawa-m (plu.). H: hawawam; ZN: hawwawam (mosquito(es)) hawkup — one (same form used as obj.). H: hawkup; R: háwkup; hawkup nikəm (I made one); "no ordinals—i.e. can only say 'a stone' hawkup təmət; cannot say 'the first, second, ...'"; ZS: hawkup (one), hawkup tə?uhic (100—'counts one'); ZN: hawkup (one), wé? mahač hámak háwkup (eleven ["two five and one"]); M: how-kōp, how'-oo'-kōp (one), how'-ko pat'-so-ki (one man), how'-ko-koo-tse (one dog) how'-koo kwe'-how-ki (one woman), how-kōb-tū-vas, howk-tā-vatch (a year), how-ko-mwats (a month or moon); K: haukup; CK: hau'kūp (one); wĕ' mā hāch' hā' mūk hau' kūp (eleven)

hawkupi (once). H,R: hawkupi; M: ho'-oo-koo-pe (sometimes [sic; =once])

hawkupiva? (together [is this loc. vea?]). H: hawkupiva? hahukup (one by one). H: hahukup

hawkupiva-n (put one). H,R: hawkupivan (put one [thing in the work I was doing])

hawkupi-ču? (assemble, V.). H: hawkupit fru? hawkupi-ču?-i-vea (in the junta). H: hawkupit fru? jvea

- hawmimit? plcnm. VF: hou-mi-mot, hoo-may-mot (rancheria northeast of Tejón ranch) [" over t's] [may not be Kit.]
- hawpa? slowly, little by little, Adv. H: hawpa?; R: hawpa? (slowly)
- hayayk [mng. unclear]
 H: pajan akat fr ova?hajajk (he wears his pants very high)
 [= "it's forced far up"? cf. ha?yik 'get hot'?].
- hayha?y bird sp.: bluish, similar to <u>cayca?y</u>, but with crest. H: qajqa?j (bird sp., bluish, similar to <u>tsajtsa?j</u>, but with crest)
- hayi-c? reed sp., used for mats and thatching; sleeping mat; tinder. H: hajts, ha?jts,haits, hájits (tule sp. used for

making mats, thatching houses; or "twigs, pieces of bark, etc. such as you find under trees ... to atizar [start fire]") hayi-vea? (loc.). H,R: haj?ivea (loc.: "in a petate")

hayin - rest, V.

hayin (imp.). H: hājin
hayin-ič (imp. plu.). H: hājinət [r
hayinea-vea (no gloss: apparently = loc.: a resting place. H:
hājireavea

ha?yɨk — get warm, Vi. H: niha?jək, nijikwa? (I'm going to warm myself at the fire, I'm cold)

hayk-ik (inf.). H: nimi hajkik (I am going to get warm (in sweathouse))

haykipea [cf. ?ahaykipea]

hayku? — Mexican, N. H: qajκu?; R: hajku? [NB Harrington revision of spelling]
hayku?-yam (plu.). H: qajκu?jam
[< Mojave hayko or hayiko (forms from P. Munro, p.c.)? occurs in several Takic and Yuman lgs.]

haym [cf.. hami?]

haypaye? — possibly. H: hajpaje?
[but cf. hayp(ea) 'where', which was on same page]

hayp(ea) — where?; H: hajp ("j is quite long, & is voiced"), hajpa?j haypea-t (with Q clitic). H: hajpeat, hajpajt, hajpajat; R: hajpajt makat (where do you live?), hajpet (where), hajpeat ne akat (where was it?); hajpaje?tam matsane? (where does it hurt you?); hajpe?, hajpa?j (where?); hajpet ahpak (where did s/he die?); naw ni?an hajpe? (I don't know where); hajpejat makim (where do you come from?)

haypea-t-am (with Q clitic and obj. clitic). H: hajpaje?tam [cf. hip, hipi]

-hea - passive suffix (described in chapter II, section B).

hekwik — stand on tiptoe, draw belly in, V. H: hekwak, hekwak mi-hekwik (walk on tiptoe). H: nimihekwak (I walk on tiptoe).

helipa — pers. name: Felipa. H: qelipa [< Span. "Felipa"]

he?rk — point at something, V. H: he?rk
he?rki (imp.). H: he?rki
herk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: finger). H: herkinits
-herk-in-č-ay (obj.). H: -herkinitʃraj
-herk-in-ivana? (inst.: finger, poss.). H: -herkinivana?
[NB -c in pass. nom., but -č in obj. form]

hero?pitik? — be dark, VI? M: her-ro'-pēt'k (darkness)

hiahk — lose, VT. H: heahk, hjak'k
hiahkik (VI: get lost). M: ah-he'-ah-kuk, ah-he'-ah-kūk (lost)

hihinitu? — hurry? worry?, VI. H,R: hihinitu? (apurar, estar apurado [to hurry, be hurried?])
hihinitu-n (VT: annoy [hurry?] someone). H,R: nə? ne
nihihinitun (yo lo apuré [l hurried? annoyed? him],
haminatətsi? məhihinitun (porqué me apuras? [why are you hurrying? (annoying?) me]; "Carefully heard")

hikacum — pers. name. ZN: hí·kacum (pers. name: daughter of IG [Isabella Gonzáles])

hikai-t — flying squirrel, N. H: híkait, híkáit

hikai-m (plu.). H: hikaəm

hikai-pea (plcnm.: Flying Squirrel Aguage). H: hikawpe; R: hikawpea (an aguage [spring] above La Pastoria) [NB: i--> w/V _ p (labial assimilation)]

hikai-t ?a-pao-vea (plcnm.). R: hikaət apāovea [a -wit nominal from 'breathe' meaning something like 'puffer'?]

- hika(-)w breath, breathe, N and V. H: hikaw, hikaw
 -hika-y (poss. obj.). H: nihikaj nipitk nifritfrāvea (I puffed
 up my cheeks with wind)
 -hikay-ni (inst.). H: '-hikajnə
 hikaw-muk (pant, VI). H: nihikawmuk (I am panting)
- hikiha-č nettle (ortega [sic; std. Span. = "ortiga"]). H: hikihat fr; ZS: hikiháč (nettles); ZN: hikiháč (nettles; medicine for backache or any pain; someone strikes you with it on affected part)
 hikiha-yik (plcnm.). R: hikihajak (ortiga place)
 hikiha-vea-tam (tribename). R: hikihaviatam = hikihajem
 (the people; "on hikihavjat")
- hilohik be in agony, be going to die, V. H: -hilthik; R: uvea ahilohik (se está acabando [he 's finishing—fading away])
- hilos gizzard, N. H: hilos hilo-m (plu.). H: hilom [cf. hilohik 'be in agony'?]
- himuk? where? M: hi-mo-kaht mum'-me, hi'-mo-kaht mum'-me (Where are you going?)
- himuk-t saltpeter, alkali, N. H: himukt; ZN: himukt (salt grass, medicine); JW: hinukt (salt grass, used as tea and as medicine for fevers and stomach troubles)

- himuk-y+k (plcnm.). H: himukj+k; R: himukj+k (plcnm. for two places, described—means saltpetre)
 wahi?t ?a-himuk-y+k (plcnm.: means coyote's saltpetre). H:
 wahi?t ahimu?j+k; R: ahimuj+k
- hi?nik float, VI. H: hi?nak, hi?nak (float), aqi?nak (the [creek] water is high); R: ivi? kut ʃrāt ahi?nak (the pole washed away and was tirado [thrown] by the arroyo way downstream), hi?nak, hi?nak (float), hinak (get drowned [apparently a metaphor]) hi?nk (push along floating on air or water, VT). H: hi?nk; R: hi?nk (blow (of wind) or push along on water); nihi?nk (I throw a thing in the arroyo and it carried it away downstream).
 - ?a-hink-i? (part.: driftwood). H: aqinki? [NB 2 disappears in this cluster]
 - ?a-hi?nk-ea-vea, hi?-hi?nk-ea-vea (plcnm.: 'where the flood passed': Caliente or Agua Caliente). H: ahi?nkeavea = hi?nhi?nkeavea (where the flood passed), hinhinkjave, hinhinkeave (Caliente), hinhinkeave (Agua Caliente—"the name means viene una creciente y nos lleva todos [a flood-tide comes and carries us all away]"); R: ahi?nkeavea, hi?nhi?nkeavea ("describes a place, not real plcnm.";

"where I live, where the flood from <u>pivunatsapea</u> passed"); hi?nhi?nkeavea (placename); ZS,ZN: hinhinkya·ve (Caliente Creek, 'place where there are floods'); K: hinhinkiava — placename: a hot springs or Agua Caliente in the vicinity of Tehachapi Pass, in Kawaiisu territory; called "tumoyo" or "shatnau ilak" by the Yokuts.

hiniki? — how many? H: hihiki? (how many?); R: hihiki? (how many?); hinikit hunuts mə?ən (how many languages do you know?); hinikit məhju (nate?jam) (how many (cats) did you see?)

- hinipa? when? H: hinipa?; R: hinipa?, hinipa? (when?); hinipat amakim (when is s/he going to come? [< hinipat ama?j akim]); M: hin'-ne-pah, he'-ne-pah (when) hinipa'-t (when?; includes Q). H: hinipa?t
- -hintu? relative, poss. N(A). H: -hintu? [note re poss.: "not *nihintua?, but evidently from such a form"]
 -hintoač (poss., constituency abs.). H: ana?o? pajak
 ahintoat [r (s/he married a relative)
 -hintua?-m (plu.). H: -hintua?m -hintua?-ivi (dec.). H: -hintua?-ivi-m (plu.). H: -hintu?jvam
- hinu-hinu?-i fluttering. H: hinuhinu?j (fluttering [of sheet], floating on wind [of flag]).

 [cf. hi?nik 'float']

-hintua?-č-ay (obj.). H: -hintua?t[raj

- hip, hipi where? M: hī'p, hi-mỡk (where); hi'-pi-tah'-katch (Where is he?)
 [cf. <u>?ipi</u> 'here', and <u>hayp(ea)</u> 'where']
- hi?rikin snuff something up nose, V. H: hīrikin; R: hi?rikin
- hit what, what kind, some? H: hīt (what); R: hīt (what?);
 nahwam hit (there is no more [naw + ham]), nahwam hit nihiw
 (toadavía no miro nada [l still don't see anything]); M: he"'t
 (which), now-he'-hee't (none); now'-hit wur' (not enough [sic;
 'there isn't much'])
 - hita-t (what is it? [with Q]). H: hitat, hitat (what is [it]?); R: hitat mətəqwa? (what news do you bring?); hitat pata? (what is it?); M: hā'-taht, he-taht (what) hinim, hinim-it (what are they—plu. ± Q). H: hinim, hinimət hitay, hitay-t (obj., ± Q). H: hitajt, hitaj məhju təjtəj (what kind of ghost did you see?); R: hitajt ama?j tsakwa?

(what are we gonna eat?); R: hitajt akwa? (what is the child eating?); hitajt makwa?jhun (what do you want to eat?); hitajtam amak (what did s/he give you?); ZS,ZN: hitayt, hitayt (what?—obj., with Q)

naw-hit (nothing, there is no). H: nawhit, na?whit; R: uvea nahwit wakatir (the fiesta is already over)

naw-hit-ay (nothing, obj.). H: naw hitaj, na?whitaj, naw aŋatfrk nawhit alama (the knife is dull [Neg it-cuts nothing its-tooth][double negative is all right])

tumhit (anything). H: tumhit

tum-hita-y (anything, obj.). H: tsamavi tumhitaj ("vamos a trabajar" = Monday)

[this may be considered a N(A); it is irregular in any case]

hiu — look at, see, VT. H: hju, hiu; R: hju (see), hju, hiu; nahwam hit nihiw (todavía no miro nada [I still don't see

hiu — look at, see, VT. H: hju, hiu; R: hju (see), hju, hiu; nahwam hit nihiw (todavía no miro nada [I still don't see anything][transcription error for nihju?]); K: ni-hu ([I] see) hi-hiu (redup.). H: hihju R: hihju (look at) ti(-)hiu, hiu, hiuh (imp.). H: tahju, tahju, tahijuw, hju', híuh, hiu, hiu'; R: hju, hju', tahju (imp.); hahju ivi? tamat (look at that stone! [error for tahju?]); M: hew'-pah'-tah (Look at that!) ti(-)hiič, hiič (imp. plu.). H: ta?hjatſr, hjatſr, "but no such word as *nita?hjumat"; R: hjatſr, ta?hjatſr (imp. plu.) hiu-vu? (past). H: hjuvu?

hik, hikay (comp.: to see). H: hīk, hīkaʔj; R: hīk (inf.) hi-hi-?a-č (agt. nom.: onlooker). H: hihīʔātſr (un mirón, an onlooker)

hi-č — plant sp.: vine, with red berries, used for baskets. H: hat[r; hat[r (splint already split for basket making)
hi-m (plu.). H: ham
[cf. hi?iv 'split']

- hɨči remain, VI. H: h줬ʃi, h줬ʃri; R: hawkup ahətʃri (one remained), ahঝrʃri woh (two remained [note: no number agreement]), tsīpk ahঝʃi akwahi (the soup is almost done (falta poco [just a little more to go]))
- hihcika-č, hihcika-t shark, N. H: həhtsikat∫r, həhtsikat hihcikza-m (plu.). H: həhtsikam
- hik ?imanis rabbit dance. H: hik əmans, hik? əmanis
 [cf. hiyk 'swing'? but may be VCh, which might explain non-gliding of i.]
- hi?iv split, V. H: hi?iv, hi?iv' (scrape strip of reed for making basket); R: hi?iv (split reed)
 - h÷?iv-i-c (reed splint). H: hə?ivits; R: hə?iy, hətʃr (split reed)
 h÷?iv-i-m (splint, plu.). H: hə?ivim
- hɨʔlɨkɨ sit down! H: hələkə [may not be Kitanemuk; labelled Tataviam in one citation]
- hinea? step on, VT. H: hanea?
- hɨŋ-t snake, N. H: həŋt, hāŋht; R: hənt (rattlesnake); ZS: hənkt (rattlesnake); ZN: hənkt (rattler); K: hū ñt (rattlesnake)

hin-am (plu.). H: han a m

- hin-t ?a-ho-vea, ?a-hint ?a-ho (plcnm. [2nd form may belong under ?ahint 'eagle']). H: áhant áho (plcnm.: sierra); R: hakt ahovea (plcnm.)
- hiŋ-kim-an-i-c (rattlesnake figure [on baskets, etc.]). H: həŋkəmanits
- hiŋk fall on top of or squash, VT. H: qənk (squash someone); R: hə?nk (fall on top of), qənk (crush someone), ahə?nkəvən (it fell

on top of me), aqa?nmatum hunuk (it is going to fall on top of you, get out of the way)

hi?n-mat (fut.). H: qa?nmat

- [cf. <u>hines?</u> 'thresh wheat' (under <u>hanin</u> 'winnow in a certain way'?]
- h+p+-č yellow flour gotten from cattail, for making bread, N. H: h+p+tfr, h+p+tf

[cf. 28hiva 'fine']

- h+p+pk rub buckskin between hands to soften it, V. R: qəpəpk (rub gamuza between hands to soften it)
- h+p+?yt a certain type of very small and valuable beads. H: həpə?jt
- hitk together in a row, in single file, abreast. H: hatk (together in row), hatk pami (they are marching in single file; R: hatk pami (they are marching in single file, abreast [sic]) kuča-t hitk (fence). H: kut [rat hatk
- -hivi edge, rim, shore, poss. H: -hava, -hava, hava
 - -hivi-y (poss. obj.). R: nimm abovey (I go along the shore or edge of lake)
 - -hivi-vea (loc.). H: -havavea, -havave, -havavea; áhavave mamat (on the ocean shore)
 - -?a-hivi-vea mimi-t kike? (tribename: Costeño). R: ahavavea mamat kike? (Costeño [i.e.?])
 -hivi-yik (loc.)
- hiwa-č other, separate, N. H: hawaſr, hawatſr, hawatʃr [first may be pre-consonantal variant?], hawava? ma?akea ap na? hawava? ni?akea (I have my room apart and you have your room apart); R: hawaſr tavatʃr (next year), hawaſr pātʃruk (the other man), [but] hawatʃr kalඎ? (another buggy); maw? hawaſr maatʃr (hace muncho la otra luna [long ago the other

moon] = the month past); M: howi-ye, hu-wi'-e (different), hoowaht'r, (other), how-was-tu-was, hu-was-tu-was (last year). ahn'-nah hoo'-as (his father); a-moo-ku'-wats, (he killed a bear [actually, 'another one killed him']) hiwač tiva-č (next year-idiom). R: hawaſr tavatſr hiwa-č-ay (obj.). H: hawat [raj, R: hawat [raj hi-hiwa-č (plu. [from each other]). R: haqawat fr ("means one talks Am., Spanish, Chinese") h+y-+k — swing, VI. H: h>? j>k [2] absent from all other forms—error?] hiy-ik-mat (fut.). H: hajakmat hiy-k (VT: swing, carry swinging). H: hajk; nimimat hajk patra (I'm gonna bring water) hɨy-ki (imp.). H: həjki hiy-ki-č (imp. plu.). H: hakit [r h+y-k-ihwa?-t (inst.: swing). H: hajkihwat hiyn — hunt, go hunting for, V. H: hain hiyn-ik (comp.). H: həjnik -ho - hole, cave of animal, poss. H: -ho, -ho, -qo; "no abs. form"; R: -ho, -hō (burrow (cueva)); niho (mi cueva), in aqo, áqoqo "[q] is not an [h] but sometimes hear it as an [h]" [slip suggests h -> q / a _ o]; ZS: -ho (cave), also -ho; ZN: -ho, '-ho (cave); M: ah'-ho, hor'-o'p'k (cave) -ho-ho (plu.). H: -ho-ho, -qo-qo; R: in aqo, áqoqo "[q] is not an [h] but sometimes hear it as an [h]" -ho-y, (obj.). H: -hōj, -hoj -ho-ho-y (plu. obj.). H: -hohoi -ho-vea (loc.). H: -hovea, -qovea, -hove, -hove; R: -hovea, hovea (loc., in planms.); ZS: -ho've; ZN: -ho've, -ho'vi, -ho'va

-ho-ho-vea (plu. loc.). ZN: -hoho've (caves [app. loc.])

-ho-no? (dir: from). H: -qono?

- -ho-k+m (incorp.: to make a hole). H: -hokem, hokem (hole-make); ahokem = akem ahoj "imp't: true incorporation"; R: hokem (dig a den [said of mole])
 -ho-ho-k+m (incorp.: make holes, V). H: mehohokemet (estás haciendo cuevas?)
- [cf. hoč 'dig a hole', horopk, horohk 'bore a hole']
- ho? string beads, VI. H: qt, R: ho? (sew)
 ho? (imp.). R: ho?, qo?
 ho?-č (imp. plu.). R: ho?t [r (sew them [sic])
 ho-hea (pass.: be sewn). R: aqohea, aqthea, atohea (it is sewed)
 [minimal pair: ágo 'its den', ágo? 's/he sews']
- hocik stand up, VI. H: qofsak
- hoč-i-c (part.: lo que esta escarbando [or rather "lo que está escarbado" 'what's dug out'?])
 hoč-i-yik (plcnm.: a spring). H: hotfrijak (plcnm.: means an agujero ay onde escarbaron [a hole there where they dug/scraped]); R: hotfrijak (plcnm.: a spring; means onde esta escarbado el agua [where the water's dug/scraped out])
 [cf. -ho 'hole, cave']
- ho-k+m make a hole [incorp. form of 'hole' with 'make'; cf. ho 'hole' and k+m 'make']
- hona-t sleeping mat, N. H,R: honat, honat (sleeping mat, tendido)
 -hona? (poss.). H: -hona?, -hona?, -qona?, -qona?, '-hona?
 hona-pea (loc.). H,R: honapea
 -hona-pea (loc., poss.). R: war atutsit nihonapea (there are a
 lot of fleas in my cot)

honewimac? — plcnm. K: honewimats (plcnm. 1 mile downsteam from Tejon ranch house)

hop-ik — leak, drip, VI. H: qτρ k; R: qop k, qτρ k hop-k (VT: make a ditch run). H,R: qop k (make the [irrigation] ditch run)

hopo?no - pers. name. H: qopo?no3

horok-ik — be pierced, VI. H: qorokək; R: horqkə?, horopk, qorokək (be pierced)

horoh-k — pierce, bore hole in, VT. H: horohk, qoroqk, niqoroqk [last form once only]; R: horohk, qoroqk (pierce) horoh-mat (fut.). H: horohmat; R: nihorohmat makavaj (I'm going to pierce your ears)

horo-horoh-k (stem redup.: bore holes). H: qoroqoroqk horohk-in-ihwa?-t (inst.: drill).

horopk, horohk ? (Adj.: pierced, hollow). H: horoka?, horopk, horoqk; H,R: woh ahoroka (there are two nailholes in board here)

horop-horopk (stem redup. Adj.: pierced, plu.). H,R: horophoropk

?a-horoki-pea (poss. loc.: smokehole). H: ahorokape a [cf. ho? 'sew'?]

horork — make a fiesta enramada [ramada] or house, V. H: qorork horork-in-a-t (nom.: fiesta enramada). H: qororkina t

³Fragments of the hopo?no story are recorded in H in a session with Eugenia: hopo?no was a Kitanemuk of the big hinhinkeavea ranchería. apkač apparently killed him. Eugenia's father and his uncle came as told. qopo?no had Tul. [a Tulareño] wife and 2 girls. The brother-in-law of qopo?no who was sick, and the abuela (his mother) and the other girl fled down Los Alamos Canyon to escape. Eugenia's father was glad the Tulareño became extinct; it was a punishment of God. ... Another primo of qopo?no killed the wife—lest she go and marry a Tulareño. Eugenia's father said let her go, but he cut her below ribs. All people fled to Tehachapi. "Aquellos matadores no vinieron, se fueron [those murderers never came back; they went away]."

horork-in-i-cay (obj.). H: hororkinitsaj

- hu? burn, VT. H: qu?, hu [one token], nihhu?mat, niqqu?mat (fut.);
 R: hhu?, qqu?, qu? (take sun, burn)
 ?a-hu?-vu? (past). H: áqu?vu? (se quemó antes [it burned before])
 ?a-hu?-i (part.: burned). H: aqu?i (what was burned; burned);
 M: ah-ho'-ye (cremation)
 ?a-hu?-i?-m (part., plu.). H: aqu?i?m (burned, plu. [second? unexplained])
 a-hu-i-vi? (part.: burned). H: áqwiva? (estaba quemando poco antes ['it was burning just recently', with dec.]); R: aqwiva (burned [in plcnm. of same place])
 ?a-hu-i-vi tiva-č (plcnm.: a white mountain, so called because it burned before). H: aqwi?va tavatſr
 [cf. mahwač 'burn up']
- hu? fart, V. H: hū
 hu-hu? (redup.). H: huhu?, huhū?
 hu? (imp.). H: hū?
 hu-hu?-i?a-č (redup. agt.: person who breaks wind all the
 time). H: huhūi?āt ʃr (farter, person who breaks wind all
 the time)
 [cf. hu?hu?ač 'stinkbug']
- hu?ataŋat acorn granary, N. H: hú?átaŋat [cf. taŋatat 'sack']

fall/knock over"1

- huc-ik fall, be born, VI. H: qutsək, quīsək; R: qutsək (fall),
 httsək (be born), nihttsək mävea (I was born at El Monte),
 aqutsək pāt [r = pat]r aqutskəpea (plcnm.: Kern River; "the
 water falls") [Geri Anderson note: cf. kuh²jək, kojk "to
 - huc-k (VT: drop or let fall). H: niqutsk (I dropped it (let go and let it fall)); R: qutsk (let fall)

- huc-k-in-ea? (caus.). H: aqutskarea?van (he knocked me over); qutskarea? (make fall)
 [NB for morphology of number and causativity and transitivity]
- hu?-č star, landsnail, N. H: httfr, httfr, httfr, httfr, httfr (star, landsnail), jéhehutfr, jehehutfr (evening star); R: httfr (star, landsnail); ZS,ZN: hu'tfr (star); M: hoot'r, hoo"ts (star); K: hùut (star)

hu-m, hu-hu?-m (plu.). H: huhhu?um, huhutr, huhu?tr; ZS,ZN: hu·m

hu?-č-ay (obj.). H,R: htr?t∫raj

hu-č ?a-kut (shooting star). M: ah-hoots-ă-koot, ah-wan-nahk'-hoots'

- ['snail' translation may be a loan translation; Harrington speaker (Eugenia?) was reminded of his name for landsnail by VCh word, 23kiwo 'star'; she said snail can also be called 4kat[r aki ku?at[r aki ku?at[r aki ku?at]] 'little animal that has a house'; perh. the relative clause construction is the generic, and the 'star' metaphor is a more specific name]
- hu-č short, flint-tipped war arrow, N. H: httfr (vs. htrtfr 'star, landsnail' [apparent minimal pair with hu?č 'star' for ± 2])

 hu-č-ay (obj.). H: httfraj, ananatrun httsaj (said of ~~ design on basket hat)

 hu-hana-t notch of arrow? or arrow pitch?. H: hu?hanat

 (the notch [of arrow—sic with glottal stop]); M: ne soo'-man'-nah (arrow)
- huči-c willow sp. (saucito chino [Chinese willow]: ash-colored, used for white part of baskets). H: httsits, hutsts; R: hutsit (saucito chino); ZS,ZN: hučic (willow sp., not found here now: 6-7 ft; used for arrows)

- huči-yik (plcnm.: a spring). H: hut frijak; R: hut frijak (plcnm. of a spring where they used to shear)
- hu?eaha-work, V. H,R: hu?eaha; K: axue (work [related?])
 hu?eaha-vu? (past). H,R: hu?eahavu?, hu?eaqavu?

hueaha-mat (fut.). R: nə nita pāt frukataj ahueahamat = nə nita hu?eahak (I put this man to work)

hu?eahaw (imp.). H,R: hu?eahaw

hu?eaha-ič (imp. plu.). H: hu?eahaət [NB: w apparently dropped before vowel loss in clitic, thus not hue?ahač or hue?ahawč]

hu?eaha-k (comp.). H: hu?eahak; R: nə nita pātʃrukataj ahueahamat = nə nita hu?eahak (I put this man to work) hu?eaha(-)hyi-t (aug.: industrious). ZS,ZN: hu?ehajhjut

- hu?hu?a-č stinkbug, N. H: huhu?āt fr (pinacate [stinkbug])
 huhu?a-m (plu.). H: huhu?am
 [= huhu?iač, agt. nom. of hu? 'fart'?]
- -huka? corn cob, corn stalk, N. H,R: -huka?, -huka?
- hukaht pers. name: legendary father of the races, brother of cukit; also a nickname for a man who sleeps with his sister. H: hukaht
- hukah-t water spider, N. H: hukaht (water spider; word means "deer")
 huka-m (plu.). H: hukam
 [same as above and below items?]
 [h -> Ø / _ m#?]
- hukah-t deer, N. H: hukaht, hukaht (deer; second h is "not at all q-like, but most distinct"); ZS: hukaht'; ?ukaht'; K: hugaxt huka-m (plu.). H: hukam

- hukah-t-ay (obj.). H: hukahtaj, húkáhtaj; R: nimu hukahtaj (l shot a deer) hukah-t ?a-kwa-kwa (plant sp.: lit. 'deer-wheat' in Span.; yields tea as blood medicine). ZN: hukaht ?akwakwa pa-hukah-t (elk ['water deer']). ZN: pà·hukáht
- hukum smell something, V. H: hukum hu-hukum (redup.). H: huhukum
- hukupi?ta-t chicken hawk, N; a certain type of basket? H;
 hukurumat (hawk sp.: gabilan pollero [chicken hawk?]); ZS,ZN:
 hu?kurumat' (chicken hawk); M: an-no'-se ho'-ko-pe-tat, ho-ko'pe-tat (small coiled mush or soup bowl [a bird shaped bowl?]);
 JW: hokopita (plaque)
 hukuruma (plu.). H: hukurumam
 [there may be two different words involved here]
- hukwat tree sp.: elderberry. H: hukwat (sauco [elderberry tree]; uses = fruit, wood for flutes, flowers for tea for catarro [catarrh; a cold]); ZS,ZN: hukwat (elderberry; spec. #22-23, of no use)

 [This is tree's name; the fruit is called kuhuč.]
- hu?les plcnm., a little above wo?ki?t. H: hú?les [about 3 miles from Maricopa, near Buena Vista lake]
 [Yokuts?]
- huna? hug someone, VT. H: huna?; R: nihtna?, ... aqtna? (embrace, hold in arms)
 [cf. hunait 'bear'?]
- hu?na? -- sling, N. M: ne hoo'-nah
- huna-c heart, spirit, middle, N(A). H: htnats, hunats; ZS: hunac (hearts [sic]) huna-m (plu.). H: "plural -m"

-hun (poss.). H: -hun, hth; M: ne-hōn, ah-hōn; R: -hun (heart; in plcnm., dog name); hth (heart, abs. [sic]), -hth; M: ah-hoon-ahp-poop'-ah-kuk (spirit or soul after leaving body), ah-poo'-vhak kuk'-kennye-hon' (spirit or soul after leaving body); K: a-xùn ([his/her] heart)

huna-c-ay (obj.). H: htnatsaj

- -huna-y (poss. obj.). H: -hunaj; R: amthea ahthaj (he shot him in the heart)
- huna-vea (loc.: 'in the middle'). H: htnavea, hunave, hunave patraj tavatr (island ['in the middle of the water land'—NB construction with obj., no poss.], htnavea tukaj, htnavea atu?kaj (midnight); R: htnavea atukaj (midnight); na? nihju htnavea kits (I saw the middle house); htnavea nijaw (I grabbed it in the middle); ZS: htnavea (loc.); ZN: hunave ma'č (plcnm.: "in middle of vegetation"?); M: honav'-ve-oh, ah-&h-kwah pe-tsah (half [in length]); M: honav'-ve-ah-to'-kah hoo'-nav-ve-ah-too'-ki (midnight), hoo'-nav-ve-ah, ho'-nav-ve-ah (middle)
- ?a-huna-vea (poss. loc.: inside). H: ahunave, ahunavea; R:
 ahunavea kits (in the house); nihunavea na? (inside me);
 ahunavea tamat (inside the stone); M: ah-hoo'-nav'-ve-ah,
 ah-ho'-nav-ve-ah
- -huna-vea (poss. loc.)
- -huna-ni (poss. inst.). H: ni?ujhun nihtnana (I love him with all my heart); R: nihtnana ninomkihihun (mi corazón lo quiero comprar ['I want to buy it with all my heart'?])
- -huna-nu? (dir., 'from' form). H: -q tnano?, -htnanu?
 numua-č _-hun (idiom: be happy, or happy with someone
 ['one's heart is good']). H: ahtn numuat fr (he is happy),
 numuavan mahtn (don't be sad); R: ahtn numuat fr (he is happy)
- numua-huna-k (good-natured). H: numahtnaκ (a good-natured man)

- numua-huna-k-am (plu.). H: numuahīnakam
 -hun ?a-kihakik (idiom: be sad [one's heart is spoiled?]. H:
 nihun akəhahək (I'm sad)
- kiša? _-hun (idiom: be hard-hearted). H: kafra? ahun (he has a bad heart, never pities anyone)
- Puvea Pami ni-hun (my heart is going [unclear if this is a fixed formula of some kind or just an ordinary sentence]). H: úveámi nihun ('my heart is going', said by dying person when spirit leaves)
- -hun ?akwatik (remember?). H: nihun akwātak (I repeated the word), nihūn akwatak (I remembered)
- pičihuna? [mng. unclear]. H: nipat frahtna? amaj (estoy atenido a Vd. [l am ___ to you]; said when one is muy atrazado en alguna cosa [very behind in something])
- hunai-t, huna-t bear; also, a tag game (see below), N. H: hunaat, hunat [the latter only once]; ZS,ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawamat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawamat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the wedge writen alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hunawat [check: was the
 - huna-t-ay (obj.). M: ah-muk hoo'-nah-tah (he killed a bear)
 huna(†)-y†k (plcnm.: Los Osos). H: hunajək, hunaəjək; R:
 hunaəjək (plcnm. of 3 places, but Eug. [Eugenia] says only
 real one (i.e. not a translation from Span.) is near El
 Comanche); nimi hunaəjək (I go to huna‡y‡k); hunawnu?
 (from huna‡y‡k; "w < 2"); ZS,ZN: honayak (Bear Mountain)
 - hunaitu (play tag). H: tsaw hunaatu?, tsatuhtutu? hunaat (let's play bear (tag) [NB: no obj. on 'bear' in hortative; also, w in first form may indicate that h is rounded before u]), hunaatu? (play tag)
 - hu-hunatu?-i-c (the game of tag). H: huhunatu?jts (name of the game [NB glide following ?]; *hunaatu?nits not approved as game name)

- hunakač California buckwheat. H: htnakat fr (bush sp.: chamiso); ZS: hunakač (brush sp.; twig to pierce ears, flower and root for medicine; Erigonum fasciculatum, var. polifolium: California buckwheat); ZN: hunaxač (plant sp.; same uses as above)
- hunaniš-pea plcnm.: a spring called Aguage del Indio. H,R: hunanifrpea (plcnm.: spring near here where auto parties picnic, called Aguage del Indio in Span.)
- huna(-)vi-t badger, N. H: hūnavit (Tejoneños [= Tulareños] used to eat this and dog)
 huna(-)vi-m (plu.). H: hūnavim
- hunaymač picnm.: Medio Monte, a cowboy camp. H: hunajmat fr ("This is the correct form, and hunavemat fr is a kind of pidgin Jam., I understand"); K: honewimats (plcnm.: below the ranch house on Paso Creek; called by the Yokuts "tsuitsau") [any relation to huna 'heart'?]
- hu?nik move, V. H: qu?nak (move [dwelling]); R: hunak (get out of the way!)
- -hun, -hunki? descendant, poss. H: -hunka?a, -han hunki-m (plu.). H: -hunkam, -hankam hunk (VT: resemble a relative by descent). R: qunk [vowel may be i—cf. hink 'fall']
- hunuk-y+k, hunuk-pea plcnm.: a spring or mountain. H: hunukjek (plcnm.: big range n[orth] or e[ast] of Tehachapi); R: hunukpea (spring or mountain name)
 [cf. hu?n+k 'move'?]
- hunu? talk, V (interlocutor is in directional case). H: hunu?, hunu?, (pəhunu?) pəkitanamu? (they are speaking Kitanamuk); R: hunu? (speak), nə? nihunu? məmk (yo hablo la verdad [i'm

telling the truth]); K: ni-hùñu ([i] speak)
hu-hunu? (redup.). R: nihuhunu? əməjək (I talk with you; I'm
talking with you)
hunu? (imp.). H,R: hunu?
hunu?-č (imp. plu.). R: hunu?tfr
hunu?-mat (fut.). R: nunu?mat
-hunu-i (comp.). H: -hunwi,-hūnu?j,no anahunwi? weravk
(ca.) (mute, can't talk)
hunu-c (language, word). H: kəfra? hunuts (ugly language); R:
hawkup hunuts (one word), woh ni?ən hunuc (I know two
languages [NB no obj. marker with 'two'])
hunu-m (plu.). R: hunum (words; languages)
-hunu?a? (poss.). H: -hunu?u?, -hunu?a?a R: -hunu?a?
(language, word)
kišani-hunu-k-am (Ventureño(s)). H: kafahhunukam,

kisani-hunu-k-am (Ventureño(s)). H: kasanihunukam, kasanihunukam, kasanihunukam, kasanihunukam (Ventureño tribe; lived at Castec; means the people that speak the ugly language), hawkup kasar nihunukam ([one] Ventureño), kasanihunukam (the ones that danced the oso [bear dance])

hupic-pea — plcnm.: north of Tejón ranchería. H: hupitspe (plcnm.: n. of rchía. [north of ranchería]); R: hupitspea (plcnm., described)

hu?rist — animal sp., perh. weasel. H: hu?rist (otter, in El Monte plcnm.); ZS: hu·rist (animal sp.: kastor [sic—misspelled "castor" ('beaver')]—little animal—something like squirrel [beaver and otter ranges do not extend this far south, and they are far too large (Whitaker 1980) to be compared to even the large Tejón "groundsquirrels"; more likely a long-tailed weasel]) hu?rist ?a-ho (plcnm.: 'otter's hole'). ZN: hu·rist ?áho (the

u?rist ?a-ho (plcnm.: 'otter's hole'). ZN: hurist ?áho (the spring [of evil omen babies]), hùrist ?áho (another spring near the schoolhouse—dog comes out as above [this seems to be a reference to an earlier entry for this plcnm., but it isn't in the corpus])

- hurik ?- look forth or peep out, V. H,R: hurk (go ever to look forth or peep), qurak, hu?rak (rise [of sun]); M: ah'-hōr-rahsh tam'-meat, ah'-hor-ruk tam'-meat (sunrise) hurki (imp.). H,R: huki (imp.: go out and look) hurk-in-ik (inf.). H,R: hukinik, hukinik
- hururava?-yik plcnm.: a chain of hills extending toward El Monte. H,R: hururava?jak, hururavæ?jak (plcnm.; means that they go in single file one behind the other as they run down to Monte (máve) [= a chain of hills])
- hutac willow sp. JW: hutac (basket willow, both warp and woof)
- hu?taya-ka chaparral gooseberry, <u>Ribes quercetorum.</u> ZS,ZN: hu?tajaká, hutajaká

 [perh. two words—?a-ka = 'its fruit']
- hu?usinak ant sp.: little, red. H: hu?usinak hu?usinak-yam (plu.). H: hu?usinakjam
- huvava?ynik? havava?ynik? flavor. H: haminā ahavava?jnik (what does it taste like?); R: huvava?j (flavorful), huvava?j ivi? karni? (this meat is tasty)
- huva(-)wavi-t blind; also the name of the walking stick insect, N. H,R: huvawavit (blind; walking stick—which is an old man) huvawavi-m (plu.). H,R: huvawavim [cf. <u>?uva</u> 'eye'; also cf. <u>kavawavit</u> 'deaf']
- huyacaw? sweat house, N. H: hujatsaw, hujatsu; ZN: huyacaw (descr.: big enough for 10-12)
 huyacaw-yik (plcnm.). H: hujatsuhjak (dir.); R: hujatsawhjak (plcnm. for two places).
- huyawh-y+k plcnm.: a spring. H: hujawhj>k; R: hujawj>k (plcnm. of a spring, from hujaw 'iriris' [mng.?])

- huyuyhk conceited. H: hujujk, hujujhk
- huyhu?y(y) bird sp.: dark, chicken-size, flies low but not far, no crest. H: hujhu?j, hujhu?jy (final vowel distinctly heard; "not a regular sound of the language")
 huyhu?y(-)am (plu.). H: hujhu?jam
- hwan pers. name: Juan. R: qwan (in the sentence 'my name is __') [< Span. "Juan"]
- hwahn-ik jump, VI. H: qwahnak, hwāhinak; R: qwahnak hwan-hwahn-ik (stem redup.). H: aqwanqwahnak hawkup atsakaj (he hops on one leg); R: aqwanhwahnak (it was jumping [note q vs. h]) hwahn-ik-mat (fut.). R: -qwahnikmat
- hwa-č reed sp.: like tule, 5 ft. high, used for baskets. H: hwatfr, hwatff

hwa-m (plu.). H: hwam ma-hwa-č (another sp. of reed, skinnier). H: máhwat ʃr̥

- hwik? leave excess, V? R: aqwiki? (las sobras [leftover food]), niwirapk nə? aqwiki?tsaj (yo dejé sobras [l left leftovers])
- hwiski-t-ay whiskey, obj. H: hwiskitaj; R: hwiski?taj [< Eng. "whiskey"]
- hwi?-t hare, N. H: hwi?t, hwit, hwit (liebre [hare]), ahava?
 hwi?t, ahavat hwi?t (rabbitskin blanket [± constituency
 absolutive]; one entry says su fresada conejo [sic: cottontail's
 blanket]), huit aqo (rabbit hole; "not glottalized <u>t</u> even when said
 fast"); R: hwi?t áqo (rabbit hole—of hare); K: huit (jackrabbit)
 hwi?-m (plu.). H: hwi?m
 hwi?-t-ay (obj.). H: hwi?taj

- hwi?-t ?a-ho-vea (plcnm.: La Liebre). H: hwitahwe; R: hwi?t ahovea; K: huitahove (Rancho de la Liebre)
 ?a-kava hwi?-t (plant sp.: 'hare's ear'). H: ákava hwi?t
- hya-č ant sp.: big, black, lives in trees. H: hját fr hya-m (plu.). H: hjam
- hyavi-t? salt, N. H: hjāvit; R: hjavit, hjāvit; ZS: hyavit; ZN: hjavit, hijávit, hjávit, (salt; got from Monolith Lake or Salinas Valley); M: hā-ah'-vit, he-ah-vit' (salt); K: hiav it hiyavi-me? (accomp.). H: hjavime? hiyavi-yik (loc.: a lake). H: híavijak; R: hjavijak, hjāvijak (plcnm.: la salina [salt pit], a salty place); VF: ha-ya-ui-ok (Salt Lake, 4 or 5 mi. away on the other side of the mountains where they used to get salt) hiyavi-ni (inst.). R: hjavira, hjavina
 - [note inconsistency in application of gliding and stress rules]
- hy+k-+k get lost, VI. H: hj=k=k (get lost); R: ahj=k=k (he—man or dog—got lost)

hy+k-k (VT: lose something). H: hjak'k (lose something); R: hjak'k (lose)

[NB: double-articulated word-final stops]

hyočk — carry something, V (of wind). H: hjotfrk
hyočkikam (feather banners). H: hjótfkakam (red feather
banderas at fiesta)

- Pic ladle, V (no examples with overt objects). H: Pits, Pits (ladle out water); R: Pits (ladle)
 Pic (imp.). H: Pits
- ?icam, ?icač we. H: ?itsam, ?itsatṣṛ, itsatrukruptākatam

 (nosotros estamos solos, no hay mas gente ["we are alone, there are no other people"; what older brother in myth said in days before there were people]; R: itsatʃr; itsam itsamuk (we ourselves); ZS: ?icam, cam'i [not glossed], -əvə' (us, obj.); M: it'sam-mü, tsam-neu (ours (dual)); e'-tsam (we (plural)); e'-tsot'r, e'-tsom-müh (we (dual)); K: itsam
 ?icamuk (only us). H,R: ?itsamuk
 ?icami-nu? (from us). H: ?itsamənu?
 ?icami-nu? (from us). H: ?itsaməmea; R: itsamə?mea
 ?icam-ik (emphasized pronoun? [translated as accomp.]). H:
 ?itsamək (with [sic] us); R: itsamək akim (he is coming with you [sic])
 ?icami-yik (dir.). R: atuhtutu?jhtn itsaməjək (she wants to play with us)
- ?ick lose (in a game), V. H: ?itsk
- ?icu?k put something together, fix up something that is broken,
 V. H: ?itsu?k (fix up something broken)
 ?icu?ki (imp.). H: ?itsu?ki, ?itsu?ki məhtin (cheer up! [fix up your heart])
- ?ihay-č plant sp: "chilecote"; for food, tattoos, medicine
 [apparently the common household remedy for sores of Kit.
 households). H: ?ihajts, ?ihajts, ?ihajts, ?ihajts, ?ihajts, (chilecote

 (plant sp. [identified by Hudson and Timbrook (1980: 6) as wild
 cucumber], ground to eat, tattoo, rub body; pieces in the game of
 marbles), mətoqjisin ihajts (you play the chilecote game [NB no

- obj. marking]), tsapunita?tʃ ihajtsaj (let's play [chilecote game])
 ?ihay-m (plu.). H: ?ihajm
- ?ihama? tease, joke, VI; josh someone, VT.
 ?i-?ihama (redup.). H,R: ?i?ihama?
 na-?ihama-t (n.: dañisto [brat], child that doesn't understand). H: nā?ihamat
 nah-na-?ihama-m (plu.). H: nahnā?ihamam
- ?ihan hook something down, V (no examples with overt objects). H: ?ihan ?ihan-ihwa?-t (inst.: hook). H: ?ihanihwa?t, ?ihaniwhat
- -ihun desiderative verbal suffix, meaning 'want to'. H: -ihun, ihūn, -jhūn (many examples); R: -ihun (on 'stand up'), ihihun (on 'sweep'), -anihun (on 'sleep'); ZS: -jhun (on 'eat'); ZN: jhun, -jhun (on 'eat')
- ?i?imuk all around, in every direction, Adv. H: i?imuk ahihju (he is looking all around... as a man would when sheriffs were trying to catch him)
- ?im, ?imi? these (demonstrative pronoun; plu. of <u>?ivi-c</u>). H:
 ?imi? (it's these), *?imi?i?, im kuci?jam (these dogs), ?im
 pimik (with these); R: im; imam [with 3-2s clitic]
 ?imi (obj.). H: ?imi
 ?imi?-mea? (accomp.). H: ?imi?mea?
- ?inok-t bird sp., "huitacoche" [mng.?]: dark, sings pretty. H: ?inokt
 ?inok-m (plu.). H: ?inokm
- ?ino-č scorpion, centipede, N. H: ?inotfr, ?imtfr

- ?ip, ?ipi here, Adv. H: ?ip, ?ip, ?ipi; R: ip, ipi; M: ep, e-pahn'; K: ip?ip-an (right here). H: ?ipan [cf. ?amat-an ?]; M: e-pahn'(here)
 - Pipeay (from here). H: tsapuraqək Pipeaj (let's get out of here), Papuraqək ipeaj (he left here), Pipej amuvaju?nu? (from this side)
- Pipko-č plant sp.: mulefat (wood stalk used for fire drill, leaves as medicine for headache, fever, nosebleed) [oak sp.?]. H,R: Pipkot fr (guatamote [identified by Harrington as mulefat, in Hanna 1933]; type of wood used for male part of firesticks); ZS: Pip koč (plant sp.: Baccharis glutinosa, winterfat; stem used as drill in fire-making and leaves used as medicine); ZN: Pip-koč, Pip(-)xoč (plant sp.; stalk used as drill in fire-making; medicine for headache, fever, nosebleed; grows in water [?]; = type of yezka [yesca 'punk']; corewood of oak-tree for strike-a-light) Pipko-yik (plcnm.: El Pleito). H: ipkojak
- ?is avel pers. name. H: naqwami? is avel (Isabel isn't there) [< Span. "Isabel"]
- -?iva? if (follows dependent clause in "Fut-if Pres" construction); also instrumental? while, when. R: avihinak nira?wkiva? (the box broke when I sat down on it), nikumaniva? ninaraharak (I slipped down when I was asleep ["bajé durmido" [I descended asleep], re sliding down in bed]); apitsiva? nina?n, nitaho, apits ip pāt [rukat a?ajuvan nipāla?tsaj (when my father arrived, I told him, a man came and stole my shovel)
- -ivak verbalizing suffix. H: wovak (twice), -pāhivak (make three), -?ōʃrivak (get hot)
- -ivan verbalizer on nouns and numerals; means 'put'. H: mahat/rivan (put five [things in work being done]), numuavan

mahun (don't be sad [put your heart good]), ?ofrivan (heat something over)

Pivi? — this, demonstrative pronoun. H: Pivi? [alone, or preceding or following a noun], Pivi? təmət (this rock), Pivi? tətəmət (these rocks), Pivi? (this is it), puju (ivi) təvat [raj (todo el mundo, obj.?); R: ivi?; ivits; ivi?t amək (he hit this one [sic; 'this one hit him'?]); Pivi? (this one, obj.); hami?t ivi? (who is that man?); ivi? kīts (this house); ivits aki (this one's house); ivi? aki (this is his his/her house); ivi? ŋatə? (this cat); ivi? təmət (this rock); təmət ivi? (it's a stone); ivi? tətəmət (these rocks); Pivi? təmətaj (this stone, obj.); ahjtwən nehe ivitş (this one saw me); puhtsea?t [r ivi? (take care of this one!); M: e'-we, e'-ve

?ivi-c, ?ivi-č (abs. [this form can also modify]). H: ?ivits,
 ?ivītʃ, apāmuk ?ivīts təvahts uvea (there was a flood
 antes), ?ivits pəjək (with [sic] this one); R: ivitsəvən (with
 3-1s clitic); ivits akīvea kwīhakat (in this woman's
 house); ivitʃr ahihjuvən nehe (this man sees me); ivits
 pəjək (with this one); K: iv i-ts (this)
?ivi-y (obj.). H: ?ivij; ivij təmətaj (this rock, obj.); R: ivij;

nitemawmat ivi? (I'm going to wake this one up), nimi temanik ivi? (I'm going to go to wake him up), ivi? temataj (this stone, obj.); nihihju ivih (I see this); ne? nihju ivij nete?taj (I looked at this cat); uvea nimak ivi? (I gave it to this one); uvea nimak ivi? temataj ivi? pāt frukataj (I already gave this rock to this man); ahju nehe ivij (he saw

that one [sic; 'this one'])

?i-m (plu.). H: ?im (these, subj.),?im kutsi?jam (these dogs),
?im pəmək (with [sic] these); R: im; im pəmək (with
these); pətsəva? imə?, imə? pətsə?va? (with these); imə?
pəhihjuvən nehe (these see me); im papātʃrukam (these
men); im ŋatə?jam (these cats); puhtsea?tʃr imə? ([you
pl.] take care of these!); M: um' (you (plural)); ow'-hung-oo

[your language?], um' (you (dual [sic: Kit. does not have this category separate from plu.]))

Pimiy (plu. obj.). R: Pimaj tatamat (these stones, obj.); imaj tatamat (these stones, obj.) [NB: obj. suffix goes on demonstrative but not noun]; na? nihju imaj ŋata?taj, na? nihju imaj ŋata?jama (I looked at these cats); uvea nimak imaj tatamataj imaj papat [rukjamaj (I gave these stones to these men); nihihjuva ima (I see these); ahjūva ima (*imaj) (he saw these [obj. marking only when attributive])

Pivi-y+k (dir.). H: Pivij>k (with [sic: verb is 'play' which takes complement in dir. case] this one); R: ivij>k, ivits p>j>k (with this one)

?imi?-mea? (with these). H: ?imamea?; R: ima?mea
?ivi-nu? (dir.). R: kutsitahovea ivinu? (this side of the church
[toward kucit ?ahovea from here])

-ivi — "deceased" suffix, meaning dead, former, or no longer in the possessive relationship specified. H: -ivə, -jvə; R: uvea kəʃraʔ, ŋatəʔivə (ya no sirve; es viejo el gato [it's no good any more; the cat is old'; this is presumably a metaphorical use, as in Eng. "he's finished"])

-ivi-ay (obj.). H: -ivaaj

?iwihinmu(?) — plcnm.: Mt. Pinos. H: ?iwahanmu(?)(= V. ?iwahanmo?o; R: ?iwahanmo? (= V. ?iwahanmu); VF: ā-wh-ho-mo-mon (Frazier Mt.)
[< VCh ?iwhinmu? (Applegate 1974: 198)]

?iwos — figs, N. H: ?iwos (figs; "cannot be sure, but seems <u>o</u>, not open <u>u</u>").
[< Span. "higos"]

- ? i your, personal prefix; described in chapter II, section A, number 1.
- ?ia-c jaw, N. H: ?aats -?ia? (poss.). H: -?aa? ?i-?ia-c (plu.). H: ?a?aats
- ?icaka?y owe money, VT. H: ?atsaka?j (owe money [no overt object in this token]), tsolo?t a?atsaka?j weh mahaſr peso? tjendapea (Cholo owes \$10 at the store)
- -ič plural imperative and hortative clitic, described in chapter II, section D. There is one token of this (or a homophonous) clitic being used in the indicative: R: haminat ənətfr əhihju (why are you looking at me?)
- ?ič [mng. unclear]
 - H: ?it]r (yo estaco un cuerno [mng. unclear; if "cuerno" is actually "cuero", could mean 'stake out a hide'; on the other hand, it looks just like 'blood']).

?əčc (bloods) ?∔č-m (plu.). H: ?∔t∫rm

?ič-wi-t (adj./n.: bloody). H: ?ət∫rwət

?÷č-cu? (v: be covered with blood). H: ?a?ərʃrtsu? (Its covered with blood)

?+hikaw -- ask for, V. H,R: ??hikaw

?ik — lie, VI (postural). H: ?ak (lie: ___ rtpk (lie straight), ___ ?ana?k (lie face up), ___ kumu?k (lie face down)); R: ?ak

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?ikinea? (set something (somewhere)). H: niakanea? (I set the hen (on the eggs))

?ikahi-c — pus, N. H: ?akahits
-ikahi (poss.). H: aakahi
-kaya (have boil [= ?ikah-ya?]). H: nikaja (I have boil)
[cf. ič 'blood'?]
[NB unexplained absence of glottal stop in possessed form]

?ikea — [mng. unclear—form of 'lie'?] H: hawava? ma?akea ap na?
hawava? ni?akea (yo tengo mi cuarto aparte y tú tienes tu cuarto aparte [I have my room apart and you have your room apart])

?ikihu-c — breastbone, N. H: ?akihuts
-?ikihu? (poss.). H: -?akihut?
-?ikihu?-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
-?ikihu?-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: -?akihu?tsaj
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- ?im you (pl), pronoun. R: im [cf. also ?imi?]
- ?imanis [mng. unclear]. H: háik ?amañis, háik amanñis (rabbit dance)
 [V.Ch.?]
- ?imi? you, pronoun. H: ?əmə?; R: ?əmə?, əmə?, əmə?; M: hamime tü-mü' (Who are you? [M. mis-segments: hamit ?imi]), ümüh (ö-mü); oo-mü'-ü (we (dual)); M: oo-mu' (present or absent
 same); K: ü mü (ye); ü mü, imua (thou)
 ?imi?i (plu.). H: ?əmə?ə, ?əmə?ə?; R: ?əmə?ə?; əmə?ə,
 əmə?əvu?və (with 2-3p clitic)
 ?imimi-y (obj., plu.). R: əməməj, ?əməməj
 ?imi? (imp. subj. sg.). H: ?əmə?
 ?im (imp. subj. plu.). H: ?əmə?
 ?imi?-t-ne ... (were you ...?). H: ?əmə?t ne ...
 ?imi-yik (dir., sg.). H: ?əməjək (to you, sg.); R: əməjək,
 aməjək

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?+m(-)+k (dir., plu.). H: ?>m>k (with you, plu.); R: >m (with
you, plu.)
?+mea? (accomp., sg.). H: ?>mea? (with you, sg.); R: >mea?
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?imea? (accomp., sg.). H: ?əmea? (with you, sg.); R: əmea? ?imi-mea? (accomp., plu.). H: ?əməmea? (with you, plu.); R: əməmea?

?+m+-nu? (from you, sg. or plu.). H: ?əmənu? (from you/ye)
?+m+-y (obj.). H: nipət frəhtna? ?əməj (estoy atenido a
 Vd.—said when one is muy atrazado en alguna cosa); R:
 əməj

?imiha — mute. H: ?amaha (mute, does not talk)

?÷?mk woh — "2 up" (in game)
woh ap ?÷nk, woh ?÷nk (throw two face up). H: woh ?ənk,
woh ap ?ənk
[cf. <u>?÷n÷?k</u> 'face up']

- ?in know, know how to, understand (words), V. H: ?an; ?in (know, know how to, understand (words)); R: ?an (know); M: now-ne-ūn (I don't know)
 - ?in-an (inform [and). H: ?inan (hacer saber [inform]—indirect object is person)
 - -?in-an-ivana? (inst. nom.). H: -?ənanivara?, á?ənanivana? (signal)
 - -?in-an-ihun (des.). H: niananihūn (des.: I want to learn)
 ?in-an-a-t (gen. nom.: wise, wise person, omniscient,
 fortuneteller). H: ?aranat, ?ananat, ?ananat
- ?ini?k be face up, VI. H: woh ?aənək (two are boca arriba [face up])
 - ?ini?k (Adj./Adv.: face up, with 'put', 'be'). H: ?ənə?k (face up with 'put', "be"); R: ənə?k nita nehe (i put it face up), ənə?k ni?ək (i'm lying face up)
 - [< in 'know'? (and perh. kumik'face down' is < kum 'sleep')]

- ?fni?nyu cfpuk cá-ha-havut unanalyzed formula used at end-of mourning ceremonial washing, one year after someone's death (seems to mention clothes).
 - ZN: ?ə́ni?nyu cə́puk cə́hahavut (unanalyzed, exept cahahavut, "our clothes"; gloss given: "I've taken everything away. I'm washing my family's face. I am now free of mourning." [said at end-of-mourning ceremonial washing, one year after death of spouse]).
- -it interrogative clitic. Vowel drops after ni?. Also used for negative hortative: H,R: [cf. chapter II, section D, for examples]; also, naw-t mi-cu?rik (que no te atasques [Hope you don't get stuck])
- ?itahik climb, go up, VT (but usually no overt complement). H: ?ətāhək; R: ?ətāhək (climb up on)
 ?itahik-mat (fut.). H: əta?hkmat (climb, go up, with obj.)
 ita?k-ihwa?-t (inst.: stairs). H: ?əta?kihwat (stairs)
- -ivin object clitic expressing third person subject and first person object. H,R: [cf. chapter II, section C for examples]
- ?+?vk raise something up out of reach, V. R: ?ə?vk (alzar, put up out of reach)

?i?vki (imp.). R: ?a?vki

?+?vki-č (imp. plu.). R: ?>?vkit [r

- -?i?vk-mat (fut. [note 4-C cluster]). R: ni?a?vkmat
- -?÷?vk-uvu? (past). R: -?>?vkuvu? (I already raised it, ya hace muncho)

[cf. hahavik 'not quite']

- ?iwhanmu? plcnm.: (in?) mountains at San Emigdio [apparently an enclosure was built there for ceremonies]. H: ?awhanmu (plcnm.: the cordon grande of the Sierra de San Emigdio) [= iwahanmu, Chumash plcnm. on Mt. Pinos].
- ?iwi sunflower sp., 4" diameter. H: ?awi

- ?÷wi(-)hikaw beg, V. H: ?əwihikaw ?÷wi(-)hika?(-)a-č (beggar). H: ?əwihika?āt∫r ?÷wi(-)hika?(-)a-m (plu.). H: ?əwihika?āt∫r (beggar; plu. -m)
- ?+yci-č poison oak, N. H: ?>jtsits, ?>jtsits (hiedra); R: >jtsits (hiedra)

?iyci-m (plu.). H: ?ajtsim

- ?iyci-vea (loc.: Chanaco Canyon or a local hill). H: ?əjtsivea (Chanaco Canyon), ?əjt∫ive (loc., a hill name); R: ?əjtsivea (big pedregal in Chanaco Canyon, described); ZS: ?ə́jycive (Chanac Canyon [sic]); ZN: ?úwičive, ?u·ičive, ?ə̂?ičive (Chanac Canyon)
- -?iyci-muk (be poisoned with [poison] ivy). H: ni?əjtsimuk (l am poisoned with hiedra [ivy])
- ?iyiw rob someone or steal something, VT (both kinds of objects are in obj. case). H: ?əjəw (steal); R: ?əjəw (rob, steal [both kinds of objects are in obj. case]); a?əjuvən ... (he stole from me ...)
 - -?+y+w, N (metaphor for illicit sex?). H: n+əjəw [the lack of 2 unexplained] (concubine; prostitute; paramour; a reciprocal term, said of man or woman)
 - -?+y+a? (plu.? [this is how I entered it, but suggestive of verbal nature]. H: -?əjəa?a, ?əjəa?

?+y+-t (N: thief). R: əjət [w --> ø?]

- ?+y?k lean something somewhere, V (place is in obj. case). H: ?əj?k
 - ?+y+?k (be leaning, Adj.--followed by conjugated form of "be"). H: ?əjə?k ____κat∫r (be leaning, VI; also ejə?k [e] here an error?]).

-ka? — cone of pine or piñon, N. H: -ka?a, -ka?a (cone of pine or piñon; means bola [ball])

kaci? — chew, V. H: kātsi?

kaci-c (pass. nom.: milkweed plant). H: kātʃitʃ, kātṣitṣ (milkweed plant—green, 2' tall sp.; Kit. chewed bitter cooked juice, used fibers for string) ZS,ZN: kacic (milkweed—<u>Asclepias erosa</u> (chewing gum from the milk; also medicine for spider bites))

kaci-m (plu.). H: kātsim

kaci-c-i-mon-ihwa?-t? (a chew of milkweed flower and gum mixed together?). ZN: kácicɛmɔ´nihwat (flower chewed together with gum) [may contain stem of mon-ik 'mix']

kač — be, live, face, VI (also used in sentences with "have" in English—cf. chapter IV, section A). H: katʃr, katʃr, katʃr, katʃr, katʃr, katʃr, katʃr, katʃr, wea ne nikatʃr nipuqtsiva (I was ready); R: katʃr (be, live), ip akatʃruvu? (it was here), akatʃr ne(he) ip (it was here), pəjən nikatʃr (I live far off), akaʃr nitəqwa? (yo traigo noticias [I bring news]), frwink akatʃr həŋt (the rattlesnake is coiled), akatʃr raʔwk (está sentado [she is seated]), akatʃr tsonuʔk (está parado [it is stopped]); nuk nikatʃr ap (I was left [there] alone); məkatʃrət (are you there?); ZN: nikač nə nikwahkwa (I am eaten [doubtful gloss]); ZS,ZN: kač (be); M: ham'-me-nat muk'-katch, yah"ham'-me-nat muk-katch (greeting)

?a-kač-ivi (sack, afterbirth). H: akatsiva, akatsiva, akatsiva

?a-kač-ivi-y (sack, obj.). H: "obj -j"

?a-kač ?a-niw ku-t (firefly [it-is its-possession fire]). H: akat [rahiw kut (firefly (it has fire))

- kač-i(-)huna-k winikaik (he is a smarty [< huna- 'heart', or -ihun 'want']). H: kat ∫ihtnakwinikaak
- kač-i(-)huna-k huyuyhk (a conceited person). H: κat sihtnaκ hujujhk (a conceited person—thinks ninguno com yo [no one like—i.e. as good as—me])
- ka-č rat, N. H: kat fr; ZS,ZN: ka-č (rat; wood rat)
 ka-m (plu.). H: kam
 ka-č-ay (obj.). H: kāt fraj
- -kači? luck, poss. H: kəfra? warayk nikatfə? (tengo muy mala suerte [I have very bad luck])
- kačoakah-yik plcnm. of a place with wild grapes. R: kāt froakah jak [< kačuač 'heel'?]
- kačokt plant sp.: Isomeris arborea Nutt. ZN: ká·čokt
- kačua-č heel, N. H: kāt ruat r kačua-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m" -kačua? (poss.). H: kāt rua? (glossed as poss. obj., but no -y]); -kāt rua?
- kafe? coffee, N. H: kafe? [< Span. "café"; cf. kape?, the more assimilated version]
- kaha?-c front-flap or apron; front of buckskin dress, N. H: kaha?ts
 - -kaha? (poss.). H: -kaha, -kaha, -kaha, -kaha?; ZS,ZN: ?a·kaha
 - kahea?n (imp.). H: kahea?n (pin your coat together)
 - -kahea?n-ivana? (inst.: pin). H:-kahéa?nivaña

kaha-kam (tribename: Monos?). H: kahakam (Mono Lake people); R: kahākam (Monachi); ZN: kaha·kam (Indians at Independence, the Kaw. call payazoz a [cf. Zigmond et al. (1988: 212) pagazozi 'Indians said to live around Lone Pine and Bishop, called Shoshones']) [length of final a suggests -kam may really be -ik + a + m]

kahon — box, N. H,R: kaqon kaqon-t-ay (obj.). H,R: kaqontaj, kaqontaj [< Span. "cajón"]

kahpišakam — tribename: Yokuts from Tular, Tejón. H:

káqpiʃakam, káqpiʃrakam, káqpiʃakam, ká'piſjakam
(Tulareños (language that says puʔus); Tejoneños; qosoʔmo; all
the Indians that lived up northeast of here); R: kaqpiʃjakam
(Yokhots, Tulareño tribe); ZS: kapìšakám (Yokuts); ZN:
kapìšakám, kapìšaxam (Yokuts), kápišakam (Yokuts language),
kàppišakam tákat (the Yokuts territory [sic; apparently =
Yokuts Indian])

kahpišakaha-nu? ?ašivik (northerly [Tulareño] wind). H: káqpijakahanu? ajívak

[< <u>?aka?pi?</u> 'the bunch of feathers on top of the feather ornament'?]

kahwenga — plcnm.: Cahuenga. M: kah-wen'-gah (placename in Tongva territory: Cahuenga) [< Gab.?; cf. kavweŋ 'Cahuenga']

kai? — fast (i.e., abstain from salt and meat), V. H: καρ?, καρ?

kaka-č — quail, N. H: kakat fr, kakat fr, kakat gr, ZN: kaka-č

kaka-m (plu.). H: kakam; ZN: kakam

kaka-i-t — bird sp.: bigger than quail. H: kákant (partridge (like quail but bigger); kakant (ceremonial

stick with eagle [sic] quills; partridge); ZN: kakawt (mountain quail)
kaka-i-m (plu.). H: kakawm, kakam; ZN: kakawm
[this item and kakač 'plant sp.' apparently homophonous]

 $kaka-\check{c}$ — plant sp.: an ash-colored shrub 3' tall, used medicinally. H: kakat fr

kaka-vea (loc.). R: kākavea [this item and kakač 'quail' are apparently homophonous]

kakačiyač — circular brush enclosure where baskets were made, N. ZS,ZN: kakatʃjatʃ, kakatʃjatʃ, kakatʃjatʃ (circular brush enclosure; means "just to stay in to make something"; made baskets there)
[agt. nom. of kač 'be'? if so, exceptional since non-human]

kakawai-t — chicken, N. H: kakawaat, kakawaat (hen); R: kakawaat (rooster)

kakawa‡-m (plu.). H: kákawaəm kakawa‡-t ?a-ki (chicken house). H: kakawaət aki

kakawat — peanut, N. H: kakawat [< Span. "cacahuate"]

kakayhu? — lizard sp., called in Span. "guico del llano"; a foot and a half long, gray with white belly and yellowish markings; raises itself high on legs when running; will chase people and bite. H: kakajhu, kakajhu?

kakayhu?-m (plu.). H: kakajhu?m

kalaku-pea — picnm.: a mountain peak. H: kalākupea, kalākupea (great mountain peak with lake at base and source of Colorado, Rio Bravo, Estanislao)

kaiavo? — nail, N. H: kaiavo? kaiavo?-yam (plu.). H: kaiavo?jam [< Span. "clavo"; cf. kavoč 'knife, iron, tool'?]

kalesa? — buggy, N. H: kalesa? kalesa?-t-ay (obj.). H,R: kalesa?taj kalesa?-pea (loc.). H,R: kalesa?pea [< Span. "calesa"]

kalo? — knife, N. M: ne kah'-lo (knife (of stone))

kam — interjection (said once or more); also the sound of whales fighting. H: kam

kamea? — bury; roast in buried coals, V. H: kamea?, kamea?, kamea? (bury; also used for showering people with chia at fiesta); R: kamea? (roast buried meat)
kamea?-n (imp.). R: kamea?n
kamea?-n-ič (imp. plu.). R: kamea?nat [r
kamea-mat (fut.). R: kameamat [NB: no 2 preceding mat]
kamea?-n-ea (pass.). H: uvea kamea?nea (it's already buried); R: kamea?nea
nah-kamea?-n-i-c (cemetery). H: nahkame?nits,
nahkamea?nits; R: naqkamea?nits (cemetery in El Monte)
nah-kamea?-n-i-vea (loc.). H: naqkame?nive; M: nah'kahme-ah nā'-ve-ah (cremation)
nah-kamea?-n-i-yik (plcnm.: mountain at Cañada de los
Muertos). H: na'kame?nijak (plcnm.); R: naqkamea?nijak

ka?m-ik — be crazy, dizzy, drunk, VI. H: ka?mak, κa?maκ; R: ka?mak (be loco [crazy] or drunk; get drunk)

ka?m-k (VT: make someone drunk). H: patsəvən aka?mk (he gave me toloache), nə? ne nika?mk (I got him drunk); R: ka?mk (make drunk)

?a-ka?m-k-i? (part.: crazy, stupid, drunk). H: akam ki?, akamki? aka?mki? (crazy, stupid, drunk, bold (of a woman)); R: aka?mki? = aka?mak (he's loco, drunk),
akamki (el es loco [he's crazy], crazy person)
?a-kah-ka?m-k-i-m (crazy, plu.). H: akahkamkim,
ákáqkamkim; R: akaqkamkim (they're crazy)
kamk-i-c-ay tuhtu-i-c (last dance of the mourning fiesta).
H: kamkitsaj tuqtuits (last dance at wakat; Sunday night)
[obj. case unexplained]

kamote? — sweet potato, N. H: kamote?, kamote? [< Span. "camote"]

kanaypucic — baby squirrel, N. H: kanajputsits kanaypucic-yam (plu.). H: kanajputsitsjam

kanimic — gall, N. H: kanemets
-kanim (poss.). H: -kanem, -kanem
[a-loss stem with a -> i? or idiocyncratic i-loss]

kanya? — cane, N. H: kanja? [< Span. "caña"]

kaŋa-c — beard, N. H: kaŋats
kaŋa-m (plu.). H: kaŋam
-kaŋa (poss.). H: -kaŋa; K: aqaña ([his] beard)
-kaŋa-y (poss. obj.). H: -kaŋaj
kaŋa-win (incorp.: pull out beard hairs). H: kaŋawin
kaŋa-win-ihwa?-t (incorp., inst.: clam [used as tweezers]).
H: kaŋawinihwat
kaŋa-win-ihwa?-m (incorp., inst., plu.). H: "plu -m."
ni-kaŋa wɨr (be full-bearded). H,R: nikaŋa wər ("soy muy
barbón [I am full-bearded]" [Kit.: 'my beard a lot'])

kaŋa-wɨ-t (aug.: full-bearded). H: kaŋawət, kaŋāwət (barbón); R: kaŋāwət(barbón)

kapana-c — sore, N. H: kapanāt s

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-kapana? (poss.). H: -kapana, -карапа?
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kape?, kafe? — coffee, N. H: kape?, kafe?; R: kafe? kafe?-t-ay (obj.). H: kafe?taj, kafe?taj [< Span. "café"]

kara? — shell corn, V. Η: καra?

karara?y — fall, V.? H: akarara?j ([the down] is falling from tsuq)

kareta — cart, N. H: ámət [rk káreta (ox [it pulls cart]) [< Span. "carreta"]

karnea — meat, N. H: karnea; R: karni?, kawnea; M: kar-ne (meat); ah-wah'-ke kar-ne (dried meat) karni?-t-ay (obj.). H: karni?taj [< Span. "carne"; NB Span. e --> ea ~ i?]

karvaša? — squash, N. H: karvaʃa? [< Span. "calabaza"]

kasa — house, N. M. kah-sah we'-haht (ceremonial house) [< Span. "casa"]

kas?ap ka?ayaha ? [mng. unclear]. H: kas?ap ka?aja'a (cobweb) [Ventureño?]

kaštik — plcnm.: the bog at the Laguna,4 where people say jet.
"come here". H: kaſtəκ
[< VCh kashtiq]

⁴Note that the site referred to here is near the old Chumash village of <u>Kasht+o</u>, at modern day Castac Lake in Kern County near modern-day Tejón Pass, not the town of Castaic or Castaic Creek in the upper Santa Clara River valley in Los Angeles County (Johnson 1978). The similarity in names has caused some confusion in the past. See Johnson (1978) for further discussion.

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kašup(-)na -plcnm.: Montalvo, called in Kit. munkikahjik? H:
    kajupna (Montalvo; = Jam. plcnm. munki kahjak)
      [may not be Kit.; perh. Fernandeño]
 kava-c -- ear, leaf, N. H: kavats (ear); ZS: kavac
      -kava (poss.). H: -kava, -kava (leaf); ZS: -kava,
         -k'ava, -k'ava?; ZN: -kava, -kava? (leaf); M: ne-kah-vah,
         ah-kah'-vah (ear); K: akav a (ear)
      -kava-y (obj.). H: -kavaj, -kavaj
      -kava-m (plu. poss.). R: kavām
      -kah-kava (redup. poss. plu.). H: -kahkava
      -kava-vea (poss. loc.). H: -kavāvea, ákavave, ákavavea
         (plcnm.); R: akavavea (plcnm.: La Oreja = V. kastu);
         makavāvea (into your ear)
      ?a-kava-yik (plcnm.: Piru). ZN: ?akava·juk
      kava-tutu-č ([ear]wax). H: kavatutut[r
      -kava-tutu (wax, poss.). H: -kavatutu
      kah-kava-wi-t (redup., aug.: 'big-eared person'). H:
         kahkavawat, kahkavawat (big-eared); R: kahkavawat
      kah-kava-wi-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
      kava-wavi-t (deaf [shares second morpheme with huvawavit
        'blind']). H,R: kávawavit, kavāwavit
     kah-kava-wavi-m (deaf, plu.). Η: καqκανāwavim
     ta(-)kava-vea ? (plcnm.). VF: ta-cakvavie (plcnm. at
        Temescal ranch; ear)
     [cf. kavik 'listen']
kava-tutu-č — earwax, N.
     [cf. kava-c 'ear']
kava-wavi-t — deaf, N.
     [cf. kava-c 'ear']
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- kavayo? horse, N. H: awawk kavajo?t, kavaju? ako?, = kavaju? akwa? (the horse is eating it)
 kavayo?-t-ay (obj.). H: kavajo?taj
 [< Span. "caballo"]
- k avickik having something on one side (as M's [Magdalena's?] dog, with one black eye), Adj. Η: κανίτskik
- ka?v+k listen, V. H: ka?v+k ka?vk (imp.). H: ka?vk [cf. kayac 'ear']
- kavk together, Adv. H: kāyk pami (the birds go in a flock)
- kavweŋa ? picnm.: Cahuenga. H: kawweŋ (picnm.: on road near Los Angeles); R: kavweŋa (Cahuenga)
 kavweŋayam (tribename: Cahuengueño). H,R: kavweŋajam
 [cf. kahwenga 'Cahuenga']
- kawakawa-č a type of coccoon, or rattle made from two or three of them, N. H: kawakawat Γ
 - -kawakawa (poss.). H: -kawakawa (poss = V. tsiaris) [stem reduplication, as in bird names, suggesting a sound]
- kawana pers. name: Vicente Montes [son of Angela Montes]. H: kawana

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kawča-č — fox, N (used for quiver). H: kawtratr, kawtratfr; ZS,ZN: kawčač kawča-m (plu.). H: kawtram kawča-č-ay (obj.). R: kawtfratfraj
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kaweša? — tribename for Kawaiisu. H: káwéſra? (Serranos (like Lozada))
[anomalous stress pattern suggests a borrowing]

kawicat, kawicat-pea — plcnm.: Frasier Mountain. H: káwitsāt (= Tej. tošlolo, a mtn. [Frasier Mtn., according to J. Johnson (p.c.)]); R: kawitsatpea (= V. tasololo, a mtn.)

kawiya? — tribename: Cahuilla. R: kawija? kawiya-yam? (plu.). R: "plu. -jam"

kawkaw — bear costume, N, or bear sp. H: káwkaw, káwkaw
[note stem reduplication, often used in bird names, to suggest a sound]
[< VCh?]

kawnea — meat, N. [< Span. "carne"; cf. <u>karnea</u> 'meat']

kawri-yik — plcnm.: mountain; mentioning 'penis'. R: kawrijak ("ca.")

kawtk — break, cut (of string), V. H: kawtk
kawt-mat (fut.). H: kawtmat
kawtki (imp.). H: kawtki
kawtki-č (imp. plu.). R: kawtkitfr
[k-loss may be from cluster constraint, or morphological class]

- kawvik pink-to-lavender color, Adj. H: kawvak (medio colorado [half red]); R: kawvak (reddish); ZS,ZN: kawvak (lilac or lilac-orchid color)
- kay perhaps, possible (clitic). H: -qaj, -kaj, -kaj, -κaj, ni-mūkutkama?jtkaj ("said when no sabes si vas a sanar o morir..." [said when you don't know if you're going to get well or die; apparently 'Am I going to die now?"]); R: nimukmat kaj (maybe I'm going to die now)
- kay neg. used in imp., with VI. H: kaj kay-m (neg. used in imp, with VI). H: kajm, kajh?m, kajm, κajm; R: kajh?m, kajm (imp. neg. in 'don't you lie to me!') kay-m-ič (imp. plu. neg.). R: kajmat∫r [NB: vowel-initial clitics lose their niitial vowel following kay]
- -ka?y "characterizing" derivational suffix, added to nouns (cf. chapter III, section A, 1)). H: -ka?j, -ka?j
 -kam [irreg. plu.—cf. e.g. 'Chumash': kišani-hunu-kam]
- kaya have a boil, V. H: kaja
 [= kahi-ya?]
 ?--kahi-c (compound w/ 'blood': pus). H: ?--kahits
 ----kahi (poss.). H: -----kahi
- kayak plant sp.: angelica. H: kajak (chuchupate [Lomatium californicum (Hudson et al. 1977: 116)]); JW: kaiyak (angelica root, chuchupati)
 - kayak-yik (plcnm.: hill or mountain area). H: kájākjak (plcnm.: a mountain range); R: kajākjak (a hill plcnm., < kajāk 'chuchupate')
 - kayak-pea (a [hypothetical?] name consultant does not know). R: kajakpe (would mean 'at the chuchupate'; nesc. as placename)

- kayam tribename: people at yuaka?y mountain, Antelope Valley.
 H: kajam (tribe inhabiting juaka?j mountain, Antelope Valley;
 not juakajam, but kajam; plural same)
- kay-c mountain, N. H: kajts, ķajits, κajts, κajts; R: kajt∫r, kajts;

ZN: kayc; M: ki'-ëts (mountain)

kay-m (plu.). Η: kajim, κajm; R: kajm

ka-kay-c (redup.). ZN: kákayc

kay-yam (tribename? 'people who lived at yuaka?y'). H:
kajam (jóaka?j is a mountain that has snow on it all the time)

kay-vea (loc.). H: kajvea, κajvea

- kay-vea kika-m (tribename: "Serranos"). H: kajve kikam = kakajvjatam ("Serrano"); R: kajvea kike? = kajvjatam (mountain Indian)
- ka-kay-vea-tam (Serrano, plu.). R: kakajvjałam [perh. a forced answer?]
- kay-cama-č molar, N. H: kajtṣamā-č ("muela" [< 'mountain' + *'tooth'? (cf. Kit. tamac 'tooth'; poss. evidence of old palatalization rule])

kah-kay-cama-c (molar, plu.). H: kahkajts amats

- -kay-cama (molar, poss.). H: -kajtşama, -kajt∫ama
- kayi? winnow in a certain way: toss-winnow in tray to separate coarse meal from fine. H: kaja? (toss-winnow to separate coarse meal from fine), kajapk (toss-winow in a certain way, in tray)
- kaykuk-pea plcnm.: big mountain three or four days from tahičpe. H: kájkukpe (big mountain 3 or 4 days from táhit pe; means some blue stones, some blue-black; R: kajkukpea (mtn. far east of Tehachapi in Serr. country; means bluish or blackish stones)

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kayšu-c — opponent in a game ("sayo"), or personal enemy, N. H:
   kaj∫rūts
      kayšu-m (plu.). H: kajsrīm
     -kayšu (poss.). H: -kaj∫ru, -kai∫çu, kaji∫çu
     -kayšu-m (plu. poss.). H: -kajjūm
ki?at — plant sp., used for house roofing. ZS,ZN: ki?at
     [cf. kič 'house'?]
ki-c — house, N. H: kits, kits, kits [most tokens have the dot];
  R: kits, kits, kits, kits; ZS: kirc; ZN: kirč; M: keéts, ke-keets
  (village of town); M: kee-sah'-maht (brush wikiup ['house' +
  'grass']); K: giits, ni-gi (house)
     ki-m (plu.). ZS: ki-m ("2 houses")
     ki-ki-m (redup., plu.). ZS: ki-k-i-m (houses, plu.)
     ki-ki-c (redup.: plu.). H: kikits; R: kikits (rancheria [lit.,
        houses])
     ki-c-ay (obj.). H: kītsaj, kītsaj kəmani?āt [r (carpenter
        [house-maker])
     -ki (poss.). H: -ki', -ki', -kih, -ki? [one token only], -ki; R:
        -ki, -ki; amats aki (his house); R: pat frukat akin = aki
        pat frukat (the man's house); papat frukam paki (the men's
        houses); ZS: -ki; K: giits, ni-gi (house) [h, aspiration, and n
        unexplained]
     -ki (poss. obj.). H: -ki'
    -ki-m (plu. poss.). ZS: -k·i·m ("poss. plu.? or 2?")
    -ki-ki (plu. poss.). R: -kiki; am nikiki (aquellas mis casas
        [those houses of miro]); ZS: -ki kim
     ki-nu? (dir.: from the house). R: kinu?
    -ki-nu? (dir., poss.). R: nikinu? (from my house); nijak
        akinu? (from my mother's house)
    ki-vea (loc.). H: kivea; R: kivea, kivea
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- -ki-vea (loc., poss.). H: kimatfr ?akive (plcnm.: flicker's house); R: uvea nikatfr nikivea (l'm already in my house)
- -ki-ki-vea (loc., poss., redup.). R: -kikivea
- -ki-yik (poss. dir.). R: nikijak (to my house); M: nim'-min-ne-ke'-yuk (I am going home); nä-ke'-yuk (Go home [error for mi-ki-yik 'to your home'?])
- ?a-ki-kim tameat [mng. unclear: ring around the sun?]. H: ?ákikam tameat ("hace casa el sol" ['the sun makes house'?])
- ?a-kač ?a-ki ku?ač (snail [it has a house]). H: ?ákat∫r ?aki ku?at∫r

ki(-)+k? (householder [q.v.]). H: kik

ki(-)+k-am (householder, plu.). H: kik am

tim(-)ki-c (cave). H: timkits

tih-tim(-)ki-c (caves, plu.). H: tihtemkits

tɨm(-)ki-yɨk (plcnm.: re cave). H: tám kíjak

wa?tam(-)kic, wa?tam(-)ki-vea (plcnm.: Camulos ['juniper house']). H: wa?tamkits, wa?tamkits, wa?tamkivea (Camulo)

- kihe nut (gen. or walnut), N. H: kihe (nut, walnut); ZN: kihe (walnut tree).
- kihu-č fish (gen.), N. H: kihut, ki

(kingfisher [apparently "its-food [is] fish"]); ZN: kihu·č; M: ke-hoots, ke-hoot'r (a fish); ke-hoot, ke-hoots (fish); ah-wah'-ke ko-hoot, ke-hoots-ah-wah-ke (dried fish); K: gihut

kihu-m (plu.). H: kihum, kihumkihu-čay (obj.). H: kihut fraj; ?amujvana? kihut fraj (salmon spear); M: wur-ke-hoom', ke-hoom (many fishes)

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kihu-ŋ (plcnm.: a spring: "El Pescado"). H: kihuŋ (a spring called "El Pescado" in Span., katʃatʃonəʔəʃ in V.); R: kihū ŋ (plcnm.: El Pescado)
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kika-t — house vertical [i.e., post?], N. H: kikat kika-m (plu.). H: kikam [cf. kic 'house']
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kike? — householder, inhabitant, N. H: kik; ?ahavave mamat kike?e (coast person); R: ahavavea mamat kike? (coast person)

kika(-)m (plu.). H: kikam; ?ahavave mamat kikam, ?ahavave

mamat ki?kam (coast people)

kika-t-ay (obj.). H: kikahtaj

[cf. kic 'house'; = /ki-ka?y/?]

ki?ka?y — "capitán" [chief], N. H: ki?ka?j, kīka?j, ka?kaj, kika?j; R: kika?j; ZN: kí'kay, kí'ka; M: kā'-ki, ké-ki' (chief)
kika-t (constituency abs.?). H: ?aħiuj kīkat (things belonging to the chief, obj.)
ki?ka-m (plu.). H,R: kikam
ki?ka-t-ay (obj.). H: kikahtaj, kikahtaj; R: kikahtaj
ki-ki?ka-m-ay (plu. obj.). H: kikikaməj
-kikahpa (poss.). H: -kīkaqpa; R: -kikahpa (capitán, obj.)
-kikahpa-m (poss. plu.). R: pəkikahpaam (their capitán)
[cf. kic 'house']

kim — come, VI. H: kim, kim; ?akiməvən hīka?j (he came to see me); małakim həwatʃr təvatʃr (next year [fut. it-comes other year; but why clitic first?]); R: kim; M: o-wah'-kim i'-ah-kik (a white man is coming.); o-wah'-kim tah-kaht (an Indian is coming); o-we-hah'-me sah'-kim (somebody is coming.) kim-mat (fut.). R: kimat kim-uvu? (past). R: nikimuvu? (vini [= "vine (yo)" 'I came'])

- kiva (imp.). H: kiva, kíva'; R: kiva, kiva'; kivatsakwa?tſ
 (come and eat [come! let's eat]); M: ke'-vah-kwuhk (come here.)
 kiva-č (imp. plu.). H,R: kívatſ
 ca-kim-mat-ič (hort.? [apparently contains fut. clitic]: let's come). R: tsákimatutſ (vamos á venir [let's come])
 ?a-kim-ivana? tamea-t (the east [inst.: its-coming-instr. sun])
- kima-č flicker, N. H: kimatfr, κ imatfr' M: ke-maht's (zigzag [is this same word? perh. referring to a design shape?])
- kimiš plant sp.: a shrub 3' high, with red flowers and black, oily, edible seeds. R: kimiſ kimiš(-)pea plcnm.: a hill. H: kimiſpe (plcm.: hill; means a grass sp.); R: kimiſpea (plcnm., from kimiſ, a 3' high rama with red flower and black, oily, edible seed)
- kitam(-)ik (toward) the east. H: kītamik
 [cf. <u>2a-ki-kitam</u> 'easterners' [i.e., Kitanemuks].]
- kitanamu? speak the Kitanemuk language, V. H: '-kitanamu?, '-kitanamu?, -kitanamu?' [odd that all these verb forms have stressed prefix and first syllable of stem, as well]; kitanamu? ("2nd a perfectly heard; name Kit. have for own language and people"); R: kitanamu? (talk Kitanemuk); VF: kitanemuk, keytan-eh-muk, quitanamocc (name of the [Kit.] tribe)
 - kitanamu?-ka-y? (Adj.? a Kitanamuk). H: kītanamuk ana? (I am a Kitanamuk); ZN: ki'tanamuk, ?akiki'tam ("this language, app. the territorial name")
 - kitanamu?-ka-m (Kitanamuks, plu.). H: kītanamukam, kitanamukam (the Kit. tribe); R: kītanamu?kam (Kit. speakers)
 - kitanamu? (imp.). H: kītanamu?

kitanamu?-i-c (pass. nom.: Kitanamuk language). H: kitanamu?its, kitanamu?its

kiva — come, imp. [cf. <u>kim</u> 'come']

kivaw — ask for, VT (person asked and thing asked for are both obj.). H,R: kivaw kivaw-vu? (past). R: nikivaw (lo pidí antes [l asked for it before])

kiwiš — pot, gen., N. H: kīwəʃ (olla [pot]); kiwəʃ (clay or stone olla, soapstone olla, stone olla); kiwəʃ (any olla); kīwəʃ kəmanits (ball of mashed islay kernels [pot-made]); kīwəʃ kəmanim (plu.: balls of mashed islay kernels); κīwəʃ təmət, wīkihwat təmət (clay pipe); ZS: ki·wəš (pot); M: ke'-was (kettle or vessel for cooking) kiwiš-t-ay (obj.). H: távihwat kiwəʃtaj (pot-rest stone)

kiyaw — whale, N. H: kíaw, kijaw, kíahw, kijahw; R: kijaw kiyahw-yam (plu.). H: kíjahwjam [app. at least etymologically related to kihuč 'fish', but not the usual Kit. augmentative morphology; perh. < Gab. kyot 'whale' (aug. of kyuur 'fish') (Munro 1988: 24)]

k÷? — bite, V. H: kə?, kə?; ákəwən, akə?wən (he bit me); R: kə? (bite), akə?vən (he bit me)
kɨ-kɨ? (redup.: nibble, gnaw). H: kəkə? (nibble), ?akəkə?ivə (the stick is rat-gnawed)
kɨ? (imp.). H: κə?
nah-kɨ?-hyɨ-t (aug.). H: nahkə?hjət ([habitual] biter (of dog); R: ivi? kutsi? nahkə'hjət (this dog bites)
nah-kɨ?-hyɨ-m (aug. plu.). H: nahkəhjəm

kica? — wash, VT. H: katsa?

- kɨča-č manzanita, N. H: kətʃratʃr
 [poss. a nom. from kica 'wash'? Balls (1970: 39) cites medicinal use of a wash made from manzanita leaves.]
 kɨča-vɨhač (manzanita sp.: good eaten raw). H:
 kətʃravɨhatʃr [compound from wɨhač 'thorn, cholla'?]
- kɨčɨk? stand up, VI. H: kətʃrk-; M: koo-ut'sk (get up!); kwut'sk
 (awake [standing up])
 kɨčk-ihun (des.). R: akətʃrkihun warə? (the sick man wants
 to get up out of bed but can't)
 [cf. kwɨčɨk 'stand up']
- kiha? spoil, hinder, VT. H: kaha?

 kih-kiha? (redup.). R: warak wakatsi makahkaha? (me

 estás estorbando [you are hindering, obstructing, impeding, or hampering me; or you ar in my way])

 ?a-pa-kiha (incorp., nom.?: tapeworm). H: ?ápākaha

 ?a-pa-kiha-m (tapeworm, plu.). H: "plu.-m"

 kihahik (be spoiled?, VI). H: ?ahtn ?akahahak (his heart is sad); R: nihun akahahak ([I'm sad])

 [cf. kiša 'no good'? perh. a doublet]
- k+k+? fit, be big enough, be complete (of baby with no parts missing) (Adj.?; note the party for whom something is big enough is in obj. case). H: k+k+?; R: k+k+?; naw k+k+? (no cabe [it doesn't fit]—the buggy will not hold 5 or 6 men); nawvan k+k+? (I don't fit); k+k+?van (I do fit)
- k+m -make, VT; make something some way (with Adj.?). H,R: kəm, kəm, kəm, κəm, mətsəni? nikəm (I made it hot), hahukup nə nikəm (Io echo solteado [I sort it out?])

kɨm-mat (fut.). H: kəmat, kəmmat kɨm-an (imp.). H: kəman, kəman; R: kəman mots (do it again!) kɨm-an-ɨč (imp. plu.). H: kəmanat∫r

- kim-an-i-c (pass. nom.). H: kəmanits (comp.), kəmanits (made), kiwə kəmanits (ball of mashed islay kernels [pot-made]), pahatakəmanits, pahatakəmanits (piñon basket), təjkəmanits (Tul. wardance: "estan bailando los diablos [the devils (or spirits) are dancing]" [Kit.: 'devilmade']), ?ákəmanivə tsamqpa təvatç (God made the world [his-being made-past our-lord earth]), tākakəmanits (figures [of people] on baskets), həŋkəmanits (rattlesnake figure), ātavatavakəmanits (butterfly figure), tāhukəmanits (snake figure)
- kɨm-an-i-m (pass. nom. plu.). H: kīwə∫ kəmanim (ball of mashed islay kernels [pot-made] plu.), tāκaκəmanim (figures [of people] on baskets, plu.)
- kɨm-an-i-cay (pass. nom. obj.). H: kəmanitsaj
- k+m-an-+k (Adj.). H: kavd(fraj kəmanak (smith); H,R: kəmanak kavd(fraj (he's making horseshoes ("fierros"); blacksmith)
- k+m-an-i?a-č (agt.). H: kitsaj kamani?ātſr (carpenter [house-maker])
- kim-an-i (obj. comp.). H: paujhun nikamanitanaw nikamanihūn (they made me make it, [apparently ta = conj. 'although'] I didn't want to), kamani favahtraj (he made the earth and the sky too [sic]); H,R: na? nihnihjat nikamani pantaj (I'm good at making bread); R: nikam kwa?jkataj (I'm making food), nimimat kamanik kwa?jkataj (I'm going to go make food) [unclear whether the k is part of comp. suffix, in which case this belongs in an infinitive subentry, or just lengthening of the following initial k]; na? nihnihjat nikamani pantaj (I'm good at making bread)
- -kiman-a? (gen. nom.: your doing). H,R: ?əmə? məkəmana? ahakwivahək (he hurt himself, and it's your fault [you your-making he-got hurt])

- ho-kim (incorp.: make a hole). H: hokem, hokem, hohokem (make holes [note scope of redup. within incorporated noun]); R: ahokem = akem ahoj (it's making a hole [of mole])
- ki-kim (incorp.: make a house). H: kikim (make a house [said of the sun—meaning unclear])
- kɨm spill, empty, VI. H,R: kəm, kəm; M: ah-kum (empty)

 kəm-ea? (VT: pour, empty. H,R: kəmea?, kəmea?a (throw water outdoors)

 kɨm-ea?n (imp.). H,R: kəmea?n

 [R notes re present form: "sounds like 'he makes', but a separate verb"; note that imperative forms are different, however]
- kipina? pillow (looks like a gen. nom.). H: '-kipina?, -κipina?, nikipina? κut ſrātaj (l lie on my back and have my head against the wall so it holds my head up [note obj. ending on 'stick'; apparently = 'l am leaning on the post'?]
- kiri? toast, VT. H: kərə? kiri?-i-c (part.). H: kərə?jt[s?] (toasted)
- kiša? no good, bad, Adj. H: kaſra? (the name kaʃra? was applied to Ventureños, Barbareños, Ineseños, etc.), kaʃra? nikwahkwatſramuk (I had a nightmare), kaʃra? warayk nikatʃa? (I have very bad "suerte" [luck]); R: kaʃra?; uvea kaʃra?, ŋataʔiva (he's no good any more; the cat is old); ZS,ZN: kasa? (bad); M: koo-sah', koo-sahk (bad); koo-sah-hah'-vo (dirty [spoiled clothes]); K: gö ca (bad) kih-kiša? (redup.: plu.). H: kahkaʃra? kiša?-n-i-c (part.). H: kaʃraʔnits = kaʃaʔ (ugly) kih-kišaʔ-n-i-m (part. plu.). H: kahkaʃraʔnim kišaʔ huŋu-c (ugly language, applied to Ventureño). H: kaʃraʔ huŋuts

- kiša?-n-i-huŋu? (speak Ventureño). H: kajra?ħihuŋu?
- kɨša?-n-i-huŋu-kam (tribe nickname: ugly talkers, applied to Ventureños). H: kəʃaħihuŋukam, kəʃrani?huŋukam, kəʃanihunkam, κəʃanihuŋκam (Ventureño(s), kaʃtəκ people, the ones that dance the oso [bear dance]); R: kəʃranihuŋukam (Chumash Indian)
- kiša? winikai(-)k (ingrate [no good heart]). H: kəʃa? winikaək
- kiša? winikai(-)k-am (ingrate, plu.). H: "plu. -am"
- kɨšaʔtahič (Tehachapi [perh. a joke on Tehachapi name, of the "Lost Wages" for Las Vegas, type; literally 'bad rest']. ZS,ZN: kəsaʔtahič [cf. tahičpea 'Tehachapi', literally 'place to rest']
- kɨtki? kɨtɨk? get wet, VI?

 ?a-kɨtkin-ivɨ-yɨk (plcnm.: means where the ground got wet).

 H: ἀκӛtκinivəjəκ, ʔaঝtkinivəjək, ἀκǝkinivəjək; R:

 ?akətkinivəjək
- kivuč plant sp.: quelite [edible greens] with yellow flower. H: kivut [r
- k+ya-c? oak sp. M: koo'-yahts, (Robles' <u>Q lobata</u>); koo'-yahts (acorn mush)
 [cf. <u>kw+yač</u> 'acorn sp.']
- kiyikiyi-č hawk sp.: small, red[-tailed]. H: kijakajat ʃ, kajakajāt ʃ kiyikiyi-m (plu.). H: kajakajām, kajakajām
- ko? eat?, munch?, V. H: ko? (eat); R: ko? (munch grass)
 ko?-mat (fut.). R: niko?mat (I am going to eat tuche [mng.?]
 raw [evid. means to munch grass; speaker is Eug.])

- koh-ko?-i-m (dead person; no sg. form). H: kohko?jm, kohko?jmə (dead person; = mūkit, mūkim); R: kohko?jm (dead people; no sg.) [perh. related to kwo? 'eat' as doublet]
- -koca? nest (of rat or bees), poss. H: -kotsa, -#kotsa?a (nest of rat, comb of bees [mng. of # unknown])
- koco shell (of turtle), peel, skin, N. H: -kotso, -kotso, -kotso, -kotso, -kotso; ?akotso nipi/rat/r (the skin of my head = scalp); also, under kopoc, Harrington says "also -kotso (pellejo [skin or hide])"
 - -koco-m (plu.). H: -kotsam
- -koča? hill or slope, N. H: ?aκot [rajak, ?aκot [ra? (the hillside across arroyo from informant's [consultant's] house)
 - -koča-pea (plcnm.). H: -kot frapea (a place on the hill or slope)
 - Pa-koča-yik (loc.). H: Pakot∫rajak, Pakot∫ra? (ladera; the hillside across arroyo from informant's [consultant's] house)
 - [unclear whether this is the word for 'hillside', or a placename]
- koha-č older daughter (with -mayr), older sister (when directly possessed), N(A). H: kohat fr, kohāt fr; M: nik-kor (older), ah-kor (sister)
 - -kor (poss.). H: -kor, -kor, -kor; ZN: -kor (sister)
 - -koha-m (plu. poss.). H: -koham; ZN: -koham
 - -koha-y (poss. obj.). H: -kthaj
- kohrik cough, VI. H: kohorok; R: kohorok [note: Harrington slip is headed: "korkok"]; ZS,ZN: kohorok kohrkik? (Adj.?). H: korkok

[related to kur 'groan', or -koroma 'phlegm'?]

- kokai-t soaproot, N. H,R: kokaat (raíz de lavar [soaproot]; root like amole that they washed with)
 - kokai-pea (plcnm.: San Emigdio; V. taʃlipun). H,R: kokowpea, kokawpéa
- koko? coconut, N. H: koko? (coco [coconut]) [< Span. "coco"]
- kokok [mng. unclear]. H: kokok (= Tul. huhunat fr; the dancer has shell eyes, feather dress. He imitates an animal—he's an animal and a person too, who goes all around the edge of the world when it's dawning, they say, wearing feathery dress, carrying 2 red ["colorados"] sticks, one in each hand, and whistling wh, wh; wh wh, with every now and then a longer whithh. He brings a lot of wind when he goes thus. The dance was never danced by the Jam.; it is Tul. [Tulareño] custom.)
- kokt plant sp.: lamb's quarters. ZS: kɔkt (plant sp.; "as a guess: Chenopodium, Kawaiisu koovi"); ZN: kɔqt (plant sp.; leaves boiled and eaten; Chenopodium album, lamb's quarters; white pigweed)
- komale frying pan, N. H: kómále [note both Kit. and borrowed Span. stress]
 [< Span. "comales"]
- kon kill many or all of something, VT (<u>mik</u> is usually used when obj. is sg., and <u>kon</u> when obj. is plu.). H: ákónəvə? múŋumə (he killed tecolotes [great horned owls]), aktnəvə á?atsitamə peðro?ot (Pedro killed his swine—used when you kill all your animals); R: kon; ?akónəvə (he hit us [sic; apparently 'he hit them']); əmə?əmatuvə əkon = əkonmatuvə (you pl. will kill them)

- konaka-t necklace, belt, N. H: konakat (soguilla [belt?]) -konaka? (poss.). H: níkónaka?a, -konaka?, -konaka?, -konaka?; M: ah-ko'-nah-kah (necklace of shells)
- konakwa? be or get full, VI (of moon, or of person after eating). H: konakwa?, kwonakwa?-t, kwonakwa?-t (with Q clitic) (be full)
- koni-t squirrel sp.: probably Nelson's Antelope Squirrel [based on my personal observation and consultation of Whitaker 1980]. H: konit (squirrel [Kitanemuks used to eat them])

koni-m (plu.). H: konim

koni-t-ay (obj.). H,R: konitaj

koni-t ?a-ho-vea (plcnm.: squirrel hole). H: konit ?ahovea

- kopipk multi-colored, Adj. H: κορipk (multi-colored, of corn (pinto)); R: ("(es) pinto ['it is multicolored'? 'it is a pinto'?] ... said of a pinto [horse?]")
- kop-ik break, VI. H: kobik kop-k (break, VT). R: kopk ?a-kop-k-i? (pass. nom.: broken). H: ?ákopki?, ?akopki?
- kopo-c hair, N. H: kopots; ZS: kopoc kopo-m (plu.). H: kopom [unclear what plu. actually means] -kopo (poss.). H: -kopo, -κορο, -κορο; ZS: ? άχορο (his hair), muxɔpɔ, mukɔpɔ (your sg. hair); M: ne-ko'-po, ah-ko-po (hair); K: agopo ([his/her] hair)
 - -kopo-y (poss. obj.). H: -kopoj, -κοροj; R: ajawvan nikopoj (s/he grabbed me by the hair)
 - Pa-kopo-yik (plcnm.: a mountain). H: Pakopojak
- kopota-t turtie, N. H: kópotat, kopotat kopota-m (plu.). H: kopotam

kori-ve — plcnm.: a mountain. ZS,ZN: kori-ve [anomalous accent]

-kohroma ? — phlegm, poss. H: -karoma
-koroma-y (poss. obj.). H: -karomaj
[cf. kohirik 'cough']

koši? — stir up (a bathing pool), V. H: koſi? koši?-koši? (Adj.: stirred up). H: koſi?koſi?

koymi? — referee (sometimes called "boss") in peón game ("coime"⁵), N. H: kojmi? koymi?-yam (plu.).

kua — call someone, VT. H,R: uvea nikua (I already called him)
kua-an (imp.). H: kuan (imp.); R: meah kuan (go out and call
him!)
[min. pr. with kwa? 'eat' ?]

ku?a-č — worm, bug (gen.). H: ku?atʃr, ku?atʃr, ku?atʃr (worm, little legged water animal, or small nameless bug; includes glow worm, angleworm, leech, maggots, yellow-jacket larvae)

⁵Harrington's translation translated by Pamela Munro (p.c.). This word, of uncertain origin, is found all over Southern California (William Bright, p.c.).

- ku-ku?a-m pi-ki? (plu.). H: kuku?am pəki? (wash mud off and burn; < creek [snails?])
- kuci? dog, N. H: kułsi?, kułsi?, kułsi?, kułsi?, kułsił [constituency abs.], kułsi?i, kułsi?i; wahi?taj ?awohak kułsi?t (the dog is barking at the coyote [constituency abs., perh. related to word-order?]); R: kułsi?; kułsi?t aki = aki kułsi? (the dog's house); ZN: kułsi? aki = aki kułsi? (the dog's house); ZN: kulsi? aki = aki kułsi? (the dog's house); ZN: kulsi; aki = aki kułsi? (the dog's house); ZN: kulsi; aki = aki kułsi? (the dog's house); ZN: kulsi; aki = aki kułsi? (the dog's house); ZN: kulsi; aki = aki kułsi? (the dog's house); M: ah-ahi related to word order?]); M: ahi related to word order?]); M: ahi related to word order?]); M: ahi related to word order?])
 - kuci?-yam (plu.). H: kutsi?jam, kutsi?jam; R: kutsi?jam; M: wŏh' ko-tse-um (two dogs); wŭr ko-tse-um, koo-che-yan, koo-tse-yan (many dogs)
 - [does not permit direct possession; instead use -<u>Pacit</u> 'pet', q.v.; but CHM also records use of [normally inanimate] -<u>niw</u> 'possession'].
 - kuci?-t-ay (obj.). H: kutsi?taj; nimuraq nehe kutsi?taj (luntied the dog; notice muraqk --> muraq [demonstrates that k-loss environment is more general than future clitic] kuci-t ?a-ho-vea (plcnm. in Tejon Canyon ["dog's hole"]). H:
 - kútsítahove, kutsit ?ahovea; R: kutsit ?ahovea (Dog Rock—plcnm.); ZS: kùči·t-?ahó·ve, kučit-?aho·ve (plcnm.: above the Ranch House; where "dogs" are seen); ZN: kučit ?áhó·vi, kùci·t-?ahó·ve (the reservation from the ranch house up; the rock [of the evil omen dog]); VF: coo-chitahovie (Tejon creek canyon at lower end); coh-chitahovit (al the valley [at Tejón Canyon])
 - kuci-t ?a-ho-no? (dir.). H: kutsit ?aqono? (from Tejón)

kucin — car, N. H: kutsin kucin-yam (plu.). H: kutsinjam [< Span. "coche"]

kuč — edible seed sp., N. H: kut [r [cf. puhcukuč 'plant sp.']

kučara? — spoon, N.

kučara?-ni? (inst.). H: kutʃara?nə
[< Span. "cuchara"]

kuča-t — stick, pole, firewood, N. H: kutrat, kutrat, kutrat,

kut frāt (stick; pole; firewood; (tree); counting stick; splinter [i.e., app. any long wood thing]; R: kut frāt (stick; splinter); ZS: kuča·t, kuča·t (tree; "two different informants pronounce differently, as shown"); ZN: kut fat (making fire by drill [sic]); M: ko-tsaht (a tree); koo-saht'ā-no'se, koo-chaht' (a stick); koo-saht', koo-chaht (firewood); met-tow'-o-koo-saht (pole); wur ko-tsaht (many trees); K: gudjat (wood)

-kuča? (poss.). H:-kutra?, -kutſra?

kuča-yik (plcnm. in the mountains; = Gorman['s Station]; = La Viuda). H: kutṛajək, kutṛajək, kutṛajək; R: kutṛajək (plcnm.; = La Viuda = Gorman's Station = V. tapo?n; means leña [firewood]); K: guchayik (plcnm. on the road from Ft. Tejon to Los Angeles at Gorman's; said to mean 'in the timber')

kuča-vakac (wooden cup). H: kútravakatş (wooden cup; = V. a[o]

kuča-t-ay (obj.). H: kut ſ rātaj; niκəpəħa? κut ʃ rātaj (I lie on my back and have my head against the wall so it holds my head up; literally, I have a palo [stick—or here, post or plank?] for a pillow [NB case]); R: kut ʃ rātaj [cf. yuašk]

kuča-n∔ (stick, inst.). H, R: kut∫rānə kuča-t h∔tk (fence). H: kut∫rat hətk

- ?a-kwa? kuča-tay (larva sp., found in rotten logs ['it eats wood']. H: ?ákwa? kútʃrałaj
- punita?-ihwa?-t kuča-t (the stick counter in gambling game). H: punita?jhwat kut frat (the stick used in the game)

kuča-vač (wooden tray). H: kutravat [r

kuča-u (VI [?]: cut wood). H: kut fraw (cut wood; = leñar) kuča-ihwa?-t (inst.: wood-gathering band [NB: no -u])

kuča-ik (cut wood, inf.). H: kut frajk; ni-mi-mat kuča-yik (I'm going to get wood [a mistake? or perh. just means "I'm going to the wood"]

ni-hiu ?a-waki? kuča-t (I saw a dry stick [NB: perh. a headless relative; no obj. marking! cf. also next subentry]). H,R: nihju ?a-waki? kut [rat

ni-hiu pi-waki? kuča-m (I saw dry sticks [relative clause structure? cf. also peceding subentry]). H: nihju pawaki? kut [ram; R: nihju(*va) pawaki? kut [ram; [* perh. due to

confusing dec. and past clitic]; cf. also war nihju kut frāt (I saw lots of wood; [also no obj. marking])

- -kuha-na sister-in-law (m's wife's sis, here), poss. H: kuhaña, kuhaña
 - -kuhana-m (plu.). H:-kuhaña m
 - -kuhana?na-y (obj. [irreg., in same way as "father"]). H: -kuhana?naj

[this looks like a compound of kohač 'sister' + -na? 'father'!]

- kuhani-m guests invited to wakač, N (plu.). H: kuhani m [cf. kur 'groan']
- -kuhm? uncle (variously translated as uncle, paternal uncle, and m[an]'s paternal uncle older than father). H: -kum, -kum, -kum aha? [first form is recorded in one place, denied in another).

- -kuhma-m (plu.). H: -kuhmam
- -kuhma-y (obj.). H: kuhmaj
- -kuhma?-ivi (dec.). H:-kuhma?iva
- kuhuč --- fruit of elder tree, N (eaten boiled). H: kthut fr
- kuhy-i-k fall over flat, of a tall thing, VI. H: kuhjak, kuhajak (fall over flat, as tree blown over, or barley); R: kuhjak (lie over flat), kuhajak (fall over, root and all [of tree])

 kuhy-k (VT: knock over, fell, of something tall). H: kujk

 (knock over, fell, e.g. a tree); R: kujk (knock down (a big tree)) [note: slip says: "cf. qutsak to fall of man or stick"]
- kukač spider, gen., N. H: kuķat∫r (trap-door spider, or any house-spider)
 - kukač ?a-ki (cobweb [spider its-house]). H: kúkatfr ?aki(x) [unclear what the x means]
- -kukita grand-relative, poss. [apparently covers grandmother, grandfather, grandson, granddaughter], poss. N(A). H: -kukit, -kukit, -kukit, -kukit, -kukit (examples given are "m[an]'s son's son, m[an]'s son's dtr. [daughter]", "father or mother of my father"; also, Eug[enia] and A[ngela] Montes call each other this [both are women]); ZN: -kú-kit' (grandfather) -kukita-y (poss., obj.). R: -kukita-j
 - -kukita?-iv+ (dec.). H: -kukita?-ivə
- kukuk?aw plcnm.: Comanche. H: kúkúk?aw (Comanche proper; big spring there)
 [may not be Kit.]
- kukuk(-)yit ?a-naka? [mng. unclear; perh. 'hit together' + habitual action suffix]. H: kukukjat ?añaka? ("The huhunat fr

carries two bastones [sticks]. He hits them together repeatedly.")

kukuku-č — owl sp., now extinct. H: kúkukutſr, kúkukutſr
kukuku-m (plu.). H: kúkukum
kukuku-č ?aho(plcnm.: Agua Zarca). H: kúkukutſr ?aho
(plcnm.; = V. kasʔapkak?okok; = Agua Zarca); R: kukukutſr
?aho (plcnm.; owl sp.'s cave)

kukumaškea-vea — plcnm., near La Chiminea [cf. kumašik]

ku?kunič ?a-we?rk-in-ya-vea — plcnm.: a deep lake where ku?kunič—a myth. figure who killed people—was pushed in [ku?kunič his-throw-pass.-loc.]
[cf. we?rik 'to set' of sun?]

kukukuniti — mussel sp., and name for beads made from it. H:

kúkukuniti, kukukuniti (small beads, white or black, reportedly
made by Chumash; mussel is blackish on outside, shiny inside
like abalone, bivalve, flesh reddish white when cooked; not the
limpet)

kukukuniti?-yam (plu.)./ H: kúkukunuti?jam (= V. t?o?)

kukut — ash, N. H: kúkut; M: koo-hoot', ko-kŭt (ashes); M: ah-ho, kó-koot (the ashes and burnt bones of the dead); K: gugut [cf. kut 'fire']

kum — sleep, VI. H,R: kum; M: ah-koom, koo-mahn-neets (asleep); K: ni-kum ([I] sleep)
kum-mat (fut.). R: kumat
kum-uvu? (past). R: nikumuvu? (estaba yo dormido)
kum-an-ik (inf.). H: kumanik'; R: kumanik, kumanik
kum-an-i-c (pass. nom.: asleep). M: ah-koom, koo-mahnneets (asleep)

kum-an-ihun (des.: be sleepy). H: kumanihun, kumanihun, kumanihun [also translated once as "mi sueño [my sleep]"]; R: kumanihun; M: nik-koo'-man-ne-hoon (a dream)
ni-kum-an-iva? (in my sleep [while asleep]). H: nikumaniva?; R: nikumaniva?; nikumaniva? niŋərəhərək (bajé dormido [l slid down asleep])
kum-an-ea? (VT: put to sleep). R: kumane? (make sleep, of a baby)
[cf. ku?mɨk 'be face down'?]

kuma-t — (basket?) hat. ZN: ku·mat (woman's basket hat); M: ah-kum (empty [sic—perh. an elicitational misunderstanding])
-kuma? (poss.). H: -kuma?, kuma?a; ZS,ZN: -kuma? (hat)
t+y-t ?a-kuma? (toadstool; lit., devil's hat). H: təjt
?akuma?a

kumāšik — play walnut dice (called by Harrington pa), a women's game which involves throwing inlaid walnut shells and predicting how they will land. H: kumājak, kumājak, kumājak, kumājak, kumājrak; tsākumājrak (let's play dice [but apparently not hort.: no plu. clitic]); ZN: ?ākumājāk (walnut shell game; played on basket-tray; one handled the tray, but many could play; used 7 shells filled with pitch with beads on top)

kumāšk-i-c (pass. nom.: the walnut dice game). H: kumāškits; JW: kumaskitz (pea and shell game)

kumašk-ihwa?-t (inst.: walnut dice). H: kumaskihwat, kumaskihwa?t, kumasrkihwat, kumasrkiwhat; JW: kumaskkihuat (gambling basket)

kuh-kumašk-ea-vea (plcnm.: "where they played walnut dice"; = La Chiminea). H: kukumaskeave (plcnm.; = ka?a+wo+oκlo?op, near La Chiminea), κukumasrkeavea [unidentified; app. plcnm.]; R: kuhkumāsrkeavea

- kum at [mng. unclear; 'hat'?]. H: kum at ("full of cuentitas" [little beads]); M: nik koo'-mah (subglobular choke-mouth bowl); JW: kumat (basket cap)
- kumiyintu? call on guardian spirit, V, as only a man with a certain kind of supernatural power can do. H: kumijintu?
- kum-ik? be face down, VI (of people or dice). H: kumak, ku?mak, κu?mak

kum-k (VT: throw face down).

kum-k (throw face down, imp.). H: kumk (throw two face down, imp.).

kumu?k (Adj.: face down). H,R: kumu?k (used with 'put', 'be', 'lie')

[NB: sg. prefix used when subject is 'two' (number "loose" here as well as in NP)]

- kumu?ya? five cents. H: kúmú?ja? (5 cents; same word as V.) [< VCh.?]
- ku?muš sealion, N. H: kú?muʃ, kúmuʃr, kúmuʃr (sealion, tonina [lacking fingers or toes] ku?muš-yam (plu.). H: ku?muʃrjam
- kupea-c top of head; summit of a mountain; top end, N. H:
 kupeats (vertex, remolino; also refers to end of bow)
 - -kupe a (poss.). H: kupe a, -kupe a; M: ah-ko-pe-ah (end); M: tah'-me-at ah-koo'-pah (sunshine [may be related: 'sun's summit'])

kuh-kupea (plu. poss.). H: -kuhkupea

- Pa-kupea-vea kayc (summit of a mountain [its-head mountain]). Կ։ ʔákuþeavea kajts
- -kupean-ivana? (inst.: carrying ring [implies a verb, perhaps kupea 'carry on top'? 'be carried on top'?]). H:
 - ƙupe anivana?

- kupiah-t islay (<u>Prunus ilicifolia</u> (Balls 1970)), N (name of both prepared kernels and the bush itself; includes varieties which are white, black, purple, etc., when ripe; eaten). H: kupiaht, kupiaht, kupiaht ("[i is] not e"), kupiaht, kupi?aht kupiah-yam [unclear if this is a real word; it may be that Harrington tried it for plural, but it came out sounding like a -yam tribename, whereas the regular plural would be kupiah-m?]. H: kupiahjam (islayeños [islay people]) kupiah-t-ay (obj.). H: kupiahtaj [*kupiapea rejected—no such form in Jam., according to Harrington] [the ripened fruit is tokit, q.v.]
- kupki-t cradle hood, N. H: kupkit
 kupki-m (plu.). H: kupkim
 -kupki? (poss.: baby's or cradle's hood). H: -kupki?
 [cf. kupeac 'head'?]
- kur push,? groan? strain?, V H: ktr, kur (pujar [push, pout?]); R: ktr, ktr (groan [said of someone very sick])
 kuh-yi-t (aug.: "pujador" ['pusher'; a tribename? (Harrington uses this word elsewhere for the Tataviam]). H: kthjət kuh-yi-m (plu.). H: "plu.-m"
 tiy-kur [spirit straining? said of the ring around the sun or moon]. H: təjkur (the ring around sun or moon—the real old word)
- kuru? stab at, VT. H: kuru? (poke in stick; ram out pith); R: kuru?
 (poke stick into nest of [object = rat])
 kuh-kuru? (redup.). H,R: kuhkuru?
- kuruku?itat basket of a certain kind (for gathering prickly pears). H: kuruku?jtat

 [perh. related to kuru? 'poke'?]

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?a-kuruŋ — hat, N; also acorn cup. H: ?ákuruŋ
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kuru?rik — boom, VI. H: kuru?rik (boom, of cannon, rifle)
?a-kururu?-y (thundering, rumbling, roaring, crashing). H:
?akururu?j, ?akururu?j, ?akururu?j (thunder; a car
rumbles; the wind roars; waves crash; earth quakes); M:
ah-koo'-roo-roo-e
-kuh-kururu (thunder). H: -kuhkururu
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kuruventu? — take an emetic ("gomitigo" [mng.?]), V. H: kuruventu? kuruventu?-ihwa?-t (inst.: an emetic). H: kuruventu?jhwa?t [< kuru 'stab out' + Span. "vientre"—'stomach-poker'?]

ku-t — fire, N. H: kut, kut; R: kut; ZS: ku-t'; ZN: kú-t; M: koot', kŭt; M: nik-ko'-mah-hah, koóm mwaht' (of wood of e'p-kotsh) (firedrill); M: ah-hoots-ă-koot (shooting star [anomalous poss. form looks like abs.]); K: gut

kuh-ku-t (redup. plu.). H: kúhkut; R: kuhkut; ZS,ZN: kúkut (ashes)

-ku? (poss.). R: -ku?; niku? (mi lumbre)

ku-t-ay (obj.). H: kutaj, kutaj; R: kutaj

ku-pea (loc.). H: kupe a

?a-ši? ku-t-ay = ?a-ši? ku-pea (he pissed in the fire). H: ?a[i? kutaj = ?a[i? kutea

ku-t ?a-širi = wahit ?a-širi (plant sp.: Indian paintbrush [fire's tail or coyote's tail]). H: kut ?aʃri = wahit ?aʃri; kút ašu:ri (Indian paintbrush [identified by J. Johnson as actually 'owl's clover', a related sp.])

ku-t-ay ?a-ya-n+m (caterpillar sp.: bites hard; black; hairy [it walks carrying fire]). H: kútaj ?ajānəm (burning caterpillar, black and hairy; bites hard)

?a-kač ?a-niw ku-t (firefly ['it has fire']). H:

?akat∫ramiwkut

ku-mu-ihwa-t (fire-starting sticks ['fire-thrower']). H: kumuihwat

- kutumi-c gravepole, N; also flagpole. H: kutumats, kutumats (tail flagpole or gravepole [note stress pattern varies]); R: kutomats (gravepole); M: ko-too'-mut (kotumut pole) kutumi-yik (plcnm.: a gap). H: kutumajak (plcnm.: a gap; means gravepole place; [gravepole] = tall pine with coras [baskets] on it); R: kutomajak (plcnm.; a gap)
- kutwayai plant sp.: like cilantro, with tiny flower; tuber crushed and eaten. H: kutwajai
- kuva(-)navuč plant sp., with white flowers; grows at dog rock; soaked root used for emetic tea. H: kuvāñāvutſr
- kuvač -plant sp.: similar to <u>kuvanavuč</u>, but with blue or purple flowers; medicinal; grows a foot high; has small leaves; good source of quelite [edible greens]. H: kúvat [r, ktwat [r
- kuweye pers. name (Pedro's last name). H: kúweje (Pedro __; "the old Mexican calls him Pedro Cahuéy")
- kuyam plcnm.: where old Godoy lived. H: kújam [may not be Kit.; a variant of the next entry?]
- ku?yaŋ plcnm.: Tacuya. H: ku?jaŋ, κŭjaŋ (plcnm.:Tacuya = Cast. taku?j); R: ku?jaŋ (plcnm.: Tacuya, V. taku?j); ZS: kú·yaŋ (Tecuyah Canyon, other side of Bakersfield highway; < large bird with long beak and long legs); ZN: kú·yan (Indians other side of Bakersf[ie]ld highway; cf. Tecuya river and mountain); VF: couyan (placename over by Grapevine) [< Chumash?]
- kuyku?y bird sp. ("zarrapicos" [sarapico/zarapico = curlew, large brownish bird]). H: kújku?j kuyku?yam (plu.). H: kujku?jam

kwa? — eat, VT. H: kwa?, kwa?a, kwa?; kavaju? ?ako? = kavaju? ?akwa? (the horse is eating it); R: kwa?, kwa?; aninhiw tsakwa (vamos á comer [NB impersonal use of proximate fut. auxiliary verb]); ZS: kwa?, kwa, kwa; ZN: kwa?, kwa?, kwa; M: num'-oo-was ah'-kwah (good to eat); K: ni'-kwa ([l] eat) kwah-kwa? (redup.). ZS: kwahkwa, kwahkwa? kwahkwa?: -kwahkwa (food; eating); ZN: nikwahkwa néhe (I've been eaten [sic]); nikačnanik wahkwa (I am eaten [sic]) Pa-kwa?-i (obj. comp.). H: Pakwa?j; ZS,ZN: kwaj kwa? (imp.). H: kwa?, kwa?; ZS: kwa?; ZN: kwa, kwa? kwa?-č (imp. plu.). ZN: kwač [unclear: perh. a little "x" above word, between a and č1 ca-kwa?-č (hort.). H: tsakwa?atʃ, tsakwa?tʃ (let's eat); kivatsakwa?ts (come eat!), tsakwa?tsr mujtsaj (vamos comer pinole [let's eat pinole]; R: kivatsakwa?t [([you all] come eat!) kwa?-ihwa?-t (inst.: dining table or eating place). H: kwa?ihwa?t kwa?-ik (inf.). H: κwa?jk; R: kwa?jk; ZS, ZN: kwayk kwa?-ika-t nom.: food). R: kwa?jkat; na?whit kwa?jkat (there's no food) kwa?-ika-t-ay (food, obj.). R: kwa?jkataj; nija?mat kwa?jkataj (I'm going to carry food) kwa?-wi-t (comelón [glutton; big eater]). H,R: kwa?wat kwa?-wɨ-m (plu.). H,R: "plu. -m"; R: kwa?wəm -kwa?-ika-čay (food, poss. obj.). H: pəkwa?jkatʃraj (their food, obj.) kwa?-ihun (des.: to have an appetite). H: -kwa?jhun; R: kwa?jhun, kwa?hjūn; ZS: kwayhu:n; ZN: kwayhun, kwayhu:n kwa?-n-in (VT: to feed something, e.g. dog). R: kwa?nin

- ?a-kwa? kihuč (kingfisher ['it eats fish']). H: ?ákwa? kíhutʃr̯
- hukah-t ?a-kwa-kwa (plant sp. ["deer's food"]). ZN: hukaht ?akwakwa
- note also: ZN: ? úvehpe mat-nimi mat-nik wa púme (tomorrow if I go I shall be eaten by him)
- kwa-hea be (well-)cooked [pass.?]. R: uvea ákwar (it is done (well cooked)[note unexplained dropping of -ea]); tsīpk ahæ[i akwahi ("falta poco [it's almost the case that] that the soup is gar [German: 'sufficiently cooked'] or well-cooked")
- kwaca? squeeze, V. H: kwatsa? (squeeze in hand [said of squeezing berries to prepare for consumption])
- kwacita-c tail, N(A). H: kwatsitats; ZS,ZN: kwačit (tail) kwacita-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
 - -kwacit, -kwaci? (poss. [NB: 2nd may be a back-formation from misanalysis of obj. form; abs. would be rare]). H:
 -kwatsit, -kwatsit, -kwatsi? (poss.: tail, seat of pants, small-of-back region, tail feather); ZS,ZN: -kwačit
 - -kwacita-y (poss. obj.). H: -kwatsitaj, -kwatsitaj kwacita-c-ay (abs. obj.). H: kwatsitatsaj kawča-č ?a-kwacit (plant sp.: fox-tail [fox's tail']). ZS,ZN: kawčač ?akwačit
- kwackaveyki ? seven. H: kwatskavejka; R: kwtkavejka; ZS,ZN: kwackavika
 - kwačkavea?kihea (seven times). H,R: kwat frkavea?kihea; K: gwatskawik; CK: kwāt' kā vī' kō (seven); we' mā hāch' hā' muk kwāt' kā vī' kō (seventeen); kwāt' kāvī' kō hī' ā we' mā hāch' (seventy)
 [cf. makaveyki 'nine']

kwačea? — start or stoke fire, V. R: kwatʃea?, kwatʃrea?,
kwatʃea? (light fire (atizar)); M: kwah't-re-ah (make a fire)
kwačea?-mat (fut.). R: kwačea?mat
kwačea?-vu? (past). R: kwačea?vu?
kwačea?n (imp.). H: kwatʃe?n (atizar [stoke fire], imp.); R:
kwačea?n
kwačea?n-ič (imp. plu.). R: kwačea?natʃr
kwačea?-n-ihwa-t (inst.: firepoker? fireplace?). H:
kwátʃenihwat (atizadero [firepoker; furnace door])
-kwačea?nea, kwačea?nea-vea (fireplace). H:
nikwatʃea?nea, nikwatʃea?neavea, nikwatʃea?neāvea
(my atizadero where I always make a fire)

kwač(-)kwačik — have blisters or be red all over, VI. H,R:
kwat[rkwāt]rak (have syphilis—"when one's face is all
ampollido [blistered]")
[stem redup. with distributive meaning; perh. < kwašipk
'red']]

-kwačimuk — guardian spirit, poss.; also to dream of, VT [or perhaps unitary meaning is 'spirits that come to one—N.?' (this doesn't account for obj. case)]. H: -kwatʃrəmuk, -kwātʃrəmuk,
-kwatʃrəmuk, -kwatʃrəmuk ([same form given as abs. once]
guardian spirit; = V. ?otəʃwəkwatrəmukuk [can be plant, bird,
etc.; also translated "virtud"—what boys get after puberty
ceremony [manhood], and as "suerte" [luck]]); nikwahkwatʃramuk
təjtaj, nikwahkwatʃramok tətəjmə (I dream of dead people)
kwačimuk-ik (a person who has a guardian spirit). H::
kwātʃəm tkuk (a man who has a certain kind of
supernatural power, described by akujumijintu?)
kwačimuk-ik-am (plu.). H: kwātʃrəm tkakam (plu.; i.e., one
who has a guardian spirit)

kwačukpi-c — armpit, N. H: kwāt fruqpits kwačukpi-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"

- -kwačukpi? (poss.). H: -kwātʃrukpi? -kwačukpi-pea (poss. loc.). H: -kwātʃrukpipe a
- kwah, or kwaha? be cooked, VI. H: uveákwar, uvea ákwar (it's already cooked; = V. ne?ijipjət) [NB? irrelevant to vowel elision]; R: kwar (be well cooked)

 kwah-an (VT: cook). H: kwahan; R: kwahan (bake in oven)

 kwah-an (imp.). H,R: kwahan

 kwah-an-ič (imp. plu.). R: kwahanət [r (let's bake in oven)

 cipk ?a-hiči ?a-kwa-hi (ready to eat? ['little remains it's

 cooked'?]). H: tsipk ahət [i akwahi ("falta poco [it's

 nearly the case] that the soup is gar [German: 'sufficiently

 cooked'] or well-cooked"); M: ah'-kwah'-he (cooked); ah
 kwah'-he [?], ah'-kwah'-he' (ripe); ah-kwah'-he [?] (unripe)

 [cf. kwa? 'eat']
- kwahkwačamuk dream, VI; dream of, VT. H: kwahkwatframuk,
 kwahkwatframok (dream); R: kwahkwatframuk; M: ah-kwah'kwah'-tso-mok (a dream)
 -kwahkwačamuk-iva? (in one's dream). H,R:
 nikwahkwatframukiva? (in my dream [the context is
 where I saw him])
 [cf. kwačimuk 'guardian spirit']
- kwaka-č soldier, N. H: kwakat fr; R: kwakat fr kwaka-m (plu.). H: kwakam, kwakam; R: kwakam [cf. kwaka?wat 'captive', -kwakahuna 'enemy'; perh. this and next three entries share a root kwa?ka]
- -kwakahuna enemy, N(A). H: -kwakahun, kwa?kahun -kwakahuna-m (plu. poss.). H: -kwakahunam, -kwa?kahunam [min. pair with -kwakwahuna 'quiver'?]

- -kwaka-?u?-a? scalp of enemy (already cut off), poss. H: -kwaka?u?a?
- kwaka?wat captive, N. H: kwaka?wat ("un cautivo [a captive]; slave woman" [discussion suggests that Mojave, Yumans [Yumas?], and Tulareños took slaves, but not the Ventureño or Kitanemuk])
- kwaki-t baby, N. H: kwakit, kwakit, kwakit (recently born baby); ZN: kwakit (small baby); M: kwahkeet; K: gwagit kwaki-m (plu.). H: kwakim, kwakim
- -kwakwahuna? quiver, V. H: -kwakwahuna? (it is a (heat) mirage); -kwakwahuna? (the heat waves are quivering) [minimal pair with -kwakahuna 'enemy'?]
- kwam beat or stir up, V (of pespibata in water [no overt objects]).
 H: kwam, kwam (beat or stir up pespibata [wild tobacco] with water)

kwam-i-c (pass. nom.: pespibata drink). H: kwamits,
kwamits (pespibata drink—after pounding and mixing with
water; = V. ?ak?utapaf)

kwanana?i — shiny, Adj. H,R: kwana na?j

kwa?-n-in -- feed [cf. kwa? 'eat']

kwara? [cf. kwarik 'melt']

- -kwari? grandrelative, poss. H: -kwari?, -kwāri?, -kwari?, -kwa?ri? [examples given include grandfather, grandson, mother's father, daughter's son or daughter (ms)]
 - -kwari?-yam (plu.). H:-kwāri?jam
 - -kwari?-t-ay (obj.). H:-kwāri?taj
 - -kwari?-iv+ (dec.). H: -kwari?ivə

kwarik — melt, shine (of sun), VI. H: kwā?rək, κwārəκ; R: akwārək (the rain is going to clear away)

kwara? (VT: to smear (with mud, tar, etc.; the stuff smeared is in either obj. or inst. case). H,R: kwara?

kwara-mat (fut. [loss of ? analogous to k-dropping verbs?]).
H: kwaramat

kwara?-ihwa?-t (inst.: ointment; also, plant sp. used to tan leather). H: kwara?jhwat (plant sp., used to tan leather); R: kwara?jhwa?t (ointment)

-kwa-kwari (mucus from eyes). H: -kwakwari (lagaña [legaña 'mucus from eyes'])

-kwa-kwari-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"

kwaru(-)ŋ — plcnm.: Chico López Lake, near Elizabeth Lake. H: kwaruŋ (Chico Lopez Lake, a little this way from Elizabeth Lake; also = the name of Agustin's dog)

-kwaši — parent-in-law, poss. H: -kwāſrə, -kwaʃrə, -kwaſrə (suegro o suegra [mother- or father-in-law]; papá de mi marido/a [father of my husband or wife])

-kwāši-m (plu.). H:-kwāſrəm

-kwāš∔-i (obj.). H: -kwā∫rəj×

kwašipk — red, Adj. H: kwajipk, kwajripk, kwajipk; kwajipk patg, kwajipk pātgr (Colorado River); R: kwajipk, kwajipk; haminiki?t kwagripki, jovo?kit, āja?kit ("como es [what's it like?], red? black? white?"); kwagripk pātgr (Colorado River ['red water']); ZS,ZN: kwášubPk [b and p actually overlap slightly, suggesting Zigmond heard the sound as between the two]; M: kwas-sup'-kik, kwah'-sup'k kik; K: gwacö p-k

kwašipk ?a-piša? (bird sp.: small with red head). H: kwajapk api ja

kwašip-kwašipk (plu. Adj.). R: ŋatəʔjam kwaʃrəpkwaʃrəpk (the cats are red; "*pəkwaʃrəpk")
kwačkwašipk (VI: be red). R: kwatʃrkwaʃəpk
kwašimk (VT: make red). R: kwaʃəmk
[cf. kwačeaʔ 'stoke fire'? kwačkwačik 'have blisters'?]

kwatik — repeat, V?
ni-hun ?a-kwatik (idiom: remember [my heart repeats]). H:
kwatik, kwatik, kwatik [in "nihun ?akwatik"];
R: nihun akwatik (I repeated the word)

kwavi?y — bawl out suddenly in anger, V (of baby). H: akwava?j (the baby bawls out suddenly con coraje ['with passion or anger'; underlining Harrington's])

kwawnuk — [mng. unclear], Adj. H: kwawnuk ("está almorado [mng.?]; said of a person when is almorado [mng.?]"); R: kwawnuk, kwawnu?k (morado colored [purple])

kwa?y-ik — have legs spread apart, VI. R: kwa?yək kwa?y-k (VT: spread apart?). H,R: kwa?jk kwa?ki (imp. [NB: y --> ø]). H,R: kwa?ki kwa?y-mat (fut.). H,R: kwa?jmat

kwea? — lasso, VT. H,R: kwea, kwea kwea-mat (fut. [? --> ø]). R: kweamat kwea-vu? (past). R: kweavu?

kwea-hea-n-i? (estar lazado [be lassoed]). H,R: uvea ?akwihani?; H: nihnihjət ?akwihani (he is good at lassooing); R: nihnihjət akwihani (he is good at lassooing [obj. comp.]); uvea akwihani? (it's already lassoed) kwea-hea-n-i-m (plu.). H: "plu. ?a ___ -m"; R: uvea ?akwihanim
-kwihan-ivana? (inst.: lasso). H: -kwihaniyana

- [root meaning may be 'tie' (cf. <u>kwihat</u> 'net'), or 'lay down' (cf. <u>kwea?k</u> 'lie down'); also, unusual -? vs. -m sg./plu. pattern]
- kwea?k lie down, be laid down (acostado), VI. H,R: kwea?k; M:
 me'ah kwe-ahk' (go to bed!)
 kwea?ki (imp.). H,R: kwea?ki
 [cf. kwea?]
- kwiakt boat, N (gen.). H: kwiakt, kwiakt [sic]; kwekt (boat, including tomo+, big ship, canoe, steamship); ZN: kwiyaxt (boat; tunamijam made them of tule at Buena Vista Lake) kwek-tu row a boat. kwektu-ihwa?-t (inst.: oar). H: kwektajhwat [stress pattern and geography suggest a borrowing]
- kwiatin plow, V. H: kwiatin (plow: break clods by dragging branches over them)
- kwica? flexible, Adj. H: kwitsa?, kwitsa? (flexible; said of guata [juniper] used for bows, and of reed that has been dyed in mud)
- kwick? wring (clothes), milk (cow), VT. H: kwitsk, kwit sk [Harrington labels the item with the first form, although he cites the second form in the same entry; in Geri Anderson notes, labeled Eug[enia] [ti] vs. A[ngela] M[ontes] [ts]]

 kwic-mat (fut.). H: kwitsmat

 kwick-in-ik (inf.). R: kwitskinik
 [cf. kwiock 'bend']
- kwica?oŋ plcnm.: La Liebre mountain. H: kwitsa?oŋ ("inf's [consultant's] uncle's husband [sic; husband's uncle?] used this term; that's how inf. knows it); R: kwitsa?oŋ (plcnm.: la sierra de La Liebre, between La Liebre ranch and Ventura) [may not be Kit.]

kwihaka, kwihaka?y — woman, N. H: kwihak, kwihaka?j, kwihake?i, kwihake?e akikitam (I'm a Kitanemuk woman); R: numuaſr kwihak (pretty woman); kwihakat (constituency absolutive); ivitṣ akīvea kwihakat (in this woman's house); ZN: kwihak; M: kwe´-ah-ki, kwe´hah-ki; K: gwikah-ai

-mayha kwihak (daughter [one's-child woman]. H: "with -mair, = daughter"

kwi-kwihaka-m (plu.). H: kwikwihakam; M: wur-koo-kwe-how-kum, kwe-kwe'-hok-kum (many women [the first redup. form suggests /ku/, where Harrington form suggests /kw/])

kwihaka(-)t-ay (obj.). H,R: kwihakataj, kwihakataj

kwihat — net, N; also the plant from which it is made. H: kwihat, kwihat (net for carrying deer meat or catching fish); ZN: kwihat (carrying net, made of cordage plant; also name of the plant: Clematis ligusticifolia (rope from this plant also used to catch bears with; dry stalk smoked for headache)

[cf. kwea? ~ kwiha 'tie, lasso'?]

kwimika — north. ZS: kwimika; ZN: kwimika

-kwinupki? — loincloth, poss. H: -kwinupki? ("'g-string'; inf. [consultant] thirks applies to men's and women's")

kwiock — bend, VT. H: kwiotsk (bend); ?akwiotsk ?asitsra'j (he protrudes his lips to one side as he cries); R: kwiotsk (make crooked)

kwiock (Adj.: bent, crooked). H: kwiotsk (bent, chueco
[crooked]); R: kwiotsk (it's crooked [Adj. = VT stem]); M:
kwe-os'-kik (zigzag)

kwiock ?a-uva? (she is cross-eyed). H: kwiotsk ?auva? [cf. kwick 'wring'?]

- kwirav braid, VT (grammatical obj. is either braid or person).
 H,R: kwirav (braid [can be done to a braid or a person])
 kwirav (imp.). H,R: kwiravətsi? (braid my hair!)
 kwirav-i-c (part.: braided). H,R: kwirāvits
 [cf. kwea 'lasso', and kwihat 'net']
- kwirimač horsefly, N. H: kwirimaſr, kwirimaſ (matavenado [horsefly (Bright, p.c.)])
 kwirimaš-yam (plu.). H: kwirimaſjam
- kwišuka?k wind hair in a molote (hair arrangement made on top of front of head), V. H: κwijuκa?κ
 kwišuka?k-i (no context—may be Adj. 'wound'). H:
 κwijuκa?κi (molote)
 -kwišukak-in-a? (poss. nom.). H: -κwijuκaκiħa? (molote),
 '-kwijukakiħa?a (his molote—the pug some men wore)
- kwišušu?i? swirl in whirlpool fashion, VI. H: ?akwiſruſrui?i? ("whirlpool, or rather the water whirlpools")
 [probably etymologically related to kwišuka?k 'wind hair in molote']
- kwitak plant sp.: <u>Cucurbita palmata</u> (Wats.). ZN: kwitak (plant sp.: <u>Cucurbita palmata Wats.</u>; leaf smoked, and blown into ear through phragmites (cane) to relieve earache)
- kwitea? bewitch, kill by witchcraft, VT. H: kwitea?
- kwitkwitk multi-colored, Adj. H,R: kwitkwitk [apparently 'multi-colored']
- kwitu?mik turn, V. H,R: uvea nikwitu?mk (I turned out for him), ni?aŋk nehe kalæa?taj, nikwitu?mak (I met a buggy and turned out [perh. one is VT, one VI; context inadequate to tell]) kwitu?mki (imp.). H,R: kwitu?mki
- kwiwitu? grind acorns, V. H: kwiwitu?

- kwina-č? gap or pass in mountains, N. H: kwanats, kwanatsr-kwina? (poss.). H: ?akwana? [another way to say 'gap'] kwina-vea (plcnm. near Colorado River). H: kwinave, kwanavea; R: kwanavea; M: kwung'-av-ve-ah (valley)
- kwinač obsidian, N, or other glass. H: kwanat fr, kwanat fr (a certain kind of crystal: you can see blue and red in it; glass-like; thunder hurls it and if it hits you it will kill you; plenty on white mountain beyond Bakersfield, way over by Long [Lone?] Pine; people who have it for suerte ['luck'; but this context suggests "suerte" means 'guardian spirit' as well] wore it as pendant from neck; = V. qala?w—ca.; also used for any glass); JW: kwungatc (doctor's charmstone,the mysterious thing [unclear if this is an etymology or a description])

 [this may be minimal pair with kwinač 'gap' in that -č here is in stem, while in 'gap' it is abs. suffix]

kwirk - singe? trim?, V. H: kwark (trim feathering with coal)

kwɨyač — acorn sp.: medium-sized, from mountains; whitish? or red?; edible; also the tree. H: kwəjatʃr, kwəjətʃr (acorn sp.: medium-sized, from mountains; whitish; edible; also the tree); R: kwəjatʃr (red acorns); ZS: kwəʻyac (acorn (on tree)); ZN: kwəyac (acorn sp.; bigger on tree than wi'c; pounded, leached, then boiled into a mush); kwəyač (plant sp.)
kwɨyačay (obj.). H: kwəjatʃraj; R: kwəjatʃraj (acorn, obj. ["bellota colorada [colored or red acorn]"])

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[cf. <u>k+yac</u> 'oak sp.']
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kwɨvɨŋ — plcnm. near Tapo or Camulos. H: kwávəŋ; R: kwávag (plcnm.: an exact equivalent for ta?apupea; near talapupea (Tapo) [or at Camulo?])

kwoha? - foam, VI. H,R: kwoha?

kwoha?-n-i-m (pass. nom., plu.: foamy things?). H,R: kwoha?nim (make something foam) kwoha? (nom.: foam). H,R: ?ákoha? (espuma [foam])

- | -

lamesa? — table, N.
lamesa?-t-ay (obj.). H: lamesa?taj, lamæataj
[< Span. "la mesa"]

lamumuk? — first. M: la-moo'-muk, nah'-mó-mōk (first)
[Initial] in the first form and discrepancy between the initial consonants of the two forms suggest this is not a Kit. word; cf. namumuk]

lamisyon — mission, N.
lamisyon-yik (dir.). Η: lamisjonjaκ
[< Span. "la misión"]

lapis — pencil, N. H: lāpis; niwivayk nihiw lāpis (I sharpen my pencil) [NB no obj. marking])
[< Span. "lápiz"]

ler(-)in — read, V. H: uve a nilerin na? (I read it [past])
lerin-mat (fut.). R: alerinmativij (she will read it)
[< Span. "leer"]

leči? — milk, N. H: letʃi?, létʃi?i (milk (of a cow))
[< Span. "leche"]
lečuga? — lettuce, N. H: letʃuga?
[< Span. "lechuga"]

limon — lemon, N. H: limon [< Span. "limón"]

lola? — pers. name: Lola.
lola?-t-ay (obj.). H: lola?taj
[< Span. (or Eng.) "Lola"]

- m -

ma?aya?i? — easy, Adj. H: ma?aja?i? (it is very easy)

ma-c — arm, hand, N. H: māts; ZS,ZN: ma·c
ma-m (plu.). H: mām; ZS,ZN: ma·m
ma-c-ay (obj.). H: matsaj, mātsaj; R: nihju ivi? matsaj (l
looked at this hand [NB no obj. marker on 'this'])
-ma (poss.). H,R: -ma; ZS,ZN: -ma [macron m?]; M: nim'-mah,
ah'-mah' (arm); K: mü ma ([your] arm, hand)
-ma-y (poss. obj.). H: -maj, -maj
-mah-ma-y (poss. plu. obj.). H: -mahmaj
ni-numua-ŋa ni-ma (my right arm). H: ninumuaŋa nima
ni-?oci?-ŋa (ni-ma) (my left hand or arm). H: niotsi?ŋa
(nima), niotsi?ŋa nima

ma-č — grove or forest? mountain?, N. H: mat [r (forest, group of trees); māt [r, mat [(monte [mountain]); R: mat [r (grove, forest) mah-ma-č (plu.). H: máhmat [r (plu. [of 'grove']); R: mahmat [r (plu. [of 'grove'])

ma-m (plu.). H: mām (plu. [of 'monte'])

mac-y+k (plcnm. of a spring). R: mātsjak (plcnm.: a spring nearby)

ma-vea (plcnm.: El Monte [this may be where the 'mountain' glosses come from—from translation of Spanish name]). H: māve(a), māve(a); ZN: māve (plcnm.: a big ranchería at an oak grove near Tejon); K: mavin (plcnm.: Tehachapi Peak or a mountain near by, perhaps called by the Yokuts "chapanau"); VF: mau-ui (ranchería in the oak trees (monte)); mah-havie (rancheria north of Tejon Ranch by oak grove); K: mavin (plcnm. in the mountains—perhaps Tehachapi peak)

huna-vea ma-č (plcnm.: 'grove, or mountain, in the middle').
H: húnave matg, hunave(a) mat(s)r, hūnavea māt sr

(plcnm.: cowboy camp one mile below the store; Span. name = Monte de en Medio; also spoken of as casa de Lopez, for J.J. Lopez [head foreman] sleeps there); ZN: húnave mač (plcnm.: village site 1 1/2 mi. below ranch; app. "vegetation")

- mač hear, V. [also know?]. R: māt fr (hear); nimāt fr (lo oyí [l heard it]); nimafr nehe (l heard; "add nehe when you are avisando
 - á alguno [informing another person]")
 maš-nehe [pre-consonantal form; analogous to k-loss?]. R:

nima r nehe ("not tir certain!" [another C loss before nehe clitic]; 'I heard'—"add nehe when you are avisando á otro"); [vs.] mamāt rat nehe (did you hear? [contradicts preceding interpretation of nehe])

-mač-ivana? (inst.? "now you're free"). H: məmāt sivaha ("now you're free; lit., you're going to hear of them"), pəmāt sivaha? ("now they'll know; they're free now")

mačikay? (wise). H: máłjake? (omniscient; synonymous with ?áħạnạt)

mačikam (plu.). H: mátſraķam, matʃakam (plu.: wise men)

mačea — be heard [known?]. H: mat sea (is heard)
[apparently this word means 'know' or 'hear'; the 'freedom'
glosses are unexplained—idiom?]

madulse? — strawberry, N. H: mabulse?
[NB: adapts to <u>bulse?</u> 'sweet' (< Span. "dulce")]

-maha? — basket part of basket mortar, poss. H: -maha?; ZN: ?ámahat (hopper for portable mortars only); M: ah'-mah (hand stone for rubbing); JW: ummah (mortar basket or hopper)
[= mahac 'wing'?]

maha-c - wing, N. H,R: mahats

-maha? (poss.: wing, wingfeathers). H,R: -maha?, -maha? (wing; wingfeathers, incl. feathers detached from bird; feathered end of arrow; fish fin); ?úvea ?ákatſr ?amaha?a (it already has wings [said of ant]); M: ammah'-hah (headdress of feathers)
maha?-n (V: fletch). H,R: maha?n, maha?n (put feathers on something—arrow, pot, etc.)

maha?-n (imp.). H,R: maha?n maha?-n-ič (imp. plu.). R: maha?nət (r

maha-n-i-c (part.: feathered). H.R: mahanits; R: maha?nits

mahač — five. H: mahatſr, máhatſr, mahatŗ, máhatŗ, mahaſr; R:

máhatr; mahatſr momkinitſr (five mounds [of shrine]); ZS,ZN: máhač; M: mah'-hah'tr, mah-hahts (mah-hahtch); K: mahatc (five); CK: māhāch'; we' mā hāch' hā' muk mā hāch' (fifteen)

mahačahea (five times). H,R: mahat | rahea; CK: māhāch' 1'

ā wờ mā hāch' (fifty)

mahač-ivan (put five). H,R: mahat frivan (put 5—things in the work one is doing)

mahač-ivan-mat (put five, fut.). R: mahat frivanmat ?a-mahač (Friday). H: ?amahat fr, ?amahat fr

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weh-mahač (ten ['twice-five']). ZS.ZN: wé?maháč: CK: we'
         mã hặc h
      weh-mahač hamik hawkup (eleven ['twice five again one']).
         ZS,ZN: wé?maháč hámak háwkup
      [for higher numerals, cf. wehmahač 'ten']
mahahal-pea — plcnm.: San Cayetano. R: magagalpea
mahat — bird, N. M: mah-haht (a bird)
      ma-mahat (redup.). M: mah-mah-haht (many birds)
      [perh. an error for mahač 'wing']
-mahcit — nephew of a certain type, poss. (through sister?). H:
   -m ahtsit (nephew through my sister (rec. of nijer, Pedro to
   Eug.))
     -mahcita-m (plu.). H: -mahtsitam
     -mahcita-i (poss. obj.). H: -mahtsitaj
ma?hit, ma?hir — oak sp.: Douglas. H: ma?hit (oak sp.); ZS: máhir
   (oak sp.); ZN: má?hir (oak sp.: Quercus douglasii Hook & Am.:
   edible acorn)
mahivat — hairpin, N. H: mahivat
mahmat (and perhaps also mat) - when (conj.). H: magmat, mat
  (perh. w/future reference); magmat (when (fut.)); R: mahmat
  ("if" conditional, with future reference)
     [cf. mat 'future clitic']
mahwa? — burn something up, VT. H: mahwa?, mahwa?, magwa?,
  magwa?
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mahwa?-mat (fut.). H: magwamat, magwa?mat

[cf. hu? 'burn']

- mahwač reed sp.: one to two feet high; grows in bogs. H:
 mahwat [r [1st a may be accented, r may be devoiced], máqwat [cf. hwač 'reed sp.']
- mak give, VT. H: mak, mak; R: uvea nimak, nan nimak (I gave it to you [sic]); ?amakavan (he gave me); K: amak (give [he/she gives])

mah-mak (redup.). H: mah-mak-ava (is giving to them [or imp.? if so, this is the first imp. with redup.])

mak (imp.). H: maκ; mak (give me!; give him!); makəvə (give them!); makanəč (y'all give me!)

makan pata? tthivatfr (give me what's ground)

mak-i-c (pass.nom.: present). H: makits (present)

mak-i-m (plu.). H: makim (presents)

mak-ik (inf.). H: makik

na-mak-a-t (<u>na</u>- gen. nom.: generous person). H: nāmaκat na-mak-a-m (plu.). H: nāmaκam

makač — plant sp.: medicinal for bruises; also for dying baskets black. H: makat fr, mákat fr [ligature under t fr] (plant sp.; resembles malva; = "yerba del golpe", medicine for bruises; also for dying baskets black); ZN: ma kač ("black paint obtained from this plant")

makaho-t — dove, N. H: mákahot (dove: paloma del campo); ZN: mákahat (dove)

makaho-m (plu.). H: mákahom makaho(-)ai-t (dove sp.: bigger). H: mákahoaat (dove of a bigger kind) makaho(-)ai-m (plu.). H: mákahoaam

makaront — macaroon, N. H: apinan makaront (the macaroon crumbled [perh. a constituency abs.])

[< Span. "macarón"]

makaveyki? — nine. H,R: mákavejka; ZS: má·kaví·ka; ZN:
ma·kavi·ka; K: makawik; CK: mā' kā vī' kō; we' mā hāch' hā mŭk
mā' kā vī' kō (nineteen)
makavea?kihea (nine times). H,R: mākavea?kahea; CK: mā'
kā vī' kō hī' ā wĕ' mā hāch' (ninety)
[cf. kwackaveyki 'seven']

makaw - laugh, VI. ZS,ZN: maka

mamukiyač — plant, sp: <u>Cirsium occidentale</u> (Nutt.) Jepson; tender green stalks edible. ZN: mamukiyač

-ma(-)muna? — bracelet, N. H: ámámənə, amamuna?

man — toast, V. H: mān (toast, e.g., piñones); áman (tray with tar on it for toasting seeds [literally 's/he toasts it'?])
man-i-c (part.: toasted [minimal pair with manič 'Jimson weed'? (no evidence in notes that Jimson weed was toasted)]). H: mānits

mana-č — plant sp.: a small prickly pear with inedible fruit. H: mān āt fr
mana-m (plu.). H: mān ām

mana?y — roll over, VI. H,R: mana?j (roll, e.g., of horse)

mana-mana'y (stem redup.). H,R: manamana?j (roll over and over)

manamk (roll, VT). H,R: manamk

mana [stem?]. H,R: ?amanahamak ("va rodeando, it rolls—said of stone, wheel, drunken man")

[cf. manu?mk 'turn'?; cf. nanana?y 'smooth, flat'?]

mani-c — Jimson weed, N, or toloache (halucinogenic drink made from its root). H: mánit fr, mānit fr (toloache; juice made from roots makes you drunk like a dead man all day); R: mānič (toloache); ZS: manič (Jimsonweed); ZN: manič, mánič (Jimsonweed; root peeled, mashed, soaked in cold water; drunk in the morning, 3 times, 3 days apart, to procure visions, cure illness, ease pain)

[obj. app. same—H] mani-m (plu.). H: mánim

mani-muk (be drunk with toloache, VI). H,R: mānimuk
mani-yik (plcnm.). H: mánijik; VF: man-nee-yuk (hill to the
right of R. Gomez's ... 1/2 mi. northwest)
[cf. pa-manit 'Jimson weed or its drinking', under pač 'water']

ma?nɨk — return, go back, VI. H: ma?nək, manəκ, ma?nəκ;

?ama?nak tāmeat (New Year; means sun starts back again; said also at San Juan day, ca. [summer solstice], means it's going to start getting cold or hot again, because sun has turned back); R: uvea ámaīak molestá? (ya volvió Modesta [sic on name; anomalous stress is perh. question intonation; < Eugenia]

mank-in-ea (pass.: be returned?). H: mankinea (apparently = 'it has been returned'; reference to heart being put back in place by shaman)

mansana? — apple, N. H: mansana?
mansana?-tay (obj.). R: mansana?taj
[< Span. "manzana"]

manu?mk — turn, VT. H: manu?mk (turn something wrongside out)
manu?mik (turn, VI?). H: manu?k (turned)
manu?m-manu?mk (redup., VT). H: manu?mmanu?mk (roll,
VT); R: ?amanu?mmanu?mk ?auvatſraj (he is rolling his
eyes from side to side)
manu?mk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: turned). H: manu?mkinits
(turned)
[cf. ma?nik 'return']

manwel-t-ay — Manuel, personal name [obj., apparently; with <u>?atsava?</u> 'with']. H: manweltaj [< Span. "Manuel"]

mao-m (plu.). H: máom

mao-mia-č? — month name [app. named after this plant]. H: maw? maáva? maat [r [=?] hawat [r maw?maat [r (another month)

marina? — tribename: person from marinapea, near San Bernardino [apparently Serrano speakers]. H: māraŋa?a (San Bernardino Indian; talked a language part Kitanemuk and part different; inf. [consultant] didn't understand it) [the "plural" can app. also be used as sg.]

marina?-yam (plu.). H: marəna?jam, márəna?jam, márənajam, márīnajam; R: mārāna?jam (person of the tribe near San Bernardino⁶)

marina-pea — plcnm., by San Bernardino). H: márənapea márinapeaR: mārāna ? pea

marvaš — mallow, N (grew on coast). H: márvaſr [< Span. "malvas"]

masaulat — pers. name. ZN: masáulat (personal name of I[sabela] G[onzales])

mašarin — [mng. unclear]. H: māʃārin ("estoy ...")

⁶Presumably the picnm. here refers to what is now called "Morongo Valley" near San Bernardino, and is not related to Morongo Indian Reservation at Banning, California, which gets its name from a family name (cf. Johnston 1965: 4).

- -mat future clitic; some, but not all, verbs lose final k/ _ mat; one or two examples have <u>mat</u> in odd position; these may be instance of mat "when". H: [for numerous examples, cf. Chapter II, section D; odd example: matakim hawat [r tavat]r (next year)]; ZN: mat (future clitic [translated 'going to'; cf. e.g. <u>kwa?</u> 'eat'])
- mat?apho?w plcnm.. H: mat?apqo?w (plcnm., far away towards Piro)
 [< Chumash: 'place of the fox' (J. Johnson, p.c.)]
- mat?aphwelehwel picnm., at mouth of Cañada or Cajon de las
 Uvas [Grapevine Canyon], below the Fort. H: mat?apqweleqwel,
 mat?apqweleqwel
 [< Chumash]
- matavin plcnm. at Monolith. ZS,ZN: matávin (plcnm.: the Monolith (Kawaiisu) Indian settlement) [may not be Kit.]
- mavi? do, V. H: mavi?, mavi?; tsamavi tumhītaj (let's work [let's do something]; = Monday); R: hitajt məmavi? (what are you doing?); ZS: mavi

mavi? (imp.). H: mavi?; mavitsi? (heal me!)

- hami?-mat ca-hunu?(-)pay vaka?-tay, wir ni-mavi?k naw mayk hami ni-hunu? (let's talk about the cow some other time, I have a lot to do now, I cannot talk now). [from H source]
- [Smithsonian slip from Geri Anderson lists this as minimal pair for vowel length with mave 'grove'; doubtful due to 2]
- maw?— [mng. unclear]. R: maw? hawafr maatfr ("hace muncho la otra luna [long ago the other moon] = the month past"]
 [cf. miač 'moon']
- mawiš feather hand ornament of dancer, N; feather headdress. H -mawis, -māwisr (plumero held in hand of dancer); ZS: -má·wis

(ceremonial feather headdress); ZN: -m 6 wif ([apparently something with feathers]; Zigmond refers to "Steward, Plate 7c")

mawi-yi(-)t — bird sp. [big feather?]. H: mawijat' (bird sp.; resembles swallow; descr.)

ma?y — finish, VT (takes obj. comp. verb, or full clause precedes).

H: ma?j, ma?j; R: uvea nima?j nita?uhi (I finished counting);

uvea ama?jki ata?thea, uvea ama?j ata?thi (ya acabó de

contar [she already finished counting]); uvea nima?j (I aleady

finished); ZN: ?ave nimay nikway (I've finished eating)

ma?yki? (be finished). H: ma?jki?; R: ata?theavaj uvea

ama?jki? (that count is already finished)

[cf. Gab. may 'do']

maya? — ask, VT. H: māja?

mayahintra?alap? — tribename: Kitanemuk. H: májáhintr?alap [< Yok.? Kroeber (1907: 131) gives mayaintalap as Yok. name for Kitanemuks, meaning 'large bows']

ma(-)yaw — receive a guest, V. H: maja w [= 'hand-grasp'?]

maycan — pers. name of a boy. ZN: májt-san

mayha? — give birth, V. H: majha?

mayhak (having given birth?). H: uvea majhak (the woman has already given birth)

ma-mayhaka(-)m (plu.). H: uvea mamajhakam

mayha(-)ka-y (obj.). H: majhakaj (la mujer parida [the woman lately delivered of a child], obj.)

mayha-n-i?a-č (agt. of caus.: midwife). H: majhani?āt [r-mayha-yi? (mother of one's children). H: nimajhaja? (my wife by whom I have had children, mi padrida)

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mayha-c (nom., N(A): child [the kin term]). H: majhāts (son
    or daughter); maihat (colt or calf)[variation in abs. may be
   due to the forced nature of using an absolutive at all]
 ma-mayha-m (plu.: children). H: mámajham, mamajham
 -mayha (poss.). H: -mair, -mair, -mair (son or daughter);
   pām upit nimajr (my first[born] child); nimajr kohat [r,
   nimajr kihāt [r (my oldest daughter); nimājr kwihak (my
   daughter); nimajr pāt [ruk (my son); nimajr pahat [r,
   nimajr pāhāt fr (my oldest son); nimajr pitat fr, nimajr
   pit at fr (my youngest son or daughter); ZN: -mayr, -mayr
   (son/daughter), -m ayr
-ma-mayha-m (plu.). H: -mamajham; ZN: '-mamayham
-mayha-i (poss. obj.). H: -majhaj, -majhaj
-ma-mayha-m-iy (poss. plu. obj.). H: -mamajhamaj
-mayha-?ivə (dec.). H: -majha?ivə
-mayha-?ivi-ay (poss. dec. obj.). H: -majhaj?ivəaj
mayha-vea (plcnm.). H: májhave, majhave, majhavea (plcnm.:
   Campo del Soldado; = Tej. opnow, ópow, Cast.
   tu'up an-means cuando tiene uno muchachito [when you
   have a little boy]); R: majhavea (plcnm.: "spring where
  Cuddys live; = Tej. ?op'now = V. tu?upan (ca.)")
pata? ?a-pea ni-mayha ? (my only child [that one finished
  my child]). H: pata? area nimair (my only son)
[NB: N(A), but V form does not lose a; this confirms
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mayk — [mng. unclear]. H: hāmi?mat tsahūnu?paj vāka?taj, war nimavi?k naw majk hami nihūnu? (let's talk about the cow some other time, tengo mucho que hacer ahora [I have a lot to do now], I cannot talk ahora); H,R: has nimirin majkw (yes, I can [unclear if this is same word])

environment of rule described in chapter I, section D, 4]

[perh. related to ma?v 'do']

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may ki? — come out? R: pāt fr ?ama'jkapea (= Rio Bravo; means onde sale el agua [where the water comes out] ... entered Kern Lake)

[possibly a metaphor based on may(h)k 'look forth or peep']
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- mayk, mayhk? look forth or peep, V. H: majht [sic?], majk; R: majk, majk, majhk (look forth or peep, as through crack)

 mayh-mayhk (redup.). H,R: majmajhk [NB for redup. rule]

 mayhki (imp.). H: majhki
- mayki here he comes [this and related presentational words appear to be highly irregular frozen forms with traces of obsolete personal pronoun or demonstrative morphemes]. H: majki (allá viene [there he comes])

 ma(-)mɨyki (plu.: here they come). H: maməjki

 ?a?mayki (there he comes way in the distance). H: ?a?majki

 (allá viene muy lejos)

 ?a?ma(-)mɨyki (there they come way in the distance). H:

 ?a?maməjki (allá vienen pocc lejos; *?a?pajki)

 [cf. yiki 'here comes']
- mayš-t corn, N. H: majst mayš-t-ay (obj.). H: majstaj [< Span. "maiz"; NB re clusters]
- me [clitic? mng. unclear]. H: jəfr me məʔujk (where is you girlfriend?); jəfr me aujk (where is his girlfriend?)
 [cf. nehe; or perh. this is a variant of mek]
- -mea? with (accomp.); suffixed to nouns, pronominal forms
 [irregular—glottal stop drops out of some]. H: -mea?

 ni-mea? (with me). H: namea?; raw?k ip namea? (sit down
 [here] beside me); R: namea?

 ?i-mea? (with you (sg.)). H: ?amea?; R: amea?

 ?icami?-mea? (with us). H: ?itsama?mea; R: itsama?mea

?imi-mea? (with you (plu.)). H: ?əməmea? (with y'all)
?imi?-mea? (with these). H: ?imə?mea?; R: əməmea?
?am-mea? (with those). H: amea?
hiyavi-me? (with salt). H: hijavime?
?a-šivki-mea? (with wind). H: ?áwoŋ áʃivkime?a? (it is raining with wind blowing—a storm)

- mea go! (imp. of mi 'go'). H: mea (imp. of 'go'; also meah when followed by another imp., either a repeat of mea, or an imp. of another verb); R: meah kuan (go out and call him)
- meakor but? H: nikəmat meakor naw ni?ən meakor-mat nikəm (yo lo voy a hacer, pero no sé mas que no sé pero voy a hacer; I am going to make it though I do not know how [Harrington's Eng.]); meakor təjt apits (pero es diablo que llegó ['but it's too bad he came'? 'but it's a devil that came'?])
- mek contrary-to-fact marker, clitic. H: təmek nehe naw ʔáħipək, ʔakatſr mek nehe kīvea (if the man hadn't died, he would still be living in the house [Harrington calls this "optative" construction]); R: nikatſr mek ap (would that I were there)
- mek(-)waču? contrary-to-fact conditional marker, clitic. R:
 təmekwatru? ap nikat[r, naw mekwatru? ?amək amaj
 kwihakataj (if I had been there he wouldn't have killed the
 woman); təmekwat[ru? nitsək, ?aju? me kwat[ru? (if I had
 stuck him with the scissors, he would have cried)
 [NB: ti/naw opposition, reminiscent of indefinites
 (apparently ti here is the conj. 'if'; and mek is a clitic)]
- memriya? quince, N. H: memrija?
 - [< Span. "membrillo"; note change in final vowel in borrowing—prob. a confusion about the gender in Spanish (not uncommon in American Indian borrowings from Spanish (W. Bright, p.c.)), rather than a phonological adaptation]

- merikano? American, N. H: mérikano?; R: merikano?

 merikano?-yam (plu.). H: mérikano?jam (American; "this inf.

 [consultant] says K[it.] never used múka?jam")

 [< Span. "americano"]
- merin melon, N. H: meran [< Span. "melón"]
- meta?;? tall; long [predicate]. H: meta?;? (long (of a road)); R: meta?;? (high (of mountain); long (of house); putsuk meta?;? pokt (the road is long); meta?;? ([the mountain] is high); meta?;? kits (a long house); metat kits (tall house); used alone or with N [but always = predicate?]; M: met-tah-oo, met-taht (long); met-tah-oo, met'-taht (tall); met-tow'-o-koo-saht (pole)
 - me-meta?+? (redup.). H: memeta?>? [= memetam]; R: kaym memeta?>? (tall mountains)
 - me-metam (redup. plu.). H: memetam [= memeta?>?]; R: memetam kajm (tall mountains)
 - meta-t (tall; high). H: metat; R: kajts metat (a very high mountain); metat (tall mountain); M: met-tah-oo, met-taht (long); met-tah-oo, met'-taht (tall)
 - meta-y+k (dir.). H: metajak; R: nimimat metajak (voy para la sierra muy alta [l'm going to go into the high sierra]; "inf. [consultant] observes 2 forms are 'poco diferente' [a little different]")
 - [both occur with nouns, but when -+? form stands alone, it is translated as a sentence; when -! form stands alone it is translated as, e.g., 'tall mountain'; -+? form is reminiscent of demonstratives; cf. chapter IV, section N, "Predicator"]
- mi go, be going to, V. H: mi, mi; hat k pami (they are marching single file, going abreast); kāy k pami ([the birds] go in a flock); R: mi, mi (go, be going to); tuk ne nimi (yesterday I went); mamimat (you're going soon; good-bye); ZS,ZN: mi (be going to);

- M: nim'-min-ne-ke'-yuk (I am going home); M: hi-mo-kaht mum'-me, hi'-mo-kaht mum'-me (Where are you going?)
 - mea, meah (imp.). H: mea (go!); meah mea (go, go!); meah kuan (go out and call him!); mea u? pāt [r amuk (go over there and bring me some water! [go take water over there]); pop mea (come near!); R: meah kuan (go out and call him!); meah, meah (go, then [answer to mamimat 'good-bye'); meah meah javan (vete afuera [go outside][said to a dog]; = V. t [a t [a milak); M: me'ah kweahk' (go to bed!); me-ah-ah'-muk (go away); m'yow o-paht'r
 - mea-č (imp. plu.). ZN: mečkwa?umok ("you—pl.—eat" [mi-č kwa?-?amuk, "go eat over there"])

(go get water)

- mi-hun (des.). H,R: naw uvea nimihun (I changed my mind [no longer I-want-to-go])
- Puvea ?a-mi ni-hun (my heart is leaving now; said by dying person when his spirit leaves). H: ? úve ámi nihun
- Puvea ni-mi (I'm already going; = goodbye). M: wahn-nim'-me, o-ve-ah-ne' me (farewell (I'm going))
- mi-mi-mat (now you're going; = goodbye). R: mamimat (ya se va Vd. [now you're leaving]—this is the way to say goodbye)
- ?a-mi-a tamea-t? (today). M: ah-mi tah'-me-at, ah-mi-e (today)
- ?a-mi tuka (tonight). M: ah-mi to-kah, to"-kah (tonight)
- Pa-mi tiva-č (this year). M: am-mi-tu-bas, am-mi-e-ve tu-vatch (this year)
- [last three subentries show that 'going' is idiom for 'next' in Kit.]
- mick side by side together (Adv. with 'be' or 'go'). H,R: mitsk, mitsk
- mihinan recently, just now, Adv. H: mihinan nikam (I made it or did it just now); R: mihinan (luego [later, then])

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mi?n-pea — plcnm. in Chanaco Canyon. R: mi?npea (plcnm. in Chanaco Canyon; includes the spring called in Span. El Campo de Gregorio)

mi?n-pea-nu? (dir.: from mi?npea). R: mi?npeanu? [this shows that -pea is derivative ('plcnm.'), not just a case
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minah-t — mammal sp. H: minaht (mole; Harrington note re raised h: "not strong but distinct; Probably better omit writing"); ZS: ming(g)at(') (gopher); ZN: mingat' (gopher; mo-in-law of lion in story)

mina-m (plu.). H: minam; "this was eaten"

suffix ('loc.')1

mirak+k [mng. unclear]. H: məmiraκəκ ("no es bueno" ['It's not good', said by mayor, referring to a pregnant woman's state])
[could this be < Span. "mirar", meaning something like 'you're showing'? or perh. related to VCh milak (cf. mi 'go'), meaning 'you're sticking out'?]

mirin — be able (takes obj. compl. form of verb, or no complement).

H: mirin, m̃irin, m̃irin; R: -mirin, -m̃irin; H,R: haənim̃irin majkw

(yes I can [yes I can do it])

miruhr-k — twist, wrap up, VT. H,R: mirurk, mirurk; (uvea)

pamirurk mukitaj hunapea/haj?ivea (they wrapped the corpse in a petate)

miruhr-ik (VI: tangle or kink). H: miruhərək
miruhr-ki (imp., VT or VI?). H: mirugki (imp. VT); R: mirugki
 (imp. VI)
miruhr-mat (fut., VT). H,R: mirurmat
miruhr-k-in-i-c (pass. nom.: twisted). H,R: mirugkinits

miša? — [church] mass, N.
miša?-yik (dir.). H: mija?jk
[< Span. "misa"]

wivet fr (the pita is twisted)

- -mišana son-in-law, poss. H: -miʃaña, -miʃraña
 -mišana-m (plu.). H: -miʃraña m
 -mišana-y (obj.). H: -mumiʃañaj [high central V rounding between labials? or perh. a transcription error?]
- -miyak ? daughter-in-law, poss. H: -mijak; -meak (daughter-in-law, ms,ws)
 -miyak-yam (poss. plu.). H: -mijakjamx
 -miyaka-y (poss. obj.). H: -miakaj
- mi(-)yaŋk soar, VI. H: amijaŋhk (he soars like buzzard or buitre [vulture] or other birds)

[= mi 'go' + yank 'quiet'? or 'go' + ya 'fly'?]

mi- — you, your (sg.); prefix. ZN: ma?

mia(-)č — moon; month, N. H: maātr, maatr, maátr, maatr, maatr (moon) [# mwat (smoke)]; R: maw? hawar maatr (mace muncho la otra luna [long ago the other moon] = the month past"); ivi? maátr (this month [NB noon-initial stress]); ZS: máač; M: mo-ahtra, mwatsh (moon); mo-ahtr (mwahtr), how-ko-mwats (a month or moon); K: māat, mū at (moon); mòatc (lake [sic])

mia-va? (full moon? clear?). H: maáva?a (full moon? [NB non-initial stress]); R: maava? (it's a beautiful moon; clear, pretty moonshine); maava? maač (the moon is clear) [the -va is unidentified]

mao-mɨa-č? — month name [app. named after maoč plant]. H: maw? maáva? maatʃr [=?] hawatʃr maw?maatʃr (another month)

šikwa-mia-č ([approximately] December ['ice month']). H: fikwamaat [r

mican(-)i-c-ay (obj.). H: matsanītsaj kafē?taj (strong coffee, obj.)

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mičk — pull something taut, V. H: milk, milk, milk, milk (pull something like a string; to lead a horse by a rope; estirar el cuero [to stretch a hide]); R: ni-milk (I pulled it--string) mičičk (pull hard, VT). H,R: milkrik (pull it hard) mički (imp.). H,R: milkrik (pull!) mički-č (imp. plu.). R: milkrik-tr (pull, imp. plu.) mički-č (imp. plu.). R: milkrik-tr (pull, imp. plu.) mičiki (imp. with redup. stem). H: milkrmilkriki (pull, pull! speaking of stretching buckskin) mičik (pity, have pity on, VT). H,R: milkrik (pity someone) [e.g. R: nimilkrikam (I pity you), nimilkrikamama (I pity you; n must be m), nimilkrikava (I pity them)] milčiki-ci? (imp.: have pity on mel). H: milkrikiti? (have pity on mel); R: milkrikiti? (pity mel) [NB: -k vs. -ik here is not VI versus VT]
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mɨhi-c — neck, N. ZS: məhic; M: nim-moo'-he, ah-muh'-he (back of neck)
-mɨhi (poss.). ZS: -m'əhi; K: a-muhi ([his/her] neck)

- mihi-wi-t (aug.: long-necked bird: heron? pelican? egret?).

 H: mihiwit, mihiwit (heron, a bird with a long neck; pelican)

 mihi-wi-m (plu.). H: mihiwim, mihiwim
- mik kill, hit, V. H: mak, mak (kill); tameat ?amak ("the sun kills it ... said of the sunset colors"); R: mak (kill); mak, mak (kill, hit); ?amak ?atak (he killed himself); nimakam (I'm going to hit you [sic]); mamakatsi? (you hit me); mamakava (you killed them [NB: not kon; so mik and kon do not correlate exactly with sg. and plu. objects, respectively]); ZS: mak (hit); M: nu-ne-muk' (I struck him); nu-we-ah am-muk (he struck me); a moo-ho-noita-ma [app. ?a-mik huna-i-t ?ama? 'that bear killed him'], hoo'-naht ah-muk (A bear killed him); a-moo-ku-wats [app. ?a-mik hiwa-c 'he killed another one], ah-muk hoo'-nah-tah (he killed a bear); K: amuik-anü (kill)
 - mik-mat (fut.). R: nimakmatum (I'm going to hit you (Span. "pegar")); nimakmat ŋ̄bə?taj (I kill one cat [to show contrast with kon 'kill many'])
 - mik-an-i?a-č (agt.: killer). H: makaneatr takatama; R: makaneatfr (murderer)
 - mik-an-i?a-m (plu.). H: makanea-m (killers [of single people])
 - mik-an-ea-y (obj. compl.?). H: ?amakaneaj ("cuando lo quiere pegar [when you want to hit him]; no such word as "?amukeaj")
- mimi-t lake, sea, N. H: məmət, məmət; wər məmət (many lakes);
 R: ʔəpahi? məmət (Tulare--3rd?--Lake); məmət (lake [Eug.];
 "plu. is the same"); ZN: məmət (lake, gen.); M: mŏ-mut (ocean)
 mih-mimi-t (plu.). H: məhməmət
 -mimi? (poss.: its pooling?). H: ʔəməmə? (deep place in creek or pond)
 - -mih-mimi? (redup. poss.). H: ?amahmama? (plu. [deep places])

mimi-yam (tribename: people that lived at lake of Chico López; sg. is same). H: mamajam mɨmɨ-pea (loc.). H: mɨməpe a mimi-yik (plcnm.: perh. Elizabeth Lake; in Cummings Valley). H: məməjək, məməjək (Laguna de Chico López; formerly in Cummings Valley); R: mamajak (plcnm. for 2 places; one is Laguna de Chico López, Elizabeth Lake, other no longer exists); ZN: məməjak, məməjak (for the Buena Vista Lake); VF: moo-moy-yōōk (Cummings Valley) mimi-yam (tribename: person from Elizabeth Lake). R: məməjam (person from L[aguna] de C[hico] L[ópez]) mɨmɨ-t-ay (obj.). H: nipāmat məmətaj, nipā?mat məmətaj (I'm going to drink seawater--a remedy) mimi-tu? (V: pool or make puddles). R: amamatu? (se encharcó el agua [the water made a pool]) mih-mimi-tu? (redup.). H: mahmamatu? (make puddles) Pa-kwičik Pa-Pova mimi-t (wave). H: Pakwatſrak PaPova mamat (wave; lit., sea's force [stands up]) Pa-putik mimi-t (it is high tide). H: Paputak mamat (it is high tide; lit., it [the ocean] filled up) ?a-hivi-vea mimi-t (coast). ?a-hivi-vea mimi-t kike? (coast Indian). H: ?ahavave məmət kike?e; R: ?ahəvəvea məmət kike? ?a-hɨvɨ-vea mɨmɨ-t kikam (plu.). H: ?áhəvəve məmát ki(?)kam, ?áhəvəve pat [ki(?)kam (plu. [NB stress in first version])

mɨmk — true, Adj. and Adv.? H,R: məmk, məmk; nɨhaκ nə? məmk (l'm telling the truth); məmk (it's true); naw (pata?) məmk (it's not true)

mink — swallow, V. H: mank minki (imp.). H: manki min-mat (fut.). H: manmat

- -mink-in-ivana? (inst., poss.: esophagus). H: -mankinivana?
- mit ? [mng. unclear]. H: mot no mohu mofitfaj ("por qué no quema
 tu boca?" [why doesn't your mouth burn?; may = (ha)mit naw
 mi-hu mi-šiča-y])
- mɨyvɨ? menstruate, VI. H: məjvə?, məjvə?
 [perh. dec. of a pass. nom. from a root meaning 'flow' or 'pool', thus related to mɨmɨt 'lake'; or perh. related to mɨač 'moon']
- mɨyš?ɨk miss, VT. H: məjʃrək (miss someone; = na?n); R: jawvəkmatum niməjʃrək (I'm going to miss you; "cf. na?n")
- mɨyvan bet, V. H: məjvan (bet [no overt objects])
 mɨyvan (imp.). H: məjvan
 mɨyvan-i-c (pass. nom.). H: məjvanits (the money bet)
- moc again, Adv. H: mots; R: mots, mots; M: mots, maw"ts; mots (next time)
 ?a-manik ((waha) moc) tamea-t New Year. H: ?ama?nak
 ((waha) mots) tāmeat (New Year; means it starts back
 again)
- mohač doll, N. H: móhats, móhatr (doll (used skull of any small animal on end of a stick))

-moha (poss.). R: nimoha (this is my doll)

moha-y (obj., poss.). R: nituhutu?nin nimohaj (I dance my doll)

moha-m (plu.). R: moham

moha-m-i (plu. obj.). R: nituhtu?ninəvə nimohamə (I'm going to dance my dolls)

- mohavidz tribename: Mojave. H: mohavidz (Mojave; "talk nearly the same as the haminat"; also say ? ám áq ava [q.v.]) [< Eng. "Mojave"?]
- mohcač? mo?cač oak sp. ZN: mɔ́hcač, mɔ́?cač ("Quercus; sup. same as Kaw. mucitabə")
- mohk smoky (said of blue eyes, gray tabby cat). H: moqk (blue [of eyes]; barcino [gray with black stripes] [of cat--tabby]; "the word moqk really is derived from or means something like 'smoky'"); R: moqk (barcino, gray, like tiger-striped cat here); mok'k (morado [purple])
- mohmoho?k only, just? rude? butting in?, Adj.? H: mohmoho?k ap ?akim tsurupkik (he came and butted in --se entremetió); mohmoho?k ap ?a?u?u? (he doesn't ask, he just takes--of impolite man); tamwa?nataj tsipk [or tsipk] mohmoho?k (I managed to see shacks a little, only a few); R: mohmoho?k apakin (he comes to intrude on us [apakin could be error for ?ap?akim]
- mo ?loy bear sp., small with white throat. H: moloj, mo?loj [may not be Kit.]
- momk pile up, VT. H: momk
 momk (Adj.: piled up). H: momk
 mohmik (VI: pile up). H: ?amohmak jarumat fr (dune)

mona? [cf. muna? 'cheat']

monikik — blow around, VI. H,R: monikik (blow around, of dust); R: Pamonikik Patsāqaj (he kicks up dust with [his] toes as he runs); M: ah-mo'-ne-kok, ah'-mo-ne-kuk (dust)

⁷Kroeber (1925: 612) mentions rumors of "Kwiahta Hamakhava" (Mojave for 'like Mojaves') in the area, perhaps referring to the Kitanemuk or Tataviam.

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mon-ik — be mixed up, VI. H: monuk ("parasitic very short u;
    alternate beads on necklace by color when stringing"); mono?k,
    mono?k (it is, or they are, mixed up)
      mono?k (Adj.: mixed up). R: mono?k (está revuelto [it's
         mixed up])
      mo?n-k (VT: mix up different kinds of things). H: mo?nk (mix
         up--corn and beans, or anything); R: uvea nimo?nk (I mixed
         them)
      ?a-monki? (pass.). H: ?amonki? (mixed up)
      mon-k-in-i-c (pass. nom.). H: monkinits (a mixed up mess)
      mo?n-ki (imp., VT). H: mo?nki; R... mo?nki (revuelvelo! [mix it
         ([!au
      mon-monkik (redup. pass. adj.). H: monmonkik, monmonkik
         (hillocks, hills of any size); M: moon--mon-kik (hill)
monušmu? — [mng. unclear]. H: monufmu? [said of single black line
   painted on dancer's face, below eyes (session with Eug[enia],
   with [A.?] Lozada interpreting]]
      [may not be Kit.]
morahk — untie, VT. H: moragk
      [cf. murahk 'be loose, untied']
mori-c - snot, N. H: morit s
     mori-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
     -mori (poss.). H.R: -mori
     -mori-y (poss. obj.). H: -mori
     mori-wi-t (aug.: snotty person). R: moriwat (es mocoso [it's/
        s/he's snotty])
     moh-mori-wi-m (aug. plu.). R: mohmoriwam
mo?rik — overeat, stuff oneself, VI. H: mo?rok (empacharse [stuff
  oneself, overeat, get indigestion])
     mo?rik-mat (fut.). H: [fut. retains k]
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mortasa? — mustard, N. H: mortasa? mortasa?
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- [< Span. "mostaza"; this entry suggests Harrington didn't always record r-devoicing before voiceless consonants]
- mu shoot, throw, grind, V. H: mu, mu; R: mu (shoot, grind); nimu (l hit the mark); mu, mu (shoot, with arrow or rifle, pound in mortar); uvea nimu (ya lo tiré [l already threw it?])

mu-vu? (past). R: nimuvu? (lo tiré [l threw it? l shot at it?])

mu-hea (passive: be ground or shot). H: muhea; R: amthea ahtnaj (he shot him in the heart)

muh (imp.). H: muh, mu, mu'

mu-ihwa-t (inst.: mortar, spear). H: tsivu mujhwat (small pespibata mortar)

-mu-ivana? (poss. inst.). H: ?amujvaha? kihūt ʃraj (salmon spear); ?amujvaha?a (spear)

ku-mu-ihwa-t (firesticks [fire thrower]). H: kúmuihwat

-mu-vi (nom.: shot(s)). R: nimwa (the shots)

mu-i-c (pass. nom.: pinole, ground). H: muits

mu-i-c-ay (pinoie, obj.). H: mujtsaj

mu-ik (inf.). R: nimi muik (I'm going to go machucar [grind]) ?a-mu-y (compl.). R: ahju nehe amuj (lo miró cuando lo tiró

['he looked at him when he threw it'; but in these notes <u>hyu</u> 'see' is often translated using Span. "mirar", which in standard Span. means 'look at'; thus this sentence could be 'he saw him throw it'])

mu-mu-ivi-č (plcnm.: means where they shot the pine tree, on old trail to Santa Barbara through San Emigdio Canyon).
R: mumujvət fr təkoht

?a-mu-c-i (part.? [c unexplained]). R: āmutsi (el salvado ['the saved part', when winnowing])

mua? — smell, VI. H: mua?, mua?

[note: used alone, translated as 'stinks'; but with 'good' translated as 'smell good' (as in Eng.)]

[cf. mwa?t 'smoke', mohk 'smoky', muhkik 'take steam']

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muahk-ik — take steam(bath?), be smoky, VI. H: muakak; muakak
   (be smoky); R: muakak (be smoky); ah-mwah'-kuk (smoke); K:
   amwak (smoke)
      muahk-k (VT: smoke). R: muahk (smoke-e.g. bacon)
      muah-mat (fut., VT). H: muaqmat (give someone steam, fut.);
         R: nimuahmat (I'm going to smoke bacon)
      mua-t (nom.: smoke). H: mwa?t; muát (haze); R: muat, mwat
         (smoke; "but maat fr 'moon'"); M: mo-waht (m'waht)
         (smoke)
      mua-kay (char.: plant sp.: turpentine weed). ZS: mwa kay
         (plant sp.; medicinal tea, said to be called 'bad woman' in
        Span.); ZN: mwa xay (plant sp.: Trichostema lanceolatum,
        turpentine weed; vinegar weed; Span. 'bad woman';
        medicinal, laxative tea) [must have some association with
        steam or smokel
      [cf. mwa?t 'smoke', mohk 'smoky']
mua?ta-t - hill, N. H: mua?tat (small hill); ZN: mwa?(a)tat; M:
  mwah'-taht (hill); K: moatat (mountain)
      mua?ta-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
     mwa-mwa?tat (redup.). ZN: mwam(υ)wa?(a)tat (plu.)
mucik — be tight for (person who it's tight for is in obj. case), VT;
  be crowded, not fit, VI. H: mutsak [m,u,t,may be long] (be tight
  [of pants; who they're tight on is obj.]; be crowded); R: mutsak
  (not fit); tsamutsakmatutfr (no vamos a caber [we are not going
  to fit]; "means same without -ut[r" [-i-č otherwise only used in
  hortatives]); amutsakmat (no va caber [s/he or it is not going to
  fit])
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mucik-mat (fut.). R: tsamutsakmat, tsamutsakmatut [r (we aren't going to fit [-ič unexplained])

Pa-mucki-pea, Pa-mucki-pea-vea, Pa-mucki (plcnm.: a place where land is so close to creek you can barely pass).
H: Pámutskapja, Pamutskapja, Pámutskapja, Pámutskapjat, Pamutskupiavjt

- ?a-mucki-yam (tribename: the inhabitants of the crowded place). H: ?ámutskəjam (natives of that place); also sg. and plu. ámutskəjiatam [it is odd that there are two placename forms and two tribename forms also; perh. two separate locations are involved]
 [cf. micavorakam under nacavorakam 'twins']
- mucuk(-)in-ihwa?-t acorn granary, N. ZN: mucú·kinihwa?t (acorn granary, standing 6' off ground or in tree)

 [perh. inst. < mucɨk 'be tight', since used to crowd lots of acorns together?]
- muhač doll, N. H: muhat [r [cf. mohac 'doll']
- muhirik? offer something and then snatch it back, VI. H: muhirik (offer to give something and then change mind); R: muhirik (hold out or give and then snatch away
- muhiwe pers. name of a man. ZN: muhiwe
- muhu?ŋa picnm., east of Tujunga. H: múhu?ŋa
 [note: Harrington note says < K. muh 'shoot it!'; [possibly related to VCh muhu 'owl'? (but -ŋa is locative suffix characteristic of Gab. or Kit.]
- muk be sick, die, VI; wane (of moon). H: muk, muk (sick);

 nimuk ut kama? jt kaj ("said when [you don't know if you'll get
 well or die]--means i'm going to die; the aj diphthong sounds
 like e often" [perh. 'Am I going to die now?', with k transcribed
 for initial? of ?ama?y 'now']); ?uvea ?ámuk = ?uvea ?ámpək, =
 "he's already dead", but nimuk merely means I'm sick, not dead;
 məmukut (are you sick?); ?anihniw ?amuk (the moon is
 waning— "ya se acabó" [it already finished]); ?ámuk (məatʃç)

 (the moon is eclipsed); R: muk, muk (be sick); muk (be
 sick); hāmi? nimuk (I'm still sick); nimukutak ama?j (I think

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I'm going to die [matching underlining is Harrington's]); M: nim-
māk-nū' (I'm sick); nim-māk, mo-kāk (sick)
  muk-uvu? (past). H: nimukuvu? (I was sick)
  muk-mat-kay (fut., with perhaps). H,R: mukmat kaj
  muk-i-t (pass. nom.: dead person, corpse). H: mukit; R: mukit
     (dead person)
  muki-c (pass. nom.?: disease). H: mukits (disease)
  muk-i-m (dead person, plu.). H: mukim (dead person, plu.);
     mukim (disease, plu.); R: mukim (dead person, plu.)
  muk-i-t-ay (dead person, obj.). H,R: mūkitaj; H: kikahtaj
     mukitaj (dead chief, obj.)
  muk-ik (Adj.: sick, sick person). H: mukuk, mūkuk; R: mukuk;
     kwea?ki ivi? (muku) (lay down this (sick) person!)
  mukukam (Adj., plu.). H: mukukam
  mukukea (pass.?). R: mamukukea ama?j (I think you're going
     to die [now])
  mani-muk (incorp.: be drunk with toloache). H,R: manimuk
  pa-muk (incorp.: drown or be flooded [water-die]). H:
     Papām Uk Pivīts tavahts Puvea (there was a flood be-
    fore—at time of Noah); pāmūk, pamuk (drown, VI); R:
    pamuk, pām ūk, pamūk (drown, Vi)
 pa-muk(-)unea? (incorp. VT: drown). H: pamukune?a.
    pām ūkunea?; R: pamūkune?, pām ūkunea?, pamukune?a
  ?iyci-muk (incorp.: sick from poison oak). H: ?əjtsimuk (be
    sick from poison of ivy)
 hika(-)w-muk (compound or incorp. VI). H: nihikawmuk (I am
    panting [breath-sick])
 nah-nayka-muk (have potros [hernia/tumors?]). H,R:
    nannajkamūk (< nanayka- 'thighs')
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muka? — whites, Mexicans or Americans, N. H: muka, muka?a, muka? (refers to whites, Mexicans or Americans; said not to cry

at funerals; this is word of wise man who prophesied coming of Americans); R: muka? (whiteman)

muka?-yam (plu.). H: múka(?)jam, múka(?)jam, muκa?jam; mūkajam kwákam (American soldiers) [perh. a nom. < 'sick', meaning 'sickly', 'pale', or 'dying'; or possibly < mohk 'gray'?8]

mukpi-c, mupi-č — nose (also duck's bill, or point of a hill), N. H: mupit fr (nose); ZS: muk-pic [abs., perh. forced?]
mupi-m (plu.). H: mupi m

-mukpi? (poss.). H: -mukpi?, -mukpi?, -mukpi?; patsahk ?amukpi? (his nose is aplastado [flattened], chata [flatnosed]); -mupi?; ZS: -mukpi; M: nim-mok-pe, ah-mok'-pe (nose); K: amukpi

-muh-mupi? (plu. poss.). H: -muhmupi?

mupi-wi-t (aug.: big-nosed person). H: mupiwat (narizón [person with a big nose?])
mupi-wi-m (aug. plu.). H: mupiwam

mula?(-)t — mule. H: mula?t [even with abs. -t, glottal added as in many V-final borrowed stems]; R: awawk mula?t, aqank (a mule threw him and crushed him)
[< Span. "mula"]

mumac — reddish tick, N. H: mữn atṣ mumac-yam (plu.). H: mữn atsjam

muna? — cheat, VT. R: mona?

muh-muna? (redup.). H: muhmuna?, mohmona? (cheat

someone); R: muhmuna? (cheat); amohmona?vən (s/he

cheated me); naw amona?vək [unclear; v unidentified] (no

⁸ Cf. Cahuilla <u>Mukata</u>, a creation god now considered an evil spirit, as reported by Lovell and cited in Heizer (1974: 18), and in K. Sauvel's story on tape (Frost 1986).

se engañó [s/he wasn't cheated or fooled]); muhmuna? (s/he's cheating); amuhmuna?vətsəm (he is cheating us) mona?vik (be cheated?). R: naw amona?vak (no se engañó [s/he wasn't cheated or fooled]) nah-mona?-hyi-t (nah aug.: a cheater). H,R: na'mona?hjət nah-mona?-hyi-m (cheater, plu.). H,R: na'mona?hjəm mu-mu-i-vi-č tikoht — plcnm. in San Emigdio Canyon; cf. mu 'shoot'. mumum-pea — plcnm.: a bog. R: mumumpea munk, munkik — peak, hill, N. H: mun(u)k, munkik mun-munkik (Adj.: redup. plu.). H: munmunkik monkinič? [pass. nom.?]. R: mahat fr momkinit fr (5 mounds (of shrine) [sic m]) munahk (VT: pile up). R: munaqk (pile up fine earth, [said] of gopher) munkikah-yik (plcnm. [same root?]). R: munkikah jak (plcnm.; = kasupna, Montalvo) [cf. monikik 'blow around', monik 'mixed up'?] mun-t? — owl, great horned, N. H: munht, mun(') (great horned owl; = V. muhu = tecolote); ZS,ZN: munkt (owl; = an omen) munum (plu.). H: munum mun-t-ay (obj.). H: munhtaj munumi (plu. obj.). H: munuma mun-t ?a-ho? (picnm., near La Chiminea). R: munt ?aho

mupi-č [cf. mukpi-c 'nose']

mupu?-pea — plcnm.: Santa Paula.

[< Chumash; Blackburn (1975) translates mup as 'cave']

murah-ik — be loose, untied, VI. H: muraqak; R: muraqak (be untied)

murah-k (VT: loosen, let loose). H: murahk, murahk (loosen, untie, unstring (of bow)); R: muraqk (untie) murah-nehe (with nehe). H: nimuraq nehe (I loosened it); R: nimuraq nehe kutsi?taj) (I let it (the dog) loose) murah-mat (fut.). H,R: nimuraqmat murah-k (Adj.: loose, untied). H: muraqk; R: muraqk (está suelto [it is loose]) [cf. morahk 'untie']

mušamuša?y — untidy, cluttered, Adj. H: muʃramuʃra?j

mutu? — always, still, Adv. H: mutu?, mutu?, mutu?; ?aw?ujhun nimi, mutu?mat nimi (he doesn't want me to go, but I'm still going to go); R: mutu? nimirin (siempre puedo [I still?/always? can]); mutu? anam (he is always walking around the country); mutu (siempre [still/always])

mwat - smoke; haze. [cf. muahk]

mwiršk — sad, Adj. H: mwərsk; R: mwərsk nohtat (the old lady is very sad); M: mu-isk (sorry)

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-na? — father, poss. (no absolutive). H: -na?, -na?a; pəna? (their fathers); nina?n (my father); M: ahn'-nah (father); nin'-nah (father, my (spoken of [i.e. non-vocative?])); ahn'-nah hoo'-as, ah'-nah (father, his)
-na-m (poss. plu.). H: -nam; pənam (their fathers)
-na?nay (poss. obj.—irreg.). H: -na?naj
-na?-ivə (poss. dec.). H: -na?ivə
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na?ak — separate, divide, VI (subject can be either sg. or plu.). Η: na?ak

na?k-an (VT: separate). H: na?κan na?k-an (imp.). H: na?κan

naca-t — little girl, N. H: natsat, natsat (girl, like 4-year old); ZS:
nacat (little girl); ZN: nacat (girl); M: nah'-tsat, nah'-tsaht
(little girl (4 to 12 yrs.)); K: natsat (girl)
na-naca-m (plu.). H: nahatsam; M: nah-nah'-tsum (children (4 to 12 yrs.))
naca-t-ay (obj.). H: natsataj
naca-kwinit (cmpd.? [mng. unclear]). H: natrakwinit ("una cimar[r]ona" [= wild, unruly, runaway, slave; perh. a mare])
[cf. nahač 'older girl']

- naca-kwina-c? plant sp.: desert grape. ZS: na·čakwinač (plant sp.: <u>Vitis girdiana</u>, desert grape); ZN: na·čakwinač (wild grapes; eaten as raisins, boiled or plain, or in pudding)
 [cf. nacat 'little girl'?]
- nacavorakam twin(s), N. H: nátsavorakam, natsavorakam;
 háwkup nátsavorakam (one twin); niniw natsavorakam (my
 twins [NB: an unusual case of -niw 'possession' used with
 humans; cf. chapter IV, section A]); matsavorakam/
 natsavorakam [Harrington typed notes asks, "1st letter m or

n?," and entry includes the qualification "(ca.)"]; ZN: n'acuvur á kam (twins)

nacavorakam-ay (obj.). H: natsavorakamaj, nátsavorakama [any relation to <u>nacat</u> 'little girl'? is this girl twins? or perh. related to <u>nacea?</u> 'splice' and <u>woh</u> 'two'?]

nacea? — splice rope together, V. H: natsea? (splice rope together; = napawitsu?)

nah- - prefix: habitual? [cf. e.g. mona? 'cheat', and ki? 'bite']

naha-č — older (apparently teenage) girl, N. H: nahatfr, nahatfr, nahatfr, nahatfr, nahatfr, nahatfr, nahatfr, nahatfr

na-naha-m (plu.). H: namaham, nahaham naha-č-ay (obj.). H: nahat [raj [cf. nacat 'little girl']

nah-kamea?-n-i-c — cemetery, N. H: naqkamea?nits,
náqkame?nits, náhkame?nits;
nah-kamea?-n-i-m (plu.). H: "plu -m"
nah-kamea?-y+k (loc.). M: nah-kah'-me-ah'-yuk (burial place
nah-kamea?-n-i-vea (plcnm.). H: náqkame?nive; M: nach'kah-mea-ne-ve-ah (burial place)
[cf. kamea? 'bury', of which this is nah- pass. nom.]

- nahmavihawit? shaman, N. M: nah-mah'-we-haw'-it nah'-mahve-hüt (doctor or shaman)
- nahnipk win, beat someone, V. H: nahnipk, nahnipk; pananipk (goal; = "where they are going to win/lose" [sic; but seems to mean 'they're winning', or perh. 'they're making a goal'] nahnipki (imp.). H: nahnipki nahnipki-č (imp. plu.). H: nahnipkit fr

- nahnipk-in-ihwa?-t (inst.: goal, ganadero in shinny game). H: nahnipkihihwa?t
- nahock give bridal presents, V. H: anahotsκ (he gives bridal presents)
 - [min. pair with <u>nahuck</u> 'give birth to'? perh. Harrington confused bridal presents with birth presents; cf. <u>na?u?</u>, <u>na?o?</u> 'marry'?]
- nahponom sell something, V. H: hahpmom; R: naqponom nahponum-uvu? (past). H: nahponumuvu? (sell something); R: ninahponumuvu? (I sold it)
 - nahponom-a-i (nom.: store). H: nahpmomat; R: naqpmomat; wavapea naqpmomat (La Tienda del Llano, Rose Station [the plain store, as distinct from Rosemeyer's at the mouth of Tejón Canyon])

nahponom-a-m (plu.). H: nahponomam

nahponom-a-y+k (dir.). H: nahponomajəkmat (dir. + fut.)

- nahtihtin be in charge or be chief, V. H: nahtahtan
- nahuck give birth (to), V (no overt objects in examples). H:
 naqutsk, haqutsk; ?áhahutsk (she's giving birth); ninaqutsk (I'm
 giving birth); hitatam ?ahuckit (What was born to you—boy or
 girl? [apparently 'what did she give birth to for you', asked of
 man])

[cf. nahock 'give bridal presents']

- nahwin deposit at shrine, V. H: nahwin; ZS: nahwin (scattering of seed, etc., ceremonially); ZN: nahwin (the scattering of the (seed) offering (to appease dog or babies or tree of evil omens) nahwin-ik (inf.). H: nahwinik
 - nahwin-i-c (pass. nom.: shrine on hill or mountain top). H:: náhwinits
 - ?ɨmɨ? cukit naw-hinipam ʔɨmɨk, mat naw-hinip—muk cukit, ʔamatan ni-tahan pɨ-yɨk mahač-am ʔa-wɨh-

wicaha-m? H: ?ama? tsukit nawhinipam umuk, mat nawhinip—muk tsukit, amatan nitahan pujuk mahat∫ram ?awahwat∫ram ("call them thus when don't want to say their names; I never heard that you are sick here, here you are tirado tsukit; You are five old men—tribal seers" [sic])

nahwit [cf. naw 'negative']

nah(-)yu? — deerhoof-sing, V (done in a special non-Kitanemuk language of the dance). H: nahju nah-yu-i-c (pass. nom.: the name of the deerhoof singing). H: náhjúits [cf. yu? 'sing']

naka-č — cliff, gully, ravine, paderon, reliz, N. H: nākatſr,
nákatſr; R: nākatſr (paderon [mng.?]); nakatſr, nāκatſr (reliz
[landslide?])

naka-yik (loc.). H: nakajak (en el barranco [in the cliff, gully, ravine]

naka-yam (tribename?). H: nakayam (people that live in one)
naka-vea (loc.). R: pakat fr nakavea (they are in the paderon [mng.?])

nakaču — plant sp.: yerba del oso [literally, 'bear herb']; useless, with poison berries; grows in mountains. H: nakat [ru]

nakarakara — chameleon, N. H: nāķaraķara
nakarakara?-yam (plu.). H: nāķaāaķaāa?jam
nakarakara ?a-waka-vea, ?a-waka-vea nakarakara-t
(plcnm.; means chameleon fiesta). H: nāķaraķara
awaķave = ?awaķave nāķarakarat (chameleon fiesta [an
apparent constituency abs.]); R: nākarakarat ?awakāvea
(plcnm.: means chameleon fiesta; "Only Fustero has known
this plcnm.")

- naka-t stick, N. H: nakat, nakat (digging stick, or any stick)
 -naka? (poss.). H: '-naka?a, '-náka?a, -naka?
 ?a-naka? taoč (lightning [thunder's stick]). H: ?anaka?
 táotʃr
- nakic? [mng.?] H: wámaña kits (alamillo [diminutive of "alamo" which means 'poplar'; this is perh. a subspecies])
- nakwah play a certain men's game, V. H: hakwar
 nakwah-ik (inf.). H: nakwahik, nahkwahik
 nakwahik-am (Adj., plu.?). H: tsamīt nakwahikam (let's
 play [the men's game])
 nakwah-i-č, nakwah-i-c (pass. nom.: name of this game). H:
 nakwahit fr, nakwahits
 nakwah-ihwa?-t (inst.: the stick used in this game). H:
 nakwahihwa?t
- nakwarik pass across a stream, land on land from a boat, VI? H: hakwarik; R: nakwarik (land from boat); ahakwarik (he landed on land from a boat); nakwarik (cross arroyo); M: ah'-noh-kwarrok, ah'-nah-kwar-rok (across)

nakwark-ihwa?-t (inst.: bridge). M: nah-kwar'-ke-what, nah-kwahr'-ke-what (footbridge)

nakwarki-vea (plcnm.: Tejon Pass). H: nákwarkive, nákwarkive, nakwárkive, nakwarpave [this last has odd stucture: V 'cross' + N 'water'?] (plcnm.: store site at [Tejon] pass; old ritual things are buried there; the Serranos always called it this, too); R: nakwarkivea (El Paso store site ...); ZS: nak-war-ki-ve (settlement below the ranch house [aparently 'the pass']); ZN: nakwarki-ve (another reservation below the ranch—"the pass"); K: nakwalki-ve (placename: the principle [sic] village of the Kitanemuk, called by the Yokuts "pusin-tinliu"); nakwalki-ve (Tejon rancheria site); VF: na-quar-key-uai

(ranchería at Tejon ranch; people there spoke Porterville language)

nama?i? — soft, Adj. H: nama?i? (very soft); namaji? təmət (shale [a soft stone])
nama?i-pan (VT: soften). H: nama?jpan; M: nah-mah'-e, nah'mi-e (soft)
nama?ik (Adv.: quickly). H: namajk; R: nama?ik
na-nama?i-k (Adv., redup.). H: namama?jk, namamaj?k,
nanamajk; R: ni?ətahəkmat lamesataj (I'm going to subir
la mesa [climb onto the table]; nanamajk is added meaning
"recio" [hard or quickly]); namamaj?k, namama?jk,
nanama?jk (hurry up!)

- na-mak-a-t generous person, N. H: namaκat
 na-mak-a-m (plu.). H: namaκam
 [< mak 'give']
- namimok? [mng. unclear]. M: lä-moo'-muk, nah'-mó-mök (first)
 [The inconsistency in the initial consonant, and the initial 1 in one form, suggest this may not be a Kit. word.]
- namu fight, VI (may take a complement, indicating the person fought with, in dir. case). H: namu, namu, namu; R: namu; panamu (they are fighting—said of soldiers)

nah-namu (redup.). H: nahnamo, nahnamu, hahnamu, hahnamu, nahanamu [described by Harrington as not nahnamu];
ninahnamu pəjək (I'm fighting with him); nihahnamu
əməjək (I'm fighting with you); ninahnamu əmək (I'm
fighting with you, pl.); R: ninahnamu əməjək, nihahnamu
əməjək (I'm fighting with you); pəhahnamo (they are
fighting); pənahanamu (they are fighting; "notice
redup—not nahnamu at all"); ninahnamu (I am fighting)
namu-ihun (des.). H,R: namujhun, hamujhun, namujhun

namu-i-c (pass. nom.: war). H: namuits (a war—far off [perh. a reference to World War I])

namuha-č — chief's wife; female chief (capitana), N. H: namuhat fr, namuhat fr

namuha-m (plu.). H: namuham [similarity to muhač 'doll' a coincidence?]

namumuk — first, Adj. R: namumuk kits (the first house); na? nihju namumuk kits (I looked at the first house)

nanačun — imitate, depict, V. H: ?ananatrun hūtsaj (said of www [zigzag] design on basket hat ['it imitates arrows']); R: nanat [run (imitate); ninanat [run təvaht [raj (estoy ar [r] emedando al mundo ['I'm imitating the world' perh. an accurate translation of a misunderstood cue—"I am imitating the word"—by Harrington]); ananačun (he is imitating the word)

nanačun-ihwa?-t təmə-t (inst.: measuring stone). H:
nanatrunihwat təmət (measuring stone [location described
in notes]; could tell if live long or short by whether stood
and head was above (long) or below level of top of stone);
R: nanat [runihwa?t təmət (measuring rock [location
described in detail] ... If I am tall and I am below level, I
will die soon; if I am short and my head is above level, I
will die soon)

nanakša? — wrestle, V. H: nanaksa?, nanaksa?
nanakša?-ihun (des.). H: nanaksajhun
nanaksa?-i-c (pass. nom.: wrestling match). H: nanaksra?jts
nanakša?-i?a-č (agt.: professional wrestler).

nanama?yk [cf. nama?i 'soft']

nanana?i? -- flat, Adj. H: nananaj

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nanukaw — swap things, V (no overt objects in examples). H:
    nanukaw; nanukaw (swap, trade)
       ca-nanukaw-mat (hort. prefix + future clitic). H:
         tsanantkawmat ('let's swap'?)
      ni-nanukaw-nehe (I swapped it, nehe). H: nenantkaw nehe (I
         swapped it (I tell somebody))
 na?o? — get married, VI (person married may appear in dir. case).
   H: na?o?, ha?o?
      na?o?-mat (fut.). H: nihaomat pajak nahat fr (I'm going to
         marry that girl)
      na?o?-ivana? pɨ-yɨk (inst.: fiancée). H: nɨħaðʔjvaħa? pəjək
         (my fiancée)
      [cf. <u>n a ? u ?</u> 'marry']
napawicu? - splice a rope, V. H: ha pawitsu?, napawitsu?
      [< napk 'stick together' + wicu? 'twist rope'?]
nap-ik — be stuck together, VI. H: napk (be stuck (together)); R:
   napak (be stuck, get stuck)
      nap-k (VT: paste, glue, mend). H: napk, hapk; R: hak, hak
         [sic, typographic error] (I pasted)
      nap-k-mat (fut.). H: hapkmat; R: ninapkmat
     nap-nap-k (stem redup.: mend in several places?). H:
        nihapnapk (I mended the tear)
     nap-k-in-ea (pass. V). H: anapkinea (the patch sewed on)
     nap-k-in-i-c (pass. nom.). H: napkints (mended)
     nap-k-in-ihwa?-t (inst.: glue). ZS: nap-kinihwat (glue made
        from deer horn); ZN: nap-kinihwat (the glue used to sinew-
        back a pine bow)
nara?k — at the foot of the sierra, Adj.? H,R: nara?k [no context]
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naranha? — orange, N. H: naranha? [< Span. "naranja"]
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na?rik — help, VT. H: na?rak, na?rak, na?rak; aña?rakavan (s/he helped me)
narik-mat-um (help you, fut.). H,R: narakmatum (help you, fut.); H: na?rakmat (fut.)
na?rk (imp.). H: na?rk; nárkatsi?, na?rkatsi? (help me!); R: nárkatsi? (help me!)
na?rk-ik (a helper). H: na?rkak
na?rki-m (plu.). H: na?rkam
-narki? (poss.). H: -ñarka?, -narka? (my partner in game)
-na?rki-m (poss. plu.). H: -ña?rkam

na?(-)u? — marry, VI. H: na?u? (marry [each other or another])
na?u?-ni, na?u?-nin (make someone get married). H:
na?u?nivətsəm, na?u?ninəvən
[cf. na?o? 'get married'; morpheme break is suggested by
kuhana 'sister-in-law']

navih-t — prickly pear cactus, N. H: navuht, navaht, navaht (prickly pear; red and white fruits; tuna; "not native here ... brought from missions")

navih-m (plu.). H: návum, návam
navih-yik (plcnm.: Las Tunas, in Tuna (?) Canyon also a ridge
near there). H: návuhjak (Las Tunas); navahjak (mtn. this
side of wowopat (r); R: navahjak (Las Tunas; also name of
ridge back of Las Tunas); ZS: ná·vahjuk (settlement in
Tunis [sic; 'Tuna'?] Canyon); ZN: ná·vahjuk (village site 4
mi. south of ranch; Tunis Canyon)
[minimal pair with navuht 'turnip']

navo(-)kaha-c — shoe or sandal, N. H: navokahats, návókahats; ZN: $n \acute{a} vo^k_{\chi} ah \acute{a}$ c (shoes [descr. as of one piece, from deer neck])
-navo(-)kaha (poss.). H: -navokaha; R: -navokaha (my shoes)

- [= '[prickly pear] cactus' + 'wrap' (kaha?c 'apron')? could refer to a sandal made from cactus fiber]
- navo(-)ŋa behind, Adv. (with 'come', 'be'). H: navoŋa akim (he is coming behind me); navoŋa akat [r (he's in back)

navuht — turnip, N. H: navuht [< Span. "nabo"; minimal pair with naviht 'prickly pear']

naw -- no; neg. (usually the first word of the sentence). H: naw; naw ?aŋətʃrk nawhit ?ałama (the knife is dull ['neg. it cuts nothing its tooth']); met no mehu mesitsaj (why doesn't it burn your mouth? [must be either an initial mot 'fut. clitic', or truncated ?əmə-t 'you, Q', at beginning; if the latter, it could be Harrington's putative "neg. hort." (cf. cu?rik); but then we have non-initial naw]; no anahunwi? werayk (mute—can't talk; ca. [perh. naw-?a-?in ?a-hunwi? weravk 's/he really doesn't know his/her language']); hami?mat tsahtgu?paj vaka?taj, war nimavi?k naw majk hami nihtigu? (let's talk about the cow some other time, I have a lot to do now, I cannot talk now); R: naw; nawt matsu?rak (que no te atasques! [don't get stuck! NB: not kay, but labeled by Harrington "neg. hort."; perh. a question: 'don't you get stuck?']); nawt mapametu? (aren't you thirsty?); naw pat frufravatfr (he's not a liar [vs. pata? frufravatfr 'he is a liar"; perh. relevant to "predicator" described in chapter IV, section N]); ZS,ZN: naw; M: now-ne-un (I don't know); now'-wur' (none); now'o, now'-o (no); now o'-se (not hot); now, now'-vo (not (general negative [the latter with 'past clitic'])); now'-no'-mowats (not good); K: nāu (no)

naw-it (neg. + Q). H: nawut matsiu? (aren't you ashamed?)
naw-hit (nothing). H: na?w ... hit, nahwit, nawhit [also,
started to transcribe as naww, crossed out, commented
"not na?w at all!"] (nothing; there isn't any); R: nahwit
(there isn't any); (uvea) na?whit ((ya) no hay [there isn't

- any (more)]); na?whit kwa?jkat (there's no food); na?whit uvea kafe? ([there's no more coffee]); na?whit pakwinit ([there's no more mud]); M: now'-hit wur' (not enough [there isn't much])
- naw-hi-hit (app. = nothing, with redup.). M: now-he'-hee't (none)
- naw-hit-ay (nothing, obj.). H: naw ?aŋətʃrk nawhit ?alama (the knife is dull ['neg. it cuts nothing its tooth']); naw(...) hit aj [or hīt aj]; ZS: nákwitay
- naw-ham(i?) (no longer?). H: nawhami? (todavía no);
 naqwami? isavel (Isabel isn't here); naw hami takat,
 wahi? pata? (he isn't people, he's coyote); nawhamitsam
 ?atuqtutu? (I am playing alone [naw-hamica-m 'no one,
 plu.']); (nawham) nikonakwa? (I am (still) full (after
 eating)); nawham nimuk (ya estoy enfermo [I'm still sick]);
 R: naqwam akwat [rak (todavía no se levantó [he hasn't
 gotten up yet]); no-hah'-me, now-hah'-me (not yet); nowhah'-me, nah-mi'k (soon)
- naw-ham hit (nothing more). R: nahwam hit (there is no more); nahwam hit nihiw (todavia no miro nada [I'm still not looking at anything])
- naw-tu? (VI: disappear). H,R: ?anawtu? (he disappeared—i.e., shaman made self invisible)
- na?waki? married, Adj.? H: ná?wake?n (I'm married [perh. a mistranscription for ná?wake? na]); ZN: na?wak' (marriage; there was no divorce) [derivation unclear, but evidently related to na?u? 'marry']
- -nawišim? parent of one's child-in-law, poss. H: -ñā wəʃən, -n awəʃrəm
 - -nawišim-cay (poss. obj.). H: -nawaə [rəmtsaj [apparently some kind of construction with na?u? 'marry']

- -ne, -nehe [mng. unclear: 'contrary to your belief or notice'? "n'est-ce pas"?]; a clitic (in the last position in the schema). H: comments: "I tell someone", "the nehe is added when I am avisando a alguno [informing somebody]"; like -mat future clitic, conditions final k-loss on some verbs]; R: néhe, nehe; majamkatatsin nehe (you reminded me [2s-remind-2-1s-nehe; NB for clitic ordering]); na ne nihak = nihakam nehe; nehe, ne (hints that it is perh. related to past tense; "in quick talk nehe is always abbreviated to ne; used when negando alguna cosa [denying something]"); ahju nehe amuj (lo miró cuando lo tiró [he saw him (or looked at him) when he shot (him?)]); a hī?nək nehe amats, pa?pi anam pat fraj (it's still afloat isn't it, encima el agua anda [it's going along on top of the water]); akat [r ne ip, akat fr nehe ip (it was here); H,R: ninan naha nipala?tsaj (l looked for my shovel [naha is apparently a typographical error for nehe; source was typed, and Harrington typewriter had "a" on the "4" key]); R: nehe, ne ("always abbreviate thus in quick talk"; "used when denying something"); nimafr nehe (I heard; "add nehe when you are avisando a otro [informing another person]"); nija? nehe (I brought it; "the nehe is added when I am avisando a alguno [informing someone]"); ZN: néhe [mng. unclear]
- ni- personal prefix, used for subjects and possessors [cf. chapter II, section A, number 1]
- nicu? put something away to keep, V. R: hitsu?
- nihnea do something as a custom, V. H: nihnea?; nihini (give a small fiesta [probably the same verb, used as a euphemism for sacred, secret, or death-related customs])
 - nihne-a-t (nom.: a custom). H: nihne at; ZN: -nihni (fiesta for dead)
 - nihni-i-c (pass. nom.: a small fiesta—not the one where effigy is burned). H: nihinits (any small fiesta, at which no mono is burnt); nih?nit fr (fiesta for girl at end of 4 mo. diet [puberty or marriage-related?])

nihni-hyi-t (aug.: good at doing something (the complement is in obj. compl. form)). H: nihnihjət (good at); nihnihjət akwihahi (this man is good at lassoing); R: nihnihjət (good at); nihnihjət akwihahi (this man is good at lassoing); nə? nihnihjət nikəmani pantaj (I'm good at making bread)

niovahiyo? — sorry. M: ne-owah-he-o (sorry)

nipik — die, VI. H: nipak, hipak, nipak, hipak, hipak, hipak, nipak, nipak, nipak, nipak, nipak, nipak, nipak, nipak

?a-nipk-i? (pass. nom.: dead person). H: anipki?, anipki?,
anipki?; R: anipk? [sic]; M: ahn'-nip-ke, ahn-nip-ke (dead);
ah-nip'-ke (corpse)

?a-nipk-i-m (plu.). H: ?ahpkim, ?ahpki(?)m

- niririhk(-)in(-)i(-)c beads of a certain type, used on pa?ukwinat [braid ornamentation], N; a certain type of net, N? H:
 niririhkinits (beads of a certain type, used on pa?ukwinat);
 niririqkinit (net of a certain type, used around head)
 [looks like pass. nom. of some verb, perh. rihk?]
- -niw possession, belongings, poss.; this morpheme is used in the indirect possession construction (with things, usually), and can also be used without another noun. H: -niw, -niw; ?ivi? nə? niniw (this is mine); hawkup niniw nita nifritfravea (a mouthful [one my-possession l-put in-my-mouth]); R: -nio, -niw, -niw; niniw nohtat (mi vieja [my old lady; an unusual case of [+ human] possessed in construction with -niw]); ninio ninetfrkinivaña? (my cutting machine); niniw okatfr (my sand); niniw pata? otfr (that is my mesquite tree); niniw tameataj (my watch, obj. [NB: no obj. marking on niw]); M: nin'-ne-u, ne'-neŭ [ne'ne-u] né-nüh (my (or mine)); ah-neŭ ko-che (his dog); poo'-yu, poon'-yu, pahm' (they or them (plural) [sic; 'theirs']); poon'-yu-poon'-yu, pahm'

(they or them (dual)[sic; 'all of theirs'); mun'-new (you (singular) [sic; 'yours']); poon-yu-poo-yu, po-e-neŭ (theirs (plural)); oo'-ne-u, mon'-neŭ, mun'-ne-u, mun'-nüh (your or yours (singular)); tsoo-neŭ ko-che (our (dual) dog); ham'-me-să-tan'-yu (whose?) ne-ah'-tsit ko-tse, ne-neŭ koo-che (my dog); san-neu poo-yu, tsoo'-neu (ours (plural)); oo-neu, ŭ'-neŭ, ŭn'-ne-u, un'-nŭh (your or yours (plural)); poon-yu-poo-yu (theirs (plural)); poo'-yu-poon'-yu (they or them (plural)); po-neu-ahm, poo-e-neŭ (theirs (dual)); po-e-neŭ (theirs (plural)); poon'-yu-poon'-yu (they or them (dual) [sic]); mo-neŭ koo-che (your (singular) dog); mun-nu-mi'k, ah'-neŭ, ah'-ne-u, ah-nŭh (his (or hers)); po'-e-neŭ ko-che (their (plural) dog)

-niu-y (poss. obj. [but same form of -niw as for subjects is used in indirect possession construction; examples follow]). H: -niuj; niwivayk niniw lapis (I sharpen my pencil); ninjuj nipunink (I am going to make a carrying ring); R: niniw tameataj (my watch, obj. [NB: no obj. marking on niw; are these compounds with niw?]) nih-niu-y (poss. obj., plu.). H: -nihniuj niw-ka?y (char.: rich). H: niwka?j; M: ne'-o-ki niw-ka-m (plu.). H: niwkam ?a-kač ?a-niw ku-t (firefly [it is its possession fire). H: ?akalr aniw kut

niw — do, V. H: niw, hiw; haminat ?ahiw (what's happening? [what's he doing?]); R: niw; haminat ama?j niniw (como voy hacer ahora? [what can I do now?]); maniw (you do); aniw (he does) nih-niw (redup.: be about to do something [this verb and other verb are both conjugated). H: nihniw, niniw, nina, nieniw; R: ninhiw, nihniw (be going to); aninhiw tsakwa (vamos á comer [we're going to eat; note 1p prefix is as in hort.!]; [there are other examples with sentential subjects] niw-ihun (des.). M: new'-e-hoon (alike [apparently misunderstood as 'like': this is 'want to do'])

- ni(-)yi exclamation of fright or astonishment ['my mother'; perh. gets its strength from a taboo against mentioning the dead; or may be a Catholic oath]. H,R: nijé
- -ni with, inst. H: no; R: nitamano (with my teeth); pahu?no (with pestle); pat frukno (with bow)

 Woh-na ([vowel difference unexplained] two together). H:

 wohoha, withoha
 pahi-ni (three together). H: pahiha
- ni? weave a basket, V. H: na?, na?
- nɨ? I, independent pronoun. H: nə?; təm nə? (he resembles me); R: nə, nə?; ZS: nə; ZN: nə, nə?; M: nŭ, neŭ' (nŭh) (I (or me)); K: nū, nö nɨ-y (obj.). H,: nəj; R: nəj; nəjəvən (with 3-1s subject-obj. clitic)
 - ni-yik (dir.: to or at me). H: nəjək; R: nəʔjək; atuhtutuʔjhtn nəjək (s/he wants to play with me)
 - ni-mea (accomp.: with me). H: namea; R: namea?
 - n+?-nuk (I alone, I myself). H: punuk nə? = nə?nuk (yo solo [I alone], yo mismo [I myself])
 - ni?-vea (loc.). M: nu'-we-ah am-muk (he struck me [an unusual form, in that this verb otherwise just takes direct object])

nicavorakim [cf. nacavorakim 'twins']

- nɨhɨnɨyaw separate, VT. H: nəhənəjaw, həhənəjaw (separate [two men who are fighting], VT)
 nɨhɨnɨyaw (imp.). H: "imp. same"
- -n+hma aunt of a certain type, poss. N(A). H: -n>m (aunt of a certain type; [one entry says through my father; one says elder sister of my mother (ms.), rec. same])
 -n+hma-y (poss. obj.). H: -n>hma-j

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-n+hma-m (poss. plu. obj.). H: -mhmam
-n+hma-?iv+ (poss. dec.). H: -n+hma?iv+
[apparently hm --> m / _ #]
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- nɨkk? make close together, close, VT. H: nək'k, rək'k; R: ninək'k
 (I shut my mouth)
 nɨkk? (close together, Adj.). H: nək'k
 nɨkki? (imp., VT). H: nək'ki; R: nək'ki məʃritʃra (shut your mouth!)
- nɨniliw, nɨlinyo? medicine, N. H: nəniliw; ZS: nəlinyo, nəliniyo; ZN: nəlinyo, nəliniyo; JW: nurlinyu (medicine in general)
 - nɨliliw, nɨlinyo (poss.). H: -nəliliw, -mɨnɨliw [Harrington comment: "notice that I occurs sometimes in Jaminate"]; ZS: -nəlinyo; ZN: , -nəlinyo, -nəlinyo
 - kovakaytat ?a-nilinyo (plant sp.: <u>Euphorbia polycarpa</u>). ZS: kóvakay(i)tàt ?analinyo (plant sp.; literally pahauelo [unidentified insect] its medicine; probably <u>Euphorbia polycarpa</u>); ZN: kóvakaytàt ?analinyo (lit. parahuelo medicine; for the bite of the pahauelo (like a wood tick)); kòvaxaytàt ?ánalinyo (<u>Euphoria polycarpa</u> Benth.)
 - pakana?-i-c ?a-nɨliliw? (plant sp.). H: pakana?jts ?anəliliw (yerba de [h]inchazon [swelling herb]); pakana?jts anəniliw (medicina de [h]inchazón [swelling medicine]) [varying forms suggest a borrowing]
- n+m walk, VI, walk on, VT. H,R: nəm, həm; pa?pi anəm pat ʃraj (it's walking on top of the water); nihəm ?ahəvəj (I walk along shore, cliff edge [I-walk its-edge-obj.]);

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nim-i?a-č (agt. nom.: tramp). H,: nəmi?at∫r (tramp); tūka
          nami?at [r; (a girl that walks at night [prostitute?]); R:
         nami?at [ (tramp, one who walks around, one who wanders
          about)
       nɨm-iʔa-m (agt., plu.). R: nəmiʔām
      ya-nim (cmpd. V: walk carrying, VT). H: janam, janam; kutaj
          ?ajanəm (guzano quemador [burning caterpillar])
nima-c - liver, N. H: namats
      nɨma-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
      -nɨma (poss.). H: -həma; ZN: -nɨma; K: a-nū ma ([his/her]
         liver)
      -nɨma-y (poss. obj.). H: -mɨmaj
-nɨmihuŋ — wife, poss. N(A). H: -ñə mɨhoŋ, -nəmihuŋ, -nəmihuŋ;
   ninamihun ama?j (my present [new] wife); nimmihun pitats,
   ninamihun pitatfr (my second/last wife [my-wife
   youngest/last]); ZN: -nvmihun
      -nɨmihuŋa-m (poss. plu.). H: -nəmihuŋam
      -nɨmihuŋa-ivɨ (poss. dec.). H: -nəmihuŋa?jvə,-nəmihuŋaivə
         (dead or divorced wife)
nɨŋi-č — tongue, N. H: nəŋit [r
      nɨŋi-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
     -nɨŋi (poss.). H: -nəŋi (poss., subj. or obj.); M: ne-nung'-e, ah-
        nung-e (tongue); K: a-nö ñi ([his/her] tongue)
     nini-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: -nanitsaj
     nɨŋi-m-ɨy (poss. plu. obj.). H: -nəŋīməj
nirk — erase, V. H: nark (erase (where it burned, at fiestas))
     -nirk-in-ea (pass.). H: -narkinea (be erased)
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nivii-t — brown clay? (used medicinally for menstrual problems and for hair), N. H: naviat (earth-powder; medicine for menstrual problems and hair); R: naviat (chocolate-colored earth)

nivii-pea (plcnm.: Jose Juan López's ranch, on coast side of the Laguna de Chico Lopez). H: naviapea, naviape (plcnm.: Jose Juan López's Ranch, coastward from the Laguna de Chico López; means the earth is chocolate color); R: naviapea (plcnm.: beyond Laguna de Chico López, on the same road; means chocolate-colored earth)
[note that i does not glide, for unknown reasons]

niviyo? — young bull or ox, N. H: navijo? [< Span. "novillo"]

noči? — Yokuts, N. K: noche — tribename or nickname for Yokuts.

nohta-t — old woman, N. H: no'tat, notat, noqtat, nohtat; ja ja nohtat, ja nohtat, já já no'tat (como estás, vieja [greeting to old woman]); R: niniw nohtat (mi vieja [my old lady]); ZN: notat; M: no'-tat, no'-taht; K: nòxdat no-nohta-m (plu.). H: nomhtam, nomqtam, nom'tam nohta-t-ay (obj.). H: nohtataj nohta-vea (plcnm.: a spring below Tejón ranchería cemetery). H: no'tavea, nohtave; R: nohtavea (plcnm.: spring below Tej. rchia. [Tejón ranchería] cemetery; 2 old women there) ti-tiy-m no-nohta-m (ceremonial undertakers (a hereditary post held only by women)). H: tatajm nom'tam (the old burying women—only women handled a corpse—office

nokat — [cooked?] greens. H: nokat, nokat (greens, when already made into quelite [edible greens])

handed down from mother to daughter)

no km at — plant sp.: <u>Croton californicus</u> Mull., boiled root for medicine for blood, venereal disease. ZN: nbk-mát (Croton

- <u>californicus</u> Mull., boiled root for medicine for blood, <u>clap</u> [(writing unclear); if "clap", perh. in sense of 'gonorrhea'])
- nom-ik be folded, VI. H,R: nomak
 nom-k (VT: fold). H: nomk (fold handkerchief); R: nomk
 (double [i.e. fold, of handkerchief])
- no?m-k buy, VT. H: to?mk; R: tomk
 nomki (imp.). R: nomki
 nom-mat (fut.). R: nommat
 nom-k-in-ihun (des.). R: nomkihihun; nomkihihun
 [minimal pair—± ?—with nomik 'be folded']
 [cf. nahponom 'sell'?]
- nonokic plant sp.: calabasillo. ZS: nónokits (plant sp.: <u>Cucurbita foetidissima</u>, calabazilla ["calabasillo" is the spelling used in Balls (1970: 73)]); ZN: nónokits (plant sp.: groundvine with melon used for soap)
- nonom-t grass sp.: grows in bunches to 3'. H: nonomt nonom-yam (plu.). H: nonomjam
- nonom constellation: the Pleiades. H: nonom (the 7 cabrillas [Pleiades constellation]); ZS: nonom (constellation, apparently the Pleiades); ZN: nonom, nonom (Pleiades; < woman [sic—but not consistent with nohtat entry, above]; "seven sisters" near the dipper)

[cf. <u>nonomt</u> 'grass sp.'?]

- noš-ik be bent over, VI. H,R: noſrak
 noš-k (VT: bend over). H,R: noſrk (bend over, e.g., one's
 finger)
 noš-k (Adj.: bent over). H: noſk
- -nu? from, away from, out of; suffixed to nouns and pronouns. H:
 -nu?, -no?
 nənu? (from me). H,R: nənu?

?imi-nu? (from you). H,R: ?əmənu?
?icami-nu? (from us). H,R: itsamənu?
?imi-nu? (from you, plu.? [same as sg.l]). H,R: ?əmənu?
?ivi-nu? (from here). R: ivinu? ([from] here)

nuk — only (pronoun emphasizer); occurs in irregular combinations with independent pronouns, and as unattached Adv. H,R: nūk ni?ən (only I know); punuk nə? = nə?nuk (only I); punuk əmə? (you only); itsamuk (only us); H: poo'-nook, po'-nök (alone); R: pumuk pə?ən (they themselves know); punuk a?ən (he himself knows); əmə? umuk mə?ən (you yourself know); əmə?ə umuk ə?ən (you yourself know); əmə?ə umuk ə?ən (you yourselves know); itsam itsamuk tsə?ən (we ourselves know); nuk nikatʃr ap (I was left alone [there]); nə? pumuk nikatʃr kīvea (I was alone in the house)

nukumpiyaš — a certain type of dance, N. H: nukumpijas

numanic — a certain type of bead: long, white, or red with hole in side; used as nose ornament and money, N. H: numanits, numanit, numanit,

numua-č — good, well, pretty, N. H: numuat fr, numuwat fr, numuwafr, numuwafr; numu(w)at fr numu(w)at fr (= V. wafrafafafa); R: numuat fr; (jā) numuwaf tāmeat (good day; how do you do?); jā numuwaf jāha (good evening); numat fr (good, pretty [lack of u an error?]; numuafr (it's pretty); numuafr kwīhak (pretty woman); numuafr nāhat fr (pretty girl); ZS: numuwač (good); ZN: numuwač (good); M: num'-moo'-as (well); no-moo-watch (good); num'-moo-was, noo-mo-wats (glad); num'moo-was pah'-so-ki (good man), num'-oo-was ah'-kwah (good to eat); now'-no'-mo-wats (not good); no'-mah-wah-sah-hak'-vah (clothed ["good his clothing"?]); no'-mah-wah-sah-hak'-vah, noo-mah-was sah-hah'-vo (clean [apparently = numuač ahahavi 'good his/her-clothes']); M: wah-ne'-kas num'-woo-was (I feel better); K: numuat — good

- nuh-numua-č (redup; plu.?). H: nuhnumuatfr = wafwafat [VCh?])
- -numua? (poss.: right hand; also VI: 'be right-handed'). H: ninumua?, ninumuana (my right hand); ninumua? (I am right-handed); R: numua? (be right-handed); ninumua? (I am right-handed; my right hand)
- ni-numua?-ŋa (loc.: on my right). H: ninumuaŋa (on the right); ninumuaŋa nima (my right arm); R: ninumuaŋa (my right hand); nijaw ninumuaŋa (I grasped it with my right)
- numua-ik (well, Adv.). H: numua?ik nita (I fixed the house tidy); numua?ik tavits (it is tidy); numua?ik, numua?ik (well); R: numuaejk (well, Adv.); numaejk (well [lack of <u>u</u> an error?])
- numua-huna-k (good-natured ["good-hearted"]). H: numuahtnak (a good-natured man)
- numua-huna-kam (plu.). H: numuahtnakam
- -hun numua-č (idiom: be happy). H: ?ahtn numuat [r (he is happy); numuavan məhtn (don't be sad [be happy for me]); R: ahtn numuat [r (he is happy)
- -hun numua-č _ -y i k (idiom: thank someone). H: nihtn numuat fr əməjək (I thank you)
- (ya) numua-č tamea-t (how do you do [good day]). H: (ja) numuwa \int tameat; R: numua \int r tameat (buenos días ['good day'; Harrington notes t --> \emptyset / _ C])
- nunašiš myth character? (refers to a person with some kind of supernatural power). H: nunasəs; nunasəs lino (Lino was the devil of a good fellow; term applies to both animals and spirits) [< Chumash nunašiš 'animal,dangerous animal, malevolent supernatural being', cited in Blackburn (1975: 342)]
- nuweses nut(s?), N. H: nuweses (nueces de Castilla [Castillan nuts or walnuts, as opposed to wild nuts]; kihe 'nuts' applies to both kinds)
 - [< Span. "nueces"]

- -ŋ a locative suffix used in placenames and 'left' and 'right' (discussed in chapter III, section A, 1). H: -ŋ a [< Gab.?]
- -ŋakawi root, poss. Hːŋ̄ākawi; ZS: -ŋákawi; ZN: ŋákawe,
 -ŋáxawe
 -ŋakawi-m (poss. plu.). Hːŋ̄ākawim
- ŋakɨk choke, stop up, VI. H: ŋakək
 ŋahk (VT). H: niŋaqk (yo lo atorré [I stopped it up/choked
 him])
 ŋahk-in-ea (pass.: get choked). H: ŋaqkiñea
- nan look for, miss, VT. H: nan, nan, nan (look for, miss; synonym of maj[rak); R: nan (look for); yawvakmatum nimaj[rak (l'm going to miss you [in the morning?])
 nan-ik (inf.). H: nanik
- naranyon stallion, N. H: náranjon naranyon-yam (plu.). H: náranjonjam [< Span. "garañón"]
- nati? cat, N. H: nata?; uvea ajaw wakasi?taj nata?t

 [apparently contains constituency abs.]; R: nata?, nāta?; aki

 nata?t = nata?taki(the cat's house)

 nati?-yam (plu.). H: nata?jam

 -nati? (poss. [interesting that direct possession is possible,

 though animate]). H: -nāta?

 nati?-t-ay (obj.). H: nāta?taj; R: nāta?taj; nimakmat

 nāta?taj (I [will] kill one cat); nipamūkunea? ivij nāta?taj

- (I drowned this cat); anihniw nipamukune? ivi ŋātə?taj (I'm going to drown this cat)
- ŋatɨʔ-yam-ɨy (plu. obj.). R: ŋātəʔjaməj; iməj ŋatəʔjamə (these cats)
- nati?-ivi (dec.). R: nati?ive (cat I sold [NB things suffixed with "deceased" are not necessarily dead]); ?uvea kefra?, nate?ive (it's no good now; it's an old cat)
- ŋati?-mea? (accomp.). H: ŋātəmea? [< Span. "gato"]
- ŋayka-c thigh (knee to hip), N. H: ŋajkats ŋayka-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
 - -ŋayka? (poss.). H: -ŋajka?; ZS: -ŋáj-ka (upper leg); M: ah'ng-i-kah (thigh)
 - -ŋayka?-č-ay (obj.). H: -ŋajka?tʃraj
 - nah-nayka-muk (incorp. redup. form: tener potros [have hernia? apparently = 'thigh sick'; perh. this refers to a muscle pull]). H,R: nahnajkamūk
- nililk catch up with someone and overtake them, V. H: nililk nilil-mat (fut.). H: nililmat
- njiyakit playground or goal for ring and pole game, N., or the fences at each (goal) end. H: njjakat
- ŋɨčɨk have hidden illness, V. H,R: aŋətʃrək (he is podrido [rotted] with hidden illness)
- ŋɨčɨm pay each visiting chief at a fiesta with giving ceremony, VT (no examples have overt objects, but there are passive forms). H: ŋəčəm
 - ŋɨčɨm-in-i-c (pass. nom.). H: ŋətrəmiñits, ŋətʃəmiñits (the money and objects thus given to chiefs)
- ŋɨčk cut, VT. H: ŋətʃrk (cut); R: ŋətʃk (cut groove in butt-end of arrow); ŋətʃk, ŋətʃrk (cut, chop, bite)

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ŋɨč-mat (fut.). H: ŋətʃrmat; R: ŋətʃmat, ŋətʃmat
ŋɨčk-ɨt (w/ Q?). R: nɨŋətʃrkət (lo voy a cortar [sic—no "?"])
ŋɨčk-ɨt-uvu? (with Q, past). R: nɨŋətʃrkət ("past")
ʔa-ŋɨčk-ɨ? (part.: have arm, leg, etc. cut off). H:
ʔaŋətʃrki?; ʔáŋətʃki? (cut log); R: aŋətʃrki? ([it's] cut off; mocho [maimed person]); nəʔ aŋətʃrki? (l'm maimed)
ʔa-ŋɨčk-i-m (plu.). H:ʔaŋətʃrkim,ʔáŋətʃkim (cut logs); R:
aŋətʃrkim
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ŋɨčk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: cut). R: ŋətʃrkiñits
ŋɨč-ŋɨčk-in-i-c (redup. pass. nom.: cut in many places). H:
ŋətʃŋətʃkitrs (cut [of fringe])

ŋɨčk-in-yɨ-t (aug.: cutter). R: ŋətʃrkiñjət [no context, so unclear if this is a person or a machine]

-ŋɨčk-in-ivana? (inst.: cutting machine). H,R: niħi o
niŋət [rkinivaña, niŋət [rkinivaña (my cutting machine [NB
anomolous use of -niw construction with a directly
possessed noun])

ŋɨhw-ɨk — get worn out, VI. H: ŋəqwək, ŋəqwəkx; R: ŋəqwək,
ŋawək; nəqwək (be worn out)
ŋɨhw-k (VT: wear something out). H,R: ŋəɣk
ŋɨhw-ki (imp.). H,R: ŋəɣki
-ŋɨhw-k-i? (part.: worn out). H,R: ʔəŋəɣki?
-ŋɨhw-k-i?-m (plu.). H:ʔənəɣki?m; R: ʔəŋəɣkim; əŋəwki?m
ŋɨhw-ki-yɨ-t (aug.: worn out). R: ŋəɣkijət ŋəɣkijət (muy chiflado [said of a person: 'worn out'])
[NB devoicing of sonorants, and morphology of participles]

ŋɨrɨhr-ɨk — edge down or over ? [difficult concept to generalize].
R: ŋərəhərək (work down to the foot of the bed during the night);
nikumaniva? niŋərəhərək (bajé durmido [I slid down while
asleep])

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ŋɨrɨhr-k (imp.). R: ahkwak kɨva = ŋərərk (arrimate [come
close]); ŋərərk pajak (arrimate payá [go close to there])
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nyona-c — eyebrow, N. H: njonats
nyona-m (plu.). H: njonam
-nyona (poss.). H: -njona ("no redup. form")
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noho-c — neck, N. H: nohots
noho-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"

-noho? (poss.). H: -noho?, noho?; M: ning-o'-ho, ah'ng-o-ho
(ng-o-ho?) (throat)
noho-c-ay (obj.). H: nohotsaj

-noho-c-ay (poss. obj.; NB abs. "c"). H: nohotsaj
noho-wi-t (aug.: person with a big neck). H: nohowat
(pescuezo means 'neck'—analogous to barba 'beard' and
barbón 'person with a big beard'])
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ŋwa-t, ŋwa(-)pa-c — referee, N. H: ŋwat, ŋwapāts, ŋwapāts (coime [referee]) ŋwa-m, ŋwapa-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m [both]" -ŋwapa (poss.). H: -ŋwapa [cf. koymi? 'coime']

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Po-c — bone, awl, N. H: ots, ots (awl); R: [grammar slip explicitly says oc and oc are separate words]; ZS: Po-c (awl); ZN: Po-c, Po-c (awl [made of long thorn]; plant sp.: Prosopis chensis (Molina) Stuntz (ate green bean fresh, pounded dry pod into meal for mush); another entry says: Joshua tree-smaller—cactus? roots used for design on basketry); M: ah'-o' (nose stick [bone]); M: ah-o' (bone)

- -?o? (poss.). H: -?o?, -?o?o; R: a?o? (bone; alezna ["alesna" 'awl']); a?-o?; K: a'-ò ([his/her] bone)
- -?0-?0? (poss. plu.). H: -?0?0? (bones)
- -?o-y (poss. obj.). H: -?oj (bone, poss. obj.)
- [note that Harrington claims this and the following entry are a minimal pair, while Zigmond indicates homophony]
- -?oci? left-hand, N. H,R: -?otsi? (be left-handed)
 ?oci? (nickname for a left-handed person). H: ?otsi?; R: otsi?
 -?oci?(-ŋa) (ni-ma) ((my) left hand). H: (?)otsi? (ŋa) (nima);
 R: ni?otsi?ŋa (nima)
 - ni-?oci?-ŋa (on my left). H: niotsi?ŋa(on the left); R: nijaw ni?otsi?ŋa (I grasped it with my left)
- Pocoč plant sp. H: otsot∫r (plant sp. used for brooms); ZN: Pocoč (plant sp.: grass foundation in coiled baskets).

 [cf. Poc, Poč 'mesquite']
- ?o-č mesquite, N. H: ot fr (mesquite); R: ot fr; niniw pata? ot fr (that is my mesquite tree); ZN: ?ɔ-č, ?ɔ-č (awl [made of long thorn]; plant sp.: Prosopis chilensis (Molina) Stuntz (ate green bean fresh, pounded dry pod into meal for mush); another entry says: Joshua tree-smaller—cactus? roots used for design on basketry)
 - [note that Harrington claims this and the preceding entry are a minimal pair, while Zigmond indicates homophony]
- ?oč-ik go up, climb up, go on horseback, VI. H: niotfrak nehe
 tamamea (I climbed up with a rock); niotfak ŋāta?mea? (I
 climbed up with a cat, or with cats); wohoma pa?otfrak (they
 ride on the horse's back one behind the other); R: otfrak (go on
 horseback [horse is in obj. case])
 - ?oč-mat (fut.). H: ni?ot [rakmat ni?atsitaj (voy a subir de caballo [l'm going to go on horseback?); R: ni?ot [rakmat ni?atsitaj (voy a subir de caballo)

- ?oč-k (VT: put up on). H: uvea ni?otfrk (past [I put the boy
 on horseback or the bottle on the box]); R: ?otfrk (put up on
 [this is head of typed slip]); uvea ne ni?otfrk (past)
- ?oc-mat (fut., VT). H,R: ni?ot [rmat (future [I will put the boy on horseback or the bottle on the box)
- ?oč-ki (imp., VT). H,R: ot frki (súbelo [put him/her/it up], put
 the boy on horseback or the bottle on the box [R slip is
 headed "?ot frk 'to put up on"])
- ?oč-k-i (obj. compl.). H: nihnihjət nə? ni?otſrki (l'm good on horseback); nihnihjət a?ot∫rki (s/he's good on horseback)
- -?ohana? turpentine, piñon gum (formally possessive, with <u>?a-</u>).
 H: ʔaʔohaña?, ʔaʔòhaña?, ʔaʔohana?; R: aʔohaña?
 (terementina, pine, piñon pitch); ZN: ʔaʔohána (pitch)
 ʔohana-k (flower sp.). H: ʔohañaκ, ʔōhānaκ (tarweed, or tarweed-like daisy)
 [< <u>?o?</u> 'bone' + <u>hana-t</u> 'tar'?]
- ?ohat ochre, N. H: ohat, oqat, that (yellowish balls from mountains, ground into red paint); ZN: ?oʻhat (red paint clay); M: ah-o'-hah-nah, (of red earth) o'-haht (red paint)
- Pohay plcnm.: Ojai. R: oqaj [< VCh <u>Pawhay</u> (Applegate 1974: 199)] .
- ?oka-č sand or sandy area, N. H: bkatfr, okatfr, okatfr (sand or arenal [sandy area or quicksand]), niniw okatfr (my sand); R: okatfr (sand), niniw okatfr (my sand); M: o'-kas, o-kahtsh (sand)
 ?oka-vea (loc.). H: bkave; R: okavea; bkavea (Rio Chiquito; means sand); pakatfr okavea (they're in the arroyo)
 ?a-?oka? (poss.? arroyo; canyon). H: a?oka?(a) (arroyo [steam or watercourse]; big canyon; barranco [cliff, gully, ravine]); a?oka? taŋa? (the canyon is very deep); R: a?oka?, a?oka?, á?oka? (arroyo; barranco); M: ow'-o-kah, ah-o'-kah (canyon); ah'-o-kah kan'-no-e-sa (river)

- ?a-?o-?oka? (plu.: canyons). H: á?o?oka? (plu.)
 ?a-?oka-pea, ?oka-vea (picnm.: Rio Chiquito). H: a?okapea, okaye, okajak; R: okayea (Rio Chiquito; means sand)
 ?oka-vea-tam (tribename: people who live at Rio Chiquito).
 H: okayiatam (people who live in the sand)
 ?oka-č takat (tribename: Tubatulabal). R: okatſr tākat (person of Töb. tribe); ZN: ?òkastá·kat (the Tubat. territory [sic])
 ?oka-č takatam (Rio Chiquito people). H: okatſr takatam
- Pokwa? have something caught in throat, V. H: okwa?

 Pokwa?-n (VT: make hook catch in fish's throat). R: okwa?n

 (jerk fishline; fish (means hook catches in fish's mouth))

 Pokwa?-n-ihwa?-t (inst.: fishhook). H: okwa?nihwa?t,

 Pokwa?-n-ivana? (poss. inst.). H: -?okwa?nivana?,
 Pokwanivana?
- Popawe? marrow?, poss. H: a?opawe? [description of pinyon pitch being mixed with "tutano ["tuétano" 'marrow'?] of deer, a?opawe? when they paint with it"]
- ?op-ik dive, sink, VI. H,R: op k ?op-k (VT: sink). H,R: op k
- ?opši-č tear, N. H: opſitſr
 ?opši-m (plu.). H: opſim
 -?opši (poss.). H: -opſri, -?opʃi; R: -opſri (tears [NB: verb is sg.]); ZN: -?opsi (tears)
 -?opši (poss. obj.). R?: -opſri

- ?orik?- burn (said of a big fire), VI. H: ?drak, ?o?rak (burn, app. only of a big (e.g. plains) fire
- Pork attack someone, of a dog, VT; sic a dog on someone [dog is obj.; person not expressed in example]. H,R: ?tr k

 ?ork-an-ea (passive? mng. unclear: be attacked?). H,R:

 ?tr katea (Harrington: "I do not understand meaning well!")
- Porkik a certain type of bead: white, from yahuč shells, used as money, but smaller and less valuable than <u>kukuniti</u> beads, N. H: orkak, trkak
- Poša-č bird sp.? H: ofratfr (candelaria [mng. unclear—standard translation is a plant, or Candlemas]; it sings pretty)
 Poša-m (plu.). H: ofam
 Poša-č Pa-pa-o-vea (plcnm.: candelaria spring). H: ofratfr
 Papaovea
- Pošan paint, write, tattoo, V. H: Pojran, Pojran, Pojran, nj?pjan ["no [before the fr"; optional fat end; optional dot under a (all combinations coliapsed into one formula by Harrington)]; R: Pojran (paint, write); ZS,ZN: Pojran (tattooing [V])
 Pošan-mat (fut.). H: Porjanmat
 Pošan (imp.). R: Ojran
 Pošan-i-č (imp. plu. [sic]). R: Ojranitjr
 Pošan-i-c (pass. nom.: writing, painting). H: orjanit (painting); R: Ojranits (writing, picture)
 Pošan-i-m (plu.). R: Ojranits
 Pošan-i-c-ay (obj.). R: Ojranitsaj
 Pošan-i-y+k (plcnm.: Painted Rock at Castro, between
 Elizabeth Lake and the Ojo de Vaca). H: təmət Ojranijək (plcnm.: Castro); R: təmət Ojranijək (La Piedra Pintada ... Castro ... between Elizabeth Lake and the Ojo de Vaca)

- ?a-?oša-a (gen. nom., poss.?). H: ?ofra?a? (be painted, have designs on); R: war a?ofra?a?, kwitkwitk (the sacik [sic] is variegated, many colored, varicolored); ZS,ZN: ?osat (paint for tattoos)
- Pošan-ihwa?-t (inst.: paint). H: ofranhwat (paint, from piñon pitch and tutano of deer), ofra?jhwa?t (jet black paint [sic?]); R: ofranhwa?t (pencil, pen, writing paper); ofranhwa?t (pencil, pen, writing paper)
- Pošan-ak (Adj. or N.: writer). H: ofranak (escribana [female writer]); R: Pofranak (writer)
- Pošan-akam (plu.). R: bfrahakam
- Poši?, Pošit hot. H: ofri?, ofri? (hot; it is hot weather); ofrit patfr (hot water, hot spring [unexplained abs.]); ZS,ZN: Posi?, Posi (hot); M: ah-o'-se (I am hot.); o'-se, o'-se' (hot); now o'-se (not hot); ow'-o-se (summer)
 - ?a-?oši? ?a-ni-niw (May [it's about to be hot). H: a?oʃri? aniniw (May; means it will be hot)
 - Pa-Poši-vea (loc.: in the heat). H: abfrivea (mid-day; about 10 o'clock)
 - Pošit pa-y+k-mat (plcnm.: hot spring, + fut. clitic). H: ofrit pajakmat (hot water, dir., fur. [NB: no agreement; abs. on first noun, and case on second])
 - Poši-t pa-vea (plcnm.: a plain this side of Rio Chiquito). H: bit pavea; R: birit pavea (plcnm.: a plain this side of Rio Chiquito; means hot water); ZS,ZN: Posipávi (Hot Springs near Comanche Creek)
 - Poši-van heat, VT. H: ofrivan
 - Poši-va-Pa (nom.). H: aPoPfriPvaP (summer) [derivational morphology analogous to Pošan, PaPošaPa 'paint']
 - Poši-vak (VI: get hot). H: Pofrivak [reminiscent of \underline{v} in $\underline{ta-v-ihwa?-t}$]

?ova- — force? have strength?

-?ova (poss.). H: nawhit awa (he has no strength); R: nawhit awa, takataka?y anam (he has no strength; he walks totteringly)

?0-?0va? (redup.: be straining). H: ao?ova? (he is straining while defecating)

-?ova?-n+ (inst.: by force). H: -?ovana (by force)

?a-kwičik ?a-?ova? mimi-t (wave [the sea's force stands up?]). H: akwačak #a?ova mamat (wave; literally "su fuerza de la mar ['the sea's force or strength]")

Pova? — up, Adv. H: ova?a, ova?; pajan akat fr ova? hajajk (he wears his pants very high); apahanak ova? (he got over the fence); R: apahanak ova? (he got over the fence); nihju ova? (looked up, towards sky); ova?a ("arriba [up]—upstream"); M: o'wah, o'va (up) [perh. < Eng. "over"?]

?oya? ? — pot, N. M: ne'-o-yah (kettle or vessel for cooking)
[< Span. "olla"]</pre>

- p -

pa?—drink, V. H: pa?; R: pa?, pa?; ZS,ZN: pa·?; K: ni'-pa ([I] drink)
pa?-mat (fut.). H: pā?mat
pa?-i (obj. compl.). H: -pā?j
pa?-vu? (past). R: -pa?-vu?
pa?-ihun (des.). R: pājhun
pa?-hyi-t (aug.: drunkard). H: pā?hjət
pa?-hyi-m (aug. plu.). H: "plu. -m"
pa?-nin (VT: give someone drink). R: pā?nin ['horse' is obj. in example]

pa-manič (nom.: toloache drinking). ZS,ZN: pa·ma·nič (drinking jimsonweed; to drink toloache)

pa?apka-č — sunflower, N. H: pa?apkatſr, pă?apķatſr (sunflower—used only for chicken feed); ZS: pá·?ap-ķač (sunflower—Helianthus annuus); ZN: pá·?apxač (sunflower—no known use)

pa?apka-m (plu.). H: pă?apkam

pa?aš — buckeye, N. H: pa?aʃr (tree sp.: "beraco" [mng.?]—looks ashy); ZS: pá?as (buckeye); ZN: pá?as (buckeye; nut pounded and leached and eaten like and with acorns; also medicine for cuts, fevers)

pac — that, that one.
[cf. pata? 'that']

paca?a-č — packbasket (with pointed bottom), N. H: pátsa?atſr (a certain type of basket with pointed bottom; = V. helek; carried in carrying net); pátsa?atʃ (pack-basket); ZS: pá·cα?ác

(seedgathering basket); ZN: pá·cα?ác (seedgathering basket of willow); JW: patsaats (conical basket)

-paca (poss.). H: -patsa, -patsa [NB a->ø/_#]
tiy-t ?a-paca?a-mea (pers. name of myth character: an old
woman that has basket on her back full of hot tar to throw
people into). H: tajt apatsa?amea
[cf. ca?ač 'water basket'?]

pacahk — squashed, Adj. (of nose). H: patsahk

pa-č — water, N. H: pat fr, pat fr; pat fr nihiw (my water; no endingless form); patsavan aka?mk (he gave me toloache [shows pa nominal stem means 'drink', not specifically 'water'; but č -> c unexplained]); R: pat fr, pat fr; ZS: pa·č; ZN: pá·č; M: pah'ts, pah'ch (water); yu'-its-paht'i (where is the water?); mah-

kaht'-se-poht (give me a drink); m'yow o-paht'r (go get water); K: bātc; JW: patc (water)

pa-m (plu.). H: pam (said of a bunch of springs)

- pa-vea (loc.). H: pavea, păvea, pavea, pave, pave, páve; R:
 nimi păvea (I wade [I walk in water]); niqutsak pāvea (I
 fell in the water)
- pa-vea takat (island Indian ['in-the-water person']). R: pavea takat
- pa-vea-yik (plcnm.: Buena Vista Lake or Kern Lake [NB two suffixes]). H: páveajak (Laguna de Buena Vista); R: paveajak (Kern Lake)
- pa-vea-tam (tribename: Kern Lake Indian? Buena Vista Lake Yokuts?). R: paveatam
- pa-pa-vea-tam (plu.). H: pápaviatam, pápavjatam,
 pápavja tam (tribename; = Tej. qómita; they held the
 laguna—Buena Vista Lake; talked a different language; <
 'water'); R: pa-pa-vea-tam; VF: pap-pa-vi-ott-um
 (Bakersfield people)
- pa-č-ay (obj.). H: patfraj, pátraj, patra; R: patfraj; pātfraj pa-ču-i-t (pass. nom. of derived verb: wet). H: patfruit (wet); R: patfruit, pātfruit (wet); patfruit (it is wet); M: pah'-choo-it (wet)
- pa-ču-i-m (plu.). R: patfrui?m
- pa-č-u-i-yik (plcnm. of a mountain). VF: pa-cui-yōōk (mountain north of Montes ranch (wild bamboo) [wet])
- pa-č ?a-uva-pea (plcnm.: Castaic Lake). H: patrawvape, patfrawvape, patfrawvape, patfrawvape, patfrawvapea (lake above El Chinito = V. kaftax; La Lagunita; means water's eye; Las Lagunitas; all the Livék [Lebec], Castec region); R: patfrawvapea (plcnm.: no. 1: place with 2 springs and a lake all together, which was border between Kit. and Pujador language; "La(s) Lagunita(s)"; no. 2 = ?); ZN: pačáwap'

- (Castac Lake—app. in for. terr.); M: pah-sow'-oo-wah (creek); VF: pats-a-wha-pai-hi, patch-ow-wah-pit (Castaic Lake)
- ?a-hivi pa-č (coast [edge of water]). H: ?áhava pat [r
- pa-č ?a-hivi-vea (coast, loc.). H: patfr ahavavea (the coast)
- pa-č ?a-hivi-vea takatam (tribename: coast people). H: pat/r ahavavea takatam
- ?a-h+v+-y+k pa-č (coast, dir.?). H: ?ahəvəjək pat∫r (the coast)
- ?a-hivi-vea pa-č kikam (tribename: coast people).
 ?áhəvəve pat ʃr ki(?)kam
- ?a-pa-k+ha tapeworm [no good its water? it spoils water?]. H: ʔápā kəha
- ?a-pa-kiha-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
- huna-vea pa-č-ay tivač (island [land in the middle of the water][NB obj. suffix]). H: húnave pátraj távatr
- Pa-hucik pa-č (waterfall). H: Paqutsak patſr; R: Paqutsak patſr
- kwašipk pa-č (Colorado River ['red (or colored) water']). H: kwajipk pat [r, kwajipk pat [r] kwajipk pat [r]
- ?a-kwišušu?i? pa-č? (whirlpool). H: ?akwiʃruʃru?i? patſr (whirlpool = the water whirlpools)
- civu? pa-č, civu-t pa-vea (plcnm.: El Comanche; means 'bitter water'). H,R: tsivu? patfr, tsivut pavea, tsivut pave, tsivut pave (plcnm. at fork in river; means 'bitter water'; = El Comanche)
- cukwa? pa-č (plcnm.; means 'salty water'). H: tsukwa?
 patfr; R: tsukwa? patfr = tsukwat apatwa [second seems to be preferred]
- Poši-t pa-vea (plcnm.: a hot springs near Comanche Creek and Rio Chiquito [or perh. these are both the same stream]?; means 'hot water'). H: ?ofit pavea (plcnm.: llano [plain] this side of Rio Chiquito); R: ?ofrit pavea

(plcnm.: Ilano this side of Rio Chiquito; means hot water); ZN: ?òsipá·vi (Hot Springs near Comanche Creek)

?a-peahki? pa-č? (source of a river?). H: ?ápeaqka? patſr, ?apeaqka? patʃr (spring at beginning of an arroyo)

pa-č ?a-mayki-pea ? (plcnm.: Rio Bravo; means where the water comes out, to enter Kern Lake). R: pat fr ama'jkapea

tikic pa-vea (plcnm.: Fort Tejón [named after a plant]). H:

tikits pave, tikits pavea, tikits pave, tikits pavea
(plcnm.: bog at the fortín—Ft. Tejón— < plant sp.'s water;

= V. tapulisto?); R: tikits pavea (el Fortin; < plant sp.; =
V. tapulisto?)

nakwar-pa-vea (plcnm.: site of store at Tejón; means 'water crossing place'). H: nakwarpave

wo?-wo-pa-č (plcnm. [perhaps not Kit., due to lack of h in 'two' and lack name of plcnm. suffix (but recall from chapter 1, section D, number 5, that the h on 'two' is problematic phonologically]; means 'twin springs'). H: wowopatſr, wo?wopatſr, wowopatſ (plcnm.: twin

springs; called <u>katrampa</u> [illegible in original] by Mexicans)

pa-hana?a-č (bee sp.). H: päana?atſr

pa-haŋaʔa-m (plu.). H: pʁaŋaʔam

pa-hukah-t — wapiti ("elk"). H: páhukaht (deer (ciervo), big as cow but with body like deer; means 'water deer'); ZN: p'a'hukáht (elk—used to be in valley; great intertribal elk hunts in old days); M: -pah-ho'-kat (buckskin (tanned)); K: bā-hugaxt (elk) [size description suggests this is the larger wapiti (commonly called "elk") rather than mule deer; water reference suggests mule deer, noted in Whitaker (1980) as being good swimmers; but Zigmond and Kroeber identify as elk.]

pa-huka-m (plu.). H: pahukam

pa-man-i-t (Jimson weed or drinking of Jimson weed). K: pamanit

šuava-č pa-č (plcnm.: Rio Bravo). R: frwavatfr patfr

šuava-yik pa-yik (loc.; NB agreement). R: frwavajak pajak pa-ya-i-t ? (incorp. form: ladle [water carrier]). H: pajaat [1st a long or not, accented or not](large ladle, made of wood); ZS: pá·yawt (wooden ladle); ZN: pá·yawt (wooden spoon-ladle) [perh. = payihwat, identified in H as = V. ?akmila?af, no Eng. or Span. gloss]
pa-ya-i-m (plu.). H: pajaam

pačikt? — silver. H: pátrəqt (money); ZS,ZN: páčəxt, páčəkt (silver-color)

pačuk, pačuka?i — man, N(A). H: patfruk, patruk, patfruķe?j, pátrüķat, patruķe?e (man, man in prime [the 1st version is the most frequent by far in corpus]); ?akikitam patruk (Kitanemuk man); niniw patfruk (my man; vs. nipatfruk, 'my bow'); R: patfruk (man); patfrukat (man [perh. constituency absolutive]; patfrukat akin = aki patfrukat (the man's house); amats patfrukat (the man); ZS: pa·čok (man); ZN: pa·čok, pá·čok, pá·čok (man); M: pah´-tro-ki, pah´cho-ki, pah'-tso-ki (man); num'moowas pah'-so-ki (good man); K: batcuk-ai, vatcokai

pa-pačuka-m (plu.). H: papāt frukam, papāt frukam; R:

papāt frukam (men); papāt frukam paki (the house of the
men); M: woh pat'-so-kum (two men); wur pat'-so-kum,
pah-paht-tso-kom (many men)

pačukah-t-ay (obj.—irreg.). H: pat∫rukahtaj, pat∫rakahtaj, pat∫rukahtaj; R: pat∫rukataj; pat∫rukahtaj (man, obj.; "h most clear and perfect")

pa-pačuka-m-iy (plu. obj.). R: papat∫rukaməj, papat∫rukaməj

pačuk-t — bow; collarbone, N. H,R: patfrukt; ZN: pá·čokt', pá·čokt'; M: ne pah'-trok, pah'-chökt (bow); K: badjukt (bow) pačuk-yam (plu.). H,R: patfrukjam pačuk-yam-iy (plu. obj.). H: patfrukjamaj

- pačuk-t-ay (obj.). H: patfruktaj
 -pačuk (poss.). H: -patfruk, '-pátgok (poss.; as opposed to
 niniw patfruk 'man')
- -pačuk-ay (poss. obj.). H: -pat∫rukaj
- -pačuk-yam-iy (plu. poss. obj.). H: -pat∫rukjamaj
- pačuk-ni (inst.: with a bow). R: nimu pat frukna (I shot it with a bow)
- -pačuk-ia(-)vi (bowstring [perh. this is an "agentive" (though inanimate), and the only example of a suppletive poss. agt. ending analogous to the instrumental allomorphy -ihwa?-t
 - ~-<u>ivana?]</u>). H: -patŗukeavə, -pat∫rukeavə
- [Harrington note: "cf. V. ?at?aqat and word for to span [draw?] bow"]
- -paha elder brother, poss. N(A). H: -par, -par, -par, -par (elder brother; term applies also to my cuñada's [sister-in-law's] husband when older than I; "call all these relationships by same terms as brother and sister relationship"); R: təhmea apar = təm pata? mea apar (he resembles his brother [NB 'brother' in subject form]); ZN: -par (brother); M: ah-pahr' (brother) paha-č (abs.). nimajr pahat [r, nimajr pahat]r (my eldest
 - -paha-m (plu. poss.). H: -paham; ZN: -páham
 - -paha-y (obj. poss.). H: -pāhaj

son);

- paha-m-iy (plu. obj.). H: məmamajhaməj pahaməj (your oldest children, obj.)
- pa-hana?ač bee sp., that stings; a little larger than hanac. H:
 pahana?atſr (bee sp., that stings; a little larger than hanatſr;
 looks like 'water-bee'; "goes by the water")
- pahata-t basket (gen.?). H: pahatat, páhatat (a certain type of basket; piñon b[asket] like V. ?uʃ?e?m; also basketry waterjug—piñon gum inside; also pail); ZS,ZN: páhatat (water

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bottle (pitched)); M: pah'-hah-tat (large water bottle); pah'-taht (small water bottle)

pahata-k+m-an-i-c (a completed basket?). H:

pahatakəmants, pahatakəmanits (said when it's all finished—piñon basket)

[cf. paytat 'basket tray']
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pahavi-t — poison, dream helper, N?9 H: pahavit, páhavit (herb, poisonous herb; bear and rattlesnake also called this; = V. nunafa; "muy maldito, muy respetoso" [very evil, very respectful (awesome?)])

pahavi-m (plu.). H: pahavim

pa-pahavi-m (redup. plu.). H: papahavim (plu.; means, as in V., those non-people who kill people—snake and bear—and those who roam at night, now called diablos [devils] or ghosts)

-pahavi? (poss.). H: -pahavi? (his poison—snake's)

pahavi-t-ay (obj.). H: pahavitaj

pahavi-yik (plcnm.: Kern River?. H: pahavijak (Rio Bravo; means valienta water—used to come like a remolino [whirlwind or whirlpool]); R: ?apāhavijak (plcnm.: a spring; means witchcraft place); pahavijak [no. 2] (plcnm.: means valiente water; Rio Bravo)

pahi?, pahi — three. H: pahi?, páhi?; R: páhi?; ZS: páhi; ZN: páhi, páhe; K: bahi; CK: pa he a

pahea (three times). H: pāhea; R: pāhea nipuhinak (I went around three times); ZN: pāhi we?māhāč (thirty [three times ten]); M: pah´-he; CK: pā hē' ā we' mā hāch' (thirty); we' mā hāch' hā' mūk pā hē' ā (thirteen)

pahivak (make three, V). H: pahivak R: paahivak

⁹For some ethnographic background on the role of the dream helper in south central California, cf. Applegate (1978). They usually existed only in mythic or spiritual reality but were thought sometimes to take concrete form to act on behalf of people.

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Papahi? (third; Wednesday). H: Papahi? (Wednesday); R:
Papahi? məmət (Tulare Lake [third lake?])

pahivan (put three things in something, V). H: pahivan
[illegible mark—x?—over i]

pahi-waca (twelve ['three-four']). K: pahewatsa

pahina (Adv.: three together). H: pahiha; R: tsəmimat pahiha
(let's go, the three of us)

pa-pahea-k (three-pronged fawn). H: papaheak
[cf. pavahi 'six']
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pahikyit — morning star; rainbow and myth person who holds it in sky; a certain color. H: pahikjat, pahikjat (morning star; rainbow, and the girl who holds it in the sky); ZS,ZN: pahikjut, páhikjut (a color, shade unknown; morning star)

pahina-č — chia sp.: <u>Salvia columbariae</u>, also called Skunk Sage (Dengler and Dengler 1972: 7). H: pāhinat [r, pāhinat] r (chia sp.—grows to 2'; toasted to eat batido [beaten] or make pinole; also medicine to clean eyes; sprinkled on people at fiesta; cf. F. and G. pá[ih, plcnm. pa[inuna]; ZS: pá hinač (chia); ZN: pāhinác (<u>Salvia columbaria</u>; parched, pounded, drunk); pá hinač (chia—roasted, pounded, drunk with water) pahina-m (plu.). H: pāhina m

pahina-č-ay (obj.). R: pāhinat fraj
pahina-yik (plcnm., near Tehachapi). H: pāhinajak
pahina-ni (inst.). H: pāhinana
pahina(-)yay-vea (plcnm.: below Tehachapi town, on arroyo
to Bakersfield). R: pāhinaiaiyaa (plcnm: moons abia (or

to Bakersfield). R: pahinajajvea (plcnm.: means chia (or perh. not); below Tehachapi town, on arroyo to Bakersfield) [cf. pahinyareve, below)

pahina-i-t (aug.: a larger sp. of chia, with white flowers: Salvia carduscea Berth. [thistle chia?]). H: pahinapt, páhinapt (chia sp., white, not earth, colored, or blue

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flower; perhaps less good to eat than smaller sp.); ZN:
p'àhináwt (Thistle Sage; Salvia carduscea Berth.; larger);
JW: parhinatc (tarweed, a common seed food)
pahina-i-m (aug. plu.). H: pahina-m
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- pahinyare-ve plcnm.: plain in canyon above Caliente and below Tehachapi, this side of Keane station. H: pahinjareve [cf. pahinayayvea 'placename', under pahinač 'chia sp.']
- pahi(-)tikwe twelve reales [apparently = three times some measure of beads]. H: páhitikwe
- pahi-waca twelve. K: pahewatsa [< pahi 'three' + waca 'four']
- pahkik?—pop, VI. H: pakak

 pak-pakik (redup.). H: pakpakak

 pahk (VT: pop, e.g., fingers).

 pah-pahk (redup. VT). H: paqpaqk

 pah-pahk-ia-č (plant sp., so called because pod pops when

 you step on it). H: páqpaqkiat fr

 pak, pak pak (interj. used of popping [confirms source of

 plant name in onomatopoeia]). H: pak; pak, pak
- pa-hukah-t wapiti (called "elk").

 [cf. subentry under <u>pa-č</u> 'water']
- pahuša?i plant sp.: a shrub. H: pahuſra?j (a kind of rama [branch])

 pahuša-yɨk (plcnm.: a marsh above tamupea). H: pahuʃajak

 (plcnm.: a marsh just above Dave's house; R: pahuſra?jak

 (plcnm. above tamupea)
- pahu-t pestle, N. H: páqut (mano de mortero [mortar pestle]); təkwifrtapahu? (pestle [plcnm.?; apparent constituency abs.]);

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R: pahut; ZS,ZN: p'a'hut' (pestle); M: pah'-hāt (pestle of stone);
JW: pahot (pestle)
-pahu? (poss.). M: ah-pah'-ho
pahu-n+ (inst.). R: pahu?n+
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pa?iha-č — raccoon, N. H: pá#?ihat fr
pa?iha-m (plu.). H: pá?iham
[< 'water' + 'hook'? note similarity to pakihač 'hawk']

pa?ičpuna — pers. name from myth: daughter of Coyote. ZN: pa?ič-pu·na (pers. name in Coyote story—daughter)
[cf. Kaw. pa?ičipuuna, pa?yɨpuuna 'Coyote's daughter'
(Zigmond et al. 1988: 211)]

pak [cf. pahkik]

paka? — fiesta personage: a clown who shouts all day to announce the reason for the wakač fiesta, N. Η: paka?, paka?, páka?a paka?-yam (plu.). Η: paka?jam paka?-t-ay (obj.). Η: paka?taj paka?-yam-iy (plu. obj.). Η: paka?jamaj paka-yik (plcnm. on mountain). Η: pakajak; R: pakajak

- pakač—reed, N. H: pakat ʃ, pákat ʃ (reed—used for cigarettes);
 kávos pákat ʃ (reed knife [interesting etymology: "reed iron"!]);
 ZS: pá·kač (cane—Kaw. paya(m)ba); ZN: pa·kač, pá·kač
 (cane—paya(m)ba), used for smoking, for carrying tobacco-lime combination; arrow shaft, sugar)
- pakahun plcnm.: mat?apqa?w [marsh on road to Piru; perh. a Fer. name]. H: pakahun, paqkahun [notes give a map]; R: pakahun (means 'reed'; by headwaters of Piru Canyon)
- paka(-)kayna-t splitstick clapper, N. ZS: pakakaj-nat (clapper); ZN: pakakaj-nat (clapper of split cane or willow to beat time to singing)

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-pakakayna? (poss.). H: pakakajna?, pakakajna? (splitstick)
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pakana? — be swollen, VI. H: pakana?; R: pakana?, pakana? pakana?-vu (past). H: pakana?vu pakana?-i-c (pass. nom.: swelling). H: pakana?jts ?ananiliw (medicina de [h]inchazón [anti-itch medicine]); pakana?jts ?analiliw (yerba de [h]inchazón [anti-itch medicinal herb])
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pakaynikit — reed sp. H: pakajnikit [cf. pakač 'reed']
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pak-iha-č, pak-ia-č — hawk sp. (light, dark; gavilán). H: pakihat fr, pakihat

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pak-iha-m (plu.). H: pakiham [perh. = 'sneak' [cf. pakin] + 'hook']
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pakin — [mng. unclear; poss. 'sneak']. R: mohmoho?k apakin (he comes in to intrude on us)

pakit — fog, N. H: pakit, pakit, pakit; M: pah-keet, pah-ke't

pakik [cf. <u>pahkik]</u>

pako?ko-c — adam's apple, N. H: pakokots
pako?ko-m. H: "plu. -m"
pako?ko-c-ay (obj.). H: pako?kotsay
-pako?ko (poss.). H: -pako?ko
-pako?ko-m (plu. poss.). H: "plu. -m"

pakon — plcnm.: dry lake beyond Poso de los Indios [Indian Wells]. H: pakon

pakonya-t — redwinged blackbird, N. H: pakonjat, pakonjat (blackbird sp.: chanate [blackbird], but they have red and yellow)

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pakonya-m (plu.). H: pakoniam
paku — blow whistle, V.
      paku(-)in-ihwa?-t — whistle, N. H: pakuiniwhat
         (whistle—two kinds were used in siliik)
pa(-)kwini-t -- clay; mud, N. H: pakwinit, pa?kwinit, pakwinit
   pákwinit (white or red clay; mud); R: na?whit pakwinit (there
   isn't any mud); tsi?kit[r p&kwinit (it is muddy); M: pah'-kwin-nit
   (mud)
      pakwini-pea (plcnm.: Ventura). H: pakwinipe, pakwinipe,
         pakwinipea (Ventura, so called because so muddy in rain);
         R: pakwinipea
      pakwini-pea-tam (tribename: Ventureños). H:
         pakwinepeatam, pakwinipjatam, pakwinipeatam (people
         of Ventura); pakwinipiatam, pakwinipeatam
         (Ventureño(s)); R: pakwinipeatam (Ventureño); ZN:
         pá·kwinip(i)játam (Ventura County Indians)
      pakwini-pea-yik (dir.: toward Ventura). H: pakwinipeajak
      pakwini-ni (inst.: with mud or clay). H,R: pakwinin,
        pakwinim, pakwinina; R: pakwinim
-paia?-c-ay — shovel, poss. obj. R: -paia?tsaj, -paia?tsaj,
  -p aa?tsai
     [< Span. "pala"]
pam — irregular plural of pata?: 'those' [cf. pata?'that']
pa-man-i-t — the drinking of Jimson weed, N. K: pa-manit (the
  Jimson weed drug or its drinking)
     [cf. pa? 'drink', and man 'grind']
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pamašyit tišyit? -- dew, N. H: pamasjot tosjot (dew, low dew)

[cf. papamas 'name of myth characters']

- pameatu? be thirsty, VI. H: pameatu?; R: pametu? (be thirsty; "cf. pa? 'drink', pa?nin 'give to drink', pamuk 'drown', pamukunea? 'drown someone'"); ZS,ZN: pametu; M: ne pah'-me-ah-too, pah'-me-at (thirsty)
 -pameatu?-ivi? (poss. dec. nom.). H: ?apameatu?jva? anipak (he died of [his former] thirst)
- pamiha-yik plcnm.: village above pahinajajvea, 1 mile west of Old Town [Tehachapi]. H: pamahajak (plcnm. above pahinajajvea, below Tehachapi, above Keene); pamuhajak (plcnm.—above Keene); ZS: pamahajk (village 1 mi. below—west—of Old Town); ZN: pamahajk (village mile below Old Town)
- pamoiš white-headed eagle, N. H: pamoif pamoiš-yam (plu.). H: pamoifjam
- pa-muk drown, VI. [= 'water-die'; cf. muk 'sick, die']
- pamukpit? first, N. H: pamukit, pamukpit (first, ahead);
 nifemihun pamukpit, nifemihun pamukpit (my first wife);
 pamupit nimajr (my first child); R: pamukpit (adelante [forward, ahead]); pamukpit ami (he is going ahead); pamukit akatſr (he is ahead, first); ZN: pamuk-pit nikwa (I'm beginning to eat); M: pah'-mok-pit

pan — bread, N.

pan-n+? — bread, inst. H: nijenivan paekafe?taj (I'm eating bread together with coffee)
pan-t-ay (obj.). H: pantaj; R: ne? nihnihjet nikemani pantaj (I'm good at making bread)
[< Span. "pan"]

- panapea [no gloss]. H?: panapea [no gloss; listed with <u>panaju</u>? 'other side']; R: panapea (plcnm. of a mountain; A. Lozada's mother had a dog named <u>panapeat</u>)
 [may not be Kit.]
- panahu-č water snake (small, black, with white stripes, harmless); myth snake which is in ocean that encircles world and holds it together, N. H: panahut fr, pánahut f

panahu-m (plu.). H: pánahum, panahum

- pandri?, pantri? priest, N. H: pándri?, pantri? pah-pandri?-yam (plu.). H: páhpandri?jam [< Span. "padre"]
- -pano egg, poss. H: -pā ho, -pā no, -pā no, -pā ho (egg; no abs. form); R: amakavan apāno mahat [r (he gave me five eggs); M: ah-pah'-no (eggs)
 -pano-m (plu.). H,R: -pānom
 -pano-y (obj.). H,R: -panoj
- -pantalon pants, poss. H: -pantalon; R: woh apantalon (he has two pairs of pants on)
 [< Span. "pantalón"]
- panuka-vea plcnm.: Willow Springs, in Antelope Valley. H: párukave, párukave, párukave, parukave (plcnm. of a Mohave [sic] town site: Willow Springs, in Antelope Valley)
- panaca? duck, N (gen.). H: panatsa? (pato [duck]—all kinds)
 panaca?-yam (plu.). H: panatsa?jam
- pagana-t quiver, N. ZN: páganat (quiver—of fox, wildcat, coyote, or bear); M: pahng-ah-naht (quiver)
 -pagana? (poss.). H: -pagana?,-pagana?,-pagana?a (quiver;
 = V. ?olo[ot[, made of fox, bear, or coyote, with tail);

- p spana? a (red constellation that follows after the three men)
- panayu? on the other side, Adv.? H: panajo?o, panaju? (on the other side of the canyon here); nimimat panaju?, nimimat amuvaju? (I'm going to the other side of the arroyo); panaju? (other side; cf. ipej amuvaju?nu? (from this side); ?apanaju?na (day after tomorrow)
- -pao, -pa?o spring (poss. form which figures in many placenames). H: pat, pa?o, pa?o
 - -pa-o-vea (plcnm., w/ poss. stem). H: -pabrea (spring, in plcnms.); R: apabrea (spring; [= ?] apeaqk? [sic; this word is listed on slip, right below 'spring', without gloss]) cukwa? pa-č = cukwa-t a-pa-o-vea (plcnm. meaning 'bitter water'; apparently a constituency abs., where abs. noun is attributive, not possessive]). H: tsukwa? pat [r = tsukwat apabrea
- -pa?okwina? braid, poss. H: -pa?okwina?, -pa?okwina?, -pa?okwina?; R: -pa?okwina?

 [cf. pa?ukwina? 'braid ornamentation']
- pap there. H: pap ?akim pat fr war (from there came a lot of water)

 pap-pea-y (from there; loc. obj.). H: ?apuraqak papeaj (he left here)
 [cf. pa?pi 'on top']
- papa?inamunam tribename: Fernandeños. H: papajnamunam, pápe ham unam [NB aj ~ e]; R: papajnamunam (Fernandino; may include Gab., too, or not)
- papamas pers. name of myth character(s); swordfish? H:
 papamas, papamasr, papamasr, papamasr (pers. name: myth

characers—8 brothers who throw whales back and forth, kill them and throw them ashore; may have horns; dance in sea, only in foggy weather; = V. ?elejewun [swordfish] [another entry says = youngest brother of myth ancestors, turned into deer as punishment for incest; another says = 'fog'])

papan; ?apan — right there. H: papan = apar ([sic] right there)
[cf. papi 'on top', ?amatan 'therefore']

papas — potato, N. H: papas [< Span. "papas"]

pa-pa-vea-tam — tribename; Buena Vista Lake Yokuts? H:

pápaviatam, pápavjatam, pápavjatam (tribename; = Tej.

qómita; they held the laguna—Buena Vista Lake; talked a dif. lg.;

< 'water'); VF: pap-pa-vi-ott-um (Bakersfield people)

[cf. pač 'water']

pa?pi — on top (with 'be') [the thing corresponding to the Eng. obj. of preposition is in obj. case]; it is shallow. H: pa?pi (on top (with 'be'); it is shallow [?!]); nita pa?pi nitsakaj (I cross my legs [I put my leg on top]); R: pa?pi akat [r pāt [raj (it's on top of the water); nita pa?pi nitsakaj (I cross my legs); ahī?nak nehe amats, pa?pi anam pāt [raj (it is still afloat, isn't it, encima del agua anda); M: pah'-pe (top)

pah-pa?pi (redup.: on top of each other). H: pahpa?pi? akatſr
 təvatʃr (the worlds are encimados—stacked on top of
 each other?)
[cf. pap 'there']

paro-c — shinbone, N. H: parots
paro-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"

paro-c-ay (obj.). H: parotsaj
-paro (poss.). H: -paro; ZS: -paro (lower leg)
-paro-y (poss. obj.). H: -paroj

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paro?k? paropk?- shape into a ball, V. H: paro?ok
      parupk (Adj.: spherical). H: parupk (it is spherical)
      paru-parupk (stem redup.: plu. of adj.). H: paruparupk; paro-
         paropk pakwinit (balls of mud)
      pah-paropk (redup.). H: pahparopk pakwinit (plu. [balls of
         mudi)
      paropk-in-i-č (pass. nom.: made into a ball). H: paropkinit (r
         tsivut (ball of pespibata)
      parop-kik? (round). M: par-rop-kik, pah-rop-kdk (round [like
         a ball1)
paroko?y? — [mng. unclear].
      timi-t parok?y (plcnm.: Rancho Viejo). H: tamat parokoj
         (plcnm.; means stone with lid on; water comes out of the
        crack); R: təmət paroko?jvea (plcnm.: Rancho Viejo; name
        means hollowed-out rock, hollowed in shuch a way that it
        will catch rain-water)
      [cf. paropk 'round'?]
pasas — raisins, N. H: pasas
     [< Span. "pasas"]
pašen — plcnm.: San Fernando. H: páfén
     pasenayam (tribename: Fernandeños). H: pásénajam; R:
        pasenajam (Fernandino)
pa?-t — mountain sheep, N. H: pa?t
     pa?-m (plu.). H: pa?m
     pa?-wa-t (lamb, N [apparently related, but suffix not
        identified]). H: pa?wat (borrego)
     pa?-wa-m (plu.). H: pa?wam
     pa?-wa-i-m [mng. unclear]. H: pa?waam (a herd?] of lambs)
     [minimal pair with pat, variant of 'that one']
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pata?, pa-c — that (proximate). H: pata?, pata?; haminat pata? (what is that?; how is that?); pata? təmət (that rock); pata?

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tətəmət (plu. [those rocks]); naw hami taxat, wahi? pata? (he
isn't people, he's a coyote); pats (that); ninahnamu pats pajak
 (I'm fighting with that one); pate? apea (ese no mas, that is all
[? is prob. part of following word]); ?afrufrava? (pata?),
frufravatfr (he is lying, he is a liar); tam pata?mea apar (he
resembles his brother); tamat pata? (es piedra—it's a rock);
hitat pata?, hitat pata? (what is that?); R: ninahnamu pats
pajak (I'm fighting with that one); tamat pata? (it's a stone);
naw (pata?) mamk (it isn't true); pat aki (that's his/her house);
pats aki (his/her house); pata? ap (eso no más tengo
[apparently consultant, in saying 'that's all I have', was
indicating that there is no distinct locative form of pata?
'that']); poto? frufravotfr (he's a liar); poto? tomat (that
stone); pata? tatamat (those stones); naw pat frufravat (he's
not a liar); nituhtutu?jhun pəjək pata? (I want to play with that
one); makan pata? tthivatfr (give me what's ground); pats
ahih juvannehe (this man sees me; "also pata? but not *patats");
patsavan amak (that one hit me); pata? nata? (that cat); ZS,ZN:
pata parčok (that man, subj.); M: pah-tah (other); hew'-pah'-tah
(look at that!)
  pata?-i (that's it). H: pata?> = ?ama?> (that's it); ?ama?
     pata? (who? [sic])
  pata?-m (plu.). H: pata? m ákikitam (he is haminate [sic])
  pa-y (obj.). H: paj; R: paj, paj; nə? nihju paj ŋatə?taj (I
     looked at that cat)
  pam (plu.). H: pamat hinim, hinimat pam (what are those?); R:
     pamavan pamak (those people hit me); pam papāt frukam
     (those men); pam nata?jam (those cats); pam tatamat
     (those stones); pama? pahihjuvan nehe (those people see
     me); M: pahm' (they or them (plural and dual))
  pam(-)+?, pam+, pam-+y (those, as subj.). H: pam>?, pam>; R:
     ahjūva pama, ahjūva pamaj (he saw these); na? nihju
     pamai nata?jama (I looked at those cats)
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pati?tikia-č? — swallow sp. H: páti?tikeat fr (swallow that makes mud nests on barns)

pati?tikia-m (plu.). H: pati?tikeam
[lack of gliding surprising, but normal if this is actually

pati?tik-i?a-č, an agt. nominal]

pa?ukwina-t — braid ornamentation (wool and beads wound around or braided in whole length of the braid), N. H: pa?ukwina t pa?ukwina-t-ay (obj.). H: pa?ukwinataj -pa?ukwina? (poss.). H: -pa?ukwina?, -pa?ukwina? [cf. pa?okwina?]

pavacay?e? — swim, V. H: pavatsaj?e?; R: pavatsaj?e? (Harrington: "final e, not i")
-pavaca?-ivana? (inst., poss.: webbed foot). H:
?apavatsa?jvana? (his web, = swimming thing)

pavahata-c — bladder, N(A). H: pavahatats
pavahata-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
-pavahat (poss.). H: -pavahat
-pavahata-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: -pavahatatsaj
[doublet w/ pavahavik 'have a blister'?]

pavahavik — have a blister, VI. H: pavahavak

pavah-pavahavik (stem-redup.: have blisters all over?). H:

pavahpavahavak (have blisters on it—lit. se hizo bola [it
became a ball])

[stem redup. is irregular; perhaps there's a limit on number of
segments copied; probably a frozen form]

[perh. related to pavahatac 'bladder']

pavahi? — six; Saturday. H: pavahi?, pávahi?; R: pávahi?; ZS,ZN: pavahi (six); M: pah'-vah-he (six); K: pabahi (six); CK: pa'va hǐ (six); we' mā hāch hā' mūk pā' vā hǐ (sixteen [ten and six])

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pavahea (six times). H,R: pavahea; CK: pa' va hī' a we' ma hach' (sixty)
pavahea ?a-tiw-an-ea (six reales [of money: 'called six']).
H: pávahjátawane [NB ?-loss from personal prefix]
[< pahi 'three'; cf. páhitikwe 'twelve reales']
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- pavakit watery (said of thin mush). H: pavakit; M: pah'-wah-keet (thin, like water)
- pa-vea-yik plcnm.: Kern Lake. H: paveajak, páveajak, pāviajak (plcnm.: Kern Lake; = V. <u>kas?ap kapistuk</u>, or Buena Vista Lake [NB: 2 locative suffixes]); ZS,ZN: pa·vyayuk (Bakersfield) pa-vea-tam (tribename: Tulareños [Yokuts] from Kern Lake).

 H: pāviatam, pápā viatam [< pač 'water']
- pa(-)vo?vo?a-č tadpole, N. H: pavo?vo?atsr

 pa(-)vo?vo?a-m (plu.). H: pavo?vo?am

 [sounds like from pač 'water' + vo?y+k 'wag', but no y in the verb part]
- pavuhaču? plant, V. H,R: pavuhatʃru?
 -pavuhaču?-a? (nom.: "siembra" [planting, or field]). H:
 nipávuhatru?a?, nipavuhatʃru?a?; R: -pāvuhatʃru?
- pavuha-vea plcnm.? or spring (gen.)? H: pavuhave, pávuhave
- pavuhi-yi-t bird sp.: hen-size, long blue tail feathers which Ventureños use on heads when dancing; = V. tsuq; similar to churea), or its feathers. H: pavuhjat, pavuhjat; ZS,ZN: pavuhjut (bird sp. from which ceremonial feathers obtained; had only 2 tail feathers each [perh. 'magpie'])

 pavuhi-yi-m (plu.). H: pavuhjam

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-pavuhi-yi? (poss.). H: -pavuhjə?, -pāvuhjə?(tsuq, poss.); dpavuhija? (= V. tsuq)
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- pavuhci-vea plcnm. H: pavuhtsivea

 pavuhci-vea-tam (tribename: people from <u>pavuhcivea</u>). H:

 pavuhtsiviatam
- pavuta-t oak puffball, or any ball, N. H: pavutat; pavotat (oak puffball; good medicine for wounds—grind and apply); tsapunita? pavutataj (let's play with oak puffball); ZS: pɔ´vɔtat (oak ball, used medicinally); ZN: pɔ´vɔtat (oak ball; medicine for cuts; also chew for teeth) pavuta-m (plu.). H: pavutam; pávotam
- pa?-wa-t lamb, N. H: pa?wat (lamb)

 pa?-wa-m (plu.). H: pa?wam

 pa?-wa-i-m [mng. unclear]. H: pa?waam (a partida [herd?] of lambs)

 [< pa?t 'mountain sheep']
- pawhuša?i plant sp. (shrub)? H: pawhuſra?j (a rama [branch, shoot])

 pawhuša?-yɨk (plcnm.?). H: pawhuſra?jək
- pa(-)wirukuh-t vulture, N. H: pawirukuht (vulture [Harrington says first syllable doesn't mean 'water' but cf. wirukuht 'aura [vulture-type bird]'])
 - pa(-)wiruku-m (plu.). H: pāwirukum; pāwirukum pətawne (where the vultures sleep [i.e., 'vulture's roost'])
- pa-wi-t? boiled liquid drunk hot for stomach, N. ZN: p & wat [perh. a plant sp., or perh. just aug. of 'water']
- pay [cf. pata? 'that']

- -pay Adv. or clitic meaning something like 'can', or possibly 'that'. H: hami?mat tsahūnu?paj vaka?taj, war nimavi?k naw majk hami nihūnu? ("let's talk about the cow some other time, I have a lot to do now, I cannot talk now); nawpaj ni?an punita?jhwa?taj (I don't understand that game [Harrington's underlining, suggests it means 'that']
- pa-ya-i-t ladle, N. [cf. pač 'water']
- payik toward there, Adv. H: pajak wirark ni?ak tamanamojak (estoy arostado con mi cabeza volteado para el norte [l'm facing with my head turned north ("arrostrado" = 'facing')]); R: ŋarark pajak (arrimate payá [go close to there!]); ja pajak (carry it over there!)
- -payo? handkerchief, N. R: a ju a jo k nipa jo ? (my handkerchief is wet)
 [< Span. "paño"]
- payravič a certain type of basket for toasting in with hot coals.

 H: pajravat [r [cf. paytat 'basket tray']
- paytat basket tray, N. H: pájtat (flat coiled basket tray, 1/2' across; = Ser. <u>sáqúts</u>); ZS: pá·y-tat; ZN: pá·tat (basket tray) [cf. <u>pahatat</u> 'basket']
- payuci? Paiute [i.e., Chemehuevi? Mono? Tüb.? Kaw.? or perh. an undifferentiated term for various groups]. H: pajutsi? (Payuche)
- -pea locative derivational or inflectional suffix. [variant of -vea]
- pea be finished, be over, be the last, VI. H: pea, pea (be finished or over); pata? apea nimajr (my only son); R: ama?a?pea (it's

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finished now [slip is headed "ma?apea," a mis-analysis for ?ama?a?-pea])
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- pedro?-t pers. name. H: peðro?ot; Pedro kúweje [cited as a pers. name]; R: peðro?t (Pedro)
 [perh. t is constituency absolutive]
 [< Span. "Pedro"]
- pemisa?i? low or short. H: pemisa?i? (low, not tall [of person or house]); M: pem'-ma-si-e, pā-mā-si-e (short)
- pepino? cucumber, N. H. pepino? [< Span. "pepino"]
- peraš pear, N. H: peraſr [< Span. "peras"; but note <u>?uvas</u> < "uvas", not <u>?uvaš</u>]
- pesa bird sp.: big, white, white wing-tip. H: pésa (bird sp.—big, white, white wing-tip; = V. wawaw?)
- peso? dollar(s), N. H: tsolo?t aatsaka?j wehmahaſr peso? tjendapea (Cholo owes \$10 at the store) [< Span. "peso"]
- pi? throw a stone at, bewitch (hechizar [bewitch] or enyerbar [poison]), hit with pecking stone, VT. H: pi?, pi?, pi? pi?-mat-um (fut., with 1-2s clitic). R: nipi?matum (I am going to throw a stone at you)
 - pi?-hea (pass.: be bewitched). H: pi?hea
 -pi?-ivana? (inst. nom., poss.). H: -pi?vana? (picador
 [pecking stone]); -pivana? (sling)

pi?aka — worm sp., of Sphinx moth, N(A). H: pi?ak (worm sp.: hairless, finger-size, black and red stripes, comes out in March) pi?aka-t (constituency abs.). H: pi?akat aja?a (Sphinx moth ['worm sp.'s mother'])

pi?aka-m (plu.). H: pi?akam
[looks like it could be a gen. nominal from piakik 'come out', but apparently not, since N(A) is a category of simple, not derived, stems]

piak-k? — take out, VT. H: piaκ'κ, piak'k piakiki (imp.). H: piaκ'κ

piake? ? — the game of shinny. JW: piakex (shinny game) [may not be Kit.]

piano?-t-ay — piano, obj. R: pjano?taj [< Span. "piano"]

pi?-c — breast, N. H: pi?ts
pi?-m (plu.). H: pi?m
-pi? (poss.). H: -pi?(i) (breast; milk); NB: ?api? (breast) vs.
?api? (he threw a stone at him); afrahi mapits (your
breast milk [constituency abs.]); M: nip'-pe, ah'-pe' (female

breasts); K: a-pi (mamma [breast])

pic — arrive, VI. H: pits, pits; pis (arrive somewhere); R: pits, pits [typed spelling in -tsr changed to -ts three times in handwriting on this slip]; apitsət nehe ?amea? (he came to your house [but apparently this is a question]); apis nehe pāt[ruk apājhun pat[raj (a man arrived who wanted a drink of water); apitsiva? nina?n, nitəho, apits ip pāt[rukat a?əjuvən nipāla?tsaj (when my father came, I told him, a man came and stole my shovel); tuk ne nipit[r (I arrived yesterday); nipit[r nehe tumuka (I arrived day before yesterday)

- pi-c down, N. H: pits, pits (down, of birds); tem pitsr (fine feathers [comparison to describe flower of cotton plant—apparently = 'like down']); ZN: pi·c, pi·c (eagle down; cottony part of m'a·mu·kiyač)

 -pi (poss.). H: -pi
- picalala? dragonfly, N. H: pítsalala, pīt falala (dragonfly (Span. cigarro ["cigarra" is standard Span. for 'grasshopper', 'cicada']))
 picalala?-yam (plu.). H: pítsalala?jam
- picucu?a-č fly, N. H: pītsutsu?atʃr, pītsutsu?atʃr, pītsutsuatʒ;
 ZN: pi·cucu?ač
 picucu?a-m (plu.). H: pītsutsu?am, pītsutsu?am
- pičureyt pers. name of myth character. H: pitsurejt (the next oldest [brother, of ancestors, according to myth])
- pih suck, VT. H: pir, pir, pir, pir pih-an (caus.: suckle, VT). H: pihan pih-ihun (des.). H: pihihun
- piha-č sugar; honey, N. H: pīhatſr, pīhātſr; K: pīhatc (night [sic; error?])
 -piviha? (apparently poss. of redup. abs. piviha-č, not
 attested in the corpus). H: ?apīvīha? (honey); pəpivīha?
 aveqa?jam (bee honey)
 [perh. this is the -a nom. of pih 'suck']
- pi?in plcnm.: spring west of San Francisquito Canyon ["this side of Newhall"]). H,R: pi?in
- pi?irukuŋ plcnm. at Piru (but not town site). H: pi?irukuŋ, pi?irukuŋ, pi?irukuŋ (plcnm.: Piro, Piru, La Oreja; has a cemetery); R: pi?irukuŋ (plcnm.; according to Eug[enia], not site

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of Piru, but at the point of the hill that juts out to this side of the town)
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piivik — ash-colored, Adj. H: pjawak or pjavak [illegible]
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- pikwa-č California blackberry, N. H: pikwat [r (mora [blackberry; mulberry]); ZN: pikwač (Calif. Blackberry: Rubus vitifolius C & S.; for clapp [gonorrhea?] make tea from root; berry eaten en nature [i.e., raw?])

 pikwa-č-ay (obj.). H: pikwat [aj
- pikwk scrape or wipe self or object, V. H: pikw, pikwk (scrape self in sweathouse, or wipe self when defecating); R: -pikwk, pikwk, -pikwk, -pihrwk (scrape self with stick in temascal; wipe away ['tears' is obj.]; also to wipe table or anything); nipikwk nitahtaqatfraj, nipihwk nitahtaqatfraj (I wipe my body when bathing); apikwk (he is scraping out the pot) pikwki (imp.). H,R: pikwki pikw-in-ihun (des.). H,R: nipikinihun -pikw-in-ivana? (inst. nom.: scraper). H: -pikwinivana? (do it with an iron knife)
- pi?mk gather, VT. H,R: pi?mk pi?mki (imp.). H,R: pi?mki
- pimočk blunt, Adj.? H,R: pimot frk (blunt end of pen [R card is headed, <u>pimot frk</u> 'blunt'])
 [cf. <u>wivovk</u> 'sharp']
- pimyente? pepper, N. H: pimjente? [< Span. "pimiento"]
- -pinica aunt of a certain type, poss. N(A). H: -pinits, -pinits, -pinits, -pinits, (aunt [examples given: ms. any sister of father]); ZN: -pinic (aunt)

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-pinica-m (plu.). H: -pīnitsam
-pinica-y (obj.). H: -pīnitsaj
-pinica-?ivɨ (dec.). H: -pinitsa?jvə, -pinitsa?ivə

piŋan — crumble, VI. H: pīŋan (desmorronar [crumble])

piŋan (VT). H: pīŋan
piŋan (imp.). H: pīŋa n

?a-piŋ-i? (pass. nom.). H: ?apīŋi? (decayed; desmorronado);
R: -piŋi? (ground finely)
?a-piŋ-i-m (plu.). H: ?apīŋi m
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pipimer — Santa Catalina Island. H: pipimer (islander from S. Pedro island); pipimer (the island name); R: pipimer (Indian of southern islands)

pipimar-yam (tribename). H: pipimarjam; pipimarjam (people from there; sg. = pipimar, pipi?mar)

pipi(?)mar-pea (plcnm. for the island). H: "also pipi(?)marpea (the island—probably S. Catalina)"; R: pipimarpea (Catalina Island, app.)

[There is some inconsistency as to whether <u>pipimar</u> is the place and <u>pipimaryam</u> the tribename, or <u>pipimarpea</u> is the place, <u>pipimar</u> the sg. tribename, and <u>pipimaryam</u> the plu. tribename—perhaps because the term is borrowed from the island dialect [of Gabrielino]; also, the two stressed syllables in a row suggest a borrowing; if the <u>mar</u> part is cognate with Luis. diminutive suffix, the name could mean something like 'little horseflies'—not a very complimentary name for a place or its people!]

pipi-č — horsefly, N. H: pipits, pipitsr (tábano [horsefly]) pipi-m (plu.). H: pipim

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pirisiriyu-pee -- plcnm.: Santa Barbara. R: pirisirijupee
       pirisiriyu-pea-tam (tribename: Barbareño). R:
          pirisirijupeatam
 pir(-)pirk - pet, VT. H: pigpigk (be petting the dog [stem redup.]); R:
    pigpigk (smooth hair down on dog-"sobar" [pet])
 piša-č — head, N. H: pifratfr; ?akotso nipifratfr (my scalp [skin of
   my head; with constituency abs.]); R: card headed "pifrats 'head'";
   ZS: piš·at, piš·ač; K: abica ([his/her] head)
      piša-m (plu.). H: pi]ram
      -piša? (poss.). H: -piʃra?, -piʃra?; ZS: -piša?, -p·iša?; M:
         nip'-pis-sah, ah-pé-sah (head)
      -pih-pifra? (plu. poss.). H: -pihpifra?
      -piša?-pea (loc.). H: -piʃra?pea
      -piša-č-ay (poss. obj.). H: -piʃratʃraj; R: -piʃratʃraj;
         -pi/rə?t/raj -pi/rat/rat/raj [sic]
      kwašipk ?a-piša (bird sp.: red-head). H: kwajapk apija
         (small birds with red heads)
      kihu-č ?ati? ?a-piša? (fish sp.: big head). H: kihut∫r ata?
         ápi[ra?
      [The last two subentries apparently relative clause
        constructions]
piša?i? — sweet, Adj. H: piʃra?i?, piʃrai?i (it's sweet); R: piʃra?i?,
  pifra?i? nehe (it's sweet); M: pis-sah'e, pe-si-e (sweet)
     piša?i-t (N: candy). H: pifra?jt (sweet stuff); niniw pifra?jt
        (my sweet, candy)
     piša?i-m (plu.). R: pifra?i?m (they are sweet)
     piša?i-t-ay (obj.). H: piʃra?jtaj
     [doublet with pihač 'sugar'? Kit. (and Serrano) h often
        corresponds to other Takic s; this may have been borrowed
        from e.g. Fer.]
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- pišapeš plcnm.: Cedarwood Canyon, near Tejón ranchería. H:
 piʃapeʃ (canyon opp. inf.'s house here); R: piʃapeʃ (canyon which
 comes into Tej[ón] ra. canyon from the east just above
 Eug[enia]'s house); ZS,ZN: pɛ̃šapɛʃ (Cedarwood Canyon)
- piška? be rotten, V. H: pijka?a, pijka? (be rotten [of mildew, meat, milk]); R: pijrka? (be rotten, of meat, or mildewing of leather)
 - a?-piška?-i? (part.: rotted). H: ?apiſrka?i?; R: ?apiſrka?i? (it's rotten, of meat)
 - piška?-n (caus.). H: þiʃrka?n (bury reed in black mud to dye it)
- pišni? fish sp.: big, salt or fresh water, N. H: pijnə, pijnə (fish sp.: big, lives in salt or fresh water; resembles tsoh ['fish sp.', perh. salmon])

 pišni?-yam (plu.). H: pijnə?jam
- pita-č youngest, last, N(A). H: pitatfr, pitatfr; nimajr pitatfr (my youngest son or daughter; ninamihun pitatfr (my last wife) pita-ta-č-ay (obj.). H: -majhaj pitatfraj (youngest son or daughter, obj.)
 - pita-m-iy (plu. obj.). H: -mamajhaməj pitaməj (youngest children, obj.)
 - -pit (poss.). H: nipit (younger brother or sister; also, my sister-in-law's husband when younger than I); ZN: -pit (younger sister); M: nip-pët (brother)
 - -pita-m (poss. plu.). H: -pifam
 - -pita-y (poss. obj.). H: -pītaj
- pitk fill, VT? H: nihīkaj nipitk nisitsravea (I puffed up my cheeks with wind; I filled my mouth with breath)
- pituru? hummingbird, N. H: pituru?, pituru?, pituru?t [constituency abs.]; ?atstŋ pituru? aʃəj = ?aip aʃəj pituru?t

(the hummingbird sucks the flower) [constituency abs. here may be related to word order]
pituru?-yam (plu.). H: pituru?jam

pivana-č — woodpecker sp.: smaller than šic. H: pivanat fr pivana-m (plu.). H: pivanam [interesting that this looks like pi 'hit, peck' + -ivana? 'inst. nom. suffix' in possessed forms, though this name is not possessed; probably a frozen form, so morpheme boundaries not inserted]

pivuh-t — reed sp. (tule), N. H: pivuht, pivuht (3-cornered reed; tubers eaten raw); ZS: pi·vukt (tule); ZN: pi·vukt(u), pivuxt (tule: Scirpus almeyi Gray; used for house covering, mats, edible lower stalk)

pivuh-m (plu.). H: pīv tm pivuh-yik (plcnm.: where the swimming tank is at El Paso [Tejón Pass] store; there used to be a hot spring there). H: pivuh-jik [cf. pivunacapea 'placename']

pivu(-)ŋaca-pea — plcnm. at Tejón ranchería; a spring. H:

pīvuŋatsapea(a spring at the ranchería; mentions tule [but
what is the ŋaca? part?]); R: pīvuŋatsapea (plcnm. where
Rosemeyer lived)

pivu(-)ŋaca-pea-tam (tribename: Kitanemuks from this

place [name used by other tribes]). H: pfvunatsa(?)peatam pivu(-)naca-pea (tribename: equivalent to the preceding form). H: pfvunatsa?jam; R: pfvunatsa?jam (Tejón ranchería Indian)

pi(-)piwat — tribename: Gabrielinos. VF: pee-pee-waht (San Gabriel people)

[perh. related to <u>pipimar</u> 'Santa Catalina Island']

-piyat [mng. unclear; attested only in the following form]

- p+- 3p subject or possessor prefix; also special 3s case prefix used with -y+k (described in chapter IV, section C) M: poo, poo', po [3p prefix]
- pi-mea? [mng. unclear from gloss, but probably an example of special 3s case prefix, discussed in chapter IV, section C]. ZN: Púvehpe matnimi mat nikwa púme (tomorrow if I go I shall be eaten by him [probably mis-segmented also; should be: Puve[a]h-pe[a]-mat ni-mat ni-kwa pi-me[a], 'tomorrow [when] I [will] go I will eat with him'?])
- piči? heavy; weight? H: pətrə? (heavy); ?ápətrə? (never saw or heard of weight on digging stick, but call its weight this); R: pətʃrə? (be heavy [the f was added by Harrington by hand after typing]); M: poo'-trah, pu'-chă (heavy)
 - piči-huna? (be behind or indebted to, VT?). H, R:
 nipətfrəhūna? ?əməj (I am atenido a Vd. [dependent on
 you?]; said when one is very atrazado [in debt or late] in
 something); naw niputfruhuna? hitaj (I'm lost; I have no
 hope)
- pɨčk be on one side, VI? H: pətʃrk ami (the road goes slanting a little); ?aptʃ(r)kə? (the horizontal sticks or hoops of hut [nom.?]); R: aptʃkə? (atravesado [oblique; crossed]); pətʃrk nimi (I ride horseback sidesaddle; pətʃrk ('ladeado' [on one side]) [cf. pɨčɨ? 'heavy', which may be nom. of this verb]
- pihnik pass through or over to the other side, VT. H,R: pah(a)nak [used of arrow passing through body, cold time passing and warming up, scaling a fence]; niponihinak kit faj (I went around the house)
 - [cf. pank 'bit', measured by passing money around the hand]
- pɨhtuk down; below. H: pəhtuk; R: pəhtuk (below, in the earth); M: puch-tuk, putch-tök (down); puch-tuk (downstream)

- [cf. <u>tuk</u> 'carry on back'; this form may consist of a 3s personal prefix plus case marker]
- p÷?k fan, VT. H: pə?k, pə?κ (fan something—fire or self)
 p÷?k-mat (imp.). H: pə?kmat
 p÷?ki (imp.). H: pə?ki
- pin—tie, VT. H: pan; R: pan, pan
 pin-mat (fut.). R: parmat [sic—long n!]
 pin (imp.). H,R: pan
 pinea (pass.?: be tied). H: panea, parea; ?ápánea, ?apanea
 (cradle band, laced; cradleboard—literally amarradera
 [tie]—made of painted and woven strings [is this gen. nom.
 of -ea verb form?]); R: panea, parea [cf. pihnik 'pass over
 to other side']
 pin-ihwa?-t (inst.: thong). H: panihwa?t (leather thong that
 ties door)
- pɨna naked, Adj. H,R: pəna (naked [used with 'be']); M: poo'-naht (empty); poo'-nah (naked); ah-pöö'-nah'-e' (a ghost)
- pi-nanipk goal. H: pananipk (where they're going to win or lose)
 [< nahnipk 'win'; first part may be personal prefix, or name of a game]
- pinank rip, VT; rape or deflower, VT? H: panank ("means romper una muchacha [break a girl]: bad word" [rape?]); R: panank (tear, VT, of cloth)

 pinan-mat (fut.). R: pananmat
- p÷(-)nar+k midwife, N. H: pəfmarək
 [= 'they help'? or = 'tie' + 'help'?]
- pɨnk measure bead-money on hand, V. H: pənk, pənk pɨnki (imp.). H: pənki

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ca-pink-ič (hort.: let's earn?). H: tsapankat∫r (let's ganar
          [earn?])
       pin-mat (fut.). H: panmat
       pink (one real [bead measure]; Adj.?). H: pank
       [cf. <u>pihnik</u> 'pass through or over'; cf. also <u>punink</u> 'make
          carrying ring'l
 pink — dodge, or pass by (overtake), VT. H,R: ponk (dodge arrows or
    anything; pass by a man you have overtaken on road)
       pinh-pink (stem redup.: dodge repeatedly). H: panh-pank
          (gesticulate with bow and arrow as when they enter fiesta
         = "él está capiando [he is tricking bull with a cloak]")
pɨšakɨk — burst, VI. H: pəʃrakək (burst—e.g. boil); R: pəʃrakək,
   pafraqak (burst [of boil]); pafrakak (break [of china plate or
   boil])
      pišahk (VT: burst). H: pofragk; R: pofragk, pofragk
pɨvaka-t - bat, N. H: pávakat
      pɨvaka-m (plu.). H: pávakam
pivi-c - cheek, N. H: pavats
      pɨh-pɨvɨ-m (redup. plu.), pɨvɨ-m (plu.). H: pəhpəvəm, pəvəm
      -pivi (poss.). H: -pava
      -pih-pivi (poss. plu.). H: -phpava
      pivi-šiča-č (lip [cheek-mouth]). H: pəvəſitʃratʃr
      pɨvɨ-šiča-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
      -pɨvɨ-šiča (poss.). H: -Þəvəʃitʃatʃr, -Þəvəʃitʃratʃr
      -pih-pivi-šiča (plu. poss.). H: -pəhpəvəʃitʃra
      pivi-šiča-wi-t (aug.: person with underlip sticking out). H:
         pavasitsrawat
piyan — far, Adv. H: pajan; R: pajan nikat fr (I live far off);
   mamimat pajan (you're going to go far); M: poo'-yahn (far)
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platano? — banana, N. H: platano?
      [< Span. "plátano"]
-po? [cf. pokt 'road']
poc-k — tie a knot, V. H: potsk
      poc-ik (VI: kink). H: ?apotsak (kink in a rope); R: potsak
         (kink in rope; = se amarró)
      pocokič (pass. nom. [irreg.]). H: potsokit ( (ñudo de ropa la knot
         of clothing])
poh — [mng. unclear].
      ?a-poh-yik timina-č (plcnm.: big mountain on Caliente side
         of Chanaco Canyon, opposite Tejón ranchería, upstream
         from <u>?iycivea</u> [means 'antelope's X'])
pohk(-)in-i-c — pass. nom.: mashed? H: pohkinits, pókikinits (mush;
   name for ball of islay when all made)
poho-c - body hair, body feathers, fur, N. H: pohots (body hair; body
  feathers; cuero [skin; leather] of an animal)
     poho-m (piu.). H: "plu. -m"
     -poho (poss.). H: -poho; -poho (body hair); pohotrumat,
        pohotrumat, pohot frum at (= V. tsiwin; colorado [colored or
        red] or white ... very valuable—an item on gravepole); R:
        apoho (feathers long or short ... of hen or bird; fur of dog or
        cat; human body hair); ZS: ?apɔ·hɔʻčuma (eagle down
        headdress for dancing [does this mention Chumash?]); ZN:
        ?apɔ'hɔ'čuma (a certain type of feathers? [Zigmond cites
        Plate 7a (Steward); mng.?])
     poho-wi-t (aug.: a hairy person). H: pohowat (peludo [furry])
     poho-wi-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
     poho-ka?y (furry; also name for a black hairy caterpillar). H:
        pohoka?j, pohoka?j
     poho-ka-m (plu.). H: pohokam
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- poho-čuma-t feather headress? H: pohot rumat, pohot rumat,

 pohot rumat (= V. tsiwin; colorado ['colored' or 'red'] or white ...

 very valuable—an item on gravepole); ZS: ?apɔ-hɔ-čuma (eagle
 down headdress for dancing [does this mention Chumash?]); ZN:
 ?apɔ-hɔ-čuma (a certain type of feathers? Plate 7a (Steward))
 [cf. poho 'fur, body hair, feathers']
- pohwi plcnm.: La Pastoría. H: powi, póqwi (plcnm.: La Pastoria; = Tul. <u>t[ripohwi</u> (in territory of Pujadores or prob. Ventureños); R: po'wi [may not be Kit.]
- pokat-ik get frightened, VI. H: pokatak, pokatak [k marked "breathy"] (get a fright, have a nightmare); R: pokatak, pokatak [marked "k breathy"; perh. done for emotive effect?] (get frightened); M: ah-po-kah'-took (a ghost)

 pokat-ik-mat (fut.). H: pokatakmat; R: pokatakmat

 pokat-k (VT: frighten). H: ?anipak apokatkiva? (he died of fright [-iva? marks clause as nominal); R: pokatk

 pokat-k-i-ik? (Adv.: in a frightened way?). H: pokatki?ik

 ahipak (he died suddenly [sic—apparently = 'of fright']); M: po-kaht-ke-e'k (sometimes [suddenly])
- pokot plant sp. which provides needles for basketmaking. H:

 pokot (plant sp., used as needle to sew piñon baskets; grows to
 3' in mountains; has lots of little twigs on top)
- pok-t road, path, N. H: pokt, pokt, poht (camino [road, path]); R: pokt (road)
 pok-m (plu.). H: pokm
 -po? (poss.—irreg. stem). H: -po?, -po?, -po; R: -po?, -po?
 -po?-vu? (poss., with past clitic). H: nipo?vu?, nipo?vu?
 uvea (that used to be my road—i.e., route); nipo?jva,
 nipo?uvu? (my old trail or route); poktivu? wara? (it was a trail [is ivu? ivi 'dec.?'])

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-po?-ivi (dec.: former path). H: nipo?jva, nipo?uvu? (my old trail or route)
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pok-t-ay (obj.). H: poktaj

- pok-pea (loc.). H: poxpea, poxpea; R: pokpea, pokpea (on the road)
- pok-t tiva-yik (Milky Way [literally, road to the piñones]). H: poht tivajek
- tiy-t ?a-po? ("Devil's Road"—Santa Fé Trail?). H: tajt ?apo (the devil's road; = Cv. ?a+t sinaqkuhut [?isalijas [perh. related to Span. name for Santa Fé Trail in 1800's—"Camino del Diablo"?])
- tiy-t ?a-pok-pea (plcnm. on "Devil's Road"). H: tajt apokpea (name of hill where old road to Rose Station descended to agarrar el llano [gain the plain]; Span. Camino del Diablo)
- pokuya? have lunch, VI [but this could be a noun; hard to be sure given glosses available]

pokuya?-mat (fut.). H: pokaja?amat (have lunch, fut.)
pokuya-c (lunch, N. [perh. a gen. nominal form of V]). H:
poκujats

pokuya-m (plu.). H: pōκujam -pokuya-y (poss. obj.). H: -pōkujaj, -p̄oκujaj

- -pomo shoulder, poss. ZN: wákatat ?apómo (plant sp.: "frog shoulders"; Stachys albens Gray; use with steam bath and for flu or colds); M: ne-po'-mo (shoulder)
 [accent on second syllable in both sources—no explanation]
- pona?i hurt, VI (subject is a person or body part; if person is subject, body part may be mentioned in object case). H: nipona?j nihtnaj (I'm sick at my stomach); nipoha?j (I have an ache somewhere on body); ?apoha?j ivits (this man has an ache); ?apona?j (he hurts—le duele); papona?j patuhu = matsane?vapaluhu? (their chests hurt (them)); R: pona?j (hurt, VI), poha?j (have an ache (of person), VI)

[this verb app. can have as subject either the person or the body part effected; reminiscent of the two structures for expressing body part objects, described in chapter IV, section C]

poniva-č — skunk, N. H: pčnivat ʃr̥ poniva-m (plu.). H: pčnivam

pon — hit with the fist, VT. H,R: pon; R: niponem (I hit you with my fist [no ? here]); M: ah-pong'-ah-von (he struck me); ne-pong-ahn (I struck him)

po?ŋ-po?ŋ-k (stem redup.: pound on). H: po?ŋpo?ŋk (pound iron; rap (on door)); R: apo?ŋpo?ŋk (the blacksmith is pounding the iron)

po?ŋ+k (bump into something [body part hit is obj.]). R: nipo?ŋ+k nitamot[raj (I bump into it with my knee)

-pon-ivana? (inst., poss.: stone for pounding). H: niponivana? (my stone for pounding dried meat, etc.; ≠ pestle)

pop — near (V or Adj.?). H: pop (near [used with 'come', 'go', 'be']); M: pop, po-op (near)

popi? (be about?). H: ?epopi? eofrivea (it is about 10 o'clock)

[poss. theory: it's a verb meaning 'approach', with bare stem being used adjectivally, and passive used in the '10 o'clock' sentence, which would be a mistranscription for underlying /?a-pop-ea ?a-?oši-vea/]

poso? — well, N. H: poso?º [< Span. "poso"]

potin — scrounge for food, V. H,R: potin (pepinar [scrounge for food])

[cf. <u>t+ht+von</u> 'pepinar']

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-povo-y (obj., poss.). H: -povots
-povo-y (obj., poss.). H: -povoj
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- -puc seed, poss. H: ?áputs ?aputs, ?aputsu (its seed/nut/pod [of wild lupine]); "plu. exactly the same"); ZS: ?áp·υς; wár ?áp·υς (plu. [sic, but not formally plural]); ZN: ʔapuc (seed)
- puciva be ready (used with conjugated form of 'be'). H: uveat makat fr maputsiva (are you ready?); niputsiva nikat fr (I'm ready); uvea ne nikat fr nipuqtsiva (I was ready)
 [may be related to pubci? 'wait for']
- pucul: intensive adverb: very, hard. H: putsuk; nijaw putsuk (I grasp it firmly); putsuk (muy recio [very fast or strong]; = V. tsnapijatus [?i]); nijajak putsuk (I'm sweating a lot); putsuk meta?a? pokt (the road is very long); putsuk aram (he walks recio [fast or strong]); putsuk tsukwa? too salty [of beans]); niwawtak putsuk (! am very tired); R: putsuk, putsuk (firmly, very fast, very); putsuk nipameatu? (I'm very thirsty); putsuk aram (anda recio [he walks fast or hard]); nijaw putsuk (I grasp it firmly); juajrak putsuk (it is very wet); ZN: ?á·wi· pútsuk ([apparently = 'she yells a lot'])

pučahk — play ball (gen.), V. H: putrahk, putgahk, putgraqk,
putgraqk (play ball—baseball, piaque, shinny)
ca-pučahk-ič (hort.). H: tsaputgraqk (let's play ball/piaque)
pučahk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: a ball game). H: putgraqkinits
pučahk-in-ihwa?-t (inst. nom.: shinny stick or playground).
H: putrahkinihwat, putgraqkinihwa?t; niniw
putgraqkinihwa?t (my ball or stick; = niputrahkiniyana?)

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-pučahk-in-ivana? (poss.). H: -putrahkinivana? (my ball);
niput fraqkinivana? (my ball or stick; = niniw
put fraqkinihwa?t)
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puhci? — wait for or take care of, VT. H: puhtsi?, puqtsi? (wait for); nitak nipuqtsi?, numuaik (I am taking good care of myself); R: puhtsi?, puhtsi? (take care of)

puhci?-mat(fut.). R: puhtsi?mat puhcea?-ič (imp.). R: puhtsea?tʃr

puhcea-ka?y (char.: sheepherder; caretaker. H: púqtseaka?j [Harrington comment re <u>a</u> of suffix: "ε-like"](sheepherder; cuidador)

puhcea-ka?y-iv+ (char. + dec.). R: puhtsea?ka?jva (cuidador [caretaker]—carefully heard)

[unanalized form]. R: puhtsi?vətfr (estaba cuidando [s/he was taking care])

- puhcukuč plant sp.: low, red flowers, used for quelite [edible greens]; made fine pinole of black powderlike seed. H: puhtsukutſr, puhtsukutſr, putsukutſr; R: putsukutſr (edible plant)
 - pucuku-yik (plcnm.). H: putsukujik (plcnm., named after the plant); R: putsukujik (plcnm.: mountain at foot of Chanaco Canyon; but no <u>putsukut (r</u> there now)
- puhea? blow on, VT. H: puhea? (blow on—blow fire or blow out fire)
 puhea?n (imp.). H: puhea?n
- puhk spray water, V. H: puhk (spray (water) (from mouth, whale or human [sic—though whales don't spray from mouth])); R:

 nipuhk (I spray water from mouth, or with hand when ironing);

 apuhk pat fraj (whale blows water)
- puh(-)puču? chase away, V. R: apuhput fru? (lo corrió, he chased children away [sic; means 'he chased him/her away'])

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puh(-)puču?-v+ (past [sic re final vowel]). R: apuhput fru?,
apuhput fru?v+ (he chased the children away from here)
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puh-yi-t — roadrunner, N. H: púhjət, pūhjət

puh-yi-m (plu.). H: pūhjəm

puh-yi-t ?a-tikwiš (plcnm., meaning 'roadrunner's mortar').

H: púhjət atəkwis; R: puhjət átəkwisr (plcnm.; means roadrunner's mortar; only Fustero has known this name)
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puk — take off, VT. H: puk, puk; R: puk (take off clothes)
puk (imp.). H,R: puk
puk-ič (imp. plu.). R: pukat (imp. plu.)
puk-mat (fut.). H: pukmat, pukmat; R: pukmat
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-puka? — crest of quail, poss. H: -puka? a (crest or topknot of quail or partridge)

pukwaŋ — plcnm. of a mountain northeast of Tejon ranchería:

Cummings Mountain. H: pukwaŋ, pukwaŋ, pukwaŋ, pukaŋ, pukaŋ, pukwaŋ elbow
[point]'] (plcnm. of a mountain—big one northeast of rancheria
here, above Eug.); R: pukaŋ (plcnm. of a mountain; can see ocean
from its top); ZS: pukwaŋ (Cummings Mountain); ZN: pukwa (ng)ŋ
(Cummings Mountain (1))

pumu-c — shoulder, N. H: pumuts

pumu-m (plu.). H: pumum

puh-pumu-c (redup.). H: puhpumuts (another plu.)

-pumu (poss.). H: -pumu; K: a-pumu ([his/her] shoulder)

-pumu-vea (loc. poss.). H: ptm twea

[cf. pomo 'shoulder']

pumuk, punuk [cf. umuk, pronoun emphasizer]

```
punihn-ik? — go around something (e.g. the house), V. H: ponihinak,
   junihimk; R: punihimk, punihimk (go around; dar vueltas [make
   laps; the focal point of subject's path is the object])
      punihn-k (V: make go around; also, make a carrying ring). H:
         punink (make somebody or a horse go around); punink (make
         a carrying ring [for carrying basket on head], or any ring);
         ?apinink (carrying ring [sic, but apparently this is verbal
         form: s/he makes a carrying ring"]); niTyuy nipunink (I am
         going to make a carrying ring [NB glides in proximate fut.
         auxiliary]); R: punink (coil a rope; make person or horse go
         around); ?uveapunink (it's already coiled [stem used as V
         with prefix elided, or used as Adj.?])
      punin-mat (fut.). H: puninmat
      punin-in-i-c (pass. nom. of caus.: carrying ring). H:
         puninkinits
      punin-in-i-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
      punin-k-in-i-v+ (poss. [-v+ unexplained]). H: -puninkiniva
punita? -- play game, V. (gen.). H: punita?, punita? (play a game
  (any game)); tsapunita? pavutataj (let's [actually 'we'] play
```

punite? — play game, V. (gen.). H: punite?, punite? (play a game (any game)); tsepunite? pevutetej (let's [actually 'we'] play with an oak puffbail); tsepunite pevutet (let's play ball [this one looks more hort., even without plural imp. clitic, because no object marking on object])

ca-punita?-č (hort.). H: tsapunita?t∫ īhajtsaj (let's play (chilecote game))

punita-t (a game [absence of <u>?</u> unexplained]). H: punitat (a game; = V. <u>toko?j</u>); punitat (buckskin ring in ring and pole game—4'5" in diam.)

punita-m (plu.). H: punitam

punita?-ihwa?-t (inst. nom.: stick used in ring and pole game; spear). H: punita?jhwat (= V. tokojmu; also call the spear thus); punita?jhwat kut [rat (the stick used in ring and pole game); nawpay ni?an punita?j-hwa?taj (I don't understand that game [Harrington's mis-segmentation])

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punuk, pumuk — cf. <u>umuk</u>, pronoun emphasizer; cf. chapter II, section C. H,R: punuk ahipak (he died alone) [and many other examples]
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punuk — [mng. unclear]. H: kwatse?n, punuk avo?rak (make more fire so that it will boil)
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pupuvo-č — bird sp., that cries at night. H: pupuvot fr (pájaro llorón; cries like child at night)
pupovo-m (plu.). H: púpuvom
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purahk-ik? — come out, go out, set out for a place, VI. H: puraκοκ, purakok, puraqok, puraqok; puraqok ipeaj (leave here); R: puraqok (go out of something)

purahk-ik-mat (fut.). H: puraκəκmat; R: purakəkmat; puraqəkmat

purahkk-uvu? ? (past). R: puraqkuvu?

purahk (imp.). H: purahk; R: puraqk, purahk

purahk-ič (plu. imp.). R: puraqkətſr, purahkətſr (imp. plu. "to 2 plus" [sic])

purahk-k? (VT: put out; stick out). H: puraqk (put out or stick out belly or tongue; apuraqk kakawaat (ya está sacando la gallina [the hen is already producing], the hen is already having her chickens hatch out [or, per Span. gloss, 'laying her eggs'?]); R: puraqk (take out [example is: niqavantun, uveahpea nipuraqk (yo estoy enjabonado la ropa, mañana lo voy a sacar [l'm soaping up the clothes; tomorrow l'll take it out]))

purahk-k-i? (part.?). M: ah-poo'-vhak kuk'-kennye-hon' (spirit or soul after leaving body)
purahk-ki? (imp. of VT). H: puragki

purawe? [mng. unclear; plant sp.?]. H: ptrawe? (güico [mng. in Guatemala and Honduras: squash sp.])

purawe?-m (plu.). H: ptrawe?m

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purewi? — lamb, N.
      purewi?-yam (plu.). H: purewa?jam; purewa?jam, hawkup
         ia? its (una partida de borregos [a flock of lambs?])
      [cf. yurewi? 'lamb'; < Span. "borrego"]
purikaw - string beads, V. H: purikaw (make a chain of beads;
   string beads)
      purikaw (imp.). H: purikaw
      purika-ič (imp. plu.). H: purikaats
      purikaw-vu? (past). H: nipurikawvu? uvea
      purikaw-n-i-c (pass. nom.: a chain of beads). H: purikawnits
      purikaw-n-i-m (plu.). H: purikawnim
purpur - worm sp.: inchworm? H: púpur (worm sp.-guzanito [little
   worm]; same appearance and color as campamocha [walking
   stick], but walks reaching front part of body far forward and
   grabs on and then pulls back end of body [drawing looks like
   inchworm])
     purpur-yam (plu.). H: púrpurjam
puru?(-)pa(-)č — plcnm. of a waterfall on Kern River. H: puru?patfr
  (the falls of Kern [? illeg.] River; means the water falls); R:
  puru?pat fr ((no.1) falls of Kern River; = Tej. konnow?ilk?in?)
put an - bird sp. H: putan, put an (gallineta [sandpiper; ruffed
  grouse; guinea hen]); R: putan (gallineta)
     putan-yam (plu.). H: putan jam
     Pa-pa-o-vea putan (plcnm.: bird sp. spring). H: Papa Povea
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put-ik — get full, VI. H: putak, pulak; ?apulak (mamat) (it is high tide [the ocean gets full]); R: putak (be full)

put-ik-mat (fut.). R: putakmat

Aguage [spring] de los Patos [ducks])

put an (Aguage de los Patos); R: put an apatre a (plcnm.:

- put-ik-uvu? (past). R: pttakuvu?; ?apttakuvu? pač (se llenó de agua ['it filled with water'; lack of case suffix on 'water' unexplained])
- put-k (VT: fill?). H: nip ttk nifritfrave (I have my mouth full of food); R: put k (fill)
- put-mat (fut. of VT [NB: VT drops k, VI does not]). R: patmat (fill, fut.)
- put-k-uvu? (past of VT). R: niputkuvu? (I filled it) put-k (Adj.: full). H: pttk; M: poot'k, poot'k (full)
- putu? hard, tough, Adj. H: putu?, putu? (hard; tough, of meat, etc.); ?uvea putu? (ya está clavado [it's nailed]—literally ya está duro [it's gotten hard]); R: putu? (hard, of stone; tough, of meat); putu? ?ivi? kawnea (this meat is tough); M: poot'-too, put-to (hard)
- pu?uck hunch-backed, Adj. H: pu?utsk
- puvudis bird sp. H: ptwuðis (bird sp; same as jubivu?, but doesn't have black face; "pure s; ð not r)

 puvudis-yam (plu.). H: ptw tðis jam
 [may not be Kit.]
- puvuin picnm. near San Fernando; the cave of a diablo. H: púvuin (picnm. near San Fernando; "Jam. form of F. name" [cf. M: (Vadio) apu?vək kuk-ken nihun]; it is the cave of a diablo [devil])
- puycu? begin, VT (complement, if any, is in obj. comp. form). H: pujtsu?
- puyu all [invariant for ± count, ± plu.]. H: puju; puju(ivi) təvət [raj (the whole world); puju-vən aajn anihniuj (me enseñó [he taught me] all his things [no obj.]); pəjāhjək puju (they all "finished" [re extinction of certain tribes]); pujum alsajunu? ("todos los (2)

van a respetar ['both are going to respect'?]); pəku?mək puju (they are all face down); pujpəkumək (all face down); puju tamo?avea (todos los inviernos [every winter]); tsamaqpat [r puju (God); R: puju ni?o? (all my bones); puju nitaqtaqa? (all my body); puju kikam (all the capitanes [chiefs]); puju tākatam (all the people); ZS: puyu (all); M: po-yo-too'-was, poo'-yoom-hoo (we (plural) [sic—apparently 'all of you'], poo-yu-tū'-vahts (the whole world); poon-yu-poo-yu (theirs (plural)); poo'-yu-poon'-yu (they or them (plural)); poo'-yu poo'hoo hung'-oo (you (plural) [sic; perh. 'all their languages'?]); K: buyu

-puyu (poss.: friend). H: nipuju, nipuja [one token only—and difficult to be sure of last vowel; stress anomalous—may be a greeting, with extra stress]; "no absolute form for -puju, amigo [friend"; ZN: nipuyu (my friend); M: nepoo'yu, ne'-poo-yu (friend)

-puh-puyu-m (plu. poss.). H: nipuhpujum, nipuhpujum (plu. [friends]); puju nipuhpujum (all my friends)

puyuciwamin — plcnm.? R: pujutsiwaman (Ojo de la Vaca; Neenach) [cf. also <u>pwičiwamin</u> 'placename'; inconsistent segments and gliding between the two entries suggest a borrowing]

puyumaki — clay of a certain type? [maybe 'alum' (J. Johnson, p.c.)]. H: pújumakə (= V. ajip; [clay of a certain type?] "they got it from beneath the water—they got it up by the Tule, dove into a river ... man grasped a handful at bottom and brought it to surface. There was white ajip and also coloradito [reddish] and bayito [bay (yellowish-white)]")

pwičiwamin — plcnm.: lake at place called El Ojo de la Vaca in Span., Neenach in American. H: pwit [iwaman [cf. puyuciwamin 'placename']

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rakwik -- chew, V. H: rakwak, rakwak, rakwak
 ra?upk — green, Adj. H: ra?upk (green; it is green); patfr ra?upk
    (green water); R: ra?upk; ZS,ZN: rá?Bk (green); M: rah'-oo'pk,
    rah'-op-kik (green); rah-oo'pk (raw)
 ravano? — radish, N. H: ravano?
       [< Span. "rábano"]</pre>
 ra?wh-k — set something down; seat oneself, V. H: ra?wk (set
    something down, seat oneself); R: ra?wk (set; sit)
      ra?wh-k-mat (fut.). H,R: ra?wkmat
      ra?wh-ik (VI: be sitting). H: ra?whak (be sitting already); R:
         ra?whak (be set [of ink bottle on table]; be seated [i.e.,
      ra?wh-ik-mat (fut.). R: ra?whakmat
      ra?wh-k (imp.). R: ra?wk
      ra?wh-k (Adj.). R: akat fr ra?wk (está sentado [he is
         seated]); K: rogaugatc (sit [ra?wk ?a-kač])
     ra?wh-k-ihwa?-t (inst. nom.: chair or seat). H: rawkihwat,
         ra?wkihwa?t (chair; seat); R: ra?wkihwa?t (chair)
      ra?wh-k-ihwa?-m (plu.). H,R: ra?wkihwa?m
      ?ača-wi-t ?a-ra?wh-k-ivi (plcnm.?: raven's roost). H:
         ?atfrawat arawkiva (= Mar. [marina?yam Serrano?]
        <u>anəpkivə</u>)
relo - clock, N. R: relo
     [< Span. "relój"]
repoyo? — cabbage, N. H: repojo?
     [< Span. "repollo"]
rihir — beans, N. (gen.). H: rihar (beans, including limas; in Cv. =
  Dilogok)
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rihir-t-ay (obj.). H: rihartaj, rihertaj

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[< Span. "frijol"]
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rihv-ik — lose, VT. H: rīvək, rīhvək, rihwək; uvea mij(j)vək pənk [you already lost a <u>real</u> [perh. retroflexion of i hides the []; ?uvea mərīvək / məi(j)vək pənk (you lost—ya [already]—one <u>real</u>)

rihv-ik-mat (fut.). H: rihvəkmat

rihv-k (VT: win [app. a causative, not VI/VT pair]). H: rīvk; R: rīvk

rihv-mat (fut.). (fut.). H: riy mat [NB: devoicing of \underline{v} before deleted \underline{k}]

[same morpheme?]. H: naw niripak (when nobody wins in game)

rikwat-ik — slip, VI. H,R: rikwatak, rikwatak (slip and fall down; fall down)

rikwa-rikwa?i (smooth or slippery). H,R: rikwarikwa?j (it is very smooth, of board); M: rĕ-kwar'-e'kwi (flat)

rio?in — cut, VT. H: "Always use win of cutting a person's hair; rio?in and win of shearing sheep."

rio?in-mat (fut.). H: rio?inmat

rio?in (imp.). H: rio?in

rio?in-i (obj. comp.). H: rio?ini

rio?in-i-c (pass. nom.: what's cut off). H: rio?inits (la trasquila [apparently = what's been sheared off of the sheep])

rio?in-i?a-č (agt. nom.: shearer). H: rio?ini?at [r (shearer)

rio?in-ihwa?-t (inst. nom.: shears). H: rio?inhwa?t (shears;

= wīnihwa?t, = tiqēra?

[non-application of gliding unexplained]

- riva?w basket tray, N. H: riva?w, rivaw (basket tray; big, good for playing walnut dice on; initial consonant can also be pronounced <u>a</u>)
- ri?rik bird sp.? (white). H: ri?rik' (ansara [goose or duck], white, with pico [beak, bill])
 ri?rik-yam (plu.). H: ri?rikjam
- ritiš ear of (green) corn, N. H: rataſr
 [< Span. "elotes"; this gives more evidence for a rule of initial stress: Spanish initial non-stressed syllables are discounted in borrowings]
- ropitk dark brown, Adj. ZS,ZN: rópitk
- roroŋa?a-č bee sp.: wasp or honeybee. H: róroŋa?atſr,
 roroŋa?aſr (large avispa [wasp]; applies to both jicotes [wasp
 sp.] and introduced honeybees)
 roroŋa?a-m (plu.). H: róroŋa?am
 [perh. related to haŋa?ač 'bee sp.']
- rueda? wheel, N. H: rueda? [< Span. "rueda"]
- rukut-k pull out, VT. H: rukutk; R: rukut (pick out [a sliver]);
 rukutk (pull out [e.g. grass or beard hairs])
 rukut-mat (fut.). H,R: rukutmat
 rukut-rukut-k (stem redup.). H: rukutrukutk; nirukutrukutk
 hamataj (l am weeding my garden); R: rukutrukutk
 rukut-ki (imp.). H,R: rukutki
- rupk straighten, VT. H,R: rupk
 - rupk (Adj.: straight). H: rupk; rtpk akat fr (it is straight ahead, opposite here [said of island]); rtpk a?ak (it lies straight on ground); R: rupk; uvea rupk (it is already straight); M: doop'k, roop'-ka (straight [source is Vadio, who sometimes uses d for f])

rur asnea? — peach, N. H: rur asnea? [NB re relation between ea and o] [< Span. "durazno"]

rutatik — be stiff, VI. H,R: rutatak (be stiff [of body])

- s -

santa katarini — plcnm.: Santa Catalina. H: santa katarina (Magd.'s pronunciation of Santa Catalina) [< Span. "Santa Catalina"]

sas — oak sp. [cf. šaš]

satikoy-pea — plcnm.: Saticoy. R: satikojpea [< Chumash <u>satikoy</u> (Applegate 1974: 195)]

sehpe?-ŋ — plcnm.: Sespe. R: seqpe?ŋ (Sespe; cf. maqaqalpea) [< Chumash <u>seqpe</u> (Applegate 1974: 196)]

seresa? — cherry. H: seresa? [< Span. "cereza"]

simana — week, N. H: simana [< Span. "semana"]

sipin? — plant sp.: horseweed. ZS, ZN: sipin (<u>Erigeron canadensis</u>; horseweed; of no use)

- sirihr(-)ik play slide, VI. H: sirərəʔj, siðəhərək, sirəhərək (play slide down a hillside on a hide)
 sirihri?-vu? (past). H: sirərəʔvu?
 sirihri?-mat (fut.). H: -mat
- sirwela? plum. H: sirwela? [< Span. "ciruela"]
- sivisyu oak sp.: Quercus lobata Nel. ZS,ZN: sivisyu, sivis-yu, sivisyu (oak with edible acorn; Quercus lobata Nel.; used in coiled basketry)

 [cf. ševinnacapea 'placename'?]
- siyar(-)in saddle, VT. H: sijarin [< Span. "sillar"]
- -sisi? great grand-relative. H: -səsə? (great grandparent—father or mother of -kukit or -kwari?—or gr. grandchild—son or daughter of -kwari? or -tsu?ri?; doesn't go farther than that)
 -sisi?-yam (plu.). H: -səsə?jam
- su-hanat arrow of cane with stone point, or of hard wood. ZN: su'hanat
 - [< 'arrow' + 'tar'?; cf. <u>šumonot</u> 'arrow']

-sisi?-ivi (dec.). H: -sasa?iva, -sasa?iva

- suka cocking basket of a certain type. H: suka, sūκα (cooking basket; = V. <u>q?i?m</u>, = G. <u>t [umukar</u>; [drawn two ways in different entries: one has a neck and one does not]; very big, but with an open mouth); ZN: sú'ka, sú'ka? (very large coiled storing basket; 3-4' high, 3' in diameter, restricted mouth, with design)
- sukiuvi throw up. H: nirākwak tsivutaj nisukiuvi (I chewed pespibata and threw up)

sumana?(-)ka?y — one-pointed deer. H: sumana?ka?j ([a following k is "e-like"]; prong; una llave; very young deer [apparently a deer so young it has only one point on its antiers])

[perh. a characterizing suffix added to <u>šumanat</u> 'arrow']

syakak — bird sp.: reddish or yellowish with yellowish breast; they come here [Tejón] from the sierra when the snow comes. H: sjákak; ZS: ʃijakak syakam (plu.). H: sjákam

-š-

ša? — defecate, VI; defecate on, VT. H: fra? (defecate); pifra?
kagni?taj (the flies are defecating on the meat); R: fra?
(defecate; "cf. fri? 'urinate'")
 ša?-ihun (des.). H,R: fra?jhun
 ša?-vu? (past). H,R: fra?vu?
 -fra? (nom.: manure, poss.). H,R: afra? (his manure)
 ša?-ik (inf.). H,R: fraj?ik [sic]
 ša?-i-č (pass. nom.: excrement). H: fra?jtfr

-šahi — soup, milk; juice of wood or leaf. H: afrahi, áfrahi, áfrahi; tsivut afrahi, afrahi tsivut (pespibata soup); nihiw áfrahi (my soup); ?afrahi mapits (your breast milk); R: afrahi vaka?t (cow's milk); nihiw afrahi (soup that belongs to me); nifrahi (my breast milk—said by a woman)

[note direct versus indirect possession; cf. chapter IV, section A]

šai? — raw, Adj.? H: nikwa? ʃaɔ? (I ate it raw)

šakwk — hoarse? nasal?, Adj. H,R: frakwk, frakwk (hoarse); frakwk ninoho? (I am—my neck is—hoarse); fakwk anoho? (he

speaks with a twang—gangoso [snuffling, speaking with a twang]—, talks through his nose)

šamin — hurt, VT. H,R: framin

- šamihmik be coated? H: a amahmak nitama (I have acid stuff on my teeth after eating green apricot)
- šanha? ditch. H: \sanqa?; \square anqa? (irrigation ditch)

 šanha?-pea (loc.). H: \sanqa?pea ((go) along the ditch)

 \square anga?-yik (dir.). H: \sanqa?jak (towards the ditch)
- šanyaš watermelon. H: franjafr [< Span. "sandías"]
- šapakay pers. name of a doctor who dances to cure people. H: ∫apakaj
- šara? chop, VT. R: [rara? (chop [obj. is wood])
- šara(-)šara(-)i cracked, part.? H: aʃaraʃaraʔj (is cracked or cracking)
- šariri? trembling, Adj. H: fariri? (trembling [used with 'be'])
- šarork rough (said of surface of stone or beetle's skin). H: farork
- šaš oak sp.: Quercus wizlizerii. H: frafr, (oak sp., with edible yellowish acorn; also the acorn)fraf, faf; ZS: sa·s (oak sp. (specimen)); ZN: sa·s (mountain oak, Quercus wizlizerii A-DC; acorn edible)
- šawmi? shell, sp.: cone-shaped; used as toys. H: fráwmi [drawing on page]
 šawmi?-yam (plu.). H: fráwmi?jam

- šeahk part hair, V. H: freahk
 šeah-mat (fut.). H: freahki (imp.: 'open or clear the way
 ["carrera"]!'; or 'part your hair!')
 -šeahk-in-a? (gen. nom.: the part of one's hair). H:
 -freahkina?
 šeahk (Adj.: astride). R: feahk nimi (I ride [gc] astride, not sidesaddle)
- šeank spread, VT. H: feank (spread (a pile of salt into a thin layer); paw over everything trying to find something)
 šeank (Adj.: spread). H: feank (spread in this way [used with 'be'])
 [perh. this is a misreading of šeahk 'part hair' (or viceversa)]
- šerekvet hawk sp. H: férekvet (hawk sp.—dark, companion of pakihat fr—sings like him)
- šererk split, V. H,R: sererk (rajar [split]) šererki (imp.). H,R: sererki šerer-mat (fut.). H,R: serermat
- šev oak sp. H: šev (where bees are, e[ast] side of bedrock mortar [apparently a tree]); šeyt (oak sp. [constituency abs.?]); ZS: še·Φ ("bilabial f"); ZN: še·Φ, šeΦ, šε·Φ (white oak, Quercus lobata Nec.; acorn app. edible); M: shref, shrev-ve (an acorn) še-šev-y+k (redup. plcnm.). H: ∫e∫evj+k ((no.1) plcnm.: an oak grove at foot of kawitsat men. [mtn.?])

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mat?apoweleowe4); VF: se-vew-gra-cha-pai (Grapevine
    placename)
       [cf. others in -acapea? ?]
 ši? — urinate, V. H: fri?, fi?; afi? kutaj, afi? kupea (he pissed in
    or on the fire); R: [ri?
       ši?-ihun (des.). H: ʃriʔihun; R: ʃriʔi̯hun, ʃriʔihun
       ši?-i-c (pass. nom.: urine). H: ʃiʔts [cf. ši-c 'guts']
      ši? (urine, poss.). H: [i?; R: [i, [i; M: ne-see'
      ši?-ivana? (inst., poss.: urine). H: fri?vaha? (urine-noun)
      [NB: two cases of /i?i/ -> [i?]]
ši-c — guts. H: fits (tripas [guts])
      ši (poss.). H: ji (poss.; "f very [-like")
      ši (obj.). H: \int i, \int i (obj.; "app. = -\int i + i"); niŋət\int rk a\int atrac{1}{2} (!
         cut his navel cord-"navel's bowel")
      ši-win (incorp. with 'pluck': gut, VT). R: ʃīwin, ʃiwin (gut an
         animal, VT); fiwin, fiwin (gut an animal for cooking)
šiča-č — mouth, N. H: ſritſratſr
      šiča-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
      šiča (poss.). H: ʃitʃra, ʃitʃra, ʃritʃra; R: aʔnki məʃritʃra
        (open your mouth); ana?k nifritfra (I have my mouth open);
        K: a-cidja ([his/her] mouth)
     šit-šiča? ? (plu. poss.). H: fritfritfra
     šiča-y (poss. obj.). H: ʃitʃra'j, ʃritʃraj; ʔajuʔjnan aʃritʃraj
        (he slap hollers or whistles with fingers); a kwiotsk
        afitfra'j (he protrudes his lips to one side as he cries);
        matnomahu masitsaj ("porqué no quema tu boca [why
        doesn't your mouth burn?], ca." [apparently should be
        haminat naw mihu mišičav 'why don't you burn your
        mouth?'1)
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-šiča-vea (loc., poss.). H: ʃritʃavea, ʃritʃrāvea; niptt k
niʃritʃrāvea (I have my mouth full); hawkup niniw nita
niʃritʃrāvea (one mouthful)
pɨvɨ-šiča-č (compound: 'cheek-mouth': 'lip'). H:
pəvəʃitʃratʃr
pɨvɨ-šiča-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
pɨvɨ-šiča (poss.). H: pəvəʃitʃra, pəvəʃitʃa
pɨh-pɨvɨ-šiča (plu. poss.). H: pəhpəvəʃitʃra
pɨh-pɨvɨ-šiča-wɨ-t (aug. compound: person with lip sticking
out). H: pəvəʃitʃrawət (jetón, or person with underlip
sticking out)
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šiki?ti-pea, šikitip — plcnm. near Tule Reservation. H: ʃiki?tipea, ʃikitip (a Tule plcnm. by Tule Ind. Reservation; a place above mahatſr kutsi?, meaning rama [branch, sprig] sp.); R: ʃikiti?pu (Tej[ón] language plcnm., by the Tule) [< Yokuts?]

šikwa? — be cold, V. R: nijikwa? (I'm cold); M: nis'-sik'-kwah (I am cold.)

šikwa-t (nom.: ice). H: sikwat

šikwa-to? (VI: freeze). H: Jiķwato?º

šikwa-t yohak (icicle [ice hanging?]). H: (ʃikwat) johak

[error for yushk 'hanging'?]

šikwa-mia-č (compound: ice month [December]). H:

ʃikwamaatʃr (December—month of noche buena [Christmas
eve]—[so-named] because cold, gets less cold after this)

šimi-n — plcnm. [Simi?]. H: simin = sime (= sime [plcnm.; Simi?]); R: simin-na (Simi)

šip-ik — get cold, clot, VI. H: ʃipək; aʃipək aʔətʃ (the blood clots—said of girl with blood before natural time because they are "rompidas" [broken] [mng.?])

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šip-k (VT: chill). H: ʃipk
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- šipk strip, V.? H,R: J̄ipk (strip leaves off a twig; no such word as *ʃipk)

 [cf. <u>šiv</u> 'plane, carve']
- šitu? sprout, V. H: fitu? (sprout—said of plant sprouting from the ground)
 ?a-šito?-a? (poss. gen. nom.: sapling). H: áfīto?a?a
 (renuevo, sapling)
- šiv plane, carve VT. H,R: ʃiɣ, ʃīv' (plane something; smooth with knife, as when making elder flute; "sounds like 'guts'"); R: ʃiɣ (scrape junco [rush] [for making baskets]); ʃiv, ʃiv (plane; labrar [carve])

šiv (imp.). H,R: siv

šiv-ič (imp. plu.). H,R: ʃīvətʃr

šiv-mat (fut.). H,R: Jivmat

šiv-ivana? (poss. inst.: woodworking tool). H,R: Jivivana? (tool--saw, plane, etc.)

[cf. tokšivat 'flint'? . šipk 'strip'? hi?iv 'split junco'? šivavea 'San Gabriel']

- šivara? barley, N. H: fivara? (barley; "in Cv = sewala") [< Span. "cevada"]
- šiva-vea (plcnm.: San Gabriel). H: ʃivavea (plcnm.; San Gabriel, apparently; equiv[alent] of <u>fivan</u>a [Gab. form of name?]; "inf. does not know G[ab.] <u>sivat</u> or that it means 'flint'"); R: ʃivavea (San Gabriel)

šiva-vea-tam (tribename: Gabrielinos). H: sivāviatam,

<code>fivaviatam, fivaviatam, fivaviatam (Gabrielinos—Jam. name; Kitanemuks say they talk ugly); R: frivaviatam (Gabrielino)</code>

[perh. formed on a gen. nominal of <u>šiv</u> 'plane, carve']

- šivivi? cool, fresh, Adj. H: fivivi? (cool; fresh—said of chia, shade)
- šivik blow, of wind, V. H: támea-nu ajīvak (wind that comes before sun rises [sun-from it blows]); tsipk aljīvak [mng. of raised] unknown] (poco hace viento [it's a little windy]—a breeze); jivak (the wind is blowing); káqpijaķahanu? ajįvak (Tulareño wind [wind from the Tule Reservation; or Yokuts wind]—from the north)

kahpišakaha-nu? ?a-šivak (it blows from the Yokuts?). H: káqpiʃakahanu? aʃivak (Tulareño [Yokuts] wind—wind from the north)

šiv-k-a (gen. nom.: wind). M: ah-se'b-koo, ah'-sé-bŏ-ko (windy); ah-sëb-koo (winter); K: aciv kö (wind) -sivki (nom., poss.). ZS: ?asiv-kə (wind) [cf. šivi? 'cold']

- šivoya? onion, N. H: ſivoja, ſivoja; ſivoja?t; R: ʃivoja?t [< Span. "cebolla"]
- šiw plant sp. with onion-like root and blue or white flower, or its bulb; = Span. "cacomite" [mng.?]. H: fiw, fiw; nihotfrmat fiw (I dig cacomite [a flower plant] bulbs when they are some distance apart [NB no obj. marker])
 šiw-t-ay (obj.). H: fiwtaj
- šiwi?kawiyam tribename: the Tübatulabal. H: ʃiwikawijam, ʃiwi?kawijam (the Rio Chiquito tribe—they talk like Angela Lozada; los Monaches; = Tej. sinahalis); R: ʃiwi?kawijam (Töpa?tulapal Indian, Rio Chiquito Indian)

- šiwši?wi bird sp.: large; comes down from the mountains in cold weather. H: fiwfi?wi (bird sp.—comes here from sierra when it snows; quite large; [note by the final vowel: "as in B."]) šiwši?w-yam (plu.). H: fiwfi?wjam [< Chumash?]
- -ši flower [unclear if underlying V or N; usually preceded by apersonal prefix]. H: ájə, ajrə, ajə; ZS,ZN: ?ásə, ?ásə? (flower, gen.); ájə? təvaht[r (the country is in bloom); uvea afrə? (it is already in flower); R: frə? (be in flower), ajrə (its flower; "but frəts 'carpintero, woodpecker'")
 - -šɨ-m (plu.). H: a Jəm (plu.; "L very long")
 - -šɨ-y (obj.). H: ajəj; aja? nehe akiməvən makik, ajəj kəmanitsaj (she brought me a (tied up) bunch of wildflowers)
 - šɨ-mɨa-č (compound: flower month: March). H: ʃəməatʃr (March; means flower month; but <u>frəts</u> 'woodpecker') [does ? distinguish between N and V? (Harrington seems to suggest length of <u>š</u> plays a role]
- šɨʔa-c forehead, N. H: ʃrəʔats; M: ne-su'-ah, ah-soo-ah šɨʔa-m (plu.). H: ʃrəʔam ʃɨʔa (poss.). H: ʃrəʔa
- ši-c, ši-č woodpecker sp. with red head. H: [rəts, [rəts, [ət]]

 ši-c ?a-pao-vea (plcnm. of a spring). H: [rəts apabve a (plcnm.: spring at top of the mountain above a?apea; means woodpecker's spring)

 ši-c ?a-pa?o (plcnm.: a mountain or hill by Joaquin Flat). H:

 [ət] ápa?o
- šika-c shoulder blade, N. H: frakats; M: ah-só-kah (shoulder) šika-m (plu.). H: frakam

šɨm — scratch, V. H: ʃræm

šɨm ? (imp.). H: ʃəmətsi? nitsuŋ (scratch my back [scratch me I itch])

šɨm-ihwa?-t (inst.: scratcher of abalone rim). H: ʃrəmihwat,

ʃræmihwa?t (scratcher of abalone rim—girls wore one on bead necklace during periods and for two months after childbirth; used to scratch body and head)

šɨm-ivana? (poss. inst.). H: ʃəmivana?, ʃræmivana

šɨm-ivana?-č-ay (poss. inst., obj.). H: nikonaka?

niʃræmivana?tʃraj (I wear my scratcher as necklace [NB use of obj.])

- šɨnanami a food of some kind? H: niko? ʃənanami (I am eating tuche[[mng.?]—either kind)
- šipu chain of bead money? H: nifrapu nikam (I make a chain of a string of bead money [why no obj.?])
- širi-c stingy; anus, N. H: farits (anus); frarits ([Harrington indicates length on both vowels doubtful] stingy)

 širi-rn (plu.). H: farim (stingy people [?])

 ši-širi-m (redup. plu.). H: farim, fafarim, frafrarim

 širi (poss.: anus). H: fari (poss.: anus)

 širi-y (poss. obj.). H: apikwk afari (he wipes himself while defecating)

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kut ?a-širi, wahit a-širi (plant sp.: Indian paintbrush [fire's
          tail; coyote's tail). H: kut afari = wahit afari (Indian
          paintbrush, useless plant sp.)
  šɨ(-)šɨv-yɨk — plcnm.: Willow Springs in Antelope Valley. H:
     ∫ə́∫əv¦ək
 šit-k — bald, Adj. H: fratk
       šɨt-šɨt-k (stem redup. plu.). H: ʃrətʃrətk
 šivacici-c — body-louse, N. H: ʃrávatsətsəts
       šivacici-m (plu.). H: ʃrávatsətsəm
       šavacici-m (poss. plu.). H:áʃravatsatsam (poss. plu.)
 šivi? — cold, Adj. H,R: [rava? (it is cold [no subj. prefix]); ZS,ZN:
    cəvə? (cold); H: ʃrูน์və? (it is cold weather); M: su-vah, su-băh
    (cold weather)
      šivi-pea? (loc.?: January/February). H: [avapa?
         (January/February; means it's already cold)
      šivi-t (nom.: cold). H,R: fravat (the cold); R: uvea apahnak
         fravat (the cold (time of this windy afternoon) has already
         passed); H: ahi?nak fravana, ahjotfrk fravat (the paper is
         floating in the wind, the wind lifts it up)
      šivi-t-ay (obj.). H,R: ?u? fravataj (catch a cold)
      šįvį-nį (inst.: with the [cold]). H: ahī?nək frəvanə, ahjotfrk
         fravat (the paper is floating in the wind, the wind lifts it
         up)
      [cf. šivik 'be windy'?]
šona-č — lung, N. H: ſrōnātſr
      šona-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
     šona (poss.). H: nijrōħa (my lungs)
šoyo?k — scowling, Adj. H: frojo?k (he makes a (bad) face);
  ſrojo?k nikat∫r (I make a bad face, scowl, etc.)
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šuava(-)č — wicked, N? Adj.? H,R: fruavatfr (maldito [damned?],
said of dog, horse, or man; "entirely separate word from
frufravatfr 'liar'")
 šuavač (prefixed form: participle?). H,R: áfráavatff
 ([apparently the same word] he's no good—said of dog) [NB:
 head of H slip is spelled with u]; R: frwavatfr (maldito
 [wicked]; bravo [wild])
 šuava(-) pa-č (Rio Bravo). R: frwavatfr patfr
 šuava-yik pa-yik (loc. [NB: case agreement]). R: frwavajak

šuču — bottom; butt end; tuber of a reed. H: ʃutçu, ʃrutʃru šuču (poss.). H: áʃrttʃru ("troncen" [?]); R: áʃrutʃru (its butt end; opposite of wivávk [sic] 'point') šuču-m (poss. plu.). H: áʃrttʃrum

pajak

šuhi-c — genital hair, N. H: fruhit s šuhi (poss.). H: fruhi šuhi-wi-t (aug.). H: fruhiwat [no gloss; apparently a person with lots of genital hair] šuhi-wi-m (plu.). : "plu. -m"

šumana-t — arrow, N. H: frumanat (arrow—of carrizo, toyon, etc.);
R: frumanat (arrow); K: cumanat
šumana-t-ay (obj.). H: frumanataj
šumana-n+ (inst.). R: nimu frumanana (I shot at it with an arrow)

- šun pith, poss. H: á jun (pith of stick); níkuru? á jun (I ram out the pith, as when making flute [NB: no object marker]) [doublet with <u>hun</u> 'heart'?]
- šunišuni? like a snake, Adv. H: [runi]runi? ami (the snake goes snaking along)

- šunumtu? announce a local fiesta, V. H: afrīnumtu? (the captain announces that he will give a frīnumtu? fiesta)

 šunumtu?-i-c (pass. nom.: a certain type of fiesta to which only the local people are invited). H: frīnumtu? fis (a little fiesta made by local captain at which his own people only are invited ... at it the captain announces that in a couple of years he is going to make a wakač; a species of nihinic)
- šušava? tell a lie, V (person lied to is in dir. case). H,R: frufrava?

šušava? (imp.). R: kajh?m ſruſrava? nəjək, kajm ſruſrava? nəjək (don't you lie to me!); kajmatſr ʃruʃrava? nəjək [imp. plu.]

šušava-č (agt. nom., irregular: liar). H: frufravatfr; R: frufravatfr, frufravatfr (liar; embustero [imposter, liar, cheat])

šušum(-)kam — tribename of an extinct tribe. H: frufrumkam

šutki-t — belt. H: frutkat (faja [belt?]); M: ne-sot-kah, ah'-soot-ko (belt worn by man)

šutki-m (plu.). H: frutkam
-šutki? (poss.). H: futka?, fútka?

šuvi? — rub clothes, V. H: \[\text{ruvi? (rub clothes} \text{—on washboard or between hands; "cf. qapapk 'rub buckskin between hands') \[\text{suvi? (imp.). H: \[\text{ruvi?t} \] [NB: \(\text{doesn't prevent elision} \) \]

šwa-t — barn owl, N. H: \[\gwat \text{(lechuza [barn owl])} \]

šwa-m (plu.). H: \[\gwam

šwink — coiled, Adj. H: frwink akatfr hant (the rattlesnake está enroscado [is coiled])

ta — put, VT. H: ta,ta (put; hitch up (a horse); put away); nita pa?pi nitsakaj (I cross my legs); na? nita hu?eahak (I put this man to work); na? nita pat frukataj ahu?eahamat (I put this man to work); numua?ik nita (I fixed the house tidy); R: ta, ta (put, put on); nita awatan (I buttoned it; I sewed buttons on)

tah, ta? (imp.). H: táh, ta? (put on!); ta?a (give that to me, hand that to me); R: ta

tav-i-c (pass. nom., irreg.). H: numua?ik tavits (it is tidy) tav-ihwat kiwiš-t-ay (inst. nom., obj.: pot-rest stone). H: távihwat kiwa[taj

tav-ivana? (poss. inst.: storage place). H: nitarivana? (my trunk, box, shed, etc., where I keep things)

tah(-)an ([mng. unclear]). H: ?əmə? tsukit, amatan nitahan pujuk mahat [ram awəhwət] ram ("yo nunca oía decir que aquí estás enfermo, aquí estás tirado tsukit. Vdes. son cinco viejos" [I never heard it said that here you are sick, here you are [?] tsukit. You are five old men/people] [apparently this is a way of addressing tribal seers])

ta?apu-pea — plcnm. H: ta?apupea (tapo [plcnm.? Kroeber (1925: 897) says that tapu is a Chumash plcnm. meaning 'yucca'; cf. tapoč?]); R: ta?apupea (Tapo ... exact equivalent of kwavaŋ)

tacank — play a women's game with 8 split reeds, V.

tacank-ik (inf.). H: tsami tatsankik (let's play the game of 8 split reeds)
tacank-ihwa?-t (inst.: game pieces for this game). H:
tatsankihwat, tatsankihwa?t, tatsankiwhat (the split
carrizo [reed] counter, or the dice—throw all 8 and see how many fall up; only women played).

taci? - spartk, V (said of fire). H: tatsi?

- taciyaw plcnm.: the home of the wowal people. H: tátsíjaw (plcnm.: home of wówal people [= tacipea 'Lemoore'?])
- tacih-pea plcnm.: the land of the Tachi ranchería at Tulare Lake or Lemoore). H: tatsihpea; tatsipe (Tular lake or Lemoor[e]) tacih-yam (tribename: Tachis). H: tatsihjam (the Tachi tribe)
- taha uncle of a certain type, N, poss. H: tār, tar (uncle younger or older than mother, unlike Serrano; rec. = ní?áhir; no such word as *tāhāts); ZN: tar (uncle); M: ne-tar' (uncle (father's brother)) taha-m (plu.). H: tāham taha-?ivi (dec.). H: taha?ivə taha-y (obj.). H: tāhaj
- tahič-pea plcnm.: Tehachapi. H: tahit pea, táhit pe, táhít pe, táhit pea (an old Kit. plcnm.; = Tehachapi; means place to rest; a bog near Old Town; means like a stopover on journey; people there spoke Serrano; there were people there called Tahicheños, all gone now); R: tahit rpea (plcnm. below town—where the spring was, at thick oak grove; means where you rest a while and then start on your journey); ZS,ZN: taháyčpi (Old Town (west of modern Tehachapi)); VF: te-hech-pi (Tehachapi) tahič-yik (dir.: to Tehachapi). H: tsamimat tahit jok (we're going to Tehachapi)

 tahič-nu? (dir: from Tehachapi). H: tsamimat tahit nu? (we're going from Tehachapi)
- tahtaka? body, poss. H: taqtaka?, taqtaka? (body, bodies); R: puju nitaqtaqa? apakaha? (ali my body was swollen); M: ne tah'tah-kah, ah-tah-tah-kah (whole body)

tahtaka-č-ay (obj.). H: taqtakat [raj; R: taqtaqat [raj (obj.); apahanak ataqtakat [raj (it passed through his body and came out other side)

tahtaka?-ivə (dec.). H: taqtaka?jvə

tahtano - talk, chat, V. R: taqtano, taqtano

- tahu-č snake sp. [gopher snake?]. H: tahutſr, táhutſr, táhutſr (snake sp.—ash-colored); ZS: ta·hu·c (gopher snake) tahu-kɨm-an-i-c (compound with pass. nom.: snake figure). H: tahukəmanits (snake figure—on basket, etc.)
- -tak reflexive morpheme, used with personal prefixes; but invariant for case. H: taκ; R: tak, tak; nitak (myself, obj.); atak (himself, obj.); mətak, mətak (yourself, obj.) "k very k-like" [cf. takat 'person', tahtaka? 'body']
- takaši mushroom or fungus sp. H: tákaji (hongo [mushroom or fungus]—edible, grows on logs, no stem; used to boil them in water)

takašim (plu.). H: takajīm

takat — person, Indian, N. H: takat, tákat, tarkat, takat, takat, takat tamajak, takat tamajak (a person from tamajak); R: takat; tákat (una gente [sic—apparently means "una persona" 'one person']; tarkat; ZS: takat; kuyan takat [tribename?]; K: dagat (person)

takatam (plu.). H: tákatam, tákátam takatam, takatam, takatam, takatam, takatam, ta?qatam; R: takatam, tákatam, ta?katam (plu.; = F. taráqam); ZS: ta·katam; M: tah´-kah-tum, tah´-kah-tăm (people); M: o-wah'-kim tahkaht (an Indian is coming)

- takat-uvu? (with past clitic). H: tákatavu? kútsi? (the dog used to be people); R: tákatuvu? kútsi? (the dog used to be people)
- takatam (tribename: people on the water). H: pavea takat (islander)

pa-č ?a-h+v+-vea takatam (tribename? coast people). H:
pat[r ahavavea takatam

takat-ay (obj.). H: tákataj

mik-an-i?a-č takata-m-a (obj. plu. in phrase: people-killer; murderer). H: makaneatr takatama

?oka-č takata-m (tribename: sand people: Tübatulabal). H:
okatſr takatam (Rio Chiquito people); R: okatſr takat
 (person of Töb. tribe); ZN: ?òkastá·kat (the Tubat.
 territory [sic])

Puvihatam takata-m (old people: the first or ancient people). H: uvehatam takatam

Pa-uva-pea takat (tribename: a person from Castaic Lake).

H: áwvape tákat (a person from Castec)

[cf. -tak 'reflexive' and -tahtaka 'body']

- takat pupil of eye, N. H: takat [minimal pair with taka-t 'person']
- takataka?i crooked, tottering, Adj. H: takataka?j, takataka?j (crookedly, totteringly [used with 'go', 'walk']; R: takataka?j anəm (he walks totteringly)
- takmo?, takmu? -pers. name of an Indian boy. H: takmo?, takmu?
- takoakam the Pleiades constellation. H: táκοaκam [perh. a char. plu. of takwač 'grass sp.']

- tak-t+yt spirit-person who is not here but whom you claim to see. H: taktajt [app. < takat 'person' [shortened] + t+yt'spirit']
- taku?yaw plcnm.: Tacuya. H: tákú?jaw (Tacuya; "José Juan's language called it taku?j only); VF: ta-cu-ya (Salt Lake place); to-coy-ya (Ventura plcnm.) [< Chumash?]
- takwa-č grass sp. that grows to 1' and is used for mush. H: tákwatſr
 takwa-m (plu.). H: tákwam
- tama-c tooth, N. H: tamats, tamats (tooth; "note that these syllables regularly appear long before -ts"); ZS,ZN: tamá-ts tama-m (plu.). ZS: tama-m (teeth of plu. people) tah-tama-m (redup. plu.). H: tahtamam tama-c-ay (obj.). H: tamatsaj
 - tama (poss.). H: tama, tama, tama [used as plu. poss. as well]; naw anatfrk nawhit at ama (the knife is dull [lit., doesn't cut anything its tooth'; NB: no object marking on 'nothing']); R: nawhit atama (it's dull [of knife]); M: netah'-mah, ah-tah'-mah (teeth); K: a-dama ([his/her] tooth) tah-tama (redup. poss.). H: tahtama
 - tama-y (poss. obj.). H: tamaj; aju?jnan atamaj (he grits [plays] his teeth)
 - tama-ni (poss. inst.). H,R: nitamana (with my teeth)
 - tama-wi-t (aug.: sharp). H: nihanea? tamawat tamat (I stepped on a sharp stone [NB: no obj. marking])
 - hiŋ-t ʔa-tama (wild lupine [lit. 'snake's tooth'). H: həŋt atama (wild lupine)
 - kay-cama-c (irreg. compound with mountain: molar). H: kajtṣamatſr
 - kah-kay-cama-c (redup.). H: kajtşamats
 - kay-cama (poss.). H: kajtsama, kajt∫ama

- tama?n sharpen, VT. R: tama?n, tama?n tama?n-mat (fut.) R: tama?nmat [probably related to tamac 'tooth']
- tamavit plant sp. from which awl point was obtained. ZS,ZN: támavit [cf. tamac 'tooth]
- tame? pers. name of a boy named Pedrito Gómez. H: tame?
- tamea-t sun, day, timepiece, N. H: tameat, tameat, tameat, táment (the sun (it's an old man); day); ivi? táment (today); uvea ahurrak tameat (the sun is just coming up-light, but no sun visible yet); uveáqurak támeat (the sun just came up); anieniw ámanak tameat (the sun is going back behind now [mng.: new year is coming?]); R: nihw tameat (my clock or watch; = nihw relo); ivi? tameatmat nijahe (today they're gonna grab me [NB clitic position]); ZS: tamiyat (sun, day); ZN: wánaki tamijat (run, sun! [i.e., 'set'; from myth]); M: tah'-me-at, tah'-me-aht (sun); ah-wo-ruk tam'-me-at (sunset); ah-mi tah'-me-at, ah-mie (today); ah'-hōr-rahch tam'-me-at, ah'-hor-ruk tam'-me-at (sunrise); tah'-me-at ah-koo'-pah (sunshine); K: damiat (sun) tamea-t-ay (obj.). R: nihw tameataj (my watch or clock,
 - obj.)
 - tamea-nu ?a-šivik (wind that comes before the sun rises [from-the-sun wind]). H: támeanu? ajivək
 - tamea-t ?a-mik (the sun kills it; said of sunset colors). H: támeat amak
 - (ya) numuač tamea-t (greeting: good day). H: ja numuwas tameat, numuwas tameat (how do you do); R: (jā) numuasr tameat (buenos días [good day]; how do you do?)
 - ?a-kim-ivana? tamea-t (the east [its coming-inst. the sun). H: akimivana? támeat (the east)

- ?a-ki-kim tamea-t ([mng. unclear]). H: áķiķəm tameat (hace casa el sol ... [the sun is making a house])
 ?a-ma?nik tamea-t (new year [the sun starts back again]). H: ama?nik tameat, ama?nik mots tameat, ama?nik waha mots tameat (New year—means it starts back again)
 tamea(-)nusi(-)m ? (east). ZN: tamyan·usam (east [< 'sun' + 'small, plu.'?])</p>
- tamea?utu-t insect sp. that hisses in trees during the day. H:

 tamea?utut (chicharra [cicada?]; they hiss in tree all day; call
 them this because they are always in sun)
 tamea?utu-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
 [apparently < tameat 'sun']
- tamo-c, tamu-c knee, N. H: tamots
 tamo-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"

 tamo? (poss.). H: tamo?, tamo?o; M: ne-tam'-mo, ah-tah'-mo
 (knee); K: ni-tama ([my] knee)
 tah-tamo? (redup. poss.). H: taqtamo?

 tamo-č-ay (poss. obj.). H: tamo?tfraj; R: nipo?nak
 nitamotfraj (I bumped into it with my knee)
 tamo-pea (plcnm.). H: tamupea (plcnm., < tamu? 'knee-pan'
 [sic]); R: tamupea (plcnm.; means knee-place)
- tamua-vea winter, N. H: támoave; puyu tamo?a·vea (every winter); ZS,ZN: tamwa?ave (winter—Dec.-Mar.); M: tah-mwah'-va-ah (winter) tamua?(-)n-a-t (gen. nom.?: shack, hut). H: tamwa?nat, támwa?nat tamua?(-)n-a-m (plu.). H: tamwa?nam tamua?(-)n-a-t-ay (obj.). H: tamwa?nataj
- tanimakan teach, V. H: tanimakan; na? nitanimakaniva ivi? (I taught this girl [nominal dec. suffix indicates this is really a relative clause construction, 'that-I-taught this-one'])

nah-tanimakan (nom.?: advice, poss.). H: nahtanimakan nah-tanimakan(-)ak (Adj.? teacher, advisor). H: nahtanimakanak nahtanimakan(-)akam (plu.). H: nahtanimakanakam

taoč — thunder; thunderhead cloud. H: táotʃr, táotʃr (Harrington comments "throws light on SLO & V. usage" [Obispeño and Ventureño Chumash?]); ZS: tawč, or poss. táυč (thunder) ?a-naka? taoč (lightning ['thunder's stick']). H: aħaka? táotʃr

tap — meat, sinew.

?a-tap (poss.). H: atap (meat or connective tissue; sinew)

?a-tap-ay (poss. obj.). H: ivij atapaj (this meat, obj.)

tap(-)kat (sinew [difference with -kat unclear]). ZN: tapkat
 (deer-sinew for binding bow)

taparava — loin cloth, N. H: taparawa
taparavi (poss.). H: átápáráva?, ataparava (zapeta [mng.
unclear], g-string); ZN: atáparáwe (the "diaper"—of
cottonwood bark; worn by men and women)
[< Span. "taparrabo"; borrowing perh. accounts for inconsistency in final segments]

tapira? — tuck under belt for carrying, V. H: tapira? (tuck something under belt to carry it)

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tapira? (imp.). H: tapira?
tapira?-č (imp. plu.). H: tapira?tʃr
tapo-č — corral snake, N [species not identified]. H: tapotʃr (corral
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snake—ugly, poisonous)

tapo-m (plu.). H: tapo m

tara — fork, poss. H: tara, tara'

tara-m (plu. poss.). H: taram

tara-ka?y? (char.?: cloven). H: taraqa?j (cloven—said of

deer's hoof); taraka?j (horcón [forked pole][cf. also

tarahu?t]); R: taraqa?j (cloven)

[cf. tarapkak 'two-pronged fawn']

terahu?-t — baby cradle, N. H: térahut, térahu?t (baby cradle; or with q; also = V. ?utinaj [a constellation?]; also teraka?j); ZS,ZN: térahut (cradle); JW: terahut (cradle frame) terahu? (poss.). H: terahu? terahu?tʃraj [NB: the pseudoabsolutive consonant in this possessed object form does not match the absolutive consonant on the non-possessed form] terahu-pea (loc.). H: terahupea; R: terahu?pea (plcnm. meaning baby-cradle; = site of the present Tehachapi

tarapkak — two-pronged fawn. H: tárapkak [cf. <u>tara</u> 'fork']

town)

taravu-pea — plcnm.: a bog 1/2 mile from Tehachapi. H: táravupe (plcnm.—a bog 1/2 mile this side of [west of?] Tehachapi).

tariwi? — wheat, N. H: tariwa?

tariwi?-t-ay (obj.). H: tariwa?taj
[< Span. "trigo"]

- taruhaiš? algae, N. H: táruhar fr (green scum that comes on water ... comes because the water is about to dry up)
- t a šololo plcnm. VF: tash-al-loo-ioo (Ventura plcename) [VCh.?]
- tataknič pers. name of a legendary or myth figure. H: tataknitſr, tátáknitſr (a legendary or myth figure who was a winiwit [shouter] and chief at the bridge and killed or was killed by somebody)

tavatava'ynik — shiny. H: távatava?jnik (shiny; = V. <u>qələw</u>)

- tavi- sunshine? but H: *tavi,*tavit, *tavitfr
 - tataviyat, tataviyam (tribename: Tataviam). H: tátaveam, tátaviam, tataviam, tataviam, tátaviam, tátaviat, tátavjat (tribename: Pujadores); hawkup tataviam (one Pujador); tátaviam (means like those who sun themselves); R: tatavijam (extinct tribe)
 - tataviam-i (plu. obj.). H: nimak tataviam, nimikava woh tataviama (I killed two Tataviams); nimak hawkup tataviama (I killed one Tataviam; < taviak)
 - tavi-yak (plcnm. of a sunny place). H: táviak (a hillside like the one here that is in the sun; their land must be like that); távijak (hillside towards Caliente); táviak (means like resoleando [lying in the sun?]); nikatſr távijak (i live on the Caliente-ward slope); H,R: nihiu nehe távijak (I saw távijak [NB: no obj. marking])
 - tavi-pea (plcnm. of a small place). H: tavipea (means same as tavijak, but used when the place is very small)
 - [cf. tavatava?ynik 'shiny'?; cf. tavihukwa? 'sun oneself', taviya 'talk Tataviam language']

- [It looks like the root is <u>tavi</u>-, and the tribename, like others, ends in -<u>yam</u>; the tribename in -<u>yat</u> may be a back-formation from the usual sg./plu. form.]
- tavihukwa? sun oneself, V. H: tavihukwa?, tavihukwa?a; R:
- taviya? talk Tataviam language, V. H: tavia?a; ahuŋu? atavia?a (he is talking Tataviam)

taviya?-i-c (pass. nom.: Tataviam language). H: tavi(j)a?jts, tavi(j)e?jts
[cf. tavi- 'sunshine?']

tavi-č — buckskin, N. H: távatſr, tavatſr, tavatſr (gamuza [cured chamois, antelope, buckskin]); ZN: távac (buckskin)
tavi-m (plu.). H: távam, távam

tavi (poss., referring to clothes). H: átáva, nitava, nitava (back apron or flap; also modern dress or clothes; cf. tahava [where? can't find])

[perh. etymologically elated to tap 'meat, sinew']

tavun-t — rabbit sp.: cottontail. H: távuqt (rabbit sp.; has white tail like tahoqt does [app. = cottontail] "q is strong in sg."; = V. timew); ZS,ZN: távukt' (cottontail)

tavuh-m (plu.). H: távum

tawciyi? — echo, V. H: tawtsija?

tawhiyik — bump into, V. R: tawqijak, tawhijak; nitawhijak javava? (I bumped into the door)
[cf. po?nik 'bump into']

tawn — spend the night on the road, V. H: tawn, tawn; wovak nitawn, wohea nitawn (he slept twice on the road [sic: 'he'; prefix indicates 'l']); R: tawn (sleep (a night) on the road; can add pokpea or not)

tawn-mat (fut.). R: tawnmat

pawirukum pi-tawn-e (vultures' roost). H: pawirukum patawne (onde duermen los buitres [where the vultures sleep])

- te?lamni?-yam tribename of Indians near Visalia. R: te?lamni?jam [< Yokuts?]
- tičk snap forefinger on one's own or another's forehead, V. R:
 tiʃrk (snap forefinger on one's own or another's forehead; equiv.
 of V. ktəmhə 'shoot pebble with forefinger'
 tiš-mat (fut.). R: tiʃrmat
- tihera? shears, N. H: tiqëra (shears; = winihwa?t = rib?inhwa?t [< Span. "tijera"]
- tilhini plcnm.: San Luis Obispo. R: ti4hini [presumably < Chumash]
- titini-t young boy, N. H: titinit, titinit, titinit (young boy ages 4-14?); ZS: titinit (child); ZN: titinit (baby, gen.); titinit (boy); M: tit-tin-nit (young); te-teen-it (little boy (4 to 12 yr.)); K: didinit (boy)
 - titini-m (plu.). H: titinim, titinim; ZS: titinim; ZN: titinim (the babies of the spring hurist 6ho speak Kit.)
 - titini-t-ay (obj.). H: titi ntaj; ZS: titinitay
- tivao? basket tray, N. H: tívá?º (basket tray, big and broad; = Ser. kiwéva)

- ti if; although? H: paujhun nikamani ta naw nikamanihun (they made me make it, but I did not want to)
 - ti-mek(-)waču? (contrary-to-fact 'if'). H,R: təmekwat [ru? nitsək, aju? me kwat [ru? (if I had stuck him with the scissors, he would have cried); təmekatru? ap nikat [r, naw me kwatru? amək amaj kwihakataj (if I had been there he wouldn't have killed the woman)
 - ti-mek(-)nehe [mng. unclear; another contrary-to-fact conjoining sequence]. H,R: tamek nehe naw áñipak, akatſr mek nehe kīvea (if the man hadn't died, he would still be living in the house)
 - [kwaču and nehe shown to share the same slot in clitic ordering schema; both follow mek]
- ti? roast, VT. H: tə?, tə?; R: tə? (roast on top of coals)
 ti?-a-č (nom.: roasting pit). H: təatç (pit 10' x 3' to roast
 mescal)
- ti(-)api? ši?šu?-ŋa unanalyzable, perh. Gab. H: təapə?

 ʃiʔʃuʔŋa (you are going to burn in hell (if you kill a sleeping deer)
 - [cf. <u>ti?</u> 'roast'? P. Munro reports (p.c.) <u>šiišon</u> as meaning 'in hell' in Gab.; but says the first part does not look Gab.]
- ti?avowi-t sinner. R: ta?avowat ("the w is probably merely a guide" [sic])

 t?a?avowi-m (plu.). R: ta?avowam
- ti(-)?ayn give someone an omen, V. H: ata?ajnavan (it notifies me that I or some member of my family will die, by falling down alive in my path [app. = given an omen, speaking of a bird])
 [cf. ?ayn 'show']
- tɨčak hip-bone, N. H: tətʃrak
 tɨh-tɨčak (redup.). H: təqtətʃrak (plu.)
 tɨčak (poss.). H: tətʃrak

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tɨčak-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: tətʃraktʃraj
[cf. <u>tɨčk</u> 'shove'?]
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- tičk, tičičk push, shove, VT. H,R: tətʃrk, tətʃrətʃrk
 tičič-mat-um (fut. + -2 clitic). H,R: tətʃətʃrmatum (shove
 you, fut.)
 [cf. tičak 'hip'?]
- tɨhmɨk be afraid, be constipated, V. H: təmak, təhəmak, təhəmak (be afraid [can take obj.]); təmək (fear), təhəmək (be constipated); R: təhəmək (be constipated); təmək, təhəmak (be afraid); atəhəmakavən (he fears me); M: ne too'-muk, tĕ-mahk (afraid)

tihmak-it (Q). H: tamaqət tihmak-mat (fut.). H: tamaqmat tihmaka-vu? (past). H: tamaqavu? [cf. timk 'stop up'?]

- tiho advise, V. R: tipho (avisar [tell news]); nitiphoom nehe ([sic—oo] te avisé [l told you, with 1-2s clitic]); nitiphomatum (I'm going to tell you)
 - tiho (imp.). R: meah, naw niput ruhuna hitaj, meah taho (said to inf.'s father by opo?no —va a avisar [go and tell] 1162a); tahotsi? (avisame [tell me])
 - tihw-a? (poss. gen. nom.: news). H,R: taqwa?; akajr nitaqwa? (I have news); hitat mataqwa? (what news do you bring?) [gliding unexplained—may have been misheard]
 - tiho?(-)ač (irreg. agt. nom.: storyteller, gossip). H: taho?atſr
- tɨhokt rabbit sp., with white tail. H: təhoqt (rabbit with white tail; = V. <u>ku?n</u>); ZS,ZN: təhokt' (jackrabbit); K: dü hògu t (rabbit) tɨhokom (plu.). H: təhokom

- tihokt ?a-ho-vea (plcnm. [rabbit hole]). R: tahoqt ahovea; ZS,ZN: tahokt ahov(a) (plcnm.: 'rabbit hole'; 3 mi. SW of ranch)
- tɨhpahač bedrock mortar, N. H: təhpahatfr, təqpahatf; ZS,ZN: təh-pá·hač
- tɨhpi-c loin, back, N. H: təhpits (lomo [loin, back]); M: at-tǔ'-pe,
 nã'-tǔ-pā-no, ah-tǔ'-pe (behind)
 tɨhpi-m (plu.). H: təhpim
 tɨhpi? (poss.). H: təhpi?; M: nit'too-pe (back); ah-toóch-pe
 (back); K: mu -do'pi ([your] back)
 tɨhpi-c-ay (obj.). H: təhpitsaj
 wahi? ʔa-tɨhpi-pea (plcnm.: Los Lobos—White Wolf Spring).
 H: wahi? atəhpipe (White Wolf Spring); R: wahit atəhpipe a
 (Los Lobos, White Wolf Spring)
 - ?a-t+hpi-y+k (poss. dir.: backwards). R: atahpijak ami (el va recolando [he's going backwards])
- tɨhpok-t mole, N. H: təhpokt (topo ciego [blind mole])
 tɨhpok-m (plu.). H: təhpokm ("pokm forms a single light
 syllable" [sic])
- tihpuč hail (said of weather), V. H: təqput fr
- tihti?a be big, V. R: tahta?a (be big, V; Serr. ajāta 'big') tamat ala?a (plcnm.: there is a big bluish rock there)
- tih(-)tikwaka?hea-vea plcnm. R: tə'təkwaka?hjavea [cf. tikwakahyaw 'take shade']
- tihtin send someone something, V. H: tahtan
 nah-tihtin (be in charge, V). H: na?ip ninahtahtan (I am in
 charge here, I am chief of this ranchería)

- tihtivon scrounge around, V? H,R: niteqtevon (I go pepinando cualesquiera cosa [picking at no matter what], like junk man; cf. potin 'pepinar')
- tihti?yma-w get ready, V. R: tahta?jmaw [Harrington slip heading]; tahta?jmaw (present tense; also imp.)
 - tihti?yma-w (imp.). R: tahta?jmaw (present tense; also imp.)
 - tihti?yma-w-č (imp. plu.). R: tihti?jmawtſr
 - tihti?yma-t (gen. nom.: trastes [trastos: furniture, utensils, etc.]). H: taqtajmat
- ti?ičavi-č cloth, N. R: tə?ətʃavətʃ ti?ičavi-č-ay (obj.). R: tə?ətʃavətʃaj
- ti?iriri bird sp.: tildillo [mng.?]; says [[]], to frighten the spirits at the bridge). H: ti?iriri ("no ? heard at end of sg.") ti?iriri?-yam (plu.). H: ti?iriri?
- t+k dig up ground?, V. H: nitək (I stick digging stick into ground where the cacomites [iris-like plant] grow close together to break up ground)
- tikacin plcnm.: a bog or spring on the same arroyo as <u>?apacicing</u>. H: takatsin, takatsin
- tɨkanič wall mat. H: təkanit [r
- tiki-c plant sp.: grows to 1', with white flower, onion-like edible bulb, and corn-like leaf. H: takits, takits; R: takitsr (plant which grows at El Fortin and after which it is named)
 - tɨki-m (plu.). H: tákim
 - tɨki-č pa-vea (plcnm.: Ft. Tejón). H: təkitş pavea,

takitspave, takitspave, takitspave (plcnm.: Ft. Tejón/El Fortín; = V. tapulisto?); means the fruit-water of these plants); R: takitspave (El Fortín, < takitspave); which grows in a bog there; = V. tapulisto?); K: tikitspave (Fort Tejon)

tikiruku? — amphibian or reptile sp.: yellow, 8" long, feared by bathers; called "ajolote" [axolotl, an amphibian; Toro y Gisbert (1964) gives drawing, which suggests the southern California species Pacific Giant Salamander (<u>Dicamptodon ensatus</u>) in Brown and Lawrence (1965: 113), or possibly Foothill Alligator Lizard (Ibid.: 107); but both are described as smaller than 8"]. H: təķiruķu?

tikiruku?-m (plu.). H: təkiruku?m
tikiruku? ?a-ho (plcnm. on El Paso creek a short distance
above the store; means hole of the guico [Santamaría
(1959: 605) gives "huico", a Sonoran term for 'iguana']). R:
təkiruku? ahò

tiki-t — tree sp.: smooth like an alder but as big, with leaf like plum tree. H: taki-m (plu.). H: taki-m

tikoht — pine sp.: large, with 5" long cones 2 1/2" in diam. H:

tikoht; ZS,ZN: tikoht (pine; "or with q [mng. of q?])

mu-mu-yvi-č tikoht (plcnm.: where the pine tree was shot,

on old trail to Santa Barbara). R: mumujvit [r tikoht
(plcnm.; means where they shot the pine tree; the tree is
over by mountain visible northeast from ?iwihinmu [Mt.
Pinos (Blackburn 1975: 345], on old trail to Santa Barbara
which went up San Emigdio Canyon)

tikwaka — shade, VT?

tikwaka-yaw (V: take shade ['shade' + <u>yaw</u> 'grab'?]). H: takwaka?jaw (take shade); ama nitakwakejam (descansar [rest; apparently means 'now I rest there in shade'; ama

- error for ?amay 'now'? -jam error for -jaw?]); R: takwakahjaw (go over and sit down in the shade)
- tikwaka-ya-ici? (imp.: shade me). H: takwakajaatsi? (shade me!)
- tikwaka-i (shadow, shade, N, poss.). H: takwakaj, takwakaj (shadow, sombrillo [sunshade]); átákwakaj? (cradle-hood); mátakwake (ramada, when you are sunning yourself [sic] in the ramada); R: ma?hir atakwakaj (the shadow of the oak); takwakaj, takwakaj (shadow, shade) [this passive nom. suggests an underlying single-stem verb]; M: ăh-too'-kwah-ki (sunshine [sic]); ah-too'-kwah-ki (shade)
- tikwaka-i-c (pass. nom.: shade house). ZS,ZN: tikwakayc (shade house; described in ZN; people lived in here during summer rather than in tule house)
- tih-tikwaka?-hea-vea (plcnm. in E! Monte, at the foot of the mountain; means where people find shade). R: tahtakwaka?hjavea, ta'takwaka?hjavea
- tikwiš mortar, N. H: tikwis, tikwis, tikwis (mortar—small, as in house; basket mortar); tikwis ti apahu? (pestle [apparently a constituency abs. on 'mortar']); ZN: tikwis (portable stone mortar)
 - tikwiš (poss.? [perh. hypothetical form suggested by Harrington]). H: púhjet etékwiʃ (roadrunner's mortar; doesn't know name and location); R: puhjet étekwiʃr (roadrunner's mortar; only Fustero has known this name)
- tikw-k shake, VT. H: tokwk tikw-mat (fut.). H: tokwmat tikwki (imp.). H: takwki [cf_tákoakam_'the Pleiades'?]
- tiltiya tortilla, N. H: titija [< Span. "tortilla"; cf. also <u>tirtiva?</u> 'tortilla']

- tim, tihmes same as, similar to (grammatical category unclear; described in chapter IV, section K) (complement is in abs.). H: təm kutsi? (he looks like a dog); təm nə? (he resembles me); təm auva? təm nə? (his face—eyes—resembles me); wirapki təm haminat nehe məhju (leave the door as you found-saw-it); naw tem (it's not the same); auva? moqk, tem kihutfr (he has blue eyes, he looks like a fish); tem monmonkik (it is like hillocks); təm nipujtsu? (I began it [mng. here?]); təma?p (it's the same); tehmea-vu? (it was the same); tehmat a?pea (it's going to be the same); tem tejt (he looks like a diablo [devil]); tampit fr (describes flower of cotton plant [app. = 'like down']); Patuqtu? putsuk, təm aka?mki? (he's dancing fast, like a crazy man); tahmea apar (he looks like his brother); tam pata? mea apar (he resembles his brother); tsahakaptam (parece [it seems so]); R: jovo?k ivi? nata?, tam tut[r (this cat is black, like charcoal); pata?ap tam (it's the same); tahmea apar (he looks like his brother); tam pata?mea apar (he resembles his brother)
- timamik west? north? H: wiragk nikat fr tamamik (I am facing the west); wiragk nikat fr kitamik (I am facing the east); tamamik, tamamik (= V. mitimot = north (points))
- timaw awaken, V (used both transitively and intransitively). H: təmaw (awaken, VI); nimi təmanik ivi? (I am going to go to wake him up [w vs. Vn sequence not understood; cf. also transitive gloss in fut.]); atəmawvən kakawaət (the rooster woke me up);

R: təmaw, təmaw (awake [same in fut. and past])

timaw-mat (fut.). H: nitamawmat ivi? (I am going to wake this one up)

tima-t-ici? (with Q + 2-1 clitic: will you wake me up). H,R: matamatutsi? uveahpea (wake me up tomorrow, imp. [but apparently fut., not a formal imp.])[loss of w again not understood]

- timea? drive cattle on a horse, as cowboys do, V. H: tamea?
- timina-č antelope, N. R: timinat [r (antelope; eaten by Kit.) timina-m (plu.). R: timinam
 - timina-mu-yik (toward the antelope shooting?). R: pajak wirayk ni?ak tamanamojik (estoy arostado [arrostrado?] con mi cabeza volteado para el norte [l'm facing with my head turned toward the north; is north where the antelope were shot?])
 - Pa-poh-y+k t+m+na-č (plcnm.: a mountain near Chanaco Canyon, opposite Tejón ranchería). R: apoqjak tamanat fr (plcnm.: mountain on Caliente-ward side of Chanaco canyon, opposite Tej[ón] r[anchería], upstream from Pajtsivea)
- timi-t stone, rock, N. H: tamat, tamat; tamat ivi?, tamat pata? (es piedra [it's a stone]); tamatuvu?, "tamativa (it was a stone); ivi? tamat (this rock); pata? tamat (that [proximal] rock); ama? tamat (that [distal] rock); nihanea? tamawat tamat (I stepped on a sharp stone [NB: no obj. marking on 'sharp stone']); kīwaf tamat, wīkihwat tamat (clay pipe); na? nihju ata?a tamat (I saw a big stone [NB no obj. marking]); R: ata?a tamat (big stone, obj.); tamat; puhtsea?tfr tamat ([you plu.] take care of the rock!); ZS,ZN: tamat (rock); M: too-mut, tu-mut (rock); too-mut at-too-mah, tu-mut-ah-tu-ah (big rock); too-mut an-noo-wus-se, ah-noo'-se-tu-mut (small rock (stone)); K: du muu t (rock)
 - ti-timi-t, ti-timi-t (redup.). H: tələmət (plu., incl. pebbles, also means pedregal [rocky place]); tələməm (plu.); ivi? tələmət (these rocks); pata? tələmət (those [proximal] rocks); ama? tələmət (those [distal] rocks); iməj tələmət (these stones, obj. [NB obj. marking on demon. only]); nə? nihju atəhtə?a tələmət (I saw big stones); R: tələmət; pat[rui?m tələmət (the rocks are wet); atəhtə?a tələmət

- (big stones, obj.); puhtsea?tfr talamat ([you plu.] take care of the rocks!); M: too'-tă-mut, tŭ'-tŭ'-mut (rocky) timi-t-ay (obj.). H: tamatay; ivi? tamataj ([this] stone, obj.); R: tamataj
- ti-timi-t-ay (obj., plu.). R: imaj tatamataj (these stones, obj.)
- ?a-havi? timi-t (said of moss on rocks [rock's blanket]). H: áhavi? timi-t (said of green moss on rocks: 'rock's fresada' [frezada 'blanket'])
- timi-mea (accomp.). H: tamamea
- timi-t ?ošan-i-yik (plcnm.: Castro [painted rock]). H: təmət biranijək; təmət biranijək (La Piedra Pintada [Painted Rock]; between Elizabeth Lake and the Ojo de la Vaca; Magd. says = Castro)
- timi-t parokoyta-vea (plcnm. a spring in arroyo between Pastoria and Grapevine Canyons [stone with certain surface feature]). H: təmət parokojtavea (means stone with lid on; water comes out of the crack; [in] arroyo between the Pastoria and Cañada de las Uvas); təmət paroko?jvea (Rancho Viejo [old ranch] between Pastoria and Las Uvas [Grapevine town or canyon]; where the ostriches are now; means hollowed out rock, hollowed so it will catch rain water)
- nanačun-ihwa?-t timi-t (plcnm.: a special stone used to predict someone's lifespan). H: nanatrunihwat tamat (plcnm.: a flat topped stone beneath an oak tree); nanat frunihwa?t tamat (measuring stone; stands upright below an oak on west side of the arroyo just below the second ford below the Fortín; if I am tall and I am below level, or if I am short and my head is above level, I will die soon)
- timi-yik (plcnm.: Quail Lake). H: təməjək, təməjək (plcnm. for Quail Lake, from 'rock'; = V. <u>kaqəp</u>); nə? takat təməjək, nə? takat təməjək, nə? takat təməjək, nə? təməjəkaj (I am a Quail Lake person); təməjək (app. = Quail Lake; = V. <u>kaqəp</u>)

- timi-yik-ka?y (tribename: person from timiyik). H: na? takat tamajak, na? takat tamajak, na? tamajakaj (l am a Quail Lake person)
- ti-timi-yik (a plcnm., probably hypothetical). H: tətəməjək (the pedregal [rocky place] below Juan Lozada's house where split rock is might be called thus)
- timi-t ?ati?a (plcnm. [or perh. not a real plcnm.?]: the big rock above Eugenia's house). H: təmət atə?a (place where the big rock is above Eug.'s house; can get no loc.)
- timk shut, lock, plug up, V. H,R: təmk; M: tum'pk, toom-ke (shut) timki? (imp.). H: təmki? (close it!)
 - timk (Adj.: shut). H: tomk nifritfra (I have my mouth shut); R: tomk (shut, adj.)
 - timki-t (irreg. nom.: lid, door). H: təmkət (lid); təmkət, atəmkə? (door leaf); R: təmkət
 - (stopper—tapadera—general term); M: ah-tum'-ko (top) tim ki-t-ay (nom., obj.). H: tam kataj (lid, obj.); apo?ŋpo?ŋk tamkatay (he is rapping on the door)
 - timki? (poss. nom.). H: atamka?, atamka? (general term for tapadera [cover, lid]); atamka? nihun (lid of my heart [mng.?]); tamkat, atamka? (door leaf); tamka (tapadera [stopper]—general term [poss.])
 - timki-č-ay (nom., poss., obj.). H: atamkat [raj (its lid, obj.); matamkat [raj (your lid, obj.) [apparently refers to a body part, same as <a href="mailto:rai-minital
 - tih-timki-č-ay (poss. redup. nom., obj.). H: mələhtəmkəčay (your lids, obj.)
 - tɨmkɨ-m (nom., plu.). H: təmkəm (lids)
 - tɨmk-in-ihwa?-t (inst. nom.: key). H,R: təmkiñihwa?t

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?a-timk-ivana? ma-hikaw (poss. nom. phrase: the lid of your breath [glottis?]). H: atamkivaña? mahikaw (the lid of your breath—not a real bodypart term)
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?a-timk-in-i-yik (plcnm.). R: atamkinijak (Jam. [Kit.] plcnm.); atamkinijak (plcnm. on El Paso creek; means arroyo zig-zags there [perh. stopping up the flow somewhat; thus the name]); ZS,ZN: atamkiniwayak (Coyote's home in Ranch Creek Canyon [Ranch Creek' and 'El Paso Creek' are the same stream; today it is sometimes called 'House Creek', because of the ranch headquarters there])

[cf. tihmik 'be afraid,be constipated'? cf. tu?mik 'be quiet'?]

tim(-)ki-c — big cave. H: timkits (big cave; = V. mup); JW: Tumkitc (name of a burial cave)

tih-tim(-)ki-c (redup.). H: tahtam kits, tahtam kits (plu.)
tim(-)ki-yik (plcnm.: a spring). H: tamkijak (plcnm. of a
spring; means rock cave [but if compound, irregular]); R:
tamkijak (a big cave like a house on trail from wowopatsr
to La Liebre)

timuhivan — be envious of, VT. H: tamuhivanavan (be envious of me)

nah-tɨmuhivan-iʔa-č (agt. nom.: an envious person). H:
nahtəmuhivaniʔatſr
[cf. <u>tɨmur</u> 'irritate'?]

tɨmuka — day before yesterday, Adv. H: təmuka, tumuka R: tumuka

timupi-c — heel, N. H: təmupīts
timupi? (poss.). H: təmupi?
timupi-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: təmupitsaj

- timur irritate, V. H: to mur (dar asco [cause someone nausea, loathesomeness, fear?])
 [cf. timuhivan 'be envious'?]
- timwat soot or residue from fire, N. H,R: tamwat, tamwat (hollin [soot, residue from fire]; "so called because produced by the smoke")

 [apparently = to [*'rock'] + mwat 'smoke']
- ti?ŋ-ik get deep, VI. H: atɔ?ŋək (the water is encharcado [formed into puddles])
 - ti?ŋ-k (VT: strain, put through a colander, drive in a stake or nail). H: ti?ŋk; H,R: ti?ŋk, ti?ŋti?ŋk (drive in a stake or nail); R: ti?ŋk (strain)
 - ti?ŋ-ti?ŋ-k (stem redup.: drive in a nail). H,R: təʔŋk, təʔŋtəʔŋk (drive in a stake or nail)
 - ti?ŋ-k-in-ivana? (poss. inst. nom.: strainer, colander). H,R: ta?ŋinivaña?
 - ti?ŋ-a? (Adj.: deep (said of water or canyon)). H: tiŋa?, tiŋa; M: toong'-ah, toong-ah (deep)
- tinen? straighten arrows, V.?

 tinen-ihwa?-t (arrow-straightening stone, inst. nom.). H:

 tinen-ihwat; ZS: tinenihwat (arrow straightener); ZN:

 tinenihwat (arrow straighteners); JW: tunganihuat
 (arrow straightener stone)
- tipaka? shade? M: ah-too'-pah-kă (shade)
- tipuck thick, Adj. (said of a board). H: toputsk, toputsk; M: teh-poot's'k (thick [by measure]); tup-pusk' (thick [like mush])
- tipui play peon, V. H: təpuj, təpwi?, təpui?i [note inconsistency of glide formation; suggests this is a borrowing]

 ca-tipwi-č (hort.). H: tsatəpwits (let's play peón), tsatəpuj (let's play peon; we play peón)

?a-tɨpu-i ? (nom.: peón game). H: atəpwi
tɨpui-n-i-c (peón game). H: təpujnits (peón game; NB n)

tipui-n-i-c ? [cf. above entry?]. M: tu-poi-nits (poker)

tirtiya? — tortilla, N.
tirtiya-t-ay (obj.). H,R: tərtija?taj, tərtijataj, tərtija?taj
[cf. tiltiya 'tortilla'; both forms are < Span. "tortilla"]

tišait — stone of a certain type, from the coast; whitish or like blue granite ware; has medicinal powers, protects home from winds and rains. H: təʃaət

tišyit — [mng. unclear: 'dew'?]. H: pamajjat tajjat (dew, low dew)

ti?uh — count, V. H,R: tə?ur

ti?uh (imp.). H,R: tə?ur (count it!); tə?uham (count them! [?])

ti?ur-mat (fut.). R: tə?urmat

ti?uh-ea? [construction not clear]. H,R: uvea nima?j

nitə?thi (I finished counting); uvea ama?jki? atə?thea

(s/he already finished counting); atə?theavəj uvea
ama?jki? (that count is already finished)

ti?uh-i-c (pass. nom.: a counting cycle). ZS,ZN: háwkup ti?uhic (one hundred—"counts one")
[NB: h -> r before clitic, but not before suffixes]

tiva-č - land, earth, ground, year, world, N. H: tivat, tivas, tivas, tivat, ti

an earthquake); pahpa?pi? akat fr tavat fr (the worlds are stacked on top of each other); a ja? tavaht fr (the campo [field or countryside] is in bloom); avo?jək təvatʃr, avo?jək təvatʃr (the earth quakes); awirahrak tawatg (the sun goes back—to east [literally, 'the earth goes back']); pániw távaf tálaveam ("I [of till evidently slurred out here"; the land of the Pujadores [Tataviam]); R: ajuafrak tavatfr (the ground is wet); ZS: tavahč (dirt); ZN: távas avávuk (earthquake [the earth shakes]); M: toowas (tu-was), tu-bats, tu-vats (earth (ground)); ah-wo'-yuk to'was, ah-wo-yuk tu-vaht (an earthquake); K: $d\hat{u}v$ atc (land, earth) tiva-č-ay (obj.). H: təvahtſraj; pəʔaʔajāən təvahtʃraj (they are praying to God-said of custom of ancient men to repeat prayers when you do not know what it means); kəmanitəvahtraj (él hizo la tierra [he made the earth] and the sky too [this construction not understood-does not look like a sentence]); puju təvatſraj, puju ivi təvatſraj (the whole world [all the world; NB obj. on 'world']); R: təvaht∫raj, təvaht∫raj (world, obj.) tiva (poss.). H: lava (poss. [also indirect poss. with -niw]) tiva-vea (loc.). H: nijjān tivahava (l'm looking for it on the around) hiwač tiva-č (next or last [another] year). H: hawajr tavatfr (next year), hawatfgta(?)vatfr (last year); małakim hawatsg tavahtsr (next year [position of clitic not understood-perhaps a sentence fragment?]); R: hawa[r t⇒vat∫r (next year, the other year); M: how-was-tu-was, hu-was-tu-was (last year) Pamayt tiva-č (new year). H: amajt tavatfr ?a-hw-i-vi tiva-č (plcnm.: a big white mountain-or two-beyond Bakersfield, known for kwinač crystal ['thatburned-before mountain']). H: aqwi?və təvaht[r; R: təvat[r

aqwive (name of two peaks of the range back of Bakersfield, covered with snow)

huna-vea pa-č-ay (island [in the middle of the water; NB obj. on 'water']). H: hunave pát [raj távatr

Pa-mi tɨva-č (next year). M: am-mi-tu-bas, am-mi-e-ve tu-vatch (this year)

[NB: if this is phonemicized correctly here, omitting the inconsistently present h, then tivac 'earth' and tivat 'piñon' are minimal pair differing only in abs. suffix]

tiva-t — piñon, N. H: təvat, təvat; á?ohaña? təvat (piñon gum); muits təvat (piñon pinole); təvat manits (toasted piñon); ZS: təvát' (piñon); wərr təvat' (plu.); ZN: təvát' (piñones; roasted in cones in fire, sometimes pounded); M: too'-baht, (pinyon or pine nut); tu-vaht,to-vah'-aht (pine nut (of Pinus monophylla)) tiva-t-ay (obj.). ZS: təvatay

tiva? (poss. obj.). ZS: tava?

tiva-pea (loc.: August, when piñones ripen). H: tavapa?

poht tiva-yik (dir. phrase: Milky Way [path to the piñones]).

H: poht təvajək (Milky Way; means path to the piñones)

tiva-ŋ (plcnm.: a sierra). H: təvaŋ (a sierra this side of Los Osos; = V. [ipo[po]; both names mean piñon); R: təvaŋ (a mountain between Tejón r[anchería] and təmkijək; means piñon mountain); ZS: təváŋ (mountain at Five Springs, E. of Lebec, at SW corner of tract named Tehachapi Mountains); ZN: təvaŋ, təváŋ (mountain at Five Springs, 4-5 mi. E of Lebec; has piñon and juniper on it, in story)

tiva-pea-tam (tribename: Tübatulabal). H: tavapeatam, tavapeatam, tavapiatam (tribe name; the R.C. [Rio Chiquito—i.e. Tübatulabal] tribe; tavatulaban tribe—piñon eaters; the kind of people whose language Juan Lozada's wife talks, V. <a href="mailto:richam-richa

[perh. a minimal pair with tivač 'earth']

tivi-č — lime, N. H: təvīt fr (cal [lime]; for painting grave poles with white stripes)

tivi-yik (plcnm.: Old Town of Tehachapi; also a second place on the Tejon Ranch). H: tivijik, tivijik (Old Town, Pueblo Viejo, 3 miles below Tehachapi depot; means 'lime'); R: tivijik (no.1: plcnm. a short distance below the Cowboy camp; had white earth; = Span. Los Cordovas; no. 2: plcnm. somewhere by tipit(rpea, Magd[alena] says = Tehachapi Old Town)

tivi-t — a certain type of dancer, N. H: tivit (dancer; = V. ?elejewun)

ti-tivi-m (redup. plu.). H: tətəvim (plu.)

tivih-tu? (V: dance the <u>Peleyewun</u> dance). H: ataviqtu? (elejewu dance)

[NB: if this entry correctly phonemicized without the h, then tivit 'certain type of dancer' and tivic 'lime' are a minimal pair differing only in abs. suffix]

- tivo?i-t animal (perh. mammal), meat, N. H: təvo?jt, təvo?jt (meat; all animals; [there is] no word for all birds; "open o—p"); M: ahwah'-ke tŭ-voit (dried meat); tŭ-voit (meat) ti-tivo?i-m (plu.). H: tətəvo?jm, tətəvo?jm
- tivuši? nightshade plant, Span. "chichiquelite": <u>Solanum Douglasii</u> Dunal.; boiled and fried as food; juice used in tattooing. H: tivuji?i (nightshade plant sp.; nesc. "chichiquelite"; they boiled and fried it); ZS: tivoši (plant sp., juice of which used in tattooing); ZN: tivoši, tivoši, tivujsi (plant sp.: <u>Solanum Douglasii</u> Dunal.; juice of leaves used with charcoal from šeo oak in tattooing; the needle was a thorn from a cactus sp.)
- tiw name someone, VT. H,R: taw
 tiw-mat (fut.). R: tawmat
 tiw-an-ca (VI: be named something). H: tawarca; haminat

mətəwarea (what's your name?); R: təwarea (be named); qwan nitəwarea (my name is Juan)

tiwapea? — eleven. K: döwapi

- tiy-t spirit; ghost, person that has died, N. H: təjt, təjit ("diablo", spirit person from the land of the dead); tat, təit (the devil [there follows a discussion of pictograph taboos]); M: tooët, tu-ët (the Devil or bad spirit)
 - ti-tiy-m (plu.). H: tətəjm, tətəim (plu.: diabios—people that have died); tətəjm norotam (the old women enterradoras [the ones who did the burying], an office handed down from mother to daughter—only women carried a corpse); tətəjim (old women who do the burying; means 'diablas' [here, this apparently means spirits or dead people rather than 'shedevils'])
 - t+y-t-ay (obj.). H: təjtaj; nihju təjtaj pahavitaj (I saw a ghost)
 - tiy (poss.). H: nítaji?i na?a ("mi diablo" [my devil? my ghost?]); atái (ghost; < táit' 'devil'); atu ?atái ([big?] ghost); atai (his ghost; death to those who see one)
 - tɨ-tɨy-m-ɨ (plu. obj.). H: tátə jmə
 - tiy-pea (loc.: land of the dead). H: tijpea, tijpea, tijpea tijpea [sic: t] (land of dead; hell; across many seas); (ha) tij-t (interj.: "bad word": you're a diablo! "first part just a growl"); tijt mitsu?ri? (your grandmother's a diablo [ghost?]—said when angry); meakor tijt apits (pero es diablo que llegó ['but it's a devil that arrived'? 'but it's a problem that he arrived'?])
 - tiy-t ?a-kuma? (toadstool [devil's hat]). H: təjt akuma?a tiy-kim-an-i-c (compound with pass. nom. of 'make': Yokuts wardance). H: təjkəmanits (Tul. [Yokuts] wardance; devils dancing—3 or 5 nights)

- tiy-t ?a-po (the devil's road). H: tajt apo (the devil's road; $C_V ?a+t inaqkuhut ??i ?alija)$
- tiy-t ?a-pok-pea (the devil's road). H: tajt apokpea (name of hill where old road to Rose Station descended to take the plain; = Span. "Camino del Diablo")
- tiy-t ?a-paca? ?amea (name of the old woman in story who has a basket on her back full of hot tar to throw people into). H: tajt apatsa?amea
- tiyiyi?y drizzle (weather), V. H: tajaja?i
- tiy(-)kur the ring around sun or moon. H: tijkur (the ring around sun or moon—the real old word)
- ti-yu frost, V. H: aləju (the frost is coming); aləju tuka (there was frost last night)

 ti(-)yu-a-t (frost). H: təjuat
- to?-č belly, N. H: to?tfr (panza [belly]); ZS: to·c (stomach, plu. [sic])
 - to?-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
 - to? (poss.). H: to?, to?o, to? (poss.: gizzard, belly); ZN: t.o, t.o. (stomach, poss.); K: a-tò ([his/her] belly)
 - to?-č-ay, to?-y (poss. obj.). H: to?traj, to?traj [NB \check{c} pseudo-absolutive (cf. chapter IV, section C]; to?j
 - to?-pea (poss. loc.). H: ?ato?pea (in his belly)
 - to?-wi-t (aug.: big-bellied person). H: to?wat (panzón [big-bellied])
 - to?-wi-m (aug. plu.). H: "plu. -m"
 - to?-ka?y (char.: pregnant). H: to?ka?j, tó?ka?j ((she is) pregnant); to?ka?j na, na? toka?j (i am pregnant); tokat, tokat (pregnant; another entry says there is no such word in -t)
 - ?a-to?-yik (plcnm.: La Panza [belly]). R: ato?jak-

- toči? snore, VI. R: totfra?; uvea atotfi? (he's already snoring)
 [vowel discrepancy unexplained]
 toči?-mat (fut.). R: totfi?mat
 toči?-vu? (past). R: totfri?vu?, totfre?vu?
- tohiyicin play chilecote, V. H: toqi(j)itsin [Harrington's parentheses],toqijitsin toqijitsin (play chilecote; this is a game similar to marbles; "an F. word"); mətoqjisin ihajts (you play the chilecote game)

tohiyicin-ik? (inf.). H: cami toqifinik (let's play chilecote game)

tohiyicin-ihwa?-t (inst. nom.: pieces used to play chilecote). H: toqijitsinihwa?t (things played with)

toho? — foolish, Adj. H: toqo?, toqo?; toqo? ahunwi?, toqo? ahunwi? (he stutters [talks foolish]); akam toqo? (he makes a fool of him; e.g. says aliqsma [mng.?] instead of puthewu [mng.?] and thus makes a fool of the Mexican)

tohvik — spit on, spit up, VT. H: toqovak, tohavak (spit, spit up, V); atoqovakavan naj (he spit on me)
tohvik-mat (fut.). H: tovakmat
tohvk (imp.). H: toyk

tohvki-č (imp. plu.). H: toykit fr (imp. plu. [NB i; this verb unique in having this inconsistency between sg. and plu. imp.; transcription error?])

tohvk-i-vi-č (pass. nom., with dec.: what's spit). H: toykivat fr

tohvk-i-vi-m (plu.). H: toykivim

toic — tule sp.: a wide cattail with black ear on top; its yellow flour was eaten raw or made into bread. H: toits, tojits, tojts (cattail; wide tule with black ear on top; got yellow flour to eat

- raw or make into bread from ear; flour is called <a href="hipptscaled-hipptsca
- to?iš-peā plcnm. of an arroyo full of hiedra [poison oak?], which the name mentions, running east beyond Caliente. H: tó?iʃpe; R: to?iʃrpeā (arroyo beyond Caliente; means hiedra [poison oak?]); VF: too-ish pai, tōō-ich-pai (ranchería 2 mi. west of Tejón ranch)
- to kiy a tribename: Ventureño Chumash of Tejón. H: tó kija (all V. here are called thus); tokija (what the Tej[oneños] call the coast people; equiv[alent] of Kit. kəʃanihuntam and pākwinipeatam)
 [may not be Kit.]
- to kit plant sp.: islaya, the California wild plum. H: to kit, to kit (islaya—the California wild plum; this is the name of the red, sweet, plum-like fruit of kupiaht)
- toko? skin, N. M: ne-to'-ko ([my] skin)
- tokoko, tukuku tarantula, N. H. túkuku, tók<u>oko</u> (tarantula; it is a <u>pahavit</u>)
 - tukuk-yam (plu.). H: tukuk jam (plu. [length marks seem unlikely—perh. done for affect])
- tokšivat flint, N. H: toksivat, toksivat, toksrīvat (flint tip of arrow, or flint used to lance patient to suck out blood in cure); ZN: tok-sivat (the stone for arrowhead, chipped from red, white, or blue stone); tok-šévat ("making fire by stone striking" [apparently = flint]); M: tok-se'-vat (flint)
- tomate? tomato, N. H: tomate?, tomate? [< Span. "tomate"]

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tonava? — hot season [cf. tunava?]
 to?opan — plcnm. of a mountain. H: to?opan (those who talk
    language of Juan Olivos call [it] 20pnow [a mountain (J. Johnson,
    p.c.)] "most imp[ortan]t")
 toro? - bull. N. H: toro?
 toro-c - navel, N. H: torots
       toro-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
       toro (poss.). H: toro
       toro-m (poss. plu.). H: "plu. -m"
      toro-y (poss. obj.). H: taroj; ninətsrk ajataroj (I cut his
         navelcord)
tošololo — plcnm.: Frazier Mountain. H: tófololo (big range over near
   20pnow [recorded in one place as if it were a Kit. word, this
   word is also listed thus: V. to sololo—a big mountain facing el
   Fortin = Kit. káwitsatll)
      [< VCh. tošololo (Applegate 1974: 198)]
towi-c? - white paint, N. M: Tuh'weets
      towi-pea (plcnm. near Monolith). ZS: to wipa (village site,
         app[roximately] 2 mi. E. of John Marcus' place at Monolith);
         ZN: to wipe
tuah-ik -- walk. VI.
     tuahik-mat (fut.). H,R: tuaqakmat (walk, fut.)
      tuah-tuah-ik (redup.). H,R: tuaqtuaqek
tu(-)č — charcoal, N. H: tutfr; R: tutfr, tutfr (coal-dead or alive);
  ZN: tu'č (charcoal (burnt wood)); M: toot'r, too-tr (live coals or
  embers); K: dùut (coal)
```

tuh-tut [r (redup.). H: tuhtut [r (plu.)

[cf. tuhut, tuhuč 'black paint']

```
tuč — grow up, VI. H: tut fr, tut fr; R: tut fr (grow, of child or plant);
   náwhám atut [r (s/he is still growing); naw uvea átut [r (s/he's
   no longer still growing)
      tuča? (VT: raise a child). H: tut[ra?
      tuča?-mat (fut.). H: tut [ra?matum (raise you, fut.)
      tuč-in-i-t (pass. nom.: older child). H: tut frinit (an older boy)
      tuč-in-i-m (plu.). H: tut frimm
      tuč-in-i-t-ay (obj.). H: tut [rintaj
      tuh-tuč-in-i-m (pass. nom. redup. plu.). H: uvea tuhtut/rinim
      tuč-in-i (part.). H: uvea atut [rini?, uvea átut [rini] (he is
         already big, a big child); M: ut-too'-chen-ne (little boy (4)
         to 12 yr.))
tuh - grind, bother, VT. H: waravkavan attr (he is bothering me a
  lot); R: tur, tur, tur (grind); at uravan (he's bothering me-said in
  anger)
      tuh-mat (fut.). H,R: turmat (grind, fut.)
     tuh-uvu? (past). R: ttruvu?
     tuh (imp.). R: tur
     tuh-ič (imp. plu.). R: tth at [ [this form violates the usual h ~
        r rule of h -> r / word-finally and before clitic boundary]
     tuh-i-c (pass. nom.). R: uvea tthits; tthuts (it's already
        ground [second form an error?])
     tuh-i-vi-č (pass. nom. w/dec.). R: makan pata? tthivat(r
        (give me what's already ground)
     tuh-ihwa?-t (inst. nom.: metate). H: tuhiwhat; R: tthiwhwa?t
        (mill; metate [grinding stone]; "2 before the t is o.k., I
        think. Noticed it in another word but did not write")
     tuh-ihwa?-yik (plcnm., where the old flour mill was just
        above El Paso store ['mill'+ 'loc.']). R: tthihwa?jak
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tuhtu? - dance, gen., V. H: tuhtu?, tuqtu? (dance any
  dance—general term); R: tuhtu? (dance); K: ni-duxdu ([I] dance)
     tuhtu?-mat (fut.). H,R: tuqtu?mat
     tuhtu?-vu? (past). H: tuqtu?vo?o; R: tuhtu?vu?
     tuhtu? (imp.). R: tuhtu? əmə? (dance!); tuhtu? əm (imp.
        plu.—dance ye [sic: no imp. plu. clitic]
     ca-tuhtu?-č (hort.). H: tsatuhtu?tfr (let's dance)
     tuhtuh-yi-t (someone who dances a lot). H: tuhtuh jet;
        tuhtujhat (a dancer [sic]); R: ivi? tuhtu?huat (the man is a
        dancer); ivi? tuhtu?hjət (this man is a dancer); M: to'-to-
        he-dt. tooch-to-hu-et (dancer)
     ?a-tuhtu?(-a?) hunaət (gen. nom. phrase: bear dance). H:
        atuhtu? hunaət, atuqtua? hunat; R: tsamimat tuhtu? jək
        (we're gonna go to the dance)
     tuhtu?-i (obj. comp.). H: apujtsu? atuhtu?j (he began to
       dance); ama?j naw nimirin nituhtu?j (now I can't dance)
     tuhtu?-i-c (pass. nom.: dance). H: kamkitsaj tuqtuits (last
       dance at wakatr Sunday night); tuqtujts (any dance); M: to'-
       to-its, tuch-too-its (a dance)
    tuhtu?-ik (inf.). R: tuhtu?ik
    tuhtu?-y+k (dir.). R: tsamimat tuhtu?jək (vamos ir al baile
       [let's go to the dance; NB: dir. suffix on verb?]
    tuhtu?-hea-vea (loc.: dancing place). R: tuhtu?hjavea
    tuhtu?-n-in (caus.). R: nituhutu?nin nimohaj (I dance my doll)
    tuhtu?-n-in-uvu? (caus., past). R: nituhtu?ninəvə nimohamə
       (I'm going to dance my dolls)
    tuhtu?-n-i (imp., causative). R: tuhtu?nin (make it dance.
       imp.)
```

tuhtutu? — play, V (person played with may appear in sentence in -yik 'dir.'). H: tuqtutu?; naw hamitsam atuqtutu? (I am playing alone [structure not understood: 'neg. someone-plu.? s/he plays']); R: tuhtutu?, tuqtutu? (play); naw hamitsan atuqtutu? (I'm playing alone—without playmate [note change from H: transcription; but suffix/clitic still unfamiliar])

ca-tuhtutu? (hort. [unusual: no imp. plu. clitic]). H:
tsatuhtutu? hunaat (let's play bear [tag]!)
tuhtutu?-ihun (des.). R: tuhtutu?jhtn
tuhtutu?-a? (poss. gen. nominal). H: tuqtutu?a?
tuhtutu?-i?a-č (agt. nom.: playful person). H: tuqtutu?i?atſr

tuhu? — a man who lives like a woman, N. H: tuqu?, tuqu?, tuhu? (an effeminate man; a man who sews, gathers seeds with old women, dresses like a woman; joto [effeminate; but evidently here behavior as well as dress is cross-gender]; "it is curious—in Fern. tuqu? = old woman and in Kit. it means joto"); ZN: tuhu (transvestite)

tuh-tuhu?-yam (redup. plu.). H: tuqtuqu?jam [cf. toho 'foolish'?; < Fern. (plural suffix confirms it as borrowed]

tuhuna — plcnm.: Tujunga. H: tuquna (plcnm.; lots of fleas under the rocks; = Fern. name [apparently < 'old woman'; cf. tuhu? entry, above10]); M: tah-hun'-gah (in Tongva territory; his tribe here also; plcnm.: Cahuenga)

tuhut, tuhuč — black paint, N. H: túhut, túhut fr (black paint, bluish and shiny, made from the pitchy soot of burnt piñon wood, mixed with tutano ["tuétano" is 'marrow'] of deer [another entry says not mixed with tutano])

[perh. related etymologically to tuč 'charcoal']

tui? -try, V (no overt objects, but glosses of 'try it'). H: {ui? tui?n (imp.). H: tui?n

¹⁰ This may be a placename near San Fernando, and used for toloache ceremonies. On p. 1559 of (the Berkeley numeration of) Harrington's notes, the Fernandeño word márifar is described as "the name of a stone up this way from humaliwo [Malibu], and also of a stone up by the hills back of San Fernando (later inf. said in tuhuna canyon). Each of these stones has the form of an old woman." The Fernandeño word manišar recalls Kit. manic 'toloache'; perhaps tuhuna was a place with a manišar stone shaped like an old woman, and so was called 'Old Woman'.

- tuk carry load on back, V. H: tuk (carry load on lomo [loin, back]);
 R: tuk (llevar a manche [to carry on back?])
 tuk (imp.). R: tuk
- tuk yesterday, Adv. H: tuk; putsuk nehe aka?mak, tuk nehe aka?mak putsuk (he got very drunk [yesterday]); R: tuk ne nimi (I went yesterday); tuk ne nipit [r (I arrived yesterday); M: took; K: duk
- tuka, ?atuka at night, last night, Adv., N. H: tuka (last night); tuka nimm (yo ando de noche [I walk or go around at night]); pə́nəm tuka (they andan de noche—like the drunks here); tuka nəmi?at∫r (a girl that anda de noche ['night walker'—prostitute?]; nikw t∫rək tuka (I got up in the night); a iə jutuka (it was frost last night); ivi? aiuka (tonight); uvelu?ka (it's already night); numuwat∫r atuka? (noche buena [Christmas eve]); R: tuka, tuka (at night); ZN: tuka (night); M: ah-too'-kah (dark); ah-too'-kah, too'-kah (night); ah-mi to-kah, to"-kah (tonight)

tuka-y (obj.). H: htnavea tukaj, htnavea atu?kaj (midnight)

- tukavi-pea in the morning, Adv. H: tūkavepea, tūkavipea; tūkavipea (the time when the sun hasn't come out yet; the morning before the sun rises); uveamat nimi tūkavipea (voy ir a madrugar [I'm going to get up early]); R: tūkavipea, tūkavēpea; M: too'-kah-vip'-pe-ah, too'-kah-ve-pe-ah' (morning); too'-kah-vip'-pe-ah (sunrise)
- tuke oak sp. H: tuke (oak sp. that looks reddish on Teh. [Tehachapi?] mountain; has acorn, but not eaten)

- tukuahpač bird sp.: mockingbird. H: tukuaqpatfr (bird sp: cinzonte ["sinsonte" 'mockingbird']; it is pardo [grey, brown, dark])
- tukuču(-)wa-t --- mountain lion. cf. tukut.
- tukuhpa-č bead (gen.); metal; sky, N [could root meaning be 'shiny'?]. H: tukuhpat [r, tukuqpat] (general term for 'bead'; includes or kak, hapa? jt, kukukuhta, tsakaqkik); tukuhpat [r (iron, metal); tukuhpat [r (sky); ZS: tukuhpač (beads); ZN: tukuhpáč (beads); M: too-koo'-pahs (wampum); too-koo'-pas (necklace of shells); K: duguxbav i (sky) tukuhpa-vea (loc.). ZS,ZN: tùkupáve (skyward)
- tukuku, tokoko tarantula, N. H: túkūku, tók<u>oko</u> (tarantula; it is a <u>pahavit</u>)
 - tukuk-yam (plu.). H: tukuk jam (plu. [length marks seem unlikely—perh. done for affect])
- tukumušiva? name of a star or constellation, perhaps the Big Dipper. H: tukumusiva?, tukumusiva?, tukumusiva?, tukumusiva?, tukumusiva?, tukumusiva? (star or constellation; means the cradle; constellation at north, revolving around the north star [Big Dipper?]; Milky Way)
- tuku-t, tukuču(-)wa-t? mountain lion [perh. plain stem is 'bobcat', and aug. 'mountian lion'?], N. H: túkut, túkut∫ ruwat (mountain lion); tukúčuwαt (mountain lion); ZN: tuk·υt (wildcat); tukúčuwαt (mountain lion); K: dugutcuvut (panther)

tuku-m, tukučuwa-m (plu.). H: tukum, tukutfruwam tukučuwit ?a-pa?o-vea (plcnm.: Lion Spring). H: tukutfrawat apa?ove

tukuču?u-t pa-vea ? (sealion). H: túkutru?ut pave (lobo del mar [sea lion])

tukuvi-č — sea otter, N. H: tukuvət ʃ (sea otter; "now extinct")

tukuvi-m (plu.). H: tukuvəm
tukuvi-č varvark (plcnm.?). H: tukuvət [r varvark (means
sea otter is hanging; = [V.] tsiwaja, acc. to Magd[alena]);
tukuvət [r várvark (refers to the hanging down of big
cones from the pine trees; = V. tsiwaja)

tum — morpheme used with question words to construct indefinite expressions.

tum-hit (anything). H: tumhīt (anything; any old thing)
tum-hit-ay (anything, obj.). H: tumhītaj; tsamavi tumhītaj
(Monday ['let's work'])

tum-hami? (anybody). H: tumhami?; tummat hami? nimak (I'm going to give it to anybody [shows tim is a separate word to which clitic can attach]); M: toom-hah'-me (somebody)

tum-hami-y (anybody, obj.). H: tumhamij

tum-haminikit (anyway). H: tumhaminikit numuaſr patſruk (he's a good man anyway—even though he's tuerto [one-eyed or squint-eyed])

tumahan — difficult, Adj.; hard work, N. H: tumahan, tumahan

tu?mik — be quiet, VI. R: tu?mak
tu?mk VT: make quiet). R: tu?mk
tu?m-mat (fut.). H: tu?mmat [sic?]
tu?mk-in-ik (inf.). R: tu?mkinik
tu?mk-uvu? (past). R: tu?mkuvu?
[cf. timk 'shut, stop up'?]

tun — chase, VT. H: tun, tun; R: tun, tun (chase out)
tunin (imp.). H,R: tunin (imp.: chase him!)
tunin-ič (imp. plu.). R: tuninat [r

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tun-mat (fut.). H: tunmat
tun-uvu? (past). H: tunuvu?
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tuna?mi?-pea — plcnm.: Buena Vista Lake. H: tuña?mi?pe (plcnm.: Buena Vista Lake, in the plain west of here; = Seb.'s language tulamni); R: tunami?pea (Buena Vista Lake)

tunami?-yam (tribename: Buena Vista Lake Yokuts). R:

tunami?jam (Buena Vista Lake Indian); ZN: tunami (tribe at Buena Vista Lake, who used boats); tunamijam (plu.)

tulámne (the Yokuts language). ZN: tulámne (the language [at Buena Vista Lake—Yokuts]) [apparently a less assimilated version of this borrowed morpheme than the placename forms above]
[< Yokuts]

tunu-c — breast; chest, N. H: tunuts
tunu-m (plu.). H: "plu.-m"

tunu? (poss.). H,R: turu?, turu?; M: ne-to', ah-too-no
(chest)
tunu?-č-ay (poss. obj.). H: tunu?t [raj
tunu-pea (loc.). H: tunupea (loc.; "'2' disappears here")

tuŋava? — hot season. H: túŋava? (June; July; means very hot); tóŋava? (seed-picking time of year; acorns and all food is ripe); ZS,ZN: tɔʻŋava (summer, August-November)

tunt — tree sp. H: tunt, tunt (tree sp.—the kind of wood used for digging sticks; grows in Tehachapi Mountains)

tur [cf. tuh]

turu?ki-t — lazy, N. H: turtkit; ZS,ZN: turu·kit tuh-turu?ki-m (plu.). H: tuhturti?kim

- tuši?-pea plcnm.: a very big mountain beyond Bear Valley in Kitanemuk territory. H: tuʃipe; R: tuʃri?pea (mountain which juts out toward the plain, called Sierra del Oso in Spanish)
- tutut plant sp.: <u>Ephedra</u> sp. H: tútut (plant sp.: cañutillo [mng.?]; good as tea when you are well); ZN: tútut (plant sp.: <u>Ephedra</u> sp.; tea good for kidneys, and as a non-medicinal beverage)
- tuvi-t plant sp.: a small shrub or grass with edible seeds. H:

 twit (a grass with edible seeds larger than foxtail)

 tuvi-yik (plcnm.: Brite Valley; named after a small shrub). H:

 tuvijik (plcnm.: Brite Valley; mentions a ramita [small shrub] 1' high)

 tuvi-pea (plcnm.: Brite Valley). H: twipea (plcnm.: Brite, from tuvit)
- tuyciw tuyci-pea [mng. unclear]. H: tujtsiw tsujtspe ("what haminats called Tej. No etym." [reference to Tejón? Tejon Yokuts?])
- tyenda store, N. H: wəvəpe tienda (La Tienda del Llano [the store on the plain] = Rose Station = V. heristawajak.ni/piwet/mu)
 tyenda-pea (loc.). H: tjendapea (at the store)
 tyenda-yək (dir.). H: tjendajək (to the store)
 [< Span. "tienda"]

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?u? — take, grasp, V; also catch (a cold). H: ?u?; akwaka?u?a?
  (scalp of enemy, already cut off); R: ?u? (accept something
  which is handed to you; grasp with hand); M: m'yow o-paht'r (go
  get water)
     ?u-?u (redup.). H: ?u?u?
     ?u?-hea (pass.). H: ?u?hea
     ?u?-mat (fut.). H,R: ?u?mat
     ?u?-uvu? (past). R: ?u?uvu?
     7u? (imp.). R: u?
     ?u?-č (imp. plu.). R: u?tſr; u?tſrəm (you all grab them)
     ?u?-ik (inf.). H: ujk, uik; nimiajkutay [apparently ni-mi ?u?-
        ik ku-t-ay] (I'm going to get fire (from another house
        when mine goes out))
     Pu?-ihun (lexicalized des.: 'want, love'). H: Pujhun, Pajhun,
        ?əjuhun; naw aw?ujhun nimi, mutu?mat nimi (he doesn't
        want me to go, but I'm going to go anyway); ni?ujhun (I
        want to grasp; "the ? is slurred out before the j")
     ?u?-ihun-uvu? (past). H: a?əjhunuvu? amajhaj, a?əjhunuvu?
        amajhaj?ivaaj (she loved her dead son)
     ?uy-ka?y (char.: girlfriend). H: aujka?j ([his] girlfriend);
        Pujk (girlfriend; means va agarrar [is going to grasp])
       [shortened form apparently just a variant of longer])
    ?uy-kam (char. plu.: girlfriends). H: aujkam
    ?uy-ka-č-ay (girlfriend, obj.). H: ujkat∫raj
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?ucan — pers. name of a boy 3 years old. ZN: ?ucan

Pucu-č — plant sp.: Rosa californica C. & S.; berries eaten raw and used for women's ceremonial facial paint. ZN: ?ú·cuč
Pucu-vea (plcnm.; means a place with wild roses). R:
utsuvea

?učuk-t — rodent sp. H: út frukt (juanito [squirrel or chipmunk sp., according to Laird (1984: 331)]; on the plain; an animal sp. eaten like squirrel)
?učuk-am (plu.). H: út frukm

?u?-ihun — want, love (lexicalized des. of <u>?u?</u> 'take')

-uk ~ -nuk, punuk — pronoun emphasizer (described in chapter II, section C, Table VI). H: pumuk pa?an (ellos mismos saben [they themselves know]); punuk a?an (él mismo sabe [he himself knows]); əmə? umuk mə?ən (tú mismo sabes [you yourself know]); əmə?ə? umuk ə?ən (Vds. mismos [you, pl., yourselves] know); icam icamuk tsa?an (nosotros mismos [we ourselves] know); na? nuk ni?an (yo mismo sé [i myself know]; *nanuk, *nəmuk); punuk nə? = nə?nuk [illustrates forms as separate word and as suffix]; ?əmə? tsukit naw hinipam umuk, mat nawhinip — muk tsukit, amatan nitahan pujuk mahat∫ram awahwat fram ("call them thus when don't want to call their names ... 'you nunca oía decir que aquí estás enfermo, aquí estás tirado tsukit. Vds. son cinco viejos [tribal seers]" [apparently this is how to address elders who are somehow representative of the myth figure]); ZN: meč kwa?umok (you pl. [yourselves go] eat)

?uli? — rubber. H: uli? [< Span. "hule"]

Pulucar-in, Palučarin? — wrestle or fingerwrestle, V. H: tsa?u lutsarin (hooked forefinger game; same verb means oluchar [wrestle])

?alučar-in-mat (fut.). H: ni?alut farinmat (I am going to wrestle)

[< Span. "oluchar"; the form with initial <u>a</u> may be due to confusion with a Spanish phrase such as "voy a luchar" 'I'm going to fight', which is distinct from "voy a oluchar" 'I'm going to wrestle']

- ?unuamea ? plcnm. east of Tejón ranch. VF: unua-miā) (rancheria 1 mi. east of Tejón ranch)
- ?urukuytat [mng. unclear]. H: ?urukujtat (= V. atuts)
- ?usa-yik, ?usa-pea plcnm. H: tísājak (plcnm.: means like opening; beyond tó?ifpe); R: ufrāpea (plcnm. beyond Caliente; means opening)
- ?ususu? topknot of a bird, N, poss. H: ?ususu?
- ?u(-)?uvea a long time ago, for a long time, Adv. H: u?uvea nə? nijamkəm (I reminded you hace muncho [a long time ago]; "I hve not seen this with future"); R: u?uvea (remote past: hace muncho [a long time ago]); u?uvea akim, u?uveavu? akim (he came a long time ago); u?uvea nipametu? (hace muncho que tengo sed [l've been thirsty for a long time]); ZN: ?u?uve (long ago)
 - [this looks like a reduplicated form of the adverb <u>?uve a</u> 'before'; although there are not other examples of reduplicated adverbs; probably etymologically related]
- -uva? eye, N, poss. H: uva? (eye or eyes); hawkup auva? (he is one-eyed); kwiotsk auva? (she is cross-eyed); auva? tsaka?k (his eye is ladeado [off to one side; perh. means turned out due to muscular asymmetries]; a?nki mauva, a?nki (open your eyes); tam auva? tam na? (his face resembles me [unclear if uva? literally means 'face' as well as 'eye', or if the resemblance referred to in this example is just of the eyes]); R: a?nki mauva (open your eyes); ZS: ?áuvá?, ?a·va? (his eye); mauva? (your

eye); niuva?, niyuva? (my eye); M: ne-o'-vah ['my eye'], ah-ow-vah ['his/her eye']; K: auv a ([his/her] eye)

-uva-m (plu.). ZS: ?auvam (his eyes); niuvam, niyuvam (my eyes)

-uva-č-ay (poss. obj.). H,R: auvat [raj (his eyes)

-uva-ni (poss. inst.). H: a weanavan awvara (he winked one eye at me [winked at me with one eye])

Pa-uva-pea, pa-č Pa-uva-pea (plcnm.: Castaic Lake). H:
áwvape, áwvapea (Castec, Castec lake); áwvape tákat
(Castequeño; person from Castec); pat frawvape,
pátráwvapea, patrawvape (plcnm.: Las Lagunitas; La

Lagunita; lake above El Chinito; = V. ka[tak]; R: awvape a (Castec; = F. atsatsna); pāt fr awvapea (no.1: La Lagunita or Las Lagunitas; no.2 ... [ellipsis Harrington's; the numbers suggest two distinct locations]; awvapea takat, awvapeatam (Castequeño [person from Castaic Lake]); ZN: pačauwap' (Castac Lake, apparently in foreign territory)

?a-uva-pea-tam (tribename: person from Castaic Lake). R: awvapea takat, awvapeatam (Castequeño [person from Castaic Lake])

?a-uva-t (N: round object). ZS: ?auvat [apparently related to 'eye', but -t unexplained]

[NB: this is an unusual stem in that it consistently appears following a vowel-final prefix with no intervening 2; NB: the <u>u</u> glides in the longer forms <u>?awvape</u> and <u>?awvani</u>), but not in the simple possessed form <u>?auva</u>]

Puvacavi — eyelash, N. H: uvatsava

Puvacava (poss.). H: uvatsava, *uvatsavam
[perh. a shortened form of Puva-c Pa-h+v+ 'eye's edge'; this
could explain inappropriateness of plural suffix on 'edge']

?uvas — grape, N. H: uvas [< Span. "uvas"]

?uvea — before, already, Adv. (occurs most frequently sentenceinitially, but also elsewhere). H: uvea, uvea, uve; nijorinuvu? uvea (I plowed [this shows the Adv. can co-occur with the past clitic -uvu?]); R: uvea (adverb: past or already); nimimat, nimimat (I'm going to go); uvea nimi (I'm already on the road [I already went—i.e. left]); uveahtn, uveahtn nimuk (i'm already sick[the -hun is unexplained]); uveamat nimi tūkavipea (voy a madrugar ['I will get up early'; but apparently 'I will go in the morning [soon?]]); ZS: ?uve (past adverb; already); ?uve mukwahkwah, ?uve makwahkwah (you're (already) eating); ZN: ?ave, ?uve, ?uve (past; already); ?uve no nikwayhun (i already want to eat); M: oo'-yah (oo-ve-ah?) o'-ve-ah (before); oo-yah, o'-ve-ah wo-am'-mah [app. ?uvea-vu ?ama? 'long ago, that'] (long ago); wah-ne'-kas num'-woo-was (I feel better [?uvea nikač numua-č]); o-wah'-kim tah-kaht (an Indian is coming); owe-hah'-me sah'-kim (somebody is coming.); o-wah'-kim i'-ahkik (a white man is coming.); wahn-nim'-me, o-ve-ah-ne' me (farewell (I'm going))

?u(-)?uvea — a long time ago, for a long time, Adv. [this looks like a reduplicated form of the adverb <u>?uvea</u> 'before'; although there are not other examples of reduplicated adverbs; probably etymologically related] [this is an independent adverb word, but probably related etymologically to the past clitic -uvu?; perh. also related to <u>?uvihat</u> 'old']

?uveahun [cf. 2uvea 'already']

?uveahpea — tomorrow, Adv. H: uveahpea, uveahpea, úvehpea; R: uveahpea; ZN: ?úvehpe; K: uv api (tomorrow)

?uvihat — old, N. H: úvihat; R: uvihat; ZN: ?úvihat (very old man or woman)

?uviha-m (plu.). H: uviham
?uvehatam (peculiar plural [perh. in a fixed phrase]). H:
 uveahatam tākatam (the first people)

?uviha-t-ay (obj.). H: uvihata j
?uviha?, ?uviha-iv+ (poss. [± dec.]: one's ancestor). H:
?uviha?
?uviham (poss. plu.: ancestors). H: ?uviham

- Puvič tree sp. in the mountains (with long bark like a willow; used to sew piñon baskets; fibers twisted to make petates [sleeping mats]; the size of the willow tree, but with the branches more spreading and leaves like a pear tree; ash colored, with a yellow flower; fruit not eaten). H: @vat[r, twat[r]
- -uvu? past clitic. H: nipo?vu? uvea (it was my trail); nə?vu nipo? (it was my trail)

- V -

- -va? associative suffix. R: nimi niātsitava?, ni?ātsitava?mat nimi (I'm going to go on my horse); nitawhijak javava? (I bumped into the door)

 [perh. a rapid pronunciation of -vea 'loc.']
- vačk flat and wide or circular, Adj. H: vátsk, vātsrk (wide (of stone); circular (of dollar, paper disc))
 vač-vač-k (plu.). H: vatsrvātsrk
 kuča-vač (compound? [perh. there is a N vač from the same stem, not attested in the corpus]: wood tray). H: kutravatsr (wooden batea [tray])
- vaka?—cow, N. H: vaka?, vaka?; nimakmat vaka? (I will kill a ganado [cattle]—cow, bull, or calf, etc. [lack of obj. marking perh. due to borrowed status, though object-marked form in -taj does occur]); nihju apovoj vāka?t (I saw the cattle-kidneys)

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vaka?-yam (plu.). H: vaka?jam, váka?jam
vaka?-t-ay (obj.). H: vaka?taj, vāka?taj; R: vakataj (cow,
obj.)
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vakahkik — a type of bead that the rich Indians had. H: vákaqkik

vank — sweep, V. H,R: vank
vank-in-ihun (des.). H,R: vankiħihun
vank-in-i-c (pass. nom.). H: vāŋ k iħts ('swept'; this is what
one calls the patio); M: bahn-kā-neets (clean)

varavara?i hanging, Adj. H: varavara?j (hanging; = juahk akatſr)
varvark (Adj. [apparently < same root]: 'hanging'). H:
 tukuvətſr várvark (= V. tsiwaja; refers to the hanging
 down of big cones from the pine trees); R: tukuvətſr
 varvark (means 'sea otter is hanging'; = tsiwaja)</pre>

vatk — clap one's hands, V. H: vatk
 vat-vatk (stem reduplicated form with no difference in mng.
 recorded). H: vatvatk
 vat-vatki (imp.). H: vatvatki ?əmə?
 vat-vatk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: name of a dance). H:
 vatvatkinits (scalp dance—but Kit. never had them or took
 scalps; means 'clapping')

- vawl storage trunk or box, N, poss. H: vawl (trunk or box where
 one keeps things; = tanat)
 [< Span. "baule"]</pre>
- -vea, -ve locative suffix: in, into, at; also a derivational suffix which occurs in placenames. H: -vea, -ve; ZS: -ve, -vi
- venta?nu window, N. H: nihju nehe j>van venta?nu? (I looked out through the window)
 [< Span. "ventana"]

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vero? - watercress, N. H: vero?, vero?º (berro [watercress]; it has
    only been here for ten years; first at El Monte)
       [< Span. "berro"]
 vihn-ik — break or crumble, Vi. H: uvea vihinak (it crumbled); R:
    vihinək (break, VI); M: ah'-ve-gnok (broken [it broke])
       vihn-k (VT). H: vink
       ?a-vihn-k-i (part.: broken). M: ah-vin'-ke (broken)
viki, vimiyki — here comes, here come, Adj? H: viki (here he
   comes); a?viki (he has reached the house); viməjki (here they
   come)
      [cf. mayki 'there comes']
violin — violin, N.
      violin-t-ay (obj.). R: violintaj (violin, obj.)
      [< Span. "violin"]
viruhv-ik - rise (of sun), climb (of person), VI. H,R: virohuvak; R:
   viruhuwak (climb—a hill)
      viruhv-ik-mat (fut.). H: virohuvəkmat, viruhuwəkmat
      viruhvkič (Adj.: steep). R: víruvkit fr (steep, of a
         mountain-vs. witsi?k 'steep, of a roof; downstream')
visente? — pers. name. H: visente?
      [< Span. "Vicente"]
vitavei - sugarbeet, N. H: vitavei
      [< Span. "betabel"]
vica? — hit piñones with a stone to shell them, V. H: vətsa?
viseri? — calf, N. H: viseri?
     [< Span. "vecero"]
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- vɨʔya? touch, VT. H: vəja? (touch; pet (a dog)); vəja? (pet, VT) vɨʔy-k (VT: touch, feel). H: vəʔjk; "2 is distinct" vɨʔy-vɨy-k (stem redup. VT). H: vəʔjvəʔjk (be "feeling of something") vɨʔy-ivana? (poss. inst. nom.: feeler). H: vəjʔavana?
- voičk in the position of a stinkbug with head down and tail up, Adj. H: voisk (chinquechado [mng.?]; in stinkbug position; used with katsr 'be'); ákats voisk (he puts head down and tail up [apparently said of stinkbug]) voiš-voiš-k (plu.). H: voisvoisk
- vola? play ball game, VI. H: vola?, vola?a (play game)
 vola?-ivana? (poss. inst. nom.: game ball). H: vola?ivaña?
- vo?r-ik boil, VI. H,R: vo?rak
 vo?r-k, voro? (VT: boil). H,R: vo?rk, voro? [the tokens in the
 corpus allow for the analysis that the first transitive
 form has only liquids as object, while the second has food
 objects; but this may be a misleading coincidence]
 vo?r-vo?r-ik (stem redup. VI). H: vo?rvo?rak
- vo?y-ik shake or wag, VI. H: vo?jək, vo?jək, vojək; avo?jək təvat∫r (the earth quakes); R: vojək, vo?jək (menearse [squirm around]); ZN: təʻvas ʔavɔʻjuk (earthquake; literally, earth shakes); M: ah-wo'-yuk to'-was, ah-wo-yuk tu-vaht (an earthquake)

vo?y-k (VT: shake or wag). H: vo?jk, vo?juk voyoyo?y (VI: shake, tremble). H,R: nivojojo?j (I am shaking or trembling with cold or sickness)

vurewi? — lamb, N. H: vurewa?
vurewi?-yam (plu.). H: vurewa?jam, purewa?jam
[< Span. "borrego"; cf. also purewi? 'lamb']</pre>

wacaca?y — stretch oneself, VI. H,R: wātsatsa?j (stretch oneself; "a?j as usual like e?[©]")

wacaca?y (imp.). R: wātsatsa?j wacaca?y-ič (imp. plu.). R: wātsatsa?jət∫r wacaca?y-mat (fut.). R: wātsatsa?jmat wacaca?y-vu? (past). R: wātsatsa?jvu?

wa?cava? — plcnm. in marina?. H: wá?atsava?a

wacav-ihwa?-t — seed beater, inst. N. H: wátsavihwat,
wátsaviwhat; ZS: wácavihwat; ZN: wacavihwát (seed
beater—like a big spoon made of willow)
wacavihwa? (poss. inst., irregular). H: awatsavihwa? (seed
beater [her seed beater? but usual form of possessed instr.
nouns is -ivana?])

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waci-č — nail [bodypart], hoof, N. H: watsit fr; ZS: watcic, watcic
(fingernail); K: a-watsi (nail)
   waci-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"

waci (poss.). H: watsi, watsi, watsi; taraqa?j awatsi (the
   deer has cloven hoof); watsi (poss. obj. [NB no obj.
   marker]); R: awatsi (its hoof); ZS: ?awatsi [his/her nail];
   M: ne-wah'-tse ['my nails'], ah-wah'-che ['his/her nails']
   (nails)
[homonymous with wacič 'plant sp.']
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waci-č — plant sp.: 2' high, very green, with small, black, edible, bitter seeds. H: wāfsitṣ; ZN: wacič (medicine—pounded, juice put on hair to keep it from falling out [probably this is the plant, not the 'nail, hoof' word])

waci-m (plu.). H: wāfsim

waci-vea (plcnm.). H: wāfsivea (plcnm.; = F. wá?āfsŋa)
waci-vea-tam (tribename). H: wāfsiviałam (people of
 wāfsivea)
[homonymous with wacič 'nail, hoof']

waču? — gnaw, V. H: wat [ru?

- waha [mng. unclear]. H: ama?nak, ama?nak mots, ama?nak waha mots (new year; means the sun starts back again)
- wahan(-)ka?y gull sp. H: wáhanka?j, wáhānka?j (gaviota [gull]; bìg white birds)
- wahea? singe, roast, V. H: wahea? (chamuscar [singe]—said of chicken)

way-ka?y (char. [also inf.?]). H: nimi wajka?j (I am going out into the hills to roast quiote)
[cf. waw 'roast']

wahi? - coyote, N. H: wahi?, wáhi?, wáhi?i; ZN: wáhi?, wáhe, wáhe; K: wahi (coyote) wahi?-yam (plu.). H: wahi?jam, wahi?ijam wahi? ?a-tihpi-pea (plcnm.: White Wolf Spring). wahi? atahpipe; R: wahit atahpipea (Los Lobos; White Wolf Spring) wahi?t ?a-himu-yik (plcnm., meaning coyote's saltpeter). H: Wahi?t ahimu?jak wahi?-č ?a-niu ?a-ši (plant sp.: Indian paintbrush). H: wahi?tfaniu ája (flor del coyote [Indian paintbrush; this form perh. a euphemism for wahi?t ?aširi, below?]) ?a-wiroy-n-ivi wahi?-t (plcnm.: where coyote played the flute). H: awirojniva wahit; R: awiro?iniva wahi?t Pinanat wahi? (another name for coyote-'omniscient coyote'). H: ananat wahi? wahi?-t ?a-širi, ku-t ?a-širi (plant sp.: Indian paintbrush). H: wahit asari = kut asari (Indian paintbrush; means

wahwaca — eight. H,R: wahawatsa; CK: wā' wāt sā (eight)
wahwaca-hea (eight times). H,R: wahwatsāhea; K: wa'watsa;
CK: wā wāt' sā hī' ā we' mā hāch' (eighty [eight times
ten]); we' mā hāch' hā' mūk wā' wāt sā (eighteen)
[cf. waca 'four']

wah(-)waya? — rummage over or scatter, V. H: wahwaja? (rummage things over, so that they are all out of trunk)

wak — be dry, VI. H: a wahk aputsu (the walnut is dry)

wak-an — dry, VT. R: wākan, wākan

wak-an (imp.). R: wākan

wak-an-ič (imp. plu.). R: wākanatſr

wak-an-mat (fut.). R: wākanmat

wak-an-uvu? (past). R: wākanuvu?

coyote's culo [anus])

- wak-i? (VI: be dry). R: nihju awaki? kut frat (I saw a dry stick; o.k. gr?); nihju nehe awaki? kut frat (I saw a dry stick; vs. nihju ne kut frat aj 'I saw the stick'); nihju pawaki? kut fram (I saw dry sticks); wāki? (be dry); M: ah-wah'-ke kar-ne, ahwah'-ke tu-voit (dried meat); ah-wah'-ke, ah-wah'-ke' (dry); ah-wah'-ke ko-hoot, ke-hoots-ah-wah-ke (dried fish)
 ?a-wak-i? ?a-?oka? (plcnm.: Arroyo Seco, a tributary of El Paso Creek above the store). R: awaki? a?oka?
- wak-i-t (pass. nom.: thick). H: wākit (it is very thick-of atole, etc.); M: wah'-keet (thick [like mush])
- waka-č ceremony for the dead, N. H: wakat, waκāt fr, wakāt fr (large fiesta [i.e. ceremony] for the dead, at which mono was burnt); R: wakat fr, wakāt fr; M: wah-kahts', wah-kats (a feast); wah-kahts (ceremonial house)
 - waka? (VT: give such a ceremony—object is person for whom given). H: wakā?
 - Pa-waka-vea nakarakarat (plcnm. meaning chameleon death ceremony). H: awakave nakarakarat, nakarakara awakave; R: nakarakarat awakavea (plcnm. only Fustero has known; means fiesta del camaleon [chameleon death ceremony])
- wakan-pea plcnm.: a hot spring east of El Comanche. H:
 wākanpe (plcnm.); R: wākanpea (plcnm.: a hot spring ca. 1 mi. E
 of El Comanche)
 [cf. wakan 'dry'?]
- wakasi? mouse, N. H: wákasi? (ratón [mouse] such as goes in the house here); ZN: wákasi (mouse)
 wakasi?-yam (plu.). H: wakasi?jam
 wakasi?-t-ay (obj.). H: wakasi?taj

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wakata-t — frog, N. H: wákatat (frog or toad); ZS: wákatat (frog); ZN: wákatat (frog, wife of Coyote)

wakata-m (plu.). H: wákatam
wakata-t ?a-pomo (Stachys albens Gray; frog's
shoulders—use with steam bath)

wakpit — foreshaft of arrow. N. H: wakpit, wakpit (huichuta
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- wakpit foreshaft of arrow, N. H: waκpit, wakpit (huichuta [foreshaft of arrow])
- wama-t cottonwood tree, N. H: wamat, wamat (alamo [poplar]);
 ZS: wamat (cottonwood); ZN: wamat, wamat (cottonwood;
 medicine for broken bones); M: wah-maht (a tree)
 wama-m (plu.). H: wamam
 wah-wama-t (redup.). M: wah-wah-maht (many trees)
 wama(-)nakic (tree sp.: alamillo [small poplar]). H:
 wamanakits (alamillo; straight, grows in arroyos; black
 bark; plu. same)
 wama-yik (plcnm. beyond kutumiyik). H: wamajak (plcnm.
 beyond kutumijak); R: wamajak (plcnm. beyond kutumijak;
 means poplar)
- wana-č wolf, sealion N. H: wánatŗ, wáħat∫r (wolf—of sierra or sea)
 wana-m (plu.). H: wáħa m

wanak-anea? (caus.: make someone run). H: wanakanea? wanak-anea?-mat (fut., caus.). H: wanakanea? mat wanak-anea? (imp.). H: wanakanea?

- wanaypa-c ceremonial messenger of the chief, N. H: wanajpats, wanajpats, wanajpats, wanajpats, wanajpats, wanajpats (one of two messengers of the chief at a certain fiesta—fetches his captain's share of money from the pile; = V. ksen, Tul. winatum); ZN: wanapac (assistant to chief)

 wanaypa-m (plu.). H: wanajpam, wanajpam, wanajpam
 wanajpa-c-ay (obj.). H: wanajpatsaj
- wani-t river, flood, N. H: wanst, warst; R: wanst, warst (river); wanst (flood or arroyo); M: wahn'-nit (ocean [sic]); wah'-nut (upstream [sic]); K: wanü t (stream)

wa-wani-t (redup.). H: wáwamt (plu.)

- wani-pea-tam (tribename: Yawelmani Yokuts). H:
 wani piatam, wani peatam, wani piatam (river people;
 name for jawelmani tribe that lives over by Bakersfield);
 wani peatam (Rio Bravo Indian; = Tej. jawelmani)
- wana-tu? (V: trickle down). H: wanatu? (trickle down [said of melted tar, when looking or equivalent of V. tspilina?at])
- wa?n-k scratch in ground, VI.
 - wa?n-wa?n-k (redup.). H: wā?nwā?nk (be scratching in ground [said of chicken])
 [cf. wank 'spread out']
- waŋaŋaʔy [mng. unclear; relates to discharge], Adj. H,R:
 waŋaŋaʔj nəʔ (tengo purgación [l have diarrhoea? gonorrhoea?
 menses?]; an entirely separate word from -ŋahŋajkamūk)
- wank spread out, VT. H: wank (spread with fingers on basket tray [done to meal, preparatory to winnowing process])
 [cf. wank 'scratch in ground'; cf. vank 'sweep']

- warahv-ik have feet extended out straight and together, VI. H:
 waraqavak; warayk nikat [r (I am sitting on the ground with my
 legs straight out)
 [cf. warayk 'intensive adverb']
- waravk hard, very, really, intensive Adv. H: warayk, warayka?pea (real hard); wara?vk-avan atsuŋ (it made me itch a lot); āwarayk panāmu (they are fighting hard); waray numuatʃr (it is pretty; "I hear no k after the y") waravkavan apahanak (he passed right by me); R: warawk wakatsi makahkaha? (me estás estorbando [you are obstructing me; unclear whether same morpheme is involved here]); waravkavan atūr (he's bothering me a lot); warayk kaka? pata? anotsi? (this [actually, 'that'] baby is complete, with eyes, ears, toes, and all); warayk akwoha?, war pātʃr (the arroyo is disturbed, it is foaming, there is a lot of water [actually, 'it's really foaming, there's a lot of water'])
- wari? emphatic Adv.: 'nevertheless'? 'to no avail'? H,R:
 pata?vu? wara? pokt (that was a trail); poktivu? wara? (era
 trail [it used to be a trail]); akat frkihun wara? (the sick man
 wants to get up out of bed, but he can't); nitin nehe wara? ap
 atsurupak (I chased him out but he came in again); R: na? nipits
 wara amak (I arrived at the time he was killing the woman [last
 two words unclear to Harrington])
- waru?mik break through, V. R: waru?mak (break through, said of irrigation ditches)

- wa?t juniper tree, N. H: wa?t (guata [unclear mng.—Blackburn (1975: 345) translates as 'processed juniper berries'); Spanish term borrowed from Kit.?]; call both the tree and the yellow fruit thus); ZS: wa't (juniper tree); ZN: wá't (juniper); wát?akó?ona (mistletoe on juniper—good for asthma)
 - wa?-pea-tam (tribename). H: wāpiatam (a people down by the Maringayam that inf. heard mentioned)
 - wa?-yɨk (plcnm.). H: wāyɨk (must be the placename for these people; means guata; "notice how the voice approaches a glottal stop at the end of this long ā both before p and j")
 - wa?t-am ki-c, wa?t-am ki-vea (plcnm.: Camulos). H:
 wa?tamkits, wa?tamkits (Camulo—so called because
 there used to be a guata there by the hill); wa?tamkivea
 [an apparent locative without a gloss]; wa?tamkitsr
 (Camulo; from wa?t 'guata')
- waw roast, V. H: waw (roast something)
 - Wa-ik-ka?y ([mng. unclear: about to roast? cf. yaw. yayk]).
 H: nimi wajka?j (I'm going out into the hills or forest or fields to roast Spanish bayonet)
- waw, waw the sound of a newborn baby crying. H: waw, waw
- waw(-)k throw down, VT. H: wawk, wawk (throw down [objects are a wrestler, mule's rider, load being carried]); R: wawk (knock down a house); awawk mula?t (a mule threw him down); awawk kavajo?t (the horse threw the rider)
 - wawki (imp.). H: wawki (throw it away!); R: wawki (throw it away, or knock it down)
 - waw-mat, wawk-mat (fut.). H,R: niwawmatum, maju?iva? (te voy tirar [I'm going to throw you down], si lloras [if you cry]; R: wawkmat (fut.; "k sounds like a faint a")

- wawk-uvu? (past). R: niwawkuvu? (I threw him or it a long time ago)
- wawt-ik be tired, VI. H: wawtak
 wawt-k-anea? (caus.). H,R: wawtkanea? (tire someone out)
- wayniš snake sp. (mythical; perh. also a natural species). H:
 wajniſ, wajniʃr, wajniʃc, wajiniʃc (chirreonera [a word for
 rattlesnake?; chirriado = sizzled, creaked] (snake); colorado
 [colored; red]—poco [a little]; it was a man; one of the seven
 giants used it to replace a deer's cañillo [mng.? "canilla" =
 'shin'], taken by other men to make a noise-maker for the jəvar;
 there is a big one around the shore of the whole earth, which
 causes earthquakes when he moves; "ſ is not ʃr-like—when in
 contact with i it never seems to be")
- weahut stirring stick, N. H: wéahut [cf. wiro? 'stir']
- wean wink at, VT, go somewhere, V. H: a weanavan awvara (he winked at me with one eye); niwean (I'm going there)
 ca-wean-ič (hort.). H: tsaweanat [r (let's go there)
- weh-mahač ten. H: we'mahat; tsolo?t a?atsaκa?j weh mahaſr peso? tjendapea (Cholo owes \$10 at the store [NB consonant change]); R: we'mahatς; ZS,ZN: we?mahač, wé?maháč; M: wā´-

mah-hahs, wā'-mah-hahts (ten); wā'-hā-mah-haht'r (six [sic]); K: we'mahadj; CK: we' mā hāch (ten)

weh-mahač-ahea (ten times). H,R: wehmahat frahea [NB \underline{a}] weh-mahač hamak hawkup (eleven [ten and one]). ZS,ZN:

wé?mahač hámak háwkup; CK: wế' mã hách' há' mữk hau' kừp

weh-mahač (hamak) woh (twelve [ten (and) two]). H: wehmahat woh; CK: we' mā hāch' hā' muk wā(q)'

- weh-mahač hamak pahi ? (thirteen). CK: we' mā hāch' hā' mūk pā hē' ā
- weh-mahač hamak waca (fourteen). CK: we' mā hāch' hā' mūk wāt' sā
- weh-mahač hamak mahač (fifteen). CK: we' mā hāch' hā' muk mā hāch'
- weh-mahač hamak pavahi (sixteen). CK: we' mā hāch hā' muk pā' vā hi
- weh-mahač hamak kwackaveyki (seventeen). CK: we' mā hāch' hā' muk kwāt' kē vī' kō (seventeen)
- weh-mahač hamak wahwaca (eighteen). CK: we' mā hāch' hā' muk wā' wāt sā
- weh-mahač hamak makaveyki (nineteen). CK: we' mā hāch' hā' muk mā' kā vi kō
- woh-hea weh-mahač (twenty [twice ten]). ZS,ZN: wohi we?mahač, wohe we?mahač; CK: wā' hĕl wĕ' mā hāch' (twenty)
- pahea weh-mahač (thirty [three ten]). ZS,ZN: pahi we?mahač waca-hea weh-mahač (forty [four times ten]). CK: wāt' sā hī' ā we' mā hāch' (forty)
- wahwaca-hea weh-mahač (eighty [eight times ten]). CK: wā wāt' sā hī' ā we' mā hāch' (eighty)
- [NB: Harrington records weh-, and Zigmond records we?-, in all forms]
- weravk [mng. unclear; only a single token]. H: no anahunwi? werayk (mute; can't speak)
- we?r-ik set (of sun), VI. H: we?erak; R: werak, werak; M: ahwo-ruk tam'-me-at (sunset) we?r-ik-mat (fut.). H: werakmat

we?r-k-inea? ? (VT: push).
ku?kunič ?a-we?r-k-in-ea-vea (plcnm. where someone
pushed ku?kunič into the lake). H: ku?kunit ſr
awe?rkinjavea

weterere? -practice archery? shoot at target?, V. H: weterere?, weterede? (practice archery, shooting at target)
weterere?-n-?ihwa?-t (inst. nom.: target). H:
weterere?nihwa?t, weteredenihwat

weyeš — ox, N. H: weje (ox; = <u>ámat [rk káreta</u>) [< Span. "bueyes"]

wi — make acorn mush, V. H: wi, wi; ZS,ZN: wic (acorn already prepared as meal or mush)
wi-c (pass. nom.: acorn mush). H: wits, wits; M: weets
wi-c-ay (obj.). H: witsaj

wi? — yell, V. H: wi?, wi?; R: wi? (yell; "cf. wikwi 'to whistle');
ZS,ZN: ʔáwi púcuk (woman who yelled at the dead to go away and not come back—a paid position)
wih-wi? (redup.). H: wihwi? (slap holler—yell slapping hand intermittently over mouth; or just yell)
winiwit [analysis unclear: agt. nominal? habitual actor N?].
H: winiwat (yeller—name of legendary boy; = tataknit [r)

- wi?aht oak sp.: a mountain variety with edible acorn. H: wi?aht, wi?aht; ZS,ZN: wi?aht (oak sp. with big acorns—LXXIV [specimen number?])
- wishu-t masher stick, N. H: wishut, wishut (stick to mash islay kernels in pot—broad with handle, 2 1/2' long)
 wishu-m (plu.). H: wishum
 [cf. wiro? 'stir'?]

- wicacik -- spread out, VI. H: áwitsatsak patfr (the water spreads)
- wici?k down, downstream, Adv. H: witsi?k, witsi?k (down towards fround; downstream; opposite = ōva? 'up towards sky');
 R: witsi?k (steep, of roof; downstream, down-canyon; ≠ viruvkit[r 'steep, of mountain'); nihju witsi?k (I looked down at the ground); ZS,ZN: wicik (down, downward)
 [cf. wick 'irrigate'?]
- wiciram(-)pea, wicilam(-)pea plcnm. of Pampa, below Caliente (later called Vina). H: witsirampea (a place below Caliente); witsilampea lampa [sic?] (below Caliente; now called Vina); R: witsilampea (Pampa, below Caliente, now Vina)
- wicita-t small bird, N, gen. H: witsitat' (bird—any kind of small songbird); ZS,ZN: wišitat, wišitat' (bird); M: witch-e-tah (a bird); K: widjidat (bird)

wicita-m (plu.). H: witsitam; M: wur witch-e-tum (many birds)

wicita-t-ay (obj.). ZS: wičitatay

wicita-mu-hea-vea (plcnm.: a spring). R: witsitamuheavea (plcnm.: a spring; means allá tiraron pajarito [there they threw or shot at the small bird])

wick — irrigate, V. H: Witsk; R: Witsk (sprinkle water on floor); M: witch-ā'k (downstream)

wic-mat (fut.). H: witsmat

wick-in-i (pass. nom.). H: uvea nima?j niwitskini (I finished irrigating)

[cf. wicik 'downstream'?]

wicu? — twist fibers into string, V. H: witsu?, witsu? (twist pita [agave thread; but apparently milkweed fiber was used (cf. wivič] on thigh to make string)

wicu?-mat (fut.). H: Wifsumat, Wifsu?mat

wicu? (imp.). H: witsu?

wicu?-č (plu. imp.). H: witsu?t[r

wicu?-a? (gen. nom., poss.). H: niwitsu?a? (I already twisted it thus [apparently a nom. form])

napa-wicu? (compound < napik + wicu? ?: splice, V). H: napāw itsu?, ha pawitsu? (splice a rope together)

- wiha-č cholla cactus, N. H: wihat fr, wihāt fr (cholla—none here) wiha-m (plu.). H: wiham (chollas)
 - wiha (poss.). H: áwiha (the thorn); nāvəht áwiha ([tuna] cactus thorn)
 - wiha-vea (plcnm. near San Fernando). H: wihāv ea (plcnm. near San Fernando; = F. wihān a)
 - wiha-vea-tam (tribename). H: wihāviatam (people from wihāvea)

[apparently literal meaning is 'thorn']

- wi?ha(-)+t oak sp.: a live-oak with small edible acorns. H: wi?ha+t, wi?ha+t (oak sp. with edible acorn; remedy for hiedra [poison oak?]; a live-oak of coast and Piro; [had] small acorns; made yellow meal); ZS: wi?hawt (oak sp. that grows low) [looks like a possible aug. of wi?aht 'oak sp.', but with metathesis]
- wihak soar, VI. H: awihak ami (it soars (of buzzard)); pawihak (they soar)
- wiha(-)ka?y fish sp. H: wihaka?j (fish sp., round like a camaleon [chameleon], boneless, tasty—used to live in Buena Vista Lake) [char. derivation from wihak 'soar'?]
- wihat ? [mng. unclear]. M: kah-sah we'-haht (ceremonial house)
- wihwat boiling stone, N. H: wihwat (boiling stone—has hole in it) [cf. wi? 'yell'?]

wik — smoke, V. H: wik (smoke cigar, cigarette, pipe; chupar cigarro [literally 'suck cigar'])

wik-mat (fut.). H: wikmat

wik (imp.). H: wik, *wiki

wiki-t (nom.—irreg.). H: wikat (cigar); M: wikut (steatite pipe)

wiki-m (plu.). H: "plu.-m"

wiki? (poss.). H: áwíká?? (pipe, cigarette or cigar); M: ne

we'-ko (pipe, straight pipe)

wik-ihwa?-t (inst. nom.). H: wikihwat tamat, kiwaſ tamat

(clay pipe [first form is 'stone smoking inst.'; second form is 'pottery stone']); M: we'-ke-hwat (pipe, straight pipe); K:

wi'koxwet (pipe)

[base meaning may be 'suck']

wikoyn — whistle, V. ZS,ZN: wikoyn (whistling [apparently a V form])

wikoyn-ihwa?-t — whistle, N. ZS,ZN: wikoynihwat (bone whiste with four holes)

[cf. wikwi? 'whistle']

wikwat — plant sp: an ash-colored shrub which smokes a lot. H:
wikwat (an ash-colored rama [shrub?] that otherwise looks like
romerillo [identified in Hudson et al (1977: 118) as <u>Artemisia</u>
californica, an aromatic sage]; used for burning piñon; smokes a
lot; its smoke, with <u>tsake?e</u>, is a cure for dreaming of dead
people)
[cf. wikihwa?t 'pipe'?]

wikwi? — whistle, VI. H: wikwi? [< 'Wik + Wi? ?; cf. wikovn]

wilku-pea — plcnm., meaning wa?t tree place. H: wi+kupe (plcnm. a little east of <u>áhant áh</u>o; means a kind of tree very similar to the wa?t); R: wilkupea (a sierra east of Tehachapi town; means a tree similar to guata [apparently 'juniper'; cf. wa?t])

- wimpakum pers. name. H: wimpakum (pers. name of A[ngela?] M[ontes?], [who was] named after [her] mo[ther]'s cousin)
- win cut hair, pluck, V. H: win, win (cut hair, shear sheep; this verb is used for both, <u>riōʔin</u> is used of shearing sheep only); niwin hāmataj aſraranna (I weed with hoe)

win (imp.). H: win, win ?əmə?; winətsi? (cut my hair!)
win-ihwa?-t (inst. nom.: shears). H: winhwa?t, winihwa?t
kaŋa-win (incorp.: pluck beard). H: kaŋawin (pluck beardhairs—old way was to use clam-shell tweezers)

kaŋa-win-ihwa?-t (inst. nom. < incorp. form: clam). H: káñawinihwat (clam—used as tweezers [literally 'beard plucker'])

kaŋa-win-ihwa?-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"

win - have diarrhea, VI. H,R: win

win-ihwa?-t (inst. nom.: purge). H: winihwa?t; niniw winihwa?t, niwinivaha? (my purge)

win-ivana? (inst. nom., poss.). H: winihwa?t; niniw winihwa?t, niwinivaña? (my purge)

[homophonous with win 'cut hair, pluck'? ('have diarrhea' has the vowel length marked more consistently)]

winika+? — remember, V. H: winika>?; numua fr niwinika>? [stem looks nominal here] (I have a good memory); R: winika>?, winika?>; M: ne-we'-ne-ko (perhaps ["I think"]); new-we-win-ne-ko? (my head)

wih-winika(-)u (V, redup.: think). H: wihwinikaw (think—as one does in night when not sleeping); R: niwihwinikaw, niwihwinikaw (I'm thinking of things, night or day; "no 2 before last w"); ZS,ZN: hitayt muwiwinikaw (what are you thinking?)

winika(-)+k (Adj.: smart). H: winikaək, winikaək winika+k-am (plu.). H: winikaəkam

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kɨša? winikaɨk (Adj.: ungrateful). H: κəʃa? winikaəκ (ingrate; means "es mal corazón" [s/he's/it's a bad heart]) kɨša? winikaɨk-am (plu.). H: kəʃa? winikaəκam kač-ihun(-)ak winikaək (smart-alec?). H: katʃihtnaκ winikaəκ (quiere ser vivo [he wants to be—thinks he is?—smart, quick], he is a smarty)
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winiwat — magical bird that lives in mountains, N. ZS,ZN: winiwat (magical bird, known to be in mounains around here; parallel to the Kawaiisu yahwe?era¹¹)

wip-t — fat, lard, N. H: wip't (manteca [lard], fat); wipt (fat); wipt
nə? (I'm fat); M: webt (fat [corpulent])
wipim (plu., irreg.). H: wipim
wip (poss.). H: wip (poss.; includes references to the fat of one's own body); tsi?kit awip (pure fat)
wip-cu? (VI: get fat). H: wiptsu?

wirahr-ik — turn over, VI. H: wiraharak (turn over in bed); R: wirahrak (turn over in bed)

wirahr-ik (Adj.: turning). H: wirahrak tawatr (the sun turns and goes back to east)

wira-wira?y — spin, revolve, VI. H,R: wirawira?j (go around in circle, spin, revolve)

wira-wirahk (VT: crank (auto)). H,R: wirawira?qk; R: wirawiraqk

wirahr-k (Adj.: turned). H: wirark nikat fr kitamik (I am [turning] facing [toward] the east)

wire-wirehr-ik? (Adj, irregular redup.). H,R: wirewirerk ahju (he is looking while turning around—turning and looking in different directions)

¹¹Zigmond et al (1988: 262) give the spelling <u>yaahwe'era</u>.

- wirapk let loose, leave, VT. H: wirapk; H,R: naw niwirapk kīve a ni?ātsitaj (no dejo mi perro en mi casa [I don't let—or leave—my dog in the house]); R: wirapk (leave, VT); niwirapk na? aqwiki?tsaj (I left leftovers [food])
 - wirapki (imp.). H: wirapki; wirapki təm hamināt nehe məhju (leave the door as you found it [leave it the way you saw it])
- wiro?, wiru?, wero? stir (mush, etc.), V. H: wiro?o, wero?; wiru? (beat (eggs)); wiro? (mash islay with a stick)
 weahut (nom. of unclear derivation: stirring stick). H:
 wéahut
- wiro?i?—play (instrument), V. H: wiro?j, wiroj?i
 wiro?i-n-ihwa?-t (inst. nom.: musical instrument). H:
 wiro?jnihwat, wiro?jnihwa?t (flute, or any musical
 instrument); ZS,ZN: wiroynihwát (flute—made of
 elderberry, with two groups of three holes [NB stress])
 wiro?i-n-a? (gen. nom., poss.: playing). H: numuat [r
 awiro?jna? (he's playing pretty [pretty his playing])
 ?a-wiro?i-n-ivə wahi-t (plcnm. meaning coyote's former
 playing). H: awirojnivə wahit (plcnm.: where coyote
 played); R: awiro?jnivə wahi?t (means where coyote
 played the flute)
- wirukuh-t vulture, N. H: wirukuht (aura [vulture]) wirukuh-m (plu.). H: wirukum
- wiva? November? September? fall?. H: wiva? (November. September and [incomplete gloss])

- wivavk sharpen, VT. H: niwivayk nihiw (I sharpen my pencil);
 niwivavk (I make a point)
 wivavk (Adj.: sharp). H: wivayk, wivayk (point; it is sharp);
 R: wivayk (it is sharp; point of pen); M: we-wahs-kik, we-vat'sk (a point)
 wivavki? (nom.?). H: akat [r wivayka? (it has a point); R:
 áwivayka? (its point)
- wivi-č red milkweed, or its fiber used for making string, N. H: wivatſr, wivatʃr, wivatʃr, wivatʃr (fiber gathered from red milkweed plant, evidently, to make string; pita [agave thread]; plant name); ZS,ZN: wivat' (plant which was smashed, rolled, and braided to make cord; probably = Kaw. wi?ivi(m)ba); ZN: wivač (another sp. of Asclepias used as cord)

meviw: H: wivəm

Wivi-yik (plcnm.: Agua Bonita). H: Wivajak

wivi-kim (incorp.: make catscradle figure). H: niwivakam (I make catscradle figure)

- wi?wi brains, N, poss. H: awi?wi (brains (brains of dead were ritually eaten, at graveside))
- wiwicuku(-)ŋ plcnm. at head of Tejón Canyon. H: wiwitsukuŋ (plcnm. at head of Tej[ón] ra[nchería] canyon, above La Lagunita)
- -Wi, -i, -hyi noun-forming suffix; meaning on nouns is augmentative, on verbs, habitual actor. H: [incomplete listing] kwa?wət (big eater); pamajjət təjjət (low dew); kaŋāwət (person with a big beard [cf. nikaŋa wər 'l have a big beard']); to?wət (person with a big belly); R: na'mona?hjət [for more examples, cf. chapter III, section A]

- wɨčɨha-č old man, N; also a black ant sp. H: watrahatr, watʃrahatʃr, watʃrahatʃr, watʃrahatʃr (old man; black ant sp.); ZN: wá'čɨhač (old man); M: wah'-trah-has, wooch'-cha-hatch (old man); wut'-rah-has (old); K: wūt cahet (old man) wɨh-wɨčɨha-m (redup. plu.). H: wahwatʃraham (plu.); əma? tsukit nawhinipam umuk, mat nawhinip—muk tsukit, amatan nitahan pujuk mahatʃram awahwatʃram (the way to address tribal seers when you don't want to call their names: I never heard that here you sg. are sick, here you are tirado tsukit; you are five old men) wɨčɨha-č-ay (obj.). H: watʃrahatʃraj [cf. wɨčɨhava 'husband']
- -wɨčɨhava husband, N, poss. H: wətʃrəhava, wətʃrəhava
 (husband; no abs. form); ʔahamu niwətrəhava (my husband's
 brother; = niʔama); amaʔ niwətrəhava (father of my husband; =
 nikwaʃrə); ZN: wəčəʻhava (husband)
 -wɨčɨhava-m (plu.). H: wətʃrəhavam
 [apparently an irregular possessed form of wɨčɨhač 'old man']
- w i k hit with a stick or whip, VT. H: w a k (hit with a stick); R: w a k (hit or throw at with stick)
 w i k m a t i m (fut., with 1-2s subject-object clitic). H:

wakmatum, wakmatym [note [ŋ] for /ɨ/ with some anticipatory nasalization] (hit you, fut.)

- wih-wik (redup.). H,R: wahwak (am whipping; lo pegué [l hit him (sic—no progressive aspect or repetition in this gloss])
- wikiv-ihwa?-t (inst. nom., irreg.: whip). H: wakavihwa?t (cuarta [riding whip]; whip)
- win cono?k be stopped, V + Adv. or Adj. H: niwen tsono?k (yo estoy parado [I'm stopped]); tsono?k ewen wonet (the cloud estéa parado [is stopped]; "ewen and tsono?k together mean parado")

win-i-c (pass. nom.: Sunday [stopped]). H: wanit s

wɨpšaha-t? — trap (gen.), N. H: wəpʃrat (trap of any kind); ZN: wəp·šat (trap, gen.)

wih-wipšaha-vea (plcnm.: Old Tejon). H: wahwapsahave, wahwapsrahave, wahwapsrahave, wahrapsrahave (Old Tejon, 2 miles below the Tejón Ranch store; = V. kasiñasmu; = Tej. t'inliw; means 'tap'); R: wahwapsrahavea (Tejón Viejo); ZS: www.pšahyave (plcnm., location undetermined); ZN: www.pšahyave, www.pasahyave (plcnm., location undetermined); K: www.praha-ve (the Tejon ranch house on Paso Creek, called by the Yokuts laikiu); K: www.prahave (site of Tejon ranch house)

wir - lots, a lot, many, invariant quantifying Adj. H: war á?atʃrəm (he has many lice); wər təmuat (there is lots of hollín [soot]—e.g. on stove); apā? war hwiskitaj amatan anipak (she drank [lots of] whiskey and because of that died); atsahtsaka wər ([it has] lots of feet; = centipede); hāmi?mat tsahūnu?paj vāka?taj, war nimavi?k naw majk hami nihūŋu? (let's talk about the cow some other time; I have a lot to do now, I cannot talk now); R: war (munchos [many]); war kut (many fires); war nihju kut∫rāt (I saw lots of wood); nihju wər matsaj (I saw many hands); war atutsit nihon ape a (there are a lot of fleas in my bed); war (many people, obj.); pap akim pat fr war (from there came a lot of water); ZS: war (Zigmond translates as plural in expressions such as war tavat' 'plu. of piñon' [lots of piñon]); M: wur', wer" (many or much); wur, wor (enough); wur, wor (plenty); wur-ke-hoom' (many fishes); wur ko-tsaht (many trees); wur pat'-so-kum (many men); wur ko-tse-um (many dogs); wur-koo-kwe-how-kum (many women); now'-hit wur' (not enough [sic; 'there isn't much']); now'-wur' (none); K: wur (much)

- wisk winnow in a certain way, V. H: wərsk, wəsrk (winnow in a certain way, in winnowing basket or tray—fine, good stuff comes to the near side and bad stuff goes to the far side; toss with both hands to winnow); R: wəsk (winnow)
 - wisk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: winnowed). H: uvea wasrkinits (it is already winnowed)
- witin button, N, poss. H: nita awatan (I buttoned it or sewed button on [NB no obj. marking])
 [< Eng. "button"]
- wiv get well, VI. H,R: way; R: wav
 - wiv-an-ea? (VT: cure someone). H,R: wavarea?; R: wavanea wiv-an-ea?-mat (cure, fut.). R: wavarea?mat wiv-an-i?a-č (agt. nom.: healer). H,R: wavarea?ni?atſr wiv-an-i?a-m (plu.). H,R: "pu. -m"; R: wavarea?ni?am
- wivi-t level ground, N. H: wavat (llano [level field, even ground]); M: wu'-wut (valley)
 wivi (poss.?). H: áwawa (patio, llano)
 - wivi-pea (loc.). H: a ja wavapea (flores del campo [flowers of field, open country, country as opposed to city]); wavape tienda (La Tienda del LLano [the level-land store]; = Rose Station; = V. he?iftawajak ?ifpiwetfmu); wavapea (ay mismo [right there]); wavapea naqpunomat (La Tienda del Lano, Rose Station)
- w+w leach, V. H: waw, waw, waw (leach (acorns in sand to remove bitterness))
- Wɨyɨ, Wɨyɨ thank you; special form used in yɨvar. H: wəjə, wəjə (thanks, thanks; this is what men in jəvar said to the gentiles who brought them food and water during a fiesta) [Kit. word?]

- woča-č rodent sp. H: wót frat fr (tusa [rodent sp.]; chulito
 [roguish, joker]; yellowish; lived in hole)
 woča-m (plu.). H: wot fram
- woh two. H: wo', woh, wo?; nímakava woh tataviama (I killed two Tataviam); R: woh, wo'; ZS,ZN: wo; M: wŏh', wŏh; woh pat'so-kum (two men); wŏh' ko-tse-um (two dogs); K: wo; CK: wā(q) wohea, wovak (twice). H: wohea; wovak, wōvak (twice; = wohea); R: wovak, wōvak, wohea (twice); ZN: wohi we?mahač, wohe we?mahač (twenty); CK: wā' hĕl wĕ' mā hāch' (twenty)
 - wovak (twice). R: wovak, wovak, wovak; wohea nitawn pokpea, wohea nitawn pokpea, wovak nitawn pokpea, wovak nitawn pokpea (I slept twice on the road); wovak atawn (he slept twice onthe road)
 - wohona (inst.?). H: wohona parotfrak (two ride horseback on same horse); tsatsātfrur wohona (we are singing both of us together)

Pa-woh (Tuesday). H: awoh

- Wa(-)?a(-)tiw-an-ea? (two bits). H: wa?átawane (2 reales [bits])
- wovan (V: put two, make two). H: wovan (put two things in something you're doing); wovan (make two)
- weh-mahač (hamak) woh (twelve). H: wéhmahat wóh; CK:

we' mā hāch' hā' muk wā(q)' (twelve)

[NB in relation to the rule of rhotacization (chapter I, section D, rule 5)]

wohik — bark at, VT. H,R: wohik
wohik-mat (fut.). H,R: wohikmat
woh-wohik (redup.). H,R: woqwoqik

- wok brush, sweep, V.
 - wok-ihwa?-t (inst. nom.: broom, brush or scraper). H:
 wákiwhat (escobeta [small brush]; amole hair brush);
 wőkiwhat (amole brush, to brush meal with when
 grinding); wóqkiniwhat (broom); wókihwat (scratching
 stick for women with menstruation)
- wo?k?it plcnm.? H: wó?k?it ("place like río carizal [reed-grass river], that enters lake of B[uena] Vista a little above Sunset, four miles below Maricopa")
- wokoh-t pine sp. (digger pine, <u>Pinus sabiniana</u> (Brown and Lawrence 1965)?) or its nut, N. H: wokoht (pine, big, with slightly ash-colored leaf; piño balsamo [sic; pino bálsamo would be 'balsam pine']—has nuts like piñon but harder); ZS,ZN: wokoht (pine nuts and tree) wokoh-t-ay (obj.). ZS,ZN: wokohtay
- wo?n-ik nod head, VI. H,R: wo?nək
 wo?n-wo?n-ik (stem redup.). H,R: wo?nwo?nək (nod head)
 wo?n-k (VT: make someone nod head). H,R: wo?nk (make
 someone nod—yell at him on street and make him nod at
 you)
- won rain, VI. H: won, \$\tilde{w}\$ on \$\tilde{\gamma} ZS: ?a?won (rain); M: ah-weng (rain); ah-wong' (It's raining now); K: a-won (rain)

 won-a-t (gen. nom.: rain). H: wonat, wonat wonat; M: wo'ng ut (rain); wahng'-at, ah'-om ah-katch-wo-mat (cloudy); K: won-at (cloud)
- wo?oh-t grasshopper, or dragonfly, N. H: wó?oqt (chapule ["chapul" 'dragonfly', or "chapulín" 'grasshopper']; "cannot tell if q or h, but quite strong and o makes it q-like perhaps")

 wo?oh-m (plu.). H: wó?om (plu.; "o quite long")

 wo?oht ?a-pa?o-vea (plcnm. of a spring). H: wó?ohtapá?ove,

 wo?o't apāovea (plcnm. below majhavea; = tu?upan;

means spring of chapules); R: wo?oht apā?ovea (plcnm.: chapule spring)

woro — be sparse, VI. H: aworo, awohworo (the trees are not dense, they are apart); aworo (lo limpio, onde no hay monte [the clear part, where there's no mountain, or no forest]; a field, an open plain)

woh-woro (redup.). H: aworo, awohworo (the trees are not dense, they are apart)

?a-woro-vea (loc.: in the clear). H: a ja aworovea (flores del campo [flowers of the field])

wot — chief, male or female, or chief's wife. H: wot (capitán [captain; chief], capitana, or capitán's wife)
wotwo?ot (plcnm. of a group of mountains). H: wotwo?ot
(plcnm.; not a sierra, but the name of the big sierras there together)

[< Chumash? listed in Hudson et al 1977: 113, as Chumash for 'chief'; irregular plu.; perh. borrowed]

wovak, wovan - twice [cf. wo(h) 'two']

- wowal, wowal-yam tribename of Tulare Yokuts. H: wowal (people that came here from Lemoore); R: wowaljam (the wowal tribe) wowal-pea (plcnm.: Tulare Lake?). H: wowalpea (El Tular); R: wowalpea (the wowal country)
- wowo-pa-č plcnm. with two springs or lakes. H: wowopat, wowopat fr, wo?wopat fr (plcnm. of a spring, or twin springs, called katrampa [La Trampa?] by Mexicans); R: wowopāt fr (plcnm. where there are two bogs or small lakes where Pete Miller had his ranch before he was bought out by Tejón ranch) [< woro 'sparse', or perh. < woh 'two?]

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ya — interjection? H: ja məmimat hik mətsütsuri?taj (you are
     going to see your grandmother—a bad word—starts a fistfight);
     R: (jā) numuwa f tāme at (how do you do?); jā numuwa f jạh a
     (good evening)
       [= Spanish "ya"? or perh. this and next entry are one atten-
          tion-getting interj.]
 ya, ya ya — greeting: 'how are you', 'what's up?', etc. H: ja, jaja,
    jā, já já (greeting: 'cómo está' [how are you?], 'que hay' [what's
    up?], etc.)
 ya? — carry, bring, VT. H: ja?, jā?, jā (carry, bring (person or
    thing)); R: ja?, ja? (carry or bring)
       ya?-mat (fut.). R: ja?mat
       ya? (imp.). R: ja?, ja
      ya?-č (imp. plu.). R: ja?t[r (carry it! [!])
      ya-ihwa?-t (inst.: potholder, stovelifter, sticks for carrying
         tunas [cactus fruits]). H: jajhwa?t; ?ajuwhat ([prefix
         unexplained] flat coiled basket tray to collect something
         in; = Jam. paitat); R: jajhwa?t (handle)
      -ya-ivana? (inst., poss.). H,R: jajvaña?, jɛjvaña?
      -ya-hea (handle). H: ajahea (its handle)
      ya-nim (to walk carrying something, VT). H: janam, jānam
      ku-tay ?aya-nɨm (glowworm?). H: kútaj ajānəm (guzano
         quemador [burning worm]-black and hairy; means it goes
         carrying fire)
      [cf. yaw 'grasp']
ya? — fly, drive auto, V. H: ja? (to fly); jā? (to drive auto); ja? (to
  fly)
     ya?-ihun (des.). H: aja?jhun
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- ya-č plant sp.: hediondillo or hediondilla [Cassell's translates as "Wild Syrian rue"; Santamaría (1959: 592) says <u>Cassia</u> occidentalis or <u>Chenopodium</u> Pir. J. H,R: jat jr. jāt jr.
 - ya-vea (plcnm.: Los Angeles). H,R: jāvea, javea, jāvea ya-vea-tam (Los Angeles person, sg. or plu. [presumably tribe, not Europeans]). H,R: jāviałam
 - ya-ya-vea-tam (Los Angeles person, plu.). H,R: jajaveatam ya-ŋa (plcnm.: Los Angeles [but cited in one place as F. equivalent of Kit. yavea; apparently = F., not Kit. plcnm.]). H,R: jāŋ a
- yahaŋɨk(ɨkwan) have first menstruation [parenthesized part must mean 'first' or be some kind of suffix or clitic on 3rd. plu. form (only two examples)]. H: jahaŋək(əkwan); mɨcaneʔkwan (it hurts him [is hot or strong for him])
- yahpač plant sp.: ground root yields edible white meal. H: jahpat fr
- yahuč shell sp.: white, used for beads; = V. koj. H: jaqutç
- yahyik be finished, VI. H: jahjak, jāhhak (be all over (of rain), or extinct (of people))
- ?a(-)ya?k white. H: āja?k; M: o-wah'-kim i'-ah-kik (a white man is coming.)
- Pa-yakahya-vea plcnm.: El Alamo, on the road from Tejon Ranch to Bakersfield. R: ajakahjavea (Magdalena says name refers to starting to hunt rabbits).
- yam be or get angry, VI. H: jam, jām; R: jam, jām, ami ajam (he went away angry; ZS, ZN: yam (be angry)
 yaheam [= yah-yam, redup.?] (to walk up and down mad). H: jaheam

- ya-mia-č March ('flower moon'). H: jámaat fr (March; means the grass and all will be blooming everywhere)
 yamava? the month of March or April, when there are flowers. H: jamava?, jamava?; ZS,ZN: ya:mava (spring April to July; there are 3 divisions—no word for fall)
- yamii, yamui? greeting: "que hay, amigo" [could this be ya 'interjection' + imiy 'you, obj.'?]. H: jamaj, jámwáj (greeting: "que hay, amigo"; also in Tataviam) [may not be Kit.]
- yamk remember, V. H: -jamk, nijamkəm (I reminded you [sic—not "remembered"?]; H,R: məjamkətatsəm (you reminded us [sic—not "did you remember us"?]), məjamkətatsin nehe (you reminded me); R: jamk, jamk (remember, remind), u?uvea nə? nijamkəm (I reminded you a long time ago [NB position of clitic—cx S?]), nijamkəm (I remember you [odd ambiguities])

yam-mat-im (fut., with 1-2s clitic). R: nijammatum (I will remember you)

yamk(-)+nea? (to remind). H: nijamkanea? (I reminded him of it)

[perhaps <u>yam kita</u> = 'remember' + 'put', while <u>yam kinea?</u> = 'remember' + 'know'?]

ya-n+m — compound verb: walk carrying, VT. H: janam [= ya 'carry' + n+m 'walk']

yank, yank — quiet, Adj.? H: jak, jān k

yanam — believe, believe in (obj. = e.g. ca-n+hpa? 'god'); take seriously[?], V. H: janam; R: janam (believe, believe in), nawvan ajanam (he paid no attention to me [apparently = he didn't believe me]), nijamk nijakaj (I remember my mother)

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yanam(-)in(-)ea(-)na (lo creen todo [they believe it
         completely]). H,R: janamineana, naw janamineana (it is a
         secret)
yaneki(-)n-i-c ? [cf. M: yung-e-kin'-its 'brush wikiup']
yank, yaŋk — quiet, Adj.? H: jānk, jāŋ k
yave?, yavea? - key.
      yavea?-ni - key, inst. H,R: javea?na [NB Span. e
         reinterpreted as Kit. ea'-similar to vowel cluster
         simplification, discussed in chapter I, section D, rule 15;
         cf. also <u>Pašovea</u> ~ <u>Pašove</u>]
      -yave?-c-ay (obj.). H,R: -jave?tsaj
      [< Span. "llave"]
yavlu? -- devil, N. H: javlu?
      [< Span. "diablo"]</pre>
y a w — grasp, grab, catch, V (the \underline{w} drops in certain derived forms).
   H: jaw, jaw, jaw (grasp, grab, catch (mouse); R: jaw, jaw
   (grasp), and wvon nikopoj (she grabbed me by the hair) [long \underline{w} =
   \underline{w} + \pm ], nijawmat makopoj (I'm going to grab you by the hair) [no
   obj. clitic here]; ZN: yaw (get (= grab))
      yaw (imp.). H: jaw, jaw; R: jaw
      ya-ič (imp. plu.). H: j\acute{a}ətfr, jaətfr [w --> ø or ə/ _{2}?]; R:
         já≎t∫r
      ya-yaw (redup.). R: pajajaw papāt frukamaj (están agarrando
         hombres [they are grabbing (snatching? arresting?) men])
      ya-i (compl.) [NB: verbs and possessed nouns take same obj.
         suffix; also NB no w]. H,R: nijaj; R: nihahavak nijaj,
         nihahavak nijaj (I could not reach to grasp it)
      ya-hea (pass.). R: ivi tameatmat nijahe (today they're gonna
         grab [arrest?] me)
      ?a-ya-hea (its handle). H: ajahea (agarradero); R: ajahea,
         ajahea (handle)
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ya-ihwa?-t (instr.). R: jajhwat (handle)
-ya-ivana? (instr., poss.). R: jevana?
[= ya 'carry' + ?u? 'take'?]
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- yaw deliver, V. H: jaw (entregar) [cf. yaw 'grab'?]
- yawik thin or watery. M: yow'-wook (thin, like water)
 [This may be a mistranslation and mistranscription for yawvik 'light blue, clear, etc.']
- yawilmani tribename: a Yokuts band. ZS,ZN: yaw(w)il-mani (Indians living at Visalia) [not a Kit. word?]
- yawlamni? plcnm.: a marsh this side of Tejon Canyon. H: jáwlamni?
 [not a Kit. word?]
- yawvik clear, bright, clean, light blue, Adj.; dawn, VI. H: jawvuk, jawvu?k, ?ajawvak; ZS,ZN: jawvuk (light blue)

 yawvik __ ŋa?n, yawvak __ miyšik (to miss someone). H,R:
 jáwvakmátum niŋa?n, jáwvakmatum nimajſrak
- ya?y-c partida [flock?], N. H: ja?jc, ja?jc, puræwa?jam, hawkup ja?jts (one partida of lambs)
 ya?y-m (plu.). H: ja?jm
 [pass. nom. of ya 'carry, bring'?]
- yayka-t peón stick, counter in walnut dice game, N. H: jajkat, jajkat, jajkat, jajkat, -yayka? (poss.). H: -jajka?, -jajka?
 yayka-m (plu.). H: jajkam, jajkam
- yaynat live (of person or mineral medicine niviit in its raw state). H: jajnat; M: yi'-not (awake)

- yaypakup pers. name given by speaker to Ethel; name of speaker's cousin. H: jajpakup
- yelpe plcnm.: Sierra de la Grulla, a mountain near Caliente (mentions the crane). H: je+pe
- yeska? tinder, N? H: jeska? (yesca [= punk or tinder]) [< Span. "yesca"]
- yewaš mare, N. H: jewas, jewasr yewaš-yam (plu.). H: jewasjam [< Span. "yeguas"]
- yik scream, V., comp. H: ami ajik (s/he went to chillar [scream]) [= yu-ik 'sing, inf.'?]
- yiwi?kan pers. name of daughter of I[sabella] Gonzales]. ZN: yiwakan
- -yi? mother, poss. H: -jə?ə, -jə?ə -jə?, no abs. form; ZS: -yə?, -yə?; ZN: -yə?, -yə?, niyək?apar (my mother's brother),?ádjə, ?ajə? (his mother) tsájuk tsə?ivə (our mother); M: ne'-yah, I-yöh (spoken of) (mother), ne'-yu, ne'-yuk (my mother), i-yuk, ah'-yuk (his mother), ŏo-yuk mŏ-yuk (your (singular) mother), poo-yuk, po'-e-yu (their (plural) mother), M: tsi-yuk, tsoo-yu (our (dual) mother), (u,)-yuk, ŭ'-yuk (your (plural) mother)
 - -yɨkɨy (obj.). H: -jəkəj; R: -jəkəj
 - -y+?-iv+ (dec.). H: -J+?iva, -Ja?jva
 - -mayha-yi? (wife by whom one has had children). H: -majhaja?

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pi?aki(-)t ?a-yi? (Sphinx moth ["worm sp.'s mother"]). H: piākət ?ajə?
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- yič, yič-at where is [apparently = Adv. 'where' + Q clitic, with some irregularities of pronunciation]. H: jt[ra?, jt[r, jət]r, jət]r#me (where is?), jit[ratam (where are you?); R: jət]r (where?); jt[ra? visente? (where is Vicente?); jt[rama? kutsi? (where's that dog?); jət]r kutsi? (where's the dog?); jət]ra?ma niniw nohtat (where's my old woman?); jit[ratam (where are you?); M: yu'-its-paht'i (where is the water?)
- yɨha evening. H: jäha; M: yu'-hah, ah-wō-ruk tam'-me-at (sunset), yu'-hah, yĕh-hah (evening)
 - ya numuwaš yiha (greeting: 'good evening'). H,R: jā numuwaʃ jāh a
 - yiha-hu-č (evening star (it is a man)). H: jaha hut ſr, jahahut ſŗ
 - y+ha-tu? (take shade, V). R: j=hatu?, j=hatu?, j=ha?to? (to shade oneself or take a siesta)
- -y+ha aunt of a certain type, or mother-in-law, poss. N(A), poss. H: -jər, -jər (aunt [in one case, at least, sister of mother of man])
 - -yɨha-m (plu.). H: -jəham
 - -yɨha-y (obj.). H: -jəhaj
 - -yiha?-ivi (dec.). H: -jəha?ivə
 - recipr. is -mahcit. H: -mahtsit (as Pedro is to Eugenia) [NB: ≠ 'mother']
- yihk answer someone, V. H: johk, jok
- -y+k case ending: directional or locative: 'to', 'toward', 'at'. H:
 -j>k, -j>κ, used in many placenames, n>j>k (to me), ?>m>j>k
 (with you [re fighting scene; 'fight' takes dir. case]), ?itsam>k

(with us), ?əmək (with you all), ?ivijək, ?ivitş pəjək (with this one), pats pəjək (with that one, over there), ?im pəmək (with these); R: atsurupək nehe nə?jək kivea (he entered where I was, in the house), əməjək (with you), əmək (with you, plu.) im pəmək (with these), pəjək (with him), ivitş pəjək (with this one), patş pəjək ('with that one'; "nothing to do with pata?"), amats pəjək (with that one, yonder), ivijək nikim (I came with [to?] this one); nəjək (with me [used with 'play', which takes dir. case]); itsaməjək (with us); pəjək pata? [with that one]; pəjək amats [with that one]; ZS: -jαk (locative suffix in placenames)
[NB: pɨ-yɨk is used instead of ?a-yɨk; for discussion, cf. chapter IV, section C)]

yinivan — eat two things together, V.; if one thing is mentioned overtly, it is in obj. case; if 2 are mentioned one is in obj., and one takes -ni 'inst.', apparently [one example only]. H: janivan yinivan (imp.). H: janivan

y+ruma-č — dust or fine earth, N. H: j=rumat fr, j=rumat fr
?a-mohm+k j+ruma-č (dune [its piled up dust]). H: ?ámohm+k
j=rumat fr

yišik — sweat, VI. H: jəʃək
-yiški? (noun: sweat). H:-jəʃkə?, jəskə? (scrape self with knife [in sweat-house; in parentheses: "mendo"]) [NB i-deletion]

- yivan outside, Adv. H: javan, javan; H,R: nihju nehe javan venta?nu? (I looked out through the window); R: javan; meah meah javan (go outside! [said to a dog; = V. tʃa tʃa milak]), akatʃr javan (it's outside), puraqk javan, puraqk javan (go outside!), puraqkatʃr javan ([y'all] go outside!); M: yu'-vah, yō'-van (outside)
- yivar sacred house or enclosure of tule where bullroarers are swung at fiestas; also church. H: javar [one entry says yivar = tall pole with flag at top, used at fiestas]

yivar-kam (char.: initiates to the <u>yivar</u>?). H: javarkam, javarakam (plu.?)

curupk-i-m yivar-pe (the people in the enclosure; = V. <u>?antap</u>). H: tsurupkim jəvarpe

yivar-yik (plcnm.: a mountain). H: jəvarjək

yivar-pea (plcnm.: sacred canyon near <u>?iwihinmu</u>). H: jəvarpea (the cañada of the <u>?antaps</u> near <u>?iwahənmu</u>)

[re constituency abs. and difference between 'church' and 'door': H: ?ajəva jəvart = jəvart ?ajəva (the door of the church)]

[perh. a cognate of y+vač 'door', < Gab. <pre>yovaar 'church' or 'fiesta']

yivava? — outdoors. R: jəvava?

yo? — spread out, VT. H,R: jo?, jo? (to spread out [handkerchief]) [minimal pair with <u>yu?</u> 'sing']

yohak, šikwa-t yohak — icicle, N. H: johak, sikwat johak

yohk — make someone angry, V. [impersonal construction? 3rd sg. subject]; also translated as 'to itch', but there is no subject in this construction, although it takes subject-object clitic. H: joqk

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yoka-č — ant sp.: black, medium size, N. H: jokat fr
yoka-m (plu.). H: jokam
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yorin — plow a field, V. H: jorin

yorin-i-c (part.: plowed). H: jorinits

yorin-ihwa?-t (inst.: plow). H: jorinihwa?t (plow; = ?arāro?)
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- yo?v-ik, yo?vok be dark, be black, V. H: jo?vok, jo?vok (to soot oneself (widow's custom), to have páñamo (disease discoloring cheeks)); R: pjávak (está pardo [it's dark]); K: yav o-k (black) p(-)y+v+k - dark-colored. H: pjev+k, pjew+k (pardo [browngray], cenizo, ash-colored) yovo?k (Adj.?: dark, dirty, black). H: jovo?k (tiznado, prieto), mahavajovok (ropa negra = en luto; applies to modern mourning clothes); R: jovo?k; ŋatə? jovo?k (black cat); nə? nihju jovo?k tāk āt (i saw a negro); naw, jovo?k (no, it's dark); haminiki?t kwaſrapkat, jovo?kat, āja?kat (cómo es [what color is it], red? black? white?), jovo?k ivi? ŋātə? tem tutfr (this cat is black, like charcoal); ZS,ZN: jovok (black); M: yo'-wuk, yah-vok, yó-wuk (black) yov-yo?vk (redup. Adj). R: jovjo?vk; nata?jam jo?vjovok (black cats) yo?vk (VT: make dark). R: jo?vk [variation in vowels unexplained; cf. yuvitik 'get dark']
- yowoyow (Chumashan belief) another type of people ... go around atizando [starting fires?] many places beyond Emigdio. H: jowojow [V.Ch.?]
- yu snow, VI. H: juj (está nevando ['it is snowing'; -y unexplained])
 yua-t, yoa-t (nom.: snow). H: joat, jóať, júat; ZS: yúat; K:
 yuat

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yoa-ka?y (plcnm.: a mountain that always has snow on it). H:
          jóaka?j [note-apparently this is a compound, not a
          "char."-suffixed stem; note also initial stem stess],
          iuaka?i
       yua-kah-jik (direc., char.). H: juakah jak
       yua-ka-yam (tribename: the Koso?). H: jóakajam, juakajam;
          R: juakajam (tribe that lives beyond the Serranos); ZS,ZN:
          jókajam (Indians the Kawaiisu call kohózi, kohoži: the
          Koso [but Zigmond et al (1988: 180) gives kohoži, kohovži
          'Indians to the northeast, Panamint or Western Shoshone'])
      [impossible to determine if stem vowel is o or u]
yu? — cry, sound, buzz, sing, V. H: ju?, jti?, htnavea ?aju? (the
   bucket is half full ['sings inside']); R: ju? (cry), ju? (buzz, cry);
   ZS,ZN: yu? (cry)
      yuh-yu? (redup.). H: juh ju?
      yu?-mat (fut.). R: jtp?mat
      yu-ik (inf.). R: jtik
      yu?-vu? (past). R: ju?vu?
      yu-inan (VT, caus.: play an instrument, swing bullroarer,
         gnash (teeth), slap holler, whistle with fingers, cause
         someone to weep). H: jujnan, ju?jnan, jajnan [one entry
         only with a; suggests u --> a / y _ y]; jujnan; R: jujnan,
         ju?jnan (to play an instrument, make cry), aju?jnan
         afritfrai (he slap hollers; also said of whistling with
         fingers), aju?jnanivan fivoja?t (the onion's making me
         weep [NB i in clitic])
      yu-inan-ihwa-t — inst.: any musical instrument. H:
         ju jn anihwat
      [minimal pair: yu? 'cry' vs. yo? 'spread out']
yuahk — hang, VT. H: juahk (hanging, Adj.); R: jua'k (to hang, VT)
      yuahk-mat (fut.). jua'kmat
      yuahk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: hanged or hung). R: uvea jua'kinits
         (ya está colgado [s/he or it is already hanged or hung])
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- yuahk-in-i-m (plu.). R: uvea jua'kihim (ya están colgados [they are already hanged or hung])
- yuašik be wet, VI. H: juaſrək, juāſrək
- yuhaha-t pers. name of a mythical figure. H: juqaqat ("the oldest of all"—listed under discussion of tsukit, legendary mother of the races)
- yuhaha-i-t pers. name of a mythical ancestor. H: júqaqaət (the elder brother [of mythical ancestors])
 [aug. of yuhahat]
- yulam pers. name of a dog, after a mountain name. R: julam
- yunu? praise, admire, respect someone, VT. H: junu?, junu?u
- yuŋa?n help, V. H: ājuŋa?n(he helps [when the invited chief pays fiesta chief])
 [any relation to yɨŋivan 'eat two together'?]
- yupakina? have face unwashed, darkened ("tiznado"), V. (a widows' custom). H: jupakina?, jupa?kina?
- yupitik fall in a fit, VI. H: jupitak
 [cf. yuvitik 'get dark'?]
- yupivu? bird sp.: linnet-like, with a black face. H: jupivu?u yupivu?-yam (plu.). H: jupivu?jam
- yupk extinguish a fire or lamp, V. H: jupk
 yup-mat (fut.). H: jupmat
 [cf. yupitik 'fall in a fit'; perh. related to yuvitik 'get dark']

- yu?u? lame, Adj. H: ju?u?, ju?u?
 yu?u?-tu (to be crippled, have rheumatism). H: ju?u?tu
 yu?u-pea (plcnm.). H: ju?upea (plcnm., from 'cripple')
- yuvea? fry something, V. H: jūvea?

 yuvk (to boil or cook something in water). H,R: jūyk, jūk

 (Adj.)
 [= 'to darken'? cf. yuvitik 'get dark']
- yuvitik get dark, VI. H: juvitik

 [cf. yo?vik 'be dark'; cf. yupitik 'fall in a fit'?]

ENGLISH-KITANEMUK INDEX

This is an index to the Kitanemuk-to-English dictionary. meant merely as an aid to finding things quickly, not as a true I hope that it will be helpful to those who may be looking for Kitanemuk forms cognate with forms in some other language, or who are tracing historical changes in the Takic languages or doing other types of comparative work. Having found the phonemic form here which corresponds to the meaning sought, the reader should then refer to the Kitanemuk-to-English dictionary itself to find out more about the derivation, morphemic structure, selectional restrictions, subcategorization and allophonic variants of the morpheme. The system of orthography is explained in chapter I, section A. In general morphemic analysis is omitted here; but in cases where a prefix must be separated from a stem in order to find the entry in the Kitanemuk-to-English dictionary, a hyphen marks the boundary between prefix and stem. Nouns which are attested only in possessed form are written with a hyphen at the beginning to indicate they may not be the same as the citation form or the stem. Also where forms are metaphors or paraphrases, a literal translation is given in parentheses. name of a particular plant, animal, tribe or place is not found, the user should check also the entries 'plant spp.', 'animal spp.', 'tribenames', and 'placenames', which is where all unidentifiable names in any of these categories have been placed; there is

sometimes a more detailed description of these or a non-Kitanemuk equivalent form given in the Kitanemuk-to-English dictionary. The same abbreviations for grammatical categories are used here as in the Kitanemuk-to-English dictionary.

abalone — cikarat [č?] able, be - mirin accustomed — ?ayawitu?(i?) acorn sp. -- -ka, kwiyač, šev acorn cup - kurun (cf. 'hat') acorn mush - kwiyač, wic across - cf. nakwarik Adam's apple — pako?koc admire - junu? adobe — Padovea adverb? - ya advice - nah-tanimakan afraid, be — pokatik, tihmik afraid, make — pokatk again -- hamik (?), moc alfalfa - ? elf elf e? algae — taruhač alike - ?ap alive — y ayn at all — puyu all right — Panaya almond - ?almendra alone — punuk already - Puvea also - hamik [?] always - mutu? Americans — merikano?, muka?

```
ancestor — ?uviha?
  and — hamik
 angelica — kayak
 angry, be - y am
 animal — tivo?yt
 animal sp. — ?učukt (juanito)
 animal sp. — wočač (a rodent)
 ankle — kačuač
 annoy - hahk, hihinitu?
 another - cf. maw
 answer - y+(h)k
 ant — Paniht, hanat, hu?usinak, hyač, yokač
 antelope — tɨmɨnač
 antelope skin - t av i č
 ant-lion — ciripu
 anus — širic
 anvil - cokihwa?t
 any - tim, tum
 anything — tumhit
 anyway — wari?
apart - hahukup, hiwiva?, hiwa?i?
apple — mansana?
April — yamava?
apron — cicka, čička, cf. 'clothes, loincloth'
arbor ("enramada") — Payanik, hororkinat, hororkinic
arch (V.) - ?ea?nk
arch back (of stinkbug) — voišk
arm - mac
armpit — kwačuhpic
arrive — pic, pis
arrow — huč, šumanat
arrow foreshaft - wakpit
arrowhead — tokšivat
arrow-straightening stone — tinenihwa?t
```

```
Arroyo Seco — ?awaki? ?a?oka?
 ashamed, be - ciu?
 ash(es) - kukut
 ask for — ?ihikaw, kivaw
 ask question - maya?
 assemble - hawkupiču?
 astride — šeahk
 at --- -pea, -vea, -na
 atole - wic
 attack -- ?ork
augmentative suffix — -wit/-yit/-it
August — tivapa?, tonava?
aunt - nim, pinic, yir
autumn — tonava?
awake — kwičik ('get up'), yaynat ('alive')
away - cf. 2 amuk
awl - Poc
axe — Patsa?
baby — Panuci?, kwakit, titinit
back (reciprocal) - cf. 'and'
back — tihpic
back-flap - tavič
backwards — tihpiyik
bad - kiša?
badger - hunavit
bag — tanatat
bake - kwahan
Bakersfield — pavyayuk
bald — šitk
ball — paropkinič, pavotat
ball (game), play - pučahk
banana — platano?
bark (V.) — wohik
barley - šivara
```

```
basket, type of - amaha?, aman, ayiwhat, hokopi?tat,
       hukupi?(ta)t, kuruku?ytat, paca?ač, pahatat, payravįč
 basket, cooking — su(?)ka(?)
 basket, pack — paca?ač
 basket, small-mouthed storage - copotat, cupotat
 basket, that allows water to pass through - carac
 basket, winnowing — ca?cakinihwa?t
 basket tray - paytat, riva(?)w, tivao?
 bat — pivakat
 bathe — ?ahan (VT), ?ar (IT)
 be -- kač
beads — hipi?yt, kukuniti, kumat, niririhkinic, numanic, orkik
beads (gen.?) — tukuhpač
beads, small, red — cakahkik(s)
bead, valuable - vakahkik
beans - rihir
bear - huna(i)t, mo(?)loy
bear (costume?) - kawkaw
Bear Mountain — hunayik
beard — kanac
beat — rivk ('beat or excel in game')
beat (eggs) — wiru?y
beaver — cipi?ki, hurist
bedbugs - nahkihyit
bee sp. — ?aveha?yam, haŋač, pahaŋa?ač, roroŋa?ač
beet - vit avel
beetle sp. — huhu?ač
before - ?uve a
beg — ?iwihikaw
begin — pamukpit, (tɨm) puycu?
behind — navona
believe — yanam
below - pi(+?)htuk
```

```
belt --- šut kit
 bend — ?ea?nk, kwiotsk, nošk
 berry sp. - pikwač
 beside (postposition) — mea?
 bet (V.) — mɨyvan
 bewitch — ?a(+?)cacawapi?, kwitea?, pi?
 big - ?ati?a
 big enough — cf. 'fit'
 bird (gen.) - wicitat; cf. also mahac
 bird sp. — cinan, hayha?y, huyhu?y, inokt ("huitacoche"), kuya,
       kuyku?y ('curlew'?), mawiyit, mihiwit, pavuhyit, pesa,
      puvuðis, siwši?wi, syakak, yupivu?
 bird sp. (candelaria) — ?ošač
 bird sp. (magpie?) - pavuhiyit
 bird sp. (cries at night) — pupuvoč
bird sp. ("gallineta") - put an
bird sp. ("tigrillo", "tildillo") — ti?iriri
bird sp. (mockingbird) - tukuahpač
bird sp. ("correcuervo"-kingbird?) - cakwina-č
bird sp. (blue) — cayca?y
bird sp. (yellow (canario)) - cakacakač
bird sp. ("vijita, like robin but smaller") - cokt
bird sp. (mythological?) - winiwat
bite - ki?
bitter - civu?
black — monušmu?, yo?vi?k; cf. yuvitik
blackbird, redwing - pakonyat
bladder --- pavahatac
blind — huvawavit
biister, have — pavahavik
blood -- ?+č
blow — hyočk, pitk
blow (on fire) - puhea?
blue — mohk, yawvik, yawvu?k
```

```
blunt -- pimočk
 boat — kwekt, kwiakt, kwiyaht
 body -- tahtaka
 boggy — curcurk
 boil (V.) - vo?rik (VI), vo?rk (VT), voro? (VT) yuvea? (VT)
 boil (N.) — kaya
 boiling stone (has hole in it) - wihwa?t
 bone — Poc
 bottle, water - pahatat, cf. also 'basket'
 bottom — šuču [or is this t -š??]
 bow - pačukt
 bowl — copotat, kumat, hukupit at
 box — ?a(-)ka?, kahon, tanatat, tarivana? [< ta 'put'?] (storeroom,
      box, trunk)
boy — ?anoci?, titinit; cf. tučini
bracelet - mamuna?
braid — kwirav, pa?okwina? (N.)
brains - wi?wi
branch — cima, pawhuša?y
brave - šwavač
bread - kame?nic, pan
break - kawtk, kopik (VI), kopk (VT), vihnik (VI), vihnik (VI)
break ground with stick — tik
break through (of water in irrigation ditch) - waru?m+k
breast — pi?c
breast — tunuc
breastbone - ?ikihuc
breath(e) — hikaw, hikay
bridge — nakwar kihwa?t
bring — ya?
Brite Valley — tuviyik
Brite Valley vicinity — čalamašpe, cilampe, čiram
broken - vihn+k
broom — wokihwa?t, wohkiniwhat
```

brother — -paha, -pitač brother-in-law - Pana brown, dark - ropitk brush — wokihwa?t, wohkinihwa?t buck (of a horse, V.) — ciripin buckeye (tree sp.—looks like ash) — pa?aš buckskin — tavic, cf. 'sinew'? buckwheat, California - hunakač Buena Vista Lake — mɨmɨjak, tuna?mi?pe, tunami?pea Buena Vista Lake Indians — papaviat am bug — ku?ač buggy — kalesa?, kareta bull, young - neviyo? burn - Paro?mik, hu?, o(?)rik, wahea? burn up — mahwa? burst (of boil) - pišakik burial — nahkamea?neavea bury — kamea? but — meakor butter — wipt butterfly - ?atavatava button - witin buy - no?mk buzz --- yu? cabbage — repoyo? cactus sp. - manač Cahuenga — kavwen Cahuillas — kawiya? Cajon de las Unvas — mat ?aphwelehwel calabazilla — nonokic calf - viseri? Caliente Creek - hi?hinkeavea California wild plum - kupiaht (tree?), tokit (fruit) Californios ("gente de razon") — cicinavri

```
cali (V.) — kua
 call on guardian spirit — kumiyintu?
 Camulo — wa?tamkic, wa?tamkivea
 candy — piša ?it
 cane - kanja?, pakač
 canyon - ?oka?
 Cañada de las Uvas — ševinacapea, šivinacape
 captive - kwaka?wat
 car - kucin
 care for — puhci?
carry — ya?, yaw, yay
carry on back ("lomo") — tuk
carrying ring - puninkinic, puninkinivi
Castaic Lake — kaštik, pač ?auvapea
cat — nati?
Catalina Island — pipimer
catch (in throat) — ?okwa?
catch up with someone - nililk
caterpillar sp. — pohoka?y
cat's cradle, make — wivikim
cave - ho, timkic
Cedarwood Canyon — pišapeš
celery - Papyo?
cemetery - nahkamea?nic
centipede — ?a-cahcaka wir ('it has lots of legs'), ?inoč
ceremonial dancer — Pelejewu
ceremonial effigy - cahivi
ceremonial enclosure — jivar; cf. kasa, wakač
ceremonial gifts — ničiminic
ceremonial leader - ?ant ap
ceremonial participants — wanaypac
ceremonial stick - kakait
ceremonial yeller - paka?, tataknič; cf. also winiwit
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ceremony (gen.) — nihnic (girl's puberty ceremony, < nihnea 'be
       accustomed')
 ceremony to announce coming wakač ceremony — šunumtu?yc
  ceremony, mourning - wakač
 chair - ra?wkihwa?t
 chameleon — nakarakara
 Chanac Canyon — ?iyčivea
 charcoal -- tuč, tuhut, tuhuč
 charmstone - kwinač
 chase (away) — puhpuču?, tun
 cheat - muna?, nahmona?hyit
 cheek — pɨvɨc
 cherry - seresa?
 chest — tunuc
 chew — kaci?, rakwik
 chia (lime leaf sage; Salvia Columbaria) — pahinat, pahinat
 chicken - kakawait
 Chico Lopez Lake — kwarun
chief — ki?ka?y, namuhač, nihpa, wot
 child - mayhat, nacat
chile - cirea?
chilecote (plant sp.) - ?ihayc
chilecote, play - tohiyicin
Chinese person — caniman
chocolate — cukulate?
choke — cɨhɨrɨk (VI) cohk (VT), cuʔrɨk (VI),
cholia - wihač
choose - ca?yk
chop — šara?
Christian — havutkay
Chumash — čuma?, tokiya
Chumash Indian — kišanihunukam
church — yivar
cicada? ("chicharra") — tamea?utut
```

```
cigar — wikit
 clam — ci?karat, cikat, kanawinihwa?t
 clap hands -- vatk
 clay — pakwinit
 clay, type of? — puyumaki
 clean — vankinic ('swept')
 clear — yawvik, yawvu?k, yawwuk
 clear away (VI) - kwarik (= 'melt')
 clear field -- ? a-wiwi ('patio, llano')
 climb — ?itahik (VT), ?očik (VI)
 climb down - humutik
 clock -- relo, tameat
 close — nɨkɨk
 close eyes — cu?mik (VI), cu?mk (VT)
cloth - ti?ačavič
clothes - havit, kaha, tavič
cloud — wonat
cloven (of hoof) — taraha?y
coal — tuč
coarse - ?a-mu-ci
coast -- -hivi
coated with acid stuff (of tooth) — šamihmik
coffee - kafe?, kape?
coil — punink, šwink
coime - koymi?, nwapac
cold — šivit
cold, get — šipik (VI), šipk (VT), šikwa? (VI)
collarbone - pačukt
color (lilac-orchid color, "medio colorado") - kawyik
color, type of - pahikyut
colt — mayhat
Comanche point (or Creek?) — čivutpave
comb of rooster — cinea?na? [this may be a sentence]
come — kim, majki, payki, viki
```

```
come out — pur ah kɨ k
 compose — ?icu?k
 conceited — huyuyhk
 conditional (contrary-to-fact) — timek(waču?) [clause]. [clause]
       mekwaču? ("if ... would ...")
 cone (of tree) - ka?
 conjunction — ?ap 'and, but', hamik 'and, back, too'
 constipated — tihmik
 container — hukupit at, cf. 'basket'
cook - kwahan (VT), kwar (VI)
cooked - ?a-kwahi
cool - šivivi? (cf. 'windy')
copy - cicikwin
cordage plant - kwihat
corn — mayšt
corn cob or stalk - huka?
corner - ciac
corpse - ?a-nipki?
cotton — ?alwodon, timpič (the flower)
cottonwood — wamat
cough - kohrik
count — ti?ur
counter-evidential marker? - nehe
counter for dice game — tacankihwa(?)t, yaykat
cove - ?awohwora?pe
covered, be (as with a blanket) — ? a w k i k
cow - vaka?, vaka?t
coyote - wahi?
crack (mud, sole) — šarašara?y
crack open (pine nuts)(VT) - vica?
crank auto — wirawira?k
cradle — tarahu?t, taraka?y
cradleboard — ?apinea
cradle hood — kupkit
```

```
crane — Par aw kuč
 crazy — ka?mki? (part.), ka?mik (VI)
 creek - ?a?oka?, wanit; cf. also pač ?auvapea
 crest (of bird) — ?ususu?, puka? (of quail), cinea?na? (of rooster)
 cricket — corcor
 crippled — yu?u?
 crooked - kwiock
 crossbeams (of house) -- ?apički?
 crow — ?a?a, ?ačawat
crow sp. — cakacakat
crowded — mucik
crumble — vihnik (VI), vihnk (VT)
crush - hi?nk
cry — yu?, kwavi?y (baby's), waw, waw (sound of baby's)
crystal - kwinač
cucumber — pepino?
Cummings Mountain — pukwan
Cummings Valley — hakapea
cured, be or make — wiv (VI), wivanca? (VT)
curse — this is a curse: tiyt micu?ri? (your grandparent is a
      ghost)
custom — nihne at
cut — kawtk, ŋɨčk, rioʔin, win
damned — šuavač
dance — tuhtu? (V), tuhtuic (N.)
dancer - tuhtuhyit
dance a certain way - amawiš (plumero held in hand), ativihtu
     (N?), hik(?) imanis (rabbit dance), nukumpiyaš
dancer — tivit, tuhtuyhit
dark - yivik, yovo?k; cf. tuka
dark, get - juvitik
darkness - hero?pitik
daughter --- -mayha
daughter-in-law - miyak
```

```
dawn - yawvik
 day — tameat
 day after tomorrow — ?apaŋayu?ni
 day before yesterday — timuka
 dead - ?ivi, muk (V), mukit (Adj.), kohko?ym (dead people),
       ?a-nipki?
 deaf - kavawavit
 decay - pinan
 December — cf. tamuavea
 deep — tɨŋaʔ, tɨʔŋɨk; cf. mɨmɨ
 deer - huk aht
 deer headdress - ?aciivana?
 depend on - pičihuna?
 descend — haruhrik
 descendant - hun
 designs on baskets — kimanic
devil — tiyt
dew — pamašyit tišyit
dewy - paša?
diarrhea, to have - win
dice, walnut - kumaskihwa?t (the dice), ?a-kumašik (the game)
die - hilohik, jahjik, muk, nipik
different - hiwač
difficult — tumahan
dig (out) — hoč
dirt - tivač
dirty - cukwavic
disappear — nawtu?
disease — mukic
disintegrate - vihnik
ditch - šanha?
dive - Pop+k
dizzy - ka?mik (VI), ka?mki? (part.)
do - mavi?, niw
```

```
doctor --- cač, nahmavihawit
 dodge --- pink
 dog — - Pacita, kuci?
 doll — muhač
 dollar - peso?
 door — tɨmkɨt, yɨvač
 dove — makahot, makahoait
 down (N.) — pic, cf. 'down headdress'
down (Adv.) — wici?k, pihtuk
down, move or slip - nirihrik
downstream - pihtuk, wici?k
dragonfly — picalala, wo?oht
dream — kwahkwačamuk; cf. kum
dress, front apron of - kaha?c
driftwood - ?a-hinki?
drill - horohkinihwa?t
drink - pa?
drink, certain - pawwat
drip — hopik
drive (a stake, nail) — tɨʔŋk
drive auto — ya?
drive cattle or horses — timea?
drown - pamuk ('water-die')
drizzle (V.) — tɨyɨyɨ?y
drunk - ka?mik (VI), ka?mki? (part.), manimuk ('be drunk with
     toloache')
dry — wahk, waki? (VI), wakan (VT)
duck - panaca?, putan
dust - y i rum ač; cf. monik i k
dwarves, mythical — ?anunusi takatam ('little people')
dye in mud (V.) — piška?n
eagle — ?ahint, pamoiš (white-headed sp.)
ear -- kavac
ear of (green) corn — ritiš
```

```
earring -- cahuc
 earth — tɨvač
 earthquake — ?a-kururu?y tɨvač, tɨvač ?a-voyɨk
 earwax — kavatutuč
 east — kitamik, tameanusim
 easy --- ma?aya?i
 eat - kwa?, ko?
 eat lunch or dinner — pokuya?
 eat things together — yinivan
 echo — tawciyi?
 eclipse — muk
 edge — hivi
 egg — pano
eight — wahawaca
eighteen - wehmahač hamak wahawaca
eighty — wahawacahea wehmahač ('eight times two tens')
elbow -- ciac
El Comanche (plcnm.) — civut pavea
elderberry - hukwat (the bush), kuhuč (the berry)
eleven — we?mahač hamak hawkup, tiwapea
elk — pahukaht
El Oso (plcnm.) — ?a?atukpea
El Pleito — ?ipkoyik
emphasizer, pronominal — ?uk, nuk, punuk
empty - pɨna; cf. <u>kumat</u>
enclosure, ceremonial — kakačiyač, yivar
end - kupeac, yahyik
enemy - kwakahun
enough - wir
envy — tɨmuhivan
erase — nir k
evening - yiha
everywhere - ?i?imuk
evil — pahavit ('poison'), šuavač ('maldito')
```

```
extinguish (fire or lamp) — yupk
 eye -- uva?
 eyebrow — nyonac
 eye mucus — kwakwari
 eyelash - uvacavi
 face (a direction) - wirahrik
 face down - ku?mik
 face up — ?ini?k, i?mk, ?ink
 fail to - hahavik
 fall - hucik, karara?y
 fall on top of — hi?nk
 fall over (of a tall thing) - kuhyik
 fan (V) — p+?k
 far — piyan
fart - hu?
fast — hawawa?y, hawana?y; cf. also pucuk
fast (V) - kai?
fasten together clothing - kahea?n
fat — wipt
fat, get — wipcu
father - na?
father-in-law — makay
favor - hunk
feast - wakač
feather — mahac (N), maha?n (V), pohoc (N)
feather skirt - cicka, čička
feather thing for dance - mawis
feathers, bunch of — ?a-ka?pi?
February — šįvapa?; cf. also tamuavea
feed — kwa?nin
feel - vi ?yk
fell — kuhyk
Fernandeños — ?acotkiyam, papaynamuna, pašenayam
few - cipk
```

```
fiber - wivač
 field - wivit
 fifteen - wehmač hamak mahač
 fifty - mahačea wehmahač ('five times two tens')
 fig - ?iwos
 fight — kur, namu, ulucarin
 fill — putik (VI), putk (VT), pitk (VT)
 filter - cf. cacakin 'winnow'
fine (of meal) - ?a-hiva, cf. hipič
finger joint - tamoc
finish — ma?y
fire - kut
firefly — Pakač Paniw kut ('what has fire')
fire sticks - kumuihwa?t ('fire shooters')
firewood - kučat
firmly — pucuk
first — pamukpit, namumuk, lamumuk
first people -- ?uvehatam takatam ('old people')
fish — kihuč
fish, spp. — pišni, coh, wihaka?y
fish hook or line — ?okwanihwa?t
fit (V) - k+k+?
fit, to have a - yupitik
five - mahač
fix, compose - ?icu?k
flame (VI) - ?aro?mik
flat - nananay, vačk; cf. also rikwatik
flat and circular — vačk
flavor(ful) — havava?ynik, huvava?y
flea - ?atucita
fledgeling - Pašikwiri
flexible - kwitsa?
flicker - kimač
flint — tokšivat
```

float — hi?nik (VI), hi?nk (VT) flock --- ya ?yc flock, go in a - kavk (Adv.) flood — wanit, cf. hi?nik flour — hipič flow - wanatu? flower — ?a-ši flute — wiro?inihwa?t flutter — hinuhinu?i fly — ya? fly (N) — picucu?ač fog — pakit, papamaš fold — nom k folded, be - nomik fool - toho? foot - cakac foam - kwoha? (VI) foot of sierra, at (?) — nara?k forehead - ši?ac foreigners — ?alčunukš, hɨ-hɨwač forest - mač forget - ?amihik forked — tara; cf. tarahu?t former - ?ivi Fort Tejon — tɨkɨč pavea forty — wacahea wehmahač ('four times two tens') four - waca fourteen - wehmahač hamak waca fox — kawčač foxtail (plant) — kawčač Pakwačit fraud - cf. muna? free — cf. mačea freeze — šikwato? Friday — ?a-mahač ('fifth')

```
friend - puyu
 frog — wakatat
 from - nu?
 frost — tɨyuat (N), tɨyu (V)
 frowning — šoyo?k
 fruit --- ?a(-)ka?
 fry - yuvea?
 frying pan — kom ale
 full (of person or moon) — konakwa?
 full — putik (VI), putk (Adj.), putk (VT)
 fur — pohoc
 future tense - mat (Clitic)
 future tense, proximate - nih-niw
 Gabrielinos — šivaviatam
 gali - kanim
game (generic) -- punit at
game of hooked forefingers — ca?ulucarin
game, type of — nakwahic, nakwahič, cakanahist (Yokuts word?)
gap - kwinac
gather — ?ay, pi?mk
generous - namakat
get (water) - hiyk (= 'swing')
get lost - hyikik
get out of way - hu?nik
get up -- kwičik, kičik
ghost — pahavit, tiyt; cf. also pokatik, pina
gift — makic
girl — nacat, nahač
give — mak
give and take back - muhirik
give, at shrine — nahwin
give birth — mayha?, nahuck
give (bridal gifts) - nahock
give (ceremonially) - ničim
```

```
gizzard - hilos
 glad - numuač ('good')
 glue — napk (VT), napkinihwa?t (N)
 gnat — haw aw ač
 gnaw - waču?
 go - mi
 go (?) — we an
 go! — či, či
 go around something (encircle) — ponihinik (VI?), punink (Caus.)
 go back - ma?nik (VI), mankinea (VT)
 go down (of sun) — ?a-we?rik
 go in -- curupik
 go out — pur akik
go up - ?očik
go up (hill) - virohuvik
goal (in shinny) — nahnipkinihwa?t
goat - civato?
God - tivač; -nihpa ('chief')
good — numu ač
good-natured — numurahunak
good at - nihnihyit
goodbye — mɨmimat ('you'll go'), ?uvea nimi ('l'm already going')
goose — rɨʔrɨk
gooseberry, chaparral - hu?tay ?aka
gopher - minaht
gourd, wild - nonokic
grab - ?u?, yaw
gradually — hawpa?
granary — hu? ?atanat, mucukinihwa?t
grand-relative - curi?, kukit, kwari?
grape - ?uvas
grapes, wild or desert - načakwinač
grasp — ya, ?u?
grass - hamat, tuvi
```

```
grass sp. - takwač, nonomt
 gravepole - kutumic, kutomic
 great grand-relative - sisi?
 green -- ra?upk, šai? ('raw, unripe')
 greens - nokat
 greeting — haku hilpo?w, ya numuwaš tameat ('how do you do'), ya
      numuwaš yiha ('good evening'), (ya) ya, yamiy, (ya) haminat
      mikač ('how are you?')
 grey - mohk
grind - mu, tur
grind, in a certain way - ciri?
grind acorns - kwiwitu?
grizzly bear - hunawit
ground - tivač
groundsquirrel - konit
grow (up) - tuč
gruel -- pohkinic
guardian spirit - kači?, kwačimuk
guests at wakač - kuhanim
gull — wahanka?y
gum - ?ohana?
gush — peakik
gut (V) — čiwin
hail — tɨhpuč
hair, body - pohoc
hair, genital — šuhic
hair, head - kopoc
hairband — ?apihi, pa?ukwinat
hairdo ('molote', 'pug'), prepare - kwišuka?k
hair pin -- mahivat
hand - mac
handkerchief - payo?
handle --- yaivana?, ?a-yahea
hang — varvark
```

```
hanging — varavara?y (Adj.), yuahk)
  happy — numuač; ?a-hun numuač ('heart is good')
  hard — putu?
  hard (Adv.) — waravk, pucuk ('firmly', 'fast')
  hard, be - warahvik
  hare - hwi?t
  harvest — ?ay
 harvest season — tunava? (= 'hot season')
 hat, basket - kumat
 hat, acorn cup — kurun
 hatch (VI) — cim
 have something in eye — ciripik
 hawk, red-tailed - kɨyɨkɨyɨč
 hawk spp. — hukurumat, pakihač, cukwač (medium size, blackish
      tail), širikvet (dark)
 haze — muat
 he — ?a-; ?ama?, pata?
 head — pišač; cf. also winikai
 headdress — mahac, mawiš, pohučumat
 headdress, deer - ?aciivana?
 hear — mač
 heart - hunac
 heat - Pošivan
heavy — pɨčɨ?
heel — timupic
hell — tiypea
help — yuŋa?n, na?rik
her — a-; cf. also -niw
here — ?ahkwik, ?ip(i)
here, from - pape ay
here comes ... - viki
high — meta?#?
high tide — ?aputik ('it is full')
hill — mua?tat, munk
```

```
hillside — Pakoča
  hipbone — tičak
  his — a-; cf. also -niw
 hit — kon, mik, pi?, poŋ, wik
  hoarse — šakwk
 hoe — ?ašarinni (inst.)
 hole -- ho
 hollow — horohk, paroko?y ('hollowed out'?)
 hollow out - hoč
 honey - pihač
 hoof — wacič
 hook (down) - ?ihan
 hopper for mortar — ?a-maha? ('wing')
 horn — ?ac
 horse — kavayo?
 horseback, on — ?acitava?
 horsefly — kwirimaš, pipič
 horseweed - sipin
 hot (spicy) — cutata?i, micane?
hot (temperature) - Posi?
 hot, get — ?ošivak
house — kic
household utensils — tih-tiymat
householder — kik, kike?, kikahtay (obj.)
house pole — kikat
how (are you?) — haminat
how many? — hiniki?
hug - huna?
hummingbird — pituru?
hunch-backed --- pu?uck
hundred — hawkup ti?uhic
hungry — hakwaču?
hunt — hɨyn
hurt — hakwivahk, micane?, pona?y, (VT), šamin (VT)
```

```
hurt, get — hakwivahik
 husband - wičihava
 1 - ni?, ni-
 ice — šikwat
 icicle — yohak
 if — [clause], [clause]-ive?, mehmet [clause], met [clause] (con-
       ditionals, future meaning), timek(waču?) (contrary-to-fact)
 imitate — cicikwin, nanačun
 in — pea, vea
 incestuous — hukaht (nickname from myth story)
 Indian — takat
 Indian paint brush — wahi?č ?aniw aši ('coyote flower')
 Indian tobacco (Nicotiana attenuata and other spp.) — civut
 industrious — hu?ehayhyit
 ingrate — kɨša? winikaik
initiate into yivar (= '?antap') — curpkim, curupkinic
insect sp. — kovakaytat ('pajarhuel')
inside — ?a-hunavea ('in its heart')
in spite — wari?
instrumental suffix - -n+, -v a?
intensive — pucuk, warayk
interjection — kam (sound made by whales)
interjection — ni-yi ('my mother')
intrude — mohmoho?k, pakin
iron — kavoč
irrigate — wick, cf. hopk
Island people — pavea takat
islay (California wild plum) — kupiaht (tree or fruit), tokit (fruit)
islay ball — pokhkinic
itch — cun, yohk
ivy, poison — ?iycic; cf. to?išpea
January — šivipea?, šikwamiač; cf. tamuavea
jaw — ?+ ac
```

```
Jimson weed (or drink made from it) - manič, pa-manit -(the
       Jimson weed drug or its drinking).
 Joaquin Flat - ?a?a?-pea
 juice - šahi
 July — tunava?
 jump - hwahnik
 June — tuŋava?
 juniper — wa?t (tree or processed berries); cf. wilkupea (plcnm.
      from tree similar to juniper)
 just (only) — mohmoho?k
 Kawaiisu — Pakutucyam, Parara (nickname), kayvekikam, ka-
       kayveatam, kaweša?
 keep - nicu?
Kern Lake — paveayik
key — tɨmkinihwaʔt, yaveaʔ
kick — cinim, cink
kick up dust -- monikik
kidneys — povoc
kill - mik, kon
kink (V) — miruhirik (VI), miruhrk (VT), pocik (VI), pock ('tie knot')
Kitanemuk(s) — ?akikitam, haminat (nickname), kitanamu?kam
Kitanemuks, group — pivunacapeatam
Kitanemuk language — kitanamu?ic
Kitanemuk, speak - kitanamu?
knee — tamoc
knife -- kavoč, kalo
knock over (a tall thing) - kuhyk
knot — pocokič
knot, tie - pock
know - ?in
Koso (tribename) — yuakayam
lace (N) - pinihwa?t ('thong')
La Chiminea — kuh-kum aške ave a ('walnut dice playing place')
ladle (V) - ?ic
```

```
ladle (N) — payait
 lake - mimit
 lamb - purewi?, vurewi?
 lamb's quarters — kokt
 lame — yu?u?
 land (V) - nakwarik
 land — tivač
 language - hunuc
 languish with hidden disease — ŋɨčɨk
 lap (V) - Payk
 La Panza — ?ato?yik
 La Pastoria — pohwi
 lard - wipt
 large - ?ati?a; cf. also augmentative suffix, chapter III, section A1
 lassoo - kwee, kwihani?
last - hiwač ('other'), pitač
last one — ?a-pea
laugh — makaw
lazy - turu?kit
leach (V) - wiw
leaf - kavac
leak - hopik
lean — ?iyi?k (Adj.), ?iy?k (VT)
lean - cahawik, cawkit
leather, work - hipipk
left (-hand) — Poci?(na)
leg — cakac, paroc (lower leg)
lemon — limon
Lemoore — tacihpea
let (loose) — wirapk
lets — ca ___ič
lettuce — lečuga?
lie (V) (postural) — ?ik
lie down - kwea?k
```

```
lie, tell a - šušava?
  light - hawawa?i. hawana?i
  light a fire - kwačea?
  lightning — ?a-naka? taoč ('thunder's stick')
  like — tim
  like (V) — ciscik
 lime (stone) - ci?w, tivič
 lip — pɨvɨšɨčač ('cheek-mouth')
 listen - ka?vik
 little - Panusi, Pancsic ('little finger')
 little, a — cipk
 liver - nimac
 lizard, spp. — canač ('iguana'?), ciruku? ('iguana'?), kakayhu?
       purawe? ("guico"), tikiruku? ("ajolote"-yellow, 8" long;
       "quico").
 locative — j+k, vea
 lock - timk
 locust — wo ?oht ('chapule')
 loin — tɨhpic ('lomo')
 loin cloth — kaha ('apron'), kwinupki?, taparava, tavič ('back flap')
Lola - 1018?
long - meta?i?
long ago — ?u(-)?uve a
look — hiu
look back over shoulder - ceakik
look for - n an
look like - hunk ('resemble by descent')
look like - t+hmea
look out through something — may k
loose — murahik (VI), murahk (Adj.)
lop-sided - kavickik
Los Angeles — yana, yavea
lose — hiahk (VT), hiahkik (VT)
lose (game or money bet) - rihvik (VI), cf. rihvk ('win'--VT), ?ick
```

```
lost, get — hiahkik
  lots - waravk, wir
 louse - ?ačimč
 louse sp. - štvactctc
 love — Puyhun
 lover — ?uyk ('nobia'), ?iyia? ('concubine', 'lover')
 low -- pemisa?i?
 low tide, be - havr+k
 luck (? 'suerte') - kači?
 lunch — pokuyat
lung — šoŋač
 make -- k+m
 mallow - marvaš
 man — pečuk; wɨčɨheč ('old man')
 many - wir
 manzanita — kɨčač, kɨčavihač (edible sp.)
 marbles (named after chilecote plant) - ?ihayc
 March — šimiač ('flower month'), yamiač; cf. also tamuavea
 mare — yew aš
marriage - na?wak
married - na?waki?
marrow - ?opawe?
marry - na?u?
mash — wiro?
masher stick - wishut
mass (service) - miša?
mat - hon at
mat, wall - tikanič
maybe - kay
me -- -ivin
measure (?) — nanačunihwa?t
measure bead money - pink
measure for beads (4 times around hand) - tikwe
measure for beads (once around hand) — ?a-t+wane
```

```
meat — ?a-tap, karnea, kawnea, tivo?yt ('animal')
medicine - neliliw, niniliw, nilinyo
medicine, emetic — kuruventu?ihwa?t
meet — ?ank
melon — merin
melt - cohvik, kwa?rik
memory — winikai (< 'think')
mend — napk ('stick together')
menstruate — mɨyvɨ?, yahaŋɨk
mesquite — ?oč
metal — tukuhpač
metate - ciri?ihwa?t
Mexican(s) — činamri, cicinavri? ("Californio, persona del pais"),
      hayku? (sg.), muka(h) ('white')
middle — hunavea ('heart', loc.), šun
midnight — hunavea tuka
midwife — mayhani?ač, pinarik ('tie-help'?)
milk — ?a-šahi (='juice, soup'), leči? ('cow's milk')
milk (mothers) - pi?, ?a-šahi mipi?c ('milk of your breast')
milk (a cow) - kwick ('wring')
milkweed — kacic ('chewed'--Asclepias sp.), wivič (red sp., from
     which cord is made)
Milky Way — tukumušiva? ('cradle'), tivayik ('toward the piñones')
mineral? — niviit (brown, earthy, for menstrual problems, etc.)
mirage — cf. kwakwahuna?
miss (someone) — miyšik
miss (someone or something) - nan
miss (the mark) - ?ačaw
mission — lamisyon
mistletoe — ?akačo?a?,?ako?ona
mix — mo?nk (VT), mono?k (Adj.), monikik (VI)
Mojave - ?amahava?, mohavidz
moisten — yu aš k
molar -- kaycama ('mountain-tooth')
```

```
mole (animal) — minaht, tihpokt
 money — pačiht, tukupač
 Mono Lake people — kahakam ('aproned') ("Monachi")
 Monolith — matavin ('the Monolith [Kawaiisu] settlement')
 Montalvo (plcnm.) — munkikahyik ('= kašupŋa')
 month - miač
 moon — mɨač
 more — hamak
 morning — tukavipea
 morning star - pahikyit
 mortar — tuhiwhat ('metate')
 mortar, bedrock — tihpahač
 mortar, portable - tikwiš
 mosquito(es) — haw aw ač
 moss — ?akačo?a?
 mother - yi?
mother-in-law - y+r
mount horse - ?očik
mountain - kayc, mač, mua?tat ('small mountain')
mountain lion — tukut, tukučuwat
mountain ridge — ?a?aywea
mouse - wakasi?
mouth — šičač
move (change dwelling) - hu?nik
much - pucuk, waravk, wir
mud --- pakwinit
mule -- mula?t
mulefat — Pipkoč
multi-colored — kopipk, kwitkwitk
multi-spirited person — ?at?išwiniš
mush — pohkinic
mushroom sp. — takaši
mushroom sp. — tiyt ?akuma? ('spirit's or devil's hat')
musical instrument — wire?ynihwa?t
```

```
musical instrument, play — wiro?y, wiroy?i
 mussel sp. - kukukuniti (black bivalve, not a limpet)
 mustard — mort as a?
 mute — ?ɨmɨha, naw ?anahuŋwi? weravk
 my — ni; cf. also -niw
 myth - cici?akinic
 myth, tell a — cici?akin
 myth character — hukaht, juhaha(+)t, ku?kunič, nunaš+š, pičureyt,
      tataknič
 myth characters of the sea — papamaš (also = 'fog')
 myth character (creator) — canihpa ('our god')
 myth character (female) — cukit
 nail - kalavo?
nail, finger - wacič
naked — pina
name (V) -- tiw
navel — toroc
near - pop, popi?, ?ahkwik
neck - mihic, nohoc
necklace - konakat, tukuhpač ('money')
needle - ?avuha
neg. — kay (in imp.), naw
nephew — ?ahir, ?ahkana, ?amcit, mahcit
nest (of rat or bee) - koca?
net - kwihat
net, type of — niririhkinič
nettle — hikihač
nevertheless - cf. war +?
new — ?amayt
Newhall — ?akure?en
news — tɨhwa?
next (year) — mat-a-kim hiwač tivač
niece — Pahir, Pahkana, Pamcit
night (,last) — tuka
```

```
nine — makaveyki
nineteen — wehmahač hamak makaveyki
ninety — makaveykihea wehmahač ('nine times two tens')
nit — Pašaykuya
no - naw
no good - kiša?
no good — šuavač
nod — wo?nik (VI), wo?nk (VT)
none — nawhit
no one - naw hamic
north (?) — tɨmɨnamoyɨk, tɨmamik, kwimika
nose — mukpic
not -- naw
nothing - naw hit
not quite — hahavik (V)
not yet -- naw-ham, naw hami?
November — cf. tonava?, wiva?
now - ?ama?y
nude — pɨna
nut — pucu
oak sp. — ma?hit (Quercus douglasii), mohcač (Quercus sp.), šaš
     (mountain oak with edible acorn: Quercus wizlizerii sp.?), šev
     (white oak, edible acorn, Quercus lobata), sivisyu (Quercus
     lobata), tuke (reddish, inedible acorn), wi?aht (has big
     acorns), wi?hait (live oak of coast, with small acorns)
ocean - mimit, wanit ('river, flood')
ochre — ?ohat
October — cf. tonava?
oh (woe) — ? ay
Ojai — Pohay
old person, very — ?uvihat
older sister - kohač
old man - wičihač
Old Tejon — wihwipšahavea (< 'trap')
```

```
old woman - noht at
 olive tree — ?olivo?
 olives — Pesetuna?
 omen (V.) - ti?ayn
 on one side (eye, road) — caka?k (Adj.), cakahik (VI)
 on top — pa?pi
 once — hawkupi
 one - hawkup
 one-by-one — hahukup
 onion — šivoya?
 onlooker - hi-hi?ač
 only — nuk
 only — mohmoho?k
open — ?ana?k (Adj.), ?a?nk (VT), usayik, ušapea (plcnm. meaning
      'opening')
open (sparse) - woro
open eyes — cana?nk
opponent (in game) — kayšuc
opposite side — ?amuvayu?
optative — mek, cf. also timek
orange - naranha?
other - hiwač
other side, to or on --- ?amuvayu?, paŋayu?
otter, sea - tukuvič, hu?rist
our - ci-; cf. -niw
outside - yivan
owe - Picakary
owi, barn — šwat ('lechuza')
owl, great horned - munt
owl sp. — kukukuč
ox - niviyo?, weyeš
paint — ?ošan (V), ?ošat (N)
paint, tattoo (N) — tivuši?
pair — ya?yc
```

```
palm sp., of Antelope Valley — comač
 Pampa (plcnm.) — wicirampea
 Panamint (tribename) — cf. <u>vuakavam</u>
 pants — pant alon
 parent of one's child-in-law - nawišim
 parent-in-law - kwaši
 part (hair, etc.) — šeahk
 partner in game - narki?
 partridge — kakait (bigger than quail)
pass (in mountains) - kwinac
pass — nakwarik ('pass over (V)'), nakwarkivea (plcnm.)
pass (through/over/by) — pihnik
past tense clitic - uvu?
past adverb — ?uvea ('before, already')
patch — napk
patio — vankinic ('swept')
pay attention to someone - yanam
peach — ?alvertigo, rurasnea?
peak — munk
peanut - kakawat
pear — per aš
peas — čičaro?
peck for food - potin
peek out -- hurik
pen, writing — Pošanihwa?t
penis — cf. kawrijik (plcnm.--'penis mountain')
pencil — lapis, ošanihwa?t
peón (game) - tipuinic (N), tipui (V)
peón stick — yaykat
pepper - pimyente?
peppery — cut at a?i, micane?
perhaps — cahaka?pea
person — kike? (in "coast Indian")
person — takat
```

```
personal name — yulam (a dog, from mountain name beyond El Oso)
 personal names — colo?t ('Cholo'), hopo?no, hwan (Juan), kawana
       (Vicente Montes), kikacum (daughter of Isabella Gonzales),
       kuweye, manweltay (obj.), mašarin (perh. Marcelino),
       mas áulat (Isabel Gonzales], maytsan (male child), molesta
       (Modesta), muhiwe (= Marcelino Rivera), pa?ičpuna [personal
       name in coyote story; F.], Pedro?, takmo?, tame?, ?ucan
       (male child), visente?, wimpakum (perh. Angela Montes).
      yaypakup, yiwi?kan
 pespibata — civut
 pester — tuh ('grind')
 pestle — pahut
 pet — ?acita
 pet (V) (of dog) — pirpirk, viya?, vi?yk ('touch/feel')
 phlegm — koroma
piano — piano?tay (obj.)
pick up — ci?
picking sticks for tunas — yaivana? ('carry', instr.)
picture — ?ošanic
pierce - horohk
pigweed - kokt
pile up — mohmik (VI), momk (Adj., VT), monmonkik ('hills')
pillow — kipina?
pinch (VT) — co?
pine, spp. — tikoht, wokoht ("piño balsama"--pine nuts and tree)
piñon (pine nut) — tivat
pipe — wikit, wikihwa?t
Piru — ?a-kavayik
pitch — hanat ('tar used on arrows'), ?ohana? (used for paint-
      ing—compound with 'paint'); cf. 200 awe?
pith — šun
pity (V) - mičik
placename (village site below Old Town) — pamahayk
```

```
placename (mythological?) — ?a-timkiniwijak ('Coyote's home in
      Ranch Creek Canvon')
placenames1: ?a-we?rkineavea (plcnm. where someone was pushed
   into the lake), čalamašpea (plcnm. < "estafiate sp."), civut pavea
   (on Comanche Creek; Yok. "Sanchiu"); havi-yik? — plcnm. VF:
   haviyik (placename at Temescal ranch), hin-hinkeavea (a hot
   springs), honewimats (on Paso Creek; Yok. "tsuitsau"),
   kaykukpea (mountain east of Tehachapi in Kawaiisu country,
   meaning bluish or blackish stones), mavin, nakwarkivea,
  unuamea
plane a board — šiv
plant, spp.
    ?ačimawat ("doves eat it")
    ?amawiš (Berula erecta sp.?)
    ?awčivinač (Mirabilis froebellii)
    cinonokt (white flower, black seed; use seed and grass)
    cicamur ("alfilarillo"-used as horsefeed)
    c+w+hu? (a chamiso that had hard wood)
   comač (Joshua tree; or 'cholla' cactus [= Solanum Douglasii?])
   covan ("yerba del manso", "yerba mansa"; Anemopsis california;
     medicinal for cold. cough)
   cukui? (useful only as feed)
   hučic (willow sp.)
   hunakač ("chamiso"; twig used for ear-piercing; medicinal)
   hič (used in baskets; vine; red berries not edible)
   Pipkoč (mulefat)
   kacic (milkweed that is chewed: Asclepias sp.)
   kačokt (Isomeris arborea, fever medicine)
   kakač (ash-colored, 3' tall)
   kayak (angelica)
```

¹This is a partial listing, as placenames are too numerous to list. Note also that it is not always possible to distinguish a true placename from a mere locative expression. Clearly identified placenames are listed separately under their English equivalents.

```
ki?at (tree sp.? used for house roofing)
 kimiš (grass or shrub 3' high, red flower, edible black seed)
 kivuč (has edible greens and yellow flower)
 kokait (soaproot?; "plant with root like amole, to wash with";
  San Emigdio named after it)
 kokt, koht (leaves boiled and eaten; poss. Chenopodium)
 kovakaytat ?anilinyo (medicine for bite of "pajarhuél", insect
  like a wood tick; also for cuts; Euphorbia polycarpasp.?)
 kutwayai (resembles cilantro)
 kuvač (blue or purple flowers)
 kuvanavuč (white flowers; root made into emetic tea)
 kwitak (Cucurbita palmata; smoked; medicinal for earache)
 makač (used for black paint)
mamukiyač (Cirsium occidentale sp.?; edible)
muahkihwa?t ('steam' instr.)
muaka?y (laxative tea; called "bad woman" in Spanish)
nokmát (Croton californicus Mull. ...--[illegible]; boiled root is
  medicine for "blood" and for clap)
Poč (mesquite: Prosopis chensis)
?ocoč (a grass used for brooms and baskets)
pohuša?y ("a kind of rama")
pokot (used to sew piñon baskets)
puhcukuč (has fine black seeds for pinole; edible greens)
purawe? ("guico" [squash sp.?])
sipin (of no use)
šiw ("cacomite"; onion like bulb)
tamavit (plant from which awl point is obtained)
tikic (white flower, tuberous root; source of Ft. Tejón name)
tivuši? ('night shade', Span. "chichiquelite"; used in tattooing)
tutut (Ephedra sp.)
tuvit (grass with edible seeds longer than foxtail; loc.)
?umoč (Spanish bayonet?)
wacic, wacič (medicine to keep hair from falling out)
wakatat ?apomo (Stachys albeno Gray; 'frog's shoulder')
```

```
wa?t (juniper)
     wikwat (good for burning piñon; looks like rosemary)
     wivič (fiber-producing milkweed)
     yahpač (has bulbs)
 plant (V) — pavuhaču?
 play — tuhtutu?
 play ball — vola?
 play game (gen.) — punit a?
 play a certain game — tacankik (inf.; play game of 8 reed dice)
 play game (peón) — tipui
 play game (chilecote) - tohiyicin
 play (instrument) — wiro?y, yuynan
 play slide - sirihrik
play walnut dice - kumašik
playful person — tuhtutu?i?ač
playground - niyakit
Pleiades — nonom, takoakam
plow (N) - Pararo?
plow (V) - kwiatin, yorin
plum - sirwela?
plum, California wild (= islay) — tokit (fruit), kupiaht (tree or
      fruit)
point (V) — he?rk
point (N) - wivavki?
point (of deer) — sumana?ka?y ('one-point'), papaheak ('three-
      point'), mahača?ka?y ('five-point'), tarapkak ('two-point'; =
      'forked')
pointed — wivavk
poison — pahavi? (of snake, etc.)
poison ivy — yač ("hediondillo", "hediondilla")
poker - tipuinic
poor — haona
pop - pahkik (VI), pahk (VT)
poplar — wamat, wamanakic (alamillo—grows in arroyos)
```

```
possession (and possessive classifier) - -niw
 pot - kiwiš, ?oya?
 potrest stone — tav-ihwa?t kiwištay ('pot putter')
 potato — papas
 pound meat - cinea?
 pound metate - pi?
 pour - kimea? ('spill', caus.)
 praise — yunu?
 pray — ?ayain (VT)
 pregnant — to?ka?y (< 'stomach'), tokat
 pretty - numuač
 prick — ?aca?tu?
 prickly pear - naviht
 priest — pandri?, pantri?
 prisoner — kwaka?wat
pronoun emphasizer - pumuk, punuk, umuk, unuk
prostitute - ?iyia?
puddles, make - mimitu?
puff up (VT) - cf. pitk
pull - mičk
pull out — rukutk
pupil (eye) — takat
pure (undiluted) - ci?kič
purgative — ?atu?ci?
purge — winihwa?t ('have diarrhea', inst.)
pus - ?+kahic
push — tičk
put — ta
put away to keep (VT) - nicu?
put back — mankinea ('go back', caus.)
put in — curupk (VT < 'go in')
put up (out of reach) - ?i?vk
quail — kakač, kakait
question clitic — (+)t
```

```
quick --- nama?yk
 quiet - yank
 quince — memriy a?
 quiver - pananat, tanatat
 rabbit sp. (cottontail) - tavuht
 rabbit sp. (jackrabbit) - tihokt
 raccoon - pa?ihač
 radish - ravano?
 rain — won (V), won at (N)
 rainbow — ?ašinina?, pahikyit
 raise — ?i?vk ( = 'put up out of reach')
raise (child) — tuča? ('grow up', caus.)
raisins — pasas
ramada — Payanik, hororkinat, hororkinic
rape (?) — pinank ("romper una muchacha")
rat — kač, wakasi (= 'mouse')
rattle, coccoon - kawakawač
rattle, deerhoof - ciwiciwič
rattlesnake - hint
raven — ?ačawat
ravine (?) - nakač
raw (medicine) --- yaynat ('live')
raw — šai?, ra?upk ('green')
read - lerin
ready — puhciva, tihti?ymaw
real (unit of money) - pink
receive guest — mayaw ('hand-grasp')
recently - mihinan
red — kwašipk
red paint - ?ohat ('ochre')
reed spp.: ?avanač (big; Rumex crispus; seeds eaten), hayic, hwač,
     mahwač, maoč (bigger than hwač), pakač (cane), pakavnikit
     ("carrizo, sp."), pivuht (tule, Scirpus alnevi sp.?-used for
     house, mats, food), toic (water flag)
```

```
reflexive — tak (cf. chapter II, section C)
 relative — hintuač
 remain - hiči
 remember — ni-hun ?a-kwatik (cf. 'heart'), yamk, cf. also winikai
 remind — yamkita, yamkinea?
 resemble — mea, tɨhmea, tɨm
 resemble by descent — hunk
 respect - yunu?
 rest (N) — tahičpea (plcnm., meaning "where you rest a while and
      then start on your journey--una atardeada"), yihatu? ('take
       shade': "sestear")
 rest (V) - hayin
 revolve — wirawira?y, wirahrik (VI), wirawira?k (VT),
       wirawira?ik (Adj.)
 rib — Pamuc -
 rice — ?arostay (obj.)
 rich — niwka?y ('possession', char.)
ridge, mountain — ?a-?aywea
right (hand) — numua(ŋa) ('good')
ring around sun or moon — tiykur
Rio Chiquito — Pokavea ('sand', loc.)
ripe - ?a-kwahi
rise — viruhvi k
rise (sun) — wirahrik tivač ('the earth turns back')
river - wanit, pač ('water'); cf. also okač
road — pokt
roadrunner — puhyit
roast - kamea? ('bury'), ti? ('roast over coals'), waw
roasting pit for mescal — t+?ač
rob - ?iyiw
robin — šiyakak
rock — tɨmɨt
rock, type of — ?ayc (white, soft)
roll (eyes) (VT) — manu?m-manu?mk
```

```
roll over — mana?y
 romerillo -- cake?e
 room - ?ikea
 rooster - cf. 'chicken'
 rooster comb — cinea?na?
 root - nakawi, šutču
 rose, wild — ?učuč (piant: Rosa californica,, berry eaten, stalk
      yields powder for women's face paint)
 rotten — Pašova, piška?
rough (-surfaced) - šarork
round - paro?k, ?uvat (< 'eye')
rub — hɨpɨpk, šuvi?
rubber - ?uli?
rug — honat
rummage things over - wahwaya?
run — wanak (VI), wanakanea? (VT)
sad — ?a-hun ?a-kihahik ('his/her heart is sad'), mwiršk
saddle (V) — siyarin
saliva — hačač
salt — hyavit
saltrass, saltpeter — himukt
salty — cukwa?
same — ?ama?pea, tɨm, tɨhmea
San Bernardino — marinapea
San Cayetano (picnm.) — mahahaipea
San Emigdio — kokawpea (named for soap root like amole)
San Fernando — pašen
San Francisquito (?) — cawayun
San Gabriel — šivavea
San Luis Obispo — tilhini
sand — ?okač, yirumač
Santa Barbara — pirisiriyupea
Santa Paula — mupu?pea
sapling - ?a-šito?a?
```

```
Saticoy — satikoypea
 say - hak
 scalp -- -kwaka?u?a?
 scissors — winihwa?t ('cut', instr.)
 scoid -- ha-hak
 scorpion - Pinoč
 scrape - pikwk, šiv
 scrape sweat from self - y+sk+?
 scratch — šim
 scratch (V, of a chicken) -- co?, wa?nwa?nk
 scratcher, shell - šimihwa?t
scratching stick (for woman) -- wokihwa?t (= "amole brush")
scream - yik
scrounge — tihtivon
sea - mimit
sea lion — ku?muš, tukuču?ut pave ('lion in the water')
seat — ra?wk (VT of 'sit')
secret — cf. vanamine a
see - hiu
seed - Duc
seed sp. - kuč
seedbeater --- wacavihwa?t
seems, it -- cf. cahaka?pea
self - cf. 'reflexive'
sell — nahponom
send — tihtin
separate (V) — na?ak (VI), na?kan (VT), nihiniyaw (VT)
separately - hawkupiču?
September — cf. tonava?
Serrano from San Bernardino — marina?yam
Serranos - cf. wapeatam
Sespe — sehpe?n
set — ?ikinea? (VT < 'lie'?), ra?wk (VT < 'sit')
set (sun) — we?rik
```

```
seven - kwackaveyki
 seventeen — wehmahač hamak kwackaveyki
 seventy — kwackaveykihea wehmahač ('seven times two tens')
 sew - ho?
 shack — tamwa?nat
 shade — tɨkwakayc, tɨpaka
 shade house (where people live in summer) — tikwakayc
 shade, take — tikwaka?yaw, yihatu?
 shadow - tikwakayc
 shake — tikwk (VT), vo?yik, vo?yik (VI), vo?yk (VT), voyoyo?y
 shallow — pa?pi (= 'on top')
shaman — cač
shaman, curing — šapakay
shaman's assistant singer — caču?hyit
shameful one - ciu?ni?ač
shark sp. — hihcikač
sharp — wivavk, tamawit ('tooth', aug.)
sharpen — wivavk, tama?n
shear (V) — rio?in
shears — winihwa?t ('cut', inst.)
she --- ?a-; ?ama?, pata?
sheep — pa?waim (pair), pa?wat (sg.), pa?wam (plu.),
      purewi?yam, vurewi?
sheep, mountain - pa?t
shell sp. — yahuč
shell sp. — šawmi (cone-shaped)
shell - cikeret (shell used by shaman and in tobacco cake)
shell — koco
shell corn - kara?
shepherd — puhceaka?y ('care for', instr.)
shin — paroc
shine (light) - kwarik
shinny, play — pučahk
shinny game (N) — pučahkinic
```

```
shiny — kwanana?y, tavatava?ynik, taviyik
  shit - ša?
 shoe — navokahac
 shoot (an animal, etc.) - mu
 shoot at target — weterere?
 shooting star— hu?č ?akut ('star's fire'?), ?awanak hu?č ('it-runs
       star')
 short — pemisa?i?
 Shoshone (tribename) — cf. yuakayam
 shoulder — pumuc
 shoulder blade - šikac
 shovel — pala?cay (obj.)
 show - ?ayn
 shrine - nahwinic
 shut - nikik, timk
sibling — humu ('brother or sister, older or younger')
 sibling, younger — pitač
 sick — muk, mukuk
sidesaddle — pičk ('sideways')
sideways — p∔čk
Sierra de la Grulla — yelpe
siesta, take a — yihatu?
silver (color) - pačikt
Simi — šimin
sinew — ?a(-)tap, tapkat ('deer sinew for binding bow')
sing — yu?
sing ceremonially (healing shaman) - caču?
sing, deerhoof --- nah-yu
singe (?) — kwirk ('trim feathering with live coal')
singer — cačuhyit
single file — hururava?yik ("placename where they go in single
     file...running down to El Monte")
sink (V: of water?) — cotik
sink (V) — Popik (VI), Popk (VT)
```

```
sinner — tiavo?wit
  sister — kohač
 sister-in-law - - kuhana
 sit -- ra?wik
 sit with feet straight out and together - warahavik, waravk,
       ('much, very, hard')
 six — pavahi?
 sixteen — wehmahač hamak pavahi
 sixty — pavahea wehmahač ('six times two tens')
 skin -- kece, toko
 skunk — ponivač
 sky — tukuhpač
 slanting (of road-winding?) - pičk
 slap holler — yu?inan ?ašičay ('play one's mouth')
 slaughter - kon
 sleep - kum
slender — cahawik (VI), cahwkit (N), halpana?
slide, play — sirihrik
sling - hu?na
slip — (haru?)haru?y, haruhrik ('slip down'), rikwatik
small — Panu?si?, Panosic ('little finger')
smart — winikaik (< 'think')
smear — kwa?rik (VI), kwara? (VT)
smell (VI) — mua?
smell (VT) — hukum
smoke (N) — mwa?t
smoke (VT) — muahk
smokey, be — muakik
smoke (pipe or cigar) - wik
smooth — rikwarikwa?y (cf. <u>rikwatik</u>)
snail - huč ('star')
snake - hint
snake sp. — t ahuč ('gopher snake'?)
snake, water — panahuč (black with white longitudinal stripes)
```

```
snake, corral — tapoč
  snake sp. (mythological?) — wayniš ("chirreonera")
  snake motion — šunišuni?
  snap with finger - tišk
  snore — toča?
 snow --- yu
 snuff — civut
 soft - nama?i?
 soften leather — hipipk
 soil, type of (?) - puyumaki (from marshes, = ?ayip)
 soldier — kwakač
 some- (forms positive indefinites) — tum, cf. t+m
 someone — tumhami
 something — tumhit
 sometime - hami?
 son - mayha
 son-in-law - mišana
 soot — timwat (< 'smoke')
 sore (N) — kapanac
so that (?) - punuk
song — cačuič
soon — nama?ik
sorry - mwiršk
soul - hunac
soup - ?a-sahi
sour - cukwa?
south — ?a?uykisayuk
spark (V, of fire) - taci?
sparse - woro
spend night — tawn
spherical — paro?k
spider — kukač
spider, water - hukaht
spill - kim
```

```
spirit — t+yt
  spit - tohv+k
  spittle — toykivič
  splice — nacea?, napawicu?
  splints, junco - hi ?ivic
  split — hi ?iv, šererk
  split-stick - pakakayna?t (clapper of split cane or willow)
  spoil — kiha?
 spoon - kučara?
 spray water (V) --- puhk
 spread (dirt, etc.) — šeank
 spread legs - kwa?yk
 spread (meal on batea) - wank
 spread (water) - wicacik
 spread out --- yo?
 spring (season) — yamava? ('April'), yamiač ('March')
 spring — pa?o, pavuhave
 sprinkle - wick
 sprout - šitu?
 spur (V) — cihcik
 spur (N) — cikinihwa?t
 spurge — kovakaytat Panilinyo
squash (V) - hink
squash (N) — karvaša?
squash sp. (?) — purawe? ("guico")
squashed (of nose) - pacahk
squeeze - kwaca?
squirm - vo ?yik
squirrel, antelope - konit
squirrel, baby — kanaypucic
squirrel, flying - hikait
stab — c+k, c+tmakuŋ, kuru?
staggering(ly) — takataka?y
stairs — ?ita?kihwa?t ('go up', instr.)
```

```
stallion — naranyon
  stand on head — cinakik
 stand up - co?n+k, hoc+k, k+čk
 standing up - cono?k
 star - hu?č
 steal - ?iyiw
 steep --- wici?k
 step on - hink
 stepchild - ?ahkana
 stick — kučat, nakat ('stick'; 'digging stick')
 stick (V) — c ∔ k
 stick out - purahk (VT < 'go/come out'; also = 'dry (clothes)')
 stick together — napk
 stiff - rutatik
 still - ham, hami?
stingy - širic
 stir — hakwaw, kwam, wiro?
stirring stick — weahut
stir up - koši?
stoke fire - kwačea?
stomach - to?č; cf. also hunac
stone - timit
stone, type of - kaykukpea ("sierra east of Tehachapi in Serr.
      country, means bluish or blackish stones")
stone, type of — tišait (powerful stone from coast, color of the
      graniteware)
stop (VI) - co?nik, win
stop up - nakik (VI), nahk (VT)
storage place — tarivana? [< ta 'put'?] ('storeroom, box,trunk')
store — nahponomat, tyenda
story — ciciakinic
straight — rupk
straighten — rupk
strain - Pova P
```

```
strainer — ti?nkinivana? ('deep', instr.)
  strawberry — madulse?
 stretch (oneself) - wacaca?y
 string beads - purikaw, ho ('sew')
 string bead money (V) — ni-šipu ni-kim ('I __')
 strip leaves off - šipk
 stuck — napik
 stutter — toho? ?a-hunwi? ('foolish his/her talking')
 suck - cun, pih
 suddenly — pokatki?ik
 sugar — pihač
 summer — ?oši?, tonava?
 sun — tameat
 sun, take — hu? ('burn')
 Sunday — winic (pass. nom. of 'stop', VI)
sun oneself - tavihukwa?
sunflower — ?+wi, pa?apkač, (Helianthus annuus)
sunny — taviyik
sunrise - tukavipea, ?a-hurik tameat
sunset - yɨha, ʔa-weʔrɨk tameat
sunshine - ?a-t+kwaki, tameat ?a-kupea ('sun's summit')
swallow (V) - mink
swallow (N) — pati?tikeač
swap — nanukaw
sweat — yɨšɨk (VI), yɨškɨ? (N)
sweat house -- huyacaw, ?anusi kic ('small house')
sweep -- vank
sweet — piša?i?
sweet potato - kamote?
swell — pakana? (V), pakana?ic (N)
swim — pavacay?e?
swing — hɨʔyɨk (VI), hɨyk (VT), hɨykihwaʔt (N)
sycamore — havoč (Platanus racemosa)
syphilis, have - kwačkwačik, cf. also 'venereal disease'
```

```
table — lamesa?
 Tacuya (plcnm.) — ku?yaŋ (< 'large bird sp.')
 tadpole — pavo?vo?ač
 tail — kwacitac
 take -- ?u?
 take down — hamutk (VT < 'climb down')
 take off - puk
 take out — piakk
 take shade — tikwaka?yaw, yihatu?
 take steam — muakik
 talk — hunu?, tahtano
 tall - meta?i?
 tan leather - hipipk
 tapeworm - ?apakiha
 Tapo — kwivin, ta?apupea ("tapo")
tar — henet
tarantula — tukuku
target — weterere?nihwa?t
tarweed - pahinač
Tataviam (people) — ta-taviyam
Tataviam, speak — tavia?
tattoo (V) - ?ošan
tattoo paint — ?ošat
tea — ca?
teach - tanimakan
teacher - nah-tanimakanak
tear (VT, of cloth) - pinank
tear(s) (N) — ?opšič
tease -- ?ihama?
Tehachapi (site of New Town) — taruhu?pea ('baby cradle place')
Tehachapi (Old Town) — kisa?tahič, pamahayk (village site below
     Old Town), tahičpea, tiviyik
Tejon, Fort — tikičpavea (< 'plant sp.')
Tejon Pass — nakwarkive ('El Paso store site', < 'pass')
```

```
Tejon ranchería — kučit ?ahove (plcnm. above the Ranch House, =
       Dog Rock), pi?vuŋacapea ("where Rosemeyer lived"), tɨhokt
       Pahovea ('rabbit hole': village 3 mi. southwest of Tejón
       Ranchería house)
 Tejon, Old — wih-wipšahavea (ranch house on Paso Creek)
 tell — hak, tiho
 tell myth or story — cici?akin
 ten — wehmahač ('two-five')
 thank you - ni-hun numu ač ?imiyik ('my heart good toward you'),
       wiyi, wiyi (ritual form, said by vivar men to attendants)
 that — ?ama? (distal), pata? (proximal)
 thatch — hama?n (cf. 'grass')
 their - pi-; cf. also -niw
 there — ?amuk, ?ap, ?apan, papan
 there, from — ?apeay, pap, pop
 therefore - ?amatan
 they — ?amam, pam, pi-
 thick (of board) - tipuck
thick (liquid) — tipuck, wakit
thief — ?iyit
thigh — cakac, ŋaykac
thin (of board) — ?ivivi?
thin (of a liquid) - pavakit, yawik
think - winikaw
thirsty -- pameatu?
thirteen — wehmahač hamak pahea
thirty — pahea wehmahač ('three times two-five')
this - ?ivi?, ?a-mi ('that goes' [used with 'day', 'year', etc.])
thorn - wiha, cf. wihač 'cholla'
three - pahi?
throat - nohoc
throw — mu
throw at - pi?
throw down - wawk
```

```
throw up — sukiuvi
 thunder — kuru?rik (VI), -kuh-kururu (N), taoč
 Thursday -- ?a-waca ('four')
 tick — ?ačimč, mumac, kovakaytat ('pajarhuel')
 tickle (V) — cikuru?
 tidy - numua?ik tavic ('well put')
 tie — pin, cf. kwea? 'lassoo'
 tie knot - pock
 tight - mucik
 tinder — hayic, yeska
 tiptoe, with belly drawn in — hekwik
 tire out (VT) — wawtkinea
 tired - wawtik
 to --- -y i k
 toadstooi — tɨyt ʔakuma? ('devil's hat')
 toast (V) — man, kiri?
tobacco — civut (Nicotiana Bigelosii sp.?)
tobacco bag - tanatat
tobacco drink — kwamic ('stir', pass. nom.)
today - ?a-mi tameat ('day that goes')
together — hawkupiva? (< 'one'), hitk (in a row), mick
toloache (Jimson weed drink) - manič
tomato — tomate?
tomorrow — ?uveahpea
tongue - nɨŋič
tonight - ?a-mi tuka ('night that goes'), tuka
tooth — tamac
top - kupea (top of head, mountain), timkit ('lid')
topknot — ?ususu?
tortilla -tiltiya, tirtiya?
touch — viya? (pet dog), vi?yk ('touch, feel')
tough (meat, etc.) — putu?
towards - yik
toy — tuhtutu?a? (< 'play'), tuhtutu?ihwa?t ('play', instr.)
```

```
trade - nanukaw
  trail — pokt [NB ? ~k]
  transvestite — tuhu?
  trap — wipšahat
 trap in a falltrap — cirhk (V)
  tree — kučat
 tree sp. [partial listing] — haka(-?)koŋač, tɨkɨt, tuŋt (used for
       digging stick), ?uvič (weave with bark)
 tremble — šariri?
 tribename ("Monachi") — kahakam (cf. kac 'front apron of dress'?;
       Indians at Independence, near Nevada; Kawaiisu called them
       Day azoz)
 tribename — yuakayam, kayam (tribe inhabiting yuaka?y mountain,
       Antelope Valley)
 tribename (Kern Lake Indian) — pa-paveatam
 tribename: Monos? Tübatulabal? — šiwi?kawiyam
 tribename: Tübatulabal — tɨvapeatam (< tɨvat 'piñon')
 tribename — šušumkam (extinct tribe)
tribename, near Visalia — te?lámni?yam, tulamne ("language of
     tunami(yam) Indians of Buena Vista Lake and of Bakersfield
      Indians")
tribename - wowalyam
tribename — pakwinipeatam ('Ventureños')
true - mimk
trunk — kahon, tarivana? [< ta 'put'?]
try — tui?
Tübatulabal — šiwi?kawiyam ('Tübatulabal Indian, Rio Chiquito
      Indian'), tivapeatam ('piñon'), okač takat (< 'sand'?)
tuche - šinanami
tuck under belt - tapira?
Tujunga - tuhuna
Tulare Lake — tacihpea ('land of Tachis ... Tulare Lake or Lemoore')
Tulareños — paveatam ('Kern Lake Tulareños')
tumor — cf. ŋah-ŋaykamuk
```

```
tumpline - ?anork+?
  turn (VT) — manu?mk
  turn around (VI) - kwitu?mik
 turn over - wir ahrik
 turnip — navuht
 turpentine weed — muaka?y (under muahk-ik)
 turtle -- kopotat
 twelve — pahiwaca, wehmahač woh ('two-five two'), wehmahač
       hamak woh
 twenty — wohea wehmahač ('twice two-five')
 twins - nacavorakam
 twist — miruhrk (VT < 'kink')
 twist rope — wicu?
 two - woh
 ugly - kiša? ('bad')
 unable - hahavik
 uncle - makay
 uncle, various types - taha, kuhm
unfeeling person - kiša? ?ahun ('no good his/her heart')
untidy — mušamuša?y
untie — murahk (VT, Adj.), murahik (VI)
up — ?ova?, tukuhpavea ('sky', loc.)
up, go — ?itahik (VT)
upstream — ?aru?k, wanit
urinate - š1?
urine — ši?c
us --- -vicim, -icim
use strength - ?ova?
valley - kwinač ('gap, pass'), wivit ('level ground')
venereal disease (?) — nahnaykamuk ("tener potros"; < 'thighs'),
     waŋaŋa?y (Adj.: "tener purgación"), kwačkwačik ('have
     syphilis')
Ventura — pakwinipea (< 'mud, clay')
Ventureños — kišani?huŋukain ('ugly talkers'), pakwinipeaatam
```

```
verbalizer for attributive nouns and numerals - ivak, ivan
  very — pucuk, waravk
  village, ranchería - ki-kic
  vinegar weed — muaka?y (under muahk-ik)
 violin — violin
 vulture — pawirukuht, wirukuht
 wait - puhci?
 wake up - timaw
 walk — nɨm, tuahɨk
 walking stick (insect) — huvawavit ('blind')
 walnut (nut and tree) - kihe
 want — -ihun, uyhun ('take-want')
 wapiti — pahukaht
 war - namuic ('fight', pass. nom.)
 warm oneself - ha?yik
 wash (clothes) — conk
 wash (VT) - kica?
watch (N) - tameat (= 'sun')
water — pač
watercress - vero?
waterfall — puru?pač (falls of Kern River), ?a-hucik pač ('water
      falls')
watermelon - šanyač
watery - pavakit
wave — ?a-kwičik ?a?ova mimit ('it stands up its force the sea')
we — ?icam, icač, icami?, ca- (hortatory subject), ci- (indicative
      subject)
wear out — ŋɨhwɨk (VI), ŋɨhwk (VT)
wear widow's soot — yupakina?
weave - ni?
web — pavaca?ivana? ('swim', instr.)
Wednesday — ?a-pahi? ('third')
week - simana
well — numua?ik (< 'good')
```

```
well (N) - poso?
 west - ?acaw kikayuk, tɨmamik
 wet — ?acotkipea (San Fernando), ?ayawcik, hopik ('leak, be
       wet'), hopk ('make ditch run'), pačuit (< 'water'), yuašik
 whale - kiyaw
 what? — haminat, haminawat (aug.), haminata, hitat, hinim (plu.)
 wheat - tariwi?
 wheel - rueda?
 when? - hinip a?
 when - ?iva?, mahmat (= 'if', in future conditional)
 where? - haypea, hip, yič
 whip - wikivihwa?t ('hit', inst.)
 whip (a liquid) — hakwaw
 whirlpool - ?a-kwišušu?i? pač
whirlwind - ?atakuciva
whiskey - hwiskitay (obj.)
whisper — hawa?y
whistle (N) — pakuinihwa?t, wikoynihwa?t (of bone)
whistle (V) — wikwi?, wikoyn, yu?ynan ?ašičay ('play one's mouth')
white — Payak
white man [presumably, 'white person'] — muka?
white paint - towic
who? — hami(c)
why — haminat, haminawat (aug.), haminata
widow(er) - hahvkic
widowed, be — hahvkea?
wife - nimihun
wild — načakwinit ("una cimarrona"), šuavač ("bravo, maldito")
willow — hakat, hučic ('willow sp.')
Willow Springs - panukavea (Mohave town, in Antelope Valley)
win - nahnipk, pink
wind (V) - kwišuka?k ('wind hair in a molote')
wind, windy - šivit, šivik. Pa-šivka
window --- venta?nu
```

```
wing - mahac
 wink - ?a-weanavin ?a-uvani ('he winked at me with his eye')
 winnow --- kayi?, kayipk
 winnow in certain ways - ca?cakin, hanin, hinea?, wišk
 winter — tamuavea, ?a-šivka ('wind')
 winterfat — ?ipkoč
 wipe - pikwk
 wise — mačike? ('wise person'), ?inanat (< 'know')
 with (accompaniment) - civa?, -mea?
 wolf - wanač
 woman - kwihak
wood — kučat
woodpecker (red-headed?) - šic
woodpecker sp. - pivanač
work - hu?eaha
work - tumahan
world - tivač
worm - ku?ač
worm sp., from Sphinx moth — pi?aka
worm sp. — purpur
worn out — nihwik
wrestle - ulucarin, nanakša?
wring - kwick
write - ?ošan (= 'paint')
Yawelmani by Bakersfield — wanipeatam ('river people')
yawn — hakwakwa?y
year — tivač
yell -- wi
yellow -- ?amariyo?
yes - hai
yesterday — tuk
yet, not - nawham
Yokuts — noče (tribename or nickname for Yokuts)
```

```
Yokuts (below here and at B[akersfield?]; also their language) — kahpišakam ('Tulareños')

Yokuts group — tunami(yam) (at Buena Vista Lake; used boats and spoke tulamne)

Yokuts group — wowal (from Lemoore)

Yokuts, Tachi — tacih-yam (from Tulare Lake or Lemoore)

Yokuts, Yawelmani — wanipeatam (cf. 'river'; over by Bakersfield), yawilmani ('Visalia Indians')

you — ?imi? (sg.), imi?i(?) (plu.), mi?- (sg.), ?i- (plu.)

young — cf. nacat, titinit

youngest — pitač

your — mi?- (sg.), — ?i- (pl.); cf. -niw

yucca — comat, ?umuč

zigzag — ?a-timkiniyik (plcnm.: meaning 'creek zig-zags there')

zigzag design — ?ananačun hucay, kwiočkik; cf. also kimač
```

APPENDIX A: SAMPLE PAGES FROM THE FIELDNOTES OF J. P. HARRINGTON

Jam hupitspe is a place at the other side of the hill which is north of the rancheria here, over the other side of the ridge (north side of the ridge).

Call Bear Valley (north of here) hunaejok too (as well as Los Osos)

Jam tujipe, a big sierra beyong Bear Valley tujipe was Jam territory. It is a very large sierra

Jam wahi at hpipe = White Xkall Wolf Spring (the other side of tufipe mountain)

hinkinks Jam hinkinkeave = Caliente It was Jam territory.

Jam witfilampea = a place below Caliente which is called Pampa.

The px place is now called xix Vina.

Jam. jetpe = Sierra de la Grulla, a ginza big mountain near Culiente. Nombra la garza (or grulla?).

Jam hiavijak is the lake a few miles east of Tehachapi town side of the highway there. Its name would be translated into V as sitiptip. It meations salt.

Jam, hutfrijek (means sausito chino) is an aguage below (east of) hiavijok lake. They used to trasquilar there.

xprkx Jam. pukwan = the big mountain northeast of the rancheria here.

Jam. tuvijak (mentions a ramita a foot high) = Brito Valler.

Jam. tsilampe = the cordon that that runs between where the two

Brites live -- a ridge. There is a spring on each side of this

ridge and the two springs are opposite each other.

Jam tralamaspe (means estafiate sp.) = the sausal below Brites valley

das firewood. ákatfro'a' = miskedoe 1456a Vouch as in Tries Leve-como bola) Call both oak moss + missledoe thus. Inf. insists. hakakon at fr = saus chino, me diren. Plu. to hakakon am. govos here also. hutfits, like sans but ciniza. Name Como. girl In El Pino. Last inow in his face a nts. at matapgant men is comulos
Pino (that range can be seen is comulos · Pira) - and as ked her mother what it was. Her mother suid joat pata's like.
it is snow. Explained that I falls like rain. In nother ence how to cookwell

APPENDIX B: KITANEMUK FORMS FROM A.L. KROEBER Handbook forms

The following forms were collected from A.L. Kroeber's Handbook of the Indians of California (Kroeber 1925), chapters 42 and 43. They have been entered into the dictionary with the source code "K". Kroeber's initial upper-case letters in placenames and tribenames have been changed to lower-case, in keeping with the style of the dictionary. The table following the entries lists all the characters appearing in this list of Kitanemuk forms, and a description of each symbol as it applies to the Kitanemuk forms, adapted from the Handbook's appendix, "Pronunciation of Native Words".1

agutushyam, agudutsyam, akutusyam² — name used by the Kitanemuk and Vanyume Serrano for the Kawaiisu (that is, Tehachapi or Caliente) Indians.

amahaba³ — tribename: the Mohave of the Colorado River, welcome guests among the Kitanemuk, and frequent trading partners.

chivutpa-ve⁴ — placename: on Comanche Creek, called by the Yokuts "Sanchiu".

¹ Pp. 940-41.

² Cf. <u>?akutucyam</u> in the dictionary.

³ Cf. <u>?amahava?</u> in the dictionary.

⁴ Cf. <u>civutpavea</u> 'Comanche Spring' or 'El Comanche', in the dictionary. Kroeber doesn't say what his hyphen is intended to represent, but in this case at least it separates the locative suffix from the stem 'water'.

- hinhinkiava⁵ placename: a hot springs or Agua Caliente in the vicinity of Tehachapi Pass, in Kawaiisu territory; called "tumoyo" or "shatnau ilak" by the Yokuts.
- honewimats⁶ placename: below the ranch house on Paso Creek; called by the Yokuts "tsuitsau".
- mavin⁷ placename: Tehachapi Peak or a mountain near by, perhaps called by the Yokuts "chapanau".
- nakwalki-ve⁸ placename: the principle village of the Kitanemuk, called by the Yokuts "pusin-tinliu".

noche9 — tribename or nickname for Yokuts.

pa-manit¹⁰ — the Jimson weed drug or its drinking.

wuwopraha-ve¹¹ — placename: the Tejon ranch house on Paso Creek, called by the Yokuts "laikiu".

⁵ Cf. <u>hi?nhi?nkeavea</u>, under <u>hi?n+k</u> 'float' in the dictionary.

⁶ This must be the place called Medio Monte, a cowboy camp; cf. <u>hunac</u> in the dictionary.

⁷ Cf. mavea, under mač 'forest', in the dictionary.

⁸ The hyphen again corresponds to a morpheme boundary preceding the locative suffix. Cf. nakwarkivea in the dictionary.

⁹ Nothing similar to this name is cited by any of the other sources in the dictionary.

¹⁰ Cf. manič 'toloache', and pa 'water/drink' in the dictionary.

¹¹ Again, the hyphen separates the locational suffix from the stem; cf. w+w+p sahavea, under w+p sat 'trap', in the dictionary.

Values of symbols in forms from Kroeber's Handbook

- a as in father, sometimes as in what.
- b usually a little more difficult to distinguish from p than in English.
- ch as in English, or nearly so.
- d somewhat as in English; but is quality is like that of b, its tongue position like t.
- e as in met, there; sometimes like a in mate.
- g In Pomo, and occasionally in other languages, both values of g occur, but are designated by the one letter (a "fricative", that is, like g in Spanish gente or colloquial German wagen; and as in go, but harder to distinguish from k than in English).
- h sometimes as in English; occasionally fainter; sometimes more harshly made with constriction at the back of the mouth, producing a sound equal, or nearly so, to Spanish j or German ch.
- i as in pin, long or short, or as in machine, long or short.
- k in languages which possess g, is as in English; in those which do not, it is usually somewhat nearer g than is English k, at least at the beginning and in the middle of words. Indian k is often pronounced much farther back in the mouth than English k.

- I never quite the same as in English, but near enough in sound to be unmistakable.
- m substantially as in English.
- n substantially as in English.
- o as in <u>come</u>, <u>ore</u>; when long, sometimes like o in <u>note</u>, more frequently like aw in <u>law</u>.
- p as in English, but with a tendency of approach toward b like that of k toward g.
- r much as in German, French, Spanish, or Irish brogue.
- s is a sound of the same type as English s, though rarely quite identical.
- sh much as in English, but probably never quite the same.
- t tends to approach d as k does g.
- u as in rule, long or short; or as in full, long or short.
- v in Shoshonean, Mohave, and Karok; the lower lip touches the upper [lip?], not the teeth.
- w as in English, or nearly so.
- y as in English.

Kroeber's1907 forms

The following forms are taken from Kroeber's "Shoshonean dialects of California" (Kroeber 1907: 71-89 and 138-9) and are listed in the dictionary with the code "K". They constitute the only wordlist of Kitanemuk ever published. Kroeber takes the value of many of his symbols to be "obvious', with some differences which he notes (p. 70): a vowel marked with a grave accent is "open"; a vowel with an overbar is "closed"; o and u are "impure"; o and ü are "impure" but otherwise similar to French and German and and c corresponds to I.P.A. [ʃ], and j is its voiced counterpart; is aspiration; v is bilabial v; ñ is [ŋ]. There is some discussion of whether are slightly different from the English k.t.p; perhaps they are simply unaspirated or lightly aspirated phonetically. q is a "velar or uvular k", and t is "palatal t".

-n <i>ü</i> ma — live	r
-n/	ü ma — live

a'ā — crow a-
$$\ddot{o}$$
 dj — blood

a-watsi — nail	antrsi — small
a-woñ — rain	aqaña — beard
a-xùn — heart	atü a — large
āya-k — white	auv a — eye
abica — head	axue — work
aciv kö — wind	axü ñt — eagle
adjumts — louse	bā-hugaxt — elk
adutsit — flea	bātc — water
agopo — hair	badjukt — bow
aiaikik-am — white man	bahi — three
akava — ear	batcuk-ai, [but <u>v atcokai p. 941</u>

amak — give buyu — all

ama-ts — that

cumanat - arrow amuik-anü — kill

chivutpave — Comanche Creek amuk - there

batcuk-ai, [but vatcokai p. 94]

- man

dagat — person amukpi -- nose

damiat --- sun amwak - smoke

didinit — boy	Angeles at Gorman's; said to
	mean 'in the timber'.

gugut --- ash

hāu — yes

dùut — coal

gwatskawik — seven d
$$\ddot{u}$$
 hòg u t — rabbit

gwikah-ai — woman d
$$\ddot{u}$$
 mu u t — rock

honewimats — plcnm. 1 mile downsteam from Tejon ranch house	mavin — plcnm. in the moun- tains, perhaps Tehachapi peak
hugaxt — deer	moatat — mountain
huit — jackrabbit	mòatc — iake
huitahove — Rancho de la	mu -do'pi — back
Liebre	m <i>ū</i> ma — arm, hand
hunat — bear	nakwalkive — Tejon rancheria
hùut — star	site
hü ñt — rattlesnake	nātsat — girl
ni-hùñu — [I] speak	nāu — no
ip — here	ni'-kwa — eat
itsam — we	ni-tama — knee
iv i-ts — this	nòxdat — old woman
ni-kum — [i] sleep	numuat — good
mēat, mü at — moon	n <i>ū</i> , n <i>ö</i> — I
mahatc — five	ni'-pa — [i] drink
makawik — nine	pabahi — six

pahewatsa — twelve

pihate - night

rogaugatc - sit

tikitspe --- Fort Tejon

tsad-uits - sing

tsiwut - tobacco

uv api — tomorrow

ümü —ye

ü mü, imua — thou

wa'watsa — eight

wahi — coyote

ni-wana-k — [I] run

wanü t — stream

watsa - four

we'mahadj - ten

widjidat - bird

wi'koxwet — pipe

wo --- two

wòñ-at -- cloud

wuwoprahave — site of Tejon ranch house

wür - much

wü tcahet - old man

yav o-k — black

yuat - snow

Vocabularies of North American Indians by C. Hart Merriam¹³

[X/23aa/V123]

Tribe: 14 Ketanamoókum (Dominant tribe at Old Fort Tejon)
Informant said he was born on Piru Creek, but later lived at
C'ahuenga (hence his native language must have been Tong-vā, but
he gave me Ke'-tan-ă-mu-kum, the dominant language of Tejon.)

[p.2] Indian Vocabularies Collected by C. Hart Merriam

Name of tribe Ke-tan-ă-mu-kum

Home of tribe C'ahunga? Peru Cr? Tejon, Calif

Vocabulary obtained from Alto Mirando Vadio'

At (place) Tejon Canyon, Calif. Date Nov. 12, 1905

¹²I would like to thank John Johnson of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History for bringing these fieldnotes to my attention. The listing here is a typescript of the notes hand copied by John Johnson, September 26, 1983, at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The two columns give forms from Vadio on the left, and forms from Mrs. Rosemyer on the right.

¹³ Merriam was primarily a biologist; he is not known for the phonetic accuracy of his transcriptions, which he insisted on recording in an inconsistent modified English spelling, rather than using any recognized phonetic transcription system. It is also thought (by Kroeber, cited in Berlin (1981: 246) and Merriam (1966: 3), and by William Bright, personal communication) that Merriam's ear was simply not very good. Nevertheless, due to the paucity of material available on Kitanemuk, I feel it is worthwhile to include these forms. For more information on Merriam, cf. Berlin 1981, and Heizer's introduction to Merriam (1966: 1-9).

¹⁴ The double-underlined words here represent the headings on the pre-printed forms Meriam used for the recording of speaker data on the many consultants for various languages he worked with.

[X/23aa/V124]

Tribe

Kétan'-am'-moo-kum

in their own

Ke'-tah-nă-mwah-kam

language

<u>Tribe</u>: Ko-kó-em-kam (= Serrano of the Padres in <u>Tongvā</u> language)

[Ham'-me-nat or Ké-tan'-am'-moo-kum in their own language]

[p.2]

Name of tribe Ke'-tan'-am'-moo'-kum

Home of tribe San Bernardino Mts. & Tejon (Monte)

Vocabulary obtained from Mrs. J.V. Rosemyer of Tejon, Calif. 15

At (place) Bakersfield, Calif. Date 1903

¹⁵ This Mrs. Rosemeyer is apparently the wife of the "Rosemeyer" referred to in the Harrington notes.

4		**	18 <i>4</i>	IER		
	- 17	JI.	IN		ΔI	

1.	How-kap	How'-oo'-kap
2.	Wŏh′	Wŏh
3 .	Pah'-he	Pah'-he
4.	Wah'-tsah	Wahts-sah (Waht-tsah')
5.	Mah'-hah'tr	Mah-hahts (Mah-hahtch)
6.	Wa'-hamah-haht'r16	Pah'-vah-he
10.	Wa'-mah-hahs	Wa'-mah-hahts

2. PERSONS

People	Tah'-kah-tum	Tah´-kah-tăm
Man	Pah´-tro-ki	Pah'cho-ki/Pah'-tso-ki
	hah-kum(plural)	
Woman	Kwe'-ah-ki My	Kwe'hah-ki
My father (spoken of)	Nin'-nah	Nin'-nah
		His [M. crossed
His father	Ahn'-nah hoo'-as	Ah'-nah this out]
Father	Ahn'-nah	·
	Му	
Mother	Ne´-yah	I-yŏh (spoken of)
	Му	
Brother ¹⁷	Nip-pē' t	Ah-pahr'
	Му	
Sister	Nik-kor (older)	Ah-kor

-re

Му

¹⁶ This looks like 'two-five', or 'ten'.

¹⁷ Apparently Vadio gives the term for 'younger brother', while Mrs. Rosemyer gives 'elder brother'.

Grandmother (father's mother)	Nit-soo'-de ¹⁸	Tsoo-reis
Uncle (father's bro	other) Ne-tar'	[n.g. ¹⁹]
Old Man	Wah'-trah-has	Wooch'-cha-hatch
Old Woman	No´-tat	No''-taht
Little Boy (4 to 12	yr.) Ut-too'-chen-ne ²⁰	Te-teen-it
Little girl (4 to 12		Nah'-tsaht
	rs.) Nah-nah'-tsum	[n.g.]
Baby	An-no'-tse	kwahkeet
Somebody	Toom-hah'-me	[n.g.]
Friend ²¹	My Nepoo´yu	My No´- poo-yu
3. PARTS OF BODY		
My head ²²	New-we-win-na-ko?	[n.g.]
Head ²³	My Nip´-pis-sah	His Ah-pé-sah
Forehead ²⁴	My Ne-sŭ´-ah	His Ah- soo-ah

Ne-o'-vah

Ah-ow-vah

His

Eye²⁵

¹⁸ Note the d for r in Vadio's forms.

¹⁹ Johnson's abbreviation for "not given".

²⁰ This form is unfamiliar to me.

²¹ Merriam's cross out.

²² It looks like Vadio's means 'I'm thinking'.

²³ Merriam's cross out.

²⁴ Merriam's cross out.

²⁵ Merriam's cross out.

Nose ²⁶	Nim-mok-pe	Ah- mỡk´-pe
Ear ²⁷	My Ne-kah-vah	Hie Ah-kah'-vah
Tongue ²⁸	My Ne-nung´-e	Ah-nŭng-e
Back of neck ²⁹	My Nim-moo'-he	Ah-mŭh´-he
Throat	My Ning-o´-ho	Ah'ng-o-ho (ng-o-ho?)
Shoulder	My Ne-po'-mo	His Ah -só-kah
Arm ³⁰	My Nim'-mah	His Ah'-mah'
Whole Body ³¹	My Ne-tah´tah-kah	His Ah-tah-tah-kah
Back	My Nit´too-pe	Ah -toó <u>ch</u> -pe
Chest	My Ne-to´	His Ah-too-no
Female breasts ³²	My Nip´-pe	Her Ah'-pe'
Thigh	Ne-tsah´-kah	His Ah 'ng-i-kah
Knee	Ne-tam´-mo	Ah-tah'-mo
		His

²⁶ Vadio says 'my nose', while Mrs. Rosemyer says 'his/her nose'; Merriam's cross out.

²⁷ Merriam's cross out.

²⁸ Merriam's cross out.

²⁹ Merriam's cross out.

³⁰ Vadio says 'my arm', while Mrs. R. says 'his/her arm'.

³¹ Vadio says 'my body', while Mrs. Rosemyer says 'his/her body'.

³² Vadio says 'my breast', while Mrs. Rosemyer says 'her breast'.

Foot	Ne-sah'-kah	Ah-tsah´-kah
Nails	Ne-wah'-tse	His
· -		Ah-wah'-che
Skin	Ne-to'-ko	[n.g.]
Hair ³³	Ne-ko´-po	Hie Ah-ko-po
Bone	Ah-ōʻk	Ah-oʻ
Teeth	My Ne-tah´-mah	Hie Ah -tah´-mah
	My	Hie
Heart	Ne-hō'n	Ah hờ n
		His
Blood ³⁴	Ne´-eets	Ah- ŭt s
Urine	Ne-see'	[n.g.]
4 NEALTH DIOT	ACE AND DUNGLOAL CONT	

4. HEALTH, DISEASE, AND PHYSICAL CONDITION

Weli	Num'-moo'-as	[m m]
****		[n.g.]
	You	You
Sick ³⁵	Nim-mở k	Mo k∂k
Dead	Ahn'-nip-ke	Ahn-nip-ke
Awake ³⁶	Kwut'sk	Yi'-not
Asleep	Ah-koom	Koo-mahn-neets
Fat (corpulent)	wëpt?	We'pt
Old	Wŭt'-rah-has	[n.g.]
Young	Tit-tin-nit	Ħ
	i'm	
Hungry	Ne-hah'-kah-soo	Hah-kwahts

³³ Vadio says 'my hair', while Mrs. Rosemyer says 'his/her hair'.

 $^{^{34}}$ Vadio says 'my blood', while Mrs. Rosemyer says 'his/her blood'; also, Vadio misses the high central Kitanemuk vowel again.

 $^{^{35}}$ Vadio gives a conjugated (verb) form, while Mrs. Rosemyer gives the invariant (adjective) form.

³⁶ Vadio gives 'standing up'; Mrs. Rosemyer gives 'alive'.

l'm

Thirsty

Ne pah'-me-ah-too

Pah'-me-at

5. DISPOSITION. ATTRIBUTES. AND EMOTIONS

Glad³⁷

Num'-moo-was

Noo-mo-wats

Sorry

Mŭ-isk

Good

Ne-owah-he-o

Good

Num'moo-was pah'-so-ki

Man

No-moo-watch

Good to eat

Num'-oo-was ah'-kwah

Bad

Koo-sah'

Koo-sahk

I afraid

Afraid

Ne too'-muk

Tĕ-mahk

Clothed³⁸

No'-mah-wah-sah-hak'-vah [n.g.]

Naked

Poo'-nah

[n.g.]

Clean³⁹

Noo-mah-was sah-hah'-vo Bahn-ka-ne ets

Dirty

Koo-sah-hah'-vo

Ki-vahn'-kan-neets40

Poor

How"ng-ahn

[n.g.]

Rich

Ne'-o-ki

6. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Buckskin (tanned)

Up-pah-ho'-kat41

[n.g.]

Μv

Belt worn by man⁴²

Ne-sot'-kah

Ah'-soot'-ko

³⁷ Both give 'good'.

³⁸ Vadio says perhaps, 'good his clothing'?

³⁹ Vadio says 'good his clothing'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'swept clean'.

⁴⁰ Apparently this is 'not clean', using the kay negtive (otherwise occurring in the corpus in imperative sentences only).

⁴¹This is the word for 'elk': pahukaht.

⁴² Vadio says 'my belt'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'his/her belt'.

Necklace of shells	Too-koo'-pas	Ah-ko'-nah-kah
Headdress of feather	's ⁴³ Am-mah'-hah	[n.g.]
Wampum	Too-koo'-pahs	[n.g.]
Nose stick ⁴⁴	Ah'-o'	[n.g.]
Red paint	Ah-o'-hah-nah	(of red earth) o'-haht
Black paint	Yo'-wah-kik	[n.g.]
White paint	Ah'-yah-kik	Toh'-weets

7. DWELLINGS (INCLUDING FIRE)

village of town45	Keéts	Ke-keets
Ceremonial house Sweat house ⁴⁶	Spanish Kah-sah we'-haht Ah-no-se-keets	Wah-kahts
Brush wikiup	Kee-sah'-maht	[n.g.]
Door	Yu'-vahts	Yung-e-kin'-its [n.g.]
Doorway	N	# [A·]
Fire	Koot'	kŭt
Flame or blaze	Ah-Ar'-ro-muk	Ah'-ro-ah-ro'-e and Ah-ah-rum-ko
Live coals or embers	Toot'r	T.oo-tr
Ashes	Koo-hoot'	Ko-kŭt
Smoke ⁴⁷	Mo-waht (m'waht)	Ah-mwah'-kuk
Poker	Tŭ-poi-nits	[n.g.]
Firewood	Koo-saht'	Koo-chaht
Pole	Met-tow'-o-koo-saht	[n.g.]

⁴³ Vadio says '(its) feather'.

⁴⁴ Vadio says 'his/her bone'.

⁴⁵ Vadio says 'house'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'houses'.

⁴⁶ Vadio says 'little house'.

⁴⁷ Vadio says the noun, 'smoke'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'it's smoky'.

8. WEAPONS, IMPLEMENTS, AND UTENSILS (EXCEPT BASKETS)

My bow arrow

Bow⁴⁸ Ne pah'-trok Pah'-chō'kt

My

Arrow Ne soo'-man'-nah [n.g.]

Quiver Tah'ng-ah-tet Pahng-ah-naht

Му

Sling Ne hoo'-nah [n.g.]

My His

Knife (of stone) Ne kah'-lo Kah-vots

Firedrill Nik-ko'-mah-hah Koóm mwaht'

(of wood of e'p-kotsh)

Flint Tok-se'-vat [n.g.]

Pestle of stone Ah-pah'-ho Pah'-hōt

Hand stone for rubbing Ah'-mah

Kettle or vessel Ne'-o-yah Ke'-was

for cooking49

A stick⁵⁰ Koo-saht'ano'se Koo-chaht'

My

Pipe Ne we'-ko We'-ke-hwat

(straight)

My His Tobacco bag⁵¹ Nit tahng'-at Ab'-

Tobacco bag⁵¹ Nit tahng'-at Ah'-tang'-at Tobacco Tse'-woot Che-woot

⁴⁸ Vadio gives the possessed form; Mrs. Rosemyer gives the absolutive.

 $^{^{49}}$ Vadio gives a form borrowed from Spanish <u>olla;</u> Mrs. Rosemyer gives the native Kitanemuk form.

⁵⁰ Vadio says 'little stick'.

⁵¹ Vadio says 'my bag'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'his/her bag'.

9. BASKETS

Small mush or An-no'-se ho'-ko-pe-tat Ho-ko'-pe-tat

soup bowl (coiled)52

Water bottle (small) Pah'-taht [n.g.]

Water bottle (large) Pah'-hah-tat

(My)

Subglobular Nik koo'-mah choke-mouth bowl

Tso'-po-taht

10. FOOD AND DRINK

Meat Kar-ne [Spanish] Tu-voit

Dried Meat Ah-wah'-ke kar-ne Ahwah'-ke tu-voit

Fish Ke-hoot Ke-hoots

Dried fish Ah-wah'-ke ko-hoot Ke-hoots-ah-wah-

ke

Eggs Ah-pah'-no Ah-pah'-no Ah-pah'-no Wah-kats

An acorn Koo'-yahts (Robles' Q lobata)Shref/Shrev-ve

Acorn mush Koo'-yahts Weets

Pine nut Too'-baht (Pinyon/Pine nut)Tu-vaht/To-vah'-aht

(of Pinus monophylla)

Indian tobacco Tse'-woot Che-woot

(Nicotiana attenuata and other species)

Salt Ha-ah'-vit He-ah-vit' Raw Rah-oo'pk Sow'-ŭk

Cooked Ah-kwah'-he Ah'-kwah'-he Ripe " Ah'-kwah'-he'

Unripe * Sow'ŭ

Sweet Pis-sah'e Pe-si-e Sour Soo-kwah Tsoo-kwah'

⁵² Vadio translates the 'little'; Mrs. Rosemyer simply says 'basket'.

11. MORTUARY, CEREMONIAL, AND RELIGIOUS TERMS

Corpse

Ah-nip'-ke

Ah-nip'-ke

Burial Place

Nah-kah'-me-ah'-yuk Nach'-kah-mea-ne-ve-ah

"Kotumut pole"53

Ko-too'-mut

[n.g.]

Cremation

Ah-ho'-ye

Nah'kah-me-ah nā-ve-ah

The ashes and burnt

Ah-ho

Kó-koot

of the dead

[Spirit or soul] after Ah-poo'-vhak kuk'-kennye-hon'

leaving body

Ah-hoon-ahp-poop'-ah-kuk

The Devil or bad spirit Too-e't

Tŭ-ë't

A ghost

Ah-po-kah'-took

Ah-pŏŏ'-nah'-e'

A dream

Nik-koo'-man-

Ah-kwah'-kwah'-tso-mok

ne-hoon

A dance

To'-to-its

Tuch-too-its

Dancer

To'-to-he-ō' t

Tooch-to-hū-et

A song⁵⁴

saw'-tro-hea'-it

Tsah'-choo-itch

A singer

Tsah'-cho-hut

12. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, GOVERNMENT, WAR

Chief

Ka'-ki

Ké-ki'

Doctor or shaman

Nah-mah'-we-haw'-it Nah'-mah-ve-hū' t

14. PHYSIOGRAPHIC TERMS

Water

Pah'ts

Pah'ch

Ocean55

Wahn'-nit

Mő-mut

River

Ah'-o-kah kan'-no-e-sa Wahn'-nut

⁵³ Illegible note follows—"wooden in .."??

⁵⁴ Note that Vadio's form includes the passive morpheme (unnecessary in Kitanemuk) before the passive participial suffix.

⁵⁵ Vadio gives 'river'.

Creek	Pah-sow'-oo-wah	Wahn'-noot
Deep	Toong'-ah	Toong-ah
Wet	l-yaw'-suk	Pah'-choo-it
Dry	Ah-wah'-ke	Ah-wah'-ke'
Mountain	Ki'-ē'ts	Ki'-ē'ts
Hill	Mwah'-taht	Moonmon-kik
Canyon	Ow'-o-kah	Ah-o'-kah
Cave	Ah'-ho	Hor'-o' <u>p'k</u>
Valley	Wŭ'-wut	Kwung'-av-ve-ah
The whole world	Po-yo-too'-was	Poo-yu-tŭ'-vahts
An earthquake	Ah-wo'-yuk to'-was	Ah-wo-yuk tu-vaht
		V
Earth (ground)	Too-was (Tŭ-was)	Tu-bats
Dust	Ah-mo'-ne-kok	Ah'-mo-ne-kuk
Sand	O'-kas	O-kahtsh
Mud	Pah'-kwin-nit	Pah'-kwin-nit
Rock	Toŏ-mut	Tŭ'-mut
Rocky	Too'-tă-mut	Tŭ'-tŭ'-mut
Big rock	Too'-mut at'-too-mah	Tŭ-mut-ah-tŭ-ah
Small rock (stone)	Too-mut an'-noö-wus-se	Ah-noo'-se-tŭ-mut

15. POINTS OF COMPASS, CELESTIAL BODIES, WEATHER

Ah-too'-pah-kă

Shade

Sun	Tah'-me-at	Tah'-me-aht
Moon	Mo-aht'ră	Mwatsh
Star	Hoot'r	Hoo"ts
Shooting star	Ah-hoots-ă-koot	Ah-wan-nahk'-hoots'
Sunshine	Äh-too'-kwah-ki	Tah'-me-at ah-koo'-pah
Dark	Ah-too'-kah	[n.g.]
	Dar	kness Her-ro'-pē't'k
Cloudy	Wahng'-at	Ah'-om ah-katch-wo-mat
Fog	Pah-keet'	Pah-kē' t
Rain	Ah-weng	Wo'ng-ut
Windy	Ah-se'b-koo	Ah'-sé-bŏ-ko

Ah-too'-kwah-ki

Thunder	Ah-koo'-roo-roo-e	[n.g.]
Cold weather	Sኒ-vah	Sŭ-băh
Hot	O'-se	O'-se'

16. SEASON AND PERIOD

16. SEASON AND PE	RIOD	
A year	How-kob-tu-vas	Howk-tă-vatch
This year	Am-mi-tŭ-bas	Am-mi-e-ve tŭ-vatch
Last year	How-was-tŭ-was	Hŭ-was-tŭ-was
Summer	Ow'-o-se	Tong'-av-vah
Winter	Ah-seb-koo	Tah-mwah'-va-ah
A month or moon	Mo-aht'r (mwaht'r)	How-ko-mwats
Today	Ah-mi tah'-me-at	Ah-mi-e
Yesterday	Took	Took
Tonight	Ah-mi to-kah	To"-kah
Night	Ah-too'-kah	Too'-kah
Morning	Too'-kah-vip'-pe-ah	Too'-kah-vĕ-pe-ah'
Evening	Yu'-hah	Yĕh-hah
Midnight	Ho-nav'-ve-ah-to'-kah	Hoo'-nav-ve-ah-too'-ki
		ruk
Sunrise	Too'-kah-vip'-pe-ah	Ah'-hor-rahchtam'-me-at
Sunset	Yu'-hah	Ah-wō-ruk tam'-me-at

17. FREQUENCY, TIME, AND QUANTITY

First	Lă-moo'-muk	Pah'-mok-pit and
_		Nah'-mó-mök
Sometimes ⁵⁶	Ho'-oo-koo-pe	Po-kaht-ke-e'k
Not yet	No-hah'-me	Now-hah'-me
Before	Oo'-yah (Oo-ve-ah??)	O'-ve-ah
Soon	Now-hah'-me	Nah-mi'k
Next time	mōt s	Hah'-mōk-maht
Long ago	Oo-yah	O'-ve-ah wo-am'-mah
Plenty	Wür	Wör

 $^{^{56}}$ Vadio says 'once'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'suddenly'.

Enough Not enough ⁵⁷ Full Empty Many (or much) Few (or not much)	Wür Now'-hit wür' Poot'k Poo'-naht Wür' Tseep'k	Wŏr Che'-ipk Poot'k Ah-kŭm Wer" Che"pk
More	Hah'-mŭk	Hah'-muk
None Half (in length)	Now'-wŭr' Ho'-nav'-ve-oh	Now-he'-hee't Ah- ēch -kwah pe-tsah

18. SIZE, FORM, AND PROPERTIES

Large	At-too'-ah	Ah-tŭ-ah
Small	An-no'-se	Ah-noo'-se
Heavy	Poo'-trah	Pŭ'-chă
Light	How-wi't	How'-wah'-wa
Tall	Met-tah-oo	Met'-taht
Short	Pem'-ma-si-e	Pā-mă-si-e
Long	Met-tah-oo	Met'-taht
Flat	Rĕ-kwar'-e'kwi	Bahtch'k
Thick (by measure)	⁵⁸ At-too'-ah	Teh-poot's'k
Thick (like mush)	Tup-pusk'	Wah'-keet
Thin (by measure)	E-ve'-ve	E-ve-ve
Thin (like water)	Yow'-wook	Pah'-wah-keet
Round (like a ball)	Par-rōp-kik	Pah-rōp-kōk
A point	We-wahs-kik	We-vat'sk
Zigzag	Kwe-os'-kik	Ke-maht's
Straight ⁵⁹	Doop'k	Roop'-kă
Hard	Poot'-too	Pŭt-to
Soft	Nah-mah'-e	Nah'-mĭ-e

⁵⁷ Vadio says 'it's not much'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'little'.

⁵⁸ Vadio says 'big'.

⁵⁹ Note Vadio's <u>d</u> for <u>r</u> again.

19. POSITION AND DISTANCE

UpO'-wahO'-vaDownPuch'-tukPutch-tôkUpstreamWah'-nutAr-rôk'

Downstream Puch-tuk Witch-ā'k

Inside Ah-hoo'-nav'-ve-ah Ah-ho'-nav-ve-ah

Outside Yu'-vah Yd-van

Across Ah'-noh-kwar-rok Ah'-nah-kwar-rok

Top⁶⁰ Ah-tum'-ko Pah'-pe

Middle Hoo'-nav-ve-ah Ho'-nav-ve-ah End At-soo'-av-ve⁶¹ Ah-ko-pe-ah

Behind At-tü'-pe Nā'-tü-pā-no/Ah-tü'-pe

 Alone
 Poo'-nook
 Po'-nō' k

 Near
 Pō' p
 Pō-o p

 Far
 Poo'-yahn
 Poo'-yahn

20. COLORS AND MARKINGS

Red Kwas-sup'-kik Kwah'-sup'k kik
Green Rah'-oo'pk Rah'-ō'p-kik
Black Yo'-wuk Yah-vok/Yó-wuk
White I-yah-kik I'-yok/I-yah-kik

23. PARTICLES AND DESCRIPTIVES

Yes How'ŏ Hah"-o
No Now'ŏ Now'-o
Not (general negative) Now {Not hot {Not good Now'-vo

{Now o'-se {Now'-no'-mo-wats

What is it

⁶⁰ Vadio says 'its lid'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'on top'.

⁶¹This form could be a Fernandeño equivalent of Kit. <u>?a-h+v+-vea</u> 'on its edge'; the <u>s</u> might correspond to Kit. <u>h</u> here as it does in other pairs.

Why	Ham'-me-nat	Hah-me-naht'-now [= why not]
When	Hin'-ne-pah	[crossed out] He'-ne-pah
What	Ha-taht	He-taht
Which	Hah-me-ne-kit	He"'t
How	Hah'-me-naht	Hah-me-naht'
		["What is it"] [crossed out]
Where	Hī'p	Hi-mō' k
Here	Èρ	E-pahn'
There	Ah'-mook	Ah-mỡ k
This	E'-we	E'-ve
That	Ah-mah	Ah-mah'
Other	Hoo-waht'r	Pah-tah
Perhaps ⁶²	Ne-we'-ne-ko	Tsă'-hok
Again	mō'ts	maw"ts
Open	Ah'-nok	Ah'-nuk
Shut	Tum'pk	Toom-ke
Lost	Ah-he'-ah-kuk	Ah-he'-ah-kōk
New	Ah-mīt	Ah-mī't
Alike	New'-e-hoon	(the same)Ah-mu-mah'p
Different	Howi-ye	Hŭ-wi'-e
Broken	Ah-vin'-ke	Ah'-ve-gnok

24. PRONOUNS AND POSSESSIVES

I (or me)	Nŭ	Neŭ' (Nŭh)
My (or mine)	Nin'-ne-u	Ne'-neŭ [Ne'ne-u] Né-nüh

You (singular)⁶³ Mun'-new Ü-müh (Ö-mü)

You (dual) Ow'-hung-oo Um'
You (plural) Poo'-yu poo'hoo hung'-ooUm'

⁶² Vadio says 'I think'.

⁶³ Vadio says 'your(s)'.

Your or Yours (singular)	Oo'-ne-u	Mon'-neŭ/mun'-ne-u/ Mun'-nŭh
Your or Yours (dual)	On-neu	บั′-neŭ/ปัก'-ne-u/Un'-nŭh
Your or Yours (plura		
round (plana	'/ (present or	
He (him, she, or her)		Ah'-mah'
His (or hers)	Mun-nu-mi'k	Ah'-neŭ/Ah'-ne-u
,		Ah-nŭh
We (dual)	Oo-mŭ'-ŭ	E'-tsot'r/,E'-tsom-müh
We (plural)	Poo'-yoom-hoo	E'-tsam
Ours (dual)	lt'-sam-mŭ	Tsam-neu
Ours (plural)	San-neu poo-yu	Tsoo'-neu
They or them (dual)	Poon'-yu-poon'-yu	Pahm'
They or them (plural	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Pahm'
Theirs (dual)	Po-neu-ahm	Poo-e-neŭ
Theirs (Plural)	Poon-yu-poo-yu	Po-e-neŭ
Who?	Ham-me't	Hah-me
Whoose?64	Ham'-me-să-tan'-yu	Hah-mets/Hahm-e'ts
	My	
My mother	Ne'-yu	Ne'-yuk
Your (singular) mothe	•	Mŏ-yuk
Your (dual) mother	Ŭ-yuk	Ŭ-yuk
Your (plural) mother	Ħ	បី-yuk
His mother	l-yuk	Ah'-yuk
Our (dual) mother	Tsi-yuk	Tsoo-yu
Their (plural) mother	Poo-yuk	Po'-e-yu
My dog ⁶⁵	Ne-ah'-tsit ko-tse	Ne-neŭ koo-che
Your (singular) dog	Moo-ah'-tsit "	Mo-neŭ koo-che
His dog	Ah-ah`-tse-tom'-mas	" Ah-neŭ ko-che
Our (dual) dog	Tsah'-ah-tsit "	Tsoo-neŭ ko-che
,		. 300

⁶⁴ Mrs. Rosemyer says merely 'who'.

 $^{^{65}}$ In these five entries, Vadio uses the 'pet' classifier, while Mrs. Rosemyer uses the more general 'possession' classifier usually used for things.

Their (plural) dog	Poo'-ah-tsi tom-mas	" Po'-e-neŭ ko-che
25. PLURALS		
One dog	How'-ko-koo-tse	Koo'-che'
Two dogs	Wŏh' ko-tse-um	[n.g.]
√h		tse
Many dogs	Wür "	Koo-che-yan
		ch
One man	How'-ko pat'-so-ki	Paht-tso-ki
Two men	Woh pat'-so-kum	[n.g.]
Many men	Wur "	Pah-paht-tso-kom
One woman	How'-koo kwe'-how-ki	Kwe-hok
Many women	Wur-koo-kwe-how-kum	Kwe-kwe'-hok-kum
A tree ⁶⁶	Ko-tsaht	Wah-maht
Many trees	Wur "	Wah-wah-maht
A fish	Ke-hoots	Ke-hoot'r
Many fishes	Wur-ke-hoom'	Ke-hoom
A bird	Witch-e-tah	Mah-haht
Many birds	Wur " -tum	Mah-mah-haht
27. SHORT SENTENCES	2	
I am hot.	Ah-o'-se	[n.g.]
I am cold.	Nis'-sik'-kwah	H
Make a fire.	Kwah't-re-ah	n
Go away.	Me-ah-ah'-muk	H
Go home.	Nă-ke'-yuk	[n.g.]
	Nim'-min-ne-ke'-yuk	
Come here.	Ke'-vah-kwuhk	•
Where is he?	Hi'-pi-tah'-katch	•

Now-ne-ữ n

Where is the water? Yu'-its-paht'i

Hew'-pah'-tah

Look at that!

I don't know.

⁶⁶ Mrs. Rosemyer gives the word for a particular tree, 'cottonwood'.

Go get water. M'yow o-paht'r Give me a drink. Mah-kaht'-se-poht i feel better. Wah-ne'-kas num'-woo-was I am hungry. Ne-hah' kwah'-tsoo Go to bed! Me'ah kwe-ahk' Get up! Koo-ut'sk I'm sick. Nim-mak-nu' He struck me. Nŭ'-we-ah am-mŭk Ah-pong'-ah-von Nű-ne-műk' i struck him. Ne-pong-ahn Somebody is coming.67 O-we-hah'-me sah'-kim [n.g.] A white man is coming.O-wah'-kim I'-ah-kik An Indian is coming O-wah'-kim tah-kaht Who are you?68 Ham'-me tu-mu' Where are you going? Hi-mo-kaht mum'-me Hi'-mo-kaht mum'-me Ä-moo-kŭ'-wats He killed a bear. Ah-muk hoo'-nah-tah A bear killed him. Ă moo-ho-noi-tă-ma Hoo'-naht ah-muk It's raining now. Ah-wong' [n.g.] Greeting Ham'-me-nat muk'-Yah"ham'-me-nat mukkatch katch Farewell Wahn-nim'-me O-ve-ah-ne' me (=I am going) (I'm going)

28. GEOGRAPHIC OR PLACE NAMES

Cahuenga both in { Kah-wen'-gah (n.g.)

Tongva {
Territory { Tah-hun'-gah (his tribe here also)

⁶⁷ Merriam has mis-segmented the words: uve hamits akim.

⁶⁸ Merriam mis-segments: hamit +m+.

APPENDIX D: KITANEMUK FORMS FROM J.W. HUDSON

In about 1899-1902, John W. Hudson did some fieldwork with "Shoshonean" consultants at Tejón [Canyon]; these are now on file at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago; a copy was made available to me by John Johnson of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. At least some of the recorded forms were from Mrs. Rosemeyer (her name is not mentioned until the middle of the notes, so there may have another speaker). Some of the words appear to be Gabrielino. The following is a list of words from those notes which appear to be Kitanemuk, and have been entered inthe dictionary with the source code "JW".

atciwu — seed food, abundant and popular, 2 1/2' tall, has a small yellowish flower, grows on sandy plains, gathered in fall when fully ripe, ground up with stone pestle, slightly cooked in a pot, eaten as a thin mush

cumanat — arrow straightener stone, in another dialect here

hinukt — salt grass, used as tea and as medicine for fevers and stomach troubles

hokopita — plaque

hutac - basket willow, both warp and woof

kaiyak — Angelica root, chuchupati

kumaskitz - pea and shell game

kumaskkihuat — gambling basket

kumat — basket cap

kwungatc — doctor's charmstone, the mysterious thing [an etym.?] nurlinyu — medicine in general pahot — pestle parhinatc — tarweed, a common seed food patc — water patsaats — conical basket piakex — shinney game tarahut — cradle frame tsatc — charman or medicine man tsikarat — abalone gorget tsiut — lime for snuff mixing and medication tsiwut - snuff tsomat — yucca, a red root used for basket patterns tsopotat — granery [sic] or meal jar Tumkitc — name of a burial cave tunganihuat — arrow straightener stone ummah — mortar basket or hopper wikut — steatite pipe

The following numerals were recorded. They are not entered in the dictionary, since it is unclear whether the list is of Gabrielino or Kitanemuk ("Tijon" in Hudson's terminology) numerals.

- 1. pucko 5. moha
- 9. mahakavie
- 20. wiheswihesmaha

- 2. wehe
 - 6. pavahi
- 10. wihesmaha

- 3. pohi 7. watcakovie 11. wishesmahakoipoku

- 4. watca 8. wiheswatca 15. wihesmahakoimaha

APPENDIX E: KITANEMUK FORMS FROM C.E. KELSEY

C.E. Kelsey collected numerals from a number of different groups. There are some notes on file at the University of California Berkeley, at the Archaeological Research Facility (MS #424), which include some numerals gotten from a "Mrs. Rosemyre, of Tejon", at Bakersfield, California, March 4, 1906. These appear to be Kitanemuk, and they go much higher than the numerals from any of the other sources. Here is a list of the numerals, which are entered in the dictionary with the label "CK".

1. hau'kŭp

2. wa(q)

3. pa he a

4. wat'sa

5. mahach'

6. pa'va hi

7. kwat' ka vi/ ko

8. wa' wat sa

9. ma' ka vi' ka

10. we' ma hach

11. wë' ma hach' ha' mük hau' küp

12. we' ma hach' ha' muk wa(q)'

13. we' ma hach' ha' muk pa he' a

14. we' ma hach' ha' muk wat' sa

15. we' ma hach' ha' muk ma hach'

16. we' ma hach ha' muk pa' va hi

17. we' ma hach' ha' muk kwat' ka vi' ko

18. we' ma hach' ha' muk wa' wat sa

19. we' ma hach' ha' muk ma' ka vī' ko

20. wa' hếi wế' ma hạch'

- 30. pa he' a we' ma hach'
- 40. wat' sa hī' a we' ma hach'
- 50. mahach' 1' a we' ma hach'
- 60. pa' va hī' a we' ma hach'
- 70. kwat' kavi' ko hi' a we' ma hach'
- 80. wa wat' sa hi' a we' ma hach'
- 90. ma' ka vi' ko hi' a we' ma hach'

APPENDIX F: KITANEMUK FORMS FROM VAN VALKENBURGH AND FARMER

On October 24-26, 1934 Richard van Valkenburgh and Malcolm Farmer of the Los Angeles County Museum took some brief notes on "the Hamenot Indians" at Tejón. Their notes contain some Kitanemuk (Gitanemuk) forms elicited from Marcelino Rivera (Moohoo-whie), described as "a full-blooded Hamenot Indian ... born at the rancheria of Mauvi in 1874 [son of] Sa-woon-a-hume (Spanish name Magdalena Oliveras [sic])". The following placenames and tribenames from their list have been entered into the dictionary with the code "VF".

a-wh-ho-mo-mon (Frazier Mt.)

ah-cant-sita-hovie (Montes ranch in Tejón)

ah-cuh-kin-ne-who-yōōk (ridge at head of Tejón Creek canyon just southeast of the school)

aquitaum, ah-huh-keet-um (name of the [Kit..] tribe)

coo-chita-hovie (Tejon creek canyon at lower end)

coh-chita-hovit (all the valley [at Tejón Canyon])

cou-yan (placename over by Grapevine)

ha-ve-youk (placename at Temescal ranch)

ha-ya-ui-ook (Salt Lake, 4 or 5 mi. away on the other side of the mountains where they used to get salt)

hame-e-not (name of the [Kitanemuk] tribe)

hou-mi-mot, hoo-may-mot (rancheria northeast of Tejón ranch)

kitanemuk, key-tan-eh-muk, quitanamocc (name of the [Kit.] tribe) mah-havie (rancheria north of Tejon Ranch by oak grove) man-nee-yuk (hill to the right of R. Gomez's ... 1/2 mi. northwest) mau-ui (ranchería in the oak trees (monte)) moo-moy-yōōk (Cummings Valley) na-quar-key-uai (ranchería at Tejon ranch; people there spoke Porterville language) pa-cui-yōōk (mountain north of Montes ranch (wild bamboo) [wet]) pats-a-wha-pai-hi, patch-ow-wah-pit (Castaic Lake) pap-pa-vi-ott-um (Bakersfield people) pee-pee-waht (San Gabriel people) se-vew-gra-cha-pai (Grapevine placename) ta-cakvavie (placename at Temescal ranch; ear) ta-cu-ya (Salt Lake place) te-hech-pi (Tehachapi) to-coy-ya, tash-al-loo-loo (Ventura picenames) too-ish pai, tōō-ich-pai (rancheria 2 mi. west of Tejón ranch) unua-mia (rancheria 1 mi. east of Tejón ranch)

APPENDIX G: THE LAYOUT OF HARRINGTON'S TYPEWRITER

JPH Custom Typewriter Keyboard (drawn from specimen)

back	2	${\mathbb F}$	3	1	4	$ar{1}$	<u>5</u>	Ŧ	6 S		7 9		8	9 Y	Ŧ	ñ 1k	*	4	~	tab
A q	E	w	I	3	Ŧ	r		ŧ	E	y	E		i	Ŧ	0		<u> </u>	<u>}</u>	Į į	3
a	L	s	F	d	E	ſ		g	E	h	E	j	k		1	<u> </u>	T	~		
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APPENDIX H: DEVERBAL NOMINALS

<u>Stem</u> ca?cakin	Meaning winnow	<u>Instrumental</u> ca?cakinihwat	<u>Meaning</u> winnow, baske	Agentive
ciu?	shame		······································	ciu?ni?ač
hakwaču	? hungry, VI			hakwaču?i?ač
hakwaw	stir			
hama?n	thatch			
hanin	winnow			
he?rk	point	-he?rkinivana?	forefinger	
hin‡k, hin			•	
h‡yk	swing, VT	h‡ykihw at	swing	
horohk	pierce	horohkinihwat	drill	
hu?	burn, fart			huhu?i?ač
իս դս?	talk			
hiu	see, look			hihi?ač
?i?ihama				
?ihan	hook down	?ihanihwa?t	hook	•
?∔n	know	-?inanivana?	signal	
?∔tah∔k	climb up	?4ta?kihwat	stairs	
kamea?	bury, roast			
ka?mk	drunk, crazy			
kaci?	chew			
kim	come	kimivana?	coming	
kɨm	make			k4mani?ač
k‡š a ?	be no good			
kop‡k	break, VI			
kuru?	poke at	kuruventu?ihwat	emetic	
kwa?	eat	kwa?ihwa?t	eating table	
kwače?n	•	kwačenihwat	poker	
kwara?	smear, VT	kwara?ihwat	tanning plant	
kwam	stir			
mak	give			
man	toast			
manu?mk	turn			
mačea	hear?	-mačivana?	freedom	
may	finish	•		
mayha?	give birth			mayhani?ač
m÷k	kill		məkaniač	
mink	swallow	-m‡nkinivana?	esophogus	
mirurk	twist			
m+yvan	bet			
mo?nk	mix			
mu	throw, shoot	-muivana?	spear	

Deverbal derivate Meaning shameful person hungry person	<u>Passive</u> ca?cakinic	v. cont'd. (complete Meaning winnowed	s chart on prev General	ious page) Meaning
nangry paraon	hakwayc-ay hama?nic haninic he?rkinic,č ?ahinki?	chia batida, obj. thatched winnowed forefinger driftwood		
farter	?ahu?i? huŋuc	burned	h	
onlooker	nagac	language	-huŋuʔaʔ	language
			na?ihamat ?inanat	brat wise
	kame?nic	bread		
	kamkic kačič	crazy milkweed		
	k+manic k+ša?nic ?akopki	a made figure ugly broken		
	kwamic makic manic manu?mkinic ?ama?yki	pespibata batida gift toasted piñon turned (sack) finished	namakat	generous
midwife murderer	•		mayhat, -c	child
	młyvanic mirurkinic	the money bet pita		
	monkinic	mixed up mess		

Deverbal d	erivational mor	phology, cont'd.		
Stem	Meaning	Instrumental	<u>Meaning</u>	Agentive
mu	crush	mūyhwat	mortar	Month
muak+k	take steam	muahkihwa?t	steaming plant	,
muk	sick		Julian Pilan	•
nahnipk	win	nahnipkinihwa't	goai	
nahponom	sell	·	_	
nahwin	give at shrin	е		
nahyu	sing, deerho	of		
nakwar	play cert. gar	ne nakwahihwa?t	game stick	
namu	fight			
nanakša?	wrestle			nanakša?i?ač
na?o?	marry	-nao?ivana? pi-	y+k fiancée	
napk	mend			
nihini	make fiesta			
n i m	walk			nəmi?ač
?okwa?	get caught	?okwa?nihwa?t	fishhook	
?ošan	paint	?oša?ihwa?t	paint	
pahpahk				pahpahkiač
paro?k	bail up			
pavacay?e		-pavaca?ivana?	web	
pi?	hit, etc.	-pi?vana?	pecking stone	
pikw(k)	scrape	-pikwinivana?	scraper	
p i n	tie	panihwa?t	door thong	
pock	tie			
po?ŋk	hit	-ponivana?	pounder	
pučahk	play ball	pučahkinihwa?t	stick, ball,pl.gi	nd.
punita?	play game	punita?ihwat	game pole	
punink	make car.ring)		
purikaw ra?wk	string beads		_	
rarwk rio?in	sit	ra?wkihwa?t	seat	
riurin Ša?	shear, imp. defecate	rio?inihwa?t	shears	rio?ini?ač
šeahk				
ši?	part hair urinate	-ši?ivana?		
šiv	plane	-širivana r -šivivana ?	urine	
š i m	scratch	š÷mihwa?t	saw, plane,etc. scratcher	
ta	put	-tarivana?		
timk	shut	timkinihwa?t	place to keep thi	ngs
timuhivan	euvv	CTHEMINITY OF C	key,stopper	nahtimuhivaniač
t i ?ŋk	deep	-t+?ŋkinivana?	strainer	nontrinumy am ac
tipu?i,	play peón	. rigkilly dia r	Suamoi	
tipwi?	play peón			
tiyu	frost comes			
/-				

Deverbal derivation Meaning	tional morphology <u>Passive</u> muic	v. cont'd. (this com Meaning pinole; crushed	pletes chart of p General	orevious page) Meaning
	mukic	sickness		
prof.wrestler tramp	nahwinic nahyuic nakwahit,c namuic nanakša?ic napkinic nihinit,-c	shrine singing a certain game war wrestling match mended a type of fiesta	nahponomat	store
popping plant	paropkinič	ball		
	pocokič	bundle of clothes		
shearer	pučehkinic puninkinic rio?inic	game carrying ring sheared wool	punitet	game
	ša?ič, ?aša?	shit	-šeahkina?	
	ši?c	urine	-seankinar	part in hair
envious person				
	t+kpuynic t+pwinic	peón game peón game		
	C.pit iiile	Poor Same	tiyuat	frost

Deverbal d	lerivational mor	phology, cont'd.		
<u>Stem</u> tohiyicin	Meaning play chilecote	Instrumental tohiyicinihwa?t	Meaning pieces	<u>Agentive</u>
tuhtu?	dance		p.a., g p.0000	
tur	grind	tuhiwhat	mortar	
tuhtutu?	play	tuhtutu?hwa?t	toy	tuhtutu?i?ač
vank	sweep			
vatk	ciap			
vfya?,vfyk	touch	-v+y?avana?	feeler	
wetereðe	shoot at targt	weterere?nihwa?t	t target	
wik	smoke tobac.	wikihwat	pipe	
win	cut	winihwa?t	shears	
win	have diarh.	winihwa?t	purge	
wiro?y	play instr.	wiro?ÿnihwa?t	musical instr.	
W+k	hit	w+k+vihwa?t	whip	
włšk	winnow			
w+vanea?	cure			w÷vanea?ni?ač
ya?	carry	ya?ihwa?t	[var. carriers]	
yorin	plow	yorinihw a ? t	plow	
yu?	sing, cry	yuynanihwat	musical instr.	

Deverbal derivational morphology, cont'd, (this completes chart of previous page) Meaning <u>Passive</u> Meaning <u>General</u> Meaning tuhtuyc dance playful person vankinic swept, patio vatvatkinic type of dance w+škinic winnowed healer yorinic plowed

APPENDIX I: CLASSES OF VERBS

Basic non-caus.	Caus.	imp. non-caus.	Imp.caus.
?ar 'bathe, VI'	Johan Bosha MTI		
•	?ahan 'bathe, VT'		
h+7y+k 'swing'	h+yk 'swing'		h÷yki
horok‡k 'have a hole'	horohk 'put a hole'		
hyu 'see, look'		(t‡?)hyu	
huc∔k 'fall'	huck 'drop,VT'		
kamea? 'bury'		kamea?n	
k+m 'spill'	k‡mea? 'pour, spill'		kimea?n
k+m 'make'		k÷man	
manik 'return, VI'	mankinea 'return,VT'		
monikik 'be mixed'	mo?nk 'mix'		mo?nki
mu 'shoot'			
nemu 'fight'		•	
nap∔k 'be stuck'	napk 'glue, VT'		
ŋakɨk 'choke,VI'	ŋahk 'choke,VT'		
pamuk 'drown, VI'	pamukunea? 'drown,VT'		
purakik 'come out'	purehk 'take out'	purahk	purahki
ra?whik 'sit'	ra?wk 'seat'	ra?wk	
wew 'roast'			
wawtik 'be tired'	wawtkinea? 'tire, VT'		
wanak 'run, VI'	wanakanca? 'make run'		
wiroy 'play instr.'		wiro?yi	
yamk 'remember'	yamkinea? 'remind'		

Appendix I: Classes of verbs (this completes the chart on the previous page)

<u>Passive</u>	Desid.	<u>Participle</u>	Nominals, etc.
			-ahea-y 'pool,obj.'
			h‡ykihwat 'swing'
			horohkinihwa?t 'drill'
			hihi?ač 'onlooker'
kamea?nea		kamea?nic	
			k+mani?ač
	, ·	monkinic	
muhea	muihun nahnamu, namuihun		-muivana? 'spear'
		napkinic	?anapkinea 'patch?'
			ra?wkihwa?t 'chair'
			wayka?y (inf.)
			wiro'ynihwa?t

APPENDIX J: IMPERATIVE VERB FORMS

Indic. Stem	Gloss	2nd sq.	2nd plu.	1st plu.
?ank	open	?a?nki		
?ayk	lap	?ayk	?ayk-∔č	ca-?ayk-∔č
cana?nk	open eyes	cana?nk		
ci?	pick up	ci?	ci?-č	ca-ci?-č
ciŋim	kick	ciŋim	ciŋim-+č	
co?nk	stop, VT	co?nki		
cu?mk	close eyes	cu?mki		
cu?ŋk	suck	cu?ŋki		
hakwaw	stir	hakwaw	hakwa-č	
hanin	winnow	hanin	hanin-∔č	
hayin	rest	hayin	hayin-∔č	ca-hayin-∔č
he?rk	point	he?rki		
hŧyk	swing	h i yki .	hŧykič	
hyu	look at	(t+?)hyu	(t∔?)hy-∔č	
hu?	fart	hu?		
hue?aha	work	hu?eahaw	hu?eaha-ič	
իսղս ?	talk	huŋu?		ca-huŋu?-pay ⁶⁹
hurk	peek out	hurki		

⁶⁹This seems not to be an imperative form as described above, but it is listed here because it uses the imperative subject first person plural prefix. There are very few examples of the morpheme -pay, so it is hard to say much about it, but some volition might be guessed from the use of the otherwise imperative subject prefix; the translation suggests a milder mode of "imperative", or volitional meaning.

Indic. Stem	Glene	0-4	0-1-1		
	<u>Gloss</u>	2nd sq.	2nd plu.	<u>1st_plu.</u>	
?ic	ladle	?ic	?ic-∔č		
?icu?k	fix up	?icu?ki			
kamea?	bury	kamea?n	kamea?n-∔č	_	
kavik	listen	ka?vk	ka?vk-∔č		
kawtk	break	kawtki	kawtki-č		
kim	come	kiva	kiva-č		
kɨm	make, do	kɨman	k+man-+č		
k+mea?	spill	kəmea?n	kɨmea?n-ɨč		
kumk	throw face dn.	kum k			
kwa?	eat	kwa?		ca-kwa?-∔č	
kwačea?	light fire	kwače?n			
kwahan	cook	kwahan	kwahan-ič	ca-kahan-∔č	
kwa?k	spread legs	kwa?ki			
kweak	lay down	kwea?ki			
kwitum‡k	turn aside, VI	kwitumki			
mak	give	mak, makan	makan-ič		
[NB: short form for I-3p; longer form for 2-1s]					
mavi	ф	mavi	mavi?-č		
mayk	peep out	mayhki			
mi	go	mea, meah	me-č	ca-mi-č	
mirurk	twist	mirurki		4	
m÷čk	pull	młčki	m+čki-č	, .m.	
mink	swallow	minki			
m+yvan	bet		m+yvan-+č		
mo?nk	swirl,mix,VT	mo?nki			

Indic. Stem	Gloss	2nd sq.	2nd plu.	1st plu.
nahnipk	win	nahnipki	nahnipki-č	
na?kan	separate	na?kan	na?kan-+č	
na?rk	help	na?rk	na?rk-∔č	
nihiniyaw	separate	nihiniyaw		
n‡khk??	close, VT	nikhki	·	
ŋ ‡ w k	wear out	ŋ÷wki		
?očk	mount	?očki		
p4?k	fan	p i ?ki		
p+n	tie	p∔n		
piakhk??	take out	piakhki		
pikwk	scrape	pikwki	pikwki-č	
pi?mk	gather	pi?mki		
pig	decay	piŋan	piŋan-+č	
puhea?	blow	puhea?n	puhea?n-∔č	
puk	unclothe	puk	puk-+č	·
punite?	play a cert. game			ca-punita?-č
purahik	come out	purahk	purahk-∔č	
purahk	make come out purehki		?	
purikaw	string beads	purikaw	purika-∔č	
pučahk	play ball			ca-pučahk-∔č
ra?wk	sit/set	ra?wk		
rio?in	shear	rio?in		
rukutk	pull out	rukutki		
šeahk	part, VT	šeahki		
šererk	scrape	šererki		

Indic. Stem	Gloss	2nd sq.	2nd plu.	1st plu.
š÷m	scratch	š∔m-		
siv	plane	šiv	šiv-+č	
ta	put	tah, ta?a		
takwk?	shake,VT	takwki		
tapira?	tuck	tapira?	tapira?-č	
t+mk	shut	t+mki?		
t pwi	play peón			ca-t+pwi?-č
ti?ur	count ti?ur, ti?uhan		am	
tovk	spit	tovk	tovki-č	
tuhtu?	dance			ca-tuhtu?-č
tui?n	try	tui?n		
tun	chase	tunin	tunin-+č	
7u7	take	?u?		
vatvatk	clap	vatvatki?		
wanak	run	wanaki, VI		
		wanakinea?,	VT	
wawk	throw down	wawki		
wean	go, wink [!]			ca-wean-ič
wik	smoke tobacco wik, *wiki		wik-+č	
win	cut	win	win-+č	ca-win-∔č
wirapk	let go	wirapki		
wiroy	play instr.	wiroy?i		
wicu?	twist rope	wicu?		
yaw	grab	yaw	ya-∔č	
yinivan	eat together	yinivan	y∔ŋivan-∔č	

APPENDIX K: SPANISH AND CHUMASH GLOSSARY

The following is a brief glossary of Spanish and Chumash terms that are frequently used in discussions of southern California Indian ethnographic and linguistic studies, and are therefore not always translated in the text and dictionary.

- ?antap an inductee into the <u>yivar</u> religious cult of the Kitanemuk and other southern California groups.
- atole cooked mush made from acorns or grain and often flavored with meat or berries.
- capitán the usual term for native leaders in Southern California.

 Though Spanish for 'captain', this is usually translated as 'chief'.
- chichiquelite nightshade, per Harrington in H: 1349; but description given here describes eating boiled or fried leaves; chaparral nightshade, per Raven (1966), is a group of plants with poisonous leaves and berries, though related to cultivated tomatoes and potatoes.
- chilecote apparently chilicothe, the wild cucumber plant, or the game like marbles that southern California Indians played with its seeds.⁷⁰

⁷⁰The game is described in Hudson and Timbrook (1980: 6).

coime — umpire in the game of peón.

'iwhinmo — Mt. Pinos, a sacred mountain.

juanito — squirrel or chipmunk sp., sɨpíhy(a) in Chemehuevi sɨpivawɨ (Laird 1984, Notebook section). Later reference gives sɨpiya, pl. sɨp vawɨ, almost certainly <u>Citellus tereticaudus</u> Bard, round-tailed ground-squirrel (Laird 1984, cites Stephens' <u>California Mammals</u>, 1906: 69-70). Name is onomatopoetic. From whistling note. "Like prairie dogs—live in holes, stand up."

muncho — the equivalent in the Spanish of the Harrington notes of standard Spanish "mucho" 'much'.

peón — a game played by many southern California Indians; it is played by teams each of which hides sticks behind their backs while the other team guesses their location; gambling is often involved.

pespibata - Indian tobacco plant <u>Nicotiniana bigelovii</u> or its prepared medicinal form, an emetic.

pinole - a food made of ground seeds such as chia.

pitahaya - a cactus fruit; pitahaya agria [bitter pitahaya] (Machaerocereus gummosus) or pitahaya dulce [sweet pitahaya] (Lemaireocereus Thurberi) (Masterkey 48:3: 106).

quelite — a general term for edible greens.

real - a Spanish word indicating an amount of money equivalent to the American "bit", and used to reckon payment for services in bead money. Kroeber (1925: 565) charts various central and southern California methods of wrapping strings of bead money around the hand or wrist to measure it in these units, and cites Gabrielino and Luiseño terms cognate with the Kitanemuk pink to name the "real" unit. Strong (1929: 95-9) also cites a Pass Cahuilla practice of measuring from the forehead to the ground. Harrington's Kitanemuk notes describe the hand wrapping method in detail.

toloache — a halucinogenic drink made fom Jimson weed.

vini - Harrington notes' equivalent of standard Spanish "vine" ('I went')

yerba mansa - used for colds, sores, VD.

APPENDIX L: PSEUDO-ABSOLUTIVE SUFFIX

A: Nouns which add "pseudo-absolutive"

possessed N. obi. Mna. mi-rahir-c-ay your nephew mi-?ahkana-c-ay your nephew, niece mi-?ana-c-ay your brother-in-law m+-curi?-t-ay your grandparent m4-?4kihu?-c-ay your breastbone [attested abs.: kihuc] m + -herk-in-i-c-a y your forefinger [attested abs.: herkinic] mi-hintua?-č-ay your relative mi-kwari?-t-ay your grandfather [possessive plu. -yam] ?a-ŋayka?-č-ay his thigh [subject form: -nayka?; abs.: naykac] m+-noho-c-a y your neck [abs. obj.: nohocay] ?a-pavahata-c-ay his bladder m4-š+ka-c-ay your shoulder blade [attested abs. obj.: š+kacay] mi-tamo?-č-ay your knee [attested abs.: tamoc] mi-timki-č-ay your tapadera [attested abs.: timkit; loc. -tunu-pea] mi-tih-timki-č-ay your tapaderas mi-timupi-c-ay your heel [attested abs.: timupic] mi-tunu?-č-ay 'your chest, obj.' [attested abs.: tunuc] ni-piša-č-ay my head [attested abs.: pišač] Pa-Puva-č-ay his eyes [subj.: -?uva?] m4-?uyka-č-ay your girlfriend [subj.: -?uyk] ?a-?a-c-ay its horn [subj.: -?a?; abs.: ac] ?a-tahtaka-č-ay his body [subj.: -tahtaka?] ?a-noh-no?si-t-ay the little grains [but cf. 'little finger', below] ?a-to?-č-ay his belly [but cf. also 'belly' in Table B] ni-šim-ivana?-č-ay my scraper [abs.: šim-ihw a ?-t] ni-havi-č-ay my blanket

B: Nouns which do not add "pseudo-absolutive"

TANDE WHO HOLDED DOCUMENTS				
Mna.				
your nephew/niece				
your thumb [attested abs.: ?at + ?ac]				
your sibling				
your gizzard [invariant form?—no obj. mrkng.]				
its cave				
its caves				
your forefinger [no obj. marking]				
[sic] your heart [attested abs.: hunacay]				
your mother				

B: Nouns which do not add "pseudo-absolutive" (cont'd)

possessed N. obj. Mng. m+-y+ha(-)y your aunt

mi-kanim your gall [no obj. marking]
mi-kačua? your ankle [no obj.marking]

mi-koha-y your elder sister [attested abs.: kohač]

mi-kuhana?nay your sister-in-law]

m4-kuhma-y your uncle

mɨ-kwašɨ-y your parent-in-law

?a-kwacita-yhis tail [attested abs.: kwacitacay]mi-mahcitayyour nephew [subject form: -mahcit]mi-ma-yyour arm [attested abs.: macay]

mi-mayha-y your offspring

mi-makay your uncle/father-in-law mi-miakay your daughter-in-law mi-misanay your son-in-law

m‡-mori your snot [no obj. marking transcribed]

mi-ni(h)may your father your aunt

mi-paha-y your older brother

m+-paro-y your shinbone [attested abs.: parocay]
m+-pačuk-ay your collar bone [abs. obj.: pačuktay]
m+-pačuk-yam-+y your collarbones [l] [abs.: pačukyam+y]
m+-pitay your younger sibling [abs.: pitačay]

m‡-pinicay your aunt [subject form: -pinic]

Pa-ši his guts ("tripas") [no object marking transcribed]

?a-povo-yits kidneysmi-tahayyour uncle?a-toro-yhis navel

mi-caka-y your foot [attested abs.: cakacay]

mi-cia-y your elbow your elbows

mi-waci your nail [no obj. marking transcribed]

?a-?acita-y your pet

?a(-)pano her egg [no obj. marking; possessive structure

doubtful]

?a-tama-y his teeth

? a-šiča-y his cheeks [mouth]

mi-?anosi? his little finger [abs.: ?ano?si(c)]

?a-to?-y his/her belly [subject form: -to?; abs.: to?č]

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