Proto-Wintun

Alice Shepherd
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Contents

List of Tables, ix

Acknowledgments, x

Abstract, xi

Abbreviations and Sources, xii

100. The Wintun Language Family, 1
   110. Subgroups and Dialects, 2

200. Phonology, 5
   210. Regular Sound Correspondences, 5
   220. Restrictions on Distribution of Phonemes, 8
   230. Vowel Length, 8
   240. Sound Changes: Wintu, 8
      241. Obstruent Merging, 8
      242. Frication, 9
      243. Ablaut, 9
   250. Sound Changes: Nomlaki, 11
      251. Obstruent Merging, 11
      252. Defrication, 11
      253. Loss of r, w, y, 11
   260. Sound Changes: Patwin and South Patwin, 12
      261. Obstruent Fronting Chain, 12
      262. PK Aspiration, 13
      263. Exceptions to Fronting Chain, 13
      264. Loss of *r, 18
      265. South Patwin Consonant Loss and Other Changes, 19
   270. Irregular Correspondences, 20
      271. d::b, 20
300. Morphophonemics, 23
   310. Root and Stem Structure, 23
      311. Roots, 23
      312. Root Reduplication, 23
      313. Prefixes, 24
      314. Suffixes, 24
   320. Vowel Alternations, 24

400. Verbal Morphology, 27
   410. Reduplication, 27
   420. Verb Structure, 27
      421. Auxiliaries, 27
         421.1 *bey, *be', indefinite duration, 28
         421.2 *boh, *bo', definite duration, 28
         421.3 *har, andative, 28
         421.4 *-?a, have, 28
         421.5 *-her, passive, 28
      422. Locationals and Directionals, 29
         422.1 *kwen-, down, 29
         422.2 *pat-, out, 29
         422.3 *tu-, ahead, 29
         422.4 *yel-, back, behind, 29
         422.5 *?el-, in horizontally, 29
         422.6 *?ol-, up, 29
   423. Derivation, 30
      423.1 Root-deriving Suffixes, 30
         423.11 *-c, mediopassive, 30
         423.12 *V(-)r, continuative, 30
         423.13 *-V-y, iterative, 30
         423.14 *V(-)l, stative, 30
423.2 Modal Suffixes, 30
   423.21 *-i, nominalizing or neutral mode, 30
   423.22 *-u, imperative or irrealis, 30
   423.23 *-a, *-a, realis, 31
   423.24 *-e, *-e, realis, 31
423.3 Stem-deriving Suffixes, 31
   423.31 *-h, -*s, intensive, 31
   423.32 *-m, inanimate comitative, 31
   423.33 *-ma, causative, 32
   423.34 *-na, reflexive, 32
   423.35 *-pa, *-paq, benefactive, 32
   423.36 *-p’ur, reciprocal, 32
   423.37 *-s, nominalizer, 32
   423.38 *-wil, *-i(-)l, animate comitative, 32
424. Inflectional Suffixes, 33
   424.1 *-da, first person subject, 33
   424.2 *-di, hortative, 33
   424.3 *-m, dubitative, subjunctive, 33
   424.4 *-e, let’s, 33
   424.5 *-k, completive, 33
   424.6 *k^en, may, might, lest, 33
   424.7 *-le, intentional future, 33
   424.8 *-ro, *-r, subordinating suffix of causal or temporal
      anteriority, 34
   424.9 *-ta, subordinating suffix, 34
500. Substantival Morphology, 35
510. Nouns, 35
   511. Nominal Derivation, 35
      511.1 Reduplication, 35
      511.2 *-ta, human classifier, 36
      511.3 *-ma, suffix marking naturally paired objects, 36
      511.4 *-men, thing, 36
      511.5 *-to, *-tu, agentive, 36
      511.6 *-s, nominalizer, 36
      511.7 *-V1, suffix of unknown meaning, 36
512. Inflection, 36
   512.1 Number, 36
   512.2 Case, 47
      512.21 *-ma, objective, 37
      512.22 *-n, *-no, genitive, 37
      512.23 *-in, locative, 37
   512.3 Directional and Relational Suffixes, 37
      512.31 *-da, relational nominal suffix, 37
      512.32 *e(\cdot)l, *-el, locative, toward, in, 37
      512.33 *-ti, directional locative, 37
520. Kinterms, 38
530. Pronouns, 38
   531. Composition of Pronouns, 56
      531.1 Pronominal Roots, 56
          531.11 First person, *ne, 56
          531.12 Inclusive person, *p'e, 56
          531.13 Second person, *ma, *mi, 56
          531.14 Third person proximal, *7ew, 56
          531.15 Third person nonproximal, *pi, *pu, 56
   531.2 Number, 57
      531.21 Dual, *pel, 57
      531.22 Plural, *-le, *le·, 57
   531.3 Case, 58
      531.31 Subjective, 58
      531.32 Objective, 58
          531.321 *-s, 58
          531.322 *-t, 58
      531.33 Genitive, 58
      531.34 Inalienable possessive, 59
      531.35 Alienable possessive, 59
      531.36 Locative, 60
      531.37 Patwin animate possessed/inanimate possessed, 60
      531.38 Vocative *ye, 60
      531.39 Vocative *-k, 61
   600. Demonstratives and Deictics, 62
      610. *he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative root, 62
      620. *ho, past demonstrative, 62
      630. *k'e, deictic, 62

Cognate Sets and Reconstructions, 63

Index to Reconstructions, 216

References, 240
Tables

1: PW Phonemes and Regular Sound Correspondences, 5
2: PW Singular Pronouns, 39
3: PW Dual Pronouns, 40
4: PW Plural Pronouns, 41
5: First Person Singular Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 42
6: First Person Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 43
7: First Person Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 44
8: Inclusive Person Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 45
9: Inclusive Person Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 46
10: Second Person Singular Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 47
11: Second Person Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 48
12: Second Person Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 49
13: Third Person Proximal Singular Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 50
14: Third Person Proximal Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 51
15: Third Person Proximal Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 52
16: Third Person Nonproximal Singular Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 53
17: Third Person Nonproximal Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 54
18: Third Person Nonproximal Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages, 55
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Abstract

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

General Abbreviations

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

Proto-Wintun (PW)

V = unidentified vowel
C = unidentified consonant
Hyphens in PW forms indicate separately reconstructed morphemes.

Wintu (W)

W items unmarked as to source are from Pitkin 1984, 1985 and my own
fieldnotes. Starred forms listed under W are pre-Wintu reconstructions from Pitkin
1985. E and O are morphophonemes representing the alternations e/i and o/u,
respectively.
Other sources are indicated as follows:
C = Curtin 1898
DL = texts published in translation by Demetracopoulou [Lee] and Du Bois 1932 and Du Bois and Demetracopoulou [Lee] 1931 and microfilms of the Wintu versions of these texts housed at the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley
M = Merriam 1903-1931

Nomlaki (N)

Sources are indicated following N as follows:
B = Barrett 1908
BP = Broadbent and Pitkin 1964
BW = Blankenship and Wenger 1978
C = Curtis 1924
DK = Dixon and Kroeber 1907
G = Goldsmith 1951
H = Hill 1971
Ha = Hale 1846
J = Johnson in Schoolcraft 1853/1860
K = Kroeber 1932
T-M = Merriam 1903-1931, “Upper Thoms Creek Nomlaki”
G-M = Merriam’s materials entitled “Nom-lak’-ke Rancherias between Elder Creek and Grindstone Creek,” and “Grindstone Creek field check list”
Noe-W = Whistler 1980, “Noema” Nomlaki
P= Powers 1877 (Chapter XXV, The Wintun)
PS = Pitkin and Shipley 1958
S = Swadesh ca. 1950
SS = Sawyer 1975
W = Whistler 1976c

Patwin (P)

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

C = Cortina Hill Patwin
CC = Cache Creek Hill Patwin (aka Rumsey)
H = all Hill Patwin dialects or unspecified Hill Patwin dialect
K = Kabalmem Hill Patwin (aka Lodoga)
R = River Patwin
T = Lake County Hill Patwin (aka Tebti)

Forms unmarked as to source are from Whistler 1975-1979, unless otherwise marked as from a particular publication. Other sources are identified as follows:
B and U are from Bright and Ultan 1970, an alphabetized computer printout of lexical items collected in the field by Bright and Ultan. This printout uses the following unexplained abbreviations for dialects: A, H, L, R, T. My best guess is that these may represent: H = Hill, L = Lodoga (Whistler’s K), R = River and T = Tebti. “A” may represent Cortina Hill Patwin, although I do not know why the letter A was chosen. It does not appear to stand for “all.”

Forms marked M are from Merriam 1903-1936.

**South Patwin (SP)**

Forms marked SP are from Whistler 1976e or 1980 as indicated. Other forms are marked for source as follows:
A = Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821, using English glosses provided by Golla in a worksheet accompanying Golla 1996.
G = von Gerolt’s retranscription of Arroyo (Gerolt 1830)
M = Merriam’s South Patwin vocabulary schedule 1906, 1917
V = Vocabulary obtained by J. Alden Mason from Platon Vallejo (in Kroeber 1932), using English glosses provided in the worksheet accompanying Golla 1996.

**Comparisons with Other Languages**

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

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

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

Proto-Mayan (PMy) forms and citations from Mayan daughter languages are from Brown 1990. In these forms, *t’ represents a palatized apical stop.

Maidun, Miwok, Costanoan and Yokuts forms are from Callaghan 2001 unless otherwise indicated. Callaghan uses the following abbreviations:
Ceb = Northern Costanoan: East Bay (Chocheño)
Csfr = Northern Costanoan: San Francisco
Csjb = Southern Costanoan: Mutsun
Cscr = Northern Costanoan: Santa Cruz
PCo = Proto-Costanoan
PCos = Proto-Southern-Costanoan
Abbreviations and Sources

Mie = Eastern Miwok
Mil = Lake Miwok
Mim = Marin Miwok
Mins = Northern Sierra Miwok
Mip = Plains Miwok
Mis = Sierra Miwok
PMi = Proto-Miwok
PMie = Proto-Eastern-Miwok
PMis = Proto-Sierra-Miwok
PMiw = Proto-Western-Miwok
PU = Proto-Utian
PY = Proto-Yokuts
PYgen = Proto-General-Yokuts
PYn = Proto-Northern-Yokuts
PYnim = Proto-Nim-Yokuts
PYnv = Proto-Northern-Valley-Yokuts
PYbv = Proto-Buena-Vista-Yokuts
Ykr = Kings River Yokuts
Yn = Northern Yokuts
Yv = Valley Yokuts
Mk = Konkaw
Mm = Maidu
Mn = Nisenan
PM = Proto-Maidun

Symbols Used by Other Sources

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

Nomlaki

Barrett 1908

\( \ddot{\text{i}}, \ddot{\text{e}}, \ddot{\text{u}}, \ddot{\text{o}} \) represent the corresponding short or long vowels
The exclamation point represents glottalization
\( \ddot{\text{t}} = \text{t} \) or \( \text{t}^\ddot{} \)
\( \ddot{\text{t}}:\ddot{\text{c}} = \ddot{\text{c}} \)
L = \( \ddot{\text{l}} \)
c = \( \ddot{s} \) (Barrett describes his symbol “\( \ddot{c} \)” as representing an “open pre-palatal surd ... similar to English sh” (1908: 52). As there is no \( \ddot{s} \) in Wintun, the symbol is taken to refer to the alveolar fricative [s].
Abbreviations and Sources

Blankenship and Wenger 1978
\( c = \check{c} \)
\( kL = q', I \)
\( tl, L = I \)
The symbol “3” used in this source to represent short [a] has been replaced with a.

Curtis 1924
\( \tilde{a} = o \) or a
\( ch = \check{c} \)
\( ch! = \check{c}' \)
\( hl = I \)
\( \check{c} = e \) (short)
\( p' = p \)
\( k = k \) or q
\( k' = q \)
\( tl = \lambda' \)

Dixon & Kroeber 1907
\( L = I \)

Goldschmidt 1951
\( tc = \check{c} \) or \( \check{c}' \)
\( tc' = \check{c}' \)
\( tl = I \) or \( \lambda' \)
\( \check{c} = i' ? \)
\( 't = t' ? \)
\( \check{e} = e \)
\( khl = I \)
\( \check{o} = o \)
\( u = u' \)
\( \check{o} = o \)
\( \check{i} = i' \)

J = Johnson in Schoolcraft 1853/1860
\( ch = \check{c} \)
\( aw = o \)
\( ee = i' \)

Kroeber 1932
\( L = I \)

South Patwin

Arroyo de la Cuesta 1821
\( j = h \)
Abbreviations and Sources

hu = w
ch = č
gl = ĭ
c = s

Arroyo/Gerolt 1830
tsch = č

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

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

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

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

110. Subgroups and Dialects

Each Wintun group recognized several subgroups. The most commonly cited Wintu subdivisions were Upper Sacramento, McCloud, Stillwater, Keswick, French Gulch, Upper Trinity, Hayfork and Bald Hills. It is possible that some of these groups spoke minimally distinct dialects; however, there is little evidence for dialectal variation in the linguistic data that has been preserved. Kroeber (1925: 353-4) observed: “From all the evidence available, the language was remarkably uniform for a tract of this vastness, as it may justly be described under California conditions. But the very size of the territory precludes absolute identity of tongue.” In my work with two speakers, Renee Coleman (representing the McCloud subgroup) and Grace McKibbin (representing the Hayfork subgroup), I found only one pair of lexical items on which they did not agree, aside from the fact that Grace McKibbin controlled a substantially larger vocabulary: Coleman used sedet for “coyote” and sukuh, a widely distributed areal form, for “dog,” while McKibbin used sedet for “dog” and the kenning č’arawah, literally “one of the fields,” for “coyote.” The major difference between the speech of the two women was intonational. Grace McKibbin’s speech differed from that described in Pitkin 1984 (representing primarily the McCloud subgroup) in the absence of hyphen juncture which is defined (ibid., pp. 20-21) as a transition with the potential of a very brief pause, conditioning unreleased allophones of obstruents and modifying the contour of a phonemic word by shifting the pitch and stress. Only secondary stress may occur on syllables preceding hyphen juncture within a word, i.e., prefixes. In McKibbin’s pronunciation, stress is always on the first syllable of a word, even if it is a prefix, with the exception of occasional special emphasis and some exclamation words. Further, in McKibbin’s speech, those auxiliaries which are not independent words are never preceded by hyphen juncture, but are treated like suffixes and have undergone contractions as a result. For example, the long vowels of some auxiliary allomorphs, as described by Pitkin (1984: 177-183, 190-191), are usually shortened in McKibbin’s speech (e.g., -bo > -bo; -bom > -bom; -bada > -bada; -be > -be; -be:m > -bem; -be:skenn > -besken; -bi:da > -bida). The desiderative auxiliary kOy- is often simply -ka in its indicative form (instead of -kuya), -kada in the first person (instead of -kuyada), and -kar in its subordinate form (instead of -kuyar). She usually used a second person marker -n instead of -skenn. This could be due to a contraction (e.g., 7ibe:skenn > 7iben), or an alternate shorter, possibly less formal, form of -skenn, perhaps identical with the final -n in -skenn. Any dialectal differences between the remaining subgroups were likely just as minor. The difficulty in relying on older records, such as C. Hart Merriam’s, for the identification of dialects is that what appear to be differences in pronunciation are really just variations in a non-linguist’s recording of the same form. Any dialects or subdialects of Wintu would certainly have represented a dialect continuum.

Of Nomlaki subdivisions, Kroeber (1925: 354) observed: “For the central Wintun one subdivision is known: that of the valley dwellers and the hillmen. But
their dialects were not very different, and there may have existed equal or greater divergences between northern and southern settlements within the group.” Whistler (1980: 19-20) listed several other Nomlaki subdivisions: “River Wailaki” or Noema (not to be confused with Athapaskan Wailaki; “Wailaki” is actually of Nomlaki origin, meaning “north talkers”), River Nomlaki (further subdivided into Red Bluff and Tehama), and Hill Nomlaki (further subdivided into Elder Creek, Paskenta, and Grindstone). The location of the Nomlaki between closely-related Wintu to the north and somewhat less closely-related Patwin to the south would have presented the ideal conditions for a dialect continuum, with the northern dialect intermediate between Nomlaki and Wintu and the southern approaching Patwin speech. Whistler (1980) has argued that this may in fact be the case at the northern end, judging from two vocabularies of Noema recorded by H.B. Brown and reprinted in Powers (1877: 520-528) as Vocabulary #4, and by A. Johnson (1852), a version of the “Reading” (Maj. P. Redding) vocabulary, reprinted in Schoolcraft (1860, Vol. 4: 414-415), reprinted in Powers (1877) as Vocabulary #2. Whistler suggested that these two vocabularies, gathered near the town of Cottonwood on the border of Wintu and Nomlaki territories, although exceedingly fragmentary, seem to indicate a dialect lexically intermediate between Wintu and Nomlaki, leaning slightly more toward Nomlaki. My own examination of these vocabularies, however, indicates that they represent Nomlaki entirely. In general, Nomlaki data is so scarce that any identification of dialects would be mere guesswork. There are distinct isoglosses separating Wintu from Nomlaki, so Nomlaki could not be considered an extension of a Wintu dialect continuum, unless there were intermediate dialects of which all evidence has been lost. However that may be, Wintu and Nomlaki would certainly have been mutually intelligible with little difficulty.

Patwin is divisible into two dialect complexes, Hill Patwin and River Patwin, according to Whistler (1980: 20-21) who further recognizes three dialects within Hill Patwin – Lodoga, Lake County and Southern Hill Patwin (with four subdialects Cortina, Rumsey, Putah, and Napa); and two dialects of River Patwin – Colusa and Grimes. From the vocabulary examined in the process of this reconstruction, it appears that all these dialects were closely related and would certainly have been mutually intelligible. Where more than one dialect is represented in the sets in this volume, approximately half are identical between the dialects. In about four percent of the sets, the only differences between dialects are in vowel length; e.g., CC louyta, young woman; loyba, plural; K loyta, girl, loyba, girls; R loyta, a girl (under *lo:y-, adolescent girl; *lo(·)y-ba, plural). About five percent show minor semantic differences; e.g., K ćopol, pond, marshy place; R ćopol, lake (under *kopol, pond); CC howe, watersnake; T huwe, snake; K howe, gopher snake, R howe, gopher snake, bull snake (under *how, to snake, watersnake). In about another five percent of the sets, the dialects differ in the details of the Patwin obstruent fronting chain, the major isogloss separating Northern from Southern Wintun, e.g., CC and K have doubly fronted a final *k to t in tidi:t, meat of any nut, kernel of any nut, while T has only fronted once to ĉ in tidi:ĉ, meat of any nut (under *ćidik, heart, core); K t’ara‘l, scraper (doubly fronted) vs. R ć’är‘i:ur-, to scratch (under *k’ar-a, scrape). K also shows aspirated ĉ from *k in a number of forms where the other dialects have unaspirated ĉ. See Sections 262-3 for further discussion and examples. About nine
percent of the differences between the P dialects affect plant and animal nomenclature, which is often onomatopoeic or folk-etymologized; e.g., CC, K, T *ba·lbalik*, butterfly, all butterflies; K also has *ba·lbalak*, butterfly; K *bo·lbolik*, poppy, evening primrose, T, CC, C, R poppy, poppies; R *walalakai*, butterfly (under *bo·lboVq*, butterfly; poppy); CC *kudilik*, water snake sp.; fast snake sp. that lives on dry ground (not in water); K *kudilip*, water snake, garter snake var.; R *huli·p*, snake (any), (under *hulilVk*, snake sp.). The approximately 20 percent remaining instances of dialectal variation concern differences in the exact form, meaning, function or order of grammatical morphemes. Since no grammar of Patwin is available, an analysis of these differences is beyond the scope of this volume.

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

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

210. Regular Sound Correspondences

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

Table 1: PW Phonemes and Regular Sound Correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likely PW Value</th>
<th>PW Value</th>
<th>Wintu</th>
<th>Nomlaki</th>
<th>Patwin</th>
<th>South Patwin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consonants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaspirated</td>
<td>*p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>*pʰ</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottalized</td>
<td>*p’</td>
<td>p’</td>
<td>p’</td>
<td>p’</td>
<td>p’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>*b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilabial nasal</td>
<td>*m</td>
<td>m</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bilabial</td>
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<tr>
<td>semivowel</td>
<td>*w</td>
<td>w</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apical stops</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unaspirated</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>*tʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phonology</td>
<td>*t’</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>*d</td>
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<td>Dental or</td>
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<td>Dental or</td>
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<td>*l</td>
<td>l</td>
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<td>*l1</td>
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<td>l1</td>
<td>l1</td>
<td>l1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glottalized</td>
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<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td>*λ²</td>
<td>λ’</td>
<td>λ’</td>
<td>λ’</td>
<td>λ’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced trill</td>
<td>*r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>y, Ø</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r, y</td>
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<tr>
<td>or flap</td>
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<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>*s</td>
<td>s</td>
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<td>fricative</td>
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<td>affricates</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unaspirated</td>
<td>*ć</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>*ćʰ</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glottalized</td>
<td>*ć’</td>
<td>ċ’</td>
<td>ċ’</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>t’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
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<td>semivowel</td>
<td>*y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>Velar stops</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unaspirated</td>
<td>*k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>ċ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>*kʰ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k, kʰ (?)</td>
<td>ċʰ</td>
<td>ċʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glottalized</td>
<td>*k’</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td>ċ’</td>
<td>ċ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velar fricative</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>*x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Phonology

#### Post-velar stops

| Unaspirated | *q | q | q | k | k |
| Aspirated   | *qʰ | qʰ | qʰ | kʰ | kʰ |
| Glottalized | *q' | q' | q' | k' | k' |

#### Post-velar fricative

| Voiceless⁴ | *x | x | kʰ | h |
| Glottal stop | *? | ? | ? | ? |
| Glottal spirant | *h | h | h | h |

#### Vowels

**High-front unrounded**

| Short | *i | i | i | i | i |
| Long  | *i· | i· | i· | i· | i· |

**Mid-front unrounded**

| Short | *e | e | e | e | e |
| Long  | *e· | e· | e· | e· | e· |

**Low-central unrounded**

| Short | *a | a | a | a | a |
| Long  | *a· | a· | a· | a· | a· |

**Mid-back rounded**

| Short | *o | o | o | o | o |
| Long  | *o· | o· | o· | o· | o· |

**High-back rounded**

| Short | *u | u | u | u | u |
| Long  | *u· | u· | u· | u· | u· |

Notes to table:

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

²The W and N reflexes are slightly aspirated.

³W k is slightly aspirated. N k and kʰ are probably not phonemically distinct.
The reconstruction of the post-velar fricative is very tentative, based on only four somewhat questionable sets (*x ad, *xah/*xhr, *xos-a, *xoh), the last of which may be unreliable due to sound symbolism. N is only represented in one of these sets and the recording is unreliable phonetically. If *x did not exist, these sets would be reconstructed with *q instead and the P reflex h interpreted as an exception to the regular k reflex.

220. Restrictions on Distribution of Phonemes

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

230. Vowel Length

PW vowel length before continuants appears to be non-distinctive in many instances. E.g., *ća(·)y, grandchild; *lo(·)l, tobacco; *lo(·)y-ba, adolescent girls; *me(·)m, water; *pano(·)l, three; *pene(·)l, black oak acorn; *p’u(·)r, *p’u(·)l, wild onion; *qo(·)l, mouth. In one example, length may be distinctive before a continuant, but perhaps only because it is accompanied by a difference in vowel quality: *bo·l-e, (tell a) tale - *bail-1a, tell a lie. Before stops, iterative or distributive meaning can be assigned to length in a few cases. E.g., *ć’eb-a’ to scrape, scratch - *ć’i·b-a, shave off with sweeping motion; *ć’e·p, hit - *ć’e·p, hit repeatedly; *q’op, stripe - *q’o·p, striped, many stripes.

In some instances, length appears to be a fossilized remnant of an earlier derivational process in which length was either added to modify meaning or dropped in the process of adding a suffix. E.g.,
*ć’e·k, rope - *ć’aq-a, hang, *ć’aq, net
*se·k, root - *seke’, public hair
*ne·r, alike - *ney, alone
*k’i·l, thorn - *k’i·i, horn

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

240. Sound Changes: Wintu

241. Obstruent Merging

W has merged *k and *kʰ as k, and *ć and *ćʰ as č, respectively, which initially represent [kʰ] and [ćʰ].
242. Frication

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

243. Ablaut

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

Examples are:

*bol-a, drink > W bulu, to drink, but bol-, imperative stem
*čep, hit > W čipa, to hit, whip; but ĉep, throw! hit!
*č `ok-i/u, chew > W č `uka, to chew; but nominal stem č `oki, imperative stem č `oku
*dek, climb, step > W dika, to climb, step; but imperative stem dekma, to cause to climb
*dol, put long object around > W dula, to tie, wrap string; but imperative and nominal stems dol-
*hen, arrive > W hina, to arrive, come here; but imperative and nominal stems hen-
*het, sudden escape of water > W hital, water having broken through dam; but hetey-a, all coming out in places
*kay-i/u, hurt, sick, want > W kuya, to be sick, suffer; but imperative and nominal stems koy-
*lom-u, place a sling > W lumu, to be baited; but lomuma, to bait, ñel-lomča, to tie a sling around
*lel-e, weave > W lila, to weave; lel, weave! leles, weaving
*gor-i/u, grind > W gura, to grind; but imperative/nominal stems gori/u-; nep gori, meal of pounded grasshoppers
*q′ep, beard, whiskers (particularly of fish) > W sipa, to have a fish-head feast; but xep, fish head; xepes, head of suckerfish or sturgeon (which have whiskers)
*q′et-a, throw solids > W xita, to throw solids; but imperative and nominal stems xet-
*sob-čʰ-u-, *sob-a/i/u-, pull off > W supa, to take off, slip off; pat-sopča, to slip out; sopna, to take off all clothes
*tob-i, spike > W tuba, raise, i.e., grow in the earth; tobit, that which is raised/grown; tol-tubas, stump
*t′op, be sharp > W t′upa, to stick with something sharp, get shot; t′opča, to sting
*wer, come > W wira, to come; but imperative and nominal stems wer-
*yet, name > W yiča, to call by name; yet, name

In a few cases, W has also raised the vowel before the indicative suffix -e, -eː and the stative suffix -el, probably by analogy. E.g.,
*leh-, glide by > W lihel, to pass; but lehekta, to pass someone on one’s way
Phonology

\*q\^er, scrape > W xire\^, to shave, carve; but xe\(\cdot\)r, flour

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

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

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

\*yi\^ma, heavy > W y\^ile, be loaded with heavy packs; yel\^-, imperative stem; but yil\^ma\^, to be heavy

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

\*moy\^, \*moy, bend > W se-muy\^ca\^, to bend around; moy\^ya\^, to smile; pantimoy, bone behind upper teeth and lip: PCC moy\^i/u\^, angry; PA-U muy\^a\^-, cranky

\*non, \*nun, pronged, joined > W nOn-\^, prongs, pronged, join, joint; \^tel-non\^ci\^, joint; \^tel-nunalas\^, joint of the body; non\^i\^, prongs of spear; PH, R nun, bow, gun

\*sew\^, \*siw, pack > W siwa\^, to pack, stuff, sack; sew\^-, imperative stem; siwi\^, siwi\^h, testicles; PH-B siw, food-pit, K siwi\^, testicles; R sew\(\cdot\)ro\^, putting things away, caching

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

\*koy-i\^\?a\^, hurt, sick, want > W kuya\^, to be sick, suffer; PR \^coyi\?a\^, sick

\*yor-i\^\?a\^, send after, direct to > W yura\^, to send someone after something, hire; yo(\cdot)runa\^, to work; PCC, PK and PR yori\?a\^, work

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

Since PW already had forms with variant root vowels, development of a full system of ablaut in W was just a short step away. Further, Whistler (1980: 111) observed an instance of raising of e to i before a in River Patwin in the kinterm t\^ira\^\-\^, sister’s husband (cf. Hill Patwin t\^e\-\^ran\^), and (ibid. 208) raising of e to i after a in Hill Patwin ma-niv\^, your mother (cf. t\^uy-\^nen\^, his, her mother). These may exemplify drift.
250. Sound Changes: Nomlaki

251. Obstruent Merging

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

252. Defrication

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

253. Loss of r, w, y

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

Intervocalic *r is dropped and the vowels contracted into a long vowel or a diphthong:
*čʰiri-k-, fear, *čʰiri-kuma, to scare someone > N-BW člkutu-, fear, be scared by (via *čʰirk-tu)
*kʰerek, spider > N-M kāk, spider (presumably representing [ke:k])
*koro, net > N-B kōma, dipnet (presumably representing [ko:ma] via *koroma)
*kʰurey, young boy > N-C nêt=kui, my nephew
*moroq, move > N-B pōmōkō, earthquake (representing [po:m mo:qo] via *po:m moroqo)
*nur, salmon > N-B nūt, salmon, but N-J nu rut, salmon
*puri, dark > N-G pu:iiber, third-quarter moon, moon won’t be up until late (but note the final -r)
*qʰor, growl > N-BW q’Ota’, q’ota-, snore (via qʰorota)
*sir-i, copulate > N-G si:pa, vulgar word for sexual intercourse (via *sirapa, with benefactive)
*surut, strap, tumpline > NT-M soot’, carrying band for head (representing [su:t] < *surut)

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

Morpheme-final *r becomes y:
*čʰi-r, fish sp. > N-S ciit, fish; N-SS čiyet, fish (cf. W či-rut, sucker sp. or carp)
*hur-u, sew > N-S huwa, sew; BW huyut-, sew
*xurxur, sugar > N-BW kUykuṭ, kUikUt, sugar
*par, full > N-M pah-yahk’, full (representing [payak] or [payaq)
*pʰu(’)-r-u, breathe > N-S phuyna, breathe
*č’ur? calf > N-C chū-i, leg
*nor, south > N-G nōy, south (perhaps in analogy with way, north (N-G wai)
*pur, third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive > N-W puy, third person singular genitive
*yeme, trail > N-H yemey, road (cf. W yemer, trail, road)
Phonology

*qir, pull > N-S qii, pull
*qor-i, meal > N-B kōi, pinole, meal
*tir-i, belt > NT-M te, belt worn by men or women (presumably representing [tiˀ] < *tiyi < *tiri)
*wer, come > N- J wey, to come; G weyam, did you come (greeting); BW win boya wea’, lots of men are coming

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

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

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

*p'er-, louse > NG-M ped'-de, gray back; T-M ped-dem, larger wasp, but note N-B perem, yellow jacket
*tarak, woodpecker sp. > N-BW tadanat, woodchuck; but again: N-B tōratat, red-headed woodpecker

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

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

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

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

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

*lewet, proximal third person singular objective > N-J et, that
*payi̱, seed plant sp. > N-G pa̱i, upright bush with fine pods
*pʰyoyq, head > N-W pʰoq, head
*puyelti, in the east + *pom, ground > peltipom, way to the east

In one example, final -y is dropped:

*č'ay(j)ye, grandchild: N-W če( ), grandchild; but Blankenship and Wenger record both -c'ey and ce‘.

260. Sound Changes: Patwin and South Patwin

261. Obstruent Fronting Chain

The major divergence from the mostly identical reflexes is the obstruent fronting chain common to Southern Wintun (Patwin and South Patwin):
If PW *x existed, its P reflex h is of course not fronted. It is possible that a fronting of *x originally resulted in P x, which was then replaced by h rather than merged with s from PW *x.

262. PK Aspiration

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

263. Exceptions to Fronting Chain

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

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

Not fronted:

*č, yellowjacket: PCC, K, T t’ečew, K t’ečhė-man, t’ečhė-men, t’esė-men, PR t’ečew, yellowjacket
*q’učul, worm sp.: PK k’učh’ay, small black flying beetle sp., k’uuc’ay, worm sp., PR k’oč’ol, k’očol, acorn worm
*siči/u, drill: PCC sič’i/u-, to drill, K siči/u, to drill
*t’ač, split/slit two halves: PCC t’ači, abalone shell pendants. Compare regularly fronted PR t’etaho, to split open a fish, < PW *t’eča, slice
*čʰ

Not fronted:
*č’iq’iq-? *č’i1eʰ-? chipmunk: PCC, K and T show č’i1eʰ-i-ki, chipmunk
*čʰur, twins: PCC has regular t’udum, twins, while PK has č’urwč’uru, twins

Other irregularities affecting *č and *čʰ
*čala, good: PR has irregular t’ala sem, right hand, as well as regular talo’ma, to measure, straighten something out, and talo’, straight
*čuka, approach: PCC and PR have regular t’uka, as well as irregular -t’uka, toward
*č’a-hay, gray hair: PK has regular t’a-say, gray hair, as well as t’a-say, gray (hair or whiskers)

č

Not fronted:
*č’aro-q(i), grass, green: SP-V has tcalo’k-, yellow, and SP-M has chul-lo’ke, challo’ke, white
*č’ayi(ḵ), scrub jay: PCC č’ayi-t, scrub jay, any bluejay, jaybird; K č’ayi-t, scrub jay, T č’ayi(ḵ)t, scrub jay; PR č’ayč’ayt, č’ayi, scrub jay. SP-M has si-č’ch, California jay
*č’ekey, hair: while PCC and PR have regularly fronted t’eč’ey and t’eč’e-, respectively, the following occur not fronted: PCC si-nč’ekey, eyebrow, PK sinč’ikay, eyebrow, PR si-nč’iky, eyebrow, PA-U sinč’ikay, eyebrows, and SP-G sincheke, eyebrow. However SP-A has backed sinkake, eyebrow, perhaps in a desire to reduplicate
*č’iwl, hull: PH-U has unfronted č’iwi’lma, dogwood top frame for pounding acorns
*č’i-, red-shafted yellowhammer, flicker: PR has č’iya(ḵ)k, red-shafted flicker and SP has č’tak, red-tailed hawk, both folk-etymologized to mean “old man”
*č’oki/u, chew: PK č’oki/u, chew, PR č’okʰi/u, chew (neither the initial nor the medial consonant are fronted)
*č’ohl-? *č’oh-? flow: PK č’ohl/u, flow, water to run
*č’on, kick: regular PCC and K t’onpa, kick (with benefactive), alongside K č’uminyali, dam (beaver or mammade), “kick the water back”
*č’ok, dry and stiff: PK has č’ocʰṭaro, cramped and PR has čoč’eṭaro, he has cramps, both with unfronted intial (minus glottalization) and doubly fronted medial
*č’ow, Western bluebird ?: PK č’owkoč’owko, bluebird, č’okoč’oko, Western bluebird; L č’owkʰa, little bluebird; P-M, cho kees’, bluebird, and SP-M cho’kah, bluebird
*č’ur-, *č’uru(C)č’uru(C), cricket: PR č’urumč’urum, cricket

Other irregularities affecting č’:
*č’idok, narrow-waisted: PCC pus-suduk, PK pusidik, SP-M po’so-look, dragonfly
*č’il, black bear: PCC silay, (black) bear, bear of any kind, caterpillar; PR-B selay, bear; K t’ilo-ki silay, silti silay, black bear; silay, bear of any kind; but also regular t’ilo-ki, black bear, equal to t’ilo-ki, dark, from *č’il, black
*č’ulaq, bush sp.: PCC, PC t’olak, steeple bush
*č ’upu, wade: PCC, PR t’upu-, wade
*č ’ur-, *č ’uru(C)č ’uruC, cricket: PK and T have fronted, but dropped the glottalization in PK ture’s, big brown grasshopper, and K and T tortor, cricket, while PR has not fronted (see above)

*k

Not fronted:
*kalay, gap: PK shows kalay, hole (instead of *čalay), as well as taluk, gap, pass (doubly fronted)
*kaw, basket (mortar): PCC and PK show kawi, mortar basket (instead of *čawi)
*kimur, rumble, roar: PCC has kimi, thunder; PK k’imi/u-; PR kimi<r-, thunder
*ku, small, child: PK and PT show k’učum, small, little, and PCC and PR also have forms in k’. SP shows k in Merriam’s spelling which may represent k or k’.
*kudur ?, great horned owl: PK, PT, PCC and PR all show toko-k, burrowing owl, with metathesis

And medial:
*čuka, approach: PK -toka, -tuka, against; CC -tuka, -t’uka, toward; PR -t’uka, -tuka, against, toward
*č ’oki/u, chew: PK č ’oki/u, chew; PR č ’oki/u, chew
*wuk, nod: PCC wu·ki/u-, to nod; cf. also PCC wudbaya, to nod head forward and back

PCC, K, R, and sometimes T, do not allow final č, so double fronting occurs in:
*č ’e·k, rope > PH-U, PT-U, PR-B t’e·t, rope
*č ’idik, heart, core > PCC and K t’idi·t, meat of any nut, kernel of any nut, PK t’idit, eyeball, but T t’idi·č, meat (of any nut)
*č ’i·k, rough skin > PCC and K t’i·t, scab, sore; PR-B t’i·t, sore
*č ’uduk, woodpecker sp., sapsucker sp. > PR t’udutt’u, red-breasted sapsucker, woodpecker
*se·k, root: PCC se·t, root (for baskets), PK se·t, basket root; K, T se·t, tulare root; PR se·t, tulare root; however, SP-M has regular sètch’, root
*tarak, woodpecker sp.: PCC, K, T tarar·t, acorn woodpecker, and other P dialectal forms
*λ ’uk, worm: PCC λ ’ut, cutworms; T worm sp. (cutworm ?)
*ṭirik, ash tree: PT ṭirit, tree ash, PR-B ṭeret, ash tree
PT varies final t with č in: p’ut, p’uč, ashes, dust < PW *p’uk, *buk, ashes, dust, while PK and PR allow only -t in p’ut, ashes, dust

Sometimes a final č is avoided by not fronting at all:
*č ’i·k, rough skin > PK t’ik, scales (fish or reptile)
*xok, basket type: PCC ʔo·k, any basket, small chokemouth bowl; K small basket, basket for drinking soup; PR ʔo·k, small, chokemouth globular bowl (with dropping of initial consonant)
*sak, pine sp.: PR čusak, pine
*si·k, barn owl: PK, T, R si·k, barn owl
*somVk, thighs, hip: PH somak, hip, H-B, T-B somok, hipbone
*wik, burrowing owl: PK wik, burrowing owl
*yok, meadowlark: PR hayuk, Western meadowlark
*č’idok, narrow-waisted: PCC pursuk, PK pursidik, and SP-M poo’-so-look, dragonfly (with other irregularities)

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

Doubly fronted:
*kalay, gap: PK shows kalay, hole (instead of *čalay), as well as doubly fronted taluk, gap, pass
*kip, headband: PK has típioś, headband

*kʰ

Not fronted:
*k’en, *č’enti, down: SP-A has kentielan, eight, while PCC, PK and PR have č’enti
*kuku, grizzly ?: PR č’uč’u, bear, grizzly bear

Doubly fronted:
*kʰet, trip: PCC shows t’et’urho, to stagger
*k’

Not fronted:
*k’ a-, snap: PH-U shows sem k’a·tsaʔamaro, snap fingers
*k’ah-i/u, wind: PR shows k’ahu·ro, big wind blowing, as well as doubly fronted t’ahi, wind (strong), gale
*k’ar-a, scrape: PCC shows k’ara(·)si/u-, to scratch; k’ara(·), mow, cut off little bush, cut off the ends of
*k’ay, rodent sp.?; PCC, T, K and R all show k’ay
*k’eni, winnower: PCC and K have k’eni (not fronted), winnowing basket; SP-M has ten-ne’-che, circular winnower (doubly fronted), while PR fronts regularly to č’e-n, winnow by dropping or pouring
*k’i·liluk, hawk sp.: SP-M has kel-lel’-oo, marsh hawk, while PK has regularly fronted č’i·liluk, horned lark
*k’opu·s, screech owl: PK, T k’upu·, screech owl; CC k’upu·, small owl sp., T k’opu·, screech owl; PR k’opu(·)s, screech owl; SP-M ko’-poo, screech owl
*k’or, scratch: Only PH-U shows fronting: č’urta, slash with knife, but PCC has k’oro·, scratch (more than once) and PR has k’ort i, to scratch on the body (with hand)

Doubly fronted:
*k’ah-i/u, wind: PR shows t’ahi, wind (strong), gale, as well as unfronted k’ahu·ro, big wind blowing
*k’ar-a, scrape: PK shows t’ara·l, scraper
*k’eč-, yellowjacket: PCC, K, T and R have t’ečew; PK has t’ečh’eman, t’ečh’eman, t’ese’men

Other irregularities affecting *k’:
*k’at ? mesh: PK shows kada, large net, mesh instead of *č’at
*k’ete·t, one: All represented P dialects have dropped the initial consonant: PCC, K, R ʔete·tα, SP-M et’-tah
*k’ilaʔa, afraid, have fear: While PR shows regularly fronted č’ilapas, afraid, PCC and K have initial s as if from PW *x: PCC selal’α, afraid; K se’la-’, afraid
*k’ir, sharp implement: PK uses č’h instead of č’ in č’hiri, manzanita wood pin to hold net or headband on head
*k’is, seed plant sp.: PCC and PR have č instead of č’: čisaw
*k’ete·t, one; PCC, K, R ʔete·tα, one (P may have double-fronted to *t’ete·t and then dropped the initial t to avoid three t’s in the same word. Cf. *pu·p, roe, in which P lost the final p (PH and R pu·)

*q

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

*qar-, green heron: PK kalawk’awk’aw, green heron, PT k’awk’aw, PTT k’awk’aw, green heron; PR k’awk’awê’u ?, green heron
*go(j)la, hide, buckskin: PK k’o·lay, hide; H-B k’o·lay, buckskin; PT k’o·lay, hide, skin, buckskin, and PR-B k’o·lay, buckskin

*q’

*q’ > s;
*q’al-tu ? spirit: PH and PR saltu, spirit, perhaps prompted by similar areal forms (however, this form may not be reconstructible; see discussion under set)
*q’ep, beard, whiskers, particularly of fish: PK sepsep, whiskers, beard, tree moss, stream moss; sepsep’ê-r, catfish, carp (whisker fish); T sepsep’ê-r, carp (whisker fish); PR sepsep, sepsep (?), beard, mustache, whiskers, PR-B sepseptu, catfish; but regular PH-U k’epum, septum (see W forms listed in cognate set for connection between “whiskers” and “septum”)
*q’ili, minnow: PCC se·lismen, KT se·lis(men), snail

Other:

*q’ala, plant sp.: PK, CC, T k’ala, mule fat
*q’awa ? *q’awa ? paddle: PH-B ê’ewayho, soup paddle, PR-B ê’ewak, soup paddle
*q’ed-, *q’ê-, cut: PCC k’aça-, to cut one thing; PR k’aço·ho, k’açaho, to cut, alongside regular K k’eda·ro, slice once, k’edi, a slice, k’eduro, slice into many pieces
*q’eta, throw solids: PR ketaketa, scattered around

Irregularities affecting *q’:

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

Irregularities affecting *x:

*xeb, open by scratching: PK shows k’ebu-, eat (an apple), nibble, chew on
*xina, sleep: PCC, PK, PR and SP all show k’ana- to sleep
*xurxur, sugar: PK and PT-U have k’uyk’uy
*xo- ... wi-, pigeon: PCC, PK ëomo·wil and PR ëomo·win have dropped the initial consonant and made other changes, perhaps in response to another, similar areal term
*xok, basket type: PCC ëo·k, any basket, small chokemouth bowl (basket type); PR ëo·k, chokemouth globular bowl

264. Loss of *r

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

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

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

Initial *c’ is dropped, perhaps via fronting to *t’, in:
- *c’ena’, defecate; *c’eni, feces > SP-V ena’, defecate; eni, feces
- *c’oq, dry and stiff > SP-M ok’, awk’, firewood; ok’, funeral pyre

In other forms, regularly fronted t’ occurs.
- Initial t’ from *t’ is also lost in:
- *t’ip, make sparks > SP-M e’-pah, acorn bread (cf. PR t’ipil, to bake in ashes; t’ip’a, bread)

Initial *k’ is lost in one form:
- *k’ete-t, one > SP-M et’-tah, ã-tah, one (PCC, K and R share the loss of the initial)

Initial *p’ is lost in two forms:
- *p’oqita, woman > SP-M o-ke’-tah, woman (cf. o-kis’, little girl 4-12). Note, however, that the initial consonant was not dropped in related SP-M ‘pot, old woman < *p’ot
- *p’u(r’). *p’u(r’), wild onion > SP ?ur, wild onion

Cf. the loss of *p’ in P: *p’ukuy, *p’uquy, young girl (perhaps < **p’oq, woman + **kuy, small) > PH ?uçu-, ?uçu-n, older sister (but p’ukuytu, shrew); PR ?ut u·n, older sister

Additional fronting initially:
- *k’eni, winnower > SP-M ten-ne’-che, circular winnower (cf. PR ç’e’-n, winnow by dropping or pouring, and unfronted PCC, PK k’eni, winnowing basket)

Final single fronting vs. PCC and PR double fronting:
- *se-k, root > SP-M stéch’, root
- *tarak, woodpecker sp. > SP-M ter-rah’-tch, Calif. woodpecker; cf. PR tara’t, (hairy) woodpecker
No fronting medially vs. PH (except K) and PR fronting: 
*sekey, pubic hair > SP-G *tcheseki, beard; cf. PR-B sekey, pubic hair; 
  H-B sečey, pubic hair; but also unfronted: K ye-sekey, pubic hair (woman’s)

270. Irregular Correspondences

The sets include the following irregular correspondences:

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

272. n::h
*nup-u, dive; W nupe, to dive; PH, R hupu, to dive
*nur, salmon; W nu(r)j, salmon; PH, R hur, salmon
Cf. *hap-a, dig ? pick up ? and W napa, to gather or pick acorns, and sets under
*haw-a, wrap around, and *naw, robe
Whistler (1976d: 3) suggested reconstructing a voiceless nasal for the n::h correspondence, stating that voiceless nasals are present in Klamath and other 
Northwest languages.

273. n::m
*nurq, smoke; W nu·q, smoke; PR mo·k-, smoke. Merriam’s SP form nook’, smoke, 
is difficult to read and may be mook’.

274. p::t
*par, full; W para, to be full; regular PH paro-, to be full, but PR taro-, fill up

275. p::h
*p’ekay-? *hikay-? stand; W hikay-, to stand; PH p’ič’ay-, stand up; PR p’ič’ay-, 
  stand up. PH p’ič’i·ya, foot of cloven hoofed, and PK pako, foot log (< *waqo-, 
  *waqo-?, log) may point to a prefix p-, meaning “foot.” If it is of PW ancestry, it 
may have combined with *hik-a-y-i/u, creating the two variants for “stand.” Pitkin 
reconstructs *he, stand, for pre-Wintu. This, together with PW *he, *hi, 
demonstrative-interrogative root and *hen, arrive, point to a word family in *he/i.

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

276. p::b
*p’em? *ham? grasp in one or both hands; W bam, put, arrange, part (hair), carry, 
close with hands (cf. bam, fist); PCC p’emtar, carry (held in one or both hands, 
grasped); H-U (peru) p’emta, choke (someone; lit. throat grasp). P may have
alogized with \(\text{\textit{lemi/u-}}\), hold in arms (see \(\textit{*\textit{limit}}\)), but this does not explain the \(\textit{p}\). Again, perhaps \(\textit{W}\) has merged two originally separate roots.

277. \textit{w::n}

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

278. \textit{w::p\textsuperscript{b}}

\(\text{*wil-i} \quad \text{*p’il-i} \quad \text{smooth: \textit{wili-ka}, to be bare (of ground), to be a clearing, to be a cleared, flat, brushless (large) meadow; \textit{p’oyoq wili-ka}, to be bald (head smooth); \textit{N-S wiliika}, smooth; \textit{PR p’ilik}, slippery (as wet or muddy ground); \textit{p’ilikmaro }\textit{thi}, you smooth it out, you polish it. Perhaps a merger of two forms, \(\text{*wil-},\) bare and \(\text{*p’il-},\) slippery, both part of a larger family with \(\text{*sil},\) slip

279. \textit{y::l}

\(\text{*yir} \quad \text{*lur} \quad \text{leg; \textit{ lurur}, leg; \textit{PCC, K yir}, leg}

280. \textit{y::t}

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

281. \textit{r::y}

See 264.

282. \textit{s::t\textsuperscript{b}}

\(\text{*t’ap}, \quad \text{*sap}, \quad \text{wash face, wash up; \textit{W ?el-sapana}, to wash one’s face; \textit{PR t’a-punan}, wash your face and hands; cf. \textit{*sub-u}, smell; \textit{W sube’, subu-}, to smell (tr.); \textit{PT-U subu-ki}, cigarette; but \textit{PCC, K t’ubu/i-u-}, smell, stink; \textit{PR t’ubu-}, smell, stink. Cf. also \textit{*t’umi}, fog; \textit{W t’umi’}, fog; \textit{PT t’( )umi}, waterfall; but \textit{K sumuklay}, to be foggy

283. \textit{y::w}

\(\text{*yodo}, \quad \text{*woto ?}, \quad \text{peppergrass; \textit{W yOd-}, pick or pull grass; \textit{N-G yodôh}, peppergrass; \textit{PK wotok (t’o-k)}, peppergrass

284. \textit{y::?}

\(\text{*yono}, \quad \text{buckeye ?; \textit{W yonot}, buckeye, < \textit{*yon}, that which is shaken?; \textit{PCC ?unu}, buckeye ball and other \textit{P} reflexes in \(\text{?}.\) \textit{Whistler 1977a} suggests that the \textit{P} forms are borrowed from \textit{Miwok}, citing \textit{PMi ?unu}, which is the most likely interpretation. \textit{*yulyul}, rot; \textit{W yulel}, to be rotten, spoiled; \textit{yulyulel}, a lot to be spoiled or rotten; \textit{PT-U ?u?ulumas}, rotten, spoiled
285. *q’::w
*q’al-i ?, charcoal; W q’ali, charcoal; PCC wali, hot coals; PR wali, glowing coals (perhaps *q’ > w under the influence of *wal-u, flame, lightning)
*q’uh-i/u, cough; W q’uhe, q’uhi/u-, cough; PCC, R regular k’uhi/u-, to cough, but K wohi/u-, to cough (perhaps imitative)
300. MORPHOPHONEMICS

310. Root and Stem Structure

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

311. Roots

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

312. Root Reduplication

Roots may be reduplicated by simply doubling the entire root minus any length. Since most roots are of the shape CVC, the majority of reduplicated forms are of the shape CVC-CVC. Examples of reduplication are: *k’ok’o, flea; *halhal, repetitive or prolonged thinking; *tiltil, ringing sound; *č’ereCč’ereC, č’iriCč’iriC?, small bird sp.; č’u:ru(C)č’u:ruC, cricket; *sasasapa, oriole. The only morphophonemic rule that applies to reduplication is that when the root has a long vowel, its copy has the corresponding short vowel. E.g., *pa-tpat, flat tule, cattail; *li-rí:ir, sparrowhawk. In *wasasa, rattle (rustle ?), the last syllable rather than the root is reduplicated, most likely for sound-symbolic purposes. The only other form in
which the last syllable is reduplicated is *t’arara? *č’arara? kingfisher, which may be a borrowing.

313. Prefixes

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

314. Suffixes

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

320. Vowel Alternations

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

i - e

*č’eba’, to scrape, scratch; *č’ibi, nominal stem; *č’i·ba, shave off with sweeping motion; cf. also *k’eb-, loosen by scratching

*č’iya, call someone; *č’e(j)w, talk

*č’ir-, distribute liquid substance; *č’er-, sand, use sand

*dih, spread open; *dehe-la, bat

*he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative root

*lir, rub; *ler, cricket; cf. also *lor, grind

*liw, fan, wave, gesture; *lew, vibrate, oscillate (such as stems, limbs, twigs); cf. also *low, hang

*saw, siw, pack

*ťel-, liquid spreads; *ťilʔa, eat with someone

*t’er, make round; *t’ir, twist

*ʔlimit, breast, milk; *ʔem-, hold pectorally; cf. also *ʔum, fill with liquid

i - u

*sil, slip; *sul, blanket, cover (note pre-Wintu *sul, slip, slide)

*ʔiy-, be, do, use (non-distal); *ʔu-, do, be (distal)

*ʔlimit, breast, milk; *ʔum, fill with liquid; cf. also *ʔem-, hold pectorally
**Morphophonemics**

**a - o**

*bal*, tell a lie; *bo-le* tale, tell a tale
*hak*, up and down movement; *hok*, raise
*kalay*, gap; *go(j)*, mouth; cf. also *holoq*, hole
*k’at?, mesh; *koro*, net
*k’ar?, scrape; *k’or?, scratch; cf. also *k’ur*, tear; *q’er?, scrape
*las*, crawl; *los*, scrabble
*law*, flabby; *low*, hang
*qar’h*, rake; *gor*, grind; cf. also *gir*, pull
*q’apla*, outer bark (as used for building); *q’op’, cut off, slice
*la-q*, bitter; *loq’e*, vomit

**a - e**

*č’aq*, hang; *č ’e-k*, rope
-na, reflexive; *ne-, first person pronominal root
*na, *nah? mother; *neh, *nen, mother
*r’el*, bump; *r’el*, crack open; cf. also *r’ol*, break up surface; *r’ul*, swim
*λ ’ab, *λ ’eb, break
*yal*, leave; *yel*, back of, behind something; cf. also *yol*, a while

**a - i**

*man*, miss; *min*, be nothing
*p’at*, press; *p’it*, mash; cf. also *p’et*, pound with flat surface; *pit*, squeeze; *p’it*, squeeze
*q’a-?, *q’i-? cloud; *q’a-q’, mental clouding; *q’idu*, forget

**o - u**

*boq*, milkweed; *buq*, pus
*čok*, near; *čuk*, approach
*hor*, remain; *huy*, save
*lob*, bubble; *tubuq*, soft, round plant sp.?; *luquq*, thin, loose; *lupe*, drink/eat acorn mush with fingers
*pol*, water container; *p’ul*, water container
*p’oaq*, woman; *p’oquita*, woman; *p’ot*, old woman; *p’ukuy, *p’uquay*, young girl
*goq*, bathe; *gum*, dip
*sono*, nose; *subu*, smell

**e - o**

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

He further observes (ibid. p. 333) that the following three forms may be linked by obscure phonological or morphological processes predating Proto-Wintun:

*lo·y-(ta) adolescent girl
*k’urey-(ta) young boy (perhaps < **k’u(t), small + *ley at a time when r was a (stress-conditioned?) allophone of **l and/or **t.
*?elay, *ilay, baby, child, small
(The first two of these are in this volume reconstructed without the suffix *-ta for which I found no evidence in these two kinterms.)

410. Reduplication

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

*′ep′ep, hit (iterative)
*halhal, repetitive or prolonged thinking
*harhara, many go
*kepkep, shake (iterative)
*xinxina, many sleep
*mormor, move (iterative)
*pumpum, many stoop, (to be) all stooped
*p′ekp′eka′?, *hikhika′?, many stand
*qirqir, pull (iterative), drag
*winwin, see (iterative)

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

*yulyul, to rot (perhaps diminutive or intensive)
*’il’il, to glare, reflect (symbolic of the reflection? intensive?)

420. Verb Structure

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

421. Auxiliaries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

422.6 *ol-, up, is reflected in W as ol-, up, above and in PK as ol-, up. In W it occurs as an independent root, but not without a suffix (e.g., olé-l, up, above; oliti, above, above there). Whether the PK recording ol, up, indicates an independent word is unclear. It also occurs in PCC as ñole-l, up and in PK as ñolel, up. A complete word *ñol-daw, be face up, is reconstructible.
423. Derivation

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

423.1 Root-deriving Suffixes

423.11 *-c\(^{i}\), mediopassive, in some cases translates as transitive. See: *\(\text{l}ibc^{i}\), submerge; *\(\text{p}'irc^{i}\), to skin; *\(\text{yuqc}^{i}\), shake, wake up; *\(\text{t}'akc^{i}\), dump (granulated solids?); *\(\text{t}'oqc}^{i}\), lean something against something; *\(\lambda'opc}^{i}\), insert long things (vertically?), poke, stick into; *\(\text{minc}^{i}\), to turn into nothing; *\(\text{legc}^{i}\), to be tired; *\(\text{ar}c^{i}\), to tie a sling; *\(\text{u}c^{i}\), to vomit; *\(\text{p'u(c)}\), blow on/at; *\(\text{qar}c^{i}\), rake (toward self?); *\(\text{si}c^{i}\), straighten, make stiff.

423.12 *-V\(\cdot\)r is a continuative suffix. The length was probably not distinctive. It occurs in *\(\text{k}imur\), rumble, roar, and *\(\text{onor}\), sound bee-like. It is perhaps diachronically related to *\(\text{har}\), go, and/or *\(\text{wer}\), come, or to the *-r in these forms.

423.13 *-V\(\cdot\)y is an iterative suffix. It is reconstructible in *\(\text{h}ila\), swing arms, and *\(\text{pekay-i/u}\), *\(\text{hikay-i/u}\), stand.

423.14 *-V\(\cdot\)l, stative? W has a suffix -el, -al, -il which forms stative, intransitive verbs. Six PW forms, *\(\text{haw-a-l}\), wrap around; *\(\text{kip-Vl}\), roll, run continuously; *\(\text{k'aral}\), stative of *\(\text{k'ara}\), scrape (?); *\(\text{k'uali}\), bent (crooked ? arched ?), *\(\text{witiil(la)}\), be fast, do fast, and *\(\text{laql}\), play, may be evidence that this suffix is reconstructible.

423.2 Modal Suffixes

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

423.21 *\(-i\) was probably a nominalizing or neutral mode suffix. It derives stems with nominal meaning (e.g., *\(\text{c}^{i}\)eki, pitch, resin; *\(\text{c}^{i}\)eni, feces; *\(\text{kiki}\), frost; *\(\text{k'eni}\), winnower; *\(\text{k'ili}\), horn, etc.), adjectives and adverbs (e.g., *\(\text{wili}\), smooth; *\(\text{coki}\), near; *\(\text{c'aro-gi}\), green), as well as stems for further derivation and inflection (e.g., *\(\text{koyi}l\), hurt, sick, with the auxiliary *\(-la\)). In P, stems in -i are followed by auxiliaries (e.g., PK pi wi ta luymde c'ayibus, that man is ashamed of his boy), the nominalizer -s (e.g., PT-U c'ayis cu, I’m ashamed), and the future suffix -t'i (e.g., PR c'hu perit'i, I’m gonna swallow (it)). It also translates the infinitive (e.g., PR peri, to swallow). *\(-i\) is related to *\(-iy\), be, do use (non-distal?).

423.22 *\(-u\) was probably an imperative and irrealis stem-derived suffix. In W it is reflected as the imperative stem-derived suffix, forming imperatives (e.g., buqu, build!, c'ajawu, sing!) and stems for further inflection (e.g., huttup'ure, warm each other, with reciprocal -p'ure; bimc'\(\cdot\)n dolupaq, catch in a sling, followed by
benefactive -paq). In P, it translates indicatives (e.g., PK t'umu, to urinate), forms nouns (e.g., PR t'wbu, shin), imperatives (PK pela nat doyu pima, give that to me someday), and derives stems for further inflection (e.g., PR mile doyu't'i, you folks give! PK pi nat doyusa, he gave it back to me; PR doyule mis, I’ll give it to you). In both W and P it precedes the reflexive (W doyuna·, to give (to) oneself; PH-U doyuna·nta, he’s giving up, giving self away), the animate comitative suffix (W č’a·wuwil, sing with someone; P čeruwili, kill them off), and the reciprocal (W yalup'ure, to separate; PCC k'osup'iri, guessing game). It is diachronically related to *ʔu, do/be at a distance, the counterpart of non-distal *ʔiy.

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

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

423.3 Stem-deriving Suffixes

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

423.32 *-m, “inanimate comitative” can be reconstructed based on W -m, generic comitative (which indicates that the verb has a syntactic object in the generic aspect, which may or may not be overtly expressed), frequently translated as “with” or “while doing something else,” and P -me, valence-changing suffix “with.” Examples are: *dekm- to climb something; *harm-, take/bring something inanimate; *henme, bring (i.e., arrive with); *q apma, to trap. This suffix may be related to the nominal objective case suffix *-ma, causative *-ma, and/or W -m, an allomorph of the generic aspect.
32

Verbal Morphology

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

423.34 *-na, reflexive, is well represented: *c'epna, hit self; *doyuna, give (to) oneself; *leluna, become (< *lel-, make); *liwna, fan oneself, *yo(w)una, miss (< *ya(w)w; lose, miss). The W reflex is -n, reflexive (usually followed by indicative -a/-a); the P reflex is -na, reflexive. Whistler 1977b also lists a reflexive auxiliary -nan, which may point to the verbal origin of *-na, perhaps relating it to pre-Wintu *na, *nan or *nana, truth, real, actual. *-na may also be related to *-da, relational nominal suffix (see Section 5.12.3.1), the first person pronominal root *ne, and the kinterm absolutive suffix *-n.

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

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

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

423.38 *-wil, *i(-)l was most likely an animate comitative contrasting with *-m, inanimate comitative. The W reflex is the particular comitative -il, -wil. It has not been listed as a separate suffix for P; various P reflexes are listed under *wer, come;
*boh, *bo-, sit, be; *ker-u, finish off, gone. This suffix is probably related to *win, person.

### 424. InflectionalSuffixes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

510. Nouns

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

511. Nominal Derivation

511.1 Reduplication

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

*holhol, throat (perhaps diminutive; cf. *holog, hole)
*xurxur, sugar (perhaps diminutive or intensive)
*tiltil, ringing sound (sound-symbolic)

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

*bolbolVg, butterfly; poppy
*ceqceq, hawk sp.
*iq?:iq- ? *iile?:il- ?, chipmunk
*olol, mountain quail
*ereC ereC ? *iriC *iriC ?, bird sp.
*c’uru(C)c’uruC, cricket
*k’ok’o, flea
*patpat, flat tule, cattail
*sasasapa, oriole
*taqa-taqa, scorpion
*tolo ? *totow ?, roadrunner
*t’arara ? *carara ?, kingfisher
*wocewoce ?, Steller’s jay
Substantival Morphology

*yoryor?, *tortor, cicada
*lařal, crow
*lařat?, lačat?, magpie
*iri-rir, sparrowhawk

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

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

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

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

511.6 *-s, nominalizer; see Section 423.37.

511.7 A suffix *-V,l occurs in *holol, sunshine; *kopol, pond; *xerel, people of, village; *k’alal, flowers; *penejl, black oak acorn; *qewel, house; *tahal, tongue; *teqel, palm; *yoho(j)l, toad. Its meaning is unknown at present, but it may be distantly related to the verbal stative of the same shape.

512. Inflection

512.1 Number

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

512.2 Case

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

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

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

512.3 Directional and Relational Suffixes

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

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

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

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

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

*na, *nah ?, mother
*neh, mother
*ne(n), mother
*tah, father
*ta(·)n, father

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

*ley, younger brother
*le(n), brother-in-law

*soh, *so·, cross-sibling

*?apan, grandfather
*?aman, grandmother

*?a(·)y, grandchild

*le, child
*teh, *te· ?, child ?

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

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

530. Pronouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person proximal</th>
<th>3rd person nonproximal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>(*ni)</td>
<td>*mi</td>
<td>*ẹw</td>
<td>*pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>(*ni-s)</td>
<td>*mi-s</td>
<td>*ẹwe-t</td>
<td>*pu-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>*ne-r</td>
<td>(*mar)</td>
<td>*ẹwe-r</td>
<td>*pu-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inalienable possessive</td>
<td>*ne-t</td>
<td>*ma-t</td>
<td>*ẹwe-r</td>
<td>*pu-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienable possessive</td>
<td>(*ne-t-o)</td>
<td>*ma-t-o</td>
<td>*ẹwe-t-no ?</td>
<td>*pu-tu-no</td>
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### Table 3: PW Dual Pronouns

<table>
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<th>1st person</th>
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<th>3rd person nonproximal</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>*ne-pel</td>
<td>*p’e-pel</td>
<td>*mi-pel</td>
<td>*?ew-pel ?</td>
<td>*pi-pel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>*ne-pele-t</td>
<td>*p’e-pele-t</td>
<td>*mi-pele-t</td>
<td>*?ew-pele-t</td>
<td>*pu-lele-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive and</td>
<td>(*ne-pele-r)</td>
<td>(*p’e-pele-r)</td>
<td>(*ma-pele-r)</td>
<td>(*?ew-pele-r)</td>
<td>(*pu-pele-r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inalienable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>*ne-pele-no</td>
<td>*p’e-pele-no</td>
<td>*mi-pele-no</td>
<td>(*?ew-pele-no)</td>
<td>*pu-pele-no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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Table 4: PW Plural Pronouns

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<thead>
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<th>1st person</th>
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<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person proximal</th>
<th>3rd person nonproximal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subjective</strong></td>
<td>(*ne-le)</td>
<td>*p’e-le</td>
<td>(*ma-le ? *mi-le ?)</td>
<td>(*?ew-le)</td>
<td>(*pi-le)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objective</strong></td>
<td>(*ne-le-t)</td>
<td>*p’e-le-t</td>
<td>*mi-le-t ?</td>
<td>*ma-le-t ?</td>
<td>(*?ew-le-t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genitive and inalienable possessive</strong></td>
<td>(*ne-le-r)</td>
<td>(*p’e-le-r)</td>
<td>(*ma-le-r)</td>
<td>(*?ew-le-r)</td>
<td>(*pu-le-r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alienable possessive</strong></td>
<td>(*ne-le-no)</td>
<td>*p’e-le-no</td>
<td>*ma-le-no</td>
<td>(*?ew-le-no)</td>
<td>(*pi-le-no)</td>
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### Table 5: First Person Singular Pronouns in Daughter Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wintu</th>
<th>Nomlaki</th>
<th>Patwin</th>
<th>South Patwin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>CC, K, R čʰu</td>
<td>choo (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>niyo (emphatic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>nis</td>
<td></td>
<td>CC, K, R nat</td>
<td>choo’t (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CC na·t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienable</td>
<td>neto</td>
<td>nehtum (an. poss.)</td>
<td>K, R na·min (an. poss.)</td>
<td>choo’-no (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>neto</td>
<td>neto (inan. poss.), nehto (BW)</td>
<td>CC, K, R na·no, CC na·n(·)nu (inan. poss.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inalienable</td>
<td>net</td>
<td>ne(·)t</td>
<td>CC, K, R nay</td>
<td>choo (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td></td>
<td>ne (BW)</td>
<td>K net</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CC -ču</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R -čʰu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>ner</td>
<td>ne</td>
<td>CC, K, R nay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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Table 6: First Person Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages

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<th>Nomlaki</th>
<th>Patwin</th>
<th>South Patwin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Particular</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td><code>ne·let</code></td>
<td><code>ne·l</code></td>
<td><code>ne·lel</code></td>
<td><code>K, R nepel</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td><code>ne·lem, ne·let</code></td>
<td><code>ne·lelum, ne·letum</code></td>
<td><code>K nepelet, nepet</code></td>
<td><code>K nepelet, nepet</code></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienable</td>
<td><code>ne·len</code></td>
<td><code>ne·lelun, ne·lelen</code></td>
<td><code>H-U nepelnom (an. poss.) nepelno (inan. poss.) R nepelenomin, nepelomin (an. poss.) nepeleno (inan. poss.)</code></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inalienable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><code>K, R nepeley</code></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7: First Person Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages

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<th>Patwin</th>
<th>South Patwin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Particular</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Generic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>nele-t, nitep’urut</td>
<td>nite</td>
<td>nitep’urum</td>
<td>nihtak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CC, K neč’u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>nele·tp’urum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K neč’ut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienable</td>
<td>nele-n(p’urun)</td>
<td>nele·len</td>
<td>nihtakam (BW)</td>
<td>K neč’u-min (an. poss.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>neč’u-no (inan. poss.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R neč’u-nomin (an. poss.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inalienable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K neč’uy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
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### Table 8: Inclusive Person Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages

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<th>Patwin</th>
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<td>Particular</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Generic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>p’e·let</td>
<td>p’e·l</td>
<td>p’e·lel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>p’e·lem</td>
<td>p’e·lemum, p’e·letum</td>
<td>K p’epelet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienable</td>
<td>p’e·len</td>
<td>p’e·lelun, p’e·lelen</td>
<td>L-U p’epelemin (an. poss.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p’epele (inan. poss.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inalienable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R p’epele (inan. poss.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
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Table 9: Inclusive Person Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages

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<th>Patwin</th>
<th>South Patwin</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Particular</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Generic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>p'ele·t</td>
<td>p’ele</td>
<td>p’ele·s</td>
<td>p’ele·, p’etaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>p’ele·m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienable</td>
<td>p’ele·n</td>
<td>p’ele·len</td>
<td>pel-lā’-toon (M)</td>
<td>K p’ele nomin (an. poss.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p’ele no (inan. poss.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inalienable</td>
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<td></td>
<td>R p’ele</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R p’eley</td>
<td></td>
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Substantival Morphology
### Table 10: Second Person Singular Pronouns in Daughter Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Wintu</th>
<th>Nomlaki</th>
<th>Patwin</th>
<th>South Patwin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subjective</strong></td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>mi, miʔa</td>
<td>CC, R mi</td>
<td>mi (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>miyo (emphatic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objective</strong></td>
<td>mis</td>
<td>mis (BW)</td>
<td>CC, K mit</td>
<td>mot, mit (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R mis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alienable</strong></td>
<td>mato</td>
<td>mohtum (an. poss.)</td>
<td>CC, K matomin (an. poss.)</td>
<td>mo’-to (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td></td>
<td>mota (inan. poss.)</td>
<td>CC, K mato (inan. poss.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mohto (BW)</td>
<td>R matono (inan. poss.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inalienable</strong></td>
<td>mat</td>
<td>ma (BW)</td>
<td>CC ma</td>
<td>mah (M)</td>
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<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CC, R mat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Genitive</strong></td>
<td>mar</td>
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Table 11: Second Person Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages

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<th>South Patwin</th>
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<td>Generic</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Objective</td>
<td>ma·lem</td>
<td>ma·letum, ma·lelum</td>
<td>K mipelet</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R mipet</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>ma·let</td>
<td>me·l</td>
<td>me·l</td>
<td>K, R mipel</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>me·lel</td>
<td>me·l-palel</td>
<td>mip’-pel (M)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alienable</td>
<td>ma·len</td>
<td>me·lelen, ma·lelun</td>
<td>H mipelnomin (an. poss.)</td>
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<td>possessive</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>mipelno (inan. poss.)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>R mapelenomin, mapelemin (an. poss.)</td>
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<td>mapeleno, mapelno (inan. poss.)</td>
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<td>K mipeley</td>
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<td>R mapeley</td>
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Table 12: Second Person Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages

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<td>male·t(p’urut), mitep’urut, mitup’urit</td>
<td>mite</td>
<td>mite·rum, mitep’urum</td>
<td>mihtaq (BW)</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>CC, K, R mile</td>
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<td>male·tp’urum</td>
<td>male·tp’ure</td>
<td></td>
<td>K mile·t</td>
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<tr>
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<td>male·n, male·np’urun</td>
<td>male·len</td>
<td>mā-tok-toon (M) mihtakam (BW)</td>
<td>H-U male·nomin</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T mile·nomin</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(an. poss.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CC, T, R male·no</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(inan. poss.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>T miley</td>
<td>R (CC?) maley</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>R ?ewet (an.)</td>
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<td>ewet</td>
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<td>T-U ?e·wet (an.)</td>
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<td>CC ?e· (inan.)</td>
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<td>R ?e(·)s (inan.)</td>
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<td>?ewe(r)tun</td>
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<td>?efer</td>
<td>?eto (inan. poss.)</td>
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<td>Genitive</td>
<td></td>
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<td>CC ?ewey</td>
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### Table 14: Third Person Proximal Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages

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<td>Subjective</td>
<td>?eweletam</td>
<td>CC ?ewpel</td>
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<td>Objective</td>
<td>?eweletam</td>
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<td>Alienable possessive</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Inalienable possessive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ā’-pah-lā (M)</td>
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Table 15: Third Person Proximal Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages

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<td>ʔebas</td>
<td>ʔebasp’urum</td>
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<td>Objective</td>
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<td>Inalienable possessive</td>
<td>ʔeba·np’urun</td>
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<td><strong>Genitive</strong></td>
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### Table 16: Third Person Nonproximal Singular Pronouns in Daughter Languages

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<td>Generic</td>
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<td>pi</td>
<td>piyo (emphatic)</td>
<td>pi (BW)</td>
<td>H, R pi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pe’, pe’-ah (M)</td>
<td>piʔa (S)</td>
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<td>pi (M)</td>
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<td>Objective</td>
<td>putam</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>put</td>
<td>CC ʔu(:)t (an.)</td>
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<td>K, R ʔut (an.)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>CC pi·t (inan.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>oot (M)</td>
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<td>Alienable possessive</td>
<td>pur</td>
<td>putum (an. poss.)</td>
<td>poo-toon’ (M)</td>
<td>K ʔu·nomin (an. poss.)</td>
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<td>CC, K, R ʔu·no</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(inan. poss.)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R ʔu·min (an. poss.)</td>
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<td>Inalienable possessive</td>
<td>putun</td>
<td>puris</td>
<td>putuna (BW)</td>
<td>CC, K, R ʔuy</td>
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<td>oo·e (M)</td>
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<td>Genitive</td>
<td>pir</td>
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<td>puy</td>
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### Table 17: Third Person Nonproximal Dual Pronouns in Daughter Languages

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<td>pule·t, pu·let</td>
<td>pe·l</td>
<td>pe·lel</td>
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<td>Objective</td>
<td>pule·m, pu·let</td>
<td>pule·lum, pule·tum,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>purunis</td>
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<td>pule·n, pe·len,</td>
<td>pe·lelun, pe·len,</td>
<td>piloqam (BW)</td>
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<td>pule·npʼurun</td>
<td>pe·lenton, pe·lelen,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pe·lentun</td>
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<td>possessive</td>
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### Table 18: Third Person Nonproximal Plural Pronouns in Daughter Languages

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<td>Generic</td>
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<td>pite·rut, pitep’urut,</td>
<td>pite</td>
<td>pi·taq (W), pihtak (BW),</td>
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<td></td>
<td>puba·tp’urut, piyap’urit</td>
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<td>piitaqa (S)</td>
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<td>puba·np’urum</td>
<td>putp’urim</td>
<td>CC, K, R ?ule·t</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K ?ule·t</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>K pile·t</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CC pi·t (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>R ?ule·let (?)</td>
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<td>Alienable</td>
<td>puba·np’urun, pele·n,</td>
<td>pitep’urun</td>
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<td>puba·np’urin</td>
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<td>?ule·no (inan. poss., an.</td>
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<td>pile·no (inan. poss., inan.</td>
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<td>possessor)</td>
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<td>R ?uley</td>
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531. Composition of Pronouns

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

531.1 Pronominal Roots

All pronominal roots are of the shape CV-.

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

531.12 Inclusive person: *p'ě

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

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

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

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

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

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

531.3 Case

531.31 Subjective

Subjective case is unmarked.

531.32 Objective

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

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

531.33 Genitive

The genitive case is marked by *-r in all persons and numbers. It is also used with kinterms. Its reflexes are W -r, which marks singular pronouns as agents of passive verbs and marks third person singular pronouns as inalienable possessors;
and P -y, pronominal genitive and inalienable possessive case and genitive kinterm case inflection. PW *-r therefore most likely functioned to mark agents of passive verbs, as well as inalienable possession, except in the first and second persons singular (see immediately below).

531.34 Inalienable possessive

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

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

W net-nen or net ne·n, my mother; nettan, my father; pu tan or putan, his, her, their father; mani·n (< *matnen), your mother; neto ne·h, my mother (with alienable possessive pronoun)
PCC nay t apa·n, my uncle, but mat apa·n, your uncle, and ??uyt apa·n, his uncle; matapan, your grandfather, but ??uy tapan ??is pi, that’s his grandfather

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

531.35 Alienable possessive

In the singular second (and probably also first) person(s), alienable possession is marked by suffixing *-o to inalienable possessive *-t. In all other persons and numbers, except third persons singular, alienable possession is marked by suffixing *-no, whose o may be identical with *-o, to the number morpheme. It is also possible that singular *-o derives from an earlier *-no, i.e., **mat-no > *mat-o. In other words, singular inalienable and alienable possessive pronouns may at one time have been identical to objective case pronouns, all marked by *-t. Later *-no was suffixed to *-t to mark alienable possession, which then contracted to *-to. Finally, first and second person objective pronouns **net and **mat were replaced with *nis and *mis, perhaps borrowed from pre-Klamath. Another possibility is that Nomlaki’s -um in nehtum, first person singular alienable possessive (animate possessed) and mohtum, second person singular alienable possessive (animate
possessed) is archaic and points to an origin of *-o in **-um. However, a N innovation, perhaps based on nominal objective case -um, is just as likely in these two pronouns. Finally, *-to in *neto and *mato could also be related to agentive *-to, *-tu?

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

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

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

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

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

531.38 The reconstruction of *ye, vocative, is problematic because its W reflex ye-, ye- is a prefix, while the PH reflex is -e-, a vocative suffix (Whistler 1980: 216). The
two forms are almost certainly cognate, but their placement in PW kinterms remains uncertain.

531.39 A second vocative *-k is reconstructible based on W -k, vocative suffix, and PH -khe, vocative suffix (Whistler 1980: 216), which combines *-k with *ye.
610. The demonstrative-interrogative root is *he, *hi, which probably had the same range of meanings as in the daughter languages (refer to sets). It is reconstructible in two full words, *heke, where, and *heket, which specific one. It may be diachronically related to *p'eka-y-i/u? *hika-y-i/u? stand (cf. W hEk, stop, stand, stop in a standing position) and/or *hen, arrive. It is also related to the W particular aspect marker -h, perhaps via a definite article function.

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

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

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

Section references to the grammatical sketch follow the reconstructions.
COGNATE SETS AND RECONSTRUCTIONS

Alphabetical Order:

a, b, c, c', d, e, i, k, l, m, n, o,
p, p', q, s, t, t', u, V, w, x, y, ?

PLEASE NOTE:

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

a

*-a, *-a·, realis stem-deriving suffix (423.23); cf. *-7a, have (auxiliary)
See *č’eb-a·, to scrape, scratch; *lel-a/i/u, make; *ley-a, throw; *lim-a, cave in;
*man-a·, miss; *min-a, be nothing
cf. Klamath a, indicative, declarative (Barker 1963: 41)

b

*-ba, kinterm plural (or human plural ?) (512.1); cf. *pan (also *pal ?), two;
*pano(-)ɪ, three
W -ba (-bas, g; -ba·t, objective; -ba·n, genitive), plural suffix occurring only
with third person pronouns and with xeribas, “a group of young men”; cf.
bO-, many, much, big, more
PCC, K, R -ba, human plural suffix, possibly originally a kinterm plural which
was extended
PA-U namin hayuba čukuyba ?ibus, my dogs are good pets (here -ba occurs with
“dog,” perhaps having been extended to an animate plural, or because dogs
are considered family)
SP-M t¯a’-bah, family (cf. *teh, *te· ?, child)
Whistler (1980: 215-6) suggests that kinterm “plurals are probably in some sense
aggregatives, with the sense of ‘a group of people who are characterized by such and
such a kinterm relation’ rather than being formal plurals of fully specified relational
kinterms.”

*ba·, eat (perhaps from *ba-, eat, food + auxiliary *-7a, have > “have food”)
W ba·, eat
N-W ba·, eat; ba·s, food
P ba·, to eat
PK ba·, food (< ba, eat)
SP-V ba, eat
SP-G ma, to eat (comer)
cf. PM *pe, *pa, to eat (Callaghan 2001: 330); Molala p’a-, p’ä-, eat (Berman 1996:
17); Klamath p’aŋ, eat (Barker 1963: 306); Nez Perce papá·c, eating (nursery word)
(Aoki 1994: 506)

*ba-her, be eaten (with passive)
W ba-her, be eaten
PH-U t’il wi-tano ba-heribus, the fish got eaten by the man
*ba-le, going to eat, will eat (with intentional future)
W ba-le, going to eat
PK ba-le č'u, I’m gonna eat
PR-U ba-le, I will eat
        yalule mis ba-le?, I’m going to let you be so that you can eat
SP-G chumaleina (yo comere), I will eat

*ba-le-s, being able to eat, going to eat (nominal)
W ba-le-s ni, I will, might, could, should, would, ought to eat
PCC ba-les, eat! (you tell somebody)
        hatt'u p'i t ba-les, pick it (fruit, etc.) to eat it (later)

*ba-ma, feed (with causative)
W ba-ma, give to eat, feed; ba-ma', make eat
PH ba-ma, to feed
PL-U ?ilayma ču namin bamas, I’m feeding my baby

*ba-r ? *ba-ro ? eat (subordinate)
W ba-r, eat (subordinate)
PR ?e-s ba-ro har, eat this and go!

*ba-s, food, eating
W ba-s, food
P ba-s, food
PCC ba-s pi, he ate
PR t'i-rma ču ba-s, I ate fish a little while ago
PT-U, PL-U ba-s ču, I’m eating

*ba-s-to ?, *ba-s-tu ?, eater (with agentive)
W ba-sto', eater
PR-U t'i-rma ču bahtu, I eat fish [I’m a fish eater]
PH-U ču hawer?an ba-stu, I’m a fast eater

*bal-ʔa, tell a lie; cf. *bo-l-e, tale
W bala-, to (tell a) lie
N-BW bala-, lie, deceive
PCC, K balʔa, to lie
PR balu-, to tell someone

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

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

*baq, low-growing plant sp.
W baqi, brush, bush, thicket, woods, low brush
NT-M bah’-ke, brush or chaparral
PCC, K, T, R bak, Marah sp. (“wild cucumber”); cf. PK, PT baka·kay, oak gall;
PCC bakak, oak gall

*bay, action with fire
W baya·, to cauterize, do by fire; to look for something with a pitch torch; bayi, partially burned log (bark burned off ?); cf. bayi, (black oak) tree bark, bark of oak trees only
PR bay, log (i.e., heat-treated wood ?)

*bey (before vowel), *be· (elsewhere), lie, be; auxiliary of indefinite duration (or imperfective - inanimate connecting via duration) (421.1); cf. *pi-, *pu-, demonstrative and quasi-pronominal third person root
W bEy-, to be lying down; biya, indicative stem; be-, be·-, imperative stem
bEy-, imperfective aspect attributive auxiliary; be-, be·-, imperative stem
N-G maibehkuda, I would like to lie down with you
N-BW be·, to be; kEnbe-, lay down
PCC be·, to be (inanimate locational)
-be, to be (inanimate inflectional auxiliary suffix)
PCC, T -bom, -bem, quotative auxiliary (< -bo, to be, animate locational auxiliary;
-be, to be, inanimate locational aux.)
cf. Molala pi-, be (of inanimates) and Proto-Sahaptian *pe, be situated, be located (of inanimates) (Berman 2001: 346)

*be·-di, be + hortative
W be·di, prohibitive auxiliary preverb, exhortative, don’t...!
PR wi·le wi·le layuk behdi, let everything be okay (said when someone sneezes)

*be·-ma, make lie, let lie (with causative)
W be·ma·, to let something lie (there), make a bed for someone; bima·, to have, possess, own; qewel bohem pite·rum beme·s, they own(ed) a big house; beme·s kuyam, do you want [to be with] it?
NT-M a-la-wahk-bem’-me-nah, empty [nothing being]
PCC bema, leave it alone, let it stay there
PR-U hoya sun behmanan benta kewe, it looks like there used to be a house there
*be-s, being (nominal)
W be-s, lying down, bed, to lie down (as a noun), being; nominal stem of imperfective auxiliary
PCC, K be-s, (it) is, there are

*bey-e-m, be + dubitative
W ?ibiyam, are you?
N-S piyaapem cala, [it is] right, correct
PK pi behem, “that one must been there”; pi behem k’onta, that they must been dry; pi behem ?ele-s, he’s gone
PL-U ?ew t’o-k behemla p’eti bos, in that tree is a bird
(Patwin h is perhaps due to analogy with boh-, see *boh-)

*bil, burn bare; cf. *bay, action with fire; *pil-a-, hot; *wil-i/*p’il-i, smooth
W bile-, to set fire, to back fire the brush, remove pain by burning, cauterize (cf. bay, cauterize; bih, smoke tobacco)
PCC bil-, to burn off, to fire; sala bil, bare of leaves
PR bil-, burn

*bis- cap-shaped
W-C kolchi bisi, sky cap (mythological object mentioned by Curtin, 1898: 238)
PA-U wenem bisa-, eyeball

*bit, indent
W bEt, to dent, bend, mash; bita-, to make a dent, to bend or mash, crush
PK bitt uro, settle down (to the ground, of flying dust, etc.)

*bi-t ? Western meadowlark
N-B wi-t’colok, meadowlark
PCC, K, T bi-t, Western meadowlark
PR-B bi-t, meadowlark
Irregular w:b correspondence, probably due to folk-etymology

*boh (before vowel), *bo- (elsewhere), sit, be (verb); auxiliary of definite duration (or durative - animate connecting via duration) (421.2); cf. *bey, *be-, lie, be, auxiliary
*boh-a, indicative
*-bu may or may not be reconstructible. It occurs only in the auxiliary in P and only in the verb in W. It may be an instance of drift resulting in vowel raising in both languages (see 243.)
W boh, verb: live, reside, remain, keep, stay, be in a sitting position, sit, dwell, stay; durative aspect auxiliary
buha, to live, reside, remain, keep, stay, sit, dwell, stay, sit still, be sitting down, be staying at home (indicative); auxiliary: buha, indicative stem, occurs only in ?unibuha, sentence connective deictic shifter (sentence subject remains the same)
boh, verb imperative stem, command: sit! stay! etc.
bo-, contracted allomorph of imperative verb stem; imperative auxiliary stem
bo·, to be (animate locational)
-bo, to be (animate), inflectional auxiliary suffix
-bu(da), let’s all ... (first person plural inclusive)
bo piña, stay there
-bu(da), let’s all ... (first person plural inclusive) (Whistler 1981)
PK wënom bo-, is (animate) in the middle
ču bo·t’ibus, I’m gonna be here
k’ana·ro bo· di-huro, I was sleeping and woke up
PR boha nat, wait for me; misda bohle, I’ll stay with you
bo·bo miʔ, are you there?
layuk?aro ču bo-, I’m fine
po werebo, who’s coming
ču boha·ro bo ?ut, I’m waiting for him
PK pe·ma no·p bo·m
§ u, why not be a deer? (she’s sure she’ll be a deer)
bo·ma pe·ma, alive or not, dead or alive (a collocation)
PK pi bohom, that’s him
pi bo·t’ibum piña, I heard he’s gonna be there
pi bohom, that’s him; pi bohom piña bo·s, he must be there
PL-U tihom bom, he is alone (hearsay)
piña bohom hayu, the dog was there (know, but not from seeing)
PR nat bohamʔurbo, don’t wait for me

W *boh-il, be-with, keep an animate (see *-wil, *-i(-)l, animate comitative)
boh-il, live together, be married, cohabit; to keep, maintain, keep someone, support a person (wife), be married, live with someone (cf. bohma‘, to own something generic (inanimate)); -i-l, particular comitative
PCC bohil, to retain, keep
PK ?el bohilta, he put that in, locked it up
PR-U wakama piña bohilta, the cattle are inside
pi ?ila·kma bohilta, she’s giving birth

W *bo-·m = *bo- + dubitative, < *bohom ? (possibly both of the following apply: *bohom > bo·m > bom; or: *bo·m > bom, and *bohom > bo·m > bom; both Wintu and Patwin have both bo·m and bVhVm)
pi po·m be-lebo·m, that ground will always be there; but: buham, hello (literally, do you live ?)
PCC pe·ma no·p bo·mʔu, why not be a deer? (she’s sure she’ll be a deer)
bo·ma pe·ma, alive or not, dead or alive (a collocation)
PK pi bohom, that’s him
pi bo·t’ibum piña, I heard he’s gonna be there
pi bohom, that’s him; pi bohom piña bo·s, he must be there
PL-U tihom bom, he is alone (hearsay)
píña bohom hayu, the dog was there (know, but not from seeing)
PR nat bohamʔurbo, don’t wait for me

W *bo·-s, being, is (nominal form)
bo·s, nominal stem, generic aspect noun; afterbirth, caul, umbilicus, race, tribe, family, house, home, dwelling, camp
ne·l bo·s, we two stayed at home
bo·sto·t, residence, dwelling

PCC,T bo(·)s, animate locational auxiliary “to be” (most commonly expresses continuative or imperfective aspect; Whistler 1986: 67-68)

PCC di·huro ču bo·s, I’m already awake
ta·ču so·rto ʔaro bo·s, my father is deaf
pa·l piła pi bo·s, he’s staying there now

PK pi muku·ro bo·s, he’s kind of mad, irritated, bothered
pi wi·ta piła bo·s čəentə, that man is down there
ʔibus, that’s his
boni čəu bakobus, I’m here and I’m counting

PL-U tihom bos, he is alone (see him)

PH-U nop piła ʔibus, there must be a deer there

PA-U k’udi bo·s, there’s a bird there (and see it)
piła hu·s bo·s, there’s the buzzard

PR-U pi hayu piła bo·sem na·min, that dog there is mine

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

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

*bo-lbolVq, butterfly; poppy
W bolboloq, butterfly; also saysayboloq; bolboloq luli, California poppy (luli, flower)
N-W bol·bolo·q, butterfly; T-M bahl’-bahl’-lűk; BW balbalak
PCC, K, T ba·lbalik, butterfly, all butterflies; PK also ba·lbalak, butterfly
PK bo·lbolik, poppy, butterfly, all butterflies; PK also ba·lbalak, butterfly
PR walalakai, butterfly
SP-M būl-lūl’-lā-ki’, butterfly

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

*boq, milkweed; cf. *buq, pus
W   boq, milkweed
NG-M bok’, broad leaf milkweek (Asclepias)
PCC, K, T  bok, milkweed (Asclepias speciosa)
PR-B bok, milkweed

*bul, protrusion; cf. *p^o-, protrude, swell
*bul-i, hill
W   *bul, excrescence, protrusion (buli, peak, hill, mountain; bul, bump; bulaq, pile; bol, lump)
PK   bul-, pregnant; C buli, meadow; T buli, rolling prairie
PR   buli, (low) hill, foothill

*buq, pus, full of pus; cf. *boq, milkweed
W   buq (also nuq), pus, mucus, matter; buqe-, be full of pus, mucus
PK   buk, pus; T festering (wound)
PR   buk-, to bud out (of trees); PR-B bek, pus

č

*čal-a, good; cf. *čal-a, clear
*čal-V sem, right hand
W   čala-, to be good; čalisem, right hand (sem, hand)
N-S   cala, good; cali-sem, right side (good hand)
PR   t’ala sem, right hand; talo·ma, to measure (put marks on for something, e.g., clothes), to straighten something out; talo-, straight
PA-U   t’ala, right side
SP-M   tal’-loo, good, tah’-le, new
cf. Alsea c’lyaq-, to straighten; c’lyaqa, straight, correctly (Golla 1997: 161); PMy *cala-, with reflexes including: to be happy, to be content, happiness (Brown 1990: 46)

*čal-a, clear; cf. *čal-a, good
W   čala(l), to be clean, clear
PCC, K   tal-, tała-, bald

*čel, rip; cf. *čil-a, give blows to head; *čep, hit; *k’il, hail; *či-r, lean meat; *t’el, crack open; *t’iI, eat with someone
W   čEl-, tear, torn, stripe, strip (čelča, to tear to little pieces, se-čila, to tear apart, rip into halves; cf. t’e-l, slit or slice fish lengthwise)
PT-U   telep, stone for grinding meat by pounding
cf. Alsea c’ya: -, to split (tr.) (Golla 1997: 161); PMy *cil, with reflexes including: tear, tear it up, break, breaking in two, shred; Yuki sil, tear, rip; Plains Miwok si:ly-, to skin; Wakashan clt-, to tear (cloth); Tlingit ya-s’eil’, tear; Colorado čileno, to tear (cloth) (all from Brown 1990: 46)

*čeqčeq, hawk sp., red-tailed ?
NT-M čhek’-čhek-koo, red-tailed hawk (Buteo borealis)
PCC, T, R tektek, sharp-shinned hawk

*čil-a, give blows to the head; cf. *čel, rip; čel, hit; *tčel, crack open
W čel-, čila, to stone, to keep hitting with a rock, to give a blow to the head with a stone or other heavy object (in order to split it open ?)
PR tila-p’iri, fighting one another (could be a war, has to be enemies fighting, not just a few people)

*čok-i, near; cf. *čuk-a, approach
W čoki, near, close
N-J chaw keen, near
PR toči, shallow (of water only)

*čol-, walk uncertainly
W se-čolča, to stagger (l dissimilated to l ?; cf. tOh-, stiff, rigid; tu-təohčuna-, stretch legs rigidly in front; təO-l-, break, broken ?)
PCC, K tolbak, to limp

*čosaq, mosquito
NG-M choo-’sahk’, mosquito
PCC, K, T to-sak; B t’osak, mosquito
PR tösak, mosquito
If we assume that P avoided a final č by not fronting, the reconstruction may be *ćosak. However, the ending *-aq is more likely since it may be a fossilized derivational suffix; there are a number of other items with this ending.

*čuk-a, approach; cf. *čok-i, near
W čOk-, čuka-, to approach, overtake, catch up with; cf. č’uq-, join; č’uq-, help
PK -toko, -tuka, toward; CC -tuka, -t’uka, toward
PR -t’uka, -tuka, against, toward
cf. Alsea cq:iw-, cqwi:-naku-, to approach, come near (Golla 1997: 161)

*čh

*-čh, mediopassive (423.11); *-čh-i, nominal/neutral mode; *-čh-u, imperative or irrealis mode
W -č, transitive root-derivational suffix; e.g., lako, to embrace; minčuna, for a close relative to die, “die on one”; ʔoqčit, one who vomited (with nominal stem)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

P  -t'i, -t'u, semelfactive

See  *lib-čʰ-, submerge; *p'ir-čʰ-u, to skin; *yuq-čʰ-, shake, wake up; *tʰak-čʰ-i, dump (granulated solids ?); *tʰoq-čʰ-i/u, lean against (tr.); *λ’op-čʰ-, insert long things (vertically ?), poke, stick into; *min-čʰ-u, to turn into nothing; *leq-čʰ-u, to be tired; *lar-čʰ-u, to tie a sling; *ʔoq-čʰ-i/u, to vomit; *pʰu(ʔ)-l-čʰ-, blow on/at; *qar-čʰ-, rake (toward self ?); *sip-čʰ-u, straighten, make stiff

*čʰ-a·hay, gray hair
W  čahay, gray hair; ča·hay, some gray hair (not a whole head of it)
PK  t’a·say, gray (hair or whiskers); t’a·say, gray hair
PR-B  t’a·say, gray-hair(ed)
cf. PT-B, PH-B, č’a-, gray paint

*čʰ aq, net; cf. *č’e·aq-a·, hang; *č’e·k, rope

N-C  chá-k-me, dip-net (net attached to bow-and-arrow frame); K tcek, rabbit net
SP-M  chel-ło’-na tak’-ke, rabbit net; tuk’-ke, fish net

As Merriam’s “t” probably represents tʰ, the tentative reconstruction is *čʰ

*čʰ(a·)y, grandchild
W  nič(a·)y, grandson; cf. nič(a·)men, niece, granddaughter
N-W  če(·), grandchild; BW -c’ey, grandson, ce’, grandchild
PCC  t’a·y, grandchild; K t’ay
PR  t’ay, brother’s son, grandson, granddaughter, nephew, niece

*čʰ ek-i, pitch, resin
W  čeki, pitch, resin
PCC, K, R  t’čʰi, pine gum, pitch

*čʰ ep, hit; cf. *čel, rip
W  čEp-, čipa, to hit, whip, throw, cut, pound, slap, knock, rattle, guess
PCC  t’ep, to hit
PK  t’ep, [hit] once
PR  t’ep, to whip
PK  t’ep, to hit (once)
PK  t’ep, a whip
PK  t’ep, hit with stick or hand
PR  t’ep, to hit, to strike
PR  t’ep, to hit or strike

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

*čʰ ep, hit! (imperative)
W  čep, guess! hit! tap!, xan-čep, throw it away!
PR  mi t’ep, t’ep mi, you hit it!
PK  t’ut t’ep, hit him!
*čʰ·ep, hit repeatedly
   W če·pa, to rattle, če·pus, rattle (n.)
   PCC tʰ·e·p, [hit] more than once
   PK ?ut bo·ni tʰ·e·pta, pounding the hell out of him

*čʰ·ep-na, hit self
   W pomín čepna-, to throw oneself to the ground; čepna-s kalay, hitting-
      oneself-gap (placename); se-čepna-, to wiggle, move around
   PCC tʰ·epnas čʰ·u, I hit myself
   PK pi tʰ·epnanta, he hit himself

*čʰ·epčʰ·ep, hit (iterative)
   W čepče·pa, to hit one stick to another to keep time; čepče·pus, split
      stick rattle
   PR-U tʰ·eptʰ·epta, hit off and on

*čʰ·ep-p’ur-i, hit each other
   W se-čepp’ure, to slap each other, to battle
   PCC tʰ·e·pp’iris pipel, they’re hitting each other
   PH-U kawayu tᵉpp’ita, horses hit each other

*čʰ·ep-her, be hit
   W p’ᵉ·l čephida, we got hit
   PCC tᵉpheres pi nat, he let them hit me

*čʰ·ika, raccoon
   N-M che’-kahn, raccoon; B t·c¯i kan, raccoon
   SP-M te’-chah, raccoon
The reconstruction of *čʰ is based on the assumption that Merriam’s “t” represents tʰ

*čʰ·iqčʰ·iq- ?, *čʰ·ilčʰ·il- ?, chipmunk
   NGT-M chil’-chis-waht, chipmunk (Eutamias)
   PCC, K, T čʰikčʰ·i·ki, chipmunk; T-U čikči·ki, chipmunk

*čʰ·i·r, fish sp.; cf. *čʰ·i·r, lean meat ? calf ?
   W či·rus, či·rh, či·s, suckerfish (type of spirit); či·rut, sucker sp. or carp
   N-S ciit, fish; SS čiyet, fish
   PCC, K, T tʰ·i·r, fish
   SP-M teer’, fish
   cf. Alsea c’i:š-, to cook, prepare, boil, ripen; Siuslaw tsIxn-, scorch; ha-tsi:la:1, meat
      (ha-, locative) (Golla 1997: 161)

*čʰ·i·r, lean meat ? calf ?; cf. *čʰ·i·r, fish sp., perhaps both ultimately from “lean meat”
   W či·r, meat, flesh, lean; č’uḥcʰ·i·r, calf of leg
   PR tʰ·i(·)r, calf
*čʰiri·k-, fear
*čʰiri·k-u-ma, to scare someone (causative)
W čiri·ka, to get scared, shocked, frightened, be horrified; čiri·kuma, to frighten, scare; Pitkin suggests perhaps < čil, restless
N-BW člkutu-, fear, be scared by
PR-U tʰiri·č-, be scared, terrified; tʰiri·čuma, scare someone

*čʰiy-a, call someone; cf. *čʰé·(w)-, talk
W čiye-, to call; čiyamena, to owe something to someone; cf. čʰ’a·w-, sing
PCC, R tʰiya, to call someone

*čʰo·l, *čʰor, burn; cf. *č’il, black
W čo·l, cooked, done; čo·ra, nuts to be ripe
NT-M chaw’lah, cooked, ripe
PCC tʰo·r-, burn; tʰo·ro, fire; tʰo·rma, to set fire to
PK tʰor-, tʰo·l-, burn

*čʰolb’ol, mountain quail; cf. *č’hol, mountain
W č’olč’ol (g), č’olč’ol (p), mountain quail
N-M chol’-chūs’, mountain quail (Oreortyx); cháhl-chāhl, mountain quail
PCC, T t’olč’ol, mountain quail; K č’holč’hol, č’holb’ol, mountain quail (irregular)

*č’hol, mountain; cf. *č’holb’ol, mountain quail
W čol, mountain; *č’ol, mountain; čolčor, č’olč’ol, mountain quail
N-B t’oL, mountain; S chooL, mountain; PS čol-, hill; C cháhl, mountain; coL bihtlat, mountain quail
PCC, K, R t’ol, t’o·l-, mountain, hill
SP-M tös-sl, tos’, mountain; tos’-sl, tor’s, tor’h, Sonoma mountain (or peak)
cf. PY *tulaw, up, high? > *tulul, mountain, foothill (Callaghan 2001: 323)

*č’hono, dance; cf. *č’on, kick
W čOn-, čuna, to dance; čono-, nominal stem
N č’hono, dance; č’hono kewel, dance-house (forms given to Whistler by PK
speaker Oscar McDaniel)
PK t’hono·, a dance
č’hono t’honle, I’m gonna dance
PCC pi t’hic’em ʔele·s t’ono·, he doesn’t know how to dance
t’aknanas pi t’hono·t’o, he’s getting dressed up to dance
PH-U t’honpabuš’u, I step on it
PL-U t’honosok, dance
PT-U t’hono·, dance
PR-B t’hono·, to dance

*č’hono-s, dance (n.)
W čonos, dance (n.)
PT-U t’honos win, everybody’s dancing
*čʰop, stuck
W čupal, to be jammed in, stuck
PCC tʰoptʰu, tʰoptʰi, tight, stuck

*čʰo·q, tree; cf. *č’oq, dry and stiff; *k’ok, brace
W čo·q, pole, young tree
PCC, K, T, R tʰo·k, tree, shrub, stemmed plant
PCC tʰoki, oaks all together, forest, grove
PT-U tʰo·ki, bunch of trees

*čʰuday, woodpecker sp.; cf. *č’uduk, woodpecker sp.
W čuday, woodcock crest, redheaded woodpecker crest?, bird scalp
PR tʰoday, acorn woodpecker

*čʰur-, twins
W čure·s, twins, cf. č’an, (one) half, (one) side, symmetrical opposite of other half
PCC tʰudum, twins
PK čʰuru·čʰuru, twins (irregularly not fronted - cf. *čʰur-, cricket)

č’

*č’ap-, collect
W č’ap-, collect, arrange, stack, locate, place; č’apana-, to collect anything (junk, trash, debris)
PK t’apan ?, dung beetle (Whistler 1976e, originally from Merriam; could be t’apan)

*č’aq-a·, hang (something live?); cf. *č’e·k, rope; *čʰaq, net
W č’aqa·, to hang; Pitkin distinguishes č’aqa, to hang something up, and č’aqa-, to hang up, hang an animal, person, live thing
N-BW olaka’, hang
PCC, K t’aka, acorns [hanging] on tree
PR t’aka, acorn (“the whole thing”), a crop of acorns

*č’aro-q(-i), grass, green
W č’aru-q, grass, edible clover, greens, green; č’aru·qi, clover, grass, green
NG-M chi’-yok’, grass (any); C cha-yó-ka, green
SP-V tcalo’k-i, yellow; M chul-lo’-ke, chal-lo’-ke, white (irregular)
The SP forms may be a reflex of PW *k’al, intense visual perception, in which case this is not a good set.
cf. Alsea su:lhaʔk, grass (Golla 1997: 165)

*č’at-u, morning star; cf. *č’ay-a, to light a fire
W č’atu·s, star
N-G te’áxtitluyuk, morning star
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PCC  t'ati, dawn, become daylight; PK t'ati⁵, t'atu-, daylight
PR  t'ati, t'atu-, early morning, to dawn (before sunrise)

*č’ay-a, to light a fire; cf. *č’at-u, morning star; *say-i/u, light
W  č’aya⁷, to split pitchwood (as for kindling into torches and candles)
PCC, R  t’au-, to light (a fire)

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

*č’ayi(-)k, scrub jay
W  č’ayi(-)k, č’ayk, scrubjay
NT-M  chi⁵-ik, G-M chi⁵-k, California jay; BW caikcaik, jaybird; H č’ayt, bluejay
PCC  č’ayi-t, scrubjay, any bluejay, jaybird; K č’ayi-t, scrub jay; T č’ayi(-)t, scrub jay
PR  č’ayč’ayt, č’ayit, scrubjay
SP-M  si-e’ch, California jay
Irregular correspondence; widespread sound-symbolic areal term

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

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

*č’e-k, rope; cf. *se-k, root; *č’aq, net; *č’aq-a-, hang
W  č’e-k(u)s, rope
N-G  čeek, strings
PH-U, PT-U  t’et, rope; B big rope
PR-B  t’et, rope

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

PCC t’ee^b’ey, fur (on any animal)
PR t’ee^b’ee, fur, animal hair

and the following irregular:

PCC si-n^e^c’key, eyebrow (forehead fur); PK sin^e^k’ay, eyebrow
PR si-n^e’ikiy, eyebrow
PA-U sin^e’ikiy, eyebrows
SP-A sinkke, eyebrow; G sincheke, eyebrow

Partially not fronted to make a semantic distinction?

*č’en-a·, defecate
*č’en-i, feces

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

N-B t’cenĩ, excrement, dung (and irregular N-BW kEn-, kEda-, defecate)

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

SP-V ena’, defecate; eni, feces

*č’ep-, bad
*č’ep-ʔa, stingy

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

N-C ch!e’-pa, bad; BW c’e’apa’, be bad, mean

PCC, K, T t’epʔa, stingy

*č’ereCč’ereC, small bird sp.

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

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

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

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

NT-M cha’-ah, acorn leach

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

*č’e(·)w, talk; cf. *č’iy-a, call someone

*č’e(·)we-s, talk, speech (n.)

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

N-K tcewe, speaker, chief

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

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

SP-V tewe, speak
*č’i-*, red-shafted yellowhammer (flicker)
W č’ile, yellowhammer; č’ilew, bluejay; sapsucker; yellowhammer
N-C chi-yo, yellowhammer; BW c’iol, c’iyol, yellowhammer; M che’-o’, flicker (Colaptes)

Irregular due to analogy with “old man”:
PR č’iya(-k), red-shafted flicker (“old man”)
SP č’iyak, red-tailed hawk (“old man”) (Whistler 1976e)

*č’idik, heart, core; cf. *č’it-, press tight; *č’idok, narrow-waisted
W č’idik, core of fruit
N-PS č’idik, heart; NC chi-dik, heart, spirit (soul)
PCC, K t’idi-t, meat of any nut, kernel of any nut; K t’idit, eyeball; T t’idi-č, meat (of any nut)

*č’idok, narrow-waisted; cf. *č’it-, press tight; *č’idik, heart, core (narrowing center ?)
W č’idok, girdled, narrow around center (< *č’E-, bind, tie, tight, bound, strands) (cf. č’ed-, short springing movement of the eyebrows, and listings under PW *č’idik, heart, core; č’itok, kingfisher; a small variety of suckerfish; M chát’, tendon, sinew)
NT-M che-dik, trinket basket (slightly choke-mouth, of Cladium root); C chí-dik, basket (generic); chi’-dahk, dragonfly
PCC pu·suduk, PK pu·sidik, dragonfly (irregular)
SP-M poo’-so-look, dragonfly

*č’i-k, rough skin; cf. *č’ekey, hair
W č’i-ka, to have a rash, be pimply, get pimples
PCC t’i-k, scale (fish or lizard); K t’ik, scales (fish or reptile)
PCC, K t’i-t, scab, sore
PR-B t’i-t, sore (n.)

*č’i-il, black bear; cf. *č’il, black; *sil, black
W č’iil (g), č’iil (p), brown bear
NG-M chēl, black bear; B t·ciL, black bear
PCC silay, (black) bear, bear of any kind, caterpillar; K t’ilō-ki silay, silti silay, black bear; silay, bear of any kind; t’ilō-ki, black bear (“that’s his right name”)
PR-B selay, bear
SP siliʔa-yapotí, black bear (Whistler 1976e); A silia gutia, man [siliʔa wi·ta, lit. black man]
cf. PK silti-hakam, black ant sp.; silti-tomo, hairy caterpillar; silaysilaymen, hairy caterpillar; Alsea su:ln, Siuslaw swał, Hanis Coos swał, grizzly (Golla 1997: 165)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*č’il, black; cf. *č’il, black bear; čʰo-l, burn; *sil, black

W  sas č’il-e’, to be the dark of the moon; cf. čulu-la, to be black; M ‘chelth, black (representing [čul] ?); N-J chu lu la, black

PK  t’ilo·ki, dark; t’iloki, black

PR  t’ilo·ki, black; U t’ilokuru be, it’s dark

SP-M  ted-dok’, dark
cf. PMie *kulu-, black; PM *sil, black, Mn kylym, black, dark (weather, etc.); Ceb širke·-wis, šilke(-)-wis, black; CsF Shol co te, black (Callaghan 2001: 327)

*č’im, close eyes (*č’il, black + **-m, causative ?)

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

N-M  chim-me’-kit, blind

PK  t’i·mbakta, blinking, winking

PR-B  t’emba·ko, to close one’s eyes

*č’in-i-q, vine sp.; cf. *č’en-a-, defecate

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

N-G  tcinék, tcinék, ground vine sp. with many seeds

PCC  t’ini·k, Calandrinia ciliata, red maids

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

*č’iq, sift

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

PK  t’iki, sifted, to sift

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

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

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

PR  t’idi, t’idu, sprinkle, squirt

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

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

N-BW  cit-, push; J chi ta mus, bow
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PCC  t’iĉ/i-mu, to pinch
cf. Klamath ē’i, act upon liquid in a container (Barker 1963: 87)

*ē’i-w, hull

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

PH-U  ē’iwi-lma, dogwood top frame for pounding acorns (irregular)

*ē’i-wil, Western fence lizard

W  ē’iwil, fence lizard

NGT-M  che-wilʰ/, scaly lizard (Scelopterus)

PCC  t’iwi-l, t’iwil, rattlesnake; K t’iwil, t’ewil, Western rattlesnake; t’ewi-lma, rattlesnake; ē’o-n t’iwi-l, “down snake,” kingsnake

PR  t’iwil, rattlesnake

SP-M  te’-wil, rattlesnake

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

*ē’o-b, skin peels off; cf. *sob-ĉ-u, pull off

*ē’ub, peel off

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

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

PR-B  t’ub, to peel

*ē’ok-i/u, chew

W  ē’Ok-, ē’uka-, to chew; ē’oki, nominal stem; ē’oku, imperative stem

N-BW  cahku-, chew

PK  ē’oki/u, chew

PR  ē’okʰi/u, chew

*ē’ol-?, *ē’oh-?, flow; cf. *qul, flame?

W  ē’ohi, flow (ē’Oh-)

N-M  num ā-oo-ken chaw-he, upstream

PK  ē’oli/u-, flow, water to run

*ē’o-n, kick; cf. *ē’ono, dance

W  ē’On-, ē’una, to kick

N-BW  c’ona-, kick

PCC, K  t’onpa, kick; cf. K ē’uninyali, dam (beaver or manmade), “kick the water back”
*č’oq, dry and stiff; cf. *čʰo·q, tree

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

PCC, K, R t’ok, firewood; CC t’ok'i-l, to gather firewood

SP-M ok’ (awk’), firewood; ok’, funeral pyre
cf. PT-U me-m č’okčís, water dries
cf. the following irregular P forms:

PK č’očʰ?aro, cramped
PR čočʰ?aro, he has cramps

*č’ow Western bluebird ?

W-M chaw, Brewer blackbird

N-M chōl’, bluebird (Sialia); chow’, tsow’, thrasher (Toxostoma)

PCC č’ōwkoč’ōwko, bluebird; č’okoč’oko, Western bluebird; T, C č’o-ka, Western bluebird; CC c’ōwkʰa, Western bluebird

PR č’oki-s’, Western bluebird (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

SP-M cho’-kah, chōw’-kah, bluebird
cf. P (K, T, C, CC) k’oωltso, Calif. thrasher; W k’Ow-, peck; Klamath (Barker 1963: 515) k’aW’, to peck; (p. 483) gawi, bird sp.; (p. 506) gawi, to knock; Coos k’a-, to peck; k’a’wat, he pecks at it (Frachtenberg 1913: 20, 205)

*č’ubi, nit

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

PH t’ubi, nit

*č’ube, mouse, rat (271.)

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

NT-M choo-d’é’, GT-M choo-be-lahk, white-footed mouse (Peromyscus)

PCC, K t’ubes, rat, woodrat, any rat

PR t’ubes, rat, mouse

SP-M too’-bēh, round-tail woodrat

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

*č’uduk, woodpecker sp., red-breasted sapsucker ?; cf. *čʰuday, woodpecker sp.

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

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

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

PR t’udutt’u, red-breasted sapsucker, woodpecker (Nuttall’s ?, hairy ?)

PK-M too-dit’too-dit’, hairy woodpecker
*č’u·l-i/u, pour, spill
W č’u·l-, pour, č’u·l-i/u, nominal and imperative stems; č’ul-, spill, dump
PK t’u·li/u-, pour
PR t’u·li/u-, spill, pour
cf. PH-U tu·lta, leak, drip; Alsea k’lah-, go out, emerge; k’lah-ayu:, mouth of a river (Golla 1997:162)

*č’ulaq, bush sp.
W č’ula·q, blue deer brush, blue flowering deer brush, chaparral, ceanothus
PCC, C t’olak, steeple bush (Angelica sp.)
cf. Alsea su:lah?k, grass (Golla 1997:165)

*č’u·nu-u, urine, urinate
W č’u·n, to urinate; č’u·nus, urine
N-BP č’u·na, urine
PK t’unu, to urinate; H-B t’u·nu, urine
SP-M *too-no, urine

*č’up, *č’u·p, sharp point, bone awl; to sprout; cf. *tep-i/u, emerge, sprout, cross (meet)
W č’u·p, sharp point, awl, needle; č’u·ba, to be sharp-pointed; č’upe·, to sprout, plants to grow, to teethe; č’upe·č’upa, to be thorny
N-K bu’li-chüp, Bally Choop, peak sharp (name of a mountain)
PCC, K t’up, (bone) awl, point on end of pole for spearing, made of hard bone; t’up, thorns, stickers (spines of porcupine, plants, etc.); t’u·po·, to sharpen a point
PT-U t’upti, something is growing
PR t’u·p, t’up, bone awl; t’upuk, sharp, pointed
cf. PMy *c’ub’, with reflexes including: long, narrow, like a narrow channel, pointed, sharp; *c’up, with reflexes including: point-first, to bore with pointed things, sharp-pointed, sharp; pricked, long, pointed, to stab with pointed object; Central Sierra Miwok č’upa-, to point a stick with axe; Sierra Popoluca cu:pa, sharp; Totonac (Papantla) č’upa, to nail it in something; Classical Nahuatl tzopíña, to prick, jab, puncture; Pipil tsupina, to prick; Choclaw chufak, a nail, a spike, an awl; Tarahumara chu-pá, point; Quechua tupuli, the needle; cf. also PMy *c’ub’, to kiss, to suck; Maidu c’obot/c’opot, to kiss; Northern Yokuts c’o:po:, to kiss; Zuni c7upli, to kiss; Tunic čühpa, to kiss, caress, suck; Zoque (Copainala dialect) čupsu, suck; Terraba šup, suck; Quechua čupana, suck (all from Brown 1990: 22, who observes that some or all of the last three may be borrowed from Spanish chupar, to suck)

*č’u·p-u-u, wade
W č’upe, č’u·pu-, to wade, ford a river
PCC, R t’u·pu-, wade
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*če’ur ?, calf
W č’uhčir, calf of leg (dissimilation r＞h ?; see also PW *če’i-r; cf. č’Oy-, sprawl); M choo’-e-tam'-mus, winter moccasins for men
N-C chū-i, leg; cf. M choo’-pik, lower arm
PK t’u-bu, calf, shinbone
PR t’u-bu, shin; folk-etymology with t’up, sharp point ? see *če’up

*če’ur-, *če’uru(C)če’uruC, cricket
W č’uruč’urut, č’u·rē’urut, field cricket (Gryllus); cf. č’or-, backbone, fin; č’oro·ya, for a whole bunch of salmon to be with their backbone fins sticking out, for lots of things to be sticking up like a fish fin
PK ture·s, big brown grasshopper; K, T tortor, cricket
PR č’urumč’urum, cricket (irregular)

*če’us, wood ? pestle?
W č’u’s, wood, stick, club, log
PK t’usa, pounding rock, pestle (same as walking stick); PT-U, PA-U, t’usa, pestle
cf. PMis *sys-y-, wood (Callaghan 2001: 324)

*če’us, fishbone
W č’uses, whitefish; a special white fish, very bony
PR-U t’us, fish bone

*če’ut, vulva
W č’u’t, vulva; č’ute·, to have a fat vulva
PK t’ut, cunt

*če’uy-u, suck
W xun-če’uyu·qa, to suck something out
PCC, K, T, R t’uyuluk, hummingbird; CC also t’oyuluk
cf. PUA *cun, suck

*če’uC-, straight; cf. *če’ur ?, calf
W tu-če’uye·qa, to stretch out, straighten one’s legs (cf. č’uy, eel)
PK t’ur-, make straight; t’ul-, straight (not crooked)
PR t’u·ru-, be straight, straighten, aim

-dá, first person subject (verbal suffix) (424.1); cf. *-da, relational nominal suffix;
-dí, let, hortative
W -da, first person subject marker (verbal suffix)
N-W telewda t’ipnada, I’m not talking Indian. I don’t understand. BW da, I
PCC -le(da), I’ll ...; -bu(da), let’s all ... (first person inclusive); K -leda, I’ll
*-da, relational nominal suffix (512.31); cf. *-da, first person subject

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

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

PC -da, comitative case (Whistler 1977)

SP-G alei mi da, go with [go-I’ll you with]
cf. PMy *t’a, in, on, at, to (preposition) (Brown 1990: 58)

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

W -da(·)l, location, in the direction of, to; low, lowland at the foot of anything < -da (see *-da) + ʔel (see *ʔel)
Perhaps originally two distinct morphemes: da(·)l < *-da + *ʔel, in the direction of; and *dal, lowland (flat); cf. sal-, dal, leaves; delek, deleq, plate

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

*dala, leaf; cf. *dal, flat

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

N-M dal’-lah, dal-lah’, leaf

PCC, K dala·, leaf, leaves

PR-B dali, leaf

*dam, bet; cf. *dal, flat

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

N-G tami, big time

PCC, K, R dam, gambling bone

*daq, acorn meal

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

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

*dag, burn
*dag-ci/i/u, with mediopassive

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

N-BW dah-, sweat

PK daka-ro, burning; pi dakčuro, it’s burnt up; PCC, R dikt\i/u-, burn
cf. Alsea tq’wli:k’-, to be warm; tkali:lc’-, to burn, build a fire; Siuslaw tqal-, warm (Golla 1997: 166)
*daw, feast; cf. *dal, flat; *daw, front
W  daw, fat meat (as from the ribs of deer); dawina, to dish out food, put food before people, give to eat to a stranger, to serve food and be hospitable; cf. daw, be or make round and flat; front, in front
PK, R  dawo·, dinner, feast

*daw, front; cf. *dal, flat; *daw, feast
*ʔol-daw, be face up
W  daw, be or make round and flat; front, in front; ʔol-dawa, be face up; cf. taw, flat, lay flat on; taw, spread, blanket, saddle, covering, underwear, showshoes
N-G  dao‘tēdē, earrings; dauheimē, dance leader; M daw-tak-le, sole; daudede, bivalve shell, perhaps small clams (came from a distance)
PK  daw, in front; it’s outside; dawpa, front side; puybe daw wilak, Sacramento Valley (east out valley); CC, K ʔol-da·wi, turned up, face up

*dehe·la ? *damha·l- ? bat; cf. *dih, spread open
W  dehela, bat, dark, gray color (dehela· ?); tehela·s (g), tehelah (p), bat; cf. de-h, be in a position with wings outstretched, de-ha, sailing (in air), gliding with outstretched wings; dEh, two halves spread wide; dEkah, climb, step; te-h-, sail, float, spread
N-C  dé-he-la, bat (sailing); M dā-hā‘-laht, barn swallow (Hirundo), cliff swallow (Petrochelidon)
PR  damha·lay, damha·le, bat
W and N may have folk-etymologized

*dek, climb, step; cf. *dih, spread open; *t’eqel, palm
*dek-m, climb something (with *-m, inanimate comitative)
W  dEkah, dika, climb, step; dekma·, to cause to climb, step up; dekma, to climb while carrying something (climb with), to step up on
N-G  dehke, man who climbs trees to get nuts; T-M dek‘-nah pōm, footprint; BW dEKNa-, walk
PCC, R  deć-, det-, to climb; H hale detmu, I’m going (in order to) climb it; cf. PR č’anda-k-, step over
cf. Alsea ti:k-, rise to the surface, (person) gets up; Hanis Coos tlk-, stand up (Golla 1997: 165)

*-di, let, hortative (424.2); e.g., see *be·-di under *bey; cf. *-da, first person subject
W  -di, hortative, may, let (e.g., hardi, may he go, let him go)
PCC, K, R  -di, let him, let them

*dibili, roll, turn; cf. *dir-, roll; *dil-i, roll; *t‘er ?, tend in indicated direction; *t’ir, twist; *tep, emerge
W  dibilita, to turn (around, intr.); cf. se-depča, to turn inside out; depča, to gut tipi·ta, to turn over, turn upside down; tipilta, to turn over (tr.), turn around and go in the opposite direction; bitel, to be turned (as a wrist)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

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

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

W  dEH-, two halves spread wide; de·ha, sailing (in air), gliding with outstretched wings; se-dihalar wint'ú· biyabe· nom ṭukin, the people (corpses) lie there in the west, split apart at the pelvis; cf. dEK-, climb, step

PCC  di·hi, cave, hole, animal holes, burrows; K also vagina; K dihi, home
PR  di·hi, hole, home, village
SP-M  de’-he, Sonoma town (place) (any village)

*N-S tiiha, rub
PCC  dirt u/i-, rub (roll on ?)

*dir, fall; cf. *τ’al-a, fall

W  dihe·, to rub, massage; cf. di·t, wipe; dit, scrape
N-S  tiiha, rub
PCC  dirt u/i-, rub (roll on ?)

*dir, fall; cf. *τ’al-a, fall

W  dihe·, to rub, massage; cf. di·t, wipe; dit, scrape
N-S  tiiha, rub
PCC  dirt u/i-, rub (roll on ?)

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

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

W  doki, neck, throat
PT  do·kuro, stick head out

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

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

*dol ?, put long object around; cf. *dok, neck ?; *dol, throat; *holhol, throat
W  dOl-, dula·, to tie, wrap string
N-S  dolaa, tie
PT   do-ruma, put necklace on

*dol, throat; cf. *holhol, throat; *holoq, hole; *qo(·)l, mouth; *dok, neck ?
N-W  dol, neck
P    doldol, throat

*dop-u, cut notches; cf. *doqo, arrow
W    dOp-, dupa-, to cut, slice, saw
N-G  dopna, tattooing
PCC  dobu/i-, cut a row of notches in

W    dOp-, dupa-, to cut, slice, saw
N-G  dopna, tattooing
PCC  dobu/i-, cut a row of notches in

W    dOy-, duyo, doy-i/u, to give
N-S  doya, give; G do, imp.; B dūr'-yu-pu-di, gift dance
PCC, K, R doyi/u-, to give
PR   doyu, to give, you give!
doyi, to give
mile doyu-t'i, you folks give!
pi mis pe's doyum, what did she give you?
PCC  ?ew lo·yta nat k'eni doyusa, that woman gave me a basket
PK   mit ě'u doyu-ro, I loan/gave it to you
     pi nat doyusa, he gave it back to me
PT-U doyi, gift, give
PT-B doyu, to give
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*doy-u, give (imp.)
W doyu-, imperative stem; doyur, give it to me!
PH-U doyu?, give (imp.)
PR (mi) doyu, you give!
doyu nat/ut, give it to me/her!

*doy-u-le, going to give
W doyule, will give
PR ?es mis doyule, I’ll give you this

*doyu-na·, give (to) oneself
W doyuna·, to give oneself, give to oneself, tame (animals), beg
PH-U doyuna·nta, he’s giving up, giving self away

*du?-?, tu-?, carry
W tOw-, tuwa·, to hold, carry in hand or arms
PCC, K duh-, du·-, pack, carry on back
PR duh-, pack on back
cf. PUA *tu, carry pl. objects

*dum, dip; cf. *qum, dip
W dumça, to bathe (intr.), take a bath
PT-U du·mus, dip in water (people or things)

*dum, angelica
W du(·)m, edible greens sp., ginseng, Angelica
PK ho·ldom, angelica, angelica root; T, CC holdom, angelica root
PR holdum, dum, Angelica root; holdum, Angelica root, poisonous var. ?; cf.
Wintu xalah, wild onion or potato

*duq, promise ? beg?
W duqa·, to promise
PR du·ki/u, beg
PA-U duki, borrow
cf. W t'uqa, trade, swap, borrow; perhaps originally two separate roots *duq and
*t'uq, which have merged in P.

*duq-7a, bad
W dOQ-, duqa·, be good for nothing, no good, miserable, a tease, funny or
queer; doqit, nominal form
PCC duk’a, bad (< *duk7a ?) (feel bad, taste bad, be a bad hunter, smell bad, etc.)
PT-U duk’ama, bad
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*e*

*-e, -*e·, realis stem-deriving suffix (423.24)
See: *tel-e, weave; *tup-e, drink/eat acorn mush with fingers; *ber-e, be hungry, starve (under *per-i/u); *p’il-e, choose, *qer-e·, belch; *t’ul-e, swim

*-e·, let’s (424.4)
W hare·, let’s go
SP-M har’-rā, go away

*-el, -*el, locative, toward, in (horizontally ?) (512.32); cf. *tel, in horizontally
W -e’l, toward, in (kele’l, far; wayti nome’l, up the hill to the northwest; 7ole’l, up, above)
PCC nome’l, to the west; sanome’l, sundown
SP-M no-mel’-te, west
  wi-yel’-te, north

*h*

*-h, -*s, intensive verb-derivational suffixes ? (423.31)
W -h, stative intransitive intensive denominal verb-derivational suffix, “to be..., to be like...”
  -s, intensive derivational verb suffix
PCC -ho (-so, -o), verbalizer
  -ho (-to, -ko), plurality and temporality “distributives” (Whistler 1981:88 states that “*-o/-o would presumably be historically related to the auxiliary base -ho, which functions, considerably less productively than 7a, as a theme-derivational suffix”)

*hak-i, up-and-down movement
W hak-, move like a lizard, up and down, squirm, energetic movements; hakiča, be industrious, diligent; cf. *ha, movement
PCC, K hačimen, daddy-long-legs; CC hači, sieve; hačiho, to winnow, to sieve (with up and down motion)
PR wahakčemen, daddy-long-legs
SP-A jake, molars

*hal, think
*halhal, repetitive or prolonged thinking
N-S halaa, think; H halhal, think about it, PS ha’-l-, think
PCC, K hali/u-, think; CC halhala, think
PR hali/u-, think; B halaknan, to remember

*hal-a, whisper
W 7el-halapta, to whisper something to someone; cf. hala, to whistle
PCC halaka, to whisper
*ham ?, sam ?, black oak acorn

N-G samtc iuw, black oak acorn

PR hamsu, Q. kelloggi acorn

*handop-, kingsnake

W handokmet, ha·ndopmet, kingsnake

NGT-M hahn’-dō’-pit, king or milk snake (Ophibolus boyli)

PR hantapil, kingsnake; B handapil, kingsnake

*hap-a, dig ? pick up ?

W hapa·, to dig with a tool, dig deep holes; cf. napa, to gather or pick acorns

N-S hapa, dig; cf. N-BW aa-, gather

PK, R hap-, hapa-, gather, pick up (off the ground)

PCC, K, R kapi/u-, dig

*haqa, ankle

W haqam, ankle, elbow; *haq, jointed (as of elbow or ankle); haqa, elbow;

haqam, elbows (dual)

PR haka, ankle
cf. Alsea haqa:n-t’xws, knee ? (< ‘ankle-top’) (Golla 1997: 161)

*ha·q-a, suspect; fear a loss

W ha·q-, suspect, have suspicion, be afraid of theft or loss; ha·qas biyak, they
always suspect someone

PCC, R ha·ka, jealous

*har-a·, to go (verb), andative auxiliary “going to” (421.3)

W hara·, to go, move away from speaker; progressive auxiliary

PK hara·, going
mi hara·t’isay, are you gonna go?
pi nop hara·bus, that deer is gone

PCC winis č’u č’aket winma hara·ma, I see a lot of people going
hima ?aro nay hara·ta pile 7ele· besa, whenever I go, there’s nobody there
hara·t’is ču, I’m gonna take off
pi yeme·na pi k’ayu·ro haras, he’s walking along that trail

PR hara, going
č’u harat’i, I’m going
?elhara, to sink

SP-M choo’ har-rah’-bo-te, I’m going, I’m going to go

*har, imperative stem; go!

W har, go!, go (imperative stem)

PK, PR har, go!

PCC har, to go

SP-M hahr”, go!
*hara-s, (a) going (noun)
W haras, nominal stem (going)
PCC haras, going (unmarked tense, declarative mode)
haras pi pa'l, he’s going now
so·kunana ču haras, I'm gonna go wash myself
t'i·rma č'u lewisi haras, I’m going (in order) to gig fish
k’i·r puytuka haras, clouds are moving east
yelharas pi ʔu-t, following somebody
PR pi k’ana· haras, he went to sleep
?ete·ta wi·ta haras, one man left
PK hara-s, gone (cf. -sa in: le·nɛ'ul č'b harasa, yesterday I went)

*ha-le, I’ll go, we’ll go
W hale, let’s all go
PK č'b u hale, I’m going
PCC hale, let me go (one)
?ow hale, ok, I’ll go (I’ll get out of the way)
PR pučelta hale, I’m going to the camp
hale nepel, we (two) are going
hale, I’ll go
PT-U hale yolo, I’m going in a little while
SP-A jalei tummi, I will go piss

*har-m-, take/bring something inanimate
W harma, to go along doing something; take something along
PCC harme, to take (inanimate)
po hili· harmeta-, who took my beads?
PK pi pe· harmebus, he’s taking something
harme, take it!
harmero, bringing
PT-U kalleya harmesa pi, he took it out (garbage, lots of things)
PR ʔes čaket harme, you take everything, take all of it!

*harhar-a·, many go
W harhar-a·, many to go
PCC p’ata· harharas, sparks flying

*har-e·, let’s go
W hare·, let’s go
SP-M har’-ræ, go away

*ha·sme, yawn
W ha·sma, yawn, to keep on yawning; ha·sme· na, to yawn once, sigh
PCC ha·sme, to yawn
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*haw-a-l, wrap around; cf. *naw, robe
W haw-, wrap around, (a)round, coil, lasso, coil rope; e.g., xun-hawa-luna, to coil (of a snake before it strikes); doki-n hawna-s, something coiled around the neck; se-hawa, to uncoil; hawi-la, to go around many times; cf. hay, revolve
PK hawa-l, rabbit skin

*ha-w, fox
W ha-w, fox
N-BW haw, fox
PCC, K, T, R ha-w, fox
SP-M haw'-oo, how'-o, gray fox
cf. Mim Ah-wáh-ke, gray fox (from Merriam), PYnim *?aw’č’a- fox (Callaghan 2001: 325); Palewyami Ow’-chah, fox (Berman 2002, from Merriam)

*he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative root (610.); cf. *hen, arrive; *ho-, past demonstrative; *qa, referential
W hE-, demonstrative-interrogative root (occurs as: hek-, hen-, hest-, he·s-, hi, hid-, him-, his-, hiw-); cf. *hE, stand (in: hEk, stand, hEy, stand bending)
N-BW hesem, how much? how many?; hiya, another
PR he·la, where; he·ti, where from; he·tuka, where to hič’ahta, few; how many
PCC he·ti, from someplace
he·tuka harminga a ka t’aycu, where’s my grandson, I wonder where he is he·la ka harminga pi wi-ta, I wonder where that man is
PK he·tipa he·ti he·ti, where are you? where are you?
he·toka mi harasay, where are you going?
PT-B he·la, where
SP-M hū‘č’-lah, where
cf. PM *hesi, what, something, any; PYn *han’-ta, what?; PMi *hin-ti, what, something; PU *hin-ti, what? (Callaghan 2001: 329)

*heke, where
W hek-, who, which one; heke, which (indicative stem as though a verb); where, to where, anywhere; hekem, whom, anyone; heker, by whom, by someone
N heke hara, where you going? (“Glenn County” Nomlaki form given to Whistler by PCC speaker Harry Lorenzo)
PCC hekuła, when, where
PR hekefa, where, anywhere

*heket, which specific one
W heket, who, someone, anyone, any, someone unknown
PR-U heketta, which one?
*hel, bank of rock or soil; cf. *hul, cave in; *q’ilaq, dirt

W hEl-, hilal, rocks and dirt to cave in (stative); hilalas, a mountain slide of dirt, a caved-in spot; hele-ya, to cave in (cf. hik, heap, mound, push or pile something into a heap or row, rake, hoe, scrape, also cave in, fall down, from a heap, such as dirt, etc., from hEk, stand, stoop)

PCC, K heli, cliff, bank of river

*hen, arrive; cf. *he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative root

W hEn-, hina, to arrive, come home
N-PS hena-, to come; BW hen-, return
PH, R hen-, to arrive

*hene-s, arriving (nominal form)

W henes, arriving (nominal stem)

PCC po henes, somebody came

PT-U henes cu, I’m arriving

PR-U henes cu, I arrived

*hen-le, going to arrive

W henle, going to arrive; let’s all stop there!

PK chu pela henle, I’m coming over sometime

*hen-m-e, bring; i.e., arrive with (with inanimate comitative)

W henma, bring; henme-, imperative stem

PCC pi henmen han tinisa, used to come bringing it

PK he-nmero, bringing

PT-U hemen, bring

PR chu hemenes, I brought that along, I brought it back

*hen-pa? *hen-paq? meet (with benefactive)

W henpaq, visit, come to see

PCC henpa, to meet

t’o-t henpapi’iri, [mountain] pass (mountains come together, mountains meet each other)

*-her, passive (421.5); cf. *her, help

*-here-s, nominal form

W hEr-, passive; -heres, nominal form

PCC, K -her, passive; CC t’epheres pi nat, let them hit me

PR -hor, passive ?; farohoro be-, it’s already tied

cf. PCC he-r, to reach; CC, K her-, he-r-, get

*her, help; cf. *her, passive

N-BW Elhilci/u-, help

PCC, K, R hero-, help
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*her-u, motion back and forth; cf. *hil, slice, cut with swinging motion
W  hEr, row, paddle, swim with overhead strokes; heruna, to make the characteristic swimming movements with the arms; cf. hir, fire, burn, conflagration (perhaps fire drill motion); hay, spin, twirl; hil, swing arms; sir-, copulate; yEr-, scrape, slow back and forth motion
PK  heru-, saw

*hesi ? *hisi ? dance type
W  hisi, Hisi dance; hise-, to dance Hisi
N-K  hisi tcono, type of dance (two singers in front of dancers)
PK, R  hesi, Hesi dance
Since the P Hesi is unrelated to the W and N Hisi dance, the resemblance of the names may be coincidental. Alternatively, the Patwin may have applied an inherited term to a new dance.

*het, sudden escape of water; cf. *q'at, *q'ot ?, wet
W  hEt, break through a dam, said of water (cf. hat, escape, said of water when it has been dammed); hital, water having broken through dam; hete-ya, all coming out in places
PCC  hetba·ki/u, the emotion one has at seeing something new or odd or startling: surprised, startled

*hil, slice, cut with swinging motion; cf. *hila-y, swing arms; *her-u, motion back and forth
W  hil-, cut grass in swinging motion
PCC  hele·to, to slice one (meat, etc.) (a very thin cut), to slice off; he·lko, to slice off (pl.)

*hil-a-y, swing arms; cf. *hil, slice, cut with swinging motion
W  hila-ya, standing and waving arms
      hila-yuna·, to spread (as straw), air to spread, spirit to spread air; cf. hil-, cut grass in swinging motion, move hands rhythmically to music (cf. hay, spin; hir, fire; sir, copulate); hila, to move arms rhythmically in a dance
PCC  hela·yo, to swing the arms; helayho, arms pumping fast; hellay, scarf held by redcap dancers
PR  hila·yo, to swing arms sideways (as when walking), also used for the motion of the arms of the women dancers

*hi·n, owl sp.
W  hi·nwah (p), hi·nway (g), great horned owl
N-BW  hunkut, owl
PCC  hi·n, like a hawk, goes out in the field, flying low, doesn’t look like an owl, smaller than ʔeleʔele; Whistler 1976e CC transcription of Merriam: hi·n, short-eared owl
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*hinu-, careful? reluctant?
N-BW hinuuna-, be careful
PCC hinu-ro, reluctant; hini, "didn’t want to do it"; cf. PCC hinumatu, a brave man
Possibly a borrowing between N and P

*ho(·)?, yes
W ho-, yes
N-BW ho, yes
PCC ?ow, okay, yes, alright; K also ?o, okay
SP-M o’-re, yes; o’-oo (or o’+), all right; A uh, yes
Widespread areal term and probably not a good set

*ho-, past demonstrative, old, already, long ago, former (620.); cf. *he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative; *hom, alone
W ho(·)n(-), old, already, long ago, early, formerly, before
N-M ho’-nah po’-men, long ago; BW hon’na, before; hoon, soon; when?
PCC, R hoya, long ago, formerly; CC hoya?u, already; R howel, old man
PK hoyo, already
hoyo bes sobok, old time rancheria (one of a long time ago)
PR hoya, long time ago
hoyabe nok’o, old arrowhead
hoyayet, long long ago, way way back
PR-B hoya, formerly
cf. Northern Sierra Miwok hoja?a-, old ways, old times; hoj-a-, old, old-time, to go first, to go ahead (Callaghan 1987: 75, 76)

*hok, raise; *k’ok, brace
W hokelta, to jump from standing; hokepta, to jump along with short jumps;
hoko-ra, to trot
PR hoçe’u, to raise (something) off the ground

*hol? *hoyel? roll
W-DL pali holholma-n, at Pounded-rolls-down, myth. placename
PR hoyeloho, it’s rolling (inanimate and animate); hoyelto, to move a little sideways, to shove sideways; hoyelaho, rolling, tumbling (intr.)
cf. W xun-xudurta, (head) to roll to house (myth.); kisil(a), roll; se-xosuna, roll on ground; kuyurta, roll; xuta-, slide on behind
cf. PUA *ol, ball

*holol, sunshine; cf. *qul, flame?
W holol, sun to shine, sunshine; W-M hol’-lo-lus, sunshine
N-H holol, daytime; M po’-höl-löl’, today
PK holol, pretty hot
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*holol-č’V-r/d-, cicada
W holol č’e-rus, sunshine rattler, cicada, summer locust bug
N-M ho-lol-tsal’-dit, cicada
PK ho(l)ol’l č’a-dit, cicada, “hot bug” (may be borrowed from N, in which case this is not a good set)

*hohlol, throat; cf. *dol, throat; *holoq, hole; *qo(-)l, mouth; *dok, neck?
W hohlol, windpipe, throat, trachea (cf. holo, dark; ho-la, pipe)
SP-M hōl-hal-lah, throat

*holoq, hole; cf. *holhol, throat; *qo(-)l, mouth; *dol, throat; *dok, neck?
W holoq, hole
N-BW holoq, hole; M ho-lo’-men, grave in the ground
PCC holi, hole; hulu, to make a hole; PK holok, vagina
PR holok, any hole, den of fox, skunk, badger, etc.
cf. PMY *xol, *hol, *xo:l, with reflexes including: hole, door, cave; Northern Sierra Miwok hol:aw-y-y, hole, cave, burrow; ʔol:a-, hole in ground; Plains Miwok hol:aw, opening, tunnel, manhole, chuckhole; Lake Miwok hōllu, a hollow; Central Sierra Miwok ʔol:a-, to dig a hole; Tarahumara ho-ri, hole (ho, to dig); Mayo ho:roi, hole; Cayapa hura, hole, hollow (all from Brown 1990: 35)

*holow, haunt
W holowa, to scare, haunt
N-G holówìna, if in a nightmare someone is about to kill you; holowít, spirit
PCC, T holow, to haunt, ghost to spook someone

*ho? *hel? loose; cf. *hil, slice, cut with swinging motion
W holma, to loosen a tooth; se-hula, tooth to be loose
PCC helek, loose (like a ring on the finger)

*hom, alone; cf. *ho-, past demonstrative
W -ho, -hom (g), -hon (p gen.), -hot (p), only, just, but
PCC ĭ:iho-m, all alone; K tihom, ĭ:hom, alone, by oneself; mi boho-m, you by yourself
PR-B tehom, alone; PT-U, tiho-m, alone

*homo-, buzzing insect sp.
W homo-wa, hamowah, bumblebee; cf. hub, swarm (of bees); ʔol-tepuma k’alal humēt, spring bee (Anthophora)
PCC homotay (homo·tay?), the sound of the fly? name of fly?; PH humu·makay, bumblebee
PR homo·tay, housefly
Widespread, sound-symbolic term; cf. Plains Miwok hom-om-a·je-, house fly (Callaghan 1984: 251); Achumawi ham’-mo-moo’-mah, blue fly (Merriam as quoted in Olmsted 1966: 148); PUA *mu, fly (insect); *mumu, *meme, bee
Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMie *homo-, a fly.

*ho-n, *hu-n ?, unpleasant emotion, crazy
W hu-n, something that makes one go crazy; cf. M paht-hoon, forest (pat, “out”)
PCC honok’a, lonesome, sad; K ho-noka-, sad; H-U ho-nok-7aro, angry
PR honok’aro, being lonesome, worrying about being alone, worrying about somebody

*ho-...q, *hu-...q ?, tadpole
W muyhuyuk, muyhuyu·q, tadpole
N-M ho-mo’hil’-duk, pollywog; G hunō’ldu, pollywog
PCC hopodok, tadpoles; K hopodik, tadpole, pollywog
PR hopodik, tadpole

*hor-i/u, remain; cf. *huy, save
*hor-u-ma, save, leave behind
W hura-, to be left over, remain, be the only one left, be the last of, be left behind; horuma-, to leave a little bit behind; yel-hura, yel-hure, to outgrow, be spoiled, broken; yel-horuma-, to break, destroy
PCC, K hori/u, to save; K horumaro, leave behind, what’s left, left-over; CC horuma nat, save me

*hosop, light in weight
W hosopa, to be light in weight (Pitkin suggests derivation from *hos, generic aspect of ho, only, just; he also lists kosopas, light in weight (generic); cf. hol, light)
PT, R hosok, light
PCC hepeke, light in weight

*hoe, to snake, watersnake ?; cf. *hulil’Vk, snake sp.
W hoe-, rippling, lapping, swimming movement of fish, or of water itself, roiling; cf. hak, squirm; memhowolmet, water dog, water garter snake
PCC howe, watersnake; T huwe, snake; K howe, gopher snake ? (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)
PR howe, gopher snake, bull snake
cf. Nisenan huwe·nana, we·nan, watersnake (Uldall & Shipley 1966: 274)

*hoy(…)oq, (slow?) bobbing movement
W xun-hoyoka, xun-hoyokpaq, to sneak up on; ?ol-hoyhoyoka, to go on tiptoe
PCC hoybok, to bob up and down; hoyboko, to bob up and down in water; PT-U hoyboko, to dip something up and down in water

*hu-, acorn sp.; cf. *hu-m, *hu-l, fat
N-G hulul, acorn sp.
PCC hum-t’aka’, Q. kelloggii
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*hu-* ? *hu·l ? *hu·n ?, wolf
NGT-M  hoo’ sed’-dit, big wolf [? - coyote]; cf. W hu·n, something that makes you go crazy?
PCC, K, T, R  hu·l, wolf
cf. Ybv hulapinsa-s, wolf; Mm helijene, wolf; PMi *hu·n, *hun·u, wolf (Callaghan 2001: 325)

*hul, cave in (tr.); cf. *hel, bank; *q’ilaq, dirt
W  hul-, cave in, fall, roll backwards (cf. hEl-, cave in); hulal, to cave in (intr.), be caved in; hulel kirke·, the old landslide it must be
PCC  p’o·k mem hulis, beavers are building a dam; p’o·k mem hulu·robes, beavers built a dam
cf. PMy *(h)u:l, with reflexes including: collapse, landslide, fall, earth that slides because of the rains, slope, gorge; Plains Miwok ho:lu:kse, to fall (tree), to crumble, to cave in; Lake Miwok hól/hó:l, to fall down (said of a tree), to be caved in (said of a road); Siberian Yupik ullegh-, to fall over; Luiseno hulúka/i, to fall, descend, to descend a hill; Quechua urmana, to fall (all from Brown 1990: 49)

*hulilVk, snake sp.; cf. *how, to snake
W  nomel hulilek, Calif. mountain kingsnake (Lampropeltis zonata)
PR  huli-p, snake (any)
PCC  kudilik, water snake sp.; fast snake sp. that lives on dry ground (not in water)
PK  kudilip, water snake, garter snake var. (probably Western gartersnake, aquatic variety); Whistler 1976e: K kudilip, water snake (Thamnophis sp.)
SP-M  hoo-lip’, snake (any), watersnake
cf. PK k u
*humuq, *hut-i, warm oneself
W  hute·, to warm oneself beside the fire
N-G  tunhumukpa, sexual intercourse, “putting bodies together to get warm”; huh’-ti, type of contest, Huta (who could stand the most heat)
PCC  humuku, warm (feeling, as by sitting by fire); p’o· k’ohta ham humukles, sit close to the fire so you’ll get warm; hutu, (a person) is warmed up (from sitting next to a fire); hutis pile, they’re getting warm; cf. PH-U huyp’it’a, to make love?
PR  humukus, it’s warm; humukusa·, real hot inside, stifling
cf. Yurok hum-, to sweat in a sweathouse (Robins 1958: 202)

*hu·m, *hu·l, fat
W  hu·m, fat, grease; hu·l, fat (of a person)
N-S  huum, fat, grease; H hu·lu, fat, fat meat
PCC  hu·m, to be fat, greasy; hu·le, dough of pounded seeds of t’ini·k (Calandrina ? oily seeds); K hum-, be fat
PR  hu·m, grease, fat
SP-M  hoom’, fat
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*hur-u, sew
W  hure, huru-, to sew
N-S  huya, sew; BW huyut-, sew
PCC  huru-, to sew
PR  hur-, huru-, sew

*hur, full
W  hurma, to be full; hurmema-, to fill; qo-l hurmes, a mouthful of
PK  huračaro, getting drunk
PR  hurača-; drunk; PT-U hurčaa, drunk

*hu-s, buzzard
W  hu-s, buzzard
N-B  hús, turkey buzzard
PCC, K, R  hu-s, buzzard; K, T, R turkey vulture
SP  hu-, turkey vulture (Whistler 1976e: A119)

*hu-y, save; cf. *hor-i/u, remain
W  huye-, to save, hoard, pack
PCC  huya-; (pick something) and put it in one place to store away

*i

*-i, nominalizing and neutral mode stem-deriving suffix (423.21)

See *kay-i/u, shame; *koy-i/u, koy-i-ʔa, hurt, sick, want; *xed-i/u, fart; *k’ah-i/u, wind, wind blows; *k’eb-i/u, loosen by scratching; *lel-a/i/u, make; *wač-i/u, cry; *yal-i/u, leave; *ʔod-i/-u-, itch, scratch

*-in, locative case (512.23)

W  -n, -in, locative; cf. -n, subordinating inflectional suffix, potential temporal simultaneity, “while”
N-BW  -in, in
PCC, K, R  -in, locative-instrumental case (cf. PHR -na, locative suffix)

cf. Central Sierra Miwok -in, -in, -n, suffix forming adverbs indicating place where or time when (Berman 1983: 402)

k

*-k, completive (424.5); cf. *qa, referential
W  -k, completive
PCC  -ču, resultative or completed stative
*-k, vocative suffix (531.39)

W  -k, vocative suffix

PH  -k'ë, vocative suffix (Whistler 1980: 216) (combined *-k with *ye, vocative, before fronting could occur)

*kalay, gap; cf. *qo(-)l, mouth; *holoq, hole; *kan ?, *k’an ?, legs apart

W  kalay, gap, among (cf. -kala·n, among); Pitkin suggests *kal, midst (?), perhaps *kala, to be in the midst (cf. ken, down, in)

N-K  ka’i-pom-wa’i-kalai, name of a settlement

PK  kalay, hole, ravine; cf. kabal mem, gap springs (kabal, a big canyon); irregularly not fronted, perhaps borrowed from N
Perhaps also double-fronted: taluk, gap, pass

*kan ?, *k’an ?, legs apart; cf. *kalay, gap

W  kan-, have legs spread apart; cf. kaka‘, crawl (Pitkin suggests < pre-Wintu *ka-, move); cf. č’an, (one) half, (one) side, symmetrical opposite of other half

PR  č’anda·k-, step over something (perhaps a combination of inherited *kan- and borrowed Nomlaki č’an- side, half)

*kaw, basket (mortar); cf. *kan ? *k’an ?, legs apart

W  kawi, big acorn basket, bottomless basket for pounding acorns; kawa‘, to put both legs on basket for pounding acorns; cf. kawal, dawn, spreading

N-B  k!awi, mortar basket

PCC, K  kawi, mortar basket
Irregular and recently diffused; perhaps not a valid set

cf. Alsea ka:wl, basket; Siuslaw kauwi, fish basket; Hanis Coos ka:wi, basket with handles (Golla 1997:161)

*kay-i/u, shame

W  kaya‘, to be ashamed; kayi-, nominal stem; kayu-, imperative stem

N-BW  kaya‘, be ashamed

PCC  čayi, in-law; K čiayi, in-laws; čiayi/u-, be ashamed

*ke-, have, own, get; cf. *kë, deictic

N-BW  keh-, obtain

PCC  čeme‘, to get, to own; čeli‘, to get, to own (animate)

PR-B  čeli‘, to have
Perhaps also:

PK  pi čisegue‘ro, his stuff

*kel-, far, travel; cf. *kë, deictic

W  kele‘l, far, long

N-C  kë-le-la, long; BW kEEl, far

PCC  čel-, to wander about

PK  či‘el-, be around
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PR-U  pi čelni, he was around long ago
      pi čeh, he’s around
      pi če·s, pi če·sa, he was around
cf. Alsea xlu:m-, to travel, move; p-xlm-i:s-, to go in a certain direction; Siuslaw xIntm-, to travel (Golla 1997: 166)

*kepkep, shake
W  kEp-, knock on something, bang on something, sift; ʔel-kepke·pa, to bang on continually, to knock continually; ʔol-kepke·pa, to sift and resift
PCC  čepečepeho, brush or pat one’s clothes (to clean them off)

*ker-u, finish off, gone
W  keruma, to finish, stop, after having ... (cf. keruma, to slaughter, hack to pieces)
PCC  čeru, to be gone; čeru·ro, every last one; čeruwili, kill them off
PR-U  čerima yoriʔa, Saturday, last day of work

*kid-i ? *k’id-i ? straight
W  k’id-, be in a straight line, be an edge, rim, barrier; cf. k’ič, put across; tu-
      k’idi, rim, edge
PCC, R  či·di/u-, stretch (oneself, wire, string, etc.), be straight, lined up; K
      či Di·di/u-

*kik-i, frost
W  kiki, frost, ice
PCC  čači, ice; K čači, frost, ice
PT-U, PL-U, čači, ice
Irregular vowel correspondence

*kim-u·r, rumble, roar
W  kumu·ra, to make noise, waterfall to roar, stomach to rumble; ku·ma, to roar
      (waterfall, wings, etc.)
PCC  kimi, K k’imi/u-, k’imu·ro, thunder; also K k’umurharo, growl, perhaps
      merged with *q’or, growl
PR  kimi·r, thunder
Assimilation in W to kumu·r-, in P to kimi·r- ?

*kip, pull or throw up; cf. *qir, pull
W  ʔol-kipa, to throw upwards; ʔol-kipama, to tip over (tr.); cf. kipča, to roll, tr.;
      puyti kipča, to turn or roll over; t’up-, pull out
PCC  čiplo·ki/u, to pull up when released (as a snare), to whip back; to pull up and
      toss away (the pulled down branch springs back and tosses him)

*kip-, headband; cf. *kip-Vl, roll; *dibil, roll
W  kipa·namas, headdress
PK  tipilis, headband
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*kip-Vl, roll, run continuously
W kip-, roll (puyti kipča, to turn or roll over; kipulma-, to roll; kipkipča, to roll)
PA-U čipel-, čipil-, run a race

*kol, join, perimeter; possibly *köl; cf. *kol-i, something joined
W kOl, joint, join, edge, perimeter, rim; kolit, joint; cf. koluma, trail to divide, two trails to meet
N-BW koli, foot (cf. W may-kolča, to measure tracks by putting foot on footprint < kOl)
PK pi yeme č’upa-ro bes č’olpelša, the road is finished on both sides
cf. PMi *kolo, PCo *kolo, PU *kolo, foot; PY *kalas-a, lower leg (Callaghan 2001: 320)

*kol-i, something joined, added on to perimeter < *kol, join, perimeter; possibly *köl-i; cf. *qo(·)la, hide, buckskin; *koro, net; *qolo, hard dome shape
W kuli, a piece added on, patch (from koli ?); ʔel-kolča, to sew something to something
PCC čoli, skirt; K Ɂaka· čoli, tule dress, dancing jacket
PR č’oliʔ, čoliʔ, breech cloth

*kopol, pond
W kopol, lake which is part of a creek, water hole, puddle
N-B kenkopol, valley
PK čopol, pond, marshy place
PR čopol, lake

*koro, net; cf. *kol-i, something joined, added on to perimeter
W koro, net, large net, fishnet, dipnet, veil, caul (< kOr, net, veil, cataract)
N-B kō-ma, dipnet
PCC čoro, fish net, head net; K č’oro, net (any kind)
PR-B č’oro, net
cf. PUA *ku, *k”i, bag

*koy-i/u, *koy-i-ʔa, hurt, sick, want
W kOy-, kuya· (< *koy-i-ʔa), koyi-, koyu-, to be sick, suffer; auxiliary “want”
N-BW koya’-, hurt; -ko-, want to, will, would like to
PCC čoiy/i-u-, sore, sick, hurt; K č’oıy/i-u-
PR čoiyʔa, sick
cf. Alsea (Buckley 1988: 27) qāykʷ-, spoil, hurt; (p. 21) ʔq’al’iʔ-, ʔq’al’ʔ-, be sick;
PUA *ko, *koko, hurt (die, kill, sleep, pl.)

*ku-, small, child; cf. *k’urey, young boy
W -kur, son; ku’rit, male offspring; ku-ɾa, to have a child, to bear a child, to give birth, to lay an egg; ku-ɾuheres, offspring, children; ku-t’et, small, child, baby
N-W ku(h), child?; Noe-W ku-t’et, baby; BW -kun, son; J cru tet, small
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PK, T k’uču·n, k’uču·n, small, little; CC ?ew k’učiy bo·s, this one is small; k’uč‘ima, a little, a little while ago
PR k’uč‘uyar‘aro, k’učuk’aro, is small
SP-M koo’-sook, small; koo’-too mo-tah’-te, not big enough

Whistler 1980: 270 reconstructs *kur, *kuy, small, child. However, the r and y are not represented in P or SP.
cf. Alsea qti:m, younger sister (Golla 1997: 164); Csjb ku·ti-s, a little bit, Mm k’út’, creature; cf. Mil k’uč·i, small (probably a loan word from Hill Patwin) (Callaghan 2001: 328)

*kudu· ?, great horned owl
W č’u(·)skudu·t, č’u(·)tkudu·t, great horned owl
N-C chút-ku-dút, horned owl
PK, T, CC, R toko·k, burrowing owl (metathesis)
SP-M tō-kō‘k’, burrowing owl; too’-koo-le, great horned owl

*kuhum, *k’uhum ?, basket root
W cf. kuh, hard, dried, stiff (as buckskin) (cf. W-M ko-hahl, slim)
N-H k’uhu·m, root (any kind, probably basket root)
PCC, K č’uhum, tulare root (the plant)

*kuk, to bend; cf. *q’ud, bend; *k’ok, brace
W p’uyeq xun-kukeles, knock-kneed, bowlegged (knees together-bowing)
PH-B ču·ki, to bow
PR-B ču·ko, to bow
PCC čoče, calf (muscle), PR-U čoče, nape

*kuku, grizzly ? (related to *kuk, to bend ?)
W kukup’iwit, myth. hero or heroine which can be a wolf or a mountain lion
PR čuk’uy, bear, grizzly bear

*kul- ?, penis; cf. *k’ul, seed
W kuli, penis
PCC yot, penis

This set according to Pitkin, personal communication 1996, with metathesis, *k>č>t finally in Patwin, l::y. It is highly irregular and perhaps not a valid set. An alternate W cognate for the PCC form may be yOt, yut, yot, pull something out; yoč, pull, jerk out. However, cf. Alsea kl-iy-s, penis (from unattested root kil), ki:la, my son! (vocative) (Golla 1997: 162), which may point to an areal term similar to *kul-.

kh

*khe, deictic (optative meaning ?) (630.); cf. *he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative;
*ke, may, might, lest; *ke, have, own; get; *kel-, far, travel
W ke, polite (concessive) deictic, emphasis mediated with optative force: ken, generic aspect, emphasizes the individual referred to at the expense of all
others who might have been referred to (in the expectation); cf. ken, warning; kele, hearsay; Pitkin suggests perhaps from *kV, a pronominal-demonstrative (?), possibly related to ko-; all; cf. k’i, precedential

W-M wi-ker’, upstream (probably represents [waykel]; way, “north”; kel is archaic or borrowed from N)
N-P kekhl, tribe (ending on tribal names) (probably represents [kel])
PR č’e, now

*kb^en, *k’e-n, *k’en-ti, down (422.1); cf. *k’e, deictic
W ken-, down (into), below, in, downward; kenti, down (with directional); ke-n, in (downward), down in, from down, deep
N-BW kEn-, down; kEnti, down, under
PCC č’e-n-, č’enti, down; K č’eenti, down
PR č’eenti, bottom, under, below; U č’e-n, down
SP-A kentielan, eight
cf. Alsea qi:xn, below, under, underneath; Siuslaw qaxan, down, below (Golla 1997: 164)

*-k’en, may, might, lest (424.6); cf. *k’e, deictic
W -ken, inflectional suffix of warning; e.g., λ’o-muherken, you might get killed; cf. -kEl, may, might, must be
PCC -č’in, -č’in, may, might, lest; K -č’in
PR -č’in, might

*-k^ is reconstructed based on the assumption of kinship with *k’e, deictic. P reflexes without aspiration may be due to suffix position.

*kb^erek, spider
W kerek, spider (cf. kOr-, net)
N-M kâk, spider
PK, T, R č’eret, spider; CC č’eret, “black spiders” (black widows)

*kb’et, trip
W kEri-, kita, stumble, stub toe; keča, to knock down; may keča, to trip someone (may, legs)
PCC č’et’urho, to stagger
PR č’ittupa, trap

*kb’i-l, thorn; cf. *k’il, hail; *k’il-i, horn; *k’ir, sharp implement
W ki-lus, kilus, stickers, thorns, spines
NT-M ke’-loo, prickly briar
PK č’iri-li, thorns, thistle, wild rose; CC thorny plant sp.; T Calif. wild rose
PR č’iri-l, thorn, starthistle, any thorny bush

Whistler 1977a states that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMis *ki-li, gooseberry. Since P has fronted *k^, the borrowing would have occurred prior to the P obstruent fronting chain.
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*kʰila, liver
W kilah, liver
PK čʰela, liver
PR čʰila, liver
SP-M chel’-lah’, liver
cf. N-BW olkin, stomach
cf. PM *kyl-a, liver, PMi *kyl-a, ky·la, liver; PCo sira, liver; PU *kyl-a, *ky(-)la, liver (Callaghan 2001: 332)

*kʰod-, move (fast ? repetitive ?); cf. *k’o-, move in a direction, move toward; *k’od-i/u, move inclined toward
W kOd-, kodo·ra, to roll fast
PK čʰodčʰodt’uro, trotting (horse, actually slower than trotting, skipping);
U čodčodtì, to hop

k’

*k’a- mud; cf. *qʰat, qʰot, wet
W-M kah’-me, clay (representing [k’ami] ?)
PK č’a-, white mud in the bottom, silt; H-U white clay of marsh; H-B to smear
cf. N-M cho-awl’, mud

*k’a-, snap; cf. *k’ab, crack open
W *k’al, snap ?; semum k’ačuna-, to snap your finger joints; cf. kal, lock ? <
*k’a, crack; k’am, pop, snap in the mouth and swallow
PH-U sem k’a’tsaʔamaro, snap fingers
Irregular k’:k’ correspondence, probably due to sound symbolism

*k’ab, crack open; cf. *k’a-, snap; *qʰapla, outer bark
W k’ab, open up, of nuts, mussels, oysters (< *k’a, crack); k’aba·, to shell or
hull acorns or nuts, crack acorns; k’aba-ya, to be opened up, of mussels,
oysters; k’abal, to be opened up wide
PR č’aβta, shelling (taking the shell off after it’s cracked)
cf. PMy *k’ab’, with reflexes including: half opened, to be with mouth opened, very
opened, to open a little; Kiliwa kap, open, uncover (Brown 1990: 44); cf. also W
k’aw, split, crack lengthwise, beat seeds; PMy *k’aw, with reflexes including: split,
open a crack, open a little, with the mouth opened, remaining opened, not well
closed, force open or apart; Kiliwa q’aw, break open/apart (Brown 1990: 45)

*k’ah-i/u, wind, wind blows; cf. *xos-a, air, blow
W k’ahi, wind, air; k’aha(-), k’ahu-, wind to blow, be windy
PR t’ahi, wind (strong), gale; k’ahu·ro, big wind blowing

*k’ahay, nail(s), claw(s)
W k’ahah (p), k’ahay (g), nails, claws
N-B k’lai, nails
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PCC, K  č’a·y, claw, fingernails; K “finger” when designating a particular finger as in k’om č’a·y, thumb, lit. big finger(nail)
PR  č’a·y, fingernail, claw
cf. Alsea qwan-i:yu:, fingernail (Golla 1997: 164)

*k’al, intense visual perception; cf. *k’ala(-)l, flowers; *kul, flame, lightning
W  k’al-, stare, gaze intently, intense visual contact, glow, receive intense visual impression/sensation; cf. k’al, charcoal, glow
N-G këntcaloka, lightning (fronted and perhaps borrowed from P)
PK  č’alo·ki, white (cf. also W luru·qi, white)
PA-U  č’ali, light; pi tosamenti č’alipes ?ana, a lot of light comes from that star
SP-M  chul-lo’-ke, white; chal-lo’-ke, white paint (white earth like chalk from hills)
cf. P č’am-ø, white; PT-U č’aril, white in eyes
cf. PYnim *č’olol (*čolol ?), white, Csjb tcalka, pal(.)ka, white (Callaghan 2001:333)
cf. the following Proto-Northern-Wintun set:
  *k’al, coals; cf. PW *k’il, hail; *q’al-i, charcoal
  W  k’ali, hot glowing coal, coals, charcoal; cf. k’eli, charcoal; k’alal, “one who stares with a coal or dark eye”; k’alaw, a burnt log, from a stump, a dead burned tree, an ash tree ? (loan translation from English ?); k’eël, soot, ashes
  N-M  kah-la’, live coals or embers; cf. also N-C áli, charcoal

*k’ala(-)l, flowers; cf. *k’al, intense visual perception; *q’olo, sunflower sp.
W  k’ala-la, to be lit up pretty, to stand in a row alike; no-pun ma-t k’ala-la, specific flower, “blue bells,” lit. deer’s ears ?; cf. qanal, to be in full bloom, to be open wide, of a flower; fragrance, sweet; yellow; qanal yemer, Milky Way; q’an, wide; q’an, wings
N-S  k’alal, flower
PCC  č’alal, flowers, to bloom; K č’ala(-)l, flower; čala(-)ita, to bloom, to flower
PR  č’ala(-)l, flower

*k’alaq, feather; cf. *q’an, wing
W  k’a·laq, k’alaq (g), k’alah (p), feather(s), feather headdress; also q’alaq, feathers
N-G kalak, duck feathers
PCC  č’alak, feather necklace worn by bighead; K secondary wing feather, feathers inside the wing (near the shoulder)

*k’al, split
W  ?el-k’alčus, knife
PK  č’a·i/u-, split (as wood)

*k’ap, move stones; cf. *q’apa, to trap
W  k’apa·, to turn over stones in dry stony place, to push off stone, to make a
“bed” to roast salmon; xan-k’apa, to clear stones at a place

PR-B čapen, fish dam; PR čapenoro, “fishing that way”

*k’ar-a, scrape; cf. *qor, grind; *qar-čh-, rake

*k’ar-al, stative form?

W k’ara, to scratch, scrape; k’aral(ta), to have a scratch; cf. xara-, to gnaw;
k’ira-, to chew on; qOr-, grind

PK t’ara-l, scraper (like a knife)

PR č’art’i/u-, to scratch

The following are not fronted or point to a PW *q’ whose W cognate has been lost:

PCC k’ara(·)si/u-, to scratch; k’ara(·), mow, cut off little bush, cut off the ends

cf. Karok ?akxárap, to scratch (?ak-, with the hands) (Bright 1957: 437); Northern

Yana k’alc’au-, to scratch with sharp claws (Sapir & Swadesh 1960: 107)

*k’at ? mesh

W k’at-, lots of spaces, not touching or continuous surface; k’ata, to be loosely
woven, like a basket with deliberate holes (cf. kOr, net; kum, no holes);
k’ati, wide mesh, big mesh, thin, lots of spaces

PK kada, large net, mesh about 4 in.

Irregular; cf. N-W k’at, stomach?

cf. Proto-Quichean (and PMy ?) *k’aht, net bag; Nisenan k’at, string (Brown 1990: 38)

*k’ay, rodent sp. ?, gopher ? squirrel ?

W k’aysas, gray squirrel, “fast walker” (cf. PW *q’ay-i/u, walk)

N-BW k’ayuth, woodrat

PCC, T k’ay, gopher; K gopher, muskrat

PR k’ay, gopher; small gray gopher sp. (prob. meadow mouse, Microtus)

The PW form could be *q’ay if W folk-etymologized with k’ay-, fast. Otherwise,
irregularly not fronted in P.

*k’eb, tall and swaying

W k’eb, be tall, straight and swaying (k’ebuq ?isuk, she was tall and swayed)

PR č’ebi, wild hemp (Whistler 1976e from Kroeber)

*k’eba, lungs, chest

W k’ibah, lungs, k’ib-, hiccough; cf. k’Eh-, breathe with difficulty, clear the
throat, k’e·ha, to breathe with difficulty, as people having asthma; k’iha·, to
breathe as if you have TB with a rattle and a wheeze; k’e·da, to choke
gasping for breath

PCC č’eba, chest (of human or deer; the whole thing); T-U chest, lungs

SP-M cheb’-bäh, chest

*k’eb-i/u, loosen by scratching; cf. *xeb, open by scratching or scraping

W k’Eh-, k’iba-, dig with paws, scratch in the dirt, stump; k’ibal, to be loose
after being fastened; k’ebu, imperative stem; k’ebi, nominal stem
PK  č’ebi/u- nibble (like a rodent)

*’k’eč-, yellowjacket

W  wenemk’e(·)či, wenemk’ečit, yellowjacket, wasp (a partial folk-etymology including wenem ‘middle,’ perhaps referring to the insect’s narrow midsection)
N-C  tu-ká-chit, yellowjacket larvae; M too-kah’-che, yellowjacket
PCC, K, T  t’ečew, yellowjacket; K  t’eeč’e·man, t’eeč’e·men, t’ese·men, yellowjacket
PR  t’ečew, yellowjacket; cf. k’eček, blue wasp sp.

*k’el, jackrabbit

W  patkeles, jackrabbit (folk-etymology “outside-long one”)
N-SS  patkele, jackrabbit
PCC, K  č’elo-, č’elow, jackrabbit, rabbit; T  č’elo-, jackrabbit, rabbit
PR  č’elow, jackrabbit
SP-M  ‘chel’-lo, t’chel-o, black-tail jackrabbit

*k’en-i, winnower

W  k’eni, k’enu·s, sifting basket, winnowing plate
N-K  k’ēni, parching tray; cf. tenu, sifter
PR  č’e·n, winnow by dropping or pouring
and irregular:
PCC, K  k’eni, winnowing basket (not fronted)
SP-M  ten-ne’-che, circular winnower (double fronting)

*k’ep, break

W  k’Ep, break in two, shred, bend, shape by bending
PCC, K  č’ebi/u, chip pieces off

*k’es, worm

W  k’e·s, angleworm
N-S  k’eh, worm; M kem, worm, hairy caterpillar
PCC  č’e·, earthworm, fishworm; K, T earthworm; CC č’esimen, inchworm; K, T click beetle?
cf. PYnim *k’at’uw ? worm (Callaghan 2001: 327)

*k’ete·t, one (265.)

W  k’ete·t (p), k’ete·m (g), one
N-BP  k’etet, one; H k’ete·m, one
PCC, K, R  ?ete·ta, one
SP-M  et’-tah, ā-tah, one
Irregular *k’/? correspondence perhaps due to dissimilation after double fronting
*k’>*c’>*t’
cf. PMi *ken·e, one
*k’id, squeak
W k’ide·, to bray (of donkeys); k’i·da, to bray, gasp for breath with great effort; k’idi-ra, squeal with laughter, giggle; cf. k’Ed, gasp
PCC ē’i·tk³aʔa, to squeak (as a mouse, etc.)

*k’ih, separate into strands or slices
W k’ihe·, to comb with finger to separate or to thin out roots for strands, to comb or brush hair; k’i·ha, to comb, to brush; cf. ē’he, to scrape; ē’heṭ, rock smoother, a scraper for skinning salmon and deer (cf. ē’Eb-, sharp; ē’ebet, stone knife)
PCC ē’ihi/u, to cut slices off

*k’il, hail; see also under *k’al, intense visual perception
W k’il, hail
N-M keel’, hail
PR ē’il, hail
cf. Alsea c’i:l, hail (Golla 1997: 161)

*k’ilap-ʔa, afraid, have fear; cf. *q’a·q, mental clouding
*k’ilap-ʔa-ma, causing fear, frightfully, really
W k’ilep, fear, afraid, frightened; k’ilepma·, to be terribly ..., be causing fear
N-BP k’ileepa, to be afraid
PR ē’ilapas, ē’ilapta, afraid
PCC selaʔa, afraid, scared; selaʔama, frightening, really ...; K se·la-, afraid (irregular)
SP-M che-lah’-pah, afraid

*k’il-i, horn; cf. *k’ir, sharp implement; *k’il, hail; *k’i·l, thorn; *q’i-l, dull; *hil, slice; *k’ahay, nail(s), claw(s)
N-PS k’ili, horn; B kiʔiʔi, antler
PCC, K, R ē’ili, antler, horns
SP-M chil’-le, horns
W has no exact cognate, but a wide range of closely and distantly related forms referring to sharpness or penetration, such as *k’El, break, penetrating; k’il, hail, gravel; k’ik-, chip; k’i·r, spear; k’ilep, fear; k’Eh-, breathe with difficulty; k’el-, knife

*k’iiluk, hawk sp., Cooper’s or marsh hawk? cf. *lik- , hawk sp.
N-M chil-leʔi-li, Cooper’s hawk (Accipiter cooperi); cf. lik’-lik, sparrowhawk (Falco sparverius)
PK ē’iiluk, horned lark (Whistler 1977a from Merriam); cf. PCC, R ʔeleʔele, marsh hawk; C ʔele-li, marsh hawk (< *k’ele-)
SP-M kel-lel’-oo, marsh hawk
If the SP form is irregularly not fronted, it points to a proto-form in k or k’. However, this would make the N form borrowed from P. Alternatively the proto-form could be *č’, in which case SP would have backed instead of fronted.

*k’ir, sharp implement; cf. *k’il-i, horn
W k’ir, spear
PK č’iri, manzanita wood pin to hold net or headband on head

*k’is, seed plant sp.
W k’is, pepperwood seeds, specific nuts from the pepperwood tree, specific seeds like marbles, roasted and eaten or used decoratively, strung on necklaces, also used as noisemakers; k’ismi, wild pepperwood tree (also k’ilmi); cf. k’it, white flower deer brush
PCC čisaw, seed plant sp. (white “head” of flowers, round)
PR čisaw, seed plant sp. (up to 3’, on alkali ground, graying-looking seeds)

*k’iw, hot rock? cf. *xiw, embers
W k’iwe·, to sweat; k’iwson, cooking stone; cf. xiwe·, to heat rock, heat food; yiw-, acorn soup; kir-, singe; hir-, fire, burn; k’ih-, acorn soup sticks to cooking stones; broil, toast
N-M kew, cooking hole in ground; BW k’iwa-, sweat
PK č’iw, hail, CC č’iwsin, hail (-sin < *son, rock?)

*k’iy, old man
W k’iy, man to be old; k’iyes, old man; k’iyeh, mother’s brother, uncle, grandfather
N-M nā’-tum k’e·ah, uncle (father’s brother), listed in Whistler (1980: 243) as nehtum k’iyah(h), along with k’iyah, uncle?; k’iyes, old man
PCC č’iyak, old man; č’iyaba, old men; K č’i?akaro, I’m getting old; č’iyak, č’ekos, old man, č’iyakaro, he’s getting old
PR č’iyak, old man, older people
SP-M che’, che’-e, old; che’-e, old man; if the second e in the last two forms represents [e] rather than [i], *k’iye may be reconstructible

cf. Alsea (Buckley 1988: 22) q’á-l’t, man

*k’o-, move in a direction, move toward; cf. *k’od-, move (fast? repetitive?); *k’od-i/u, move inclined toward
W *k’O, move; cf. k’Od-, move, be or get in indicated position or direction; *ka-, move; k’oduma, to hunt
N-BW olku-, get up
PK pima č’o, get that; č’o-, to get (bread, etc.)

*k’od-i/u, move inclined toward; cf. *k’od-, move (fast? repetitive?); *k’o-, move in a direction
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

Wk’Od-, k’uda-, k’odi-, k’odu-, be or get in indicated position or direction, move from place to place, step, visit; se-k’uda, to move around; k’oduma, to hunt

N-BW q’oda-, crawl

PCC č’odu, to walk upslope; č’o-di/u, to crawl, to climb; K č’odu-, crawl (as a baby)

PR č’odi/u-, crawl, sneak

*k’ok, brace; cf. *k’ok’o, flea; *hok, raise; *č’oq, dry and stiff

W k’Ok, brace, log, rafter, stem (k’ok, log, rafter, stick, limb, young tree; pomin k’okol, to be braced, to kneel down and brace oneself so as to shoot; ʔol-k’okuwil, to lift (tr.); ʔol-k’ukal, to lean on (intr.); k’uka-, to put rafters up or down)

N-M lol-kok, pipe; ‘hlool-kok, branches; paw’-kok, fire drill

PH-B č’oč’e, bridge; PT-U t’o’ki, a brace

cf. Alsea ku:x wood, tree, stick; ko:c, tree, log (Golla 1997: 162)

*k’ok’o, flea; cf. *k’ok, brace

W k’okos, flea, “he who puts rafters on”; also q’oqos

N-B k’ok’as, flea

PC, K, T č’oč’e , flea; CC č’oč’o, flea

cf. PMi *ky(·)kys, flea; PM *t’yk’ys, flea (Callaghan 2001: 327)

*k’olom, cup-type basket

W k’olom (g), k’olol (p), small cup or bowl serving basket, container, dish(es) (< k’Ol, become curled ?); cf. xolom, umbrella leaves; xolom, dipper

N-M kul’lo’, large cooking bowl (twined)

PCC č’olom, acorn cup, acorn cap

PR č’olom, acorn cap

cf. Alsea kwal’ (or kwla?), to gather, to pile (pl.) (Golla 1997: 162)

*k’on, clench, stiff ?; cf. *q’on, dry

W k’On, clench, in a ball, knotted, hard; k’onil, clench; ʔol-k’unal, to be stiff-jointed, numb from the cold or other cause; ʔol-k’unal, curl up and dry

PT č’onirho, to stagger

cf. Alsea qwana:’h-, fistful, handful; qwana:’ut-, to scoop; qwana’h-a, knot (in trees) (Golla 1997: 164)

*k’op-i, basket type

W k’opi, conical burden basket (close twine)

PCC č’opil, flat, round basket for cleaning seeds, etc., winnower; č’o-b, small chokemehow bowl, tiny bowl

PR č’opil, flat basket for sifting acorn meal after it is ground, winnowing basket; č’obok, mortar

PA-U č’obil, bowl
*k’op, chop; cf. *q’op-a, break with fingers, *q’op, cut off, slice; *k’ab, crack open; *q’op, stripe
W k’Op-, k’upa, chop, cut in two, cut off portion from whole; k’Ob, segment
PCC, K č’op, to chop

*k’opus, *k’opos ?, screech owl
W k’opos, screech owl
PK, T k’upu·, screech owl; CC k’upu·, small owl sp.; CC, T k’opu·, screech owl
PR k’opu(·)s, screech owl
SP-M ko’-poo, screech owl

*k’or, scratch; cf. *qor-i/u, grind; *k’ur-a·, tear; *k’ar-a, scrape
W k’Or, shave, whittle, scrape, plane; cf. k’ara·, to scrape, scratch; č’Or-, skin nuts
PCC k’oro·, scratch (more than once); H-U č’urta, slash with knife
PR k’orti, to scratch on the body (with hand)

*k’ul, seed; cf. *kul-, penis
W k’ul, male relative, consanguineal (k’uleh, grandson, nephew, blood brother; k’uley, stepson, grandson, nephew, older brother’s children) (cf. k’ur-, boy)
N-S c’uli, seed (borrowed from Patwin?)
PK /c133/’uli, seed (any kind, inside a fruit)

*k’ur-a·, tear; cf. *k’or, scratch; *k’ar-a, scrape; *q’er, scrape
W k’Or, shave, whittle, scrape, plane; k’ura·, to shave something big like a canoe or boat; k’ure·, to chop down small limbs; cf. č’or, open nuts
PCC č’u·r, to tear (pl.); č’ura·, to tear (one); K č’urta, to tear with a quick motion; č’u·rta, to tear with a slow motion; č’u·raro, split open, rip apart

*k’urey, young boy; cf. *ku-, small, child
W k’ureyta, k’urita, little boy
N-C nêt=kui, my nephew
PK č’uray, boy (young, 6-10)
SP-M choo’-ri”, young

*k’uril, ribs; cf. *k’uw-i-l, bent
W kuril, ribs, side
PCC č’uril, ribs
PR č’uri-l, rib(s); č’uri-waś, turn on your side! lie on your side!
SP-M ‘choo-ri’l”, ribs

*k’uw-, pike
W k’uwa-l, ruffle pike
PK č’uwes, small pike (Sacramento blackfish ?)
*k’uwi·l, bent (crooked ? arched ?); cf. *k’uril, ribs; *q’ud, bend
W k’uwi·l, eyelids, eyelashes, eyebrows; cf. kyp-, crippled, bowlegged
PCC č’uwi·lo, crooked (pl., with lots of crooks); č’uwi·l?a, bent, curved (sg.)
cf. Alsea cauli:it, eyelash (Golla 1997: 160); Jacaltec kojan, arched, bent in the form of an arch; Chuj koŋ, arched (Brown 1990: 60)

1

*la·be-n (with kinterm absolutive), older brother; *-laben following first or second person possessive pronoun (*-t + *-l > *l)
W labe(-)h (p), labey (g), older brother; labe-nup’ulel, be two full brothers
N-C nēt=lā-ban, my elder brother; H net laban, my (younger) brother
PCC la·b, older brother (vocative); la·beču, my older brother; la·benpel, two brothers; malaben pel, your two brothers; mi lombosa malabe hicεla, you’re happy when your older brother comes; K ʔuylaben, (his) older brother; na-min labačbú, my older brother
PR laben, older brother; la·beču, my older brother
SP-M lah’-bitch-choo, lah-vā san’-choo, brother; Whistler 1980: 268: la-be, brother, sister?
cf. Kato -la, man’s brother’s son; Mattole -e:lah, brother’s son; Nongatl -la-či, nephew (found widely in Athapaskan) (Golla 1998: 8)

*lak, tie; *lak-čh- (with mediopassive)
W lak, to fasten with a rope; lakal, to be pinched together; lakas, sinew; lakča, put one’s arms around, embrace, hug, fasten or anchor in a rivet; cf. *la, stretch, sinew
PK duč laktčunanta, tie around the head; cf. lartčuro, tied together; U la-ta, tied

*lak-o/u, hooked strap, strap with hook; cf. *law, tendon, sinew; *lak, tie
W lakum, belt, strap; laku’s, hooked stick; cf. ʔaqu’s, barbed hook < ʔaq-, pick off, pull off
PK lačow, Big Dipper, “hook,” long pole with hook on end for knocking down acorns
PR lačok, straps (hooks) on pack basket

*lal-a, sting
W lala, to sting
PK, R lala-, to sting

*laq, save for
W laqa, to leave/reserve/save something to eat for someone
PK ʔut č’u lalkalčebus, I’m gonna do things for him/take care of him
\*laq, wild goose sp.  
W laq, wild goose  
N-C lak, brant; M lahk’, green-wing teal (Nettion carolinensis); BW laklak, duck  
PCC lakkas, white-fronted goose; K laklak, goose sp.  
PR lak?a, cackling goose  
SP-M lah’-lok, lah’-kahs, Western Canada goose; V lala’k, white geese  
Widespread imitative term found across North America

\*la\text{-}s, skin; cf. \*law, tendon, sinew; \*law, flabby  
W la\text{-}s, skin  
PCC, K la\text{-}s, skin  
PR-B la\text{-}s, skin

\*las-a, crawl; cf. \*los, scrabble  
W lasa\text{-}, crawl, creep, of bugs (cf. la\text{-}s, skin)  
PCC-B lasalasa, big red ant sp.; K-M lasalasa, spider (both forms cited in Whistler 1976e)

\*law, tendon, sinew; cf. \*lar\text{-}a\text{-}u, sling; \*law, flabby; \*lak\text{-}o/u, hooked strap; \*la\text{-}s, skin  
W la\text{-}w, muscle, tendon, sinew, gristle, bow string (cf. \*la, stretch, sinew; lasik, bag)  
N-M lah’-o, bow string, tendon, sinew  
PCC, K, T, R law, tendon, sinew  
PT-U law, spine

\*law, flabby; cf. \*law, tendon, sinew; \*low, hang; \*yaw, pendant  
W law, be pendant, hang (cf. \*la, stretch, sinew)  
PCC la\text{-}w?a, weak, body has no strength, close to death

\*lay, sister (younger?)  
W la\text{-}h, layah (p), la\text{-} (g), -lah, older sister; layk’ut, younger sister; cf. ni-la\text{-}k, my relatives  
N-W lahay, younger sister  
P la\text{-}n, younger sibling  
SP la\text{-}n, younger brother? (Whistler 1980)  
Perhaps \*-t + \*-l > Patwin \l, cf. \*labe\text{-}, \*laben, \*laben, older brother

\*-le, intentional future, “going to” (424.7); cf. \*le\text{-}a/i\text{-}u, make  
\*le-s, nominal form  
W -le, necessity, causality, futurity, potentiality, probability, inevitable future; usually translated as “going to”; -le\text{-}s, nominal form  
N-BW -le, let us  
PCC -le(da), I’ll ..., I’m going to ...  
PC les, can (used also as a ‘come and ..., go and ...’ imperative); -len, should
PR -le, I’m going to ...
SP-A chu maleina, I will eat (yo comere)

*-le, *-le· before a consonant, pronominal plural (531.22)
See *male·no, *mile, *mile·t, *p’ele, *p’ele·t

*leh, glide by; cf. *lew, vibrate, oscillate; *liw, fan, wave, gesture
W lihel, to pass (in the indicated direction), lehekta, to pass someone on one’s way; cf. led-, flutter, rise in the air, sail, vanish; lEd-, wings to flap; le·da, to wave back and forth; de·h-, glide
PR le·huro, gliding (as a bird), also used in dance; le·hi, used to refer to the dancers in a certain dance

*lél-a/i/u, make; cf. *-le, intentional future; *lew, vibrate, oscillate
*lél-u-na, become (with reflexive)
W lEl-a/u/i, make, become, be transformed, change, clear, clean, copy, place, lead, arrange, blame, accuse, tease; lelna-, to turn into; leluna-, to blame oneself; cf. *le, alternate, replicate, duplicate, dualistic movement (led, flutter; le·t, both; le·t, clear away; lEt, disperse; lel, two; lEl, transform)
PCC lela·, to make (plural of lelu); PK lel-i/u, make, fix; pi lelunanta k’udi, he turned into a bird
PR lel-i/u, make

*le·n, *le(·)n-i, yester-, last; or: the passing of one night?
W le(·)n-, old, ancient, past; le·nda, yesterday; leni q’upus λ’ul, “old old lake”
N-G le-niluyuk, evening star; M po len’-ne, tonight; len’-nin, yesterday; lā’-nah, night; len pah-pil’, last year; B leni, night
PCC le·ni, yesterday; T le·ni, evening; lenčul, yesterday; K le-nčul, yesterday; ūle·nila, this evening
PR le·ni, yesterday; leniba·, evening meal
SP-M lā’-ne, day, a day (24 hours); lā’-ne wen-ne, tomorrow (lit. tomorrow [i.e., day] come)

*leq-čb-u, tired; cf. *let, exhaust, wear out
W leqča, to be or get tired (as of fighting)
N-BW lakca-, lakcu-, be tired
PCC lektb-i/u, tired; K lektb-i-, tired; lekčuna-, to be tired; cf. le-ya-ro, getting tired, exhausted, giving out
PR-U lekt-i/u, tired
cf. Alsea qli:h-, qlh-, to be tired (Golla 1997: 164); cf. also PW *xin-a, sleep
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*ler, cricket; cf. *lir, rub
N-BW  lirth, grasshopper (probably [liθ] < lir-h)
PCC, C  lerler, cricket

*le-t ? *le-r ?, clean; cf. lir, rub
W  le-ta, to clear away, clear off; both; cf. le-t, both < *lEd, alternate; PW *lel-a/i/u, make
PCC  le-rumas, good, clean; le-rumaro bo-s, clean
SP-M  lā-le-'me-baw’, good

*lew, vibrate, oscillate, such as stems, limbs, twigs; cf. *leh, glide by; *len, clover, grass; *low, hang; *liw, fan, wave, gesture
W  *lew, vibrate, oscillate (leweq, limb on a tree, branch, twig; liw-, spring; liw-, fan; lew-, fan)
N-BW  lEmmath, water clover
PK  lew, grasses, clovers, herbs, weed, stem of flower, any small plant; CC lew, grass
PR  lew, grass (any kind outside)

*ley, younger brother
W  leyk’ut, younger brother, mother’s sister’s son, uncle; leh-, younger brother, relatives; net-leh, my relations, relatives, kinsmen; net-lehet, my younger brother; cf. k’uley, nephew ?
N-W  leh, younger brother
PCC  leyta, relative(s); K leyta, friend
cf. Yurok -ley?, brother (of a woman); -let, sister, female cousin (of a woman) (Robins 1958: 216)

*lib-čʰ-, *lip-čʰ-, submerge
W  lip-, be thirsty, appease someone’s (craving), lipiskuya, to be thirsty; mem lipir-a, water to have waves or ripples; lipča, to appease someone’s thirst
N-BW  lhpa-, thirst; lhpal-, be weak; M mem lē’-pah, thirsty
PCC  libč'i, to flood, go under water; yo-wesna libč'is, he jumped into the water, got in it
PR  libč'i, “means everything going under covering everything,” submerge

*lik-, hawk sp., Swainson’s ?; cf. *k’ililuk, hawk sp.
N-M  lik-lik, sparrow hawk (Falco sparverius)
PR  likki ?, Swainson’s hawk (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)
If this is indeed the Swainson’s hawk, a related W root may be lEk-, decorate, trim, cut a fringe, referring to this hawk’s conspicuous white patch on the throat

*lim, fade away; cf. *l’o-m-u, kill
W  *lim, fade ? (lim-, be sick, ail; limon, out of sight or hearing, fading out of range of perception; limir-a, to rumble, as of an earthquake - diminuendo; limuča, a very far off vague rumble)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PK  limpe, wiping, cleaning; limo-, to kill; CC limbak, to flash or blink at intervals
PR  limo-, killing; possibly cf. B limtak, to limp

*lir, rub; cf. *ler, cricket; *lor, grind
W  lirik to rub
PCC lir'i/u, to rub on

*liw, fan, wave, gesture; cf. *lew, vibrate, oscillate
*liw-na, fan oneself
W  liwa-, liwe-, to fan; xun-le·wa, to wave to someone to come; se-lewna·, to fan oneself
N-W  lew, wing, feather
PCC liwnan, to fan oneself; liwko, to wave at repeatedly; liwi·ko, to gesture with hand (once) at someone to come, to beckon

*lo(·)l, tobacco
W  lo(·)l, tobacco
N-B  lol, tobacco
PH, R  lo·l, tobacco
SP-M  lōl, tobacco

*lolo·q-i/u, point; cf. *lul, cylinder
W  lolo·qa, to point with the finger; *lol, point, put a curse on someone while pointing
N-K  lolô’k, deer bone awl
PK, T  lolo·ki/u, to point
PR  lolo·ki/u, to point at

*lom-u, place a sling
W  lom-, sling; ?el-lomča, to tie a sling around, put in a sling; lom, bait (luma·, to be baited; lomuma·, to bait)
N-M  lān’, sling
PR-U  lomuro, still being placed; lomura behta, has been placed

*lom, happy
W  lo(·)m, spirits, wine; cf. lo·y, spirit; lom, bait; lo·l, tobacco
PCC  lomi/u, happy, glad; cf. K lumhi, pretty
PR  lomi/u, glad

*lor, grind, sharpen by filing; cf. *los, scrabble; *las-a, crawl; *lir, rub
W  lor-, lo·r-, grind, rub, file
PCC  lori/u, to grind, to sharpen by grinding
PK  lolt'i/u, grind; lolu·ro, to file, sharpen by filing
PH-U  lori/u, sharpen by rubbing, rub, file
PR  lori/u, sharpen, grind on a stone, hone
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*los, scrabble; cf. *lor, grind; *las-a, crawl
  W loso-ra, to make the noise of the claws of a squirrel running on a tree
  PR lo-st'i/u, to rub

*low, hang; cf. *law, flabby; *lew, vibrate, oscillate
  W Iow-, hang; pat-lowe, to hang out, stick out; pat-luwa, to hang out and down
  PH lo-t'u, to hang (intr.)
  PR lo-tu, hang

*lo-y-, adolescent girl
*lo(-)y-ba (plural)
  W lo(-)ymes, adult female virgin, girl, maiden
  N-BW loyba, girl, young woman
  PCC lo'ya, young woman; lo-yba, plural; K loyta, girl; loyba, girls
  PR loyta, a girl

*lul, cylinder; cf. *lolo-q-i/u, point; *lul, flowers; *lur, shin
  W lul, long cylinder, large log, cylindrical thing; lul, sticks, rattle; lul'u, bunch of sticks used instead of split-stick rattle; li-l, flute; li-lus, flute
  N-M lool', trunk (of tree)
  PK lul, basket stick from redbud; cf. PK lollol, flute; PR lo-lol, flute

*lul, flowers; cf. *lul, cylinder
  W luli, flowers
  N-H luli', flowers
  PCC, T, R lul, redbud

*lup, stick into (vertically ?); cf. *l'op, insert long things (vertically ?), poke, stick into
  W IOp, stick in, reach in; cf. lOb, string beads (i.e., insert string); lu-p, vagina
  PCC lupik spear (with flinthead)
  SP-M loo'-pik, spear (for war, to kill people)

*lur, shin; cf. *lul, cylinder
  W lurur, leg
  PCC lu-l, shin
  PR-B lupir, shin

*luyuq, ridge
  W-M toom loo'-yook, too-mul'-lo-yuk, cheek bone (malar) (“face ridge”)
  PK luyuk, ridge, peak; CC luyuk, ridge
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

- *la-, sit (perhaps from *la-, be located + auxiliary *-ʔa, have > “have location”); cf.
- *lah, fall; *lu-t, dancehouse

W  la-, to sit (occurs only with directional or locative prefix; e.g., kinla-, to sit down; ʔella-, to sit down inside)

N-BW  kEnLa-, sit; G nomtihla, afternoon (“west in sit”)

PH, R  -lə, locative case and subordinating suffix (if, when)

SP-M  sun win’-nem ʔlah hen’-te, noon (sun in the middle)

*lah, fall; cf. *la-, sit

W  laha, to fall; ʔahma-, to fell a tree

PK  lah-, la-', fall, fell

PR-U  lah-, fall

*lah-a, stink, smell rotten

W  lala, to stink

N-B  Lala, stinking

PCC  laala, to rot, spoil

PR-B  ʔalata, rotten

*laq-a, cover

W  laqa, to cover

PH-B  laqa-, roof

PR  laqpa, to cover something

*laqa, plant sp.

W  laqas, weed; ʔalas łaqas, pennyroyal

PCC  laqaa-, all kinds of tules; K big round tule (bulrush)

PR  ʔala, ʔaqa-, round tule, bulrush

cf. Mim Ló-kos, big round tule (Callaghan 2001: 324 from Merriam)

*laqal, play

W  laqal, play; łaqama, play with something

N-S  laqaala, play

PH  laqala, to play, gamble

*la-r, parch

W  la-r, roast; ʔalaral, to be roasted; cf. ʔarəaq, warm; ʔarət, mountain ginseng;

sa-ra, sugar pine cones to ripen so that nuts fall out

PCC  ʔari, to parch with coals in basket; K ʔaːluro, ʔaːruro, parch (seeds, pinole in

a basket)

PR  ʔari/u, to parch

cf. Alsea ʔaːʔi-, to cook, boil (Golla 1997: 162)
*larə-q, *łuyu-q? porcupine; star
W  łuyu-q, porcupine quill(s); star(s) (folk-etymology with łu-, stab ?, łu-, egg, seed ?)
N-BP  łuyu-q, star
PCC  larə-k, porcupine, white flint
PR  larə-k, porcupine, star
SP-M  ‘sar-rahk’, star
cf. Alsea łaht, star (Golla 1997: 162)

*lar-çh-u, tie a sling; cf. *law, tendon, sinew
W  larća, to catch with a rope, swing a lasso; larćus, rope, lasso
PH  lartʰi/u, to tie a knot; łari/u, to lace up
PR  łaroho, to tie (up); łatʰ-e-ya, sling

*le, child
W  -le, child, children
N-W  le-ye, little boy (Whistler 1980: 267, identified as Noema dialect)
P  mu-le, male ego’s child
SP  mule, son or daughter (Whistler 1980)

*lel-e, weave; cf. *lel-a/i/u, make
*leles weaving (nominal)
W  lel-, to weave, wind, twine, coil, wrap; lilə, to weave (indicative stem); ìel, weave (imperative stem); leles, weaving (nominal stem) (Merriam lists W ch⁴k’lel-lis for “twined weave” (twilled) and ch³k’l-o-e for “coiled weave” and comments “not made by Wintu”)
N-C  hláp=hlə-lə, tule mat
PH  lele; weave, make baskets; k’eni pi leles, she’s making a basket
PR  lele, to weave

*le-ŋ, brother-in-law (with kinterm absolutive)
*net-le(-)ŋ, my brother-in-law
W  le(-)ŋ, brother-in-law; netlen, my brother-in-law
N-W  le-ŋ, sister’s husband, husband’s brother
PCC  nay-le-ŋ, my brother’s wife, my sister-in-law; K netle-ně⁴u, nayle-ŋ, brother-in-law (wife’s brother)
PR  le-ŋ, brother-in-law (husband’s brother)

*le̱s, spirit after leaving body, shadow
W  le̱s, spirit, soul, shade, shadow, devil, ghost (Pitkin 1985: 296 suggests that this may be from *IE, the transformed one, generic aspect)
N-H  le̱s, shadow, devil; M kləś’, spirit or soul after leaving body
PK  sel, summer house; H-U se-t, little willow summer house for shade (metathesis)
PR  se-t, shade
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*leq-č-u, tired

W litiq-qa, to be tired, exhausted, get tired; liitiq, tired, bored, sick of < ľEt-, be nervous, tremble, shiver

N-BW Letedu-, to shake, shiver

PR le-t-, wear out (as clothes)

cf. Alsea ľtaqw-, to burst (intr.) (Golla 1997: 163)

*lew ? *lu- ?, gig, spear

W lu-, stab, pierce, poke; ľuča, to stab

PK lew-, gig, spear

PR lew-, poke

cf. Alsea ľxwi:- (or tľ’wi:-), to spear, ľxu:- (or tľ’u:-), to force, push; Siuslaw ľxau:, spear (n.) (Golla 1997: 163)

*ley-a, throw

W ley, to throw (indicative and imperative stem); liya, to throw, to throw at, to throw a stone or heavy objects (not other things)

N-S leya, throw, hit; BW son Le’, you are throwing the rock, throw the rock!

PH ley-, to put, set; leypa, to throw at, hit; kľ’alley, to throw away

PR ley-, put, throw

SP-A glei, put; M ‘kľa-ah’-be mem, give me a drink

*lid, throw water

W li-đa, to throw water on the fire

PK liduro, to sprinkle

*lik-u-p’ur-i, to fight (with reciprocal)

W likup’ure, to fight (each other); likup’uri (nominal form); cf. lixča, to bother someone

N-S tihkupa, fight

SP-M *ľeb-bah’-per-re, war

*lim-a, cave in; cf. *lim, fade away

W ľel-limal, to be caved in, be demolished, bashed in, bent in

N-BW Limalna-, be sorry, feel bad (“cave oneself in”)

PCC li-maho, to faint

*liniq, snort

*li-n-, blow the nose

W li(-)niq, nasal mucus; liiniqa, to blow the nose; sono ľi-na, to blow the nose

PH, R linik, nose

PR li-no, blow the nose

Sound-symbolic, with resemblant forms in other languages
*lob, bubble
W lub-, bubble, boil, simmer, rise and fall, of moving things (cf. lum, bubble up, splash, *IO, spot; lu, egg)
PK lob, bubble; loblobta, bubbling

*lom-, fisher ?; cf. *lom-i/u, put up
W lomu-s, rat, woodrat, mountain rat, mole
N-M schlo’-mêt, marten (Mustela caurina); C hlá-mêt, fisher
PK-M shook klum’-me, fisher

*lom-i/u, put up; cf. *lom-, fisher ?
W lome-, to add to, fill a plate or pipe, fill something in order to boil, to put something up to cook; cf. łome-, to be in the middle
N-BW kLomana-, to hide
PCC łomi/u-, put away, hide, save, store; K łomi/u, put away
PR łomu, put

*lon, snore
*lon-or-, sound bee-like
W lunu-ra, to purr, have the sound of waterfall hitting the water at the bottom; ʔolonoq, bull hornet
N-BW Lona-, snore
PCC łono-no, snoring; all kinds of bees, honeybee; łonoroho, to growl (dog, bear); K łono-no, name for bees, wasps all together; honeybee; łono-n-, to snore
PR łono-no, bee; łonoroho, to growl
cf. Alsea ḡaq’w-, snore (Golla 1997: 162)

*łono(·)q, mollusk shell; cf. *lob, bubble
W łono-q, olivella shell beads, olivella shell necklace; cf. siwi-łonoq, testicles, perhaps from ʔOn-., drooping; łonoq, earring; cf. *IO, spot, bubble, foam, boil, pimple, round, spherical
N-G łonok, earrings
PT łolo(·)k, sea-shell, shell of snail

*los, foam
*loł-, to foam
W los, foam, saliva; qoł łolo-ruma’, mouth to foam; ło-sa, to launder; ło-sis, ło-sas, soap; łoso, wave crest
N-S łoca, wash; BP łohča, to wash; BW Łoca-, wash
PK łola-k, foam, bubbles, lather; cf. H-B ło-yak, foam
PR los, foam on the water

*lo(·)y, weave, make a net; cf. *loy...m, grapevine
*lo(·)yo-s, weaving, web
W ło-yos, net, apron, weaving; łoyna’, to cover oneself with a net-like cover (as a caterpillar making a cocoon); ę’e-k łożos, type of net (ę’e-k = rope)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PCC loyo-, spider web; lo-yomen, spider (Whistler 1976e from Merriam); K lo-yo, kerek lo-yus, spider web

PR-B loyow, spider web

*loy...m, grapevine; cf. *lo(y)’, weave, make a net
W loymi, grapevine (mi = tree, brush)
PCC loyam, grapevine (the whole plant); K loyom, grapevine
PR loyam, wild grapevine

*lubuq, soft round plant sp.? cf. *lupuq, thin, loose; *lup-e/u, drink/eat acorn mush with fingers; *’op, *lup, tule, bulrush
N-G luxpux, ground creeper with red blooms and fine black seeds (redmaids?)
PCC, C lubukmen, mushroom sp. (black inside)
cf. W lob-, eat (eat round objects?); cf. *IO, spot; lubeq, little round lake; ’ub-, suck

*lup-e/u, drink/eat acorn mush with fingers; cf. *lubuq, soft round plant sp.?, *lupuq, thin, loose
*lp-u-s, drinking/eating acorn soup (nominal)
*lp-u-q-i/u, slurp
W lupe, to eat acorn mush with fingers; lupaq, eat (something) with acorn soup; lups, eating, of acorn soup; lup-u-q-a/i/u, suck
N-G khlp, sacred broth or porridge of roasted buckeyes boiled in sand pools with hot stones; J clupus, soup
PCC lup-, to drink soup; yiwitma lupus pi, he’s drinking acorn soup
PK luh-ki/i/u, sip slowly; lupta, drinking acorn soup
PR lup-, drink acorn soup; cu yiwitma lupus, I’m drinking acorn soup

SP-M *’lo’-bêh, acorn mush
cf. Northern Sierra Miwok nyp-a, to make acorn mushy, to make something into acorn mush, acorn soup (Callaghan 1987: 171); PMy *lo7, *lo7(b’), with reflexes including: eat eggs or fruit, eat something (soft things), fruit, remains of something eaten, and other similar meanings; Maidu lop, gobble something soupy with the hands; Lake Miwok lub-, to slurp; Klamath lo:b’, eat (soup); Choctaw labbi, to eat with the fingers; cf. also PMy *lu(b’), with reflexes including: soften, dampen, wet, watery, not firm, made soft by water (a road or river bank); Mam lu?c, soft: fruit rinds or egg shells (all from Brown 1990: 26, 48)

*lubuq, thin, loose; cf. *lubuq, soft round plant sp.?; *lup-e/u, drink/eat acorn mush with fingers
W lub, be thin, watery (batter, liquids) (cf. lub, bubble, simmer); lubu-ya, to get watery, of fruit when rotting, to be too thin, of something liquid (i.e., to be fermenting, bubbling); cf. lulel, to be spoiled; lal, stink; lulal, be caved in
PCC lubuku, soft, loose

*lut, dance house; cf. *’al, sit
W lut, semi-subterranean big dancehouse, sweathouse, earthlodge
Howard Berman (personal communication, 2003) suggests that *lu·t may be derived from *la·, sit, comparing Yokuts t’iʔ, house and Central Sierra Miwok [toʔje-], to sit

\[-m,\ \text{dubitative, subjunctive (424.3); see *beyem under }\ast\text{bey and *bo-m under *boh}\]

\[-m,\ \text{dubitative suffix (doubt, interrogation of second persons; absence of any evidence which could provide a degree of certainty; marks declarative statements of slight doubt or weak interrogation; more recently a third person subject marker)}\]

\[-m/-mu,\ \text{general subjunctive mood marker, with special uses as negative and purposive; -m?a/-muʔa, evidential “must be that”; -mʔu/-muʔu, negative (Whistler 1978); -m/-mu, unmarked tense, quotative mode; -m, subjunctive; -mʔa/-muʔa, confident inference (with auxiliary -ʔa, have) (Whistler 1986)}\]

\[\text{hase ba·m, let’s go eat}\]

\[\text{mipel ba·m, did you (two) eat?; mi ba·m, did you eat?}\]

\[\text{cf. PMy *ma...}, \text{negative (Brown 1990: 58)}\]

\[-m,\ \text{inanimate comitative (423.32); c.g., see *dek-m, climb something (under *dek, step, climb); cf. *-ma, causative}\]

\[-m,\ \text{generic comitative suffix (indicates that the verb has a syntactic object in the generic aspect, which may or may not be overtly expressed; frequently translated as “with” or “while doing something”)}\]

\[-me,\ \text{valence-changing suffix, “with” (Whistler 1977, 1978); CC -me, comitative (Whistler 1981)}\]

\[\text{ma-, mi-, second person pronominal root (531.13); see: *ma-le·no, *ma-t, *ma-t-o, *mi, *mi-le?, *mi-le-t?, *mi-pel, *mi-pele-no?, *mi-pele-t?, *mis}\]

\[\text{ma-, mi-, me-, second person pronominal root}\]

\[\text{ma-, mi-, mo-, second person pronominal root}\]

\[\text{ma-, mi-, second person pronominal root}\]

\[\text{*-ma, objective case (512.21); cf. *-ma, causative; *-ma, suffix marking naturally paired objects; *mal-i/u, make}\]

\[\text{-m, -um, objective case}\]

\[\text{yEcam, name (obj.)}\]

\[-ma,\ \text{animate objective case}\]

\[-ma,\ \text{objective case}\]

\[\text{-ma, causative (423.33); cf. *-m, inanimate comitative; *-ma, suffix marking naturally paired objects; *mal-i/u, make; *?u-ma, thus (under *ʔu)}\]

\[-m,\ \text{causative suffix (followed by indicative stem formant -a·)}\]

\[-ma,\ \text{causative}\]
cf. PMy *um, with reflexes including: first cause, original motive, infix equivalent to cause of, motive of; by, because of, on account of, cause, fault (agentive suffix), as a result of (Brown 1990: 49)

*-ma, suffix marking naturally paired objects (511.3); cf. *-ma, causative; *-ma, objective case; *may, foot

W haqam, elbows (dual); cf. haqa, ankle, elbow < *haq, jointed (as of elbow or ankle); -m, generic aspect

P -ma, suffix marking naturally or conventionally paired objects (Whistler 1980: 256; e.g., sa·ma, eyes; dam-ma, pair of gambling bones)

*made ? *mude ? mushroom sp.

N-G mi·mude, mushroom sp.; kitmude, mushroom sp.

PK made, edible wild mushroom sp.

PT bade, toadstool ? (Whistler 1976e from Radin)

*ma-le·no, second person plural alienable possessive

W male·n, second person plural alienable possessive particular aspect

PH-U male·nomin, second person plural alienable possessive animate possessed

PT mile·nomin, second person plural alienable possessive animate possessed

PCC, T mile·no, second person plural alienable possessive inanimate possessed

PCC, T, R male·no, second person plural alienable possessive inanimate possessed

cf. Klamath ma:l’m, 2 pl. genitive (DeLancey 1987: 462)

*mal-i/u, make; cf. *-ma, causative; *-ma, objective case

W mala·, to make; mali, nominal stem; malu-, imperative stem

N-BW mali-, make

PH, R mali/u, to doctor

*ma·l-a, bake

*ma·l-a-s, nominal form

W ma·l-a, to make patties, make bread; ma·l(as), patty, patties

N-BW maLa, bread

PCC ma·l-a, to bake

PR-U ma·l-a-, to bake; malas, bake bread

*man-a-, miss; cf. *min-a, be nothing

W mana·, to miss (the mark), guess wrong

N-BW manay-, miss, be off, wrong (may be borrowed from P)

PCC, R manayi/u, to miss; K maya·yi/u, to make a mistake

cf. Alsea man’-, min-, to fall short, to fail (Golla 1997: 163); Northern Yana and Yahi mal-..?a, to fail to hit, to shoot at and miss (Sapir & Swadesh 1960: 121); Northern Yana malla-, absent for a long time (ibid., p. 122)
*ma-t, second person singular inalienable possessive
W  mat, second person singular inalienable possessive
N-BW ma-, second person singular inalienable possessive
PCC ma-, second person singular inalienable possessive
PCC, R mat-, second person singular inalienable possessive
SP-M mah, your
cf. PM *mi-, you sg., PMi *mi(·), thou, PCo *me(·), thou, PY *ma-?, thou; PY *man’, *min, your sg., *manan, your pl., PU *mi-ny, me-ny, thy (Callaghan 2001: 328)

*ma-t, ear; cf. *mut-u, hear
W  ma-t, ear
N-W ma-t, ear
PH, R mat, ma-t, ear

*ma-t-o, second person singular alienable possessive
W  mato, second person singular alienable possessive
N-W mota, second person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed;
BW mohto
PCC, K mato, second person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed
PK, CC matomin, second person singular alienable possessive animate possessed
PR matono, second person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed
SP-M mo’-to, your

*may, foot
*may-a·, follow, track
W  mah (p), may (g), foot; may, feet, tracks; mayuma·, to show, demonstrate, direct, teach, give directions
N-J mat, foot; M mi’-e, tracks; BW may-, chase, go after, go with; cf. N-S nismay, with (= me-following ?)
PH, R may, foot; maya·, to track
SP-V mainodv’-k’c, toes

*me(·)m, water
W  me(·)m, water
N-BP mem, water
PH, R me(·)m, water
SP-A mem, water

*men, thing (511.4)
W  -me, own, type, kind, variety; -men (g), -met (p); cf. *mE, deictic; *m, classifier
PCC -men, thing
*mi, tree
W mi(·), tree
N-B mī, tree
PR mi, tree
SP-M me′, tree
cf. Molala ma·s, fir tree (Berman 1996: 15)

*mi, second person singular subjective
W mi, second person singular subjective
N-W mi, second person singular subjective
PCC, R mi, second person singular subjective
cf. PM *mi-, you sg., PMi *mi(·), thou, PCo *me(·), thou, PY *man′, *min, your sg.,
PU *mi·ny, me·ny, thy (Callaghan 2001: 328); Klamath mi, 2 sg. genitive (DeLancey
1987: 462)

*mi-le ? *ma-le ?, second person plural subjective
W mite, second person plural subjective, neutral as to aspect
male·t, second person plural subjective particular aspect
PCC, K, R mile, second person plural subjective
SP-A mile, you pl.

*mi-le·t ? *ma-le·t ?, second person plural objective
W male·t, second person plural subjective particular aspect
male·tp′urum, second person plural objective particular aspect
PK mile·t, second person plural objective

*min-a, be nothing; cf. *man-a′, miss
*min-cʰ-u-, to turn into nothing
*men-a, unspecified
W min-, die, dead; -min(a), negative suffix; minčuna′, for a loved one to die, to
die on someone
N-BW -mena, possibility that something will happen: might, may, perhaps it will
be; implies future time
PCC mina′, to extinguish; mintʰi/u, dark, fire to go out; K me·na, alone, nothing,
something unspecified, anyway
PR-B me·na-lew, ordinary grass
cf. Alsea man′-, min-, to fall short, to fail (Golla 1997: 163); Maidu and Nisenan
-men, negative suffix (Berman 1983: 407)

*mi-pel, second person dual subjective
W me·l, second person dual subjective, neutral as to aspect
N-W me·l·palel, second person dual subjective; BW mEl, you two
PK, R mipel, second person dual subjective
SP-A mip′-pel, you two
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*mi-pele-no ? *ma-pele-no ? second person dual alienable possessive
W ma·len, second person dual alienable possessive particular aspect
me·lelen, ma·lelun, second person dual alienable possessive generic aspect
PR mapelenomin, mapelemin, second person dual alienable possessive animate possessed
mapeleno, mapelno, second person dual alienable possessive inanimate possessed
PH mipelnomin, second person dual alienable possessive animate possessed;
mipelno, second person dual alienable possessive inanimate possessed

*mi-pele-t ? *ma-pele-t ? second person dual objective
W ma·let, second person dual subjective particular
PK mipelet, second person dual objective
PR mipet, second person dual objective

*mis, second person singular objective
W mis, second person singular objective
N-BW mis, second person singular objective
PR mis, second person singular objective
cf. Klamath mis, 2 sg. object (DeLancey 1987: 463)

*mit, *mut ?, cover
W panti mituna·, to cover oneself with something; ʔol-mite, to put something up on something
PCC mut'upas, to cover up with
PR-B mot'opa, to cover

*molo, short version of
W *mO, short: mu·la, (to be) short, be without ears, short as to nose, be very short; molika, to be bobbed, shortened
PK molok, picture, petroglyph, doll

*mo·loq, California condor
W mo·loq, bald eagle, white eagle
N-G molok, California condor
PH, R mo-lok, condor
SP-M mo'-luk, mowl'-luk, Calif. condor
cf. Northern Sierra Miwok mol·ok-u-, eagle, C. Hart Merriam gives ‘California condor’ (Callaghan 1987: 154); Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMis *mol·ok, condor. If this is the case, the loan extends across Wintun.

*mol, willow sp.
W mol, willow; also edible greens
N-M mösʷʷ, mos, willow
PCC,TT mol, big, brittle willow sp. (S. goodingii?)
*mon, juniper
N-M mun’, juniper (Juniperus)
PH, R mon, juniper berries
cf. PK, TT-M monmon, McNab cypress ?, borrowed from Miwok (Whistler 1976e);
Northern Sierra Miwok mo·nok-u-, cedar tree, incense cedar (Callaghan 1987: 155);
Lake Miwok mônmon, a type of cedar, probably incense cedar (Callaghan 1965: 96)
Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMi
*mo·n, incense cedar. If this is the case, N would have borrowed from P or directly
from Miwok, or P could have received its loan via N.

*moq, straighten up, fix up
W moqos, arrow straightener; muqas kerumada, I straighten arrows
N-C máh-kâ, arrow-straightener
PCC mokan, to fix oneself up, dress up; K mo-ke, big eagle or hawk feather coat
PR mo·ki, large feather cloak; B clown in dances
cf. Alsea mi:kw-a, arrow shaft (Golla 1997: 163)

*mo·r, tamarack pine (a variety of lodgepole) ?; cf. *moy, seed
W mo·ri, tamarack (a larch sp.)
PK mo·ra tōk, knobcone pine ? Douglas fir ? tamarack pine ? variety of
lodgepole

*moroq, move
*ormor (iterative)
W moroq, alive, move; mormoroq, (plural subjects) to be alive, to move, many
to move, to quiver (as with life)
N-B pomoko, earthquake [po·m mo·qo]
PK mormo·ruro, itch
PCC mołok, to move
PR-B mołok, to move
The correspondence of W and N r to PCC and PR l is irregular and perhaps due to
symbolism.

*moy, *muy, bend
W se-muyča, to bend around, of something pliable like copper wire; moyi·ya, to
smile; pantimoy, bone behind upper teeth and lip
PCC moyi/u, angry; K moyʔaro, mad, in a rage; moyup’iriwin, fighter, warrior;
PA-U muyʔa-, cranky

*moy, seed ? cf. *mo·r, tamarack pine
W moyʔolo·q, moyʔoloq, tomato (analysis uncertain, but perhaps containing
moy, “seeds”); cf. morit, pine seeds (Du Bois 1935: 115)
PK-M moyek, seedling conifer (Whistler 1976e); PTT mo·ye, seedling conifer ?
(Whistler 1976e)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*mu(-)k-u, turtle-shell shaped
W mu(-)k-, turtle-shell shaped object, to cover with a turtle-shell shaped object; 
muku-, imperative stem
PCC mu·ki/u, to lie on one’s stomach

*munuq, sweet
W munuq, sweet
N-B monuka, sweet
PK munuk, be sweet, honey, nectar
cf. Molala mumu:s, fly (Berman 1996: 12); PUA *mumu, *meme, bee

*mut-u, hear; cf. *ma·t, ear
W mute, mutu-, hear, sense, perceive, understand, feel
N-S muta, hear
PH, R mutu-, hear

*mut-her, non-visual sensorial evidential (< *mut, hear + *her, passive)
W -nt'er, non-visual sensorial evidential
PCC -mt'er, -mut'er, tentative inference; implied sufficient grounds for certain knowledge; might (Whistler 1986: 69); indicates uncertain knowledge, an opinion rather than a claim of fact, or an assumption based on tenuous evidence rather than certain knowledge; translates as: I think ..., it looks like ..., might (Whistler 1986: 71); cf. -mte, -mute, tentative inference (?), morphological variant of -mt'er/-mut'er restricted to clauses in the irrealis mode, indicates assertion based on inference of circumstantial evidence but not direct knowledge; lacks the passive element -her (Whistler 1986: 72); cf. mut, to feel, auxiliary base of personal affect

n

*-n ? *-no ?, genitive case, marks alienable possessive and subordinate subjects (512.22, 531.35)
W -n, -un, genitive case; -tun, emphatic possessive
P -no, alienable possessive (inan. possessed); -nomin, alienable possessive (an. possessed)
SP-M che-lo’-no hek-ke, rabbit-skin blanket [with -no, possessive]. SP-A tiuncuhui and SP-G tiunsupui, eyelash, may contain a possessive -un identical to the W suffix; however the analysis of these forms is uncertain
cf. PU *-ny, *-yn ? (after consonant), *-n ? (after vowel); PY *-in, genitive case (Callaghan 2003: 73); Berman (1983: 402) reconstructed Proto-California Penutian possessive *-n (with vowel stems)/*-an (with consonant stems)

*-(-)n, kinterm absolutive suffix (520.); cf. *-na, reflexive
See: *le(-)n, brother-in-law; *ne(-)n, mother; *ta-n, father; *p’oq, woman, wife; 
*apa-n, grandfather; *ama-n, grandmother; *labe-n, older brother
W  -(·)n, kinterm absolutive suffix (unproductive)
P   -n, kinterm absolutive suffix (Whistler 1980: 201-203)

*-na, reflexive; also *-na·? (possibly analyzable as *-n-a, *-n-a·?) (423.34)
W   -n, reflexive (followed by indicative stem formant -a or -a·); cf. *na, trust, real, actual; ni, first person pronoun
PH, R   -na, reflexive

*na, *nah ?, mother; cf. *neh, mother, *ne·n, mother
N-W  -na(h), mother; Noema dialect nahan, mother; T-M me’-nah, mother (addressed); cf. tahan, father under *ta-(·)n
PH-U na·k’e, mama (voc.); H-B nak’u-, mother; A-U ?uwe na’, oh, mother (voc.)
PR  na·k’u, mother (voc.)
SP-A, G   na, mother
Since the form is not attested in W, the N forms could be borrowed from P or vice versa

*nal ? *wal ?, lick (277.); cf. *wal-u, flame, lightning
W   walikna·, animal to lick itself; sem walikna·, to lick one’s fingers; cf. t’elix, to lick; ʔel-t’alikta, to taste
N-BW  nal’-, nel’-, lick
PCC nal·ko, to take a taste of; K nal-, na·l-, lick
PR  nal-, lick

*nam, through to the last
W  nam-, all together, thoroughly (namal, to all get together in an action; namča, to go through a series to the end, to enumerate all)
PCC  na·me, last time

*naq, relational locative; cf. *naq, navel
W  naq, (measure, quantity) be just that far, just so full, high; naqta, filled, to fill
PH-U  ʔeteknak, side of die with the number one on it [“one-side”]
PR  pinak, from there, from that side; sunak, from here, from my side
SP-M  hen’-nok me hen’-nē, where did you come from? [demonstrative/interrogative - side you come]

*naq, navel; cf. *naq, relational locative
W  naq, navel, umbilicus; naqkenti, belly, the part between the navel and the pelvis (“navel-below”)
N-BW  nakdapi, belly button
PK  nak, navel; cf. daka, belly
PR-B  nak, nakar, navel
cf. Mk naka, navel (Callaghan 2001: 321 citing Dixon & Kroeber)
*naw, robe; cf. *haw-a-l, wrap around
W naw, robed, clothed, dressed, of leather to be tanned, therefore clinging, of buckskin, a dress (naval, to be clinging, or form-moulding, of a dress; to be tanned, of buckskin; te-rek nawal, the buckskin is tanned, i.e., it does not stand out stiffly when worn);
   cf. haw-, coil, lasso, coil rope, round, around, wrap around
PK nawakta, soft; cf. hawal, rabbit skin

*ne- (also *ni- ?), first person pronominal root (531.11)
See: *ne-pel, *ne-pele-no,*ne-pele-t, *ne-r, *ne-t
W ne-, ni-, first person pronominal root
N ne-, ni-, first person pronominal root
P ne-, na-, first person pronominal root

*neh, mother; cf. *na, *nah ?, mother; *ne-*, mother
W ne-, net (p); ne-n (g), mother; net-nen, net-ne-h, my mother
PCC nehe-, mother (voc., one's own); neh, mamma (voc., used by kids?)

*ne-*, mother; cf. *na, *nah ?, mother; *neh, mother
*ma-ne-*, your mother
W ne-n (g), mother; cf. ne-neh, mother’s sister; nen, female cross-cousin, aunt, great aunt, stepmother; nene, aunt, cousin; neneh, aunt, auntie, great aunt, stepmother, female first cousin, female cross-cousin only; nene-, reciprocal term between female first cousins
N-H mane-n, [your] mother
N-W ne-n, mother
PCC ne-nchu, my mother; mane-n, mani-n, your mother; K no-p ne-n, doe (deer mother); ne-nchu, mother (address)
PR ne-n, mother
SP-M nan’-choo, (my) mother; G nenchu, my mother
cf. Molala p(0)nän, mother (with kinterm prefix) (Berman 1996: 10)

*ne-pel, first person dual subjective
W ne-l, first person dual subjective (neutral as to aspect)
N-BW nEl, first person dual subjective; W ne-la ?
PK, R nepel, first person dual subjective

*ne-pele-no, first person dual possessive
W ne-len, first person dual possessive particular aspect
PH-U nepelomin, first person dual alienable possessive animate possessed
PR nepeleno, ours (inan. poss.)
   nepelenomin, nepelemin, first person dual alienable possessive animate possessed

*ne-pele-t, first person dual objective
W ne-lt, first person dual objective particular aspect
PK  nepelet ("preferred over nepet"), first person dual objective
PR  nepe’t, first person dual objective

*ne-r, first person singular genitive
W  ner, first person singular genitive
PCC, K, R  nay, first person singular inalienable possessive and genitive

*ne-r, alike; cf. *ney, alone; *ne-n, mother
W  ne-r, like, identical, alike, (also: imitate ?); cf. *nE, deictic
PH-B  ne-re, to imitate
PR-B  ne-r, to imitate; U nerta, mock

*nes, sturgeon
W  niswih, steelhead salmon
N-C  nēs, sturgeon
PH, R  nē’s, sturgeon
SP-M  nā-ā, sturgeon

*ne-t, first person singular inalienable possessive
W  net-, first person singular inalienable possessive
N-W  ne(t), first person singular inalienable possessive
PK  net-, first person singular inalienable possessive (as in netle-nē’u, my brother-in-law, my wife’s brother, also nayle-n)

*ney, alone ?; cf. *ne-r, alike
W-M  ne’-o-hā-dah, lonesome
PCC  ne-yi, don’t get anything at hunting, animals stay away
The analysis of Merriam’s W form is very uncertain. It may or may not contain neyo, cognate with P ne-yi.

*n(i)-, kinterm prefix resulting from metanalysis of first person possessive
W  niča(-)y, grandson, niča(-)men, niece, granddaughter (vocatives minčay, yenčay, niča-men, yenčamen)
PH  nik’an, co-spouse (Whistler 1980: 265)

*nīl-u, holler
W  niłe, to scream, shout, holler, give a warhoop
PCC  nīli/u, scare away, flush out

*no-, arrow
W  no-t, arrow(head)
N-M  nawt’, arrow
PH  nok’o, arrow
PR  nok’o, arrowhead
The P forms may be borrowed from Maidu; cf. PM *nok’, arrow (Callaghan 2001: 322)
*noɬ, to bark
W  nOl-, to bark
PH, R  noɬ-, to bark

*nom, west
*nom-el, *nom-el-ti (with locatives)
W  nom, west; nomeɬ, west uphill; nomelti, west across canyon or river
N-BW  nom, west; nomelt, a little ways west; nomtipom, Covelo
PCC  nom, west; nomeɬ, west, way over west, far off to the west; K nom, west
PR  nom, west (close by); nomel, west (farther away)
SP-M  no-mel’t-te, west

*non, *nun, pronged, joined
W  nOn, prongs, pronged, join, joint; ʔel-nonči, joint (of human body or objects); ʔel-nunalas, joint of the body; nonɬ, prongs of spear
N-B  nőnɬ, knee
PH, R  nun, bow, gun
SP-M  noon’, bow

*noɬ p, deer, venison
W  noɬ, deer, venison
N-W  noɬ, deer; BW deer, meat
PH, R  noɬ p, deer, meat

*noq-i/u, ripe
*noq-u-ma, make ripe
W  nOq- (nuqa-, noq-i/u), be ripe, ripen; noquma-, cause to ripen
PH  nokɬ/u, ripe; nokum-, cook
PR  noku-, ripen, get cooked
SP-M  nuk’-ke, cooked, ripe

*nor, south
*nor-el, *nor-el-ti (with locatives)
W  nor, south; noɬ-eɬ, noɬ-lti (< *nolɭ-lti), southward across river or canyon
N-G  noy, south
PH  wor, south (initial C changed under the influence of “north,” see *way)
PR  wor, south; worel, south
SP-M  war-rel’t-te, south; A huori, south

*nuh, boat
W  nuhdoli, raft; lit. boat-tied
PH-B  nu-, balsa, tule boat
PR  nuɬ, boat, tule raft
SP-M  noɬ’, boat (bundles of tules)
cf. Mil núɬ, boat (Callahan 2001: 322 suggest that this is “most probably a Patwin loan word”; she also compares Northern Maidun nō, boat, from Dixon & Kroeber)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*nupu-u, dive (272.)
*nupu-u-s, diver
*nupnu, iterative

W nupu-e, to dive; nupu-, imperative and nominal stem; nupustopit, diver; nupnupe, many to dive

PH, R hupu, to dive; R-U ču huphupuhtu, I’m a diver; K hupusmen, hell-diver, grebe

Irregular n/h correspondence

*nuq, smoke (273.)

W nu-q, smoke; nu-qa, to smoke (intr.)
N-S nuuq, smoke
PR mo-k-, smoke

SP-M nook’, smoke (This appears in Merriam’s comparative list only and is very difficult to read; it could be mook’. However, he would have written “mok” to represent [mo-k]. As his “oo” is clearly u, nu-k is probably correct. This still leaves the PR m unexplained.)

*nur, salmon (272.)

W nu(r), salmon
N-B nü̆t, salmon; J nu rut, salmon
PH, R hur, salmon

SP-M hoor”, salmon

Irregular n/h correspondence - cf. PCo *(h)u·raka, salmon (Callaghan 2001: 333); Alsea nu:n:s-, to eat; nu:n{s, elk (meat) (perhaps basically nu:nu:s- and reduplicated from original *nu:s-) (Golla 1997: 163); cf. PW *no·p, deer, venison

-o, suffix forming alienable possessive first and second person pronouns (531.35)

W -o, independent pronoun suffix marking alienable possession (neto, my, mine; mato, your, yours) and emphatic (niyo, I; piyo, he/she/it); cf. yo, vocative particle

N -o, first person singular alienable possessive suffix (occurs only in neto, first person, singular alienable possessive pronoun inanimate possessed, and ʔeto, third person proximal alienable possessive inanimate possessed, but originally also in *mato, second person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed, which has been metathesized to mota)

P -o, second person singular alienable possessive suffix (mato (H), matono (R), your, second person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed; matomin, your, second person singular alienable possessive animate possessed)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*p-\textipa{\textdague} ? *-\textipa{\textdague} q ? benefactive (423.35)
W -\textipa{\textdague} q, personal transitivizer (“we bought it for him,” “chase him”)
N-BW -\textipa{\textdague} k, encouraging or commanding suffix (pi leaqapk, talk to him; macet c’aawpak, sing for your grandson)
N-G si-pa, vulgar word for sexual intercourse (< *siripa, with benefactive)
PH -pa, benefactive
SP-M mem har’-pah, go get water

*pala-, crush; cf. *paq, bone
W pala-, to pound meat, fish or potatoes, to crush or mash acorns, to crush anything with stones
NT-M pah’-che, marrow; B pala\textdague t\textdague, meat
SP-M pah’\textdague-\textdague-\textdague-le, marrow

*p\textipa{\textdague} \textdague (also \textipa{\textdague} *pal ?), two; cf. *pel, dual; *pano(\textdague)\textdague, three
W pala\textdague-\textdague, two (< **pan-\textdague-\textdague-\textdague-\textdague ?); cf. pam, empty-handed; pan, move (step with two feet)
W-M pin’-nel poo’-\textdague re, double
N-G pale, two; B, S palel; J pat tem; M palem pum, twice
PCC pampata, two (< *panpata); K papata, two; panomo, Tuesday
PR pampata, two; pampasan, two months
SP-M pah-pah’-\textdague-tah, pah-pah’-\textdague-tah, two; pah-pah too we’-\textdague-tah, two men; A papasem, ten [two hands]
cf. PY *poni\textdague, two, PM *pe-ne, two (Callaghan 2001: 329)

*p\textdague\textdague (also *pal ?), two
W panu\textdague(\textdague), three (Pitkin distinguishes panul, three; panu\textdague, several, many)
N-B panoL\textdague, three, twelve, eighteen
PCC pono(\textdague)\textdague, three; K pono\textdague t\textdague,
PR ponolta, three
SP-M pono’-\textdague-tah, three; V pono’\textdague t\textdague, three; ponoLsem, fifteen (three fives)
cf. Alsea (Buckley 1988:18) p\textdague\textdague\textdague\textdague\textdague, three

*p\textipa{\textdague} ti, top; cf. *-ti, directional locative
W panti, (on) top, over, on (cf. pan-, move, -\textdague ti, directional)
N-J pen ti, on top; M pahs-pahn’-\textdague re, Red Bluff (“cliff top on”)
PH, R panti, up, on top of; also H pan-, on top of (Whistler 1977); (also tan; e.g. na no duf tanwen, top of my head; na no ke\textdague l tanwen, top of my house (possibly dissimilation p\textdague > t;\textdague, but see also p\textdague > t under *par, full; P also has a locative suffix -pa)
cf. PUA *pan, high (means “on top” in some daughter languages)

*paq, bone
*paq-\textdague-\textdague a, to be hard
*paq-a-ma (*paq-ʔa-ma ?), make hard
W paq, bone; paqa·, to be hard; paqama·, to make hard, make stiff
N-S paq, bone; cf. c’anpaqna, yellow (rust color) “like bone” ?
PCC pak, bone; pakʔa, hard; pakʔama, to tighten something up; K pak, pʰak, bone;
p’akʔa·, be hard
PR pak, bone fishhook; pakʔa, hard
SP-M pahk’, bone, bone awl used in basketry

*paq-i, dam, weir
W paqa·, to build a dam; paqi, bridge, dam; cf. puqe, to trap; M po’-kē, snare
N-C p’ā-ku, fish weir
PK paki, fish trap, a net with rocks at the side weighting it down; H-U pako·, bridge

*par, full (274.)
*paro-ma, *paru-ma ?, fill
W para·, to be full; paruma·, to fill
N-M pah-yahk’, full
PH paro·-, to be full; K paroma, fill; CC paro·ma, fill up
PR taroho, fill up; taralta, it’s full

*pat, out(side) (prefix and independent word) (422.2)
W pat, out, outside (prefix and independent word) (*pat, outer non-core; cf. pani·k-, encircle; pali, wrapped, bundled up)
N-BW pat, out, outside
PH, R pat, outside (prefix and independent word)
SP-M paht, out
cf. PMy *pa:ṭ’, with reflexes including: outside, back of the body or of an object or outer side of, underside, the outside, a side of exposed surface, back, behind, outside the house, behind the house, outside the fence, and other related meanings (Brown 1990: 29)

*pate, mountain lion
W pate (g), mountain lion
PH, R pate, mountain lion

*pa-tpat, flat tule, cattail
N-M paht’-paht-too, flat tule or cat-tail (Typha latifolia)
PCC pa·tpat, flat cattails; K flat tule, cattails
PR pa·tpat, the head (fluff part) of a cattail, also the whole plant
cf. Mil pátpat, cattail, flat tule (Callahan 2001: 325 suggests that this is probably a loan word from Hill Patwin; she also compares Ykr patak, tule, Yv poton, tule)

*payi·l, seed plant sp.
N-C pa·l, upright bush with fine pods (< *payi·l); cf. W pał-, pound, crush
PH payi·l, seed plant sp. with (yellow ?) flowers
*pel, dual (531.21); cf. *pan (also *pal ?), two
See: *nepelet; *nepel; *nepelono; *mipel; *mipelono ?, *mipelono ?; *mipelet ?, *mapelet ?, *pipel; *pupele-no; *pupelet; *ewpel; *ewpelono ?; *ewpelet

*pene(l), black oak acorn

W  penel (g), penel (p), black oak acorn(s)
N-W  pene-l 7iw, black mountain acorns
PCC  pene-l, Quercus kelloggi acorn; K mountain acorn
cf. Alsea pu:la, oak (Golla 1997: 163); Lake Miwok penéel, iron oak (Callaghan 1965: 108)

*per-i/u, swallow
*ber-e, be hungry, starve
*peru·, throat, esophagus

W  pira·, peri/u-, to swallow, be hungry, starve; peru·s, throat, esophagus, back of tongue; bira·, to be hungry, crave, starve (< *bEr, starve); berem, hunger, starving
PCC  peru·, throat; bere6óyi-, be hungry (swallow want); K peru-, swallow; peru-, throat, esophagus; bera?aro, be hungry; berečeri/u-, starve [with passive]
PR  peri/u-, swallow; bere7óyi-, be hungry
SP-M  choo ber7-rā ā-bo-te, I am hungry

*pes, doorway, entrance

W  pes, door(way), entrance; cf. *pE, without
PR  7olpes, smokehole in dancehouse
cf. Alsea pni:k, outside, outdoor, door; Siuslaw plnak, garden (Golla 1997: 163); cf. also PW *pat, out(side)

*pi-, *pu-, demonstrative and quasi-pronominal third person root (531.15); cf. *bey, *be, lie, be
W, N  pi-, pu-, third person pronominal root
P  pi-, 7u-, third person pronominal root

*pi, third person singular subjective

W  pi, third person singular subjective
N-BW  pi, third person singular subjective
PH, R  pi, third person singular subjective; cf. pi, declarative modal particle (Whistler 1986: 63); pi’t, then (ibid., 65)
SP-M  pi, he
cf. Klamath bi, 3 sg. contrastive (DeLancey 1987: 462); Molala -pin, his, her, its; Sahaptian pö-ö-, he, she, it (Berman 1996: 18)

*pil-a-, hot; cf. *pil-u, wrap; *pohpil, summer
W  pila-, person to be hot; pilama-, weather to be hot
N-BW  pElam(ha)-, hot
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PCC pela·, (hot) sunshine; K CC T pela-men, cicada (hot weather bug)
PR pila·-, hot
cf. Alsea pi:u:l, to be warm (Golla 1997: 163)

*pi-le-no, third person plural alienable possessive
W pele·n, third person alienable possessive, particular aspect
PCC pile·no, third person alienable possessive, inanimate possessed, inanimate possessor

*pil-u, wrap; cf. *pil-a·, hot
W pile·, pilu-, to wrap
PCC pili/u-, wrap around
cf. W pali, wrapped, bundled up; PMy *b'al, with reflexes including: wrapping, bundling (Mopan b’ilik), roll up, twist, wrap up, turn over (Brown 1990: 21)

*pi-pel, third person dual subjective
W pe·l, third person dual subjective, neutral as to aspect
pe·lel, third person dual subjective generic aspect
N-BW piloqEl, they two
PCC, K pipel, third person dual subjective

*pit, *pič (also *peč ?), squeeze; cf. *p’et, pound with flat surface; *p’at-a, press;
*p’it, squeeze; *p’it, mash
W pEt-, squeeze, pinch, constrict, press, poke, indent; doki piča, to choke someone; xun-piča, to squeeze; pečuma, cause to squeeze
N-S kethen petame, squeeze
PCC p’it’a·, to squeeze, to squash (one); K piti·ki/u-, squeeze
(P t could be from *č or *t)

*po·, now, new; cf. *po·m, ground; *po·-sani, today
W po·, new, now, recently; po·pom, now; po·bes, fresh
N-M paw’, now; po’-pah-il, this year; BW pobe, new
PCC pa·, pa-l, now; K pa·, young; pal, now; cf. poho·wil, summer
PR pa-be, (brand) new

*po·-san-i, today; cf. *po·, now, new; *po·m, ground; *san-i, day, daytime
W po·sani, today, now
PCC, R pa·sani, today

*pohpil ? *po·pil ?, summer; possibly from *pompil, “earth hot,” cf. *pil-a·, hot;
*pomsim, winter < *po·m, ground, earth
W po·pil, summer
N-G papil, summer
PCC, T, R poho·wil, summer; K ben p’oho·wil, big summer (July)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*pol, water container
*pul, water container
W pulu·q, container, deep container, basket, white grass basket, tumbler, pot, jug, bottle, water-containing vessel < *pOl, container, hollow, sac
p'hui·q, bowl
PCC, R polpol, lake, pond; K p'oko-la, basket, dipper, bowl
PCC me·mpul, ocean (water all around, water seen in one place)
cf. Alsea p'uʔu·ya, bucket; p'uʔu·t, full (Buckley 1988: 23); Eastern Mayan *pul, with reflexes including: container, water jug, draw water, fill a container to the top, cup for drawing water, pitcher, cup, vessel, and other related meanings; Northern Sierra Miwok pulis:a-, little basket, water-tight drinking basket; pulut:a-, dipper, bowl for dipping; Plains Miwok puluc:i-, basket, water-tight basket; Achumawi pulu:la, small mush basket or soup bowl; Tunica póluhki, bottle (all from Brown 1990: 36-37)

*po·m, ground; cf. *po·, now, new; *pomsim, winter
W po·m, ground, earth, land, world
N-B póm, ground
PH-U pam, ground; T pom, under; po(·)mla, down
PR-U po·m, down; po·mla, down, low

*pomsim, winter; cf. *pohpil ? summer
W pomsim, winter
N-M pówim-sim, winter
PH, R powsim, winter

*posolo, boil; cf. *p'ot-u, boil; *p'o·, fire
W posoloro, to boil (tr.), cook (tr.)
PR posolo, to boil

*pot, guts, intestines
W pot, intestines, guts, umbilical cord, bowels
N-BP pot, guts
PH, R pot, guts, intestines
SP-M pot‘, intestines
cf. PCC bus, belly; PMiw *púlu:k, belly, intestines; PCo *putlu, *puslu, pertaining to the belly; PU *put·ul, *pul·u:·, *puslu··, belly, intestines; cf. PCos *pi-ti-(n), *pit-i-(n), abdomen, belly, tripe (Callaghan 2001: 320)

*puč-, jump
W počkta, to hop (Pitkin 1985 suggests this may be from pOk-, stick, prick, pierce, puncture, legs to stick out, hop; pokoro, birds hopping along)
PCC puta-, to jump up and down (plural); puta·u, to jump down (sg.)
PR putta·i/u-, putaro, jump (up)
*puluq, mourning dove
W pulu·q ley, mourning dove, folk-etymology “basket throw” (cf. PW *pol, *p’ul, water container)
PK, T puluk, mourning dove; CC dove
PR pulukpuluk, mourning dove

*pum, stoop
*pumpum, many stoop, be all stooped (iterative)
W pumel, to be stooped; pomin pumpumel, many to stoop down; cf. p’um, bend, double up, hunchback, perhaps from *p’om, be unable to unbend
PK pumpu·m§ aro, all humped up, humped over

*pu·p, roe
W pu·p, salmon eggs, fish eggs, salmon roe, ovaries of salmon, a cluster of roe with skin on
PH pu·, roe
PR-B pu·, roe
Loss of final p in P is unexplained, perhaps dissimulation

*pu-pele-no, third person dual alienable possessive
W pule·n, pe·len, third person dual possessive particular aspect
pe·len, pule·len, pe·lelen, third person dual possessive generic aspect
N-BW piloqam, their (dual)
PCC ?upelno, third person dual alienable possessive inanimate possessed
PR ?upeleno, third person dual alienable possessive inanimate possessed
PH-U, T-U ?upelnomin, third person dual alienable possessive animate possessed, animate possessor
PT-U pipelnomin, third person dual alienable possessive animate possessed, inanimate possessor
PCC ?upe·lnomin, third person dual alienable possessive, animate possessed, animate possessor

*pu-pele-t, third person dual objective
W pule·tum, third person dual objective generic aspect (also pule·tum and purunis)
N-BW piloqEl, them two (objective)
PR ?upelet, ?upe(·)t, third person dual objective animate
PK pipelet, third person dual objective inanimate

*puq-, blanket
W (wenem)puqas, blanket, quilt (wenem = middle)
PR p’okor, blanket type, comforter
PT-U kupu, blanket (metathesis)

*pu-r, third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive
W pir, third person singular genitive
pur, third person singular alienable possessive
N-W puy, third person singular genitive
PCC, K, R ʔuy, third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive

*pur-i, dark
W puri-wa, be or get dark; puri-wi, darkness
N-G pu-itber, third-quarter moon, moon won’t be up until late
PH-U pʰuy ʔalta, dark outside

*pu-t, third person singular objective
W put, third person singular objective, neutral as to aspect
putam, third person singular objective particular aspect
N-W put, third person singular objective
PCC pi-t, third person singular objective inanimate; ʔut-t, third person singular objective animate
PK, R ʔut, third person singular objective animate

*pu-t-u-no, third person singular alienable possessive
W putun, third person singular inalienable possessive
N-BW putuna, his, her
PCC, K, R ʔu-no, third person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed

*puy, east
*puy-el, *puy-el-ti (with locatives)
W puy, east; puye-l, eastward uphill; puyelti, there in the east (cf. *pu, yonder, there, those; pi, third person)
N-H puytipom, east; BW puy-, east, puye, a little ways east, pEl-, east a short distance (a back formation from peltipom, way east, < *puyeltipom)
PCC puytuka, east; purnapomti-, east spirit; K puybe, puytuka, east; T-B puyel, east
PR puy, east (close by); puyel, east
SP-M poo’-yel’-te, east; A puri, east

*phaat-a, press; cf. *pit, squeeze; *phaet, pound with flat surface; *pʰit, mash
W pʰata-, to press
PH pʰatay, seed beater
cf. PMy *pat (or *pat’ ?), with reflexes including: to form or shape tortillas from dough, mold with mud or soft substance, to shape or make pots from clay, mold, knead; Sierra Miwok patwa-, to press something down (all from Brown 1990: 29-30)

*pʰekpʰek-a-y- ? hikhik-a-y- ? many stand (iterative)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

W hika·ya/i/u-, to stand; hikhikaya, many to be standing < hEk, stop, stand, stop in a standing position; cf. hik-, rake, hoe; hok-, jump; hik-, heap, mound, pile; *hE, stand (cf. hEy, stand bending; hE, demonstrative-interrogative)

N-BP hekka, 0lheka, to stand up; BW kenheka’-, stand

PH pʰečʰa·yi/u-, stand up; cf. pʰićʰi·ya, foot of cloven hoofed; H-B pići·ya, legs of animal; CC pʰetpʰečʰa·y-, to stand (plural)

PR pʰićʰa·yu, to stand up

PH pʰićʰi·ya, foot of cloven hoofed, and PK pako·, foot log (< *waqu-, *waqo· ?, log) may point to a prefix p-, meaning “foot.” If it is of PW ancestry, it may have combined with *hik-a-y-i/u, creating the two variants for “stand.”

*pʰe·l, milkweed, wild hemp

N-K peL, Indian hemp; M narrow leaf milkweed (Asclepias)
PCC pʰe·l, plant used for string; K pʰe(·)l, milkweed, twine, Indian string; KT pʰe·l, wild hemp (Whistler 1976c)

*pʰem ? *bam ? grasp in one or both hands (276.)

W bam, put, arrange, part, carry, close with hands (cf. bam, fist)
PCC pʰem·tarə, carry (held in one or both hands, grasped); H-U (peru·) pʰem·ta, choke (someone, lit. throat grasp); cf. *?emi/u-, hold in arms (under *?imit)

*pʰer-, louse

W pʰerəs, body lice

NG-M ped’-de, gray back; T-M ped-dem, larger [than yellowjacket] wasp; B perem, yellowjacket

PH pʰeri·, (head) louse

PR pʰeri, head louse (body louse); Whistler 1976c: pʰeri·, louse
cf. PM *pedes, body louse, PYnim *pʰatʰətʰ? body louse (Callaghan 2001: 327)

*pʰet, pound with flat surface; cf. *pʰit, mash (perhaps the same root); *pit, squeeze;
*pʰat-a, press; *pʰit, squeeze

W pʰet-, hammer, pound: pʰe·ta, to pound with a heavy flat surface; pʰi·ta, to hammer; pʰetaqas, flat

PR pʰete, seed paddle, seed beater

*pʰil-i, cut with sharp edge, cut long objects

W pʰi·la, pʰile, cut with scissors; pʰile·, to have a sharp edge; pʰil-i-, nominal form

PK, R pʰil-, pʰili-, cut hair
cf. Alsea plu:h, feather, hair (Golla 1997: 163)

*pʰil-i, crawling (like a snake), slithering (creature); cf. *wil-i, *pʰil-i ? smooth

W pʰi·l-, crawl, slither (snake) (< pʰil-, cut long objects); pʰi·lit, mountain whipsnake, snakes; pʰi·loq, earthworm

PCC, K pʰili·men, centipede; CC tʰo·k pilimen, snake sp.; T-U tʰo·l pilimen,
tree snake; cf. CC pʰilto·kupa, to slip (and fall)
PR koyopʰil(i), earthworm, fishworm

*pʰintus, skunkberries, sumac berries
W pʰintus, sourberry (Rhus trilobata); skunk wood, skunk bush, skunk berries
NGT-M pin’-too, sour berry, aromatic sumac (Rhus trilobata)
PK pʰintus, skunkberries, sour berries, skunkbush sumac

*pʰit, mash; cf. *pʰet, pound with flat surface (perhaps the same root); cf. also *pʰat-
a, press
W pʰitel, to be smashed
PCC pʰiti/u-, smash, mash something soft
cf. PMy *pic’, with reflexes including: squeeze, wring, milk, blow nose, to twist in
order to squeeze out, press, disembowel, tighten, press down, press something in
order to extract liquid within; Lake Miwok pʰic’a-, to squeeze, crush quickly;
Classical Nahuatl pici:nilia:, to squeeze something out for someone; Totonac p’it’á,
squeezes it, squeezes it with the finger; Choctaw pičíff, to squeeze; Tunica piša..., to
press, to squeeze (all from Brown 1990: 30)

*pʰit, feathers
W pʰit, feathers; pʰites, pites, valley quail
N-W pʰit, eagle
PH pʰit, feathers; CC also yellowhammer band
PR pʰit, yellowhammer feather or belt

*pʰo-, protrude, swell; cf. *bul, protrusion; *pʰoyq, head; *pʰo-, float
W *pʰOw, protrude, as in pʰoyq, head; pʰOw-, swell; cf. pʰOb, lump, burst,
spurt, fart; phoq, explode; pʰOyVq, protuberance (head, mountain, knee);
mí pʰolit, knobs or knots of growth on trees; pʰulit, bulges on a sick tree;
pʰolés, knobbed club
N-S phowca, swell
PCC pʰo’, ankle; phop’a, any stump, brush stump, the big burls that grow on oaks;
K pʰota-k, ankle, elbow; pʰota-k, ulna ?, the forearm bone of a human, deer,
etc.; H-B pʰomak, knee
PH, R pʰoktʰi/u, swell; CC pʰol-, well up
SP-V podo’k, knee

*pʰo-, float; cf. *pʰo-, protrude
W pʰo(-)q-, pʰos-, float
N-S pʰopy̯pʰoya, float
PR pʰowti/u, float

*pʰo’, fire; cf. *pʰot-u, boil; *pʰu(-)l, blow
W pʰo-h, fire
N-S pʰoh, fire
PH, R pʰo’, fire
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

SP-M  paw’, pō, pōh’, fire
cf. Proto-Algonkian *po·tawe·wa, fire; *po·tawe·, make a fire (Hewson 1993: 166)

*p'o\textsubscript{on}, dew
W  p'o\textsubscript{ono-ra}, to drizzle, to be misty; p'una\textsubscript{a}, to be dewy, to be dew
N-G  pon, dew
PT  po(\textsubscript{\textdagger}), dew

*p'oq, clap; cf. *p'oaq, *p'oq, pop
W  p'oqp'o-q\textsubscript{T}, clap
N-BW  pokca\textsubscript{a}, shoot
PCC  p'o\textsubscript{T}ka\textsubscript{a}, to clap (pl., more than once), make a clapping noise; p'o\textsubscript{T}k\textsubscript{T}i/u, to clap (sg.), clap hands together once

cf. Molala p'ak\textsubscript{T}, “bang” (Howard Berman, personal communication, 2003); PMy *poq', with reflexes including: burst open, thunder, burst, raise blisters, explode, sound of a bean pod or of a pod of the plant poq' upon breaking open; Northern Sierra Miwok pokt\textsubscript{u}, to burst, explode, to blast open; Yuki pok', pop, explode; Choctaw bokafa, to break open, to crack, to burst, to open, to explode, and other similar onomatopoetic forms (Brown 1990: 41)

*p'o\textsubscript{or}, wreck (275.)
W  yel-horuma\textsubscript{a}, to break, destroy; yel-hura, to outgrow, be spoiled, broken, be the remains, be left over; po\textsubscript{\textdagger} yelhura, to be an earthquake, earth to be destroyed; < hOr, be left, remain
PR  p'or\textsubscript{\textdagger}, break (off)

*p'o\textsubscript{ot-u}, boil; cf. *p'o\textsubscript{-}, fire; *posolo, boil
*p'o\textsubscript{ot-u-ma}, boil (tr.)
W  p'ot\textsubscript{T}-, p'uta\textsubscript{T}, boil, steam (intr.); p'otuma\textsubscript{T}, to boil (tr.), cause to boil
PH, R  poti/u\textsubscript{T}, boil; potumaro, boiling (tr.)

*p'oyoq, head; cf. *p'o\textsubscript{-}, protrude, swell
W  p'o\textsubscript{oyoq}, head
N-W  p'\textsubscript{\textdagger}oq, head
P  p'akulul, p'akokol, head (the first from Swadesh's Wintunian word lists, the second written in by Whistler; dialect ?)
SP-V  bu\textsubscript{\textk}, head
SP-M  bük, head

*p'uk, *buk, ashes, dust
W  bukul, dust, soil, dirty; dočibukul, ashes (fire making dust); p'uke\textsubscript{\textdagger}, snow to be powdery or like dust; p'uq, ashes after they’re dumped (cf. p'\textsubscript{\textdagger}Oq, explode, erupt ?); p'u\textsubscript{\textk}ul, dust (Swadesh 200-word diagnostic list from Wintunian word lists with notes by Whistler); M poo’-tus, Indian summer, smoky haze; cf. W-P baq, dusty, misty, smoky, thick of atmosphere
N-S  p'u\textsubscript{\textdagger}, ashes, dust
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PK p’ut, dust, ashes
PT p’ut, p’uč, ashes, dust
PR p’ut, ashes, dust (fine dust only, e.g., when blowing); buti7aro, dusty

Widespread areal term; e.g. Klamath boqboq’-, become dusty, dusty-white; Nez Perce puxpux, dust; Sahaptin papxw, dusty, gray, faded; Molala puqp, dust; Wasco -spux, dust (Berman 1996: 20); Mil pó·tel, white ashes from a forest fire, Mm p’idüsi, ashes (Callaghan 2001: 323)

*p’ul, see *pol

*p’u(·)-l-u, blow (of person, not the wind); cf. *p’h(·)r-u, breathe; *p’o-, fire
*p’u(·)-l-č, blow on, blow at

W p’u·la, p’ule, p’ułu, to blow; p’u(·)ča, to blow out, blow away; cf. p’u·la, to spray

N-PS phu·la, to blow; BW puLcu’-, blow

PCC p’u-hu-/, to whistle, blow into (plural); p’hultu-, blow out, exhale, blow away, blow on

PR p’ulu, blow on, winnow; U p’u- ltï/i/u, blow for a long time

Widespread areal imitative term connecting ‘fire’ and ‘blow’; cf. e.g. Proto-Algonkian *po-ta-čike, he blows (Hewson 1993: 166) and Proto-Algonkian forms listed above under PW *p’h-, fire

*p’h(·)-r-u, breathe; cf. *p’h(·)-l, blow

*ʔol-p’hur-u, breathe
*p’hur-u, heart

W p’h(·)r-, p’h(·)ru-, breathe; ʔol-p’hure, ʔol-p’huru-, to breathe; p’hurus, heart

N-S phuyana, breathe; BW ʔolpuyn’a’, breathe

PCC p’huru-, to rest; p’huru(ma), heart; K ʔolp’huru, to breathe; p’hui, heart

PR p’hui-, rest; ʔolp’huru-, breathe

SP-M poo’-roo, heart

p’

*p’ač-a, spark

W p’ača, send out sparks, splash; cf. p’ay, set fire to

PCC p’ata-, spark; K p’ača-, (one) spark

PR p’atah, to pop, spark

*p’a...l..m-, *p’a...m..l-, bobcat, wildcat

W p’ilimet, civet cat, bobcat; p’alimet, wildcat, lynx, bobcat

PK p’amalay, wildcat, bobcat

PR p’amalay, wildcat, mountain lion

*p’aq, pound

W p’ača, to crack acorns (with a stone)

PCC p’ači/u-, to nail; K pound, hammer
## Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

### PR p’ahta, cracking (acorn) (by hitting on top)
### SP-M choo-oot po-ko’-so-te, I struck him

* *’at, viscous

W p’ata’, to be thick (of doughy things)

PCC p’at’i/u-, viscous, thick

* *’e-, inclusive person pronominal root (531.12); cf. *p’ur-i, reciprocal


W, N, P p’e-, inclusive person pronominal root

* *’e·l ? *p’i·l ? go out, pour out slowly; cf. *bil, burn bare

W p’i:la, to pour out slowly, to spill liquid

PCC p’o·p’e·les, fire going out, glowing (not quite out); T-U p’ilp’ilo, water flowing but almost dry

* *’e-le, first person inclusive plural subjective

W p’e-le, first person inclusive plural subjective, neutral as to aspect

N-W p’e-le’, first person inclusive plural subjective

PK p’e-le, first person inclusive plural subjective

* *’e-le-no, first person inclusive plural alienable possessive

W p’e-le-no, first person inclusive plural alienable possessive, particular aspect

PK p’e-le-no, first person inclusive plural alienable possessive, inanimate possessed

* *’e-le-t, first person inclusive plural objective

W p’e-le-t, first person inclusive plural subjective particular aspect

PK p’elet, first person inclusive plural objective

PR p’e-le-t, first person inclusive plural objective

* *’e-pel, first person inclusive dual subjective

W p’e-l, first person inclusive dual subjective, neutral as to aspect

N-W p’e-l, first person inclusive dual subjective

PK, R p’e-pel, first person inclusive dual subjective

* *’e-pele-no, first person inclusive dual alienable possessive

W p’e-pele-no, first person inclusive dual alienable possessive particular aspect

PL-U p’e-pelno, first person inclusive dual alienable possessive inanimate possessed

p’e-pelnomin, first person inclusive dual alienable possessive animate possessed

PR p’e-peleno, first person inclusive dual alienable possessive inanimate possessed
*p’e·pele-t, first person inclusive dual objective
W p’e·let, first person inclusive dual subjective particular
PK p’epelet, first person inclusive dual objective
PR p’epe·t, first person inclusive dual objective

*p’il-e, choose
W p’ile·, to choose, pick, select (the favorite)
PCC p’i-l·, pick out; K p’i-le·, pick out

*p’ir-c-u, to skin
W p’irc-a, to skin an animal
PT-U p’irtu?, skin animal (imp.)
PCC p’ilh-t-u, to skin, peel; K p’ilh-turo, to skin
PR-B perto, to skin

*p’it, squeeze; cf. *pit, squeeze; *p’et, pound with flat surface; *p’at-a, press; *p’it, mash
W p’ite, to feel fruit to see if ripe, i.e., to squeeze; p’ita·, to squeeze (as through narrow confined space); cf. p’it·, thick, sound of splashing of thick liquids
PH-L p’it'i-ko, fist

*p’od, physical injury
W p’ode·la, to (get) hurt, get injured physically, bodily; ruptured; perhaps < *p’Od, move back and forth, splash, vibrate, nod, spasm, quiver
PR p’odi, to pluck off (feathers off a bird, things off a tree)

*p’olo-q, tie a knot
W p’olo·qa, to tie a knot, to tie on a bow
N-K polo’ka, knot; BW ?Elpoloknat-, tie
PCC p’olo·ki/u-, to knot on tightly; tie on tightly

*p’oloy, potato sp.
W p’oloy, Indian potatoes; ‘cat ears’ (a wild edible plant)
NGT-M pos’-loi, Brodiaea grandiflora (Indian potato)
PK p’osoy, brodiaea sp. (Whistler 1976e)

*p’oq? *p’oq? pop; cf. *p’oq, clap
W p’uqa·, p’oqa·, to erupt, blast, pop
PCC p’oka·, to pop, crackle

*p’oq, woman, wife; cf. *p’ot, old woman; *p’oqi-ta, woman; *p’ukuy, *p’uquy, young girl
W p’uqat (p), p’uqan (g), wife; p’uqaq’es, women; p’uqana, man to marry
N-S -p’oqan, wife
loss of p in P reflexes of *p’ukuy, *p’uquy, young girl, and loss of
initial p in two SP forms: SP-M o-ke’-tah, woman < *p’oqita, and
ʔur, wild onion < *p’u(ʔ)r.

PCC  p’oksenɛh, sister-in-law, brother’s wife; p’okuytu, mouse sp.; H-B pokoytu,
shrew; T p’ukuytu, shrew
PR  p’oksen, sister-in-law (husband’s sister, wife’s sister)
PCC, K, T, R  p’o-k, beaver
cf. PMiw *pók-is, woman, old woman (Callahan 2001: 331 suspects that this Proto
Western Miwok form is a deep loan word from some Patwin dialect that underwent
palatalization)

* p’oqi-ta, woman; cf. *p’oq, woman, wife; *p’ot, old woman
W  p’o-qa, woman, female
PCC, K, R  p’okita, woman
SP-M  o-ke’-tah, woman; cf. o-kis’, little girl (4-12)

* p’oqʰom, *p’o(ʔ)qʰom, poison oak
W  p’otxom, poison oak; cf. p’uka-s, poison
PH, R  p’okʰom, poison oak
SP-M  po-cho’-kum, poison oak
cf. Klamath č’imtsam, poison oak (Barker 1963:87); Atsugewi póxóm, poison
hemlock (Olmsted 1964:10)

* p’ot, old woman; cf. *p’oq, woman, wife; *p’oqi-ta, woman
W  p’utə, to be or grow old, of women; p’utah, grandmother, father’s sister
N-W  p’ota-s, old woman
SP-M  ‘pot, ‘paht, ‘pawt, old woman

* p’ukuy, *p’uquy, young girl (265.); cf. *p’ot, old woman; *p’oq, woman, wife;
*p’oqi-ta, woman
W  p’ukuy, p’uquy, niece; p’ukusta, step-daughter, young girl
N-W  č’u-n, older sister (borrowed from Hill Patwin); N-H net č’u-n, my (older or
younger) sister
PH ʔuču-, ʔuču-n, older sister; PCC nay ʔuču-n, my older sister; K na-min
ʔučʰu-n, ʔučʰu’u-n, my older sister; but: p’ukuytu, shrew, with preserved *p’
PR ʔuʔu-n, older sister

Whistler 1980: 110-111: “Hill Patwin shows the expected reflex of the Proto-Wintun
eymon..... River Patwin, however, shows a second consonantal fronting: č>tʰ... The
reasons for this second, irregular fronting are obscure; conceivably it could be
influenced by the regular, synchronic morphophonemic alternation between /č/ and
/t/ in Patwin verbs, although the conditioning factors are not really appropriate for
the kinterms.” Ibid., p. 275: “***p’oq (woman) + **kuy (small) > *p’uquy/*p’ukuy.
“The recording of both q and k as the medial consonant in Wintu suggests that the
medial consonant cluster simplification was never firmly resolved one way or the
other, resulting in a lexical doublet.”
cf. PYgen *na-ʔat’, older sister
*p’u(·)r, *p’u(·)l, wild onion

W  p’u·l, p’u·r, wild onion (p’u·l < *p’u·r + -h, particular aspect or < *p’u·l + -h ?)
PCC  p’ur, wild onions

K  pulway, a bulb that grows around Cooks Springs, like an onion though not as strong; pu·rway, edible bulb, like an onion; K, T busway, wild onion; H-U pu·rway, wild onion

SP  ?ur, wild onion (Whistler 1976e)

*p’ur-i, nipple; cf. *p’ur-i, reciprocal
*p’ur-u, seep out

W  ?i·mit p’uri, nipple; p’ure, to suckle; p’uruna·, milk to come out of the nipple; p’ura, to milk a cow

PCC  p’uri, a seep, a small spring; p’uri/u-, spring water to come out of the ground, to seep out; K p’oy, nipple

PR-U  boy, nipple

*p’ur-i, reciprocal (423.36); cf. *p’ur-i, nipple; *p’e-, inclusive person pronominal root

W  -p’ur, reciprocal; -p’ure, indicative form; -p’uri, nominal form

N-C  dūr’-yu-pu-di, gift dance [give-reciprocal-nominal]

PH, R  -p’ir, reciprocal

SP-V  ciripi’si’, copulate

SP-M  ch’leb-bah’-per-re, war [fighting each other]
cf. Karok pura·n, each other

q

*qa-, green heron?

W  qa·tqat, duck, mudhen, coot

NG-M  mem’-kawt, coot (fulica), green heron (Ardea virescens)

PK  kalawk’awk’aw, green heron; PT k’awk’aw; TT k’awk’aw ? (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

PR  k’awk’awk’e·u ?, green heron (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

*qa, referential; cf. *he, *hi, demonstrative-interrogative; *-k, completive

W  qat, referential (as for, perhaps, rather); qa, qah, or, and/or, uninflected particle, sentence connective

PT, CC  ka, irrealis modal particle, a clitic (sometimes merely seems to indicate indefinite reference for a subject nominal (Whistler 1986: 63)

PR  kana, but

*qačit, hawk or falcon sp.

W  qačit, goshawk; cf. k’atit, hawk, chicken hawk (? < k’ač, crunch); k’ačet, bald eagle

N-M  kah’-chit, red-tailed hawk (Buteo borealis)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PCC kat'i-t, kati-t, bullethawk, peregrine falcon; K k'at'i-t, bullethawk, peregrine falcon; K,T, R kati-t, prairie falcon (Whistler 1976c); cf. CC kač'artu, sharp-shinned hawk (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

PR kati-t, hawk sp. smaller than red-tail

SP-M kah-teet', duck hawk

*qalaw, alder; cf. *k'al-, intense visual perception

W qalaw, alder

NGT-M kal-low'-me, tree alder (Alnus oregana)

PCC, T kalaw, white alder
cf. Alsea qlx

W widesca-(ʔ)-t', alder (Golla 1997: 164)

*qaq, indistinct color ?; cf. *q'a-q, mental clouding; *qoaq, bark

*qaq, raven, crow

W qaqalas, faded brownish color, dirty-looking color; qa-qi, grayish; qa-qat, raven; qaqal yemer, Milky Way (also q'qal yemer, “oblivion road,” from *q'a-q, mental clouding)

N-C k·ak, raven; GT-M kahk', raven (Corvus corax); BW qak, crow

PK kakt'uro, light brown; kakt'i č'alal, “pale flower,” Gilia capitata; CC ka-k, ko-k, raven, big black bird; T ka-k, raven

PR ka(·)k, crow

SP ka-k, raven (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

Widespread imitative word for crow/raven

*qar-čʰ-, rake (toward self ? , with mediopassive); cf. *k'ar-a, scrape

W se-qar, to stir cooking; cf. se-k'ač'ča, to stir, grind; qEr-, pull

PH-U karti, to rake; cf. CC k'a-do, to rake up

*qer-e', belch

W qerča, qere-ta, queroča, to belch; cf. qira', to moan; querumena', suffer

PK kere-', belch

*qeti, *q'eti ? wormwood

W qeti, wormwood; Pitkin also lists xeti for McCloud dialect; cf. xit, chaparral; xetin, camas

NG-M ki'-te, kã'-te, sage herb; K kêtit, wormwood; NT-M 'ki'-et-te, sage herb (Artemisia ludoviciana)

PH, R k'et'i, mugwort wormwood (Artemisia vulgaris)

*qewel, house; cf. *xerel, people of, village

W qewel, house, home, nest; cf. kum, be without holes, be a good shelter, provide shade

N-PS k-č, house; BW qel, house (cf. hiwa, home); G kewel, place; kêwêl, village;

T-M kâ'č-el, house (appears to be intermediate form in loss of w)

PCC kewe, house; K kewel

PR keweʔ, house
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

SP-M kē’-wel’, house
cf. Alsea qil:xw-, to hide, cover; qlwxwi:-slo:, hidden place, secluded spot (Golla 1997:164); PUA *kami-l (Nichols 1981: 26). PW *qewel and *xerel may be reborrowings of the same UA form or from two UA languages.

*qir, pull; cf. *her-u, motion back and forth; *q’er, scrape; *kip, pull or throw up
*qirqir, pull (iterative), drag
W qE-r-, qire, to pull, drag, draw; qirqire, to pull repeatedly, many to pull
N-S qii, pull
PCC ʔolkir, to pick up with the hand (cf. -kir, to move with hand by pulling);
    K ʔolkir-, ʔolkir-
PR-B ʔolkir, ʔolketa, to pick up
PCC -kir, to move with hand (by pulling) (a bound form, requires a prefix);
    kirkiri, to drag
PK ʔolkirisok, thing you pick up (fork); k’irkita, dragging
PR kirkir, to drag

*qoh, prone, inclined
W quhal, to fall prone; cf. kuk-, knock-kneed, bowlegged; qOh-, tan a bear hide, i.e., stretched out on a frame; koho-ra hara:, to walk noisily
PH-U ko·ho, cripple, limp; HT-B lame; A-U koh-, cripple

*qol, throw water on fire (making steam)
W ʔol-qolča, ʔol-qolčupaq, to throw water on the fire; ken-qula, to pour water
PK, T kula-, little sweathouse
PR-B kola, sweathouse; U k’ula -, sweathouse for ladies

*qol, mouth; cf. *holoq, hole; *k’olom, cup-type basket; *kalay, gap
W qo()-l, mouth
N-PS qo-l, mouth
PH, R ko-l, mouth; cf. K ko-lma, sing; R-B kolto, song leader
SP-A kol, mouth

*qol, hide, buckskin
W qu-lah, qu-leh, qu-lit, qu-let, elkhide; qu-lit, qu-let, elk; qu-le, elkhide robe, elkhide armor, dressed elkhide, elkhide clothes; cf. qOh, tan bearhide; qOl, shed; qu-l, lie down undressed; k’ula, to strip off maple bark; ĉ’ahay k’ulaw, maple bark apron; se-korča, to put buckskin across the opening of a door or window < kOr, net, veil, cataract
N-C kú-lēt, elk; kú-le, tunic armor; ká-lat, deerskin robe
NT-M ko-lah’t, buckskin (tanned)
PK k’olay, hide (snake, lizard); H-B k’o·lay, buckskin; T-U k’olay, skin, hide of human or animal
PT k’olay, hide, skin, buckskin
PR-B k’o·lay, buckskin
cf. Proto-Pomo *qá·lab?, *qalá·b?, maple (McLendon 1973: 81)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*qo·ltep, poorwill; cf. *qo(-)l, mouth, *tep-i/u, emerge, sprout, cross (meet)
W qo·ltep, poorwill
NG-M hól·dep, poorwill (Phalaenoptilus); T-M hahl’-dép
PK ko·l-te·pat, poorwill (mouth wide open)

*qom ? *q’om ?, big one(s) (particularly animates), “big old”
W qomos, big things, older relatives; ancestors, big, a lot, “big old”
N-B komosa, large; C ko-mó=mém, ocean (big water)
PH k’om, big; K k’ombanomin lolol, “old-people’s flute”
PR k’om, big, used for things that grow, animals, fruits, also beads

*qop, bathe; cf. *q’at, *q’ot ?, wet; *qum, dip
W qOp, bathe, wade, swim, dive, wash
N-S qopaa, swim
PCC kowi/u-, bathe, swim (not moving through water) (*p>w ?)
PR koyi/u-, bathe, take a bath

*qoq, bark; cf. *qaq, indistinct color ?, *q’apla, outer bark
*qoq-č, skin
W qo-q, bark; qoqi, skin, fur, hide; cf. xan-xuqa, to split off bark; qOq, peel
N-C kóh-chi, deerskin
PH kokélu, skinny, thin (of person)
PR koki, bark (of tree)

*qoq- ? skull
N-M tooo-noo’-ko-ko, skull (analysis uncertain)
PH-B, R-B p’akakay, skull; R-U pakukul; cf. *paq, bone

*qor-i/u, grind; cf. *k’ar-a, scrape; *k’or, scratch; *k’ur-a·, tear
*qor-i, meal (pinole type)
W qura·, qori/u-, to grind; nep qori, meal of pounded grasshoppers; cf. q’Ot-, hit
N-B koi, pinole, meal
PCC kori/u-, grind; kori, pinole; cf. kuri’u, to break up; kurči, something frail (if you hold it, it breaks, like an eggshell); K kori’u-, pound (pinole); kori (also k’ori ?), pinole; cf. k’ori’u-, smash up, mash up
PR kori/u, grind seeds, pound up; cf. k’ort’i/u-, scrape, clean scales off fish

*quč-u, tickle
W qučula, quču-qa, qučuquéča, to tickle
PK č‘uku-, tickle; PH-U čuki (metathesis with regular sound change *q > k, but no fronting *č > t)

*qul, flame ?; cf. *holol, sunshine; *č’ot-, flow
W qul, waves < qOl, throw, spill, pour liquid, esp. water; č’ul, flame; cf. č’ul, pour, spill (cf. “sunlight spills”)
PR kulta, to flame (up), kulu, a flame
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*qum, dip; cf. *qop, bathe; *dum, dip
W qum-, to soak dried absorbant things, crush something dry before soaking
PT-U ku·mul, to dip oneself up and down in water

q

*qʰal, away, other, different; cf. *qʰan, away
W xal-, other, apart, separate, away from, other, different, strange
PK kʰal-, away, different
yu·ta pi kʰalo-hara·bus, the rain all went away
PR kʰalt oy, visitors, strangers, people coming from somewhere else
cf. Alsea qahal-, different, other; qla:hk-, to run away, escape (Golla 1997: 164);
PMy *xal/xel, with reflexes including: different, contrary, varied, opposite, differ, vary, divide, change, diverse, other, of another kind, foreign, distinct (Brown 1990: 25)

*qʰal-tu ? spirit
(The N and P forms below are shared areally, which most likely makes this a borrowing between N and P. However, PW *qʰal, away, other, different + *-tu(-), person, people, is a plausible derivation, so perhaps the term is of PW ancestry in P (with double fronting) and was then borrowed into N. W ya·paytu-, spirit, may have replaced an earlier *xal-tu(-). An alternative connection may be with *sa-l, pale)
N-W saltu, war dance man; G waisaltu, north spirits; T-M säl-too, wild oats (Avena sativa) (spirit)
PH saltu(ma), spirit (esp. any of the spirits impersonated in the dances)
PR saltu, spirit (any) of the dances (e.g., big head), ghosts, any spirit
SP-M sol′-too-in, people (white)
cf. Alsea slu:hk′-, to dream; su:lhak′-i:yu:, dream spirit, guardian spirit, supernatural power (Golla 1997: 165); Yana (all dialects) saldu, white man, perhaps < Spanish soldado (Sapir and Swadesh 1960: 149)

*qʰala, plant sp.
W xalah, root of snakehead, wild potato, edible, wild onion; xalat, wild greens along streams; cf. xula, water lily; halat, wild grapevine
NG-M hahl-lahp, root
PK, CC, T k′ala, mule fat
cf. P forms in hol- listed under *dum

*qʰam, sack
W xam (also xami ?), net sack, carrying band
PK kʰam, sack; HT-B quiver

*qʰan, away ?; cf. *qʰal, away
W xan, away, off, out
PR kʰay·eye, to throw away
Irregular n/y correspondence; perhaps not valid
*qʰap, wild grapes
N-C kap, grapes; GT-M ‘kahp’-loi, wild grapevine
PH, R kʰap, wild grape

Unless N-C’s k and M’s ‘k represent [qʰ], this may be a case of borrowing between N and P.

*qʰapla, outer bark (as used for building); cf. *k’ab, crack open; *qoq, bark

W xapla, thick bark that comes out in slabs (cedar ?); cf. xOp, stripe; xOq, pull off bark slabs; xapla qewel, slabs of bark house, e.g., pine wood or any fir

PCC kʰapala, bark; K kʰapa·la, bark of any tree (easy to take off in spring when the sap is running), outer bark of any tree; cf. A-U čapo, bark house, tule house

cf. Achumawi (Olmsted 1966:13) aphplaʔ, bark (of trees in general and of ponderosa pine); Klamath (Barker 1963) p. 482: stabl’sʔm, inner bark; p. 392: stabl’, to gather inner bark; stabl’a, gathers inner bark; stabalča, goes to gather inner bark; Proto-Pomo (McLendon 1973: 66) *qʰahwal’, bark (of tree); Maidu (Shipley 1963: 213) kapú, kupúmi, bark in thin sheets; Nisenan (Uldall & Shipley 1966:249) kapum, bark

*qʰas-i-lʔa, have impaired vision; *-i-l- is probably *-wil, *-i(·)l, animate comitative; cf. *qʰos, fog, steam; *q’a·q, mental clouding; *xah, *xir, dizzy

W (po-m) xasi-la, to get dusk; xasal, to be dimly visible in the distance; xasal, faded, pale (of color)

PCC kʰasi-lʔa, be cross-eyed

cf. Achumawi (Olmsted 1966:58) xaš, dark, dim; Klamath (Barker 1963:325) qyos, be barely audible (> qyosa : /qyosa/ is barely audible, as a voice coming very faintly from the distance; Northern Yana xal..lu-, Yahi xamlu-, pitch dark (Sapir & Swadesh 1960:179)

*qʰat, *qʰot ?, wet; cf. *qop, bathe; *het, sudden escape of water

W xat-, throw mud or pitch; xatuma, to snow wet snow; ʔel-q’atal, person to get wet; ser-q’ačaya, to splash in all directions

N-S qhultala, wet; T-M hat’-tah-lah, wet

PR kʰot’u, wash something

Perhaps *qʰot with assimilation in W to: ʔat-, wet, damp, moist, soak, drench; sat-, wet; hat-, escape of water

*qʰaw-a, choke on

W xawal, to choke (not choke to death) on a bone, something to be stuck in one’s throat; also xawal, to get a fish bone lodged in throat

PH, R kʰawaya-, to choke (on); cf. H-U kʰawt’i, cough up

*qʰawa ? *q’awa ? paddle

W xawas, fan-shaped seed beater; xawa; to beat seeds into container, to thrash fruit or nuts off a tree; xawi, seed beater

NT-M ah’-wah, seed paddle

PH-B č’ewayho, soup-paddle
**Cognate Sets and Reconstructions**

PR-B  
ɛ’ewak, soup-paddle  
cf. Jacaltec xantojox, to break harshly (Brown 1990: 60)

*qʰaydani, autumn  
W  
χaydani, autumn  
N-H  
kʰayda, xayda (?), autumn  
PH-B  
kʰaydani, autumn  
PR  
kʰada-ni, fall

*qʰed-, *qʰič-a/i/u, cut; cf. *qʰer, scrape; *kʰi, separate into strands or slices  
W  
χiča, xita, xite, xici/u/-, to cut; xe-τa, to slice, carve; xide, to cut off limbs  
PK  
kʰeda-ro, slice once; kʰedi, a slice; kʰeduro, slice into many pieces  
PCC  
kʰača-, to cut one thing; kʰači/i/-u/, to cut (up, into pieces)  
PR  
kʰačo-ho, kʰačaho, to cut  
cf. Klamath (Barker 1963) qdʰ, cut (pp. 316-17); qat’, clear forest, cut down brush (p. 313); qo, coccyx, base of spine (p. 323; cf. W xidi, buttocks); q’e’, poud, chip, scribble, scratch, sharpen (p. 329); gatt’, break, cut in 2, chop down (p. 137); Achumawi -anakat-, to cut (with ax), to chop wood (Berman 2001: 347; Berman lists many other similar terms throughout the area); cf. PMy *q’et, with reflexes including: break the back, break with hand, tear off branches, break limb; Mixe ket, to break (for example a metate), Sierra Popoloca kit, break; Zoque, kihtu, it is broken; Nahuatl (Tetelcingo) kitlackotuna, he bursts it, he breaks it; Atakapa kec, to break; Natchez kecup, broken; Wappo kétekhiʔ, broke itself in two (all from Brown 1990: 19)

*qʰep, beard, whiskers (particularly of fish)  
W  
χep, fish head (any species which is edible); xepes, head of suckerfish or sturgeon (which have whiskers); salmon head, the middle jelly-like part, the celluloid-cartilaginous top part or front center of a salmon skull, or fish head, a food delicacy; xipa-, to have the fish head feast  
PH-U  
kʰepum, septum  
And the following with double fronting:

PK  
sesep, whiskers, beard, tree moss, stream moss; sepsep-tʰi-r, catfish, carp (whisker fish); T sepsep-tʰi-r, catfish, carp (whisker fish) (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)  
PR  
sesep, se-psep (?) beard, mustache, whiskers; B sepseptu, catfish

*qʰer, scrape, shave, carve; cf. *kʰar-a, scrape; *qʰed-, *qʰič-a/i/u, cut; *kʰur-a; tear;  
*kʰor, scratch; *qʰir, pull  
W  
xe(-)r, flour; xire-, to shave, carve; cf. k’Or, shave, whittle, scrape, plane; q’Ed-, break  
NT-M  
nó’p-chá’-ke’-ká’-te, skin scraper or dressing knife  
PH, R  
kʰer-, to scrape off, shave; cf. T k’era-, to cut down a tree; kʰel-, to whittle;  
K kʰeda-, to slice, carve
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

cf. Klamath (Barker 1963: 313) qat’, clear forest, cut down brush; ibid. p. 318: qet’, clean off, scrape off, trample down > sqet’a:/sqet’a’/ scrape with a sharp instrument; Alsea tqi:sa, flour (Golla 1997: 166)

*q’es, perforate
W xise:, squirrel to chew/chop off outside of green burr to make it edible; cf. xusi, pine nuts
PK k’esa:, to make a hole; T k’es’a:, k’esu (pl.), to perforate
cf. Achumawi (Olmsted 1966:16) -anaq¯e·s, q¯i ·s, to break (inanimate agency)

*q’et-a, throw solids; cf. *k’ete·t, one
W xEt-, throw; xita, to throw solids
PR ketaketa, scattered around

*q’ili, minnow; cf. *sil, slip; *sili, gall
W xili, minnows
PCC se·lis(men), snail; K, T se·lis(men), snail

*q’o·, striped skunk cf. *xos-a, air, blow
W xo-h, skunk
N-BW qoh, skunk
PCC, K, T k’o·, striped skunk
SP-M kow”, kah’w, big skunk

*q’olo, hard dome shape; cf. *k’olom, cup-type basket; *xok, basket type; *qo(·)la, hide, buckskin; *kol-i, something joined, added on to perimeter
W xolom dipper; cf. xOm, concave; k’olos, hooves, claw
PCC k’olow, hard back (as the shell of a turtle); T k’ola, abalone (shell, the whole thing)

*q’olo, sunflower sp.; cf. *k’ala(·)l, flowers
W xolem, a little sunflower sp. which doesn’t stand up high but is spread out (the seeds are pounded to make flour for bread, or browned to eat with acorn soup); ē’araw xolom, sunflower; me-m xolom, waterlily; cf. kolom(sek), wild sunflower; xolom, umbrella leaves; so·tos xola, Indian rhubarb leaves; xula, waterlily, xulut, wild parsley; halat, wild grapevine
N-G kōlōm (khowi), sunflower; M kol-lum, kah-lahl, wyethia; C kā-lā-kāi, sunflower seed
PCC, K, TT k’olot, sunflower (Wyethia augustifolia ?) (yellow); cf. C, T, CC kulukulu, flower sp. (a lily ?); ē’olōyōlōy, waterlily; ē’owlulu, waterlily; K kulu·kulu(č’alal), Johnny-jump-up (lily sp.)

*q’on, dry; cf. *k’on, clench, stiff
*q’ono-s (adjective), dry, dried
*q’o·n-ma (causative) (tr.)
W xOn-, (to) dry; xonos, dry, poor; xonma·, to dry (tr.)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

N-M kon-no nawp, dried meat; BW xananop, jerky
PCC k'ono-, dry, dried out; k'onos, is dried up; k'onna-, dry (tr.); K k'ono-, dry; k'onna-, dry (tr.)
PR k'onta, dry; k'onohtu, a dried up (person), wizened one
SP-M kon’-no’, kôn’, dry

*q'op, stripe; cf. *k'op, chop; *q’op-a, break with fingers; *q'op-u, cut off, slice
*q'o’p, striped, many stripes
*q'op-č-, tr. (with mediopassive)
W xOp-, stripe, wiggle; xopća, to make one stripe; xo-p, to make many stripes; xupa, to make stripes, to stripe; DL xopo-ra hara-, (the salmon) are striping along, i.e., the salmon are running upriver; xoportikuya, fish to want to jump back into the water
PK sutuma k'obnanta-, ring-tailed; k'ô-bnanta, striped; H-U k'opt'unanta, escape

*q'op-u, cut off, slice; cf. *q’op, stripe; *q'apl, outer bark; cf. *k’op, chop; *q’op-a, break with fingers
W xup, cut, slice; xupus, that which is cut off, sliced, a chunk
PCC k'oba-, to cut off, cut one; k'obi/u-, cut up into pieces; T-U kop’či, small block of wood

*q'or, larynx, growl; *qor-i/u, grind; *k’ar-a, scrape; *k’or, scratch; *q'er, scrape
W xoro’ta, to snore, to growl (make laryngeal sounds)
N-BW q’Ota’, q’Ota-, snore
PR k’ora, larynx
PCC, C k’ara’mananas, cleared her throat
PK k’umurharo, growl (perhaps merged with *kim-u·r, rumble, roar)

*q'os-u, seek luck; cf. *q'os, fog, steam
*q'os-i (nominal form)
W xos, charm, seek power; xosi, charm; se-xosuna-, to seek good luck; xosuna-, to make up after spanking; to seek power, to want sympathy, to claim as a friend or relative
PCC k’osup’iri, guessing game; K k'osu-, play handgame, gamble; k’osi, handgame, grass game, gambling song
PR k'osi/u, to gamble; k’osi, handgame

*q'os, fog, steam; *q'os-i (nominal form); cf. *xos-a, air, blow; *q'os-u, seek luck
W xos, fog, steam, gas; xosiha, to be foggy
PCC, T, R k’os, fog; k’osʔa-, foggy

*q'oso, lungs; cf. *xos-a, air, blow
W-M ho’-shā, lungs (probably represents [xoso]); cf. hosopa, hosok, be light in weight; xo-sa, be bloated
N-W k’os, lungs
PCC k’osol, “lights,” lungs; K k’oso(), lungs, liver
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

SP-M kus'-sol, kos'-sol, lungs
cf. Klamath (Barker 1963: 508, 507) t’oso-q, lungs; tsak’, be light (in weight)

*q’ud, bend, squat; cf. *xed-i/u, fart; *kuk, bend; *k’uwi-l, bent

W xudu-ra, to move in a sitting position; xuta-, to slide on behind; xutul, mountain beaver; cf. č’u-da, to sit on haunches

NGT-M kō-too-čh, C ko-tühl, beaver

PR k’udi, to bend forward; cf. H-U hudhu-di, to squat; PK hudhu-duro, crouched

The last two P forms may point to a variant in *x

cf. Klamath (Barker 1963:332) q’oč’, bend; q’oč’a, bends (intr.)

*q’ur, dislike

W xure, to grudge; xurp’ure, to be jealous of each other

PCC k’uvcči, to hate (anything, people, food), be sick of it, oversaturated, tired of;

H-B k’uyēče-, hate; T-U kučis, he hates food, tired of it; H-U kuyēči, not like a food

*q’uy ? *q’uy ?, sprout

W xuyihia, to be fragile like tender shoots; wines xuyit, a special spirit in the head, one who makes you think, see, or hear, a guardian accompanying spirit, a spirit that is with you wherever you go (cf. "the germ of an idea")

PK k’uya, the point of an acorn, where the acorn opens up, where it germinates

q’

*q’a- ? *q’i- ?, cloud; cf. *q’a-q, mental clouding; *xos-a, air, blow; *q’i(·)r, dirt (earth)

W q’a-h, cloud; q’a-ha, to be cloudy; cf. xahi-la, to become dusk

N-H q’aha, cloud; S q’ah, cloud; BW qaha’, cloudy

PCC k’ir-ra, cloudy; k’ir, cloud, sky

PR k’ir, cloud

cf. PY *k’lyaj ?, cloud (Callaghan 2001: 323)

*q’aba, chin, jaw

W q’aba, jowls, jawbone; cf. qabah, cheek(bone); xaba, jaw(bone); xabah, cheekmeat, e.g., hog jowl; xababa, base of the neck; “jaw” in McCloud dialect

N-W q’aba, chin, jaw (whole face ?); C ká-ba, face

PCC k’aba, chin; M jaw, chin

PR k’aba, chin

cf. PY *?aw’as, chin (Callaghan 2001: 319)

*q’al-i ?, charcoal (285.); cf. *wal-u, flame, lightning

W q’ali, charcoal (also k’eli)

PCC wali, hot coals; M coal, charcoal (perhaps *q’ > w under the influence of *wal-u, flame, lightning)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PR wali, glowing coals
cf. PMy *q’al, *a:q’a:l, with reflexes including: red-hot coal, charcoal, coal (Brown 1990: 18)

*q’an, wing, armpit; cf. *k’alaq, feather; *q’an, wide
W q’an, wing, armpit; cf. q’ana’, to be wide; *q’al, feathered; q’a:h, cloud; kan, legs spread; qanal, in bloom
PCC k’an wing; kan, armpit; K k’a(·)n, wing; kan, armpit
PR k’a·n, wing of a bird; kan, armpit
cf. Alsea ql-ql, armpits (Golla 1997: 164)

*q’an, wide; cf. *q’an, wing, armpit
W q’ana’, q’anal, to be wide
PR k’ani?, coarse coiling style

*q’an-lala, *qan-sala ?, flying squirrel ?; cf. *q’an, wing, armpit; *lala, stink, smell rotten; *sala, arm, shoulder
W q’anlalas, flying squirrel (lit. armpit stinking, folk-etym.)
N-C ka-ni=tlēt, gray squirrel, jumping squirrel; cf. G-M choos’-kah-nah’-laht, hummingbird
PK k’ansalaymen, bat (axillary smell); (Whistler 1976e from Merriam);
T k’a·ni, bat
PR k’a·ni, bat (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

*q’ap-a, be trapped; cf. *k’ap, move stones
*q’ap-ma, to trap (tr.)
W q’ap, trap (n.); q’apa, to be tangled up (as rope), get caught; q’apma:, to catch in a trap
PCC k’ap, to be caught; k’apa:, caught, get caught on self; k’apma, to trap; K k’a·pta, caught; k’apmaro, caught, hooked together
PR k’a·pta, caught; k’a·pas, I caught it
cf. Alsea qa:x(a)-t’, net (Golla 1997: 164)

*q’a-q, mental clouding; cf. *q’a- ?, *q’i- ?, cloud; *qaq, indistinct color ?; *qas-i-l-?a, have impaired vision; *k’ilap-?a, afraid; *xin-a, sleep; *xah, *xir, dizzy; *q’id-u, forget; *q’i-l, dull
W q’a-q, lose one’s mind, crazy, forget, fail, lose consciousness, devil; q’aqelt’a, to be forgetful, faint, know nothing, oblivious; cf. q’i-q, tantrum, angry; k’ide-, bray (of donkeys); k’idi·ra, squeal with laughter, giggling
N-W xa·xa, q’a·xa, drunkard; BW k’ahala’, crazy; qaqa-, get drunk; qopa-, (get) drunk
PCC k’a·ki, to refuse (to give away, a request); k’ak-, hot (primarily of weather)
PK k’akma me-m, hot water, beer, whiskey
PR k’aka, a burn (on body, clothes)
PT-U k’akma čoyis ču, I’ve got fever
The W and N forms and the first PCC form, along with related PW forms, point to a “mental failure” or “mental clouding” meaning. The P “hot” and “burn” forms may have arisen via an expression of the effect of hot weather on the mind, particularly in light of the PK use of “hot” for alcohol and the W related term q’i·q, tantrum, angry, which indicates a kind of mental hotness.

cf. Klamath (Barker 1963:330) q’e·gi, be absent, lacking (cf. q’ay, no, not); sneq’e·gi, loses something; cf. Alsea q’aykw-, to be crazy (Golla 1997: 164)

*q’aya, older woman
W  p’uqayah, old lady, grandmother, father’s mother; cf. PW *p’ot, old woman; *p’oq, woman, wife; *p’oqi-ta, woman
PCC  k’a·y, old woman; k’ayaba, women; k’a·yba, old women
PR-U  k’ayaba, lot of ladies; cf. Whistler’s PR k’asas, old lady, and PK k’asal, old lady

Whistler 1980: 268 reconstructed *p’oqay. However, only W reflects the combination of the two roots *p’oq and *q’aya, older woman

*q’ay-i/u, walk; cf. *har-a-, to go
*q’ay-s-a, walk fast (intensive)
W  q’aya, to walk, go, hike, stroll; q’ayuma-, to cause to/let walk; cf. k’aysa, to walk fast, do something fast; k’ayuma-, to make something go fast
PH  k’ayi/u-, walk; cf. PCC -k’ayu, to want, to be about to, to start to (auxiliary base)
PR  k’ayi/u-, walk; k’aysaro, walking faster

*q’ede, arm
W  q’ede, arm
N-Ha  kéde, arm
PCC  k’edil, wrist; K k’ede(·)k’ede, wrist; T k’edek’ede, wrist, ankle?
PR-U  k’edel, wrist

*q’ep-, dip
W  ʔol-q’ipča, ʔol-q’epča, to dip liquid; cf. q’opuma-, to dip water, make someone take a bath; q’upa-, to wash, bathe, soak clothes
N-BW  q’Ohpa-, swim
PCC  ʔalk’epi/u-, to dip out; K ʔolk’epi/u, dip (out)
PR  k’epo-, dip (up, out)

*q’eq-a ?, *k’eq-a ? hiccough ? gag ?
W  q’e·qa, to gag, to try to vomit unsuccessfully; q’i·qa, to try to force with exertion while defecating
PK  č’ika-ro, hiccough
PR-B  čeka, to hiccup

Irregular correspondence due to sound-symbolism
*q’id-u, forget; cf. *q’a·q, mental clouding
N-BW k’Lidu-, forget (probably represents [q’idu] or [qxidu])
PCC, K k’idi/u-, to forget
PR k’idi/u-, to forget

*q’íl, dull
N-S q’eelca, dull
PT k’i·l7a, dull
PR k’i·r7a, dull ?; k’í-l, dull (not sharp)

*q’ilaq, dirt (earth) (collected ? piled ?); cf. *q’i(r), dirt (earth), ground; *wilaq, *welaq, earth; *hul, cave in
W q’ilaq, cemetery, graveyard, grave, dirt (earth) (cf. q’il, smear)
PR k’ilak, silt

*q’i(r), dirt (earth), ground; cf. *q’ilaq, dirt (earth)
W q’i(r), mud, dirt
PCC k’ir, ground, dirt; K k’i(r), ground, earth
PR k’i·r, fine, powdery dust, clay ?
SP-M kā-ret, land

*q’oba, red paint
N-G k’oba, blood-red paint
PCC k’oba, paint (of any color); P, H, T-B k’o·ba, ochre
SP-M ko’-bah’, red paint (of red earth or rock)
Unless the N form represents [q’oba], this may be borrowed.

*q’ol, borrow
W q’ula·, to borrow (also q’a·la·)
PCC k’ole·, K k’ole·, to borrow
PR k’ole·y, to lend

*q’ol ? *k’ol ? seed plant sp.
N-G k’ōl, a grass with white blooms and knoblike pods
PCC k’ol, seed plant sp. (prob. Compositae); K, T seed plant sp. (Achyrachaena mollis ?)
If N k’ does not represent [q’], the form may be borrowed between N and P. However, the existence of W k’o·ma·, to pound acorns fine, may be evidence of a larger word family.

*q’op-a, break with fingers; cf. *k’op, chop; *q’op, stripe
W q’Op-, q’upa, pick off tips of grass, of branches, twigs; xan-q’upal, to break off; q’o·pa, bobtailed
N-S qepa, cut
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PH k’opa·, to cut or break off; k’opt’u, cut off, broken off; k’upum, finger; K also toe
PR k’opt’u, half, cut

*q’or, grab a handful; cf. *koro, net
W xan-q’ura·, to pick grass in fistfuls, to tear off grass or clover; cf. q’Op-, pick off tips of grass
PCC k’ort’i/u, to grab up, gather; cf. k’uru-t, new growth twigs on a tree in spring
PR k’ori/u-, to grab a handful (like grass, etc., without picking out things individually)

*q’ot, split ?
W q’ot-, strong, stout, forceful, loud, hard, deep, brave; q’ut-, much noise, of the voice; ma·t q’ute, to have one’s ears displeased; cf. qOt-, quta·, to get hit
N-S khotyu, split
SP-M kot-toot, cut him
cf. Alsea qa:w-, qtu-, to dance the war dance (Golla 1997: 164)

*q’o(·)t-?a, dirty; cf. *q’at, *q’ot ?
W q’o·ta, to be dirty
N-S q’oota, dirty
PH k’ot?a, k’o·t?a, dirty
PR-B k’o·t-a, to get dirty

*q’učul, worm sp.
W q’učulah, potato bug
PK k’uč‘ay, small black flying beetle sp. ?; k’uč‘ay, worm sp. smaller than fishworm, red (birds dig them out when it rains)
PR k’oč‘ol, k’očol, acorn worm

*q’uh-i/u, cough
W q’uhe, q’uhi/u-, cough
N-W qoha·, to cough; BW q’uha‘-, cough
PCC, R k’uhi/u-, to cough; cf. K wohi/u-, to cough

*q’un, moldy, muddy
W q’u·n, to be moldy, water to be muddy or dirty; cf. W-M kon, koon, koo‘-nē, blue
PH k’un?a, muddy, roiled
PR k’un, moldy (acorns, etc.)

*r

*-r, genitive case (531.33)
W -r, marks singular pronouns as agents of passive verbs; also marks third person singular pronouns as inalienable possessors
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

N-W  -y, genitive (in: puy, third person singular genitive)
P   -y, pronominal genitive and inalienable possessive case
PCC  -y, genitive kinterm case inflection

*-ro ? *-r ?, subordinating suffix of causal or temporal anteriority (424.8)
W    -r, subordinating suffix of causal or temporal anteriority (“because”)
PCC  -ro (_V/-taro _C) (+/- aux. -bo/be), functions to indicate related predicates sequential in time, or simultaneous predicates where one is background to the other

*s, nominalizer (423.37)
W    -s, generic aspect
PCC  -s, ongoing or completive aspect (i.e., non-inceptive aspect, neutral with respect to tense); -s, -(s)tu (?), nominalizer
cf. Nez Perce -s and Sahaptian -ś, both nominalizers, Klamath -s, noun suffix, and Molala -s, which forms nouns from verbs and is used in underived nouns as a general suffix of concrete nouns, and Mutsun -s, nominalizer, instrumental (Berman 1996: 11-12, 25)

*-s, objective case suffix for singular second (and first ?) person (531.321)
See: *mis, second person singular objective

*-s, see *-h

*sa-, *sas, light (source ?); see also *san-i, day, *say-i/u, light
W    *sa, light: sa(-)s, luminary, sun; say, light; san, day; sah, blurred; satawil, sunstroke; sawa·luq, glow worm; satu·s, stars
PH   sa·, eye; cf. H-B sat’a, to look for ?
PR   sas, eye; B sa, eye; cf. B saso, to look for
cf. PY *sasa-, eye (Callaghan 2001: 318)

Jespersen (1946: 163) mentions a Malay taboo on the word for “eyes” during hunting season and compares Irish súel, “eye” from the Proto-Indo-European word for sun [*saw-el, *saw-en]. Something similar may have occurred in P.

*sak, pine sp.
N-C  sák=mi, yellow pine; T-M sahk’-me, Ponderosa pine (Pinus ponderosa); sahk-me’ bah’-ke, forest (timber brush)
PH   sakmu t’o’k, Ponderosa pine ? Douglas fir ? any tall pine ?
PR   čusak, pine (any kind ?); U ču·sak, evergreen trees

The Nomlaki recordings are unreliable. Unless k represents [q], the form could be borrowed. Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMie *sak·y, digger pine. This is supported by the fact that the PH and PR forms are not closely related. The N form could have been borrowed from P or vice versa after borrowing from Miwok. Cf. W t’aqa·smi·, fir tree, Douglas fir or spruce
*sa-l, pale; cf. *sala, leaves, foliage; *tal, lack of color
W tum sa-lala, face to be pale
PK sa-laturo pi bo-s, he’s pale (getting blue-colored, whitish, don’t look too good)

*sala, leaves, foliage; cf. *sa-l, pale
W sala, leaf, leaves, dry leaves, leaves green and on the trees, falling dry leaves, dry leaves and on the tree, turning autumn leaves; cf. salal, be/tturn yellow, of leaves; being/turning pale of leaves; to turn fawn-colored, said of a deer in the spring; to turn reddish brown (to lose original color); salal ha-w, red fox; salal lubeles, red wolf; cf. sah, blurred, probably originally “lose substance” - cf. sali-q, thin; xalat, edible greens sp.
PCC sala, leaves (of oaks, cottonwood, etc.), foliage, leaf on tree; K leaves on the ground, leaves all bundled up, foliage (lots of leaves and plants, leaves altogether); cf. CC sa-l, sweet, big clover; K sa-l, California burclover (Medicago hispida); T sa-l, sweet clover sp.
PR-B sala, leaf; R sa-l, sweet clover sp.

*sala, arm, shoulder; cf. *sat, hold in hand
W salas, back (bodypart), shoulder(s); scapula, shoulder blades
N-W sala, arm; T-M sal-lah’, shoulder
PH sala’, arm
PR sala, arm (the whole thing)
SP-M sol-lah’, sō-lah’, arm

*san-i, day, daytime; cf. *sa-, *sas, light(source ?); *say-i/u, light
W sani, daytime
N-BP salat, moon
PCC san, sun; sanar, sun; sanih, daytime; wenem sani, middle of the day; sanisani, every day; K san, sun; sanibo, daytime
PR san, sun, month (lunar); sani, daytime; sanar, moon
SP-M sun’, sahn’, sun; sun-nahr’, sahn’-nar, moon
cf. PMi *synty, *syt-ya (*syt ?), eye; PCo *hinte, hi(n), eye; PU šynty, eye; PM *hi-n, eye, (small) seed; PMi *hi-s, PCo *(h)is-men, PU *hi-s, sun (Callaghan 2001: 318, 322)

*sapasapa, oriole
W sapasapat, sapat, oriole, red-breasted
NT-M sap-pah’-sā’-put, oriole (Icterus)
PK sapa-sapa, Bullock’s oriole (or any oriole)
PR č’apot, oriole (Bullock’s or any) (Whistler 1976e, from Merriam’s chahp’-chahp, oriole)

*saq, spear
NT-M sahk’, spear (for fish); paw’-sahk, poker [fire-spear]; ahn-sahk, cache for acorns (built on posts)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PCC sak, long, straight stick; K gig (noun), fish pole, shaft (of a spear)
PR sak, stick
cf. W xaq, hit or punch with fists; Merriam lists for W: sak-lub’-bit, Orion, which may possibly contain saq, spear

*sa·q, blood; cf. *sa·q-k’ur- ?, rainbow
W sa·qa, to bleed; sa·q, color of blood? blood stain? (obsolete); cf. sa·q, colored, colors
N-S saaq, blood; B sakat·cíL, brown bear; T-M sah’-kah, raw
PH, R sa·k, blood
SP-M sahk’, blood; cf. sah’-kan-nan’-now, robin

*sa·q-k’ur- ?, rainbow; cf. *sa·q, blood
W sa·q-kuwči, a rainbow standing curved, arching over (kuw-, bend, curve; cf. k’uwí-, eyebrow); cf. sa·q-hikayi, rainbow
NT-M sah’-koo-lah-mah, rainbow; C ku-lá-ma, rainbow
PK sa·k t’uri-l, rainbow; H-B saké’orel; T-U saké’ori-l
PR-B saké’orel, rainbow
cf. Nisenan (Uldall & Shipley 1966: 229) ʔole-sykyn, rainbow; with the second part of the PW form, compare these UA forms for “rainbow”: Mayo kurués, Yaqui kurúes

*sa·w, acorn bread
W sa·w, black acorn meal bread, made with red dirt
N-G sau, acorn bread; T-M sow, sah’-o, meal baked on hot stones
PK sa·w, acorn bread; H-U black acorn bread
PR-U sawa, big clods of dirt
cf. Maidu (Shipley 1963: 216) sawó, buckeye; Central Yana sau(na), acorn bread (Sapir & Swadesh 1960: 149); Karok sárA, bread (Bright 1957: 378)

*sa·y, maple (big-leaved)
W-M si’-e-choos, si’-me, maple
NT-M si’-e-kō’k, maple (Acer macrophyllum); si’-kōk, skirt of maple bark worn by women; G-M si’-kōk, maple; C sai-kok=mi, maple
PK, TT saysay, big-leaved maple
PR say ?, big-leaved maple

*sa·y-i/u, light; cf. *sa·-, sas, light(source ?); *san-i, day; *e’ay-a, to light a fire
W saya·, to (turn on the) light; sayi, light (n.); sayuna·, to have torch-light; nomway sayi, North Star
PCC sayu, light, put the light on; sayi, light (n.), lamp; K sayi/u-, light up
*sede, coyote
W sedet, coyote, dog
N-B sedet, coyote
PH sedew, coyote
PR sedew, loon sp. (sounds like coyote)

*se·k, root, especially basket root; cf. *če·k, rope
W se·k, root
N-Se sek, root; T-M sâˈk, root, pine root
PCC seˈt, root (for baskets); K basket root; K, T tulare root (the root)
PR seˈt, tulare root (plant and root); the ground material (buff), runs around and around on baskets, around the willow basket sticks which run lengthwise in the coiled baskets
SP-M sɛtˈč̍hˈ, root

*seke·, *sekey, pubic hair, perhaps body hair in general; cf. *čeˈkey, hair
W sekey, body hair; seke·, pubic hair; sekeya, to be pubic hair
N-BP sˈeke·y, body hair; T-M ket-sekˈ-ket, beard
PK ye·sekey, pubic hair (woman’s); T sečey ?, pubic hair; H-U ye-seke, man’s pubic hair; H-B sečeˈy, pubic hair; sečeˈy (sečeˈy) pubic hair (man’s); L-U sečeˈ, pubic hair
PR-B sečey, pubic hair
SP-G tcheseki, beard

*sel, side, sides; cf. *sem, hand, finger; *ser, crosswise
W sel, both, all; selet, both, selet harma, to surround, selet leˈt, both, on each side; meˈm selet, edge of water where it flushes up on the ground; seletin haraˈ, hair to part itself
PK puysel, east side, the people in the east; nomsel, west side

*sem, hand, finger; cf. *sel, side, sides; *ser, crosswise
W sem (g), se· (p), hand, finger(s)
N-W sem, hand, fingers
PH, R sem, hand
SP-M sem, hand, fingers
cf. PM *jim, arm (elbow to shoulder) (Callaghan 2001: 319)

*sen, digging stick
W sen ěˈuˈs, digging stick; senmiˈ, the brush digging sticks are made of (Ceanothus or Cuncatus)
NT-M senˈ, digging stick
PKT sen, digging stick

*se·qtu, chief?
N-K sèktu, chief
PCC, R seˈktu, chief, captain
Most likely a borrowing between N and P and ultimately from a Miwok language (cf. Mip ceka-, chief (Callaghan 2001: 321)); note, however the PW suffix *-tu(\·)

*ser, crosswise, twice; cf. *sel, side; *sem, hand, finger

W ser-, crosswise, twice, in two directions
PH, R serpo\·ta, six (twice three); PT sert\·upus, wade across

*ser-panol, six; cf. *pano(\·)\·, three; *ser, crosswise, twice
W serpanul, sepanul, six
N-DK se-panoL, six
PH, R serpoL, six

*sew, *siw, pack
%siw-i, testicles

W siwa\·, sewi/u-, to pack, stuff, sack; siwiy (g), siwih (p), testicles
N-BP sewet, testicles
PH-B siw, food-pit; K siw\·, testicles
PR sewo\·ro, putting things away, caching

*sir, tooth, teeth, seed(s); cf. *siwi, testicles, under *sow, *siw, pack

W sir\·, tooth, teeth, seeds, pits
N-H sir\·, teeth
PCC sir\·, teeth; K teeth, fangs; T-U sir\·, seed
PR sir\·, tooth
SP-A sii, teeth

cf. PMi *ky(\·)t, *kty\·y; PCo *si(\·)t, *sit\·e, PU *ky(\·)t, *kty\·y, tooth, teeth (Callaghan 2001: 318)

*sici\·i/u-, drill
NT-M se\·-chah\‘, fire drill block (of cedar, Libocedrus); C sii-chu, fire drill
PCC sic/i/u-\·, to drill; K sic\·i/u-

May be borrowed between N and P, but is part of a larger word family with W sEr-, twirl (cf. PW *sir-i, copulate) and PW *sis-, squirm

*sidi, move light-weight things

W side\·, pick, gather, bring in little, light-weight things (e.g., pine needles); sidel, to be blown away, blown off the ground; cf. sik\·a, to sweep; di(\·)t, wipe

PCC sida\·, to clean off dust, leaves, etc. (with hand, not with brush or broom)

*sik, polish

W sika\·, to sweep; si\·kus, broom
PT-U sikohos pi?, he’s polishing something

*si\·k, barn owl
NT-M se\·-ik, barn owl (Strix)
PK, T, R  si-k, barn owl
PR-U  si-k, screech owl
SP-M  she'-ik, barn owl
Possibly borrowed between N and P

*sil, slip
W  *sil, smooth, slip; si-loq, smooth, slick; cf. tilo-qa, shine; suluqta, sliding, to
   slip; *sul, slip, slide; xalila, to be slippery, slick; sali-qa, be flat, thin
PH-U  siltokoparo, to slip
cf. Central and Northern Yana (Sapir & Swadesh 1960:179) -xalili-, smooth

*sil, black; cf. *č’il, black
W  silel, to be blind
PCC, K  sil-, black
PR-B  selti, black
SP-M  sil-le’-ah, black

*sili, gall
W  silih, gall
PCC  sili, gall; K gall bladder
PR-U  silli, gall

*sip-č’a-u, straighten, make stiff
W  sip-, pull off, out; pomin sipu, get tangles out (esp. of hair); cf. xan-xipča,
   to pull off, of cloth
PCC  sipč’u-, stiff (like untanned leather, joints, muscles, anything not limber)

*sir-i, copulate; cf. *sis, squirm
W  sire, copulate
N-G  si-pa, vulgar word for sexual intercourse [< *siripa]
PK  sil-, si-r-, copulate; H-U, sir-
SP-V  ciripisi’, copulate

*sis, squirm; cf. *sir-i, copulate
W  sis-, squirm; pat-sise, to wriggle, squirm, working themselves out of a hole
   (rattlesnake, otter)
PR  sisamen, bigger (lizard), blue underneath, which was killed for poison

*sob-č’a-u- (with mediopassive), *sob-a, pull off; cf. *č’ob, skin peels off; *t’up-u ?
   *t’ub-u ? pull out
W  supa, to take off, slip off (as clothes); pat-sopča, pat-sopču-, to slip out (as
   heart out of dead body, tr.); sopná-, to take off all clothes (to bathe or swim)
PCC  soba-, to come off, pull off; sobu, to pull off (pl.); sobal, to come off; sobt’u,
   to come off; sobi, to pull off lots; K sobt’uro, anything come off
PR  soppitta, taking out, cleaning out
*soč- ?, badger
W patsočit, patsačit, badger; memsačit, beaver (folk-etymology, cf. pat-, outside; mem, water; sat-, be wet, or sat-, to carry)
N-C sá-chákh, badger; cf. T-M kok-saw’-chit, nuthatch (Sitta aculeata) (meaning of kok- unknown)
PCC, K, T čotom, badger
cf. Puget Salish šáw’kʷl, mountain beaver (Hess 1976: 456)

*soh, *so·, cross-sibling
W soh, sibling; net-soh, my sibling; soheres, relation; so·ha, to have a sibling of the opposite sex; so·has, dead sibling of the opposite sex; so·hap’ulel, a man and his sister; cf. sO·, kin, show affection (especially to consanguineal kin); so, kin, especially siblings; so·mon, brother-in-law
Nnöe-W -so(h), brother?; so(·)s, twins; cf. G sômön, brother-in-law; T-M net sum’-mon, husband’s sister
PCC nay so·, my sister; K so·hona pel, two sisters; pipel so·honap’ita, them two brother and sister; nay so·, my sister(s) (younger or older)

*sokok, cocoon rattle
W soko·kus, cocoon rattle
PH soko·kay, rattle; H-B sokokay, cocoon
PR sok’ot, cocoon rattle
Irregular; possibly a loan

*somVk, thighs, hip
W somik, hip
PH somak, hip; H-B, T-B somok, hipbone
Irregular

*son, rock; *sos, big rock; cf. *sono, nose
W son (g), rocks; sos, big rocks; suna·, to be rocky
N-BW son, rock
PK so·s, boulder; sos, sandstone, rough rock of a special kind used to grind down beads to make a grinding rock; black, glassy rock, obsidian?
PR-U sos, big rock
SP-A conoi, stone

*sono, nose; cf. *sub-u, smell; *su(·)t, inhale; *son, rock
W sono, nose (< sO, stone, rock, nose, beak, i.e., bare protuberance; cf. *sO, denuded; *sOn-, shed feathers; sOp, undress, flay; sOt, pull off hair)
N-W sono·, nose; PS sono
SP-M sun-nō’, so-naw, sō-naw, nose; A sonom, nose
Note the relationship between “nose” and “rock” which is also found in Indo-European. PIE *nas-, “nose, nostril” is reflected in Old Norse as nes “promontory.” Perhaps an underlying meaning of “outcropping.”
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*soq, thing
W soqo, unknown kind, whatever kind, strange, eerie, pejorative (probably from so, unspecified + ʔoqti, identity, kind), classifier of uncertainty; soqot, whatever kind of thing (it is) < *sO, ancient, unknown; cf. suk, perfective; -so, temporal anteriority

N-W ʔopasoko, grandfather, great-grandfather, gpB [grandparent’s brother], spgrandfather [spouse’s grandfather] (“-soko is clearly a suffix added to the term now restricted to mother’s brother, etc., in order to distinguish G+2 ‘grandfathers.’” Whistler 1980: 117-119)

PH -sok, instrumental, locative (e.g., PCC ʔa·risok, parching basket)
cf. Yurok so-k, noun, sort, thing (Robins 1958: 250)

*sow, shrub sp.
W sow, Indian file, a kind of plant
PCC, K, T sow, chamise

*sub-u, smell; cf. *su(·)t, inhale; *sono, nose
W sube-, subu-, to smell (tr.)
N-PS su·ba, to smell (tr.)
PT-U subu·ki, cigarette
cf. PCC, K ʔu·bi/u-, smell, stink; PR ʔu·bu-, smell, stink; PH-B somsomi, smell; T-U sumsu·muʔ, smell this (imp.); PR-B somosomoho, to smell
cf. Puget Salish sub(u), smell (Hess 1976: 448)

*sud-u, to smoke something
W su·da, to smoke (tr., as a trap to kill odor); sudu·ra, smoke to come out, to be smoking (intr.); sudu·ruma·, to scorch; xun-su·da, to put pipe in mouth and suck

PCC sudu, to smoke something/someone out

*suku, dog
W suku (g), dog
N-W suhkut, dog; BW sukut
PH-U suhkut, dog
SP-V tcuku’, dog
Diffused throughout California. cf. e.g. PMis *čuku-, dog (Callaghan 2001: 325). Whistler 1977 suggests that the SP form is borrowed from Miwok

*sul, blanket, cover
W sulaq, suloq, blanket, bedding (perhaps < *sul, slip, slide)
PCC su·l, floor; K floor covering (rug, skin); H-U blanket or cover
PR-B su·l, mat
cf. Alsea cu·lqw, blanket (Golla 1997: 161)

*sumu, sugar pine
W sumuhmi·, sugar pine (with -mi·, tree)
N-C sú-mu, sugar pine nuts; su-mû=mi, sugar pine
PCC sumu (t'o-k), like redwood, but smaller, cedar; K T sumu, sugar pine
cf. Nisenan (Uldall & Shipley 1966: 229) sumu̇, sugar pine

*sunu, nest
W sunus, nest, (snake) den
N-G sunu, bird’s nest
PH sunu̇, nest
PR-B sonu̇, nest

*surut, strap, tumpline
W-C surut womulmit, hair-belt woman; cf. sub, unravel string, twine; su-ɾ, parallel?; č’u-ra, to carry a lot in a lifted lap of apron or dress (cf. č’ur, spawn)
N-B cut, burden net; T-M soot’, carrying band for head
PCC suruk, packing strap; surut, carrying strap, tumpline; K surut, burden net, pack net (carried on back)

*su(·)t, inhale; cf. *sub-u, smell; *sono, nose
W xun-su-da, to put a pipe in the mouth and suck; M poo’-roo-soo’-tā-mus, lungs [“breath inhalers”]
PCC sutu̇-ko, to inhale (sg.), to cure by sucking; su-ɾko, to inhale (pl.), puff (pl.); K sutu̇-ki, to inhale, suck in

*sutu, tail
W sutu, tail
N-W soltu, tail; H so-tu
PH, R sutu, tail
SP-M soo’-too, tail

*suy-u, slide
W suyewilnȧ, to slide, ride on sled; suyu-qēa, to slide (*sOy-, slide, shuffle, probably from *sO, denude(d); cf. saywil, to slip; se-soyokmes, type of dance; *sul, slip, slide)
PCC suyu-to, to slide (down, as a pole, on your rear, on your feet in snow, etc.)

-t, objective case suffix for kinterms and pronouns (531.322)
W -t, objective case suffix with inalienably possessed nouns, third person pronominal root pi/pu and ʔewe < ʔe, third person proximal root; cf. -t, particular aspect
PH -t, objective case suffix on kinterms and pronouns

*-t, inalienable possessive suffix for first and second person singular, perhaps originally identical with *-t, objective (531.34)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

See: *ma-t, second person singular inalienable possessive; *ne-t, first person singular inalienable possessive

*t-n, alienable possessive suffix for third person singular pronouns and kinterms
(*t, objective + *-n, *-no, genitive)

W -tun, alienable possessive suffix for third person singular pronouns and kinterms
N -tun, alienable possessive suffix attested for third person singular and one plural pronoun
PH -tno, kinterm alienable possessive suffix

*t-in ?, kinterm locative case ? (531.36)
W -in, locative
PH -tin, kinterm locative

*-ta, human classifier ? (511.2)
See *p’oqi-ta, woman and *wi-ta, man

*t-a, subordinating suffix (424.9)
W -ta, subordinating inflectional suffix, indicates temporal anteriority or simultaneity which is conditioned, dependent, or resultant, and marks the verb as dependent syntactically, translates as “while, during, after, when, as”

PCC -t, subordinate object form of -ro (?); PK, PCC -ta, participle (consonant stems) (Whistler 1986)

*tah, father; cf. *ta-(·)n, father; *teh, *te· ? child ?
W -tah, spouse’s parent, child’s spouse; ta-ta, father (voc.)
N-H ne(·)t tah, father (my); N-W mi-tah, father (voc.) (Whistler 1980: 243)
PCC tah, father; ta-ću, my father; K tah, father!
SP-M tah’, father
cf. Tututni -ta?, father (Golla 1976: 219)

*tahal, tongue
W tahal, tongue
N-B tahal, tongue
PCC tahal, tongue; K taha-l
PR tahal, tongue
SP-M tah-hahl, tongue
cf. PYNim *talxat, tongue (Callaghan 2001: 319)

*tal, lack of color; cf. *sa-l, pale
W talal, to have changed color, be faded, be pale, turn (of leaves in the fall), to have turned (of leaves), to lose color like a dress that fades
PCC taluk, clearing (on a hillside)
*ta-(·)n, father (with kinterm absolutive suffix *-(·)n); cf. *tah, father
*ma-ta--n, your father
W ta·n, father; ta·na, to father, to have a father, to make a father; ta·nit, father, the one who fathered, sired; nettan, my father; mata·n, your father; ye·ta, father (addressive)
N-S -t-aan, father; BW -tan; N-W tah·an, father (Whistler 1980:267, Noema dialect; cf. nahan, mother, under *ne·-n)
PCC ta·n, father; mata·n, your father; K ?uy tan, his father
PR tan, ta·nit, father; tanēh, naytan, my father
SP-M mah-tahn, your father
*tapl-, clover sp.
W tapleh, a dry, edible clover
PCC taplan, clover sp. (smaller than sa·l); T clover sp. (big, dark leaves)
*taqa·taqa, scorpion; cf. *daq, burn
W t’aqa·t’aqat, taqa·taqat, scorpion; t’aqa·t’aqat, black widow spider; cf. taq, slash; tah, sharp
NT-M tah’-kwaht’, scorpion
PCC, T taka·taka, scorpion; K takakwayt (Whistler suggests borrowing from Nomlaki); taka·taka (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)
PR taka·taka, potato bug (not centipede)
cf. PMy *t’a:h, with reflexes including: knife, obsidian, blade, sharp stone, a kind of caterpillar with spines that hurt if they penetrate you, nettle with thorns on little leaves, sharpen, slice; Lake Miwok táhti, a round, featherless arrow shaft which is pointed at the end; Zoque (Rayon) t’a:h, he pricked it, he pierced it (like a thorn); Mixe tahšp, to let blood; Chatino ča:, sharp; Mixtec (San Juan Colorado) t’aá ti, it stings (insects, etc.); Kiowa t’a, knife (all from Brown 1990: 28)
*tarak, woodpecker sp.
W buli tarak, big red-headed woodpecker which makes a big noise (scalp used to make headband for luck); cf. č’ura·t, Calif. woodpecker, acorn woodpecker, small red-headed woodpecker
N-BW tadatat, woodchuck; B fóratat, red-headed woodpecker
PCC, K, T tara·t, acorn woodpecker (red head); K nom-tara·t, pileated woodpecker
PR tara·t, (hairy) woodpecker; red section of hairy woodpecker’s scalp
SP-M ter-räh’teh, Calif. woodpecker
cf. Karok (Bright 1957:363) kúrat, Calif. woodpecker
*tede, red; cf. *t’edVq, ant
W te·di, red; te·da, to be red; tede·ki, blood
N-B tede·kit, red
PR t’ededusèh, I’m hot (from a fire); t’ededumaro, it’s real hot (heat falling on someone from a fire, radiant heat)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*tēh, *te· ? child ?; cf. *tah, father

W k’uteh, nephew, male cross-cousin; cf. t’e(·)s, in-law, esp. child-in-law
N-W te·, son

PCC 7uy te·, his children (sons or daughters, mother’s children); pi harasa 7uy tehetin, she went to her son’s; K mate·, your kid; te·ču, his child (boy or girl)

PR teču, my daughter; 7uyte, her son or daughter

SP-M ta’-bah, family

Whistler 1980: 133 suggests that -t’e(h) “ is probably related to the suffix -t’et with a diminutive sense noted in Nomlaki (and possibly also to the “in-law” term t’e(·)s, although this latter connection would have to be very old.” Cf. W t’e, alone, exclusive, only; ku·t’et, small, child, baby (see *ku-, small, child)

*tēk, *tik ?, light

W tik-, light, daylight, flash; tikal, daylight, to be daylight, to be light, of day

N-BW tēkala, bright

PCC te·ki, sunshine, light

*tēl, dice ?

N-G tel·a, type of women’s dice game; tedelá, type of women’s dice game

PK tela, Indian dice (made of elderberry hearts); T tella, dice

Areal term, likely borrowed between N and P.

*tép-i/u, emerge, sprout, cross (meet)

W tēp-i/u-, emerge, be transformed, appear, behind, sprout, previously unseen to appear, cross over, rise, come; tep, behind, the last, the end; tepča, come to life, emerge, come out; cf. dib, overflow sluggishly, thickly, used when speaking of muddy water or lava, to have become ooze

N-G wînteptcit, God, man come from dead; BW tepa, tomorrow; G têp, both aces in the right hand; cf. S thepca, flow

PCC tepi/u, to come out, emerge, come to life again; tep, guess on the left side; K come out, cross, get out, be born, sprout, start growing, come up, go out; tep, fork (of tree); crotch, groin

PR tepi/u-, appear, go out, come out; tepi, out

cf. Alsea ta:p-, to fly, jump; ta:p-s, wings (Golla 1997; 165)

*tet-i/u, drink

N-B tēt·i, tetule, drink

PH teti/u-, to drink

PR-B teti/u-, to drink

Probably borrowed between N and P.

*tēwe, to fly, go up

W tēw-, sail, float, fly, blow up; tēwe·la, to fly; tewelá, to be swept away by the wind; tēw-, t'iwa, tiwa, to fly; tew, dangerous, mysterious (perhaps from tēw, float; cf. tiw, search, hunt, and tiwi, to foretell the future; yuken
tewe·ya, to feel a premonition of danger; tewismet, “the devil”); tê·ha, to be flying a short distance, flying real high up, spread wings and take off; cf. tê·rit, bird, tê·ra, to fly (obsolete)
PCC, R tewe-, to fly; K tewe-, jump; cf. K warnapom ti-, north spirit
cf. Yurok terit, sandpiper; Cayuse ti-in-tuks-tin, to fly (Berman 1996: 23, from Henshaw); Molala tyen-, fly (Berman 1996: 23)

*têy, forehead
W têyi, forehead, top of pelvis; cf. têyêa, pick flowers (bend down to pick?);
see PW *tey
NT-M tê, forehead; BW teth, forehead
PK teyeteye, chest, breast
SP-M têr, têr, forehead

*têy, pick one at a time
W têyêa, to pick flowers one at a time
PR têyi, to pick berries

*-ti, directional locative suffix (512.33)
W -ti, in, at; locative directional suffix
PC -ti, directional suffix, from, by (Whistler 1977b, 1978)
SP-M [-ti attested in:] no-mel’-te, west; wi-yel’-te, north
cf. Klamath and Molala locative suffixes -t (Berman 1996: 11)

*tîCe·, drum; cf. *tîtil, ringing sound
W tîde·, to bray, make music; tidit, musical instrument; tiduma(-), to make music
N-K tîlê’t, hollow log drum
PH tîn’e-l, drum
PR-B tî-nel, drum

*tîl, *tîl ?, shine
W tîlo·qa, to shine, glare, glitter; p’oyoq te-la, to be bald (head to shine)
PCC tîl’tilos, twinkling (as a star, continual)
P-M teel’-bo-ko, lightning
P tîlamen, star (Dixon & Kroeber 1919 quoted in Callaghan 2001: 332)
cf. PMi *ty?le, star? (Callaghan ibid.); PMy *til, with reflexes including: suddenly shine, sparkle, glitter, lighten, flash, sparkle, catch fire, burn, to light, illuminate; Kwakiutl c’eliqa, something shiny (Brown 1990: 28)

*tîtil, ringing sound; cf. *tîCe·, drum
W tîle·, to ring, tîla, ring a bell, bell to ring, to spring a trap; tilti-la, to ring (of a bell); tîtiliha, to jingle (diminutive of tilti-la)
N-BW tîtil, cricket
PK tîtil, ti·tîl, crickets
*tip, *t’ip ? try

W t’ipe·, to try; t’ipemena·, to practice; t’ipewilp’ure, to dare or challenge each other; ʔel-t’ipe, to taste or sample something

PCC tipana-, try to do; H-U tipananta, try on clothes

*tir-i, belt

W tire·, to put on or wear a belt; tiri, tiru·s, tirum’a·s, belt; cf. ʔi’r-i-r, look through almost closed eyes, squint; ʔi’iri-k-, thin, slim, narrow, attenuated

NT-M te, belt worn by men or women

PCC tiri, dance belt; K tiridiyak, belt (about 3 in. long, made of fine beads, valuable) (cf. CC tiri/u, tight-fitting; diyak, belt worn by the bighead; K diyak, dancing belt; belt, any kind)

SP-M te-re, ter-re, belt worn by men

*tiw, search for

W tiwe, search for, hunt for

PCC tiwnan, to buy (hunt for oneself, get for oneself)

*tivi-t, killdeer

W tuweté’ték, shrieking sound made by a bird (Du Bois & Demetracopoulou 1931: 359); cf. M til’-le-hah, te-le’-to-lit, te-le’-lit, kil-te’-de, killdeer; te-le’-hah, meadowlark

NGT-M te-we’e’-dē’-dik, killdeer (Oxyechus vocifera)

PCC, K, T tivi-t, killdeer

PR tivi-t, killdeer (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

SP tivi-t, killdeer (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

Sound-imitative with similar terms in other California languages; e.g., Palewyami Che’e-e’e-te, killdeer (Berman 2002: 439)

*to-, pole; cf. *t’u, cane

W tolo(·)q, pole, paddle, fire-poker; toloy, mush paddle; cf. tole, leg; toki(t), handgame sticks

PK yay to-yi, house retaining stakes, back posts; yayto-yi, house posts (side)

*-to ?, -*tu ? agentive (511.5); cf. -*tu(·), person, people

W -to-, disjunctive postclitic (foregrounding, agent, focus, contrast)

PH -tu, agentive

*tob-i, spike; cf. *t’op, be sharp; *to-l, stick up

W tOb-, tuba·, raise, i.e., grow in the earth (i.e., grow without implication of increase), own a pet; tobit, that which is raised/grown; ʔol-tubas, stump

PK to-bito, buck with unforked horns

*tok-i ? *t’ok-i ? sticks; cf. *toq, stand up long things

W toki, handgame sticks; t’Ok-, sticks, make sticks, gambling sticks, set long thin things even or into the ground
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

N-G tohki’, sticks (Hesi regalia)
PCC t’ok, stick; K toki, stick used for counting money in grassgame; t’ok, little stick

Diffused, irregular correspondence.

*to-l, stick up; cf. *tob-i, spike
W to-la, plants to grow
PCC to-li/u-, stick (head) out, up

*tolto- ? *totow- ?, roadrunner
W-M pum’-taw’-taw-what’, pum-to’-waht, roadrunner [with po-m, ground]
PR-B t’ult’ul, roadrunner; t’olt’ow (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

Most likely diffused and not a good set

*ton, willow sp. or basket sticks from that willow
W ton, willow; white willow wood, bark and the sticks of white willow wood
(used for baskets); tonmi-, (white) willow tree; toni é’u-s, willow stick; (-mi-,
tree; é’u-s, wood, stick)
NT-M ton’-me, willow (Salix hindsiana)
PCC ton, a pole, upright post; K ton, basket stick
PR-B ton, post supporting house
cf. PCC, K tunuk, baby cradle; H-U t’unu·k, baby cradle from willow; A-U, T-U
tunuk, cradle basket; PR-B t’onok, baby basket

*toq, stand up long things; cf. *toq ? *tuq ?, nape of neck; *tok-i ?, t’ok-i ?, sticks
W toq-, to be like a post, stand up anything long, from tOq, set long thin things
even or into the ground; toqči, a post; toqča, to set a post in the ground; cf.
t’Oh, rigid; tok, dancing place
PK toktok, primary wing feathers

*toq ? *tuq ? nape of neck ?; cf. *toq, stand up long things
W toqi·qi, (back ?) part of the neck; backbone, when on living body or skeletal,
toqi·qi, spine; cf. doki, neck, throat; toro·r, ridge
NT-M dok’-kon’, back bone (vertebrae)
PCC tukutuku, neck (esp. back of neck), whole neck, back of neck high up on
head; cf. ?akit, back of the neck; K tuku-tuku, neck; cf. PR čoč’e, neck
(archaic word), nape of neck
cf. Alsea ta:kw-, to swallow (Golla 1997: 165); Mins, Mip to-pa-, nape (Callaghan
2001: 331)

W doqos, bulletin bug; cf. doqos, arrow, bullet (folk-etymology)
NG-M daw-kaw, beetle (all kinds)
PCC toko·men, water beetle; K toko·k, a bug that lives in the ground, makes a
hole about 3/4” deep, about the size of a fly; K CC ant lion
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*tos, basket type
N-C tás, burden-basket; cf. W t'o-s, camp(ground)
PK tos, kind of basket (big)

[to-to, dance type ?
N-G to-tocono, fast type of dance
PK to-to, name of old (pre-Kuksu) dance type
PR to-to, “shakehead dance,” with feather costume, old-time dance
Most likely a loan between N and P and not reconstructible

*tu, ahead of, before, first; prefix: ahead (422.3); cf. *tum, eye
W tu-, straight ahead, forward, in front; tuda, much further along; tune, forward, front, first; tuwa, tu?a(-), a little further along, further on; tu-ntaq, first; tuwa kele-l, further out; tu-n, still, yet, far ahead, long past, a while ago, a long time ago; tu-n?ukin, long ago; tu-n-p’uta-č’epet, ancestress; tu-nku-ra, to have the first child
PC tu-, ahead, first (prefix) (Whistler 1977b)
PCC tu-so, to go first < *tu-, first + ho, verbalizer; K tu-patuka e’u hara-bus, I’m going ahead; tube, early morning
SP-M too’-pe, first; too’-pe-win, first people
cf. Alsea tu:, tu:-c (particle) here!, an-tu:-n, that there; Siuslaw tu:(a), that one (Golla 1997: 166)

*-tu(-), person, people; cf. *-to ? *tu- ?, agentive; *t’e(-)n, body; whole
W -tu-, -’tu-, classifiers meaning something like “people” or “beings”; e.g., ya-paytu-, shamanistic spirit, killer spirit, white person; wint’u-h, person, people
N-G lakaltu, male supernatural being; K sëktu, chief
PCC se’ktu, chief, boss of any kind, captain
PR se’ktu, chief, headman, captain

*tum, eye; cf. *tu, ahead of, before, first
*tus-men, tears
*tusupuy, eyelashes
W tum (g), eye, eyes, face; tuh (p), one eye, particular eye(s); tusmen, tears; tusupuy, eyelashes
N-Ha tumút, eye
PCC, T tu-men, tears; tusupuy, eyelash; K tus, whole face, cheek; tusupuy, eyelash; T tus, face, cheek
PR tus, face; tusmen, tears (in eyes); tusupuy, eyelashes
SP-M too’-mah, too’, eye
cf. PMy *tum, center, middle (Brown 1990: 58)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

$t^h$

*{t}ah, berry sp.

W  {t}ah, service berry, service berries; cf. {t}abat, (wild) service berries; {t}ahmi, service berries, salmon berries [tree]

N-C  tá-hi, service-berries; cf. tá-k-chi, raspberries

PC-M  tah’, chokecherry

*{t}ak, put on a hat

*{t}ak-i, hat

W  {t}aka·, to put on one’s hat; {t}aki(t), hat, cap; cf. panti čaxča, to put a deerhead up as a decoy

N-BW  thaki, hat

PCC  t'ači, hat; K t'ač'i, cap, hat

and irregular:

PCC, K, T  {t}aknan, to get dressed (up), to ready one’s house, the dancehouse, etc., get things arranged when expecting someone
cf. Nez Perce tá-qma·, hat; Sahaptin táqma, hat; Molala tqäm, taqqam?, taqqäm, hat (Berman 1996: 21)

*{t}ak-č'i, dump (granulated solids ?)

W  {t}akča, to shove, push, spill granulated solids; {t}akal, solids to be spilled;
   {t}akč'i, nominal form

PK  {t}at'i/u-, dump (out)

*{t}al-, bump

W  ?el-{t}alča, to break

PR  {t}alalas ču, I bumped (myself); {t}ałalta, bumped

*{t}ap ?, *{s}ap ?, wash face, wash up (282.)

W  ?el-{s}apana·, to wash one’s face

PH-U  ta-punanata, wash your face

PR  {t}a-punan, wash your face and hands; {t}a-punanat'i, everyone wash up!
   (before eating)

*{t}apa, sand

W  wenem{t}apa, to be a mound or island in the river ("middle-sand" ?)

PR  {t}apa, sand

*{t}aw, left

*{t}aw sem, left hand

W  {t}aw-, left; {t}awsem, left hand

N-BP  thaw-(sem), left side

PH-B  {t}aw, left-handed

PR  {t}aw sem, left hand
*tʰel-a·, liquid spreads; cf. *tʰil-ʔa eat with someone
W tʰela·, liquid to spread out
PCC tʰela·, (water) spreads out (after spilling)

*tʰel, crack open; cf. *tʰol-i/u, break up surface
W tʰelca·, to break or wreck things; tʰilal, broken, burst, cracked open; cf. čEl-,
to be a rip, split on cloth; čEl-, to stone, hit with a rock
PCC tʰelu, to slice wood down, to cut thin shavings off so as to make something
fit in

cf. Proto-Cholan *til/*tihl, with reflexes including: fall, collapse, crush (chile
peppers), break (arm, leg), fall apart, tear down completely or into bits, and other
related meanings; Totonac (Papantla) tilha, he breaks it to pieces, he destroys it;
Tonkawa tilʔaye-, to crush (it) (by falling on ...), to hurt, injure (it) by pressure (all
from Brown 1990: 39-40)

*tʰil-ʔa eat with someone; cf. *tʰel-a·, liquid spreads; *tʰel, crack open
W tʰEl-·, tʰila·, to eat with someone
PH-U tʰilʔa henta, lunch

*tʰol-i/u, break up surface; cf. *tʰel, crack open; *tʰulu ? *tʰolo ?, pestle
W *tʰOl-, break (< *tʰol, stir, as in: tʰoloh, mush paddle; cf. tʰul-, swim, i.e.,
“break water’s surface” ?); tʰula·, to chip; tʰolca·, to break; tʰulal, broken; cf.
tul, bang, roar, thunder, shoot with rifle, to be popeyed
PH-U, T-U toli, pound (anything, e.g., meat); cf. A-U tʰulup, rock acorn cracker
PR tʰo-lʔaro, “crazy,” what happens to someone caught by a spirit up on Sutter
Buttes, when they get trapped or distracted while up there [“cracked (up)”?]

*tʰoq-čʰ-i/u, lean against (tr.)
W ʔe1-tʰoqča/i/u-, to lean something up against (as a board against the entrance
so as to close it); ʔol-tʰuqa, to stand up long things (as poles); cf. tuka·, to
make handgame sticks; kento·k, to put into the ground (tree, pole)
PR tʰoktʰi/u, to lean (something) against

*tʰub, spit
W tʰube·, to spit (once)
N-BW tuba‘-, spit
PK tʰuba-, to spit
PR tʰuba, to spit
cf. PMy *tʰuhb‘-i, to spit, *tʰuhb‘, saliva; Maidu t’up, spit; Zoque (Francisco Leon
dialect) čuhipiʔu, spit; Popoluca (Oluta) tıcuhpa, spit; Choctaw tufa, spit; Natchez
cuȟagiš, spittle; Keresan šupšup, spit; Colorado tuʔpakeno, spit; Mosetan čupi, spit
(all from Brown 1990: 26)
*t'ul-e/-i/-u, swim; cf. *t'ol-i/-u, break up surface
W t'ule-, t'uli/-u-, swim; Pitkin distinguishes t'ule, to swim, and t'ule-, to travel by boat; to travel on the water either swimming or in a boat; t'u-la, to glide on the water
N-J t'u-le, swim
PCC t'uli/-u-, swim
PR t'uli/-u-, swim; t'ule, you swim!
cf. Alsea tlu:q'w, land close to the shore, beach (Golla 1997: 166)

*t'ulu? *t'olo? pestle; cf. *t'ol-i/-u, break up surface
W t'oloh, pestle, mush stirrer; t'olo-y, cooking paddle, paddle for stirring
PCC t'ulup, pestle

*t'u(·)n, body, whole; cf. *-tu(·), person, people
W wint'u-n t'unis, (the whole) body; t'unama-, altogether, all over all of it; t'unin hina, to come together (for war), enter into a trance, come up to someone; t'u-n, back (body part), slope, back above waist, back of the body slope (t'u-n, steep, slope); cf. tu, tu-n, ahead; tu-nmaq, chest, breastbone
N-BW tun, body; T-M toom', whole body; N-W t'u-n, chest
PCC, K t'u-n, body; T-U t'u-n, lots
PR t'u-n, body
SP-M toon', whole body

W t'u-puwil, to pull out weeds or plants; ʔol-t'upça, to pull up (as traps)
N-BW tip-, thip-, pull
PCC t'ubu-·, to pull out
PR t'ubu-·, pull

*t'uq, single thing or individual emerges; cf. *čuk-a, approach
W t'uqča, to pull out, to pull out a single hair, to pull out something by the roots, to take out a splinter; t'uqe, to tweeze hair
PT-U t'uktis, he comes out (as in kewena t'uktis, he’s coming out through the house)


*t'a-, chew; perhaps *t'ač and identical with *t’ač, split/slit two halves
W t’ača-, to chew on, eat on something (perhaps < *t’a-č, split, cut)
PR t’ača-k, to chew; cf. H-U, T-U t’ačoho, chew

*t’ač, split/slit two halves; cf. *t’a-, chew
W t’ača, to split without separating wide open; se-t’a-t, to split open, to split apart, to split twigs, wood, watermelon (< *t’a-č, split, cut); cf. t’e-č, slit
PCC t’ači, abalone shell pendants; T-U abalone and abalone shell
*t’al-a, fall; cf. *dil-i, fall
W t’ala, to fall off
N-S t’ala, fall
PCC, K t’al, to fall; CC t’alma, to drop (tr.)
PR t’alta, fall (of nuts, people), fall down; t’alma, to drop

*t’al-a, clothe, clothes; cf. *t’amu·, shoe
W t’ala, to wear clothes
NT-M tah-hlah-pen’-peet, naked [clothes-without]
PCC, K t’ala·, clothes
PR t’ala, clothes, clothing

*t’amu·, shoe; cf. *t’al-a, clothes
W t’amu·s, shoe(s); t’ama·, to wear shoes
N-SS tami, shoes
PT-U t’amu, t’amu·, shoe; t’amu·, foot; t’amu, footprint

*t’aq-i/u, pound
W t’aqa-, to pound, pulverize, grind with a stone; pukit’aqi, acorn mush before cooking
PCC, K t’aki/u-, pound, grind, smash up
PR t’aki/u-, pound

*t’aq, slap
W t’aq-, slap, pet, pat; t’aqča, slap, slap on the body, slap one slap, spank
PH-U t’akči, t’ak’a, to slap; sem t’akt’akči, clap hands

*t’ara, mushroom sp.
W t’a·rak, lily mushroom
PCC, K t’arap, mushroom sp.; T mushroom sp., shelf-type (on cotton-woods?)
PR t’arap, mushroom sp. (flat, on trees)

*t’arara ? *č’arara ? kingfisher
W t’ararak, belted kingfisher
NGT-M chá-dah’-dahk’, kingfisher (Ceryle)
PCC č’arara, kingfisher; K č’arara, belted kingfisher; KT č’arara·, belted kingfisher
PR č’arara, kingfisher
SP č’araw, č’araraw, belted kingfisher (Whistler 1976e)
cf. Palewyami Cho-taw’-to-klős’, kingfisher (Berman 2002: 439)

*t’eb, split apart; cf. *t’eč-a, slice; *č’eb-a·, to scrape, scratch; *λ’ab, λ’eb, break
W t’epča, to skin a deer; se-t’epča, to cut open, tear open (an animal)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PK  t’ebap’iri, t’ebapita, to split apart (as a long stick), split open (tearing cloth or tearing open deer guts); t’ebopita, already split off (as a large branch falling down off a tree)

*t’ëc-a, slice; cf. *t’eb, split apart, *t’ač, split/slit two halves
W  se-t’ëča, to cut fish or deer apart
PR  t’etaho, to split open a fish (down the middle into two pieces); T-U, te-te, fish cut in slices; H-U te-lta, sliced meat

*t’e-dVq, ant; cf. *tede, red
W  t’ido-q, red ant (or “ant” when modified, e.g., lalas t’ido-q, little black ant)
NG-M  ted’-dawk’, ants (all kinds)
PCC  t’edek, big (red?) ant sp.; dark-colored big ants (in ground); T big red ant sp.
PR  t’edek, big red ant sp.

*t’el, smoke hole
W-M  tel’ hol’-luk, smoke hole; cf. pat-čeli, door; xeli, door; M puluk (teluk), cooking basket, close twine
PK  ?olt’el, smoke hole

*t’eqel, palm; cf. *dek, climb, step
W  ?ol-t’eqel, forehead (“upper palm”)?; cf. t’aqal, palm or under-foot, sole < t’aq, pat, pet, slap, pound; cf. tep-t’ikil, heel
NT-M  dow-tak-le, sole
PCC, T-B  t’ekel, palm of hand
PR-B  t’ekel, palm of hand
SP-V  tìkìtìtì’u, baby’s heel

*t’er ?, tend in indicated direction; cf. *t’ir, twist
W  t’Er, move, act, tend, in indicated direction; cf. t’Er-, glide, spread the feathers to glide
PCC  čentere, to hang down; K wayt’ere, “face the north,” the Colusa place with the dancehouse

*t’er-i, make round; cf. *dir, *diř, roll; *t’ir, twist
W  t’ira-, to catch fish in net, hold out net to catch fish; xun-t’erča, to fold, close; ?ol-t’ira, to hold up a dish to catch water; t’e-ri, big pack basket
PT-U  t’eri, anything round

*t’es, sneeze
W  t’ise-, to sneeze
PCC  č’esi, to sneeze; K č’esi/u-
PR  č’esi/u-, to sneeze
Irregular correspondence due to sound symbolism. Widespread similar forms.
*t’e(·)s, spouse’s parent, child’s spouse, in-law one generation removed
W t’e-s, -t’es, spouse’s parent, child’s spouse
N-W t’es, spouse’s parent, child’s spouse
PCC t’e-s, in-law (generation higher); nay t’e-s, my father-in-law, my mother-in-law; K nayt’es, father-in-law (wife’s father, husband’s father), son-in-law (daughter’s husband)
PR t’e-s, daughter/son/father/mother-in-law, in-laws in general

*t’i-, *ti- ?, know; cf. *t’ip, make sparks; *t’ihi-t-u, ask
W t’ipna-, to know
N-BW t’ipna-, know
PCC t’iže’a, to know, understand (< *t’ič - ʔa ?) (also t’ičh’a ?)
PR t’ičh’a, know, understand

*t’ihi-t-u, ask; cf. *t’i-, *ti- ?, know
W t’ihi-ta, t’ihi-tu-, to ask a question, ask for advice
N-BW tihita-, hand over, get, give
PCC, K t’ihi-ti/u-, ask
PR-B t’echiti, tiito, t’echitu, to ask

*t’ik-i/u, pour solids
*t’ik-u-pa(q) (with benefactive)
W panti t’ika, panti t’ike-, to pour solids on something; t’ikel, to be filled with solids; doći bukulini t’ikupaq, bake it in the ashes!
PCC t’ičo-, to put in a sack; t’iči, to bury (tr.), to cover up with dirt; t’iči kewe, sweat house; cf. t’i-ki, sand; K t’iči/ti/u-, throw dirt on/over; t’ičo-ro, put in (a sack); t’iči/kewel, sweat house; ?ut t’ičuaro, threw (dirt, gravel) on/over him
PR t’iču-, bury; B t’iči/u-t, sweat house

*t’ip, make sparks; cf. *t’i-, *ti- ?, know
W t’ipe-, sparks to fly, to send out sparks, fire to crackle; ?el-t’ipel, something to be in one’s eye; cf. M che’-pok, ashes
PCC t’ipili, to roast in earth oven, (cover with ashes) meat roasted in pit with ashes over it; K roasted squirrel; cf. t’ipa, acorn bread
PR t’ipil, to bake in ashes; cf. t’ip’a, bread
SP-M e’-pah, acorn bread

Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms for acorn bread are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMiw *cíp·a. If this is the case, P would have folk-etymologized the borrowing and changed c to t. However, W dibilis, acorn bread when the dough is thick (dib-, ooze, overflow sluggishly, thickly) and tibil, make acorn cakes, indicate that these forms involve a root of older lineage.

*t’ir, twist; cf. *dir, *díl, roll; *t’er, tend in indicated direction
W è’anim t’ira, to twist to one side; cf. è’anim t’iír’ka, to twist (someone’s arm); t’ilikta, to wind; t’ile-, to twist and roll wild iris to make rope; t’il-, spiral,
twist, wind, roll, bore, focus; t’ile-, to be twisted, as a vine around a pole or tree

PCC t’ir-, to twist (in the fingers)

*t’ok, spot
W t’okća, to have a spot; t’uka-, to have (a) spot(s); t’oko-ra, to be spotted (all over); cf. łuk-, spot; łuxća, to have chickenpox
PK t’oki, one spot; t’oku-ro bo·s, spotted, freckled

cf. Klamath (Barker 1963: 538) lto·q’, be spotted

*t’oli, dragonfly
W t’oy bolma, dragon fly (folk etymologized: lit. penis suck)
PR-U t’oli, dragonfly

*t’on, tarweed
N-G t’on, tarweed
PCC, K t’o·n, white tarweed sp. (prob. Hemizonia rudis, hayfield tarweed)
Possibly a loan between N and P

*t’op, *t’up, be sharp; cf. *tob-i, spike
W t’Op-, spear, stab, stick, pierce, thorns, prickles, be sharp, be pricked, joint, set ends together, guess in gambling, hornet, wasp; t’upa-, to stick with something sharp, get shot; t’opća, to sting

PCC t’opelto, get up, raise oneself up; K pi ?ete·ta t’opu·l bes, that’s a pole; t’opu-ro, put (net) down in water to catch fish; U t’o·pt’opma, itching all over body
PR t’u·p, spear (n.); t’up, spear, slice finely
SP-M tup’-pel-to, stand up!
cf. PMy *t’op, to pinch (Brown 1990: 58)

*t’or, pinch
W t’or, bite, pinch, nip at (< t’Or-, take acorns out of cups ?)
PCC t’ori?a, be stuck on

*t’ot, thick liquid
W t’Ot-, t’uta-, to throw thick liquid, make acorn flour into dough; cf. čutupa, to be thick

PH-U, A-U tote, nasal mucus

*t’u-, cane; cf. *to-, pole
W t’uwe·s, cane, crutch; t’uwemen-a, to walk with a cane

PCC t’uha, the stick held by a dancer ?; T-U t’uha-, walking cane; K t’usa, walking stick

*t’ubuq, mortar ?
W t’ubuq, largest storage basket
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PR  č’obok, mortar; B mortar hole
If cognate, P would have backed *t’ to *č’ in a reversal of the fronting chain (an early hypercorrection ?)

*t’uduy, *t’uy, stone, small round rock
W  t’ud-, round, ball, naked; t’uduy, ball; t’uduq, t’uduq, round; se-t’udu-ra, to roll around; M too-doo, small stone for splitting acorns; C notudui ulumus, he stoops picks up stones; cf. t’une-, to make (into) a ball; xun-t’uye, to make bundles; č’u-d-, to sit on haunches
N-BW  tuduhu, ball; G tudut, puck (knob of wood for shinny)
PC  dudi, ball
PR  t’uduy, rock; R-U small rock
SP-M  ‘too-yook, round like ball
cf. PCC, R-B t’odoy, short; SP-M ‘to-dok, short; PH-U t’odo-k-aro, stingy

*t’uk-u, drown
W  t’uke-, to (die by) drown(ing), to be submerged; t’uku-, imperative stem
PR  t’uču, t’uči-u-, to drown
PH-B  t’usi, to drown (irregular)

*t’uk-u-k en, you might drown (with *-k en, may, might, lest)
W  t’ukukuen, you might drown, lest you drown
PR  č’o-nan, t’učuči mi, watch out! you might drown

*t’ul, to finger
W  t’ulčuheres, the one it is tabu to touch, the one made handsome, Tulcuheres, the Sun (with evidence from myth, perhaps ‘the one who was beaten as a (potential) spouse’; cf. tul, to beat a spouse; tuk, throb, pulsate); C translates “tulchuherris” as “dug out of the ground,” which may refer to a person originating on earth in contrast to Sun in the myth. The most likely meaning of the root t’ul- is “touch, stick fingers in to touch or dig up.” Cf. č’uli·ka, flames, flames going along, licking about
PCC  t’ulukpale, I’m gonna stick my fingers in and get it out [e.g., into mouth of a choking person]; K t’ulukta, grabbing, fondling

*t’umi, fog
W  t’umi-, fog (Pitkin and Shipley 1958: 181)
N-S  t’umiit, fog
PT  t( )umi, waterfall; cf. K sumuklay, to be foggy
SP-M  too’-mè, fog

*t’uw, pine ?
W  t’uwe-s, crutch, cane
N-G  t’u-wa, walking stick
PCC  t’uwa-, pine tree; K T t’uwa- (t’ok), digger pine
*t’uy, seal (close)
*t’uy-ēi, net

W
  t’uy-, plug up, stop up, fill up, seal, bundle up, spurs, bird’s down; C tuichi
  kelis, feathered head net; tuichu kilis, net faced with white down; cf. ā’uyih,
  be cramped, cramps, rheumatism, be numb
PK
  t’uyi/u-, close (door), dam up, (water) to back up; cf. CC, K, R toyi/u-, to
  stop, quit, end, edge; SP-M toi’/-yu’-pah, full
PR-U
  t’uyt’i, sack from twine; t’uyt’uyta, separating acorn seeds rotating basket

λ’

*λ’ab, *λ’eb, break; cf. *t’e, split apart

W
  *λ’e-, to interrupt a physical continuity, break; λ’Eb, λ’Ep, break, tear;
  λ’abalpom, French Gulch (Whistler 1980: 24: “... the most promising
  phonemic interpretation of the term [for French Gulch] seems to be /λ’abal-
  pom/’. La Pena (1978: 324) offers a translation as ‘good (peaceful) ground’,
  but I consider a more appropriate translation to be ‘broken up-place (or
  country).’ This could refer either to the natural topography of the French
  Gulch area, or, if the term is a late coinage, to the local disruptive effects
  of 19th century mining in the area. The root /λ’ab-/ seems to be somewhat
  uncommon in Wintu, but survives as a common root in Patwin. Cf. WPCC
  /λ’aba/ ‘to break (one thing) to pieces; to shatter’ and /λ’ab-ču/ ‘broken
  into pieces; shattered.’ The -al ending on the Wintu form is presumably
  related to the Wintu {el} stative root-deriving verbal suffix.”

PCC
  λ’ebu, to chip (pl.); λ’eba·, to break (like an eggshell, bust up); λ’ebi, to
  chip, to round bead blanks by chipping; λ’ebλ’e·bis, nibble; λ’abu, to break
  (pl.) into pieces; λ’ab-a·, to break (sg.) into pieces (flowerpot, bottle on a
  rock, etc.)

cf. Alsea lwxmt- (or tl’umt-), to tear (Golla 1997: 163)

*λ’al, (empty ?) shell

W
  λ’al, shell; λ’ala·s, abalone shell, seashell, clam, mussel, oyster, earring
N-G
  ma·tlala, earrings; TG-M klal’, any shell
PCC, K
  λ’al, shell (any; oyster, snail, turtle, nut, acorn)
PR
  λ’al, empty shells of acorns, walnuts, beans, etc.

*λ’ap-u ? *t’op-u ? fit

W
  λ’apure, to suit, match, fit; λ’apurma·, to try on; λ’apurma·, evenly (divided)
PR
  t’opu-, fit

*λ’aq, finish; *λ’aq-ēh (with mediopassive) (*λ’ak-ēh ?)

W
  λ’aqama, to stop snowing; cf. λ’aq, obsidian, chip ?; λ’akama, rope to
  break; ḷaq, cover; λ’akča, to burn up (tr.)
PK
  λ’att’i, done (of the dancing), finish, wind it up
PR
  λ’akt’i, to finish a period of fasting, to be over with it, last finishing up of
  the dance, ceremonies
*la’aqa, (dry ?) grass
W λ’aqas, łaqas, weed
PCC, K λ’akan, hay, dry grass

*la’aq-a, strike at
W λ’aqa-, to flake, retouch obsidian; cf. λ’ak-, make arrowheads
PR λ’aka-, kick

*la’ar, white stone
W λ’a-buruq, marble, white stone, agate; cf. ħuruq, white
PK λ’ara-k, small white rocks (heavier than gravel, only come from certain places, maybe in some dry spots in the creek; white, black, small)

*la’al, rattle; cf. *la’al, (empty ?) shell
W λ’al, live mollusc (in its shell; e.g., oyster, abalone, mussels, clams), mussel (shell); cf. λ’asa-sus, rattle, split rattle, wooden rattle; ħas, stick for rattling; ħasa-sus, ħasa-sunas, any stick used for rattling, music, song; ħada-rus, elderberry rattle
NT-M ‘kah’-sah’-soo, rattle; C ka-hlá-hlu, rattle (split-elder baton); H λ’ala-l’ali, rattle (clapperstick); BW kaLaLu, kaLalu, singing stick
PK λ’ali, big clapper sticks used by dancer, small clapper sticks used in singing, rattle, singing stick

*la’er, pierce through; cf. *la’ab, la’eb, break
W λ’eriča, to shoot low (tr.); sanihas λ’eriča, Morning Star (“daylight archer”?)
PCC λ’eru, to punch holes (pl.) in; λ’era-, to go through an opening (flying or walking), punch a hole in (with awl, etc.); cf. λ’er-, shout, cry out; K λ’er-, scream

*la’erew, bulb sp. (Brodiaea sp. ?)
W λ’ere()w, tigerlily (bulbs), mountain lily
PCC, K λ’erew, harvest brodiaea ?

*la’et, ground squirrel
W λ’et, California ground squirrel; also defs, ground squirrel < lEt, be nervous, tremble, shiver (perhaps a folk-etymology)
N-W λ’et, ground squirrel
PCC, K, R λ’et, ground squirrel
SP λ’ek ?, ground squirrel (Whistler 1977a)

*la’ey-e, bare the teeth
W si· λ’eya, to show all the teeth (smile broadly, i.e., spread lips); si· λ’eyes, a person whose teeth are always showing
PK λ’ey-, laugh, neigh; T-U λ’eye, laugh
PR λ’ey, to laugh; B to smile
*λ’ik, dull (of senses)
W ma’t λ’ikeles, stopped up ears
PCC λ’-ki, pain has gone down (refers just to pain)

*λ’il-, shelled and dried acorns
W λ’ile, acorns
N-C tli-hla, acorns (shelled and dried)
PCC t’ila, hulled and dried acorn kernel (without the skin)
PR t’ila, dried acorn kernels
The P forms may have been dissimilated *λ’>t’/l

*λ’ir, roast
W λ’idi-ruma-, to fry (dissimilation *r > d/ r ?)
PK λ’il-, λ’ir-, roast, scorch (hair off a squirrel)

*λ’itq-, apply light pressure with hand
W λ’i-tqa, to feel, touch
PCC λ’iti-ko, to squeeze (sg.), squeeze easy, press lightly; λ’itko, to squeeze (pl.), press down, squeeze or press on lightly repeatedly

*λ’o-m-u, kill; cf. *lim, fade away
W λ’o-ma, to kill, slaughter, murder; cf. ło-m, stick; ław, hit; łu, stab, pierce; λ’u, stick in (all from *LO- ?)
PCC, K lum-, lu-m-, die, dead
PR lu-m-, dead, die
SP-M loo’-mir-rit ?, dead; lum-o’-oot, kill [him, her, it] (an animal, man)
P may have changed *λ’ to l by contamination with lim-, see *lim
cf. Alsea ɨxma:n-, (or t’la:mm-), to kill; Siuslaw tl’xmai-, kill, tl’xmi:ti:, bow (Golla 1997: 163)

*λ’op, *lop, tule, bulrush
W λ’op, flat tule; lupul, tule, needle grass, rat-tailed grass
NG-M ‘hlup’, big round tule; T-M ‘hlüp’ (Scirpus lacustris); B Lap, tule
PCC ɨop, round tule, bulrush; T λ’op
cf. Mim sappa, tule (Callaghan 2001: 324)

*λ’op, *λ’op-čb-, *lop-čb-, insert long things (vertically ?), poke, stick into; cf. *λ’ut, *λ’ucb-, apply sharp pointed object
W λ’Op, λ’upa, put, stick in long things vertically; λ’upča, to stick into the ground, bow one’s head; ʔol-λ’upča, to tack up hides against the house; ken-λ’upča, to throw or put a person in deep water; λ’opča, to put something into, dump (acorns, hide), also ɭopča, to spill out on the ground, to dump out or down
PCC λ’optu, to put in (sg.); λ’o-p, to fill (pl. of λ’optu); λ’optaro, filling, putting in (a lot of things)
łupa-, to poke with a needle, prick; łożt’unana, put on (as shoes or gloves) (insert one’s fingers or toes into); łożt’up’iri, put together; łuż-pi, to put feathers on head

PK łupa-ro, stick in hand, stick in anyplace, with a needle; łożt’uro, put on, attach; łożt’upita, joint

PR me-móa łoż’opt’u?, put it in the water, soak it in the water; U łoż’opt’unan, ring (put one’s finger into); łoż’opt’u, łożt’u?, to put together

*łoż’or-, protruberance

W łoż’Or-, łoż’ura-, to pile up rocks or earth; łoż’uru-m, mound; cf. lór, freckles, pimples; IOr-, add; lur-, small dots or freckles

PR łoż’ora, knee; cf. łoż’uri?, earwax?

*łoż’uk, worm

W łoż’uk, worm, cutworm, pinworm, maggot; cf. łuż-q, worm

N-BP łoż’uk, worm

PCC łoż’ut, cutworms (greenish); T worm sp. (cutworm ?)

PR łupłup, worms

cf. PMy *luquːm, worm (Brown 1990: 18)

*łoż’uq, remove from body

W łoż’uqe, to pluck (chicken), pick (fruit); łoż’uqel, hair to come loose or off; łoż’uqca, to pick (flowers); cf. xOq-, pull off large slaps of bark

PCC łoż’uku-, to gut (a deer), cut open; K łoż’uk-, gut, degut, take guts out
cf. Alsea liːq-i-y-s, feather; liːx, tail feather (Golla 1997: 162)

*łoż’ut, *łoż’uc-, apply sharp pointed object; cf. *łoż’op, *łoż’op-čh-, *łożt-čh-, insert long things (vertically ?), poke, stick into

W łoż’u, stick in, plant; łoż’ućuna-, to stab oneself, to pierce oneself with a sharp pointed object; łoż’u-t, stick up, erect something sharp; cf. se-łoż’oćo-ya, mash; q’ay łoż’oća, chew up; łoż’ać-, mash, weight down; cf. łużca, łużce, stab, gag, spear

PCC łoż’utu-ko, to scratch (sg.); łoż’ut-ko, to scratch (pl.) (with nails, claws, brush); K łoż’tu-, pinch; łoż’oću-, pick up with pinch-like motion
cf. PMy łużć, with reflexes including: remove thorn (with needle, etc.), prick, remove with needle, to gore; Huitoto Murui llutade, to inject, puncture, prick one time with a small thing; Zapotec (Isthmus) rudu, to give a poke, to perforate, to jab (animals); Shuswap łuż, to poke, stab, sting (all from Brown 1990: 23)

-u

*-u, imperative or irrealis stem-deriving suffix (423.22)
See *kay-i/u, shame; *koy-i/u, koyi-ʔa, hurt, sick, want; *xed-i/u, fart; *k’ah-i/u, wind, wind blows; *k’eb-i/u, loosen by scratching; *lel-a/i/u, make; *wać-i/u, cry; *yal-i/u, leave; *ʔod-i/u-, itch, scratch
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

V

*-V(·)l, stative ? (423.14)
See: *kip-Vl, roll, run continuously; *k’aral, stative of *k’ar-a, scrape (?); *k’uw-i-l, bent; *wili(-ʔa), be fast, do fast; *laqlal, play

*-V,l, suffix of unknown meaning (511.7)
See: *holol, sunshine; *kopol, pond; *xerel, people of, village; *k’ala(·)l, flowers; *pene(·)l, black oak acorn; *qewel, house; *tahal, tongue; *teqel, palm; *yoho(·)l, toad

*-V(·)r, continuative (423.12); see *kim-u-r, rumble, roar; *lon-or, sound bee-like; cf. *har-a-, go; *wer, come

*-V-y, iterative (423.13); see *hil-a-y, swing arms; *p’ek-a-y-i/u ? *hik-a-y-i/u ?, stand

W

*wač-i/u, cry
W wač’a-, wači/u-, cry, weep, keen, sob, wail
N-BW woCa-, cry
PCC, K watʰi/u-, cry, whine
PR-U wa’tʰi/u-, cry
SP-A hueti chu huati, I will weep
cf. PR-U war’k, red; PK watwa-ti, red (prob. originally referring to eyes and face, but in H-U forms also used with light, redwing blackbird, house, which may, however, be loan translations.)
cf. PYn *waχil, to cry, PM *wak, to cry out (Callaghan 2001: 330); Klamath swaqča, cries, weeps (Barker 1963: 397)

*wak, wide (open ?); cf. *waw, open mouth
W wa-k, widen ?; se-wa-k, to open up wide; waku, open it wide!; cf. wa-w, wide open; waw, open wide
PR-U wa’akta, wide

*wal-u, flame, lightning; cf. *k’al, intense visual perception; *nal ? *wal ?, lick; *q’al-i ?, charcoal
W wa.lu qa, to lighten; pʰo-h walwa.luq, flame; cf. ?alula, glimpse
N-S wooloa, burn
PCC wa’lbok, lightning to flash; waʔa, to flame; K wa’lbok-, lightning to flash, spark; cf. H-U we-la, light
PR-B wa’lboko, lightning
SP-M wal-loo’-mah, cremation; wal’-le, flame or blaze
cf. PU *wil-ep, lightning; PYnim *walam, walna, lightning; Mins wil-ep-y-, Cscr wil.ep, lightning; PM *wis-p’il, lightning (Callaghan 2001: 323)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*walu, barren
N-G walusa, hermaphrodite [barren-intensive]
PCC walu, barren woman (has borne no children)

*wana, end point
W wan, end, top of tree, tip of nose; wana-, -wana, to be or move in a certain direction (toward the end point?); kenwani, evening, late; M wahn’, a point
N-H t’u·ku ke·nwana, sundown, sunset
PT-U wan, point, end

*waqu’, *waqo·? log
W waqu·s, log; waq-, to pile < waq, log ends/tips; cf. wosik, hollow log
PK wako·, log, limb; pako·, foot log (for crossing stream); cf. PCC wakne, waves

*wasasa, *wasas-ʔa?, rattle (rustle?)
W was, dry leaves, rustle (of dry leaves), make a noise like dry vegetation; wasa-sa, to rattle (not organically), to rattle the instruments to make a specific sound (music), the sound of deer hoof rattles
N-C wa-sâ-su, rattle (cluster of oak-galls)
PCC sawar, a rattle (of rattler); sawarho, rattling; K wasasʔaro, rattling (intr.); wasasamaro, shaking (tr.) it (like a rattle, etc.) [make it rattle]
cf. SP-M pah-sas-lah, elderberry stick

*wataq, frog
W wataqmet, frog
N-W wataq, frog; BP watak, frog
PCC, K, T wata·k, frog
PR-U wata·k, frog, toad

*waw, open mouth; cf. *wak, wide (open?)
W se-waw, to open one’s mouth and leave it open; se-wawča, to open someone’s mouth with one’s hands
PCC wa-woʔ?, open up (mouth)!; wawčʰis, jaw (the whole thing); K wa-wi/i-ʔ, mouth open; wa-wis, hornet?
PR wa-wis, hornet, wasp

cf. Jacaltec ʔawñomi, to laugh (opening the mouth wide) (Brown 1990: 60)

*way, north
*way-el-ti (with locatives)
W way, north; wa-li ti (< *wayelti), north across canyon or river; waye-l, uphill north
N-G wai, north
PCC, K way, north
PR way, north (close by); wayel, north
SP-M wi-yel’-te, north
*we(·)l, salt
W we(·)l, salt, < *wEl, mix, combine, salt, season; cf. wilewil, people to be mixed together in a crowd
N-S we, salt; BW wiLea, also
PCC, R we-·, salt
SP-M wes’, salt

*wenem, middle, center
W wenem, middle, center
N-G winɛmpom, aces in the center
PCC, K wenem, middle, center
PR-B wenem, center
SP-M wen’-nem, middle

cf. Alsea wi·l-, to arrive, come to stop (Golla 1997: 166)

*wer, come
W wEr-, wira, wer-, come
N-J wey, to come; G weda, I came (greeting); weyam, did you come (greeting);
BW we-, come, bring, give; win boya wea’, lots of men are coming
PCC, K, R wer-, come

*wer, come!
W war, come! (cf. har, go!); we-ʔ, come! weʔe- war, (be sure to) come!
N-W ?el ba we, come and eat
PK wer, come here! CC, R wer, come!

*were-s, coming, a coming
W weres, coming, nominal stem
PCC po weres yemena, someone coming along the road
PT-U keweti weres, he’s coming from house
PR po weres, who’s coming? somebody’s coming

*were, imperative stem
W were, imperative stem
PCC po pi were·t’i behna, somebody is gonna come tomorrow
PK pile nattuka were·bus, they’re coming home
PR po werebo, who’s coming

*were, bring inanimate
W were, to bring something inanimate; were-·n, while bringing
PCC were-·, to bring (inanim.), to bring back; cf. weri-·, to bring along (animate)
were, bring!
pima pi were·sa, he brought that
were·mʔu, didn’t bring it
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PK pi were·bus, he bring it out to me
pe· were·le, (he’s) gonna bring something

*wer-i·l, to bring an animate; cf. *-wil, *-i(·)l, animate comitative
W weri·l, to bring something animate, come with someone, bringing someone (live, animate) here
PCC weri·, to bring along (animate)
pi ?ut wi·tama weri·sa, he brought that man along
PR nay k´elti·la ?ut weri·le, when I return, I’ll bring this back (animate?)

*wer-ma, let come, make come (with causative)
W werma·t hara·-wira ?ibi·da, I’ve got to go; they want me to come
PK ... lew wermaro, to make plants grow (come)
?ut wermato, he’ll come to me (“gonna let him come”)

*wer, struggle
W se-wiruna·, to kick continuously with both feet; se-wirunama·, to make someone wiggle by holding on to him when he is trying to get away; cf. ?ol-wiruna·, to flip oneself up in the air
PH-U weri·p’inta, fight back when trapped

*wey, stuff feathers
W wEy-, wiya, to stuff (feathers only ?); ?el-weyu k’alaq, stuff the feathers in!
[stuffed dancing outfit?]
PK weya, dancing outfit; pi weya k’apta, she got caught by a feather

*wi·-ta, man; cf. *win, person; *wiy, *wi·, man, husband
W wi·ta, man
N-G notwîta, male supernatural being; G ketewitat, one thousand, one big man
PCC, K, R wi·ta, man
SP-M we´-tah, man, guessing game: the small object

*wik, pull
W wikča, to do, be doing, touch; cf. wihila, to touch
PCC wiči·si'u, to pull; K wiči'iu-, pull

*wik, move hips ?
W wik-, sway, rock, tip, prod, nudge, poke
PK wičok, hipbone (the ridge sticking up to left and right)
cf. PMy *ŋihk, to shake, to move (Brown 1990: 60)

*wik, burrowing owl
W-M wik’, poorwill
NG-M we’-e, burrowing owl; T-M we’-ēk, burrowing owl; C wiük, ground owl
PK wik, burrowing owl
*wil-i ?, *p'il-i ?, smooth (278.); cf. *p'il-i, crawling, slithering; *wil, to coat, coating

W wili·ka, to be bare (of ground); to be a clearing, to be a cleared, flat, brushless (large) meadow; p'ooyoq wili·ka, to be bald (head smooth); cf. siloqa, to be smooth or slick

N-S wiliika, smooth

PR p'ililik, slippery (as wet or muddy ground); p'ilimaro ?ih, you smoothe it out, you polish it

*wil, to coat, coating; cf. *wilaq, earth; *-wil, *-i(-)l, animate comitative; *q'ilaq, dirt (earth); *win, see; *wil-i?, *p'il-i?, smooth

W wil-, to make paint waterproof by varnishing with salmon skin, perhaps ‘to make shiny’; cf. wEl, move swiftly, visibly

PK wi-l-, spread on, put on the surface, scrape on; wi-lisok, paint; pEwilu-ro, hoarse (throat covered) (cf. W doki t'ilel, to be hoarse of the throat; analogized in P to wil- ?)

*-wil, *-i(-)l, animate comitative (423.38); see *bohil under *boh, sit, be; *weri-l under *wer, come; cf. *win, person

W -wil, -i(-)l, particular comitative

P -wil, -i-, -il, comitative?

*wilaq, *velaq, earth; cf. *win, person; *q'ilaq, dirt (earth)

W wilaq, clay of any color, esp. white; weloq, red clay; huru-qi weloq, white clay

PCC wilak, country, the whole world; K world, all over, everything, valley, country; welak, earth, land

PR wilak, land, earth, ground

cf. PUA *k"i, *k"iya, earth

*wile, may it be

W wile, please, let me, well (e.g., wile wi-n, let me see); cf. wil, wake up; wilna, to awake, restore to consciousness, awaken

N-Ha wila, wile, see, or let me see

PK wi-le, happy

PR wi-le, good fortune (?), everything to be on the good side (a lot of songs have that word in them); wi-le wi-le layuk behdi, let everything be ok (in old days when people sneeze, people would say...)

*win, fly

NT-M win'-nah, to fly; S winna, fly

PCC winit-, get up; K winit-, fly

Probably a loan between N and P, but cf. W ken-wisirta, to jump up (when bitten by insect), cf. PW *wer, struggle
*win, in-laws, relatives; cf. *win, person
W wines, parallel cousins, relatives, relations, in-laws
PCC neč'uwinn, relatives, kinfolk
PK k'asalwinle, mother-in-law

*win, person; cf. *win, in-laws, relatives; *wiy, *wi-, man, husband; *wi-ta, man;
*wilaq, earth
W win, person
N-BW win, Indian, man
PCC -win, person (nominalizer); patwin, Indian people; K patwin, Indian person
(“the other” people; cf. Huchnom < Yuki hučnom, “outside people”)
PR patwin, Indians
SP-M pot'-too-in, pot'-win, people (Indian); too'-pe-win, first people
cf. PMy *winaq, man, person; Mixe vin-, person; Zoque (Copainalá) win, person,
one’s self, body; Xinca winak, witch; Yakama winsh, man (all from Brown 1990: 31)

*win-t'u(-)n, people; cf. *t'u(-), person, people; *t'u(-)n, body, whole
W wint'u-h, person, people; wint'u-n (attributive)
N-W wint'un laxa, talking Indian; S wintun, person
PCC wint'un, lots of people, crowd of people
PR wint'un, the Wintun peoples (a name), includes all Patwins and
people north
Note PT-U wint'u-n?asa, t'u-n?asa win, lots of people

*win, see
W wi-n, to see, look; wine, to look, see, visit, help, get, bring, fetch
N-BP wina; wini, to see
PCC, K, R win, see

*win-i-s, see (nominal stem)
W winisana'.; to show oneself
PCC winis čʰu ʔut, I see him
PR čʰenpa čʰu ʔut winisa/winis, I saw him down below

*winwin, see (iterative)
W winwine, many to see, many to look
PR-U nopma ču winwinis, I saw a deer a lot of times

*wisbo- ? robin
N-H wisbotbot, robin
PCC, K, T, R li'sbok, robin
May be a borrowing between N and P; however, cf. W č’i-kbas, robin, lit. seed-eater,
possibly reshaped from *wisbo- through folk-etymology
cf. Klamath wisqaq, robin; Sahaptin əwisqaq, robin; Molala wisqaq, robin (Berman 1996: 22)

*witil(-ʔa), be fast, do fast
W witil, quick(ly), fast; witila, to do fast
N-BW witila-, witili-, run
PCC witil-ło, to run; witilʔa, to be fast; K witil-li/o-, to run
PR witil-li/u-, to run
SP-M wit’-tel-loo, run!

*wiy, *wi-, man, husband; cf. *wi-ta, man; *win, person
W wi(ʔ)h, wi(ʔ)y (g), wi(ʔ) (p), wiyi, husband; netwiyi, net-wi-, my husband; cf. wi-ye-, to marry; wih, chief
N-S -wii, husband
PCC mat wiy, your husband; K naywi’, my husband; cf. CC wiyaba, men
PR-B wi-a, woman to marry
SP-M choo’-yu-we, [her] husband

*woč-, *wočwoč ?, Steller’s jay
W woč’ot, Steller’s jay; cf. womol, topknot
N-C wát-wat, crested bluejays
PCC, C, K wotwot, poorwill; cf. CC, K, T weswes, Steller’s jay; R (Whistler 1976e from Merriam) weswes, mockingbird ? (or Calif. thrasher ?)
SP-M wes’, crested jay

*wok, great blue heron, crane
W wok, crane, great blue heron
N-BW woksu, wOksu, crane; C wâk, heron; GT-M wahk’-se, great blue heron (Ardea herodias); wahk’, cormorant (Phalacrocorax)
PCC, K wak, night heron; CC woksu, egret, great blue (any large crane);
K wokse, common white egret
PR wakwak, great blue heron
SP-M wahk’, night heron; wahk’-soo ?, great blue heron
Widespread areal term; e.g. Yawelmani wa·xat, crane; Palewyami Wah’-het-te, great blue heron (Berman 2002: 438)

*wol, close sides
W wole, eyelid(s); cf. wOw, open and split ventrally; wol·ka, to shrink < wol, slit
PK yaynabe wole, sides (of the house, the retaining wall); C -wol, contrastive, the only, the very (Whistler 1978), H-U woloh, inside
cf. SP-M wol’-lis, ocean

*woq, home
W-C wakpohas, world fire (when the first world was burned)
PK na-no wok, my home, my house (the building)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*wuk, nod
W pomin wu·ka, to nod the head once (down); pomin wukwur·ka, to nod assent looking down; ʔol-wukča, to nod head up just once; cf. wOk, scoop
PCC wu·ki/u-, to nod; wudbaya, to nod head forward and back

*x

*xeb, open by scratching or scraping; cf. *k’eb-i/u, loosen by scratching
W xEb-, xiba-, to dig, to dig in a hole such as a ground squirrel nest, to uncover an old hole, to take the bark off a tree; xibal, to have earth slide off; xep-, open what is closed
PK k’ebu-, eat (an apple), nibble, chew on
Irregular; perhaps imitative or areal influence
cf. PMy *xeb’, with reflexes including: open, open what is closed, be opened; Maidu hépesto, crack open, as bread in baking; Shuswap x’ep-t, to blow up, to open, to come open (package, sore) (all from Brown 1990: 24)

*xed-i/u, fart; cf. *xed-i-men, stinkbug
W xEd-, xedis, gas; xida, to fart
PCC se·di/u, bend over, stoop over; sedse·di/u, to be stooped over; K sedi, raise your back up; sedu·ro, to rear (of a horse, deer, etc.); sete-, fart
PR sete·tu, striped skunk (“farter”)

*xed-i-men, stinkbug; cf. *xed-i/u, fart
W xedismet, skunkbug, stink beetle (Tenebrionidae) (also kedismet)
PCC sedi, one black stink bug; sedimen, black stink bug (more than one); K sedimen, large black stink bug

*xerel, people of, village; cf. *qewel, house; *xerit, young man
W xerel, settlement, village, where people are living, village site, where could be or had been houses, a flat place suitable for building, a secluded spot; Grace McKibbin: xerilpom, old campground or village where people used to live who are now all dead, the place where one’s parents used to live, a sad place
PK lo·lsel, tobacco people, the people at Tebthi
PR -sere, people of ...

*xerit, young man
*xeri-ba, young men
W xerit, young man (18 or 19); xeribas, a group of young men
PCC serita, young boy, young man (up to 20 years old); seriba, young men; K serita, young boy (14, 16, 18 years old)
PR seritta, young boy, young man; R-B serekta, boy; but Kroeber lists for PR: ilain che’riba, young men, initiates in Kuksu, where *x > ʔ irregularly (Kroeber 1932: 328)
cf. PMis *sali-, boy, young man (Callaghan 2001: 317)
*xew, ask to accompany
W xiw, ask someone to accompany one
P-T sewu, to get to accompany

*xin, forehead
W xin, hair over forehead, bangs, curl over forehead (Pitkin suggests this may be derived from xi-n, sleep); xink’up, to cut bangs
PCC, K, R si-n, forehead
SP-G sincheke, eyebrow
cf. Nisenan (Uldall & Shipley 1966: 229) syn, forehead

*xin-a, sleep; cf. *q’a-q, mental clouding
*xinxina, many to sleep
W xi-na, to sleep; xinxina, many to sleep
N-BP k’i-na, sleep
PCC, K, R k’ana-, to sleep; k’ank’ana(·), many to sleep
SP-V k’ana’, sleep
Irregular *x > k’, perhaps due to *q’a-q
cf. PYnim *k’aniw ?? to lie (vocalism unclear) (Callaghan 2001: 330)

*xiw, embers; cf. *k’iw, hot rock?
W xiwe-, heat rocks in fire, heat food
PT-U siw, embers

*xiw, spin, swing
W xiwi-la, to spin, twirling, specific dance; cf. sirí-wa, whirlwind; kEw, whirl, spin, turn, screw; sEr-, twirl; se-xewel, to be drunk; se-xewe-la, to walk zigzag
PCC siwa-yo, to swing slowly; siwayho, to swing fast
cf. PCC, K sibi-ro, to spin (pl.); sibirto, to turn around (sg.); CC sipi-rmen, whirlwind

*xo-...wi-, band-tailed pigeon
W xowit, band-tailed pigeon
PCC ʔomo-wil, pigeon; K (wild) pigeon, rock dove, tame pigeon, band-tailed pigeon
PR ʔomo-win, band-tailed pigeon (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)
Irregular *x > ?

*xok, basket type (265.)
W xOk-, shaped like a turtle shell? basket-shaped, dome-shaped, coiled, to open circularly; xokot, a specific coiled basket
N-B koko, basket
PCC ʔo-k, any basket; small chokemouth bowl (basket type); K small basket, basket for drinking soup
PR ʔo-k, small, chokemouth globular bowl
Irregular *x > ?
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*xoy, lie prone
  W  tu-xuye, to slide up closer (as when lying on the ground watching something) (cf. suyewilna-, slide, ride on sled; suyu-q'ə, slide)
  PCC  soyt'u, to lie down; K lie on one's belly; soyi, lie down; H-U soyt'i, lean

*xun, here, toward self
  W  xun, toward (oneself), here, nearer, together, along; cf. sunu(s), nest
  N-S  khunc'aka, hold, take
  PCC, K  sun, here, this way, toward; cf. sun-, nest
  PR  sun, here
  SP-M  soon, here
  cf. Chasta Costa xun, there (Sapir 1914: 297); Alsea hû:-, here (Golla 1997: 161)

*xurxur, sugar; cf. *k'ar-a, scrape; *qor-i/u, grind
  W  xurxur, sugar, pine sugar; cf. sa·ra, sugar pine cones to ripen and open up so that the nuts fall out
  N-BW  kUykut, kUikUt, sugar
  PK  k'uyk'uy, sugar, sweet substance from sugar pines (in hollow trees); PT-U k'uyk'uy, sugar
  PK  k is irregular, perhaps due to borrowing from N or Miwok
  cf. Proto-Western-Miwok *kój-, to be sweet (Callaghan 1970: 39)

*xad, pick small things one by one
  W  xad-, gather small pieces of wood for fire; cf. č'ad-, take off the best part and leave the useless or undesirable part; č'ada-yi, to pull off as leaves from a vegetable; kada-, pick up pieces; suda-, pluck (chicken); side, pick, gather little things
  N-BW  kadba-, pick
  PCC  hatt'u, to pick (plants)
  PR  hatt'i/u, to pick fruit, etc. (one by one)
  cf. Takelma k!adã'n, I pick them (Sapir 1912: 60 (1990: 76))

*xah, *xhr ?, dizzy; cf. *q'as-i·l-7a, have impaired vision
  W  xahi-la, to become dusk; p'oyoq xahi-la, to be or get dizzy
  PCC  hiri-ki/u-, be dizzy; K hiri-ki/o-, be or get dizzy, get drunk; cf. W hir, fire, burn, conflagration (perhaps fire drill motion), under *her-u, motion back and forth

*xoh, pant, grunt
  W  xoxoxča, grunt (bear, pig; cf. kukup'iwit, myth. wolf or mountain lion)
  PCC  hohi, to pant (any animal)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*xos-a?, air, blow; cf. *k’ah-i/u, wind; *q’a?, *q’i?, cloud; q’os, fog, steam; *q’os-u, seek luck; q’os-o, lungs
W xos-sa, to be bloated (with velar, not post-velar); xos, fog, steam; ʔol-xusal, be swollen
PCC hasu, to cool off; hasa-ko, draft to be blowing, drafty; K hasa-k, wind, air; hasi te-pfas, it’s steaming (hasi refers to the steam itself, steam coming off)
PR huspayi/u-, to wish, hope
SP-M hah’se, wind
cf. Alsea (Buckley 1988:27) hà’s, breath

*y

*yal-i/u, leave; cf. *yel, back of, behind something; *yi-l-a, send
W yala-, yali/u-, to stop, quit, leave
N-BW yala-, leave; kEnyalo’, throw
PK yali/o-, leave, quit
PR yali/-u-, leave, leave behind
cf. Alsea ya:la:s, to come back, return, go home; taʔ-ya:l, last thing (e.g., ‘[they bet their] last thing, possession [on the game]’) (Golla 1997: 166)

*ya-pay, summoned gathering; cf. *yoh, supernatural; *yom, doctor, poison
W ya-pay-a, to argue, discuss, surround enemies, attack, to call people together (for a dance); ya-paytu’, killer spirit, white man, supernatural, shamanistic spirit. (Du Bois and Demetracopoulou 1931: 315: “When you kill a person, his people come to surround you.”)
N-G waiyapai, north dance (type of ceremony); yapaitu, spirit; K yā’pai-tu, type of spirit possessed by shaman
PK ya-pay-o, to dance; ya-payi (noun)
PR ya-payi/u-, to dance; ya-payi, dance (noun)

*yaw, pendant; cf. *law, flabby; *low, hang
W yaw-, flap, be pendant; yawa, to slap up and down; yawal, to have pendant or flabby buttocks, breasts, or penis (derisive term); cf. yauq, sweet anise
PCC yaw t’ok, elderberry bush [also k’aw t’ok, possibly folk-etymologized to yaw]; H-B, T-B, R-B yaw, elderberries; cf. K (Whistler 1976e from Merriam) yawi·la, chaparral honeysuckle?

*yay, base; cf. *yel, back of, behind something
W yay, back, side; yay-kawi, the whole back, the backbone covered with flesh and skin, the ribs in back
NT-M yī’-kow-we, hip
PK yaywere, the bottom, the root, the end; yaysole, yaysoli, buttocks; H-B yay, buttocks; CC, K yay-, to start (to bud, to make a basket)
PR yay, hip, beginning of anything, including a tree, e.g., from the bottom upwards; B buttocks
*ye-, spread to dry; cf. *yeb, rip in half
W ye·ka, to hang up or spread out to dry (as herbs); cf. ?i·ka, to dry by the fire
PH-U yewa·ro, drying (meat, clothes)

*ye, vocative (531.38)
W ye-, ye·-, kinterm vocative prefix
PH -e-, vocative suffix (Whistler 1980: 216)

*yeb, rip in half (probably of skins and cloth materials); cf. *ye-, spread to dry
W yEb-, yiba·, to rip, rip buckskin, clothes, moccasins; undo sewing; yep-, push up, rip, flap, toss, shake (especially of cloth)
PL-U yepči, half

*yečew, dream
W yečew, dream, to dream
PK yetčew-, yetčew-, dream; T yetčew-
PR-U yetčew-, yetčew-, dream

*yel, back of, behind something (422.4); cf. *yal-i/u, leave; *yay, base; *ʔel, in horizontally
*yel-ti, behind, in back of
*yel-in, behind, in back
W yel-, verbal prefix: back(ward), away, behind; yelin, in/at the back, backward, at the rear; yelti, in back of, behind, hind (legs)
N-BW yEl(win), wait
PCC yelʔa, late, last; yeltiʔas, it’s late; yelʔaro, be behind, come later, be last; yelti, behind; yeltiʔas, getting late; yełel, youngest, little (finger); K yełin, yilti, behind, back; yel/yil tepı?a, last spring
PC yel-, prefix: back, reverse, later, behind (Whistler 1977b)
PR-B yelṯe, behind
SP-A yelobo, wait for
cf. PMy *ʔel, to go out; *ʔel, to leave; Northern Sierra Miwok ʔelʔy, to leave, to abandon; Central Sierra Miwok ʔelʔy, to leave, to leave behind (Brown 1990: 35)

*yeme, trail
W yemer, trail, road
N-H yemey, road; S yeme, road
PCC yeme, trail, road; K yemeʔ, road, trail
PR-B ye·me, road

*yet, name; real, really
W yet, name; yiʔa, to call by name, to name; yiʔa, really ...
N-BP yeʔ(u), name
PCC yetʔo·, to name; -yet, real; K yet, name; yetʔo·, to name
PR yet, really ...; B yet, name, U yetʔo·-, to name
*yi·l-a, send; cf. *yal-i/u, leave; *yel, back of, behind something
*yi·la-le, going to send
W yi·la, to send someone, let someone go; yi·lale, let’s leave
PCC, K yi·la, to send; K yi·lale, going to send
PR-B yi·la, to send

*yilma, heavy
W yEl-, yile, be loaded with heavy packs; yilma-, to be heavy
N-S yilma, heavy
PCC, R yilma, heavy; K yi·lma
SP-M ye·le'-mah, heavy

*yir ?, *lur ?, leg (279.)
W lurur, leg
PCC, K yir, leg; BW leg from knee on down
SP-M yer, whole leg

*yiwit, acorn soup
W yiwit, acorn soup, acorn mush, wild oats mush, 〈yEw-, mix, stir; se-yiwe, to stir cooking
N-W yiwit, acorn soup
PCC yiwit, acorn soup
PR-B yuwet, acorn soup

*yoro, exclamative
W yo-, exclamation; cf. yo, vocative; -o, emphatic
PK yo- ʔolpuutta, sigh

*yoro, move away; cf. *yoro(-)w, lose, miss; *yoro, desolate
W xan-yo-ma, to chase away verbally, tell someone to go away; cf. yopuna-, to say good-bye, take leave; yOq-, wash, rinse (off)
PCC yo·t'i/u, yolt'i/u-, to move, change residence; cf. yo·w-, lose

*yodo, *woto ?, peppergrass (283.)
W yOd-, pick or pull grass; yodos, picked/plucked grasses
N-G yodoh, peppergrass
PK wotok (t'o·k), peppergrass

*yoh, supernatural; cf. *yom, doctor, poison; *ya·pay, summoned gathering;
yoh(o)l, toad; *yoro(-)w, lose, miss
W *yoro, supernatural, poison, curse, think, behave, accomplish by non-physical means, i.e., by supernatural or by mental means; to be homesick, lonesome; yo-, supernatural power; yoh, shaman novice; nomyoh, a specific tribe of Indians from the coast, people who turned at will into animals, potent spirits of the Indians of the northwest coast of California who turned themselves
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

into beasts; M yah’, doctor or shaman

PT-U yuhu-la, devil

*yoho(), toad; cf. *yoh, supernatural

W yoho·lmet, toad; the mythological Toad who predicted the end of the world
and wove a basket to serve as an “ark”; frog, waterfrog, tree frog ?; cf.
yoho-la, to have pimples

NT-M yo-ho’l³, toad (Bufo); NG-M yah-hōś³, toad

PK yohol (watak), toad (originally pimple frog ?; cf. *wataq); H-U yoho·l, big
toad, frog

According to Whistler 1976e, PK yohol, toad, is a borrowing from Nomlaki; if this is
the case, the term may only be reconstructible for Proto-Northern-Wintun. Cf.
however PT-U yuhu-la, devil, under *yoh

*yok, meadowlark

N-C yó-ko-lot, meadowlark; yo-ko-ló=ya, yellow (meadowlark - ?); G-M yo’-kul-
lut; T-M yo’-kül-lah

PR hayu-k, Western meadowlark; cf. yoka, brown towhee (Whistler 1976e from
Merriam)

SP hayuk, Western meadowlark (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)

*yok...l-, *yol...k- ? white oak acorn

W yokila, white oak acorn

PT yulak, long variety of acorn; cf. yuy, long

PR yu·la, long acorn from the hills (white oak)

*yol, a while; cf. *ʔol, up

W yole, a while, not right away

PCC yolo, for a while

*yol, snow

W yo′-la, snow

N-B yōla, snow

PCC, K, R yo·l, snow

SP-M yo‘-l̥o, snow

cf. PUA *yu, snow

*yom, doctor, poison; cf. *yoh, supernatural; *yo(·)w, miss, lose; *ya-pay,
summoned gathering

W yOm-, poison, magic, shamanistic power to poison, in: yomluli, flower
possessed by shamans; yome·n iya, to poison by curse, witchcraft; M yum’,
poison; cf. yo-m, poison; yo, supernatural power

N-H yom, doctor; G yōm, poison

PCC, K, R yomta, doctor; yomba, poison man; A-U yom, kind of power
cf. Maidu (Shipley 1963: 247) jómim májdy, shaman; Nisenan (Uldall & Shipley
1966: 273) jom, shaman; PUA *yo, *yowa, *yoya, cure (reflected as “shaman,
medicine” in some daughter languages); Mil jómta, doctor (Callahan 2001: 321 suggests this may be a loan from Patwin); PM *jom, spiritual power (Callaghan, ibid.)

*yono, buckeye?
W yonot, buckeye, < *yon, that which is shaken ?; cf. yin, shake
PCC ʔu·nu, buckeye ball; K ʔu·na, fruit of buckeye tree; H-B ʔu·no, buckeye
PR-U ʔu·no, buckeye
SP-M oo’-noo, buckeye
Whistler 1977a suggests that the P forms are borrowed from Miwok, citing PMi ʔu·nu. This is a good possibility since the P and W forms do not correspond regularly. However, cf. the loss of P y in *yulyul, rot

*yor, *yor-iʔa, *yor-a/i/u-, send after, direct to
W yOr-, yura:, yori-, to send someone after something, hire; yo(·)runa:, to work
PCC yoru, to tell to, to direct one to; yoriʔa, to work; K yora-, yoriʔa-, yoro-, work
PR yoriʔa, (to) work

*yoryor, *tortor ?, cicada (280.)
W yo(·)ryorh, “June bug,” tree cricket
PCC to·romen, katydids; K June bug; T-U tortor, cricket

*yo(·)w, lose, miss; cf. *yo:, move away; *yo·w, desolate
*yo(·)wu-na, miss (reflexive); cf. *yoh, supernatural; *yo·w, desolate; *yom, doctor, poison
W yowuna:, to look for or worry about someone; yo·wanuma:, to be quiet, quiet down (wind or storm), to be out of sight; yowuma:, to startle, scare; yo·wana, to look for someone, to expect someone home, to be lonesome for someone
PCC yo·wunan-, miss someone; yo·wi/u-, lose, get lost, be missing; K yowi/u-, lose, get lost; yoha/o-, disappear, spoil
PR yo·ma-, lose; B yo·wo, to disappear

*yo·w, desolate; cf. *yo(·)w, miss, lose
W yo·w, desolate
PCC yo·wes, ocean
PR-B yo·wes, ocean
cf. SP-M wol’-lis, ocean

*yuken, enemy
W yukeh, enemy, enemies (the source of the name Yuki); yuken, dangerous, at war, Shasta (attributive)
N-G yukën, enemy
PCC yučin, enemy
PR-U yučen, soldier Indians
*yulyul, rot
W yulel, to be rotten, spoiled; yulyulel, a lot to be spoiled or rotten
PT-U ʔulʔulumas, rotten, spoiled
cf. Northern Yana and Yahi yuu-, yuʔla-, rotten (Sapir & Swadesh 1960: 192)

*yuq-č-, shake, wake up (tr.)
W se-yuqe, earth to shake, to shuffle one’s feet; yuqu-ra, to shake, tremble, shiver; yuqča, to wake up (tr.)
PCC yuktʰi, to pat dust off, shake clean; yuki/u-, to wake up (tr.); K yuktʰuro, shake out (last bit out of sack), to flap (cloth to get dust out)
PR yuku-, to wake up (tr.); B yokto, to shake
cf. PMy *yuq’, with reflexes including: stir, shake, shake up, earthquake, and other similar meanings; Yuki yu-, shake, swing, dangle; Zoque (Francisco León) yoʔkoʔu, it shook it up; Populuca (Oluta)tinyukyişpe, I am shaking it; Totona yuʔkúʔ, it rocks it, it shakes it; Tlingit sha-ka-ya-yook-, shake (general); Yaqui yókte, to shake (a tree, etc.) (all from Brown 1990: 42)

*-ʔa, have (auxiliary) (421.4); cf. *ʔab-, *ʔap-, carry on back
W -ʔa, subordinating suffix of temporal anteriority, “after having...” ; -a, -a-, indicative stem suffixes
PCC -ʔa, to have (auxiliary, verb-deriving suffix)

*ʔab, *ʔap, carry on back; cf. *-ʔa, have (auxiliary)
W ʔaba-, ʔapa-, to carry, pack on back
PCC ʔapa-, to carry a person on the back; ʔaba-, packing basket, burden basket;
K ʔaba-, pack basket, funnel-shaped basket used to gather seeds
PR ʔaba, ʔabah, pack basket; ʔaba-, seed-gathering basket; ʔapʰa-, carry (a baby)
SP-M ab-bah’, ah-bah, burden basket
cf. Northern Sierra Miwok ʔapa-t-y-, to pack, carry (a baby) on the back (Callaghan 1987: 265)

*ʔal-, hurt
N-BW alama-, to hurt
PCC ʔalba-ki/u, to strain a muscle; K ʔalba-ki/u-, to hurt, sprain

*ʔa-l, *ʔalʔal, crow
W ʔalal, ʔa-l, crow
NG-M ah’-lahs, crow; T-M ahl’-lahs; C á-lahl
PCC, T ʔa-l, crow; K ʔa-l, ʔalʔal, ʔa-lʔal
SP-M ahl’, raven

*ʔal-a, crawl in, go in, sun to set
W ʔala, to crawl into, enter a hole, sun to set
PCC ʔal-a, to precipitate, to go in, sun to set; K go in (as squirrel into hole in tree)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

PR ?al-a, get darker and darker, towards evening; ?ałas, evening
cf. PMy *ahlanj, under, below, down (Brown 1990: 58)

*a/ma-n, grandmother (with kinterm absolutive); cf. *apa-n, grandfather

N-W ne-čōman, my grandmother (Whistler 1980: 242)
PCC ?am, grandma (voc.); ?amaču, my grandma; ?uytama-n, his grandma;
K ?amačēu, grandmother; ?am, grandmother (address)
PR ?amak'u, grandmother; ?ami, granny (as kids say, for short); ?am, grandma!
SP-M ah’mah-choo, father’s mother; A ama, grandmother
cf. PMis *am(·)a-, grandmother (Callaghan 2001: 335)

*?an-, turtle; cf. *anaq, body joint

W ?a·n-p’oyoq, turtle head
N-B an, turtle; M ahn’-ko’-what, turtle; BW ?aankoham, turtle
PCC ?ano‘, turtle; K ?anow, turtle
PR ?anu‘, turtle
SP-M ah’nō‘, turtle
cf. PMie *aw(·)a-, turtle; Yn on, turtle (Callaghan 2001: 326)

*?anaq, body joint, knee; cf. *an-, turtle

W ?anaq, joint of the body; may ?anaq, ankle
N-BW anaq, knee
PK ?anak, knee, elbow
cf. PMie *hon-oj, *ho-noj, knee (Callaghan 2001: 320)

*apa-n, grandfather (with kinterm absolutive); cf. *ama-n, grandmother

N-W ne-čōpan, my mother’s brother (Whistler 1980: 242 suggests that this form
originated from a metanalysis **net-hapan > ne-t+hapan > ne-čōpan)
N-C nē-chapa-sā-ka, father’s father, mother’s father
PCC -tapa(·)n, grandfather, mother’s or father’s brother; ?a·p, ?a-paču, grandpa;
K ?a-p, grandfather; ?a-pačēu, grandfather
PR ?a-pačēu, grandfather, uncle; R-U ?a-p, grandfather (voc.)
SP-M ah’-poo-choo, father’s father; A apu, grandfather
cf. W ha·pa, father (voc.)
cf. PMie *pa-pa-, grandfather, PCo *pa-pa, grandfather, PU *pa-pa, grandfather,
PYgen *no-p’op8, father (Callaghan 2001: 335)

*ʔaʔ-qʔa, be bitter; cf. *ʔay-ʔ1, *ʔuy-ʔ1 ?, sour; *ʔoq-ʔēi/u, vomit; *ʔa·w-a, unripe,
sour
W ?a·qa, to be bitter
PK ?akʔa-, ?akʔaro, bitter
Pr ?a·k’a, ?a·kʔama, ?a·kʔa, bitter

*ʔatʔat, *ʔaʔat ? magpie
N-B atat, blackbird; H ?a·ʔal, magpie
PCC ?a·ʔaʔc, magpie; K T yellow-billed magpie
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

209

PR  ?aê’at, magpie
SP  ?aê’ač, yellow-billed magpie (Whistler 1976e)

*?a-w-a, unripe, sour; cf. *?ay-...l, *?uy-...l ?, sour; *?a-q-?a, be bitter
W  ?a-wa, sour, spoiled, unripe, to be unripe (of berries, such as blackberries, etc.)
PCC  ?a-wa, to behave as a spoiled child; ?awatal, yellow
cf. PR-B ?uwas, grape; PR-U ?u-was, grapes < Spanish uva ?

*?ay, exclamative
W  ?ay, uninflected exclamative, ingratiating, weak “please”
PK  p’epel muhuse ?ay, let’s sing together

*?ay-...l-, *?uy-...l ?, sour; cf. *?a-q-?a, be bitter; *?a-w-a, unripe, sour; *?ey, bite
W  ?uyu-la, to be sour; ?uyu-l, p’uyu-l, grape
N-Ha  uyûlu, grape; T-M i-ye’-kah, sour
PK  ?ay?a-yuma, sour
PR-U  ?al?a-lus, jaw feels funny when you bite; cf. T-U ?al?alamas, bitter-sour like apple

*?ay-e'-, wink, squint ?
W  ?ayča, to make up to the opposite sex, to flirt, to invite < ?ay, flirt, prostitute, promiscuous
PA-U  ?ayču-, squint

*?e-, demonstrative and quasi-pronominal third person proximal root; cf. *?iy, be, do, use (non-distal ?)
See: *?ew, *?ewe-r, *?ewe-t, *?ewe-t-no ?, *?ew-pel
W, N, P  ?e-, demonstrative and third person proximal quasi-pronominal root

*?e'l, in horizontally (prefix and independent root) (422.5); cf. *-e'l, *-el, locative, toward, in (horizontally ?)
W  ?el, in (prefix and independent root)
N-S  ?el?ew, in; BW ?Elba, eat
PCC, K, R  ?el-, in, into; CC ?el, inside (independent word; e.g., pi hamtarbo’s kewela ?el, he’s sitting inside the house)
SP-M  el’-bot’-te, in

*?elew, no, not
*?ele-s (nominal form “there is/are no...”)
W  ?elew, no, not; ?ele-s, nominal stem; Pitkin suggests *-w, privative
N-S  ?elew ... mena, not; B el’wa, no
PCC, K  ?ele-, not to have; T p’ataˇm ?ele-s, there’s no sparks; K ?ele-s na-no, no, it’s mine
PR  ?ele-:, not; ču ?ele-s, I refused, I didn’t go along (with them)
SP-A  ele, no
*?el-i, wild potato  
W 7eli, wild potato < ?El-, dig by scraping  
N-C é-li, bulbous and tuberous roots  
PCC 7eli, Indian potatoes, wild potatoes; K bulbs, edible roots; K, T blue dicks  
(Whistler 1977a suggests “Brodiaea pulchella” for *?el, but it may also be a generic term for bulbs and roots)

*?el, pay  
W 7El-, 7ila, to pay, be loaded, fully recompense  
PR 7eyeye, to sell

*?em-, hold pectorally; see *?emit, breast, milk

*?ew, proximal third person singular subjective (531.14)  
W 7ew, proximal third person singular subjective generic aspect  
N-W 7ew, proximal third person singular subjective  
PCC, R 7ew, proximal third person singular subjective  
SP-M á’-oo, now

*?ewer, proximal third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive  
W 7ewer, proximal third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive  
PCC 7ewey, proximal third person singular inalienable possessive and genitive

*?ewe-t, proximal third person singular objective  
W 7ewet, proximal third person singular objective  
N-J et, that  
PT-U 7e-wet, this, that (animate)  
PR 7ewet, proximal third person singular objective animate

*?ewe-t, proximal third person singular alienable possessive  
W 7ewertun, proximal third person singular alienable possessive  
N-W 7etum, proximal third person singular alienable possessive animate possessed  
7eto, proximal third person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed  
PA-U 7ewetno, proximal third person singular alienable possessive inanimate possessed

*?ew-pel, proximal third person dual subjective  
W 7ewelele, proximal third person dual subjective generic aspect  
N-W 7ewpel, proximal third person dual subjective (the use of “two” here may be a loan translation rather than a dual)  
PCC 7ewpel, proximal third person dual subjective

*?ey, bite; cf. *?ay-...l, sour  
W 7Ey-, 7iya, to bite, grasp in the mouth gently or softly
N-S  ʔeyya, to bite
PCC, K  ʔey, to bite; K T R gnat
cf. Klamath (Barker 1963: 547) ʔe·y’, black weevil

*ʔi(ʔ), *ʔi(ʔ)w, acorn
W ʔi·w (g), acorns; ʔi·h (p), one particular acorn
N-W ʔiw, acorns
PCC ʔiw, dry acorn (ripe, but unshelled on ground); K pile of acorns, acorns
gathered and piled together, one acorn from the valley oak
PR ʔi, (green) acorns (on tree); ʔiʔ, any acorn, acorn (specific kind), valley oak
acorn; ʔi, Q. lobata
cf. PUA *kʰi, *kʰini, *wi, acorn; PMy *ʔi:ja:x, seed (Brown 1990: 60)

*ʔib, *ʔip, shimmer; cf. *ʔiʔil, glare, reflect
W ʔipo·qa, to glitter like diamonds, to sparkle
PK ʔibi, mirage (in hot weather heat makes everything shimmer, sometimes
makes reflection)

*ʔilay, *ʔel-, baby, child, small; cf. *ʔin, small
W ʔilay (g), ʔilah (p), baby, child, small
N-H,S ʔellet, infant; T-M el·let’, infant; ē·lē’st-ēt-wit, little boy (4-12); W ʔilis-t’et, small
PCC ʔilay, baby; K ʔela·man, child; ʔelayčʰu, baby; ʔilay, baby, one kid
PR ʔilay, small child, small
SP-M el·lah’-men, young woman; ah·lah’-win, many children; el·lah, el·li’-mah,
little boy (4-12)
cf. PUA *ʔili, *ʔali, small (*ʔili is reflected as “baby” in some daughter languages);
PMyw *ʔélaj, child (Callahan 2001: 317 suggest this form is most likely a loan from
PCC)

*ʔilʔil, glare, reflect; cf. *ʔib, *ʔip, shimmer
W ʔilʔiloqma, a mirror, anything that reflects, something shiny; cf. ʔal, glimpse
PCC ʔilʔil·lu, to be dazzled, blinded; K ʔilʔiluma-, glaring, shining, too bright to
look at

*ʔiimit, breast, milk; cf. *ʔu:m, fill with liquid
*ʔem-, hold pectorally
W ʔi(ʔ)mít, milk, breast; ʔEm-, hold pectorally, carry in arms, embrace
N-BP ʔimít, breast
PCC ʔemi/u-, to hug; K ʔimit, breast, milk; ʔemi/u-, hold in arms (as a bundle);
T ʔimít, breast
PR ʔimik, woman’s breast; ʔemu-, carry or grab in the arms; B ʔemet, breast
SP-M im-meet’, female breasts
cf. PMy *ʔi:m, breast; Central Yupik emulek, nipple; Choctaw ibish, nipple (Brown
1990: 33)
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*?im(il), blackberry
W  ?im, berry, blackberry, gooseberry
N-BW  imil, blackberries; S ?imil, fruit; H ?emmil, ?emil (?), berries; T-M  ē'-mē'1-bah'ā-i, blackberry (rubus vitifolius); NG-M e-mil, blackberry
PCC, K, T  ?imil, blackberry, blackberries
PR-B  ?emil, blackberry
SP-M  e'-mil, blackberry

cf. Klamath ?iwm, huckleberry; Molala ?i:m, huckleberry (Berman 1996: 21)

*?in, small (intensive ?); cf. *?ilay, *?el-, baby, child, small
W  ?ina, intensive diminutive
N-B  ínístet, small; k!aina, boy; S ?iniisa, small; ?iniste, few
SP-M  hin’-nah’, baby

*?irik, ash tree
W  ?irikmi, cotton tree
PT  ?irit, tree ash (Whistler 1976e from Merriam)
PR-B  ?eret, ash tree

*?i-r?ir ?, sparrowhawk
W  ?i-r?ir (g), ?i-r?irh (p), sparrowhawk, little red-tailed lizard hawk
PCC, K, T  ?iit?it, sparrowhawk
PR  ?ič’-it, sparrowhawk
SP  ?it’it, sparrowhawk (Whistler 1976e)
cf. Chinook ’it!č’t!č, hawk (stem: t!č) (Boas 1911 (1969): 655)

*?iy, be, do, use (non-distal ? cf. *?u-, do/be at a distance); *?e-, demonstrative and quasi-pronominal third person proximal root
W  ?iye, ?i-, ?is-, be, do, use, put; auxiliary verb of doing nearby; ?ise-, perfective auxiliary; ?ibe-, are, imperfective auxiliary
P  ?i, to do, to use (irregular < *?iy) (Whistler 1981)
    ?i, to be (copula) (inflectional aux. suffix) (Whistler 1981)
PCC  pima pi ču ?i-t’i, I’m gonna use that
    pima ?i, I’ll use it
Since this root is related to PW *?ew, proximal third person singular subjective, cf.
PMi *?i-, *?i, that, he, she, it; Ceb ?i, his, her, its; PU *?i-, *?i, that, 3 sg; PY *xi-, this near; PYnv *hi?, he? < **hi- this near (Callaghan 2001: 328)

*?ih, imperative stem
W  ?ih, imperative stem
PR  ?ewun ?ih, do it like this!

*?i-s, nominal stem
W  ?is, nominal stem
    ?iskuyam, do you want it?
PCC  pi layuk wi-ta ?is, he’s a good man
Cognate Sets and Reconstructions

*?od-i/u-, itch, scratch body
*?od-u-na, scratch oneself (with reflexive)

W 7oduna-, to scratch (oneself); 7od-, scratch, tickle, measles (chicken pox);
7uda-, to scratch (animal or person)

N-S 7oduna, scratch

PCC 7odi-, to scratch (oneself, just fingers moving), scratch with hand (a flipping of fingers, as scratching one’s side or back); K 7oduna-, scratch oneself;
7odi/u-, itch, tickle

PR 7odi/u-, itch, scratch

*?ol, up (prefix and independent root) (422.6); cf. *yol, a while

*?ol-e-l, up, above

W 7ol-, 7ole-l, up, above

N-H 7olel, up, heaven, sky; BW 7ol-, up

PCC 7ole-l, up, up high; 7olkiri, to pick up with one hand; K 7ol, up; 7ole tuka,
up(wards)

PR 7olel, up (just upwards direction)

SP-M o-lel’, up

*?olhen, late

W 7ol-hen, late (e.g., 7ol-hen ken-panas-biyak, she gets up late)

PCC 7olheni, fall

*?om, pet ?

W 7ome-, lullaby; 7ome-hča, to rock baby in arms

PCC 7om?o-mi, to kiss

PR 7omoy’ (7omoy’), a greeting (along with patting the arms)

*?oq-i/u, vomit; cf. *a-q-ʔa, be bitter

W 7oqča, to vomit; 7oqči/u-, nominal and imperative stems

N-S 7oqca, to vomit

PCC 7o-kτvi/u, to vomit; K 7okτvi/u-

PR 7okτvi/u, to throw up

*ʔon, gather, gathering basket

W 7o-n, shallow and round or shovel-shaped tray (open twine); 7o-nk’opi, conical burden basket, a specific funnel-shaped sifting basket, open funnel-shaped main food gathering basket, lattice Indian sifter basket (sifts out manzanita berries from leaves), specific basket, gathering funnel, loosely woven, open weave basket carried on back

PT-U 7o-no, to gather

*ʔu, do, be (distal), copula; quotative root

W ʔuw, auxiliary copula verb of doing distally

PC -ʔu, auxiliary “to do, to say” (Whistler 1978); root for third person non-proximal and various deictics such as: PK ʔu-sani le-nču’ul, day before
yesterday; ?eʔu-Ła, this time of year; ?upu, evidential of hearing, they say, I hear; PK piʔuro, but; PCC piʔu, things [“this that”]

SP-M oo-e, his or hers

*ʔu-le, going to do/be at a distance
W ʔule-s, would do, must do; ʔule-s ʔuni, just like that, almost like that
PK ʔeʔu piʔule, I’m gonna do that
ʔeʔu ʔewʔule, I’m gonna do this way

*ʔu-ma, thus (with causative, see *-ma)
W ʔum-, demonstrative with causal force (ʔuw-, distal doing + m, causative); ʔuma-, thus, that way
PCC p’o· mint’is piʔum ʔis, fire went out by itself
piʔumʔu, don’t do that, don’t be that way
PK mi ʔuma·say, are you done?
ʔeʔu ʔuma·bes, that’s done
peʔuman mi lahit’isay, how you gonna do that?

*ʔu-na, *ʔuni, thus
W ʔun-, be/do thus, then (root for quotative and sentence connectives); ʔuna, do or be thus, and then, at last, now, finally, that’s enough (sentence connective implying change in focus or topic, often paragraph division); ʔuni, be thus, do thus, like that, like this, and then (sentence connective and quotative, indicates that a quote follows or has been made)
P -ʔunan, evidential (someone else’s definite assertion; with reflexive) (Whistler 1986)
PC ʔunibe-Ła, even though?
ʔeʔu ʔun, that’s right! that’s right!
PK peʔuni mi lahit’isay, how you gonna do that?
PR ʔeʔu ʔih, go ahead and do it that way

*ʔut, the other ? (with objective case ?)
W ʔut, sentence connective, then, and then, so then, and yet (switch reference), clause connective which implies a change in subject
P ʔut, non-proximal third person animate objective
cf. PMMy *ut, to finish, to come to pass (Brown 1990: 58)

*ʔu-m, fill with liquid; cf. *ʔimit, breast, milk
W ʔu-m, to fill the mouth with water to inflate the cheeks
PK sa·k ʔumt’uro, bruise (“bloodshot”); cf. ʔu-numen, tripe, second stomach; ʔu-numen, second stomach of ruminants [dissimilation < ʔu-numen ?]
cf. PMMy *ʔu:m, *ʔu:m, with reflexes including: to have something in the mouth, to have water in the mouth, to have a mouth full of liquid or food, to sip, take a mouthful, hold in mouth, to rinse (the mouth); Aymara umkuθa, to fill the mouth
with food or drink without swallowing (uma = water); Aguaruna umut, to drink, a
drink (Brown 1990: 48)

*ʔut’a, after that (< *ʔuw, do/be at a distance + *-ʔa, have, auxiliary)

W ʔut’a, and after that (< ʔut + ʔa)

PK ʔu-t’atupa, day after tomorrow
INDEX TO RECONSTRUCTIONS

Note: The PW forms in this index are not translations of the English entries. They are for lookup purposes only.

a while, *yol
acorn, *ʔi(·)
acorn sp., *hul-
acorn sp.: black oak, *ham ?, *pene(·)l
acorn sp.: white oak, *yok...l-
acorn bread, *sa·w
acorn meal, *daq
acorn soup, *yiwit
acorns: shelled and dried, *λʔił-
action with fire, *bay
adolescent girl, *lo·y-
afraid, have fear, *k’ilap-a
after that, *ʔut’a
agentive, *-to ?
ahead (of), before, first, *tu
air, blow, *χos-a ?
alder, *qalaw
alienable possessive, third person singular pronouns and kinterms, *-t-n
alike, *ne·r
alone, *ney, *hom
already, old, long ago, former, past demonstrative, *ho-
andative auxiliary, go, *har-a·
angelica, *dum
animate comitative, *-wil
ankle, *haqa
ant, *t’edVq
apply light pressure with hand, *λʔitq-
apply sharp pointed object, *λʔut
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>approach, *čuk-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arched ?, crooked ?, bent, <em>k’uwi(</em>)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm, *q’ede</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm, shoulder, *sala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armpit, *q’an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrange clumped material ?, *bam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrive, *hen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow, *no-, *doqo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ash tree, *?irik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ashes, dust, *p’uk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ask, *t’ihi-t-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ask to accompany, *xew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>autumn, *q’aydani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>away, *q’al, *q’an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awl, *č’up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby, child, small, *?ilay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back of, behind something, *yel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad, *duq-?a, *č’ep-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badger, *soč- ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bake, *ma-l-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>band-tailed pigeon, *xo-…wi-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bank of rock or soil, *hel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bare the teeth, *λ’ey-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bark (of tree), *qoq, *q’apla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bark (verb), *noľ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barn owl, *si-k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barren, *walu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>base, *yay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket root, *se-k, *kuhum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket sticks from willow, *ton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bat, *dehe-la ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bathe, *qop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be, lie, *bey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be, sit, *boh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be, do, use (non-distal ?), *?iy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be, do (distal), *?u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear (black), *č’iļ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beard, whiskers (particularly of fish), *q’ep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee-like sound, *łon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beetle sp., *toqo ?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>before, ahead, first, *tu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beg ? promise ?, *duq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behind, back of, *yel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belch, *qer-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
belt, *tir-i
bend, *q'ud, *moy, *kuk
benefactive, *-pa?
bent (crooked? arched?), *k’uwi(-)l
berry sp., *tah
bet, *dam
big one(s), *qom?
bird sp. (small), *e’reC’e’reC?
bite, *?ey
bitter, *?a-q?-a
black, *e’il-,*sil
black bear, *e’il
black oak acorn, *pene(-)l, *ham?
blackberry, *?im(il)
blanket, *puq-
blanket, cover, *sul
blood, *sa·q
blow (of person, not the wind), *pu(-)l
blow, air, *xos-a?
blow the nose, *liniq
blows to the head, *cil-a
bluebird, Western *e’ow
boat, *nuh
bobbing movement (slow?), *hoy(-)oq
bobcat, *p’a...m-
body, whole, *tu(-)n
body hair ?, *seke-
body joint, *?anaq
boil, *po’u(-), *posolo
bone, *paq
bone awl, *e’up
borrow, *q’ol
brace, *k’ok
break, *k’ep, *la’ab
break up surface, *t’ol-i/u
break with fingers, *q’op-a
breast, milk, *?imit
breathe, *pu(-)r-u
bring inanimate, animate, *wer
bring, *hen-me
brother: older, *labe-
brother: younger, *ley
brother-in-law, *le-n
bubble, *lob
buckeye, *yono?
buckskin, hide, *qo(-)la
bulb sp., *λ’erew
bulrush, tule, *λ’op
bump, *t’al-, *daq
burn, *c’o-l, *c’o-r
burn bare, *bil
burrowing owl, *wik
bush sp., *c’ulaq
butterfly, poppy, *bo-lbolVq
buzzard, *hu-s
calf, *č’ur ?, *čʰi-r
California condor, *mo-loq
call someone, *čʰiy-a
cane, *t’u-
cap-shaped, *bis-
careful ?, reluctant ?, hinu-
carry, *du-
carve, *q’er
cattail, flat tule, *pa-tpat
causative, *-ma
cave in, *hul, *lim-a
charcoal, *q’al-i ?
chest, lungs, *k’eba
crush, *č’ok-i/u, *t’a-
chief, *se-qtu
child, *ku-, *teh, *ʔilay, *le
child’s spouse, spouse’s parent, in-law one generation removed, *t’e(·)s
chin, jaw, *q’aba
chipmunk, *čʰiqčʰiq-?
choke on, *q’aw-a
choose, *p’i-l-e
chop, *k’op
claw(s), nail(s), *k’ahay
clean, *le-t ?
clear, *ča-l-a
clench, stiff ?, *k’on
climb, step, *dek
close eyes, *č’im
close sides, *wol
clothe, clothes, *t’a-l-a
cloud, *q’a-?
clover, grass, *len
clover sp., *tapl-
coat (verb), coating, *wil
cocoon rattle, *sokok
collect, *č’ap-
cope, *wer
comitative (animate), *-wil
comitative (inanimate), *-m
completive, *-k
continuative, *-V(·)r
Cooper’s or marsh hawk ?, hawk sp., *k’ililuk
copulate, *sir-i
core, heart, *č’idik
cough, *q’uh-i/u
cover, *mit, *laq-a
coyote, *sede
crack open, *t’e, *k’ab
crane, *wok
crawl, *las-a
crawl in, go in, *ʔal-a
crawling (like a snake), slithering (creature), *p’il-i
crazy, unpleasant emotion, *ho-n
cricket, *ler, *č’ur-
crooked ?, arched ?, bent, *k’uwi(?)
cross (meet), emerge, sprout, *tep-i/u
cross-sibling, *soh
crosswise, twice, *ser
crow, *ʔa-l, *qa-q
crush, *pał
cry, *wač-i/u
cup-type basket, *k’olom
cut, *q’ed-, *q’ič-a/i/u
cut notches, *dop-u
cut off, slice, *q’op-u
cut with sharp edge, cut long objects, *p’il-i
cut with swinging motion, slice, *hil
cylinder, *lul
dam, weir, *paq-i
dance, *č’ono
dance house, *lu-t
dance types, *hesi ?, *to-to ?
dark, *pur-i
day, daytime, *san-i
deer, venison, *no-p
defecate, *č’en-a-
definite duration auxiliary, *boh
deictic (optative meaning?), *k’e
demonstrative and quasi-pronominal third person proximal root, *ʔe-
demonstrative and quasi-pronominal third person root, *pi-, *pu-
demonstrative-interrogative root, *he
desolate, *yo-w
dew, *p'on
dice, *tel
different, other, away, *q'al
dig? pick up?, *hap-a
digging stick, *sen
dip, *q'ep-, *qum, *dum
direct to, send after, *yor
directional locative suffix, *-ti
dirt (earth), *q'i(·)r, *q'ilaq
dirty, *q'o(·)t-7a
dislike, *q'ur
distribute liquid substance, *č’ir-i
dive, *nup-u
dizzy, *xah
do fast, be fast, *witil(-7a)
do, be, use (non-distal?), *7iy
do, be (distal), *7u
doctor, poison, *yom
dog, *suku
dome shape (hard), *q'iolo
doorway, entrance, *pcs
dove (mourning), *puluq
down, *k'ent
drag, *qir
dragonfly, *t’ovi
dream, *yečew
drill, *sič-i/u
drink, *bol-a, *tet'-i/u
drink/eat acorn mush, *ṭup-e/u
drown, *t’uk-u
drum, *tiCe·
dry, *q’on
dry (spread to), *ye-
dry and stiff, *č’oq
dual, *-pel
dubitative, subjunctive, *-m
dull, *q’i-l
dull (of senses), *λ’ik
dump (granulated solids?), *t’ak-čës-i
ear, *ma-t
earth, *q’ilaq, *wilaq, *q’i(·)r
east, *puy
eat, *ba·
eat/drink acorn mush, *lup-c/u
eat with someone, *t’il-7a
embers, *xiw
emerge, sprout, cross (meet), *tep-i/u
end point, *wan
enemy, *yuken
entrance, doorway, *pes
esophagus, throat, *peru-
exclamative, *?ay, *yo-
exhaust, wear out, *let
eye, *tum
eyelashes, *tum

fade away, *lim
fall, *lah, *dil-i, *t’al-a
fan, wave, gesture, *liw
far, travel, *kel-
fart, *xed-i/u
fast (be, do), *witil(-?a)
fat, *hu·m
father, *tah, *ta-(·)n
fear, *čiri-k-, *k’ilap-7a
fear a loss, suspect, *ha·q-a
feast, *daw
feather, *k’alaq
feathers, *p’it
feces, *č’en-i
feed, *ba·
fight, *lik-u-p’ur-i
fill, *par
fill with liquid, *?u-m
finger, hand, *sem
finger (verb), *t’ul
finish, *λ’aq
finish off, gone, *ker-u
fire, *p’o·
fire, to light a, *č’ay-a
first person pronominal root, *ne-
first person subject, *da
first, before, ahead, *tu
fish sp., *č’i-r
fishbone, *č’us
fisher ?, *lom-
fit, *λ’ap-u ?
fix up, straighten up, *moq
flabby, *law
flame, *qu
flame, lightning, *wal-u
flat, *dal
flea, *k'ok'o
flint, arrow, knife, obsidian, *doqo
float, *p'o-
flow, *c'ol-?
flowers, *k'ala(·)l, *lul
fly (verb), *win
fly, go up, *tewe
flying squirrel ?, *q'an-łala ?
foam, *l o
fog, *t'umi
fog, steam, *q'o
foliage, leaves, *sala
follow, track, *may-a·
food, *ba·
foot, *may
forehead, *xin, *tey
forget, *q'id-u
former, old, already, long ago, past demonstrative, *ho-
fox, *ha-w
frog, *wataq
front, *daw
frost, *kik-i
full, *hur, *par
gall, *sili
gap, *kalay
gather, gathering basket, *ʔo-n
gathering, *ya-pay
genitive case, *-n ?
genitive case, *-r
gesture, fan, wave, *liw
get, own, have, *ke-
gig, spear, *lew ?
girl, *lo-y-, *p'ukuy
give, *doy-i/u
glare, reflect, *ʔiʔi
glide by, *leh
go, *har-a-
go in, crawl in, *ʔaʔ-
go out, pour out slowly, *p‘e-l ?
go up, fly, *tewe
going to, intentional future, *-le
gone, finish off, *ker-u
good, *č-al-a
goose sp., *laq
grab a handful, *q’or
grandchild, *ča(·)y
grandfather, *tapan
grandmother, *taman
grapevine, *lo...m
grasp in one or both hands, *p‘em?
grass (dry?), *λ’aqa
green, *č’aro(-i)
gray hair, *č’a-hay
great horned owl, *kudu
-green, grass, *č’aro(-i)
green heron, *qa-
grind, *qor-i/u
ground, sharpen by filing, *lør
grizzly ?, *kuku
ground, *po-m
ground, dirt (earth), *q’(·)r
ground squirrel, *λ’et
growl, *q’or
grunt, pant, *xoh
guts, intestines, *pot

hail, *k’il
hair (facial or animal), *č’ek-ekey
hair: pubic, body hair, *seke-
hand, finger, *sem
hang, *lør, *č’aq-a-
happy, *lom, *doq-
hard, to be, *paq
hard dome shape, *q’olo
hat, *t‘ak
haunt, *holow
have, *-?a
have, own, get, *ke-
hawk sp.: Cooper’s or marsh hawk ?, *k’ililuk
hawk sp.: red-tailed ?, *čeqčeq
hawk sp.: Swainson’s ?, *lik-
hawk or falcon sp., *qačit
head, *po-yoq
headband, *kip-
hear, *mut-u
heart, *p’ur-u
heart, core, *č’idik
Index to Reconstructions

heavy, *yilma
help, *her
hemp, milkweed, *p’c:t
here, toward self, *xun
heron: great blue, *wok
heron: green, *qa-
hiccough, *q’eq-a?
hide, buckskin, *qo()la
hill, *bul-i
hip, thighs, *somVk
hit, *e’ep
hold in hand, *sat
hold pectorally, *?imit
hole, *holoq
holler, *nil-u
home, *woq
hooked strap, strap with hook, *lak-o/u
horn, *k’il-i
hortative, let, *-di
hot, *pil-a
hot rock ?, *k’iw
house, *qewel
hull, *c’iw
human classifier ?, *-ta
hungry, starve, *per-i/u
hurt, *?al-
hurt, sick, want, *koy-i/u
husband, man, *wiy

impaired vision, *q’as-i-l-7a
imperative or irrealis stem-deriving suffix, *-u
in horizontally, *?el, *-e’l
in-laws, *win
in-law one generation removed, spouse’s parent, child’s spouse, *t’e(·)s
inclined, prone, *qoh
inclusive person pronominal root, *p’e-
indirect duration auxiliary, *bey
indent, *bit
indistinct color ?, *qaq
inhale, *su()t
insect sp. (buzzing), *homo-
insert long things, poke, stick into, *λ’op
intense visual perception, *k’al
intensive verb-derivational suffix, *-h
intentional future, going to, *-le
intestines, guts, *pot
irrealis stem-deriving suffix, imperative, *-u
itch, scratch, *ʔod-i/u-
iterative, *-V·y

jackrabbit, *k’el
jaw, chin, *q’aba
join, perimeter, *kol
joined, added on to perimeter, *kol-i
joined, pronged, *non
jump, *puc-
juniper, *mon

keep, *boh
kick, *č’on
kill, *λ ’o·m-u
killdeer, *tiwi-t
kingfisher, *t’arara ?
kingsnake, *handop-
kinterm absolutive suffix, *-(-)n
kinterm locative case, *-t-in ?
kinterm plural (or human plural), *-ba
kinterm prefix, *n(i)-
knee, *ʔaq
knife, arrow, flint, obsidian, *doqo
knot (tie a), *p’olo-q
know, *t’i-

lack of color, *tal
larynx, *q’or
last, yester-, *le-n
late, *ʔolhen
leaf, *dala
lean against, *t’oq-ʔi/u
lean meat?, *či-r
leave, *yal-i/u
leaves, foliage, *sala
left, left hand, *t’aw
leg, *yir ?
legs apart, *kan ?
lest, might, may, *-k’en
let, hortative, *-di
let’s, *-e-
lick, *nal
lie, be, *bey
lie prone, *xoy
lie, tell a lie, *bal-ʔa
light, *say-i/u, *tek
light (source ?), *sa-
light a fire, *ć’ay-a
light in weight, *hosop
lightning, flame, *wal-u
liquid spreads, *tel-a
liquid (thick), *t’ot
liver, *k’ila
lizard sp.: Western fence lizard, *ć’iwil
locative, toward, in (horizontally ?), *-e·l
locative case, *-in
log, *waqu· ?
long ago, already, old, former, past demonstrative, *ho-
loose, *hot ?
loose, thin, *łupuq
loosen by scratching, *k’eb-i/u
lose, miss, *yo(-)w
louse, *p’er-
lungs, *q’oso
lungs, chest, *k’eba

magpie, *ʔatʔat
make, *lel-a/i/u, *mal-i/u
make sparks, *t’ip
man, *wi-ta
man, husband, *wiy
manzanita berries, *bolo
maple, *say
mash, *p’it
may it be, *wile
may, might, lest, *k’en
meadowlark, *yok
mediopassive, *-ć’h
meet, *hen-pa ?
mental clouding, *q’a(-)q
mesh, *k’at ?
middle, center, *wenem
might, may, lest, *k’en
milk, breast, *ʔimit
milkweed, *boq
milkweed, wild hemp, *p’e-l
minnow, *q’ili
miss, *man-a·
miss, lose, *yo(-)w
moldy, muddy, *q’un
mollusk shell, *ono(-)q
morning star, *č’at-u
mortar, *t’ubuq ?
mortar basket, *kaw
mosquito, *čosaq
mother, *neh, *na, *ne-n
motion back and forth, *her-u
mountain, *čʰol
mountain lion, *pate
mountain quail, *čʰočʰol
mourning dove, *puluq
mouse, rat, *č’ube
mouth, *qo(-)l
mouth open, *waw
move, *moroq
move away, *yo´
move (fast ? repetitive ?), *kʰod-
move in a direction, move toward, *k'o-
move inclined toward, *k’od-i/u
move hips ?, *wik
move light-weight things, *sid
move stones, *k’ap
mud, *k’a:
muddy, moldy, *q’un
mushroom sp., *t’ara, *made ?
mussel, fresh-water, *č’ayi

nail(s), claw(s), *k’ahay
name, real, really, *yet
nape of neck ?, *toq ?
narrow-waisted, *č’idok
navel, *naq
near, *čok-i
neck, *dok
nest, *sunu
net, *koro, *čʰaq, *t’uy-čʰ-i
new, now, *po-
nipple, *p’ur-i
nit, *č’ubi
no, not, *ʔelew
nod, *wuk
nominalizer, *-s
nominalizing and neutral mode stem-deriving suffix, *-i
non-visual sensorial evidential, *mut-her
north, *way
nose, *sono
not, no, *ʔele-w
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>term</th>
<th>annotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nothing (be)</td>
<td>*min-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now, new</td>
<td>*po-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objective case</td>
<td>*-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objective case suffix for kinterms and pronouns</td>
<td>*-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obsidian, knife, arrow, flint</td>
<td>*doqo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old, already, long ago, former, past demonstrative</td>
<td>*ho-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old man</td>
<td>*k’iy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>*p’ot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older brother</td>
<td>*labe-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older woman</td>
<td>*q’aya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>*k’ete-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open by scratching or scraping</td>
<td>*xeb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open mouth</td>
<td>*waw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>optative ?, deictic</td>
<td>*k’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oriole</td>
<td>*sapasapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oscillate, vibrate</td>
<td>*lew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other, away, different</td>
<td>*q’al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other ?</td>
<td>*?ut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>out(side)</td>
<td>*pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owl sp.: great horned</td>
<td>*kudu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owl sp.: barn owl</td>
<td>*si-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owl sp.: burrowing</td>
<td>*wik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owl sp.,</td>
<td>*hi-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>own, have, get</td>
<td>*ke-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pack</td>
<td>*sew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pack tight</td>
<td>*bam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paddle</td>
<td>*q’awa ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paired objects, suffix marking</td>
<td>*-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pale</td>
<td>*sa-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palm</td>
<td>*t’eqel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pant, grunt</td>
<td>*xoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parch</td>
<td>*la-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passive</td>
<td>*-her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past demonstrative, old, already, long ago, former</td>
<td>*ho-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pay</td>
<td>*?el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peel off</td>
<td>*č’ub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pendant</td>
<td>*yaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penis</td>
<td>*kul-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people</td>
<td>*win</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people, person</td>
<td>*-tu(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people of, village</td>
<td>*xerel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peppergrass</td>
<td>*yodo ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perforate</td>
<td>*q’es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perimeter, join</td>
<td>*kol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
person, *win
person, people, *-tu(·)
pestle, *t’ulu ?
pestle?, wood ?, *č’us
pet, *ʔom
physical injury, *p’od
pick one at a time, *tey
pick small things one by one, *xad
pick up ?, dig ?, *hap-a
pierce through, *λ’er
pigeon: band-tailed, *xo-...wi-
pike, *k’uw-
pinch, *t’or
pine, *t’uw
pine sp., *sak
pitch, resin, *č’ek-i
place a sling, *lom-u
plant sp., *laqa, *q’ala
plant sp.: low-growing, *baq
plant sp.: soft, round, *łu̱buq
play, *laqal
point, *lolo·q-i/u
poison, doctor, *yom
poison oak, *p’oq’om
poke, stick into, insert long things, *λ’op
pole, *to-
polish, *sik
pond, *kopol
poorwill, *qo·ltep
pop, *p’oq ?
poppy, butterfly, *bo·bolVq
porcupine, star, *łara·q ?
potato, *ʔel-i
potato sp., *p’ołoy
pound, *t’aq-i/u, *p’aq
pound with flat surface, *p’et
pour, spill, *č’ur-l-i/u
pour out slowly, go out, *p’e·l ?
pour solids, *t’ik-i/u
press, *p’at-a
press tight, *č’ít
promise ? beg ?, *duq
prone, inclined, *qoh
pronged, joined, *non
pronominal plural, *-le
protruberance, *λ’or-
protrude, swell, *pʰo-
protrusion, *bul
pubic hair, *seke-
pull, *wik, *qir
pull off, *sob-čʰ-u-
pull or throw up, *kip
pull out, *tʰup-u ?
pus, full of pus, *buq
put long object around, *dol
put on a hat, *tʰak
put up, *lom-i/u

quotative root, *ʔu

raccoon, *čʰʰika
rainbow, *sa-q-k’ur- ?
raise, *hok
rake (toward self ?), *qar-čʰ-
rat, mouse, *č’ube
rattle, *λ ’al
rattle (cocoon), *sokok
rattle (rustle ?), *wasasa
raven, *qaq
real, really, name, *yet
realis stem-deriving suffix, *-a, *-e
reciprocal, *p’ur-i
red, *tede
red paint, *q’oba
red-shafted yellowhammer (flicker), *č’i-
referential, *qa
reflect, *ʔilʔil
reflexive, *-na
relational nominal suffix, *-da
relational locative, *naq
relatives, *win
reluctant ?, careful ?, *hinu-
remain, *hor-i/u
remove from body, *λ ’uq
resin, pitch, *čʰek-i
ribs, *k’uril
ridge, *luyuq
right hand, *čal-
ringing sound, *títíl
rip, *čel-
rip in half, *yeb
ripe, *noq-i/u
roadrunner, *tolto-?
roar, rumble, *kim-u-r
roast, *λ’ir
robe, *naw
robin, *wisbo-?
rock, *son
rock (small, round), stone, *t’uduy
rodent sp., *k’ay
roe, *pu:p
roll, *dib, *hol?
roll, run continuously, *kip(-Vl)
root, especially basket root, *se-k
rope, *č’e-k
rot, *yulyul
rotten smell, stink, *al-a
rough skin, *č’i-k
rub, *lir, *dih?
rumble, roar, *kim-u-r
run continuously, roll, *kip(-Vl)
rustle?, rattle, *wasasa

sack, *q’am
salmon, *nur
salt, *we(·)l
sand, *č’er-i, *t’apa
save, *huy
save for, *laq
scare someone, *čiri-k-u-ma
scorpion, *taqa-taqa
scrabble, *los
scrape, *k’ar-a, *q’er
scrape, scratch, *č’eb-a:
scratch, *k’or
scratch, scrape, *č’eb-a:
scratch body, itch, *?od-i/u
screech owl, *k’opus
scrub jay, *č’ayi(·)k
seal (close), *t’uy
search for, *tiw
second person pronominal root, *ma-
seed, *k’ul, *moy
seed plant sp., *k’is, *q’ol?, *payi-t
seek luck, *q’os-u
seep out, *p’ur-u
send, *yí-l-a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word/Verb</th>
<th>Pinyin/Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>send after, direct to</td>
<td>*yor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sensory input decreasing</td>
<td>*λ’ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>separate into strands or slices</td>
<td>*k’ih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sew</td>
<td>*hur-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shadow, spirit after leaving body</td>
<td>*les</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shake, shake, wake up</td>
<td>*yuq-eh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shame</td>
<td>*kay-i/u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharp (to be)</td>
<td>*t’op</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharp implement</td>
<td>*k’ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharp point; to sprout</td>
<td>*č’up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharpen by filing, grind</td>
<td>*lor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shave</td>
<td>*q’er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shell (empty?)</td>
<td>*λ’al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shell (verb)</td>
<td>*k’ab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shell of mollusk</td>
<td>*ono(·)q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shellled and dried acorns</td>
<td>*λ’i1-shimmer, *ʔib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shin</td>
<td>*lur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shine</td>
<td>*til</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>*t’amu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short version of</td>
<td>*molo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoulder, arm</td>
<td>*sala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shrub sp.</td>
<td>*sow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sick, hurt, want</td>
<td>*koy-i/u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side</td>
<td>*sel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sift</td>
<td>*č’i1q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinew, tendon</td>
<td>*law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>single thing or individual emerges</td>
<td>*t’uq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister</td>
<td>*lay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>*l’a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit, be</td>
<td>*boh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>*ser-pano1t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>*la’s, *qoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin (verb)</td>
<td>*p’ir-č-uh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin peels off</td>
<td>*č’ob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skull</td>
<td>*qoq-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk (striped)</td>
<td>*q’o-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunkberries, sumac berries</td>
<td>*p’intsus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slap</td>
<td>*t’aq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>*xin-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slice</td>
<td>*t’eč-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slice, cut with swinging motion</td>
<td>*hil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slice, cut off</td>
<td>*q’op-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slide</td>
<td>*suy-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sling</td>
<td>*lom-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sling (tie a), *lur-čb-u
slip, *sil
slit/split two halves, *t’ač
slithering (creature), crawling (like a snake), *p’il-i
slurp, *lupu-q-i/u
small, child, *ku-
small, child, baby, *ʔilay
small (intensive ?), *ʔin
smell, *sub-u
smell rotten, stink, *ʔal-a
smoke, *nu-q
smoke (verb), *sud-u
smoke hole, *t’el
smooth, *wil-i
snake (verb), *how
snake sp., *how, *hulilVk
snap, *k’-a-
sneeze, *t’es
snore, *t’on
snot, *luniq
snow, *yo-l
soft round plant sp., *lubuq
sound bee-like, *ʔon
sour, *ʔay-...l-
sour, unripe, *ʔa-w-a
south, *nor
spark, *p’ač-a, *t’ip
sparrowhawk, *ʔirʔir
spear, *saq
spear, gig, *ləw ?
speech, *č’e(-)we-s
spider, *kerek
spike, *tob-i
spill, pour, *č’u-l-i/u
spin, *xiw
spirit, *q’al-tu ?
spirit after leaving body, shadow, *ləs
spit, *t’ub
split, *k’-ač
split apart, *t’eb
split/slit two halves, *t’ač
split, *q’ot
spot, *t’ok
spouse’s parent, child’s spouse, in-law one generation removed, *t’e(-)s
spread open, *dih
spread to dry, *ye-
sprout, *q'uy?
sprout, to; sharp point, *č’up
sprout, emerge, cross (meet), *tep-i/u
squat, *q’ud
squeak, *k’id
squeeze, *pit, *p’it
squint, *ʔay-čʰ-
squirm, *sis
squirrel: flying ?, *q’an-łala?
stand, *p’ek-a-y-i/u?
stand up long things, *toq
star, porcupine, *ḷara-q?
starve, be hungry, *per-i/u
stative ?, *-V(·)l
steam, fog, *q’os
Steller’s jay, *woč-
step, climb, *dek
stick into, poke, insert long things, *λ’op
stick into (vertically ?), *lup
stick up, *to-l
sticks, *tok-i?
stiff ?, clench, *k’on
stiff, straighten, *sip-čʰ-u
sting, *lal-a
stink, smell rotten, *lal-a
stinkbug, *xed-i-men
stone, small round rock, *t’uduy
stone (white), *λ’ar
stoop, *pum,
straight, *č’uC-, *kid-i?
straighten, make stiff, *sip-čʰ-u
straighten up, fix up, *moq
strap with hook, hooked strap, *lak-o/u
strap, tumpline, *surut
strike at, *λ’aq-a
stripe, *q’op
striped skunk, *q’o-
struggle, *wer
stuck, *čʰop
stuff feathers, *wey
sturgeon, *nes
subjunctive, dubitative, *-m
submerge, *lib-čʰ
subordinating suffix, *-ta
subordinating suffix of causal or temporal anteriority, *-ro?
suck, *č’uy-u
sudden escape of water, *het
suffix forming alienable possessive pronouns, *-o
sugar, *xurxur
sugar pine, *sumu
sumac berries, skunkberries, *p’intus
summer, *pohpil ?
summoned gathering, *ya·pay
sun to set, *?al-a
sunflower sp., *q’olo
sunshine, *holol
supernatural, *yoh
suspect, fear a loss, *ha·q-a
Swainson’s hawk ?, *lik-
swallow, *per-i/u
sweet, *mumuq
swell, protrude, *p’o-
swim, *t’ul-e/i/u
swing, *xiw
swing arms, *hil-a-y
tadpole, *ho--.-q
tail, *satu
take/bring something inanimate, *har-m-
tale, tell a tale, *bo-l-e
talk, *c’e(·)w
tall and swaying, *k’eb					tamarack pine, *mo·r
tarweed, *t’on
tear, *k’ur-a-
tears, *tum
tell a lie, *bal-7a
tell a tale, *bo-l-e
tend in indicated direction, *t’er ?
tendon, sinew, *law
thick liquid, *t’ot
thighs, hip, *somVk
thin, loose; *lupuq
thing, *soq, *men
think, *hal
thorn, *k’i·l
three, *pano(·)l
throat, *dol, *holhol
throat, esophagus, *peru-
through to the last, *nam
throw, *hey-a
throw or pull up, *kip
throw solids, *qʰet-a
throw water, *lidl
throw water on fire, *qol
thus, *ʔu-
tickle, *quč-u
tie, *lak
tie a knot, *p’olo-q
tie a sling, *lar-cʰ-u
tired, *leq-cʰ-u
toad, *yoho(-)l
tobacco, *lo(-)l
today, *po-sani
tongue, *tahal
tooth, *si-
top, *pan-ti
toward self, here, *xun
toward, in (horizontally ?), *-e-l
trail, *yeme
trap (verb), *q’ap-ma
trapped, *q’ap-a
travel, far, *kel-
tree, *cʰo-q, *mi
trip, *kʰet
try, *tip
tule (flat), cattail, *pa-tpat
tule, bulrush, *λ’op
tumpline, strap, *surut
turn into nothing, *min-a
turn, roll, *dibi
turtle, *ʔan-
turtle-shell shaped, *mu(-)k-u	
twice, crosswise, *ser
twins, *cʰur-
twist, *t’ir
two, *pan

unpleasant emotion, crazy, *ho-n
unripe, sour, *ʔəw-a
up, *ʔol
up-and-down movement, *hak-i
urine, urinate, *cʰ’un-u
use, do, be (non-distal ?), *ʔiy

venison, deer, *no-p
vibrate, oscillate, *lew
village, people of, *xerel
vine sp., *č’ini-q
viscous, *p’at
vision impaired, *q’as-i-lʔa
vocative, *ye
vocative suffix, *-k
vomit, *ʔoq-č’i/-i/u
vulva, *č’ut

wade, *č’up-u
walk, *q’ay-i/u
walk uncertainly, *čoł-
want, hurt, sick, *koy-i/u
warm oneself, *humuq
wash face, wash up, *tʰa-p
water, *me(·)m
water container, *pol
watersnake ?, *how
wave, fan, gesture, *liw
wear out, exhaust, *let
weave, *lel-e
weave, make a net, *lo(-)y
web, weaving, *loy
weir, dam, *paq-i
west, *nom
Western bluebird, *č’ow
Western fence lizard, *č’iwil
Western meadowlark, *bi-t ?
wet, *q’at
where, *he
which specific one, *he
whiskers (particularly of fish), beard, *qʰep
whisper, *hal-a
white stone, *l’ar
white oak acorn, *yok...i-
whole, body, *tʰu(·)n
wide, *q’an
wide (open ?), *wak
wife, woman, *p’oq
wild goose sp., *laq
wild grapes, *qʰap
wild onion, *p’u(·)r
wildcat, *p’a...l...m
willow sp., *moł
willow sp. or basket sticks from that willow, *ton
wind, wind blows, *k’ah-i/u
wing, *q’an
wink, *ʔay-ʔə-
winnower, *k’en-i
winter, *pomsim
wolf, *hu-?
woman, *p’oqi-ta
woman, wife, *p’oq
woman (old), *p’ot
woman (older), *q’aya
wood ?, pestle ?, *c’us
woodpecker sp., *c’uday, *tarak, *c’uduk
worm, *λ’uk, *k’es
worm sp., *q’ucul
wormwood, *qeti
wrap, *p’il-u
wrap around, *haw-a’l
wreck, *p’or

yawn, *ḥa·sme
yellowjacket, *k’ec-
yes, *ho(·) ?
yester-, the passing of one night ?, *le’n
young boy, *k’urey
young girl, *p’ukuy
young man, *xerit
younger brother, *ley
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AL, Anthropological Linguistics
IJAL, International Journal of American Linguistics
IJAL-NATS, IJAL Native American Texts Series
JAF, Journal of American Folklore
SSILA, The Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas
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