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

BY  
J. ALDEN MASON

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS  
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#### INTRODUCTION

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

The phrase-book is likewise unfortunate in that it is at present almost inaccessible to the modern student, due to its faulty arrangement. This is done alphabetically according to the initial

letter of the sentence, the various stems being scattered throughout the nearly three thousand sentences. The same difficulties of unphonetic orthography and Spanish language likewise obtain here.

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

While the grammar of De la Cuesta is the most complete ever published on a Costanoan language, several more scientific treatises have been produced in the last few years, principally by the University of California. These are, "Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco,"<sup>1</sup> and "The Chumash and Costanoan Languages."<sup>2</sup> Other pertinent works are "Phonetic Constituents of the Native Languages of California,"<sup>3</sup> "The Native Languages of California,"<sup>4</sup> and "New Linguistic Families in California."<sup>5</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> A. L. Kroeber, present series, II, 29-80, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 237-271, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 1-12, 1911.

<sup>4</sup> R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, *American Anthropologist*, n.s., v, 1-26, 1903.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, n.s., xv, 647-655, 1913.

## PART I. STRUCTURE

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

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

## PHONETIC SYSTEM

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

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



there are occasional cases of identity, e.g., *guallun*, *huallun*, *huolon*, "be envious;" *huilo*, *guilo*, "signal 'yes' with the eyes;" *huipa*, *güipa*, "invite"; *güeren*, *weren*,<sup>6</sup> "rabbit." Similarly the *gu-* orthography without the diæresis, *gue*, *gui*, is found often. This denotes pure sonant *g* in Spanish, a sound missing in Costanoan. Instances of a stem both with and without the diæresis are common, e.g., *gueiero*, *güeierogmin*, "great," and it is probable that such omissions of the diæresis are accidental. Therefore all *hu-* and *gu-* orthographies have been changed uniformly to *w*. Medial *w* is probably expressed by *u* with following vowel, but it often is difficult to decide whether a given *u* is vocalic or consonantal.

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

*c* (*sh*) is not definitely distinguished by De la Cuesta but is suggested by certain *sh*, *sch*<sup>4</sup> orthographies. Had he distinguished the sound he would probably have written it with an *x* in accord with older Spanish usage.

*x* (palatal surd fricative) presents some difficulties. Initially it is doubtless represented by *ja*, *ge*, *gi*, *jo*, *ju*. Medially the same orthography is utilized. Final *x* seems to be represented by *g*, e.g., *uming*, *mū'ix*,<sup>6</sup> "wolf;" *eg*, *ex*,<sup>6</sup> "squirrel." De la Cuesta's *g* in consonantal combinations offers the most uncertain of the phonetic problems. *tigsin*, "skunk," is checked by Kroeber's *tixsin*,<sup>6</sup> rendering it practically certain that *g* in this case represents *x*. On the other hand, *g* before *m* and *n* probably represents *k*. Thus *cma* and *gma* are both used as a plural suffix. *gne* is a common passive suffix. Kroeber has *nimikne wākai*,<sup>6</sup> "he hit me," doubtless the same suffix. Kroeber transcribes *tansagte*, "ten," *tansakte*, but *atsiagnis*, *atsiixnis*.<sup>2</sup> Substitution has here been made on the theory that *g* before a surd represents the continuant *x*, while before a sonant or intermediate it represents the palatal stop *k*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> A. L. Kroeber, MS.

<sup>7</sup> See postscript below, p. 470.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### PARTS OF SPEECH

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

#### NOUNS

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

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

*Etymological Suffixes of Nouns*

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

noso-n	breath, spirit, soul
sike-n	flatus
paine-n	menstruation
oṭs-io-n	wound
sawe-n	song

Possible cognate:

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

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

una	cure	una-s	remedy
ritea	speak	ritea-s-e	language
isut	dream	isut-s-e	a dream
kapal(a)	embrace	kapala-si	an embrace
kai	hurt	kai-s	pain
eṭe	sleep	eṭ-se	sleepiness
xase	become angry	xa-s	anger
xemṭso	silent	xenkotṣṭ-e	silence

Probable cognate is:

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

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

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

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

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

Probably also:

unupimsa	handkerchief
rotemsa	papers
siamalpimsa	confession
ysisuwaninsa	corns

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

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

Other isolated examples of etymological nominal suffixes are:

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

krak-e	name, call	krak-at	a name
soko-ṭe	laurel	soko-tei	laurel fruit
riṭe	decorate with beads	riṭe-ni	feminine adorn- ment
mukur-ukispu	act like a woman	mukur-ma	woman

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

mumuri	fly
mumulaluk	butterfly
lalak	geese
lukluk	geese
kakari	raven
soksoKian	sensonte
porpor	cottonwood
ṭoṭolua	plantain

### *Morphological Suffixes of Nouns*

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

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

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

#### 6. *-kma, -mak, plural.*

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

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

It is also used with substantive adjectives.

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

There appears to be no dual number.

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

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

<i>ores-was</i> ʔap	hide of bear
<i>xut-was</i> toʔe	meat of belly
<i>xurek-war</i> ruk	cord of sinew
<i>orpe-was</i> eʔse	middle of night

8. *-me, terminative.*

<i>patre-me</i>	into the house of the Padre
<i>me-me</i>	to you, with you

9. *-se, -s-e, -ne, -he, objective.*

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

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

<i>ak-sun</i>	(die) of hunger
<i>mait-sun</i>	(die) of laughing
<i>ʔala-sun</i>	(die) of heat
<i>ekweʔs-sum</i>	(conceived) in sin, (choked) with sin
<i>xai-um</i>	(speak) with the mouth
<i>urkan-um</i>	(thresh) with the mortar

11. *-tka, -tak, locative.*

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

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

12. *-ṭu, comitative.*

tanses-ṭu	(eat) with younger brother
apa-a-ṭu	(dance) with father

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

13. *-tun, -tum, regressive.*

tina	here	tina-tun, tina-	from here
		tum	

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

		1	2	3
		14. <i>-s(ḡ),</i> “my”	15. <i>-t(ḡ),</i> “thy”	16. <i>-n(ḡ), n,</i> “his”
apa	father	apsa		
ana	mother	ansa		
taka	elder brother	taksa		taknan
tare	younger brother	tarekse	tarekte	
taha	elder sister	tahasa		tahanan
papa	grandfather	papsa		
et-e	grandfather	et-se		
teire	grandmother	teirsi		teinin
xan-a	wife	xan-aksa		xan-an
sit	child			sitnun
me(ne)	grandmother	mense		menen

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



## PRONOUNS

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

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

Demonstrative and adjectival pronouns are numerous and invariable.

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

## VERBS

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *Etymological Suffixes of Verbs*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tanses	brother	tanses-ti-(s)	be a brother
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22. *-u-, oppositional*. Infixed before characteristic vowel of verbal or other stems denotes significance opposite to that of simple stem.

xiṭ-a	sew	xiṭ-ua	rip
piṭ-e	tie	piṭ-ue	untie
paṭ-i	seize, grab	paṭ-ue	loose
rotko	knot	rotuk	untie knot
kitca	lock with key	kiteua	open with key
rotcio	enveloped	rotciwe(wi)	freed
teuni, ṭunu	fold, pleat	teunuhwi	open, unfold

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

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

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

latue-ṭe	long tongue, (he) extends his tongue
l-el-uer-ṭe	roll (eyes) too much
kai-ṭi	tighten (it)! make (it) fast!
rau-ṭa-smin	with large occiput
mup-ṭu	shut your mouth!
pelṭe, peṭe	shut eyes
peṭe(ni)	keep mouth closed
poṭo	pluck hairs
kapata	cross hands

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

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

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

26. *-wi, -we*.

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

27. *-si*.

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

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

Other possible etymological suffixes are :

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

### *Morphological Suffixes of Verbs*

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

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

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

#### 28. *-(i)n, indefinite.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

31. *-ni, intransitive.*

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

*ad infinitum*

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

32. *-np(e)*, *transitive*.

ṭiṭi-np-in	he defended (me)
iteo-np-itit	pull me out!
tolso-npe	(I will) break (your feet)
lilui-npe	(we will) amuse (you)
ruima-npe	do not disturb (him)
munsu-npe	(ye have) soiled it
mus-i-np-itit-yuṭ	warm ye me!
mene-npe	(how can I) forget (you?)
mane-np-in	(has he) forgotten (ye?)
ṭupu-np-in	(I) put my finger in (his) eye

Reflexive relations are very frequent and expressed by the suffix:

33. *-pu, -p-*, *reflexive*.

lixin-pu	I will kill myself
lix-p-in	she killed herself
ita-pu	(do you) wash yourself?
eyes-pu	shave oneself
teai-pu	praise oneself
axa-pu	(have ye not) combed yourselves?
xaṭ-a-pu-i	hit yourself
tak-e-p-is	(I) measured myself
orko-p-in-se-me	did you frighten yourself?
un-pi-na	(I) am going to cure myself

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

	buy	upu-s-pu	sell
uni	crave, wish	uni-s-pu	consent
inu	awake, remember	inu-s-pu	observe, know, see,
	ber		feel
nip-a	teach	nip-a-p-in	they will teach
			(him never)
ritea	speak	ritea-pu	play, entertain

Reciprocal relations are expressed by the suffix:

34. *-mu*, *reciprocal*.

xata-mu	let us fight
lix-mu	we will kill each other
keye-mu	(do not) trample each other
is-u-mu	play together!
huteu-mu-ṭ	lift each other!

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

35. *-kne, passive voice.*

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

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

36. *-ne, future passive.*

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

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

37. *-stap, perfect passive.*

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

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

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



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

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

42. *-is, missionary imperative.*

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

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

43. *-tkun, subjunctive, hypothetical.*

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

44. *-kane, conditional.*

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

There may be some relation to the passive particle *kne*.

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

45. *-s, iterative.*

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

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

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

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

Other usages are more idiomatic and less evident.

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

The mandatory or causative relation is expressed by the suffix:

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

xotio-si-nme	you have ordered that they make a bag
mana-si-s	(you) commanded to extinguish it
aṭa-si-s	(you) commanded (me) to steal
pina-se-s	did (I) order this?

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

19. *-na, purposive motion hence.*

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

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

47. *-su, purposive motion hence.*

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

The third, *-inyi*, denotes motion hither.

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

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

A very rare and doubtful suffix, *-knit* (misspelled in the grammar as *guit*, or *wit*), has been termed "prohibitional."<sup>8</sup> This may be the passive *kne* plus the future adverb *et*; *i.e.*, "you must not be struck."

49. *-knit, prohibitive.*

tamṭa-knit, xaṭa-knit	he must not strike you
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A second very obscure suffix, *-ksi*, is translated by De la Cuesta "perfectly well," *perfectamente bien*, and is termed by Kroeber "excellitive."<sup>7</sup>

50. *-ksi, excellitive.*

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

<sup>8</sup> The Chumash and Costanoan Languages, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

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

20. *-mi, -me, beneficial.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*ad infinitum*

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

53. *-s, -se, interrogative.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

## ADJECTIVES

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

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

54. *-kmin*, adjectival.

patka-kmin	heavy, deep white
pelo-kmin	bald
nutka-kmin	black
hihul.i-kmin	something cut, as a pole
isiwa-kmin	newborn
kuti-kmin	very small
kipinyi-kmin	a winker
kits.u-kmin	twisted

55. *-smin*, adjectival.

selpe-smin	(are you) intoxicated?
xop-tie-smin	climber
an.e-smin	turtles
ritca-smin	liberal, generous
waksa-smin	miserable, vile
ritcua-smin	silly, foolish
rauṭa-smin	with large back of neck and occiput
samili-smin	putrified
humulu-smin	black
unxu-smin	snotty
pelso-smin	large-tongued, garrulous
paisa-smin	runner
xase-smin	brave, fierce

*ad infinitum*

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

56. *-ti-, adjectival-agentive.*

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

Another etymological element giving an adjectival significance is:

57. *-se, -si, adjectival.*

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

## PARTICLES

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

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

kas-hiha	me also
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The second is an adjectival pronoun, *-sia*, "alone, only, solely."

men-sia	you alone
wak-sia	he alone



## PART II. CLASSIFIED LIST OF STEMS

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

## NOUNS

*Animals*

aiaraʔ	magpie
auni-smin, anni-smin	turtles
are	bird like a heron
asurian, asit	sparrow
aʔaʔ	magpie
akaʔ	conch
elei-min	goshawk
ex, hex	squirrel
eksen	quail
intkx	large hare
ipiwa	(rattle) snake
omkon	maggot
ores	bear
oʔol, oʔon	red ant
okom	bird
uminx	wolf
unteu-smin	black beetle
uraka	salmon
wawisaes, -ses, -soes, wakisaes	coyote
wal-en	owl
wasaka	eagle
wakaraʔ-smin	frog
weren	rabbit
wilo-pan	blackbird
wireskan	bat
wixi	fish
wipsur	fleas
yurah	black duck
maian	coyote
marife	young deer
mitis	little moulting bird (jestingly)
mumul.al.uk	butterfly
mumuri	fly
muniek, musik	small bird with black feet

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

toṭe	deer, cattle, meat
ṭayankal	blackbird
ṭaiaskal	blackbird with watery eyes
ṭiwak	bird
ṭime	whale
ṭuilun	vulture
kaul.epat	bird with large mouth
kaxai	black louse
kakari	raven
kaknu	hawk
koṭewes	snakes
kulian	blackbird
teaxi	hawk
teeies	hare
teil-iskan	hawk
teirit-min	bird
teorena, teolteolua	cricket
teurutu	woodpecker

*Botanical*

aisaae, inkis-e	acorns
ama-knis	seeds
anii	a white tree
arwe	oak
abamen	bundle of fire-wood
enena	blackberries
it-ux	a seed
owos	seed, fruit
ortor-kmin	hay
uwena	very pink flower
uner	wild onion
upiṭ	acorn shell
wara	an herb
yarkas	an herb
yukis	acorn
momox	a small, salty seed
moroṭ	acorn shell
muren	an edible herb
lumuimin	an herb
ransona	an herb
rapak	oak
repiṭ	acorn shell
reṭeṭi	blackberry bramble
riris	vine
ripin	oak
rore	an herb
ruskes	an herb
sawana	a thicket
sasuk	moss

sapa	herb with a dark, hard seed
sak	small pinenut
siutotok wetemak	poisonous plant
sirak	filberts, hazelnuts
sipuruna	a white root
somon	hole in a tree
sokoṭe	laurel
sokotci	fruit of laurel
sumna, sumua	sticks of wood
xale	green tule
xireni, (xirena, xiremi)	large pine-nut
xipur	a tree
xit-iani	tuna
xitna, xitia	elderberries
xikoṭ	pine
xolopis	shell, chaff of acorn
xop	larch, a red tree
xumes	hay
xumi-smin	wild rice
xur	seed
patax	willow
pat-i	chia
paṭ	tuno
pakir	plant like tule
piṭ-ui	seeds
porpor	cottonwood
porpor onien	tree like white cottonwood
pururis	small fruit
tamet	a dark edible root
tarax	small, white willow
tapur	tree, wood
tiwis	flowers
toinon	a small fruit
tuxe	oak
ṭapis	reeds, straw
ṭaki	fruit tree
ṭoṭolua	plantain
kamer	sweet herb
kamun	tuno
ketex	leaves
kiriṭ-smin, kiriṭ-skin	an herb
teasuni	hay
teatia	a well-known tree, testicles of hog
teisnan	alder

### *Body Parts*

awis	left hand
eyes	beard
in	tears

isu, is-u	hand
ihatu	ear-cavity
iteie, iteik	pubenda
oloṭ	back of neck
oteo, oṭe	ear
oṭs-io-n	bullet wound
una	bangs, hair on forehead
unux	mucus from nose
uri	hair
us	nostrils
watex	stomach
wel-ewel(min)	point of the lips
wima, wimak	wing
wilopa	the red head of the blackbird
yisuwani-nsa	corns
yuṭxa	tumor on neck
marax	skin
maxul	spittle, phlegm
mak-us	knees
miṭla	thigh
moxel	head
moxoṭ	skull
mus	bosom, breasts
muṭis	front teeth
muktiokris, (muxtioxris)	ankle
noso-n	breath, spirit, soul
las-e	tongue
lasin	finger-joints
lit-akwa	veins
lom	brain
lopohs, lop-oṭs	navel
lup-us	anus
raras	molar teeth
riṭok	intestines
rikex piliu	prepuce of penis
romos, ruteu	pimples, wart
rumes	spine, backbone
rus	saliva
sama	right hand
sanan	groin
sarka	blind eye
sapa-xin	pupil of eye
sinpur	eyebrows
sire	heart, mind
sip-os	feathers
sit	teeth
sik-en	wind broken, flatus
somsom	armpits
sok-o-s	testicles

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

koro	foot
(kukas), xukas	anus, buttocks
tecapal	kidneys
teiri	horn
te.oxo	puenda
teukuri	evacuations

### *Manufactures, Instruments*

an-ipu	pillow
aren	knot
axe-s	comb
ata-s-pis-mak	watch-towers
at.e	acorn-bread
aṭin	feminine ornament
akaṭ	ornament of conch shell
eyes-pis	napkin
ene-msa	blotter, eraser
ene-kmin, enko-kmin	writing, letter
erests	<i>real</i> , a piece of money
esxen	dress, clothes
et.cer	iron
eṭs	bed
eksen	nest
iiot	sacred stick, fetish?
imini	pinole
iru-kmin	arrow-point
isme-sis	clock, watch
itok-pis	table-cloth, napkin
oxoṭ	basket with handle
ot.eme	pinole
unupi-msa, un-opi-msa	handkerchief
ulis	basket
urkan	mortar
usek	whistle, flute
utis	arrow-point (arrow-shaft)
utel	ear-ornament of feathers
utcir-min	small needle
walexin	small basket
ware	feather ornament
warsan	small basket
wetcoḳ	small basket
yaṭan, lasun	net
yoxo	load of meat
mas	beads
maṭer, maṣṭer	tobacco
lawan	bow
rires	arrow-cord, spear-cord
riṭai	rabbitskin clothes

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



temox	arrow with point
tip-e	knife
kitirox, kitinox, kitirxo	skirt
kit-cas, kiteas	key
kurka, kurea	pinole
teakar, teawar	seat, chair
tcakini	stringless bow
tciles	bell
teopoma	fret, bric-a-brac
teokon	sacred stick, fetish?

### *Natural Phenomena*

awar	north ( <i>dedo de carazon</i> )
am-ani	rain
at-ar, atar	mud, mire
ak-e	day
ak-es, awes	salt
inu	road, trail
irek	stone
isin, isiin	hole (of animal)
isme-n	sun
ixutun	drop
urani	hole
upak	lump, clod, white paint
wakani	dew?
wakis	river, torrent
wixax	light?
wika	afternoon
yopok	hail
yokon	cinders, ashes
yumus isir	dirt on hands
mun	earth, dirt
mun-s	dirt, filth
murtei, murteis, murtoeis	night
murteu	night
notson	food
laṭun	drop
raxopa	rays of sun
rokie, rokse	powder, dust
rutis	open hole, cavity
si	water
soton	fire
suw, sus	charcoal
skoxe	drop
xewe-pis	shadow, reflection
xiṭus	wind
xutepa	conflagration, great fire
pelek	fine dust, atoms

pire	world, atmosphere, weather, etc.
pitak	lint, dust
pitol-an	mole-track
pusninyis	whirlwind
tamar	hill
titin	seashore
taska, tatska	plain
tura	thunder
tuksis	day
kau	seashore
kar, kat	smoke
koloi	spring of water
kure	red paint
kutui	hole in ground
tearak	sky
tearko	light
tcape	hole in ground
teopolotesi	place full of holes
teok	clod, lump of mud

*Words of More Abstract Significance*

ak	thirst
eṭina puatis	a game
eṭ-se	sleep
ekets, ekests, ekaest	sins
iwe, ik.e	a method of making fun of a person
impe-s	sign
isut-s.e	dreams
on.o	a method of making fun of a person
oro-e-s	hunger
otciko	silence
us.ix	sadness
mai-t	smile
morke	a method of making fun of a person
muisin, yenko	love?
layaya	length, height
laxi	game of revolving until dizzy
lat-iaya	great height
rakaṭ	child's game
ritca-se	language, speech
samili	putrid matter
sat.e	a method of making fun of a person
senena	sting of an insect
siamalpi-msa	confession

suwene	song
sunk, sune	hunger
xamapu	proof
xas	anger
xasi-om, xasi-un	shame
xenkoṭst̥-s-e	silence
xuṭi	game
paya	lightness
peleṭa	children's game
taula-si	something held in the arms
tursi	cold
ṭala	heat
ṭis, ṭihs	life
ṭuma	scent, pleasant odor
kai-s	pain, misery, sorrow
kapala-si	an embrace
kapnen	Wednesday
kotepopo	a method of making fun of a person
krak-at, (xrak-atʔ)	name
teakir	odor
teopopiswai	Friday
teukuri	bodily evacuations, movements

*Terms of Relationship and Personal Categories*

ana	mother
ana-knis	stepmother
ap-a	father
apapaṭ	nephew, grandson
aṭia, atsia-knis, atcai-nis	girl
atsiai-kma	girls
aṭ maku-kmin	widow
ete, et-e	maternal grandfather or uncle
inis	son (father speaking of son)
inxoksima, yuxoksima	adult men, elderly men
inṭiṣṭe-mak	elderly men
isiwa-kmin	newly born child
ixatute	godmother
iṭxine	man (address term)
urxes-mak	bride and groom
uxi-	mother-in-law
uṭa	parents
mak-u, makas	husband
mene	maternal grandmother
meres, moeres	nephew, grandson
mirṭe-mak, mitṭe-mak	adult men, elderly men
mos	son (father speaking to son)
mukene	man

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

*Numerals*

emeṭṭea, emeṭka, hemeṭṭea, hemetca, emestca	one
emeṭṣpu	once
emeṭotea	the one
uṭxin, uṣṭxin	two
uṣṭina	twice
uṣxinya	they both
kapxan	three
usit, uṭit	four
parues, parnes	five
nakitci	six
ṭakitci	seven
taitimin	eight
watsu, pak.i	nine
tanaṭ, tansa-kte, matsu	ten

## PRONOUNS

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

*Demonstratives*

nep, nep-e	this (close)
nepcan	these
nane, nina, nemis, nenis, unta, ister, nep-er	this
nisia	this (farther)
nunis, nunisia, nup-i	that
rupean	those
numan	which, that which (relative)
pina	this (more distant)

*Adjectival Pronouns*

aipire	some
aimukte, aixames	all, exclusively
aman	so many
ams-e	the other
ani, anyi	another
at-ia	only, alone
exil-iste	alone
imin, imiu, imi-u	all (personal)
iruk	all
wasi(a)	much
yasir	much, very
niat, nihia, nuia, nua	only, no more
l-el-uerte	too much
hisha	any
sioke, siokwe, siwene	himself, itself
pisnie	nothing
tolon	much
teyo	much
ke-se, kes-e	much

*Interrogative Pronouns*

an . . .	where?
anpi, ampi	which?
at-e	who? whom? (singular)
at-ekin, at-ekinta	who? whom? (plural)
in-at, inuat	when?
inxam, inxan	how many?
inʔis, (imʔis)	what? why? where?
inka	what? (do)
inkai	what? (say)
ista	what? (thing), why?

## VERBS

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

## A

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

*at.uemi	correct, put right
*at.mu	quarrel, fight (boys)
*at(ki)	seize
at	steal, cheat
*ata	congeal
*atua	mend, fix
*at̄ski	crack, split (earth)
ak.a	leave, depart
*akan	leave, permit
*ak.ara	look up
*ake, ak.e	rise, jump, get up
ak.u	enter
at.cun	make, finish

## E

eies, eis.e	shave
eme, emse, enen	forget
*eme.ni	wait, detain
emre.n, hemren	be envious
ene	write, paint
eno	stay, remain
*enusi	signal with the finger
ele, else	raise, lift, arise
*elie	goad, spur, hurry
*eraes	praise one's self
*ere	bathe
*erenmite	finish, end, complete
ertse, ert̄ste	eat supper
*ese	dress
*esier	say
esoni, esosoni	hate
*exenmi	leave, depart
epe, epse	pass by
*etueis	disentangle, extricate, free
eṭe.n	sleep

## I

*iweke, inke	gather plants
*iwini	do
iwo	dispute, quarrel
ima	show
ime	join
*imu	arise
*in	do
ina, inxa.n (una)	sicken
ina.n, insa.n	fall
inanme	rain



inu	observe, feel, conjecture, remember, recall
insu	know
*inkai	speak, talk, say
*inke-ni	seize, grasp
ilo	burn
iluwi, ilpi, ili	put on sash or cloth
ilsi-mi	give meat
*ilkun	lift skirts
irko	defecate
isento, is-inte	walk carefully, watchfully
*isi	await
isia	be hungry
isiwa, isiwi	give birth, be born
isiwe, isuwe	rest
isi-m, ispan, iisi-me, iipsi	owe
isu	play at hand game
*isnu, isu	follow, imitate
istū, isut	dream
iskani, iṭskani	pay
*iske-ni, xiṭske-ni	hiccup
ixime	tremble
*ixironi	sprinkle
*ixiras	kick
*ixisa	walk in mud
*ixuk-a	shout, cry
ixwi, iuie	go, walk (many)
*ixte	sting, be stung by (snake)
ipili, ipile	lie down, lay down
ipire, ip-e	turn around
*it-iu	get the better of one
itok	cleanse, purify
itma	lift, raise
iṭa, iṭu	wash
*iṭanai	arise
iṭe, iṭu	spur, incite, urge
iṭe	disparage
*iṭi-ni	bruise, mangle hand
iṭo, it-co	leave, depart
*iṭui	spread (acorns in the sun)
*iṭso, iṭu, iṭsku	doubt
*iteile	be ashamed
iteo-ni	come out

## O

oio, (oit), oois	seize, take, bring
*oiwi	tie, clasp, bind
*ouso	order, instruct
*owe	return a favor, give the thing dreamt

*one	sit down, seat
*oneia	accompany
*on-ome	hunt deer
*onsie	ask, inquire
ole	can, be able, gain
olo	become blind
*ol-ue	signal
*clhs.e	kill many
olte-mi	give
orso-n	belch
orko	frighten
*osehe	speak, reply also
*oswe	scatter manure
*opiweis	discover, bring out
ot.o	mend, fix
*ot.o(po)	dirty, render filthy
ot.mo	<i>piller</i>
*oŋo	regain
oŋs-io	wound
oŋspe-n	have a pain in the penis
ok, oke, ok.o	send
*ok.e	confess, be exposed
*otcenuix	discharge, dismiss
otciko	de deaf, be quiet
*otciko	desire, have desire, covet

## U

*uwin	kill someone
*uwi-ni	flee
*una, unpina	cure
*un.e	quiet, cause to be silent
uni	desire, covet
ule	stop, cease
ule, (uel)	be sad, cry, be unable
ura	dig holes
*ura(pin)	make sport of, anger, feel, cause feeling
*uru-ni	fall
*urusi	have, carry
*urse, use	learn (language)
*usa-ni	have hang-nails on the fingers
use	smell, have an odor
usetete, useti, usute	conceive (child)
*usiu-n	depart
*usiule	go out (fire)
*usui-mi	give seeds
*usulu	surpass, conquer
usxi-ni	be sad

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

## W

waian	miss, err
wane	satiate, cloy
*wane-ni	wound one's self
*walektis	follow in file
wal-u-n, wolo-n	be envious
wara, warsa	cut
warak, warka	weep, cry
*warepi	visit, salute
waris	dislike
warse, warsi	follow, perform
warta, wanta	hide behind
*was-e	cut and dry meat
*wasi	beg a great deal
*wasi	hate, abandon
*washski, (wackif)	pulverize (with the teeth)
waxa, waktei, wak, waxu	scratch, scrape
*waxaiam	be thirsty
*waxa-ni	do an act slowly
*wata	seize, bring, take atole
wate	come, go

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

## Y

*yam	catch (moles)
*yan	boast
*yanu-ni	have pain in the stomach from running
*yasa	not take
*yat-ia	frighten
yata-ti	give anything
*yaṭan, lasun	be full (net)
yaṭi	follow, accompany
*yaṭs-e	be urged, impelled
*yeikmi, yere-ni	remain, continue, be suspended
*yenko	divide love (?)

yer	grow old, become torn
*yusie	happen, succeed
*yim-, yumile	turn seat around
*yilu	commence, enter (season)
*yira	pick, prick
*yika	grind in metate
yono, yons	cut hair
*yoreti	chase, pursue
*yoron	pile up
*yoxon	loosen, slacken, ease
*yoso, yusu	have carnal intercourse <i>inter se</i>
*yoporon	make, manufacture
*yopok	hail
yoke	make sport of one
yoko	make ash, become ashes
*yuwi-ni	remain, stay
*yuya	bathe, swim
yume, yame	deceive, cheat
yura	kill by hand
*yuxi(s)	hope to
*yupki-ni	break the bottom off
*yutu-n	run, fall, flow (tears)

## M

*ma	look
mai	laugh, smile
*mai-a, mai-x	view, behold
man	quench, put out
mala, male	soak, wet
*mali	cover the genitals
*malu-n	come down for the night
*maxe	look down, view beneath
*maxer	make sport of one with the eyes
maxi, mawi	close
maxu	open
*max-tei	be blind, unable to see
*map-is	put hand over or in mouth
matal-, matulani	place face downward
matmu, matnui	stink, have bad odor
*mak-a	be indistinct
makai, maki	cover, place in order to clean
maku	get married
*maku	go to eat
mene, (mane)	forget
*menomi, monomi	sink to the bottom of the water
*meno-ni, menso	drown in the water
*mensie	be ignorant of, not understand
*merke	move from the house

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

## N

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

## L

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

lipa	hide in any place
*lik-wa	plaster, daub, smear, gloss
loe	loath, nauseate, repudiate
*lole	cause to speak, break a speech
*l-olio	be content, appeased, cease anger
*l-opopoi	pass between
*lopxe, lopkti	become mouldy (wheat)
lok(oi)s, loksio, lokosi	lie, make a mistake
*lokuk	put out (eye)
*luismu	fall from weight
*lulpus	play the flute
luxu-n, lux-u-n	stick in mud or clay, be stuck in
*luṭ-apa	wallow (in sin)
*luṭie	hang (like a swing)
*luka	soften the hair
*luteuma	get wet, soaked

## R

*ranu-n	have pain in the neck
*raṭs-a	increase, crackle
*rateami	be swelled up with plants
*remomae	go from one place to another
*rensik	interrupt, confuse
*reṭe, rekṭe	gather, collect
*reṭie	hang in a hidden place
*reke	change oneself, move
*riwi	transform, change
riwi	put selvage on cloth
*ristest	serve, do
ripa	hit with the fist
*ripu, rotciwewi	release, disentangle, cleanse, purify
ripu	prick
*ripsa	open with a knife
riṭa	cry, shout
*rite	make dried meat
ritea	speak, talk, converse, recount, play, entertain
roroi-s, (roro-s)	play, entertain, divert, amuse
rote	be (substantive)
roto	drown
*rotuk, rotko	untangle, untie knot, knot, tie knot
*roko	put in the embers
rotcio, rotcue, roteiwe	enmesh, entangle, free, disentangle
ruisu, ruisiu, ruisin, ruima, rūki, ruinxa	move, stir, tremble, shake
runa	dance
rusu	spit, expectorate
*ruxi	hide in the rear



ruta	speak about a person, or thing, refer to
ruta	cut, gather (wheat, feathers, <i>etc.</i> )
rutus	conceive (child)
*rutuk	signal "no" with the head
*ruṭu-n	surround by water, isolate

## S

sawe	sing
saya	shout, cry
*sayal	lie face upward
*samai, samia	cut the forelock
*sanae	approach, draw near
*salu-ni	get a cinder in the eye
salpa	hang, place in a cleft or fissure
*salki	split, fall apart
*sare	pray in one's room
*saromi	administer extreme unction
sarpa	patch, disappear from view
*sasa	discover, find (land)
sate	make sport of one by naming him
saṭar(a), siaṭar(a)	open the mouth
saṭe	toast
sak-a	bring a little
sakeri-ni	stick in the uvula
*satcepume	bring coals, embers
seye	lengthen, expand
semo-n, semso-n, (semxo-n)	die
sele, sehele	look backward
selpe	intoxicate with tobacco or liquor, be crazy
sese	walk in file
seso-n	shiver
*sesort-po	swell with pride, become haughty
sesuk	decay
sepe (spepe)	cut hair
*sepie-n	satiate, cloy
*sialwini	split a flute
siaxu, siaksu	speak softly
*sietco-ni	hit (in stones)
siole	talk, converse among selves, be sad
siotio	tie hair in a tuft
*siokole-n	become hoarse, unable to speak
*siurire, similile	have a ringing in the ears
*siuspu-ni	be blinded by the sun
*siuto	hunt moles

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

## X

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

*xile	be wounded, have wounds
xiras, xiraṭ	scold, quarrel, lift the voice
xiri	make dried meat
*xirwi-ni	lessen, be ceasing (rain, wind)
xise	select, choose, elect
xisie, (xitsik)	make
*xisli-n	have pain in teeth
*xixwi	disdain, reject
xipu	carry
*xiteti	rub together
xiti, xitui, (xite)	cleanse oneself
*xitu-ni	catch the hand in the door
*xiṭa	make dried meat
*xiṭe	spur, prick, goad, stick
*xiṭe pet-o	stop (wind)
xiṭia, (xiṭa)	sew
*xiṭi-mi	become indebted
xiṭo, (xiṭa, xikṭo)	stretch, crawl
*xiṭorpi	throw, put, carry outside
*xiṭske-n	be contented
xiksi, xiwis, xikoi	tie, bind
*xitsik	make cotton cloth
xoin-we, xoixu-we, xoaxu	carry
*xowo	shout ho! ho!
*xomo	skin, take off hide
*xon(.)o(ti)	<i>evolver al arco</i>
*xonkote, xonxote	bundle, collect in a bundle
*xolome, xauni	ignore, not invite
xorko	gulp, swallow
xope	climb, mount
xopo	give water, give drink
*xot.oro, xot.ori	put hand in vagina
*xotpo	set (sun)
*xotcolon	make a hole (water)
*xuma, (xutna)	grind (mortar or metate)
xu-mi	give anything
*xu-ni	finish life, approach death
xute	kindle, light fire
*xuṭa	place inside
xuṭi	play game
*xuṭ-u-n	remove dust, powder
*xuṭski, xuṭoki	seize, withdraw, remove
*xuka	change (song)
*xuteu	carry on shoulder

## H

*hairmurnik-ui	lift with one hand
hius-e, hinse, wise, ihuse-n	wish, desire, want
*hiuti	throw, cast

*hihe(pim)	be defiant
*hume	join, impinge, strike
*humi-n	wash oneself
humiri, (umiri, tumiri)	baptize
humu-n, humsu-n, (umsu-n, unsu-n)	fly
*hun-i	mix, stir

## P

paita	hunt (geese)
*paye	be pregnant
paya	run
*pala	slap, hit with the palm
*palsi-mi-n	toast, cook
*parsa	gleam, appear light
parki	weigh
*part-cipu	saw a pine
*pasipi	visit, salute
*paskei	secure fire with flint and steel
paxat, paxtea	know, recognize
*patiami-n	bet, wager
pați	have, hold in hand
*pațue	release, loose
*pațxin, pațski	strike sparks
paka	seek, call, crack mussels
*pak.ak	marry
*paka-ksi	beat
*pakeit	obtain fire, make fire
*pakere	start (tears)
*pakul	give hand, shake hands
*paksa	shine, lighten (fire)
patei	fall dew, sprinkle
pele, pelke	stick, join together, loosen, separate
pełte, pețe	shut eyes
pesoi(po)	remember, think
*pepena	<i>espigar castellanamente</i>
*pet.e	guard fried fish
*peț.e	escape, flee, fly, go
*pețe-ni	keep mouth closed
*pețole	keep feet together
*piisokri	knock with fingers
pio	cleanse teeth
*pinawai	have pain (neck)
*piłpul.e, pulpul.e, tultul.e	beat, palpitate (heart, pulse)
pira	inhume, bury
*pirka-n	scratch (birds)
*pisieks.i	grind, pulverize
pixi, pixe	split, open

*pixu-ni	burst pus
*pitilu, pistu	pinch, squeeze
pitipu, pitui-ni	cleanse intestines of excrement
*pitu-ni	flow, gush (tears)
*pitsi	frighten, frighten away
piṭe, piṭue, piṭui	tie, bind, unloose, untie
*piṭs-a	signal "no" with eyes
piteiwi	shake, cleanse the hair
*poistco-ni, poitco-ni	break wind without knowledge
*poiko-ni	frighten, scare
*polo	<i>sunt sodomicici</i>
pol-o	paint, draw
*porpore	doze
posio, pasio	cut, singe hair with brand
*pos-o	check, suspend, equal
*posol-o aṭs	intend to dispute
*poso (poi)	be drunk, intoxicated
*poxoro-n	get the hives
poṭo	pull out down, fine hair, pluck
*poko-ni	swell, puff up
potsie	grumble, censure
*punsi-wi	catch (birds)
*punsi-ni	view with close attention
pulki-ni	break off bottom
*puriure	quake, tremble, earthquake
pusa	satiate, fill, cloy
*pusi-n	twist like a whirlwind
*puxi	recover, feed, give to eat
*put-i	cover and guard
put-in	involve, wrap, gather
*putu	return and go from place to place
puṭa	bring acorns, etc.
puṭi, puṭe, putci-ri	blow
putski	pull hair
*puṭske	make the sound "put, put"
*putsiule, potsinle	burn brightly, make no smoke (fire)

## T

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

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

*totue	put on shawl
tokso, (tokse)	rumble, make great noise, snore
*tuine	make wooden bridge
*tuisu, tuiu-rure	tremble (hand, belly)
*tume-n, tume-mels	make food
tun-e, (tunk)	finish, complete, end
tunute, (tanute)	conceive (child)
tule, (talk)	knock at door, call
*tuluk	cover one (for the night)
tulku	give rap, fillip
tur-si	be cold, chilly
*tusi-n	watch a dance
*tusu-n	await, expect
tupu-n	finish, complete, end
*tuta	cover one, put on hat
*tutiu-n	die?
*tutisi	string a bow
*tukitce	lift earth, ( <i>encorrar</i> )

## T

*tayuwire	smile, chuckle, half laugh
ṭala	be hot (weather), put in sun
*tasak	clear, clarify (sky, weather)
*tata	possess much, own much
*ṭatu-n	cease pain
*ṭatuhule	speak between teeth
*ṭakarpite	sit down, sink
teyo	blaze, heat, be afire
*ṭemelele	burn much
*ṭele	go in file, follow
ṭetesi	push, jostle, squeeze, hold
*ṭeke	tip-toe, walk on toes
*ṭien	kick
ṭiwi	put in bag, pocket
*ṭinai	tighten, constrain
*ṭiniwi	milk
*ṭil.usi	listen to attentively, hear
*ṭis.ektene, teirsextene	cover with ashes
ṭisku	split, break, smash
*ṭixṭa	hide in sand, be hidden
ṭipe	thresh grain
*ṭipe(spi)	make thongs, straps for the capote
*ṭip-wi	cut, shorten, clip, abbreviate
*ṭiti	defend
ṭika	chew, masticate
*ṭoilō	be seated
ṭon(o)me	seek a dead animal
*ṭonko-n	wither, become arid (seeds)



*toxoro	pass, go by (water)
*tox(pe)	dry up (water, river)
*tu	strike in the eye
tu <sup>h</sup> ma-s, (tumas, tu <sup>h</sup> msa-n)	like, enjoy, please
tu <sup>h</sup> nku, (tu <sup>h</sup> nuk)	signal "no" with nostrils, con- stricting them
*tu <sup>h</sup> lu	make a hole
*tu <sup>h</sup> ra	thunder
*tu <sup>h</sup> rsu, tu <sup>h</sup> tsu	walk continually, never stop
tu <sup>h</sup> pu-ni	put finger in eye
tu <sup>h</sup> ka	beg, ask

## K

kai, (kayi, kaixi)	smart, be strong, bitter, bite
*kai-ti	tighten, constrain
*kawak	advise, notify
*kam	do, make
kama(i), kamexe	look, watch, see, behold
*kamu	lend (wife)
*kamutce, xamutce	lack a bit, be missing a piece
*kane	go to the quarrel, fight
*kanxi	dry up
kale	defend
*kal-u	bite
*kar	be fortunate, happen well
*kara	grind, rub in the palms
*karapu	give tobacco
*karka	kindle fire with small sticks
*karki	bargain, trade, barter
kase	bite
*kaxi	louse, expel lice
kapal(a)	embrace
*kapa <sup>h</sup> ta	cross the arms, hands
*kapi	carry a large bundle under the arm
katia	give (clothes, food)
*katu	kill with teeth (lice)
*katu-ni	dry up (water)
*katca, katcuc	be full of crickets, insects; expel them
*kat-ci	drown
*keie(k)	gather, collect, come together
kewe, keinwe	obstruct, intercept
*kele <sup>h</sup> te, kel <sup>h</sup> te	frown upon, watch with disap- probation
*kelok(mo), kelox(mo)	play by pinching
*kenem	put in proper place
ketio	argue, dispute, contradict
kil-e	shine, glare, glitter

*kiriwire, kiripire	write
*kixt̄i, kixt̄i	have pain in throat
kipi	wink
*kipuhs	inflate, swell cheeks
kitpa	hide in hollow of a tree
*kiṭa	make fire with two sticks
*kitea, kiteua	close, lock with key; open, unlock
ko, ko., kwo., kwa, kua	say
kome	tire, become tired
*koliote	rumble, grumble (intestines)
*kwie, kuie	whistle
kunile (kupile)	smoke (fire)
kusa	wash
*kusinwi	meet, encounter, see
*kuxa	hide among rocks
kuṭa(s), kuṭa(r), kuteuru,	double, bind, tie
kuṭuru	
*kuṭ-a	tolerate, suffer, endure
krak(·)e, xrak(·)e	name, call

## TC

teai(es)	praise
teaora, teausara, (teaura)	be seated, be (positional substantive)
*teauri	stink, smell bad
*teantecane	walk with shoulders raised
teala, (tealsa, teasali)	urinate
*teahel-e, tcehel-e	take the higher part (song)
teapu	prick, stick, pinch
*teaka, teaksa	bring, arrive
*teak-i, teaxki	leave, depart
*teaku-niti	hate, desert
*teakna-n	go ahead
*teimun, teaimun	treat ill, hinder, impede
*teimu-ni	bump the head
*teile	ring bell
teirpi	cry, shout
*teikri-n, teixri-n	reside, live
teite	dance
*teitmo	prick, punch the eyes
*teoliote	water moves in intestines
*teorowe	moisten, dampen
teorok	sadden, become sad
*teotle	be in file or line
teokse, teos-o	have pain (in mouth or ear)
teunu, teuni, ṭunu; (teun.),	wrap, extend, shorten, double,
teunuhwi	lift, fold, unfold
teulu	jump, spring, leap

*teulki	strangle, choke by squeezing neck
*teuspa	hide
*teukuri-ni	defecate, void excrement

## ADJECTIVES

auli	salty, saline
austu	sweet-toothed, gluttonous
auxe	high, tall
amaya	nude, naked
amank	famous
ansi	left-handed
antiwin	small
asia	distinct, different
apsie, apsik	good
aiteitak	so great
atcien	thievish
atciwa	silly, filthy
euți	sweet
el-emo	soft (ground)
elepıs, elewia	straight, in file
emxe	very soft, gentle, easy
es-o	lewd, unchaste
ețsxe	leafless, bare
ina	ill, sick
in-se	lachrymose
irk-ti-o, irx-ti-o	flatulent
isiwa	newborn
ițas, ițsa	new
itce	small, little
owos	obedient, faithful
omxol-e	light, without weight
olsie	soft, easy
umulu	filthy, vile
unxu	snotty, filthy
unkum	thin, rare
ursi	big-headed
usula, (usuna)	deep-set (eyes)
ukumi	crippled
uteili	full-lipped, thick-lipped
wartci	difficult, narrow, small (road)
was.a, waska, waksa	streaked, soiled
wasiwe	playful
we-solo, we-yero, we-saro	large, great
we-tan	large, great
wetemes-ate	lean, gaunt, thin
wiman	lazy
witina	sticky
wituktel, witcuxtel, wits-u	narrow, small

womo	bearded
wot-olo	deep-set (eyes)
yamuṣi	unequal, different
yateomas, yateeme	torn, full of holes
yer-se	torn, old, broken
yolṭo, yoṭ-a	big-eared
yopono	ruptured
yusulu	fat, pot-bellied
mam-oxa, mam-oka, mam-anxa	foolish, stupid, silly
maxul-u	catarrhal, expectorant
maṭa	long-haired
matini, matil-i	large, great
meilo	large-mouthed
mex-el, max-ele	blear-eyed
meṣke	cloudy, clouded
minua	narrow, difficult (road)
misi-min, misi-mpin, misi-a	pretty, nice, pleasant, beautiful, good
mitile	curved, crooked, bent
mom-ti-e	slow, late, tardy
mureṭu, murteu, murṭu, murt-cu	dark, black, like night
muse	full-breasted
muṭimte	fat-buttocked
mutcira	pleated
natka	dark, black
niotsio	short, bob-tailed
noioro	big-footed
noti-ti-o	lying, untruthful
nop-ti-o	short in time, quick
nuxurikonin, nuxurixonin	flat-nosed
nutiri	big-nosed
laiṭa	long in time, tall, high, long
laskan	even, smooth, plain
laṭem	long, large-tongued
lakṭe, laxṭe	big-headed
lexeṭe	long, tenuous, stringy (phlegm)
l-e-ṭi-o, l-e-t-i-o, loito, l-ok-ti-o	soft, easy, loose, not hard
lisu, liisu	toothless, gums
lisnie	empty, clear
lit-imo	wet (hair)
lopote	firmly resolute
lopteo	ruptured
luplupsi	equal, straight, untwisted
lutecuma, luspi, l-uspi, l-uṣpi, luṣpi	wet hair
luteti	big-bellied, hairless

rauṭa	with big occiput, back of head
riṅṭa	thin, lean
riski	flat-nosed
ritea	liberal, frank, generous, bene- ficient
riteua	silly, foolish, stupid
rikṭi	protruding (eyes)
romso	granular
roṭṭo	dirty-eyed
roteitco, ritera, roteiko	blear-eyed
rutis	open, uncovered, excavated
ruṭai	congealed
saure, (sauri)	fat, greasy
saru	ruptured
saxirinme	sweet, odoriferous
saṭara	unclean
siat.cara	clear, rare, thin
sieperero	woolly, fleecy, hairy
simke	silent
sitl.u, sit.ia	small, young
somsie	lewd, unchaste
sotolo, sokolo, sotiteo	big-lipped, large-mouthed
supiri	watered
sup.u	like a bladder, blister
xan.an	married
xalea	blind
xas, xase	brave, fierce
xaska	brunet, dark-skinned
xat.xatsi, xat.xasti	clean, well-swept
xemṭso	silent
xene	unequal
xel.wen	content, satisfied
xetṭoesi	leafless, sharp-pointed, keen
xetṭsxe	tired, worn-out
xitsu, ṭitsiu	insipid, tasteless
xontee, xonxontee	empty, void (mussels), melan- choly, crestfallen
xos-ti-o, xoiskore	light, with little weight
xo-ti-es	foolish, silly
xo-ti-o, xoie	loose, hanging
xotpe, xot-iko	bare, without fruit
xotṣu	with deep-set eyes and bushy eyebrows
xokoi(o)	scabby, itchy
hituktei, hituxtei	mixed, intricate
howos	well-served
hoxehen	tardy, late
humulu	black
husiero	big-mouthed

huklemesate	delicate, fine, light
paine	bloody
paisa	good at running
pal(.)ka	white
patka	pink, flesh-color, red, cream
pel-emo, pelsiek, pelek	soft
pelo (Sp.?)	bald, hairless
pelso	garrulous
pertewe	soft (bread)
pitko	pot-bellied
polso	painted, colored
polpol-si	<i>pinto</i> , spotted, full of points, streaked
porsie	trained (maker of unusual things)
porko	artistic
poxolo	prominent, bulging, protruding (eyes)
potsinle	smokeless (fire)
potxe	light, little weight
poteo	quick, active
punțu, puțur	big-bellied, with much intestines
pultci-te	full-breasted
puțarte	newly-born
puț-u, puțu, polțo	extremely protruding, bulging (eyes)
puteete	anxious, desirous
tamtete	partly painted, colored
tasiri	hard, tough
taxaruțe	drunken, reeling
taxara	in file, in a line, straight
tap-an	good
tapta	serious
tepțe	shady
tirsi, tirtei	clear, limpid, pure
tirsia	large-buttocked
tixima, tilțo	high-browed, with a large fore- head
tikili	large-eyed
titira, titiru	twisted, rounded
towo-ro	shivering with cold
torțe	ashy, ash-colored
to-ti-o	silly, foolish, lying, untruthful
tokolo	syphilitic
tokororoi	smooth, straight, even
tumuru	fat
tupsiu	humpbacked, crooked, bent, curved
țaila	dwarfed
țanara	spotted
țasku, țasas	pink, flesh-colored, red

taxiale	clear, limpid, pure
tata	rich, well supplied with garments
tak-i	heavy with fruit (trees)
takuruṭe	clear, thin, full of holes
tesele	pink below
tomto	with loose clothes
tonko	big-footed
tok-i-ti-e	good at running, swift
tuiuru	wrinkled
tuṭuare	blunt-nosed
tuṭuna	small-eyed
kai-nawin	narrow, difficult, small
kayi	strong, pungent
kalteitce	loud-voiced
kasl-u	small-headed
katiṭu	pot-bellied, fat
kaṭili	with prominent teeth
kakxa, kax-a	bitter
kel(sie)	raw
kelṭe	opaque-eyed, blind
kero	twisted (tree)
kexil-on	hoarse
ketciwesi	ready, prepared
kirsi, kiṭs-i	well-painted
kipi, kipiri	twisted, not straight, (feet, road)
kipuroro, kiwuroro	twisted, streaked
kiṭiṭae	creaking, grating
kits-u	one-eyed, squint-eyed
koro	thin, gaunt, lean
kuinu, kwinu	narrow (road)
kuti	small
kutis	clear
kutes-keṭs-i	very well tied, bound
teal-ti-a	urinous, fond of urinating
tealka	white
tearka	clear (sky)
tearki	quiet, restrained
teakulsi, teuki	downcast, head downward
teese, teixu	blue (eyed)
teekere	torn open, ripped
teirti	yellow <i>moro</i>
teisire	provoked, angry, in bad humor
teomelei	cowering, squat
teoxisi, teopsoxsi, teopsoksi	pock-marked
teoxorore, teokere	full of holes
teopolotesi	open, uncovered
teuierte	adorned, decorated
teupea	white, flesh-colored
teutsu, teutu	green

## ADVERBS

*Locative Adverbs*

an-it, anit, an-i, an-epe, anta, an	where?
ansia	distant, far
axe	apart, another place
emxe	far down, very distant, indistinct
enenum	out of sight
esen	behind
in̄tis, in̄to	where?
iti	there, distant
iṭian, iṭ-ayate	backward
orpei	in the middle
usiun, usionte	further on, further
winimui (wirimui)	below, under
naxana, nuxana, nuxu	there (farther)
ne, ni, nia, nitun, niatun, nime	here, hither
nu, nua	there (nearer)
lewet̄es	low
ramai (resmai)	within
rini	above
rinsiksi	high
sanae, saeanae	hither
sinki	end, edge
xut-ui	before, preceding
tapere	above
ti	there, behind
tina (pina), tina-tum, tina-tun, titun	right here, close, hence
tipilikte, tipilile, tikilakte	round about
titu	on one side
kari	outside

*Temporal Adverbs*

auxaie	yet, still
ameren	a little time, little while
ar, aru	already (past time)
aruta, (arua)	tomorrow
artiskun, aṭskun	suddenly
at, ara	shortly, soon (near future or re- cent past)
emen	still, yet, although
et, ete, yete, (yote, ikte, iste)	soon (indefinite future)
imi, ima.	always, all the time
in-at, inuat	when?



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

*Descriptive and Miscellaneous Adverbs*

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

esiensen, esiersem	(indirect discourse)
exe, xehe, he, lxi, hi, hexe, sexe	yes
epaeis, aoepaeis	perchance, perhaps
epsie, epsik	no! do not!
ekwe	no, not
imatkun, imaten.	if (contrary to fact condition)
isap, isu	truly, certainly
ipsen, utix	more
ortco, yenko	equally
usi	why, because
uksi	without more ado, heedlessly
walte	feet to head and head to feet
wele	(substantive?)
wisi	because
yas-e	also, as well
yekere	more, much more
yuta . . . . yuta	either . . . . or
ma	truly
moṭs	tell me! (interrogative)
muisin	(among them?)
nan, nami, nani	perhaps, maybe
nu at.ia	yes, of course
nuhilu, niṭshim	<i>cachibajo</i>
sata	like, as if
sire	strongly
xaṭxatei	stepping high
xene-kte	unequal
xenkoṭs.e	silently
xeheresi	low (voice)
xetškere	crawling
xiṭepu	strongly
hai, hahi, aiu, aia, hia, hiha	and, also (enclitic)
pini, pinyi, (pinya)	perhaps, perchance
taxe	(interrogative, final position)
tukne	would that! (past optative)
ṭaman	half
kaitis	with this, no more
kati, kata, katam	like, resembling, just as if
kua, kuai, kuawe	thus
teiel.e	high (voice)

#### INTERJECTIONS

ain, aiun, auin, anin	give me it! bring me it!
atena rautik	shout at middle of dance
eṭ	shout at gambling game
iske	wait a moment!
it.ie, iuie	come on! let's go!

iklamini	wait a moment!
oto	run! go!
uruksia(ne)	would that! (vehement desire)
yela, yelamini	wait a moment!
yuma	come on! let's go!
yupe, yu	run! go!
waras	upon my life!
nami, nani	let's see! we'll see!
lalei	get out!
linei	shout at gambling game
ranx	shout at beginning of dance
sotoi	shout at gambling game
sukai	shout at gambling game
xep	shout at gambling game
xine	look!
xouwo	shout at end of dance
xuṭi	shout at gambling game
tuii	shout of gambling game
ṭiu	shout of gambling game
kama	look!
kari	shout of gambling game
ke	listen! look!
kie	who knows!
tcaorak	shout at gambling game
tcit, tcitsk	shout at gambling game

## POSTSCRIPT

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

The glossary secured follows here for purposes of comparison:

oriš	bear	hun	wolf
oŋo'imin	snake	pīrēwiš	rattlesnake
ma'i.yan	coyote	tcukuti'	dog
ha'mui	fish		
a'rwex <sup>f</sup>	oak	Ta'Por.	wood
yu'kiš	live oak	tiwīš	flower
in	tears	si're	liver
išu	hand	xu.s	nose
urix, urī	hair	hēyek <sup>t</sup>	beard
we'per	mouth	hiñ	eye
mi.'nyix	heart	horko'sa	throat
mōŋtel, mo-tel	head	Ta.mas	eyebrows
mu.e	breasts	ŋim.a"x <sup>f</sup>	forehead
las.e	tongue	tumiš, tumš	leg, loins
*ran.ai <sup>t</sup>	back of neck	Tu.E.	nail
ri.tuk	intestines	TuKšuš	ear
si.T, sit	teeth	korō'	foot

inux <sup>w</sup>	road	°ru'wai <sup>t</sup>	house
hu't·i	bow and arrow	tepla'i <sup>t</sup>	basket
apa·	father	šinīn	daughter, child
ana·	mother	ši'nmate <sup>1</sup>	small child
añci	paternal aunt	sulTa'°wu	white people
aitakiš	woman	ha'uak <sup>t</sup>	wife
a'tciakic	virgin	hu'nTate <sup>1</sup>	old man
eTe·	uncle or aunt	PaPa	paternal grand- father
inīš	son	Taka·	elder brother
uetreš	chief, shaman	°a·riš	man
u'xi	mother-in-law	Tale·	younger sister
mele·'	grandmother	Ta'·nan	elder sister
mák·o	husband	Tanšikiš	younger brother
mayin	wife of chief	Kač'nete <sup>t</sup>	old woman
merē'i	father-in-law	Kot·co	young man
mē'riš	daughter-in-law	teotco <sup>u</sup>	grandson
muekma	people		
a·we	morning star	yuk·i	ashes
irek <sup>t</sup>	stone	sī	water
omu'w, omu'x <sup>w</sup>	sea, arroyo	°šī'·Tic	fog
oš·e'	stars	hi'yis	fire
warē'p <sup>t</sup>	land	hišmen	sun
yo·k	live coal	Korwei	moon
uik·ani	yesterday	hiwe <sup>1</sup>	shaman's dance
ne Tuhi	today	hu·ši'š	tomorrow
°rī'sīmu	hill near town	ka'n·o	north
makišmo'·To		it is cloudy	
makiš a'·m'ne		it is raining	
yuwa'kne mak'šamne		it ceased raining	
herwe		it is hot	
kauwi <sup>t</sup>		it is cold	
lōškōwiš, loško'iš		it is white	
sirke <sup>w</sup> iš		it is black	
pultewis		it is red	
we'teT		it is large	
kuteu'iš		it is small	
šumikiš		give me!	
man·i rōti		where is it?	
rī·Tcikmin		shouting of shaman at dance	
hu'·tukne		he died	
ka'·nak hu'tusin		I am going to die	
me·nem hu·tusi <sup>a</sup>		you will die	
wa·ka hu·tusin		he will die	
maki·n makhu'tusin		we will die	
makam kamhu'tusin		you (plu.) will die	
wa·kamakeahu'tusin		they will die	
hu'·tukne <sup>k</sup>		I have died	

o'.miš ni'm i'	I am going to kill you
ka'.na ekni'mi oriš	I am going to kill the bear
me.nek' snimi	you will kill me
ma'kam kismi'mi	you (plu.) will kill me
wa'.kamak makisni'mi'sim	they will kill me
ka'.na* tō'.he	I run
ka.na ektea'.u'ra	I sit
ne.ca tea.u'ra	now I sit
ka.na ka'yin	I am ill
pí.n ka'in	he is ill
ka.'iksiksit	my tooth aches
ka.iksikmo.tel	my head aches
kiška.ikrumš	my back aches
kanak u'tkani	I am playing
ka.naksa'wi	I am singing
ka.na*ki'ši	I am dancing
ka.na kwarka	I am weeping
ka.na eki''wi	I am shouting
ka.'nakra'pona	I am going to stir
ka.'nakio'Tcyen	I am laughing
a'Tcišmente	I want to vomit
ekit'kankana	I am hungry
anini.k'	I am thirsty
hi'ntoka'masin	I am going to eat
akwet' kinšušte takaa'ma	I don't know what I will eat
ka.nak teatee	I am standing
ka.nak.emle	I am lying down
ka.nak eṭe	I am sleeping
ka.nak i'tma	I got up
ka.nak hō'pe	
ka.nak e'son	I get down
ka.nak yoken	I am tired

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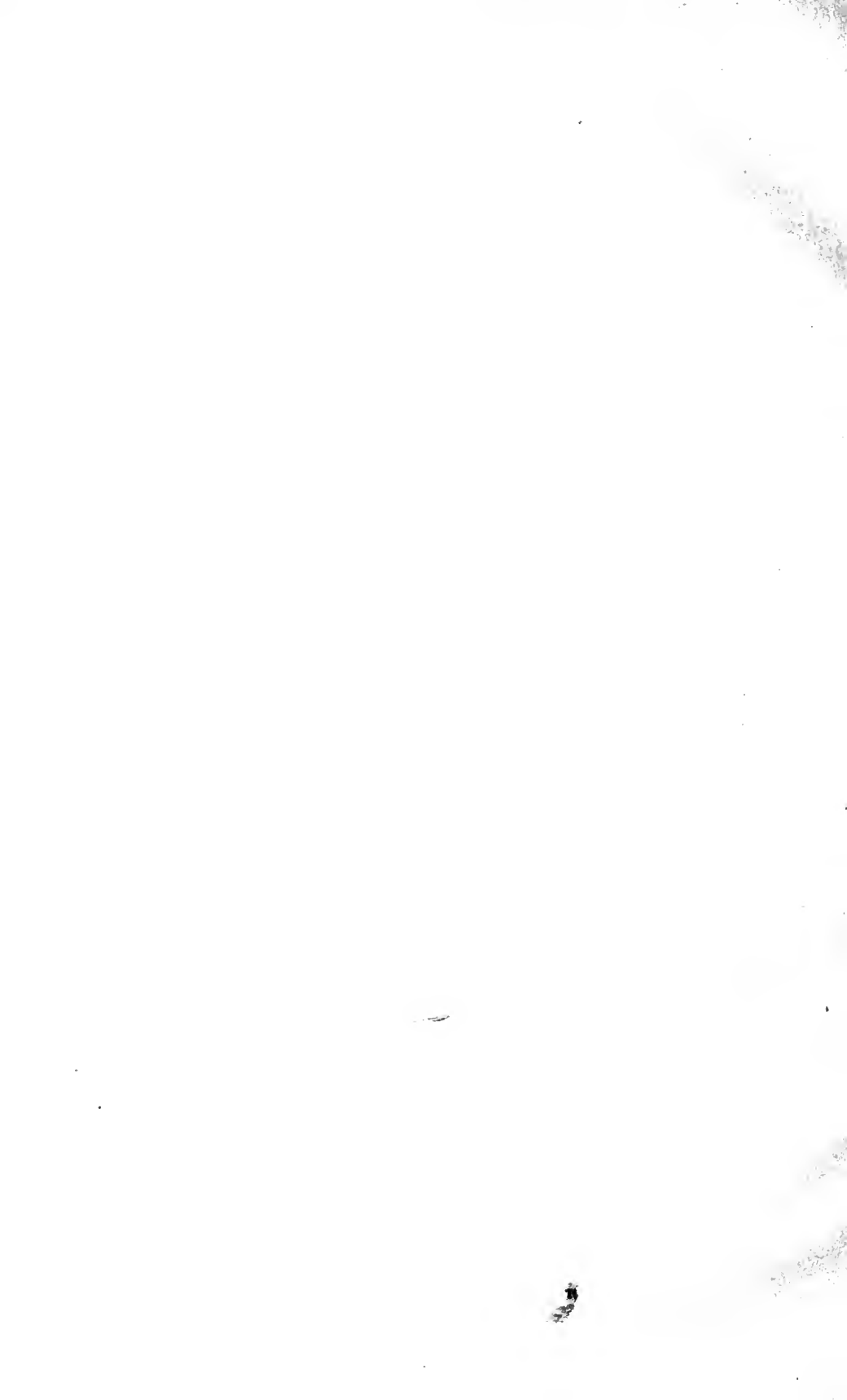
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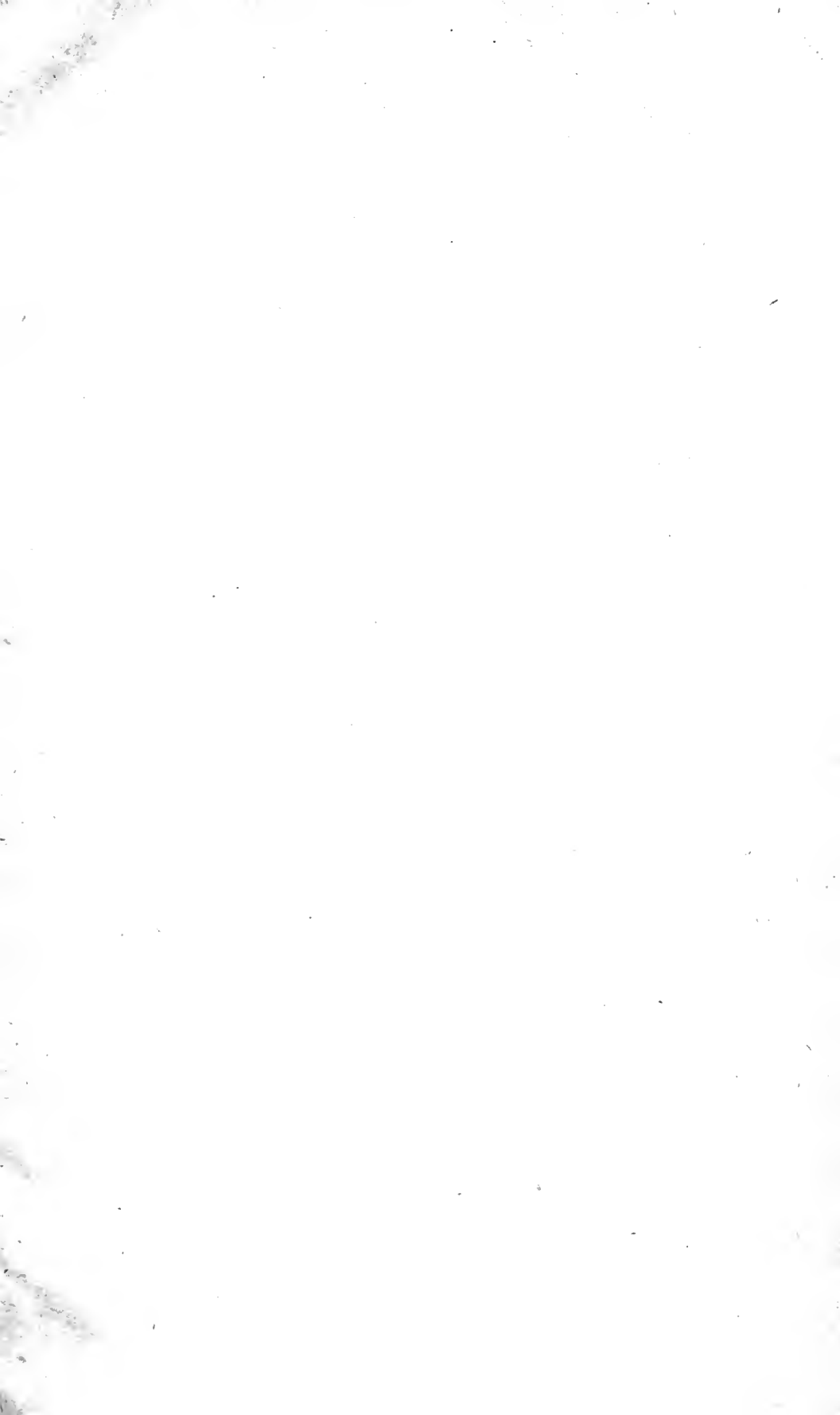
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