## INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the original text directly from the copy submitted. Thus, some dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from a computer printer.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyrighted material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is available as one exposure on a standard 35 mm slide or as a $17^{\prime \prime} \times 23^{\prime \prime}$ black and white photographic print for an additional charge.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. 35 mm slides or $6^{\prime \prime} \times 9^{\prime \prime}$ black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.


Accessing the World's Information since 1938

# The language of the Kitanemuks of California 

Anderion, Alice Jeanne, Ph.D.<br>University of California, Los Angeles, 1988

## PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark

1. Glossy photographs or pages $\qquad$
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print $\qquad$
3. Photographs with dark background $\qquad$
4. Illustrations are poor copy $\qquad$
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy $\qquad$
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page $\qquad$
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages $\qquad$
8. Print exceeds margin requirements $\qquad$
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine $\qquad$
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print $\qquad$
11. Pages) $\qquad$ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author. (
$\qquad$ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
12. Page (s)
13. Two pages numbered $\qquad$ Text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages $\qquad$
15. Dissertation contains pages with print at a slant, filmed as received $\qquad$
16. Other $\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
UNI

## UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

## THE LANGUAGE OF THE KITANEMUKS OF CALIFORNIA

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

Alice Jeanne Anderton

1988

The dissertation of Alice Jeanne Anderson is approved.


Victoria Fromkin


Pamela Munro


William O. Bright, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles 1988

## © Copyright by

Alice Jeanne Anderton 1988
"I reasoned to myself (though I would not have dared say it to Harrington), that the people who spoke or had spoken these languages had also existed as human beings, had lived and loved and felt."

Carobeth Laird<br>Encounter with an angry god:<br>recollections of my life with<br>John Peabody Harrington, f. 59

## Table of Contents

Introduction ..... 1
I. Phonology
A. Choosing an orthography ..... 15
B. Segment inventory ..... 32
C. Morpheme structure constraints ..... 36
D. Phonological rules ..... 39
II. Morphological categories and inflectional morphology
A. Nouns ..... 74
B. Verbs ..... 94
C. Pronouns ..... 106
D. Clitics ..... 118
E. Adjectives ..... 129
F. Adverbs ..... 134
G. Quantifiers ..... 137
H. Conjunctions ..... 138
III. Derivational morphology
A. Noun-forming derivations ..... 140
B. Verb-forming derivations ..... 155
C. Derivations producing both nouns and verbs ..... 160
D. Adjective derivations ..... 161
E. Adverb derivations ..... 162
F. Numeral derivations ..... 163
IV. Syntax
A. Possession ..... 166
B. Number ..... 173
C. Case ..... 175
D. Agreement ..... 201
E. Negation ..... 207
F. Time reference ..... 210
G. Word order ..... 215
H. Questions and indefinites ..... 217
I. Complex sentences ..... 224
J. Modals ..... 239
K.tim ..... 242
L. nehe ..... 244
M. Imperatives ..... 249
N. Predicator ..... 252
O. Text ..... 253
VI. Dictionary
A. Kitanemuk-English dictionary ..... 256
B. English-Kitanemuk index to the dictionary ..... 595
VII. Appendices
A. Some sample pages from Harrington ..... 655
B. Kitanemuk forms from A.L. Kroeber ..... 657
C. Kitanemuk forms from C.H. Merriam ..... 666
D. Kitanemuk forms from J.W. Hudson ..... 685
E. Kitanemuk forms from C.E. Kelsey ..... 687
F. Kitanemuk forms from van Valkenburg and Farmer ..... 689
G. The layout of Harrington's typewriter ..... 691
H. Deverbal nominals ..... 692
I. Classes of verbs ..... 698
J. Imperative verb forms ..... 700
K. Spanish and Chumash glossary ..... 704
VIII. References cited ..... 709

## FIGURES, MAPS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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

PHOTOS

Magdalena Olivas, Kitanemuk speaker
p. 1

Tejón ranchería, early twentieth century
p. 14
(Both photographs were taken by J.P. Harrington and are on file in the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C.)

|  | ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE GRAMMAR |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1p, 2p, 3p | first, second, or third person singular prefix |
| $1 \mathrm{~s}, 2 \mathrm{~s}, 3 \mathrm{~s}$ | first, second, or third person plural prefix |
| $3-1 \mathrm{~s}$, etc. | person and number of subject and object in clitic |
| ABS | absolutive suffix |
| AGT | agentive nominalizing suffix |
| AUG | augmentative suffix |
| CHAR | characterizing suffix |
| COMP | object complement |
| DEC | deceased suffix |
| DESID | desiderative suffix |
| DIR | directional suffix |
| GEN | general nominalizing suffix |
| HRT | hortative first person plural prefix |
| IMP | imperative clitic |
| INF | infinitive suffix |
| INST | instrumental nominalizing suffix |
| N | noun |
| OBJ | object |
| PL | plural |
| PN | passive nominal suffix |
| Q | question clitic |
| RDP | reduplicative prefix |
| sp. | species (of biota); plural spp. |
| St | stem |
| TR | transitivity suffix |
| TrN | tribename suffix |
| $V$ | verb |
| VN | vowel plus n verb stem extender |

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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

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

Many kinds of support from friends and colleagues have been critical to this project. I thank Anne Perna, Nancy Levy, Carobeth Laird, Rose Odum, Hector Javkin, Paul Schachter, Peter Ladefoged, Jenny Ladefoged, Maud Haimson Nerman, Abby Cohn, Dollie Meyers, Bill Bright again, and my family.

I thank especially my new friend D.H.M., who made this study come alive for me.

For financial support, I thank the University of California Pegents, the Will Rogers Memorial Fellowship committee, the Federally Insured Student Loan Program, and the UCLA Department of Linguistics.

Even with all this, good health is essential to the completion of a project of this scope. Thank you Nancy Feldman and Hennie Sholars.

## VITA

| 1949 | Born, Richmond, Virginia. |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1970 | B.A., McGill University, Montreal. |
| 1972 | M.A., University of California, Los Angeles. |
| 1972,3,6, 1981-2 | Research Assistant, Dept. of Linguistics University of California, Los Angeles. |
| 1972,73-4, 75,76 | Teaching Assistant, Dept. of Linguistics University of California, Los Angeles. |
| 1975 | C.Phil., University of California, Los Angeles |
| 1984-7 | Staff Research Associate, Dept. of |
| Linguistics |  |
|  | University of California, Los Angeles |
| 1986-8 | Research Assistant |
|  | Peal Software, Blind Children's Language |
| Grant |  |

## PUBLICATIONS

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

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

# ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION 

# The Language of the Kitanemuks of California 

by

Alice Jeanne Anderton
Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics University of California, Los Angeles, 1988

Professor William O. Bright, Chair

Kitanemuk was a Uto-Aztecan language of the Takic subgroup, spoken near the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley, in the Tehachapi Mountains, Antelope Valley, and neighboring areas of southern California. It was spoken by a few speakers as late as the 1930's, but is apparently extinct today. In 1917, John Peabody Harrington, working as a research ethnologist for the Smithsonian Institution, did linguistic and anthropological fieldwork on the Kitanemuk, producing some 2000 pages of raw notes which he
never prepared for publication. This dissertation is a description of the Kitanemuk language as it is revealed in the Harrington notes and a smaller corpus of linguistic and ethnobotanical fieldnotes taken by Maurice L. Zigmond in 1937, as well as a few forms from A.L. Kroeber, C.E. Kelsey, Richard van Valkenburgh, Malcolm Farmer, and John W. Hudson. The original source material is described, as well as the methodology for organizing it into a grammar and dictionary. The grammar, including chapters on phonology, morphology and syntax, and the dictionary, consisting of some 1650 Kitanemuk entries and an English index, are written using a spelling system designed to represent the morphophonemics of Kitanemuk and to be compatible with systems used in published descriptions of related languages. Samples of the source material are given, and original transcriptions are cited in the dictionary entries. It is shown that Kitanemuk was a language with relatively free word order, with four noun classes defined by absolutive suffixes, with several verb classes, with absolutive suffixes appearing generally in non-possessed NP's but with some interesting departures in this regard from the typical Uto-Aztecan or Takic pattern, with an array of post-clitics appearing in second position in the clause, and with many parallels between noun and verb structure. A substantial amount of information is made available to Uio-Aztecan and southern California specialists as well as to historical and comparative linguists on an otherwise undescribed language.

Magdalena Olivas, Kitanemuk speaker

## INTRODUCTION


#### Abstract

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


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

[^0]Fig. 1. Where Kitanemuk was spoken


Fig. 2. The Uto Aztecan family (in brief) and Takic subfamily ${ }^{4}$

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

4 This tree is based on Sydney Lamb's (1964) conservative Uto-Aztecan classification, plus William Bright's (1974) classification of Takic. (The commas indicate separate languages, while the hyphens indicate dialects.) (Some scholars group Numic, Hopi, Takic and Tübatulabal logether as Northern Uto-Aztecan.)
(Of these languages, Cahuilla, Luiseño, and perhaps Serrano are still spoken.) Kitanemuk was more distantly related to Hopi, Tübatulabal, Nahuatl, and other Uto-Aztecan languages of Mexico and the southwest United States. The Kitanemuks' closest neighbors in pre-Mission days were Serranos, Ventureño Chumasin (who spoke a Hokan language), Yokuts (who spoke a Penutian language), and Fernandeños.

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

[^1]people who lived in California at that time. But linguistically and ethnically they probably suffered more than anything else from assimilation, which began with "missionization" at San Fernando, San Gabriel, and perhaps San Buenaventura (Blackburn and Bean 1978) and continued when the Kitanemuk and other Indians working on private ranches used Spanish as a lingua franca on the job. Some may have lived for a time on the Tule River reservation. Relatively little is known about the Kitanemuks specifically, since they were a small group; at times they may have been confused with Serranos, Yokuts, Chumash, or Fernandeños by observers in the nineteenth century.

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

In 1972 William Bright obtained a xerox copy of a batch of the Harrington Kitanemuk notes (some $120081 / 2^{\prime \prime} \times 11^{\prime \prime}$ pages of raw fieldnotes, mostly handwritten) from the Linguistics Department at the University of California, Berkeley. He asked me

[^2]as his research assistant to identify Kitanemuk morphemes from the notes, so that some of them could be entered into his UtoAztecan cognate file. The notes consist mostly of single words and short sentences, and lexically reflect Harrington's special emphasis on plant and animal names and placenames. These notes form the foundation of the analysis I offer here, and are labeled "!ti" (for Harrington) in the dictionary entries.

There are many problems in working with these notes. The writing is not always legible. The Kitanemuk forms are translated into English or Spanish, or sometimes a mixture of the two; there are also occasional Chumash translations. (In the dictionary I translate the Spanish wherever its meaning is clear, but retain it wherever it is ambiguous or untranslatable; in the latter cases 1 stardardize the spelling somewhat and suggest a translation in square brackets.) Although the utterances of several speakers of Kitanemuk are represented, 8 it is usually not clear which words were spoken by which speaker. Nor is the chronology of the notes clear; a few sessions are dated, but many are not. These two facts make it hard to evaluate differing transcriptions of the same word: are dialect differences involved? are the forms in free variation? has Harrington decided to represent the same sound with a

[^3]different symbol ${ }^{9}$ for some reason? There are of course some gaps in the material which must remain forever unfilled (there are for example no sentences with a third person subject and a second person plural object); but with the wealth of data many linguistic patterns are undeniable. (Some sample pages from these notes are reproduced in Appendix A.)

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

[^4]conventions, for example, or the addition of another form or two to a verb paradigm. Some of the material had been transferred to $4^{\prime \prime} \times$ $6^{\text {n }}$ grammar file slips from the original notes, or typed onto $81 / 2^{\prime \prime}$ $\times 11^{\prime \prime}$ pages by Harrington or his wife on trips to Washington. 10 (It is because of the occasional revisions that the two sources are cited separately in the dictionary.) Having decided to write a dissertation on Kitanemuk, I went to Washington and examined the Smithsonian notes. I recorded all of the linguistic forms which

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

```
                                    neck
    gohots -neck. Plu. m.
ninoho' -mi pescueso
\etaohowat -pescuezón. Plu. m.
ninju yónötsaj -I saw a neck.
nihju ma\etăöhotsaj -I saw your neck.
nihju pqyohotsaj -I saw their necks. (lllob,lllla)
    jrakwk anoho' -his pescuezo is noarse, हl esta
Snakwik nimono" -I an hoarse. (10;8a)
\intakwk anoho' - elestá gangoso, talks through
    his nose. (1l38a)
a\etaōho' val:avara'j -his neck is colgado. (lllla)
```

[^5]did not seem to duplicate the Berkeley notes. These notes were added to my files, and form a second (much smaller) source for this study, labeled "R" (for "revised notes") in the dictionary entries. 11

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

[^6]names and plant uses; the notebook is especially helpful in that it gives the botanica! names of many plants not identified by Harrington.

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

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

[^7]using English spellings; ${ }^{16}$ thus it is not surprising that there are inconsistencies in the correspondences between his orthography and that of Harrington and Zigmond. I do not feel justified in making any phonological statements based on them, but these notes for the most part still corroborate in a broad way the other sources. They are reproduced in Appendix C, and the forms are entered in the dictionary with the label " $M$ ".

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

[^8]The Kelsey notes include some numerals elicited from a "Mrs. James Rosemyre ${ }^{18}$, of Tejon, at Bakersfield, Cal., March 4, 1906". ${ }^{19}$ These forms match fairly well the numbers collected by Harrington, Zigmond and Merriam, but go all the way up to ninety. They are listed in Appendix E, and entered in the dictionary with the label "CK".

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

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

[^9]and the original notes, I have sought to describe to the fullest extent possible, given the limitations of the data, the grammar of the Kitanemuk language-its phonology, morphology and syntax. I have always found appealing the wording of Sally McLendon in the preface to her Grammar of Eastern Pome, where she says that she has striven for "the greatest amount of informative generalization with the least amount of abstraction" (McLendon 1975). Although I state grammatical rules formally whenever possible, in order to be as explicit as possible, my priority is to present as much data as possible in an understandable and usable form, rather than to advance any particular theoretical viewpoint. I hope that my efforts have made more accessible some of the linguistic riches of another day.

There is no text on this page.

## CHAPTER I: PHONOLOGY

## A. CHOOSING AN ORTHOGRAPHY

## 1. GENERALCONSIDERATIONS

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

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

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

K,
which resembles a Greek or Russian k, I have used Greek kappa: x.

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

## 2. HARBINGTON'S TRANSCRIPTIONS

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

## Harrington Symbols:

|  | t | ts | t $\int, \mathrm{t} \mathrm{fr}$ | k, k,k | kw | i | $\rho$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $s$ |  | S,jr | 9 | h, ${ }^{\text {d }}$ | e |  | 0 |
|  | n |  |  | $\eta$ |  |  | 0 |  |
|  |  | r |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | j |  |  |  |  |  |  |

[^10]
## Notes on Harrington's transcription:

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

Segment length is profusely recorded using macrons, but is non-phonemic (as will be shown in section D, rule 1: "Segment length"). All vowels and most consonants (not $\mathcal{L L}$ ) ) are sometimes marked long.

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

Sonorants are sometimes recorded with a small circle beneath, apparently to mark them as devoiced; this symbol also appears, inconsistently, under the $I$ of $1 \int r$ fr presumably to indicate the voiceless $r$ release of retroflex consonants.

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

Raised vowels are sometimes used to indicate what Harrington calls "echo vowels"; these are apparently very short, probably voiceless vowels which follow syllables closed by $?$.
$\boldsymbol{q}$ is a velar allophone of $\boldsymbol{h}$, corresponding to IPA [x], not [q]. ${ }^{2}$
$x$ is a backed variety of the phoneme $/ k /$-probably IPA [q]; dotted $k(k)$ seems to be a notational variant of $k$.
$\mathcal{L}$ represents the sound of English sh [i.e. IPA [f]], and if that of ch [i.e. IPA [t f]], according to Laird (1984: 322). But If and L, often written $1 \int[$ and $\mathbb{C r}$ respectively, are apparently retroflex consonants; at least they have retroflex allophones (cf. 11: "Retroflection", in section D), and a Harrington comment regarding the form wojnifr 'snake sp.' is revealing: " $\int$ is not $\int r$-like-when in contact with $i$ it never seems to be".

Inferior hooks opening to the right are occasionally used on vowels; they apparently indicate vowels which are slightly more open than usual, as in modern IPA usage; cf. the final vowel of tuqup 'effeminate man', and the note in the entry for ifyopit 'animal', where open $\underline{Q}$ is equated with $\rho^{3}{ }^{3}$

[^11]The symbol $\pm$ is used in words which are probably borrowed. It apparently represents a voiceless 1 . In the phonemic representation I spell Harrington's words containing this symbol with a plain !.

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

Raised $\underline{w}$ and h occur following certain segments; they are assumed to represent light offglides, probably very faint.

A period (.) occurs rarely between vowels in, e.g., hoits, reed sp.' (which is also transeribed hejifs, háits, hojts and hopjts); its meaning can only be guessed at; it may mark a hiatus (indicating that neither vowel has become a glide), or it may simply draw attention to the fact that there is no glottal stop separating two vowels. Note that contiguous vowels are more often transcribed without the period than with it, including iu, ie io 20, 2i ee ye,

' marks aspiration (in some but not all cases this is $/ \mathrm{h} /$ ).
o represents a high central vowel [ $\dot{+}$ ], not [ e ].
' is a glottal stop (rendered in this work as P , for greater readability).

## 3. ZIGMOND'S TRANSCRIPTIONS

The Zigmond transcription is different from Harrington's:

## Zigmond symbols

| b, p | $t$ č | $g, k, q \mathrm{k}^{w}$ | P | i | $\mathbf{r , a , u}, \mathbf{z}$ | $u$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\Phi, ~ \vee$ | scč | K | h,hw |  |  |  |
| $\mathrm{m}, \mathrm{m}^{W}$ | n | ワ |  | e, $\varepsilon$ |  | 0 |
|  | $r$ |  |  |  | $\alpha$ |  |
|  | 1 |  |  |  | 0 |  |
| w |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Notes on Zigmond's transcriptions:

In the vowel chart, the symbol $\underline{v}$ represents Zigmond's scriptstyle $\underline{\underline{u}}$ symbol (the usual Americanist lax $\underline{\underline{y}}$ symbol], corresponding to IPA [ه].

A single raised dot following a segment indicates length.
An acute accent over a vowel represents stress.
Zigmond has told me that 2 probably represents a high central vowel.

Zigmond (p.c.) describes a with a small circle beneath as the sound of ow in "how", or au in German; it corresponds to Harrington's aw in some entries.
a corresponds to [ay] (in, e.g., wanoypoc).

- following stops represents aspiration
$\propto$ stands for the vowel sound in Eng. nut, according to Zigmond (p.c.)—presumably IPA [^]; it corresponds to Harrington's a in some forms such as -yak (l-y+k/) 'locative'.

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

The exact phonetic value represented by $\underset{z}{z}$ is not clear; but the sound corresponds to Harrington's $\mathfrak{g}$ in such words as ב马yčive (/P $\ddagger+$ yčive/) 'Chanac Canyon'.

The exact meanings of $k$, of $k$ with breve beneath, of $k$ with strike-through are not clear.

The meaning of $\&$ is unknown, but perhaps it indicates a more open a, as in IPA usage.

## 4. MERRIAM'S TRANSCRIPTIONS

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

## Merriam Symbols

| p | $t$ ts | tr,ch | k | kw |  | i,ee,e | u,00 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{b}, \mathrm{v}, \Phi$ | s | shr | ch |  | h | e | 0 |
| m | n |  | ng |  |  |  |  |
|  | $r$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| w |  | $y$ |  |  |  |  |  |

## Notes on Merriam's transcriptions:

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

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

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

An acute accent follows stressed syllables.
An entry for 'old woman', no"taht, is the only instance of something that looks like a double quote; it probably represents aspiration (actually phonological $/ \mathrm{h} /$ ) closing a stressed syllable.

The high central vowel of Harrington's and Zigmond's transcription is sometimes represented in Merriam's notes by oo, breve $\boldsymbol{e}, \underline{\varrho}$, or $\underline{\underline{L}}$.

## 5. PHONEMIC SYMBOLSUSED IN OTHER TAKIC DESCRIPTIVE WORKS

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

## Serrano (Crook 1974a)



## Luiseño (Bright 1968)



Cupeño (Bright and Hill 1967)

|  |  | $t \mathrm{c}$ |  | $k$ | kw 9 | P | i |  | U | i: | u |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | s s. |  | x | xw h |  |  | 2 |  |  | 2: 0: |
|  |  | d |  | 9 |  |  |  | $\theta$ |  |  | 0: |
|  |  | $n$ | ny | $\eta$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | $r$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | $y$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Cahuilla (Seiler 1977)


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

## 6. ORTHOGRAPHYUSEDINTHIS WORK

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

|  | abial | CONSONANTS |  |  | glottal | VOWELS <br> [-ba] [+ba] |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| obstruents | P | $t \mathrm{c}$ | č | k kw | ? | $\boldsymbol{i}$ | $\pm 4$ | [+hi] |
| fricatives | $v$ | s | š |  | h | e | 0 |  |
| nasals | m | n |  | D |  |  | 8 | [+10] |
| rhotic |  | r |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| lateral |  | 1 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| glides | w |  | $y$ |  |  |  |  |  |

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

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

## Table 1: Correspondences of the various spelling systems ${ }^{4}$

| AJA | JPH | MLZ | CHM | IPA |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| P | p | p,b | P | p |
| $t$ | t | t | $t$ | $t$ |
| c | ts | c | ts | c |
| k | K, K, K | k,g,q | $k$ | k |
| kw | kw | $\mathrm{k}^{W}$ | kw | $\mathrm{k}^{W}$ |
| ? | ', $\varnothing$ | ? | , ', | ? |
| $v$ | $v$ | $v, \Phi$ | $v, \beta, b$ | $v, \Phi$ |
| s | $s$ | s | $s$ | $s$ |
| č | $t s, t \int r$ | č | tr,ch,tch | $t \int, t \int$ |
| š | S.jr | s | shr | f, $f$ |
| h | h, q | h, x | h | $n, x$ |
| $w$ | w | $w$ | w | w |
| $y$ | j | $y, d y$ | $y$ | j |
| $r$ | $r$ | $r$ | $r$ | $r$ |
| 1 | 1 | 1 |  | 1 |
| i | i | i | e, ee, $\varepsilon$ | i |
| e | e | e, $\varepsilon$ | e | e |
| 0 | 0 | a | a,ah,uh | 0 |
| $\dagger$ | a | $r, ə, \nu, \partial ̈$ | u,00,e, 0 | $\dot{i}$ |
| 0 | 0 | $\bigcirc$ | 0 | 0 |
| u | u | u | u,00,u | u |

[^12]
## 7. CONVENTIONS OFPRESENTATION

In the rest of this chapier, phonological rules are stated wherever possible in terms of phonological features. The examples illustrating the rules give underlying phonological forms, between slash marks, followed by an arrow indicating the application of the rule under discussion, and the resulting output of the rule for that form, in square brackets (as is a common convention in phonological discussions). The fact that there are no native speakers to consult, to check the phonetic description as presented in the various sources, has necessitated some peculiarities of presentation, however, which the reader should be aware of. In many instances there is some disagreement between the sources; indeed, within each source there are various versions of phonetic output transcribed for different tokens of the same form, in identical contexts. This is partially due to allophony. It sometimes is due to difficulty in identifying a sound; for example, a sound recorded sometimes as $\underset{2}{ }$. sometimes as lax $\underline{\ell}$, may really be $\dot{\text { 土 }}$. In the case of Harrington's transcriptions, differences are more often due to the fact that his transcriptions varied from session to session as to their narrowness. Thus, for example, one token will have the first syllable accented, and another will have no accent marks at all, either because when the second token was being transcribed Harrington was paying attention to something else-perhaps consonant length, vowel quality, morphology or syntax, and not focusing on stress, or because he had developed a
theory by this time about how stress was assigned, and had decided not to mark it any more unless it departed from the usual patterns. All this would be easier to sort out if it could be determined which notes were taken before which others. Unfortunately this is not for the most part possible. 5 The fact that at least some of the notes copied from the Smithsonian are revisions of the earlier notes is occasionally helpful; thus the sources labeled " H " [the originals acquired from Berkeley] and "R" (the partially revised notes at the Smithsonian) are listed separately in the dictionary, so that whatever light they may shed on these questions will not be lost. One has to look at a whole range of tokens of the same form, and abstract away from them somewhat in order to come up with a justifiable level of representation that one might want to call "phonetic output". While it is a truism that phonetic transcriptions are in themselves an abstract representation of a continuous soundstream, the problem is considerably magnified here, since the phonologist has never heard the acoustic signal. Part of my task has been to judge which abstract representation best suits the sounds which I have not personally witnessed. I think the best approach to this is to be as conservative as possible in the claims that I make about phonetic output, while also

[^13]including a representation of all the phonetic recordings in the dictionary, alongside the abstract phonological representation.

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

I use another convention unique to this work. In this chapter an asterisk means non-occurring, rather than rejected by speakers.

In general there are very few starred forms in the data; those that are indicated are found in such comments as "no endingless form" [for nouns with no non-possessed form] and a few starred morphological combinations [Harrington actually uses an asterisk in some few cases]. There are no forms recorded as being rejected for purely phonological reasons.

## B. SEGMENT INVENTORY


$w \quad y$

The segments /s/ and II/ are rather rare; they occur in a few borrowings and perhaps two dozen other words for which there is no evidence of borrowing (e.g. Panupsi 'small', hupusinak 'ant sp.', Пililk 'catch up with'). Some Spanish loans show /r/ being substituted for [1] (e.g. korvošo? 'gourd', from "calabaza" and rihir 'beans', from "frijól").
[f,d, $, \mathrm{g}, \not, \psi]$ also occur, but only in borrowings.
The three-way contrast for nasals is illustrated by the words home-t 'grass', hono-t 'ant sp.', and haqeč 'bee sp.'

The vowels /e/ and /o/ are infrequent; [e] and [0] are sometimes allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively.

Kroeber (1907: 90) suggests that Kitanemuk $\mathbb{L}$, and K are often unaspirated or only lightly aspirated. This is corroborated partially by van Valkenburg and Farmer's spelling "Gitanemuk" for the language name.

Kroeber says (1907: 90) that $\underline{v}$ is "always bilabial, and by an untrained observer ... readily heard as $\underline{\underline{2}}$ or $\underline{w}^{n}$, which suggests it is $[\beta]$; but I know of no further evidence bearing on this claim. He also
comments that "interdental or lower dental $\ddagger$... has been noted in Gitanemuk".

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

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

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

[^14]high central vowel, both in handwriting and in typing (Harrington's


For purposes of rule statement, the segments above will be assumed to be describable in terms of the features in Table II. on the following page (based on Chomsky and Halle 1968).
${ }^{8}$ See Appendix G for a representation of the layout of Harrington's special typewriter.

Table II: SIGNIFICANT FEATURES OF KITANEMUK SEGMENTS


## C. MORPHEME STRUCTURE CONSTRAINTS

All morphemes in Kitanemuk begin with a single consonant (or glide-this statement will be further refined in section $D$, rule 3: "Glide formation"), with the exception of a few suffixes and clitics which begin with vowels ${ }^{9}$. Vowels occur singly or in clusters of two in the underlying representation. Vowel clusters
 one to four vowels per morpheme. Morphemes end in a vowel or one to three consonants. Medial consonants are limited to clusters of two. There are rules such as absolutive affixation and transitive derivation which create final clusters of a wide variety in full words. The morpheme structure could be broadly characterized by the following formula (the first syllable to be amended slightly in the glide section, below):

$$
C V(V)(C)(C V(V)(C)(C V(V)(C)(C V(V)((C) C) C))))
$$

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

[^15]
## Morpheme-final_position


pimip 'you'
hup 'burn'
$k$ ač 'be' kim 'come'
'shoulder' kwišušupip 'swirl' mukap 'white person'
-V
payaya, 'all right' pimitha 'mute' pea 'be finished' pumu, pomo mapoyopi 'easy'
-CCC
mwiršk 'sad' rapwh- 'sit' p+ivk 'raise up'
-CC
cipk 'a little'
hit $k$ 'abreast'
KaPm 'crazy'

| hipipk 'rub buckskin' | $\frac{\text {-CCC }}{\text { mwiršk 'sad' }}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| waravk 'intensive adv.' | ropwh- 'sit' |
|  | Pipvk 'raise up' |

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

$$
(\operatorname{CV}(V)(C))_{i}^{4}
$$

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

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

Clusters due to suffixation of absolutive
hin-t 'snake'
hup-č 'star'

Pinok-t 'bird sp.'
počuk-t 'bow'

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

## Clusters on causative verbs

curup-k 'put in' (cf. curup-ik 'enter')
hemut-k 'take down' (cf. hamut- +k 'climb down')
piy-k 'lean' (cf. piy-ikk 'be leaning')
kopm-k 'make drunk' (cf. kapm-ik 'be crazy')
rapwh-k 'seat' (cf. rapwh-ik 'sit')
pit(-)k 'fill' (no corrsponding $-\$ k$ verb in data)

## D. PHONOLOGICAL RULES

## 1. SEGMENTLENGTH

Length on both consonants and vowels is indicated by both Harrington and Zigmond, but inconsistently; that is, it is sometimes noted and sometimes not. The consonants marked long when length is being noted vary in different tokens of the same word. The recording of length on vowels in some vowels is more consistent, which is slightly troubling, especially in light of the fact that other Takic languages-Cahuilla, Cupeño, Luiseño and Serrano-have been reported to have distinctive vowel length. ${ }^{0}$ All vowels occur in both long and short variants ${ }^{11}$, and so do most consonants (those never marked long are: p, h, l [?], r, s, v). ${ }^{12}$ Since there are no minimal pairs for length, I have omitted all indication of length from the phonemicized spelling, except to write twin segments separated by a morpheme boundary where that is the source of a phonetic long segment, as in the following example:

[^16]```
/min-kim-mat-g/ for source mokamat [mikim:at]
    2s make FUT 2-3s
    'You are going to make it.'
```

As a general rule, consonants are long following stressed vowels. Since stress in Kitanemuk is initial, stem-initial consonants are long when prefixed with either a reduplicative syllable or a personal prefix.
/pa-mi/ $\rightarrow$ [pám:i] 'S/he is going' 3s 90

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

## 2. STRESS

## General

Stress is almost entirely predictable, occurring on the initial vowel in the word. A small residue of anomalous forms not covered by the initial stress rule can be explained as borrowings,
or as mistranscriptions. ${ }^{13}$ My convention in citing the source transcriptions in the dictionary is to give forms with accents as distinct transcriptions only where the stress is marked other than on the first syllable only (which is unusual). Otherwise the reader should understand that all forms of a type either did not record the position of stress, or recorded it on the first syllable only, or some mixture of the two, across tokens.

## Initial stress rule

The primary stress falls on the first vowel of the word, regardless of whether this is part of a stem or prefix ${ }^{14}$. Even words borrowed from Spanish with non-initial stress are adapted to the Kitanemuk pattern by having stress shifted to the first vowel (e.g. kéreta 'cart', < Span. "carréta") or to a vowel inserted to break up an initial cluster (e.g. tóriwi 'wheat', < Span. "trigo") another pattern, seen in ry̆tiš 'ear of corn', (< Span. "elótes"), is to delete the Spanish initial unstressed vowel. Still another pattern is to keep the stressed vowel as in Spanish, and also stress the initial, which leads to an otherwise rare stress pattern of first and second vowels stressed, as in ifitiyo 'tortilla', (< Span. "tortilla") (1 think that most cases of contiguous stressed vowels are probably borrowings from some other language; but a very few

[^17]reduplicated forms have stress on the prefix as well as the stem vowel. $)^{15}$

```
V -> [+stress] / #[-vocalic]([-vocalic]) _
```


## Examples:

| hénin níhanin | 'winnowl' <br> 'I winnow' | $\begin{aligned} & \text { t } \ddagger m k i-c \\ & t+h-t \dot{q} m k i-c \end{aligned}$ | 'cave' <br> 'caves' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $k$ diodec | 'beard' | $w$ ¢̆pš at | 'trap' |
| ni-kana | 'my beard' | Wł̈wipšaha-ve | 'Old Tejon' |
| ni-puh-puy | 'my friends' | winakary | 'fish sp.' |

## Secondary stress

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


[^18]Long consonants in some words suggest the presence of secondary stress on the preceding vowel with consequent lengthening of the consonant:

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { /pa-vea-tam/, transcribed paviazam; [pá:viàt:am]? } \\
\text { 'Yokuts from Kern Lake' }
\end{gathered}
$$

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

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

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

## Interaction of stress and other rules

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

## 3. GUDE FORMATION

The high vowels $/ \mathrm{i} /$ and /u/ are subject to devocalization under certain conditions; the high central vowel $/+$ / is excluded
from the operation of this rule by the specification that rounding and backness must match in the segment to be glided.

```
V > [-vocalic] / V
[+ hi]
[\alpha ba]
[\alpha ro]
```

This is a rough approximation of the rule needed to account for the variant realizations, e.g., of the instrumental suffix -ihwos on vowel-final and consonant-final stems (recall that certain suffixes are the only vowel-initial morphemes in Kitanemuk):
/mu-ihwap-t/ -> [muyhwapt] 'mortar' (< 'grind' + 'inst.') /capcakin-ihwapt/-> [capcakinihwapt] 'winnowing basket'

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

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

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

| Piac 'jaw' | Peapn-k 'bend' |
| :--- | :--- |
| meah 'go!' tooč 'thunder' |  |
| Puvea 'already' | tameat 'sun' |
| haí 'yes' |  |

Note that the gliding rule ignores an intervening glottal stop :
/kwarap-ihwap-t/ -> [kwarapyhwapt] 'ointment'('smear' + 'inst.'!
/kurukupitat/ $\rightarrow$ [kurukupytat] 'a type of basket'16

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

There is a large residue of surface forms containing glides the source of which cannot be determined. This is due in some cases to gaps in the data-a lack of helpful derived forms, for instance, and in some cases to the fact that there is no conceivable synchronic evidence that could bear on the question, as in
[inwa P] 'inst. suffix' (equally well < lihuep/ or linwa?/)

[^19]In some cases the decision can be made by taking into consideration the morpheme structure rules. I have claimed that there are no initial clusters in Kitanemuk morphemes. If this is taken to mean that all morphemes begin with no more than one [vocalic] segment, then initial CG clusters will be disallowed; if it is taken to mean that morphemes begin with no more than one [+consonantal] segment, then initial CG clusters would be allowed, but not CC clusters.
[mwiłršk]'sad' </mwiršk/or/mułiršk/

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

$$
\text { [w } \ddagger \mathrm{r}] \text { 'lots' }
$$

as glides. Those which precede VV sequences are already covered above, but this will cover all the rest. Only glide-initial suffixes such as -wit 'augmentative' will remain indeterminate; these I will phonemicize as glides, following the conservative preference just mentioned. Examples are

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

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

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { IPa-R-hiu/ -> [pa-hi-hyu] 'he is seeing' (cf. Pa-hyu 'he sees') } \\
& \text { /pa-hu-iv } / \text { / }- \text { [pa-hw-iva] 'that burned' (cf. Pa-hu 'it burns') }
\end{aligned}
$$

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

| /ni-hiu/ $->$ [nihyu] | 'I see' |
| :--- | :--- |
| /ni-niu/ $->$ [niniw] | 'my possession' |
| /hiu/ $\rightarrow$ [nihyu] | 'I see' |
| /huipt/ $\rightarrow$ [hwipt] | 'rabbit' |

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

```
/niu/ -> [niniw]
/ni-niu-y/ -> [niniuy, ninyuy] 'my possession, obj.'
/?a-R17-niu-y/-> [paninniuy] 'his possessions, obj.'18
```

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

```
/kwioc-k/ -> [kwiock] 'bend' (avoids *#kwy)
/huipt/ > [hwipt] 'hare' (avoids *ypt#)
/pa-hup-i/ -> [pahupi] 'burned' (avoids *Pyp#)
```

[^20]In fact, the example below suggests that perhaps a single wordfinal consonant creates a non-gliding environment.

```
/mu-i-c/ -> [muic] ["muyc] 'pinole, abs.'
    [mu 'grind' + i 'pass. nom.']
```

But there certainly are surface glides preceding word-final consonants:

```
Pamayt 'new'
```

If [muic] is to be explained by disallowing glide formation before word-final consonants, the form [pamayt], of course, could be derived with underlying $/ \mathrm{y} /$. This seems like a reasonable hypothesis, in light of the following form of 'pinole':
/mu-i-c-ay/ -> [muycay] ["muicay] 'pinole, obj.'

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

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

```
kua 'call'
```

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

The glide rule analysis presented allows us to simplify the inventory of consonants by deriving surface $h w, m w, \eta w, p w$ from permissible underlying CGV sequences, without claiming that these transcribed sequences represent unitary phonemes $/ h^{w}, m w, g^{w}$, $p^{w / .}$

```
/hwipt/ or/huipt/'hare'
    nwipt
/gwapa-m/ or/mwapa-m/'referea'
    \etaWápam
```

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { /mwiršk/ or /mułršk/ 'sad' } \\
& \text { mwärš̌k } \\
& \text { /pwičiwamin/ 'plenm.' } \\
& \text { pwičiwamin }
\end{aligned}
$$

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

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { kwea } & \text { 'lasso' } \\
\text { Kwioc-k } & \text { 'bend' } \\
\text { ni-kwiatin } & \text { 'l plow' }
\end{array}
$$

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

| 'women' | 's/he is seeing it' | 'women' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /R-kwihaka-m/ | /Pa-R-hiu-ø/ | /R-kuihaka-m/ |  |
| kwikwihakam | Pahihiu | kukuihakam | REDUP. |
| - | Pahihyu | *kukwihakam | GLIDING |

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

| kwara | 'smear' |
| :--- | :--- |
| kwoha | 'foam' |
| kwłyeč | 'acorn sp.' |

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

## Interaction of stress and gliding

Perhaps stress is assigned after the gliding rule has applied, as in the following example (but such forms as this may have underlying glides, as noted above; so a requirement for this ordering is doubtful):
/guapam/ --> [nwápam] (not *[ŋúapam]) 'game referee'

## 4. STEM-FINAL VOWELLOSS

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

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

| /huna-c/ -> | [hunac] | 'heart, abs.' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| /?a-huna/ -> | [Pahun] | 'his heart' |
| Ini-huna-vea/ -> | [nihunavea] | 'in my heart' |

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


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

| /kwacita-c/ -> /ni-kwacita/ -> | [kwacitac] <br> [nikwacit] | 'tail, abs.' <br> 'my tail' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /ni-pacital -> | [nipacit] | 'my pet' |
| /ni-pacita-ivi/ - | [nipacitapyvi] | 'my dead dog'19 |
| /pipaka/ | [pipak] | 'Sphinx moth'20 |

${ }^{19}$ The $\mathcal{P}$ is inserted by the rule of glottal stop insertion, described below.
${ }^{20}$ Note that this last example is not a possessed noun, though most a-loss nouns demonstrate the effect in possessed forms. This is because they otherwise end in $-\downarrow,{ }_{c}$, or $-\check{\mathrm{K}}$. the absolutive suffix, when not possessed; this "protects" the a from dropping. piapakg belongs to the smaller $\boldsymbol{\sigma}$-suffix absolutive class, so its stem-final a is unprotected even though the stem is in absolutive form. There are two other nouns

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

| /koha-č/ | -> [kohač] | 'older' [in nimayr kohač, 'my older daughter'] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ini-kohal | -> [nikor] | 'my older sister' |
| /ni-koha-m/ | $\rightarrow$ [nikoham] | 'my older sisters' |
| /mit-koha-y/ | -> [mikohay] | 'your older sister, obj.' |
| /paho-č/ | -> [pahač] | 'older' [-mayr pahač 'older son'] |
| /ni-pahal | -> [nipar] | 'my older brother' |
| /ni-paha-m/ | > [nipaham] | 'my older brothers' |
| /ni-taha/ | -> [nitar] | 'my uncle (maternal)' |
| /ptotaha-m/ | -> [p+taham] | 'their uncles' |
| /ni-y+hal | $\rightarrow$ [niy $\ddagger$ [ $]$ | 'my aunt' |
| /pioytha-m/ |  | 'their aunts' |
| /mi-yiha-y/ | $\rightarrow$ [m+y+hay] | 'your aunt, obj.' |
| /ri-y+ha-ivi/ | $\rightarrow$ [niythapivi | ] 'my dead aunt' |

[^21]It is interesting that most of these nouns are typically inaiienabie-body parts and kin terms (but also 'pet' and 'Sphinx moth').

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

```
/ni-hintua/
    nihintu a-LOSS
    nihintup GLOTTALSTOP INSERTION
```


## 5. RHOTACIZATION

Word-final h, with the exception of two words in the corpus, becomes $\leq$, as stated in the rule of rhotacization ${ }^{21}$ :

$$
h \rightarrow r / \ldots \#
$$

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

[^22]noun stems (see above) feeds this rule by putting medial h's into word-final position:
Ini-paha/
nipah
[nipar] $\quad$ 'my older brother'

But rhotacization applies to verb stems, as well:

| /pa-pih/ /ni-pih-an/ | -> | [Papir] <br> [nipihan] | 'He is nursing.' 'I suckle him.' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| /p+ipah-an/ | -> | [pipahan] | 'They wash it.' |
| /pa-pah/ | -> | [papar] | 'He bathes [himself]. |
| /ni-pah/ | -> | [nipar] | 'I bathe (myself).' |
| /ni-pah-ivi/ | -> | [nip ahivi] | 'I bathed' |
| /ni-pah-an/ | -> | [nipahan] | 'I bathe it.' |
|  |  |  |  |
| /ni-pan-nehe/ | -> | [nip arnehe] | 'I bathed myself.' |
| /Pa-kwah/ <br> /pa-kwah-hea/ | -> | [?akwar] | 'He cooks.' |
|  | -> | [?akwahi] | 'It's cooked.' |
| /ni-tuh-mat/ <br> /tuh-inwap-t/ | -> | [niturmat] | 'I will grind it.' |
|  | -> | [tuhiwhwat] | 'grinding stone |
|  |  |  | [inst. nom.]' |


#### Abstract

Kitanemuk territory in the days before reservoirs were stocked; but the woh form is more unsettling-the numeral 'two' is not something that one would expect a language to borrow, and it looks like a good Takic stem (cf. Luis. weh (Hyde 1971), Cah. win (Sauvel and Munro 1981); still it could have been borrowed from a Takic language, replacing some other native term for 'two.' Or conceivably the existence of the borrowed coh and of yohea 'twice' (derived from 'two') may have conspired in some way to make speakers feel that an $/ 0 /$ before the $/ \mathrm{h} /$ blocks the rhotacization rule.


The rule also applies before clitic boundary:
/-pah-mat/ -> [parmat] 'will bathe' (*Pahamat, *Pahmat)
(Clitic boundary has not been represented with a special symbol in the dictionary, but the number of clitics is small and they are easily recognized by consulting the section on clitics in Chapter II.)

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

$$
r \rightarrow h / \_v .
$$

Unfortunately we do not have any examples of $h$-final stems before vowel-initial clitics. But there is a reason for not stating the rule this way-the not uncommon occurence of $I$ intervocalically--cf. e.g. kwarap 'smear'.

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

## 6. REDUPLICATION

A reduplicated prefix is used in Kitanemuk for two functions: on nouns it creates plurals (the plural suffix -(0)m or -yom may be used either instead of or along with reduplication, and the choice seems to be free-cf. chapter II); on verbs it creates a progressive tense form usually translated by English 'be V-ing' or Spanish 'estar V-ando'. The reduplicative prefix in each case consists of a copy of the first consonant and vowel of the stem, with or without an h:

$$
\left[C_{1} V_{1} \ldots\right]_{\text {Stem }} \rightarrow C_{1} V_{1}(h)-C_{1} V_{1} \ldots
$$

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

## Table Ill: Reduplicative prefixes

| Stem |  | CVh- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -piša? | 'head' | pitpih-pišap | 'their heads' |
| tajatat | 'sack' | tah-tajatat | 'sacks' |
| -tama | 'tooth' | pi-tah-tama | 'their teeth' |
| pandrip | 'priest' | pah-pandrip-yam 'priests' |  |
| -cima | 'branch' | Pa-cih-cima | 'its branches' |
| kurup | 'stab' | ni-kuh-kurup | 'I poke' |
| mimq-t | 'lake' | min-mimitit | 'lakes' |
| namu | 'fight' | pit-nah-namu | 'they are battling' |
| wik | 'hit' | ni-w + h-w $+k$ | 'I am hitting' |
|  |  | $\mathrm{m} \dot{+}-\mathrm{c}+\mathrm{h}-\mathrm{c}+\mathrm{a}-\mathrm{y}$ | 'your elbows, obj.' |



## Interaction of stress and reduplication

Stress is assigned after reduplicative syllable formation has applied:

| timki-c | 'cave' |
| :--- | :--- |
| tíh-timki-c | 'caves'23 |

[^23]
## Reduplication and Glide formation

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

```
ni-hiu 'I see'
ni-hi-hyu
'I am looking'
```

There is one form which at first seems like a counterexample to this, but can be explained as a stem beginning with the single consonant kw , not a sequence kL or kw as the spelling might suggest:
kwi-kwihakam 'women'

## Stem reduplication

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

| Simple form | Meaning | Stem-redup. form | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ni-vi py-k | I touch | ni-vipy-vipy-k | I feel |
| WOPn-ik | nod head | wopn-wopn-ik | be nodding head |
| tuahik-mat | walk, fut. | Pa-tuah-tuah-ik | He is walking. |

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

## 7. CONSONANT BACKING AND FRONTING

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

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

The change of $\underline{\varepsilon}$ to $\check{\underline{\varepsilon}}$ provides more confirmation that Harrington's $\supseteq$
 retroflex or palatal. It can be loosely envisioned as

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\mathrm{C} & -> \\
{[\text {-cont }]} \\
{[\text {-anterior }]} & {[+ \text { back }] /-[+ \text { back }]} \\
\end{array}
$$

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

| mac 'arm' | mač | 'forest or mountain' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Poc | 'bone' | Poč |
| pac | 'mesquite' |  |
| pipc | 'breast' | pač |

There is perhaps a consonant-backing rule which also accounts for the backing of $k$ to $k$ (or $\underline{k}$ ) and $k w$ to $k w$ (or $k w$ ), though the situation here is not entirely clear. There are no minimal pairs for the more front versus the more back versions, and almost every token with k or kW has a mate elsewhere in the notes with $k$ or $k w ;$ both occur between most combinations of vowels (though there is a tendency for the further back versions to be adjacent to back vowels), and in all word positions; perhaps the sounds are in free variation, or the transcription was inconsistent. In any case, they are phonemicized to $/ \mathrm{k} /$ and $/ \mathrm{kw} /$ in this work. The rule(s) may be optional; there are cases of (morphemeinternal) [c] before [ $\dot{+}$ ], such as hucik 'fall', and there are many words transcribed sometimes with $k$ and sometimes with $k$, which even occurs before front vowels (ximat/r, kimat $\int r$ 'flicker'). It
would be normal for Harrington to be especially attentive to the velar-uvular distinction, since it is phonemic in some other Takic languages. ${ }^{24}$

A similar difficulty exists in understanding the relationship between $\underline{x}$ and h . They are apparently allophonic variants of the same phoneme $/ \mathrm{h} /$. There are no minimal pairs for $\mathbf{x}$ (Harrington's orthographic $q$ ) and $\underline{h}$, yet both occur in overlapping environments (the former is considerably less frequent), and some words are transcribed using sometimes $\underline{y}$, sometimes $h$ (e.g. máquatr, máhwotfr 'reed sp.'). There may be a rule

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { h } \rightarrow \text { [+high] } / \mathrm{V} \\
& \text { [+ back] }
\end{aligned}
$$

which would account for, e.g., [ P ayoxk] (Harrington orthographic
 for the same word), and [xaxavit] (Harrington orthographic qeqgyat) 'clothes' (but we see also hohovat). The rule may be optional, or the transcription may have varied in narrowness, but in any case the two sounds do not contrast phonemically.

## 8. DEVOICING OFSONORANTS

The following segments occur at times in the Harrington transcription with circles underneath, assumed to indicate de-
${ }^{24} \mathrm{Cf}$. the Takic orthography charts in section A, above.
voicing: $\underline{v} \boldsymbol{m} \|(\eta), \underline{w} \nsucceq \underline{L}$. Some orthographic $h$ also seem to represent devoicing of preceding segments.

| warayk | 'intensive adverb' | /waravk/ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| mimk | 'true' | /mimk/ |
| nark | 'erase a burned spot' | /nịk/ |
| tsirhk | 'falltrap' | /cirk/ |

This can be stated in the form of a rule

$$
\text { C } \rightarrow[- \text { voice }] / \underset{[-v o i c e]}{C} \#
$$

Consonants are also sometimes devoiced word-finally (but there are no recorded examples of $r_{0}$ in this environment):

```
/p ama-y/ -> [? amaj] 'that (obj.)'
/pa-nip-k-i-m/ -> [panipkim] 'dead people'
\(i w \dot{+} v /->[w \dot{+} y]\) 'get well' (cf. wiyaneap 'cure')
/kiyaw/ -> [kiyay] 'whale' (two transcriptions: circle, and
hw)
```

This can be accomplished with a rule

$$
C \rightarrow[\text {-voice }] / \ldots \#
$$

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

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

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

## 9. GLOTTALSTOP INSERTION

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

| Non-possessed form | Possessed |
| :---: | :---: |
| Pikihu-c 'breastbone' | nipikihup 'my breastbone' |
|  | mq ? $\ddagger$ kihupcay 'your breastbone, obj.' |
| kava-c 'ear' | nikavep 'my ear' |
| kupki-t 'cradle hood' | Pakupkip 'its hood' |
| yayka-t 'counter stick' | niyaykap 'my counter stick' |
| Paci-t 'pet' (/pacita/) | nipacitapivi 'my dead or former pet' |

This is not consistently shown, however; a few forms such as nikapa 'my beard' (konac 'beard'), Poyivo 'its door', and popono 'its egg' do not show it. Probably it is an exceptionless rule, but simply not always noted (cf. Harrington's transcription of nikovo 'my ear', alongside Zigmond's form cited above, with final ?). The rule, which would have roughly the form
has the effect of not creating final -?m clusters which would result in the plurals of these nouns, if the environment were not constrained as it is. Glottal stop insertion must follow the rule of a-loss, to prevent the addition of glottal stops to possessed nouns like /ni-paha/, 'my older brother', which is pronounced [nipar], not *[niphap]. It also must follow glide formation, to prevent forms like /ni-niu/ from surfacing as "[niniup] instead of the attested [niniw].

## 10. VOMELELISION

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

$$
\underset{\text { [+back] }}{V} \quad->\quad \sigma / V(P)-\ldots C
$$

That is, the initial vowel of a suffix or clitic is deleted following another vowel and morpheme boundary. The vowels deleted by this rule are the initial vowels of, the verb stem extender -(0)n, and the past clitic -(u)vu?, and the plural imperative clitic -ič, the object clitic -ici (used for first person object with second person subject) and a few others.

```
/ca-kwa-ičč/ -> [cakwač] 'Let's eat'
    1p eat Imp.pl.
/kay-icip hiu/ -> [kayci hyu] 'Do not look at me'
    NEG 2-1 see
/m\dot{q-mi-it/ -> [mimit] 'Are you going?'}
    2s g Q
```

The rule appears to apply only to back vowels. The initial high vowel of the "deceased" suffix -(i)y主, for example, glides instead of eliding:
/ni-pacita-ivi/ -> [nipacitapyvi] 'my dog that died' The rule sometimes ignores an intervening glottal stop:


## 11. RETROFIECTION

Words with underlying /š/ are variously transcribed by

'no good', šip 'urine', and others). None of these contrast phonemically. Similarly, words containing /č/ are variously transcribed with $\pm$ If, $\pm$ fr, $\pm$ fr , and occasionally tf. These also do not contrast phonemically and do not seem to be predictable based on environment (cf. the entries for ? čcowat 'raven', yivoč 'door', hučic 'plant sp.', and others). In each case words are written with a retroflex version of the consonant and also elsewhere with the non-retroflex version. This suggests that the segments $/ \check{c}$ and $/$ s/l are retroflex consonants in Kitanemuk, and is confirmed by Harrington's comment, noted in section B, suggesting that they are usually retroflex.

## 12. ECHO VOWELS

Harrington transcribes a number of words which end with ? in the underlying representation with small raised vowel symbols following the glottal stop. The vowel is a copy, but for its raised format (which presumably indicates a lack of prominence, meaning perhaps short, and faint or devoiced), of the vowel which precedes the $?$.
/ni-konakap/-> [nikonakapal 'my necklace' (also [nikonakap])
cf. konakat 'necklace, abs.'

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

$$
\varnothing->V_{i} / V_{i} P_{\text {. }}
$$

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

## 13. $k$-LOSS

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

$$
\begin{aligned}
& k \text {-> } \varnothing / \quad \text { Clvst_ }=C \\
& \text { [+ k-loss] }
\end{aligned}
$$

Examples of the operation of $k$-loss rule follow:
/ni-murah-k=nehe/ $->$ [nimuraxnehe] 'I let it loose'
/ni-horoh-k=mat/ $->$ [nihorohmat] 'I'm going to pierce'

## 14. i. u versuse.o

The vowels /e/ and 10/ are infrequent and somewhat overlapping. They are sometimes allophones of /i/ and /u/ respectively (cf. the variant transcriptions -pome -pumu for 'shoulder', and -pea, -pia 'locative'). On the other hand, they do sometimes contrast (cf. hoč 'dig', vs. huč 'star'). One is tempted to derive as many as possible of the mid vowels by rule from high vowels; but the data do not justify going too far out on any theoretical limbs; I have chosen to phonemicize a vowel with a mid vowel whenever the transcriptions are fairly consistently mid; inconsistent or confusing cases are noted in the dictionary.

## 15. VOWELCLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION

The suffixes -veo and -peo (noun-class variants of the locative suffix) are sometimes shortened to -ye and -pe:
/Pa-hiviq-vea/ -> [? ahivive], [? ahivivea] 'its edge or shore'
The "accompaniment" suffix -mea?, and the past adverb, ?uyea, are also sometimes shortened to in this way:
/hiyavi-mear/ -> [hiyavimep] 'with salt' /Puvea $y$ thal $\rightarrow$ [Puve $y^{\ddagger h a}$ a] 'it is already late [evening]'

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

$$
\text { ea } \rightarrow e l_{ـ}(P) \# 25
$$

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

25At least two other nules-glide formation and elision-may ignore an intervening 3 .

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

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

Reduplicative syllable formation precedes stress assignment.
Reduplicative syllable formation precedes glide formation.
Glide formation precedes stress assignment.
a-loss precedes rhotacization.
a-los:s precedes glottal stop insertion.
Stress assignment precedes consonant lengthening.
Glide formation precedes glottal stop insertion.

## CHAPTER II:

## MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES AND INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

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


#### Abstract

A. NOUNS

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


Every noun can be assigned to one of four absolutive ${ }^{1}$ classes, depending on its absolutive suffix. The four possible suffixes are -$1,-\underline{\varepsilon},-\underline{\varepsilon}$, and $-\underline{L}$. Noun classes need to be recognized in order to

[^24]properly account for the distribution of the variants of the plural suffixes ( -om vs. -yom ) and locative suffixes (-peo vs. -yea). ${ }^{2}$ The derivational suffixes, as one would expect, are closest to the root; they create complex stems of a particular absolutive class, according to the derivational suffix: "deceased" creates a $\varepsilon$-class stem, "augmentative" creates a 1 -class stem, and "characterizing" creates a $\varnothing$-class stem. These derivations are described in detail in Chapter III.

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

[^25]and is to be suspected of having been very much in a state of transition at the time the data were collected.

Table_ Nouns

| PREFIXES | S | T | E | M | SUFFIXES |  |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (poss.) | (redup.) | NOUNROOT | (deriv.) | (abs.) <br>  |  |  |
|  |  |  | (plu.) | (dir.) <br> (inst.) |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | (loc.) |  |

(accomp.) ${ }^{4}$

## 1. POSSESSOR PREFIXES

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

Table Il. Pronominal prefixes

| Singular | Plural |
| :--- | :--- |
| $1 \mathrm{ni-}$ | $\mathrm{cq}-$ |
| 2 mq | pq |
| $3 \mathrm{Pa-}$ | pq |

4Note: these "case endings" can attach to independent pronouns and demonstratives, as well as to nouns: nitmeap 'with me', pamear 'with you', picamtpmea, 'with us', ? $+\mathrm{m} \ddagger \mathrm{me}$ a? 'with you ( pl. ), Pimapmea 'with these', pameap 'with that one'.

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

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


## 2. REDUPLICATION

A reduplicated syllable preceding a noun stem indicates plurality; plurality can also be marked with the plural suffix -am, occurring in the absolutive slot to the right of the stem; reduplication and the plural suffix may occur independently, or both may occur on the same noun; there seems to be no systematic phonological or semantic way of predicting in which way plurality will be marked. In fact, as examples below show, the same noun stem may occur with sometimes reduplication, sometimes the suffix, and sometimes both (as a matter of fact, plurality is sometimes not marked in either way; cf. Chapter IV, section B: "Number"); this seems to entail no difference in interpretation of the plurality (e.g. $\pm$ distributive). The shape of the reduplicative syllable is the same for nouns, where it shows plurality, as for verbs, where it shows progressive aspect. For more examples and a detailed discussion of the form of the reduplicated syllable, see Chapter I, section D, rule 6: "Reduplication". Reduplication generally takes the form of a prefixed copy of the first consonant
and vowel of the stem, with or without $h$. It can be schematized as follows ( $R$ represents a trigger for reduplication):

$$
\text { N StIR }+C V \ldots \text {... }->C V(h) C V . . .
$$

## Examples of reduplication on nouns

| haka-t | 'willow sp.' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ha-haka-t | 'willows' |
| hup-č | 'star' |
| hu-hup-m | 'stars' |
| hu-hup-č | 'stars' |
| pandrip, pantrip | 'priest' |
| pah-pandrip-yam | 'priests' |
| kava-c | 'ear' [abs.] |
| pi-kah-kava | 'their ears' |

## 3. STEM ANDRCOT

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

## 4. DERIVATIONALSUFFIXES

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

## 5. ABSOLUTIVE

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

```
hona-t 'sleeping mat' [abs.]
ni-hona? 'my sleeping mat'5
mihi-c 'neck' [abs.]
Pa-mihi 'someone's neck' [poss.]
ka-c̆ 'rat' [abs.]
ka-č-ay 'rat' [obj.]
papap 'crow'
papap-pea 'Joaquin Flat' [plonm. < 'crow']
```

[^26]Sometimes two nouns differ in form only because one belongs to one absolutive class, and one to another:
$k w \ddagger \eta 8-c \quad$ 'gap in the mountains'
kWiŋa-č 'crystal'
tivi-t 'certain type of dancer'
tivi-č 'lime'

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

```
vurewip 'lamb' (< Span. "borrego")
vurewip-yam 'lambs'
kavayop, kavayopt 'horse' (< Span. "caballo")
kavayop-t-ay 'horse,obj.'
```

Thus the process of borrowing initially feeds the $\boldsymbol{g}$-class, but ultimately the $\pm$-class.

A few other nouns seem to waver between the $\varnothing$-class and the 1 -class:

| Wahip | 'coyote' |
| :--- | :--- |
| Wahip-t | 'coyote' |

## 6. Plural

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

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

Plurality is not always overtly marked on [-human] nouns, when they are direct objects, but seems to be optional, at least on unspecified or mass objects:
ni-hiyn-mat hwip-tay i will hunt rabbits'

Pa-yupynan pa-tama-y 'He grits his teeth.'

A noun associated with a plural numeral does not occur with any overt plural marking. (Numerals themselves are unusual in that, although they act like nouns, they take neither plural suffixes nor object suffixes; cf. section G, "Quantifiers".)
ni-horor-mat míkava-y 'I'll pierce your ears.'
mahač kucip 'five dogs'

Most tribenames are specified [-count] in the lexicon. This is illustrated here for 'Kitanemuk(s)'. Note that there may be some overlap in the use of singular and plural forms for tribenames.
t $\ddagger$ va-pea-tam-it Pəmə?? 'Are you a Tübatulabal?' piñon $\operatorname{LOC}^{C}$ TrN Q you
hawkup te-tavi-yam 'one Tataviam'
nip pakikitam 'I am a Kitanemuk.'
Pakikitam Picač 'We are Kitanemuks.'
Pakikitam-yam 'Kitanemuks'
marinap 'tribename of Serranos near San Bernardino ' marinap-yem 'person or people from San Bernardino'

## 7. OBJECT SUFFIX

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

## 82

the objective suffix tay; that is, they are grouped with the 5 class when it comes to the attachment of the object suffix. In respect to this link between absolutive and object suffixes (which is similar to the situation in other Takic languages), the object case is distinct from the other four (oblique) cases, whose affixes attach directly to the stem without an absolutive suffix.

| kuča-t <br> kuča-t-ay | 'stick' [abs.] <br> [obj.] |
| :--- | :--- |
| hup-č | 'star' [abs.] |
| hup-č-ay | [obj.] |
| ki-c | 'house' [abs.] |
| ki-c-ay | [obj.] |
| pan | 'bread' [abs.] |
| pan-t-ay | [obj.] |
| mí-kava-c | 'your ear' [poss.] |
| míkava-y | 'your ear' [poss. obj.] |

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

```
m+-pikihu-c-ay 'your (sg.) breastbone' [obj.]
ni-curip-t-ay 'my grandmother' [obj.]
```

This happens on two types of nouns-kin terms and body part terms- but it happens inconsistently. That it happens at all is
surprising; that it happens precisely on the type of nouns which normally do not occur unpossessed is interesting, however. It means that there is in effect another object suffix available in these cases: toy. This of sequence is used, then, to mark objects in (a) the 1 -class (largest class) of nouns, (b) $\varnothing$-class nouns (including personal names such as monwel-toy 'Manwel, obj.' which are never possessed), and (c) some kin terms and body part terms (which are more or less obligatorily possessed-there are a few absolutive forms for body parts in the corpus, but one suspects them of being somewhat forced or artificial). I take this to mean that there was at the time this data was collected a reanalysis in progress, whereby the $\pm$ that figures in the suffix of so many object forms was coming to be seen as part of the object suffix itself, rather than a morpheme having to do (in object position) with the contrast between possessed and non-possessed.

Objective case is broadly interpreted by Kitanemuk grammar, to include indirect objects and some other obliques as well as direct objects. On the other hand, the marking of objects in Kitanemuk is more restricted than in many languages, in that objects of imperative verbs are not object-marked (a phenomenon reported for other Northern Uto-Aztecan languages as well-Cahuilla, Hopi, and Southern Paiute, and marginally Serrano and Tübatulabal, according to Langacker (1977: 56), and for non-
negative imperatives in Kawaiisu according to Zigmond et al (1988: 36)):

```
Puvea ni-pank y+va-č-ay
alreaty is open doorABSOBJ
'I [already] opened the door.'
Panki y #%o-č
open door ABS
'Open the door!'
```

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

## 8. OBLIQUECASE SUFFIXES

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

## Locative suffix

The locative suffix, translated 'at' or 'in' and also used in placenames, takes one of two forms; the variant -peo is used for $\pm$-class and $\varnothing$-class nouns, and the variant -rea is used with $\varepsilon$ class and $\check{\underline{c}}$-class stems. The word for 'August' demonstrates that
a reference to location in time as well as space can be referred to with -peo/-yea.

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

ku-t 'fire' [abs.]
ku-pea 'in the fire' [loc.]
kava-c 'ear' [abs.]
mi-kava-vea 'in your ear'
tifva-pea 'August' (lit. 'in the piñones') [<t+va-t]
t+iva-vea 'on the ground' [< t $\ddagger+v a-c ̌]$

## Instrumental suffix

The instrumental suffix is $-n$ it. It attaches to nouns which play the instrumental case role in the sentence.
ni-kwarap hana-ni
1s smear tar INS
'I smeared it with tar.'
ni-win hama-t-ay Pašarinn-nt
1s pluck vegetation ABS OBJ hoe INS
I weed with hoe.'
kučarap-n+ ci-kwap
spoon INS $1 p$ eat
'We eat with a spoon.'

## Accompaniment suffix

The accompaniment suffix is -meep (sometimes shortened to -mes). (It may have some historical relation to mi 'go'.) Although I
call this suffix "accompaniment", note that it attaches to inanimates as well as to animates.
gatip 'cat' [abs.]
ni-počik gatip-mea? 'I climbed up with a cat' [accomp.]
hyavi-t 'salt' [abs.]
ni-ko? hyovi-me? 'I eat it with salt'
timiq-t 'stone' [abs.]
ni-hocik timímea? 'I got up with a stone in my hand'

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

```
ni-mi ni-pacita-vap 'I'm going on my horse.'
1s \(g\) 1s pet \(A C\)
```

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

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ni-kim pi-civop pimə? 'I came with these [people].' } \\
& \text { 1s come 3sObl } 6 \quad \text { with these }
\end{aligned}
$$

## Directional suffix

The directional suffix, $-y \dot{j} k$, usually attaches to nouns which are translated 'toward $N$ '; since there are also a few placenames containing this suffix, it must also have a locative meaning; it is unclear in these cases whether it means the same as -dea/-vee

[^27]('at' or 'in'), or has a distinct meaning, perhaps 'near N'. A second directional suffix indicates motion from; its form is -nup. It does not occur in placenames.

```
ni-mi-mat tyendap-yik
is go FUT store DIR
'l will go to the store'
kuča-yi+k
mood DIR
'Gorman's Staton'
Pa-puraktk po-huna-nup
3s goout 3s heart DIR
'S/he left the inside of the house.'
ni-tuhtutup Pimmi-yi+k
1s play you DIR
'I'm playing with you.' [apparently 'play' selects this case]
```


## 9. THEO-CLASS OFNOUNS

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

## Borrowings from Spanish

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

| borrowed form | gloss | Spanish source |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| epyop | celery | apio 'celery' |
| Kalavo? | nail | clavo 'nail' |
| Kalesap | buggy | calesa 'buggy' |
| Kape? | coffee | café 'coffee' |
| rihir | beans | frijol 'bean(s)' |


| tariwip | wheat | trigo 'wheat' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| vitavel | sugarbeet | betabel 'sugarbeet' |
| yavlup | devil | diablo 'devil' |
| yewaš | mare | yeguas 'mares' |

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

Although most borrowed nouns are in the $\boldsymbol{\rho}$-class, the following are in the t-class; perhaps these are older, more integrated borrowings.
kavayop-t 'horse' (< Span. "caballo")
mulap-t 'mule' (< Span. "mula")
pedrop-t 'Pedro'
vakap-t 'cow' (< Span. "vaca")

## Borrowings from languages other than Spanish

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

| Borrowed word | Gloss | Source |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Pamahava? | Mojave person | Mojave |
| čumap | Chumash person | Chumash |
| marinop | a tribename | Serrano |

$w+t i n$
button
English

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

| citation form | gloss | Comment |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| papap | crow | onomatopoeia? |
| Panucip | baby | not a N ? |
| patap | meat | possessed N ? |
| Patavatava | butterfly | not a $N$ ? |
| caycapy | bird sp. | onomatopoeia? |
| cicinaur $\ddagger$ ? | Californios of the country; gente de razón |  |
| coh | fish sp. | borrrowed? h\#, not r\# |
| cipipki | beaver | borrowed? |
| corcor | cricket | onomatopoeia? |
| keneypucic | squirrel sp. |  |
| koymip | referee in peón | occurs in So.Calif. |
| kucip | dog | occurs in So.Calif. |
| kukukunit ${ }^{\text {+ }}$ | mussel sp. | borrowed? |
| kuykupy | plant sp. | borrowed? |
| nonom(-)t | grass sp. | borrowed? |
| pajacap | duck | borrowed? |
| papames | myth chars. | borrowed? |

Table Ill (cont'd.): e-class nouns not borrowed from Spanish

| citation form | gloss | Comment |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| pašuk(-)t | bow/collarbone | borrowed? |
| picalala | dragonfly |  |
| pišni | fish sp. | borrowed? |
| purpur | worm sp. | borrowed? |
| piturup | hummingbird | borrowed? |
| putan | gallineta [mng. unclear] |  |
| riprík | ansara [goose?] | borrowed? |
| sisip-yam | great grandrelatives | back-formation |
| šawmi | cone-shell | binterm? |
| šiwšipwi | bird sp. | borrowed? |
| tipiriri | bird sp. | onomatopoeia? |
| tuhup | effeminate person | borrowed? |
| wahip | coyote | borrowed? |
| wakasip spup | mouse | borrowed? |

## B. VERBS

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

## Table IV: Verb schema

(SUBJ) (REDUP.) STEM (TRANSITIVITY) (IMPER. EXTENSION)
(CAUSATIVE) (DESIDERATIVE) (PASSIVE)

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

It is interesting to note how much the verb schema looks like the noun schema, given above in Table I. Both contain personal prefixes as the first element (indicating subject of verb or possessor of noun), followed by a reduplicative syllable (indicating plurality for nouns and progressive or repetitive aspect for verbs), followed by a stem and derivational suffixes. The only distinctive verb morphology, then, is the array of derivational suffixes. Verbs which are complements to other verbs may take an -i ending which is very reminiscent of the $-8 y \sim-\neq$ ending which is used to mark nouns as objects (cf. chapter IV, section J). The morpheme niw is used in a parallel way in noun phrase and auxiliary verb constructions (cf. chapter IV, section A, "Possession", and section F: "Time reference"). The morphology for turning verbs into nouns and nouns into verbs (cf. chapter III) is nonetheless very rich.

## NUMBER

Number is never shown independently of the prefix specification on the verb except in imperatives. That is, the plural prefix in each person category is distinct from the singular;
but there is no other way of telling a verb with a plural subject from a verb with a singular subject by looking at the verb alone. The one exception to this is in, the imperative, where the clitic - $-\dot{\text { i }}$ ᄃ indicates a plural subject; but the clitic is not part of verb morphology per se.

ni-kwap<br>ci-kwa?<br>ca-kwap-č<br>ni-Pic<br>Pic<br>Pic-ič

'I eat'
'we eat'
'let's eat'
'I ladle'
'ladle!'
'ladiel (plu. subject)'

## TENSE/ASPECT

The tense/aspect forms are simple (the unmarked form, usually translated as present or recent past tense), reduplicated (usually translated as present progressive, but occasionally with nuances of distributive aspect), ${ }^{7}$ future ( $\pm$ proximal), and past. The non-proximal future and the past are formed using the clitics -mot and -yyus respectively. (The proximal future is a construction using the auxiliary verb niw, with the prefixed verb, and is described in chapter IV, section F.)
${ }^{7}$ A second pattern of reduplication, stem reduplication, is associated less predictably with a variety of meaning changes, including present progressive.

## Examples illustrating verb morphology

| $\begin{aligned} & \text { ni-mi } \\ & \text { ni-mi-m at } \end{aligned}$ | 'I go/went.' <br> 'I will go.' |
| :---: | :---: |
| pa-yu | 'He sings/sang.' |
| po-yuh-yu | 'She is singing.' |
| ni-pic-uvup | 'I ladled out (water).' |
| Puvea ni-pic | 'I ladled out (water).' |
| ni-pic Puvea | 'I ladled out (water).' |
| Pa-hin-ik | 'It floats.' |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { Po-hipn-k } \\ & \text { object).' } \end{aligned}$ | 'It (water) carries it (floating |
| Pa-kim | 'it spilled' |
| ni-kim-e ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | 'I spilled it.' |
| Pa-huc-it | 'It fell.' |
| Po-huc-k | 'He dropped it.' |
| Pa-huc-k-in-eap-vin | 'He made me fall.' |
| po-mu | 'He shot/threw it.' |
| Po-mu-hea pa-hun-ay | 'He was shot in the heart.' |
| pa-mu-hea-mat | 'He will be shot.' |
| pa-mu-ivana? | '[his] spear' |
| Po-mu-ihun | 'He aims [wants to shoot].' |
| pa-yap | 'He flies.' |
| pa-y ap-ihun | 'He flaps his wings preparatory to flying [wants to fly].' |

## CAUSATIVES, IMPERATIVES, AND VERB CLASSES

Although all the details are not yet clear, there seem to be distinct verb classes in Kitanemuk. There are $-\dot{+k} /-k$ verbs, -e o
verbs, and -프 verbs. There are also a few impersonal verbs. Syllables of the form - Vn are added to imperatives and derived forms of some verbs, but not to others. All these classes of verbs are exemplified in Appendix I.

The intransitive suffix -ik occurs in all tenses of a certain class of verbs [but is reduced to $k$ in derived forms]. The causative suffix -e\&o? is added to intransitive verbs such as kim 'spill'. -k, the transitive (often causative) suffix, occurs only on the class of verbs which have an intransitive suffix (that -ik is indeed a suffix is shown by stem-reduplicated forms such as $38-k w o c ̌-k w o c ̌-\dot{c} k$ 'he has syphilis'). (I mention these suffixes here, even though they are derivational, in order to make clearer the structure of some of the examples.)

## IRANSTIVITYAND VOICE

In this slot in the schema we see such alternations as -ík (intransitive) versus $-\mathbb{k}$ (transitive) and $\varnothing$ (intransitive) versus eg오 (transitive):

| Pa-hin-ik | 'It floats' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ni-hipn-k | 'I make it float' |
| Pa-yuaš-i $k$ | 'it's wet' |
| ni-yuaš-k | 'I wet it' |
| Pa-kim | 'It spilled' |
| ni-kim-eap 'I poured it' |  |

No intransitive forms end in -ę Q P. But several transitive forms (not contrasting with an intransitive or non-causative in the data) end in -ee?; these seem to be synchronically monomorphemic:

| kamea | 'bury' |
| :--- | :--- |
| puhea | 'blow' |
| cineap | 'pound (meat)' |

The morpheme -(h)ea derives what I have called "passives" (the translation often corresponds to English passive voice, but apparently this is really a suffix deriving verbs of unspecified subject from transitive or intransitive verbs). A mysterious -Vn occurs in conjunction with it, for some verbs (cf. e.g. 'name', 'erase', and forms in Appendix l); it seems to carry no meaning of
its own, and its distribution is not well understood. The last example, 'sick', shows that the causative sense of -e.o? can be a bit loose or metaphorical (perhaps not unlike English 'I make you to be an honest person').

## Examples of -(h)e日:

| mu mu-hea | 'crush' <br> 'be crushed' |
| :---: | :---: |
| pip | 'throw/hit/bewitch' |
| pip-hea | 'be bewitched' |
| tiw | 'name' |
| t+w-an-e a | 'be named' |
| pup | 'take, grab' |
| pup-hea | 'be grabbed' |
| nirk | 'erase' |
| nirk-in-e a | 'be erased' |
| hayin | 'rest' |
| hayin-ea-vea | 'resting place' |
| hipn-ik | 'float, VI' |
| hipn-k | 'float, VT' |
| Pa-hipn-k-ea-vea 'plcnm.: where a flood passed' |  |
| yuv-k | 'put s'th in boiling water' |
| yuv-e a? | 'fry something' [causative?] |
| mi-muk | 'you are sick' |
| mi-muk-e a | 'you're sick, I think' [causative?] |

## DESIDERATIVESUFFIX

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

## Examples of desiderative verbs:

```
Pa-yap 'he flies'
3s fly
Pa-yap-ihun 'he flaps his wings preparatory to flying'
naw ni-nakša-ihun 'I don't want to wrestle.'
kum 'sleep'
ni-kum-an-ihun 'I am sleepy [want to sleep]'
1s sleep Vn DES
naw Pa-w-Puyhun nimi, mutup-mat ni-mi
neg 3s RDP? want is go stilll FUT 1s go
'He doesn't want me to go, but I'm going to go anyway.'
ni-namu-ihun 'I want to fight'
naw ni-namu-ihun nip 'I don't want to fight'
NEG is fight DES I
pir 'nurse, VI' pih-an 'to suckle,VT'
ni-pih-ihun 'I want to nurse'
vank 'sweep'
naw ni-vank-in-ihun 'I don't want to sweep.'
```

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

## IMPERATIVES

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

## Examples of regulai imperatives:

cip 'pick up'
cip 'pick it up!'
cip-č 'y'all pick it upl'
ca-cip-č 'let's pick it up!'
win 'cut'
win 'cut it!'
win-i+č 'y'all cut it!'
ca-win-íč 'let's cut it!'

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

[^28]in the indicative, and they precede the imperative plural clitic, (as described in section D :); however non-pronominal objects of second person imperatives are not object-marked (cf. chapter IV, section C).

There are six separate kinds of relationship which may hold between the indicative stem and the imperative stem (all of these are exemplified in Appendix J):
(a) The second person singular imperative forms are often identical with the present stem:
ni-ayk 'I lap it [with tongue]' Payk 'lap it!'
(b) The imperative stem sometimes consists of the indicative plus - i :

| ni-papnk | 'l open it' | Papnki | 'open it' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kapvik | I- listen' | kapvk | 'listen!' |

(b) The imperative stem sometimes consists of the indicative plus -브:
hupeaha 'work' hueahaw 'work!'
(d) The imperative stem may use $-k$ where indicative uses -ik:
kapvik 'listen' kapvk 'listenl'
(e) The imperative form may require the addition of -Vn to the indicative base:
ni-kameap 'I bury it' kameap-n 'bury it!'
$k \neq m \quad$ 'make' $k+m$-an 'make itl'
(f) There are very few imperative forms which simply must be called "irregular":

| ni-kim | 'l come' | kiva $\quad$ 'come!' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ni-hiu | 'I'm looking' | tithiu, hiu(h) 'look!' |

Once the second person singular form is known, the first and second person plural forms are predictable from it-the plural imperative clitic $-(\dot{i}) \check{ } 1$ cocurs with the latter two forms. 9 The first person plural imperative, or hortative, also has the personal prefix c\&- attached to it. (This prefix is distinct from the indicative first person plural prefix $\underline{c}$ 主-.) A final $\underline{w}$ occurring in the singular imperative may be deleted in the imperative form (the vowel of the clitic may then also be deleted):

| hakwow | 'stir' | hakwa-č | 'stir!' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| yaw | 'grab' | y $a-i$ č | 'grab!' |

[^29]
## Examples of imperative morphology

| indic.stem | 2nd sa. | 2nd_plu. ${ }^{10}$ | 1st_plu. | gloss |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hayin | hayin | hayin-ič | ca-hayin-ič | rest |
| Pic | Pic | Pic-ič |  | ladle |
| kim | kiva | kiva-č |  | come |
| kwap | kwap |  | ca-kwap-č | eat |
| Win | Win | win-ič | ca-win-ič | cut |
| yaw | yaw | ya-ič |  | grab |

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

## C.PRONOUNS

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

## 1. PRONOMINALPREFIXES

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

## Examples of pronominal prefixes (subjects)

| ni-hiu pakap-t-ay <br> 1s clown ABS OBJ | I saw the [ceremonial] clown. |
| :---: | :---: |
| ci-par hakwa-y-c-ay <br> 1 p drink stir PNABSOBJ | We drank some chia batida. |
| mi-mi-mat piyan 2s $\varnothing$ FUT far | You're going far. |
| pimipinooganica-m you pl. poor PL | You [pl.] are poor. |
| pa-hamut $\ddagger k$ <br> 3s descend | He climbed down. |

pi-kim vakap-yam
3p come cow PL.

## Examples of pronominal prefixes (possessors)

ni-havi?
ni-huna-vea
ci-hun
mi-pakap

Pa-huna-vea
$p+-n a-m$
my clothing
in my heart
'our hearts'
your pespibata box
'your blood'11
inside [in its heart]
their fathers

## 2. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

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

[^30]Table V: Independent pronouns

|  | Singular | Plural | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | nip | Picač | I, we |
| 2 | Pimip | Pimipi | you |
| 3 | Pivip | Pim | this, these |
|  | patap, pac | pam | that, those (proximal) |
|  | Pama, Pamac | P am | that, those (distal) |

The demonstratives (with some minor irregularities) and the independent pronouns also take the case suffixes -yik, -mea - yop -nup -pea but have a special third person prefix pit which occurs in both singular and plural in these case forms:

## Examples of independent pronouns

 ni-hak nị? mimk. I'm telling the truth. is tell l truenaw-vin pa-šamin nì-y piyci-c. Poison oak doesn't hurt me. NEG 3-1s 3s harm IOBJ poison oak ABS
ni-pakap nịp my tobacco box
1s tobacco box 1
ní-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ to me
1 DIR
Pivic $p^{+-y+k}$ 'with this one'
this 3 s oblique DIR
pimitnup ni-mi
you DIR is $9 P$
Picami-mea us ACCOMP
'I went [away] from you.' 'with us'
patap šušava-č
that one liar ABS
Pakikitam Picač
Kitanemuk
'He is a liar.'
'We are Kitanemuks.'

The independent pronouns can also combine with clitics (described in section D), when they are the first word in the sentence. Since word order is fairly free, an independent pronoun and attached subject-object clitic may be coreferent:
nị-m-ne ni-yamk. I remembered you.
1 1-2s nehe ${ }^{12}$ is remember
ní-y-ivin pa-pi-pihamap 'He is joshing me.'
I OBJ 3-1s 3s RDP tease

## 3. EMPHATC PRONOUNS

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

[^31]Table VI: Emphatic pronouns
Singular Meaning

Meaning

1 nuk

I myself, only I

2 Pumuk
3 punuk

## Plural

1 Picamuk
2 Pumuk
3 pumuk
you yourself, only you
she herself, he himself, only s/he, only it

## Meaning

we ourselves, only we
you yourselves, only you
they themseives, only they

## Examples of emphatic pronouns

ni p-nuk ni-pin. I myself know. '
nuk ni-pin. 'Only I know.'
punuk nip $=$ nipp-nuk only l'
Pimíp Pumuk mi-pin. 'You yourself know.'
punuk $\boldsymbol{P}+\mathrm{m}+\mathrm{P}$ ? 'you only'
punuk Pa-pin. 'He himself knows.'
punuk pe-nipłk. 'He died alone.'
Picam icamuk cif-pin. 'We ourselves know.'
Picamuk 'we alone'
Pimipi umuk pi-pin. 'You yourselves know.'
pumuk pi-płn. 'They themselves know.'

## 4. DEMONSTRATIVEPRONOUNS

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

| Pivip tłmł̇t this rock ABS | 'this rock' |
| :---: | :---: |
| Pivip tif-timith this RDP rock ABS | 'these rocks' |
| putup Pivip karnea tough this meat | 'This meat is tough.' |
| Pivip kucip nahkiphyi-t this $\mathbf{d g}$ biter ABS | 'This dog bites.' |
| Pim kucip-yam kith-kišap these dig PL RDP nogood | 'These dogs are no good.' |
| ni-kwap-mat pivi-y patapa-y is eat FUT this OBJ meat $O B$ | 'I'll eat this meat.' |
| Pa-heprk-ivin pivip pačuk 3s point 3-1s this man | 'This man is pointing at me.' |
| yoat pata? snow that | 'That is snow.' |

Table VII lists the singular and plural subject, object and oblique forms of the demonstrative pronouns (there are some gaps in the data). (Generally the shorter forms are used attributively, and the long forms, and sometimes the short forms, are used when the demonstrative is standing alone. But the plural object forms which include $\not \approx$ are attested only when the demonstrative is attributive.)

## Table VII: Demonstrative pronouns

| Singular | Plural | Singular object | Plural object |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pivip, Pivic | Pim, Pimi | Piv | , |
| Pamap, pamac | Pam, Pami | Pamay | Pamty, Pamt |
| ac | pam, pami | pay | pamty, pami |

## Singular oblique Plural oblique


pamac piyik

## 5. SUBJECT-OBJECTCLITICS

Another set of pronominal forms is comprised of the subjectobject clitics, which are shown in Table VIII (a). These clitics occur in second position in the sentence (cf. section D, "Clitics", for a discussion of the meaning of second position, and of the position of the subject-object clitics relative to other clitics). They are portmanteau morphemes which contain information about the subject as well as the object of the verb. Note that apparently the number of the object, but not of the subject, is relevant to the
form used. "-" indicates gaps in the data. The reflexive morpheme -tak (which is not a clitic), described in 6: "Reflexives", is used in sentences with identical subject and object. The initial vowels are dropped following a vowel or vowel plus glottal stop. (The negative imperative word koy, which ends in a glide, needs to be lexically marked as triggering initial vowel loss in a following clitic.) These clitics generally seem to be obligatory sentence elements, but inconsistency on the right of the chart suggests that the third person subject forms may be optional or obsolescent.

Table VIII: Subject-object_pronominal clitics (a)
OBNECT


Clearly there are some gaps in Table VIII (a), where certain person and number combinations are lacking or vowel-initial forms were not available, but it seems likely that Table VIII (b) is a correct summary of the facts (omitting third person reflexives for simplicity of presentation). These morphemes are glossed in examples with numbers indicating the person of the subject,
followed by the person and number of the object-with an "s" for singular or a " $p$ " for plural-thus, $1-2 \mathrm{~s}, 1-2 p, 3-1 \mathrm{~s}, 3-1 \mathrm{p}$, etc.

Table VIII: Subject-object pronominal clitics (b)
OBJECT

| SUBJ 1 | $\begin{aligned} & 1 \mathrm{sg} . \\ & \text {-tak } \end{aligned}$ | 1 pl . | $\begin{aligned} & 2 \mathrm{sg} . \\ & -\dot{m} \end{aligned}$ | 2pl. $\varnothing$ | 3sg. $\varnothing$ | 3pl. <br> $\varnothing$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 | -icip | -icim | -tak | - | $\emptyset$ | -ivi |
| 3 | -ivin | -ivicim | - + m | $-\boldsymbol{+ i v}$ | $\emptyset$ | $-i v i p, \varnothing$ |

## Examples of subject-object clitics

$m \dot{q}-y \dot{\ddagger} k$-rrat-icip $\quad$ 'You will answer me.'
2s answer FUT 2-1s
kay-cip hiu!
'Don't look at me!'
NEG 2-1s look
kay-yajm hiu!
'Don't look at them!'
NEG 2-3p look
ni-y-ivin pa-pi-pihama? $\quad \mathrm{He}$ is joshing me.'
I OBJ 3-1s 3s RDP tease
ni-pi-pihama? I'm joshing him.'
1s RDP tease 1-3s ( $\sigma$ )
mi-mik-icim
2 s hit $2 \cdot 1 \mathrm{p}$

Pa-hi-hyu-yまn nłphimikni-hi-hyu
3s RDP look 3-1s 1 back is RDP look
He's looking at me, and I'm looking [back] at him.

Pa-kon-iyif? Po-pacito-m-i pedrop-t 3s kill 3-3p 3s pet PLOBJ Pedro ABS Pedro killed his swine.
nip ni-kon-mat-iyy? gatip-yom-iy
1 1s kill FUT $1-3 p$ cat PL OBJ
I am going to kill all the cats.

An impersonal construction consisting of an adjective and object clitic (cf. yohopth, micane?) uses another clitic, -ikwon but the data are too scanty to be sure of the exact distribution:
micanep-vin 'It hurts me.'
micane $\mathrm{P}-\mathrm{kw}$ an 'It hurts him.'

## 6. REFLEXIVE STEM

The reflexive stem 10 K (probably etymologically related to taket 'person' and -tahtake 'body') shows agreement through pronominal prefixes with the person and number of the subject:

```
ni-tok ni-puhcir, numa-ik
is REFL is take care good ADV
I am taking good care of myself.
```

pí-pipk pítok
3p fan 3s REFL
They are fanning themselves.
ni-hi-hiu ni-tok
1s RDP see is REFL
I am looking at myself.
Po-mik Po-tok
3s kill 3s REFL
He killed himself.

Note that although the sentence clitic in each case is $\varnothing$, indicating that there is a third person singular object, the tok word itself carries no object suffix.

## 7. INDEFINTEEINTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

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

## Table IX: Indefinite and interrogative expressions

Stem Indefinite Negative Interrogative
hamip tum hamip, someone naw hamic, no one hamip, hamic, who hit tum hit, something now hit, nothing hit, what,what kind

## Examoles of indefinite and interrogative expressions

hamip 'Who is it?'
who
naw hamic-am pa-tuhtututu?
NEG someone PL 3s play
'He is playing alone.' [ He is not playing with anyone.]
hit-it 'What is it?'
what $Q$
hiptay mi-hiu tiy-t-ay
what OBJ 2s see ghost ABS OBJ
'What kind of ghost did you see?'

```
naw Pa-\etaičk naw-hit Pa-tama
NEG 3s cut NEG something 3s tooth
'The knife is dull.' [Its tooth cuts nothing.]
tum-mat hamip ni-mak
tum FUT INDEF 1s give
'I'm going to give it to anyone.'
ca-mavip tum-hitay 'Monday' [we do something]
1p do tum something OBJ
```


## D. CLITICS

## 1. CLASSES AND POSITIONOF CLITICS

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

## Table $X$ : Order of clitics:

| 1 | $\\| 1$ | $\\|\\|$ | IV | $V$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| QUESTION | TENSE | SUBJECT- <br> OBJECT | IMP.PLU. <br> Oek(waču) | nehe |

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

$$
\begin{aligned}
& m \dot{+}-\mathrm{mi}-\mathrm{t} \quad \text { 'Are you going with me?' } \\
& \text { 2s } \Phi \text { Q } \\
& \text { ni-n+čk-it [Am | cutting it? }]^{13} \\
& \text { 1s cut Q }
\end{aligned}
$$

> ${ }^{13}$ Harrington gave the following two sentences and translations: nintčk+t I'm gonna cut it. nip+čk+tuvup (past)

Given the form of 'cut' in all other examples, I think it is fair 10 interpolate that there is a question clitic following the stem in each case, the effect of which Harrington missed in the iranslation.

| mi-w awt-ik-it <br> $2 s \quad$ tired INTR $Q$ | 'Are you tired?' |
| :--- | :--- |
| hamic-itPa-ki <br> who $Q$$\quad$ 3s house |  |

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

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

person PAST
ni-haman-mat ni-ki 'I'm going to roof my house.' is thatch FUT is house
naw-mat ni-mi 'You aren't going to go.' NEG FUT is $p$ o
hamip-mat ni-kwap 'I'll eat it later.' sometime FUT is eat

Pamapy-mat pa-hup 'Now it is going to burn.' now FUT 3s burn

The past clitic -yvyp is not to be confused with the "deceased" derivational suffix -ivi which may appear on nouns. The confusion is especially possible because $\underline{\mu}$ sometimes occurs in variants of
 Such a confusion may have resulted in Harrington's trying to use the nominal suffix as a clitic in the pair below, which resulted in starred forms.

| ni-hiu pi-wakip kuča-m | 'I saw dry sticks.' |
| :--- | :--- |
| *ni-hiu-vi pi-wakip kuča-m | 'I saw dry sticks.' |

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

> Pa-kivaw-vłn-ne pa-č-ay S/he asked me for water. 3s ask for 3－1s nehe water ABS OBJ
Puvea－vin Po－yohk l＇m angry［＇it angered me＇］．
already $3-1 \mathrm{~s}$ is anger

Pip－mat－im ni－puhci？I＇ll wait for you here． here FUT 1－2s is wait

The imperative plural clitic－í⿱一𫝀口 $\check{c}$ is used in first and second person plural imperatives，but appears in a few instances in first person plural indicative sentences as well．
y $\quad$－ìc
grasp IMP
ca－y日－ǐ
1 p grasp IMP
kay－m－ǐč šušava？$n \dot{+}-y \dot{+} k$
NBG 2－1s IMP lie $I$ DIR

Grab it！

Let＇s grab it！

Don＇t you［plu．］lie to me！

Here are two non－imperative sentences which show the imperative plural marker being used with a future clitic：
ca－mi－mat－ič $\quad$＇Vamos ir＇［＇we will go＇，or＇let＇s go＇］．
ca－kim－mat－ič We＇re going to come．

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

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

$$
\begin{aligned}
& n+i \text {-nehe ni-šipk } \quad \text { 'I chilled it.' } \\
& \text { is nehe is chill }
\end{aligned}
$$

haypary-nehe 'Where is it?' where nehe

The clitic -mek $\sim$-mekwoču is used in contrary-to-fact clauses and is discussed in chapter IV, section J. The initial vowels of all of these clitics are dropped when they follow a vowel.
ni-kač-mek pap 'Would that I were there.'
1s be mek there
There are a very few cases where the future clitic -mot occurs as the first element in the clause; this is not attested for the other clitics.
ni-kwara-mat pakwini-ni
1s smear FUT mud INS
I am going to plaster the cracks with mud.
mat ni-kwarap pakwini-ni
FUT is smear mud INS
I am going to plaster the cracks with mud.
mat-pa-kim hịwač tịvač next year [another year
FUT 3s come another year that will come?]

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

Pivip tameat-mat ni-ya-hea
[this day] FUT I catch, PASS
Today they're gonna catch me.
ošit pa-yík-mat ni-mi
hot waterDIR. FUT. I go
I'm going to go towards the hot water.
ni-tith-tin-mat ivi-y panocita-y tyendap-yik = is RDP send FUT this OBJ boy OBJ store DIR nahponoma-yik-mat ni-t th-tin Pivi-y panocita-y store DIR FUT is RDPsend this OBJ boy OBJ I'm going to send this boy to the store.

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

Pip Pa-kač-uyu It was here. here it be PAST
may be conceived of as meaning something more like 'It is here that it was'; that is, perhaps some focusing strategy has created a higher clause than the one in which the tense clitic belongs. Here is one more example of this kind:
kumupk ni-ta-nehe I put it face down. face down I put nehe

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

Pip-mat ni-raPwk l'm going to sit down here. here FUT I sit
and there is certainly no prohibition against initial words containing 'be' having clitics attached:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Pa-kač-mot yuahk S/he is going to be hanged. } \\
& \text { III be FUT hanged }
\end{aligned}
$$

(As further support for the notion that adverbial clauses may be built above another clause, consider the fact that the NEG in the form of either now 'not' or koy 'don't' is usually the first word in the sentence, but adverbs do sometimes precede NEG:
Pamapy naw ni-mirin ni-tuhtup-i
now NEG is can 1s dance Compl
Now I can't dance.

Perhaps a rule of adverb fronting and raising applies at some point in the derivation after both the positioning of NEG and the atachment of clitics.) One other counter-example may be explained in a parallel way. The following sentence has an initial independent pronoun followed by a verb with attached clitics:
nip ni-kon-mot-ivip gatip-yam-iy
1 I kill all FUT I-3 cat PLU. OBJ.
l'm going to kill all the cats.

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

## 2. CO-OCCURRENCE OFCITICS

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

| ni-nịčk-it-uvup 1s cut $Q$ PAST | 'Did I cut it?' |
| :---: | :---: |
| kay-vim-i̇č hiu | 'Don't look at them!' |
| NEG 2-3p IMP look |  |
| haypea-t-ne pa-kač where $Q$ nehe 3s be | 'Where was it?' |
| Pa-kivaw-vin-nehe 3s ask for 3-1s nehe | 'He asked me for it.' |
| Pa-kivaw-vin-ne pa-č-ay 3s ask for 3-1s nehe water ABS | 'He asked me for water.' OBJ |
| ni-ayn-mat-um 1s show FUT 1-2s | 'I will show it to you.' |
| $m \dot{+}-y \dot{+} k-m a t-u t s i$ 2s answer FUT 2-1s | 'You will answer me:' |

## 3. CLITICSINLOWER CLAUSES

Clitics that occur later in the sentence than on the first element are not exceptions to the rule of clitic placement, but rather instances of clitics attached to the first element of an embedded clause.
níp ni-ta pačukat-ay pa-hupeaha-mat
1 1s put man OBJ3s work FUT
I put this man to work.

Pa-yap-nehe pa-kim-ivin mak-ik Paši-y kim-an-i-c-ay
3s carry nehe 3s come 3-1 give INF flower OBJ make Vn PN ABS OBJ She brought me a bunch of flowers.

Kiva ca-kwa-č
come 1p eat IMP PL
Come to eat!
naw Pa-uyhun ni-mi
NEG 3s want is go
He doesn't want me to go.
 1s remove FUT 3s cradle ABS OBJ is put FUT big LC cradle LOC I am going to take him off the first cradle and put him on the [big one].

Cipk Pamariyop ni-pošan-mat
a little yellow is paint FUT
I am going to make it yellow.
naw Paw-puyhun ni-mi, mutup-mat ni-mi
NEG 3s want is go still FUT is 90
He doesn't want me to go, but I'm going to go anyway.

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

Pimł Pivi ni-makim-mat-im pačuk
you this is give 1-2 FUT 1-2 man
[l give you this;] now you are a man.

Or, perhaps the -mot is not attached as presented above, but is a case of clause-initial future clitic. (In this case gloss should actually be 'I give you this; you will be a man'.) Of course, since
-mat is the only clitic which is attested in initial position in the corpus, there is one more possible explanation-that there is an adverb mot homoponous with the clitic; this is not implausible, given the existence of the past adverb puved 'already'.

## 4. k -LOSS BEFORE CLITICS

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

## Examples of $k$-deleting verbs:

| No deletion | Deletion <br> ni-mirur-mat <br> I twist it. |
| :--- | :--- |
| I will twist it. |  |
| ni-mink | ni-min-mat |
| I swallow it. | I will swallow it. |
| ni-horohk | ni-horoh-mat |
| I pierce it. | 1 will pierce it. |
| ni-nahnipk | ni-nahnip-mat |
| I win it. | 1 will win it. |
| ni-nililk | ni-nilil-mat |
| I catch up with someone. | 1 will catch up with someone. |

ni-ničk
l cut it.
ni-rivk
I win it.
ni-mur ahk
| loosened it.
$n i-\eta+c ̌-m$ at
I will cut it.
ni-riv-mat
I will win it.
ni-murah-nehe
I loosened it.

## Examples of $k$-retaining verbs:

No deletion enironment
ni-rapwk
I set it
ni-napk
1 paste it
ni-neprifk
I help.
ni-conk
I am washing (clothes).
Pa-hinik
It is floating.
ni-puk
I take it off

Deletion environment
ni-rapwk-mat
I will set it
ni-napk-mot
l will paste it
ni-narik-mat
I will help.
ni-cojhk-mot
I'm going to wash.
Pa-hiPnłk-nehe
It is floating.
ni-puk-mat
I will take it off
It is possible that this rule only applies to verbs that have an $\dot{ \pm k} /-k$ contrast; this would explain all the $k$-retentions in the second list except nopk, which could simply be an exception or an error.

## E. ADJECTIVES

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

## 1. -K ADJECTIVES

The $-k$ adjectives are mostly derived from verb stems. They tend to end in $-k$ where some transitivity is inherent in their meaning, or in $-\theta-\hat{K}$ or $-2 k$ where they are more plausibly derived from an intransitive verb (attested in the data or not). (There are sometimes minor inconsistencies with regard to the appearance and disappearance of glottal stop or $h$ in the two forms.)

- $k$ adjective

Panapk 'open'
cakapk 'one-sided'
peanapk 'bent'
mayhak 'who recently gave birth'
mayhak-am (plu.)
rupk 'straight'
timk 'shut'
winikaik 'smart'
yovok 'dark'
yuvk 'boiling in water'

## corresponding verb

papnk 'open, VT
cakahik 'shift to one side, $V^{\prime}$
peapnk 'bend back, VT'
mayha 'give birth'
rupk 'straighten, VT'
timk 'shut, VT'
winikow 'think, remember'
yopvok 'soot oneself, VI' yuvk 'put in boiling water'

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

| Adjectives in $-k$ with | no corresponding verb |
| :--- | :--- |
| Payark 'white' | kwitkwitk 'multicolored' |
| huyuyk 'conceited' | šarork 'rough on the surface' |
| yaŋk 'quiet' | vačk 'flat and circular' (plu. vačvačk) |
| yuahk 'hanged' | $m+m k$ 'true' |

Some examples of $-k$ adjectives in sentences follow:
Pa-kač-mat yuahk 'S/he is going to be hanged.'
3s be FUT hanged
rupk $P$ a-k ač
straight $3 s$ be $\quad$ 'It's straight ahead.'

ni-narik mayhe-k-oy 'I'm helping the new mother.'
1s help having given birth OBJ
šoyopk ni-kač 'I make a bad face.' scowling is be
$\underset{\text { voiš-voiš-k }}{\text { doubled up }} \underset{3 p \text { be }}{\text { Pi-k ač }} \quad$ 'They are doubled up.'

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

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

## 2. ADJECTIVES IN -VPi

There are a few adjectives ending in -opi and other vowels plus Pi , some or all of which may be derived. There are two few cases to be sure. The following are some $-\underline{V} \mathrm{Pi}$ adjectives:

| cutatapi | 'peppery' |
| :--- | :--- |
| haruharupi | 'slipping down' (cf. harukrik 'come down') |
| namapi | 'soft' |


| nananapi | 'flat' |
| :--- | :--- |
| pišapip | 'sweet', plu. pišapi-m 'they are sweet' |
| rikwarikwapi | 'smooth' (cf. rikwatik 'slip, VI') |
| varavarapi | 'hanging', (cf. varvark 'hanging') |

## 3. MONOMORPHEMIC ADJECTIVES

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

| yupu | 'lame' | kwitkwitk | 'multi-colored' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| tohop | 'foolish' | šivip | 'cold' |
| Pošip | 'hot' | Pamariyop | 'yellow' |

## 4. ATTRIBUTIVE NOUNS

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

| Singular Meaning Plural | Other forms |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| numua-č | 'good' | nuh-numuǎc | ni-numua-nap 'my right hand' |
| šiti-c | 'stingy' | šitri-m |  |
| kavawavit 'deaf' | kah-kovawavi-m |  |  |
| wip-t | 'fat' | wip-im | wip-cu 'get fat' |

## 5. CASE FORMS OF ADJECTIVES

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

```
ni-hiu naha-č-ay numua-č
1s see girl ABSOBJ good ABS
| saw a good girl.
ni-hiu mi-mo-mayha-m-ìy paha-m-i+y
1s see 2s RDP child PL OBJ oldest PL OBJ
| saw your oldest children.
```

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

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

| tell |
| :---: |
|  |  |

1s tell I truly

I'm telling the truth
speaking truly?]'

## F. ADVERBS

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

## 1. MONOMORPHEMIC ADVERES

The following list is a sampling of monomorphemic adverbs:

| mutup | 'always' | moc | 'again' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Pip | 'here' | Pap | 'there' |
| waravk | 'hard, very' | cipk | 'a little' |
| Pova? | 'up' | wicipk 'down' |  |
| piyan | 'far' | Puvea 'already' |  |
| mick | 'together' | pucuk 'firmly' |  |
| naw | 'not' | kay | 'don't' |

## Past tense adverbs

Past tense glosses correspond to sentences with the past clitic-uyu, or the adverb puree (a separate word placed at the beginning or end of the sentence. There is also another past tense adverb, pupuyee 'long ago'. These adverbs are illustrated below:
ni-Pic-yyup
Puved ni-pic \} I ladled out (water).'
ni-ic ?

Pupuve a po-kim 'S/he came a long time ago.'

Pupuve e-vup ? a-kim 'S/he came a long time ago.' long ago PAST 3scome

## 2. DERIVED ADVERBS

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

| numa-č | 'good' | numua-ik | 'well' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| namapi | 'soft' | namapi-k | 'quickly' |

## Examples of adverbs in sentences

cipk Pa-šiviłk a little 3s blow wind mea Pup pa-č ?amuk 9 take water ABS there
cipk kava-wovi-t nip a little deaf ABSI
homik ni-niw
again is $\infty$$\quad$ 'I do it again.'

Pa-pic Pip muk-i-c 3s arrive here sick PN ABS
mutup pa-paminif
always 3s forget
'It's a little windy.'
'Go over ther and bring (me) some water.'
'I'm a little deaf.'
'There arrived here a disease.'
'S/he always forgets'

| namayk minki quickly swallow | 'Swallow it [quick]!' |
| :---: | :---: |
| ni-mi-mat Parupk 1s $\boldsymbol{O}$ FUT upcanyon | 'I'm going to go up-canyon.' |
| numuepik ni-picuk <br> well is fix up | 'I fixed it up well.' |
|  | 'You're going to go far.' |
| ni-yaw pucuk 1s grasp firmly | 'I grasp it firmly.' |
| worouk-ivin po-tur intens.adv. 2-1 3s bother | 'He is bothering me a lot.' |
| ni-hiu wicipk <br> 1ssee down | 'I looked down at the ground.' |

## G. QUANTIFIERS

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

| hawkup | 'one' | pavahip | 'six' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| woh | 'two' | kwackaveykí | 'seven' |
| pahip | 'three' | wahwaca | 'eight' |
| waca | 'four' | makaveyki | 'nine' |
| mahač | 'five' | wehmahač | 'ten' |

The quantifier wir ' $a$ lot' is like the numerals in that it quantifies nouns, and nouns so quantified are never object marked (cf. chapter IV, section C). The word puyu 'all' is apparently an adverb rather than a quantifier, since objects in sentences with puyu are object-marked:
ni-hiu puyu mí-niu-y 'I saw all your things.'
1s see all 2 s possession OBJ

## H. CCiUUUNCTIONS

Kitanemuk has both coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Pop 'and' conjoins both words and clauses, and is positioned between the two conjuncts:

hamik (asometimes hamak) 'back, again' sometimes seems to be an adverb, but is clearly sometimes a conjunction:
gati hamik kucip 'the cat and the dog'
It certainly occurs in sentences with no other overt conjunction.
Pa-hi-hiu-vin, níp hamak ni-hi-hiu
3s RDP look 3-1s I back 1s RDP look
He is looking at me and I am looking at him, too.
ti is translated as 'but' in the following sentence,
pi-Puyhun ni-kim-an-itiqnaw ni-kim-an-ihun 3p want is $\omega$ Vn COMPbutNEG is $\omega V_{n}$ DESID They made me do it, but I did not want to.

But it is translated 'if' in conditional sentences:
t $\ddagger$-mekwaču ni-cik, pa-yup-mekwačup
if contrary to fact is stick 3s cry contrary to fact
If I had stuck him with the scissors, he would have cried.

## The subordinating conjunctions mohmot 'when' and ?omoton 'therefore' are illustrated in chapter IV, section J.

## CHAPTER III: <br> DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

## A. NOUN-FORMING DERIVATIONS

## 1. DeNominal nouns

## Augmentative suffix

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

| Noun |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| kaja-c 'beard' beard ABS | kaja-wi-t 'big-bearded person' beard AUG ABS |
| pahina-č 'chia sp.' chia ABS. | pahina-i-t 'bigger species of chia' chia AUGABS |
| Pa-poho 'his body hair' 3s fur | poho-wi-t 'furry person' fur AUGABS |

[^32]| Noun | Noun $+-w+t$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| po-top 'his belly' 3s belly | to $\boldsymbol{P}-\mathrm{w}+\mathrm{t}$ ' 'big-bellied person' belly AUG ABS |
| ni-pitč 'my blood' 1s blood | PもČ-w i-t 'bloody' blood AUG ABS |
| kak a-č 'quail' quail ABS | kaka-i-t 'partridge' quail AUGABS |
| kava-c 'ear' ear ABS | kava-witt 'big-eared person' ear AUGABS |
|  | kah-kava-wi-t 'big-eared person' RDP ear ALG ABS |
|  | kah-kava-wi-m 'big-eared people' RDP ear ALG PL |
| mihi-c 'neck' neck ABS | mihi-w $\ddagger-t$ 'bird $s p$. with a long neck' neck ALG ABS |
|  | mihi-wi-m 'pl.' neck ALG PL |
| Verb <br> kwap 'eat' eat | Verb $+w \dot{t}$ |
|  | kwap-wi-t 'big eater' eat AUGABS |
| kur 'fight' fight | kuh-yi-t 'fighter' fight $A U G$ ABS |
| In some cases ween the plain stem | re is a slightly different meaning shift the augmentative derived form: |
| tame-c 'tooth' tooth ABS | tame-w t-t 'sharp' tooth ALG ABS |

```
homina-t 'what?' hamina-wt-t 'what? (emph.)'
what ABS
what AUG ABS
yuhaha-t 'myth figure' yuhaha-i-t 'older brother of yuhahat'
pers.name ABS
pers.name AUG ABS
```

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

| hača-č 'spit' <br> spit ABS | hačapa-wít 'slobbery' spit AUGABS |
| :---: | :---: |
| pap 'drink' drink | paph-yi-t 'drunkard' drink AUG ABS |
| wip 'yell' yell | Wini-wi-t 'ceremonial shouter' yell augabs |
| tuhtup 'dance' dance | tuhtuh-yi-t 'good dancer' dance AUGABS |

The following two words contain a morpheme -wa; it occurs in some words containing the augmentative suffix, and its exact meaning is unknown:3
kaka-wa-i-t 'chicken'
quail ? AUGABS
(cf. kaka-č 'quail' and kaka-i-t 'partridge')

[^33]```
makaho-a-t-t 'large dove sp.
dove ?AUGABS
(cf. 'mokaho-t 'dove sp.')
```


## Characterizing suffix

The characterizing suffix derives stems of the $\boldsymbol{\sigma}$-class from nouns of any class; they have the meaning "one characterized by $\mathrm{N}^{\mathbf{n}}$, where N is the noun root. The singular form of this suffix is kopy; its irregular plural is -kom. The allomorph before the -yom plural is -ko (see example under "Tribenames" in this section). In the one example where a directional suffix is also attached, the suppletive variant is $-k \not \theta h$. Examples of this suffix follow:

```
poho-kaPy 'furry; caterpillar sp.'
fur CHAR
poho-kam 'caterpillar sp. pl.'
fur CHAR
havi-kapy 'Christian'
blanket CHAR
hovi-k8-m 'baptized people'
blanket CHAR PL
niw-kapy 'rich'
possession CHAR
top-kapy 'pregnant'
belly CHAR
to-top-kam 'pregnant, pl.'
RDP belly CHAR
yoa-kah-y+k 'toward a mountain that's always snowy'
snow CHARDIR
```


## Deceased suffix

The deceased suffix derives a $\check{c}$-noun ${ }^{4}$ from a noun of any class, adding the element "dead" or "former" to its meaning. It is found most often on kin terms, and is probably related to a taboo against mentioning deceased people in a casual (unmarked) way. 5 The form of the suffix is -ivid.
ni-nap 'my father' ni-nap-ivi 'my dead father'
ni-kukit 'my grandrelative ni-kukitap-ivi 'my dead gr'relative'
ni-Pacita 'my pet' ni-acita-ivi 'my dead dog' 1 s pet

1s pet DEC
ni-pacita-ivi-m 'my dead dogs'
1s pet DEC PL

## Compound nouns

Compound nouns take the form
STEMA-STEMB-(ABS./PLU.) $^{\text {A }}$
where STEM $_{A}$ is the attributive noun and STEM $_{B}$ is the head noun. There are a number of examples of this in the corpus, but it is not clear whether the data are the result of an ongoing productive

[^34]process in the language or perhaps frozen forms which are the residue of some obsolete rule (noun compounding is not productive in the other Takic languages). One absolutive suffix only appears on these compounds, attached to the second stem, and it is of the class which would be appropriate for the head noun alone. Examples follow:

| pa-hukah-t water deer ABS | 'elk' [lit., 'water-deer'] |
| :---: | :---: |
| ył̈ha-hu-č evening star ABS | 'evening star' |
| $h \dot{+} \eta-k \dot{\mp} m-a n-i-c$ <br> r.sn. make on PASS ABS | 'rattlesnake figure on basket' |
| taka-kim-an-i-c person make on PASS ABS | 'people figures on basket' |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { š̌-m } \ddagger+a-c ̌ \\ & \text { flower moon ABS } \end{aligned}$ | 'March' [lit., 'flower-month'] |
| pa-kwaka-pup-ap <br> 3s soldier take $G \mathbb{N}$ | 'enemy scalp (cut off)' |

This construction is not to be confused with the attributive + noun construction, which consists of two full nouns with absolutive or other affixes (as appropriate) on each noun:
mu-i-c tiva-t 'piñon pinole'
grind PN ABS piñon ABS
ni-mayr paha-č 'my oldest son'
1s child oldest ABS

## Placenames

The placename suffixes -peo/-yeo and $-\underline{y j k}$ form placename nouns from noun stems:

| Base |  | Placename |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| papap | 'crow' | papap-pea | 'Joaquin Flat' |
| haka-t | 'willow' | haka-pea | 'Cummings Valley' |
| papy-c | 'soft white rock' | popy-vea | 'a mountain east of |
| Piyci-č | 'ivy' ("hiedra) | ptyc | Tejón ranchería' 'Chanaco Canyon' |
| kayak | 'angelica' | kayak-y+k | 'a range southeast |
| k | 'wood' | kučo-y $\ddagger$ k | of Tehachapi town' 'Gorman' |
| huči-c | 'willow sp.' | huči-yik | 'a spring where |
| Pipko-č | 'mulefat' | Pipko-y+k | they used to shear' 'El Pleito' |

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

There are a few cases of two placenames based on the same noun stem, with one formed using -yik and the other formed using -peg/-yes:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { haka-pea 'Cummings Valley' } \\
\text { haka-yik } & \text { 'placename over by Hills place' } \\
& \text { [apparently a distinct place] } \\
\text { tuvi-yik } & \text { 'Brite Valley' } \\
\text { tuvi-pea } & \text { 'Brite Valley' }
\end{array}
$$

But it is possible that $-\underline{j} \dot{j} k$ is really just a locative suffix and not a placename-deriving suffix, in spite of glosses like the above. There is one form glossed as a placename, which contains both -yea and -yik:

```
pa-vea-y\ddaggerk 'Buena Vista Lake'
```

water plcnm. DIR/plcnm.

There is also a form in - $-\boldsymbol{j} \mathbf{k}$ glossed in one entry as a placename, and in another as a directional expression:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { hunai-yijk } & \text { 'Los Osos' [< hunsit 'bear'] } \\
\text { ni-mi hunai-yik } & \text { 'I go to Los Osos.' }
\end{array}
$$

Although there is a -pea/-yed inflectional (locative) suffix (discussed in chapter II, section A), it is apparently homophonous with the derivational placename suffix, as evidenced by the fact that placenames in -pea/-yea can be suffixed with the directional suffix $-y+k$, or even the locative suffix -pes/-res (although the number of sentences that demonstrate this fact is small.) Sentences with -yjk placenames in a role which would require an inflectional suffix are absent from the corpus, but it is possible that there is a derivational suffix $-y \dot{j} k$ which is also able to take
inflectional suffixes. The following are some examples of inflected forms of placenames:
pakwinipe a-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ 'toward Ventura'
pa-mucki-pea-ves 'variant of a placename'

On the other hand, we also find in the notes the following pair:
tahič-pea 'Tehachapi (Old Town)'
tahič-yík 'to Tehachapi'

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

## Tribenames

Some tribenames are derived from placenames by the addition of the tribename suffix tam. 6
tiva-pea-tam piñon plenm. TrN
'Tübatulabal Indians'

[^35]yo-vea-t am
p.oak plenm. TrN
pakwini-pea-tam mud plenm. TrN
'people of the Los Angeles area'
'Ventureños'

Other tribenames are formed with the suffix -y8m (which is otherwise a plural suffix characteristic of borrowed nouns), without a preceding placename suffix. (Of course many, but not all, tribenames are borrowed nouns.)
mimix-yam 'people from the lake of Chico López'
lake PL
yoa-ka-yam 'people from a mountain that's always snowy' snow CHARPL

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

| haykup (sg.) | haykup-yam | 'Mexican(s)' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Mexican g-ABS | Mexican PL |  |


| hawkup | ki šap-n-i-hunu-kam | 'one Ventureño' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| one | bad VNPN language $C$ | language peop |

## 2. DEVERBAL NOUNS

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

## General nominals

The general deverbal nominals are formed using the suffix -i (with a $- \pm$ or $-\underline{c}$ absolutive) or -O ? (possessed). The resulting nouns correspond to a variety of underlying case roles-agentive, instrumental, etc.

| Stem | Meaning | Nominal | Meaning |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hunup | speak, say | ni-hugup-ap | my language |
| kapv(-)ikk | listen | kav-a-c | ear |
| nahponom | sell | nahponom-a-t | store |
| pavuhačup | sow | ni-pavuhačup-ap | my planting |
| tuhtutup | play | ni-tuhtutup-ap | my toy |
| šitup | sprout | pa-šitop-ap | sapling |

Some general nominals show slight irregularities:
Cinea pound (meat) -cineapnap rooster's comb
Piy $\ddagger(-) w$ steal + take? piyi-ap lover [!]
Wihike(-)w beg Wihikap-a-č beggar
(It is not clear what the disappearing w's are in the second and third forms above; they may be derived from ? Y ? 'take'.)

## Agentive nominals

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

| Stem | Meaning | Nominal <br> riopin <br> Shear <br> riopin-ipa-č <br> tuhtutu <br> play |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |$\frac{\text { Meaning }}{\text { Shearer [person who shears] }}$

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

ki-c-ay kim-an-ipa-č 'carpenter' house ABS OBJ make VN AGTABS

## Fassive nominals and participles

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

| Stem | Meaning | Nominal | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| capcakin | winnow | capcakin-i-c | winnowed |
| $\eta \dot{+}$ č-k | cut | $\eta \dot{+} \mathrm{c}-\mathrm{\eta} \dot{+} \mathrm{C}-\mathrm{k}-\mathrm{in}$ | cut (said of fringe) |
| pučahk | play ball | pučahk-in-i-c | a game of ball |
| purikaw |  | purikaw-n-i-m |  |
| riopin | shear | riopin-i-c | sheared off |

There is a similar deverbal form, which I have tentatively categorized as "participle"; these derived attributive nouns are formed from the verb stem or extended verb stem with the addition of -i (or sometimes -ip) and also take the personal prefix s-. (It is possible that the full array of prefixes can be used, but this is
 personal prefix piter $^{\text {the }}$ the crical sentences to evaluate this are not in the corpus.)

| Pa-hup-ip | 'what's burned' |
| :--- | :--- |
| 3s burn PN |  |
| Pa-hup-ip-m | 'burned, pl.' |
| 3s burn PN PL |  |
| Pa-hin-k-ip | 'driftwood' [app. 'floated'] |
| 3s float TR PN |  |
| Pa-kop-k-i | 'broken' |
| 3s break TRPN |  |
| Pa-ŋičk-i-m | 'amputees' |
| 3s cut PNPL |  |

The following are a few sentences showing the use of the passive nominal and participle in context:
ci-pap hakwa-i-c-ay
1p drink stir PN ABS OBJ
= 'stirred up (stuff)'
We drank some chia batida.

Puvea homarn-i-c already thatch PNABS $=$ 'thatched (thing)'
It is already thatched.
ni-hyu-ne míherk-in-i-č-ay
Isee nehe 2s point Vn PN ABS OBJ = 'your pointed thing'
I saw your forefinger.
ruvea yorin-i-c
already plow PN ABS
$=$ 'plowed (thing)'
It is already plowed.
Pa-tuhtup pucuk, tim pa-kapm-k-ip
3s dance hard like 3s craze TRPN = 'crazed (person)'
He's dancing fast, like a crazy man.
Pa-pic Pip muk-i-c
3s arrive here sick PN ABS
A sickness arrived here.
ni-pin kim-an-i-c tirtiyap-t-ay
1s know make VN PN ABS tortilla ABS OBJ
I know how to make tortillas ${ }^{7}$
Pa-yap nehe pa-kim-ivin mak-ik paši-y kim-an-i-c-ay 3s bring nehe 3s come 3-1 give INF flower OBJ make Vn PN ABS OBJ $=$ 'flower made up (thing)'
She brought me a (tied up) bunch of wildflowers.
nip kišap-n-i-c
1s nogood Vn PNABS
I am ugly.

[^36]
## Instrumental nominals

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

| Stem | Meaning | Nominal | Meaning |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| riopin | 'shear' | riopin-ihwap-t | 'shears' |
| capcakin | 'winnow' | capcokin-ihwap-t | 'winnow. basket' |
| tuhtutu | 'play' | tuhtutup-ihwap-t | 'toy' |
| pučahk | 'play ball' | pučahk-in-ihwap-t | 'game ball' |
| wi-pučahk-in-ivanap | 'my game ball" |  |  |
| win | 'cut hair' | Win-ihwap-t | 'scissors, shears' |

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

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ni-napo-ivanap pi-yitk } \\
& \text { is marry INST } 3 \text { with }
\end{aligned}
$$

## B. VERB-FORMING DERIVATIONS

## 1. COMPOUND VERES

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

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ni-y } a-n+m \text { t } \ddagger m \dot{+}+t-\theta y \quad \text { 'I go carrying a stone' ('ando con } \\
& \text { piedra') } \\
& \text { 1s cary walk stone ABS OBJ }
\end{aligned}
$$

 fire ABS OBJ 3s carry walk

## 2. Nounincorporation

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


## 3. Deverbal verbs

## -k/-ik verbs

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

| curup-ik | 'enter' | curup-k 'put in' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| hin-ik $\quad$ 'floats' | hipn-k 'make (something) float' |  |
| muahk-ik 'be smoky' | muah-k 'smoke (e.g. bacon)' |  |
| wawt-ik 'be tired' | wawt-k 'tire (someone)' |  |
| yuaš-ik 'be wet' <br> op verbs | yuaš-k 'wet (something)' |  |

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

| kim | 'spill' | Kim-eap | 'pour' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| yamk | 'remember' | yamkin-eap | 'remind' |

## -Vn_suffix

Some verbs require a suffix that takes the form $-\mathrm{Vn}_{\mathrm{n}}$ in the imperative and certain derived forms. It apparently has no meaning of its own, but simply derives a longer stem appropriate to the derived form from the short stem used in simple indicative forms.

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

```
horohk 'pierce' horohk-in-ihwap-t (instrumental nominal)
\(k i m\) 'make' \(k \mp m-a n-i p a-c ̌\) (agentive nominal)
mink 'swallow' mink-in-ivanap (instrumental nominal)
timk'shut' timk-in-ihwap-t (instrumental nominal)
wanak 'run' wanak-an-eap (causative)
wišk 'winnow' wǐšk-in-i-c (passive nominal)
```


## Imperative extension suffix

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

Stem
hiyk 'swing'
kawtk 'break' wirapk 'let go'

Sg. Imp.
hiyki
kawtki
wirapki

## Desiderative suffix

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

| kum | 'sleep' | kum-an-ihun |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kwap | 'eat' | kwant to sleep' |
| mu | 'shoot' | mu-ihun |
| yap | 'want to eat' |  |
| 'want to shoot' | 'wap-ihun | 'want to fly' |

## 4. DENOMINAL VERBS

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

| Noun | Verbin-van |
| :--- | :--- |
| hawkup 'one' | hawkup-ivan 'put one [in what you're making]' |
| woh 'two' | wo-van 'put two [in what you're making]' |
| numua-č 'good' | numua-van mi-hun 'don't be sad' <br> [lit. 'make good your heart'] |

The suffix - (t)up ~-cup ~ -tun, meaning 'make' or 'become', is exemplified below: 8

| Base | Verb in -tu? |
| :---: | :---: |
| ca-č 'shaman' | cač-u 'sing [ceremonially]' |
| +n 'soap' | havin-tun to soap up clothe |
| w kup(i) 'one (time) | hawkupi-čup 'assemble' |
| i-t 'bea | hunai-tup 'play bear [tag]' |
| č 'blood' | pič̌-cup 'be bloody' |
| ke, s | mimiotup 'make puddles' |
| ver | ni-tup 'trickle down' |
| Wipt 'fat, lard' | wip-cup 'get |

The following two verbs are derived from stems other than nouns, but also may contain the suffix -tup:
naw 'NEG' naw-tu 'disappear'
yupup 'lame' yupup-tup 'be rheumatic, crippled'

[^37]
## C. DERIVATIONS PRODUCING BOTH NOUNS AND VERBS

## The prefix tix-

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

| Simple form | Meaning | ti-form | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $v a$ č-k | wide, circular | ti̇va-č | earth, N |
| Payn | show | ti-payn | be an evil omen, |
| yua-t | snow | tityua-t | frost, N |
| mua(p)-t | smoke, haze | ti-mua- | soot, N |

na(h)-
The deverbal prefix nah- (sometimes no-) derives both nouns and verbs:

| Verb stem | Meaning | nah-nominal | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pipinama | joke | na-Pihame-t | ill-bred person, bra |
| kamea? | bury, roast | nah-kameap-n-i-c | cemetery |
| kip | bite | nah-kihjip-t | biter (dog or bedbug) |
| ma | give | na-mak-a-t | generous person |
| tanimakan | teach | nah-tanimakan-ak | teache |
| timuhivan | envious,VT | nah-timuhivan-i | envious person |

Verb stem Meaning nah-verb Meaning hucik, huck fall, drop nah-huck give birth (be born?) tanimakan teach nah-tanimakan advise (?) $t+h t \ddagger y$ order, send nah-tintin yu sing nah-yu deerhoof-sing

[^38]
## D. ADJECTIVE DERIVATION

Some adjectives are formed from verb stems with the addition of $-k$. Where these are based on $-k /$-ik verbs they look just like the simple verb forms without the personal prefix. Others exhibit numerous irregularities as to the presence of a vowel (sometimes matching the last vowel of the stem), glottal stop, or $h$ before the $-k$.

## Verb stem

Pan(-)k 'open'
cakahik 'shift to one side' kwioc-k 'bend'
muk 'be sick'
mom-k 'pile up' winika(-)w 'remember'

Adjective Panapk 'open' cakapk 'all on one side' kwiock 'bent' mukuk 'sick' momk 'piled up' Winikaik 'smart'

Some adjectives may be derived from verb stems by the addition of $-\underline{\mathrm{V} P \mathrm{i}}$ (cf. chapter II, section D for more discussion):
haruharupi 'slipping down' (cf. harukrik 'come down')
rikwarikwapi 'smooth' (cf. rikwatik 'slip, VI')
varavarapi 'hanging', (cf. varvark 'hanging')

## E. ADVERB DERIVATION

Some adverbs may be formed from noun stems by the addition of the suffix -ik; the only two clear examples in the corpus are numaik and pokatkipik:

```
numua-ik 'well'
good ADV
pokatk-ip-ik pa-nipik 'He died of fright'
frighten PNADV
```

One other adverb in -ik seems to be derived, but from another adverb, and with an idiosyncratic meaning shift not associated with the adverb derivations above:

| Pamapy | 'now' |
| :--- | :--- |
| Pamapy-ik | 'just now' |

One other adverb may be derived from an adjective by the addition of -ik, but again there is an unpredicted meaning shift:
namapip 'soft'
namapik 'quickly'

Given the paucity of these forms and the varying semantic shifts, I would guess that this may be a matter of frozen forms rather than an ongoing derivational process in the language.

## F. NUMERAL DERIVATIONS

Kitanemuk has unique (non-derived) words for 'one', 'two', 'three', 'four', 'seven', and 'nine'. 'Five' is clearly related to me'hand'. The number 'six' is related to 'three' by reduplication (plus lenition of the D ), 'eight' is related to 'four' by reduplication, and 'ten' is derived from 'five' by the prefixation of something that is similar to 'two'. All the higher numbers to 100 are derived syntactically from combinations of 1-10 plus adverbials and the conjunction hamak.

Numerals in Kitanemuk use some special derivational suffixes. The counting numbers are listed below. Adverbs, in the second column, are usually formed with the suffix -hee; verbs meaning 'put or make [number]' are in column three; they are formed with the suffix -ivon also occuring in numus-van 'put right' and Poši-van 'make hot'.

## Counting numbers

1. hawkup
2. wo, woh
3. pahi, pahip
4. wace
5. mahač
6. pavahi( )
7. kwackaveyki, -vipki
8. wah(a)waca
9. makaveyki, -vikt
10. Wehmahač

| X_times | Put/make X |
| :--- | :--- |
| hawkup-i | hawkup-ivan <br> wo-hea, wovak <br> wo-van |
| pahea | pahi-van, pahivak |
| waca-hea | wacahovan |
| mahača-hea | mahačivan |
| pavahea |  |
| kwačkaveapkí-hea |  |
| Wahwaca-hea |  |
| makaveapkt-hea |  |
| wehmahača-hea |  |

163
11. We pmahač hamak hawkup (ten and one)
12. wehmahač woh (ten two)
20. Wohea wepmahač (two tens)
30. pahi wepmahač (three tens)
100. hawkup tipuh-i-c (one counted)

As in many other languages, days of the week are named by number (but in Kitanemuk Monday and Sunday have special nonnumerical names); the derivational morphology by which this is done is irregular, and evidently peculiar to these special words.

| Day | Name | Meaning |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Monday | ca-mavi tum-hit a-y | 'Let's do something.' |
| Tuesday | Pa-woh | $<~ ' t w o ' ~[s e c o n d ' ?] ~$ |
| Wednesday | Pa-pahip | $<~ ' t h r e e ' ~[' t h i r d ' ?] ~$ |
| Thursday | Pa-waca | $<~ ' f o u r ' ~[' f o u r t h ' ?] ~$ |
| Friday | Pa-mahač | $<~ ' f i v e ' ~[' f i f t h ' ?] ~$ |
| Saturday | pavahip | 'six' [sic] |
| Sunday | win-i-c | 'stopped' |

There are a few other de-numeral forms which I will simply list here, although they may indeed be frozen forms that do not illustrate ongoing derivational processes:

| hawkupičup | unite, $V$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| hawkup-iva | together, Adv. |
| ha-hukup | one by one; separate |
| wohona | two together (Adv. describing singing) |
| wohona pip-očik | two together (Adv. describing riding on <br> horse one behind the other) |
| pahina | three together (Adv. describing singing) |

The following terms related to money (the tiwone part may mean something like 'is calied'):

| hawkup pa-tiwane | 'one "real" of bead money'11 |
| :--- | :--- |
| wap pa-t $\ddagger$ wane | 'two reales' |
| wac pa-t $\ddagger$ wane | 'four reales' |
| pavahi pa-t $\ddagger$ wane | 'six reales' |
| pahi-tikwe | 'twelve reales' |

The syntactic consequences of numerals with respect to number marking and object marking are discussed in chapter IV, sections $B$ and $C$ respectively.

[^39]
## CHAPTER IV: SYNTAX

In this chapter we will examine various aspects of Kitanemuk syntax and morpho-syntax. In general the purpose here is to look at phenomena on a grosser level than was done in the previous two chapters. We will examine the various constructions for showing possession, the role of number and case in the grammar, agreement, negation, time reference, word order, questions, indefinite expressions, and complex sentences. Next some particular morphemes will be presented whose analysis is unclear; the problems they present can only be fully appreciated once the overview of Kitanemuk grammar is complete. Finally, a brief Kitanemuk text will be presented and analyzed.

## A. POSSESSION

A noun can be possessed in one of two ways-directly or indirectly. In the direct possession construction, the appropriate personal prefix (described in chapter II, section A), representing the possessor, is attached to the simple or reduplicated noun stem. The absolutive suffix, if any, is dropped (any plural or case suffix is retained whether the stem is possessed or not). Three morphophonemic processes which may apply to possessed nouns are described in chapter I, section D: a glottal stop is sometimes
suffixed to vowel-final stems; a stem-final $/ \mathrm{h} /$ becomes [r]; a stem-final a is dropped, for a subset of possessed stems. These facts are illustrated in the following examples:

| Absolutive | Possessed |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hilos 'gizzard' | Pa-hilos | 'his gizzard' |
| ho-č 'hole' | pa-ho | 'its hole or cave' |
|  | Pa-ho-ho | 'its caves' |
|  | Pa-ho-y | 'its cave, obj.' |
|  | Pa-ho-ho-y | 'its caves, obj.' |
| huna-c 'heart' | pa-hun | 'his heart' |
|  | ni-huna-vea | 'in my heart' |
| kava-c 'ear' | mi-kavo | 'your ear' |
|  | pi-kah-kava | 'their ears' |
|  | pa-kava hwi-t | 'rabbit's ear' [plant] |
| yayka-t 'counting stick' | ni-yaykap | 'my counting stick' |
| [no abs. form] | $n i-y+r$ | 'my aunt' |
|  | mi-yiha-y | 'your aunt, obj.' |
|  | pioyiha-m | 'their aunts' |

Some nouns-kin terms and other relational words, and names for body parts-have no attested absolutive form in the data, and probably never occur unpossessed. They can nevertheless sometimes be assigned to one of the four noun classes on the basis of the possessed object form, which sometimes includes the absolutive (cf. section C).

| [no abs. form] | $m \dot{q}-p a n a-c-a y$ | 'your brother-in-law' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [no abs. form] | pa-puva-č-ay | 'his eyes' |
| [no abs. form] | mí-kwarip-t-ay 'your grandfather' |  |

The possessor may appear within the possessive noun phrase, in the form of an absolutive noun or as an independent pronoun; or it may be deleted after the relevant features have been copied onto the possessive prefix:
$(n+$ P) ni-havip $\quad$ 'my blanket'

1 is blanket/pelt
Pa-havi? hwi-t 'rabbit's pelt'
3s blanket/pelt rabbit
ni-hiu pa-povo-y vaka-t 'I saw the cow kidneys.'
1s see 3s kidney OBJ cow ABS

A very few nouns have irregular possessed forms-that is, something is added in certain possessed forms-like the kit in 'mother' below, or the ? Q P in 'rib'-which does not occur in other forms, and which is particular to that morpheme:
ni-yíp 'my mother'
$m \dot{+}-y \dot{+} k \dot{+}-y$ 'your mother, obj.' [no absolutive form]
Pamu-c 'rib'
ni-P amu? a ?

Pomu-m (plu.)
'my rib'

The second, or indirect, type of possessive construction involves the use of the classifier stems -niw and -? acit. In this construction, the possessive prefix is attached not to the stem of
the noun, but to the classifier stem -niw 'possession', if the possessed noun is inanimate, or -pocit 'pet or domesticated animal', if the noun is animate ${ }^{1}$. The possessed classifier stem and noun are then placed in apposition to each other.

| Pivip nop ni-niw this 1 1s possession | 'This is mine.' |
| :---: | :---: |
| pa-niw pa-č <br> 3s possession water ABS | 'his water' [around embryo] |
| ni-pacit <br> is pet | 'my pet' |
| nip-vup ni-pacit patap 1 PAST is pet that | ip 'It used to be my cat.' |

There are in the corpus two examples of -niw in an indirect possession phrase with an animate noun, which suggests that the distribution is actually -niw with inanimates and humans (other than kinterms, which are only directly possessed), and Pacit with animate non-humans:

| ni-niw nacavorakam | 'my twins' |
| :--- | :---: |
| ni-niw pačuk | 'my man' |
| ni-Pacit ('ni-kucip 'my dog', directly possessed) |  |

[^40]The situation for possessed plants is not clear, as there is only one relevant example in the corpus. The example uses -niw, but it is not known whether direct possession of plants is possible, or whether there might also be available a classifier used for plants only.

> ni-niw pata? po-č 'That is my mequite tree.'

It is common in Uto-Aztecan languages for there to be an obligatory indirect possession strategy for animates; the -niw type, is less common (but is reported for Serrano and Cahuilla); it is an optional construction in Kitanemuk (except where animate non-possessibles are involved, where it is the only strategy for possession):

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { ki-c Pa-niw }=\text { Pa-ki 'his house' } \\
& \text { house ABS 3s possession 3s house } \\
& \text { hilos } \text { Pa-niw }=\text { Pa-hilos } \quad \text { 'his gizzard' } \\
& \text { gizzard 3s possession 3s gizzard } \\
& \text { ni-niw pučahk-in-ihwap-t = ni-pučahk-in-ihwap-t } \\
& \text { is possession play shinny VN INST ABS is play shinny VN INST ABS } \\
& \text { 'my shinny stick' }
\end{aligned}
$$

The indirectly possessed noun appears, if at all, without possessive prefix, in absolutive form. Indirectly possessed noun phrases in object position carry object marking on the possessed noun, but not on the classifier. But these stems for indirect possession can also stand alone, if the possessed thing or animal is not expressed overtly; in that case they take case inflections:

```
Puvea ni-hiu mí-niu-y 'I looked at your things.'
already is see 2spossession OBJ
ni-hiu ki-c-ay mi-niw 'I saw your house.'
1s see house ABS OBJ 2s possession
pi-mahwap-mat Pa-niu-y kika-t
3p burn FUT 3s possession OBJ chief ABS
'They're going to burn the possessions of the dead chief.'
now ni-wirapk ki-vea ni-pacita-y
NEG is let house in 1s pet OBJ
'I don't let my dog in the house.'
```

The order of possessor versus possessed noun or of classifier versus possessed noun varies:

Pa-yiva yivar-t = yivar-t Pa-yiva 'the door of the church' 3s door church ABS church ABS 3s door

Pam pi-ki = pit-ki ? am 'their house'
po-č ni-niw 'my water'
Pa-niw pa-č 'his water'

See section C, 2: "Constituency absolutive" for a discussion of a special use of the absolutive suffix in possessed noun phrases.

A construction using $k \underbrace{}_{\text {č }}$ ' $b e^{\prime}$ ' is roughly equivalent to the English construction "to have an $\mathrm{X}^{\mathrm{n}}$; the Kǒ̌ may be deleted:

Pa-ya-hea Pa-keč 'It has a handle.'
3s carry PASS 3s be
Wir Pa-Pačim 'He has many fleas.'lots 3s fleaPa-kač Pa-niw ku-t 'firefly'3s be 3 s possession fire ABS

## B. NUMBER

Number is a weak category in Kitanemuk, in that it is often not expressed on plural nouns and inconsistently specified on verbs (some sentences with plural subjects have verbs marked with a third person singular prefix, as described in section $D$, "Agreement"). The subject-object clitics do consistently match the number of the subject, and the imperative plural clitic that of the imperative subject (as described in chapter II, section C).

## Tribenames

Tribenames often have only a plural-looking form which is used both in the singular and the plural, or a choice of a plural or singular form in the singular:

| haykup, haykup-yam haykup-yem | 'Mexican' <br> 'Mexicans' |
| :---: | :---: |
| howkup kiša-ni-hunu-kam one no good? language CHAR | 'one Ventureño' |
| ni-mík-ivi hawkup tatavia 1s kill PAST² one RDP+sunny? | killed one Tataviam.' J |
| ni-mik-ivi woh tatavia-m1s kill PAST two RDP+sunny? PL | killed two Tataviams. |

[^41]
## Numerals and number

Numerals sometimes occur after the noun, but usually before it. Like all quantifiers, they have no special objective forms. The noun they occur with is never marked for plurality.
mahač kucip
five
Pa-mak-ivin Papano mahač 'He gave me five eggs.'
3s give 3.1s egg five
ni-hiu hawkup pa-pamupap 'I saw one of his ribs.'
1s see one 3 s rib
'five dogs'

## Number in borrowings

Some borrowings from Spanish have a reflex of the Spanish plural $\mathbf{s}$, but are themselves singular:

| Kitanemuk | Meaning | Span, source |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Puvas | grape | uvas |
| peraš | pear | peras |
| yew aš | mare | yeguas |
| ritiš | ear of green corn | elotes |

## C. CASE

## 1. Analysis of the oblique cases:

My analysis of the suffixes -yik 'toward', -meop 'with' (accomp.), -nu? 'from', -res/-peo (locative), ond -ni 'with' (inst.) has been to treat them as case inflections, although they are very similar to what have been called "postpositions" frequently in the literature on Uto-Aztecan (in e.g. Langacker 1977, Crook 1976a,b, Zigmond et al 1988). They are in paradigmatic opposition to absolutive and object cases. They have no freedom of mobility, being bound to noun stems, independent pronouns and demonstratives (many of the demonstrative case forms are irregular) in a case-like way which includes distribution across subparts of noun phrases (described in section D: "Agreement").

| Pimi-meap ni-kim you ACCOMP is come | 'with these' |
| :---: | :---: |
| nit-meap | 'with me' |
| 1 ACOOMP |  |
| Pa-tuhtutup-ihun ni-y $\dot{+k}$ 3s play DES I DIR | 'S/he wants to play with me.' |
|  |  |
| ni-mi-mat ni-ki-yik 1s $\boldsymbol{\rho}$ FUT is house DIR | 'I'm going to my house.' |
|  |  |
| ni-tama-ni | 'with my teeth' |
| :s tooth INST |  |
| Picamà-nup | 'from us' |
| we DIR |  |

mit-kava-vea
$2 s$ ear LCO
'in your ear'

A special personal prefix pí-, not used elsewhere in the grammar, is required in a pronoun copy case construction with demonstratives, in the singular only; in the plural, $p \dot{f}-$, the usual personal prefix that marks subjects of verbs and possessors of nouns, is used. It is unclear which ordering of demonstrative and case-marked word is the underlying one. It is also not certain that this construction is used only with demonstratives as the antecedent; the data in my file include no other examples, however. There are no instances of this construction with non-third person forms.

```
ni-nahnamu pac pì-y+ik
    1s fight that 3s DIR
    I'm fighting with that one.'
    ni-nahnamu Pamac pi-y+ik
    1s fight that 3s DIR
    I'm fighting with that one.'
    ni-nahnamu Pivic pi-yi+k
    1s fight this 3s DIR
    'I'm fighting with this one.'
    ni-nahnamu Pim pim-ik
    1s fight that 3p DIR
'I'm fighting with these.'
ni-kim pi-civar Pimip
1s come 3p with these
'I came with these.'
```

All the clear examples of this construction that I have found involve the use of the suffix $-\Psi \ddagger \mathrm{k}$. It may have been possible with the other case suffixes, but the relevant data are not available. One suffix, at least, the suffix -civop 'with', however, uses the regular third person singular personal prefix in this construction (perhaps instead of Di土 - $^{-}$):
pa-mi pa-civap manwel-t-ay
3s 9 3s with Manuél ABS OBJ
'She went with Manuél.'

## 2. Constituency absolutive

There is a syntactic use of the absolutive suffix which goes beyond the inflectional use that I have described in chapter II, section A and which is so well known in other Uto-Aztecan languages. Crook (1976a) describes a similar phenomenon (the discovery of which he credits to Ronald Langacker) for the Serrano absolutive. He calls this syntactic use of the absolutive a "constituency suffix". The suffix appears on possessor nouns in the pronoun copy possessive construction, on the non-inflected noun in the pronoun copy postpositional construction, and on the subject noun in certain embedded clauses ; it takes the form it on nonpossessed nouns, and $-\check{彑}$ on possessed nouns ( $- \pm$ and $-\check{c}$ are two of the absolutive suffixes he describes for Serrano). This absolutive
marks the noun to which it is suffixed as coreferential to a pronominal prefix in the same constituent-that is, the possessive prefix in a possessive noun phrase, the postpositional prefix in a postpositional phrase, or the subject prefix in an embedded clause (the verbs of embedded clauses, but not of main clauses, are marked with personal prefixes in Serrano). It even attaches to proper nouns and possessed nouns which otherwise do not take the absolutive suffix. I am not aware that this phenomenon has ever been reported for any other Uto-Aztecan language, but the corpus for Kitanemuk suggests that something very similar took place in this language as well.

The following examples illustrate the use of an absolutive suffix in possessive noun phrases in Kitanemuk, on nouns that in other contexts do not take the absolutive suffix (note that as in Serrano, the -1 absolutive is the one used in all these examples, except for the possessed forms which are marked with $-\underline{c}$ and $-\underline{c}$, according to the absolutive that they take in object form). As in Serrano, the absolutive here seems to mark the noun to which it is attached as being co-referential with a personal prefix in the same constitutent.

```
notip-t Pa-ki= Pa-ki gotip-t
cat ABS 3s house 3s house cat ABS
'the cat's house'
Pivi-c Pa-ki-vea kwihaka-t
this ABS 3s houseLOC woman ABS
'in this woman's house'
```

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Pa-šahi mí-pi-c } \\
& \text { 3s juice 2s breast ABS } \\
& \text { 'your breast milk' } \\
& \text { Pa-kocop ni-piša-č } \\
& \text { 3s skin 1s head ABS }
\end{aligned}
$$

The constituency absolutive also appears on main clause subjects of Kitanemuk sentences, but only in those cases where there is a prefixed verb as predicate (the verbs of main clauses, unlike those in Serrano, carry personal prefixes coreferential with the subject):
Wahip-t-ay pa-wohik kucip-t
wyote ABS OBJ 3s bark dog ABS
'The dog is barking at the coyote.'

Puvea pa-yaw wakasip-t-ay natip-t
already 3 s grab mouse ABSOBJcat ABS
'The cat already caught the mouse.'
yič kucip
where dog
'Where's the dog?'
The constituency absolutive also appears in a few pronoun copy case constructions:
¿e-napor pí-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ Pa-hintoa-č
3s marry 3s DIR 3s relative ABS
'S/he married a relative.'

The use of the constituency suffix on subjects of verbs is inconsistent. Given the freedom of word order in Kitanemuk (cf. section G) and the coreference of the verb prefix and subject noun,
it is possible that the constituency absolutive has an important use in establishing which noun is the subject of a sentence (objects are not always object marked; cf. number 3 in this section). So little data is available on this that I don't feel justified in stating that this is the case. But if the following pair of sentences is typical, the constituency suffix may be used in just this way:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Pa-cugpiturup pa-ši-y } \\
& \text { 3s suck hummingbird 3s flower } \\
& \text { 'The hummingbird is sucking flowers.' } \\
& \text { Pa-pir pa-ši-y piturup-t } \\
& \text { 3s suck 3s flower OBJ hummingbird ABS } \\
& \text { 'The hummingbird sucks this flower.' }
\end{aligned}
$$

The data need to be examined more with this theory in mind, but if the above sentences are not misleading us, it is at least possible that the unmarked sentential word order is VSO, or at least has the subject preceding the object, and that the constituency suffix is obligatory in just those cases where the unmarked order is violated. Similarly, the following pair suggest that the unmarked word order for possessive noun phrases is with the possessor preceding the possessed noun:
nakarakara a-wakavea $=$ a-wakavea nakarakara-t chameleon 3 s fiesta 3 s fiesta chameleon ABS 'chameleon fiesta'

But again, further research needs to be done to check the facts; it is of course possible that the constituency suffix is optional at
least some of the time, in which case not much can be made of such a pair.

In summary, it does seem plausible (though it is by no means certain), that just as the absolutive suffix was extending its range in object forms (cf. number 5 below) to be considered part of the object marking itself, so it was perhaps extending its use in the area of subjects, possessors and case-related nouns as a marker of nouns coreferential with the prefix of another word in the same constituent.

## 3. Objective case: overview

The objective case suffix marks the direct object of a verb, and a few other obliques (indirect objects, described in number 10 , and nouns associated with certain relational expressions, described in number 11). But non-pronominal objects of second person imperative verbs are not so marked (cf. number 8). In addition, quantified objects are not always object marked:

| ni-hiu hawkup pa-pamupap | 'I saw one of his ribs.' |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1s see one 3s rib |  |

In some cases, where no numeral is involved, the object is object marked:

Pa-pa? wir hwiski-t-ay
3s drink lots whiskey ABS OBJ
'She drank [a lot of] whisky and died of it.'

Demonstratives, and sometimes attributive nouns, agree in case with the nouns they modify (cf. section $D$ for examples).

## 4. Body part obiects

There is one class of counterexamples to the general principles of object marking, where object marking appears on the possessor noun and also on the possessed noun of the possessive NP acting as object in the sentence. When one performs an action on someone's body, a noun referring to the body part will be objectmarked; if the person (the "owner" of the body part) is mentioned, either in a subject-object clitic or using an independent pronoun, it is also object-marked (I haven't found many examples yet with full noun possessors):
pa-yaw-vin ni-kopo-y
3s grab 3-1 is hair OBJ
'He grabbed me by my hair.'
ni-hiu-m-nehe mí-pamupap
1s grab 1-2 nehe 2 s rib
'I saw your rib.'
ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-patipa-y
1 s see $1-2 \mathrm{~s}$ nehe 2 s thumb
'I saw your thumb.'
ni-hiu-m-nehe míherk-in-ivanap
1 s see1-2s nehe 2 s point N INST
'I saw your forefinger.'
ni-hiu-m-nehe mí-(mah)-ma-y
is see 1-2s nehe 2s RDP hand OBJ
'I saw your hand(s).'
ni-hiu-m-nehe mí-tunup-č-ay
1s see 1-2s nehe 2s chest ABS OBJ
'I saw your chest.'

The following example suggests that this clitic marking is optional:

> ni-y aw-mat m+-kopo-y
> is grab fut 2 s hair OBJ
> 'I grabbed your hair.'

Perhaps the body part object vs. body part and personal object distinction is analogous to the English 'I hit you on the arm' vs. 'I hit your arm'; the body part object then would be an instance of objective case being used for "certain other obliques" (cf. number 3 above).

This perhaps explains how a body part such as 'arm' in the following passive sentence comes to be object-marked, even though it has more of an association with the subject than with any other sentence part, and is not the surface object of any verb:
ni-mu-hea ni-ma-y
'I was shot in the arm.'
is shoot PASS is arm OBJ

The double object-marked body part construction is used in at least one case with a non-human possessor in a possessed NP which is object of the sentence:
ni-puk-mat ?a-koco-y naranhap-t-ay
1s take off FUT 3s skin OBJ orange ABSOBJ
'I am going to peel the orange.'

It may not be irrelevant in this case (unique in the data), that the stem koco 'skin', is used not only to describe shells and peels, but also human skin. Or, perhaps the relevant feature is not animacy, but "alienability" (though obviously a shell or one's skin can be removed).

Detached body parts, however, do no get double object marking; instead they are simply part of a normal possessive noun phrase (as described in number 5. below):
ni-hyu hukah-t Pa-pac-ay
is see deer ABS 3s horn OBJ
'I saw a deer-horn.'
ni-hyu pa-povo-y vakap-t
1s see 3s kidney OBJ cow ABS
'I saw the [cow] kidneys.'

## 5. Directly possessed objects and object suffix reanalysis

A large number of possessed objects which refer to body parts or kin terms include an absolutive-like consonant before the
objective -oy even though they are possessed nouns and therefore would not be expected to have absolutive ending in any form:

Nouns which add pseudo-absolutive

| possessed N. obi. mi-pahkana-c-ay | Mng. <br> 'your nephew, niece' |
| :---: | :---: |
| mitcurip-t-ay | 'your grandparent' |
| mi-pikihup-c-ay | 'your breastbone' [abs.: kihuc] |
| mi-herk-in-i-c-ay | 'your forefinger' [abs.: herkinic] |
| mi-hintuap-č-ay | 'your relative' |
| Pa-jaykap-čay | 'his thigh' [abs.: gaykac] |
| mi-noho-c-ay | 'your neck' [abs. obj.: johocay] |
| pa-pavahata-c-ay | 'his bladder' |
| ni-piša-č-ay | 'my head' [abs.: pišoč] |
| Pa-puva-č-ay | 'his eyes' |
| mi-Puyka-č-ay | 'your girlfriend' |

On the other hand, a comparable number of similar nouns are recorded without the pseudo-absolutive:

| Dossessed N, obj. | Mng |
| :---: | :---: |
| mi-pamcit a-y | 'your nephew/niece' |
| mithamu-y | 'your sibling' |
| mi-koha-y | 'your elder sister' [abs.: kohač] |
| mi-kwaši-y | 'ycur parent-in-law' |
| Pa-kwacita-y | 'his tail' [abs.: kwocit ocay] |
| mi-ma-y | 'your arm' [abs.: macay] |
| mi-mayha-y | 'your offspring' |
| m+-paha-y | 'your older brother' |
| mi-paro-y | 'your shinbone' [abs.: paroc ay] |
| mi-tahay | 'your uncle' |
| Pa-tama-y | 'his teeth' |
| mi-y+ha(-)y | 'your aunt' |

(A more complete listing of nouns that do and do not take the pseudo-absolutive appears as Appendix L.) The situation is almost analogous to the treatment of borrowed and other - $\varnothing$ class nouns which have no absolutive ending in subject/citation form, but are assigned one before the objective suffix (but the $\varnothing$-class nouns always get - $\mathbf{t}$, while the "pseudo absolutive" in these cases is $-\underline{c}$, $-\underline{\text {, }}$, or $-\underline{\text { č }}$ ). The kin and body-part terms are like the $\sigma$-class nouns in that they usually have no absolutive form, since they do not normally occur unpossessed (the few exceptions mostly refer to food parts or artifacts made from animal bones, etc.). One might almost (taking a stab in the dark) wonder if the treatment of $\sigma$-class nouns isn't being extended by analogy to obligatorily possessed nouns. The suggestion that there is some instability-that some change in rules may be taking place-is seen
in forms like 'belly', which can have the "absolutive" consonant or not,
pa-top-č-ay = pa-top-y 'his belly, obj.'
and in the fact that there seems to be no semantic or other criterion characterizing the absolutive-adding nouns from the non-absolutive-adding nouns. But the added "absolutive" consonant for $\varnothing$-class nouns is always $- \pm$, whereas the possessed nouns get various ones: $-\underline{c},-t$ and $-\underline{c}$. There is one noun that is neither a kin term nor a body-part, but nevertheless appears in the list of possessed nouns taking the pseudo-absolutive:

```
ni-šim-ivanap-č-ay 'my scraper'[abs.: šłm-ihwap-t]
```

It is derived from a verb by means of the instrumental suffix -ivono? whose suppletive absolutive counterpart is -inwop-t. Once again, then, a pseudo-absolutive marker has been inserted in the very place where a true absolutive would never go.

In some cases there is a discrepancy between the pseudoabsolutive consonant which is added and the noun class that there is another reason to assign the noun to:

| +-tunup-č-ay | 'your chest, obj.' [attested abs.: tunuc loc. form tunu-pea (not -yea)] |
| :---: | :---: |
| mi-timki-c-ay | 'your glottis, obj.' [apparently the sam |
|  |  |

This is an odd but interesting situation, and one which surely has some historical explanation. Perhaps we can reconstruct the missing facts someday. Perhaps there is a reanalysis going on from -t-oy for object formation to -toy with the pivotal case being the $\varnothing$-class nouns.

## 6. Indirectly possessed objects

Another kind of special case with regard to object marking is a phrase of indirect possession, where -niw is in apposition with a noun. In these cases, the noun is object marked but the -niw word is not:
ni-hiu ki-c-ay mí-niw 'I looked at your house.' 1s see house ABS OBJ 2 s possession
pi-mahwap-mat pa-niu-y kika-t 3p burn FUT 3s possession OBJ chief ABS 'They're going to burn the dead capitán's things.'

When -niw is acting as a lexical noun stem rather than just a part of the indirect possession construction, it does receive object marking as direct object:

```
ni-hiu mì-niu-y
1s see 2s possession OBJ
nit? ni-hiu puyu mi-niu-y Il looked at all your things.'
I 1s see all 2spossession OBJ
```


## 7. Plural objects

While the objective suffix in the singular is $-(a) y$, following the plural suffix $-m$ or $-y 8 \mathrm{~m}$, it takes the form -iy. Examples of plural objects of this type follow.

```
ni-hiu kikika-m-iy
| see chief PLOBI
'I saw the capitanes [chiefs].'
ni-hiu ni\etaji-m-iy
| see tongue PL OBJ
'I saw tongues.'
ni-hiu mi-ma-mayha-m-iy paha-m-i}
I see 2sRDP child PLOBJ elder PLOBJ
'I saw your oldest children.'
ni-hiu mi-ma-mayha-m-iy pita-m-i+y
I see 2s RDP child PL OBJ younger PL OBJ
'I saw your youngest children.'
ni-hiu-nehe pačuk-yam-i̇y
I see nehe bow PL OBJ
'I saw your bows [sic; non-poss.].'
Pa-kon-\dot{+i+ Pa-pacita-m-ìy pedropt}
3s kill past? 3s pet PLOBJ Pedro
'Pedro killed his swine.'
```

However, plurals formed through reduplication without plural suffixation take the same object ending as singular nouns, -(a)y:

| ni-hiu 3 a-ho-ho-y | 'I saw [its] caves.' |
| :--- | :--- |
| ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-mah-ma-y | 'I looked at your hands.' |
| ni-hiu míci-cia(-)y | I saw your elbows.' |

And in fact some plural objects are not formally marked plural at all:
ni-hiu pínoho-c-ay 'I saw their necks.' 1s see 3p neck ABS OBJ

There are a few unexplained plural objects which do not fit either of the two patterns above:
mł́k-an-ia-č takat-am-a
kill W AGTABS person PL OBJ?
'murderer' [people-killer]
3o-kon-ivip munu-m-i
3s kill PAST? owl PLOBJ?
'He killed owls. '[?]
Pa-mayha nacavorakam-a
3s give birth twins OBJ?
'She gave birth to twins.'
[but elsewhere nacavor akam-ity]

These may all be mistranscriptions; after all, they occur several syllables down the line from the primary stress, in an environment that may easily be either reduced in rapid speech or missed in inattentive listening.

## 8. Imperative objects

Second person imperatives have object nouns unmarked for objective case; but first person imperatives apparently take either unmarked or object-marked nouns. A similar phenomenon has been reported, for second person affirmative imperatives, for Kawaiisu
by Zigmond et al (1988: 36), for Serrano by Crook (1974b, 1976a: 9), for Chemehuevi by Munro (1974, 1978), and for Cahuilla, Hopi, Southern Paiute and some Tübatulabal imperatives by (Langacker 1977: 56) ${ }^{3}$. The Kitanemuk data do not answer the question of whether this non-object marking is restricted to affirmative sentences.

The following pairs of sentences illustrate that in affirmative imperatives ${ }^{4}$ an object noun is not marked for object case, as it would be in the indicative:

| ni-kwap-mat Pivi-y Patap-ay | Patap Pivip kwap <br> 1s eat FUT this OBJ meatOBJ <br> meat this eat |
| :--- | :--- |
| II'm going to eat this meat.' | 'Eat this meat!' |

[^42]The following hortative, or first person plural imperative, sentences, show inconsistent object marking (and incidentaily also inconsistent use of the plural imperative clitic):

```
ca-kwap-č mu-i-c-ay
1p eat IMP PL grind PN ABS OBJ
ca-punitap pavuta-t
1p play ball puffall ABS
ca-punitap pavuta-t-ay
'Let's play with an oak puffball.'
1p play ball puffall ABS OBJ
```

More examples of imperative objects follow:

| tithiuu pošan-i-t see paint PNABS | 'Look at the painting!' |
| :---: | :---: |
| papnki mitš̌iča open 2s mouth | 'Open your mouth!' |
|  | 'Open the doorl' |
| kweapki Pivip mukuk lay down this sick | 'Put this sick man to bed!' |
| tap míkonaka? put $2 s$ necklace | 'Put on your necklacel' |
| mak-an pa-č give water ABS | 'Give me some waterl' |
| tah mitha-havip put 2s RDP clothes | 'Put your clothes on!' |
| mea pup pa-č pamuk 90 take water ABS over there | 'Go over there and bring me some water!' |

This non-marking of imperative objects as objects is a surface matter relating to noun inflection, however; the true object status of imperative objects is reflected in the object clitics (when the person and number categories are appropriate to make a non-zero clitic surface):

```
Win-icip 'Cut my hair!'
cut 2-1s
puhci-ci 'Take care of mel'
take care 2-1s
punceap-č Pimí? 'Take care of thesel'
take care PLIMP these
puhceap-č ti+tqmi+-t 'Take care of the stones!'
take care IMP PL RDP stone ABS
```

None of the negative imperatives in the data have noun objects, so it isn't known whether they share the non-object-marking of nouns; however the following examples show that the clitics which surface in this construction, as in the affirmative, are the same ones one would expect in the indicatives:

| kay-cip hiu <br> NEG 2-1s see | 'Do not look at me!' |
| :--- | :--- |
| Kay-cim hiu <br> NEG 2-1p see |  |
| Kay-vim-ič hiu <br> NEG 2-3p IMP PL see | 'Don't look at us!' |

## 9. Object raising

The infinitive construction in Kitanemuk (described below in section $I$, number 2 ) is a reduced underlying complement clause. Sentences like the following, where the subject-cbject clitic appears on the first word of the higher clase, not the embedded one (as in other dependent clauses such as the second example), suggest that there is a rule of object raising from infinitives to the higher verb:

```
Pa-kim-ivin mak-ik paší-y kim-an-i-c-ay
3s come 3-1s give INF flower OBJ make VNPASS ABS OBJ
'She brought me [came to give me] [done-up] flowers.'
nip ni-ta pačukat-ay pa-hupeaha-mat
1 1sputman OBJ 3s work FUT
'I put this man to work.'
```

10. Indirect objects

Indirect objects take the same object marking, and subjectobject clitics, as direct objects:

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

One sentence which at first appears to be a counterexample to object-marking principles is not. The noun which seems to be an indirect object according to the English or Spanish translation, is really the possessor noun of a possessed noun phrase which as a whole is the direct object. (In a possessive NP, the possessed noun
is marked with the object suffix if it is an object, but the possessor noun is not.)

> ni-y ep-mat Pe-poku(-)ya-y Pama-c
> 1s carry FuT 3s lunch OBJ thatone ABS
> II am going to carry to that man his lunch.'

## 11. Lexically specified obiect marking

There are certain expressions that one might call "relational", which, though they are not verbs, require objective marking on at least singular nouns. These include "in the middle of", "on top of", and "in the company of", as illustrated below:

```
huno-vea tuk-ay 'midnight'
heart LOC night OBJ.
huna-vea pa-č-ay t+qv-č 'island'
heart LOC water ABS OBJ land ABS
```

pappi Pa-nim pa-č-ay hukah-t 'The spider walks on top of
on top 3 s walk water ABS OBV spider ABS the water.'
pappi pa-kač ps-č-ay $\quad$ 'It is on top of the water.'
on top 3s be water ABS OBJ
pa-mi pa-civap manwel-t-ay
3s mo 3s accompany Manwel ABS OBJ.
'Isabel already left [She went] with Manuel.'
puyu (pivi) tíva-č-ay 'the whole world'
all this earthABS OBJ
but cf.
puyu ni-puh-puyu-m 'all my friends'
all 1s RDP friend PL

The object clitic with 'where' in the following sentence is completely unexpected (object marking does not show up on nouns in such sentences).

```
    y+č-at-am
where Q? 3-2
'Where are you?'
```

The following two examples seem to involve a relationship of having or using something for the purpose of something else, which is not expressed through any relational word as such, but only by the presence of the objective case. The thing that is serving the purpose is in the objective.

```
ni-kłp+nap kuča-t-ay
1s pillow wood/stick ABS OBJ
'I lie on my back with my head against wall [a stick for a
pillow].'
ni-konakap ni-šqm-ivanap-č-ay
1s. necklace is scrape INSTABSOBJ
'I wear my scratcher as a necklace.'
pa-kim-ivin hik-apy
3s come 3.1s see,INFOBJ
'He came to see me.'
```

There are still other examples of what one might call obliques, of a different sort. At first glance these sentences look like they have both intransitive verbs and direct objects. But apparently the truth is that the verbs are intransitive verbs, and the object-marked forms are obliques of another type than direct object. The examples are arranged in groups based on the type of
oblique realtionship being signified-whether locative, directional, or instrumental.

## Instrumental

ni-poči +k -mat ni-pacita-y
1s ascend FUT is pet OBJ
'I'm going to mount a horse (subir de caballo).'
ni-pawkik-mat ni-havī-č-ay
is be covered FUT is blanket ABS OBJ
'I will be covered with a blanket.'
Locative
ni-ponapy ni-huna-y cf. pa-ponapy pivi-c
is hurt is heart OBJ 3s hurt this ABS
II am sick at my stomach.' 'This man has an ache.'
pi-ponapy pi-tunu
3p hurt 3p breast
'Their breasts hurt them.' [no obj.]
Pa-hakwivahik Pa-huna-y
3s injured 3s heart OBJ
'(Pedro) hurt himself in his heart/got his chest hurt.'
ni-nim Pa-hivi-y
1s walk 3s edge OBJ
'I go [walk] along the shore ... or edge.'
ni-pitahik-mat ki-c-ay
1s climb FUT house ABS OBJ
'I'm going to go on top of the house.'

## Directional

pi-šap karnip-t-ay
3p defecate meat ABSOBJ
'(The flies) are defecating on the meat.'

```
    wahip-t-ay fa-wohik kuci-t
    coyote ABSOBJ3s bark dogABS
    'The dog is barking at the coyote.'
    pi+-pa-payain tivah-č-ay
3p RDP pray earth ABS OBJ
'They are praying to God [the earth].'
Pa-tohovik-ivin ni-y
3s spit 3-1s lOBJ
'He spit on me.'
ni-puk-mat Patarahup-č-ay, ni-ta-mat patipa-vea tarahu-pea
1s take off FUT 3s? cradle ABS OBJ is put FUT big LOC cradle LO
'I am going to take him off the first cradle and put him on the
horcón [big] cradle.'
Other
kam-k-i-c-ay tuhtu-i-c
crazy TR PN ABS OBJ dance PN ABS
'last dance at wekač Sunday night' [crazed danced-thing]
Pa-koroma-y Pa-tohovik
3s phlegm OBJ3s spit
'He spit up phlegm.'
```

In at least some of the examples, the same meaning can be expressed using the locative rather than the objective case:

Pa-šip ku-t-ay $=$ Pa-šip ku-pea
3s urinate fire ABS OBJ
'He peed in the fire.'

Some locative adverbs appear regularly with object-like marking:
pa-purahik pape-ay
3s goout from there, proximate?
Pa-purahik Pipe-ay
3s goout from here
'He left from this place.'
'He left from this place.'

Pa-purahik Pape-ay
3s goout from there, distal?
but cf.
Pa-purahik kuci-t pa-ho-nop 'He left Tejón [Dog's Hole].'
3s goout dogABS 3s RDP DIR
'He left from that place.'

Forms of 'where' are truly baffling:
hayp
haypapy pa-mayha?
haypary-nehe
haypea-t-ne Pa-kač
'where?'
'Where did she give birth?'
'Where is it?'
'Where was it?'
(Some of the variation in 'where' forms may be allomorphy between $-\theta(y)$ and -e $\theta$, which occurs sporadically elsewhere.)
12. Objects surfacing in nominals and infinitives

Objects of embedded clauses which become nominals, adjectives, or infinitives sometimes appear on the surface; if so they carry normal object marking:

## Nominals

ni-pin kim-an-i-c tirtiyap-t-ay
1s know make VN PN ABS tortilla ABS OBJ
'I know how to make tortillas.' [no obj.]
ni-? $\ddagger$ n kim- $\quad$ ñ-i-c wi(-)c-ay
1s know make VN PN ABS acorn mush OBJ
'I know how to make acorn mush.'
Ki-c-ay kim-an-ipa-č house ABS OBj make VN AGT ABS 'carpenter' [house maker]

```
    Pa-mł゙čk kareta
    3s pull wagon
    'ox' (it pulls wagon)
tav-ihwap-t kiwiš-t-ay
put INSTABS pot ABSOBJ
'potrest stone' [placing instr. for pots]
```


## Adjectives

```
kavo-č-ay k+m-an-ak
make VN Adj? iron ABS OBJ
'smith'
Infinitives
yo mi-mi-mat hik mí-curip-t-ay
INTERJ 2s go FUT see, inf. 2s grandmo. ABS OBJ
'You're going to see your gr.mo.'
ni-mi hiyn-ik hukah-t-ay
1s go hunt INF deer ABSOBJ
'I am going deer hunting.'
ni-mi-mat Pu-ik ciPw-t-ay
1s go FUT take INF lime ABS OBJ
'I'm going to collect lime.'
pi-mi \etaan-ik cika-t-ay
3p go look for INF shellfish ABS OBJ
'They're going to look for shellfish.'
?a-mu-yvanap kihu-č-ay
3s shoot INST fish ABS OBJ
'salmon spear' [hitter of fish]
ni-mi Pup-ik pa-č-ay
1s g% take INF water ABS OBJ
'I'm gonna go bring water.'
ni-mi Pup-ik kuča-t-ay
1s go take INF wood ABS OBJ
'I'm gonna go bring firewood.'
```


## D. AGREEMENT

## 1. NuMber agreemeni

## Subject

Generally the personal prefix on a verb agrees in number with its subject (cf. chapter II, section B). But there are some cases in the corpus where this is not the case:

| woh Pa-pinik two 3s face up | 'Two are face up.' [in walnut dice game] |
| :---: | :---: |
| Wh Pa-kumik two 3 s face down | 'Two are face down.' |
| Pa-hičij woh 3s remain two | 'Two remained.' |

These examples, all of which contain numeric subjects, recall the lack of plural marking on some nouns modified by plural numbers (cf. chapter II, section A6). They contrast with the following sentences, where the expected number agreement occurs:
pi-yahyik puyu 'They're all finished.'
[of extinction of the Tataviam]
pi-kupmik puyu 'They are all face down.'

But recall (chapter II, section G) that 'all' may be best considered an adverb; so the agreement here may be with a non-expressed subject 'they'.

## Possessor <br> Possessed nouns agree with the person and number of their possessor, as demonstrated above in section $A$.

## Adjectives and Demonstratives

Adjectives and demonstratives generally agree in number with the nouns they modify; but a noun which is marked as plural by reduplication can count as either singular or plural for purposes of agreement:

## Demonstratives

| Pivip timí-t | 'this stone' |
| :---: | :---: |
| Pivip tiotimith | 'these stones' |
| Pim ti-timit | 'these stones' |
| patap timit-t | 'that stone (proximate)' |
| patap tiq-timiot | 'those stones' |
| pam tiotimitit | 'those stones' |
| patap gatip | 'that cat' |
| pam gatip-yam | 'those cats' |
| Pamap timitt | 'that stone (distal)' |
| Pamap tiq-timit-t | 'those stones' |
| Pivip kucip | 'this dog' |
| Pim kucip-yam | 'these dogs' |

## Adjectives

Pim kucipyam kih-kišap 'These dogs are no good.'
Pim šítšitk
tī-tịmí-t kwošipk 'These are bald.'
'The stones are red.'
jatịp-yom kwašip-kwašip-k'The cats are red.'
gatip yovopk
jatip-yam yopv-yovok
'a black cat'
'black cats'
hawnonami takat-am 'The people are poor.'

Quantifiers sometimes do and sometimes do not agree in number with the nouns they modify:
wir takotam
'lots of people'

## 2. CASEAGREEMENT

Demonstratives and sometimes attributive nouns agree in case with the noun they modify.
ni-kwap-mat Pivi- $\underline{q}$ patapa $(-) \neq$
1s eat FUT this OBJ meat OBJ
'I'm going to eat this meat.'
ni-hiu mímayha-y pačuka-t-oy
1s 2 s child $O B \mathrm{~m}$ man $A B S$
'I saw your son.'
ni-hiu mí-mayha-y pite-č-oy
1s see 2s child OBJ younger ABS OBJ
'I saw your youngest son/dtr.'
ni-hiu mímayha-mí-y pita-mí-y
1s see 2 s child PL OBJ younger PLOBJ
'I saw your youngest sons/dtrs.'
ni-puk-mat patarahup-č-ay,
1s take off FUT cradle ABSOBJ
ni-ta-mat patipo-yea tarahu-pea
1s put FUT big $\operatorname{LC}$ cradle
'I am going to take him off the first cradle and put him on the horcón [big] cradle.'

Pa-yap-nehe pa-kim-ivin mak-ik, paši-y kim-an-i-c-ay 3s carry nehe 3 s come 3 -1s give INF flower OBJ make VN PN ABS OBJ 'She brought me a (tied up) bunch of wildflowers.'

```
    pi-wakap-mat kikah-t-oy muk-i-t-oy
    3p give fiesta FUT chief ABS OBJ dead PN ABS OBJ
    'They are having a mourning fiesta for the dead capitán.'
    ni-mi-mat hik-aPy Pama-7pačukah-t-ay
    1s go FUT see, inf.OBJ that OBJ manABSOBJ
    'I am going to visit that man.'
    nahponoma-yikk-mat ni-tintin Pivi-y Panoci-t-oy
    store DIR FUT is send this OBJ boyABS OBJ
    'I am going to send this boy to the store.'
    ni-hiu n+\mp@code{P Pivi-y tqmitt-8y}
    1s see I this OBJ stone ABS OBJ
    'I looked at this stone.'
    naw ni-cicik Pimity tid-timit-t
    NEG is not like these RDP stone ABS
    'I don't like these stones.'
    ni-pamuk-un-eap pivi-y gatip-t-ay
    1s drownVNCAUS this OBJ catABSOBJ
'I drowned this cat.'
nip ni-hiu Pivi-y gatip-t-ay
    I is see this OBJ catABS OBJ
'I saw this cat.'
nip ni-hiu pimi-y gatip-t-ay
I 1s see theseOBJ catABSOBJ
'I saw these cats.'
n#P ni-hiu Pimi-y gotipp-yam-i+y
I is see theseOBJ cat PL OBJ
'I saw these cats.'
Puvea ni-mak Pimìy ti+-tim+̇-t-ay Pim+iy pa-pačukam-ìy
already 1s give these, OBJ RDP stone ABS OBJ these,OBJ RDP man PL OBJ
'I gave the stones to these men.'
```

But:

```
ni-hiu naho-č-ay numue-č 'I saw a good girl.'
1s see gir ABS OBJ goodABS
[agreement rejected]
```

(There are a few sentences with Pivip 'this' not object marked-both as a modifier of a noun and when it stands alone as object; these $\mid$ attribute to difficulty in hearing the $\neq$ glide following iP.) Adjectives don't agree in case; in fact the nouns they modify are not even object-marked:

```
nip ni-hiu yovopk takat 'I saw a negro.'
I issee dark person
niP ni-hiu namumuk ki-c 'I looked at the first house.'
| 1ssee first house ABS
```

Numerals do not allow object-marking in their noun phrases:
ni-hiu hawkup pa-pamupap 'I saw one of his ribs.'
1s see one 3s rib
colop-t pa-picakapy wheh mahač pesop tyenda-pea
Cholo ABS 3s owe ten dollar store $\mathbf{C}$
'Cholo owes $\$ 10$ at the store.'
Pa-mak-ivin papano mahač
3s give 3-1s egg five
'He gave me five eggs.'

Other quantifiers do, but like numerals, they are never objectmarked themselves:

Pa-par wir hwiski-tay.
3s drink lots whiskey OBJ
'She drank a lot of whiskey.'
ni-hiu cipk, naw wir
is see little NEG lots [I see a little, not a lot.]
puyu-vin pa-payn pa-nih-niu-y
all 3-1s 3s show 3s RDP possession OBJ
'S/he showed me all his/her things.'
hawkup ni-kim 'I made one.'
one is make
Puvea mírivik pink 'You already lost one real.'
already 2s lose real
There is no surface case agreement within pronoun copy case phrases; instead there is an appositional-type construction where the noun or pronoun appears in the absolutive alongside a casemarked resumptive pronominal form:

| Pivi-c pi-yik | 'with this one' |
| :---: | :---: |
| Pim pim-ik | 'with these' |
| po-c pim-ik | 'with that one (ése)' |
| Pamo-c pioyik | 'with that one (aquél)' |
| ni-tuhtutup-ihun pi-yik ivip | 'I want to play with this one.' |
| ni-tuhtutup-ihun Pivi-yik | 'I want to play with this one.' |

206

## E. NEGATION

The general negative word is now. The special negative word koy is used in imperative sentences.

The negative wordgenerally appears first in the clause; only an adverb or conjunction may precede it.

| now | 'No.' |
| :---: | :---: |
| now (patap) mimk | 'That isn't true.' |
| naw ni-pan | 'I don't know.' |
| now-mat mi-mi | 'You won't go.' |
| now ni-mirin | 'I can't.' |
| naw-it mi-ciup | 'Aren't you ashamed?' |
|  | [ans. follows] |
| now ni-ciu? hita-y | 'I'm not ashamed of anything.' |
| now-ham ni-muk | 'I am still not sick.' |
| [cf. hamip ni-muk I am still sick.'] |  |
| now ni-pin mi-hunup-y | 'I don't know your language.' |
| naw-vin Pe-šamin nity piycic 'Poison oak doesn't hurt me.' |  |
| naw ni-namu-ihun nip | 'I don't want to fight.' |
| now tihimik hita-y | 'I'm not afraid of anything.' [sp.] |

nip počuk, naw hita-y ni-timik
'I'm a man, I'm not afraid of anything.'
now ni-pin haypay-it 3 e-nipik
'I don't know where he died.'

Pamapy naw ni-mirin ni-tuhtup-y
'Now I can't dance.'

Waravk nip yupup, pamatan naw ni-tuhtup
'I'm crippled, and therefore I can't dance.'

| naw-ham ni-konokwap | 'I'm (still) full.' |
| :---: | :---: |
| ham pa-hikaw [sic?!] | 'He no longer is breathing.' |
| pa-naw-tus | 'He disappeared.' |
| naw puveo ni-mi-hun | 'I changed my mind' |
| mit naw mi-hu | [ ${ }_{\text {[ }}$ no longer want to go] |
|  | [Won't you burn your mouth? fishy transcr.?] |

The negative word now may also appear in other positions as part of an indefinite expression (section I, "Questions and indefinites"), where it has a more local scope. In this construction, now may be fronted, and thus separated from the indefinite stem, or not. "Double negatives" are apparently grammatical; that is, a sentence-initial now and negative indefinite later in the sentence do not yield a positive meaning; perhaps the now is copied from the indefinite expression to sentence-initial position, leaving the original now behind or not.
naw $\mathrm{Pa}-\mathrm{y} \dot{\mathrm{f}} \mathrm{c}-\mathrm{k}$ naw-hit Pa t tama 'The knife is dull.'
NEG 3s cut TR NEG s'thing 3s tooth [Its tooth cuts nothing.]
A related verb, now-tup, consists of now plus the verbalizer -tup; it means 'to disappear'.

The special negative morpheme koy is used in negative imperatives only ${ }^{6}$. It takes the form koym in intransitive commands (including ones like the 'bite' example below, where the verb may take an object, but one is not expressed). The - $m$ looks like the second person object clitic; this may be the remnant of a system of imperative case-switching, which has been described for Kawaiisu [ref. and further discussion; mention that Kit. agrees with Kaw. in not object marking imperative objects]. (There are no examples in the corpus of negative first person imperatives, nor any third person imperatives.)

| kay-cip hiu | 'Do not look at me.' |
| :---: | :---: |
| kay-cim hiu | 'Don't look at us!' |
| kay-vim hiu | 'Don't look at them!' |
| kay-vim-ič hiu | 'Don't you (pl.) look at them!' |
| kay-m šušavap ni-yijk | 'Don't you lie to me!' |
| kay-m-ič šušavap $n+$ | k 'Don't you (pl.) lie to mel' |
| kay-m kip | 'Don't bitel' |
| kay-cip kip | "Don't bite me!' |
| kay-m mea | Don't gol' |
| kay-m-ič mea | 'Don't go (plu.)!' |

[^43]| naw-t | m+-cupr-4k  <br> NEG $Q$$\quad$ 'Que no te atasques' [Don't get stuck'] |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [app. $=$ 'You won't get stuck?] |  |

## F. TIME REFERENCE

## 1. UNMARKED VERBS

Sentences which contain no tense clitic or future auxiliary (described in number 4 below) are usually translated into English with a present or past tense, or into Spanish with a present or preterite tense; I assume that their time reference covers a range extending from the present into the recent past.
ni-mi 'I go.' or 'I went.'
Pe-yu 'He sings.' or 'He sang.'
If the verb stem is reduplicated, the aspect, rather than the tense, changes; the translation is usually with a progressive tense.

Pa-yuh-yu $\quad$ 'She is singing.'

## 2. PAST

The past tense is expressed by means of the past tense clitic -uvup, or the adverb puved, or both.

```
ni-Pic-uvup
Puves ni-Pic } 'I ladled out (water).'
ni-Pic Puvea
```

Note that there are two morphemes with a sort of past reference in Kitanemuk-the clitic -uvUP and the derivational suffix -ivj (described in chapter II, section A) which are easily
confused. One finds -uvup most frequently on verbs, and -ivi most frequently on nouns, but in fact -uvup 'past' is a clitic which attaches to the first element of the sentence (whatever part of speech that is), while -ivi is a noun suffix meaning 'deceased', 'dead', 'destroyed', or 'no longer in a relationship to the possessor'.

## Past clitic -uvup

| ? a-kač-uvu? | 'It was here.' |
| :---: | :---: |
| timq-t-uvup | 'It used to be rock.' |
| ni-muk-uvup | 'I was sick.' |
| puvea-vup ni-mirin pap Pamapy naw | 'I could before, but now I can't.' |
| Deceased suffix -ivi |  |
| ni-hintup-ivi | 'my dead relatives' |
| Pa-hinup-ivt-m muki-t | 'mourners [former relatives of the dead]' |
| ni-niminugap-ivi | 'my dead or divorced wife' |

The fact that (as noted in chapter II, section B) verbs and nouns share so many other similarities of form makes the confusion of these two morphemes by the analyst all the more likely. Participles can be suffixed with -ivi, since they are nominal in character, even though they carry personal prefixes:

Pa-hu-i-vi tiva-č 'placename ['that burned before']
Pa-cun-i-vq "said when the flower is already dried out" ['sucked before']
vs.
pa-cun-uvu? 'he [hummingbird] sucked it before.'
Po-ki-ki-i-vi $\quad$ '(The stick is rat-)gnawed'

Possessed nouns can thus take both -uvup and -ivis:
ni-pacit-uvup 'It was my animal.'
ni-P acita-ivi 'my dead dog, dog that I had before'
ni-pop-uvup 'It was my trail.'
ni-pop-ivi $\quad$ 'my old trail'

The restriction of -ivi主 to nominal forms allows it to be used as a test of nominal status. Thus for example the following form

> Pa-wiropy-n-i-vi wahi-t 'placename, where the coyote played'

is apparently some kind of sentential nominal, such as 'the former playing of coyote'; and the form

Pa-kim-an-ivi ca-nihpa tiva-č 'God made the world.'
is best analyzed as 'the earth (was) formerly made by our god'.

## 3. FUTURE

There are three ways of expressing future tense in Kitanemuk. The use of the future clitic -mot is the most common; sentences containing it are translated with an unmarked English future using 'will'. English sentences with the 'going to' construction, however, sometimes translate Kitanemuk sentences with -mot and sometimes sentences with a literal verb of going, mi .

Pa-mu-hea Pa-huna-y 'He was shot in the heart.'
3s shoot PASS 3s heart OBJ

```
Pa-mu-hea-mat 'He will be shot.'
3s shoot PASS FUT
ni-mihiyn-ik hukah-t-ay 'I am going to hunt deer.'
1s go hunt INF deer ABSOBJ
```

nihniw, which looks like the verb niw 'do', with a reduplicative prefix, seems to be used in sentences with a more proximate future than $-\underline{m}$ ot sentences (see next paragraph).

## 4. nihniw FUTURE

The future auxiliary nihniw (probably related to niw 'do') occurs in a number of future sentences. Due to the large number of translations with ya 'already, soon', I suspect this is a more immediate future than the -mot future.

| ni-n ahuck <br> ni-ninniw ni-nohuck | 'I am giving birth.' <br> 'I'm about to ("ya voy a") give birth.' |
| :---: | :---: |
| po-pošip pa-niniw | 'May' ['it's going to be hot'] |
| Pošip | 'hot' |
| Pa-mopnik tameat | 'name for change of seasons' |
| 3 s return sun |  |
| Pa-niniw Pa-manik | tameat 'The sun is about to go back again.' |
| 3s FUT 3s return | sun |
| ni-pip-mat | 'I will peck a metate.' |
| ni-niniw ni-pip | 'I'm goirig to peck it.' |
| Pa-kuhkururu | 'thunder' |
| Po-nihniw Po-kuhkur | uru 'It's about to thunder.' |


| Pa-muk | 'It is waning' [of moon; 'it dies'] |
| :--- | :--- |
| pa-ninniw pa-muk | 'it is about to wane.' |

This appears, from the glosses, to be synchronically unrelated to the use off niw as an auxiliary underspecified verb 'do' (or for that matter as a possessive classifier).
haminat Pamary ni-niw Pivip Pa-nipkip
what now is $\infty$ this deadperson
'What am I going to do with the dead person?'
ni-nihniw ni-kaył?
is $\infty \quad$ is winnow a certain way
'I am doing winnowing process kayì?.

## G. WORD ORDER

There is a limit to what can be said about word order in Kitanemuk based on the present corpus, since word order was not a particular interest of Harrington's (much less the other researchers), and a number of orders were not tested in elicitation. In spite of this, there are a number of observations which can be made. Word order in general is not very restricted. The main sentential elements appear in at least the following orders: VSO, VOS, SVO, OVS (unfortunately by far the majority of the data consist of one or two word sentences). The use of the constituency absolutive may be in some way related to preferred word order (cf. section $C, 2$; but since it is only recognizable on nouns that would otherwise have no absolutive suffix, the number of useful examples is too small to allow a firm conclusion). Within phrases, numerals may precede or follow their heads; possessors may precede or follow possessed nouns; adjectives may precede or follow the nouns they modify.

Some orderings are more fixed: conjunctions, questionwords, and negative words are almost always clause-initial; demonstratives generally precede their heads; the preposition-like element -tim precedes its complement; adverbs usually precede the adjectives they modify; sentential adverbs are usually sentence-initial (but also occur sentence-finally); clitic placement
is always in second position (though it is not clear how precisely to define "second position", and even so, one has to posit movement of certain elements from other positions to sentence-initial position after clitic placement; cf. chapter II, section D), except for the future clitic which occurs infrequently in initial position.

## H. QUESTIONS AND INDEFINITES

## 1. YES-NOQUESTIONS

Questions in general are signaled by the question clitic, -it (-t following a vowel). This clitic alone suffices for yes-no questions.
míwawtik-it
$2 s$ be tired $Q$
naw-it míciup
NEG $Q$ 2s be ashamed

- puvea-t-am Pa-yohk

PAST Q 3-2 it angered
tivapeatam-it $P \dot{+m+}$ ? $\quad$ 'Are you a Tübatulabal?'
Tübatulabal $Q$ you
mí-pin-it kitanamupic 'Do you know how to speak
2s know $Q$ speak Kitanemuk Kitanemuk?'
mí-konakwap-t
2s full $Q$
'Are you tired?'
'Aren't you ashamed?'
'Are you angry?'
'Are you full [after eating]?'

Puvea-t mí-kač mí-puhciva 'Are you ready?'
already Q 2s be $2 s$ ready

## 2. QUESTION WORD QUESTIONS

Question words like hit heypey, etc., are often called in English grammatical discussion "wh-words". These usually occur with the question clitic, but sometimes stand alone, with no apparent difference in meaning. . In general the question words
must be the first word in the question clause; an exception is $\underset{\underline{f} \dot{c} \text { ce }}{\text { e }}$ 'where' (which can follow a noun). The question word haminot 'what, how, etc.', by which the Kitanemuk language was known to the Spanish as well as some other native groups (Harrington used the Spanist? version of the term, "Jaminates", more often than "Kitanemuks"), is somewhat peculiar in that it does not seem to co-occur with the question clitic (I say "seem to" because starred forms are lacking); it also has a wider range of meanings than the other question words, and it is not used in indefinites as hit and the others are (cf. "Indefinites", no. 3 in this section).

## Examples of question words



haypapj pa-mayhap
where
3s be born $\quad$ 'Where did she give birth?'
haypayep-t-am mi-cane? 'Where does it hurt you?' where $Q$ 3-2s 2s hurt [NB obj. case]
haypay-t pa-napak 'Where do they [the roads] part?' where $Q$ 3s separate
heprki, Payn-acip haypea-t Pa-kač 'Point, show me where it is.' point,IMP show 2-1s where $Q$ 3s be
hinikip:
hiniki?
'how many?'
hinipap
hinipa?
'When?'

hit(a), plu. hinim
hit, hit-at 'what?' 'What is it?'
hita-t Pamay-t 'What's new?'
what $Q$ new ABS
hita-t pata? 'What are they? What is that?'
what Q that
hita-t mittihwap 'What news do you bring?'
what $Q$ 2s tell news
pom-it hinim = hinim-it pam 'What are those?'
those $Q$ what, PL what, PL Q those
hita-y-t mà-mavip 'What are you doing?'
what OBJQ2s $\quad$ ©

220

| hita-y-t-am Pa-mak what OBJ Q 3-2s 3s give | 'What did s/he give you?' |
| :---: | :---: |
| ẏčor |  |
| ył̌̌a? visente? <br> where Vicente | 'Where is Vicente?' |
| ŋwapac yíča? <br> coime where | 'Where is the coime [peón umpire]?' |
| $y+$ š me mí-puyk <br> where? 2s girlfriend | 'Where is your girlfriend?' <br> [me unidentified; apparently a clitic, since č--> š] |
| y $\ddagger$ č (? amap) kucip <br> where that $\quad \mathrm{dog}$ | 'Where is the dog?' |
| $y+c ̌-a t-a m$ <br> where Q 3-2s | 'Where are you?' <br> [object clitic unexplained] |

hita-y-t-am Pa-mak
yičop
yǐča? visente? 'Where is Vicente?'
ŋwapac yìčas
coime where
yiš me mł̇-puyk
where ? 2 s girlfriend

$y+c ̌-a t-a m$
where Q 3-2s
[object clitic unexplained]

There is one example of an apparent question without a question clitic or question word; perhaps intonation signals that it is a question:
mítavia?
'You're speaking Tataviam?'

## 3. INDEFINITE EXPRESSIONS

Indefinites are formed by preposing the word $1+\mathrm{m} \sim$ tum ( 1 suspect the underlying form has $\dot{ \pm}$ and the rounding comes from the m) to the question word for the positive ('something', 'somewhere', etc.), or now for the negative ('nothing', 'nowhere', etc.). This may be the same morpheme as $\ddagger$ tm 'same, like', described below in
section K. (I don't have examples of all the question words participating in this (e.g. not y立č 'where'):


```
naw ni-tihmitk hita-y = naw hita-y ni-tihmik
NEG 1s afraid what OBJ NEG what OBJ 1s afraid
I'm not afraid of anything.'
```

naw-hamic-am Pa-tuhtutup 'I am playing alone.'
NEG who PI 3s play
naw-ne hamip ki-vea 'There wasn't anyone in the house.'
NEG nehe who house LOC

## 4. INDIRECT QUESTIONS

In indirect questions (described below in section I, number 2D), the question word and clitic are initial to the embedded clause:

Pimíp mí-pin hita-y-t ni-mavip 'You know what I am doing.' you 2 s know what OBJQ is $\omega$
he Prki, Payn-aci? haypea-t Pa-kač point,IMP show 2-1 where $Q$ 3s be 'Point, show me where it is.'

Wirapki tim hamina-t-nehe mithyu leave,IMP like how Qnehe is see 'Leave the door as you found it.'

## I. COMPLEX SENTENCES

## 1. CONNONED SENTENCES

Two clauses may be joined into one coordinated structure using Pop 'and, but' and/or hom $\dot{4}$ k 'and, back', both of which are also used to conjoin nouns:
puveap-vup ni-mirin pap pamapy naw before PAST is can but now NEG 'I could before, but now I can't.'

apart 2 s lie? and 1 apart 1 s lie?
'You have your room apart, and I have my room apart.'
Pa-mi-nehe ? ap now mochamik pa-kim
3s 9 nehe and NEG again back 3scome
'He went away and didn't come back'
cat and dog
Pomiphomiknip 'you (sg.) and me'
you and i
Pami ? P日p ni ? 'you and me'
you and I
wep-mahač hamak hawkup 'eleven' ten and one
pa-hi-hiu-vin, nif hamak ni-hi-hiu
3s RDP see 3-1s I back 1s RDP see
'He is looking at me and I am looking at him, too.'

A third conjoined sentence type is fairly common in the notes. It consists of two sentences strung together without benefit of conjunction. Of course these could be "run-on" sequences of separate sentences; it is impossible to evaluate the actual level of grammaticality of two sentences juxtaposed with no more [recorded] marking than a comma presumably indicating a pause.
ni-puk-mat pa-tarahup-č-ay, ni-ta-mat patipa-vea 1s take off FUT 3s cradle ABSOBU is put FUT big 10
'I am going to take him off the first cradle and put him on the horcón [big] cradle.'
numuaš takat, pucuk $p \ddagger m \ddagger p$ pin-an-a-t
good person very you know VNGNABS
'You are a good fellow, you know a lot.'
naw haini takat, wahip pata?
no longer person coyote that
'He's no longer a person, he's a coyote.'
nip pačuk, naw hit-ay ni-t $\ddagger$ hm $\ddagger$ k
1 man NEG what OBJ is afraid
'I'm a man, I'm not afraid of anything.'

One lone sentence suggests a special structure for 'but' conjunction:
pi-puyhun ni-kiman-itif naw ni-kim-an-ihun
$3 p$ want is make VNCOMP but NEG is make VNDESID
'They made me make it, but I did not want to.'
Two other sentences translated with 'but' use ?日p:
nip ni-hiu gatip-t-ay pap naw-vin pa-hiu
1 is see cat ABSOBJ but NEG 3-1s 3 s se 'I saw the cat but it didn't see me.'
ni-tun-nehe warip ? op Pa-curup $\ddagger \ddagger k$
1s chase nehe nevertheless and 3s enter 'I chased him out but he came in again.'

## 2. COMPLEMENTATION: (A) INFINITIVES

There are three types of complements in Kitanemuk. The first, I call the "infinitive" complement because it is a reduced clause, lacking tense or subject marking on the verb (although any associated object clitic will rise to the higher clause-i.e., clause boundary is lost). It is schematized below:

$$
\text { Subj-Verb } 1 \text { Verba-ik }
$$

(This seems to be one of the few cases of very fixed word order in Kitanemuk; the infinitive verb always follows the other verb.) All the recorded examples of this construction have $\underline{\mathrm{mi}}$ 'go' or kim 'come' as the first verb. This is an equi-subject construction; that is, the subjects of both verbs are the same, and the second verb surfaces with the -ik "infinitive" ending and no subject prefix. Verbs which take the $-\underline{V n}$ stem extender in derived forms take it before the infinitive suffix.

## Examples of infinitives

ni-mi-mat pu-ik ciw-t-ay $=$ ni-pup-mat cipw-t-ay
is 90 FUT take INF lime ABSOBJ
is take FUT lime ABS OBJ
'I am going to collect lime.'

mea Pup pa-č Pomuk
go,IMP take water ABS there
'Go over there and bring (me) some water.'

The examples that end in $-283 y$ may carry more of a connotation 'for the purpose of'.

## COMPLEMENTATION: (B) OBJECT COMPLEMENTS

A second complement construction, the object complement [name?], has the form schematized below and allows for both equisubjects and non-equi-subjects.

$$
\text { Subj - Verb } 1 \text { Subj - Verb } 2 \text { - i }
$$

Verb $1_{1}$ can be any of various verbs, including hiu 'see', m8py 'finish', puycup 'begin', pin 'know' and hahavik 'not quite'. The stemextending syllable $-\underline{V n}$ intervenes between Verb2 and $-i$, for some verbs; this is the same sequence which sometmes occurs in infinitive complement forms and imperatives. Following are some examples of this construction. Imperative or simple present verb forms are given in parentheses for comparison.)

| ni-hi-hiu Pa-kwap-i | 'I watch him eating.' |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1s RDP see 3s eat COMP |  |
| Puvea ni-mapy ni-t $\ddagger$ Puh-i already 1 s finish 1 s count COMP | 'I (already) finished counting.' |
| Pa-puycup Pa-tuhtup-i | 'He began to dance.' |
| 3s begin 3s dance COMP |  |
| Puvea ni-mapy ni-wick-in-i already is finish is irrigate VN.CO | 'I (already) finished irrigating.' P |



A parallel complement structure has a deverbal noun or adjective in place of Verb1. The two cases in the corpus involve the deverbal noun nihnihyit 'good at', and the adjective toho 'foolish, queer':
ni? nihnih-yi-t ni-kim-an-i pan-t-ay
1 accustomed AUG ABS is make VN COMP bread ABS OBJ
'I'm good at making bread.'
toho Pa-hugu-i 'He stutters.'
foolish 3s talk COMP

Another complement or auxiliary construction, the proximate future, is shown below; it is specific to the verb nih-niw be about to' (probably related to niw 'do'), and is also discussed in section F).

Subj. - Verb 1 Subj. - Verb2 [The order can be reversed.]

Note that there is no -i complementizer on Verb2. Examples follow.

| Pa-nih-niw <br> 3s nihniw | Pa-kuh(-)kururu 3s RDP? thunder | 'It's going to thunder.' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pa-nin-niw | pa-mayha? | 'She's just about to give birth.' |
| 3s nihniw | 3s give birth |  |
| ni-nih-niw | ni-nahuck | I'm about to give birth.' |
| 1s nihniw | 1s give birth |  |
| ni-nih-niw nip | ni-pip | 'I'm going to peck [hit] it [metate].' |
| 1 s nihniw 1 | 1 s peck |  |
| Po-nin-niw | Pa-yawufk | 'It dawns.' |
| 3s nihniw | 3s get clear |  |
| Pa-nih-niw Pa-monit tamea-t |  |  |
| 3s nihniw 3s return sun ABS'The sun is about to go back behind again.' |  |  |
|  |  |  |

The verb 了uyhun 'want, love', can be used as the matrix verb with the -i object complement type.
naw pa-w-pu-yhun ni-mi, mutup-mat ni-mi.
NEG 3s RDP? want is $\rho \infty$ still FUT is 9
'He doesn't want me to go, but l'm going to go anyway.'

If the subject of both clauses is the same, the "desiderative" suffix -ihun is used instead, and there is only one surface clause. (Note that the verb puyhun itself appears to consist of pup + -ihun.)

```
ni-pih-ihun 'I want to nurse.'
1s nurse DESID
```

I have no examples of this construction with a verb and associated noun object, e.g., 'I want to sweep the house.'

## COMPLEMENTATION: (D) INDIRECT QUESTIONS ANDINDIRECT STATEMENTS

The general question marker is 一(i)t. This clitic by itself suffices to signal a yes/no question. The question-words hit 'what', haype a 'where', etc., occur either alone or in combination with $-(\dot{j}) t$ but always as the first word of the question clause (except $\underset{\forall j \dot{f} \text { čo }}{ }$ 'where', which can occur following a noun). I have only a few examples of indirect questions. The question clause in these cases has no special marking that would distinguish it from a direct question, but the presence of the clitic 一(it)t does serve to signal the beginning of the embedded clause.

```
Pqm+\mp@code{mi_pqn[hita-y-t ni-mavip]Q}
you 2s know what OBJQ1s क
'You know what I am doing.'
he Prki, Payn-acip [haypea-t Pa-kač]Q
point, IMP show 2-1s where Q 3s be
'Point, show me where it is.'
```

There is only one example of an indirect statement (indirect quotation) in the notes:

```
nip-ne ni-hok [naw hit po-č]s
I nehe 1s tell NEG what water ABS
'I told him there was no water.'
```

It carries no unusual morphology; each of the two clauses appears as it would if it stood alone. The clause boundary is signaled by the clause-initial NEG.

## 3. ADVERBIALCLAUSES

An adverb pomotan 'therefore' can connect two clauses by marking the beginning of the second, as in the following examples (it occurs at the beginning of a single clause in the third example, but semantically at least this sentence seems a bit elliptical):

```
    Pa-paP wir hwiski-t-ay Pamatan Pa-nipik
    3s drink lots whiskey ABS OBJ therefore 3s die
    'She drank [much] whiskey, and therefore she died.'
    ni-tičiqčk Pamatan Pa-rikwatìk
    1s shove therefore 3s slip
    'I gave him a shove and therefore he fell down.'
    Pamatap ni-yunup
therefore 1s praise
'Because of that I praise him.' [apparently n#n -> P#n here]
waravk nip yupup, Pamatan naw ni-tuhtup
INTENSIVE I crippled therefore NEG 1s dance
'I am [very] crippled, and therefore I don't dance.'
```

A conjunction mahmat (which looks like a reduplicated form of $\mathrm{m} \theta \mathrm{t}$, the future clitic) is used to introduce "when" or "if" clauses with future reference.
mahmat Puvea Pa-nipik, Papi co-purahik Pipeay when already 3 s die there 1 p goout from here 'When the man dies, we will go there (?api [?]) from here.'
mahmat ni-mik pivip pačuka-t-ay, naw-mat hami-c pa-pin when is kill this man ABSOBJ NEG FUT who ABS 3s know 'If I kill this man, no one will know.'
mahmat ni-mi, naw-mat-um ni-hiu
when 1 s go NEG FUT $1-2 \mathrm{~s}$ is see
'If I go, I will not see you (anymore).'
mahmat naw ni-mi, ni-hiu-mat-um puveahpea
when NEG is 90 is FUT $1-2 \mathrm{~s}$ tomorrow 'If I do not go, I will see you tomorrow.'

## 4. CONDITIONALS

There is a small number of contrary-to-fact conditional sentences of the type $t \dot{t}-\mathrm{mek}(w a c ̌ u) S$. $S$, 'if $S$, then $S$ '. The data on this construction are scanty, but it seems that $t \dot{t}$ is the regular word for 'if', and that mekwočup ("contrary-to-fact"?) is a clitic, which has a short variant mek, perhaps conditioned by following nehe (or perhaps wǒ̌up is a separate morpheme, mutually exclusive with nehe). The clitic appears in both clauses.
tì-mekwačup pap ni-k ač,
if CONT-TO-FACT there is be
naw mekwačup pa-mik pama-y kwinaka-t-ay NEG CONT-TO-FACT 3s kill that OBJ woman ABSOBJ
'If I had been there he wouldn't have killed the woman.'
tí-mekwačup ni-cik, pa-yup-mekwaču?
if CONT-TO-FACT is stick 3 s cry CONT-TO-FACT
'If I had stuck him with the scissors, he would have cried.'
ti-mek-nehe naw pa-nipik, pa-kač-mek-nehe ki-vea
if CONT-TO-FACT nehe NEG 3s die 3s be CONT-TO-FACT nehe house LOC
'If the man hadn't died, he would still be living in the house.'

The clitic mek also occurs in one single-clause sentence, where it also has a contrary-to-fact connotation:
nikač mek op 'estuviera yo ay [would that I were there].'

One other type of clause uses the suffix -iva? 'if, because' in the dependent clause (possibly related to the instrumental suffix -Rivanap ?):

```
ni-waw-mat-um, m\dot{q-yup-ivap}
1s hit FUT 1-2s 2s cry if
'I'm going to hit you, if you cry.'
Pa-vihinik ni-rapwk-ivap
3s break 1s sit if
'The box broke when I sat down on it.'
ni-kuman-ivap ni-\etajrihrijk
1s sleep if 1s edge down
'I slid down [bed] while sleeping.'
```


## 5. NOMINALS DERIVED FROM UNDERLYING CLAUSES

There are three very common de-verbal nominal types in Kitanemuk, which were described in chapter III: the instrumental (verb base + -ihwap-士 (-ivan\&? if possessed), the agentive (verb base $+-i P a-\check{c})$, and the passive (verb base $+-i-c)$. These are exemplified below; the verb stems from which they are derived appear in parentheses.

```
riopin-ihwap-t 'shears'(< riopin, 'shear')
capcakin-ihwap-t 'winnowing basket'
(< copcokin 'winnow in a certain way.')
```

| tuhtutup-ihwapt | 'toy' (< tuhtutu 'play') |
| :--- | :--- |
| pučahk-in-ihwap-t <br> ni-pučak-in-ivanap | 'my game ball' (< pučahk, 'play ball') |
| riopin-ipa-č | '[sheep-]shearer' (< riopin, 'shear') |
| tuhtutup-ipa-č | 'playful person' (< tuhtutu, 'play') |
| riopin-i-c | 'what's sheared off' (< riopin, 'shear') |
| capcakin-i-c | '(something) winnowed' <br> (<capcakin, 'winnow in a certain way') |
| pučahk-in-i-c | '[ball] game' (< pučank 'play ball') |

I mention thes ، Iominals here, because they are clearly derived from underlying clauses, and not just lexically derived forms. In at least a few cases, other 'pieces' of the underlying clause surface with the nominal:

```
    ki-c-ay kim-an-ipo-č 'carpenter'
house ABS OBJ make VN AGT ABS
m+k-an-ia-č takat-am-a 'murderer'
kill WN AGTABS person PL OBJ?
ni-napop-ivanap pï-y+ik 'my fiancée'
1s marry INST 3s DIR
```


## 6. RELATIVECLAUSES

It is unclear whether there are relative clauses in Kitanemuk. Positing a head-internal relative clause construction is one
possible way to explain the lack of object marking on certain nouns, as in the following examples:


That is, the noun itself is not the object; the clause is; therefore object marking on the noun is inappropriate [cf. GA notes: kut frat]: One wonders if perhaps quantified NP's, which also do not carry object marking, are head-internal relative clauses (which would perhaps mean that numbers are predicative rather than attributive).

```
wir ni-hiu kuča-t I saw a lot of wood.'
```

lots is see stick ABS
?a-mak-avin ?apano mahač 'He gave me five eggs.'
3s give 3-1s og five
(For more discussion of object marking, see the sections on agreement and object marking.) The following phrases may also be
relative clauses; they are not translated as such, but are names of animal species and thus ciearly noun phrases, and are clearly derived from underlying sentences:

| Kihu-č Pa-tị pa-pišap | 'fish sp.' (pescado cabezón) |
| :--- | :--- |
| fish ABS 3s big 3s head | ['fish whose head is big'?] |
| kwašipk Pa-piša |  |
| red <br> 3s head | 'bird sp. with red head' |
|  | ['whose head is read'?] |

The analysis of the following sentence is unclear, but it may mean literally 'I am going to put myself in the tree which is holow'.

```
ni-curup-ik-mat Pap mat Pa-horopk kuča-t
1s enter TR FUT there? FUT 3s hollow tree ABS
'I'm going to put myself in the hollow tree.'
```

The following two sentences from the text in section $O$ may be examples of conjoined clauses or of relative clauses. Harrington's Spanish translations indicate conjunction, although there is no overt conjunction in either sentence (recall that conjoined clauses without an overt conjunction are acceptable in Kitanemuk, however). I have given an English gloss with a relative clause because it seems more fluent and seems to capture the meaning, given the surrounding text.
pa-pis-nehe pačuk pa-pa-ihun pa-č-ay
3s arrive nehe man 3s drink DESID water ABS OBJ llegó un hombre y quiso tomar agua
'A man arrived who wanted to drink some water.'

Pa-pic Pip pačukat Pa-iy+W=vin ni-palap-c-ay
3s arrive here man 3s steal 3-1 is shovel ABS OBJ
llego un hombre y me robo mi pala
'a man came here who stole my shovel.'
It is conceivable that further examination of the corpus will find more possible relative clauses (if the above examples are indeed relative clauses, they would be easy to overlook, given their lack of distinctive marking).

## J. MODALS

What might be called "modals" in English translation are expressed in Kitanemuk using three morphemes (at least, in addition to the expression of indicative and imperative modes already described): -k $\boldsymbol{k} y$ 'possibly' I at first analyzed as a clitic occurring late in the clitic schema (following at least $Q$ and TNS); the few examples in the corpus follow:

| hamin a-t-k ay | 'What can be the matter?' |
| :---: | :---: |
| what ABS possibly [cf. haming-t what ABS | 'What is it?'] |
| hami-c-it-k ay who ABS Q possibly | 'Who can it be?' |
| Pa-nipik hami-t-kay ${ }^{7}$ <br> 3s die who ABS possibly <br> [cf. hami, hami-c, 'who'] | 'Someone died, who can it be?' |
| mí-muk-mat-kay 2s sick FUT possibly | 'Maybe you're going to be sick.' |
| ni-muk-mat-kay 1s die FUT possibly | 'Maybe I'm going to die.' |
| wo examples with -koy show litics. In the first (a diffic inty-see dictionary), koy | a distribution uncharacteristic cult string to analyze with seems to occur in non-initial |

[^44]position (though the sentence may mean either 'Could I be dying now' or 'I'm sick; could it be now'; in the latter case the koy is arguably attached to the first element in its clause). In the second case, koy stands alone; none of the other clitics are shown doing this anywhere in the corpus, and it is not in the nature of clitics to do so. These examples suggest that it may be better to consider -koy [perhaps also -poy?-see below] an adverb ${ }^{8}$ rather than a clitic.

| ni-mukik <br> 1s samapy-t (-)kay <br> sick | [Said when you don't know if <br> now <br> Q possibly |
| :--- | :--- |
| you're going to get well or die.] |  |

Another possible clitic, -poy may be modal, expressing something like 'should', or it may be a demonstrative element relating to the objects; it is impossible to be sure from the examples.

> hami-mat ca-hunup-pay vaka-tay... 'Let's talk [we should when? FUT ip talk should? cow ABS OBJ talk?] about the cow  some other time...'
naw-pay ni-pin punitap-inwap-t-ay I don't understand NEG should? is know play ball INST ABSOBJ that game.' [?]

[^45]The morpheme -mek(woču), the contrary-to-fact clitic, can also be used in simple sentences with a modal connotation (described above in section $I$, number 4). ${ }^{9}$

[^46]> K. tim

One word, tim (or tihm?) 'same, like', expresses a relationship in a way that makes one think of prepositions; it occurs before a noun that it is declaring related to something else (but can also stand without a noun). It can't be a clitic (at least a postclitic), because it occurs first in its clause in all the examples below (except the negative one); perhaps it is one of a small class of sentential adverbs which generally occur first in the clause (now is another example of one, and so would be competing for first position with tim in the negative example). Here are all of the examples of $t \ddagger m$; any noun it appears with is in normal citation form. Note that it sometimes appears with a particle-like sequence (m)ea (sometimes attached and sometimes separated from it):

tinmea pa-par
resemble 3s brother
but:
tim patapmea ?a-par 'He resembles his brother.'
'He looks like his brother.'

| tifmea-vup resemble PAST | 'It was the same.' |
| :---: | :---: |
| tim tipy-t | 'He looks like a devil.' |
| like devil $A B S$ |  |
| tim kucip | 'He looks like a dog.' |
| like dg . . |  |
| tim nip | 'He resembles me.' |
| like 1 l |  |
| ? a-uva? mohk, tim kihu-č 'He has blue eyes, he looks like a fish.' 3s eye blue like fish ABS |  |
|  |  |
| (tim) mon-monkik 'It is (like) hills/hillocks.' |  |
| like RDP piled up |  |
| Wirapki tim hamina-t-nehe míhiu |  |
| leave, IMP like how $Q$ nehe 2s see |  |
| 'Leave the door as you found [saw] it.' |  |
| tim ni-puycup 'I | 'I started it.' [mng. unclear here] |
| like? is begin |  |
| naw tim 'I | 'It isn't the same.' |
| NEG same |  |
| Pa-tuhtup pucuk, tim pa-kapmk-ip |  |
| 3 s dance hard like 3s craz | crazy PN |
| He's dancing fast, like a crazy | y man.' |

This morpheme may be the same as the marker for indefinite expressions, $t \dot{f}(\mathrm{~h}) \mathrm{m}$. Note that in all of the examples above, as well as in the indefinite expressions, $t \dot{m}$ occurs before its(for want of a better word) complement .

## L. nehe

It is not yet clear exactly what the function of nehe is. Although Harrington wrote it as a separate word, it appears to be a clitic-that is, it positions itself in clauses like the other clitics, but after all the other clitics (except -i主と, which it doesn't cooccur with), and it triggers a rule of consonant deletion before clitics (cf. chapter I, section D, number 13). It occurs in indicative, declarative, and interrogative sentences, but not in imperatives. The fact that Harrington consistently recorded nehe as a separate word suggests that it is stressed on its first syllable, like words. It is possible that it (1) has some kind of past meaning or connotation (all but two or three instances are translated as past; but so are most of the sentences in the corpus), (2) has a discourse function of some kind in narratives (in this regard, cf. the text in section $O$ ), (3) is an evidential marker (counter-evidential marker, or something like 'on the contrary', as suggested by the consultant observation "used when denying something"), or (4) is a proposal marker (request for confirmation, like French "ne-est-ce pas"). Some of the explanatory comments made by the consultants could be construed as supporting any of these hypotheses, but they provide no clear basis for choosing between them; and unfortunately there are no starred forms or discussions of the sort "Can you say that without nehe, and if sc does it mean the same thing, and would it be used under the same
circumstances." There are a few comments in the notes that indicate that Harrington had asked what the nehe meant in a sentence; the answer, several times, was something like "it means that I'm telling you." Another sentence supports theory (4):

Pa-hipnik-nehe pama-c pappi pa-nim pa-č-ay 3s float nehe that ABS on top 3s walk water ABS OBJ 'It is still afloat, isn't it, it walks on top of the water.'

Perhaps some combination of (1) through (4) is the real meaning of nehe. More narrative texts would perhaps help solve the mystery, but in all likelihood the text in section $O$ is the only one we will ever have. Because its exact function is not clear, the morpheme nehe (and its shorter form, ne, which a speaker described as a rapid speech variant) are simply glossed "nehe" in the examples in the text. Other features of nehe include the following: it occurs only on complete sentences; is not repeated in the second of two conjoined clauses; it is optional, at least in some sentences; it cooccurs with the past tense clitic -uvup and the adverb puveo 'already', but not with future -mat (which could of course be an a mere elicitation gap); it occurs in negative sentences. The next four pages give a complete listing of nehe sentences from the corpus.

| Examples of nehe |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| ni-P ar-nehe | 'I bathed myself.' |
| ni-hiu-nehe pakwacita-y | 'I saw his tail.' |
| ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-mah-ma-y | 'I looked at your hands.' [but also: |
| ni-hiu-m míma-y | 'I looked at your hand.'] |
| ni-n onukaw-nehe | 'I swapped it.' (...'l tell someone") |
| nip-nehe ni-nopmk | 'I bought it.' |
| ni-hiu-nehe počuk-t-ay | 'I looked at the bow.' |
| ni-hiu-nehe pačuk-yam-iy | 'I looked at the bows.' |
| ni-hiu-nehe mi-pačuk-yam-iy 'l looked at your bows.' |  |
| ni-purahk-nehe ni-nini | 'I stuck out my tongue.' |
| ni-hiu-nehe míš̌ika-c-ay | 'I saw your shoulder blade.' |
| nip-nehe ni-šipk | 'I chilled it.' |
| ni-hiu-nehe mítamo-č-ay | 'I saw your knee.' |
| ni-hiu-nehe tavi-yik | I saw taviyik.' |
| ni-hiu-nehe tihpi-c-ay | 'I saw the lomo.' |
| ni-hiu-nehe mit-timki-č-ay | 'I saw your tapadera.' |
| Pa-kivaw-vin-nehe | 'He asked me for it.' |
| nip-nehe ni-tipur | 'I am counting (them).' |
| ni-tiw-nehe ni-canank | 'I opened my eyes.' |
| ci-hyu-nehe mí-Panosip | 'I saw your little finger.' |
| Pa-pokatk-ivin-nehe | 'He frightened me.' |
| ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-patipa-y | 'I saw your thumb.' |
| ni-hiu-nehe mí-pikihup-c-ay | 'I saw your breastbone.' |
| Piniok ni-ta-nehe | 'I put it face up.' [but cf. next] |
|  | 'The dish is face up.' |
| haypary-nehe | 'Where is it?' |
| now-ne hamip ki-vea | 'There wasn't anyone in the house.' |
| Pa-hiu-nehe Piviy | 'He saw this one.' |
| ni-pič-nehe tumuka | 'I arrived day before yesterday.' |
| tuk-ne ni-pič | 'I arrived yesterday.' |
| ni-hiu-nehe yivan ventapnup | 'I looked out through the window. |
| kumupk ni-to-nehe | 'I put it face down.' |
| ni-kučaw-nehe | 'Yo leñé [l chopped wood]' |
| Pip Pa-kač-uvu? | 'It was here.' |
| P日-kač-ne(he) Pip | 'It was here.' |

```
    Examples of nehe, (cont'd)
    Pa-hiu-nehe pa-mu-i
    cohonopk-nehe ni-kač
    ni-hiu-nehe mí-uykočay
    ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-waci
    n+p-nehe ni-wivanear
    n+p-ne ni-nahponom
    ni-k+m-ne tipuck
    haypea-t-ne po-kač
    Pa-kač-ne Pip
n+p-ne ni-hak
ni-hiu-ne mì-herk-in-ič-ay
n+p-ne ni-hi-hinitun
n+p-m-ne ni-yamk
n+p-ne ni-kapmk
n+p-ne ni-k+p
n+p-ne ni-cupmk
Puvea-ne ni-wiw
Puvea-ne ni-wi
Pa-hiu-m-nehe pimqi-y
Pa-hiu-m-nehe Pivic
Pa-hiu-nehe Pamay
Pa-hiu-nehe Pivi-y
n+P-nehe ni-horork
m+-yamk-it-acin-nehe
Pa-pic-it-nehe Pamea
'S/he saw him shoot.'
'yo me hinqué [I kneeled down]'
'I saw your girlfriend.'
'I saw your (finger)nail.'
'I cured him/her.'
'I sold it.'
'I made it thick.'
'Where was it?'
'It was here.'
'I told him (to make him bite you).'
'I saw your forefinger.'
'yo lo apuré [I hurried him]'
'I remembered you.'
'I got him/her drunk.'
'Lo mordi [l bit him/her/it]'
'I closed the dead man's eyes.'
'I leached the acorn meal.'
'I already made atole.'
'S/he saw you.'
'This one saw you.'
'He saw that one.'
'He saw that one.'
'I made a hole in it'
'You reminded me.' [app. 'Did you
remind me?']
ni-hiu-m-nehe mi-herk-in-ivona? 'I saw your forefinger.'
ni-hiu-nehe y\mpvan ventapnup 'I looked out through the window.'
ni-ni-hiu-nehe ni-kwoh-kwačomuk-ivap'I saw him in a dream.'
ni-pank-nehe kalesap-t-ay, ni-kwitupm+k
'I met a buggy, and turned out.'
ni-tun-nehe moc pa-curupik
'I chased the dog out, but he entered again.'
```

| Examples of nehe, (cont'd) |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| ni-yop-nehe | 'I brought it.' ("The nehe is added when I am avisando a alguno [informing someone].") |
| Pa-hiu-ne(he) pay | 'He saw that one.' [Always abbreviate to ne in quick talk; used when denying something.] |
| Pa-mi-nehe pap now moc pa-kim |  |
| 'S/he went away and never came back.' |  |
|  |  |
| 'She brought me a (tied up) bunch of wildflowers.' |  |
| ni-yap-nehe | 'I brought it ["lo traji"]' ["The nehe is added when I am avisando a alguno."] |
| Płmłp-ne midkwiock | 'tú lo chuecatis [You made it bowlegged?]' |
| Pimit-t-ne Pap mí-kač ha 'estabas en la junta' [appare | whuičupy-vea <br> ntly a question: 'Were you there?'] |
| Puvea-ne ni-w ahea | 'ya está chamuscado [It's already singed].' |
| ni-maš-nehe | 'I heard.' (add nehe when you are avisando á otro [informing another person]). |
| ti-mek-nehe naw po-nipik, pa-kač-mek-nehe ki-vea |  |
| Pa-curup-ik-nehe nip-yik, 'He entered where I was, in | ki-vea the house.' |

## M. IMPERATIVES

Imperatives have been discussed elsewhere (chapter II, section B, and chapter IV section C), but a brief recap at this point is perhaps in order, since imperatives do have some special syntactic properties.

Generally the verbs of imperatives have no subject prefix, and the subject is not mentioned in any other way either, although Pimi 'you' does appear in a very few imperatives (presumably it is optional and is only used for emphasis).Imperative sentences with plural subjects require the use of the plural imperative clitic -ič in the sentence. Imperative sentences are not tense-marked.

The same object clitics are used as in the indicative, and they precede the imperative plural clitic, (as described in chapter II, section D); however non-pronominal objects of second person imperatives are not object-marked (cf. section $C$ of this chapter).

If the command is negative, a special negative, koy is used instead of the usual naw. If the imperative verb is intransitive, the special negative takes the form koym; this extra $m$ is reminiscent of the second person object clitic; it may in some way represent the second person "understood" subject of these
commands, at least in a historical sense. 10 It would be interesting to see if the kaym is just a fossil of a former state of affairs in the proto-language, or if it is still a "live" strategy, which might be evidenced by the ability of this second person object clitic (if that is what it is), to appear on other words than koy when they appear first in the sentence. Unfortunately the data don't show any such examples; they would probably be ruled out, in any case, by the rule that generally places the negative at the beginning of sentences.

Examples of negative imperatives:
kay-cip hiu 'Do not look at me!'
NEG 2-1s see
kay-cip kip $\quad$ 'Don't bite me!'
NEG 2-1s bite
kay-m kip $\quad$ 'Don't bite!'
NEG. bite
kay-m mea
'Don't go!'
NEG go,IMP
kay-m-ič mea $\quad$ 'Don't [y'all] go!'
NBG IMP PL go,IMP
kay-m šušava? níył̇k 'Don't lie to me!'
NEG lie I DIR

${ }^{10}$ Thanks to Pamela Munro for suggesting this insight to me.

First person imperative or hortative forms use a special personal prefix $\frac{c \theta}{}$ (as opposed to the usual first person plural $c \dot{y}$ ). The objects of hortative forms are inconsistently marked with object case, and the use of the plural imperative clitic on hortatives is also inconsistent.

## N. PREDICATOR

The analysis thus far presented has overlooked a small class of morphemes for which very little data is available, but which I will mention here for completeness' sake, even though the appropriate analysis is by no means clear. The morpheme is -í, and is exemplified in sentences below, with similar forms lacking the suffix also presented for comparison.

| Pamap-i | 'That's the thing; right there' |
| :--- | :--- |
| pama-c | 'that' |
| hamina-t pamap | 'What is that?' |
| patap-i |  |
| patap timi-t | 'That's the thing.' |
| naw patap mimk | 'that stone' |
| Pivip-i | 'That's not true.' |
| Pivip, pivic |  |
| Pivip timi-t | 'This is it.' |
|  | 'this one' |
| 'this stone' |  |

I will hypothesize that the -i主 is a "predicator"-that is, something (presumably a suffix or clitic) that differentiates a mere nominal from a sentence with the nominal as predicate (thus the above sentences would actually mean 'it's that,' "it's this,' etc.). Perhaps the same morpheme occurs in the following sentence:
pucuk metap-ip pokt 'The path is very long.'
O. TEXT

The following very brief text by Angela Montes was found on a paper slip in a group of Harrington's grammatical slips at the Smithsonian. It is the only text in all the corpus. It is given here in lines which match the lines of the slips, with a morpheme-bymorpheme gloss, a phonemic transcription interpreting Harrington's spelling, and with the Spanish or English translation recorded on the slips as well my translation into English. An equals sign is used to show clitic boundary. Note the use of nehe in most lines. It seems that every event in the narrative that is not merely an amplification of some preceding event is marked with nehe in its first clause. Unfortunately the text sample is not large enough to suggest a more a more precise statement, or a clear definition of "event", or "amplification".

```
    pami nehe puju tākatam
    pi-mi=nehe puyu takat-am:
    3p go nehe all person PL
    se fueron toda la gente
    'Everyone left.'
    nuk nikatyr op
    nuk ni-kač pap
    EMPH 1s be there
yo quedé solo
'I was there all alone.'
apis nehe pät\intruk apä jhun pat\intraj
Pa-pis=nehe pačuk Pa-pa-ihun pa-č-ay
3s arrive nehe man 3s drink DESID water ABS OBJ
llegó un hombre y quiso tomar agua
'A man arrived who wanted to drink some water.'
na? ne nihak nahwit pät fr
n+P=ne ni-hak naw-hit pa-č
I nehe 1s tell NEG something water ABS
I told him there was no water
'I told him there was no water.'
ami ajom
Pa-mi Pa-yam
3s go 3s angry
se fué enojado, iba enojado
'He went away, angry.'
nigan nehe nipalartsoj
ni-\etaan=nehe ni-palop-c-ay
1s look for nehe 1s shovel ABS OBJ
yo busqué mi pala
'I looked for my shovel.'
```

```
naw ne nihju
naw=ne ni-hiu
NEG nehe 1s see
no lo encontré
'I didn't see it.'
apitsivap ninapn, nitaho,
Pa-pic-iva? ni-\etao? ni+11, ni-t+ho,
3s arrive when is father I is tell news
when my father came, lo avise,
'When my father came, I told him what had happened:
apits ip patfrukat apajuvan nipalaptsaj
Pa-pic Pip pačukat Pa-iy+iW=vin ni-palap-c-ay
3s arrive here man 3s sieal 3.1 1s shovelABS OBJ
llego un hombre y me robo mi pala
a man came here who stole my shovel.'
```

[^47]
## INTRODUCTION TO THE DICTIONARY

Due to the unusual nature of the data on which it is based (mostly archival materials, from various sources, in varying transcriptions), this "dictionary" is less than a complete dictionary; some gaps and indeterminacies are unavoidable. At the same time it is more extensive than a strict lexicon along formal linguistic principles, because listing only the unpredictable features of each entry would presuppose a more detailed understanding of the language than is possible on the basis of these incomplete records. My goal has been to provide the best possible compendium of what is known about this language from all sources. Hopefully this analysis will make more understandable what is available, and will also serve adequately those researchers who are only interested in a distillation of the source material. For these reasons, the dictionary entries give information as to the probable phonological representations, morphological and grammatical characteristics, and meaning of each entry, but also cite the transcribed forms on which these conclusions are based. Just as the grammatical section has suggested some generative-type rules but has had ultimately to settle on being more taxonomic than predictive, the dictionary suggests a formal analysis wherever possible, but also retains as much as possible of the surface facts in their original form. The meanings I give are closely based on the glosses in the sources. In some cases the meanings of glosses are unclear, either
because of ambiguities in the English or Spanish, or because I have been unable to translate the gloss; in these cases the glosses as originally transcribed are shown verbatim, so that the reader can better appreciate exactly what is and what is not clear; I have even retained such peculiarities of the original as Harrington's nonstandard Spanish usage (e.g. vini for vine 'I came'), so as to ensure that as little information as possible risks being lost due to possible misinterpretations on my part. Most of the Spanish I have translated myself, using mostly Peers et al. (1959) and Toro y Gisbert (1964) as references; Santamaría (1959) was also consulted for a few terms. For German I use Sasse et al. (1966). A few Spanish and Chumash terms well known to researchers in this area, but perhaps not to others, are left untranslated; these are defined in Appendix K.

The dictionary entries are presented in the following format:
[phonemic representation of simplest form, with morpheme boundaries if determinable] - [meaning, and grammatical category if known]. [original transcriptions and glosses, labeled with the code for each source (the meaning given by the source is given here, in parentheses, only if it differs from that given for the entry as a whole)]
[derived and inflected forms, listed as subentries, first in phonemic representation and then in the source forms on which the phonemiciation is based; listed in order of increasing complexity]
[comments regarding related forms, sources for borrowings, points of particular grammatical interest, etc.]

The abbreviations I use are listed at the end of this introduction; I also give a brief list of abbreviations which I don't introduce, but which appear in some of the quoted material from the Harrington notes.

In general every form of a stem is given exactly as it appears in the source material, except that noun and verb stems may not be cited in all their personal-prefixed forms. I try to cite a representative sampling of a morpheme in different contexts, to make its usage clear. Sentences whose structure is unclear are cited in their entirety. The following sample data and resuilting dictionary entry illustrate the format and conventions mentioned above:

## Harrington (Berkeley) notes:

```
kiwos olla (p.961)
kíwos Ollas de barro ... or stone (p.1348a)
kíwos olla of soapstone (p.1311b)
    kíwos stone olla (p.1304b)
    kiwas any olla (p.1595a)
    távihwá kiwaftaj pot-rest stone (p.1348a)
    kiwos komenits ball of mashed islay kernals (lit., "olla
    made")
        kiwas kamanim plu. (p.961)
    kiW\partial\int tamat
    wikihwat tamət cachimba (p.1238b)
```

    Zigmond slipfile notes:
    ki'waš pot
    Merriam notes:
    ke'-was kettle or vessel for cooking
    Based on this data, the following entry was constructed:
kiwiš - pot, gen., N. H: kiwos (oila [pot]); kiwos (clay or stone olla, soapstone olla, stone olla); kiwos (any olla); kiwəs kəmonits (ball of mashed islay kernels [pot-made]); kiwos kəmenim (plu.: balls of mashed islay kernels); kiwos tomət, Wikihwat tomat (clay pipe); ZS: ki•wəš (pot); M: ke'-was (kettle or vessel for cooking)
kiwłš-t-ay (obj.). H: távihwat kiwaftaj (potr-rest stone)

## DICTIONARY ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Grammatical and general abbreviations:

| (A) | (a-loss stem) | nom. | nominal |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| abs. | absolutive | obj. | object |
| accomp. | accompaniment | part. | participle |
| Adj. | adjective | pass. | passive |
| Adv. | adverb | p.c. | personal communication |
| agt. | agentive | perh. | perhaps |
| aug. | augmentative | pers. | personal |
| caus. | causative | plenm. | placename |
| cf. | refer to; compare | plu. | plural |
| char. | characterizing | poss. | possessed stem |
| comp. | complement | Q | question clitic |
| conj. | conjunction | quan. | quantifier |
| dec. | deceased | redup. | reduplicated |
| dir. | directional | sg. | singular |
| des. | desiderative | s/he | she or he |
| e.g. | for example | sp. | species (plu. spp.) |
| fut. | future | V | verb |
| gen. | generic term | VI | intransitive verb |
| gen. nom. | general nominal | VT | transitive verb |
| hort. | hortative | - | morpheme boundary |
| imp. | imperative |  | (stem-initial means |
| incorp. | incorporated form |  | stem is always |
| inf. | infinitive |  | prefixed) |
| inst. | instrumental | * | nonexisting form |
| 10 | indirect object | < | derived from (precedes |
| loc. | locative |  | historical source) |
| mng. | meaning | 1p, etc. | plural personal prefixes |
| N | noun | 1s, etc. | singular personal |
| NB | note; important |  | prefixes |
| neg. | negative | 1-2s, | c. subject-object clitics |

Lanquage names:
Eng. English
Fer. Fernandeño
Gab. Gabrielino
Kaw. Kawaiisu
Kit. Kitanemuk

Ser. Serrano
Span. Spanish
Tüb. Tübatulabal
Yok. Yokuts
VCh Ventureño Chumash

```
Abbreviations and conventions appearing in Harrington's notes
ca. approximate transcription
d.q. information sought via direct question
inf. informant (language consultant)
Jam. Jaminate (Kitanemuk)
ms man speaking (for kin terms)
nesc. nescit (does not know)
rec. reciprocal (of kin terms)
Serr. "Serrano" (that is, Kawaiisu)
Tat. Tataviam
V. Ventureño
ws woman speaking (for kin terms)
underlining prefix
```

Underlining, unless otherwise noted, indicates guesses at sequences that were illegible in the original.

## Source codes:

H J. P. Harrington notes, 1916-17, formerly stored at Berkeley
R J. P. Harrington partially revised notes from the Smithsonian ${ }^{1}$
ZS M. L. Zigmond slips, 1937
ZN M. L. Zigmond notebook, 1937
K A. L. Kroeber, forms from1925 Handbook and Kroeber (1907)
M C. H. Merriam notes, 1903, 1905
JW John W. Hudson notes, ca.1899-1902
CK C.E. Kelsey notes, 1906
VF Richard van Valkenburgh and Malcolm Farmer notes, 1934

## Alphabetical order used:

$a, b, c, c \check{c}, d, e, h, i, \dot{\uparrow}, k, k w, l, m, n, \eta, 0, p, r, s, s ̌, t, u, v, w, y . ?$ is discounted.

[^48]
## KITANEMUK-ENGLISH

papap-crow, N. H: apapa; ZS: pa•pa; ZN: pa•pa; K: a'ã papap-yam (plu.). H: papapjam papap-t-ay (obj.). H: papaptaj Papap-pea (loc.: Joaquin Flat). H: Pa? appea, papāpe, a pawpe; R: Papappea
[cf. Počaw at 'raven']
[Harrington seems to claim 'crow' shows a phonemic length



Papatuk-pea - plonm. at El Oso. H: Papatukpe ${ }^{\text {® }}$; R: Papatukpea (El Oso or someplace near there)
papaywea-plcnm.: a mountain ridge. H,R: papajwea
[cf. Pgyc; = ?日-? oy-vę 'gathering mountain'?]

Pa-c — horn, N. H: Pāt s
Pa-m (plu.). H: P ām

- ? a-c-ay (obj.). H: -p aitsaj
-pap (poss.). H: -pap, papa; ZS: papa 'horn'; ZN: papa (its horn)
[cf. Parap 'crow'; NB: "\#apapa 'horn'; \#apapa 'crow'; Harrington: "am not quite sure of the dif." ZS: PQ Pa 'horn'


Pacap-axe, N. H: Patsap
-pacap (poss. obj. [sic-no-y]). R: nitamapn nipaisap (I sharpened my axe)
[< Span. "hacha"].
Pacantcit Pa-ho-vea ? - plenm.; app. means 'X's hole'. VF: ah-cant-sita-hovie (Montes ranch in Tejón)
pacaptup - prick, VT, get a splinter,VI. H,R: patsaptup
[perh. < Pac 'horn'; perh. influenced by Span. "hacha"]
Pacaw kika(-)yik - west, dir. ZS,ZN: patsáwkikajuk
-paci-t - pet, domesticated animal, $N(A)$. H: -patsit, -P àtsit (pet); ni-p acit-mat (it will be my animal); ni-pacit-uvu? (it was my animal); R: -P àtsit; M: ah-ah'-tse-tom'-mas ko-tse (his dog); ne-ah'-tsit ko-tse (my dog); moo-ah'-tsit ko-tse (your (singular) dog); poo'-ah-tsi tom-mas (their (plural) dog) [the tom-mas part of these expressions is puzzling]
-pacit a-m, (plu.). H: -Patsitam, -Patsitam; R: apátsitama (his swine)
-Pacita-y, (obj.). H: -Patsitaj, -Patsitaj, Pätsitaj; R:
-P ätsitaj (horse or dog, obj., poss.); R: - P âtsit aj (my dog or horse, obj.)
-Pacit a-m-i (pets, obj.). H: -Patsitamo
Pacita-ivi-č (dec.). H: Pātsit ajvat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (dead dog)
-P acitap-ivi (dec., poss.). H: -P ätsit apjva (dead dog, poss.)

- Pacit ap-iví-m (dec., poss.). H: - Pātsit apjvam (dead dogs, poss.)
-pacita-vap (by horse). H: nimi nipātsitava? (I'm going to go by [my] horse); R: -Patsitavap, -pätsitavap (on horseback)
[NB: no stem-final a before clitics]
-Paci-ivanap - deer headdress (poss. of an inst. nominal). H: Pápátsəjvanapo

Pacot-k-i-ni-vea-yik ? — plenm.: ridge in Tejón creek canyon. VF: ah-cuh-kin-ne-who-yook (ridge at head of Tejón Creek canyon just southeast of the school)

Pa(-)cotki-pea - plenm.: San Fernando mission site. H, R:
$P$ ats ot kepea (San Fernando mission site; means "wet" $=F$. pafekya, pafen:)

Pacotkíyam (Fernandeños). H, R: Patsatkajam [related to cotik 'sink in sand, of water'?]

Pačawa-t, Pačava-t - big crow, raven [app. = irreg. aug. of 'crow'], N. H: Pat fawat, Pat frawat, aflrawat, affrawat, at fravat; ačaw at (aug.). ZS: P ačawat'; ZN: Pačaw at
pačava-kay-c (plenm.: Crow Mountain). H: atfravakajts (Crow Mountain)

Pačaw - miss (the mark), V (no examples with overt objects). H: Pätfraw; R: ātfraw (miss (one's target in shooting))

Pačim-č ? - head louse, tick, N. H: Pat $\int \partial m^{2} t \int r ; K$ : adjumts (louse) - P ačim (poss.). H: -P at $\int \partial m,-$ - at $\int$ rom

Padovea - adobe. R: Padovea (adobe), also azovea. Said in Spanish, for adobe.
[relates to -ea vs. -e., described in chapter I, section D, part 15]
[< Span. "adobe"]

P oh - take a bath, VI. H: Pär, par; R: Par, Pär Poh-ik (inf.) H: Pahik; R: Pahik [NB: *Pahanik?]
Pah-ivi (nomoinalization with dec. suffix). H: a Pähivo (s/he bathed; "on tākutsa ${ }^{\text {a aihivy" [apparently Harrington was }}$ trying to verify the latter form, and in response the
consultant gave a similar form to part of the suggested cue; the deceased suffix, rather than the past clitic, shows this to be a nominalized form of 'bathe']) ah-io-č (preferred), aq-iwhap-t (animals bathing place). H: ohiotfr (preferred), oqiwhapt; R: aqiwhapt, aqihwapt, ة̈hiatsr (bañadero [bathing place of animals]) Pa-pah-ea-vea (plcnm: Winters Ranch-means bear bathed there). R: Papäheavea - Pah-mat (fut.). R: -parmat. [NB: not *? ahomat or *? ahmat] poh-an (VT: bathe someone, wash something, baptize, serve as midwife). $H$ : P äh an mí-ah(-)ea-y (your bathing pool, obj.). H: moāheaj

[^49]Pahk an a-m (plu.). H: Paqk aram, Pahkaram ? ahkana-c-ay (obj.). H: Pahkanatsaj

Pahkwik - here [or near?]. H: kiva Paqkwok (come here); R: ahkak kiva, jorark ahkwok (arrimate! [draw near])

Pa-kappip - the bunch of feathers on top of the plumero [hand-held ceremonial feather ornament], N. R: pakappip
[cf. kohpišokam 'Yokuts from the Tular']
paka-t - pespibata box, N. H: äkat (pespibata box: a cylinder to carry it in-1" in diameter)
paka-m (plu.). H: päkam
-Pakap (poss.). H: -āka?
Pa(-)kap - fruit (gen.), N. ZN: paká (acorn); ZS: pakáp (fruit, gen., on the tree)
pakačopap - oak moss or mistletoe, N. H: pakat fropapo
Pakikitam, Pakikitam-yam - Kitanemuk(s), N. H: Pakikitam, akikitam, akikitam (Kitanemuk(s)), wór ákikitamjam (Kitanemuks [only token containing this form—perh. only used as plu.]; R: Pakikitam (Kitanemuk(s)); ZN: Pakikit am (Kitanemuks); ZS: Paki'ki'tam (Kitanemuks); VF: aquitaum, ah-huh-keet-um (name of the [Kit.] tribe)
pa(-)kopona - mistletoe from sycamore (used for abortion) or juniper (used for asthma), N. ZN: pakjpona (mistletoe from sycamore-Phoradendron longispeum Trel.- or juniper; first used for abortion, second for asthma)

Pákúrepeŋ — plenm.: Newhall. H: Pákưrepeŋ; R: ? \&kurepen

Pakutucyam - tribename: Kawaiisu. H: iakututsjam, akututsjem (tribename: Serranos; = V. P oloxt polole); R: P akutut jom; ZN: Pa•kutuciyam, Pa•kutucyam (the Kawaiisu, [called] "Serrano", "Piute"); ZS: Pakutuč(i)y am (the Kawaiisu; Span. "Serrano"); K: agutushyam, agudutsyam, akutusyam (name used by the Kitanemuk and Vanyume Serrano for the Kawaiisu (that is, Tehachapi or Caliente) Indians)

Palf alf a P - alfalfa, N. H: Palf alfa
[< Span. "alfalfa"].
Palmendr a - almond, N. H: Palmendra [ligature under dr] [< Span. "almendra"].

P alčunukš - app. = Europeans, including Sonoreños [Mexicans from Sonora] and Americanos. H: pałt funuks [VCh?]

Palvertigo - apricot, N. H: Palvertigo [< Span. "alberchigo"].

Palwodon - cotton, N. H: P alwołon
[< Span. "algodón"].
Pam - they, those. [cf. ?amo-c 'that one']
Pamap, Pama-c - that (distal), demonstrative pronoun. H:
Pamap(o), Pamats, Pamac; R: Pomats, pamats ([it]), pamats oki (his house); áma? (he, that one); amotṣ; amats pojək, pojək amots (con aquél [with that one]); amatsovan amak (that one hit me); amar tamat (that stone); ama? tałamat (those stones); amats ahihjuyan nehe (that man sees me); amop jotap (that cat); amats oki (his house, that one's house); amap aki (that is a house); ZS: Pam( ) a P, Pam ac (he, she); M: ah-mah, ah-mah' (that); ah'-mah' (he (him, she, or her)); K: ama-ts

Pama-y (obj.). H: Pamaj; R: Pamaj; amaj, amaj; amajot [with question clitic]; nop nihjuh amaj natəptaj (l looked at that cat)
Pamapi (That's it). H: Pomapo
Pam (plu.). H: Pam (they); R: am; aməp pahihjuvan nehe (those see me); am papāt frukom (those men); am gatopjam (those cats); am nikiki, am nikiki (those houses of mine [literally, 'those my houses']); amovan pomək (those hit me); pəki om = om poki (house of those); M: ah-mŭ-mah'p (the same [those same?])
Pami P (plu. obj.). H: Pameap; R: Pamə; nihihjuva amə (l saw them); ahjuwa amə (he saw them); nəP ninju aməj yatapjamə (l looked at those cats)

Pamahave? - Mojave, N. H,R: Pamaqava?
pamahavap-yam (plu.). H,R: pamaqava pjam; ZN: pamaxava (Colo. R. Indians, maybe Mojaves); K: amahaba - tribename: the Mojave of the Colorado River, welcome guests among the Kitanemuk, and frequent trading partners
[< Mojave hamakhoav(o) (P. Munro, p.c.)]

Pamap(-)pea - same? H: Pamáppea (el mismo hombre [the same man]); R: amápea (el mismo (hombre) [the same (man)])

Pamariyo P - yellow, Adj. H: Pamarijopo, Pamarijop; R: amarijop, amarijop, ámarijop, ámarijo ?
[< Span. "amarillo"].
Pamat an — therefore, Conj.. H: Pamatan; R: amatan
Pamawiš — plant sp.: Berula erecta (Huds.). ZN: Pam áwiš [= mawiš?]

Pamapy — now, Adv. H: Pamapj, ni-muk utkamapjtkaj ("said when no sabes si vas a sanar o morir..." [said when you don't know
whether you'll get well or die; perh. = 'Am I going to die now?']); R: pamapj, amapj
pamopy-ik (just recently). R: amajpik nikim (ahora no mas vini [I just came])
pamapy waco (today). H: Pamapj watso
[related to mopy 'finish'?]
Pamay(-)t — new. H: Pamajt; R: amajt; M: ah-mit, ah-mi't
Pamcit a - nephew, niece, $N(A)$.
Pamcit - nephew, niece (of man or woman)(poss.). H:
-amtsit; ZN: -Pamcit (niece) [through sister?]

- $\boldsymbol{P}$ amcit a-m (plu.). H: -amtsitam
- Pamcit a-y (obj.). H: -amtsitaj

Pamihik - forget, VT. H: Pamihək; R: Pamiphək
Pamipikita(-)ve - plenm.: Tejon Creek (means it goes widening and narrowing). H: Pamipikitave; R: pamipikiptavea (all the arroyo below EI Monte)

Pam+hkini(-)y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ — plenm.: mountain in Tehachapi region. H : Pamaqkinijak
[perh. < mik 'kill']
Pamu-c - rib, N. H: Pamuts
Pamu-m (plu.). H: pamum
-pamupap (poss. [irreg.]). H: -pamupap
-pamupap (poss.obj. [irreg.]). H: -pamupap
pomu-c-ay (obj.). H: -pamupap, pamutsaj
Pamuci - coarse (of meal). H: Pamutsi
Pamuk - over there, Adv. H: Pamuk, Pamuk, Pamu; R: ámuk; amuk nikat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (I live there); amuk akatfr (there s/he is; "cannot say
ap here, for it means something like 'here'"); ZS: Pa'muk (over there); M: ah'-mook, ah-mök; me-ah-ah'-muk (go away); K: amuk

Pamunakiniv $\ddagger$ - plenm.: sierra where the bird lived that boiled people. H: Pamunakiniva, pamunaqкinipa. R: amunaqkinijak (sierra due east of $p$ ätfr awvapea [Castaic Lake])

Pamuvayup - to or on the other side. H: Pamuvajo po, pamuvajup ipey amuvayup-nup (from this side). H: ipej amuvajupnup

- Pana - brother-in-law, poss. H: -pana; ZN: -pana
-p an a-m (poss. plu.). H: param
-p ana-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: -panatsaj
Panapk - open, Adj. H, R: Panapk; M: ah'-nok, ah'-nuk (open)
papnk (VT). H, R: papnk (open, VT)
papnki (imp.). H, R: Papnki
[cf. copnak 'open eyes']
Panih-t - ant sp.: big, red, applied to body for pain, N. H: Panəht',
Panaqt, Papeht. ZN: Pa:nat‘ (big red ant-eat for pain) Panih-m (plu.). H: Parem

Pantap - ritual leader in a ceremony, N. H: Pant ap [<Chumash pontop initiated members of a ritual cult which served the siliyik [council of ritual officials]' (Hudson et al 1977: 110)].

Pantipsnekepy - [mng. not clear] H: Pantipsnekepj (cachora [=
Span. cachorra 'cub'?]; "nesc. V. Porihokok") [< Chumash?]

Panucip - baby, small, little finger, N. H: Panatsip, panuts i (baby); Panopsi [Harrington comment: "have difficulty telling

panopsip (small), nipanupsi (my little finger), anđsip (baby) [All three of these forms were provided by Eug., which suggests $\underline{\sim} \sim$ is and $\underline{\underline{n}}{ }^{\sim}$ o alternations are not dialectall; ZS: Panu si (small); ZN: Ponusi (small); M: ah-no-se-keets (sweat house [app., little house]), an-no'-se ho'-ko-pe-tat (small mush or soup bowl (coiled)), an-no'-tse (baby), an-no'-se, ah-noo'-se (small); too-mut an'-noŏ-wus-se, ah-noo'-se-tŭ-mut (small rock (stone)); K: andsi (small)

Panucip-yam (plu.). H: Panufsipjam (babies); R: Panohnopsi (they're small)
Pa-nosi-c (little finger). H: Panosits
-Panupsip (poss.). H: nipanupsip (my finger)
-Panosip (poss. obj. [irreg.]). H: məPanosip (your finger, obj.)
Panoci-t-ay (obj.). H: Panotsitaj (little boy, obj.)
Pa-noh-nopsi (small, they're small). H: anunusi takatam (dwarves of myth); panohnopsi; R: Panohnopsi (small, small ones])
Pa-noh-nopsi-t-ay (obj., plu.). H: Panohnopsitoj
Pajaya - all right, o.k. (agreement token). H: Papaja (all right, o.k. [agreement token; note: Harrington heads slip " $\mathrm{g} \mathrm{Z}_{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{a}^{\text {" }])}$

Pajk - meet someone or something, V. H, R: Papクk, Pajk
Pa(-) norkip - tumpline, N. H: Pajorkə? (forehead strap [app. = tumpline])
[cf. -noho 'neck']
papopawe? - [mng. unclear] H: papopawepe (mng. unclear-has to do with pitch), o(-)opawepe (its [deer's] marrow? [mixed with piñon pitch to make ink])

Pap - and, same?, but; possibly a relative clause marker. H: pap; R: mohmohopk ap aki[m] ( He comes to intrude on us); nitun nehe warə? ap atsurupak (I chased him out, but he came in again);
nəP ninjugatəPtaj ap nawvon ahju (l saw the cat but it did not see me); áməp ap nop (you and I); M: ah-mŭ-mah'p (the same)

Pap - there, Adv. H: Pap; R: pop; nuk nikat fr op (I was left [there] alone)
apan (right there). H,R: apan
apeay (from there). H: apeaj
Papacicin - plenm.: boggy aguaje at or on same arroyo as tikocij.
H: papäfsitsin; R: papatsitsin (aguaje near ofakojak, La Paleta.)
papanayupnt - day after tomorrow. R: apajajupna
Papašap - dewy. H: papalrap
Pap+hi - string of beads wrapped around head to hold hair. H : P ápáhi

Papop, Papopip - soon, Adv. R: apopip (ahorita [right now; very soon]); apop nimi (ahorita voy ir [l'm going soon])

Papyop - celery, N. H: Papjo ?
[< Span. "apio"].
Por [cf. ? oh 'bathe']
Parara - name applied to Kawaiisu, N. R: Parara (name applied to Serranos [Kawaiisu])

Pararop — plow, N. H: Parârop (plow; = jorinihwapt)
[< Span. "arado"].
Par awku-č - crane, N. H: parawkut fs
parawku-m (plu.). H: porawkum

Paropmik - flame up, VI. H: Paropmok, Paropmak; R: Paropmak, Paropmuk; M: ah-ar'-ro-muk, ah'-ro-ah-ro'-e, ah-ah-rum-ko (flame or blaze)

Paros-t-ay — rice, N, obj. H: Parostaj [< Span. "arroz"].

Parupk — upstream, Adv. H: P arupk; R: arupk; M: ar-rö'k'
Pašaykuya - nit, nits, N. H: pafrajkuja, Pafrajkuja
Pašar $\mathfrak{i n}$ n-n $\ddagger$ - hoe, inst. H: Pajrarənnə
[< Span. "azadón"].
Po(-)šłkwiri —fiedgeling, N. H: Pasrakwiri
Pašiłkwiri-m (plu.). H: pofokwirim
Pašininap — rainbow, N. H: pafənina ?
Pašova - be rotten, V. H: Pajrova, pàrova; R: áfriva (be rotten, of wood [= head of page with a $P$ afrova, the log is rotten; the heading is handwritten; perh. second vowel is an error?]

Patakuciva - whirlwind, N. H: Pá agutsiva
Patavatava - butterfly, moth, N. H: Pātavatava, Pāfavatava (butterfly), Pat op ot of o (moth)
patavatavap-yam (plu.). H: pāfavatavapjam
Patavatavap-t-ay (obj.). H: Pātavatavaptaj Patavatava-k+m-an-i-c (butterfly figure). H:

## ātavatavakamanits

Pat+p(-)a - big. H: Patəpa, Paiəp; R: Patəpa (big, be big), Patəpa təmət (big stone, obj. [sic]), atəpa kits (a big house); ZS, ZN:

Patopa (big); M: at-too'-ah, ah-tŭ-ah (large); at-too'-ah (thick [by measure]); too'-mut at'-too-mah, tŭ-mut-ah-tŭ-ah (big rock); K: atü a (large)

```
Pat+h-t+po(plu.). R: otohtəPa tołomət (plu. obj.)
```

Pat+pa-vea (loc.). H: Patopàea
Pat+pa-c (thumb). H: Pato Pats
-patipa (thumb, poss.). H:-patapa
-pat+pa-y (thumb, obj.). H: -patapaj
PatPqšwinisc - man with three or four guardian spirits (attained through fast), N. H: Pat?əfwanas.
pat $\ddagger$ w ane - one "real" [one measuring around hand of bead money]. H: Pałow ane

Patolip —mush, N. H: Pałolipi
[<Span. "atole"].
Pa(-)tupcip - purgative. H: Patuptsip (una purga [purgative]) Patupci-m (plu.). H: atuptsim

Patucit - flea, $N(A)$. H: Patafsit; R: atutsit (pulgas [fleas]); K: adutsit

Patucit-am (plu.). H: afafsitam
Papuy kisa(-)y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - south. ZS,ZN: Papúy-kisayuk
Pavana(-)č - reed sp.: Rumex crispus L.; edible seeds. H:
pavanat fr (reed sp.; made raw bread from seeds); ZN: pová'nac
(Rumex crispus L. ... seeds eaten).
Pavehap-yam -beas, N. H: paveqapjam
[< Span. "abeja"].
Papviki - here comes (presentational word). H: Papviki

Papvimiyki (plu.: here come ...). H: papvimajki
Pavuha - needle, N. H: pávúqa
[< Span. "aguja"]
Pawčivina(-)č — plant sp.: Mirabilis froevellii (Behr) Greene;
ground root used for swellings, sores blisters. ZN: Pàwčiva'náč
Pawkik - be covered (with a blanket), V. H: Pāw кәк
-pawkik-mat (fut.). H: Pāwkəkmat
pawohw or ap-pea - plenm.: a cove between two points. H: pawohworappe
[perh. < woh 'two']

Pay - interjection. H: Poj, Pāj (interjection: vaya, oh woe) [< Span. "ay"].

Pay - harvest, gather, V. H: Paj (harvest islay); R: Paj (gather chia seeds)

Pay-ik (inf.). R: ajik. (inf.: to seed-gather; optional obj. = e.g. chia)

Payain — pray. (that prayed to is in obj. case.). H: Pajoən, Pajāən
Pa(-)yak — white. H: Pajapk; R: Pajopk, ajok (it is white), aja?kowat (será blanco [it's probably white', or 'it will be white']); japkat (is it white?); ZN,ZS: Pa•yak; M: i-yah-kik, i'yok, i-yah-kik (white); ah'-yah-kik, toh'-weets (white paint); K: äya-k; aiaikik-am (white man)

Payakho ? [mng. unclear]. H: pajak'a (ubari prieto [dark] or any kind)

Payaŋik — enramada. H: Pajaŋik'

Payap - soil sp.: fine, black and white, N. H: Pajop’
[< Chumash poyip perh. meaning 'alum' (suggested by J. Johnson, p.c.)]

Payawitup(ip) - accustomed (?). H: Pajawətup(ip) (impuesto) [idiom < yow 'grasp'?]

Payawcik ? - wet. M: i-yaw'-suk
Payayakahe(-)ve - plenm.: a hill by El Comanche. H: Pajajakaheve [perh. = 'spotted with white'? cf. Poyok 'white']

Papy-c ? — a type of soft, white rock, N. R: Pajts
papy-vea (loc.: sierra east of Tejon ranchería). R: papjuea
Pa(-)y干wha(-)t - a type of basket (?), carrying net (?). H:
Pajowhat
[inst. nom. < yow 'carry'?]
Payk - lap or lick, V. H: Pajk, Päjk [versus poy-ik 'harvest, inf.'] Payk (imp.). H: pajk
Payk-mat (fut.). H: Pajkmat
Paykikah(-)y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ — plenm: sierra in front of Eugenia's house. R:
Pajkikahjak
[< Pojok 'white'; = 'white mountain'?]
Payn - show someone something, VT. H: Pajn Payn(-)acip (imp.: show me). H: Pajnatsip [cf. tip poyn 'give an omen'].
ca ... ič - hortatory verb affix combination: 'let's __'. H: tsa ...
$\mathrm{t} f \mathrm{r}$ [many examples throughout; but one is odd in that it contains
future: tsamimatut fr]; R: -ca (hortatory), co- (indicative) ("2 entirely different prefixes; this has never been clearer to me than from words which Magd. [Magdalena Olivas] said today"); R: hitajt ama'j tsakwap (qué vamos a comer [NB: tsa, not tso], aninhiw tsakwap (vamos á comer), tsokwapmat (vamosá comer); M: san-neu poo-yu, tsoo'-neu (ours (plural)), tsah'-ahtsit ko-tse, tsoo-neŭ ko-che (our (dual) dog)
cap - tea, N. H: tsap
[< Span.? ultimately from Chinese, perh. via Spanish of the Philippines (suggestion of W. Bright, p.c.)]
capa-č - a type of basket: small openwork basket for collecting acorns, N. H: tsápatr, tsápatr (small openwork basket for collecting acorns (= V. tsája)); ZS: cápač (basket permitting water to pass through); $\mathrm{ZN}: c$ cáa'č (basket allowing water to pass through), capač (not a winnower; to bring water in, if lined with mud as in story)
cacakin-ihwap-t - winnower. ZN: cácakiniw àt
[cf. cacakin 'winnow']
cacakin ? capcakin ? - winnow in a certain way: sifting through winnowing basket, V. H: tsatsakin, tsaptsakin, tsatsakin ca( P ) cakin-inwap-t (inst.: winnowing basket for this purpose; also = something put over baby lying in cradlebasket, to shade it [this suggests a gloss of "filter/filter winnow" might be appropriate]). H: tsatsakinihwat [1st a stressed or not \& followed by glottal or not, second $t$ and $n$ long or not, glottal before $t$ or not-check combo's], tsatsakiniwhat; ZS: các•akinihw át (winnower [NB stress]) ca(p)cakin-i-c (part.: winnowed). H: Puvea tsaptsakinits (it's [winnowing's] finished now) [perh. related to cokohik 'shift to one side']
cacaw( - )pip - kill from afar, V . (answer to how they say a medicine man becomes invisible). H: tsatsawapip [perh. < redup. form of csč + pip 'throw, hit']
cs-č — shaman, N. H: tsaţ, t $\int$ rat $\int r$, t $\int \mathrm{r}$ ät $\int \mathrm{r}$, tsaht $\int$, ts ät $\int \mathrm{r}$ t $\int \mathrm{rät} \int \mathrm{r}$ (witch-doctor, brujo [witch]); ZS: ca•č, ca•č (doctor); ZN: ca'č, cáč (shaman-good or bad; doctor); JW: tsatc (charman or medicine man) ca-m, cah-ca-m (plu.). H: tsáht sam; ZN: ca•m ca-č-ay (obj.). H: tsät fraj ca-ču (VI: sing). H: Es at frupu, tsāt frup (sing, said of person or chicharra [cicada]); R: tsat frup (sing); ; ZS: ca•čup (sing); ZN: ca•čup (sing) cačup-mat (fut.). R: -tsat frupmat cačup-vup (past). R: -tsot frupvup caču-hyìt (shaman's assistant singer). R: tsat fruphjot (singer); ZS: cáčuy-hut; ZN: sáčuyhyut (the singing assistant [to shaman]); M: tsah'-cho-hut (a singer) cačup-hyí-m (plu.). R: ts at fruphjam [note hy in sg. and plu. inst.; perh. devoicing due to preceding ??]
caču-i-č (pass. nom.: song). M: tsah'-choo-itch (a song); K: tsad-uits (sing [sic; app. 'song'])
caču-he a-i-t )(nom.?: singer or song). M: saw'-tro-hea'-it (a singer); saw'-tro-hea'-it, (a song)
cahakap-pea ni-kamik? - it seems that l'm drunk. H: tsahakappea nikapmok, tsahakaptom (parece [it seems]); M: tsă'-hok (perhaps)
cahawik - be lean, V. H: Zsahawak
cahwk-i-t - lean (of person or cow). H: ts aykit
caw-c awk-i-m (plu.). H: ts ayts awkim
cahivi - the effigy or mono burned at the ceremony for the dead. H:
tséhiva, ts áhiva, tsahiva
cahiva (obj. [irreg. or mistranscribed]). H: tsahiva
cahiva-m (plu.). H: ts ahīvam
cahu-c - earring, N. H: ts ahuts cahu-m (plu.). H: ts ahum pokih (earring's house [! mng.?]) -c ahu (poss.). H: -tsahu, -isahu, -ts aqu (harete [sic] ... earring)
-cah-cahu (poss. plu.). H: ts ahts ahu
caka-c - foot, leg, N. H: ts äk āts; M: ne-sah'-kah, ah-tsah ${ }^{\circ}$-kah
(foot), ne-tsah'-kah (thigh); K: a-tsaka ([his/her] leg, foot) caka-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
-caka (poss.). H: tsaka, ts äka; R: aŋot frkip atsaka (his leg is cut off)
-cah-caka (plu. poss.). H: Patahtsaka war (lots of feet; centipede-not real name?)
-caks-y (poss. obj.). H: -tsäkaj, nita pappi nitsakaj (l cross my legs), paqwanqwahnak hawkup atsakaj (he hops on one leg); R: Pamonikak atsäqaj, Pamonikək atsaqaj (he kicks up dust with toes as he runs [I don't understand app. obj. case here]); nite pappi nitsakaj (I cross my legs)
-cah-caka-y (plu. poss. obj.). H: -tsahtsakaj; R: nikwapjk nitsahtsakaj (1 spread my legs apart)
caka-c (obj.). H: tsäkatsaj
-caka-nt (poss. inst.). H: nimimat nitsakana (l'm going on foot-not on horseback or in buggy); R: tsakana (on foot)
cakacakat - crow sp. (the kind that says ŋ११৭१ кq৭৭१৭). H:
tsoretsacat
cakacaka-č - yellow bird ("canario" [canary]). H: tsákats akat fr
cakahik - shift to one side, VI. H: tsakāhak (ladearse)
cakopk - shifted to one side (Adj.). H: pauvap tsakapk (his eye is ladeado [shifted to one side]); R: tsakapk (estar ladeado [be shifted to one side]) cakapkikah-yik (plcnm.: a spring; means ladeado [shifted to one side]). R: tsakapkikah-jok [perh. related to copcokin 'winnow']
cakankik - small red beads sold by Americans. H: tsákaqkik, tsákaqkiks [sic] (a single red bead or pomegranate kernel) [sounds like a likely candidate for borrowing; small red beads with white inside were sold by Tejon soldiers to Indians (J. Johnson, p. c.)]
cakanahist - a game. H: tsakahaniṣt [this may be the walnut dice game; form from Angela Lozada] [Kit. or Yok. word?]
cakepe - plant sp., N. H: tsáke?e ts áképè ("3 syllables-last e is not ${ }^{\prime \prime}$; romerillo [Artemisia californica, an aromatic shrub (Librado 1977: 118); [tie flowers to head for a headache; also, smoke of this and wikwat together is a cure for dreaming of dead people]; green romero, or romerillo) cah-cakepe (plu.). H: ts ahts ake pe
caktacin-ihwar-t? - [mng. unciear]. H: tsaktatsiniwhat ("=V. tsaja")
[something to do with cacakinihwat 'winnowing basket'?]
cakwina-č, cakwina-t - bird sp.: madrugador [early riser] or correcuervo ([kingbird?] "inf. has seen them chase a hawk away"). H: tsakwinat $f r$, ts ákwinat fr, tsakwinat cakwina-m (plu.). H: tsakwinám, tsakwinám, tsakwinam
canapnk, canahapnik, capnik ? - open one's eyes, V. H: Zs enank, Zsanahapnok, tsapnok; R: nitsanahapnok = nitsapnok = niapnk (I open my eyes), nap nehe nits an ank (I opened my eyes)
canapnk (imp.?). H: ts anapnk (imp.-?- = Papnkil), R:
tsanapnk ([unglossed; app. open, of eyes])
caniman - Chinese person, N. H: tsãniman (Chino); R: tsãniman (Chinaman)
[< Eng. "Chinaman", perh. adapted to cop 'tea']
cana-č - iguana, N. H: tsånat $\int r$ (cachora with blue belly and black back)
caja-m (plu.). H: tsána-m
cow oyun - plenm.: San Francisquito? a cowboy or hunting camp at a spring below Newhall? H: tsawajuy ((no breaking [Harrington reference to glottal stop]) a vaquero camp), ts áw ajupuy, tsáwajupun (a spring below Newhall-used to be hunters there; San Francisquito); R: tsawaju (San Francisquito; another time Eug. said it is a spring below Newhall (toward Ventura from N.)
capyk - select or choose something; pick out, V. H: tsapjk
caycapy - bird sp.: bluish, no crest, harsh scream, seen in oak trees. H: tsajtsapj
caycapy-am (plu.). H: tsajtsapjam
pa-caycay (-)k(-)ivi - plonm.: where the [bird sp.] sang. H : patsajtsajkiva, ono [?] tsajt fajkivu [with hook under j]
ceak $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - look back over one's shoulder, VI. H,R: tseakak ceah-ceakik (stem redup.). H,R: tseahtseakak
[perh. contains the stem of (reduplicated) ciciakin 'tell a myth']
cip — pick up something, V. H,R: tsip, Isip [R also defines as
"juntar" [collect, harvest]]
cip (imp.). H,R: tsip
cip-č (imp. plu.). H,R: tsiptfr
ca-cip-ič (hort: let's pick it up). H,R: tsotsipt fr
cicipokin - tell a myth or story, V. R: tsitsipākin (tell a story) cicipakin (imp.). R: tsitsipakin cicipakin-mat (fut.). H: tsitsipākinm at cicip akin-i-c (pass. nom.: a story or myth). H: tsitsipacinit s. (a story); R: tsitsipäkints, tsitsipäkinits (a story), naw nipan tsitsipākinits (yo no se cuento)
cicipakin-i-ci-ay uviha-tay (obj.). H: tsitsipäkinitsaj uvihataj (an old story, obj.)
ciciakin-i-m (plu.). H: tsitsiakinim (stories of first people before flood)
[perh. a reduplicated form based on the same stem as ceakik 'look back over one's shoulder']
cicikwin - copy, mimic, VT. H: tsitsikwin; R: tsitsikwin, tsitsikwin (immitate)
cicinour $\ddagger$ - tribename: Californios; "gente de razón". H: tsís in aura (Californios "del pais"; excludes Americans); R: tsitsinavraP, tsitsinavrə?jam (persona del pais, Californio)
cicinavrəp-yam (plu.). H: tsítsínaurəjam, tsitsinavrəpjam (plu.: gente de razon; = V. pa\&t $\int u n u k f,=S$. Pákəqam (wear hats)); R: tsitsinaurəp, tsitsinaurə Pjam (person del pais, Californio)
[< Gab. čečiinourop, čiinourop 'white man', 'Spaniard', 'persona de razón' (forms provided by P. Munro (p.c.)); cf. દ̌inamrí? 'Mexican'?]
-cicka, -čička - featherskirt, feather apron, poss. H: -tsitska, -tsitska, -t fit Jka
cikara-t - shell sp.; the beads made from them [Harrington gives a drawing-long and conical]. H: tsikarat, tsikarat, tsikarat,
tsik orat, tsikerat, t jikar at (abalone, conch [can these be the same?] (big red ones or small blue ones, this also names the beads made from it); ZS: ci'karat', či'korot' (shell; MR gives with c , IG gives with č); ZN: čí(P)karat(') (shell; when lime not available, used shell; mixed with tobacco cake; shaman would have some kind of shell in his mouth before sucking); JW: tsikarat (abalone gorget)
cikara-m (plu.). H: tsíkeram
[probably 'abalone' (Tom Blackburn, p. c.)]
cika(-)t — mussel, shellfish, clam (almeja). H: tsikat, tsikat cika(-)t-ay (obj.). H: tsikaiaj
cipkič — pure (Adj.). H: tsipkit $\int$ awip (pure butter), tsipkifr nikwa? (l ate it pure-straight); R: tsipkitfr päkwinit (it is muddy [poss. calque on Span. "puro lodo"])
[app. variation due to an optional rule of word-final C simplification]
cikuru - tickle, VT.
cikurup-mat-um (tickle you, fut.)
[< Eng.? suggests Eng. fy heard as ċ/čc]
cim - hatch out (of chicks), or branch out, V. H: tsim (hatch out)
cimo (nom.: a branch or bough). H: -isima (branch or bough of a tree)
-cih-cima, cima-m (plu. nom.). H: Isintsima, Is imām
Cin $8 \mathrm{k} \dot{\mathrm{F}} \mathrm{k}$ - stand on one's head, VI. H,R: Is inakak
cinakik-mat (fut.). $\mathrm{H}, \mathrm{R}$ : \{sinakəkmat
ca-cinakak-ič (hort.). H: tsats inakakat fr (they are standing on their heads); R: tsafs inakəkət fr (Harrington gives "they are __", but then "mistake for let us __?")
cinonokt - plant sp.: "petota" [mng.?]; grows under trees in the shade; seed small and black, used for peppery atole; greens used also; flower white. H: tsimonokt, tsímokt cinonokt (plu.). H: "plu. same"
cineap - pound meat, V. H: tsinea ? -cineap(-)n(-)ap (nom.: comb of a rooster). H: -tsineapnap
cink - kick, VI?. H: tsink; R: tsink cinim (VT: kick someone). H: ts iŋim cigim (imp.). H: tsijim cinim-ič (imp. plu.). H: tsi弓imətfr
cipk - a little, Adv. H,R: tsipk (a little), tsipk amarijop (it is yellowish), tsipk al-fivak (poco hace viento [there's a little breeze], = a breeze [meaning of the small raised I not known]), tsipk a hatsi akwohi (the soup is nearly done-falta poco
[almost]), tsipk pulup (a little hard); M: tseep'k, che"pk (few, or not much), che'-ipk (not enough)
ciram, cilam-pea - plenm.: a spring of, or ridge above, Brite's Valley. H: tfiram, tsilampe [this one transl. as the ridge]; R: tsilampe a (a ridge that runs between where the 2 Brites live, below twipe a)
[r $\sim 1$ makes this look borrowed]
cirea-chile, N. H: nitsirapmuk (made it hot [apparently really = 'I got sick from the chile?']); tsirea
[< Span. "chile"; NB Span e\# $->$ Kit. ea\#]
cirip $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - have something in eye, V. H: Isiropo k
[< Span. "chiribita" 'mote in eye'; this may be related to cirípin 'buck']
ciripu - ant lion, N. H: tsíripu, ts iripu (ant lion-an insect whose bite causes itching; the cure is to put on your sister's dress and walk around the house 3 times; this shames him)
ciripu-m (plu.). H: tsirtpu'm $[ \pm$ aspiration mark, and $\pm$ length mark; Harrington does not specify combinations]
ciripin - buck, V., of a horse. H: tsir $\begin{aligned} & \text { pin }\end{aligned}$
[cf. ciripik 'have something in eye'; < Span. "chiribita" 'furious', or 'mote in eye'? < Eng. "jalopy"? [which is perh. < Span. "chulapear"] < Span. "chulapear" [verb < "chulo" 'daring, fine')?]
cirk - trap in a fall-trap, N. H: -Fsirhk (fall-trap (a stone that falls on rat, etc.))
cirukup - lizard; cachora (iguana), N. H: tsíruķup, tsiruku cirukup-m (plu.). H: tsirukupm
Ciscik - like something, VT. R: tsistsik ciscik-it (quest.). R: motsistsikat (do you like it?) ciscik-mat (fut.). R: tsistsikmat ciscik-uvup (past). R: tsistsikuvup [cf. ciscikwin 'imitate'?]
ciup-be ashamed, V; be ashamed of, VT. H: tsiup, ¡siup ciup-n-ipa-č (agt.: ashamed or bashful). H: tsiupnipāt $\int \mathrm{r}$ [interesting that usually "agentive" nominalizing derivation applies to this semantically experiential verb-perh. related to the fact that it can take obj.?]
civato $\boldsymbol{P}$ - goat (male or female), N. H: tsivaio ? [< Span. "chivato"]
civup - bitter, N; wild tobacco, N. H: tsivup, tsivupu (pespibata [wild tobacco]); R: tsivup (it's bitter) civup-civup (redup.). H: tsivuptsivu?
civu-pa-č (plcnm.: at a fork in a river; bitter water there useful as a medicinal purge). H: tsivuppät $\int \mathrm{r}$; R: tsivuppät fr (the bitter-water place beyond Tacuya; drank the water as a purgative)
civu-t (wild tobacco). H: tsivut, tsivut; ZS: civut' (tobacco);
ZN: civvut (Nicotiana Bigelosii Wats. [preparation and many uses described; the plant was cultivated]), čivut' (tobacco sp.; made into cakes with pine nuts); M: tse'-woot, chewoot (tobacco), tse'-woot, che-woot (Indian tobacco (Nicotiana attenuata and other species)); K: tsiwut (tobacco); JW: tsiut (lime for snuff mixing and medication); tsiwut (snuff); atciwu (seed food, abundant and popular, 2 1/2' tall, has a small yellowish flower, grows on sandy plains, gathered in fall when fully ripe, ground up with stone pestle, slightly cooked in a pot, eaten as a thin mush)
civu-t-ay (obj.). H: tsivutaj
civu-t pa-vea (plcnm.: spring at El Comanche). H: tsivutpave, tsívutpáve, tsivutpāvea, t fivutpāvea (picnm.: a spring; means bifter water; = Comanche Spring or El Comanche); R: tsivut pāvea (El Comanche); ZS: civu-pa-ve (Comanche point, a spring; where the "Comanches" lived; = bitter water); ZN: čivutp áve (Comanche Point; where the "Comanches" lived); K: chivutpa-ve (placename: on Comanche Creek, called by the Yokuts "Sanchiu"); chivutpave (Comanche Creek)
civu-yik (plenm.: pespibata). H: tsivujək; R: tsívujək (place above where J. J. Fustero lives)
civu-mu-ihwo-t (small pespibata mortar, a type of tákwif).
$H$ : tsívumủjhwat
civu-t Pa-šahi, pa-šahi civu-t (wild tobacco soup). H: tsivut ofröhi, P ófrahi tsivut (caldo de pespibata)
[NB: Adj. forms have 卫; $N$ forms -1 and no 2]
civun - plenm. H: tsivun (spring site where the now extinct people spoke Kitanemuk, at or near Willow Springs)
[same root as civu? 'bitter'?]
cipw, čipw - lime used in preparing pespibata (fossil shell, clam shell, etc.), N. H: tsipw, tsiw? cipw-t-ay (obj.). H: tsipwtaj
ciway - hanging? R: tsiwaj
[Kit. loan form of VCh tsiwoje; of. tukuvíč 'sea otter']
ciwiciwi-č - rattle made from deer hooves, N. H: tsiwitsiwitfr ciwiciwi-m (plu.). H: "plu -m" -ciwiciwi (poss.). H: atsiwitsiwi, átsíwitsiwi
ci - we, our (personal prefix). M: tsi-yuk, tsoo-yu (our (dual) mother)
c+a-c - elbow, corner, N. H: tsa ats cia-m (plu.). H: tseam
 (corner, of room, etc.)
-cia-y (poss. obj.). H: - Fs a j -cia-vea (poss. loc.). M: at-soo'-av-ve (end) -cin-cia (poss. plu.). H: -tsatsəo $-c+h-c+a-y$ (poss. plu. obj.). H: -fsəhtsəaj Pa-cia-vea (loc. poss.: (in) the corner). H: Pátsəa, Patsəvea (corner, of room, etc.), pataave a [sic] (loc. poss.) [cf. cifhcik 'spur a horse'?]
$\mathrm{c} \ddagger \mathrm{c}$ amur — plant sp.: "alfilarillo (not food—only horse feed)". H: tsatsamur, tsáts amur ("no plu.")
cihiritk — choke or sneeze, VI. H,R: tsaharak (choke, get food or drink stuck in throat); ZS,ZN: cahərək (sneeze)
cik - stick or stab, VT. R: tsək (stick someone with scissors), tsak (stab with knife)
cin-cłk (spur a horse). H: tsahtsak; R: uveo nitsaqtsok (ya lo puñaleé ['I already stabbed him'; is reduplicaton here to indicate multiple stabs? NB: reduplication co-occurs with past adverb])
cik-mat (fut.). H: nitsatmakuy (I am going to prick, pierce, or stab you [app. $=$ ni-c $\ddagger \mathrm{k}-\mathrm{mat}-\ddagger \mathrm{m}$; typo or speech error?]); R: -tsakmat
cikinn, cifcikin (imp. $\pm$ redup.). R: tsəkən, tsəqtsəkən (imp.
[no meaning difference indicated])
$\mathrm{ct}-\mathrm{c}+\mathrm{k}+\mathrm{n}$-i+č (plu. imp.). R: tsatsakanət $\int \mathrm{r}$
cikin-ik (inf.). R: tsakanik
cik-uvup (past). R: -tsəkuvup
cikin-ihwap-t (inst.: spur). H: tsakaninwapt
cinin - bird sp.: dark, sings little. H: tsanan (bird sp.: dark, sings little; like the tukuehpoč.
tini-m (plu.). H: tanəm [sic]
cłpipkip —beaver, N. H: tsápa pla [no P on abs. sg.; Harrington:
"could hear no breaking"]
cip $\ddagger \mathrm{k} \ddagger \mathrm{p}$-yam (plu.). H: tsápaka pjam
cirip - shell kernels on a metate, V. H: tsarəp (shell islay kernels on a metate)
cirip (imp.). H: tsaro?
cirtip-ihwop-t (inst.: metate). H: tsáropjhwot
$-c \mp v a p,-c i v o-w i t h$ (accomp.)[apparently $=$ the verb 'to accompany'; note third person personal prefixe of the verb subject type are used, unlike special prefix to which postpositions like -yik attach; note also obj. case in 'Isabel' sentence below.]. H: motsovap (with you), nitova (with me [sic here, but in R, Harrington says "mistake for nitsəva??";
apparently it is], patsova (with him), pami paisovap manweltaj (Isabel went away with Manuel; R: tsovar (go along with),
nimimat matsəvap (I'm gonna go with you), nikim potsovap imop = imap patsəpvap nikim (I came with these people), atsapvap ne nikim =atsopvap nikim (me vini con aquel [I came with that guy]), nimimat atsovap amats (voy ir con aquel), nimimat patsavar am (_ con aquellos [with those guys]), amimat nitsavap (he's going to go with me)
ciwihup — plant sp.: a hardwood chamiso. R: tsəwahup
cop - scratch or pinch, V. H: fsop (scratch, done by human or cat);
R: atsopvan (it scratched me)
cop-mat-um (fut., with 2nd obj.). R: tsopmatum (pinch you, fut.)
coh - fish sp.: salt or fresh water. H: tsoh, tso' (fish sp.; "lives in rivers and sea; per. = salmon")
coh-yam (plu.). H: tsohjam
[likely to be a borrowing (cf. Chapter I, Section D, 5:
"Rhotacization"]
cohk - choke, VT. H: tsoqk (choke someone by grabbing at throat) cch-mat-um (choke you, fut.). H: tsoqmatum [cf. cokihwapt 'anvil'?]
cohvik? - melt, VI. H: tsoquak, tsoqºrak, tsoqonvak
cok-inwa p-t - anvil board or anvil stone, N. H: tsókihwat
cok-t - bird sp.: "vijita"; dark colored. H: tsókt (= Span. vijita;
pardito color); ZS: cokt (bird, like robin but smaller) coko-m? (plu.). H; tsokm
colop-t — pers. name: Cholo. H: tsolopt
[< Span. "Cholo"]
comač - yucca, sp.? ; root used to dye baskets red. H: tsómat $\int 5$ [ligature under tr], tsomatsr (the big palm of Antelope Valley; fruit app. not eaten; palmilla [small palm]); ZS: co moč, cómač ("Joshua tree"; app. cactus in desert, called "cholla" in Spanish); JW: tsomat (yucca, a red root used for basket patterns)
copn-ik - stop, be standing up, VI. H: tsopnak; R: tsopnok (stand up, be erect) copn-k (erect, VT). R: tsopnk copn-mat (erect, fut.). R: tso Pnmat copn-ki (imp.). H: tsopnki (imp.: "stsp itl"); R: tsopnki (VT imp.)
copn-ki-č (VT imp. plu.). R: tsopnkit fr cohonopk (stopped, standing up, Adj.). H: tsohonopk ... -kotfr (be stopped, have stopped), niwon tsonopk (yo estoy parado [I am stopped]), tsonopk awon woyat (the cloud está parado), tsonopk nimi (I ride in train or wagon standing up as I ride); R: akat fr tsonupk (está parado [it's/he's stopped])

## copniham - plenm.? "the large rocky hill Caliente-ward from manijok ..." [looks plu.]. H: tsópniqam (the little hills just SW of where we live at the ra. [Tejón Canyon rancheria] here); R: tsopniqam

conk - wash clothes, $V$ (no examples with overt obj.). H: łsonk; R: tsojk (wash); tsuyk
conk-mat, con-mat (fut.)? H: fsoghkmat;R: tsonmat [Angela
Montes; "Eug.: nitsonmat, voy a lavar [l'm going to wash]"—did Harrington revise form in R?] cojk-in-ik (inf.). R: tsojkinik
copotat, cupot at - narrow-mouthed storage basket or container, N . H: tsópot at ( $=$ V. qpirm ... stored chia, etc., in them; made some a foot or so high, some 5 ft . high; also called baskets tsópotat),
tsópot at (small-mouthed cora; = V. qPipm, qpomho; used as work baskets, etc.), tsopot ot (big storage basket of junco [rush], for storing kokoat and anything; has a lid like a basket tray), tsøot at (coiled basketry basket 4 ft . high; $=0$ Pipm), tsupotat (narrow-mouthed baskets); M: tso'-po-taht (subglobular chokemouth bowl); JW: tsopotat (granery [sic] or meal jar)
corcor — cricket, N. H: tsórtsor
corcor-yam (plu.). H: tsórtsor jam
cot +k - sink, VI. R: tsotok (sink in sand-of water)
pa-cotki-pea (plenm.: San Fernando). H: atsotkəpea (San
Fernando; = F. pá Jokñ; <ałsołak, "the water sinks thus")
covan - plant sp.: yerba mansa. H: tsóvay (yerba del manso [Santamaria (1974: 1233) identifies both "yerba mansa" and "yerba del manso" as Anamopsis californica, a native plant of Baja California, which grows in moist places and has medicinal properties]; medicinal tea; makes you feel like vomiting) ZN: cóvan (yerba mansa; Anemopsis californica Hook.; medicine for cold, whooping cough)
cuic-pea - plonm.: at López's house. H: tsúitspe(a) (hinajmat fr) (= V. ts(')ujts; casa de López; means middle of the mountain [second word]); R: tsujtspea (the mountain between the vaquero [cowboy] camp and Teión Viejo); ZS,ZN: tsưit fpe (village, known to kapifakam [Yokuts] as tinliu)
[NB no gliding of stressed u]
cukit - pers. name of a mythical character: legendary mother of the races, sister of hukaht, one of the legendary seven giants, sayo-opponent-of the sun in peón game. H: tsúkit, tsukit, tsukit

Pamə P tsukit nawhinipamumuk, mat nawhinip - muk tsukit, amatan nitahen pujuk mahat fram awohwot fram ("call them thus when don't want to call their names ... 'yo nunca oía decir que aquí estás enfermo, aqui estás tirado tsukit.

Vds. son cinco viejos [tribal seers]" [app. this is how to address elders who are somehow representative of the myth figure: 'I never heard that you were sick here; here you are ... You are five old men.'])
cukuip - plant sp.: 'alfilarillo' [mng.?], 2 ' high; only good as food for animals. H: tsuku.ipi
[NB: failure of $\underline{\underline{u}}$ to glide to $\underline{\boldsymbol{w}}$ unexplained]
cukulatep - chocolate. H: tsukulate?
[< Span. "chocolate"]
cukwap - bitter, sour, salty, Adj. H: tsukwap, tsukwa?, tsukwapa, tsukwap; R: tsukwap ([much] too salty); M: soo-kwah, tsoo-kwah' (sour)
cukwas pa-č (plenm.: salty water). H: tsukwap pāt fr; R: tsukwa? pät fr = tsukwat apäove a (name of the next canyon beyond Tacuya; from tsukw at $\int \mathrm{r}$, a medium sized hawk with a blackish tail; Manuela and others of Las Tunas went over there to drink the bitter water as a purgative, so tsukwappät fr, 'salty water', might also be applied) cukwo-t pa-pao-vea (spring of a kind of gavilan blanco ['white sparrow-hawk'; is this same word as cukwa? 'bitter'?]). H: tsukw at apãovea
cukwik ? (V: salt). R: nitsuk(u)wupk mot hjavino (I'm going to salt it)
cukwe-t - hawk, sp. R: tsukwat fr (a medium sized hawk with a blackish tail)
[cf. cukwas 'bitter, sour, salty']
cukwavi-c - dirt, grime, N. H: tsakwavats (mugre [dirt, grime])
-cukwavi (poss.). H: -isakwavi, -โsakwovi, war nitsakwava (I am dirty)
cumanat - arrow straightener stone, N. JW: cumanat (arrow straightener stone, in another dialect here) [< Gab.?]
cupm-ək — close one's eyes, VI. H,R: tsupmok cuPm-k (VT: to close another person's eyes). H,R: isupmk cupm-ki (imp. of VI). H,R: tsuPmki (shut your eyes!) [-ik/-k distinction neutralized in imperative forms?]
cuy - suck, V. H: tsupg(suck, as hummingbird does a flower), nitsup $\eta k$ ( $l$ suck lemonade through a straw [unclear if $k$ form is VT, $\cap$ form VI])
cupŋki (imp.). H: tsup ŋki
Pa-cup-uvup (past). H: Pats[juvup (he sucked it-lo chupaba antes [he sucked it before])
pa-cup-i-vi (part. + dec.). H: Patsuyiva [a reference to hummingbird sucking flowers; said when the flower is already dry]
cun - itch, VI (also used transitively or impersonally with experiencer as object). H: ? atsin (tiene comezón [he itches]; = joqk), pats[nukwan (le da comezón a él ['it makes him itch'; NB odd suffix]), patsuyuvə (les da comezón a ellos [it makes them itch]), patstyutam (te da comezón [apparently a question: 'does it make you itch?'], pats पूəvan ( $=$ joqkavan; me da comezón [it makes me itch), warapvkavan atsun (me dió comezón muncho [it made me itch a lot), fomatsip nitsty (scratch my back). [cf. cup 'suck'?]
cupotat [cf. copotat 'basket or container']
-curip - grand-relative, poss. H: -tsuprip, -tstrip (grandmother, granddaughter, mother's mother, daughter's son or daughter, w.s.--rec. same); ZN: cu•ri (grandmother); M: nit-soo'-de, tsoorets (grandmother)
-cuprip-iv+ (poss. + dec.). H: -tsupripiva -curip-t-ay (poss. obj.). H: -tstriptaj -curip-yam (plu.). H: -tstripjam, -tstripjam [sic]; ZN: cúripyam (grandchildren)
cupr-ik - get stuck or bogged down, VI. R: tsuprok (atascarse [get stuck])
cuh-cupr-k-ea-vea (loc.). R: tsuhtsuprkeavea (bog-o.g. where we got the watercress)
cur-cur-k (Adj.: boggy). H: tsurtsurk (atascoso [boggy])
curup-ik - enter, go or come in, VI. H: tsrurupak, tsurupak; R:
tsurupak, Isurupak (enter), trurupak (enter [but Harrington heading on slip says "tsurupak"-app. an alternation between $\varepsilon$ and čy); tsutsupak [error?]
curup-ak-mat (fut.). H: tsurupakmat R: turupakmat
curup-ik-uvup (past). R: turupakuvu? [check sp.]
curup-k (VT: to put in). H,R: tsurupk
curup-k (imp., VI [-ik/-k neutralization in imp.?]. H: trurupk (come in!)
curup-k-i-m (part., VI). H: tsúrukinim jóvarpe, tsứrupkim jávarpe ( $=\mathrm{V}$. Pantap; means those who enter the enclosure called jover; candidate had to pay money or basket or fast 5 yrs. to be admitted)
curup-k-in-i-m (part. of VT). H: tsúrukinim jóvarpe, tsúrupkim jóvarpe [cf. the preceding line]
cutatapi - peppery, strong (but not as much as micanip). H: tsutata?
čalamaš-pea - plcnm.: willow grove above Brite's Valley; means estafiate sp. H: tsalamašpe; R: t salamaspea (the willow grove below Brite's Valley; means estafiate sp. [mng.?])
[cf. ciram 'placename'?]
čičarop - peas, N. H: tfitfarop
[< Span. "chicharo"]
-čička - ceremonial eagle feather skirt, N. ZS,ZN: -čička (ceremonia! eagle feather skift; Steward piate 7d)
činamrap - Mexican person, N. H: t finamra?
[cf. cicinouríp 'Californios, gente de razón']
čiyo - lime, N. ZS,ZN: čiyo (lime; travertine [crystalline calcium carbonate]?)
[cf. cipw 'lime']
 who doesn't belong there). H: t fo, t fo
čuču ? — plenm.: Las Tunas. H: trútruw
[< Yokuts (J. Johnson, p.c.)]
čumep - tribename: Chumash. H: t fúmap (one Chumash); R: t fumap (northern island Indian)
čumap-yam (plu.). H: t fumapjam, tfumapjam (the Kit. called all the people of the islands thus)
[< Chumash cumoš, cpumoš 'Santa Cruz Island' (Blackburn 1975: 341)]
-d -
dulse - sweet. H: ðulse P (dulce)
[< Span. "dulce"; cf. modulse? 'strawberry'].
dyos - God. H: djos
[< Span. "dios"].

- $\theta$ -

Peanapk - bent, Adj. H: Peanapk; "not yanapk" peapnk (VT: bend something). H: Peanapk (bent), Peapnk (bend something).

Peleyewu - dancer at paying ceremony, N. H: pelejewu [< Chumash Peleye?wun 'swordfish; undersea supernatural beings' (Blackburn 1975: 345)]

Perekina? - [mng. unclear: an arrangement of the hair?]. $H$ : niperekirapa (mi tupe [mng. unclear; could be tupé 'forelock or toupée'])

Pesetuna? - olive(s), N. H: Pesetuna? [< Span. "aceituna"].
fayro? - Fido [dog's name?]. H: fajro? [< Eng. "Fido"]
hapciph $\ddagger$ k - sneeze, VI. R: haptsiphak
hapcipk-ihun (des.). R: haptsipkihun
[NB morphophonemics: Phk --> 3 K ]
hača-č - saliva, N. H: hat frot fr (baba [saliva])
-hača (poss.). H: hatfra hoča-m (plu.). H: hat fram
hačap-witt (person who slobbers a lot). H: hatsrapawat hačapa-wi-m (plu.). H: hátfrapawam
hahak - scold, VT. H, R: hahak (scold), hahacovan (scold me) [cf. ha(h)k 'annoy']
hahavik - fail, VI? H, R: nihahovak nijaj, nihahavok nijaj (no alcancé á agarrario [Eng. mng. given next:], I could not reach it to grasp it)
[cf. hovkic 'widow']
hahk - annoy, V. H: hāq k hakhkik (pest). H: hāк'kik
hakhkik-am (plu.). H: häk'kikam (note: "or the $\boldsymbol{x}$ is possibly Q")
[cf. hahok 'scold']
hahukup - one by one, Adv. H: hahukup [cf. howkup 'one']
hahvik - widow, VT. H: ahayəkəvan (she made me a widower, by dying)
hahv-k-eap (pass.: be widowed). H: ahaykea (he's already widowed)
hahvk-i-c (widow, widower). H: haykits, haykits
hahvk-i-m (plu.). H: havkim
[cf. hovit 'blanket'?]
hà - yes; perhaps also emphatic marker. H: hoo, hóa (yes), heo nimirin majkw (yes, I can); R: hoo, hao (yes), hoo nipametup (sí tengo [sed][yes, I am thirsty]), hea, nimirin majkw (yes, I can (Eug.)[note comma here not in Hentry]); ZS: haw (yes); M: how'ŏ, hah"-o (yes); K: hāu (yes)
hak - say, tell, VT. H: hak, hax (say); nihak no məmk (I'm telling the truth); R: hei (tell), nihakmatum (I'm going to tell you), na ne nihak nahwit pät $\int r$ (I told him there was no water), haminat máhak (what do you want? [actually 'what did you say?']), amə?tsi mahak (you told me)
haka-t — willow, N. H: haķat (sauz); ZS: hakat' (willow sp.); ZN: hákat, hakat' (willow, used in coiled basketry), hákat
ha-haka-t (plu.). H: háhakat
haka-yłk (loc.). H: hakajak, haīa jəк̄
haka-pea (plenm.: Cummings Valley), ha-haka-pea (plcnm.).
H: haka pea, hákape; R: hakapea
ha-haka-pe (plcnm.). H: hahakape (plenm.; = V.
sisawqapw-en los saucos [sic-in the elders; app. Kit.
mentions sauces 'willows'], an aguage [spring] this way
from Mojave town).
haka(-)kojač - tree sp. (apparently willow sp.). H:
hákakojatsr (tree sp.: sauz chino [small willow])
haka(-)koja-m (plu.). H: hákakojom
hakú hilpopw - greeting. H: hakú hilpopw (cómo estás hermano
[how are you brother])
[may not be Kit.]
häkwakwapy — yawn, V. H,R: häkwakwapj
hakw ačup - be hungry, V. H,R: hakw at frup, häkw at frup, hokw at frup; ZS,ZN: hakw aču; M: ne-hah' kwah'-tsoo, ne-hah'-kah-soo (I am hungry), hah-kwahts (hungry) hakw aču'-ip a-č (hungry person). H,R: häkwat frupipatfr hakw ačup-ipa-m (hungry person, plu.). H,R: häkwat frupipam
hakwaw - stir, whip, V. H: hakwaw (batir [stir, beat] with spoon in water).
hakwaw (imp.). H: hakwawa hakwa-ič (imp. plu.). H: hakwastsr hakwa-i-c ay (chia batida [a drink from chia seeds mixed with water], obj.). H: hakwajtsaj
hakwivah-ik - get hurt, VI (the part hurt is in obj. case). H: hakwivahak, hakwivahak; R: hakwavaphak, hakwivahak, hakwivahak (meet with an accident, desgraciarse), əməp makamarap, ohokwivahak (he got hurt and it's your fault) hakwivah-k (VT: hurt). H: hakwivak; R: hakwivak (hurt someone)
halpena - pers. name: Indian name of Bill Skinner; means 'skinny'. H: qalpane ?
[apparently a kind of calque or joke on English name]
ham - still, Adv. H: häm, qam; R: qam; ham okat fr (todavia hay [there's still some]); $p$ ät fruit, qam aqopok (the handkerchief is wet, still dripping)
naw-ham (not yet?). H: nowhäm (still); R: nówhām atut fr (s/he is still growing ['s/he's not yet grown'?]); naqwam akwotsrok (s/he still didn't stand up); nohwam hit (there still isn't any); nohwan hit nihiw (todavia no miro nada [1 still don't see anything] [spelling errors for naw-ham, nihyu?])
hamak? - again, more, back, and, Adv. H: hamək, hamək, hamak, amono(-)hamak (it rolls); R: amop hamok nop (you and I); jatop hamak kutsip (the cat and the dog); ahih juvon, nop homok nihinju (he is looking at nd I am looking at him too); ZN: wép mahač hámak háwkup (eleven ["2 5 and 1]); M: hah'-mŭk, hah'muk (more), hah'-mäk-maht (next time); CK: wé' mā hāch' hā' mŭk hau' kŭp (eleven); we' mā hāch' hā' mưk wā(q)' (twelve); we' mā hāch' hā' mưk pā he' à (thirteen); we' mā hāch' hā' mŭk wāt' sã (fourteen); we' mā hāch' hä' mŭk mā hāch' (fifteen); we' mã hàch hã' mưk pā' vā hǐ (sixteen); we' mā hāch' hā' mŭk kwāt' kā vī' ko (seventeen); we' mā hāch' hā' mưk wā' wāt sā (eighteen); we' mā hāch' hā' mưk mā' kā vī ko (nineteen)
hama-t - grass, etc., N. H: hämat (this refers to green grass, zacate [hay], dry grass, hay, alfalfa, barley, any rama [shoot, sprig, branch]); ZN: hámat (plant, spp. [describes tea for eyes from one sp., tea for laxative from another$\left.{ }^{2}\right]$ ); M: kee-sah'-maht (brush wikiup ['house' + 'grass']); K: hamat (grass)
hama-m (plu.). H: hàmam
hama-t-ay (obj.). H: hamataj, hamataj
hamapn (thatch, VT). H: hamapn, hām an
hamapn-ic (pass. nom.: thatched). H: hâmapnits (thatched), aqup aparopmak áhamane (the roof is burning)
hami(P) — sometime? still?, Adv. H: hamip, hami (unclear, apparently Adv. for 'sometime'), hamip (later), hämi (still); R: hämip nimuk (I'm still sick); M: now-hah'-me, nah-mi'k (soon)
naw hami( $P$ ) - no longer? never? H: naqwami? (she isn't here), naw hami takat, wahip patap ("no es gente, es coyote" [he isn't people, he's coyote])

[^50]> [cf. ham 'still']
hami(c) — who?; whol_ poss.-N. H: hamits, hámits, hámíts, hamip (who is it?); R: hamip (who? who is it?); hamits (who?); hamit, hamipt (who is it?); hamitsak aki (whose house is it?); hamipt ivi? (who is this man?); now nipan hamipt (I don't now who); now hamitson atuqtutup (I am playing alone, without playmate [Harrington's underlining]); M: ham'-me tŭ-mŭ' (Who are you? [M. mis-segments: hamit $p+m \dot{+}]$ ); ham'-me-să-tan'-yu, hah-mēts, hahm-ëts (whose? [last form is 'who']), ham-me't, hah-me (who?); o-we-hah'-me sah'-kim (somebody is coming); K: hamits hamič-it (who?, incl. Q). H: hamit fat; R: hamitṣat haym-it (plu.). H: hájmət naw hamic (no one). H: now hamits am atuqtutup (I am playing alone [with mea 'accomp.'? or actually -in '3-1s obj.'?]); R: naw ... hamits (nobody)
tum-hamip (anyone). H: tumhamip tum-hami-y (anyone, obj.). H: tumhamij
naw hamip (no one). R: nawmat hamits apan (no one will know); naw ne hamip kive a (there was no one in the house)
hamine-t - what, why, how, how are you. Also used as a nickname for the Kitanemuks. H: haminat, hamināt (how (in $Q$ and IQ), what, why, how are you?; onde quiere esa palabra haminat [that word [is used] everywhere], that is why they call us thus), also haminata [for presence of final vowel, cf. pata ??]; R: haminat (why, how-e.g. haminat amapj niniw (what am I going to do now?), haminat (nickname for Jaminates), haminatatsip mahihifitun (why are you hurrying me?), haminat anat fr ahihju (why are you looking at me?); hominat (what; what is it?); haminat, haminat (why, why?); haminat makatfr (how are you?); ZS: háminat (what, what is it, how, nickname for Kitanemuks); ZN: haminat, hámin at (what, how); M: hah'-menaht, hah-me-naht' (how, what is it), ham'-me-nat (why, what is
it), ham'-me-nat muk'-katch, yah"ham'-me-nat muk-katch (greeting [how are you]); K: hāmināt (what is it? what do you wish?); VF: hame-e-not (name of the [Kitanemuk] tribe)
hamine-wit ? (aug.?). H: haminawat, haminöwat (que es, pues? how not? why not? [may include now (neg.) and -it (Q), but if so, order is odd, with clitic on second word; perh. better conceived as the simple noun stem $h$ amineplus aug. suffix wit. plus abs.; this suggests that plain haminat is just a stem + abs., not homin- + Q]); R:
haminawat, haminawat (why not; how not?); M: hah-me-naht'-now (why not)
haminat-kay (what, with -kay clitic). H: haminätcaj (what can be the matter?)
haminikit - how? H: haminikit (cf. tumhaminikit); R: haminikipt kwajrapkat, jovopkat, ājapkat (como es [how is it], red? black? white?); M: hah-me-ne-kit (which),
-hamu - sibling (brother, sister, older or younger than self), poss.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { H: -hamu } \\
& \text {-hamu-m (plu.). H: -hamum } \\
& \text {-hamu-y (obj.). H: -hamuj }
\end{aligned}
$$

hamuk-it - (to) where?; includes question clitic. H: hamukat
hamut-ik - climb down, VI. H: qamutək; R: qamutak (dismount, descend)
hamut-k (VT: take down). H: qamutk, homut (take down); R: qamutk, hamutk (lower something)
hene(-)t - ant sp.: small and black; comes into house. H: $h$ änat
hene-t - tar, N. H: hanat, hānat; ZN: hénat (tar used on arrows)
hana-yam (tarry). H: häna jam
hana-n+ (inst.). H,R: hānañ
hup-hano-t (the notch of an arrow ['arrow' + 'tar']). H : hưhanat
hanin - winnow in a certain way (pouring, air method), V. $H$ : $h$ än in hanin (imp.). $H: h$ ānin
hanin-ič (imp.plu.). H: häninot fr
hanin-ic (winnowed). H: hāninits
hineap (thresh wheat-morphology unclear). H: horeap
naŋa-č — bee sp.: yellow jacket. H: haŋatsr
haŋa-m (plu.). H: hāŋ a m
pa-haŋapač (bee sp., larger; = 'water-bee'?). H: păhaŋapatsr pa-haŋapa-m (plu.). H: pthaŋapam
haoja, haojan — poor, Adj.? H: haona, haojanitsat fr [poor us?]; R:
haojan kutsip (poor dog!), haojan täkatam (poor people!), hawnaname täkatam (poor peoplel) [note number agreement optional]; M: how"ng-ahn (poor)
hawnanam+ (Adj. plu.), haojanica-m (n. plu.). H: hawnanama, haonanitsam
haruhrik - come down, VI [note: distinct from hamutik 'climb down']. H: qäruhrək; R: harohərək (descend a hill on foot or on horseback).
harup-harupy (Adj.: falling down (oi pants)). H: harupharupj
havi-yik ? - plonm. VF: ha-ve-youk (placename at Temescal ranch)
navin — soap, N. H,R: havan
havin-tun (soap clothes, V). H,R: qavzntun
[< Span. "jabón"]
havi-t - skin, blanket, clothes, N. H: havət; M: no'-mah-wah-sah-hak'-vah (clothed [perh. = numuač ahohavi? ${ }^{\text {] }}$ )
hava-m, ha-havitt (plu.). H: havam, qáqavat
-havi? (poss.). H: -hava P, havapa
-ha-havt? (plu. poss.). H: hahavap, -qaqava pa-hahavapo
-havi-č-ay (poss.obj.). H: havat fraj
-ha-havip-č-ay (plu. poss. obj.). H: -hahavaptraj,
-hahavoptsraj
havi-kapy (char.: a baptized person). H: havok apj; R:
havutkaj (Christian, "ca.")
havi-kam (plu.). H: havakem
havip-top - (get dressed, V.). H: hovapto ? [? unexplained]
ha-havokah-pea - plenm.: El Aliso.
[cf. hovoč 'alder']
havo-č - sycamore tree, N. H: havot fr, havotr; ZS: havoč; ZN: havoč
[notes inner bark used for tea and shallow wood seed storage trays; sp. = Platanus racemosa Nutt.]
havo-m (plu.). H: havom
ha-havo(-)kah-pea (plenm: Aliso Canyon). H: hahavokahpea
havrík - be low tide, VI. H: qavrok
hawapy, haw ayep - whisper, VI. H: hawa'j, qawaje', hawaje;
hawa'j, qawaje (whisper or talk low); R: hawapj (whisper or talk low)
ca-how aye? (hortative). R: tsoquwaje?
hawawapi, hawanapi - light, swift, Adj. H: hawawa'j, hawana'j;
M: how-wi't, how'-wah'-wā (light)
haw awa-č - mosquito, gnat, N. H: how aw at fr
haw aw a-m (plu.). H: haw awam; ZN: haw ow am (mosquito(es))
hawkup - one (same form used as obj.). H: howkup; R: hówkup; hawkup nikam (I made one); "no ordinals-i.e. can only say 'a stone' howkup temat; cannot say 'the first, second, ...'"; ZS: hawkup (one), hawkup to puhic (100-'counts one'); ZN: hawkup (one), wé? mahač hámak hówkup (eleven ["wo five and one"]); M: how-k̄̄, how'-00'-k̄̄甲 (one), how'-ko pat'-so-ki (one man), how'-ko-koo-tse (one dog) how'-koo kwe'-how-ki (one woman), how-kōb-tŭ-vas, howk-tă-vatch (a year), how-ko-mwats (a month or moon); K: haukup; CK: hau'kŭp (one); w̛̛' mō hāch' hā' mük hau' kup (eleven)
haw kupi (once). H,R: hawkupi; M: ho'-oo-koo-pe (sometimes [sic; =once])
haw kupiva? (together [is this loc. vea?]). H: haw kupiva?
hahukup (one by one). H: hahukup
howkupiva-n (put one). H,R: hawkupiven (put one [thing in the work I was doing])
haw kupi-čup (assemble, V.). H: haw kupit frup
haw kupi-čup-i-vea (in the junta). H: haw kupit frup jvea
hawmimit ? - plenm. VF: hou-mi-mot, hoo-may-mot (rancheria northeast of Tejón ranch) [" over t's]
[may not be Kit.]
hawpar - slowly, little by little, Adv. H: hawpap; R: hawpa? (slowly)
hayayk - [mng. unclear]
H: pajan akat fr ovaphajajk (he wears his pants very high)
[ $=$ "its forced far up"? cf. hopyik 'get hot'?].
hayhapy - bird sp.: bluish, similar to coycopy, but with crest. H: qajqapj (bird sp., bluish, similar to tsajtsopj, but with crest)
hayi-c? - reed sp., used for mats and thatching; sleeping mat; tinder. H: hajts, hepjts,he.itṣ, háits, hájifts (tule sp. used for
making mats, thatching houses; or "twigs, pieces of bark, etc. such as you find under trees ... to atizar [start fire]")
hayi-vea? (loc.). H,R: hajpivea (loc.: "in a petate")
hayin - rest, V.
hayin (imp.). H: häjin
hayin-ič (imp. plu.). H: häjinət fr
hayine a-vea (no gloss: apparently = loc.: a resting place. H:
häjite ave a
hapyik - get warm, VI. H: nihapjok, nifikwap (I'm going to warm myself at the fire, l'm cold)
hayk-ik (inf.). H: nimi hajkik (I am going to get warm (in sweathouse)!
haykipea [cf. Pahoykipeo]
haykup - Mexican, N. H: qajkup; R: hajkup [NB Harrington revision of spelling]
haykup-yam (plu.). H: qajkup jam
[< Mojave hoyko or hoyiko (forms from P. Munro, p.c.)? occurs in several Takic and Yuman Igs.]
haym [cf.. hamip]
haypaye P - possibly. H: hajpaje?
[but cf. hoyp(ea) 'where', which was on same page]
hayp(ea) - where?; $H:$ hajp ( ${ }^{j}$ is quite long, \& is voiced"), hajpa?j haypea-t (with Q clitic). H: hajpeat, hajpajt, hajpajant; R: hajpajt makotsr (where do you live?), hajpet (where), hajpeat ne akatfr (where was it?); hajpaje?tam motsane? (where does it hurt you?); hajpe?, hajpapj (where?); hajpet afipak (where did s/he die?); naw nipan hajpe? (I don't know where); hajpejat makim (where do you come from?)
haypea-t-am (with Q clitic and obj. clitic). H: hojpaje ptam [cf. hip hipi]
-he a - passive suffix (described in chapter II, section B).
hekw $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - stand on tiptoe, draw belly in, V. H: hekwak, hexw ak mi-hekw +k (walk on tiptoe). H: nimihekwor (I walk on tiptoc).
helipa - pers. name: Felipa. H: qelíp a [< Span. "Felipa"]
he Prk - point at something, V. H: heprk he ${ }^{2} \mathrm{rki}$ (imp.). H: herrki
herk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: finger). H: herkinits
-herk-in-č-ay (obj.). H: herkinit $\int r_{\mathrm{raj}}$
-herk-in-ivanap (inst.: finger, poss.). H: hakinivahe ? [NB $-\underline{\varepsilon}$ in pass. nom., but $-\underline{\varepsilon}$ in obj. form]
heroppit $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ ? - be dark, VI? M: her-ro'-pët'k (darkness)
hiahk - lose, VT. H: heahk, hjok'k
hiahkik (VI: get lost). M: ah-he'-ah-kuk, ah-he'-ah-kök (lost)
hihinitup - hurry? worry?, VI. H,R: hihinitup (apurar, estar apurado
[to hurry, be hurried?])
hihinitu-n (VT: annoy [hurry?] someone). H,R: nəp ne nihihinitun (yo lo apuré [I hurried? annoyed? him], haminatatsip mahihiiitun (porqué me apuras? [why are you hurrying? (annoying?) mej; "Carefully heard")
hik ocum - pers. name. ZN: hi'k ocum (pers. name: daughter of IG [Isabella Gonzáles])
hikai-t - flying squirrel, N. H: híkait, hikátt
hikaí-m (plu.). H: hikeom
hikaì-pea (plonm.: Flying Squirrel Aguage). H: hikowpe; R:
hik owpe a (an aguage [spring] above La Pastoria) [NB: +--> $w / V$ - $p$ (labial assimilation)]
hikaít pa-pao-vea (plenm.). R: hikast apäovea [a-wit nominal from 'breathe' meaning something like 'puffer'?]
hika(-)w - breath, breathe, N and V. H: hikow, hik aw
-hika-y (poss. obj.). H: nihikaj nipitk nifritsrāvea (l puffed up my cheeks with wind)
-hikay-ni (inst.). H: 'hikajnə
hikaw-muk (pant, VI). H: nihikawmuk (I am panting)
hikiha-č — nettle (ortega [sic; std. Span. = "ortiga"]). H: hikihat $\int$ r; ZS: hikiháč (nettles); ZN: hikiháč (nettles; medicine for backache or any pain; someone strikes you with it on affected part)
hikiha-y+k (plenm.). R: hikihajok (ortiga place)
hikiha-vea-t am (tribename). R: hikihaviatam = hikihajem (the people; "on hikihavjat")
hilohik - be in agony, be going to die, V. H: -hilchak; R: uvea ohilohok (se está acabando [he 's finishing_fading away])
hilos - gizzard, N. H: hilos
hilo-m (plu.). H: hilom
[cf. hilohík 'be in agony'?]
himuk? — where? M: hi-mo-kaht mum'-me, hi'-mo-kaht mum'-me (Where are you going?)
himuk-t - saltpeter, alkali, N. H: himuktt; ZN: himukt (salt grass, medicine); JW: hinukt (salt grass, used as tea and as medicine for fevers and stomach troubles)
himuk-y+k (plenm.). H: himukjak; R: himukjak (plenm. for two places, described-means saltpetre)
wohipt Po-himuk-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (plenm.: means coyote's saltpetre). H: wahipt ahimup jok; R: ahimujok
hipn $\ddagger k$ - float, VI. H: hipnak, hipnok (float), aqipnak (the [creek] water is high); R: ivip kutsrät ohipnok (the pole washed away and was tirado [thrown] by the arroyo way downstream), hipnak, hipnak (float), hinak (get drowned [apparently a metaphor]) hipnk (push along flcating on air or water, VT). H: hipnk; R: hipnk (blow (of wind) or push along on water); nihipnk (I throw a thing in the arroyo and it carried it away downstream).
Pa-hink-ip (part.: driftwood). H: oqinkip [NB P disappears in this cluster]
pa-hipnk-ea-vea, hip-hipnk-ea-vea (picnm.: 'where the flood passed': Caliente or Agua Caliente). H: ahipnke avea = hipnhipnkeavea (where the flood passed), hinhinkjove, hinhinkeave (Caliente), hínhinkeave (Agua Caliente-"the name means viene una creciente y nos lleva todos [a floodtide comes and carries us all away]"); R: ohipnkeave $\begin{gathered}\text {, } \\ \text {, }\end{gathered}$ hipnhipnkeavea ("describes a place, not real plenm."; "where I live, where the flood from pivunats apea passed"); hipnhipnkeavea (placename); ZS,ZN: hinhinkya ve (Caliente Creek, 'place where there are floods'); K: hinhinkiava placename: a hot springs or Agua Caliente in the vicinity of Tehachapi Pass, in Kawaiisu territory; called "tumoyo" or "shatnau ilak" by the Yokuts.
hinikip - how many? H: hirikip (how many?); R: hinikip (how many?); hinikit huputs məPon (how many languages do you know?); hinikit mahju (gatepjam) (how many (cats) did you see?)
hinipap - when? H: hifi pep; R: hinipap, hikipa (when?); hinip at amokim (when is s/he going to come? [< hinipat amapj akim]);
M: hin'-ne-pah, he'-ne-pah (when)
hinipa't (when?; includes Q). H: hinipa ${ }^{\text {Pt }}$
-hintup - relative, poss. $\mathrm{N}(\mathrm{A})$. H: -hintup [note re poss.: "not *nihintuap, but evidently from such a form"]
-hintoač (poss., constituency abs.). H: anapop pajok ohintogt $\int r$ ( $s / h e$ married a relative)
-hintuap-m (plu.). H: -hintunapm -hintuap-ivi (dec.). H: hintupjva
-hintuap-ivi-m (plu.). H: -hintupjvam
-hintuap-č-ay (obj.). H: -hintuapt $\mathrm{graj}^{\mathrm{g}}$
hinu-hinup-i - fluttering. H: hinuhinupj (fluttering [of sheet], floating on wind [of flag]).
[cf. hizn+k 'float']
hip, hipi - where? M: hi'p, hi-mök (where); hi'-pi-tah'-katch (Where is he?)
[cf. Pipi 'here', and hoyp(e o) 'where']
hiprikin - snuff something up nose, V. H: hirikin; R: hiprikin
hit - what, what kind, some? H: hit (what); R: hit (what?); nahwom hit (there is no more [now + ham]), nahwam hit nihiw (toadavia no miro nada [l still don't see anything]); M: he"'t (which), now-he'-hee't (none); now'-hit wŭr' (not enough [sic; 'there isn't much'])
hit a-t (what is it? [with Q]). H: hitat, hit at (what is [it]?); R:
hitat mataqwa? (what news do you bring?); hitat patap
(what is it?); M: hä'-taht, he-taht (what)
hinim, hinim- $\ddagger \mathrm{t}$ (what are they-plu. $\pm \mathbf{Q}$ ). H: hinim, hinimet
hitay, hitay-t (obj., $\pm$ Q). H: hitajt, hitaj mahju tojtoj (what
kind of ghost did you see?); R: hitajt amapj tsakwa?
(what are we gonna eat?); R: hit ajt okwop (what is the child eating?); hitajt mokwapjhtn (what do you want to eat?); hit ajt am amok (what did s/he give you?); $\mathrm{ZS}, \mathrm{ZN}$ : hit oyt, hi't oyt (what?-obj., with Q)
naw-hit (nothing, there is no). H: nowhit, napwhit; R: uvea nahwit wakat/r (the fiesta is already over) naw-hit-ay (nothing, obj.). H: naw hitaj, napwhitaj, naw anotfrk nawhit aitama (the knife is dull [ Neg it-cuts nothing its-tooth][double negative is all right]) tumhit (anything). H: tumhit tum-hit a-y (anything, obj.). H: ts amavi tumhit aj ("vamos a trabajar" = Monday)
[this may be considered a $N(A)$; it is irregular in any case]
hiu - look at, see, VT. H: hju, hiu; R: hju (see), hju, hiu; nahwam hit nihiw (todavía no miro nada [I still don't see anything][transcription error for nihju?]); K: ni-hu ([I] see)
hi-hiu (redup.). H: hihju R: hihju (look at)
t $\ddagger(-)$ hiu, hiu, hiuh (imp.). H: tahju, ta ${ }^{2} \mathrm{ju}$, tahijuw, hju', híuh, hiu, hiu'; R: hju, hju', tophju (imp.); hahju ivip tamat (look at that stone! [error for tehju?]); M: hew'-pah'-tah (Look at that!)
 word as "nitaphjumat"; R: hjotsr, taphjot fr (imp. plu.) hiu-vup (past). H: hjuvup
hik, hikay (comp.: to see). H: hik, hikopj; R: hik (inf.)
hi-hi-pa-č (agt. nom.: onlooker). H: hihip àt fr (un mirón, an onlooker)
hi-hi-pa-m (agt. plu.). H: hiphipam
$h \dot{\boldsymbol{q}}-\check{c}$ - plant sp.: vine, with red berries, used for baskets. H: $h \boldsymbol{z} \int \mathrm{r}$; hat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (splint already split for basket making)
hitm (plu.). H: ham
[cf. h+piv 'split']
 remained），ahztrsri woh（two remained［note：no number agreement］），tsipk oh3t fi okwohi（the soup is almost done （falta poco［just a little more to goj））
h＋hcike－č，h＋hciko－t－shark，N．H：hahtsikat fr，hahtsikat hihcikzo－m（plu．）．H：hahtsikam
híik pimanis－rabbit dance．H：háik amaris，háik？omanis ［cf．hiyk＇swing＇？but may be VCh，which might explain non－ gliding of i ．］
hi piv－split，V．H：h3piv，hopaiv‘（scrape strip of reed for making basket）；R：hapiy（split reed）
hi piv－i－c（reed splint）．H：hə pivits；R：hə piy，hat fr（split reed）
hipiv－i－m（splint，plu．）．H：hopivim
hi pliki－sit down！H：hźlokə
［may not be Kitanemuk；labelled Tataviam in one citation］
hłneap－step on，VT．H：honeap
hキク－t — snake，N．H：həクt，hłyht；R：hənt（rattlesnake）；ZS：hənkt （rattlesnake）；ZN：honkt（rattler）；K：hü ñt（rattlesnake）
h＋n－am（plu．）．H：hə 0 m
hin－t pa－ho－vea，pa－hint pa－ho（plenm．［2nd form may belong under Pahint＇eagle＇］）．H：áhapt aho（plenm．： sierra）；R：hakt ahovea（plenm．）
$h+n-k+m-a n-i-c$（rattlesnake figure［on baskets，etc．］）．$H$ ： hajkamanits
hink－fall on top of or squash，VT．H：qənk（squash someone）；R： həpnk（fall on top of），qənk（crush someone），ahəpnkəvən（it fell
on top of me), aqa Pnmatum hunuk (it is going to fall on top of you, get out of the way)
hipn-mat (fut.). H: qa Pnmat
[cf. hinea? 'thresh wheat' (under hanin 'winnow in a certain way'?]
$h \ddagger p \ddagger-c ̌$ - yellow flour gotten from cattail, for making bread, $N$. $H$ : hapat $5 \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{h} \partial \mathrm{pat} 5$
[cf. Pahive 'fine']
hip $\ddagger$ pk - rub buckskin between hands to soften it, V. R: qəpəpk (rub gamuza between hands to soften it)
$h \dot{p}+\mathrm{Pyt}$ - a certain type of very small and valuable beads. H : hәрə ${ }^{\text {jt }}$
$h \dot{\ddagger} t k$ - together in a row, in single file, abreast. H: hat $k$ (together in row), hat $k$ pemi (they are marching in single file; R: hatk pami (they are marching in single file, abreast [sic])
kuča-t hittk (fence). H: kutfrat hatk
-hłvi - edge, rim, shore, poss. H: -həva, -h3va, hava
$-\mathrm{h} \dot{\mathrm{q}} \mathrm{vi}-\mathrm{y}$ (poss. obj.). R: nifem ahzray (I go along the shore or edge of lake)
-h $\ddagger$ vi-vea (loc.). H: -havavea, -həvave, -hæวəvea; áhavave mamat (on the ocean shore)
-pa-hivi-vea mimitt kikep (tribename: Costeño). R: ahavavea mamat kike? (Costeño [i.e.?])
-hivíyík (loc.)
hiwa-č - other, separate, N. H: howajr, howat fr, həwat $\int \mathrm{f}$ [first may be pre-consonantal variant?], həwəvap məpakea ap nap hawovar nipakea (I have my room apart and you have your room apart); R: hawosr tzoatfr (next year), hawafr pät fruk (the other man), [but] hawatsr kalesa? (another buggy); maw? hawafr mastsr (hace muncho la otra luna [long ago the other
moon] = the month past); M: howi-ye, hŭ-wi'-e (different), hoowaht'r, (other), how-was-tŭ-was, hŭ-was-tư-was (last year), ahn'-nah hoo'-as (his father); ă-moo-kŭ'-wats, (he killed a bear [actually, 'another one killed him'])
hiłwač t+va-č (next year-idiom). R: howajr tevat jr

hi-h $\ddagger$ wo-č (plu. [from each other]). R: həqəw ot fr ("means one talks Am., Spanish, Chinese")
hiy-ik - swing, VI. H: həp jak [P absent from all other formj-error?]
hiy-i k-mat (fut.). H: hə jokmat
hiy-k (VT: swing, carry swinging). H: hojk; nimimat hajk
patra (I'm gonna bring water)
h $\ddagger$ y-ki (imp.). H: həjki
hły-ki-č (imp. plu.). H: hokit $\int \mathrm{r}$
hiy-k-ihwap-t (inst.: swing). H: hajkinwat
hłyn - hunt, go hunting for, V. H: hajn
hiyn-ik (comp.). H: hojnik
-ho - hole, cave of animal, poss. H: -ho, -ha, -q0; "no abs. form"; R: -ho, -ho (burrow (cueva)); niho (mi cueva), in aqo, áqоqo "[q] is not an [h] but sometimes hear it as an [h]" [slip suggests $h \rightarrow q /$ a_oj; ZS: -ho (cave), also -ho; ZN: -ho, 'ho (cave); M: ah'-ho, hor'-o'p'k (cave)
-ho-ho (plu.). H: -ho-ho, -qo-qo; R: in aqo, áqoqo "[q] is not an [h] but sometimes hear it as an [h]"
-ho-y, (obj.). H: -hoj, -hoj
-ho-ho-y (plu. obj.). H: -hohoj
-ho-vea (loc.). H: -hovea, -qovea, -hove, -hove; R: -hovea, hovea (loc., in plenms.); ZS: -ho ve; ZN: -ho ve, -ho.vi, ho.va -ho-ho-vea (plu. loc.). ZN: -hoho ve (caves [app. loc.]) -ho-nop (dir: from). H: -qonop
-ho-kim (incorp.: to make a hole). H: -hokom, hokom (holemake); ahokəm = okəm ahoj "imp't: true incorporation"; R: hok am (dig a den [said of mole])
-ho-ho-kim (incorp.: make holes, V). H: mohohokəmət (estás haciendo cuevas?)
[cf. hoč 'dig a hole', horopk horohk 'bore a hole']
ho P - string beads, VI. H: q\% R: ho P (sew)
hop (imp.). R: hop, qo?
hop-č (imp. plu.). R: hoptfr (sew them [sic])
ho-hea (pass.: be sewn). R: aqohea, oqthea, aqohea (it is sewed)
[minimal pair: áqo 'its den', óqQP 's/he sews']
hocik — stand up, VI. H: qois a K
hoč — dig, VT. H: hot $\int \mathrm{r}$; R: hot $\int \mathrm{r}$ (dig a hole) hoč-i-c (part.: lo que esta escarbando [or rather "lo que está escarbado" 'what's dug out'?]) hoč-i-yik (plenm.: a spring). H: hot $\int$ rijok (plenm.: means an agujero ay onde escarbaron [a hole there where they dug/scraped]); R: hot frijok (plenm.: a spring; means onde esta escarbado el agua [where the water's dug/scraped out]) [cf. -ho 'hole, cave']
ho-kim - make a hole [incorp. form of 'hole' with 'make'; cf. ho 'hole' and Kim 'make']
hona-t - sleeping mat, N. H,R: hon at, hãn at (sleeping mat, tendido) -honap (poss.). H: -honap, -hỡap, -qonap, -qữap, 'hónap hona-pea (loc.). H,R: hanapea -hona-pea (loc., poss.). R: war atutsit nihơnape a (there are a lot of fleas in my cot)
honewimac ? - plenm. K: honewimats (plenm. 1 mile downsteam from Tejon ranch house)
hop-ik - leak, drip, VI. H: q甲ək; R: q०рәk, q甲ə k
hop-k (VT: make a ditch run). H,R: qopk (make the [irrigation] ditch run)
hopó piño - pers. name. H: qopopno ${ }^{3}$
horok-ik - be pierced, VI. H: qorokak; R: horqkap, horopk, qorokak
(be pierced)
horoh-k - pierce, bore hole in, VT. H: horohk, qoroqk, niqóroqk [last form once only]; R: horohk, qoroqk (pierce) horoh-mat (fut.). H: horohmat; R: nihorohmat makavaj (I'm going to pierce your ears)
horo-horoh-k (stem redup.: bore holes). H: qoroqoroqk
horohk-in-ihwop-t (inst.: drill).
horopk, horohk ? (Adj.: pierced, hollow). H: horqkə P, horopk, horoqk; $\mathrm{H}, \mathrm{R}$ : woh ahorqka (there are two nailholes in board here)
horop-horopk (stem redup. Adj.: pierced, plu.). H,R: horophoropk
Pa-horoki-pea (poss. loc.: smokehole). H: ahorokype a [cf. hop 'sew'?]
horork - make a fiesta enramada [ramada] or house, V. H: qorork
horork-in-a-t (nom.: fiesta enramada). H: qororkinat


#### Abstract

${ }^{3}$ Fragments of the hopo Pno story are recorded in H in a session with Eugenia: hopopno was a Kitanemuk of the big hinhinkeavea rancheria. opk a $̌$ apparently killed him. Eugenia's father and his uncle came as told. qopopno had Tul. [a Tularefio] wife and 2 girls. The brother-in-law of qopopno who was sick, and the abuela (his mother) and the other girl fled down Los Alamos Canyon to escape. Eugenia's father was glad the Tularef̃o became extinct; it was a punishment of God. ... Another primo of qopopno killed the wife-lest she go and marry a Tularefio. Eugenia's father said let her go, but he cut her below ribs. All people fled to Tehachapi. "Aquellos matadores no vinieron, se fueron [those murderers never came back; they went away]."


horork-in-i-cay (obj.). H: hororkinitsaj
hup - burn, VT. H: qup, hu [one token], nihhupmat, niqqupmat (fut.); R: hhup, qqup, qup (take sun, burn)
pa-hup-vup (past). H: áqupvup (se quemó antes lit burned before])
Po-hup-i (part.: burned). H: oqupi (what was burned; burned); M: ah-ho'-ye (cremation)
pa-hup-ip-m (part., plu.). H: aqupipm (burned, plu. [second ? unexplained])
o-hu-i-vip (part.: burned). H: áqwivas (estaba quemando poco antes [it was burning just recently', with dec.]); R: eqwiva (burned [in plenm. of same place])
pa-hu-i-vi t+ivo-č (plenm.: a white mountain, so called because it burned before). H: eqwipya tavatfr
[cf. mahwoč 'burn up']
hup - fart, V. H: hu
hu-hup (redup.). H: huhup, huhup
hup (imp.). H: hup
hu-hup-ipe-č (redup. agt.: person who breaks wind all the time). H: huhci $\operatorname{Pā}$ ar (farter, person who breaks wind all the time)
[cf. huphupač "stinkbug']
hupatajat - acorn granary, N. H: húpátajat
[cf. tepotet 'sack']
huc-ik - fall, be born, VI. H: qutsək, quisək; R: qutsək (fall), hiksak (be born), nihitsok mâvea (I was born at El Monte), aqutsək pät $\int r=$ pat $\int r$ oqutskapea (plenm.: Kern River; "the water falls") [Geri Anderson note: cf. kuhəjak, kojk "to
fall/knock over"]
huc-k (VT: drop or let fall). H: niqutsk (I dropped it (let go and let it fall)); R: qutsk (let fall)
huc-k-in-eap (caus.). H: aqutskəre apvon (he knocked me over); qutskane a ? (make fall)
[NB for morphology of number and causativity and transitivity]
hup-č - star, landsnail, N. H: hut jr, hupt fr, hut g. huptg (star, landsnail), jóhahuty, johohutfr (evening star); R: hupt fr (star, landsnail); ZS,ZN: hu't fr (star); M: hoot'r, hoo"ts (star); K: hùut (star)
hu-m, hu-hup-m (plu.). H: huhhupum, huhutg, huhuptr; ZS, ZN:
hu'm
hup-č-ay (obj.). H,R: hupt fraj
hu-č pa-kut (shooting star). M: ah-hoots-ă-koot, ah-wan-nahk'-hoots'
['snail' translation may be a loan translation; Harrington speaker (Eugenia?) was reminded of his name for landsnail by VCh word, ? akiwo 'star'; she said snail can also be called fkotfr oki_kupotfr little animal that has a house'; perh. the relative clause construction is the generic, and the 'star' metaphor is a more specific name]
hu-č - short, flint-tipped war arrow, N. H: hut $\int \mathrm{r}$ (vs. hupt fr 'star, landsnail' [apparent minimal pair with hupč 'star' for $\pm$ ? ]) hu-č-ay (obj.). H: hut fraj, ananatrun hutsaj (said of m design on basket hat)
hu-hana-t - notch of arrow? or arrow pitch?. H: huphanat (the notch [of arrow-sic with glottal stop]); M: ne soo'-man'-nah (arrow)
huči-c - willow sp. (saucito chino [Chinese willow]: ash-colored, used for white part of baskets). H: hut $\int$ its, hut $\int \mathrm{fits} ; \mathrm{R}$ : hut fit (saucito chino); ZS,ZN: hučic (willow sp., not found here now: 67 ft ; used for arrows)
 of a spring where they used to shear)
hupeahe - work, V. H,R: hupeaha; K: axue (work [related?]) hupe ahe-vup (past). H,R: hupeahavup, hupeaq ovup hueaha-mat (fut.). R: nə nita pät frukataj ahueahamat = na nita hupeahak (I put this man to work) hupeahaw (imp.). H,R: hupeahow hupeahe-ič (imp. plu.). H: hupeahazt fr [NB: w apparently dropped before vowel loss in clitic, thus not hye? ahoč or hue? ahawč]
hupeaha-k (comp.). H: hupeahak; R: na nite pāt frukataj ahue ahamat = na nita hupeahak (I put this man to work) hupeaha(-)hyi-t (aug.: industrious). ZS, ZN : hupehajhjut
huphupa-č - stinkbug, N. H: huhupāt fr (pinacate [stinkbug]) huhupa-m (plu.). H: huhupam [= huhupiač, agt. nom. of hup 'fart'?]
-hukap - corn cob, corn stalk, N. H,R: -hukap, huka?
hukaht - pers. name: legendary father of the races, brother of cukit; also a nickname for a man who sleeps with his sister. H: hukeht
huk ah-t - water spider, N. H: hukaht (water spider; word means "deer")
huka-m (plu.). H: hukam
[same as above and below items?]
[h $\rightarrow$ © $/$ _ $\mathrm{m} \#$ ?]
hukah-t - deer, N. H: hukaht, hukaht (deer; second $h$ is "not at all g-like, but most distinct"); ZS: hukaht'; Pukaht'; K: hugaxt huka-m (plu.). H: hukgam
hukah-t-ay (obj.). H: hukahtaj, húkóhtaj; R: nimu hukahtoj (I shot a deer) hukoh-t Po-kwo-kwo (plant sp.: lit. 'deer-wheat' in Span.; yields tea as blood medicine). ZN: hukaht pokwokwo po-hukah-t (elk ['water deer']). ZN: pà huk áht
hukum - smell something, V. H: hukum hu-hukum (redup.). H: huhukum
hukupipta-t - chicken hawk, $N$; a certain type of basket? H ; hukurumat (hawk sp.: gabilan pollero [chicken hawk?]); ZS,ZN: hup kurumat' (chicken hawk); M: an-no'-se ho'-ko-pe-tat, ho-ko'-pe-tat (small coiled mush or soup bowl [a bird shaped bowl?]); JW: hokopita (plaque)
hukuruma (plu.). H: hukurumam
[there may be two different words involved here]
hukwat - tree sp.: elderberry. H: hukw at (sauco [elderberry tree]; uses $=$ fruit, wood for flutes, flowers for tea for catarro [catarrh; a cold]); ZS,ZN: hukw at (elderberry; spec. \#22-23, of no use)
[This is tree's name; the fruit is called kuhu⿳̌..]
huplas - plonm., a little above wopkipt. H: húplas [about 3 miles from Maricopa, near Buena Vista lake]
[Yokuts?]
hunap - hug someone, VT. H: hunap; R: nihinap, ... aqin ap (embrace, hold in arms)
[cf. hungit 'bear'?]
hupno ? — sling, N. M: ne hoo'-nah
huna-c - heart, spirit, middle, $N(A)$. H: hunats, húnats; ZS: hu•nac (hearts [sic])
huna-m (plu.). H: "plural -m"
-hun (poss.). H: -hun, hn; M: ne-hö́n, ah-hön; R: hun (heart; in plcnm., dog name); hth (heart, abs. [sic]), -h in; M: ah-hoon-ahp-poop'-ah-kuk (spirit or soul after leaving body), ah-poo'-vhak kuk'-kennye-hon' (spirit or soul after leaving body); K: a-xùn ([his/her] heart)
huna-c-ay (obj.). H: hinatsaj
-huna-y (poss. obj.). H: -hunaj; R: amthea ahunaj (he shot him in the heart)
huna-ve a (loc.: 'in the middle'). H: htnavea, hunave, hunave patraj tevatr (island ['in the middie of the water land'-NB construction with obj., no poss.], htnavea tukaj, h[navea afupkaj (midnight); R: hunavea alukaj (midnight); nə P nihju hinavea kits (I saw the middle house); hin avea nijaw (I grabbed it in the middle); ZS: hunave a (loc.); ZN: hu'nave ma'č (plcnm.: "in middle of vegetation"?); M: ho'-nav'-ve-oh, ah-éch-kwah pe-tsah (half [in length]); M: ho-nav'-ve-ah-to'-kah hoo'-nav-ve-ah-too'-ki (midnight), hoo'-nav-ve-ah, ho'-nav-ve-ah (middle)
Pa-huna-vea (poss. loc.: inside). H: ahunave, ahtnavea; R: ah[navea kitṣ (in the house); nincnavea nop (inside me); ahtnavea tomat (inside the stone); M: ah-hoo'-nav'-ve-ah, ah-ho'-nav-ve-ah
-huna-vea (poss. loc.)
-huna-ni (poss. inst.). H: nipujhun nihenana (I love him with all my heart); R: nihunans ninomkihihun (mi corazón lo quiero comprar ['I want to buy it with all my heart'?]) -huna-nu? (dir., 'from' form). H: -qunano?, hunanup numua-č _-hun (idiom: be happy, or happy with someone [one's heart is good']). H: ahth numuat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (he is happy), numuavan mohin (don't be sad); R: ahtn numuatsr (he is happy)
numua-huna-k (good-natured). H: num ahtn ak (a good-natured man)
numua-huna-k-am (plu.). H: numuahtnakam -hun $P a-k+h a k+k$ (idiom: be sad [one's heart is spoiled?]. H: nihun akəhahək (I'm sad)
k+šap _-hun (idiom: be hard-hearted). H: kojrop ohtn (he has a bad heart, never pities anyone) puvea Pami ni-hun (my heart is going [unclear if this is a fixed formula of some kind or just an ordinary sentence]). H: ưveámi nihun ('my heart is going', said by dying person when spirit leaves)
-hun Pakwat+k (remember?). H: nihun akwātak (I repeated the word), nihth akwoiok (I remembered)
pič̌̌huna? [mng. unclear]. H: nipatsrahtnop amoj (estoy atenido a Vd. [I am _ to you]; said when one is muy atrazado en alguna cosa [very behind in something])
hunei-t, hune-t - bear; also, a tag game (see below), N. H: hun aət, hunat [the latter only once]; $\mathrm{ZS}, \mathrm{ZN}$ : hunaw^t [check: was the wedge written alpha?] (grizzly bear); ZN: hu•naw(r)t (bear; "Ventura C[oun]ty Indians had power of transforming into bear-when dancing-not here"); M: ă moo-ho-noi-tă-ma, hoo'naht ah-muk (a bear killed him); K: hunat (bear)
hu-hun-i-m (plu.). H: hununəm
huna-t-ay (obj.). M: ah-mŭk hoo'-nah-tah (he killed a bear) huna( $\ddagger$ )-y $\ddagger$ k (plenm.: Los Osos). H: hunajok, hunaajak; R: hun eajak (plenm. of 3 places, but Eug. [Eugenia] says only real one (i.e. not a translation from Span.) is near El Comanche); nimi hunaojok (I go to hungiyik); hun awnup
 hunaitu (play tag). H: tsaw hunastup, tsatuhtutup hunast (let's play bear (tag) [NB: no obj. on 'bear' in hortative; also, $w$ in first form may indicate that $h$ is rounded before u]), hunaotup (play tag)
hu-hunatup-i-c (the game of tag). H: huhunatupjts (name of the game [NB glide frllowing P]; *hun aətupnits not approved as game name)
hunakač - California buckwheat. H: hセn akot fr (bush sp.: chamiso); ZS: hunakač (brush sp.; twig to pierce ears, flower and root for medicine; Erigonum fasciculatum, var. polifolium: California buckwheat); ZN: hun oxoč (plant sp.; same uses as above)
hun aniš-pea - picnm.: a spring called Aguage del Indio. H,R: hunonifrpea (plenm.: spring near here where auto parties picnic, called Aguage del Indio in Span.)
hun a(-)vi-t - badger, N. H: hch avit (Tejoneños [= Tulareños] used to eat this and dog)
huna(-)vi-m (plu.). H: henavim
hun aym ač — plenm.: Medio Monte, a cowboy camp. H: hunajmatsr ("This is the correct form, and hunavematsr is a kind of pidgin Jam., I understand"); K: honewimats (plenm.: below the ranch house on Paso Creek; called by the Yokuts "tsuitsau")
[any relation to hune 'heart'?]
hupnik - move, V. H: qupnak (move [dwelling]); R: hunək (get out of the way!)
-huy, -hunkip - descendant, poss. H: -hunkə Po, -haŋ hunki-m (plu.). H: -hunkəm, -həŋkəm hunk (VT: resemble a relative by descent). R: quank
[vowel may be í-cf. hink 'fall']
hunuk-yik, hunuk-pea-plenm.: a spring or mountain. H: hanukjok (plonm.: big range n[orth] or e[ast] of Tehachapi); R: hunukpea (spring or mountain name)
[cf. hupnik 'move'?]
hupup - talk, $V$ (interlocutor is in directional case). H: hupup, hupup, (pohupup) pakitanamup (they are speaking Kitanemuk); R: hunup (speak), nop nihunup morok (yo hablo la verdad [I'm
telling the truth]); K: ni-hùñu ([I] speak)
hu-hugup (redup.). R: nihuhugup amajak (I talk with you; I'm talking with you)
hugus (imp.). H,R: hugup
hugup-č (imp. plu.). R: hugupter
hugup-mot (fut.). R: nugupmat
-hupu-i (comp.). H: -hugwi,-htnupj, ne onahugwip werguk
(ca.) (mute, can't talk)
hupu-c (language, word). H: ka frap huputs (ugly language); R: hawkup hujuts (one word), woh nipan huguc (I know two languages [NB no obj. marker with 'two'])
huju-m (plu.). R: hupum (words; languages)
-hupupap (poss.). H: -hugupup, -hugupapo R: hugupap (language, word)
$k \neq$ šani-hunu-k-am (Ventureño(s)). H: kafarihunukam, kasantphunukam, kajraniphunukam, kə $\frac{1}{}$ anihupkam (Ventureño tribe; lived at Castec; means the people that speak the ugly language), hawkup ka ap nihupukam ([one] Ventureño), kas an ihunkom (the ones that danced the oso [bear dance])
hupic-pea - plenm.: north of Tejón ranchería. H: hupitspe (plenm.: n . of rchía. [north of rancheria]); R: hupitspe o (plenm., described)
huprist - animal sp., perh. weasel. H: huprist (otter, in El Monte plenm.); ZS: hurrist (animal sp.: kastor [sic-misspelled "castor" ('beaver')]-little animal-something like squirrel [beaver and otter ranges do not extend this far south, and they are far too large (Whitaker 1980) to be compared to even the large Tejón "groundsquirrels"; more likely a long-tailed weasel])
huprist Po-ho (plcnm.: 'otter's hole'). ZN: hurist P ofho (the spring [of evil omen babies]), hurist P óho (another spring near the schoolhouse-dog comes out as above [this seems to be a reference to an earlier entry for this plonm., but it isn't in the corpus])
hurik ?- look forth or peep out, V. H,R: hurk (go ever to look forth or peep), qurək, h[Prak (rise [of sun]); M: ah'-hō-rahch tam'-meat, ah'-hor-ruk tam'-me-at (sunrise)
hurki (imp.). H,R: hurki (imp.: go out and look)
hurk-in-ik (inf.). $H, R$ : htrkinik, htrkifik
hururavap-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - plenm.: a chain of hills extending toward El Monte. H,R: hururavapjak, hururavepjok (plenm.; means that they go in single file one behind the other as they run down to Monte (m óve) [ $=$ a chain of hills])
hutac - willow sp. JW: hutac (basket willow, both warp and woof)
huptaya-ka - chaparral gooseberry, Bibes quercetorum, ZS,ZN: húptajaká, hứtajaxá
[perh. two words-pa-ka= 'its fruit']
hupusinak - ant sp.: little, red. H: hupusinak hupusinak-yam (plu.). H: hupusinakjam
huvavapynik? havavapynik? - flavor. H: haminā ahovavap jnik (what does it taste like?); R: huvavapj (flavorful), huvavapj ivip kornip (this meat is tasty)
huva(-)wavi-t - blind; also the name of the walking stick insect, N .
H,R: huvawavit (blind; walking stick-which is an old man) huvaw avi-m (plu.). H,R: huvawavim [cf. Puva 'eye'; also cf. kavawayit 'deaf']
huyacsw? - sweat house, N. H: hujats ay, hujatsu; ZN: huryácaw (descr.: big enough for 10-12)
huyacaw-y+k (plcnm.). H: hujatsuhjak (dir.); R: hujatsawhjak (plenm. for two places).
huyawh-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ — plenm.: a spring. H: hujawhjak; R: hujawjok (plenm. of a spring, from hujaw 'iriris' [mng.?])
huyuyhk - conceited. H: hujujk, hujujhk
huyhupy $(\mathrm{y})$ - bird sp.: dark, chicken-size, flies low but not far, no crest. H: hujhupj, hujhupjy (final vowel distinctly heard; "not a regular sound of the language") huyhupy(-)am (plu.). H: hujhupjam
hw an - pers. name: Juan. R: qwan (in the sentence 'my name is $\qquad$ ') [< Span. "Juan"]
hwahn-ik - jump, VI. H: qwahnak, hwähinak; R: qwahnak hwan-hwahn-ik (stem redup.). H: aqwanqwahnok hawkup
atsakaj (he hops on one leg); R: aqwanhwahnok (it was jumping [note $q$ vs. h]) hwahn-ik-mat (fut.). R: -qwahnikmat
hwa-č - reed sp.: like tule, 5 ft . high, used for baskets. H: hwat fr , hwats5 hwa-m (plu.). H: hwam ma-hwa-č (another sp. of reed, skinnier). H: máhwat $\int 5$
hwik? - leave excess, V? R: aqwikip (las sobras [leftover food]), niwirapk nə? aqwikiptsaj (yo dejé sobras [l left leftovers])
hwiski-t-ay — whiskey, obj. H: hwiskitaj; R: hwiskiptaj [< Eng. "whiskey"]
hwip-t - hare, N. H: hwipt, hwit, hw7t (liebre [hare]), ahavo? hwipt, ohovat hwipt (rabbitskin blanket [ $\pm$ constituency absolutive]; one entry says su fresada conejo [sic: cottontail's blanket]), huit aqo (rabbit hole; "not glottalized $I$ even when said fast"); R: hwipt áqo (rabbit holo-of hare); K: huit (jackrabbit) hwip-m (plu.). H: hwipm
hwip-t-ay (obj.). H: hwiptaj
hwip-t pa-ho-vea (plcnm.: La Liebre). H: hwitahove; R: hwipt ahovea; K: huitahove (Rancho de la Liebre)
po-k avo hwip-t (plant sp.: 'hare's ear'). H: ákavo hwipt
hy a-č - ant sp.: big, black, lives in trees. H: hjót fr hya-m (plu.). H: hjom
hy ovi-t ? — salt, N. H: hjövit; R: hjovit, hjōvit; ZS: hyavit; ZN:
hja'vit, hijávit, hjóvit, (salt; got from Monolith Lake or Salinas
Valley); M: hā-ah'-vit, he-ah-vit' (salt); K: hiav it hiyavi-me? (accomp.). H: hjavime?
hiyavi-yik (loc.: a lake). H: hiavijək; R: hjavijək, hjāvijək (plcnm.: la salina [salt pit], a salty place); VF: ha-ya-uiook (Salt Lake, 4 or 5 mi . away on the other side of the mountains where they used to get salt)
hiyavi-n $\dot{\text { i (inst.). R: hjavira, hjavina }}$
[note inconsistency in application of gliding and stress rules]
hyik-ik - get lost, VI. H: hjakək (get lost); R: ahjakək (he-man or dog-got lost)
hyik-k (VT: lose something). H: hjak'k (lose something); R: hjak'k (lose)
[NB: double-articulated word-final stops]
hyočk - carry something, V (of wind). H: hjot frk
hyočkikam (feather banners). H: hjót fkok ạm (red feather banderas at fiesta)

Pic - ladle, V (no examples with overt objects). H: Pitṣ, Pits (ladle out water); R: P its (ladle)

Pic (imp.). H: Pits

Picam, Picač - we. H: Pitsam, Pifs ats ş, itsatrukruptākat am (nosotros estamos solos, no hay mas gente ["we are alone, there are no other people"; what older brother in myth said in days before there were people]; R: itsat $\int \mathrm{r}$; itsam itsamuk (we ourselves); ZS: Picam, cam•i [not glossed], -әvə• (us, obj.); M: it'-sam-mŭ, tsam-neu (ours (dual)); e'-tsam (we (plural)); e'-tsot'r, e'-tsom-mŭh (we (dual)); K: itsam

Picamuk (only us). H,R: Pitsamuk
Picam+nup (from us). H: Pitsamənu ?
Picami P-mea (accomp.). H: Pitsaməmea; R: itsaməPmea
Picam-ik (emphasized pronoun? [translated as accomp.]). H: Pitsamak (with [sic] us); R: itsamok akim (he is coming with you [sic])
Picamí-yik (dir.). R: otuhtutupjhen itsoməjok (she wants to play with us)

Pick - lose (in a game), V. H: Pitsk
Picupk - put something together, fix up something that is broken, V. H: Pitsupk (fix up something broken)

Picupki (imp.). H: Pitsupki, Pitsupki mahtn (cheer up! [fix up your heart])

Pihay-č — plant sp: "chilecote"; for food, tattoos, medicine [apparently the common household remedy for sores of Kit. households). H: Pihajts, Pihajtş, Pihajtr, Pīajts (chilecote (plant sp. [identified by Hudson and Timbrook (1980: 6) as wild cucumber], ground to eat, tattoo, rub body; pieces in the game of marbles), matoqjisin ihajts (you play the chilecote game [NB no
obj. marking]), tsapunitapt $\operatorname{thajtsaj}$ (let's play [chilecote game])

Pihay-m (plu.). H: Pihajm
Pihama ? - tease, joke, VI; josh someone, VT.
Pi-Pihama (redup.). H,R: Pipihama?
no-pihama-t ( n .: dañisto [brat], child that doesn't understand). H: näpihamat
nah-na-Pihama-m (plu.). H: nahnäpinamam
Pihan - hook something down, V (no examples with overt objects). H: Pihan

Pihan-ihwap-t (inst.: hook). H: Pin anihwapt, Pihaniwhat
-ihun - desiderative verbal suffix, meaning 'want to'. H: -ihun, ihtn, -jhun, -jhtn (many examples); R: -ihun (on 'stand up'), irihun (on 'sweep'), -anihun (on 'sleep'); ZS: -jhu'n (on 'eat'); ZN: jhun, -jhu'n (on 'eat')

PiPimuk - all around, in every direction, Adv. H: iPimuk ahihju (he is looking all around... as a man would when sheriffs were trying to catch him)

Pim, Pimi P - these (demonstrative pronoun; plu. of Pivi-c). H: Pimip (it's these), *Pimipip,im kucipjam (these dogs), pim $\mathrm{p} \ddagger \mathrm{m}+\mathrm{K}$ (with these); R: im; imam [with 3-2s clitic]

Pimt (obj.). H: Pimi
Pimip-meap (accomp.). H: Pimtpmear
Pinok-t — bird sp., "huitacoche" [mng.?]: dark, sings pretty. H: Pinokt

Pinok-m (plu.). H: Pinokm
Pino-č — scorpion, centipede, N. H: Pinotfr, Pinot fr

Pip, Pipi — here, Adv. H: Pip, Pip, Pipi; R: ip, ipi; M; ëp, e-pahn'; K: ip Pip-an (right here). H: Pipan [cf. Pamat-an ?]; M: e-pahn' (here)
Pipeay (from here). H: tsapureqak pipeaj (let's get out of here), ? apuraqวk ipe aj (he left here), Pipej amuvajupnup (from this side)

Pipko-č - plant sp.: mulefat (wood stalk used for fire drill, leaves as medicine for headache, fever, nosebleed) [oak sp.?]. H,R: pipkot $\int \mathrm{r}$ (guatamote [identified by Harrington as mulefat, in Hanna 1933]; type of wood used for male part of firesticks); ZS: Pipkoč (plant sp.: Baccharis glutinosa, winterfat; stem used as drill in fire-making and leaves used as medicine); ZN: pip-koč, Pip (-) $\times$ כč (plant sp.; stalk used as drill in fire-making; medicine for headache, fever, nosebleed; grows in water [?]; = type of yezka [yesca 'punk']; corewood of oak-tree for strike-a-light)

Pipko-yik (plcnm.: El Pleito). H: ipkojək
Pis avel - pers. name. H: noqwamip is avel (Isabel isn't there) [< Span. "Isabel"]

- Pivar - if (follows dependent clause in "Fut-if Pres" construction); also instrumental? while, when. R: gvihinak nirapwkivap (the box broke when I sat down on it), nikumanivap nigaraharak (I slipped down when I was asleep ["bajé durmido" [I descended asleep], re sliding down in bed]); apitsivap ninapn, nitoho, apits ip pāt frukat apəjuvan nipālaptsaj (when my father arrived, I told him, a man came and stole my shovel)
-ivak - verbalizing suffix. H: wovak (twice), -pähivax (make three), -pofrivak (get hot)
-ivan - verbalizer on nouns and numerals; means 'put'. $H$ : mahatfrivan (put five [things in work being done]), numuavan
mohtn (don't be sad [put your heart good]), Pojrivon (heat something over)

Pivip - this, demonstrative pronoun. H: Pivip [alone, or preceding or following a noun], Pivip tomat (this rock), Pivip tatamat (these rocks), pivip (this is it), puju (ivi) tovat fraj (todo el mundo, obj.?); R: ivip; ivits; ivipt amak (he hit this one [sic; 'this one hit him'?]); Pivip (this one, obj.); homipt ivi? (who is that man?); ivip kits (this house); ivits oki (this one's house); ivip akt (this is his his/her house); ivip gotap (this cat); ivip tamat (this rock); tamat ivip (it's a stone); ivip taそうmat (these rocks); pivip tamataj (this stone, obj.); ahjwan nehe ivitṣ (this one saw me); puhtseaptjr ivip (take care of this one!); M: e'-we, e've

Pivi-c, Pivi-č (abs. [this form can also modify]). H: Pivits, Pivits, apänuk pivits tovahts uvea (there was a flood antes), Pivits pojok (with [sic] this one); R: ivitsovan (with 3-1s clitic); ivitṣ akivea kwinakat (in this woman's house); ivitfr ahihjuvan nehe (this man sees me); ivits pajok (with this one); K: iv i-ts (this)
Pivi-y (obj.). H: pivij; ivij tamat aj (this rock, obj.); R: ivij;
nitamawmat ivip (I'm going to wake this one up), nimi tamanik ivip (l'm going to go to wake him up), ivip temotaj (this stone, obj.); nihihju ivih (I see this); nəp nihju ivij gatoptaj (I looked at this cat); uveo nimak ivip (I gave it to this one); uvea nimak ivip tomətaj ivip pät frukataj (I already gave this rock to this man); ahju nehe ivij (he saw that one [sic; 'this one'])
Pi-m (plu.). H: Pim (these, subj.), Pim kutsipjam (these dogs), Pim pamak (with [sic] these); R: im; im pamok (with these); patsəva? iməp, imə patsəpvap (with these); imə? pahih juvan nehe (these see me); im papāt frukam (these men); im notəpjom (these cats); puhtseaptsr imop ([you pl.] take care of these!); M: um' (you (plural)); ow'-hung-oo
[your language?], um' (you (dual [sic: Kit. does not have this category separate from plu.]))
Pimty (plu. obj.). R: Pimaj tatamət (these stones, obj.); iməj tatamat (these stones, obj.) [NB: obj. suffix goes on demonstrative but not noun]; nap nihju imaj gataptaj, nap ninju imaj gatopjama (I looked at these cats); uvea nimak imaj tatamataj imaj papat frukjamaj (I gave these stones to these men); nihihjuva ima (I see these); ahjowa ima (*imaj) (he saw these [obj. marking only when attributive]) Pivi-y+k (dir.). H: Pivijak (with [sic: verb is 'play' which takes complement in dir. case] this one); R: ivijak, ivits pajak (with this one)
Pimip-meap (with these). H: pimameap; R: imopmea
Pivi-nup (dir.). R: kutsitahovea ivinup (this side of the church [toward kucit_? ahove日 from here])

Piviv-ip - thin, Adj.? H: ivivip; M: e-ve've, e-ve-ve (thin [by measure])

Piviv-k (VT: make thin). H: -Piviyk
-ivi - "deceased" suffix, meaning dead, former, or no longer in the possessive relationship specified. H: -iva, -jva; R: uvea ka jrap, jotapiva (ya no sirve; es viejo el gato [it's no good any more; the cat is old'; this is presumably a metaphorical use, as in Eng. "he's finished"])
-ivi-ay (obj.). H: -ivoaj

Piwahanmopo; R: Piwahanmop (=V. piwahanmu); VF: à-wh-ho-mo-mon (Frazier Mt.)
[< VCh PiwhinmuP (Applegate 1974: 198)]
Piwos - figs, N. H: piwos (figs; "cannot be sure, but seems $\underline{\underline{0} \text {, not }}$ open $\underline{u}^{\prime \prime}$ ).
[< Span. "higos"]

P母 - your, personal prefix; described in chapter II, section A, number 1.

Pio-c-jaw, N. H: paats
-p+ap (poss.). H: -poap
pi-pła-c (plu.). H: popaats
Picakapy - owe money, VT. H: potsakapj (owe money [no overt object in this token]), tsolopt apatsakapj weh mahofr pesop tjendapea (Cholo owes $\$ 10$ at the store)
-ič - plural imperative and hortative clitic, described in chapter II , section D . There is one token of this (or a homophonous) clitic being used in the indicative: R: haminat onot fr ahihju (why are you looking at me?)

Pič - [mng. unclear]
H: Pót $\int \mathrm{r}$ (yo estaco un cuerno [mng. unclear; if "cuerno" is actually "cuero", could mean 'stake out a hide'; on the other hand, it looks just like 'blood']).
-P¡č — blood, poss. H: Pat f, Pat fr; ZS,ZN: -poč; M: ne'-eets, ah-ŭt s (blood); K: a-ö dj ([his/her] blood)

Pqč-c (abs.). H: Parfts ([sic] abs.); ZS,ZN: Počc (abs.), worr Počc (bloods)
Pič-m (plu.). H: Pqtsrm
Pič-w i-t (adj./n.: bloody). H: Potfrwot
pič-cup (v: be covered with blood). H: paporfrtsup (lits covered with blood)

Pihikaw - ask for, V. H,R: P3hikaw
Pik — lie, VI (postural). H: Pok (lie:__rtpk (lie straight), $\qquad$ Pənə Pk (lie face up), __ kumupk (lie face down)); R: Pək

Pikineap (set something (somewhere)). H: niokaneap (I set the hen (on the eggs))

Pikahi-c - pus, N. H: Pokahits -ikahi (poss.). H: aəkahi
-kaya (have boil [= ? $\ddagger \mathrm{kah}-\mathrm{ya}$ ? ]). H: nikaja (I have boil)
[cf. íč 'blood'?]
[NB unexplained absence of glottal stop in possessed form]
Pikea - [mng. unclear-form of 'lie'?] H: həwəva? məpəkea ap nə? howavap nipakea (yo tengo mi cuarto aparte y tú tienes tu cuarto aparte [I have my room apart and you have your room apart])

Pikihu-c - breastbone, N. H: Pakihuts

-     - $\ddagger k i h u p$ (poss.). H: -pakihup
$-p+k i h u p-m$ (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
-pikihup-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: -pəkihuptsaj
Pim-you (pl), pronoun. R: óm [cf. also ? ìmị?]

Pimonis - [mng. unclear]. H: hว̊ik .?amanis, håik amanfis (rabbit dance)
[V.Ch.?]
Pimi P - you, pronoun. H: Pəmə P; R: PəməP, əmə?, ə́mə P; M: ham'me tŭ-mŭ' (Who are you? [M. mis-segments: hamit $P \dot{+m+}$ ]), ŭmŭh (ŏ-mŭ); 00-mŭ'-ŭ (we (dual)); M: 00-mu' (present or absent same); K: ü mü (ye); ü mü, imua (thou)
 amə pavupva (with 2-3p clitic)
Pimimi-y (obj., plu.). R: amamaj, Pamamaj
P¥mi? (imp. subj. sg.). H: Pamə?
Pim (imp. subj. plu.). H: Pom
pimip-t-ne ... (were you ...?). H: poməpt ne ...
Pimí-yik (dir., sg.). H: Paməjək (to you, sg.); R: aməjək, aməjək

Pim(-)ik (dir., plu.). H: Pəmək (with you, plu.); R: am (with you, plu.)
pimeap (accomp., sg.). H: pameap (with you, sg.); R: əmeap pimi-meap (accomp., plu.). H: Pomomeap (with you, plu.); R: omomea?
Pimi-nup (from you, sg. or plu.). H: Pamənup (from you/ye) Pimi-y (obj.). H: nipot frohuna? pomoj (estoy atenido a Vd.-said when one is muy atrazado en alguna cosa); R: 2məj

Pimiha - mute. H: Pamohe (mute, does not talk)
PiPmk woh - "2 up" (in game)
woh op Pink, woh Pink (throw two face up). H: woh Pank, woh ap Pank
[cf. $3 \dot{+} n \dot{\text { in }}$ Pk 'face up']

(know, know how to, understand (words)); R: P on (know); M: now-
ne-ün (I don't know)
Pin-an (inform [and). H: pinan (hacer saber
[inform]-indirect object is person)
-płn-an-ivanar (inst. nom.). H: -pananivarap, ápənafivana p (signal)
-pin-an-ihun (des.). H: nion anihun (des.: I want to learn)
Pin-an-a-t (gen. nom.: wise, wise person, omniscient,
fortuneteller). H: P ə ranat, P ón an at, P ón an at
Pinifk - be face up, VI. H: woh Paonak (two are boca arriba [face up])

Pinipk (Adj./Adv.: face up, with 'put', 'be'). H: Pənə Pk (face up with 'put', "be"); R: ənəPk nite nehe (I put it face up), ənə PK nirok (l'm lying face up)
[< in 'know'? (and perh. kumik'face down' is < kum 'sleep')]

Pănipnyu cł̣puk cáha-hovut - unanalyzed formula used at end-of mourning ceremonial washing, one year after someone's death (seems to mention clothes).

ZN: Po̊nipnyu cépuk cáhahovut (unanalyzed, exept cahahavut, "our clothes"; gloss given: "I've taken everything away. I'm washing my family's face. I am now free of mourning." [said at end-of-mourning ceremonial washing, one year after death of spouse]).
$-i t$ - interrogative clitic. Vowel drops after nip. Also used for negative hortative: H,R: [cf. chapter II, section D, for examples]; also, naw-t mi-cuprik (que no te atasques [Hope you don't get stuck])

Pitahik — climb, go up, VT (but usually no overt complement). H : Patāhak; R: Potāhək (climb up on)
pitahik-mat (fut.). H: ataphkmat (climb, go up, with obj.) \#tapk-ihwap-t (inst.: stairs). H: pát apkinwat (stairs)
$-\ddagger \vee+n-$ object clitic expressing third person subject and first person object. H,R: [cf. chapter II, section C for examples]

P母ivk - raise something up out of reach, V. R: PəPVk (alzar, put up out of reach)
płpvki (imp.). R: Papvki

-pipvk-mat (fut. [note 4-C cluster]). R: nipapvkmat

-     - $\ddagger$ Pvk-uvup (past). R: -pəpvkuvup (I already raised it, ya hace muncho)
[cf. hohovìk 'not quite']
piwhenmup - plenm.: (in?) mountains at San Emigdio [apparently an enclosure was built there for ceremonies]. H: Pawh enmu (plcnm.: the cordon grande of the Sierra de San Emigdio) [ $=$ iwəhənmu, Chumash pienm. on Mt. Pinos].

Płwi - sunflower sp., 4" diameter. H: Pəwi
piwi(-)hikaw - beg, V. H: Powihikaw
p+wi(-)hikap(-)a-č (beggar). H: powihikapät $\int \mathrm{r}$
płwi(-)hikap(-)a-m (plu.). H: P $\begin{aligned} & \text { wihikapatfr (beggar; plu. -m) }\end{aligned}$
 (hiedra)
płyci-m (plu.). H: pajtsim
piyci-vea (loc.: Chanaco Canyon or a local hill). H: Pajtsivea (Chanaco Canyon), Pəjt sive (loc., a hill name); R: Pajtsivea (big pedregal in Chanaco Canyon, described); ZS: Pájycive (Chanac Canyon [sic]); ZN: Pưwičive, Puičive, P? Pičive (Chanac Canyon)
-piyci-muk (be poisoned with [poison] ivy). H: nipajtsimuk (I am poisoned with hiedra [ivy])
$P \ddagger y+w$ - rob someone or steal something, VT (both kinds of objects are in obj. case). H: Pajəw (steal); R: PajəW్ㅇ (rob, steal [both kinds of objects are in obj. case]); apajuvan .. (he stole from me ...)
$-\mathrm{P} \ddagger \mathrm{y} \ddagger \mathrm{F}, \mathrm{N}$ (metaphor for illicit sex?). H: niajow [the lack of $\boldsymbol{?}$ unexplained] (concubine; prostitute; paramour; a reciprocal term, said of man or woman)
$-p+y \mp a ?$ (plu.? [this is how I entered it, but suggestive of verbal nature]. H: -?ajoapa, pojoa?
Pサy亩-t (N: thief). R: ajat
[w --> $\boldsymbol{\varnothing}$ ?]
Płypk - lean something somewhere, V (place is in obj. case). H:
Pajpk
Pły $\ddagger$ Pk (be leaning, Adj.--followed by conjugated form of "be"). H: Pajapk ___ketsr (be leaning, VI; also ejopk [e here an error?]).
$-k a p$ - cone of pine or piñon, N. H: -kapo, -kapa cone of pine or piñon; means bola [ball])
kacip - chew, V. H: kōtsip
kaci-c (pass. nom.: milkweed plant). H: kāt fit $\int$, kātṣitṣ (milkweed plant-green, 2' tall sp.; Kit. chewed bitter cooked juice, used fibers for string) ZS,ZN: kacic (milkweed-Asclepias erosa (chewing gum from the milk; also medicine for spider bites))
kaci-m (plu.). H: k afs im
kaci-c-i-mon-inwap-t? (a chew of milkweed flower and gum mixed together?). ZN: kácicemóninw at (flower chewed together with gum) [may contain stem of mon-ik 'mix']
keč - be, live, face, VI (also used in sentences with "have" in English-cf. chapter IV, section A). H: kat $\int r$, kat $\int r, k$ kt $f r$, kotfr; katfr, kat fr, kafr, uvea ne nikat fr nipuqtsiva (I was ready); R: kat fr (be, live), ip akat fruvup (it was here), akat fr ne(he) ip (it was here), pajon nikat fr (l live far off), akajr nitəqwap (yo traigo noticias [I bring news]), srwink akatsr hapt (the rattlesnake is coiled), akatsr rapwk (está sentado [she is seated]), akat fr tsonupk (está parado [it is stopped]); nuk nikot $\int \mathrm{r}$ op (I was left [there] alone); mok at $\int$ rot (are you there?); ZN: nikač no nik ${ }^{W}$ ahk ${ }^{W}$ o (I am eaten [doubtful gloss]); ZS,ZN: kač (be); M: ham'-me-nat muk'-katch, yah"ham'-me-nat muk-katch (greeting)
pa-kač-ivł (sack, afterbirth). H: akat fiva, akot fiva, akat Siva
Pa-kač-ivt-y (sack, obj.). H: "obj -j"
Pa-kač pa-niw ku-t (firefly [it-is its-possession fire]). H: akat franiw kut (firefly (it has fire))
kač-i(-)huna-k winikaik (he is a smarty [< hune- 'heart', or -ihun 'want']). H: kat fintnakwinicoəok
kač-i(-)huna-k huyuyhk (a conceited person). H: kat fihtnak hujujhk (a conceited person-thinks ninguno com yo [no one like-i.e. as good as-me])
ka-č — rat, N. H: kat fr; ZS,ZN: ka•č (rat; wood rat)
ka-m (plu.). H: kam
ka-č-ay (obj.). H: kāt $\int \mathrm{raj}^{\mathrm{j}}$
-k ači P — luck, poss. H: kə frap war ayk nik at $\int \partial$ P (tengo muy mala suerte [l have very bad luck])
$k$ ačoakah-yik - plcnm. of a place with wild grapes. R:
kāt froakahjok
[< Kačuoč 'heel'?]
kačokt — plant sp.: Isomeris arborea Nutt. ZN: ká'čכkt
kačua-č - heel, N. H: kät fruat fr
kačua-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
-kačuap (poss.). H: kāt fruap (glossed as poss. obj., but no $-\not-7]) ;-k$ āt $\int$ ruño
kafe? - coffee, N. H: Kafe?
[< Span. "cafe"; cf. kope?, the more assimilated version]
kahap-c - front-flap or apron; front of buckskin dress, N. H:
kahapts
-kahap (poss.). H: -kaha, -kaha, -kaqap, -kaqap; ZS,ZN: Pa'kaha
kaheapn (imp.). H: kaheapn (pin your coat together)
-k ahe apn-ivanap (inst.: pin). H: -k ahéopnivana
kaha-kam (tribename: Monos?). H: kahokam (Mono Lake people); R: kahäkom (Monachi); ZN: kaho'kam (indians at Independence, the Kaw. call payazoz a [cf. Zigmond et al. (1988: 212) pagozoozi 'Indians said to live around Lone Pine and Bishop, called Shoshones'])
[length of final a suggests -kam may really be $-\dot{i k}+\mathbf{a}+\mathrm{m}$ ]
kahon - box, N. H,R: kaqon
kaqon-t-ay (obj.). H,R: kaqontaj, kaquantaj
[< Span. "cajón"]
kahpišakam — tribename: Yokuts from Tular, Tejón. H:
káqpif akam, kóqpifrakam, kóqpifakàm, kápif jakạm (Tulareños (language that says pupus); Tejoneños; qosopmo; all the Indians that lived up northeast of here); R: koqpifjokom (Yokhots, Tulareño tribe); ZS: ka'pišak ám (Yokuts); ZN: ka.pišakám, kapišaxam (Yokuts), kápišakam (Yokuts language), kippišakam tákat (the Yokuts territory [sic; apparently $=$ Yokuts Indian])
kahpišakaha-nup pašivík (northerly [Tulareño] wind). H: káqpifakahonup afivak
[< Pokoppi? 'the bunch of feathers on top of the feather ornament'?]
kohwenga - plenm.: Cahuenga. M: kah-wen'-gah (placename in
Tongva territory: Cahuenga)
[< Gab.?; cf. kovwey 'Cahuenga']

kaka-č - quail, N. H: kakat fr, kakat fr, kokatr; ZN: kak•a-č
kaka-m (plu.). H: kakam; ZN: kak.am
kaka-i-t — bird sp.: bigger than quail. H: kákaşant, kákaət (partridge (like quail but bigger); kakaət (ceremonial
stick with eagle [sic] quills; partridge); ZN: kokowt (mountain quail)
koko-i-m (plu.). H: kakoom, kakorem; ZN: kakawm [this item and kokoč 'plant sp.' apparently homophonous]
kaka-č — plant sp.: an ash-colored shrub $3^{\prime}$ tall, used medicinally. H: kakatsr
kaka-vea (loc.). R: käkavea
[this item and k\&koč 'quail' are apparently homophonous]
kakačiyač - circular brush enclosure where baskets were made, $N$. ZS,ZN: kakatsjats, kakat fijatf, kakat fijat (circular brush enclosure; means "just to stay in to make something"; made baskets there)
[agt. nom. of keč 'be'? if so, exceptional since non-human]
kakawaitt — chicken, N. H: kakowast, kákawaət (hen); R:
kakawast (rooster)
kakawaì-m (plu.). H: kákawàm
kakawai-t Pa-ki (chicken house). H: kakawart aki
kakawat - peanut, N. H: kakawat
[< Span. "cacahuate"]
kakayhup - lizard sp., called in Span. "guico del llano"; a foot and a half long, gray with white belly and yellowish markings; raises itself high on legs when running; will chase people and bite. H : kakajhu, kakajhup
kakayhup-m (plu.). H: kakajhupm
kelaku-pea - plenm.: a mountain peak. H: kaläkupea, kalākupea (great mountain peak with lake at base and source of Colorado, Rio Bravo, Estanislao)
kaiavop - nail, N. H: kalavo?
kalavop-yam (plu.). H: kalavopjam
[< Span. "clavo"; cf. kavoč 'knife, iron, tool'?]
kales ap — buggy, N. H: kales a p
kales a p-t-ay (obj.). H,R: kales aptaj
k ales ap-pea (loc.). H,R: kales appea
[< Span. "calesa"]
k alo ? - knife, N. M: ne kah'-lo (knife (of stone))
k am - interjection (said once or more); also the sound of whales fighting. $\mathrm{H}: \mathrm{kam}$
kameap - bury; roast in buried coals, V. H: kameap, kameap, kameap (bury; also used for showering people with chia at fiesta); R: k ameap (roast buried meat)
kameap-n (imp.). R: kameapn
kameap-n-ič (imp. plu.). R: kameapnot fr
kamea-mat (fut.). R: kameamat [NB: no ? preceding mat]
kameap-n-ea (pass.). H: uvea kameapnea (it's already buried); R: kameapnea
nah-k ameap-n-i-c (cemetery). H: nahkamepnits, nahkameapnits; R: naqkameapnits (cemetery in El Monte)
nah-kameap-n-i-vea (loc.). H: naqkamepnive; M: nah'kah-me-ah nä'-ve-ah (cremation)
nah-kameap-n-i-yik (plenm.: mountain at Cañada de los Muertos). H: na'kame Pnijox (plcnm.); R: naqkameapnijok
kapm-ik - be crazy, dizzy, drunk, VI. H: kapmək, ka Pmək; R:
kapmok (be loco [crazy] or drunk; get drunk)
kapm-k (VT: make someone drunk). H: patsəvan akapmk (he gave me toloache), nə p ne nika ?mk (l got him drunk); R: ka Pmk (make drunk)
Pa-k © Pm-k-iP (part.: crazy, stupid, drunk). H: axamkip, akomkip akapmkip (crazy, stupid, drunk, bold (of a

```
                    woman)); R: akapmkip = akapmak (he's loco, drunk),
                        akamki (el es loco [he's crazy], crazy person)
        Pa-kah-kapm-k-i-m (crazy, plu.). H: akahxamkim,
        akóqkamkim; R: akaqkamkim (they're crazy)
    kamk-i-c-ay tuhtu-i-c (last dance of the mourning fiesta).
        H: kamkitsoj tuqtuits (last dance at wakotrg Sunday night)
        [obj. case unexplained]
    kamote P - sweet potato, N. H: kamoteP, kamote?
    [< Span. "camote"]
    kanaypucic - baby squirrel, N. H: kónajputsitṣ
    kanaypucic-yam (plu.). H: kanajputsitsjam
kan+m+ic - gall, N. H: kanəmots
    -k an+m (poss.). H: -k anəm, -kenəm
    [a-loss stem with a -> +? or idiocyncratic i-loss]
kanyap - cane, N. H: kanjap
    [< Span. "caña"]
kaja-c - beard, N. H: ka\etaats
    ka\etaa-m(plu.). H: ka\etaam
    -ka\etaa (poss.). H: -ka\etao; K: aqaña ([his] beard)
    -ka\etaa-y (poss. obj.). H: -ka\etaaj
    ka\etao-win (incorp.: pull out beard hairs). H: ka\etaawin
    ka\etaa-win-ihwap-t (incorp., inst.: clam [used as tweezers]).
        H: kabawininwat
    koyo-win-inwop-m (incorp., inst., plu.). H: "plu -m."
    ni-kaja wir (be full-bearded). H,R: nikana war ("soy muy
        barbón [l am full-bearded]" [Kit.: 'my beard a lot'])
    ka\etao-w+-t (aug.: full-bearded). H: ka\etaawot, ka\etaāwot
        (barbón); R: k a\eta a w at(barbón)
kapana-c - sore, N. H: kapanat s
```

-kapana? (poss.). H: -kapana, -кapana ?
kapep, kafep - coffee, N. H: kapep, kafep; R: kafe?
kafep-t-ay (obj.). H: kafeptaj, kafeptaj
[< Span. "cafó"]
karap - shell corn, V. H: karap
kararapy - fall, V.? H: akararapj ([the down] is falling from tsuq)
kareta - cart, N. H: ámot frk kárefo (ox [it pulls cart]) [< Span. "carreta"]
karnea - meat, N. H: karnea; R: karniP, kownea; M: kar-ne (meat); ah-wah'-ke kar-ne (dried meat) karnip-t-ay (obj.). H: karniptaj
[< Span. "carne"; NB Span. e --> ea ~ ip]
karvašap - squash, N. H: karvafap
[< Span. "calabaza"]
kasa - house, N. M: kah-sah we'-haht (ceremonial house) [ S Span. "casa"]
kaspap kapayaha ? [ming. unclear]. H: kaspap kapaja'a (cobweb) [Ventureño?]
kaštik — plenm.: the bog at the Laguna, ${ }^{4}$ where people say jat
"come here". H: kostak
[<VCh koshtio]

[^51]```
    kašup(-)\etaa -plcnm.: Montalvo, called in Kit. munkikahjikk? H:
    ka fupya (Montalvo; = Jam. plcnm. munki kahjak)
            [may not be Kit.; perh. Fernandeño]
    kava-c - ear, leaf, N. H: kovats (ear); ZS: kavac
    -kava (poss.). H: -kava, -kava, -kava (leaf); ZS: -kava,
        -k`ava, -k-avap; ZN: -k ava, -kavar (leaf); M: ne-kah-vah,
        ah-kah'-vah (ear); K: akav a (ear)
    -kava-y (obj.). H: -kavaj, -kavaj
    -kava-m (plu. poss.). R: kaväm
    -kah-kava (redup. poss. plu.). H: -kahkava
    -kava-vea (poss. loc.). H: -k avävea, ákavave, ákavavea
        (plcnm.); R: akavavea (plenm.: La Oreja = V. kaftu);
        makavāvea (into your ear)
    pa-kava-yik (plcnm.: Piru). ZN: Pakava`juk
    kava-tutu-č ([ear]wax). H: kavatututsr
    -kava-tutu (wax, poss.). H: -kavatutu
    kah-kava-wi-t (redup., aug.: 'big-eared person'). H:
        kahkavawat, cahkavāwวt (big-eared); R: kahkavāwət
        kah-kava-w+-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
        kava-wavi-t (deaf [shares second morpheme with huvawavit
        'blind']). H,R: kávaw avit, kavāwavit
    kah-kava-wavi-m (deaf, plu.). H: көqкaväwavim
    ta(-)kava-vea ? (plonm.). VF: ta-cakvavie (plenm. at
        Temescal ranch; ear)
    [cf. kgy+k 'listen']
kavo-tutu-č - earwax, N.
    [cf. kove-c 'ear']
kava-wavi-t - deaf, N.
    [cf. kovo-c 'ear']
```

kavayop - horse, N. H: awawk kavajopt, kavajup ako?, = kavajup akwap (the horse is eating it)
kavayop-t-ay (obj.). H: kavajoptaj
[< Span. "caballo"]
kavickik - having something on one side (as M's [Magdalena's?] dog, with one black eye), Adj. H: kavitskik
kapvik - listen, V. H: kapvak
kapvk (imp.). H: kapvk
[ci. kovoc 'ear']
kavk - together, Adv. H: kāyk pami (the birds go in a flock)
kavo-č - knife, N, or any iron or tools. H: kavot fr, kavotŗ; M: kahvots (knife (of stone)); K: gabotc (knife) kavo(-)č-ay (obj.). H: kavot $\int \mathrm{raj}^{\mathrm{j}}$ kavo-s-pakač (reed knife [etymology suggests knife concept Span., not Kit.]). H: Kávospákat [NB: č $\rightarrow$ s] kavo(-)č-ay kim-an-ik (smith [iron-making]). H: kavot fraj kamanax; R: kamanahk kavot fraj (he's making fierros [horseshoes] (= blacksmith))
kavweng ? - plonm.: Cahuenga. H: kawwen (plonm.: on road near Los Angeles); R: kavweno (Cahuenga) kavweyayam (tribename: Cahuengueño). H,R: kavweŋajam [cf. kahwenge 'Cahuenga']
kawakaw a-č - a type of coccoon, or rattle made from two or three of them, N. H: kawakowatsr
-kawakawa (poss.). H: -kawakawa (poss = V. tsiaris) [stem reduplication, as in bird names, suggesting a sound]
k aw an a - pers. name: Vicente Montes [son of Angela Montes]. H: kaw ān a
kawča-č - fox, $N$ (used for quiver). H: kawtratf, kawt frat fr;
ZS,ZN: kawčač kawča-m (plu.). H: kawtsram kawča-č-ay (obj.). R: kawtsrotsraj
kawešap - tribename for Kawailisu. H: káwéfrap (Serranos (like
Lozada))
[anomalous stress pattern suggests a borrowing]
kawicat, kawicat-pea - plenm.: Frasier Mountain. H: káwitsāt (=
Tej. tošlolo, a mtn. [Frasier Mtn., according to J. Johnson (p.c.)]);
R: kawitsatpea ( $=$ V. tajololo, a mtn.)
kawiyap - tribename: Cahuilla. R: kowijop kawiya-y am? (plu.). R: "plu. -jam"
kawkow - bear costume, N , or bear sp. H: káw kaw, káw kay [note stem reduplication, often used in bird names, to suggest a sound]
[< VCh?]
kawnea - meat, N .
[ < Span. "carne"; cf. korne o 'meat']
kawri-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ — plenm.: mountain; mentioning 'penis'. R: kawrijak ("ca.")
kawtk - break, cut (of string), V. H: kawtk
kawt-mat (fut.). H: kowtmot
kawt ki (imp.). H: kawtki
kawtki-č (imp. plu.). R: kawtkitfr
[ $k$-loss may be from cluster constraint, or morphological class]
kawvik - pink-to-lavender color, Adj. H: kawvok (medio colorado [half red]); R: kawvok (reddish); ZS,ZN: kawvok (lilac or lilacorchid color)
kay — perhaps, possible (clitic). H: -qaj, -kaj, -kaj, -kaj,
ni-muk utkamapjtkaj ("said when no sabes si vas a sanar o morir..." [said when you don't know if you're going to get well or die; apparently 'Am I going to die now?']); R: nimukm ot koj (maybs I'm going to die now)
kay — neg. used in imp., with VI. H: kaj
kay-m (neg. used in imp, with VI). H: kajm, kajhPm, kajm, kajm; R: kajh Pm, kajm (imp. neg. in 'don't you lie to me!') kay-m-ič (imp. plu. neg.). R: kajmat fr
[NB: vowel-initial clitics lose their niitial vowel following kay]
-kapy - "characterizing" derivational suffix, added to nouns (cf. chapter III, section A, 1)). H: -kapj, -kapj
-kam [irreg. plu.-cf. e.g. 'Chumash': kišani-hunu-kam]
kaya - have a boil, V. H: kaja
[=kahi-ya?]
Pa-kahi-c (compound w/ 'blood': pus). H: Pakahits -i-kahi (poss.). H: -akahi
k ay ak — plant sp.: angelica. H: kajak (chuchupate [Lomatium californicum (Hudson et al. 1977: 116)]); JW: kaiyak (angelica root, chuchupati)
kayak-yik (plenm.: hill or mountain area). H: kájäkjok (plenm.: a mountain range); R: kajäkjok (a hill plenm., < kojāk 'chuchupate')
kayak-pea (a [hypothetical?] name consultant does not know). R: kajakpe (would mean 'at the chuchupate'; nesc. as placename)
kayam - tribename: people at yuakapy mountain, Antelope Valley. H: kajam (tribe inhabiting juakapj mountain, Antelope Valley; not juakajom, but кajom; plural same)
kay-c — mountain, N. H: kajts, kajits, kajts, kajts; R: kajtfr, kajts;
ZN: kayc; M: ki--̈ts (mountain)
kay-m (plu.). H: kajim, кajm; R: kajm
ka-kay-c (redup.). ZN: kákayc
kay-yam (tribename? 'people who lived at yuakapy'). H:
kajam (jóakapj is a mountain that has snow on it all the time)
kay-vea (loc.). H: kajve日, kajuea
kay-vea kika-m (tribename: "Serranos"). H: kajve kikam= kakajvjatam ("Serrano"); R: kajvea kikep =kajणjatam (mountain Indian) ka-kay-vea-tam (Serrano, plu.). R: kakajvjaZam [perh. a forced answer?] kay-cama-č - molar, N. H: kajtşamā-č ("muela" [< 'mountain' + *'tooth'? (cf. Kit. tamac 'tooth'; poss. evidence of old palatalization rule]) kah-kay-cama-c (molar, plu.). H: kahkajts amats -kay-cama (molar, poss.). H: -kajtṣama, -kajt faṃa
kay $\ddagger$ - winnow in a certain way: toss-winnow in tray to separate coarse meal from fine. H: kajə? (toss-winnow to separate coarse meal from fine), kajəpk (toss-winow in a certain way, in tray)
kaykuk-pea - plenm.: big mountain three or four days from tahičpe. H: kájkukpe (big mountain 3 or 4 days from táhit fpe; means some blue stones, some blue-black; R: kajkukpea (mtn. far east of Tehachapi in Serr. country; means bluish or blackish stones)
kayšu-c - opponent in a game ("sayo"), or personal enemy, N. H: kajfruts kayšu-m (plu.). H: kajjrum $-k a y s ̌ u(p o s s.) . ~ H: ~-k a j j r u, ~-k a i j g u, ~ k a j i f g u ~$ $-k$ ayšu-m (plu. poss.). H: -kajfum
kipat - plant sp., used for house roofing. ZS,ZN: kipat [cf. kič 'house'?]
ki-c - house, N. H: kits, kits, kits, kits [most tokens have the dot];
R: kitṣ, kits, kits, kitṣ; ZS: ki•c; ZN: ki•č; M: keéts, ke-keets (village of town); M: kee-sah'-maht (brush wikiup ['house' + 'grass']); K: giits, ni-gi (house)
ki-m (plu.). ZS: ki•m ("2 houses")
ki-ki-m (redup., plu.). ZS: $k i \cdot k \cdot i \cdot m$ (houses, plu.)
ki-ki-c (redup.: plu.). H: kikitṣ; R: kikits (ranchería [lit., houses])
ki-c-ay (obj.). H: kitsaj, kitsaj kamanipät fr (carpenter [house-maker])
$-k i$ (poss.). H: -ki', $-\mathrm{ki}^{4},-\mathrm{kih},-\mathrm{kip}$ [one token only], $-k i$; R: $-\mathrm{ki},-k i$; amats aki (his house); R: pat frukat akin =aki pat frukat (the man's house); papat frukam paki (the men's houses); ZS: - k ; K: giits, ni-gi (house) [h, aspiration, and $n$ unexplained]
$-k i$ (poss. obj.). H: -ki ${ }^{4}$
-ki-m (plu. poss.). ZS: -kitm ("poss. plu.? or 2?")
$-\mathrm{ki}-\mathrm{ki}$ (plu. poss.). R: -kiki; am nikiki (aquellas mis casas [those houses of mir 3 ]); ZS : $-\mathrm{ki} \cdot \mathrm{kim}$
ki-nup (dir.: from the house). R: kinu?
-ki-nup (dir., poss.). R: nikinup (from my house); nijok akinup (from my mother's house)
ki-vea (loc.). H: kivea; R: kivea, kivea
-ki-vea (loc., poss.). H: kimot fr pakive (plenm.: flicker's house); R: uvea nikat fr nikivea (l'm already in my house) -ki-ki-vea (loc., poss., redup.). R: -kikivea
$-k i-y+k$ (poss. dir.). R: nikijok (to my house); M: nim'-min-ne-ke'-yuk (I am going home); nă-ke'-yuk (Go home [error for míki-yík 'to your home'?])
?a-ki-kim tameat [mng. unclear: ring around the sun?]. H : Pákikom tamenat ("hace casa el sol" [the sun makes house'?])
Pa-kač Pa-ki kupač (snail [it has a house]). H: Pákatfr Paki kupat r
ki(-) $\dot{k}$ ? (householder [q.v.]). H: kik
$k i(-) \ddagger k$-am (householder, plu.). H: kikam
tim(-)ki-c (cave). H: t ámkitṣ
tith-tim(-)ki-c (caves, plu.). H: tántomkits
$t \ddagger m(-) k i-y \ddagger k$ (plcnm.: re cave). H: támkijok
waptam(-)kic, waptam(-)ki-vea (plenm.: Camulos [juniper
house']). H: waptamkitṣ, waptamkit f, waptamkivea (Camulo)
kihe - nut (gen. or walnut), N. H: Kihe (nut, walnut); ZN: Ki•he (wainut tree).
kihu-č - fish (gen.), N. H: kihuţ kihut $\int \mathrm{r}$, kihut $\int \mathrm{r}$; kihut $\int \mathrm{r}$ ałə P P ápifrap (pescado cabezón [big-headed fish?]-introduced by Americans into Tejon Creek, but died); ákwa? kihut $\int 5$ (kingfisher [apparently "its-food [is] fish"!); ZN: kihu•č; M: kehoots, ke-hoot'r (a fish); ke-hoot, ke-hoots (fish); ah-wah'-ke ko-hoot, ke-hoots-ah-wah-ke (dried fish); K: gihut-
kihu-m (plu.). H: kihum, kihumkihu-čay (obj.). H: kihut fraj; Paminujvohe? kihck fraj (salmon spear); M: wur-ke-hoom', ke-hoom (many fishes)
kihu-g (picnm.: a spring: "El Pescado"). H: kihuy (a spring called "El Pescado" in Span., kot fat fonəPos in V.); R: kinu g (plenm.: El Pescado)
kika-t - house vertical [i.e., post?], N. H: kik at kika-m (plu.). H: kikam
[cf. kic 'house']
kike P - householder, inhabitant, N. H: kik; Pahəvəve momə́t kikepe (coast person); R: ahovavea momat kikeP (coast person)
kiko(-)m (plu.). H: kikam; Pahəvave mamát kikam, Pahəvave məmát kipkam (coast people)
kika-t-ay (obj.). H: kikahtaj
[cf. kic 'house'; = /ki-ka Py/?]
kipkapy — "capitán" [chief], N. H: kipkapj, kikapj, kapkaj, kikapj;
R: kikapj; ZN: kíkay, kíkạ; M:kä'-ki, ké-ki' (chief)
kika-t (constituency abs.?). H: Pakiuj kik ot (things
belonging to the chief, obj.)
kipka-m (plu.). H,R: kikam
kipka-t-ay (obj.). H: kikahtaj, kikahtaj; R: kikahtaj
ki-kipko-m-ay (plu. obj.). H: kikikamaj
-kikahpa (poss.). H: -kikaqpa; R: -kikahpa (capitán, obj.)
-kikahpo-m (poss. plu.). R: pokikahpoom (their capitán) [cf. kic 'house']
kim - come, VI. H: kim, kim; pakiməvan hikapj (he came to see me); małakim hówats反 tóvat fr (next year [fut. it-comes other year; but why clitic first?]); R: kim; M: o-wah'-kim i'-ah-kik (a white man is coming.); o-wah'-kim tah-kaht (an Indian is coming); o-we-hah'-me sah'-kim (somebody is coming.)
kim-mat (fut.). R: kimat
kim-uvup (past). R: nikimuvup (vini [= "vine (yo)" 'I came'])
kiva (imp.). H: kiva, kiva'; R: kiva, kiva; kivaisa kwapts (come and eat [comel let's eat]); M: ke'-vah-kwuhk (come here.)
kiva-č (imp. plu.). H,R: kivats
ca-kim-mat-ič (hort? [apparently contains fut. clitic]: let's come). R: ts ákim ałut s (vamos á venir [let's come]) pa-kim-ivanap tamea-t (the east [inst.: its-coming-instr. sun])
kima-č - flicker, N. H: kimat $\int r_{\text {, kimat }}{ }^{\prime}$ ' M: ke-maht's (zigzag [is this same word? perh. referring to a design shape?])
kimiš - plant sp.: a shrub 3 ' high, with red flowers and black, oily, edible seeds. R: kimis
kimiš(-)pea - plenm.: a hill. H: kimifpe (plcm.: hill; means a grass sp.); R: kimifpea (plenm., from kimif, a 3' high rama with red flower and black, oily, edible seed)
kit am(-)ik - (toward) the east. H: kit amik [cf. ?a-ki-kitam 'easterners' [i.e., Kitanemuks].]
kit an amup - speak the Kitanemuk language, V. H: -kit an amup, -kitanamup, -kit anamupu [odd that all these verb forms have stressed prefix and first syllable of stem, as well]; $k$ it onamup ("2nd a perfectly heard; name Kit. have for own language and people"); R: kitanamu ( (talk Kitanemuk); VF: kitanemuk, key-tan-eh-muk, quitanamocc (name of the [Kit.] tribe)
kit anamup-ka-y? (Adj.? a Kitanemuk). H: kittanamuk anap (I am a Kitanemuk); ZN: kítanamuk, fakikitam ("this language, app. the territorial name")
kit anamup-ka-m (Kitanemuks, plu.). H: kítanamukam, kitanamikam (the Kit. tribe); R: $k$ it anamupkam (Kit. speakers)
kitanamup (imp.). H: kïtanamup

Kit an amup-i-c (pass. nom.: Kitanemuk language). H:
kit anamupits, kitanamupits, kit anamupits
kiva - come, imp.
[cf. kim 'come']
kivaw - ask for, VT (person asked and thing asked for are both obj.). H,R: kivaw
kivaw-vup (past). R: nikivaw (lo pidi antes [I asked for it before])
kiwiš — pot, gen., N. H: kiw $\operatorname{s}$ S (olla [pot]); kiwas (clay or stone olla, soapstone olla, stone olla); kiwos (any olla); kiwə kəmanits (ball of mashed islay kernels [pot-made]); kiwa kamanim (plu.: balls of mashed islay kernels); кiwə tamət, wikihwat tamət (clay pipe); ZS: ki•waš (pot); M: ke'-was (kettle or vessel for cooking) kiwiš-t-ay (Obj.). H: távinwat kiwa ftaj (pot-rest stone)
kiyaw - whale, N. H: kiay, kijay, kiahy, kijahy; R: kijayg kiyahw-yam (plu.). H: kijahw jam
[app. at least etymologically related to kihuč 'fish', but not the usual Kit. augmentative morphology; perh. < Gab. kyot 'whale' (aug. of kyuur 'fish') (Munro 1988: 24)]
kłャ - bite, V. H: kə P, kəp; ákəwən, akəp wən (he bit me); R: kə P (bite), akə Pvan (he bit me)
kíki ? (redup.: nibble, gnaw). H: kəkə ? (nibble), pakəkə Pivə (the stick is rat-gnawed)
ki P (imp.). H: кә ?
nah-kip-hyi-t (aug.). H: nahkə Phjot ([habitual] biter (of dog);
R: ivip kutsip nahka'hjot (this dog bites)
nah-ki P-hyì-m (aug. plu.). H: nahkzhjam
kicap-wash, VT. H: kotsa?
$\mathrm{K}+\mathrm{č} \mathrm{e}-\mathrm{č}$ — manzanita, N. H: kát frat fr
[poss. a nom. from kice 'wash'? Balls (1970: 39) cites medicinal use of a wash made from manzanita leaves.] $\mathrm{k}+\mathrm{č} \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{vih} \mathrm{ač}$ (manzanita sp.: good eaten raw). H:
kát fravihotsr [compound from wihoč 'thorn, cholla'?]
k+čik? — stand up, VI. H: kat frk-; M: koo-ut'sk (get up!); kwut'sk (awake [standing up])

Kíčk-ihun (des.). R: akət $\int$ rkihun warop (the sick man wants to get up out of bed but can't)
[cf. kwičik 'stand up']
kihap - spoil, hinder, VT. H: kaha?
kih-k+hap (redup.). R: warark wakətsi makəhkahap (me estás estorbando [you are hindering, obstructing, impeding, or hampering me; or you ar in my way])
Pa-pa-kiha (incorp., nom.?: tapeworm). H: Pápäkəha
Pa-pa-k+ha-m (tapeworm, plu.). H: "plu.-m"
Kihahik (be spoiled?, VI). H: Pahun Pakəhahak (his heart is sad); R: nihun akəhahok ([l'm sad])
[cf. kiša 'no good'? perh. a doublet]
$\mathrm{k} \ddagger \mathrm{k} \boldsymbol{+} \boldsymbol{P}$ - fit, be big enough, be complete (of baby with no parts missing) (Adj.?; note the party for whom something is big enough is in obj. case). H: kəkəP; R: kəkə ? now kakə (no cabe [it doesn't fit]-the buggy will not hold 5 or 6 men); nawvan kəkə P (I don't fit); kəkə Pvan (I do fit)
$\mathrm{k}+\mathrm{m}$-make, VT; make something some way (with Adj.?). H,R: kəm, kəm, kəm, kəm, mətsanip nikəm (I made it hot), hahukup na nikam (lo echo solteado [l sort it out?])
kim-mat (fut.). H: kəmat, kammot
k\&m-an (imp.). H: kəman, kəman; R: kəman mots (do it again!) $k \neq m-a n-i c ̌$ (imp. plu.). H: kamanat $\int r$
kim-an-i-c (pass. nom.). H: kamanits (comp.), kamanits (made), kiwos komanits (ball of mashed islay kernels [pot-made]), pahat akomanitṣ, pahat akomanits (piñon basket), tojkəmanits (Tul. wardance: "estan bailando los diablos [the devils (or spirits) are dancing]" [Kit.: 'devilmade']), ? ákománive tsaroqpe távatr (God made the world
[his-being made-past our-lord earth]), tākakəmanits (figures [of people] on baskets), hoŋkomanits (rattlesnake figure), àt avat avakomanits (butterfly figure),
tähukəmanits (snake figure)
kim-an-i-m (pass. nom. plu.). H: kiwos kamanim (ball of mashed islay kernels [pot-made] plu.), täkakəmanim (figures [of people] on baskets, plu.) $k+m-a n-i-c a y$ (pass. nom. obj.). H: kəmanitsaj
 kamanoqk kavot fraj (he's making horseshoes ("fierros"); blacksmith)
$k+m$-an-ipa-č (agt.). H: kitsaj komanipāt fr (carpenter [house-maker])
kim-an-i (obj. comp.). H: paujhun nikamanitanaw nikamonihin (they made me make it, [apparently $12=$ conj. 'although'] I didn't want to), k a mani Zov ahtraj (he made the earth and the sky too [sic]); H,R: nə P nihnihjot nikomani pantaj (l'm good at making bread); R: nikom kwapjkataj (I'm making food), nimimat komanik kwapjkataj (I'm going to go make food) [unclear whether the $k$ is part of comp. suffix, in which case this belongs in an infinitive subentry, or just lengthening of the following initial k ]; nəP nihnihjot nikamani pontaj (l'm good at making bread)
-kiman-a p (gen. nom.: your doing). H,R: pəməp mokəmahe p ahakwivahok (he hurt himself, and it's your fault [you your-making he-got hurt])
ho-kim (incorp.: make a hole). H: hokəm, hokam, hohokam (make holes [note scope of redup. within incorporated noun]); R: ahokam =akom ohoj (it's making a hole [of mole])
$k i-k \ddagger m$ (incorp.: make a house). H: kikəm (make a house [said of the sun-meaning unclear])
kim - spill, empty, VI. H,R: kəm, kəm; M: ah-kŭm (empty) kəm-eap (VT: pour, empty. H,R: kəmeap, kəménoa (throw water outdoors)
kim-eapn (imp.). H,R: kameapn
[R notes re present form: "sounds like 'he makes', but a separate verb"; note that imperative forms are different, however]
kipinap - pillow (looks like a gen. nom.). H: `-k śpe hep, -кәрə he p, nikәpone? kutfrätaj (I lie on my back and have my head against the wall so it holds my head up [note obj. ending on 'stick'; apparently $=$ 'I am leaning on the post'?]
kirip - toast, VT. H: karop
kiri P-i-c (part.). H: karəPjt[s?] (toasted)
kišap - no good, bad, Adj. H: kafrap (the name kafrap was applied to Ventureños, Barbareños, Ineseños, etc.), kə jrap nikwohkw at $\int$ ramuk (l had a nightmare), ko frap warayk nikat fop (I have very bad "suerte" [luck]); R: kosrap; uvea kofrap, gatapiva (he's no good any more; the cat is old); ZS,ZN: kosap (bad); M: koo-sah', koo-sahk (bad); koo-sah-hah'-vo (dirty [spoiled clothes]); K: gö ca (bad)
kłh-k+šap (redup.: plu.). H: kahkajrap $k \dot{f}$ šap-n-i-c (part.). H: ka frapnits = ka ap (ugly)
kih-kišap-n-i-m (part. plu.). H: kahka frapnim
$\mathrm{k}+$ šep hupu-c (ugly language, applied to Ventureño). H: kasrap huputs
k+šap-n-i-hupup (speak Ventureño). H: kg raphihupup
$k+s ̌ a p-n-i-h u \eta u-k a m$ (tribe nickname: ugly talkers, applied to Ventureños). H: ka anihupukam, ka franiphugukam,
 (Ventureño(s), kaftok people, the ones that dance the oso [bear dance]); R: kə fr anihunukam (Chumash Indian)
kišap winik of(-)k (ingrate [no good heart]). H: kofap Winikazk
$k \dot{k}$ šap winikai(-)k-am (ingrate, plu.). H: "plu. -am" $k \dot{\text { šseptahič (Tehachapi [perh. a joke on Tehachapi name, of the }}$ "Lost Wages" for Las Vegas, type; literally 'bad rest']. ZS,ZN: kasaptahič [cf. tahičpeo 'Tehachapi', literally 'place to rest']
kitki? kitik? - get wet, VI?
Pa-kitkin-ivi-yik (plenm.: means where the ground got wet).
H: áкว́tкіnivájəк, paøөtkinivəjək, aкəkinivajək; R: Pakatkinivajak
$\mathrm{k}+\mathrm{vuc}$ - plant sp.: quelite [edible greens] with yellow flower. H : kóvutsr
kły o-c? - oak sp. M: koo'-yahts, (Robles' Q lobata); koo'-yahts (acorn mush)
[cf. kw+yoč 'acorn sp.']
 kajakajat s
kłyikiyyi-m (plu.). H: kajakajam, kajakajzm
kop - eat?, munch?, V. H: kop (eat); R: kop (munch grass)
kop-mat (fut.). R: niko pmat (I am going to eat tuche [mng.?] raw [evid. means to munch grass; speaker is Eug.])
koh-kop-i-m (dead person; no sg. form). H: kohkopjm, kohkopjmə (dead person; = mckit, makim); R: kohkopjm (dead people; no sg.)
[perh. related to kwop 'eat' as doublet]
-kocap - nest (of rat or bees), poss. H: -kotsa, -"kotsapa (nest of rat, comb of bees [mng. of \# unknown])
koco - shell (of turte), peel, skin, N. H: -kotso, -kotso, -kotso, -kotso', -kotso; pakotso nipifratfr (the skin of my head = scalp); also, under kopoc, Harrington says "also -kotso (pellejo [skin or hide])"
-koco-m (plu.). H: -kotsam
-kočap - hill or slope, N. H: Pakot frajak, Pakot frap (the hillside across arroyo from informant's [consultant's] house)
-koča-pea (plenm.). H: -kotfrapea (a place on the hill or slope)
Pa-koča-y +k (loc.). H: Pakot frajak, pakot frap (ladera; the hillside across arroyo from informant's [consultant's] house)
[unclear whether this is the word for 'hillside', or a placename]
koha-č - older daughter (with -moyr), older sister (when directly possessed), N(A). H: kohat fr, k屯h āt fr; M: nik-kor (older), ah-kor (sister)
-kor (poss.). H: -kar, -kor, -kar; ZN: -kor (sister)
-koha-m (plu. poss.). H: -kcham; ZN: -kóham
$-k o h a-y$ (poss. obj.). H: -kthoj
kohr $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - cough, VI. H: kohərək; R: kohərək [note: Harrington slip is headed: "korkək"J; ZS,ZN: kəhərək
kohrkik? (Adj.?). H: korkək
[related to kar 'groan', or -koroma 'phlegm'?]
kokaí-t - soaproot, N. H,R: kokeət (raíz de lavar [soaproot]; root like amole that they washed with)
kokaí-pea (plenm.: San Emigdio; V. ta jlipun). H,R: kokowpea, kokawpéa
kokop - coconut, N. H: kokop (coco [coconut])
[< Span. "coco"]
kokok - [mng. unclear]. H: kokok (= Tul. huhunat fr; the dancer has shell eyes, feather dress. He imitates an anima-he's an animal and a person too, who goes all around the edge of the world when it's dawning, they say, wearing feathery dress, carrying 2 red ["colorados"] sticks, one in each hand, and whistling wh, wh; wh wh, with every now and then a longer whhhhh. He brings a lot of wind when he goes thus. The dance was never danced by the Jam.; it is Tul. [Tulareño] custom.)
kokt - plant sp.: lamb's quarters. ZS: kokt (plant sp.; "as a guess: Chenopodium, Kawaiisu koovi"); ZN: koqt (plant sp.; leaves boiled and eaten; Chenopodium album, lamb's quarters; white pigweed)
kom ale - frying pan, N. H: kóm ále [note both Kit. and borrowed Span. stress]
[< Span. "comales"]
kon - kill many or all of something, VT (mik is usually used when obj. is sg., and kon when obj. is plu.). H: ákónəvə P múnuma (he killed tecolotes [great horned owls]), a kãnəva ápatsitama pełropot (Pedro killed his swine-used when you kill all your animals); R: kon; pakónəva (he hit us [sic; apparently 'he hit them']); əmə Pəmatuva əkon = akonmatuvə (you pl. will kill them)
konako-t — necklace, belt, N. H: konak ot (soguilla [belt?])
-konakap (poss.). H: nikónakapa, -konakap, -kmakap, -konakap; M: ah-ko'-nah-kah (necklace of shells)
konakwap - be or get full, VI (of moon, or of person after eating). H: konakwap, kwonakwap; konakwap-t, kwonakwap-t (with Q clitic) (be full)
koyi-t — squirrel sp.: probably Nelson's Antelope Squirrel [based on my personal observation and consultation of Whitaker 1980]. H: kojit (squirrel [Kitanemuks used to eat them])
koji-m (plu.). H: kónim
koni-t-ay (obj.). H,R: koyit aj
koji-t pa-ho-vea (plenm.: squirrel hole). H: kojit pahovea
kopipk - multi-colored, Adj. H: kopipk (multi-colored, of corn (pinto)); R: ("(es) pinto ['it is multicolored'? 'it is a pinto'?] ... said of a pinto [horse?]")
kop-ik - break, VI. H: kop $\ddagger$ k
kop-k (break, VT). R: kopk
pa-kop-k-ip (pass. nom.: broken). H: Pákopkip, pakopkip
kopo-c - hair, N. H: kopots; ZS: kopoc
kopo-m (plu.). H: kopom [unclear what plu. actually means]
 muxэps, mukэps (your sg. hair); M: ne-ko'-po, ah-ko-po (hair); K: agopo ([his/her] hair)
-kopo-y (poss. obj.). H: -kopoj, -kopoj; R: ajawvan nikopoj (s/he grabbed me by the hair)
Pa-kopo-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (plenm.: a mountain). H: Pakopojək
kopota-t - turtle, N. H: kópot at, kopot ot
kopota-m (plu.). H: kopofam
kori-ve - plenm.: a mountain. ZS,ZN: korive [anomalous accent]
-kohroma ? - phlegm, poss. H: -kđroma
-koroma-y (poss. obj.). H: -kđromaj [cf. kohiritk 'cough']
košip - stir up (a bathing pool), V. H: ko fip košip-košip (Adj.: stirred up). H: kofipkofip
kovakaytat - poisonous insect sp.-tick? H: kóvakajtat (= Span. pajarhuél; name means "wrinkled"; ca. 1/2" long, earth-colored, has legs, bites bad so it swells and can kill you)
kovakaytat pa-n ilinyo (plant sp.: spurge). ZS: kjovakay(i)t tat
Panali'nyo (plant sp.: lit., pahawelo-its medicine [Zigmond p.c.: kóvakayt at $\boldsymbol{P}$ anilinyo = "parajoello medicine";

Euphorbia ocellata; spurge]; ZN: kóvaxayt at Panalínyo ([ground-]plant sp.; lit., "parahuelo medicine"; good for this bite-like woodtick-and also good for cuts), kJvaxaytat Panalínyo (Euphor[b]ia_polycarpa_Benth.)
[exact mng. of "pajarhuél", etc., unknown]
koymip - referee (sometirnes called "boss") in peón game ("coime"5), N. H: kojmip
koymip-yam (plu.).
kua - call someone, VT. H,R: uvea nikue (I already called him) kue-an (imp.). H: kuon (imp.); R: meah kuen (go out and call him!)
[min. pr. with kwor 'eat' ?]
kupa-č - worm, bug (gen.). H: kupatfr, kupat fr, kupatfr (worm, little legged water animal, or small nameless bug; includes glow worm, angleworm, leech, maggots, yellow-jacket larvae)

[^52]Pa-kač Pa-ki kupa-č (snail [it-has its-house kupač]). H: Pákat fr paki kupat fr (little animal that has a house [snail])
ku-kupa-m pí-kip (plu.). H: kukupam pakip (wash mud off and burn; < creek [snails?])
kucip - dog, N. H: kułsip, kutsip, kutsip, kútsip, kutsit [constituency abs.], kutsipi, kútsipi; wahiptaj pawohak kutsipt (the dog is barking at the coyote [constituency abs., perh. related to word-order?]); R: kutsip; kutsipt aki=aki kutsip (the dog's house); ZN: kúci; Pákwamat kúcit (the dog eats [constituency abs., perh. related to word order?]); M: ah-ah'-tse-tom'-mas kotse (his dog); moo-ah'-tsit ko-tse, mo-neŭ koo-che (your (singular) dog); po'-e-neŭ ko-che (their (plural) dog); K: gutsi; M: ah-neŭ ko-che (his dog); ne-ah'-tsit ko-tse, ne-neŭ koo-che (my dog); tsah'-ah-tsit ko-tse, tsoo-neŭ ko-che (our (dual) dog)
kucip-yam (plu.). H: kułsipjam, kutsipjam; R: kutsipjam; M: wŏh' ko-tse-um (two dogs); wŭr ko-tse-um, koo-che-yan, koo-tse-yan (many dogs)
[does not permit direct possession; instead use -? acit 'pet', q.v.; but CHM also records use of [normally inanimate] -niw 'possession'].
kucip-t-ay (obj.). H: kutsiptaj; nimuraq nehe kutsiptaj (I untied the dog; notice muraqk $\rightarrow->$ muraq [demonstrates that $k$-loss environment is more general than future clitic] kuci-t Pa -ho-vea (plcnm. in Tejon Canyon ["dog's hole"]). H: kútsítahove, kutsit Pahovea; R: kutsit Pahovea (Dog Rock-plenm.); ZS: kùči•t-? ahóve, kučit-? aho ve (plcnm.: above the Ranch House; where "dogs" are seen); ZN: kučit Páhóvi, kuci't-pahóve (the reservation from the ranch house up; the rock [of the evil omen dog]); VF: coo-chitahovie (Tejon creek canyon at lower end); coh-chita-hovit (al the valley [at Tejón Canyon])
kuci-t Pa-ho-noP (dir.). H: kutsit Paqono? (from Tejón)
kucin - car, N. H: kútsin
kucin-y am (plu.). H: kutsinjam
[< Span. "coche"]
kuč - edible seed sp., N. H: kut fr
[ct. puhcukuč 'plant sp.']
kučarap - spoon, N.
kučarap-nif (inst.). H: kutforapna [< Span. "cuchara"]
kuč a-t - stick, pole, firewood, N. H: kutrat, kut frat, kút frat, kutfrāt (stick; pole; firewood; (tree); counting stick; splinter [i.e., app. any long wood thing]; R: kut frāt (stick; splinter); ZS: kuča't, kuča't (tree; "two different informants pronounce differently, as shown"); ZN: kut $\int$ at (making fire by drill [sic]); M: ko-tsaht (a tree); koo-saht' ä-no'se, koo-chaht' (a stick); koosaht', koo-chaht (firewood); met-tow'-0-koo-saht (pole); wur ko-tsaht (many trees); K: gudjat (wood)
-kučap (poss.). H: -kutrap, -kutsrap kuča-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (plenm. in the mountains; = Gorman['s Station]; = La

Viuda). H: kutrojak, kútrájak, kut fräjak; R: kut frapjak
(plenm.; = La Viuda = Gorman's Station = V. tapopn; means
leña [firewood]); K: guchayik (plenm. on the road from Ft. Tejon to Los Angeles at Gorman's; said to mean 'in the timber')
kuča-vakac (wooden cup). H: kútravakatṣ (wooden cup; = V. Q(o)
kuča-t-ay (obj.). H: kutfrätaj; nikəpone? kutfrātaj (I lie on my back and have my head against the wall so it holds my head up; literally, I havé a palo [stick-or here, post or plank?] for a pillow [NB case]); R: kut frātaj [cf. yuešk] kuča-n+ (stick, inst.). H, R: kutfrö̀n kuča-t hittk (fence). H: kut frat hatk

Pa-kwap kuča-tay (larva sp., found in rotten logs [it eats wood']. H: pákwap kuttfrataj
punitap-ihwap-t kuča-t (the stick counter in gambling game). H: punit ap jhw at kut jrat (the stick used in the game)
kuč $a-$-vač (wooden tray). H: kutrovat fr
kuča-u (VI [?]: cut wood). H: kutfraw (cut wood; = leñar) kuča-ihwap-t (inst.: wood-gathering band [NB: no -u]) kuča-ik (cut wood, inf.). H: kut $\int \mathrm{rajk}$; ni-mi-mat kuča-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (I'm going to get wood [a mistake? or perh. just means "l'm going to the wood"]
ni-hiu pa-wakip kuče-t (I saw a dry stick [NB: perh. a headless relative; no obj. marking! cf. also next subentry]). H,R: nihju Pa-wakip kutfrat
ni-hiu piowakip kuča-m (I saw dry sticks [relative clause structure? cf. also peceding subentry]). H: nihju powakip kut fram; R: ninju(*va) powakip kutsram [* perh. due to confusing dec. and past clitic]; cf. also war nihju kut frāt (I saw lots of wood; [also no obj. marking])
-kuha-na - sister-in-law (m's wife's sis, here), poss. H: kuhana, kuhana
-kuhana-m (plu.). H: -kuhaham
-kuhanapno-y (obj. [irreg., in same way as "father"]). H: -kuhanapnaj
[this looks like a compound of kohoč 'sister' + -nop 'father'!]
kuhani-m - guests invited to wakoč, $N$ (plu.). H: kúhafim [cf. kur 'groan']
-kuhm ? - uncle (variously translated as uncle, paternal uncle, and m[an]'s paternal uncle older than father). H: -kum, -kum, -kumaho ? [first form is recorded in one place, denied in another).
-kuhma-m (plu.). H: -kuhmam
-kuhma-y (obj.). H: kuhmaj
-kuhmap-ivi (dec.). H: -kuhmapiva
kuhuč - fruit of elder tree, $N$ (eaten boiled). H: kthut $f r$
kuhy-ik - fall over flat, of a tall thing, VI. H: kuhjok, kuhəjok (fall over flat, as tree blown over, or barley); R: kuhjak (lie over flat), kuhjok (fall over, root and all [of tree])
kuhy-k (VT: knock over, fell, of something tall). H: kujk (knock over, fell, e.g. a tree); R: kujk (knock down (a big tree)) [note: slip says: "cf. qutsak - to fall of man or stick"]
kuk ač - spider, gen., N. H: kuketfr (trap-door spider, or any housespider)
kukač pa-ki (cobweb [spider its-house]). H: kúkat $\int \mathrm{r}$ Paki( $(x)$ [unclear what the x means]
-kukita - grand-relative, poss. [apparently covers grandmother, grandfather, grandson, granddaughter], poss. $N(A)$. H: -kukit, -kukit, -kukit, -kukit (examples given are "m[an]'s son's son, $m[a n]$ 's son's dtr. [daughter]", "father or mother of my father"; also, Eug[enia] and A[ngela] Montes call each other this [both are women]); ZN : -kúkit ${ }^{\text {' }}$ (grandfather)
-kukit a-y (poss., obj.). R: -kukitaj
-kukitap-ivf (dec.). H: -kukitap-iva
kukukiow - plenm.: Comanche. H: kưkưk Paw (Comanche proper; big spring there)
[may not be Kit.]
kukuk(-)yit pa-nakap - [mng. unclear; perh. 'hit together' + habitual action suffix]. H: kukukjot pahakap ("The huhunatfr
carries two bastones [sticks]. He hits them together repeatedly.")
kukuku-č - owl sp., now extinct. H: kúkukut fr, kưkukut fr kukuku-m (plu.). H: kúkukum kukuku-č Paho(plenm.: Agua Zarca). H: kukukut fr Poho (picnm.; = V. kasPapkakPokok; = Agua Zarca); R: kukukut fr Paho (plcnm.; owl sp.'s cave)
kukumaškea-vea - plenm., near La Chiminea [cf. kumašikk]
kupkunič pa-weprk-in-ya-vea - plonm.: a deep lake where KUPKunič-a myth. figure who killed people-was pushed in [kupkunič his-throw-pass.-loc.]
[cf. weprík 'to set' of sun?]
kukukuniti - mussel sp., and name for beads made from it. H: kúkukuritə, kukukuni Zə (small beads, white or black, reportedly made by Chumash; mussel is blackish on outside, shiny inside like abalone, bivalve, flesh reddish white when cooked; not the limpet)
kukukunit $\ddagger$ P-yam (plu.)./ H: kúkukunutəPjam (= V. tpo?)
kukut - ash, N. H: kúkut; M: koo-hoot', ko-kŭt (ashes); M: ah-ho, kókoot (the ashes and burnt bones of the dead); K: gugut
[cf. kut 'fire']
kum - sleep, VI. H,R: kum; M: ah-koom, koo-mahn-neets (asleep); K: ni-kum ([I] sleep)
kum-mat (fut.). R: kumot
kum-uvup (past). R: nikumuvup (estaba yo dormido)
kum-an-ik (inf.). H: k[manik'; R: kimanik, kumanik
kum-an-i-c (pass. nom.: asleep). M: ah-koom, koo-mahnneets (asleep)
kum-an-ihun (des.: be sleepy). H: kumanihun, kumanihun, kimanihtn [also translated once as "mi sueño [my sleep]"];
R: kum onihun; M: nik-koo'-man-ne-hoon (a dream)
ni-kum-an-iva? (in my sleep [wile asleep]). H: nikumativap; R: nikumanivap; nikumanivap nigaraharak (bajé dormido [I slid down asleep])
kum-an-eap (VT: put to sleep). R: kumonep (make sleep, of a baby)
[cf. kypmak 'be face down'?]
kuma-t - (basket?) hat. ZN: ku•mat (woman's basket hat); M: ahkŭm (empty [sic-perh. an elicitational misunderstanding]) -kumap (poss.). H: -kumop, kumapa; ZS,ZN: -kumap (hat) t $\ddagger$ y-t $P$ o-kumar (toadstool; lit., devil's hat). H: tojt Pakuma?a
kumašík — play walnut dice (called by Harrington pa), a women's game which involves throwing inlaid walnut shells and predicting how they will land. H: kumofak, kumafak, kumàjak, kumásrok; tsakumosrok (let's play dice [but apparently not hort.: no plu. clitic]); ZN: pokum ${ }^{\text {ášik (walnut shell game; played }}$ on basket-tray; one handled the tray, but many could play; used 7 shells filled with pitch with beads on top)
kumašk-i-c (pass. nom.: the walnut dice game). H:
kumáskits; JW: kumaskitz (pea and shell game)
kumašk-ihwap-t (inst.: walnut dice). H: kumajkihwat,
kum áfkinwapt, kumäfrkihwat, kumasrkiwhat; JW:
kumaskkihuat (gambling basket)
kuh-kumašk-ea-vea (plcnm.: "where they played walnut dice"; = La Chiminea). H: kukumaskeave (plenm.; = kapa4wotoklopop, near La Chiminea), kukumajrkeavea [unidentified; app. plenm.]; R: kuhkumäfrkeovea
kumat - [mng. unclear; 'hat?]. H: kumat ("full of cuentitas" [little beads]); M: nik koo'-mah (subglobular choke-mouth bowl); JW: kumat (basket cap)
kumiyintup - call on guardian spirit, V, as only a man with a certain kind of supernatural power can do. H: kumijintup
kum-ik? - be face down, VI (of people or dice). H: kumak, kupmak, kuPmak
kum-k (VT: throw face down).
kum-k (throw face down, imp.). H: kumk (throw two face down, imp.).
kumupk (Adj.: face down). H,R: kumupk (used with 'put', 'be', 'lie')
[NB: sg. prefix used when subject is 'two' (number "loose" here as well as in NP)]
kumupyap - five cents. H: kúmúpjap ( 5 cents; same word as V.) [ $\mathrm{VCh} . ?]$
kupmuš - sealion, N. H: kupmuf, kúmufr, kúmuft (sealion, tonina [lacking fingers or toes]
ku pmuš-yam (plu.). H: kupmufrjam
kupe a-c - top of head; summit of a mountain; top end, N . H : kupe ats (vertex, remolino; also refers to end of bow)
-kupea (poss.). H: kupea, -kupe a; M: ah-ko-pe-ah (end); M: tah'-me-at ah-koo'-pah (sunshine [may be related: 'sun's summit'])
kuh-kupea (plu. poss.). H: -kuhkupe a
pa-kupea-vea kayc (summit of a mountain [its-head mountain]). 'Ч: Pákupeavea kajts -kupe an-ivana? (inst.: carrying ring [implies a verb, perhaps kupea 'carry on top'? 'be carried on top'?]). H: -kupe anivaha ?
kupioh-t - islay (Prunus ilicifolia (Balls 1970)), $N$ (name of both prepared kernels and the bush itself; includes varieties which are white, black, purple, etc., when ripe; eaten). H: kupiaht, kúpiaht, kupiaht ("[i is] not e"), kupiaht, kupipaht
kupiah-yam [unclear if this is a real word; it may be that Harrington tried it for plural, but it came out sounding like a-yom tribename, whereas the regular plural would be kupiah-m?]. H: kupiohjam (islayeños [islay people]) kupiah-t-ay (obj.). H: kupiahtaj
[*kupiape a rejected—no such form in Jam., according to Harrington]
[the ripened fruit is tokit, q.v.]
kupki-t - cradle hood, N. H: kupkot
kupki-m (plu.). H: kupkəm
$-k u p k+?$ (poss.: baby's or cradle's hood). H: -kupkə ?
[cf. kupeac 'head'?]
kur — push,? groan? strain?, V H: ktr, kur (pujar [push, pout?]); R: $\mathrm{ktr}, \mathrm{ktr}$ (groan [said of someone very sick])
kuh-yī-t (aug.: "pujador". ['pusher'; a tribename? (Harrington uses this word elsewhere for the Tataviam]). H: kchjat kuh-yi+m (plu.). H: "plu.-m"
$t+y$-kur [spirit straining? said of the ring around the sun or moon]. H: tájkur (the ring around sun or moon-the real old word)
kurup - stab at, VT. H: kurup (poke in stick; ram out pith); R: kurup (poke stick into nest of [object $=$ rat]) kuh-kurup (redup.). H,R: kuhkurup
kurukupitat - basket of a certain kind (for gathering prickly pears). H: kurukupjt at
[perh. related to kurup 'poke'?]

Pa-kurug - hat, N ; also acorn cup. H: Pakuruy
kuruprik - boom, VI. H: kuruprak (boom, of cannon, rifle)
Pa-kururup-y (thundering, rumbling, roaring, crashing). H:
pakururupj, pakururupj, pakururupj (thunder; a car rumbles; the wind roars; waves crash; earth quakes); M: ah-koo'-roo-roo-e
-kuh-kururu (thunder). H: -kuhkururu
kuruventup - take an emetic ("gomitigo" [mng.?]), V. H: kuruventup kuruventup-ihwap-t (inst.: an emetic). H: kuruventupjhwapt [< kuru 'stab out' + Span. "vientre"-'stomach-poker'?]
ku-t —fire, N. H: kut, kut; R: kut; ZS: ku't'; ZN: kư't; M: koot', kŭt; M: nik-ko'-mah-hah, koom mwaht' (of wood of e'p-kotsh) (firedrill);
M: ah-hoots-ă-koot (shooting star [anomalous poss. form looks like abs.]); K: gut
kuh-ku-t (redup. plu.). H: kúhkut; R: kuhkut; Zs,ZN: kúkut
(ashes)
-kup (poss.). R: -kup; nikup (mi lumbre)
ku-t-ay (obj.). H: kutaj, kutaj; R: kuta j
ku-pea (loc.). H: kupe a
Po-šip ku-t-ay = Pa-šip ku-pea (he pissed in the fire). H:
Pafip kutaj= Pafip kupea
ku-t $P a-s ̌+r i=$ wahit $P a-s ̌ t r i ~(p l a n t ~ s p .: ~ I n d i a n ~ p a i n t b r u s h ~$ [fire's tail or coyote's tail]). H: kut pofari=wahit pafari; kút ašu:ri (Indian paintbrush [identified by J. Johnson as actually 'owl's clover', a related sp.])
ku-t-ay pa-ya-n+m (caterpillar sp.: bites hard; black; hairy
[it walks carrying fire]). H: kưtaj Pajänəm (burning caterpillar, black and hairy; bites hard)
Pa-kač pa-niw ku-t (firefly ['it has fire']). H:
Pakotsramiwkut
ku-mu-ihwo-t (fire-starting sticks ['fire-thrower']). H : kúmuinw at
kutumi-c - gravepole, N ; also flagpole. H : kutúmots, kútuməts (tall flagpole or gravepole [note stress pattern varies]); R: kutoməts (gravepole); M: ko-too'-mut (kotumut pole)
kutumi-y $\ddagger$ k (plenm.: a gap). H: kutu majak (plenm.: a gap; means gravepole place; [gravepole] $=$ tall pine with coras [baskets] on it); R: kutmojok (plenm.; a gap)
kutwayal - plant sp.: like cilantro, with tiny flower; tuber crushed and eaten. H: kútwajal
kuva(-)navuč - plant sp., with white flowers; grows at dog rock; soaked root used for emetic tea. H: kuv âñōvut fr
kuvač -plant sp.: similar to kuvanovuč, but with blue or purple flowers; medicinal; grows a foot high; has small leaves; good source of quelite [edible greens]. H: kúvat fr, kwat fr
kuweye - pers. name (Pedro's last name). H: kừveje (Pedro __; "the old Mexican calls him Pedro Cahuéy")
kuyam - plenm.: where old Godoy lived. H: kújam
[may not be Kit.; a variant of the next entry?]
kupyan — plenm.: Tacuya. H: kupjay, k[jjo ๆ (plenm.:Tacuya = Cast. takupj); R: kupjaŋ (plenm.: Tacuya, V. takupj); ZS: kưyaŋ (Tecuyah Canyon, other side of Bakersfield highway; < large bird with long beak and long legs); ZN: kúyan (Indians other side of Bakersf[ie]ld highway; cf. Tecuya river and mountain); VF: couyan (placename over by Grapevine)
[< Chumash?]
kuykupy — bird sp. ("zarrapicos" [sarapico/zarapico = curlew, large brownish bird]). H: kujkupj
kuykupyam (plu.). H: kujkupjam
kwap - eat, VT. H: kwap, kwapa, kwap; kavojup pakop = kavajup
pakwap (the horse is eating it); R: kwap, kwap; aninhiw
tsakw a (vamos á comer [NB impersonal use of proximate fut. auxiliary verb]); ZS: $k^{W} a p, k^{W} a, k^{W} a ; Z N: k^{W} a p, k w a p, k^{W} a ; M$ :
num'-oo-was ah'-kwah (good to eat); K: ni'-kwa ([I] eat)

-kwahkwa (food; eating); ZN: nikwohkwo néhe (l've been
eaten [sic]); nikačnanikwahkwa (I am eaten [sic])
Pa-kwap-i (obj. comp.). H: Pakwapj; ZS,ZN: kwaj
kwap (imp.). H: kwap, kwap; ZS: $\mathrm{k}^{W}$ ap; ZN: $\mathrm{k}^{W}$ a, $\mathrm{k}^{W}$ ap
kwap-č (imp. plu.). ZN: kwač [unclear: perh. a little " $x$ " above
word, between $\mathbf{a}$ and č]
ca-kwap-č (hort.). H: tsakwopot f, tsakwopt f (let's eat);
kivaisakwaptf (come eat!), tsakwaptfr mujtsaj (vamos
comer pinole [let's eat pinole]; R: kivatsakwapts ([you all] come eat!)
Kwap-ihwap-t (inst.: dining table or eating place). H:
kwapjhwapt
kwap-ik (inf.). H: kwapjk; R: kwapjk; ZS, ZN: kwayk
kwap-ika-t nom.: food). R: kwapjkat; napwhit kwapjkat
(there's no food)
kwap-ika-t-ay (food, obj.). R: kwapjkataj; nijapmat
kwapjkataj (l'm going to carry food)
kwap-wi-t (comelón [glutton; big eater]). H,R: kwapwat
kwap-wi-m (plu.). H,R: "plu. -m"; R: kwopwom
-kwap-ika-čay (food, poss. obj.). H: pokwapjkatfraj (their fōod, obj.)
kwap-ihun (des.: to have an appetite). H: -kwapjhun; R:
kwapjhun, kwaphjen; ZS: kWayhu'n; ZN: kwayhun, kWayhu•n kwap-n-in (VT: to feed something, e.g. dog). R: kwapnin

Po-kwop kihuč (kingfisher [it eats fish']). H: P fkwap kihut $\int \delta$
hukah-t Pa-kwa-kwa (plant sp. ["deer's food"]). ZN: húkaht Pokwakwa
note also: ZN: Púvehpe mat-nimi mat-nikwa púme (tomorrow if I gc $I$ shall be eaten by him) kwa-hea - be (well-)cooked [pass.?]. R: uvea ákwar (it is done (well cooked)[note unexplained dropping of -ea]); tsipk ah3t fi akwahi ("falta poco [it's almost the case that] that the soup is gar [German: 'sufficiently cooked'] or well-cooked")
kwacap - squeeze, V. H: kwatsa? (squeeze in hand [said of squeezing berries to prepare for consumption])
kwacita-c - tail, N(A). H: kwatsitats; ZS,ZN: kwačit (tail) kwacita-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m" -kwacit, -kwacip (poss. [NB: 2nd may be a back-formation from misanalysis of obj. form; abs. would be rare]). $H$ : -kwatsit, -kwatsit, -kwatsip (poss.: tail, seat of pants, small-of-back region, tail feather); ZS,ZN: -kw ačit -kwacita-y (poss. obj.). H: -kwatsitaj, -kwatsitaj kwacita-c-ay (abs. obj.). H: kwatsitatsaj kawča-č pa-kwacit (plant sp.: fox-tail [fox's tail']). ZS,ZN: kowčač ? akwačit
kwackaveyki ? - seven. H: kwatskavejkə; R: kwtkavejkə; ZS,ZN: kwac-kavika
kwačkaveapkthea (seven times). H,R: kwat frkaveapkahea; K: gwatskawik; CK: kwāt' kā vi' ko (seven); we' mā hōch' hā' mưk kwāt' kā vi' ko (seventeen); kwāt' kāvi' ko hi' à w 豸' mā hāch' (seventy)
[cf. makoveyki 'nine']
kwačeap - start or stoke fire, V. R: kwotfeap, kwotfreap, kwaifeap (light fire (atizar)); M: kwah't-re-ah (make a fire) kwačeap-mat (fut.). R: kwačeapmat kw očeap-vup (past). R: kw ačeapvup kwačeapn (imp.). H: kwat fepn (atizar [stoke fire], imp.); R: kwače a pn kwačeapn-ič (imp. plu.). R: kwačeapnot fr kwačeap-n-ihwo-t (inst.: firepoker? fireplace?). H:
kwát $\int$ enihw at (atizadero [firepoker; furnace door]) -kwačeapnea, kw ačeapnea-vea (fireplace). H:
nikw at $\int e$ a pne a, nikw at $\int$ eapneavea, nikw at $\int$ eapne äve a (my atizadero where I always make a fire)
$k w a c ̌(-) k w a c ̌+k$ - have blisters or be red all over, VI. H,R: kwat frkwāt $\int$ rak (have syphilis-"when one's face is all ampollido [blistered]")
[stem redup. with distributive meaning; perh. < kwešìpk 'red']]
-kwačimuk - guardian spirit, poss.; also to dream of, VT [or perhaps unitary meaning is 'spirits that come to one-N.?' (this doesn't account for obj. case)]. H: -kwat $\int r^{2} \neq m u k,-k w a ̄ t \int r^{\text {In }}$ uk, -kw ot framuk, -kwat framuk ([same form given as abs. once] guardian spirit; = V. Potofwakwatramukuk [can be plant, bird, etc.; also translated "virtud"-what boys get after puberty ceremony [manhood], and as "suerte" [luck]]); nikw ahkw at framuk tajtaj, nikwahkwat framok tátəjmə (I dream of dead people)
kwačimuk-ik (a person who has a guardian spirit). H::
kwāt fam Ukuk (a man who has a certain kind of supernatural power, described by akujumijintup)
$k w$ ačimuk-tk-om (plu.). H: kwöt framukekam (plu.; i.e., one who has a guardian spirit)
kwačukpi-c — armpit, N. H: kwöt fruqpits
kwačukpi-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
-kwačukpip (poss.). H: -kwāt frukpip
-kw očukpi-pea (poss. loc.). H: -kwät frukpipe o
kwah, or kwaha? - be cooked, VI. H: uveákwar, uvea ákwar (it's already cooked; = V. ne pisipfot) [NB P irrelevant to vowel elision]; R: kwar (be well cooked)
kwah-an (VT: cook). H: kwahan; R: kwahan (bake in oven)
kwah-an (imp.). H,R: kwahan
kwah-an-fč (imp. plu.). R: kwohanat ${ }^{\text {( }}$ r
ca-kwah-an-4č (hort.). R: ts akw oh onat $\int \mathrm{fr}$ (let's bake in oven)
cipk Pa-h+či pa-kwa-hi (ready to eat? [little remains it's
cooked'?]). H: tsipk oh3t fi okwahi ("falta poco [it's nearly the case] that the soup is gar [German: 'sufficiently cooked'] or well-cooked"); M: ah'-kwah'-he (cooked); ah-kwah'-he [?], ah'-kwah'-he' (ripe); ah-kwah'-he [?] (unripe) [cf. kwos 'eat']
kw ahkw oč amuk - dream, VI; dream of, VT. H: kw ohkw at framuk, kwahkwat framok (dream); R: kwahkw at framuk; M: ah-kwah'-kwah'-tso-mok (a dream)
-kw ahkw ač amuk-iva? (in one's dream). H,R:
nikwahkwotsramukiva? (in my dream the context is where I saw him])
[cf. kwočìmuk 'guardian spirit']
kwaka-č - soldier, N. H: kwákatfr; R: kwakatfr
kwaka-m (plu.). H: kwakam, kwákam; R: kwakam
[cf. kwokopwat 'captive', -kwokohupo 'enemy'; perh. this and next three entries share a root $\mathrm{kwo} \mathrm{\rho ko}$
-kwakahuna - enemy, $N(A)$. H: -ky akahup, kwapkahun
-kwakahupa-m (plu. poss.). H: -krakahuyam,
-kwapkahunam
[min. pair with -kwokwohuno 'quiver'?]
-kwoka-pup-ap - scalp of enemy (already cut off), poss. H: -kwakapupap
kwokapwat - captive, N. H: kwokapwat ("un cautivo [a captive]; slave woman" [discussion suggests that Mojave, Yumans [Yumas?], and Tulareños took slaves, but not the Ventureño or Kitanemuk])
kwaki-t - baby, N. H: kwakit, kwakit, kwákit (recently born baby); ZN: Kwákit (small baby); M: kwahkeet; K: gwagit
kwaki-m (plu.). H: kwakim, kwákim
-kwakwahuya? - quiver, V. H: -kwakwahuya? (it is a (heat) mirage); -kwakwahuŋap (the heat waves are quivering)
[minimal pair with -kwakohupa 'enemy'?]
Kw am - beat or stir up, V (of pespibata in water [no overt objects]). H: kwam, kwam (beat or stir up pespibata [wild tobacco] with water)
kwam-i-c (pass. nom.: pespibata drink). H: kwamits, kwamits (pespibata drink-after pounding and mixing with water; = V. PaкPutapof)
kw an an a Pi — shiny, Adj. H,R: kw oha na P j
Kwap-n-in - feed [cf. kwop 'eat']
kwara? [cf. kworik 'melt']
-kwarip - grandrelative, poss. H: -kwarip, -kwärip, -kwarip, -kwaprip [examples given include grandfather, grandson, mother's father, daughter's son or daughter (ms)]
-kwarip-yam (plu.). H: -kwäripjam
-kwarip-t-ay (obj.). H: -kwäriptaj
-kwarip-ivi (dec.). H: -kwaripiva
kworłk — melt, shine (of sun), VI. H: kwäprok, kw àrak; R:
akwarak (the rain is going to clear away)
kworop (VT: to smear (with mud, tar, etc.; the stuff smeared is in either obj. or inst. case). H,R: kworop kwara-mat (fut. [loss of ? analogous to $k$-dropping verbs?]). H: kwaramat kworap-inwap-t (inst.: ointment; also, plant sp. used to tan leather). H: kwarapjhwat (plant sp., used to tan leather); R: kwarapjhwapt (ointment)
-kw a-kwari (mucus from eyes). H: -kwakwari (lagaña [legaña 'mucus from eyes'])
-kwa-kwari-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
kw aru(-)g - plenm.: Chico López Lake, near Elizabeth Lake. H:
kworuy (Chico Lopez Lake, a little this way from Elizabeth Lake; also = the name of Agustin's dog)
-kwaši - parent-in-law, poss. H: -kwājra, -kwajga, -kwajra (suegro o suegra [mother- or father-in-law]; papá de mi marido/a [father of my husband or wife])
-kwaši-m (plu.). H: -kwāfrom
-kwašiqi (obj.). H: -kw ásrojx
kwašipk —red, Adj. H: kwajapk, kwajropk, kwájropk; kwajopk path, kwajapk pät fr (Colorado River); R: kwajapk, kwajapk; haminikipt kwafropk3t, jovopkət, ajapkət ("como es [what's it like?], red? black? white?"); kwasropk pätfr (Colorado River ['red water']); ZS,ZN: $k$ w ${ }^{w}$ šubPk [ b and D actually overiap slightly, suggesting Zigmond heard the sound as between the two]; M: kwas-sup'-kik, kwah'-sup'k kik; K: gwacö p-k
kwašipk pa-pišap (bird sp.: small with red head). H:
kwajopk opiJo
kwašip-kwašipk (plu. Adj.). R: notəpjam kwajropkwajrapk
(the cats are red; ""pokwajropk") kw ačkwašipk (VI: be red). R: kwot frkwofapk kw ašimk (VT: make red). R: kw ofomk [cf. kwočea? 'stoke fire'? kwočkwočik 'have blisters'?]
kw at $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - repeat, V ?
ni-hun Pa-kwot ik (idiom: remember [my heart repeats]). H : Kwałok, Kwałak, kwałok, kwātək [in "nihtn pakwatak"]; R: nihun akwätak (I repeated the word)
kwavipy - bawl out suddenly in anger, V (of baby). H: akwavapj
(the baby bawls out suddenly con coraje ['with passion or anger'; underlining Harrington's])
kw awnuk - [mng. unclear], Adj. H: kwawnuk ("está almorado
[mng.?]; said of a person when is almorado [mng.?]"); R:
kwawnuk, kwawnupk (morado colored [purple])
kwapy-ik - have legs spread apart, VI. R: kwa pyak
kwapy-k (VT: spread apart?). H,R: kwapjk
kwapki (imp. [NB: y $->$ © $]$ ). H,R: kwapki kwapy-mat (fut.). H,R: kwapjmat
kweap - lasso, VT. H,R: kwea, kwea kwea-mat (fut. [p --> ø]). R: kweamat kwea-vup (past). R: kweavup kwea-he a-n-ip (estar lazado [be lassoed]). H,R: uvea Pokwihanip; H: nihnihjot Pakwihoni (he is good at lassooing); R: nihnihjat akwihan (he is good at lassooing [obj. comp.]); uvea akwihonip (it's already lassoed) kwe a-he a-n-i-m (plu.). H: "plu. Po _ -m"; R: uvea pakwihanim -kwihan-ivana? (inst.: lasso). H: -kwihanivana
[root meaning may be 'tie' (cf. kwihat 'net'), or 'lay down' (cf. kwespk 'lie down'); also, unusual -? vs. -m sg./plu. pattern]
kweapk - lie down, be laid down (acostado), VI. H,R: kweapk; M: me'ah kwe-ahk' (go to bedl) kweapki (imp.). H,R: kweapki
[cf. kwea?]
kwiakt - boat, N (gen.). H: kwiak.t, kwiákt [sic]; kwekt (boat, including tomo4, big ship, canoe, steamship); ZN: $\mathrm{k}^{\text {wiyáxt (boat; }}$ tunamijam made them of tule at Buena Vista Lake)
kwek-tu - row a boat.
kwektu-ihwap-t (inst.: oar). H: kwektajhw at
[stress pattern and geography suggest a borrowing]
kwiatin - plow, V. H: kwiałin (plow: break clods by dragging branches over them)
kwicap - flexible, Adj. H: kwitsap, kwifs a p (flexible; said of guata [juniper] used for bows, and of reed that has been dyed in mud)
kwick? - wring (clothes), milk (cow), VT. H: kwitsk, kwit fk [Harrington labels the item with the first form, although he cites the second form in the same entry; in Geri Anderson notes, labeled Eug[enia] [ $t$ ] vs. A[ngela] M[ontes] [ts]]
kwic-mat (fut.). H: kwitsmat
kwick-in-ik (inf.). R: kwitskinik
[cf. kwiock 'bend']
kwicapon — plenm.: La Liebre mountain. H: kwitsapoy ("inf's [consultant's] uncle's husband [sic; husband's uncle?] used this term; that's how inf. knows it); R: kwitsapoy (plenm.: la sierra de La Liebre, between La Liebre ranch and Ventura)
[may not be Kit.]
kwihaka, kwihakapy - woman, N. H: kwihak, kwihokapj, kwihakepj, kwihakepe; nop kwihakepe akikitam (I'ma Kitanemuk woman); R: numuajr kwihak (pretty woman); kwihakat (constituency absolutive); ivits akivea kwihakat (in this woman's house); ZN: $k$ wifhak; M: kwe'-ah-ki, kwe'hah-ki; K: gwikah-ai
-mayha kwihak (daughter [one's-child woman]. H: "with -mojr = daughter"
kwi-kwihaka-m (plu.). H: kwikwihakam; M: wur-koo-kwe-how-kum, kwe-kwe'-hok-kum (many women [the first redup. form suggests /ku/, where Harrington form suggests /kw/])
kwihaka(-)t-ay (obj.). H,R: kwihakahtaj, kwinakataj
kw in ot - net, N ; also the plant from which it is made. $\mathrm{H}: \mathrm{k}$ winot, kwin at (net for carrying deer meat or catching fish); $\mathrm{ZN}: \mathrm{kw}^{\mathbf{i}}$.hat (carrying net, made of cordage plant; also name of the plant: Clematis ligusticifolia (rope from this plant also used to catch bears with; dry stalk smoked for headache)
[cf. kwear ~ kwihg 'tie, lasso'?]

-kwinupkip - loincloth, poss. H: -kwinupkə p ("'g-string'; inf. [consultant] thiriks applies to men's and women's")
kwiock - bend, VT. H: kwiotsk (bend); Pakwiotsk Pafitfra'j (he protrudes his lips to one side as he cries); R: kwiotsk (make crooked)
kwiock (Adj.: bent, crooked). H: kwiotsk (bent, chueco [crooked]); R: kwiotsk (it's crooked [Adj. = VT stem]); M: kwe-os'-kik (zigzag)
kwiock po-uva? (she is cross-eyed). H: kwiotsk pauva? [cf. kwick 'wring'?]

Kwirav - braid, VT (grammatical obj. is either braid or person). H,R: kwirav (braid [can be done to a braid or a person]) kwir av (imp.). H,R: kwir avotsi? (braid my hair!) kwir av-i-c (part.: braided). H,R: kwir övits [cf. kwee 'lasso', and kwihat 'net']
kwirimač - horsefly, N. H: kwirimajr, kwírimas (matavenado [horsefly (Bright, p.c.)]) kwirimaš-yam (plu.). H: kwirimafjam
kwišukapk - wind hair in a molote (hair arrangement made on top of front of head), V. H: kwifukapk
kwišukapk-i (no context-may be Adj. 'wound'). H:
KWifuka?ki (molote) -kwišukak-in-ap (poss. nom.). H: -kwifukakina? (molote),
'-kwifukakine Pa (his molote-the pug some men wore)
kwišušupip - swirl in whirlpool fashion, VI. H: Pokwifrufruipl? ("whirlpool, or rather the water whirlpools") [probably etymologically related to $\mathrm{kwišukopk}$ 'wind hair in molote']
kwitak - plant sp.: Cucurbita_palmata (Wats.). ZN: $\mathrm{k}^{\text {witak }}$ (plant sp.: Cucurbita palmata Wats.; leaf smoked, and blown into ear through phragmites (cane) to relieve earache)
kwitea? - bewitch, kill by witchcraft, VT. H: kwifeap
kwit kwitk - multi-colored, Adj. H,R: kwit kwit k [apparently 'multi-colored']
kwitupmik - turn, V. H,R: uvea nikwitupmk (I turned out for him), nipajk nehe kalesaptaj, nikwitupmok (I met a buggy and turned out [perh. one is VT, one VI; context inadequate to tell]) kwitupmki (imp.). H,R: kwitupmki
kwiwitup - grind acorns, V. H: kwiwitu?
 get up); R: nikwat srok tuko (I got up in the night); nikwzfrok tLk avepea (I got up in the morning)

Pa-kwičík pa-pova m+mt-t (wave; "literally, 'su fuerza de la mar' [the sea's force] " [it-stands-up its-force theocean'])

kw +y a-č ? — gap or pass in mountains, N. H: kwそots, kwonot fr $-k w \neq \eta a p(p o s s$.$) . H: pakw3y o p [another way to say 'gap']$ kwina-vea (plenm. near Colorado River). H: kwónave, kwるavea; R: kwonavea; M: kwung'-av-ve-ah (valley)
kwinač - obsidian, $N$, or other glass. H: kwanat $\int r_{\text {, }} \mathrm{Kw}$ ajot $\int \mathrm{fr}$ (a certain kind of crystal: you can see blue and red in it; glasslike; thunder hurls it and if it hits you it will kill you; plenty on white mountain beyond Bakersfield, way over by Long [Lone?] Pine; people who have it for suerte ['luck'; but this context suggests "suerte" means 'guardian spirit' as well] wore it as pendant from neck; = V. q alo Pw-ca.; also used for any glass); JW: kwungatc (doctor's charmstone, the mysterious thing [unclear if this is an etymology or a description])
[this may be minimal pair with kwinoč 'gap' in that - $-\underline{c}$ here is in stem, while in 'gap' it is abs. suffix]
$k W+r k$ - singe? trim?, V. H: $k w \boldsymbol{r}_{0} k$ (trim feathering with coal)
kWłyač - acorn sp.: medium-sized, from mountains; whitish? or red?; edible; also the tree. H: kwajot fr, kwójotfr (acorn sp.: medium-sized, from mountains; whitish; edible; also the tree); R: kwojot fr (red acorns); ZS: kwo yac (acorn (on tree)); ZN: kwóy ac (acorn sp.; bigger on tree than wicc; pounded, leached, then boiled into a mush); $\mathrm{k}^{W}$ óyač (plant sp .)
kwłyačay (obj.). H: kwojat fraj; R: kwəjot fraj (acorn, obj. ["beliota colorada [colored or red acorn]"])
[cf. kíyac 'oak sp.']
kwivin — plenm. near Tapo or Camulos. H: kwóvəŋ; R: kwəvョ (plcnm.: an exact equivalent for topopupea; near talapupea (Tapo) [or at Camulo?])
kwohep - foam, VI. H,R: kwohap
kwohop-n-i-m (pass. nom., plu.: foamy things?). H,R:
kwohapnim (make something foam)
kwohap (nom.: foam). H,R: pákohap (espuma [foam])
lamesap - table, $N$.
lamesap-t-ay (obj.). H: lamesaptaj, lamesataj [< Span. "la mesa"]
lamumuk ? - first. M: lă-moo'-muk, nah'-mó-mōk (first)
[Initial 1 in the first form and discrepancy between the initial consonants of the two forms suggest this is not a Kit. word; cf. namumuk]
lamisyon - mission, N.
lamisyon-yłk (dir.). H: lamisjonjak
[< Span. "la misión"]
lapis - pencil, N. H: lâpis; niwivayk nifiw lâpis (I sharpen my
pencil) [NB no obj. marking])
[< Span. "lápiz"]
ler(-)in - read, V. H: uvea niler in nap (I read it [past]) lerin-mat (fut.). R: alerinmativij (she will read it) [< Span. "leer"]
lečip - milk, N. H: letsip, létfipi (milk (of a cow)) [<Span. "leche"]
lečugar - lettuce, N. H: let fugar
[< Span. "lechuga"]
limon - lemon, N. H: limon
[< Span. "limón"]
lola P - pers. name: Lola.
lolap-t-ay (obj.). H: lolaptaj
[< Span. (or Eng.) "Lola"]

- m -
mapayapip - easy, Adj. H: mapajapip (it is very easy)
mo-c —arm, hand, N. H: mäts; ZS,ZN: ma'c
ma-m (plu.). H: màm; ZS,ZN: ma•m
ma-c-ay (obj.). H: matsaj, mātsaj; R: nihju ivip matsaj (I looked at this hand [NB no obj. marker on 'this'])
-ma (poss.). H,R: -ma; ZS,ZN: -mo [macron m?]; M: nim'-mah, $a h^{\prime}-m a h^{\prime}$ (arm); K: mü ma ([your] arm, hand)
-ma-y (poss. obj.). H: -maj, -fiaj
-mah-ma-y (poss. plu. obj.). H: -mahmaj
ni-numua-ja ni-mo (my right arm). H: ninumuaja nimo
ni-pocip-ya (ni-ma) (my left hand or arm). H: niotsipya (nimo), niotsipyo nimo
ma-č — grove or forest? mountain?, N. H: mat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (forest, group of trees); māt $r$ r, matr (monte [mountain]); R: mat fr (grove, forest) mah-ma-č (plu.). H: máhmat fr (plu. [of 'grove']); R: mahmat fr (plu. [of 'grove'])
ma-m (plu.). H: màm (plu. [of 'monte'])
mac-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (plenm. of a spring). R: mätsjak (plenm.: a spring nearby)
ma-veo (plenm.: El Monte [this may be where the 'mountain' glosses come from-from translation of Spanish name]). H: mâve(a), mðve(a); ZN: máve (plenm.: a big rancheria at an oak grove near Tejon); K: mavin (picnm.: Tehachapi Peak or a mountain near by, perhaps called by the Yokuts "chapanau"); VF: mau-ui (rancheria in the oak trees (monte)); mah-havie (rancheria north of Tejon Ranch by oak grove); K: mavin (plenm. in the mountains-perhaps Tehachapi peak)
huna-vea ma-č (plonm.: 'grove, or mountain, in the middle').
$H$ : húnave matr, hunave(a) mat( $f$ ) r, henavea mät $\rho \mathrm{r}$
(plonm.: cowboy camp one mile below the store; Span. name = Monte de en Medio; also spoken of as casa de Lopez, for J.J. Lopez [head foreman] sleeps there); ZN: hưnave ma'č (plenm.: village site $1 \mathbf{1 / 2} \mathbf{~ m i}$. below ranch; app. "vegetation")
mač - hear, V. [also know?]. R: ināt $\int \mathrm{r}$. (hear); nimāt $\int \mathrm{r}$ (lo oyí [I heard it)); nimesr nehe (I heard; "add nehe when you are avisando á alguno [informing another person]")
m aš-nehe [pre-consonantal form; analogous to k -loss?]. R: nimajr nehe ("not tfr certain!" [another C loss before nehe clitic]; 'I heard'-"add nehe when you are avisando á otro"); [vs.] momätsrat nehe (did you hear? [contradicts preceding interpretation of nehe])
-mač-ivanap (inst.? "now you're free"). H: mamāt fivaha ("now you're free; lit., you're going to hear of them"), pamăt sivaha ? ("now they'll know; they're free now")
mačłkay? (wise). H: mátfakep (omniscient; synonymous with $P$ Shẹnạt)
mačłkam (plu.). H: mátfrokam, matfokam (plu.: wise men)
mače a - be heard [known?]. H: mat $\int e a$ (is heard)
[apparently this word means 'know' or 'hear'; the 'freedom' glosses are unexplained-idiom?]
madulse P - strawberry, N. H: maðulse ?
[NB: adapts to дulse? 'sweet' (< Span. "dulce")]
-mahap - basket part of basket mortar, poss. H: -mahap; ZN: Pámahat (hopper for portable mortars only); M: ah'-mah (hand stone for rubbing); JW: ummah (mortar basket or hopper)
[= mahac 'wing'?]
maha-c - wing, N. H,R: mahāt s
-mahap (poss.: wing, wingeathers). H,R:-mahap, -mahap (wing; wingfeathers, incl. feathers detached from bird; feathered end of arrow; fish fin); Púven pókotfr pomahopa (it already has wings [said of ant]); M: am-mah'-hah (headdress of feathers)
mahap-n (V: fletch). H,R: mahapn, mahapn (put feathers on something-arrow, pot, etc.)
mahap-n (imp.). H,R: mahapn
mahap-n-ič (imp. plu.). R: maharnot $\int \mathrm{r}$
mahe-n-i-c (part.: feathered). H,R: mahanits; R: mahapnits
mahač - five. H: mahat $f r$, móhat $f r$, mahaţ, máhaţ, mahafr; R:
máhatr; mahat $\int \mathrm{r}$ momkinitsr (five mounds [of shrine]); ZS,ZN: máhoč; M: mah'-hah'tr, mah-hahts (mah-hahtch); K: mahatc (five); CK: māhāch'; we' mā hāch' hā' mưk mā hāch' (fifteen)
mahočahea (five times). H,R: mahat $\int$ rahea; CK: mähāch' 1' à w̛̛' mā hāch' (fifty)
mahač-ivan (put five). H,R: mahat $\int$ rivan (put 5-things in the work one is doing)
mahač-ivan-mat (put five, fut.). R: mahat frivanmat
Pa-mahač (Friday). H: Pamahat $\int \mathrm{r}$, Pamahat fr
weh-mahač (ten ['wice-five']). ZS,ZN: wépmahóč; CK: we̛' mā hāch weh-mahač homtk hawkup (eleven ['wice five again one']). ZS,ZN: wé?mahóč hámok háwkup [for higher numerals, cf. wehmohoč 'ten']
mahahal-pea - plenm.: San Cayetano. R: maqaqalpea
mohat - bird, N. M: mah-haht (a bird)
ma-mahot (redup.). M: mah-mah-haht (many birds) [perh. an error for mohoč 'wing']
-mahcit - nephew of a certain type, poss. (through sister?). H: -mintsit (nephew through my sister (rec. of nijar, Pedro to Eug.))

```
-mancita-m (plu.). H: -mohtsitam
-mahcit a-i (poss. obj.). H: -mahtsitaj
```

mophit, mophir — oak sp.: Douglas. H: maphit (oak sp.); ZS: móhir (oak sp.); ZN: má Phir (oak sp.: Quercus douglasii Hook \& Am.; edible acorn)
mahivat - hairpin, N. H: mahivat
mahmat (and perhaps also mat) - when (conj.). H: maqmat, mat (perh. w/future reference); maqmat (when (fut.)); R: mahmat ("if" conditional, with future reference)
[cf. mot 'future ciitic']
mahwar - burn something up, VT. H: mahwap, mahwap, maqwap, maqwa?
mahwap-mat (fut.). H: maqwamat, maqwapmat [cf. hup 'burn']
mahw oč - reed sp.: one to two feet high; grows in bogs. H: mohwatfr [1st a may be accented, r may be devoiced], móqwatr [cf. hwoč 'reed sp.']
mak - give, VT. H: mak, mak, max; R: uvea nimak, nan nimak (I gave it to you [sic]); P amakavon (he gave me); K: amak (give [he/she gives])
mah-mak (redup.). H: moh-mak-ava (is giving to them [or imp.? if so, this is the first imp. with redup.]) mak (imp.). H: max; mak (give mel; give him!); makava (give theml); makancč (y'all give mel)
mok-an (imp. caus.?). H: makan (pass me the sugar); R:
mokan patap thivatfr (give me what's ground)
mak-i-c (pass.nom.: present). H: makits (present)
mak-i-m (plu.). H: maxim (presents)
mak-ik (inf.). H: makik
na-mak-a-t (na- gen. nom.: generous person). H: näm akat na-mak-a-m (plu.). H: nämoxam
makeč - plant sp.: medicinal for bruises; also for dying baskets black. H: mokat fr, mákot $\int \delta$ [ligature under t $\int \mathrm{r}$ ] (plant sp.; resembles malva; = "yerba del golpe", medicine for bruises; also for dying baskets black); ZN: ma'kač ("black paint obtained from this plant")
makaho-t - dove, N. H: mákahot (dove: paloma del campo); ZN : mákehet (dove)
makaho-m (plu.). H: mákahom
makaho(-)at-t (dove sp.: bigger). H: mákaho ast (dove of a bigger kind)
makaho(-)at-m (plu.). H: mákaho àm
makaront - macaroon, N. H: epinan makaront (the macaroon crumbled [perh. a constituency abs.])

> [< Span. "macarón"]
makaveykł ? — nine. H,R: mákavejkə; ZS: mákavíka; ZN:
ma'kavi'kə; K: makawik; CK: mã' kō vỉ kö; we' mā hēch' hā mŭk mā' kō vī ko (nineteen)
makave epkihea (nine times). H,R: mäkaveapkəhea; CK: mā' kā vī' ko hī' à w̛̌' mã hāch' (ninety)
[cf. kwockoveyki 'seven']
makaw - laugh, VI. ZS,ZN: makg
mamukiyač - plant, sp: Cirsium occidentale (Nutt.) Jepson; tender green stalks edible. ZN: mà'mu•kiyoč
-mo(-)munap - bracelet, N. H: ómámang, amamunap
man - toast, V. H: mãn (toast, e.g., piñones); ámon (tray with tar on it for toasting seeds [literally 's/he toasts it'?])
man-i-c (part.: toasted [minimal pair with monič 'Jimson weed'? (no evidence in notes that Jimson weed was toasted)]). H: mōnits
mana-č — plant sp.: a small prickly pear with inedible fruit. H: mân àt $\int \mathrm{r}$
mana-m (plu.). H: mân ām
manapy — roll over, VI. H,R: manapj (roli, e.g., of horse)
mona-mona'y (stem redup.). $\mathrm{H}, \mathrm{R}$ : monamonapj (roll over and over)
manamk (roll, VT). H,R: manamk
mano [stem?]. H,R: Pamanahamak ("va rodeando, it rolls-said of stone, wheel, drunken man")
[cf. manupmk 'turn'?; cf. nonone?y 'smooth, flat'?]
mani-c - Jimson weed, N , or toloache (halucinogenic drink made from its root). H: $m$ ánit $\int r$, mônit fr (toloache; juice made from roots makes you drunk like a dead man all day); R: mänič (toloache); ZS: ma•nič (Jimsonweed); ZN: ma•nič, mánič (Jimsonweed; root peeled, mashed, soaked in cold water; drunk in the morning, 3 times, 3 days apart, to procure visions, cure illness, ease pain)
[obj. app. same-H]
mani-m (plu.). H: mánim
mani-muk (be drunk with toloache, VI). H,R: mannimuk
mani-yik (plenm.). H: mánijak; VF: man-nee-yuk (hill to the right of R. Gomez's ... $1 / 2 \mathrm{mi}$. northwest)
[cf. pa-manit 'Jimson weed or its drinking', under peč 'water']
mapnik - return, go back, VI. H: mapnək, manək, mapnak; pamapnok tämeat (New Year; means sun starts back again; said also at San Juan day, ca. [summer solstice], means it's going to start getting cold or hot again, because sun has turned back); R: uvea ámarok molest á? (ya volvió Modesta [sic on name; anomalous stress is perh. question intonation; < Eugenia]
mank-in-ee (pass.: be returned?). H: mankine o. (apparently = 'it has been returned'; reference to heart being put back in place by shaman)
mansanap - apple, N. H: mansana?
mansanap-tay (obj.). R: mansanaptaj
[< Span. "manzana"]
manupmk - turn, VT. H: manupmk (turn something wrongside out) manupmik (turn, VI?). H: matumupk (turned) manupm-manupmk (redup., VT). H: manupmmanupmk (roll, VT); R: Pamanupmmanupmk pauvat $\int$ raj (he is rolling his eyes from side to side)
manupmk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: turned). H: manupmkinits (turned)
[cf. mopnik 'return']
manwel-t-ay — Manuel, personal name [obj., apparently; with ?ałs orvar 'with']. H: manweltaj [< Span. "Manuel"]
mao-č — plant sp.: similar to hwatlr but bigger-6-7'; used for baskets and water jugs tarred on inside; brought from coast or Saticoy). H: máot fr
mao-m (plu.). H: máom
mao-m+a-č? - month name [app. named after this plant]. H:
 (another month)
maritap - tribename: person from morinopea, near San Bernardino [apparently Serrano speakers]. H: mörajapa (San Bernardino Indian; talked a language part Kitanemuk and part different; inf. [consultant] didn't understand it) [the "plural" can app. also be used as sg.]
marinap-yam. (plu.). H: maranapjam, márajapjam,
márəyajam, márinajam; R: mär žapjam (person of the tribe near San Bernardino ${ }^{6}$ )
marína-pea — plenm., by San Bernardino). H: márrəjapea mârinapeq: mär anappea
marvaš - mallow, $N$ (grew on coast). H: márvosr [< Span. "malvas"]
masaulat - pers. name. ZN: mos áulat (personal name of I[sabela] G[onzales])
mašarin — [mng. unclear]. H: mäfärin ("estoy ...")

[^53]-m ot - future clitic; some, but not all, verbs lose final $\mathrm{K} /$ _ mat; one or two examples have mat in odd position; these may be instance of mat "when". H: [for numerous examples, cf. Chapter II, section D; odd example: motokim hơwat fr tévat fr (next year)]; ZN: mat (future clitic [translated 'going to'; cf. e.g. kwop 'eat'])
mat aphopw - plenm.. H: mat Papqopw (plenm., far away towards Piro)
[< Chumash: 'place of the fox' (J. Johnson, p.c.)]
mot P aphwelehwel - plenm., at mouth of Cañada or Cajon de las Uvas [Grapevine Canyon], below the Fort. H: mat P apqweleqwel, mat apqwelequeq
[< Chumash]
matavin — plenm. at Monolith. ZS,ZN: matávaj (plenm.: the Monolith (Kawaiisu) Indian settlement)
[may not be Kit.]
mavip - do, V. H: mavip, mavip; ts amavi tumhit aj (let's work [let's do something]; = Monday); R: hit ajt mamavip (what are you doing?); ZS: mavi
mavip (imp.). H: mavip; mavitsip (heal mel)
hamip-mot ca-hugup(-)pay vakap-tay, wir ni-mavipk naw moyk hami ni-hugup (let's talk about the cow some other time, I have a lot to do now, I cannot talk now). [from $\mathbf{H}$ source]
[Smithsonian slip from Geri Anderson lists this as minimal pair for vowel length with move 'grove'; doubtful due to ?]
maw ?- [mng. unclear]. R: maws howasr moat fr ("hace muncho la otra luna [long ago the other moon] = the month past"] [cf. míač 'moon']
mawiš - feather hand ornament of dancer, N ; feather headdress. H -mawif, -m öwifr (plumero held in hand of dancer); ZS: -ma'wis
(ceremonial feather headdress); ZN: -m ówif ([apparently something with feathers]; Zigmond refers to "Steward, Plate 7c")
mawi-y $\ddagger(-) t$ — bird sp. [big feather?]. H: mawijat' (bird sp.; resembles swallow; descr.)
mapy - finish, VT (takes obj. comp. verb, or full clause precedes). H: mapj, mapj; R: uvea nimapj nitapuhi (l finished counting); uvea amopjki ata pthea, uvea omapj aio pthi (ya acabó de contar [she already finished counting]); uvea nimapj (I aleady finished); ZN: Pove nim'ay nikw ay (I've finished eating)
mapykip (be finished). H: mapjkip; R: ataptheavaj uvea amapjkip (that count is already finished)
[cf. Gab. moy 'do']
mayap —ask, VT. H: màja ?
mayahintrapalap? - tribename: Kitanemuk. H: májáhintrpalap
[< Yok.? Kroeber (1907: 131) gives moyoint olop as Yok. name for Kitanemuks, meaning 'large bows']
ma(-)yaw - receive a guest, V. H: maja w [= 'hand-grasp'?]
maycan - pers. name of a boy. ZN: májt-s an
mayhap - give birth, V. H: majhap
mayhak (having given birth?). H: uvea majhak (the woman has already given birth)
ma-mayhaka(-)m (plu.). H: uvea mamajhokam mayho(-)ka-y (obj.). H: majhacaj (la mujer parida [the woman lately delivered of a child], obj.)
mayha-n-ipa-č (agt. of caus.: midwife). H: majhanipät $\int \mathrm{r}$
-mayha-y+p (mother of one's children). H: nimajhajop (my wife by whom I have had children, mi padrida)
mayho-c (nom., $N(A)$ : child [the kin term]). H: majh äts (son or daughter); mojhat (colt or calf)[variation in abs. may be due to the forced nature of using an absolutive at all] ma-mayha-m (plu.: children). H: mámajham, mamajham -mayha (poss.). H: -majr, -majr, -majr (son or daughter); päm upit nimajr (my first[born] child); nimajr kohot $f r$, nimajr kTh ät $\int \mathrm{r}$ (my oldest daughter); nimäjr kwihak (my daughter); nimajr patsruk (my son); nimajr pahot fr, nimajr pāh ât fr (my oldest son); nimajr pitat fr, nimajr pit at $\int \mathrm{r}$ (my youngest son or daughter); ZN: -mayr, -mayr (son/daughter), -m ayr
-ma-mayha-m (plu.). H: -mañajham; ZN: '-mamáyham -mayha-i (poss. obj.). H: -majhaj, -majhaj -ma-mayha-m-ty (poss. plu. obj.). H: -mamajhamaj -mayha-piva (dec.). H: -majhapiva -mayha-pivt-ay (poss. dec. obj.). H: -majhajpivaaj mayha-vea (plenm.). H: májhave, majhave, majhavea (plenm.:

Campo del Soldado; = Tej. opnow, ópoy, Cast.
tu'up on-means cuando tiene uno muchachito [when you have a little boy]); R: majhovea (plenm.: "spring where Cuddys live; = Tej. Pop'now = V. tupupan (ca.)")
patap pa-pea ni-mayhe ? (my only child [that one finished my child]). H: patap apea nimajr (my only son)
[NB: N(A), but $V$ form does not lose a; this confirms environment of rule described in chapter I, section D, 4]
mayk - [mng. unclear]. H: hämipmat tsahtupppaj väkoptoj, war nimavipk now majk homi nihurup (let's talk about the cow some other time, tengo mucho que hacer ahora [I have a lot to do now], I cannot talk ahora); H,R: haz nimirin majkw (yes, I can [unclear if this is same word])
[perh. related to mapy 'do']
mayki ? - come out? R: pāt fr Pama'jkapea (= Rio Bravo; means onde sale el agua [where the water comes out] ... entered Kern Lake)
[possibly a metaphor based on moy(h)k 'look forth or peep']
mayk, mayhk ? - look forth or peep, V. H: majht [sic?], majk; R: majk, majk, majhk (look forth or peep, as through crack) mayh-mayhk (redup.). H,R: majmajhk [NB for redup. rule] mayhki (imp.). H: majhki
mayki - here he comes [this and related presentational words appear to be highly irregular frozen forms with traces of obsolete personal pronoun or demonstrative morphemes]. H : majki (allá viene [there he comes])
ma(-)miyki (plu.: here they come). H: mamajki papmayki (there he comes way in the distance). H: Papmajki (allá viene muy lejos)
papma(-)młyki (there they come way in the distance). H: papmamajki (allá vienen poco lejos; *pappajki)
[cf. yiki 'here comes']
mayš-t - corn, N. H: majft
mayš-t-ay (obj.). H: majstaj
[< Span. "maiz"; NB re clusters]
me [clitic? mng. unclear]. H: jofr me məpujk (where is you girlfriend?); jəfr me aujk (where is his girlfriend?)
[ cf. nehe; or perh. this is a variant of mek]
-meap - with (accomp.); suffixed to nouns, pronominal forms [irregular-glottal stop drops out of some]. H: -meap
nitmeap (with me). H: nomeap; rawpk ip nameap (sit down [here] beside me); R: nomea?
pi-meap (with you (sg.)). H: pameap; R: omeap
Picam+ $\boldsymbol{P}$-meap (with us). H: Pitsamo Pmea; R: itsama pmea

Pimi-meap (with you (plu.)). H: Pomomeap (with y'all) Pimip-meap (with these). H: Pimo pmeap; R: oməmeap pam-meap (with those). H: amear
hiy avi-me? (with salt). H: hijovime?
Pa-šivki-meap (with wind). H: Pówon ofivkimepap (it is raining with wind blowing-a storm)
mea - gol (imp. of mi 'go'). H: mea (imp. of 'go'; also meah when followed by another imp., either a repeat of meg, or an imp. of another verb); R: meah kuon (go out and call him)
meakor - but? H: nikamat meakor naw nipan meakor-mat nikəm (yo lo voy a hacer, pero no sé mas que no sé pero voy a hacer; I am going to make it though I do not know how [Harrington's Eng.]); meakor tajt apits (pero es diablo que llegó [but it's too bad he came'? 'but it's a devil that came'?])
mek - contrary-to-fact marker, clitic. H: tamek nehe now Páripak, pakotfr mek nehe kivea (if the man hadn't died, he would still be living in the house [Harrington calls this "optative" construction]); R: nikat fr mek ap (would that I were there)
mek(-)wačup - contrary-to-fact conditional marker, clitic. R: tamekwatrup ap nikat fr , naw mekwatrup pamak amaj kwihakatoj (if I had been there he wouldn't have killed the woman); tomekwat frup nitsok, pajup me kwat frup (if I had stuck him with the scissors, he would have cried) [NB: tí/naw opposition, reminiscent of indefinites (apparently $\dot{\underline{i}+}$ here is the conj. 'if'; and mek is a clitic)]
memriyap - quince, N. H: memrija?
[< Span. "membrillo"; note change in final vowel in borrowing-prob. a confusion about the gender in Spanish (not uncommon in American Indian borrowings from Spanish (W. Bright, p.c.)), rather than a phonological adaptation]
merikanop - American, N. H: mérik anop; R: merikanop merikanop-yam (plu.). H: mérikanopjam (American; "this inf. [consultant] says K[it.] never used múkopjom") [< Span. "americano"]
merin - melon, N . H: meran
[< Span. "melón"]
metapq P - tall; long [predicate]. H: metapap (long (of a road)); R:
metopar (high (of mountain); long (of house); putsuk metapəp pokt (the road is long); metapap ([the mountain] is high);
metapap kits (a long house); metat kits (tall house); used alone or with N [but always = predicate?]; M: met-tah-oo, met'taht (long); met-tah-00, met'-taht (tall); met-tow'-o-koo-saht (pole)
me-metapip (redup.). H: memetapa? [= memetam]; R: kaym memetapap (tall mountains)
me-metam (redup. plu.). H: memetam [= memetapa p]; R: memetam kajm (tall mountains)
meta-t (tall; high). H: metat; R: kajts meiat (a very high mountain); metat (tall mountain); M: met-tah-00, met'taht (long); met-tah-00, met'-taht (tall)
meia-yik (dir.). H: metajak; R: nimimat metajok (voy parala sierra muy alta [I'm going to go into the high sierra]; "inf. [consultant] observes 2 forms are 'poco diferente' [a little different]")
[both occur with nouns, but when $- \pm ?$ form stands alone, it is translated as a sentence; when -1 form stands alone it is translated as, e.g., 'tall mountain'; -i̇? form is reminiscent of demonstratives; cf. chapter IV, section N, "Predicator"]
mi - go, be going to, V. H: mi, mi; hotk pami (they are marching single file, going abreast); $k$ à $k$ pami ([the birds] go in a flock);

R: mi, mi (go, be going to); tuk ne nimi (yesterday I went); məmimat (you're going soon; good-bye); ZS,ZN: mi (be going to);

M: nim'-min-ne-ke'-yuk (I am going home); M: hi-mo-kaht mum'me, hi'-mo-kaht mum'-me (Where are you going?)
mea, meah (imp.). H: mea (gol); me ah mea (go, gol); meah kuon (go out and call himl); mea up pätsr omuk (go over there and bring me some water! [go take water over there]); p甲 mea (come nearl); R: meah kuen (go out and call himl); meah, meah (go, then [answer to memimat 'good-bye'); meah meah jzw an (vete afuera [go outside][said to a dog]; = V. t fo t fo milok); M: me'ah kweahk' (go to bedl); me-ah-ah'-muk (go away); m'yow o-paht'r (go get water)
me a-č (imp. plu.). ZN: mečkw a pumok ("you-pl.-eat" [mi-č kwop-pamuk, "go eat over there"])
mi-hun (des.). H,R: now uvea nimihun (I changed my mind [no longer l-want-to-go])
puvea ?a-mi ni-hun (my heart is leaving now; said by dying person when his spirit leaves). H: Pưve ámi nihun
Puvea ni-mi (l'm already going; = goodbye). M: wahn-nim'-me, o-ve-ah-ne' me (farewell (I'm going))
mi-mi-mat (now you're going; = goodbye). R: mamimat (ya se va Vd. [now you're leaving]-this is the way to say goodbye)
Pa-mi-a tamea-t? (today). M: ah-mi tah'-me-at, ah-mi-e (today)
Pa-mi tuka (tonight). M: ah-mi to-kah, to"-kah (tonight)
Pa-mi t+vo-č (this year). M: am-mi-tŭ-bas, am-mi-e-ve tŭvatch (this year)
[last three subentries show that 'going' is idiom for 'next' in Kit.]
mick - side by side together (Adv. with 'be' or 'go'). H,R: mitsk, mitṣ
mihigon - recently, just now, Adv. H: mihinan nixam (I made it or did it just now); R: mihigon (luego [later, then])
mipn-pea - plenm. in Chanaco Canyon. R: mipnpea (picnm. in Chanaco Canyon; includes the spring called in Span. El Campo de Gregorio)
mipn-pea-nup (dir.: from mipnpea). R: mipnpeanup [this shows that -De 0 is derivative ('plenm.'), not just a case suffix ('loc.')]
minah-t — mammal sp. H: minght (mole; Harrington note re raised $h$ : "not strong but distinct; Probably better omit writing"); ZS: mi'g(g)at(') (gopher); ZN: mi'ngat' (gopher; mo-in-law of lion in story)
mina-m (plu.). H: minam; "this was eaten"
mirakik [mng. unclear]. H: momirakək ("no es bueno" [It's not good', said by mayor, referring to a pregnant woman's state])
[could this be < Span. "mirar", meaning something like 'you're showing'? or perh. related to VCh milak (cf. mi 'go'), meaning 'you're sticking out'?]
mirin - be able (takes obj. compl. form of verb, or no complement). H: mirin, mirin, mirin; R: -mirin, -mirin; H,R: haonimirin majkw (yes I can [yes I can do it])
miruhr-k - twist, wrap up, VT. H,R: mirurk, mirurk; (uve a)
pamirurk mukitaj hanapea/hajpivea (they wrapped the corpse in a petate)
miruhr-ik (VI: tangle or kink). H: miruharak
miruhr-ki (imp., VT or VI?). H: mirurki (imp. VT); R: mirurki (imp. VI)
miruhr-m at (fut., VT). H,R: mirurmat
miruhr-k-in-i-c (pass. nom.: twisted). H,R: mirurkinits wivot $\int \mathrm{r}$ (the pita is twisted)
miša P - [church] mass, $\mathbf{N}$. mišap-y+k (dir.). H: mifapjk [< Span. "misa"]
-mišana - son-in-law, poss. H: -mifaha, -mijr ano
-mišana-m (plu.). H: -mijranam
-miš an a-y (obj.). H: -mumif anaj [high central V rounding between labials? or perh. a transcription error?]
-miyak ? - daughter-in-law, poss. H: -mijak; -meak (daughter-inlaw, ms,ws)
-miyak-yam (poss. plu.). H: -mijakjamx -miyaka-y (poss. obj.). H: -miakaj
mi(-)yank - soar, VI. H: amijaghk (he soars like buzzard or buitre [vulture] or other birds)
[= mi 'go' + yank 'quiet'? or 'go' + yo 'fly'?]
mi-- you, your (sg.); prefix. ZN: məp
 məat fr; pamuk; pámuk məat $\int \mathrm{b}$ ) (the moon is eclipsed [sick]); R: moat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (moon) $[\equiv$ mwat (smoke)]; R: maw $P$ howafr moat fr ("hace muncho la otra luna [long ago the other moon] = the month past"); ivip moátfr (this month [NB noon-initial stress]); ZS: mə́ ač; M: mo-aht'ră, mwatsh (moon); mo-aht'r (mwaht'r), how-ko-mwats (a month or moon); K: möat, mü at (moon); mòatc (lake [sic])
máa-vap (full moon? clear?). H: moávapa (full moon? [NB non-initial stress]); R: moovar (it's a beautiful moon; clear, pretty moonshine); moavap moač (the moon is clear) [the -va is unidentified]
moo-mta-č ? - month name [app. named after mooč plant]. H: mawp maávap moat $f r$ [=?] howat fr mawimoat fr (another month)
šikw a-mi a-č ([approximately] December [ice month']). H: fikwomoat fr

```
ši-m+a-č - ([approximately] March [flower month]). H:
    samaatsr
ya-m+a-č ([approximately] March [sic] [rue month?]). H:
    jáməatsr
```

$m+c$ ane $?$ - hot, strong, painful, Adj.? [occurs with obj. clitic but takes no subject prefix]. H: motsane pvan (it hurts me); matsanepkwan (it hurts him); haypayeptam matsane? (where does it hurt you?); mats anip (strong; peppery; hot); R: mats anip (strong, said of chile, etc.); matsane?van nitufu P (my chest hurts); mats ane pkwan alu fu p (his chest hurts); matsanepva pału fup = paponapj paturu $P$ (their chests hurt them);
motsanepva (their chests hurt them); połurup; hajpajeptam matsane? (where do you hurt?)
mican(-)i-c-ay (obj.). H: matsonitsaj kafeptaj (strong coffee, obj.)
 (pull something like a string; to lead a horse by a rope; estirar el cuero [to stretch a hide]); R: ni-mat $\int r^{\prime}$ ( ( pulled it--string)

m+ֹ̌̌ki (imp.). H,R: mot $\int r_{k i}$ (pull!)
$m+c ̌ k i-c ̌$ (imp. plu.). R: mat $\int \mathrm{r}_{\mathrm{ki}} \mathrm{t} \mathrm{t} \int \mathrm{r}$ (pull, imp. plu.)

pull! speaking of stretching buckskin)
míčik (pity, have pity on, VT). H,R: mat frak (pity someone)
[e.g. R: nimat frakom (I pity you), nimat frakanama (l pity
you; n must be m), nimot jrakova ( 1 pity them)]

pity on mel); R: mat $\int$ rakitsi? (pity me!)
[NB: $-k$ vs. $-\dot{k}$ here is not VI versus VT]
mìhi-c — neck, N. ZS: məhic; M: nim-moo'-he, ah-müh'-he (back of neck)
-m+hi (poss.). ZS: -m•ahi; K: a-muhi ([his/her] neck)
mini-wi-t (aug.: long-necked bird: heron? pelican? egret?).
H: máhiwat, móhiwat (heron, a bird with a long neck; pelican)
mihi-wi-m (plu.). H: móhiwom, móhiwom
mik - kill, hit, V. H: mak, mak (kill); támeat Parnak ("the sun kills it ... said of the sunset colors"); R: mak (kill); mak, mak (kill, hit); pamak patak (he killed himself); nimakam (l'm going to hit you [sic]); mamakətsip (you hit me); maməkəva (you killed them [NB: not kon; so mik and kon do not correlate exactly with sg. and plu. objects, respectively]); ZS: mə•k (hit); M: nŭ-ne-mŭk' (I struck him); nŭ'-we-ah am-mŭk (he struck me); ă moo-ho-noi-tă-ma [app. Pa-mik huna-i-t pomap 'that bear killed him'], hoo'-naht ah-muk (A bear killed him); ă-moo-kŭ'-wats [app. Pamík híwo-č 'he killed another one], ah-mŭk hoo'-nah-tah (he killed a bear); K: amuik-anü (kill)
$m+k-m o t$ (fut.). R: nimakmotum (I'm going to hit you (Span. "pegar")); nimakmat j̄aptaj (I kill one cat [to show contrast with kon 'kill many'])
mík-an-ipa-č (agt:: killer). H: mokaneatr takatama; R: makaneatfr (murderer)
$\mathrm{m} \dot{\mathrm{q} k} \mathrm{-an-ipa-m}$ (plu.). H: mokanea-m (killers [of single people])
$\mathrm{m} \ddagger \mathrm{k}$-an-e a-y (obj. compl.?). H: Pamakane aj ("cuando lo quiere pegar [when you want to hit him]; no such word as "?amukeaj")
mimít - lake, sea, N . $\mathrm{H}:$ məmət, mómət; wor məmət (many lakes);
R: Popahip momət (Tulare--3rd?--Lake); məmət (lake [Eug.];
"plu. is the same"); ZN : mo'mot (lake, gen.); M: mŏ-mut (ocean) min-mimit-t (plu.). H: mohmomot
$-m+m+?$ (poss.: its pooling?). H: PamoməP (deep place in creek or pond)
$-m+h-m+m+p$ (redup. poss.). H: Pamahmamap (plu. [deep places])
$m+m+-y \circ m$ (tribename: people that lived at lake of Chico López; sg. is same). H: mámajam
mimit-pea (loc.). H: mómope a
$m \dot{m}+\boldsymbol{q}-y+k$ (plonm.: perh. Elizabeth Lake; in Cummings Valley). H: moməjok, məməjor (Laguna de Chico López; formerly in Cummings Valley); R: məməjok (plenm. for 2 places; one is Laguna de Chico López, Elizabeth Lake, other no longer exists); ZN: mə məjak, mə́məjok (for the Buena Vista Lake); VF: moo-moy-yōk (Cummings Valley) $\mathrm{mimq} \boldsymbol{\mathrm { q }}$ - am (tribename: person from Elizabeth Lake). R: mamajam (person from L[aguna] de C[hico] L[ópez])
$m \neq m \dot{\ddagger}-t-a y$ (obj.). H: nipāmat mamətaj, nipāpmat mamataj (l'm going to drink seawater--a remedy) mimit-tup (V: pool or make puddles). R: amomotup (se encharcó el agua [the water made a pool]) min-mimi-tup (redup.). H: mohmomətup (make puddes) Pa-kwičik pa-pova mimitt (wave). H: pakwat frak papora momot (wave; lit., sea's force [stands up])
pa-putik mimít (it is high tide). H: Papulok momot (it is high tide; lit., it [the ocean] filled up)
Pa-hivitvea mimít (coast).
Pa-hivívea mimi-t kike? (coast Indian). H: Pahovave
məmat kikepe; R: P ahavavea məmət kike?
Pa-hiví-vea mimí-t kikam (plu.). H: Páhəvave məmát
ki(P)kam, Páhəvave pat f 反 ki( P$) \mathrm{kam}$ (plu. [NB stress in
first version])
mìmk - true, Adj. and Adv.? H,R: mamk, mamk; nihax nə P mombk (l'm telling the truth); momk (it's true); now (patap) momk (it's not true)

mink - swallow, V. H: monk<br>minki (imp.). H: monki<br>min-mat (fut.). H: manmat

-mink-in-ivanap (inst., poss.: esophagus). H: -monkinivana ?
mit ? [mng. unclear]. H: mot no mohu mo fit $\int$ aj ("por qué no quema tu boca?" [why doesn't your mouth burn?; may = (ha)mit naw mí-hu mí-šiča-y])
miyvip - menstruate, VI. H: mojvop, mojvop
[perh. dec. of a pass. nom. from a root meaning 'flow' or 'pool', thus related to mimqit 'lake'; or perh. related to míač 'moon']
miyšipik — miss, VT. H: məəjfrak (miss someone; = nepn); R:
jawvakmatum nimajjrak (I'm going to miss you; "cf. na?n")
miyvan - bet, V. H: məjvan (bet [no overt objects])
miyvan (imp.). H: majvan
miyvan-i-c (pass. nom.). H: mojvanits (the money bet)
moc - again, Adv. H: mots; R: mots, mots; M: möts, maw"ts; mōt s (next time)

Pa-manik ((waha) moc) tamea-t — New Year. H: Pamapnək ((waha) mots) tämeat (New Year; means it starts back again)
mohač - doll, N. H: móhats, móhatr (doll (used skull of any small animal on end of a stick))
-moha (poss.). R: nimoha (this is my doll)
moha-y (obj., poss.). R: nituhutupnin nimohaj (I dance my doll)
moha-m (plu.). R: moham
moha-m-i (plu. obj.). R: nituhtupninavo nimohama (l'm going to dance my dolls)
mohavidz - tribename: Mojave. H: mohovidz (Mojave; "talk nearly the same as the haminat";7 also say póm óqovo [q.v.])
[< Eng. "Mojave"?]
mohcač? mopcač —oak sp. ZN: móhc ač, mópc ač ("Quercus; sup. same as Kaw. mucitobə")
mohk - smoky (said of blue eyes, gray tabby cat). H: moqk (blue [of eyes]; barcino [gray with black stripes] [of cat--tabby]; "the word moak really is derived from or means something like 'smoky'"); R: moqk (barcino, gray, like tiger-striped cat here); mok'k (morado [purple])
mohmohopk - only, just? rude? butting in?, Adj.? H: mohmohopk ap pakim tsurupkik (he came and butted in --se entremetió); mohmohopk ap papupup (he doesn't ask, he just takes--of impolite man); tamwapnataj tsipk [or tsipk] mohmohopk (I managed to see shacks a little, only a few); R: mohmohopk apakin (he comes to intrude on us [apakin could be error for ?ap Pakim
mo ploy - bear sp., small with white throat. H: moloj, moploj [may not be Kit.]
momk - pile up, VT. H: momk momk (Adj.: piled up). H: momk mohmik (VI: pile up). H: Pamohmak jarumatfr (dune)
monap [cf. munes 'cheat']
monik $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - blow around, VI. H,R: monikək (blow around, of dust); R:
Pamonikək Patsäqaj (he kicks up dust with [his] toes as he runs); M: ah-mo'-ne-kok, ah'-mo-ne-kuk (dust)

[^54]mon- $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - be mixed up, VI. H: monuk ("parasitic very short u; alternate beads on necklace by color when stringing"); monopk, mônopk (it is, or they are, mixed up)
monopk (Adj.: mixed up). R: monopk (está revuelto [it's mixed up])
mopn-k (VT: mix up different kinds of things). H: mopnk (mix up--corn and beans, or anything); R: uvea nimopnk (I mixed them)
Pa-monkip (pass.). H: Pamonkip (mixed up)
mon-k-in-i-c (pass. nom.). H: monkinits (a mixed up mess) mopn-ki (imp., VT). H: mopnki; R... mopnki (revuelvelo! [mix it upl])
mon-monkik (redup. pass. adj.). H: monmonkik, mongmonkik (hillocks, hills of any size); M: moon--mon-kik (hill)
monušmup - [mng. unclear]. H: monufmup [said of single black line painted on dancer's face, below eyes (session with Eug[enia], with [A.?] Lozada interpreting]]
[may not be Kit.]
morahk - untie, VT. H: moraqk
[cf. murahk 'be loose, untied']
mori-c - snot, N. H: morit s
mori-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
-mori (poss.). H,R: -mori
-mori-y (poss. obj.). H: -mori
mori-wi-t (aug.: snotty person). R: moriwat (es mocoso [it's/ s/he's snotty])
moh-mori-w ${ }^{\text {t-m (aug. plu.). R: mohmoriwom }}$
moprik - overeat, stuff oneself, VI. H: moprak (empacharse [stuff oneself, overeat, get indigestion]) moprik-mot (fut.). H: [fut. retains k]
mortasap - mustard, N. H: mortasap, mórtasapo
[< Span. "mostaza"; this entry suggests Harrington didn't always record $I$-devoicing before voiceless consonants]
mu - shoot, throw, grind, V. H: mu, mu; R: mu (shoot, grind); nimu (I hit the mark); mu, mu (shoot, with arrow or rifle, pound in mortar); uvea nimu (ya lo tiré [I already threw it?])
mu-vup (past). R: nimuvup (lo tiré [I threw it? I shot at it?]) mu-hea (passive: be ground or shot). H: muhea; R: amthea ahtnaj (he shot him in the heart)
muh (imp.). H: muh, mu, mu'
mu-ihwa-t (inst.: mortar, spear). H: tsivu mújhwat (small pespibata mortar)
-mu-ivana? (poss. inst.). H: Pamujvaha? kihct fraj (salmon spear); pamujvanapa (spear)
ku-mu-ihwa-t (firesticks [fire thrower]). H: kúmuninwat
-mu-vi (nom.: shot(s)). R: nimina (the shots)
mu-i-c (pass. nom.: pinole, ground). H: muits
mu-i-c-ay (pinoie, obj.). H: mujtsaj
mu-ik (inf.). R: nimi .muik (I'm going to go machucar [grind]) Pa-mu-y (compl.). R: ahju nehe amuj (lo miró cuando lo tiró ['he looked at him when he threw it'; but in these notes hyu 'see' is often translated using Span. "mirar", which in standard Span. means 'look at'; thus this sentence could be 'he saw him throw it'])
mu-mu-iví-č (plcnm.: means where they shot the pine tree, on old trail to Santa Barbara through San Emigdio Canyon). R: mumujvot $\int \mathrm{r}$ tokoht
Po-mu-c-i (part.? [c unexplained]). R: ämutsi (el salvado ['the saved part', when winnowing])
muap - smell, VI. H: muap, muap
[note: used alone, translated as 'stinks'; but with 'good'
translated as 'smell good' (as in Eng.)]
[cf. mwept 'smoke', mohk 'smoky', muhkik 'take steam']
muahk-ik - take steam(bath?), be smoky, VI. H: muokək; muakək (be smoky); R: muakək (be smoky); ah-mwah'-kuk (smoke); K: amwak (smoke)
muahk-k (VT: smoke). R: muahk (smoke-e.g. bacon)
muah-mat (fut., VT). H: muaqmat (give someone steam, fut.);
R: nimuehm at (l'm going to smoke bacon)
muet (nom.: smoke). H: mwopt; múát (haze); R: muat, mwat
(smoke; "but moat fr 'moon'"); M: mo-waht (m'waht) (smoke)
mua-kay (char.: plant sp.: turpentine weed). ZS: mway ${ }^{\text {way }}$ (plant sp.; medicinal tea, said to be called 'bad woman' in Span.); ZN: $\mathrm{m}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{a} \cdot \mathrm{xay}$ (plant sp .: Irichostema _anceolatum, turpentine weed; vinegar weed; Span. 'bad woman'; medicinal, laxative tea) [must have some association with steam or smoke]
[cf. mwopt 'smoke', mohk 'smoky']
muapta-t - hill, N. H: muaptat (small hill); ZN: mwap(a)tat; M: mwah'-taht (hill); K: moatat (mountain) muapta-m (plu.). H: "plu. $-\mathrm{m}^{\text {" }}$
mwa-mwaptat (redup.). ZN: $\mathrm{m}^{w a m(v) w a p(a) t ~ a t ~(p l u .) ~}$
mucik - be tight for (person who it's tight for is in obj. case), VT; be crowded, not fit, VI. H: mutsak [m,u,t,may be long] (be tight [of pants; who they're tight on is obj.]; be crowded); R: mutsak (not fit); tsamutsakmotutsr (no vamos a caber [we are not going to fit]; "means same without -utfr" [-i主と otherwise only used in hortatives]); amutsakmot (no va caber [s/he or it is not going to fit])
mucik-mat (fut.). R: tsamutsakmat, tsamutsakmatutsr (we aren't going to fit $[-\dot{\text { i č }}$ unexplained])
Pa-mucki-pea, pa-mucki-pea-vea, pa-mucki (plcnm.: a place where land is so close to creek you can barely pass).
H: pámufskəpja, pamufskəpéa, pámufskəpa, Pamutskupiat, Pamutskupiavit

Pa-muckt-yam (tribename: the inhabitants of the crowded place). H: Pamutskojom (natives of that place); also sg. and plu. ofroutskapioiom [it is odd that there are two placename forms and two tribename forms also; perh. two separate locations are involved]
[cf. mícavorakam under nocovorakom 'wins']
mucuk(-)in-inwap-t - acorn granary, N. ZN: mucu'kinihwapt (acorn granary, standing 6' off ground or in tree)
[perh. inst. < mucik 'be tight', since used to crowd lots of acorns together?]
muhač - doll, N. H: muhat $\int \mathrm{r}$
[cf. mohac 'doll']
muhirik? - offer something and then snatch it back, VI. H: muharak (offer to give something and then change mind); R : muharak (hold out or give and then snatch away
muhiwe - pers. name of a man. ZN : múhiwe
muhupga - plenm., east of Tujunga. H: múhuppa
[note: Harrington note says < K. muh 'shoot it!'; [possibly related to VCh muhu 'owl'? (but -ne is locative suffix characteristic of Gab. or Kit.]
muk - be sick, die, VI; wane (of moon). H: muk, muk (sick); nimukutkamapjtkaj ("said when [you don't know if you'll get well or die]--means i'm going to die; the aj diphthong sounds like $\boldsymbol{e}$ often" [perh. 'Am I going to die now?', with $k$ transcribed for initial ? of Pamopy 'now']); puvea pámck = ?uvea ? ánipak, = "he's already dead", but nimuk merely means I'm sick, not dead; mamukut (are you sick?); Penihniw Pamuk (the moon is waning- "ya se acabo" [it already finished]); pámuk (məot $\int$ ) (the moon is eclipsed); R: muk, muk, muk (be sick); muk (be sick); hämip nimuk (I'm still sick); nimukutak amapj (I think

I'm going to die [matching underlining is Harrington's]); M: nim-mök-nŭ' (I'm sick); nim-mök, mo-kök (sick)
muk-uvup (past). H: nimukuvup (I was sick)
muk-mat-kay (fut., with perhaps). H,R: mukmot kaj
muk-i-t (pass. nom.: dead person, corpse). H: mukit; R: mukit (dead person)
muki-c (pass. nom.?: disease). H: maxits (disease)
muk-i-m (dead person, plu.). H: mukim (dead person, plu.); mixim (disease, plu.); R: mukim (dead person, plu.) muk-i-t-ay (dead person, obj.). H,R: mukitaj; H: kikahtaj makitaj (dead chief, obj.)
muk-ik (Adj.: sick, sick person). H: mukuk, makuk; R: mukuk; kweapki ivip (muku) (lay down this (sick) person!) mukukam (Adj., plu.). H: mukukam mukukea (pass.?). R: mamukukea amopj (I think you're going to die [now])
mani-muk (incorp.: be drunk with toloache). H,R: mānimuk pa-muk (incorp.: drown or be flooded [water-die]). H : Papāmuk pivits tovahts puvea (there was a flood be-fore-at time of Noah); päm ck, pamuk (drown, VI); R: pamuk, päm ck, pamuk (drown, VI)
pa-muk(-)uneap (incorp. VT: drown). H: pamukunepo, päm てkuneap; R: pamđkunep, pām Ukuneap, pamukunepo Płyci-muk (incorp.: sick from poison oak). H: P əjłs imuk (be
sick from poison of ivy)
hik o(-)w-muk (compound or incorp. VI). H: nihikawmuk (I am panting [breath-sick])
joh-goyko-muk (have potros [hernia/tumors?]). H,R:
gahyajkamūk [< qapoyka- 'thighs']
mukap - whites, Mexicans or Americans, N. H: muka, mukapa, muka? (refers to whites, Mexicans or Americans; said not to cry
at funerals; this is word of wise man who prophesied coming of Americans); R: mukap (whiteman)
mukap-yam (plu.). H: múka(P)jam, muka(P)jam, muka? jam; makajam kwákam (American soidiers) [perh. a nom. < 'sick', meaning 'sickly', 'pale', or 'dying'; or possibly < mohk 'gray'? ${ }^{8}$ ]
mukpi-c, mupi-č - nose (also duck's bill, or point of a hill), N. H: mupitsr (nose); ZS: muk-pic [abs., perh. forced?]
mupi-m (plu.). H: mupim
-mukpip (poss.). H: -mukpip, -mukpip, -mukpip; patsahk pamukpip (his nose is aplastado [flattened], chata [flatnosed]); -mupi P; ZS: -mukpi; M: nim-mok-pe, ah-mök'-pe (nose); K: amukpi
-muh-mupip (plu. poss.). H: -muhmupi $?$
mupi-w i-t (aug.: big-nosed person). H: mupiwat (narizón [person with a big nose?])
mupi-wi-m (aug. plu.). H: mupiwom
mulap(-)t - mule. H: mulapt [even with abs. -t , glottal added as in many V -final borrowed stems]; R: awowk mulapt, aqonk (a mule threw him and crushed him)
[< Span. "mula"]
mumac - reddish tick, N. H: mứn ots
mumac-yam (plu.). H: mún atsjam
munap - cheat, VT. R: monap
muh-munap (redup.). H: muhmunap, mohmonap (cheat someone); R: muhmunap (cheat); amohmonapvon (s/he cheated me); now amonapyak [unclear; $y$ unidentified] (no

[^55]se engañó [s/he wasn't cheated or fooled]); muhmunap
(s/he's cheating); amuhmunapvotsam (he is cheating us) monapvik (be cheated?). R: now amonapvak (no se engañó [s/he wasn't cheated or fooled]) nah-monap-hyi-t (nah aug.: a cheater). H,R: na'monaphjat nah-monap-hyi-m (cheater, plu.). H,R: na'monaphjam
mu-mu-i-vī-č tịkoht - plenm. in San Emigdio Canyon; cf. mu 'shoot'.
mumum-pea - plenm.: a bog. R: mumumpea
munk, munkik - peak, hill, N. H: mún( ${\underset{o}{u})}_{( }^{)}$)k, múnkik
mun-munkik (Adj.: redup. plu.). H: múnmunkik
monkinič? [pass. nom.?]. R: mahat $\int \mathrm{r}$ momkihit fr (5 mounds (of shrine) [sic m])
munahk (VT: pile up). R: munaqk (pile up fine earth, [said] of gopher)
munkikah-yik (plenm. [same root?]). R: munkikahjak (plenm.;
= $k \operatorname{s} \int u p y a$, Montalvo)
[cf. monikik 'blow around', monik 'mixed up'?]
mun-t? - owl, great horned, N. H: munht, mup(') (great horned owl;
$=\mathrm{V}$. muhu = tecolote); ZS,ZN: munkt (owl; = an omen)
mugum (plu.). H: múgum
mun-t-ay (obj.). H: muphtaj munumi (plu. obj.). H: múgumo mun-t Pa-hop (plcnm., near La Chiminea). R: munt Paho mupi-č [cf. mukpi-c 'nose']
mupup-pe a - plenm.: Santa Paula. [< Chumash; Blackburn (1975) translates mup as 'cave']
mur ah-ik — be loose, untied, VI. H: muraqək; R: muraqək (be untied)
murah-k (VT: loosen, let loose). H: murahk, murahk (loosen, untie, unstring (of bow)); R: muraqk (untie) murah-nehe (with nehe). H: nimur aq nehe (I loosened it); R: nimureq nehe kutsiptaj) (l let it (the dog) loose)
murah-m at (fut.). $H, R:$ nimur aqm ot
murah-k (Adj.: loose, untied). H: muraqk; R: muraqk (está suelto [it is loose])
[cf. morohk 'untie']
mušamušapy — untidy, cluttered, Adj. H: muframufrapj
mutup - always, still, Adv. H: mutup, muifup, mútup; paw pujhun nimi, mutupmat nimi (he doesn't want me to go, but I'm still going to go); R: mutup nimirin (siempre puedo [I still?/always? can]); mutup onam (he is always walking around the country); mutu (siempre [still/always])
mwat - smoke; haze. [cf. muahk]
mwiršk - sad, Adj. H: mwarsk; R: mwarsk noht at (the old lady is very sad); M: mŭ-isk (sorry)
-nâ - father, poss. (no absolutive). H: -nop, -ñpa; ponap (their fathers); ninapn (my father); M: ahn'-nah (father); nin'-nah (father, my (spoken of [i.e. non-vocative?])); ahn'-nah hoo -as, ah'-nah (father, his)
-na-m (poss. plu.). H: -nam; ponam (their fathers)
-napnay (poss. obj.—irreg.). H: -napnaj
-nap-iva (poss. dec.). H: -napivo
nopok - separate, divide, VI (subject can be either sg. or plu.). H: napak
napk-an (VT: separate). H: nz Pkan
napk-an (imp.). H: napkan
naca-t — little girl, N. H: natsat, nats at (girl, like 4-year old); ZS: na•cat (little girl); ZN: nácat (girl); M: nah'-tsat, nah'-tsaht (little girl (4 to 12 yrs.)); K: nātsat (girl)
na-naca-m (plu.). H: nahatsam; M: nah-nah'-tsum (children (4 to 12 yrs.$)$ )
naca-t-ay (obj.). H: nytsataj
naca-kwinit (cmpd.? [mng. unclear]). H: nátrakwinit ("una cimar[r]ona" [= wild, unruly, runaway, slave; perh. a mare]) [cf. nahoと̆ 'older girl']
naca-kwine-c? - plant sp.: desert grape. ZS: na•čakwinač (plant sp.: Vitis girdiana, desert grape); ZN: na•čakwineč (wild grapes; eaten as raisins, boiled or plain, or in pudding)
[cf. necet 'little girl'?]
nacavor akom - twin(s), N. H: náts avorakam, nats avorakam; háwkup náfs avorakam (one twin); niniw natsavorakam (my twins [NB: an unusual case of -niw 'possession' used with humans; cf. chapter IV, section A]); mətsavorakəm/ nətsavorakəm [Harrington typed notes asks, "1st letter mor

n ?," and entry includes the qualification "(ca.)"]; ZN: nocuvur $\begin{gathered}\text { kam (twins) }\end{gathered}$
 [any relation to nocat little girl'? is this girl twins? or perh. related to naceos 'splice' and woh 'two'?]
naceap - splice rope together, V. H: natseap (splice rope together; = napawitsup)
nah- - prefix: habitual? [cf. e.g. monos 'cheat', and kit? 'bite']
naha-č - older (apparently teenage) girl, $N$. H: nahot fr, nahat fr, nahat fr, nahat $\int f$; R: nahat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (girl)
no-n aha-m (plu.). H: naraham, nahè ham naho-č-ay (obj.). H: nahatfraj [cf. nocat 'little girl']
nah-kameap-n-i-c - cemetery, N. H: naqkameapnits, náqkame Pnits, náhķame Pnitṣ;
noh-k ameap-n-i-m (plu.). H: "plu -m"
noh-k ameap-yik (loc.). M: nah-kah'-me-ah'-yuk (burial place nah-k ameap-n-i-vea (plenm.). H: náqḳamepnive; M: nach'-kah-mea-ne-ve-ah (burial place)
[cf. kamea? 'bury', of which this is nah- pass. nom.]
nahmavihawit? - shaman, N. M: nah-mah'-we-haw'-it nah'-mah-ve-hült (doctor or shaman)
nahnipk - win, beat someone, V. H: nahnipk, nahnipk; pananipk (goal; = "where they are going to win/lose" [sic; but seems to mean 'they're winning', or perh. 'they're making a goal']
nahnipki (imp.). H: nahnipki
nahnipki-č (imp. plu.). H: nahnipkit $\rho r$
nahnipk-in-ihwap-t (inst.: goal, ganadero in shinny game). H: nahnipkinihwapt
nahock - give bridal presents, V. H: anahotsk (he gives bridal presents)
[min. pair with nahuck 'give birth to'? perh. Harrington confused bridal presents with birth presents; cf. napup, nopop 'marry'?]
nahponom - sell something, V. H: hahpenom; R: naqponom nahponum-uvup (past). H: nahponumuvu? (sell something); R: ninahponumuvup (I sold it)
nahponom-a-i (nom.: store). H: nahponomat; R: naqpanomat; wovapea nappanomat (La Tienda del Llano, Rose Station [the plain store, as distinct from Rosemeyer's at the mouth of Tejón Canyon])
nahponom-a-m (plu.). H: nahponomam nahponom-a-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (dir.). H: nahpanomajakmat (dir. + fut.)
nahtihtin - be in charge or be chief, V. H: nahtahtan
nahuck - give birth (to), V (no overt objects in examples). H: naqutsk, haqutsk; Páhahutsk (she's giving birth); ninaqutsk (I'm giving birth); hitetem Pahuckit (What was born to you-boy or girl? [apparently 'what did she give birth to for you', asked of man])
[cf. nohock 'give bridal presents']
nohwin - deposit at shrine, V. H: nahwin; ZS: nahwin (scattering of seed, etc., ceremonially); ZN: nohwi'n (the scattering of the (seed) offiering (to appease dog or babies or tree of evil omens) nahwin-ik (inf.). H: nahwinik
nahwin-i-c (pass. nom.: shrine on hill or mountain top). H:: náhwinits
pimí? cukit naw-hinipam pimik, mat naw-hinip-muk cukit, Pamatan ni-tahan pi-yik mahač-am pa-wth-

Wičaha-m? H: Poməp tsukit nawhinipam umuk, mat nawhinip-muk tsukit, amat an nit ahan pujuk mahat fram pawohwot sram ("call them thus when don't want to say their names; I never heard that you are sick here, here you are tirado tsukit; You are five old men-tribal seers" [sic])
nohwit [cf. now 'negative']
nah(-)yup - deerhoof-sing, V (done in a special non-Kitanemuk language of the dance). H: nahju
nah-yu-i-c (pass. nom.: the name of the deerhoof singing). $H$ : náh jưits
[cf. qup 'sing']
naka-č - cliff, gully, ravine, paderon, reliz, N. H: nđkat $\int \mathrm{r}$, nákat fr; R: nakatfr (paderon [mng.?]); nakatfr, naxatfr (reliz [landslide?])
naka-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (loc.). H: nakajak (en el barranco [in the cliff, gully, ravine]
naka-yam (tribename?). H: nakayam (people that live in one)
naka-vea (loc.). R: pakatfr nakavea (they are in the paderon [mng.?j)
nakaču - plant sp.: yerba del oso [literally, 'bear herb']; useless, with poison berries; grows in mountains. H: nakatfru
nakarakara - chameleon, N. H: nzkarakara
nakarakarap-yam (plu.). H: nłkałakałapjam
nakarakaro pa-waka-vea, po-waka-vea nakarakara-t (plenm.; means chameleon fiesta). H: nøkarakara awakave = ?awakave nákorakarot (chameleon fiesta [an apparent constituency abs.]); R: nykarakarat pawakzvea (plcnm.: means chameleon fiesta; "Only Fustero has known this plenm.")
nake-t - stick, N. H: nakat, nakat (digging stick, or any stick) -nakap (poss.). H: '-nakapa, '-nákapa, -nak̃ p
pa-nakap taoč (lightning [thunder's stick]). H: Panakap táots!
nakic ? - [mng.?] H: wámana kits (alamillo [diminutive of "alamo" which means 'poplar'; this is perh. a subspecies])
nakw oh - play a certain men's game, V. H: na nakwah-ik (inf.). H: nakwahik, nahkw ahik nakwahik-am (Adj., plu.?). H: tsamit § naiw ahikam (let's play [the men's game])
nakwah-i-č, nakwah-i-c (pass. nom.: name of this game). H: nakwahit fr, naiw ahits nokwah-ihwap-t (inst.: the stick used in this game). H: naky ahinwapt
nakwarik - pass across a stream, land on land from a boat, VI? $H$ : nokwarak; R: nakwarək (land from boat); anakwarak (he landed on land from a boat); nakw 子rək (cross arroyo); M: ah'-noh-kwarrok, ah'-nah-kwar-rok (across)
nakwark-ihwap-t (inst.: bridge). M: nah-kwar'-ke-what, nah-kwahr'-ke-what (footbridge)
nakwarki-vea (plenm.: Tejon Pass). H: nákwarkive, nákwarkive, nakwárkive, nakwarpave [this last has odd stucture: V 'cross' + N 'water'?] (plcnm.: store site at [Tejon] pass; old ritual things are buried there; the Serranos always called it this, too); R: nokwarkivea (EI Paso store site ...); ZS: nak-war-ki•ve (settlement below the ranch house [aparently 'the pass']); ZN : nakwarkive (another reservation below the ranch-"the pass"); K: nakwalki-ve (placename: the principle [sic] village of the Kitanemuk, called by the Yokuts "pusin-tinliu"); nakwalkive (Tejon rancheria site); VF: na-quar-key-uai
(ranchería at Tejon ranch; people there spoke Porterville language)
namapip - soft, Adj. H: namapip (very soft); namajip tamat (shale [a soft stone])
namapi-pan (VT: soften). H: namapjpan; M: nah-mah'-e, nah'-mi-e (soft)
namapik (Adv.: quickly). H: namajk; R: namapik
na-namapi-k (Adv., redup.). H: nahamapjk, nahamajpk, nanamajk; R: nipatahakmat lamesataj (I'm going to subir la mesa [climb onto the table]; nonomojk is added meaning "recio" [hard or quickly]); na hamajpk, nanamapjk, nanamapjk (hurry up!)
na-mak-a-t - generous person, N. H: namakat
na-mak-a-m (plu.). H: namaxam
[<mak 'give']
namímok ? [mng. unclear]. M: lă-moo'-muk, nah'-mó-mäk (first)
[The inconsistency in the initial consonant, and the initial 1 in one form, suggest this may not be a Kit. word.]
namu - fight, VI (may take a complement, indicating the person fought with, in dir. case). H: namu, nomu, nomu'; R: namu; panamu (they are fighting-said of soldiers)
nah-namu (redup.). H: nahnamo, nahnamu, nahnamu, hahnamu, nah an amu [described by Harrington as not nahnomu]; ninahnamu pajak (l'm fighting with him); nihahnamu amajak (I'm fighting with you); ninahnamu amak (I'm fighting with you, pl.); R: ninahnamu əməjək, ninahnamu amojok (l'm fighting with you); pahahnamo (they are fighting); panahanamu (they are fighting; "notice redup-not nohnomu at all"); ninahnamu (I am fighting) namu-ihun (des.). H,R: namujhun, namujhun, namujhun
namu-i-c (pass. nom.: war). H: namuits (a war-far off [perh. a reference to World War I])
nemuh o-č — chief's wife; female chief (capitana), N. H: namuhat $\int r_{\text {, }}$ nâmuhatsr
namuha-m (plu.). H: nymuham
[similarity to muhoč 'doll' a coincidence?]
namumuk - first, Adj. R: namumuk kits (the first house); no ? nihiju inamumuk kits (l looked at the first house)
nanačun - imitate, depict, V. H: Pananatrun hutsaj (said of wv [zigzag] design on basket hat [it imitates arrows']); R: nan at frun (imitate); ninanat frun tevaht fraj (estoy ar[r]emedando al mundo ['I'm imitating the world' perh. an accurate translation of a misunderstood cue-"I am imitating the word"-by Harrington]); ananačun (he is imitating the word)
nenačun-ihwap-t tama-t (inst.: measuring stone). H : nanytrunihwat tamat (measuring stone [location described in notes]; could tell. if live long or short by whether stood and head was above (long) or below level of top of stone); R: nanzt fruninwopt tamat (measuring rock [location described in detail] ... If I am tall and I am below level, I will die soon; if I am short and my head is above level, I will die soon)
nanakšap - wrestle, V. H: nanakfap, nanakfap
nanakšap-ihun (des.). H: nanakfajhun
nanaksap-i-c (pass. nom.: wrestling match). H: nanakfrapjts nanakšap-ipo-č (agt.: professional wrestler).
nanamapyk [cf. namari 'soft']
nanana pi? — flat, Adj. H: nanzajaj

```
    nanukaw - swap things, V (no overt objects in examples). H:
        nonck aw; n anck ow (swap, trade)
            ca-nanukaw-mat (hort. prefix + future clitic). H :
                ts ananckawmat ('let's swap'?)
        ni-n anukaw-nehe (I swapped it, nehe). H: nenantkow nehe (I
                swapped it (I tell somebody))
    naPop - get married, VI (person married may appear in dir. case).
        H: napop, ha pop
            napop-mat (fut.). H: ninaomat pajok nahat \(\int\) (I'm going to
                marry that girl)
                            napop-ivanap pi-yik (inst.: fiancée). H: niha op jvanap pajok
        (my fiancée)
[cf. nepup 'marry']
napawicup - splice a rope, V. H: ha pawitsup, napawit su?
    [< napk 'stick together' + wicy? 'twist rope'?]
nap-ik — be stuck together, VI. H: napek (be stuck (together)); R:
    napak (be stuck, get stuck)
        nap-k (VT: paste, glue, mend). H: napk, hapk; R: Ipak, tpak
            [sic, typographic error] (l pasted)
            nap-k-mat (fut.). H: napkmat; R: ninapkmat
            nap-nap-k (stem redup.: mend in several places?). \(H\) :
            nihapnapk (I mended the tear)
            nap-k-in-e a (pass. V). H: anapkine a (the patch sewed on)
            nap-k-in-i-c (pass. nom.). H: napkinitṣ (mended)
            nap-k-in-ihwap-t (inst.: glue). ZS: nap-kininwat (glue made
            from deer horn); ZN: nap-kinihw at (the glue used to sinew-
            back a pine bow)
narapk - at the foot of the sierra, Adj.? H,R: narapk [no context]
```

naraphap - orange, N. H: nor aphap
[< Span. "naranja"]
naprík - help, VT. H: naprok, naprak, naprak; ahaprakavan (s/he helped me)
narik-mat-um (help you, fut.). H,R: norakmatum (help you, fut.); H: naprokmot (fut.)
naprk (imp.). H: naprk; nárkatsip, naprkatsip (help me!); R: nárkatsip (help me!)
naprk-ik (a helper). H: naprkak
naprkitm (plu.). H: naprkam
-narki P (poss.). H: -harka P, -narka P (my partner in game)
-naprkí-m (poss. plu.). H:-haprkam
nop(-)up - marry, VI. H: napup (marry [each other or another]) nopup-ni, napup-nin (make someone get married). H: napupnivatsam, napupninavan
[cf. nOPOP 'get married'; morpheme break is suggested by kuhono 'sister-in-law']
navih-t - prickly pear cactus, N. H: nðvuht, navaht, nzvaht (prickly pear; red and white fruits; tuna; "not native here ... brought from missions")
navịh-m (plu.). H: nǎvum, nåyam
navith-yik (plenm.: Las Tunas, in Tuna (?) Canyon also a ridge near there). H: nóvuhjok (Las Tunas); navahjok (mtn. this side of wowopat fr); R: navahjok (Las Tunas; also name of ridge back of Las Tunas); ZS: ń vaphuk (settlement in Tunis [sic; 'Tuna'?] Canyon); ZN: ná'vahjuk (village site 4 mi. south of ranch; Tunis Canyon)
[minimal pair with novuht 'turnip']
navo(-)kahe-c - shoe or sandal, N. H: navok ahats, nóvókahats; ZN:
návokxah ác (shoes [descr. as of one piece, from deer neck]) -navo(-)kaha (poss.). H: -navokaha; R: -navokaha (my shoes)
[ $=$ '[prickly pear] cactus' + 'wrap' (kohopc 'apron')? could refer to a sandal made from cactus fiber]
navo(-) ye - behind, Adv. (with 'come', 'be'). H: navoya akim (he is coming behind me); novojo akot $\int \mathrm{r}$ (he's in back)
novuht - turnip, N. H: navuht
[< Span. "nabo"; minimal pair with naviht 'prickly pear']
naw - no; neg. (usually the first word of the sentence). H: naw; naw Pajotfrk nawhit patamo (the knife is dull ['neg. it cuts nothing its tooth']); mot no mahu mositfaj (why doesn't it burn your mouth? [must be either an initial mot 'fut. clitic', or truncated pama-t 'you, Q ', at beginning; if the latter, it could be Harrington's putative "neg. hort." (cf. cyprik); but then we have non-initial naw]; no anahunwip werayk (mute-can't talk; ca. [perh. now-Po-pin Po-hunwip werouk s/he really doesn't know his/her language']); h binipmat tsahryuppaj väkaptaj, war nimavipk naw majk hami nithus (let's talk about the cow some other time, I have a lot to do now, I cannot talk now); R: naw; nawt matsuprok (que no te atasques! [don't get stuck! NB: not koy, but labeled by Harrington "neg. hort."; perh. a question: 'don't you get stuck?']); nawt mapłmetup (aren't you thirsty?); naw pat frufravat fr (he's not a liar [vs. pator frufrovatfr 'he is a liar'; perh. relevant to "predicator" described in chapter IV, section N]); ZS,ZN: naw; M: now-ne-ün (I don't know); now'-wŭr' (none); now'ŏ, now'-o (no); now o'-se (not hot); now, now'-vo (not (general negative [the latter with 'past clitic'])); now'-no'-mowats (not good); K: nēu (no)
naw-it (neg. + Q). H: nawut motsiup (aren't you ashamed?) naw-hit (nothing). H: napw ... hit, nahwit, nawhit [also, started to transcribe as noww, crossed out, commented
"not nopw at alll"] (nothing; there isn't any); R: nahwit (there isn't any); (uvea) nopwhit ((ya) no hay [there isn't
any (more)]); nopwhit kwapjkat (there's no food); napwhit uvea kofe? ([there's no more coffee]); napwhit pakwinit ([there's no more mud]); M: now'-hit wŭr' (not enough [there isn't much])
now-hi-hit (app. = nothing, with redup.). M: now-he'-hee't (none)
now-hit-ay (nothing, obj.). H: naw Pajotfrk nowhit patomo (the knife is dull ['neg. it cuts nothing its tooth']); naw(...) hit aj [or hit aj]; ZS: nó ${ }_{x}^{\text {K }}$ wit ay naw-ham(ip) (no longer?). H: nawhami? (todavia no); naqwamip isavel (lsabel isn't here); naw hami taxat, wahip patap (he isn't people, he's coyote); nawhamitsam patuqtutup (l am playing alone [naw-hamica-m 'no one, plu.']); (nawhym) nikonakwa? (l am (still) full (after eating)); nawhym nimuk (ya estoy enfermo [l'm still sick]); R: naqwam akwət frok (todavia no se levanto [he hasn't gotten up yet]); no-hah'-me, now-hah'-me (not yet); now-hah'-me, nah-mi'k (soon)
naw-ham hit (nothing more). R: nahwam hit (there is no more); nahwam hit nihiw (todavia no miro nada [I'm still not looking at anything])
now-tup (VI: disappear). H,R: Panawtup (he disappeared-i.e., shaman made self invisible)
napwakip — married, Adj.? H: ná Pyokepn (I'm married [perh. a mistranscription for nópw oke? nol); ZN: nopwok' (marriage;
there was no divorce)
[derivation unclear, but evidently related to nepup 'marry']
-nawǐ̌itm? - parent of one's child-in-law, poss. H: -nâwofon, -n bwo from
-nawǐ̌im-cay (poss. obj.). H: -na wao fromtsaj
[apparently some kind of construction with no?u? 'marry']
-ne, -nehe - [mng. unclear: 'contrary to your belief or notice'?
"n'est-ce pas"?]; a clitic (in the last position in the schema). H: comments: "I tell someone", "the nehe is added when I am avisando a alguno [informing somebody]"; like -mat future clitic, conditions final $k$-loss on some verbs]; R: néhe, nehe; majamkatatsin nehe (you reminded me [2s-remind-2-1s-nehe; NB for clitic ordering]); na ne nihak = nihakam nehe; nehe, ne (hints that it is perh. related to past tense; min quick talk nehe is always abbreviated to ne; used when negando alguna cosa [denying something]"); ahju nehe amuj (lo miró cuando lo tiró [he saw him (or looked at him) when he shot (him?)]); a hipnok nehe amats, pappi anam pzt $\int \mathrm{raj}$ (it's still afloat isn't it, encima el agua anda [it's going along on top of the water]); akat $\int \mathrm{r}$ ne ip, akatsr nehe ip (it was here); H,R: nipaj naho nipalaptsaj (I looked for my shovel [nahe is apparently a typographical error for nehe; source was typed, and Harrington typewriter had " $\partial$ " on the "4" key]); R: nehe, ne ("always abbreviate thus in quick talk"; "used when denying something"); nimasr nehe (I heard; "add nehe when you are avisando a otro [informing another person]"); nija ? nehe (I brought it; "the nehe is added when I am avisando a alguno (informing someone]"); ZN : néhe [mng. unclear]
ni- - personal prefix, used for subjects and possessors [cf. chapter II, section A, number 1]
nicup - put something away to keep, V. R: fitsu ?
nihnea - do something as a custom, V. H: nihneap; nihini (give a small fiesta [probably the same verb, used as a euphemism for sacred, secret, or death-related customs])
nihne-a-t (nom.: a custom). H: nihne at; ZN : -nihni (fiesta for dead)
nihni-i-c (pass. nom.: a small fiesta-not the one where effigy is burned). H: nihinits (any small fiesta, at which no mono is burnt); nihpnit fr (fiesta for girl at end of 4 mo . diet [puberty or marriage-related?])
nihni-hyt-t (aug.: good at doing something (the complement is in obj. compl. form)). H: nihnihjot (good at); nihnihjat okwihan (this man is good at lassoing); R: nihnihjot (good at); ninnihjot akwihati (this man is good at lassoing); na ? nihnihjot nikamoni pantaj (I'm good at making bread)
niovahiyo ? - sorry. M: ne-owah-he-o (sorry)
nipłk - die, VI. H: nipək, nipək, nipok, nipok; R: nipək, ripək, nipok, nipak, nipok, nipok

Pa-nipk-ip (pass. nom.: dead person). H: anipkip, atipkip, akipkip; R: anipk? [sic]; M: ahn'-nip-ke, ahn-nip-ke (dead); ah-nip'-ke (corpse)
Pa-nipk-i-m (plu.). H: Paifipkim, Panipki(?)m
niririhk(-)in(-)i(-)c - beads of a certain type, used on pepukwingt [braid ornamentation], N ; a certain type of net, N ? H : niririhkinits (beads of a certain type, used on popukwingt); níririqkinits (net of a certain type, used around head)
[looks like pass. nom. of some verb, perh. rink?]
-niw - possession, belongings, poss.; this morpheme is used in the indirect possession construction (with things, usually), and can also be used without another noun. H: -niw, -niw; pivip nap nifiw (this is mine); how kup niniw nita nifrit fravea (a mouthful [one my-possession l-put in-my-mouth]); R: -nio, -niw, -niw; niniw nohtat (mi vieja [my old lady; an unusual case of [+ human] possessed in construction with -niwl); ninio nigat frkinivafo? (my cutting machine); niniw okatfr (my sand); niniw patap ot fr (that is my mesquite tree); niniw tameazaj (my watch, obj. [NB: no obj. marking on niw]); M: nin'-ne-u, ne'-neŭ [ne'ne-u] né-nŭh (my (or mine)); ah-neŭ ko-che (his dog); poo'-yu, poon'-yu, pahm' (they or them (plural) [sic; 'theirs']); poon'-yu-poon'-yu, pahm'
(they or them (dual)[sic; 'all of theirs'); mun'-new (you (singular) [sic; 'yours']); poon-yu-poo-yu, po-e-neŭ (theirs (plural)); oo'-ne-u, mon'-neŭ, mun'-ne-u, mun'-nŭh (your or yours (singular)); tsoo-neŭ ko-che (our (dual) dog); ham'-me-să-tan'-yu (whose?) ne-ah'-tsit ko-tse, ne-neŭ koo-che (my dog); san-neu poo-yu, tsoo'-neu (ours (plural)); oo-neu, ü'-neŭ, ŭn'-ne-u, un'-nŭh (your or yours (plural)); poon-yu-poo-yu (theirs (plural)); poo'-yu-poon'-yu (they or them (plural)); po-neu-ahm, poo-e-neŭ (theirs (dual)); po-e-neŭ (theirs (plural)); poon'-yu-poon'-yu (they or them (dual) [sic]); mo-neŭ koo-che (your (singular) dog); mun-nu-mi'k, ah'-neŭ, ah'-ne-u, ah-nŭh (his (or hers)); po'-e-neŭ koche (their (plural) dog)
-niu-y (poss. obj. [but same form of -niw as for subjects is used in indirect possession construction; examples follow]). H: -niuj; niwivayk nikiw lapis (I sharpen my pencil); ninjuj nipunink (I am going to make a carrying ring); R: nifiw tameazaj (my watch, obj. [NB: no obj. marking on niw; are these compounds with niw?]) nih-niu-y (poss. obj., plu.). H: -nihniuj niw-kapy (char.: rich). H: niwkapj; M: ne'-o-ki niw-ka-m (plu.). H: niwkam Pa-kač pa-niw ku-t (firefly [it is its possession fire). H: Pakałr aniw kut
niw - do, V. H: niw, Niw; haminat Poriw (what's happening? [what's he doing?]); R: niw; haminat amapj niniw (como voy hacer ahora? [what can I do now?]); maniw (you do); aniw (he does)
nih-niw (redup.: be about to do something [this verb and other verb are both conjugated). H: nihniw, niniw, nino, nieniw; R: ninhiw, nihniw (be going to); aninhiw tsakw a (vamos á comer [we're going to eat; note 1 p prefix is as in hort.I]; [there are other examples with sentential subjects]
niw-ihun (des.). ì: new'-e-hoon (alike [apparently misunderstood as 'like': this is 'want to do'])
$\mathrm{ni}(-) \mathrm{y} \ddagger$ - exclamation of fright or astonishment ['my mother'; perh. gets its strength from a taboo against mentioning the dead; or may be a Catholic oath]. H,R: nijá
-n $\ddagger$ - with, inst. H: na; R: nitamana (with my teeth); pahupna (with pestle); pat frukna (with bow)
woh-no ([vowel difference unexplained] two together). $H$ : wohoha, wohona
pahi-n+ (three together). H: pahina
ni ? - weave a basket, V. H: nə P, m p
$n \dot{n} \boldsymbol{P}$ - $I$, independent pronoun. $H:$ na $P$; tam nap (he resembles me); R: na, naP; ZS: nə; ZN: nə, nə P; M: nŭ, neŭ' (nŭh) (I (or me)); K: nü, nö nity (obj.). H,: naj; R: naj; najavan (with 3-1s subject-obj. clitic)
ni-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (dir.: to or at me). H: najak; R: nopjak; otuhtutupjhtn n3jak (s/he wants to play with me) ni-mea (accomp.: with me). H: namea; R: nameap nip-nuk (I alone, I myself). H: punuk nəp = napnuk (yo solo [l alone], yo mismo [1 myself])
ni p-vea (loc.). M: nŭ'-we-ah am-mŭk (he struck me [an unusual form, in that this verb otherwise just takes direct object])
nicavorakim [cf. nacovorakim 'twins']
nihiniyaw - separate, VT. H: nohonəjow, rehonəjaw (separate [two men who are fighting], VT) nihinfyaw (imp.). H: "imp. same"
-ninme - aunt of a certain type, poss. N(A). H: -nom (aunt of a certain type; [one entry says through my father; one says elder sister of my mother (ms.), rec. same]) -nithma-y (poss. obj.). H: -rahmaj
-nihmo-m (poss. plu. obj.). H: -「hmam -ninma-piv4 (poss. dec.). H: -nohmapiva [apparently hm --> m / _ \#]
-nihpa, -nihpač - chief, N. H: reqpa, nəqpa, naqpat fr; ninəqpa, tsameqpat $\int \mathrm{r}$ puju (God: chief of all of us); nikikoqpa is exact equivalent of ninəqpa, my chief
-nihpa-y (poss. obj.). H: -nəhpaj; R: tsaŋวhpaj (God [apparently = our chief])
nikk? - make close together, close, VT. H: nak'k, nak'k; R: ninak'k (I shut my mouth)
n $\ddagger \mathrm{kk}$ ? (close together, Adj.). H: nak'k
nikki? (imp., VT). H: nak'ki; R: nak'ki masrit fra (shut your mouth!)
níniliw, n n linyo ? — medicine, $\mathrm{N} . \mathrm{H}$ : nániliz̧; ZS: nalínyo, nalíniyo; ZN:
nàlínyo, nàlíniyo; JW: nurlinyu (medicine in general)
nitiliw, nilinyo (poss.). H: -nəliliw, -raniliw [Harrington comment: "notice that 1 occurs sometimes in Jaminate"]; ZS: -nalínyo; ZN:, -nalínyo, -nalínyo
kovakaytat pa-nilinyo (plant sp.: Euphorbia polycarpa). Zs: kóvakay(i)t àt panalinyo (plant sp.; literally pahauelo [unidentified insect] its medicine; probably Euphorbia polycarpa); ZN: kj́vakayt àt P onelínyo (lit. parahuelo medicine; for the bite of the pahauelo (like a wood tick)); kJvaxayt àt Pánalínyo (Euphoria polycarpa Benth.) pakanap-i-c pa-nitliliw? (plant sp.). H: paxanapjts panaliliw (yerba de [h]inchazon [swelling herb]); paíanepjts anəniliw (medicina de [h]inchazón [swelling medicine])
[varying forms suggest a borrowing]
nim - walk, VI, walk on, VT. H,R: nom, rom; pappi anam pat fraj
(it's walking on top of the water); ninəm pahzvaj (I walk along shore, cliff edge [l-walk its-edge-obj.]);
n\#m-ipa-č (agt. nom.: tramp). H,: nəmipat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (tramp); tika nomipat $\int \mathrm{r}$; (a girl that walks at night [prostitute?]); R: nəmipats (tramp, one who walks around, one who wanders about)
n+m-ipa-m (agt., plu.). R: nəmipäm
ya-n+m (cmpd. V: walk carrying, VT). H: janam, janam; kúzaj pajanəm (guzano quemador [burning caterpillar])
nime-c - liver, N. H: nəmbts
n†ma-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
-ntma (poss.). H: -币ma; ZN: -nə ma; K: a-nü ma ([his/her] liver)
-nima-y (poss. obj.). H: -mamaj
 ninamihuy amapj (my present [new] wife); ninaminuy pitat $f$, ninamihuy pitatfr (my second/last wife [my-wife youngest/last]); ZN: -nvmihun
-nimihuya-m (poss. plu.). H: -naminupam
-n+mihuga-iv+ (poss. dec.). H: -namihuna? jva,-namihunaiva (dead or divorced wife)

n $\ddagger$ ji-m (plu.). H: "plu. $-\mathrm{m}^{\prime \prime}$
$-n+\mathrm{g}^{i}$ (poss.). H: -na $\mathrm{gi}^{\mathrm{i}}$ (poss., subj. or obj.); M: ne-nung'-e, ah-nŭng-e (tongue); K: a-nō ñi ([his/her] tongue)
nini-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: -nə pitsaj
nini-m-iy (poss. plu. obj.). H: -nə ŋiməj
nirk - erase, V. H: nark (erase (where it burned, at fiestas))
-nirk-in-ea (pass.). H: -nəgkifea (be erased)
$\mathrm{n}+\mathrm{vif-t}$ - brown clay? (used medicinally for menstrual problems and for hair), N. H: novizt (earth-powder; medicine for menstrual problems and hair); R: noviət (chocolate-colored earth) nivit-pea (picnm.: Jose Juan López's ranch, on coast side of the Laguna de Chico Lopez). H: nəviope o, noviope (plenm.: Jose Juan López's Ranch, coastward from the Laguna de Chico López; means the earth is chocolate color); R: nəviəpe a (plonm.: beyond Laguna de Chico López, on the same road; means chocolate-colored earth) [note that $i$ does not glide, for unknown reasons]
nitviyop - young bull or ox, N. H: novijo ? [< Span. "novillo"]
nočip - Yokuts, N. K: noche - tribename or nickname for Yokuts.
nohta-t - old woman, N. H: no't at, nơqtat, nóqtat, nohtat; jo ja noht at, ja nohtat, já já no't at (como estás, vieja [greeting to old woman]); R: niniw noht ot (mi vieja [my old lady]); ZN: ņ̧t at;
M: no'-tat, no"-taht; K: nòxdat no-noht a-m (plu.). H: nonohtam, nómatam, nóm't am nohta-t-ay (obj.). H: nthtataj nohta-vea (plenm.: a spring below Tejón rancheria cemetery). H: no't avea, nohtave; R: nohtavea (plenm.: spring below Tej. rchia. [Tejón ranchería] cemetery; 2 old women there) t $\ddagger-\mathrm{t} \ddagger \mathrm{y}-\mathrm{m}$ no-noht a-m (ceremonial undertakers (a hereditary post held only by women)). H: tótajm nón't am (the old burying women-only women handled a corpse-office handed down from mother to daughter)
nok at - [cooked?] greens. H: nok at, nokat (greens, when already made into quelite [edible greens])
nokmat - plant sp.: Croton_californicus Mull., boiled root for medicine for blood, venereal disease. ZN: nうk-mát (Croton
californicus Mull., boiled root for medicine for blood, clap [(writing unclear); if "clap", perh. in sense of 'gonorrhea'])
nom-ik - be folded, VI. H,R: nomak
nom-k (VT: fold). H: nomb (fold handkerchief); R: nomk (double [i.e. fold, of handkerchief])
nopm-k —buy, VT. H: mpmk; R: nomk
nomki (imp.). R: nomki
nom-mat (fut.). R: nommot
nom-k-in-ihun (des.). R: nomkinihun; nomkinihen
[minimal pair—士?-with nomik 'be folded'] [cf. nohponom 'sell'?]
nonokic - plant sp.: calabasillo. ZS: nónokits (plant sp.: Cucurbita foetidissima, calabazilla ["calabasillo" is the spelling used in Balls (1970: 73)]); ZN: nónokits (plant sp.: groundvine with melon used for soap)
nonom-t — grass sp.: grows in bunches to $3^{\prime}$. H: nónomt nonom-yam (plu.). H: nónomjam
nonom - constellation: the Pleiades. H: nonom the 7 cabrillas [Pleiades constellation]); ZS: nónom (constellation, apparently the Pleiades); ZN: nónom, np̊npm (Pleiades; < woman [sic-but not consistent with nohtat entry, above]; "seven sisters" near the dipper)
[cf. nonomt 'grass sp.'?]
noš-ík - be bent over, VI. H,R: nojrak
noš-k (VT: bend over). H,R: nojrk (bend over, e.g., one's finger)
noš-k (Adj.: bent over). H: no k $k$
-nuP - from, away from, out of; suffixed to nouns and pronouns. H: -nup, -nop
nanup (from me). H,R: nanup

Pimit－nup（from you）．H，R：Pomenu？
Picami－nuP（from us）．H，R：its amenu？
pimi－nup（from you，plu．？［same as sg．！］）．H，R：？${ }^{\text {amonup }}$ Pivi－nup（from here）．R：ivinup（［from］here）
nuk－only（pronoun emphasizer）；occurs in irregular combinations with independent pronouns，and as unattached Adv．H，R：nuk nipan（only I know）；punuk nə $=$ nə Pnuk（only l）；punuk əmə （you only）；its amuk（only us）；H：poo＇－nook；po＇－nök（alone）；R： pumuk papan（they themselves know）；punuk apan（he himself knows）；əməP umuk mə ${ }^{2}$ ən（you yourself know）；amə ${ }^{2}$ ว umuk ə P an（you yourselves know）；its am itsamuk tsə Pan（we ourselves know）；nuk nikot fr op（I was left alone［there］）；nə ？ pumuk niketfr kivea（I was alone in the house）
nukumpiyaš－a certain type of dance，N．H：nukumpijas
numanic－a certain type of bead：long，white，or red with hole in side；used as nose ornament and money，N．H：numbenits， númenitr，númanit $\int$ r
numua－č－good，well，pretty，N．H：numuat $\int r$ ，numuw ot $\int r$ ， numuasr，numuw afr；numu（w）bt $\int r$ numu（w）at $\int r(=V$ ．
 how do you do？）；jā numuw as jtha（good evening）；numat $\int \mathrm{r}$ （good，pretty［lack of ⿺𠃊⿻丷木⿴囗十一 an error？］；numuat $\int \mathrm{r}$（it＇s pretty）； numuasr kwihak（pretty woman）；numuasr nahat fr（pretty girl）；ZS：numuwač（good）；ZN：numuwač（good）；M：num＇－moo＇－as （well）；no－moo－watch（good）；num＇－moo－was，noo－mo－wats （glad）；num＇moo－was pah＇－so－ki（good man），num＇－oo－was ah＇－ kwah（good to eat）；now＇－no＇－mo－wats（not good）；no＇－mah－wah－ sah－hak＇－vah（clothed［＂good his clothing＂？］）；no＇－mah－wah－sah－ hak＇－vah，noo－mah－was sah－hah＇－vo（clean［apparently＝numuač ahohavi＇good his／her－clothes＇］）；M：wah－ne＇－kas num＇－woo－was （I feel better）；K：numuat－good
nuh-numua-č (redup; plu.?). H: núhnumuat fr ( $=$ wofwafat [VCh?])
-numuap (poss.: right hand; also VI: 'be right-handed'). H: ninumuap, ninumuaja (my right hand); ninumua? ( 1 am right-handed); R: numua? (be right-handed); ninumuop (I am right-handed; my right hand)
ni-numuap-pa (loc.: on my right). H: ninumuana (on the right); ninumuaja nima (my right arm); R: ninumuaja (my right hand); nijow ninumuajo (I grasped it with my right) numua-ik (well, Adv.). H: numuapik nito (I fixed the house tidy); numuopik tavits (it is tidy); numuapik, numuaik, numuapejk (well); R: numuaejk (well, Adv.); numaejk (well [lack of $\underline{\underline{y}}$ an error?])
numua-hun a-k (good-natured ["good-hearted"]). H: numuahtn ax (a good-natured man)
numua-huna-kam (plu.). H: numuahinaxam
-hun numua-č (idiom: be happy). H: Pahun numuat $f r$ (he is happy); numuavan mahtn (don't be sad [be happy for me]); R: ahtn numuat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (he is happy)
-hun numue-č _ -yik (idiom: thank someone). H: nihtn numuat fr amajak (I thank you)
(ya) numuo-č tame a-t (how do you do [good day]). H : ( $\mathrm{j} b$ ) numuw of tameat; R: numuosr tameat (buenos dias ['good day'; Harrington notes $\mathrm{t} \rightarrow$--> $/$ _ C])
nunašiš - myth character? (refers to a person with some kind of supernatural power). H: nunafaf; nunafos lino (Lino was the devil of a good fellow; term applies to both animals and spirits)
[< Chumash nunošís s 'animal,dangerous animal, malevolent supernatural being', cited in Blackburn (1975: 342)]
nuweses - nut(s?), N. H: nuweses (nueces de Castilla [Castillan nuts or walnuts, as opposed to wild nuts]; kihe 'nuts' applies to both kinds)
[ < Span. "nueces"]

- $\quad$ O - locative suffix used in placenames and 'left' and 'right' (discussed in chapter III, section A, 1). H: - Do [< Gab.?]
 - 刀axawe
-yakawi-m (poss. plu.). H: fakawim
gakik - choke, stop up, VI. H: gakok
jahk (VT). H: nineqk (yo lo atorré [I stopped it up/choked him])
gahk-in-ea (pass.: get choked). H: gaqkiñea
gan - look for, miss, VT. H: gan, y an jan, gapn (look for, miss;
synonym of majirak); R: gan (look for); yawvakmatum nimajfrak (l'm going to miss you [in the morning?]) gan-ik (inf.). H: ganik
gar anyon - stallion, N. H: gáranjon
jaranyon-yom (plu.). H: gáranjonjam
[< Span. "garañón"]
gatip - cat, N. H: gatap; uvea ajaw wakasiptaj gotopt
[apparently contains constituency abs.]; R: gotəP, gātap; aki
gatapt = gatapt aki(the cat's house) gat+p-yom (plu.). H: gatopjam
$-\eta a t+?$ (poss. [interesting that direct possession is possible, though animate]). $H:-\eta$ бt $\partial$ P gatip-t-ay (obj.). H: nбtaptaj; R: ŋātoptaj; nimakmat ŋätertaj (I [will] kill one cat); nipamukuneap ivij gatoptaj
(I drowned this cat); anihniw nipamukunep ivi gataptaj (I'm going to drown this cat)
 (these cats) gat+p-iv+ (dec.). R: gatapiva (cat I sold [NB things suffixed with "deceased" are not necessarily dead]); puvea ko frop, gatopiva (it's no gond now; it's an old cat) gat + p-meap (accomp.). H: ŋztomeap [< Span. "gato"]
gayka-c — thigh (knee to hip), N. H: gajkats nayka-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m" -クaykap (poss.). H: -yajkap; ZS: -yaj-ka (upper leg); M: ah'ng-i-kah (thigh )
-gaykap-č-ay (obj.). H: -najkaptsraj yoh-yayka-muk (incorp. redup. form: tener potros [have hernia? apparently = 'thigh sick'; perh. this refers to a muscle pullj). H,R: gahgajkamūk
jililk - catch up with someone and overtake them, V. H: gililk jilil-mat (fut.). H: gililmat
jiyakit - playground or goal for ring and pole game, N., or the fences at each (goal) end. H : jijokət
$\eta \dot{+} \check{c} \ddagger \mathrm{k}$ — have hidden illness, V. $H, R$ : ajot frak (he is podrido [rotted] with hidden illness)
 VT (no examples have overt objects, but there are passive forms). H: gəčam
$\eta \ddagger c ̌+m-i n-i-c$ (pass. nom.). H: gotromiñits, gotsomiñits (the money and objects thus given to chiefs)
ŋ戸ॅ̌k — cut, VT. H: ŋət $\int \mathrm{r}_{\mathrm{k}}$ (cut); R: gat $\int k$ (cut groove in buttend of arrow); jatfk, jotfrk (cut, chop, bite)
gič-mat (fut.). H: got frmat; R: got fmat, got fmat
 j+čk-it-uvup (with Q, past). R: nigot frkat ("past")
Po-n+čk-ip (part.: have arm, leg, etc. cut off). H:
pajat frkip; pájotskip (cut log); R: ajat frkip (iit's] cut
off; mocho [maimed person]); nəp aŋət frkip (l'm maimed) Pa-ŋ+čk-i-m (plu.). H: pajat $\int$ rkim, pajat $\int k i m$ (cut logs); R:
aŋวt frkjm
 $\eta \dot{\dagger}$ č- $\eta \dot{\ddagger}$ čk-in-i-c (redup. pass. nom.: cut in many places). H :
got fyotskitrs (cut [of fringe])

unclear if this is a person or a machine] $-\eta+c ̌ k$-in-ivanas (inst: cutting machine). H,R: nitio ninot $\int$ rkinivaña, ningt $\int$ rkinivano (my cutting machine [NB anomolous use of -niw construction with a directly possessed noun])
「९qWak; nəqwak (be worn out)
gihw-k (VT: wear something out). H,R: yowk
j+hw-ki (imp.). H,R: gowki
- $\boldsymbol{\eta}+\mathrm{hw}-\mathrm{k}-\mathrm{ip}$ (part.: worn out). H,R: Paŋjpwkip
- $\quad$ fihw-k-ip-m (plu.). H: panawhkipm; R: Paŋawkim; aŋowkipm
głhw-ki-yitt (aug.: worn out). R: gow̧ikijat gowkijat (muy
chiflado [said of a person: 'worn out'])
[NB devoicing of sonorants, and morphology of participles]

R: garaharak (work down to the foot of the bed during the night); nikumenivap nigaraharak (bajé durmido [I slid down while asleep])

引łrithr-k (imp.). R: ahkwak kivo = jarark (arrimate [come close]); ŋərorkpajok (arrimate payá [go close to there])
gyona-c - eyebrow, N. H: ŋjonats
gyona-m (plu.). H: jjonam
-gyona (poss.). H: -ŋjona ("no redup. form")
noho-c - neck, N. H: johots joho-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"

- johop (poss.). H: -nohop;-म̄̄hop; M: ning-o'-ho, ah'ng-o-ho (ng-o-ho?) (throat)
goho-c-ay (obj.). H: gōhotsaj - joho-c-ay (poss. obj.; NB abs. "c"). H: -நōhotsaj joho-wt-t (aug.: person with a big neck). H: gohowat (pescuezón [apparently 'person with a big neck', since pescuezo means 'neck'-analogous to barba 'beard' and barbon 'person with a big beard'])
 (coime [referee])
jwa-m, jwapa-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m [both]"
- $\quad$ wapa (poss.). H: $-\eta$ wapa
[cf. koymip 'coime']

Po-c - bone, awl, N. H: óts, ots (awl); R: [grammar slip explicitly says 으 and oč are separate words]; ZS: POČ (awl); ZN: POč, pj’č (awl [made of long thorn]; plant sp.: Prosopis chensis (Molina) Stuntz (ate green bean fresh, pounded dry pod into meal for mush); another entry says: Joshua tree-smaller-cactus? roots used for design on basketry); M: ah'-o' (nose stick [bone]); M: ahök, ah-o' (bone)
-pop (poss.). H: -pop, -popo; R: apop (bone; alezna ["alesna"
'awl']); op-op; K: a'-d ([his/her] bone)

- -po-pop (poss. plu.). H:-popop (bones)
-po-y (poss. obj.). H: -poj (bone, poss. obj.)
[note that Harrington claims this and the following entry are
a minimal pair, while Zigmond indicates homophony]
-pocip - left-hand, N. H,R: -potsip (be left-handed)
Pocip (nickname for a left-handed person). H: Potsip; R: otsip - Pocip( $-\eta a$ ) (ni-ma) ((my) left hand). H: (p)otsip ( ga ) (nima); R: nipotsipga (nima)
ni-pocip-ga (on my left). H: niotsipga(on the left); R: nijaw nipotsipga (I grasped it with my left)

Pocoč — plant sp. H: ótsot fr (plant sp. used for brooms); ZN: PJco•č (plant sp.: grass foundation in coiled baskets).
[cf. Poc, Poč 'mesquite']
Po-č - mesquite, N. H: ot $\int \mathrm{r}$ (mesquite); R: ot $\int \mathrm{r}$; niniw patap ot fr (that is my mesquite tree); $\mathrm{ZN}: ~ P O \cdot \check{c}, ~ P 5^{\circ} \mathrm{č}$ (awl [made of long thorn]; plant sp.: Prosopis chilensis (Molina) Stuntz (ate green bean fresh, pounded dry pod into meal for mush); another entry says: Joshua tree-smaller-cactus? roots used for design on basketry)
[note that Harrington claims this and the preceding entry are a minimal pair, while Zigmond indicates homophony]

Poč- +k - go up, climb up, go on horseback, VI. H: niot frok nehe toməmea (I climbed up with a rock); niotsok gatopmeap (I climbed up with a cat, or with cats); wohono papot frak (they ride on the horse's back one behind the other); R: ot frak (go on horseback [horse is in obj. case])
poč-mat (fut.). H: nipat srakmot nipatsitaj (voy a subir de caballo [l'm going to go on horseback?); R: niput srokmot nipatsit aj (voy a subir de caballo)
poč-k (VT: put up on). H: uvea nipot frk (past [I put the boy on horseback or the bottle on the box]); R: pot $\int \mathrm{rk}$ (put up on [this is head of typed slip]); uvea ne nipotfrk (past) poč-mat (fut., VT). H,R: nipotsrmat (future [l will put the boy on horseback or the bottle on the box)
poč-ki (imp., VT). H,R: ot frki (súbelo [put him/her/it up], put the boy on horseback or the bottle on the box [ $R$ slip is headed "Pot [rk to put up on"])
poč-k-i (obj. compl.). H: nihnihjot nəP nipot frki (l'm good on horseback); nihnihjot apot $\int \mathrm{rki}$ (s/he's good on horseback)

- ?ohanar - turpentine, piñon gum (formally possessive, with ? a-).

H: papohahap, papohahap, papohanap; R: apohaha p
(terementina, pine, piñon pitch); ZN: P’apohána (pitch)
Pohana-k (flower sp.). H: Pohanak, Pohanak (tanweed, or tarweed-like daisy)
[< POP 'bone' + hene-t 'tar'?]

Pohat - ochre, N. H: ohat, óqat, ohat (yellowish balls from mountains, ground into red paint); ZN: Póh at (red paint clay); M: ah-o'-hah-nah, (of red earth) $0^{\prime}$-haht (red paint)

Pohay - plenm.: Ojai. R: oqaj
[< VCh Powhoy (Applegate 1974: 199)].
Poka-č - sand or sandy area, N. H: ok at fr, ókot fr, okat fr (sand or arenal [sandy area or quicksand]), niniw okot $\int \mathrm{r}$ (my sand); R: ók atfr (sand), niniw okatfr (my sand); M: o'kas, o-kahtsh (sand)

Poka-vea (loc.). H: okave; R: okavea; ok avea (Rio Chiquito; means sand); pokat $\int \mathrm{r}$ okavea (they're in the arroyo)
Po-pokap (poss.? arroyo; canyon). H: apokap( ${ }^{\circ}$ ) (arroyo [steam or watercourse]; big canyon; barranco [cliff, gully, ravine]); apokap teja? (the canyon is very deep) ; R: apokap, apokap, ápokop (arroyo; barranco); M: ow'-o-kah, ah-o'-kah (canyon); ah'-o-kah kan'-no-e-sa (river)

Po-po-pokop (plu.: canyons). H: f popokop (plu.)
Po-poko-pea, Poka-vea (plenm.: Rio Chiquito). H: apok apea, okave, okajok; R: ok avea (Rio Chiquito; means sand)
poka-vea-tam (tribename: people who live at Rio Chiquito).
H: Ok aviałam (people who live in the sand)
poka-č takat (tribename: Tubatulabal). R: okat $\int r_{\text {tākat }}$ (person of Töb. tribe); ZN: pokastákat (the Tubat.
territory [sic])
poka-č takatam (Rio Chiquito people). H: okat $\int$ r takatam

Pokwap - have something caught in throat, V. H: okwap
pokwap-n (VT: make hook catch in fish's throat). R: okwapn (jerk fishline; fish (means hook catches in fish's mouth))
pokwap-n-ihwap-t (inst.: fishhook). H: okwapnihwapt, Pókw aninw at
-pokwap-n-ivana? (poss. inst.). H: -pokwapnivahep, pocw ahivaha?

Polivo ? - olive tree, N. H: olivo ?
[< Span. "olivo"; (olives themselves are Pesetune? < "aceituna")]

Popawe? - marrow?, poss. H: apopawepe [description of pinyon pitch being mixed with "tutano ["tuétano" 'marrow'?] of deer, apopawe pe when they paint with it"]

Pop-ik - dive, sink, VI. H,R: ope k
pop-k (VT: sink). H,R: opk
Popši-č - tear, N. H: op fit $\int \mathrm{r}$
Popši-m (plu.). H: opsim
-popši (poss.). H: -op rri , -popfi; R: -op $\int$ ri (tears [NB: verb is sg.]); ZN: -Pכpsi (tears)
-Popši (poss. obj.). R?: -op fri

Por $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ ?- burn (said of a big fire), VI. H: Parak, poprok (burn, app. only of a big (e.g. plains) fire

Pork - attack someone, of a dog, VT; sic a dog on someone [dog is obj.; person not expressed in example]. $H, R$ : P ork

Pork-an-e a (passive? mng. unclear: be attacked?). H,R:
porkaiea (Harrington: "I do not understand meaning well!")
Porkik - a certain type of bead: white, from yehuč shells, used as money; but smaller and less valuable than kukuniti beads, N. H: órkak, ứkak

Poša-č - bird sp.? H: ofrot fr (candelaria [mng. unclear-standard translation is a plant, or Candlemas]; it sings pretty) poša-m (plu.). H: ó fam Poša-č Pa-pa-o-vea (plcnm.: candelaria spring). H: ofratfr ? apaovea

Pošan — paint, write, tattoo, V. H: pofran, pof gan, pofan, njppfan ["no I before the fr"; optional _at end; optional dot under a (all combinations coliapsed into one formula by Harrington)]; R: posran (paint, write); ZS,ZN: Po's an (tattooing [V]) pošan-mat (fut.). H: porsanmat pošan (imp.). R: ofran Pošan-i-č (imp. plu. [sic]). R: ofronit $\int \mathrm{r}$ Pošan-i-c (pass. nom.: writing, painting). H: ór fanit
(painting); R: of ranits (writing, picture) pošan-i-m (plu.). R: ofratim Pošan-i-c-ay (obj.). R: ojranitsaj pošan-i-yłk (plcnm.: Painted Rock at Castro, between

Elizabeth Lake and the Ojo de Vaca). H: tomat ofranijok (plenm.: Castro); R: tomət ofranijok (La Piedra Pintada ... Castro ... between Elizabeth Lake and the Ojo de Vaca)

Pa-poša-a (gen. nom., poss.?). H: Pofrapap (be painted, have designs on); R: wor apofrapap, kwitkwitk (the sacik [sic] is variegated, many colored, varicolored); $\mathrm{ZS}, \mathrm{ZN}$ : $?$ j js at (paint for tattoos)
Pošan-ihwap-t (inst.: paint). H: ofranihwat (paint, from piñon pitch and tutano of deer), ofrapjhwapt (jet black paint [sic?]); R: ofraninwapt (pencil, pen, writing paper); ofranihwapt (pencil, pen, writing paper)
Pošan-ak (Adj. or N.: writer). H: of $r$ ana $k$ (escribana [female writer]); R: P of rahek (writer)
Pošan-akam (plu.). R: ofrañakam
pošip, pošit - hot. H: ofrip, of frip (hot; it is hot weather); ofrit pat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (hot water, hot spring [unexplained abs.]); ZS,ZN: Pכ•sip, Pósi (hot); M: ah-o'-se (I am hot.); o'-se, $0^{\prime}$-se' (hot); now o'-se (not hot); ow'-o-se (summer)
pa-pošip pa-ni-niw (May [it's about to be hot). H: apofrip aniniw (May; means it will be hot)
Pa-poši-vea (loc.: in the heat). H: a ofrivea (mid-day; about 10 o'clock)
Pošit pa-yik-mat (plenm.: hot spring, + fut. clitic). H: ofrit pajokmat (hot water, dir., fur. [NB: no agreement; abs. on first noun, and case on second])
Poši-t pa-vea (plenm.: a plain this side of Rio Chiquito). H:
of it pavea; R: ofrit pavea (plenm.: a plain this side of Rio Chiquito; means hot water); ZS,ZN: Pうsip \&́vi (Hot Springs near Comanche Creek)
Poši-van - heat, VT. H: ofrivan
poši-va-pa (nom.). H: apop Sripvap (summer) [derivational morphology analogous to Pošan ?epoša?a 'paint']
poši-vak (VI: get hot). H: pofrivak [reminiscent of $\underline{x}$ in to-v-inwa?-t]
pova- - force? have strength?
-pova (poss.). H: nowhit ado (he has no strength); R: nowhit aova, takatakapy anam (he has no strength; he walks totteringly)
po-povap (redup.: be straining). H: aopovap (he is straining while defecating)
-povap-n+ (inst.: by force). H: -povana (by force)
Pa-kWičík pa-povar mimitt (wave [the sea's force stands up?]). H: akwəčək \#apova mómət (wave; literally "su fuerza de la mar [the sea's force or strength]")
povar - up, Adv. H: óvapa, ovap; pajan okatfr ovap hajajk (he wears his pants very high); apahanak ova? (he got over the fence); R: apahanak ova? (he got over the fence); nihju ova? (I looked up, towards sky); óvapo ("arriba [up]-upstream"); M: o'wah, o'-va (up)
[perh. < Eng. "over"?]
poya? ? - pot, N. M: ne'-o-yah (kettle or vessel for cooking) [< Span. "olla"]

## -p-

pap - drink, V. H: pap; R: pap, pap; ZS,ZN: pa•p; K: ni'-pa (ll] drink) pap-mot (fut.). H: po pmat
pap-i (obj. compl.). H: -pa pj
pap-vup (past). R: -pap-vup
pop-ihun (des.). R: päjhun
pop-hyitt (aug.: drunkard). H: pzphjat
pap-hyi-m (aug. plu.). H: "plu. -m"
pop-nin (VT: give someone drink). R: pzpnin [horse' is obj. in example]
pa-manič (nom.: toloache drinking). ZS,ZN: pa'ma'nič (drinking jimsonweed; to drink toloache)
papapka-č - sunflower, N. H: prpapkatfr, pzpapkat fr (sunflower-used only for chicken feed); ZS: pá•pap-kač (sunflower-Helianthus annuus); ZN: pá• Papxač (sunflower-no known use)
papapka-m (plu.). H: płpapkam
papaš — buckeye, N. H: papash (tree sp.: "beraco" [mng.?]-looks ashy); ZS: pápos (buckeye); ZN: pápas (buckeye; nut pounded and leached and eaten like and with acorns; also medicine for cuts, fevers)
pac - that, that one.
[cf. potop 'that']
pacapa-č — packbasket (with pointed bottom), N. H: pátsapatsr (a certain type of basket with pointed bottom; = V. helek; carried in carrying net); pátsapatr (pack-basket); ZS: pácapác (seedgathering basket); ZN : pác $\boldsymbol{c}$ Pác (seedgathering basket of willow); JW: patsaats (conical basket)
-pace (poss.). H: -patso, -patsa [NB a->ø/_\#]
t $\ddagger$ y-t pa-paca? a-mea (pers. name of myth character: an old woman that has basket on her back full of hot tar to throw people into). H: tojt apats a pamea
[cf. copoč 'water basket'?]
pacahk - squashed, Adj. (of nose). H: patsahk
pa-č - water, N. H: potfr, pat fr; pat fr niriw (my water; no endingless form); patsovan akapmk (he gave me toloache [shows DQ nominal stem means 'drink', not specifically 'water'; but č -> c unexplained]); R: pat fr, pzt fr; ZS: počc; ZN: páč; M: pah'ts, pah'ch (water); yu'-its-paht'i (where is the water?); mah-
kaht'-se-poht (give me a drink); m'yow o-paht'r (go get water); K: bätc; JW: patc (water)
pa-m (plu.). H: pam (said of a bunch of springs)
pa-vea (loc.). H: pavea, prveñ, pavea, pave, pave, páve; R:
nimi prvea (I wade [I walk in water]); niqutsok pávea (I fell in the water)
pa-vea takat (island Indian [in-the-water person']). R: pavea takat
pa-vea-y+k (plenm.: Buena Vista Lake or Kern Lake [NB two suffixes]). H: páveajak (Laguna de Buena Vista); R:
paveajak (Kern Lake)
pa-vea-t am (tribename: Kern Lake Indian? Buena Vista Lake
Yokuts?). R: paveaZam
pa-pa-vea-tam (plu.). H: pápaviatam, pápavjatam, pápavja Zam(tribename; = Tej. qómita; they held the laguna-Buena Vista Lake; talked a different language; < 'water'); R: po-pa-vea-fam; VF: pap-pa-vi-ott-um (Bakersfield people) pa-č-ay (obj.). H: pat fraj, pátraj, patra; R: pat fraj; pät fraj $\mathrm{pa}-\mathrm{ču} \mathrm{i}-\mathrm{t}$ ( (pass. nom. of derived verb: wet). H: pat $\int$ ruit (wet); R: paffruit, pâtfruit (wet); $p$ at fruit (it is wet); M: pah'-choo-it (wet)
po-ču-i-m (plu.). R: pat fruipm
pa-č-u-i-y $\ddagger+k$ (plenm. of a mountain). VF: pa-cui-yook (mountain north of Montes ranch (wild bamboo) [wet]) pa-č pa-uva-pea (plenm.: Castaic Lake). H: patrawvape, potfrawvape, pótr áwvapea, patfr owvopea (lake above El Chinito $=\mathrm{V} . \mathrm{k} \boldsymbol{\int}$ fter; La Lagunita; means water's eye; Las Lagunitas; all the Livék [Lebec], Castec region); R: pytfr owvopea (plenm.: no. 1: place with 2 springs and a lake all together, which was border between Kit. and Pujador language; "La(s) Lagunita(s)"; no. 2 = ?); ZN: pač áw ap‘
(Castac Lake-app. in for. terr.); M: pah-sow'-oo-wah (creek); VF: ptts-a-wha-pai-hi, patch-ow-wah-pit (Castaic Lake)
pa-hìvi pa-č (coast [edge of water]). H: ? áhors pat fr pa-č pa-htyi-vea (coast, loc.). H: pat fr ahzovea (the coast)
pa-č pa-hivi-vea takotam (tribename: coast people). H: patfr ahzovea tañatam
Pa-h+vi-yík pa-č (coast, dir.?). H: Pahovajak patfr (the coast)
pa-hivt-vea pa-č kikam (tribename: coast people). Páhəvove pat $\int \mathrm{f}_{\mathrm{k}}^{\mathrm{k}} \mathrm{k}(\mathrm{P}) \mathrm{kam}$
pa-pa-k+ha - tapeworm [no good its water? it spoils water?]. H: P ápa kaha
Pa-pa-kifo-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
huna-vea pa-č-ay tívač (island [land in the middle of the water][NB obj. suffix]). H: húnave pâtraj tóvatr Pa-hucik pa-č (waterfall). H: Paquisak patsr; R: Paqutsak patjr
kwašipk pa-č (Colorado River [red (or colored) water']). H: kwajapk patsr, kwajapk patr; R: kwasropk patfr pa-kwišušupip pa-č? (whirlpool). H: pakwifrufrupip patfr (whirlpool $=$ the water whirlpools) civup po-č, civu-t ps-vea (plonm.: El Comanche; means 'bitter water'). H,R: tsivup pat fr, tsivut pavea, tsivut pave, tsívut páve (plenm. at fork in river; means 'bitter water'; = El Comanche)
cukwar po-č (plenm.; means 'salty water'). H: tsukw op pat fr; R: tsukwap pat fr = tsukwat apawea [socond seems to be preferred]
poši-t pa-vea (plcnm.: a hot springs near Comanche Creek and Rio Chiquito [or perh. these are both the same stream]?; means 'hot water'). H: pofit paveo (plenm.: llano [plain] this side of Rio Chiquito); R: Pofrit pavea
(plenm.: llano this side of Rio Chiquito; means hot water); ZN: Posipóvi (Hot Springs near Comanche Creek) pa-peahki? po-č? (source of a river?). H: Pofe oqkop patsr, Papeaqka? patsf (spring at beginning of an arroyo) pa-č po-mayki-pea ? (plenm.: Rio Bravo; means where the water comes out, to enter Kern Lake). R: p at fr ama;jkəpea t $\ddagger$ kic po-vea (plenm.: Fort Tejón [named after a plant]). H:
tåkits pave, tákitṣ pavea, tə̋kit fpove, tāk itfpa vea (plonm.: bog at the fortín-Ft. Tejón- < plant sp.'s water; = V. tapuliftopa); R: takitfr pavea (el Fortin; < plant sp.; = V. tapuliftop)
nakwar-pa-vea (planm.: site of store at Tejón; means 'water crossing place'). H: nakwarpave
wop-wo-pa-č (plcnm. [perhaps not Kit., due to lack of $h$ in
'two' and lack name of plenm. suffix (but recall from chapter 1 , section $D$, number 5 , that the $h$ on 'two' is problematic phonologically]; means 'twin springs'). H : wowopatsr, wopwopatsr, wówopatr (plenm.: twin
springs; called katrampa [illegible in original] by Mexicans)
pa-hagapa-č (bee sp.). H: prapapat fr
pa-hajapa-m (plu.). H: prajapam
pa-hukah-t - wapiti ("elk"). H: páhukaht (deer (ciervo), big as cow but with body like deer; means 'water deer'); ZN: p’ohukaht (elk-used to be in valley; great intertribal elk hunts in old days); M: -pah-ho'-kat (buckskin (tanned)); K: bä-hugaxt (elk) [size description suggests this is the larger wapiti (commonly called "elk") rather than mule deer; water reference suggests mule deer, noted in Whitaker (1980) as being good swimmers; but Zigmond and Kroeber identify as elk.] pa-huko-m (plu.). H: pahukam
pa-man-i-t (Jimson weed or drinking of Jimson weed). K: pamanis
šuava-č pa-č (plenm.: Rio Bravo). R: frwavotfr patfr
šuava-y $\ddagger$ k po-y $\ddagger$ k (loc.; NB agreement). R: Jrwavajak pajak pa-ya-i-t ? (incorp. form: ladle [water carrier]). H: pajoot [1st a long or not, accented or not)(large ladie, made of wood); ZS: páyawt (wooden ladle); ZN: póy y wt (wooden spoon-ladle) [perh. = payihwat, identified in H as $=\mathrm{V}$. ParmilopoL, no Eng. or Span. gloss] pa-ya-i-m (plu.). H: pajoam
pač $\ddagger$ kt ? — silver. H: pátrəqt (money); ZS,ZN: páčəxt, pačəəkt (silver-color)
pačuk, pačukapi - man, $N(A)$. H: pat fruk, patruk, pat fruķej, pátrügat, patrukepe (man, man in prime [the 1st version is the most frequent by far in corpus); pakikitam patruk (Kitanemuk man); niniw pat fruk (my man; vs. nipat fruk, 'my bow'); R: patfruk (man); pat frukat (man [perh. constituency absolutive]; pat frukat akin = 8ki pat frukat (the man's house); amots pat fruk at (the man); ZS: pa-čok (man); ZN: pačok, pá'čok, páčox (man); M: pah'-tro-ki, pah'cho-ki, pah'-tso-ki (man); num'moowas pah'-so-ki (good man); K: batcuk-ai, vatcokai pa-pačuka-m (plu.). H: papat frukam, papat frukam; R: papat frukam (men); papat frukam paki (the house of the men); M: woh pat'-so-kum (two men); wur pat'-so-kum, pah-paht-tso-kom (many men)
pačukah-t-ay (obj.-irreg.). H: pat frukahtaj, patfrakahtaj, patfrukahtaj; R: patfrukataj; pat frukahtaj (man, obj.; "h most clear and perfect")
pa-pačuka-m-iy (plu. obj.). R: papat frukamaj, papatsrukamaj
pačuk-t — bow; collarbone, N. H,R: pat frukt; ZN: páč̌kt', póčokt';
M: ne pah'-trok, pah'-chökt (bow); K: badjukt (bow) pačuk-yam (plu.). H,R: pat frukjam pac̣̆uk-yam-iy (plu. obj.). H: pat frukjamaj
pačuk-t-ay (obj.). H: patfruktaj
-pačuk (poss.). H: -patfruk, -pátrok (poss.; as opposed to niniw pats (ruk 'man')
-pačuk-ay (poss. obj.). H: -patsrukaj
-pačuk-yam-iy (plu. poss. obj.). H: -p at frukjamaj
pačuk-n+ (inst.: with a bow). R: nimu pat frukne (I shot it with a bow)
$-p a c ̌ u k-i a(-) v+$ (bowstring [perh. this is an "agentive" (though inanimate), and the only example of a suppletive poss. agt. ending analogous to the instrumental allomorphy -inw $\begin{gathered}\text { ap-t }\end{gathered}$
*-ivanofl). H: -patrukeava, -pat frukeava
[Harrington note: "cf. V. ?at?ogatf and word for to span [draw?] bow"]
-paha - elder brother, poss. N(A). H: -par, -par, -par, -par (elder brother; term applies also to my cuñada's [sister-in-law's] husband when oldet than I; "call all these relationships by same terms as brother and sister relationship"); R: tahmea opar = tam patap mea apar (he resembles his brother [NB 'brother' in subject form]); ZN: -par (brother); M: ah-pahr' (brother)
paha-č (abs.). nimajr pahotfr, nimajr pahat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (my eldest son);
-paha-m (plu. poss.). H: -păham; ZN: -páham
-paha-y (obj. poss.). H: -pa haj
paha-m-ły (plu. obj.). H: mamamajhamaj pahamaj (your oldest children, obj.)
pa-hajapač - bee sp., that stings; a little larger than hapoč. H: pahajapatfr (bee sp., that stings; a little larger than hopotsr; looks like 'water-bee'; "goes by the water")
pahata-t - basket (gen.?). H: pahatat, páhatat (a certain type of basket; piñon b[asket] like V. Puspepm; also basketry waterjug-piñon gum inside; also pail); ZS,ZN: pó'hatat' (water

```
    bottle (pitched)); M: pah'-hah-tat (large water bottle); pah'-taht
    (small water bottle)
    pahata-k+m-an-i-c (a completed basket?). H:
                pahatakamarits, pahatakom
        finished-piñon basket)
    [cf. poytet 'basket tray']
pahavi-t - poison, dream helper, N? ' }\mp@subsup{}{}{9}\textrm{H}: pahavit, páhavit (herb
        poisonous herb; bear and rattlesnake also called this; = V.
        nunafa; "muy maldito, muy respetoso" [very evil, very respectful
        (awesome?)])
            pahavi-m (plu.). H: pahavim
            pa-pahavi-m (redup. plu.). H: papahavim (plu.; means, as in V.,
                those non-people who kill people-snake and bear-and
                those who roam at night, now called diablos [devils] or
                ghosts)
            -pahavip (poss.). H: -pahavip (his poison-snake's)
            pahavi-t-ay (obj.). H: pahavitaj
            pahovi-y+k (plenm.: Kern River?. H: pahavijok (Rio Bravo;
                means valienta water-used to come like a remolino
                [whirlwind or whirlpool]); R: P op bhavijak (plcnm.: a
                spring; means witchcraft place); pahavijok [no. 2] (plcnm.:
                means valiente water; Rio Bravo)
                    pahip, pahi - three. H: pahip, páhip; R: páhip; ZS: páhi; ZN: páhi,
    páhe; K: bahi; CK: pa he' a
            pahea (three times). H: pahea; R: pahea nipuhinak (I went
            around three times); ZN: pahi wePmohoč (thirty [three
            times ten]); M: pah'-he; CK: pa he' a wé' ma hach' (thirty);
            we' ma hach' ha' mưk pa he' a (thirteen)
            pahivak (make three, V). H: pähiva\overline{c}, R: pac̈hivak
```

[^56]Pa-pahip (third; Wednesday). H: Papahip (Wednesday); R:
Papehi? momət (Tulare Lake [third lake?])
pahivan (put three things in something, V). H: pohivan
[illegible mark-x?-over i]
pahi-waca (twelve ['three-four']). K: pahewatsa
pahina (Adv.: three together). H: pahina; R: tsamimat pahiha
(let's go, the three of us)
pa-pahea-k (three-pronged fawn). H: papahe ak [cf. pavohi 'six']
pahikyit - morning star; rainbow and myth person who holds it in
sky; a certain color. H: pahikjot, pahikjot (morning star; rainbow, and the girl who holds it in the sky); ZS,ZN: pahikjut, páhikjut (a color, shade unknown; morning star)
pahina-č - chia sp.: Salvia columbariae, also called Skunk Sage (Dengler and Dengler 1972: 7). H: prhinat fr, pahinat fr (chia sp.-grows to $2^{\prime}$; toasted to eat batido [beaten] or make pinole; also medicine to clean eyes; sprinkled on people at fiesta; cf. F. and G. páfih plenm. pafinuqa); ZS: páhinač (chia); ZN: pàhinác (Salvia columbaria; parched, pounded, drunk); p áhin ač (chia-roasted, pounded, drunk with water)
pahina-m (plu.). H: pahinam
pahin a-č-ay (obj.). R: pahinat fraj
pahin a-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (plcnm., near Tehachapi). H: p ahinajak
pahina-n; (inst.). H: pahinana
pahina(-)yay-vea (plenm.: below Tehachapi town, on arroyo to Bakersfield). R: pahinajajuea (plenm.: means chia (or perh. not); below Tehachapi town, on arroyo to Bakersfield) [cf. pahinyareve, below)
pahina-i-t (aug.: a larger sp. of chia, with white flowers:
Salvia carduscea Berth. [thistle chia?]). H: pahihe ąt, páhinazt (chia sp., white, not earth, colored, or blue
flower; perhaps less good to eat than smaller sp.); ZN: pàhinówt (Thistle Sage; Salvia carduscea Berth.; larger); JW: parhinatc (tarweed, a common seed food) pahina-i-m (aug. plu.). H: pahinaəm
pahinyare-ve - plenm.: plain in canyon above Caliente and below Tehachapi, this side of Keane station. H: pahinjareve [cf. pahinoyayve o 'placename', under pahinoč 'chio sp.']
pahi(-)tikwe - twelve reales [apparently = three times some measure of beads]. H: páhitikwe
pahi-waca - twelve. K: pahewatsa [< pahi 'three' + woco 'four']
pahkik ? — pop, VI. H: pakək
pak-pakik (redup.). H:pakpakak
pehk (VT: pop, e.g., fingers).
pah-pahk (redup. VT). H: paqpaqk
poh-pahk-io-č (plant sp., so called because pod pops when you step on it). H: páqpaqkiat fr
pak, pak pak (interj. used of popping [confirms source of plant name in onomatopoeia]). H: pak;pak, pak
pa-hukah-t — wapiti (called "elk").
[cf. subentry under po-č "water']
pahušapi — plant sp.: a shrub. H: pahufrapj (a kind of rama [branch])
pahuša-yik (plenm.: a marsh above tamupea). H: pahufajak (plenm.: a marsh just above Dave's house; R: pæhufrapjok (plenm. above tamipea)
pahu-t - pestle, N. H: páqut (mano de mortero [mortar pestle]); takwifrtapahu? (pestle [plcnm.?; apparent constituency abs.]);

R: pahut; ZS,ZN: pà'hut' (pestle); M: pah'-hāt (pestle of stone); JW: pahot (pestle)
-p ohup (poss.). M: ah-pah'-ho
pahu-n+ (inst.). R: pahupne
papiha-č — raccoon, N. H: pá\#pihat $\int r$
papina-m (plu.). H: pápiham
[< 'water' + 'hook'? note similarity to pokihoč 'hawk']
papičpune - pers. name from myth: daughter of Coyote. ZN: papičpu'na (pers. name in Coyote story-daughter)
[cf. Kaw. popičipuuns, popyípuuna 'Coyote's daughter' (Zigmond et al. 1988: 211)]
pak [cf. Dahkik]
pakap - fiesta personage: a clown who shouts all day to announce the reason for the wakač fiesta, N. H: pakap, pakap, pákapa pakap-yam (plu.). H: pakapjam pakap-t-ay (obj.). H: pakaptaj pakap-yam-ty (plu. obj.). H: pakapjamaj paka-yik (plenm. on mountain). H: paíajak; R: pakajak
pakač - reed, N. H: pokat , pákat $\int$ (reed—used for cigarettes); kávos pákats (reed knife [interesting etymology: "reed iron"l]); ZS: pá•kač (cane-Kaw. pofa(m)ba); ZN: pa'kač, pá'k cč (cane-pofo(m)ba), used for smoking, for carrying tobacco-lime combination; arrow shaft, sugar)
pakahuy - plenm.: matpapqapw [marsh on road to Piru; perh. a Fer. name]. H: pok ahuy, paqkahuy [notes give a map]; R: pakahuy (means 'reed'; by headwaters of Piru Canyon)
paka(-)kayna-t - splitstick clapper, N. ZS: pakaçaj-nat (clapper); ZN: pakakaj-nat (clapper of split cane or willow to beat time to singing)
-pakakaynap (poss.). H: pakakajnap, pakakajna? (splitstick)
pakanap - be swollen, VI. H: pakanap; R: pak̃a hap, pacono p pakanap-vu (past). H: pakanapvu pakanap-i-c (pass. nom.: swelling). H: pakenapjts panəniliw (medicina de [h]inchazón [anti-itch medicine]); pakanapjts Panəliliw (yerba de [h]inchazón [anti-itch medicinal herb])
pakaynikit - reed sp. H: pakajnikit [cf. Dokoč 'reed']
pak-iha-č, pak-ia-č - hawk sp. (light, dark; gavilán). H: pakihat fr, pakinatsr, pákeatsb pak-iha-m (plu.). H: pakiham [perh. = 'sneak' [cf. pokin] + 'hook']
pakin - [mng. unclear; poss. 'sneak']. R: mohmohopk apakin (he comes in to intrude on us)
pakit - fog, N. H: pakit, pakit, pakit; M: pah-keet', pah-kè't
pakik [cf. pahkik]
pakopko-c - adam's apple, N. H: pakokots
pakopko-m. H: "plu. -m" pakopko-c-ay (obj.). H: pakopkotsay -pakopko (poss.). H: -pakopko -pakopko-m (plu. poss.). H: "plu. -m"
pakoy — plenm.: dry lake beyond Poso de los Indios [Indian Wells]. H: pakon
pakonyo-t - redwinged blackbird, N. H: páko jot, pákoniór (blackbird sp.: chanate [blackbird], but they have red and yellow)

```
pakoyya-m (plu.). H: pakojiam
```

poku - blow whistle, V. paku(-)in-inwap-t - whistle, N. H: pákujniwhat (whistle-two kinds were used in silijik)
pa(-)kwini-t — clay; mud, N. H: pakwinit, papkwinit, pákwinit pákwinit (white or red clay; mud); R: nopwhit pakwinit (there isn't any mud); tsipkit $\int \mathrm{r}$ pakwinit (it is muddy); M: pah'-kwin-nit (mud)
pakwini-pea (plenm.: Ventura). H: pakwinipe, pakwini pe, parwinipe a (Ventura, so called because so muddy in rain);
R: pakwinipea
pakwini-pea-tam (tribename: Ventureños). H:
pakwinepe atam, pakwini pjaiam, pakwinipe atam (people of Ventura); pakwifipiotam, pakwinipeafem (Ventureño(s)); R: pakwinipe at am (Ventureño); ZN: pák ${ }^{W}$ inip(i)jatam (Ventiuia County Indians) pakwini-pea-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (dir.: toward Ventura). H: pakwifipeajok pakwini-ni (inst.: with mud or clay). H,R: pakwitina, pakwiñira, pakwinina; R: pakwinita
-palap-c-ay — shovel, poss. obj. R: -palaptsaj, -palaptsaj, -päptsaj
[< Span. "pala"]
pam - irregular plural of potop : 'those' [cf. patop'that']
pa-man-i-t — the drinking of Jimson weed, N. K: pa-manit (the Jimson weed drug or its drinking)
[cf. paP 'drink', and man 'grind']
pamašyit tišyłt? - dew, N. H: pamofjot tof jot (dew, low dew)
[cf. popomoš 'name of myth characters']
pameatup - be thirsty, VI. H: pa meatup; R: pametup (be thirsty; "cf. pop 'drink', Dapnin 'give to drink', pamuk 'drown', pamtkune a p 'drown someone'"); ZS,ZN: pa-metu; M: ne pah'-me-ah-too, pah'-me-at (thirsty)
-pame atup-ivt p (poss. dec. nom.). H: papame atup jvap anipak (he died of [his former] thirst)
pamina-yik — plenm.: village above pahinajajvea, 1 mile west of Old Town [Tehachapi]. H: paməhajak (plenm. above pahinajajves, below Tehachapi, above Keene); pamuhajək (picnm.-above Keene); ZS: pamahajk (village 1 mi . below-west-of Old Town); ZN: pamahajk (village mile below Old Town)
pemoiš - white-headed eagle, N. H: pamois pamoiš-yam (plu.). H: pamoifjam
pa-muk - drown, VI.
[= 'water-die'; cf. muk 'sick, die']
pamukpit ? - first, N. H: pamukit, pamukpit (first, ahead); nifamihun penukpit, nifemihug pamukpit (my first wife); pamupit nimajr (my first child); R: pämukpit (adelante [forward, ahead]); pämukpit àmi (he is going ahead); pämukit akatfr (he is ahead, first); $\mathbf{Z N}$ : parmuk-pit nik ${ }^{\mathbf{W}}$ a (l'm beginning to eat); $M$ : pah'-mok-pit
pan-bread, $\mathbf{N}$.
pan-n¥p — bread, inst. H: nijəpivan poəkofeptaj (l'm eating bread together with coffee) pan-t-ay (obj.). H: pantaj; R: nop nihnihjot nikamani pantaj (I'm good at making bread) [< Span. "pan"]
panapea - [no gloss]. H?: panapea [no gloss; listed with panaju? 'other side']; R: panape (plenm. of a mountain; A. Lozada's mother had a dog named ponopeot)
[may not be Kit.]
panahu-č - water snake (small, black, with white stripes, harmless); myth snake which is in ocean that encircles world and holds it together, N. H: panahut fr, pánohutr
panahu-m (plu.). H: pánahum, panahum
pandrip, pantrip - priest, N. H: pándrip, pantrip pah-pandrip-yam (plu.). H: páhpandrip jam [<Span. "padre"]
-pano - egg, poss. H: -pa no, -pă no, -pano, -pa no (egg; no abs. form); R: amakavan apano mahat fr (he gave me five eggs); $M$ : ah-pah'-no (eggs) -p ano-m (plu.). H,R: -p anom -pano-y (obj.). H,R:-panoj
-pantalon - pants, poss. H: -pantalon; R: woh apantalon (he has two pairs of pants on) [< Span. "pantalón"]
panuko-ve a - plenm.: Willow Springs, in Antelope Valley. H: pánukave, párukavea, párukave, parukave (plenm. of a Mohave [sic] town site: Willow Springs, in Antelope Valley)
pajacap — duck, $N$ (gen.). H: panatsap (pato [duck]-all kinds) pajacap-yam (plu.). H: pajatsapjam
pajano-t - quiver, N. ZN: pánanat (quiver-of fox, wildcat, coyote, or bear); M: pahng-ah-naht (quiver) -pajanap (poss.). H: -pajanap,-pajanap,-pajanapa (quiver; $=\mathrm{V}$. Polofot( made of fox, bear, or coyote, with tail);
pspayanopo (red constellation that follows after the three men)
pajayup - on the other side, Adv.? H: pajajopo, pajajup (on the other side of the canyon here); nimimat pajajup, nimimat amuvaju? (I'm going to the other side of the arroyo); pajajup (other side; cf. ipej amuvajupnup (from this side); papaŋajupna (day after tomorrow)
-pao, -papo - spring (poss. form which figures in many placenames). H: paq papo, papo
-pa-o-vea (plcnm., w/ poss. stem). H: -p aovea (spring, in plenms.); R: apaovea (spring; [= ?] apeaqk? [sic; this word is listed on slip, right below 'spring', without gloss]) cukwas pa-č =cukwa-t o-pa-o-vea (plenm. meaning 'bitter water'; apparently a constituency abs., where abs. noun is attributive, not possessive]). H: tsukwa? pat $f r=$ tsukwat apaovea
-papokwinap - braid, poss. H: -papokw iha p, -pa pokw ina p, -papokwinapa; R: -papokwine ?
[cf. popakwine? 'braid ornamentation']
pap - there. H: pap pakim patfr war (from there came a lot of water)
pap-pea-y (from there; loc. obj.). H: Papuraqak papeaj (he left here)
[cf. pappi 'on top']
papap in amunam - tribename: Fernandeños. H: papajnamun am, pápe homunam [NB aj ~ e]; R: papajnamunam (Fernandino; may include Gab., too, or not)
papamaš — pers. name of myth character(s); swordfish? H:
papamos, papamofr, pápamofr, pápamajr (pers. name: myth
characers-8 brothers who throw whales back and forth, kill them and throw them ashore; may have horns; dance in sea, only in foggy weather; = V. Pele jewun [swordfish] [another entry says = youngest brother of myth ancestors, turned into deer as punishment for incest; another says = 'fog'l)
papan; papan —right there. H: papan =apar ([sic] right there)
[cf. popi 'on top', ?amoton 'therefore']
papas - potato, N. H: papas
[< Span. "papas"]
po-pa-vea-tam - tribename; Buena Vista Lake Yokuts? H: pápaviatam, pápavjatam, pápavja Zam (tribename; = Tej. qómita; they held the laguna-Buena Vista Lake; talked a dif. Ig.; < 'water'); VF: pap-pa-vi-ott-um (Bakersfield people)
[cf. D®č 'water']
pappi - on top (with 'be') [the thing corresponding to the Eng. obj. of preposition is in obj. case]; it is shallow. H: pappi (on top (with 'be'); it is shallow [?!]); nita pappi nitsoxaj (l cross my
 of the water); nita pappi nitsakaj (I cross my legs); ahipnak nehe amats, pappi onam pat $\int \mathrm{raj}_{\mathrm{j}}$ (it is still afloat, isn't it, encima del agua anda); M: pah'-pe (top)
pah-pappi (redup.: on top of each other). H: pahpappip akatfr
tovatsr (the worlds are encimados-stacked on top of each other?)
[cf. pap 'there']
paro-c - shinbone, N. H: parots
poro-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
paro-c-ay (obj.). H: parotsaj
-paro (poss.). H: -paro; ZS: -paro (lower leg)
-paro-y (poss. obj.). H: -paroj
paropk? paropk?- shape into a ball, V. H: paropok parupk (Adj.: spherical). H: parupk (it is spherical) paru-parupk (stem redup.: plu. of adj.). H: paruparupk; paroparopk pakwinit (balls of mud) pah-paropk (redup.). H: pahparopk pakwinit (plu. [balls of mud]) paropk-in-i-č (pass. nom.: made into a ball). H: paropkinitsr tsivut (ball of pespibata)
parop-kik? (round). M: par-r甲̄-kik, pah-rø̄-kök (round [like a ball])
parokopy? - [mng. unclear].
timitt parokpy (plenm.: Rancho Viejo). H: tamot parokoj (plenm.; means stone with lid on; water comes out of the crack); R: tamat parokopjuea (plcnm.: Rancho Viejo; name means hollowed-out rock, hollowed in shuch a way that it will catch rain-water) [ct. paropk 'round'?]
pases —raisins, $N$. H: pases [< Span. "pasas"]
pašè — plenm.: San Fernando. H: páfén pasenayam (tribename: Fernandeños). H: páfénajam; R: pasenajam (Fernandino)
pap-t — mountain sheep, N. H: papt
pap-m (plu.). H:papm
pap-wa-t (lamb, N [apparently related, but suffix not identified]). H: papwat (borrego)
pap-wa-m (plu.). H: papwam
pap-wa-i-m [mng. unclear]. H: popwoom (a herd?] of lambs)
[minimal pair with pat variant of 'that one']
patap, pa-c - that (proximate). H: patap, paiap; haminat patap (what is that?; how is that?); potor tomot (that rock); pofop
totemat (plu. [those rocks]); naw hami takat, wahip patap (he isn't people, he's a coyote); pats (that); nin ohnamu pats pajok (I'm fighting with that one); patop apea (ese no mas, that is all [ $?$ is prob. part of following word]); pasrufravap (patap), frufrovatsr (he is lying, he is a liar); tam potapmea opar (he resembles his brother); tomot patap (es piedra-its a rock); hitat patap, hitat patap (what is that?); R: ninahnamu pats pajak (l'm fighting with that one); tomot patop (it's a stone); now (patap) mamk (it isn't true); pat aki (that's his/her house); pats aki (his/her house); patap ap (eso no más tengo [apparently consultant, in saying 'that's all I have', was indicating that there is no distinct locative form of potop 'that']); potap frufravat fr (he's a liar); patap tamat (that stone); patap tatamot (hose stones); naw pat frufravat $\int$ (he's not a liar); nituhtutupjhtn pajok patap (I want to play with that one); makan patap thivot $f r$ (give me what's ground); pats ahih juvannehe (this man sees me; "also patop but not "patots"); patsovan amak (that one hit me); potop gotop (that cat); ZS,ZN: pate počck (that man, subj.); M: pah-tah (other); hew'-pah'-tah (look at that!)
patap-4 (that's it). H: patapo = pamapo (that's it); pama?
patap (who? [sic])
potap-m (plu.). H: patap $m$ ákikitạ (he is haminate [sic]) pa-y (obj.). H: paj; R: paj, paj; nop nihju paj gatoptaj (I looked at that cat) pam (plu.). H: pamat hinim, hinimat pam (what are those?); R:
pamovan pamak (those people hit me); pam papāt frukam (those men); pam gatapjam (those cats); pam tatamot (those stones); pamar pahihjuvan nehe (those people see me ); M: pahm' (they or them (plural ar.d dual)) pam(-) + ?, pami, pam-iy (those, as subj.). H: pomo?, pamo; R:
ahjove pamo, ahjovo pamaj (he saw these); nop nihju pamoj gatopjamə (I looked at those cats)
patiptikia-č ? - swallow sp. H: pótiptikeat $\int$ r (swallow that makes mud nests on barns)
patiptikio-m (plu.). H: potiptikeam
[lack of gliding surprising, but normal if this is actually patiptik-ipa-č an agt. nominal]
papukwina-t - braid ornamentation (wool and beads wound around or braided in whole length of the braid), N. H: papukwinet papukwina-t-ay (obj.). H: papukwinataj -papukwina? (poss.). H: -papukwina pa, -papukwine ? [cf. popokwing? 'braid']
pavacaypep - swim, V. H: pevatsajpep; R: pavatsajpep
(Harrington: "final $\boldsymbol{e}$, not $\mathrm{i}^{\text {" }}$ )
-pavacap-ivana? (inst., poss.: webbed foot). H:
papavatsapjuana? (his web, = swimming thing)
pavahata-c - bladder, $N(A)$. H: pavahatats
pavahata-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
-pavahat (poss.). H: -pavahat
-pavahat a-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: -pavahotatsaj
[doublet w/ poyohovik have a blister'?]
povahav $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ — have a blister, VI. H: pavohavak
pavah-pavahovik (stem-redup.: have blisters all over?). H:
pavahpavahavak (have blisters on it-lit. se hizo bola [it became a ball])
[stem redup. is irregular; perhaps there's a limit on number of segments copied; probably a frozen form]
[perh. related to povohotoc 'bladder']
pavahip - six; Saturday. H: pavzhip, pávahip; R: pávahip; ZS,ZN: pavahi (six); M: pah'-vah-he (six); K: pabahi (six); CK: pa'va hi (six); we' mà hach ha' mưk pa' va hĭ (sixteen [ten and six])
pavaheo (six times). H,R: povahea; CK: pa' va hi' a wé ma
hech' (sixty) pavaheo pa-t +w -an-ea (six reales [of money: 'called six']).

H: pávahjáawane [NB ?-loss from personal prefix] [< pahi 'three'; cf. páhifikwe 'twelve reales']
pavakit - watery (said of thin mush). H: prvakit; M: pah'-wah-keet (thin, like water)
pa-vea-yik — plenm.: Kern Lake. H: poveajak, páveajak, paviojak (plonm.: Kern Lake; = V. kospop_kopistuk, or Buena Vista Lake [NB: 2 locative suffixes]); ZS,ZN: pa'vyayuk (Bakersfield) pa-vea-tam (tribename: Tulareños [Yokuts] from Kern Lake).

H: paviaZam, pápaviatam
[< pač 'water']
pa(-)vopvopa-č - tadpole, N. H: prvopvopat fr
pa(-)vopvopa-m (plu.). H: prvopvopam
[sounds like from pač 'water' + yopyik 'wag', but no $\not \approx$ in the verb part]
pavuhačup - plant, V. H,R: pavuhat frup
-pavuhačup-ap (nom.: "siembra" [planting, or field]). H:
nípávuhatrupap, nipavuhat frupap; R: -pävuhat frup
pavuha-vea - plenm.? or spring (gen.)? H: pavuhave, pávuhave
pavuhi-y $\ddagger-i$ - bird sp.: hen-size, long blue tail feathers which
Ventureños use on heads when dancing; = V. tsua; similar to churea), or its feathers. H: pavuhjot, prvuhjot; $\mathrm{ZS}, \mathrm{ZN}$ :
pávoh(i)jut (bird sp. from which ceremonial feathers obtained;
had only 2 tail feathers each [perh. 'magpie'])
pavuhi-yi-m (plu.). H: prvuhjam
-pavuhi-y $\ddagger$ P (poss.). H: -pavuhjap, -pa vuhjap(tsua, poss.); 6́pávuhijapə (= V. tsua)
pavunci-vea - plenm. H: pruuhtsivea pavuhci-vea-tam (tribename: people from povuhcivea). H : pavuhtsiviatam
pavuta-t - oak puffball, or any ball, N. H: pavutat; povozat (oak puffball; good medicine for wounds--grind and apply); ts apunita? pavutataj (let's play with oak puffball); ZS: póvotat (oak ball, used medicinally); ZN: póvot at (oak ball; medicine for cuts; also chew for teeth)
pavuta-m (plu.). H: pavutam; pávotam
pap-wa-t - lamb, N. H: papwat (lamb)
pap-wa-m (plu.). H: papwam
pap-wa-i-m [mng. unclear]. H: papwarm (a partida [herd?] of lambs)
[< pait 'mountain sheep']
pawhušapi — plant sp. (shrub)? H: pawhufropj (a rama [branch, shoot])
pawhušap-y¡k (plenm.?). H: pawhufrapjax
$\mathrm{pa}(-) \mathrm{wirukuh}-\mathrm{t}$ - vulture, $\mathrm{N} . \mathrm{H}: \mathrm{p}$ twirukuht (vulture [Harrington says first syllable doesn't mean 'water' but cf. wirukuht 'aura [vulture-type bird]'])
pa(-)wiruku-m (plu.). H: prwirukum; påwirukum potawne (where the vultures sleep [i.e., 'vulture's roost'])
pa-witt ? - boiled liquid drunk hot for stomach, N. ZN: pgiwat
[perh. a plant sp., or perh. just aug. of 'water']
pay [cf. potos 'that']
-pay - Adv. or clitic meaning something like 'can', or possibly 'that'. H: hamipmat tsahthuppaj vakaptaj, war nimoutpk naw majk hami nihurup ("let's talk about the cow some other time, I have a lot to do now, I cannot talk now); nowpaj nipon punitepjhwaptaj (I don't understand that game [Harrington's underlining, suggests it means 'that']
pa-y a-i-t - ladle, N .
[cf. pač 'water']
payik — toward there, Adv. H: pajak wirark nipak tamanamojak (estoy arostado con mi cabeza volteado para el norte [l'm facing with my head turned nerth ("arrostrado" = 'facing')]); R: jarark pajak (arrimate payá [go close to there!]); ja pajak (carry it over there!)
-payop - handkerchief, N. R: aju afak nipajo? (my handkerchief is wet)
[< Span. "paño"]
payravič - a certain type of basket for toasting in with hot coals. H: pajravat fr
[cf. poyt ot 'basket tray']
paytat - basket tray, N. H: pájt ot (flat coiled basket tray, 1/2' across; = Ser. séqúts); ZS: pá'y-t at; ZN: pó't at (basket tray) [cf. pahotot 'basket']
payucip - Paiute [i.e., Chemehuevi? Mono? Tüb.? Kaw.? or perh. an undifferentiated term for various groups]. H: pajutsip (Payuche)
-pea - locative derivational or inflectional suffix. [variant of -yed]
pea - be finished, be over, be the last, VI. H: pea, pe a (be finished or over); patəp apea nimajr (my only son); R: aməpappea (it's
finished now [slip is headed "mopapea," a mis-analysis for ?amə pap-pea])
peakik - flow or gush out, V. H: peakək; pápeaqkəp pot $f r$, papeaqkə p pat $\int 5$, ápeaqkəpə (a spring at beginning of an arroyo); R: apa povea ape aqk' [second word is on second line] (spring)
pedrop-t - pers. name. H: pe ðropot; Pedro kúweje [cited as a pers. name]; R: pearo pt (Pedro)
[perh. $\ddagger$ is constituency absolutive]
[< Span. "Pedro"]
pemisapip - low or short. H: pemisapip (low, not tall [of person or house]); M: pem'-ma-si-e, pā-mă-si-e (short)
pepino? - cucumber, N. H: pepino?
[< Span. "pepino"]
per aš - pear, N. H: per a jr
[< Span. "peras"; but note puvos < "uvas", not puvoš]
pesa - bird sp.: big, white, white wing-tip. H: pésa (bird sp.-big, white, white wing-tip; = V. wowow?)
pesop - dollar(s), N. H: tsolopt astsakapj wehmahajr peso? tjend ape a (Cholo owes $\$ 10$ at the store)
[< Span. "peso"]
pip - throw a stone at, bewitch (hechizar [bewitch] or enyerbar [poison]), hit with pecking stone, VT. H: pip, pip, pip
pip-mat-um (fut., with 1-2s clitic). R: nipipmatum (I am going to throw a stone at you) pip-heo (pass.: be bewitched). H: piphea -pip-ivanap (inst. nom., poss.). H: -pipvahe? (picador [pecking stone]); -pivahe P (sling)
pipaka - worm sp., of Sphinx moth, $N(A)$. H: pipak (worm sp.:
hairless, finger-size, black and red stripes, comes out in March) pipako-t (constituency abs.). H: pipakat ajapa (Sphinx moth ['worm sp.'s mother']) pipaka-m (plu.). H: pipakam [looks like it could be a gen. nominal from piekik 'come out', but apparently not, since $N(A)$ is a category of simple, not derived, stems]
piak-k ? - take out, VT. H: piak'k, piak'k piakiki (imp.). H: ріак'к
pioke? ? - the game of shinny. JW: piakex (shinny game) [may not be Kit.]
pianop-t-ay - piano, obj. R: pjanoptaj [< Span. "piano"]
pip-c - breast, N. H: pipts pip-m (plu.). H: pipm -pip (poss.). H: -pip(i) (breast; milk); NB: Papip (breast) vs. Papip (he threw a stone at him); ofrohi mopits (your breast milk [constituency abs.]); M: nip'-pe, ah'-pe' (female breasts); K: a-pi (mamma [breast])
pic - arrive, VI. H: pits, pits; pis (arrive somewhere); R: pits, pits [typed spelling in -tsr changed to -ts three times in handwriting on this slip]; apitsət nehe pamea? (he came to your house [but apparently this is a question]); apis nehe pät fruk apājhun potsraj (a man arrived who wanted a drink of water); apitsivop ninapn, nitaho, apits ip pätsrukat apajuvan nipäaptsaj (when my father came, I told him, a man came and stole my shovel); tuk ne nipitfr (I arrived yesterday); nipitsr nehe tumuka (I arrived day before yesterday)
pi-c - down, N. H: pits, pits (down, of birds); tom pitfr (fine feathers [comparison to describe flower of cotton plant-apparently = 'like down'J); ZN: picc, pi'c (eagle down; cottony part of ma'mu•kiyač) -pi (poss.). H: -pi
picalalap - dragonfly, N. H: pitsalala, pits alala (dragonfly (Span. cigarro ["cigarra" is standard Span. for 'grasshopper', 'cicada'])) picalalap-yam (plu.). H: pitsalala?jom
picucupa-č - fly, N. H: pifsutsupatfr, pitsutsupat fr, pitsutsuatr; ZN: picucup ač picucupa-m (plu.). H: pitsutsupam, pitsutsupam
pičureyt - pers. name of myth character. H: pitfurejt (the next oldest [brother, of ancestors, according to myth])
pih - suck, VT. H: pir, pir, pir
pih-an (caus.: suckle, VT). H: pihan pih-ihun (des.). H: pihihun
piha-č - sugar; honey, N. H: pīhat fr, pin at fr; K: pihatc (night [sic; error?])
-pivine? (apparently poss. of redup. abs. pivihe-č, not attested in the corpus). H: p apiv in op (honey); papivina? aveqapjam (bee honey)
[perh. this is the -a nom. of pih 'suck']
pipin — plenm.: spring west of San Francisquito Canyon ["this side of Newhall ${ }^{[J]}$ ). H,R: pipin
pipirukug - plenm. at Piru (but not town site). H: pipirukug, pipirukyj, pipirukuy (picnm.: Piro, Piru, La Oreja; has a cemetery); R: pipirukun (picnm.; according to Eug[enia], not site
of Piru, but at the point of the hill that juts out to this side of the town)
piłvik - ash-colored, Adj. H: pjawak or pjovak [illegible]
pikwa-č - California blackberry, N. H: pikwot fr (mora [blackberry; mulberry]); ZN: pikw ač (Calif. Blackberry: Rubus vitifolius C \& S.; for clapp [gonorrhea?] make tea from root; berry eaten en nature [i.e., raw?]) pikwa-č-ay (obj.). H: pikwatsaj

Pikwk - scrape or wipe self or object, V. H: piky, pikyk (scrape self in sweathouse, or wipe self when defecating); R: -pikwk, pikwk, -pikwk, -pihrwk (scrape self with stick in temascal; wipe away ['tears' is obj.]; also to wipe table or anything); nipikwk nitahteqat fraj, nipihwk nit aht oq at fraj (I wipe my body when bathing); apikwk (he is scraping out the pot)
pikwki (imp.). H,R: pikwki
pikw-in-ihun (des.). H,R: nipikinihun
-pikw-in-ivana? (inst. nom.: scraper). H: -pikwinivahep (do it with an iron knife)
pipmk - gather, VT. H,R: piPmk
pipmki (imp.). H,R:pipmki
pimočk - blunt, Adj? H,R: pimot frk (blunt end of pen [R card is headed, pimot (rk 'blunt'l) [cf. wivouk 'sharp']
pimyente P - pepper, N. H: pimjente?
[< Span. "pimiento"]
-pinica - aunt of a certain type, poss. $N(A)$. H: -pinits, $-p$ inits, -pinitṣ (aunt [examples given: ms. any sister of father]); ZN : -pinic (aunt)
-pinica-m (plu.). H: -pinits am
-pinica-y (obj.). H: -pinitsaj
-pinica-pivキ (dec.). H: -pinitsapjva, -pinitsapiva
pinan - crumble, VI. H: pinan (desmorronar [crumble])
pinan (VT). H: pin an
pigan (imp.). H: pinan
Pa-pin-ip (pass. nom.). H: Papigip (decayed; desmorronado); R: -pinip (ground finely)
pa-pin-i-m (plu.). H: papiy im
pipimar - Santa Catalina Island. H: pipimar (islander from S. Pedro island); pipimar (the island name): R: pipimer (Indian of southern islands)
pipimar-yam (tribename). H: pipimarjam; pipim arjam (people from there; sg. = pipimar, pipipmer)
pipi( $P$ )mar-pea (plenm. for the island). H: "also pipi( $P$ )morpeo (the island-probably S. Catalina)"; R: pipimerpea (Catalina Island, app.)
[There is some inconsistency as to whether pipimar is the place and pipimoryom the tribename, or pipimarpe ${ }^{\text {i }}$ is the place, pipimar the sg. tribename, and pipimeryom the plu. tribename-perhaps because the term is borrowed from the island dialect [of Gabrielino]; also, the two stressed syllables in a row suggest a borrowing; if the mar part is cognate with Luis. diminutive suffix, the name could mean something like 'little horseflies'-not a very complimentary name for a place or its people!]

pipi-č - horsefly, N. H: pipits, pipit fr (tábano [horsefly])<br>pipi-m (plu.). H: pipim

piris iriyu-peo — plenm.: Santa Barbara. R: pirisirijupea pirisiriyu-pe a-t am (tribename: Barbareño). R: pirisirijupeatam
pir(-)pirk - pet, VT. H: pirpigk (be petting the dog [stem redup.]); R: pirpirk (smooth hair down on dog-"sobar" [pet])
piša-č — head, N. H: pifratfr; pakotso nipifratfr (my scalp [skin of my head; with constituency abs.]); R: card headed "pijrats 'head"';
ZS: piš•at, piš•ač; K: abica ([his/her] head)
piša-m (plu.). H: pifr am
-pišap (poss.). H: -pifrap, -pifrap; ZS:-pišap, -pišap; M:
nip'-pis-sah, ah-pé-sah (head)
-pin-pisrap (plu. poss.). H: -pinpijrap
-pišap-pea (loc.). H: -pifrappea
-piša-č-ay (poss. obj.). H: -pijratfraj; R: -pifratfraj; -pifroptsraj -pifratsratsraj [sic]
kwašipk Po-piša (bird sp.: red-head). H: kwajopk apijo (small birds with red heads)
kihu-č Pat+? Pa-pišap (fish sp.: big head). H: kihutfr ała ? ápifrap
[The last two subentries apparently relative clause constructions]
pišapip - sweet, Adj. H: pifrapip, pifroipi (it's sweet); R: pifropip, pijrapip nehe (it's sweet); M: pis-sah'e, pe-si-e (sweet) pišapi-t (N: candy). H: pifrapjt (sweet stuff); niniw pifrapjt (my sweet, candy)
pišapi-m (plu.). R: pifrapipm (they are sweet) pišapi-t-ay (obj.). H: pijrapjtaj [doublet with pihoč 'sugar'? Kit. (and Serrano) h often corresponds to other Takic s; this may have been borrowed from e.g. Fer.]
pišapeš — plcnm.: Cedarwood Canyon, near Tejón ranchería. H:
pifape $\int$ (canyon opp. inf.'s house here); R: pifape (canyon which comes into Tej[ón] ra. canyon from the east just above Eug[enia]'s house); ZS,ZN: péšapef (Cedarwood Canyon)
piškap - be rotten, V. H: pifkapa, pifkap (be rotten [of mildew, meat, milk]); R: pifrkap (be rotten, of meat, or mildewing of leather)
ap-piškap-ip (part.: rotted). H: papijrkapip; R: Papifrkapip (it's rotten, of meat)
piškap-n (caus.). H: pijrkapn (bury reed in black mud to dye it)
pišnt? - fish sp.: big, salt or fresh water, N. H: pifna, pifno (fish sp.: big, lives in salt or fresh water; resembles tsoh ['fish sp.', perh. salmon])
pišn+p-yam (plu.). H: pifnəpjam
pita-č - youngest, last, $N(A)$. H: pifat $\int r$, pitat $f r$; nimajr pit at $f r$ (my youngest son or daughter; ninamihun ptat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (my last wife) pita-ta-č-ay (obj.). H: -majhaj pitat $\int r_{\text {aj }}$ (youngest son or daughter, obj.)
pita-m-iy (plu. obj.). H: -mamajhamaj pitamaj (youngest children, obj.)
-pit (poss.). H: nipit (younger brother or sister; also, my sister-in-law's husband when younger than I); ZN: -pi't (younger sister); M: nip-pët (brother)
-pito-m (poss. plu.). H: -pifam
-pita-y (poss. obj.). H: -pitaj
pitk - fill, VT? H: nihikaj nipitk nifitfravea (I puffed up my cheeks with wind; I filled my mouth with breath)
piturup - hummingbird, N. H: piturup, piturup, piturupt [constituency abs.]; Patsth piturup afaj = P oip ofaj piturupt
(the hummingbird sucks the flower) [constituency abs. here may be related to word order]
piturup-yam (plu.). H: piturupjam
pivana-č — woodpecker sp.: smaller than šicc. H: pivanạt fr pivana-m (plu.). H: pivanạm
[interesting that this looks like pi 'hit, peck' + -ivanor 'inst. nom. suffix' in possessed forms, though this name is not possessed; probably a frozen form, so morpheme boundaries not inserted]
pivuh-t - reed sp. (tule), N. H: pivuht, pivuht (3-cornered reed; tubers eaten raw); ZS: pi•vukt (tule); ZN: pi•vukt(u), pivuxt (tule: Scirpus almexi Gray; used for house covering, mats, edible lower stalk)
pivuh-m (plu.). H: pivem
pivuh-y +k (plenm.: where the swimming tank is at El Paso [Tejón Pass] store; there used to be a hot spring there). H : pivuh-jak
[cf. pivunacapea 'placename']
pivu(-) yaca-pea - plenm. at Tejón ranchería; a spring. H : pivunatsapea(a spring at the rancheria; mentions tule [but what is the noca? part?]); R: pivunatsapea (plenm. where Rosemeyer lived)
pivu(-)yaca-pea-t am (tribename: Kitanemuks from this place [name used by other tribes]). H: pivunatsa(P)peafom pivu(-) yaco-pea (tribename: equivalent to the preceding form). H: pivunatsapjam; R: pivunatsapjam (Tejón ranchería Indian)
pi(-)piw at - tribename: Gabrielinos. VF: pee-pee-waht (San Gabriel people)
[perh. related to pipimor 'Santa Catalina Island']
-piyat [mng. unclear; attested only in the following form]
-mukpi-piyat (nosestick). H: -mukpipijat [< mukpi + ?]
$p \ddagger-$ - 3p subject or possessor prefix; also special 3s case prefix used with -yik (described in chapter IV, section C) M: poo, poo', po [3p prefix]
pi-mea ? - [mng. unclear from gloss, but probably an example of special 3s case prefix, discussed in chapter IV, section C]. ZN: Puvehpe matnimi mat nikwa púme (tomorrow if I go $I$ shall be eaten by him [probably mis-segmented also; should be: puve[a]h-pe[0]-mat ni-mi-mat ni-kwo pi-me[a], 'tomorrow [when] I [will] go I will eat with him'?])
płči p - heavy; weight? H: potrəP (heavy); Pápətrop (never saw or heard of weight on digging stick, but call its weight this); R: pot frop (be heavy [the $\int$ was added by Harrington by hand after typing]); M: poo'-trah, pư'-chă (heavy) p+či-hunap (be behind or indebted to, VT?). H, R: nipat frahtnop Pamaj (I am atenido a Vd. [dependent on you?]; said when one is very atrazado [in debt or late] in something); naw niput fruhunap hitaj (I'm lost; I have no hope)
p+čk - be on one side, VI? H: pat frk ami (the road goes slanting a little); P apot $\int(r) k \partial P$ (the horizontal sticks or hoops of hut [nom.?]); R: apet $\int k ə$ p (atravesado [oblique; crossed]); pat frk nimi (l ride horseback sidesaddle; patfrk ('ladeado' [on one side])
[cf. pify̌i P 'heavy', which may be nom. of this verb]
pihn $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - pass through or over to the other side, VT. H,R: pah(o)nək [used of arrow passing through body, cold time passing and warming up, scaling a fence]; niponihinak kit faj (I went around the house)
[cf. pank 'bit', measured by passing money around the hand]
pihtuk - down; below. H: pahtuk; R: póhtuk (below, in the earth); M: püch'-tuk, putch-tök (down); puch-tuk (downstream)
[cf. tuk 'carry on back'; this form may consist of a 3s personal prefix plus case marker]
pq Pk - fan, VT. H: papk, popk (fan something-fire or self) p+pk-mat (imp.). H: popkmat pifki (imp.). H: popki
płn —tie, VT. H: pan; R: pan, pan
pin-mat (fut.). R: parmat [sic-long n!] pin (imp.). H,R: pon pinea (pass.?: be tied). H: ponea, po rea; pápóne ${ }^{\text {a }, ~ p a p a n e a ~}$ (cradle band, laced; cradleboard-literally amarradera [tie]-made of painted and woven strings [is this gen. nom. of -ea verb form?]); R: penea, porea [cf. pinnik 'pass over to other side']
pin-ihwap-t (inst.: thong). H: panihwapt (leather thong that ties door)
pina - naked, Adj. H,R: pana (naked [used with 'be']); M: poo'-naht (empty); poo'-nah (naked); ah-pŏŏ'-nah'-e' (a ghost)
pi-nanipk - goal. H: pananipk (where they're going to win or lose) [< nohnipk 'win'; first part may be personal prefix, or name of a game]
pinank - rip, VT; rape or deflower, VT? H: panank ("means romper una muchacha [break a girl]: bad word" [rape?]); R: penank (tear, VT, of cloth)
pinan-mat (fut.). R: pananmat
p $\ddagger(-) n a r \ddagger k$ — midwife, N. H: pánerak
[= 'they help'? or = 'tie' + 'help'?]
pink - measure bead-money on hand, V. H: pank, pank p+nki (imp.). H: ponki
ca-p+nk-ič (hort.: let's earn?). H: ts apankot fr (let's ganar [earn?])
p+n-mat (fut.). H: panmot
pink (one real [bead measure]; Adj.?). H: pank
[cf. pihnik 'pass through or over'; cf. also punink 'make carrying ring']
pink — dodge, or pass by (overtake), VT. H,R: pp pk (dodge arrows or anything; pass by a man you have overtaken on road) $p \neq n h-p+n k$ (stem redup.: dodge repeatedly). H: panh-pənk (gesticulate with bow and arrow as when they enter fiesta = "él está capiando [he is tricking bull with a cloak]")
p+šakik - burst, VI. H: pajrakak (burst-o.g. boil); R: pajrakak, pa fraqək (burst [of boill); pafrakak (break [of china plate or boil])
pišahk (VT: burst). H: pajraqk; R: pajraqk, pasraqk
pivaka-t - bat, N. H: pávakeat
p+ivaka-m (plu.). H: pávakạm
pivi-c - cheek, N. H: pavots
pih-pivi-m (redup. plu.), piqi-m (plu.). H: pahpavam, pavam
-pivi (poss.). H: -pəva
$-p+h-p \neq v \ddagger$ (poss. plu.). H:-pohpova
piviq-šiča-č (lip [cheek-mouth']). H: povafitfratfr
$p+v \ddagger-$ šiča-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
-p+viq-šiča (poss.). H:-ppvafit fatfr, -povafitfratfr

$\mathrm{p}+\mathrm{q}+$-šiča-wi-t (aug.: person with underlip sticking out). H: pavafitfrawat
piyan - far, Adv. H: pajan; R: pajan nikat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (I live far off); momimat pajon (you're going to go far); M: poo'-yahn (far)
platanop - banana, N. H: platano? [< Span. "plátano"]
-poP [cf. pokt 'road']
poc-k - tie a knot, V. H: potsk
poc-ik (VI: kink). H: P opo Is ak (kink in a rope); R: po Is ak (kink in rope; = se amarró)
pocokič (pass. nom. [irreg.]). H: pótsókits (ñudo de ropa [a knot of clothing])
poh - [mng. unclear].
pa-poh-yik timina-č (plonm.: big mountain on Caliente side of Chanaco Canyon, opposite Tejón rancheria, upstream from Píycives [means 'antelope's X'])
pohk(-)in-i-c - pass. nom.: mashed? H: pohkinits, pók'kinits (mush; name for ball of islay when all made)
poho-c - body hair, body feathers, fur, N. H: pohots (body hair; body feathers; cuero [skin; leather] of an animal) poho-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m" -poho (poss.). H: -poho; -poho (body hair); pohotrumat, pohotrumat, pohot frum at ( $=\mathrm{V}$. tsiwin; colorado [colored or red] or white ... very valuable-an item on gravepole); R: apoho (feathers long or short ... of hen or bird; fur of dog or cat; human body hair); ZS: P apo'hóčum o (eagle down headdress for dancing [does this mention Chumash?]); ZN: Papכ'hs'čume (a certain type of feathers? [Zigmond cites Plate 7a (Steward); mng.?]) poho-wi-t (aug.: a hairy person). H: pohowst (peludo [furry]) poho-wi-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m" poho-kapy (furry; also name for a black hairy caterpillar). $H$ : póhokarj, póhokarj poho-ka-m (plu.). H: póhokam
poho-čuma-t — feather headress? H: pohotgumat, pohotrumat, pohzt frumat ( $=$ V. tsiwin; colorado [colored' or 'red'] or white ... very valuable-an item on gravepole); ZS: P aps h 'čum a (eagle down headdress for dancing [does this mention Chumash?]); ZN: PapJ'hs'čumo (a certain type of feathers? Plate 7a (Steward)) [cf. poho 'fur, body hair, feathers']
pohwi - plenm.: La Pastoría. H: powi, póqwi (plenm.: La Pastoria; = Tul. tfripohwi (in territory of Pujadores or prob. Ventureños); R: po'wi
[may not be Kit.]
pokat-ik - get frightened, VI. H: pokatak, poxatak [k marked "breathy"] (get a fright, have a nightmare); R: pokatak, pokatək [marked " $k$ breathy"; perh. done for emotive effect?] (get frightened); M: ah-po-kah'-took (a ghost)
pokat-ik-mat (fut.). H: pokałokmat; R: pokałokmat pokat-k (VT: frighten). H: ? anipok apokatkiva? (he died of fright [-iva P marks clause as nominal); R: pokotk pokat-k-i-ik? (Adv.: in a frightened way?). H: pokat kipik ahipak (he died suddenly [sic-apparently = 'of fright']); $M$ : po-kaht-ke-e'k (sometimes [suddenly])
pokot - plant sp. which provides needles for basketmaking. H :
pókot (plant sp., used as needle to sew piñon baskets; grows to 3 ' in mountains; has lots of little twigs on top)
pok-t - road, path, N. H: pokt, pokt, póht (camino [road, path]); R: pokt (road)
pok-m (plu.). H: pokm
-pop (poss.-irreg. stem). H: -pop, -pop, -po; R: -pop, -po p -pop-vup (poss., with past clitic). H: nipopvup, nipopvup uvea (that used to be my road-i.e., route); nipopjva, nipopuvup (my old trail or route); poxtivup worə? (it was a trail [is ivup iyま 'dec.?'])
-pop-ivi (dec.: former path). H: nipopjva, nipopuvup (my old trail or route) pok-t-ay (obj.). H: poktoj
pok-pea (loc.). H: pokpea, pakpea; R: pokpea, pokpea (on the road)
pok-t tivo-y+k (Milky Way [literally, road to the piñones]). $H$ : póht tóvajak
tły-t Pa-po? ("Devil's Road"—Santa Fé Trail?). H: təjt Papo (the devil's road; = Cv. ? ott ingokuhut PPifalijef [perh. related to Span. name for Santa Fé Trail in 1800's-"Camino del Diablo"?])
tiy-t Pa-pok-pea (plenm. on "Devil's Road"). H: tajt apokpea (name of hill where old road to Rose Station descended to agarrar el llano [gain the plain]; Span. Camino del Diablo)
pokuya? - have lunch, VI [but this could be a noun; hard to be sure given glosses available]
pokuyap-mat (fut.). H: pokajapamat (have lunch, fut.) pokuya-c (lunch, N. [perh. a gen. nominal form of V]). H: pókujats
pokuya-m (plu.). H: poxuiam
-pokuya-y (poss. obj.). H: -pokujaj, -poкujaj
-pomo - shoulder, poss. ZN: wákatat Papómo (plant sp.: "frog shoulders"; Stachys albens Gray; use with steam bath and for flu or colds); M: ne-po'mo (shoulder)
[accent on second syllable in both sources-no explanation]
pona Pi - hurt, VI (subject is a person or body part; if person is subject, body part may be mentioned in object case). H: niponapj nihunaj (l'm sick at my stomach); nipo na Pj (I have an ache somewhere on body); ? apo hapj ivits (this man has an ache); Paponapj (he hurts-le duele); popona?j potuhu = motsane pvopołufup (their chests hurt (them)); R: ponary íhurt, VI), pohe?j (have an ache (of person), VI)
[this verb app. can have as subject either the person or the body part effected; reminiscent of the two structures for expressing body part objects, described in chapter IV, section C]
poniva-č - skunk, N. H: páhivat $\int 5$
poniva-m (plu.). H: ponivam
pon - hit with the fist, VT. H,R: pon; R: niponam (I hit you with my fist [no P here]); M: ah-pöng'-ah-von (he struck me); ne-pöngahn (I struck him)
popy-popg-k (stem redup.: pound on). H: popppopyk (pound iron; rap (on door)); R: apopypopgk (the blacksmith is pounding the iron)
popgik (bump into something [body part hit is obj.]). R: nipo PDok nitamotsroj (I bump into it with my knee)
-poy-ivanap (inst., poss.: stone for pounding). H: níponivanap (my stone for pounding dried meat, etc.; $\neq$ pestle)
pop - near (V or Adj.?). H: pఫp (near [used with 'come', 'go', 'be']); M: pởp, pōop (near)
popip (be about?). H: pepopip aofrive (it is about 10 o'clock)
[poss. theory: it's a verb meaning 'approach', with bare stem being used adjectivally, and passive used in the '10 o'clock' sentence, which would be a mistranscription for underlying /pa-pop-ea po-poši-vea/]
posop - well, N. H: posopo
[< Span. "poso"]
potin - scrounge for food, V. H,R: po tin (pepinar [scrounge for food])
[cf. tihtivon 'pepinar']
povo-c - kidney, N. H: povots

> -povo (poss.). H: -povo
-povo-y (obj., poss.). H: -povoj
-puc - seed, poss. H: Páputs Paputs, Paputsu (its seed/nut/pod [of
 (plu. [sic, but not formally plural]); ZN: Papvc (seed)
puciva - be ready (used with conjugated form of 'be'). H: uve at mokat $\int \mathrm{r}$ moputsiva (are you ready?); niputsiva nikat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (I'm ready); uve a ne nixat $\int \mathrm{r}$ nipuqtsiva (I was ready) [may be related to puhcip 'wait for']
pucul: - intensive adverb: very, hard. H: putsuk; nijaw putsuk (I grasp it firmly); putsuk (muy recio [very fast or strong]; $=\mathrm{V}$. tsnopijatus [?]]); nijosək putsuk (l'm sweating a lot); putsuk metapop pokt (the road is very long); putsuk arom (he walks recio [fast or strong]); putsuk tsukwa? too salty [of beans]); niwowtok putsuk (! ami very tired); R: putsuk, putsux (firmly, very fast, very); putsuk nipameatup (I'm very thirsty); putsuk armuk, oktr (he is very sick, is groaning); putsuk arom (anda rec:o [he walks fast or hard]); nijow putsuk (I grasp it firmly); juzfrak puisuk (it is very wet); ZN : Páwi• pútsuk ([apparently = 'she yells a lot'])
pučahk — play ball (gen.), V. H: putrahk, putrohk, put fraqk, putsroqk (play ball-baseball, piaque, shinny) co-pučahk-ič (hort.). H: tsaputsroqk (let's play ball/piaque) pučahk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: a ball game). H: put fraqkinits pučahk-in-ihwap-t (inst. nom.: shinny stick or playground).

H: puftrahkifinwat, put fraqkininwapt; niniw putfraqkininwapt (my ball or stick; = niputrahkinivanap)
-pučahk-in-ivenap (poss.). H: -putrahkinivana? (my ball); niput fraqkinvañop (my ball or stick; = niniw putsraqkininwapt)
puhcip - wait for or take care of, VT. H: puhtsip, puqtsip (wait for); nitak nipuqtsip, numuaik (I am taking good care of myself);
R: puhtsip, puhtsip (take care of)
puncip-mot (fut.). R: puhtsipmat puhceap-ič (imp.). R: puhtseaptfr puhcea-kapy (char.: sheepherder; caretaker. H: púqtseakapj [Harrington comment re a of suffix: " $\varepsilon$-like"](sheepherder; cuidador)
puhcea-kapy-ivi (char. + dec.). R: puhtseapkapjva (cuidador [caretaker]-carefully heard)
[unanalized form]. R: puhtsipvotsr (estaba cuidando [s/he was taking care])
puhcukuč - plant sp.: low, red flowers, used for quelite [edible greens]; made fine pinole of black powderlike seed. $H$ : pưhtsukutfr, puhtsukut fr, putsukutfr; R: putsukutsr (edible plant)
pucuku-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (plenm.). H: putsukujak (plenm., named after the plant); R: putsukujok (plonm.: mountain at foot of Chanaco Canyon; but no putsukutsr there now)
puheap - blow on, VT. H: puhea? (blow on-blow fire or blow out fire)
puheapn (imp.). H: puheapn
puhk - spray water, V. H: puhk (spray (water) (from mouth, whale or human [sic-though whales don't spray from mouth])); R: nipuhk (I spray water from mouth, or with hand when ironing); opuhk pat fraj (whale blows water)
puh(-)pučup - chase away, V. R: apuhput frup (lo corrió, he chased children away [sic; means 'he chased him/her away'])
puh(-)pučup-vi (past [sic re final vowel]). R: apuhput $\int r u p$, equhput frupvo (he chased the children away from here)
puh-yi-t - roadrunner, N. H: púhjot, pthjot
puh-yi-m (plu.). H: pthjom
puh-y it-t $\mathrm{Pa-t+kwiš} \mathrm{(plcnm.} ,\mathrm{meaning} \mathrm{'roadrunner's} \mathrm{mortar')}$.
H: pưhjot atákwif; R: puhjot átə kwifr (plcnm.; means roadrunrer's mortar; only Fustero has known this name)
puk - take off, VT. H: puk, puk; R: puk (take off clothes) puk (imp.). H,R: puk
puk-ič (imp. plu.). R: pukət fr (imp. plu.)
puk-mat (fut.). H: pukmat, pukmat; R: pukmat
-pukap - crest of quail, poss. H: -pukopa (crest or topknot of quail or partridge)
pukwan - plenm. of a mountain northeast of Tejon ranchería:
Cummings Mountain. H: pukwaj, pukwà, pukwan, pukónat, pukan, pukwanatsapea [this form apparently =.'pukwan elbow [point]'] (plenm. of a mountain-big one northeast of rancheria here, above Eug.); R: puk on (plenm. of a mountain; can see ocean from its top); ZS: pukwa'n (Cummings Mountain); ZN: pukwa.(ng) (Cummings Mountain (1))
pumu-c - shoulder, N. H: pumuts
pumu-m (plu.). H: pumum
puh-pumu-c (redup.). H: puhpumuts (another plu.)
-pumu (poss.). H: -pumu; K: a-pumu ([his/her] shoulder)
-pumu-vea (loc. poss.). H: pimtwea
[cf. pomo 'shoulder']
pumuk, punuk [cf. umuk, pronoun emphasizer]
punihn-ik ? - go around something (e.g. the house), V. H: ponihinak, punihirak; R: punihirak, ptnihirak (go around; dar vueltas [make laps; the focal point of subject's path is the object])
puninn-k (V: make go around; also, make a carrying ring). H: punink (make somebody or a horse go around); punink (make a carrying ring [for carrying basket on head], or any ring); pop $\ddagger$ nink (carrying ring [sic, but apparently this is verbal form: s/he makes a carrying ring")); nityuy nipunink (I am going to make a carrying ring [NB glides in proximate fut. auxiliary)); R: punink (coil a rope; make person or horse go around); Puve apunink (it's already coiled [stem used as $V$ with prefix elided, or used as Adj.?]) punin-mat (fut.). H: puninmat
punin-in-i-c (pass. nom. of caus.: carrying ring). H : puninkinits punin-in-i-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m" punin-k-in-i-vi (poss. [-yi unexplained]). H: -puninkiniva
punitap - play game, V. (gen.). H: punitep, punitop (play a game (any game)); ts apunitap pavutataj (let's [actually 'we'] play with an oak puffbail); tsapunita pavutat (let's play ball [this one looks more hort., even without plural imp. clitic, because no object marking on object])
co-punitap-č (hort.). H: ts apunitapt $\mathrm{f}_{\text {in ajtsaj (let's play }}$ (chilecote game))
punit et (a game [absence of P unexplained]). H: punit at (a game; = V. tokopj); punit at (buckskin ring in ring and pole game-4'5" in diam.)
punit a-m (plu.). H: punitam
punitep-ihwap-t (inst. nom.: stick used in ring and pole game; spear). H: púnit opjhwat ( $=$ V. tokojmu; also call the spear thus); punit a pjhw at kut frot (the stick used in ring and pole game); nawpay nipan punitapj-hwaptaj (I don't understand that game [Harrington's mis-segmentation])
punuk, pumuk - cf. umuk, pronoun emphasizer; cf. chapter II, section C. H,R: punuk anipok (he died alone) [and many other examples]
punuk - [mng. unclear]. H: kwatse ${ }^{2} \mathrm{n}$, punuk avoprak (make more fire so that it will boil)
pupuvo-č - bird sp., that cries at night. H: pupuvot $\int \mathrm{r}$ (pájaro llorón; cries like child at night) pupovo-m (plu.). H: púpuvom
purahk-ik ? - come out, go out, set out for a place, VI. H: purakək, purakək, purakək, puiaqək, puraqək; puraqək ipeaj (leave here);
R: puraqək (go out of something) purahk-ik-mat (fut.). H: puraxəkmat; R: purakakmat; puraqakmat purahkk-uvup? (past). R: puraqkuvup purahk (imp.). H: purahk; R: puraqk, purahk purahk-ič (plu. imp.). R: puraqkat fr, purahkat fr (imp. plu. "to 2 plus" [sic]) purahk-k ? (VT: put out; stick out). H: puraqk (put out or stick out belly or tongue; apuraqk kakawast (ya está sacando la gallina [the hen is already producing], the hen is already having her chickens hatch out [or, per Span. gloss, 'laying her eggs'?]); R: pur oqk (take out [example is: niqavantun, uveahpeo nipuraqk (yo estoy enjabonado la ropa, mañana lo voy a sacar [I'm soaping up the clothes; tomorrow l'll take it out j)) purahk-k-i ? (part.?). M: ah-poo'-vhak kuk'-kennye-hon' (spirit or soul after leaving body) purahk-ki? (imp. of VT). H: puraqki
pur awe [ [mng. unclear; plant sp.?]. H: ptr awe? (güico [mng. in Guatemala and Honduras: squash sp.]) purawer-m (plu.). H: ptrawe Pm
purew $\ddagger$ - lamb, $N$.
purew + P-yam (plu.). H: purewop jam; pur twop jam, hawkup jop jts (una partida de borregos [a flock of lambs?]) [cf. yurewi? 'lamb'; < Span. "borrego"]
purikaw - string beads, V. H: purikaw (make a chain of beads; string beads)
purikaw (imp.). H: purikaw
purika-ič (imp. plu.). H: purikasts
purikaw-vup (past). H: nipurikawvup uvea
purikaw-n-i-c (pass. nom.: a chain of beads). H: purikawnits purikaw-n-i-m (plu.). H: purikawnim
purpur - worm sp.: inchworm? H: púpur (worm sp.-guzanito [little worm]; same appearance and color as campamocha [walking stick], but walks reaching front part of body far forward and grabs on and then pulls back end of body [drawing looks like inchworm])
purpur-yam (plu.). H: púrpurjam
purup (-)po(-)č - plenm. of a waterfall on Kern River. H: puruppatfr (the falls of Kern [? illeg.] River; means the water falls); R: puruppat fr ((no.1) falls of Kern River; = Tej. konnow pilkpin?)
putan - bird sp. H: pútan, putan (gallineta [sandpiper; ruffed grouse; guinea hen]); R: putan (gallineta)
putan-yam (plu.). H: puZanjam
po-pa-o-vea putan (plenm.: bird sp. spring). H: Papapovea putan (Aguage de los Patos); R: putan apaove o (plenm.: Aguage [spring] de los Patos [ducks!)
 tide [the ocean gets full]); R: putak (be full)
put-ik-mat (fut.). R: putakmat
put-ik-uvup (past). R: putokuvup; paputakuvup pzč (se llenó de agua ['it filled with water'; lack of case suffix on 'water' unexplained])
put-k (VT: fill?). H: nip ukk nifrit frave (I have my mouth full of food); R: pat $k$ (fill) put-mat (fut. of VT [NB: VT drops $k$, VI dees not]). R: putmat (fill, fuit.) put-k-uvup (past of VT). R: niput kuvup (Ifilled it) put-k (Adj.: full). H: put $k$; M: poot'k, poot'k (full)
putup - hard, tough, Adj. H: puzup, putup (hard; tough, of meat, etc.); Puvea putup (ya está clavado [it's nailed]-literally ya está duro [it's gotten hard]); R: pulup (hard, of stone; tough, of meat); pulup pivip kownea (this meat is tough); M: poot'too, pŭt-to (hard)
pupuck - hunch-backed, Adj. H: puputsk
puvudis - bird sp. H: pfinuris (bird sp; same as jupivup but doesn't have black face; "pure $\mathrm{s} ; \underline{\jmath}$ not $\underline{\underline{1}}$ )
puvudis-yam (plu.). H: pĽ càisjom
[may not be Kit.]
puvuin - plenm. near San Fernando; the cave of a diablo. H: pưvuin (plcnm. near San Fernando; "Jam. form of F. name" [cf. M: (Vadio) apupvok kuk-ken nihun]; it is the cave of a diablo [devil])
puycup - begin, VT (complement, if any, is in obj. comp. form). H: pujtsup
puyu - all [invariant for $\pm$ count, $\pm$ plu.]. H: puju; puju(ivi) tovat fraj (the whole world); puju-van oajn onihniuj (me enseño [he taught me] all his things [no obj.]); pojahjak puju (they all "finished" [re extinction of certain tribes]); pujumaisajunup ("todos los (2)
van a respetar ['both are going to respect'?]); pakupmok puju (they are all face down); pujpokumək (all face down); puju tamopavea (todos los inviernos [every winter]); tsampat $f r$ puju (God); R: puju nipop (all my bones); puju niteqtaqa? (all my body); puju kikam (all the capitanes [chiefs]); puju takatam (all the people); ZS: puyu (all); M: po-yo-too'-was, poo'-yoom-hoo (we (plural) [sic-apparently 'all of you'], poo-yu-tư'-vahts (the whole world); poon-yu-poo-yu (theirs (plural)); poo'-yu-poon'-yu (they or them (plural)); poo'-yu poo'hoo hung'-oo (you (plural) [sic; perh. 'all their languages'?]); K: buyu
-puyu (poss.: friend). H: nipuju, nipaja [one token only-and difficult to be sure of last vowel; stress anomalous-may be a greeting, with extra stress]; "no absolute form for -puju, amigo [friend"; ZN: nipuyu (my friend); M: nepooyu, ne'-poo-yu (friend)
-puh-puyu-m (plu. poss.). H: nipuhpujum, nipuhpujum (plu. [friends]); puju nipuhpujum (all my friends)
puyuciwamin — plenm.? R: pujutsiwamaŋ (Ojo de la Vaca; Neenach) [cf. also pwičiwamty 'placename'; inconsistent segments and gliding between the two entries suggest a borrowing]
puyumaki - clay of a certain type? [maybe 'alum' (J. Johnson, p.c.)]. H: pujumskə ( $=$ V. gjip; [clay of a certain type?] "they got it from beneath the water-they got it up by the Tule, dove into a river ... man grasped a handful at bottom and brought it to surface. There was white ajip and also coloradito [reddish] and bayito [bay (yellowish-white)]")
pwičiwamłty - plenm.: lake at place called El Ojo de la Vaca in Span., Neenach in American. H: pwit Jiw omon
[cf. puyuiciwamin 'placename']
rakwik - chew, V. H: rakwak, rak.kwak, rakwok
rapupk - green, Adj. H: rapupk (green; it is green); potsr rapupk (green water); R: rapupk; ZS,ZN: ráplk (green); M: rah'-oo'pk, rah'-öp-kik (green); rah-00'pk (raw)
ravanop - radish, N. H: ravano?
[< Span. "rábano"]
rapwh-k - set something down; seat oneself, V. H: rapwk (set something down, seat oneself); R: rapwk (set; sit)
rapwh-k-mat (fut.). H,R: rapwkmat
rapwh-ik (VI: be sitting). H: rapwhak (be sitting already); R:
rapwhak (be set [of ink bottle on table]; be seated [i.e., 'sit'])
rapwh-ix-mat (fut.). R: rapwhakmat
rapwh-k (imp.). R: rapwk
rapwh-k (Adj.). R: akat $\int \mathrm{r}$ rapwk (está sentado the is
seated]); K: rogaugatc (sit [rapwk Pa-kač])
rapwh-k-ihwap-t (inst. nom.: chair or seat). H: ráwkihwat,
rapwkihwapt (chair; seat); R: rapwkinwapt (chair)
rapwh-k-ihwap-m (plu.). H,R: rapwkihwapm
Poča-witt Po-ropwh-k-ivi (plcnm.?: raven's roost). H:
patfrawat arawkive (= Mar. [morinopyom Serrano?] anepkiva)
relo - clock, N. R: relo
[< Span. "relój"]
repoyop - cabbage, N. H: repojor
[< Span. "repollo"]
rihír - beans, N. (gen.). H: rihor (beans, including limas; in Cv. = Dilogok)
rihir-t-ay (obj.). H: rihertaj, rihert aj
[< Span. "frijol"]
rihv-ik - lose, VT. H: rivak, rihvak, rihwak; uvea mili(j)vak pank [you already lost a real [perh. retroflexion of $\dot{ \pm}$ hides the r];
puvea marivak / mai(j)vak pank (you lost-ya [already]-one real)
rihv-ik-mat (fut.). H: rihvakmat
rihv-k (VT: win [app. a causative, not VINT pair]). H: rivk; R: riyk
rihv-mat (fut.). (fut.). H: riymat [NB: devoicing of $y$ before deleted kJ
[same morpheme?]. H: naw niripak (when nobody wins in game)
rikwat-ik - slip, VI. H,R: rikwatak, rikwotak (slip and fall down; fall down)
rikwa-rikwapi (smooth or slippery). H,R: rikwarikwapj (it is very smooth, of board); M: rĕ-kwar'-e'kwi • (flat)
rio Pin - cut, VT. H: "Always use win of cutting a person's hair;
riopin and win of shearing sheep."
riopin-mat (fut.). H: riopinmat
rio $P$ in (imp.). H: riop in
rio in in-i (obj. comp.). H: riopini

trasquila [apparently $=$ what's been sheared off of the sheep])
riopin-ip a-č (agt. nom.: shearer). H: riopihip bt fr (shearer)
riopin-ihwap-t (inst. nom.: shears). H: riop inihwapt (shears; = wininwapt, = tiqer ap
[non-application of gliding unexplained]
rivapw - basket tray, N. H: rivopw, rivaw (basket tray; big, good for playing walnut dice on; initial consonant can also be pronounced $\grave{\text { g }}$ )
riprik — bird sp.? (white). H: r ડ́Prək' (ansara [goose or duck], white, with pico [beak, bill])
riprifk-yam (plu.). H: ráprokjam
rittǐ̌ — ear of (green) corn, N. H: roto fr
[< Span. "elotes"; this gives more evidence for a rule of initial stress: Spanish initial non-stressed syllables are discounted in borrowings]
ropitk - dark brown, Adj. ZS,ZN: rópitk
rorojapa-č — bee sp.: wasp or honeybee. H: rórojap at fr, rorojapøfr (large avispa [wasp]; applies to both jicotes [wasp sp .] and introduced honeybees)
rorojapa-m (plu.). H: rórojapam
[perh. related to hepepač 'bee sp.']
ruedap - wheel, N. H: rueda?
[< Span. "rueda"]
rukut-k - pull out, VT. H: rukutk; R: rukut (pick out [a sliver]);
rukutk (pull out [e.g. grass or beard hairs])
rukut-mat (fut.). H,R: rukutmat
rukut-rukut-k (stem redup.). H: rukutrukutk; nirukutrukutk hamataj (I am weeding my garden); R: rukutrukutk rukut-ki (imp.). H,R: rukutki
rupk - straighten, VT. H,R: rupk
rupk (Adj.: straight). H: rupk; ripk okotfr (it is straight ahead, opposite here [said of island]); ripk apok (it lies straight on ground); R: rupk; uveo rupk (it is already straight); M: doop'k, roop'-kă (straight [source is Vadio, who sometimes uses $\underline{d}$ for []$)$

```
rur asneap - peach, N. H: rur asnear [NB re relation between ea and 이 [< Span. "durazno"]
```

rutat+k - be stiff, VI. H,R: rutaiak (be stiff [of body])
santa katarin $\dot{+}$ - plenm.: Santa Catalina. H: santa katarina (Magd.'s pronunciation of Santa Catalina) [< Span. "Santa Catalina"]
s as - oak sp. [cf. š̊gš]
sotikoy-pea - plenm.: Saticoy. R: sotikojpea [< Chumash sotikoy (Applegate 1974: 195)]
sehpep-ŋ - plcnm.: Sespe. R: seqpepy (Sespe; cf. moqeqalpea) [< Chumash seqpe (Applegate 1974: 196)]
seresap - cherry. H: seresap
[< Span. "cereza"]
simana - week, N. H: simana [< Span. "semana"]
sipin ? — plant sp.: horseweed. ZS, ZN: si'pyn (Erigeron canadensis; horseweed; of no use)
sirithr(-) $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ — play slide, VI. H: sirərəPj, siłahərək, sirəhərak (play slide down a hillside on a hide)
sirthrifevup (past). H: sirərəpvup
sirihrip-mat (fut.). H: -mat
sirwele - plum. H: sirwela?
[< Span. "ciruela"]
sivisyu - oak sp.: Quercus lobata Nel. ZS,ZN: sivisyu, sivis-yu, sivisyu (oak with edible acorn; Quercus lobata Nel.; used in coiled basketry)
[cf. ševingocopea 'placename'?]
siyar(-)in — saddle, VT. H: sijarin
[< Span. "sillar"]
-sisip - great grand-relative. H: -səsəP (great
grandparent-father or mother of -kukit or -kwarip-or gr.
grandchild-son or daughter of -kwarip or -tsuprip; doesn't go farther than that)
-stisip-yam (plu.). H: -sasapjam
-stisip-ivi (dec.). H: -sasapjva, -sasapiva
su-hanat - arrow of cane with stone point, or of hard wood. ZN: súhanat
[< 'arrow' + 'tar'?; cf. šumonot 'arrow']
suke - cooking basket of a certain type. H: suka, suke (cooking basket; = V. qPiPm, = G. tfumukar; [drawn two ways in different entries: one has a neck and one does not]; very big, but with an open mouth); ZN : sưka, su'kap (very large coiled storing basket; 3-4' high, $3^{\prime}$ in diameter, restricted mouth, with design)
sukiuvi - throw up. H: niräkwak tsivut aj nisuxiuvi (I chewed pespibata and threw up)
sumanap(-)kapy - one-pointed deer. H: sumanapkapj ([a following $k$ is " $\varepsilon$-like"]; prong; una llave; very young deer [apparently a deer so young it has only one point on its antlers])
[perh. a characterizing suffix added to šumonet 'arrow']
syakak - bird sp.: reddish or yellowish with yellowish breast; they come here [Tejón] from the sierra when the snow comes. H : sjákak; ŽS: fijakak
syakam (plu.). H: sjákam
šap - defecate, VI; defecate on, VT. H: Jrep (defecate); pí frap karniptaj (the flies are defecating on the meat); R: frap (defecate; "cf. frip 'urinate'")
šap-ihun (des.). H,R: $\int$ rapjhun
šap-vup (past). H,R: ऽrapvup

- $\int$ rap (nom.: manure, poss.). H,R: afrap (his manure)
šap-ik (inf.). H,R: frajpik [sic]
šap-i-č (pass. nom.: excrement). H: $\int r a p j t \int r$
-šahi - soup, milk; juice of wood or leaf. H: a jrahi, á jrahi, ájrahi; tsivut ofrahi, afrahi tsivut (pespibata soup); nifiw áfrahi (my soup); pafrahi məpits (your breast milk); R: ofrohi vakapt (cow's milk); niniw afrahi (soup that belongs to me); nifrahi (my breast milk-said by a woman)
[note direct versus indirect possession; cf. chapter IV, section A]
šaị - raw, Adj.? H: nikwop faop (l ate it raw)
šakwk - hoarse? nasal?, Adj. H,R: frakwk, frakwk (hoarse);
frokwk ninohop (I am—my neck is-hoarse); fak wk aŋohor (he
speaks with a twang-gangoso [snuffling, speaking with a twang]-, talks through his nose)
šamin - hurt, VT. H,R: sramin
šamihmłk - be coated? H: afaməhmək nitama (I have acid stuff on my teeth after eating green apricot)
šanhap - ditch. H: fanqap; fanqap (irrigation ditch) šanhap-pea (loc.). H: fanqappea ((go) along the ditch) faŋqap-yik (dir.). H: faŋqapjək (towards the ditch)
šanyaš - watermelon. H: jranjajr [< Span. "sandías"]
šapakay - pers. name of a doctor who dances to cure people. H : fapakaj
šarap - chop, VT. R: frarap (chop [obj. is wood])
šara(-)šara(-)i — cracked, part.? H: afarafarapj (is cracked or cracking)
šaririp - trembling, Adj. H: saririp (trembling [used with 'be'])
šarork - rough (said of surface of stone or beetle's skin). H: farork
šaš - oak sp.: Quercus wizlizerii. H: $\int \mathrm{ra} a \mathrm{r}$, (oak sp., with edible
 (specimen)); ZN: sa•s (mountain oak, Quercus wizlizerii A-DC; acorn edible)
šawmip - shell, sp.: cone-shaped; used as toys. H: $\int$ ráwmi [drawing on page]
šawmip-yam (plu.). H: jráwmipjam
šeahk - part hair, V. H: sreahk šeah-mot (fut.). H: Sreaqmat sreahki (imp.). H: sreahki (imp.: 'open or clear the way ["carrera"]l'; or 'part your hairl') -še ahk-in-ap (gen. nom.: the part of one's hair). H: - fr reahkina ?
šeahk (Adj.: astride). R: Jeahk nimi (I ride [gc] astride, sidesaddle)
šeank - spread, VT. H: feank (spread (a pile of salt into a thin layer); paw over everything trying to find something)
šeank (Adj.: spread). H: Jeank (spread in this way [used with 'be'])
[perh. this is a misreading of šeahk 'part hair' (or vice-
versa)]
šerekvet - hawk sp. H: férekuet (hawk sp.-dark, companion of pakihat(r-sings like him)
šererk - split, V. H,R: Jererk (rajar [split])
šererki (imp.). H,R: jerę̧ki
šerer-mot (fut.). H,R: ferermat
šev - oak sp. H: šev (where bees are, e[ast] side of bedrock mortar [apparently a tree]); šeyt (oak sp. [constituency abs.?]); ZS: še• $\Phi$ ("bilabial f"); ZN: še $\Phi$, še $\Phi$, š $\varepsilon \Phi$ (white oak, Quercus lobata Nec.; acorn app. edible); M: shref, shrev-ve (an acorn)
še-šev-y+k (redup. plonm.). H: fefevjok ((no.1) plonm.: an oak grove at foot of kawitsat men. [mtn.?])
ševinaca-pea ? - plenm. near the mouth of Grapevine Canyon. H: fevinotsapea, févenatsape, frévajotsapia, fróvanatsapia (plenm. ca. mouth of Cañada de las Uvas; a rocky place; = [VCh.?] mot'op; = Cañada de las Uvas; = V. mot?epoopw; Cajon de las Uvas [Grapevine Canyon]; R: Sevinatsapeo (=V.
mat?apqweleqwet); VF: se-vew-gra-cha-pai (Grapevine placename)
[cf. others in -ocapea?- ?]
šip - urinate, V. H: srip, fip; a jip kutoj, a jip kupea (he pissed in or on the fire); R: frip
šip-ihun (des.). H: Jripihun; R: Jripihun, fripihun
šip-i-c (pass. nom.: urine). H: fipts [cf. ši-c 'guts']
šip (urine, poss.). H: $\int i P ; R: \int i, \int i ; M: n e-s e e^{\circ}$
šip-ivanap (inst., poss.: urine). H: jripvahep (urine-noun)
[ NB : two cases of $/ \mathrm{i} p \mathrm{i} / \mathrm{m}$ [ip]]
ši-c - guts. H: sits (tripas [guts])
ši (poss.). H: Ji (poss.; " $£$ very I -like")
ši (obj.). H: $\int \mathrm{i}, \mathrm{fi}_{\mathrm{i}}$ (obj.; "app. $=-\int \mathrm{f}+\mathrm{i}$ "); nipat $\int \mathrm{rk}$ a丁 atơroj (I cut his navel cord-"navel's bowel")
ši-w in (incorp. with 'pluck': gut, VT). R: fiwin, jiwin (gut an animal, VT); siwin, siwin (gut an animal for cooking)
šiča-č — mouth, N. H: srit frotfr
šič e-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
šiča (poss.). H: Jitfra, jitfra, fritfra; R: apnki majritfro (open your mouth); anapk nifritsra (l have my mouth open); K: a-cidja ([his/her] mouth)
šit-šičap? (plu. poss.). H: $\int$ rit $\int$ rit $\int$ ro šič \&-y (poss. obj.). H: ऽit fracj, fritfraj; pajupjnan afritfraj
(he slap hollers or whistles with fingers); a kwiotsk ofit $\mathrm{ra} \mathrm{a}^{\prime} \mathrm{j}$ (he protrudes his lips to one side as he cries); matnomahu majit faj ("porqué no quema tu boca [why doesn't your mouth burr?], ca." [apparently should be haminat now mathu ṁ̌̌sičay 'why don't you burn your mouth?'])
-šiča-vea (loc., poss.). H: fritfavea, fritfrāvea; niput k nifritfravea (I have my mouth full); howkup niniw nita nifritfravea (one mouthful)
$p+i v i-s ̌ i c ̌ a-c ̌$ (compound: 'cheek-mouth': 'lip'). H: pova fit fratsr
$p+v \ddagger-$ šiča-m (plu.). H: "plu. $-\mathrm{m}^{n}$
pivq-šiča (poss.). H: pavofitfra, povafitsa
pih-pivi-šiča (plu. poss.). H: pahpava fit $\int r^{\text {a }}$
$p+h-p+y \ddagger-s ̌ i c ̌ a-w+t$ (aug. compound: person with lip sticking out). H: pavafitsrawat (jetón, or person with underlip sticking out)
šikipti-pea, šikitip — plenm. near Tule Reservation. H: fikiptipe a, Sikitip (a Tule plenm. by Tule Ind. Reservation; a place above mohotfr kutsiP, meaning rama [branch, sprig] sp.); R: ऽikiti?pu (Tej[ón] language plenm., by the Tule)
[< Yokuts?]
šikwap - be cold, V. R: nijikwar (I'm cold); M: nis'-sik'-kwah (I am cold.)
šikwa-t (nom.: ice). H: sikwat
šikwa-top (VI: freeze). H: Jikwatopo
šikwo-t yohak (icicle [ice hanging?]). H: (fikwat) johak
[error for yuahk 'hanging'?]
šikwa-mia-č (compound: ice month [December]). H:
fikwamzat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (December-month of noche buena [Christmas eve]-[so-named] because cold, gets less cold after this)
šimi-y — plenm. [Simi?]. H: simin = sime (= sime [plenm.; Simi?]); R: Simin-ga (Simi)
šip-ik - get cold, clot, VI. H: ऽipa k; a fipak apot (the blood clots-said of girl with blood before natural time because they are "rompidas" [broken] [mng.?])
šip-k (VT: chill). H: $\int i p k$
šipk - strip, V.? H,R: Jipk (strip leaves off a twig; no such word as *Sipak)
[cf. šiv 'plane, carve']
šitup - sprout, V. H: situp (sprout-said of plant sprouting from the ground)
pa-šitop-ap (poss. gen. nom.: sapling). H: áfītopapo (renuevo, sapling)
šiv — plane, carve VT. H,R: Jiy, Jiv' (plane something; smooth with knife, as when making elder flute; "sounds like 'guts'"); R: Jiy (scrape junco [rush] [for making baskets]); Jiv, Siv (plane; labrar [carve])
šiv (imp.). H,R: fïv
šiv-ič (imp. plu.). H,R: sivat fr
šiv-mat (fut.). H,R: Jivmat
šiv-ivanap (poss. inst.: woodworking tool). H,R: Jivivaha ? (tool-saw, plane, etc.)
[cf. tokšivat 'flint'? . šipk 'strip'? hìpiv 'split junco'? šivoved 'San Gabriel']
šivarap - barley, N. H: sivarap (barley; "in $\mathrm{Cv}=$ séwola")
[< Span. "cevada"]
šiva-vea (plenm.: San Gabriel). H: sivavea (plenm.; San Gabriel, apparently; equiv[alent] of fivana [Gab. form of name?]; "inf. does not know G[ab.] sivat or that it means 'flint"'); R: fivavea (San Gabriel)
šiva-vea-t am (tribename: Gabrielinos). H: siväviazam,

SiváviaZam, fivoviaZam, sivaviatam (Gabrielinos_Jam. name; Kitanemuks say they talk ugly); R: frivaviat am (Gabrielino)
[perh. formed on a gen. nominal of šiv 'plane, carve']
šivivip - cool, fresh, Adj. H: sivivip (cool; fresh-said of chia, shade)
šivịk - blow, of wind, V. H: táméa-nu ajivak (wind that comes before sun rises [sun-from it blows]); tsipk alf ivak [mng. of raised 1 unknown] (poco hace viento [it's a little windy]-a breeze); fivək (the wind is blowing); káqpifakahanup afjivok (Tulareño wind [wind from the Tule Reservation; or Yokuts wind]-from the north)
kahpišakaha-nup pa-šivak (it blows from the Yokuts?). H:
káqpifakahanup afivak (Tulareño [Yokuts] wind-wind from the north)
šiv-k-a (gen. nom.: wind). M: ah-se'b-koo, ah'-sé-bŏ-ko
(windy); ah-sढ̈b-koo (winter); K: aciv kö (wind) -sivki (nom., poss.). ZS: Pasiv-ka (wind)
[cf. Šivis 'cold']
šivoyap - onion, N. H: Jivoja, fivaja; fivojapt; R: fivojapt [< Span. "cebolla"]
šiw - plant sp. with onion-like root and blue or white flower, or its bulb; = Span. "cacomite" [mng.?]. H: siw, siy'; nihot frmot siw (I dig cacomite [a flower plant] bulbs when they are some distance apart [NB no obj. marker])
šiw-t-ay (obj.). H: fiwtaj
šiwipkawiyam - tribename: the Tübatulabal. H: fiwixawijam, Siwipxawijam, Jiwikawijam (the Rio Chiquito tribe-they talk like Angela Lozada; los Monaches; = Tej. sinaholis); R: fiwipkawijem (Töpaptulapal Indian, Rio Chiquito Indian)
šiwšipwi - bird sp.: large; comes down from the mountains in cold weather. H: siwsipwi (bird sp.-comes here from sierra when it snows; quite large; [note by the final vowel: "as in B."]) šiwšipw-yam (plu.). H: siwsipwjam [< Chumash?]
-ši - flower [unclear if underlying $V$ or $N$; usually preceded by apersonal prefix]. H: ájo, ajro, ajo; Zs,ZN: pása, pósəp (flower, gen.); ajop tavahtsr (the country is in bloom); uvea ajrop (it is already in flower); R: $\int r ə P$ (be in flower), ajra (its flower; "but frots 'carpintero, woodpecker'")
-ši $\ddagger-m$ (plu.). H: a jom (plu.; " $\mathcal{L}$ very long")
-šit-y (obj.). H: a joj; ajap nehe akiməvan makik, ajoj komanitsaj (she brought mea (tied up) bunch of wildflowers)
ši-mia-č (compound: flower month: March). H: samaatsr (March; means flower month; but frats 'woodpecker') [does $P$ distinguish between $N$ and $V$ ? (Harrington seems to suggest length of š plays a role]
ši pe-c - forehead, N. H: sropats; M: ne-sŭ'-ah, ah-soo-ah
ši Pa-m (plu.). H: Srapam
f+pa (poss.). H: srapa
ši-c, ši $\ddagger-c ̌$ — woodpecker sp. with red head. H: frots, frots, fot $\int$
šī-c pa-pao-vea (plenm. of a spring). H: jrots apaove a (plenm.: spring at top of the mountain above opape a; means woodpecker's spring)
ši-c po-pepo (plenm.: a mountain or hill by Joaquin Flat). H: fots ápopo
šíko-c — shoulder blade, N. H: frokats; M: ah-só-kah (shoulder) šika-m (plu.). H: jrokam
št-šik a-m, ší-šitk a-č (redup. plu.). H: $\int$ ro $\int$ rokom, frasrakotfr
šika-c-ay (obj.). H: frakatsaj
šłka? (poss.). H: froka?
šika-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: jrakatsaj
pa-šłka-yik (plenm.: La Paleta). H: afokajok (plenm. meaning shoulder blade; = La Paleta)
šim — scratch, V. H: $\int r^{\text {ram }}$
šim ? (imp.). H: fomatsip nitsth (scratch my back [scratch me | itch])
šim-ihwap-t (inst.: scratcher of abalone rim). H: $\int$ rómihwat, framihwapt (scratcher of abalone rim-girls wore one on bead necklace during periods and for two months after childbirth; used to scratch body and head)
šim-iv an op (poss. inst.). H: famivahe P, framivana
šim-ivanap-č-ay (poss. inst., obj.). H: nikonaka p niframivanapt fraj (I wear my scratcher as necklace [NB use of obj.])
šin anami - a food of some kind? H: nikop fananami (l am eating tuche[ [mng.?]-either kind)
šipu - chain of bead money? H: nijropu nikəm (I make a chain of a string of bead money [why no obj.?])
širi-c - stingy; anus, N. H: f3rits (anus); frar its ([Harrington indicates length on both vowels doubtful] stingy)
širi-rn (plu.). H: $\int$ ar im (stingy people [?])
šì-šiti-m (redup. plu.). H: $\int \partial \int \partial r i m, ~ \int \partial \int \partial r i ̄ m, ~ \int r ə \int r ə r i m$
šìri (poss.: anus). H: fari (poss.: anus)
širi-y (poss. obj.). H: apiky̌k afari (he wipes himself while defecating)
kut Pa -šitri, wahit a-šłri (plant sp.: Indian paintbrush [fire's tail; coyote's tail). H: kut ofæi = wahit ofari (Indian paintbrush, useless plant sp.)
šif(-)šiv-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - plenm.: Willow Springs in Antelope Valley. H: ऽว̇ऽəvjak
šít-k — bald, Adj. H: frotk
šit-šit-k (stem redup. plu.). H: jrot jrotk
šivacicictc - body-louse, N. H: Sróvatsatsats
šívacicici-m (plu.). H: fróvatsotsam
šavacici-m (poss. plu.). H:áfrovatsatsam (poss. plu.)
šiyłp — cold, Adj. H,R: sravap (it is cold [no subj. prefix]); $\mathrm{ZS}, \mathrm{ZN}$ : cəvop (cold); H: 〔rúva? (it is cold weather); M: š̌-vah, sŭ-băh (cold weather)
šivi-pea ? (loc.?: January/February). H: ऽavapa ? (January/February; means it's already cold)
šivi-t (nom.: cold). H,R: jrovat (the cold); R: uvea apahnak sravat (the cold (time of this windy afternoon) has already passed); H: ahipnak frovana, ahjotjrk frovat (the paper is floating in the wind, the wind lifts it up)
šivitt-ay (obj.). H,R: pup frovot aj (catch a cold)
šivi-nj (inst.: with the [cold]). H: ahipnak frovana, ahjotjrk srovat (the paper is floating in the wind, the wind lifts it up)
[cf. šivik 'be windy'?]
šona-č — lung, N. H: srönat $\int \mathrm{r}$
šojo-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
šojo (poss.). H: nij̄rojo (my lungs)
šoyopk - scowling, Adj. H: srojopk (he makes a (bad) face);
frojopk niर̄atsr (I make a bad face, scowl, etc.)
šuava(-)č - wicked, N? Adj.? H,R: fruavat fr (maldito [damned?], said of dog, horse, or man; "entirely separate word from frusravatsr 'liar'")
šuavoč (prefixed form: participle?). H,R: á fróavat $\int 5$
([apparently the same word] he's no good-said of dog) [NB: head of H slip is spelled with u]; R: $\int$ rwovotfr (maldito [wicked]; bravo [wild])
šuava(-) pa-č (Rio Bravo). R: frwavat $\int \mathrm{r}$ pat fr
šuava-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ pa-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (loc. [NB: case agreement]). R: frwavajak pajok
šuču — bottom; butt end; tuber of a reed. H: sutgu, srutsru
šuču (poss.). H: ásrut fru ("troncen" [?]); R: ájrut fru (its butt end; opposite of wivávk [sic] 'point')
šuču-m (poss. plu.). H: á jrut jrum
šuhi-c — genital hair, N. H: fruhït s
šuhi (poss.). H: Sruhi
šuhi-wìt (aug.). H: Jruhiwat [no gloss; apparently a person with lots of genital hair]
šuhi-w ì-m (plu.). : "plu. -m"
šumano-t - arrow, N. H: Srúm on at (arrow-of carrizo, toyon, etc.);
R: Srum an at (arrow); K: cumanat
šumona-t-ay (obj.). H: frumanataj
šumana-n $\ddagger$ (inst.). R: nimu srumanano (l shot at it with an arrow)
šun - pith, poss. H: ájun (pith of stick); nikuru? ajun (I ram out the pith, as when making flute [NB: no object marker]) [doublet with hun 'heart'?]
šunišunip - like a snake, Adv. H: frunifrunip ami (the snake goes snaking along)
šunumtup - announce a local fiesta, V. H: ojrcnumtup (the captain announces that he will give a fronumtupjts fiesta)
šunumtup-i-c (pass. nom.: a certain type of fiesta to which only the local people are invited). H: srinumtupjts (a little fiesta made by local captain at which his own people only are invited ... at it the captain announces that in a couple of years he is going to make a wakoč; a species of nihinic)
šušavap - tell a lie, V (person lied to is in dir. case). H,R: frufrava?
šušavap (imp.). R: kajhpm frufravap najak, kajm frufravap nるjak (don't you lie to me!); kajmatsr frufravap nəjak [imp. plu.]
šušava-č (agt. nom., irregular: liar). H: frufravot fr; R: frufravatsr, frufravat fr (liar; embustero [imposter, liar, cheat])
šušum(-)kam — tribename of an extinct tribe. H: $\int$ rufrumkam
šutkì-t — belt. H: srutkət (faja [belt?]); M: ne-sot'-kah, ah'-soot'-
ko (belt worn by man)
šutkí-m (plu.). H: $\int$ rutkam
-šutki p (poss.). H: jutkəp, jútkapa
šuvip - rub clothes, V. H: sruvip (rub clothes-on washboard or between hands; "cf. qวpวpk 'rub buckskin between hands')
šuvip (imp.). H: fruvip
šuvip-č (imp. plu.). H: sruvipt fr [NB: ? doesn't prevent elision]
šwa-t - barn owl, N. H: 〔fw at (lechuza [barn owl])

šwink - coiled, Adj. H: $\int r w i n k$ akot fr hagt (the rattlesnake está enroscado [is coiled])
ta - put, VT. H: to, to (put; hitch up (a horse); put away); nita pappi nitsakaj (l cross my legs); nə? nita hupeahak (I put this man to work); nəp nita pat frukataj ahupeahamat (I put this man to work); numuapik nita (I fixed the house tidy); R: ta, Za (put, put on); nita awoten (I buttoned it; I sewed buttons on) tah, tap (imp.). H: táh, tap (put on!); tapa (give that to me, hand that to me); R: ta
tav-i-c (pass. nom., irreg.). H: numuapik tavits (it is tidy) tav-ihw at kiwǐ̌-t-oy (inst. nom., obj.: pot-rest stone). $H$ : távinwat kiwวstaj
tav-ivanap (poss. inst.: storage place). H: nitarivane? (my trunk, box, shed, etc., where I keep things)
tah(-)an ([mng. unclear]). H: Pəmə? tsukit, amatan nitahan pujuk mahat $\int$ ram awohwot $\int$ ram ("yo nunca oía decir que aquí estás enfermo, aquí estás tirado tsukit. Vdes. son cinco viejos" [I never heard it said that here you are sick, here you are [?] tsukit. You are five old men/people] [apparently this is a way of addressing tribal seers])
ta P apu-pea - plenm. H: tapapupea (tapo [plcnm.? Kroeber (1925:
897) says that topu is a Chumash plonm. meaning 'yucca'; cf.
tepoč?]); R: tapapupea (Tapo ... exact equivalent of kwovz ŋ)
tacank - play a women's game with 8 split reeds, $V$.
tacank-ik (inf.). H: tsami tats ankik (let's play the game of 8 split reeds)
tacank-ihw ap-t (inst.: game pieces for this game). H : tatsankihwat, tatsankinwapt, tatsankiwhat (the split carrizo [reed] counter, or the dice-throw all 8 and see how many fall up; only women played).
tacip - spartk, V (said of fire). H: tatsip
taciyaw - plenm.: the home of the wowal people. H: tátsijaw (plenm.: home of wówal people
[= tecipes 'Lemoore'?])
tacih-pea - plenm.: the land of the Tachi rancheria at Tulare Lake or Lemoore). H: tatsinpea; taisipe (Tular lake or Lemoor[e]) tacih-yam (tribename: Tachis). H: tatsihjam (the Tachi tribe)
taha - uncle of a certain type, N, poss. H: tär, Zar (uncle younger or older than mother, unlike Serrano; rec. $=$ nip áhir; no such word as *t ahats); ZN: tar (uncle); M: ne-tar' (uncle (father's brother))
taha-m (plu.). H: Zaham
taha-Pivi (dec.). H: tahapiva
taha-y (obj.). H: Zahaj
tahič-pea - plcnm.: Tehachapi. H: tahit $\int$ pea, táhit $\int p e$, táhít $\int p e$, táhit $\int \mathrm{pe}^{\text {a }}$ (an old Kit. plcnm.; = Tehachapi; means place to rest; a bog near Old Town; means like a stopover on journey; people there spoke Serrano; there were people there called Tahicheños, all gone now); R: tahit frpea (plcnm. below town-where the spring was, at thick oak grove; means where you rest a while and then start on your journey); ZS,ZN: tah áyčpi (Old Town (west of modern Tehachapi)); VF: te-hech-pi (Tehachapi) tahič-yik (dir.: to Tehachapi). H: tsamimat tahit $\int$ jok (we're going to Tehachapi) tahič-nu? (dir: from Tehachapi). H: tsamimat tahit fnup (we're going from Tehachapi) [cf. kíso? tohic 'bad climbing']
tahtakap — body, poss. H: Zaqtakap, Zaqtake? (body, bodies); R: puju nitaqtaqap apakaher (all my body was swollen); M: ne tah'tah-kah, ah-tah-tah-kah (whole body)
tahtaka-č-ay (obj.). H: Zaqtakatfraj; R: taqtaqat fraj (obj.); apohonak at aqtakotjraj (it passed through his body and came out other side)
tahtakap-ivo (dec.). H: toqtakapjua
tahtano - talk, chat, V. R: taqtano, Zaqtano
tahu-č - snake sp. [gopher snake?]. H: tảhut fr, tóhutfr, táhutş (snake sp.-ash-colored); ZS: ta-hu'c (gopher snake) tahu-kim-an-i-c (compound with pass. nom.: snake figure). H : tahukamenits (snake figure-on basket, etc.)
-tak - reflexive morpheme, used with personal prefixes; but invariant for case. H: tak; R: tak, lak; nitak (myself, obj.); atak (himself, obj.); matak, moiak (yourself, obj.) " $k$ very $k$-like" [cf. takot 'person', tahtakes 'body']
takaši - mushroom or fungus sp. H: tákasi (hongo [mushroom or fungus]-edible, grows on logs, no stem; used to boil them in water) takašim (plu.). H: takafim
takat - person, Indian, N. H: takat, tákat, tapkat, tâkat, takat, takat; takot tamajak, takat tamajak (a person from tamajak);
R: takat; t孔kat (una gente [sic-apparently means "una persona" 'one person']; ta p kat; ZS: ta-kat; ku-yan ta-kat [tribename?]; K: dagat (person)
tokotam (plu.). H: tákaiam, tákółam takałam, takātam, tañatam, takatam, takatam, tapqatam; R: takatam, trakaiam, tapkatam (plu.; = F. taráqam); ZS: ta-katam; M: tah-kah-tum, tah'-kah-tăm (people); M: o-wah'-kim tahkaht (an Indian is coming)
takat-uvup (with past clitic). H: tákozavup kútsipi (the dog used to be people); R: tákatuvu? kứtsi? (the dog used to be people)
pa-vea takatam (tribename: people on the water). H: pruea takałam (water people); R: pavea tzkot (islander)
pa-č pa-hivi-vea takotam (tribename? coast people). H: pat $f r$ ahzovea takatam
takat-ay (obj.). H: tákataj
$m+k-a n-i p a-c ̌$ takata-m-a (obj. plu. in phrase: people-killer; murderer). H: makaneatr takatama
poka-č toketo-m (tribename: sand people: Tübatulabal). H: okatfr takatam (Rio Chiquito people); R: okat fr takat (person of Töb. tribe); ZN: pòkestákat (the Tubat. territory [sic])
Puvihotem takata-m (old people: the first or ancient people). H: uvehafam tzkatam pa-uva-pea takat (tribename: a person from Castaic Lake). H: áwuape tákat (a person from Castec) [cf. -tak 'reflexive' and -tahtako 'body']
takat - pupil of eye, N. H: takat
[minimal pair with toke-t 'person']
takatakapi-crooked, tottering, Adj. H: takatakapj, takatakapj (crookedly, totteringly [used with 'go', 'walk']; R: takatakapj anəm (he walks totteringly)
takmop, takmup -pers. name of an Indian boy. H: takmop, takmup
takoakam - the Pleiades constellation. H: toronaxam
[perh. a char. plu. of takwoč 'grass sp.']
tak-t $\ddagger y t$ - spirit-person who is not here but whom you claim to see. H: taktojt
[app. < takot 'person' [shortened] + tiyt'spirit']
takupyaw - plenm.: Tacuya. H: tákúpjaw (Tacuya; "José Juan's language called it tokupj only); VF: ta-cu-ya (Salt Lake place); to-coy-ya (Ventura plenm.)
[< Chumash?]
takwa-č - grass sp. that grows to 1 ' and is used for mush. H: tákwatsr
tokwa-m (plu.). H: tákwam
tama-c - tooth, N. H: tamats, tamats (tooth; "note that these syllables regularly appear long before -ts"); ZS,ZN: tam áts
tama-m (plu.). ZS: tama'm (teeth of plu. people)
tah-tama-m (redup. plu.). H: taht amam
tama-c-ay (obj.). H: tamatsaj
tama (poss.). H: tama, tama, tama [used as plu. poss. as well]; naw ajotsrk nawhit atama (the knife is dull [lit., doesn't cut anything its tooth'; NB: no object marking on 'nothing']); R: nawhit atema' (it's dull [of knife]); M: ne-tah'-mah, ah-tah'-mah (teeth); K: a-dama ([his/her] tooth) tah-tama (redup. poss.). H: tahtame
tama-y (poss. obj.). H: Łamaj; ajuP jnen ałamaj (he grits [plays] his teeth)
tama-n ${ }^{\text {( }}$ (poss. inst.). H,R: nitamana (with my teeth)
tama-wi-t (aug.: sharp). H: nihoneap tamawat tomat (I
stepped on a sharp stone [NB: no obj. marking])
h¥n-t Pa-tame (wild lupine [lit. 'snake's tooth'). H: həyt at ama (wild lupine)
kay-cama-c (irreg. compound with mountain: molar). H :
kajtṣamatsr
kah-kay-cama-c (redup.). H: kajtşamats
kay-cama (poss.). H: kajtsama, kajtfama
tamapn - sharpen, VT. R: tamapn, Zamapn
tamopn-mat (fut.) R: tamapnmot
[probably related to tamac 'tooth']
tamavit - plant sp. from which awl point was obtained. $\mathbf{Z s}, \mathrm{ZN}$ : támovit [cf. tamoc 'tooth]
tame ? - pers. name of a boy named Pedrito Gómez. H: tame?
tamea-t - sun, day, timepiece, N. H: tame at, táme at, támenat, támẹąt (the sun (it's an old man); day); ivip támęat (today); uvea ahtrak tameat (the sun is just coming up-light, but no sun visible yet); uve áqurak támeat (the sun just came up); anieniw ámanak tameat (the sun is going back behind now [mng.: new year is coming?]); R: nifiw tameat (my clock or watch; = nificy relo); ivip tameatmat nijahe (today they're gonna grab me [NB clitic position]); ZS: ta•miyat (sun, day); ZN: wánaki tamijat (run, sun! [i.e., 'set'; from myth]); M: tah'-me-at, tah'-me-aht (sun); ah-wö-ruk tam'-me-at (sunset); ah-mi tah'-me-at, ah-mie (today); ah'-hō-rahch tam'-me-at, ah'-hor-ruk tam'-me-at (sunrise); tah'-me-at ah-koo'-pah (sunshine); K: damiat (sun)
tamea-t-ay (obj.). R: nifiw tameataj (my watch or clock, obj.)
tamea-nu pa-šivłtk (wind that comes before the sun rises
[from-the-sun wind]). H: támeanup ajivok
tamea-t Pa-mik (the sun kills it; said of sunset colors). H:
támeat añak
(ya) numuač tamea-t (greeting: good day). H: ja numuwas
tameat, numuwas tameat (how do you dol; R: ( $j$ à) numuasr
tame at (buenos dias [good day]; how do you do?)
pa-kim-ivonap tamea-t (the east lits coming-inst. the sun).
H: akimivanop támẹ̣̆t (the east)

Pa-ki-kim tamea-t ([mng. unclear]). H: ókikom tameat (hace casa el sol ... [the sun is making a house])
pa-mapnik tamea-t (new year [the sun starts back again]). H :
amapnok tzmeat, amapnok mots trmeat, amapnok waha mots tameat (New year-means it starts back again) tamea(-)nusi(-)m ? (east). ZN: tamyan usam (east [< 'sun' + 'small, plu.'?])
tameaputu-t - insect sp. that hisses in trees during the day. $H$ :
támeaputut (chicharra [cicada?]; they hiss in tree all day; call them this because they are always in sun)
tameaputu-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
[apparently < tameat 'sun']
tamo-c, tamu-c - knee, N. H: tamots
tamo-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
tamop (poss.). H: tamop, Zamopo; M: ne-tam ${ }^{\circ}-m o$, ah-tah ${ }^{\circ}-m o$ (knee); K: ni-tama ([my] knee)
tah-t amop (redup. poss.). H: taqtamop
tamo-č-ay (poss. obj.). H: Zamoptsraj; R: nipopnak nitamotsraj (I bumped into it with my knee)
tamo-pea (plenm.). H: tamupe a (plenm., < tamup 'knee-pan' [sic]); R: tamupea (plenm.; means knee-place)
tamue-vea - winter, N. H: támoave; puyu tamopavea (every winter); ZS,ZN: tamwapave (winter-Dec.-Mar.); M: tah-mwah'-va-ah (winter)
tamuap(-)n-a-t (gen. nom.?: shack, hut). H: tamwapnot, támwapnat
tamuap(-)n-a-m (plu.). H: tamwapnam
tamuap(-)n-a-t-ay (obj.). H: tamwapnotaj
tanimakan - teach, V. H: tanimakan; nop nitznimakaniva ivip (I taught this girl [nominal dec. suffix indicates this is really a relative clause construction, 'that-I-taught this-one'])
nah-t enimak an (nom.?: advice, poss.). H: nahtanimakan nah-tanimakan(-)ak (Adj.? teacher, advisor). H: naht animakanak nahtanimakan(-)akam (plu.). H: nahtanimakanakam
tajata-t — sack, trunk, box, etc. $N(A)$. H: tánat at, tánatat; M: tah'ng-ah-tet (quiver)
tah-tajato-t (redup.). H: tahtajatat
tapat (poss.). H: tajat; ataja oqat (a bag of red paint); hú? átajat (acorn granary); M: nit tahng'-at, ah'-tang'-at (tobacco bag)
tanata-vea (loc.). H,R: tajatavea
taoč - thunder; thunderhead cloud. H: táotfr, táotsf (Harrington comments "throws light on SLO \& V. usage" [Obispeño and Ventureño Chumash?]); ZS: tawč, or poss. távč (thunder)
pa-nakap teoč (lightning [thunder's stick']). H: anaka? táotsf
tap - meat, sinew.
pa-tap (poss.). H: at ap (meat or connective tissue; sinew)
pa-tap-ay (poss. obj.). H: ivij atapaj (this meat, obj.)
tap $(-) k$ at (sinew [difference with $-k a t$ unclear]). ZN: tapkat (deer-sinew for binding bow)
taperava - loin cloth, N. H: taparawa
teparavi (poss.). H: át ápárávapa, at apar ava (zapeta [mng. unclear], g-string); ZN: at d'par a'we (the "diaper"-_of cottonwood bark; worn by men and women)
< Span. "taparrabo"; borrowing perh. accounts for inconsistency in final segments]
tapirap - tuck under belt for carrying, V. H: tapir ap (tuck something under belt to carry it)
tapirap (imp.). H: tapira?
tapirap-č (imp. plu.). H: tapiraptfr
tapo-č - corral snake, $N$ [species not identified]. H: t apot $\int \mathrm{r}$ (corral snake-ugly, poisonous)
tapo-m (plu.). H: tapom
tara - fork, poss. H: Zara, Zar a‘
tara-m (plu. poss.). H: Ear am
tara-kapy? (char.?: cloven). H: taraqapj (cloven-said of deer's hoof); tarakapj (horcón [forked pole][cf. also tarahuptj); R: taraqepj (cloven)
[cf. toropkok 'two-pronged fawn']
t arahup-t — baby cradle, N. H: térahut, térahupt (baby cradle; or with q ; also $=\mathrm{V}$. Putinaj [a constellation?]; also taraкapj);
ZS,ZN: tár ahut (cradle); JW: tarahut (cradle frame)
tarahup (poss.). H: tarahup
tarahup-č-ay (poss. obj.). H: tar ahupt fraj [NB: the pseudoabsolutive consonant in this possessed object form does not match the absolutive consonant on the non-possessed form]
tar ahu-pe a (loc.). H: tar ahupe a; R: tar ahuppea (plonm. meaning baby-cradle; $=$ site of the present Tehachapi town)
tarapkok - two-pronged fawn. H: tár apkak
[cf. tera 'fork']
t ar avu-pea - plenm.: a bog $1 / 2$ mile from Tehachapi. H: t ér avupe (plcnm.-a bog $1 / 2$ mile this side of [west of?] Tehachapi).
tariwip - wheat, N. H: tariwa?
tariwip-t-ay (obj.). H: tariwoptaj
[< Span. "trigo"]
toruhaiš ? - algae, N. H: táruhar fr (green scum that comes on water ... comes because the water is about to dry up)
tašololo - plenm. VF: tash-al-100-100 (Ventura plcename) [VCh.?]
tataknič - pers. name of a legendary or myth figure. H: tataknitfr, t át áknitsr (a legendary or myth figure who was a winiwit [shouter] and chief at the bridge and killed or was killed by somebody)
tavatava'ynik - shiny. H: távatavapjnik (shiny; = V. qelaw)

tataviyat, tataviyam (tribename: Tataviam). H: táfavenam, tátaviam, tałaviam, tataviam, tatāvam, tátaviat, tátavjat (tribename: Pujadores); hawkup tat aviam (one Pujador); táłaviam (means like those who sun themselves); R: tatavijam (extinct tribe)
tataviam-7 (plu. obj.). H: nimak tataviam, nímikava woh tataviam̀ (I killed two Tataviams); nimok hawkup tataviama (I killed one Tataviam; < taviak)
tavi-yak (plenm. of a sunny place). H: táviak (a hillside like the one here that is in the sun; their land must be like that); t buijak (hillside towards Caliente); toviak (means like resoleando [lying in the sun?]); nikat fr tavijak (I live on the Caliente-ward slope); $\mathrm{H}, \mathrm{R}$ : nihiu nehe tavijak (I saw tovijok [NB: no obj. marking])
tavi-peo (plenm. of a small place). H: tavipe a (means same as tovijok, but used when the place is very small)
[cf. toyotovopynik 'shiny'?; cf. tovihukwor 'sun oneself', toviye 'talk Tataviam language']
[It looks like the root is tovi-, and the tribename, like others, ends in -yom; the tribename in -yot may be a back-formation from the usual sg./plu. form.]
tavihukwap - sun oneself, V. H: tavihukwap, Zavihukwapa; R: tavinukwa?
taviya? - talk Tataviam language, V. H: taviapa; ahunup ataviapa (he is talking Tataviam)
taviyap-i-c (pass. nom.: Tataviam language). H: trvi(j)apjzs, tžvi(j) f ? jts
[cf. tavi- 'sunshine?']
 chamois, antelope, buckskin]); ZN: t t'vac (buckskin)
tavi-m (plu.). H: távam, tavam
tavł (poss., referring to clothes). H: átáva, nitava, nitu va (back apron or flap; also mosern dress or clothes; cf. tahovo [where? can't find])
[perh. etymologically elated to top 'meat, sinew']
tavuh-t - rabbit sp.: cottontail. H: távuqt (rabbit sp.; has white tail like tahoat does [app. = cottontail] " $q$ is strong in sg."; = V. timews); ZS,ZN: té'vukt' (cottontail)
tavuh-m (plu.). H: távum
tawciyip - echo, V. H: Zawtsija po
tawhiyik - bump into, V. R: tawqijak, tawhijak; nitawhijak javavar (I bumped into the door)
[cf. popotk 'bump into']
tawn - spend the night on the road, V. H: town, Zawn; wovak nitawn, wohea nitawn (he slept twice on the road [sic: 'he'; prefix indicates ' 1 l ); R: tawn (sleep (a night) on the road; can add pokpea or not)
tawn-mot (fut.). R: tawnmat
pawirukum pi-tawn-e (vultures' roost). H: prwirukum patawne (onde duermen los buitres [where the vultures sleep])
teplamnip-yam - tribename of Indians near Visalia. R: teplamnipjam [< Yokuts?]
tičk - snap forefinger on one's own or another's forehead, V. R: tisrk (snap forefinger on ons's ewn or another's forehead; equiv. of V. ktamhe 'shoot pebble with forefinger'
tiš-mat (fut.). R: tijrmat
therap - shears, N. H: tiqera (shears; = wininwapt = riopinihwapt [< Span. "tijera"]
tilhini - plenm.: San Luis Obispo. R: tiqhini
[presumably < Chumash]
titini-t - young boy, N. H: titinit, titinit, titinit (young boy ages 414?); ZS: titinit (child); ZN: titinit (baby, gen.); titinit (boy); M: tit-tin-nit (young); te-teen-it (little boy (4 to 12 yr .)); K: didinit (boy)
titini-m (plu.). H: titinim, titinim; ZS: titinim; ZN: titinim (the babies of the spring hurist oho speak Kit.)
titini-t-ay (obj.). H: titiritaj; ZS: titinitay
tivaop - basket tray, N. H: tivápo (basket tray, big and broad; = Ser. kiwéva)
t $\ddagger$ - if; although? H: paujhun nikamani ta naw nikamanihtn (they made me make it, but I did not want to)
tì-mek(-)wačup (contrary-to-fact 'if). H,R: tomekwat frup nitsok, ajup me kwat frup (if I had stuck him with the scissors, he would have cried); tomekatrup op nikatsr, naw me kwatru? amak amaj kwihakataj (if I had been there he wouldn't have killed the woman) ti-mek(-)nehe [mng. unclear; another contrary-to-fact conjoining sequence]. H,R: tamek nehe naw áripak, akat fr mek nehe kivea (if the man hadn't died, he would still be living in the house) [kwočy and nehe shown to share the same slot in clitic ordering schema; both follow mek]
tip - roast, VT. H: təp, Zə P; R: təp (roast on top of coals) $t \ddagger P-\mathrm{a}-\mathrm{č}$ (nom.: roasting pit). H: tjotrs (pit $10^{\prime} \times 3^{\prime}$ to roast mescal)
ti(-)ap+p šipšup-na - unanalyzable, perh. Gab. H: təapəp fipsupga (you are going to burn in hell (if you kill a sleeping deer)
[cf. tip 'roast'? P. Munro reports (p.c.) šijšopo as meaning 'in hell' in Gab.; but says the first part does not look Gab.]
tipavowit - sinner. R: topavowat ("the $\underline{w}$ is probably merely a guide" [sic])

$t \ddagger(-)$ payn - give someone an omen, V. H: atopajnəvan (it notifies me that I or some member of my family will die, by falling down alive in my path [app. = given an omen, speaking of a bird]) [cf. 3ayn 'show']
ttčak - hip-bone, N. H: tot frak
tàh-tičak (redup.). H: taqtat frak (plu.)
t+ֹčak (poss.). H: totfrak
t+čak-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: £ot fraktfraj
[cf. : íč̌k 'shove'?]

$t+c ̌+c ̌-m o t-u m$ (fut. +-2 clitic). H,R: tat fot frmotum (Ehove you, fut.)
[cf. tìčak 'hip'?]
t $\ddagger \mathrm{hm}+\mathrm{k}$ - be afraid, be constipated, V. H: tamak, tohomok, tahomak (be afraid [can take obj.]); tomok (fear), tahomək (be constipated); R: tahəmak (be constipated); tamək, tahəmak (be afraid); atahəmakavan (he fears me); M: ne too'-muk, tĕ-mahk (afraid)
tifhmak-it (Q). H: tamaqวt
tinmak-mat (fut.). H: tamaqmat
tinmaka-vup (past). H: tamaqavup
[cf. timk 'stop up'?]
thho-advise, V. R: taho (avisar [tell news]); nitahoom nehe ([sic-00] te avisé [1 told you, with 1-2s clitic]); nitahom atum (I'm going to tell you)
titho (imp.). R: meah, naw niput fruhune hitaj, meah taho (said to inf.'s father by gopozno -va a avisar [go and tell] 1162a); tohotsip (avisame [tell me])
tifhw-ap (poss. gen. nom.: news). H,R: toqwap; akafr
nitəqwar (I have news); hitot mataqwor (what news do you bring?) [gliding unexplained-may have been misheard]
t+hop(-)ač (irreg. agt. nom.: storyteller, gossip). H: tahopatsr
tinokt - rabbit sp., with white tail. H: táhoqt (rabbit with white tail; = V. kupn); ZS,ZN: t áhə kt‘ (jackrabbit); K: dü hògu t (rabbit)
t thokom (plu.). H: táhokom
tihokt $\mathrm{Pa-ho-vea}$ (plcnm. [rabbit hole]). R: tahoqt ahovea; ZS,ZN: tohokt aho'v(o) (plenm.: 'rabbit hole'; 3 mi . SW of ranch)
tìhp ah ač — bedrock mortar, N. H: tóhp ahat $\int r$, tóqp ah at $f ; Z S, Z N:$ toh-páh ač
tìhpi-c - loin, back, N. H: tahpits (lomo [loin, back]); M: at-từ-pe, nä' -tŭ-pŋno, ah-tư'-pe (behind)
tihpi-m (plu.). H: tohpim tihpi? (poss.). H: tohpip; M: nit’too-pe (back); ah-toóch-pe (back); K: mu-do'pi ([your] back) tihpi-c-ay (obj.). H: tahpitsaj
wahip pa-tihpi-pea (plenm.: Los Lobos-White Wolf Spring).
H: wahip atahpipe (White Wolf Spring); R: wahit atahpipe a (Los Lobos, White Wolf Spring)
 recolando [he's going backwards])
tithpok-t - mole, N. H: t áhpokt (topo ciego [blind mole])
tìhpok-m (plu.). H: t ว́hpokm ("pokm forms a single light syllable" [sic])
t $\ddagger$ hpuč - hail (said of weather), V. H: Łaqput $\int \mathrm{r}$
tịhtifa - be big, V. R: təhtəPa (be big, V; Serr. ajote 'big') tamət aiz pa (plcnm.: there is a big bluish rock there)
tïh(-)tikwakaphea-vea - plenm. R: to'tokwakaphjavea [cf. tikwakohyow 'take shade']
tintin — send someone something, V. H: tahtoŋ
nah-tihtin (be in charge, V). H: no Pip ninahtohton (I am in charge here, I am chief of this rancheria)
tintivon - scrounge around, V? H,R: nitoqtovon (I go pepinandocualesquiera cosa [picking at no matter what], like junk man; cf.potin 'pepinar')
tihtif Pymo-w - get ready, V. R: tohto P jmaw [Harrington slipheading]; tohtəPjmow (present tense; also imp.)tintif Pyma-w (imp.). R: tohto Pjmay (present tense; alsoimp.)tintipymo-w-č (imp. plu.). R: tihtipjmawtfr
tihtipyma-t (gen. nom.: trastes [trastos: furniture, utensils,etc.]). H: tว́qtəojm at
t $\ddagger$ Pq̌̌avi-č — cloth, N. R: topot $\int$ avot $\int$ tipičavi-č-ay (obj.). R: tə pət favot faj
tipiririq — bird sp.: tildillo [mng.?]; says $\iiint \iint$, to frighten thespirits at the bridge). H: tápirərə ("no P heard at end of sg.")tipirirịp-yam (plu.). H: təpirərəPjam
tik — dig up ground?, V. H: niłək (l stick digging stick into groundwhere the cacomites [iris-like plant] grow close together tobreak up ground)
t $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ acin - plcnm.: a bog or spring on the same arroyo as ? epecicin.H: takatsin, takats in
t $\ddagger$ kanič - wall mat. H: tək̄̃onit $\int \mathrm{r}$
t+ki-c - plant sp.: grows to 1', with white flower, onion-likeedible ubulb, and corn-like leaf. H: to kitṣ, tokitṣ, tókit $\int$; R:takitsr (plant which grows at El Fortin and after which it isnamed)
tұki-m (plu.). H: tókim
tiki-č pa-vea (plcnm.: Ft. Tejón). H: tókitṣ pavea,
tákitspave, tỏit $\int p a v e$, taīt $\int p$ vea (plenm.: Ft. Tejón/EI Fortín; = V. iapuliftopo; means the fruit-water of these plants); R: tokit frpoveo (El Fortin, <tokit $\int \mathrm{r}$, which grows in a bog there; = V. topuliftop); K: tikitspe (Fort Tejon)
t $\ddagger$ kirukup - amphibian or reptile sp.: yellow, $\mathbf{8}^{\mathrm{n}}$ long, feared by bathers; called "ajolote" [axolotl, an amphibian; Toro y Gisbert (1964) gives drawing, which suggests the southern California species Pacific Giant Salamander (Dicamptodon ensatus) in Brown and Lawrence (1965: 113), or possibly Foothill Alligator Lizard (Ibid.: 107); but both are described as smaller than 8"]. H: t3kirukup
tikirukup-m (plu.). H: takirukupm
t + kirukup Pa-ho (plenm. on El Paso creek a short distance above the store; means hole of the guico [Santamaria (1959: 605) gives "huico", a Sonoran term for 'iguana']). R: takirukup aho
$\mathrm{t} \dot{\mathrm{i} k+\boldsymbol{q}} \mathrm{t}$ - tree sp.: smooth like an alder but as big, with leaf like plum tree. H: tákət
tịki-m (plu.). H: tókəm
t $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ koht - pine sp.: large, with $5^{\prime \prime}$ long cones $21 / 2^{n}$ in diam. H : tъर̈oht; $\mathrm{ZS}, \mathrm{ZN}$ : ta kot' (pine; "or with $\underline{q}$ [mng. of $\underline{q}$ ?]) mu-mu-yvi-č t+koht (plenm.: where the pine tree was shot, on old trail to Santa Barbara). R: mumujvat fr takoht (planm.; means where they shot the pine tree; the tree is over by mountain visible northeast from jiwahonmu [Mt. Pinos (Blackburn 1975: 345], on old trail to Santa Barbara which went up San Emigdio Canyon)
tikwaka - shade, VT?
t $\ddagger$ kwaka-yow (V: take shade ['shade' + yow 'grab'?]). H: tokwaca? jaw (take shade); amo nitokwokejom (descansar [rest; apparently means 'now I rest there in shade'; a m a
error for ? om ay 'now'? -jam error for -jaw?]); R: tokwokahjow (go over and sit down in the shade) t $\ddagger \mathrm{kwaka}$-ya-icip (imp.: shade me). H: tokwakajastsip (shade mel)
tikwak a-i (shadow, shade, N, poss.). H: takwakaj, takwaxaj (shadow, sombrillo [sunshade]); át ákwakajp (cradle-hood); mótokwake (ramada, when you are sunning yourself [sic] in the ramada); R: maphir aiokwakaj (the shadow of the oak); takwakaj, tokwakaj (shadow, shade) [this passive nom. suggests an underlying single-stem verb]; M: ăh-too'-kwah-ki (sunshine [sic]); ah-too'-kwah-ki (shade) t $\ddagger$ kwak a-i-c (pass. nom.: shade house). ZS, ZN : tákwakayc (shade house; described in ZN ; people lived in here during summer rather than in tule house)
tih-t $\ddagger \mathrm{kw}$ waip-hea-vea (plonm. in El Monte, at the foot of the mountain; means where people find shade). R: tahtakwakaphjavea, ta'tokwakaphjavea
t $\ddagger \mathrm{kw}$ iš - mortar, N. H: tákwiṣ, tokwif, tákwif (mortar--small, as in house; basket mortar); takwifrt apahup (pestle [apparently a constituency abs. on 'mọtar']); ZN: t ákwiš (portable stone mortar)
t $\ddagger \mathrm{kwiš}$ (poss.? [perh. hypothetical form suggested by Harrington]). H: pưhjot otókwis (roadrunner's mortar; doesn't know name and location); R: puhjot áfo kwifr (roadrunner's mortar; only Fustero has known this name)
tikw-k — shake, VT. H: Łə kw k
tikw-mat (fut.). H: tokwmat
ti kwki (imp.). H: takwki
[cf tákoakam 'the Pleiades'?]
t+ltiya - tortilla, N. H: tá ttija
[< Span. "tortilla"; cf. also tirtiyos 'tortilla']
$\mathbf{t} \ddagger \mathrm{m}, \mathrm{t} \dot{\mathrm{q}} \mathrm{hmeo}$ - same as, similar to (grammatical category unclear; described in chapter IV, section K) (complement is in abs.). H : tom kutsip (he looks like a dog); tom nop (he resembles me); tom auvap tom nop (his face-eyes-resembles me); wirapki tom haminat nehe mahju (leave the door as you found-saw-it); naw tom (it's not the same); auvap moqk, tom kinut fr (he has blue eyes, he looks like a fish); tom monmonkik (it is like hillocks); tam nipujtsu? (I began it [mng. here?]); tomopp (it's the same); tohmea-vup (it was the same); tohmat appe a (it's going to be the same); tom tojt (he looks like a diablo [devil]); tampitsr (describes flower of cotton plant [app. = 'like down']); patuqtup putsuk, tom akapmkip (he's dancing fast, like a crazy man); tohmea opar (he looks like his brother); tom patap mea apar (he resembles his brother); tsahakaptam (parece [it seems so]); R: jovopk ivip gatap, tom tut fr (this cat is black, like charcoal); patapap tam (it's the same); tahmea apar (he looks like his brother); tam patapmea apar (he resembles his brother)
timamik - west? north? H: wir ark nikat fr tamamik (I am facing the west); wirark nikat fr kitamik (I am facing the east); támamik, tómamik ( $=$ V. mifimot $=$ north (points))
timaw - awaken, V (used both transitively and intransitively). H: tomow (awaken, VI); nimi tomanik ivip (I am going to go to wake him up [w vs. Vn sequence not understood; cf. also transitive gloss in fut.]); otamawvan kokaw oat (the rooster woke me up); R: tamaw, tomiaw (awake [same in fut. and past]) timaw-mat (fut.). H: nitomawmat ivi? (I am going to wake this one up)
$t$ imo-t-icip (with $Q+2-1$ clitic: will you wake me up). H,R: matamatutsip uveahpea (wake me up tomorrow, imp. [but apparently fut., not a formal imp.])[loss of $\underline{w}$ again not understood]
time a p - drive cattle on a horse, as cowboys do, V. H: tame a ?
timino-č - antelope, N. R: t ámenat $\int r$ (antelope; eaten by Kit.) timina-m (plu.). R: tómanam
timina-mu-yik (toward the antelope shooting?). R: pajok wirayk nipok tomonamojik (estoy arostado [arrostrado?] con mi cabeza volteado para el norte [I'm facing with my head turned toward the north'; is north where the antelope were shot?])
pa-poh-yijk timina-č (plenm.: a mountain near Chanaco Canyon, opposite Tejón ranchería). R: apoqjak təməənət $\int \mathrm{r}$ (plenm.: mountain on Caliente-ward side of Chanaco canyon, opposite Tej[ón] r[anchería], upstream from Pejtsivea)
timí-t — stone, rock, N. H: tamət, támət; tamət ivip, tamət patap (es piedra [it's a stone]); təmətuvup, *təmətivə (it was a stone); ivip tomət (this rock); patap tomət (that [proximal] rock); amap tamət (that [distal] rock); nihəneap tamawat tamat (l stepped on a sharp stone [NB: no obj. marking on 'sharp stone']); kiwa $\int$ təmət, wikihwat tomət (clay pipe); nəp nihju atəPa tomət (I saw a big stone [NB no obj. marking]); R: atəPa tomət (big stone, obj. ); tamət; puhtseaptfr tamot ([you plu.] take care of the rock!); ZS,ZN: támət (rock); M: toŏ-mut, tŭ'-mut (rock); too'-mut at'-too-mah, tŭ-mut-ah-tŭ-ah (big rock); too-mut an'-noŏ-wusse, ah-noo'-se-tŭ-mut (small rock (stone)); K: dü muu t (rock)
ti-titmitt, tiq-timit-t (redup.). H: totomot (plu., incl. pebbles, also means pedregal [rocky place]); to ¡omam (plu.); ivip tołomət (these rocks); patap tótamət (those [proximal] rocks); amap tə ${ }^{2}$ อmət (those [distal] rocks); iməj tətəmət (these stones, obj. [NB obj. marking on demon. only]); nə ?
 patfruipm tojomət (the rocks are wet); atahtopa tołomət
(big stones, obj.); puhtseaptsr tafomat ([you plu.] take care of the rocks!); M: too'-tă-mut, tư'-tưّ-mut (rocky) $t \ddagger m+-t-a y$ (obj.). H: tomotay; ivip tamataj ([this] stone, obj.); R: tamat aj
t+itimitt-ay (obj., plu.). R: imoj tatamətaj (these stones, obj.)
Pa-havip t+mq-t (said of moss on rocks [rock's blanket]). H:
áhava? tambt (said of green moss on rocks: 'rock's fresada' [frezada 'blanket'])
timit-mea (accomp.). H: toməmea
t $\ddagger \mathrm{m} \ddagger+\mathrm{t}$ pošan-i-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (plenm.: Castro [painted rock]). H: tomot
ofranijok; tamət ofranijok (La Piedra Pintada [Painted
Rock]; between Elizabeth Lake and the Ojo de la Vaca;
Magd. says $=$ Castro)
$\mathrm{t} \ddagger \mathrm{m} \ddagger \mathrm{t}$ parokoyta-vea (plenm. a spring in arroyo between
Pastoria and Grapevine Canyons [stone with certain surface feature]). H: tamot parokojt ave a (means stone with lid on; water comes out of the crack; [in] arroyo between the Pastoria and Cañada de las Uvas); tomot parokopjvea (Rancho Viejo [old ranch] between Pastoria and Las Uvas [Grapevine town or canyon]; where the ostriches are now; means hollowed out rock, hollowed so it will catch rain water)
nanačun-ihwap-t timitt (plenm.: a special stone used to predict someone's lifespan). H: n on $\begin{gathered}\text { trunihw at tamot }\end{gathered}$ (plcnm.: a flat topped stone beneath an oak tree); nanat [runihwapt tamat (measuring stone; stands upright below an oak on west side of the arroyo just below the second ford below the Fortin; if I am tall and I am below level, or if I am short and my head is above level, I will die soon)
 for Quail Lake, from 'rock'; = V. koqəp); nəp takat taməjək, nəP tak ot təməjək, nə? táməjəkaj (I am a Quail Lake person); taməjək (app. = Quail Lake; = V. kaqəp)
timi-yik-kapy (tribename: person from timityik). H: nop takot toməjək, nəp takat təməjək, nəp tóməjəkaj (I am a Quail Lake person)
tī-timí-yik (a plenm., probably hypothetical). H: tətəməjək (the pedregal [rocky place] below Juan Lozada's house where split rock is might be called thus)
timitt patipo (plenm. [or perh. not a real plenm.?]: the big rock above Eugenia's house). H: tamət ofo Pa (place where the big rock is above Eug.'s house; can get no loc.)
timk - shut, lock, plug up, V. H,R: təmk; M: tum'pk, toom-ke (shut)
timkip (imp.). H: tomkiP (close it!)
timk (Adj.: shut). H: təmk nifrit fro (I have my mouth shut); R: tomk (shut, adj.)
timkith (irreg. nom.: lid, door). H: tamkət (lid); tamkət, ołəmкəP (door leaf); R: təmkət (stopper-tapadera-general term); M: ah-tum'-ko (top) timkit-t-ay (nom., obj.). H: tamkataj (lid, obj.); apopŋpopŋk tamkətay (he is rapping on the door)
timkip (poss. nom.). H: atəmkap, atamkapa (general term for tapadera [cover, lid]); aโəmkə? nihun (lid of my heart [mng.?]); təmkət, ałəmkə? (door leaf); təmkə (tapadera [stopper]-general term [poss.])
timkitč-ay (nom., poss., obj.). H: atamkotfroj (its lid, obj.); məそəmkət fraj (your lid, obj.) [apparently refers to a body part, same as ?atimkinivono? mihikow 'your glottis?'; note change of abs. suffix from $\pm$ to $\check{\varepsilon}$ in poss. obj. form]
tith-tim'sí-č-ay (poss. redup. nom., obj.). H: mofohtamkač ay (your lids, obj.)
timki-m (nom., plu.). H: tamkom (lids)
timk-in-ihwap-t (inst. nom.: key). H,R: tomkininwapt

Pa-t fmk-ivanap mo-hikaw (poss. nom. phrase: the lid of your breath [glottis?]). H: at amkivanop mohikaw (the lid of your breath-not a real bodypart term)
Pa-timk-in-i-yik (plenm.). R: atəmkinijak (Jam. [Kit.] plenm.); atəmkinijok (plenm. on El Paso creek; means arroyo zig-zags there [perh. stopping up the flow somewhat; thus the name]); ZS,ZN: atomkiniwoyak (Coyote's home in Ranch Creek Canyon [Ranch Creek' and 'EI Paso Creek' are the same stream; today it is sometimes called 'House Creek', because of the ranch headquarters there])
[cf. tihmik 'be afraid,be constipated'? cf. tu?mik 'be quiet'?]
tim(-)ki-c - big cave. H: tómkitṣ (big cave; = V. mup); JW: Tumkitc (name of a burial cave) tīh-t+m(-)ki-c (redup.). H: tahtam kitṣ, táhtom kitṣ (plu.) $t \ddagger m(-) k i-y+k$ (plenm.: a spring). H: tómkijok (plenm. of a spring; means rock cave [but if compound, irregular]); R: tamkijok (a big cave like a house on trail from wowopztsr to La Liebre)
tұmuhivan - be envious of, VT. H: tamuhivanəvan (be envious of $\mathrm{me})$
nah-t $\ddagger$ muhivan-ipa-č (agt. nom.: an envious person). H : nahtamuhivanipat $\int \mathrm{r}$
[cf. timur 'irritate'?]
timuka - day before yesterday, Adv. H: t timuka, tumuko R: tumuko
timupi-c - heel, N. H: tomupit s
timupip (poss.). H: təmupi ?
timupi-c-ay (poss. obj.). H: tamupitsaj
t $\ddagger$ mur－irritate，V．H： $\mathfrak{\text { to mur（ }}$（dar asco［cause someone nausea， loathesomeness，fear？］）
［cf．timuhivon＇be envious＇？］
t $\ddagger$ mw at－soot or residue from fire，$N$ ．$H, R$ ：tomunat，tamwat（hollin ［soot，residue from fire］；＂so called because produced by the smoke＂）
［apparently $=$ ta $\left[{ }^{[' r o c k ']}+\right.$ mwat ＇smoke＇］
 ［formed into puddles］）
t $\ddagger$ PD－K（VT：strain，put through a colander，drive in a stake or nail）．$H$ ：tə Pクk；H，R：tə Pクk，təPクtəpŋk（drive in a stake or nail）；R：təPŋk（strain）
$t+P \eta-t+P \eta-k$（stem redup．：drive in a nail）．H，R：təpgk， topgtaphk（drive in a stake or nail）
$t+P \eta-k-i n-i v a n a P$（poss．inst．nom．：strainer，colander）．$H, R$ ： təpクinivaña？
tłpク－ap（Adj．：deep（said of water or canyon））．H：tánap， taja；M：toong＇－ah，toong－ah（deep）
tinen ？－straighten arrows，v．？
tinen－ihwap－t（arrow－straightening stone，inst．nom．）．$H$ ：
 tว่クロعnhihw ot（arrow straighteners）；JW：tunganihuat （arrow straightener stone）
titpaka ？－shade？M：ah－too＇－pah－kă（shade）
tipuck－thick，Adj．（said of a board）．H：toputsk，toputsk；M：teh－ poot＇s＇k（thick［by measure］）；tup－pusk＇（thick［like mush］）
titpui－play peon，V．H：topuj，topwip，Io puipi［note inconsistency of glide formation；suggests this is a borrowing］
ca－t tipwi－č（hort．）．H：ts atepwits（let＇s play peón），ts at apuj （let＇s play peon；we play peón）

Pa-t $\ddagger$ pu-i ? (nom.: peón game). H: atepwi t $\ddagger$ pui-n-i-c (peón game). H: təpujnits (peón game; NB n)
tipui-n-i-c ? [cf. above entry?]. M: tŭ-poi-nits (poker)
tirtiy a P — tortilla, $N$.
tiftiya-t-ay (obj.). H,R: tartijaptaj, tertijataj, tartijaptaj
[cf. tilltiyo 'tortilla'; both forms are < Span. "tortilla"]
tišait - stone of a certain type, from the coast; whitish or like blue granite ware; has medicinal powers, protects home from winds and rains. H: tos aət
tišyit — [mng. unclear: 'dew'?]. H: pamafjat tasjat (dew, low dew)
t $\ddagger$ Puh - count, V. H,R: topur
t $\ddagger$ Puh (imp.). H,R: tapur (count itt); t $\mathfrak{F}$ puham (count theml [?])
t+pur-mat (fut.). R: topurmat
t+puh-ea? [construction not clear]. H,R: uvea nimapj nitapthi (I finished counting); uvea amapjkip afo pthea (s/he already finished counting); at aptheovaj uveo amopjkip (that count is already finished)
t + ? ? $\mathrm{h}-\mathrm{i}-\mathrm{c}$ (pass. nom.: a counting cycle). ZS,ZN: háw kup to Puhic (one hundred-"counts one")
[NB: $h \rightarrow r$ before clitic, but not before suffixes]
tiva-č - land, earth, ground, year, world, N. H: távatģ, távasf,


tævahts; ákəmóniva tsaß̣pa tóvatr (God made the world
[made-by-him-our-god the-world]); okururupj tavihtsr (there is
an earthquake); pahpappip akotjr tovat fr (the worlds are stacked on top of each other); a jop tovohtfr (the campo [field or countryside] is in bloom); avopjak tovat fr, avopjok tovatfr (the earth quakes); owirahrak táwotr (the sun goes back-to east
[literally, 'the earth goes back']); pániw tóvofr táfoveram ("ई [of
tf] evidently slurred out here"; the land of the Pujadores [Tataviam]); R: ajuafrok tovat fr (the ground is wet); ZS: to vahč (dirt); ZN: to vas avóyuk (earthquake [the earth shakes]); M: toowas (tŭ-was), tu-bats, tu-vats (earth (ground)); ah-wn'-yuk to'was, ah-wo-yuk tu-vaht (an earthquake); K: düv atc (land, earth)
tiva-č-ay (obj.). H: təvaht fraj; popapajzon tovaht fraj (they are praying to God-said of custom of ancient men to repeat prayers when you do not know what it means); komaki łovahtraj (él hizo la tierra [he made the earth] and the sky too [this construction not understood-does not look like a sentence]); puju tovat $\int$ raj, puju ivi tovat $\int r^{2}$ aj (the whole world [all the world; NB obj. on 'world']); R: tovahtfraj, tzvahtfraj (world, obj.)
t¥va (poss.). H: Zova (pass. [also indirect poss. with -niw]) tiva-vea (loc.). H: nifãatzahova (I'm looking for it on the ground)
hiwač tíve-č (next or last [another] year). H: howasr t3v ot $\int \mathrm{r}$ (next year), hów ot $\int \mathrm{ft} \mathrm{\rho}(\mathrm{P})$ vat fr (last year);
małakim hə́wat $\mathrm{f}_{\mathrm{s}}$ tə́vahtsr (next year [position of clitic not understood-perhaps a sentence fragment?]); R: howasr tevat $\int r$ (next year, the other year); M: how-was-tŭ-was, hŭ-was-tŭ-was (last year)
Pamayt tiva-č (new year). H: amajt tovatsr
Pa-hw-i-vł tívo-č (plenm.: a big white mountain-or two-beyond Bakersfield, known for kw $\ddagger$ noč crystal ['that-burned-before mountain']). H: aqwipva twahtsr; R: tovatjr
aqwive (name of two peaks of the range back of Bakersfield, covered with snow)
huna-vea pa-č-ay (island [in the middle of the water; NB obj. on 'water']). H: húnave pót froj tóvatr
Pa-mi tqva-č (next year). M: am-mi-tŭ-bas, am-mi-e-ve tŭvatch (this year)
[NB: if this is phonemicized correctly here, omitting the inconsistently present $h$, then $t \ddagger v a c ̌$ 'earth' and $t \mp v a t$ 'piñon' are minimal pair differing only in abs. suffix]
tíva-t - piñon, N. H: tavat, távat; apoh añ? távat (piñon gum); muits tovat (piñon pinole); tovat manits (toasted piñon); ZS : təvát' (piñon); wa'r təvat' (plu.); ZN: təvát' (piñones; roasted in cones in fire, sometimes pounded); $M$ : too'-baht, (pinyon or pine nut); tü-vaht,to-vah'-aht (pine nut (of Pinus monophylla))
tiva-t-ay (obj.). ZS: távatay
tiva? (poss. obj.). ZS: Za•ve?
tiva-pea (loc.: August, when piñones ripen). H: tovapa ?
poht tiva-yik (dir. phrase: Milky Way [path to the piñones]).
H: poht távajək (Milky Way; means path to the piñones)
tiva-ŋ (plonm.: a sierra). H: tavan (a sierra this side of Los Osos; = V. fipofpof; both names mean piñon); R: təvan (a mountain betwoen Tejón r[ancheria] and tomkijak; means piñon mountain); ZS: tov ̂́n (mountain at Five Springs, E. of Lebec, at SW corner of tract named Tehachapi Mountains); ZN: tovaŋ, tován (mountain at Five Springs, 4-5 mi. E of Lebec; has piñon and juniper on it, in story)
tivo-pea-tam (tribename: Tübatulabal). H: tovape at am, tovape alam, tovapi at am (tribe name; the R.C. [Rio
Chiquito-i.e. Tübatulabal] tribe; tov atulaben tribe_piñon eaters; the kind of people whose language Juan Lozada's wife talks, V. Pipat?apfipo(pof); R: tovape at am (Töpa ptulapal person; Rio Chiquito Indian); ZN: tכvapjá'tam (Tubat. language [sic])
[perh. a minimal pair with tịyoč 'earth']
tifyi-č - lime, N. H: tovit $\int \mathrm{r}$ (cal [lime]; for painting grave poles with white stripes)
t $\ddagger$ vi-y $+k$ (plcnm.: Old Town of Tehachapi; also a second place on the Tejon Ranch). H: távijok, tæijak (Old Town, Pueblo Viejo, 3 miles below Tehachapi depot; means 'lime'); R: tovijok (no.1: plenm. a short distance below the Cowboy camp; had white earth; = Span. Los Cordovas; no. 2: plonm. somewhere by tehit frpea, Magd[alena] says = Tehachapi Old Town)
tivi-t - a certain type of dancer, N. H: tóvit (dancer; = V. Pelejewun)
tit-tivi-m (redup. plu.). H: tətə́vim (plu.)
tivih-tup (V: dance the Peleyewun dance). H: atoviqtup (ele jewu dance)
[NB: if this entry correctly phonemicized without the $h$, then tívit 'certain type of dancer' and tívič 'lime' are a minimal pair differing only in abs. suffix]
t $\ddagger$ vopi-t - animal (perh. mammal), meat, $\mathrm{N} . \mathrm{H}:$ tavopjt, távopjt (meat; all animals; [there is] no word for all birds; "open 0-p");
M: ahwah'-ke tŭ-voit (dried meat); tư-voit (meat)

$t \ddagger$ vušip - nightshade plant, Span. "chichiquelite": Solanum Douglasii Dunal.; boiled and fried as food; juice used in tattooing. H: tóvufipi (nightshade plant sp.; nesc.
"chichiquelite"; they boiled and fried it); ZS: tóvoši (plant sp., juice of which used in tattooing); ZN: tóvo'ši, tavo'si, tavưsi (plant sp.: Solanum Douglasii Dunal.; juice of leaves used with charcoal from še $\Phi$ oak in tattooing; the needle was a thorn from a cactus sp .)
tiw - name someone, VT. H, R: taw
t $\ddagger$ w-mot (fut.). R: towmat
tiw-an-e a (VI: be named something). H: ₹owarea; haminat
mołow orea (what's your name?); R: tow ore a (be named); qwan nitaw ahe a (my name is Juan)
t $\ddagger$ wapea ? - eleven. K: döwapi

("diablo", spirit person from the land of the dead); $t$ sit, táit (the devil [there follows a discussion of pictograph taboos]); M: tooèt, tư-बt (the Devil or bad spirit)
t+tity-m (plu.). H: tatajm, tołaim (plu.: diabius-people that have died); tółojm nofn't am (the old women enterradoras [the ones who did the burying], an office handed down from mother to daughter-only women carried a corpse); tátájim (old women who do the burying; means 'diablas' [here, this apparently means spirits or dead people rather than 'shedevils'])
tify-t-ay (obj.). H: tajtaj; nihju tajtaj pahavitaj (I saw a ghost)
tify (poss.). H: nitajipi nə pa ("mi diablo" [my devil? my ghost?]); atái (ghost; < táit' 'devil'); atu Patái ([big?] ghost); atai (his ghost; death to those who see one)

t+y-pea (loc.: land of the dead). H: tajpea, tájpea, tájpea tajtpe a [sic: t] (land of dead; hell; across many seas); (ha) taj-t (interj.: "bad word": you're a diablol "first part just a growl"); tojt matsuprip (your grandmother's a diablo [ghost?]-said when angry); meakor tajt apits (pero es diablo que llegó ['but it's a devil that arrived'? 'but it's a problem that he arrived'?])
tify-t pa-kumap (foadstool [devil's hat]). H: tajt okumopo
$t \ddagger y-k+m-a n-i-c$ (compound with pass. nom. of 'make': Yokuts wardance). H: tojkamanits (Tul. [Yokuts] wardance; devils dancing-3 or 5 nights)
ty-t Pa -po (the devil's road). H: tajt apo (the devil's road; Cv Po4t(ineqkuhut (Pif?alijof)
tiy-t pa-pok-pea (the devil's road). H: tajt apokpea (name of hill where old road to Rose Station descended to take the plain; = Span. "Camino del Diablo")
tiy-t pa-pacap pamea (name of the old woman in story who has a basket on her back full of hot tar to throw people into). H: tajt apatsapamen

$t+y(-) k u r$ - the ring around sun or moon. H: tájkur (the ring around sun or moon-the real old word)
 was frost last night)
$t \ddagger(-) y u-a-t$ (frost). H: tajuat
top-č - belly, N. H: toptfr (panza [belly]); Zs: to c (stomach, plu. [sic])
to $\mathrm{P}-\mathrm{m}$ (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
top (poss.). H: top, topo, zo p (poss.: gizzard, belly); ZN: t•0, t'J (stomach, poss.); K: a-tò ([his/her] belly)
top-č-ay, top-y (poss. obj.). H: Łopt fraj, toptfraj [NB と̌ pseudo-absolutive (cf. chapter IV, section C]; $\mathfrak{I o}$ P j top-pea (poss. loc.). H: potoppea (in his belly)
to p-wi-t (aug.: big-bellied person). H: topwot (panzón [bigbellied])
to ${ }^{-w i-m}$ (aug. plu.). H: "plu. -m"
top-kapy (char.: pregnant). H: topkopj, topkapj ((she is) pregnant); topkopj no, nop tokopj (I am pregnant); tokat, toxat (pregnant; another entry says there is no such word in - 1 )
Pa-top-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (plenm.: La Panza [belly]). R: atopjok.
točip - snore, VI. R: lot frap; uvea atot fip (he's already snoring) [vowel discrepancy unexplained]
točip-mat (fut.). R: tot fipmot
točip-vup (past). R: tot fripvup, tot frepvup
tohiyicin - play chilecote, V. H: toqi(j)itsin [Harrington's parentheses], toqijitsin toqijitsin (play chilecote; this is a game similar to marbles; "an F. word"); motoqjisin ihajts (you play the chilecote game)
tohiyicin-ik? (inf.). H: cami toqifinik (let's play chilecote game)
tohiyicin-ihwap-t (inst. nom.: pieces used to play chilecote). H: toqijitsinihwapt (things played with)
tohop - foolish, Adj. H: toqop, tóqop; toqop ahunwip, tóqop ahunwip (he stutters [talks foolish]); akam toqo? (he makes a fool of him; e.g. says oliosme [mng.?] instead of puthewu [mng.?] and thus makes a fool of the Mexican)
tohvik - spit on, spit up, VT. H: togovak, tohovak (spit, spit up, V); atoqovakavan naj (he spit on me)
tohvik-mat (fut.). H: tovakmat
tohvk (imp.). H: toyk
tohvki-č (imp. plu.). H: toykit fr (imp. plu. [NB i; this verb unique in having this inconsistency between sg. and plu. imp.; transcription error?])
tohvk-i-vi-č (pass. nom., with dec.: what's spit). H: toykivat s $r$
tohvk-i-vt-m (plu.). H: toykivam
toic - tule sp.: a wide cattail with black ear on top; its yellow flour was eaten raw or made into bread. H: tóitṣ, tójitṣ, tojts (cattail; wide tule with black ear on top; got yellow flour to eat
raw or make into bread from ear; flour is called hépetfr); ZN : to 'ič (water flag; used for roofing, sewn together side by side; also has edible root)
to piš-pea - plenm. of an arroyo full of hiedra [poison oak?], which the name mentions, running east beyond Caliente. H: tópifpe; R: topifrpea (arroyo beyond Caliente; means hiedra [poison oak?]); VF: too-ish pai, too-ich-pai (rancheria 2 mi . west of Tejón ranch)
tokiya - tribename: Ventureño Chumash of Tejón. H: tókijo (all V. here are called thus); tok ijo (what the Tej[oneños] call the coast people; equiv[alent] of Kit. kafanihuntom and Dakwinipeatom)
[may not be Kit.]
tokit — plant sp.: islaya, the California wild plum. H: to kit, toxit (islaya-the California wild plum; this is the name of the red, sweet, plum-like fruit of kupioht)
toko ? - skin, N. M: ne-to 'ko ([my] skin)
tokoko, tukuku - tarantula, N. H: tưkuku, tókoko (tarantula; it is a panavit)
tukuk-yom (plu.). H: tưkuk jam (plu. [length marke seem unlikely-perh. done for affect])
tokšivat - flint, N. H: tok fivat, tókfivat, toksrivat (flint tip of arrow, or flint used to lance patient to suck out blood in cure); ZN: tok-sivvot (the stone for arrowhead, chipped from red, white, or blue stone); tok-šévat ("making fire by stone striking" [apparently $=$ flint]); M: tok-se'-vat (flint)
tomate P - tomato, N. H: tomate P , tomate?
[< Span. "tomate"]

## tonavar - hot season [cf. tunavar]

to popan - plenm. of a mountain. H: topóp an (those who talk language of Juan Olivos call [it] ?epnow [a mountain (J. Johnson, p.c.)] "most imp[ortan]t")
torop - bull, N. H: torop
toro-c - navel, N. H: torots
toro-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
toro (poss.). H: foro
toro-m (poss. plu.). H: "plu. -m"
toro-y (poss. obj.). H: toroj; nigat jrk ajatoroj (I cut his navelcord)
tošololo - plenm.: Frazier Mountain. H: tó 001010 (big range over near ?opnow [recorded in one place as if it were a Kit. word, this word is also listed thus: V. to fololo-a big mountain facing el Fortín = Kit. Kówitsat\|)
[< VCh. tošololo (Applegate 1974: 198)]
towi-c ? - white paint, N. M: Tuh'weets
towi-pea (plcnm. near Monolith). ZS: to wipa (village site, app[roximately] 2 mi. E. of John Marcus' place at Monolith); ZN: to wipe
tuah-ik - walk, VI.
tuah+k-mat (fut.). H,R: tuaqəkmat (walk, fut.) tuah-tuah-ik (redup.). H,R: tuaqtuaqak
tu(-)č - charcoal, N. H: tutsr; R: tutsr, tut fr (coal-dead or alive); ZN: tu'č (charcoal (burnt wood)); M: toot'r, too-tr (live coals or embers); K: dùut (coal)
tuh-tut fr (redup.). H: tưhtut $\int \mathrm{r}$ (plu.)
[cf. tuhut tuhuč 'black paint']
tuč - grow up, VI. H: tut fr, iut fr; R: tut $\int \mathrm{r}$ (grow, of child or plant); náwhrm atut fr (s/he is still growing); naw uvea ótut jr (s/he's no longer still growing)

```
        tučap (VT: raise a child). H: tutsrap
```

        tučap-mot (fut.). H: tut frapmotum (raise you, fut.)
        tuč-in-i-t (pass. nom.: older child). H: tut frinit (an older boy)
        tuč-in-i-m (plu.). H: tut frinim
        tuč-in-i-t-ay (obj.). H: tut frifitaj
        tuh-tuč-in-i-m (pass. nom. redup. plu.). H: uvea tuhtutfinim
        tuč-in-i (part.). H: uvea atut frinip, uvea afutfrifi (he is
            already big, a big child); M: ut-too'-chen-ne (little boy (4
                to 12 yr .))
    tuh - grind, bother, VT. H: waravkavan attr (he is bothering me a lot); R: tur, tur, far (grind); at travan (he's bothering me-said in anger)
tuh-mot (fut.). H,R: turmot (grind, fut.)
tuh-uvup (past). R: trruvu?
tuh (imp.). R: tur
tuh-ič (imp. plu.). R: the ats [this form violates the usual $h \sim$ $r$ rule of $h \rightarrow r /$ word-finally and before clitic boundary]
tuh-i-c (pass. nom.). R: uvea tuhits; thuts (it's already ground [second form an error?])
tuh-i-vi-č (pass. nom. w/dec.). R: mokon patop thivat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (give me what's already ground)
tuh-inwap-t (inst. nom.: metate). H: tuhiwhat; R: thiwhwapt (mill; metate [grinding stone]; "? before the I is o.k., I think. Noticed it in another word but did not write") tuh-inwap-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (plonm., where the old flour mill was just above El Paso store ['mill'+ 'loc.']). R: thihwapjok

```
tuhtup - dance, gen., V. H: tuhtup, tuqtup (dance any
    dance-general term); R: tuhtup (dance); K: ni-duxdu ([I] dance)
        tuhtup-mat (fut.). H,R: tuqtupmat
        tuhtup-vup (past). H: tuqtupvopo; R: tuhtupvup
        tuhtup (imp.). R: tuhtup oməp (dancel); tuhtup om (imp.
            plu.-dance ye [sic: no imp. plu. clitic]
        ca-tuhtup-č (hort.). H: ts atuhtuptsr (let's dance)
        tuhtuh-yi-t (someone who dances a lot). H: tuhtuhjat;
        tuhtujhot (a dancer [sic]); R: ivip tuhtuphust (the man is a
        dancer); ivip tuhtuphjot (this man is a dancer); \(M\) : to'-to-
        he-öt, tooch-to-hü-et (dancer)
    Pa-tuhtup (-ap) hunaət (gen. nom. phrase: bear dance). H :
        atuhtup hunart, otuqtuap húnat; R: tsamimat tuhtupjok
        (we're gonna go to the dance)
        tuhtup-i (obj. comp.). H: apujtsup atuhtupj (he began to
        dance); amapj naw nimirin nituhtupj (now I can't dance)
        tuhtup-i-c (pass. nom.: dance). H: kamkitsaj tuqtuits (last
        dance at wakatr Sunday night); tuqqujts (any dance); \(M\) : to'-
        to-its, tuch-too-its (a dance)
        tuhtup-ik (inf.). R: tuhtupjk
        tuhtup-yik (dir.). R: ts amimat tuhtupjok (vamos ir al baile
        [let's go to the dance; NB: dir. suffix on verb?]
        tuhtup-hea-vea (loc.: dancing place). R: tuhtuphjavea
        tuhtup-n-in (caus.). R: nituhutupnin nimohoj (I dance my doll)
        tuhtup-n-in-uvup (caus., past). R: nituhtupninova nimohamə
        (I'm going to dance my dolls)
    tuhtup-n-i (imp., causative). R: tuhtupnin (make it dance,
        imp.)
```

tuhtutur - play, $V$ (person played with may appear in sentence in -yik 'dir.'). H: tuqtutup; naw hamitsam atuqtutup (I am playing alone [structure not understood: 'neg. someone-plu.? s/he plays']); R: tuhtutup, tuqtutup (play); now hamitsan otuqtutup (I'm playing alone-without playmate [note change from H : transcription; but suffix/clitic still unfamiliar])
co-tuhtutup (hort. [unusual: no imp. plu. clitic]). H: tsatuhtutup hunest (let's play bear [tag]!)
tuhtutup-ihun (des.). R: tuhtutup jhen
tuhtutup-op (poss. gen. nominal). H: tuqtutupap
tuhtutup-ipa-č (agt. nom.: playful person). H: tuqtutupipat.fr
tuhup - a man who lives like a woman, N. H: tuqup, tưqup, tuhup (an effeminate man; a man who sews, gathers seeds with old women, dresses like a woman; joto [effeminate; but evidently here behavior as well as dress is cross-gender]; "it is curious-in Fern. tuqu? = old woman and in Kit. it means joto"); ZN: tưhu (transvestite)
tuh-tuhup-yam (redup. plu.). H: tuqtuqupjam
[cf. toho 'foolish'?; < Fern. (plural suffix confirms it as borrowed]
tuhuna - plenm.: Tujunga. H: tuquige (plenm.; lots of fleas under the rocks; = Fern. name [apparently < 'old woman'; cf. tuhu? entry, above ${ }^{10}$ ]); $M$ : tah-hun'-gah (in Tongva territory; his tribe here also; plenm.: Cahuenga)

> tuhut, tuhuč - black paint, N. H: tưhut, tuhut, túhut fr (black paint, bluish and shiny, made from the pitchy soot of burnt piñon wood, mixed with tutano ["tuétano" is 'marrow'] of deer [another entry says not mixed with tutano])
> [perh. related etymologically to tuč 'charcoal']

tuip -try, $V$ (no overt objects, but glosses of 'try it'). H: \{uip tuipn (imp.). H: tuipn

[^57]tuk - carry load on back, V. H: tuk (carry load on lomo [loin, back]);
R: tuk (llevar a manche [to carry on back?])
tuk (imp.). R: tuk
tuk - yesterday, Adv. H: tuk; putsuk nehe akapmak, tuk nehe akapmok putsuk (he got very drunk [yesterday]); R: tuk ne nimi (I went yesterday); tuk ne nipitfr (I arrived yesterday); M: took; K: duk
tuka, Potuka - at night, last night, Adv., N. H: tưko (last night); tuka nimm (yo ando de noche [I walk or go around at night]); pánəm tuka (they andan de noche-like the drunks here); tika nomipat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (a girl that anda de noche [night walker'-prostitute?]; nikw zt frok tuk a (I got up in the night); a ¡o jutuka (it was frost last night); ivip ofuka (tonight); uvezúp ka (it's already night); numuwatsr atuka? (noche buena [Christmas eve]); R: tcka, túka, tuke (at night); ZN: tu•ka (night); M: ah-too'-kah (dark); ah-too'-kah, too'-kah (night); ah-mi tokah, to"-kah (tonight)
tuka-y (obj.). H: hthavea tukaj, hthovea afupkaj (midnight)
tukavi-pea - in the morning, Adv. H: tikavepea, tikavipe a; tukavipe a (the time when the sun hasn't come out yet; the morning before the sun rises); uveamat nimi tuk avipe a (voy ir a madrugar [I'm going to get up early]); R: tukovipe a, t tuavēpea; M: too'-kah-vip'-pe-ah, too'-kah-v ${ }^{\prime}$-pe-ah' (morning); too'-kah-vip'-pe-ah (sunrise)
tuke - oak sp. H: tuke (oak sp. that looks reddish on Teh. [Tehachapi?] mountain; has acorn, but not eaten)
tukuahp ač — bird sp.: mockingbird. H: tukuaqpatsr (bird sp: cinzonte ["sinsonte" 'mockingbird']; it is pardo [grey, brown, dark])
tukuču(-)wa-t - mountain lion. cf. tukut.
tukuhpe-č - bead (gen.); metal; sky, $\mathbf{N}$ [could root meaning be 'shiny'?]. H: tukuhpatsr, túkuqpats (general term for 'bead'; includes orkək, həpəpjt, kukukurita, tsakaqkik); tukuhpat fr (iron, metal); túkuhp at fr (sky); ZS: tukuhp ač (beads); ZN: túkuhp áč (beads); M: too-koo'-pahs (wampum); too-koo'-pas (necklace of shells); K: duguxbav i (sky)
tukuhpa-vea (loc.). ZS,ZN: tùkup óve (skyward)
tukuku, tokoko - tarantula, N. H: tukuku, tókoko (tarantula; it is a 2athavij
tukuk-yam (plu.). H: tukuk jam (plu. [length marks seem unlikely-perh. done for affect])
tukumušiva? - name of a star or constellation, perhaps the Big Dipper. H: tukumufivap, tukumufivapa, tikumufivap, tuxumusiva? (star or constellation; means the cradle; constellation at north, revolving around the north star [Big Dipper?]; Milky Way)
tuku-t, tukuču(-)wa-t ? - mountain lion [perh. plain stem is 'bobcat', and aug. 'mountian lion'?], N. H: tukkut, tukkut fruw at (mountain lion); tukúčuwat (mountain lion); ZN: tuk•vt (wildcat); tukǔčuwat (mountain lion); K: dugutcuvut (panther)
tuku-m, tukučuwa-m (plu.). H: tuķum, tukut fruwam tukučuwit pa-papo-vea (plenm.: Lion Spring). H: tukut frawat apapove
tukučupu-t pa-vea? (sealion). H: tưkutruput parve (lobo del mar [sea lion])
tukưvi-č - sea otter, N. H: tưkuvatfg (sea otter; "now extinct") tukuvi-m (plu.). H: tưkuyam tukuvi-č varvark (plenm.?). H: tukuvat fr varvark (means sea otter is hanging; $=[\mathrm{V}$ ] tsiw ojo, acc. to Magd[alena]); tukuvatsr várvark (refers to the hanging down of big cones from the pine trees; = V. $\frac{1 \text { siwajo }}{}$
tum - morpheme used with question words to construct indefinite expressions.
tum-hit (anything). H: tumhit (anything; any old thing) tum-hit-ay (anything, obj.). H: tumhitaj; tsamavi tumhitaj (Monday ['let's work']) tum-hamip (anybody). H: tumhamip; tummat hamip nimak (I'm going to give it to anybody [shows tim is a separate word to which clitic can attach]); M: toom-hah'-me (somebody)
tum-hami-y (anybody, obj.). H: tumhamij
tum-haminikit (anyway). H: tumhaminikit numuafr patsruk (he's a good man anyway-oven though he's tuerto [oneeyed or squint-eyed])
tumahan - difficult, Adj.; hard work, N. H: tum Zhan, Zum ahan
tupmik - be quiet, VI. R: tupmak
tupmk VT: make quiet). R: tupmk
tupm-mat (fut.). H: tupmmat [sic?]
tupmk-in-ik (inf.). R: tupmkinik
tupmk-uvup (past). R: tupmkuvu?
[cf. $1 \pm \mathrm{mk}$ 'shut, stop up'?]
tun - chase, VT. H: tun, tun; R: tun, tun (chase out)
tunin (imp.). $H, R$ : tun in (imp.: chase himl)
tunin-ič (imp. plu.). R: tuninat $f r$
tun-m ot (fut.). H : Zanm at
tun-uvu? (past). H: Zunuvu?
tunapmip-pea - plenm.: Buena Vista Lake. H: tuhepmippe (plenm.:
Buena Vista Lake, in the plain west of here; = Seb.'s language tulamni); R: tunamippea (Buena Vista Lake)
tunamip-yam (tribename: Buena Vista Lake Yokuts). R:
tuneinipjam (Buena Vista Lake Indian); ZN: tunami (tribe at Buena Vista Lake, who used boats); tunamijom (plu.)
tulámne (the Yokuts language). ZN: tulámne (the language [at
Buena Vista Lake-Yokuts]) [apparently a less assimilated version of this borrowed morpheme than the placename forms above]
[< Yokuts]
tunu-c - breast; chest, N. H: tunuts
tunu-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
tunup (poss.). H,R: Tuhip, Iunup, turup; M: ne-to', ah-too-no (chest)
tunup-č-ay (poss. obj.). H: Eunupt $\int$ raj
tunu-pea (loc.). H: Łunupe a (loc.; "'?' disappears here")
tupavap - hot season. H: túgavap (June; July; means very hot); tónavap (seed-picking time of year; acorns and all food is ripe); ZS,ZN: tónava (summer, August-November)
tunt - tree sp. H: tunt, tugt (tree sp.- the kind of wood used for digging sticks; grows in Tehachapi Mountains)
tur [cf. tuh]
turup ki-t - lazy, N. H: turtkit; ZS,ZN: turu'kit
tuh-turupki-m (plu.). H: tuhturup kim
tušip-pea - plenm.: a very big mountain beyond Bear Valley in Kitanemuk territory. H: tujipe; R: tufrippea (mountain which juts out toward the plain, called Sierra del Oso in Spanish)
tutut - plant sp.: Ephedra sp. H: tútut (plant sp.: cañutillo [mng.?]; good as tea when you are well); ZN: tútut (plant sp.: Ephedra sp.; tea good for kidneys, and as a non-medicinal beverage)
tuvi-t — plant sp.: a small shrub or grass with edible seeds. H:
twit (a grass with edible seeds larger than foxtail) tuvi-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (plenm.: Brite Valley; named after a small shrub). H: tuvijak (plenm.: Brite Valley; mentions a ramita [small shrub] 1 ' high) tuvi-pea (plenm.: Brite Valley). H: twipea (plenm.: Brite, from tuvit)
tuyciw tuyci-pea - [mng. unclear]. H: tujtsiw tsujtspe ("what haminats called Tej. No etym." [reference to Tejón? Tejon Yokuts?])
tyenda - store, N. H: wóvape tienda (La Tienda del Llano [the store on the plain] = Rose Station $=\mathrm{V}$. hepiftow ojak Pifpiwet(mu) tyenda-pea (loc.). H: tjendapea (at the store) tyenda-yak (dir.). H: tjendajak (to the store) [< Span. "tienda"]

Pup - take, grasp, V; also catch (a cold). H: Pup; okwokopupap (scalp of enemy, already cut off); R: Pup (accept something which is handed to you; grasp with hand); M: m'yow o-paht'r (go get water)

Pu-pu (redup.). H: Pupu?
Pup-hea (pass.). H: Puphea
pup-mat (fut.). H,R: Pupmat
PuP-uvuP (past). R: Pupuvup
PUP (imp.). R: UP
pup-č (imp. plu.). R: uptfr; uptsram (you all grab them)
pup-ik (inf.). H: ujk, uik; nimiajkułay [apparently ni-mi_pup-
ik ku-t-oy] (I'm going to get fire (from another house when mine goes out))
Pup-ihun (lexicalized des.: 'want, love'). H: Pujhun, Pəjhun, Pajuhun; naw ow pujhun nimi, mutupmat nimi (he doesn't want me to go, but I'm going to go anyway); nipujhun (I want to grasp; "the $?$ is slurred out before the $j^{\prime \prime}$ )
Pup-ihun-uvup (past). H: apajhunuvup amajhaj, apəjhunuvu? amajhajpiva aj (she loved her dead son)
puy-kapy (char.: girlfriend). H: aujkapj ([his] girlfriend);
Pujk (girlfriend; means va agarrar [is going to grasp])
[shortened form apparently just a variant of longer])
Puy-kam (char. plu.: girlfriends). H: aujkam
Puy-ka-č-ay (girlfriend, obj.). H: ujkot $\int$ raj
Pucan - pers. name of a boy 3 years old. ZN: Pưcan
Pucu-č — plant sp.: Rosa_californica C. \& S.; berries eaten raw and used for women's ceremonial facial paint. ZN: púcuč
pucu-vea (plonm.; means a place with wild roses). R:
utsuvea

Pučuk-t — rodent sp. H: út frukt (juanito [squirrel or chipmunk sp., according to Laird (1984: 331)]; on the plain; an animal sp. eaten like squirrel)
pučuk-am (plu.). H: út frukt
pup-ihun - want, love (lexicalized des. of pup 'take')
-uk ~ -nuk, punuk - pronoun emphasizer (described in chapter II, section C, Table VI). H: pumuk popan (ellos mismos saben [they themselves know]); punuk opon (él mismo sabe [he himself knows]); amə? umuk mapan (tú mismo sabes [you yourself know]); amə Pap umuk əPan (Vds. mismos [you, pl., yourselves] know); icam icamuk tsə Pon (nosotros mismos [we ourselves] know); nap nuk nipan (yo mismo sé [I myself know]; "nənuk, *nəmuk); punuk nə $P=$ nə pnuk [illustrates forms as separate word and as suffix]; ? $2 m$ a? tsukit naw hinipom umuk, mat nawhinip - muk tsukit, amatan nitahan pujuk mohot fram awahwotsram ("call them thus when don't want to call their names ... 'you nunca oía decir que aquí estás enfermo, aquí estás tirado tsukit. Vds. son cinco viejos [tribal seers]"" [apparently this is how to address elders who are somehow representative of the myth figure]); ZN: meč kwapumok (you pl. [yourselves go] eat)

Pulip - rubber. H: ulip
[< Span. "hule"]
Pulucar-in, Palučarin? - wrestle or fingerwrestle, V. H: tsapu luts arin (hooked forefinger game; same verb means oluchar [wrestle])

Palučar-in-mat (fut.). H: nipalut farinmat (I am going to wrestle)
[< Span. "oluchar"; the form with initial o may be due to confusion with a Spanish phrase such as "voy a luchar" I'm going to fight', which is distinct from "voy a oluchar" 'I'm going to wrestle']

Pumoč - the stem or root of the quiote [Spanish bayonet?]. H :
umotsr, únotsr; ZN: Pu:muč
Pumo-č-ay (obj.). H: umot fraj (Spanish bayonet stump, obj.)
Pumavikit? (the dry stalk). H: umavakit [second part looks similar to wakit 'dry']
punuamea ? - plcnm. east of Tejón ranch. VF: unua-miā) (rancheria 1 mi . east of Tejón ranch)

Purukuyt at - [mng. unclear]. H: Púrukujt at (= V. atuts)

Puso-yik, Pusa-pea - plenm. H: ts ajok (plenm.: means like opening; beyond tópifpe); R: ufrāpea (plenm. beyond Caliente; means opening)

Pususup - topknot of a bird, N, poss. H: Pususu?
Pu(-) Puvea - a long time ago, for a long time, Adv. H: upuvea nap nijamkam (I reminded you hace muncho [a long time ago]; "I hve not seen this with future"); R: upuvea (remote past: hace muncho [a long time ago]); upuve akim, upuveavup akim (he came a long time ago); upuve a nipometup (hace muncho que tengo sed [l've been thirsty for a long time]); ZN: Pupuve (long ago)
[this looks like a reduplicated form of the adverb puyea 'before'; although there are not other examples of reduplicated adverbs; probably etymologically related]
-uvap - eye, N, poss. H: uva? (eye or eyes); hawkup auva? (he is one-eyed); kwiotsk auvap (she is cross-eyed); auvap tsakapk (his eye is ladeado [0ff to one side; perh. means turned out due to muscular asymmetries]; apnki mouva, apnki (open your eyes); tom auva? tom nop (his face resembles me [unclear if yvor literally means 'face' as well as 'eye', or if the resemblance referred to in this example is just of the eyes]); R: apnki mouva (open your eyes); ZS: ? áuva?, pava? (his eye); mouva? (your
eye); níuvap, niyuvap (my eye); M: ne-o ${ }^{\circ}$-vah ['my eye'], ah-owvah ['his/her eye']; K: auv a ([his/her] eye)
-uva-m (plu.). ZS: pauvam (his eyes); niuvam, niyuvam (my eyes)
-uva-č-ay (poss. obj.). H,R: auvat fraj (his eyes)
-uva-n $\ddagger$ (poss. inst.). H: a wreanavan awvors (he winked one eye at me [winked at me with one eye])
po-uva-pea, pa-č pa-uva-pea (plenm.: Castaic Lake). H: ówvape, áwvape a (Castec, Castec lake); áwvape ták ot (Castequeño; person from Castec); pat frawvape, pátráwvape ${ }^{0}$, patrawvape (plenm.: Las Lagunitas; La

Lagunita; lake above El Chinito; = V. koftak); R: awvape a (Castec; = F. otstrspa); pāt $\int \mathrm{r}$ awvapea (no.1: La Lagunita or Las Lagunitas; no. 2 ... [ellipsis Harrington's; the numbers suggest two distinct locations]; awvapea takat, awvope at am (Castequeño [person from Castaic Lake]); ZN: pačauwap' (Castac Lake, apparently in foreign territory) pa-uva-pea-tam (tribename: person from Castaic Lake). R: awvapea takat, owvapeatam (Castequeño [person from Castaic Lake])
pa-uva-t ( N : round object). ZS: pouvot [apparently related to 'eye', but -1 unexplained]
[NB: this is an unusual stem in that it consistently appears following a vowel-final prefix with no intervening P ; NB: the $\underline{u}$ glides in the longer forms powvape and Pawvani), but not in the simple possessed form ? ouvod

Puvacavi - eyelash, N. H: uvais ava
puvacava (poss.). H: uvaisava, *uvaitsavam
[perh. a shortened form of Puva-c Pa-hivit 'eye's edge'; this could explain inappropriateness of plural suffix on 'edge']

## Puvas - grape, N. H: uvas

[< Span. "uvas"]

Puvea - before, already, Adv. (occurs most frequently sentenceinitially, but also elsewhere). H: uvea, úvea, uve; nijarinuvu? uvea (I plowed [this shows the Adv. can co-occur with the past clitic -uvup)); R: uves (adverb: past or already); nimimat, nimimat (I'm going to go); uvea nimi (I'm already on the road ! already went-i.e. left]); uveah in, uve ahtn nimuk (I'm already sick[the -hun is unexplained]); uveamat nimi ttkavipe a (voy a madrugar ['I will get up early'; but apparently 'I will go in the morning [soon?]']); ZS: Puve (past adverb; already); puve mukwahkwoh, puve mokwahkw oh (you're (already) eating); ZN: pove, puve, Pưve (past; already); puve ná nikwayhun (I already want to eat); M: oo'-yah (00-ve-ah?) $0^{\prime}$-ve-ah (before); 00-yah, $o^{\prime}$-ve-ah wo-am'-mah [app. puvea-vu pamap 'long ago, that'] (long ago); wah-ne'-kas num'-woo-was (l feel better [?uvea nikač numuo-č]); o-wah'-kim tah-kaht (an Indian is coming); o-we-hah'-me sah'-kim (somebody is coming.); o-wah'-kim i'-ahkik (a white man is coming.); wahn-nim'-me, o-ve-ah-ne' me (farewell (I'm going))

Pu(-) puvea - a long time ago, for a long time, Adv. [this looks like a reduplicated form of the adverb ? ?uved 'before'; although there are not other examples of reduplicated adverbs; probably etymologically related]
[this is an independent adverb word, but probably related etymologically to the past clitic -uvup; perh. also related to Puyihat 'old']

Puveahun [cf. Puves 'already']
Puve ahpe a - tomorrow, Adv. H: uve ahpea, uve ahpe a, úvehpe a; R: uve ahpe a; ZN : Púvehpe; K: uv api (tomorrow)

Puvihat - old, N. H: Úvihat; R: uvihat; ZN: Pưvihat (very old man or woman)

Puviha-m (plu.). H: uviham
puvehat am (peculiar plural [perh. in a fixed phrase]). H: uveahatam tảkotam (the first people)

Puviha-t-ay (obj.). H: uvihataj
Puviha ?, Puviha-ivi (poss. [ $\pm$ dec.]: one's ancestor). H: Puviha?
Puviham (poss. plu.: ancestors). H: Puviham
Puvič - tree sp. in the mountains (with long bark like a willow; used to sew piñon baskets; fibers twisted to make petates [sleeping mats]; the size of the willow tree, but with the branches more spreading and leaves like a pear tree; ash colored, with a yellow flower; fruit not eaten). H: Ovat fr, civat fr
-uvup - past clitic. H: nipo pvup uvea (it was my trail); nopvu nipo ? (it was my trail)
-vap - associative suffix. R: nimi niātsitavap, nipätsitavapmot nimi (l'm going to go on my horse); nilawhijak javavar (I bumped into the door)
[perh. a rapid pronunciation of -vea 'loc.']
vačk - flat and wide or circular, Adj. H: vát $\int k, v \bar{a} t \int r k$ (wide (of stone); circular (of dollar, paper disc))
vač-vač-k (plu.). H: vat frvāt frk
kuča-vač (compound? [perh. there is a $N$ yoč from the same stem, not attested in the corpus]: wood tray). H :
kutravat fr (wooden batea [tray])
vakap-cow, N. H: vakap, vakep; nimokmat vokap (I will kill a ganado [cattle]-cow, bull, or calf, etc. [lack of obj. marking perh. due to borrowed status, though object-marked form in -toj does occur]); nihju apovoj väkapt (I saw the cattle-kidneys)
vakap-yom (plu.). H: vakapjom, vákapjam
vakap-t-ay (obj.). H: vakaptaj, väkaptaj; R: vakataj (cow, obj.)
vakahkik - a type of bead that the rich Indians had. H: vákaqkik
vank - sweep, V. H,R: vank
vank-in-ihun (des.). H,R: vankinihun
vank-in-i-c (pass. nom.). H: vänkits ('swept'; this is what one calls the patio); M: bahn-kö-neets (clean)
varavarapi hanging, Adj. H: varavarapj (hanging; = juahk okatry)
varvark (Adj. [apparently < same root]: 'hanging'). H:
tukuvat fr várvark ( $=V$. tsiwaja; refers to the hanging down of big cones from the pine trees); R: tukuvat $\int \mathrm{r}$ varvark (means 'sea otter is hanging'; $=$ tsiwoja)
vatk - clap one's hands, V. H: vatk
vat-vatk (stem reduplicated form with no difference in mng. recorded). H: vatvatk
vat-vatki (imp.). H: vatvatki Pamə?
vat-vatk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: name of a dance). $H$ : vatvatkinits (scalp dance-but Kit. never had them or took scalps; means 'clapping')
vawl - storage trunk or box, N, poss. H: vawl (trunk or box where one keeps things; = tanet)
[< Span. "baule"]
-ve a, -ve - locative suffix: in, into, at; also a derivational suffix which occurs in placenames. H: -vea, -ve; ZS: -ve, -vi
ventapnu - window, N. H: nihju nehe jzvan ventapnup (l looked out through the window)
[< Span. "ventana"]
verop - watercress, N. H: verop, veropo (berro [watercress]; it has only been here for ten years; first at El Monte) [< Span. "berro"]
vihy- $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - break or crumble, VI. H: uvea vihigak (it crumbled); R: vihinak (break, VI); M: ah'-ve-gnok (broken [it broke]) vihn-k (VT). H: vijk pa-ving-k-i (part.: broken). M: ah-vin'-ke (broken)
viki, vimfyki - here comes, here come, Adj? H: viki (here he comes); apviki (he has reached the house); vimajki (here they come)
[cf. moyki 'there comes']
violin - violin, N .
violin-t-ay (obj.). R: violintaj (violin, obj.)
[< Span. "violín"]
viruhv-ik - rise (of sun), climb (of person), VI. H,R: virohuvak; R: viruhuwak (climb-a hill)
viruhv-ik-mat (fut.). H: virohuvakmat, viruhuwakmat viruhvkič (Adj.: steep). R: víruvkit fr (steep, of a mountain-vs. Witsipk 'steep, of a roof; downstream')
visente? - pers. name. H: visente?
[< Span. "Vicente"]
vit avel - sugarbeet, N. H: vitavel
[< Span. "betabel"]
vicap - hit piñones with a stone to shell them, V. H: vatsap
viserip - calf, N. H: váserap
[< Span. "vecero"]
vipyap - touch, VT. H: vajop (touch; pet (a dog)); vojap (pet, VT) v+ Py-k (VT: touch, feel). H: və Pjk; "? is distinct" $v \ddagger p y-v \neq y-k$ (stem redup. VT). H: vəpjvapjk (be "feeling of something") vi py-ivanap (poss. inst. nom.: feeler). H: vajpavaha ?
voičk - in the position of a stinkbug with head down and tail up, Adj. H: voisk (chinquechado [mng.?]; in stinkbug position; used with katfr 'be'); akets voifk (he puts head down and tail up [apparently said of stinkbug]) voiš-voiš-k (plu.). H: voifvoifk
volap - play ball game, VI. H: volap, volapo (play game) volap-ivana? (poss. inst. nom.: game ball). H: volapivahe ?

VOPr-ik - boil, VI. H,R: voprok vopr-k, vorep (VT: boil). H,R: voprk, vorop [the tokens in the corpus allow for the analysis that the first transitive form has only liquids as object, while the second has food objects; but this may be a misleading coincidence] vopr-vopr-ik. (stem redup. VI). H: voprvoprak
vopy-ik - shake or wag, VI. H: vopjok, vop jok, vojok; ovop jak tovet fr (the earth quakes); R: vojək, vop jok (menearse [squirm around]); ZN: to ves povj juk (earthquake; literally, earth shakes); M: ah-wo'-yuk to'-was, ah-wo-yuk tu-vaht (an earthquake)
vopy-k (VT: shake or wag). H: vOpjk, vopjuk voyoyopy (VI: shake, tremble). H,R: nivojojopj (I am shaking or trembling with cold or sickness)
vurew $\ddagger$ ? — lamb, N. H: vurewo?
vurewip-yam (plu.). H: vurewopjam, purewopjam
[< Span. "borrego"; cf. also purew $\pm$ P 'lamb']
waca - four. H: watsa, watsa; wátsátow the (four reales [four bits-50 cents] [it's called "four"'?]); R: waisa; ZS,ZN: wóca; M: wah'tsah, wahts-sah (waht-tsah'); K: watsa; CK: wät'sā; we' mā hōch' hä' mŭk wāt' sā (fourteen)
pa-waca (Thursday). H: awotso
wacahaven (V: put four things in). H: watsahavon
wace-hea (Adv.: four times). H,R: wats athea; CK: wät' sā hī'
à wé' mā hāch' (forty [four times ten])
woh-waca (eight). ZS,ZN: wóhwáca, wáhaw áca; CK: wä'
wât sá (eight)
wah-waca-he a (eight times). H: wahwatsähea
wacacapy — stratch oneself, VI. H,R: wätsatsapj (stretch oneself; "opj as usual like epㅌ")
wacacapy (imp.). R: wätsatsopj
wacacapy-ič (imp. plu.). R: wātsatsopjot fr
wacacapy-mat (fut.). R: wätsatsapjmat
wacacapy-vup (past). R: wātsatsapjvup
wapcavap - plenm. in maridap. H: wápatsavapo
wacav-ihwop-t - seed beater, inst. N. H: wáts avihwot, wóls aviwhat; ZS: wácavihwat; ZN: wàcavihwat (seed beater-like a big spoon made of willow)
wacavihwap (poss. inst., irregular). H: aw ots avihwop (seed beater [her seed beater? but usual form of possessed instr. nouns is -ivana? )
waci-č - nail [bodypart], hoof, N. H: waisit fr; ZS: wócic, wácič (fingernail); K: a-watsi (nail)
waci-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
waci (poss.). H: watși, watsi, watsi; taraqopj apyatsi (the deer has cloven hoof); witsi (poss. obj. [NB no obj. marker]); R: awatsi (its hoof); ZS: Pawatsi [his/her nail]; M: ne-wah'-tse ['my nails'], ah-wah'-che [his/her nails'] (nails)
[homonymous with wacič 'plant sp.']
waci-č - plant sp.: 2' high, very green, with small, black, edible, bitter seeds. H: wäfsitş; ZN: wacič (medicine-pounded, juice put on hair to keep it from falling out [probably this is the plant, not the 'nail, hoof' word])
waci-m (plu.). H: wäfsim
waci-vea (plenm.). H: wafsivea (plenm.; = F. wapafsno )
waci-vea-t am (tribename). H: wäfsiviałam (people of wafsivea)
[homonymous with wacič 'nail, hoof']
wočup - gnaw, V. H: wot frup
waha - [mng. unclear]. H: amapnak, amapnak mots, amapnak wohe mots (new year; means the sun starts back again)
wahan(-)kapy - gull sp. H: wóhankapj, wóhānkapj (gaviota [gull]; big white birds)
waheap - singe, roast, V. H: woheap (chamuscar [singe]-said of chicken)
way-kapy (char. [also inf.?]). H: nimi wajkapj (I am going out into the hills to roast quiote)
[cf. waw 'roast']
wahip - coyote, N. H: wahip, wáhip, wôhipi; ZN: wôhip, wône, wôhe; K: wahi (coyote)
wahip-yam (plu.). H: wahip jam, wahipijam
wahip pa-t thpi-pea (plenm.: White Wolf Spring). wahip
atahpipe; R: wahit otahpipe a (Los Lobos; White Wolf Spring)
wahipt pa-himu-y+k (picnm., meaning coyote's saltpeter). H: wahipt ahimupjok
wahip-č pa-niu pa-šq (plant sp.: Indian paintbrush). H: wahiptsoriu álo (flor del coyote [Indian paintbrush; this form perh. a euphemism for wahipt ? aširi, below?]) pa-wiroy-n-ivi wahip-t (plenm.: where coyote played the flute). H: aw irojniva wahit; R: awirop jnive wahipt pinanat wahip (another name for coyote-'omniscient coyote'). H: ə́nanat wáhip
wahip-t po-širi, ku-t po-šifi (plant sp.: Indian paintbrush).
H: wohit afori = kut afæi (Indian paintbrush; means coyote's culo [anus])
wahwaca - eight. H,R: wahawaitsa; CK: wä' wät sā (eight) wahwaca-hea (eight times). H,R: wohwotsathea; K: wa'watsa;

CK: wā wāt' sã hi' à wé' mà hōch' (eighty [eight times ten]); we' mā hāch' hã' mưk wã' wāt sã (eighteen) [cf. woce 'four']
wah(-)wayap - rummage over or scatter, V. H: wahwajop (rummage things over, so that they are all out of trunk)
wok - bedry, VI. H: ayoahk oputsu (the walnut is dry)
wak-an - dry, VT. R: wäkan, wāk an
wak-on (imp.). R: wakon
wak-an-ič (imp. plu.). R: wäkanət fr wak-an-mat (fut.). R: wakanmat wak-an-uvup (past). R: wák anuvup
wak-ip (VI: be dry). R: ninju awakip kutsrat (I saw a dry stick; o.k. gr?); nihju nehe owakip kutfrot (I saw a dry stick; vs. nihju ne kut frätaj 'I saw the stick'); nih ju powakip kutjram (I saw dry sticks); wákip (be dry); M: ah-wah'-ke kar-ne, ahwah'-ke tŭ-voit (dried meat); ah-wah'-ke, ah-wah'-ke' (dry); ah-wah'-ke ko-hoot, ke-hoots-ah-wah-ke (dried fish)
Pa-wak-ip pa-pokap (plenm.: Arroyo Seco, a tributary of EI Paso Creek above the store). R: awakip apoka?
wok-i-t (pass. nom.: thick). H: wak it (it is very thick—of atole, etc.); M: wah'-keet (thick [like mush])
wake-č — ceremony for the dead, N. H: wakat fr, waxät $\int r$, wakāt $\int r$ (large fiesta [i.e. ceremony] for the dead, at which mono was burnt); R: wokgt fr, wategt fr; M: wah-kahts', wah-kats (a feast); wah-kahts (ceremonial house)
wakap (VT: give such a ceremony-object is person for whom given). H: waxā?
pa-wako-vea nakarakarat (plenm. meaning chameleon death ceremony). H: awakave nákerakarat, näk orakara owakave; R: nâkorakarat awiskōvea (plenm. only Fustero has known; means fiesta del camaleon [chameleon death ceremony])
wakan-pea - plenm.: a hot spring east of El Comanche. H :
wäk anpe (plenm.); R: wäkanpco (plenm.: a hot spring ca. 1 mi . E of El Comanche)
[cf. wokon 'dry'?]
wakasip - mouse, N. H: wákasip (ratón [mouse] such as goes in the house here); ZN: wákasi (mouse)
wakasip-yam (plu.). H: wakasipjam
wakasip-t-ay (obj.). H: wakasiptaj
wakata-t - frog, N. H: wakatat (frog or toad); ZS: wákat ot (frog); ZN: wofot ot (frog, wife of Coyote)
wakata-m (plu.). H: wákatam
wakota-t Po-pomo (Stachys albens Gray; frog's shoulders-use with steam bath)
wakpit - foreshaft of arrow, N. H: wakpit, wakpit (huichuta [foreshaft of arrow])
wama-t - cottonwood tree, N. H: wámat, wámat (álamo [poplar]); ZS: wámat (cottonwood); ZN: wámat', wámat (cottonwood; medicine for broken bones); M: wah-maht (a tree)
wama-m (plu.). H: wámam
woh-wamo-t (redup.). M: wah-wah-maht (many trees)
wama(-)nakic (tree sp.: alamillo [small poplar]). H:
wámone kits (alamillo; straight, grows in arroyos; black bark; plu. same)
wama-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (plenm. beyond kutumiyik). H: wámajok (plenm. beyond kułu məjak); R: wamajək (plenm. beyond kułu məjək; means poplar)
wana-č — wolf, sealion N. H: wón at f, wónat $\int \mathrm{r}$ (wolf—of sierra or sea) wane-m (plu.). H: wóhe $m$
wanak - run, VI. H: wanak; M: ah-wan-nahk'-hoots' (shooting star [star that runs]); K: ni-wana-k ([I] run)
wanaki (imp.). H: wanaki; ZN: wónaki tamijat (run, sun! [i.e., 'setl', in myth])
wonaki-č (imp. plu.). H: wanakit (van arrancando [start off; leave] [scattering at beginning of game of tag; apparently = imp. plu. of 'run'])
wanak-aneap (caus.: make someone run). H: wanakareap wanak-aneap-mot (fut., caus.). H: wanakareapmot wanak-aneap (imp.). H: wanakaneap
wanaypa-c - ceremonial messenger of the chief, $N$. H: wónajpats, wáhajpats, wanajpats, wonapjpäts, wanajppats (one of two messengers of the chief at a certain fiesta-fetches his captain's share of money from the pile; = V. ksen, Tul. winotum); ZN : wandpac (assistant to chief)
wanaypo-m (plu.). H: wánajpam, wánojpam, wanapjpam wanapypa-c-ay (obj.). H: wana p jpatsaj
wanịt - river, flood, N. H: wanot, wárot; R: wanot, warot (river); wanst (flood or arroyo); M: wahn'-nit (ocean [sic]); wah'nut (upstream [sic]); K: wanü t (stream)
wa-wantit (redup.). H: wácrarot (plu.)
wont-pea-tam (tribename: Yawelmani Yokuts). H:
ware pia Zam, wóro peatam, wéaña pjat am (river people; name for jawelmani tribe that lives over by Bakersfield); wanape at am (Rio Bravo Indian; = Tej. jowelmoni)
wana-tup (V: trickle down). H: wanatup (trickle down [said of melted tar, when looking or equivalent of $V$. tspilinapat])
wapn-k - scratch in ground, VI.
wapn-wapn-k (redup.). H: wäpnwänk (be scratching in ground [said of chicken])
[cf. wank 'spread out']
wojajapy - [mng. unclear; relates to discharge], Adj. H,R: wajajapj nop (tengo purgación [I have diarrhoea? gonorrhoea? menses?]; an entirely separate word from -nohnojkomūk)
wank - spread out, VT. H: wank (spread with fingers on basket tray [done to meal, preparatory to winnowing process])

> [ci. wapnk 'scratch in ground'; cf. yank 'sweep']
wor ahv-4k - have feet extended out straight and together, VI. H: waraqavak; warayk nikat fr (I am sitting on the ground with my legs straight out) [cf. worovk 'intensive adverb']
war ouk - hard, very, really, intensive Adv. H: w or ayk, waraykappeo (real hard); warapvk-aven otsuy (it made me itch a lot); äw or ayk panāmu (they are fighting hard); war ay numuat $\int r$ (it is pretty; "I hear no $k$ after the $\xi^{\prime \prime}$ ) waravkovan apahanak (he passed right by me); R: war ayk wakatsi mokahkohop (me estás estorbando [you are obstructing me; unclear whether same morpheme is involved here]); weravkəvan atur (he's bothering me a lot); warayk kakap patap andsip (this [actually, 'that'] baby is complete, with eyes, ears, toes, and all); warayk akwohap, wor pātfr (the arroyo is disturbed, it is foaming, there is a lot of water [actually, 'it's really foaming, there's a lot of water'])
war $\ddagger$ P - emphatic Adv.: 'nevertheless'? 'to no avail'? H,R:
patapvup warop pokt (that was a trail); poktivup warop (era trail [it used to be a trail]); akotsrkihun waro? (the sick man wants to get up out of bed, but he can't); nittn nehe warop ap atsurupak (I chased him out but he came in again); R: nəp nipits waro amok (I arrived at the time he was killing the woman [last two words unclear to Harrington])
warupmik - break through, V. R: worupmok (break through, said of irrigation ditches)
wopt - juniper tree, N. H: wapt (guata [unclear mng.-Blackburn (1975: 345) translates as 'processed juniper berries'); Spanish term borrowed from Kit.?]; call both the tree and the yellow fruit thus); ZS: wa't (juniper tree); ZN: wót (juniper); wát?akj́pono (mistletoe on juniper-good for asthma)
wap-pea-t am (tribename). H: wäpiatam (a people down by the Maringayam that inf. heard mentioned)
wap-yik (plenm.). H: wayik (must be the placename for these people; means guata; "notice how the voice approaches a glottal stop at the end of this long ie both before $\mathbb{D}$ and $j^{\prime \prime}$ )
wapt-am ki-c, wapt-am ki-vea (plenm.: Camulos). H: waptamkits, woptamkit (Camulo-so called because there used to be a guata there by the hill); waptam kiven [an apparent locative without a gloss]; waptamkitfr (Camulo; from wopt 'guata')
waw - roast, V. H: way (roast something)
wa-ik-kapy ([mng. unclear: about to roast? cf. yow, yoyk]). H: nimi wajkapj (I'm going out into the hills or forest or fields to roast Spanish bayonet)
waw, waw - the sound of a newborn baby crying. H: waw, waw waw (-)k - throw down, VT. H: wawk, yawk (throw down [objects are a wrestler, mule's rider, load being carried]); R: wawk (knock down a house); ow owk mulapt (a mule threw him down); afrawk kavajopt (the horse threw the rider)
wawki (imp.). H: wawki (throw it away!); R: wowki (throw it away, or knock it down)
waw-mot, wawk-mat (fut.). H,R: niwawmatum, majupivap (te voy tirar [I'm going to throw you down], si lloras [if you cry]; R: wawkmat (fut.; " $k$ sounds like a faint $g^{\prime \prime}$ )
wowk-uvur (past). R: niwaw kuvu? (I threw him or it a long time ago)
wawt-ik - be tired, VI. H: wawtok wawt-k-aneap (caus.). H,R: wowtkaneap (tire someone out)
wayniš - snake sp. (mythical; perh. also a natural species). H: wajnif, wajnifr, wajniff, wajinifg (chirreonera [a word for rattlesnake?; chirriado $=$ sizzled, creaked] (snake); colorado [colored; red]-poco [a little]; it was a man; one of the seven giants used it to replace a deer's cañillo [mng.? "canilla" = 'shin'], taken by other men to make a noise-maker for the jevor; there is a big one around the shore of the whole earth, which causes earthquakes when he moves; " $£$ is not $\mathbb{f}$-like-when in contact with $i$ it never seems to be")
we ahut - stirring stick, N. H: wéonut
[cf. wirop 'stir']
wean - wink at, VT, go somewhere, V. H: afreanavan awvato (he winked at me with one eye); niwe an (I'm going there)
ca-wean-ič (hort.). H: ts awe anst fr (let's go there)
weh-mahač - ten. H: we'mahatr; tsolopt apatsakapj weh mahafr pesop tjendapea (Cholo owes $\$ 10$ at the store [ NB consonant change]); R: we'mahatr; ZS,ZN: we pmahoč, wépmahač; M: wă' -mah-hahs, wä'-mah-hahts (ten); wä'-hä-mah-haht'r (six [sic]);
K: we'mahadj; CK: w̛̌' mā hēch (ten)
weh-mahač-oheo (ten times). H,R: wehmahat $\int r_{\text {ohea }}$ [NB a] weh-mahač hamak hawkup (eleven [ten and one]). ZS, ZN : wépmahač hámak háw kup; CK: w̛̆' mã hāch' hā' mŭk hau' küp
weh-mohoč (hamak) woh (twelve [ten (and) two]). H:
wéhmahatr wóh; CK: we' mā häch' hä' mük wö(q)'
weh-mahač hamak pahi ? (thirteen). CK: we' mā häch' hā' mŭk pã he' á
weh-mahač hamak wace (fourteen). CK: we' mā hāch' hā' mưk wāt' sā
weh-mahač hamak mahač (fifteen). CK: we' mā hāch' hē' mưk mā hēch'
weh-mahač hamak pavahi (sixteen). CK: we' mā hāch hā' mŭk pā' vā hur
weh-mahač hamak kwackaveyk $\ddagger$ (seventeen). CK: we' má höch' hä' mŭk kwāt' kẽ vī' kó (seventeen) weh-mahač hamak wahwaca (eighteen). CK: we' mā hāch' hä' mưk wã' wāt sā Weh-mahač hamak makaveykł (nineteen). CK: we' mā hāch' hä' mük mä̀ kā vỉ kó woh-hea weh-mahač (twenty [twice ten]). ZS,ZN: wohi wepmahač, wohe wepmahač; CK: wā' hĕl we̛' mā hāch' (twenty)
pohea weh-mohač (thirty [three ten]). ZS,ZN: pahi wepmahač waca-hea weh-mahač (forty [four times ten]). CK: wät' sā hï' à wé'mā hāch' (forty) wahwaca-hea weh-mahoč (eighty [eight times ten]). CK: wā wàt' sã hī' à wé' mā hāch' (eighty)
[NB: Harrington records weh-, and Zigmond records wep-, in all forms]
werovk - [mng. unclear; only a single token]. H: no anahunwip werayk (mute; can't speak)

wepr-ik - set (of sun), VI. H: weperak; R: werak, werok; M: ah-wo-ruk tam'-me-at (sunset)<br>wepr-ik-mat (fut.). H: weokmat

werr-k-ineap? (VT: push).
kupkunič pa-wepr-k-in-e a-vea (plenm. where someone pushed kupkunič into the lake). H: kupkunit jr awe?rkinjavea
wetererep -practice archery? shoot at target?, V. H: weterere?, wetereðe? (practice archery, shooting at target)
wetererep-n-pinwap-t (inst. nom.: target). H:
weiererepninwapt, weierezenihwat
weyeš - ox, N. H: wejef (ox; = ámat frk kóreło
[< Span. "bueyes"]
wi - make acorn mush, V. H: wi, wi; ZS,ZN: wic (acorn already prepared as meal or mush)
wi-c (pass. nom.: acorn mush). H: wits, wits; M: weets wi-c-ay (obj.). H: witsoj
wip - yeli, V. H: wip, wip; R: wip (yell; "cf. wikwi 'to whistle'); ZS,ZN: Páwipúcuk (woman who yelled at the dead to go away and not come back-a paid position)
wih-wip (redup.). H: winwip (slap holler-yell slapping hand intermittently over mouth; or just yell)
winiwit [analysis unclear: agt. nominal? habitual actor N?]. H: winiwat (yeller-name of legendary boy; = tataknitir)

Wipaht - oak sp.: a mountain variety with edible acorn. H: wipaht, wipaht; ZS,ZN: wipaht (oak sp. with big acorns-LXXIV [specimen number?])
wiahu-t - masher stick, N. H: wiahut, wiahut (stick to mash islay kernels in pot-broad with handle, 2 1/2' long)
wiahu-m (plu.). H: wiahum
[cf. wirop 'stir'?]
wicacik - spread out, VI. H: 6Witsatsok pot fr (the water spreads)
wicipk - down, downstream, Adv. H: witsipk, witsipk (down towards fround; downstream; opposite $=\underline{\square} \mathcal{O}$ ? 'up towards sky'); R: witsipk (steep, of roof; downstream, down-canyon; $\neq$ viruykit.fr 'steep, of mountain'); nihju witsipk (I looked down at the ground); ZS,ZN: wicik (down, downward)
[cf. wick 'irigate'?]
Wicir am(-)pea, wicilam(-)pea - plenm. of Pampa, below Caliente (later called Vina). H: witsir ampea (a place below Caliente); wit silampea lampa [sic?] (below Caliente; now called Vina); R: witsilampea (Pampa, below Caliente, now Vina)

Wicit e-t - small bird, N , gen. H : witsitat‘ (birc-any kind of small songbird); ZS,ZN: wišit at, wišit at' (bird); M: witch-e-tah (a bird); K : widjidat (bird)
wicit a-m (plu.). H: witsitam; M: wur witch-e-tum (many birds)
Wicita-t-ay (obj.). ZS: wičit at oy
wicit a-mu-hea-vea (plenm.: a spring). R: witsitamuhe avea (plcnm.: a spring; means allá tiraron pajarito [there they threw or shot at the small bird])
wick - irrigate, V. H: Witsk; R: Witsk (sprinkle water on floor); M: witch-a'k (downstream)
wic-mat (fut.). H: Witsmat
wick-in-i (pass. nom.). H: uvea nimapj niwitskini (I finished irrigating)
[cf. wicik 'downstream'?]
wicup - twist fibers into string, V. H: wifsup, witsup (twist pita [agave thread; but apparently milkweed fiber was used (cf. Wivǐ̌] on thigh to make string)
wicup-mat (fut.). H: Wifsumat, wifsupmat
wicup (imp.). H: witsup
wicup-č (plu. imp.). H: witsuptfr
wicup-ap (gen. nom., poss.). H: niwitsupap (I already twisted
it thus [apparently a nom. form])
napa-wicup (compound < nepik + wicup?: splice, V). H:
napäw itsup, ha pawitsu? (splice a rope together)
Wiha-č - cholla cactus, N. H: wihat $\int r$, wihāt $\int r$ (cholla-none here) wiho-m (plu.). H: winam (chollas)
wihe (poss.). H: ávina (the thorn); nāvaht áwine ([tuna] cactus thorn)
Wiho-vea (plenm. near San Fernando). H: wihāv ea (pienm. near San Fernando; = F. wihen_o
wiha-vea-t am (tribename). H: wiháviatam (people from wihöve a)
[apparently literal meaning is 'thorn']
wipho(-) t t - oak sp.: a live-oak with small edible acorns. H: Wipheat, wipheat (oak sp. with edible acorn; remedy for hiedra [poison oak?]; a live-oak of coast and Piro; [had] small acorns; made yellow meal); ZS: wiphowt (oak sp. that grows low)
[looks like a possible aug. of wi? oht 'oak sp.', but with metathesis]
wihak - soar, VI. H: awihak ami (it soars (of buzzard)); powihak (they soar)

Wiha(-)kapy - fish sp. H: wihakapj (fish sp., round like a camaleon [chameleon], boneless, tasty-used to live in Buena Vista Lake) [char. derivation from wihok 'soar'?]

Wihat ? [mng. unclear]. M: kah-sah we'haht (ceremonial house)
winw ot - boiling stone, N. H: winw at (boiling stone-has hole in it) [cf. wip 'yell'?]
wik - smoke, V. H: wik (smoke cigar, cigarette, pipe; chupar cigarro [literally 'suck cigar'])
wik-mat (fut.). H: wikmat wik (imp.). H: wik, "wiki wikitt (nom.-irreg.). H: wikot (cigar); M: wikut (steatite pipe)
wiki-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
Wikip (poss.). H: áwikápa (pipe, cigarette or cigar); M: ne we'-ko (pipe, straight pipe)
wik-ihwap-t (inst. nom.). H: wikihwot tamat, kiwas tamat (clay pipe [first form is 'stone smoking inst.'; second form is 'pottery stone']); M: we'-ke-hwat (pipe, straight pipe); K: wi'koxwet (pipe)
[base meaning may be 'suck']
wikoyn - whistle, V. ZS,ZN: wi-koyn (whistling [apparently a V form])

Wikoyn-inwap-t - whistle, N. ZS,ZN: wíkoynihwát (bone whiste with four holes)
[cf. wikwip 'whistle']
wikw at - plant sp: an ash-colored shrub which smokes a lot. H : Wikwat (an ash-colored rama [shrub?] that otherwise looks like romerillo [identified in Hudson et al (1977: 118) as Artemisia californica, an aromatic sage]; used for burning piñon; smokes a lot; its smoke, with tsokepe, is a cure for dreaming of dead people)
[cf. wikihwapt 'pipe'?]
wikwip - whistle, VI. H: wikwip
[<'wik + wip ?; cf. wikoyn]
wilku-pea - plenm., meaning wopt tree place. H: wi4kupe (plenm. a little east of dhant_oho; means a kind of tree very similar to the wopt); R: wilkupe (a sierra east of Tehachapi town; means a tree similar to guata [apparently 'juniper'; cf. wopt])
wimp akum - pers. name. H: wimpokum (pers. name of A[ngela?] M[ontes?], [who was] named after [her] mo[ther]'s cousin)
win - cut hair, pluck, V. H: win, win (cut hair, shear sheep; this verb is used for both, riopin is used of shearing sheep only); niw in hàmataj asraranno (I weed with hoe) win (imp.). H: win, win Pomop; winotsip (cut my hair!) win-ihwap-t (inst. nom.: shears). H: winihwapt, winihwapt kaja-w in (incorp.: pluck beard). H: kajawin (pluck beard-hairs-old way was to use clam-shell tweezers) keyo-win-ihwop-t (inst. nom. < incorp. form: clam). H:
$K$ ájawininwat (clam—used as tweezers [literally 'beard plucker'])
kaja-win-ihwap-m (plu.). H: "plu. -m"
win - have diarrhea, VI. H,R: win
Win-ihwap-t (inst. nom.: purge). H: winihwapt; niniw wininwapt, niwinivahe? (my purge)
win-ivanap (inst. nom., poss.). H: winihwapt; niniw Winihwapt, niwinivaha? (my purge)
[homophonous with win 'cut hair, pluck'? ('have diarrhea' has the vowel length marked more consistently)]
Winikaip - remember, V. H: Winikeop; numuajr niwinikagr [stem
looks nominal here] (I have a good memory); R: winikap̧p,
winikapa; M: ne-we'-ne-ko (perhaps ["I think"]); new-we-win-ne-ko? (my head)
win-winika(-)u (V, redup.: think). H: winwinkaw (think-as one does in night when not sleeping); R: niwihwinikaw, niwinwinikaw (I'm thinking of things, night or day; "no ? before last $\underline{w}^{"}$ ); ZS,ZN: hit ayt múwiwinikow (what are you thinking?)
Winika(-) F (Adj.: smart). H: winikork, winikaok winikatk-am (plu.). H: winikaskam

$$
572
$$

kłšap Winikaik (Adj.: ungrateful). H: ko fap Winikazk (ingrate; means "es mal corazón" [s/he's/it's a bad heart]) kišap Winikoik-am (plu.). H: kofap Winikaəxam kač-ihun(-)ok winikaok (smart-alec?). H: kat fihthak winikaәk (quiere ser vivo [he wants to be-thinks he is?-smart, quickl, he is a smarty)
winiwot - magical bird that lives in mountains, N. ZS,ZN: winniw at (magical bird, known to be in mounains around here; parallel to the Kawaiisu yohwe? \&ro ${ }^{11}$ )
wip-t - fat, lard, N. H: wip't (manteca [lard], fat); wipt (fat); wipt nə P (I'm fat); M: wëpt (fat [corpulent])
wipim (plu., irreg.). H: wipim
wip (poss.). H: wip (poss.; includes references to the fat of one's own body); tsipkit $\int$ awip (pure fat) wip-cuP (VI: get fat). H: wiptsup

Wir ahr-ik - turn over, VI. H: wir aharok (turn over in bed); R:
wirahrak (turn over in bed)
wir ahr-ik (Adj.: turning). H: wirahrok tơwatr (the sun turns and goes back to east)
Wir a-wira Py - spin, revolve, VI. H,R: wir owirapj (go around in circle, spin, revolve)
wira-wirahk (VT: crank (auto)). H,R: wirawirapqk; R:
wirawiraqk
wir ahr-k (Adj.: turned). H: wir ark nikat fr kitamik (I am
[turning] facing [toward] the east)
wir a-wirahr-ik ? (Adj, irregular redup.). H,R: wir awirark ahju (he is looking while turning around-turning and looking in different directions)

[^58]Wirapk - let loose, leave, VT. H: wirapk; H,R: naw niwir apk kive a nipātsitaj (no dejo mi perro en mi casa [l don't let-or leave-my dog in the house]); R: wirapk (leave, VT); niwirapk nap aqwikiptsaj (I left leftovers [food])
wirapki (imp.). H: wirapki; wirapki tom hamināt nehe mohju (leave the door as you found it [leave it the way you saw it])

Wirop, wirup, werop - stir (mush, etc.), V. H: wiropo, werop; wirup (beat (eggs)); Wirop (mash islay with a stick)
weahut (nom. of unclear derivation: stirring stick). H : wéahut

Wiropi ? - play (instrument), V. H: wiropj, wirojpi Wiropi-n-ihwap-t (inst. nom.: musical instrument). H: Wirop jnihwat, wirop jninwapt (flute, or any musical instrument); ZS,ZN: wiroyninw ${ }^{\text {w }}$ át (flute-made of elderberry, with two groups of three holes [NB stress]) wiropi-n-ap (gen. nom., poss.: playing). H: numuat fr awiropjna? (he's playing pretty [pretty his playing]) pa-wiropi-n-iva wahi-t (plenm. meaning coyote's former playing). H: awirojniva wahit (plenm.: where coyote played); R: awiropjniva wahipt (means where coyote played the flute)
wirukuh-t - vulture, N. H: wirukuht (aura [vulture]) wirukuh-m (plu.). H: wirukum

Wivar - November? September? fall?. H: wiva? (November.
September and [incomplete gloss])
wivavk - sharpen, VT. H: niwivayk niniw (I sharpen my pencil);
niwivouk (I make a point)
wivark (Adj.: sharp). H: wivayk, wivayk (point; it is sharp);
R: wivayk (it is sharp; point of pen); M: we-wahs-kik, wevat'sk (a point)
wivouk $\ddagger$ ? (nom.?). H: akat fr wivayka P (it has a point); R:
âwivayka P (its point)
wiv $\ddagger-c ̌$ - red milkweed, or its fiber used for making string, $N$. H: wivat $\int r$, wivath, wivat $f r$, wivat $f r$ (fiber gathered from red milkweed plant, evidently, to make string; pita [agave thread]; plant name); $\mathrm{ZS}, \mathrm{ZN}$ : wivo $\mathrm{t}^{\prime}$ (plant which was smashed, rolled, and braided to make cord; probably = Kaw. wipivi(m)ba); ZN: wi-vač (another sp. of Asclepias used as cord)
wivi-m (plu.). H: wivam
wivi-y $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$ (plenm.: Agua Bonita). H: Wivajok
wivi-kim (incorp.: make catscradle figure). H: niwivakam (I make catscradle figure)

WiPwi - brains, N, poss. H: awipwi (brains (brains of dead were ritually eaten, at graveside))
wiwicuku(-)y — plenm. at head of Tejón Canyon. H: Wiwitsukuy (plcnm. at head of Tej[ón] ra[nchería] canyon, above La Lagunita)
$-W \ddagger,-\dot{F}$, hy $\ddagger$ - noun-forming suffix; meaning on nouns is augmentative, on verbs, habitual actor. H: [incomplete listing] kwapwat (big eater); pamafjot tofjot (low dew); kajawot (person with a big beard [cf. nikape war 'I have a big beard']); topwot (person with a big belly); R: na'monaphjot
[for more examples, cf. chapter III, section A]

W $\ddagger$ či + ho-č —old man, $N$; also a black ant sp. H: wótrohstr, wat frohat $\int \mathrm{r}$, wöt frahot fr, wot frohot fr (old man; black ant sp.); ZN: wóčihač (old man); M: wah'-trah-has, wooch'-cha-hatch (old man); wưt'-rah-has (old); K: wüt cahet (old man)
$w+h-w+c ̌+h a-m$ (redup. plu.). H: wahwot froham (plu.); əmə?
tsukit nawhinipam umuk, mat nawhinip-muk tsukit, amotan nitahon pujuk mahotfram awohwot fram (the way to address tribal seers when you don't want to call their names: I never heard that here you sg. are sick, here you are tirado tsukit; you are five old men)
wičitho-č-ay (obj.). H: wotfrahat fraj

-w +čthava - husband, N, poss. H: wat frahova, wot frohava (husband; no abs. form); p ahamu niwatrohova (my husband's brother; = nip aha); a hap nifotrohava (father of my husband; = nikwafra); ZN: wočəْhavá (husband)
-wičìhava-m (plu.). H: wot frohaväm
[apparently an irregular possessed form of wíčitioč 'old man']
$w \ddagger k$ - hit with a stick or whip, VT. H: wak (hit with a stick); R:
wak (hit or throw at with stick)
$w+k-m a t-i m$ (fut., with 1-2s subject-object clitic). H: wokmatum, wakmaznm [note [n] for $/ \ddagger$ / with some anticipatory nasalization] (hit you, fut.)
w+h-w+k (redup.). H,R: wahwak (am whipping; lo pegué [I hit him (sic-no progressive aspect or repetition in this gloss])
$w \ddagger k+v-i h w a p-t$ (inst. nom., irreg.: whip). H: wokovihwapt (cuarta [riding whip]; whip)
win conopk - be stopped, V + Adv. or Adj. H: niwan tsonopk (yo estoy parado [l'm stopped]); tsonopk owan woyat (the cloud estéa parado [is stopped]; "owən and tsonopk together mean parado")
win-i-c (pass. nom.: Sunday [stopped]). H: wonit s
wipšaho-t ? — trap (gen.), N. H: wópfrat (trap of any kind); ZN: wóp̌š at (trap, gen.)

 Tejon, 2 miles below the Tejón Ranch store; = V.
 (Tejón Viejo); ZS: wúwupšahy ove (plenm., location undetermined); ZN: wưwupaš ahiyâve, wúwupaš ahyáve (plenm., location undetermined); K: wuwopraha-ve (the Tejon ranch house on Paso Creek, called by the Yokuts laikiu); K: wuwoprahave (site of Tejon ranch house)
$\mathrm{W} \ddagger \mathrm{r}$ - lots, a lot, many, invariant quantifying Adj. H: wor ápat fram (he has many lice); war tamuat (there is lots of hollín [soot]-e.g. on stove); apäp war hwiskitaj amatan anipak (she drank [lots of] whiskey and because of that died); ats ahtsa $k 0$ wor ([it has] lots of feet; = centipede); hämipmat tsahcuuppaj väkaptaj, wa nimavipk naw majk hami nihurup (let's talk about the cow some other time; I have a lot to do now, I cannot talk now); R: wor (munchos [many]); wor kut (many fires); wor nihju kut frät (I saw lots of wood); nihju wor motsaj (I saw many hands); wor atutsit nihen ape a (there are a lot of fleas in my bed); wor (many people, obj.); pap akim pat fr wor (from there came a lot of water); ZS: worr (Zigmond translates as plural in expressions such as wor tovat' 'plu. of piñon' [lots of piñon]); M: wưr', wer" (many or much); wŭr, wŏr (enough); wŭr, wŏr (plenty); wur-ke-hoom' (many fishes); wur ko-tsaht (many trees); wur pat'-so-kum (many men); wŭr ko-tse-um (many dogs); wur-koo-kwe-how-kum (many women); now'-hit wŭr' (not enough [sic; 'there isn't much']); now'-wŭr' (none); K: wür (much)
w+šk - winnow in a certain way, V. H: worfk, wa frk (winnow in a certain way, in winnowing basket or tray-fine, good stuff comes to the near side and bad stuff goes to the far side; toss with both hands to winnow); R: wofk (winnow)
wišk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: winnowed). H: uvea wojrkinits (it is already winnowed)
witin - button, N, poss. H: nita awoton (I buttoned it or sewed button on [NB no obj. marking]) [< Eng. "button"]
wiv - get well, VI. H,R: woy; R: wov wiv-an-eap (VT: cure someone). H,R: wovaneap; R: wovanea w $\ddagger v$-an-e a $p$-mat (cure, fut.). R: wovane apmot wiv-an-ipa-č (agt. nom.: healer). H,R: wovareapnipatsr wiv-an-ipa-m (plu.). H,R: "pu. -m"; R: wovare apnipam
wivi-t - level ground, N. H: wovat (llano [level field, even ground]); M: wŭ'-wut (valley) wivi (poss.?). H: áwowo (patio, llano) wivi-pea (loc.). H: ajo wovape o (flores del campo [flowers of field, open country, country as opposed to city]); w śvape tiendo (La Tienda del LLano [the level-land store]; = Rose Station; = V. hepiftawajak pifpiwetsmu); wovəpea (ay mismo [right there]); wovapea naqpenomot (La Tienda del Lano, Rose Station)

Wiw - leach, V. H: wow, wow, wow (leach (acorns in sand to remove bitterness))
$w \ddagger y \ddagger w \mp y \ddagger$ - thank you; special form used in yivor. H: wajja, wajo (thanks, thanks; this is what men in jovor said to the gentiles who brought them food and water during a fiesta) [Kit. word?]
woča-č - rodent sp. H: wót $\int$ rot $\int \mathrm{r}$ (tusa [rodent sp.]; chulito [roguish, joker]; yellowish; lived in hole) woč a-m (plu.). H: wot $\int \mathrm{ram}$
woh - two. H: wo', woh, wop; nimokova woh tataviams (I killed two Tataviam); R: woh, wo'; ZS,ZN: wo; M: wŏh', wŏh; woh pat'-so-kum (two men); wŏh' ko-tse-um (two dogs); K: wo; CK: wā(q) wohea, wovak (twice). H: wohea; wovak, wov on (twice; = wohea); R: wovak, wowak, wohea (twice); ZN: wohi wePmahač, wohe wepmahač (twenty); CK: wä' hell wé mā hāch' (twenty) wovak (twice). R: wovak, wowak, wowak; whea nitawn pokpea, wohe a nitawn pokpea, wowak nitawn pokpea, wowak nitawn pokpea (I slept twice on the road); wovak ot awn (he slept twice onthe road)
wohone (inst.?). H: wohote papot frak (two ride horseback on same horse); tsatsät frup whono (we are singing both of us together)
Pa-woh (Tuesday). H: awoh
wa(-)?a(-)titw-an-ea? (two bits). H: wopátowane (2 reales [bits])
wovan (V: put two, make two). H: wovan (put two things in something you're doing); wovan (make two) weh-mahač (hamak) woh (twelve). H: wéhmahatr wöh; CK: we' mā hãch' hā' mŭk wā(q)' (twelve)
[NB in relation to the rule of rhotacization (chapter I, section D, rule 5)]
wohik - bark at, VT. H,R: prohok
wohik-mat (fut.). H,R: wohakmat
woh-woh $\ddagger k$ (redup.). H,R: woqwoqak
wok - brush, sweep, V.
wok-ihwap-t (inst. nom.: broom, brush or scraper). $H$ : wékiwhat (escobeta [small brush]; amole hair brush); wokiwhat (amole brush, to brush meal with when grinding); wóqkiniwhat (broom); woxihwat (scratching stick for women with menstruation)

Wopk it - plenm.? H: wópkPit ("place like rio carizal [reed-grass river], that enters lake of B[uena] Vista a little above Sunset, four miles below Maricopa")
wokoh-t - pine sp. (digger pine, Pinus sabiniana (Brown and Lawrence 1965)?) or its nut, N. H: wókoht (pine, big, with slightly ash-colored leaf; piño balsamo [sic; pino bálsamo would be 'balsam pine']_has nuts like piñon but harder); ZS,ZN: wokoht' (pine nuts and tree)
wokoh-t-ay (obj.). ZS,ZN: wokohtay
wopn-ik — nod head, VI. H,R: wopnok WOPn-woPn-ik (stem redup.). H,R: wopnwopnok (nod head) wopn-k (VT: make someone nod head). H,R: wo pnk (make someone nod-yell at him on street and make him nod at you)
won — rain, VI. H: won, $\bar{w} \boldsymbol{D}_{3} Z S:$ Papwon (rain); M: ah-weng (rain); ah-wong' (It's raining now); K: a-woñ (rain)
woj-a-t (gen. nom.: rain). H: wonat, wốnat wōnat; M: wo'ng ut (rain); wahing'-at, ah'-om ah-katch-wo-mat (cloudy); K: wòñ-at (cloud)
wopoh-t - grasshopper, or dragonfly, N. H: wópoqt (chapule ["chapul" 'dragonfly', or "chapulín" 'grasshopper']; "cannot tell if $q$ or $h$, but quite strong and $Q$ makes it $q$-like perhaps") wopoh-m (plu.). H: wópom (plu.; "o quite long") wopoht pa-papo-vea (plcnm. of a spring). H: wópohtapápove, wopo't apāove (plcnm. below mojhaveq; = tupupan;
means spring of chapules); R: wopoht apap ovea (plenm.: chapule spring)
woro - be sparse, VI. H: aworo, awohworo (the trees are not dense, they are apart); aworo (lo limpio, onde no hay monte [the clear part, where there's no mountain, or no forest]; a field, an open plain)
woh-woro (redup.). H: aworo, awohworo (the trees are not dense, they are apart)
Pa-woro-vea (loc.: in the clear). H: $\varepsilon$ jo aworovea (flores del campo [flowers of the field])
wot - chief, male or female, or chief's wife. H: woz (capitán [captain; chief], capitana, or capitán's wife)
wotwopot (plenm. of a group of mountains). H: wotwopot
(plenm.; not a sierra, but the name of the big sierras there together)
[< Chumash? listed in Hudson et al 1977: 113, as Chumash for 'chief'; irregular plu.; perh. borrowed]
wovak, wovan - twice [cf. wo(h) 'two']
wowal, wowal-yam - tribename of Tulare Yokuts. H: wów al (people that came here from Lemoore); R: wowaljam (the wow al tribe) wow ol-pea (plenm.: Tulare Lake?). H: wow alpeo (El Tular); R: wowalpea (the wow ol country)
wowo-pa-č — plenm. with two springs or lakes. H: wówopaty, wowopat fr, wopwopat fr (plenm. of a spring, or twin springs, called katrampa [La Trampa?] by Mexicans); R: wowopät $\int \mathrm{r}$ (plonm. where there are two bogs or small lakes where Pete Miller had his ranch before he was bought out by Tejón ranch) [< woro 'sparse', or perh. < woh 'two?]
ya - interjection? H: ja mamimat hik matsutsuriptaj (you are going to see your grandmother-a bad word-starts a fistfight); R: ( j a) numuwas tàmeat (how do you do?); jā numuwas jà o (good evening)
[= Spanish "ya"? or perh. this and next entry are one atten-tion-getting interj.]
ya, ya ya - greeting: 'how are you', 'what's up?', etc. H: ja, jaja, jā já já (greeting: 'cómo está' [how are you?], 'que hay' [what's up?], etc.)
yap - carry, bring, VT. H: jap, jāp, jā (carry, bring (person or thing)); R: jap, jäp, jap (carry or bring) yap-mat (fut.). R: japmat
yop (imp.). R: jop, ja yap-č (imp. plu.). R: japtsr (carry it! []])
yo-inwop-t (inst.: potholder, stovelifter, sticks for carrying tunas [cactus fruits]). H: jajhwapt; pajuwhat ([prefix unexplained] flat coiled basket tray to collect something in; = Jam. pojtat); R: jajhwapt (handle)
-ya-ivanap (inst., poss.). H,R: jajvañap, jejvaña ?
-yo-hea (handle). H: ajohea (its hande)
$y a-n+m$ (to walk carrying something, VT). H: janəm, jānəm ku-tay paya-nłm (glowworm?). H: kútaj ajānom (guzano quemador [burning worm]-black and hairy; means it goes carrying fire)
[cf. yow 'grasp']
y op - fly, drive auto, V. H: jo ? (to fly); jā? (to drive auto); jo ? (to fly) yap-ihun (des.). H: ajapjhtn
yo-č - plant sp.: hediondillo or hediondilla [Cassell's translates as "Wild Syrian rue"; Santamaria (1959: 592) says Cassia occidentalis or Chenopodium Pir! H,R: jat $\int \mathrm{f}$, jāt $\int 5$
ya-vea (plenm.: Los Angeles). H,R: jövea, jave 0 , jövea ya-vea-tam (Los Angeles person, sg. or plu. [presumably tribe, not Europeans]). H,R: jāvia Zo m ya-ya-vea-tam (Los Angeles person, plu.). H,R: jajaveafam ya-ya (plenm.: Los Angeles [but cited in one place as $F$. equivalent of Kit. yaved; apparently = F., not Kit. plenm.]). H,R: jān o
yahan $\ddagger \mathrm{k}(\dot{+} \mathrm{kwan}$ ) - have first menstruation [parenthesized part must mean 'first' or be some kind of suffix or clitic on 3rd. plu. form (only two examples)]. H: jahajok(əkwan); miconepkwan (it hurts him [is hot or strong for him])
yahpač - plant sp.: ground root yields edible white meal. H: jahpotsr
y ahuč - shell sp.: white, used for beads; = V. koj. H: jequt!
yahyik - be finished, VI. H: jahjak, jähhak (be all over (of rain), or
extinct (of people))
Pa(-)yapk - white. H: ajapk; M: o-wah'-kim l'-ah-kik (a white man is coming.)

Pa-yakahya-vea - plenm.: El Alamo, on the road from Tejon Ranch to Bakersfield. R: ajakahjovea (Magdalena says name refers to starting to hunt rabbits).
yam - be or get angry, VI. H: jam, jām; R: jam, jäm, ami ajam (he went away angry ; ZS, ZN: yom (be angry)
y ohe am [ $=$ yah-y om, redup.?] (to walk up and down mad). H: jaheam
ya-m+o-č - March ('flower moon'). H: jáməat fr (March; means the grass and all will be blooming everywhere)
yamavap - the month of March or April, when there are
flowers. H: jamavap, jamavap; ZS,ZN: ya:mava (spring -April to July; there are 3 divisions-no word for fall)
yomit y amui? - greeting: "que hay, amigo" [could this be $£ 0$ 'interjection' + amł̀y 'you, obj.'?]. H: jamoj, jámwáj (greeting:
"que hay, amigo"; also in Tataviam) [may not be Kit.]
yamk - remember, V. H: -jamk, nijamkam (I reminded you
[sic-not "remembered"?]; H,R: majamkatatsam (you reminded us
[sic-not "did you remember us"?]), majamkatatsin nehe (you
reminded me); R: jamk, jamk (remember, remind), upuvea nə?
nijamkam (I reminded you a long time ago [NB position of clitic-cx S?]), nijamkom (I remember you [odd ambiguities]) yam-mat-im (fut., with 1-2s clitic). R: $n$ ijammatum (I will remember you) yamk( - ) + neap (to remind). H: nijamkaneap (I reminded him of it)
[perhaps yemkite $=$ 'remember' + 'put', while yamkineop $=$ 'remember' + 'know'?]
ya-nim - compound verb: walk carrying, VT. H: janom [ $=\underline{2} 0$ 'carry' + nim 'walk']
yank, yaŋk - quiet, Adj.? H: jak, jā $\mathrm{j} k$
y a jom - believe, believe in (obj. = e.g. ca-nthpos 'god'); take seriously[?], V. H: jayam; R: jajam (believe, believe in), nawyan ajonam (he paid no attention to me [apparently $=$ he didn't
believe me]), nijamk nijakaj (I remember my mother)
yajam(-)in(-)ea(-)na (lo creen todo [they believe it completely]). $\mathrm{H}, \mathrm{R}$ : jajamineana, naw jajamine ona (it is a secret)
yaneki(-)n-i-c ? [cf. M: yung-e-kin'-its 'brush wikiup']
yank, yaŋk — quiet, Adj.? H: jānk, jā k
yave?, yavea? - key.
y avea $\mathrm{P}-\mathrm{n} \dot{\ddagger}$ - key, inst. H,R: joveapna [NB Span. e reinterpreted as Kit. ea'-similar to vowel cluster simplification, discussed in chapter I, section D, rule 15;

-yavep-c-ay (obj.). H,R:-javeptsaj
[ S Span. "llave"]
yavlup - devil, N. H: javlup
[< Span. "diablo"]
yow - grasp, grab, catch, $V$ (the $\underline{w}$ drops in certain derived forms). H: jaw, jaw, jaw (grasp, grab, catch (mouse); R: jaw, jaw (grasp), ajo prvan nikopoj (she grabbed me by the hair) [long $w=$ $\underline{\mathbf{w}}+\dot{\text { i }}$, nijawmot makopoj (l'm going to grab you by the hair) [no obj. clitic here]; ZN: yaw (get (= grab)) yaw (imp.). H: jaw, jay; R: jay
 jápt $\int$ r
ya-yow (redup.). R: pajajow papät frukaməj (están agarrando hombres [they are grabbing (snatching? arresting?) men]) yo-i (compl.) [NB: verbs and possessed nouns take same obj. suffix; also NB no w]. H,R: nijaj; R: nihah ${ }^{\text {avak }}$ nijaj, nihohovak nijoj (I could not reach to grasp it) yo-hea (pass.). R: ivi tameotm ot nijahe (today they're gonna grab [arrest?] me)
pa-yo-hea (its handie). H: ojohea (agarradero); R: ojohea, ajahea (handie)
yo-inwap-t (instr.). R: jajhwat (handle)
-ya-ivanap (instr., poss.). R: jevaha ?
[ $=$ ya 'carry' + ?up 'take'?]
yaw - deliver, V. H: jaw (entregar)
[cf. yow 'grab'?]
yawik - thin or watery. M: yow'-wook (thin, like water)
[This may be a mistranslation and mistranscription for yawyik 'light blue, ciear, eic.']
yowilmani - tribename: a Yokuts band. ZS,ZN: yow(w)il-mani
(Indians living at Visalia)
[not a Kit. word?]
y awlamnip - plenm.: a marsh this side of Tejon Canyon. H:
jáwlamnip
[not a Kit. word?]
y awvik - clear, bright, clean, light blue, Adj.; dawn, VI. H: jawvuk,
jawvupk, Pajawvak; ZS,ZN: jawvok (light blua)
yawrik _ jain, yawvak_młyšik (to miss someone). H,R:
jáwvokmátum ninapn, jáwvokmetum nīajfrok
yapy-c — partida [flock?], N. H: ja?jc, jap $\overline{\mathrm{j}}$, purewopjam, hawkup
japjts (one partida of lambs)
yapy-m (plu.). H: japjm
[pass. nom. of yo carry, bring'?]
yayka-t - peón stick, counter in walnut dice game, N. H: jojkot, jajkat, jajīat
-yaykap (poss.). H: -jajkap, -jajka?
yayka-m (plu.). H: jajkam, jajkam
yaynat - live (of person or mineral medicine niviqt in its raw state). H: jajn at; M: yi'-not (awake)
yaypakup - pers. name given by speaker to Ethel; name of speaker's cousin. H: jajpakup
yelpe - plenm.: Sierra de la Grulla, a mountain near Caliente (mentions the crane). H: je\$pe
yeska? - tinder, N? H: jeskap (yesca [m punk or tinder]) [ < Span. "yesca"]
yewaš - mare, N. H: jew as, jewasr
yew aš-yam (plu.). H: jewas jam [< Span. "yeguas"]
yik - scream, V., comp. H: ami ajik (s/he went to chillar [scream]) [= qu-ik 'sing, inf.'?]
yisovit a? hivhiv (kowa) - [(kawa) may mean this is in Kawaiisu language, so this entry not cross-indexed, but reproduced exactly as in ZN ; he g!ōsses it "salt grass drink! drink!-he was so happy"; 'salt-grass' in Kit. is himuktJ
yiw $\ddagger$ Pkan — pers. name of daughter of I[sabella] Gonzales]. ZN: yiwákan
 $-y \cdot \partial P$; ZN: -yəP, -y•əP, niyəkPapar (my mother's brother), Pádja, Pāp (his mother) tsajuk tsəpiva (our mother); M: ne'-yah, Iyŏh (spoken of) (mother), ne'-yu, ne'-yuk (my mother), i-yuk, ah'yuk (his mother), ŏo-yuk - mŏ-yuk (your (singular) mother), pooyuk, po'-e-yu (their (plural) mother), M: tsi-yuk, tsoo-yu (our (dual) mother), ( $u,{ }^{\prime}$ )-yuk, ŭ'-yuk (your (plural) mother) $-y+k+y$ (obj.). H: -زakoj; R: -jokəj $-y \ddagger p-i v \ddagger$ (dec.). H: -j+piva, -jppjva $-m$ ayh $a-y+P$ (wife by whom one has had children). $H$ : -majhaja?
pipak+(-)t Pa-yキp (Sphinx moth ["worm sp.'s mother"]). H: piākət pojapo
$y \mp c \check{c}, y+c \check{c}-a t$ - where is [apparently = Adv. 'where' $+Q$ clitic, with
 ja fr\#me (where is?), jót fratam (where are you?); R: jot jr (where?); jzt jrap visente? (where is Vicente?); jzt framap kutsip (where's that dog?); jot fr kutsip (where's the dog?); jot frapma niniw nohtat (where's my old woman?); ját fratam (where are you?); M: yu'-its-paht'i (where is the water?)
y+ha - evening. H: jzha; M: yu'-hah, ah-wöruk tam'-me-at (sunset), yu'-hah, yĕh-hah (evening)
ya numuw aš ytha (greating: 'good evening'). H,R: jā numuwas j th a
$y+h o-h u-c ̌$ (evening star (it is a man)). H: joha hut $f r$, jóhahuts5
ytha-tup (take shade, V). R: johatup, jahafup, jahaptop (to shade oneself or take a siesta)
-y $\ddagger$ ha - aunt of a certain type, or mother-in-law, poss. $N(A)$, poss. H: -jar, -jar (aunt [in one case, at least, sister of mother of man])
-y+ha-m (plu.). H: -jaham
$-y+h a-y$ (obj.). H: -johaj
-y+hap-ivt (dec.). H: -jahapiva
recipr. is -mahcit. H: -m ahtsit (as Pedro is to Eugenia)
[NB: $=$ 'mother']
y Fh k - answer someone, V. H: johk, jo k
$-y \ddagger k$ - case ending: directional or locative: 'to', 'toward', 'at'. H:
-jək, -jək, used in many placenames, nəjək (to me), pəməjək (with you [re fighting scene; 'fight' takes dir. case]), pitsomək
(with us), Pamok (with you all), Pivijok, Pivits pajok (with this one), pats pajak (with that one, over there), Pim pomak (with these); R: atsurupak nehe nopjok kivea (he entered where I was, in the house), aməjok (with you), amok (with you, plu.) im pamək (with these), pojok (with him), ivitṣ pajok (with this one), pots pajak ('with that one'; "nothing to do with potop"), amats pajok (wtih that one, yonder), ivijok nikim (I came with [to?] this one); n3jok (with me [used with 'play', which takes dir. case]); itsamajok (with us); pajok pota? [with that one]; pajak amats [with that one]; ZS: -jok (locative suffix in placenames)
[NB: 妵-yik is used instead of $30-y+k$; for discussion, of. chapter IV, section C)]
y$\ddagger$ jiven - eat two things together, V.; if one thing is mentioned overtly, it is in obj. case; if 2 are mentioned one is in obj., and one takes $-\mathrm{n} \ddagger$ 'inst.', apparently [one example only]. H: jajiv an $y+$ jiven (imp.). H: jaŋiven

pa-mohm+k jłruma-č (dune [its piled up dust]). H: pámohmak jorumatsr
yišik - sweat, VI. H: ja fok
$-y \ddagger 5 k+p$ (noun: sweat). H: -jə $\mathrm{fk} \partial \mathrm{P}$, jəskəp (scrape self with knife [in sweat-house; in parentheses: "mendo"]) [NB ìdeletion]
 (door, imp. obj.), jovatsr, jovavap (door [but cf. form below]); M: yu'-vahts (door, doorway)
$-y+v a$ (poss.). H: pajava javart = javart pajova (the door of the church)
y $\ddagger$ va-č-ay (door, obj.). H: jzvat fraj; R: jovat fraj, jzvat $\int \mathrm{raj}$
yキva-va (loc.: into?; against). R: nitawhijak jovava?, nitawhijak jovavap (I bumped into the door)
yivan —outside, Adv. H: jovan, jæan; H,R: nihju nehe jzvan ventapnup (I looked out through the window); R: javan; meah meah javon (go outsidel [said to a dog; = V.t fo tfo milak]), akat $\int \mathrm{r}$ jzvan (it's outside), puraqk jzvan, puraqk jovan (go outside!), pur aqkət fr jzv an ([y'all] go outside!); M: yu'-vah, yō' van (outside)
yǐvor - sacred house or enclosure of tule where bullroarers are swung at fiestas; also church. H: jov or [one entry says yivar = tall pole with flag at top, used at fiestas]
yivor-kam (char.: initiates to the ytvar?). H: jovarkam, javarakam (plu.?)
curupk-i-m yivar-pe (the people in the enclosure; $=\mathrm{V}$. בantap). H: tsurupkim jovarpe yivar-yik (plenm.: a mountain). H: javarjak yivar-pea (plenm.: sacred canyon near Piwihinmu). H: jovarpea (the cañada of the Penteps near Piwahenmu) [re constituency abs. and difference between 'church' and 'door': H: pajava jəvart = jovart pajava (the door of the church)]
[perh. a cognate of yìvoč 'door', < Gab. yovear 'church' or 'fiesta']
yivavap - outdoors. R: jovava?
yop - spread out, VT. H,R: jop, jo ? (to spread out [handkerchief]) [minimal pair with yu? 'sing']
yohak, šikwa-t yohak - icicle, N. H: johǫk, fikwat johąk
yohk - make someone angry, V. [impersonal construction? 3rd sg. subject]; also translated as 'to itch', but there is no subject in this construction, although it takes subject-object clitic. $H$ : joqk
yoke-č - ant sp.: black, medium size, N. H: jokat fr yoka-m (plu.). H: jokam
yorin - plow a field, V. H: jor in yorin-i-c (part.: plowed). H: jorinits yorin-inwap-t (inst.: plow). H: jarinihwapt (plow; = porarop)
yopv-ik, yopvok - be dark, be black, V. H: jopvok, jopvak (to soot oneself (widow's custom), to have páñamo (disease discoloring cheeks)); R: pjôvək (está pardo [it's dark]); K: yav o-k (black) $\mathrm{p}(-) y \neq \mathrm{v} \ddagger \mathrm{k}$ - dark-colored. H: pjojvok, pjowak (pardo [browngray], cenizo, ash-colored) yovopk (Adj.?: dark, dirty, black). H: jovopk (tiznado, prieto), mahavajovok (ropa negra = en luto; applies to modern mourning clothes); R: jovopk; jatəp jovopk (black cat); na ? nihju jovopk tāk àt (i saw a negro); naw, jovopk (no, it's dark); haminikipt kwajrapkat, jovopkat, äjapkət (cómo es [what color is it], red? black? white?), jovopk ivip gätə? tam tut $\int \mathrm{r}$ (this cat is black, like charcoal); $\mathrm{ZS}, \mathrm{ZN}$ : jovok (black); M: yo'-wuk, yah-vok, yo-wuk (black) yov-yopvk (redup. Adj). R: jovjopvk; ŋEtapjam jopvjovok (black cats)
yopvk (VT: make dark). R: jopvk
[variation in vowels unexplained; cf. quvitik 'get dark']
yowoyow - (Chumashan belief) another type of people ... go around atizando [starting fires?] many places beyond Emigdio. H:
jowojow
[V.Ch.?]
yu - snow, VI. H: juj (está nevandc [it is snowing'; $-\underline{z}$ unexplained]) yuo-t, yoo-t (nom.: snow). H: joat, jóaf', juat; ZS: yuat; K: yuat
yoa-kapy (plenm.: a mountain that always has snow on it). H :
jóako?j [noto-apparently this is a compound, not a "char."-suffixed stem; note also initial stem stess], juaxa?
yua-kah-jik (direc., char.). H: juakahjak yua-ka-yam (tribename: the Koso?). H: jóakajam, juaxajom;

R: juakajam (tribe that lives beyond the Serranos); Zs,ZN: jókajam (Indians the Kawaiisu call kohzzi kahoži: the Koso [but Zigmorid et al (1988: 180) gives kohoži_ Kohoyži
'Indians to the northeast, Panamint or Western Shoshone']) [impossible to determine if stem vowel is $\underline{Q}$ or $\underline{\underline{4}}$ ]
yup - cry, sound, buzz, sing, V. H: juP, jup, hinavea pajup (the bucket is half full ['sings inside']); R: jup (cry), jup (buzz, cry); ZS,ZN: yup (cry)
yuh-yup (redup.). H: juhjup
yup-mat (fut.). R: jupmat
yu-ik (inf.). R: juik
yup-vup (past). R: jupvup
yu-inan (VT, caus.: play an instrument, swing bullroarer, gniash (teeth), slap holler, whistle with fingers, cause someone to weep). H: jujnon, jup jnan, jajnan jone entry
 jup jnen (to play an instrument, make cry), ajup jnan ofritsraj (he slap hollers; also said of whistling with fingers), ajupjnanivan fivojapt (the onion's making me weep [NB $\dot{1}$ in clitic])
yu-inan-ihwa-t - inst.: any musical instrument. H: jujnaninwat
[minimal pair: yup 'cry' vs. yop 'spread out']
yuahk - hang, VT. H: juahk (hanging, Adj.); R: jua'k (to hang, VT) yuahk-mat (fut.). jua'kmat
yuahk-in-i-c (pass. nom.: hanged or hung). R: uvea jua'kinits (ya está colgado [s/he or it is already hanged or hung]).
yuahk-in-i-m (plu.). R: uvea jua'kinim (ya están colgados [they are already hanged or hung])
yusšik - be wet, VI. H: juajrok, juājrak
yuh aha-t - pers. name of a mythical figure. H: juqaqat ("the oldest of all"-listed under discussion of tsukit, legendary mother of the races)
yuhaha-i-t - pers. name of a mythical ancestor. H: júqaqaot (the elder brother [of mythical ancestors])
[aug. of yuhahot]
yulem - pers. name of a dog, after a mountain name. R: julam
yunup - praise, admire, respect someone, VT. H: junup, junupu
yugain - help, V. H: ajuyapn(he helps [when the invited chief pays fiesta chief])
[any relation to $\nexists \ddagger$ given 'eat two together'?]
yupakinap - have face unwashed, darkened ("tiznado"), V. (a widows' custom). H: jupakinap, jupapkina ?
yupit +k — fall in a fit, VI. H: jupitak
[cf. yuyitik 'get dark'?]
yupivup - bird sp.: linnet-like, with a black face. H: jupivupu yupivup-yam (plu.). H: jupivupjam
yupk - extinguish a fire or lamp, V. H: jupk yup-mat (fut.). H: Jupmat
[cf. yupitik 'fall in a fit'; perh. related to yuyitik 'get dark']
yupup - lame, Adj. H: jupup, jup up
yupup-tu (to be crippled, have rheumatism). H: jupuptu yupu-pea (plenm.). H: juptpea (plenm., from 'cripple')
yuvea? - fry something, V. H: javea?
yuvk (to boil or cook something in water). H,R: juy k, juk (Adj.)
[ = 'to darken'? cf. puvitik 'get dark']
yuvit ${ }^{\text {k }}$ - get dark, VI. H: juvito k
[cf. yоアソik 'be dark'; cf. yupitik 'fall in a fit'?]

## ENGLISH-KITANEMUK INDEX

This is an index to the Kitanemuk-to-English dictionary. It is meant merely as an aid to finding things quickly, not as a true dictionary. I hope that it will be helpful to those who may be looking for Kitanemuk forms cognate with forms in some other language, or who are tracing historical changes in the Takic languages or doing other types of comparative work. Having found the phonemic form here which corresponds to the meaning sought, the reader should then refer to the Kitanemuk-to-English dictionary itself to find out more about the derivation, morphemic structure, selectional restrictions, subcategorization and allophonic variants of the morpheme. The system of orthography is explained in chapter 1 , section A. In general morphemic analysis is omitted here; but in cases where a prefix must be separated from a stem in order to find the entry in the Kitanemuk-to-English dictionary, a hyphen marks the boundary between prefix and stem. Nouns which are attested only in possessed form are written with a hyphen at the beginning to indicate they may not be the same as the citation form or the stem. Also where forms are metaphors or paraphrases, a literal translation is given in parentheses. If the name of a particular plant, animal, tribe or place is not found, the user should check also the entries 'plant spp.', 'animal spp.', 'tribenames', and 'placenames', which is where all unidentifiable names in any of these categories have been placed; there is
sometimes a more detailed description of these or a nonKitanemuk equivalent form given in the Kitanemuk-to-English dictionary. The same abbreviations for grammatical categories are used here as in the Kitanemuk-to-English dictionary.

```
abalone - cikarat [č?]
able, be - mirin
accustomed - Payawqtup(ip)
acorn sp. - -ka, kw+yač, šev
acorn cup - kuru\eta (cf. 'hat')
acorn mush - kw iy ač, wic
across - cf. nokwarik
Adam's apple - pakopkoc
admire - junu?
adobe - raưovea
adverb? - ya
advice - nah-tanimakan
afraid, be - pok ot ik, tihmik
afraid, make - pokatk
again - ham+k (?), moc
alfalfa - P alf alfa P
algae - taruh &č
alike - pap
alive - yoynat
all - puyu
all right - pa\etaayo
almond - P almendra
alone - punuk
already - puvea
also - h am+k [?]
always - mutu?
```

Americans - merik onop, muka?

```
    ancestor - Puviha?
    and - ham+k
    angelica - kayok
    angry, be - yam
    animal - tivopyt
    animal sp. - pučukt (juanito)
    animal sp. - wočač (a rodent)
    ankle - k aču ač
    annoy - hahk, hihinitu?
    another - cf. maw
answer - yi
ant - Pan+ht, hanat, hupusinak, hyač, yokač
antelope - timm+̇nač
antelope skin - tovič
ant-lion - ciripu
anus-širic
anvil - cokinwopt
any - tim, tum
anything - tumhit
anyway - worif
apart - hahukup, hiwqivap, hiwapip
apple - mans an a ?
April - yamavap
apron - cicka, čičk a, cf. 'clothes, loincloth'
arbor ("enramada") - Paya\etaik, hororkinat, hororkinic
arch (V.) - Peopnk
arch back (of stinkbug) - voišk
arm - mac
armpit - kwočuhpic
arrive - pic, pis
arrow - huč, šum anat
arrow foreshaft - wokpit
arrowhead - tokšivat
arrow-straightening stone - tq\etaeninwapt
```

```
    Arroyo Seco - Pawakip papokop
    ashamed, be - ciup
    ash(es) - kukut
    ask for - Pihikow, kivaw
    ask question - mayap
    assemble - hawkupiču?
    astride - šeahk
    at - -pea, -vea, -\etao
    atole - wic
attack - pork
augmentative suffix - -w +t/-y+t/-it
August - tivapap, togavap
aunt - nim, pinic, y+r
autumn - tojavar
awake - kw+čqk ('get up'), yoynot ('alive')
away - cf. Pamuk
awl - Poc
axe-potsop
baby - Ponucip, kwakit, tit init
back (reciprocal) - cf. 'and'
back - t+hpic
back-flap - tav+č
backwards - t+hpiy+k
bad-kiša?
badger - hunavit
bag - tonatat
bake - kw ahan
Bakersfield - pavyayuk
bald - šftk
ball - paropkinič, povot at
ball (game), play - pučahk
banana-plat anop
bark (V.) - wohik
barley - šivaro
```

```
    basket, type of - amohap, aman, ay \(\ddagger\) whot, hokopiptot,
    hukupip(ta)t, kurukupytat, pacapač, pahotat, payravキč
    basket, cooking - su(P)ka(P)
    basket, pack - pacap ač
    basket, small-mouthed storage - copotat, cupotot
    basket, that allows water to pass through - capač
    basket, winnowing - capcakinihwapt
    basket tray - paytot, riva(?)w, tivao?
    bat-pivakat
    bathe - pahan (VT), par (IT)
be-kač
beads - hipipyt, kukunitit, kumat, niririnkinic, numanic, ork \(\ddagger k\)
beads (gen.?) - tukuhpač
beads, small, red - cakahkik(s)
bead, valuable - vakahkik
beans - rihir
bear — huna(+)t, mo(P)loy
bear (costume?) - kawk aw
Bear Mountain - hunayìk
beard - kajac
beat - rivk ('beat or excel in game')
beat (eggs) - wirupy
beaver - c \(\ddagger\) P \(\ddagger\) Pki, hurist
bedbugs - nahkihy \(\ddagger\) t
bee Sp. — Pavehapyam, hanač, pahaja pač, roroja ač
beet - vit ovel
beetle sp. - huhu p oč
before - puvea
beg - piwihikew
begin - pamukpit, (t+m) puycu?
behind - navoja
believe - yoyam
below - pi(+?)htuk
```

```
    belt - šutk+t
    bend - Peapnk, kwiotsk, nošk
    berry sp. - pikw ač
    beside (postposition) - meap
    bet (V.) - myyvan
    bewitch - Pa(+?)c acawapiP, kwiteaP, pip
    big 一 Pat+pa
    big enough - cf. 'fit'
    bird (gen.) - wicitat; cf. also mahac
    bird sp. - cinan, hayhapy, huyhupy, inokt ("huitacoche"), kuya,
        kuykupy ('curlew'?), mawiy+t, m+hiwit, pavuhyit, pesa,
        puvuzis, siwšipwi, syokak, yupivu?
    bird sp. (candelaria) - poš ač
bird sp. (magpie?) - povuhiy+t
bird sp. (cries at night) - pupuvoč
bird sp. ("gallineta") - putan
bird sp. ("tigrillo", "tildillo") - t + Pir#r#
bird sp. (mockingbird) - tukuahp ač
bird sp. ("correcuervo"-kingbird?) - cakwina-č
bird sp. (blue) - caycapy
bird sp. (yellow (canario)) - cakacakač
bird sp. ("vijita, like robin but smaller") - cokt
bird sp. (mythological?) - winiw at
bite - ki ?
bitter - civu?
black -monušmup, yopvipk; cf. yuvitik
blackbird, redwing - pakonyat
bladder - pavahatac
blind - huvaw ovit
blister, have - pavahavik
blood- P+č
blow - hyočk, pitk
blow (on fire) - puheap
blue - mohk, yowv+k, yawvupk
```

```
    blunt - pimočk
    boat - kwekt, kwiakt, kwiyaht
    body - tahtaka
    boggy - curcurk
    boil (V.) - voprik (VI), voprk (VT), vorop (VT) yuveap (VT)
    boil (N.) - kayo
    boiling stone (has hole in it) - winwapt
    bone - poc
    bottle, water - pahatat, cf. also 'basket'
    bottom - šuču [or is this \(t\)-š??]
    bow - pačukt
    bowl - copotat, kumat, hukupit at
    box - Pa(-)kap, kahon, tanatat, tarivanap [< ta 'put'?] (storeroom,
        box, trunk)
boy - P anoci?, titinit; cf. tučini
bracelet - mamuna?
braid - kwirav, papokwina? (N.)
brains - WiPwi
branch - cima, pawhuš apy
brave - šw avač
bread - kame Pnic, pan
break - kowtk, kop+k (VI), kopk (VT), vihŋk (VT), vihŋik (VI)
break ground with stick - \(\mathrm{t} \ddagger \mathrm{k}\)
break through (of water in irrigation ditch) - worupm+k
breast - pipc
breast - tunuc
breastbone — pikihuc
breath(e) - hikaw, hik ay
bridge - nakwarkinwapt
bring - yop
Brite Valley - tuviyik
Brite Valley vicinity - čalamašpe, cilampe, čiram
broken - vinn+k
broom - wokinwapt, wohkiniwhat
```

```
    brother - -paha, -pit ač
    brother-in-law - pana
    brown, dark - ropitk
    brush - wokihwapt, wohkinihwapt
    buck (of a horse, V.) - cir+pin
    buckeye (tree sp.-looks like ash) - papaš
    buckskin - tav+c, cf. 'sinew'?
    buckwheat, California - hun ak ač
    Buena Vista Lake - m&mijak, tunapmippe, tunamippea
    Buena Vista Lake Indians - papaviotem
    bug - kupač
    buggy - kalesaP, kareta
    bull, young - neviyop
    burn - ParoPm }\ddagger\textrm{k},\textrm{hu},0(P)r\ddaggerk,wahea
    burn up - mahwap
    burst (of boil) - p+šakik
    burial - nahk omeapneavea
    buny - kemes?
but-meakor
butter - wipt
butterfly - patavatava
button-witt+n
buy-noPmk
buzz-yu?
cabbage - repoyo?
cactus sp. - manoč
Cahuenga - k ovwe\eta
Cahuillas - kawiyop
Cajon de las Unvas - mat Paphwelehwel
calabazilla - nonokic
calf - viseri ?
Caliente Creek - hiPhinkeavea
California wild plum - kupiaht (tree?), tokit (fruit)
Californios ("gente de razon") - cicinaur }
```

> cali (V.) — kua
call on guardian spirit - kumiyintup
Camulo - waptamkic, waptamkič, waptamkivea
candy - pišapit
cane - kanjop, pakač
canyon - Poka?
Cañada de las Uvas - ševinac apea, šivinacape captive - kwokapwat
car-kucin
care for - puhci?
carry - yop, yow, yay
carry on back ("lomo") - tuk
carrying ring - puninkinic, puninkinivł
Castaic Lake - kašt $+k$, pač Pauvapea
cat - yat + ?
Catalina Island - pipimar
catch (in throat) - pokw op
catch up with someone - gililk
caterpillar sp. - pohokapy
cat's cradle, make - Wivikim
cave - ho, timkic
Cedarwood Canyon - pišapeš
celery - Papyop
cemetery - nahkameapnic
centipede - pa-cahcaka wir ('it has lots of legs'), pinoč
ceremonial dancer - Pele jewu
ceremonial effigy - cahivt
ceremonial enclosure - jłvar; cf. kasa, wakoč
ceremonial gifts - $\eta \ddagger$ čiminic
ceremonial leader - Pont ap
ceremonial participants - wanaypac
ceremonial stick - kakait
ceremonial yeller — pakap, totaknič; cf. also winiwit

```
            ceremony (gen.) - nihnic (girl's puberty ceremony, < nihne o 'be
                accustomed')
                    ceremony to announce coming wakač ceremony - šunumtupyc
                    ceremony, mourning - wakač
chair - rapwkinwapt
chameleon - nakarakara
Chanac Canyon - Pìyčivea
charcoal -- tuč, tuhut, tuhuč
charmstone - kwinač
chase (away) - puhpuc̆up, tun
cheat - munap, nahmonaphyit
cheek - pivic
cherry - seres a ?
chest - tunuc
chew - kacip, rakwik
chia (lime leaf sage; Salvia Columbaria) - pohinač, pahinał̣t
chicken - kakawait
Chico Lopez Lake - kwarun
chief - kipkapy, namuhač, nìhpa, wot
child - mayhat, nacat
chile-cireap
chilecote (plant sp.) - Pihayc
chilecote, play - tohiyicin
Chinese person - canim an
chocolate - cukulate?
choke - cihirik (VI) cohk (VT), cuprik (VI),
cholla - wihač
choose - capyk
chop - šara?
Christian - havutkay
Chumash - čuma?, tokiya
Chumash Indian - kǐšanihunukam
church - yivar
cicada? ("chicharra") - t ame a putut
```

```
        cigar - Wik+t
        clam - cipkorot, cikat, ka\etaowinihwapt
clap hands - vatk
clay - pokwinit
clay, type of? - puyumak;
clean - vankinic ('swept')
clear - yowvik, yawvupk, yawwuk
clear away (VI) - kworitk (= 'melt')
clear field - Pa-w+w+i ('patio, llano')
climb - Pitahiqk (VT), Počik (VI)
climb down - humuti+k
clock - relo, tameat
close - niki+k
close eyes - cupmik (VI), cupmk (VT)
cloth - ti Pačavič
clothes - havit, kaha, tavič
cloud - wonat
cloven (of hoof) - tarahapy
coal - tuč
coarse - pa-mu-ci
coast - -h+% %
coated with acid stuff (of tooth) - šaminmi+k
coffee - kafe?, kape?
coil - punink, šwink
coime - koymiP, \etawapac
cold - šiviqt
cold, get - šipik (VI), šipk (VT), šikwap (VI)
collarbone - pačukt
color (lilac-orchid color, "medio colorado") - kawvik
color, type of - pahikyut
colt - mayhat
Comanche point (or Creek?) - čivutpave
comb of rooster - cineapnap [this may be a sentence]
come - kim, majki, payki, viki
```

```
come out - purahk+k
compose- PicuPk
conceited - huyuyhk
conditional (contrary-to-fact) - t\ddaggermek(wačup) [clause], [clause]
    mekwačup ("if ... voould ...")
cone (of tiee) - ka p
conjunction - Pap 'and, but', h amik 'and, back, too'
constipated - t+hm+k
container - hukupit at, cf. 'basket'
cook - kwahan (VT), kwar (VI)
cooked - Pa-kwahi
cool - šivivip (cf. 'windy')
copy-cicikwin
cordage plant - kwinat
corn - mayšt
corn cob or stalk - huka?
corner - cioc
corpse - Pa-nipkip
cotton - palwodon, timpič (the flower)
cottonwood - wamat
cough - kohrik
count - tipur
counter-evidential marker? - nehe
counter for dice game - tac ankinwa(?)t, yayk at
cove - pawohworappe
covered, be (as with a blanket) - powkik
cow-vaka?, vakapt
coyote - wahip
crack (mud, sole) - š er ašar o Py
crack open (pine nuts)(VT) - vicap
crank auto - wirawirapk
cradle - tarahupt, tarakapy
cradleboard - Pap+nea
cradle hood - kupk+t
```

```
    crane - P ar ow kuč
    crazy - kapmkip (part.), kapm+k (VI)
    creek - Papokap, wan+t; cf. also pač Pauvapea
    crest (of bird) - Pususup, pukap (of quail), cigeapnap (of rooster)
    cricket - corcor
    crippled - yupup
    crooked - kwiock
    crossbeams (of house) - Papički?
    crow - Papa, pačaw at
    crow sp. - cakacakat
crowded - mucik
crumble - vin\etaik (VI), vih\etak (VT)
crush - hipnk
cry - yu?, kwovipy (baby's), wow, waw (sound of baby's)
crystal - kw+\etaoc
cucumber - pepino?
Cummings Mountain - pukwan
Cummings Valley - hokopea
cured, be or make - wi+v (VI), wivaneap (VT)
curse - this is a curse: tiyt m+cuprip (your grandparent is a
        ghost)
custom - nihneat
cut - kawtk, \etaicčk, riopin, win
damned - šuav ač
dance - tuhtuP (V), tuhtuic (N.)
dancer - tuhtuhyit
dance a certain way - amawiš (plumero held in hand), otquihtu
    (N?), h+ik(?) +manis (rabbit dance), nukumpiyaš
dancer - tivit, tuhtuyhit
dark - yivi+k, yovopk; cf. tuka
dark, get - juvitik
darkness - heroppit+k
daughter - -mayha
daughter-in-law - miyak
```

```
    dawn - yowvik
    day - tomeat
    day after tomorrow - papa\etaoyupni
    day before yesterday - timuka
    dead - Pivi, muk (V), mukit (Adj.), kohkopym (dead people),
        Po-nipkip
deaf - kavow avit
decay - pi\etaon
December - cf. temuoves
deep - ti\etaop, tip\etaitk; cf. mimmi
deer - huk aht
deer headdress - Paciivanap
depend on - pič̌qhuna?
descend - haruhrik
descendant - hun
designs on baskets - kimanic
devil - t+yt
dew - pamašyitt tišyitt
dewy - paša ?
diarrhea, to have - win
dice, walnut - kumaskihwopt (the dice), po-kumašik (the game)
die - hiloh+k, jahj\dot{+k, muk, nipijk}
different - h+wač
difficult - tumahan
dig (out) - hoč
dirt - tivač
dirty - cukw av+c
disappear - nowtu?
disease - mukic
disintegrate - vin\eta+k
ditch - ša\etaha?
dive - Popik
dizzy - kapm+k (VI), k&Pmkip (part.)
do - maviP, niw
```

```
doctor - cač, nahmavihawit
dodge - pink
dog - -pacit a, kucip
doll - muhač
dollar - peso p
door - timkit, yivač
dove - makahot, makahoait
down (N.) - pic, cf. 'down headdress'
down (Adv.) - wicipk, pihtuk
```



```
downstream - pihtuk, wicipk
dragonfly - picalala, wopoht
dream - kw ankw ač amuk; cf. kum
dress, front apron of - kahapc
driftwood - Pa-hinki?
drill - horohkininwapt
drink - pap
drink, certain - paww at
drip - hopik
drive (a stake, nail) - tipŋk
drive auto - ya?
drive cattle or horses - timeap
drown - pamuk ('water-die')
drizzle (V.) - tiyiyif?y
drunk - kapmik (VI), kapmkip (part.), manimuk ('be drunk with
toloache')
dry - wahk, wakip (VI), wakan (VT)
duck - panacap, putan
dust - yirumač; cf. monikik
dwarves, mythical - Panunusi takatam ('little people')
dye in mud (V.) — piška pn
eagle - Pahiŋŋt, pamoiš (white-headed sp.)
ear - koyac
ear of (green) corn -ritt+s
```

```
    earring - cohuc
earth - tivač
earthquake - pa-kururupy tivač, tivač pa-voyifk
earwax - k ovatutuč
east - kitamik, tameanusim
easy - mapayapi
eat - kwap, kop
eat lunch or dinner - pokuya?
eat things together - yi\etajivan
echo - tawciy+?
eclipse - muk
edge - hìvi
egg - pano
eight - w ahawoca
eighteen - wehmohač hamak wahawaca
eighty - wahawacahea wehmahač ('eight times two tens')
elbow - ciac
El Comanche (plcnm.) - civut pavea
elderberry - hukw at (the bush), kuhuč (the berry)
eleven - we Pmahač hamak hawkup, tiwapea
elk - pahukaht
El Oso (plcnm.) - papatukpea
El Pleito - Pipkoy+k
emphasizer, pronominal - Puk, nuk, punuk
empty - pina;cf. kumat
enclosure, ceremonial - kakačiyač, y+ivar
end - kupeac, yohy+k
enemy - kwakahuy
enough - wir
envy - tqmuhivon
erase - n+rk
evening - yitha
everywhere - PiPimuk
evil - pahavit ('poison'), šuavač ('maldito')
```

```
    extinguish (fire or lamp) - yup k
    eye - uva?
    eyebrow - gyonac
    eye mucus - kwakwari
    eyelash - uvacav+
    face (a direction) - wir ahr }\ddagger
face down - kupmik
face up - Pinipk, ipmk, Pink
fail to - hahavik
fall - hucik, korarapy
fall on top of - h+Pnk
fall over (of a tall thing) - kuhy }\ddagger
fan (V) - pipk
far - piyon
fart - hup
fast - how awopy, how anapy; cf. also pucuk
fast (V) - Kai ?
fasten together clothing - k aheapn
fat - wipt
fat, get - wipcu
father - na ?
father-in-law - makay
favor - hunk
feast - wakač
feather - mahac (N), mahain(V), pohoc (N)
feather skirt - cicka, čičko
feather thing for dance - mawiš
feathers, bunch of - P a-k a Ppip
February - ši`vopap; cf. also tamuavee
feed-kwapnin
feel- vipyk
fell - kuhyk
Fernandeños - pacotkiyam, papaynamuna, paše\etaayam
few - cipk
```

```
fiber - wiv ač
field - wivit
fifteen - wehmač hamak mahač
fifty - mahačea wehmahač ('five times two tens')
fig - Piwos
fight - kur, namu, ulucarin
fill - putik (VI), putk (VT), pitk (VT)
filter - cf. cocokin 'winnow'
fine (of meal) - Po-h+vo, cf. hipip̌̌
finger joint - tamoc
finish - mapy
fire - kut
firefly — pokač poniw kut ('what has fire')
fire sticks - kumuinwapt ('fire shooters')
firewood-kučat
firmly - pucuk
first - pamukpit, namumuk, lamumuk
first people - Puvehatam takotam ('old people')
fish - kihuč
fish, spp. - pišnł, coh, winakapy
fish hook or line - pokwenihwapt
fit (V) - \(k+k+\) ?
fit, to have a - yupit \(+k\)
five - mohoč
fix, compose - Picupk
flame (VI) — Paropm+k
flat - nonanay, vačk; cf. also rikwatik
flat and circular - vačk
flavor(ful) - havavapynik, huvavapy
flea - Patucita
fledgeling - \(\boldsymbol{P a s ̌} \ddagger+k w i r i\)
flexible - kwitsa?
flicker — kim oč
flint - tokšivat
```

```
    float - hipnik (VI), hipnk (VT)
    flock - ya pyc
    flock, go in a - kavk (Adv.)
    flood - w anit, cf. hipnitk
    flour - hipičc
    flow - w anatu?
    flower - Pa-š;
    flute - wiropininwapt
    flutter - hinuhinupi
    fly - yop
    fly (N) - picucup ač
    fog - pakit, papam aš
    fold - nomk
    folded, be - nomi+k
    fool - toho?
foot - cakac
ioam - kwohar (VI)
foot of sierra, at (?) - narapk
forehead - š; P ac
foreigners - Palčunukš, h+̇-h+̇w ač
forest - mač
forget - Paminik
forked - tara; cf. tarahupt
former - Pivi
Fort Tejon - tikič pavea
forty - wacahea wehmahač ('four times two tens')
four - waca
fourteen - wehmahač hamak waca
fox - kawčač
foxtail (plant) - kawčač pakwačit
fraud - cf. muno?
free - cf. mačea
freeze - šikw atop
Friday - Pa-mahač ('fifth')
```

```
    friend - puyu
    frog - wakatat
    from - nu?
    frost - t+yuat (N), t+yu (V)
    frowning - šoyopk
fruit - pa(-)ka ?
fry - yuvea?
frying pan - kom ale
full (of person or moon) - konakwa?
full - putik (VI), putk (Adj.), putk (VT)
fur - pohoc
future tense - mat (Clitic)
future tense, proximate - nih-niw
Gabrielinos - šivaviatam
gall - kan+m
game (generic) - punit at
game of hooked forefingers - cepulucorin
game, type of - nakwahic, nakwohič, cakanahist (Yokuts word?)
gap - kw+\etaac
gather - pay, pipmk
generous - namakat
get (water) - h+yk (= 'swing')
get lost - hy ikifk
get out of way - hurnik
get up - kWicčqk, kičq\mp@code{k}
ghost - pahovit, t+yt; cf. also pokotik pino
gift - makic
girl - nacat, nahoč
give - mak
give and take back - muh+rik
give, at shrine - nohw in
give birth - mayhap, nahuck
give (bridal gifts) - nohock
give (ceremonially) - \eta\mpčqm
```

```
    gizzard - hilos
    glad - numuač ('good')
    glue - napk (VT), napkinihwapt (N)
    gnat - haw aw ač
    gnaw - w aču?
    go - mi
go (?) - we en
go!-čif,či+
go around something (encircle) - ponihinik (VI?), punink (Caus.)
go back - mapnik (VI), mankinea (VT)
go down (of sun) - Pa-we Pritk
go in - curupik
go out - purakik
go up - Poči+k
go up (hill) — virohuvik
goal (in shinny) - nahnipkinihwapt
goat - civat op
God - tivacč; -n+̀hpe ('chief')
good - numu ač
good-natured - numuahun ak
good at - nihnihyitt
goodbye - mimimat ('you'll go'), puvea nimi ('l'm already going')
goose-ripri+k
gooseberry, chaparral - huptay Paka
gopher - minaht
gourd, wild - nonokic
grab - Pup, yaw
gradually - howpa?
granary - hup Patajot, mucukinihwopt
grand-relative - curiP, kukit, kwarip
grape - puvas
grapes, wild or desert - načakwinač
grasp - yo, Pup
grass - homat, tuvi
```

```
grass sp. - takwač, nonomt
gravepole - kutum+c, kutomic
great grand-relative - sis $?
green - rapupk, ša+ip ('raw, unripe')
greens - nokat
greeting - haku hilpopw, ya numuw aš tameat ('how do you do'), ya
    numuwaš y+ha ('good evening'), (ya) ya, yam\ddaggery, (y a) haminat
    m\ddaggerkač ('how are you?')
grey -mohk
grind - mu, tur
grind, in a certain way - cirq?
grind acorns - kwiwitup
grizzly bear - hunaw &t
ground-t\ddaggervač
groundsquirrel - ko\etait
grow (up) - tuč
gruel - pohkinic
guardian spirit - kačip, kwačimuk
guests at wakač - kuhanim
gull - wohankapy
gum - Pohanop
gush - peakik
gut (V) - čiwin
hail - t+hpuč
hair, body - pohoc
hair, genital - šuhic
hair, head - kopoc
hairband - Pap+hi, pa Pukwinat
hairdo ('molote', 'pug'), prepare - kwišuka p k
hair pin - mohiv at
hand - mac
handkerchief - p ayop
handle - yoivonop, pa-yahea
hang - varvark
```

```
    hanging - varavarapy (Adj.), yuahk)
    happy - numuač; po-hun numuač ('heart is good')
    hard - putup
    hard (Adv.) - waravk, pucuk ('firmly', 'fast')
    hard, be - warahv \(\ddagger k\)
    hare - hwipt
    harvest - Poy
    harvest season - tunovap (= 'hot season')
    hat, basket - kumat
    hat, acorn cup - kurun
    hatch (VI) - cim
    have something in eye - ciripik
hawk, red-tailed - kiyikiqyǐc
hawk spp. - hukurumat, pakihač, cukw ač (medium size, blackish
    tail), širiqkuet (dark)
haze - muat
he - pa-; pamap, patap
head - piš ač; cf. also winikè
headdress - mahac, mawiš, pohučumat
headdress, deer - Pactivana ?
hear - mač
heart - hunac
heat - pošiv an
heavy - piči \(?\)
heel - timupic
hell - tiypea
help - yuyapn, naprik
her - a-; cf. also -niw
here - Pahkw \(\ddagger k\), Pip(i)
here, from - pape ay
here comes ... - viki
high - metap \(\ddagger\) ?
high tide - Paput \(+k\) ('it is full')
hill - muaptet, munk
```

```
    hillside - Pakoča
    hipbone - t+čak
    his - 0-; cf. also -niw
    hit - kon, mik, pip, poj, wik
    hoarse - šakwk
    hoe - P ašarqunni (inst.)
    hole - ho
    hollow - horohk, parokoPy ('hollowed out'?)
    hollow out - hoč
    honey - pihač
    hoof - wacič
    hook (down) - ỉihan
    hopper for mortar - P a-m aha ? ('wing')
horn - Pac
horse - kavayo?
horseback, on - Pacitava?
horsefly - kwirimoš, pipič
horseweed - sipin
hot (spicy) - cut at api, micane?
hot (temperature) - posip
hot, get - Pošivak
house - kic
household utensils - tih-tiymat
householder - kik, kike?, kikaht ay (obj.)
house pole - kikat
how (are you?) - haminat
how many? - hiniki?
hug - huna?
hummingbird - pituru?
hunch-backed - pupuck
hundred - haw kup t; Puhic
hungry - hakw ačup
hunt - h;yn
hurt - hakwivahk, micane?, ponary, (VT), šamin (VT)
```

```
    hurt, get - hakwivahik
    husband - Wič̌havo
    I-n+P, ni-
    ice - šikw at
icicle - yohak
if - [clause], [clause]-ivaP, mahmat [clause], mat [clause] (con-
    ditionals, future meaning), timek(waču p) (contrary-to-fact)
imitate - cicikwin, n anačun
in - pea, vea
incestuous - hukaht (nickname from myth story)
Indian - takat
Indian paint brush - wohipč Paniw oš+ ('coyote flower')
Indian tobacco (Nicotiana attenuata and other spp.) - civut
industrious - hupehayhyit
ingrate - kišap winika\dot{k}
initiate into y+var (= 'P ant ap') - curpkim, curupkinic
insect sp. - kovakaytat ('pajarhuel')
inside - Pa-hunavea ('in its heart')
in spite - wor+i
instrumental suffix - -ni, -va ?
intensive - pucuk, warauk
interjection - kam (sound made by whales)
interjection - ni-yi ('my mother')
intrude - mohmohopk, pakin
iron - kavoč
irrigate - wick, cf. hopk
Island people - pavea takat
islay (California wild plum) - kupioht (tree or fruit), tokit (fruit)
islay ball - pokhkinic
itch - cu\eta, yohk
ivy, poison - P+ycic; cf. topišped
January - šquq+peap, šikw am+ ač; cf. tamuoveo
jaw - Pioc
```

```
Jimson weed (or drink made from it) - manič, pa-manit -(the
    Jimson weed drug or its drinking).
Joaquin Flat - papap-pea
juice - šahi
July - tunava?
jump - hwahnik
June - tunava?
juniper - wapt (tree or processed berries); cf. wilkupea (plonm.
    from tree similar to juniper)
just (only) - mohmoho pk
Kawaiisu - Pakutucyam, Parara (nickname), kayvekikam, ka-
    kayveatam, kaweša?
keep - nicu?
Kern Lake - pave ayik
key - timkinihwapt, yavea?
kick - cinim, cink
kick up dust - monikik
kidneys - povoc
kill - mik, kon
kink (V) — miruh \(\ddagger\) rik (VI), miruhrk (VT), pocik (VI), pock ('tie knot')
Kitanemuk(s) - pakikit am, haminat (nickname), kitanamupkam
Kitanemuks, group - pivup oc ape at am
Kitanemuk language - kit an amupic
Kitanemuk, speak - kit an amup
knee - temoc
knife - kavoč, kalo
knock over (a tall thing) - kuhyk
knot - pocokič
knot, tie - pock
know — Pin
Koso (tribename) - yuak ayam
lace ( \(\mathbf{N}\) ) - pinihw a pt ('thong')
La Chiminea - kuh-kumaškeavea ('walnut dice playing place')
ladle (V) - Pic
```

```
    ladle (N) - payo+t
    lake - m+mit
    lamb - purew +p, vurew ip
    lamb's quarters - kokt
    lame-yupup
    land (V) - nakworik
    land - t+\mp@code{vač}
    language - hupuc
    languish with hidden disease - \etaičiqk
lap (V) - Payk
La Panza - Patopyik
La Pastoria - pohwi
lard - wipt
large-pat+pa; cf. also augmentative suffix, chapter III, section A1
lassoo - kwea, kwihanip
last - h+w ač ('other'), pit ač
last one - Pa-pea
laugh - makaw
lazy - turupkit
leach (V) - wiw
leaf - kavac
leak - hopik
lean - piyipk (Adj.), piypk (VT)
lean - cohowik, cowkit
leather, work - h\ddaggerp+pk
left (-hand) - Pocip(na)
leg - cakac, paroc (lower leg)
lemon - limon
Lemoore - tacihpea
let (loose) - wirapk
let's - ca
```

$\qquad$

``` \(\ddagger\) č
lettuce - lečuga?
lie (V) (postural) - pik
lie down - kweapk
```

lie, tell a - šušavap
light - hawawapi, hawanapi
light a fire - kwačea?
lightning — pa-nakap taoč ('thunder's stick')
like - tim
like (V) - ciscik
lime (stone) - cipw, tivič
lip — p+ivišič ač ('cheek-mouth')
listen - kapvik
little - Panusi, Poncsic ('little finger')
little, a - cipk
liver - nimeac
lizard, spp. - canač ('iguana'?), cirukup ('iguana'?), ka k ayhup purawe? ("guico"), t+kirukup ("ajolote"-yellow, 8" long; "guico"),
locative $-\mathrm{j} \ddagger \mathrm{k}$, vea
lock - timk
locust - wopoht ('chapule')
loin - tithpic ('iomo')
loin cloth - kaha ('apron'), kwinupki P, taparava, tavič ('back flap')
Lola - Iola?
long - metapip
long ago — pu(-)puvea
look - hiu
look back over shoulder - ceak+k
look for - y an
look like - hunk ('resemble by descent')
look like - tinmea
look out through something - mayk
loose - murahik (VI), murahk (Adj.)
lop-sided - kavickik
Los Angeles - yaja, yavea
lose - hiahk (VT), hiahkik (VT)
lose (game or money bet) — rihvik (VI), cf. rihvk ('win'--VT), Pick

```
    lost, get - hiohk+k
    lots - waravk, w +r
    louse - Pač+mč
    louse sp. - štvactctc
    love - Puyhun
    lover - Puyk ('nobia'), p+yчap ('concubine', 'lover')
    low - pemisapip
    low tide, be - havr$k
    luck (? 'suerte') - k ači?
    lunch - pokuy at
    lung - šonač
    make - kim
    mallow - morvaš
    man - počuk; w+č+hoč ('old man')
    many - Wir
    manzanita - kičeč, kičavihač (edible sp.)
    marbles (named after chilecote plant) - Pinayc
    March - šqmiač ('flower month'), yam+ač;cf. also tamuavea
    mare - yew aš
    marriage - nopwak
    married - nopwakip
    marrow - popawe?
    marry - nopup
    mash - Wirop
    masher stick - wiahut
    mass (service) - miša ?
    mat - hon ot
    mat, wall - t+kanič
    maybe - k ay
    me--iv+n
    measure (?) - nanačunihwopt
    measure bead money - p$nk
    measure for beads (4 times around hand) - tikwe
    measure for beads (once around hand) - Pa-tiw one
```

meat - po-t ap, karnea, kawnea, tivopyt ('animal')
medicine - neliliw, niniliw, nilinyo
medicine, emetic - kuruventupinwapt
meet - Paŋk
melon - merin
melt — cohvik, kwaprik
memory - winika+ (< 'think')
mend - napk ('stick together')
menstruate - $m+y v+p, y$ ahaj $\ddagger k$
mesquite - Poč
metal - tukuhpač
metate - ciri pinwapt
Mexican(s) - činamrí, cicinayrí? ("Californio, persona del pais"), haykup (sg.), muka(h) ('white')
middle - hunavea ('heart', loc.), šun
midnight - hunavea tuka
midwife - mayhanipač, pitrarik ('tie-help'?)
milk — Pa-šahi (='juice, soup'), lečip ('cow's milk')
milk (mother's) - pip, ? ©-šahi mipipc ('milk of your breast')
milk (a cow) - kwick ('wring')
milkweed - kacic ('chewed'--Asclepias sp.), wivič (red sp., from which cord is made)
Milky Way - tukumušiva? ('cradle'), tivayłj ('toward the piñones') mineral? - niviłt (brown, earthy, for menstrual problems, etc.)
mirage - cf. kwakw ahuna?
miss (someone) - miyšiqk
miss (someone or something) - gan
miss (the mark) - pačaw
mission - lamisyon
mistletoe - pakačopap, pako pona
mix - mopnk (VT), monopk (Adj.), monikik (VI)
Mojave - pamahavap, mohovidz
moisten - yuašk
molar - kaycama ('mountain-tooth')

```
    mole (animal) - minaht, tihpokt
    money - pač+ht, tukup ač
    Mono Lake people - kahok am ('aproned') ("Monachi")
    Monolith - matavin ('the Monolith [Kawaiisu] settlement')
    Montalvo (plenm.) - munkik ahy }\ddagger\textrm{k}\mathrm{ ('= k ašupja')
    month - miač
    moon-m+ač
    more - hamak
    morning - tukavipea
    morning star - pahikyit
    mortar - tuhiwhat ('metate')
    mortar, bedrock - t +hp ah oč
    mortar, portable - t+kwis
    mosquito(es) - haw aw ač
    moss - pakačopap
    mother - y }
mother-in-law - y+r
mount horse - Poči k
mountain - kayc, moč, muaptat ('small mountain')
mountain lion - tukut, tukučuw ot
mountain ridge - papaywea
mouse - wakasip
mouth - šičač
move (change dwelling) - hupnik
much - pucuk, woravk, wir
mud-pakwinit
mule - mulopt
mulefat - Pipkoč
multi-colored - kopipk, kwitkwitk
multi-spirited person - PotP+šw+n+š
mush - pohkinic
mushroom sp. - takaši
mushroom sp. - t+yt pakumap ('spirit's or devil's hat')
musical instrument - wiropynihwapt
```

```
    musical instrument, play - wiropy, wiroypi
    mussel sp. - kukukunit+ (black bivalve, not a limpet)
    mustard - mort as ap
    mute - P&m+ha, naw Panahunwip weravk
    my - ni; cf. also -niw
    myth - cicipakinic
    myth, tell a - cicipakin
    myth character - hukaht, juhaha(\ddagger)t, kupkunič, nunašiš, pičureyt,
        tataknič
    myth characters of the sea - papomaš (also = 'fog')
    myth character (creator) - can+hpo ('our god')
    myth character (female) - cukit
    nail - kalavo?
    nail, finger - wocič
naked - p+na
name (V) - tiww
navel - toroc
near - pop, popip, Pahkw+k
neck - m+hic, yohoc
necklace - konakat, tukuhpač ('money')
needle - Pavuha
neg. - kay (in imp.), naw
nephew - Pahir, Pahkana, Pamcit, mahcit
nest (of rat or bee) - koce P
net - kwihat
net, type of - niririhkinič
nettle - hikihač
nevertheless - cf. wor$p
new - Pamayt
Newhall - pokurepen
news - tihw o?
next (year) - mat-a-kim hiw oč t\ddaggervač
niece - Pahir, Pahkana, Pamcit
night (,last) - tuko
```

nine - makaveyk +
nineteen - wehmohač hamak makaveyk $\ddagger$
ninety - mokoveyk thea wehmahač ('nine times two tens')
nit - Pašaykuyo
no-naw
no good - K+šap
no good - šuavač
nod - wopnik (VI), wopnk (VT)
none - nawhit
no one - naw hamic
north (?) - timinamoy $\ddagger \mathrm{k}$, timamik, kwimiko
nose - mukpic
not - naw
nothing - now hit
not quite - hahavik ( $V$ )
not yet - naw-ham, naw hamip
November - cf. tenavep, kiva?
now - Pamapy
nude - pina
nut - pucu
oak sp. - maphit (Quercus douglasii), mohc ač (Quercus sp.), š aš (mountain oak with edible acorn: Quercus wizlizerii sp.?), šev (white oak, edible acorn, Quercus lobata), sivisyu (Quercus lobata), tuke (reddish, inedible acorn), wipaht (has big acorns), wiphait (live oak of coast, with small acorns)
ocean-mimit, wanit ('river, flood')
ochre - Pohat
October - cf. tongya?
oh (woe) - ? ay
Ojai - Pohay
old person, very - puvih at
older sister - kohač
old man - $W+c ̌$ čh hač
Old Tejon - w $\ddagger$ hw $\ddagger$ pš ahovea (< 'trap')

```
    old woman - noht at
    olive tree - polivo?
    olives - Pesetuna?
    omen (V.) - tipayn
    on one side (eye, road) - cakapk (Adj.), cakahik (VI)
    on top - poppi
    once - hawkupi
    one - howkup
    one-by-one - hahukup
    onion - šivoye?
    onlooker — hi-hipač
only - nuk
only - mohmohopk
open - panapk (Adj.), papnk (VT), usayik, ušapea (plenm. meaning
        'opening')
open (sparse) - woro
open eyes - cana Pnk
opponent (in game) - k ayšuc
opposite side - Pamuvayu?
optative - mek, cf. also timek
orange - naragha?
other - híwač
other side,to or on - pamuvayup, papayu?
otter, sea - tukuvič, huprist
our - ct-; cf. -niw
outside - yivan
owe - Picakapy
owl, barn - šw at ('lechuza')
owl, great horned - munt
owl sp. - kukukuč
ox - níviyop, weyeš
paint - pošan (V), pošat (N)
paint, tattoo (N) - tivušip
pair - ya?yc
```

```
palm sp., of Antelope Valley - comoč
Pampa (plcnm.) - wicir ampea
Panamint (tribename) - cf. yuakoyam
pants - pant alon
parent of one's child-in-law - naw+\check{šm}
parent-in-law - kwaši
part (hair, etc.) - šeahk
partner in game - narkip
partridge - kakait (bigger than quail)
pass (in mountains) - kwinac
pass - nakwaritk ('pass over (V)'), nokwarkivea (plcnm.)
pass (through/over/by) - pihnn+k
past tense clitic - uvu?
past adverb - ?uve a ('before, already')
patch - napk
patio - vajkinic ('swept')
pay attention to someone - yanam
peach - P olvertigo, rur asne a ?
peak - munk
peanut - kokawat
pear - per aš
peas - čičaro?
peck for food - potin
peek out - hur + k
pen, writing - Pošanihwapt
penis - cf. kawrij+k (plcnm.--'penis mountain')
pencil - lapis, ošanihwapt
peón (game) - tұpuinic (N), tұpui (V)
peón stick - yoykat
pepper - pimyente?
peppery - cut at api, m+cane?
perhaps - cahakappea
person - kikep (in "coast Indian")
person - takat
```

personal name - yulom (a dog, from mountain name beyond El Oso) personal names - colo pt ('Cholo'), hopo Pno, hwon (Juan), kawana (Vicente Montes), kik acum (daughter of Isabella Gonzales), kuweye, manwelt oy (obj.), mašarin (perh. Marcelino), mos óliat (Isabel Gonzales], mayts an (male child), molest a (Modesta), muhiwe (= Marcelino Rivera), popičpuna [personal name in coyote story; F.], Pedrop, takmop, tame?, pucan (male child), visente?, wimpakum (perh. Angela Montes), yaypakup, yiwqipan
pespibata - civut
pester - tuh ('grind')
pestle - pahut
pet - Pacita
pet (V) (of dog) — pirpirk, viyap, vipyk ('touch/feel')
phlegm - koroma
piano - pianoptay (obj.)
pick up - cip
picking sticks for tunas - yaivanap ('carry', instr.)
picture - poš anic
pierce - horohk
pigweed - kokt
pile up - mohmik (VI), momk (Adj., VT), monmonkik ('hills')
pillow - $k \ddagger p \ddagger n a$ ?
pinch (VT) - cop
pine, spp. - tikoht, wokoht ("piño balsama"--pine nuts and tree)
piñon (pine nut) - tivat
pipe - wikit, wikinwapt
Piru - pa-kavay+k
pitch — hanat ('tar used on arrows'), pohanap (used for paint-ing-compound with 'paint'); cf. Popowe?
pith - šun
pity (V) - mič $\ddagger+k$
placename (village site below Old Town) — pamahayk

```
placename (mythological?) - Pa-t &mkiniw+jok ('Coyote's home in
Ranch Creek Canyon')
placenames': Pa-we?rkineavea (picnm. where someone was pushed
    into the lake), čalamošpea(plcnm. < "estafiate sp."), civut pavea
    (on Comanche Creek; Yok. "Sanchiu"); hovi-yłk ? - plenm. VF:
    hoviy+k (placename at Temescal ranch), hin-hinkeovea (a hot
    springs), honewimats (on Paso Creek; Yok. "tsuitsau"),
    kaykukpea (mountain east of Tehachapi in Kawaiisu country,
    meaning bluish or blackish stones), movin, nokw arkivea,
    unuamea
plane a board - šiv
plant, spp.
    Pač+mawat ("doves eat it")
    Pamawiš (Berula erecta sp.?)
    Pawčivinač (Mirabilis froebellii)
    cinonokt (white flower, black seed; use seed and grass)
    c+camur ("alfilarillo"-used as horsefeed)
    c+w+hup (a chamiso that had hard wood)
    comač (Joshua tree; or 'cholla' cactus [= Solanum_Douglasii?])
    cova\eta\ ("yerba del manso", "yerba mansa"; Anemopsis california;
        medicinal for cold, cough)
    cukuip (useful only as feed)
    hučic (willow sp.)
    hunakač ("chamiso"; twig used for ear-piercing; medicinal)
    h+č (used in baskets; vine; red berries not edible)
    Pipkoč (mulefat)
    kacic (milkweed that is chewed: Asclepias sp.)
    kačokt (Isomeris arborea, fever medicine)
    kakač (ash-colored, 3' tall)
    kayak (angelica)
```

> ${ }^{1}$ This is a partial listing, as placenames are too numerous to list. Note also that it is not always possible to distinguish a true placename from a mere locative expression. Clearly identified placenames are listed separately under their English equivalents.
kipat (tree sp.? used for house roofing)
kimiš (grass or shrub 3' high, red flower, edible black seed)
$k \dot{k} u c ̌$ (has edible greens and yellow flower)
kokait (soaproot?; "plant with root like amole, to wash with";
San Emigdio named after it)
kokt, koht (leaves boiled and eaten; poss. Chenopodium)
kovakaytat panflinyo (medicine for bite of "pajarhuél", insect
like a wood tick; also for cuts; Euphorbia polycarpasp.?)
kutwayal (resembles cilantro)
kuvoč (blue or purple flowers)
kuvanavuč (white flowers; root made into emetic tea)
kwitak (Cucurbita palmata; smoked; medicinal for earache)
makač (used for black paint)
mamukiy ač (Cirsium occidentale sp.?; edible)
muahkinwapt ('steam' instr.)
muakapy (laxative tea; called "bad woman" in Spanish)
nokmát (Croton californicus Mull. ...--[illegible]; boiled root is
medicine for "blood" and for clap)
poč (mesquite: Prosopis chensis)
pocoč (a grass used for brooms and baskets)
pohuš opy ("a kind of rama")
pokot (used to sew piñon baskets)
puhcukuč (has fine black seeds for pinole; edible greens)
purawe? ("guico" [squash sp.?])
sipin (of no use)
šiw ("cacomite"; onion like bulb)
tamovit (plant from which awl point is obtained)
t $\ddagger$ kic (white flower, tuberous root; source of Ft. Tejón name)
tivušip ('night shade', Span. "chichiquelite"; used in tattooing)
tutut (Ephedra sp.)
tuvit (grass with edible seeds longer than foxtail; loc.)
pumoč (Spanish bayonet?)
wacic, wacič (medicine to keep hair from falling out)
wakat at Papomo (Stachys albene Gray; 'frog's shoulder')
wopt (juniper)
wikwat (good for burning piñon; looks like rosemary) wiv+č (fiber-producing milkweed)
yohpač (has bulbs)
plant (V) - pavuhočup
play - tuhtutu?
play ball - vola?
play game (gen.) - punite
play a certain game - tec ankik (inf.; play game of 8 reed dice)
play game (peón) - t t p pui
play game (chilecote) - tohiyicin
play (instrument) - wiropy, yuynan
play slide - sir $\ddagger \mathrm{hr}+\mathrm{k}$
play walnut dice - kumaši $k$
playful person - tuhtutupip ač
playground - giyakit
Pleiades - nonom, takoakam
plow (N) - Pararop
plow (V) - kwiatin, yorin
plum - sirwelop
plum, California wild (= islay) - tokit (fruit), kupioht (tree or fruit)
point (V) - he Prk
point ( N ) - wivavk $\ddagger$ ?
point (of deer) - sumanapkapy ('one-point'), papaheak ('threepoint'), mahačapkapy ('five-point'), tarapkak ('two-point'; = 'forked')
pointed - wivauk
poison - pahovip (of snake, etc.)
poison ivy - y ač ("hediondillo", "hediondilla")
poker-t $\ddagger$ puinic
poor - hoojo
pop — pahk $+k$ (VI), pahk (VT)
poplar - womat, wamanakic (alamillo-grows in arroyos)

```
    possession (and possessive classifier) - -niw
    pot - kiwiš, poya?
    potrest stone - tav-ihwapt kiw+štay ('pot putter')
    potato - pap as
    pound meat - cinea?
    pound metate - pip
    pour - k+meap ('spill', caus.)
    praise - yunu?
pray - Paya+n (VT)
pregnant - topkapy (< 'stomach'), tok at
pretty - numuač
prick - pacaptup
prickly pear - naviht
priest - pandrip, pantri?
prisoner - kwakapwat
pronoun emphasizer - pumuk, punuk, umuk, unuk
prostitute - pqy+ap
puddles, make - mimitup
puff up (VT) - cf. pitk
pull -m+čk
pull out - rukutk
pupil (eye) - takat
pure (undiluted) - cipkič
purgative - patupcip
purge - winihw a Pt ('have diarrhea', inst.)
pus- pikahic
push - t+čk
put - ta
put away to keep (VT) - nicu?
put back - monkinea ('go back', caus.)
put in - curupk (VT < 'go in')
put up (out of reach) - pipvk
quail - kakač, kokaitt
question clitic - (i)t
```

```
    quick - namapyk
    quiet - yank
    quince - memriya?
quiver - pananat, tanat at
rabbit sp. (cottontail) - tovuht
rabbit sp. (jackrabbit) - t+hokt
raccoon - pa Pih oč
radish - ravanop
rain - won (V), woyat (N)
rainbow - \(\mathfrak{r}\) ašininap, pahikyұt
raise - pipvk ( = 'put up out of reach')
raise (child) - tučop ('grow up', caus.)
raisins - pas as
ramada - Poyojik, hororkinat, hororkinic
rape (?) - pinank ("romper una muchacha")
rat - kač, wakasi (= 'mouse')
rattle, coccoon - kawakawač
rattle, deerhoof - ciwiciwič
rattlesnake - \(\mathrm{h} \ddagger \mathrm{\eta} \mathrm{t}\)
raven - p ačaw at
ravine (?) - nakač
raw (medicine) - y aynat ('live')
raw - šaip, rapupk ('green')
read-lerin
ready - puhciva, t+ht + Pymow
real (unit of money) - p +nk
receive guest - mayow ('hand-grasp')
recently - mininan
red - kw ašipk
red paint - pohat ('ochre')
reed spp.: Pavanač (big; Rumex crispus; seeds eaten), hayic, hwač,
mahw oč, mooč (bigger than hweč), pakač (cane), pakaynikit
("carrizo, sp."), pivuht (tule, Scirpus alnevi sp.?-used for
house, mats, food), toic (water flag)
```

```
    reflexive - tok (cf. chapter II, section C)
    relative - hintuač
    remain - h+čij
    remember - ni-hun Pa-kwatik (cf. 'heart', yomk, cf. also winikai
    remind - yamk+ta, yamkineap
    resemble - mea, tqhmea, tqm
    resemble by descent - hunk
    respect - yunu?
    rest (N) - tahičpea (plcnm., meaning "where you rest a while and
        then start on your journey--una atardeada"), y+hatup ('take
        shade'; "sestear")
rest (V) - hayin
revolve - wirawirapy, wirahrik (VI), wirawirapk (VT),
    wirawirop+k (Adj.)
rib-Pamuc .
rice - Parostay (obj.)
rich - niwkapy ('possession', char.)
ridge, mountain - Pa-p oywea
right (hand) - numua(\etao) ('good')
ring around sun or moon - tiykur
Rio Chiquito - Pokavea ('sand', loc.)
ripe - Po-kwahi
rise - viruhvik
rise (sun) - Wirahrik tivoč ('the earth turns back')
river - wonit, poč ('water'); cf. also okoč
road - pokt
roadrunner - puhyitt
roast - kameaf ('bury'), tip ('roast over coals'), wow
roasting pit for mescal - t#pač
rob - Piyiww
robin - šiyakak
rock - timit
rock, type of - Payc (white, soft)
roll (eyes) (VT) - manu Pm-m anu Pm k
```

```
    roll over - manapy
    romerillo - cakepe
    room- iqkea
    rooster - cf. 'chicken'
    rooster comb - cineapnap
    root - yakawi, šutču
    rose, wild - Pučuč (piant: Bosa cadifornica,, berry eaten, stalk
        yield's powder for women's face paint)
rotten - pašova, piškap
rough (-surfaced) - šarork
round - paropk, Puvat (< 'eye')
rub-h+pipkk,šuvip
rubber - Pulip
rug - honat
rummage things over - wahwaya?
run - wanak (VI), wanakanea? (VT)
sad - Pa-hun Pa-k+hah+k ('his/her heart is sad'), mwұiršk
saddle (V) - siyarin
saliva - hač ač
salt - hyavit
saltrass, saltpeter - himukt
salty - cukwap
same - Pamoppea, tim, tinmea
San Bernardino - morinopea
San Cayetano (plcnm.) - m oh aholpea
San Emigdio - kok awpea (named for soap root like amole)
San Fernando - paše\eta
San Francisquito (?) - cowoyu\eta
San Gabriel - šivavea
San Luis Obispo - tilhini
sand - Pok ač, ẏ̈rum oč
Santa Barbara - pirisiriyupe a
Santa Paula - mupuppea
sapling - Po-šitopa ?
```

```
    Saticoy - satikoypea
    say-hok
    scalp - -kwokapupap
    scissors - winihwopt ('cut', instr.)
    scold - ha-hak
scorpion - pinoč
scrape - pikwk, šiv
scrape sweat from self - y+sk %?
scratch - šim
scratch (V, of a chicken) - cop, wapnwapnk
scratcher, shell - šimihwapt
scratching stick (for woman) - wokihwapt (= "amole brush")
scream - yik
scrounge - tiht+vog
sea-mimit
sea lion - kupmuš, tukučuput pave ('lion in the water)
seat - ropwk (VT of 'sit')
secret - cf. yaqumines
see - hiu
seed - puc
seed sp. - kuč
seedbeater - wacavinwapt
seems, it - cf. cahakappea
self - cf. 'reflexive'
sell - nahponom
send - t+htin
separate (V) - napak (VI), napkan (VT), nihininaw (VT)
separately - howkupiču?
September - of. topovap
Serrano from San Bernardino - marinapyam
Serranos - cf. w opeat am
Sespe - sehpe?y
set - Pik+neap (VT < 'lie'?), rapwk (VT < 'sit')
set (sun) - we Prik
```

```
seven - kwackaveyk;
seventeen - wehmahač hamak kwackaveykł
seventy - kwockaveykthea wehmahacc ('seven times two tens')
sew - ho?
shack - tamwapnat
shade - tikwakayc, tipaka
shade house (where people live in summer) - tikwak ayc
shade, take - tikwakapyow, yithatup
shadow - tikwokayc
shake - tikwk (VT), vopyik, vopy+k (VI), vopyk (VT), voyoyopy
shallow - pappi (= 'on top')
shaman - cač
shaman, curing - šapakay
shaman's assistant singer - cačuphyitt
shameful one - ciupnip ač
shark sp. - h#hcikač
sharp - wivavk, tomawit ('tooth', aug.)
sharpen - Wivavk, tamapn
shear (V) - riopin
shears - winihwa pt ('cut', inst.)
she - Pa-; Pamap, patap
sheep - papwaim (pair), papwat (sg.), papwam (plu.),
    purew+iPyam, vurewi?
sheep, mountain - papt
shell sp. - y ahuč
shell sp. - šawmi (cone-shaped)
shell - cik or at (shell used by shaman and in tobacco cake)
shell - koco
shell corn - karap
shepherd - puhceakapy ('care for', instr.)
shin - p oroc
shine (light) - kwaritk
shinny, play - pučahk
shinny game (N) - puč ahkinic
```

```
    shiny - kwananapy, tavatava ?ynik, taviyik
    shit —— ša
    shoe - navokahac
    shoot (an animal, etc.) - mu
shoot at target - weterere?
shooting star—hupč Pakut ('star's fire'?), Pawanak hupč ('it-runs
    star')
short — pemisapip
Shoshone (tribename) - cf. yuakoyam
shoulder - pumuc
shoulder blade - š \(\ddagger \mathrm{kac}\)
shovel - palapcay (obj.)
show - Payn
shrine - nahwinic
shut — \(n \ddagger k+k, t \ddagger m k\)
sibling - humu ('brother or sister, older or younger')
sibling, younger - pitač
sick - muk, mukuk
sidesaddle - pičk ('sideways')
sideways — p+čk
Sierra de la Grulla - yelpe
siesta, take a - yihatup
silver (color) - pač \(\ddagger k t\)
Simi - šimin
sinew - Pa(-)tap, tapkat ('deer sinew for binding bow')
sing - yup
sing ceremonially (healing shaman) - cočup
sing, deerhoof - noh-yu
singe (?) - kwirk ('trim feathering with live coal')
singer - cačuhyit
single file - hururavapy \(\ddagger k\) ("placename where they go in single
    file...running down to El Monte")
sink (V: of water?) - cotitk
sink (V) - Popik (VI), Popk (VT)
```

```
    sinner - tqavopw qt
    sister - kohač
    sister-in-law - -kuhana
sit — rapwik
sit with feet straight out and together - warahavik, waravk,
    ('much,very,hard')
six - pavahip
sixteen - wehmahač hamak pavahi
sixty - pavahea wehmahač ('six times two tens')
skin - -koco, toko
skunk - ponivač
sky - tukuhp ač
slanting (of road-winding?) - p+čk
slap holier - yupinan Pašičay ('play one's mouth')
slaughter - kon
sleep - kum
slender - cahawik (VI), cohwkit (N), halpanap
slide, play - sirihri+k
sling - hupno
slip - (harup)harupy, haruhrík ('slip down'), rikwatik
small - PanuPsip, Panosic ('little finger')
smart - winikaik (< 'think')
smear - kwaprik (VI), kwarap (VT)
smell (VI) - muap
smell (VT) - hukum
smoke (N) - mwapt
smoke (VT) - muahk
smokey, be - muak+k
smoke (pipe or cigar) - wik
smooth - rikwarikw apy (cf. rikwotik)
snail - huč ('star')
snake - hint
snake sp. - t ahuč ('gopher snake'?)
snake, water - panahuč (black with white longitudinal stripes)
```

```
    snake, corral - tapoč
    snake sp. (mythological?) - w ayniš ("chirreonera")
    snake motion - šunišun\?
    snap with finger - tišk
    snore - toča?
    snow - yu
    snuff - civut
    soft - namapip
    soften leather - h+p +pk
    soil, type of (?) - puyumak+ (from marshes, = 30yip)
    soldier - kW ak ač
    some- (forms positive indefinites) - tum, cf. t &m
    someone - tumhami
    something - tumhit
    sometime - hamip
    son--mayho
son-in-law - mišana
soot - t+mw ot (< 'smoke')
sore (N) - kapanac
so that (?) - punuk
song - c ačuič
soon-namapik
sorry - mwiršk
soul - hunoc
soup - Pa-sahi
sour - cukwap
south - Pa Puykisayuk
spark (V, of fire) - tocip
sparse - woro
spend night - town
spherical - paropk
spider - kukač
spider, water - hukaht
spill - kim
```

```
    spirit - t+yt
    spit - tohv+k
    spittle - toykiv+č
    splice - naceap, napawicu?
    splints, junco - h+pivic
    split — h+piv, šererk
    split-stick - pakakaynapt (clapper of split cane or willow)
    spoil - k+hop
    spoon - kučarap
    spray water (V) - punk
    spread (dirt, etc.) - šeank
    spread legs - kwapyk
    spread (meal on batea) - wank
    spread (water) - wicacik
spread out - yor
spring (season) - yamavap ('April'), yam+iač ('March')
spring - pepo, pavuhave
sprinkle - wick
sprout - šitup
spur (V) - cihcik
spur (N) -cikininwopt
spurge - kovakaytat Pan+linyo
squash (V) - h+jk
squash (N) - karvašap
squash sp. (?) - pur awe P ("guico")
squashed (of nose) - poc ahk
squeeze - kwacap
squirm - vopy+k
squirrel, antelope - ko\etait
squirrel, baby - k anaypucic
squirrel, flying - hikait
stab - c+k, c+tmakup, kurup
staggering(ly) - takotokapy
steirs - P&tapkihwapt ('go up', instr.)
```

```
stallion - gar anyon
stand on head - cinakik
stand up - copn+k, hoc+k, k+čk
standing up - conopk
star - hupč
steal - P&y+%w
steep - Wicipk
step on - hink
stepchild - Pahk ana
stick - kučat, nakat ('stick'; 'digging stick')
stick (V) - c+k
stick out - purahk (VT < 'go/come out'; also = 'dry (clothes)')
stick together - napk
stiff - rutatik
still - ham, hamip
stingy - širic
stir - hakwaw, kwam, wiro?
stirring stick - weahut
stir up - košiP
stoke fire - kwačeap
stomach - to Pč; cf. also hunac
stone - timi+t
stone, type of - k aykukpea ("sierra east of Tehachapi in Serr.
country, means bluish or blackish stones")
stone, type of - tiscoqut (powerful stone from coast, color of the
graniteware)
stop (VI) - copnikk, win
stop up - \etaaki+k (VI), \etaahk (VT)
storage place - tarivanap [< te 'put'?] ('storeroom, box,trunk')
store - nahponomat, tyenda
story - ciciakinic
straight - rupk
straighten - rupk
strain - povap
```

```
    strainer - t+P\etakinivanap ('deep', instr.)
    strawberry - madulse ?
    stretch (oneself) - wacacapy
    string beads - purikow, ho ('sew')
    string bead money (V) - ni-šipu ni-k+m ('l__')
    strip leaves off - šipk
stuck - nopi+k
stutter - tohop Pa-hugwip ('foolish his/her talking')
suck - cuy, pih
suddenly - pokatkipik
sugar - pihač
summer - Pošip, tojavap
sun - tameat
sun, take - hup ('burn')
Sunday - w+inic (pass. nom. of 'stop', VI)
sun oneself - tavihukwap
sunflower - Piwi, popapkač, (Helianthus annuus)
sunny - taviy+k
sunrise - tukavipea, Pa-hurik tameat
sunset - yiha, pa-weprik tameat
sunshine - Pa-tikwaki, tameat Pa-kupea ('sun's summit')
swallow (V) - mink
swallow (N) - patiptikeač
swap - nonuk ow
sweat - yišq+k (VI), yiškif (N)
sweat house - huyacow, ? anusi kic ('small house')
sweep - vank
sweet - pišopip
sweet potato - kamote?
swell - pakanap (V), pakanapic (N)
swim - pavacaypep
swing - hipyi+k (VI), hiyk (VT), hiykihwapt (N)
sycamore - havoč (Platanus racemosa)
syphilis, have - kw ačkwočiqk, cf. also 'venereal disease'
```

```
    table - lomesa?
    Tacuya (plenm.) - kupya\eta (< 'large bird sp.')
    tadpole - pavopvop ač
    tail - kwacit oc
    take - pup
    take down - hamutk (VT < 'climb down')
    take off - puk
    take out - piakk
    take shade - t+kwakapyaw, y+hatup
    take steam - muakik
talk - hugup, tahtano
tall - metapi?
tan leather - h\ddaggerp\ddaggerpk
tapeworm - Papak+ha
Tapo - kW+v+\eta, ta apupea("tapo")
tar - hanat
tarantula - tukuku
target - wetererepnihw apt
tarweed - pahin ač
Tataviam (people) - to-t oviyam
Tataviam, speak - tavia?
tattoo (V) - pošon
tattoo paint - pošat
tea - cap
teach - tanimak an
teacher - noh-t animakonok
tear (VT, of cloth) - p+nank
tear(s) (N) - Popšič
tease - Pihamap
Tehachapi (site of New Town) - toruhuppea ('baby cradle place')
Tehachapi (Old Town) - k+saptahič, pamaheyk (village site below
Old Town), tahičpea, t+viy+k
Tejon, Fort - t+kičpavea (< 'plant sp.')
Tejon Pass - nokworkive ('El Paso store site', < 'pass')
```

Tejon ranchería - kučit Pohove (plenm. above the Ranch House, = Dog Rock), pipvunacape a ("where Rosemeyer lived"), t $\ddagger$ hokt pahovea ('rabbit hole': village 3 mi . southwest of Tejón Ranchería house)
Tejon, Old - with-w $\ddagger$ pšahavea (ranch house on Paso Creek)
tell - hak, t+ho
tell myth or story - cicipakin
ten - wehmahač ('two-five')
thank you - ni-hun numuoč $p \ddagger m+y \ddagger k$ ('my heart good toward you'), Wiyi, wiyi (ritual form, said by yivar men to attendants)
that - pamap (distal), patap (proximal)
thatch - hamapn (cf. 'grass')
their - $\mathrm{p} \dot{+}$-; cf. also -niw
there - Pamuk, pap, Papan, papan
there, from - papeay, pap, pop
therefore - pamatan
they - pamam, pam, pt-
thick (of board) - t+puck
thick (liquid) - tipuck, wakit
thief - piyit
thigh - cakac, jaykac
thin (of board) - pivivi?
thin (of a liquid) - pavakit, yaw $\ddagger k$
think - winikaw
thirsty - pameatup
thirteen - wehmahač hemak pahea
thirty - pahea wehmahač ('three times two-five')
this - Pivip, pa-mi ('that goes' [used with 'day', 'year', etc.])
thorn - wiho, cf. wihač 'cholla'
three - pahi?
throat - yohoc
throw - mu
throw at - pip
throw down - wawk

```
    throw up - sukiuvi
    thunder - kuruPr+k (VI), -kuh-kururu (N), tooč
    Thursday - Po-w aca ('four')
    tick - Pačimč, mumac, kovakaytat ('pajarhuel')
    tickle (V) - cikurup
    tidy - numuapik tavic ('well put')
tie - pin, cf. kweg? 'lassoo'
tie knot - pock
tight - mucik
tinder - hayic, yeska
tiptoe, with belly drawn in - hekw i k
tire out (VT) - wawtkinea
- tired - Wawt+k
    to - -y ik
    toadstool - tiyt Pakumap ('devil's hat')
    toast (V) - man, kiriq?
    tobacco - civut (Nicotiana Bigelosii sp.?)
tobacco bag - ta\etaatat
tobacco drink - kwamic ('stir', pass. nom.)
today - Pa-mi tameat ('day that goes')
together - hawkupivap (< 'one'), hitk (in a row), mick
toloache (Jimson weed urink) - m anič
tomato - tom ote?
tomorrow - puve ohpea
tongue - ni\etaič
tonight - Po-mi tuko ('night that goes'), tuka
tooth - tamac
top - kupea (top of head, mountain), timkit ('lid')
topknot - Pususu?
iortiia -ititiya, iq\mp@code{rityap}
touch - viyap (pet dog), vipyk ('touch, feel')
tough (meat, etc.) - putu?
towards - yik
toy - tuhtutupap (< 'play'), tuhtutupinwapt ('play', instr.)
```

```
    trade - nanukaw
    trail — pokt [NB p ~k]
    transvestite - tuhu?
    trap - wipš oh ot
    trap in a falltrap - cirhk (V)
    tree - kučat
    tree sp. [partial listing] - hoko(-?)kojoč, tikit, tupt (used for
        digging stick), Puvič (weave with bark)
tremble - šaririp
tribename ("Monachi") - kohokam (cf. koc 'front apron of dress'?;
        Indians at Independence, near Nevada; Kawaiisu called them
        Dayozoz)
tribename - yuakayam, kayam (tribe inhabiting puakopy mountain,
        Antelope Valley)
tribename (Kern Lake Indian) - pa-p ave at am
tribename: Monos? Tübatulabal? - šiwipkawiy am
tribename: Tübatulabal - tivapeatam (<tiveat 'piñon')
tribename - šušumkam (extinct tribe)
tribename, near Visalia - teplámnipyom, tulamne ("language of
        tunami(yam) Indians of Buena Vista Lake and of Bakersfield
        Indians")
tribename - wow alyam
tribename - pakwinipeat am ('Ventureños')
true - mimk
trunk - kahon, terivana? [<ta 'put'?]
try - tuip
Tübatulabal - šiwipkawiyam ('Tübatulabal Indian, Rio Chiquito
        Indian'), t+vape at am ('piñon'), ok ač tak at (< 'sand'?)
tuche - šin nanami
tuck under belt - tapira?
Tujunga-tuhuna
Tulare Lake - tacihpea ('land of Tachis ... Tulare Lake or Lemoore')
Tulareños - pove at am ('Kern Lake Tulareños')
tumor - cf. gah-gaykamuk
```

```
    tumpline - Pajork + ?
    turn (VT) - manupmk
    turn around (VI) - kwitupmik
    turn over - wir ahr \(\ddagger k\)
    turnip - navuht
    turpentine weed - muakapy (under muahk-ik)
    turtle - kopot ot
    twelve - pahiwaca, wehm ahač woh ('two-five two'), wehm ahač
    hamak woh
twenty - wohea wehmahač ('twice two-five')
twins - nacavor akam
twist - miruhrk (VT < 'kink')
twist rope - wicup
two - woh
ugly - kišap ('bad')
unable - hahavik
uncle - makay
uncle, various types - taho, kuhm
unfeeling person - kišap ? ahun ('no good his/her heart')
untidy - mušamušapy
untie - murahk (VT, Adj.), murahik (VI)
up - Povap, tukuhpavea ('sky', loc.)
up, go - pitahik (VT)
upstream - Parupk, wanit
urinate - šip
urine - šipc
us - -vicicim, -ícîm
use strength - povap
valley - kwinač ('gap, pass'), wivit ('level ground')
venereal disease (?) - ŋahnoykamuk ("tener potros"; < 'thighs'),
    waŋaŋary (Adj.: "tener purgación"), kwačkwačik ('have
    syphilis')
Ventura - pokwinipea (< 'mud, clay')
Ventureños - kišaniphupukain ('ugly talkers'); pakwinipea at am
```

```
    verbalizer for attributive nouns and numerals - ivok, ivan
    very - pucuk, warovk
    village, rancheria - ki-kic
    vinegar weed - muakapy (under muahk-ik)
    violin - violin
    vulture - pawirukuht, wirukuht
    wait - puhcip
    wake up - tqmaw
    walk - nim, tuahik
    walking stick (insect) - huvowovit ('blind')
    walnut (nut and tree) - kihe
    want - -ihun, uyhun ('take-want')
    wapiti - pahuk aht
    war - namuic ('fight', pass. nom.)
    warm oneself - hapy+k
wash (clothes) - co\etak
wash (VT) - k+cop
watch (N) - tame ot (= 'sun')
water - p ač
watercress - verop
waterfall - puruppacc (falls of Kern River), pa-huci+k pač ('water
        falls')
watermelon - šany ač
watery - povakit
wave - Pa-kwičqk Papova mimitt ('it stands up its force the sea')
we - Picam, icač, icamíp, co- (hortatory subject), c+- (indicative
    subject)
wear out - \eta+hw+k (YI), \eta+hwk (VT)
wear widow's soot - yup akina?
weave - n+i
web - pavacapivanap('swim', instr.)
Wednesday - Pa-pohiP ('third')
week - simana
well - numua Pik (< 'good')
```

```
    well (N) - poso p
    west - Pacaw kikayuk, timamik
    wet - Pacotkipea (San Fernando), payowcik, hopik ('leak, be
        wet'), hopk ('make ditch run'), počuit (< 'water'), yuašiłk
    whale - kiyow
    what? - haminat, haminaw at (aug.), haminata, hitet, hinim (plu.)
    wheat - toriw + ?
wheel - rueda?
when? - hinip op
when - Pivap, mahmat ( \(=\) 'if', in future conditional)
where? - haypea, hip, y \(\ddagger\) č
whip - wikivihwopt ('hit', inst.)
whip (a liquid) - hakwow
whirlpool - Pa-kwišušupip pač
whirlwind - Patakuciva
whiskey - hwiskit ay (obj.)
whisper - hawapy
whistle ( N ) - pakuininwapt, wikoynihwapt (of bone)
whistle (V) - Wikwip, wikoyn, yupynan pašičay ('play one's mouth')
white - payak
white man [presumably, 'white person'] - mukep
white paint - towic
who? - hami(c)
why - haminat, haminawat (aug.), haminata
widow(er) - hahvkic
widowed, be - hahvkeap
wife - \(n \ddagger m i h u \eta\)
wild - načakwinit ("una cimarrona"), šuavač ("bravo, maldito")
willow - hakat, hučic ('willow sp.')
Willow Springs - panukavea (Mohave town, in Antelope Valley)
win - nahnipk, pink
wind \((V)\) - kwišukapk ('wind hair in a molote')
wind, windy - šivitt, šivik, po-šivko
window - ventapnu
```

```
    wing - mahoc
    wink - Po-we anovin Po-uvan+ ('he winked at me with his eye')
    winnow - kay+P, kay\ddaggerpk
    winnow in certain ways - copcakin, honin, hұneap, wұšk
    winter - tamuovea, Pa-šivka ('wind')
    winterfat - pipkoč
    wipe - pikwk
    wise - mačike? ('wise person'), pinanat (< 'know')
    with (accompaniment) - c+vap, -meap
    wolf - wonač
    woman - kwihak
wood - kučat
woodpecker (red-headed?) - šicc
woodpecker sp. - pivan ač
work - hupeaha
work - tumahan
worid - t+vač
worm - kup oč
worm sp., from Sphinx moth - pipaka
worm sp. - purpur
worn out - \eta+hw+ik
wrestle - ulucarin, nanakša?
wring - kwick
write - Pošon (= 'paint')
Yawelmani by Bakersfield - wonipeatam ('river people')
yawn - hakwakwory
year-tivoč
yell --wi
yellow - Pamariyo?
yes-hai
yesterday - tuk
yet, not - nowham
Yokuts - noče (tribename or nickname for Yokuts)
```

Yokuts (below here and at B[akersfield?]; also their language) kahpišakam ('Tulareños')
Yokuts group - tun ami(yam) (at Buena Vista Lake; used boats and spoke tulamne)
Yokuts group - wowal (from Lemoore)
Yokuts, Tachi - tacih-y am (from Tulare Lake or Lemoore)
Yokuts, Yawelmani - wonipeat am (cf. 'river'; over by Bakersfield), yawilmani ('Visalia Indians')
you - $p \ddagger m+p$ (sg.), $\ddagger m+p \ddagger(p)$ (plu.), $m+p-$ (sg.), pi-(plu.)
young - cf. nacat, titinit
youngest - pit ač
your - mip-(sg.), — pi- (pl.); cf. -niw
yucca - comot, pumuč
zigzag - Pa-t $\ddagger m k i n i y \ddagger k$ (plenm.: meaning 'creek zig-zags there')
zigzag design - ?ananačun hucay, kwiočkik; cf. also kimač

## APPENDIX A: <br> SAMPLE PAGES FROM THE FIELDNOTES OF J. P. HARRINGTON

V.Jam. hupitspe 18 a place at the othor sido of the hill which 1 a north of the rancheria here, over the other side of the ridgo (north side of the ridgel.
$\because$ Cali Bear Valley (north of here) hunaajok too (as well as Los 0so.9).

Jam, tū́jṕ, a big aierra bejong Bear Valley. tū̄ipe wus Jam. territory It la a very. iarge aiorre.

Jam. wahi atiphipe = White Yincte Wolf Spring (tho ofthor side of tū市e mountain)
htinink Jam. hinhinkeave = Caliente. It was. Jam. tarritom. Jam. $\quad$ ritfilampea = place below Caliente which is:callod Jampa. The px place is now called xix vina.
 Calionte Nombra la garza (or grulla: $\because \therefore$

Jom. híayigor is the lake a fow miles ost of mehachapi tona side of the highway there. Its name would be transiated into $\nabla_{\text {. as }}$ sitiptip. .It montions salt.

Jam. hưtfrijak (means aausito chino) is an aguago bolow (east of) híavigok lake: Thoy used to trasquilur thero. xinex Jam. purwan $=$ the big mountain northeast of the ranchería hero.

Jam. tupijak (mentions a ramita a foot high) = Brito valle.
Jom. tisilampe $=$ the cordontix that rune between where the two Brites live - a ridge. Fhere is a spring on euch slde of this ridgo and the tro springs are opposite each othor.

Vam: tfalamapo (means ostafiate sp.) $=$ tho sauski bolom Britos vall oy.
used Lincatic rawmatos, : $\theta$ as fincuror.

Puan as un tices heme-como bolal.
Call bofih rak. moss $t$ mobtledue Thens. lnf insisds.
na'kako ${ }^{\text {k }}$ at fr $=$ wows ching, -puedicen; pli. k ha'kakryam.
gurws lice meso.
hifiris, like oans but.

$$
0.6 \text {. }
$$

innizo.
giows lecre.
ing. nevir saw anow foll when "
 - Sear when at Pirro saw sinowinon rée mis. : at matiap-qain mom
 - Prid - ang askes her moohn what is wres. Hen mother suid joat pnta', it is now. Ex lilyined that it fation like. nain. sin mothen naw how do cookwell


#### Abstract

APPENDIX B: KITANEMUK FORMS FROM A.L. KROEBER Handbook forms

The following forms were collected from A.L. Kroeber's Handbook of the Indians of California (Kroeber 1925), chapters 42 and 43. They have been entered into the dictionary with the source code "K". Kroeber's initial upper-case letters in placenames and tribenames have been changed to lower-case, in keeping with the style of the dictionary. The table following the entries lists all the characters appearing in this list of Kitanemuk forms, and a description of each symbol as it applies to the Kitanemuk forms, adapted from the Handbook's appendix, "Pronunciation of Native Words". 1


agutushyam, agudutsyam, akutusyam² - name used by the Kitanemuk and Vanyume Serrano for the Kawaiisu (that is, Tehachapi or Caliente) Indians.
amahaba ${ }^{3}$ - tribename: the Mohave of the Colorado River, welcome guests among the Kitanemuk, and frequent trading partners. chivutpa-ve ${ }^{4}$ - placename: on Comanche Creek, called by the Yokuts "Sanchiu".

[^59]2 Cf . ?akutucyam in the dictionary.
${ }^{3} \mathrm{Cf}$. Pamohovar in the dictionary.
4 Cf. civutpovea 'Comanche Spring' or 'El Comanche', in the dictionary. Kroeber doesn't say what his hyphen is intended to represent, but in this case at least it separates the locative suffix from the stem 'water'.
hinhinkiava5 - placename: a hot springs or Agua Caliente in the vicinity of Tehachapi Pass, in Kawaiisu territory; called "tumoyo" or "shatnau ilak" by the Yokuts.
honewimats ${ }^{6}$ - placename: below the ranch house on Paso Creek; called by the Yokuts "tsuitsau".
mavin ${ }^{7}$ - placename: Tehachapi Peak or a mountain near by, perhaps called by the Yokuts "chapanau". nakwalki-ve ${ }^{\mathbf{8}}$ - placename: the principle village of the Kitanemuk, called by the Yokuts "pusin-tinliu". noche ${ }^{9}$ - tribename or nickname for Yokuts. pa-manit ${ }^{10}$ - the Jimson weed drug or its drinking. wuwopraha-ve ${ }^{11}$ - placename: the Tejon ranch house on Paso Creek, called by the Yokuts "laikiu".

5 Cf. hipnhipnkeavea, under hirntk 'float' in the dictionary.
6 This must be the place called Medio Monte, a cowboy camp; cf. hunec in the dictionary.
7 Cf . movea under mex̆ 'forest', in the dictionary.
8 The hyphen again corresponds to a morpheme boundary preceding the locative suffix. Cf. 표akwerkivēa in the dictionary.

9 Nothing similar to this name is cited by any of the other sources in the dictionary.
10 Cf. monič 'toloache', and ${ }^{2}$ o 'water/drink' in the dictionary.
11 Again, the hyphen separates the locational suffix from the stem; cf. $w \neq w \neq p$ šohevee, under w+pšat 'trap', in the dictionary.

## Values of symbols in forms from Kroeber's Handbook

a - as in father, sometimes as in what.
b - usually a little more difficult to distinguish from $p$ than in English.
ch - as in English, or nearly so.
d - somewhat as in English; but is quality is like that of $b$, its tongue position like t.
$\theta$ - as in met, there; sometimes like a in mate.
g - In Pomo, and occasionally in other languages, both values of g occur, but are designated by the one letter (a "fricative", that is, like g in Spanish gente or colloquial German wagen; and as in go, but harder to distinguish from $k$ than in English).
h - sometimes as in English; occasionally fainter; sometimes more harshly made with constriction at the back of the mouth, producing a sound equal, or nearly so, to Spanish j or German ch.
i- as in pin, long or short, or as in machine, long or short.
$\mathbf{k}$ - in languages which possess $\mathbf{g}$, is as in English; in those which do not, it is usually somewhat nearer $g$ than is English $k$, at least at the beginning and in the middle of words. Indian $k$ is often pronounced much farther back in the mouth than English $k$.

I - never quite the same as in English, but near enough in sound to be unmistakable.
m - substantially as in English.
n - substantially as in English.
o - as in come, ore; when long, sometimes like 0 in note, more frequently like aw in law.
p - as in English, but with a tendency of approach toward $b$ like that of $k$ toward $g$.
r - much as in German, French, Spanish, or Irish brogue.
s - is a sound of the same type as English s, though rarely quite identical.
sh - much as in English, but probably never quite the samie.
t - tends to approach $\mathbf{d}$ as k does g .
$u$ - as in rule, long or short; or as in full, long or short.
$v$ - in Shoshorean, Mohave, and Karok; the lower lip touches the upper [lip?], not the teeth.
w- as in English, or nearly so.
y-as in English.

## Kroeber's1907 forms

The following forms are taken from Kroeber's "Shoshonean dialects of California" (Kroeber 1907: 71-89 and 138-9) and are listed in the dictionary with the code " $K$ ". They constitute the only wordlist of Kitanemuk ever published. Kroeber takes the value of many of his symbols to be "obvious', with some differences which he notes ( $p .70$ ): a vowel marked with a grave accent is "open"; a vowel with an overbar is "closed"; ㅇ and $\underline{\mu}$ are "impure"; $\underline{\underline{\varepsilon}}$ and $\underline{\underline{\eta}}$ are "impure" but otherwise similar to French and German $\underline{\text { _ and }} \underline{\underline{\ddot{ }} ; \boldsymbol{\varepsilon}}$ corresponds to I.P.A. [ $]$ ], and $\mathcal{L}$ is its voiced counterpart; $\dot{D}_{-}$is aspiration; $\underline{\underline{L}}$ is bilabial $\underline{\underline{n}}$; $\bar{n}$ is [n]. There is some discussion of whether g.d.b are really voiced consonants, or just allophones of k.t.p which are slightly different from the English k.t.p; perhaps they are simply unaspirated or lightly aspirated phonetically, $q$ is a "velar or uvular $k$ ", and $\mathbf{t}$ is "palatal t ".

| $\mathrm{a}^{\prime}-\mathrm{o}$ - bone | a-nü ma - liver |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{a}^{\prime} \mathrm{a}^{\text {- }}$ crow | a-ö dj - blood |
| a-cidja - mouth | a-pi - mamma [breast] |
| a-dama - tooth | a-pumu - shoulder |
| a-muhi - neck | a-tò - belly |
| a-nō ñi - tongue | a-tsaka - leg, foot |


| a-watsi - nail | anपsi - small |
| :---: | :---: |
| a-woñ - rain | aqaña - beard |
| a-xùn - heart | atü a - large |
| āya-k - white | auva-eye |
| abica - head | axue - work |
| aciv kö - wind | axū ñt - eagle |
| adjumts - louse | bā-hugaxt - elk |
| adutsit - flea | bātc - water |
| agopo - hair | badjukt - bow |
| aiaikik-am - white man | bahi - three |
| akava-ear | batcuk-ai, [but vatcokai p. 94] |
| amak - give | - man |
| ama-ts - that | buyu - all |
| amuik-anü - kill | cumanat - arrow |
| amuk - there | chivutpave - Comanche Creek |
| amukpi - nose | dagat - person |
| amwak - smoke | damiat - sun |


| didinit - boy | Angeles at Gorman's; said to mean 'in the timber'. |
| :---: | :---: |
| döwapi - eleven |  |
|  | gugut - ash |
| dugutcuvut - panther gut - fire |  |
| duguxbav i - sky | gutsi - dog |
| duk - yesterday |  |
| ni-duxdu - [l] dance | gwagit - baby |
| dùut - coal | gwatskawik - seven |
| dü hògu t - rabbit |  |
| dü mue t - rock | h8̄u - yes |
| düv atc - land, earth hamat - grass |  |
| gabotc - knife <br> gihut - fish | hämināt - what is it? what do you wish? |
| giits, ni-gi - house | hamits - who |
| gö ca - bad | haukup - one |
| gudjat - wood | hiav it - salt |
| guchayik - plenm. on the road from Ft. Tejon to Los | ni-hu - [I] see |


| honewimats - plcnm. 1 mile downsteam from Tejon ranch house | mavin - plenm. in the mountains, perhaps Tehachapi peak |
| :---: | :---: |
| hugaxt - deer | moatat - mountain |
| huit - jackrabbit | mòatc - iake |
| huitahove - Rancho de la | mu-do'pi - back |
| Liebre |  |
|  | mū ma - arm, hand |
| hunat - bear |  |
| hùut - star | nakwalkive - Tejon rancheria site |
| hü ñt - rattlesnake | nōtsat - girl |
| ni-hùñu - [I] speak | nāu - no |
| ip - here | ni'-kwa - eat |
| itsam - we | ni-tama - knee |
| iv i-ts - this | nòxdat - old woman |
| ni-kum - [I] sleep | numuat - good |
| meat, mü at - moon | nü, nö - 1 |
| mahatc - five | ni'-pa - [i] drink |
| makawik - nine | pabahi - six |

pahewatsa - twelve
pihatc - night
rogaugatc - sit
tikitspe - Fort Tejon
tsad-uits - sing
tsiwut - tobacco
uv api - tomorrow
ümü-ye
ü mü, imua - thou
wa'watsa - eight
wahi - coyote
ni-wana-k - [I] run
wanü t - stream
watsa - four
we'mahadj - ten
widjidat - bird
wi'koxwet - pipe
wo - two
wòñ-at - cloud
wuwoprahave - site of Tejon ranch house
wür - much
wü tcahet - old man
yav 0-k — black
yuat - snow

# Vocabularies of North American Indians by C. Hart Merriam ${ }^{13}$ 

[X/23aa/V123]
Tribe: ${ }^{14}$ Ketanamoókum (Dominant tribe at Old Fort Tejon) Informant said he was born on Piru Creek, but later lived at C'ahuenga (hence his native language must have been Tong-vā but he gave me Ke'-tan-ă-mŭ-kum, the dominant language of Tejon.)
[p.2] Indian Vocabularies Collected by C. Hart Merriam
Name of tribe Ke-tan-ă-mu-kum
Home of tribe C'ahunga? Peru Cr? Tejon, Calif
Vocabulary obtained from Alto Mirando Vadio'
At (place) Tejon Canyon, Calif. Date Nov. 12, 1905

[^60][X/23aa/V124]

| Tribe | Kétan'-am'-moo-kum | iri their own |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $K e^{\prime}-t a h-n a ̆-m w a h-k a m ~$ | language |

Tribe: Ko-ko-em-kam (= Serrano of the Padres in Iongvą language) [Ham'-me-nat or Ké-tan'-am'-moo-kum in their own language]
[p.2]
Name of tribe Ke'-tan'-am'-moo'-kum
Home of tribe San Bernardino Mts. \& Tejon (Monte)
Vocabulary obtained from Mrs. J.V. Rosemyer of Tejon, Calif. 15
At (place) Bakersfield, Calif. Date 1903

[^61]
## 1. NUMERALS

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. PERSONS

People
Tah'-kah-tum
Tah'-kah-tăm
Man
Pah'-tro-ki
Pah'cho-ki/Pah'-tso-ki

| Woman | hah-kum(plural) Kwe'-ah-ki | Kwe'hah-ki |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | My |  |
| My father (spoken of) | Nin'-nah | Nin'-nah |
| His father | Ahn'-nah hoo'-as | His <br> [M. crossed <br> $A h^{\prime}-n a h$ <br> this out] |
| Father | Ahn'-nah |  |
|  | My |  |
| Mother | $\mathrm{Ne}{ }^{-}$-yah | 1-yŏh (spoken of) |
|  | My |  |
| Brother ${ }^{17}$ | Nip-pē' t | Ah-pahr ${ }^{\text {- }}$ |
|  | My |  |
| Sister | Nik-kor (older) | Ah-kor |
|  | My -re |  |

16 This looks like 'two-five', or 'ten'.
17 Apparently Vadio gives the term for 'younger brother', while Mrs. Rosemyer gives 'elder brother'.

| Giandmother (father's mother) | Nit-S00'-de ${ }^{18}$ | Tsoo-rels |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Uncle (father's brother) | ) Ne-tar | [n.g. ${ }^{19}$ ] |
| Old Man | Wah'-trah-has | Wooch'-cha-hatch |
| Old Woman | No'-tat | No"-taht |
| Little Boy (4 to 12 yr.$)$ | Ut-too -chen-ne 20 | Te-teen-it |
| Little girl (4 to 12 yrs .) | .) Nah'-tsat | Nah'-tsaht |
| Children (4 to $12 \mathrm{yrs}$. ) | Nah-nah'-tsum | [n.g.] |
| Baby | An-no'-tse | kwahkeet |
| Somebody | Toom-hah'-me | [n.g.] |
| Friend ${ }^{11}$ | My Nepoo'yu | $\mathrm{H}_{4}$ Alo-poo-yu |
| 3. PARTS OF BODY |  |  |
| My head22 | New-we-win-ne-ko? | [n.g.] |
| Head23 N | My Nip'-pis-sah | His <br> Ah-pé-sah |
|  |  | Hio |
| Forehead ${ }^{24}$ | Ne-sưّ-ah | Ah-500-ah |
| Eye ${ }^{25}$ | Ne-o'-vah | His Ah-ow-vah |
|  | My | His |
| 18 Note the $\mathbf{d}$ for I in Vadio's forms. |  |  |
| 19Johnson's abbreviation for "not given". |  |  |
| 20 This form is unfamiliar to me. |  |  |
| 21 Merriam's cross out. |  |  |
| 22 It looks like Vadio's means 'l'm thinking'. |  |  |
| 23 Merriam's cross out. |  |  |
| 24 Merriam's cross out. |  |  |
| 25 Merriam's cross out. |  |  |


| Nose ${ }^{26}$ | Nim-mok-pe | Ahtmök'-pe |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ear27 | My <br> Ne-kah-vah | His Ah-kah'-vah |
|  | My |  |
| Tongue ${ }^{88}$ | Ne-nung ${ }^{-}$- | Aht $n$ üng-e |
|  | My |  |
| Back of neck ${ }^{29}$ | Nim-moo'-he | Ahtmul'-he |
| Throat | My Ning-0"-ho | Ah'ng-o-ho (ng-o-ho?) |
| Shoulder | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{My} \\ & \mathrm{Ne}-\mathrm{po} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Hie } \\ & \text { Ah-só-kah } \end{aligned}$ |
| Arm ${ }^{30}$ | My Nim'-mah | His Ah'mah ${ }^{\circ}$. |
| Whole Body ${ }^{31}$ | My Ne-tah"tah-kah | His Ah-tah-tah-kah |
| Back | My Nit'too-pe | Ah-tooch-pe |
| Chest | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{My} \\ & \mathrm{Ne} \text {-to } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Hig } \\ & \text { Ah-too-no } \end{aligned}$ |
| Female breasts ${ }^{32}$ | My Nip"-pe | Her $A h^{\prime}-p e^{\circ}$ |
| Thigh | Ne-tsah'-kah | His Ah'ng-i-kah |
| Knee | Ne-tam'-mo | Ah-tah - mo |
|  |  | Hic |

[^62]| Foot | Ne-sah'-kah | Ah-tsah'-kah |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nails | Ne-wah'-tse | Ah-wah'-che |
| Skin | Ne-to -ko | [n.g.] |
| Hair ${ }^{33}$ | Ne-ko'-po | Hio Ah-ko-po |
| Bone | Ah-ök | Ah-0' |
| Teeth | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{My} \\ & \mathrm{Ne} \text {-tah - } \end{aligned}$ | Hie <br> Ah-tah'-mah |
|  | My | Hie |
| Heart | Ne-hö́n | Ahthờ $n$ |
|  |  | His |
| Blood34 | $\mathrm{Ne}{ }^{-}$-eets | An ưt s |
| Urine | Ne-see ${ }^{\circ}$ | [n.g.] |
| 4. HEALTH, DISEASE, AND PHYSICAL CONDITION |  |  |
| Well | Num'-moo'-as | [n.g.] |
|  | You | Hou |
| Sick ${ }^{35}$ | Nim-mö' $k$ | Mo-kök |
| Dead | Ahn'-nip-ke | Ahn-nip-ke |
| Awake ${ }^{36}$ | Kwut'sk | Yi'-not |
| Asleep | Ah-koom | Koo-mahn-neets |
| Fat (corpulent) | wëpt? | We'pt |
| Old | Wut'-rah-has | [n.g.] |
| Young | Tit-tin-nit | [ |
|  | I'm |  |
| Hungry | Ne-hah'-kah-soo | Hah-kwahts |
| 33 Vadio says 'my hair', while Mrs. Rosemyer says 'his/her hair'. |  |  |
| 34 Vadio says 'my blood', while Mrs. Rosemyer says 'his/her blood'; also, Vadio misse the high central Kitanemuk vowel again. |  |  |
| 35 Vadio gives a conjugated (verb) form, while Mrs. Rosemyer gives the invaria (adjective) form. |  |  |
| 36 Vadio gives 'standing up'; Mrs. Rosemyer gives 'alive'. |  |  |

Thirsty

> I'm
> Ne -pah'-me-ah-too Pah'-me-at

## 5. DISPOSITION, ATTRIBUTES, AND EMOTIONS

| Glad ${ }^{37}$ | Num'-moo-was |  | Noo-mo-wats |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Sorry | Mü-isk | Ne-owah-he-o |  |

## 6. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

| Buckskin (tanned) | Up-pah-ho'-kat41 | [n.g.] |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | My |  |
| Belt worn by man42 | Ne-sot'-kah | Ah'-soot'-ko $^{\text {Hy }}$ |

[^63]38 Vadio says perhaps, 'good his clothing'?
39 Vadio says 'good his clothing'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'swept clean'.
${ }^{40}$ Apparently this is 'not clean', using the koy negtive (otherwise occurring in the corpus in imperative sentences only).
${ }^{41}$ This is the word for 'elk': pahukaht.
42 Vadio says 'my belt'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'his/her belt'.

| Necklace of shells Too-koo'-pas Headdress of feathers ${ }^{43} \mathrm{Am}$-mah'-hah |  | Ah-ko'-nah-kah |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | [n.g.] |
| Wampum | Too-koo'-pahs | [n.g.] |
| Nose stick ${ }^{4}$ | Ah'-0' | [n.g.] |
| Red paint | Ah-o'-hah-nan̆ | (of red earth) |
|  |  | O'-haht |
| Black paint | Yo'-wah-kik | [n.g.] |
| White paint | Ah'-yah-kik | Toh'-weets |
| 7. DWELLINGS (INCLUDING FIRE) |  |  |
| Village of town45 | Keéts | Ke-keets |
| Ceremonial house | Spanish Kah-sah we'-haht | Wah-kahts |
| Sweat house ${ }^{46}$ | Ah-no-se-keets | [n.g.] |
| Brush wikiup | Kee-sah'-maht | Yung-e-kin'-its |
| Door | Yu'-vahts | [n.g.] |
| Doorway | n | [ |
| Fire | Koot' | kŭt |
| Flame or blaze | Ah-Ar'-ro-muk | Ah'-ro-ah-ro'-e and Ah-ah-rum-ko |
| Live coals or embers | Toot'r | T.00-tr |
| Ashes | Koo-hoot' | Ko-kŭt |
| Smoke ${ }^{47}$ | Mo-waht (m'waht) | Ah-mwah'-kuk |
| Poker | Tư-poi-nits | [n.g.] |
| Firewood | Koo-saht' | Koo-chaht |
| Pole | Met-tow'-0-koo-saht | [n.g.] |

43 Vadio says '(its) feather'.
44 Vadio says 'his/her bone'.
45 Vadio says 'house'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'houses'.
46 Vadio says little house'.
47 Vadio says the noun, 'smoke'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'it's smoky'.

## 8. WEAPONS. IMPLEMENTS, AND UTENSILS (EXCEPT BASKETS)

| Bow ${ }^{48}$ | My bow arrow |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Ne pah'-trok | Pah'-chō' kt |
|  | My |  |
| Arrow | Ne soo'-man'-nah | [n.g.] |
| Quiver | Tah'ng-ah-tet | Pahng-ah-naht |
| Sling | My Ne hoo'-nah | [n.g.] |
| Knife (of stone) | My Ne kah'-lo | Hion |
| Knife (of stone) | Ne kah'-lo | Kah-vots |
| Firedrill | Nik-ko'-mah-hah | Koóm mwaht' (of wood of e'p-kotsh) |
| Flint | Tok-se'-vat | [n.g.] |
| Pestle of stone | Ah-pah'-ho | Pah'-hōt |
| Hand stone for rubbing | Ah'-mah | Ah'-mah |
| Kettle or vessel for cooking49 | Ne'-o-yah | Ke'-was |
| A stick 50 | Koo-saht'ano'se | Koo-chaht' |
|  | My |  |
| Pipe | Ne we'-ko | We'-ke-hwat |
| (straight) |  |  |
|  |  | His |
| Tobacco bag51 | Nit tahng'-at | Ah'-tang'-at |
| Tobacco | Tse'-woot | Che-woot |

48 Vadio gives the possessed form; Mrs. Rosemyer gives the absolutive.
49 Vadio gives a form borrowed from Spanish olla; Mrs. Rosemyer gives the native Kitanemuk form.

50 Vadio says 'little stick'.
51 Vadio says 'my bag'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'his/her bag'.

## 9. BASKETS

Small mush or
soup bowl (coiled)5 5 An-no'-se ho'-ko-pe-tat Ho-ko'-pe-tat

Water bottle (small) Pah'-taht
Water bottle (large)
(My)
Subglobular choke-mouth bowl
[n.g.]
Pah'-hah-tat
Tso'-po-taht
10. FOOD AND DRINK

Meat
Dried Meat
Fish
Dried fish
ke
Eggs
A feast
An acorn
Acorn mush
Pine nut (of Pinus monophyila)
Indian tobacco (Nicotiana_attenuata and other species)
Salt
Raw
Cooked
Ripe
Unripe
Sweet
Sour
Ah-pah'-no
Wah-kahts'
K00'-yahts

Tse'-woot
Hah'-vit
Rah-oo'pk
Ah-kwan'-he
"
"
Pis-sah'e
Soo-kwah

Kar-ne [Spanish]
Ah-wah'-ke kar-ne
Ke-hoot
Ah-wah'-ke ko-hoot

Tŭ-voit
Ahwah'-ke tŭ-voit
Ke-hoots
Ke-hoots-ah-wah-
Ah-pah'-no
Wah-kats
Koo'-yahts (Robles' Q lobata)Shref/Shrev-ve
Weets
Too'-baht (Pinyon/Pine nut) Tư-vaht/To-vah'-aht

Che-woot
He-ah-vit'
Sow'-ŭk
Ah'-kwah'-he
Ah'-kwah'-he'
Sow'ŭ
Pe-si-e
Tsoo-kwah'

52 Vadio translates the 'litte'; Mrs. Rosemyer simply says 'basket'.

| Corpse | Ah-nip'-ke | Ah-nip'-ke |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Burial Place | Nain-kah'-me-ah'-yuk | $k$ Nach'-kah-mea-ne-ve-ah |
| "Kotumut pole"53 | Ko-too'-mut | [n.g.] |
| Cremation | Ah-ho'-ye | Nah'kah-me-ah näd-ve-ah |
| The ashes and burnt of the dead | Ah-ho | Kó-koot |
| [Spirit or soul] after leaving body | A Ah-poo'-vhak kuk'-ke | ennye-hon' <br> heari <br> Ah-hoon-ahp-poop'-ah-kuk |
| The Devil or bad spir | irit Too-ē't T | Tŭ-ē't |
| A ghost | Ah-po-kah'-took A | Ah-pŏŏ'-nah'-e' |
| A dream | Nik-k0o'-man-ne-hoon | Ah-kwah'-kwah'-tso-mok |
| A dance | To'-to-its T | Tuch-too-its |
| Dancer | To'-to-he-öt T | Tooch-to-hur et |
| A song 54 | saw'-tro-hea'-it T | Tsah'-choo-itch |
| A singer |  | Tsah'-cho-hut |
| 12. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, GOVERNMENT. WAR |  |  |
| Chief | Kà - ki | Ké-ki' |
| Doctor or shaman | Nah-mah'-we-haw'-it | Nah'-mah-ve-hü't |
| 14. PHYSIOGRAPHIC TERMS |  |  |
| Water Pa | Pah'ts | Pah'ch |
| Ocean55 | Wahn'-nit | Mŏ-mut |
| River A | Ah'-o-kah kan'-no-e-sa | a Wahn'-nŭt |

53 lliegible note follows-"wooden in .."??
54 Note that Vadio's form includes the passive morpheme (unnecessary in Kitanemuk) before the passive participial suffix.

55 Vadio gives 'river'.

| Creek | Pah-sow'-00-wah | Wahn'-noot |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Deep | Toong'-ah | Toong-ah |
| Wet | I-yaw'suk | Pah'-choo-it |
| Dry | Ah-wah'-ke | Ah-wah'-ke' |
| Mountain | Ki'-èts | Ki'-e'ts |
| Hill | Mwah'-taht | Moon--mon-kik |
| Canyon | Ow'-o-kah | Ah-o'-kah |
| Cave | Ah'-ho | Hor'-o'p'k |
| Valley | Wư'-wut | Kwung'-av-ve-ah |
| The whole world | Po-yo-too'-was | Poo-yu-tŭ'-vahts |
| An earthquake | Ah-wo'-yuk to'-was | Ah-wo-yuk tu-vaht |
| Earth (ground) | Too-was (Tŭ-was) | Tu-bats |
| Dust | Ah-mo'-ne-kok | Ah'-mo-ne-kuk |
| Sand | O'-kas | O-kahtsh |
| Mud | Pah'-kwin-nit | Pah'-kwin-nit |
| Rock | Toŏ-mut | Tư'-mut |
| Rocky | Too'-tă-mut | Tư'-tư'-mut |
| Big rock | Too'-mut at'-too-mah | Tư-mut-ah-tŭ-ah |
| Small rock (stone) | Too-mut an'-noŏ-wus-se | Ah-noo'-se-tŭ-mut |
| Shade | Ah-too'-pah-kă | Ah-too'-kwah-ki |
| 15. POINTS OF COMPASS, CELESTIAL BODIES. WEATHER |  |  |
| Sun | Tah'-me-at | Tah'-me-aht |
| Moon | Mo-aht'ră | Mwatsh |
| Star | Hoot'r | Hoo'ts |
| Shooting star | Ah-hoots-ă-koot | Ah-wan-nahk'-hoots' |
| Sunshine | Ăh-too'-kwah-ki | Tah'-me-at ah-koo'-pah |
| Dark | Ah-too'-kah | [n.g.] |
| Darkness Her-ro'-pē' t'k |  |  |
| Cloudy | Wahng'-at A | '-om ah-katch-wo-mat |
| Fog | Pah-keet' P | ah-kē' t |
| Rain | Ah-weng W | o'ng-ut |
| Windy | Ah-se'b-koo Ah | '-sé-bŏ-ko |


| Thunder | Ah-koo'-roo-roo-e | [n.g.] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cold weather | SK-vah | Sư-băh |
| Hot | O'-se | O'-se' |
| 16. SEASON AND PERIQD |  |  |
| A year | How-kō-tü-vas | Howk-tă-vatch |
| This year | Am-mi-tŭ-bas | Am-mi-e-ve tư-vatch |
| Last year | How-was-tŭ-was | Hư-was-tŭ-was |
| Summer | Ow'-o-se | Tong'-av-vah |
| Winter | Ah-sëb-koo | Tah-mwah'-va-ah |
| A month or moon | Mo-aht'r (mwaht'r) | How-ko-mwats |
| Today | Ah-mi tah'-me-at | Ah-mi-e |
| Yesterday | Took | Took |
| Tonight | Ah-mi to-kah | To'-kah |
| Night | Ah-too'-kah | Too'-kah |
| Morning | Too'-kah-vip'-pe-ah | Too'-kah-vĕ-pe-ah' |
| Evening | Yu'-hah | Yěh-hah |
| Midnight | Ho-nav'-ve-ah-to'-kah | Hoo'-nav-ve-ah-too'-ki |
|  |  | ruk |
| Sunrise | Too'-kah-vip'-pe-ah | Ah'-hör-rahchtam'-me-at |
| Sunset | Yu'-hah | Ah-wöruk tam'-me-at |
| 17. FREQUENCY, TIME, AND QUANTITY |  |  |
| First | Lă-moo'-muk | Pah'-mok-pit and |
|  |  | Nah'-mó-mök |
| Sometimes ${ }^{56}$ | Ho'-oo-koo-pe | Po-kaht-ke-e'k |
| Not yet | No-hah'-me | Now-hah'-me |
| Before | Oo'-yah (Oo-ve-ah??) | O'-ve-ah |
| Soon | Now-hah'-me | Nah-mi'k |
| Next time | mōt s | Hah'-mōk-maht |
| Long ago | Oo-yah | O'-ve-ah wo-am'-mah |
| Plenty | Wür | Wör |


| Enough | Wür | Wŏr |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Not enough57 | Now'-hit wŭr' | Che'-ipk |
| Full | Poot'k | Poot'k |
| Empty | Poo'-naht | Ah-kŭm |
| Many (or much) | Wŭr' | Wer" |
| Few (or not much) | Tseep'k | Che"pk |
| More | Hah'-mŭk | Hah'-muk |
| None | Now'-wŭr' | Now-he'-hee't |
| Half (in length) | Ho'-nav'-ve-oh | Ah-ceh-kwah pe-tsah |

## 18. SIZE. FORM, AND PROPERTIES

Large At-too'-ah

Small
An-no'-se
Heavy
Poo'-trah
Light
Tall
How-wi't
Met-tah-00
Short
Long
Flat
Thick (by measure) ${ }^{58}$ At-too'-ah
Thick (like mush) Tup-pusk'
Thin (by measure)
Pem'-ma-si-e
Met-tah-00
Rĕ-kwar'- ${ }^{\prime}$ kwi

Thin (like water)
Round (like a ball)
A point
Zigzag
Straight59
Hard
Soft

E-ve'-ve
Yow'-wook
Par-r甲̈-kik
We-wahs-kik
Kwe-os'-kik
Doop'k
Poot'-too
Nah-mah'-e

Ah-tŭ-ah
Ah-noo'-se
Pŭ'-chă
How'-wah'-wā
Met'-taht
Pä́-mă-si-e
Met'-taht
Bahtch'k
Teh-poot's'k
Wah'-keet
E-ve-ve
Pah'-wah-keet
Pah-rø̄-kök
We-vat'sk
Ke-maht's
Roop'-kă
Pưt-to
Nah'-mi-e

[^64]| Up | O'-wah | O'-va |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Down | Püch'-tuk | Putch-tö̀k |
| Upstream | Wah'-nut | Ar-rök' |
| Downstream | Puch-tuk | Witch-ā' k |
| Inside | Ah-hoo'-nav'-ve-ah | Ah-ho'-nav-ve-ah |
| Outside | Yu'-vah | Yo-van |
| Across | Ah'-noh-kwar-rok | Ah'-nah-kwar-rok |
| Top 60 | Ah-tum'-ko | Pah'-pe |
| Middle | Hoo'-nav-ve-ah | Ho'-nav-ve-ah |
| End | At-s00'-av-ve ${ }^{61}$ | Ah-ko-pe-ah |
| Behind | At-tŭ'-pe | Na'-tŭ-pàno/Ah-từ-pe |
| Alone | Poo'-nook | Po'-nō $k$ |
| Near | Pö́p | Póop |
| Far | Poo'-yahn | Poo'-yahn |

20. COLORS AND MARKINGS

| Red | Kwas-sup'-kik | Kwah'-sup'k kik |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Green | Rah'-oo'pk | Rah'-ö'p-kik |
| Black | Yo'-wuk | Yah-vok/Yó-wuk |
| White | I-yah-kik | I'-yok/l-yah-kik |

## 23. PARTICLES AND DESCRIPTIVES



[^65]| Why | Ham'-me-nat | Hah-me-naht'-now <br> [= why not] <br> [crossed out] |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| When | Hin'-ne-pah | He'-ne-pah |
| What | Hataht | He-taht |
| Which | Hah-me-ne-kit | He'' 't |
| How | Hah'-me-naht | Hah-me-naht' |
|  |  | ["What is it"] [crossed out] |
| Where | Hi'p | Hi-mö' $k$ |
| Here | Ep | E-pahn' |
| There | Ah'-mook | Ah-mö k |
| This | E'-we | E'-ve |
| That | Ah-mah | Ah-mah' |
| Other | Hoo-waht'r | Pah-tah |
| Perhaps 62 | Ne-we'-ne-ko | Tsă'-hok |
| Again | mō'ts | maw'ts |
| Open | Ah'-nok | Ah'-nuk |
| Shut | Tum'pk | Toom-ke |
| Lost | Ah-he'-ah-kuk | Ah-he'-ah-kö |
| New | Ah-mit | Ah-mi't |
| Alike | New'-e-hoon | (the same)Ah-mŭ-mah'p |
| Different | Howi-ye | Hu-wi'-e |
| Broken | Ah-vin'-ke | Ah'-ve-gnok |
| 24. PRQNOUNS AND POSSESSIVES |  |  |
| 1 (or me) | Nu | Neŭ' (Nưh) |
| My (or mine) | Nin'-ne-u | Ne'-neŭ [Ne'ne-u] Né-nŭh |
| You (singular) ${ }^{63}$ | Mun'-new |  |
| You (dual) | Ow'-hung-00 | Um' |
| You (plural) | Poo'-yu poo'hoo hung'-00Um' |  |
| 62 Vadio ṡays 'I think'. |  |  |
| 63 .Vadio says 'your(s) |  |  |


| Your or Yours (singular) | Oo'-ne-u | Mon'-neŭ/mun'-ne-u/ Mun'-nŭh |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Your or Yours (dual) | Oo-neu | U'-neŭ/ Un'-ne-u/Un'-nŭh |
| Your or Yours (plural) |  |  |
|  | (present or |  |
| He (him, she, or her) | Oo-mu' absent same) | Ah'-mah' |
| His (or hers) | Mun-nu-mi'k | Ah'-neŭ/Ah'-ne-u |
|  |  | Ah-nŭh |
| We (dual) | Oo-mŭ'-ŭ | E'-tsot'r/, E'-tsom-mŭh |
| We (plural) | Poo'-yoom-hoo | E'-tsam |
| Ours (dual) It | It'-sam-mŭ | Tsam-neu |
| Ours (plural) | San-neu poo-yu | Tsoo'-neu |
| They or them (dual) | Poon'-yu-poon'-yu | Pahm' |
| They or them (plural) | Poo'-yu-poon'-yu | Pahm' |
| Theirs (dual) Por | Po-neu-ahm | Poo-e-neŭ |
| Theirs (Plural) P | Poon-yu-poo-yu | Po-e-neŭ |
| Who? | Ham-me't | Hah-me |
| Whoose? ${ }^{4}$ | Ham'-me-să-tan'-yu | Hah-mès/Hahm-èts |
|  | My |  |
| My mother N | Ne'-yu | Ne'-yuk |
| Your (singular) mother | ¢o-yuk | Mŏ-yuk |
| Your (dual) mother | U-yuk | U-yuk |
| Your (plural) mother | " | U-yuk |
| His mother | 1-yuk | Ah'-yuk |
| Our (dual) mother | Tsi-yuk | Tsoo-yu |
| Their (plural) mother | Poo-yuk | Po'-e-yu |
| My dog 65 | Ne-ah'-tsit ko-tse | Ne -neŭ koo-che |
| Your (singular) dog | Moo-ah'-tsit " | Mo-neŭ koo-che |
| His dog | Ah-ah'-tse-tom'-mas | - Ah-neŭ ko-che |
| Our (dual) dog | Tsah'-ah-tsit " | Tsoo-neŭ ko-che |
| 64 Mrs. Rosemyer says merely 'who'. |  |  |
| 65 In these five entries, Vadio uses the 'pet' classifier, while Mrs. Rosemyer uses the more general 'possession' classifier usually used for things. |  |  |

Their (plural) dog Poo'-ah-tsi tom-mas " Po'-e-neŭ ko-che

## 25. PLURALS

| One dog <br> Two dogs | How'-ko-koo-tse <br> Wơh' ko-tse-um | Koo'-che' <br> [n.g.] |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Many dogs | Wür " | tse <br> Koo-che-yan <br> ch |
| One man | How'-ko pat'-so-ki | Paht-tso-ki |
| Two men | Woh pat'-so-kum | [n.g.] |
| Many men | Wur " | Pah-paht-tso-kom |
| One woman | How'-koo kwe'-how-ki Kwe-hok |  |
| Many women | Wur-koo-kwe-how-kum Kwe-kwe'-hok-kum |  |
| A trees6 | Ko-tsaht | Wah-maht |
| Many trees | Wur" | Wah-wah-maht |
| A fish | Ke-hoots | Ke-hoot'r |
| Many fishes | Wur-ke-hoom' | Ke-hoom |
| A bird | Witch-e-tah | Mah-haht |
| Many birds | Wur " -tum | Mah-mah-haht |

## 27. SHORT SENTENCES

I am hot.
Ah-o'-se [n.g.]

I am cold.
Nis'-sik'-kwah
"
Make a fire.
Go away.
Go home.
Kwah't-re-ah "
Me-ah-ah'-muk "
Nă-ke'-yuk [n.g.]
I am going home.
Nim'-min-ne-ke'-yuk
"
Come here.
Ke'-vah-kwuhk "
Where is he? Hi'-pi-tah'-katch "
Look at that
Hew'-pah'-tah "
Where is the water? Yu'-its-paht'i *
I don't know. Now-ne-ün "

66 Mrs. Rosemyer gives the word for a particular tree, 'cottonwood".


## 28. GEOGRAPHIC ORPLACE NAMES

| Cahuenga | both in <br>  <br> Tongva | \{ Kah-wen'-gah (n.g.) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Territory $\{$ Tah-hun'-gah (his tribe here also) |  |

[^66]
## APPENDIX D: KITANEMUK FORMS FROM J.W. HUDSON

In about 1899-1902, John W. Hudson did some fieldwork with "Shoshonean" consultants at Tejón [Canyon]; these are now on file at the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago; a copy was made available to me by John Johnson of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. At least some of the recorded forms were from Mrs. Rosemeyer (her name is not mentioned until the middle of the notes, so there may have another speaker). Some of the words appear to be Gabrielino. The following is a list of words from those notes which appear to be Kitanemuk, and have been entered inthe dictionary with the source code "JW".
atciwu - seed food, abundant and popular, $21 / 2$ tall, has a small yellowish flower, grows on sandy plains, gathered in fall when fully ripe, ground up with stone pestle, slightly cooked in a pot, eaten as a thin mush
cumanat - arrow straightener stone, in another dialect here hinukt - salt grass, used as tea and as medicine for fevers and stomach troubles
hokopita - plaque
hutac - basket willow, both warp and woof
kaiyak - Angelica root, chuchupati
kumaskitz - pea and shell game
kumaskkihuat - gambling basket
kumat - basket cap
kwungatc - doctor's charmstone,the mysterious thing [an etym.?]
nurlinyu - medicine in general
pahot - pestle
parhinatc - tarweed, a common seed food
patc - water
patsaats - conical basket
piakex - shinney game
tarahut - cradle frame
tsatc - charman or medicine man
tsikarat - abalone gorget
tsiut - lime for snuff mixing and medication
tsiwut - snuff
tsomat - yucca, a red root used for basket patterns
tsopotat - granery [sic] or meal jar
Tumkitc - name of a burial cave
tunganihuat - arrow straightener stone
ummah - mortar basket or hopper
wikut - steatite pipe

The following numerals were recorded. They are not entered in the dictionary, since it is unclear whether the list is of Gabrielino or Kitanemuk ("Tijon" in Hudson's terminology) numerals.

1. pucko
2. moha
3. mahakavie
4. wiheswihesmaha
5. wehe
6. pavahi
7. wihesmaha
8. pohi
9. watcakovie
10. wishesmahakoipoku
11. watca
12. wiheswatca
13. wihesmahakoimaha

## APPENDIX E: KITANEMUK FORMS FROM C.E. KELSEY

C.E. Kelsey collected numerals from a number of different groups. There are some notes on file at the University of California Berkeley, at the Archaeological Research Facility (MS \#424), which include some numerals gotten from a "Mrs. Rosemyre, of Tejon", at Bakersfield, California, March 4, 1906. These appear to be Kitanemuk, and they go much higher than the numerals from any of the other sourcss. Here is a list of the numerals, which are entered in the dictionary with the label "CK".

1. hau'kŭp
2. wa (q)
3. pa'va hit
4. pa het o
5. kwat' ka vi/ ko
6. wet'sa
7. wa' wat sa
8. mehrach'
9. wé ma həach' ha' mŭk hau' kŭp
10. we' me hech' ha' mưk wa (q)'
11. we' ma hach' ha' mưk pa hé a
12. we' ma hach' ha' mŭk wat' sa
13. we' ma hach' ha' mŭk ma hach'
14. we' me hech ha' mük pa' va his
15. we' ma hach' ha' mŭk kwat' ka vi' ko
16. we' ma hach' ita' mŭk wa' wat sa
17. we' ma hach' ha' mŭk ma' ka vī ko
18. wa' hel wé ma hach'
19. pa héa wé ma hach'
20. wat' sa hi' a wé ma hach'
21. mbhech i' o we̛' ma hach'
22. pa' va hi' a wé ma hach'
23. kwat' kavi' ko hī a wé ma hach'
24. wa wat' sa hi' a wé ma hach'
25. ma' ka vī ko hī a wé' ma hach'

## APPENDIX F: <br> KITANEMUK FORMS FROM VAN VALKENBURGH AND FARMER

On October 24-26, 1934 Richard van Valkenburgh and Malcolm Farmer of the Los Angeles County Museum took some brief notes on "the Hamenot Indians" at Tejón. Their notes contain some Kitanemuk (Gitanemuk) forms elicited from Marcelino Rivera (Moo-hoo-whie), described as "a full-blooded Hamenot Indian ... born at the rancheria of Mauvi in 1874 [son of] Sa-woon-a-hume (Spanish name Magdalena Oliveras [sic])". The following placenames and tribenames from their list have been entered into the dictionary with the code "VF".
z-wh-ho-mo-mon (Frazier Mt.)
ah-cant-sita-hovie (Montes ranch in Tejón)
ah-cuh-kin-ne-who-yook (ridge at head of Tejón Creek canyon just
southeast of the school)
aquitaum, ah-huh-keet-um (name of the [Kit..] tribe)
coo-chita-hovie (Tejon creek canyon at lower end)
coh-chita-hovit (all the valley [at Tejón Canyon])
cou-yan (placename over by Grapevine)
ha-ve-youk (placename at Temescal ranch)
ha-ya-ui-ook (Salt Lake, 4 or 5 mi . away on the other side of the
mountains where they used to get salt)
hame-e-not (name of the [Kitanemuk] tribe)
hou-mi-mö̈, hoo-may-mö̈ (rancheria northeast of Tejón ranch)

```
    kitanemuk, key-tan-eh-muk, quitanamocc (name of the [Kit.] tribe)
    mah-havie (rancheria north of Tejon Ranch by oak grove)
    man-nee-yuk (hill to the right of R. Gomez's ... 1/2 mi. northwest)
    mau-ui (ranchería in the oak trees (monte))
    moo-moy-yo0k (Cummings Valley)
    na-quar-key-uai (ranchería at Tejon ranch; people there spoke
    Porterville language)
pa-cui-yook (mountain north of Montes ranch (wild bamboo) [wet])
pats-a-wha-pai-hi, patch-ow-wah-pit (Castaic Lake)
pap-pa-vi-ott-um (Bakersfield peopie)
pee-pee-waht (San Gabriel people)
se-vew-gra-cha-pai (Grapevine placename)
ta-cakvavie (placename at Temescal ranch; ear)
ta-cu-ya (Salt Lake place)
te-hech-pi (Tehachapi)
to-coy-ya, tash-al-100-100 (Ventura plcenames)
too-ish pai, too-ich-pai (rancheria 2 mi.west of Tejón ranch)
unua-mis (rancheria 1 mi. east of Tejón ranch)
```


## APPENDIX G: THE LAYOUT OF HARRINGTON'S TYPEWRITER

## JPH Custom Typewriter Keyboard (drawn from specimen)

| ck | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | ก̃ | * | $\checkmark$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\cdots$ | 2 | 2 | 1 | S | D | $>$ | $y$ | $\%$ | - | $<$ | tab |


| $\hat{a}$ |  | $\varepsilon$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $)$ | $i$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $q$ | $w$ | $p$ | $r$ | $t$ | $y$ | $u$ | $i$ | 0 | $p$ | $($ | $p$ |


|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $<$ | $\sim$ | $k$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $a$ | $s$ | $d$ | $f$ | $g$ | $h$ | $j$ | $k$ | 1 | - | $\ddots$ | $i$ |


| Shift |  |  |  | $y$ | $v$ |  |  | $?$ | 0 | $e$ |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

## APPENDIX H: DEVERBAL NOMINALS



| Meaning | Passive capcakinic | Meaning winnowed | General | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| shameful person hungry person | hakw ayc-ay <br> hamepnic <br> haninic <br> he Prkinic, č <br> Pahinkip | chia batida, obj. thatched winnowed forefinger driftwood |  |  |
| farter <br> onlooker | Pohupip huguc | burned language | -hupupap | language |
|  |  |  | napihamat Pinanat | brat wise |
|  | kame nic $^{\prime}$ kamkic kačič | bread crazy milkweed |  |  |
|  | K+manic <br> kł̌̌a ${ }^{\text {nnic }}$ <br> ?akopki | a made figure ugly broken |  |  |
| midwife murderer | kwamic <br> makic <br> manic <br> manupmkinic <br> Pamapyki | pespibata batida gift toasted piñon turned (sack) finished | namakot | generous |
|  |  |  | mayhat, -c | child |
|  | m+yvanic mirur kinic | the money bet pita |  |  |
|  | monkinic | mixed up mess |  |  |

Deverbal derivational_morphology, cont'd.

| Stem | Meaning | Instrumental | Meaning | Agentive |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| mu | crush | mayhw at | mortar |  |
| muak+k | take steam | muahkihwopt | steaming plant |  |
| muk | sick |  |  |  |
| nahnipk | win | nahnipkinihwa't | goal |  |
| nahponom | sell |  |  |  |
| nohw in | give at shrine |  |  |  |
| nahyu | sing, deerhoof |  |  |  |
| nakwar | play cert. game | ne nokwahinwapt | game stick |  |
| ñamu | fight |  |  |  |
| nanakša? | wrestle |  |  | nanakšapipač |
| napor | marry | -noopivanap pi-y | \% k fiancée |  |
| napk | mend |  |  |  |
| nihini | make fiesta |  |  |  |
| $n+m$ | walk |  |  | nəmip ač |
| pokwap | get caught | Pokwapninwapt | fishhook |  |
| pošan | paint | pošapinwapt |  |  |
| pahpahk |  |  |  | pahpahkiač |
| paropk | ball up |  |  |  |
| pavacaype? | P swim | -pavacapivana? | web |  |
| pip | hit, eic. | -pipuana? | pecking stone |  |
| pikw(k) | scrape | -pikwinivana? | scraper |  |
| $p+n$ | tie | panihwort | door thong |  |
| pock | tie |  |  |  |
| popjk | hit | -pojivana? | pounder |  |
| pučahk | play ball | pučonkinihwart | stick, ball,pl.g |  |
| punite? | play game | punitapinwat | game pole |  |
| punink | make car.ring |  |  |  |
| purikaw | string beads |  |  |  |
| raiwk | sit | rapwkihwapt | seat |  |
| riopin | shear, imp. r | riopinihwopt | shears | riopinip ač |
| Sop | defecate |  |  |  |
| Šeahk | part hair |  |  |  |
| Šip | urinate - | -Šipivanap | urine |  |
| Siv | plane - | -Sivivana? | saw, plane,etc. |  |
| stm | scratch st | šaminwapt | scratcher |  |
| ta | put -t | -tarivana? | place to keep thi | ings |
| t+mk | shut t | tamkinihwapt | key,stopper |  |
| +muhivan | envy |  |  | naht tmuhivaniač |
| tink | deep -t | -t+pgkinivana? | strainer |  |
| t+pupi, | play peón |  |  |  |
| tipwip | play peón |  |  |  |
| tyu | frost comes |  |  |  |


popping plant
paropkinič ball

|  | pocokič | bundle of cloth |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | pučankinic puninkinic | game carrying ring |  |  |
|  |  |  | punit at | game |
| shearer | riopinic šapič, paša? | sheared wool shit |  |  |
|  |  |  | -šeahkinap | part in hair |
|  | Sipc | urine |  |  |

envious person
t+kpuynic peón game
t+pwinic peón game
thyuat frost

| Stem | Meaning | Instrumental | Meaning | Agentive |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tohiyicin tuhtu? | play chilecote dance | tohiyicininwapt | playing pieces |  |
| tur | grind | tuhiwhat | mortar |  |
| tuhtutup | play | tuhtutuphwapt | toy | tuhtutupipač |
| vank | sweep |  |  |  |
| vaik | clap |  |  |  |
| v+yop, v+yk | touch | -wtypavanap | feeler |  |
| wetereze | shoot at targt | wetererepnihwas | $t$ target |  |
| wik | smoke tobac. | wikihwat | pipe |  |
| win | cut | winihwapt | shears |  |
| win | have diarh. | wininwapt | purge |  |
| wirapy | play instr. | wiropyninwapt | musical instr. |  |
| w+k | hit | w+k+vihwopt | whip |  |
| W+šk | winnow |  |  |  |
| wivaneap | cure |  |  | w+vaneapnipač |
| yap | carry | yapinwapt | [var. carriers] |  |
| yorin | plow | yorininwapt | plow |  |
| yup | sing, cry | yuynaninwat | musical instr. |  |


| Meaning | Passive tuhtuyc | Meaning dance | General | Meaning |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| playful person | vorkinic vatvatkinic | swept, patio type of dance |  |  |
| healer | w+Škinic | winnowed |  |  |
|  | yorinic | plowed |  |  |

## APPENDIX I: CLASSES OF VERBS

| Basic.non-caus. | Caus. | Imp. non-caus. | Imp.caus. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Par 'bathe, VI' | Pohan 'bathe, VT' |  |  |
| $h+$ Py $\ddagger k$ 'swing' | htyk 'swing' |  | h+yki |
| horok+k 'have a hole' | horohk 'put a hole' |  |  |
| hyu 'see, look' |  | (t + P) hyu |  |
| huctk 'fall' | huck 'drop, 'VT' |  |  |
| kamear 'bury' |  | kamearn |  |
| $k+m$ 'spill' | k $\ddagger$ mear 'pour, spill' |  | kimearn |
| k $\ddagger \mathrm{m}$ 'make' |  | k $\ddagger$ man |  |
| manik 'return, Vl' | mankineo 'return, VT' |  |  |
| monik+k 'be mixed' | mopnk 'mix' |  | mopnki |
| mu 'shoot' |  |  |  |
| namu 'fight' |  |  |  |
| nap+k 'be stuck' | napk 'glue, VT' |  |  |
| jakik 'choke, VI' | jahk 'choke,VT' |  |  |
| pamuk 'drown, $\mathrm{VIV}^{\prime}$ | pamukuneap 'drown, VT' |  |  |
| purak+k 'come out' | purahk 'take out' | purahk | purahki |
| rapwhtk 'sit' | roiwk 'seat' | rapwk |  |
| wow 'roast' |  |  |  |
| wowt+k 'be tired' | wawtk+neap 'tire, VT' |  |  |
| wonok 'run, VI' | wanakane op 'make run' |  |  |
| wir oy 'play instr.' |  | wiropyi |  |
| yamk 'remember' | yamk+neap'remind' |  |  |


| Passive | Desid. | Particiole | Nominals etc. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | -ahea-y 'pool,obj.' |
|  |  |  | n+ykihw at 'swing' |
|  |  |  | horohkinihwopt 'drill' |
|  |  |  | hihipač 'onlooker' |
| kamearnea |  | kameapnic |  |
|  |  |  | k\&menip ač |
|  | . | monkinic |  |
| munes | muihun <br> nahnamu, namuihun |  | -muivanap 'spear' |
|  |  | napkinic | Panopkine a 'patch?' |
|  |  |  | rapwkinwapt 'chair' |
|  |  |  | waykapy (inf.) |
|  |  |  | wiro'yninwapt |

## APPENDIX J: IMPERATIVE VERB FORMS

| Indic. Stem | Gloss | 2ndsa | 2nd plu. | 1st_olu, |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pank | open | Papnki |  |  |
| Payk | lap | Payk | Payk-4Č | co- a $^{\text {a k }}$ - + č |
| cana Pnk | open eyes | conornk |  |  |
| cip | pick up | cip | cip-č | co-cip-č |
| cinim | kick | cigim | cinim-t c |  |
| copnk | stop, VT | copnki |  |  |
| cuPmk | close eyes | cupmki |  |  |
| cupgk | suck | cupŋki |  |  |
| hakw aw | stir | nakwaw | hakwa-č |  |
| hanin | winnow | hanin | hanin-t\% |  |
| hayin | rest | hayin | noyin-ic | co-hayin-tč |
| nePrk | point | herrki |  |  |
| niyk | swing | n+yki | h+ykič |  |
| nyu | look at | $(t+p) h y u$ | $(t+p) h y-+\check{c}$ |  |
| hup | fart | hus |  |  |
| hue ? ohe | work | nupeohew | nupeaha-4č |  |
| nupu? | talk | hugu? |  | co-hupup-pay69 |
| hurk | peek out | hurki |  |  |

[^67]| Indic. Stem | Gloss | 2ndsa | 2nd_olu. | 1st_olu. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pic | ladle | Pic | Pic-qC |  |
| PicuPk | fix up | Picupki |  |  |
| Kamea? | bury | kameapn | k ome a $\mathrm{P}^{\text {n-tč }}$ |  |
| kavik | listen | kapvk | kapuk-tč |  |
| kawtk | break | kowtki | kowtki-c |  |
| kim | come | Kiva | kive-č |  |
| $k+m$ | make, do | ktmon | K+man-tč |  |
| K+mea? | spill | komearn | k+meapn-ic |  |
| kumk | throw face dn. | Kumk |  |  |
| kwap | eat | kwap |  | ca-kwap-ič |
| kwačea? | light fire | kwače Pn |  |  |
| kwahan | cook | Kwahan | Kwahan-4C | ca-kehan-tč |
| kwapk | spread legs | kwapki |  |  |
| kweak | lay down | kwespki |  |  |
| kwitum $\ddagger$ k | turn aside, VI | kwitumki |  |  |
| mak | give | mak, makon | makan-4č |  |
| [NB: short form for 1-3p; longer form for 2-1s] |  |  |  |  |
| mavi | d | mavi | mavip-č |  |
| mayk | peep out | mayhki |  |  |
| mi | 90 | mea, meah | me-c | ca-mi-č |
| mirurk | twist | mirurki |  |  |
| m+čk | pull | $m \neq \check{K} k$ | m+čki-č |  |
| mink | swallow | minki |  |  |
| $m+y v a n$ | bet |  | miyy an-tc |  |
| mo?nk | swirl,mix, VT | mopnki |  |  |


| Indic. Stem | Gloss | 2ndsa | 2nd_olus | 1st_plu. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| nahnipk | win | nahnipki | nahnipki-č |  |
| napkan | separate | napkan | napkan-4と |  |
| naprk | help | noprk | noprk-tc |  |
| $n+h+n+y$ w | separate | n+htntyaw |  |  |
| n+khk?? | close, VT | n+khki |  |  |
| j+wk | wear out | j+wki |  |  |
| Počk | mount | Počki |  |  |
| p+pk | fan | p+pki |  |  |
| $p+n$ | tie | $p \neq n$ |  |  |
| piakhk?? | take out | piakhki |  |  |
| pikw | scrape | pikwki | pikw ki-c |  |
| pipmk | gather | pipmki |  |  |
| pig.. | decay | pigan | Pijan-tč |  |
| puhea? | blow | puhearn | puheapn-ič |  |
| puk | unclothe | puk | puk-tč |  |
| punitap | play a cert. |  |  | co-punitap-č |
| purahtk | come out | purahk | pur ahk-tč |  |
| purahk | make come | pur ahki | ? |  |
| purikaw | string beads | purikaw | purike-tč |  |
| pučank | play ball |  |  | ca-pučahk-tč |
| rapwk | sit/set | rapwk |  |  |
| riopin | shear | riopin |  |  |
| rukutk | pull out | rukutki |  |  |
| Šeahk | part, VT | Še ohki |  |  |
| Šererk | scrape | Šererki |  |  |


| Indic. Stem | Gloss | 2ndsa | 2nd_olu. | 1st_olu |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| S 5 m | scratch | Stm- |  |  |
| siv | plane | Šiv | šiv-4č |  |
| to | put | tah, top |  |  |
| tokwk? | shake,VT | takwki |  |  |
| tapira? | tuck | tapirap | tapirap-z |  |
| t+mk | shut | timkip |  |  |
| t+pwi | play peón |  |  | co-t+pwip-č |
| t+pur | count | t+pur, t+ |  |  |
| touk | spit | touk | touki-č |  |
| tuhtup | dance |  |  | ca-tuhtup-č |
| quipn | try | tuipn |  |  |
| tun | chase | tunin | tunin-tč |  |
| Pup | take | pup |  |  |
| vatuatk | clap | vatuatki |  |  |
| wanak | run | wanaki, |  |  |
|  |  | wanaktn |  |  |
| wawk | throw down | wawki |  |  |
| wean | go, wink [1] |  |  | co-wean-qč |
| wik | smoke tobacco | wik, *wiki | wik-tr |  |
| win | cut | win | win-tr | cs-win-tč |
| Wirapk | let go | wirapki |  |  |
| wiroy | play instr. | Wiroypi |  |  |
| wicu? | twist rope | wicup |  |  |
| yow | grab | yow | yo-tr |  |
| $y+$ pivan | eat together | $y+$ jivan | $y+$ givan-4č |  |

## APPENDIX K: SPANISH AND CHUMASH GLOSSARY

The following is a brief glossary of Spanish and Chumash terms that are frequently used in discussions of southern California Indian ethnographic and linguistic studies, and are therefore not always translaied in the text and dictionary.

Pontap - an inductee into the yivor religious cult of the Kitanemuk and other southern California groups.
atole - cooked mush made from acorns or grain and often flavored with meat or berries.
capitán - the usual term for native leaders in Southern California. Though Spanish for 'captain', this is usually translated as 'chief'.
chichiquelite - nightshade, per Harrington in H: 1349; but description given here describes eating boiled or fried leaves; chaparral nightshade, per Raven (1966), is a group of plants with poisonous leaves and berries, though related to cultivated tomatoes and potatoes.
chilecote - apparently chilicothe, the wild cucumber plant, or the game like marbles that southern California Indians played with its seeds. 70
${ }^{70}$ The game is described in Hudson and Timbrook (1980: 6).
coime - umpire in the game of peón.
'iwhinmo - Mt. Pinos, a sacred mountain.
juanito - squirrel or chipmunk sp., sipihy(a) in Chemehuevi słpivawi (Laird 1984, Notebook section). Later reference gives sipiya, pl. sfpVawi, almost certainly Citellus tereticaudus Bard, round-tailed ground-squirrel (Laird 1984, cites Stephens' California_Mammals, 1906: 69-70). Name is onomatopoetic. From whistling note. "Like prairie dogs-live in holes, stand up."
muncho - the equivalent in the Spanish of the Harrington notes of standard Spanish "mucho" 'much'.
peón - a game played by many southern California Indians; it is played by teams each of which hides sticks behind their backs while the other team guesses their location; gambling is often involved.
pespibata - Indian tobacco plant Nicotiniana bigelovii or its prepared medicinal form, an emetic.
pinole - a food made of ground seeds such as chia.
pitahaya - a cactus fruit; pitahaya agria [bitter pitahaya] (Machaerocereus gummosus) or pitahaya dulce [sweet pitahaya] (Lemaireocereus Thurberi) (Masterkey 48:3: 106).
quelite - a general term for edible greens.
real - a Spanish word indicating an amount of money equivalent to the American "bit", and used to reckon payment for services in bead money. Kroeber (1925: 565) charts various central and southern California methods of wrapping strings of bead money around the hand or wrist to measure it in these units, and cites Gabrielino and Luiseño terms cognate with the Kitanemuk pink to name the "real" unit. Strong (1929: 95-9) also cites a Pass Cahuilla practice of measuring from the forehead to the ground. Harrington's Kitanemuk notes describe the hand wrapping method in detail.
toloache - a halucinogenic drink made fom Jimson weed.

```
vini - Harrington notes' equivalent of standard Spanish "vine" ('I went')
```

yerba mansa - used for colds, sores, VD.

## APPENDIX L: PSEUDO-ABSOLUTIVE SUFFIX

| A: Nouns which add "pseudo-absolutive" |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| possessed $\mathrm{N}, \mathrm{obj}$. | Mng, |
| mt-rahir-c-ay | your nephew |
| mit-pankan a-c-ay | your nephew, niece |
| mit-pana-c-ay | your brother-in-law |
| mt-curip-t-ay | your grandparent |
| mt-pqkihur-c-ay | your breastbone [attested abs.: kihuc] |
| mi-herk-in-i-c-ay | your forefinger [attested abs.: nerkinic] |
| mt-hintuap-č-ay | your relative |
| mi-kwarip-t-ay | your grandfather [possessive plu. -y am] |
| ? o- Пaykap-č-ay | his thigh [subject form: - ŋaykap; abs.: „aykac] |
| m+-noho-c-ay | your neck [abs. obj.: johocay] |
| Pa-pavahata-c-ay | his bladder |
| mitstke-c-ay | your shoulder blade [attested abs. obj.: š+kecay] |
| mt-tamop-č-ay | your knee [attested abs.: tomoc] |
| mt-t+mkt-č-ay | your tapadera [attested abs.: ttmktt; loc. -tunu-pia] |
| mi-t $\ddagger$ h-t $\ddagger$ mkt-č-ay | your tapaderas |
| $m+$ timupi-c-ay | your heel [attested abs.: timupic] |
| mítunup-č-ay | 'your chest, obj.' [attested abs.: tunuc] |
| ni-piša-č-ay | my head [attested abs.: pišač] |
| ¢ | his eyes [subj.: -puva p] |
| mi-puyka-č-ay | your girlfriend [subj.: -Puyk] |
| ? a - $\mathrm{Pa-c-ay}$ | its horn [subj.: -Pap; abs.: ac] |
| Pa-tantaka-č-ay | his body [subj.: -tahtakap] |
| Pa-noh-nopsi-t-ay | the little grains [but cf. 'little finger', below] |
| ? o-top-č-ay | his belly [but cf. also 'belly' in Table B] |
| ni-š4m-ivanap-č-ay | my scraper [abs.: stim-ihw er-t] |
| ni-havt-č-ay | my blanket |
| B: Nouns which do not add "pseudo-absolutive" |  |
| possessed N, obj. | Mng. |
| mi-p amcit $\mathrm{a}-\mathrm{y}$ | your nephew/niece |
| mi-pat+pa-y | your thumb [attested abs.: P ot + P ac] |
| m*-hamu-y | your sibling |
| mi-hilos | your gizzard [invariant form?-no obj. mrkng.] |
| Pa-ho-y | its cave |
| Pe-ho-ho-y | its caves |
| m+-herk-in-ivonap | your forefinger [no obj. marking] |
| mu-huna-y | [sic] your heart [attested abs.: hunacay] |
| m+-y+k-ay | your mother |


| Bi Nouns which do not add "pseudo-absolutive" (cont'd) |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| possessed N . obic | Mng. |
| $m+-y+h o(-) y$ | your aunt |
| $m+k$ antm | your gall [no obj. marking] |
| mt-kečue? | your ankle [no obj.marking] |
| mi-kohe-y | your elder sister [attested abs.: koh ač] |
| mi-kuhana ${ }^{\text {n }}$ may | your sister-in-law] |
| mi-kuhma-y | your uncle |
| m4-kwasty-y | your parent-in-law |
| Pa-kwacita-y | his tail [attested abs.: kwacitacay] |
| mi-mahcitay | your nephew [subject form: -mahcit] |
| mi-ma-y | your arm [attested abs.: macay] |
| mt-mayha-y | your offspring |
| m+-makay | your uncle/father-in-law |
| mt-miakay | your daughter-in-law |
| m+-mišanay | your son-in-law |
| m+-mori | your snot [no obj. marking transcribed] |
| mitnopna(-)y | your father |
| minn $\ddagger$ (h)may | your aunt |
| mt-paha-y | your older brother |
| mi-paro-y | your shinbone [attested abs.: parocay] |
| mT-počuk-ay | your collar bone [abs. obj.: pačuktay] - |
| m+-pačuk-yam-4y | your collarbones [l] [abs.: pačukyam $\ddagger$ y] |
| mi-pit oy | your younger sibling [abs.: pit ač ay] |
| mi-pinicay | your aunt [subject form: -pinic] |
| Pe-ši | his guts ("tripas") [no object marking transcribed] |
| Po-povo-y | its kidneys |
| mi-tahay | your uncle |
| Po-toro-y | his navel |
| m+-caka-y | your foot [attested abs.: cakacay] |
| m+-c+a-y | your elbow |
| m+-c+h-c+0-y | your elbows |
| mt-waci | your nail [no obj. marking transcribed] |
| Pa-pacita-y | your pet |
| Po(-)pano | her egg [no ob]. marking; possessive structure doubtful] |
| ?a-t ama-y | his teeth |
| Po-šiča-y | his cheeks [mouth] |
| m+-panosip | his little finger [abs.: Panopsi(c)] |
| Po-top-y | his/her belty [subject form: -top; abs.: topč] |

## VII: REFERENCES CITED

Anderton, Alice. 1978. Review of Laird, Encounter with an angry god. Language 54.1: 221-2.

Applegate, Richard. 1974. Chumash placenames. Journal of California Anthropology, 1.2: 187-205.

Applegate, Richard B. 1978. 'Atishwin: the dream helper in southcentral California. Anthropological papers 13. Socorro, NM.: Ballena Press.

Balls, Edward K. 1970. Early uses of California plants. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Berlin, Brent. 1981. Book notice of Indian names for plants and animals among Californian and other western North American tribes, by C. Hart Merriam. Language 57.1: 245-6.

Blackburn, Thomas C. 1975. December's child: a book of Chumash oral narratives. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Blackburn, Thomas C. and Lowell John Bean. 1978. Kitanemuk. In Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 8: California, R.F. Heizer, ed., pp. 564-9. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Bright, William. 1968. A Luiseño dictionary. University of California Publications in Linguistics 51. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Bright, William. 1974. Three extinct American Indian languages of Southern California (Report on Grant No. 6047). American Philosophial Society Year Book 1974, pp. 153-4.

Bright, William, and Jane H. Hill. 1967 The linguistic history of the Cupeño. In Studies in southwestern ethnolinguistics, ed. by Dell H. Hymes and William Bittle. The Hague: Mouton, 1967, pp. 35171.

Brown, Vinson, and George Lawrence. 1965. The Californian wildlife region. Healdsburg, CA: Naturegraph Publishers.

Chomsky, Noam, and Morris Halle. 1968. The sound pattern of English. New York: Harper \& Row.

Crook, Donald. 1974a. Modal enclitics in Serrano. Unpublished manuscript.

Crook, Donald. 1974b. Imperative objects in Serrano. Unpublished manuscript.

Crook, Donald. 1976a. The Serrano absolutive: making the most of your morphemes. MS.

Crook, Donald. 1976b. A short sketch of Serrano possessives and postpositions. Paper given at FFUAC, Long Beach, CA 1976.

Dengler, William F., and Sandy Dengler. 1972. Mammals of Joshua Tree National Monument. Twentynine Palms, CA: Joshua Tree Natural History Association.

Frost, Everett (producer). 1986. Stories from the spirit world: The old ways are gone-The creation myth of the Cahuilla Indians of southern California [audio tape]. Madison, WI: National Public Radio Cassettes.

Hanna, Phil Townsend (ed.). 1933. Chinigchinich. A revised and annotated version of Alfred Robinson's translation of Father Geronimo Boscana's historical account of the beliefs, usages, customs and extravagancies of the Indians of this mission of San Juan Capistrano, called the Acagchemem tribe. Santa Ana, California. Fine Arts Press. Annotation and bibliography by John P. Harrington.

Harrington, John Peabody. ca. 1916-17. Fieldnotes on Kitanemuk formerly held in the Linguistics Department of the University of California Berkeley, and excerpts (excerpted by Geri Anderson ca. 1973 and by Alice Anderton in 1974) from notes held in the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian

Institution, Washington, D.C. Published in microfilm as Mills and Brickfield (1986).

Heizer, Robert F. 1974. An early Cahuilla ethnographic sketch. The Masterkey 48.1: 14-21.

Hill, Kenneth C. n.d. Serrano clitics. Ditto.
Hudson, J.W. ca. 1899-1902. Unpublished fieldnotes recorded at Tejón with Gabrielino informants. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

Hudson, Travis, Thomas Blackburn, Rosario Curletti and Janice Timbrook (eds.). 1977. The eye of the flute: Chumash traditional history as told by Fernando Librado Kitsepawit to John P. Harrington. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. Second edition. Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press, 1981.

Hudson, Travis, and Jan Timbrook. 1980. Chumash Indian games. Santa Barbara, CA: Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History.

Hyde, Villiana. 1971. An introduction to the Luiseño language. Ed. by Ronald W. Langacker. Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press.

Johnson, John R. 1978. The trail to koshtiq. The Journal of California Anthropology 5.2: 188-98.

Johnston, Francis J. 1965. The Serrano Indians of southern California. (Malki Museum Brochure No. 2.) Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press.

Kelsey, C.E. 1906. Some numerals from the California Indian languages. University of California Berkeley Archaeological Research Facility MS \#424.

Kroeber, A.L. 1907. Shoshonean dialects of California. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 4.3: 65-165.

Kroeber, A.L. 1925. Handbook of the Indians of California. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. [1953 facsimile edition. Berkeley: California Book Co.]

Laird, Carobeth. 1975. Encounter with an angry god: recollections of my life with John Peabody Harrington. Morongo Indian Reservation, Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press.

Laird, Carobeth. 1984. Mirror and pattern: George Laird's world of Chemehuevi mythology. Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press.

Lamb, Sydney M. 1964. The classification of the Uto-Aztecan languages: a historical survey. Studies in Californian linguistics, William Bright ed., pp. 106-125. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. University of California Publications in Linguistics 34.

Langacker, Ronald W. (ed.). 1977. Studies in Uto-Aztecan grammar, Vol. 1: An overview of Uto-Aztecan gramar. Ditto.

McLendon, Sally. 1975. A grammar of Eastern Pomo. University of California Publications in Linguistics 74. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Merriam, C. H. 1903, 1905. Unpublished field notes on Kitanemuk. Unil $\begin{aligned} \text { rsity } \\ \text { of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library. }\end{aligned}$

Merriam, C. Hart. 1966. Ethnographic notes on California Indian tribes, part I. Compiled and edited by Robert F. Heizer. University of California Archaeological Survey, Report no. 68. University of California Archaeological Research Facility, Department of Anthropology.

Mills, Elaine L., and Ann J. Brickfield, eds. 1986. The papers of John Peabody Harrington in the Smithsonian Institution, 19071957, in Vol. III: A guide to the field notes: Native American history, language and culture of Southern California/Basin. White Plains, N.Y.: Kraus International Publications.

Munro, Pamela. 1974. Imperative objects in Chemehuevi. Ditto.

Munro, Pamela. 1978. Imperatives, passives, and perfectives in Chemehuevi. Journal of California Anthropology Papers in Linguistics, pp. 65-75.

Munro, Pamela. 1988. Gabrielino-English vocabulary. Unpublished manuscript, UCLA.

Peers, Edgar Allison, José V. Barragán, Francesco A. Vinyals, and Jorge Arturo Miora, eds. 1959. Cassell's Spanish-English English-Spanish dictienary. London: Cassell.

Press, Margaret L. 1979. Chemehuevi: a grammar and lexicon. (University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 92.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Raven, Peter H. 1966. Native shrubs of southern California. (California Natural History Guides: 15). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Santamaría, Francisco Javier. 1959. Diccionario de mejicanismos. 2nd edition, 1974. Méjico: Porrua.

Sapir, Edward. 1930. Southern Paiute, a Shoshonean language. American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Proceedings 65: 1-296.

Sasse, H.-C., J. Horne, and Charlotte Dixon, compilers. Cassell's new compact German-English English-German dictionary. London: Cassell.

Sauvel, Katherine Siva, and Pamela Munro, with the assistance of Brent de Chene et al. 1981. Chem'ivillu' (Let's speak Cahuilla). Los Angeles: UCLA American Indian Studies Center in cooperation with Maiki Museum.

Seiler, Hansjakob. 1977. Cahuilla grammar. Banning, CA: Malki Museum Press.

Steele, Susan. 1975. On the count of one. Paper given at the Friends of Uto-Aztecan Conference. [place?]

Strong, William Duncan. 1929. Aboriginal society in southern California. University of California Publications in American American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 26). Reprinted by Malki Museum Press, Banning, CA, 1972.

Toro y Gisbert, Miguel de. 1964. Pequeño Larousse ilustrado. Second edition, 1966. Paris: Editorial Larousse.
van Valkenbergh, Richard, and Malcom Farmer. 1934. Notes on the Hamenot Indians. Unpublished fieldnotes (copy obtained from J. Johnson at the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, Santa Barbara, CA).

Walsh, Jane MacLaren. 1976. John Peabody Harrington: the man and his California Indian fieldnotes. (Anthropological Papers No. 6.) Ramona, CA: Ballena Press.

Whitaker, John O., Jr. 1980. The Audubon Society field guide to North American mammals. Now York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Zigmond, Maurice L. 1937. Field notes on Kitanemuk. Unpublished notebook and paper slips. Lent by the author.

Zigmond, Maurice L., Curtis Booth, and Pamela Munro. 1988. Kawaiisu: a grammar and dictionary with texts. [in press]


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Malcolm Farmer (van Valkenburgh and Farmer 1934) used the spelling "Gitanemuk"; he generally uses the name "Hamenot". Kroeber (1925: 612) speculates that both the name Kitanemuk and another name, "Kikitanum" or "Kikitamkar" are based on the word for 'house' (Kit. Kič). Harrington consultants translate kitanamukom as their own name for their language, which they also accept as a name for their people; they also give ? akikitam as a "real name" for themselves, but offer no etymology. It could be related to kitamik 'east'.
    ${ }^{2}$ This last name was used, according to the Harrington fieldnotes, by other Indians in the area, as well as Spanish speakers ("Jaminat" is the Spanish version) as a name or nickname for the Kitanemuks. It is a Kitanemuk question word meaning 'what', 'why', or 'how', and figures in the greeting haminat mキk c 'how are you'; it would have been one of the first words a stranger heard from the Kitanemuks. Its use is described in chapter IV, section I.
    ${ }^{3}$ Some southern California groups were named by the Spanish according to the missions near which they lived; thus "Gabrielinos" lived near Mission San Gabriel (in what is today the greater Los Angeles area), the "Luisefios" near Mission San Luis Rey, and so forth. These names have been adopted to describe the languages, as well. Here I am using the word "Gabrielino" as a cover term for Gabrielino and Fernandeño (named after the Mission at San Fernando), which were apparently very closely related

[^1]:    ${ }^{5}$ Cf., e.g., Johnson (1978) and references therein for some discussion of this point.
    ${ }^{6}$ For a fuller ethnographic description of the Kitanemuk, cf. Blackburn and Bean (1978) and Kroeber (1925).

[^2]:    ${ }^{7}$ For a description of their trips to this area, cf. Laird (1975); for more biographical background on Harrington, cf. Waish (1976); for a review of the Laird book and some overview of scholarly opinions of Harrington, cf. Anderton (1978).

[^3]:    ${ }^{8}$ Harrington's consultants included Angela Montes, Magdalena Olivas, Eugenia Mendes, and perhaps others.

[^4]:    ${ }^{9}$ Laird, in an appendix to Mirror and Pattern called "Linguistic Note" (Laird 1984: 321-8) throws some light on the Harrington transcriptions, mentioning explicitly, for instance, that he experimented sometimes by changing symbols in the middle of his work, and sometimes changing them back. She also gives explicit phonetic values for the symbols he and she used in working with Chemehuevi, another Northern UtoAztecan language which Harrington studied at about the same time as the Kitanemuk work. Of course there is a small community of scholars who have worked with Harrington's notes on various languages, and so a number of his abbreviations and symbols have become well-known.

[^5]:    ${ }^{10} \mathrm{~A}$ diagram of the keyboard layout of Harrington's custom-made typewriter with special linguistic symbols is included as Appendix $G$.

[^6]:    ${ }^{11}$ Both sets of Harrington notes are now in the collection of Harrington materials recently published in microfilm by Kraus (Mills and Brickfield, eds., 1986)
    ${ }^{12}$ Zigmond's consultants were Marcelino Rivera, isabella Gonzales and Refugia Duran. He feels that they may have been the last three speakers of Kitanemuk alive at that time.

[^7]:    ${ }^{13}$ Kroeber does not mention what native speakers he consulied for the Handbook. His consultants for the article were an elderly Yokuts man named Chalola, raised among the Kitanemuks at Tejon since childhood, and a woman named Isabel, who was born there and was apparently a native speaker of Kitanemuk (Kroeber 1907: 69).
    ${ }^{14}$ Cf. Robert F. Heizer's introduction to Merriam 1966 for a fuller discussion of Merriam's life and work.
    ${ }^{15}$ Merriam's consultants were Alta Mirando Vadio and Mrs. J.V. Rosemyer (the wife of "Rosemeyer", the owner of a store at Tejon Canyon, mentioned by Harrington in his notes; I am not sure which spelling of her name is correct).

[^8]:    ${ }^{16}$ Kroeber (quoted in Merriam 1966: 6) described Merriam's transcriptions by saying that he "did not set out to do linguistics, did not profess to, and obviously would not have known how".
    ${ }^{17}$ One of the consultants mentioned by name is a Mrs. Rosemeyer, described as "a fullblood San Gabriel woman, who lived near Tijon from the time she was a girl until a few years ago [who] speaks both Indian languages there ["Shoshonean" and "Maraposan" in Hudson's terminology], and also Spanish". She is undoubtedly the same Mrs. Rosemeyer consulted by Merriam, and clearly a speaker of Kitanemuk.

[^9]:    ${ }^{18}$ Apparently this is the same Mrs. Rosemyre/Rosemeyer mentioned by Harrington as the wife of J.V. [James?], the storeowner, and consulted by Merriam. She must have been the most famous Kitanemuk speaker among ethnographers in the first two decades of this century.
    ${ }^{19}$ C.E. Kelsey, "Some numerals from the California Indian languages" (University of California Berkeley Archaeological Research Facility MS \#424).

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ Harrington seems to have transcribed more narrowly on some days than on others, however, or paid less attention sometimes to the phonetic detail of one type of segment than to variations in others which he was focusing on at the time. The fact that most of the session notes are undated makes it harder to reconstruct his thinking. Thus one has to suppose that a lack of, for example, length or stress marking on a particular token which appears on other tokens of the same item is at least sometimes a case of underspecification rather than a different pronunciation of the word. Because a number of careful educated guesses of this kind are inevitable in this type of work, I have listed original transcriptions in the dictionary.

[^11]:    ${ }^{2}$ This is confirmed by Laird (1984: 323) in her description of Harrington's transcription system for Chemehuevi, a language which she and he studied during and after his work with Kitanemuk. It is also reported to be Harrington's spelling of $[x]$ in a number of other languages (William Bright, p.c., Pamela Munro, p.c.).
    ${ }^{3}$ But note that Kroeber (1907: 91) claims that "e and 0 are generally open in Shoshonean, at least in the Califomia dialects."

[^12]:    4This table is merely intended as a guide to the most frequently encountered spelling conventions of the major sources, and is not an exhaustive presentation of correspondances, especially in the case of Merriam. I have no specific information on the transcription systems of Hudson, Kelsey, or van Valkenburgh and Farmer. For some explanation of Kroeber's transcription system, see Appendix B.

[^13]:    ${ }^{5} \mathrm{~A}$ few fieldwork sessions are dated, but most are not. The raw notes from Berkeley are numbered with a stamp, which results in page numbers which can be referred to, but it is not clear whether Harrington or someone at the archives applied the number stamps, and in any case it is certainly clear that the pagination is not chronological, since some of the later dated sessions have lower numbers than the earlier dated ones.

[^14]:    ${ }^{6}$ One should bear in mind that Zigmond was trying to remember the facts some 40 years after his fieldwork on Kitanemuk; but it seems likely that he is remembering correctly. He did use $\mathbf{2}$ for a high central vowel in his early work on Kawaiisu.

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

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

[^15]:    9/ have assumed that words recorded with initial vowels in fact begin with the consonant_p. Otherwise glottal stop would be the unique consonant which never occurs initially, and rules to insert it in most prefixed and reduplicated forms would have to be constructed.

[^16]:    10 Pam Munro has said (p.c.) that she finds a similar situation in Gabrielino, for which the major source is also Harrington notes, and is similarly puzzled.
    ${ }^{11}$ This distribution is unlike that in Gabrielino (where long or stressed ii, i and ee, é alternate with short unstressed e, and similarly uu/ú and oo/ó alternate with short unstresed 0 ) and Luiseño (where short $u$ and 0 , and short $i$ and $e$, neutralize as the high vowel)(Munro, p.c.).
    ${ }^{12}$ The one exception is ? Phityip poč 'shore', which in one token only has a long x -a

[^17]:    ${ }^{13}$ There are very few exceptions, e.g. Itif́yim 'eleyewu dancers' (cf. Ifyit 'eleyewu dancer') which may be transcription errors.

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

[^18]:    15 In these Spanish examples an accent mark is superimposed on the Spanish orthographic forms, for expository purposes only; they are not spelled with an accent in Spanish.

[^19]:    ${ }^{16}$ Note that the glide in this word must be an underlying vowel, or else the morpheme structure limitation on medial clusters will be violated.

[^20]:    17 am using $R$ to represent reduplication at the morphemic level.
    ${ }^{18}$ Another hypothesis for this morpheme has been suggested by Pamela Munro (p.c.), and deserves further examination: perhaps 'possession' is /niw/, and the /w/ is vocalized to [u] by a rule which simplifies glide clusters to vowel plus glide.

[^21]:    which may be analyzed as undergoing a-loss in absolutive forms-hita 'what', and Dačukg 'man'; but these both have irregular morphology in other respects and might better be considered simply irregular stems.

[^22]:    ${ }^{21}$ While a change of $h$ to $r$ may not seem very natural, it should be pointed out that the words in question derive from Takic protoforms containing "s, so a historical change of * s to r and * s s to h . The change of " s to h is characteristic of the Serran branch of Takic, according to Bright (1974).

    22 The stem con is likely a borrowing-it belongs to the $\varnothing$ absolutive class which is the route borrowings take into the language, and probably there were not a lot of fish in

[^23]:    ${ }^{23}$ There is at least one exception to this in the corpus: tith-tyvi-m 'type of dancer', which is perplexing.

[^24]:    ${ }^{1}$ Note that "absolutive" in the sense in which it is used here has nothing to do with absolutive versus ergative case. It is a term well known to students of Uto-Aztecan languages, used to describe a noun suffix with somewhat different distributions in each language, but generally contrasting with possessiveness and oblique case marking. It will be described in detail below, in 5: "Absolutive".

[^25]:    ${ }^{2}$ Margaret Press (p.c.) pointed out to me that the distribution of -pea and -ye. probably is the remnant of a system partially reconstructed by Langacker (1977: 23) for Proto-Uto-Aztecan and realized in Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi as a system of "spirantizing" and "non-spirantizing" stems. For discussions of this well-documented system, cf., e.g., Sapir (1930), Press (1979: 29).
    ${ }^{3}$ Cf. chapter IV, section B: "Number" for some further considerations of when plurality is marked, and through what means.

[^26]:    5The glottal stop is added to some possessed nouns by the rule (\#6 in chapter I, section D) of giottal stop insertion.

[^27]:    ${ }^{6}$ For the third person singular oblique construction, cf. section C, 4: "Demonstrative pronouns".

[^28]:    ${ }^{8}$ The optional -m occurs in imperative sentences that have no direct objects. I discuss in chapter IV, section C , the notion that perhaps this is because it is the object clitic for 'you', and imperative subjects are marked as if they were objects.

[^29]:    ${ }^{9}$ There is one apparent counterexample to this-mi 'go', which has the irregular second person singular imperative form meoh second plur al mexz and first plural camic. The second person form is actually underlying mea-ť. as evidenced by the negative koy-m-4̌ mee 'y'all don't gol', so the plural imperative forms are irregular, even given the singular form as a base.

[^30]:    ${ }^{11}$ This form, in the Zigmond notes, was translated 'our blood', but was apparently glossed in error; elsewhere he gives 锌- as 'our'.

[^31]:    ${ }^{12}$ The clitic nehe is discussed in chapter IV, section $L$.

[^32]:    ${ }^{1}$ This is one of several instances of morphology common to verbs and nouns. (Actually, one could analyze the -w suffix as two homophonous suffixes-a deverbal "habitual action" suffix, and a denominal "augmentative" suffix; I have considered it to be a single suffix because of the formal identity and some semantic common ground.
    ${ }^{2}$ Instead of the vowel $\pm$, occasionally $\underline{\underline{y}}$ occurs, but only in the $\underline{w}$ variant. This is additional evidence that orthographic $\boldsymbol{a}$ is $[\ddagger$ ], easily mistaken for [ 4 ], especially in rounding environments.

[^33]:    ${ }^{3}$ Two more sets seem to be related by way of the same -we suffix, but with concomitant stem changes.

    Papa 'crow' Pač-wa-t 'raven'
    tukut 'bobcat? [gato montes]' tukučuw at 'mountain lion'
    It is quite possible that these forms are related only etymologically and not by an active derivational process.

[^34]:    ${ }^{4}$ Actually, this is doubtful, since the only attested absolutive form is ? acitapivtと. glossed 'perro que era' ['dog that was'], and which I suspect of being a forced or artificial form.
    ${ }^{5}$ California Indians often had taboos against mentioning the names of dead people (cf. e.g. Kroeber 1925:181) or special names for deceased people, or special terms for kin related through a deceased person (William Bright, p.c.).

[^35]:    ${ }^{6}$ Note that the designation "tribename" as used here is an arbitrary categorization not limited to names of people organized into a social tribe structure.

[^36]:    ${ }^{7}$ The absence of object marking on the passive nominal here is unexplained.

[^37]:    ${ }^{8}$ Cf. Luis. suffix -č-y 'make a' (< *t-u): kii-ča 'house', kii-ču 'make a house'.
    ${ }^{9}$ Both hune-t and hune-t-t are attested for 'bear'; the latter apparently contains the augmentative suffix.

[^38]:    ${ }^{10} \mathrm{I}_{\text {t }}$ has been suggested (P. Munro, p.c.) that the ti- in at least some of these words might be a compounding element from 'tit 'rock'.

[^39]:    ${ }^{11}$ One real is equivalent to a "bit", or $121 / 2$ cents, as described for Gabrielino by Kroeber (1925: 565-6).

[^40]:    ${ }^{1}$ Actually it is not clear that -Pocit works exactly like -niw; it occurs mostly alone, as a sort of pro-animal form thus nipacit is variously translated 'my dog', 'my horse', my swine', etc.).; and the sentence which just precedes this paragraph, ntpyu? nipacit patos patt?, could mean literally either 'that used to be my (pet) cat' or 'that cat used to be my pet'.

[^41]:    ${ }^{2}$ In this and the next example, transcribed $- \pm \varphi \pm$ presumably represents the past clitic, -uvu?

[^42]:    ${ }^{3}$ Munro (1978) proposes an analysis that relates the non-marking logical objects in imperatives to parallel phenomena in the passive and perfective constructions in Chemehuevi.
    ${ }^{4}$ Imperatives are described in chapter II, section $B$, and in section $M$ of this chapter.
    ${ }^{5}$ The verb hyu 'see, look al', is the only verb in the corpus which takes this special prefix, $t \pm$-, in the imperative.

[^43]:    ${ }^{6}$ The one apparent counterexample to the replacement of naw with koy in imperatives is the following sentence, which appears to be syntactically a question rather than a command:

[^44]:    ${ }^{7}$ This is another possible candidate for a relative clause, meaning perhaps 'Who could [the person] who died be?'

[^45]:    ${ }^{8}$ It is interesting that this koy is homophonous with (perhaps identical to?) the NEG word used in imperative sentences.

[^46]:    9/n addition, the verb mirin 'be able' expresses ability to do something:
    naw ni-mirin
    NEG is can
    hat ni-mirin maykw
    yes is can do?
    mutup ni-mirin
    always is can
    'I can't.'
    'Yes, I can [do it].'
    'I always can.'

[^47]:    ${ }^{11}$ The $n$ of Harrington's transcription may represent $n+?$ as 1 theorize in the phonemicized line; but it could equally well be part of a special possessed form of 'father' (which Harrington seems to have assumed in his transcription). Only nina? and ning? are attested elsewhere in the corpus for the subject form of 'my father', but since 'my father' here is the subject of an embedded clause, it may be marked in some special way (note that an objective form containing $n$ is attested: -ngrnoy).

[^48]:    ${ }^{1}$ Both sets of the Harrington notes are now available in Kraus's microfilm publication, Mills and Brickfield (1986).

[^49]:    Pa(-)haykipea-last. R: nə? nihju ahajkəpea kits (I saw the last house); ahajkopea amuk (the last house ['last one over there'])

    Pahir - nephew or niece, N. H: Pahir (nephew or niece; relation of Magdalena to Eugenia [Magdalena's father's sister]); ZN: P ahir (nephew)

    Pahyam (plu.). H: Pahjam
    Pahir-c-ay (obj.). H: Pahirtsaj
    Pahłŋ-t, ahłŋh-t — eagle, N. H: Pahəŋt, ahəŋt, ahəŋht; ZS:
    Pa'hə'nkt, Pa'hə•jkt; ZN: Pa'hənkt; K: axünt
    Pahinam? (plu.). H: Pahəŋəm
    Pahin-t, Pah+j-t Pa-ho (plcnm.); H: Pahəŋt oho (plenm.: mountain other side of Tehachapi); R: ahəŋt (picnm.: where eagle lives, on naqkameapnijak mountain), pahənt ahovea (the sierra below Tehachapi town; = snake)

    Pa(-)hiva - fine (of meal). H: Pahzva
    [perh. related to hípi主č 'cattail flour']
    Pahkana - nephew or niece (through brother?), $N$; stepchild. $H$ :
    Pahkaho, Paqkana (nephew or niece; stepchild)

[^50]:    2 Maurice Zigmond (p.c.): "probably the general name for 'wild plant'-cf. Kawaiisu mahayt."

[^51]:    ${ }^{4}$ Note that the site referred to here is near the old Chumash village of Kashtig, at modern day Castac Lake in Kern County near modern-day Tejón Pass, not the town of Castaic or Castaic Creek in the upper Santa Clara River valley in Los Angeles County (Johnson 1978). The similarity in names has caused some confusion in the past. See Johnson (1978) for further discussion.

[^52]:    $\mathbf{5}^{\text {Harrington's translation translated by Pamela Munro (p.c.). This word, of uncertain }}$ origin, is found all over Southern California (William Bright, p.c.).

[^53]:    ${ }^{6 P r e s u m a b l y}$ the plenm. here refers to what is now called "Morongo Valley" near San Bernardino, and is not related to Morongo Indian Reservation at Banning, California, which gets its name from a family name (cf. Johnston 1965: 4).

[^54]:    ${ }^{7}$ Kroeber (1925: 612) mentions rumors of "Kwiahta Hamakhava" (Mojave for 'like Mojaves') in the area, perhaps referring to the Kitanemuk or Tataviam.

[^55]:    8 Cf . Cahuilla Mukata, a creation god now considered an evil spirit, as reported by Lovell and cited in Heizer (1974: 18), and in K. Sauvel's story on tape (Frost 1986).

[^56]:    ${ }^{9}$ For some ethnographic background on the role of the dream he!per in south central California, cf. Applegate (1978). They usually existed only in mythic or spiritual reality but were thought sometimes to take concrete form to act on behalf of people.

[^57]:    10 This may be a placename near San Fernando, and used for toloache ceremonies. On p. 1559 of (the Berkeley numeration of) Harrington's notes, the Fernandeño word matifar is described as "the name of a stone up this way from humaliwo [Malibu], and also of a stone up by the hills back of San Fernando (later inf. said in tuhuga canyon). Each of these stones has the form of an old woman." The Fernandefio word meniצ̌or recalls Kit. monic 'toloache'; perhaps tuhuna was a place with a monišor stone shaped like an old woman, and so was called 'Old Woman'.

[^58]:    11 Zigmond et al (1988: 262) give the spelling yaohwe'ere.

[^59]:    1 Pp. 940-41.

[^60]:    12] would like to thank John Johnson of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History for bringing these fieldnotes to my attention. The listing here is a typescript of the notes hand copied by John Johnson, September 26, 1983, at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The two columns give forms from Vadio on the left, and forms from Mrs. Rosemyer on the right.

    13 Merriam was primarily a biologist; he is not known for the phonetic accuracy of his transcriptions, which he insisted on recording in an inconsistent modified English spelling, rather than using any recognized phonetic transcription system. It is also thought (by Kroeber, cited in Berlin (1981: 246) and Merriam (1966: 3), and by William Bright, personal communication) that Merriam's ear was simply not very good. Nevertheless, due to the paucity of material available on Kitanemuk, I feel it is worthwhile to include these forms. For more information on Merriam, cf. Berlin 1981, and Heizer's introduction to Merriam (1966: 1-9).

    14 The double-underlined words here represent the headings on the pre-printed forms Meriam used for the recording of speaker data on the many consultants for various languages he worked with.

[^61]:    15 This Mrs. Rosemeyer is apparently the wife of the "Rosemeyer" referred to in the Harrington notes.

[^62]:    26 Vadio says 'my nose', while Mrs. Rosemyer says 'his/her nose'; Merriam's cross out.
    27 Merriam's cross out.
    28 Merriam's cross out.
    29 Merriam's cross out.
    30 Vadio says 'my arm', while Mrs. R. says 'his/her arm'.
    31 Vadio says 'my body', while Mrs. Rosemyer says 'his/her body'.
    32 Vadio says 'my breast', while Mrs. Rosemyer says 'her breast'.

[^63]:    37 Both give 'good'.

[^64]:    57 Vadio says 'it's not much'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'little'.
    58 Vadio says 'big'.
    59 Note Vadio's $\boldsymbol{q}$ for I again.

[^65]:    60 Vadio says 'its lid'; Mrs. Rosemyer says 'on top'.
    61 This form could be a Fernandeño equivalent of Kit. ? o-htyt-vee 'on its edge'; the $\mathbf{s}$ might correspond to Kit. h here as it does in other pairs.

[^66]:    67 Merriam has mis-segmented the words: uve hamits akim.
    68 Merriam mis-segments: hamit ami.

[^67]:    69 This seerns not to be an imperative form as described above, but it is listed here because it uses the imperative subject first person plural prefix. There are very few examples of the morpheme -pay, so it is hard to say much about it, but some volition might be guessed from the use of the otherwise imperative subject prefix; the translation suggests a milder mode of "imperative", or volitional meaning.

