Uto-Aztecan: A Comparative Vocabulary

By

Brian D. Stubbs

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I am grateful to the native speakers of all Native American languages for preserving their heritage and languages as much as possible, and for allowing their languages to be recorded—recorded for their sakes, for their posterities’, and for all humanity’s progress in documentable knowledge.

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ABBREVIATIONS (for sources, also at pp. 3, 8-10; languages, p. 3; and branches, p. 3)

acc  accusative
adj  adjective
adv  adverb
AMR  Alexis Manaster Ramer
anim  animate
AYq  Arizona Yaqui
Azt  Aztecan branch of Uto-Aztecan
bec  become
BH.Cup  Bright & Hill’s Cupan cognate sets
B.Tep  Bascom’s Tepiman cognate sets
C  any or unknown consonant
Ca  Cahuilla
Cah  Cahitan
caus  causative
cf.  compare
Ch  Chemezhuvi
CL.Azt  Campbell&Langacker’s Proto-Aztecan Vowels
Cm  Comanche
CN  Classical Nahuatl
CNum  Central Numic
 Cp  Cupeño
Cr  Cora
CrC  Corachol branch of Uto-Aztecan
CU  Colorado Ute
d  dual
Eu  Eudeve/Dohema
fob  father’s older brother  fos  father’s older sister
Fowler83  Fowler’s cognate sets
fyb  father’s younger brother  fys  father’s younger sister
Gb  Gabrielson
HH.Cup  Kenneth and Jane Hill’s Cupan adjustments to BH.Cup
HN  Huastec Nahuatl,
st  stative
ST  Southern Tepehuan
s.th.  something
SUA  Southern Uto-Aztecan
subj  subject
T  Tetelcingo
Tak  Takic
Tb  Tübatülabal
Tbr  Tubar
Tep  Tepiman
TO  Tohono O’odham, formerly called Papago
Tr  Tarahumara
TSh  Tümpisha Shoshoni, formerly called Panamint
UA  Uto-Aztecan
UP  Upper Pima
V  any vowel or unknown vowel
vi  verb, intransitive
vt  verb, transitive
We  Huichol
WMU  White Mesa Ute
WNum  Western Numic
Wr  Guarijio
WSh  Western Shoshone
Yq  Yaqui
Z  Zacapoaxtla
PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

This comparative vocabulary of Uto-Aztecan (UA) languages is a work in progress, not a finished product. The size of UA and the regular emergence of new materials guarantee that any comprehensive comparative effort is but a new horizon for viewing the next, but hardly final. Yet many a linguist’s life work finds its final resting place in files or landfill due to (1) lack of time to finish it, despite the potential value to future researchers; (2) uncertainty about certain details, perhaps 3%, though the other 97% would have benefited those interested; and/or (3) not relishing the prospect that condemnations of the 3% may seem louder than commendations of the 97%. So let the latest from three decades of doing UA be made available lest it be lost to landfill should I exit without warning. Publishing, despite its pretense of completion, is as often only the latest draft of endless endeavor. The original hope of finishing such an undertaking before one’s own undertaking gradually gives way to time’s reminder that no one gets everything right the first time, or even the last time in mortal exertions the magnitude of a language family, and our assumptions about when the last time might be are regularly erroneous, as we hardly get glimpses of our hourglasses. The tragic unpredictable passing of our mentor Wick Miller in May 1994 is an example.

Wick Miller was an example in several ways: he was open, cordial, and encouraging. He was not overly critical, perhaps a tad animated at times, but generally friendly as a team-player in our cooperative progress in UA. As founder of the Friends of Uto-Aztecan organization, he was a friend to Uto-Aztecanists and devoted most of his life to UA. Miller’s 1988 computerized database of potential cognate sets exemplifies his openness. He knew it was a compilation of rough-draft brainstorming in need of sorting, revision, etcetera, but he shared it openly—opening himself to an egoless vulnerability for the sake of progress, being more interested in our progress in knowledge than in his being right all the time. In that spirit is this work offered. Errors, loose ends, and uncertainties are certain, but some UA matters may remain unresolved even if one could spend three lifetimes on them, for many more than that have already been devoted to UA and to the reconstruction of Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA).

This is somewhat a bilingual comparative work: though mostly in English, we do not translate the Spanish, as half the UA languages are in Latin America; and familiarity with both is nearly a necessity for doing comparative work in UA. In the reconstructions I do not deal with vowel length, only vowel quality and consonants. Figuring out PUA vowel length may fill a whole lifetime, but not mine. Reduced consonant clusters with compensatory vowel lengthening underlie some long vowels in UA (CVCCV > CVVCV; see phonology 2.15.9), raising doubts about vowel length until the medial clusters are clarified. That and changing stress patterns—stress causing vowels to lengthen, or lack of stress causing vowels to shorten or disappear, in the various branches and languages through the layers of time—make the puzzle of PUA vowel-length quite unappealing to me, if not presently impractical. This work also continues Miller’s (1967, 1988) tradition of including sets found in only one branch. Rejecters (page 4) of Northern-Uto-Aztecan (NUA) and others of Southern Uto-Aztecan (SUA) make two-branch sets possibly from PUA, and one-branch sets are worth listing, since a reflex from another branch often appears later, though they can hardly be considered from PUA until such support surfaces. A few loans are listed if entering UA early enough to be found in multiple branches. As Miller (1988, 1) notes, “loans are of as much historical interest as inherited forms.”

Edward Sapir (1913, 1915) was the first to apply the comparative method sufficient to establish Uto-Aztecan as a viable language family, after Buschmann, Brinton, Kroeber, and others helped lay the foundations for Uto-Aztecan studies, by identifying the three previously accepted branches—Shoshonean (NUA), Sonoran, and Aztecan. A five-letter surname that looms as large as Sapir’s in UA contribution needs no further abbreviation, so sets from Sapir’s founding work (1913, 1915) are cited as Sapir. A half century later, Voegelin, Voegelin, and Hale (1962) produced 171 cognate sets that further established the sound correspondences and phonology of UA. Not long afterwards, Wick Miller (1967) published Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets, containing 514 cognate sets. That was the last published work attempting to deal with all the known cognate sets of UA. Miller continued working in UA and his last update (1988) of some 1185 potential cognate sets is herein abbreviated M88. Kenneth Hill (2006) has done much good work in sorting and revising M88, combining some sets, redistributing others, adding new reflexes to existing sets, and adding cognate sets of his own discovery, totaling more than 1200 sets. Hill’s revision of M88 is herein abbreviated KH/M06. Besides the usual cognate collections, Kenneth Hill’s Serrano Dictionary (in progress) contains many comparative notes on other Takic languages, Tübatulabal, Hopi, and sometimes Numic languages, i.e., most of NUA, so for sets with a Serrano reflex, it is another valuable comparative resource for NUA, here cited as KH.NUA. Ronald Langacker (1976b, 1977a) and Jason Haugen (2008) have authored excellent books dealing with UA grammar. Alexis Manaster Ramer (AMR) has also been a prolific contributor to UA studies by means of more articles than are easily retrievable. His and the works of Dakin, Campbell, Canger, Casad, Estrada Fernandez,
As is the nature of research, this work also builds on the good work of many others; thus, I am greatly indebted to the excellent output of scores of scholars before me. This work is finally made available after previous mentions (Stubbs 2000a, 2003) in spite of one lifetime being a few short of what is needed to do it. Though this corpus may double the number of previously known sets, the new sets are mostly smaller sets, as the larger ones, easier to find, have long been identified in previous works. Nevertheless, this work adds some 1400 new sets, new reflexes to previous sets, expands the number of branches for many sets, includes a phonology section addressing several features of UA comparative phonology, provides discussion on salient questions in some sets, but mainly marshals an enlarged database and some new perspectives for furthering UA research.

I intentionally avoid the use of “cognate sets” in the title, though the great majority are cognate sets. Most uncertainties arise relative to potential ties between sets and to some less-than-certain reflexes proposed for some sets (with perceptions of probability provided: probable (60-99%), possible (20-60%), less likely (less than 20%), etc.). Yet all decent possibilities should be listed; otherwise, the value of the database to future researchers is diminished. The main reasons for leaving “cognate sets” out of the title are (1) that a score or more are early loans into UA and so are not cognate sets from PUA; and (2) another couple of hundred sets do not yet have the multi-branch representation needed to be properly counted as being from PUA. However, many times I and others, starting with single-branch sets, have found cognates in other branches that turn many single-branch sets into multi-branch sets. So single-branch sets are well worth including in a comparative database designed to facilitate comparative research.

Before diving into the minutia of comparative Uto-Aztecan (from which one may never return, if set on solving all), consider a bigger picture. As a relatively recent science, comparative linguistics first provided a flurry of impressive results in Indo-European. The more accurate recording of more Native American languages enabled similar bursts of impressive progress in Native Americana by the likes of Boas, Sapir, Kroeber, and Bloomfield. Their graduate students produced another generation or two of prominent comparativists, like Haas, the Voegelins, then Bright, Callaghan, Chafe, Goddard, Hale, Hymes, Langdon, Miller; but fewer prominent comparativists emerged from that tier. The decrease in comparative work may stem from two causes: (1) after the more obvious basics became established and caution resumed reign to rein in the macro-phyla momentum, progress necessarily slowed through the remaining fine-tuning of the less obvious, which required deeper digging and other investments filling larger percentages of a lifetime; (2) and it followed the Chomsky-led tidal wave of grammatical theories that swept the linguistic landscape and perhaps washed away a host of potential comparativists into the seeing of grammatical theory as the new wave to ride. I did theory too, before getting hooked on historical, for after a language family’s more apparent tenets are established, further solutions can seem so deeply buried in data (data possibly unavailable) that comparative progress can turn into comparative composting; that is, progress often becomes mired in stewing over seeming unsolvables. So please take no offense! We love our theoretician friends who contribute to equally valid branches of linguistics, but those willing to add diachronic to their endeavors are more than welcome.

Returning to UA, this comparative effort is assembled in hopes of helping Uto-Aztecanists postpone composting. My generation of comparative Uto-Aztecanists—Kenneth and Jan Hill, Alexis Manaster-Ramer, Lyle Campbell, Pamela Munro, Terrence Kaufman, and myself—are aging and/or ceased work on UA; fortunately, however, a growing number of Mexican linguists are now passing U.S. output. Nevertheless, whatever meager gains are attained we loosely call “progress” for the sake of encouragement in a field where all but a handful have turned from comparative research to realms offering more hope of closure than reconstructing a large language family can possibly provide.

In short, the 2700 sets of this study are intended to facilitate comparative research in UA and serve as a new plateau or expanded database. Adding to and refining this body of data will be an ongoing process by the author and any willing to join the cooperative effort.
Branch cognate collections are abbreviated as the initial(s) of author surname(s) dot branch.

Table 1: The Preceding Cognate Collections in Chronological Order and Their Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Cognate Collections</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Sapir</td>
<td>Sapir’s “Southern Paiute and Nahuatl: a Study in Uto-Aztecan” (1913, 1915)</td>
</tr>
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<td>VVH</td>
<td>Voegelin, Voegelin, and Hale’s <em>Typological and Comparative Grammar of UA</em> (1962)</td>
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<td>B.Tep</td>
<td>Burton Bascom’s <em>Proto-Tepiman</em> (1965)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M67</td>
<td>Wick Miller’s <em>Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets</em> (1967)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BH.Cup</td>
<td>William Bright and Jane Hill’s “The Linguistic History of the Cupeño” <em>IJAL</em> 33 (1967)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH.Cup</td>
<td>Jane Hill and Kenneth Hill’s “Stress in the Cupan Languages” <em>IJAL</em> 34 (1968)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.Num</td>
<td>David Iannucci’s <em>Numic Historical Phonology</em> (1972)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL.Azt</td>
<td>Campbell and Langacker’s <em>Proto-Aztecan Vowels,</em> <em>IJAL</em> 44 (1978)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowler83</td>
<td>Catherine Fowler’s “Lexical Clues to UA Prehistory” <em>IJAL</em> 49 (1983) and her fieldnotes</td>
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<td>L.Son</td>
<td>Andrés Lionnet’s <em>Relaciones Internas de la Rama Sonorense</em> (1985)</td>
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<td>Munro.Cup</td>
<td>Pamela Munro’s “Stress and Vowel Length in Cupan Absolute Nouns” <em>IJAL</em> 56 (1990)</td>
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<td>KH.NUA</td>
<td>Kenneth Hill’s <em>Serrano Dictionary</em>, with comparative notes relevant to NUA (2001)</td>
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<td>Kenneth Hill’s Miller’s Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets: revised and expanded by KCH (2006)</td>
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Table 2: The Uto-Aztecan Languages and Their Abbreviations

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</tr>
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<td>Tümpisha Shoshoni</td>
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<td>Shoshoni</td>
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<td>Western Shoshoni</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Chemehuevi</td>
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<td>SP</td>
<td>Southern Paiute</td>
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<tr>
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<td>White Mesa Ute</td>
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<td>CU</td>
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<td>Mn</td>
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Table 3: The Branches of the Uto-Aztecan Language Family and Their Abbreviations

<table>
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<tr>
<td>CU</td>
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1.1 The Branches of Uto-Aztecan

Miller (1984) and Cortina-Borja and Valiñas (1989) tallied the number of lexical agreements between UA languages using Swadesh’s 100-word list, with 12 substitutions. Cortina-Borja and Valiñas added six languages to Miller’s and analyzed the data differently. Table 4 presents most of those data:

Table 4: Lexical Correlations between Uto-Aztecan Languages

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<td>28 27 27 28 27 28 27 30 31 33 34 28 29 26 23 30 40 41 46 43 48 44 42 51 51 53 Tbr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wc</td>
<td>25 24 23 21 23 23 24 25 32 24 28 34 26 27 28 41 43 42 41 51 48 48 49 48 51 41 Wc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>25 22 22 23 21 22 21 22 23 30 19 21 24 23 22 26 34 34 35 35 42 38 35 42 45 46 39 58 Cr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CN</td>
<td>18 18 16 16 14 16 15 16 16 24 20 22 23 19 19 24 29 29 30 29 32 33 39 40 38 39 36 39 37 CN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te</td>
<td>19 18 16 16 14 17 15 16 17 25 20 22 24 20 19 24 29 29 30 29 32 34 38 40 38 39 35 37 35 85 Te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Za</td>
<td>17 17 15 15 13 16 16 17 18 26 21 20 24 20 19 24 31 31 32 31 29 33 35 39 37 38 35 35 33 80 85 Za</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>16 15 14 14 12 16 15 16 17 24 21 19 23 20 18 24 30 30 29 33 34 38 40 39 39 37 37 35 79 81 77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many students of UA see a primary split between Northern Uto-Aztecan (NUA) and Southern Uto-Aztecan (SUA) (Heath 1977:27; Heath 1978:222; Langacker 1977:5; Langacker 1978:197, 269; Fowler 1983:234, Cortina-Borja and Valiñas 1989), yet a few reject NUA and Manaster Ramer (p.c.) rejects SUA. Jane Hill (2001a and b, 2010) also cites evidence for NUA vs. a lack of such for SUA. NUA does exhibit phonological innovations *-L- > n, *-c- > -y- (Manaster Ramer 1992b) and some morphological innovations (Heath 1977:1978), while SUA may exhibit a slightly closer lexical unity. (See discussion in Miller 1983, Goddard 1996, Cortina-Borja and Valiñas 1989.) But until comprehensive morphological studies clarify matters, objecting to either half of UA may be premature. Accordingly, NUA has traditionally consisted of Numic, Takic, and two single-language branches: Tübatulabal and Hopi. Major SUA branches include Tepiman, Taracahitan, Corachol, and Aztecan.

Numic (Num) has three subbranches. From southern California, Western Numic (WNum) spread northward along the California-Nevada border into Oregon and Idaho. Central Numic (CNum) spread northeastward through central Nevada, northwestern Utah, into Idaho, Wyoming, and onto the plains. Southern Numic (SNum) spread eastward into southern Nevada, northern Arizona, most of Utah, and the mountainous west half of Colorado. Western Numic includes Mono (Mn) and Northern Paiute (NP). To Central Numic belong Tumpisha Shoshoni (TSh), Shoshoni (Sh), and Comanche (Cm). Southern Numic includes Kawaiisu (Kw), Chemehuevi (Ch), Southern Paiute (SP), Northern or Uintah Ute (NU), White Mesa Ute (WMU), and Colorado Ute (CU).
Map of the Uto-Aztecan Languages

The Several Nahuatl dialects are located throughout Central Mexico and other places to the Southeast
The term Colorado Ute here replaces Southern Ute, since northern vs. southern is not a language division, but relocation options for the many dialects: e.g., the Uncompahgre Utes from southern Colorado went north to the Uintah-Ouray reserve, though their dialect and ties are closer to southern Colorado Ute; and White Mesa Ute (Stubbs 2011, 6-10), often labeled Southern Ute, retains features in NU and California SNum, but lost in Ignacio’s Colorado Ute; and none of the three so-called Northern Ute dialects (two from Colorado) is recorded. So the northern-southern distinction is recent-geographic, not linguistic, and of at least five dialects, only Ignacio’s is left in Colorado, thus, the term Colorado Ute.

The tabulations above show high correlations within each branch of Num (76-88), but less between the Num languages of different branches (49-62). Lamb (1958) and others have explained the Num languages’ spread from the NUA homeland in southern California out into the Great Basin. The data show the inner-most language of each branch to be more closely related to the outer-most language of the same branch than to the closer neighboring Num languages of different branches. This pattern shows more diversity in Southern California between languages of differing branches only a few miles away vs. closer ties to tongues of the same branch 1,000 miles away. For example, TSh in Southern California is linguistically much closer to Sh (87) in Wyoming and Cm (79) on the plains, all three of Central Numic (CNum), than TSh is to nearby Mn (59), of Western Numic (WNum) and also in Southern California, or to nearby Kw (54), of Southern Numic (SNum) and also in Southern California. This greater diversity in the geographically limited Numic (and NUA) homeland speaks convincingly for a three-way Numic split in Southern California before spreading north, northeast, and eastward into the Great Basin.

Takic (Tak) has traditionally included the UA languages of Southern California, less Tübatulabal (Tb) and Numic languages. Within Tak is a tighter Cupan (Cup) group—Luiseño (Ls), Cahuilla (Ca), and Cupeno (Cp)—though the numbers above show Sr as close to Ca as Ls is to Ca. Serrano (Sr), Gabrielino (Gb), Kitanemuk (Ktn) and other now extinct languages together with Cupan constitute the Tak branch. Tak shows a much greater diversity than Numic. The numbers between the Tak pairs range from 35 to 50 (except for Ca-Cp 65) vs. Numic’s numbers (49-88). Matters relating to that diversity have periodically caused the validity or unity of the Tak branch to be questioned. Californian (Alexis Manaster Ramer 1992a; Kenneth Hill 1998) has been a contemplated union of Tb with Tak. Numbers as low as 34 between Gb and Cp, and 35 between Sr and Ls approximate several other 34’s between Tak and non-Takic languages (Wr, Tr, Eu, Tb, Wc). Those inter-Tak numbers are no larger than the 35 through 40 that Tb shares with four Tak languages (Gb, Sr, Ca, Cp). Thus, the union of Tb and Tak into a Californian branch of NUA is reasonable enough in view of the above data, and questioning the traditional Tak unity merits consideration. Nevertheless, the author sees support for Tb’s separation from Tak (see discussion under Tb), though hardly overwhelming. Kenneth Hill (2010, 1) also notes Tb’s lack of initial ñ and allowing ñ only after vowels to be like the Numic languages and unlike the Tak languages’ initial ñ, and sees Tb’s lented absolutive suffix’s (*-t > -l) similarity to the Cupan languages as likely coincidental.

Tübatulabal’s (Tb) numbers with Num range from 35 to 42, with Tak they range from 34 to 40, and the Tb-Hp number is 38. The differences are so slight and the ranges so overlapping that Tb appears to be about equidistant lexically to other branches of NUA; thus, Tb seems to hold an especially central place in NUA. Yet viewing matters from the other directions, we see that Num is closer to Tb (35-42) than Num is to Tak (21-31) or to Hp (22-33), and that Hp is closer to Tb (38) than Hp to Tak (26-31) or Hp to Num (22-33). Furthermore, Cortina-Borja and Valiñas (1989, 235) see Tb to be slightly more closely associated with Hp and Num than with Tak. Thus, it may be useful to retain Tb as a NUA branch for now. Nevertheless, Tb and Hp both hold especially central positions, not only in NUA, but in UA generally: the Tb and Hp numbers with SUA languages are higher than other NUA languages with SUA languages, though Ca and Sr are not far off.

Hopi (Hp), presently spoken in northern Arizona, holds a unique position in UA—unique as a single-language branch of NUA and as the only known UA tribe to participate in the Ancient Pueblo (Anasazi) tradition, along with three other language families (Kiowa-Tanoan, Keresan, and Zuni). Some measures put Hp closer to Tak (Cortina-Borja and Valiñas 1989, 228), while the numbers above show the closest Hp correlate to be Tb (38). Interestingly, however, Hp’s next highest numbers are shared with Yq (36), Eu (35), LP (35), and My (34), all of SUA, after which several low 30’s (30-33) are shared with some Tak and Numic languages, but also with some other Tepiman and Taracahitan languages. This fairly equal distancing with so many SUA and NUA languages further confirms Hp’s unique place in UA.
Southern Uto-Aztecan (SUA) consists of Tepiman (Tep), Opatan (Op), Tubar(Tbr), Tarahumaran(Trn), Corachol (CrC), and Aztecan (Azt), mostly from Arizona to Mexico City. In contrast to earlier leanings toward a UA homeland in NUA areas, hints of greater diversity in SUA areas surface regularly, bringing Manaster Ramer, Jane Hill, and myself to deem SUA areas as more likely prospects for the UA homeland. One such hint is the close proximity of all UA reflexes for PUA *kw in the heart of SUA. Within miles of each other are Tep and Eu b, Cahitan bw, Tbr kw, and Tr w/b/ko (Stubbs 1995), while all of NUA reflects a nearly unanimous kw.

Tepiman (Tep) is so unique phonologically (*kw > b, *c > s, *s > h, *y > d, *w > g) among UA languages that it may merit distinction from Tarahumitan strictly on phonological grounds and grammar, regardless of word counts. Yet even word counts show a tight Tep entity with numbers from 73-85 between Tep languages, while 34-49 are the numbers between other Sonoran languages and the Tep languages, about the same as between NUA branches. That fact and the unique Tep phonology both recommend a separate Tep branch, here represented by Tohono O’odham (TO) in Arizona and Nevome (Nv) in Mexico, both of Upper Pima, while Lower Pima/Pima Bajo (LP) includes Pima de Yepachec (PYp) and Pima de Yécora (PYc). The Tepehuan languages include Northern Tepehuan (NT) and Southeastern Tepehuan (ST) in western Mexico.

In the middle of SUA are several small branches. Eudeve (Eu) and Opatan (Op) or Tewima/Tegwima (Shaul, p.c.) are a closely related pair called Opatan (Opn). Cahitan (Cah) consists of Yaqui (Yq), Arizona Yaqui (AYq), and Mayo (My). The Tr dialects with the Wr dialects form another closely related subbranch called Tarahumaran (Trn). These central SUA subbranches diverge in their reflexes of PUA *kw, but each subbranch is consistent within itself: PUA *kw > Tbr kw, Cah bw, > Op *b, > Trn *w. I used to combine Opn, Cah, Trn, and Tubar into a branch called TaraCahitan (TrC), and that term of central SUA branches is occasionally useful and used in the discussions.

Tubar (Tbr) is a unique language in UA and is its own single-language branch. Two factors make its proper classification challenging: one, the lexical data are limited; two, the limited data, obtained shortly before extinction, show numerous loans and influences upon this small language surrounded by other larger UA languages. It is apparent that Tbr is in part a product of phonological influences from Tep and lexical loans from Cahitan and Trn, yet it is a kw-language, isolated geographically from the only other kw-languages of SUA; i.e., the Corachol and Aztecan branches. Phonological influences from neighboring Tep languages upon Tbr include some *s > h, some *w > g, and initial *p > w (Stubbs 2000b). These various unique dimensions have encouraged Uto-Aztecanists to make Tbr its own branch.

Corachol (CrC) is a viable grouping, not only because Cora (Cr) and Huichol (Wc) show a closer lexical relationship to each other (58) than to any other UA languages, but phonologically they form a pair and align better with Aztecan in many ways than with the old Sonoran grouping. They share an innovation with Aztecan of *p > h/ø and a retention of *kw, neither of which is prevalent in Tep or TrC.

The Aztecan (Azt) branch consists of the many dialects related to Classical Nahuatl. Cortina-Borja and Valiñas (1989) include nine in their classification study. Suarez’ (1986) admirable comparative study of Nahua dialects merits more use. Of interest is that Azt yields numbers of 30-40 with other SUA languages, but only teens to 20 with NUA languages, except Tb, Hp, and Ca, with which the Aztecan numbers are 23-26.
1.2 Primary Sources for the Lexical Data (in addition to the cognate collections):

**Mono (Mn):**

**Northern Paiute (NP):**

**Tümpisa Shoshone / Panamint (TSh):**

**Shoshone (Sh):**

**Comanche (Cm):**

**Kawaiisu (Kw):**

**Chemehuevi (Ch):**

**Southern Paiute (SP):**

**White Mesa Ute (WMU):**

**Colorado Ute (CU):**

**Hopi (Hp):**
**Tübatulabal (Tb):**
Munro, Pamela, and William E. Mace. 1995. *A New Tübatulabal Dictionary.* Tb(M)
(revised preliminary version) UCLA.
Hill, Kenneth C. 2010. Tübatulabal Dictionary. Draft manuscript. Tb(H)

**Serrano (Sr):**

**Kitanemuk (Ktn):**
Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA.

**Cahuilla (Ca):**
Banning, California: Malki Museum Press.

**Cupeño (Cp):**
Banning: Malki Museum Press.

**Luiseño (Ls):**
Berkeley: University of California Press.
San Diego: University of California at San Diego.

**Tohono O’odham (TO):**
Saxton, Dean, Lucille Saxton, and Susie Enos. *Dictionary: O’othham Milgaan,* TO
Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.

**Upper Pima (UP) and Nevome (Nv):**
 Munro, Pamela, et al. *Akimel O’odham.* In Preparation. UP(M)

**Pima Bajo (PB) or Lower Pima (LP):**
Printed at Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc.
Hermosillo, Mexico: Departamento de Letras y Lingüística, Universidad de Sonora.
Barragan, Luis M. fieldnotes on the Pima Bajo dialect of Yécora, Sonora, Mexico. PYc

**Northern Tepehuan (NT):**
Bascom, Burton. *Northern Tepehuan Dictionary.* In preparation. NT
Southern Tepehuan (ST):

Eudeve (Eu):
Ed.Campbell W. Pennington. Mexico City: Mexico, Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico.

Tubar (Tbr):
Lionnet, Andrés. 1978. *El Idioma Tubar y Los Tubares.* Universidad Iberoamericana. Tbr

Yaqui (Yq):
Johnson, Jean B. *El Idioma Yaqui.* 1962. Yq(J)

Arizona Yaqui (AYq):

Mayo (My):

Guarjio (Wr):
Miller, Wick R. *Guarjio: Gramática, Textos, y Vocabulario.* 1996. Wr

Tarahumara (Tr):
La Obra Nacional de la Buena Prensa.
Hilton, K. Simón. *Diccionario Tarahumara de Samachique.* 2nd ed. Tr(H)

Cora (Cr):
McMahon, Ambrosio, and Maria Aiton de McMahon. *Cora y Español.* 1959. Cr

Huichol (We):

Classical Nahuatl (CN) and other Aztecan Dialects
Campbell, R. Joe. *Draft Lexicon of Molina and Florentine Codex Vocabulary.* 2006. CN(RJC)
Simeon, Remi. *Diccionario de la Lengua Nahuatl or Mexicana.* Mexico City: CN(S)
Mecayapan y tatahuicapan de Juarez, Veracruz.
PART TWO: UTO-AZTECAN COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

Table 5: Vowel and Consonant Symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels:</th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high i</td>
<td>i/ü</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>mid e</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ε</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>low æ</td>
<td>a</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants:</th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>retroflex</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>uvular</th>
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<tr>
<td>stops voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>q</td>
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<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d,D</td>
<td>g</td>
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<tr>
<td>fricatives voiceless</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>š(sh)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>Ž(zh)</td>
<td>ě</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>affricates voiceless</td>
<td>c(ts)</td>
<td>Ć(ch)</td>
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<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>j</td>
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<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Ň</td>
<td>ų</td>
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<td>liquids</td>
<td>l, r</td>
<td>l^</td>
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<td>glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

ǐ = high central vowel occurring in many UA languages; ī' and ř are Ken Hill’s representation of pharyngealized or retroflexed vowels in Sr.

ō (< PUA *o) a mid-front rounded vowel in Hopi, White Mesa Ute, and CU, much like English vocalic r.

-” = final geminating feature on following consonants in Numic, caused by an underlying consonant.

N = general nasal, final nasalizing feature in Num or unknown nasal consonant (m, n, or Ň).

The spirantizing feature in Numic will not be marked since it signifies a zero feature or no underlying consonant.

L = PUA liquid, whether r or l or both is yet unclear.

D = d/D of TO alternates with liquids in certain environments and corresponds to liquids in other UA languages, in contrast to TO d which usually corresponds to PUA *y.

The Sound Correspondences within Uto-Aztec


Table 6: Uto-Aztec Consonant Correspondences in Initial Position, -C- for Medial Position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUA *p</th>
<th>*t</th>
<th>*k</th>
<th>*kw</th>
<th>*m</th>
<th>*n</th>
<th>*c</th>
<th>*š</th>
<th>*w</th>
<th>*y</th>
<th>*‘</th>
<th>*h</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Num p, -v- t, -r/-d- k, -g/-x/-h-</td>
<td>kw m, ņw, w n c, y- s w y ' h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hp p, -v- t k,q</td>
<td>kw m n c, y- s w, l y ' h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tb p t, -l- h,k</td>
<td>w m n c, y- š w y ' h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sr p, -v- t k,q</td>
<td>kw m n c, y- š,h w y ' h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ca,Cp p, -v- t, -l- k,q, -x-</td>
<td>kw, w m n c, y- s w y ' h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ls p, -v- t, -l- k,q, -x-</td>
<td>kw m n c, y- s, š w y ' h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tep w, v t,c k</td>
<td>b m n, ņ s, š h, ņ g d, j ņ, ' ņ, h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eu, Op p t k</td>
<td>b m n c, ě s w d ņ, ' h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tr, Wr p t, r (Tr) k</td>
<td>w, -'w- m n c, ě s w y ņ, ' h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yq, My b, p t k</td>
<td>bw m n c, č s w y ' h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tbr w, -p- t k</td>
<td>kw m n c, č s, ň mw, ņ y, ņ ņ, ņ h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cr h t k, č</td>
<td>kw, čw m, mw n c, č s w y ' h</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wc h t k</td>
<td>kw m n c, č s, ň w y ņ ŋ</td>
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<tr>
<td>CN ņ, p t k</td>
<td>kw m n c, č s, ň w y ņ, ' h ņ</td>
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11
While some Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA) consonants justifiably attract debate, such as PUA *r and/or *l, and *ŋ and/or *n, the mostly secure PUA consonants include *p, *t, *k, *kw, *h, *s, *c, *m, *n, *l, *w, and *y. The PUA vowels are *a, *i, *o, *u, and *ɪ. Exceptions for *kw before round vowels (*kwo, *kwu) are discussed below (2.2 and 2.12; Stubbs 1995). Some PUA *t palatalized to c/č in time for the Tepiman sound change *c > s, and are thus easily mistaken for PUA *c (2.3.3; Stubbs 2000a).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PUA</th>
<th>*i</th>
<th>*a</th>
<th>*u</th>
<th>*o</th>
<th>*ɪ</th>
<th>*-L-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Num</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>o/ö</td>
<td>į</td>
<td>-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hp</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>į</td>
<td>-n,-l,-r- (Shaul 1985)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tb</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>į</td>
<td>-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>į</td>
<td>-n,-r-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>-n,-l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cp</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ø (written e)</td>
<td>-n,-l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ls</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>e(i)</td>
<td>o(u)</td>
<td>-n,-l-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb</td>
<td>i,e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u,o</td>
<td>e,o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>-n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tep</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>į</td>
<td>-l,-l-,r-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr,Wr</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u,o</td>
<td>e,i</td>
<td>-l,-r-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TrC</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>-l,-r-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CrC</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>į</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>-l,-r-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CN</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>-l-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1 Summary of Consonant Correspondences among the Uto-Aztecan Languages

The basic UA consonant correspondences portrayed in Table 6 might be summarized as follows:

**PUA *p** initially remains p in most languages, but in Tep *p > w/v, in CrC *p > h, and in Azt *p > ø, initially. Medially, *-p- > -v- in NUA, but *-p- > -b- in Tb and some Num languages.

**PUA *t** initially remains t in most languages, but *t > r in Tr, and *t > c preceding high vowels in TO. Medially, *-t- > -r-/d- in most Num languages, *-t- > -l- in Tb and Tak, and sometimes *-t- > -c-/č- adjacent to high vowels in Tep, and sometimes early enough to catch the *c > s Tep sound change (see 2.3.3). Also some *-t- > -c-/č- happened early in NUA languages, in environments and cases not yet entirely clear.

**PUA *k** initially remains k in most languages, but sometimes *k > h in Tb, but not always, creating a dichotomy in Tb not yet clarified. Before low vowels, uvularization of *k > q/ˌa, o happens in Hp, and much of Tak and Num. Medially, the same initial phenomena happen in addition to *-k- > -x- in Tep, and *-k- > -x-/g-/š- in Num.

**PUA *kw** initially remains kw in NUA, except for *kw > w in Tb, and a few other instances. *kw also remains kw in CrC and Azt of SUA. However, *kw > bw in Cahitan, *kw > w in Tr and Wr, and *kw > b in Tep, Eu, and Op. UA *kwo/*kwu appear to be exceptional cases, as mentioned above, and addressed below at 2.12. The *-kw- medial reflexes are mostly similar to the initial reflexes. Initial PUA *kw is exemplified below in the reflexes for *kwasići ‘cook/boil, ripen’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>kusedetagi/kup’i’a</th>
<th>Hp</th>
<th>kwasi</th>
<th>Eu</th>
<th>basá/basé/basi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>kwasi/pi</td>
<td>Tb</td>
<td>wiš-(t)/’iwĩš</td>
<td>Tbr</td>
<td>kwasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSh</td>
<td>kwasi’</td>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>kwahłyi</td>
<td>AYq bwasa (vt), bwase (vi), bwasi (stative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>kwasi’</td>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>-kwasi-</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>bwanše, bwanşi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>kwasi/pi</td>
<td>Ls</td>
<td>kwasi-š</td>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>wahsi ‘asar’; iwa-ná ‘be ripe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>kwasi/kosi</td>
<td>Cp</td>
<td>kwase</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>wasá/’wasís Polar Language (past, present, future)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>kwasi</td>
<td>TO</td>
<td>baha/bahi/bai/baikam</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>kwasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>qwaši-ppi</td>
<td>Nv</td>
<td>bahida</td>
<td>We</td>
<td>kwásści/kwássíi;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMU</td>
<td>qwaši-y</td>
<td>PYp</td>
<td>bahlí</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>(i)kwasi, wikisi,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>kuši-ka-tí</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>báhi/báhiyi</td>
<td>yoki/iuki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PUA *s is also exemplified in *kwasiC ‘cook, ripen’ above. Both initially and medially, PUA *s mostly remains s in most languages, but *s > h/ø in Tep and *s > h in Sr and Ktn of Tak, and sometimes in Tbr. However, a retroflex š in Sr š and Ktn š does not go to h like most of the PUA *s > h in Sr and Ktn. Retroflex š appears in other Tak languages as well, though not entirely consistently among themselves, so an explanation or another proto-sibilant yet needs some attention.

PUA *t > s in Tep, but remains c elsewhere initially. Medially, PUA *-c- > -y- in NUA (see at 2.3.2).

PUA *w remains w in most of UA, but *w > g in Tep, *w > i in Hp before low vowels, *w > mw, ŋ in Tbr, and medial *w- > ø on occasion in many languages.

PUA *y remains y in most of UA, but *y > d/ð in Tep, Eu, and Op, and often *y > ŋ in Tbr.

PUA *h and PUA ** are predictably fragile, as they are in many world languages, yet they remain h and ’ in most UA languages most of the time, but are subject to frequent elision (ø), and in NT and ST, are subject to consistent elision (*h > ø; *’ > ø). A few PUA *h do remain h in TO.

PUA nasals (m, n and/or ŋ) are at least partially intertwined with a potential liquid or two, and the whole array awaits a brilliant disentanglement. The author’s present perspective is at 2.7. Vowel correspondences and behavior are treated at 2.15.

Some larger phonological patterns in UA are that approximant glides become stops in Tep: *w > g, *y > d. Tep also shows a general weakening or lenition of a series of consonants: *t > c sometimes, and *c > s, *s > h, *h > ’/ø. Tbr nasalizes the glides: *w > mw/ŋ, *y > ŋ.

The following discussions contain less about the obvious (sound correspondences), and more about some lesser known peculiarities of UA phonological phenomena in UA. These illustrative sets are numbered with a P (for phonology), to not confuse them with the comparative sets, from which they are greatly abbreviated. For the fuller treatment, see each in its alphabetized comparative listing.

2.2 Phonemic Frequencies in Uto-Aztecan

The phonological frequencies of initial syllables in Miller 1988 (M88) were calculated. The exact numbers of initial syllables among UA cognate sets are subject to adjustment, yet those in M88 are reasonably proportionate and available for quick inspection, until this work’s sets settle sufficiently for counting. The first column is the number of sets beginning with glottal stop-vowel or initial vowel. (Enough UA languages require glottal stop before otherwise initial vowels that Miller (M88), Ken Hill (KH/M06), and others deem the same for PUA.) The other columns are sets beginning with the specified CV combination. Totals of the lines (vowel totals) are to the right; and totals of the columns (consonant totals) are below. The total number of sets in M88 is 1185, the total both of the rows and of the columns.

Table 8: Initial Syllable Frequencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>c</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>kw</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ï</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>105</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some observations of interest and relevance to the phonological discussions include:

(1) The vowel a is about twice as frequent as other vowels.

(2) The syllables kwo, kwu, and yi are absent. Yet there are 38 ko and 37 ku syllables, respectively, vs. 10 ki and 17 kî. The ko/ku are nearly as many as the 43 ka, which vowel, across the board, is normally twice what others are. The increase in ko/ku syllables is probably related to the absence of kwo/kwu syllables, though the same cannot be said for an increase in i in absence of yi.

(3) Among all tV syllables, only one ti syllable (M88-ti1 ‘man’) existed until Ken Hill redistributed it (to KH/M06-ci24, tu10, ti9), so now no ti syllables exist (in KH/M06) vs. 48 ta, 54 tî, 26 to, and 24 tu. In contrast, the number of ci syllables (23) is larger than other cV syllables (18, 15, 20, 20) in spite of the fact that i is the least frequent vowel: i.e., 140 i vs. 409 for a and vs. 200-plus for the other three vowels. All this suggests that many apparent *ci may be from an earlier *ti.
2.3 Cluster Clutter in Uto-Aztecan

Previous tradition has it that UA stems are generally CVCCV (C = consonant; V = vowel). While many undoubtedly are, evidence is emerging to suggest that many Proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA) stems contained consonant clusters not previously recognized, in forms such as CVCCCV, CVCCVC, et cetera, though many could be from archaic compounds, too. Sapir (1913, 415) concluded that most UA clusters result from vowel syncope or syllable reduction: CVVCVC > CVCCV. Later, Kaufman (1981) and Manaster Ramer and Blight (1993b) and Manaster Ramer (1997) noted evidence for reconstructing clusters for several etyma, such as *kapsi ‘thigh’ vs. *kasi (Miller 1967). Sometimes the cluster itself survives in only one language or none, though evidence for the cluster is found in others. We see frequent evidence in UA that vowel syncopation (the deletion of an internal vowel) is a common phenomenon in UA and creates additional clusters (as Sapir noted), and that even those later clusters sometimes reduce quite quickly (CVVCVC > CVCCV > CVCV), suggesting that many UA languages do not maintain consonant clusters well, though Ken Hill (p.c.) notes that Sr, Hp, and some others do maintain clusters fairly well. The author (1995, 2000b, 2003) has long suggested that part of the problem, if not the major part of the problem, with the medial consonant correspondences is underlying or previous consonant clusters which have reduced in a variety of ways, thus creating the variety. Miller (1983) recognized that “initial syllables can be reconstructed in considerable detail, but there are still many problems for non-initial syllables.” For example, one can observe in Miller (1967, 5) that the initial consonant correspondences are fairly clear and consistent, while the medial consonant correspondences are horribly varied and inconsistent. Yet the possibility that many of those medial consonants are from reduced consonant clusters may eventually explain some of the variety and difficulty, if not most of it. If we are dealing with 13 PUA consonants (which number is also debatable), then (13x13=) 169 possible clustering combinations exist, each of which would yield a greater variety of results than a single consonant would, depending on the consonants clustered, phonological environments, when they became a cluster, what phonological rules were productive before vs. after their becoming a cluster, etc. Though not all such combinations are likely to have existed, of course, many to most could have. Perhaps a dozen of those clusters reduced to the velar nasal (ŋ) in some languages. Perhaps another dozen combinations reduced to a glottal stop (ʔ) in some languages, etc. Each cluster would likely reduce more ways than a single consonant would among the 30 UA languages. In other words, the whole matter of medial consonant clusters is very complex, which is why little progress has been made in unraveling them.

2.3.1 Final Features as Evidence of Earlier Consonant Clusters

Final features suggest the presence or absence of internal consonant clusters. Final features have been discussed by several (Sapir 1914, 451-2; Sapir 1930, 62-65; Irving Miller 1982; Wick Miller 1983; Manaster Ramer 1992b, 2004) and involve the presence or absence of underlying final consonants, whose presence causes consonant cluster behavior at morpheme boundaries. These final features are found in much of NUA, most notably and clearly in Num, but also in Tak and Tb. Sapir (1930) found that Num stems had one of three final features: gemination (\(\pm\)) causes a doubling of the next consonant (\(>\) -CC-); nasalization (-N) adds a nasal dimension to precede the next consonant (\(>\) -NC-); or spirantization appears to be a lack of a final underlying consonant, such that the next morpheme’s initial consonant appears as it typically does between vowels (*-k¬ > -x-/g-, *-t-> -r/-d-, *-p→ -v-). Miller, Elzinga, and McLaughlin (2005) provide some TSh examples with the post-position -pa’a ‘on’ after spirantization (*naka-pa’a > nağa-va’a ‘bighorn sheep-on’), gemination (*tua”-pa’a > tuappa’a ‘son-on’), and nasalization (*piyiN-pa’a > piyimba’a ‘duck-on’). The variety of absolutive suffixes (*-ta > -t(a), -i(a), etcetera) mostly in NUA, also leaves hints of the existence and type of final consonant (Sapir 1914, 451; Manaster Ramer 1992b; 2004). For example, in Tak and Tb, an absolutive suffix -i is thought to mean the lack of a final consonant, that is, the stem ended with a vowel (*V-ta > V-la > V-l), whereas an absolutive suffix of -t suggests that the noun stem had an underlying final consonant no longer obvious (*VC-ta > V-t).
2.3.2 Intervocalic *-t- vs. *-tt/*-Ct- Clusters, and Many NUA -c- < *-tt/*-Ct-

Intervocalic *-t- usually goes to -r- or -d- in Num and to -l- in Cupan and Tb (Sapir 1914, 451; Manaster-Ramer 1992b). So when we see intervocalic *-t- in those languages, it is usually due to an underlying geminated *-tt- or to a cluster approximating *-Ct- that behaves much like *-tt-. For Sapir (1914, 452) also noticed that Num geminated -tt- corresponds to Tak and Tb -t-. Later, Alexis Manaster Ramer (1992a) demonstrated PUA medial *-c- > -y- in NUA, and accordingly suggests the various NUA medial -c- are from other sources than PUA *-c-, unless *-cc- is geminated or clustered. Thus, the source of NUA -c- is often a palatalized *-tt- or *-Ct-, especially before high vowels. (See discussion at ‘bat’.) In fact, Sapir (1914, 445) noted that many UA c may be from syncopated *ti. I would add that many, if not more, are also from non-syncopated *ti / *-tti or *ti / *-ttï. In the data below, note the frequency of *-t/-*tt/-*Ct- > cl-c-, often adjacent to high vowels, but not always.

P1. *attip-na 'good': CU 'atti 'good'; SP 'attiN 'good'; Cp áči'a 'good'; Ca ač'a 'good, fine, well, very’. Related to these are Hp -cvi 'accord with’, Hp ačiva ‘behave as expected, do what one can with one’s personal resources and limitations”; Hp a'cipna/a'cipna 'do as expected’. Note that Hp a'cipna and Cp ači'a are quite identical in five segments (a'ci . . . a) except for a consonant cluster in Hp that aligns with a glottal stop in Cp, and both align with SNum (CU, SP) *atti, suggesting *-tti- > -ci-. The next four were also treated in Stubbs 2000a.

P2. *paCti'a 'bat' > *paci, *pali, etc. NP pidahana'a ‘bat’ actually shows -t-. See discussion at ‘bat’.

P3. *paCti 'daughter' (at ‘woman’) > paci in SP and CU, but Pattí in the rest of Numeric.

P4. *patta/*patti 'flat' > *paci. See at ‘flat’.

2.3.3 More Examples of Proto-Uto-Aztecan *t/*tt > c and before *c > s in Tepiman

We not only see *t or *-tt- > -c-, but sometimes that change was early enough to undergo the Tepiman sound change of *c > s, such that some PUA *t/*tt- > c > Tep s:

P5. *matta > *maca/*maci ‘tick’: NP madabi (< *matapi); Kw muu'maa-ci; CU mata-ci (< *matta-ci); Ch mata-vi (<matta-pi); Cp máci-ly; Ca máči-l; Ls 'amáča; Sr maca-c; Hp màaca; TO maamš; Wr macá; Tr macá; We mate. Takic, Hp, and TrC show -c-. (in both NUA and SUA), but Num and Wc show -t/-tt- (again in both NUA and SUA), yet TO has š (<c < *-tt-).

P6a. *takoLa/*takuLa 'round, (en)circle': Eu takóris 'circle'; Ayq tekolai 'round'; My tékolai 'redondo'; Sr ta’kï’q ‘be round, circular’. From the first vowel a (Eu, Sr), note some raised vowels (Ayq, My). If raised a little more, then:

P6b. *tikoLa > *cikoLa (> Tep *sikoLa/i) 'a(round): TO sikoD 'round, circumscribed’; TO sikol ‘circular, round’; NT šikóra; NT šikóráka; ST šikar. Ken Hill adds Cahita čikola ‘alrededor’ which is exactly the link theorized.

P7a. *tiKyaya ‘deer’ is most found in most Numic languages and Tep, yet compare

P7b. *ciki 'white-tailed deer' in Tep *siki < *ciki < *tiki: TO siiki 'white-tailed deer'; PYp siiki 'white-tailed deer'.

P8. *paNtuC > *paicu ‘badger’: ST vaisily ‘tejón’; Cr haihcî(-te) ‘tejón(es)’; and We häisi ‘tejón’ all match *paicV (*p > ST v; *p > CrCh). CN peeso’-ti ‘badger’ also parallels ST vaisily and We häisi, all pointing to s.th. near *paicu, though CN s should be c and CN has p while Cr and We have h, so CN may be from an early loan. Most forms suggest an originally round final vowel, but puzzles remain. Wr pincúri ‘tejón’ and Tr batúwi ‘tejón’ must be included and may key to the cluster. Wr pincúri shows *-nc-, a nasal-alveolar cluster, and the diphthong *ai > i instead of > e, like CN. ST s agrees nicely with the c of CrCh and Wr. In light of many PUA *t > c adjacent to high vowels and in light of Tr’s t and in light of Cr, Wr, Tr showing PUA *u after the t/c, something like *paNtu may explain all forms, especially since other examples of UA vowels before alveolars tending toward i (2.15.2) would explain *paicu (< *pantu). In addition, Wr’s nasal in the cluster may explain such a cluster > -c- in most languages, for this may have been a different kind of cluster than in ‘bat’ (below) which resulted in Cr -c- vs. Cr-hc- for ‘badger’. This is a fourth example of *t > c > Tep s.
P2. At *(so’o)-paCti’a ‘bat’ note the -pisa of PYp ho’opisa (Tepiman) and pida- of NP pidahana’a ‘bat’ among the dozen-plus reflexes. Because of NUA -c-, the reconstruction must include *-Ct/-*-t- and NP actually has -t- among many Num -c-, yet in a Tep language (PYp) we find -s-, the usual reflex of *c, but ultimately from *t or *-Ct.-

*(so’o)-paCti’a > *pita- (NP pidahana’a ‘bat’)
> *pali (Ca)
> *paci’a > *paca’a (Tb, K, Ch, SP, CU)
> *pací’i > háćí’i (Cr)
> *pací > *so’-peci (Tr, W, Eu) > *soci (Yq, My)
> *paci > *so’o-pica > Tepiman ho’o-pisa (PYp)

P9. *natipa (> *napica > *napca > Tep *napca) ‘fold’: ST naspa ‘doblar, torcerse’; Eu nátpa ‘doblar’; Nv naspa ‘plegar una cosa’. Here, we actually have Eu -t- aligning with Tep -s-, suggesting palatalization before c > s in Tep.

P10. *tutí > *cuci > Tep *susí-(ka) > Tep susaka ‘sandals’: TO šušk; LP šušak; NT süssaka; ST suusak. In light of Tep’s frequent anticipatory V assimilation (*-V-a > a-a, at the end of 2.15.3), an original *tuti would have high vowels following both consonants (*tuti > *cuci > Tep *susí), then suffixed -ka would encourage *susí-ka > susaka. As we often see Tep s < c < *t (i.e., Tep *susa < *susí < *tutí) and since Hp o < *u, then Hp tooci (< *tutí) ‘shoe, mocasín’ agrees with Tep entirely.

P11. *tapputí / *tipputi ‘flea’: TO čišč; PYp teepas; NT tapiš; ST tapiš; Eu tepú’u / tepú; Yq tépt, tepúčim (pl); My tēppt; Wr tepüči; Tr rípüči; Tbr tīpū-t; We tepüči; Cr tepíči, tepíči (pl.). We see a 3rd consonant -t- in Yq, My, and Tbr, and even if the -t- was originally part of a suffix, it understandably palatalized in Tr, W, and the Yq pl, and that palatalization (c) is as likely the source of the Tep s, that is, the 3rd consonant in several Tep forms. The first vowel may well be a; for NT and ST both show a, not ã, and if ã (a high V) were original, then results similar to *t > c > s as in ‘deer’ and ‘sandals’ for the Tep language would have resulted, but for the period before an original initial *t syllable, which only later became t, prevented it.

P12. *ati / *ata / *aCti ‘laugh’: Wr a’c twig ‘estar riendo’; Tr ači ‘reirse’; My aće ‘reirse’; AYq aće; Cr ra-‘a’ce ‘he is laughing at him”; TO aas; LP a-äši; PYp a-äsi; NT däš-äši; ST täs/äsia. Miller includes Ca ‘álá’ ‘mock, echo s.o., vt’ which is probably cognate. Because Ca ‘álá’ has l, which is the Cupan reflex for intervocalic *t, it again may suggest a medial *-t- or cluster *-Ct- originally, which again did the cycle *t > c > s in Tepiman *asi. Ca ‘álá’ is a transitive verb, perhaps preserving the final vowel -a, of the alternation -a ‘transitive, active’ vs. -i intransitive, active’.

P13. *týuna ‘keep’; Mn týuna ‘store, v’; NP notína ‘keep s.th.’; Ca téyan ‘preserve, carry on (custom, rite)’; and NT šišd’úndi ‘retacar, guardar, llenar mucho’. With *t- > *c > Tep *sp preceding high vowels, Mn and NT agree.

P14. *koCti / *koCta ‘bark, shell, money’ (at shell): CP qichi-ly ‘money, silver’; Ca qič-ily ‘money’ (pl: qišlyam); LS ıiš-la ‘seashell’; LS qčs-la-ka-s ‘skull’; Gb (a)-xóoxoc ‘(su) cáscara’; Sr -qóc ‘hide, bark’; Sr qočaviam ‘money’; Cr kučape ‘(Cr u < *o) ‘cáscara’; Cr kuhca’a ‘type of tree with useful bark’; Cr ra-ká-kuhca’an ‘he is skinning it’. Ken Hill adds Kt nako ‘turtle of shell (of turtle), peel, skin’. The following three languages may be a different set or simply shifted semantically to ‘shrimp (shell)’: *koCti ‘shrimp’: L.Son90 *koci ‘camaron’; Wr kohci ‘camaron, canqui’; Tbr koci-kal ‘tortoise’; and My koci kapá’ora = baa kóčim ‘camaron’. Add Nv koska ‘concha de nácar [mother of pearl shell, naacre]’; this Tep form fits the Cup/Tak sound correspondences. When both SUA and NUA have medial *-c-, it is probably from medial *-t- or a cluster, thus making NP kota ‘crayfish’ (Nichols) and other NUA forms from *-t-, not *-c-. So Nv -s < *-Ct-, again Tep s < c < *-t- or *-Ct-.

P15. *pi(C)ta/i ‘all’: TO wišši / wees; LP viši; NT viši; ST viš; PYp veesi; Cp petá’ama ‘all, every’. In light of Cp -t- vs. Tep -s-, this may be another case of *-Ct/-*-t- > *-c- in time for *c > Tep s, though *piC-V-ta > *pita is possible.

P16a. *kwitth/a / *kwhita ‘smoke’; Mn ku”-kuhi” ‘smoke’; Mn kuhida ‘smoke out, vt’; Mn kuhita’i ‘be smokey, vi’; NP kwitta; TSh kkkwi ‘smoke’, v’; TSh kkkwippi ‘smoke’, n’; Sh (kuk)kkwippi ‘smoke’: Kw kwí ‘be smokey’; SP kwíi; CU kwií-vi; Hp kwíici(jw); My bwičia ‘está humeando’; My bwiči ‘hizo humo’. Add Yq bwičia ‘smoke, n’; Eu biči ‘smoke, n’; Cr kíči ‘smoke, dust’; Wc kíči ‘smoke’. The Corachol forms are cognate since CrC kíči < *kuci < *kwici. Manaster-Ramer (1992b) astutely proposes that *kwici ‘smoke’ (<*kwiti-) may involve an original t, on the Hopi evidence: Hp kwit-an-ta ‘purify with (juniper) smoke, fumigate’; Hp kwiti- ‘smoke, n’ (combining form of Hp kwicinw ‘smoke, n’) in contrast to *kwici for most other UA languages. Supporting that is also the NP evidence: NP kwitta ‘smoke’ and NP kwidaba ‘smolder’ and the Mn forms. So Mn, NP, and Hp align with Manaster Ramer’s suggestion that we have medial *-t- / *-Ct- instead of *-c-, and in the following Tep forms we find -s-.
P16b. *kut-kwiti > *ku-kwici > Tep ku-bisi ‘smoke, dust’: TO kuub(s); UP kuubš; LP kuubš; Nv kupsa ‘humear’; PYp kuubisi ‘smoke, n’; PYp kuuba smoke, vt; NT kuubúš; ST kuubš. The first element is likely *kut ‘fire’. Some Num forms also align with *kut-kwiC.

P17. *pita/*piti > *pica/pici/picu ‘wasp, bee’: several NUA languages show medial -c- as well as SUA languages: Eu pica/pisat ‘avispa’; Wr pi că ‘vuitunhi (como abeja, rojo, pica, que secreta goma usada como incienso)’; Tr pičé ‘avispa sp’; My bíica; AYq viiča (*p > v in AYq); Pl eca-t; Gb pičokwar ‘mosca’; Sr piičča|ţ /piiččua’|ţ ‘fly, n’; Ktn picucu’a-č. However, NUA -c- is normally from *-t- or *-Ct- or *-Cc-; so the several Tep forms showing s (after redup) are likely the result of *-t/*-Ct- > -c- > -s- in Tep: TO wiņš; PYp vipisi ‘wasp, hummingbird’; LP(EF) wipis ‘avispa, bitache’; NT pipiiši ‘wasp, hummingbird’; ST vipiš ‘wasp’; ST vipiiš ‘hummingbird’.

Fourteen examples above (2, 5-17) show PUA *t/*tt > c > Tep s.

2.3.4 Consonant Clusters Reducing to One Consonant: *-CC- > -C-

Returning to consonant clusters generally, an example follows to illustrate that sometimes a language may show both elements of a cluster, while other languages show evidence of a former cluster but without both consonants, while other languages show the cluster so far removed from memory that it behaves as a single consonant:

P18. *nakaná 'grow'; *nakan-tu(pí) ‘become grown/old (man)’: Num forms show only *nakan: Mn nää ‘grow’; Sh naň ‘grow, grow up’; Kw naňa ‘grow’; SP naňa ‘grow’; CU nana-pi ‘grown, mature’ (< CU nana-y ‘grow’); Cr tí’inahaná ‘grow’. Tak has *nakan-tu(pí): Cp naxänču ‘ve-l ‘old man’; Ca náxaluvel ‘old man’; Ca náxaluvel ‘bec. old of man’; Ls naxääču ‘bec. an old man’; Ls naxääči-s ‘old person’. Note that Cp naxänču ‘ve-l ‘old man’ and Ca náxaluvel ‘old man’ are identical except for the medial consonant(s) -nč- and -l-; whenever c and l align, it is likely a cluster involving *-t-. Cp shows the cluster; Ls shows evidence of a cluster but lost the nasal, while Ca -l- behaves without any sign of the cluster. P2 *paCi’ta ‘bat’ above is another example: Ca -l- again lost all trace of the cluster while others show -c-, a strong sign of a clustered *-Ct-, especially in NUA. A third example of Ca -l- and Tep -l- while all of Num shows *-t- is at *pítiya ‘heavy’. Thus, determining underlying clusters in PUA yet requires care with frequently tentative results. A similar but more problematic example follows.

P19. *nos-tu ‘old woman’: Cp niču ‘grow old (of women)’; Cp nišluve-l ‘old woman’; Ca nišluve-l ‘old woman’; Ca nišluvuk ‘bec. old of women’; Ls nécču ‘bec. an old woman’; Ls nēš-la/nēš-ma-l ‘old woman’; Sr niňtavï ‘old woman’; Sh nēčču ‘bec. an old woman’. Ken Hill notes Sr’s first vowel is likely due to Ca influence. Ken Hill also adds Ktn nohtat, pl: nonohtam. In the above reflexes, I surmise that -c- < -st- preceding high vowels, while Sr and Ktn show *-st- > -ht-/_/a, where -t- is maintained preceding non-high vowels. The present cluster -sl- may suggest that a vowel previously intervened: *nositu- > nVšlu.

Consider other examples of apparent clusters reducing to a single consonant in some languages.

P20. *is-taka ‘lie, v’; CN istlaka-ti ‘lie, v’; CN istlaka ‘s.th. false’; HN ‘istlaka-wia lie to s.o.’; We ’ití ‘lie, v’. Note *-st- > -t- in We.

P21. *tukuN-pa ‘sky, up’: Sr tuuhuŋtų ‘sky’; Gb tuópaa; Cp ūkuva ‘sky’; Hp tokpela ‘sky’; Tb tugumbaa; Mn túguupa ‘above’ (< *tukupaa); Sh tugumpa; Ch tugúmpa; and most other Num languages reflect *tukum-pa. Note Ls túupa-š with loss of -ku- syllable, but *p remained a stop (vs. -v-) due to a -kp- cluster: *tukupa > *tuka > *tuupa. SUA *tīkpa-(wa) also syncopated the second vowel (like Cp, Ls, Hp) to yield SUA *tīkpa-(wa) > Tep *tivagi, even showing the same -wa syllable apparent in Hp tokpela (Hp l < *w), though Tep lost all sign of the previous cluster.

P22. *kapsi ‘thigh’: 7 of 8 branches show reflexes resembling *kasi (M67), then Manaster-Ramer (1993) noted the cluster in Tb hapši-l ‘thigh, upper leg’ and evidences of clusters in Hp qåası/qåhsı ‘thigh, hind quarter’ and other reflexes, while others retained no sign of a cluster.

P23. *tasikal-i ‘tortilla’: CN tlashkal-li ‘tortilla, baked bread’; CN tlashkaloaa ‘make tortillas’; Pl tashkal; Tbr tasekal-it / tasikali-l-t ‘tortilla’; Yq tákha-i. Tbr has the fullest form with all vowels, while Yq, whether a loan from Azt or not, shows the loss of the vowel and then the loss of s/s in the cluster.

In fact, note that in many reduced clusters, the first consonant is often more altered (or lost) than the second, though gemination or other hints of a previous cluster may be apparent in or adjacent to the remaining consonant, much like Latin in- ‘not’ of incomplete, illegal, and irresponsible.
2.3.5 Medial -p- (vs. -v-) from a Previous or Underlying Consonant Cluster

Many UA languages yield intervocalic -v- < *-p-, as the first set P24 suggests. So when those same languages show -p-, it likely results from gemination or a cluster, perhaps even in Tep, as P25 suggests.

P24. *nɔpi ‘hand, arm’; TO nowi ‘hand, arm’, pl: noonhôi; PYp nowi, pl nonovi; Nv novi, pl: nonovi; NT novi; ST novi. TO pl shows h but no v.

P25. *síppi ‘cold’ vs. *síppi ‘cool, wind’; *-pp- in TO heepi ‘cold’ vs. TO hewel ‘air, wind’; TO hew-kk ‘to become chilled (person)’; hew-kon ‘to blow on, vt’; TO hewoD ‘to blow (wind)’; TO hewajd ‘cool, chill, relieve (pain), vt’; and PYp heep ‘cool’ vs. PYp heve ‘cool’; PYp heve-lim ‘to blow’; and NT típídi ‘cold, adj’; NT típiari ‘be cold, vi’ vs. NT ívīlī/ívīlī ‘wind’; and ST hūpīdi ‘cold’ vs. ST hūvīly ‘wind’. Could the difference (‘cold’ vs. ‘cool’?) be a matter of intensity (gemination) vs. a lack of it?


P27. *wiL-pa’a ‘tall, long, great-height/length’; Hp wīpa ‘tall, long’; Cp wevāsā ‘long’; Cp wevāsī ‘tall’. Miller (M67-229) astutely sees Hp wīpa ‘tall, long’ as a compound of *wiL-pa’a ‘big-height/length’. Intervocalic -p- in Hp instead of -v- supports Miller’s observation, though the -v- in Cp likely means it was sooner perceived as clusterless or non-geminated in Tak.

P28. *naNkapí ‘leaf’: Kw naga-vi; Ch nánká-va; SP maavį-naqą-vi ‘leaf’ (vs. SP naqąva ‘ear’); CU nǐká-’a-vi (vs. CU nǐká-’i ‘ear’); Tb nañhabî-; Hp nàapi/nahpi. Whether Hp is a loan from Num or not, it lost intervocalic -ŋk- and Hp nàapi/nahpi shows -p- instead of -v-, probably due to a previous cluster.

P29. *mukpiC ‘nose’: While Num *muvi lost all signs of a medial cluster, Sr and Ktn *mukpi agree with Hp mōp(e)q(‘in front’) in showing evidence of the cluster.

P30. *sìCpowa / *sìk-powa ‘nimb’; CN sepowa ‘be numb (of body part, from cold or lack of circulation)’; Eu zopóre ‘encogserse’. The first element of the CN term is suggested to be CN sek-tli ‘snow, ice’. Eu normally has intervocalic -v- for *-p-, so Eu -p- (vs. -v-) suggests a cluster in Eu as well.

Other examples are at *pìso-ta ‘vomit, v’ > SNum pitta, *pusa-ta ‘wake’ > WC hū-‘tīa, and elsewhere. The gemination for intensification in ‘cold’ and ‘rope’ above is seen elsewhere as well, e.g., in ST hīvīlī ‘wind’. Could the difference (‘cold’ vs. ‘cool’?) be a matter of intensity (gemination) vs. a lack of it?

P31. NP kodabi (< *kotapi) ‘break, v’ and NP kotabi (< *kottapi) ‘break clean off, v’—both in the same language.

2.4 Proto-Uto-Aztecan *p in the Corachol and Aztec Branches

Usually Proto-Uto-Aztecan *p > ŋ in Aztec and *p > h/ŋ in Corachol in initial position. So from whence are the many initial p’s in Azt andCrC? Loans are a presumable source. However, medially there are also both many -p- and lacks of -p-. In fact, medial *-p- evaporates often enough that one could wonder if it must be geminated or in a cluster to have remained, as in P30 *sìk-powa ‘nimb’ above. First are some well known examples of loss of initial *p (P32, P33), but then follow several examples of loss of *-p- intervocalically (P34-P41):

P32. *pā ‘water’: CN aa-tli ‘water’; WC haa; Cr hah.

P33. *pui ‘eye’: CN iiš-tli ‘face’.

P34. *sayool ‘fly, n’ in several other SUA languages, but CN saayool- ‘fly’.

P35. *supa ‘adobe’: Tr supa-na-ri and WC šinariyya ‘adobe’. Tr supa-ca-ri and NT úupasai ‘el adobe’ have -ca- as 2nd morpheme, and both show *supa except for the first morpheme. However, *supa > sa > sî in WC.

P36. *pipa ‘tobacco’: While most branches show reflexes of *pipa ‘tobacco’, Sapir astutely associates WC yāya ‘tobacco’ and Cr ya-ya ‘tabak rauchen’ with *pipa, in that h (< *p) is feeble in the CrC languages, such that *pipa > *hiha > *la > *ya for both Cr and WC is reasonable. Thus, medial *-p- was lost as well as the initial *p.

P37a. *tapusa > tüposa > tiposi ‘gopher’: TO jewho/čiwho; LP tivi; PYp tīvua; NT tivōdi; ST tīvua; Eu tīvōsi; Op tēwi; Yq tēbo; My tēbo; Wr te’pōsi; Tr repōpi. Yet notice the lack of *-p- in the CrC and Azt branches:

P37b. *tapusa > tusa (tusa) > tosa ‘gopher’: CN tosan ‘gopher’; Cr tauhsa ‘tuza’. Note Cr tauhsa shows the expected result of loss of -p- from *tapusa.

P38. *napu ‘spotted’: Cm naboo-, naboor ‘marked, striped, spotted’; SP navoo’vi (< *napuu’pi Miller lists) ‘spotted’; WC -naïye of WC cū- naïye ‘pinto’ belongs, since *p > h or zero and CrC i < *u: thus, napu > naï, or loss of *-p-.
P39. *hupi 'woman, wife': several UA languages show *hupi; with loss of h- are Wr upi 'wife'; Tr upi 'wife'. In Cr iti'a 'woman' and Wc iyia 'woman, wife' is the usual PUA *u > CrC i and loss of intervocalic *-p: *hupi > (h)ii-

P40. *wiwi-pukV 'tremble': TO gigiwuk; Nv gigibuku; PYp gigvia 'tremble, shake, shiver, vi'; NT gigivuk; ST gi'ivuk; Sapir ties Tep and CN wiwio-ka 'shake from cold'. CN wiwiyoka / wiwiyokowa 'tremble, shake, shiver' corresponds to *wiwi-pukV, since Tep *gigivukii roughly corresponds to UA *wiwipuku, and with CN losing *-p- intervocally, then Tep *gigivuku and CN *wiwi-ok(ow)a correspond well, CN -y- likely being excrescent following i.

P41. *taput(i) 'cottontail rabbit': As in *tapusa 'gopher' above, sixteen languages match the four segments *tapu 'cottontail rabbit', while CN too-č-li shows both loss of intervocalic *-p- and a change of first vowel to second: *taput(i) > *tapoci > *taoci > CN tooč-. CrC kept the first vowel, but also lost intervocalic *-p- in a process something like *tapoci > *tapci > CrC *taci 'rabbit' for Wc tāci; Cr tāci'u. Notice at both *tapusa 'gopher' and *taputi 'rabbit' that CrC kept the first vowel (a), while CN assimilated the first vowel toward the second (a-u > o-o) though both lost intervocalic *-p-.

The above eight examples (P34-P41) of loss of intervocalic *-p- in CrC/Azt are but a small sample to begin studying such. Sometimes when CN does have medial *-p-, other UA languages suggest an underlying gemination *-pp-

P42. *tippV 'short': PYp tepelika 'flat, short, level'; Nv tïpïrhika 'corta'; Ca tépi 'be short (clothes)' (*-p- > -v- in Ca, so *-pp- > -p-); CN tepitoon 's.th. small'; CN tepicin 's.th. small'. PYp in SUA and Ca in NUA both normally have intervocalic -v- < *-p-, so intervocalic -p- is from *-pp- for both of them, and perhaps for CN's having -p- at all.

2.5 Aztecan Initial *p Forms May Be Loans from Other UA Languages

Some evidence suggests the Aztecan initial *p forms may have come from other UA languages. P30. CN aa-tiya 'melt, be smelted' has the expected CN form for 'water': aa- < *paa; but note CN paati 'dissolve, melt, vi' and CN paatla 'dissolve, melt s.th., vt' both with initial *p, and Hp paata 'melt, vt'; Hp paati 'melt, vi'. Hp has loans from CN, but CN's initial p would suggest borrowing the other direction or from other more northern UA languages into Aztecan.

P31. *paNuTu > *paicu 'badger': WR pincúri; Tr batúwi; ST vaisïly; and Wc háicï, all match *paicV (*p > ST v; *p > CrC h). CN peeso'-tli 'badger' parallels ST vaisïly and CrC hai(C)cí, and CN may be a loan from Tep before *p > Tep v, or from another discontinued UA form, since CN s should be c and CN has p while Cr and Wc do not.

P34. *kwilUc 'swallow': Hp kwelo 'taste, vt'; Tb weleeh 'swallow'; Eu bëru'u 'swallow'. Hp and Eu match perfectly through four segments, Tb assimilating one vowel. However, CN(RJC) palo/paloa 'taste, eat' does not have the expected sound correspondences as the other three have, but does resemble the Eu form somewhat or may be a loan from a similar TrC form not presently available, and that would explain CN initial p, which is not supposed to be.

P45. *piwa 'start, begin, first': TO weep eg 'first, adv'; TO weepегat 'become the first one, v'; LP vëpëg; NT ñpëga; ST viipi'; HN peewa 'to begin'. Add PYp weepi 'first'; CN peewa 'begin'; Pl peewa 'begin, commence'. This stem appears only in Tep and Azt (with initial p), which means Azt may have borrowed it from Tep.

P46. *pici 'flat, prone': Tr peči 'be flat, be stretched out for sleeping'; CN(RJC) pečiték 'flat, flat-based, wide'; CN(RJC) pečíuhki 'flat'; CN(RJC) pečia 'underlie s.th.'

P47. *patata 'at': at 'flat' are some CN forms with initial p and others without p: CN patla-čoaa 'flatten, press, crush, vt, bec. flat, collapse, vi' vs. CN alaktik / alastik / alaawak 's.th. slippery, crumbly'; CN alaawa 'slip, slide s.th., vt'. Note CN forms both with and without *p.

For CN paaka and NUA *pa-ka, see 'wash'; and other forms are retrievable. The Aztecs say they came from the north or northwest, but exactly where or how far north is unknown, but may be discernible from language.

19
2.6 Reduplication Created Clusters That Later Separated

In the sets below, some sets show the base form (non-reduplicated), while many show the reduplicated form. Interestingly, in both sets, NUA has the base form, while SUA has the reduplications. Another consistency in both sets is that the second consonant is a liquid (*-L-), and it appears that the reduplication first created a cluster, which caused the liquid to change to glottal stop, which was later separated from the other consonant by an echo vowel: *-VLC- > -V'-C- > -V''V'C-.

P48. *wiL, reduplicated *wiLwíLu > *wiíwiLů 'big' or Tep gií'igíruu: among the several UA forms, the reduplicated form is usually the plural form of *wiL.

P49. *koL, reduplicated *koLkoLů > *ko*koLů 'hurt, be sick, chili pepper': See at pain, the many SUA forms showing *ko'okoLů, while Cupan shows the non-reduplicated form with its vowel change *koL > *qoLi > qíLí: Cp qíLíyíqa 'hot, spicy, strong'; Cp qíLíyítu'ni 'hurt, sting, vt'; Ca qelyá 'feel sore, v'; Ca qelyak 'peppery, pungent, creating a burning sensation'. In SUA: TO s*ko'ok 'be painful'; TO ko'okol 'chile pepper'; TO ko'oDó 'hurt, give pain to, vt'; NT kóóko 'be sick'; NT kóókoli 'chile'; ST ko'ok' 'be sick'; NT ka'ook 'be sick'; ST ko'okoly 'chile'; Eu kókoe- 'doler'; Wr ko'koré- 'dolerse'; Wr ko'kóri 'chile'; My kó'okori 'chile'; My kó'okore 'enfermo'.

2.7 Nasals

Uto-Aztecanists have long held to the correspondences of NUA η: SUA n and NUA n: SUA L (L = either liquid, l or r). David Shaul (1985) and Jane Hill (2007b) summarize the history of the matter well, stating that Miller (in Miller and Silver 1997, 285) viewed the matter as PUA *ŋ > SUA n and PUA *n > SUA *L (l/r). Others, such as VVH (1962), Campbell and Langacker (1978), Manaster Ramer (1993), and Dakin (2001) argued for the opposite direction of change: *L > NUA n, and *n > NUA η. Sapir (1915, 475), on the other hand, considered *ŋ > SUA n more probable, but also considered PUA *L and *n to have merged in SUA, or *L > SUA n (Sapir 1915, 477), and that *n remained n in both NUA and SUA, though disappearing in SP when not geminated (Sapir 1915, 473-4). Sapir’s view comes nearest the author’s. I surmise that PUA had at least three such consonants—*L, *ŋ, and *n—and that η is often the reduced result of a consonant cluster, at least one of which was a nasal. Because many η are from cluster reductions (though not all), it seems less reasonable that *n became η and then η blossomed into an array of consonant clusters, but rather that *-NC/-CN- > *ŋ > SUA n. For example, *kumCa ‘husband’ (below) > *kùñ (NUA) > *kuna (SUA) seems more likely than *kuna > *kùñ > *kumwa. The parallel corollary of such a change would be PUA *ŋ > SUA L, and is sometimes the case, yet again I agree with Sapir, that in other cases PUA *L > SUA n. The *n-*L complex remains unsolved in part, though something like a merger of *n and *L merging to n in NUA, which Sapir (1915, 477) also suggested, and *L and some *n merging to SUA L may hold some potential, though groups of exceptions litter the aspirated neatness and await insightful explanation.

A number of sets reflect the patterns NUA n : SUA L and NUA η : SUA n, yet other sets provide complications to those oversimplifications. For some sets show NUA n corresponding to SUA n and others NUA L to SUA L, though it is often suggested that these derive from *-t- or such. Thus, more is likely involved than only the correspondences: η:n and n:L. But even the complications offer some consistencies. The n:n and L:L sets appear further below, but first consider some sets that shed light on the matter by revealing consonant clusters as the likely source of some η, which means those particular η are not from PUA *n. For example, several sets suggest that consonant clusters, like *-m- (glottal stop plus m) and others, underlie medial -η-.

2.7.1 Medial *-m- and Other Consonant Clusters with Nasals Underlie Some Medial -η-

P50. *sí'moci 'hummingbird': Wr se'móci 'chuparrosa, colibri'; Tr semučí / simučí 'chuparrosa, colibri'; NP soñoi 'hummingbird'. NP aligns with *sí'muci in that NP's 2nd and 3rd vowels agree with Tr and Wr, and if the 1st assimilated to the 2nd (*i-o-i > NP o-o-i), and PUA *c-c- > -y- (or i or r’; see 2.11), then *sí'moci > *so'moyi/*mo'moi > *soñoi has NP being a decent match with Tr/Wr, and glottal stop plus m (-m-) aligning with -η-. Three sets show the -m- cluster in SUA, and -η- in NUA (P50, P51, P52).

P51. *cu'mv > *cuñV 'suck, sip, kiss': Kw čóhmi 'suck, v'; Cp čúñe 'kiss, vt'; Cp čúnmum 'suck obj, as venom'; Cp čúme 'suck, vt'; Ca čúñ suck, vt'; LS čúñi 'suck (breathe)'; LS čúñi 'suck'; Sr čuñ 'suck, vt'; Wr cu'mi 'suck or slurp food'; Tr cu'mi 'kiss, sip'; My čúne; Ay čúne; Hp coocena 'kiss, suck'. Note -čína in CN (paal)číčína 'soak up, suck in, smoke, vt' and CN ilčína 'suck up, consume'; HN číčína / číčíni. Add Nv tup'suma 'suck, vt' and NT víšúsumúma 'suck'. These forms suggest *cu'máma. Six languages show medial -m- or -Cm- aligning with the frequent NUA η and SUA n. As to why different languages show -m- in this set, including some SUA languages,
remains to be determined, though possible explanations include (1) a later loss of an intervening vowel in some languages or (2) different phonological rules coming into play at different times in the various languages.

P52. *o’mana ‘sad, suffering’; CN a’mana ‘be upset, disturbed’; Tr o’moná / o’móna ‘be afflicted, saddened’; Tr o’móna-rí ‘sadness, affliction’; in Sr the -uŋani- portion of Sr haauŋanik ‘sad, miserable’; Sr hauŋaŋ ‘be poor, pathetic, miserable’; Sr hauŋaŋiŋ ‘poor one, orphan’ (u often pronounced o); and Ktn haoŋa ‘poor’. Words as long as the Sr forms are certainly compounds, so -uŋani- is as likely an element of those compounds as any. Here the cluster -’m-appears in SUA (CN and Tr) and as η in Sr and Ktn, as with cu’mi in Tr/Wr and η in NUA; in addition, the Tr and CN forms agree perfectly in the consonants -’m-η-, but disagree in the vowels: a-a-a vs. o-o-o. However, the vowels of Sr and Ktn are between the two, agreeing fairly well with both, perhaps:

PUA *o’mana > CN a’mana
> Tr o’mona
> Sr -uŋani- / Ktn -oŋa

P53. *yu’mi > yuŋi ‘warm’: NP yuwi; NP yui; Sh yuai ‘warm’; Cm yu’a ‘warm (of weather)’; SP yuuttui ‘be warm’; SP yu’mi ‘warm (of water)’, yu’ata (of weather); Hp yonji ‘be warm’. Even if SP yu’mi and Hp yonji have an extra morpheme than the others, Hp (-η-) and SP (-’m-) still suggest a medial cluster. The fact that 9 sets (P50-P58) show m in some languages and η in others suggests instances of medial -m-, when clustered (-Cm-/mC-), reducing to -ŋ-. Some -’m- clusters could be from something like *-km- or other things that reduce to -ŋ-, like P54.

P54. *sík-mukki ‘nomb’ < ‘ice/cold-dead’: Hp súmokíta ‘be numb, vi’; NP ta/ma-sísiŋi ‘foot/hand goes to sleep’; Cm sisiŋiŋi ‘numb, feel numb, aslee’; WMU siiú ‘be numb’. The first morpheme could well be a cognate of CN sek-tli ‘ice/cold’. Though Hp lost the velar stop, it preserved the vowel pattern best. In NP, Cm, and WMU are cluster reductions, showing residual features of both consonants, in which the velar + nasal cluster -km- went the following directions: *-km- > η (NP); -’n- (Cm); and _u (WM; underlined V = nasal V), for all show signs of a velar (velar nasal or glottal stop) and a nasal; a nasalized vowel shows the nasalization in WMU. Or perhaps *síkmukki > *síN(u)ki > síC Ci or síJi as in NP, for after vowel loss, the whole second syllable is gone. (See vowel behavior below.)

After four examples of -’m- aligning with -ŋ-, consider three well known examples of NUA η aligning with SUA n, but with several seldom-highlighted m’s among the NUA reflexes as well.

HUSBAND: MARIDO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>kúwa</th>
<th>Hp</th>
<th>koonyá</th>
<th>Eu</th>
<th>kúnwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>guma</td>
<td>Tb</td>
<td>kuŋa</td>
<td>Tbr</td>
<td>son-e-ká-m ‘wife-haver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsh</td>
<td>kuhma(cçi)</td>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>wôčahav</td>
<td>AYq</td>
<td>kuña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>kuhma/kuala</td>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>wé’isew-ily</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>kuña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>kumahpi’</td>
<td>Ls</td>
<td>kúŋ, tó’ma-vu</td>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>kuná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>kuhma</td>
<td>Cp</td>
<td>kúŋ</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>kuná(ra)/guná(ra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>kumá</td>
<td>TO</td>
<td>kun</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>kíin (2nd V stressed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>kumma</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td>kun</td>
<td>Wc</td>
<td>kína</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>piwá</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>kúna</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>siwawa, okí-tli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>piwá</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>kun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P55. *kuNa / *kumCa / *kuCma ‘husband’: this set is one of few whose reflexes appear in 25 or more UA languages. Note Hp, Tb, and Tak η aligns with SUA n, while 9 Num languages show -m(m)- / -Cm-. WMU and CUA have piwá ‘husband’, but kumma ‘male’ also, in a slight semantic shift on SNum’s east end:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SP</th>
<th>kumma ‘male, husband’</th>
<th>SP piñwá ‘wife, spouse’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>kumá-vi ‘male animal, stud, macho’</td>
<td>CU piwá ‘spouse, husband, wife’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that nearly all UA languages show a form agreeing with *kuNa, but only vary in the type of nasal, three different nasals, no less—bilabial in Num; velar in Hp, Tb, Tak; alveolar in SUA—suggests that we are dealing with a single proto-form whose medial consonant is likely a reduced cluster, probably involving m and something else. Reflexes of ‘lungs’ provide a similar enigma.
LUNG(S); PULMÓN(ES)

Mn sóno  Hp halayna; mímä  Eu abokadaga-di
NP sogo/sono  Tb mošooha-t  Tbr wopana-s; sorà komwa-lí-t
Tsh somo/sonyo/soño  Sr --  Yq sáře’ečia
Sh senkongo/sonnno  Ktn šonja-č  AYq hemaha’ačim
CM soomo  Ca šavaya  My sáře’ečiam
Kw soo-ví  Ls šavá-šva-š  Wr so’locá
Ch soo-vi  Cp ćiqlye  Tr sonorá
SP soo-ví  TO  hahaw  Cr šáři-mee; ta’atime
CU sō∂-ví  PYp  hakadaga; pl: havdaga  Wc šaaka
ST havkal  CN(RJC) mimiyawayo-tl

P56. *somCo / *suNCa ‘lungs’: Mn; NP; TSH; Sh; CM; Kw; Ch; SP; CU; Tbr; Sr; Ktn; Gb sár; Tbr; Cr; and HN soonewa ‘to swell up (of vipers)’; Tr sonorá; and Wr so’locá. Tr has the expected SUA n for NUA ŋ, but Wr has a liquid clustered with a glottal stop. NUA -m (Tsh, Cm) and -ŋ as well as SUA -n and -‘L’ suggest an underlying cluster with a nasal, and recommend *ŋ > n and *n > L, as Tbr and Wr did both, but Tr only underwent the first step. Reflexes of ‘salt’ have a similar array of medial nasals.

SALT; SAL

Mn omábi; omaa ‘to salt’  Hp ōŋa;  Eu onát/ónta
NP oŋabí  Tb ʊnjaal  Tbr oná-t
Tsh oŋwapi(cei)/omapi-  Sr čoko’t  Yq ’óna; AYq čo’oko ‘salty’
Sh oŋa/-onka/-ona-pin  Ca ’iŋ-il  My onna
CM ona/-onaβi/ona’aití  Ls ’ēŋ-la  Wr woná
Ch aso-na; asómpi  TO on  Cr unáh
SP oα  PYp ona; ta’akíl ‘salty’  Wc ’únna; ’ucívi ‘salty’
WMU ’oα-ví  NT onái  kwie.túušáari ‘earth with salt’
CU ’oα-ví  ST on  CN ista-tl; CN poyek ‘salted’

P57. *omCa/*onCa > *ona (then > SUA *ona) ‘salt’: Reflexes exist in all branches except Azt, and the medial consonants (n, ŋ, m, o) again show a pattern similar to ‘lung’ and ‘husband’ with Mn and TSH showing m.

P58. *sím ‘laugh’: Cp še;e; Ca sém; Od hìhìmpa, h(ì)mpìa; Nv ’i’ìmi ‘smile’; Ca sém-yaw ‘smile’; Ca sëni ‘smile’ may involve the same stem as Ca sém-yaw, but with a differing suffix, then ŋ becoming a cluster reduction.

Above are nine sets having medial clusters of m plus something else corresponding to some NUA ŋ and SUA n. Below are other cluster combinations corresponding to NUA ŋ and SUA n.

P59. *taŋa ‘bag, sack, contain(er)’: Sr taŋat ‘sack’; Gb taŋar ‘sack’; Hp taŋa ‘contained things’; Hp patŋa ‘squash’ (with pa- prefixed). Stubbs (2003:4) adds Tbr tanaté ‘zurrón, mochila de cuero en que se acarrea a la espalda el ineral; the -ta’ni of Mn kusatá’ni ‘sack’ (kusa ‘sack’); CN taana’-tli ‘basket with a handle’; and Yq ’i-ta’na-ta ‘this shore/side’ (a shore as that which contains/encloses water). *taŋa compounded with *pa- ‘water’ produces *pa-taŋa ‘squash, pumpkin, gourd, i.e., liquid-container’ (Stubbs 2003:4 and KH/M03-pa66 ‘squash’); Ch paráŋar(a) ‘pumpkin’; SP paráŋwaraN ‘pumpkin’; and Hp patŋa ‘squash, pumpkin’. Note that the only NUA language not showing ŋ (Mn) does show a cluster of glottal stop plus n (-‘n’), which suggests a cluster of some kind.

P60. *coLowa / *coLwa ‘be hungry’: Wr coloá-ni ‘be hungry’; (Wr co’-còla-ni ‘be hungry, pl’); Hp côŋo-w(i) ‘hunger’; Hp côŋ-o-moki ‘die of starvation’. Wr coloá- and Hp côŋ- match fairly well, since Hp ŋ < *o, and if -owa- > -oa- in Wr, then syncope causing a cluster of *-lw- > -ŋ- in Hp is natural, for w is a labio-velar and SUA *L often becomes NUA nasals, so the nasal and velar dimensions ‘becoming the velar nasal is reasonable, as does -nk- > -ŋ- in NUA sometimes. Note Tr čiriwísa ‘tener hambre’, which has the same three consonants (c, L, w). In light of alveolar and palatal consonants often causing V > i in Tr, as also in Tr bikiyá ‘three’ < *pakay, Tr does show the 3 consonants hypothesized. 

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P61. *ca’Lo ‘chin, jaw’: Tr ča’ró ‘chin’; Wr caló ‘chin, jaw’; CN teen-čal-li ‘chin’; CN kama-čal-li ‘jaw’; Yq čao ‘barba’; My čāro himsim ‘bigote’; My čāro vá’asa’ari ‘quijada’; Hp cāŋw-ti ‘open the mouth’. (For a semantic tie between mouth and mouth-verbs, see HN at P68a below.) The medial *-Lo- of SUA likely corresponds to Hp -ŋ- much like we saw in *coLowa ‘hungry’ above. These sets (*coLowa, *ca’Lo, and *yiLCa below) with Hp ŋ aligning with SUA L plus round vowel suggest two things: (1) they suggest *L > NUA nasal, since *ŋ > L is hardly likely in the other direction; (2) and they show Hp ŋ aligning with likely clusters of a nasalizing element (*L > N in NUA) plus w or round vowel. Below is yet a third example of Hp ŋ aligning with a possible cluster involving a liquid plus w.

P62. *wiL ‘grow’: Ca wél ‘to grow, rise up high’; Cp wélé ‘to grow’; Ls wolâ/i ’grow (of plants or anim subj)’; and Hp wîŋwa ‘grow, grow up’, if it contains another morpheme not yet identified. The set *caLwa below has its problems, but may be a fourth example of such *-Lw- > -ŋ-.

P63. *caLwa / *caCNa ‘rib, side’: Tb ca’ãpî-l; Ca čáwa-’al, Ca -câw’a ‘ribs (poss’ed); Ls čâáŋax ‘this side’; Gb -câx/čâš ‘back’; Sr -ča’ ‘ribs’ (poss’ed); Hp cîŋ ‘rib’; Cr i-ca’apwa-ri ‘ribs’. I agree with Miller (M88-ca2) and Hill (KH/M06-ca2), who have these all related, despite our lacks of explanations for the difficulties. The variety of medial consonants (w, m, n, k) recommends a previous cluster or additional morphemes. CN šillan-tli ‘side’ may tie in too, since syncope collapsing a liquid and nasal to a -LN- cluster is fairly typical of what produces the variety of medial consonants we see in some of the other reflexes. CN has -l- and Cr’s glottal stop < *-L-; in addition, -w- and -ŋ- each appear at least twice also.

P64. *kuyuCNV / *kuyuCNV ‘turkey’: Hp kuyoŋo; Km kuyu’ñi; Cu kwayú-ti. Hp and Cm agree perfectly through the first four segments; thereafter Hp has a velar nasal and Cm clusters a glottal stop plus nasal. A velar-plus-nasal cluster would explain both, but whether the nasal is before or after an obstruent is unclear. CU shortened the u, then anticipated y/i (*kuyu > kıyuy) due to stress on the second ú, but agrees well with both Cm and Hp, in that CU shows -tí vs. -r, which also suggests an underlying third consonant or cluster, as is also apparent in Hp and Cm.

P65. *yiLa / *yiCLA / *yILya ‘mooth’: Hp yîyînya ‘mooth’; Wr sunú yelá ‘mooth’; Yq yuérîa ‘mooth’. Setting aside Wr sunú ‘corn’, Wr yelá ‘mooth’ and Yq yuérîa ‘mooth’ show four segments in common—yeLa—though a reconstruction to include the other Yq segments, such as *y(u)IL(i)a ‘mooth’, looks horrible. Hp yîyînya ‘mooth’ for the fifth time has Hp ŋ corresponding to a UA liquid, and the vowels are identical: *i-á. So the terms are likely related and an underlying cluster seems probable in light of *colowa ‘hungry’, *ca’Lo ‘chin, mouth’, and others above also showing Hp ŋ aligning with SUA liquids clustered with other consonants. Yq -ia and the palatalization of Hp -nya are noteworthy, and may be meaningful.


P67. *nîmi ‘move around, live’: from among many more, here are cited only a few forms: NP nîmni ‘walk’; Sh nîmi ‘live’; Cm nîmi ‘move about, walk, go’; Cp nênewe ‘walk’; Ca nêmi ‘walk around’; Ca nêmi ‘chase, follow tradition’; Gb noŋí ‘andar’; Sr nîm/nînî- ‘walk, walk around, walk along’; Sr nînhîm ‘be walking (around)’; Sr nîmiin ‘chase’; Ca nêmi ‘chase’; Cp nêmi ‘chase’; Ls nônní / nônonum ‘follow’; CN nêmi ‘live’; CN nêmi ‘wander about’. Note -ŋ- in Gb noŋí, whose velar nasal is likely the result of a cluster created by a reduplication similar to Cp nêmi or Cp nênewe, then syncope (*nînîni > *nînîmi / *nînwi > nînî > Gb noŋí), as reduplications of *nîmi are frequent, since walking around is real repetitive.

P68a. *kaCma ‘cheek(s), mouth’: Tsh kamma ‘taste’; Sr qâŋ, pl: qâŋam ‘beard, facial hair’ (cognate? Miller queries—probably); TO kaam ‘cheek’; PYp kaama ‘cheek’; PYp kamar ‘face’; LP kama / kaam; NT kâma ‘cheek’; ST kaam ‘cheek’; CN kam(a)-tl ‘mouth’; HN kama-tli ‘mouth’; HN kama-wia ‘speak to’; PL kamačal ‘jaw’; PL kamak ‘cheek’. Likewise, NP gamu ‘chin’ and Yq kánta ‘swallow, put in mouth’ may tie these to *kaCma ‘taste’ as suggested by VVH.

P68b. *kaŋa /kana ‘beard, facial hair’: if Sr qâŋ ‘beard’ is includable, then Mn qâna ‘beard’ and Tb kânaa-li ‘facial hair’ are also. Sapir ties Tb gaŋa ‘beard’ (kânaa-li ‘facial hair’ in Voegelin and Munro) and Ktn qâna and CN kan-tli ‘cheek’. Add CU kânâ-qq-pî ‘chin’. Note *kama ‘taste’ in Mn, TSh, Sh, Kw, Ch and Sr qâmâ-k ‘drunk’. As for the medial -C-, geminated -mm- or -n(n)- in Num, -ŋ- in Tak and Tb, and -m- in SUA suggest a cluster involving at least one nasal.
p78. *nañaJ-ya’i/ *nañaCa-ya’i ‘angry’: Kw naha-ye’e ‘be angry’; Kw naha(m)-bištį ‘one who is short-tempered’; Kw na-naha-ya-ya-‘i ‘one who is mean’; Ch nàŋ-ya’i ‘angry’; SP nàŋaN-ya’i ‘be/get angry < anger-die’; WMU nåţi’ye-ya’i / nåći’ié ‘be angry’; CU na-ay-’ay ‘be angry’. Kw nana-ha-á ‘quarrel, argue- (ha’a ‘bark’) allows the possibility that syncope of *nàŋa-ha’a is the source of the cluster. Two languages (Kw and SP) also show nasalization in a 3rd C as well. Medial *-ŋ- or *-n entirely disappears in SNum in terms for ‘lung’ and ‘salt’; so this velar nasal (*ŋ?) in Ch and SP must result from a different or later cluster, though it did disappear in WMU and CU (the languages furthest east). And -ŋ-, -ŋ-, and -h- constitute enough variety to suggest a medial cluster.

p70. *yawi / *ya’wi / *ya’wii ‘carry’: Mn y’a ‘put on, wear’; NP yahita; Sh yaa’ ‘get, carry, pick up’; Cm yaa ‘take’; Kw yaa ‘carry sg. obj’; Kw yaa-ki ‘bring’; Kw yawi ‘hold’; SP yaa ‘carry one obj’; SP yaŋwi ‘carry’; Cu yák’ay ‘carry, take by hand’; Cp yawic’i ‘carry’; Cp yáwe ‘bring, carry’; Ca yáw ‘to catch, touch, have, hold, take care of’; Ls yáaw ‘have, hold, take’; Sr yaa ‘take, carry’; Sr yaaj’i ‘take, seize, catch’; Gb yáw ‘tener’; Gb yá’a ‘carry it!’; Hp yaaaw- ‘carry in/by hand’. The semantic identity of Tb yiïw ‘hold, keep it’ makes it probable, in spite of a vowel change. Add Od dagi ‘action with hands’; Od dagi-mun ‘massage, knead, v’; Od dagio ‘id ‘take care of, support’ and note the similar semantic ranges of Od dagi and Ca yáw ‘catch, touch, have, hold, take care of’, not to mention the segmental identity to *yawi. However, CU and SP show medial consonant clusters -ŋw-, -ŋ-; thus, a likely medial cluster, most apparent in CU and SP, reduced to -w- or -*- or -ŋw- or final gemination in NUA and to -w- (> g) in Tep. Pairs such as Kw yaa- vs. Kw yawi; and SP yaa vs. SP yaŋwi make one wonder whether there were two morphemes or the first shortened from the latter. I lean toward the latter.

p71. *niC / *ni(k)pa ‘chief’: Cp nét/nət ‘chief of lineage, captain’; Ca nét ‘chief of clan, moderator of a fiesta’; Ls nóó-ta ‘ceremonial leader, chief’; Nb nóó-ta ‘chief’ (V borrowed from Ls?). Add Ktn nïqpa / nïhpå(č) ‘chief’ and Ktn canïqpač puyu ‘God: chief of us all’ and Ktn ca-ŋïhpa-y ‘our chief, God’. Remember that Ktn often shows latter segments lost in other forms (cf. antelope, rock) and then note that absolutive -t(a) (vs. -l) of other Tak forms does suggest a final consonant, and Ktn shows that to be *-k-, if not *-ka. Also note the initial ŋ in the last Ktn form when resulting from a cluster: *cam-nïqpa > caŋïhpa-. [Gb V]

Above are 22 sets (P50-P71) exemplifying probable consonant clusters that reduced to the velar nasal (ŋ) in some NUA languages and to other things in other languages.

2.7.2 NUA n: SUA n

Besides the ŋ: n and n : L correspondences of tradition, other sets show NUA n corresponding to SUA n, some of which are clusters involving -n.

p72. *mo’na / *mo’ona / *munna / *muCna ‘son-in-law, male in-law’: Sh monappi; Kw mono; SP monna; Hp mò’ónany ‘male in-law’; Eu mòwna; Wr mò’në; Tr mònë-ra; My mó’one; Yq mó’one; Tbr moa-sakâ-r; Wc muma; Cr mú’u ‘affinal relative’; mu’un ‘yerno’; CN mòon-ti ‘son-in-law’; Pl muunti; Ca miykwik’a ‘son-in-law’ (Ci i < *o). Sapir lists Cr muna-ra. Here several NUA languages and several SUA languages, show NUA n / nn corresponding to SUA n. The only ŋ (Ca) is explainable by its adjacency to k. Note that in both ‘son-in-law’ and ‘lung’, Tbr loses intervocalic -n-.


p74. *ti’niyaC ‘trap’: Kw ti’niya ‘trap, v’; Kw ti’niya-pi ‘trap, n’; ST ti’nija ‘set trap’; an extraordinary match for 7 or 8 segments, since ST -j- corresponds to KPN and PUA *-y-.. Furthermore, we find another n:n correspondence (*ni > *ni) and they both show a final C (ST ’ and Kw -pi vs. -vi).

p75. *mana ‘put (flat/lying down), vt’; *mani ‘be put, be, lie, fall, vi/vasive’: all 20 forms at ‘lie’ show both NUA n and SUA n.

p76. *kana ‘thin, flat’: Sh kanah ‘thin (of animal or person)’; CN kanaaw(a) ‘make s.th. thin and flat’; CN kanaawa-k ‘something flat and thin’.

p77. *yun ‘kind, gentle’: Sh yuun ‘gentle, tame’; NT adúúñi ‘kind, friend’. Minus NT’s extra initial V, the two match well, since NT d < *y.

p78. *mi’nî ‘lost’: Kw mî’nî ‘lost’; Tr mënê/mênê ‘lose, vt’.

The above seven sets (P72-P78) and others show NUA n : SUA n.
2.7.3 Nasal Anticipation, Especially in Tübatülabal

P79. *ku(C/N)ta(N)(pa) 'bee': Cp kutânya-l 'bumblebee'; Ls kûkunata-la 'bumblebee'; My kuta kûmera 'bee that lives in wood'; Nv kuarhagi mumuva 'abejas grandes que hacen panales'; WMU kuçâvî 'bee'. Ls anticipates the nasalization a syllable earlier than is apparent in Cp, while the SUA languages (My, Nv) do their typical lack of clustered nasalization. WMU -ç- (vs. -r-) and Cp -t- (vs. -l-) signify a cluster.

P80. *(na-)pafi(N)ki(N)'fight', v: Mn pidîki 'fight'; Mn nanna-pidîki 'fight one another'; TSh napîtîkîn / napîtîkin 'fight'; Sh napitinka" to fight'; Cm napiti ki (at) ~ 'war, battle'; Tb paandîgît 'fight'. WNum and CNum *napiti(N)kî and Tb *pâtîkî show Tb anticipating the nasalization a syllable before Numic's nasal feature, and even Num *pitî(k)Nî may be anticipating nasalization from *pVtîkIN.

P81. *pina 'bring, gather, acquire': Tb pin ~ 'imbin 'bring it'; Sr pinai 'bring, bring back'; Wc piini 'be the property of'; Nv vino'o 'for river to carry s.th.'; Tr bi'ni/be'ná 'recoger uno a uno, pepener'. Note nasalization anticipation in Tb above and below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Without nasal anticipation</th>
<th>With nasal anticipation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tb kiig ~ 'ikik 'to sack, store, load'</td>
<td>Tb kam'-ut ~ 'angam 'it fits'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tb kita ~ 'ikita 'it is locked'</td>
<td>Tb kin-(a)~ 'ingin 'he brings it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tb kumût ~ 'uuguunu 'she married'</td>
<td>Tb kumaawa '(it) ~ 'ungumaawa 'it is shady'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tb kamiž ~ 'akamič 'to catch it'</td>
<td>Tb paam ~ 'ambam 'make into a ball'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tb paabi ~ 'aababi 'be tired'</td>
<td>Tb pin ~ 'imbin 'bring it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tb pacaa'in ~ 'apaca' in 'he caches'</td>
<td>Tb paan ~ 'amban 'to close it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tb tomocka ~ 'otomocka 'to stumble'</td>
<td>Tb tana ~ 'andana 'to get down'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tb tuluumiin ~ 'utuluumiin 'to roll his blanket'</td>
<td>Tb tan ~ 'andaj 'it is raining'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tb tulu'uma ~ 'utulu'uma 'it rolls'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Tb telic (perfective) form generally reduplicates the first vowel. If the second consonant is a nasal, sometimes that nasalization is anticipated with the prefixed vowel. However, nasalization does not always occur. The cognate languages show that there is not inherently any nasalization in front of the verb stem, so it must come from anticipating the nasalization two consonants away. This same principle may sometimes explain Tb's nasalization in other places.

In conclusion, NUA ŋ sometimes derives from clusters, involving -m- or -*m- or -Lw- or other cluster combinations. Then -ŋ- > -n- in SUA, unless the vowel loss and resulting cluster occurred later in some SUA languages (as in *cu'mi 'suck'; *o'mana 'sad'; and *si'moci 'hummingbird'), in which cases SUA occasionally shows the cluster more clearly. However, much remains to be unraveled.

2.8 Glottal Stop Anticipation and Other Consonant Shifts

Besides nasals being anticipated, glottal stops frequently jump to the preceding syllable, and liquids only occasionally (see Ca at *makuta 'bag, blanket' at 'bag'). This glottal stop hop or anticipation occurs often in TrC, especially in Tr and Wp, and Sapir (1930, 59) noticed the glottal stop’s mobility in SP. I have also noticed it in WMU.

P82. Note the glottal stop hop at ‘carry’ in Tr ca’pi ‘coger’ vs. Tr na’cabi ‘coger pl obj’s.

P83. *cî'ma */(L)a'cima 'beautiful': Cp a’čimal 'pretty, nice'; PY p la’sima 'beautiful'; Tr či má in Tr či’mak’ame ‘precioso, primoroso, bello’; Tr či má re’ma ‘ser bello, primoroso, precioso’. With additional prefixes in Cp and WP, the glottal stop hops, as all agree in five segments otherwise—(”)cî’ma—and PY p s < *c.

P84. While other forms point to *paLo’osi 'jackrabbit' at 'rabbit' (such as My paaros, pl. para’ osim), Wr pa’loisi and Tr ba’loisi anticipated or transposed the glottal stop a syllable forward.

P85. In contrast to forms suggesting *cuLaka'i 'bird, woodpecker' is Wr cu’rului ‘bird’ with the glottal stop moved two syllables forward.

P86. At ‘bag’ in a complex assortment of forms from *makuLa to *mako’o, we find My mo’oko 'basket' and Wr mo’ke-wari 'basket' matching other forms, such as NP mago’o, but with the frequent Tara-Cahitan glottal stop hop (*CVCV’V > CV’(V)CV).

While speaking of glottal stop behavior, another common occurrence yet to be elucidated is glottal stop > w; potential incidences include Tb pacaaawa ‘bat’ when most NUA languages show *paca’a, and not in the vicinity of any round vowels, between two a’s; *yawa / y’ì a ‘beautiful’; and others.
2.9 The Elusive Liquids of Uto-Aztecan

PUA likely had a liquid, but whether the liquid(s) was(were) r or l or both remains unclear. While most UA languages have one liquid or none (Numic), some have both l and r, and occasionally in similar environments, such as My ele’e siiki ‘da comezón’ and My ere’e-suúkim ‘ant’, but whether both were originally liquids or one from something else remains a valid question, and the lack of a demonstrable sorting in the few languages that have two have thus far made the liquids elusive or difficult to identify securely. So for now let *L represent a general PUA liquid in reconstructions, which rarely feature initial liquids for PUA. Several languages exhibit liquid-initial words, though sometimes evidence suggests an initial syllable was lost, but not always, so a handful of liquid-initial reconstructions do emerge. A number of sets support the traditional correspondence of medial NUA -n- : SUA -L-, though Shaul (1985) notes the exception that Hp may reflect -l-, -r-, or -n-. Sometimes other NUA branches also reflect liquids, but first a few examples of NUA -n- : SUA -L-.

P87. *suna 'heart': SUA: Wr sulá; Tr surá; bisurá; My suula; Nv hora-di; NT úra; ST hur; TO huDa 'side, particularly side of midriff'. NUA: Sr huun 'heart, inside, center'; Cpsýun; Ca sýun-il; Ls sýun-la; Gb sýunar; Hp soona 'kernel, edible part of seed'; comb: sóna/- -son- ‘inside’; Tb suuna-l ‘heart, inside’.

P88. *kaní house**: SUA: Wr kári; Tr garí; My káari; CN kal-li; Tbr kali-n ‘pueblo’. NUA: NP káni (archaic form); TSh káhni; Sh káhni; Cm káhni; Kw káhni; WMU káni; CU káni; Tb hani-li; C qááníš ‘desert willow (possibly as housing material plant)’; Hp qeni ‘place, room, space’.

P89. *ali ‘little’: SUA: TO al ‘little’; TO ali ‘baby, child’; LP lìi ‘NT álì ‘aylii; My iliči/iči ‘Tbr ali- ‘small’; AYq ili iliči ‘small, little, few’. NUA: Sr ańiiči ‘small one, little one, baby, child’; Cq ańiišily ‘small one’; but also Ls ál ‘áli-may ‘woman’s brother’s child’.

P90. *sanaC / *salaC ‘pitch, pine gum’: SUA: CN saaloa ‘to glue, make s.th. stick to s.th. else’; CN saaliwi ‘stick to s.th.’; Pl saalaua ‘to stick, glue’; sasaalik ‘sticky’. NUA: Mn sanápi; NP sanapi; TSh sanappin; Sh saná- pin; Sh sanakkō; Cm sanaka ‘sticky’; Cm sanakkena ‘sap’; Kw sana-pi; Ch sana-pi; SP sanna- (p)pi; CU sana-pi; Tb šaanot; Ls šánu-t ‘gum’; Cq sana-t ‘pitch, gum’; Sr haanat ‘tar’; Ktš hana-t ‘tar’; Hp saana ‘pitch, gum of tree’. Of interest may be Washo šála ‘pitch’ though it neighbors NUA languages far to the north, so if borrowed, why does it have SUA phonology?

P91. *mila / *mili ‘go, run, flow’: SUA: TO míd, mī, mīl ‘arrive (wind, water, runner)’; LP mili; LP oimiri; NT mili; NT aimiri ‘walk around’; NT mirádamí ‘runner’; ST mīli; Wr ma/ma; Tr mè; Cr me/me’i; Eu merá ‘run, v’; PYp mera/meli ‘run’. NUA: Hp mīna ‘flow, run (of liquid)’; Ls món-/muná ‘travel, come, walk, go’; Cq menmáx ‘will come’; Ca menvax ‘come’; NP minai ‘ooze out’.

P92. *tala ‘foot’: SUA: TO tad; LP tar; PYp tar; NT tara; Eu tará ‘pie, rastro’; Wr talá ‘planta del pie’; Tr rará ‘planta del pie, pie, pata, huella’; CN tlaloa ‘run, flee’. NUA: Mn ta ‘foot’; NP ta ‘foot’; Sh ta-’ ‘with the feet’; Kw ta- ‘with the foot’; SP ta- ‘with the foot’; Hp tana ‘hoof, foot’.

P93. *mala ‘child, offspring’: SUA: OdaMani ‘female’s offspring, nephew or niece by a younger sister, fruit of a plant’; PYp mar ‘child’; PYp mar-t ‘bear a child, vi’; PYp mar-tim ‘give birth, vi’; NT már(a) ‘daughter, son’; ST mar; Op mara; Eu mára; Yq maára; My máala; Wr mala/-malawa ‘daughter’; Tr mará. NUA: Sr mahc ‘young one, child’; Hp maana ‘daughter, adolescent girl, woman never married’.

P94. *wilí ‘stand, v’**: SUA: Eu wéhra ‘parar’; Wr weri; Tr wiri-mea ‘vi’; Tr wera-ma ‘vt’; My wéyyek ‘está parado’ (My wéyye ‘va caminando’); AYq weyek ‘be standing, sg’; Tbr wére/welo ‘estar, estar en pie’. NUA: Mn wiñi; NP wiñi; TSh wiñi; Cm wiñi; Kw wiñi ‘stand, stop, sg’; SP wiñi; CU wiñi ‘be standing’; CU wiñi-wi ‘get up, stand up’; Tb ‘iwínñit- ‘iwiwiñin ‘stand up’; Tb wiññi ‘be located, exist’; Hp wiñi ‘be standing, sg’; Ca wéwen ‘stand up, be standing, stop, stand still’; Ca wén ‘put in place/order’; Cr wé ‘there it is’; Ls wón ‘be at a place’; Gb wó ‘there is/are’; Sr wiñ/wiñi ‘be in a place, lie (mass/pl)’; Sr čonu’-win ‘be standing’ or resultative of čonu’-k ‘stand up, stop, sg’.
2.9.1 Evidence for \(^*L > n\) in NUA

There is some evidence for \(^*L > n\) in NUA (e.g., P60, 61, 62, 65 above, and TSh at P101 ‘buzzard’ below). Perhaps with help from clustering with -t-, Yq and AYq in SUA seem to show \(^*-Lt- > -nt-\), in contrast to Tr and Eu, in the following:

P95. *soLa ‘rot, go to waste, throw away’: Tr sorá-t ‘podrirse’; Eu nasór-tu’u ‘echarse a perder’; Eu nasór-ta’a ‘echar a perder’; Eu nanásora ‘componer’; AYq nasonte ‘descomponerse’; Yq nasonta ‘descomponer, vt’; Yq nasonte/nasontu ‘descomponerse, vi’.

2.9.2 Evidence for \(^*n > L\) in SUA

Other evidence may suggest an occasional \(^*n > L\) in SUA. In P56 above (lung), from among nearly every language displaying reflexes resembling NUA \(^*soŋa\) or SUA \(^*sona\), we see Wr \(^*so'locá\), with glottal stop and liquid. Or is another morpheme involved? Less likely so in the next example:

FIVE; CINCO

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<th>Hp</th>
<th>civot</th>
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<td>mahāt</td>
<td>Yq</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>ma-naikkiih-</td>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>axnamekwánañ</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>manmi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P96. *manniki ‘five’: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Kw; SP; CU; Yq; My; Wr; Tr; Eu; Op. Let us add Wmu maníginya. Tbr, Yq, My \(^*mam(V)nKi > *mamni\) (perhaps a reduplication \(^*mamani\) misvowed in Tbr) may underlie the forms and the NUA gemination be from \(^*-mn- > -nn-\). If so, three SUA languages (Tbr, Yq, My) show n like NUA *mamini, while four SUA languages (Eu, Op, Wr, Tr) show a liquid aligning with Numic’s \(^*-n(n)\), as if \(^*maniki > *mariki\) in Tarahumaran/Opatan. This and other sets suggest that in some cases PUA \(^*n\) was denasalized to a liquid in SUA instead of PUA liquids becoming nasals in NUA.

2.9.3 NUA L Corresponding to SUA L

On the other hand, several sets show liquids or \(^*L\) for both NUA and SUA. One might argue that these liquids in both NUA and SUA may derive from intervocalic \(^*-t-\) or such, becoming liquids in all relevant languages. While this may be possible for some, the probability of that being the case for all seems unlikely. Original liquids seem a more likely explanation, though sure proof is elusive, and admittedly something is happening not yet understood, to have these contrasting with n:L above.

P44. *kwí Lu ‘swallow’: Hp kwelo(-k) ‘sample by tasting’; Eu bérú’u ‘swallow’; Tb weleeh ‘swallow’. Hp and Eu correspond perfectly through 4 segments, since Hp o < \(^*u\) and Eu b < \(^*kw\). And Tb’s w (< \(^*kw\)) agrees through 3, the last V assimilating to the first, yet all NUA and SUA forms show a liquid.

P49. *koLi, reduplicated \(^*koLoLi > *ko'okoLi\) ‘hurt, be sick, chili pepper’: at pain, many SUA forms show \(^*ko’okoLi\), while Cup shows non-reduplicated \(^*koLoLi\) with its vowel change \(^*koLo > *qoLi > qiLi\): Cp qilyíqa-t ‘s.th. hot, spicy, strong’; Cp qilyíqatu’nine ‘hurt, sting, v’; Ca qélya ‘feel sore, v’; Ca qélyak ‘peppery, pungent, creating a burning sensation’. Again, all SUA and NUA forms show liquids.

P97. *(wa)Laka ‘snail’: CN wilaka ‘caracol de monte’; Tr warákora ‘caracol’; Ls muvilaqa ‘snail’ (Ls múvi-l’ ‘nose’); Wr alágoloci ‘snail’; Wr nalágoloci ‘snail’; Tr narákuri ‘snail’. These are another example of a NUA liquid (Ls) corresponding to SUA liquids, though some languages engaged prefixes that eliminated initial w(V)-.

P98. *(wi)LaNa ‘pull, drag’: CN wilaana ‘drag’; Hp laňa(-k) ‘be pulled taut, stretched in a line’.
and Tb suggest a
and Eu (*a > ð or TO, Eu are
than from the usual source of *s
with a blanket
man's garment fastened on one shoulder'; Eu terúwa/teruva 'tilma, fr
P102
liquids in both NUA (Sr) and SUA.
The n in one T
k in most instances (*wi
SUA.  In Num, syncope
nasalizat
an earlier cluster
second
is apparent in 17 of the 18 reflexes; only CU's non
(SUA) and Sr (NUA) show all three syllables of *wiL
this may simply be another PUA liquid
spirant to devoice *
5 happen in UA, but for it to happen
in three languages in this set (Hp, Tb, Cr), it may be clustered with a voiceless
spiran to devoice *-L- > -s-; thus, -h- in the reconstruction. In light of other medial liquids in both NUA and SUA, this
can simply be another PUA liquid. In this wonderful example of rampant syllable reduction, notice that Wc
(SUA) and Sr (NUA) show all three syllables of *wiLhukuN, while the rest are reductions. The first syllable *wi-
is apparent in 17 of the 18 reflexes; only CU's non-descript short unaccented V departs from i. Nine show the
second syllable *-Lu- in both NUA and SUA; three others show devoicing of *L > s in both NUA and SUA from
an earlier cluster with a voiceless spirant. Nine languages show a third syllable *-ku; and Tb and Num show some
nasalization after that. Except for the CrC branch, most of SUA lost the third syllable, leaving *wiLu in most of
SUA. In Num, syncope eliminated the 2nd syllable and clustered *lk which led to the absorption of l or doubling of
k in most instances (*wiLhuku > *wilku > *wikku), though all three syllables appear in some languages of both
NUA and SUA. The n in one Tsh form (wihnumpi) again suggests the presence of PUA *L, not t. Note also
liquids in both NUA (Sr) and SUA.

P102. *talumaC 'blanket, garment, covering': Tb taluuma-t 'breech clout'; CN tilm'a-tli 'cloak, blanket, indigenous
man's garment fastened on one shoulder'; Eu terúwa/teruva 'tilma, frazada'; TO čïDhum 'blanket'; ST tidya 'wrap
with a blanket'. TO čïDhum has h, which may be a partial devoicing of a V due to any number of causes, rather
than from the usual source of *s; nevertheless, TO has *vlum in common with Tb, and all but u with CN. Tb,
TO, Eu are intriguing, in that they agree in five of six segments *taluma, outside of a liquid raising a vowel in TO
and Eu (*a > i or i' r, l, common in UA), an extra h in TO, and perhaps *m > w in Eu. Note how easily CN tilm'a-
can derive from *taluma, since CN i < *u: *taluma > tul(uma) > tilma. ST tidya is close to TO čïD-, and both CN
and Tb suggest a fourth or final consonant. The above nine sets exemplify NUA *L corresponding to SUA *L.
2.9.4 Medial *-L- > -y' in Cahitan (Yaqui, Arizona Yaqui, and Mayo)

We also see L > '1, especially in the two Yaqui dialects, but in other languages as well.

P103. *piLok ‘lightning’: My bérok-te; Yq béok-te; Yq bé’obé’ok-te, among several other forms showing *piLok ‘lightning’.

P104. *paLaWa ‘stew, juice, soup’: Eu varáwa; Yq bá’awa; My bá’awa, etc.

P105. *paLa-mukki ‘(be) thirst(y), liquid-dic’: Wr palamú:- Yq ba’aimuuke; My ba’imuuke, etc.

P61. Above at *ca’Lo ‘chin’ > Yq čao ‘barba’ is another example of Yq losing a liquid apparent in other languages.


Yq háawe ‘bostezar’; Cr ha’ateewa ‘bosteza’; Kw ‘atawa ‘yawn’; Mn na’idawi ‘yawn, vi’; TSh hitawa ‘yawn, vi’. Glottal stop in Cah (Yq, My) aligns with * in other languages; i.e., *t > l/r > '/o in Cah.

Other examples of PUA *L- > Cah -’ are sprinkled throughout the sets, as well as loans from Spanish. For example, Spanish caballo > My kaba’i and Spanish eulillcho ‘knife’ > Yq kúči’i both show the recent productiveness of *L- and of final vowels becoming -i regardless the original vowel.

2.9.5 Intervocalic *-L- > -’- in Cora

P108. *taLu ‘egg’: Tbr ne-telu-r ‘huevo’; Cr ta’u ‘blanquillo, huevo’.

P91. *míLa/*míLi ‘run, flow, go, want’; aligning with the many *míLa/*míLi forms in the comparative vocabulary is Tbr mu- ‘desear, futuro’ and Cr(JM) me ‘go, sg subj’; Cr(ST) me’i ‘go, sg subj’ and Cr mi’i ‘desiderative morpheme’ (Casad 1984, 162), as ‘want’ and ‘run’ are often paired semantically in UA.

P109. *mo’o-kaLi ‘hat, head-house’: Tbr mo-káli-t (Lionnet has mo-ka-li-t); Wr mo’kóri; Cr mokoyo- / mokoho- / mokoo- ‘put on hat’; Cr mokoyóra / mokohóra / mokoora ‘hat, head-wear’ (Tr mo’ó head’);
Tr moki ‘encimari’; Cr muóku-u-ci ‘hat’. Note Cr’s glottal stop at the place of the liquid.

P110. *taLowi ‘edible root sp’: Tbr ferowi ‘potato’; Wr telö ‘potato’; Tbr teró-t; Ca tálkyi ‘Indian potato’;
Cr t’a’upú ‘potato’. Because *L > -’ in Cr and *o > u in Cr, then *taLo > Cr ta’u fits perfectly.

P111. *pa-suL ‘sweat’: TO wahuD/wahul- ‘sweat, vi’; TO wahulag ‘sweat, n.; sweaty, adj’; Nv vahuru ‘sweat, v’; Nv sivahurhudaga ‘sweat, n’; PYp vahar ‘sweat, v’; PYp vahagdar ‘sweat, n’; NT vaahúrariy ‘sweat, vi’; ST voor ‘sweaty’ (pl ST vapor). Also likely are the latter two syllables of Cr tási’e ‘sweat, vi’; We kwaaśiyya ‘sweat, n’, for Cr -si’e < *suLV, and Wc assimilated the V a bit more toward y.

P112. *kwal ‘soft’: Eu barinari ‘blando, lo que fue ablandado por otro’; My bwalko ‘blando’; first two syllables of Cr kwa’ačí ‘esta suave, blandito, tierno, débil’. Note *-L- > Cr -’.

P113. *kalísY ‘squash sp’: Tr arisi/garisí/karisí ‘calabacilla, calabaza de coyote’; We káisa ‘sonaja’; Nv sarkarhkaari ‘calabaza’; Tbr halípá-t ‘juega, jicara’. As the close sister-language to Cr in Corachol, We káisa also shows the loss of the intervocalic liquid, which is retained in the other languages.

Besides the seven above, other examples of PUA *-L- > Cr -’ grace the pages of this work.

2.9.6 Medial *-L- > -y-

On occasion a pattern emerges of UA liquid > y. Because liquids are often pronounced proximate to the alveolar ridge, like y is, then liquid > y is common among world languages. For example, some Mayan languages have y corresponding to Mayan *r (Lyle Campbell 1977, 97-100), and Bickerton (1981) lists three English creoles in which English or became fo, fi, and foe, two of three showing high-front vowels approximating the r.

P114. *yu’ri / *yu’Li ‘(be) empty’: Ls yuya/i ‘bec. empty, vi, empty, vt’; Wr yu’ri ‘empty, throw out liquid, v’; (Wr yu’ri ‘fall by itself’); Tr fu’ri- ‘derramarse, verterse’; Tr fu’ri-wa- ‘derramar, venter, vt’; Eu dúri-dá’a- ‘vaciarse’ (Eu d < *y).

P115. *tu’La/i ‘be cold, freeze’: Wr tu’la-; Tr íruná-; Cp túuyue ‘freeze, vi’; Cp túuyu-y ‘cold, freezing, adj’; Ls tööyi ‘freeze, vi’; Ls tööyi-t ‘frost, ice’.

The examples above show the same patterns in the same languages: TrC *…u’La/i vs. Tak *…uya/i.
P116. *kalu* 'slide': Eu karú-da’a ‘resbalar’; Ca xáyuš / xáyuqi ‘slide down, v’; Wc harúanari ‘liso’. Note Ca -y- corresponding to SUA -r-. A third example of Tak -y- and SUA -r-.

P117. *kwiya / *kwila* ‘earth’: TO bid ‘adobe, mud, clay, plaster’; Wr we’e; Tr weé/-wei/-wi’yé; Cr čwéh; Cr čuáta’a ‘on the ground’; Wc kwí(y)é; My bwiya ‘tierra, suelo, piso’. The preceding more align with *kwiya, but showing a liquid instead of y are the pl of Yq bwía, pl: bwiam/bwiram and 'Tbr kwirá-t 'tierra, mundo’. Note the liquids instead of y in both Tbr and the Yq pl also align with the NUA n in several Takic and Numic forms that KH/M06-kwi2 adds to Miller’s list: Sr pääkwiñit ‘mud’ (water-dirt) and Gb kwenär ‘mud’, and NUA n typically comes from PUA *L, not *y.

P118. *ti’la* ‘think about, remember, believe, decide, care’: in contrast to TO lid, Nv īra, Eu erá, Wr e’lâ, and other forms of both SUA and NUA *ti’ná, note My éiya / éyya.

P119. *wilu* ‘play a reed flute’: Ca wíiru; Ls wíiru; Sr wíirú’n ‘play a reed flute’; Sr wíirú’ní-t ‘reed flute’; WMU viyu’/eviiyu’ni ‘flute’ even shares the glottal stop with Sr and is very similar to the Sr form, except -y- instead of -r-. Kw woyo ‘flute’ (archaic) belongs; and WMU ia’nap ‘flute’ is similar to Kw waya’a-ní(m)bi ‘musical instrument, flute’ (archaic); and TSh wooino ‘flute’ and NP kocokkwoino are probably related to the Kw form and at least to TSh. In any other case, note the -y- in Kw and WMU aligning with the liquids of the other languages. Note w > kw in NP.

P120. *kwa’lo / *kwa’ro* (> kwara/kwaya/kwa’na) ‘frog’: SP pàqwa’n ‘frog, toad’; CU pàqxa-kwá’na ‘frog’ vs. CU pàqxiá-ci-ci ‘horned toad’; Gb kwá’ro’, pl: kwákwa’ro’am ‘sapo’; Hp paakwa ‘toad’; Eu kohár ‘sapo’; CN kwya-tl ‘frog’. Fowler also lists Ls pakwari-t ‘tadpole’; Gb qwarava ‘frog’. The words for frog are a difficult collection; in order to facilitate a solution, additional possibilities should be considered: My boórók, pl: booró’okim ‘sapo’ (< *kwoLo; Tr barí; Tb wootha-l ‘frog’; TO bábad ‘frog’; PYp babadu ‘frog’; NT babáádai ‘frog, toad’; NT kuaáli ‘frog’; Wc kwí(y)e; My bwiya ‘tierra, suelo, piso’. A third example of Tak *Lhuku ‘buzzard’.

P49. *koli* (*kolkoli > *koko*’oki) ‘hurt, be sick, chili pepper’: While many SUA forms show the reduplication *ko’oki, Ca and Cp show *koli > *qoLo > qiLi; yet CN has CN kokoya ‘be sick’.

P121. *haLi* ‘endure, tire of’: Wr nahari-na ‘suffer, endure’ (probably *na- prefix); Ca háyin ‘be tired’; Cp háye ‘finish, tire of’. Note this fourth instance of TrC r corresponding to Tak y.

Besides P114-P121, note also Tr in P109, My wéyye at P94 *wilá ‘stand, v’, the Tbr liquid vs. other y in P122b, and P49—a dozen instances of *L- > y.

The beginning of sets for studying the devoicing of liquids (*L/r > s) when adjacent to or preceding a voiceless consonant may include the Pl and CN forms at *kolu ‘necklace’ at ‘neck’; CN at *tolo ‘throat, voice’; and Cr, Tb, and Hp forms at *wilhuku ‘buzzard’.

### 2.10 Some *-k- > NUA -h-, > SUA -k-, and > ō in Hp, Tb, Eu, Op

#### TWO; DOS

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<th>Mn</th>
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<td>Ls</td>
<td>wëh</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>waha</td>
<td>Cp</td>
<td>wëh</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>wahá</td>
<td>Od</td>
<td>gook</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>waa</td>
<td>Nv</td>
<td>gok</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>wáyíni</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>goóka</td>
<td></td>
<td>CN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>wáy-ini</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>gok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
P122a. *wakay ‘two’: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh wahättiwi; WSh wahättin; Cm; Kw wahayu; Ch; SP; WM; CU; Sr waaah- / wah- ‘twice’; Gb wah ‘other, companion’; Ktn wah- / weh- ‘twice’; Cr wá’aqua.

P122b. *wokay / *wokoy: Sr wôh; Ls wêh; Ca wih; Cp wîh; Gb wêhé’; Hp; Tb; Eu wod(m)/wok; Tbr n’ôhor; Yq wôi; My wooyi; Wr wokâ; Tr okwá. Note liquids in Yq and My wo’olim ‘twins’ and Tbr in contrast to -y- in Hp, Eu, Op, and Num. While *wakay and *wokay are likely variants of an original unity, UAnists often separate them according to first vowel, which is fine for the sake of tidiness. Both Num and Cr show initial *wa, while the rest of UA rounded the vowel adjacent to w: *wakay > wokay.

### THREE; TRES

| Mn | pahi-i/tu | Hp | paayom | Eu | veidûm |
| NP | pahi’yu  | Tb | paaï | Op | vaide |
| TSh | pahi/pai | Sr | paahi’ | Tbr | vayi-r |
| Sh | pahi- | Ca | pâh / pâx | My | bahi |
| Cm | pahihtî | Ls | pâáhay | Yq | bâhi |
| Kw | pehe/peheyu | Cp | páh | Tr | bikiyâ |
| Ch | pahi | Od | waik | Wr | paikâ |
| SP | pai | Nv | vaiko | Cr | waihka |
| WM | pâyln | NT | váîka | Wc | háïka; hairiekha ‘third’ |
| CU | pay-ni | ST | vaik | CN | eei |

P123. *pakay ‘three’: a form of *pakay is in every language above, plus WSh pahaittîn; Ktn pahi’; Gb páhe’; and note Kw peheyu. Note the k syllable in Wr, Tr, CrC, and Tep, in three branches. Note also Ca pâh / páx, with an alternate form suggesting *k > -x-/h-. In nearly the same languages as in *wakay ‘two’ above, here also *k > k in Tr, Wep, *k > h in most of Num, Tak: *k > ø in Hp, Tb, SP, CU, Eu, Op. The -k- is clear in Tr, Wr, CrC, and Tep.

P28. *naNkapí ‘leaf’: Kw naga-vî; Ch nankâ-va; SP maavi-naqqa-vî ‘leaf’ (vs. SP naqqa ‘ear’); CU nîkâ-‘a-vî (vs. CU nîkâ-‘i ‘ear’); Tb nqqabîi-l; Hp nàapi/nahpi ‘leaf’. The last three sets show Hp losing intervocalic -k-/h-, but Hp nàapi/nahpi shows -p- instead of -v-, as evidence of a previous cluster.

P124. *tiku ‘drunk’: Wr teku ‘be drunk’; Tr ñiku ‘become drunk, sick, faint’; Tr teguri/têkuri ‘ebrios, borrachos, pl’.

P125. *tíhu ‘angry’: Mn ñihuyee ‘be angry’; Sh tahu ‘angry’; TSh túpiikkan ‘be angry’. In light of other examples of a correspondence between Tr/Wr k and h in Num and other languages (agave, two, three, deer), a relationship between Num *tíhu ‘angry’ and TrC *tíku ‘drunk’ is plausible.

P7a. *tíkiya ‘deer’: Mn tîhîta ‘deer’; Mn tîhiya ‘old buck’; NP tîhîdda; TSh tîhiya(n); Sh tîhiyan; Cm tîhiya ‘horse’; Kw tîhiya; Ch tîhiya; SP tîjia ‘deer’; SP tî- ‘deer, game’; CU tîyi. Though the first vowel is problematic, Tb tohîl ‘deer’ is likely related, since the other three of the first four segments agree. From Sapir on, some have mixed these with *tîm‘ antelope’ (< *tîmîna), which is another example of syllable reduction causing a cluster: *tîmîna (Ktn) > tîma > *tînna. For ‘deer’ the SP form shows *k-, while the other Num forms show -h- or nothing. So again, *k > h in most of Num.

P7b. *cîki ‘white-tailed deer’: Od siiki ‘white-tailed deer’; PYp siiki ‘white-tailed deer’. In light of the frequency of *ti > ci, this Tep stem (*cîki > Tep *sikî) likely ties to NUA *tíkiyâ ‘deer’. The Tep k with Num h (< *k) is consistent with the above terms (two, three, drunk/angry) as well.

Other puzzles present themselves, such as the following:

P126. *wikiC / *wi[CkiC] ‘knife’: Mn wihi; NP wihi; TSh wihin; Sh wiin ‘knife’; Sh wihi ‘metal’; Kw wihi-čî; SP wîi”- / wihi” / wiîi; CU wî-čî. Note that Ls wôkî-la-š ‘knife’ (Ls wôki (<wikki) ‘cut, let bleed’) is not far from Num *wihi, since both changes — k > h and i > ï — occur in Num. In fact, one SP variant shows the same vowels: i-î. A certain cluster *-Ck- may more likely remain strong -k- in LS, but go to -h- in Num.

Similar though less clear things happen in *tukkuC / *tuhu ‘bobcat/lion’ at ‘lion’.

2.11 Medial *s/-c- > Numeric *-.

Sapir (1914, 470) noted some clear cases where PUA medial *s- or *-c- > *- (glottal stop) in Num: *pusi ‘eye’ > Num pu’i; *wïci ‘fall’ > Num wi’i. The matter awaits further investigation.
2.12 The Labial Labyrinth in Uto-Aztecan

The labiovelar spectrum in UA is fraught with intrigue. The syllabic frequencies (p. 11) show a complete lack of *kwo and *kwu among UA initial syllables paralleled by a marked abundance of about twice as many ko and ku syllables as k with other vowels: 38 ko and 37 ku syllables vs. 10 ki and 17 ki, and nearly as many as the 43 ka, though across the board, a-syllables are normally twice what others are. Lack of *kwo/kwu syllables alongside about double the usual vocalic ratio for *ko/ku syllables may suggest many *kwo/kwu became ko/ku.

A count of TO’s initial syllables provides an even greater discrepancy. Considering that TO b corresponds to PUA *kw, notice that a rough count from Saxton’s (1983) dictionary yields the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b (&lt; *kw)</td>
<td>ba(40)</td>
<td>bi(5)</td>
<td>bi(28)</td>
<td>bo(0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>ka(48)</td>
<td>ki(20)</td>
<td>ki(13)</td>
<td>ko(70)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again in TO, a complete lack of bo/bu syllables contrasts with about triple the expected number of ko/ku syllables, as if in Tep languages *kwo/kwu > ko/ku. Note the TO variants of a plant (Mathiot 1976, 362):

P127. bihul / hikul ‘a plant’. These alternate forms switch first and second consonants, except that PUA *kw is b before i, but *kw is k before u. In PUA terms, *kwisuL > TO bihul, and *sikwuL > TO hikul.

If we take each language’s initial correspondences for *kw and place them before o and u, and then consider the likely results, we would have *bwo/bwu > bo/bu in Cah (Yq, My), *wo/wu > o/u in Tr/Wr, *kwo/kwu > ko/ku in the kw-languages and apparently in Tep as well, and *kwu > kwi in CN. Interestingly, some semantically plausible groups of words show that very array of correspondences.

P128. *kwuhv ‘scrape off, degrain (corn)’: Yq buh-te ‘espigar [take grain from ear]’; My bůh-tuk ‘se espigó’; My bůh-te ‘está espigando’; Tr ohó ‘desgrazar [remove grain from ears]’; CN kůi ‘chip off (wood or stone), clean up a surface, take s.th. away, get ready, be prepared’. As Miller points out that Tr sometimes shows o as well as u for PUA *u, these four languages show PUA *kwuh ‘scraping off s.th.’: *kwu > Cah bwu > bu; > Tr oh; > CN kůi.

P129. *kwuya (> *kwoya) ‘growl, scold’: Eu bůde/nevéde/nępúde ‘growl, bark’; My buuye ‘snarl, growl, bark, scold’; Hp qōqōyá ‘scold, vt’; Hp(S) qōqōyá ‘he’s scolding’; Tr oyo ‘become angry’; TO koDog ‘rumble, gurgle’, and perhaps CN kwikwinaka ‘make a low sound in the throat; for a dog, to growl; for a person, to hum’ since CN i < *u. But TO koDog with D is usually < PUA *L rather than *y.

P130. *sakwo > *sikwo/sikwi ‘witch, bewitch’: My sisibo ‘hechizar’; My sibori ‘hechizado’. Cp sekwi ‘curse, whip’ (Cp i < *o) suggests a semantic tie such that the set under *sakwi ‘whip, v’ (at whip) may be related: M88-sa27; KH.NUA: Cp sekwi ‘curse, whip’; Cp sekwíte-l ‘whip, vt s obj’ (borrowed from Cup?); Gb sakwit ‘castigar’; Ls šiqwi ‘to punish, whip’ (vowel is wrong, Miller notes), but Miller speaks of the first vowel, often putting too much emphasis on the unstable, unaccented vowels; Tr siku- ‘hechizar’; Tbr sigu- ‘hechicero’. Ls -qw-, rather than -kw-, suggests a non-high second vowel, i.e., a second vowel of *o instead of *i originally (Langacker 1970), which agrees with SUA TrC (Tr, My). As for the first V, it appears that *a went to the schwa options—i and i—suggesting it may have been unstressed previously, with Sr and Gb maintaining the original a. And note My -bo- (< *bwo) with Tak *-kwo-. Tr ku < *kwu may be the medial reflex vs. the initial.

We also often see what we might call kw-reduction—*kwVC > kuC/kC—where the vowel between *kw and the next C becomes short because the rounding of *kw overrides it, and the result is k + round V + C: e.g., Tr kusá at *kwasa ‘eagle’; Ca kuş at *kwïsi ‘grasp, take’; Tr oke/weke at *kwïkï ‘weep’; and others. Perhaps kw-reduction is more likely between two bilabials, as below:

P131. *kwawa/i ‘invite, call’: Cp kwawe ‘call, invite’; Tr o’wi ‘invite’; Wr oi ‘invite to work’; Eu bowá ‘invite’; perhaps the baa- of TO baamuđ ‘plead, invite’ (lack of TO g < *w is frequent enough). These forms show kw-reduction in some (TrC), which brought the kwo-phenomenon into play in Eu, Tr, Wr, while Cp may come nearest the original *kwawV.

P132. *cakwa / *cakwo / *cakwi ‘catch, grasp, close, lock’: Ls čáqwe ‘seize, catch’; Cp čáqwe ‘catch, grab, cling to’; TO šaakum ‘catch, grasp’; NT saakomi ‘handful’; ST saakum ‘handful’; CN cakwa ‘close, enclose, lock up’; CN cakwi ‘close, get closed, vi’; Pl cakwa (pret cak) ‘close, shut, cover’; Mn cakwiti ‘close, lock, bolt’. Here kw-reduction in Tep between two labials (*kw and m) triggers Tep ku < *kwu, instead of bu < *kwu.
Infrequently mentioned is the fact that Tr often lends itself to Tepiman-like phonology in the labial realm or has variants with Tep correspondences in addition to the usual Tr correspondences. The widely publicized sound correspondence for *kw in Tr is w initially and for *w is also Tr w. While those two are most frequent, Tr has dozens of variant pairs, in which one variant indeed shows the touted w < *kw or w < *w or b < *p, but one variant resembles Tepiman phonology: *kw > w/b or *w > w/g/k or *p > w/b:

*kw > b
Tr wasi-/basi-bura ‘loincloth’ (< *kwasi ‘tail, penis’)
Tr wasu/basu ‘cook in water’ (< *kwasV ‘boil’)
Tr we-mórí/be-mórí ‘dust’ (< *kwíya- ‘earth’)
Tr wa’vé/ba’vé ‘eagle’ (< *kwa’awV > TO ba’ag; Eu páwe)

*kw > gu/go
Tr witá/guté ‘feces’ (< *kwita ‘feces’)
Tr ciwá/cigó ‘rob’ (< *icikwa ‘steal’)

*w > g/k
Tr oná/koná ‘salt’ (< *onja/*omCa; Wr woná)
Tr oona/koona ‘corn cob (Wr wo’ná)

*p > w/b
Tr wíso/bisó ‘infect(ion)’ (Wr pehsóni; PUA *pisVkB ‘rot, infection’)

Other Tr forms show similar and considerable phonological variety:
Tr usabi / kuusabi / guusabi ‘Prunus Capuli’;
Tr utuburi / tutuguri / ŕutuburi ‘type of dance’
Tr uusabi / kuusabi / guusabi ‘Prunus Capuli’;
Tr wíso/bisó ‘infect(ion)’
Tr wici

*kw > w/b
Tr wasi-/basi-bura ‘loincloth’ (< *kwasi ‘tail, penis’)
Tr wasu/basu ‘cook in water’ (< *kwasV ‘boil’)
Tr we-mórí/be-mórí ‘dust’ (< *kwíya- ‘earth’)
Tr wa’vé/ba’vé ‘eagle’ (< *kwa’awV > TO ba’ag; Eu páwe)

*kw > gu/go
Tr witá/guté ‘feces’ (< *kwita ‘feces’)
Tr ciwá/cigó ‘rob’ (< *icikwa ‘steal’)

*w > g/k
Tr oná/koná ‘salt’ (< *onja/*omCa; Wr woná)
Tr oona/koona ‘corn cob (Wr wo’ná)

*p > w/b
Tr wíso/bisó ‘infect(ion)’ (Wr pehsóni; PUA *pisVkB ‘rot, infection’)

Other Tr forms show similar and considerable phonological variety: Tr usabi / kuusabi / guusabi ‘Prunus Capuli’;
Tr utuburi / tutuguri / ŕutuburi ‘type of dance’ (note b-g alternation medially)

P133. Most intriguing is the pair—Tr bineri ‘alone, only, sg’ and Tr a’wineri ‘alone, only, pl’—as if *p > kw when geminated medially, since -w- is a reflex of medial *-kw- in Tr. Tr may do similarly in *kap(p)a ‘egg’ below.

P134. *kap(p)a ‘egg’: Eu akabo-ra; Yq kaba; My kabba; Tr ka’wa, among others.

P135. Another example of medial *-p- > -kw- exists in Num: *yipana ‘autumn’: Mn yība, yibano ‘be autumn’; NP yibano; TSh yipani; Sh yipani; Kw yīvana; Ch(L) yīvana; Sp yīvanna’ / yīwanna; CU yuvwa-na(-tī) / yugwa-na(-tī).

Note that when the labiovelar glide -w- develops in SP -vw-, then the labiovelar -kw- is the next step in the next language east (CU). Similarly, I have heard native speakers of Yaqui pronounce intervocalic -w- with some velar contact: -gw- (< *-w-), and Shaul and Yetman (2007) suspect Op gw was an intermediate step from *w > gw > g. At *hupa (> *howa ‘back’), the Trb variants (ova/owa/ogo) show another instance of velarizations of labials preceding round vowels. Larry Hagberg (p.c.) informed me that in My also PUA *wo is usually pronounced wo, but occasionally go, but not gwo; but with other vowels, *wa, for example, is never pronounced gwa only wa. So round vowels can trigger velarization in labials. In contrast, Monzón and Seneff (1984) note *kw > w, bw, b in various Nahua dialects.

Manaster Ramer’s (1993a) suggestion of *-tw- > -kw- finds support in the My reflex of *icikwa/*it(i)kwa ‘steal’. Among the TrC reflexes (Eu écba’a-n, Trb icikwa, Yq ’étbwa) is My ekbwa, which essentially does the change that Manaster Ramer proposed, changing non-velar t/c to a velar -k- adjacent to the labio-velar *kw/bw.

2.13 Proto-Uto-Aztecan *w

PUA *w remains w in most UA languages. The notable exceptions are the Tepiman branch and Hopi:
PUA *w > Tep g (Sapir 1914; VVH; Miller 1967), and PUA *w > Hp l/a, e, ō (VVH; Miller 1967), and sometimes PUA *w > Trb -ny- or -mw- (Stubbs 2000b). Some Hp -wa- syllables provide inconvenient exceptions to this rule and will be explained later.

We also occasionally see the velar nasal ŋ associated with *w, not unlike the velar stop g in Tep. Munro (1973) noted Ls ŋ appearing in place of *w for several UA sets. See at *kowa ‘snake’; *siwa ‘girl, woman’; *tïwa ‘name’; *tïpiw/*tïpiŋ ‘ask’; *yawi / *yaywi ‘grab/carry’. R. Joe Campbell (1976) similarly notes underlying /ŋw/ in Hueyapan Nahautl, also in *kowa ‘snake’ (kɔŋwa). In fact, Kaufman (1981) actually reconstructs a nasal clustered with the -w-: *konwa ‘snake’. Other forms (TO ko’oi/ko’owi ‘rattlesnake’, Ny ko’o, PYp ko’o at P142 below) also have me suspecting a cluster: *kɔCwa or *kɔNwa. The glottal stops in Tep could be signs of a cluster
that later separated: *koCwa > *ko’wV > ko’o(wV), as in ‘big’ and ‘sick’ (2.6). The Ktn reflex below shows another instance of *w > ŋ.

P136. *yawamin ‘believe’: Sr yawamin ‘to believe’; Gb yawáno ‘believe it’; Ktn yaŋam ‘believe’.
In addition, the Hp combining forms often have ŋ < w, such as -ŋmi < wimī ‘stand’.

Most PUA *w are realized as Tep g. Some exceptions have *w remaining w in Tep. Whether due to early loans, meshing movements, or undiscovered sound laws, collecting such instances creates a useful database:

P137. *winima ‘dance, v’: Hp winima ‘dance, vi sg’; Ch winimi ‘dance, v’; TO wiñim ‘dancer in a harvest ceremony’.

P138. *mawiya ‘mountain lion’: Tr mawiya; Wr mawiá ‘bobcat’; Cr mwáhyé/mwáhayé ‘onza’; TO mawid, pl. maipiđ ‘lion, puma, cougar’; LP mavií; PYp mavidí; NT maviídí; ST maviidy; Eu maviot/mavirot. In Tep this could appear to be from medial *-p-, but we hardly see *-p- so consistently -w- as the apparent *mawiya in TrC and CrC.

P139. *sukaC(-wi) ‘dear’: Tak *suka-t; Trb suhá-t/ suká-t; Tr sohawi; TO huawi. Of course, the -wi in SUA is likely a suffix, perhaps subject to different rules; nevertheless, TO, like Tr, shows -wi, not -gi.

P140. *tiwiL ‘grow, green’: Cp tewe ‘to grow (of plants)’; TO čïwil-him ‘to grow’.

P141. At *kowa / *koNwa / *kolwa / *koCwa ‘snake’ the Tep forms show no g < *w as usual, but only glottal stops and -w-: TO ko’oi/ko’owi ‘rattlesnake’; Nv ko’o; PYp ko’o; NT kói/kóyi; ST ko’.

Sometimes intervocalic *-w- > -v- can make proto-forms seem to be from PUA *-p- instead of *-w-.

P142. *mawiya ‘mountain lion’: *mawiya > mavid in some Tep languages and in Eu.

P234. *na-wakay ‘four’: most languages show -w- in reflexes of *na-wakay, but *-w- > -v- in Eu návoi.

P143. *yuviN > *yuviN ‘ponderosa pine’ (in Num) and > *yuy ‘conifer sp’ (in Tak). The two are likely related, both deriving from s.th. like *yuviN, for *w would be quite hidden in the environments of Tak, and v > w happens often enough in Num: Kw yivi-bí ‘ponderosa or yellow pine’; Ch yuvïmpí ‘pine sp’; CU yïvi-pí ‘pine tree’.


P146. *wokin ‘drag’: Tb wïgïn~wïgïgin ‘drag it’; Hp lóliktína ‘drag, pull behind’; if *w > v, then Sr vöhkin ‘pull, drag’. These seem related, even if Tb’s first vowel does not agree. The fact that four of the five segments agree in Tep and Hp with identical semantics is compelling: *wVkin.

P147. *awa ‘tell’: TO aag(a); TO aagrid; UP ’aagí; LP ’aagi; NT áága; ST ’a’aga; Eu áwa; My hiáwa ‘decir’; Tbr amwá/omwá; Tb aawinat–aawini ‘tell to’; Hp aawína, aawin–aawini- ‘tell, inform, relate, announce’; but Sr aav ‘tell a true story’ seems to show *-w- > -v- in Sr again.

P148. *kamo-ta ‘sweet potato’: Cr kámvah; CN kamo’-tli; Pl kamuh ‘sweet manioc’. ST kamav ‘camote’ perhaps with *-w > v.

P119. *wiLu ‘play a reed flute’: Ca wîrî; Ls wîrî; Sr wïrî’n ‘play a reed flute’; Sr wïrîni ‘play’ reed flute’; WMU wîyu’/evïyu’ni ‘flute’ is very similar to Sr except w > v. Other examples are at *tuwiya ‘dance’.

Other examples are Tbr yavá-n ‘river’ at ‘canyon’ *yaway; Eu sevï ‘tener miedo, v’ at ‘fear’ *sawí; Ca yâvayva ‘lun, liver’ at ‘lun’ *yaway(a)wa; Eu kuvês-rawa ‘summer’ at ‘summer’ *kuwesa.

2.14 Consonant Harmony

Instances of consonant harmony in UA seem to be consistently regressive or anticipatory: that is, a preceding consonant harmonizes with the following or anticipated consonant:

P149. *tanapiko ‘heel’: among others are My témpe’erim and Yq pëmpe’im, Yq’s first consonant harmonizing with the second.

P150. *tiţa > *piţa ‘throw, v’; thereat Yq and all of TrC show *piţa while other branches show *tiţa.

P151. *yoli ‘live, alive, bear, be born’: most reflexes align with *yoLi, and so does Cr ruurikame ‘alma, vida’ (Cr u < *o) except that the first consonant harmonized to the second.

P152. *huCuN- ‘dust’: while seven other languages show *hukuNpV, CU kukuNp (< *kukuNp) shows consonant harmony.

P153. *pacay ‘shine’: TO wadad-k ‘be shiny, bald’; PYp vasad ‘shine, vi’. Consonant harmony in TO.
P154. *pakwa ‘pus’: Tr bawana/wawana ‘erupcion purulent, sarna’; Ls ’apáákwaya ‘rotten wood, punk’. Medial *
-kw- > Tr -w-, so outside of a preceding vowel that Tr lost or Ls gained, both match *pakwa. However, note the
consonant harmony in one of the two Tr variants: wawana.
P155. *tuLipa / *tVLV ‘shake’: whether the final *-pa in CrC is a suffix or not, notice that Cr harmonized the
second consonant to the third: Wc títiríva ‘estar temblando’; Cr rubíbèh ‘tiembla’; Eu turirí nomíkdaa ‘shake, stir’;
Hp tirií ‘be shivering, trembling, shaking’.

2.15 Vowel Behavior (or Misbehavior) in Uto-Aztecan

Early on, Sapir (1913, 402) noticed that “most UA languages seem to assimilate vowels of successive
syllables to each other to some extent, though in varying manner.” He also noted the frequency of vowel syncope
and that the existence of many consonant clusters was due to it (Sapir 1913, 415). In fact, Sapir (1913, 417) goes so
far as to say, “In Nahuatl (as presumably in UA generally) there were no consonant clusters to begin with. All
present clusters have been brought about by the disappearance of short vowels.” I vary from that view only slightly:
even if many present clusters were brought about by vowel syncope, there were also original clusters, even if many
are largely now lost, but sometimes residual evidence of old clusters are perceptible in the reduction of the old
cluster to a single consonant, whether the components of the cluster are retrievable or not.

The UA vowel correspondences are fairly straightforward and obvious by inspection of table 7. Hopi
shifted them one direction (*u > o; *o > ō), while the Corachol languages shifted them the other (*u > ï; *o > u).
CN continued the CrC shift one step further: *u > ï > i. The Tak languages offer less obvious scenarios, treated by
Langacker (1970), who also explains PUA *k > Cup q/o, which q remained even after *o became high front
vowels in Cupan: *a > *qo > qe (Ls) / > qi (Cp, Ca). Examples are at *kuta ‘neck’; *koLoka ‘beads’; and
elsewhere.

2.15.1 Vowels > i/i/e in Unstressed Syllables

Vowel centralization is common in language change. Sapir (1913, 416) noticed that many vowels appear to
change to i in shortended/aspirated syllables and that a ‘dulling’ to ø is common in SP in unaccented syllables (Sapir
1930, 8). This is similar to the schwa-phenomenon in English, wherein short unaccented vowels of longer words
become ø. The UA schwa-equivalents are i and øe.
P156. *(pa)-hawa ‘fog, steam’: Yq bāhe(wa) ‘fog’; AYq haawa ‘vapor, steam, n’; AYq vahewa ‘mist, fog’;
AYq vaiweče ‘fog, mist’; My háawa ‘vapor’; Eu báuua (baúwa) ‘rocío, neblina’; Eu beiwat ‘neblina’; Ca háway ‘be foggy, vi’;
Ca háway-š ‘fog, fog’. The diachronic fragility of h results in a
diphthong or the loss or near loss of the middle syllable after the prefix *pa-.
Also of interest is the fact that all
forms without the prefix *pa- show *hawa (Ca, My, and one AYq form) because the first syllable was likely
stressed, while all forms with prefix *pa- show a higher vowel after pa-, i.e., pa-Øiwa/(h)iwa with second syllable
reductions, because pa- was stressed and thus not the first syllable of *hawa. Furthermore, those high vowels are
the UA schwas, and, like the English schwa, sometimes result from lack of stress in unaccented syllables, not from
PUA *i or *i.
Cm ihtamaki‘ti ‘yawn, vi’; Kw *atawa ‘yawn’; Eu hâta (prêt: hâtuhi) ‘bostezar’; My ten háha ‘awá ‘está
bostezando’; Yq hâawe ‘bostezar’; Cr ha’ateawa ‘bosteza’. Note a glottal stop in Cah corresponding to *t in the
other UA languages: *t > l/r > ï in Cah. Interestingly, in TrC where the first vowel is stressed, the *a is retained
while second and third vowels sometimes change, but in Num where the second vowel is more often stressed, the
first vowel goes to ï, the UA schwa, in all Num forms except Kw.
P158. For *ata(N)kaC ‘grasshopper’, note that the second vowel is consistently a in TSh aataŋki(cic); Sh aatainkh;
Cm aatauki; Kw *ataka-piží; SP aataŋka”, aataŋka-pipi except for some CU variants: 
CU ‘áa-ríká-cí, ‘áa-raká-cí, ‘aa-táká-ci. In the one CU variant, the unaccented a > ï between two accented syllables.
Anticipatory assimilation may explain the Sh diphthong ai, which diphthong often goes to e, but in CU the third vowel
is also a, so only unaccented schwa-like behavior can explain *a > ï in one of the CU variants.
P159. *ayakwi ‘pus’ (at rot): Cp áyexwi-š / áyaxwi-š ‘pus’; Ls ’iyáxwi-š ‘pus’. Ls and one Cp form both show an
unaccented a > i/i, while accented á remains in all cases.
P160. *yaCV 'laugh': Mn yawi; TSh yahi/yahe; Sh yahni"; Cm yahneeti ‘laugh, v sg’ vs. Cm na’yiñeti ‘laugh, v pl’. The two Cm forms are quite identical except that when the prefix *na- is added, the first vowel a becomes the second, and in the unaccented position becomes ï.

P161. *pakuwa 'mushroom, fungus': Mn paagú' 'type of pink mushroom'; PYp vikoga 'mushroom(s); Wr wehkoári 'fungus'; Tr wikubékuri 'large white edible mushroom'; Tr wekogí 'mushroom'; Tr wehorí 'type of edible mushroom'; Tr čohowékuwi 'large white edible mushroom'. The phonological variety in Tr is typical (-weku-, -wiku-, -béku, -weko, weho-) and some forms suggest Tep influence. The Mn, PYp, and one Tr form (-beku-) suggest initial *p, whose reflexes in Tep (v/w) are the loan source of some Tr/Wr forms. The first vowel is probably a on the strength of the Mn form, which a easily assimilates or centralizes to ï/e/i when a greater stress is later in the word.

P162. At *taka 'fruit' are 11 languages with reflexes of *taka, but Kw tïkïpiya 'fruit' shows *a > ï/_i.

P163. *yuhu 'fat, grease': among several Num *yuhu forms with stress usually on the second syllable, we find Kw yïhuu/yuhuu-vï and CU yïú-vi 'fat, oil, grease, lard' which changed *u > ï when unstressed.

P164. *pašweL 'young man': Ca pašwél-iš 'young man'; Cp pišwéliš 'young man'.

P165. *toci 'head': among other SNum *tocí- forms, all accented on the second syllable, is CU tïcí-vi.

P166. *pana 'yucca whipplei': Ls panáá-l; Cp pəná-l; Ca pána-l. Note Cp ə < *a in the unstressed syllable.

Additional examples of schwa-like behavior (V > ï/i), usually in unaccented syllables, can be found at *malkocowa 'hug'; *paca 'long, thin, stretch'; *patto- 'swell'; and above (in P131) *sakwo > *sikwo/sikwi 'bewitch, whip'; and others.

2.15.2 Uto-Aztecan Vowel Assimilations Anticipating Following Consonants

U-to-Aztecan vowels also assimilate toward the point of articulation of the following consonant, anticipating its place of articulation, though again, more often in unaccented syllables, that is, V > o/u before labials and V > i before alveolar consonants.

Rounding of Vowels before Labials

P167. *sa’maC 'spread': Kw sa’ma 'spread out (e.g., a blanket)'; Kw sa’ma-pí 'blanket, mat'; SP sa’ma / sam’a 'spread out (a blanket)'; SP sa’mappï 'spread out, ptc, cover on which s.th. is laid'; Ch som’á 'spread a blanket'. Note Ch’s assimilation of *a > o/_m.

Vowel > i before Alveolar Consonants, Especially in Unstressed Syllables

Note how often reconstructable non-high-front vowels become high-front when preceding an alveolar or when anticipating the point of articulation of what might be considered a “high front” consonant.

P8. *paNtu’ > *paicu’ ‘badger’.

P168. *packo’or 'prickly pear sp.': PYp pasko’or ‘type of prickly pear’; Tr péčuri ‘nopal species’.

P60. In P60 above (*coLowa ‘hungry”), Tr ciriwísa exemplifies the raising influence of three of four consonants being alveolar, with perhaps help from assimilation toward the third accented -í-.

P123. At *pakay ‘three’, Tr bikiyá shows the anticipatory influence of -y-.

P111. From *pa-suLV/suLa ‘sweat’ we have the last two syllables of Wc kwaašiiya ‘sweat, n’ assimilating the V toward y, while Cr táisï’e ‘sweat, vi’ or Cr -sï’e (< *suLV) agrees well with all the other *pa-suLV/suLa forms, mostly of Tep.

NB, as suggested by Ken Hill, Spanish frazada is the source of Hp pösaala, and is the likely source of other UA words for blanket: Ca sáala’a, Tbr pirisál, Yq piisam. Comparing Tbr and Yq, note Yq’s quick loss of r since European arrival. Also note the tendency of alveolars to raise and front preceding vowels (a > i/ before r/l/s/t) in Tbr. Yq.

NB, the vowel in Hp kapiira from Spanish cabra. To separate the Spanish consonant cluster, i emerged, perhaps partially due to its schwa properties, though having become a long vowel hardly has it schwa-like any more, so perhaps more likely is the influence or anticipation of r.
2.15.3 Vowel Assimilations to Other Vowels, Anticipating the Following Vowel or Preserving the Preceding Vowel

Relevant to Sapir’s (1913, 402) generalization that “most UA languages seem to assimilate vowels of successive syllables to each other … in varying manner” are *u-a > o-a (P169-P180), *i-a > e-a (P181-P185, P49), vowel leveling *a-i or i-a > e-e (P186-P197), Tübatulabal’s preservative vowel assimilation (P198-P204), and Nahuatl’s anticipatory vowel assimilations (P205-P209 plus five others) and Tepiman’s (P210-P214) anticipatory vowel assimilations, each treated below:

2.15.3.1 The Partial Anticipatory Assimilation *u-a > o-a

P169. *kuC-taC-pí 'ashes'; TSh kuccappí; Kw ku-ca-pí; SP kuća' 'ashes, light gray'; CU kuca-pí; LS koškuyat 'soot' (vowel is wrong, Miller notes); Hp qócvi (vowel is wrong, Miller notes). Both vowels that Miller notes as wrong (LS and HP) are likely due to *u-a > o-a, because three other forms show *u-a, and *u-a > o-a is natural and explains LS o; otherwise, LS o < *i, which would not work here.

P170. *hupa 'pull out': Kw hovo 'pull out (hair, grass, seeds), v'; Ch hová 'pull out, v'; NV 'upana 'arrancar'. The semantics are identical, as are the correspondences nearly, since NV *< *h. The only difference is *u-a > o-a in NUA, then KW further assimilated the second vowel to the first.

P171. *yuLá 'hang': Ca yúlā 'to hang'; LS yóóra 'to swing, hang in the air'. LS and CA are similar except for the explainable vowel assimilation in LS. That assimilation was later than the one in P175 below, wherein the change was before the LS vowel shift of o > LS e: that is, *suka > *soka > LS *sexá. For note that all of SUA and even SR in Tak show *suka while LS has *seka.

P172. *LukV 'stoop': Ca lúku 'bend the body forward'; LS lóóqa 'stoop'. The fact that LS has final -a allows *u-a > o-a to explain LS o, as in P169 and P171 above and P173 below.

P173. *suka 'to heat, be hot (weather)': LS šéexa 'to simmer, of water when it is about to boil'; LS šéx-ša 'to warm water'; Eu sukáe 'to heat, be hot': Ca sukáa 'to heat, be hot'. CW sukáa 'to heat, be hot (weather)'; CA suška 'be hot (weather)'; NV 'ukadida 'calentar, vt'; NV 'ukagi 'calentarse a la lumbre'; NT ukádi; TO huukadi. LS e < *o suggests *u-a > o-a as an intermediate step: *suka > *soka > LS *sexá.

P174. *yuña 'cactus fruit': Hp yonjó 'prickly pear cactus'; WC yíná; TO júní 'dried saguaro cactus fruit'. Both WC and TO agree with *u, and *u-a > o-a likely preceded o > HP ō, as in P169 and P175 also.

P175. *uŋa > *oŋa '(feel/be) lazy': HP oñá 'not feeling like doing'; HP naa'óñá 'lazy'; SR 'õõña 'lazy'; CP iñi-š, pl. iñícam 'lazy'; CP iñéu 'be unmovvng'; CR wá-šina 'he feels lazy, dropped out'. Note HP n vs. Tak ŋ as in 'suck'. Also note CR ŋ < *u, and *u > NUA *o is easily feasible before a following a.

P176. *uma 'be cloudy': HP oonaw 'cloud'; TR na'oma 'become cloudy, erased'; TR homé- 'be cloudy'. A reconstruction of the first vowel as *u instead of *o is preferred, as we would expect HP ō < *o, and TR sometimes shows o where u is expected anyway, and even if that were not the case, a vowel assimilation or lowering *uma > *oama, a common phenomenon in UA, also explains the TR and TRb forms.

P72. *muCna 'brother-in-law' above may be another example of *u-a > o-a, as one language (SP) shows u, and plausibly all the others lowered to o, yielding *moCna? Sometimes the minority is original.

P177. *muwa 'father': KW muwa; CH móa; SP moa; WNU muwuá-; CU múa; *u-a > o-a in CH and SP.

P178. *pu'na 'pull out, uproot': TO wooni 'pick, harvest, uproot'; LP bona 'arrancar hierbas'; Eu pópna (< *pona 'pull roots/hair'; WR po'na 'arrancar (de hierbas, matas, fruta)'; TR bo'na/bo'ní 'arrancar, sacar a fuerzas'; MY póonna 'arrancar'; WC huñá 'arrancar una cosa inmóvil'; CN kopina 'pull s.th. out, for s.th. to pull itself loose, remove from a mold, copy'; PI kupina 'pull out, tear out, tear off'; NT voopónai 'arrancar'; NT voóπi 'arrancar'; ST tawkuna 'uproot, pull out'; ST voopñña 'pull out (weeds, hair)'; AYq popóna 'pull up, uproot'. Most fit *po'na except the Aztecan forms and ST, which suggest *-pu'na, and in light of the frequency of *u-a > o-a, PUA *u may be the better choice.

We have already noted the Cupan languages show a vowel assimilation from *kuta > *qoLa (Proto-Cupan) 'neck'. So *yuña 'cactus fruit'; *uña 'lazy'; *uma 'cloud'; *hupa 'pull out'; *suka 'heat'; and *kuta 'neck' all seven show NUA lowering the round vowel in assimilating (*u-a > o-a) while SUA languages do not as much.

Subbranches have their frequencies, too. WNUM does so in WNUM *toka (NP, Mn) at *tuka 'black, night, fire goes out'; and in P179 (*tuCcaC) below:

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P179. *tuCcaC / *tuCCaC 'dirt(y)'; Mn tocábi 'dirty one'; NP tocaggiti 'dirty clothes, v'; TSh tucappa’i ‘dirt, dirty’; Ch tucá-vi ‘dirt’.

P180. *muLa 'ear of grain'; *muLa > Cah mo’a > mo(w)a): Yq móá ‘espiga’; My mówwa ‘espigar’, while the rest of SUA is consistent with *muLa: TO muDa ‘tassel’; Nv murhadaga ‘espiga’; Eu murát ‘espiga’; Wr mulá ‘espiga’; Tr murá ‘espiga’; Cr mwée-yu ‘spike/espiga’; NT murááddi ‘la espiga’.

2.15.3.2 The Partial Anticipatory Assimilation *i-a > i/e-a

Similar to *u-a > o-a, so is *i-a > e-a (or > i-a) as common in UA.

P181. *kisa 'chicken hawk': Tak and Hp show *kisa (Cp kísi-ly; CA kíslı ‘chicken hawk’; LS pááki-sh-la ‘chicken hawk’; Gb pakísar ‘chicken hawk’; Sr paathi-k ‘chicken hawk’; Hp kísa ‘chicken hawk’). But SNum assimilated the first vowel to the second or *i-a > i-a (Kw kísa-vi ‘chicken hawk’; Ch(L) kísvu ‘hawk species’).

P182. *witta > witta ‘wrap’ at ‘blanket’ shows SNum *witta, but *witta in CNum and WNum.

P183. At *síka / *síki ‘cut (hair), mow’, Tr has two stems: Tr síki and a secondary stem Tr seká. Other forms (at ‘cut’) with second vowel a also show the change (> i-a); yet other forms level the vowels (> i-i).

P184. *huppa ‘skunk’: among many *huppa forms is CN epa-tl ‘skunk’ which likely acquired its vowel thus—

*uppa > *iapa > CN epa—the last step being i-a > e-a.

P185. *wina > *wina ‘limp, be lame’: CM wihna mí ‘ari ‘walk lamely, limp’; LS wóna ‘limp, be lame’. Note the identity of three of four segments (*wVna), with *i-a > i-a, and i > LS o.

P186. *cikwa ‘rain, v’: TO siibani ‘drizzle, sprinkle’ and Hp cekwekwe-ta ‘be raining big drops as at the outset of heavy shower’ (cekwe- ‘soak’) suggest *cikwa with vowel leveling in Hp.

P187. *kwíLa / *kwaTa ‘badger / tejón’: CA wílyaly ‘badger’; Tbr kwelé-t/kéré ‘tejón’.

P188. *kwiya ‘earth, land’: most vowels reflect *kwiya, but Tr, Wr, and Cr leveled the vowels *i-a > e-e.

P189. *káLi (*kOkoLi > *ko’okoli) ‘hurt, be sick, chili pepper’: While many SUA forms show the reduplication *ko’okoLi, Ca and CP show *koLi > *qoLi > qiLi. Then after acquiring final -a, Ca lowers *i-a > e-a: cf. Cp qílyíqa-t ‘s.th. hot, spicy, strong’; Cp qílyíqatu’nine ‘hurt, sting, v’; Ca qélya ‘feel sore, v’; Ca qélyak ‘peppery, pungent, creating a burning sensation’.

2.15.3.3 Vowel Leveling

Hopi e is the only HP vowel of its six that does not align clearly with PUA’s five vowels. However, vowel leveling of i-a and a-i combinations is often the source of Hp e. Ken Hill (p.c.) also mentions reductions of ai diphthongs as a source of e, another form of vowel leveling.

P186. *cikwa ‘rain, v’: TO siibani ‘drizzle, sprinkle’ and Hp cekwekwe-ta ‘be raining big drops as at the outset of heavy shower’ (cekwe- ‘soak’) suggest *cikwa with vowel leveling in Hp.

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P188. *kwiya ‘earth, land’: most vowels reflect *kwiya, but Tr, Wr, and Cr leveled the vowels *i-a > e-e.


P190. *piska ‘rot, pus, infection’ and Hp peak’e ‘pus, pus-filled infection’. (*piska is more fully elaborated below under phonological reductions.)

P191. *ciya ‘bitter’: CN čičiya ‘bitter, sour’ and Tb ceeeye ‘iit / ‘eeceyeeu ‘be bitter’ show *i-a > e-e.

P188. *kwiya ‘earth, land’: most vowels reflect *kwiya, but Tr, Wr, and Cr leveled the vowels *i-a > e-e.

P192. *pisa ‘pound’: NT viaáhai ‘remoler’; Hp pišiš-i ‘be a continuous drumming or pounding sound’. With vowel leveling, these agree.

P193. *Laya ‘lie with legs/feet spread/pointing outward’: The specific semantic identity of Hp lëes-i-kw-ta ‘lie with feet pointed outward’ and of LS láya ‘lie with legs spread apart’ makes this match quite probable, when we consider that Hp e is usually from vowel leveling, such as a-i / i-a > e-e, or as we have here: aia/aya > ee, as in LS laya and Hp lëes-i.

P194. *náNA-yá’i / *naNCaNy-a’i ‘angry’: Kw náha-yé’e ‘be angry’; Ch nájá-ya’i ‘angry’. Vowels leveled in Kw.
195. *mama’u* ‘woman’: While other languages show *mama’u*, Kw levels the vowels to Kw momo’o ‘woman’; Ch mamá’u ‘woman’; Ch(L) mamau’u ‘woman’; SP maman’u-ci ‘woman, young woman’; WMU mamá-či ‘woman’; CU mamá-ci ‘woman’.

196. *pami* 'girl': My beeme ‘girl’; Yq béeme; Ayq veeme; Tr bamirá. Tr probably shows the more original vowels with vowel leveling occurring in Cahn: *a-i > e-e.

197. *siwa*(N) ‘sand’: While Num shows *siwa*N, the TrC terms level the vowels of ‘sand’ similarly: *siwa > se’e. (See at ‘sand’.)

2.15.3.4 Tübatülabal’s Frequent Preservative Assimilation of Second Vowel to the First

198. *huna* 'out(side)'; NP hunaggw ‘outside’; Sh hunankwa ‘outside’; Cm hunakî ‘outside’; Tb ‘oonooban ‘the outside’. Probably *u-a > o-a > o-o.

199. *mo’olV* ‘bear’: Kw mo’orri-ţi ‘brown or black bear’ and Tb mo’olohy ‘brown bear’.

200. *tuwaC / *tu’aC* ‘to bear, son, child’: among many forms approximating *tuwa*/*tu’a, we have Tb tu’mu ‘baby, offspring’ which even assimilated the vowel of the suffix -*MAL ‘small, young’.

201. *pit-kanas* ‘loincloth, rear-cover’: Hp pitkîna ‘kilt, breechclout’ and Tb piginiš-t ‘shirt’; the latter portion likely relates to *kîna ‘cover’ and the *kanas of Cr (see at clothing) with preservative vowel assimilation in Tb.


203. *ciya* ‘bitter’: Tb ceeyee ‘it’-ceeyeeu ‘be bitter’; CN čişi ‘bitter, sour’; likely *i-a > e-a > e-e.

204. *hu-ma’sa* ‘(arrow-)feather’: Hp homasa ‘wing feather’; Tb ‘umusa-t ‘arrow feathers’.

205. *wakoL* > *wikoL* ‘round’: Tep gakoD; NP wiwono’o ‘ring, circle’; Mn wigo’onogi ‘crooked’; but Tb(M) wiigianat ~ wii gin ‘stir, v’.

212. *mulawi* ‘dance, v’; Tb mulo wu ‘dance, v’; TO mualig ‘(of a person) to spin or dance’.

2.15.3.5 Nahuatl’s Anticipatory Assimilation of First Vowel to Second Vowel

217. *siwaN* ‘sand’: Most of Nemic suggests *siwa*(N), while most of SUA lost -*w- and some leveled vowels, such as My see’e. However, some SUA forms kept the original vowels: Nv hia, TO -hia, Tbr siha-t, and Wc še.káari almost. However, CN šen-li again anticipated the second vowel (iwa > aa), though š is evidence for the original first vowel (AMR 1996d).


220. *cako* ‘small’: Hp cay, pausal acc: càako ‘small, little’; CN coko ‘s.th. very small’. Comparing Hp’s pausal accusative form, CN’s first vowel anticipated or assimilated to the second.

227. *ta’tacowa* ‘push’: CN totočoaa ‘to push, shove someone or something to the front’; Tr na’tačo ‘push each other’; Cr raa-tatâhc ‘lo empuja’; perhaps Yq táhta ‘bump’. Note CN’s assimilation of the earlier vowels to the latter.

230. *to’asa* ‘throw’: We tūsa ‘tirar’; Cr tiú’utu’asah ‘tira (piedra)’; CN tlaasa ‘throw s.o. down’.

231. *taputí* ‘cottontail rabbit’: Sixteen languages match perfectly the four segments *tapu*, which consistency is rare in UA. For CN tooč-tli, we have both loss of intervocalic -*p- and a change of first vowel to second: *taputí > *tapo(i) > *taoc- > CN too-. CrC kept the first vowel, but also lost intervocalic -*p-: *tapoci > *tapci > CrC *ticu ‘rabbit’ in Wc ticiu; Cr taciu’u.

239. *o’mana* ‘sad, suffering’; CN a’mana ‘sad, troubled’; Tr o’moná/-o’móna- ‘be afflicted, saddened’; Tr o’mona-ri ‘sadness, affliction’. Tr and CN agree in the consonants -*m-n-, but disagree in vowels: a-a-a vs. o-o-a. Note CN again has earlier vowels anticipating following vowels *o-V-a > CN a-a-a.
2.15.3.6 Anticipatory Vowel Assimilation in Tepiman: *u-a > ua-a, and *i-a > ia-a

Nevome’s vowel (P210) anticipates the vowel on the other side of the consonant in the other languages.


P211. *suma ‘hungry’: Eu hisúmrara ‘hambre, n’; Eu hisúm ‘haber hambre’; Eu hisúm-ce ‘tener hambre’; ST uama ‘die of hunger’. From *suma > Tep (h)uma > ST uama, ST anticipates the following vowel, as happens often in Tep.

P212. *muLawi ‘dance, v’: TO mualig ‘(of a person) to spin or dance’; Tb muuluwat ‘dance, v’; Tb muuluwii-‘dance, n’.

This pair shows three consonants in agreement. It is plausible that the Tb vowels assimilated between the initial syllable’s u and the third C w, or second assimilating to first as in P198-P204, then with the frequent Tep vowel anticipation, TO’s vowels reflect the original, though shifted a syllable forward: *muLawi > mualig.

P213. *masiwa ‘centipede’: Eu másiwa; Yq masíwe; My masia; TO maihogi; PYP maihig; Nv maiokka (< *mahioga < *masiwa). Wr ma’yaka, Tr maagá/ma’agá, and Tr mahará may derive from Tep loans: *masiwa > Tep *mahiga > mahaga (Tr) and > ma’yaka (Wr). Vocalically TO behaves much like in *muLawi above, anticipating the second vowel, but with rounding toward -w-, a form of anticipation: *masiwa > *maisowV > maihogi.

P214. *si’a > Tep hi’a ‘urinate, v’: TO hi’a; Nv i’a/i’a; PYP hia’a. PYP anticipates the following vowel.

P192. *písa ‘pound’: NT viaáhai ‘remoler’; Hp píisii-ta ‘be a continuous drumming or pounding sound’. Note NT anticipatory assimilation and Hp’s vowel leveling.

P11. *tuti-ka > *cuci-ka > *susí-ka > susu-ka at ‘shoe’ also shows Tep anticipatory vowel assimilation.

2.15.4 Vowel Transposition or Vowel-Line Shift

Another phenomenon frequent in TaraCahitan and sometimes in Tep is what might be called vowel-line shift, transposition, or leapfrog; that is, a sequence of vowels shifts in position relative to the consonants, similar to TO in P212 above: *muLawi > TO mualig.

P149. At ‘heel’ Tr řanikura and Eu tenuka have matching consonants (*t-n-k) and the two forms have a similar string of vowels (i/e-u-a), but the vowels have shifted one slot relative to the consonants.

P215. At ‘rainbow’ are many phonological reductions/puzzles, but clear is another vowel-line shift in these four forms: though the feeble -h- dropped out in Tr/Wr, the vowel pattern persisted, thus leap-frogging the remaining consonants: NT kiihónali ‘rainbow’; TO gihonalí; Wr kenolá; Tr ginórai. Note:

‘rainbow’ *kiihonalí (TO, NT) ‘heal’ Tr řanikura
*kínoha (Wr, Tr) Eu tenuka

P97. From *(wa)Laka ‘snail’ above (CN wilaka ‘caracol de monte’; TR warákoara ‘caracol’; LS muvílaqa ‘snail’; Wr alágaloci ‘snail’; Wr nalágaloci ‘snail’; Tr naráku ‘snail’) is another example of vowel transposition:

Wr a-a-a(l)o-i
Tr a-a-a(i)í

2.15.5 Often *u > ĩ in Numic

P216. *tu’a- ‘good’: CU tii’yay ‘be good/well’; CU tii’a-ţi ‘good’; WMU tii’a-; Yq ti’i ‘bueno, está bueno’; My tu’uri ‘be good/well’.

P217. *suku ‘snake, lizard’: TSh pa-suku ‘water snake’; Mn pasúgu ‘water snake’; Tb pišuugat ‘red racer snake’; Yq/Ayq sikkúča’a ‘coral snake’; Ch šigipici ‘lizard’; CU šigí-nagóy-ći ‘lizard’; Kw čigípi-ži ‘lizard’ (initial *s > c?).

P218. *cukka/*cukki ‘crowded, mixed’: CN ciciika ‘stuff s.th. tight’; SP cikki ‘be mixed with’; CU cík’u ‘narrow, constrained’; Cm cihki/-cikk- ‘crowded’. Since *u > ĩ in CN and *u > ĩ in Num is frequent enough, Num
and CN agree through *cuk, and the final vowels (-a vs. -i) are the active/transitive in CN and stative in Num (except CU).

**P219.** *hu'uC* 'thorn'; Kw hu'u-pi-vi ‘boothorn, desert thorn’; Sh hi'ti- ‘stickers’.

**P220.** *puni* ‘turn, look, see’: Mn puni/poni; NP puni; TSh puni ‘see, look at, study’; Sh puni’/puii ‘see’; Cm puni-ti; Ch puunii ‘see, look’; SP pii ‘see’, vt; CU pii-ni ‘ni ‘look at’;

Hp poni-yi ‘start moving, wake up’. Hp poni-ni-yi is cognate with Num *puni ‘see/look’, as would the more basic stem Hp ponî ‘turn, bend’ be also, as in Hp ponî-l-a ‘turn, make turn, steer’ as well as the Tak forms *puni ‘turn’. ‘He turned to look’ and ‘he turned’ and ‘he looked’ can all apply to the same instantaneous event. Note that the eastern end of the SNum line (SP, CU) changed *u > ï.

**P221.** *hupi* ‘bumblebee’: Mn hupi ‘bumblebee’; NP huupi-ni ‘bumblebee’; St hupi ‘stickers’.  

P222. *muCta* ‘cholla cactus’: Cp múta; Ca múta; Ls múta-l; Sr muutj; Sh(C) mïca ‘cactus’.

While Tak shows u, the Num form has ï, as well as *c > *-Ct or *-tt.

**P223.** *yuna/i* ‘pour, put’: Mn tïyuna ‘pour into’; Cm tïyu ‘pour water on, water, vt’; Ch yuná ‘put pl obj’s’; CU yûna ‘scatter, put pl obj’s’; Kw yïna ‘pour’. Note a Kw form showing yïna < *yuna.

Many other examples of *u > ï in Num are in the comparative vocabulary.

### 2.15.6 Some NUA ï align with SUA i

**P7a.** NUA *tikïya* ‘deer’

**P7b.** SUA *ciki* ‘white-tailed deer’

**P224a.** NUA *pïcïN* ‘duck’: Mn pïyi; NP pïyi; TSh pïyi; TSh pïyi; Sh pïyi; Cm pïyi.

**P224b.** SUA *pici* ‘duck’: Pl pïiši ‘duck sp’; Eu bavici/babici ‘duck’.

**P225.** *sïpi* ‘berry tree’: Hp sïpi ‘sumac’; Hp sïpi ‘sumac berry’; Tbr sipí ‘capulin’.

**P14.** *tiyuna* ‘keep’: Mn tiyuna ‘store, v’; NT šiid yúñdy ‘retacar, guardar, llenar mucho’.

**P137.** *winima* ‘dance, v’: Hp winima ‘dance, vi sg’; Ch winìmi ‘dance, v’; TO winim ‘dancer in a harvest ceremony’.

### 2.15.7 Pima de Yepáchic (PYp) Vowel Metatheses

PYp occasionally metathesizes its first two vowels from a pattern of PUA *a-i > i-a, or *a-u > u-a:

**P2.** At *paCti’a* ‘bat’ several languages illustrate *paCti’a > *paci/*paca, but PYp *-pisa < *pica.

**P226.** *yalipá* ‘poison’: Mn (y)nilpá ‘poison, n’; Mn enapá ‘poison, v’; Wr yeloa ‘poison, n’; Wr yeloe-na ‘poison, vt’; PYp dirav ‘poison for fish’. PYp fits well, because Tep d < *y and v < *p, and it shows the same metathesis as in ‘bat’; i-a < *a-i. TrC (Wr) often shows intervocalic -p > -w- late in a word.

**P41.** From *taputi* ‘cottontail rabbit’ note the vowel metathesis in PYp *tuwá ‘cottontail’.

### 2.15.8 Vowels’ Effects on Consonants

Besides the palatalizing effect of high vowels (*t > c) discussed above, low vowels (PUA *a and *o) often caused *k > q; *k > q/a is common in Num, Tak, and Hu, but Tak changed *ko > *qo, then kept q even after the subsequent Cupan vowel changes of *o > i (Ca, Cp) and > e (Ls), which then yield Ls qe and Ca/Cp qi < *ko (Langacker 1970). Examples are at *kuta ‘neck’; *koLi ‘hurt, be sick, chili pepper’; *ko’ci ‘sister, older’; *koyni ‘plow’ at ‘plant, v’; and others.
2.15.9 Compensatory Vowel Lengthening with Consonant Cluster Reduction

Other examples exist, but the following introduce the phenomenon of compensatory vowel lengthening in conjunction with consonant cluster reductions: CVCCV > CVVCV. Examples in Tb include Tb(V) pa’nínt ‘ant’ vs. Tb(M) pa’nínt ‘ant’; and Tb(M) polo’mat ~ ‘opoloolum ‘bend, vi’.

Ls also provides examples. At ‘touch’ are Cp náxka ‘be rough’; Cp náxkañáxka’a-s ‘rough, adj’; and Ls nááx/a/i ‘scratch, scrape, vi, scratch, brush against, vt’. These show a cluster in Cp being reduced in Ls with compensatory lengthening of the vowel. In contrast to most Tak terms for ‘sky’, which show no long vowels in Ca túkva-s, Cp túkva’a-s, or Sr tukuhpí, we see the long vowel in Ls túúpa-s, which again appears to be due to the reduced cluster. The Ls *p remaining a stop (vs. -v-) is evidence of the previous -kp- cluster (*tukupa > *tukpa > *tupa); nevertheless, a long vowel appears in Ls which is not found in any of the other forms.

Hopí’s long vowel with falling tone in some dialects (àa), aspiration in others (ah), usually signifies a previous consonant cluster reduced to one consonant with compensatory vowel lengthening, for -àa- at least and for -ah- if -h- is considered a voiceless vowel continuation of the preceding vowel.

P28. *naNkapV ‘leaf’: Kw naga-ví; Ch nanká-va; SP maaví-nanqá-ví ‘leaf’; SP naqava ‘ear’; Tb nanhabí-i; Hp náapi / nahpi ‘leaf’. Note that Hp lost -k- / -etak- and that Hp náapi / nahpi shows -p- (not -v-) usually due to a previous cluster, and with the reduced cluster, Hp has a long vowel.

P27. *wiL-pa’a ‘tall, long, great-height/length’: Hp wípa ‘tall, long’ is a compound of *wiL-pa’a ‘big-height/length’. Hp -p- (vs. -v-) means a cluster, yet the first morpheme does not inherently have a long vowel. So the long vowel in the compound is due to a cluster’s reduction with compensatory lengthening.

P73. TO toon-k ‘hill’; SP tonmoqwi / tunnuqwi ‘a hill rises’. The long vowel in TO appears to be long due to the cluster reduced in TO, but still apparent in SP.

P72. *mo’na / *mo’ona > monna / moona ‘son-in-law’: Sh monappí; Kw mono; SP monna; Hp mó’ónaŋw ‘male in-law’; Eu mó’, Mo mó’né; My mó’one; Tbr moa-saká-r; Wc muune; Cr mú’u ‘affinal relative’; mu’un ‘yermo’; CN moon-tli ‘son-in-law’; PI muunti; Ca miŋkiw’a. The long vowels in CN, Pl, and Wc are obviously not original, as a dozen other UA forms show short vowels with an intervocalic glottal stop or a cluster (-n/-nn), so the long vowels in the three are secondary and appear to be due to reduced consonant clusters.

With *yu’ma ‘tired, worn out’ we see clusters in Tb yu’mat~‘uuyu’m ‘worn out’ and Ch yum’á ‘tired, suffer, drunk, dead, pl’, but without the cluster, we see a longer vowel in Yq yúume ‘cansarse’ and My yuúme ‘se está cansando’. These examples suffice to introduce the fact that consonant cluster reduction with compensatory vowel lengthening is a feature of UA comparative phonology.

2.16 Phonologic and Syllabic Reductions

Reduction resulting from loss of syllables and phonological detail is universal in language change, yet its severity in UA can be spectacular. Words or compounds of more than two-syllables seldom retain all the syllables in many UA languages. While the first syllable is occasionally lost, the first syllable is by far the most stable. Most reductions occur in the second or later syllables, phonological deterioration being most remarkable at the ends of long words. However, which languages reduce which parts (middle or end) and what circumstances trigger reduction in the various languages and branches await clarification. For now, let’s simply note some examples so that we can begin thinking about it, watching for it, and collecting instances for a more comprehensive study of this phenomenon.

P190a. *pisVka ‘(become) rotten, infected’: besides many of the forms below, Miller (M88) astutely lists TO wi’ikam remnant, survivor’; Tr bi’ká ‘podrise’. (Note TO’s probable separation of a cluster with an echo vowel—wi’ka > wi’ika—as in 2.6 or P48, P49). This set is more clear when considering terms for ‘pus/infection’ in addition to ‘rot’. Three consonants appear to be involved, though the second vowel is least clear. Possible reconstructions include *pisika / pisaka / pisoka > *pisika. Note the cluster -sk- in Sr and Tb, but s in most of Takic and in Central Nemic, but k in SNNum and in TrC, and -h- in WNum.

PUA *piska / *pisika ‘pus, infection, rot(teen), spoil(ed)’
Mn píhi ‘rot’; píhika ‘be infected’
NP píhi ‘rot’
TSh píisi ‘rot’; pisippí ‘pus’
Sh pisi-ppí ‘rotten’

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Cm pisi(ppï) ‘pus, infection’
Kw piki ‘rot’; piki-pï ‘pus’
Ch piki ‘rot’
CU piki ‘rot’
Hp seekeye ‘pus, pus-filled infection; vi: get infected, rot, decay’
Tb piškiš-(it) ‘have pus’
Sr pišqa ‘rot’
Ch piki ‘rot’
Hp peekye ‘pus, pus-filled infection; vi: get infected, rot, decay’
Tb piškiš-(it) ‘have pus’
Sr pišqa ‘rot’
Ca pisa ‘spoil, rot’
Cp pisá’e ‘rot, go sour’
Ls pisa ‘rot’
Eu viik ‘pus, sore’
Yq bikáa ‘rotten’
AYq viika ‘infected’
My biká ‘pus’; bikára ‘rotten’
Wr pigañi ‘rotten’; pigapáñi ‘rot’
Tr biká ‘pus, rotten’; biká-me ‘rot’
Cr pe’ečíra’a ‘está hueco, podrido’

Clearly *pi is the first syllable. Beyond that, several languages show *s and several show *k; however, some show both s and k (Sr, Tb, perhaps Mn), and others show hints of both. For example, the glottal stop in some Takic languages (Cp, Ls) aligns with k. In addition, the word-final gemination in the Central Numic languages (TSh, Sh, Cm) suggests an underlying third consonant, and k is a good guess, judging by the other forms (pisí-pï < *pisik-pï). Hopi’s palatalization of the k (k’) is a natural for a possible underlying -sk- cluster, with a near palatal plus velar reducing to a palatalized velar (sk > k’). What’s more, Hp vowel leveling of i-a or a-i > e-e is apparent elsewhere (P186, P189, P193). So all 20 languages show initial *pi, 10 show s, 13 show k, two show both (Sr, Tb), and seven display phonological hints of both (Hp, TSh, Sh, Cm, Mn, Cp, Ls). Thus, it is another example of the eventual loss of a syllable in most of the languages, though the languages are split as to which syllable is lost—second or third, but seldom first. A reconstruction like *pisoka could also include Wr and Tr *piso, though Wr, Tr *pika ‘rot’ also exist.

P190b. *piso ‘pus, infection’; Tr bišó/wisó ‘supurar, infectar un grano o herida’; Wr pehsoni ‘pus’.

P190c. *pika ‘sore’: Mn piha’ayee ‘become itchy, become rash-like’; Kw pakagi’i-dí ‘sore, pain, ache, be sore’; SP pakka ‘sore, pain’; SP pikka ‘sore, hard’; CU pikyá-vi ‘poke-mark, sore’. Note Eu biikát ‘llaga, materia’ and others above, likely from reduction: *piska > pikka. Note Num k > WNum h.

P228. *asipu(to Nki) ‘butterfly’: TSh aasiputunkwi; Sh a’asiputunkh; Kb a’asiputunk; SP ašiputunkh. While Numic *asipu has much in common with Cr ašipu ‘butterfly’, the aši-portion is likely from Cr aši ‘bat’; another UA term for bat became butterfly in Eu (see *so’o-mati’a ‘bat’).

P101. *wiN lukhunk ‘buzzard’ (above) is another wonderful example of reductions in many languages. Only four languages show all three syllables; the other fourteen languages reduced three syllables to two in one way or another.

P231. At ‘cricket’, that the forms of so many languages are reductions is obvious, so a comfortable reconstruction is not.

P149. At *tanapiko ‘heel’ an array of noteworthy reductions is apparent in most reflexes.
P215. At *kosamaLo ‘rainbow’ notable reductions in Azt, but reduced relatively in SUA: *kosamaLo > *kionoLi (NT, TO) > *kiiHLo (rest of Tep) > *kuLu (in Cah *kurues) > *kinoLu (Tr, Wr) (See at rainbow for full treatment.)

P232. *(wiC)-tono’oki ‘scrape, pull out’: TSh -tono’oki(n) ‘scrape, vt’; TSh (wi)tono’oki(n) ‘scrape, vt’; Ch win’ogí ‘shave (body), rake, v’; Sh(C) wi-noih ‘scrape, v’; Sh(C) -noih ‘yank, pull out, vt’; Sh(M) -noih ‘pull out’. Ch lost 4 segments and Sh(C) lost more than half, losing 6 of the 11 segments apparent in TSh, both reducing 5 syllables to 3.

P233. *topo-mukki ‘heat-die = thirst’: TO tonom(kam); Nv tonomu(giga) n(v); LP tono; NT tonómo; ST tanoom / čanoom / tonmo. Due to high mortality rates for 3rd and 4th syllables, compounds whose last morpheme is *mukki ‘die’ often lose -ki, showing only -mu or -m. Another example follows.

P234. *kawawa ‘angry’: Hp kwal(k-) ‘boil, become enraged, get angry, vi’; TO baga ‘be angry’; *kwa > Tep ba and *w > Tep g and > Hp I. NT baamúku ‘be angry’ has Tep baa- compounded with *-mukki/i ‘die’, but only -m of the *-mukki/i survives in other Tep languages: PYp baam ‘get angry’; ST baam.


P236. *sia-wakay ‘four (two two’s): Tr nawosa/nagó; Wr naó; Eu návoi (w > v); Tbr narikí > na’iki > naiki. But where did r come from? In any case, note reductions: *na-wakay > *naiki (loss of -C-, assimilation of vowels toward -y), > *nawi (Azt), > *nawka (Wc), > *nayo-woyo (Hp), > nawo / nawk (Tb, Wr, Tr, Eu).

P237. *suwotokoma’sí(N)wi ‘nine’: Kw suukumísu; SP šuwárokomma’síŋwi; CU suwárogómasuwí-ini; WMU suwadogomsu. Note the reductions in Kw and WMU, from seven syllables to four in Kw.

P2. *so’opaci’ta ‘bat’ reduced to *so’peci in some SUA languages, but reduced further to *soci-k in Cah (Yq, My), from five syllables to two.

P238. *yawamin ‘believe’: Sr yawamín ‘to believe’; Gb yawáyno ‘believe it’; Ktn yajám ‘believe’; but Tb yahn~’aayanh believes, vt shows considerable reduction, two syllables reduced to an -hn- cluster, yet typical of UA is its reduction of four syllables to two.

P239. *tosa-kammu ‘cottontail rabbit (lit: white jackrabbit)’: Cp tísixa-t; Cs tóóšaxi-t/toóšiqa-t/toóšíxi-t; Sr tiíχq’; Gb toóšxot ‘conejo’. Only Mn tosaqami ‘mountain rabbit’ reveals the compound *tosa ‘white’ and *kammu ‘jackrabbit’ and keeps all four syllables. The vowels are horrible, but the reductions typical.

P240. *siCtoko ‘braid’: TSh sítííko’t ‘braid’; Kw síídogq’o ‘braid’; Sh(C) taqtooq’i ‘braid’; Sh(C) tasínu-nahí ‘braid’. CU sugway ‘braid one’s own hair’ and Sh tasínu- both reduced the -Cto- syllable to extinction.

P21. *tukan-pa ‘sky, up, above’: Tb tugummba-li; Mn tíaqapa ‘above’ (< *tukupa:b); Sh tukumpana; Ch tugúmpa; and most other Num languages reflect *tukum-pa. Cp tükva’á; Lu tíaqaya ‘sky’; and Hp tokpela ‘sky’ lost a vowel, thus a syllable. Lu tíupa-s lost the -ku- syllable, but has *p remaining a stop (vs. *w- due to a -kp- cluster: *tuka > *tupa > *tupa. SUA *tikpa-(wa) also syncopated the second vowel (like Cp, Lu, and Hp) to yield SUA *tikpa-(wa) > Tep *túvagi, even showing the same -wa syllable apparent in Hp tokpela (Hp I < *w), though Tep lost all evidence of a cluster.

P241. *wakati ‘younger sister’; NP wannaka’a ‘younger brother’ (nasal anticipation); Tr wayé / wa’i ‘younger sister (of a man)’; My wa’áyi; Yq wai; Cr ne’-iwa’a-ra’a ‘my relative/younger sister’. M67-493 includes Wc *iwá ‘cousin’. Add Ca wayál? ‘younger sister’ and Cp wáxal?i ‘younger sister’ (Tak *wakati). In both Ca and Cp, the final i is not an absolutive suffix. A proto-type more like the Cupan forms may explain NP’s velar nasal and Cupan’s liquids, though Tr’s glottal stop from a cluster indeed eliminates most detail. Intervocalic *-t- > -r- is common in Tr, but the much lacks supporting explanatory examples:

* wakati > wakalyi (Ca, Cp)
  > *wakri > *wa yi/wayi (My, AYq, Tr)
  > *walka > *wanka... (NP)
2.17 The Active vs. Stative -A/-I Verb Alternation

A morphological feature worth noting before turning readers loose on the comparative sets is a final vowel alternation on verbs in most UA languages: *-a ‘transitive, active’ vs. *-i ‘intransitive, passive, stative’. Others have mentioned it in a language, branch or few branches (Sapir 1930, 73, 143; Whorf 1935; Langacker 1977, 132; Dakin 1982), but it is in all eight branches and more prevalent than most Uto-Aztecanists are aware, so for perusal it is copied here from the grammatical morphemes at the end of the comparative vocabulary. This feature may, in the future, clarify some matters, such as *u-a > o-a > o-i in some verbs. In the comparative vocabulary, the reconstructions of some verbs end with -a/-i, mainly because the forms are split as to final -a or -i ending, not necessarily because that verb is identified as having this feature, though it may well have had historically. In Tep, this feature is often employed as an old perfective or past tense, not unlike English -ed which serves as both past tense and passive/stative.

P242. *-a/-i ‘vowel alternation on the end of verbs such that *-a ‘transitive, active’ and *-i ‘intransitive, passive, stative’: Sapir 1930, 73, 143; Whorf 1935; Langacker 1977, 132; Dakin 1982:
Cr -i ‘stative suffix’ (Casad 1984, 159);
We can ‘romper’; We sani ‘roto’;
Yq -i ‘stative suffix’ (Estrada Fernández et al 2004, 399);
Wr has transitive verbs ending in -a with corresponding intransitive verbs ending in -i (Miller 1996, 130):
Wr ço’a ‘put out fire’; Wr ço’i ‘be no fire’;
Wr wela ‘put upright/standing’; Wr weri ‘be upright/standing’;
Wr mo’a ‘put pl obj’ inside’; Wr mo’i ‘enter, pl subj’;
Wr sa’wa ‘cure s.o., alleviate s.th.’; Wr sa’wi ‘be alleviated, go away’;
Tr chan ‘leave s.th. behind, vt’; Tr chá ‘be stuck, vi’;
CN also has such pairs of verbs (Sullivan 1988, 171):
CN tla-tema ‘fill, place s.th.’; CN temi ‘be full, be lying down’;
CN tla-kotona ‘break s.th.’; CN kotoni ‘be broken’;
CN tla-mana ‘put s.th. on the floor’; CN mani ‘be stretched out, extended’;
CN tla-toma ‘undo s.th.’; CN tomi ‘be undone’; and so does Tbr:
Tbr towa ‘leave s.th. behind, vt’; Tbr towi/tovi ‘stay, remain, vi.’
Nv vurha ‘atar, vt’; Nv vurhi ‘atado’;
Nv tuha ‘moler, vt’; Nv tuhi ‘cosa molida’;
Nv viriok ‘desatar’; Nv virioki ‘cosa desatada’;
TS hawa ‘boil, vt’ and TS hawi ‘be boiling, vi’; and others;
SP muntunaa ‘cover oneself’ (active); SP muntun’i ‘be covered’ (stative) (Sapir 1930, 73, 143);
SP yauqqwa ‘push in’; SP yauqqwi ‘go in, set (of sun)’;
SP yunna ‘put down (pl obj’s)’; SP yunnia ‘fall, drop down, pl’;
SP ton’na ‘strike, hit, vt’; SP ton’i ‘shake, vi’; SP ova ‘pull out hair, vt’; SP ovi ‘come out (of hair), vi’
SP paçá’a ‘fasten s.th., vt’; SP paçá’i ‘hang, be fastened, vi’
SP tuğwa ‘put fire out, vt’; SP tuğwa / tuğwi ‘fire goes out, vi’
SP yunna ‘put down (pl obj’s), vt’; SP yunnia ‘several fall, drop, vi’
SP münis ‘turn over, vt’; SP münis ‘turn over, vi’
WMU spèg ‘náa-ti (i) ‘flatten, vt’; WMU spèg ‘ni ‘flat, stative/adj’
WMU ‘-núg-y ‘put in, stick in’; WMU núgi ‘wear, be in, be put in’
WMU tuğwá-y ‘put fire out, vt’; WMU tuğwi ‘fire went out by itself, is gone out (stative/past)’
Hp -iwa ‘passive suffix’ eliminates final -a of transitive verbs, so it could feasibly also be -a > -i with added -wa:
Hp aama ‘buried’ vs. aamiwa ‘was buried’; Hp paata ‘melt, vt’; Hp paati ‘melt, vi’;
maqa ‘give’ vs. makiwa ‘was given’ (Ken Hill 1998b, 881);
Tb -(i)w ‘passive’; like Hp, the examples show -i of -iw changes verb final -a > -i (Voegelin 1935, 99);
ST taañ’i ‘partir, rajar, vt’; ST taañ’i ‘partirse, rajarse, vi.’
Ls has this feature, but somehow reversed it to -a being intransitive/passive and -i being active/transitive.
Some languages have the final -i vowel as the perfective (having been done) rather than stative (is done):
Cm -i ‘completive suffix on verbs’ (Charney 1993, 142-3);
Ca -i ‘realised’ (Seiler 1977, 138-40);
TO -i ‘perfective is marked by a final vowel change to –i’ (Langacker 1977, 131);
Op -i ‘perfective changes final -a to -i’ (Shaul 2003, 25);
Eu -i ‘the final stem vowel changes to final -i for the Eu preterite (past tense) in many, if not most Eu verbs, vs. Eu -a-n ‘present indicative verb ending’;
Eu hipra-n ‘watch over, care for’ vs. preterite: hipri ‘watched over, cared for’;
Eu maka-n ‘give’ vs. preterite: maki ‘gave’;
Eu taha-n ‘burn’ vs. preterite: tahi ‘burned’;
However, some Eu verbs show an -a transitive and -e intransitive distinction (e being halfway from a to i in position), as well as the -i preterite for both:
Eu wehra ‘stand s.th. up, vt’ (pret: wehri); Eu wehre ‘stand up, grow, vi’ (pret: wehri);
Eu pitása ‘smash, flatten, vt’ (pret: pitási); Eu pitáse ‘be/get flattened’ (pret: pitási).

An -a/-o- alternation in the first stem vowel may exist for some verbs.
P243. *kappi / *koppi ‘break’
P244. *nama / *noma ‘cover’ at close.
P245. *Lami / *Lo(‘)mi ‘fold’: Ca lámi-n ‘fold, wrinkle’; Wr lo’mi-na-ni / lo’mi-ca-ni / lo’mi-ná-ni / lo’mi-cá-ni ‘bend s.th. almost double, s.th. supple like a sapling, vt’. We can hardly put this at circle where *nom ‘bend’ already has Ca ními ‘bend, vi’.

Unanswered Questions

A phonology section would not be complete without a list of puzzles to ponder relative to Uto-Aztecan comparative phonology that await clarification: (1) Given that PUA initial *t > r in Tr, from whence are Tr’s initial t? (2) While loss of initial syllables may explain some initial liquids in UA, does that explain all initial liquids in Uto-Aztecan? (3) What are the sources (plural) of NUA velar nasal ŋ? While some nicely correspond to SUA n, a half dozen or more align with velar stops (k/g), and others align with consonant clusters involving a nasal, and what else might be their source(s)? (4) While all four branches of NUA have velar nasals medially, why do only Hp and Tak have them initially? (5) What is a comprehensive explanation for the nasal-liquid group of consonants? (6) What is the source of the retroflex ş in Tak? (7) A seeming split in Ktn and Sr where many *s > h, but *ş > ş/š makes one wonder: what is the origin of each? (8) Do we have another PUA phoneme or is another explanation available? (9) Several questions relative to medial consonants and consonant clusters remain unanswered, if even identified.
PART THREE: THE COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

PRELIMINARY COMMENTS

Both English and Spanish headings highlight each semantic section, but they are in the alphabetical order of English. Each number is considered a cognate set. Sets are given separate letters under the same number when two or more groups of words are plausibly related, but different enough to be uncertain, or when marked semantic or phonological differences ought to be highlighted, even if the set’s cohesiveness is certain. Following the number is a tentative reconstruction or two, as this is a work in progress. After all, reconstructing all known UA sets has not been attempted for nearly a half century, since Miller 1967, which contained 20% of this collection. Then are listed the cognate collections and sometimes other articles that have previously cited the set. Sets with no such previous citations (about half) are original to this work, as far as the author knows. Then are listed the reflexes of the various languages. If a word’s definition is essentially the same as the first or preceding definition, it may not be repeated. Absolutive suffixes may be separated from nouns whether the source did so or not. Most of these are common knowledge to Uto-Aztecanists, though a few suffix boundaries can be debated. After the reflexes, some discussion may accompany less obvious inclusions and complexities—sometimes to clarify, sometimes to verify that not all is clear to the author either. A phonology bracket may note phonological phenomena in the set. The final bracket lists the branches represented by the reflexes. When all letters under the same number seem likely to be related, then the branch bracket follows all letters. Sometimes enough doubt looms over the union of the letters (as to whether they are from the same proto-form or not) that separate branch brackets follow each letter. At the end of each semantic section are notes (NB) referencing other sets, potential sets, loans, or other information relevant to that semantic section. If a comparison seems less than probable, but worth contemplating, it is not given a number, but is listed among the NB (nota bene [note well]) below the semantic group, for consideration.

Miller 1988 lists only reflexes, but not reconstructions. Kenneth C. Hill’s revision of Miller 1988 (KH/M06) offers some reconstructions, and cites Alexis Manaster Ramer (AMR) for reconstructions from AMR, as the two have been in frequent contact through years of periodic collaborative discussion on UA, two eminent Uto-Aztecanists, to be sure.

Many UA languages require a glottal stop to begin words that would otherwise begin with a vowel. That feature exists in enough UA languages that many Uto-Aztecanists reconstruct initial glottal stop (*'V) for otherwise vowel-initial forms. I do not necessarily disagree with that, but am ambivalently still thinking about it. So many other matters seem more pressing, that for that matter I simply leave it to each reader to supply such glottal stops for vowel-initial reconstructions if preferred. In SP, Sapir has some vowel initial entries and others with glottal stop ('V), and if he is right, as he usually (but not always) is, then a pervasive application of either would be wrong, each item being a separate consideration.

Pragmatically, reconstructions mostly deal with the first two syllables, sometimes three. Beyond that, compounding and concatenations of morphemes are less sortable. Much value for comparative UA can be gained when more of that level of comparative sorting is accomplished, first at the branch levels, which has been started for some branches, whether in sources or in the heads of branch specialists, but not a lot on paper yet. Thus, much remains to be done in those areas.

Also worth noting is a philosophical difference in recording between some Central Numicists and Southern Numicists. Many Central Numicists (perhaps following Miller) record what they believe to be underlying forms while Western and Southern Numicists record sounds, from which one can usually determine underlying forms, but perhaps not always. As a Southern Numicist, I prefer recording sounds. For example, -ŋ- may or may not always be from *-nk- as Central Numicists seem to assume, but may be from other clusters, and -r- may or may not always be from intervocalic *-t-; it could possibly be from a liquid or an older *-Ct- cluster or who knows what else. To put such assumptions into a dictionary can introduce analytic errors. Nevertheless, I have tried to accurately relay the dictionaries’ data, in the hope that the associated reconstructions and discussion can clarify such potential complications.

As a working database for UA comparativists, I also include possibilities for consideration with cautionary phrasing such as: ‘what of this?’ or ‘might this tie to that?’ In conclusion, those citing this work should check the original sources for more detailed information about the stem’s tenses, aspects, morphological derivations, uses, etcetera, than is practical for including in a reference database such as this, wherein the simple stem alone is usually listed.
3.1 THE ALPHABETIZED COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

Able: see strong
Above: see up
Accompany: see with
Acor: see oak
Adhere: see stick(y), pitch

ADOBE
1a. *sami ‘bread, baked/solidified dough (1a) or mud’ (1b): Campbell and Langacker (1978) note that the origin of this UA term is from Mixe-Zoquean, which Wichmann (1995) also lists as *sam ‘to heat’; CL.Azt176 *saamV ‘tortilla, baked thing’; Po sam ‘tortilla’; CN saami-tl ‘adobe’; PI šamaaniya ‘toast tortillas’; Tl šomíl ‘adobe’; many of the above items Miller lists in both M88-sa20 and M88-sa17, which Ken Hill (KH/M06) astutely sorts. To those, let’s add Tbr semí’tu ‘pan’ and PYp ham-kus ‘bread’ in light of Tep *h < UA *s. This loan into UA means both ‘bread’ and ‘adobe’, perhaps as baked gooey stuff that solidifies. My bread turns out like brick, too. And the PYp term would suggest that it came into UA before *s > Tep h. [SUA: Tep, Tbr, Azt]

1b. *sapi ‘adobe, baked/solidified mud’: L.Son230 *sami ‘adobe’, M88-sa17; KH/M06-sa17: Nv sami; Eu saami; Wr samí; My saámim (pl.); My sáami ‘pared’; Tbr camé; Cr šáami ‘adobe brick’. Miller states that Cr is borrowed from CN šaami-tl ‘adobe’. Lionnet lists Nv sami ‘adobe’. Ken Hill adds TO šaamt ‘adobe’ as a loanword and PI šamaamia ‘toast tortillas’. Let’s also add PYp samit ‘adobe’ and Nv samita ‘make adobes’. Curiously, we see h in PYp for ‘bread’ but s in PYp, Nv, and TO (i.e., Tep) for ‘adobe’. Thus, the latter are apparently more recent loans into Tep from other SUA languages, since Tep h corresponds to *s (as in ‘bread’ above); however, to suggest that a loan could spread so wide since the sound change *s > h may present other problems; on the other hand, Tbr’s agrees with Tep s, though most terms suggest UA *s. Might UA *sami ‘wet’ (which includes NUA forms) be related? [c/s; *s > h in Tep] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

2. *supa- ‘adobe’: Dakin 1982-84; Stubbs2003-8: Tr supá-na-ri; Tr supá-ca-ri; Wc šínariyya ‘adobe’. To Dakin’s astute observation, let’s add NT úupasai ‘el adobe’; NT úupasai ‘hacer adobe’. Because *s > Tep h, then Tep h > ó in NT, the NT úupasai fits the 2nd Tr term perfectly, i.e., Tr supá-ca-ri. Length and two different Tr terms combine to suggest we are dealing with a compound. The 1st Tr term and Wc both have *su...nari in common, since Wc i < *u. Furthermore, in CrC, *p > h/ó, which would encourage the loss of the isolated vowel as 2nd element of a dipthong: *supa-na > *sí-a-na > *sí-na. All forms suggest a reconstruction of PUA *supa, and two forms suffix *-ca for *supa-ca (Tr, NT) and two suffix *-na for *supa-na (Tr, Wc). [medial *p > h/ó in CrC, then syllable loss] [SUA: Trn, CrC, Tep]

NB, Kw ’aríi’ée is a loan from Spanish adobe, but note the vowel perception or change of *o > ì, perhaps *o > u > í, as u > í is common in Num.

Afraid: see fear
Afternoon: see sunset

AGAVE, MAGUEY, MESCAL; see also cactus, yucca, alcohol
3. *amú / *(a)muwV (Jane Hill, p.c.) ‘agave’: BH.Cup *’amúl; HH.Cup *’amúúl; M67-482 *mu, *(h)umu; Fowler83; Munro.Cup3 *(a)muú-l ‘agave’; KH.NUA: Miller has overlapping forms in M88-’a25 ‘agave’, u8 ‘yucca’, and mu19 ‘yucca’; Ken Hill brings together the more sound inclusions in KH/M06-mu19; Jane Hill (p.c.) divides the *amú vs. *umu forms as below, and we agree that the two are likely linkable by vowel assimilation:
3a. *amú(wV) / *amuwuL: Cp amú ‘agave’; Ca ‘ámul ‘agave’; Ls *amúúl ‘mescal’; Gb amúr ‘quitote’; CN amol-li ‘soapweed, agave’.
3b. *umu(wV): Sr umumu-ţ ‘Spanish dager, yucca sp.’; Tb umuybíl / ’umuubí-l ‘yucca brevifolia’; TO ’umug ‘sotol, spoon plant’. Miller, Ken Hill, and Fowler all include Hp mooho ‘narrow-leaf yucca’; Hp moovi ‘yucca root’ and both Ken and Jane Hill note TO moho ‘bear grass’ as probably involved with these words. Could the vowels and final syllable of Hp moovi (< *mupi) suggest s.th. like Tb ’umuubí-l as a loan source? Fowler lists other languages, but without specific forms, though Pima aot ‘agave Americana’ is likely, having lost -m-. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes that TO g suggests PUA *w (whether part of the stem or a diachronically obscured affix), and that Dakin
(1990) has shown several sets where CN oo is derived from a sequence VCV where the consonant is a labial, thus explaining why CN o instead of i < *u: *amuwu > CN amoo, and > TO umug. Jane Hill also points out that a final -l (as in CN) could easily be heard as an absolute suffix in the languages lacking it, as often happens in NUA languages, thus, s.th. near *amuwuL. [*a-u > u-u in Tb, Sr, Hp, TO; *u > o in Hp/Sr; m > o in Pima] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Azt]

4. *macC(J)i / *mahi ‘agave, mescal’: M67-3 *ma ‘agave’; Fowler83; L.Son133 *mahi ‘mezcal’; M88-ma25 ‘agave, mescal’; KH/M06-ma25: Eu meit ‘mezcal ya tatemado’ (see ‘bury, cook underground’); Wr mahi ‘agave, mezcal’; Wr mahí- ‘burry, cook (e.g. agave) in the ground, vt’; Tr mé-/ma/-mi-, mēke ‘maguey, mezcal’; Tbr mañí-t ‘maguey’; TO ma’i ‘a pit roast’; Wc má ‘mezcal’; Cr mwáî / mwéïh ‘agave’; CN me-tl ‘century plant, maguey, member of agave family’. Also worth noting is CN meskál-li ‘mezcal, distilled alcoholic drink made by cooking the heart of the maguey plant’, as *maskal > *mahi/meke/mahi is a typical kind of reduction in UA

5. *kuLu / *kutu ‘mescal, agave’: Fowler83-3:8; L.Son109 *kuru ‘clase de mezcal’; M88-ku25; KH/M06-ku25: Eu kuú/kút ‘cierto mezcal grande’; Wr kuru; Tr guurú-(bari) ‘palmilla’; Tbr kurú-t ‘sotol’; My kuú’u ‘mezcal, maguey’; Yq kúú’u ‘mescal plant for making alcohol’. Fowler includes Wc kíveri ‘lechuguilla, agave sp.’, of which the first syllable agrees, and lists NT, which form I cannot find in Bascom’s NT dictionary. Add T(B)m kuuk-t ‘mescal’; perhaps Tb(V) kuya-t ‘yucca whipplei’. Cah kuú’u fits *kuru well, since intervocalic liquids > -š- in Cah. [r > y in Tb, r > ’ in Cah, > ø in Eu] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, TrCr, Tep]

6. *cawi ‘agave’: Fowler83-3:8; Tr čawiri ‘a small variety of maguey’; unable to find NT(?) and Wc(?). Add Tbr camwí ‘clase de maguey’. [*w > mw in Tbr] [NUA: Trn, Tbr]

NB, *nanta ‘mescal’; Ch(L) nanta ‘mescal’; SP nanta ‘yant, species of cactus (short-leaved round, spined plant about one foot high, similar to a century plant, locally known as ‘yant’, agave?’). When an item is only in adjacent dialects, we shall count it with a number, though perhaps mention it.

Agree: see peace
Ahead: see before
Air: see wind, cold, breathe

**ALCOHOL, FERMENTED DRINK, DRUNK, PEYOTE; BORRACHO, EMBORRACHARSE**

7a. *napuL / *no’paL ‘prickly pear cactus/fruit’: VVH16 *na,pi ‘prickly pear cactus/tuna’; M67-70 *nap; BH.Cup *navit; L.Son165 *napo; B.Tep169 *navoi ‘cactus’; Fowler83 *napo; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup103 *náay-t; M88-na5 ‘cactus fruit’; KH/M06-na5 *naaput (AMR): NP nabu; TSh napumpí; Sh nábohí (Fowler83); Kw ná breathe; Ch navumpí; SP nabumpí (Fowler83); Hp návi; Sr návi; Ktn naví-t; Ca návet; Cp návet; Ls návuti; Gb návot ‘prickly pear cactus’; TO naw/návi; Nv nubó(nívo); LP(B) nav; NT návi; ST nav; Eu návi; Wr napó; Tr napó; Yq nábo; My nábo.

7b. *no’pal ‘prickly pear pads’: CN no’pá-li; Tetelcingo nohpá-li. The rest of UA shows *napo/*napu, metathesizes the vowels *no’pal-li. The 2nd vowel is *i in TO, Hp and Tacic (perhaps schwa-like cause). Many SUA shows o, yet also several show u (NP, TSh, Kw, Ch, SP, Ls, Eu). Note final -i and -l (Tep and CN, respectively). Note nasals in TSh, Sh, and Ch, aligning with CN’s liquid. Eu -c may also suggest a cluster -Lr-, -t- being of a fossilized absolute suffix. AMR separates Azt, K. Hill has them all under na5. I’ll do both, separate by letter, but under same number. [a-o vs. o-a; *u > i in Hp, Tak (Cup *a > Gb o, Ls u); SUA L > NUA N] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, Azt, CrC]

7c. *napa ‘alcoholic beverage’: B.Tep168 ‘navaiti /’beer’; Miller’s M88-na34 and na-5, Ken Hill rightly combines in KH/M06na-5, though Miller’s na34 group with different vowel (*nava vs. *napo) might organizationally for study be kept in a different letter, as the Tep languages have separate forms for each: TO nawaiti; NT nawáití; ST nayöti. With Bascom’s Tep forms, note Cr nawá ‘alcohol' and Tbr namwá-t ‘tsgüíno’ though they may be loans from Tep, since they may be loans from Tep.
7d. *napa-mukki ‘drunk, alcohol-smitten’ (> nawa/nah(w)a-m): L.Son161 *naha/*nawa ‘emborracharse’; M88-na26; KH/M06-na26: TO naum; LP nahamu; Eu náwe/nava; Yq náwáhe; My naa-mukúra; Tbr naham / nam ‘emborracharse’.

Add Nv navamudaga ‘drunk’. This set is phonologically difficult, perhaps due to some terms being recycled diffusions (like Yq), instead of cognates. While the TrC *nawa forms could be diffusions from Tep *nawa (< UA *napa), we also see medial h in LP and Tbr, which do not correspond to each other nor to *p, but may be lazy glottal stops representing some C. My and TO suggest a compound resembling *naw(a)-muk (< *napa-mukki). [reductions] [SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, Tbr]

In CL.Azt47 *VwVnti ‘drunk’, M88-i13, and KH/M06-i13, are two probably related forms:


8b. *iwin-ti ‘be drunk’:

CL.Azt47 *VwVnti ‘drunk’: CN iwinti ‘get drunk’; CN iwintiaa ‘get drunk’;

T ibIntI; Z wiinti; Po unti. [SUA: Azt, CrC]

9. *kama ‘drunk’: KH.NUA; M88-ka42; KH/M06-ka42: Gb xamá ‘emborracharse’; Sr qām[(ä)]q ‘get, be drunk, crazy’.

Ken Hill (KH/M06-ka42) adds Ktn ka’mik ‘be crazy, dizzy, drunk’.

[transposed glottal stop in Ktn or Sr] [SUA: Tak]

10. *tiku ‘drunk’: Wr tekú ‘be drunk’; Tr řiku ‘become drunk, sick, faint’; Tr téguri/tékuri ‘ebrios, borrachos, pl’.

[Tr ì/t; *í > TrC e/i] [SUA: Trn]

11. *sikuLi (> Tep *hikuri) ‘peyote, intoxicat-ing’: Fowler83: NT íkuli; PYp hikeri; Tr hikuri;

Wr ihiguri; Cr ikuri. Cr may have borrowed the term since Tep h does not correspond to TrC h, and *u > í in Cr. More probable is that we are dealing with PUA *sikuri/*sikuLi and that the Trn languages borrowed from the Tep languages, since Tep h/ø < *s. Fowler includes TO hikugdam ‘saguaro cactus button’; TO hikug ‘for a tree to drop its blossoms’; TO hikug-t ‘form fruit’.

We must add Tr sugi ‘tesgüino, bebida fermentada hecha de maíz nacido’. Some NUA reflexes seem apparent as well: Tb(V) so’ogonh-(it)~’ósogonh ‘be drunk’; Tb(M) so’goonit~’oso’goon ‘be high on Indian tobacco, drunk’.

Doubtful is Ls ńóóla ‘drunk’, wrong vowel, borrowed? Tr often does its vowel-line shift (*sikuri > suki), and Tb may have assimilated the 1st vowel toward the 2nd (*sikuli > sukuli > sokon); and often *L > n in NUA; also note the same three consonants (s-k-l) in CN meškal ‘mezcal, distilled alcoholic drink’, though other etymologies for CN have been proposed. Note also AYq sanka ‘drunk, n’ with nasalisation of the velar like Ls and a vowel change; and what should we think of PYp suusekar ‘drunkard’—borrowed from a non-Tep language, since *s > h in Tep? [SUA o vs. SUA u; *L > NUA n; Tr V shift] [SUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

NB, as a loan, no number, but note Wr peóre ‘peyote’ and CN peyo-tl.

ALIVE, LIVE; VIVO, VIVIR; see also breathe and sit
12. *yay ‘alive one’: M88-ya22; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ya22: Sr yaaint/yeeint ‘one who is alive’; Gb yayt ‘one who is alive, awake’.

[SUA: Tak]

13. *yoLi ‘live, alive, bear, be born’: M67-264 *yo ‘live’; CL.Azt33; M88-yo4 ‘to live’; KH/M06-yo4:

CN yooli ‘live, come to life, hatch, vi’; CN yool-li ‘heart’; CN yoolloo-tl ‘heart, life, spirits’; CN tlayoolitiaa ‘give birth’; Pl yuultuk ‘alive’; My yoor ‘be born, healed’; Wc yori/yoor ‘be alive, grow’. As the semantics of My also mean ‘heal’, so also PYp do’a ‘alive’ and PYp do’alim ‘be born, get well’ bear the same semantic combination (born, heal) as the My term; however, the differing second consonants preclude an obvious relationship. Miller also includes Cr rúu ‘he is alive’. Cr in a fuller form may suggest consonant harmony, as in Cr ruúrikame ‘alma, vida’.

Wc yuri / yuuri ‘be alive, grow’ fits better with My and CN *yooli, since *o > u in Wc. Relevant to these, Sapir ties CN yoolloo-tl ‘heart, life, spirits’ to Wc iyáli ‘heart’ also. Wc iyári / iyáari ‘corazón, alma, espíritu’ has the same consonants as CN yool-li ‘heart’, if only the different vowelings could be explained. KH/M06-yo4 mentions Eu dor ‘man’, which, with its cognates, merits consideration. [*o > u in Wc; a-o; liq] [SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]
ALL, MUCH, MANY; TODO(S), MUCHO(S); see also big
14. *pi̯(C)ta/ĩ’all’: B.Tep293 *vi’ĩ’si ‘all’; M88-pi15; KH/M06-pi15: TO wĩisĩ, wees; LP vĩis; NT vĩis;
ST vĩis; PYP veesi; Cp peta’a’ama ‘all, every’. In light of Cp, this seems to be another case of *t > *c in time for *c >
Tep s. Tbr wesa-t ‘todos’ may be a loan from Tep. [*t > *c > Tep s] [SUA: Tep; NUA: Tak]

15. *mu’i ‘many’: Sapir; B.Tep157a *mu’i ‘many’; 157b *mu’i’du ‘there are many’; M67-276 *mu’i ‘many’;
L.Son154 *mu’i ‘muchos’; CL.Azt112 *ma’ak ‘much < 256 PUA**mi’(i) ‘much’; M88-mu21; KH/M06-mu21:
TO mu’i; LP mu’i; NT mu’i; ST mu’i; Eu múi ‘mucho’; Wm múa-na ‘haber mucho’; Tr mu/mo ‘varios, muchos,
aumentativo’; Tbr mu’i/mu’i-ár ‘muchos’; Cr mu’i ‘many’; Wc mĩrẽ ‘muchos, numeroso, plural’; Wc mĩsã ‘mucho
tiempo’; CN mıyak ‘much, many’. Miller also cites CL.Azt1 *mo’či ‘all’, which has a different vowel, different Azt
forms, and which Ken Hill (in KH/M06-mu21) also leaves out. Sapir cites Ls muyak ‘much’, which seems more
likely, especially with CN mıyak ‘much’. The y of some forms may be a reduction of *mu’i... > muy... after loss of
or excescent as adjacent to i. [ʔ/ʔ] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

16a. *so (< *oso?) ‘many’: M88-so14 ‘many’; KH/M06-so14: TSh soo ‘many’; Sh soon ‘many’; Cm soo ‘many,
much’; Hp soo ‘all, many’ (vowel is wrong, Miller notes; thus, Hp may be a loan from Num, but from CNum?). The
SUA *oso forms below are likely related, with loss of initial vowel in NUA.

16b. *oso ‘more, much, very’: Wr osó ‘more’; Wr oso-pici ‘the most’; Yq osi ‘more, much, very’;
AYq osi(a) ‘1. hard, sturdy, strong, 2. much’. [SUA: Trn, Cah; NUA: CNum, Hp]

17. *yo ‘many’: M67-275 *yo ‘many’; M88-yo5 ‘many’; KH/M06-yo5: Tb yoowi ‘many’; My yu’uni ‘much’;
Wr yomá ‘all’; Wc yuwaikawa ‘many (of people)’. The My vowel is u rather than expected o, but Wc u < *o is
expected. [*o > Wc u; medial */w/m?[/ [NUA: Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC]

18. *ci ‘very, much’: Tr ci’t ‘only, just, nothing but, all’; My či’ti ‘cada’; Yq číkti ‘todo’; YQ q číkti ‘each, every
These may possibly relate to Tep si- ‘very’. [SUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

19. *ci ‘very, much’: TO si ‘real, genuine, ultimate, of good character, precise, very’; PYp si’i ‘much, very’;
Nv si ‘mucho (en calidad)’. [SUA: Tep]

20. *napí ‘all, each’: Tr nabí ‘always, each, every, all’; Tr nepi ‘very, much, too much’; Cr na’imih ‘todo’;
Cr na’imí ‘todos’; Cr nahimi ‘entero’; Wc -ná’tú/me ‘todo’ (sbj/compl); Sh napai ‘each’. Because *p > h/ø in CrC,
then Corachol nai < *napí. [*-p> CrC h/ø] [SUA: Trn, CrC; NUA: CNum]

21. *man(n)u ‘all, every’: Kw mono-yo ‘all (same subject)’; Kw mono-ko ‘all (acc.)’; Ch man(ó) ‘every, all’;
SP manu/ mannu- ‘all’; CU manú-ni ‘all, every’; CU manú-ku (acc.); WMU manó-ni ‘every, all (nom)’. WNun
Mano-manó ‘twenty, i.e., two-counts’ > Mw waha-wanótu ‘twenty’ and NP waha mano’yu ‘twenty’ may suggest an
original meaning of Num *manu ‘complete count, the number, all’, since it appears in words for ‘twenty’ in WNun
and ‘all’ in CNumThe alternate forms in TSh manukin-manakin ‘five’ suggest that this may relate to *maniki ‘five’,
involving assimilation *manu-ki > maniki. [*a-o/u > o-o; and o vs. u] [NUA: WNun, CNum]

22. *tuCV ‘very’: KH/M06-tu27 *tuHV (AMR): Tb twubul ‘fast, very’; My tú’usi / tũ’isi / tũ’isi ‘mucho, muy,
bien’; CN ilwiaa ‘grow in strength, violence’; CN ilwis ‘much more, especially’. Good set, Ken and Alexis!
[medial -C-glottal or w or cluster?] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Cah, Azt]

23. *kiki ‘how much? how many?’: CL.Azt87 *keeski ‘how much, how many’; KH/M06-in5:
CN keeski; PI keeski; HN keeski. [SUA: Azt]

ALONE, SELF; SOLO, SOLAMENTE, MISMO(S)
24. *piko / *piko ‘alone, just, by oneself’: Ca péqi ‘just, only, yet, still, just it/he alone’; Cp píqi ‘just, by himself’.
The Tak q suggests an earlier *ko syllable. [Ca e vs. Cp i for the first syllable] [NUA: Tak]
**25. *(na)-no** 'self': Sapir associates CN noonkwa 'apart, separate' and SP nanōo-šu 'by oneself', which merits consideration, but even if fallacious, the SP form and Kw na-noo-su 'by oneself, alone'; WMU nanōs / nanōös 'alone, self'; and CU nanōō-s 'by oneself, alone' are cognate with SP; and possibly the -noi portion of Tr binoi 'mismo, misma'. [NUA: SNum]

**26. *siyiL*(> Tep *hidiL) 'self, (one's) own, alone': TO hejel(ko) 'my, your, one's) own, alone'; PYp hedeli 'single, alone, self'; ST diiL 'alone, unaccompanied, by oneself'. [ST lost 1st syllable] [SUA: Tep]

**27. *pasu** 'self': Mn piisusu 'oneself, to oneself'; NP piisu 'oneself (refl)'; NP piis si mi 'alone'; Eu -vasu 'mismo, solo'; Eu né-vasu 'yo mismo, solo'; Eu áp-vasu 'tu mismo', etc. [NUA: WNum; SUA: Azt]

**ALREADY:** YA

**28. *pa/i'pa/a* now, then, already': M88-pa28 'already'; KHM06-pa28: Hp pi 'now, then, just then, this- or at the (time referred to)'; TO wa'i 'only, solely'; Wr pa'á 'ya'; My bátte 'casi, ya'. Miller notes wrong vowel in Hp, though such assimilations (*a-i > i-i*) happen. [Hp i: *a] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah; NUA: Hp]

**ANGRY, JEALOUS; ENOJARSE, CELÓSO**

**29. *nava*** 'angry': BH.Cup *nâw 'be jealous'; M88-na27 'jealous'; KHM06-na27: NP nawooh inaggwi 'jealous'; Cp náwe 'be jealous of, vt'; Ca nawaan 'be jealous, vi'; Ls nááwin 'be jealous'; Hp nawawa-ta 'complain'. Miller includes My na 'ibüké 'está celoso', which is possible, since Cah languages often lose intervocalic -w- apparent in other UA languages (cf. four, sand). [*-w- > TrC '; 2nd V variation]

[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah]

**30. *tîhù*** 'angry': Mn tihyeec 'be angry'; Sh tuhu' 'angry'; TSh tuupikk 'be angry'. In light of other examples of a correspondence between TrC k and h in other languages (agave, two), a relationship between Num *tîhû 'angry' and TrC *tiku 'drunk' is plausible. [k > h in Num, k > h in Tr/WR]

[NUA: WNum, CNum]

**31. *somaL*** 'angry, provoked': CN soomaal-li 'anger'; CN soomaa 'frown in anger, v.refl.'; Ca simm 'get provoked, feel disgusted'. Ca i < *o, so both CN and Ca point to *som for the first three segments. [*o > Ca i] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

**32. *kwawa*** 'angry': Hp kwala(k-) 'boil, become enraged, get angry, vi'; TO baga 'be angry'; because *kwa > Tep ba and *w > Tep g and > Hp l, then TO baga 'be angry' does correspond to Hp kwala. Other Tep languages appear to have lost *w, but compounded with *-mukku/i 'die': PYp baam 'get angry'; NT baamuku 'be angry'; ST baam.

[*w > Hp l; *w > TO g but > o in other Tep] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

**33. *wîL / *wît*** 'angry': Stubbs 1995-19: Ls wółtu 'be angry'; Cp wélne-t, pl: wéwelnetim 'angry, adj'. The first three segments of Ls and Cp match well, since Ls o < *i. A tie between CN kwalaani 'get angry' and Cp wélnet may be possible, for we occasionally see Tak w < *kw (cf. *kwasi 'tail' and *kwila 'badger'), and the consonantal sequence in CN and Cp (kw-l-n: w-l-n) make it tempting, but not secure. The near identity of CN kwalaani and Hp kwala (above) is curious, too. The clusters we see in Tak (-In- and -It-) as possibly reducing to Tb d may add Tb wídî 'be angry' to the possibilities, and an -In- cluster becoming Tr -n- as in Tr onia 'be angry', an irregular subjunctive of Tr oyo, might be added to the pool of possibilities, if *wîL > on in Tr (and we see *wî > o in Tr at *kwíkí 'cry'). However, the lot need more investigation, except Ls and Cp, which quite agree with each other. [*i > Ls o] [NUA: Tak]

**34a. *(na)-kuma*** 'upset, jealous': Tr na-kumé 'perturb e.o.'; Tr (ni)kume 'perturb s.o.'; Eu kúme(e) 'envidiar'; Eu nekúme 'envidiar'; CN ma'komana 'be upset'; CN(RJC) ma'komantinemi 'he goes about upset'. With loss of initial k or k > ʔ, what of Yq 'omte 'enojarse' and My om-te 'está enojado'? 

**34b. *(na)-kumu*** 'upset, angry': Wr nehkhámú-na 'estar enojado'; Eu nekauhe 'enojarse'. Wr and one Eu form may suggest *-kumu, while Tr, CN, and another Eu form suggest *-kuma / -kume. Might the two be a V metathesis one way or the other? [-Mc- > -uC- in Eu]
34c. *naña-N-ya'í 'angry-die': Kw naha-ye'e 'be angry'; Kw naha-(m)biští 'one who is short-tempered'; Ch nañá-ya'i 'angry'; SP nañaN-y'ai 'be/get angry < anger-suffer'; WMU nañá'ye-y / nañ'íi 'be angry'; CU nañá'-ay 'be angry'. Kw and SP also show nasalization in a 3rd C as well. Note Kw -biští and Tb *-pišt suffix. This could easily be the Num version of TrC *na-kamu, with nasal anticipation. [*-ŋ > -h-/ø; *-CC-?; *a-i > e-e]  [NUA: SNnum; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Azt]

35. *śiwa 'jealous': TO heeg 'a rival, a wife's relationship to another wife of the same man'; TO čuheegamk 'be jealous, envious'; NT įįgůmarų 'ponerse celoso'; NT įįgůmatirago 'celoso'. Note that Cm tsiwa'ití 'jealous, adj' and TO čuheegamkam with a vowel metathesis are equivalent and lengthy (6 segments): TO < *tuś últimos and Cm < *tůswa. Or Cm may be a matter of antiquity since w following *i may motivate the change to u, and *u > i occurs in Num elsewhere. [*s > Tep h > NT ø; metathesis]  [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

36. *yamu... 'angry, stingy': KH.NUA: Sr yaam(u) 'become angry'; Cp yāmuki-'ly 'an insect, the stingy finder, crawls to stingiest person'; Cp yāmukwi-s 'stingy, adj'. Good set by Ken Hill. Let's add Ktn yam 'be or get angry'.  [NUA: Tak]

NB, for *kwuy 'be angry, scold' see at shout.

**ANIMAL, DOMESTIC, PET; ANIMAL DOMÉSTICO**

37. *puNku / *puKKu(C) 'domestic animal': VVH46 *puNku 'dog, pet'; M67-135 *puku 'dog'; I.Num160 *puku 'dog, horse, pet'; L.Son220 *puku 'animal domestico'; Fowler83: M88-pu13; KH/M06-pu13 *puku: Mn puku (< *pKKu) 'pet'; NP puku 'horse'; TSh puku 'pet'; Sh puku 'horse, pet'; Cm puku 'horse'; Ch puku 'pet'; Ch puku-ci 'dog, pet'; Kw puku-z ( < *puku-ci) 'pet, dog'; SP puku 'horse, domestic animal'; CU puku (< *puku) 'horse' (< domestic animal); CU puku-n 'my horse'; Tb(M) pungu-l / pungu-t 'pet'; Hp pooko 'dog, domestic animal'; Wr puhuk 'animal poseído, ganado'; Tr buku 'animal poseido'. Ken Hill adds Tbr woku-r 'animal domesticado'. Note WMU puqü-ch 'favorite horse' with SP puqü-ci 'dear horse, diminutive'; also WMU puqüqun(g)wa 'have a bunch of horses' shows a final nasalization, possibly anticipated in others (*pKKu > *puNku). Though with differing semantics, add Eu bukú 'esclavo' and Eu amo vuk 'tuvo' as a possessive morpheme. Tb and WMU may show a final -C. [Tb -ŋg-: CNum -Nk-: WNum -kk-; SNum has all 3: k, kk, Nk]  [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Trn, Tbr, Opn]

38. *aCti 'domestic animal': BH.Cup *'áci(la) 'pet'; Munro.Cup91; KH.NUA; M88-'a27 'domestic animal'; KH/M06-'a27: Cp áči-ly 'pet'; Ca -'åš, -āci-ly; Ls 'åš-la; Sr 'aači'; pl: 'aashtam 'pet'; Gb ače-n.  [NUA: Tak]

39. *coiwa 'domestic animal': B.Tep199 *soiga 'domestic animal'; M88-co17; KH/M06-co17: TO şoiga; PYp soigar; NT soigádi 'his domestic animal/possession'; ST soi 'domesticated animal, gentle, tame, humble'. Doubting PUA diphthongs, I reconstruct *coiwa rather than *coiwa since medial h and ' both go to ø in Tep.  [SUA: Tep]

**ANKLE; TIBILLO**

40. *ta(kwi)n(c)oko 'ankle': Mn ta'wizógo; NP daggwiddzogo; TSh tawincoko. Ankle is a concept often described, lacking in clear proto forms. *ta(kwi)n(c)oko is undoubtedly a diachronic compound. [-kkw-:-w-:-w and -cc- vs. -nc-]  [NUA: Num]

41. *koci 'ankle': Kaufman1981; Manaster-Ramer(1992b) cites this set in "A Northern UA sound law: *-c- > -y-": he lists Hp qōyi {Hp siiqōyi 'anklebone' (Hill); Hp(V) siiqōyi 'ankle'} and Tr baca-kocí {Tr baca-go(a)-ra 'tofíllo'; Tr baca-koći 'en el tobilho' (locative of Tr baca-goa-raa)}. If the UA equivalent of the Tr locative suffix Tr -ći's or 'in is fossilized in the HP cognate, then they match. The -ko of TO čkoš-Da 'ankle rattle' (*-koc > Tep -kos) fits *koci, but is also listed with *tako 'wrap' at circle. Add Azt *koc 'heel' with slightly shifted semantics: CN(RJC) in-koc-tité 'on their ankles' and ikoc 'heel' in Nahua of Sierra de Zacapanxla. [*-c- > NUA y; *c > Tep s]  [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]
ANT; HORMIGA

43a. *a(‘)niN / *acuN ‘ant’: BH.Cup *anVt; M67-4 ‘anC; I.Num5 *a(ni ‘mosquito, fly, ant’; Fowler83; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup4 Proto-Cupan *āána-t; M88-‘a9; KH/M06-‘a9 *anN: Ls ‘áána-t; Cp ‘ána-t; Ca ‘áne-t; Hp anN: Sr aáN; Mn anipi ‘large mosquito that lives in the mountains’; NP anipi ‘ant’; Sh anin ‘ant’. Sh animui ‘fly’; Cm anikuura ‘ant’; Cm animui ‘housefly’; SP eaa-‘vi ‘ant’; SP an-‘vi ‘mosquito’; Tb(M) anint ‘ant’; Tb(V) ‘aanN-t ‘yellow ants’; Tb(B) ‘aanit ‘ants’; Tb(M) pa ‘ant’. Ken Hill adds Wsh a‘nin ‘piss ant’; Wsh aanci’il ‘termite’; Ch ača-‘vi ‘small red ant sp.’; Ch an-‘vi ‘gnat’; Ktn anált, pl: aním ‘big red ant’; and perhaps Wc ā ‘hormiga cazadora’ (?) with a question mark. The vowels are identical. Are other examples of intervocalic -N-> ø in CrC available? Ken Hill also adds Tbr alisik ‘pequeña hormiga’ and Eu ari-t ‘ant’ and the correspondence NUA *n : SUA *L makes them viable. Notice that Tb and Wsh have glottal stops before the first n, but have n (as do most) rather than the velar nasal ŋ that Ch and SP have. This contrast of ŋ vs. n in NNum vs. the rest of NUA is odd, but may be explained by a cluster of nasal with s.th. else. Note also NP ha‘inabí ‘ant’ with ha- prefix. Along with ‘ant’, meanings of ‘mosquito, fly, gnat’ are included in M88-‘a9 and I.Num5; overlaps or interrelatedness among terms for ants, mosquitoes, flies, and gnats, as ‘tiny stinging/biting insects’ occur elsewhere in UA; on the other hand, Sh, Cm, and SP do phonologically similar, but different words for the other insects. [Tb pa- prefix] [NUA: WNum, CNum, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: CrC, Tbr, Opn]

43b. *a‘ga ‘ant type’: Ch ača-‘vi ‘ant’; SP an-‘vi ‘small black ant’; WMU ača-‘vi ‘flying ant, n’. WMU shows its typical nasalized vowel for the velar nasal found in the NNum languages to the west, not east. [nasals: medial -η- in NNum] [NUA: NNum]

44. *siku ‘ant’: M67-5; L.Son239 *siku ‘clase de hormiga’; CL.Azt2 *ciika ‘ant’ < *301 sika ‘ant’; Fowler83; M88-si12 ‘type of ant’; KH/M06-si12: Op *siku-ci; Eu *siku-ci; Wr sekū-l, sikū-wi; My ere’e-suúkí ‘ant’; Tbr ali-sik ‘small, black ant’; CN ciika-tl ‘large stinging ant’. Miller in M67-5 also lists CN aaska-tl ‘ant’, which is possible, though the vowels are strange; Miller also associates Aztecan *ciika ‘ant’ with UA *siku ‘ant’; though possible, a c/s disagreement and second vowel a/u disagreement occur. Of interest is that My ele’e siku ‘da comezón and My ere’e-suúkí ‘ant’ have l vs. r in identical environments; note also My eeye ‘red ant’ in a possible liquid vs. y dichotomy. In addition, My -suúkí may have transposed the vowels toward the front—*siku-wi > suúki—with loss of the first. [My liquids; V-trans; l/r/y] [NUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]

45. *totoni ‘ants’: B.Tep228 *totoni ‘ants’; Fowler83; M88-to23; KH/M06-to23: TO tononi; PYp tononi; NT totôòni; ST tatoï. Jane Hill notes TSh tojkwapi ‘red ant’ and TSh tojkwaa(n)tín ‘yellow jacket’ which make a tie to NUA *tôna ‘bee’ (at ‘bee’) very feasible. Cf. *to‘na ‘pierce’ at ‘cut’; or more likely *toN at ‘hot’, since stings feel hot. [SUa: Tep; NUA: CNum]

46. *yuka ‘ant’: M88-yu20 ‘ant’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-yu20: Sr yukāa-q ‘little ant’; Gb yoxár ‘little stinging yellow ant’; Ktn yoka-Č ‘black medium-size ant’. [*u > o/ _Ca in Gb, Ktn] [NUA: Tak]

47. *kusinpa / *ku’sisinapa ‘ant’: Ca kūvišnil ‘small ant’; Cp kūšinval ‘small black ant’; note the distant transposition of v (*p) in the Ca and Cp forms. The Ca and Cp terms are undoubtedly related since the vowel patterns are the same until the 3rd, and they contain the same five consonants and the same order, except for the -v- jumping from 4th (in Cp) to 2nd (in Ca). TO uhimal ‘large velvet-covered ant’ may be related with loss of initial k, expected h < *s, and the nasal bilabial cluster (np) becoming a bilabial nasal (m) is natural enough. Furthermore, the three vowels also agree. The TO form would agree more with Cp than Ca; thus, *kusinpa begins a reasonable reconstruction, though it is probably a fossilized compound. Ktn hu’inak (pl: hu’inakym) ‘little red ant’, if *k > h, fits well too, but raises more questions. [C metathesis: -np- > -m-; loss of initial k- in Tep, cf. *kuma at ‘angry’] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]
48. *tasi’a 'ant': Kw taasu ‘u-vi ‘red ant’; Ch tasfivi ‘ant’; WMU tahsi’a- vi / si’a- vi / tüsî’æ- vi; CU tasi’a- vi ‘ant(s)’; the first vowel in CU is voiceless, which explains the loss of initial syllable in WM Ute, since initial consonants before short or voiceless vowels tend to be so briefly whispered that they become inaudible, then lost, in WMU. While Kawaiisu’s V’s are enigmatic, all other forms point to *tasi’a- pi. One must wonder if the si’a portion ties to the *-si’a portion of *poses’a ‘house’? Or could this morpheme tasa/tasi be the first element in the compounds Sh tasaminci ‘ant, black ant’ and Sh tasimica ‘piss ant’. Since words for ant often contain morphemes meaning ‘prick, pierce, sting, bite, cut’ (cf. *sik, *ton, *min), the element ‘min’ may be cognate with CN miini ‘prick, pierce s.th.’ [*i’a > u’u/ bilabial in Kw; rounding influence of glottal stop in Kw here and in water Kw *po’o]
[NUA: SNum, CNum]

49. *mu’sa / *mo’ca ‘ant’: Eu móco ‘hormiga arriera’; Tr mo’çá ‘hormiga arriera’; Wr mocó/mocóma ‘leafcutting ant’; AYq mo’çomo ‘leafcutter ants’; perhaps the latter part of Tb ‘ulumuš ‘big black ant’ though the other round vowel appears, perhaps assimilating to the preceding u’s: *u- – u-u. (See Phonology 2.15.) [o/u; c/s] [SUA: Trn, Opn; NUA: Tb]

50. *(ka)Lama ‘ant’: Tr kalamáčuri ‘hormiga de miel’; Ls lamáqa ‘leafcutter ant(s)’; Kw kalamáčuri ‘hormiga de miel’; SP kalamáčuri ‘hormiga de miel’; CU kalamáčuri ‘hormiga de miel’; Ch(L) kalamáčuri ‘hormiga de miel’; Sh kalamáčuri ‘hormiga de miel’; WSh kalamáčuri ‘hormiga de miel’; Tr kalamáčuri ‘hormiga de miel’; Wr mo’čá ‘hormiga arriera’; Eu móco ‘hormiga arriera’; Tr mo’čá ‘hormiga arriera’; Wr mocó ‘hormiga arriera’; M88 *sí’a portion of *posi’a ‘louse antelope’; WSh wanci ‘buck antelope’; Sh wanci ‘buck antelope’; Kw wazi ‘buck antelope’; Ch wancí ‘buck antelope’; SP wanci ‘buck antelope’; CU wací ‘buck antelope’; Ch(L) sohorah ‘post with U-shaped fork, notched post’; SP soor’oaa ‘armpit’; WMU kiyé-söö-vü; aë-söö-vü ‘underarm, armpit, n’; see at *suwi ‘hair’.

ANTELOPE; ANTILOPE, CERVICABRA

51. *tímína ‘antelope’: M88-ti24; Munro.Cup5 *tɔŋi-la ‘antelope’; KH/M06-ti24: Ls tón-la; Ca téni-ly; Cp tani-ly. Ken Hill adds Ktn *tímína-č ‘antelope’. Let’s also add NP *tímína ‘antelope’. What of Hp *tímína ‘game animal, game successfully hunted’? Sapir considers SP *t- ‘game’ a reduction of SP *tigia (< *tikia) ‘deer’; similarly, Hp *tigovisi ‘game, animals to be hunted’ may suggest tī- rather than tīn. Sapir and Miller (M88-ti24) tie *tímína ‘antelope’ forms to Num forms approximating *tūkīya ‘deer, like Mn tīhīta ‘deer’, Mn tīhīya ‘old buck deer’, and NP tīhīda ‘deer’; but NP *tímína ‘antelope’ and Tak contrast considerably; thus, I separate them due to distinct medial n vs. k/h. Ktn *tímína-č is key: *tín(nV) appears in three branches—Tak, Hp, and NP of Numic—all of which may be reductions, since Ktn *tímína-č ‘antelope’ suggests that the Cupan *tín forms are a reduction from *tímína > *tímna > *tín, just as Ktn and Sr *tímí ‘rock’ suggest that that proto-form reduced similarly. Furthermore, the gemination in Num -nn- < -mn- also leans well for *tímína. SP *tínna ‘hunt’ etcetera may be a verbalization of the noun. [*i > Ls o; reduction] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num]

52. *wanči ‘antelope’: TSh wanci; Sh wanci; Kw waci; Ch wanci; SP wanci; CU wac-i; and the first part of NP wizí-ga ‘yu ‘deer’. Ken Hill adds WSh wanci ‘buck antelope’. Also add WMU wanči-či / wanji-či / wanči-či / winči-či-či ‘antelope’ which shows the nasal like SP to the west vs. CU’s lack to the east. If the cluster -nc- prevents medial c- > y- in Num, then many NUA intervocalic c- may derive from clusters.
[NUA medial c- in a cluster] [NUA: Num]

53. *kuviya ‘antelope’: TO kuwoid ‘pronghorn antelope’; Tr kuviy/kuyá ‘campamocha, variedad de venado muy grande’. The same less-usual correspondence occurs in *maviya ‘mountain lion’: TO mawið; Tr mawiyá. See phonology 2.13. [*w = Tep w, as in ‘mountain lion’] [SUA: Tep, Trn]

NB, it seems I’ve seen a cognate to Hp cōöviw/cōöviwí-t ‘pronghorn antelope’ not yet found again.

Apron: see clothing
Argue: see shout, say
Arise: see stand
Arm: see hand, shoulder, feather (wing), right
Armpit: see at shoulder and carry
54. moved to 383

NB, for Kw soo-rokwa ‘armpit’; Ch(L) sohorah ‘post with U-shaped fork, notched post’; SP soor’oaa ‘armpit’; WMU kiyé-söö-vü; aë-söö-vü ‘underarm, armpit, n’, see at *suwi ‘hair’.
ARRIVE, COME; LLEGAR, ALCANZAR, VENIR

55. *piCTu (KH/M06) 'arrive'; VVH143 *pi*tí 'to arrive'; M06-8 *pite; I.Num165 *piti/*piti 'arrive'; KH.NUA; M88-pi16; Stubbs 2000a-3; KH/M06-pi16 *piCt: Mn piti; NP pibiti 'lu (< *pibiti 'lu) (dual); TSH piti; Sh piti; Cm pítnu; Kp pidi; SP pici; CU pici; Hp piti; Tb(M) pi*í~tib; Ca piš; Ls písma; Gb piyó 'llegar, encontrar'; Sr pičiü. Hill notes the extended parallel forms of Hp pitió 'be approaching' and Sr pičo'ot 'arrive, come (to), get to'. Add WMU pičü-üi- / pičü- 'come, sg'. This stem is prominent in all four branches of NUA, but not found in SUA. The intervocalic *-t- does not go to -l- as it usually does in Tak, nor to -r- in SP and CU, but to -c/-, meaning that it is doubled, and NP and Mn show -t- (< *-tt-) rather than -d- (< *-t-). Not only is a medial consonant cluster evident, but Kw may suggest -Nt-, because *-t- > Kw -r-, *-tt- > Kw -t-, but *-Nt- > kw -d-. *u > ï more than the other way. [cluster: *-Nt- > c (> s) in Tak, > ï in Tb; *c > s/#/C in Cupan] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

56a. *kima 'come': VH519 *kiúma 'to come'; M67-96 *kim; I.Num71 *kíma 'to come'; KH.NUA; M88-ki3; KH/M06-ki3: Mn kima (< *kíma M88) 'come'; NP kíma 'come'; TSH kíma 'come'; Sh kíma 'come'; Cm kímarí 'come'; Tb(M) kimat~'iŋgim 'come'; Sr kíma 'one that comes'; and Gb kí/kíma 'venir', (mo)-áemen 'tu' venida'. Ken Hill adds Ktn kíma. Consider also Tbr komu 'venir' and possibly Hp kí-ma 'to be bringing, taking, carrying things along', Tbr may have assimilated the vowel i > o anticipating the bilabial m. Tb k > -ŋg- suggests a nasal anticipation rule rather than an underlying nasal, an earlier rule wherein the nasal feature is anticipated and jumps syllables, such that m influenced a nasalization of the k. We may want to keep in mind NT gómi 'ven acá!' and NT goó-kiaá 'ven acá!' in case the voicing in Tep is someday explained. [k: ŋg in Tb; nasals]

56b. *ki 'come, come to do s.th..Vector to bear that we are dealing with a medial cluster. There he introduces Tb apsV 'arrive' from the Harrington materials. [cluster] [NUA: Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]

57. *há'si / *hapi 'arrive, reach, catch up to': Sapir; VH59 *iši/*así 'arrive'; B.Tep298 *a(hími); CL.Azt3 *ahsi; L.Num53 *hasí/*hasi; M88/hasí 'arrive'; AMR1993; KH/M06/hasí: TO aha/a'he/aa'i 'overtake, reach'; NT ááhyi 'arrive, reach, be enough'; Eu hasé/hási; Tbr asšaš; Wr asi-néa 'arrive'; Tr sí 'llegar o nacer varios'; CN a'si 'reach, arrive'; HN 'asi' 'arrive'; Pl ahsí 'arrive, find, encounter, reach, catch up with, fit'. Sapir includes We aše 'llegar varias veces' which was left out of later cognate collections, but belongs. I put My yêpsa with *yipisa below. Add Yq hâse 'alcantar, perseguir' and Cp háši/hášie 'go'. Manaster-Ramer 1993 discusses this set, where he brings evidence to bear that we are dealing with a medial cluster. There he introduces Tb apsV 'arrive' from the Harrington materials. [cluster] [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Otn, Otn, CTH, CrC, Azt]

The nature of Miller's 1988 brainstorming, rough-draft collection of possibilities and overlapping initial yí... forms in both M88yí7 and M88yí6 (with semantic variety: 'come, door, enter, close') needed sorting. Ken Hill did that for us, improving matters considerably in KH/M06, though enough complexities leave much still tentative.
59. *ya... ‘come’; VVH82 *yahi3(pa) ‘to come, pl’; M67-98 *ya ‘come’; M88-ya5; KH/M06-ya5: Hp yàyna ‘start, begin’; Hp yaahinta ‘be starting’; Wc yaa ‘ir, empezar a ser’; Yq yahi; My yáhha; Yq yaha’; CN ya ‘go’; HN yawa / yawi - yah- ‘go’; Pl yawi (pret yahhki) ‘go’. Miller and Ken Hill put a question mark by WSh ya’i ‘enter, pl’, with which I agree, as I don’t know either. In fact, with only *ya… in common, the whole set may be suspect. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Cch, CrC, Azt]

60. *nik ‘come’: Ca nèk-en ‘come’; Cp nèqe ‘come’; Cp nèqa ‘is coming’; Cp peneq ‘he came’. [NUA: Tak]

61. *wic ‘come’: CL.Azt 32 *wiic ‘come’; M88-wi13; KH/M06-wi13: CN wiic (defective verb); Pl wiic (pret: waala(ah)); T -bic; Po wiic; Z wii. [SUA: Azt]

62. *tikkaN’wi ‘arrive, happen, become’: Ch tikáw ‘i become’; SP tuqqaŋ’wi ‘happen, take place’; WMU tuhqqáá ‘wi ‘happen, become, arrive, take place’; CU tiqá-wi ‘about to arrive, just arriving’. [NUA: SNum]

NB, *naw ‘come’: Tr nawa-ma ‘llegar, venir’; Cp návya’a ‘come here!’ While *w > v does happen in NUA, this is not yet secure enough to merit a number, though it (*nawi) could possibly relate to the latter part of SNum *tikkaN’wi above.  [perhaps *w > v in Cp?]

NB, for *y(N)ka ‘enter’ see go.

ARROW; FLECHA, SAETA

<table>
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<th>pága</th>
<th>Hp</th>
<th>hoohi; imikinho</th>
<th>Eu</th>
<th>samát; mawot (plant)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>poŋosa</td>
<td>Tb</td>
<td>paahuu-l ‘war a.’</td>
<td>Tbr</td>
<td>wakát; wakót ‘&amp;carrizo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSh</td>
<td>pakan; huupakampoca</td>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>sot, šomant &amp;bow’</td>
<td>Yq</td>
<td>hú’iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>pakan ‘arrow, penis’</td>
<td>takkan-mucin</td>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>húya-l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>paaka; si’ba’(si=feather)</td>
<td>LS</td>
<td>huú-la</td>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>úa; atapóri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>huuwa-zí</td>
<td>Cp</td>
<td>húyal</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>wa; cogira; we’camura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>húu</td>
<td>TO</td>
<td>uuš; ho’omačuđ</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>i’iri; támuii ‘flechar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>uu; u; uhkwi; paka’nina ‘arrow game’</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>’úu</td>
<td>Wc</td>
<td>’iri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMU</td>
<td>uu / úu / huu</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>miia’tl; miina ‘shoot’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>‘úu</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>‘úu’u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

63. *huc(a) > *huc ‘arrow’: Sapir; VVH78 *hu ‘arrow’; BH.Cup *hu ‘arrow’; B.Tep334 *’u’ui ‘arrow’; M67-9 *hu ‘arrow’ and 474 *hu ‘wood’; I.Num35 *huuh ‘arrow’; L.Son64; M88-hu3 *hu; Munro.Cup6 *huu-la ‘arrow’; M88-hu3; KH.NUA; KH/M06-hu3 (*hu AMR) and hu22: besides many of the above, Ken Hill (KH/M06) includes several other viable forms at hu3: NP huwa /howama; WSh huá ‘bow’; WSh huukkuna ‘quiver, lit. arrow bag’; WSh huwa’aiti / hoa’aiti/hu’aiti ‘bow and arrow’; GB hur; Tb uut ‘stick, pole’; Eu humáat ‘quiver’; and others yet at hu22: NT úuši ‘tree’; ST uuš ‘tree’; NP huuppi ‘stick’; Sh huqi ‘wood’; Sh huuppin ‘stick, wood, log’. Add Ktn hu-c ‘arrow’. A few forms (like TO uuš) show *c as a second consonant, not likely a residual absolutive suffix in TO, at least. Munro and Hill both note Ca huuy-l ‘arrow’ and Cp huyla-l ‘arrow’ in contrast to Cq hú-l ‘arrowhead’ and Ca hú-l ‘bow and arrow’. The *huuya- forms fit *huca (like TO uuš), since *-c- > -y- in NUA and > -x- in TO. However, several UA languages have an initial *hu-… form for ‘arrow’ and another initial *hu-… form for ‘wood, stick’. But the two lists show *hu and *huc forms on both sides, again suggesting that more work needs to be done. Where do Yq huía ‘árbol, monte’ and My huya ‘árbol, monte’ fit? CNum *huuppi ‘tree’ (< *huu-)-pi) may also derive from this stem. [*c > s in Tep]  [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, CrC]

64. *suwhuma ‘arrow’: Sr šomant ‘bow, arrow’; Ktn šumanta-t ‘arrow’; TO ho’omačuđ ‘make a charm, lucky arrow, etc., for’; TO ho’oma ‘a charm, s.th. that brings good luck’; *h > i in Tep, so a medial h is reconstructed and is easily lost diachronically. Add Eu zamát ‘arrow’ if first vowel assimilated to the second. [*o vs. Cah α; s vs. c] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn]
NB, see at ‘reed *paka/pako ’arrow’: Mn, NP, TSh, Sh, Cm, SP; Tbr. These may tie to *pa-kana ‘reed’, as CN(RJC) aka-tl ‘reed, arrow’ would suggest, though NP, Tp, and Tbr suggest an alternating second vowel rounded *paku/pako. Note distinct forms in Tb pahaabī-l ‘sugar cane’ and Tb paahū-l ‘war arrow’. The medial consonant may be more than *-k- too, as that is often -h- in Num. [k:ŋːg; final -a/o]  [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tbr]

**ARROWHEAD; PUNTA DE FLECHA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>taqapága</th>
<th>Hp</th>
<th>yoysiva ‘lit: rain-metal’</th>
<th>Eu</th>
<th>kuwát (point)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>taka</td>
<td>Tb</td>
<td>kiyii-l; muuš- ‘bullet’</td>
<td>Tbr</td>
<td>hi-sahi-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSh</td>
<td>takkampil; kaiwani</td>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Yq</td>
<td>hú’iwa; biika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>takkampil</td>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>sívat</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>síbulai (punto)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>tahka’</td>
<td>Ls</td>
<td>tiqé-t</td>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>wina-huva</td>
<td>Cp</td>
<td>hú-l</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>orá; kapirá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>TO</td>
<td>uuš</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>wí’na”</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Wc</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>mukwá-qa-tí</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>kwateposo, yakateposyo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56. *wi’naC ‘flint, arrowhead’: Ch(L) wín’napi ‘flint’; Ch(L) huu wín’na-wa ‘arrow’s flint’; SP; Kw; cf. also Kw wina-pi ‘obsidian blade’. [i vs. i]  [NUA: SNum]

56. *takkaN ‘arrowhead’: Mn, NP, TSh, Sh, Cm, and Ls. L -q- suggests gemination and -t suggests a final C. This stem may relate to CNum *takka ‘semen’ as in TSh takkan ‘sperm, semen’ and Sh takkan ‘semen’; Sh takkam-pin ‘arrowhead, flint’, but *taka ‘male, man’ does not have medial gemination, but does have final nasals, so they may be related stems. In addition to CNum, the Mn term (with p vs. b) also suggests a final -C.  [NUA: WNum, CNum, Tak]

NB, for *sip ‘point’: Munro.Cup100 *śíva-t ‘point’, Ls śíva-t, Ca śív-at ‘arrowhead’, see edge.

NB, Kn toq-śíva-t ‘flint, flint tip of arrow’ and Ls tiqé-t ‘arrowhead’ in light of Ls e < *o and Ls i-e < e-i, but see *tikpa ‘flint’ at ‘sky’.

**ASHES; CENIZA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>asiyábi; (e)siyábi</th>
<th>Hp</th>
<th>qócvi</th>
<th>Eu</th>
<th>nápsa/naposta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>kutusibi</td>
<td>Tb</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Tbr</td>
<td>nâsi-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSh</td>
<td>kuttuhupin</td>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>kukut</td>
<td>Yq</td>
<td>náposa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>ku-tnuh-sippeh</td>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>nísxiš</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>náposa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>etisipí</td>
<td>Ls</td>
<td>téelini-š</td>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>nahpisó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>kuca-pí</td>
<td>Cp</td>
<td>weškiš</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>na'pisó (&amp; dust)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>kuca-wa; kuca-pí</td>
<td>TO</td>
<td>maitai</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>nâsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>kučča”</td>
<td>Nv</td>
<td>mathai</td>
<td>Wc</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>kucá-pí; kuná</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>mátaí</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>nèš-tli; kwau*-nèš-tli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>khučá-pí</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>mátaí</td>
<td></td>
<td>nèškók k‘taste like ashes’ (RJC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67. *mata ‘ashes, lime’: B.Tep147 *matai ‘ashes, lime’; M67-11 *mat ‘ashes’; M88-ma20; KH/M06-ma20: TO, Nv, NT, ST, LP mat (B.Tep), and Yq and My máat(m)’charcoal’.  [SUA: Tep, Cah]

68a. *na’i-piso ‘ashes, fire-dust’: M67-10; L.Son166 *naposa/*napišo ‘ceniza’; M88-na3; Stubbs 2003-40; KH/M06-na3 *nasi: Tr na’pisó ‘empolvarse, ceniza’. In any case, Op napot, Eu, Yq, and My suggest *naposa: Tr and Wr *na’piso; and Tbr, Cr, CN *nasi, as well as HN kwa-neš-tli’ (kwa=wood). Because the Azt and CrC branches lose *p, I originally considered their form *nasi to be a reduction of TrC *napVsv (> *napsV > *nasi) and Tbr nasi- to be one of several forms suggesting Tbr’s more recent tie to CrC/Azt; however, Hill (KH/M06) includes Ch nasivi, which may adjust that opinion. As Miller and Hill suggest, Ca nísxiš (< *nos…) may belong, though the vowel is unexpected. For now, it may be well to separate Cr, CN, Tbr, Ca, all of *nasi. In light of *pisu/pusi ‘dust’ as in Eu pusé- make dust’ and Eu pusús mawan ‘fill with dust’, then Tr na’-pisó ‘dust, ashes’ may be a compound of ‘fire-dust’, which may underlie others of these.  [V transposition]
ASK, ASK FOR; PREGUNTAR, PEDIR, SUPPLICAR, ROGAR

70. *típiwa / *típiN 'ask': M67-12 *tep; I.Num246 *típi 'to ask (for)'; M88-ti16; KH/M06-ti16: Mn tìbiyù; Mn típiwí (M88); Mn tìtiwi- 'ask for (objects)'; NP típiñkí; NP tíbiña; TSh tipíga; Sh tíüpiáh; Sh típinka 'ask for'; Kw tívína; Ch tívíni; SP tívi; CU tívìuyú; Hp tívìnya-ta 'ask, inquire of, ask for'. Miller also puts here the following Tak forms: Cp tpépi 'to follow, track'; Ca típí 'to track'; Ls típíuyú; Hp típíyuy òta 'track'. However, I lean toward Ls tìvùnyú 'ask a question'; Cp tìvùnyu 'ask', and Ca távé 'to guess', which share the same consonants and semantics as the Num forms, and the vowels may be explainable. The medial -v (-< -p-) and 3rd consonant η might have Sr tívinya 'find' belonging here. Note the substantial similarity between Sr tívinya 'find' and Hp tívinya-ta 'ask'. Could a phonological merger of *tíwa 'name' and *tíwa 'find' in Sr have encouraged a semantic shift from *ask (seek) to *vind for Sr tívinya? We see a -yu- syllable in Mn and CU, as well as in Ls and Cp; the preceding u's (or first V) in Ls and Cp may have assimilated to the u of the following -yu-. Some forms may be compounds with other morphemes. [V assim.; Tak V's; n vs. η vs. o vs. w; nasals; clusters] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]

71. *tani 'ask for': VVH92 *tani 'ask, beg'; M67-13 *ta; B.Tep212a *taanii 'he asks for'; 212b*taani 'to ask for'; 212c 'ta'he asked for'; L.Son273 *tani 'pedir'; CL.Azt6 *tañltani 'ask'; M88-ta18 'ask for/ pedir'; KH/M06-ta18: TO taani; NT tañni; ST tatif 'pedirlo, comprarlo'; Wr ihtani; Tr tani/ranñi 'tocar música, pedir, apostar'. Miller's inclusion of My nátte 'preguntar' belongs with *tí-may below. Wr ihtani and CN i'tlani 'ask, request, beg s.th.' show an affinity as also in Wr ihkucíwa and CN i'kuč-in, both 'worm'. [Wr ih-/ CN i'] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

72. *tìkka/*tìNka 'ask for': TSh nátíjan 'ask for'; NP tìkanawa'i 'beg for food'; NT tìkáakai 'ask'; ST tìkáa 'preguntar'. [N in Num, not in Tep; nasals, clusters] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

73a. *maya 'ask': Sr maayà 'ask, request' and Ktn maaya 'ask'.

73b. *(tí-may) 'ask': KH/M06-ti35 *tim 'ask': Eu temáde, pret: temádi, fut: temáice 'pedir, preguntar'; Eu netémade-n, pret: netémadi, fut: netémáice 'preguntar, pedir algo'; Yq (ná)temai/nattemai 'preguntar'; My (ná)temá 'preguntar'; My nátte 'preguntar'. Sr maaya 'ask, request' and Ktn maaya 'ask' may tie in, and could these relate to *(u)may 'say' (see 'say')? Does Yq máate 'suplicar' belong? [possible *tí- prefix] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah]

74. *siìwi 'ask for': Ca sé 'we beg, ask for' and Ls jóovini 'ask for' agree with initial *si and a glottal stop + w > p / v happens in UA. [v and 'w, labials] [NUA: Tak]
75a. *-kwo / *ko / *ku ‘at, in, on, while, when’; Sapir; Stubbs1995-2; TO -ko ‘in, on, at (a place)’; Nv -ko (e.g., Nv bus-ko ‘en todas partes [all-at]’; Nv vusi ‘todos’); Op -ko ‘gerundive verbal affix’; CN -ko/-k; Ch -mank(u) ‘on’. I agree with Sapir that some similar-appearing subordinators, such as SP -ku ‘when, as, while’, like the -ku syllable in Ch -mank(u) ‘on’ above, may relate to the ‘in/at’ postposition: ‘when you came’ = ‘at your coming’. Add Eu -ko ‘having verbalised’.

75b. *ku-pa(-ko) ‘on’: CL.Azt120 -*t(i)kpak ‘on top of’ and 262 **-ku-pa; M88-ku28; KH/M06-ku28 ‘on, on top of’; CN (i)kpk ‘on or at the head of, above’; Pl -(i)hkpa ‘on, on top, on top of’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Opn, Azt]

76. *po ‘in, at, while/after’: My -po ‘a dentro, mientras’; Tbr -vó ‘en, sobre’. [*kwo > ko/b?o?] [SUA: Cah, Tbr]

Sapir; M67-229 *pan ‘high’; I.Num129 *pa’a ‘high, long, tall’; CL.Azt119 *-pan ‘on’, 261 **-pa(-n(a)); M88-pan35; and KH/M06-pan35 all somewhat combine *pa’a and *pani forms, which may belong together as some *pa’ani look-alikes may suggest, while other pairs such as Sh(M) pan ‘on’ and Sh(M) pa’a ‘up, high’ suggest different morphemes; their union seems far from certain:

77. *pani / *pana ‘on, on surface of’: CN pani ‘on top, on the outside or surface’; CN -pan ‘on the surface, for or at a particular time, postp’; Tb tafaaban ‘on top’; Tb tafaaban ‘on top’; Tr pani ‘arriba en la falda’; Tbr -pá(-n) ‘locativo: en, dentro de, sobre’; Cr an ‘on top’; Cr hapwaán ‘encima, sobre’; SP -pan ‘at’; TSh pa’an/pan ‘on, above, at, about, by (means of transport)’; Sh(M) panaí ‘up, high’; Sh(M) pan ‘on’ (vs. Sh(M) pa’a ‘up, high’); Sh(Cr) pan, panai’, pa’ai, pankai’ ‘up, high, above’. Many *pani/pana forms suggest a meaning of ‘surface’ or a ‘relatively sizable, flat surface’. Note TSh pana(pin) ‘chest, front of body’ and CN eelpan ‘chest (lit. organ-surface) relative to *pana/pani ‘surface, on’; CN paan-tli ‘row, wall’; CN te-pan-tli ‘rock wall’ (or surface); Sh(M) pana ‘front of the body’; Sh(M) mappana ‘palm of hand’; Sh(M) tappana ‘sole of foot’; Sh(M) panapuhi ‘mirror’; Sh tí-pana ‘rock-surface’; and Tr and Wr pana ‘cheek’ (at *face’) may also relate, as chest, cheek, palm, and sole are all body parts of a surface. Nevertheless, Sh shows both pa’a ‘up, high’ and pani ‘up, high’. Is it possible that Num took on a glottal stop or that the other branches lost it? Or are we dealing with separate morphemes wherein UA *pani/pana ‘(on) surface’ of (fa)nt)ecomically became more specifically ‘on’ then ‘on, up on, high’? Or are there other instances showing a /n alternation in Sh or a similar pattern? For now let’s separate them (as does Sapir in SP), distinguishing: *pani ‘on’ (above) and *pa’a ‘high, long, on, at’ (see at long) and *pa ‘at’; and *pí ‘at, on’. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

78. *-pa ‘at, in’; Hp -pa/-va ‘diffusive suffix, distributed along, in, or on an area, on surface of’; Ch -va / -vaa ‘at, future’; Ch upa ‘in, locative’; CU -vaat(-t)i ‘at’; CU -vati(-t) ‘on’; CU -vaa-t(u)x ‘to, toward’; SP -pa ‘at’; Nv ba; aba; ubai hubana; Tr -mo-ba ‘on’. Also belonging is the final *-pa in Tr repo-pa ‘a.espaldas’; Tr repo-gá ‘dorso, espalda’; Tr repo-mina ‘de espaldas, sobre la espalda’; Wr tehpo’ba ‘back’; Tbr ha–vá-n, ho-vá’-n ‘dentro de’; WC ‘en, dentro de’. Ktn pa’pi ‘on top’ may suggest *pa’ + *pí. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, CrC]

79. *-pí ‘at’: KH/M06-ns10: Kw -pí/-vi ‘at, on’; Hp -pe, -ve ‘punctive suffix: at, in, or on’, -ep ‘there, at, in, on’; Gb -ve; Cp -eve’aw ‘on, over, in’; Ca pé-tuk ‘under, inside’; Ktn -pea, -vea ‘locational/derivational suffix = ‘at’ etc; Eu vepé ‘encima, sobre’; Eu vepévai; Yq béppa ‘arriba’; AYq vepa ‘on top of, more than’; My beppa ‘sobre, encima de’. [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Cah, Opn, Tbr]

80. *-pi-pa ‘on’: Eu vepán ‘encima, sobre’; Tbr we-pán ‘sobre, encima de’; Yq béppa ‘arriba, encima’; AYq vega ‘on top of, more than’; My beppa ‘sobre, encima, más que’; may be a compound of *pí and *pani. [SUA: Cah, Opn]

81. *-akwi ‘on’: Tep *abi; TO ab ‘on’; PYp ab(i) ‘on’; Hp aqw ‘to, toward, into, to top of’. What of NP wai; ggwai ‘in, on’ or Hp -any ‘along (there)’? [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

82. *-kaC ‘at, on’: TSh -kaC ‘at, to, in, on’; Sh -ka ‘at’; Cr -ka/-kí ‘in, at, on’; perhaps CN -ka ‘through, by, by means of’. [NUA: CNum; SUA: Azt]

83. *man ‘on, at’: TSh man ‘on, at, against, in (surface, but never inside)’; Sh -man ‘on’, Ch -mank(u) ‘on’; Kw -mugen-wa ‘on, with, using, from, as a result of’; perhaps Tbr -min ‘por, localización aproximada’. [Kw m/w] [NUA: Num]
Autumn: see gather

pending improvement of its probabilities slight V change, the facts that they differ in the 1
correspond to PUA *yicika, so while

LP diska 'mys'; PYp disk 'mys'; NT dyišíka/dïišííka 'mys'; ST dyišiik. Miller mentions this B.Tep19 along with

90 [Gb ny < *y; Gb o: Ls o: *ï]

Add Ktn yïr/yïha 'aunt of some kind, mother's sister' and Op deri

Ls yósmay 'mys'; Gb (ny)ó'oš 'tía';

90 Wr soló; Tr soró. [liquids: *l/r] [SUA: Tr, Tep]

some devoicing influence proximate to a long lost medial cluster. [medial cluster] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Tr]

we recon both

M88 (EX); Hp a-va(qe) 'along, in, on'. [*-t- > -c-] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn]

AUNT, NIECE; TIA, SOBRINA

85. *asi 'niece, nephew, relative': KH.NUA; M88-’a34; KH/M06-’a34: Cp ásima 'woman's niece'; Ca ’ásis 'brother's daughter'; Sr ’aahir 'man's cross nephew, niece'; Ktn ahir 'nephew or niece'. [*s > h in Sr and Ktn] [NUA: Tak]

86. *maCti / *mastí 'nephew/niece (of woman)': KH.NUA; M88-ma41 'nephew/niece'; KH/M06-ma41 ‘woman’s parallel nephew, niece’: Cp mátisma 'nephew (of woman)'; Cp matimá 'niece or nephew (of man)'; Ca máti/matí', pl: máti'im 'niece'; Sr máš't 'woman's parallel nephew, niece'; Ktn mahcit (pl -am) 'nephew of a certain type, possibly through sister'. I reconstruct a consonant cluster (- Ct-) rather than only -t-, because a lone intervocalic -t- > -l/r- in most Tak languages, not to mention Sr -št- and Kt -ht-; therefore, some kind of cluster likely prevented that change. [clusters] [NUA: Tak]

87. *niSa / *niCsa ‘aunt, mother's older sister (mos)': BH.Cup *naš 'aunt, maternal'; M67-501 *ne 'aunt'; M88-ni7 'aunt'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ni7 ‘aunt, mos’: Cp néš 'mos'; Ca nês 'mos'; Ls nũs 'mos'; Ls nušmay 'nephew, niece'; Sr nǐm 'mos'; Wr neša 'mos'; My ně'esa 'tía'; Ktn nǐhma ‘aunt of a certain type’. PUA *niSa may be compounded with diminuitive -*maLa. In fact, Ls and Ktn and Sr suggest *niSma, perhaps < *niSvMa. Wr and My may suggest additional segments before -s. [Us l, but expect o < *i] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]

88a. *pahwa 'aunt, father's sister (fs)': BH.Cup *pa-pa 'paternal aunt'; M67-502 *pa 'aunt'; I.Num134 *pah(w)a 'aunt'; Kaufman1981; M88-pa21; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa21 ‘paternal aunt’: Mn pawwa / pāwha 'fs'; NP pahwa 'fs'; TSh pāwha 'fs'; Sh pāha 'fs' (acc – i); WSh pāha ‘fs, woman’s nephew/niece’ (acc – a); Kw pāha 'fs, mother’s brother’s wife'; SP paâ / pāha 'aunt'; CU paâ-ci 'fs'; Cp -pah(a) 'fs'; Ca -pa’fs; Ls pāa-may 'fs'; Sr pāh 'cross aunt: fs, mbw)'. Manaster-Ramer and KH/M06, citing Manaster-Ramer, add Tb paaawáa. Ken Hill also adds CN aawi-tl 'aunt'; CN pl’-tli ‘older sister, lady’s maid’; Pl -piipi ‘older sister, aunt’; HN aawi ‘aunt’; HN to’aawi ‘lady’, which fit fairly well in light of Num *pahwa and Azt loss of initial *p.

88b. *pa’po 'aunt': B.Tep282 *vovoita ‘aunt’; L.Son188 *papo 'hermana menor del padre'; KH/M06-po28 (not in M88): TO wowoit 'fys'; Wr papói 'fys'; Tr apò 'fys'; NT vovoïtya; ST va’vooly; LP vovič. A reconstruction for both a and b is difficult. SUA shows reduplication of the initial C; TrC and ST show a voweling of *a > o (> o in Tep). On the other hand, many Num forms also show w as 2nd C, perhaps relating to the 2nd vowel o in SUA; but if we reconstruct w, then we should expect g in TO, unless consonant harmony underlies TO wVwV, though there are other instances of *w- > o rather than > -g- in Tep. The h in Sh, Kw, and Cp, as well as the different toned vowels in SP and CU (áa) may represent an actual h or some other missing medial consonant or cluster, or could merely be some devoicing influence proximate to a long lost medial cluster. [medial cluster] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

89. *solo 'aunt, father's older sister': L.Son259 *soro 'hermana mayor del padre'; M88-so5; KH/M06-so5: Wr soló; Tr soró. [liquids: *l/r] [SUAS: Trn]

90a. *yíS 'aunt (mrys)': KH.NUA; M88-yí17; KH/M06- yí17: Cp yésma ‘mys, fyb’s wife’; Ca yes ‘mys’; Ls yõsmay ‘mys’; Gb (ny)ójõs ‘tía; Sr yiir ‘younger parallel aunt’. Many of these mean ‘stepmother’ and ‘mys’. Add Ktn yir/yía ‘aunt of some kind, mother’s sister’ and Op deri- ‘aunt’ (Shaul 1990, 566). [Gb ny < *y; Gb o: Ls o: *i]

90b. *yíCíka ‘aunt, mother's younger sister': B.Tep19 *disika ‘aunt (mrys)': KH/M06- yí17: TO jisk; LP diska ‘mys'; PYp disk ‘mys'; NT dsišía/dişišíka ‘mys'; ST dsišik. Miller mentions this B.Tep19 along with B.Tep10 *daada ‘mother’ and B.Tep33 in M88-y11 *di'idi 'his mother'; however, let’s follow Ken Hill, who leaves B.Tep33 *di’ti- and B.Tep10 at M88-y11 and includes only B.Tep19 here. Nevertheless, Tep *disika would correspond to PUA *yicika, so while these b forms may tie to the Tak forms (in a), because of c > Tak s/ C# and a slight V change, the facts that they differ in the 1st V and perhaps the 2nd C recommends at least a separate letter, pending improvement of its probabilities. [*c/s; sibilants] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

Autumn: see gather
AVOCADO

91. *awaka ‘avocado’; CL.Azt8 *aawaka ‘avocado’; M88-’a32; KH/M06-’a32: CN awaka-tl; Pl a Kawakat; Po aweket; T awakatl; Z awakat. [SUA: Azt]

Awake: see wake up

AWL; AGUJA; see also rope, weave, circle (for spin)

92. *opi ‘awl’: BH.Cup *’éévi ‘awl’; M67-15 *wopi/*/h(opi) ‘awl’; M88-’o2 ‘awl’; M88-wo9 ‘awl’; Munro.Cup8 *éévi-š ‘awl’; KH/M06-’o2: Ls ‘éévi-š / ‘ééva-t; Cp ‘ivi-š; Ca ‘ivi-š; TO owhj, pl: oipij ‘awl’; NT őy / ōi ‘needle’. Miller includes Cm woobi, wobi ‘wood’ and SP opi ‘wood’, but in this work they are with *wopi ‘wood’; see tree. As Miller (1967-15) notes, the Cm form points to Numic *wopi and Tak to *opi, but if UA *wopi, then the Tep forms should yield Tep gowi. Miller shows overlap in M88-’o2, wo9, and wo10 ‘wood’; Ken Hill judiciously reduces these to o2 and wo10. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

93. *malaka ‘spindle’: CL.Azt158 *malaka ‘spindle’; M88-ma30; KH/M06-ma30: CN malaka-tl; Pl malakat; Po -meleg- /mala-/; T malakačtk; Z malakat. [SUA: Azt]

NB, for *wica ‘thorn, awl’ see at thor. While Southern Numic *wiya- and TrC *wica may have s.th. to do with Takic *éévi and TO owhj, a division of *wica (SNum, TrC) and *opi (Tak, Tep) is preferable until demonstrable otherwise.

NB, for Tep *vidinakari ‘spindle’, see *pi’ri ‘spin thread’ at rope.

NB, for Hp poro and Eu vúr (both pointing to *pur), see pierce.

NB, for *coma ‘sew’ in CN and B.Tep *soomakari ‘needle’ and *sooma ‘to sew’, see weave.

AXE; HACHA; see also hoe

94. *t-pos-ta ‘axe, hatchet’: CN tepus / tepos-tli; NT tópúúrai; Tr rípurá; Wr tehulá; Tbr tepo-rá-t / tepu-rá-t; Yq tépua(m); My tépued; Wc tepia ‘lámina de fierro’; Cr tepuañ ‘hacha’; Cr tepuañt ‘metal’; Pyp tepiter. Note L > ‘º in My, Yq, Wc, and Cr. Initial *tº- may be ‘rock’; thus *tº-pos may be the primary stem, and may be a UA loan from MZ, for Wichmann (1995) lists MZ *puš ‘cut with a machete’ and MZ *puº- ‘axe’. The middle morpheme in CN te-pos-tli ‘device made of metal’, perhaps originally ‘axe’ or ‘cutting tool’, seems to underlie these SUA forms. The loan is most clear in CN, but underwent an amazing spread through most of SUA as well. Note that NT, Tr, Wr, and others show the vowel of the original absolute suffix *-ta. [liquids; *t > l/r > o in Yq, My, Wc, Cr; s > º in a cluster] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Cah, CrC, Azt]

Baby: see ‘bear, v’

BACK; ESPALDA

Words for ‘back’ and accompanying reconstructions have proven problematic since UA studies began. Sapir first ties TO and SP; then Miller lists three tentative groupings with considerable overlap:

M88-ho8 ‘back(bone)’: M67-16 ‘back’; NP hoppotoo; Kw howaa-âi; CU ‘ó’aá-âi; Hp houta; Hp hotºqa ‘backbone’; TO oot ‘flesh beside backbone’; Eu hubúni-hówâa, gen. húbúni-hóhtê, acc. húbúni-hóhta ‘spine; backbone’ (hówa ‘bone’); Wr otopórici ‘backbone’; Tbr óvá-r ho-tá-rá-n ‘backbone’; Cr wárih/wári; Wc ái.tekía ‘parte inferior lumbar del espína’.

M88-ru20; Sapir; KH/M06-hu28: Ca húlul ‘back’; Cp xuñtaxwe-l ‘back’; Cp xútañça ‘behind’; Hp hûota’at.

M88-w013 ‘back’; I.Num273 *wo’a(a) ‘back’; KH/M06-w013: Mn wo‘a’i ‘backbone’; Kw howaa-âi; SP ooa-âi; CU ‘ó’aá-âi; My hóó’o; Tbr ova-r-owá-ñ/ogó-.

While overlap exists in Miller’s three groupings, all contain ho/hu forms. These might better be divided into two major sets: *hupa/hupu (c) and *huta/hota (d) (along with additional smaller sets), though some forms recommend *hupatV / *hupatwa with reductions. Miller separates the ho/hu syllables on the basis of the first vowel; however, all o preceding a could simply be the frequent UA assimilation *u-a > o-a, or other motivations altering the round vowel; yet a very different 2nd consonant (t vs. p) is less attributable to sound change and may be the better criterion for sorting the forms. On the other hand, some forms (Eu, Tbr) show hints that we may be dealing with a reduction in some languages, such as: *hupa-ta > *hu(a)-ta > *huta. In fact, some of these may tie to *kupta ‘buttocks’ at buttocks, but those clearly belonging to *kupta are found at ‘buttocks’ which see (I mean, the

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set). In any case, I tentatively divide them thus, pending improved plausibilities. Let’s start with clear and simple SNum, though what else it may be related to becomes progressively less clear and simple.

95a. *howa 'back' (SNum): Kw howaa-vi 'back'; Ch hó(a); Ken Hill adds Ch oaa; Ch(L) ho"aavo"ak'i 'humped-back, hunchback'; SP oaa-ri; WMU óaa-ri / óaa-ri 'back, n'; CU óóaa-ri. [NUA: SNum]

95b. *wo'α / *ho'o (< *huCa?): KH/M06-wo13: Mn wo'opi 'backbone' (KH/M06); Mn wo'abi 'backbone' (Bethel, Kroskrity, Loether); My hóō'o 'espalda'; Ca húlul 'back'; and the latter part of Tbr óva 'back, backbone'; Hp hóota 'back'; Wr otopórici 'backbone'; TO ootk 'flesh beside backbone'; PYp uupa / u'upa 'skunk'. Tbr distinguishes the two forms fairly well: *hopa and *ho-ta. The Tbr variants (ova/owa/ogo) show another instance of velarizations of labials preceding round vowels. In M88-wo13, Mn wo'opi 'backbone' is the only language showing initial w, perhaps an initial intensification or metathesis ('-w > -w-'). Some forms more specifically mean 'behind': Tr upá 'al fin, al último, atrás'; Tr upáka 'por atrás, detrás'; PYp opadi 'against, behind, postp'; TO owi 'an opponent, the opposition'. Might some of these interwines with *opa 'enemy, hostile, foreign' or might the two PYp forms (PYp uupam 'back, returning, adv'; PYp uupa / u'uha 'skunk') introduce the possibility that this 'back' is tied to 'backside' or 'stink (side)'; so also Tr(H) htaba 'atrás'; Tr(H) huba 'oler'. SP u'va 'have diarrhea' may suggest likewise, though this shows -v- while SP oaa-ri 'back' does not. [NUA: Num; S: Tep, Cah, Tbr]

95d. *huta > *hota 'back': Hp howa 'back'; Wr otopórici 'backbone'; TO ootk 'flesh beside backbone'; My hóō'o 'espalda'; Ca húlul 'back'; and the latter part of Tbr óva-ri ho-ta-rí-n 'backbone'; and Eu hubuní-hówa 'backbone' (ho'(wa) 'bone'), Eu hubuní-hóhta 'backbone, acc'. The glottal stop in My corresponding to the t (r > r') of the other forms is known elsewhere, which would best keep it with the medial t set. In fact, the Eu forms may suggest that the *hota portion that we see in Hp, Eu, and Tbr may be from an original accusative, though that portion in Eu means 'bone' instead of 'back'. The others in this set could have easily assimilated the second vowel to the first (*huta > huto/hoto in Wr, My, Ca), for all still show t for the second consonant. Could these represent a fossilization of an old accusative? The several Numic forms (oa/owa-) could feasibly belong to either set, depending on whether an i consonant. It was lost, yet Kw hubuwa may be key in suggesting that the general Numic shape *o(w)a is also a reduction, perhaps *hupa(t)wa > hovwa > owa, or *hupuwa > *huvwa > huwa > owa, wherein two consonants are lost. That would align them with the medial -v- while SP oaa-ri 'back' is tied to 'backside' or 'stink (side)'; so also Tr(H) huba 'oler'. SP u'va 'have diarrhea' may suggest likewise, though this shows -v- while SP oaa-ri 'back' does not. [NUA: Num; S: Tep, Cah, Tbr]

95e. *wati (at) back (of) (< *hupati?): Cr wárta'an 'detrás'; Cr warhw 'espalda, lomo'; perhaps *p > ø in Cr, thus *hupa > ua > wa for the initial syllable, in which case Cr warhw and PYp opadi may belong together. If that is not the case, then Tbn wahti'aš 'be behind' and Cr warhi may belong together, which means they should be separated from the above set. [NUA: Num; S: Tep, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

96. *piC 'back, last': M67-17 *pi 'back'; I.Num162 *pih (pref.) 'back, behind, buttocks'; M88-pi12: KH/M06-pi12: Mn pi 'back, buttocks'; NP pi 'back, bottom'; Sh pi- 'with buttocks or back'; Cm pi-hima 'carry behind, as on a horse'; SP pi'- 'buttocks, rear'; CU pimi-cuh 'back to, returning towards'; CU pimi-na-kkwa-ppi 'behind, in the back'; and possibly My bi'am 'nuca'. Add Ktn pita-č 'youngest, last'. Tb pičool is at *piCtö 'buttocks', though *piC may be a reduced form of *piCtö, in which case the two would belong together. This Num *piC has been considered a staple in Num morphology so long that we can let it stand awhile longer for tradition's sake, but compounds that included it (below) may yield evidence to suggest that *piC (if not also *piCtö) is reduced from *hupiC or *hupiCtö. (Could NP hobbodo / hopodo represent a fuller form?) [NUA: Num]
Compounds for ‘behind, in back of’ may suggest that *piC (above) is a shortened form of *hupiC:

97a. *hupiC-na(-Nkwa) ‘back side of’: Mn -hupinaqwé-tu ‘behind, in back of’; Mn hupinaqwé ‘outside’; NP obi-naggwa ‘after, behind, postp’; Cm (i)pinakwí ‘behind, postp’; these contain *(h)u- lacking below:

97b. *piC-na-Nkwa ‘back side of’: TSh pinnakwa(sí) ‘behind, in back of, after, last, postp. and adv.’; Sh pinn ‘last one, previous one’; Sh pinnaitíni ‘pinnacle, following, behind’; Sh pinsankatí ‘in back of’; Sh(C) pi-nankwa ‘(in) back of; Sh(C) pinn(así) ‘last one, remaining one, old age’; Cm (i)pinakwí ‘behind, postp’.

Almost identical to CNum is SP pinanqwá ‘after awhile, soon’ and the rest of SNum as well, though less clearly (Ch piikayu ‘later’; WMU pinnáux / pinná ‘in back of’; CNum ‘back, later’; SNum ‘next, later, following, second’). In light of Mn and NP showing *hupi-nakwa > *upi-nakwa > pi-nakwa, as well Cm’s optional vowel in Cm (i)pinakwí, all suggest that *piC may be an abbreviated *hupiC, and that the above forms may be a compound of *hupa/hupi ‘back’ and other suffixes, which length would encourage loss of the initial consonant or syllable and perhaps allow a gradual and eventual reinterpretation of morpheme boundaries and fossilization of the fusion *upi: *hupi-na > *-pina. This compound likely contains *накw ‘side, from’ at ‘side’. [NUA: Num]

98. *tîhpo / *tîCpo ‘back, shoulder’: CL.Azt9 *tapoe ‘back, shoulder’; M88-tâ39; KH/M06- tî39: CN tepoc-tli ‘back, shoulders’; Pl tepuc ‘lump, back’; Campbell and Langacker, Miller, and Hill all list the Azt forms; however, several CR and other forms exist as well: Tr têpó-pa ‘espalda’; Tr têpó-gâ ‘dorso, espalda’; Tr têpó-mina ‘de espaldas, sobre la espalda’; WR tehpóba ‘his back’; Sr tîhpi ‘back, behind, n’; and Ktn tîhipi- ‘loin, back’ also show considerable agreement, except in the last vowel, which may be from *piC ‘back’. Tr and Wr may have the locative suffix *-pa fossilized into them. The Wr -h-, Sr -h-, Tr -p-, and perhaps the Azt forms all suggest that a consonant is clustered with -p-, whether -hp- or something else. [*o > Sr i?][NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Azt]

99a. *komi (< *kwami / kwahami?) ‘back, bark’: B.Tep105 *kömi ‘back, bark of tree’, *komidi ‘his back’; M88-ko27; KH/M06-ko27: TO komi ‘back, lower back, shell covering’; PYp komi ‘back’; NT kömi ‘back, bark, peel, shell’; ST kom ‘back, bark’. To these we might add WR umí ‘buttocks, small of the back’; Tr umi ‘lower back’; and NV komispa ‘detrás’.

CNum *kwaim ‘back (of a body)’; CNum *kwam ‘back side of’; M88-ko27: CN koomi ‘back, bark’; WR komi ‘back’; Ktn komi ‘back’; ST kom ‘back, bark’. As KH/M06 suggests, CN komi-tl ‘vessel, container’, Pl kuumit ‘pot’ and the other Azt forms may be related since there seems to be a great semantic intertwining in UA words for basket (vessel, container), back, shell, turtle, bark’ the basket-like back of the turtle somehow being central to it all; cf. turtle, basket.

99b. *komi ‘pot’: CL.Azt 127 *koomV ‘pitcher, jug, pot’; KH/M06-ko27: CN koomi-tl; Pl kuumit; Po kumt; T kuml, Z koomit. Ktn komale ‘frying pan’ is likely a loan. Jane Hill notes also Gb komiime ‘basket shaped like a bandeja/tray; Tb hommori ‘cooking basket’; Tb hommopit ‘small coiled basket’. [kw, labials]

[NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

NB, for *kota/i ‘bark, shell’, see at shell.

BAD; MALO; see also pain, sore, bitter, stink


101. *tíshawa ‘bad, suffer’: Tb tíšawini ‘cause him evil’; Tr tíšiwa/ísoa ‘pena, sufrimiento, dificultad, pesadumbre’; Tr tíšiwa-rá-ma ‘suffer, penar, padece’; and maybe Cm tíci ‘crue, mean, ugly, bad’ or Sp -tísu’ai-na’ai ‘not heeding, paying no attention.’. [NUA i: SUA i] [NUA: T; SUA: Trn]

102. *pu’a ‘bad’: ST vuam [used in compounds meaning] ‘bad, ugly, bother’; Cr há’ípu’a [used in compounds meaning] ‘bad, broken, dirty, demon’. Including a glottal stop in the reconstruction may be preferable to nothing because (1) original diphthongs hardly exist in PUA, (2) Tep languages (like ST) do not normally show PUA *’, and (3) Cr does show , though slightly transposed. [NUA: Tep, CrC]

103. *’atta ‘bad’: Kw ’ataa / ’itaa ‘be bad’; Kw ’ataa-kwee-pi ‘rotten, spoiled, broken’; Cm aití ‘bad, wicked, evil’; Cm ata/átí ‘different, other’; whether or not both Cm forms are cognate, listing both for preliminary consideration is useful at this point. [unaccented V > i in Kw; Cm a-í > ai-i] [NUA: Num]
104. *'aLa(La) 'bad': Ca 'elélé- 'bad, wrong, not right, adj.'; Ca 'elél-kw-iš 'bad person / thing'; Ca 'elél-kw-imal 'ugly person'; Ls 'alalxwi 'be bad'; Ls 'alalxwi-s 'bad'; Ls 'alalxwi-laka 'ugly'; Wr na'ála-ni 'be bad'; Wr na'ála 'damage, danger'. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

105. *paLu 'bad, say bad about': B.Tep183 *paru 'to speak evil of'; KH/M06-pa68 'bad': In B.Tep183 are NT parúñai and Upper Piman paDí. In addition, *paL appears in some Tep languages meaning 'bad' though not necessarily having to do with speaking: TO paD 'bad, evil, spoiled, deteriorated'; PYp par 'bad'; ST parvan 'defective'. [*: UA liquids] [SUA: Tep]


BADGER; TEJÓN

107. *hunapi > SUA *hulac 'badger' (*hunap-wíl 'bear, badger-big'): Sapis; M67-18 *hua; KH.NUA; L.Num43 *hunan/*hunan; BH.Cup *hunwit 'bear' (badger-big); Fowler83; M88-hu10; Munro.Cupan9 *húuna-l; KH/M06-hu10 *hula: NP hunna; TSh hunnan / hunacci; Sh huna; Kw huna-ci; Ch(L) huna; SP ina-N, ina-mpici; CU 'una-ppi-ci; Tb 'uuna-l 'black bear'; Cp hunál 'badger'; Cp hunwe-t 'bear'; Ca hunál 'badger'; Ca húnwe-t 'bear'; Ls húnuna-l; Gb hunar 'bear'; Gb hunar 'badger'; páhunar 'Great-Bear'; Sr huuñavt; Sr huna-t 'bear'; Ktn hunaví-t 'badger'; Hp honani 'badger'; Hp hoonaw 'bear'; My húuri 'tejón'; Yq huúri 'tejón'; Yq(J) húuri 'tejón'. Add WMU unappú-či. Ken Hill astutely includes Eu hurvé 'wolf' and Wc irave 'wolf'. Though they may vary semantically, Eu and Wc both correspond to *hulápi, like NUA, and wolves and badgers are both similarly veracious and vicious. Also of interest is that Sr, Ktn, Eu, Wc, all show a third consonant or syllable (*-pi/pi) with a bilabial. SP and CU also show gemination there and could be taken as a double absolutive suffix, but not in Sr, Ktn, Eu, and Wc. Hill also includes Wr u'lá 'skunk' which, with its badger-like walk and feet, is also plausible. [liquids: *n > r, but -nn- in Num; *u > i in SP] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC]

108. *paNtu > *paicu 'badger/tejón': ST vaisily 'tejón'; Cr haihcá(-te) 'tejón(es)'; and Wc háici 'tejón' all match *paicV ( *p > ST v; *p > CrC h). CN peeso'-tli 'badger' (but with p) also parallels Wc háici, both of which point to s.th. near *paicu; however, Wr pincúri 'tejón' and Tr batúwi 'tejón' must be included, in fact, may be key to the cluster. Wr pincúri shows an *-nc- cluster and the diphthong *ai > i instead of > e, like CN. ST s agrees nicely with the c of CrC and Wr, while CN p-s (vs. ø expected) make CN peeso'-tli more likely a loan from ST/Tep or other, since CN’s p is unexpected, while CrC h is expected. Terrence Kaufman (1991/2001, 12) has CN peeso'-tli as a loan from Zapotecan *pe-xii’cu’ ‘coati’. In light of many PUA *t > c before high vowels and in light of Tr’s t and in light of Cr, Wr, Tr showing *u after the üc, something like *paNtu could explain all forms, especially since other examples of UA vowels before alveolars tending toward i would explain *paicu (< *pantu). The first two syllables of PYp baahuki ‘badger’ may belong as another loan, if h < s < *c) and with b instead of expected v. Having *pa(n)tu / *paicu in all branches of SUA and *hunapV in all branches of NUA provides an interesting NUA-SUA division for ‘badger’, though *hunapV also in SUA, usually with different semantics, except that Cah retains the same semantics as NUA. Let’s not yet tie SP pinti ‘hang on to’ to SUA badger, with its reputation as the most viciously tenacious (hanging on to) creature, though the phonology is compatible. Note also *pantu ‘shake, bounce’ at ‘shake’ as a possible verb source for this noun, whether referring to its bouncy gate or fur. [c/s; *t > c > s; *u > CrC i/e; palatalisation; nasals] [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]

109. *kwila / *kwita 'badger': Stubbbs2003-10: Ca wílyaly 'badger'; Tbr kwél-t/keré 'tejón’. This is another instance of SUA 1 corresponding to NUA 1 rather than n, unless both are from *-t-. Might this relate to *kwiya ‘bear, n’? [labials: kw/w; i-a > e-e; UA liquids: SUA l: NUA l] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tbr]

110. *kap / *kapali 'badger': Fowler83: TO kaaw 'badger'; LP(EF) hedilkaw-súuly 'tejón solitario’ (LP(EF) súuly 'tejón’). To Fowler: add NT tikavali 'tejón’. [*ti- prefix] [SUA: Tep]
BAG, SACK; BOLSA, SACO, TALEGA

111. *tana 'bag, sack': M88-ta45; KH.NUA; Stubbs2003-4; KH/M06-ta45 'to contain (several things)'; Sr tanat 'sack'; Gb tanuj 'sack'; Hp tanja 'contained things'; Hp patja 'squash' (with pa-). Stubbs (2003-4) adds Tbr tanatat 'zurrón, mochila de cuero en que se acarrea a la espalda el ineral'; the latter two syllables of Mn kusata'ni 'sack' and Sr qawatañat 'pocket'; CN taana-tli 'basket with a handle'; and Yq 'ia-tana 'this shore/side' (a shore as that which contains or encloses water). Also add Ktn tañata-t 'sack, trunk, box' and Ktn hu- 'tanata-t 'granary'. This morphology compounded with *pa- 'water' produces *pa-tana 'squash, pumpkin, gourd' (Stubbs 2003:4 and KH/M06-pa66 'squash'): Ch paranar(a) 'pumpkin'; SP patañwata'n 'pumpkin'; and Hp patja 'squash, pumpkin' at 'squash'. [NUA -ŋ-: SUA -n; Mn -n-; nasals; clusters] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tbr, Cah, Azt]

112. *kawa 'pocket, bag': M88-ka38; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ka38: Ca kawkun-ily 'pocket, bag, purse'; Sr qawatañat / qawatñat, poss'd: -qawañ 'pocket'; Ch kawa'a 'kind of big packbasket made with string'. To those, add Cp qawkuni-ly 'bag, sack'. The last part of Ca and Cp (-kuni) is *kuna 'bag' below. [NUA: Tak, Num]

113. *tiso 'bag, sack': Mn tíso 'pocket'; Cp naríso 'bag, sack and bag'. Sr qaawtañ 'pocket'; Ch kawa'a 'kind of big packbasket made with string'. To those, add Cp qawkuni-ly 'bag, sack'. The last part of Ca and Cp (-kuni) is *kuna 'bag' below. [NUA: Tak, Num]

In M88-ku11 'bag'; M67-19 *ku/*kwíi; and from I.Num63 *ku 'bag', Miller lists many ku/ka/kwi possibilities, which I prefer to divide into *kuna/i and *maku:

114a. *kuna 'bag, sack': Munro.Cup10 *kúuni-la 'bag, sack': KH.NUA; KH/M06-ku11: Kw kuna-bíizí; Ch kúnaví; SP kuna; WMU kuná-ví 'bag, sack'; CU kuná-ví; LS kún-ja; Cp kúni-ly; Ca kuńi-ly; Gb -kun.

114b. *kana 'bag, sack': Cr ka'ani 'talega' and Wc kanána 'cintúron, víbora para dinero'. With a V assimilation (*u-a > a-a), these two groups may belong together, especially in light of CN's tendency for anticipatory assimilation and CrC's affiliation with Azt. [glottal and rounding?] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: CrC]

115a. *makuta (> *makuLa) or *makway'a / *maku'i-ta 'bag, blanket': CU moço'y'a (< *moko'y'a) 'blanket'; WMU maawá'y 'moço' 'blanket'; and Kw mogwi'i 'tanned hide' all show (o:w, y:i, and 'i: after *mok...). Hp mokeya-ta 'wrap up, bag or sack s.th.' put into a bundle, vt' is identical to CU except for missing a round vowel between k and y, and a glottal stop. Sr mőqq-kin 'fold, wrap, vt' is certainly akin to the Hp lexeme, as well as Hp moki 'bundle, sack'. NP mogo'o 'bag' also belongs with CU moço'y'a, WMU moço' / moço'y 'maço' / maço'y, and Kw mogwi'i. In fact, WMU, NP mogo'o, and Tb maagulat 'weasel skin purse' all suggest the first V may be a, not o, with the 2nd round vowel causing the 1st vowel to assimilate: *a-u > u/o-o. Tb maagulat may suggest a 3rd C t (< *makuta) and Sh mokoci 'sack, bag, pouch' and Sh mokocih 'sack, bag' also suggest a 3rd obstruent evident in their final gominations. Consider also Tbr makorá-t 'jicara' nearly identical phonologically to Tb maagulat. My mo'oko 'basket' and Wr mo'ke-warí 'basket' may match NP mago'o with the frequent Tarahumaran glottal stop anticipation (*CV.CV > CV(V)CV). Also similar are Hp moki 'bundle, parcel, sack' and SP piccammuqqu 'tie around (?)' and perhaps CN moka 'full of'. Vowel-wise these forms could derive from something like *maku (> maka/moko/muku), since NP, Tb, and Tbr all suggest a first vowel a, and both Hp and Tb suggest an original second vowel of *u, that was lowered to o in most languages, probably due to the preceding low a, which itself later assimilated to o (a-u > a-o > o-o) in many languages, another example of vowel leveling. As for consonants, a 3rd C of glottal stop asso (in NP, CU, Kw, My, Wr) and/or l/C (as in Tb, TSh, Sh) in the reconstruction would be likely. The glottal stop seems to have hopped in TrC (as it often does), while the Num forms may show its original position. A high front vowel after the glottal stop (*makui') is suggested in CU, Kw, Hp, and Wr. Hp moki 'bundle, parcel, sack' and Hp mok-ta 'carrying in a sack' align with *muka 'carry on the back or in a mecapal'; in fact, these NUA (Num and Tb) forms of *maku 'bag, bundle' probably relate to *muka 'carry in a bundle' (c below) with a vowel change. [V's; CN o-a: *a-u V metathesis; cluster]

Of equal interest are Tak terms similar to the above, which show liquids (*t- > l-):

##. *muku / *mukla (< *mukula < *makuta) / *makuy'a 'wrap': Ca hímukowi 'wrap around, vt'; Cp mámwe 'wrap up, vt'; Cp manumámú'i-s 'all wrapped up, adj'; and perhaps LS móra/i 'be rolled up, curled up, v.i., roll up, wrap a package, vt'. If Tb maagulat (in a above) is nearest to the original wording, consider *makua > *makula (Tb) > *mukla > *mukla > *mula > *mola (Ls)
> *mukua > *muklu (Ca)

66
Vowel syncopation leads to a consonant cluster(-kl-), which metathesizes in Ca (-lk-), but loses the k for Ls mora. Cp also nearly shows the original vowels, and consonant harmony: *maCu’i > mamu’i. [cluster; ‘l; Ls o, Ca u, ]

115c. *muka ‘carry a bundle, carry on the back (with a mecapal/carrying net)’; Tr muke-ma ‘cargar cosas al espalda por mecapal’; Tr muka ‘mecapal’; CN meka-tl ‘cord, rope’; CN mekapal-li ‘tumpline, a rig for carrying a load on the back supported by band across the forehead’; Wr muké-na/ma ‘carry on the back or shoulders’; Ew muke’e ‘llevar a cuestas, cargar en las espaldas’; Eu mukede-n ‘cargar, echar carga’; Hp mooki ‘bundle, parcel, sack’; Hp mooki’yma ‘go along with s.th. wrapped/in a bundle’. The *muka reconstruction works well for CN (*muka > mika > meka-) and for the others (*muka > *muki).

115d. *mo-/moka- ‘bag’ in Tep *baimokaroi = UA *kwaimokalo: NT báimokoroi ‘talo, costal’; ST baimkar ‘talega (bordada)’; ST toom baimkar ‘costal’; the -karoi portion may be the instr. suffix; regardless, this is undoubtedly a compound. [Tep] [transposition; liquid; reductions] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Azt]

116. *mutu’i / *muru’i ‘blanket’: Kw mirí ‘blanket’; Kw mooro’o-vi ‘wool blanket’; Ch murú ‘i; SP muru’i ‘blanket, robe’; and perhaps Ls móra/i ‘be rolled up, curled up, v.i., roll up, wrap a package, vt’ which is also considered in b above. The first Kw form appears to have anticipatorily assimilated its vowels toward the final vowel. Though the vowels are difficult, the Num forms (*mutu’i) resemble Ls móra/i, and all have to do with ‘wrapping’ and ‘blankets’. [Kw V’s and assim.] [NUA: SNum, Tak]

NB, for *kusa ‘bag’ and *kwisa ‘carrying net’, see *kwisa ‘carry’ at ‘carry’. NB, if the *paLi of Wc sii-pari ‘bladder’ (sii ‘urine’; literally ‘urine-bag’) is reduced from s.th. like CN mekapal-li (< *muka) ‘tumpline, rig for containing/turning while carrying a load on the back’, then the reduction was indeed severe, which means we only list for future reference, improbable as it may be.

Bake: see cook
Bald: see naked and smooth and flat
Ball: see circle
Bank: see edge
 Bare: see naked and smooth
 Bark (of trees): see skin, hair, back

BARK (of dog, verb); LADRAR

117a. *waha / *woha / *wa’wa / *wo’a / *wa’a ‘bark’: M67-22: I.Num274 *wohi/*wo’a/*wa’a/*wo’o ‘bark, yell, howl’; M88-wol1; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wol1: possible onomatopoetic infiltrations make this collection difficult, if partly valid; nevertheless, let’s list the collaborated collection: Mn woo (Lamb says ‘as in woo ’...ki ‘to bark’); NP wohi; Sh wo’ai’; Kw ha-a; SP wa’au-ki; Tb woowoah–‘owoowooh; Ls wa’úy ‘to howl, of dog or coyote’; Hp waha; Wr wo’na-ni / wo’ni-má; Tbr wo; Tbr wo-na-myá-t ‘está ladrando’; Cr hihiwa ‘yell, crow’; CN a’wa ‘scold, quarrel’; Pl ahwa ‘scold, bark at, yelp’. Miller also notes ‘wrong vowel’ for those forms beginning with wa instead of wo; however, w is more likely to round a > o (*wa’a > wo’a > wa’a) than *wo > wa; thus, initial *wa may be original. Ken Hill notes Sr wahwai’(t) ‘mean person who is always angry’ and Ls wá/i ‘bark, v’. We might add CN wa’walca ‘bark at s.o.’ to the possibilities. We see an abundance of w,’ a, and o in these forms, yet the difficulty of a reconstruction is apparent in Iannucci’s listing four possibilities, which are not easy to improve upon, nor do I consider mine more likely than any of his, except that I think the first vowel may be o rather than a due to the facts that there are several wa and the round vowel of wo may be due to its adjacency to rounded w. The stem may be onomatopoetic anyway (cf. English bawaw), in which case the value of a reconstruction diminishes. Initial w seems clearest, though CN a’wa is missing it, but not CN wa’walca. Medially, many show h or glottal stop, some show medial w (perhaps redup), and some show both. Note the opposing vowels in CN wa’wanoa ‘bark at s.o.’ and Wr wo’na, much like ‘prickly pear cactus’ in CN no’pal-li and *napu in most of the rest of UA. [a-o:o-a; V metathesis; /g]
BASKET; CESTO

118. * hutca / * hoCca / * huCta ‘basket, jar’: Sh occa (ottsa) ‘jug, pitched basket for carrying water’;
SP occa (ottsa) ‘water jar’; Tbr hoca-ný-t ‘colote, clase de cesto cilíndrico hecho de bambú rajado’. The preceding
three align nicely; the following, less so. The semantic similarity between Tbr and the following Hp terms as large
covering baskets made of sticks is also intriguing; however, a wrong first vowel and a different medial consonant
than Num prevent a certain tie, unless something like *hu’(a)-ca/ta or other explanation underlies the matter, in
which case these are worth keeping in mind: Hp ho’a-pi ‘wicker burden basket’ from Hp ho’aa-ta ‘load pl. obj’s’. Is
Hp -pi from the Num absolutive suffix? Or related to it? Regardless of Hp, the Tbr and Num forms agree in four
segments, if the medial consonant cluster includes something besides *c-, and if it does, could the Hp glottal stop
be a possible reduction of that cluster? [medial cluster; medial NUA *-c-, -t] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tbr]

119. * koppo ‘basket’: KH.NUA; M88-ko27; KH/M06-ko42: Ls qéepiš ‘baby basket’; Sr qöpö-t ‘round kind of
basket’ (note also Sr qöpö-t-t ‘turtle’). Miller includes CN komi-tl ‘vessel, container’, Pl kuumit ‘pot’, etc, but Hill
realigns them as in KH/M06-ko27 and separates *kopo and *komi, and associates Azt *komi ‘pot’ with *komi
‘back’ as I have also. [NUA: Tak]

120. * nihaC / * ni’aC / * niCaC ‘(make) basket’: M67-24 *ne ‘make baskets’; KH.NUA; M88-ni6 ‘make baskets’;
Munro.Cup *niha-t (p. 230); KH/M06-ni6: Cp néé ‘make basket’; Cp néét ‘basket’; Ca néh ‘make basket’; Ca néát
‘basket’; Sr nií ‘make basket’, vi’ (Sr nuii’v fut, Sr nuua’qa’ imm. fut.); Sr níaa ‘basket’. Per Munro, *niha-t is not a
bad reconstruction, though *ni’aC-t or *niCaC-t may be as likely. A final glottal stop in Sr níaa’t and -t absolutive
suffix (instead of -l) in other languages suggest an original final consonant. Jane Hill notes also Kw nehe– ‘make
a coiled basket’; Kw nehe-ka-pi ‘small round basket’; Kw nehe-nímbí ‘pointed tool for making coiled baskets’;
TSh níhakka ‘basket’; Ch níjá ‘weave a basket’, v’; Ch níjá-pi ‘basket’. [h vs. ‘t vs. l] [NUA: Tak, Num]

NP cikku ‘sieve basket’; CN cíkwi-tl ‘basket’; Pl cikiwit; HN ci6; M67 are Wc cíkwi and Cr sikíri
‘canasta’, but not in M88, which let’s re-include. [NUA -kk- vs. SUA -k-] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt, CrC]

122. * cippat / * cippot ‘basket’: KH.NUA: Sr čȋpat / čȋp̪̂t ‘shallow round, dish-shaped basket’;
Ca čípatmal ‘open basket for sifting’; Ktn copota-t ‘narrow-mouthed storage basket or container’ agrees in
geminated *-pp- if the first V assimilated to the 2nd. [-a/o or *-at vs. *-ot] [NUA: Tak]

123. * cay ‘basket’: NP cay̖nu ‘winnowing basket’; Cp c̖y̖ma-l ‘medium-sized round basket’; -maL is a diminutitive
suffix in the Tak languages, which yields *cay- in Cp and the same three segments in NP. What of the first syllable
of Ktn ca’cakin-hwa’-t ‘winnowing basket’ and Ktn ca’cakin ‘winnow in a certain way, v’? [NUA: Num, Tak]

NB, for *wa-na ‘rabbit net’ and SUA *waLi ‘basket’, see at ‘net’.

BAT; MURCIÉLAGO

124. * paCi’ì a ‘bat’; M67-25 *paca ‘bat’; Fowler83; M88-pa29; Stubbs 2000a-1 *pati’a; KH/M06-pa29:
Tb pacaawa-l ‘bat’; SP pačč’a ‘bat’; Kw paca’a-aa zi ‘bat’; Ch pácč’æ-æ- ‘bat’; CU páăč-æ- ÷ ‘bat’; Cr háci’i ‘bat’;
Ca pálí-l ‘bat’; NP pitahana’a ‘bat’; NP(B) pigahanna’a. The preceding NUA forms and Cora from SUA make this a
prime example in which medial *-t- (or *-tt-/Ct-) should be reconstructed for an apparent -c- in the UA words for
‘bat’. Forty-four years ago Miller (1967-25) reconstructed PUA *paca ‘bat’ based on Tb and SP. Miller listed more
Numic forms in M88-pa29 (but no reconstruction), and Alexis Manaster-Ramer (1992a) mentioned the NUA set as
a potential anomaly to the sound law of medial *-c- > -y- in NUA. Then Stubbs (2000a) suggested a reconstruction
of medial *-t-. In fact, Stubbs, for other reasons, mentally reconstructed intervocalic *-t-, rather than *-c-, before
realizing its relevance to that sound law and to Manaster-Ramer’s suggestion (1992a) that we seek other sources for
NUA medial *-c-, besides PUA *-c-, and a closer inspection of more UA terms for ‘bat’ lent striking support for
Manaster-Ramer’s suggestion.

When considering only Tb and most Numic forms, as Miller did, *paca seemed viable at the time. But
including Cr, Ca, and NP recommends medial *-t-. Cr háci’i ‘murciélogo’ of SUA agrees perfectly with the first
three segments *pac (Cr h < *p), so we can hardly suggest it is not related. Then i as fourth segment also agrees
with Ca i in Ca pálí-l ‘bat’. However, Ca shows l instead of c for the second consonant. Intervocalic L and c have
littl in common, except that universally they both often derive from intervocalic t. In fact, PUA *-t- intervocalically does result in Ca t (Sapir 1914; Manaster-Ramer 1992b), so Ca pali- aligns nicely with *pati. In addition, the most universal cause of t > c/č is a following high front vowel, which vowel (i) is exactly what we find in both Ca pali-l and Cr háci’i. Thus, PUA *-t- seems a more viable reconstruction, if not a cluster, perhaps *-Ct-, since *-t- by itself usually -> -r/-d- in most Num languages.

Further supporting a reconstruction of *paCti(‘a) is the pita- portion of Northern Paiute pitahaha’a ‘bat’ with two noteworthy features: (1) it actually shows the medial stop -t-; and (2) it also shows the first two vowels (a-i) as proposed, though metathesized (i-a), which metathesis probably helped preserve the t, since the vowel a, instead of high front i, would then have followed t. Furthermore, the reconstruction *paCti(‘a) aligns with Manaster-Ramer’s suggestion that the origins of NUA -c- be sought in sources other than PUA *-c-, in light of PUA medial *-c- > NUA -y- (Manaster-Ramer 1992a). In fact, the medial consonants of neither Ca pali- nor NP pita... could possibly have come from *c, but only *t.

A proto-form of *pati or perhaps more fully *paCti’a would account for these forms, since Kw, Ch, and SP in NUA and Cora in SUA all show a glottal stop beginning a third syllable, while Tb has w. For SNum *paca’a (Kw, Ch, SP, CU), the high front vowel encouraged palatalization of *t > c, and then i assimilated to a, being between two other a’s. Both steps are natural processes: *pati’a > *paci’a > *paca’a. For Ca, PUA intervocalic *-t- > -l- is usual: *pati’a > pali. For Cr, the sound change of initial PUA *p > h is regular; then the same palatalization happened as in SNum; and the last vowel assimilated to the second: *pati’a > *haci’i. [*-t- > -l-/-c-; V metathesis in NP; ’ > w in Tb] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: CrC, Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn; see also *so’o-pati ‘bat’ below.]

125. *so’o-paCti ‘bat’; L.Son258 *sop-i-ci ‘murciélago’; M88-so10; Stubbs 2000a; KH/M06-so10: Tr so’opeci / so’opic ‘bat’; Wr so’opeci ‘bat’; Eu cicúrsopic ‘bat (mouse-butterfly)’; Eu sopíc ‘butterfly’; My sotcik ‘bat’; Yq sóocik ‘bat’; PYp ho’opisa ‘bat’. Considering these SUA forms, the first five languages (Tr, Wr, Eu, My, Yq) belong to TrC. The last (PYp), as with all Pima dialects, belongs to the Tepiman branch. Since the sound changes from PUA to Tepiman include PUA *s > h and PUA *c > s, then PYp h (<<s) and PYp s (<<c) correspond to the consonants of the other SUA forms as expected. Thus, the SUA forms point to SUA *so’o-pVci for the consonants, and the last two vowels in PYp ho’opisa may be explained by the same kind of vowel metathesis apparent in NP (*pati > pita). PYp would suggest that syncope of the second o occurred in Tr, Wr, and Eu (*so’opVci > *so’pVci), for vowel (and syllable) syncopation is very common in UA non-initial syllables. The Cahitan languages (Yq and My), though cognate, are hardly helpful in the reconstruction, having syncopated one more vowel and then a bilabial (p) in a consonant cluster after a round vowel (o), i.e., Cah lost two full syllables—*so’o-pati > *so’pVci > *sopci > *soocci-(k).

As for the origin of *so’o- in a hypothesized compound *so’o-pVci, nothing is certain, but possibilities emerge. Note that Eu cicúrsopic ‘bat’ contains Eu cicur- ‘mouse’. German fladermaus ‘bat’ similarly attests to the frequency of ‘mouse’ words in ‘bat’ lexemes due to the mouse-like appearance of the little flying mammals. With that in mind, Yaqui (Yq) ‘ass’óla ‘little mouse’ contains a sequence of four segments (-so’o-) identical to the unidentified, but reconstructed, element in SUA compounds for ‘bat’—*so’o-pVci. The sequence also shows the syncopated vowel (*so’o-pVci > so’peci) apparent in both Yq and PYp, but not apparent in Tr, Wr, and Eu. A more remote possibility is Hopi (Hp) sawya ‘bat’, but has only initial s and rounding in common with *so’o-. Yet regardless the uncertainty of *so’o-, the similarity of the latter portion *-pici to intermediate *paci (< *pati’a) is considerable—three of four segments. Miller (1967) reconstructs the NUA forms as *paca and Lionnet (1985) reconstructs the TrC forms as *sopici, but the PYp form was not available at that time. Questioning the suggested morpheme break, we see substantial similarity between TrC *-pici and Cora háci’i (?< *paci’i < *pati’a) and NUA *pac... (< *paCti’a). Furthermore, since loss of a possible third syllable and a very natural palatalization are neither one unusual in UA, the only looming difference between the NUA and SUA forms is the first vowel—a (in NUA) vs. e/i (in SUA), except for Cr a, which also agrees with NUA a. The most common reflex of *i in SUA is e. Yet while e is the reflex of PUA *i in most SUA languages, an assimilation of a > e/-i motivated by a following i would not necessarily have anything to do with PUA *i. Only the twin languages Tr and Wr show e, anyway. Eu and PYp show i and i-a, respectively, which vowels do not correspond to *i. So if e was already in the repertoire of the vowels of Tr and Wr (after *i > e), then the e in -peci could as easily be an assimilation from a toward i rather than deriving from PUA *i, for e is directly in line with a change halfway from a toward i. Assimilation of (a) halfway (e) toward (i) is highly natural (*pati > peci). The vowel metathesis in PYp (*a-i > i-a) may have occurred before the assimilation of a > e/-i-*pati > *paci > *pica > Tepiman *pisa—and would also recommend an original vocalizing of a-i; thus, the NUA and SUA forms are likely related, with a prefixed *so’o- in much of SUA:
126. **ho’napi** ‘bat’: I.Num33 *ho(‘)nopi ‘bat’; M88-ho4; KH/M06-ho4: Mn ho’nobí; NP pitahan’á; NP(B) pigahanna’a; Sh hono-pitsishí. To these should be added TSh honnopi-cci ‘bat’ and the first part of Cm hiniibi pokaa ‘bat’. The Mn, TSh, and 2nd NP forms suggest a consonant cluster ‘n/nn’. NP is likely a compound, the first part (pita-) belonging above with *pati’a, and the latter part (-hana’a) showing three consonants in common with *ho’napi. It seems probable that the original 2nd vowel was *a and that the bilabial (p) encouraged the rounding of preceding vowels, for NP shows a. Cm i agrees with neither, but could feasibly result from either. [cluster; V assim] [NUA: WNum, CNum]

127. **nakamíilí** ‘bat’: B.Tep164a *naakamíri ‘bat’; B.Tep164b *nanakamíri ‘bat’, pl.; Fowler83; M88-na30; KH/M-na30: LP naakmil; NT naakamíli; ST nakmíly/nakmly. To these, add TO nanakumal ‘bat’ which appears patterned after the plural of the other Tep languages (cf. B.Tep164b); and it would appear that vowel-line shift or a preceding m and lack of stress or metathesis caused the previous a > u in TO. [SUA: Tep]

128. *cinaakan* ‘bat’: CL.Azt10 *cinaakan ‘bat’; Fowler83; CN cinaakan; Po cinaka; To conoka-tl;
Z cinaaka; PI cinaakan. Campbell and Langacker note that this may relate to *cuŋV ‘suck’. It could be a reduction of *nakamali > nakam > nakan, with *ci(n) ‘suck’ or something prefixed. [SUA: Azt]

129. **pípakaC** ‘bat’: Jane Hill (p.c.): Kt ñívakat ‘bat’; Gb po-vahkaht ‘bat’. [Gb o < *i] [NUA: Tak]

Bathe: see wash
Bead(s): see neck/necklace

**BEAN; FRIJOL**

130. **kwapi** ‘beans’: B.Tep4a *bavi; 4b *bavigadí ‘his own beans’; M88-kwa15; KH/M06-kwa15: TO bawi;
LP babi; PYp bavi; ST bá’aw/bávi; baav. Hp pàapi ‘bean (in pods)’ is probably a loan from Tep, since Hp kw = Tep b, and the Tep term itself may be a loan from outside of UA. [SUA: Tak; Hp loan]

131. **muni** ‘bean’: M67-29; L.Son157 *muni; M88-mu3 ‘beans’; Jane Hill 2001; KH/M06-mu3: SP muurii;
Hp mori-vosi ‘bean, bean seed’; TO muni; Eu mun(i); Wr muní; Tr muní; Yq múuni; My muunim (undoubtedly a plural); Cr múhume; Wc múume; PL muhmulu ‘beans cooked with juice’. As Miller (1967) suggests, these may reflect a loan from outside of UA. WM Ute marívísi was probably borrowed from Hp mori-vosi, although the vowels may suggest some time depth, since Hp o < *u and Num i < *u at times. The three Yq terms show assimilation of not only the consonant n > m before a bilabial, but also the assimilation of the vowel *u > a in light of three following a’s in Yq mam-ba’awa ‘pot of beans’ (bá’awa ’stew’); Yq muuni ‘bean’; Yq mum-bakim ‘cooked beans’. The fact that we have liquids in NUA and n in SUA (except PI), the opposite of the usual pattern of PUA *l nasalizing in some NUA branches, makes this suspicious, perhaps as a loan into UA from outside UA. Note that Wares (1968, 78) lists several Yuman forms, of something near *marik ‘bean’, which provide a more consistent agreement in Yuman than exists in UA for this term. Jane Hill (2001) also notes Seri mon, Yavapai merik, and Siouan forms resembling mVni from Rankin 2000. [liquids opposite of usual; h in Cr, PI]
[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

132. *(ti-)*pol ‘bean’: a case can be made for *-pol- (or *ti-pol) in Ca tévil- of Ca tévilmalem / tévinnmalem ‘beans, pink beans’ (since Ca i < *o), the -wol/pol portion of TO hawol/hawpol ‘lima bean’ if wol/pol is a different morpheme and if medial reduplication suggests such a morpheme break, and perhaps Eu tépar ‘kind of bean’ with a vowel change, but probably not Tbr tolom ‘pochote, frijol pinto’ (ti-wol > twol > tol...). [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]
NB, *pusi 'bean, seed', as Miller (1996) and others state, is likely related to *pusi 'eye, seed'; nevertheless, it is found in words for 'bean' in a number of UA languages: Tbr voposí-t 'frijol'; Wr ciwapúsi 'frijol cabra, a kind of bean'; Hp mori-vosi; and WMU marívísi (borrowed from Hp).

**BEAR, n; OSO**

133. *hunap-wiL-ta* 'bear, badger-big': Sapir; M67-18; Fowler83; M88-hu10; KH.NUA; KH/M06-hu10: as Miller (1967-18) and others have noted, the Hp and some Takic words for 'bear' are the augmentatives of 'badger' (*huña-wiL 'badger-big'): Hp hoonaw; Sr hoona-t / huna-ta; Gb húa-n-a; Ca húnwe-t; Cp hünwe-t; Ls hún-wu-t; Tb unna-l 'black bear'. Add Ktn huna(i)-t 'bear' which lost -w-, if not the whole last syllable. Note (1) that at that stage of UA, adjectives followed nouns, and (2) that absolute -t- (vs. -l) in Ca and Cp suggest a final C.

[NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb]

134. *posi* 'bear': Fowler83; PYp vohi; NT vóóhi; ST vohoi; Cr huúce'e; Wc huúce. Tep and CrC have much in common, if we consider a not infrequent c/s enigma. The first syllable of these five forms agree perfectly with PUA *po, since *p > Tep v; *p > CrC h; *o > CrC u. Tr/Wr *wohi (Tr ohi/gohi; Wr wohi) are probably borrowed from Tep. Nevertheless, the pattern of Wr w and Tr o/go is similar in 'salt' and 'corn cob'. Note the similarity of Tr gohi 'bear' and Keresan *gúháya 'bear' (Miller and Davis 1963) as a possible loanword from UA to Keresan. [sibilants; w/(k)o; labials; kw, gohi]

135. *paha* 'bear': Mn pahábíci 'bear'; TSh pahamici 'bear'; and the initial syllable(s) of NP padua ‘bear’ and Ch papáwa 'bear' may relate as well. [labials; -Np- > m/b?] [NUA: Num]

136. *kwiya* 'bear': SP kwia; WMU kwiýá-غا-تی; CU kwiýá-غا-تی. Could Kw pogwití (< *pokwití) 'grizzly bear' be a compound of *posi or an assimilated *pa- (above) and truncated *kwiya? Cf. *kwiLa 'badger'. [NUA: SNum]

137. *mo'oLoy* 'bear': Kw mo’orii-ži ‘brown or black bear'; Tb mo’olohy ‘brown bear’; Ktn mo’loy ‘bear sp, small bear with white throat’. Jane Hill (p.c.) noticed Paleywami Yokuts molay’ 'bear' which lost /u/, as Miller (1996) and others state, is likely related. *kwiya? Cf. *kwiLa 'badger'. [NUA: SNum]

138. *puLi 'give birth, daughter': Sapir; M88-pu21; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pu21; Cp pulíne 'give birth'; Cp pulíni-š ‘baby’; Ca púlin 'woman's daughter'; Sr pulín 'woman's daughter'. Also Ca púlí 'fall, be born' should be included. Sapir also ties CN -pi' offspring, son, daughter' and Cr pří 'son, daughter, child' with the Tak forms. Sapir suggests *t > 1 for both Tak and SUA, but *puLi seems at least as likely. Normally Cr i < *u (but e is close to i) and CN i < *u, so the vowels work out fairly well, but some questions remain.

[UA liquids; V's; *t not n in Tak??] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cr; Azt]

**BEAR, BORN, BABY, CHILD; NACER, DAR LUZ, NIÑO/A;**

see also man for son, and woman for daughter

139a. *tuwaC / *tu'aC* 'to bear, son, child': M67-54 *tu 'boy'; I.Num233 *tu(w)ah/*tu(w)a('a) 'boy, son, child'; M88-tu9; Miller, Elzinga, McLaughlin2005; KH/M06-tu9: Mn tuwa 'child, son, son of sibling of same sex'; Mn tuwa-mí-du 'to give birth'; NP tua 'son'; TSh tua*/- tuacci 'son'; Sh tua 'son, child'; Sh tua' 'give birth to'; Sh tutuah 'be born'; Cm tua 'son'; Kw tuwa 'son'; Ch(L) tuwa / Ch tua 'man’s son'; Ch tua-ní / tu’a-ni 'my son' (cf. Ch tu’a 'marrrow'); SP tua 'child, son, give birth to'; CU tua-ci 'son'; CU tuay 'give birth to'; Tb tu'ul 'baby, offspring'; Cr -ti'iriú-múa 'son of a man'. Besides Numic, Tb, and Cr, others such as Nv tuturh 'hijo (por parte del padre)' and Cp túa 'to bear fruit'.

139b. *tuwiC / *tu'iC 'boy, child': M88-tui10 'young man'; I.Num222 *tuipichí(i) 'young man'; KH/M06-tu10: NP tuipicci 'teenage boy'; TSh tu(i)-cii; Sh tuini-ppi 'boy'; Sh natauipicii / tuici 'young man, boy'; Cm tuinihipi 'boy, sg'; Tb tu'ilam 'boy'; Gb točínt 'hombre'; Sr tičínt, pl: tičínam 'young man'; Hp toočin 'boys (pl. of tyio)'. Tr towí 'niño, muchacho' also fits, since *u > Tr o.u. Add Ch(L) tu'aci 'young of animal'. Because final a vs. i alternations are common in UA, the *tuwa/*tuwi forms are surely related. In fact, the vowelings *tuwaC 'bear, vt'
as a transitive form and *tuwiC as a stative result (child born) may be original. More interesting is the occasional glottal stop (in both Tb forms, Cr, Cp, Ch). [w/] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

140. *maLa 'child, offspring': VVH84 *mala 'child, with female reference'; M67-86 *mal/*'ma'child'; BH.Cup *-ma(l) 'diminutive suffix'; B.Tep145 *mara 'offspring'; L.Son137 *mara 'hija del padre'; M88-ma7; KH/M06-ma7: Sr maic- 'young child, child'; Ktn mayha-t 'child'; Hp mana 'daughter, adolescent girl, woman who has never been married'; TO maD(i) 'female's offspring, nephew or niece by a younger sister, fruit of a plant'; PYp mar 'child'; PYp mar-t 'bear a child'; PYp mar-tim 'give birth'; NT már(a) 'daughter, son'; ST mar; Op mara; Eu mávra; Yq máa; My maála; Wr malá-la (absol) / mala-wá (poss d) 'daughter'; Tr mará. In light of PYp mar-t 'bear a child', note Sr maia' 'bear (a child)'; Ktn mayha 'give birth' and Nv martha 'parir' as if from *maL-ta, a verbalized noun—to make/cause offspring or 'to be childbearing/childbearing'—similar to Hp ti'i-ta 'offspring-do'. Manaster-Ramer includes this set in "A Northern UA sound law: *-c- > -y-" (1992b-3) where he has Sr maia' and Ca maylyu and other UA forms deriving from PUA *maL'i- 'emerge, come out, be born'; but are they tied to Tep *maL? I presently separate them. [*l/tn; clusters in *maL-ta; nasals] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]

141. *oN(w)a'a / *oN(C)ma'a 'baby': I.Num15 *on(a)(a)'a 'baby, child, young (of animals)'; M88-’o15 ‘baby’; KH/M06-’o15: Mn ’owa’a 'sound of baby crying'; Mn owaa'(a)cci'(a)cci' (a) / owaa'(a)nuku'(a) 'baby'; NP(Yerington) oha'a 'baby'; NP(McDermitt Reservation) onka'a; NP onja' 'baby' (Snapp, Anderson, Anderson 1982, 20); NP(B) oha'a; TSh ohmaacci 'little baby' (Dayley); Sh ohmaa 'baby'; Sh pa'ohmaa 'water baby'; WSh ohaaCCI 'baby'; WSh pa'ohaa 'water baby'; Cm ohna' 'a baby'; SP oa'-'N 'young of animals'; SP ïŋaa'-'baby', SP pã-a-ŋaa'cci' 'water baby'; Ch ïŋa'apici. We are likely dealing with a medial cluster. As TSh and Sh both have forms with and without -m, the -maa forms may contain another nasalized / clusters in medial w/hm/hn/ø [NUA: Num]

142a. *koñi 'child, offspring': CL.Azt26 *konene 'child, baby'; M88-ko24; KH/M06-ko24: Pl kune-t, kuneew (poss) 'baby, child'; CN koon-t 'child, offspring of female'. I like Hill's association of these with *kono 'cradle board' below, for a tie seems probable, especially in light of the Tb forms.

142b. *kono 'cradleboard': KH/M06-ko24: TSh kohnoncci 'cradle board'; WSh kohnon 'cradle (basket)'; Kw kohno-ci; Ch kono; SP qonno; WMU qônî; CU qônî; Tb hono- 'fetus'; Tb honokaŋ 'be pregnant' (AMR). [Liq; N] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Azt]

143. *pišo' o- 'child, boy, children': Kw piši'-ooci; Ch pisó'oci; Ch(L) pišipo'o 'a woman's child of either sex'; Ch(L) pišipo'oci 'child from about four months to six years of age'; SP piss'-o-ci 'child, boy', pl piss'-o-ci-ŋwi 'children'; WMU pišču' 'children, pl' (< *pišo'otimi); CU pišču (pl). The two distinct Ch(L) terms merit thought. The final nasalized ŭ in the U.SNum plural reflects the SNNum pl suffix -imî. [NUA: SNum]

144. *cilA 'hatch out, be born': M88-ci22; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ci22: Sr čilykam 'small children'; Ca čilyay 'to shell (nuts, etc.,)'; Ls čiła/i 'hatch out (of chicks), remove shell'. These may relate to *caL'i 'shell, hatch' and *caLa 'bark', both listed at 'skin' where are Ca čáli 'to hatch (eggs as a bunch)'; Čp čále 'to husk, shell' (cf. Čp čala-l 'bark'); Ls čála/i 'break off pieces from a surface, as bark from a tree, flakes from a rock, vt; lose shingles in a windstorm (of a house)' [V's i-a-i] [NUA: Tak]

145. *kuci 'child, girl': Tr ku*či 'girls'; Tr kuči 'little ones'; Tr kúčiwa 'son(s), daugther(s), i.e., offspring of either gender'; Wr kuh-tewè 'girl'; Wr kucitá, ku*ucí (reduplicated form) 'son, daughter'; CN kokocin 'girl, servant girl'; note how similar are CN kokocin and Wr ku'kuci 'children'. [o/u; CN/Wr] [NUA: Azt, Trn]

146. *tana 'offspring': Wr taná 'child, little one'; Wr tana-ni/tani-má 'give birth'; Tr taná(ra) 'cria, hijo'; Tr řana-me 'parir, dar a luz'; Ktn titini-t 'young boy, child, baby' is plausible in spite of a vowel change. [vowel change, NUA and SUA: n:n] [NUA: Trn; SUA: Tak]

147. *kwaki 'baby': Sr kwakii-t 'young one, youngest one'; Ktn kwaki-t 'baby'. [NUA: Tak]
NB, see ‘fall’ (*wìci) for the fuller treatment of Num *wì’i ‘fall, be born’; Mn wì’i ‘born’; Kw wì’i-ku ‘fall’; CU wì’i-ti’ig give birth to; CU wì’i ‘drop, fall, be born’.

NB, for *yoli, see ‘alive’.

NB, for Tr/Wr nawa ‘be born’ see at ‘go’.

BEARD, WHISKERS, FACIAL HAIR; BARBA
In M88-mo4, M88-mo5, and M88-hi7 are a variety of terms for ‘beard’ and ‘mustache’ that probably derive from two archaic compounds of ‘mouth-hair’: *mu-con and *mu-suwi. For *con/comi ‘hair, hide’ and *suwi ‘hair’ are both PUA stems. Iannucci divides these in I.Num96 *mocoN ‘beard, facial hair’ and I.Num95 *mosui ‘mustache’. 

148. *mu(N)-comi / *muC-comi (> *mu-con) ‘mouth-hair’: I.Num96 *mocoN ‘beard, facial hair’; M88-mo5; KH/M06-mo5: TSh mocon ‘beard’; Sh mocon ‘beard, mustache, whiskers’; SP monco-vi ‘whiskers’; CU mòcò-pi ‘beard’. KH/M06 adds WSh mocon; Cm mocon; Ch monco/moncò. Also add WMU mòcò-chi / mòcò-(vi) ‘mustache, beard, n’; WMU mòcò-n ‘my mustache’. This is a compound of *mu(C) ‘mouth’ and *con(i) ‘hair’ (< *-comi), with transposed nasalization in SP and Ch? Hf mocrū ‘front protruding facial area, bill, beak, snout’ looks like a loan from SNum. Remember that *-c- > -y- in NUA, so NUA -c- from a cluster is valid, but not alone, unless it is a fairly recent compound. [CVCVN > CVNCV” in SNum?] [NUA: Num]

149a. *mu-suwi ‘face/mouth-hair’: I.Num95 *mosui ‘mustache’; L.Son57 *himusi ‘barbas’; M88-mo4; KH/M06-mu26 *musat ‘mustache’: NP musui; TSh musuwi ‘mustache’ (cf. suwi ‘pubic hair’); SP mośoi ‘mustache’ (cf. mośoa ‘pubic hair’); Ch -moso in soomoso ‘armpit hair’ (soovi ‘armpit’); Ls múüsi-l ‘beard’; Cp muśu ‘beard’; Tb unusat ‘whiskers, beard’ (AMR); Tbr hi-musi-r; Cr miśši; Yq himsim: My himsim. These are a compound of *mu ‘mouth’ and *suwi ‘body hair’. The facts that TSh has both mocon and musuwi (as SP also), and that the various other UA words align with one or the other all suggest that both compounds existed. Note below other compounds of mouth-hair (*tí’ni-po).

149b. *hi-mu-suwi ‘face/mouth-hair’: L.Son57 *himusi ‘barbas’; M88-hi7; KH/M06-hi7: A hi- prefix precedes some TrC forms—Tbr hi-musi-r; Yq himsim; My himsim; Eu hinsi (gen. himúste)—followed by reductions in many: *hi-mu-suwi > hi-musi > himsi/hinsi (four syllables to two). Both Ls musi above and these TrC forms show reduction of *mu-suwi > *muswi > *musi, and *hi-mu-suwi > himsi in Yq, My, Eu. [hi- pref; *u > ì Cr; syncope, reductions; -ms- > -ns- in Eu] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

150. *ica’-po’wa ‘whiskers, facial hair (chin-hair)’: TO eš-po ‘beard’; TO eš ‘chin’; Wr ehcapó ‘barba, bigote’ (< Wr po’á ’lana’); Tr ca’bó ‘barba, bigote’; Eu icva ‘barba’. Cf. *po’wa ‘hair’. [NUA: Tep, Trn, Opn] [unusual EU V]

151. *ti’ni-po’wa ‘facial hair, lit. mouth-hair’: Nv ūnipo ‘barbas’; NT ūniiivoi. [NUA: Tep]

NB, for *kaCma in Sr qāj, CN kama, and perhaps Mn qana, see face.

BEAUTIFUL; BONITO, LINDO, HERMOSO
152. *síhima / *si’ma ‘beautiful, attractive’: Wr se’má ‘beautiful’; Tr semá/semati ‘hermoso, bello, bonito’; Hp sīhimi ‘handsome, attractive’; Ca sinsinmīs ‘attractive, cute’; and perhaps Ca sē’ni ‘decorate’ may be kept in mind. Hp h aligns with the glottal stop of Wr and Ca, and many consonants and combinations can reduce to a glottal stop. [h’] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn]

153. *ci’ma / *(L)a’cima ‘beautiful’: Cp á’čimal ‘pretty, nice’; PYp la’sima ‘beautiful’; Tr ğimá(k)ame ‘precioso, primoroso, bello’; Tp ğimá-re-ма ‘ser bello, primoroso, precioso’. With additional prefixed morphemes in Cp and PYp, and a glottal stop hop, the Tr form seems related to the Cp and PYp forms, as all agree in five segments—(*)’c’ima—and PYp s corresponds with c of the other two languages. With c/s alternations in UA, it is possible that these are related to *sí’ma above. On the other hand, Tr has both semá and ğimá. [glottal stop hop; c/s] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]

154. *yawa / *yi’a ‘beautiful’: KH.NUA; M88-yi19; KH/M06-yi19: Ls yawáywa ‘be pretty, good-looking’; Sr yi’aay’i’a ‘be pretty, beautiful’; HN yehyek-cín ‘beautiful’ / yeyeh-ci ‘bonito’. Evidence does exist for correlations between * and *w, so this set that both Miller and Hill have proposed is indeed valid, Nahuatl -h- / -z- are sometimes indistinguishable. HN -k- is similar to the -k- (< -t-) in CN tekpin-tli ‘flea’. [w/; w/glottal stop] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]
155. *uCyOLi 'beautiful': Yq 'uhyó 'bonito'; My uhyóli/uhyóori 'bonito, pintoresco'; AYq uhyooli / uhyoi 'beautiful (inanimate)'. [liquids, clusters] [SUA: Cah]

156. *tutuLi 'beautiful': Yq tutú 'bonito' (used by women); Yq tutú'im 'cosas bonitas'; Yq tú'ute 'componer, limpiar, adornar'; AYq tutu'uli 'handsome, pretty'; My tutu'uli 'hermoso'; My tú'uri 'está bueno, bien'; My a'a tú'ure 'le gusta'; My a'a tú'uli 'le agrada'; My tú'uwa 'bondad, lo bueno'; My tú'usi 'mucho, bien'; perhaps the -tí(t) of Sr ceiktí[t 'beautiful, pretty one, n' though additional data for isolating the meaning of *-tí(t) would be nice. Keep in mind that -t- < -L- (or even from -t-) is common in Cahitan. [SUA: Cah]

157. *nuna > *noma 'good, good-looking': Ktn numua-c / noma / nomo 'good, well, pretty'; Hp nóóma 'wife, mistress'; AYq nuhmeela 'youth, young man'. Hp nööma matches the one variant Ktn noma, so wife (Hp) and youth (AYq) as 'good-looking' I consider more probable than not. The change *u-a > o-a is frequent in UA as well. [NUA: Tak, Hp, Cah]

NB, for *pisa/piha 'sweet' see 'sweet'; and for *pisa 'want, beautiful' see 'want'. NP, Kw, and Sr have separate forms.

BEAVER;

158. *ha'Ni 'beaver': Sh anii; Cm ha'nii. Jane Hill also forwarded NP ha'npisa 'beaver' (Thornes 2003, 53). [NUA: Num]

159. *pa'wVN / *pa-wanci 'beaver': Cm pa'wíhtíma'; CU pawí-ci; SP paonci-ví. The reconstruction is tentative, and the first syllable is likely pa- 'water'; Givon (1979) suggests that the CU form may historically derive from *pawí-ci 'water-knife' while SP looks like it could be a compound of 'water-fox'. Cm suggests a C (perhaps N) before -t-. So at least two of the three are likely related. [NUA: Num]

BEE, WASP, ABEJA, AVISPA

160. *ku(n)ta(N)(pa) 'bee': Cp kutáŋva-l 'bumblebee'; Ls kúúkunta-la 'bumblebee'; My kuta kúmera 'bee that lives in wood'; Nv kuarhagi mumuva 'abejas grandes que hacen panales'. WMU kuhčá-vi / kwihčá-vuí 'wasp' better belongs with the other SNum forms below at *wiCta 'wasp'. A noteworthy observation of Jane Hill (p.c.) is the perfect match of correspondences between Cp ku'a 'bee'; common in Tep, the Cp-Nv match is strong enough to either suggest another set or subset, or even a loan from upper Tepiman (Nv) to Cp, with the vowel anticipation apparent. Note Cp -t- (< *-Ct-) and My -t- (often *-t- > L > a') both suggest a consonant cluster, as we see in Ls. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah]

161. *pita > *pica/picu 'bee, wasp': M67-32 *pis/*pic 'bee'; L.Son194 *pica 'avispa'; M88-pi6 'wasp, bee'; KH/M06-pi6: TO wiipś; Eu pica/pisat 'avispa'; Gb pičokwar 'mosca'; Sr piččua'-o / piččua'-t 'fly, n.'; Wr pićá 'vuitachi (como abeja, rojo, pica, que secreta goma usada como incienso)'; Tr pičé 'avispa grande'; My biica 'avispa'; Cr pipwa'a-na 'bee'; HN'eca-tl 'wasp'; Pl eca-t 'wasp'. Ken Hill adds Ktn picucu'a-č and considers Ch picički 'rattlesnake rattles'. To these we can also add PYp vipisi 'wasp, hummingbird'; LP(EF) wiši 'avispa, bitache'; NT pipiši 'wasp, hummingbird'; ST viips 'wasp'; ST pipiš 'hummingbird'; AYq vicič 'wasp' (< *pica); and the -para (< *pita) of Tr napáři / ta prářa / wapará 'bumblebee'. Two things may suggest we are dealing with an original PUA medial *-t- rather than *-c-: (1) the fact that three NUA languages (Sr, Ktn, Gb) also show medial -c- means something besides medial *-c-; (2) Wr -c- with a glottal stop may also suggest the presence of an original stop, if not a cluster; (3) unable to find Spanish bitache or vuitachi in three large Spanish dictionaries, I assume they are local terms, perhaps borrowed from UA and show -t-. Does *pita > para allow the varieties Tr mapari / naparí / apari 'tábano [horsefly]' and Wc vaaráii 'fly, bee' or Tr řapářa / apářa / wapará 'moscarda, insecto mas grande que una abeja' and Tr napáři / řapářa / wapará 'abejorro, jicote'? [*-t- > *-c- > Tep *-s-; clusters, palatalization; -a/o alternation] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
162. *wiCta / *wi'ta 'wasp': Tr me'če/we'če 'avispa'; Yq wiiča ‘avispa colorada’; SP wicca-va 'bee'; SP panjuwca 'yellowjacket'; CU wihá-va 'wasp, hornet'; Kw waca-vii ‘yellowjacket’; Ch wacávi 'bee'; WMU kwihččá-vii / kührččá-va ‘wasp’. One could wonder whether Mn munúcu 'wasp' is a compound of *mu- and s.th. like the 2nd and 3rd syllables of SP panjuwca. A *p/*w dichotomy between AYq viiča (v < *p) and Yq wiiča may cause us to suspect a recycled loan from *pita/pica through Tep *wis, for Tep *wis could be the source for initial w, in the *wica forms, but they did not borrow Tep s, for all the non-Tep languages show c, not s, and Num is rather distant for Tep loans. One remotely possible explanation is if *p > Tep w before *-t- > *-c- > Tep s, and this loan diffused between Tep and TrC. Of course, c/s dichotomies are nothing new in UA either; thus, this and other matters await distentanglement. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah]

163. *saança ‘yellowjacket, stinging one’: M88-sa28; KH.NUA; KH/M06-sa28: Cp šseše’pi ‘yellowjacket’; Sr haana-’č ‘bee’; Ls šanſa-šan&-š ‘thorny, a thorn’. Ken Hill adds Ktn haana-č ‘yellowjacket’. To these can be added Ls šáášan-la ‘yellowjacket’. Cp suggests a cluster. Ĉr sará ‘bee’ is a reasonable possibility. Perhaps < *sanka or other cluster? But the fact that Ĉr keeps -r- rather than the liquid going to glottal stop as usual also suggests a cluster. [cluster] [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

164. *suka ‘bee, wasp’: M67-33 *sek, *cek ‘bee’; M88-si18; KH/M06-si18: Ls suká ‘type of wild bee’; Ĉr ciibka’a ‘wasp’. What of Wc šakáci/šákáci ‘especie de avispa’. Ls and Wc agree in *a for the 2nd V, to which Wc could have assimilated the 1st to the 2nd: u-a > a-a. M67 and M88 include CN šiiko-tli ‘large bee, bumblebee’ since Ls and CN šiiko-point to u for the 1st V; however, the CN form is also listed at 'fly, n’under *šikwo ti, so the whole matter awaits a secure resolution, though I think *suka and *šikwo(ti) are separate etyma and CN belongs with *šikwo(ti). But what of CN šošokpalton ‘red hornet’ (< CN šokpal ‘sole of foot, red wasp’)? The fact that Ls has two terms, one of which (Ls şaŋá) agrees with Wc šááká in 3 of 4 segments, but differs in the first vowel (u vs. a) only adds to the enigma. [k/ŋ, but not SUA n] [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]


167. *toŋa / *toNK(w)a ‘bumblebee’: TSh totoŋkwa(n)tín ‘yellowjacket wasp’; Sr roorøat ’bumblebee’; Ktn róroŋa’a-č ‘bee sp, wasp or honeybee’; perhaps Tb toomoogal ‘bumblebee’. One might make a case for Tb approximating the proto-form, as a V syncope would result in a nasal velar cluster—tomoka > *tomka > *toNka/toøka—then reduplication, but these possibly tying to Tep *toton-ant (at ‘ant’) would make all such obsolete and eliminate Tb. Cf. Tep *totoni ‘ant’. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb?]

168. *piko ‘bumblebee, large bee’: AYq viko ‘bumblebee’; Wr pihó ’jicote, type of flying insect’. Might this tie to CN xiikoh-tli ‘bumblebee’ in some way, the source of Spaniah jicote? [SAU: Trn, Cah]

169. *hoa/yayo ‘wasp’: Hp hóohóyá ‘a kind of thin black wasp’; Wc hayú/hayuyú ‘abeja carpintera, avispa solitaria, jicote’; since both Hp o and Wc u correspond to PUA o, all four segments correspond with a vowel metathesis (*hoa/yayo); while that metathesis and thus this set are not certain, they seem more probable than not. [V metathesis] [NUA: Hp; SUA: CrC]

NB, *nawta / *nawLa ‘bee, wasp’: NP nodda ‘bee’; NP(B) nodda ‘bee’; NP(B) nota ‘wasp, bee’; Wc naušá ‘avispa peluda, hormigavelluda’ [hairy wasp/ant]. No number until more data answer some questions.
NB, for *sik*oti and *say(a)poli ‘fly, bee’, see ‘fly.’
NB, for *mu... ‘bee, fly’, see ‘fly.’

beetle: see bug
BELIEVE; CREER

172. *yawamin ‘believe’: KH.NUA; M88-ya27; KH/M06-ya27; Sr yawamin ‘to believe’; Gb yawáno ‘believe it’. Gb lost -m-, which is otherwise identical to Sr through 6 segments. Ktn yaŋam ‘believe’ and Ktn yaŋamineana ‘they believe all of it’ belong as well, as some *w > ñ; see *tïpiwa / *tïpiŋa ‘ask’, *siwa / *suŋa ‘girl’, *kowa / *kohna ‘snake’. Also add Tb yahn’-ayayn ‘believe him, vt’ though tremendously truncated. After *-awa- > -9- in My yomnia ‘contest [answer], responde [respond]’ (yawamin > yomin > yomni), My also shows both *u over *9. Also noteworthy is the glottal stop in My and Wr, perhaps deserving representation in a reconstruction. PUA *paci ‘older (sibling)’ as in ‘firstborn, older, or ahead in birth order’ may be related. The following may suggest that most final vowels go to i when taking a suffix: Eu vacút ‘first, front’; and Sr -paa-mkw ‘front, before’. As for choosing between *pacu and *paco for forms showing a second round vowel, the facts that Eu and Wc both show *u (Wc i < *u) and that the low vowel a would tend to lower an adjacent vowel combine to favor *u over *9. One can observe frequent intervocalic voicing of *p in the Tep languages. I moved the Aztecan forms from M88-pi3 ‘new’ to be here with the forms of M88-pi4, as the two overlapped. Cf. also *pitu ‘new’ whereat is M88-pi3 ‘new’ and B.Tep289 *vítudí ‘new’. Note the frequency of final -t or glottal stop in the reflexes. [*p > Azt p; Tep g < *w]

[SUA: Tep, Opn, Azt]

NB, for *kopi(-na) ‘before’, see ‘forehead’.
NB, for *mu… ‘first, nose, face’, see nose.
NB, for the Tep forms *baso, see ‘chest’ *kwaco.

Begin: see before and new
Belch: see back

BEFORE, BEGIN, START; ANTES DE, EN FRENTE DE, ADELANTE, EMPEZAR; see also new

170. *piwa(t) ‘first, begin’: B.Tep292 *vįpiğa ‘first’; CL.Azt13 *peewa ‘begin, v’; M88-pi4 ‘first’; KH/M06- pi4: UP wįpiğa; LP vįpiğı; NT tįpiğa; ST vįpi; TO weepég ‘first, adj/adv’; TO wepeegat ‘become the first, vi’; Nv bupuga (probably < *vįpiğa) ‘antes, primero’; PYp veepegi ‘first’; NT iibidimiri ‘behind, before’; ST vįpi ‘first’; CN peewa ‘to begin’; Pl peewa ‘begin’; HN peewa ‘begin’. Let’s also add Eu viwát ‘primera vez’. One can observe frequent intervocalic voicing of *p in the Tep languages. I moved the Aztecan forms from M88-pi3 ‘new’ to be here with the forms of M88-pi4, as the two overlapped. Cf. also *pitu ‘new’ whereat is M88-pi3 ‘new’ and B.Tep289 *vítudí ‘new’. Note the frequency of final -t or glottal stop in the reflexes. [*p > Azt p; Tep g < *w]

[SUA: Tep, Opn, Azt]
Sh tïpi-ci ‘very, really’; tipicaan ‘real good’; Cm tï bicî ‘really, surely, very’; Kw tïvi-šï(m)bi ‘really? Is that so?’; Cm tïbicî ‘really, surely, very’; Kw tïvi-šï(m)bi ‘really? Is that so?’; It is so. It is true. SP tïvi-ci ‘very, really’; SP tïviciġa ‘obey, vt’; SP tïvi-šï ‘sure enough’; CU tïvïci ‘very, truly’; My tépai ‘muy/very’. Add Ch(L) tïvici ‘real, genuine’. This likely ties to *pittiwa above with a *tï- prefix. [*-p]

174. *paso (> *papso) ‘true, consider true/believe, truly, indeed!’: TO wohoh/woehoh ‘truly, indeed, in fact’; TO wehohcuđ ‘believe in’; PYp vohovi ‘correct, true’; PYp vohovig elid ‘believe, vt’; PYp vo’gelca ‘believe, vt’; NT váávoitïudai ‘make or consider true’; NT váávoi ‘true, certain’; NT vááviava ‘be true, certain’. Perhaps Tep *vaho (<*paso) since NT and TO wehoh may suggest an original a that assimilated toward the following o in the other forms: *a-o > o-o/e-o, and reduplication is apparent in NT. [V assim] [SUA: Tep]

175. *mïm ‘true, right’: Sr mïmq ‘true, right’; Ktn mïmk ‘true’. [NUA: Tak]

NB, Kw pucugu ‘know how to’ and other Numic forms at ‘know’ may tie to *pititiwa or *paso/pasiw: TSh pusikwa; Ch putúcuga; SP puhcúcukwaN; CU pucucugway, with medial reduplication. Knowing s.th. is akin to believing s.th. to be the case, and a voweling like TSh *u-i-a may explain assimilations either direction (*u-i > i-i or u-u), and *w > kw for a 3rd syllable in Numic is plausible. Note Ch actually shows -t-, which is what we should reconstruct for the medial -c- in these NUA languages. Are there cognates for Hp pasiwna ‘plan, plot, design, vi/vt’;

177. *wikosa ‘belt’: L.Son337 *wiko ‘faja'; M88-wi14 ‘belt'; KH/M06-wi14: UP giwudī; TO giwud; LP givar; NT givūūrā. Add PYp givil/givora ‘belt’. The following likely belong as s.th. wrapped around one, whether belt, clothing, or blanket: CN wiipiil-li ‘indigenous woman's blouse’; NP mabïta wïpodda ‘cover with a blanket’; NP wïpodda ‘to pile on’. Eu wipil ‘coton de mujer’ may be a loan from CN wiipiil-.


179. *nakki ‘belt’: TSh nekki; Sh naikki; Cm (kohi/nï’ï)-nehki’. This set appears to have undergone a typical vowel change for CNum: *nakki > naikki > nekki. [*a > ai > e] [NUA: CNum]

180. *pakkaC ‘belt’: Ch náápagapi ‘belt’; Ca tépaqa-l ‘belt’; Ca tépaqa ‘tighten (as belt), vt’; Ca tépaqa’-vi ‘have a belt on’. A possible final C is suggested in Ch -pï and note Ca’s glottal stop, but not apparent in Ca’s -l. [NUA: Num, Tak]

181. *mo ‘belt’: Tb mohka-t ‘the belt’; Eu móitepura ‘cinta del cabello’; Tbr moó-r ‘cincha’.

182. *şutka ‘belt’: Sr şutuka’(t) ‘belt’; Ktn şutkî-t ‘belt’. [NUA: Tak]
BERRY, ELDERBERRY, CURRANT, GRAPE; BAYA, SAÚCO, MORA, CAPULÍN

183. *ku’u/ *kuhu ‘elderberry’: KH.NUA; M88-ku34 ‘elderberry’; KH/M06-ku34: Cp k’u’u; Ls ku’u-ta ‘elderberry’; Ls ku’u-tpa-t ‘elderberry bush’; Sr kooh/uuht; Ktn kuuhuč ‘fruit of elder tree’; Gb kohút / kuhút / húkot/húkat ‘saúco’; Ca kǔ’ut ‘cattail, soft-flag’. Add Tb kuhuhipi-l ‘elderberry’. [NUA: Tak, Tb]

184. *kunuki ‘elderberry’: Fowler83 *kunuki ‘elderberry’; Mn kunugibi ‘elderberry bush’; SP kunugui ‘huckleberry’.

185. *kosi / *wosi ‘mulberry’: Fowler83: TO gohii/gohui ‘mulberry tree’; PYp kohi ‘mulberry’; NT koohi ‘la mora’. Whether PYp and NT devoiced an initial g or TO voiced an initial k, a reconstruction is difficult; or they may all be loans from an outside source. Fowler lists similar forms that I could not find in my sources; Fowler83 ‘mulberry’: Tr koi and Wc koyi. The V of Wc may recommend a loan, perhaps from Tep? [SUA: Tep, Trn, perhaps CrC]

186. *pikwa ‘berry sp’; KH.NUA; M88-pi28; Munro.Cup12 *piikwi-la ‘berry sp.’; KH/M06-pi28: Cp piipi-ly ‘strawberry’ (reduplicated, Munro notes); Ca pík-ly-am/piwk-ly-am ‘blackberry, raspberry, any kind of berry’; Ls píkw-la ‘blackberry’; Gb pikwár, pl: piikwar ‘mora’; Sr pikwa-c ‘(black)berry’. Add Ktn pikwa-č ‘berry sp’. While either is possible, let’s reconstruct 2nd V -*a (over *-i), since Sr and Gb both show a, and final *a > i happens more often than i > a, and often happens when preceding alveolars, which may explain the i in the other languages. Ken Hill queries whether Ch piikura(vï) ‘tomate de bolsa’ is cognate. Probably! [*a > i/ #] [NUA: Tak, Num]


188. *camí ‘wild cherry’: Munro.Cup22 *cáámi-š ‘wild cherry’; KH/M06-ca20: Ls čáámi-š; Cp čámi-š ‘chokecherry’; Ca čáami-š. [NUA: Tak]

189. *átuC ‘chokecherry’: Munro.Cup26 *áatu-t ‘chokecherry’; KH/M06-’a40: Ls áátu-t; Ca átu-t. Consider also Kw ’aatuu-vi ‘western chokecherry, Prunus demissa’. Tak and Num intervocalic *-t- (vs. -l/-r-) would be from *-tt- or a cluster of some kind. [NUA: Tak, Num]

190. *hup / *hu’up ‘berry type’: Mn hubuhuyi/-hiya/-hiya ‘mountain elderberries’; NP hubu ‘elderberry’; NP(B) hubui ‘elderberries, wild blueberries’; TSh huuppi ‘Lycium red berries, desert tomato, Lycium andersonii’; Sh(C) huu-pi’h ‘wild strawberry’; Ch(L) hu’upi ‘squawberries’. Jane Hill also notes Gb pah-hô-pe ‘blackberry’ (C. Hart Merriam reel 59, p. 381) adding the Tak branch to this set. [NUA: Num, Tak]

191. *(h)iyá- ‘berry type’: the -hiya portion of Mn hubuhuya ‘mountain elderberries’; Ch iyáávi ‘grapes’; Ch(L) iyaavi ‘wild grape’; and Ch(L) iyaa-vimpí ‘wild grapevine’? [NUA: WNum, SNum]

192. *isawanawa ‘wild grape’: Ca suwánawet / ‘eswánawet wild grape’; Cp swánewet ‘wild grape’; probably Mn seenowa ‘elderberries’ with reduction and Vs anticipating the point of articulation of the next consonants, i.e., raising and fronting the V before n and rounding the V before w (*suwawanawa > seenowa’). Jane Hill notes TSh isampu ‘wild grapes’ in addition to TSh isawana ‘plant, sp.;’ the former agrees better semantically while the latter better agrees phonologically and may suggest *sawana, and TSh has an initial V like one of the Ca variants. I reconstruct a for the 1st V, because WM Ute, like the one Ca form, also rounds a > o/u in unaccented syllables before w. [NUA: Tak, Num]


195. *sípi 'berry tree'; Hp sí'vi 'sumac'; Hp sívipsi 'sumac berry'; Tbr sipí 'capulin'.[i-i > i-i] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tbr]

196. *cápó 'capote': CL.Azt198 *cápó 'zapote'; M88-ca15; KH/M06-ca15: CN capo-tl; Po cepot; Te capo-tl; Za capot; Pl caput. [SUA: Azt]

197. *makw / *makú 'wild grape': Ls mákwi't 'wild grapes, Vitis girdiana'; Tr makogari 'cereza'; NP mugucia 'gooseberry'. [medial kwku] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Trn]

198. *pósó 'berry of some type': Mn aposówa 'manzanita berries'; Kw posó-vi 'desert almond, Prunus fasciculata'. [a- prefix] [NUA: Num]

199. *wí'aN 'buffalo berry': Fowler83-4:13 *wí'a 'buffalo berry, Shepherdia argenta'; NP wiapui 'buffalo berry, buck berry'; SP wiampi 'berry sp.'; Fowler also lists Sh and Ute, but without forms. [NUA: Num]

200. *tíwa 'service berry': Fowler83-3:35 *tíwa (Fowler has forms): Hp tíwvi / tíwavi 'shadblow, serviceberry' (Hill); Hp tíwavi (Fowler); Cp tewa 'brush sp.'. Hp’s final -vi has it susceptible to being a loan from Num. [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp]

201. *iski 'tree/bush that produces flowers and berries': SP *ỉšši 'squaw-berry'; CN aama-iski-tl 'cherry tree, capulin'; CN isiki-tl 'any tree or plant that produces clusters of white flowers, popcorn'. Or is CN from *saki?

NB, for *pusi/pui syllables, see 'eye' (*pusi/pui 'eye, seed').
NB, what of *kutipis 'grapes': NP kudibisa 'grapes'. Saxton has the TO form as a loan from SP 'uvas'—maybe, but the d is extraneous, and the NP form is not from Spanish, yet is lengthy and has much in common with the TO form, which only lacks an initial k and a final vowel of the four-syllable NP form, but TO should have h < *s, so one or the other or both may be some kind of loan.

BEWITCH, WITCH; HECHIZAR, HECHICERO

202. *pi'a / *pip've 'bewitch': BH.Cup *pi 'bewitch'; KH.NUA; M88-pi22; KH/M06-pi22: Cp pi'a 'bewitch, kill'; Ca pá; Ls pá; Gb pí'a 'throw'; Sr pi(a)' throw (sg obj) at, bewitch'. KH.NUA notes also Sr piivi 'throw'; Cp pív'ene 'bewitch'; Ls píva(n) 'throw stones'. The latter three may be reductions of former reduplications: *pipi’a > pip’V; and these may derive from *pipa (< *típa) 'throw'. Also note Ktn pi' 'throw a stone at, bewitch'. See also 'throw'. [NUA: Tak]

203. *sakwo > *sikwo/sikwi 'witch, bewitch': M88-sa27; KH.NUA; KH/M06-sa27: Cp sekwite / sakwite 'curse, whip'; Cp sekwité-l 'whip, n.; Sr sakwi' 'whip, vt'; Sr šakwinek(a) 'whip, swat, vt sg.obj.; Gb sakwit 'castigar'; Ls šiqwi 'to punish, whip' (1st vowel is wrong, Miller notes). The 'curse' semantic dimension of Cp, with *kwo > bwo / bo in Cah, likely ties these to My sisibo 'hechizar'; My sibori 'hechizado'; Tr siku- 'hechizar'; Tbr sigu-l 'hechicero'. Interesting is Ls -qw- rather than -kw-, suggesting a non-high 2nd vowel, i.e., a 2nd vowel of *o instead of *i originally (Langacker 1970), which agrees with SUA TrC. As for the first V, *a likely went to the schwa options—i and i—suggesting it may have been unaccented previously, with Sr and Gb maintaining the original a. Note Tak -kwo- and My -bo-. Perhaps Tr and Tbr ku < kw after loss of V. Ktn kwitea 'bewitch, kill by witchcraft' may belong with loss of the initial syllable. [labials; kwo, u/o; t > * in Sr] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr]

BIG; GRANDE

204a. *wil, redupl: *wilwiLu > *wilwiLu / *wilwiLu / *wilLu 'big, much, many'; Sapir; VVH100 *wi 'big'; BH.Cup *wat? 'augmentative suffix'; B.Tep51a gi 'big'; 51b *gi 'big, pl.; M67-39a we 'big'; L.Son340 *wi 'mucho'; KH.NUA; M88-wíl; KH/M06-wíl: Sr wi'ír 'much, many'; Sr wi'ílhít 'lots of it, much of it'; Ca -wet 'augmentative suffix'; Ls wut 'augmentative suffix'; Gb awé'e 'very'; Hp wílko 'extensive(ly)'; Hp wípa 'long, tall'; TO ge(e)da); PYp ge'e; pl: ge'e'ger; NT gi'gí; gidu; pl: gi'gí, ST gi'; pl: gi'gí; Eu wéi; Wr werú mucho; Wr werumá; Wr weisá 'muchas veces'; Tr wá'rá'éwéri; Tbr weé; Tbr wé 'be big'; Cr ve'è; CN wee. Add Ktn wir 'lots, a lot, many'. AMR's reconstruction *wit also shows a dominant consonant effecting the absolute suffixes of NUA. Note the absolute suffixes added to 'badger' and 'bear' in the Tak languages: Cp húna-l
204b. *kwïl̩Lu 'big' (or *wiil̩Lu?): M67-39d *kwe 'big'; L.Son127 *kwiru 'grand'; M88-ki1: Wr wērū mucho; Wr werū 'grand'; Wr wa'ru 'grand, mucho'; My bwē'uru, pl. bwē're; Tbr we'alo, largo; Tbr we-ťū ser grande; We kwi 'mucho' (cognate Hill asks?). The w/kw dichotomy is discussed in Stubbs (1995). While it is possible that two separate stems exist, I think it more likely that an apparent Cah *kwïl̩ developed from *wiL. Miller lists the My, Wr and Tr forms under both *w̩ and *ki̱, as WrTr w corresponds to both *w̩ and *ki̱. However, the Cah bwes... forms have their initial consonant aligning with *ki̱, while Tep *g definitely aligns with *w̩. Because Cah is the only sub-branch (i.e., only part of TrC) that really suggests *kw and all others point to *w̩, including NUa w (rather than kw), Tbr w (rather than kw) and Eu w (rather than b) also in TrC, then it may be that PUA *wiL or initial *w̩ was original and somehow was reinterpreted in Cah as a Tr/Wr w < *kw.

B.Tep52 gi-tiri 'boy' belongs here or in c below.

204c. *wiL old: Sapir; M88-wi2 'old'; I agree with Hill’s combining wi2 'old' with wi ‘big or great’ yet a separation by letter for the semantic fork may be helpful: Hp wīyō, wīyīwt-ta ‘be old’; TO gi-ti ‘maturity’; Wr wela ‘ser viejita’; Tr wréama ‘vieja’; CN weewe ‘old man’. Miller lists My ó’ora/ó’ola ‘viejo’, but it better belongs at *yo-o ‘old’. B.Tep52 gi-tiri ‘boy’ may belong here, as the above TO form is included therein. Besides Tep, both Cp and Wr show L in *wiL(i). [liquids NUa r = SUA r; and kw/w]

204d. *wiC with long object, instrumental prefix: Sapir; I.Num283 *wih- ‘whip’ (instr. pref.); KH/M60-ip14: Sh wí-t-; WSH wí-t- ‘with a long instr, generic instrumental’ (p. 110); Sh(C) wí-t- ‘with a long or cylindrical or general instr, instrumental prefix’; Kw wí- ‘instrumental prefix’; SP wí-t-. Like the semantic shift in Hp wípa ‘long, tall’ from ‘big’ > ‘tall/long’, so in Num is it ‘long’ in this instrumental prefix rather than ‘big’. Note Hp -p-(vs. -v-), suggesting gemination due to a final -C on the first morpheme wiC- / wi-t-.

[NUA: Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

205. *patawa ‘wide’: CL.Azt192 patla(awa)-k ‘wide’; CN patlaawak ‘wide’; CN patlaawa ‘widen’; Po patek; T patlowak; Z pataawak; Pi pataawak. Consider also Tb piśwabi’enormous’ with a hyper-palatalization. [NUA: Azt; SUA: Tb]


207. *pa- ‘big’: M88-pa63; KH/M60-pa63: Ca pa-sukat ‘horse’ (sukat ‘deer’); Cp pašukat ‘horse’ (suqat ‘deer’); Ls paasuka-t ‘elk, horse’ (suqat ‘deer’); Lt paakíšla ‘chicken hawk’ (*kisa ‘hawk’); Gb pasokat ‘horse, lit. big deer’; Gb pahanur ‘Great-Bear’; Gb pikasik ‘chicken hawk’ (*kisa hawk); Sr paaška-‘t ‘chicken hawk’; Sr paš̩avat ‘supernaturally powerful being’; Hp paš ‘very’. Ken Hill adds TSh pati’iñi ‘elk, moose’ (ti’iña ‘deer’); SP pariña (< ‘pa-ti’iña’) ‘elk’ (ti’iña ‘deer’); Ch pariña ‘elk’ (ti’iña ‘deer’); and We pa- ‘grande’. [greater lenition at end of long word: *k > ġ in *ti’iña, but *k > ø in pariña] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC]

NB, for *piya ‘big’ (< *piya ‘mother’), see at ‘mother’: I.Num168 *pi(y)a ‘big’ (clearest in CNum). Considerations suggest that this is probably a semantic extension of Numic *piya ‘mother’; for in the animal kingdom, the big one is the mother in contrast to the little one.

**BIGHORN SHEEP, MOUNTAIN SHEEP/GOAT**

208a. *pa’aC / *pa’at (*paa’ at (AMR)) ‘bighorn sheep’: M67-369 *pa ‘mountain sheep’; M88-pa34; Munro.Cup75 *pa’a-t ‘mountain sheep’; KH.NUA; KH/M60-pa34 *paa’ at (AMR); Jane Hill 2007-44 *paa’ at: Sr paa-t; Ca pa’a-t; Ls paa’a-t; Cp paa’-t; Gb paa’-t ‘mountain sheep’; SP pa’a ‘animal’; CU pa’a-vuku ‘livestock’. Voegelin’s Tb paa’a-t ‘mountain sheep’ also matches Takic well, while the form in Munro (Tb pahaat) with h may be interesting in light of Hp pawan ‘bighorn sheep’, pl: pawanjyt, which also shows a unique second syllable. Ken Hill adds Ktn pa’a-t and Ch tivipia pa’a ‘all people and animals that live on earth’. What to think of Hp -ny-? , Tb -h- and Takic ‘-t’? Alexis Manaster Ramer (in 1991 “Blood, Tears, and Murder” and 1991 “UA *tw”) proposes that a cluster of -tw- underlies Hp -ny- in this and other terms: in *pa’at-wit > *pawï ‘bighorn sheep (lit. bighorn-big)’ and in the Hp reflexes of ‘blood’ and ‘crow’. Lexemes for ‘bighorn sheep’ are mostly in NUa. Davis (1989) and Jane Hill (2007) note the similarities of Hp pawï and Kiowa-Tanoan (KT) forms such as Tewa peegh ‘deer’ (with nasalized (underlined)
could the *cutu forms be an assimilation of vowels from *cito of *cutu after assimilation (fronting) of u > i when anticipating an alveolar consonant (i.e., *curu > *ciru)? Or

NP pazidono 'meadowlark'. After differing first syllable prefixes assumably, the two WNum languages (Mn, NP) belong? An interesting web of woodpecker forms! [glottal stop hop]

first six segments; Wr cu'rukí also shows the glottal stop hopped and the same four consonants, but the other round unusual, but apparent metathesis of 1st and 3rd consonants:

**cuutu; Fowler83**

2. *pa'a* 'living beings': Kw pa'a-vi 'meat' whose unexpected animacy also suggests it originally meant bighorn, as Azt *naka 'meat' and SNum *naka 'bighorn'; Ch pa'á-vi 'worm'; Ch tíviña pa'a 'all the people and animals that live on earth'; SP pa'á-vi 'animal, any living thing except man and plants'; WMU pa'á-vi/vi 'insect, bug, maggot, n'; CU pa'á-vi 'insect, larva, worm' and CU pa'a-vuku 'livestock'. However, SNum does not seem to show a final -c like Tak and Tb. [medial cluster] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

NB, for SNum *naka 'bighorn sheep' see at 'meat with Azt *naka 'meat'.

**BIRD; PÁJARO:** see also buzzard, crow, dove, duck, eagle, hummingbird, owl, quail, turkey

2009a. *wiCitiki 'bird': Sapir; M67-40 *wici/*wiki; Fowler83; M88-w7; KH/M06-w7; rather than either *wici or *wiki, consider *wiciki (<**witiiki); Tb čikii-t 'bird', Sr wičit, and SNumic *wiciki: Kw wičiki-ži; Ch wiči'i; SP wic'i-; CU wic'i-ci; and Yq wičik 'owl'. Note the lenition of the third consonant, depicted in the SNum languages from west to east: -iki- > -i'i- > -i'i>- -i-. Some forms and Manaster-Ramer's law suggest a medial cluster such as -Ct- or *witik/wutik as more probable. Sapir ties CN wiči-in 'hummingbird' with Sr and Num wici..., which is possible if not *-Ct-; but whether CN belongs or not, he was the first to propose the Sr and SP forms as related.

2009b. *wikici (< *wikiti(tj)) 'bird': LSon336 *wikici 'pájaro'; M88-w7; North Eu wikci; Eu vikic/wikic, vikci (acc.) 'pajarito'; Yq/My wičit; We wičii 'pájaro'; and possibly CN awakawaci 'swallow'. Ca wičikmal/wičimal 'bird'; Cp múkikmal 'bird of any kind'; and Cp wukikmal 'wren' are apparent instances of consonant harmony—*witiki / *witikii > *wVik(i)—especially in light of the alternate Ca wičimal. It is easy to jump to the conclusion that *wikici and *wikici be from metathesis; however, perhaps as likely are reductions to consonant clusters then reductions of those clusters:

**witiki-tV > *witki-tV > *wiki-t/ci

**witiki-tV > *witkici-(ci)

The long vowel in the *witik forms may further suggest such.

2009c. *hutti / *huttu 'bird': Miller includes some Numic forms of LNum261 *(hu(i)>(h))ici: NP hučipa'a; Mn cuipa'(a); TSh hutu' small bird'; Cm hučuú: Sh hučuć. Ken Hill (KH/M06-hu3) astutely sorts M88-cu10 and creates hu33, adding TSh hučuć 'sage grouse'. Miller has Sh hučuć in M88-cu10 with *cutu below, but there is a possible tie between *hutti and *witi: *hutti/hući > *hutti/hući > *witi/wici. Nevertheless, the TSh form with -tt- strengthens the case of this being a good example of *tt- > -c- preceding a high, possibly front vowel. While I do not vehemently ascribe to *hutti, s.th. near it does much to explain other forms: *hutti > hući > hući > huču. [*-tt- > -c-; C harmony] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

210. *cutu / *cuLu-(ka'i) / *cuLaka'i 'bird, woodpecker': M67-41 *cutu; L.Son49 *cru 'pájaro'; CL.Azt204 **cuLu; Fowler83-2:22; M88-cu10; KH/M06-cu10: Of 13 forms in M88-cu10, Hill (KH/M06) correctly extracts the three that belong together: Hp cooro 'bluebird'; Tr čurugi 'bird'; Wr cu'ruki 'bird'. The others belong with *witiki or elsewhere. Probably also related are My čőro 'woodpecker' and Yq čőlo(i) 'woodpecker'. Fowler adds Mn soroki 'speckled woodpecker'; Ls soo-la 'California woodpecker'; Tb culus-t 'woodpecker'; Tr pacoruri 'woodpecker'; Cr cuurkka'i 'woodpecker' (Fowler); Cr cuuraka'i 'woodpecker' (CL.Azt204). While inclusions of Pl tuutu-t'bird' and CN tootoo-tl may be possible, let's be hesitant. Ls o may also suggest *u lowered slightly by following o (like the u in Wr); otherwise, we would expect Ls e < *o; or it could be a loan. An interesting case could be built for *coraka'i 'woodpecker': Cr cuuraka'i 'woodpecker' and Tr koraca 'woodpecker' may be an unusual, but apparent metathesis of 1st and 3rd consonants, in an exceptional agreement with *coraka'i through the first six segments; Wr cu'ruki also shows the glottal stop hopped and the same four consonants, but the other round V: *coraka'i; likewise, Mn and Tr suggest *coroki, a reasonable reduction of *coraka'i. Could Tbr cuthú-l 'magpie' belong? An interesting web of woodpecker forms! [glottal stop hop]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trm, Cah, CrC]

211. *cito 'meadowlark': Hp ciro 'bird, small bird'; Tb čiidoobilah 'meadowlark'; Mn nozído 'meadowlark'; NP pazidono 'meadowlark'. After differing first syllable prefixes assumably, the two WNum languages (Mn, NP) have *-cito- in common. Hp should have ō (< *o), but the other three agree with PUA *o. Could these be variants of *cutu after assimilation (fronting) of u > i when anticipating an alveolar consonant (i.e., *curu > *ciru)? Or could the *cutu forms be an assimilation of vowels from *cutu, though Hp has both? What of Tbr cirí-t 'saltapared' with yet another assimilation possibility? [NUA: Hp, Tb, WNum]
Fowler also potential for a tie with *sa'i 'duck' at duck? [*
Kw saapï
Ls şáy
2
Note the nasal in Num, and Hp
SP yampa
'mouth (tooth)
Gb tamávet 'hechicera
Fowler83; M88; KH/M06-ca10 'blue jay': TSh caippiccih 'pinyon jay'; Sh cai-piccih 'blue jay'; Tb 'aadzay;
Cp ça'îš; Ca ça'îš; Ls çâá-î-ş. [' > ø in Tb, CNum] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

however, the entirely different 2
could be Azt loans. In slight vowel change in TO would have triggered palatalization *to > *tu > ču; and of course the Tep and TrC forms
HN tootoo
2
hen
2
separated due to differing medial consonants.

Ken Hill adds CN alo 'lora grande
Tr wará; Wr walá 'tipo de pájaro como juajalote, tamaño de un pollo'; TO ahDo 'pavo real'; Nv arho. Ken Hill
2
however, the entirely different 2
could be Azt loans. In slight vowel change in TO would have triggered palatalization *to > *tu > ču; and of course the Tep and TrC forms
HN tootoo
2
hen
2
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however, the entirely different 2
could be Azt loans. In slight vowel change in TO would have triggered palatalization *to > *tu > ču; and of course the Tep and TrC forms
HN tootoo
2
hen
2
separated due to differing medial consonants.
223. *suku 'robin, Turdus migratorius'; Fowler83:4:28 *suku 'robin, Turdus migratorius'; Mn suúgu 'robin'; NP sugu 'robin'; Sh(M) suikkoko 'robin'; Sh(C) suikkoko 'robin'; TSh suku 'robin'; SP -so-go- is the third morpheme in SP timpwi-kie-so-go 'rock-laughter, sparrow sp'. The i in Sh is curious. [o/u] [NUA: Num]

224. *’aña ‘(blue)jay, bird sp. ’: Ch(L) ‘aña ‘bluejay’; CU ’áa-vi ‘Mexican Jay, bird sp’. Intervocalic -ŋ- in Ch and SP goes to nasal vowels in WMU but disappear in CU. So this is a good match. [NUA: SNum]

225. *saknoppina ‘swallow’: Jane Hill (p.c): Mn pazzigopina ‘swallow’; NP soggobina ‘mudswallow’; TSh pazzahnopidah ‘barn swallow’ (Merriam 59: 335); SP towah passarovip (Merriam 59: 465). Assuming pa- is a prefix, the two WNum forms pair nicely, and TSh and SP pair nicely. The first cluster might be a velar and nasal clustered, for NP -gg- could feasibly be such, as we would need to see -k- or -kk- to be from *kk-. From a possible *-kn- (> WNum velars), TSh -hn- is of interest, from which SP shows -r-. Then again, another reflex may change everything. [NUA: Num]


228. *kimaC ‘flicker, yellowhammer’; Jane Hill (p.c): Ktn kima-(c(r) ‘flicker’; Gb kimar” (Merriam 60:421). [NUA: Tak]


NB, *takaLu ‘bird, chicken’: the likelihood of words for crowing birds being onomatopoeitic is high; nevertheless, something near *takaru (perhaps domestic) bird may underlie ST takaruui ‘chicken’; CU qa càr-i-ci ‘chicken’, and Cr tekwaára’i ‘chicken’, though borrowing between the neighboring ST and Cr is also possible, since the correspondences do not match, yet the lengthy words match better than the correspondences. The labialization of *k > kw in Cr does occur following i, to which e is close.

NB, a possible *cipa (perhaps < *hutipa) ‘bird sp.’: Fowler83 mentions Tr cipi ‘small bird sp.’ and Mn *k > kw in Cr does occur following i, to which e is close.

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BITE; MORDER

230. *kí/ *kiča ‘bite, v.’: Sapir; VVH43 *kí(i-í) ‘bite’; B.Tep130 *kí ‘he bit’; M67-42 *ke/ke’key; I.Num72 *kíh ‘with teeth, by biting’; BH.Cup *ka’-; L.Son81 *kí; M88-kíi; KH.NUA; KH/M06-kí2: Mn kí- ‘by biting’; Mn kíí ‘bite, vt’; Mn kícoh ‘chew’; NP kí- ‘with mouth’; NP kíka’a ‘biting with mouth’; NP kípí ‘bite, v’; NP kíham ‘biting on to loosen up’; TSh kí’/ku’/ko’ ‘with teeth or mouth’; TSh kíci’ ‘bite, vt’; TSh kíceohi ‘chew’; Sh kí- ‘with the teeth or mouth, instr. pref.’; Sh kí’-c’ah; Cm kíh-kka’a ‘bite off a piece of s.th.’; Cm kíhka’aru; kícibakiti; Kw kí- ‘with mouth or teeth’; SP kíí; kí’é; CU kíí; Hp kíí; Hp(S) kyatki ‘nipped, bit, took bite from’; Tbp(kí)-’; Tbp-’í’-’í’-’í’-’í’-’í’- ‘bite’; Tbp(í/’í/’í’/’í) ‘ahaaíat / ‘ahaaíet ‘chew it, vt’; Sr kíí’; Ca kí’é; Cp é’; Ls kí’; TO kíí, kíí, kíhi; ST(B) kí ‘he bit’; kya; Eu kí’e; Tbr ke; Yq kí’e; My kí’e; Wr kí’cu ‘bite’; Tr kí’su/gi ‘su ‘bite, nibble, gnaw’; Tr kí’ca ‘chew’; Tr iki ‘bite’; Cr še-še-še-še-; CN ke’ coma ‘bite s.th.’. Ken Hill add Tes kí ‘he bit’. Let’s also add Ch kíí ‘bite, v’; WC kíë/kë; Nv kuku(kíkí)/ku’i ‘bite’; PYp kekim ‘bite, vt’; NT kíi / kíkíyí; NT kíhišápa; kíshika ‘have in mouth, bitten’; perhaps Cr nák’ice ‘it bit me’ (also allomorph -cei-) with na- prefix. This etymology is one of the few to have a reflex in all UA languages. How is a verb like ‘bite’ so stable, one of the most consistently retained words throughout UA? Many UA languages show a reflex of *kí’i, though Tr, Wr, and CN (*kíč-) and other details suggest a medial cluster, perhaps *-’c-, since a glottal stop

83
is apparent in some, medial *-c- in others, and both in a few (Wr, Tr, CN). Could early meshing movements explain that some languages (eg, Tr, Hp, Tb) have two forms (Tb 'ahaaic and Tb kï'tï)?  

[BITTER, SOUR; AMARGO, AMARGO, ACIDO]

231. *ci puC / *ci'puC 'bitter': VVH13 *ci pu; B.Tep *si vu' u; M67-43 *ci pu; L.Son33 *ci pu; M88-c1; Munro.Cup16 *ci'viu-t: KH.NUA; KH/M06-c1: LS ci'viu 'be bitter'; LS ci'viu-t 's.th. bitter'; Cp ci'vi-t 's.th. bitter'; Sr ci'viu 'bitter'; Sr ci'viu 's.th. bitter'; Ktn ci'viu'; Cp ci'viu; Hp ci'vo; TO siw/siwo; LP si'v; PYp ci'vo; sivi; NT si'v; ST si'v; Eu ci'pu; Yq ci'biu; My ci'biu; Wr sihpi'; Tr ci'pú; WC ci'vi/civi; and perhaps Cr (an)ci'hivi (McMahon); Cr anc'hvi'i (JM). Tr po(y)â 'ser amargo'; Tr ci'pú-ame 'amargo, amargoso'; and Tr ci'kö'igame 'agarroso, de sabor muy astringente, quermante' are a befuddling trio for that language. The -t ablative suffix in Munro's Takic forms, the glottal stop in ST, Bascom's Tep reconstruction, and the glottal stop in Sr may suggest a lost but lingering final consonant. What of Miller's inclusion of CN ci'čik/či'čika-tl 'bile, bitterness'?  

[NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

232. *hu ... 'bitter': M67-44 *hu/*hu hu; M88-hu7 'bitter'; KH/M06-hu7: Mn huhuqamma 'to taste bitter'; Tb 'uu 'bitter'; Tb 'u'uwaa 'the bitter one, white emetic roots'. We see reduplication in Mn and one Tb form; the uwa pattern in that Tb form resembles what might be compounded with a preceding morpheme below.  

[NUA: Num, Tb]

233. *muhuwa 'bitter': TSh muhwa-pi-(cci) 'bitter, adj'; TSh muhwa-kamman 'taste bitter'; Sh muhwa / muha 'bitter'; Cm mohakamař 'taste sour, bitter, acid'; Kw moo-gama 'be bitter'; Ch mohára 'bitter'; Ch(L) muh’arati 'bitter'. The element *.kaCma 'taste' is seen in some, but something along the lines of *muhuwa or *mu-huwa remains in CNNum and SNNum.  

[NUA: Num]

234. *ciya 'bitter': Tb ceeye'it~'ceeyeeyeu 'be bitter' and CN cičiya 'become bitter, sour'. Vowel leveling appears to have occurred in Tb: *i-a > e-e.  

[glottal = w in Tb; V leveling]  

[NUA: Tb; SUA: Azt]

235. *cina 'sour': M67-404 'sour'; M88-ci19; KH/M06-ci19: Cr an-ciniáh 'it's sour'; Cr cináaká 'lemon'; Wc cináá 'ácido'. Miller also lists NP sîte 'bad', which KH/M astutely excludes, as it better belongs with *si'ta below; M88 lists Pl šuku k 'sour' with both M88-ci19 and M88-co3 (*co'oko below), while it better belongs with the latter.  

[SA: CrC]

236. *si'ta > si'ta 'sour, bad(tasting)': Sapir: Sapir ties Ca seta-xa-t 'salty' and CN ista-tl 'salt'. Be those as they may, to Ca, we must add Mn sita-qama 'taste bitter' and NP sîta 'bad', and Cp si'tax 'sour'. The languages are divided on *i vs. *i for first vowel, yet final a is more likely to draw *i > i than *i > i. Many put CN ista-tl 'salt' with *tosa 'white', but CN tisa-tl 'whitewash, white earth' fits *tosa / tusa 'white'.  

[*i-a > i-a]  

[NUA: Tak, WNNum; SUA: Azt]

237a. *sikaC / *sikiN 'sour': M67-404; M88-ci21; KH/M06-ci21 'sour': TSh sîkimpi(cci) 'sour'; Sh sîkin 'sour'; Cm siki 'sour'; Kw sîgi-ga-di/sîgi-ga-di 'sour'; Kw sîgi-gama 'taste sour'; CU sîgi-kamay 'taste bitter, vi'; CU sîgi-kamay 'taste bitter, vi'; and Hp sîkya 'sour, bitter'. Ken Hill adds WSh sîkîn kammanna (kamman 'to taste'). Do we have vowel leveling between Hp sîkya 'sour, bitter' and Num *sîki 'sour'? *i-a > i-i? Num forms may suggest a tie between these and the above by consonant harmony (*sita-kama > *sîkîkama) or a cluster reduction (*-kt/-t/-tk- > -'t/-'t/-'t/-kt-). Or Hp sîkya 'sour, bitter' may also suggest a tie between *si'ta/si'ta and *sika/*siki, as *sika possibly reduced from a cluster *sîta-kama > *sîta > *sîkya (Hp), since alveolars in clusters with h have produced ky elsewhere in Hp (cf. rotten).  

CU -k- rather than -g- or -x- suggests a cluster between morphemes (*sVkVC-kCma).  

[NUA: Num, Hp]

237b. *sîhiw(kv) 'sour': PYp he'egi 'sour'; PYp he'egker 'vinegar'; TO he'ek(a) 'be sour, v'; TO s-hî'ik 'be sour'; TO he'ek'cu 's.th. sour, n'; NT îko 'agrio, acedo'; STlkum 'que es agrio (mezclado con dulce)'; Hp sîhi 'be salty' fits well since *s > Tep h and *h > Tep ' (glottal stop). Perhaps Cp sâwît 'sour'. If related, Cp may suggest some original *a > i, possibly PUA *sahau-tu > Tep *hiïg-tu > *(h)i'ktu > *(h)i'ko.  

[NUA –k- : Hp and Tep h; Tep']

[NUA: CNum, SNNum, Hp; SUA: Tep]
238. *co'(oko)/copko (< *cupka) 'sour, salty: M67-403 *cuk/*suk 'sour'; L.Son38 *coko 'agrio'; M88-co3 'sour'; KH/M06-co3: Sr čuka 'sour, salty'; Sr čuka'n / čuka'lin 'add salt to' (wrong vowel, Hill notes), but may be the original vowing with leveling elsewhere; Eu cokö-n 'agrio'; My ço'oko 'estar agrio, salado'; Yq ço'oko 'agrio, salado (de fruta, etc.); Wr có'kő; Tr čő'kő; CN šoko-tl 'fruit, plum'; HN šoko-k 'sour'; PL źuku-k 'sour'.

Add AYq čo'oka 'salty'. Ken Hill rightly adds Ktn čukwa ‘bitter, sour, salty’ (noting wrong vowel) and CN čokola-tl ‘chocolate’ as its initial consonant agrees better than Azt šoko-. Note also Nv subko 'agrio' and Nv suhkodaga 'agrio'. Since Tep s < *c, Nv subko may reflect the underlying cluster -pk-, which cluster could be the source of the glottal stop in TrC *co'(oko). When only Cahitan shows a glottal stop, we might doubt whether or not it is original; but when Wr and Tr also show glottal stops, it might be more likely. On the other hand, the glottal stop could be original and not necessarily have to represent another consonant, since its absence in Tep is consistent with Tep usually showing * > ɾ. Might the Aztecian forms be a loan from Tep, as an explanation of ? Sr and Ktn may show the original vowels (*u > o-o) and Nv subko may best represent the original cluster. [c/s; VCCV > V’CV > V’CV, loss of C > ɾ then added vowel to separate cluster]

[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

239. *kīsa 'sour': Ls kóša/i 'be sweet or salty'; Ls kuš-úla 'be sour' (listed with koša/i); Cp keşelvekéšelva'a-s 'too sour, adj'. [ *i > Ls o > u]  

NB, often 'sour' and 'salty' and 'plums, (sour) fruit', in a sweet-and-sour kind of combination are semantically associated or listed, as under four of the above five reconstructions!

**BLACK; NEGRO**

There exists in UA a large number or a tangled mess of initial *tu forms having to do with ‘fire go out, dark, black, night, charcoal’ that UAnists have divided nearly as many ways. I divide them *tukV 'fire go out, dark, black, night', for when the fire finally goes out at night, it is dark/black, and ‘fire go out’ is likely the original meaning of that group. PUA *yuppa below has the same semantic array: ‘fire go out, be dark, black.’

240a. *tuka / *tuku / *tuki 'fire go out, dark, black, night': Sapir; VVH23 *tuk3(ku) 'black'; VVH144 *túški / *túška 'night'; BH.Cup *tuk 'pass the night'; B.Tep231 *tukaga-i 'darkness, night'; B.Tep232 *tuku 'black'; M67-45 *tu, *tuhu 'black', *tuk 'night', *cuk 'night'; I.Num228 *tuka 'night'; I.Num224 *tu(h)u(h) 'black'; I.Num230 *tuki 'fire goes out'; L.Son320 *tuku, 320b *cuku 'obsccurecerse'; Dakin 1982; let's combine much of M88-tu2 'night', M88-tu3 'black', M88-tu12 'put fire out', and M88-cu4 'black'; KH/M06-tu2 *tuku 'black, dark, night' and tu12 'fire, to go out' and KH/M06-tu25 *tuka 'night': Mn toqawano 'night-time'; NP tuka 'extinguish fire'; NP tokano 'night'; NP toka čiša 'dark'; TSh tukwani / tukwani / tukwani / tukwani 'night'; Sh tukanı 'night, be dark'; Sh tuki 'put out the fire'; Cm tukanı 'evening, night'; Kw tuka 'be dark, be night'; Kw tukwa 'be dark, be night'; Kw tukwa-nu/no 'night'; SP tuwi 'fire go out'; SP tukwa 'put out the fire, be dark, night'; SP tukwani 'night'; CU tugwa-na-ti 'night-time'; CU tugwani 'extinguishes'; CU čukwa (<*tuukkwati) 'black, dark'; Tb tuugit~ 'uduck 'be dark/black'; Tb tuugit 'night, the dark'; Sp tukmu-t 'night'; Sp tuke 'pass the night'; Sp tuku 'yesterday'; Sp tuk 'go to bed, stay overnight'; Sp tukmiyet 'night'; Ls tūk 'camp for the night, v'; Ls tūkmi-mi-t, tuk-va 'night'; Sr tuuk 'night'; Hp tokki 'last night, to go out (fire)'; Hp tōkila 'night-time'; HN tōkina 'for fire to be going out'; Tbr tu-/tukür/tukür 'negro, apagado'. Ken Hill adds WSh tuu 'black'; Ch tuga 'night'; Ch tugarasi 'avi 'big black ant sp'. Relevant to B.Tep232 'black' are TO čuk 'stop burning or giving out light'; LP tuku; PY tuku; NT tuku 'black'; ST t'uk (Bascom); ST čuk 'black'; relevant to B.Tep231 'night' are TO čuhug 'night'; LP tuahagi; NT tuağı / ST tuka; TrC forms include Eu čuki 'noche'; Wr tuga'o 'noche'; Wr togapá 'be dark/black'; Tr čukwa 'sour, salty'; Wr čuka 'sour, salty'; Pl 'be black/dark'; My čukwa 'be black/dark'; Hp čukwanu 'black'; Ch čukwa 'sour'; Pl šuku 'sour'; Sh čukwa 'sour, salty'; Sr čuka'n / čuka'nin 'add salt to' (wrong vowel, Hill notes)

Note the semantics of AYq tuuka 'yesterday', Cp tuku 'yesterday', Hp tokki 'last night, to go out (fire)', and Ktn tuka / atuka 'at night, last night' and Ktn tuk 'yesterday'. In English, 'the night' often means 'last night, the previous night just finished': I spent the night in pain; the baby cried through the night. Also note the semantic combination in Hp tokki 'last night, fire went out ': the nearest or most recent ‘fire-going-out’ was last night. I also like Dakin's (1982-104) tie of CN tooka 'plant, bury, v' with the above, since the sun’s disappearance seemingly into earth at dark/night resembles the disappearance into earth when seeds are planted or buried. See *tuka 'plant' at seed 1918 and 1919.
Many forms show a -wa- suffix: in *tuka-wa-: Mn toqawano; Tr řuká-wa-ri, and Tepiman *tukV-gV. Num forms are either reduced by a vowel syncopation (*tukawa to *tuka) or the u vowel is carried past the-k- (*tuka > tukwa) or in some, perhaps both, e.g., TSh tukwawani. Four forms show *-nu / *-no: NP tokano, Mn toqawano, Kw tukwa-nu/no, SP tukwanu.

Undoubtedly, *tuku 'black' and *tuka 'night, dark' are related even though VVH, Miller, and Bascom separate them, and some Num, Tep, and other UA languages show separate forms for the two. In fact, an original *tuku, somewhere becoming *tuhu, then tuu, may then have become a widespread recycled stem taking other suffixes. Consider Mn tumu 'black'; TSh tupp 'black'; Sh tuu/ /tuun 'black'; Sh(SV) tuu 'black'; Cr tu/ /tuhu/ /black'; Kw tuhu- /black'; SP tuu 'black'; WMU tuu-kwa; CU tūu-kwa-ři 'black, dark'; Sh(M) tuki /'put out a fire'; Sh(Cr) tukuwi /'go out (fire)'; Sh(SV) tukwihi /tuhi 'put out a fire'; NP tokasi-pi-pa-a 'sun goes down.' [*-k- > h in Num, > Tb -g; *u-a > o-a; V syn]

**240b. *cukV (< *tukV):** M67-45c *cuk 'black'; L.Son320 *cuku 'obscurerce' and *cuki-i 'oscuro'; M88-cu4: Yq čuíki; My cukúri/cukuli; Tr čóka; TO cuk 'negro'; TO s-cuk 'black, be black, in darkness'; TO čuku 'become black'; Op cuki-gwa 'causar obscuridad'; Eu cukí-en 'obscurerce'; Yq cukú-i; My cukú-ři 'negro'; Wr o-hcó-na; Tr co-; TO čuku 'stop burning or giving out light'; ST tük (Bascom); ST čuku 'black'. The second syllable of Cr wacúilha 'está oscuro' may be borrowed from TRc, because Cr watïka a corresponds to the other UA languages. As Miller (M67-45c), Hill (in combining M88-cu4 and tu2), and Lionnet (L.Son320) all suggest, *cuk is a palatalization of the rather pervasive *tuku, which may have then exhibited considerable mobility rewiring through the dialect chains of DUa; for many of those languages also have *tuk forms.

**240c. *tuhu / *tuku (< *tuku):** Mn tuhùtipi 'black rock'; NP tu/ /tuhu 'black'; Cr tu/ /tuhu /tuhupi 'black'; Kw tuhu- /black'; SP tuu 'black'; Sh tuu/ /tuun 'black'; Sh(M) tuki /'put out a fire'; Sh(Cr) tukuwi /'tuui 'go out (fire)'; Sh(SV) tukwihi /tuhi 'put out a fire'; Sh(SV) tuu 'black'; Cr tu /tuhi/ /tuhupi 'black'; Kw tuhu- /black'; Ch tuupi 'black paint'; SP tuu 'black'; WMU tuu-kwa; CU tūu-řa 'black, dark'; Hp toho 'blackish pigment' may be an early loan from Num *tuhu (< *tuku), in light of Hp tooki existing as well. Sh's variant forms—tuwI and tuI—above show how easily/quickly an intervocalic -l can be lost, likely passing through an -h- phase, which is likely for the *tuhu forms: *tuku > *tuhu > tuu (in some cases). In fact, Shaul (1994, 289) shows in PYp tuhu and redupl PYp tutuk that -h is intervocalic and that k is found in the same stem, and *-k- > -h- is common in 'deer' and elsewhere. Ken Hill lists, but queries whether CN tekol-li 'charcoal' and Pl tekunal 'live coal' are cognate; it's a good question. Could CN tekol-li be a recycled loan from Cah *tuku / /túkol-li? [*-k- > -h-, /tu > cu]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**241a. *tul.'charcoal, soot, black':** BH.Cup *túla 'charcoal' { Cp tul; Cp tuldak-ic 'black'; Ca tul; Ca túlek-iš 'black'; Ls túlulaa, túl-á}; Munro.Cup21 *túli-la 'charcoal' { Ls túa;l-la; Cp túl; Ca tú-l}; KH.NUA{Sr too-t 'charcoal, coal(s), ember(s)'; Gb tur; Tb tuul; Ls; Cp; Ca}; M67-45 *tunu; CL.Azt *tiil- 'soot'; M88-tu23 and some of tu3; KH/M06-tu3 *tul and tu23: Cp túla 'get black, get a tan'; Cp túnine 'make black'; Cp tulúluxwe 'it is soiled'; Sr túnáari 'be black'; Sr túná 'bec, turn black'; Ca túl-ke 'black'; CN tliil- 'black ink, soot'; Pl tll- 'soot'; Pl tiil-tik 'black'. AMR (1996d) and Hill add TO čuíD 'charcoal'; TO čuíDt 'make embers of wood, etc.'; TO čuíDagi 'embers, charcoal', which works since TO D often aligns with liquids or *L. Not only that, but Ls *tu-la rather than *tu-l, may suggest *tul-ta > *tul-la which helped preserve the final -a of -la (*-ta). Munro justifiably separates *-la as an absolutive suffix, but the keeping of the vowel in -la suggests a cluster or an underlying doubled *-LL-; thus, like CN tliil-li, an L existed that was absorbed by the absolutive suffix (*tul-la > tu-la) to become rather invisible in Tak, but helped preserve final -a. While it may be a fossilized absolutive suffix, the l as second consonant is found at least intermediately justifiable in many Tak compounds, such as *tul-nik 'black' (Sr, Ca, Cp). Cp tulúluxwe 'it is soiled', and in CN tliil-li and Pl. On the other hand, whether the *-la-li was originally absolutive or not, Tr čori 'cosa negra' and Cah *cukuli open the possibility that *tul derives from reductions that lost the medial syllable -ku-: *tuku- / /la-li > /tuu ' / *tuV. Sr tñáá 'turn black' probably shows a reduction of the cluster apparent in Ca Púlnek- and Cp tuldak-ic. Perhaps Kt tu-č 'charcoal'.

**241b. *tiLu / *taLu.'eye, black round thing':** Stubbs200b; Stubbs2003-41: the only UA language not showing *pusi for eye is Tbr telu-/ /tilu-/ 'eye', which likely ties to Wr teluá 'smooth black stone for polishing pottery'. And they tie to CN tliilloo-li 'blackness' and CN(S) tliioo 'curririrse de negro, ponerse color negro' and the lot of them tie to *tul 'charcoal, soot, black' above, this being the longer original form. Note also UA *talu 'egg'; Tbr ne-telu-r 'huevo'; Cr ta-u 'blanquillo, huevo.' (intervocalic liquids > / 'in Cr). The Tbr form may tie to Tbr telu-t / tilu-t 'eye.' Note also the Tbr-Azt-CrC tie. [SUA: Tbr] [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tb, Trn, CrC, Azt]
242. *yu’pa > *yuppa ‘go out (of fire), (get) dark, black’: M88-yu27 and yu26 ‘fire go out’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-yu27 and yu26 ‘fire go out’: Cp yúpi-ś ‘(paint) brush’; Ca yúpi ‘be overcast (of sky), cloudy, color term base + yúpi = to turn into a colored appearance’; Ls yúúva ‘be dark’; Ls yuvá/i ‘bec. black’; Ls yuvá-ta/tí ‘bec. black, vi, blacken, vt’; Ls yúúpa ‘go out (fire), not burn’; Sr yupq ‘go out (fire)’, yupu; Gb yuvivkomok ‘be getting dark’; Gb yupixa’ ‘black’. Hill adds Wc yúvi / yúvi ‘black’ which corresponds perfectly (Wc i < *u) and Ls yúúqa/i ‘go out (fire), vi; put out (fire), vt’. Also related are forms under M88-yu26; KH/M-yu26: Ls yúúpa ‘go out (fire), not burn’; Sr yupq ‘go out (fire)’; Gb yuvivkomok ‘be getting dark’; Gb yupixa’ ‘black’.

243. *so’opa ‘black, dark’: Eu sóbei / só’obei ‘black’; Eu soba / sobé ‘become black’; Cr nú’umura’a ‘está negro o prieto (persona)’.

BLANKET, WRAP, MAT, BED; FRAZADA, COBIJA, PETATE, ENROLLAR, ENVOLVER;
see also tie, fold, dress, circle (as in surround)

244a. *ha-pït ‘blanket’: KH.NUA; M88-ha15; KH/M06-ha15: Gb havót ‘blanket’; Sr havíít ‘clothes, blanket’. Ken Hill adds Kt havi-t ‘skin, blanket, clothes’ and considers the possibility of Hp havi- ‘sleepy’. This *ha-pït ‘blanket’ may relate to *pïta ‘mat’, below, possibly with a ha- prefix for these Tac forms, similar to TrC’s hi- prefix: Tak *ha-pït; TrC *hi-pïta. [* > Gb o]

244b. *(hi)-pïta ‘woven mat’: M67-277 *peta ‘mat, bed’; CL.Azt194 *patla ‘woven mat’; CL.Azt 317 **pata; L.Son205 *peta ‘estera’; M88-hi2 ‘sleeping mat/petate’; KH/M06-hi2; M88-pï8 ‘mat, bed, petate’; KH/M06- pï8: Eu hipét; Wr ihpetá; CN hihat ‘mat, bed’, petate’; CN petla-tl ‘woven mat’, Pl petat; Po -pot/biet. Cr pëtëa is likely a loan (as also the Azt forms), but Cr hitâ-ri with the expected *p > h is a genuine CrC cognate. Takic shows a ha- prefix, and some TrC forms show a hi- prefix, while others show only *pïta; yet all have *pït(a) in common. Miller lists many of the same forms in M88-hi2 and M88-pï8; therefore, Miller’s two sets pï8 and hi2 are here combined. [Wr prefix = CN] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

245. *pak ‘mat’: M67-278 *pak ‘mat’; M88-pa31; KH/M06-pa31: Tb pah-t ‘tule mat’; TO vakus (wakus) ‘mat, skin, rug’ (M67 cites Dolores); NP kappa ‘bed’ (Hill rightly queries whether this belongs, only if metathesis?); Miller also lists CL.Azt194 *patla ‘woven mat’; but it belongs above, having a different 1st V and 2nd C. These may derive from *paka ‘reel’ as in ‘reel’ mat. Let’s add ST vaksidia-yak vaksidia-yar ‘rug’; ST vakshiya ‘to spread for sleeping’; this agrees well with TO vakus / wakus; in fact, the Tep forms (ST, TO) show more segments and may suggest something like *pakuiciya. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep]

246. *kïmaL / *kamaL (> kïmil) ‘blanket, wrap (in blanket)’: L.Son82 *kima ‘cobija’; M88-ki8; KH/M06- ki8: Wr kemä; Tr gemä; Tr komabi/gemabi ‘wrap oneself in a blanket’; Tr gimï-mea ‘wrap oneself (as with a blanket)’; CN keemi ‘put on, wear (clothes); CN keemi-tl ‘garment’; PI kimilua ‘wrap, cover, vt’. To these let’s add Ca kāmi ‘surround, vt’; CN kïmil-li ‘bundle of clothes, blankets’; CN kimiloa ‘wrap in a blanket, vt’; CN tklee-tl ‘garment, wrap’; CN tlakeen-tia ‘get dressed, dress s.o., vt, vrefl’; CN tlakín-tli ‘garment’. Tb kamb’- (ut) – ‘angam’ ‘it fits’ likely fits as well. Possibly also belonging (with a prefix) is SNum *wVkma ‘i ‘cover, put blanket over, vt’; SP wuqqam ‘mi ‘put a cover over, cover, vt’; WMU kâ ‘mi / qâ ‘mi / gâ ‘mi / gâm ‘mi / hwîka ‘mi ‘cover, put blanket on, vt’; CU wâkâ ‘mi ‘cover, vt’. [variety of V’s; Ca -s] [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Azt]

247. *mana ‘grass mat’: B.Tep144 *mainai ‘grass mat’: M88-ma32; KH/M06-ma32: NT màñi; ST màñi; TO maini; LP maini. Add Nv maina ‘petate’. Could Cp mënë-x ‘clad, dressed up’; Cp mëne ‘dress up, change clothes’ be related to the Tep forms? The semantics and vowel leveling (*mani > mene) seem plausible enough. Cf. *isñan below. [NUA: Tep; SUA: Tak]

248. *isñ(C) < ‘blanket’: NP izígghwi ‘blanket’; Tb(M) *isñ-t ‘blanket’; Tb ‘isñdit ‘wear or wrap oneself in a blanket’; Tb ‘isñ danat ‘to put a blanket around s.o.’; the final -t (instead of -l) of Tb ‘isñ-t and the glottal stop in Tb ‘isñ danat both suggest a final consonant no longer obvious; furthermore, the generation in NP izígghwi suggests a C cluster.
The following Hp terms may belong: Hp īsimni ‘a wrap for the body, blanket, shawl, robe, cape’; Hp īsmant-ta ‘make a wrap’. If up for a speculative adventure, perhaps worth keeping in mind are the SNum forms *sam’aC ‘spread, rug, cover’ at ‘stretch’, such as Kw sa’ma-pi ‘blanket, mat’. We cannot count such, but can contemplate. Jane Hill notes also Cp hisexvé-l ‘clothing’. [C > ‘ in a cluster]

[NUA: Hp, Tb, Num, Ták]

249. *piL...’ wrap’: CL.Azt195 *(pi pilowa ‘wrap, hang up’; M88-pi25 ‘wrap’; KH/M06-pi25: CN pilowa ‘hang self, hang s.th. up’; PI piluwa ‘hang, hang up, wear around the neck’. We might add My bi’tita ‘wrap it’, since l > ‘ in Cah is frequent, but liquids to glottal stop is not so well established for NP in the -bi’a of NP nanobi’a ‘wrap, v’, though examples of *t > ‘ exist. The Aztecan forms are certainly cognate with each other, and Cah probably with Aztecans. [Azt p < *p; -t/- > -‘ in Num] [SUA: Cah, Azt]

250a. *kwisi-capá ‘wrap, surround’: PYp bhisa/bihis ‘wrap, spin, make thread’; NT bibišapái ‘encolver, vt’; TO bihag ‘surround, wrap (around), vt.’; TO bihi-wig ‘wrap around, vt’; and SP kwocai / kwocayai ‘wrap around’ may tie in. The Tep forms are certainly cognate with each other. SP agrees in two consonants, but shows a different vowel; however, the CV combination kʷo is not in UA generally; therefore, we would expect that SP o is not original, but a result of kw-reduction, i.e., assimilated to the labio-velar nature of the first consonant, perhaps *kwisa > kws/ça. Nonetheless, the Tep forms also suggest the possibility of another consonant; e.g., PYp bhisa / bihis recommends Tep *bihi < PUA *kwisi, and NT often loses the h present in other Tep languages, which corresponds to PUA *s, so NT bibišapái similarly suggests *kwisi-capá. For another example of *s > SP c, see ‘head’.

250b. *kwisi-noLa ‘wrap around’: TO bihi-nOd ‘wrap, vt’; Nv vinorha ‘encolver alguna cosa’ (< Tep *bihi-nola < PUA *kwisi-noLa). [-l/r/-d/- in Tep; c/s] [SUA: Tep]

251. *piikkù ‘wrap, entangle’: Eu navíkura ‘enredar uno con otro’; CN piikki ‘wrap s.th. up, enclose s.th., invent, fabricate something’; CN piikkì ‘s.th. wrapped up, firm, solid’; CN piikka-tl ‘wrapping’. [Azt p, i < *u] [SUA: Opn, Azt]

252. *(i-)kwíya ‘wrap, wind around’: CN i’kwiya ‘wrap, coil oneself, coil one’s hair up’; CN te’kwíya ‘wrap, entangle s.th.’; Tr i’wi*ma- ‘enlazar, enredar, envolver’; Tr wi*ma- ‘lazar, amarrar, persogar’; Tr i’wi-tu-ma ‘enredarse’. [*-kw- > -w- in Tr] [SUA: Trn, Azt]


253b. *wíttaph (< *wittaph) ‘tie’: Mn wítawá ‘tie, vt’; Mn wítpá ‘to bundle up (s.th.), vt’; NP wícč ‘tie (horse, shoe, willows)’; NP wícc ‘fasten, tie together’; NP wícakana ‘tie, vt’; TSh wícc ‘tie, vt’; TSh wícc ‘tie an animal up’. Mn -t/- < *-tt-, and all suggest *-tt-. Jane Hill notes also Tb itíśa-l ‘clothing’ with a question mark as to whether loan or cognate. [*i-a > i-a] [NUA: SNUM *wíttaph, W/CNUM *wíttaph]

254. *kwi’aC / *kwítaph ‘wrap, surround’: Sh kwí-píi/kóa-píi ‘corral, fence, antelope surround’; SP kwí’a-pí ‘fence’; CU kwi’ay ‘surround as a fence, encircle’. The initial C of Mn kwíta ‘wrap, wind around (of bandage)’ better belongs here, but the semantics abide with the above. Both Sh and SP suggest a final -C. [*-t > -‘ > ø in Num; kw-reduction] [NUA: Num]

255. *taluma’ / *taluma ‘blanket, garment’; CN tilma’-ti ‘cloak, blanket, indigenous man’s garment fastened on one shoulder’; Eu terúwa/terúva ‘tilma, frazada’; TO čDDhm ‘blanket’; Tb taluuma-t ‘breech clout’; ST tidiya ‘wrap with a blanket’. In TO čDDhm (< *čILUM), the h may be crescent devoicing (as in TO o’dodham); nevertheless, TO has *TLum in common with Tb, and an u with Tb and CN. Tb, TO, Eu are an intriguing set, in that they agree in five of six segments *taluma, outside of a liquid raising a vowel in TO and Eu (*a > i, i’/r, l, which is common in UA), an extra h in TO, and perhaps *m > w in Eu. Note how easily CN tilma’- can derive from *taluma, since CN i < *u: *taluma’ > tu(l)ma’ > tilma’ or > *talima’ > t(í)ma’. Interestingly, Tb taluuma-t may show the original vowelings as also in *makula at bag, and Tb also has two verbs that may relate— Tb tuluumiin ~ ‘utulumiin ‘to roll his blanket’ and Tb tulu’uma ~ ‘utulu’uma ‘it rolls’—though of different vowelings. Also note the final glottal stop in CN and -t (vs. -l) in Tb, both suggesting a final consonant, if not a glottal stop itself. [m > w; -l/d- in Tep; *L in both NUA/SUA] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Azt, Opn]
256. *tawa > redupl. *taLawa ‘wrap around’ (note Ls tawáyiš): Tb tala'awa ~ 'atala'awa 'it (rope) encircles it'; Tb talaawīš(ī)~'atalaawū 'go around'; Tb talaaw~'atalaawū 'he encircles it'; Eu hitā rave / hitā rave 'vestirse'; Ls tawáyiš 'rabbit-skin blanket'. Note that both Tb and Ls show a final -s, suggesting possibly a longer reconstruction like *tawayis. If tempted to tie these with *taluma above, note Tb and Eu exhibit distinctive forms. Jane Hill notes 495 may belong here. [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn]

257. *tapīc ‘bed’: CL.Azt12 *tlapač- ‘bed, frame’; M88-ta35; KH/M06-ta35: CN tlapeč-tli; Pl tapeč; Po tepost; T tlapečtl; Z tapeč ‘mat’. Might this tie to *pit with a *tV- prefix? [tV- prefix] [SUA: Azt]

NB, for *makuta > *mulku/*muika/*maku, see at bag.
NB, for *sono ‘blanket, grass’, see grass.
NB, for *sam'aC ‘spread, rug, cover’, see at stretch.
NB, for *ta’ko ‘wrap, encircle’, see circle, where are found: Wr ta’ko-ná ‘enveloper’; Tr tagó ‘ponerse el taparrabo, vestirse (el varón)’; Tr tagótu ‘estar vestido (el varón)’; TO čekoš ‘wrap around the ankle, vt’; TO čekoš-da ‘an ankle rattle’.

NB, Ken Hill notes Spanish *frazada is the source of Hp pōsala, and is the likely source of Ca sáala’a, Tbr pirisál, Yq pisam, and probably other UA words for blanket. Comparing Tbr and Yq, note Yq’s quick loss of r since European arrival. Also note the tendency of alveolars to raise and front preceding vowels (a > i/ r/l/s/t) in Tbr, Yq.

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<th>BLOOD; SANGRE</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mn páápi; paaqa ‘bleed’</td>
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<td>NP biipi</td>
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<td>TSh pao; paoppi</td>
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<td>Sh pii-pin</td>
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<td>Cm pihpi</td>
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<td>WM páá-pí</td>
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UA terms for blood are among the most complex for sorting and reconstructing definitively. Among the complexities are approximations of TrC / Tep *iLa, Azt *is/-/as, CrC *soL/*sot, Tak *'awi, Hp įiswa, and Num *paC. Miller puts them all together in M88-i4, perhaps for consideration or viewing all in one place rather than by conclusion that they are all cognate, since M88 was a brainstorming work in progress, for no one has explained phonologically how such a diverse group could be reconciled as derivatives from a single proto-form. Manaster Ramer (1991, 1993a) has come the closest with a fairly reasonable explanation for the TrC, Azt, Tak, and Hp forms—*iwa—and a medial cluster does seem likely. M88-i4, KH/M06-i4, and CL.Azt205 include forms found in the next four letters of the same number.

258a. *ita/iLa ‘blood’: Sapir; B.Tep *’íraí; M67-47a *et; CL.Azt16 PAzt *as, 205 PUA **i:i; L.Son13 *’íra; M88-i4: KH/M06-i4 *itV: Eu erá; Wr elá; Tr lá/lé/laśi; Tbr ará-t, avá; Tbr avá-ma-li-r ‘corazón’; TO řiriD; PYp e’er; Nv i’irha (probably í’íra); NT fírai; ST fí’ir; Sr ’i’tí ‘blood’ and Sr içava ‘to bleed’; and Ken Hill adds Kin ’ič. These may result from *is-ta as the Azt forms below. [liquids] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr]

258b. Azt *is/-/as ‘blood’: CL.Azt16 PAzt *as, 205 PUA **i- ‘blood’: CN es-tli; Pi es-ti, etc. [SUA: Azt]

258c. *i(N)twa > *i(N)kwa / *itV (AMR) ‘blood’: CL.Azt205; M88-i4: KH/M06-i4 *itV (AMR): Hp įiswa; Tb ’ikwal, ’ikwan (poss’ed); Yq and My ‘ohbo ‘blood’. These could be related to the Takic forms above, but the Takic forms lack the velar and nasal dimensions, whereas Hp and Tb’s labiovelars better agree with each other, though Hp includes a nasalized dimension not apparent in Tb. Also of interest are Yq and My ohbo ‘blood’ (*kV > Cah bwV > bo). These Cah forms (with -h-) suggest a consonant cluster also (as does Hp), and with an assimilation of the first vowel anticipating the following rounding, kw-reduction has the Cah forms matching the Hp and Tb forms better than other UA forms and frequently associated with them. Given NUA’s nasalization of liquids, *ṭL(a) begins like īNkwa (≠ *ILkwa), but we still have kw in Hp, Tb, Yq, and My, not apparent in Tak and TrC, perhaps due to a cluster, as AMR suggests. Or *iLa could have lost the labial quality of an original cluster of
nasal and labial, while *iwV lost the liquid, nasal, and velar dimensions of the cluster. Such ties are possible, but not at all obvious, least of all certain. In other sets, Uto-Aztecanists have not tied lexemes together so phonologically diverse as these, so the habitual association of *ita/*iLa, *iNkwa, *iwi, and *sor is puzzling. [kw-reduction, labials, nasals, cluster]  [NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah]

**258d. **iwi 'blood': BH.Cup; M67-47b *ew; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup17 *æwï-la 'blood'; M88-i4: Ls ów-la; Cp 'æw-i; Ca 'éwi-ly. At least one other example of medial -*kw- > -w- in Tak (where did I see it?) encourages a possible tie with Hp/Tb *i(N)ka, after loss of k and possibly a nasal.  [NUA: Tak]

Manaster Ramer (in 1993a “Blood, Tears, and Murder” and 1991e “UA *tw”) suggests *twa ‘blood’ and that a cluster of -*tw- underlies the complexities, stating that the only known source of kw in Tb is -*tw: e.g., Tb tuugukwi-t ‘mountain lion’ < *tuugut-wít-ta ‘big-wildcat’ (cf. Ls tuuk-wu-t ‘mountain lion’ and Ls tuuku-t ‘wildcat’). He cites other evidence to suggest that at least some Hp -ñw- may derive from -*tw-. (See also crow and bighorn sheep.) If so, this is a very astute insight, the most comprehensive and explanatory thus far: *twa > Tep/TrC *ita/*iLa, Hp ïŋwa, Tb ïkwa, Tak *twïw, and Azt ïs-.  [*-kw- > -w- in Tak; nasal in Hp]

**259. **sol/ *sor/ *sot 'blood, bleed': M88-i4; CL.Azt205: Cr suüre’e; Wc suüriya; Wc suüre ‘red, blood-colored’; Azt soo ‘pierce, draw blood by piercing’. CrC and Azt both correspond with *suo; thus, I have my doubts that Azt *is- is also cognate with *suo.  [SU: CrC, Azt]

**260. **païC/ *pauC/ *paC/ *pap 'blood, bleed': I.Num128 *paîpi; M88-i4; KH/M06-i4: Mn paa” - / pąápi; NP bîpi (< *piî-pi); TSh pao” - , püpp; Sh piî”-pîn; Cm pîîpi; Kw piî”/ piî-pî; Ch pîî-pi / pàîwa; Ch(L) paîpita; SP paî”/ -îpî-pî; CU paa” / -îpî (vs. –vî), poss’d pàî-pî-n ‘my blood’. Note that the first part of Eu våvika ‘bleed’ aligns well, and Tbr avá ‘blood’ somewhat. Mn paaqa ‘bleed’ and Eu våvika ‘bleed’ and CN(RJC) espiïka ‘blood flow out’ and ST pükia ‘bleed’ all yield *p-k consonant sequences, and Eu and CN p-p-k sequences. Sr içava ‘bleed’ also yields a -va syllable. A second bilabial in at least Eu, perhaps evidence of it in Num geminations at the same place, round vowels in TSh, as well as Cu takes the suffix after -*pi instead of dropping it as usual, all combine to make one wonder if a second bilabial is involved, but lost in a cluster: *pap-pi > *pá’? / *pau-pi. Miller and Ken Hill list this at i4, with the other initial ï forms above, suggesting that they take this as a compound of s.th. like *pa-iC-, which could be. Ls pàá ‘to menstruate’ may also be cognate with the Num forms, at least.  [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Azt]

Bloom: see flower
Blow (of wind): see wind and cold.

**BLOW (with the mouth); SOPLAR;** see also wind

**261a. **puca 'blow' (AMR): B.Tep286 *vusitai -i 'blow'; M67-49a *puc, 49b *puhi; CL.Azt17 *piica 'blow', 43 *aapicca 'defecate, have diarrhoea'; L.Son219 *puca; KH.NUA; M88-pu12; AMR 1992b; KH/M06-pu12 *puca (AMR): TO wus ‘exhalation’; TO wusoto( ) ‘blow on obj’; Nv bustana; busiota ‘soplar’; NT vúštai / vúštai; ST vúšt’a; Eu púpúca; Wr púpúca; Tr pú: Ca: Wc híce; CN piïca ‘blow on s.th., huff and puff with anger, play wind instrument’; CN tlal-piïca ‘blow, huff, v.’; CN il-piïca ‘inflates, blow s.th. up’; Yq pûhta; My pûtia(k); Sr poïkîn; Gb pu’i; Cp puwe; pùwine ‘blow on, into’; Ca pu’át / púwan; Hp poï(ya). If an example of medial *-c- > -y- (AMR 1992b), then Tb(M) pukat/’ upuski: ; Tb(V) puõ is curious. SUA is quite consistently *c, and Hp shows expected y of NUA. *puca is clear in SUA, but most NUA forms (except Hp) have the added morpheme *-ka-ki, which yields NUA forms below in b:

**261b. **pucka > *puhki/ *pukiki > *pukkwi ‘pant, blow, v’: Tb(M) pukat/’ upuski: ; Tb(V) puõ: Ls puixi; Sr poïkin; Sh puhi / puwikw; Mn puhi; NP puhi’yu; TSh puhi’i; Cp puhi’ti; Ch puoki; Ch(L) pukwu-’gyah ‘blowing (with mouth or bellows, not wind)’; SP puqwiai-nqí- ‘to pant, make panting noise, v’. Medial cluster? [CN p; *-c- > NUA y, ?, > h in clusters]  [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

NB, for Numic *níaï, see wind.
NB, for *šïkpï, see wind and cold.
NB, for *hika, see wind.
BLUE; AZUL; see also green

262. *sakwa 'blue, green': M67-50 *sakwa 'blue'; M88-sa10; KH/M06-sa10: TSh sakwa 'green'; Kw sakwa / sako 'blue'; SP sakwa 'blue/green/gray'; CU sgawá-ga-rí 'green, blue'; Hp sakwa. Ken Hill adds Ch sgawamunin 'naŋkávì 'turquoise'. Add Ch sawá-ga 'green' and WMU sawágar / sawagar / sgawagar 'green (to mean blue, it often takes help, e.g. sky-green') which sometimes faintly includes ã; and perhaps Cs sáw-é 'unripe'. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes also Mn saɡwānawi 'green garden worm'. It is possible that Wr saa 'yellow' and other TrC terms under *sa'wa 'yellow' are related, since the usual reflex for PUA *kw in Tr/Wr is w initially and 'w/w medially. Or forms under *siwa / *si(yo) 'green, blue' with loss of the velar dimension of kw (*sakwa > sa'wa/sawa; or the other direction, acquiring velar contact in NUA) and a vowel change are not out of the realm of possibility, though not necessarily probable. [NUA: Num, Tak]

263. *tayawi > *tiyawi / *tiyowi 'blue/green': B.Tep249 *tiydogi 'green, blue'; L.Son305 *tiyó 'verde, azul'; M88-ti46 'green/blue'; KH/M06-ti46: TO cíidagi; LP tïïdogi; stugdogi; studowivita; NT tïïdógi 'blue/green'; ST tïïdo. Let's add PYp teedag and Eu tadei 'blue'. For a reconstruction of *tiyawi, TO, PYp, and maybe EU show the 2nd vowel as ã, while other Teps forms likely assimilated ø → ø, anticipating the following *w. And EU tadei 'blue' may show the original first vowel *tayawi, while the other languages simply did not allow the jaw to drop far enough for ã, but moving the vowel higher or closer to the points of articulation of both t and y, remaining high between the high fronted consonants on both sides of *s, thus motivating ì. Does Ktn yawvïk / yawvu'k / 'ayawvïk 'clear, bright, clean, light blue' belong, lacking initial t(a)-? Cahitan *tiwîli (My tewel 'blue, sky color'; Yq téwe 'azul'; Yq tewéli 'azulito'; AYq tewei 'dark blue') may belong since syncope of a vowel and assimilation are common in the Cahitan languages: *tiyawi > *tiyô > *tiwi. For loss of medial syllables in CAH, compare 'bat': *so'o-pati > so'opeci > CAH sooci-k. [reductions; *V > o/ _ bilabial] [SUA: Tep, Opn, CAH; NUA: Tak]

264. *kwato 'blue': Cr kwatúmua 'dark blue'; We kúutu'si 'light blue, brown'. We reconstruct final *-o because both Cr u and We u correspond to *o. Cf. also *koto 'brown'. [labials] [SUA: CrC]

Bobcat: see lion

BODY; CUERPO

265. *sôna / *hoña 'body': TO hon 'body'; Nv hona 'cuerpo'; PYp hona 'body'. [SUA: Tep]

NB, 'body' as a semantic category is not so common in Native American languages as in European languages. In UA, words for 'person', 'dead (corpse)', or 'meat' more often serve as terms for 'body'; e.g., UA *tukkuwa / *takawá at 'meat' includes B.Tep *tuukuga 'body, meat' found in other UA forms.

BOIL; HERVIR; see also cook

266a. *sawa 'boil, apply heat, cause to melt': Mn sawa/saawa 'boil, cook by boiling'; Mn pasawa 'heat a liquid' (probably contains *pa-'water'); TSh saawah 'boil, vt'; TSh tïsaawah 'boil, vi'. This is related to *sawí 'melt' below. TSh has both sawa 'boil, vt' and TSh sawi 'melt, vi', fitting the UA pattern of CVCa 'transitive, active' vs. CVCi 'intransitive, static'.

266b. *sawí(y) 'melt': TSh sawi 'melt, vi'; TO haagid 'melt, thaw'; TO hagito 'burn up, melt away'; PYp haag 'melt'; NT aâyi. [a/i alternation]

266c. *sawa 'make tortillas or bread' and *sawi-ta 'bread': BH.Cup *sáw 'make bread'; M88-sa20; KH/M06-sa20: Ca sá 'make tortillas'; Ca sáwi-š 'tortilla'; Cp sáwi-š 'bread, acorn bread'; Sr šaat 'bread, acorn bread'; LS sáwa/i 'sing, get singed'; LS sáawa/kaa 'cook tortillas'. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

267. *sa'aC 'boil, cook': Sapir; M67-282 'sa' mint'; I.Num176 *sa'i 'melt'; M88-sa4 and sa8; KH/M06-sa4 and sa8: NP sa'a 'cook'; NP saa 'cook'; NP sai 'melt'; NP saibidu 'snow-melting warm wind'; Sh sáí 'melt'; Sh saa' 'boil meat, vt'; Cm saati 'boil'; Cm saa 'boil s.th.'; Cm saāp 'boiled meat'; Wt ñee 'melt'; Kw saa 'boil, cook'; SP sa'ai 'melt'; SP sa'a 'make mush'; CU sa'ay 'boil, boil-cook'; Wr saípá-nil 'quemarse'. Miller includes TO hagito 'burn up, melt away'; TO haagid 'melt, thaw', which we list with *sawa/sawi above. Of considerable interest is that much of SNum, by its past/perfect forms, shows whether a stem ends in -a or -i. WMU saa-á-y 'boil, cook (mush), vt' (past: sa'-a) vs. WMU saa-á-y / sa'-íy 'melt, vi/vt' (past: sa'-í-kye) shows the same difference we see in SP saa-a 'boil, make mush' vs. SP sa'ai 'melt'. Kw shows a difference as well: Kw saa 'boil, cook' vs. Kw ñee 'melt'. This verb (*sa'aC) also shows a final -C in all SNum forms having gemination for the absolutive suffix: Ch sa'á-pi 'gravy';
SP sa’a-ppi ‘what is boiled as mush’; WMU sa’a-ppi ‘soup’. Though both may originally derive from the same stem, as in perhaps an early addition of the -i static suffix creating differing stems (*sa’a+i > *sa’a-i), as of now, they are quite differentiated. Then we also have *saw above, again complicating matters as to whether we have a glottal stop/w alternation, apparent in both Num and in Tep g, or a separate stem. They do show different medial consonants (’ vs. w). In any case, cf. Tewa see ‘stew, boiled food’. [/w] [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Tep]

268a. *mula / *muta ‘boil’: M67-51; M88-mu23 ‘to boil’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-mu23 ‘boil’: Cp mule ‘boil’; Ca múlúl ‘come out steaming or bubbling, swarm out’; Ca pis-múlú ‘come out, bubble up, boil, v’; Ca múlúl-iš ‘steam’; Ls múl/i/i ‘bubble up, vt, boil, vi’.  To the above, we should add Tb mon’monot~’omón’mon’ ‘boil’. I divide them only by letter, not number, in that Sr and Tb show medial -n-, while the Cupan languages show medial -l-, though *tuL at ‘black’ shows a similar contrast between Sr and the other Tep languages.  [hn: liquids; nasals]

268b. *mula / *muna ‘boil’: Sr munaank ‘boil, vt; Sr munaana’n ‘be boiling’; Sr munaankin ‘cause to boil, vt’. To the above, we should add Tb mon’monot~’omón’mon’ ‘boil’. I divide them only by letter, not number, in that Sr and Tb show medial -n-, while the Cupan languages show medial -l-, though *tuL at ‘black’ shows a similar contrast between Sr and the other Tep languages.  [hn: liquids; nasals]

268c. *moLo ‘boil, waft upward’: CL.Azt18 *moloonV ‘boil, v’ < **molo ‘boil’; M88-mo9; KH/M06-mo9 ‘boil’: CN moloon(i) ‘waft, rise and drift on air currents, to effervesce’; PL moluni ‘dry, fly or blow away (e.g., dust, flour, chaff)’; Po molun; - T molunl; Z molooni.  [*u-a > o-o; liquids]  [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Azt]

269. *nu’ya > *nu’yo ‘boil’: L.Num13 *no(’)/yV/*nu(’)/yV; M88-no9 ‘boil, vi’; KH/M06-no9: Cm no’yaikū ‘boil, steam, v’; SP nuyo-ka ‘boil, vi’; CU niiykwai ‘be boiling’. Add WMU niiyōgwa-y / niiyōgwe-y / niiyugwa-y / niiyōgwe / niiyōgwa-y ‘boil, steam, vi’. CU’s first V assimilated to y, and *u-a > o-a in Cm. [NUA: Num]

270. *poso ‘boil’ (perhaps < *pasu): CL.Azt66 posooni ‘to foam’; posoonal ‘foam’; M88-po21; KH/M06-po21: CN posonia ‘to boil’; CN posonali- ‘foam’; PL pusuni ‘foam, froth, v’; Z posoni ‘foam, v.’; etc. To these Aztecan forms, we must also add Cah *poh-: Yq pohte ‘hervir’; AYq pohta ‘boil, vt’; AYq poht; ‘boil, vi’; AYq pohtia ‘boil for s.o., vt’; My poht; ‘está hirviendo’. Numerous other examples show s > h in a cluster for the Cahitan languages, e.g. *tasiaLi at bread. Parallel to Yq pohte is Ktn vo’rik ‘boil, vi’ though Ktn voro ‘boil, vt’ raises questions. Ca pis-múlú ‘come out, bubble up, boil, v’ may also belong, since Ca i < *o. We must also add Wr pasu ‘cook by boiling’, which could possibly show the original vowels, as a final –u could have rounded *a > o: *pasu > *poso.  [*s > h/C]  [SUA: Cah, Azt; NUA: Tak]


NB, for *tonjo, see hot.

NB, for *kwasi ‘cook, boil, ripen’, see cook.

BONE: HUESO

272a. *oho / *oCo ‘bone’: Sapir; VVH61 *’oho; B.Tep324 *’oo ‘oi/o ‘bone’ and *’oo ‘odi ‘his bone’; M67-52 *’oo/o; I.Num13 *oho; L.Son14 *’o; M88-’o1; KH.NUA; KH/M06-’o1: WNNum: Mn òhò; NP oho; SN: Kw ‘oho-vi; Ch ohovi; Ch(L) hohovi; SP o(h)o; WMU ôo-vi ‘bone (of dead animal)’; WMU ôo-a ‘bone (of living being, usually poss’d)’; CU ôo-vi; but not in CNum. Hp òqga; Hp òqala / òqal- / òqaw- ‘strength, strong’. Tb ôo-n (poss’d) and Tb ooban ‘bone’ (Tb oobal ‘strong’); Sr ôqo; Ktn Oc; Gb -ên. TO oo’o; LP oo’o-: Nv o’o-di; PYp oo’or; NT ôoiy/ôoi; ST ‘a’oo; B.Tep324 *oo’oi/o ‘bone’ and *’oo ‘odi ‘his bone’: NT ôodî; ST ‘a’ood; UP ‘oo’oi ‘his bone’. Eu hówa (gen. hóthe; acc. hóhta); Tbr ho-ta-rá-k’t; o-ta-l; Yq ota; My ota; Tr o’ci; Wr o’a ‘bone’; Wr u’a-ni, u’arè-ma ‘be strong’ (‘Is this related?’ Miller queries, and it probably is, in light of a frequent semantic tie between ‘bone’ and ‘strong/strong’ in UA). Ken Hill adds Ktn Oc. Miller and CL.Azt include CL.Azt19/208 Azt *oomV and WMU with these other UA forms, but for clarity let’s separate them by letter. It appears we are dealing with either an array of suffixed elements attached to whatever the stem is or an underlying medial cluster that surfaces in the variety of medial consonants that we see, as this is a horribly difficult set for the second consonant (h’, p, k, t, m). At least the Num and Tep forms are consistent with *oho; and -ta (TrC) and -ka (Hp) may be fossilized affixes. Judging from the Eu forms, it appears that the *ota forms (Tbr, Yq, My, possibly Sr and others) may derive from an old accusative; and Tr o’ci may derive from a genitive.

272b. *ohomi ‘bone’: Sapir; VVH61 *’oho; M88-’o1; CL.Azt19 *oomV < **oho-mi; KH/M06-’o1: WC ‘umé; CN omi-tl ‘bone, awl’; ZN oomit; HN ‘omi-tl; PL ummi-t. Sapir and VVH are unsure what to think of the -mi syllable in the Azt and CrC forms; CL.Azt propose a fossilized plural suffix -mîi added to oho- apparent in Num and Tep.  [*o > Hp ò, Wc u, Gb e] [NUA: WNNum, SNNum, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
273. *cuhmi 'bone': I.Num260 *cuhni; M88-cu11; KH/M06-cu11: CNum: TSh cuhmi/cuhni-pipi; Sh cuhmi/cuhwi-pipi; Cm cuhni. Because *m > n is more likely in UA than *n > m, I reconstruct *m. [-m/n-] [NUA: CNum]

NB, for *to'i ‘bone/belly’, see stomachace.

Born: see bear
Borrow: see trade and give
Bottom: see down

BOUNCE

275. *aCta 'atlatl, bow': Sapir; M67-53; I.Num10 *etí; M88a4; KH/M06-’a4: Mn édí; NP adí; TSh huu’din, aitín; Sh (huu)’aitín; Cm eetí; Kw édí; Ch ací; Ch(L) ’aci; AP ací; WMU ač-rú / ačůr (some speakers say a voiceless/silent r) ‘bow’; CU ’áa-ci; Tb ’aali-t; Wr atá ’arma’t; Wr atapóri ‘arco’; Tr (w)ata; CN a’tla-tl ‘spear-thrower, atlatl’. Note *t > c in SNum east of Kw. Both Azt and Num suggest a consonant cluster. The Tr alternate forms ata/wata may indicate a possible tie between *ata above and *wata below; nevertheless, separating them as Ken Hill does is safer for now. [*-tt- > c in SNum; initial *w in Tr?] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Trn, Azt]

276. *wata 'bow': B.Tep36 *gaatoi ‘bow’; M67-53; M88-’a4; KH/M06-wa32; Hp awta, combining form of: aawat / awat; TO gaat, gawua; NV gato; NV gata ‘make a bow, v’; PYp gaato; NT ga atoi; ST gaat. As Miller (1967-53) says, if the Numic languages and CN lost *w, then the Tepiman and Hp forms are related to the *ata forms above. However, if that is not the case, then Tr and Tep still agree well in *wata, and Hp *awata has yet another initial segment in front of w. [extra initial segments in Hp] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

277. *pakoti > *pikoti ‘bow, bowstring’: Stubbs2003-42: Tb pihooli-t ‘bowstring’ and Tbr wiko-li-t 'bow' both agree with *pikoli-t, and Cah *wikori 'bow' (Yq wíko’i; My wíko’ori / wíkori) may be borrowed from Tbr, as Cah does not have w < *p like Tbr does. Such a loan would suggest that Tubar was once a larger entity or a more prominent influence than it was later. Eu bákoci/vákoci ‘bow’ and Eu vákota-a-n ‘make a bow’ also agree well, since they share five or six segments, differing only in a vs. i for the first vowel, which, in fact, may have been *a originally, since i is often the UA neutral unstressed vowel. [*k > h in Tb; *t > c/l/r, then l/r > *'] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Cah, Opn, Tbr]

278. *kuCta-pi ‘bow’: Sapir; M88-ku36 'bow'; KH/M06-ku36: Cp kúcap-š; Gb -kúčap (poss'ed); Ls kútupi-š ‘ash tree, bow’. Sapir includes WC túpí/tuupí ‘bow', which aligns with Ls’s 2nd and 3rd syllables, though CrC u < *o usually. We do need to add AYq kuta wiko’i ‘bow’. A reconstruction of *kuCta is suggested by Takic since intervocalic *t- > -l- in Tak; so we probably have a consonant cluster. [*t > c in Gb] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah, CrC]

Bowl: see pot
Boy: see bear, man

BRAIN; SESO, CEREBRO
279. *coC-pikki 'brain, lit: head-goo': I.Num *cohpi(h)ki ‘brains’; M88-co5; KH/M06-co5: Mn copi; NP igicopigi (ʃiki-copikpi) ‘brain'; NP mubigi (< mu-piki) ‘nose-snot'; Ch copikí; SP čo'-pikki / soppikki / cópikki ‘brain, lit. head-fluid'; WMU čohppikki ‘brain(s)’; CU čikí-ví (< *kopikki-pi); Hp cőy’a ‘brain’. NP, SP, and Miller all suggest that Num *co'-pikki is probably a compound of *co'- ‘head' and *pikki ‘gooey or coagulated fluid’ because Num *mu-pikki ‘snot contains *mu- ‘nose’. Kw wiya-biki-ví ‘brain’ also agrees with the same morpheme boundary. Hp is interesting in perhaps having apparently reduced the medial syllable—*co'-pikia > *copikia > *cokya—and in having acquired or preserved final -a that the other languages do not show. Note also *u/o > ĩ in CU. [bilabial > ə/ʃ; *o > ĵ in Num] [NUA: WNum, SNum, Hp]
280. *ku(p)-pisiC* ‘bread ∧ head-go’ CNum: TSh kupisi” ‘brain, marrow’; Sh kupisi; Cm kupisi; TSh mupisippi ‘mucus’ (nose-gel/ fluid), suggests *ku-pisi ‘brain’ is a former compound of ‘head-marrow/ fluid/snot’. [NUA: CNum]


282. *mo’o-co(ko-ta) ‘brain’; Wr mo’cógola; Tr mo’cógowa. Cr mú’učusa’i has three syllables in common with Tr and Wr *mo(o)co because Cr u < *o. Minus the initial morpheme (*mo’o ‘head’), perhaps Tb či’igoo-l ‘brain’ should be kept in mind relevant to the latter part of the Wr and Tr forms. [SUA: Trn, CrC]

283. *atoLV* ‘brain’; Eu atóra; AYq o’orean; My o’oriam. While AYq and My are certainly only dialectal variants, the tie to Eu is probable with a vowel assimilation and intervocalic -t- > -l/r- > glottal stop, which is common in Cah—*ato > *olo/oro > o’o—and a later suffix. [t > r/l > ø] [SUA: Cah, Opn]

BREAD; PAN, TORTILLA, TAMALE

284. *tímaL* ‘tortilla, tamale’. M88-ti8 ‘tortilla’; KH/M06-ti8: TO ciinait; Wr temei; Tr řémé ‘tamale, hacer tamales’; CN tamal-li ‘bread made of steamed cornmeal, tamale’. “Is Hp tíma ‘stone griddle’ cognate?” Miller queries. Probably. Ken Hill adds Cr temwá ‘tamal’. Jane Hill (2007) adds ST tïmaiči ‘tamale’. PB tïmai-ta ‘tortilla’ (Estrada Fernandez 2003, 184) also belongs. We can also add the latter part of Nv vivak tïmai ‘pan de piciete’. The SNum forms below may represent the underlying verb as well. I include the liquid L in the reconstruction due to (1) its presence in CN, (2) the general lack of proto-diphthongs in UA, which diphthongs are usually due to loss of an intervening C or assimilation (i.e., ai < *aCi or aiCi < *aCi), (3) the fact that UA liquids often encourage assimilation toward, if not become, high front vowels (*L > i/i), and (4) the presence of such a high front vowel in other reflexes where CN’s liquid is. These may tie to *tíma/ *tíma ‘bake under ashes or underground’: Ch tíma- ‘bake’; SP tíma- ‘roast under ashes’; WMU tíma-ma- ‘bake or roast (usually underground)’ and others found at *cook’, including Kw tí ‘at both tí8 ‘tamale’ and tí54 ‘roast, bake’. [Liquids and high front V’s] [NUA: SNum; Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

285. *tasikaLi* ‘tortilla’. Dakin 1982-78; Stubbs2003-43: though it may be a regional loan from Nahuatl, a number of languages have a reflex of tasikali ‘tortilla’; CN tlaškal-li ‘tortilla, baked bread’; CN tlaškalaoa ‘make tortillas’ (cf. CN iška ‘to bake’); PI taškal; Tr tasekali-i / tasikali-t ‘tortilla’; Yq tahka’i; NT táškali ‘tortilla’. NT is obviously a loan since Tep h should correspond to PUA s. A reconstruction with the high front vowel (i/e) separating the cluster, as in Tbr, would explain the palatalized š of CN (Stubbs 2000b), both of which suggest an original presence of a high front vowel following s. Could Wc kakariyári ‘masa dulce’ contain a consonant harmony or reduplication of the latter part of the compound *tas-i-kali? [*-sk- > -hk- in Cah] [SUA: Tbr, Cah, Azt, loan in Tep]

286. *tíkkaC-pi ‘bread, food’; NP tïkaba tomča ‘bread dough’; Sh tïkka-ppih ‘food, bread’; WMU túhkka-ppi ‘food, n’; Num tïkkaC- ‘eat’ + nominalizer = ‘food, bread’ in other Num languages as well. [NUA: Num]

NB, for *saw ‘make tortillas or bread’ and *sawici-ta ‘bread’: BH.Cup *šaw ‘make bread’; M88-saw; KH/M06-saw: Ca šaw ‘make tortillas’; Ca šáwi-š ‘tortilla’; Cp šáwi-š ‘bread, acorn bread’; Sr šáw ‘bread, acorn bread’; Ls šáwa/i ‘sing, get singled’; Ls šáwa-kaa ‘cook tortillas’, see at ‘boil’.

NB, Nv vivak tímaíta ‘pan de piciete’ and Wc papa/papáp ‘tortilla’ nearly agree if considering that CN and CrC often do anticipatory V assimilation. But Wc h < *p is expected. Hp piiki ‘wafer bread’ may be of interest if *pipiki > *pipiki > piiki, but those are too many if’s.

NB, for *sami ‘adobe, bread’, see ‘adobe’. Miller joins BH.Cup *šaw ‘make bread’ and CL.Azt176 *šaamV ‘tortilla, baked thing’ in M88-sa20, but until m vs. w is explained, we put ‘adobe’ terms with Azt, as in CL.Azt.

BREAK; QUEBRAR

287. *sani ‘crack, v.’: B.Tep58a *haini ‘to crack’, 58b hai ‘it cracked’; M88-sa6; KH/M06-sa6: TO haiñi; NT aiñi; ST haiñi. Tepiman’s prevalent tendency to anticipate the V after a coming C (i.e., *aCi > aiCi) suggests UA *sani > Tep *haini. [Tep V anticipation] [SUA: Tep]
288. *'omica ‘break pl. obj’s’: B.Tep323 *’oomisa 'break pl. obj's'; not in M88, added by KH/M06-’o28: TO ’oomi; NT óómiša; ST -’oomis. [SUA: Tep]

289. *kappi 'break': M88-ka37; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ka37: Ca qápi; Sr qapi ‘break (by bending) multiple obj’s’. Ken Hill soundly moves SP kappi-/kap- ‘cut, break through’ from ko15 to ka37. NP kaapi ‘break, cut off’ in I.Num60 aligns. Also add Kw kavi ‘cut, cut down’; Kw kapi-nú ‘cut off’; Ch kapáki ‘snap, break’; WMU qahppáqi ‘snap, break’; Ls qapúti ‘chop, cut off’. These may tie with *kappi below. [NUA: Tak, Num]

290. *koppi ‘break’; M88-ko15: I.Num60 *ko(h)pi/*ko(h)pa/*ka(a)(h)pi/*ki(h)pa ‘break, cut’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ko15: Mn to”-qopi ‘cut’; NP koppi’i’hu 'break board'; CU koppokki ‘break, snap’; Tb hoboo’at ‘be in pieces’; Tb hoboo’i in ‘cut in pieces’; Sr qop(k) / qöpö’ ‘break, shatter (of hard surface, like glass, pottery, eggshell)’; Hp qöhi(kna) ‘break’. Ken Hill adds Ktn kopik ‘break, vi’; Ls qépa ‘splinter off’. Both *kappV and *koppiV are consistent for consonants (*k-pp), but the first vowels vary between a/o, though the 2nd vowel’s a/i variation is common in UA. But the fact that Sr and Ls have distinct forms for each recommends their separation, until new data directs differently. [initial *k > h in Tb; a/o] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp]

291. *kow ‘tear’: KH.NUA; M88-ko36 ‘to tear’; KH/M06-ko36: Cp qiwe ‘tear, vt’; Ca qiwiw ‘tear, vt’; Sr qiwivk ‘tear, vi’ (Ken Hill 1994 notes that this may be a Cupan loan). We must reconstruct *kow instead of *kiw because of q. Instead of k, since PUA *ko > Tak *qo > Ca/Cp *qi. [NUA: Tak]

292. *mulí ‘break’: B.Tep154 *muuri 'to break (stick)'; M88-mu18; KH/M06-mu18: TO mul(i)n ‘break off obj by bending’; TO mulíñ ‘broken’; LP mili, miriñna; NT muuli. [liquids] [SUA: Tep]

293. *taCpana/i ‘split’: B.Tep213a *taapanai ‘to split’; 213b *tahapai ‘he split’; L.Son274 *tapa ‘rajarase’; M88-ta17; KH/M06-ta17: TO taapan ‘split, divide, crack’; NT taapánaí; ST taapí; EU tapaña- ‘rajar’; Wr ta’pa ‘rajarase’; Tr rapá / rapú/tabú ‘part, split, break’; CN tlapaani ‘for s.th. to break into pieces’; CN tlapaana ‘break, split s.th. open’; PI tlapaana ‘break open, explode, vt’; PI tlapana ‘break open, explode, vi’; Ken Hill astutely adds Hp tlapakna ‘knock on, hammer on’; Sh tappiuuh ‘break, shatter’; and puts a question mark by Wc tara ‘break’. As *p > ø happens in Wc, *ta (whether reduplicated or with another morpheme) is easily possible. I like Bascom’s additional C in B.Tep213b, for much besides Tep suggests another consonant: the glottal stop in Wr, the long vowel glide in the Hp form, and the gemination in Sh. Do these suggest Hp -ka < UA *-(C)na? [*pt- > -ht- in Cah; C cluster; -a/i active/passive] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]


295. *piCtaC / *piNtaC ‘break, slice’: Sh pitta ‘slice, cut s.th. flexible’; Ls pída/i 'break long obj’. If *-t- > Ls -l-, and if *-tt- > Ls -t-, then Ls -d- may mean the first consonant of a cluster is voiced, perhaps *-Nt- or such, as both Sh and Ls suggest a cluster. [*-Ct-] [NUA: Num, Tak]

296. *pihwa ‘break’: TSh pihwah ‘break (soft obj), vi’; Sh pihwa” ‘break’; Tb(V) pihwa ‘break (by bending) multiple obj’s’. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

297. *yoka ‘break apart’: Sh yokai ‘fall apart, vi, knock down, tear down, vt’; CU yö’ac’ay ‘shatter, break to pieces’. [*-k > -k- in CAU] [NUA: Num]

298. *si’u ‘break to pieces’: Yq sía- ‘roman’; Yq sía-te ‘rajar’; Yq siuta ‘tear, vt’; Ayq siute ‘be torn, vi’; Tr sí-o ‘kame broken to pieces’; Tr sí-o-ca-ma ‘destroy, break to pieces’ (*u > Tr o,u). Wr ci’wána ‘break off a little piece’ may be related. [c/s] [SUA: Trn, Cah]


NB, for *pinia ‘crumble, break apart, vi’ see grind.
**BREATHE; PECCHO DE MUJER**: see also milk, suck, kiss, chest

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**300. *piCti‘breast*': VVH6 *pi ‘breast’; B.Tep271 *vipi ‘breast’; BH.Cup *pi ‘breast’; M67-58 *pi ‘breast’; I.Num166 *piči(i)’/piča ‘breast, milk, suckle’; L.Son191 *pi ‘teta’; M88-pi9; Munro.Cup19 *pi-t; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pi9 *piX: Mn; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; Ch; SP; WMU; CU; Hp; Tp; Sr; Ls; Ca; Cp; TO; LP; PYp; NT; ST; Eu; Tbr; Yq; My; Wr; and CN pipicoa ‘to suck’. To M88, Ken Hill adds Ktn pi’c; Gb pin ‘breast, milk’; Ch pihivi; WSh pici ‘breast’; WSh pici’ ‘suck’; and WSh pica ‘milk’. Note also Sh(M) pici’ ‘breast’; Sh(M) pici’’ ‘suck’; Cr ce’e ‘mamar’; Cr waci ‘mamó’; WSh pici ‘breast’ vs. WSh pici’ ‘suck’. SP and WMU and others show that the final syllable with affricate is part of the stem, and a medial consonant cluster seems apparent. Num *pici, the absolutive -t (rather than -l) in Ls, and the glottal stops in Sr, Tr and Wr suggest *.--t-. As we see elsewhere, a cluster with t (*-Ct-*) is the best candidate for medial *-c- in NUA. If only *-t-, then *-t- > -r- in Num and > -l- in Tak usually. If the final -ci syllable were a fossilized Num absolutive suffix *-ci, it seems we would not see so many glottal stops after *-ci. While a compound with *-ci… ‘suck’ is often the case, note that in most Numic languages the verb geminates the medial consonant (*pici ‘suck’) while the noun does not (*pici breast). While * -piCt i > *piri > p’i’i, as liquid to glottal stop is often the final step of intervocalic clusters with -t- in Cahuill. [c/h: glottal stop metath in Tp; cluster; Gb -n] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cahuill, Opn, Trn, Azt] |

301. *ci’i-wa ‘breast’: note the similarity between Tr či’wá-ra and CN čičičiwal-li, as well as CN čičiči ‘suckle s.th., vt’, CN čičičina ‘suck s.th. in’, Wc ciči ‘breast’, and the several forms under UA *ci’i ‘suck, suckle, nurse’ which are probably cognate with the first morpheme of *ci’i-wa. Also compare Tr či’-mu ‘have milk’ and Cr čičičiwa ‘milk’. We are likely dealing with a compound: the stem *ci’i ‘suck’ perhaps with suffixed -wa, as *(what is) sucked’.(cf *ci’i ‘suck’). [SUA: Trn, Azt] |

**BREATHE; RESPIRAR, ALENTAR**

302. *hikwis ‘breathe, spirit, heart’: VVH55 *hikwi(sí) ‘breathe’; B.Tep308 *’iibidaga ‘soul, heart’; M67-60 *hik/*hikw; BH.Cup *hikwisa; M88-hi3; KH.NUA; KH/M06-hi3: Tb ‘ihk-(it)/’i’ixk/’ihk’; Sr hiik ‘breathe, be alive, come to life, get/be well’; Ca hikus ‘breathe, take a rest’; Cp hiqsá’e ‘rest’; quzá’e ‘breathe’; Ls hakhwis; Gb hikin ‘wind, spirit’; Hp hikwisi; Eu híbes ‘heart’; Wr iwí; Tr iwí/ew; My hábite ‘breathe, rest’; My hiapsa ‘heart’. My hiapsa ‘alive’. Ken Hill adds Ktn hikaw ‘breathe, to breathe’, CN ikwśoa ‘sneeze, vi’; and queries whether We iweme ‘via respiratoria’ is cognate. Might it be borrowed from Tr, since Wc kw is the usual reflex for PUA *kw, while *kw > Tr w? Miller also included TO iibhíni ‘to breathe’; TO iibüi ‘a breath’; TO iibág ‘heart’ to represent several other Tep forms (such as PYp ibda ‘breathe’; PYp ibdaga ‘heart, fruit’), though they contain different morphemes beyond initial ib- and other doubts emerge. Much remains to be sorted in this batch of data, but let’s include the above which Miller had gathered for rough draft consideration. Besides My above, other Cahuill forms are Yq hiapsa ‘vivir’; Yq híaps ‘corazón’; Yq híabihé ‘respirar’; AYq hiapsi ‘heart, soul, spirit’; AYq híabihé ‘breathe’; AYq hiapsa ‘live’. Note medial *-kw- > -w- in Tr/Wr. Eu b < *kw and Tr, Tk, Hp, and Azt also show medial *kw, so could Cah p suggest a lost consonant (e.g., Cah hiCapsV) which when clustered with p caused a gemination that resulted in kw for the other languages: hiCapVsV > hiCpVsV > hippVs / hikwVs? *[kw/*p; labials; medial *-kw-] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cahuill, Opn, Azt]
BROTHER, OLDER; HERMANO MAYOR

304. *papi 'older brother': M67-489a *pa; I.Num139 *papi('i); M88pa2 'older brother'; KH/M06-pa2: Mn pabi'; NP pabi'; TSh papi; Sh papi; Cm pabi'; Kw pavi; SP papi-ci; CU pavi-ci; Hp paava. Ken Hill has this (perhaps as a reduplication) with *pa'ci below, which could be. [NUA: Num, Hp]

305. *pa'ti / *paCti'i / *pa-ci (AMR) ‘older sibling’: Sapir; M67-489b *paci 'older sister'; BH.Cup *pa's? 'older brother'; I.Num143 *paci('i) 'older sister'; L.Son183 *paci 'hermano mayor'; AMR *pa'-ci ‘older brother’; KH.NUA; M88-pa1 'older brother'; KH/M06-pa1 *pa'-ci: the following mean ‘older brother’: Ca pas; Cp pása; Ls páa'as; Sr paar; pl: paaham; Tb paadzi; Eu báca'va'cwa'cwa; Tbr waci-r; AYq avači (of a woman); My ãbači (of a woman); Wr pa'či; Tr ba'či; Cm sua'sua; CN aač-tli ‘older brother of younger sister’; note CN ač to ‘first’. The following Num forms mean ‘older sister’: TSh paci; Sh paci; Cm paci’; Kw pazi; SP paci-ci; CU paci-ci. Ken Hill adds Ktn -par ‘older brother’, pl: paham. This etymon *pa'ti means ‘older brother’ in SUA and Takic, but ‘older sister’ in Numic; thus, it may have originally meant simply ‘older sibling’ or ‘oldest’ or ‘first’. Add Op vapaci ‘older brothers’ (Shaul 1990, 565). Note CN showing nearly the same morpheme in both ‘older brother’ and ‘first’ except for differing vowel length. Also note the prevalence of the glottal stop (Wr, Tr, Cr, Ls, and Num); Iannucci’s reconstruction (*paci’i) may work here for all of UA since the glottal stop is a frequent phenomenon in UA, especially in SUA, where Tr and Wr show that pattern in this set also. Manaster-Ramer (1992b) includes this set in his article “A Northern UA sound law: -c- > -y-.” His reconstruction *pa-ci is also noteworthy. He considers Numic *pa-pi and UA *pa'-ci to contain the same root but different suffixes, a plausibility. Or these may derive from medial *-t- or *-Ct- instead of *-c-. [i]: cluster [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]

306. *ci'i / *ci'i 'older sibling, relative': B.Tep188 *siisi 'older sibling'; M88-ci2: KH/M06-ci2: TO siis / si'ihe / si'ihegi 'older sibling (brother or sister), cousin of older ancestor'; LP siisi / šiši; NT šiši 'older sibling'; ST šiši 'older sibling'; Wr ce’e ‘husband of older sister, vice versa’; Tr če’e ‘to have a brother-in-law’. Miller combines the TrC forms *ci'i 'brother-in-law' and Tep *ci/ci'i 'older sibling’ and their disagreement in the vowel (i vs. i) is not great. The following have the 2nd vowel as i: NT šiši /i'iolder brother (formal); NT šiši /i'i 'son hermanos’, possibly lending support to Miller’s combining the two. If one vowel of each were original, then assimilations both directions are possible: *ci'i. [i/i] [SUA: Tep, Trn]

BROTHER, YOUNGER; HERMANO MENOR

The words for ‘younger brother’ show nicely the three divisions of Numic:

307. *wan(j)a'a 'younger brother': Mn wwaná’/ waná’; NP wańja’a. [*w > kw in Mn as in *wita ‘wrap’ at blanket, n vs. ñ] [NUA: WNum]
308. *tamiC 'younger brother': TSh tami(cci); Sh tami; Cm tami'.  [NUA: CNum]

309. *cakka'i 'younger brother': Kw čaka’i; Ch cak’i; SP cakhai; WMU čahqqá’i-či / čahqqá’i ‘younger brother’; CU čaqx-Xá-či. Note that WMU preserves a glottal stop lost in both SP and CU, and retains the vowelizing of Kw.  [NUA: SNum]

310a. *poni 'younger brother': M67-490 *po; L.Son213 *poni ‘hermano menor’; M88-po8 'younger brother’; KH/M06-po8: Eu bonwa/vónwa; Tbr woni; Wr poní; Tr boní; Cr huu.  [Cr u < *o; Cr h < *p]  [SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

310b. *po('ot) 'younger brother': KH.NUA; KH/M06-po8: Ls péét; Gb pé’éc; Sr pó’it. Ken Hill adds Ktn -pit (pl pitam) 'younger brother or sister’. Beyond initial CV, the Tak forms show little resemblance to the SUA forms (*poni), which is a reason enough for at least a separation by letter.  [NUA: Tak]

311. *cipi / *cippiyi 'younger brother' (> Tep *sipi(di)): Nv sipidiri; ST sipji’n ‘one’s younger sibling’.  [SUA: Tep]

BROWN; PARDO, MORENO, CASTAÑO

312. *oNtam / *oNta(N/C) 'brown': NP oti-ggwiddađi ‘sorrel colored, brown’; TSh ontímp(i)ī ‘brown’; Sh(M) ontí’n ‘brown’; Sh(C) onton ‘brown, orange’; Kw odo- / ondo- ‘brown’; Ch ontó-ka ‘brown’; Ch(L) ontkwarí ‘woman’s name referring to brownish color of hair’; SP onto’ ‘reddish brown’; WMU attó-qwa-řī / attóóqwarū ‘brown’; CU ‘otó-qwa-ři ‘brown’; TO o’am ‘brown, orange, yellow’. The -t- (vs. r/d) of CU and WMU, Kw, NP, and SP all suggest a cluster, besides the other forms showing a cluster *-Nt-. [-(N)t- > ’ in TO]  [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

313. *(mu-hu)-sal(ai) 'brown': AYq husai/husali/husari ‘brown’; TO muhaDagi ‘(be) greasy, (be) brown’; Eu temösei ‘descolorido, pardo’ (-ei is a common ending for adj’s in Eu). *(mu-hu)-salv seems apparent in AYq, TO, and Eu, compounded with whatever else.  [SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn]

314. *koto(pi) 'brown': Cm koropiti ‘brown, khaki, tan, dust-colored, beige’; Yq kohkññtib’aka ‘have brown hair’. Also Wc kûtušë ‘light brown, blue’ has its first four segments matching *koto, though it also aligns well with Cr kwaturnu ‘dark blue’. (See at blue.) Ktn ropitk ‘dark brown’ aligns with Cm’s 2nd and 3rd syllables, and a later loss of the first syllable would explain initial ĭ. A problem with *kwato is that we would expect Yq (bo)botV or (bwa)botV instead of kohV reduplicated. That is, *koto > kwatu in Cr, if CrC even belongs, would not derive from an original *kw. In addition, Cm and Yq not only both agree with *ko, but also share a third syllable: *kotopi. They vary only in the 2nd vowel, which I reconstruct as o rather than i, since anticipatory vowel assimilation to the following vowel is more frequent in UA than preservative assimilation. Ktn and Cr both suggest *o for the second vowel also. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Cah; perhaps CrC]

NB, for *koma ‘dark, black,brown, gray’ in Hp qöm/-qöm(a)vti ‘dark, black’; Tep *komagi ‘gray, brown’ see ‘gray’.

BUFFALO; BUFALO, BISONTE, BUEY(ES) (Spanish buey also ‘ox’)

315. *kuc(ēt)u ‘buffalo’: I.Num68 *kucunu ‘buffalo, cow’; Fowler 83; M88-ku22; KH/M06-ku22: NP kucu / kucu ‘cow’; Sh kuiccun ‘buffalo’; Cm kucu; SP kucunu; CU kucu. Kenneth Hill adds TSh kuiccun ‘buffalo’; TSh piakwiccun; Ch kucu ‘buffalo’. To these we might add NP bagucu ‘buffalo’ and WMU ku-cú-puk ‘cow, i.e., buffalo-pet or pet buffalo’. As it is no longer acceptable to reconstruct medial *-c- for NUA languages, conveniently many terms suggest we may be dealing with a medial cluster, perhaps *-Ct-, which could easily palatalize (*-Ct- > -cc-) or *-Cc- possibly *-cc- itself, though the latter seems less likely. It is interesting that neither Mn nor Kw, the inner-most Num languages, show a word for buffalo, only those that spread out into the Great Basin. Yet if they acquired it from outside UA, how did all the languages of the separate branches acquire the same word? Hp mosayri ‘buffalo’ is the only other UA language with a word of non-European appearance, that I could find. TO pisin (bison), Tr bóisi and Eu boides (< Spanish bueyes) are all SUA languages with borrowed terms from Spanish. Interestingly, Eudeve’s phonological rule of Eu *y > d was still productive when that term was borrowed. [*y, *-Cc-]  [NUA: Num]
BUG, INSECT, TICK, BEETLE; see also ant, fly, louse, spider, worm, etc.
INSECTO, CHINCHE, GARRAPATA, ESCARABAO, CUCARACHA

316. *matta / *maCti 'tick': BH.Cup mac- ? 'tick'; Fowler83; M88-ma61 'tick/garrapata'; KH.NUA; Stubbs 2000a-6; KH/M06-ma61: NP madabi (< *matapi); Kw muu'maa-ci; CU mata-ci (< *matta-ci); Cp măčı-l'; Ca măčı-l; Ls ō'māča; Sr maca-c; Hp màaca; TO maams; Wr macá; Tr mačá; We mate. Ken Hill adds Ch matavi, which is also in Ch(L) mata-vi 'tick, flea'. Let's also add Ktn muna-c 'reddish tick'. Miller includes My téemai ‘garrapata’, which, if cognate, would involve a metathesis or other explanation; Miller also queries whether CN atemi-tl 'louse' is cognate; however, it agrees better with *ati 'louse' and even other UA languages show -m (i.e., *atim 'louse'), such as My ette/ettem 'louse'. So I would not include CN, and My téemai is questionable. NP, CU, and Wc suggest a cluster, perhaps medial *-Ct-; in fact, CU and Ch have underlying medial *-rt-, in contrast to CU mara-ci < *mata-ci 'mortar', though NP suggests ungeminated *-t- in d surfacing instead of t (Stubbs 2000, 132). Tak medial *-t- instead of -l also suggests a cluster something like *-Ct- or *-rt-; thus, we might posit *maCti(a); for Cp and Ca do show i as the second vowel. We ought also to add Mn mitábi/midábi 'tick' which may have metathesized the two vowels in a pattern similar to *pati('a) 'bat' and NP pitahana's 'bat' (Stubbs 2000, 127-8). [NP t = Num c, WNUM V metath like bat] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

317. *wippusa > *pippusi 'stink beetle': Mn pipöisi/piboisi 'stink beetle'; NP pipuzu 'stink beetle'; Sh pippusi 'stink beetle'. Jane Hill astutely adds Ch wiposat '13-line beetle' (Harrington noun list), which puts reflexes of this in all 3 Num branches, and Ch may reflect an original form, from which the others harmonized consonants. [NUA: WNUM, CNUM, SNUM]

318. *sisko(Nko)- 'stink beetle': Ca siskinjily 'stinkbug'; Cp sisqinjily 'stink beetle'; Ls isiqila 'stink beetle'. Ca and Cp i < *o, and the -q- suggest *o, but we would expect Ls -q-; therefore, the Ls form assimilated the vowel or may be a loan. Ls absolutive -la (vs. -i) may indicate a final C that is perhaps a N or L, vs. a stop, as stops tend to yield -t. [k < q/- *o in Cp and Ls] [NUA: Tak]

319. *huhuCa (< *hu'a reduplicated?) 'stink beetle, stinkbug': Hp hohoyaw; Sr huuhua'; Ktn hu'hu'a-č 'stinkbug'. This likely ties to *hu'a 'break wind' at stink. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

320. *kwita-poli 'stink beetle/stinkbug': Wc kwitaapúri; Eu bitaporós. A good match! Eu b (< *kw) and Wc u (< *o), so all segments correspond perfectly until the eighth; for the stinkbug, which habitually has its rear upward, the *kwita (buttocks/defecate) portion of these compounds aligns with several other UA compounds meaning 'stink beetle' containing *kwita plus other compounded elements: Nv vitatai 'escarabajo'; CN kwitaaloooloo; and probably TO bitikoi / bititoi with a rather recent change of the 2nd vowel (*bita- > biti); otherwise, *-ti- > -ci- should be the case. [EU b < *kw, CrC u < *o; C harmony in TO terms] [SUA: Opn, CrC]

321. *hukku-pi- / *u'-pi-ci 'stink bug': Kw huku-vi-dizi; SP uqquviča; WMU úuppíči 'stink beetle'; CU úu-pi-ci 'stink bug'. Givon (1979) has the CU form deriving from *u-'u 'fart, vi' and *u'-'pi 'fart, n', which is possible and which may tie these to *huhuCa above, as Jane Hill notes as possible (p.c.). On the other hand, Kw and SP show *hukku-pi-, which with loss of a vowel could result in *hukku-pi- > *hukk-pi- > *úuppi-. In fact, the falling vowel recommends a lost or clustered consonant, though the glottal stop could create a cluster too. [NUA: SNUM]

NB, for *yamuki 'bug that stings' see 'angry'.
NB, for *ku'a 'worm(y)' see 'fly'.

Bumblebee: see bee
Burn: see fire

BURY, GRAVE; ENTERRAR, TUMBA, SEPULTURA, SEPULCRO; see also close, die, dig

322. *ku'way / *kupaļ 'bury': M67-65 'bury': Mn kuu; Ca kúy 'bury (s.th.), fill up hole (with dirt), vt'; M67 includes Tb wohoh – owooh 'bury'—possibly. More in line with Mn and Ca, let’s add NP ku’u ‘bury, vt'; NP tiku ‘bury, vi'; TSh kuu ‘bury, vt'; TSh nakuu ‘bury, vi/passive’; Kw kuwa ‘cover up, cover over’; Kw kwa-kwee ‘bury’; Ch kúu ‘bury, vi’; Sh nakpu-pi ‘grave’. Possibly tied to these, but definitely belonging to 666 are TO(M) kovOD-k 'shallow hole with flat bottom surface' and TO(M) kovol-kad 'make in s.th. a shallow hole with flat bottom surface'. [medial consonant] [NUA: Num, Tak]
323. *hi’acapa ‘bury, cover, grave’ (> Tep *hi’asapa): B.Tep60 *hiasapai ‘bury, cover’; KH/M06-si24; TO hiašp(a) / hia; NT yáasapai ‘bury, cover’; ST yaasp. Diphthongs in Tep usually signify anticipatory assimilation or a lost intervocalic consonant. I reconstructed *hi’acapa > Tep *hi’(a)sapa, because I doubt PUA diphthongs, then later found the same in PYp. To Bascom’s Tep forms, we can add PYp hi’asa ‘bury, vt’; PYp hi’aspa ‘grave, n’; NV i’aina / i’asa ‘enterrar’; NV isa’akarhami ‘sepultura’; NV i’aspi ‘casa enterrada’. Eu héca ‘tapar, cerrar’, with vowel leveling (*hi’aca > heca), resembles the PYp and NV forms and would mean we may have initial h (vs. s). [h’/k] [SUA: Tep, Opn]

324. *ma’a / *mahi ‘bury’: M67-108 *ma ‘cover’; L.Son129 *ma ‘cocer al horno’; M88-ma10 ‘cover’ and ma24 are correctly combined in KH/M06ma10: My má’a ‘enterrar’; Wr mahi-ná ‘bury, cook in the ground’; Tr má-cocer al horno’; TO ma’i ‘cover (food) in a roasting pit’; Op hima; Eu himá; Yq má’a ‘enterrar’; AYq ma’a/hima’a ‘bury, vt’ (in contrast to Yq himma’a ‘tejer’); AYq ma’ari ‘buried’; AYq himá ‘burial, funeral’. L.Son129 includes Eu(north) hima and Opata hima. Ken Hill adds SP na-ma’ni or SP na-soko-ma’ni ‘cover self with moist earth’; Cm mana’koroomi ‘cover s.th. over’; TO ma’isp ‘cover, vt’; TO ma’i ‘pit roast’; TO mamma’ikuD ‘roasting pit’; Eu meitemon ‘echar a tatemar mescal’. Perhaps also Tbr mwai-rá-n ‘asado’. Miller includes Tb masat- ‘amas ‘cover, vt’; Tb maasat ‘bag’ though the variety of medial consonants (h, s) creates problems beyond initial syllable (which is also Miller reconstructs), but for Tb, cf. the last NB of *masa ‘cover’ below at ‘close’.

325. *cu’ma ‘bury, cover’: Kw cuma ‘bury, cover up’; Ch(L) čum’makatï ‘anything covered with earth’. It is possible that this is a variant of *ti’ma ‘bury, cook underground’ with a palatalization of *t > c. [NUA: SNum]

NB, ‘bury’ is half its semantic leaning, but listed at ‘cook’ is *ti’(a)ma ‘bury, grave, roast under ashes or underground’ where SP ti’ma ‘bury’ and Hp ti’ami ‘grave’ have much in common (*ti’ama), as well as Eu témo ‘enterrar’. Tb(M) ti’ma at ‘gasp for breath, for instance, while drowning, choking, or suffocating’ [or while covered] is nearly identical to SP phonologically, but varies semantically, and similar to SP are other SNum terms: WMU tím’má-y ‘bury (usually underground)’; Ch tím’á ‘bake, v’; SP ti’ma- ‘roast under ashes’; CU tu’máy ‘bake, roast’. Reflexes in several branches.

BUTTERFLY, MOTH; MARIPosa, POLilla

326. *yi’La / *yi’Lca ‘moth’: Hp yi’iínya ‘moth’; Wr sunú yelá ‘moth’; Yq yuéría ‘moth’; minus Wr sunú ‘corn’, Wr yelá ‘moth’ and Yq yuéría ‘moth’ show four segments in common—*yeLa—though a reconstruction to include the other Yq segments ( *yu(u)l(i)ja(?)) looks horrible. Hp yi’iínya ‘moth’ also shares much with Wr, Yq since PUA *L is often realized as a nasal in NUA, though usually n instead of ŋ, unless clustered. Yet the ugliness of most reconstruction options recommends a cluster at least. [*L/N, Yq diphthong; liquids] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah]

327. *nakamuLi > *kimuLi ‘butterfly’: Nv tatikimurhi / ‘o’kimurhi ‘butterfly’; PYp nakmuli / makmuli; Wc kaimúr ‘moth’. Following Nv tat-, Nv ‘o’-, PYp na-ma-, and nothing in Wc, all five forms contain something like -kimuli, probably akin to the *kimara forms in B.Tep71 below. In fact, NT totóókimara would suggest the same morpheme boundary. Similarly, Tr kunúwi / konó ‘especie de mayate, en su primera fase es gusano’ may be related to *kimuli with m > n and loss of l. Zarina Estrada Fernandez (p.c.) told me that *naka-miLi ‘bat’ literally derives form ‘ears-running/flying’, and these appear to be similarly derived, if not a semantic variant of the same proto-stem. Note the consonant harmony in the second PYp form. [C harmony] [SUA: Tep, CrC, Trn]

328. *soso-kímaLa ‘butterfly’: B.Tep71 *hohokimara ‘butterfly’; M88so13; KH/M06-so13: TO hohokimal; NT totóókimara ‘butterfly’ (different 1st morpheme); ST hookmar/hokmar. [medial C, Vs, liquids] [SUA: Tep]

329a. *paLo / *papaLo ‘butterfly’: CN paapaaloool ‘butterfly’; the -val- in Cp mával; Hp poovoli/poli-; the *papi- in Ls páviucuk-ma’l ‘type of large butterfly’; the *pola- in Ls ’avélaka ‘butterfly’ (Ls e < *o); and the *paLo in Cr áçpa’a’u-se (Cr u < *o; Cr ’ < *L) all have much in common with *papa(pala (Cr, Cp) > *popola (Hp). Did Ls *apola switch the vowels (*pala > *pola) and Sr lalava’t ‘butterfly’ the consonants: *palaV > *lalaV? However, Sr is also at *atatap below. As for CN, we would expect CN ó and Cr h < *p.
belong. [bilabial loss as 1
belong, fo
'defecate, vi' (<*kwit
may belong here or at *kwiCta, if the two are not related themselves.
reduplication
fragile elsewhere in UA (e.g. *kapsi > *kasi 'thigh'). M67
Cr, Wc) perfectly agree in *kupta, because PUA *
probably Cp x
3
BUTTOCKS, ANUS; NALGAS, ASENTADERAS, ANO; see also hip

330. *...kupïpika / *(C)Vkupïpika 'butterfly': Ca héveveqalet and Ls xuvóoviqa-l 'moth' certainly appear related and align fairly well through the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th syllables. Perhaps also Hp pívïwi 'moth'. Ls initial x- suggests a lost initial syllable, after intervocalic *-k- > -x-. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

331. *típi-simuCta 'moth': Cm típi simulta ‘moth (i.e., rock-nose)’; SP tivëššira-ci / tivWišira-c ‘moth’. SP appears to be a contraction or reduction of a compound like the Cm form, with some vowel assimilation: the syllable -mu- is missing: *típismimuta > *típišita (SP). [cluster] [NUA: CNum, SNNum]

332. *ata(pa)tapa ‘butterfly': Sr lalala(t ‘butterfly’; Ktn ‘atavatava ‘butterfly, moth’. Sr’s initial liquid suggests a previous intervocalic position, as also Ktn’s vowel preceding -ta may suggest as well; thus, the two have much in common. [NUA: Tak]

333. *asiNpu(tonki) 'butterfly': TSh aasiputunkwii; Sh a’ipputoonkih; Kw ‘aasibï-zi; SP aïsi-wwiçi. While Numic *asiNpu has much in common with Cr acipa’u ‘butterfly’, the aci- portion is likely from Cr aci’i ‘bat’; another UA term for bat became butterfly in Eu (see *so’-opati’a ‘bat’). Sh, Cr, and Kw all suggest a cluster, and Kw suggests *-Np-. A tie with TrC *si(’i)pori/*sikwo rífly’ is questionable. [reductions; *u > i] [NUA: CNum, SNNum]

334. *akaL... ‘butterfly’: Nv agarí ‘polilla’; Wr akároari ‘butterfly’. Four segments (agar / akar) largely agree, perhaps with intervocalic voicing, unless Wr be a loan from a Tep language. Tbr hate-ká-r ‘mariposa’ may be relevant. [k/g] [SU: Tep, Trn]

335. *ayatta’niya ‘butterfly’: Kw ‘ayata’niya-zi, ayatanii-zi; WMU a’i-naasiji / a’naasiji / aná’i-či ‘butterfly, n’; CU náa’naasi-či. WMU and CU look like reductions of something like the Kw form, so might we presume s.th. like Kw for the proto-form? If Kw ‘ayata’niya-zi and Hp yëñyëna ‘moth’ and Yq yëri’a ‘moth’ above have anything in common, I’m not sure I want to hear about it, except that Hp -ŋ- aligning with Kw -n- or perhaps a more severe cluster reduction like -tt’n- > ŋ. It also appears that CU reproduced via consonant harmony the medial -n- to initial position also. [NUA: SNNum]

NB, in Num, *imí-C-pi ‘moth, spirit’ derives from Kw ini-pi ‘spirit, ghost, deceased person’ which with an extra absolutive suffix yields Kw ini-pí-či ‘moth’. [NUA: Num]

BUTTOCKS, ANUS; NALGAS, ASENTADERAS, ANO; see also hip

336. *kupta ‘bottocks’: Ls kupča-t ‘bottocks’; Cr kicá ‘bottocks’; We kicá ‘bottocks’; Tr gósi/kósi ‘bottocks’; and probably Cp xútaxwí ‘back’ whose -t- suggests a cluster since intervocalic *-t- > -l- in Cupan. The first three (Ls, Cr, Wc) perfectly agree in kupta, because PUA *u > Cr/Wc i, PUA *p > ø in CrC even without the medial cluster, and NUA -c- < *-Ct- usually, as the -t- in C. A bilabial as first element of a medial cluster has been seen to be fragile elsewhere in UA (e.g. *kapsi > *kasi ‘thigh’). M67-126 cites Sr kukt-č ‘anus’ which is very possible with reduplication or may belong with *kwita, where Miller had it. Terms like CU kutú-pí (< *kuCtú-pí) ‘bottocks’ may belong here or at *kwíCta, if the two are not related themselves. Tr, which does have o < *u, further lentified the affricate to a fricative: *kuca > kosi. Affrication of an original *-t- to *-c- is common in UA: e.g., CU kwica-y ‘defecate, vi’ (<*kwíta). Also with affrication, the first two syllables of SP kučun ‘wa sit on one’s haunches’ may belong, for SP kwica already exists for the competing stem *kwíta. Without affrication, Hp kírí at ‘bottocks’ may belong. [bilabial loss as 1st C in a cluster; t > c] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Trn, CrC]
As for Miller's rough draft collection in M88-co9 (M67-66 *co)—NP capu 'buttocks'; Hp como 'hill';
My cóbbe 'nalgas'; Tr čo-če-kį 'extremidad inferior, tallo'; Wr cohki 'tree trunk'; Cr kica; Pl cupi 'arse, anus';
CN co-tI 'sweat, bodily waste'—Miller himself queries whether the CN term is cognate. Hill (KH/M06-co9) rightly
eliminates the Hp term, and I moved the Cr term to *kupta above. The rest are possible, and My and Pl seem most
probable, with perhaps NP, if the vowel changes could be explained. Nevertheless, I prefer to divide them thus:

**337. *cum* 'buttocks, anus': with Hp como 'hill'; Hp como'-ma 'go along with the knees drawn up';
Hp comol-ti 'draw the knees close to the body'; consider My čumim 'ano' and CN ciin-tli 'buttocks, anus, base, foundation',
all three of which quite agree with *cum. The facts that PUA *u > Hp o and *u > CN i, and that final
m in CN, especially when clustered with an alveolar, is likely to become n, align all three forms with *cum. The
Hp semantics are not exact, yet 'knees up' sets the buttocks more prominently out, as in 'squatting position'. [NUA:
Hp; SUA: Cah, Azt]

**338. *ata / *ato* 'bottom, buttocks, anus': VVH60 *ato 'anus, bottom'; M88-a33; KH/M06-a33: VVH list Hp åtö
'underneath, below' and TO at 'anus, buttocks, bottom of basket or jar'. Let's add NT atáádi 'el ano' and
Nv atabihoia 'la división de las asentaderas' (Nv vihoga 'principio de una barranca [beginning of a ravine, gorge]').
[SUA: Tep; SUA: Hp]

**339a. *atapuLi* 'buttocks': TO atapuD 'a buttoc'; Nv atuporha 'nalgas'; ST atpor 'nasga' (pl: a'tpor; poss'd: ataa'n
/a'tporan'). NT túpuli 'buttocks' is likely related also, but TO has a match below for the NT form as well as a
match for the Nv form given here. [SUA: Tep]

**339b. *tupu(L.)* 'hip, buttocks': NT túpuli 'buttocks'; TO čuul, pl: čučpul 'corner, hipjoint'. Intervocalic *p >
TO w would be invisible between two u's (uwu > uu), but it appears in the TO reduplicated pl form. [SUA: Tep]

**340a. *pittuHu* 'buttocks': (not in M88) KH/M06-pi29; NP pituHu (< *pittuHu); TSh pittuHu(cci);
Sh pittuHu; WSh pittuKu. The set below may share *piC-, but the 2nd morphemes must be different as Sh and
WNum have quite distinct forms in the two sets. For *piC 'back' see 'back'. [NUA: WNum, CNum]

**340b. *piCto* 'buttocks, hip': Mn picóga 'hip, low back'; Sh(M) pickóko 'the body from the waist to the knees, hip
and buttocks'; Sh(Cr) piccokko 'the body from waist to knees, buttocks'; WSh pickoka 'waist'; WSh pickuHu
'buttocks'; Mn picóga 'hip, low back'; Tb pičoo-l 'buttocks', pičoo-n (possessed). These may relate to *piC
'back(side)'. Does Hp pi'ala 'pelvis, hip bone' contain the same element, possibly < *piC-awa 'hips < backside-
horns'? [NUA: Tb, Num]

NB, 341 became 340b.

NB, for *cuppa > *copo, see at 'edge' where are most of M67-66 'buttocks' *co; M88-co9; KH/M06-co9 with
cu19: Pl cupi 'arse, anus'; Yq cóbe 'nalgas'; My cóbbe 'nalgas'; AYq cóve 'buttocks' (what of AYq cópoe 'hill';
AYq cópooi 'rough, uneven?'); NP capu 'buttocks'. Cah b (= AYq v) has traditionally been thought a variant of
PUA *p in Cah, yet in AYq we see four varieties of medial bilabials: -pp- is a gemination of -p-, of course, but
what of -v- and -vv-? They are not bw < *kw. Perhaps they are all from *cupa (and NP capu a metathesis?) and
should be combined?
NB, *kwiCtaC / kwicTuN 'buttocks' and related Num forms are at 'defecate'; CU kútú-pí 'buttocks' (< *kuptuC-?).
NB, for *piC (< *hupiC), see 'back'.

NB, for *cuCki/*co(k/) 'stalk, base, bottom' see stalk.
NB, for *sati 'tail' > 'dog' (in Num) > 'anus' (in Tak, Mn) see 'tail'.

Buy: see trade

**BUZZARD, TURKEY VULTURE; AURA, BUITRE, ZOPILOTE**

**342. *nupi* 'buzzard': B.Tep175 *nui; M67-68 *nu; Fowler83-3:70; M88-nu2 'buzzard'; KH/M06-nu2:
TO nuwɨ(opa); TO niwui; TO niwɨ (Dolores); LP nui; PYp nui; NT nui; ST nui. This set exemplifies a near loss of medial
*p. Miller (M67) lists Wr hono or later Wr onóri 'zopilote, buzzard' (Miller 1996a)—not impossible if the
-nO- syllable of Wr onóri 'zopilote, buzzard' had a prefix, then loss of *p in a cluster with -ri (likely a noun
suffix) or -p- > -w- adjacent to round vowels, also common in TrC. But let's not count it pending improved
probabilities. [SUA: Tep]
343. *wiLhukuN 'buzzard, turkey vulture'; M67-67 *witu 'buzzard'; I.Num277 *wi 'buzzard'; L.Son339 *wiru 'aura'; Fowler83; M88-wit8 'buzzard'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wi8:

- PUA *wiLhukuN 'buzzard, turkey buzzard, zopilote'
- Mn wiho
- NP wi’ho/wiho
- TSh wihnumpi(cci) / wihumpiccih / wiyombic
- Sh wikkumpiccih
- Kw wiku-mahaa-zi
- Ch(L) wikkumpiči
- SP wiru
- CU wakúci-ge-ti(<wVkkúci)
- Hp wisoko
- Tb wísokombišt 'song of the turkey buzzard'
- Sr wirok-t
- Ktn wirukuh-t
- Yq wiiru
- My wiiru
- Tr wirú
- Tbr wilú
- Wc wírikí
- Cr viskí
- CN wiiloo-tl, pl: wiiloo-me 'dove'
- Pl wiilu-t 'bird, dove'

The correspondence of or devoicing of UA *L to Hp s is evident in 'turkey buzzard' and other words, as also in Tb and Cr in this word. In this wonderful example of rampant syllable reduction in UA, notice that Wc (SUA) and Sr (NUA) show all three syllables of *wiLhukuN, while most of the rest are reductions. The 1st syllable *wi- is apparent in 17 of the 18 reflexes; only CU’s short non-descript unstressed V varies from i. Eight languages show 2nd syllable *Lu-; three show devoicing of *L > s, perhaps due to *L in a cluster with a voiceless C: *-Lh-. WNum *wi’ho hints at a cluster with a voiceless C adjacent to *L. Nine languages show a 3rd syllable *ku; and Tb and Num show nasalization after that. Except for the CrC branch, most of SUA lost the third syllable, leaving *wiLu in most of SUA. In Num, syncope appears to have clustered *lk which led to the loss of l or doubling of k in most instances (*wiLhuku > *wilku > *wiuku or *wiLhu > *wi’ho in WNum), though the n in one TSh form (wihnumpi) smacks of the presence of PUA *L. Add Ch(L) wiku / wikumpiči ‘buzzard’ (<*wikkuN-); Ch(L) winkontoci ‘buzzard head’.

344. *yuŋápi 'buzzard'; BH.Cup *yuŋávic 'buzzard'; HH.Cup *yuŋááviš 'buzzard'; M88-yu12; KH/M06-yu12: Ça yúŋaviš; Cp yuŋáviš; Ls yuŋááviš. [NUA: Tak]

345. *copiLo 'buzzard, copilote'; CL.Azt23 *copiloo- 'buzzard'; M88-co14; KH/M06-co14: CN copiloo-tl; Po cupilut; T copilutl; Z cohipiiloot. [SUA: Azt]

346. *kupahi 'type of buzzard/bird': Yq kúpahe ‘clase de pájaro, como zopilote, pero diferente en los colores de las alas’; Wr koiwé / koiwé ‘zopilote, pelícano, quien, con Cuervo, llevó a Coyote al cielo’. With a metathesis of h and p/w, the tie is plausible. I reconstruct the 2nd vowel as a so that we can blame it for the lowering *u to o in Wr. Besides, *a > i in Wr is more likely than *i > a in Yq, since i in UA behaves like the schwa in English. The phonological changes and the appearance of the word in mythology suggest a word of some antiquity and not a loan one way or the other, but it is a skewed (not perfect) match. [SUA: Trn, Cah]

347. *aLawVka / *aVka 'vulture': Ls ‘aláwaka ‘turkey buzzard, vulture’ and Cr mwá’ara’ika ‘zopilote, aura’. Minus Cr’s first syllable, this NUA and SUA pair agree in five of seven segments. [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]
**CACTUS; CACTO, PITAHAYA, TUNA;** see also yucca, alcohol, and thorn

349. *naka(w)* ‘prickly pear cactus’: Fowler83: Cr naká ‘prickly pear cactus’; Wc nakári; TO naakag ‘sp. of prickly pear cactus, Opuntia’; NT nakisi; Eu nakó ‘nopal’. [SUA: Tep, Opn, CrC]

350. *sacani* ‘saguaro cactus’: B.Tep56 *haasaní' giant cactus'; Fowler83; M88-sa23; KH/M06-sa23: TO haasaní 'saguaro cactus'; NT aasaáhi; LP hasarsi (Fowler83). Add ST haašání. [SUA: Tep]

351. *ikwasi* ‘fruit, prickly pear’: B.Tep307 ‘iibahi ‘prickly pear, fruit’; M88-'i5; KH/M06-'i5: TO ‘i’ibai / iibhai; LP(B) 'ibib; Nv ibai ‘tuna’; NT ibí; NT ibáávorai ‘biznaga, sp. of cactus'; ST ‘iibai/iibai; Wr iwasí ‘fruit’; Wc ‘ikwáši ‘fruit’. These probably derive from UA *kwasi ‘ripen’ and Bascom’s Tep reconstruction corresponds well with the Wr and Wc forms for fruit (UA *’ikwasi ‘fruit’). Tewa bee ‘fruit’ (<< *bái/bahi) and such Kiowa-Tanoan forms are likely Tep loans. [medial *kw] [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

352. *hunupa* ‘yucca mohavensis’: BH.Cup *hunúvat; HH.Cup *hunúvat ‘yucca mohavensis’; M88-hu16; KH/M06-hu16: Cp hunúva-t; Ca hunúvata-t. Miller (M88) includes Tb ‘umuybil ‘yucca’; but it belongs better with *’amuL at ‘agave’. [NUA: Tak]

353. *mu9tna* ‘cholla cactus’: BH.Cup *mútna ‘cholla cactus’; Munro.Cup27 *múûta-l ‘cholla’; Fowler83; M88-mu9; KH.NUA; KH/M06-mu9: Cp múta-l; Ca múta-l; LS múta-l; Sr muutu|ţ; Miller’s inclusion of Pl muutah ‘a food of pineapple fried with eggs and tomatoes’ is okay; the phonology is identical, though the semantics vary. Let’s add Sh(C) mía ‘cactus, pincushion cactus’; again *u > i in Num. In light of Tak medial -t- instead of -l-, and Sh -c-., a cluster must be reconstructed. What of SP míttna ‘point of hill’? [*u > i in Num] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Azt]

354. *yu10na* ‘cactus fruit’: M67-71 *yun ‘cactus fruit’; M88-yu10 ‘cactus fruit’; KH/M06-yu10: Hp yöŋö ‘prickly pear cactus’; Wc yöña; TO juní ‘dried saguaro cactus fruit’. Add SP yu’úvimpi ‘opuntia’ and SP yu’á-vi ‘opuntia fruit’ as SNum does often lose intervocalic nasals. Hp ö < *o normally, yet SP, Wc, and TO all agree with *u, and *u-a > o-a could have preceded o > Hp ö. [Hp V; *ŋ > SNum ’] [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, CrC]

355. *sawaro* ‘saguaro cactus’: Tbr samwiró-t; Yq sáuwo. Spanish saguaro (sawaro) is thought to be borrowed from a UA language, perhaps Opata sawaro. [liquid; V > i/_L; for a-a-o > a-o in Yq, cf. deer] [SUA: Tbr, Cah]

356. *(h)usí* ‘thorny plant(s)’: Tb(V) ‘uuši-l ‘cactus, with stickers’; Tb(M) uušíl ‘thorn, any plant with thorns’; Cm husí ‘cactus, peyote’; maybe Wc yuílíkí ‘tuna’. [NUA: Num; Tb; SUA: CrC]

357. *(i)La* ‘prickly pear cactus sp.’: Wr ilá ‘nopal, Opuntia’; Tr érá / elá / irá ‘nopal, chambera’. [liquid; *i-a > e-a] [SUA: Trn]

358. *(packo)ör* ‘prickly pear sp.’: PYp pasko’or ‘type of prickly pear, durasnilla’; Tr pěčúri ‘nopal o tuna de conejo, Opuntia’. The Tr c and Tep s correspond, and a cluster being reduced in Tr is expectable, as is the raising and fronting of the first vowel in anticipation of the alveolar consonant; we must assume, however, that we are dealing with a compound. What of Eu účvor / účbaro ‘pitahaya’? [cluster, vowel assimilations] [SUA: Tep, Trn]

359. *wìcu* ‘prickly pear cactus’: ST gisuly; TO gisoki ‘the purple-fruit cactus or its fruit, Opuntia’. [SUA: Tep]

360. *aksi* ‘pitahaya’: Yq *ákai ‘pitahaya’; Tbr aki-mal ‘pitahaya marismeña’. [SUA: Cah, Tbr]

361. *tucí / tutucí* ‘pitahaya, saguaro cactus’: Nv tutusi; LP(EF) túutes; TO čúčuis ‘organ-pipe cactus’; what of Tr tu*či ‘viola umbraticula, planta de hoja comestible y parecida a la de la malva, y flores azules’? [SUA: Tep]

NB, for *na’puL ‘prickly pear cactus, alcohol, drunk’, see at ‘alcohol’.

NB, for *wica ‘thorn’ (sometimes meaning ‘cactus’), see thorn.

NB, for *mana ‘cactus, thorn’ see thorn.
CANYON, WASH, VALLEY; CLIFF, LEDGE, SLOPE, STEEP; CAÑÓN, ARROYO, VALLE, PRECIPIO, PEÑASCO, ESCARPA, CUESTA, DECÔLIE, BAJADA, BALADA; see rock and wall

362. *(h)aki 'arroyo, waterway, canyon, valley': VVH57 *'aki 'arroyo'; B.Tep299 *'aki 'arroyo'; M67-348 *'aki; L.Son50 *haki 'arroyo'; M88-ha2 'arroyo'; KH/M06-ha2: NP tïhaga'yu 'canyon' (Miller has < NP *ti'aka); NP(B) tiakai 'canyon'; NP(B) tïhaga 'a hollow, little valley'; TO aki 'ravine, arroyo, wash'; NT aki; LP(B) 'ak; NT akívi 'el arroyo'; ST 'ak; Eu hakí 'arroyo, valle'; Yq hakía 'arroyo'; My hakía 'arroyo'; Wr aki 'arroyo, creek'; Tr aki- 'water channel'; Cr áči/háci 'arroyo'; We 'áki. Add PYp aki 'arroyo, wash'. Note h in Cah, NP, Cr vs. ø elsewhere. [*k > č/_i in Cr] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]

363. *tumawa (> *túmawa (PYp)) 'steep slope, cliff': Ca túmaw- 'be steep, precipitous, hazardous to climb'; Ca túmaw-iš 'steep one, cliff'; Nv tumagi 'cliff(s)'; PYp temoga 'ravine, canyon, gully'; PYp temgarã 'narrow'. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

364a. *yaway 'river, canyon': Kw pa-rii-yawi-dí / Kw pa-rayiwi-dì 'wash, arroyo' (pa- 'water', tii- 'up', yawi- 'hold'); Ch(L) yiwa-vi 'valley'; Ca yáwayyet 'canyon'; Cp wéwyaxwenet 'canyon, wash' (perhaps from Cp wée 'rain' + Cp yawe 'bring, carry'); Tbr yawá-n / yawá-n 'river'. The one Kw term suggests the *yawi morpheme may be from *ya'wi 'hold', but the Ca and Tbr terms may suggest otherwise, and the Cp word shows a different form than for 'canyon' and the other Kw term is less sure to be such a compound, all of which leaves much in doubt. [NUA: Num; Tak; SUA: Tbr]

364b. *yakun 'valley': TSh yookompin 'valley, flatlands'; Sh yakun 'valley'. The two Num forms nicely reconstruct to *yakun, since a final nasal is apparent in both and vowel leveling in TSh (*-a > o-o). Does the middle part of Cp wéwyaxwenet, and Ca yawayyet 'canyon' tie in here? [NUA: CNum]

365. *yïppa 'valley': NP yîpî (< *yîppî) 'valley'; Cp yipá-ś (< *yïppa) 'valley'; Tb yî-t 'valley'. The facts that Tb has absolute suffix -t instead of -l and Cp -p- instead of -v- suggest a consonant cluster. NT dîhoí 'level land' is less likely, but worth mentioning. [Tb -*t; l/r] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep]

366. *tipal-(ka) 'canyon, valley': Hp tïpqa 'vertical-walled canyon, gorge'; Nv tiparka 'valley'; CN tepe'ekic 'valley or ravine among mountains'; CN tepe'shio 'ravine' and CN tepe'shi-tl 'precipice, large rock, cliff, ravine'. Karttunen says the CN forms are from *típî 'rock' and the others may be also, yet the glottal stop in the CN terms and the liquid -r- in Nv both suggest a 3rd C, perhaps a liquid as in Nv. Hp and Nv may share an additional affix -ka, and other with other compounding elements. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]

367. *huwiC 'canyon, water way': Kw huuyu / huwii-pi-dì 'canyon'; Ch huwii (< *huwippi) 'wash, canyon'; SP ui- 'canyon, gully'; WMU wi-ppii / wi-ppi 'flood, where flood flows/washes, a wash, canyon, n'; CU wi 'be flooding, vî'; CU wi-i-a-qa-ti 'valley, gully, canyon, lit: that has flood'. Might Ktn wi'vît 'level ground, valley' belong? Like *hupiC > piC 'back', this also lost the first syllable, in fact, same syllable *hu-. [NUA: SNum]

368. *kom 'valley, canyon': CN komool-li 'gully, depression'; Tr komič 'canyon'. Cf. *komi 'back', which is a semantic stretch, but some may want to know about the possibility. [NUA: Trn, Azt]

369. *cawi 'steep/cliffed canyon': TO šaagig 'canyon, ravine, gorge'; Nv aagiga, pl: sasagiga 'barranca'. [NUA: Tep]

370. *siki 'slanted (terrain)': Mn siki'napaa 'slanted, on a slant, slantwise'; Hp sikya 'small valley, ravine, canyon with sloped sides'. [NUA: Num, Hp]

372. *hunuC/*hunup ‘canyon’: TSh hunuppin ‘ravine, gully, narrow canyon, gorge, ditch’; Sh(M) hunu’-pin ‘ditch, ravine, wash’; Tb humboyaam ‘Kelsi canyon’. Perhaps NP(B) hunagapïni ‘hollow, ditch’.

373. *ta’i ‘slope’: TO ta’i ‘up’; PYp ta’i ‘steep’; ST t'ai ‘uphill slope’; NV tai ‘cuesta arriba’; NT t'ai kaátï ‘lying down face up’; NT t'ai tïïsadyi ‘climb, go up’.

374. *t(N)kwïnitï ‘cliff’: NP tïbbi tïggwïnïdï; TSh tïŋwïnïtïn. This may contain ‘rock’ as first element of a compound.

375. *pan ‘valley’: Cm haapane ‘level valley’; SP paŋkwi- ‘mountain valley’; SP paan’noa ‘be hollow, open valley’; Ca pánu-wen-ik ‘canyon’; it may not hurt to keep in mind CN *pani ‘on, surface’ in regard to this, but we do not count it.

376. *aCh(y)a ‘take care of’: M88-'a38; KH.NUA; KH/M06-'a38: Ca ʼaqyaw ‘to rock or take care of a baby’; Sr ʼahqa-i ‘to babysit, take care of (baby or child)’; LS ʼaqîni- ‘to deliver a baby’ (cognate? Miller queries; good question).

377. *piya ‘care for’: ST vipiada ‘to herd’; CN piya ‘take care of s.o. or s.th., protect self from s.th., have stewardship over s.th.’; Wc ʼiviya ‘guardar, cuidar’. Could these relate to forms under *piya ‘mother, big’ as one who watches and cares for offspring?

378. *nukaya ‘care for’: B.Tep176 *nuukadai ‘to take care of’; M88-nu3; KH/M06-nu3: TO nuukud; LP(B) nuugud; NT nunúúkadai; ST nuukad. [intervocalic voicing in LP]


380. *(na)map ‘take care of’: TSh namaappái ‘take care of oneself, be made, fixed’; Cm namabiciapi ‘care for self’; Mn wabicabi ‘care for, take care of (an object)’.

CARRY, FETCH, BRING, TAKE, HOLD, GRASP, GRAB, SQUEEZE; see also hug LLEVAR, TRAER, TOMAR, QUITAR, AGARRAR, APRETAR, COMPRIMIR
382. *pa-liwi / *pa-hiwi 'fetch water': B.Tep266 *va'igi-i 'to fetch water'; TO wa'ig/wa'igi; LP va'ig; NT váigí; ST va'igi. Note the similarity between the latter parts of Tep *va'igi... 'to fetch water' and Tep *kwa'igi... (< *kwawí 'get') firewood; they both show Tep *-Vgi 'fetch'(< *-Vwi). I hesitate to reconstruct h in Tep, because a cluster or other things could yield a glottal stop besides the traditional h; so 'may be better than h. [SUA: Tep]

383. *kwalma 'put arm around, carry under arm': BH.Cup *kwal- 'armpit'; M88-kwal4; KH/M06-kwal4: Cp kwál'a 'side, armpit'; Cp kwalma 'carry under arm'; Ca kwálma 'hold under armpit, put arm around s'o.'s neck'; Ls qwálma 'armpit'; Gb kwár 'armpit'. While it is possible that *kwalma is a compound, none of the authors of the works on the three Cupan languages show it hyphenated, so Cp kwál'a 'side, armpit' (vs. Cp kwalma 'carry under the arm') may have shortened or lost the final syllable. Kt nkwáçùnic 'armpit' may contain the morpheme as well. [NUA: Tak]

384. *koma 'hug, carry in arms': M88-koma3 'hug, carry in arms'; KH/M06-koma3: TO koom-k 'hug'; TO koom-č 'have in one's arms'; Wr kóomi 'carry a person or animal'; My kóomim 'los gatos (biceps)'. To these can be added PYp kómi 'carry in arms'; Tr omábi 'cross or fold arms, wrap or dress oneself in s.th.'; NT koomiáátuagai 'carry in the arms'; NT kokóomityukui 'abrazarlo, vt'; ST koomkia / koomkk / koomkčʰu 'hug'. These may be *kwo(L)ma from *kwalma above. Tr suggests so, for Tr lack of k fits Tr w < kw. [NUA: Tep, Trn]

385. *kopa / *kwapa 'carry in the arms, hug': Trs kópan 'hug, squeeze, carry in the arms'. This could be *kwapa > kopa or *kopa > kwapa if an anticipatory assimilation began in the first syllable. [*kw] [NUA: CNum]

386. *yawi / *ya'iwi / *yaqwí 'carry, grasp': BH.Cup *yaw 'bring'; M67-79 *ya 'carry'; I.Num289 *yaa 'take, fetch'; M88ya4 'carry'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ya4: Mn ya 'put on, wear'; NP yahita 'carry'; Sh yaa 'get, carry, pick up'; Cm yaa 'take'; Kw yaa 'carry sg. obj'; Kw yaa-ki 'bring'; Kw yawi 'hold'; SP yaa 'carry one obj'; SP yaa 'carrying'; CU yá'a 'way carry, take by hand'; Cp yawiči 'carry'; Cp yáwe 'bring, carry'; Ca yáw 'to catch, touch, have, hold, take care of'; Ls yááw 'have, hold, take'; Sr yaa 'take, carry'; Sr yaa(i) 'take, seize, catch'; Gb yáw 'tener'; Gb yá 'carry it?'; Hp yaa- 'carry in/by hand'; Miller also lists Aztec forms like HN yawa/yawi 'to go', which might be related with a semantic change from *take, go get to 'go', but support for such would be nice. The semantic identity of Tb yáw 'hold, keep it' makes it probable, in spite of a vowel change. Add Ch(L) yawi- 'carry in hand or arms'; TO dagí 'action with hands'; TO dágí-mun 'to massage, knead'; TO dágí'id 'take care of, support'; Ktn yaw 'grasp, grab, catch'; Ktn ya 'carry, bring, vt. Note the similar semantic range between the TO terms and Ca yáw 'catch, touch, have, hold, take care of' and the segmental identity to *yawi. [ʔw, medial cluster?]

387. *yaw-níma(k) 'carry, have': KH.NUA: Sr yaaním 'have, vt'; Ca yáwnemáx 'bring s.th. for s.o.'; Hp yawníma 'be carrying by the hand, go about carrying by the hand'; Ls yáwmona 'carry, bring'. This is a compound with *yawi- 'hold'. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

388. *hitapa 'carry': Mn hida 'carry, hold using both arms'; NP hida 'carry in arms'; Eu híhána/n/híháwa-n 'carry'; Wr ihtába-nl 'carry a heavy load'. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Opn]

389. *himáC 'get, carry pl obj's': TSh himá 'carry in the hands, get'; TSh himakkin 'come to get'; TSh himakkin 'bring'; Sh himá 'get, carry pl obj's'; Cm hima'ari 'pick up, take (several obj's)'. In all these CNum languages, this suppletive plural form complements the singular *yaay-. [NUA: CNum]

390. *pína 'bring': M67-61b; M88-pi15; KH/M06-pi15: Tb pin- 'imbin 'bring it'; Sr pinai 'bring, bring back'; Cr anpi 'take it' and Cr -pi-. Ken Hill adds We piini 'be the property of' with a question mark, I agree. We might also add Nv vino 'for river to carry s.th.'; Tr bni/be'na 'recoger uno a uno, pepenar'. Note nasal anticipation in Tb. [no *p > zero in CrC; N in Tb] [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

391. *pana 'carry, bring': Nv babana 'traer, llevar'; Nv ay vappana 'traigase aqui'; PYp vavaneg 'carry in hands'; Cr hahana 'carry s.th. vertical'; Wc háana 'carry s.th. flexible'. [Cp > h in CrC] [SUA: Tep, CrC]
392. *u*.../*uNwa* 'take, carry': M67-431 'take'; M88-’u1 ‘carry’; KH/M06-’u1: Gb ‘ú’ ‘take’; Sr ‘uu’ ‘take, pick up, marry (woman)’; Sr na’uu ‘marry (either a man or a woman)’; TO u’u/uu ‘accept, get, take pl objs’; TO u’a/ua ‘bring, arrive carrying’; Eu úu ‘traer, coger’; Wr ú ‘bring’; Cr úù ‘carry (flat sg obj)’. Miller also lists Hp oya ‘put pl obs’. Let’s add Ca ‘ú’ ‘put s.th. on the head, carry’ and SP upwarra ‘catch (*?)’; the 2nd consonants of both Hp and SP differ from the glottal stop of other forms, but we do see glottal stop alternations with w/ŋw and due to clusters. Note that at both 386 and 392, SP shows -ŋ where most show -n. [*’= ’ in Tep] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

393. *tu’u* ‘take’: I.Num223 *tu(*’u) ‘take, pick up, fetch’; M88-tu19; KH/M06-tu19: Cm tuu ‘fetch water’; the SNum forms reconstruct to s.th. much longer, s.th. like *tu’ucma/*tu’umma: CU ti’may ‘pick up (off), take (off)’; SP tu’uhma / tu’umma ‘take pl obj’s’; SP tuumai ‘pick up’. Add Ch tu’úma ‘catch, take pl obs’; WMU tu’úma ‘take (many things)’. We might also add AYq maçu ‘unama ‘hold in hand, grasp while moving’ (with palatalisation *t > č) and AYq maçu ‘uweyek ‘hold while standing’ [cluster] [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]

394. *tuku* ‘carry on the back’: BH.Cap *tuk ‘carry a load’; M67-78 *tu’carry’; M88-tu11; KH.NUA; KH/M06-tu11: Cm tuku ‘carry, vt’; Cp tukwíve ‘load, n’; Ca túk ‘carry on the back’; Ls tukwání ‘carry on the back’; Sr toka-i ‘carry on the back, pack, vt’; CN itki ‘carry s.th., govern people’. Ken Hill astutely adds Wc tiki ‘acarrear, cargar’. Let’s also add TO čuuk ‘carry on one’s back’; Hv tukua ‘carry children on the back’; NT tutúúki ‘throw on the back’; NT tuuküti ‘carry it on the back’; ST tuuki’pres: tuuk ‘carry (on the back)’; Tr túü ‘irregular present of Tr tu- ‘fetch / haul / carry water’; Cr ra’a-tikí ‘las lleva (cosas redondas)’. Cr and Wc show the expected vowel i < *u, while Wc tu/tu ‘llevar, bajar’ agrees with and is found with *to below. [k/]; cluster [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]

395. *tu/ *to (perhaps *toha) ‘carry, fetch, go get, go to do’ (often compounded with *’u ‘take’ in *’u- to): KH.NUA; some from KH/M06-tu11: Sr uu’tu ‘go get, go marry’ (vs. Sr uu’ ‘take, pick up, marry (woman)’; Gb úuro ‘voy ir a traer’ (vs. Gb ú’a ‘take’); Hp oyato ‘go to put several’ (vs. Hp oya ‘put several’); Hp -to ‘go/come intending to do s.th.’ (as in Hp kwís-to ‘fetch, go to get (sg. inan.obj)’; Hp yiki-to ‘fetch (pl obj)’; Hp wik-to ‘fetch (anim. obj)’; Cr(JM) tya’antú’utu’ ‘take them (small round objs)’. Add Tr to-’mea ‘traer consigo, llevar consigo’; Tr -to ‘go do s.th.’; AYq tvo’ote ‘carry with the hand’; Eu -too in Eu zóktoo ‘carry in arms’; Eu mato ‘carry on shoulder’; Yq toha ‘llevar, traer, echar, dejar’; AYq toha ‘carry sg. obj’; Nv toabada ‘acarrear’. Wc tu/tu ‘llevar, bajar’. Why Hp o, not ú? We might combine this with *tuku above, except for differing Cr, Wc, Hv, and Tr forms. We might combine it with *tu’u above, except that Yq has very different forms there also. [V problem] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]

396a. *kwísiC* (AMR) / *kwísa/i (< *kwisa?) ‘take, carry’: Sapir; VVH52 *kwí(sí) ‘to take, get’; M67-76 *kwe ‘carry’; I.Num88 *kwíha ‘catch, take’; M88-kwí2; AMR (1990) *kwísiC; KH/M06-kwí2 *kwiC ‘catch’; Jane Hill 2008: NP kwíi ‘carry’; TSh kwíi ‘/ kwíi ‘catch’; Cm kwíi ‘catch, capture’; SP kwíi ‘take sg obj’; Tb wísi(at)-’i ‘catch, rope, vt’; Hp kwísi ‘receive, take, pick up’; TO bíhi ‘acquire, get’; Yq bwíse; My bwisse; Cr -céu in Cr rá’a-céu-nyí ‘he is going to carry it away’; Wc kwí ‘llevar algo largo y sólido’; Pl kwí grab, take’; CN kwí ‘take, vt’. Num appears to have lost intervocalic -s- or *-s- > -h-. Miller’s inclusion of the 2nd Tb form, Tb wíkit ‘get, catch, grab’, with a very different medial consonant is possible if from a compound something like *kwís-kV, but see *wik ‘take by hand’ below. Be that as it may, we must add PYp behe ‘carry, get, grasp, seize’; ST biya (pret. bií) ‘adquirir, obtener, conseguir’. The Cahitan vowel (i) may be original; Azt also, with loss of the final syllable. Sapir, VVH, and Miller have all included the Azt forms. The forms in b also belong after reduction of kwV > ku.

396b. *kus* ‘take’: BH.Cap *kus ‘take’; M88-kus; Stubbs 1995-6; KH/M06-kus; Ca -kus ‘take’; Cp kuša/- kušánə- / kuša`- / kuši- ‘get, fetch, take’; Ls kušáni ‘take, grasp sg. inan.obj’. These are related to the above by *kwís > kus. [labials *kV > ku, Tb w < *kw; V problem; *s > h in Num] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, CrC, Azt]

396c. *kwisa > *kwiha ‘carrying net’: at KH/M06-kwi11 ‘bag’ Hill lists Sr kwíih-t ‘carrying net’ and Ktn kwíha-t ‘net, carrying net’ as maybe with the *kus ‘bag’ forms, and could be. Be all that as it may, an interesting side note is that Ktn kwíhaka / kwíhak ‘woman’ may derive from *kwísa-ka ‘carrying-net-haver’, the one who does the carrying. I also put with these *kus ‘bag’ below. [NUA: Tak]
*kusa ‘bag, sack’: M88-ku11; KH/M06-ku11: Mn kussa/kúsa; Sh kussa; WSh kusa (acc. –i) ‘pants’; TSh kusa ‘pants’. To these, add Wc kisíuri ‘talega, bolsa’ whose vowel agrees (We ñ < *u). Miller includes the *kusa with the *kuna ‘bag’ forms, but unless the 2nd syllables are separate morphemes, the differing 2nd consonant suggests a different etymology, with which Wc agrees. [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

397. *po’i take s.th. away, dispossess: TO wooppo’id ‘take away from, deprive of’; Nv vopoida ‘quitar’; Tr bo’e ‘quitar, disposee’; Wr po’-e ‘take s.th. away’. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

398. *pu’a ‘carry’: AYq pu’ate ‘carry, transport, take along, vt’; AYq pu’akt ‘load, vt’; AYq pu’akti ‘load, pack, n’; Yq pu’a ‘carga, v’ (pres); Yq pu’ak ‘cargó (pret);’ Yq pu’akta ‘cargar, v’; Yq pu’akti ‘carga,n’; My a’a pi’ata ‘lo va cargando (en hombros), v’; My pi’akta ‘esta cargando’; My a’a pi’aktia ‘lo carga (en los hombros), v’. Could these tie to *po’i above? [*-u > *o-a > o-i] [SUA: Cah]

399. *wayaka > *wika / *wíki ‘take by hand, lead out’: Ca wik- ‘carry with the hand’; Hp wiiki ‘take along, lead, escort, kidnap, steal (anim obj)’; Hp wiiki-ta ‘hold s.th. suspended from the hand by a handle’; Hp wiki ‘strand, items on a string for hand carrying’; Hp wiikiti-ma ‘go along carrying s.th. in the hand’; Yq wiike ‘estirar, jalar, sacar’; Tr wi-mea ‘coger y llevarse, arrebatar, robar’; perhaps Mn wi-(ki) ‘get, have, catch’; Sr wiq-kin ‘take out, cause to exit fast (sg obj)’; Sr wayaq-kin ‘take out, cause to exit fast (pl obj)’; Sr wiq-q ‘go out, come out, exit fast (sg sbj)’; Sr wayaq-q ‘go out, come out, exit fast (pl sbj)’; Nv gika ‘llevar algo colgado de la mano’; CN wiika ‘take, carry, go together, accompany’; CN tee-wiika ‘take or conduct s.o., take s.o. away, carry s.o.’ (Bierhorst 1985, 138). The inclusion of Tb wiikit–‘íwik ‘get, catch, grab’ may better belong here than with *kwísi where M88 has it, though a close but different vowel is *kusa with the *kuna.

M88-ca3 includes M67-234 *ca‘/cak; I.Num254 *ca‘ ‘lead by the hand’; L.Son29 *capi; B.Tep186a *saada ‘to herd cattle’; CL.Azt29 *cakw(a); Hp caama ‘take, lead pl.obj’s; Sr čawuu-i ‘gather, pick’; TO saakum; Num *ca‘i / *caka forms; TrC *capi forms; and Tak *cakwi forms. We might divide Miller’s collection of initial *ca syllables according to 2nd consonant or cluster:

400a. *cakwa / *cakwi ‘catch, grasp, close (grasp or s.th. else), lock’: M88-ca3; KH.NUA; Stubbbs1995-9; Stubbbs 2003-35; KH/M06-ca3: Ls čákwi ‘seize, catch’; Cp čaqwe ‘catch, grab, cling to’; TO šakum ‘catch, grasp’; NT šakómi ‘handful’, ST šakum ‘handful/fistful (of grain)’; CN cakwa ‘close, enclose, lock up’; CN cakwi ‘close, get closed, vi’; Pl cakwa (pret cak) ‘close, shut, cover’. Add Mn cakwitíi ‘close, lock, bolt’; WMU čaquwi / čaquwi / čahkwi ‘lock s.th., vt’; WMU čahkwi ‘na-y ‘turn, vt’; SP čugwá-ŋqù ‘fasten on’; CU cuqwi ‘adhere to, stick to’; CU čuhkwíi ‘twist, turn’; CU čuhkwi ‘napi ‘key, n’; Ch čikwi-čui ‘turn’, Kw caagu-bí ‘glue’. [labials, TO; -a vs. i] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Azt]

400b. *ca‘wi ‘take’: Mn ca‘winoo ‘carry (by use of a handle), vt’; NP caggwi’huk ‘carry off’; Sr čawuu’i ‘gather, pick, harvest’. [NUA: WNum]

400c. *ca‘pi ‘take’: L.Son29 *capi ‘coger’: Eu zápa / cápa- ‘coger, agarrar’; Tr ča‘pi-me ‘coger, agarrar, casarse’; Tr na’cabí ‘coger pl.obj’s’; Wr ca‘pi-ná ‘agarrar, sostener’; Op capi. Note the glottal stop in Tr *ca‘pi and *na‘capi. TrC *ca‘pa‘i may be related to *cakwa/i as another item showing some evidence of clustered or gminated noninitial p relating to kw, and the glottal stop may suggest a cluster. Same division as cold. [glottal stop in Tr; *-kw/-*p-] [SUA: Tep, Opn]

401a. *ca‘ay ‘grasp, hold’: M67-234 *ca‘ ‘hold’; I.Num 253 *ca‘(i)/cée ‘hold’; M88-ca18 and ca3; KH/M06-ca18: Mn cee; NP ca‘i ‘hold’; TSh ca‘-/cée ‘grasp, catch’; Sh ca‘i ‘hold in the hand, lead’, Ch ca‘i ‘grab’; SP ca‘i / ca‘aí ‘catch’; CU ca‘aí ‘catch, grab, hold, seize, take-in-hand’; Sr cha‘a’kin ‘select, choose’, Cp čayú’a ‘harvest’; Ls čá –y ‘sift, winnow’. Add Kw ca‘ ‘with the hand, grasping’ and WMU ca‘a-y / ča‘a-y / če‘e-y ‘grab, catch, touch, hold, vt’. I had my doubts about the Tak forms until KH/M06 added Ktn ca‘yik ‘select, choose, pick out’ which provides a credible bridge between the Num forms and the Tak forms both phonologically and semantically. Hill also adds Hp caacay ‘winnow’ and Hp caayan-ta ‘be sifting, winnowing’ and Hp caama ‘take, lead, conduct (pl obj) with a question mark.

401b. *ca‘/ *caC / *co‘ - ‘with the hand’: M88-ca- ‘by hand’; TSh ca‘-/co‘- ‘with the hand by grasping’; TSh co‘i / co‘e ‘gather, pick up’; Cm co‘meefi ‘gather, pick (harvest plant product)’. This verbal prefix is in most WN and CN languages and likely followed by *ca‘ay ‘grasp’. [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp]
402. *cakka* ‘catch, hold’: Mna caka ‘catch and lead back’; NP caka ‘lead s.th., bring’ (< *cakka*); NP caka’hu ‘grab a woman, horse, etc.’; NP cakati ‘hold, vt’; NP cakadino ‘handle’; NP(B) caka ‘lead along’; perhaps Cp čiqačiqa’a ‘fetch it over!’ All forms show a geminated medial *-kk-*. The first part of TSh caikkkan ‘hold, grasp’ is TSh cai” ‘grasp’ like Sh cai” ‘hold in the hand, lead’ which means that *cakka* may be a compound of *ca’i*/ca’ay and s.th. else, but not certain, in light of differing forms in Mn, NP, Cp. [NUA: Num, Tak]

403a. *nu’u* ‘grab, get, bring’: My nú’upe ‘lo está agarrando, cogiendo’; Ayq nu’u ‘get, acquire, vt’; Ayq nu’u’ap ‘bring, deliver, receive, vt’; Ayq nunu’e ‘grab, seize, vt’; Ayq nunu’ubwa ‘have on one’s person, have in one’s possession’; Yq nú’u ‘traer, llevar’; Yq nú’u’ap ‘traer’; Yq nú’u ‘agarrar, escoger, juntar, recoger’; Yq nu’u’ap ‘trajer’. What of Ca nu’in ‘tell to do, send, send for, vt’; Ca nun’umi ‘(distr) send here and there’?

403b. *nuŋu* ‘hold, carry’: Ca núŋu ‘carry, take along’; Cp neŋú ‘have, hold, vt’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

404. *nuk* ‘carry, take, get’: My nuksiika ‘cargó’; My a’a nuksiime ‘lo carga (sg sbj)’; My a’a nuksakka ‘lo cargan (pl sbj)’; Ayq nuksiime ‘llevar (sg.sbj)’; Ayq nuksaka ‘llevar (pl. sbj)’; Yq nukseeme ‘lleva sg sbj’; Yq nuksaka ‘llevaran (pl sbj)’; Cp nuke ‘get, vt’. One might want to combine these with the above, but Cp has a different form in b and the Cah languages have other forms in a. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

405. *noC* ‘carry on back’: I:Num112 *no(n)’o ‘carry (on the back)’; M88-no6; KH/M06-no6: Mn noo ‘carry, pack, haul’; NP no; TSh noo’ ‘carry on the back’; Sh noo’; Cm noo ‘haul’; Kw noo’ ‘pace or carry on the back’; Kw noo-p ‘s.th. packed’ (having p instead of v shows the final gemination); SP noo / noo’; CU nüo- ‘way’, carry, on back, in hands, on vehicle’. Add Ch(L) noogwah ‘carry on back’; Ch(L) ‘avi-n’oo ci ‘(one who) carried white clay on his back’ ‘(avi white clay)’; NP(B) noo- / noo’o- ‘carry, transport’; NP(B) noobidiu ‘to camp’. Note Mn nobi ‘house’ and Mn nobiha ‘on’. *ma* as a reduplication of UA *ma(n) ‘hand’ which may underlie the Azt forms as ‘arm s.th.’ meaning ‘carry s.th.’? We is a reduplication of UA *ma(n) ‘hand’ which may underlie the Azt verb. [SUA: Azt]

406. *ma(ma)* (on shoulders), govern’: CL.Azt25 *maama ‘carry’; M88-ma29; KH/M06-ma29: CN maamaa; Po mama; Z maamaa; T moma. Might Wc maamá ‘brazo, mano’ tie to the Azt forms as ‘arm s.th.’ meaning ‘carry s.th.’? We is a reduplication of UA *ma(n) ‘hand’ which may underlie the Azt verb. [SUA: Azt]

407. *kucupu* ‘carry on back/neck’: B.Tep124 *kusuvui ‘carry (on the back)’; M88-ku27; KH/M06-ku27: Nv kusubio ‘cargar en las espaldas’; UP kušivũ; LP(B) kušu; NT kušivu / kusůvui; ST kusvi. Add also PYp kušvimm ‘carry on the back’ ‘(PYp kusiv / kusuvark ‘neck’) and TO kušivi’ot ‘shoulder a load, vt’ ‘(TO kušo ‘back of the neck’)’. Cf. *kucippu ‘neck’. [SUA: Tep]

408. *nawa* ‘take away, grab’: Eu nanáwa-n ‘quitar’; Ca náwan ‘take s.th. away from s.o.’; Ca náwas ‘to grab, fight over s.th.’; Ca náwiči ‘bring it here!’ [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn]

409a. *ma(N)-cuka* ‘hand-squeeze’: Ayq maćuktia ‘handful’; My maćuktia ‘empuñar’; Mna macoga ‘hold in hand’; NP maducoga ‘squeeze with hand’; Ca čuk ‘grab a handful of s.th., claw (as a cat), stick (as a bur)’. A cluster may preserve *-Ne- > -c- in Num.

409b. *(man)-tu’u/cu’u* (sometimes compounded with hand *man-cu/co) ‘squeeze, knead’: SP -cuu- ‘squeeze’; Ch manču ‘squeeze’; CU ma-cóy ‘squeeze, knead’; Tr ma’so ‘squeeze/wring out, knead’; Tbr maso ‘knead’. The glottal stop in Tr intrigues—did it hop *(man-cuk > *man-cu > ma’cu > ma’so) or is it the result of an original cluster? The Ch term may be further evidence of *-n* in hand (see discussion at ‘hand’. Though also at *tu’u* above, what of Ayq maču’unama ‘hold in hand, grasp while moving’ and Ayq maču’uweyek ‘hold while standing’? [glottal stop hop, o/u] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]

111. **pak** ‘squeeze’: M88-pa25 ‘squeeze’; KH/M06-pa25: TO wak’i ‘to milk, squeeze’; Wr ihpáge ‘ordeñar’ (Wr forms frequently contain a ih- prefix); Tr pačunti ‘exprimir’; My pipí’ike ‘exprimir, ordeñar (“cognate?” Miller queries). TO and Wr are related; and My’s transposition of a glottal stop would not be unusual. Could Tr’s č be a palatalization of a velar, as Miller presumed, I presume? Yet it also has much in common with *patu/pata forms at ‘flat’. [Wr ih-CV vs. CV] [SUA: Tep, Trm, Cah]

112. **taCci** ‘(be) squeeze(d)’: Wr tahcí-na/ca ‘apretar, squeeze’; Tr ŕachí-ca/na ‘apretar, oprimir’; Tr ŕachí ‘apretarse, estar apretado’.

113. **wi** ‘carry’: M67-77 *we ‘carry’; M88-wï7; KH/M06-wï7: Mn wï ‘get, have, catch, take’; Mn(M67) wï ‘hold in arms’; Ls womi ‘carry on one’s shoulder’; My weria ‘carry’.

114. **yu’a** ‘take’:

115. **ŋï’ / ŋï’i / ŋï’ha / ŋï’ha’ ‘grasp, catch’: Hp ŋï’a ‘grab, catch’; Hp ŋï’i-wa ‘get caught’; WMU güú/güý-y ‘grasp, catch, get, take, vt’; Kw ku’u ‘catch, get, receive’; CU kïí ‘take, pick up, obtain’. Sometimes initial k can sound like either k or g to English speakers; however, WMU never sounds like k for this etymon, only g. Above at *kwiha are Ch kwïhï ‘catch, take, receive sg obj’ and SP qwiï ‘take sg obj’. [ŋ / k] [NUA: Hp, SNum]

NB, for *ku’awi (get) firewood’, see ‘tree’.
NB, for *mato ‘carry (on shoulder)’, see at ‘shoulder’.
NB, for *pacu ‘squeeze, mash’, see ‘flat(ten)’.
NB, for *ci’ä, see at ‘gather’.
NB, for *ay ‘pick, get, take’, see ‘gather’.
NB, for *muki ‘wrap, bundle, carry a bundle’, see at ‘bag’.
NB, for *kwiCtV ‘wring (clothes), squeeze’ (Cp kwiča ‘wring out, squeeze’; Ls kwííči ‘wring’) see wash.

**CAVE; CUEVA, CAVERNA**

‘Rock’ (*tïmï) and ‘house’ (*ki, *kani) are frequent morphemes in compounds for cave:

116. **tï-m-kanî (> *tïN-kanî) ‘cave (rock-house)’: KH/M06-tï56: TSh ŋïkahni; Sh ŋïn-kahni; Kw tï-gahni; SP ŋïkani. [NUA: CNum, SNum]

117. **tï-m-ki** ‘cave (rock-house), hole, storage cave’: BH.Cup *takik ‘burrow’; M88-tï49; KH/M06- tï49: Cp têki’s burrow; Ca têki-s ‘cave, hole’; Ls tóvki-s ‘storage cave’. The *-ki syllable is likely ‘house’. As for the first syllable, Miller (M88-tï49) has Cp and Ca deriving from *tïN- ‘rock’ and Ls from *tip ‘earth’. While that distinction may be so, we might add Tb tïngiil ‘rock ledge’, which would derive from rock. Ca and Cp could feasibly be from either, as a cluster eliminated the first -C-. However, the clearest example of the compound is Ktn tïmki-c ‘cave’. [NUA: Tak, Tb]

118. **tawin-(tïn)** ‘cave, hole’: TSh tawintïn ‘hole, cave, burrow’; Sh taintïn ‘hole’; Cm taina ‘hole, cave, room’. Relevant to the TSh term are TSh tawin ‘be a hole, v’ and TSh tawin-coko ‘ankle’. [w > ø/ V_V] [NUA: CNum]

119. **(tï)-koma** ‘cave’: Eu komát ‘cueva’; Tr rékomí ‘cavidad, hueco en la peña’; Tr gomi ‘cavidad’. [SUA: Trm, Opn]
420. *tiN-so (< *tiN-poso (?)) ‘cave’; VVH118 *tīso ‘cave’; B.Tep239 *tihoi ‘cave’; M67-81 *te-so ‘cave’; CL.Azt212 *tīsso; L.Son300 *tīso ‘cueva’; M88-ti13; Stubbs2000b-43; KH/M06-ti13 *tīn-so ‘rock-burrow’: the Tbr and Hp forms may suggest reductions in other languages, when considering the following UA words for ‘cave’:

Tbr te-veso-li-t ‘cave’
Hp tūsō / tūhsō ‘rockshelter, cliff overhang’
Hp(S) tīpī ‘cave’
Hp(V) pōsō ‘interior corner, box canyon, cave’

TO cihö; NT tihoi; ST tyiov; Nv tīho; Yq téeso; Wr tēsō; CN oostoo-t ‘cave’. Miller, VVH, Lionnet, Bascom, Campbell and Langacker all reconstruct s.th. near *ti-so, which fits nicely with Yq, Wr, Tr, TO, NT, and perhaps Hp tūhsō. However, Hp tūsō/tūhsō suggests a consonant cluster, like Hill’s reconstruction *tīn-so. Other UA words may hint of something like *tiN-poso: Hp(V) pōsō is listed as meaning ‘cave, corner’ in Voegelin (1957), and as ‘interior corner, box canyon’ in Hill. Nv vihoga ‘principio de una barranca [beginning of a ravine, gorge]’ and Nv atabihoa ‘la división de las asentaderas’ show *piso ‘indentation, concave’ perhaps, and V > i before alveolars is frequent in UA. Since CN drops initial *p, CN oos- ‘cave’ may point to *poso. Both Tbr te-veso-li-t ‘cave’ and ST tyiov ‘cave’ also reveal a bilabial associated with this etymon compounded with *tiN ‘rock’; assimilation or vowel change in Tbr (*te-poso > *te-peso) and metathesis or anticipation in ST (*ti-poso > *tiop). Sprirant h in Hp tūhsō/tūsō also suggests a previous underlying cluster. In addition, many languages showing *tīso typically do not hold clusters well. So some may be from *tiN-poso ‘rock corner/concavity’ followed by reduction—*tiN-poso > *ti-peso > *ti-hso (Hp) > *tīso (TO, NT, Yq, Wr, Tr)—with bilabial remains in ST, Hp, Tbr, but not expected to remain in CN. If such is the case, then Tbr is the most complete form of that compound (Tbr te-veso). As well, Hp, ST, NP, and CN show hints of the compound *tiN-poso for this Hp and SUA form. [medial C, maybe cluster] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]

421. *tiN-po-ki ‘cave’: Mn tapogi; NT tībogi. Perhaps *tiN-po-ki ‘rock-in-house’. Could *tiN-poso above be part of this compound? In fact, Ls tōvki-š may be tied to WNUM *tpoki ‘cave’. Ls is the only Tak language showing *-p- (as only Ls shows -p- in *kupta ‘buttocks’), but Ls tōvki-š could possibly align with the *-po- syllable in WNUM, since we see many cases of WNUM containing 3 syllables, which are reduced to only the 1st and 3rd in other UA languages, which apparently lost the 2nd syllable. [reduction of WNUM] [NUA: WNUM]

CEDAR, JUNIPER; CEDRO, ENEBRO, TÁSCATE, JUNIPERO

422. *wa’aC / *wa’aN ‘juniper or cedar tree’: M88-wa25; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wa25: Ls wáa’at ‘California Juniper’; Sr waa’t ‘juniper’; Gb wá’a’at ‘guita’ (juniper? Miller queries). To the Takic terms Ken Hill adds Ch wa’a’pi; Hp lāapī ‘shreddy bark, esp. of juniper’; Ktn wa’-t; Eu woá-t, gen woaté, acc. woata) ‘sauce, arbol’; Tbr amoat (< *awa-t) ‘encino’; and Cah wá’a-t ‘sauce’ (with a question mark). We can also add Tb and other Num forms for ‘cedar tree’: Mn wa’a’pi; NP waapi; Sh waa’-pin; Cm waapi; Kw wa’a-’da’hi ‘white cedar’; SP wa’a-’ ‘cedar tree’; CU wa’-pi; Tn waa’a-t ‘juniper berry’; Tn išwa’a-’du ‘Tamarack, like juniper’ and NT gááyi ‘tásate, i.e., cedro blanco’ whose initial syllable agrees, and is not impossible, but see below. Tb, Ls, Ch, SP, CU, Sh, etc. show a final consonant. In fact, Kw -d- might suggest that it is a N, as Kw -d- < *-Nt-, Kw -r- < *-t-, Kw -t- < *-tr-. [Hp l < *w] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Opn, Tbr, Cah]

423. Tr gayorí / kaorí / kawari / aorí / abori / waorí / awari ‘enebro, tásate’ provides a plethora of forms that all seem to be related variants, some of which parallel Wr aorí ‘tásate, juniper’; in addition, Tr gayorí looks much like NT gááyi ‘tásate’, but without the usual correspondences. The variety of forms in Tr may suggest a collection at the central position of a dialect chain that includes Tep languages. Both sides of something like *wapari / wapori > Tep *gawari / gawori offers resemblances to many of the forms, but exactly what happened is hard to say. Whether NT gááyi is a truncated loan from Tr, or vice versa, or whether NT is related to *wa’aC above, the Tr and Wr forms seem to be tied, as their different accent patterns might preclude borrowing; however, I know better than to offer a reconstruction on this one. But to *kava-., Cr kwaapi ‘cedro’ may be of interest here, in contrast to Cm eka-waapi ‘juniper, red cedar (eka ‘red’ + waa ‘cedar’), a compound showing *aNka ‘red’, which is found only in Num, and so the Cr form seems not likely related to the Cm form. [SUA: Trn, CrC]

424. *sama- ‘cedar tree’: TSh samapi ‘juniper, cedar’; Sh sama-pin ‘cedar or juniper tree’.
[NUA: CNum]
NB, for *yuy in Ca and Cp, see pine *yuwi / *yuy.
NB, Tascate appears to be a CN form; if so, AYq tahkali ‘cedar’ would be related to or borrowed from it.

Centipede: see worm
Ceremony: see religious terms
Change: see different
Charcoal: see fire
Chase: see hunt
Cheek: see face
Cherry: see berry

**CHEST; PECHO**

425. *tawi ‘chest’; Sapir; M67-59 *tawi ‘breast’; L.Son280 *tawi pecho; M88-ta29; KH/M06-ta29: Hp twiccqa 'chest'; Ca taw; NT tagi; Op tawa; Tbr tamwí-t 'body'; Tbr tamwí-ta-m 'chest'; Wr tawiraci; Tr ꜱawí; Yq táwi; My tawíi; Cr tabí; Wc tawí/taaví. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Opn, Cah, CrC]


427. *nïN- / *nïñaC / *nïNCaC ‘chest’: I.Num125 *nïña(h)pi(h) ‘chest’; M88-nï13; KH/M06-nï13: NP nïjadi ‘chest’; TSh nïjappih ‘rib cage area just below the breasts’; Sh nïnka”-ppih / yenka”-ppih (I.Num125 has Sh nïnka-ppih, nïña-ppih). Miller includes other forms that appear to be identical to or derive from Num *nïmï ‘person’: Mn nïmï ‘body (dead or alive), torso, upper body’ and Mn nïmï ‘person, Indian’; SP nïjwiia-(vi) ‘body’ and SP nïjwi ‘person, Indian’; CU nïa- ‘aa-vi ‘body’ is also from Ute nüu < *nïmï ‘person’ as also the Mn and SP terms, whereas CU nïa- ‘body, torso, inside’—whereas the Yerington dialect has separate terms in NP nïmï ‘Indian’ vs. NP nïjadi ‘chest’. It is possible that *nïñaC is a compound including s.th. like *nïmï + kap > *nïaC, but the two sets should be distinguished. [N/m/nk/kw, clusters] [NUA: Num]

428. *kwaco ‘chest’: TO baašo ‘the chest, the breast, the front of’; Nv vaso ‘pecho’; Nv vasogiva ‘enfrente’; LP(EF) baas ‘pecho’; PYp baaso ‘chest’; ST baasot ‘pecho’; pl: baabastu. Tbr peseñ-vá-r ‘pecho del hombre’ is likely borrowed from a Tepiman language, since Tbr is a kw-language and also should have c instead of Tep s < *c. [SUA: Tep]

Chia: see plant
Chicken: see bird
Child: see bear, little, man (for son), woman (for daughter).

**CHILI, CHILE**

429. *cilv ‘chile’: CL.Azt27 *ciil chile; M88-cil10; KH/M06-cil10: CN ĉiili ‘chili’; Hp ciili ‘chili pepper’. As Miller and Kenneth Hill suggest, the Hp term is probably borrowed from CN; nevertheless, Mn ciini’ ‘chili’ does show the expected NUA sound change *L > n, though other NUA terms may also be borrowed from CN, especially Cp ciili; Cp and Hp fit a later loan pattern; however, Tb and other Num forms match *cira/cita, with a final a, instead of i, though Azt originally had *-ta as the absolutive suffix: TSh cita ‘chili pepper’; Cm ciira’; CU ciiri; Tb ciira’/čiida’. It is curious, however, that so much of NUA has s.th. similar to the CN form, while all of SUA, CN's closest neighbors, have a different word *koko1. Due to the hollow rattling sound of ripe chile in the wind, CN ĉiili- could be from verbs like CN ciiliin(i) ‘to sound, of a bell’. See at ‘shake’ *cilv ‘shake’ and M88-ci9. [liquids] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Azt]

NB, for *ko’okoLo ‘chili pepper’, see ‘pain’.
NB, Zuni čili and Zuni koło both mean 'to make rattling sound'.

Chin: see mouth
Chipmunk: see squirrel
- CIRCLE, BALL, SPHERE; ANY CIRCULAR FORM OR MOTION, ROUND, CURVE(D), CROOKED, CURLY, TURN, SPIN, TWIST, ROLL; CIRCULO, PELOTA, ESFERA; CIRCULAR, REDONDO, CURVO, ENCORVAR(SE), GIRAR, VOLTEAR, DAR VUELTAS, ATORAR(SE), RODAR

430a. *kapol / *kapul 'ball, sphere': Sh takapoon ‘ball’; Ny kaborhi’ka-usi ‘ball’; PYp kaver ‘ball’; ST kavuuliky 'spherical'; ST kavuulikyada 'to form like a ball'; Eu kaporis ‘ball’; Tr ka*po-çi ‘bolitas, esferitas, grumos en forma de bola’; Tr ka*po-ma ‘hacerse bola, apelotonarse, inflarse’; and perhaps CU ta-pööti-gwa-’napí ‘ball’ with reduction; CU p instead of v suggests an underlying cluster, perhaps *-kp > -p)-, because CU póöti-kway 'be round, circular, spherical' alone with a prefixed ta- should be tavó… We also see a *ta- prefix in Sh and CU: *ta-kapol (like Sh) > takpol > CU tapööti-, thus the *poL/*pot forms below may be related also. [*l, cluster, nasals, liquids, *ta- prefix, LS V]

430b. *pola / *puLa / *pot 'round, spherical': Sapir; M67-357 *pot; I.Num151 *pono; M88-po15; KH.NUA; KH/M06-po15: Mn ‘atti’-pono 'round'; NP paccippono ‘a spherical'; Sh pono ‘round, spherical’; SP potto(“) ‘round, spherical’; CU pöö-ti-kway (< *poottik-kway M88) ‘be round, circular, spherical’; Hp pöla- 'globular shape' in Hp póla-n-pi 'round, spherical' and Hp pölaviki ‘loaf bread, bread with a rounded shape’, etc; and perhaps Hp póla 'hump, hunchedback'; Cp pùve 'be spherical' (vowel is wrong notes M88); Ca pûmle 'be round'; Ls péeva 'be round' (from Ls péva 'roll away'); Ls purúruś ‘round, a ball’ (vowel is wrong M88); Hp pólâpî ‘round, spherical’; Wr polo ‘knot’; Cr ú’uraara ‘ball’; Cr hù’ura-ra’a ‘it is rounded’; Cr hure ‘eine Kugel, eine Ball machen’ (in Sapir). The CrC forms fit well (since *p > h/ø and CrC u < *o) or could belong with *oLa below. Ken Hill groups the following Sr terms with the preceding Hp and Tak forms: Sr poţopo’-k ‘be round/spherical’; Sr poţo-kin ‘make round/spherical’; Sr poţopka ‘round/spherical one’. Note Mn tûponogi ‘be round’ (Bethel et al) may also belong, if the other Num forms do; however, one thing that bothers me about this set is that if we assume *pot, then intervocalic *t > l is acceptable, and *l > n is acceptable also for NUA languages. But to have some Num languages still showing *-t-/*-tt- (SP and CU), while others are assumed to have undergone the full circle through two sound changes *t > *l > n (an undocumented sequence of sound shifts) is unsettling. That is, either *t > l or *L > n is documentable, but for some Num languages to proceed through both presumed changes while others went through neither has me thinking PUA *-L-, or maybe clusters. [liquids, medial C]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]

431. *oLa 'ball': M67-20 *ol ball; M88-’o16; KH/M06-’o16: TO ola; NT oróösí 'ball, ball game'; Cr ú’uraara; CN te-ololtik; CN ololtik 's.th. ball-shaped, spherical; Pl ulul-nah 'round, spherical’. In M88-po15, Miller also includes the Aztec forms *olol with *pol/pol; and of course *p > ø in Azt allows that possibility; but Azt cannot stay in both sets unless Mn and the Tep forms are considered loans from Azt. So this is likely a different stem, but identifying the source of the Azt forms is difficult. Miller (1967-20) includes Mn ’ohnowi; Mn onoowi ‘ball’ (Bethel et al). Hp njola ‘hoop, wheel, tire’ may be relevant, since Hp initial ø is problematic in PUA, though most have it with other initial nasals (*NoLa) a few sets below. [*o > Cr u, liquids]

[NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]

432. *(po)Lo’oma ‘bend, v’; Tb polo’oma ‘it is bending, vi’; Tb(M) polo’mat-’opoloolum ‘bend, vi’; Tr lo’mi-ma ‘to bend’; Wr lo’mi-baa-ni / lo’mi-pa-ni ‘be bent’; Wr lo’mi-na-ni / lo’mi-ca-ni / lo’mi-ná-ni / lo’mi-cání ni ‘bend something almost double, sth. supple like a sapling, vt’. These form an interesting trio, in spite of Wr and Tr losing the first syllable. While Ca lámi- ‘fold, wrinkle, vi’ has an unexpected first vowel, the consonants merit its consideration, and the a/o alternation is frequent enough to recommend it, which we can hardly put with *nom ‘bend’ because we already have Ca númi ‘bend, vi’ there. [a/o, liquids] [SUAI: Trn; NUA: Tep, Tak]

433a. *takol / *takuLa ‘round, (en)circle’: Eu takóris ‘circle’; AYq tekolai ‘round’; My tekolai ‘redondo’; Sr ta’k’iq ‘be round, circular’ (Ken Hill, 2001). In light of AYq and My tekolai, and Sr ta’ku’k (Hill, 1994), these forms of *takuLa may be related to Tep *sikolai, following a vowel change (a > i), and then a palatalization of *t > c (*takuLa > *tikuLa > cikoLa); the scarcity of *ti syllables in UA supports that. They might also be related to *ta-kapul showing the same reduction as *ta-pol except retaining the other consonant of the cluster, retaining k and losing p instead of retaining p and losing k: *ta-kapol > takpol > takol. [Sr vowel; *u-a > o-a]

433b. *cikoLa/i (Tep *sikola) ‘(a)round’: VVH148 *ciikuri/cikori; B.Tep190 *sikora 'round'; B.Tep191 *sikori 'around’; M88-ci15; KH/M06-ci15: TO sikoD ‘round, circumscribed’; TO sikoL ‘circular, round’; NT šikóra;
333c. *ta(C)ko 'wrap around': Wr ta'ko-ná 'enveloper'; Tr tagó 'ponerse el taparrabo, vestirse (el varón)'; Tr tagótu 'estar vestido (el varón)'; TO čą́ 'wrap around the ankle, vt'; TO čikoš 'wrap around the ankle, vt'; TO čikoš-Du 'an ankle rattle'.

Miller and Iannucci combine the various forms in M88-ko14 'bend, bent' and I.Num58 *ko(o)nih 'bend, bent': NP wíkkono'o 'ring, circle'; Sh koonih 'curved, bent'; Kw nokkomi 'to bend, be bent'; SP nokkommi/nokko'mi 'bend, vi, be bent'; CU komo'ni 'bend, twist, curve, turn, n'; My kónilai 'curva, arco'. But let's separate them thusly for now:

335. *koLí / *koníi 'bend': Šápir; I.Num58*ko(o)nih 'bend, bent'; M88-ko14: Sh koonih 'curved, bent'; My kónilai 'curva, arco'. Sapir lists CN koolowi 'twist, curve, vt'; SP konni 'return, comeback by the same road'; and Cr kuri-pin 'sich auf dem Boden wälzen'; Cr kuri-pua 'einen umherwälzen'. Note also Hp qöni(k-) 'go around s.th., make a circuit, surround, revolve around'; CN koolooa 'twist, bend, fold, change directions'; CN kweeloaa 'fold, bend s.th.'; CN kweewi 'bend, twist'; and perhaps NP konono'i 'to roll along'. Since PUA *L = NUA n is often so, these could fit *koLí, except that My kónilai should not show n if that were the case. And what of forms like Kw -kuri- 'move in a circular manner'? [nasal in SUA] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]

336. *wakoL 'round(ed)?:' TO gakoDk 'curved'; ST gakoly 'go around'. The Num forms approximate *wikono: NP wíkkono'o 'ring, circle'; Mn wi'go'ononi 'crooked'; SP wíkkonuui 'round, circular'. Add Tbk(M) wiiginaí ~ iwii 'stir, v' for SP and Tb had alveolars to raise preceding vowels. Does SP wíkkwinta 'to wrap around, coil' belong? Or Kw woko 'big' (‘<round?’) as in Kw wokotíihi 'be round'? [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]

337. *nom / *nöyom 'bend': BH.Cup *némi- 'bend'; M67-36 *no 'bend'; M88-no1 'bend'; KHNUA; KHM06-no1: Cp ními 'bend'; Cp nyime 'bend, fold, vt'; Ca nímì 'bend, vi'; Ls néma 'bend, string a bow, return, recur'; Sr nóöm'k bend, repeat, vt.; Ktn nomik 'be folded'; Ktn nomk fold, vt.; Hp nóömo 'folded, bent'; Hp nóömo(k-) 'fold'; Hp nóöhi(k-) 'folded at joint' (Ken Hill astutely queries whether this is cognate); Tb nöyommiinat ~ 'onöyomi, vi'. Hill does a good job of sorting this set. Miller also lists again CN nekwiloaa 'to bow or bend' and Pl nekwilua 'lean to side, bend, curve' which better belong above. The first three segments of the Tak forms and the one Hp form match since *o > Hp/Sr ō, > Cp/Ca i. However, the y in both Tb and Cp are curiously consistent with one another. Cp does not seem to be a palatalization, since both ni... and nýi... forms exist in Cp; thus, s.th. near *nVymom must be considered possible as well.

338. *(noC)-ko'mi 'bend': M88-no1 'bend'; KHM06-ko14: Kw nokkomi 'to bend, be bent'; SP nokkommi / nokko'mi 'bend, vi, be bent'; CU komo'ni 'bend, twist, curve, turn, n'. (SNum) Miller has these SNum forms combined with *koLí forms above, though they differ in the second consonant. Let's add WMU hiaaquq'wi 'bend (in road), crook (in arm)'. The *ko'mi forms of SNum may be an assimilation in a compound with another morpheme (*noC-ko'mi; see *ko'mi below) or they may be a different stem, although the semantic identity suggests we could work with it yet. [NUA: SNum]

339. *so'mi 'bend, be bent': M88-so3 'be bent'; KHM06-so3: TO homi 'the inside of basketry coils'; WR so'mími 'estar doblando'; TR so'mi 'doblarse, flexionarse'. Miller also lists My súmma 'atar, amarrar'; however, it is at *suma 'tie'. [SUA: Tep, Trn]
440. *to 'bend, fold': M67-37 * 'to bend'; M88-to10 'to bend'; KH/M06-to10: AYq tóta 'bend, vt'; AYq totte 'be curving, winding, folded, vi'; AYq tottila 'folded, adj'; AYq tottote 'be flexible, vi'; My tóttia 'estar doblandolando'; Cr raatátuta 'lo dobla'; Wc tuná 'doblado'; Yq toté 'curve'. Could these tie to *tutu (< *twiyia) 'twirl, dance' at 'dance'? [CrC u < *o] [SUA: Cah, CrC]

441a. *mâLi 'twist': M88-ma33; KH/M06-ma33: Pl maliina 'twist, twist string'; CN lamliina 'roll thread on the thigh'; CN malakat 'spindle, bobbin, spiral' (cognate? Hill queries; maybe, but see at awl. *mâLi and *mîLi may be related by vowel assimilation/levelling; thus, I include them under the same number, but different letters.

441b. *mîLi / *mîi 'twist, v': M88-mi9 'twist'; BH.Cup *mâri- 'twist'; KH/M06-mî9: Cp mêlekwe 'twist'; Ca cê-mêlî-n 'to twist'; Ls mòrái 'be rolled up, curled up'; Ls mòora/i 'dance the tatahuilla, bore, drill fire'; Hp mîrî 'twisted'; Hp mîrîkna 'curl it, twist together'; Sr mîrâq 'be untied, loose'. As for *a vs. i, the vowels may be explainable in that UA i often serves as the UA schwa, the lax central vowel that most any vowel could gravitate towards, especially in unaccented syllables, like English a: thus, *malaka > NUA *mîli(k)-. Also sharing the same consonants, but different vowels are the Tb and Num forms below: [liquids]

441c. *muLu / *mutu / *muLu'unKv 'round': Tb mulu 'uña 'become round'; Ch mun'unki 'round'; Ch(L) munuukwa 'round'; TSH -munuh/-monoh 'to turn around, turn over'; SP m'unuqwi 'be round'; SP m'unuqwa 'become round'; Kw muđu-ki 'to be spherical'; Kw muđu- 'ni-di 'round'; Tb and Ch appear to have extra morphemes that may point to a reconstruction of a compound. However, the liquid in Tb vs. nasals in Num is food for thought. [l/r: liquids in Tb, but n in Num] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]

442a. *mîna 'to turn': Mn mînâa 'to turn, turn back, return, change direction'; NP -mîna 'to turn' (suffix in compound verbs meaning to turn some thing or turn in some way'; NP mananun 'rolling'; Tb(V) mînîî 'at 'to roll'; Tb(V) mînî 'it rolls'. Note the difference between Tb(V) mulu 'uña 'become round' and Tb(V) mînîî 'at 'to roll'.

442b. *mîntîsî 'return, turn over/back': Ch mînsî 'return, pl'; Kw mînsî 'turn around'; Kw mînsî 'return, pl'; SP mîn'îsîi / *mînsîi 'turn over, several turn back, vi pl'; SP mînsîa 'turn over, vt'; SP mîntîsî 'turn over to a side'. For evidence of possible cluster reductions in different directions, note the two Kw forms and the two SP forms, found in the same language, no less: SP mînsîi and mîntîsî.

442c. *man... 'turn, change': M88-ma39: KH.NUA; KH/M06-ma39: Ca mêni 'to turn over/around/ into'; Cp mëni 'dress up, change cloths'; Sr manom(k) 'turn (on axis), turn over/around/into, change, change into'; Sr namink 'change'. Add Ktn manu'mk 'turn, turn s.th. wrong side out, vt' and Ktn manu'm-manu'm-k 'roll, vt'.

442d. *mana 'return, turn back': Sr manâ(k) 'return, go or come home, vi'; Ktn mana'y 'roll over, vi'; Ls mâyâqa 'return, turn back' may be related to Ktn and Sr manâ-, since *nuk 'cross cousin' also shows Bs y corresponding to Tk n of other Tak languages. [liquids; L/y/n] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

443. *mîyi 'twist, v': M88-mîi11; KH/M06-mîi11: Cp mèye 'squirm, wriggle'; Ca mèye 'turn, curve, get crooked, twist, vi'; Sr mîyîmîyîn 'shimmering'; Sr mîyî'kin 'cause to shimmer'. What of Ls mâyâqa 'return, turn back'—here or above? Considering *mîLi 'twist' above, do we have *L > y? Yet many Tak languages have forms in both places. [NUA: Tk]

444. *ca'i / *cawa 'twist': CL.Azt157 *caawa 'to spin thread'; M88-cal 'twist'; KH/M06-cal: Wr ca'i 'atorado'; Tr ca/i 'atorarse'; CN caaw(a) 'spin (thread)'; CN caawal-li 'spider web'. Glottal stop does sometimes correspond to w. ['] [SUA: Trn, Azt]

445. *ci(C)tul 'be circular, rolled up': M88-ci3 'roll'; KH/M06-ci3: TO sidolim 'in a coil, adv'; Wr cihtî-la 'rollo'; Tr ci'tî 'be round, circular'; Tr ci'tûra 'rueda, disco'; pl Tr čirûra 'ruedas, discos'; CN ċittoliwi 'torcerse, hacerse curvo, doblanderse'; CN ċittoloa 'hacer circulos'. A nice set, Wick; we can be fairly confident that the second vowel is *o, since *u should correspond to CN i; therefore, the high back vowel u in Tr and Wr was probably raised from *o, possibly due to the preceding high vowel i; in addition, alveolars tend to raise vowels in UA as well, and o/u is between two of the two t's—*cito-(ta). In addition, we should add ST šid'ol? 'in a circle, rolled up'. Note also the intervocalic voicing in TO and ST: *t > d/V_V. [intervocalic voicing; liquids; V] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]
The page contains a detailed linguistic analysis of various verbs related to movement and spatial orientation. It discusses terms related to turning, bending, and surrounding, and includes references to different language families and dialects. The page also notes the potential for denasalization or nasalization in certain languages as a contributing factor to the formation of these verbs.

For example, the page mentions terms such as "kwina" (to turn), "puini" (to coil or go around), and "suyuy" (to whirl). It references works by Stubbs, Jane Hill, and others, and includes notes on the segmental similarity of certain forms across languages.

The analysis also touches on the potential for glottal stop hopping during word formation and the role of movement verbs in narratives. It notes the importance of understanding these verbs in the context of their languages' grammatical structures and the broader linguistic landscape of the regions where these languages are spoken.
455a. *ŋoLa ‘go/turn back’: VVH152 *ŋoLa/*(ŋo) ńowi/i ‘return, bend, coil’; BH.Cup *ŋé ‘go away’; B.Tep173 *noragi ‘to go back’ and *nora ‘he went back’; Kaufman1981 *ŋoyV; L.Son178 *nora, nor-i ‘regresar’; M88-no2 ‘go back, return, bend’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-no2: Hp ńola ‘hoop, ring, wheel’; Hp ńołola ‘bend, crook, vt’; Hp ńolō(kna) ‘bend, make bend, Tb noo’ot–’oono’ ‘go/turn back’; TO noD ‘turn, bend, return’; TO noD(agid) ‘answer, return s.th., cause to turn’; LP norag ‘return’; LP nonor ‘zigzag’; PYp nor ‘turn’; PYp norag ‘return’; NT(B) nóra ‘he went back’; NT(B) norági ‘go back, vi’; NT noliiši ‘doblar, vt’; NT noliiši ‘tordido, curveado’; ST(B) nor ‘he went back’; ST(B) norgi ‘go back, vi’; ST(W) norgia ‘dar la vuelta, llegar y regresar’; Eu noró ‘volverse’; My nótee ‘vuelve, devolver’; Wr noiša ‘ir y regresar’; Wr nori-ná ‘to circle or walk around s.th.’; Tr nori ‘vuelta’; Tr nori-ro ‘rodear, caminar en torno’; Tr noro-mea ‘rodear, dar vueltas’; Tr noró-ro ‘giro, vuelta’; Tr no-rí-na ‘regresar’. These may tie to Tak *ŋVLVL ‘circle around’ below. Where does Sr ńöhāah(k) ‘change direction, go around a bend’ belong? having two h’s instead of -L-?

455b. *ŋVLVL / *ŋVLVL ‘circle around, head off, catch up to’: Ktn njil-k ‘catch up with, overtake, vt’; Cp ńjele ‘be surrounding, be all around’; Cp ńjele-ńjye ‘go around visiting’; Ca -ńjel- – ‘go along the edge (of mountains, waters), vi’; Ls nēli ‘go along the side of a hill, vi’; Ls(E) ńjela/i ‘be repeatedly curved, vi, repeatedly go along the curve of a curve, vt’; Ls(E) ńjelēŋli – ‘curvy, curve’; Ls(E) ńjēlela/i ‘be repeatedly curved, vi, repeatedly go along the curve of a curve, vt’. However, Sr ńjirīr-q ‘move, move over, vi’ and Ktn ńjirūh-ik ‘edge down over, vi’ are at ‘shake’. Ktn’s two different forms suggest separate proto-stems, though dialect recycling is always possible. Borrowing may be involved for some forms, but besides *ŋ-L-L in nearly all forms, semantically Ca and Ls are identical; Cp is nearly so in ‘going around’ approximating ‘go along the edge of a round lake or curving mtn; and one way to catch or ‘catch up with’ is to circle around a different route and head off s.th. or s.o. Thus, most seem more likely than not, though Ktn ńjirūhīrīk ‘edge down over’ and Sr ńjirīr-q ‘move, move over, vi’ are paired at ‘shake’. The 2nd Ls form et all suggest these tie to *ŋoLa ‘return’. [initial h; SUA L and NUA L/’; L > h in Sr]

[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]

456. *ŋoya ‘leave, go away, go home’: VVH152 *ŋoLa/*(ŋo) ńowi/i ‘return, bend, coil’; BH.Cup *ŋé ‘go away’; B.Tep173 *noragi ‘to go back’ and *nora ‘he went back’; Kaufman1981 *ŋoyV; L.Son178 *nora, nor-i ‘regresar’; M88-no2 ‘go back, return, bend’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-no2: Ls ńée ‘leave, go away, go home’; Ca ńji/njuy ‘go home, go away’; Cp ńjyie ‘go away, leave’. As Ken Hill notes, Hp ńoja ‘surround, form a circle around’ fits these phonologically perfectly. Most tie these with the *ŋoLa set above, but a case for separation from the above seems plausible in that (1) these show medial -y- vs. medial -L- of the above and (2) Hp and the Tak languages have separate forms, such as Ls ńée ‘leave, go away’ vs. Ls(E) ńjela/i ‘be turned, curved, vi, go along the side of a curve, vt’ and Ls(E) ńjelēŋli – ‘curvy, curve’. Now Ls(E) ńjēya/i ‘be repeatedly curved, vi, repeatedly go along the curve of a curve, vt’. But Ls(E) ńjēyeli – ‘be repeatedly curved, vi, repeatedly go along the curve of a curve, vt’. However, Sr ńjēyeli – ‘be repeatedly curved, vi, repeatedly go along the curve of a curve, vt’. However, Sr ńjēyeli – ‘be repeatedly curved, vi, repeatedly go along the curve of a curve, vt’. However, Sr ńjēyeli – ‘be repeatedly curved, vi, repeatedly go along the curve of a curve, vt’. However, Sr ńjēyeli – ‘be repeatedly curved, vi, repeatedly go along the curve of a curve, vt’. However, Sr ńjēyeli – ‘be repeatedly curved, vi, repeatedly go along the curve of a curve, vt’.

457. *ŋawi ‘coil’: Cp ŋáiwe ‘coil (as rope), vt’; Ls(E) ŋáiwi ‘tangle, coil, vt’; Hp ŋawi-ta ‘be making into strands, skeins, coiling’. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

NB, for *piyina/*pi’rina ‘twist, spin thread, make rope’ see at rope.
NB, for *żywa ‘bend over/down’, see at *wící ‘fall’.
NB, for *żyńi ‘enclosure’ see wall.
NB, where have I seen cognates to Ca súvuvey ‘to whirl around’?
NB, are there cognates for Tb šiuub ‘back again’?

CLAW, NAIL; GARRA, GARFA, ÚÑA

Mn caγwabo ‘claw’; masido ‘nail’  
Hp maqţő, soki  
Eu sutút

NP cidual; maccidu ‘claw, nail’  
Hp malasoki ‘fingermail’  
Tbr ala-pé-r

Sh ma-ta-situn  
Ca saľu-l; čúk; čúkla ‘to claw’  
My sutú kócho’oria

TSh tasiitun(cci)  
Tb šulun-t ‘nail, hoof’  
Yq sútu

CM tasiito; masiito  
Ls šulá-t  
Wr suhtú

Kw ta-šito’o-bí  
Сп šul’a  
Tr sutú-ra

CH taso’o, masico’  
TO huč  
Cr (síté)kucape’e

SH šiçu  
NV ‘utta; PYp huhut  
Wc šitét

CU šeçuppi, wákú-ci  
NT úútu  
CN iste-tl

ST huit
458. *saCtuN > *siCtuN / *suCtuN 'claw, nail': Sapir; VVH26 *suatu/*siatu 'fingernail, claw'; B. Tep82 *huutu 'fingernail'; M67-298 *sutt; L.Num193 *situN 'claw, nail'; L. Son265 *suttu 'ụnà'; CL.Azt59 *istò; M88-su1; Munro.Cup77 *sùlà 'nail, hoof, claw'; KH/M06-su2 *sutfù (AMR): The Num medial -t- and -c- (vs. -r-) suggest a medial cluster -C-t-, though Tb and Tak lost the evidence for a cluster (-t-), softening to -l- as do most intervocalic *-t-. I like Iannucci’s, Ken Hill’s, and Manaster Ramer’s reconstruction with a final nasal, for Tb and CNum show it, Kw (-b) suggests it, and others of both SNum and Tak suggest a final -C of some kind. The vowelings of these forms divide themselves into SUA and Tb *suttu, Tak *suta, and Num *situ; and Ca sàlu-l 'claw, nail'; Ca saluki 'scratch' suggest and original *saCtun:

458a. *siCtuN: Mn; NP; Sh; Kw; SP; CU sìcùppi 'fingernail'; Tb.

458b. *suta: Cp; Ls; Ca sàlu-l 'fingernail'; Gb čúr 'hoof, nail'.

458c. *suttu: TO; Wr; Tr; My; Wc sìîtè; Cr sìtè; CN. Ken and Jane Hill add Tbr sutu-r 'mano'—a huge oversight for the rest of us. Tbr often has *-r- > -r/-l-, so it suggests a cluster as well. Miller also includes Hp soki 'fingernail, toenail, claw, talon', which may be possible if an additional morpheme caused apocopeation of the last syllable. This etymon is represented in at least seven branches, perhaps all eight. [*t > c in SNum, *t > l in Tak, V > i/t]

[NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

459. *wati 'claw, finger': M67-169; M88-wal13; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wal13: Sr wàt 'claw(s), fingernail(s), toenail(s)'; Hp malaci 'finger'; Sr waţu 'claw, scratch, vt'. Let’s add Ktn waci-; and probably ST goota 'scratch with claw, vi'. Hp l < *w and Hp -c- must be from something like *t-t- (-t > -ti > -ci), so Hp -laci. Ktn waci, and Sr waţ are good matches. [Hp l < *w] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep]

460. *hamu 'go up': L.Son52 *hamu 'subir'; M88-ha10; KH/M06-ha10: Eu hamú 'subir'; Eu hámudauh 'subida'; Yq há’amu 'subir'; My há’amu 'subir'; AYq ha’amu ‘climb up’; Cr apú ha’uhmé ‘sube (camino)’.

[SA: Cah, Opn, CrC]

461a. *ti’pu 'climb up': NP tìbbu’ya 'climb up'; Wr mo’tepú-na 'climb up s.th.'.

461b. *ciCpuhi 'climb': Mn cibùhi 'climb with arms and legs'; NP cibùi 'climb up on s.th.’. With a vowel change, these are much like Kw čipi 'climb, v'; CU čipi 'mount, climb on, go on top of', except that SNum seems to show a final -N. Another example of reductions vs. preservation in WNum. SNum -p- instead of -v- suggests a cluster. These may also be a palatalization of the above *ti’pu > ciCpu. NP having a term in each may only mean previously active dialect chains/contact.

461c. *ciCpiN / *ciCpiN 'climb or come out or onto': Stubbs(2011) reconstructs PSNum *cipiN from: Kw čipi- 'climb'; Ch čipi- 'come out'; SP cipiN 'come out, appear, ride'; WMU čihppí-y 'come out, bubble out (like a spring), climb into (car), onto (horse)'; CU čipi 'mount, climb on, go on top'. Perhaps also related are Ca čipi ‘get covered (hole), vi’ and Ca čipí-n 'cover, vt (causative)’ which also show geminated *-pp-, and covering (a hole) is causing s.th. to get on top of, and a hole getting covered is as a spring bubbling out, its hole being covered by water’. [SNum -p- vs. –v-; redtn] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn]

462. *cawa 'climb": Ca čáwa ‘crawl, climb, ascend’; Cp čáwaye ‘climb’.

463. *ticayi 'climb': TO češaj 'climb, ride, raise, elevate'; Nv tìsadì 'subir de lo bajo’; PYp tesedi 'climb, mount’; NT tìsədiyi/tìsədyi 'subir’; ST čišdi ‘climb easily’; ST tišdia ‘climb’. [SA: Tep]
CLOSE, COVER, DOOR; CERRAR, TAPAR, CUBRIR, PUERTA

464. *tīmaC / *tīman 'to close': Saper; M67-90 *tem 'close'; KH.NUA; I.Num241 *tīma/*tama 'close'; M88-ti38 'to close'; KH/M06-ti38: NP wī-tīma 'lock up, tie shut'; NP ma-tīma 'close (book)'; Cm tīmār 'fill, cover, put lid on'; TSh tīmah; Sh tīmah 'to close in, lock in'; Sh tīmiθ 'to close in, lock in pl. obj's'; SP tīwa 'to close'; CU tuwā 'to close, lock, shut'; CP tēme 'to cover, close, enclose'; Ĉa tēmi 'to close, lock up'; Ĉr tūm/tūmik 'close, shut, vi'; Sr tīm(ī)k 'close, shut, vt'. Add Ktn tīmik 'shut, lock, plug up'; Ktn tīmik-t 'lid, door'; and WMU tuwàmpu(g)a 'door (itself), of cubboard or whatever'; WMU yūruwampu(g)a 'door or doorway (of house)'; Ch ţiwa 'close, v'; Ch ţiwa-pi 'door, closing'. Saper ties the SP form with CN teema 'cause s.th. to fill up, pour into a container, fill up, be full, vi'. Saper's association seems reasonable in light of other forms like NP to-ci-tīma 'plug a hole', where the notions of filling, plugging, and closing are closely associated. Iannucci's reconstruction (*tīma) seems good, adding a final underlying -C, evident in Ch, CN, and specifically a nasal in WMU. Other Num terms for 'door' could be added. [nasals] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Azt]

465a. *yiGi / *yĩk / *yiĩ 'close, v, door/(way), n': M67-91a *ye 'close'; I.Num295 *yĩ 'doorway'; M88-yĩ6 'to close'; KH/M06- yĩ6 'to close': NP yĩ-h-pi 'doorway'; SP yĩ-hi 'doorway'; yĩ-hi-pa 'at the doorway'; SP yĩ 'doorway'; CU yū-gū 'at the doorway'; CU yū- 'door'; PYp dega 'deep'; PYp degar 'hole'; Hp yĩp 'way back in'; Hp yĩmo 'way back in'; Tbj(M) yĩ-pat- 'iyi-pa 'to close'; Tbj(V) yĩhpa; Sr yĩvanu 'ablative', yĩ(v)ukya 'dat.' 'outside'; and perhaps WR ye'-epů 'abrir'; WR ye'-etë/yee-te- 'cerrar'; Ĉr dɛ-yë 'cerrar, cercar'; Ĉr yẽ-pu 'abrir'. Add WMU yūruwampu(g)ə 'door or doorway (of house)'; Ktn yĩva-ə 'doorway'. Saper ties SP yĩ and CR yei-ri, yi-ri 'es ist ein Zugang (entrance)'. Miller's includes Sh yĩwīt 'enter' and CN yĩwī 'swallow s.th., go out of sight', but phonologically they look more like the SUA medial *-w- terms below, or semantically seem to resemble *yĩ-ki 'swallow, enter'. Moving from insecure speculations back to more concretely observable realities, SP medial -ũ- (< *-k-), appears on occasion, though usually softened to -h- or nothing in SP and the rest of SNUM, as with *tĩkya-deer'. However, TB and WR with medial -t- may suggest something else. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

465b. *yawa / *yĩwa 'door, hole, opening': Saper; VHH108 *yĩwa 'space, opening'; B.Tep29 *diga 'hole', 30 *diga- 'make a hole'; M88-yĩ5; KH/M06- yĩ5: Tr ţewa-ri 'entreda, vano de un muro o roca, puerta'; WR yawetá 'door to the house'; Tr ewa 'abertura, perforacion'; WR yewá 'hole'; WR yewá- 'have holes'; WR iẽwaci 'entrance, exit'; TR ewå/hiyå 'agujerarse'; EU ÿewå 'agujerar'; EU hydrē 'agujero'; PYP ğeqa 'deep'; PYP ģeqar 'hole'; PYP devgar 'pierce, make a hole, vt'; LP(E&F) deg 'agujero, agujerar'; TO ǧeq 'outside, a clearing, opening'; NV ÿeqa 'agujero'; NV dígara 'agujerar'; NT díg 'hole'; ST ǧi 'CN kiyaa-wa-li 'entrance, door'; CN kiyaa-wa-ken 'outside'. WR i-/-iela 'door' may belong below. While Ktn yĩva-č 'door/(way)' is above, what of Ktn yawvik / yawvuk 'clear, bright, clean, light blue' as a hole/opening in clouds makes for a clear, light-blue sky? [NUA 'h and SUA w?'] [NUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]

466. *iţa / *iC-ta 'door, close, v': M67-91b *eta 'close'; M88-iţ 'door'; KH/M06- iţ 'door': HP iţa (falling tone)/ ihta 'close s.th.'; Hp i'ici 'closure device, lid, door, cork'; Hp īcci 'closed thing'; TO iDpa 'door'; WR i 'door'; WR iţa- 'door'; WR iţa- 'door', WR ĭwaci 'entrance, exit'; Yq 'età 'door'; Yq 'età 'door', Yq 'étapo 'open'; My ĭþah-tia 'open'; My ĭþapo(ri) 'open(ed)'; WR ye-eté-na 'be closed (door)'; WR ye-eté 'to close'; TR é-ra 'puerta (é- 'cerrar') + -ra 'instr', according to Brambila); TR e-/-y- 'cerrar'; Ĉr te-iṯānasi 'lo cierra'; Ĉr te-iṯānami 'está cerrada'; EU hécān 'tapar, cerrar'. Are ye- and te- prefixes to *-iţa in SUA? Miller would probably reconstruct *iţa, yet TO D, WR, and perhaps LS hédai 'open, v' may suggest a liquid in a cluster *iLt/riC, because intervocalic *-t- > -l- usually, not d. KH/M06-ıţ adds WC itôpari 'puerta, parte que se mueve'. [liquid, cluster] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

467. *i-ka 'close': Tr é-ka 'cerrar' (gerund of é-ma 'cerrar'); EU hika 'tapar, cerrar'. This could have a morpheme in common with *iC-ta above, but such is hardly yet obvious. [NUA: Trn, Opn]

468. *pata 'cover, close': NV 'iabata 'cubrir algo con tierra'; NV 'iabak 'lo así cubierto'; Yq påta 'tapar'; AYq patta 'cover, barricade, vt'; AYq patti 'covered, closed'; My pattia 'close, vt'. [cluster; -au = active, vt/static, passive, vi] [NUA: Tep, Cah]
**469. *ku'pa* / *kuCpa* 'close (eyes)'; VVH153 *kuu* / *kuup* (i) ‘to close—especially in reference to eyes, and hence, sleep’; B.Tep128 kuupa ‘to close’; BH.Cup *kup* ‘sleep’; M67-386 *ku* / *kup* ‘sleep’; L.Son108 *kupu* / *kup-i*; M88-ku14 ‘sleep’; M88-ku15 ‘close the eyes’; M88-ku16; KH/M06-ku15 wisely combines M88-ku 14, 15, 16 into one—ku 15. The specific meaning ‘close eyes’ seems to have extended to ‘close’ generally in some languages and shifted to ‘sleep’ (with eyes closed) in other languages; nevertheless, let’s divide them semantically as Miller did: M88-ku14 ‘sleep’: Cp kúp-; Ca -kúp-; Ls kúp-; Cr hi’ipe ‘lie down to sleep’ (Strange phonology); Miller and Hill include the possibilities of Sr kuuman ‘sleep’ and Ktn kum ‘sleep’ which I list separately at sleep.

**469a. M88-ku14 ‘sleep’:** Cp kúp-; Ca -kúp-; Ls kúp-; Cr hi’ipe ‘lie down to sleep’ (Strange phonology); Miller and Hill include the possibilities of Sr kuuman ‘sleep’ and Ktn kum ‘sleep’ which I list separately at sleep.

**469b. M88-ku15 ‘close the eyes’:** Eu kúpú; Yq kúpe, kúpek, kúpite; My kúpite, imp: kúpe’e; Tr kúpi / kuptu-; Wr kuhpi; Wr kuhpéca ‘wink, blink the eyes’; Tr kupi- ‘cerrar los ojos’; Tr kupi-ca- ‘parpadear, cerrar y abrir los ojos’; Tr kupi ‘tizón, palo quemado y humeante’; We kipe; CN i’kopi ‘to wink, blink, close eyes’. Add PYp kuupa ‘shut, cover’.

**469c. M88-ku16 ‘close’:** TO kuup ‘close, lock, vt’; NT kuupai ‘close’; ST kuupa ‘close’; Nv kupa ‘close, v’. Add PYp kuupa ‘shut, cover’. The lack of fricatives for the medial bilabial may mean a medial C cluster. [C cluster] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]

**470a. *cu'ma'i / *cumma/i ‘close eyes’**; M67-92 *cum*; I.Num259 *cu* / *cu* / (h)ma / (c)u(h)mi; M88-cu5; KH/M06-cu5: Sh ìccimih ‘to close the eyes’; SP ùnum ‘cover, vt’; CU wacú ‘cover the eyes’; Ca ìhcuma ‘(to close the eyes)’; Ktn cu’mik ‘close eyes, vi’; Ktn cu’mk ‘close eyes, vt’. Add WMU hwiču ‘inundarse, vi’. [Hp ö < *o] The lack of fricatives for the medial bilabial, added to the non-medial bilabial, may mean a medial C cluster. [C cluster]

**470b. *mucu(C)-ka ‘close eyes’**; Mn mucuqa-t ‘have one’s eyes closed’; NP mucoga ‘close eyes’. [WNNum]

**471a. *noma ‘cover’:** Hp nóoma ‘wrap, cover up, vt’; Eu nóma ‘tapar, cubrir’; Eu va-nóma ‘inundar, vt’ (water-cover); Eu va-nóma ‘inundarse, vi’. [Hp ö < *o] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Opn]

**471b. *nama ‘cover’:** NP namabima ‘cover’; NP namáti ‘cap, cork’; Wc náma ‘cubrir, tapar; Wc náme cubierto, tapado’. [active, vt/stative, passive, vi-a/i] [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

**472. *koLom ‘cover’**; Cm mana ‘kroroomi’ti ‘cover s.th. over, cover head (as with cloth)’; AYq lomti patti ‘covered (with tarp or blanket)’; My lomti ‘covered’.[liquid] [NUA: Num; SUA: Cph]

**473. *kïna ‘cover’**; Sh kïnah ‘cover, vt’; Cr hi ‘hik ñih-híñari ‘cover s.th. over with s.th.’ We must consider a possible relationship to *kïna ‘cloud’. This may tie to *kanas ‘cover’ of *pit-kanas ‘rear-cover, loincloth’ at ‘cloth(ing)’. [NUA: CNum]

**474. *hin ‘cover’**; Nv ‘ina ‘cover with cloth’; PYp ‘iinia ‘cover, vt’; Yq hínte ‘taparse’. [SUA: Tep, Cph]

**475. *tupuka ‘cover’**; Cp tûvuke ‘rub, cover, efface’; Ca vuk-éipi ‘vuk-úmin ‘cover up’; SP Wittuva ‘cover (part of body)’. Note the alignment of Cp tûvuke and SP -tuvua. [NUA: Tak, Num]

**476. *pu’u-(ki) ‘door-(of)-house, hole’**; Ls puú’uk ‘door’; Cp pükí-ly ‘door’; Hp poksö ‘ventilating hole, window, smoke hole’ (Hp o < *u) and probably the *puu portions of ST vuusan ‘passage, way’; PYp vuupi ‘hole’. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep]

**477. *wVkkama’i / *wV-kkaCmi ‘cover, put blanket over, vt’**; SP wuqqam’mi ‘put a cover over, cover, vt’; WNum kâ’mi / qâ’mi / ga’mi / gâ’mi / hwičkà ‘cover, put blanket on, vt’; CU uñkà ‘cover, vt’. This could feasibly tie to *kamaL ‘wrap, blanket’ or to *koLom ‘cover’ above. [NUA: SNum]

NB, for *eakwa ‘grasp, close, ‘ see carry.
NB, for *naka ‘copulate, cover, close’ see copulate.
NB, for *cupa ‘gather, close eyes’, see gather.
NB, what of Ca túlu ‘close eyes’ and Tbr telú ‘eye’?
NB, *masa ‘cover’; Tb masat–’amas ‘cover, vt’; PYp maskova ‘cover, conceal, vt’ is hindered by a c/s difference. What of Tb maasat ‘bag’?
CLOTH, CLOTHING, SHIRT, SKIRT, DRESS, LOINCLOTH (below), WEAR, PUT ON;
TELA, TEJIDO, PAÑO, ROPA, CAMISA, VESTIDO, ENAGUAS, VESTIRSE, PONERSE

478a. *kikuci (< *hikuti) 'cloth': B.Tep310 *ikusi 'cloth'; M88-i7; KH/M06-hi6: NT ikusi; TO ikusi; LP ikisi. Hill astutely combines i7 and hi6 (here, a and b). Miller includes Wc 'išuuru-rikí 'tejido, tela', though beyond intial 'i', the next consonant and vowel are wrong. On the other hand, Cr kistí 'está tejido, tranza' fits, since Cr i < *u, and Cr ra/ru-kísta 'weave it' is missing only initial i-. Let's add Nv ikusta 'tejer'. [CrC i < *u; *-t- > -c- > -s- in Tep]

478b. *hikutai/i 'weave, twine thread': L.Son56 *hiku 'hilar'; CL.Azt187 *ihkVti 'weave'; M88-hi6 'to thread/hilar'; KH/M06-hi6: Eu hihra 'hilar'; Wr ihkuri 'hilo'; Wr ihkuná/-má 'remend'; My hihra 'hilar, tejer'; CN (i)'kiti 'weave cloth'; Pl ihkiti 'weave, v'; Pl ikpa-t 'thread'. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

479. *cini 'cotton, cloth/clothing made of cotton': L.Son32 *cini 'cotton'; M88-ci2 'cloth'; KH/M06-ci2: Eu čin 'algodon'; Wr čin 'telal'; Tr čin 'manta, tela blanca de algodón'; My ciíni 'cloth'; Pl ihkiti 'weave, v'; KH/M06 *cini 'cotton'; M88 *kwasuna 'dress, n'. Let's also add LP 'ipar}; Wc 'íví/iwi 'skirt'; Tbr as a bridge from TrC to Azt. 

480. *ipuLa 'skirt': B.Tep312 *ipuri 'skirt'; M88-i9 'skirt'; KH/M06-i9: NT ipúrai; ST 'ipuriu; TO 'ipudí; LP 'ipar}; We 'ivi/iwi 'skirt'. To Miller's list of the preceding, let's add NT ipúraí 'vestido'. Note Yq ga'ipur 'a dress, n' and Tr wa'pora 'cloth head-cover'; thus, Tr wa/ma/na-'pora 'cloth head-cover' and Tr na'pora 'be covered' share *.v pu with the Tep forms. Cf. *wipuLa 'belt' at belt. [liquids, wa- prefix] [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

481. *ko'ali 'skirt, enaguas, probably originally a general undergarment': CL.Azt150 *kweey 'skirt'; M88-kwí6 'skirt'; KH/M06-kwí6: CN kweey-íl 'skirt, pettycoat'; Pl kweeyí-t 'skirt, native skirt'; My koá'arim 'enaguas'. To the My and Azt forms in M88-kwí6, we can add Yq ko'arim 'enaguas'; Ayq koarim 'skirt'; Ayq ko'arek 'wear skirt'; Eu koá 'falda'; and Tr koayí-t 'enaguas'; all of which suggest *k, not *kw, and *a instead of *ï. But note Tbr as a bridge from TrC to Azt. [SUA: Azt, Cah]

482. *wakaLa 'clothing': Wr wa'kílá 'shirt, clothes' and Hp -wqay- in Hp 'ati-wqay-napna 'underclothes' ('ati 'under' and napna 'shirt' leaves -wqay-) are related to each other, at least, if not to the *ko'ali forms above, i.e., if a truncated initial syllable reduced to rounding, like Hp -wqay-, and then carried that rounding into the next syllable—*wakala > *wkal > *kwal/*kway (Azt nearly). The i in Wr is due to the raising and fronting effect of the following alveolar. Consider also Ca xél/a 'wear' with loss of initial syllable. [liquids: l/r > y; reduction] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn]

483. *ašisa 'clothes': Tb(V) 'tōša-l 'clothes'; Tb(M) tēsa-l 'clothes'; Yq 'átte a 'ropa'. [*s > or Yq] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Cah]

484. *kwasu 'dress, shirt': M88-kwasú2 'dress, shirt'; I.Num79 *kwasu/*kwasi 'dress, shirt'; KH/M06-kwai2: NP kwasi 'clothing, shirt'; TSh kwasu 'dress'; Sh kwasun 'dress'; Cm kwasu 'dress, coat, shirt'; Kw kwasu-píci 'dress, skirt'; Hp kwasa 'dress'; My bowáhi 'sapeta'. Ken Hill adds Ch kwasu 'woman's dress'; Ch kwasi-ntu 'dress, put on dress, v'; TSh kwasu 'un 'dress, n'. Let's also add Yq bwahim 'calzones'; Ayq bwahim 'diaper, loincloth, breechclout'; and NP kwasiyi 'put on clothes, v'. Note Cah (Yq, Ayq) loses -s- both here and above in *(a)tisha. [Num i < *u] [NUA: Num, Hp, SUA: Cah]

485. *nawi 'apron, skirt': Tbh nawi-l 'woman's apron'; Tbh(n) nawwii-l 'woman's apron, double-apron skirt'; Ch(L) nawi 'apron'; Cp -navilygam'a 'front apron made of string' (poss'd, rare absolutive in -l); Ls nówymi 'gift, feather skirt, glass beads'; TO inagi/naagi 'skirt of ancient style'; Sr naaww 'dress, n'; SP nzwí 'apron'. In light of *nawi 'hang down', might that tie to this *nawi 'skirt, apron' as s.th. that hangs down? [NUA: Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep]

486. *yúLa 'put on': BH.Cup *yú(l) 'put on'; M88-yú14; KH/M06-yú14: Cp yúle 'put on stockings, gather on a stick, v'; Ls yúla/i 'wear, put on clothes, pen up, imprison, lasso, v'; Ls yúula-pí-s 'rabbit net'; Ls yúli-s 'prisoner'. Enclose, wrap, and wear are semantically associated elsewhere in UA. [NUA: Tak]
487. *napa(N) ‘shirt’; *napan-ta ‘put on shirt’: M67-370 *nap 'shirt'; M88-na17; KH/M06-na17: Hp napna; Hp naavan-ta 'wear a shirt'; Tr napaca 'shirt'. Tr na-pata (ma/-na-o-pata-ma) 'put on a shirt' and the Hp terms point to something like *na-pa(n)-ta as a verb form, SUA doing its frequent loss of nasals that are still apparent in NUA. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn]

488. *kutun ‘shirt’: ST kutun ‘traditional tunic’; TO koton ‘shirt’; NP pina-kkïtï ‘shirrtail’ < (back-shirt; i < *u). Saxton suggests that TO koton ‘shirt’ is from Span cotorina ‘jacket’; however, unless they were all borrowed from Spanish and all left out the -ri- syllable, similar terms in NP and ST suggest a PUA term. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

489. *nato’on ‘shirt, clothing’: Mn nató ‘shirt’; TSh nato’/ noto’ on ‘shirt’; Sh(C) natoon ‘shirt’; Kw naro’o ‘shirt’ (to’o ‘hole’); Ch naro’o ‘shirt’; SP naro’o-N ‘clothes’; SP naroa’a ‘to have on’; SP kwiinnoro’-N ‘blanket’. This etymon appears in all three branches of Numic. Hp atō’ō ‘traditional cape, used by women in rituals’ lacks only initial n from being quite identical to the Num forms. Sapir ties the three SP forms together. [initial *n > o in Hp; *-t- > r; Hp t and SNum r; liquid] [NUA: Hp, Num]

490. *paki < *pakati ‘shirt’: M67-371 *pak ‘shirt’; M88-pa33; KH/M06-pa33: Sr pakïït ‘shirt’, TO váaki ‘put on a shirt’. To these, we must add Eu vakací ‘clothing’; Eu vakace ‘get dressed, vi’. This may relate to *paki ‘enter’ since entering a piece of clothing equates to putting it on to wear, as Hp paki ‘enter’ and Hp an paki ‘put article of clothing on’ show. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn]

491a. *sipu > *si’pu / *sikpu ‘shirt, clothing’: Wr si’pica ‘shirt, enaguas, gown’; Tr siputa-ma ‘put on skirt, enaguas, gown’; Cp hişxve-l ‘clothing, goods’; vowel leveling could explain Cp, since i is between i and u: *si’pu > *sikpi. The fact that Tr shows t rather than r, the usual for intervocalic -t-, suggests the glottal stop may have been at the end but jumped to before p in Wr and Cp. Cp -x- aligns with glottal stop of Wr.

491b. *supi ‘shirt, clothing’; Yq súpe/súupe ‘camisa’; Yq supa-te ‘shirt, clothing’: Yq supete ‘put on shirt or dress, v’; My súpe-te ‘está vestiendose, v’; My súpem ‘vestido, camisola, camisa, n’. This Cah etymology is likely a vocalic metathesis of the above. [V metathesis] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]

492. *iLaC / *ița’a ‘dress, wear, v’; Munro.Cup119 *aala-t ‘skirt’; KH/M06-i21: Ca ’éla-t ‘dress, n’; Cp éla’a ‘put on skirt’; Cp éla-t / éla’a-t ‘skirt or eagle feather-dance skirt’; Ts ’ošva-t / ’ošva-l ‘capelike garment, skirt’. Ts likely has another suffix. [liquids] [NUA: Tak]

493. *aya ‘put (clothes) on’: PYp aade ‘put on clothing, dress s.o., vt’; NT áádyiidyi ‘poner ropa’; ST aada ‘dress oneself, vr’. Perhaps NP -iya in NP kwasi-iya ‘put on clothing’ vs. NP kwasi ‘clothing’ if the first V assimilated to the palato-alveolar C: *aya > iya. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

494. *kic-kími ‘indigenous Mesoamerican garment with hole for neck, shawl, quechquemitl’: CL.Azt88 *kečkeemiV-; M88-kí12; KH/M06- kí12: Po keškemit; CN kečkeemi-tl; T kečkeemi-tl ‘shawl’; Z kečkeemi-t. [SUA: Azt]

495. *ta’V ‘shirt, clothing’: SP taa’i ‘shirt’; WMU taá ‘clothes, shirt’; CU tâá ‘shirt, clothes’; perhaps Ktn taví-c / taiwi-c ‘buckskin’ (Ktn taví ‘refers to clothes’). Jane Hill notes these may tie to 256 *tawayi. [NUA: SNum, Tak]

LOINCLOTH, BREECHCLOTH, TAPPARRABO, PAMPANILLA, CULERO

496. *caL ‘loincloth’: PYp sal- ‘crotch covering’; PYp sal-vena ‘breechcloth’; PYp sal-vira ‘pants’; Tbr komo-calf-t ‘calzones’ (Lionnet hyper-divides it komo-ca-li-t); Cm ca’nika’ / ca’anika’ ‘loincloth, underwear, G-string’ with NUA n corresponding to SUA L. [SUA: Tep, Tbr; NUA: Num]

497. *kwasi-kwuLa/i ‘loincloth’ (< *kwasi ‘tail, penis’); Tr basi-bura, wasi-bura ‘loincloth’; NT bakúú ‘pantalón’; *kwasi-kwulV > bahi-kulV (Tep) > ba(h)kuúú (NT). [kku] [SUA: Tep, Trn]

498. *pit-kanas ‘loincloth, rear-cover’: Hp pitkina 'kilt, breechcloth' and Tb piginišt-t ‘shirt’; the latter portion of these may possibly be related to *kïna ‘cover’ above, and the *kanas of Cr ra’ankanasiin ‘lo cierra (en un bote), lo tapa’; Cr te’tiahnasí ‘lo cierra’; Cr ra’abá’anasiin ‘lo cubre, lo entierra, lo sepulta’. Cr appears to match the three consonants of Tb. [NUA: Hp, Tbr; SUA: CrC]
NB, for *nawi 'apron, skirt' see above under cloth(ing).
NB, have I seen cognates for Ktn kaha’c 'front flap or apron, front of buckskin dress'?

CLOUD, FOG, STEAM; NUBE, NEBLINA, VAPOR

500a. *(pa)-kïnaC 'cloud, fog (perhaps literally 'vapor-cover'): M67-186 *pa-ki 'fog'; I.Num137 *pakïnah 'fog, cloud'; M88-pa13 'fog'; KH/M06-pa13: Mn pagïnâpe (< *pa-kïna) 'fog'; NP pagînaba 'fog'; TSh pakïnappi; Sh pa-kïna-ppi 'thundercloud'; Kw kïna-vi; Ch pagïnavi; SP pagïnna 'cloud, fog'.

500b. *pakï / *paki (fog,gy): Sapir: M88-pa13: Ca páxi-s / páyi-s 'fog'; Ca páye 'be foggy'; Sr pakïti 'fog'; Ktn pa13 'be foggy'; Ktn pakît 'fog'; Cp páxye-t 'foam'. The two (a & b) may be related, as Miller's union of both under M88-pa13 suggests, though the Tak forms lack the third syllable of *pa-kïna; thus, a separate letter, but under the same number. [NUA: Num, Tak]

501. *(si)kuma 'cloud(y)': B.Tep65 *hikomagi 'cloudy'; M88-si17; KH/M06-si17: NT ikómaga; ST hikma'; ST hikoom/hikma 'cloud, fog'. Note also NP kummi-bi 'cloud' and TO koomhâi 'mist, fog' and Tepiman *koomagi 'gray' at 'gray'; therefore, these may relate to *kuma 'gray, dark color' with a prefixed element; see at 'gray'. [NUA: Tep]

502. *mosi 'cloud': L.Son150 *mosi 'nube'; M88-mo7 'cloud'; KH/M06-mo7: Ls més-ma-l 'fog, mist'; Hp pamösi 'fog, mist'; Eu mosi-t; Tbr mosî-t; CN miś-tli. A nice and rare set; cognates match through four segments (except usually CN i < *u, not *o > i), and six branches are represented, from both NUA and SUA. Is Cp mesmel 'fog' a loan from Ls? The *-misi- part of Tb paššuumiši-t 'fog' and Tb paššuumišigim ~ 'aabaašuumiš 'get cloudy' probably belong with a vowel assimilation (mosi > misi), which could possibly explain the CN vowel as well? [NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tbr, Opn, Azt]

503. *tommo 'cloud, rain': M67-93 *to/*top/*tom 'cloud'; Num215 *to(o)(h) cloud; M88-to13 'cloud'; KH/M06-to13: Mn too- 'cloud'; NP tommo-a 'storm'; Sh too-ppûh 'thundercloud'; Cm tomoa 'to cloud up'; Wr tomôari 'cloud'; Wr tomôa-ni ma 'be cloudy'; Wr tomô 'winter'; Tr tomôa 'be cloudy'; Tr fomo-wá- 'llover [rain]'; Tr fomo-sá- 'lloviznar [drizzle]'; PYp toom 'sprinkle'; NP tommo'a 'storm'. Do these tie to *tommo 'winter'? [NUA: Tep, Num, Tak; SUA: Num]

504. *(pa)-hawa 'fog, steam': Stubbs2003-20: Yq bâhe(wa) 'fog'; AYq hawa 'vapor, steam, n'; AYq vahewa 'mist, fog'; AYq vawiêcê 'fog, mist'; My baihwo 'neblina, brisa'; My háawa 'vapor'; Eu baâua (baâua) 'rocco, neblina'; Eu be(i)g(wat) 'neblina'; Ca háâwâ 'be foggy, vi'; Ca háâwâ-s 'mist, fog'. The diachronic fragility of h results in a diphthong and the near loss or near voll of the middle syllable after the prefix *pa-. Also of interest is the fact that all forms without the prefix *pa- show *hawa (Ca, My, and one AYq form) because the first syllable was likely stressed, while all forms with the prefix show a higher vowel—(h)iwa/(h)iwa—and/or 2nd syllable reductions because pa- was stressed and thus not the first syllable of *hawa. Those high vowels are the UA schwas, and, like the English schwa, sometimes result from lack of stress in unaccented syllables, not from PUA *ï or *i. Add Wr(MM) ba'awi 'neblina [fog]'. [V change in unaccented syllables; reduction] [NUA: Tep; SUA: Num, Tak, Opn, Azt]

505. *kosowaC 'steam': TSh kosowwa 'steam, vi'; TSh kosowwappi 'steam, n'; Kt kosowwagi 'steam, v'; Kw kosowa-gi 'steam, n'; Ch(L) koso"agah 'steam'; Ch(L) koso"avi 'steam, vapor'; the *-kosa of CU pâgosâ 'sulfur, sulfur-spring water, original Ute name for Pagosa Springs [area of hot springs]'. [NUA: Num]

NB, for *uma 'be cloudy' (Hp oomaw 'cloud'; Tr na'oma 'become cloudy, erased'; Tbr homé-k 'be cloudy') and for Sr and Ktn *wan 'rain, cloud, cloud up', see at *(w)umaC 'rain'.
NB, for *tupawi (Tep *füvagi) 'sky, cloud' see sky.
COLD, FREEZE, ICE; FRIO, HELAR(SE), CONGELAR(SE), HIELO; see also snow, numb, winter

Uto-Aztecanists have long massed together UA terms for ‘cold’ that begin with *sí, cí, or *içi. Following the distinction of *içi from others, many languages, e.g. Gb očó’ and Gb sovó’ (Gb o < *i), distinguish these as separate stems. Forms that begin with a sibilant (*sí, or sometimes cí) seem to align with *sipí or *sippi or * síkwi. Following sí we find a variety of medial consonants, perhaps due to a medial consonant cluster or other morphemes. Many are likely reductions from something longer than *sík ‘snow’—plus-else is a favorite, started by Sapir). A typical and considerable range appears in Ktn šívít ‘cold’; Ktn šipkí / šikwa’ ‘get cold, vi’; Ktn šip-k ‘chill, vt’; Ktn šivik ‘blow (wind)’; and Ktn šivivi ‘cool, fresh’. Many terms double as ‘windy’ throughout UA. The facts that many branches (Tep, Tr, CR) show both geminated (*-pp > -p-) and non-geminated (*-p > -v-) forms may suggest an intensification, a sort of reduplication, rather than a cluster *-kp as many theorize. But until new data directs differently, let’s divide them thus:

508a. *sipí > *sippi ‘cold’: Sapir; B. Tep90 *húpida-i ‘it is cold’; M67-94a *se/*sep ‘cold’, 94b *si/*sip, 94c *sap, 94d *ce/*cep; M88-si7: KH.NUA: KH/M06-si7 *sip ‘cold/frio’; SP sip ‘cold’; SP sip-pa ‘cold feeling, suffering from cold’; SP sip-pí ‘cold (of objects)’; CU sipír ‘ay ‘be cold (things, persons, or weather)’; CU sipí-ví ‘cold, low temperature, n’; Tb sipit~ sipí ‘be cold’; Cp sevel ‘wind’; LS šuvó-o ‘in winter’; LS šuvóo-wu-t ‘winter’; LS šuvó-lku ‘to shiver with cold’; Gb sovó ‘cold’; Sr šivít ‘wind’; TO heepi; LP s’hi; PYp heepi ‘cold’; PYp heve ‘cool’; NT ïvi-ipi ‘wind’. My sèbhe ‘hace frio’; My sèbhe / sèvhe ‘siente frio’; Tbr sevé/sewé ‘frio, hacer frio’; Tr sipi / sipi a ‘cooled off’ and WMU s(í)ppúra-y / spúra-y ‘be cold (weather or object)’. Ch(L), CU and SP also show underlying *-pp-.

508b. *sipíL / *sippi ‘cold, windy’: B. Tep89 *híviri ‘wind’: in contrast to *-pp- in TO heepi ‘cold’, are TO hewel ‘air, wind’; TO hew-kk ‘to become chilled (person)’; TO hew-kon ‘to blow on, vt’; TO hewed ‘to blow (wind)’; TO hewajd ‘vt, cool, chill, relieve (pain)’; TO hewastk ‘be able to endure wind and cold’; LP s’hípi ‘cold’; LP ibiri ‘wind’; PYp heepi ‘cold’; VS. Py py heve ‘cool’; PYp hevel ‘wind’; PYp heve-lim ‘to blow’; NT ïpi ‘adj, cold; NT ïpi ‘i vi, be cold’ VS. NT ivi/i ‘wind’; ST húpi ‘cold’ VS. ST iváámukú ‘tener frio’; ST húvi ‘wind’; ST hvr ‘windy’.

508c. *sappa / *sippa ‘freeze, ice’: M67-94c: LS šåapa/i ‘freeze’; Eu sebát / sebáwa ‘ice’; Yq sápa ‘ice’; My sápam ‘snow, ice’, Tb šip-t ‘ice’, TN seyawi-t ‘snow’. These ‘ice’ terms may tie to *sippi ‘cold’, though the languages listed here have other forms matching *sippi ‘cold’; on the other hand, the Eu terms suggest a tie: Eu sebá ‘helar’; Eu sebá ‘helar’; Eu sebá ‘helar’; Eu sebá ‘helar’; Eu sebá ‘helar’; Eu sebá ‘helar’; Eu sebá ‘helar’; Eu sebá ‘helar’; Eu sebá ‘helar’. Notice that all terms whose first V is a stress also stress the vowel; thus, that is likely the original vowel, and the other schwa-like variants e/i are the unstressed variations. Note also -p- (vs. v/b) in LS, Ch(L), and some Eu suggest *.pp-.

508d. *sipi ‘rain’: Hs švúyoyawñ ‘long and steady drizzle’; Tr see ‘lloviznar’; Sp sipúte ‘lloviznar’. These ‘drizzle’ terms belong too. [NUA: Tak, Tb, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

509. *sí(N)kopa (> *sí(N)kwV?) ‘cold’: some of these are noted in the sources above (*VpV ‘cold’), but show a different medial *-C(-C)- or other morphemes: NP pasíkoca ‘icy’; NP paçigoba ‘ice’; NP pasigobi ‘icles’; Sh sí ‘by means of cold’; Cm sikoíti ‘freeze’; Ca sii ‘feel chilled’; Hs shw ‘cold’; Hs sâmí ‘frozen ground’; Wr sekh ‘freeze (of plants)’; Tbr se-kwé ‘tiene frio, v’ (vs. Tbr sevé/sewé ‘frio, hacer frio’); CN sekwi/seuk/sek ‘to be cold, have chills, tener frio’; CN se-tl ‘snow’; CN suewa ‘be cold (weather), hacer frio’; CN suewi ‘calm down, take a rest, cool off’; CN se’elía ‘cool off, vrefl, vt’; Pl sesek ‘cold’; Pl seseya ‘cold off, get cold’. Note the similarity between Tbr and CN again. The NP and CM forms could suggest loss of intervocalic p that leaves a kwV appearance (*sikopa > *síko *síkV); they and CN sekwi and Ktn šikwa ‘be cold’ and Ktn šikwato ‘freeze, vi’ could feasibly suggest *síkV. [*-CC-] [NUA: Hs, Num, Tak; SUA: Azt]
510. *ti'ip 'cold': M88-ci3 and M88-i18: M67-94d *ce/*cep; I.Num262 *-ci/*si; KH.NUA; KH/M06-118: Mn ići; NP ići; NP ići-; TSh ići-in; Sh ići; Tb 'idziţčidzi' 'be cold'; Sr ići 'cold'; Sr ići-n 'be cold (of person)', Sr ići'v become cold (of weather)'; Gb očo. All five languages agree in having the vowel i before ci, thus *ici'i. Ken Hill adds WSh ići in 'be cold' and Wc etfr 'be in the shade', both of which fit well. We's t is likely original since most NUA -c- < *-t-. Hill correctly disbands M88-ci3, redistributing that collection elsewhere. To these we can add Cm ići'iti 'cold, adj, n', totaling ten languages with reflexes resembling *ici'i, four of which show a glottal stop as 2nd consonant, beginning a 3rd syllable. [*-t- > -c-_/high vowel]  [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

511a. *sítu'i or *síc-Tu'i 'cold': SNum *sítu'i: Kw šitu'i 'be cold'; Ch šitu'í; SP štui 'cold (weather)' (< *si'-tu'i, Sapir 1930, 136; 1931, 658); CU stí 'be cold weather'. Millar has these forms dispersed among other sets, perhaps considering only first syllable *si'; however, in light of a different second syllable, this Num set merits independent consideration, even if as a compound with that syllable, which it may or may not be.  [NUA: SNum]

511b. *sítäi 'freeze': Mn si'ta;i; NP si'da'i 'freeze to death'. The fact that these WNum terms (*sítäi 'freeze') are identical to the SNum terms (*sítu'i 'cold') in five of six segments would recommend a relationship, though exactly why such a difference as in a vs. a is so, may be Eu sutéwa 'nevar'; Eu sutéhri 'nieve' (gen: sutéwate, acc: sutéwata); Eu sutéi 'blanco'.  [NUA: WNum]

512a. *tu'La 'be cold, freeze': Wr tu'la-ní-má 'freeze, be frozen, vi'; Wr tulá-wal-/ni, tuláre-ma 'be cold (of things, liquid, weather)'; Tr fürá- 'cold'. [liquid]

512b. *tuy 'freeze': Cp túyyu 'freeze, vi'; Cp túuyuyi-s 'cold, freezing, adj'; Ls tóóyi 'freez, ice'; Eu tuv 'suréwa (to curd, curdle, coagulate)'. The forms in a and b have much in common with the 2nd and 3rd syllables of *sítu'i, and we do see loss of first syllable (si-) in Tak elsewhere. Miller and Hill have the Ls forms listed at t1 *tìha 'hail' which fits the first V, but the medial consonant better fits here, though they could be right, so I list it in both places until the matter becomes clear. [liq; L > y]  [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn]

513. *tìhütu 'ice': Eu sutéhru 'hielo'; Wr títu 'hielo'. Could this result from *tì-tu 'rock-become'? Besides the foregoing, could the initial *ti- in some of the other nearby forms derive from 'rock' as well?  [NUA: Trn, Opn]

514a. *ta'asiC 'freeze': Mn ti'así 'be frozen'; NP ti'asi 'icy, slippery'; NP güruügǘ ti'asüügǘ 'freeze feet, v'; NP ti'azüü 'frozen'; TSh ti'asi 'freeze, tingle (of body part when asleep)'; TSh ti'asüüppí 'frozen, pp'; Sh(M) ti'asi 'be frozen'; Sh(C) ti'ası 'be frozen'; Cm ti'asüüti 'freeze (liquid), v'; Kw ta'asi 'freeze, v'; Cm ti'ası 'freeze, v'; CU ti'así 'be freeze, vi'.

514b. *pa-ta'asiC 'ice, water-freeze': TSh paa ti'asüüppí 'the water is/has frozen'; TSh pati'asi (taip)ppí 'ice'; Kw pa-ra'asi-pí; Ch pa-ráasí-pí; Ch(L) pa-ri'asi-pí 'frozen water, ice'; CU pará-sí-pí 'ice'; perhaps Tbr tsusa-ne-y 'se congela'; Tr br-ta'tusa-ne-y 'ice'. [unaccented V]  [NUA: Num; SUA: Tbr]

515. *híCta'wí: Mn hi'ca'wi 'be cool'; NP hiçawipimí 'cool outside'.  [NUA: WNum]

516. *icu 'cold, freeze': AMR 1992; KH/M06-112: Hp iyo-ho’o (rdpl: i-yo’oho) 'cold, adj, n'. Hill correctly moves the Hp form from M88-i18 where it was with the Tak forms (Sr 'ići; Gb 'ocó') and follows Manaster-Ramer's law: *-c- > -y-' (1992) which ties it to CN iic-tik 'something cold' and CN iic-tyia 'be cold', which works correspondences-wise. What of Tr koro-cr 'cuajarse, congelarse el agua'. Cocopa qayaw 'be cool, vi' and Tewa ooyii 'freeze, v, ice, n'? Could the latter be a vowel metathesis of Hp iyo?  [NUA: Hp; SUA: Azt]

NB, for *kìpa 'ice, snow', see snow.

Cold, n; have a cold, vi: see mucus, cough, and sick

COLOR; see also draw, the specific colors

517. *ma'ài / *mayí 'color, be the color of, paint': NP namayädi 'mixed colors' (perhaps contains the na- prefix); Ch ma'à 'to paint, mark'; WC kapé-mayıye 'coffee-color'; WC kwé-mayıye 'earth-colored' (kwè 'earth')

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518a. *ciyuk 'comb': CU ciyú'wa-y 'comb, vt'; WMU čiyu'wa-y / čii'wa-y 'comb (hair), vt/vrefl'; Tb(V) 'išįŋ - šiuk 'comb one’s hair'; Tb(M) 'išųyugat - ’išųyuk 'comb one’s hair, v'; Tb(M) šiųgišt 'comb'; the Tb verbs may have the hi- prefix. Cahitan forms and possibly the others in M88-ci9 below may be related with loss of medial segments: *ciyuk > ciy > cik/cikk. [Num, Tb]

518b. *cika' comb, sweep: CL.Azt30 *cikaaawas 'comb'; L.Son31 *cika 'peinar'; M88-ci9; KH/M06-ci9: Yq čike 'peinar'; Yq hičike 'sweep'; My čike 'peinar'; Eu atecika 'peinar'; Wr cí’iḥká 'comb, n (Lionett); Wr ci’iḥká 'type of cactus (Miller); Tr(S) tiči 'peinar'; Tr(S) tičikari 'comb'; Tr tiči, čiká, ti-čik; Tb čiká; CN cikaaawas-tli 'comb, n'; CN cika-waas-wiaa 'comb hair, v'; Pl ciikuwas 'comb'; Pl ciik wastia 'to comb'; NT sašiúúvikaroi 'comb, vt'; M88 < 215 *wïs 'comb'; Yq čikaaawas 'comb'; Other forms, such as the *wiV-sonai/conai below, insert the possibility that the wi-sV may derive from separate morphemmes. So all these 'comb/sweep' groupings are quite tentative.

518c. *hičikia 'broom': Yq hičike 'sweep'; AYq hičike 'sweep'; AYq hičikia 'broom'; My hičike 'sweep, v'; My hičikia 'broom'; and Wr icikila 'broom'. These tie to the others except with a hi- prefix. [reduction] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

519a. *was / *wís 'comb, sweep': M67-95 *was*/wen 'comb'; I.Num282 *wi 'sweep, comb, brush'; CL.Azt30 *cikaaawas 'comb' < 215 *wís 'comb'; M88-wi9; KH/M06- wi9: Hp wiši 'brush, broom'; CN cikaaawas-tli 'comb, n'; CN cika-waas-wiaa 'comb hair, v'. Miller and most combine the *wís and *wi forms, which we separate here, though separation itself clarifies little; for example, some forms, such as NP wiųunji and WSh wiuinha 'comb, sweep' may suggest that lost segments or considerable reductions may underlie *wi < *wis (see c below). Other forms, like the *wí/sV-sonai/conai below, insert the possibility that the wi-sV may derive from separate morphemmes. So all these 'comb/sweep' groupings are quite tentative.

519b. *wacipa/u 'comb, sweep': B.Tep39 *gasivukaro 'brush'; KH/M06-wa31 *wac-: TO gasva 'comb the hair of'; NT gasiųįvįkaro 'comb, n'; ST gašvukar 'brush'. The latter syllable -kar... have to do with instrument; thus, to those we might add Nv gasibua 'peinar, v'; PYP gasvia 'comb, rake, sweep'; NT gasiuuwai 'comb, vt'; ST gašvu 'peinar (s.o. else’s hair), vt'. Campbell and Langacker (CL.Azt215) suggest Tep *gasi < PUA *was/*wís, which is plausible since c/s dichotomies happen in UA. If that is so, then *was rather than *wís may be a preferred reconstruction, since both Azt and Tep show *was, and both s and the following high front vowel of some forms, like Hp wiši, could encourage the fronting and raising of *a > i. Whatever the case, I concur with Campbell and Langacker that the set is problematic. [a/u] [NUA: Ht; SUA: Tep, Azt]

519c. *wín 'comb': M67-95 *wes*/wen 'comb'; I.Num282 *wi 'sweep, comb, brush'; CL.Azt30 *cikaaawas 'comb' < 215 *wís 'comb'; M88-wi9; KH/M06- wi9: Mn wįnacu 'comb, n'; NP wįnaco 'comb or brush hair, v'; NP wiųunji 'sweep, comb hair, v'; Cm wi-nua 'to sweep'; Kw na-wįnų-wi(m)bį 'comb' and Kw na-wϊnų-nibį 'comb'; Kw wi-ni 'sweep'; Kw wųnį-ži 'soap-root brush, comb'; Tb wiŋgal/więgišt 'broom, rake, comb'; Tb wiŋgįt 'to sweep'. See discussion in a above. [NUA: Num, Tb]

520. *cona / *sona 'comb, sweep, gather': M67-95 *wes / *wen 'comb'; I.Num282 *wi 'sweep, comb, brush'; M88-wi9; KH/M06- wi9: Miller astutely compares all of the following Sh forms, which means we may have *cona/*sona prefixed by wi- or ti-: Sh conai 'gather, sweep'; Sh tecconai 'broom'; Sh wîconai/wîconai 'comb'; Sh sonai 'scratch, rub'; WSh wîsonai 'comb, sweep'; TSh wîsome 'comb, sweep'; TSh sone 'brush, wipe'; TSh tosone 'wipe up'; perhaps NP wiųunji 'sweep, comb hair' and others above if a reduction occurred like *wisonai > *wisna > wina or loss of final segments as in *wisonai > *wisV. [NUA: Num]

Come: see arrive and go
Complete: see finish
Consume: see eat
521. *kwasiC/*kwasaC 'cook(ed), ripe(n)': VVH50 *kwasi/*kwasi; M67-152c; BH.Cup *qwa; I.Num80 *kwasi; L.Son117 *kwasi-kwasi; M88-141; Munro.Cup30 *kwasi-kwasi 'cooked, ripe' (Munro notes the Cupan forms are deverbalized forms); AMR 1993a *kwasiC; KH.NUA; KH/M06-kwasiC: Mn ku'-kwasi 'get/be ripe'; NP kwasi-pi 'cooked, ripe'; TSH kwasi 'ripen'; Sh kwasi 'cook'; Ks kwasi-kwasi- 'cook, roast, be cooked'; Sp kwasi- 'be ripe, done, cooked'; Sp kwasi-pi 'passive participle'; WMU qwahsí-y 'ripen, cook, simmer, vi'; CU kusí-ka-ti 'bakedya 'ripen rapidly' *saki 'popcorn' and M67

522. *siyol(a) 'cook': B.Tep62 hiiwora(i) 'cook'; M88-si15; TO hidoD(a); NT idídóra; ST hiidørør. To these we should add Nv bahida 'sazonar' and Nv bahidaga 'ripe fruit'. Employing different prefixes, CN wiksi 'cook, ripen' and CN yuki 'ripe, cook, ripe' also belong. This is one of few sets having reflexes in nearly all UA languages. I like Manaster-Ramer's and Ken Hill's reconstructions with a final consonant as is apparent in the final gemination in some Num languages, -t (vs. -i) in Tb, and Ayq's 3rd C glottal stop. Note that this stem is the base of many derivatives for fruit; I suspect that Tewa ba'i/be 'fruit' is a loan from a Tepiman (*bahi) language.

523. *noko 'roast (often meat), v': L.Num114 *no(h)ko 'to roast meat'; M88-no10 'to roast meat'; KH/M06-no10: NP no 'ho 'to roast, bake'; Sh nokko 'to roast, bake'; Cm noho/noki 'bake biscuits'; Tb nohot 'to roast in the ground'; Tb noho 'yat-'onohooi' 'roast, vi'; Tb noho 'yin 'roast, vt'; Hp nöq- 'word-forming element having reference to meat.' [k vs. h; Tb h < *k] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb]

524. *saki 'toast, parch': VVH157 *saki 'to parch, as corn; parched corn'; B.Tep55 *haaki 'parched grain'; M67-328 *saki 'popcorn' and M67-352 *sa 'roast'; L.Son229 *saki/sak-i 'toast'; M88-sa2 'make esquite/hacer esquite' and M88-sa 'roast'; Jane Hill 2001, 2007; KH/M06-sa2: TO haak(i) 'to roast grain with coals in a basket'; LP haakah; NT ááki; ST haak; Eu sakit 'maiz tostado'; Wr sak 'esquite'; Tr sak 'esquite, maiz tostado'; Tr sak/saké 'esquite, maiz tostado'; My sák; My sáké 'maiz tostado'; Wc sáké 'esquite'; CN iiski-tl 'esquite'; Pl sák 'esquite, fry'; CN iška 'bake s.th., fire pottery'; CN sái 'to toast'. Some of the above forms Miller repeats in M88-sa 'roast'. We should add Tb šaak 'to roast'; Tb hika 'coccer'; Tb hika-ma-li-i 'esquite'; Cr šahčéh 'esquite'; and Cr weška 'fry, v' (Casal 1984, 165). Jane Hill (2001, 2007) adds Ls sáaki-š 'grain, wheat'. Interestingly, the Tb forms show perhaps a pre-Azt vowelizing. [Tb k < *k; Tbr ≈ CN vowelizing] [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cau, CrC, Azt]
525. *soka ‘cook’: KH.NUA; M88-so15; KH/M06-so15: Cp sixnine ‘cook’; Ls séexa ‘simmer’; Ls sé-ya ‘to warm water’; Ca séx ‘cook (food in water)’ (mishearing for six? Miller asks; or loan from Ls? Hill asks); Sr höqän ‘to boil’; Gb seh’iy ‘temescal’. [*o in Tak; k > h in Gb] [NUA: Tak]

526. *wa’a / *wa’i ‘roast’; *wa’i ‘meat, i.e., s.th. roasted’: V VH162 *wa’a / *wa’i ‘to roast’; BH.Cup *wa’a ‘to roast’; BH.Cup *wa’i ‘meat’; M67-280 *wa’i ‘meat’; Munro.Cup70 *wá’i ‘meat’; L.Son330 *wawí / *waw’i ‘asar’; M88-wa2 ‘to roast meat’; KH/M06-wa2: SP wai ‘roast in ashes’; CU waay ‘roast’; Tb wa’at/wa’it~‘awa’ ‘bake, broil, roast’; Cp wá’e; Cp wá’i ‘meat’; Ca -wa’, wá’at ‘roast meat, v’; Ca wá’i ‘meat’; LS wááwa ‘roast meat, v’; Ls wáá’i ‘meat, cattle’; TO ga’a, gai, ga’i ‘roast, broil, vt’; Eu wáve ‘asar’; TO ga’i ‘roasted meat’; Tr awé ‘asar, asado, carne seca’; My waawa ‘asar elotes’; Cr wá’ira’a ‘meat, body’. Ken Hill adds Tbr mwai-ra-n ‘asado’. To these we can add Nv ga’a ‘asar’; Nv ga’i ‘asado’; NP yoko (from Hittman); TSh yoko”; Sh yoko”; Kw yoko; M67 WR yekoaa ‘taste, sample food or drink, copulate with s.o.’ and its similarity to Numic *yoko seems more likely than not, since a vowel assimilation could easily unite them. [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]

527. *ti’ma / *ti’ama ‘roast, bake (under ashes, under ground), bury’; M67-353a; KH.NUA; M88-ti54 ‘roast’; KH/M06-ti54 ‘roast, bake’: Sr ti’i ‘roast, bake, vi’; SP ti’ma ‘roast under ashes, bury’; and perhaps Hp ti’pe ‘roast, bake’ (perhaps reduced from < *ti’m-pi); Hp ti’pa ‘hot water’. The other Hp term below may better belong. M67 lists other possible forms that agree as far as initial CV, but each brings with it more difficulties than the three forms listed, which also agree only in initial CV. However, relative to the SP form, several other SNum forms are consistent among themselves: WMU ti’m-ma ‘bake (usually underground)’; Ch tó’m ‘bake, v’; SP ti’ma- ‘roast under ashes, bury’; CU tu’may ‘bake, roast’. Some terms point to *ti’ama ‘bury, grave’: SP ti’ma ‘roast under ashes, bury’ and Hp ti’ma-ami ‘grave’ have much in common (*ti’ama), as well as Eu témo ‘enterrar’. TB(M) ti’ma-at ‘gasp for breath, for instance, while drowning, choking, or suffocating’ [or while covered] is nearly identical to SP phonologically, but varies semantically. [V’s] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn]

NB, for *ma’a / *mahi ‘bury, cook underground’, see bury
NB, for *sa’a / *sawi, see boil

COPULATE; COPULARSE

528. *yu’ma > *yoma ‘copulate’: VVH111 *yoma ‘copulate’; M67-99 *yo; M88-yo3; KH/M06-yo3: VVH list TO doom and Tb yoom; Ca yóm ‘have intercourse’ also corresponds to TO and Tb, since Ca i < *o. Add Hp yomi(<k) ‘give a pelvic thrust, simulate copulation’; Yq nau yuuma-k ‘unir’, both of which may display the original vowel—*yu’ma > *yoma—TO, Tb, and Ca possibly subject to lowering of *u > o/._a. I separate the *yoko forms from *yoma on the grounds of entirely different second syllable in contrast to Miller’s including both in M88-yo3 and M67-99; in fact, the vowel of the first syllable may be different as well, in light of a possible *yu’ma and CN yekoaal below. [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah]

529. *yikoc / *yokoc ‘copulate’: Sapir; I.Num.291 *yo(h)ko ‘copulate’; M67-99; M88-yo3; KH/M06-yo3: Mn yoqqo; NP yokko (from Hittman); TSh yoko’; Sh yoko’; Kw yoko’; SP yo-go’; CU yo-go’—Sapir’s observation of CN yekoaal ‘taste, sample food or drink, copulate with s.o.’ and its similarity to Numic *yoko seems more likely valid than not, since a vowel assimilation could easily unite them. [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

530. *toc ‘copulate’: M67-100 *to ‘copulate’; M88-to11 ‘copulate’; KH/M06-to11: Tb tooyan’ ‘oodoyan; Ls tó’ma ‘(of a man) to marry a wife’, (of animals) to mate’; Ls -tó’ma ‘wife’; Ls –tó’ma-vu ‘husband’. One problem with this pair, listed in both M67 and M88, is that we should expect Ls e < *o; however, Cp tily’á’a ‘make love’ matches Tb well, because it has the expected vowel: Cp i < *o; it also shows y, like Tb does, and we see L’s in Tak lost in other UA branches elsewhere. Note also the -to- syllables in Tr nató ‘fornicar (various), practicar el cóito’; Tr netó/wetó ‘fornicar, practicar el cóito extramarital’; Tr roki / lokí / eloki-mea ‘fornicar, abusar la mujer, violarla’. [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn]

531. M67-101 *nase ‘copulate’; M88-na20 ‘copulate’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-na20: The history of this challenging set has only SP nai ‘have sexual connection, mate’ remaining from M67 to M88 to KH/M06. Originally Miller (M67 *nase) had Sr náčk ‘stick together, copulate’ and SP nai ‘have sexual connection, mate’, suggesting Sr may be from *nasí > *nas-k > nač-k, causing the sibilant to become an affricate before a stop. In M88, Miller leaves out Sr and adds two others that both Ken Hill and I have left out. Ken Hill, a Sr specialist, also leaves out the Sr form (in
yet. with *siLo/soLi. The glottal stop in Y
and so does an 
'milpa tierna'.

5 cf. rot. Hp pìikya( )
its vowel aligns (*u > Hp o, *u > Azt i) and the semantics are reasonable with the semantics of Pl piški and Z.

forms in 
or wheat'; Pl piška 'harvest, pick, v'; Pl piški 'for cooked corn to lose its skin'; Z piiška

[5] Liquid Tr murá 'espiga'; Cr mwéé

KH/M06 - 38

[50x96] 5

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2007) add Hp soŋowï 'sand grass' as the first four segments are

NT úúnui; ST huun; ST hun vaa  'elote';

CL.Azt50 *sən 'dried corn, ear of corn'; M88

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CORN, EAR OF CORN, GRAIN; MAIZ, ESPIGA, ELOTE

534. *ahaya(y) ‘copulate’: Mn ahiyee ‘mate, v’; Mn nanna’ihiyee ‘mate (with one another), v’; NP na’ahiyai ‘mate (of two animals)’. [NUA: WNum]

535. *suju ‘corn’: VVH93 *sunu ‘corn, corn cob’; B.Tep81 *huunui ‘corn’; M67-102 *sunu corn; L.Son263 *sunu; CL.Azt50 *sun ‘dried corn, ear of corn’, M88-su5; KH/M06-su5; Jane Hill 2007: To huuni ‘corn, ear of corn’; LP huun; NT úunu; ST huún; ST hun vaa  ‘elote’; Ls(E) naka/i ‘put blanket over s.o.’; CU

na20), b

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ear of corn: M88-si14; KH/M06-si14: CN shiilo-tl ‘tender ear of green corn’ and Tbr soli-t ‘ear of corn’ are identical except for a vowel metathesis in one or the other; Pi siili-t ‘small, immature, green ear of corn before it develops kernels’. Miller combines these and Lionnet’s set above both in si14, which is possible, but I separate them for now. [Tbr–Azt; liquids; V metathesis] [SUA: Tbr, Azt]


*iLo ‘elote’: CL.Azt135 *eelloo ‘roasting ear’; M88-tl4; KH/M06- tl4: CN eeloo-tl ‘ear of fresh young maize with the kernels already formed, corn on the cob’; Pl eelu-t (poss. – ø) ‘ear of corn, roasting ear’; Po elut; T yelutl; Z eeloot. [liquid] [SUA: Azt]


*tu’i-capí (> Tep *tuisapi) ‘corn flour’: B.Tep230 *tuisapi ‘corn flour’ (*tu’i ‘flour’); M88-tu8: NT tuišapi; ST tuisap. See also *tu’a/*tu’i at grind where KH/M06-tu8 includes this compound with its first morpheme *tu’a/*tu’i. [Tep ø < *’] [SUA: Tep]

*tomoc ‘corn husk’: CL.Azt35 *totoomoc- ‘corn husk’; M88-to19; KH/M06-to19: CN totomoč-tli; Pl tuutumuc; Po totonosi; T totomočtl; Z tootomočt. [SUA: Azt]

*iku ‘corn’: Fowler 1994: Cr ’iku; We ikīi. Fowler cautiously notes their similarity with Southern Tiwa iechuri, suggesting further investigation. [SUA: CrC]

*naLo ‘olote’: Eu néhro ‘mazorca desgranada, olote’; Yq náo ‘olote’; My naawo ‘olote’. Liquid > ø is common in Cah. [*L, liquids] [SUA: Cah, Opn]

*apaLi ‘elote, new/fresh ear of corn’: Yq ába’i ‘elote’; My ábari/ábarim ‘elotes, mazorca’; AYq avae ‘fresh corn’. [liquids: -*L- > -*’- > -ø-] [SUA: Cah]

*kawi-ta ‘type of corn’: Wr kawfíla ‘type of corn’; Tbr koi-t ‘corn’. [SUA: Trn, Tbr]

*yawi (> *yowi) ‘(ear of) corn’: Hp yoowi ‘corn silk, beginning ear on stalk’; Cr yuuri ‘maiz’; CN yaawi-tl ‘type of corn with dark kernels’; Wr mayowáci ‘type of corn’. Hp, Wr, Cr all show round vowels, though they do not entirely agree on which round vowel. CN yaawi may be nearer the proto-form, because if the first vowel of s.th. nearer CN yaawi-tl were to have anticipated the w and become round (as in Hp, Wr, and Cr), then assimilation toward -w- would explain the inconsistent round vowel correspondences. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn, CrC, Azt]

*hani ‘corn’: Jane Hill 2007: Cm hanibí/hani- ‘corn, maize, ear of corn’; Hp haani ‘corn flour ground to the desired consistency’; Hp haana ‘complete the corn-grinding process, v’. [NUA: Hp, Num]


*La/i or *wo’La ‘shell, degrain (ears of grain), v’ or *wíra (Karen Dakin): L.Son21 *ora/i ‘desgranar’; Dakin 1982; M88-’o19 ‘to shell (corn)’; Jane Hill 2001, 2007; KH/M06-’o19: Eu hórà; Op hora; Wr ola-ní, pl: ori-má; Tr ori-mea; Tr orá-; We ‘uu.riyáari; HN ‘ooya’; Pl ta-wiya, ta-uyua; CN tla-ooya; CN tlaoi-li ‘dried kernels of maize’; CN oolootconte-tl ‘instrument for removing kernels from corncob’; TO oD ‘harvest, vt’; and perhaps Tr oho ‘desgranar’ if from a reduplication (o’o > oho) whose lengthening causes the end to reduce. Jane Hill (2007) adds Cm hani wo’ora ‘corncob’. [r > y (HN)] [SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt; NUA: Num]
NB, for *kuNmi 'corn' see *kuNmi 'eat (s.th. like corn), nibble, chew'—a prominent verbal stem in SUA, which in NUA appears as 'corn'—SP kummiya/kommi 'corn'; WMU kümwi/kumwi 'corn'; CU kümîy 'corn'; e.g., TO kuum 'chew, crunch; TO kuumikud 'corncob' (lit: 'eating tool, s.th. with which one eats).

NB, for *kiLipi 'shell/shuck corn, v.' see at 'scrape'.
NB, for *kwuhV 'scrape off, degrain (corn)' see at 'scrape'.

Corner: see fork, cave, in

COTTON; ALGODÓN

553. *píphi 'cotton': Mn píphi; Kw pí-ví; CU pí-ví. Ktn pí-c 'down'; Ktn tím-píc 'fine feathers, used to describe cotton plant, apparently like down'; NP pihiga'yu 'cotton'. [NUA: SNum, WNNum, Tak]

554. *toko 'cotton': TO tokii; Nv toki; NT tóki; ST tok saua 'cotton blanket'; Tbr tokó-l 'algodón'. Tbr shows a different 2nd vowel than the Tep forms, so it does not seem borrowed, yet exhibiting the same first three segments merits its inclusion. As in English too, stressed vowels (NT's 1st, Tbr 2nd) are more likely to retain their quality, so I reconstruct those. [SUA: Tep, Tbr]

555. *mosa 'cotton': Cr (ri'i)musá; We kwiemúša. [SUA: CrC]

NB, Wr to'sá 'cotton' and Tr ŕosá 'cotton' are at the UA words for 'white'.
NB, for *wipuhu > NUA *wiwihu 'plant whose seeds float in cotton-like tufts' (Kenneth Hill), see 'reed'.

COTTONWOOD TREE, POPLARS, ASPEN, BIG TREES;
POCHOTE, CHOPO. ÁLAMO; see also tree

556a. *sohopim 'cottonwood tree': M67-104 *so 'cottonwood tree'; I.Num180 *soopih 'cottonwood tree'; M88-so4; KH/M06-so4; NP so'o 'aspen'; TSh sohopi 'cottonwood'; Sh soho-pi; Cm soho obi 'cottonwood'; Cm sohopokó 'mulberry tree'; Kw soovi-pi; Ch soovimpi 'cottonwood'; SP soovi/-s/soovipi 'cottonwood'; Hp sóhóvi. Also NP(B) soobi 'cottonwood'. Cm soho obi may suggest a compound, or perhaps a term as long as a compound. SP gimation, Ch, and Kw's -ipi (instead of -vi) all recommend a final -C; -m is what Ch shows. Ken Hill in 2003 (KH/M03-so4) queries whether CN soomee-ti 'elder tree' is cognate, but took it out of his KH/M06 edition; I’d say keep it as probable, since *p > ø in Azt, -h- is fragile, and the vowels fit: *sohopinV > soome. If both intervocalic -h- and -p- were lost (likely in Azt), then a reduction could yield s.th. much like the CN form. One might be tempted to separate the final -pi as a fossilized absolutive suffix in Num; however, the facts that other morphemes come after it in many languages and that the Tak forms have the PV syllable well-embedded argue against an old abs suffix. A reconstruction *sohopi(mV), perhaps an old underlying plural, works for Num, Hp, and CN. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Azt]

556b. *sapo 'sycamore tree': BH.Cup *sevéla 'sycamore'; HH.Cup *savéela 'sycamore' (Ca vowel is unexpected); M88-sa25; Fowler83; Munro.Cup126 *śivéla- / *śavéela 'sycamore'; KH/M06-sa31 *sapo: Ca sivyλ 'maple, sycamore'; Cp šev³-ly 'sycamore' (vowel unexpected); Ls śivéela/savéela 'sycamore'; Sr havoö'į 'sycamore'. Ken Hill adds Ktn havoč; Gb sevér; and CN's -ap-t 'sapota (fleshy fruit), sapota tree'. Every Tak second V agrees with PUA *o. The variations in the first V are likely due to unaccented schwa-like behavior (> i/i), when the V was once unaccented, as it still is in most languages. However, Sr, Ktn, CN, and show a first V of a, as do Miller, Munro, and Hill’s choice of first vowel, with which I concur. [C cluster; -a vs. -a/-i] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

557. *poCta / *poCeV 'cottonwood tree': CL.Azt146 *počoo- 'silk-cotton tree'; Fowler83; M88-po23; KH/M06-po23: CN počoo-t 'silk-cotton tree'; Hp počoo 'type of fuzzy caterpillar or worm found in cottonwood trees, skunk (2nd Mesa dialect)'; PL pučut; Po počut. Most *-c- > -y- in NUA, yet an agreement of the first three segments and the fact that this particular caterpillar approaches the appearance of a cottonball crawling along make this match more probable than not, likely from something other than PUA *-c- as Manaster Ramer says, perhaps a cluster and a palatalization of *poCt (and many a/o alternations for final V occur in UA). [-a/o] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Azt]

558. *apa(ka) 'cottonwood tree': Cp aváxat; Ls 'avááxa-t; the first three segments of AYq avaso 'cottonwood tree' match the 'Tak forms. Though not likely enough to include in the count, TO a'uppa 'cottonwood tree' is worth noting in that they all share *a…pa, in spite of TO's extra segments. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]
559. *síŋg nouns: Fowler83: NP(Y) sǐŋgabí 'cottonwood'; NP(Y) gaiba sǐŋgabí 'aspen'; NP(B) sǐŋgaí or 'tree'; NP(B) sǐŋgabí 'willow'; NP(B) kaibaśínái 'quaking aspen tree'; Sh sǐŋkāpin / sǐnnapí 'aspen'. Note also Tsh sǐŋpin 'aspen'; Sh(C) sǐnka-pipí / sǐnka'-pípin 'aspen tree, tree (generic), any mountain tree'; WMU ñiíŋ-vũ / ñiíŋ-vũ 'cottonwood tree, quaking aspen, n'; SP šúyã-vũ 'quaking aspen'; SP šú 'sapling'; CU ñiíŋ-vũ-pí 'cottonwood'; CU šú-¿-va 'quaking aspen'. The velar nasal occurs in all three branches of Num, considering the nasalized vowels in WMU. Some Sh dialects show *tï > -n-, while most of SNum lost the nasal altogether. NP(B) seems to have merged the forms that most languages separate forms for 'willow' (*sí hã, *saka) though close enough to be confused at times. [NUA: WNum, CNum, SNum]

NB, for *wipuhu > NUA *wipuhu 'plant whose seeds float in cotton-like tufts' (Kenneth Hill, p.c.): Hp wipho 'cattail' (combining form wívō-) and Gb wívor [wívo-r] 'milkweed', see at 'reed'.

Cough: see lion

Cough: Toser

Miller combines many forms in M88-’o12 ‘cough’ (KH/M06-’o12) from M67-105 *’oh; I.Num14 *ohni; B.Tep314 *’ihoqûi ‘cough (which may all be related), but problems recommend sorting them, though its onomatopoetic subjectivity makes its priority for comparative purposes debatable.

560a. *ōho / *ôhAC ‘cough, v’: Mn ohi; NP ohi; Tsh ohiî; Sh ohiî / ohoi; Hp ōhō / ōhōhō-; Tsh(V) hooh / ohooh; Tsh(M) hoohat / ohoohat; Ca ‘ú’uhú. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

560b. *oka (?) ‘cough’: KH.NUA; Cps; Ipa; Cp axi’a / axi’a / ixa-; LS ‘ixa; Sr ōqqa’. Sr and Cp agree with *oka, but if *o, then LS should show e, though Cp i corresponds to *o. Maybe some borrowing has occurred that needs to be unraveled. The SNum forms may fit *oka—SP ohkw’i and CU ‘okwvoy—if rounding was preserved past the C: *oka > okwa. [NUA: Tak, Num]

560c. *îho... (> Tep *i’oh... ??) ‘to cough’: B.Tep314 *’ihoqûi ‘cough'; TO i’ihog; LP i’ihog; Mn onibwekakat; Cm onibwekakat; Cm ohiy ‘to cough’; Kw ‘ohni; and perhaps Mn ohiyee; NP ohibh wimma; Tsh ohî kammanna. [NUA: Num]

561. *taCsa / *taCsi ‘cough: M67-106 *ta ‘cough’; L.Son278 *tasa/*tas-i ‘toser’; M88-ta28 ‘to cough’; KH/M06-ta28: NP taci-yaipi ‘measles’; Eu táca-n; Wr tohsó-ní/ma; Tr tóshó-wa; Yq táse; My tássse; CN tlatlasi. Lionett’s reconstruction *tasa/tasi is reasonable, except that the -c- in NP and Eu is curious, but might be explained by a cluster *-Cs-. [c/s] [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cal, Opn, Azt]

562. *ka... ‘belch’: M88-ka41; KH/M06-ka41: Ca qéwi ‘to belch’; qékwem (distr.) ‘belch many times’; LS kára/’i ‘belch, croak (of frogs), ring (bells)’; Sr qääk/qää’kin ‘belch’. [NUA: Tak]

563. *ko... ‘cough’: KH.NUA: Sr qöi/mu’k ‘cough’; Ca ke-xékin ‘cough up’; Gb xoaxâ. [Gb V] [NUA: Tak]

564a. *híkkí / *híhikka ‘have hiccoughs’: M88-hë4: KH/M06-hë4: Mn hëkkí-i-t; Sh hëkkí; Tb hëkkihigat.

564b. *hi(C)na ‘hiccough, vi’: Cp helyepe; TO hínihopt ‘hiccup, sniffle, v’; TO(M) hinhuñig ‘hiccough, n’; WR e’na. This may be another instance of Tep h < *h.

564c. *hiwaka / *hi’wVk: Eu hiwáka; My hé’okte. Much remains tentative. [NUA: Num, Tb]

Count; Contar

565. *tĩn ‘count’: M67-107; I.Num263 *ce; KH.NUA: M88-či4; KH/M06-či4: Mn (ta)čiwi ‘to count’; NP tacina ‘to count; Sh tucin ‘to count’; Eu hícéma-n ‘to count’; Cr tǐ ‘i’mi ‘he is counting’. Miller suggests *či; however, in light of the t in Cr and Manaster-Ramer’s suggestion that a different source than *c be sought for NUA medial -c-, as we see in the Num forms, unless the segments preceding them are recent prefixes, then we might better presume *tĩ, although I do not feel very comfortable with single syllable reconstructions, though sometimes that is all that is clear. Nevertheless, if *tĩ is reconstructed, then Sr tĩ ‘wan ‘count, join’; Ktn tĩ ‘uh / tĩ ‘ur ‘count, v’ and Cp tekwiñe ‘to count’ also loom as possibilities. Ca tewan ‘to count, tell, name, call’ also begins with *tĩ, but is tied to the prominent UA stem *tiwa ‘name’ while Sr shows a different stem for Sr tĩwan ‘kin ‘name, call (by name)’ and Eu, etc. The fact that the 2nd C is -w in Mn, -m- in Eu, -ŋ- in NP -w- in Sr suggests a cluster perhaps involving m: *tĩmCa or *tĩcm. [medial C cluster] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, CrC]

133
Cousin: see relative
Cover: see close

COYOTE, FOX; COYOTE, ZORRO

567. *isa'a(N)p 'coyote': M67-109 *is; I.Num20 *isa/*ica; BH.Cup *iswič 'wolf'; Munro.Cup31 *isi-l 'coyote'; Fowler83; M88-i2; KH/M06-i2: Mn issa'a 'coyote'; NP ica'a 'coyote'; NP isa 'wolf'; TSh icapí 'coyote'; TSh isampapi 'wolf'; Sh isapai-ppi 'coyote (mythological name)'; Tb išt 'coyote'; Ca isi-ly 'coyote'; Cp isi-ly; Ls is-wu-t 'wolf'; Gb išát 'lobo'; Hp isawì, pl: ii'ist 'coyote'. Note the Tb form aligns with the Hp pl form. The -c- in NP and TSh, but -s- elsewhere, may be due to an underlying glottal stop *-s- > *-c-.[/c/s] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

568. *kwan 'coyote': M67-110a *kwa; B.Tep3 *banai; CL.Azt217 **kwa 'coyote'; Fowler83; M88-kwa7 'coyote'; KH/M06-kwa7: TO ban; UP baní; LP ban; NT bánai; ST ban; Hp kwëwi 'wolf (kwe-combined form)'. Add Nv bana 'coyote'. Fowler includes Sr wañat 'wolf or cougar', which is possible, since a comparison of Sr wanat 'wolf' or cougar' with *kwam and *kwasi 'tail' with Sr-wad 'tail' would have two *kw > w in Sr. However, Sr wañat < *waLi (at lion) may be as likely. Might the -wë syllable of Hp be 'big', and thus kwe be only a vowel off from agreeing with *kwa, though the missing n is an additional concern? Cm wani 'fox' may agree with Sr wanat, whether either agrees with Tep or not. Might *kwan 'cry' relate to these? [ *kw > w in Sr]? [SUA: Tep; but NUA?]

569. *sin'a- / *sinawa 'coyote': Dakin2004b: Kw sina-avi; Ch siná'avi; Ch(L) šina'avi 'coyote'; Ch(L) šinawavi 'Mythic Coyote, the pre-human, immortal personage'; SP šinna'-avi 'wolf, dog'; SP šinna-šwa-avi 'coyote'; WMU šinawavi / siná-avi / saná-avi 'wolf'; CU sináæ-avi 'wolf'; Cm ceena 'gray fox, coyote'. Jane Hill astutely notes that Cm may be an loan from SNum in light of its lack in other CNum languages. Karen Dakin (2004b) makes a case for including CN šooloo-tl 'paje, mozo, criado, esclavo' (Kartunnen); 1. hermano gemelo de Quetzalcoatl, 2. hermano gemelo de Quetzalcoatl, 3. se representa como perro (Dakin 2004b, 194)' and CN aa-šooloo-tl 'edible salamander (water-?)'; CN šoolo-pí-ti 'be foolish, joke, lie like a fool'; CN šooloopí 'yoo-tl 'foolery, deceit'; CN šolopí'-tl 'idiot, fool, dolt'. Or might these relate to SP šinna 'maternal uncle/nephew' or to *sina 'shout' (Wr siná 'shout'; Tr siná 'shout'; and Tep) at shout, when considering the identity of the first four segments and the frequency of 'cry, call' verbs as sources for coyote and wolf words? [w and glottal stop] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

570. *kayoC 'coyote, fox': CL.Azt 39 *koyoo 'coyote'; Fowler83; M88-ko26; KH/M06-ko26: CN koyoo-tl 'coyote'; CN koyowa 'lanzar, dar grandes gritos, aullar' (Simeón); CN i'koyoka 'roar, whir, crackle'; HN kayo-ih 'fox'; Pl kuyuut; T koyutl; Z koyoot 'white man'. To everyone's forewarning, let's add Tr keyoči 'fox'; Wr keoči 'fox'. The first vowel is difficult, since it could have been anything, assimilating to the following o in CN or being raised and fronted by the following y, as in Tr and Wr; thus, the vowel a seems to be the best reconstruction, especially since HN actually has the a. As is well known, CN koyoo-tl is the source of Spanish coyote, later borrowed into English also. [SUA: Trn, Azt]

571. *kawosi (<*kawasi or *kawasi) 'fox': BH.Cup *qawé ... ic? 'fox'; HH.Cup *qawée; L. Son78 *kawasi 'zorra'; M88-ka22 'fox'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ka22: Cm kaawosa 'fox'; Ca qawí-sí 'fox'; Cp kawísí-sí; Ls qiwé-wi-sí; Sr qoóčat; Gb kawé'pa; Eu káos/káos 'fox'; Op kaosi/kawasi; Yq kááwis; We kaušai 'fox'. Add Ktn kawčač 'fox'. Miller includes Tbr kahi-lói, kahu-lói 'fox' (kahu 'hill') and Tr kibóči 'fox' and Tr kiyó-či 'fox'. Yet Tr wasači 'fox' seems to better belong here, with a lost first syllable, as Tr often loses first C's, at least. I put Tr kiyóči with *kawo-above, but *kapoci may underlie Tr kibóči and the above. The Tak languages and others certainly show o in *kawosa, though Lionnet's reconstruction *kawosi is feasible. The a in both Op kawasi and Tr wasači suggest a may be the original V, and might the *kawosi forms may be from an earlier *kawasi? The Tak 2nd vowels agree with o even though they are high-front. [Tak V's; Gb e < o] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn]
572a. *wanci’a ‘fox’: Fowler83 *woći’a; NP waci’a ‘fox’; TSh woci’a; Sh woci’a; Kw woci’a; Ch woci’a; and SP paoci ‘beaver’ may be a compound of ‘water-fox’. Note that Ch and SP show the nasal; thus, it is in the reconstruction. Furthermore, intervocalic PUA *c- > -y-; so these -c- are from something else, and a *-nc- cluster serves well; and NP shows a, suggesting the adjacent w changed the others’ vowels change from *a > o.

572b. *wacio > Tep *gasio > *kasi ‘fox’: B.Tep96 *kasio ‘fox’; Fowler83; M88-ka22 ‘fox’; KH/MI06-ka22: TO gasio; Nv kaš; PYp gas; NT kašı̇o; ST kašı̇o. Miller combines these with *kawasi above; however, the $ in the rest of UA should be h in Tep, and the *w should be g, but does not exist. The Tep forms better belong with *wanci’V as paired here. Bascom reconstructs initial *k, which could be; on the other hand, two of the five Tep languages show g instead of k, which raises the possibility that these are from *waci > Tep *gasìi, followed by devoicing of initial g in Tep *gasio > *kasi. Devoicing of an initial voiced consonant is more likely than voicing of an initially devoiced consonant in the two Tep languages, and the *wa(n)ci’a forms in Num also agree with that reconstruction. In fact, we should not be surprised at Tep lacking the nasal, because the nasal in the -nc- cluster in Num appears in only 2 of the 6 languages, and Tep typically shows fewer nasals than Numic. Given that and the division g/k more likely being from g <*>w in initial position, Tep *gasio (< *wacio) and Num *wanci’a agree through the first four segments. [devoicing of initial *w > Tep *g > k] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

573. *yippa(C) ‘red fox, Vulpes fulva(?):’ Fowler83: TSH yippe’-ci ‘red fox; Sh yippai ‘fox’. Add Ch(L) yipaci (< *yippa-) ‘fox’. [NUA: Num]

574. *yoko-pü-ci ‘coyote (the copulator):’ SP yo-go-viči ‘coyote’ (< SP yo-go/*yoko ‘copulate’); CU yoko-viči; WMu yoqő-vič/i / yoqő-viči / yoqőwü-vič / yoqőwü-viči ‘coyote, n’. This SNum form shows a fossilized absolutive suffix *-pi to which a later suffix *-ci was added. [NUA: Num]

575. *kaLop ‘fox’; Tb(V) ‘iklooba-l’ ‘fox’; Tb(M) yekalooba-l ‘grey fox’; and Tbr kahu-lowi/kahi-lowi ‘fox’. Suspending Lionnet’s choice of morpheme break may have Tbr being a reduplication *kalop > kahu-lowi, which may agree with Tb, sharing *kalop. Tr kibóči ‘fox’ has much in common with Tb and TrC. [NUA: Tbr; SUA: Tbr]

576. *waCNI ‘fox’: Fowler83 *wani ‘gray fox’: NP wängi’i ‘fox’, WSh waahni’ ‘fox’; Cm waani / waa’ne’ ‘fox’; and perhaps Sr wanaţ ‘wolf or cougar’ belongs here. This is often associated with *wa(n)ci’a forms in Nu. SUA L; but NP $ does not correspond to SUA L, and most Num forms suggest a medial cluster, so I lean toward its being a different set, though Sr could feasibly belong at ‘mountain lion’. [NUA: Num, Tak]

NB, for *wo’i ‘coyote’ (< *waLi), see *waLi at ‘lion’.

CRAB, CRAWFISH, SHRIMP; CANGREJO, CAMARÓN, CANQUI, ACOCIL

577. *pa-koci ‘shrimp’: My baa koócim; Yq ba’akoči; AYq vaa koóčim; CN akosili / akosilı̇. Wr koheći ‘shrimp’ and others at ‘skin’ *koCci tie to the second morpheme. CN has its expected loss of initial *p, though the $ < *c is open for explanation. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]

578. *cakali ‘crab, shrimp’; CN ačakalin / čakali ‘shrimp’; Pl čakalin ‘shrimp’; Yq ač’a’akari ‘cangrejo’; AYq ačakari ‘crab’. If CN ačakalin vs. čakali contains *(p)a ‘water’ in the first form, it may be that the TrC forms may be loans from Azt, since TrC does not lose initial *p like Azt does. [SUA: Azt, Cah]

579. *tukwici ‘crab’: CN atekwici-tli / tekwici-tli; Pl tekwis ‘crab’; [s/c] [SUA: Azt]

NB, Nv tasani ‘cammán’ and Eu tásan ‘cammán’ are likely a loan one way or the other, since Eu s should correspond to Nv h or Eu c; Nv s. So with either *tasani or *tacani, other forms need yet to be found.

NB, for *koyo shell occasionally meaning ‘crayfish, snail’ see ‘skin’.

NB, *sattun ‘claw, crab’ also sometimes means ‘crab, crayfish’.

CRANE, HERON, EGRET; GRULLA, GARZA

580a. *koto (< kuta?) ‘crane’: L.Son94 *koro ‘grulla’; Fowler83; M88-ko18 ‘grulla’; KH/M06-ko18: Pg kookoD; Nv kokori; Op koro-c; Eu koró; Tr goró; Yq kórowe; My kórowo; Tbr kóló ‘pájaro’; NP kodiţi ‘crane’. Fowler lists Mn kodiţ ‘sandhill crane’; Mn kodi’i ‘sandhill crane’; Sh koandata ‘sandhill crane’; Kw ko’ota ‘a kind of goose’; Ch cakora ‘sandhill crane’. To these we can add TSh koto ‘crane’ and if a separate
initial syllable can be explained, perhaps CU saqó-řī 'crane’, which would match Ch cakora, if Givon’s morpheme break in CU is not secure. The forms in a and b are likely related as KH/M06 has them, though reconciliation of the V’s and medial C may not be clear yet.

580b. *kaLu ‘sandhill crane’; Munro.Cup15 *qara-ő ‘bird sp’; LS qarú-ő ‘sandhill crane’; Cp kara-ő. Munro states that the raising of LS ő > ŭ is not uncommon; on the other hand, if it is Cp that has changed the vowels, then LS and thus Tak *qaru show possibilities with the TrC forms above in something like PUA *karu, with vowel leveling in TrC (*karu > koro) in many cases, but remaining as is in LS qarú-ő. In light of CU kurá-nőő-ci ‘crane’ and CU kurá-vi ‘neck’, could these UA forms be tied to an archaic form or variant of *kuta ‘neck’ since a crane’s most prominent feature is its long neck? [vowels; *L liquids: r/L or t/r; synchronically perceived morpheme diachronically untenable in CU] [NUA: Num, Tak: SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]

581. *pa-kon... ’heron’: B.Tep259 *vakonoi ’heron’; Fowler83; M88-pa53; KH/M06-pa53: LP vakiň ’heron’; NT vakoní ’heron’; ST vakoon ’heron’. This probably contains prefixed *pa- ‘water’; Sh koontix ‘blue crane’ lends support to that probability since the initial three segments kon- are identical in both the Sh form and the Tep forms. And if there were a cluster, similar to that in Sh -nt- (*konto), could these possibly be related to the *koro/karu forms above? A change of -nt- > -t- > -r- is possible. Tep *-koní also looks much like B.Tep *kokonoi ’crow’; so could this be a compound meaning ‘water-crow’? Cf. *kono ‘crow’; perhaps *pa-kono ‘water-crow’? [SUA n and NUA: *] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

582a. *kwaso ‘crane, heron’: Fowler83: Tb waasha-i ’grey crane’; Cr kwaasuu ’heron’; Wc kwaassu ’heron’. Perhaps not the kusi- syllable in Sh kussikwan ‘crane’ and Cr kussikwa’a ‘crane, lit: gray thing that flaps wings’? What of the bwa syllable in Yq kóobwa’abwawi ‘garza, grulla’; Ayq ko’obwabwa’i? In light of *s > Tbr h, Tbr wahó ’garza’ matches Cr, Wc, and *kwaso in all segments except the first where we would expect kw in Tbr. However, a kw/w dichotomy already afflicts these stems, as seen below. Or take out CrC, and the others point to *waso / *wasa, as below: [Tbr w < *kw ?]

582b. *wassa ‘crane, heron’: Fowler83: NP wassa ’great blue heron’; TSh wasa ’crane, heron, egret’; Sh wassa ’heron’. At 211 *wosa ’bird sp.’ (Munro.Cup14 *wésa-i ’bird sp.’), LS wésa-i ’the white brant’ and Cp wisal ‘mudhen’ have all segments matching perfectly, so leave that as is, but w perhaps rounding the adjacent vowel (*wasa > *wosa in Cup) makes a possible tie with this set keeping in mind. Considering other matters, could NP wassa and the other Num forms derive from a loan from Tb waaša-i ’grey crane’ above, or do the Num forms constitute a separate set that may include Tb and Tbr wahó? Are kw/w meshing movements (*kwaso/*wasV) involved in the forms above? [*kw/w; Tbr ~ CrC] [NUA: Num, Tbr; SUA: Tbr, Tak]

CRAWL; ARRASTRARSE, GATEAR

583a. *nuyu’ā ’crawl, as a snake, v’: NP nøyu’a ’to crawl (as snake); NP canuyui ’move, drag’ (hand crawling ?); NP(B) nuyua ’crawl (as a snake); TSh nuyua ’to crawl (as snake); Sh nuyua ’crawl (of a snake or worm); Cm nuyiimi’ari ’to crawl (of snake).’ [NUA: Num]

583b. *nuhia / *nuya ’snake’: NP nuyuadi ’snake’; Sh pasinnuyua ’water snake’; Cm nuhia ’snake of any sp (archaic word)’. What of Wr nái ’corua, kind of snake’ or Wr noi ’worm’ or *sinawi ’snake’? [NUA: Num]

584. *citikwa / *ciLikwa ’to crawl on the belly, like a snake’: Kw čiriğwi ’crawl on belly (e.g., sandhill crane); Ls liqwa ’to crawl (of a snake)’. [LS missing initial CV] [NUA: Num, Tbr]

585. *maN-wapa ’crawl on all fours’: TSh mapah ’crawl’; Kw maava- ’crawl on one’s hands and knees’ (lost 2nd C cluster); Ch wawá ’crawl’; Ch ma-wáwa ’creep’; SP mapwawa ’crawl, creep’; WMU mawáwa-y / mowáwa-y ’crawl’; CU mowówá-wáey ’crawl’; perhaps the first morpheme in CU mavá-tō-ő way ’stoop on all fours, move or crawl on all fours’. Note nasal feature in SP and WMU. [NUA: SNum and TSh]

586. *to- ’crawl’: Mn matoo (< *mattoo) ’crawl’; NP mato’a (< *matto’a) ’crawl’; TSh mattoon ’brace oneself with the hands, be on all fours’ (vs. TSh mapah ’crawl’); Sh mattoo ’crawl on hands and knees’. Regarding the *to- a, consider Hp tooto ’creepy-crawly (baby talk)’ though we would expect ö < *o. If *maC- is ’hand’, then we might expect the *to- a to be independent (as in Hp) or first (as in CN): CN toomaa-ne’nemi ’to crawl on all fours’ and CN toomaa-keca ’get down on all fours, vrefl, set s.o./s.th. down on all fours, vt’ [NUA: WNum, CNum, Hp; SUA: Azt]
NB, for *cawa, see climb.

CRICKET; GRILLO

**588. *tukusoru/cori* / *tukacapala* 'cricket':** Miller lists the following forms in M88-tu17 'cricket/grillo'; KH/M06-tu17: TO cukugšuaD 'cricket, one who cares for a baby'; Wr tuhkucúrumi; My kíičul, kučúlim (pl.); Tbr toko-sül, tuko-sül; HN cicikame-tl. To those can be added others listed below, all of which together suggest a compound something like *tukacapala:*

- TO cukugšuaD
- Nv tukag’sabarha
- LP(EF) tuksáawer
- PYp tuksarvar
- NT tuukúsuli
- ST kaalyi soi
- Tbr toko-söl / tuko-sül
- Wr tuhkucúrumi
- Tr fukúčari
- Yq kíičul
- My kíičul, pl: kučúlim
- HN cicikame-tl (<*tutuka....*), but no *sor/cor syllable
- Cp selyimselfim
- Ca sël’lyem (pl)
- Ktn corcor
- Cr su’usui
- Wc šuušui
- Eu bawisoróc

The Tep languages, especially TO and Nv, best show all the segments of a reconstruction approximating *tukacapala (> Tep *tukag-sawada). I reconstruct *tukaw due to the a in HN and Nv tukag’sabarha, which a would naturally assimilate, its environment between u and w helping it to round to u in other languages; however, it is also possible that the a is due to the following a’s. This first morpheme may be derive from *tuka/*tuku ‘black’. Tbr may have been influenced by Tep languages, since it has s instead of c and is quite similar to NT. The other TrC languages show c instead of s. After *tukaw > *tuku-, the assimilatory rounding may have affected the next V as well: > *tuku-cupal (TO, NT). Perhaps *-capal or *-cupal lost its second vowel and then the resulting consonant cluster reduced to something of sibilant-round vowel-liquid-vowel: *-cu’l/’cul/soro in NT, Eu, Wr, Yq, My, Tr, Cr, and Wc. In Cahitan (Yq, My), the whole compound lost the first syllable, and then the 2nd, I would guess, was also previously unstressed, which assisted its assimilation (*u > i), anticipating the place of articulation of the following alveolar consonant (c): *tukaw-cupli > *tukuculi > *kucúl > *kícul > *kícul. The frequency of a c/s dichotomy in UA would have us consider the forms of Cp, Ca, Cr, Wc, and Eu to tie at least to the 2nd etymon of the compound. Hp and Tak involve only the 2nd etymon. The Tak forms (Cp, Ca) se’lyem may have glottal stop where the previous C was. Cp and Ca do have the sibilant and the liquid like others, and *s may be, and *-Cs- > -c- when clustered. As for vowels, Cr, Wc, and Eu agree with *o rather than *u, perhaps from assimilation. [reduction, alveolar raising fronting preceding vowels, c/s; clusters, liquids] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

**589. *típos* ‘cricket’:** M88-tu17 ‘cricket/grillo’; KH/M06-tu17: Eu teposti ‘grillo, hierro para herrara’; Wr tiipuuši. Against these belonging to ‘flea’ is both Cr and Wc having tepi ‘flea’ at ‘fly’, n’, though a recycled resemanticization may be possible. Does the 2nd semantic dimension of Eu teposti tie in with *ti-pus-ta ’axe’ and CN tepus/tupos-tli ‘workable metal’ and the other forms there in some unusual yet-to-be-explained way. [SUA: Opn, CrC]
CROSS (OVER), OTHER SIDE OF, WADE (ACROSS); (TRAS) PASAR, ATRAVESAR (SE), (AL/DEL) OTRO LADO, VADEAR

590. *nama/ 'cross over': M88-na37 'to cross, go over'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-na37: Cp nam- / náme 'cross, go over'; Ca námí 'cross, go over'; Ca námí 'change (clothes, mind)'; Sr namin(a) 'change into'. To these can be added Ls nááma to 'go across, pass over'; as for Ls náámi 'run, race, pl' and the related terms, a race crosses a distance. [NUA: Tak]

591. *nakutu 'cross, pass': M88-na38; KH.NUA; KH/M06-na38: Cp náaxčine 'to pass (on), spend a period of time'; Sr naktušt 'to cross'; Sr naktuš't 'cross, be across'. [NUA: Tak]

592. *wasi (> Tep gahi) 'to/on the other side of': TO gahi 'on the other side of'; PYp gahi 'across, postp'; NT gahi 'atravesado'. [SUA: Tep]

593. *kuwa (> Tep a) 'other side of, behind': NT kugábhoga 'at otro lado'; NT kuugá/kuugáko (ga) 'at otro lado, volteado, para allá, para atrás'; PYp koakan 'on the other side, adv'; PYp koakid 'across the river, on the other side, adv'; ST ku 'al otro lado, para atrás'. [SUA: Tep]

594. *mokol 'other side of': NT möókoro 'on other side of, on other bank'; ST momkoran 'al otro lado, muy lejos donde no se ve'; and Tbr oko 'hundirse, vadear' since 'wading' often equates to crossing in UA. [liq]

[SUA: Tep, Tbr]

595a. *panowa / *panu 'pass, cross': CL.Azt125 *panowa 'to pass'; M88-pa49; KH/M06-pa49: CN panoo 'ford, cross a river, v'; CN panooa 'to carry s.th. across, to go by, cross over'; Pl panu 'to pass, cross, go by'; HN pano 'pass, vi; pass, visit, vt'. Add Eu vánú 'regar [water, irrigate]' as one does much wading when irrigating.

595b. *panawia 'pass, cross': CN(RJC) panawia 'pass it, cross over it'; Eu vanavi 'por allá [through there]'. [SUA: Azt, Opn]

CROW; CUERO

Terms for 'crow', though prime candidates for onomatopoeia, are worth noting if groups of terms appear similar and reconstructable to a proto-form. Miller and others combine several initial *a(t) forms together in M67-111 *at 'crow'; BH.Cup *alwVt 'crow'; M88-'a13 'crow'; AMR1991d *ata-t-wít; KH/M06-'a13 *at. However, viewing them according to the differences after initial *a(t)... may be helpful:

596a. *attaC 'crow': NP ada; SP atta'-, atta-ppici > ahtá-ppici; KW 'ataka-zi. In addition, CU táq'-ći 'crow' has much in common with Kw, at least.

596b. *atawí-t 'crow': Cp álwet; Ca 'álwet: Ls 'álwut (perhaps augmentative *-wu- Miller suggests); Sr átwät, Ktn 'açawa-t. Miller also lists Gb 'awkot/'akawko, pl. 'akáwkcam 'crow' though it does not fit as well as the other Tak forms do with each other. Note that the second vowel correspondences (e, e, u, after w), if applied to 'cricket' above, might say something for Tak *selyi < *sulV in 'cricket'. Miller compares these with Ls 'álawaka 'turkey buzzard'. Manaster-Ramer (1993a) in “Blood, Tears, and Murder” and in “UA *tw” (1991d) observes that *-tw- > kw in UA languages; thus, PUA *ata-t-wít would account for Hp arwísi 'raven, crow' and the Hp -ńw- < *-tw-. Tb 'akapiš-t and SP atta-ppici have much in common, especially if a t and/or k is clustered at one of the places of gemination in the SP form, as may be separate in CU táq'-ći and Kw 'ataka-zi. Altogether Tb and SNum may suggest something like 'ataka-pi. Anyone inclined to wrestle this one may do so, but I agree with Miller and others that these NUA forms are likely related. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

597. *kakv / *kakawa (AMR) 'crow, n, make sound of a crow, vi'; M88-ka34 'to croak or make noise of a raven'; KH/M06-ka34 *kakawa (AMR): Cp qáaq; Ls qáqi 'cackle (of hen), croak (of raven)'; Sr qaqq; TSh kaakki 'crow'; TO kaakag. Perhaps from M88-ka19: My káakte'era 'cuervillo'; CN kaakaaloo-tl 'crow'. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt]

598. *kono (> redup *koko) 'crow': B.Tep103 *koko-ii 'crow'; Fowler83; M88-ko31; KH/M06-ko31: TO kookoD 'either pelicans, sea gulls, or cranes, goose'; NT kokón; ST kakoon. Besides the onomatopoetic probabilities, the Tep forms may be a reduplication of things like AYq kooni 'crow' and My kooni 'crow'. Also note that Tr koráči (from ka19 below) and TO kookoD pair well and show -L- rather than -n-. This seems to be in a compound at *pa-kono 'crane'. [SUA: Tep, Cah]
599a. *kaLa 'crow': L.Son73 *kara 'cuervo'; M88-ka19; KH/M06-ka19: Eu karac; Wr kaláč; Tr koráči; Tbr kará; CN kaakaaloo-t 'crow'. Hill lists with a question mark My káakité 'era / kaakité 'era 'cuervillo'.

599b. *kwalasa 'crow': Cr kwá’aca / kwa’acá 'crow' and Wc kwasa 'crow' align somewhat and may fit the above (in light of r > ` in Cr). Kw worsosoo-in Kw worsosoo-’ataka-zi 'raven' and Kw worsosoo-’oðí-ci 'smallcrow' share similar consonants with *kwalasa, but with a vowel that preserves the initial rounding of *kw. In fact, Tr koráci in light of the above may suggest *kwar-a > koraci or *koraci > kwarc, though a reconstruction that nicely accommodates them all plus the *kara forms is difficult, but we can always blame the difficulties on onomatopoeia, when dealing with crows. [*L >`; SUA L and NUA L] [SUA: CrC, Trn; NUA: Num]

CROWDED, TIGHT (FIT?); APRETADO, ATESTADO

600. *naCta / *nacca 'be crowded, tight, not fit, v': M88-na36; KH.NUA; KH/M06-na36: Sr nacaá 'be too crowded, not fit'; Ls náaca 'be too tight, fail to fit'. [intervocalic -c- in NUA] [NUA: Tak]

601. *ŋattas 'tight(en)': Ca nátaš 'be too tight (screws, doorknob, drawer), vi'; Hp nūütsū(k-) / nūüci(k-) 'for weaving to get tightened down, become a tighter weave, as from the addition of sticks in the basketry'. Syncope of the 2nd V would create the cluster seen in Hp, and with vowels relaxing, this is easily plausible, and very specific semantically, and Hp falling tone often signifies a cluster. This pair has much in common with the pair above, except that the contrast between initial ñ vs. n does not normally exist within Tak itself. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

602. *cukka 'be crowded, constricted, tight': I.Num *cihki 'mixed, crowded'; M88-ci5: KH/M06-ci5: Cm cihki- / cikk- 'be crowded, v'; SP cihki 'be mixed with, v'; CU čiku'mi (< *čikku'mi) 'be narrow, be constricted (in terms of space or gap or opening), v'; CN ciciika 'stuff s.th. tight, compress s.th. in a container, v. Because Num ñ < *u often and CN i < *u, PUA *u may be the first V, and CN shows transitive *-a while SP and Cm show stative -i, both in accordance with their respective semantics as well. [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

Crush: see grind

CRY; LLORAR

603a. *opsi (AMR) > *ospV 'tear, n': BH.Cup *'es 'teardrop'; M88-'o6 'tears'; AMR1993; KH/M06-’o6: Cp -is; Ca -is; Ls -ês; Sr -'oosp; Eu òpët 'lágrima'; My ópwa-m 'lágrimas'; Pl iis-aayu 'tear' (really?). Manaster-Ramer (1993) adds Tb opsi-, which fits Tak, Eu, and the above My forms, two of which (Tb and Sr) show a medial cluster. Add Ktn 'opši-č 'tear, n' and Kw opiya 'tear (from the eye)' and Sh oppai-ppi 'tears'. I agree with AMR’s reconstruction, as *-ps- > -sp- is more likely than the reverse.

603b. *opowa / *opwa 'tear(s)': Additionally cognate with My ópwa-m 'lágrimas' are Yq 'opóawam 'tears' and AYq oppoa 'to cry', all of which relate well with Tak and the suggestion of *osp..., since s in a cluster goes to h/ø in Cah and would hardly be visible in these Tep forms either: TO oo’og 'tear'; NT ógai 'tears'; LP ooga 'tear'; Nv ovga oanna 'enjugar las lágrimas, v'. Nv ovga (v < *p, g < *w) certifies a Tep tie to Cah *opowa/opwa at least. For the others, UA *opowa/opwa > Tep *owoga/owga > ooga could be nearly expected. [NUA: Tb, Tep, Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, Tbr]

604. *(k)wikí / *o'kí / *kwaki '(shed) tears': M88-'o6 'tears': AMR1993; Stubbs1995-28; KH/M06-’o6: Tr weke/oke 'shed tears'; Wr o'kéwa 'lágrimas'; Tr oke-wá 'lágrimas'; Ktn kwakit 'baby, newborn' as a crier seems as likely as not. We ükaí 'lágrimas' corresponds to the TrC forms, or may possibly be borrowed from TrC. [SUA: Trn, CrC loan; NUA: Tak]

605. *coaka (< *cuwaka) ‘cry’: M67-114 *coak; B.Tep204a *suak 'to cry, sg'; B.Tep205a *suahá'ni 'to cry, pl'; CL.Azt40 *cooka; CL.Azt304 *coaka; M88-co10 'to cry'; KH/M06-co10: TO šoak; LP šoakı; PYp soakim; NT súkai/suukái; ST suak; Wc suua-čuaka; CN čuoka; PI čuuka; HN čúoka 'weep'; HN čook-ilía 'weep for s.o.' Ls čáqa 'weep, cry' likely belongs, having assimilated the o to the following a's: *coak(a) > *caaka. [diphthong, *oa > oo/aa; no w in Tep] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]
606. *kwana 'cry': M67-115 *kwa 'cry'; L.Son114 *kwana 'llorar'; M88-kwa13; KH/M06-kwa13:
Eu báana; My bwaana; Yq bwaana 'cry'; AYq bwaana 'cry, weep'. This may tie to *kwana 'coyote', which see.
[initial *kw] [SUA: Cuh, Opn]

Miller lists several forms beginning with *na in M88-na10 'cry' and from M67-113 *na 'cry'; BH.Cup *ŋa 'weep'; L.Son167 *nara 'llorar'. I feel uneasy about lumping initial *na- forms, since they may be entirely unrelated stems, merely containing the fossilized reflexive/reciprocal prefix na-. So because after na- they bear no mutual resemblance, in addition to a *na vs. ŋa discrepancy, let's divide them into three groups: *namo'-i, *ŋa, and *naLa:

607. *namo'-i 'cry': M88-na10 'cry'; KH/M06-na10: Sh nawoi / namoi 'to cry, d/pl subj'; WSh nawoi. TSh namo'-i 'cry, make noise (of animal), vi pl/dl' (vs. yakai' sg/dl); Cm nawoo'í /nahwooi 'cry, v pl'. This is the plural suppletive form in Num to *yaCka-i 'to cry, sg' below. [m/w] [SUA: CNum]

608. *ŋa 'cry'; BH.Cup *ŋa 'weep'; M88-na10 'cry' (also at m44); KH/M06-na10: Cp ŋaña; Ca -ŋá-. Jane Hill's (p.c.) astutely adds Tb: Tb(M) 'anáña'at ~ 'anáña 'be weepy, cry slowly, sob'; Tb(H) anñaat, perf: nañ, inf: anñañ 'cry, cry out' (C.F.Voegelin 1935, 109); anñañ 'mourning ceremony' (Kroeber 1925, 609). Add Tb(V) 'anñañ-nañ 'make him cry'. Tb does not have initial ŋ, so change the first ŋ > n, i.e., nañ < *ŋaŋa?
[initial ŋ in Cup, but not Tb] [SUA: Tak, Tb]

609. *nata / *naLa 'cry': L.Son167 *nara 'llorar'; M88-na10 'cry'; KH/M06-na10: Op nara; Wr nalá-;
Tr nára; HN nanalka' 'snort, bark (of dog)'. [liquids] [SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt]

610. *yaCkaC 'to cry, sg': I.Num290 *yaka/*yaka 'cry'; M88-ya11 'cry'; KH/M06-ya7,11: Mn yağa 'cry, vi'; NP yaka 'cry, sg' (< *yaka); TSh yakai'ya'ke; Sh yakai'' 'cry, sg'; Cm yake 'cry, sg'; Kw yagi 'cry, sing (of bird), crow (of rooster)'; SP yğa 'cry, neigh (horse), hoot (owl)'; CU yagá.- Add Ch(L) yaga- 'cry' and Cp -yax 'say, do'; Ca yáx 'to be so, to say'; LS yáx('say, tell'); Hp yaw 'quotative particle: it is said, they say, I've heard'. Both NP(B) and NP(Y) have yaka 'cry, vi' (< *yakka) showing gemination, though others lost it. [SUA: Num, Tak, Hp]

611. *yu'n 'cry, play instrument': M88-yu21 'cry'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-yu21: Sr yu'u 'cry, weep'; Sr yuu'nin 'play instr'; Gb yú 'cry, play instr'; Gb yuyún 'estar llorando'. [SUA: Tak]

612. *paka 'cry, v': Hp pak- 'cry'; Tb(M) paha'at/'apaha' 'cry, bawl, howl' (Tb h < *k); Ktn paka 'ceremonial yeller, clown who shouts all day to announce a fiesta'. Tbr waha 'llorar' may belong to se con ʒi. Tb(w) ha 'llorar' may belong since Tbr initial w < *p, though h < *k is less established for Tb. [Tb h < *k] [SUA: Hp, Tbk; SUA: Tbr]

613. *otoNwa / *otoNkowa 'groan': SP oronjwi 'roar, growl'; WMU orógoǎnl'ni 'groan in pain'; CU 'orógwa'ni 'suffer'. [SUA: SNum]

Cup: see bowl
Cure: see heal
Currant: see berry

CUT, PIERCE, STICK IN; CORTAR, PERFORAR, PUNZAR, ENSARTAR, AGUJEREAR, CLAVAR

614a. *sika / *siki 'cut hair, clip, mow': VVH115 *siki/sika 'to cut hair, mow'; M67-115 *sik 'cut'; L.Son238 *sika/sik-i 'cortar'; B.Tep64 *hikiti 'to cut'; M88-si1 'cut hair, mow grass, etc.'; KH/M06-si1: TO hiik 'clip, cut, mow (grain, etc.)'; PyP hikica 'cut, vt'; LP ikt/ihtiki, pl. hikimia /ikumiaku; NT iikai 'cortar'; NT ikiitiki 'cortar'; NT ikumai 'picar'; ST hikiti; ST hiikai; Wr sika / siki; Tr seká/siki; My slikka 'cortar pelo'; Tb sika cortar'; Cr tïi-sih-ce 'he is slicing it with a knife'. To these we should add We šika 'cut with knife or scissors, v'. For inspection and pondering, let's separate Num's initial c forms from the s forms:

614b. *cikkaC 'cut (off, to pieces)': NP cikka'a 'cut with scissors'; Kw cikavidí (< *cikkapiií) 'cut off, saw'; CU cikira'y (< *cikkitay) 'cut to many small pieces, shred'.

614c. *eaka 'cut': Hp cāqa 'cut down, cut a living plant off at the base'; Mn caha-t 'cut meat'. WNNum languages sometimes show h < *k. Cf. *pukuL below and *wakay 'two' etcetera. [Mn h < *k; split of NUA c vs. SUA s] [SUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cuh, Tbr, CrC]
615. *tika / *tiki* 'cut': Sapir; VVH113 *ti3ik*/*ti3ika* 'to cut'; M67-117 *tek* 'cut'; I.Num240 *tek* 'cut'; L.Son289 *tik-so* 'picar'; CL.Azt218 *tik* 'cut'; M88-ti23; KH/M06-ti23 *tikat: TO-*tik-*tik; Hp tiki 'cut'; CN tek 'to cut s.th.'; Tb tidiha-'tidiha; SP tixanii 'to cut up meat'; Mn tihe 'na scissors'; Sh tikoa 'scissors'; Sr tihii 'to work'. To these we can add the latter part of NT ikfikik 'cortar'; Eu mé-teka 'cut with an axe' (Eu mé-teki pret); Eu sfekta 'cortar' (Eu sí-teki pret); and Ktn tik 'break ground with a stick'. I like Miller's inclusion of Sr tihii 'to work' which with Ktn tik 'break ground with a stick' and CN tek-pianoa 'work' show this stem (CN tek- 'cut') as work, boring, or agriculturally digging/cutting the ground. Note the SP forms differ in SP tükka 'eat' vs. SP tiganni 'to cut up meat'. Add Kw tîhani 'dry meat, jerked, butcher'; WMU tianii / tianii 'butcher animal, cut up meat, skin (an animal)', vt'; CU tianii 'skin, vt'. This UA stem *tika is probably the 2nd morpheme of Wr & Tr me-te- and Eu méteke 'cut with axe', perhaps from *mik-tikV 'smite-cut'. See other forms with *tikV under 'axe'. Eu sfekta appears to contain *tika (and possibly Wc šištée). [*k- > Tb-h-] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Azt]

616. *tikso* 'pierce': Eu tékso 'picar'; Eu hi-tekso-rat 'bordon'; Op tesso-a 'punzar'; Tr teso 'apoyarse en el bordón'. Miller had these combined with *tika 'cut' above; however, Eu has separate forms: Eu tékso 'picar' vs. Eu teka in Eu sfekta 'cortar' (Eu sí-teki pret) and Eu mé-teka 'cut with an axe' (Eu mé-teki pret). [SAU: Trn, Opn]

617. *pukuL* 'pin on': M88-pu20; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pu20 *pukul: Cp pûkula’a ‘brooch’; Sr pukulq ‘beec pinned’; Sr pukul-kin ‘pin, vt’. Let us consider also CU capûkway ‘pin on’. Mn (na)ciophùnu ‘anything pinned on’. [Mn h < *k, Num n < *L, V > i/L; liquids] [NUA: Tak, Num]

618. *ka’a* 'cut (sg flexible obj)': M88-ka32; KH/M06-ka32: Sh ka’a ‘cut s.th. flexible’; Cr tyi’i-ka’a ‘he is cutting firewood’; Cr kai-ri ‘firewood’, the preceding Sh and the first Cr form certainly agree. Add CU kûay ‘cut, mow, chop off’ (the sg obj form vs. mass). The others of this collection in M88-ka32 seem dubious and are listed elsewhere in this work. [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

619. *mak / *ma’k* chop': Tbr mak ‘hachar’ and Tbr isá-/ih- ‘cortar’ combine to yield Tbr mak-isa-mwa-y ‘corta’; Yq mâ’ako ‘chop’; My mâ’ako ‘cut with an axe’; Tr me’té ‘chop’; Wr me’te- ‘cut with an axe or machete’. Tr and Wr may be compounds from *mak-tik. [SAU: Trn, Cah, Tbr]

620. *katu* 'cut, wound': Sapir: CN kotoona ‘cut s.th., break s.th. off, wound s.o., vt’; CN kotooni ‘snap, break (of thread, rope), vi’; SP quar’quttu ‘poke in a hole’. Added to the preceding pair (CN, SP) noted by Sapir, Sr katu ‘cut up, cut (into several pieces), vt’ fits well and likely shows the original vowelization; for whenever two similar vowels occur, probabilities are 80% (vs. 20% in a 5 vowel system) that one assimilated to the other rather than originally being identical; in this case, the first vowel probably assimilated to the second in SP, and the vowels leveled in CN. Semantically, Sr fits CN better than SP. In spite of the two variant, but both round vowels, I would accept this set of Sapir’s as probable, though it appears that intervening Uto-Atecanists did not or lost track of it. [V assim] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Azt]

621. *to’na(C) ‘pierce, stab, hit’; Mn ona ‘prick, stick (with a sharp object), nail, vt’; Mn tonaki ‘puncture, nail, vt’; Mn tono 'hit by throwing, shooting’; NP ona ‘hit with fist, vt’; TSh tonna’ ‘poke, stab, stick, pierce’; Sh tono’aton ‘pierce, stick (with sharp point); Cm tonari ‘stab, pierce, sting (of insect)’; Kw tono ‘hit, strike, pierce, puncture, stab’; Ch toná ‘hit, punch, stab’; SP tonna / ton’a ‘hit, stab’; CU tô-nay ‘hit, strike, punch (only once)’; CU tôná-pagá-y ‘strike (of lightning)’. The k in Mn (vs. g), the p in CU (vs. v), and the gemination feature of the CNNum forms all point to a final consonant. [NUA: WNunm, CNNum, SNum]

622a. *sowa* ‘pierce, prick’; CN soo ‘pierce, draw blood’; CN so ‘soo ‘string things together by piercing and threading them’; CN so’soowa ‘pierce, nail s.th., vt’; CN so’solwia (applicative of so’soo) ‘Yq so ‘apuñalar, picar’; Yq sóosok ‘clavarse una atilla, espinarse’; AyQ soa ‘poke, prick, puncture’; AyQ hih/his-soa ‘poke, prick, vt’; My sóiya ‘picarse’; Tr so- ‘pierce’; Tr čhiso- ‘pierce, prick, puncture’; Tr nata ‘abertura’; Tr nata-so- ‘pierce’; Wc šuu ‘ensartar’.

622b. *so’u*/so’i* ‘pierce, sew, shoot arrow’: KH.NUA: Sr hó’ai ‘sow’; Ls se’i ‘shoot with a bow, pierce one’s body’. The semantics of ‘pierce’ in both a and b, as well as Sr ‘sow’ and CN ‘thread’ likely tie these together, pun intended. [w/] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
623. *puta / *puLa ‘pierce’: Hp poro(k) ‘get a hole in it, get perforated or punctured’; Eu vursiven ‘lia, aguja’; Ls póra/i ‘prick, poke, stab’; we would expect the Ls vowel to be u, as both Hp and Eu agree with *u, but the Ls vowel can be explained by the assimilative raising phenomenon very common in UA: *u-a > o-a. Why r not l in Ls? [liquids; *u-a > o-a] [NUA: Hp; Tak; SUA: Opn]

624. *mina / *muna ‘pierce’: CN miina 'shoot (arrow)'; CN tla-miini ‘bite, sting (of insect)’; ST moiñña 'gore'; consider also Sh tasamincë ‘ant’ in light of Num *tasi’a ‘ant’. Miller includes the CN form with several forms of initial *mu ‘throw’ at shoot, which is not out of the question for this set; however, Sh shows the same vowel as CN, while ST is enigmatic. [nasals] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Azt]

625a. *wi(h)k ‘cut’: KH.NUA; KH/M06-wi14: Cp wéke ‘cut, slice’; Ca wék ‘cut, slice, plow’; Ls wóki ‘cut, let bleed’; Sr wënhv ‘beat, vt, distributive of Sr wòghëv ‘hit, vt’. [NUA: Tak]

625b. *wu(huk) ‘pierce’: AM wóhoktila ‘pierced’; ST wí(h)k ‘poked, vt, distributive of Sr wíqööv ‘hit, vt’. The Num terms are usually cited as *wu(hu)ku with a vowel of -u matches the Sr distributive form and may also explain the assimilation to it in ST even if the other u’s were not original: *wuVku > wuku > guk. Or if something like *wu(hu)ku were original, Kenneth Hill raises the possibility that the rarity of *wu syllables in (P)UA, due to the usual merger of the similar sounds, may have encouraged a dissimilation: to -o- in Wr and to -i- in Tak (p.c.), if 588a and b are related at all. For both i and o are next to u, though different directions. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]

For M67-415 *cek ‘stick, poke’: M88-ci8; KH/M06-ci8. I split Wr ceha- and Tr čëra into a and b, and put Cr nái ‘be it bit me’ (also allomorph -cei-) with *ki ‘bite’ perhaps with na- prefix:

627a. *ciha ‘poe, stab’: Wr ceha- ‘be pricked, stabbed’. With Wr’s medial -h- term, consider NP u cihanni ‘poked, vt’; NP cihi ‘poked, v’ which terms contrast with medial -C- of NP cika(‘a) ‘cut into s.th.’ above. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

627b. *ciLa ‘poke, cut’: Tr čëra ‘garrocha, dardo para pescar’. With Tr’s medial -r-, consider Eu cédé ‘clavar’ and Cpe cële ‘snip, cut’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

627c. *ci- of SNum *ci-'nVkki ‘stick in/through’: Kč cüni ‘put through a hole’; SP ci-’niki ‘stick with a point’; WMU či-’núga-y ‘stick in (once and leave in)’; WMU čihči-nihgi ‘stick/poke in and out’. [NUA: SNum]

628. *(ciC)-kuLa/i / *kuTv ‘pierce’: Tr go’ri-su ‘pierced’; Wc kïrapuši-(ma) ‘nail, n.(v.); Wc kïrusu ‘stick, fix in place with s.th. sharp’; CU cikúy ‘poe with, stick into’ (< *cikkúti); Kw či-kuri ‘poke’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Sr cikfín ‘poke, prick, stab, stick in’. There may be the consistency that NUA shows the *ciC- prefix, while SUA does not. The first morpheme *ciC/*ci- (of this compound) is cited at ‘edge’. The Num terms are usually cited as compounds of *ci- ‘do with a point, instr pref’ (see at edge); so might the *kuTv morpheme in these terms be cognate with the -kura of Tr ču’kura / ču’kora ‘woodpecker, n’ (Tr ču’a- ‘point, beak’), also listed above at *cuk? [NUA: Num; Tak; SUA: Trn, CrC]

629a. *ta-pusa ‘piercing’: Sh(Cr) na-ta-pusa ‘attach by piercing through s.th.’; Sh(M) pusa ‘pierce through and connect with (e.g., nail, bolt, needle)’; half of Wc kïrapuši-(ma) ‘nail, n.(v.); perhaps Tr natabu ‘perforator, traspasar, agujear de lado a lado’ (cf. Tr nata ‘abertura’; Tr nata-so- ‘pierce’). Cf. *pos at break.

629b. *tupusi ‘pierce’: Mn tupusudug ‘be punctured’; Ch topósi-gi ‘stab, v’; Ch topósi-ki-nkë ‘stab, pierce, v’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, CrC]


632. *kîta ‘cut (hair, weeds)’: Sh kîta ‘cut (flexible pl objs)’; WMU gürä-y / gürë-y / qûra- / qûré-y ‘cut (hair, weeds), mow, haul vt’, sp; SU qûra- ‘cut in the hair’; CU kûrä ‘mow, cut (obj mass)’. This verb is generally for pl or mass obj, and pairs with *ka’a sometimes for sg obj, but a cognate tie is doubtful in that a medial *-t- vs. *-t-alternation in Num is not usual. [NUA: Num]

NB, for *cikka / *ciNkV ‘cut, pierce, thorn’, see at edge.

DANCE; BAILAR

633. *nîkka ‘to dance’: M67-121 *neka; I.Num120 *niňka ‘dance’; M88-nîk; KH/M06-nîk: Mn niňa; NP nîka; TSh nîkkańit; Sh nîka; Cm niňka/niňkaři; Kw nîka (< *nîkka); CU nîkây. Add Ch(L) nîkapî ‘any dance danced in a circle’. All but Mn suggest medial *-kk-; and Ch(L) and perhaps CNum suggest a final -C. M88 and KH/M06-nîk note a possible tie with B.Tep181 *nîi ’i ’sing, dance, v’. It is possible if medial *-kk- > Tep *-s- is solidified. [medial C cluster > glottal stop in Tep?] [NUA: Num]

634. *tawiya / *tuwiya > *tuya ‘dance’ and > redupl *tu(w/v)tui: CL.Azt41 *ihtootia ‘dance’; KH.NUA; M88-tu21 ‘to dance’; KH/M06-tu21: Sr tohto’ ‘dance, vi’; Gb tôvgu ’a tatahuila, kind of dance’; Gb tóvo ‘the tatahuila dancer; CN i’totia (dance, v’; CN mi’t-’l’i ’dance, n’; Pl ihtutia ‘dance, vt/refl’. Add Kt(n tuhtuici ’dance, v’; Kt(n tuhtuhiyti ’dancer, n’; and probably AYq tawirin ‘turn around, vi’? Add also PYp tuuda (< *tuya) ‘dance, vi’ and TO čuud ‘do a squaw dance, v.’ which may most clearly show the underlying form of the other reduplications. [Gb -v- < -w-] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Teh, Azt]

635a. *yawai/i / *yaCwi/i ‘dance, v’: Wr yawi ‘fiesta, ceremony, dance, n’, Wr yawi– ‘dance (especially of women), v’; Wr yauta-ni ’dance, v’; Tr awi-mea ‘dance, v’; Eu dáve/dawe ‘dance, v’; Eu dáwhau ‘dance, n’; Tbr mi-nyamwa-lí-t’rain dance’; and probably Cp yawe ‘sing (of bird), v’ since verbs of sing and dance and fiesta often overlap semantically. [NUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr; SUA: Tak]

635b. *yi’iwa / *yi’iwa (< *yaCwi ?) ‘dance, v’: Yq yë’e ‘dance, v’; Yq yi’iwa ‘dancers’; My yë’ye/yi’i–; AYq ye’e; yëye ‘em’ ‘dancers’; AYq yi’iwa ‘a dance’; yi’ib’ ‘act of dancing’. The glottal stop in all the Cah languages may reflect a lost -C- in a cluster, simply lost in Tr/Wr (*yaCwa > *yaw, but realized as glottal stop in Cah, then separated. [NUA: Cah]

636. *winima ‘dance, v’: Hp wînima ‘dance, vi sg’; Ch wînîmi ‘dance, v’; Kt wînîmi ‘dance, v’; TO winim ‘dancer in a harvest ceremony’ may be a loan from Hp, though other instances of Tep w = *w exist (cf. *mawiya ‘mountain lion’; [TO w = NUA w] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Teh loan?]

637. *tani ‘dance, v’: Ls tání ’do a certain dance, v’; Ls tan’i-s ’that certain dance’; Cp tánë ‘dance, vi’. [NUA: Tak]

638. *mulawi ‘dance, v’: TO mulawiq ’(of a person) to spin or dance’; Tb muluwat ‘dance, v’; Tb muluwili ‘dance, n’. While the vowels are difficult, this pair shows three consonants in agreement. If the Tb vowels assimilated between the initial syllable’s u and the third C w, not to mention Tb’s tendency toward preservative vowel assimilation; then perhaps TO’s vowels are closer to the proto-vocalization, and later transpositioned relative to consonants (phon 2.1.5.4); regardless, three consonants agree, though only the first of the three vowels is secure. [Tep V anticipation] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep]

NB, for B.Tep180 *nîi ’i ’i ’i ’song’, and *nî ’i ’song’, see ‘sing’.

Dark: see night and black
Daughter: see woman
Dawn: see sun
Day: see sun
Dead: see die
Deep: see down

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DEER; CIervo, venado

639. *sukčaC / *sukkawi 'deer': BH.Cup *súqat; M67-124a *su/suka 'deer'; Munro.Cup32 *súuka-t; L.Son261 *suha 'venado bura'; M88-su8 'deer'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-su8: Ls súuka-t; Cš sú-ta; Ca súka-t; Gb sukát; Sr hukaht; Tbr suhá-t/ suká-t; Tr sohawí; TO huawi; Op sua. Add Ktn hukaht 'deer'. Lionnet separates -wi in *suha- 

for TO huawi and Tr sohawí. The absolutive -t consistent in Tak suggests a final C, which could possibly be that -w-: *suCkawi > sukaw / sukAC. All the Tak languages also suggest geminated *-kk-. [*-kk- > h (Tbr) > φ (Tep); Tep w = *w] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr]

640. *cu' 'deer': M67-126b *cu 'deer'; M88-cu3; KH/M06-cu3: Tr čo'mari / čumuri 'venado, coliblanca'; NT suimáli 'el venado'; ST suimal 'venado'; and perhaps Eu súpuc 'a certain spotted deer'. Most forms compound with *ma Li. [*-u-a > o-a in Tr] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]

641a. *masa / *maso 'deer': M67-125 *mas; L.Son140 *maso 'venado'; CL.Azt42 *masaa, 305 **maso; Fowler83; M88-ma5 'deer'; KH/M06-ma5: Eu mas̱ot; Wr mahói; My máás; Yq máa-so; AQy masso; Op maso-t; Cr mašaš; Wc maša; CN mašaa-tjl. Jane Hill astutely adds Tb(H) mašaš 'antelope'. In this set CN, CrC, and Tb agree in *masa, while Trn, Opn, Cah show *maso. [Wr h < *s?; final a vs. o] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt; NUA: Tb]

641b. *masa-pu 'sacred items': M88-ma5: KH/M06-ma5: Gb məsəvat 'sacred objects'; Ls mašawát 'ceremonial bundle'; Cp maisivet 'sacred treasure of the lineage'. Miller's inclusion of these three Takic forms with M88-ma5 'deer' on the basis of phonological similarity is not out of the question, but not out of being in question either, as to their cognition with 'deer'. As compounds, they at least form a set themselves. [Cp ĕ = Ls u] [NUA: Tak]

642. *maLi 'young of deer': L.Son138; M88-ma8 'cria de venado'; KH/M06-ma8: Tbr mači-t; Op maríci; Tr maríci. These may be a variant of *marā 'young one, offspring' and they may be part of the compound above: *cu*-maLi. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr]

Tep *ciki and Num *tiihaya/*tiiyina are likely related; they only differ in a palatalization and a slight vowel variation and missing final segments in Tep: *tiiyina > *tiihaya (Num), > *tiiyina > *ciki > *siki (SUA: Tep).

643a. *tiiyina 'deer': Sapir; M67-123 *ti/tek 'deer'; I.Num237 *ti 'deer, horse'; Fowler83; M88-ti24 'deer'; KH/M06-ti24 'deer': Mn tiðtta (< *tiðtta) 'deer'; Mn tiihaya 'old buck deer'; NP tiðidda; NP(B) tiðča 'deer'; NP(B) tiðda 'horse or deer'; TSh tiihaya(n); Sh tiðyan; Cm tiihaya 'horse'; Kw tiðya; Ch tiihaya; Sp tišcia; SP ti- 'deer, game'; CU tiʃyi (tiː-yi is Givon's syllable division); Tp tišibat 'to scrape, shave a deer skin (stop scrape, shave)'; therefore, tī- 'deer'. Though the first vowel is problematic, I would guess that Tb tohi-i 'deer' is also related, since the other three of the first four segments agree. From Sapir on, some have mixed these with *tinnV 'antelope' (< *tminā), which is another example of syllable reduction causing a cluster: *tminā (Ktn) > tinn > tminā. The SP form definitely suggests k, while the other Num forms show h or nothing. So again, *k > h in Num, as in 'two' and 'three'. [+k->h in Num]

643b. *ciki 'white-tailed deer': TO sii ki 'white-tailed deer'; PYp sii ki 'white-tailed deer'. [Num h = Tep k; *tv > *cv (early enough for) > *sv in Tep] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]

DEFECAR, EXCREMATION, FECES, INTESTINES;
DEFECAR, ESTIERECOL, HECES, TRIPA(S)

644a. *kwítaC > *kwíttac 'defecate, v; feces, n': Sapir; VVH54 *kwíta 'excrement'; B.Tep9 *biitai 'excrement, defecate'; M67-126 *kwita 'defecate'; I.Num87 *kwita 'excrement, defecate'; L.Son125 *kwita; CL.Azt53/224 *kwita / **kwita 'excrement'; M88-kw1; KH.NUA; KH/M06-kw1: unless noted otherwise, the following are verbs meaning 'defecate, v': Mn kwita (< *kwíta) 'defecate, vi'; Mn kwídapi 'feces, n'; TSh kwíta"; Sh kwíta"; Cm kwítapi 'feces, n'; Kw kwíta; Ch kwíta; Ch(L) kwíťapi 'excrement'; SP kwítsa; SP kwíťapi 'feces, n'; CU kwítsa; CU kwíťapi 'feces, n'; Hk kwíta 'feces, n'; TO biit; PYp biit; NT biitai; ST biit; ST bič 'feces, n'; Eu bič 'estercoler, n'; Tbr kwíťa-t 'feces, n'; Yq biita; My biita; Wr wišta; Tr wíta-mea; Tr wíta-güte 'feces, n'; Cr cútta 'he is defecating'; Cr kwíta 'excrement, n'; WC kwíta 'feces, n'; CN kwíta 'excrement, n'. Ken Hill adds Ls kwílāli 'to soil, make dirty' —good inclusion! Add WMU kwítiča/-y / kwíča/-y 'defecate, vi'. Though Ls lost it, a medial cluster apparent in all of Num is certain. Kw -d- suggests a nasal, as *-t- > Kw -r- and *-tt- > Kw -t-, but *-nt- > Kw -d-. Gemination in most Num absolutive *-ppi forms means a final -C. This stem is in all branches of UA except Tb. Note that the Tr pair exemplify the erratic behavior of *kwíta-güte. *kwíta 'buttocks' and related Num forms (TSh kwíta; Cm kwíta; Kw kwíta) are likely related to *kwića 'defecate'.
444b. *kwittuN 'buttocks': the same may apply to *kiwCtu(N) 'buttocks': Kw kwita ‘buttocks’; Ch kwitu–mukwi; Ch kwitu ‘anus’; Ch(L) kwitumpi ‘anus’; SP qwittuN ‘buttocks, anus’; SP qwittua ‘bottom’; WMU qohtüwa ‘rear, hind end’; CU kutú-pi ‘buttocks’ (< *kuttú-pi).

[*t- > -c-, not -r-, in CU, SP, Ch] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

445. *ša’a ‘defecate, v’; *ša’i ‘intestines’: M88-sa12; Munro.Cup58 *ša’i-š ‘guts’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-sa12: Tb ša’; Sr ša’a ‘defecates, v’; Sr šai’č ‘what has been defecated, feces’. KH/M06-sa12 has. Cp ša’i ‘guts’; Ca šá’ily, poss’d: -ša’i ‘guts’; Ls ša’a ‘defecate, v’; Ls šá’iš ‘feces’. Ken Hill adds Ktn ša’a ‘defecate, v’. Some Uto-Aztecans have tentatively tied these with *sappu ‘stomache’ (or Num *sap-pi ‘entails’, which could be), but see discussion at stomach. Miller (M88-si7) includes these Tep forms with *si below. [NUA: Tak]

446. *si ‘intestines’: VVH66 *si ‘guts, entraisls’; B.Tep61a *hihi ‘intestines’; B.Tep61b hiihīi ‘his intestines’. M67-476 *si/ce ‘yellow (guts, gall)’; L.Son246 *siwa ‘trípa’; M88-si7; KH.NUA; KH/M06-si7: Mn sihi ‘enterails’; NP si ‘guts’; Kw ši/si-si ‘guts’; Cp šai ‘guts, belly’; Ls šíi ‘intestines, guts’; Gb -siin tripa (poss’d); Sr ši/sii ‘intestines’; Hp sīhi; TO hiihij; Wr siwā; Tr siwā; My sīwa. Ken Hill adds Ktn ši-c ‘intestines’. Though the *sa’i forms have a differing vowel, a vowel assimilation (*sa’i > si’i) could have the two sets related, but a number of languages have differing forms in each set, so I follow Miller and Hill in separating the sets (sa12 vs si7). [*s vs. š] [NUA: Num, Hp; Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]

447. *ci... ‘gall, bile, yellow’: Cr(MN) ci’iruhi ‘gall, bile’; Cr(JM) ci’irúška / ci’irúhka ‘yellow’; Pl čičika ‘bile, gall’.

Miller has these combined with *si above, which union is possible, but as the same two languages (Cr and Pl) that begin with a different consonant also have a more specific meaning in common (gall, bile), let’s separate. [SUA: CrC, Azt]

448. *porOC ‘have diarrhea’: My bórohte ‘tener diarrea, v’; My bórohtiría ‘diarrea, n’; Yq bórohte ‘have diarrhea, v’; Yq bórohtiríu ‘diarrea, n’; [r > ḥ > o in (A)Yq] [SUA: Cah]

449. *aNta ‘have diarrhea’: TSh antakai ‘have diarrhea’; Mn atayéé ‘have diarrhea, v’; NP add’aibi ‘diarrea, n’.

The first two syllables of each of the three languages match *anta fairly well, as NP’s doubled, yet voiced -dd- fits a nasal-plus-stop cluster well, for *-tt- would be -t-, and *-t- would be -d-. Of additional interest, these may be the same morpheme as *atta ‘buttocks’ which appears in other branches, but perhaps more clearly here, if we could be sure of the tie. After that, matters are less clear. [*-nt- cluster] [NUA: Num]

500. *pa-kwiCtaC ‘diarrea’: CU páa-kvicá-pí ‘diarrea, n’; CU páa-kvicá-y ‘have diarrea, v’; Hp paakwicí ‘diarrea, n or v’; We háa kviisi ‘diarrea’.

The CU terms rather transparently show a compound of ‘water plus the *kwiCtaC above, but Hp also has *kwiwa cognate with CU kwicí. But the two Hp terms differ in the vowel and 2nd C, though not greatly. It might be that the Hp term is a loan from Numic. The We term also differs from We kwita ‘defecate’ though the initial *p > h is expected in We. They are all likely tied, though sorting possible borrowing or meshing movements remains. [*t-/-c/-s-] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: CrC]


502. *hupa’a ‘have diarrea’: Kw huve’e ‘have diarrea’; SP uva’a–/uvwa’a- ‘have the diarrea’. [NUA: SNum]

Deity: see religious terms

Desert: see earth

DEW; ROCÍO, ROCIAR

503. *pusi ‘dew, v’: Eu vapúsika ‘rocicar’; My baa-puh-tia ‘está rociando’. [s > h/C] [SUA: Cah, Opn]

504. *(pa)-uci ‘dew, n’: NT vauši ‘rocio’; We háiči ‘sereno, rocio’; Hp oy-nip-ti ‘become covered with frost’. NT and We agree well with *pa-uci in all five segments, since We h < *p; We i < *u; NT s < *c. *pa– ‘water’ likely in NT, We, and Azt. The oy- of Hp oy-nip-ti ‘become covered with frost’ also fits *uci, since *c- > NUA -y-, and *u > Hp o. CN huič-tli ‘dew’ (Herrera 2010, 88); Hueyapan Nahautl ahueč-tle ‘rocio’ (Baeza 2016, 118), huič-ti (ti) ‘rocio, sereno’ (Walters et al, 2002). [*c- > -y- in NUA; We i<-*u; Tep s<-c] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]
**DIFFERENT, OTHER, CHANGE; DISTINTO, OTRO, CAMBIAR**

658. *kímmaN* 'different': Mn kíma’ani-tu ‘different'; Mn kíma’adúgusu (in) a different way'; NP nanakímma’a 'different colors'; Sh kímmai ‘different (one)'; Kw kími- gi ‘be different, be other than’; Ch kíman ‘different’; Ch kúmanč ‘different one’; Ch(L) kíma ‘other than self, different’; SP qúmma ‘other, stranger’; SP qúmma-ŋa-šu ‘another one, stranger’; SP qúmma-mumu-šu ‘strangers, anim pl’; WMU kumac / kúmač ‘different’; CU kímac’ay ‘be different’; CU kímaci ‘enemy, foreignor, Comanche’. [NUA: WNum, CNum, SNum, HN: CNum, Trn, Cahn, COpn, CTrn, CAtz]

659. *sínu* 'another one, different': Cm sëni ‘different ways, various ways’; Tr se*nu ‘otro, distinto, diferente’. Tr se*nu also aligns with Yq sënu/séenu ‘uno, otro’; AYq seenu ‘one, someone’; and My seenu ‘one’; and Hopi sino ‘person, individual, human being, man’. The TrC *sínu forms are often associated with *sím ‘one’ but Cm sëmi ‘one’ contrasts with Cm sëni, suggesting separate stems. [NUA: Num, HN; SUA: Cah, Trn]
660. *si’iwi ‘different’: Tb ši’iwi ‘looks different’; Tr sewèti ‘distinto, diferente’; Tr siwíná(ti) ‘distinto, diferente’; Ktn hiwa-č ‘other, separate’ (*s > h). [V: i vs. i] [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn]

661. *sum ‘different, apart’: Sh nasumuan-tikku ‘different’; Cm nanisusumati ‘different kinds’; Eu aresúme ‘aparte’; Eu aresume-teri/arebece-teri ‘distinto, diferente’; Eu napmo súme nèhrem ‘tu hablas diferente’.
[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn]

662. *atta ‘different’: TSh attapiší ‘different(ly), adj, adv’; Cm ata/atí ‘different, (an)other’; Cm afíma ‘it is a different one’; Cm atapu ‘doing differently, doing another way’. The geminated *-tt- is apparent in both languages, as Cm shows -t- (< -*tt-*) vs. -r- (<-*t-*)
[NUA: CNum]

663. *awo(–)a ‘other, different’: Hp alönlö ‘different, stranger’; Ls awóó ‘other’; Cm awóó-na ‘differently’; Hp l < *w/ö and Hp ö < *o, but *o > Ls e usually. [V: i vs. ï]

664. *pata (ex)change: Dakin 1982-70: CN patla ‘change, exchange s.th.’; Cr raa-pwáta’ataka’a ‘lo cambió (dinerio)’. [p > pw] [NUA: Azt, CrC]

NB, for *su-pul ‘other, different one’: Ca supul(em) ‘other(s)’; Ca supul-a’an ‘different’; Cp súpul ‘different, one’; Sr hovaa-i’ ‘different, changed’; Sr hova’a(t) ‘(an)other’; ST hup duñia ‘become, change into, make’, see at ‘one’. NB, for *wa-pul L ‘different, separate’: TO gawul ‘different, separate’
[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn]

**DIG, SCRATCH; (EX)CAVAR, ESCARBAR, AHOOYAR, RASCAR, ARAÑAR**

665. *hota ‘dig’: LNum34 *hota ‘to dig’: M88-ho1; KH/M06-ho1: NP tìhonna ‘dig roots’; TSh hota”; Sh hota; Cm hora-; Kw horo-; SP ora’; CU oray. To these we can add Ch hóóra ‘dig’; Mn tihoowi ‘dig, dig up, vi, vt’; Tr ho- ‘cavar, escarbar, hacer agujeros, sacar algo escarbando’; Tr hora- ‘cavar, escarbar, hacer hoyo(s)’.
[NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

666a. *kopa ‘dig’: B.Tep114 *kovai he digs’; M88-ko34; KH/M06-ko34: TO kow ‘dig in a hard place’; LP kov; PYp kov; NT kóvai; NT kovóólitudai ‘make a hole’; ST kov. Add Nv kokova ‘cavar’. Miller queries whether CN koyooi ‘to get full of holes’ and Hp qólo ‘hole, pit, low area with a collection/lot of s.th.’ are cognate? I doubt it, though Wr te’kópá-ni ‘be a hole or slight depression’ probably is.
[NUA: Tep, Trn]

666b. *kapa/i (make) hole: Ca kávi-ve ‘hole’; Cp kápál ‘make hole’ at least agree with each other; Sr kívîhka ‘hole’, showing k-v-k, may tie to Ca and Cp.
[NUA: Tak]

667a. *waLi ‘dig’: BH.Cup *walí ‘dig’; M88-wa17; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wa17: Cp wále/walíne ‘dig, vt’; Ca wálí/wálí ‘dig, dig up, vt’; Ls láwa/i. Ken Hill lists both Sr waan’kin/waana’k ‘dig’ and Sr waţo ‘scratch’ as possibilities for the above set; I include both, as I often respect his opinion more than my own. BH.Cup appropriately claim metathesis in the Ls forms, which metathesis occurs in a Cp alternate form as well; yet let’s grant the metathesized forms their own letter under the same number.

667b. *Lawa ‘dig’: Ls láwa/i ‘be a hole, be deep, v.i., dig a hole, vt’; Cp lyáwé ‘dig’. [metathesis?] [NUA: Tak]

668. *haci ‘dig, scratch’: Stubbs 2003-32: Ls heya/heyi ‘be dug, vi, dig, vt’; AYQ hećhihta ‘scratch, vt’. In light of Manaster-Ramer’s sound law of medial *c > NUA *y, Ls heyi and AYQ heći- are a good match if the V’s assimilated from *haci > hecyi > NUA *heyi, in light of Manaster-Ramer’s sound law. Otherwise, *i should be o in Ls. [V assim: *-c- > NUA -y-] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]


DIGGING STICK, PLANTING STICK, DIBBLE STICK; COA

672. *wika 'digging stick': B.Tep42 *giika 'dig, stick, plow'; M67-326 *wika 'planting stick'; L.Son334 *wika 'coa'; M88-wi2 'dig, digging stick'; KH/M06-wi2: Hp wiikya; TO giik; NT giikai; ST giik; My wi’ika; Wr wiika; Tr wiika; Cr v’ikà; CN wiktli. In addition to CN wiktli, other CN terms also meaning ‘digging stick’ are CN wekpal-li and CN we’kol-li. We might also consider Mn wagi ‘dig a ditch’, vi; Mn wagi ‘tend ditches, keep them clear’. [SAU: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt; NUA: Hp, Num]

673. *poto 'digging stick': Mn pódo ‘digging stick, cane’; NP podo ‘digging stick’; TSh poton ‘cane, staff, digging stick, club, crutches, stick used as tool’; Sh(M) poton ‘digging stick’; Sh(C) poton ‘digging stick, walking stick, cane, crutch’; Kw poro-ci ‘cane, stick’; Kw poro- ‘walk with a cane or stick’; probably CU pirú-ci. [NUA: Num]

674. *citu 'digging stick': NP u cidupa ‘dig with digging stick’; TSh kuccitu’u ‘digging stick’. [NUA: Num]

Dip: see sink and wash
Dish: see pot
Dirt: see earth
Divide: see fork and break

DIZZY, FAINT; MAREADO, DESMAYARSE, DESVANECIDO, DESFALLECIDO

675. *tamu 'faint': Yq taamu 'faint, be knocked out'; My taamu ‘está araratando’; Tr itému ‘darle a uno vertigios, mareos, estar mareado’; Cr taúhtïïtïmwai ‘desmaya’; Cr rufîmwa’i ‘mareado’. [SAU: Trn, Cah, CrC]

676. *siwaï ‘be dizzy’: Mn siwakwiyunuhi / suwakwínunuhi ‘be dizzy’; Hp sëwi ‘become dizzy, lightheaded, feel faint’. [NUA: Hp, Num]

677. *pîl ‘be faint, dizzy, drunk’: Cp njéye 'dizzy'; Cp njéle 'faint'; Ls njóla 'be dizzy'; Ls njóóla 'be drunk'; Sr njîyk ‘get dizzy (as when drunk) vs. Sr yuuyk ‘be/get dizzy’ below. [initial nj; *L; l/y; C harmony] [NUA: Tak]

678. *yuü ‘dizzy, weak, shaky’ combined with 1932 at shake

679. *kwiCnu / *kwiyunu ‘dizzy’: the -kw(y)nunu portion of Mn siwakwiyunuhi / suwakwínunuhi ‘be dizzy’; Cm kwínukamakí ‘dizzy’; Cm kwínumari ‘make dizzy’; Cm kwínumpí ‘drunk, intoxicated person’; Cm kwínumasári ‘feel faint’; Cm makwi’suimaiyi ‘be made dizzy, drunk, intoxicated’. [NUA: Num]

DO, MAKE, HELP; HACER, AYUDAR; see also finish

680. *pu’ay / *pu’al ‘do’: B.Tep283 *vuai ‘is doing’; KH/M06-po29: TO/UP wu’a / wua / wui ‘do’; PYp vuhih; NT vueí / weí / vuééyi; ST vua; ST vuídy ‘do, happen’. Note the high similarity between Cr ba’re ‘help’ and ST palvuidya ‘help’—a loan? [SAU: Tep, CrC]


681b. *‘ani / *kani ‘do, cause’: Langacker 1977, 41, 45 and Shaul 2003, 33 note Eu eni ‘do, be’; SP -ni ‘do’; Hp ni; Sr ñihai ‘do’; Tr nii- ‘be’; Tep denV (< *ye-ni); etcetera, focusing on *ni. Add Kw -ni- ‘do’; Kw ha-ga-ni ‘do s.th.’; CU ‘ni-k (variants ‘uni-k, ‘ani-k) ‘do, act, make’; Yq ‘ania ‘help’; Yq aane ‘be’; AYq aane ‘do, be around/about, vi’; AYq ánia ‘help’; Tb ‘in’ ‘do it’; Hp -k-na; Sr -k-ini; Eu éni ‘estar’; Ch úunii ‘be, do’; Ch unii-nipü ‘make, v’; Ch hagá-ni ‘do what’. Perhaps TSh kan ‘do’ in TSh suwakkan ‘think about doing’ (TSh suwa’ ‘think’). Note Ktn tama-wi-t ‘sharp (< tooth + aug)’ and Ktn tama- ‘sharpen (< tooth- do)’; in other words, -n = ‘do/make’; SNum *uni, in fact, SNum languages have three vowelings: *uni, *’uni, *ini. Cf. Tewa ‘an/kñ ‘do’ (Martinez and Povijua 1982, 103; and Stubbs 2008). This also appears in many compounds, such as Tb tugaa’aní ‘make deep’ from Tb tugaa’ít ‘be deep’. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SAU: Cah, Tep]

682. *yun / *yuŋ ‘do, make’: Sapir; M67-271 *yu ‘make’; M88-yu8 ‘make, do’; KH/M06-yu8: TO juni / juuni; NT ñui ‘do’; NT ñuuni ‘make’; ST ñuuni- ‘make’; ST ñuuniyá; ST ñuúni ‘do, happen’. Let’s add PYp dunia ‘do, make, vt’ and Ktn yuna’n ‘help, v’. Miller includes We yíin; and Ken Hill adds We yíin ‘hacer’; We yíine ‘hacer, actuar en cierta manera’; Hp yikí finish; Cr a’ini pa-ríkí ‘what are you doing?’; My yáwwa ‘hacer’. Ktn fits the Tep forms (< PUA *yun or *yuŋ); and the We forms have the right V (We yíi < *yu). [SAU: Tep, CrC; NUA: Tak]
683. *ku’iyV 'help': L.Son102 *ku’i ‘ayudar'; M88-ku23; KH/M06-ku23: Eu kuıde-n; Wr ku’i; Tr ku’wi / kwi. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

684. *mayaw “help, do”: M88-ma37 ‘help’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ma37: Cp mámayu ‘help’; Ca mámayaw ‘help, lend a hand’; Ls mámayu ‘help’; Sr mámayı̀vk. We might also add Mn mai ‘do, become, be’; CU -máy ‘make/change into, make/cause to do’. [*w > v in Sr] [NUA: Num, Tak]


687. *iLi / *yaLa(wa) / *ya’a(wa) ‘do, make, finish’: My a’a yawwak ‘lo hizo’; Yq ya’a ‘hacer’; Yq yá’ari ‘lo hecho’; Yq yáati-ne ‘acaba’; My yáa-te ‘esta cesando, terminando’; Tb ya’awa ‘finish it’. Cr -ri ‘make’ and Cr -iri applicative (Casad 1984, 160) may be of a different stem. [SUA: Cah; NUA: Tb]

688. *(V)caywa/i ‘do, make’: Cp á’čiwi ‘make, do’; Cp ičáaywi ‘do, make'; CN čiwi ‘make, do'; perhaps Ls 'íči 'work off obligation' and Tb 'ihcaw ‘help’. [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Azt]

689. *kumma ‘create, make’: CU marógumay ‘create’; Mn qoomai ‘do s.th. in honor of, sacrifice for, mourn for’; NP puhaígima ‘medicine man’ (*puha- ‘medicine’ so -gima, with *u > i, is as likely to mean ‘medicine-maker’ as anything else); Ktn kim ‘make’. [NUA: Num, Tak]

690. *tikaha ‘measure, imitate’: Kw tíghaa ‘try, try on, measure’; Kw tígeki ‘act’; Ch tíghá ‘act’; Ch tíghá- ‘take picture’; SP tíghai ‘happen, take place’; SP tíghaa ‘bring about, causative of tígháí’; SP tíghaa- ‘measure, practice, imitate’; WMU tíghá-y ‘measure, happen, stretch (a hide)’; CU tígháay ‘measure, copy, duplicate’. [SNum]

691. *yíkwi ‘do, make’: Mn yígwí ‘act, do’ (vs. Mn yíkwitiği ‘sit’); NP yígwí ‘do with s.th.’ (vs. yíkwi ‘sit’); TSh yíkwí ‘do, make, go after, get’ (vs. yíkwi ‘sit’); Sh yíkwi ‘do, make’ (both Miller and Crapo separate Sh *yįkwi ‘sit’ (< *yukkwi) though identical in both dialects, but different in Mn, NP, TSh). [NUA: WNum, CNum]

NB, for *nato 'do, make, complete’ see finish.
NB, perhaps *kwan / *pan ‘pledge, vow’; ST vanoosa ‘do religious rite, make pledges’; AYq bwaniari ‘bestowed a name by vow, adj’.

DOG; PERRO

692. *awa ‘dog’: BH.Cup *’awáá; HH.Cup* ‘awáá; Fowler83; M88-’a26; Munro.Cup35 *’awáá-l; KH/M06-’a26: Ca ’áwa-l; Ls ’awáá-l; Cp ’awá-l. [NUA: Tak]

693. *koCti ‘dog’: Sapir; Ken Hill (p.c. 2004); KH/M06-ku39: Sr kočí’; Tr kočí. Sapir also lists Kitanemuk guci and suggests that CN čiči is assimilated from *kuci > *kici > cici; however, CN better fits *cu below. Ken Hill adds Wr ku’ci ‘puppy’ and considers Gb wosí with lenition of both consonants. [NUA: C-< *-t- or cluster] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

694. *woći ‘dog’: B.Tep *gogosi ‘dog’; Fowler83; M88-w012 ‘dog’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-w012: Gb wosí’, pl: wowsí’am (vowel unexpected, o < *o usually only after k, says Miller); TO gogs, gogos pl; LP gogiš/gogš; NT gogóši, góógoši pl; ST gagooš / gagoš. The Tep sg forms seem to be built on a plural reduplication, and the pl forms on a double pl or double reduplication, which does happen in UA, especially in Tep or as in CN’s double plural suffixes. Ken Hill notes also Gb wosí ‘dog’ and other forms for ‘bark, v which complexities need to be considered. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]
and Gb show something near *makaho, losing *hayowi is the 2
both NUA (Tb) and SUA (TrC), as in Tb of *hayowi 'dove' above. In fact, Ch makahiovi would suggest that
anticipatory assimilation of *a > o i
*makaho…. Yq, and My may align with *w, with assimilated round vowels, as the *mokow… forms may show
Ktn, Sr, and others show a 3 Tak forms for at least the first three segments *makV. KH/M06
makáwa, Tr makáwi, and Wr ma
Takic.

Ta
tailed pigeon'; Eu makáwa 'paloma/dove'; bigger' (< *makaho(C)a Sr maqahwt  'dove'; pl: maqah
Munro.Cup
6
sometimes
could be a leveling of *sati > sïrï), a phenomenon common in Hp.
NB, for *puNku, see animal, domestic'.
NB, for *isa, see coyote.

Door: see close

DOVE; PALOMA

*hayowi 'dove': M88-ho3; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ho3: Two languages (Hp, Tb) agree with *howi: Hp hòwi, pl: hòwiit 'dove, mourning dove, white-winged dove'; Tb 'owii-t 'dove'. In contrast, two Numic languages show hewi: Mn heewi 'dove'; TSh heewi-c 'dove'. However, Sh haaiwi 'dove' may be key. Numic forms showing hewi (Mn, TSh) leveled the V's from *hawai. Furthermore, CU 'ayõ-vi and Sh haaiwi both suggest that the first vowel was a (as in Sh haaiwi). Kk hoyo-vi 'mourning dove' and CU 'ayõ-vi both show y. Add Ch(L) hiyovi and Sapir's SP iyovi - 'mourning dove' with the final syllable as part of the stem, as in CNum. Kk and CU may have reinterpreted the final -vi as an absolutive suffix. In fact, most of NUA could accommodate *haywi or *hayowi. NP ihobi 'dove' transposed the h. The change of the dipthong ai > e happens often in Numic, as we see in the Mn and TSh forms (hewi < *hawai). But if *howi were the original form, it makes little sense to suggest a change of *o > a in Sh haaiwi, especially when immediately before a rounded consonant like w. In other words, *a was probably original, as suggested by the a in Sh haaiwi, CU 'ayõ-vi, and We hámí (whose m is enigmatic).

*hayowi > hawai (Sh) > hewi (Mn, TSh)
> hayo > 'ayõ- (CU), iyovi (SP)
> hoyo- (Kk), hiyoi(vi) (Ch)
> *howi > hówi (Hp)
> 'owii-t (Tb)
> ihobi (NP)

We hámí/ámi 'dove' and the -howa- of Tr čohóvari / čohóbari 'turtle dove' may be related as well. We i could be a leveling of -yow- (*hayow > hai). TO hoohi 'mourning dove' is of interest, and probably related in some way difficult to explain, perhaps with preservative c

696. *makaka-hayowa/i > *makahowa 'dove': BH.Cup *mVxél 'dove'; M67-139; HH.Cup; Fowler83; M88-ma27; Munro.Cup36 *maxéé-l 'dove'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ma27: Tr makáwi / makábi 'paloma'; Ch makahiovi; Sr maqahum 'dove'; pl: maqahum 'doves'; Gb maqáho 'dove' (Hill); Kk makahot; Kt makahoir-t 'dove sp, bigger' (< *makaho(C)a-wít); Ca máxayi-l' / maxi-l' 'dove'; Cp mexi-l' / maxi-l' 'dove'; Ls mixéé-l 'dove'. Add Eu makáwa 'paloma/dove'; Wr ma'kawé 'paloma azul'; PY p makavi 'dove'; Tb mokowi- (< *mokkowišt) 'band-tailed pigeon'; Yq omó'okol 'tortolita/turtledove'; My ómомо'okol 'tortolita'.

First Bright and Hill (Takic *mVxél 'dove') and then Hill and Hill (Takic *maxéé dove) note the word in Takic. Miller (1988: ma27) notes their noting i *hayow > hai), and does not list Tb nor any of the TrC forms, of which Eu makáwa, Tr makáwi, and Wr ma'kawé all bear a strong resemblance to Sr maqahwt, at the least, and to the other Tak forms for at least the first three segments *makV. KH/M06-ma27 adds Ch and Tr. All in all, Eu, Tr, Wr, Tb, Kk, Sr, and others show a 3rd C w or hu/hu that could be perceived as w, suggesting something like *makawV or *makaho…. Yq, and My may align with *w, with assimilated round vowels, as the *mokow... forms may show anticipatory assimilation of *a > o in the presence of w, for both vowels (a-a-w/o > o-o-o) in some language(s) of both NUA (Tb) and SUA (TrC), as in Tb of *hayowi 'dove' above. In fact, Ch makahiovi would suggest that
*hayowi is the 2nd etymon of a compound. In fact, Ca makayi (< *makay < *makah(aiy) suggests the same. Sr and Gb show something near *makaho, losing -ay- from *makahayowV, and Kt seems to display a fuller form (as
DOWN, DEEP, BELOW, UNDER; ABABO, HONDO, PROFUNDO, DEBAJO DE

698a. *tukkaC / *tukka (AMR) ‘deep’: Sapir; M67-122 *tuk ‘deep’; M67-34 ‘below’; I. Num227 *tuh(kw)e(h) ‘under, below’; L. Son309 *toko ‘ser hondo’; M88-tu14 ‘deep’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-tu14, but overlaps with pa67; KH/M06-tu14 *tukka ‘deep’: Mn –duhe(e) / –duhe ‘underneath’; NP tukapu (< *tukkappu) ‘deep’; Sh tuukkan ‘under’; Cm tuhtakhi ‘deep, down(ward)’; Kw tukkw ‘down’; SP tukkwa ‘be deep’; SP tuhkwa ‘under’; CU tukwa-ti (<*tukkwa-ti) ‘be deep’; Tb tugaa ‘be deep’; Tb tugaa’anit ‘make deep’; Sr pohth ‘below/under it’; Sr nihkt ‘below me’; Sr hörörö’n ‘deep’; Eu tepù ‘debajo’; Eu tepìtku ‘por debajo’; Tr ro’ko ‘ser/estar hondo’; Wr to’kô-ni ‘be deep’; Cr ty-a-’u-ti’i where (the river) is deep’; Pl tuuka ‘to bury, plant’. Sapir includes CN tlokk ‘t with, near to’, which is plausible. To the above listed in M88 we can add TSh tukkwappì ‘deep, adj’; Ch ruka ‘under’; Hp atkya(q) ‘down (there/below), low(er)’; Ls hulu’ka ‘fall, descend, vi’; latter part of Tb ‘omholok ‘underneath’; TO juuk ‘(be) deep’; ST dumaaly. [SUA: Tep]

698b. *pi-tukV / *tukV-pi ‘down, under’ (perhaps *-pi ‘at, in’ so ‘at-down/under’ or ‘down-under-at’ (ST): My bëtku ‘debajo’; Yq bëtku(n) ‘below, down’; Ca pé-tuk; ST tuukav ‘deep (of hole, well)’. Add Ktn piituk ‘downstream’. TO weço ‘under’ and Nv buto (*pit) ‘bajo’ may belong as well.

698c. *patu-t (AMR): KH/M06-pa67: Sh pattun ‘deadfall trap’; CN i’ti-tl / i’te-tl ‘stomach, inside’; TO weço ‘under’; Nv buto (*pit) ‘bajo’. Some forms appear under more than one letter, as also under tu14, pa67, and pi12 in M88 and KH/M06.

698d. *tip(a)tu ‘under’: Eu tepù ‘debajo’; Eu tepìtku ‘por debajo’; Wc tefña ‘inside’; Wc is expected to lose *-p-. These Tep *pitata forms may be a V assimilation and C lenition of *pituka > *pitaka > *pitaha. That may also explain why two of the forms (TO, Nv) still show round vowels. A complex collection! [SUA: Tep]

699. *yuma ‘low’: B. Tep236 *dumari(ka) ‘low’; M88-ya17; KH/M06-ya17: UP jumali / jumalií; NT dunalika; ST dumaly. [SUA: Tep]

700a. *tí...N ‘below’: M67-35 *ten ‘below’; CL.Azt44 **tamo(wa) ‘descend’; M88-ti28; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ti28: Ls tóo-nax ‘down, below, underneath’; Gb tóko ‘abajo’; Cp téyka ‘go down there’; Cp té ‘down, below’, té’aw ‘down there’; Sr tívukya ‘down below’; Cr hetyé-n ‘beneath it/him’ (M88); Cr nye-hetyá ‘beneath me’ (M88); Cr hétêen ‘debajo’ (McMahon & McMahon); CN temoowa ‘descend’; TSh tináa ‘down’ and Sh tináa ‘down’; Wc hee.tí(a)na ‘al pie de’. The medial consonants vary, and a CV morpheme is possible, but risky. Yet even languages showing only *tíN include Ls, Gb, TSh, Sh, and possibly Cr, or the Num, Tak, and CrC branches.

700b. *tí ‘down’: Consider also Mn tibéewi ‘down (hill)’, NP tibonå ‘downhill’, Kw tívee ‘down’; CU tivwa ‘in’; CU tuway-kh ‘descend, go down’, CU tivwa-tux ‘down to, down toward, down ward’, Hp atvel- ‘slope’. Other forms go perhaps further to show s.th. near *tipan: Sr tíívano ‘go down, ascend’, and possibly Tbr twawáá, te, te-wa-na ‘bajo’. Note the similarity of NP tibonå and Sr tíívukya ‘down, on the ground (locative of ground)’. Do these derive from ‘earth’ or earth-ward?’ [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

701. *tana / *tani ‘down, below’: Tb(V) tana ‘get down’; Tb(M) ta’na–andaa ‘an ‘get down, get off’; NT táana ‘abajo, adv’; CN tlani ‘below, underneath’. It is possible that the leveling of vowels (such as the a-i as in tlani) may be a source for *tin; and thus these forms may relate to the above (M88-ti28: M67-35 *ten ‘below’); however, a variety of medial consonants (m, n) raises many questions; regardless, Tb, NT, and CN all clearly show *tan. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Azt]

702. *koóm ‘down, low’: M88-ko5 ‘below’; KH/M06-ko5: Eu kom ‘para abajo’; Wr ko’miná ‘cuesta abajo’; Tr go’nå ‘abajo’; My kóm (appears in phrases meaning down(ward)); My kó’mi ‘abajo’; ko’mi ‘abajo’; but HN komol-li ‘pit in the earth’? Maybe first part of Tb ‘omholok ‘under’ as *k > h in Tb. Also add AYq kom/ko’om(i) ‘down, below, under, downward’; Yq kom ‘para abajo’. What of TO komaDwua ‘cause to be low or flat’; TO komaD ‘in a spread out or creeping position?’ (listed at flat) [SUA: Trn, Cah; NUA: Tb]
show and as the 'papel'; Tbr yosá yosí 'pintarse, embijarse como hacen los indios'; Ls 'éskani 'make a pattern (as o

DRAW, MARK, PAINT, WRITE; DIBUJAR, BOSQUEJAR, PINTAR, ESCRIBIR;
see also 'line' and 'dye'

DRAW, MARK, PAINT, WRITE; DIBUJAR, BOSQUEJAR, PINTAR, ESCRIBIR;
see also 'line' and 'dye'

DRAW, MARK, PAINT, WRITE; DIBUJAR, BOSQUEJAR, PINTAR, ESCRIBIR;
see also 'line' and 'dye'
712. *(iC)kwiLo ‘write’: CL.Azt196 *(tla-)ihkwVlowa ‘write, paint’; M88-‘u5; KH/M06-‘u5: CN (j)’kwiloa ‘for s.th. to get written’; Pl tahwikl ‘braid’; Pl tahkwilua ‘write, be writing, v’. [SUΑ: Azt]

713. *po’oC ‘mark, write, read’: Mn taqapoo ‘mark’; NP bo ‘write’; Sh poo / tipoo ‘write, mark’; Cm tiboori ‘write’; Kw po’o ‘mark, write’; Ch po’o ‘draw, write’; SP po’o- ‘mark, write’; WMU põ-õ-y ‘draw, write, mark, go to school’, v; WMU põ-õC- (when compounded); WMU põ-õ-ti/i / põ-õ-ti’i ‘teach, v’; WMU põ-õqwa-ttū ‘book, s.th. written, n’; CU põ-õy ‘write’; CU põ-õ-piñi/-ni ‘read’; CU põ-õ-ti ‘teach’. All SNum languages show a final consonant. [NUA: Num]

NB, for *humay ‘smear, paint’, see at ‘touch’.
NB, for *wilya ‘make/mark a line’, see at ‘line’.

DREAM; SOÑAR, FANTASEAR

714. *ṭi-mukki ‘dream, v’; Whorf 1935; M67-140 *te-moki; Dakin 1982; M88-ti19 ‘dream’; KH/M06-ti19: Hp tïmok-; Wr temu-; Tb ‘undumuga-tumuuga ‘dream, v’; Tr ūmu-(gů); Cr tį’i-maara ‘he’s dreaming’; My teénku; CN teeniki; Pl teemiki; HN teemiki. Add Sr kwahčumu’k ‘dream, dream about’; ST tūtikia ‘soñar’ (see 716 below); and AYq tenku. [NUA: WNum, SNum; SUA: CrC]

Note the nasal anticipation in Tb. [nasals in Tb] [NUΑ: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt, Tep]


716. *(ti)tiki ‘dream, v’: TO čįčk ‘dream, v’; NT tūtikyi ‘dream, vi’; ST tūtikia / ttkia ‘dream, vi’. All three languages do reduplication; this may tie to 714 *ṭi-mukki above with loss of nasal in a cluster. [SUΑ: Tep]

717. *nosí ‘dream, v’; Mn nosidabi ‘dream (about), vi, vt’; NP nosi ‘dream, v’; Kw no-noši, noosi ‘dream, v’; Ch nonosi ‘dream,v’; SP nonnossi ‘dream, v’; CU nōnōsi ‘dream, vi’; and We -nısı (< *nusi) of We héinǐsi ‘sueño’ [NUΑ: WNum, SNum; SUA: CrC]


Dress: see clothing

DRINK; BEBER

719a. *hiCpV / *hi’pa / *hiypi (> *hippi / *hi’a) ‘drink’: Sapir; VVH77 *hi ‘drink’; M67-141 *hi/*hi’i; I.Num40 *hip; L.Son55 *hi; B.Tep313 *i’i ‘to drink’ and *ii ‘he drank’; M88-h11; KH/M06-h11: Mn hibi; NP hibi; TSh hipi’i; Sh hipi’ / hippi’i; Cm hibi’ti; Kw hivi; Ch hivi; SP ivi; CU ‘ivi; Hp hiiko, hikwa pl.: Tb ‘ii’iti/ii’i’iti’i; Cp hěye; Ls hipi ‘sip, suck, of Shaman in curing’; TO ii’i / i’im; PYp i’a / ie’e; NT yiǐ; NT ii’i ‘he drank’; ST ‘io’; ST ‘ii’i ‘he drank’; Eu hiǎ; Tb hě/ihě; Yq hě’; Yq hi’i-fi ‘puede beber’; AYq he’; My hε eye; hi’i-; Wr hi; Tr ba-hi-; Cr raye’e ‘lo bebe’; Cn nhɛyɛ ‘bebo’; CN ii. A UA stem found in all branches, but not without difficulties. Sh and Ls show a gminated medial consonant *-pp-, and a cluster likely explains the variant medial reflexes: -pp-, -p-, -y-. A reconstruction of *hiypi may or may not help explain why -y- appears in Cp, Cr and My. However, when medial p is not apparent, such forms as PYp i’a/ie’e and other TRC and Tep forms suggest that we are dealing with first vowel i, but a lower second vowel, which assimilated toward the first in other cases. The Numic forms (Mn, NP, TSh, Sh, Cm, Kw, Ch, SP, CU) and Ls show a syllable (*hippi) not as apparent in the others, though PYp and Hp may show hints of it. Despite none of us being able to explain all in this set, I agree with Miller and Hill, that these are probably all related.

719b. *pa’i ‘drink (water-drink)’: KH.NUA: Ca pā; Cp pā’e; Gb pā’-; Ls pā’a; Sr pā’a, fut: pā’i-v ‘drink’; CN aatl-ii ‘water-drink’; Tr ba-hi-. The Takic forms involve the same stem as above with ‘water’ prefixed (*pā’i), which the following also suggest: Tr ba-hi-; AYq vahì’itu ‘give s.o. water to drink’; and CN aatl-ii ‘water-drink’. [h’/; -y-; medial *-CC- > *-p(p)- in Num] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
DRY, WITHER, SHRINK; SECO, SECAR, MARCHITARSE, ARRUARARSE, ENCOCERSE; see also thin

20. *waki 'dry, shrivel, thin: VVH99 *waki 'dry'; M67-143 *waki; BH.Cup *wáx 'to dry'; B.Tep38 *gaki;
L.Son325 *woki, wak-i 'secarse'; CL.Azt48 *waki; KH.NUA: ; M88-wa4; KH/M06-wa4: Tb waagii 'it-awaagii'
'be skinny'; Hp laaki 'dry, become thin, v'; Cp wáxé 'dry, vt'; Ca wáx 'become dry, vi'; Ca wax-ne 'make dry, caus.'
Ls wáxa 'dry up, heal, vi'; Ls wáxni 'dry, vt'; Sr waak 'dry, vi'; Sr waaqan 'dry, vt'; Sr awaaki' 'dry, adj'; TO gaki
'be dry, skinny, bony'; PYp gak; NT gáki; ST gak; Nv gaki 'cosa seca'; Nv gaku 'estar seco/flaco'; Eu wáke;
Yq wakia 'dry, thin'; Yq waake 'dry, vi'; My wakia; Cr wáhë 'dry, thin'; We vaváki 'seco, flaco, delgado'; CN waaki
'dry out, evaporate, wither'. This prominent stem in 8 of 11 branches; many reflexes suggest this also means 'thin',
ied to dry and become thin. [v in Wc; '-ni caus in Sr, Ca] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tk; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

21. *coLo 'dry' (SNum *tapasa) I.Num140 *pasa(h) '(be) dry'; M88-pa19; KH/M06-pa19: Mn pasa 'be dry,
dried out'; Mn pasakí-t 'dry (acorns, etc.), vt'; Mn kopusá 'be dried out'; NP wípasa 'hu 'wind dries it';
NP mabasa 'dry food'; TSh pasa'; pasanjiin; Sh pasa('); pasa-nki 'dry s.th. '; Cm pasa(kiro); Cm pasapi 'dry obj';
Kw tava'si 'dry, v'; Kw tavaši-kwee-pi; SP tavašu 'dry, v'; SP tavašî-i 'is drying'; CU tavași 'be dry, get dry'. To
these add Ch tavaši 'dry'. Note *pasa for WNNum and CNNum (Mn, NP, TSh, Sh, Cm) and *tapasa for SNum (Kw,
SP, CU). As the concepts 'thin' and 'dry' are closely tied in UA, add My tásploi 'thin' and AYq tásploi 'thin';
Sr vaşı-vaşi 'thin (as cloth)'; Eu tasúkei 'thin' (loss of *p in a cluster is not unlike My's cluster followed by a
V); Cr ñisísíra'a 'thin (of person)', loss of *-p- expected in CrC; and probably Ls taviča/i 'dry up, vi, drink dry,
vt'. PYp vahakisi (< *pakaeki) 'something hung out to dry for preservation' adds the Tep branch.
[t- prefix; -p- lost in Cr] [NUA: Num, Tk; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC, Tep]

22. *moLV / *mora / *mota 'dry': Hp móöya 'spread out to dry, hang out to dry'; Cp mite 'dry, v';
Tbr moro-ni-ru 'secó'. The initial CV (*mo) of the forms in these three languages from three different branches all
agree, and in light of *t > r > y in UA, especially NUA, or *t > *c > y in NUA, there is something to be said for
Cp mite (Cr p i < *o), Tbr moro-ni-r, and Hp móöya (Hp ò < *o), though particulars would be nice. [t/r/y, liquid,
medial C] [NUA: Hp, Tk; SUA: Tbr]

23. *yî-kwa(ta) 'dry': NT dībátai 'dry (of ground), vi'; Nv dupabag[dibaga] 'marchitarse'; ST baata' 'marchito,
seco (planta)'. Short the first syllable, ST baata 'marchitarse, secarse (planta)' matches NT.

24. *tasakwa 'dry season': ST taaba' 'llegar la época de sequía'; ST taabak 'dry season (from Dec to May)', n';
PYp tahabda 'dry season'; these point to *tasakwa, though much remains unclear. [SUA: Tep]

25. *coLo 'dry, wither' has been moved to 1228 'hungry, wither'

26. *tuna 'shrink': Ls tuná-qa 'shrink'; Ca (-c-)túnuš 'have a cramp, shrink'. [NUA: Tank]

Duck, Goose; Pató, Ánade, Ganso, Ánsar, Oca

27. *cika / *cika 'duck': M67-145 *cek; Fowler83; CL.Azt221 *cika > *ēcka 'duck, down'; Dakin 1982-4 *ciki
'plumón / down'; M88-ci7 'duck'; KW/CM6-ci7; Kw čiga-zi 'duck'; Ch čiga 'duck'; SP čiga 'duck'; WMU číga-či/
čí/qqá-či / čuká-ji / juga-či 'duck, n'; CU číga-či 'duck'; Hp čikímana 'mudhead duck'; CN ička-tl 'cotton'.
CL.Azt221 note 'down' as the probable intermediate meaning between duck and cotton. KH/M06 queries whether
the Ht term is a compound of ciki 'clown' and mana 'girl'. Though the majority of languages align with *cika, a
reconstruction of *cika is feasible as well; Kw does show it, and due to the schwa-like nature of i, it seems that *i >
i is more likely than *i > i, especially before a; Azt shows i as well. The 2nd vowel being a in both WNNumic and
Azt suggests that it assimilated in Hp: *cika > Hp čiki. [CN prosth; V leveling] [NUA: WNNum, Hp; SUA: Azt]

28. *picíN 'duck': I.Num169 *piño 'duck'; Fowler83; M88-pi9; Miller, Elzinga, McLaughlin 2005; KH/M06-pi9:
Mn piyi; NP pihi; TSh piyín; TSh piyící; Sh piyim; Pl pisitiš 'duck, sp'. Add Cm piyí and Eu bavíci/babíci 'duck'
with *pa- prefixed. This is a good candidate for Manaster-Ramer's sound law *-c- > y in NUA. Note also that we
have NUA *piči and SUA *pici. [*c- > NUA -y-; medial, h, y, c, š] [NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Azt]
728. *kan ‘duck’: Wr kaní ‘duck’; Tbr kaní ‘pato’; CN kanau’-ti ‘duck, ánade’. [SUA: Trn, Tbr, Azt]

729. *La'a ‘goose’: Munro.Cup50 *láá'-la ‘goose’; KH/M03-lal: Ls lá'-'la; Cp la'-'a;l; Ca lá'-'la’. [NUA: Tak]

730. *pa-wi-likan ‘duck’: Tb paawilian-t ‘geese’; Hp paawikya ‘duck or other waterfowl’. *pa is likely water; Hp ky is sometimes from a cluster -lk- > -ky-, as Tbr may reveal. [NUA: Hp, Tb]

731. *-sa'i- ‘duck’: *sa'i- in Ca sásaymal‘em ‘wild ducks'; Cp qewisa’i-l ‘duck, sp’. There is potential for a tie with *sayaC ‘mudhen’ though phonological differences (*sa'i vs. *saya) and a semantic difference (mudhen vs. duck) separate them for now. [NUA: Tak]

732. *nakí ‘goose’: Fowler83: NP nagiddí ‘goose’; TSh nikínta ‘goose’; Sh(M) nikíntan ‘goose’; Kw; SP. [*-Nt > -dd- in NP] [NUA: Num]


734. *kuta ‘mallard duck’: Jane Hill (p.c.): NP kuda ‘duck’ (in Yerington), ‘mallard duck/anas boschas’ (in Merriam); Ch kurásaŋ ‘goose’. [NUA: WNum, SNum]

NB, Cr pwáatu-te -pl from Spanish pato interestingly has pW instead of p.

Dusk: see night, sunset, and black
Dust: see earth
Dwell: see sit

DYE; TEÑIR, TINTURAR

735. *yuka ‘dye’: My yokka ‘está tiñendo’; Wr yohke-ca-ni ‘teñir, vt’; Wr yohke-pa-ni ‘be stained, dyed’; Tr yóga- ‘tentir, entintar’; Cp yúče (< *yuk-TV) ‘soak, dye, put into water, leach’. Cp u may portray the first vowel to be *u; otherwise, *o > Cp i, but *u > o/ Ca, i.e, or *u being lowered to o in anticipating low a in the other languages. [*u- a > o-a; possibly -kt- > -ç- in Cp] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah]

736. *pu ‘dye’: ST vua ‘dye’; Wc hiye ‘color, form’. Both initial syllables reflect *pu, though 2nd syllables vary. Is Wc hiye part of Wc máyé ‘color’ which is attached to many color words? [SUA: CrC, Tep]

EAGLE, HAWK, FALCON, BIRDS OF PREY; ÁGUILA, GAVILÁN, HALCÓN, FALCÓN, AVES DE PRESA: The many UA words for eagle and other birds of prey that begin with kwa need a more thorough study and sorting. Nevertheless, cognate collections attempting to deal with this conglomeration include: Sapir; VVH49 *kwa ‘eagle’; M67-146a *kwa, 146b *kwì, 146c *ku; I.Num86 *kwì(‘)nà(a) ‘eagle, large bird’; B.Tep5 *ba’agai 'eagle’; L.Son118 *kwawa ‘aguililla’; M88-kwa3; M88-kwa4; M88-ku10; KH/M06-ku10: for an initial sorting, let’s begin with *kwasa/kwisa, *kwa’a, *kwa’awï/ai, and *kwi’na. Lionnet and Miller separated the forms containing second syllable -sa from the others, so let’s start there:

737a. *kwasa ‘eagle’: L.Son115 *kwasa ‘aguililla’; M88-kwa4; KH/M06-kwa4; NP pui kwasa ‘blue heron’; Tbr kwasa ‘clase de ave pescadora grande’; Ca kwasanemüip ‘baldheaded bird’; Wr kusâ ‘tipo de gavilán’; Tr kusá ‘aguililla’.

737b. *kwisa ‘eagle’: M67-146b *kwi ‘eagle’; Fowler83; M88-kwi5; KH/M06-kwi5: Cr kuihši 'haw'; Wc kwiši yìi.yári ‘aguililla’; CN kwiš-in ‘large bird of prey, hawk’; Pl kwiš-ti ‘hawk’; and perhaps Kw kísa-vi ‘chicken hawk’; Wc kwiši yìi.yári ‘aguililla’. These two sets may be the same; whether *kwisa was original and the first vowel assimilated to the second (*i-a > a-a) or whether *kwasa was the proto-form and the first vowel raised and fronted toward the alveolar is hard to say; either is possible, and thus these two are likely variants of the same etymon *kwVs. [*u > i in Kw] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
I initially had *kwi’na / *kwana together, but later noticed that only *kwi’na forms show glottal stops (even if transposed to other syllables) while none of the kwana forms do, thus, separate letters.

In the above groups are three instances of a *kwi/kwa split: kwasa/kwisa; kwana/kwina; kwayo/kwiy. For the last of the three I reconstruct *kwayo because the a-vowel or first vowel is longer in Hp, while the o or latter vowel is longer in Tsh. And since short vowels are more likely to assimilate to surrounding environment than long vowels, the a seems more likely original; furthermore, an assimilation of a > i/y is natural, while i > a in the same environment is not. The second vowels do not agree exactly either: Hp o < *u. [vowel; a>i/y] [NUA: Num, Hp]
747. *pancaya / *panjaCca ‘hawk, sp.’: TSh pancayaa ‘marsh hawk’; Sh(C) pançaiya ‘hawk sp., large, black, low flying’. Ktn pançaca ‘duck’ may tie semantically with *marsh hawk’ and phonologically with both: *-ŋ > -n- after loss of vowel and clustered with -c-; *panjaca > *panja > panca. [cluster] [NUA: CNum, Tak]

748. *(pic)-sawa ‘chicken hawk’: TO wishag ‘the sharp-shinned hawk, the chicken hawk’; PYp visaga ‘hawk, chicken hawk’; Tbr samwé-t / samowé-t ‘ágquila, halcon’. Tbr shows the latter part (*-sawa) of a probable compound. Note the vowel insertion and perceived consonant cluster separation in Tbr: *sawe > samwé-t > samowé-t. I think similar happened to glottal stop clusters often in SUA: *-V'C- > -V'VC-. [cluster separation] [SUA: Tep, Tbr]


750. *hop(a)paLi ‘predatory bird sp.’: Yq hóopopol ‘pájaro cazador’; NP wobbo’i ‘sparrow hawk’; and perhaps TO haupal ‘red-tailed hawk’, possibly as a loan, though the 2nd a of TO seems more original. Much must remain tentative for this set, yet two or three seem relatable, whether borrowed or not. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Tep]

751. *hutahi ‘hawk sp.’: Yq hučáhi ‘gavilán’; Ls hičéé-hi ‘hawk, sp.’, possibly as a loan, though the 2nd a of TO seems more original. Much must remain tentative for this set, yet two or three seem relatable, whether borrowed or not. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah]

NB, see also buzzard and bird

**EAR; OREJA, OIDO**

<table>
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<th>Hp</th>
<th>Nákví</th>
<th>Eu</th>
<th>Nakát 'oreja'</th>
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<td>Naaqa 'ear pendant'</td>
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<td>Kéísiven 'oido'</td>
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<td>TSh</td>
<td>Naŋki</td>
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<td>Gávaač 'ear, leaf'</td>
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<td>ST</td>
<td>Naaak/nak</td>
<td>PI</td>
<td>Nakas</td>
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752a. *naka / *naKapa (< *na(N)kasapa ?) ‘ear’: Sapir; VVH47 *naNka 'ear'; M67-148 *naka; I.Num109 *nanka/<nankan; BH.Cup *naqala; Munro.Cup37 *náqa-la; L.Son163 *naka; M88-na1; B.Tep162 *naaak; KH/M06-nal *nanka (AMR): some terms of interest include Mn naqqa 'ear, to hear, vt'; NP naka (< *naka) 'ear, to hear'; SP nanka 'to hear, ear ornament'; SP naŋkava 'ear'; Cr našáih 'ear'. WMU has a variety of pronunciations: WMU nügáv / nügüvá / nü'gáva / nügáv / nügávačü– 'ear'. *Ear* is one of few pervasive UA words. Some peculiarities are s in Aztecan, Eu, Cr, and p in SNum, Hp, Sr, Ktn kava-c (and lacking na- in Ktn, Sr), and -*p- in Eu; and both in Eu kéisive 'oido'. Eu ke 'hear', Eu keívve 'listen' and many other initial *ka... forms are at 'hear'. Those forms and the Sr and Eu forms, which show the same consonants as Num and Azt/Cr (i.e., k-s-p) could suggest that *nakasapV contains a fossilized verb prefix *na-. TO nahagwiw ‘flap the ears, v. (of certain animals)’ is a verb and may show the same consonants (*n-k-s-p) with s anticipated (*n-s-k-p) and voicing of k > g. PUA *s clustered with either k or p would disappear quickly, so its survival in Azt, Cr, Eu, and TO is noteworthy.

752b. *na(N)ka 'hear, v': M88-nal 'ear': Mn naqqt 'hear, vt'; NP naka 'ear, hear'; TSh nänka 'hear' vs. TSh naŋki 'ear'; Sh nanka 'hear'; Sh nenvki 'ear'; Cm nankari 'hear'; Kw naga; Kw nāa-kee-v; Ch nanká-kai; SP nänka 'hear'; CU nika-y; Ca nänma 'hear, listen'; Cp nänma 'hear'; Cp nāq‘ači 'listen'; Ls nänma 'hear, listen, understand'. [cluster; na-] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
EARTH, LAND, DIRT, CLAY, MUD, DUST, DESERT, PRAIRIE, PLAIN; TIERRA, BARRO, ARCILLA, POLVO, DESIERTO, YERMO, PRADERA, LLANO, LLANURA, SÁBANA, CAMPO

753. *kwiya / *kwïLa 'earth': VHV112 *kwiya 'dirt, earth'; B.Tep6 *bidai 'clay'; M67-151 *kwï/*kwiya 'earth'; L.Son126 *kwiya 'tierra'; M88-kwi2 'land, earth, dirt' KH/M06-kwi2 *kwiya= *kwï: TO bid 'adobe, mud, clay, plaster'; Wr wḗ; Tr wē/wei yḗ; My bwiya 'tierra, suelo, piso'; AYq bwía; Yq bwía, pl: bwiam/bwiram; Tbr kwirā-t 'tierra, mundo'; Cr ēwḗ; Cr ēuā-ta-a 'on the ground'; We kwī(y)ḗ. Note the r instead of y in both Tbr and the Yq pl., which liquid also aligns with the NUA n in several Takic and Numic forms that KH/M06-kwi2 adds to Miller’s list: Sr pākkwihiñit ‘mud’ (water-dirt) and Gb kwēnar ‘mud’. NP pakkwina‘pa ‘clay’ may be ‘water-earth’ as also Ktn pakwinit ‘clay, mud’ and Sr. I agree with Hill’s moving Ls kwiláli ‘to soil, make dirty’ from here to *kwïCiCa ‘defecate’. [L/r > y; liquid] [NUA: Take, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

754. *wiya ‘mud’: Kw wiya-vi ‘mud, clay’; WMU wiya-vi ‘mud’; CU wiya-vi ‘mud’. Could these be a development from *kwïya, in spite of w instead of kw? [NUA: SNum]

755. *yipILa ‘earth, dirt’: B.Tep32 / *divïra ‘earth, dirt’; M88-yy14; KH/M06-yy14 ‘canyon’: TO jiwiD ‘soil, earth, world’; PB divar (B); NT divïra; ST divïr. Add PYp dever ‘earth, land’ and NV dubrhā [divïra] ‘tierra’. Ken Hill’s union of these with *yippa ‘valley’ (at canyon) is very possible, though the geminated consonant in Cp and slightly different semantics have me wanting to keep them separate, pending improved probabilities otherwise. [SUA: Tep]

756. *yawa > *yuwa ‘open country, flat land, outside’: AYq yeewi ‘towards outside’; Yq yeu- ‘para afuera’; TO jeg ‘outside’; Kw yuw-a=aka ‘desert, plain’; CU yúaa-vi ‘plains, open country, wild country’; CU yúaa-vatí ‘outdoors, out-country, in the open’; WMU yuwaa-vi ‘level country or land’; CN kiyawak ‘outside’ a compound with ki-house. Yq, AYq, TO, CN, WMU, and CU all point to *yawa. Note also Tbr -yá(n) ‘fuera’. Tbr (ki)-yá-n ‘fuera de (casa)’ and Tb yahawaa-l ‘red earth’ be related. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Tbr, Azt]

757a. *tiqA / *tiqAL ‘earth’: Sapir; I.Num247 *tiq(h) ‘earth, land, ground’; M88-ti36; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ti36: Mn típi; NP tiipi ‘earth, land’ (vs. NP tíbbi ‘rock, stone’); Sh típi ‘home country, land, property’; Miller includes Cm típi/típi ‘a stone, rock’; Kw tí-pí (< *tiip-pí) ‘dirt, earth, world, year’ (vs. Kw tí-bi/tí(m)bi/tí-bi-ci ‘stone, rock, earth’); SP tíví-’/tívi-pmpi ‘earth, ground, country’ (vs. SP tímpí ‘stone, rock’); CU tíví-pí ‘earth, world, land, soil, dirt, ground, country, land’ (vs. CU típiy-ci / típpi (< *típpi) ‘stone’); Gb tová-r ‘tierra’; Ls töóva-l ‘white clay’; Ls tóvki-sh storage cave (earth-house)?; Sr tíva-t ‘earth, ground, land, world, country, floor, dirt, dust’; Ktn tîva-č ‘dirt’. Add Op teve ‘earth’ (Shaul 2007) and Ch(L) tívi-pí ‘earth, land, territory’. Numeric words for ‘earth’ vs. ‘rock’ differ in both the middle consonant and the final consonant, so some are included for contrast. For example, *tîm-pí ‘rock’ > tí(N)pi has SNNum showing nasalization (at times medial -m-) or gemination (a definite medial cluster), while *tîvi- (< *tiqA) ‘earth’ shows no medial cluster and thus the usual spirantization. In SUA, the distinction is less discernible. Miller includes GN tepeé-tl ‘hill, mountain, precipice’ which is listed at *típi ‘long, tall’ in this work. Cf. rock and tall. Sapir also ties the above *tîqA ‘earth’ with *típi ‘mountain’, but Ls tavu- ‘long’ vs. the above Ls term and differing semantics (earth vs. long) and a final consonant in *tîqA all suggest differing stems. That the 2nd V is a in Ls, Gh, Kh in strength enough to reconstruct it, as any V > ŋ/i in UA is common, especially if the vowels became unstressed.

757b. *tiAL (< *tiPAL) ‘land, earth’: CL.Azt 96 *tlaal ‘land, earth’; 130 tlaalia ‘put, place’; M88-ta39; KH/M06-ta39: CN tlaal-li; Pl taal; Po tal; T tollo; Z taal. The frequent loss of *-p- in Azt (2.4) and Aztecanc’s anticipation of following vowels (2.15.3) allow a very real potential for a tie of *tiqA ‘earth’ with Azt *taal ‘earth’; *tVpaL > tапAL > taal (Azt). [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Azt]

758. *típi-c ‘white clay’: M88-ti52; KH/M06-ti52: Ls töovi-š 'white clay' (synonymous with töóva-l); Sr tívî-c ‘white clay, cement’; Gb töviy ‘white clay’. While very close to *tîqA above, note that these three languages have separate terms in the two sets, almost only a different final vowel and different absolute suffix. [NUA: Tak]

760a. *tiwaC 'sand, dust': Hp tīwā 'sand'; Tb tīwī-t 'dust'. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Cp tīw- 'dust' as a welcome addition. Ls toow-t 'dust in the air' (Ls o < *i); Cp tewvāna 'where dust was'; Sr tīwā-t 'earth, ground, land, world, country, floor, dirt, dust.' Hp compounds suggest an originally larger semantic range to include 'dust, earth': Hp tīwaqal- 'at the edge of the land, seashore, horizon' (qal 'edge'); Hp tīwanasave 'the center of the earth'; Hp tīwanw-ti 'decompose, turn to dust, become part of the earth'.

760b. *to'o / *ta'a 'dust': Yq to očía 'dust'; My toro očía (redupl); AYq to očía 'dust.' Cr sáa-ta'a 'sandy ground' (sáa = 'sand'). [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Cah, CrC]

761. *sokoC / *soka 'earth, mud': M67-297 *sol/*sok/*cok 'mud'; I.Num *soko 'ground, earth, dirt, land'; M88-s66 'ground, earth'; KH/M06-s66: NP soko 'ground, dirt; TS hso kopi 'ground'; Sh soko-ppih 'earth'; Cm sokoopï 'earth'; SP so go 'moist earth'; Hp cóqa 'mud, clay, plaster (cognate? Miller queries?); CN soki-tl 'clay, mud'; Cr hásu-u 'lodo, pared, pretiil'. Add We hásu 'mud' (since CrC u < *o) to Cr. And Tr sugúri 'greasy dirt'; Yq tečoa; and My tečoa 'mud' might be considered also, if the Cah terms lost intervocalic *k. [c/s/-k] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

762. *kwi-so 'mud': L.Son124 *kwiso 'lodo'; M88-kwi13; KH/M06-kwi13; Tr we-so; Tbr kwisé-t 'lodo'. We might include an alternate form in Tr bisogá 'mud', showing the range for initial *kw in Tr. Wr wehcóri 'clay' belongs here. These may be a compound of *kwi(ya) earth and *-so(ka) 'earth, mud' or *cuLV 'mud' (see below). Other representations are Wr weh-co-rí 'clay'; Wr oh-co-re 'dirt'; Tr wečorí / veco 'mud' (< *we-co-ri 'earth-sticky-noun suffix'). Brambila has -co- ('sticky') as the main morpheme; the glottal stop may tie these to *soka. [liquid, nasal] [NUA: Trn, Tbr]

763. *cuLV 'mud': Tb culuta 'stuck in mud'; Yq tečoa 'mud'; My tečoa 'mud'. Cah languages (Yq, My) typically lose intervocalic -r-, so -coa (< *cora), they may tie to Tb, but certainly to each other. In *soka and *cuLa, Yq, My, Cr, Tr, whether the glottal stop is from lost -k- or -r-, decides their leaning toward *sokV or *cuLV. But ST cu du'nípik 'lodoso, pantanosito' is unlikely. [liquid] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Cah]

764. *huCuN 'dust': I.Num36 *hukkumpii(h) 'dust'; M88-huil11; KH/M06-huil11: Sh hukkun 'dust'; WSh hukkumph; Cm hukkupi; Kw hukupi, hukupi 'dust, fallen dry pine needles'; SP ukkumpa / ukkumpa; Ch hukump(i) 'dust'; WMU hukkâuppi 'dust'; CU kukupi (< *kukkuppi). Miller's inclusion of NP kusipi is possible, but questionable. [C harmony in CU] [NUA: CNum, SNum]

765. *pa-sakwinaC 'mud' or *pa(-)sa-kwiLa (see *kwiLa above): M88-pa16 mud: I.Num141 *pasíhkwi(na) 'mud'; KH/M06-pa16: Mn pasíkwinäbi; NP pasagwgni; TSh pasakwinappi; Sh pasakwinappi; Sr pääkwiñi. We should add Cm sekwiwi 'mud'. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes that this could well be *pa 'water' + -sa- 'mud' (see below) + kwiLa 'earth/mud'. [-Ckw-] [NUA: Num, Tak]

766. *sa 'mud': Cr sha-ri 'mud'; Wr wehsá 'mud' (Wr weh-< we'é 'earth'). [NUA: Trn, CrC]

767. *tuCca / *tuCCa 'dirt(y)': Mn tocábi 'dirty one'; NP tocaggíti 'dirty clothes, v'; TSh tuccaappi 'dirt, dirty'; Ch tucá-vi 'dirt'. [V assimilation: *u- > o-a] [NUA: Num]

768. *tis(-na) 'clay, grimy dirt': Hp tīsna 'human dirt'; Ca tāsna 'clay for pottery, pot'; Ca tāsel 'yellow clay'; Mn tīsna-bi 'clay'. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]

769. *muLi 'dust': Ca müli-š 'dust'; Wr moréwa 'smoke, dust'; Tr bemorí 'dust'; ST čumuok 'dusty, pulverized ground, soft' (consider ST -moik since ST tū- may be a separate morpheme in light of ST čukuubs 'dust; ST kuubish 'dust'). [l/r/t/s] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]

770. *papu 'clay': AYq vaavu 'clay'; My baabu 'clay (for making pottery)'; Yq baabu 'barro'. [NUA: Cah]

771. *pisu / *pusi 'dust': Eu puse'-é 'hacer polvo [make dust]'; Eu pusús mawa- 'llenar de polvo [fill with dust]'; Tr na'-pisó 'dust, ashes < fire-dust'. [NUA: Trn, Opn]
EAT, CHEW, SWALLOW; COMER, MASTICAR, TRAGAR; see also bite, suck, yawn

775. *kwa'a 'swallow, eat': Sapir; VVH48 *kwa('a)'e'at, swallow'; M67-152a *kwa 'eat'; BH.Cup *qwa- 'eat'; L.Son113 *kwa/*ko'a 'comer'; M88-kwa5 'eat'; AMR 1993a *kwa'aC 'eat'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-kwa5: Cp kwá 'eat'; Cp qwe'i-s 'food'; Ls kwá/qwá 'eat'; Gb kwá'; Sr kwá'-i; Eu hibáa--; Yq bwá'a; My bwá'a; Tbr ko-; Cr kwá'; Pl kwa; CN kwaa. Miller includes Tr go'á/kwó- and Wr ko', though Tr wa'a/a'wa 'swallow' exhibits the expected sound correspondences of *kwa'a. Tr go'á/kwó-and Wr ko'á better fit the forms of *ko'a below, where is also Tep *ko'a. However, let's do add Tep *ba'a/ba'i (<*kwa'a/kwa'i) 'swallow': TO ba'a/ba'i 'swallow'; Nv ba'a; PYp ba'i/ia; NT bail; ST baya. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Tsn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

776. *ko'a 'eat': VVH131 *ko 'eat'; M67-84 *ko 'chew'; B.Tep115 *ko'ai 'eat'; M88-ko4; KH/M06-ko4: NP sanakko'o 'chewing gum'; Ls qé'ni 'feed animal'; TO ko'; Wr ko'-; Tr go'-mea / ko'mea / go'á / go'yá / ko-; Tbr koa. In M88-ko4 Miller combines the *ko'a and *kwa'a forms, which in the kw-languages can easily alternate (thus some forms are in both lists here as well), but they are clearly distinguished in the Tep and Cah branches where ko'a and ba'a/bwa'a forms sometimes exist in the same language: e.g., TO ko'a 'eat' and TO ba'a 'swallow', though an early *kwo > ko in Tep/Cah would make the set even more complex than the mere complexity that we presently think we are dealing with. Ktn kwa' 'eat' and Ktn ko' 'eat' hardly help. Is Kw ka'a 'eat' an assimilation (*ko'a > ka'a) or loss of first syllable (*tfikkaC > ka'a) or neither? [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tsn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

777. *kuCma/i *kuNma *ku'mV 'chew, nibble': VVH88 *ku amis/*ku mima 'eat' (as corn, to nibble); M67-152d *ku/*ko 'eat'; L.Son104 *kumi 'masticar'; Kaufman1981 *kumni; Dabin 1982-30; M88-ku12; KH/M03-ku12: TO kuum 'chew, crunch'; Wr ku'mi; Tr gumí / kumu 'eat small things, like corn'; My kúme 'chew'; We kimée 'mochar, eat small bites'; Cr kíima / kíi'mi 'eat'. In light of the glottal stops (Wr, Cr), we may be dealing with another consonant, i.e. a cluster or a glottal stop as well. Dabin (1982) ties these to CN kinimíin 'mouse' (as a nibbler, good inclusion). Ken (KH/M06) and Jane Hill (2001) add SP kumma 'old Indian name for corn, rarely used now'; Hp kokoma 'dark red, almost purplish corn'; Hp koma 'coccob, Amaranthus cruentus, a plant used to make red piki' (Hill queries whether the two preceding are cognate; I would say so); CU kimíy 'corn'; TO kuum 'eat, chew on s.th. that comes in little pieces'; Cmm kúkími-pi ' parched corn'. Let's also include AYq kumme 'chew'; PYp kuum 'chew'; WMU kúmi/kñumwi 'corn'; TO kuumikuD 'corn cob' literally as 'eating tool'. I like Kaufman's *kumni, as a very plausible reconstruction. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Tsn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

778. *kNma(C) *kCaM / *kanma (Kaufman1981) 'taste, have taste or a quality of taste, such as sweet or salty': I.Num50 *kahma 'have a taste'; M88-ka2 'be sweet or salty'; Kh/M06-ka2 'be sweet or salty': Mn qama (*qamma) 'taste, v'; NP kama; TSh kama/kamna; Sh kamma'; CM kama/i 'have a taste, be tasteful'; Kw kama 'taste, vi'; CU kumay (Miller *kammay) 'taste, have taste, taste good'; CU kamá-ti (< *-tii) 'tasty, good tasting'. Add Ch(L) kama- 'have taste or flavor, vi' (also in compounds such as Ch piya-gama 'sweet' and WMU kamma- 'have
taste’. In M88-ka2, Miller includes M67-427 *kaka ‘sweet’; L.Son71 *kaka ‘dulce’ as *kaka may be a reduplication of *kaCma ‘taste’—easily possible, but not entirely certain. ST kaak ‘have a certain taste’; Yq kâm-ta ‘swallow, put in mouth’; ST kaam / kaamtta / kaamik ‘carry/hold in the mouth’ may be semantically pivotal between *kaCma ‘taste’ and *kaCma ‘mouth, cheek’ and possibly tie them together. Sh and CU may suggest a final -C. Relative to Kaufman’s reconstruction *kanma, note Ca ken-ma ‘delicious, tasty’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Cah]

779. *koki ‘graze, v’: M88-ko38; KH/M06-ko38: Cq qixin ‘graze, pull out (hair)’; Ls qéexi ‘graze (of animals)’. The q- in both languages points to *ko for initial syllable. [NUA: Tak]

780. *kwi ‘food, feed, give food’: VVH53 *kwi ‘food’; M67-152b *kwi ‘food’; M88-ki6; KH/M06-ki6: TO bia/bi ‘dish out (food)’; Miller (M67-152b) shows Sr kwi’a-t, -kwi’a ‘food’ but Hill (1994) has only Sr kwa’i’aat ‘food’, whose first vowel better agrees with *kwa’a above; Hp kwiivi ‘boiled or stewed food’; Hp kwiiva ‘cook by boiling’. Add NT biáahai ‘serve (food)’; NT bídiyá ‘give to eat’; ST biidyá ‘serve (food)’.
[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep]

781. *suwa / *su(C)wi(C) / *suCČaC ‘eat up, consume(d), die’: VVH72 *suwi/*suwa ‘consume, eat up, finish’; M67-130 / *suwa ‘die’; M67-153 / *suwa ‘eat’; I.Num183 *suwa ‘eat, consume, finish up’; L.Son266a *suwi ‘agotarse’; 266b *suw-a ‘agotar’; B.Tep75 *hugi ‘eat’; B.Tep75a *hugi ‘eat’; M88-su3 ‘finish, consume, use up’; KH/M06-su3 / *suCČaC (AMR): Mn su’a ‘eat all, eat up’; NP su’a ‘consume’; Kw soo-kkwee ‘consume, eat up’; SP Sua ‘consume (usually food)’; CU suwa-y ‘eat up’; Hp sowa ‘eat up, consume, devote’; TO hugioq ‘destroy, spend, use up’; TO hughug ‘perish, die’ (cf. Hp so’a ‘die, perish, pl’); Wr soa- ‘consumir’; Tr suwi- ‘acabar, agotarse, morir’; My süwwa ‘kill pl. obj’s’; Tbr suhi / suwi / zuwi ‘acabar’; We sii ‘acabar’. Miller includes PI seewi ‘go out, die out, be extinguished; CN seewi ‘calm down, take a rest, cool off’. Either that set or, CN tetešoa ‘gnaw, chew’ or CN tlan- ‘food, feed, give food’: VVH53 *tïkka ‘to eat’; M88-ki6; L.Num238 *tïhka ‘to eat’; M88-ki6: Mn tïka ‘eat; NP tïka; TSh tïka; Sh tïka-ti’; CN yekoaa ‘taste, sample’ — or whatever combination of dialect recryings. Others to consider are AYq sauwa ‘use, vt’; Wr sueni ‘acabar’; NP soo’a ‘eat up, consume’. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Csh, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

782. *tikkaC ‘eat’: VVH163 *tïkka to eat; I.Num238 *tïhka to eat’; M88-ki27; AMR 1993c *tikka; KH/M06-ki27 / *tikka: Mn tïka; NP tïka; TSh tikka; Sh tikka, tiki’; CN tïka; Ch tïka-; SP tïka; CU tïkáy; Tb tika-t- ‘itik’. This is a good example of medial geminated -kk-, showing k vs. g in WNum and -kk- in the other two branches of Num as well as a final -C. [*-kk-] [NUA: Num, Tb]

783a. *yökků ‘swallow’: VVH168 *yü‘i to swallow’; M67-425 *ye ‘swallow’; M88-yö9 ‘swallow’; I.Num299 *yö(y)wi: KH/M06-yö9: Mn yökwï (<*yökkwï) ‘swallow’; NP yöggwë hu/yökwi; Sh yömi’; Cm yöwi ‘swallow s.th., go out of sight’; Kw yö’igi-; Ch yö‘i; SP yö‘i/qiqi; WMU yö ‘ügi-y yö’ügi-y ‘swallow, v’; CU yö‘i-ki; Cr ra-yë’ë he’s drinking it’ (also at drink). Miller also lists TSh yöñwë / yöñwë ‘swallow, suck’ and Wr yö’n ‘suck, smoke’ which, if valid, would tie these to other proto-forms at ‘smoke’ but let’s not, as the medial cluster is too different. As for SNum *yötki, WNum *yökkwi, and CNum *yöyi, rounding developing after a previous i is common in UA, and the following is not atypical: *yöyi > yökkwi > *yöyi. [medial C] [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

783b. *yikë ‘taste, finish’: VVH170 *yikë; M88-yë16; KH/M06-yë16: Hp yikë ‘make, fix, finish, taste, copulate’; TO jëk ‘taste, vt’. Kartunnen does, but Molina did not distinguish the CN forms CN yekkoa ‘taste, sample (food/drink), copulate’; CN yekkoa ‘finish, conclude’. Sapir and most since tie the former to Num *yoko ‘copulate’, which is both a set, but the semantic range of the Hp term envelops both CN terms, is enough to make one wonder if both sets are not connected. Following Ken Hill, who is smarter than I am and who continues Miller’s separation of yö9 and yö16, I’ll concede while we think awhile more, though the complementary sets of branches (ie, no contradicting forms in the same language or branch), and nearly initial *yik in common, with the major difference being a few glottal stops scattered about (*yë(i)kë in one of the groups, all combine to make one wonder. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]

784. *’akë ‘open mouth, eat, take/put into one’s mouth’: M67-294 *hak ‘open the mouth’; M88-ha4 ‘open the mouth’; M88-’a36 ‘eat pinole’; KH/M06-’a36 rightly combines M88-ha4 and ’a36: Cp ãxine ‘eat pinole’; Gb ’áx ‘comer pinole’; Sr ’aak(u) ‘eat flour-like object or mush, throw it in the mouth’; SP agi ‘take into one’s mouth’; Tb aagít ‘open the mouth, yawn’. Jane Hill (p.c.) also adds the following: Kw agi ‘lick or eat mealy substance’; Ca ’áqi ‘to open’; Sh akë ‘to open up’; and perhaps Tb(H) ahaayëc ‘at chew’. [NUA: Tak, Num, Tb]
785. *kwíLúC 'swallow': Hp kweLo ‘taste, v’; Tb weleeh ‘swallow’; Eu béru’u ‘swallow’. AYq wi’uktá ‘swallow’ and My wi’uktía look as if borrowed from Tr/Wr, unless Cah w < *bw, for the vowels and glottal stop for a liquid are as expected. Might Eu be a loan source for CN(RJC) palo ‘taste, swallow’? [Liquids in both NUA and SUA; Tb 2nd V assimilated to 1st like elsewhere] [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Cah]

786. *míLi ‘swallow’: Sr míññi’kin ‘swallow, vt’; Ls móóli ‘swallow, v’; Ca méñkwa ‘swallow, vt’; Cp méle / mété ‘swallow, vt’. Two n’s (Sr, Ca) and two l’s (Ls, Cp) suggest *l > n; on the other hand, in light of Cp, then *t > *l > n is not out of the question either. [il/ln] [NUA: Tak]

787. *kacako’a ‘chew’: Kw kacago’o-kwee ‘chew up’ (Kw ka’a ‘eat’); SP cogw’a-y ‘chew’; WMU qahčog’wa-y / qahčo’wa-y / qohčo’wa-y ‘chew’; CU kučo’way. [NUA: SNum]

NB, for *cu’mi ‘suck, eat’ see at ‘suck’. NB, for *ki’ / *ki’ca ‘bite, v’ see at ‘bite’.

EDGE, SHORE, END, POINT, SHARP;
BORDE, MARGEN, ORILLA, RIBERA, FIN, CABO, EXTREMADO, PUNTA, AGUDO, AFILADO


789. *hay... ‘edge, shore, end’; M88-ha17; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ha17: Cp háyve ‘end, edge, shore’; Cp háyve ‘finish, tire of’; Ca háyva ‘edge, end’; Ls háyu / háyla ‘edge, end’; Gb háykom ‘quedar’; Sr híívia ‘side, edge, shore, by, beside’; Sr ‘ayít end’ (cognate? Miller queries); Hp hay ‘near’. In relation to Cp háyve ‘finish, tire of’ etc., PYp had ‘finish, vt’ is noteworthy, since Tep d < *y, and also Tr gayena-ma ‘acabar, terminar’, though the first consonants of both are unexpected. [Tep h < *h][NUA; Tak, Hp: SUA; Tep]

790. *kíma ‘edge’: I.Num74 *kímaa / *kíma’a ‘(sharp) edge’; M88-ki5 ‘(sharp) edge’; KH/M06-ki5: Mn kiwaa ‘sharp-edged’; NP ggimai ‘edge, on sides’; TSh kíma ‘side’; Sh kíma ‘sharp’; Cm kíma ‘beside, along edge of’; Kw kuwa ‘edge’; CU kúwaa ‘edge, margin, sharp edge’; CU kúwá-pi ‘sharp point’ (-p vs. -v means final -C). We might also add Ch kíwaa ‘edge’; Ch kíwágai ‘sharp’; SP kíwaa ‘edge’; SP pa-xíwaa-ve ‘shore, water-edge’; WMU quwá-xa / qíwá-xa ‘at the edge’. Since *kíma is the primary form in WNum and CNum, this *m > ¿yw > w is the case in SNum. Hp qala (=UA*kawa) being from *kíma is a stretch, and only possible if borrowed from a SNum language before the Hp sound change of *w > l. For Hp qala, see *kawaC below. NT gimúkádai ‘afilarse’ with voicing of initial *k > g? [NUA: Num]

791a. *kuwa ‘sharp, point’: B.Tep *kuuga ‘point, tip’; M88-ku29; Stubbs 1995-4; KH/M06-ku29: TO kuug/kugii ‘edge, end’; NT kuugá; ST kuug; Pl kw-, ku- ‘head’ (in compounds). Let’s add Eu kuwá ‘point’, Wr kuá ‘point’; Tr owa- ‘sharpen to a point’; Tr guami/-guwani- ‘terminar, concluir’. Though CU kuwá-pi ‘sharp point’ looks like it could belong, it is above with *kíma. I once thought *kwawi (ku4) might tie to the *kuwa forms, but am doubting now; separate by letter while thinking about it:

791b. *kwawi ‘sharp, tree’: part of M88-ku4: KH/M06-ku4: AYq bwaawii ‘sharp’; Yq/My bwawi-te ‘sharpen’; CN kwawi- ‘tree’ and perhaps Cr kíye (< *kuye) ‘tree, stick’; less conforming is Cp kwiti ‘sharp-point’. *kwawi > kuwV is possible, but debatable. Some forms may suggest a final C. Cf. also *kuwa ‘(on) other side’ at ‘cross’. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt; NUA: Num, Tak]

792. *suwíL ‘edge, shore, border’: B.Tep76 *hugida ‘edge’ [NT ugíída: ST hugúda; UP hugidi; LP hugd]; M88-su7 ‘edge/orilla’; KH/M06-su7: TO hugid ‘edge, side’; Wr suélá ‘edge, border’; Tr suw-é ‘orilla, ribera, margen’. From other sources, consider also PYp hug ‘end’; PYp hugid ‘edge, shore’; ST hugin ‘shore’; and possibly Sr a-háiía ‘bank, edge, side’. Note the close parallel between Wr suélá and Tep *hugida. [*w > v in Sr] [SUA: Tep, Trn]

793. *mayoa ‘shore’: Yq mayóa ‘ribera’ and My mayóa ‘orilla’. [SUA: Cah]
974. *kaCuC / *kaku(n) 'end, tip': I.Num56 *kacun 'top/end'; M88-ka20; KH/M06-ka20: Mn taaqcúin(a) 'tip, top, point of a long object'; Sh kacun 'end (of story, stick)'; Sp kaçoa 'top-end'; Miller includes TSh kakuusí 'small conical basket'. It raises questions. However, one can include the first two syllables of NP kacuggwa 'end of s.th. (rope, stick)'. [NUA: WNNum, CNNum, SNum]

975. *mu’ka / *mukka 'sharp point': M67-368 *muk / *muc 'sharp'; I.Num99 *muki(h) 'sharp point'; B.Tep158 *mu’uka(ga) 'sharp'; M88-mu15; KH/M06-mu15: Mn mugitúwi (< *muki(-)tu) 'sharpen, be pointed'; NP(B) mugu 'sharp'; NP mugupí 'sharp stick, splinter, quills'; Kw muku / mukuí (< *-kk-) 'point'; CU mukwái (< *mukkkwái) 'come to a sharp point'; Tb muu’íšt 'hill, peak'; Tb muuwał 'mountain' (cognate? Miller queries); TO mu’uk 'sharp, point'; LP(B) muuk; PYp mu’uk; NT múukaga; ST mu’uuk. Note also *muka > mukwa-y (CU) > muku/mukwi (Kw). A few Kw forms raise some questions: Kw mogowa- 'edge'; Kw mogowa-ga-di 'sharp'; Kw muku/mukwi 'point' (< *mu–'nose is suggested). The Tep languages suggest a fuller form *mu’uka(wa), though suffixed -ga (<*-wa) may be another morpheme, according to NT múukaga 'sharp, adj'; NT múúkadaí 'sharpen, vt'; NT múúkar'í become sharp, vi’. [*-k- > ' in Tb?] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]

976. *muCti / *muCci / *mucci 'point (of s.th.):' M67-368 *muk / *muc 'sharp'; M88-mu15; KH/M06-mu15: Ls múčvi 'point, tip, summit'; Hp mooci 'awl, long pointed stick used in weaving'; TSh muci 'point'; Sh muci 'sharp'; Cm mucipí 'sharp pointed'. Only Cm (<*-pp-pp) shows potential for a final consonant. Miller combines these with *mukka above, and if velars palatalized, then yes. However, velars palatalizing (*muka > *muki > *mucci) is not well established for these languages. One question is that if the *mucci (<*mukki) forms in these languages (CNNum, Ls, Hp) are related to *mukka/i, then why did not *mukki 'die' and other -ki syllables in other words in NUA behave similarly? A cluster like *-kt- might more easily palatalize in NUA. What of SP mittinjwa 'point of hill'? Cf. also *muCta 'cactus'. Even if they possibly share a *muC morpheme, they are different compounds. For those reasons, I separate *mukka and *mucci until provisions for improved probabilities appear. [*-k- > c in Hp, Ls, > ' in Tb?] [NUA: Hp, Tak, CNNum]

979a. *ciC- / *ciC-kuta 'pierce, poke, (do with) a point, thorn': VVH164 *ci- 'point'; M88-ci7; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ip6 'with a sharp point'; KH/M06-ci7: Mn ci- 'with end of long object, with point'; Mn ci- 'with a long, pointed object, by poking'; NP ci- 'with the point of a long object, instr prefix'; Sh ci- 'with a sharp point, instr prefix'; WSh cikkía 'dig out with a sharp pointed object, vt'; TSh cikkíínií 'put pointed object on top of'; Kw či-kuri (< *cikkuri) 'poke, stir'; SP ci- 'with the point of a long object, instr prefix'; CU cíkúrií (< *cikkúrií) 'poke with, stick into'; Hp cíkí (at) 'its point, tip'; Sr číkíin 'poke, prick, stab, stick in'; Ktn čík 'stick, stab, v'; Tb ciék ~ ćích- 'prick, v'; TO siišp 'nail, pin obj in one place, v'. We might add NT šikán 'cornear'; NT šikúvi 'poke, prod, vt'; CU cíká-vi'nahay 'chop, cut off, cut a piece off'; NP cíka(a) 'cut into s.th.'; and those below in b:

979b. *cikka / *ciNkV 'thorn(y)': Tb čińiya-l 'red thistle'; Cp sćéćnił 'thorn bush'; Cr cíkáre 'espina'. Loss of nasal dimension in SUA (Cr) is typical. [vowels, medial C; *ki > ci; V anticipation in NT]

979c. *ciCni(C)ki 'poke, stick in': Kw cůnū-ki 'put through a hole'; SP ci- 'niki 'stick with a point'; WMU čičí-ńugá-y 'stick in (once and leave in)'; WMU čičči-nihgi 'stick/poke in and out'. Interestingly, two of WMU’s four syllables have voiceless vowels, which has almost eliminated them. [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, CrC]

980. *cuppa 'point, prick': L.Son48 *cup 'punta'; M88-cu19; KH/M06-cu19: Wr cuhpá 'punta aguda'; Tr čupi 'picares'; Pl cupina 'sting, stab'. Note also Pl cupi 'arse, anus'; Tr čupá/ču'á 'point, peak, snout'; Tr (wi)čubare 'tener puntas or picos [have points or peaks]'. From M88-cu19; KH/M06-cu9, we move here forms along the lines of 'buttocks, point, hill': Pl cupi 'arse, anus'; My čobb 'parte trasera, posterior', with vowel leveling (u-a > o-o > o-i) rather than at *capa 'edge, ridge' where Lionnet had them; and NP capu 'buttocks'; NP(B) cabo 'buttocks'; NP(B) cabo 'resectum'. Add Yq čópó 'hill'; AYq čópo 'hill'; Ch(L) čupi (< *cuppi) 'anything gathered to a point, e.g., a bunch of grass tied together at one end'. The Ch form and possibly Wr, AYq, and others suggest a doubled medial consonant. The alternate forms in Tr make Eu cuwat 'agujón de avispa' intriguing. The *copo forms may involve vowel leveling (*cupa > copo) and NP's vowel metathesis happened at 'bat' also (*pati > NP piti). [p/w] [NUA: Tr, Cah, Opn, Azt; SUA: Num]
799. *sipac* 'point': Munro.Cup100 *šiiva-t 'point'; KH/M06-622: Ls šiiva-t 'crystal wand tip'; Ca šiiva-t 'arrowhead'; Ktn tokšiat 'arrowhead, flint'; Hp šiiva ‘metal, silver’ (cognate Ken queries? I say yes). Note also My sibulai 'punto'; My šiiba ‘paredon, peña’; Ca sivatal 'sharpen to a point'; Ca pásiva-t ‘knife, sword’; Hp yoy-siví ‘arrowhead’ (rain-metal); Eu šiba ‘raspar, acepillar, madera’; Eu sivsi vecát ‘awl’ and Eu vusiven ‘awl’. Add Sr šisípu ‘pointed thing’; Sr wisip-kin ‘make pointed’; Sr wisípu ‘-k ‘be pointed (forming a single broad point)’; and Sr wísisu ‘-k ‘be pointed (forming more than one broad point)’. Some forms agree more with *sipu. [a/u]

[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Cahu, Opn]

800. *ŋapac* 'sharp(en)': Ca šayıv ‘sharpenen’; Cp šave ‘sharpenen’; Ls šáv/šiiva ‘to ground/sharpened, vi, grind (as a tool), sharpen, vt’; Gb šáv/aa ‘sharpenen’; Ls(E) šáv ‘whetstone’. [NUA: Tak]

801. *yuLa* 'sharp': Wr yolá-ni 'be sharp'; Tr orará ‘ser filoso, tener filo’; probably Sr ayuut ‘end’ with a fossilized a-prefix. [SUA: Trn; NUA: Tak]

802. *kawaC* ‘sharp’: AMR; KH/M06-ka46 *kawaC* (AMR) and not in M88: Hp qala ‘sharp, keen, having a sharp edge’; CN a’wa-tl ‘long slender thorn’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Azt]

NB, for Yq ‘ía-tana 'this shore/side', see *taŋa 'container' at 'bag'.

**EGG, TESTICLE; HUEVO, TESTÍCULO**

803. *kappa / *kakwa (> *kwə / kowa) ‘egg’: M67-156 *kawa ‘egg’; L.Son77 *kawa 'huevo'; M88-ka10; KH/M06-ka10: Yq kábá; My kábba; Wr ka’wá/ká’awa-rá; Tr káwá/gawá/káwá; Tb kówa-ló ‘gallina ponedora’; Eu ákava-ra ‘huevo, genitivo’; Op akkawo-ri. The o of Eu ákovere ‘lay an egg’ agrees with Tbr while the o of Eu ákavo-ra agrees with Op, but adjacency to -w- could cause either. The medial consonant is difficult. The only certainty is that it is not *-w- alone. *-kw- or *-p- seems involved and in a cluster. [a-prefix in Eu]

[SUA: Trn, Cahu, Opn, Tbr]

804. *nopa > *noppa (SNum) / *noCCa / *no(y/k/p/h)V ‘egg’: B.Tep172 *nono ha ‘egg’; M67-154 *no ‘egg’; L.Num115 *no(yo) ‘egg, house, dwelling’; M88-no3 ‘egg’; AMR1993a *nok ‘egg’; KH/M06-no3 *nok ‘egg’; Mn nóyó; NP noho; TSh noyo-pin; Sh noyo-; Kw nopa-vi / nopo-vi (< *-pp- for both); Hp nóhí; TO nonha; NT -nóno; ST na’no. To these we can add Ch nōpāvi ‘egg’; WMU nāhppaa-vi; CU napā-va ‘egg’; and perhaps SP no’rūa ‘be pregnant’ and all the forms at *nɔ... ‘pregnant’ (M88-no4 ‘pregnant’). The medial consonant (cluster) is difficult, and SNum *noppa may have another morpheme compounded. Note WSh noyó *egg, testicle vs. WSh no’i-pih ‘womb’; WSh noicci’i ‘ejaculate’

[Tep h and NUA h like hwopali at eagle and *hay at edge; medial C] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep]

805. *pano ‘egg, testicle’; BH.Cup *pán ‘egg’; M88-pa42 ‘egg’; Munro.Cup128 *pání-l ‘testicle, egg’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa42: Cp pání-l ‘testicles’; Cp pání-a-t ‘egg’; Ca páni ‘testicles’ (Hill); Ca páni-t ‘egg’ (BH, Munro); Ls páni-l ‘testicles’; Sr apáni / pā’n ‘egg’; Ktn -pano; Tb pomp ‘egg’; Tb po’mt–’opo’m ‘to lay an egg’ (cognate? Miller queries; probably; last vowel anticipated). Munro notes the different forms for ‘egg’ and ‘testicle’ in Cp; different forms are listed in Ca as well; in fact, the lowered second vowel in Ca ‘egg’ is the leveled average of the two vowels (i’a) in the Cp form for ‘egg’'. [*-i ‘testicle’; *-i/a/-e ‘egg’; Tb V] [NUA: Tak, Tb]

806. *pa-ti ‘testicle, water-rock’: M88-’a33; Cr atá ‘testicles’; CN aate-tl ‘testicles, water-rock’. Miller queries whether these should tie into *at ‘anus, bottom’ in Tep and Hp. While a CN loan northward is possible, the meaning is clear in CN and is okay for Cr, but loss of initial *p in CN and Cr did not apply to other UA languages; therefore, initial a/a forms in other languages, if indeed from *pa ‘water’ could possibly be loans, but hardly cognates. [SUA: CrC, Azt]

807. *talu ‘egg’: Tbr ne-telu-r ‘huevo’; Cr ta’u ‘blanquillo, huevo’. [*1 > ’ in Cr; Tbr-CrC/Azt] [SUA: Trn, CrC]

808. *tapac* ‘testicle’; Mn tába ‘testicles’; TSh tapa-ppih ‘testicles’; Tb tepalá-r ‘testicles’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tbr]
809. *piyso 'testicle': Yq bičo 'testicle'; Tr bičo/wiči 'testicle'; and the -pedho portion of TO wiopedho 'testicle' (< *piypiyo) fits nicely since TO d < *y and a previous C in a cluster often causes *-Cs- > -cs-, and the vowel change *piy- > pi in Tr and Yq is quite explicable. Borrowing may have taken place between Yq and Tr, though they both occasionally show b < *pt. If we exclude TO, a reconstruction of *pico might emerge, but piyso with TO explains all forms. [reduction] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tep]

810. *cakka-(pusi) 'testicle': Kw coko-vi'i 'testicles', Ch(L) čakw’ivu’wi'; Sp caqqivu’i-vi) ‘testicles’; Cu číchá-vi 'testicles'. The vowels are difficult even in SNum, yet it would be unwise to insist that these terms in this string of four SNum languages are not related. Lack of accent may have changed some vowels. Wr agrees in a medial cluster of some type as well. SP -vyi-vi is identical to SP pu’i-vi ‘eye’, and the two’s appearance is analogous to two eyes on either side of a long nose. [vowels; note round Vs in Kw as in Kw po’o ‘water’] [SUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

ELBOW; CODO

811. *ciko > *cikko > *cico (Tep) ‘elbow’: B.Tep189 *siiso ‘elbow’; M88-ci14; KH/M06-ci14: UP sisis; LP šiši; NT šišo; TO siiš. To Bascom’s collection, Miller adds Eu itzót ‘codo, esquina’ (perhaps also Ktn ‘ovisa’ ‘codo, esquina’). In fact, might Tep *cico be a redupl’n that lost -ki: *ciko > *cikko > *cico / Tep *siso? Cr u and NT o both < *o, and *c > Cr c / Tep s. [* > ø in Tep] [SUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Opn, Tep, CrC]

812. *kippu ‘elbow’: I.Num70 *ki(h)pi ‘elbow’; M88-ki15 ‘elbow’; KH/M06-ip8; KH/M06-ki15: Mn ma’-kiipí; TSh kiipphí; TSh kii(‘)- ‘with the elbow, instr prefix’; Sh kii’ ‘with elbow’; Kw kiippú-pí; SP kiippi; CU kii-ppi; Miller also queries whether CN molikpi-1 ‘elbow’ is related (cf. CN molik-tli ‘elbow’). It is a good candidate since kipu > ikpu involves two changes that are typical of CN, but of moli, perhaps CN(RJC) molinia ‘move, stir’ might be helpful. [SUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

ELK; ANTA, ALCE

813. *pa-suCka ‘elk, horse, lit. big-deer’: M88-pa63: Ls páa-su-ka-t ‘elk, horse’; Cp pášuka-t ‘horse’; Ca pásukat horse; Gb páskat horse, lit. ‘big deer’ (cf. Gb pá-hunar Great-Bear; pa-ksar ‘gavilán pollero’); Ktn pa-hukah-t ‘elk’. Miller shows several Takic forms to establish pa-‘big’ as a prefix on other hawk, eagle, and ‘big’ animal forms; likewise, he mentions Hp pas ‘very’ as possibly tied to this prefix. [SUA: Tak]

814. *pa-tukia ‘elk < big-deer’: TSh patihíya; Sh patihíyan; Cm pàriá kuhma ‘bull elk’; Kw pa-rihiya; SP paríia; CU parφí. Comparing ‘deer’ vs. ‘elk’ terms, one can see the greater phonological deterioration toward the end of longer words when a prefix is added. [deterioration at end of long words] [SUA: CNum, SNum]

Embarrass(ed): see shame
Embrace: see hug
Empty: see throw
End: see edge or finish

ENEMY, FOREIGNER, STRANGER, DISLIKE, HATE; ENEMIGO, DESPRECIAR, ODIAR

815. *opa (< *ohopa?) ‘strong, foreign, hostile, enemy, fierce, tough, brave (person)’: B.Tep321 *’oobai ‘foreigner, enemy’; L.Son18 *opa ‘enemy, bravó; M88-’o3 ‘fierce’ and ‘o26; KH.NUA; KH/M06-o3: Cp iv’a ‘strength’; Cp ivaw-t ‘strong’; Ca ‘iva ‘be strong’; Sr ō’vo ‘be strong’; Ktn ‘ova’ ‘force, have strength’ (perhaps also Ktn ‘ova’ ‘up, high, over’); Hp ō’voa ‘be tough, hard-skinned’; Mn ohopi ‘people or things that are strong, hardy’; Mn ohowani-t ‘be strong, made sturdy’; Kw ‘ho’wá ‘fast, loud, strong’; Tb ‘ooabal ‘strong’; Tb ‘ooala-l’n ‘muscle’; Tb ‘ooawal ‘strong person’; UP oobi; TO obga ‘enemy’; TO owi ‘opponent, the opposition’; LP ‘oob ‘Indian person’; PY’p ooba ‘person, Indian, Pima’; PY’p im ooba ‘enemy’; NT ō’obai; ST ‘oob ‘enemy’; Eu oviwa ‘enemigo’; Op oppa (is this the source of Opata?): Wr opá (o’bá) ‘large, broad-shouldered (person)’; Wr obátu (o’baru) ‘be wild, ferocious’; Tr opa- ‘bravo’. Add Nv obagga ‘enemigo’. Tb, TO, Nv, and Eu show a *-wa suffix: *opíwa; the consistency of Tep b (<*kw) vs. *p in most other branches is disconcerting, though if *p, it is always in
environments easily voiced; therefore *p is preferable to *kw. Miller mentions in M88-’o3 that the Num forms (Mn, Kw) may relate to M88-’o1 *o/oho ‘bone, strong’ (only for Num), but not necessarily the others. KH/M06-’o3 combines M88-’o26 and M88-’o3. Mn, Kw, and Wr recommend a light consonant like *ohopa or *o’opa. Could the long oo of CN yaaoo-ti ‘enemy’ be related? [*p > b in Tep or kw/p]

[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]


[NUA: Tak]

817. *say- ‘enemy, opponent’; M67-158 *say ‘enemy’; L.Son236 *sayo, sa-i ‘enemigo, enfrentarse’; M88-sa14 ‘enemy’; KH/M06-sa11 *o/oho ‘bone, strong’ (only for Num), but not necessarily the others. KH/M06-’o3 combines M88-’o26 and M88-’o3. Mn, Kw, and Wr recommend a light consonant like *ohopa or *o’opa. Could the long oo of CN yaaoo-ti ‘enemy’ be related? [*p > b in Tep or kw/p]

[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]

818. *tïmu ‘opponent’: Mn tïmu’ ‘enemy, opponent, member of the opposite moiety’; TSh tïmmu ‘enemy, opponent’; Sh tïmmo ‘opponent, competitor’; and maybe Hp tiwqa ‘enemy’ if m > w/_C in a cluster. [NUA: Num]

819. *woho ‘enemy’: NP ggwoho ‘enemy’; Sh woho/woo’o ‘enemy, rival’; Cm tawohho ‘enemy tribes, enemies’; but probably not Kw tuhu-ga-dï ‘enemy, murdered’ unless *tawoho > tuhu. [w > kw] [NUA: Num]

820. *kï’iy ‘hate, vt’: M88-kï15: Ls kó’ka ‘hate, vt’; Sr kïiyihk ‘hate, vt’. We must add NT kïïdai ‘odiar’ and TO kee’i ‘hate, scold, vt’ which agree fairly well with Sr. Ls agrees in initial *kï since Ls o < *i, and it could appear that another suffix truncated the rest. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

821. *pîhî(ri) ‘enemy’: AYq vehe’eri ‘enemy, against’; My behri, béhreme ‘enemy’.

[SUA: Cah, Opn; NUA: Tak]

822. *om ‘dislike’: Eu óme-/dome ‘aborrecer’; Eu ómedauh ‘aborrecimiento, n’; AYq omta ‘dislike, hate, detest’; My omtía ‘le tiene odio’; and perhaps Cp múm’etu ‘hate’. [SUA: Cah, Opn; NUA: Tak]

823. *piso’a ‘hate’: Sh pisoaima ‘to become tired of or disgusted with something’; Cm tïmapiso’aítï ‘hateful, troublesome, ornery’. [NUA: CNum]

NB, for Numic *kíma(n)-ci ‘foreigner, different, enemy’ (origin of the name of the Comanche tribe), see different.

Enter: see in
Equal: see like
Erase: see wipe
Evening: see afternoon and night
Excrement: see defecate

**EYE; OJO**

Mn púsi’
NP bui
TSh pui
Sh pui
Cm pui
Kw pu’i-vi
Ch pu’i-vi
SP pu’i-vi ‘eye’
WM pwi’/ pwi’i / pu’i-vi
CU pî’i-vî

Hp poosi
Tb punzi-l
Sr huvaat
Ca püč-îly
Ls pūš-la ‘eye, seed’
Cp püči-ly/-puš
TO wuhi
LP vühi/vüui
PYp vühi/vüui
NT vühi/vüui
ST vüi

Eu vuśut/busút
Tbr telú-r / tilú-r
Yq püusi
My püusi
Wr pūší
Tr buși
Cr hi’isí
Wc hišší
CN iiš-tli ‘face, surface, eye’
Pl iiš ‘eye, face’
824. *pusi 'eye': Sapir; VVH5 *pu₉i; 'eye'; M67-160 *pusi/*pu 'eye'; I.Num155 *puᵢ(h) 'eye'; BH.Cup *pucila 'eye, seed'; Munro.Cup39 *püči-la 'eye, face, seed'; L.Son181 *paci 'semilla'; L.Son223 *pus-i 'ojo'; B.Tep284 *vuhivui 'eye'; CL.Azt55 *iis 'face'; M88-pu4 'eye'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pu4 *pinski (AMR). Let's add Nv vui / vuidi 'ojo'. A reflex of *pusi 'eye' occurs in every UA language except Tbr. For Sr pu 'face, cheek', see *pusi-paca 'face' at face'. Miller has the Táki forms also in M88-pu23 'seed; eye', in addition to Gb púcín 'fruit, seed'; Sr pūč 'seed'. Note AYq 'open eyes': puhte; remte. [*c > Num ']
[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

825. *pusi-tusi 'eyelashes, eyebrows' (> Num *pu'i-tusi > pu'tusi/puttusi): I.Num158 *pu(h)tusi(i) 'eyelashes, eyebrows'; M88-pu5 'eyelashes, eyebrows'; KH/M06-pu5: Mn pu-tussi 'eyelashes'; Sh putussi 'eyebrows'; Sh putussii-ppu'h 'eyelashes'; Kw puttisi-pi 'eyelashes, eyebrows'; CU piti-ši'-vi 'eyelashes, eyebrows'. Miller also includes Mn pu'-taqqa 'eyebrows' and NP pu'noccipa 'eyelashes', though both have different morphemes after initial *pu'i-. Note *u > i in SNum. [NUA: Num]

826a. *šipo / *šiCCV 'eyebrow': VVH14 *šišpo 'eyebrow'; M67-161 *se/*sp 'eyebrow'; L.Son253 *šiwí 'parpados'; B.Tep86 *hihiwife 'eyebrow'; M88-sí2; KH.NUA; KH/M06-sí2: Tb súpi-l 'eyebrow(s)'; Tb(H) sivi-l; Hp šiwi 'eyebrow'; TO hihiwó; Wr se'wekimori 'ceja, pestaña'; Tr sekobóara 'pestaña'; My bus sē'ebem; Cr sē'e-ki-ri; NP pu'noccipa 'eyebrow'. I like Hill's Sr iwi 'eyebrow' and Sr uuva 'eyelash'; and from his 1994 draft dictionary: Sr hiy-š 'eyebrow'. Add Ca yulsé-š 'eyebrow'; NT ūvo 'eyebrow'; ST hihiwi 'eyebrow'. Some reflexes show medial *-p-, others otherwise.
[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tep, CrC]

826b. *hupa / *hupa 'eye': Sr huvaat 'eye'; Ktn uva 'eye'. These two certainly belong together, and in light of *s > h in Sr/Ktn, a tie to *eyebrow (*supo) above is possible, especially since the vowels of Hp and most of the others could be a leveling of *u-a > i-i. We see *u > i in Num often. [NUA: Tak]

827 was moved to 241b *tuLu / *taLu 'eye, black round thing': Stubbs2000b; Stubbs2003-41: the only UA language not showing *pusi for eye is Tbr telu- / tilu-'eye', which likely ties to Wr telúla 'smooth black stone for polishing pottery' and to CN tliiloo-tl 'blackness' and CN(S) tlloa 'cubrirse de negro, ponerse color negro', and to *tuL 'charcoal, soot, black' at 241 'black'.

FACE, CHEEK(S); CARA, MEJILLA(S)

828a. *kaCma 'cheek(s), mouth': Sapir; VVH87 *ka₉ma 'mouth, cheek, to taste'; B.Tep91 *kaama 'cheek'; M88-ka26; KH/M06-ka26 'cheek': TSh kamma 'taste'; Sr qan, pl: qanam 'beard, facial hair' (cognate? Miller queries, and it could well be); TO kaam 'cheek'; TÜp kaama 'cheek'; TÜp kamar 'face'; LP kama/kaam; NT káama 'cheek'; ST kaam 'cheek'; CN kam(a)-tl 'mouth'; HN kamak-tli 'mouth'; HN kama-wía 'speak to'; Pl kamačal 'jaw'; Pl kamak 'cheek'. Likewise, NP gamu 'chin' and Yq kánta 'swallow, put in mouth' may tie these to *kaama 'taste' as suggested by VVH. See at eat *kaCma 'taste' (Mn, TSh, Sh, Kw, Ch, and Sr qama/k 'drunk').

828b. *kaCma(C) > *kaA > *kaA / *kaA 'beard, facial hair': if Sr qan 'beard' and Ktn kaA-c 'beard' are includable in KH/M06-kaA44 'chin, whiskers', then Mn qana 'beard' and Tb kaA-l 'facial hair' seem so also, though we shall assign different letters for different nasals. Sapir cites Tb qan 'beard' (kaA-l 'facial hair' in Voegelin and Munro) and Kitanemuk qan'a and CN kan-tli 'cheek' (Simeon), perhaps a related form of CN kana-tl above. Add WMU ganqáq'ò / qan-aqq-p³-p³ / qanngáq'ò 'jaw, chin, n.; SP qannaq'ó(n) / qannaq'ó-mpi 'chin'; CU kán-qó-p³ 'chin'. [medial m/n/n] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt]

829. *pana 'cheek': Tr baná 'mejilla, carrillo, cachete, cara, rostro'; Wr paná 'cheek, face'. [SUA: Trn]

830. *hoppí 'cheek': Eu opet 'mejilla, lágrima'; Yq hôpem 'cachetes'; Yq hopeoam 'barba (boa=hair)'; My hoppem 'mejilla, cachetes'. Note Eu -p- (< *-pp-) vs. -v-, and Eu is a sg form and the Cahitan languages show plural forms. [Opn, Cah]

831. *sopa (› so o ?) 'cheek': Mn sóó 'cheek'; NP coba 'cheek'; NP copata 'flathead'; TSh (mo)-so'opipi 'upper cheeks over cheek bones'; Sh sohoh-pih 'cheek'; Kw sovi-vi 'cheek'; SP sovavu-vi 'cheek'; CU sivávi-vi 'cheek'. [c/s; unaccented a > o/i] [NUA: Num]
832. *pusi-paca ‘face, eye-in’: B.Tep284d *vuhivasa ‘face’: TO vuhioša ‘face’; LP vuhivši; NT vūvāsa / wīvāsa; vuivas / wīvas. Note also Eu vūvāsa; Yq pūba; My pūba; Sr pūv ‘face, cheek’ and Ktn pił:c ‘cheek’. This is a compound of *pusi ‘eye’ and s.th. else, perhaps *paca ‘in/enter’ in the sense of ‘face’ being what the eyes are in. Note wa > o in TO and s.th. similar in NT vūvāsa/wīvāsa. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah]

NB, for *mu ‘nose/face’, see ‘nose’ (M88-mu12/13; M67-162a *mu ‘face’, etc.)

NB, for *kopa ‘forehead’ (in Tak, Tep, TrC), ‘face’ (in Num) and ‘head’ (in Cahitan), see forehead

Faint: see dizzy

Falcon: see eagle (birds of prey subsumed)

**FALL, TRIP, STUMBLE; CAERSE, TROPEZAR, TROPETEAR**

833a. *wïcï > Num *wï‘fall, be born, v’: Sipir; VVH101 *wï,ći ‘fall’; M67-163 *we ‘fall’; I.Num285 *wï’i fall, drop; BH.Cup *wic ‘throw away’ (vowel wrong, Miller notes); L.Son341 *wïcï/*wïc-i caerse; B.Tep53 *gïïsï ‘he falls’; CL.Azt57 *wacï ‘fall’ (< *wïcï); M88-wï3; KH/M06-wï3: Mn wï ‘fall, be born’; NP wï ‘drop, fall’; Sh wïtai ‘to empty, spill’; Kw wï ‘be born’; Kw wï’i-ku ‘fall’ (*wï’i-kku); SP wï ‘drop, fall, be born’; CU wï’i-tíi give birth to’; Hp wïïa ‘pour it out’; TO gïïs ‘fall, bow, descend’; PYp gesia; NT gïïsïi; ST hiðia; Op gweca ‘fall, sg’; Tbr wece / mwece; Yq wëce; My wëci; Wr wïci; Tr wïci; Ca a-k-ah-ve ‘he fell down’; CN wëcei; Eu wëce ‘fall’. Add Tb wïwi-’iit ‘fall off riding’. Manaster-Ramer includes this set in his article “A Northern UA sound law: *c- > -y-” as a good example of the phenomenon. Note *c-/s- > -s- in Num for both *wïcï and *pusi ‘eye’, and medial *c- > -y- in Tak. This widespread stem is found in all branches in one form or another. [*w > gw in Opata]

833b. *wïyV > Tak *wïyV ‘fall, bend down, sway’: M88-wï11, wï12; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wï11: Cp wëye ‘collapse’; Ca wëyi ‘incline, nod, sway back and forth’ Ls wëya ‘be bent down (as branches of a tree), be felled’; Sr wïyï ‘k’be bent over, swayed over, nod’. KH/M03 agreeably combines wï12 with wï11; I would also combine both with wï3 *wïcï ‘fall’, a large well-known set, as the Tak forms have the expected -y- < *c-, as well as the notion of falling in two of the four languages and downward motion in all four, though admittedly a slight semantic variant of ‘fall’. [medial *c- > y and Num ’] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

834. *cuLiwa ‘fall, pl’: KH/M06-cu15; M88-cu15: B.Tep206a *suriga-i ‘fall, pl’; B.Tep206b suuri ‘they fell’; TO šulg; LP šulg; PYp sulü; NT suulisg/suüsi ‘fall, pl’; ST suuLygi fall, pl’. Miller includes PI šiši ‘scatter, fall (šiši-k pret)’, which might be, but I do not include it in the count yet. However, let’s do add Wc širi ‘fall, pl’, both Wc and Tep are plural even. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

835. *yuC ‘fall’: M67-164 *yu fall; M88-yu6 to fall; KH/M06-yu6: Cm yuma ‘fall, be born, attack’; SP yunnia ‘‘fall’; NP yonko ‘evening’; Wr yu’ri-ná/má ‘fall’; perhaps Tb ’yuyugat ~ yuyuk ‘fall’. Ken Hill adds WSh yummah ‘fall (from tree)’, to give us two 2nd consonants to agree in CNum, though the others vary greatly.

836. *maya ‘fall’: Yq mámaya ‘caerse, caer’; CN maayawa ‘fall, throw’ [SUA: Cah, Azt]

837a. *kuLi ‘fall’: Sr kur-k ‘fall, pl’; Ca kuli ‘fall (in a hole), stick (in), rush in’. What of Ktn kuhyï ‘fall over flat, of a tall thing’ or Wc kurüpiya ‘knock down’? Eu hioru ‘fall when ripe’? [NUA: Tak]

837b. *KaLa ‘fall’: Ktn karara’y ‘fall, vi’; LS kara ‘fall (of leaves)’; LS qara ‘spill out, slide off (as leaves, fruit, hair from the head’. [NUA: Tak]

838a. *(tiN)pah(aj)C ‘fall off/down’: TSh pâhe”/tímpahè” ‘fall off/out of down, come down’; Sh pahâi” ‘fall off’; Cm pahi “fall off, be born, drop off (as leaves from tree)’; Cm tipiferi ‘fall (off or down from)’; Cm tipihemi’arï ‘fall off’. [NUA: CNum]

838b. *típi ‘trip’: KH.NUA: Sr tipi’in’k ‘stumble, trip, catch one’s foot’; Ca çe-tépín ‘trip, cause to stumble (of wood, stone), vt’. Possibly Hp rípâ-k ‘slip/slide down/off, dislodge’. [NUA: Tak]

838c. *(su)tupi perhaps Tep *hutuvia (< *sutupi); Ny *utubuia ‘tropezar’; PYp hutvia ‘stumble’; NT úúutuvaki ‘tropezar, vi’; ST bia ‘tropezar, vi’; probably Tr rotowe- ‘tropezar’ (with reduplication).

[-p- > -w-: reductions] [SUA: Tep, Trn]
839. *muCta ‘trip, stumble’: Eu mútava ‘tropezar’; Sh muccamuya ‘stumble, v’; Wr mo’tocí-na ‘trip’; with a preceding CV…, Tb(M) tomocka’at ~ otomocka’ ‘trip, stumble’ may belong. Sh, Wr, and Tb all suggest a medial cluster. [cluster] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Opn, Trn]

840. *anni(C) ‘fall’: TSh annih ‘fall over or down, vi’; Sh(C) annih ‘fall, vi’; Cm aniti ‘give up exhausted, die in accident, vi’. [NUA: CNum]

841. *aCCakka / *aCeaCka ‘fall, collapse’: WMU ahčéáaq / ahčáqqá-y ‘fall, collapse, fall down’; SP aččaqqí ‘fall’. Both consonants are gminated, which makes reconstructions less certain, as many combinations of consonants could reduce to -cc- or -kk-. If -c- were one, it might combine with 8 others to yield -cc-, and whether the -c- is first or second multiplies whatever that number might have been by two. And the same applies to -kk-. [NUA: SNum]

NB, for *mana/i ‘fall, lie flat, pour, spill’, see ‘lie down’.
NB, for *ŋ/kalaw ‘fall (into)’ (Ca ŋálaw ‘fall in a hole’ and Cp xálewe ‘fall, sg’), see throw.
NB, for *pLu ‘give birth, fall’ see ‘bear’.

FAR; LEJOS

842a. *mička / *mihka ‘far’: M67-165 *meka; B.Tep161 *mīka ‘far’; L.Son146 mīka; CL.Azt58 *wāhka ‘far’, 306 *mī(h)ka (Proto-Aztecain *w < lenited **m); M88-mī2 ‘far’; KH/M06-mī2: TO mīkódam; LP mīk; PYp meeka; NT mīka; ST mīk; Eu mek(i(r); Yq mēkka; My mēkka; Wr mekhā; Tr mekā. Cr imi ‘lejos’ may belong. Campbell, Langacker, and Miller include CN *we’ka and other Azt forms of *wāhka ‘far’ as w being a lenited *m. How many cases have we of Azt w < *m? [SAU: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn] Possibly the SNum forms in b below:

842b. *miyho ‘far’: Kw miho; Ch miyó(to); SP mio ‘far off, at a distance’; CU miya. These two sets may be related as reductions, perhaps from s.th. like *miyihoka, in light of h in Kw and some SUA forms.

843. *piyan ‘far’: M88-pī16; KH.NUA; M88-pī16; KH/M06-pī16: Gb pwan ‘lejos’; Sr piyaan ‘far away’; Ktn piyan ‘far’. In SNum, pīa and pi can sound like pwa and pwi, so Gb fits well. [NUA: Tak]

Fast: see go, where run is also located

FAT; GORDO, GRASA


845. *yuwu ‘grease’: I.Num294 *yuwu grease; M88-yyu11; KH/M06-yyu11: Mn ywu ‘grease’; Mn yuwũbi ‘fat’; NP ywu ‘fat’; TSh yuupin ‘fat, oil’; Sh yuwu/yuhi ‘fat, grease, oil’; CM ywu ‘fat, grease, lard’; Kw yiuwu/yiuwu-vi ‘fat, grease, lard’; Ch yuũ-ũi; SP yu(h)u-ũi ‘fat, grease’; CU yũ-ũi ‘fat, oil, grease, lard’. Add ST jua(kam) ‘que es gordo’; WMU yuũ-ũi ‘fat, grease, oil, n’ (vs. yu’ũ-ũi ‘leg’).
[u > i in unaccented syllable] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

NB, for *sa’pa ‘meat, fat’ see meet.
846. *apu / *(h)aputii ‘father, parent, mother’; I.Num2 *ahpi ‘father’; M88-*a18 ‘father’; KH/M06-*a18; TSh *appi; Sh appi; Cm ahpi’. I concur with Miller’s inclusion of Cahitan, i.e., My hapči ‘woman’s father’ and AYq hapči ‘woman’s father’ (< *haputii). Also add the first syllable of TO apkii ‘father in the clans of the Coyote moiety’ and Tb(M) ‘aapu ‘mother’; Tb(H) aapuu/-aabuu ‘mother’. [NUA: CNum, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah]

847. *muwa ‘father’; Kw muwa; Ch móa; Ch(L) muwa; SP moa; WMU muuwā; CU múa. Found in all SNum languages and from WNum. NP níga mumuāpi/ná ‘both parents’. NP moa ‘old’ suggests this is from ‘old one’ and as in colloquial English ‘my old man’ for ‘father’. [ُu-a > o-a] [NUA: SNum]

848. *na’a / *nawa ‘father’; M67-483 *na ‘father’; BH.Cup *na; KH,NUA; M88-na12 ‘father’; KH/M06-na12 ‘father’; Mn nawa ‘father, father’s brothers’; NP naa/naa’a; Cm nanatha ‘men relatives’ (cognate? Miller queries; probably); SP nana-ppi ‘old man’ (Sapir suggests this may relate to *nana ‘grow’); Tb’aanaa; Cp -na; Ca -na; Ls -ná; Gb -nák; Sr -na’; Hp na/na’a ‘father, father’s brothers’. [/w] [NUA: WNum, Hp, Tb, Tak]

849. *owa ‘father’: B.Tep322 *ooga ‘father’; M88-*ol4; KH/M06-*ol4; TO ooga ‘one’s father’; TO ogol ‘one’s father in the bear clan’; LP ‘ogot; NTO ógai/óóka; NT oógi/oókai; ST ‘oom’. M88-’ol4 and M67-485 have *o ok tied to both Tep *ooga ‘father’ and Aztecan *okč ‘male’ (CL); but the two are separate stems; for Azt *okč ‘male’, see ‘woman’. [SUA: Tep]

850. *tata ‘father’: M67-484a *tata/*ta ‘father’; M88-ta42 ‘father’; KH/M06-ta42: Hp taata/taa’ta ‘father (child speaking)’; Cr taata; CN ta’-ti; HN taata’. Add also Ca táata. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC, Azt]

851. *no’no ‘male’s father’: Eu none ‘have a father’; Eu nonó ‘man’s father’; Wr no’no ‘father of a male’; Tr onó ‘father of male’. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

852. *mási ‘father’: M88-ma11; KH/M06-ma11: Eu maswa ‘woman’s father’; Eu masi ‘have a father (of women)’; Wr ma’má ‘woman’s father’; Wc kemaasi ‘man’s father’; TO maam ‘one’s father (in a clan of the buzzard moiety). Add Op mas ‘father’ (Shaul and Yetman 2007). [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]

NB, ‘father’ clearly divides the three Numic branches: WNum *na/a/nawa; CNum *ap-pi; SNum *muwa.

FEAR, AFRAID, FRIGHTEN; TEMER, (TENER) MIEGO

853. *ikwiya ‘be afraid’; B.Tep345 *‘iibüda-i ‘to be afraid’; M88-1l6; KH/M06-1l6: TO iïbid; UP ‘iibidi; LP iibiji; NT iibüdi; ST ‘iibidy. Sufficiently similar for addition is WSh kwiya’a ‘be surprised, startled, frightened’ [SUA: Tep; NUA: CNum]

Several initial *ma... forms dealing with ‘fear’ are listed in M88-ma6 ‘be afraid’: M67-167 *ma; L.Son132 *mahawa ‘tener miedo’: KH/M06-ma6; however, beyond initial *ma, they are difficult, if even related. Nevertheless, CN, Wc, and Hp all agree with a longer form of s.th. near *makasi; and many TrC forms show some consistency:

854. *makasi ‘fear’: Hp maqasi ‘fear, fright’; Wc maakaše ‘tener mieda, temer’; CN iimakas(i) ‘hold in awe, fear, respect, vt’; the -mqq- portion of Sr tímmq ‘fear, be afraid, scared (of)’ with a prefix; after truncation of the middle syllable, perhaps Mn masito-’t have one’s hair stand on end (as in fright), bristle’ if: *makasi > ma’si > masi-‘

[NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC, Azt]

855. *maha(ri)wa ‘fear’; Wr maha- ‘be afraid’; Wr mahawar ‘fear, vi; Wr mhaté ‘frighten, vt’; My mahwa ‘hay miedo’; My mahwa ‘tiene miedo’; Yq máhhae; AYq mahai ‘scared, adj’; AYq mahwa / mahé ‘be scared, vi’; AYq mamiwači ‘scary’; Tr mahá; CN mawi ‘be frightened’; CN ma’mau-’tiaa ‘frighten, get frightened’. The last two CN forms vs. CN iimakasi show distinctive sets. The Cah forms seem to be a reduction from s.th. like Wr mahawari. Ch(L) mahai/- mai- ‘with intent to harm’ is as likely as not. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]

856a. *saw(i)ya ‘fear, v’: CN iisawiiia ‘be overawed, vrefl, frighten, outrage s.o., vt’; Eu sevice ‘tener miedo, v’; Eu sevícúrawa ‘miedo, n’; Ls šuwó ‘to be afraid of’ (if *saw > suwi > Ls suwo); and possibly AYq suumeiya ‘afraid of, vt’ may belong. Those below may belong if *saw > *suwi > *sïy.
856b. *siya 'afraid': Mn siyee ‘to be afraid of’; NP sii’hu ‘to be afraid of’. [*w- > -v-]
[SUA: Opn, Azt; NUA: Tak, WNun]

857. *iya-paka ‘fear, v’: Kw *iya-vaga ‘to be afraid of’; Ch iyávaga ‘afraid’; SP iya-vaga ‘to be afraid’; SP ya-a-vaga-ī ‘is afraid’; WMU iyá-vā-ya ‘be afraid’; CU iyá-vagā ‘be afraid of’; Sh ti’iya-pīkakah ‘be afraid’.

[i- prefix] [NUA: Num]

858. *toya ‘fear, v’: NT toođašdī ‘espanarlsno, vt’; NT toođakyi ‘palpitar (el Corazon), espantarse’; PYp tood ‘fear, n’; PYp toodim ‘frighten, vt’; PYp toodk ‘be afraid, vi’; and the tod- of TO todk ‘snore, growl, roar’; TO todwin ‘iritate, disturb’. [SUA: Tep]

859. *hota ‘lose courage’: L.Son63 *hota ‘aflojarse’; M88-ho5; KHM/M06-ho5: Eu hótadada; Tr otá / oto-/ orá.
[SUA: Trn, Opn]

FEATHER, WING; PLUMA, ALA

860a. *ma’sa ‘feather’: M67-466 *ma’sa ‘wing’; L.Son139 *ma’sa ‘pluma’; KH.NUA; M88-ma22 ‘feather’; KH/M06-ma22 *ma’saRa (AMR) ‘feather’; Hp masa ‘wing, wing features’; Sr mahaa-č ‘feather, wing’, Sr nī-maha/-maho ‘my ~’; Gb a-masan ‘his wings’; Ktn mahac ‘wing, feather’, Wr ma’sá ‘feather’; Tr ma’sá/-mísa ‘feather’; Yq mása ‘feather’; AYq masa ‘wing’; My mássa ‘wing’, Tbr masá-t ‘feather’; Cr mwa’askaíbúir ‘feather’; Miller likely rightfully includes Pl má ‘pubic hair’; Pl mášak ‘groin’; Pl máša-t ‘loincloth’. Wr, Tr, and Cr show a glottal stop, perhaps *ma’sa. If k > ‘ in a cluster, could Num *kasa ‘wing’ tie into these: *ma-kasa > ma’sa? [NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

860b. *hu-ma’sa ‘(arrow-)feather’: Hp homasa ‘wing feather’; Ls húmsa-t ‘wing or tail-feather, arrow feather’; Eu huamsa / hunsa ‘feather’; Tbr umusa-t ‘arrow feathers’; Tbr humé- ‘arrow-feather’. These are probably a compound of *hu-ma’sa ‘arrow-feather’; for some languages have both *masa and *humasa: Tbr masat-t ‘feather’, Tbr hümé-t ‘arrow-feather’; Hp masa ‘wing, wing feather’; Hp homasa ‘wing feather’ (also mentioned by Hill as a possible compound of ‘arrow-feather’). In addition, the specific semantics of ‘arrow-feather’ in the Tb and Tbr forms solidify that supposition. Note the late-word phonological deterioration in the longer Tbr word with prefixes. [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Opn, Tbr]

861. *aŋapu ‘wing’: Sapir; VVH58 *aŋbə ‘wing, feather, arm’; B.Tep302 *a’ana ‘feathers, wing’; M67-465 *ana ‘wing’; L.Son4 *ana ‘ala’; M88-a3 ‘wing’; KH/M06’a3: NP ana ‘armpit’; Sh ahna ‘armpit’; Cm ahna ‘armpit’; Ch aŋpv ‘arm’; SP aŋpəu-vi ‘arm’; WMU aŋ-v/i / aŋ-vi ‘arm, upper arm, n’; WMU aŋ-vi-n ‘my upper arm’; Cw aŋ-vi ‘upper arm’; Tb anambī-l ‘feather in band’; TO/UP a’an / a’nī ‘wing, feather’; LP a’an; PYp a’ana ‘wing’; NT aána/añay ‘feather, wing’; ST ana / aa’na ‘feather’; Eu hánat-t ‘wing’, Wr aná ‘wing’; Tr aná/ganá/gané ‘wing’; Cr aná / haná / -’ana ‘wing’; We ’anaa ‘wing’. Though it came to mean ‘upper arm, armpit’ in Num SP, Tb, and WMU’s possessed forms all suggest an additional -*pv syllable. [ŋ:n]
[NUA: Num; Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]

862. *kasa ‘wing, feather’: L.Num54 *kasa ‘wing, feather’, M88-kal17; KH/M06-kal17: Mn qása ‘feather(s), wing’; NP kasa ‘wing’; TSh kasa; Sh kasa ‘wing, feather’; Cm kasa ‘wing’; Kw kaso’o-pi ‘wing’; SP kiššavī-‘vi ‘wing’; SP kasavī ‘striking wing’; SP kassavu-ma-ni ‘with my wing’. Add Ch(L) kasa ‘wing’. This may tie to *maza ‘feather/wing’; Cr, Wr, and Tr ma’sa all have glottal stops, so maybe *ma’sa < *maka < *ma-kasa; so *maza in Hp, Sr, and SUA may tie to Num *kasa, with prefixed ma- and reduction: *ma-kasa > *maka > *ma’sa > *maza. [u > i in SP] [NUA: Num]

863. *piwi / *piCV ‘down, feathers’: M67-168 *pi ‘feather’: KH.NUA; M88-pi4 ‘down (of bird), plumon’; KH/M06-p4: Tb piwi-1 ‘down feathers’; Sr pihē ‘down feathers’; Ca pi'i-, -pih'; Hp pihō ‘downy feathers of the lower belly of a bird’ (< *pi-pōhō ‘down-fur’ as suggested by Hill); TO wiigi ‘down of a bird, pin feathers’; Cr pīna’a ‘feather’; Mn pīpi ‘down feathers’; Kw pī-vi ‘eagledown, cotton’; Sh piisii/ piip ‘fuzz (e.g., of cotton, wool, peaches)’. Miller also lists NP pihi ‘skin, feather, duck’, TSh pihi ‘skin’; Cm pihi ‘hair, fuzz’, CU piθi-vi (<spītθi-pi) ‘plumage, feathers’; CU piθi-a ‘skin’; Wr pīwī ‘granos finos’; Tr biwī ‘pulverizarse, molerse’. However, the Num *pi forms also appear in M88-pi11 at ‘hair’; cf. M88-pi11, po2, and KH/M06-po30. Tb piwi-1 and TO wiigi quite agree with *piwi-; however, the 2nd C or cluster of the others awaits explanation. [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]
864. *pïyaw ‘feather, fly’: Hp pïyaw/pïyal- ‘fly, v’ and the -widag portion of TO maçwidag ‘wing feather, ritual feather’ show 4 of 5 segments agreeing with *pïyaw, only a slight discrepancy in the first vowel (i/i). PYp vereg ‘buzz, drone, v’ also belongs, though the 2nd V assimilated to the first. CN i’wi-tl ‘feather, down’, poss’ed forms: i’wiu’i/wiyyoo ‘feather, down’ may belong with loss of *p: *pïyaw > *iyawi (loss of Azt p) > i’wi, or it may belong with *piwi above. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt?]

865. *coya ‘feather headdress’: Munro.Cup40 *çééya-t ‘feather headdress’; KH/M06-co22: Ls çééya-t; Cp çiya-t; Ca ciya-t ‘bundle of feathers’; [Cup vowels] [NUA: Tak]

866. *wakap / *wakaC > *waki / *wiki ‘wing, feather’: BH.Cup *kawi ‘wing’; M88-ka18; Munro.Cup139 *waki-t ‘wing’; KH/M06-wa29: Ca waka-t ‘wing’, -wák’a (poss’ed); Ca wiki-ly ‘feather’; Ls kawi-t ‘wing’; Ls no-wki ‘my wing’; Cp wiki-ly / wáki-ly ‘feather’. I agree with Munro’s reconstruction and explanation of metathesis (*waki > kawi) “the Ls possessed form is conservative and the absolute form is metathesized.” Add SP wígiví ‘eagle tail-feather’. Ca and Ls absolutive -t suggest a final consonant, and SP shows a 3rd consonant *p-. [NUA: Tak, Num]

867. *wi’sí’a ‘feather, wing’: Kw wi’sí’aa-ví ‘feather’; Ch wi’sí-a ‘wing, feather’; WMU hu’sí’æ-v(i) / wá’sí’æ- v(i) ‘wing’; CU wá’sí-a ‘feather’. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Cm sia- ‘feather’ as well. The first WM Ute form gives us something to think about. [NUA: SNum, CNum]

Female: see woman
Fetch: see carry
Fever: see hot

FIG; HIGO

868. *cuna ‘fig/higo’: L.Son47 *cuna ‘higo’; Fowler83; M88- cu12; KH/M06-cu12: TO suuna ‘fig’; TO suuna-je’e ‘fig-tree’; Op cuna; Eu čúna ‘higuera [fig tree], higo [fig]’; Yq čúuna; My cúuna ‘higo’; Tr čúná ‘higo’.
[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opm]

869. *ama ‘fig tree, paper’: CL.Azt 124 *ama ‘paper, a species of fig tree’; Fowler83; M88-‘a30; KH/M06-‘a30: CN aama-tl; Pl aamat; Po amet; To omatl; Za aamat. [SUA: Azt]

Fight: see hit
Fill: see full
Find: see see
Finger: see hand and claw

FINISH, QUIT, END; CUMPLIR, ACABAR, TERMINAR, CESAR; see do, edge (for end)

870. *nato ‘make, finish’: B.Tep165 *nato ‘finish’; M88- na31 ‘finish’; KH/M06-na31: TO nato ‘accomplish, complete, make ready, make, build, create, earn’; LP naat; PYp nato ‘make, finish, complete’; NT náato/nanáatoi; My -náate ‘sufijo de terminar’. [SUA: Tep, Cah]

871a. *cuCpa/i / *cuppa ‘finish, be end of s.th.’: LNum258 *cu/‘co ‘disappear’; M88-cu1 ‘finish’; KH/M06-cu1: Mn cuppa ‘disappear’; NP coppa ‘s.th. sinking’; Sr ‘iço’kin ‘make, fix, finish’; My cúppa ‘terminarse, vi’; My cúppa ‘terminar, vt’; AYq čúpa ‘finish, complete, fulfill (vow)’; AYq hi(t)čupa ‘completing, fulfilling (vow), harvesting’; AYq čúpe ‘get completed, finished, married, ripe’; AYq čuípa ‘be complete’; Wr cu’pi-ba ‘acabar’; We sii ‘finish’; Pl cupi ‘anus’. Add Yq čúpa ‘terminar (bien)’. This may relate to *cupa ‘point, prick’ as in end of sharp object; see at edge/(end). The over-lapping semantics (finish/harvest) in Cah (My, AYq) may have this tie to *cupv ‘gather, close eyes’.

871b. *copa / *cpua ‘braid, finish weaving’: Tr čóba/čóba- ‘trenzarase, hacerse la trena’; Tb tazuub ‘braid it’; CN copa ‘finish weaving/constructing s.th.’; CN copi ‘piece of weaving or construction to get finished’. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
872. *hîmV / *humV ‘end, finish’: Ca hêmu ‘end, edge, tip’; Sr tômô-‘*be finished, ended’; Sr tôm-‘finish, vt’; probably NT úúmaí ‘finish, up, consume’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

873. *matîNka ‘finish’: Mn mâtîqa ‘to finish’; TSh matînka ‘finish, complete’; Sh matînka ‘to finish something’; Cm (t)mârîkâri. [NUA: Num]


875. *tapa/i ‘finish, end’: Ls tápa/i ‘finish, end, vi, vt’; Hp so’tapna/so’tavin- ‘conclude, finish, stop’ (< so’-tap-na ‘end-put-cause’). Eu tabîna ‘acabar, consumir’; Eu tabikda’a ‘acabar-se, consumirse’; ST taa’vidya ‘obstuir, vt’. While these may tie to *tapa ‘put (down)’ as done when finished, Ls has a separate form: Ls tâváni ‘put, place sg obj’ though they still may be related with a geminated intensive or such. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn]

876. *tama/i ‘finish’: CL.Azt53 *tami ‘end, run out’; M88-ta38; KH/M06-ta38: CN tlam ‘come to an end, to finish, to bring an activity to an end’; CN tlamiaa to end, conclude, to conclude something, to finish something’. To the Azt forms, let’s add ST tîmî ‘terminar (de hacer)’; Kw tîrîmaa ‘to finish, be finished’. [SUA: Azt, Tep; NUA: Num]

877. *cu’ma ‘be gone, disappear from sight’: M88-cu1 ‘finish’; KH/M06-cu1: Cm cu’ma ‘use up, finish, vt’; WSh cumâh ‘run out of, be out of’; Miller includes Sh cûna ‘run out of, disappear’; perhaps Sr huunu’k ‘be gone from sight, not to understand’ (c/s problem)? Miller combines some of these with *cuppa ‘finish, disappear’ and *suma ‘forget’ but, with separate Cm, Sh, and Sr forms, we more likely have separate sets. [NUA: CNum]

NB, for *swiwi ‘consume, finish up’, see eat.
NB, for *yaLV ‘finish, do’ see at do.

FIRE, BURN; FUEGO, LUMBRE, ARDER, QUEMAR, ENCENDER

878. *na’ay ‘fire’, *na’aya ‘build/light a fire’: VVH95 ‘to light a fire’; VVH95b *na’u ‘to burn’; B.Tep162a *naada ‘build fire’; B.Tep162b *nai ‘he built a fire’; M67-62a *nai/*nai; BH.Cup *na ‘burn, vi’; I.Num106 *nai ‘burn, vi’; L.Son171 *naya ‘preter lumbre’ L.Son172 *nai ‘lumbre’; M88-na7 and M88-na8 and M88-na9; KH/M06-na7 ‘fire’ and KH/M06-na8 ‘make a fire’ (Lionnet, Miller, and Hill distinguish ‘fire’ and ‘make a fire’—a nice distinction, since many languages have a reflex of both forms—yet as they appear to be derivations built on the same stem, let’s combine them, to more easily compare the comparable forms, mostly in SUA): Mn âi ‘burn, vi’; NP nai ‘fire, burn vi’; NP na’i/nu ‘burn, vi’; Sh nakayá ‘burn out of control’; Kw ne’e ‘burn’; SP na’ai ‘burn; CU na’ay ‘burn, vi’; CU na’ay-ti ‘fire, light; Ca ná ‘burn’; Ls ná ‘burn’; TO naa ‘fire, n’ and TO naad (pret: nai) ‘make fire’; UP naad ‘build fire’ (B.Tep); Wr na’i ‘lumbre’ and Wr na’ya-nai-na’i-ma ‘make a fire’; Tr na’i/na’i-y/-na- ‘fire’ and Tr na’ya- ‘make a fire’; My na- ‘burn, v’ and My nàyà ‘hacer lumbre’; ST naa’d ‘make a fire’ (prêt: nai; pres: naanda); NT naado ‘build a fire’; Nv nadda ‘hacer fuego, encender lumbre’; Cr á-úú-na’ara ‘go build a fire’; Wc náiwame ‘combustible’. Note that CU na’ay-, WMU na’a-y ‘be a fire, burn, vi’; TO naa’d, Wr na’i/na’ya- and Tr na’i/na’ya-, representing three widespread branches of UA, all show s.th. akin to *na’ay(a); and the verb na’ay usually shows an extra or final V, and UA’s typical reduction of three syllables to two eliminates the middle vowel; thus, most of the verbs resemble *na’ya (*na’ya > *na’ía / nàya). AYq nàya ‘i’fire’ is curious, and so is Cr’s -r. [y/r] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

879a. *taha / *taka ‘burn’: Sapir; VVH150 *tahi ‘fire’; B.Tep215 tai ‘fire’; M67-423d *tai ‘fire (burn)’; L.Son268 *taha/*tah-i arder; CL.Azt20 *tlatia ‘burn’; *tlatia ‘burn, be hot’; CL.Azt60 *tla(h) ‘fire’; M88-tal ‘burn, v’; M88-tau; KH/M06-tal; KH/M06-tal: the differences between M88-ta1 and ta2 (perhaps *taha ‘burn’ vs. *tahi ‘fire’) overlap unclearly enough that their common stem might best be taken as a whole, whatever later derivations afflicted an earlier clarity; so let’s combine them under the same number, but grant separate letters: ‘burn, vi’; Hp taq-ti; Eu tahá; Wr tha’/tahi; Tr ráhá/rahi; My táhá ‘quemarse, vi’; My táyá ‘quemar, vt’; Tbr tha; We ta’a; CN tlatla ‘burn, vi’; CN tlatiaa ‘burn’; Pl tata ‘burn, vi’; Pl tatia ‘burn, vt’.
879b. *tahi 'fire' (AMR): CN tle-tl ‘fire’; We täi ‘fire’; Cr täih ‘fire, flame’; TO tai ‘fire, match(es)’; NT tai; ST tai; Eu te; My tähi; Tbr tahamët; Wr taïhënani ‘prender la lumbre’. Add Nv tai ‘encender lumbre’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

880. *tax-kwa (< *taka-kwa ?) ‘ceremonial official, fire tender’: Gb tákxwa ‘kind of religious officer’; Ca tákwa ‘ceremonial official’; Ls táxku ‘ceremonial official’; Cph tákwa ‘fire tender (type of ceremonial official)’. This may be a compound involving *taha / *taka above, though most of those show *-h-, except for Hp and these suggest *-k-. [h’/k/’y ] [NUA: Tak]

881. *kut * ‘fire’ (AMR); *kut-tu/* kut-ta ‘make fire’ (AMR): M67-170 *kut ‘make fire’; I.Num61 *koelho / *kuthoo ‘make fire’; I.Num64 *kuth- ‘fire, heat (instr. prefix)’; BH.Cup *kut ‘fire’; Munro.Cup44 *ku-t ‘fire’; M88-ku4; AMR *kut; KH/M06-ip10 ‘by means of heat/fire’; KH/M06-ku4 *kut: NP kuttuuna ‘put wood in fire’; Kw kuttunuh ‘make fire w/ drill’; Kw kukkoppi /ikkwappi ‘piece of wood, stick’; CU kukkoppi ‘firewood, wood’; Sh ku-t ‘by means of heat’ (instrumental prefix); SP ku ‘with fire’; Tb kut ‘fire’; Tb kutugat ‘gather firewood’; Hp kotqa ‘wood pile’; Hp koho/kão ‘wood, stick, firewood’; Sr kut ‘fire’; Sr kuçai ‘gather firewood’; Sr kuçaaït ‘firewood’; Ktn kut ‘fire’; Ktn kuçat ‘stick, firewood’; Ca ku-t ‘fire’; Cpu-t; LS ku-t; GB kotá ‘palo, leña’; My kuutá ‘(fire)wood’; Eu kut ‘palo’. Sr, Ktn, Cp, Ca, and LS all show *kut, and in Munro.Cup44 *ku-t ‘fire’, note final -t, not -l, suggesting a final consonant, like t itself as AMR reconstructed for us. Miller also includes the Titic forms *kellaw gather firewood, CN kwawi- tree, wood, and others, but see them at ‘tree/wood’. Note in *(ku)-sayá below, that this morpheme seems compounded in Tep as well. [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah, Opn, Tep]

882. *kuCti (< *kut-ti’i ?) ‘burn, fire-cause’: Ch kúciki ‘burn, v’; SP qučči’a ‘burn, vi’; WMU kuthčči-ki ‘burn, vt’; CU kučči ‘be hot’; CU kučči-ti ‘heat up, vt’. This may or may not involve the SNum causative suffix *-ti’i suffixed to ‘fire’ but it is plausible enough to be worth listing. [NUA: SNum]

883. *kotto (< *kut-tu-ta) ‘make fire’: M88-kol; KH/M06-kol: TSh kottoo ‘set fire’; Sh kottoo ‘make fire’; Cm kohtoo; Hp qóóha / qóóyi ‘get burned, scorched on the body’. [NUA: Num, Hp]

884. *kunnaC ‘firewood’: I.Num 69 *kunah; M67-170b *kuna; M88-ku5; KH/M06-ku5 ‘firewood’: Mn kun(n)a ‘fuel, wood’; NP kuna ‘wood’; TSh kunna ‘firewood’; Sh kuna (firewood); Cm kuna/kuna; Kw kuna ‘fire’; Ch kuná ‘fire’; SP kunna ‘fire’; CU kuná-’i ‘ember, ashes’; CU kuna-či ‘matches’. Miller and Hill include Eu kumáni ‘leña’, and a Num reduction like *kumanV > *kumnV > *kunnV is feasible, or is it a compound of *kut ‘fire’ and *na’ay ‘fire’? [NUA: Num]

885. *mik/h ‘burn’: B.Tep159 *mihi ‘burn’; mihida-i ‘burn something’; *mihimii-i ‘is burning, vi.’; M88-mi5; KH/M06-mi5: Hp miki ‘hot, warm from heating’; Pl mimilaka ‘for fire to burn’; TO mehe; mei; NT mihi/mihi ‘vi’; mii’d’a ‘vt’; NT mihïkami ‘burned’; NT mimîltudai ‘atizar lumbre’; NT mihiimi ‘is burning’; ST mihiim; vt: mîfdya; ST miit ‘is burning’. Note *k in Hp vs. h in the others, both here and in *taxa/tahi above. And Tep h < *s normally, though some PUA h are occasionally retained in Tep. [medial C?] [SUA: Tep; NUA: Hp]

886. *so ‘burn’: CN soo tête ‘burn, catch fire’; Wr koso-ná ‘burn, vt’; Eu kûso pret: kûso ‘burn’; Eu hîkso ‘burn grass where one must plant’. All these may suggest an element like Eu -ku-so; and perhaps Sr hu’ai ‘burn’ as *s > Sr h; these forms may have *kut- ‘fire’ prefixed and at times assimilated to *-so. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt; NUA: Tak]

887. *paLaw / *pataw ‘to burn’: Ca pálaw ‘to spark, go up in flames’; Tb(M) poloo-at- ‘opoloo’ ‘burn, vi’; Tb(M) poloojat- ‘opoloohn (of fire), vi’; Tb(V) poloon ‘opoloohn ‘heat, vt’; perhaps ST vapoikia / vapoisa ‘sing, scorch’. This presumes Tb vowels assimilated toward w. [w’/n] [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep]

888. *waya / *kwaya ‘burn’: TSh wayantin ‘fire’; TSh waya”/wayan/wayan-kìn ‘burn’; Sh waihyá ‘burn’; Sh waihya-ppi ‘fire’; initial syllable (we’) of Cm wesikirí, we’hari ‘to burn’; Cm we’haki ‘fire’. Remote possibilities might include CU kwiya-’æ-y ‘burn’; Hp ïwiwñ ‘flame, fire’; Hp ïwi ‘(k-) catch fire, vi’; Hp ïwi-kna ‘light (a flame), vt’; CN kawaani ‘to catch fire’, but only CNNum sure. [NUA: CNNum]
889. *pita ‘build a fire’: M67-63 ‘burn’: Mn pida ‘build a fire’; NP pidapi ‘fire’. Let’s add My beete ‘burn, vi’; Yq beete ‘burn, vi’; and perhaps TO iwiw ‘make fire with a stick’, though a prefix and second consonants not matching make TO less likely, unless *pyita; however, for t = TO d, see TO wadat at ‘flat’. [V leveling] [NUA: WNum; SUA: Cah, Tep]

890. *say(pa) ‘burn’: Wr saipá-ni ‘quemarse’; TO kohadk ‘something dried and burned’; Nv kusada ‘quemarse’. Once again, *kut- appears to be prefixed in the Tep languages, though Nv s vs. TO h is unexpected and may have to do with different behaviors of the cluster *-ts-. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

NB, for *kut-tunuh ‘firedrill’, see 2704 in additions at the end.

FIRE GO OUT, EXTINGUISH; APAGAR(SE); see also ‘black’.
891. *cuppa < *cu’pa ‘fire go out’: M67-171 *cura ‘fire go out’; CL.Azt54 *seewi ‘extinguish’; 236 *cu ‘go out (of fire)’; M88-cu9; KH/M06-co21: Tb cupat, ‘ucup ‘be out (of fire)’; Tb(H) cupat ‘fire to be out, go out’; Wr co’a ‘put out fire’; Wr co’i ‘be out (of fire)’; Tr čo’á-ri- ‘have another put out fire; Tr čo’í ‘dark’. [SUA: Trn; NUA: Tb]

NB, for *yuppy/i ‘fire go out, black’, see ‘black’. NB, for *tuk ‘fire to go out, night, black’, see ‘black’.

First: see before, new, one

FISH; PEZ, PESCAĐO
892. *kicu / *kucu(C) ‘fish’: Sapir; BH.Cup **keyúl?; HH.Cup *kiyúul; L.Son103 *kucu ‘pescado’; Fowler83; M88-ku20 ‘fish’; Munro.Cup45 *kiyúú/l/kuyúú-l; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ki18: NP kuyú ‘Pyramid Lake sucker’; SP pa-kiu ‘fish’; Hp paa-kiv; Tb kuyú-l; Cp qeyú-l; Ca kiyú-l; Ls kiyúú-l / kuyúú-l; Sr kihooθ; Ktn kihuč; Gb kyr; Eu kučú-t; Tbr kičú-t; Yq kúčú; My kúčú; Tr kočú; Wc kečí.*

*ki cu > *kucu (Tbr, Wc) SUA
> *kucu (Eu, Yq, My, Tr) SUA
> *kiyú (Ca, Cp, Ls, Sr, Gb, Hp kiv < *kiyu) NUA
> *kyúu (Tb, Ls, NP) NUA

Manaster-Ramer (1992) cites this set, which nicely demonstrate his "Northern UA sound law: *-c- > -y-” since all the SUA languages show c, while NUA languages show y and two h. Some show the 1st V as high-front (Tbr, Wc, Ca, Cp, Sr, Gb, Hp, SP) and others show u (mostly in SUA languages: Eu, Yq, My, Tr) and two in NUA (Tb, Ls) or is it i? Whether *i/u > u-u (the 1st assimilated to the 2nd) or *i/u-u > i-u (the 1st V assimilating to the palatal -c-/y-) is debatable. Tr o (oft < *u) and Wc e (less likely from i than an unaccented dissimilation from *i) have me leaning slightly toward *kucu, but not very far. Do Sr and Ktn medial -h- suggest a cluster? AMR (1992) reconstructs *kicu, with a final consonant, while Munro (1990) kiyúú-l, with an absolutive -l (as also in Tb), not -t, may suggest no final stem consonant. PYp kekota ‘fish, vt’ may be related by consonant harmony. [*-c- > -y- in NUA] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

893. *paNkwi / *pakkiw < *paC-kuyu < *paC-kucu ‘fish’: I.Num146 *penkwīk*paŋkwī ‘fish’; M88-pa9 ‘fish’; KH/M08-ki18 *kiCuc (AMR): Mn pákwi (< *pakkiw M88); NP paggwi; Sh penkwī; TSh paŋwi / penwi; Kw paŋi-zí; Ch paŋų-ci; SP pa-kï; MU paŋu; Hp paŋkiw. Add WMU pagų / pagų / pagų ‘fish, n’. I agree with Hill’s associating this with kí18 *kVcu above, yet it is a compound that the above is not, and where does the nasalization come from? From the end of *pa- ‘water’? [reduction at end of word] [NUA: Num; Hp]

894a. *(pa)-topa ‘fish’: B.Tep263 *vatopa-i ‘fish’; M67-174 *top ‘fish’; Fowler83; M88-to15 ‘fish’; KH/M06-to15: TO watopi; PYp vatopa; LP vatap; NT vatőõpa; ST vatoop; mostly in Tep, perhaps Tr ro’či. *pa- ‘water’. 894b. *topo ‘fish sp’: CN(RJC) topo-í ‘small fish’; Mecayapan NahuaTl topoh ‘fish’; Tbr tepó ‘catfish’. Elliot (2000, 1410) finds enough Ls fish words ending in -pu, he suspects -pu ‘fish’. [final -a/o alternation] [SUA: Tep, Azt, Trn, Tbr]
895. **musi** / **mucì** ‘fish’: L.Son160 *musei ‘bagre’; M88-mu17; KH/M06-mu17: Op músi; Tr mu*si; Eu musit; CN mičin ‘fish’ (cognate? Miller queries)—perhaps, or Tr mo’tereči ‘fish’ (mo’-tere ‘head-step/mash’ says Brambila) with *-ct- cluster to *-c- in CN, while *muci may be a different term. What of the -mu- of Tb ‘uimu-l ‘sucker fish’? [*t- > -c- > s- in Tep?] [SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt]

896. **akai** ‘trout, salmon, a good-eating fish’: Mn aagáí ‘salmon’; NP agi ‘trout’; TSh akai ‘trout’; Sh akai ‘salmon, fish’; Sh(GL) agai ‘salmon’. [NUA: WNum, CNum]

897. **so...** / **so’** / **coC** ‘kind of fish’: Wr so’ci ‘fish’; CN šowil-in ‘catfish’; Ktn coh ‘fish sp., perhaps salmon’. [?’w; s/c] [SUA: Trn, Azt; NUA: Tak]

898. **kaLpuC** ‘fish sp.’: Ls ’álpu-t ‘a type of ocean fish’; Eu kapúr ‘pezadito barrigón’; the p in Eu suggests a cluster, so this match seems more likely than not. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn]

899. **aya** ‘fish sp’: Tb ha’ayah-l ‘trout’; Eu adávo ‘pez blanco del rio’ (Eu d < *y). Is Elliott’s (2000, 1410) suspicion of Ls -pu ‘fish’ relevant to Eu’s last syllable? [Eu d < *y] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Opn]

**FISHHOOK; ANZUELO**

900. **po’a** ‘fishhook’: L.Son209 *po’a ‘anzuelo’; M88-po17 ‘anzuelo/hook’; KH/M06-po17: Tr pówa ‘pescar con anzuelo’; Wr po’aclusa ‘fishhook, net’; My bó’aria; Tbr wohá-t. [SUA: Trn, Cau, Tbr]

Five: see under numbers toward the end

**FLAT, LEVEL; PLANO, LLANO, NIVEL(ADO), PAREJO:** see also smooth, slip, lie down

901a. **takka** ‘flat’: BH.Cup *táka ‘flat’; M88-ta33; AMR 1993c *takka; KH/M06-ta33: Ca taqtáqa ‘be flattened’; Ls táka/í ‘be straight’; Ls tááki-s ‘stone for smoothing pottery’. AMR lists SP takkaa-vi ‘flat country’; SP mut-takka ‘forehead’; Ls –taak ‘palm of hand’. Let’s also add Ch(L) takagani (< *takka-kani) ‘flat-topped house’; Kw takka- ‘flat part’. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Ch taka(a) ‘roof, top’ from Harrington’s noun list. Miller includes Cp tíoqu ‘straighten, vt’ which is only possible if these others are reductions: *tasuka > *taska > takka, which not necessarily probable. [NUA: Tak, Num]

901b. **Lakka(pa)** ‘flat, smooth’: Ls laqápa/í ‘be smooth, v.i., make smooth, vt’; Ca lákaa ‘be flat (as balloon, stomach)’; Ca lákaš ‘collapse, cave in’. [NUA: Tak]

902a. **komaL** ‘griddle’: CL.Azt74 *komaal; M88-ko25 ‘griddle’; KH/M06-ko25: CN komaal-li ‘griddle’; Pl kumaal ‘comal, tortilla griddle’; Po komal; Z komaal; T komol; Hp qóma ‘to make qómi’; Hp qómi ‘oblong cake of baked sweet corn flour’. I agree with Ken Hill, who removes Miller’s question mark, that the Hp terms are cognate, for the first four segments agree (Hp ò < *o; Hp q < k/ò), and a > i before liquids or as final V is common in UA, even if no liquid is apparent in Hp.

902b. **komaL** ‘thin’: B.Tep104 *komarika ‘thin’; M88-ko32 ‘thin’; KH/M06-ko32: TO komal; UP komalikt; LP komilk (Bascom); Nv komarika ‘thin (as paper)’; NT komálika; NT komááli ‘delgado’; ST komaayik. It is easily possible, even probable, that this is the same stem as *komaL ‘flat griddle for making flat thin tortillas’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]

903. **kapaL** ‘flat’: M88-ka5 ‘flat’; KH/M06-ka5: TO kawad ‘be flat’; TO kapaD ‘lie flat’; TO kawad ‘war shield’ pl: kakawad; PYp kaper ‘bent down, low, flat’; PYp kaper-ek ‘flat’; NT kapááraturui ‘become flat’; NT kápáarakamí ‘flat, level’; Wr kapó ‘flat’. What of CU paáy ‘be smooth’ and Ls laqápa ‘be smooth’ and Ls laqapi ‘make smooth’? Certainly related, but with semantic tangent, are shield terms: TO kawad ‘war shield’; Nv kava’arha, pl: kavparha ‘adarga’; Nv kava’ha ‘make a shield’. [SUA: Tep, Trn]
*patta* (> pata) ‘flat, level, smooth, slippery, bare, naked, bald, uncover, open up, blossom’ (Stubbs2000a-2) yields considerable semantic variety:

904a. **pata / patta** (> *pita / *pala) ‘flat, spread, i.e., flatten/smooth, vt’; M67-410 *pata ‘spread’; LNum142 *pata ‘spread, straighten out’; CL.Azt192 patla(awa)-k ‘wide’; M88-pa32 ‘spread’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa32: CN patlaawa ‘widens’; CN patlaawak ‘wide’; Po patek; Te patlowak; Za pataawak; Pl pataawak ‘extend, widen’; Mn patanuu ‘straight (of long narrow obj)’; Mn tunapaat ‘straight (one)’; NP capada (< *cappata) ‘spread out s.th. thin like a blanket’; WS pappata ‘spread out by hand’; Sh pata ‘spread out s.th. of cloth’; Kw patta ‘nimi ‘erect, straight’; SP para ‘straighten out’; Sr pațk ‘lie down flat; as on one’s stomach’; Ca pālaa ‘be flat’; Ca palpāla ‘be flat (leaf, rock, etc.)’; Ls pālvun-la ‘a plain, valley, level ground’. Add Ktn vačk ‘flat and wide or circular’; AYq pataal ‘flattened, crumpled, formless’; AYq vetala(i) ‘flat, even, smooth’; Yq bētalai ‘plano’ (Yq bētalai ‘boca abajo’); Hp pīći ‘wide, broad, long and flat’, since NUA c < *ti/*tt or other consonant besides *c. Besides the preceding, some languages have 2nd form that may tie by a different route: Sr vāācī’q ‘be flat, flattened’; CN patlačoaa ‘flatten, press, crush, vt. bec. flat, collapse, vi’. Tb payaawat ~ apayaawu ‘be spread out’ and might Tb pūšvabūl ‘enormous’ be related by another route? CN alaktik / alastik / alaawak ‘s.th. slippery, crumbly’; CN alaawak ‘slip, slide s.th., vt’. Note CN forms with and without *p. [*-t- > -l-, -c-]

904b. **sikki-pata**: Mn sikibadagi; NP sikipatadi (< *sikippattati) ‘flat, adj’; probably Cm sītpefī. This may well be a compound containing *-patta above. [NUA: WNum]

904c. **hi-patta** ‘flat’: TSh hippattat; Sh hippatta; if not a reduction of *sikipata above, it obviously contains at least a common morpheme *-patta*, which stem is prominent in TrC. With vowel changes, I would have to consider the following probable as well: PY pēhelik ‘flat, lowland’; Ls hivé-li ‘flatten’; Ls hivél-vi-s ‘flat, wide’.

904d. **patta / patti** ‘bare, smooth’: Mn padagwinigi ‘be naked, vi’; NP patakkwini’a (< *pattakkwini’a ‘s.th. smooth’; Sh pacci ‘smooth, shiny’; Sh(M) pacci ‘smooth, shiny’; Cm pachi bapikat ‘bald’; Cm pahiket ‘slick, smooth’; NP copata kwa’a ‘bald’; perhaps TO wadakd ‘bald’ if t > d. [Num]

904e. **pici** ‘naked’: Tr biči; AYq vičī. This likely relates to *patta/patti above with assimilated vowels: *patti > pachi > pici. Likewise, Hp piři(-k) ‘get uncovered, open up, unfold’ may be vowel leveling of the same. Ls pāla ‘put out sprouts, come into leaf’ may tie to Hp piři, all of which tie to *pala ‘leaf’.

904f. **pici / pVeV < *pat(t)a/i** ‘flat, prone, flatten, widen’: Tr peči ‘cama, tendido para dormir [bed, stretch out for sleeping]’; CN(RJc) pečití ‘flat, flat-based, wide’; CN(RJc) pečiuhi ‘flat’; CN(RJc) pečia ‘underlie s.th.’. If *-t- > -c-, Hp peći may tie to CN *pac… or CN *pat…: Hp pici-a ‘flat < wide-extended’; Hp pici-lawi ‘be widening s.th. linear’; CN patlačoaa ‘become flat, collapse, flatten, press, crush s.th.’, v.refl, vt’; CN patlaawa ‘widen/ensanchar(se)lo angosto y estrecho, vi, vt’; Hp piciqata ‘be flat, v, flat area or surface, n’; CN paacka ‘wing out, squeeze liquid out’.

904g. **pacu** ‘squeeze, smash’: CN paacoaa ‘bruiise s.th., mash (fruit), crush s.o.’; CN paac-tik ‘s.th. dripping wet, juicy, bruised, mashed, soft’; in compounds CN paac- ‘liquid (perhaps squeezed out); CN paacka ‘squeeze liquid out of s.th., wring out, press, give forth liquid’; Tr pačunti / pačunnti ‘hacer gotear, exprimir a gotas’; NP capicuna ‘pinch’ (if ca- prefix meaning ‘do with the hand’); Mn -wipizizih ‘squeeze, vt’; Yq pitta ‘aplastar’; My pitta ‘estar apretandolo’. The *pauca forms and the *pic- of the others may all be related, especially since we see a vowel change of *pauca > picu in one of the *pauca forms (NP), and fronting and raising of vowels is common before alveolar consonants in UA. Dakin 1982-66 has Tr basū ‘desincharse’ (loan from Tep?) and CN paaciwi ‘get crushed, swelling go down’. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Azt]

905. **tapi** (> *tapiti/talpi redup?) ‘flat, smooth’: Hp talvi ‘smooth, slippery’; Cp tavááne ‘be flat (of ground)’; CU tavi’ni ‘flat’. The Hp form may result from redupl. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]

906. **Luma** ‘flat(ten)’; Wr luma ‘be very straight, flat’; Ca-lumaš ‘knock down, crumple’; Ca če-lumaš ‘crumple, mash, vt’. [initial L?] [SUA: Trn; NA: Tak]

NB, for *mani, see ‘lie down’. 

Flea: see fly, n.
Flint: see knife
Flow: see river
FLOWER, BLOOM, BLOSSOM; FLOR, FLORECER, FLORAR, BROSTAR

UA words for ‘flower/bloom’ are challenging, but fit a general pattern of *si’a in NUA and *siwa in SUA, all listed under M88-si6 ‘flower, grow’; KH/M06-si6; M67-18a *se, 178b *si, 178c *so:

907a. *si’aC (NUA): BH.Cup *se ‘bloom’; LNum196 *si’a(h) ‘blossom, grow (of plants)’; KH.NUA: NP *si’a ‘plant, v’; Sh *si’a ‘grow, v’; Cm *si’a ‘grow, v’; SP *si’i/t’/si’i-ppi ‘blossom’; CU *si ‘bloom, flower’; Cp -še’a ‘flower’ (poss’d); Cp -še ‘bloom’; Ca se-l / se-i-s ‘flower’; Ca se ‘bloom, v’; Ls sóó ‘bloom, v’; Ls -sóó ‘flower, blossom’ (poss’d only); Gb sóyn/swin ‘flower’; Sr *si’i ‘flower(s)’; Sr *si’i ‘bloom, v’; Ktn –si’; Hp sih. Add Ch(L) *si’i-pi / *si’ici ‘flower’ and Mn *si’a ‘sprout’. SP, Sh, Ch(L) show final -C.

907b. *siwa (SAU): L.Son252 *siwa ‘flor’; Eu séwa-sewá-t; Tbr sewa-rá-t; Yq sééwa; My sééwa; Wr sewá; Tr sewá; Cr shúúshúu ‘flower’; CN išwa ‘sprout, germinate’.


[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]


908. *hupIN-ka ‘bloom’: M88-hu18; KH/M06-hu18: Mn híbiga ‘bloom, vi’; Mn híbigá ‘flower, blossom, n’; TSh hipinkí ‘bloom’; TSh hipí ‘flower’; TSh hipinkíppí ‘flower, blossom’; Sh hipinkí ‘to bloom’; Sh hipinkíppíppí; Kw hívi-ví ‘flower’; Tb ‘ibii-ít-’ibii ‘to bloom’; Tb ‘ibii-l ‘flower’. Because *u > í in Numic is frequent, I’ll side with Miller’s *u. [NUA: Num, Tb]

909. *huya ‘bud, branch’: M88-hu5 ‘brotar’; KH/M06-hu5: Wr uyá-; uyáí ‘rama’; My húyya ‘tree, branch, forest’. Miller includes CN išwa ‘sprout, germinate’, but the CN form better fits *siwa with Eu, Yq, Tr, and several others. [SAU: Trn, Cah]

910. *ci’an ‘flower’: Fowler83 *ci’a ‘wild rose’; NP ciabbi ‘rose’; Sh ci’ampi ‘wild rose berry’; Kw ciya-ví-pí ‘wild rose’; SP ci’mipi ‘wild rose berry’. Fowler also lists Mn and Ute, which forms I could not find. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds TSh ciapi-pipí ‘rose bush’. [NUA: WNum, CNum, SNum]

911. *usa ‘wild rose’: M88-’u9; Munro.Cup113 *úusa-la ‘wild rose’; KH/M06-’u9: Cp úša-l; Ca ‘úša-l; Ls ‘úš-la; Gb ‘ucú-r. Jane Hill’s (p.c.) reconstruction *úša-ta is better, as soon as we can prove *-š- (vs.s). [NUA: Tak]

FLUTE; FLAUTA

912. *wlü ‘play a reed flute’: M88-wi18 ‘to play a (reed) flute’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wi18: Ca wírú; Ls wírú; Sr wírú ‘n’ play a reed flute’; Sr wírú-i-ni-t ‘reed flute’; Miller also queries whether Hp leena is related. Let’s add Ktn wírú-i / wírú-i ‘play (instrument)’; Ktn wírú-i-nihwa-t ‘flute, any musical instrument’; WMU viyu / eyviyu ‘n’ ‘flute, whistle’ even shows the glottal stop found in Sr and Tb, and, in fact, is very similar to Sr wírú-i-ni-t. Kw wooya ‘flute’ (archaic) belongs; and WMU ia’nap ‘flute’ is similar to Kw wooya‘a-ni(m)bi ‘musical instrument, flute’ (archaic). And TSh wookku ‘flute’ and WP cokekkwooní resemble the first 3 segments of the Kw form. Miller’s listing of Hp leena is feasible in that the general pattern in other UA languages is *w-high front vowel-liquid, and Hp l < *w/ε, and *l > n sometimes; therefore, it is possible. Ken Hill lists CN wiilo-o-tl ‘dove’ querying whether related or not. A very decent possibility! Tb luluuu ‘luluuu’ ‘play a flute’ is questionable or may not be related.[L > y, cf. Sr, WMU] [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Azt]

NB, for *kusu ‘flute, play flute’ see ‘noise, for animals to make their characteristic’.
FLY, FLEA, MOSQUITO, GNAT; MOSCA, PULGA, ZANCUDO, CINIFE

913. *sak’otl > *tšik’wtl, or *sakwo t > Cah *saboli > *saiholi ‘fly, bee’; M67-181 ‘fly, n’; M67-33 *sek/*cek ‘bee’; L.Son227 *saiwori ‘mosca’; M88-si5 ‘fly’; M88-si18; Stubbbs 1995-13; Stubbs2000b-42; KH/M06-si5; KH/M06-si18: the following forms appear to divide themselves into those that show *kw as the medial consonant and those that show a bilabial (*p, b, bw) or are borrowed from UA languages showing bilabials:

913a. *səkwɔ (< *sakkwɔ?) ‘fly, n’; CN ēšíko’-tli ‘bumblebee’; Ca kùn-sexwet ‘bumblebee (husband-bee)’; My sèeb’orí ‘fly’; My kuku-seb’orí ‘bumblebee’; Yq sèebo’i ‘fly’; Wr sèwá ‘fly’; Wr sè’orí ‘honey, kind of honey bee’; Wr sò’orí ‘kind of fly bigger than se’wá, possibly same as se’orí’; Tr sè’ori ‘fly, bee’; Eu sèbor ‘fly’; Wc šëek’i ‘gnat’ (Wc i < *u) also appears to belong. What of Ls kùpsax-la ‘type of bumblebee’ (with Ca kùn-sexwet) or Wc šiínik’ii ‘fly sp’? Eu b corresponds to PUA *kw (Eu basít ‘tail’) and CN ēšíko’- clearly shows medial *kw rather than *p. Cahitan –bo could be feasilably be either, but best fits *kwo > bo. Tr w and Wr w normally reflect PUA *kw in initial position, and -’w- often medially. Here Tr -’o- and Wr -’w- are medial variants of PUA *kw, and not from *p, because Tr and Wr show p/b for *p. So CN, Tr, Wr, Yq, My, and Eu all show –kw-, being consistent with the kwo-phenomenon medially, while some other UA forms suggest *saipoli (< *sayapoli?), perhaps borrowed from languages with medial bilabials:

913b. *səwarži “fly”: Nv saivori ‘abeja’; NT sáivilu ‘fly’; Op saivori ‘mosca’; Tr sàwol ‘abeja’; Trb haya-vól ‘mosca’; Wc šáápi; Cr sááhu/sá’ihurú ‘fly’; CN saayool-in ‘fly’. Some of these forms may be borrowed from Tep b or Cahitan –bo (< *kwo); either would be taken as *p in other UA languages. Nv and NT seem to have borrowed from TrC, perhaps Tbr, since *s > Tep n, not s. CN saayool-in, on the other hand, is identical to Tbr except for the missing bilabial v/p, and CN typically lost *p. In fact, the similarity of Trb sayvól, Op, NT, and Nv *sàwolí / saywolí to CN saayool-in is quite identical in all five remaining segments: s-a-y/i(-v)-o-l/’r. Thus, this set b seems suspect for meshing or diffusions of Cah *siborí into Azt, Tep, and other TRC languages.

Of interest in M88-si18 and M67-33 *sek/*cek ‘bee’ are Ls šuká ‘type of wild bee’; Cr cílk’a ‘wasp’; CN šíko’-tli ‘large bee, bumblebee’; Pl šíkkuh ‘small black bee or wasp’. Wc šírkaa ‘beewax’ agrees with CN and Ls since *u > Ls u, > CN i, > Wc i, but in *u, not *i. For now I put the Azt forms with *sikwo above. [-p- > -s- in Azt medially] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

914. *təpu ’flea’: VVH146 *təpu ’flea’; M67-175 *tep/tepuci ’flea’; L.Son298 *töpu ‘pulga’; Fowler83; Dakin 1991; M88-ti6 ’flea’; KH/M06-tis6 (AMR *ti-ti): TO čiiš; PYp teepas; NT təpiši; ST təpiš; Eu təpu’u / tepu; Yq təpu, tepuçim (pl.); My təpu; Wr tehpu; Tr təpu’i; Típ təpiši; Wc təpiši; Cr tepiši (pl.); CN tekpinši; PI tekpin; RN tekpi(m)-š. Where the Azt -k- came from is a good question: it may be from the Azt -k- pl suffix transposed, or a glottal stop hopped then reinterpreted as -k-, or Dakin’s (1991) suggestion *t-i-ti > *t̚iši > t̚iši to yield Aztec *t̚iši forms. PYp teepas ’flea’ suggests a cluster in contrast to PYp təpu ’flea’; PYp təpuv ’corn husks’; PYp təpuvi ’thin rope’. See also ’cricket’ whereat is found *t̚iši ’cricket’ in Eu tepōsti; Wc t̚iši. These may relate to ’flea’, though Cr and Wc both have *t̚iši ’flea’ above. Wc t̚iši is likely an earlier loan, for Wc u corresponds to EU and PUA *o. [SOA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

An array of UA terms with initial *mu... for ’fly’, ’bee’, and ’mosquito’ provide Uto-Aztecanists another puzzle. M88-mu7 ’fly’ includes M67-180 *mu ’fly’; I.Num *mu(h) ’fly’; BH.Cup *mukwac ’flea’; HH.Cup *mukwá ’flea’ (in which case Ca vowel is wrong) or *mukwá (in which case Cp vowel is wrong); B.Tep156 *muvvari ’fly’; CL.Azt65 *maayoo, 232 **muu ’fly’. However, in light of the fact that many of these (if not all) are compounds whose first element may be *mu ’nose’, we shall separate them according to what precedes and follows *mu:

915a. *muwi/- *mu’cep ’fly’: I.Num98 *mu(h) ’fly’; Fowler83; M88-mu7; KH/Mu7: Mn muwi; NP muwi; Kw muu-φi-żi; SP mooopiiča(-ci); CU můua-va. Add ChL muupici ’fly’. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes also Mn můcpi ’flea’ (metathesis?). [NUA: WNum, SNum]

915b. *anji-muwi ’fly’: TSh anipi, anjimmui, muipia; Sh animui, ana-mui, anka-mui, enki-mui; Cm animui. For Num *’ani, see ant. The prefixing of *anji- is consistently in and only in CN. [NUA: CN]
191. *pa’-muwa ‘mosquito’ (long- nose?): TO waamug ‘mosquito’ (cf. TO čukmug ‘gnat’); Nv vamuga; PYp vaamugi; NT vaamugai; ST vaamu. It would be good to keep in mind that (except for initial *pa’a-) these Tep forms are much like Num *muwi above and Kw muhuvaa-vi ‘mosquito’ and the first and third morphemes of CU pa’a-tokwa-móvöt’ö-ci ‘long-(purple)-nose, i.e., mosquito’, since the ‘long-nose’ syllables *pa’-mu/mo are similar to the first two syllables of Tep *paapa-muga. We haamîva ‘nigua, flea’ is also noteworthy, since WC h < *p and a slightly forwarded i > i. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

192. *muhu-(pa) ‘fly’: B.Tep156 *muvari ‘fly’; Fowler83: TO muuwal; LP muutil; PYp muuvili; NT nuuvalli; ST muuvaly. Add PYp mumuva ‘bee, n’. Fowler (1983) cites Kw muhuvaa-vi ‘mosquito’; Ch muhuwa-vi ‘mosquito’ or Ch(L) muhuwa-vi. We ought also to include WC *icumipé ‘sp. of bee’, which matches Tepiman *mupa ‘fly’ in the segments *-mupV. The intervocalic -v- of *mupa > *muva may have shifted to less friction and more glide quality in some of the forms. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Ca muhulí-l ‘mosquito’ only with different suffix to *muhu-. Tr mapari / napari / apari ‘tábano [horsefly]’ and WC vaarâi ‘fly, bee’ more likely belong at ‘bee’ which see. [NUA: Tak, SNum; SUA: Tep, CrC]

193. *mumu ‘bee’: M67-31 *mumumeme ‘bee’; L.Son156 *mumu ‘abejas, panal’; Fowler83; M88-mu11 ‘bee’; KH/M06-mu11: Kw muukucize ‘hornet’; NP pimumui ‘humming noise (as bees)’; Hq momo; Hq momospa ‘honey’; Op mumugo; Eu mumugo; Eu mumúhuo; Wr momohá ‘honey (comb)’; Tr umugá ‘panal de avispas negras’; Yq múmu; My múmu ‘abeja chiquita’; My mumu bá’awa ‘honey’; CN mimivaa-l ‘bee/wasp’s nest’; Pl mimiyaa-wa-t ‘wasp’s nest’; and Fowler includes a probable Tb toomogal ‘bumblebee’. To these we can add Ny mumuva ‘abejas de panales’, WC mimi ‘kind of wasp’, whose vowel agrees with *mumu (*u > WC ï), much mosquito, whose vowel is wrong) or *mukwa (in which case Cp vowel is wrong); M88-32 *mumu ‘fly’ in the segments *-mupV. The intervocalic -v- of *mupa > *muva may have shifted to less friction and more glide quality in some of the forms. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Ca muhulí-l ‘mosquito’ only with different suffix to *muhu-. Tr mapari / napari / apari ‘tábano [horsefly]’ and WC vaarâi ‘fly, bee’ more likely belong at ‘bee’ which see. [NUA: Tak, SNum; SUA: Tep, CrC]

194. *muN ‘bee’: SNum -*muN- with two prefixes (si’-, piya-): SP si’imuutaN-, si’immoomampi ‘bumblebee’; CU piá-mu11-ppi ‘honey-bee (lit: sweet-fly-?)’; WMU piyá-mu11-ppi ‘bumblebee, n’. PYp mumur ‘bee’ with -r may merit consideration. [NUA: SNum]

195. *(mo/wi)-po(ŋa) ‘mosquito’: Fowler83: NP wipona’a / mopoona’a ‘mosquito’; NP(B) mopoŋi / wopoŋi / wiponi ‘mosquito’; NP wopona (Yerington); TSh wipó ‘mosquito’, Sh mopo ‘mosquito’; Sp woponi ‘mosquito’. [NUA: Num]

196. *ku’a ‘worm(y)’: M88-ku32; Munro.Cup46 *ku’a-a-l/kú’ái-l ‘fly, maggot, louse’; KH/M06-ku32: Cp ku’ái-l ‘fly, bedbug’; Ca ku’a-l ‘louse, flea of people’; Ca ku’a ‘become wormy’; Ls ku’ái/kwa’ái ‘fly, maggot’; Gb ko’a ‘gusano’ (vowel is wrong); Sr ku’a-a-c ‘worm, maggot’; Ktn ku’a-č ‘worm, bug’. [NUA: Tak]

197. *mu-ku’a ‘fly’; *mu-ku’aa- ‘flea’: BH.Cup *mukwac ‘flea’; HH.Cup *makwá ‘flea’ (in which case Ca vowel is wrong) or *mukwá (in which case Cp vowel is wrong); M88-mu7; KH.NA; KH/M06-mu7: Cp mekwáš ‘flea’ (vowel is wrong); Ca mukaš ‘flea, louse’; Ls mukwáči-s ‘flea’; Ls kwa’ái-l ‘fly’; Cp ku’a-l ‘fly’. Munro suggests that the Cupan forms for ‘flea’ are a compound of *mu-ku’a-aa, which seems reasonable, recommended by the two Ls forms and the two Cp forms. [NUA: Tak]

198. *waho ‘mosquito/zancudo’: L.Son345 *wo ‘zancudo’; M88-wo1; KH/M06-wo1: Wr wahó; Tr wahó; My wóo. I agree with Miller’s initial vowel in a reconstruction near *waho, with assimilations—*waho > *woho/wo’o—and or vowel loss. We should also include Yq wóo; Eu wöh ‘mosquito’; Eu(L) wowok ‘mosquito’. What of Ktn hawawa-č ‘mosquito(es)’. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn]


200. *sapí ‘mosquito’: Eu sabít ‘gnat, mosquito’; Tbr sahi ‘mosquito’. Both Eu and Tbr have other words that align with *sikwori/saypoli. [SUA: Trn Opn]

NB, regardless the confused choices elsewhere, the words for fly show a rather nice division among the Numic branches: WNNum *mu(w)-pi; CNum *ani’-muí; SNum *muupi-(ci).
926a. *hiCn ‘fly, n’: Sapir; M67-183 *hini; KH.NUA; M88-hii5 ‘fly’; KH/M06-hii5: Sr hiini’k / hiin’i’k ‘fly’; Ktn hi’nìk ‘float’; C6 hiŋi-s ‘young bird’; Ca hiŋ ‘fly, jump, kick, bark’; Tr i’nì ‘volar’. Perhaps Tbr ha-nyá ‘volar’. Miller includes Tr i’nì both here and below; Tbr ha-nyá could feasibly fit either one, and it is possible that the two share a morpheme. Sapir first linked Sr hini1-k and Cr eni-te, but also joined these with Tep nïni and SP nonci (\*nonni-ci), which latter union may be a stretch, though a fossilized reduplication allows a remote possibility, for Tep at least. The inclusion of Cr merits investigation, though I could not find the Cr form in my sources. Sr, Cp, Ca, and Tr may be related in a verb form (perhaps \*i’nì) akin to \*ana ‘wing’; in fact, if the glottal stop derives from a former velar (as seems to happen often enough), then \*hi-kni would nicely explain the velar nasal in Cp and Ca, as well as the -’n- cluster in Tr. A potential complication is an overlap of forms that takes the reconstruction a different direction in b. [\*-nì -*n-] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr]

926b. *honi ‘run fast, fly’: Hp honi ‘swift, fast, fast runner, fast-running ability, speed’; Ca hiŋ- ‘fly, jump, kick, bark’; Ca hiŋ-ići ‘flee, run away’. PUA \*o > Hp ò and Ca/Cp i, so all four segments of all forms agree perfectly with *honi. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

927. \*ni ‘fly, jump’: VVH90 \*ni ‘to fly’; M67-184 *ne ‘fly’; L.Son172 *ni; M88-ni5 ‘fly, jump’; KH/M06-ni5: TO nïni / ní’i ‘fly, jump, pl.’; Op ne/ni; Wr ni/ì; Tr i’nì; My né’e; but Eu mé’e / mehe? Add Yq né’ya/ni’i; PYp neene. [SUA: Tep, Tep, Tep, Opm, Cah]

928a. *yasa ‘fly’: M67-182 *ya ‘fly, v’; M88-ya18 ‘fly, v’; KH/M06-ya18: SP yasa ‘fly off, pl’ (vs. SP nonci ‘fly, sg’ and \*yici/\*yoci Miller notes); CU yaasi ‘flock, fly in a flock’ (vs. CU yıcı ‘fly’ below).

928b. *yaCa ‘fly’: M67-182 *ya ‘fly, v’: TO da’a; PYp da’a; NT dadavığı, dadavigi; ST da șiğda, daya; ST dайдya ‘fast flier’; CR wa-ta-ra’raa ‘it flew off’. Hill adds TO da’a to the SNum *yasa forms, which is a reasonable possibility, as *yasa > Tep yaha normally, but h > ’ is the next step. While TO da’a and dai of the other Tepiman languages could possibly tie to *ya’a/ya’i ‘run, go’, both Miller and Hill separate them, which I do also pending provision for improved probabilities. [SUA: SNum; SUA: Tep]

929 was combined with 930 below to be 930a.

930a. \*yitti (sg), yotti (pl) ‘fly, jump’: LNum292 *yo(h)ci/*yo(h)ti/*yi(h)ü/*yi(h)ei ‘fly, v’; M88-yii12 ‘fly, v’; KH/M06-yi12: Mn yoci; NP yoci; TSh yıcıi, pl: yoti”; Sh yıcıi, pl: yoti” ‘get up, fly’; Cn yıcı ‘fly, sg.’; Kw yozı, pl: yori ‘jump, fly’; CU yıcı ‘fly’; CU yıcı-vörü ‘fly around’ (pöri ‘move, go, walk, pl’); My yorériam ‘insectos que vuelan’. Some these may pair with non-germinated alternates (*yitti vs. *yuti) or dialectal variants diffused: TSh yıcı ‘jump’ and TSh yotikkwann ‘jump, get up, fly up, take off’; Kw yozı ‘dance’ and Kw yorı ‘jump, fly’. Perhaps Mn yıdiki ‘jump from fright’. [NUA: Num]

930b. *yu ‘bounce, trot’: M88-yu1 ‘bounce’; KH/M06-yu1: Cp yutųte ‘to trot’; Ca yu’i ‘trot’; Ls yů ‘trot’; TO juDwua ‘bounce, land on one’s feet’; Wr yu’ri ‘caer solo’; but My yů’a ‘empujar’? Perhaps Mn yıdiki ‘jump from fright’. The initial *yu for all reflexes has me agreeing with Miller and Hill that they are likely related, but in each term showing a different medial result (except My and Ca \*-e), either an intimidating cluster reducing in a bewildering variety or other morphemes make a reconstruction beyond initial CV hazardous. These may tie to *yVtti above. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opm, Cah, Tep]

931. *patani ‘fly, v’: CL.Azt64 *pataanV ‘fly, v’, M88-pa47: KH/M06-pa47: CN patlaani; HN patlaani; Pl pataani. Add Ca pělaan ‘spread open (wings, fan, etc), since intervocalic \*t- > -l- in Ca, but Ca may also belong and is listed at *pılıwa ‘open’, to which the Azt forms may partially belong also, if differing final morphemes are involved. [SUA: Azt; SUA: Tak]

FOAM


Fog: see cloud
934. °cswpuLi ‘wrinkle’: PYp huagpuli ‘wrinkles, n’ and NT sóóspolika ‘arrugado, tableado’ have much in common through four syllables, as also PL iš-šušpuil-nah ‘with swollen eyes, wrinkled face’. PYp and PL agree, while NT may be a loan. [SUA: Tep, Azt]

935. °natipa (> °nacpa > Tep *naspa) ‘fold’: ST naspa ‘fold, bend’; Eu nátpa ‘doblar’; NV nasa ‘plegar una cosa’. [*t > c > Tep s] [SUA: Tep, Opn]

NB, for *(po)Lo’ma ‘bend, fold’ see at circle.
NB, for *nom... ‘fold, bend’ see at circle.
NB, for *caha ‘thin, wrinkled’ see at thin.

Follow: see hunt and search

Food: see eat

FOOT, LEG, THIGH, CALF, HOOF, KNEE, KNEEL; see also hip and buttocks

PIE, PIERS, MISURO, PANTORRILLA, PEZUÑA, RODILLA, RÓTULA, ARRODLARRE

936. °kisa / °kísica > Tep *kíhisa ‘foot, leg’; *kísa ‘step on’; M67-189 *ke/keke ‘foot’; L.Num73 *kíhí ‘foot’; L.Son85 °kísa ‘pisar’; B.Tep131 °kísa ‘he stepped on’; M88-kí ‘foot’; KH/M66-kí: Mn kíki ‘foot’; NT gígí ‘whole foot’; HP kíki ‘track, trail’; GB kóre ‘pisar’; TO kíšp / kísk ‘step on’ (kí < kíhi); TO kíhi ‘action with feet’; LP kíši; NT kíšã; ST kíši; Eu kúsa ‘pisar’; Op ke / kes ‘pisar’; PI ikši ‘foot’; PI taksa ‘to kick’. What of Tb ‘ingi-l ‘foot’, or CN ikši-tl ‘foot’, or perhaps Tb ‘gin ‘swing foot up’; Tr ŋeke(ta) ‘step’? [c/s, h in TO; Gb r]

[SUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Azt]

937. °taLa ‘foot’; Sapir; VVH28 *tala ‘foot’; B.Tep217 *tara ‘foot’; M67-187 *ta/*to ‘foot’; I.Num202 *tah- ‘instrumental prefix, (with the) foot’; L.Son276 *tara ‘pie’; M88-ta12 ‘foot’; KH/M66-ip4 ‘with the foot’: Mn ta ‘foot’; NP ta ‘foot’; Sh ta- ‘with the feet’; Kp ta- ‘with the foot’; SP ta- ‘with the foot’; First syllable of Sr tamukpi ‘heel’; HP tana ‘hoof, foot’; TO tad; LP tar; PYp tar; NV tarha ‘pie’; NT tára; Eu tarát ‘pie, rastro’; Wr talá ‘planta del pie’; CR tará ‘planta del pie, pie, pata, huella’; CN taloaa ‘run, flee’. Do we also consider Cp táy ‘thigh’; We teuri ‘thigh’; and Cr ŋešči ‘thigh’? The following verbs may or may not be of help in determining a possible second or final consonant: NT mayu ‘to warm hands up’; NP taddu ‘warm foot up’; NP tu ‘i ddu ‘i ‘try to warm up’. [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Azt]

938a. *naNpa / *naCp > *nappa ‘foot’: M67-188 *napa ‘foot’; KH.NUA; I.Num107 *nampe ‘foot, lower leg’; M88-na19 ‘foot’; KH/M66-na19: TSh nampe; Sh nampa; CM naape; Kw nabi-vi; Ch nampa; SP nampa ‘foot’; WMU nappá-n ‘my foot’; CU nápa ‘foot’; CU napá-n ‘my foot’. Add HP naap ‘on foot’.

938b. *napo ‘foot’; KH.NUA; KH/M66-na19: Sr navüü, poss ed: náväü ‘foot, feet, ankle, footprint’; Ktn navahaka-c ‘shoe, sandal’; GB -név ‘foot, leg’, pl: nénev. Ktn kaha-c ‘front flap, apron’ would suggest the Ktn compound may mean ‘foot-cover’ or such.

938c. *nanapuni / *natapivi ‘footprint’: PN napanunni ‘tracks’; TSh nampununna ‘tracks’; TSh nampe ‘foot, footprint’; CM nanapunipi ‘footprint’; CM nápi ‘foot, footprint, trail’; CM nanapuni ‘footprint’. Might these tie to *na(N)pa ‘foot’ with an additional morpheme? Might the one Cm form hint what underlies them all: *natapV > *naliapu > *napanV > *nampV? [°Np > °-pp- (in eastern SNum) > -p/-v- (Sr, Ktn, Gb)] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp]

939. °kapsi ‘thigh’: Sapir; VVH41 *kasi ‘leg, thigh’; B.Tep92 *kahi ‘thigh’; M67-435 *kasi thigh; L.Son75 *kasi ‘muslo’; CL.Azt67 *ikši ‘foot’; CL.Azt250 *kis ‘leg, thigh’; Kaufman 1981 *kapsi ‘thigh’; M88-ka7; Manaster-Ramer 1993 *kapsi; KH/M66- ka7 *kapsi ‘leg’; Tb hapši-l ‘thigh, upper leg’; LS qāsā-l; HP qāsī/qahsi ‘thigh, hind quarter’; TO kahiho ‘leg’; LP kahi/kahi; NV kai ‘pierne’; PYp kahit; NT kahi; ST kai; WR kai; TR gashi/kahi; but My káyiyim ‘buttocks’? CN kees ‘thigh, leg’ fits better than CN ikši ‘foot’, though both may belong as variants. What of CN kešil-li ‘groin’? After Kaufman 1981, Manaster-Ramer (1993) discusses this set, also reconstructing *kapsi given the cluster in Tb -ps- here and in apsv ‘arrive’, both with the same cluster -ps-, as well as signs of a cluster in Hp and elsewhere. [*ps- > -s- in most] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]
940. *piN/nuN/huN-kap- ‘thigh’: SP piŋqaví-ví ‘upper leg, thigh’; TSh nuŋkwappí / huŋkwappí ‘leg’; CU piŋ-á ‘thigh, lap’; CU piŋ-á-n ‘my thigh, lap’; NP huggabí ‘thigh’; WMU piŋáví-(vi) ‘thigh, upper leg’; CU piŋá-ví. It is possible, if not probable, that these are prefixes to the same *kapsi morpheme above.
[medial cluster] [NUA: Num]

941. *tona ‘knee’: Sapir; VVH30 *toño ‘knee’; M67-245; I.Num108 *taña ‘knee’; B.Tep227 *toona ‘knee, lower leg’; L.Son311 *tono ‘rodilla’; M88-707; KH/M06-707: I like Sapir’s (*tona) and Bascom’s (*toona) reconstructions, whose vowels agree. I would guess that s.th. velar is involved in a cluster, as an explanation for the velar nasal at times. In spite of the unruly vocalizations, few Uto-Aztecanists would suggest that these initial t and medial n/ŋ words are not related; and since they probably are cognate, I lean toward Sapir’s suggestion that both *tana/taña and *tono/toño assimilated their vowels, albeit in opposite directions, from s.th. that may have contained both vowels, like *tona; however, let’s consider them in those respective groups.

941a. *tana/taña ‘knee’: Mn tanabódo / tanobódo / tonobódo; TSh tanappí; Sh tanka-ppí; Sh tanka-mmattooh ‘kneel, crawl on knees, v’; Cm tana; Kw tana-ví; Ch taña; SP taña; CU táa-ví.

The Mn forms (tanabódo/tanobódo/tonobódo) somewhat display the UA vowelizing variants: *taŋap > *toño(po) > *tono. An unaccented final vowel may become the UA schwa variants—i, í—as in PYp toni.

Karttunen suggests CN tlankwa(i)-tl ‘knee’ appears to be a compound of tlaní ‘below’ and kwa(i)-tl ‘head’ which may be the case, but if not that compound, then *taNkwa has much in common with *taño/*tono. [SUA o-o vs. Num a-a or a-a-o] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

941b. *tono/toño ‘knee’: Tb toŋoo-l; TO toon; PYp toni; NT toóna; ST toon; Eu tońó-t; Tbr tonó-r; Yq tónó; My tómoro; Wr tonó ‘pie, pata’; Wr tonocribo ‘pierna’; Tr rón ‘pie, pierna, pata trasera’;
Cr tunú ‘knee’.

Semantically, we have *tono ‘foot’ in Tr, Wr, but ‘knee’ elsewhere: Tr rónó ‘foot’; Wr tonó ‘foot’. Though some have put Tr and Wr with *tala, it seems best to separate these from *tala for three reasons: (1) a difference of o vs. a; (2) a difference of I vs. n and the n’s appear in SUA languages, which are supposed to have 1’s corresponding to NUA n’s; (3) Tr has both *tana and *tono; thus, these Tr and Wr forms (*tono) belong with *tono ‘knee’, though they do not mean ‘knee’ in Tr and Wr.

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942. *tamo ‘knee’: KH.NUA; M88-ta53; KH/M06-ta53: Hp tamó(‘at) ‘knee’, tamóc- (combining form); Sr tamóöc ‘knee’, -tamoö (poss’d form); Ca támi-l ‘knee’; Cp támi ‘knee’. Because Ca and Cp i < *o and Hp and Sr o < *o, all four of these agree in the first four segments as *tamo. Add Ktn tumoc ‘knee’; and is -c in the Hp combining form a fossilized absolutive suffix, as it would be in Sr and Ktn? What are we to think of Sh -matotoo ‘kneel, crawl on knees, v’? [NUA: Hp, Tak]

943. *coko ‘knee, kneel’: L.Son37 *coko ‘knee’; M88-co12; KH/M06-co12: Tr cókóba-ra; Tbr soko ‘kneel’; Tbr mó-soko-l ‘rötula’; Tr cókó ‘kneel’; Wr(alto) cohkópo ‘knee’; Wr(bajo) copokori (< *cokopori?) ‘knee’. While possible, let’s not yet include Ktn caka-c ‘leg, foot’. [SUA: Trn, Tbr]

944. *huNkaC ‘leg’: Sapir; M67-257a *huka ‘leg’; M88-hu6 ‘leg’; KH/M06-hu6: Mn huqa ‘leg’; NP huga ‘whole leg’; Hp hokya ‘leg, stalk’; Hp hokya ‘stilt, artificial leg, -legged’; Tb ‘ugapí-l ‘leg’; Tb(H) uukappí-l ‘leg’; Cr ţka ‘leg’; Pl ihka ‘be standing’; TSh huŋkappí / nuŋkwappí ‘leg’ is listed both here and at *piN/nuN/huN-kap- ‘thigh’ above. Add Wc ţkáá ‘leg’; Eu húk-voka ‘calf, i.e., leg-belly’; and Nv uksa ‘pantorilla’. Might -g- in Tb, not -k- or -h-, be due to an *-Nk- cluster? Note how well Hp hokya and Nv uksa agree with *hukca, since *-c- > -y- in NUA, > -s- in Tep, and Hp o < *u. Do they have a morpheme the others don’t? [*u > í CrC] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Opn, CrC, Azt]

945. *macCI / *macCI ‘thigh, upper leg’: M67-436 *mac ‘thigh’; M88-ma17 ‘thigh’; KH/M06-ma17: My máccam ‘muslo’; CN mec-tli ‘thigh, leg’; Pl mec- ‘leg (in compounds)’; HN mec-tli ‘thigh’. We can add Yq máca-m ‘leg, thigh’; and if -c- is in a cluster, what of Ca méči ‘kneel down, vi’? Or if *-c- > -y-, perhaps NP miyatiba ‘knee’? Or what about NP micidopinni ‘kneel’ or Ls -qáx-may ‘knee’? For now we’ll count only Azt and Cah. [SUA: Azt, Cah]
946a. *om ‘lower leg’: M88-’o24 ‘leg’; KH/M06-’o24: Sh oom/oom-pin ‘lower leg’; Cm oomo ‘leg, usually whole leg’; Ca -’i ‘leg’; Ls -’e-t ‘foot, leg’. Some nasals in Tak would be nice, but Ls’s absolutive -t does suggest a consonant. Jane Hill (p.c.) astutely observes that this stem appears to be at ‘bone’ for WNum and SNum, but here means ‘leg’ for CNum.

946b. *uma ‘thigh, upper leg’: TO um ‘thigh’, Nv ‘uma ‘thigh’. Wr um ‘buttocks, small of the back’ and Tr umí ‘lower back, buttocks’ are at *komi ‘back’, assumed to have lost the initial C, which they often do, but we shan’t discard the possibility that recycled loans could be in play in one direction or another. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num, Tak]

947. *toko ‘thigh’: TSh tohophi/tohophe: Sh toko-pin, tohpai; Cm tohoobe; Kw tóó-ví; CU tóó-ví; WMU tóó-ví ‘upper leg, thigh’; Ls tífha ‘hip’ (Ls e < *o, but Ca/Cp i < *o, if loaned therefrom). [k in Sh, *k > h?] [NUA: Num]

948. **wiCca / *wiCtaC ‘calf of leg, lower leg’: NK kwiddza (*kwicca/*kwïCca) ‘calf’; TSh wica-ppí ‘calf, lower leg’; Cm ta-wica ‘calf’; Kw wižavu-ví ‘calf’; Ch(L) wiča ‘calf of leg’; SP wica ‘calf’; CU wicá-ví ‘calf’; WMU huwič-á-ví / kučá-ví / wič-á-ví ‘calf of leg’. Note an extra syllable in Kw wižavu-ví with -*pu suffix, frequent in Ls. Note w > kw in Ls and WMU. [w > kw; -*pu suffix in Kw, like Ls’s] [NUA: Num]

949. *yí’u < *kVyu’u ‘leg’: Kw yu’u-ví ‘leg’; Ch yu’u ‘leg’; SP yí’u / yu’u ‘leg’; WMU yu’uú ‘leg’; CU yu’uá-ví ‘leg’. Tb kuyuu ‘lower leg’ may display an original initial syllable *kú lost in SNum. [NUA: SNum, Tb]


952a. *sipika ‘lower leg’: Ls siviq-t ‘lower leg’; Ca siviq-t ‘lower leg’; Cp sivisi ‘calf of leg’.

952b. *sapa ‘lower leg, calf’: Tbr sa-sapá-r ‘lower leg’; Yq wok čava ‘calf of leg’; and maybe Hp saha ‘calf of the leg’. In Yq, could clustering with a stop have changed s > c? Could Hp -h- < *-pk- cluster? [cluster cause s > c] [NUA: Tak; but ?SUA: Cah, Tbr?]


956. *kapoc ‘calf of leg’: CN kooc-tli ‘calf of leg’ and Tr kabóca-ra ‘calf of leg’ fit well since from *kapoc, loss of medial *p in Azt (*kooc) is typical, after which dipthongs hardly endure in Azt (kooc). Identical and highly specific semantics and explainable phonology, suggest that they are cognate.

957. *taC-situ ‘hoof, i.e., foot-nail’: TSh tasitun; Sh ta-sittun; Cm tasitun. [NUA: CNum]

NB, what of NT batúulí ‘calf of leg’; We vaatú ‘femur, leg bone’; Cr wá’aruri ‘calf of leg’? Perhaps loan from Tep. For Tep batu, we should see CrC kwati, or for CrC watu, we should see Tep gato. NB, for *woki ‘foot, track’, see track.

FOREHEAD; FRENTE

958. *kopa is ‘forehead’ (in Tep, Cah), ‘face’ (in Num); plausible is an original meaning of ‘forehead, front of head’ with semantic shift to ‘face’.

958a. *kopa ‘face’; I.Num62 *kope ‘face’; M88-kol6 ‘face’; KH/M06-’o16 ‘face’: Mn qóbe ‘face’; NP ggoba ‘face’; TSh kope ‘face’; Sh kopai ‘face’; Cm koop ‘face’; Kw kovi ‘face’; Ch(L) kova ‘face’; SP kova-ví ‘face’; CU ková-ví ‘face’.


958c. *kopa ‘forehead’: B.Tep113 *kova ‘forehead’; M88-ka31; KH/M06-ka31 *kawaC (AMR): TO koa ‘forehead, brow, cliff, bank, dropoff’; LP kov ‘forehead’; PYp kova ‘forehead’; NT kóva; ST kov; Tbr ková-r ‘frente’.

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NB, for *poso ‘corner in a canyon, cave’

[50x110]NB, for B.Tep213 *taapanai

making a house

CU sigyáa

965

PYp sa

HORQUETA, HORCÓN, RAMA, ESQUINA, RINCÓN, SEPARAR(SE), DIVIDIR(SE)

964. *caháL ‘fork(ed)’: TO ša’’adk/ša’’alk ‘(be) forked, cleft, divided’; PYp sa’ara ‘crevice, partly open; PYp sa’arek ‘fork, branching’; NT sáarak ‘be forked’; Cr īcari ‘horcón’; perhaps -šal- morpheme borrowed from Tep in CN mašal-li ‘earwig, s.th. forked’; CN mašal-tik ‘s.th. divided like a road or crotch of a tree’. I reconstruct *h- because *h > ’ in Tep. *[h > ’ in Tep; > ø in Cr?; liq; c/s] [SU: Tep, CrC]


[NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah]

966. *siNk(y)a ‘separate(d)’: The following two may be related in a sense of two things separating from each other: CU sigyáa- ‘fork, crack, gap’, and Hp siñyá- ‘peel, strip off’. The 2nd consonant is difficult in that velar nasals are yet of unclear origin in UA. [NUA: Hp, Num]

967. *tona ‘fork’: Kw tono-ni(m)bi ‘fork’ (tono ‘strike, pierce’); Wr o’tóna ‘forked tree, forked posts used for making a house’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

NB, for B.Tep213 *taapanai-i ‘to split’, M88-ta17, see break.

NB, for *poso ‘corner in a canyon, cave’, see cave.

NB, Ch(L) sohorah ‘post with U-shaped fork, notched post’ and SP soor’oaa ‘armpit’ may hold potential.
Fox: see coyote
Four: see under numbers toward the end
Freeze: see cold

**FRIEND; AMIGO**


969. *nima* ‘friend, relative’: TSh nimaa ‘friend, distant relative’; Kw niwaaha ‘friend’. [TSh/Kw: m/w] [NUA: Num]


NB, for *(y)ayuni ‘friend’ (ST jaduñ ‘amigo’; NT adúñi ‘amigo’), see ‘peaceable’.
NB, for *way ‘friend, male relative’ see ‘relative’.
NB, for *piña ‘friend, accompany, go/be with’ see ‘with’.

**FROG, TOAD, TADPOLE, POLLIWOG; RANA, SAPO, RENACUAJO**

971. *wakatta / *wakan-ta* ‘frog’: M67-192 *waka* ‘frog’; I.Num265 *waako(o) ‘frog’; BH.Cup *waxa ‘frog’; HH.Cup *waxaa ‘frog’; Fowler83; M88-wa12 ‘frog’, KH.NUA; KH/M06-wa12: Mn wazağá’; Mn(M88) wacqa(‘wa ‘frog’; NP(McD) wakasa’a; Sh waako ‘frog’; Kw wagata/wogata ‘frog’; SP waagoo-(ci);
Tb waagaaí-t ‘little frog’; Cp wáaxáiy-ly ‘frog’; Ca wáaxáiyil, pl wáaxáy-em ‘frog’; Ls waxáw-ka ‘type of frog’; Ls waxáw-wu-t ‘type of frog’; Sr waqat’ / wakat; Ktn wakata-t. Fowler (1983) cites SP wahata/wagata; Tr ‘awaka. Add TSh pawoko/pookoo ‘bullfrog’; TSh wakatta ‘toad’; Ch wágáta-ci ‘frog’; Yq wäh-te ‘toad’; NP wakatta ‘toad’; and Tb woochna-l ‘bullfrog’. Is NP pangomo ‘frog’ under the influence of TSh pawoko? Most show the 3rd C clustered. Yq, Ch, Cp, Ca, and Tb may suggest (an extra syllable(s):) *wakatta(=L(i)).

*wakattali > waktele > wáhte ‘ele (Yq)*
*wakattali > wakattil > wakacil (Tak)/wak(i)š (Tb, Ca’s pl.)
And Mn appears to have metathesized the 2nd and 3rd C’s.

[*-t- > -c- in Ca, Cp; Mn metathesis; wa > wo in Kw] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb; SUA: Cah, Trn]

972. *kwa’Lo / *kwa’ro (> kwara / kwa/y / kwa’na) ‘frog’: M67-191 *kwa; L.Son119 *kwa/y ‘sapo’; Fowler83; M88-kwa6 ‘frog’; KH/M06-si11: SP paqwan’a ‘frog, toad’; CU pāx-ka-wa’na ‘frog’; CU pāx-či-ci ‘horned toad’; CU paqwxani ‘frog’ (in English section); Gb kwa’ro ‘sapo’; Hp baakwa ‘toad’; Eu kohár ‘sapo’; CN kweya-tl ‘frog’. Fowler also lists Ls pakwari-t ‘tadpole’; Gb qwarava ‘frog’. The words for frog are a difficult collection; in order to facilitate a solution, consider additional possibilities: My boórók, pl: booró ‘friend’ (*kwa’Lo o > bwoLo’o); Tr barí; TO bábad ‘frog’; PYp babadu ‘frog’; NT babádádí ‘frog, toad’; NT kuaalí ‘frog’; We kwaasaa species of frog (voiceless C clustered with -r- > -s- as in vulture?). In Gb, My, and PYp are signs of 2nd vowel o. In Gb, My, Eu, Tr are signs of a liquid in the 2nd consonant or cluster, yet we see *kwa/y in Tep and CN. Besides a cluster ‘-r- in Gb, the ‘-n- in Num Agrees. All together these forms may show both *l/r > n in Num and *r > y in Tep and Azt. [L > y in Azt, Tep] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

973. *siwo* ‘tadpole’: L.Son247 *siwori ‘renacuajo’; M88-si11; KH/M06-si11: Eu zívór; Tr sibóri; Yq sibo’olim; My sibo’ori ‘tadpole’. Add Tb šikol ‘lizard’. Cr šikwá ‘frog’ and ST saba’n ‘frog’ agree in that Cr ī < *u and ST b < *kw, but the ST s is unexpected. Possibly CN te-čičkoo-tl ‘type of lizard with blue neck markings’ if a c/s inconsistency. Of course, it is also the case that if we had some eggs, we could have some ham and eggs, if we had some ham’. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC; NUA: Tb]

974. *ta’aci / *ta’aci ‘frog’: Yq bátači ‘frog’; My bátači ‘frog’; Nv vatsi; Crr taači ‘frog’. Cah and Nv quite agree and may contain initial *pa ‘water’, which would have Cr agreeing, as well, except for an extra vowel toward the end, from which the others may be reductions. [SUA: Cah, Tep, CrC]

975. *tímo ‘frog’: L.Son291 *tímo ‘rana’: Op temo; Eu temó-t; Wr alto temó; Wr bajo te’emó; Tr remó. We must add Wc teemúú ‘frog’. [SUA: Trn, Opn, CrC]
FROM; DE, DESDE
976. *piyu ‘from’: Hp (åa)piy, (åa)piy’o(åa)piyoo’ (puasal) ‘from, away from, onward from’; Sr -piu’ as in Sr iipu’ ‘from here’; Sr aapiu’ ‘from there’; Sr haiipiu’ ‘from somewhere’. We might surmise that the final vowel of the Hp pausal form is original and that the non-pausal form is truncated therefrom, for if added, why o instead of another vowel? Interestingly, the Hp and Sr forms agree for five segments with *piyu’ even to final glottal stop. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

977. *-yïl ( > Tep *-dir) ‘from’: TO -jeD ‘from’; NT -diri ‘from’ (Bascom 1982, 320); NT di of (possession)’; ST -dir ‘from’. [SUa: Tep]

978. *maná ‘from, on’: CU -mana-kwáy ‘come from’ (defective verb that must have object as prefix, often used as postposition); CU -tih-mána-kwáy ‘from’; Ch -manankw(a) ‘because of, from’; Mn hautimanáqwe ‘from which direction’; Mn hautí ‘where (direction)’; thus, Mn -manaqwe ‘from’; TSh manakwa ‘away from’; TSh mannay ‘from (being in, on, at), away from’; TSh man ‘on, at, against, in (surface of, never inside of)’; Sh(M) manankwa ‘far’; Sh(C) mana”-kkw ‘far’; Sh(C) mana”-kkat ‘far’; Cm manakwí. [NUA: Num] NB, for *-nkwV ‘from, side’ see side.

FRUIT; FRUTA: see also ‘berry’
979a. *taka(C) ‘fruit’: L.Son269 *taka ‘fruta’; M88-ta10 ‘fruit (pit)’; KH/M06-ta10: Eu takát ‘fruta’; Op takkai ‘echar fruta’; My taaka; Tbra taka-ra-t; Tr rá ‘fructificar, dar fruto o semilla’; Tr rá-ka-ra ‘semilla, fruto (esp with seed or grain)’; Wt taká ‘hueos de fruta, semillas’; HN tlhaká-tl ‘fruit’; Pl taailk fruit. Lionnet associates these with Tep *taka ‘root’, which may well be, in that the pit begins the root and the above mean ‘pit’ as often as ‘fruit’. Add Ch táka’i ‘fruit’; Wt tákáari ‘round fruit’; Mn tadaai ‘be fruitful’; and Kw tükipiya ‘fruit’; in spite of Kw’s raised/relaxed schwa-like vowelizing, it is likely cognate. On the other hand, Hp tokó ‘fruit, edible part of food’ belongs with Mn tuku ‘flesh, fruit, berries, nuts’ and many others under *tukuwa ‘meat’. Ktn tíkí-t ‘tree sp. smooth like an alder but as big and with a leaf like a plum tree’ is dubious unless fruit-bearing. [*a > i; *r > i] 
979b. *taka ‘root’: B.Tep216 *taka ‘root’; M88-ta43; KH/M06-ta43: TO tat(t) ‘become rooted, shoot/grow roots’; NT táka ‘root’, NT takáádi ‘its root’; ST tak. This is likely related to TrC *taka ‘seed’, since seeds do become roots or take root: Wr taka ‘fruit pit, seeds of trees and bushes’; Tr rá ‘seed, fruit (particularly those having pits)’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

980. *tuV ‘bear fruit, grow’: BH.Cup *tú- ‘bear fruit’; M88-tu20 ‘bear fruit’; KH/M06-tu20: Cú tú’a ‘bear fruit’; Cú tú-i-š ‘fruitful’; Ca tú ‘bear fruit’; Ls tú ‘grow (of plants), stand (of pl. inanimate obj’s)’. Let’s add Eu tuu ‘darse los frutos, convertirse en, hacerse’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn]

NB, for *ikwasi ‘prickly pear, fruit’ see cactus, wherein are found Wr iwasi, Wc ‘ikwáši, B.Tep307 *iibahí ‘prickly pear, fruit’, etc., and these likely tie to *kwasi/kwasi ‘ripe(n)’.

NB, for *noni ‘yucca fruit’, see yucca.

FULL, SATED, FILL; LLENO, SATISFECHO, LLENAR
981. *muya ‘fill, be full, overflow’: Ca -muye- ‘flow out, fill up (of water, fog, smoke)’; Ls muuyá ‘be full, vi’; Ls muuyi ‘fill, vt’; Cp muya ‘bellow, rise (of dust, smoke, other fine particles)’. [NUA: Tak]

982. *cuyá ‘fill’: B.Tep208 *suudai ‘fill’; M88-cu17; KH/M06-cu17; TO šuud ‘full of liquid’; NT suúdai ‘fill’; NT susúudadai ‘fill it’; NT susúúdaríi ‘fill it’; NT suúðgí ‘be full’; NT suúð(gi) ‘water’; ST suudai ‘fill’; ST suudaya ‘full’. Add PYp suudia ‘fill’; PYp suudaga ‘liquid’; PYp suudagi ‘water’. The Tep word for ‘water’ seems derived from ‘full/fill’: TO šuud ‘full of liquid’; TO šuúðgí / šuúðgí ‘water, liquid, pond’; TO šuúdagas ‘be filled’; TO šuúd / šuúsú ‘fill up, vt’. But Eu kait-súre ‘vacío, sin grano’ and Eu súre ‘granado [full of grain/seed]’ here or *suLa ‘heart’? [SUa: Tep, Opn]

Miller (M88-puy9 ‘full’; M67-193 *pu ‘full’) combines the *puy and *pun(i) stems, but let’s separate them. The finer sorting is *pusa (found at swell) vs. *puca < *putca(?) (found at pregnant), but the distinction seems to exist because some languages (CN, Tr, Wr) have both: 983. *puya ‘full’: KH.NUA: Tb puyujust-‘ubuu ‘be full’; Cp püyi-š ‘full after eating, also of moon’; Ca puy ‘become full with food’; Ls püya ‘full from eating’; Gb püy llenarse’; Sr puutk ‘bec full (of contents), vi’; Sr
puutkin ‘fill (container) with, vt’; Sr puutu’(q) ‘fill (of contents), rise (of water)’. We ought also to include Eu bóde ‘full’; Eu bodávi ‘full’: Eu bod and Tak puy agree fairly well and point to *puy, since *poy should show high front vowels in Tak, and Eu d < *y, though Eu changed *u > o. On the other hand, KH/M06-pu9 includes Tr(H) bučiami ‘lleno’ and Tr(H) bučiwa ‘llenar, vt’ which fit a NUA -y- and SUA -c- pattern. [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Opn]

984. *pono < *puna ‘full/fill’: NP miha paţpono’a ‘full moon’; Kw pono’i ‘be full’; CU pōnō’i ‘be full of’; the -pon- portion of these Cahitan terms may relate: My tapuni ‘is full’; My tapuna ‘is filling, vi’; My tapunia ‘is filling, vt’; Yq tápuna ‘fill, vt’ [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah]

985. *(yu)taki ‘fill, store’: Ca téxin ‘to store (acorns, grains), to fill sack (with food)’; Cp yūtaxi-š ‘full’.[NUA: Tak]

986. *kopo ‘full from eating’: TO koowog/d ‘be full from eating’; PYp koovog ‘full (of food)’.[SUa: Tep]

987. *wiCti / *waCta ‘full from eating’: Mn wíži’mi ‘be sated, be full, be satisfied (from eating)’; NP wížimi’hu’u ‘Are you full?’; TSh wíčwitaippi ‘full, satiated’; Cr watáhusai ‘se llenó (persona)’ is likely related to TSh wíčwitaippi or to *wíči, since Num -c- is not from PUA -*c-,. but usually *-Ct-. [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

988. *tippai / *timpai ‘full’: TSh tippekíataippi ‘full’; Sh tippai ‘full’; Cm títíbeti ‘full’; Kw tībee ‘to be full’. Kw -b- < *-mp- usually, as *-pp-> Kw -p-. [NUA: Num]

NB, for *tima/i ‘fill, close’, see ‘close’.
NB, for *pucca / putTV ‘full, pregnant’, see pregnant.
NB, for *posa ‘swell, be full from eating’ see swell.

Fur: see hair, skin

GARBAGE, REFUSE (HEAP), TRASH (PILE), DISCARD, THROW AWAY; see also lump, pile

BASURA, INMUNDICIA, DESECHO, DESECHAR, DESPERDIR

989. *Líma ‘throw out onto a refuse heap (which loosely piles higher)’: Hp ríma ‘throw out’; Ls líma/i ‘put on top of, pile loosely’. For AYq rumui ‘uneven’; AYq rurumui ‘rough ground’ (i.e., has bumps, is lumpy), see lump. [Initial *L?] [NUA: Hp, Tak]

990. *sana(k) ‘trash’: Eu sanákae ‘basura’; Yq sánko’a ‘garbage’; AYq sankoa ‘trash’; Ls sáŋa/i ‘pile up, bunch up, v’; CU síní-pí ‘trash, garbage, refuse’. CU -p- instead of -v- suggests a final consonant; and could Ls n be the cluster reduction suggested by Eu and Yq? [cluster reduction] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Opn, Cah]

991. *taNCa ‘trash’: TO taanhadagi ‘trash’; ST tanaara ‘basura’; Cp tánje ‘pile up’. Both TO and Cp suggest a cluster reduction involving a nasal. [N, cluster] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

GATHER, HARVEST, AUTUMN; JUNTAR, COSECHAR, SEGAR, OTOÑO

992. *cupta ‘gather, close eyes’; M67-194 *cupta ‘gather’; M88-cu6 ‘gather’; KH/M06-cu6: Mn coba / copa ‘gather, pick up’; Ls čúpa ‘be gathered, bundled together’; Ls čupu’-a/i ‘close eyes’; Ls čúúpa ‘be closed, of eyes’; Cp čupe ‘shut eyes’; Hp covala ‘gather, vt’; coval-ti ‘assemble, vi’; My cuppa ‘finish, harvest, vt’; My hicupa ‘harest, vi’; Yq hicupawa ‘harvest, v’; and Miller includes NP coppa ‘close eyes’ in light of Ls, for the two meanings (gather/close eyes) do frequently tie together. Add NP cobbawa ‘gather’; NP túcopia ‘pick up’. Miller also lists Cp čivi ‘gather, vt’ citing it as having the wrong vowel in corresponding to *o instead of *u; however, many of the forms show o, and *u-a > o-a is common in UA. Some languages (Hp, Cp if cognate) lose gemination. [*u-a > o-a] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah]

993. *ci’a ‘gather’: M88-ci20; KH/M06-ci20: Cp či’a ‘gather’; Ca či’i ‘pick, gather from ground; Ls či’i ‘gather things from ground’; Sr ci’-a-i ‘gather from ground, pick up’. Miller lists Cp čivi ‘gather, vt’ but it belongs with *cupa; however, these *ci’a forms form a nicely cohesive unit and do suggest *i, though Cp has three separate words: Cp či’a ‘gather, vt’; Cp čivi ‘gather, vt’; Cp čupe ‘shut eyes, vt’ [NUA: Tak]
1000. *kappiwa ‘degrain grain from ear’; TO kaipig ‘harvest grain, scrape grain from ears, v’ (Saxton and Saxton 1969); ST kaipga ‘desgranararlo (planta)’. [SUA: Tep]


1002. *taniku ‘seedbeater’: Kw taniku ‘seedbeater made of twined basketry’; TSh tanahun / tanahun ‘seed paddle, seed beater, racket’; Sh taniku ‘seed beater’. [NUA: Num]

NB, for *pāni ‘pick’ see at pull: Hp neevena ‘pick, harvest wild greens over a wide area’; PYp vaimit ‘pick fruit’; PYp vaimim ‘pull off’ see pull.

NB, for *cayaV ‘pick, harvest’ see at ‘carry’ where is M88-ca18; KH.NUA: Cp čayú’e ‘harvest’; LS čávi ‘sift, winnow; Sr čáv’kin ‘select, pick’ but *ca’ay in most non-Tak languages.

NB, at ‘thunder’ are Cp táwenve’e-t ‘thunder, autumn’ and LS táwšuŋva ‘autumn (found only in BH)’ also meaning ‘autumn’; the two *tawva ‘thunder’. NB, for *kíLípi ‘shell/shuck corn, v’, see at ‘scrape’.

Gentle: see peace(ful/able)
Girl: see woman

**GIVE; DAR; see also ‘trade’**

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<td>maqa; kíya ‘give to’</td>
<td>Hp maqa ‘give to s.o.’</td>
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<td>KH.NUA</td>
<td>maqa ‘give to s.o.’</td>
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<td>M88</td>
<td>makka ‘give, feed’</td>
<td>Sr maqaí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>maka(n)</td>
<td>Ca máx ‘give money’</td>
<td>My makka; mika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSh</td>
<td>maka ‘feed, give to eat’</td>
<td>Ls námxa</td>
<td>Wr ki’á-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>maka’ ‘feed’</td>
<td>Cp maxa; némxe</td>
<td>Tr ya; ki’(y)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>maka ‘feed, give to eat’</td>
<td>TO maak; maki</td>
<td>Cr naatatíste ‘give me it, round obj’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>maka ‘give’</td>
<td>LP maka</td>
<td>naatatípte ’, bendable obj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMU</td>
<td>maqá-y ‘feed, give food’</td>
<td>PYp maaka naatatante</td>
<td>naatatante ’, standing obj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>maqá-y ‘feed’</td>
<td>NT maákai</td>
<td>Wc mikwa ‘give to eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ST maak; makia</td>
<td>CN na-maka ‘sell’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CN maka ‘take medicine, give s.th. to s.o.’
1003. *makaC (AMR) ‘give’: Sapir; VVH83 *maka ‘give’; B.Tep139 *maakai ‘he gives’; M67-196a *maka ‘give’; I.Num91 *ma(h)ka ‘feed, give’; BH.Cup *max ‘give’; KH.NUA; M88-ma12; AMR 1993c *makaC; KH/M06-ma12 *makaC (AMR) ‘give (food), feed’: a common etymon in all branches of UA. Ktn mak ‘give’ and Ktn namatok ‘generous person’ also. I like AMR’s reconstruction, as evidence of a final -C exists in CNum. A few geminate the 2nd C, perhaps for intensification rather than proto-structure. The noun classification systems in the Cr verbs, being semantically flavored like Athapaskan, are a unique curiosity in UA, where such are rare. Where did the influence come from? [*k > h in Tb] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]

1004. *cëriwa ‘give attention/gifts to’: L.Son36 *cëriwa ‘regalar (give gift)’; M88-cë6; KH/M06-cë6; Tbr hili-wa ‘dar’; Tr cëriwë ‘obsequiar, regalar’; Wr cëriwë ‘dar gracias’; Wr cëriwë-na ‘be sorry for s.o. or sad about s.o. or s.th.’ The Tr definition ‘obsequiar (pay attention to, treat, give gifts to)’ helps tie these together in that when one feels bad/sorry for someone and wants to make them feel better, giving them attention/gifts is not unusual. The initial consonant of Tbr, however, is unusual. [SUA: Trn]

1005. *uttu ‘give’: TSh uttu ‘give, present to’; Sh uttu ‘give s.th. to s.o.’; Cm uttu-ka-ti ‘give s.th., vt’ [NUA: CNum]

1006. *himi ‘give (perhaps pl. obj’s)’: NP himmi ‘give pl obj’s, vt’; WSh himi ‘give, pl obj’s’; Cm himiiti / himi-ka-ti ‘give pl. obj’s’; Tr nihiima-ma ‘dar, entregar’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

1007. *ki’ya / *ki’a ‘give to s.o.’: Mn kiya ‘give to s.o.’; NP gia ‘give, vt’; NP yaa u gi’a ‘offer’; Tr a/ya ‘dar, entregar’; Tr ki’a / ki’ya ‘dar le’; Tr á-ki- ‘buscarle’ (Brambila says related); Wr ki’á-ni ‘give’. Some forms suggest *ki’-ya is a compound. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

1008. *mi... ‘give food’: M67-196b; M88-mi1; KH/M06-mi1: Cr raatamihsin ‘he is going to feed it to him’ (with the allomorphs -mi-, -mikwa-, M88); Wc mikwa ‘mantener, dar de comer’; My miika ‘dar, regalar’; My miiki ‘regalo’. [SUA: CrC, Cah]

Gnat: see fly

GO, WALK, RUN, FAST; IR, CAMINAR, CORRER, RÁPIDO; see also leave, arrive, return

Hill (KH/M06) sorted well the overlap in M88-mi6 ‘go’ and M88-mi6 ‘run, go, walk’; two stems are likely involved, since NUA has both *miya and *miLa; so here are distinguished *miya and *miL/*mi:n: 1009. *miya ‘go’: M67-197 *miya/*mi; I.Num101 *mi’a ‘go, walk’; KH.NUA; M88-mi6 ‘go’; KH/M06-mi6 *miyaC (AMR): Cm mia/mi’a; TSh mia/mi’a; Gb mia; Sr mi/miiaa; Ktn mi; Tb miyat-imiy ‘go’. To these can be added Mn miya ‘go’; NP mia ‘go’; Sh mia ‘go’; Kw miya ‘come, go, walk, pl.’; SP mia ‘travel, journey, vi pl’; CU miyá-y ‘move away from, be far from’. Add WMU –mi ‘while going/moving, do s.th. while going, vi’; Kw mi ‘move while V-ing’; Kw miya ‘go, walk’. [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

1010a. *miLa/i ‘run, flow, go, want’: B.Tep160 *mirai ‘he runs’, *míri ‘to run’, *mi ‘he ran’; M67-177 *mel ‘flow, (run)’; BH *man ‘come’; M88-mi6 ‘go, run, walk (sg?)’; KH/M06-mi6: Hp miúa ‘flow, (run of)’; Ls mon-/muná ‘travel, come, walk, go’; Cp menmáx ‘will come’ (neqa ‘is coming’); Ca ménvax ‘come’ (nék-en an allomorph); TO miD, mí, miíl ‘arrive (wind, water, runner)’; LP míli; LP oimiri; NT míli; NT aimairi ‘walk around’; NT miráadami ‘runner’; ST míi; Wr -ma, -mi- ‘future suf sg’; Tr mè-/ma-; Cr me/me’i. To these we can add Eu merá ‘correr uno’; PY mera/meli ‘run’; Nv mi:a ‘correr’; Tbr -m(u)- ‘desear, futuro’ (Lionnet 1978, 34), but parting from Lionnet, ties to Tr/Wr-ma/-mV seem more likely; Cr mi:i ‘desiderative morpheme’ (Casad 1984, 162) and ‘want’ and ‘run’ are often paired semantically in UA, and NP mian ‘ooze out’. With *u > í in Num quite often, the shift or push chain effect of *í > 1 in Num should also be considered. Note also Ca méle ‘be fond of, care for’ and Cp melen ‘very, much, hard, fast’? The 2nd V in this etymon often varies: e.g., in Tr alone are Tr mé-, ma-, but -muri in rarámuri.

1010b. *miLV ‘trample, stampede’: Sapir ties CN miimiloa ‘trample about’ and SP mijkwa ‘come out forcibly, stampede’ (< *mi-mi-kwa < *mil...), which seems as plausible. [l/r/n; L > ‘ in CrC] [NUA: Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1011. *sima ‘go’: VVH69 *sim/i/sima to go; B.Tep66 *himii ‘to go’, *hii ‘he went’; M67-198 *simi / *sime; L.Son241 *simi/sim-i; M88-si3; KH/M06-si3: TO him ‘move along, progress, walk’; LP himi; PYp himi; ST himču; Wr simi-ná ‘ir, andar’; Tr si-mea, sima-ma, simí ‘ir, irse’; Tbr sem- / -seme- / -simi- / -sim- ‘ir, irse’; My siime ‘irse’; Yq sim. To these let’s add Cr sin ‘durative morpheme’ (since final m > n in Cr: *sima > sim > sin. [SUAN: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

1012a. *nīmi ‘walk around, live’: Sapir; VVH171 *nīmi ‘walk around, live’; M67-263a *nem-i ‘live’; I.Num123 *nim/i/nī’imi ‘walk, wander, live’; M88-ni9; KH.NUA: KH/M06-ni9: Mn nīnimdīwa ‘come to life, be born’; NP nīmmi ‘walk’; TSh nīm ‘one moves’; Sh nīm ‘live’; Cm nīm ‘move about, walk, sg’; Ca nēm ‘walk around’; Ca nēm ‘chase, follow tradition’; Ls nōnm/nōnumi ‘follow’; Gb nōji ‘andar’; Sr nīm/nīmi- ‘walk, walk around, walk along’; Sr nīnīm ‘be walking (around)’; Sr nīmi ‘chase’; Ktn ním ‘walk, vi, walk on, vt’; Hp -nīma ‘go around doing s.th., circumgressive suffix’; CN nēmi ‘live’; CN ne’nēmi ‘wander about’; HN nēmi ‘walk’; Pl nēmi ‘be, exist’; and in Jane Hill (2005) are Cp nana ‘walk around’ and Cp nēmim ‘follow’ subsequent to Hill and Nolasquez (1973) Cp nenni ‘chase’ (like Ca) and Cp nēnēwe ‘walk’ with problematic -w-. But Num sometimes does have -w- < *-m-, so note Mn nīmμο ‘go about as a group’ and TSh nuwi ‘walk around, roam, wander, live (in traditional lifeway)’, durative nīmim. The main reason for wandering was hunting and gathering, the traditional livelihood, so it also came to mean live traditionally. The reduplicated forms often mean `chase/follow’ from non-reduplicated ‘walk’. Note Gb nōji, whose velar nasal is likely the result of a cluster created by reduplication (as in Cp nēnēwe, Cp nenni, or Ls nōnm) then syncope: *-nw/-nm- > -ŋ-. Miller queries “metathesis?”’ for Ls món/munáa ‘travel, come, walk, go’ but more likely with *mīLa. The below may be another form of the same verb: an analogized -a ‘transitive’ from the -i ‘intransitive’. See discussion at *nīmi ‘person’ at ‘man’.

1012b. *nima / *nama / *nawa ‘track’: Sapir: CN nema ‘paso a paso’; SP naŋwa ‘track, v’ Sapir offers this association, which seems as probable as not. If nothing else, add Kw nawa-bi ‘track, trail’ (but Kw nabi-vi ‘foot’); Ch náa ‘track, n’; CU naŋwa-vi ‘track, n’ with SP naŋwa ‘track, v’.

1013. *nami ‘race’; BH.Cup *nām ‘to race’; M88-na15 ‘race’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-na15: Cp námeyulu ‘catch up to’; Ca nánami ‘to race’; Ls náami ‘run, race’; Sr naami ‘n ‘to race’; Hp nanaimnāva ‘be running in a kicking stone race’. The Ls form is also at *nami ‘cross’, which may recommend an union of the sets na15 and na37, this and the other at ‘cross’. Or could this feasibly be *na-miLa ‘run, race each other’, with a *na- reciprocal prefix and with Sr and Hp showing the later -n- as well, with reductions? [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1014a. *tīnna ‘run’: Yq tēnne ‘run, pl’; My tēnne ‘run, pl’; Cr wātien ‘run!’

1014b. *tīnna ‘follow, chase, hunt’: I.Num244 *tīna ‘pursue’; Kw tīnha ‘hunt, pl’; Kw tīna ‘follow’; Ch tīn ‘follow’; SP tīnna ‘pursue’; SP tīnna ‘hunt’; CU tīnya ‘hunt’; Hp tīni ‘game animal, a kill, prey’. These may tie to *tīna ‘herd, chase’ at ‘hunt’ (M88 and KH/M06-ti25).

1014c. *na-tīnna / *na-ri(n)na ‘run’: Might Ch narīna ‘run, dash’; SP na-nūnna ‘follow a track’ with *na- prefix, tie to Wr na ‘nāri ‘follow, v’ and Eu när ‘run behind something, v’? [NUA: Num; Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]

1015. *nakka/i / *nakka/i ‘run, move’: Sapir; M67-295 *nok ‘move’; I.Num116 *nukhi(n) ‘run (off, away), move, flow’; M88-no7 ‘move’; KH/M06-no7; TSh nuku ‘run’; Sh nuku ‘run, sg.’; Cm nuku ‘run off, run away’; SP nuku ‘run, stream, flow’; CU nukki ‘flow, run’; Wr noga/nogi ‘move, actuar, andar haciendo’. Sapir ties CN nokkiaa ‘upset, spill s.th.’ and SP nukki ‘stream, run’ together, and with the varied uses of *noki that he lists, the tie is feasible. [SUAn o and SUAn u] [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Azt]

1016a. *po-o ‘run’: Sapir; B.Tep279 *voopo ‘run, pl’; M88-po1; KH/M06-po1: NP popuyuha ‘hu ‘run, pl’; TO woppo ‘woppo ‘run, pl’; NT vopööyi ‘run, pl’; NT vopöödam ‘runners’; NT voí, voogāti (poss’d) ‘road’; NT voogāti ‘hacer camino’; EU voome / bô-o-me ‘run, pl’; Wr -po ‘future pl suffix’; Tr pó-bó ‘ir varios’; My bōhowa ‘is walking’. Sapir ties Tep and SP pooya ‘run’; SP y does agree with Tep d (< *y), which may tie these to the forms below, though the medial consonant becomes even more problematic: *, *t, or *y? Add PYp voopo ‘run, pl’ and EU vovedaa ‘walk’. Which appear to derive from Eu vovet / bowet ‘road’. This likely relates to *pow / *poC ‘road’, as in *po-ta ‘road-do’, as all in this set might. Similarly, NT shows no g when contracted, but does when suffixed.
with Hp

1017. *ya‘i ‘run, fast’: Sapir; BH.Cup *ya‘i ‘run’; M67-358 *ya‘i ‘run’; M88-ya‘i ‘run’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ya‘i: Sh yama-sua, yawi-sín ‘fast’; SP yaiN ‘hunt’; Cp yá‘e ‘run, sg’; Ca yá‘ik ‘(good) runner’; Ca ya‘i ‘wind, air’; Ls yá‘i ‘(quickly) run, be fast, flow’; Sr yá‘i ‘run’; Tr yá/yó ‘pronto’; Cr ña‘a nu-ye‘i-ve ‘I can really hoof it’. Consider also Eu da‘a ‘ir’; the Eu form may suggest a tie of all these to Tep *da‘a ‘fly’, though Cr has separate forms—ye‘i and ra‘a; yet Sapir ties Tepecano daim/a-dim ‘run, follow’, which is similar to reduplicated PYp da‘a, dadima ‘fly’ with Cr ye‘i. In English we say ‘flew’ for ‘ran fast, hurry’. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn, CrC]

1018. *yapi ‘hurry’: Mn yabi ‘isú ‘hurry!’; NP yabi ‘hurry, adv’; NP yapi ‘fast’; NP yabisu ‘quickly’; Wr yapi ‘pronto’; Wr yapi ‘muy pronto’; Wr yapisí ‘to hurry’; maybe TSh yawísí ‘quickly, fast, in a hurry’. Both NP and Wr show *yapi and have been associated with *ya‘i. While such a tie may be, these have an extra morpheme that the above lack, even if related: *ya‘i(-pi)? Note that 3 of 4 show an s-syllable also. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

1019. *oi-míra / *oiya-míra ‘follow-go’: B.Tep 318 *oimírai ‘to walk around’; B. Tep 316; M88.-07; KH/M06-07: TO oimed / oimídi ‘walk around’; LP *oimír(i), pl: oihopo; NT aimírai; PYp oi- ‘around, round about’; PYp oida ‘follow, vt’; Wr oí-ná ‘andar’; Tbr on-/ona- ‘andar, arrastrarse, nadar’. This is probably a compound. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

1020a. *waya ‘go (out/away) fast’: Sr wayaq q ‘go/come out, exit fast’; Hp waaya ‘move, run, fly away, escape’; Tb waaiit ‘fast, quickly’. [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp]

1020b. *wiya / *wiira(ma) ‘walk’: AYq werama ‘walk’; Eu weré ‘venir, hacerse’; Yq weye ‘caminar, sg’; Yq wéama ‘andar, sg’; My weiye ‘va caminando’; My werama ‘anda’; possibly Hp wayma ‘to be walking along’; and perhaps Tr eyena ‘andar, caminar’ (but Brambila considers ena the steam)’. We may have two separate sets, or these may also be the result of reduplicated loans, and knowing the propensity of TrC *r/l > y in NUA, as well as vowels’ inclinations to rise and front before l/r/y in UA, I put them together until new data directs differently. The Sr form is also at ‘carry’ (*wayak) which may tie the two sets together … or simply cause trouble. [y/r]

1021. *pakay(N) / *pakiN ‘walk (away), sg’; Kw pagi ‘walk, sg’; Kw pagi-nii ‘walk around’; Ch pagi ‘walk, pl’; SP pagiN ‘walk’; WMU paqáy’kwe-y / paqáy’-we-y ‘walk, sg’; CU paqá-‘ni ‘walk around’, CU paqá- ‘way ‘walk’. WMU often shows nasalized vowels, which align with SP’s underlying nasal. Miller and Ken Hill associate this with *paki ‘enter’ which is entirely possible, but is it probable? See ‘enter’ at ‘in’. [NUA: SNUM]

1022. *yiNka ‘enter (sg/pl?): Sapir; M67-97 *ye ‘come (sg)’; M88-yi7; KH/M06-iy7: Mn iga; NP iga; Pn iku’; Sh yínkah ‘move, v.pl.’; WSh yínka ‘travel, wander, live, vi pl’; Cm ikari; Kw ‘iga; SP íga ‘enter’; CU yígáy ‘enter, come in’; pl: waqáy; Hp yínq- in Hp yínq-ya ‘enter, vi. p. pl’; Hp yínq-ta ‘be entering, vi.i.pl’; Wr yeqi-ná ‘accept an invitation to a festival’; Cr ye‘i ‘come (sg, subj. pres.)’; Wc yei ‘move, walk’. Sapir ties CN CNE-kawia ‘hacer llegar a alguien [cause s.o. to arrive]’ and with SP íga. Might *ya‘i ‘run, fast’ above at 1017 belong here, or some therefrom? [medial cluster; CNUM, HPO-Nk- (as at cold): W/SNUM, Azt -k:- CrC glottal stop?] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, CrC, Azt]

1023a. *kway / kwa‘i / kwa‘y (> *kwi?) ‘go (away from speaker?)’: Kw kwee ‘go’; Ch wa‘i, -kwa‘i ‘go to’; CU kwáy / kwa‘y ‘go to’; WMU qwá-y ‘go, go away, vi’ (perfect: kwóo’kwa).

1023b. *kwi ‘run, pass by’: Yq bwíte ‘run’; My bwíte ‘está corriendo’; ST bya ‘pass by/through’; ST biédy a ‘make pass by/through’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Tep]

1024. *wa‘tα ‘run’: Hp wari(k-) ‘run’; Hp war-ta ‘run fast, run well’; Cr watin ‘to run’ (see 1014a); Tbr wotak/wutaká- ‘to run’; Tb wad ‘awat ‘run away’. 2nd C difficult, making the whole somewhat dubious. [t>r/d] [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: CrC, Tbr]

1025. *hat(t)i ‘go, run’: Ls hat‘a ‘go’; Hp hari(k-) ‘gallop, be active’. In both this and the above, Tak *-tt- aligns with Hp -r-, but valid? [t vs. r] [NUA: Tak, Hp]
forms above, especially when we note Kw hï 1037 Gb 1037 cée’ of 1036 GOOD; BUENO Go out (of a f
NB, for *puLa ‘go out, set out’ see ‘out’
do along or in motion’; WSh nooh ‘move about {auxiliary verb). [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah]
fact ‘appear, be showing’; Wr na 1038 Sh nawa 1037 ‘llegarse, acercarsele’; Hp nàala(k [NUA: CNum]
1031 Tb 1029 1026. [62x401]o 1034 [SUA: Tep, CrC]
1031. *sot > Tep hot ‘swift, hurry’; TO hot ‘be swift’; PYp hoh ‘rapidly, hurry’; ST hotma’nja ‘apurar, vt’; perhaps Wc yuume siïtïa ‘apurandose’; Wc mešïtïa ‘apurar’; Wc mešïïva ‘a prisa’. [*u-a > o-ø?] [SUAs: Tep, CrC]
1032. *šïp(p)i ‘fast’: AYq sepi ‘quickly’; Ca héspe-n ‘very much, hard, fast’. [ NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]
1034. *nuta / *nuLa ‘run, pl’: TSh nutaa’n ‘run, pl’; WSh nutaan/nuraan ‘run, pl’; Cm nuraakiï ‘come running’. [NUA: CNum]
1035a. *nawa / *nawi ‘go, come, move (to another place)’: Tr nawa-ma ‘llegar, venir, nacer’; Tr nawi-ma ‘llegarse, acercarsele’; Hp náala(k-) ‘change places, move, change residence’ (Hp I < *w); Sh(C) nawa- in Sh nawa-nukkïh ‘run away’ and Sh nawa-to’ih ‘escape, get out safely’; Ch nawá’iti ‘appear, show up’; Kw naviži ‘appear, be showing’; Wr nawa- ‘be born’; . Perhaps Cp návyä’a ‘come here!’ as *w > v does happen in NUA, in fact, in Kw vs. Ch above. [perhaps *w > v in Cp?]
1035b. *noi ‘go, come, visit, return’: Yq noite ‘ir, venir’; AYq noite ‘visit, vt’; My noite ‘go (and return)’. Num *no ‘(while) going’: Mn -noo- ‘be in motion while X-ing, be X-ing while going’; TSh nooh ‘moving continuously, do along or in motion’; WSh nooh ‘move about {auxiliary verb’. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah]

NB, for *puLa ‘go out, set out’ see ‘out’
Go out (of a fire): see black and fire go out
God: see religious terms and spirit

GOOD; BUENO: see also beautiful, want, peaceful, sweet
1036. *caw / *caN ‘good’: M67-200 *cam ‘good’; I.Num252 *ca(a) ‘good’; M88-ca6 ‘good’; KH/M06-ca6: Mn cau-/cawu-/coo- ‘good, genuine’; TSh cao/cawi/cawintï ‘good’; Sh caa/caaN ‘good’; Cm caa(iti) ‘good, fine, well’; Hp canjaw ‘it is for the good that ...’; Cr tyáñwa’a ‘well, heartily’. Miller also includes (with question marks) Cp a’či’a ‘good’; Ca a’ča’e ‘good, fine, well, very’; Cp a’čima-l ‘pretty, nice’; and NP pisa ‘sweet’. However, the first two are at 1038 *attipna below, the third is listed at ‘beautiful’; and the fourth at *pisa ‘sweet’. A potential pair of *cawa ‘true, consider true/believe’ in Mn cáá-tu ‘true’ (above) and Cr -caawa- of rá’acaawate ‘locedebe, lo cree’ is contemplateable. [medial consonant (cluster)?) [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: CrC]
1037a. *’ayu ‘good’: Sapid; M67-201 *ay ‘good’; M88-’a17 ‘good’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-’a17: SP ’ayu/ayi; Gb ’ayò’in ‘much’, pl: ’ayò’im ‘many’, Sr ’a’ai / ’a’ayu ‘good’; We åśia ‘bien’. Those in M88-’a17 form a nice set, all agreeing with *’ayu. Hp a’ni ‘very’ may belong if with another affix. Note some SNum candidates below: 1037b. *ha’a-yu (> *ha’i-yu) ‘be good’: Ch ha’i-yu ‘well, good’; Ch ha’i-c(i) ‘good’; Kw hì’i- ‘be good, well’; Kw hì’i-yì ta-’ì good day’. The Ch and Kw forms are certainly related to each other, and possibly to the *’ayu forms above, especially when we note the glottal stops in Tak: e.g., Sr ’a’ayu ‘good’. Others in -’a17 (*attip-na below) at least have additional morpheme(s) involved, if they are not a different set. [NUA: Tak, Num]
1038a. *attip-na ‘good’: CU ‘atti ‘good’; Cp áči’a ‘good’; Ca áča’e ‘good, fine, well, very’. Related to these are Hp ‘ćiva ‘accord with’, Hp aćiva ‘behave as expected, do what one can with one’s personal resources and limitations’; Hp âacipna/a’cipna ‘do as expected’. Note that Hp aćipna and Cp aći’a are identical in five segments (a’ci … a) except for a consonant cluster in Hp that may reduce to a glottal stop in Cp. Is SP’s nasal (below) a reduction of the -pn- cluster with nasal?


1039. *kiwá ‘good’: BTep136 *kiiɡa(di) ‘good’; L.Son86 *kïwa ‘buono’; M88-ki10 ‘buono’; KH/M06-ki10: Od keeg ‘good, nice, beautiful’; TO keegaj ‘be good, etc.’; LP kïg; NT kïga; ST kïi’; Op kia; Eu kewá; Eu kewáe/kewá’e ‘sweet’; Yq kia; My kïwá ‘saburoso’; Tbr kimwá, kiwá-r/n ‘buono’; Tbr kewá ‘bien’; Tbr kwemwa. To these, add PYp keega ‘good, beautiful’ and perhaps Wr kawé ‘good, well, fine’ with vowel metathesis? [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]

1040. *tu’ay ‘good’: CU tu’ay ‘be good/well’; CU tu’-a-tí ‘good’; WMU tu’u’ay ‘(it is) good’; Yq tú’i ‘buono, está bueno’; My tu’uri ‘está bueno, bien, es bueno’. CU underwent the frequent vowel change *u > i in Num, but White Mesa Ute has the u vowel. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah]

NB, perhaps *topi ‘good’ with unmatching vowels are CN copeek ‘s.th. sweet’; CN copeeliaa ‘sweeten s.th., vt’; CN copeel(y)a ‘become sweet’; and Ls lóóvi ‘to be good’, Ls pu-lóóv, pl: po-pliv ‘good’ and/or Nv sapua ‘good, pretty’ (< *capu), which has matching consonants, but its vowels are different enough to make it questionable. Tb tiwï ‘good’ and Tb tiwïpil ‘pretty’ are even less likely, but mong them may be remote possibilities to keep in mind. [Ls pu/vu w/ adj] NB, for Ls yixèlvu-l ‘intelligent, alert’, see know.

Goose: see duck

GOPHER, GROUNDHOG, PRAIRIE DOG, MOLE; TOPO, TUZA, PERRO DE PRADERAS

1041. *miyIIN / *miCCIN ‘gopher’: M67-202 *meye ‘gopher’; BH.Cup *mihita; L.Num103 *mîyi ‘gopher’; Fowler83; KH.NUA: M88-mi8 ‘gopher’; Munro.Cup51 *maah-ta ‘gopher’; KH/M06-mi8: Ls móó-ta; Cp mɔ-ːt; Ca mec-t; Ca méht-am ‘gophers, pl’; Mn miyî; Kw miyí-ci; SP miyî; Tb miyínt; Sr miiŋaht; Hp mîyi. Ken Hill adds Ktn minjaht ‘gopher, mole’ and Ch mîyi. And NP yîŋjaciba ‘gopher’ aligns with Sr and Ktn’s 2nd C, and may lack 1st C, but Tb 2nd and 3rd as NP, only missing initial m. Difficult set. [med C: ŋ/y/h ] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

1042a. *tapusa > tiposa > tiposi ‘gopher’: B.Tep247 *tïvoha-i ‘gopher’; L.Son296 *tiposi ‘topo’; M88-tï48 ‘gopher’; Fowler83; KH/M06-tï48: TO jëhowo/šëwo; LP tï; PYp tïua; NT tïvðhi; ST tïua; Eu tïvðsi; Op tewosi; Yq tèbos; My tèbbs; Wr te’poséi; Tr repősí. WR may suggest another C in a cluster.

1042b. *tapusa > tautsa > tusá > tosa ‘gopher’: Dakin 1982-101: CN tosan ‘gopher’; Cr taulsa ‘tusa’. Note that Cr shows the exact result of loss of -p- from *tapusa, which is typical of CrC and Azt languages. [*u-a > o-a and o-i ] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]


1044. *kiNpa ‘prairie dog’: NP kibba ‘prairie dog’: Sh kîmpai ‘prairie dog’. [NC > CC] [NUA:Npa]

Gourd: see squash
Grab: see carry
Grain: see corn
GRANDFATHER; ABUELO (ff = father’s father, followed by mf = mother’s father)

Mn kínu’; tógo’ Hp kwa(‘at) ‘ff, mf’ Eu pa; boc ‘ff’; bóc-wa
NP gínu’u; togo’o Tb akkaa-; aakiš-t Tbr zuú ‘abuela’
TSh kínu; toko Sr kā’; kwaari’ Yq haboi, apa, náni
Sh kínu; toko Ca qa’; kwa-l; AYq havoi ‘ff’; apa ‘mf’

‘grandchild’: kwálá; qála; súla My áppa

Cm kínu’; toko’ Ls kā’; kwá’ Wr woci; papá
Kw kunu; togo Cp qa ‘ff’; kwa ‘mf’ Tr oči-(kari/pari);
Ch -- TO wosk; wójí(gi) apá(lı̥/róči)

ba’a; baab Cr niyaašiuru ‘mi abueo
SP kunnu ‘great gf’ Nv ff: boska; bosidi su a.; Wc mittári ‘mi abuelo’
WMU kúnnúčin ‘ff’; taγoč / mf: baba; basa; baadi ‘su a.’ kícauríša ‘w’s

tagWó-či / tőcWó-či ‘mf’ PYp vosk; sausungar ‘ancestors’

NT -- ; baába CN kool-li ‘&ancestor’

CU kúnnú-či; toγó-či ST kuulsi ‘ff’;

1045. *kuLu / *koLu ‘father’s father, paternal grandfather’: Sapir; B.Tep138a *kíri ‘male, old man’; I.Num75 *kínu(u); M88-kí6 ‘father’s father’; KH/M06-kí6: Mn kínu(?) ‘father’s/grandfather’s father’; NP gínu’u/kínu’u; TSh kínu; Sh kínu; Kw kunu; SP kunnu ‘great grandfather’; CU kínu-u-ci. Sapir and Miller include CN kool-li ‘grandfather, ancestor’, which is reasonable, and thus for all Num: *kolu > *kunu > kínu; for u > í is common in Num. Add ST kuulsi ‘abuelo, ff’. Miller also lists B.Tep138a *kíri ‘male, old man’ here—possibly, but I list it under ‘man’.

[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Azt]

1046. *toko ‘mother’s father, maternal grandfather’: M67-495 *tó ‘grandfather’; I.Num218 *toko(’o) ‘grandfather, grandchild by daughter’; M88-to12; KH/M06-to12: Mn tóγó’; NP togo’o; TSh toko; Sh toko; Cm toko’; Kw togo; SP toko; WMU toγWó-či (ʕ = voiced pharyngeal fricative); CU toγó-či; Cr ne-tu’urú ‘my great grandfather’.

[k > ’ in Cr] [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

1047. *kwa’a ‘maternal grandfather’: VVH127 *kwa’a ‘mother’s father, daughter’s son’; B.Tep1 *baaba ‘mother’s father’; BH.Cup *kwa ‘mother’s father’; M67-494 *kwa; KH.NUA; L.Son112 *kwa ‘abuelo materno’; M88-kwa9; KH/M06-kwa9: Hp kwa/kwa’a; Sr kwaari’; Ls kwa’; Cp kwa; Ca -kwa’, kwa-l; TO ba’a/baab; LP baab, baba, baadi (poss’d); NT baabá; Cr ne-yéé-kwa-ri ‘my grandmother’. Some forms in L.Son112 *kwa fit *pa, not *kwa, unless they were borrowed from Tep or something, so let them be separate. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, CrC]

1048. *(p)papa ‘maternal grandfather’: L.Son112 *kwa ‘abuelo materno’; M88-pa20 ‘grandfather’; KH/M06-pa20: TO waaw ‘one’s father in a clan of the buzzard moiety’; Eu páwa; My áppa (Lionnet); Wr papá; Tr apá. The two TO terms baab (< *kwaak) vs. waaw (< *paap) also support the separation of this set from the above.

[SAU: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah]

1049a. *poci / *kwoci ‘paternal grandfather’: M88-wo2 ‘paternal grandfather’: KH/M06-wo2: TO wosk/woji; Eu võcwa; Wr võcì; Tr ocípári. Add PYp voska; NT vosiliká ‘father’s father’. This is problematic in that, if *wo, we should see Tep g; yet Tep and Eu may point to *poci while Wr and Tr should show pocì if that were the case, but their forms suggest *woci or *kwoci, and We kwíší ‘grandmother, sister of a grandparent’ is not far off of that. In fact, the Eu form, written with both b and v, may also better suggest *kw. So the fact that a number of these may suggest *kwoci / *kwoti, let such also be listed in b below:

1049b. *kwoci / *kwoti (> Azt kool-li ?) ‘paternal grandfather’: Eu boc; Wr woci; Tr ocípári; Yq haboi; AYq havoi ‘father’s father’, note AYQ havoig (< *hapotì) ‘ff’. Of course, Nv boska and Nv bosidi ‘su abuelo’ are the same set as the other Tep *vosi/wosi above, but whether initial b (*kw) or v (< *p) is heard or listed, could make one wonder. And if -c- < *-t-, often attested, then CN kool-li ‘grandfather, ancestor’ (*-t > CN -l-, also occasionally attested) may belong (and others at 1045?) and definitely agrees with *kw rather than *p or *w.

[SAU: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]
GRANDMOTHER; ABUELA

Miller (M88-ka9) combines all initial ka forms. The difference between *ka and Num *kaku may justify separate letters, but Sr forms (Sr -ka’/-kak-, pl: kakîm) show that if *ka’ / kak derive from a fuller kakî, then they may all be related, for kakî and kaku are not far apart.

1050a. **kak / *ka’** ‘grandparent’: VVH170 *kâsâku ‘father’s mother’; M67-496 *ka ‘grandmother’; I.Num53 *kaku(u) ‘grandmother’. BH.Cup *qa ‘paternal grandfather’; KH.NUA; AMR 1993a *kak ‘grandrelative’; KH/M06-ka9: Cp qa ‘father’s mother’; Ca qa’ *paternal grandfather’; Ca káka ‘paternal grandmother’; Ls ká’/qá’ ‘paternal grandparent’; Sr -ka’/-kak-, pl: kakîm ‘paternal grandrelative’; Gb kâka ‘grandparent’; Hp kya ‘father’s sister’; TO ka’a / kaak ‘paternal grandmother’; Eu káwa; Wr ka’ká ‘fm’; and Tr a’ká-čuri. Add NT káâsuli ‘paternal grandmother’—quite relevant to Tr a’ká-čuri.

1050b. **kaku** ‘maternal grandmother’; TSh kaku; Sh kaku; Cm kaku’; Kw kagu; SP qa’gu; WMU kagú-či-n ‘my maternal grandmother’; CU kagu-či. [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Ctz, Azt]

1051. **su’u** ‘maternal grandmother’: VVH140 *su’u ‘mother’s mother’; B.Tep83 *hu’uri; M67-497 *su; L.Son26 *su; KH.NUA; M88-su6 ‘maternal grandmother’; KH/M06-su6: NP so’o ‘great grandparent’; Cp şu; Ca şu; Gb sük; Sr čuri’; Hp so’o ‘grandmother’; TO hu’ul; Wr su’u ‘mother’s mother’; Tr u’u(wa) / su’i- / suwí ‘abuela materna’; Tbr suu/su ‘abuelo’; Cr yaasuhri ‘grandfather’; Cr nyi-yaśu-śu ‘my grandfather’; CN sǐ-lí ‘grandmother or sister of one’s grandfather’. Ken Hill adds Ktn -čuri ‘grand-relative’; Gb şuk. Add Ayq asu; PYp hu’ul; NT úuli—all mean ‘maternal grandmother’. [c/s, *u > CN i] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Ctz, Azt]

1052. **huCci** ‘paternal grandfather’: M88-hu17; KH/M06-hu17: Mn hucí; NP huci’; TSh hucci; Sh hucci; Kw huci; SP wici ‘great grandmother’; CU wacji-ci; Tb ‘ucuci ‘grandmother, woman’s daughter’s child’. [hu > wV; V assim.] [NUA: Num, Tb]

1053. **mu’a** ‘maternal grandmother’: Mn múa ‘maternal grandmother’; NP mu’a. [NUA: WNum]

1054. **tu** ‘mother’s mother’: Ls tú ‘mother’s mother’; Ca tútu ‘maternal grandmother’. [NUA: Tak]

NB, for *moci ‘granddaughter’ KH/M06-mo12 , see relative.

Grape: see berry
Grasp: see carry

GRASS; HIERBA, YERBA, PASTO, HERBAJE, CÉSPED

M88-pa39, M88-ca16, and M88-sa22 list some of the same words, as UA s-words for ‘grass’ provide an entangled diachronic challenge. Nevertheless, let’s deal with them thusly for the moment:

1055a. **sakat / *sakaC** ‘willow’: Sapir; CL.Azt72 *saka ‘grass’; Fowler83; Munro.Cup138 *saxá-t ‘willow’; KH.NUA; M88-sa26; KH/M06-sa26: Cp sáxa-t; Ca sáxa-t ‘willow tree’; Ls saxá ‘arroyo willow’; Sr haqat; Gb saxát/sakát ‘saux’. Miller lists only Tak forms. Ken Hill and Sapir include CN saka-tl ‘grass’ with which I agree. Hill also rightly adds WSh saka-ppin ‘type of willow’; Ch sagávı ‘willow’; Hp tûsâqa ‘grass’; Ktn hakat ‘willow’; Tr sakará ‘zacate’; Pl sakat ‘grass, straw’. Let’s also add NP saga-pi ‘plant, several kinds of trees in the willow family’; ST va-haak ‘caña de zacate’; Tbr haka ‘straw’; Ch(L) sagah and Ch(L) sâ-ga-así ‘willow sapling used in house construction’. Absolutive -p in NP, -p in WSh and -t in Tak all suggest a final C: *sakat ‘willow’. Numic *śi’i ‘willow’ may relate in some way, perhaps a recycled early loan or such? For now Miller’s separation of *saka and *śi’i is good. The semantic split is interesting: ‘willow’ in Tak and Num (most of NUA), but ‘grass’ in Hp and SUA.

1055b. **tisaka** ‘grass’: Fowler83: Hp tûsâqa ‘grass, hay’; Ch tîši’i ‘grass’; Kw pa-rasii-vi ‘meadow, grass’. Hp, with a *ti- prefix reflects *sakat above; SNum (Ch, Kw) may with loss of last syllable. Progressively less certain are Wc kuâšîsa ‘especie de zacatón, zacate’ and Mn tisobi/cisobi ‘brush, plant, growth. Did Kw metathesize its vowels? [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, Azt]
1056. *ca’i* ‘grass’: B.Tep187 *sa’i* ‘grass’; M88-ca16; Fowler83; KH/M06-ca16: TO ša’i ‘grass, brush, waste, trash’; TO waša(i) ‘grass’; LP ša’i; PY p sa’i; ST sa’i, sai’, saia; Sr ca’-t ‘thicket, brush’; Sr ca’-i ‘dense, crowded’. Since compiling his dissertation (B.Tep), Bascom has found and lists in his NT dictionary in progress a NT form: NT sáiga ‘hay buen pasto’. The semantics of TO ša’i ‘grass, brush, waste, trash’ might suggest that Cr saíri ‘basura’ is a loan from Tep. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

The reconstruction of Tep *vasoi* (< UA *pa-coi) is problematic in that only one Tep form (NT) of B.Tep262 *vasoi* ‘grass’ agrees with *pa-coi; the other (TO waša’i) is above with *ca’i, and My basso may be a loan from NT, since *s > Tep h; nevertheless, Miller lists the following: M88-pa39 ‘grass’; B.Tep262 *vasoi* ‘grass’; TO waša’i; NT vásoi; My básso ‘zacate’. While TO belongs with *ca’i above, the NT and My forms are as likely to be a loan set as an independent cognate set. However, the following of Miller’s and others are valid:

1057a. *(pa)-sama/C / *-samhuC ‘grass’: BH.Cup *samVt ‘grass’; M67-204 *(pa)-sa/*(pa)-je ‘grass’; CL.Azt237; Fowler83; M88-sa22; Munro.Cup53; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa39; CL.Azt237 also discuss the difficulties of these words: Ca sámát ‘brush, herb, grass’; Cp sámát ‘grass sp.’; Ls sáamu-t ‘grass, hay, weeds’; Sr haamt ‘grass’; Ktn hamat; Sh sïmho ‘bunch grass’ matches Ls with i resulting from schwa-like behavior in the first vowel, and perhaps CN icmoliini ‘spout again, grow, appear’ in the first two syllables, but not count yet. [NUA: Tak, Num]

1057b. *(pa)-soho ‘grass’ (< *-samhuC?): Hp sôhô ‘galleta grass’; Hp(S) pashô; My básso ‘zacate’; AYq vaso ‘grass’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: CaH]

1058. *(h)usa ‘grass’: Stubbs2003-44: Tbr osá-t, usá-t ‘heriba, zacate’; Cr (h)jë ’grass, straw’. These two agree well with each other in *(h)usa, since Cr i < *u. [SUA: Tbr, CrC]

1059. *huk(w)i ‘grass sp.’: M88-hu9: M67-203 *hukwi ‘grass’; Fowler83; KH/M06-hu9: TSh hukuppi; Kw hugwi-vi ‘speargrass’; SP ukwi-vi; CU ’wugwi-vi; Miller also adds Tb ’ugwibiil ‘type of grass with strong hard stems which grows in bunches’; and Fowler adds Hp hooki ‘needle and thread grass’, all of which seem reasonable, especially in light of Num’s tendency to carry rounding past a consonant, and if that is the case, then Tb and Hp both fit *huki well. [uCV > uCuV] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb]

1060. *hulaLaka ‘buckwheat’: BH.Cup*hulalqala ‘buckwheat’; Fowler83; M88-hu14; KH/M06-hu14: Cp wuláq-la; Ca hulâqa-l; Ls wulâq-la. This set provides an interesting array of initial CV, different than found elsewhere in Cup. [NUA: Tak]

1061. *sonV / *sojo ‘grass, straw, blanket’: L.Son257 *sono ‘rastrojo’; M88-so9; KH/M03-so9; Jane Hill 2007: Wr sonó ‘rastrojo de maíz’; Wr sonógola ‘troje’; Tr sonó ‘caña’; Eu sonó; Tbr sono-wolit ‘pajar’; NP sona ‘blanket, covering’; NP sona-a ‘lower mattress’; TSh soni ‘grass’; TSh pisoni ‘loin cloth’ (< pi’-soni ‘back-grass/cover?’); Sh soni ‘mattress’; Sh soni-ppi ‘hay, grass, blanket’; Tb šono-t ‘little blanket’; Cm soni(pi) ‘grass’; Mn sonábí ‘hay, straw’. Ken and Jane Hill (2007) add Hp sôñoj ‘corn cob’ and Tbr hona-li-t ‘rastrojo’. Note both Tbr sono-wolit ‘pajar’ and Tbr hona-li-t ‘rastrojo’ in the same language! Add Ktn hona-t ‘sleeping mat’. It is also curious that only two NUA forms show η to all others’ n! As usual, much to unravel yet. [NUA: n : SUA: n] [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb: SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr]

1062. Fowler 83 lists Num *wa’i ‘ricegrass’: Fowler has the forms.

1063. *tupi ‘green grass’: Sr tuuvit ‘green grass’; Ktn tuvi ‘grass or shrub sp with edible seeds’; Tb tuuvu-l ‘salt grass, growing’ vs. Tb tuut ‘salt grass, already gathered’ and maybe Wr to’iwe ‘grass, pasture’. What of PY p tugia ‘greens’ if -p/v- > w > g in Tep? Cr tu’upi ‘grass’ may derive from a redupl *tutupi > *tuLupi > tu’upi? [Tb preservative V assim] [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, CrC]

1064. *masi ‘plant type’: Tb maši-l ‘grass, weeds’; Cp maasive-t ‘plant used in making sacred bundle’. [NUA: Tb, Tak]

NB, for B.Tep144 *mainai-i ‘grass mat’, see blanket.
GRASSHOPPER, LOCUST; CICADA, SALTAMONTES, CHAPULIN, LANGOSTA

1065. *wo'oC ‘grasshopper’: M67-205 *wo'a; Fowler83; Munro.Cup54 *wi'-t ‘grasshopper’; KH.NUA; M88-w0 ‘grass-hopper’; KH/M06-w07: Cp wi'-t; Ca wi'-t; Ls wi'-t; Gb we'-t; Sr wō'ōht; pl: wō'tōom; Wr wohci; Tr o'či; My wō'ōci; Yq wóó'ō; Cr vici'i; pl: vici'i-ki ‘grasshopper’. Add Ktn wo’oht ‘locust’. Cr’s first V is different. We ‘učiika ‘chapulin’ should probably be included, since the Wc vowel u agrees as opposed to Cr i; CrC u < *o. In fact, Cr’s first vowel assimilates to the following i. Miller is correct in relating *wo’oci (Wr, Tr, My, Yq, Eu, Cr) and Takic *wo’V-t. [V assim Cr; Gb e < *o] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC]

1066. *coco / *co’ ‘grasshopper’: B.Tep203 *soo’oi ‘grasshopper’; Fowler83; M88-co19 ‘grasshopper’; KH/M06-co19: TO soo’o; LP soo’o; NT sóo; ST soo; NP sowatata ‘red wing grasshopper’ (NP wítata ‘grasshopper’). Miller’s inclusion of the first syllable of NP sowatata may be okay in light of c/s overlaps in UA, though *co is expected. Ken Hill adds Tbr soo ‘chapulin’ perhaps a Tep loan. [c/s] [NUA: Tep]

1067. *attaNkaC ‘grasshopper’: I.Num214 *((n)a(a))tenkhi ‘grasshopper’; M88-ti31 ‘grasshopper’; KH/M06-ti31: TSh aattan kì (cci); Sh aattainki; Cm aattaki; Kw ‘aataka-piži (< *aattakkaC-pici); SP aaranq’a”, aaranq’a-ppici; CU ‘áa-ríká-ci, ‘áa-raká-ci, ‘aa-taká-ci. Note that this set applies to CNum and SNum, while *akïsa below in WNNum. Sh(C) aa-tanği (aa”- ‘gray, dull’) suggests a compound. Add Ch(L) ‘aatakapi. I reconstruct the 2nd vowel as a: (1) because it appears in six of the seven languages (CU having variants with both vowels), and (2) the two errant vowels can be explained: anticipatory assimilation for the Sh dipthong ai (which often goes to i/e) and an unaccented schwa-like i in one CU variant. [NUA: CNum, SNum]

1068. *akïsa: Fowler83 *ki’a ‘locust’: Mn akisá / akisá ‘grasshopper’; NP kia ‘locust’. Fowler mentions Sh and SP as also having forms. [NUA: WNNum]

1069. *ma… ‘cicada’: Yq máte ‘cicada’; Wr mala-keócí ‘kind of arriero grasshopper that sings during harvest season (keócí ‘fox’); Hp maáhi ‘cicada’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah]

GRAY; GRIS

1070. *kuma > *koma ‘gray, dark color’: B.Tep108 *koomagi ‘gray’, M88-ko33; KH/M06-ko33: TO koomagi; LP koomig/koomag; PYp koomagi ‘gray, brown’, NT koomagi; ST kooma. Add Hp qóm- / qóm(ay) ‘dark, black’ and NP kummbí ‘cloud’. Even if the colors do not match exactly, the sound correspondences match well through four segments, and both gray and brown (Tep) can also be dark (Hp). Willet lists ST kooma ‘discolored, dirty’. Note also PYp kuumlik ‘dirty’. Both NP and PYp show u, which assimilated to o in the other languages. Cf. Tep *hikomagi ‘cloudy’. [*u–a > o–a] [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep]

1071. *asiN ‘gray’: Mn esigwidígi ‘to be gray’; NP ìsi-ggwiddaddi ‘grey’; TSh esin, esipøtín ‘gray’; Sh aisin ‘gray’; Cm esí ‘gray’; CU si-gerí ‘grey’. I reconstruct *asiN, because the presence of the various e/i/ai initial vowels suggests that the first vowel was a, then anticipatorily assimilated toward the second (asi > aisi > esi > ïsi) or toward the alveolar consonant. [NUA: Num]


1072b. *waCci ‘gray’: NP waci boda’a ‘gray-headed already’; Sh waci ‘gray (of hair)’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ch wanci-ní ‘my gray hair’ and Ch kwanaw/wanci ‘flicker bird with gray on its back’ (from Merriam) and mentions a possible tie with antelope. [NUA: Num]

1073. *míha ‘gray hair’: Munro.Cup55 *síhaa-la ‘gray hair’; KH/M06-mí12: Ls muxwáá-la; Ca -mêh’a (obligatorily possessed); Ca méa ‘become gray-haired’; Munro’s analysis is convincing: that *h is the original medial consonant, deleted in the verb Ca méa; and as intervocalic x does not delete in Ca, then *h must have been reinterpreted as x in Ls and labialized under the influence of the preceding u. [NUA: Tak]
1074. *papo’o(L) ‘grey, dark color’: Cp pavepave’i-š ‘grey’; Sr pivöövö’n ‘be gray, pale’; CN pa’paal-li ‘s.th. black, dark’; Ca piwïçe ‘turn gray (of hair), vi’. Complications may prevent the inclusion of some of these, but the first three agree with *papo’o minus one exception each: Sr ï < *o, so with an internal/medial reduplication, it agrees with *papo’o except for the first V, which became the UA schwa in the unaccented syllable, as is common. Cp p < *o, so its V may have lowered (i > e) in the environment of low a’s, and given a two-syllable reduplication, Cp also agrees with *papo’o. CN, with second V assimilated to the first and the glottal stop’s anticipatory transposition forward, also agrees with *papo’o. Ca is least agreeable, approximating PUA *powotï. Nevertheless, the first three seem probable.  [V > i in unaccented position]  [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

Greasewood: see plant

GREEN; VERDE; see also blue
Like many Amerindian language families, UA also links ‘blue’ and ‘green’; so see ‘blue’ too.

1075. *puhiC ‘green’: I.Num157 *puhi ‘green’; M88-pui15; KH/M06-pui15: Mn puhi ‘blue, green’; Mn papuh ‘grass’; NP puhi ‘blue, green’; TSh puhi/pui ‘blue, green’; Sh pui ‘green’; Sh pui”, pui-ppih ‘grass’; Kw pui-gi ‘green’. Is *pisi ‘leaf’ in (Mn, TSh) related?  [NUA: WNum, CNum]

1076. *siyo / *siya ‘green’: KH/M06-si20 *siyV (AMR): Yq sìali ‘not ripe’; AYq siasaali ‘greenish’; My sìali/sìari ‘green’; Wr sìóna-nì ‘green, blue’; Tr sìyó ‘green, blue’; Eu sídei / sì’idí ‘green’; CN sòo- ‘green’; CN sel- ‘fresh, green, heat’. Manaster Ramer (1996d) argues well for anticipatory V assimilation in CN sòo- ‘green’. Eu suggests the presence of y (*siya) rather than merely a diphthong *sia. Wr sìó- and Tr sìyó may suggest a possible relationship to CN šíwi ‘green, year, turquoise’ and the other terms under ‘year’ as well as.


1078. *yora ‘green’: Wc yúuyúuri ‘be green, grow’; Tbr nyoa-ká-r ‘blue, green, unripe’; ST momdora ‘light green’.  [NUA: Tep, Tbr, CrC]

NB, what of Hp hero(k)- ‘become green, blue’; Sr rau’n ‘be green, blue’; Sr ra’upu’q ‘be greenish blue’?  
NB, for *tiyawi, see blue, where is M88-t̄i46 ‘green, blue’; L.Son305 *tiyo ‘verde, azul’; B.Tep249 *tiyogo ‘green, blue’.

GRIND, POUND, CRUSH, GRINDING STONE; see also hit

MOLER, MACHACAR, MACHUCAR, QUEBRANTAR, METATE
Miller has several initial *po forms together, but problems presented by Numic medial t and Takic ñ would suggest either a single syllable (*po) with other morphemes, or a cluster that reduced in radically different directions, or separate stems, but until we know, I separate them. Even among medial -ñ- forms are *poña at ‘hit’ and *piña here. At hit, see *poña ‘hit, pound, grind’: M88-po7; KH.NUA; KH/M06-po7: Cp piñe ‘knock on, knock around’; Ca piñ ‘get ground, pulverized’, Ls piña/i ‘throw, be thrown’; Sr piño ‘pound’; Sr pőo ‘pound’ see ‘hit’; Hp põñuñotoay ‘be making knocking or rapping sounds’; Hp põñok-na ‘knock on, give a knock or sharp peck’; AYq poona ‘knock’; Yq póorne ‘machacar’; My poona ‘hit, touch’; My popona ‘martillar (hit/pound with a hammer)’.

1079. *pot ‘pound, grind’: M67-331 *po; I.Num153 *potV ‘pound (with a stone)’; M88-po7 ‘pound’; KH/M06-pot7: NP pota ‘pound acorns’; TSh potto ‘grinding stone’; Sh potton ‘grinding stone’; SP tapporu ‘pound with a stone’ (probably with instr prefix *ta- ‘with a stone’ say Sapir). To these we can add Mn poda ‘grind with a metate’; Mn podánu ‘pestle’; NP podánu ‘grinding stone’.  [NUA: Num]

1080. *piña ‘grind’: In contrast to *poñ, several *piñ forms also exist: Sr piñai ‘crumble, pulverize, grind into powder’; and add Ktn piñan ‘crumble, vi’; Ktn piñi ‘ground finely’; Hp piñi ‘get ground fine, break into bits, shatter’; Hp piñyà ‘pulverize, grind finely, crush, shatter, vt’; Hp piñyanpi ‘grindingstone’; Tr piú / piwé ‘to grind’
1081. *tusu ‘grind’: Sapir; VVH75 *tusu ‘to grind’; M67-206a *tusu*/tusíi, 206c *tu; L.Num232 *tusui ‘grind’; L.Son322 *tusu/rus-; CL.Azt238 *tusi ‘grind’; 34 *tis ‘corn dough’; 238 PUA **tusu ‘grind’; M88-tu7 ‘grind/moler’; KH/M06-tu7: NP tusu; TSh tusu / tusu’; Kw tusu; Sh tusu; CU tīsī; Tu tusut~’utus; Hp tos-ta; Ca tūlus / tūs; TO ċu’a’/ā’u’/ūhi; Eu tusā; Wr tusu-nā; Tr rusu-mea; My tuuse; Wc tīsī; Cr ra’-a’-ti’i’sī ‘she is grinding corn’; CN tesi ‘grind s.th. like cornmeal’; CN tesi-či ‘flour’; MN tesi ‘grind’. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

1082. *ma’ta / *maCta ‘grinding stone, mortar’: Sapir; M67-283 *mata ‘metate’; BH.Cup *malál; HH.Cup *maláal; B.Tep143 *mahuturai ‘metate’; L.Son141 *mata; Munro.Cup72 *malāá-l ‘metate’; M88-ma21; KH/M06-ma21 *mataR (AMR); NP mata (< *matta); Kw mara-ci; SP mara-ci; CU mara-ci; Hp mata; Tb mana-l; Ls malā-l; Ca mā-l; Cp malā-l; TO maččud; LP mahtur; PYp maatur; NT máúturai; ST mattur; Eu metát; Tbr māt-t; Yq má-ta; My mata; Wr mālā-t; Tr ma’tá; Cr mwātā; Wc mawālt; CN metā-l. Note the h in Wr and LP, and the glottal stop in Tr and the doubled consonants in TO and other languages, all of which tend to align with Bascom’s proposal of another C between m and t, though I would guess a cluster. Also of interest is Ca mataš ‘crush, squash, vt’ that shows geminated *-tt-, though Ca mā-l does not. In spite of the 2nd vowel changing in Tep, this widespread etymology is found in every branch of UA. [*t- > -L-<n- in Tb; *-CC-] [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

1083. *tippa ‘mortar (and/or) pestle’: B.Tep242 *tipa ‘mano de metate’; M88-ti41; Ken Hill disperses ti41 to KH/M06-ti412 and KH/M06-pa40: TO čipá ‘a hole in bedrock for mashing mesquite bean’; TO čiipo-o ‘a mortar hole in a rock for grinding’; LP tipa; NT tipai; ST topaa ‘mortar’; LS tóopa-l ‘mortar for grinding’ which fits well since Ls o < *i. Possibly Mn tabi ‘pound, strike’ and Mn *tabaha ‘grinding rock’, but different Vs and *-p-, not *-pp-. Too remote are Tb paha-l ‘rock mortar’ and all the forms at *paha. [all p, no w/v] [NUA: Tak, SUA: Tep]

1084. *otapa ‘bedrock mortar’: BH.Cup **élalapal ‘mortar, bedrock’; M88-’o10; KH/M06-’o10: Cp fl’apa-l; Ls élala-p. [NUA: Tak]

1085. *paha ‘mortar’: M67-317 *pah ‘pestle’; M88-pa30; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa30: Mn paha ‘pounding place, mortar’; NP paha ‘mortar’; TSh paha ‘mortar’; Kw paha ‘mortar’; Tb paha-l ‘rock mortar’; Ca páwu-l / páu-l ‘pestle’; Sr paahu’t ‘pestle’. Add Ch(L) paha ‘mortar’; Ch(L) pataci ‘handstone’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Gb pah-ho ‘pestle’ (Merriam). Ca pá-a-l, constr: -pá’a, pá-a-l ‘wooden mortar’ agrees with Num forms in meaning (mortar) and in the 2nd vowel a, while Ca pá(w)ul, Gb, and Sr paah’u have u as the 2nd V. [a/o] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

1086. *tu’a / *tu’i ‘flour, s.th. ground up’: VVH133 *tu’-i ‘flour’; M67-206b *tu’a/*tu’i ‘flour’; B.Tep236 tu’i ‘flour’; B.Tep 230 *tuaiapi ‘corn flour’; M88-tu8; KH/M06-tu8: Tb tu’i-l ‘type of flour’; Ca tu’a-t / túla’a-t / túla’s-a-t ‘flour, ground stuff’; Ca túla ‘to pound, grind’; Sr tu’a-i ‘pound, grind into flour’; Sr tua’t ‘flour’; TO ču’i; LP tu’i; NT túui. Ken Hill adds Ch tuhu-‘i ‘flour’. [NUA: Tb, Tep, Num; SUA: Tep]

1087. *tuLa ‘pound, grind’: Ca túla ‘pound, grind’; Tb(M) tulaap(at) ‘be ground’; Tb(M) tulaapin(at) ‘grind’. These differ beyond initial *tu with different forms here (*tuLa) and above (*tuV) in both Ca and Tb, yet Seiler and Hioki (1979) see *tu- and tula as variants of the same stem in Ca; but Tb has different forms as well: Tb tulaap… vs. Tb tu’i-l ‘type of flour’. Favoring Seiler and Hioki, could a fossilized reduplication (*tu’a > *tut’a > tuLa) have them both from the same stem? Until more evidence suggests such, let’s separate them. [Liq] [NUA: Tak, Tb]

*musa/i* ‘crush’: Tr mosi- ‘to pulverize’; PYp mohona ‘to pulverize, crush’; NT tyímosai ‘crack (grain)’ (NT/Tep should show h < *s, like PYp does); Hp momsi/momri ‘crush, pulverize’. Jane Hill (p.c.) pointed out that Ca -mišt- ‘chew’ matches as well (Ca i < *o). If *o, the Hp V should be ö < *o, so perhaps *u, and the others succumbed to the common assimilation: *u-a > o-a. [*u-a > o-a] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Tep]

*sapi* ‘pound’: Ls šapi ‘hit, pound, as with a hammer’; Hp sasvi ‘strike, beat on, pound’.

*capa* ‘smash, grind’: NT võíšapai ‘smash’; NT mamáášapai ‘hold down, crush, jail’; ST tuispa ‘moler’; PYp tusab ‘grind corn coarsely for beer’; NT sopóóraka ‘smashed’. *capV may be the 2nd morpheme in Tep *tui-sapi (<*tu-i-capi) ‘flour’. [SUA: Tep]

*takki* ‘mano for metate’: M67-274; Munro.Cup132 *tááki-š ‘tool’; KH.NUA: Ls tááki-š ‘stone for smoothing pottery’; Ca tááki-š ‘mano’; Tb takii-l ‘muller for metate’; Sr taikë ‘mano (for metate)’; perhaps Ca téx ‘grind and make flour’. Most languages suggest a geminated *-kk-.* [Tb k] [NUA: Tak, Tb]

*pisa* ‘pound’: NT viaáhai ‘remoler’; Hp píšiši-ta ‘be a continuous drumming or pounding sound’. With vowel leveling, these agree. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

moved to 904g.

*kn’amaL* ‘crush, grind’: AYq kam-ta ‘crush’; Hp njíman- ‘grind into flour’; Hp njími ‘flour, finely ground corn or wheat’. Initial ñ- in Hp or Tak, but k in Num or SUA is also seen in *ñani / kani* ‘look for’ at ‘search’ and *ñü’a / küü ‘grasp, catch’ at carry. [ñ/k] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah]

*ńka/i* ‘grind, scrape, rub against’: Gb gōoxa ‘muelalo!’; Gb ńqoxt- ‘cosa molida’; Ls ńchéxá/i ‘rub against’; Ls ńqóoxi ‘grind on metate’; Ls ńááxi/i ‘scratch, scrape, brush against’. Such vowel versatility in Ls is hopefully only temporarily mystifying. [NUA: Tak]

*maki* ‘grind’: M67-233; M88-ma18; Munro.Cup1 *mááxi-š ‘acorn flour’; KH/M06-ma18 ‘hit/golpear’; Ls mááxi ‘acorns on a metate’; Ls maxí-š ‘acorn flour’; Cφ máxi-š ‘acorn flour’. Similarly ground, perhaps add Tr ma*ki ‘membrilio Cimarron, su hoja, muy fina, la muelen seca y hacen pinole’. [SUA: Trn; NUA: Tak]

NB, what of NT tyíkonai ‘crack (grain)’; Hp hákonpi ‘grinder’; and Hp koonya ‘pestle’? Yet Hp ö < *o is expected.

NB, see also flat(ten); and for *con, see hit.

NB, where have I seen matches to Tr kí-su-ma ‘desemnazar por presión (cosas pequeñas), quebrar granos con las muelas’?

Ground: see earth

Groundhog: see gopher

GROW; CRECER

*nakana* ‘grow’: M67-207 *na ‘grow’; L.Num108 *nana(h) ‘(grown) man, grow’; BH Cup *naxa ‘old man’; HH.Cup *naxá ‘old man’; M88-na13; KH/M06-na13 ‘grow’: Mn náa ‘grow’; NP na ‘grow’; Sh nahna ‘grow, grow up’; Kw nahna ‘grow’; SP nanna ‘grow’; Cu nana-pi ‘grown, mature’ (< Cu nana– ‘grow’; -p- suggests final -C); Cp naxáču-ve-l ‘old man’; Ca náxalvel ‘old man’; Ca náxaluv ‘bec. old (of man)’; Ls naxáču ‘bec. an old man’; Ls naxáči-š ‘old person’; Cr tī’nahana ‘grow’. PUA *nakana allows Takic x and some Numic forms show h before the second n, and the Takic and Cr forms definitely show something like xa/ha as a second syllable. Note Cp naxáču-ve-l ‘old man’ and Ca náxalvel ‘old man’ are identical except for the consonant (cluster) -nč- and -l-; whenever c and l correspond, it is likely that an original *t underlies the two: *nakana-tu-pe-l. That the Cp form is also the only Takic form that shows a 2nd n like the Numic forms; nevertheless, between that Cp form, the Numic forms, and the Cr form, a 3rd -na- syllable is apparent. Cf. Ca qani ‘become formed (in womb), grow’.

[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: CrC]
Sr yaanŋ ‘grow, grow up’; Wr ya’wi-ná / ya’i-má ‘sprout’.  [wŋ]  [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn]

1100a. *wilā ‘grow’: Ca wél ‘to grow, rise up high’; Cp wéle ‘to grow’; Ls wola/i ‘grow (of plants or anim
subj)’; and part of Hp wîjwa ‘grow, grow up’, if *L > N, perhaps in a cluster.  [Hp N and Tak I]  [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1100b. *tiwil ‘grow’: Cp tewe ‘to grow of plants’; TO čiwil-him ‘to grow’.  Might this pair tie to *wil ‘grow’ with
a prefix? TO does have -L-, but normally *w > Tep g.  So could it be a loan? Cp and TO a little west and east of
the Yuman respectivly, perhaps closer to each other formerly, make it possible.  We might tie it with Cahitan
*tiwil ‘green, blue’ (at blue) as well, except that there TO has TO čiđagi (< *tiyawi) like a well-mannered Tep
reflex.  [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

1101. *yama / *yami ‘sprout(ing), grow (thick)’: M88-ya23; Munro.Cup47 *yamii-ča ‘forest’; KH/M06-ya23:
Cp yemí-š ‘forest, dense’; Ca yámili ‘leaves’; Sr yaamava ‘spring(time)’; Gb yáma-mwá ‘March, month of
germinating’; Ls yamíi-ča ‘forest, thick brush’; Ls yamáqa ‘be soft, tender, vi, soften, vt’; Hp yama(k-) ‘go or
come out, emerge, come into view, rise (of sun, moon)’.  Let’s add Ktn yamava ‘April’.  These may tie to Tep
*dama (< *yama) ‘up’.  [NUA: Tak, Hp]

Growl: see shout, bark

GUACAMAYA

1102. *walo / *aLo ‘guacamaya’: L.Son5 *alo ‘guacamaya’; M88-’a32; KH/M06-’a32: TO aaDo / aaDho
‘peafowl, pavo cristatus’; Nv arho; Op haro; Eu háro; Tr wará/walá; Wr wála ‘tiko de pájaro como juajalote’;
Tbr walo; CN alo ‘large parrot’.  Ken Hill adds Hp kyaaro (loanword with prefix kyaa ‘awesome’); We áro
‘guajolote’.  Three UA languages show initial *w not found in the others; we can either reconstruct *aLo, as
Lionnet does, and suggest * > w in those three languages, which is feasible, especially in light of other excrecent
w’s in Tr/Wr, or we can reconstruct *walo and suggest that initial *w was lost in those without.  [w’;/ a/o]
[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt; NUA: Hp]

Guard: see care, take … of

HAIl.; GRANIZO, GRANIZAR

1103. *tiha ‘hail’: VVH80 *tiha ‘hail’; L.Son286 *tiha ‘granizo’; M88-tii1 ‘hail’; KH/M06-tii1: TO čía; Nv ti’a;
PYP ti’a / to’a; NT tiáyi, tiávili; Eu tehé-t ‘granizo’; Eu tehéwa- ‘granizar, v’; Yq teeha-m; My téhí-m; Tr rehé,
říhí; Wr tehé; Tbr tehé-t.  Miller includes Ls töyi ‘freeze, v’; Ls töyi-t ‘frost, ice’; Gb töyet ‘ice’.
[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah; NUA: Tak]

1104. *pa-(N)kom / *pa-hunKum ‘hail’: TSH poonkompin ‘hailstones’; Sh(C) pa-hoom-pin ‘hailstone’;
Cm pahoopi ‘hail’; Kw pihoo-bi ‘hail’; SP pauN ‘hail’.  [NUA: CNum, WNun]

[NUA: WNun]

HAIR, FUR; PELO, CABELO, PELLEJO; see also head, beard, skin

1106a. *suwi ‘body hair’: B.Tep70 *hogi ‘hide’; M67-211 *suwi ‘hair’; M88-su18 ‘hair’; KH/M06-su18: LP hog
‘hide’; NT ogi ‘hide, skin’, ST ho ‘fur, leather’; PYP hogi ‘hide, skin, leather’; Tb ſuwi-l ‘pubic hair’; Hp sówicmi
‘facial hair’; NP musui ‘beard’ (< *mu-suwi ‘mouth/face hair’); Ls suwi-li ‘pubic hair, body hair’; Ktn suhi-c
‘genital hair’.  Add TSH suwii ‘pubic hair’.  Tep *hogi ‘hide’ matches NUA *suwi ‘hair’ consonant-wise, and since
half the languages show *u, *u > o is more common in UA than *o > u; so I side with *u, like Miller and Hill.  The
close but not perfect match in o vs. u may be due to the influence of *-w-.  [NUA u; SUA o]

1106b. *suhi: Mn suhi ‘body hair’ and Ktn suhi-c ‘genital hair’ show *suhi.

1106c. *soho > *soo ‘armpit (hair)’ (in SNum): Kw soo-rokwa ‘armpit’; Ch(L) soorah ‘post with U-shaped fork,
notched post’; SP sooor’aa ‘armpit’; WMI kiyé-söö-vü (lit: armpit hair); a-a-söö-vü ‘underarm, armpit (lit: arm
hair), n’.  Note that Ch(L) soorah, Mn suhi ‘body hair’, and Ktn suhi-c ‘genital hair’ all show medial -h-.
[NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp, Num; SUA: Tep]

202
general pattern of SUA w and NUA h/, not unlike what we see in
shell
Mn pïhï
possiblties given the
womá
KH.NUA; M68
hair
1
below, w
(*kuppa) while others (NP
match *u (vs. o) and the head is the
variant of the
have distinct terms for the two (see forehead), though some circular borrowing or one of them being a diffused
hair
1108
after *k); Eu zonít; CN con
1
expectable reduction from *comy
CN coni
1
a
cover, bark, skin
head hair
110
110
1
b
cover, bark, skin
head, hair
1
Wr kupá
babbage, pelo, lana
Tr gupá / kupá ‘cabbage’; Wc kïpá ‘pelo, cabellos’; Cr kïpé; CN ikkpa-tl ‘thread, hemp fiber’; HN ‘ikka-tl cotton thread. Miller includes My kóbbá ‘head’ thus also Yq kóba. UA *kupa ‘head hair’ and UA *kopa ‘forehead, (head) at (forehead) are separate sets since at least TO, NT, ST, Tr, Wr, and Cr have distinct terms for the two (see forehead), though some circular borrowing or one of them being a diffused variant of the other is possible. Ken Hill adds SR a-kupiiaa ‘top, up, above it’ and Ktn kupeae ‘top of head, summit of a mountain, top end’. Note also Ktn kopo-c ‘hair, head’; TO kwijk ‘have a dome or peak’ since the vowels match *u (vs. o) and the head is the top’ or ‘height of a person. Many, if not most, suggest a gemination or cluster (*kupka) while others (NP) do not necessarily. Mn wóópi / a-qwoopi ‘hair of head’ may belong with *wo ‘hair’ below, which see. [Sr a- pref] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

1108. *kuppa ‘hair of head, head’; Sapir; VVH9 *kuapa ‘head hair’; B.Tep280 *vopo ‘body hair’; M67-212b *po; I.Num149 *po(a) ‘cover, skin, bark’; BH.Cup *pe; L.Son216 *powa ‘pelo, lana’; KH.NUA; M88-po2 *body hair, fur, skin’; KM/06-po2: TSh po-a-cci ‘bark’; Sh po’an ‘skin, bark’; Cm po’a ‘cover, bark, skin’; Tb poont ‘hide, body hair, fur’; Cp pi’i ‘down, body hair, non-flight feathers’; Ca pi’iy, pi’i ‘body hair, fur, down’; Ls pe’ ‘feathers, fur, body hair’; Gb péhan ‘beard, body hair, down’; Sr pôh ‘fur, body hair, feathers’; Ktn pohoo ‘body hair, feathers, fur’; Hp pôh ‘fur, body hair, body fethers, down, fuzz’; TO wopo ‘body hair, fur’; Wr po’a ‘lana’; Tr bo’wá / boa / bo’o / bó ‘vello, lana’; My bowwá ‘lana, pelo’; Trb womé-t / womó-r / womá-r ‘lana, pelo’; Cr húüša’a ‘peach fuzz on body’; Sapir lists CR ki-poa ‘hair’. These may tie to pi’wa, perhaps by dialect diffusion, since Num has both, as do Hp and other languages. The variety in Tb -n-, Num -’-, Gb, Sr, Ktn, Hp -h-, and Wr, My, Tr -’w- suggest a cluster that may contain a liquid (Tb) and/or glottal stop, or other possibilities given the variety of reductions. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Cbr, CrC]

1110. *pi’wa / *piCCi (> *pihî) ‘fur, body hair, fur’; M67-212b *po ‘hair of the body’; 212e *pe; 212c *po ‘cut hair’; I.Num170 *pihî ‘feather, skin, hide’; L.Son207 *piwa ‘piel’; M88-pi11 ‘fur, hide’; KM/06-pi11: Mn pihi’skin, hide, body hair, fur, down’; NP pihi ‘skin, hide, fur’; TSh pihi ‘skin; Sh pihi ‘feather; Cm pihi-cakweya ‘to skin an animal’; Kx pihi-mbi ‘fur, hide’; SP pi(h)i-vi ‘fur, hide’; SP pi(h)i-a-vi ‘hair’; CU pi’ah ‘hide, skin’; Hp pikeya ‘hide, skin’; Pi pîvi pi ‘eyelashes’; Cp péki-s ‘hide, skin’; Eu vewá-t ‘pellejo’; My beeawa ‘piel, pellejo, corteza, cuero, cáscara’; Cr nya-ipéé-si ‘my cheeks’; Pl eewayu ‘skin, peel, hide, bark, shell’; CN eewa-t ‘skin, hide, husk, rind’; Yq bêa ‘skin (of animal)’; the > -pi- in Ch toci-vi’a-vi ‘head-hair’; Kw tociya-aavi ‘head-hair’; toci-va-avi ‘head-hair’; toci-vi-vi ‘head-hair’; CN tici-vi-vi ‘head-hair’; Cr nbíh ‘piel, cuero’; and NP -bibi a ‘bark, shell’ as well as the other NP term. Another probable cluster with a variety of reductions, though we see perhaps a general pattern of SUA w and NUA h’, but unlike what we see in *po’wa above. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1111. *woC ‘hair’; M67-210 *wo; I.Num270 *woo(h) ‘hair/head’; M88-wo6 ‘hair of the head’; KH/M06-wo6: Mn woo ‘head, hair’; Mn wóópi / a-qwoopi ‘hair of head’; NP kwo ‘head, hair’; Tb(M) woodzon ‘place where hair grows from, crown’; Tb(V) woodol ‘the hair center on head, the tip of basket cap’. Mn -p- suggests gemination or a final -C on the 1st morpheme. [w > kw in WNum] [NUA: Num, Tb]

1112. *yuLV ‘hair, head’: M88-yyu28; Munro.Cup59 *yú-la ‘hair of the head’; KH.NUA: Sr ayu’ ‘head, hair’; Cp yu-l ‘hair’; -yu ‘head, hair (poss’d)’; Ca yúluka-l, -yúluk’a (poss’d) ‘head, hair’; Ls yúu-la, -yu’ (poss’d) ‘head, hair’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Cm yupusi’a ‘head louse’ (cf. *pusi’a ‘louse’). Ls -la as absolutive suffix (vs. -l or -t) may well mean a final -L in the stem (Ls -la < *-L-ta), as in CN -li vs. usual -t(l) also showing a vowel after a liquid cluster, or that a liquid cluster encourages the final vowel to remain; otherwise, the word would end with two consonants which hardly happens in UA anywhere. So Ls and Ca may both show medial -L-, whatever the vowel may be afterwards, and Cm -p- (<-*pp-) suggests s.th. clustered with -p- as well. [Ls *-L-ta; Sr a- prefix] [NUA: Tak, Num]


1114. *paiki ‘hair’: Jane Hill (p.c.): SP païgi-vi ‘hair’; WMU paaği / païgi / paiyi / paiyi-vi ‘hair’; WMU paiyi-n / païgi-n ‘my hair’; Cm paaği-vi ‘hair, when on the head’; CU paaği-n ‘my hair’. Note that WMU pronunciations have both the SP and CU pronunciations and more—such a prolific dialect. [NUA: SNum]

HALF, MIDDLE; MITAD, MEDIO


1116. *tipïNa ‘middle’: TSh tipïiňa ‘middle, center, n; in the middle of’; Sh tipia ‘middle’; Cm tipïnaatï ‘middle’. For the three CNum languages to show -ŋ-, -ŋ- and -n- is unusual and may mean a cluster. [NUA: CNum]

1117. *nap(p)ay ‘half’: TSh napakan ‘half, equal part, in half, even, equally’; Sh nappai ‘half’; Kw na-voey ‘half’; Kw na-vec-tu-ika ‘half of it’; SP navaia ‘divide’; WMU naväy ‘divide (in half)’; CU naväy ‘divide in half’; CU naväy-ti ‘half’. Cf. Kw’s V’s in dove and water. [NUA: CNum, SNum]

1118. *ta’a(ko) ‘middle, half’: CN tla’ko ‘middle, center, half’; Eu natako ‘en medio, mitad, medio’. If we have a compound *ta’a- + -ko ‘at’, then the latter part of Cr he’ita’a ‘centro, medio, mitad’ shows the same three segments as CN tla’- (< *ta’a-); and since * > φ in Tep, then the first part of NT tää úkami ‘la mitad’ may belong as well. [* > φ in Tep] [SUA: Tep, Opn, Crn, Azt]

NB, Yq and My nasuku ‘half’ should be kept in mind.
NB, for Tep *era, see in.

HAND, ARM; MANO, BRAZO

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<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
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ND, for Tep *era, see in.
1119. *ma > *ma ‘hand’: Sipari; VVH128; M67-215 *ma/*mo ‘hand’; I.Num90 ma(h), *mo’o ‘hand’; BH.Cup *ma; L.Son126 *ma; CL.Azt76 *maa(y); Munro.Cup60 *ma-t; M88-ma13 ‘hand’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ip11 ‘with the hand’; KH/M06-ma13 *maX (AMR): Mn, NP, TSh, Sh, Kw, Ch, SP, CU, Hp, Tb, Sr, Ca, Ls, Cp, TO, Eu, Tbr, Yq, My, Wr, Tr, Cr, Wc, CN. CNum and SNum show ma’/-man- as an instrumental prefix, but *mo’o ‘hand’ as the main word, which is prevalent in Num but no where else in UA. I reconstruct a probable 2nd consonant *n for these reasons: (1) some languages show *n, such as Eu man-vura- ‘tie the hands’ (vura ‘tie’); SP man- ‘with the hand’; SP mançuqwi-naa- ‘crush with the hand’ (< čuqqwi); Gb man ‘hand’; and possibly Yq mankabam ‘muscles of the arm’; (2) final gemination in Num languages suggests an underlying 2nd consonant, as well as the -t (vs. -I) in Ls ma-t; (3) as Kiowa-Tanoan is in UA’s areal loaning sphere, then Kiowa-Tanoan *man ‘hand’ is noteworthy; (4) some forms hint at a 2nd consonant reducing/affecting clusters when compounded, e.g., Hp map-, the combining form of maa-; the *y in Mn, NP, CN; note NP mayu’i ‘to warm hands up’; NP taddu’i ‘warm foot up’; NP tu’i ddu’i ‘try to warm up’; if *ma- were the stem, we would expect NP ma-tu’i or ma-du’i, not mayu’i ‘warm hands up’; but for an underlying cluster (*-nt-), two alveolars, an alveolar proximate (y) as a reduction of the intensified alveolar cluster is plausible; (5) In Cahitan, Yq mam ‘hand’, mamam ‘hands’ and My mamma(m) ‘hand(s)’ may have an underlying nasal harmonized to the 1st and 3rd (plural) bilabial nasals: *mana-m > mana-m; (6) also note the number of UA words under *man ‘five’ that show *n more clearly, if derived from ‘hand’, which seems probable; (7) note forms suggesting *n-: *man-eu ‘squeeze’ and *man-cuka ‘hold’ at ‘carry’; (8) AMR (*maX) also sees a 2nd C; (9) at ‘crawl’ *maN-wapa ‘hand-crawl’ suggests a nasal.

[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

1120. *nôhopi > nôpi ‘hand, arm’; B.Tep174 *novi ‘hand’, *noonthôvi ‘hands’; M88-no8; KH/M06-no8: TO nowi ‘hand, arm’ (pl: noonihoi); PYp novi ‘hand’, pl nonovi; Nv novi, pl: nonovi; PB nov ‘hand’; NT novi ‘hand’; ST nov ‘hand, arm’. The TO plural and Bascom’s reconstruction of the plural and other forms suggest another consonant between n- and -v-. [SUA: Tep]

1121. *mo’o ‘hand’: all of CNum and SNum. [NUA: CNum, SNum]

1122. *sipwa / *cap(i)wa ‘finger’: WMU ta-síwò-n ‘my toes’; Mn masíwaki-na ‘have fingers’; Cm masíwílíki’; Ch ma-síi; CU ma-síi-ví; (perhaps TSh masíkin /masíkun; Sh masíki ‘hand-leaf’); NT masááviga / masáágiga ‘finger’. WMU and NT show the three consonants c/s, p, and w. [C harmony in NT; reduction -vw- > v or w in Num] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

1123. *na- ‘with/by hand’: Sh na- ‘with the hand’; Hp(S) naap ‘by hand, on foot’. [NUA: Num, Hp]

1124. *toC ‘with the hand, instr. prefix’: KH/M06-ip3: Mn to- ‘with an instrument’; NP to- ‘with fist, shoulder, hoof, tractor’; Sh to’- ‘with the hand or fist, away from the body’ (instr. prefix)’. [NUA: Num]

1125. *piya-mo’o ‘have clumsy hands, drop things’: Kw piya-mo’o ‘clumsy, one who keeps dropping things’; WMU piya-mo’ó-ó-gwa ‘have butterfingers, habitually drop things’. [NUA: SNum]

NB, for *caC- ‘with the hand’, see carry.
NB, for NT, Tr, Wr *síka ‘hand’, see shoulder.
NB, for NT saakómi ‘handful’ and ST saakum ‘handful’ see *cakwa ‘grasp’ at carry.

HANG; COLGAR, (SUS)PENDER, AHORCAR


1128. *yuLa ‘hang’: Ca yúlaa ‘to hang’; Ls yóóra ‘to swing, hang in the air’; we would expect the Ls vowel to be u also, but *u-a > o-a is frequent. [*u-a > o-a] [SUA: Tak]

Of the same number, but different letters, with perhaps different prefixes to a stem *ca/wi-kwí(ni):

1130a. *cakwíni: Mn nacakweyuhu ‘hang, vi’; NP cagwíini ‘to hang’; Cm ca’weníti/čahkweníti ‘hang s.th. up (on nail/hook)’; Cm nacweníti ‘hang (suspended off ground), swing’. [NUA: Num]

1130b. *wi-kwíni Mn wíkwení ‘hang up, vt’; TSh wíhwéni ‘to hang’. [NUA: Num]

1130c. *wiwíni (perhaps from < *wiL-kwí(ni) / kwa(n)i) ‘hang, v’ or not?): Ch wíwái ‘to hang’; Ch(L) wayu’-a-gah ‘hangs down’; SP wíwái ‘hang, v’; WMU wíwáy¹i / wíwáy- ‘hang, vi/vt’; CU wíwáy ‘hang’; Ca wíwái ‘to hang’. [NUA: Num, Tak]

1131. *paL ‘hang’: Sr várävi’-k ‘be hanging, vi’; Sr váräv-kin ‘hang, vt’; Ktn varvark ‘hanging, adj’; Ktn varavara’i ‘hanging’, CN piloa ‘hang self/s.th./s.o., v.refl/t.’; CN pilwiaa ‘hang s.th. up for s.o., vt’; CN pilka ‘be hanging (pret. as present)’. An assimilation of V > i/₁/ᵣ is common in UA; thus, *paL... seems most probable. [*p > p in Azt?] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

1132. *haCCa ‘hang’: Hp haayaháaya ‘hang up (sg obj), put in debt, extend credit to’; Ls háña/i ‘hang (sg obj/subj), vt/vi’; The 2nd C may be a cluster reduction. Note at *ŋyL/ŋy ‘dizzy, faint’ another nj/L/y mess. Not agreeing so well is SP wíwái ‘hang, v’ but its mention may remotely prove useful. [ŋ/y] [NUA: Hp, Tak]

1133. *waLa ‘suspended’: Hp wilala-ta ‘be sagging, hanging, dangling’; Kw wariwu’u ‘be upside down, hang, vi’; Kw wariwu’-u-ti ‘hang, vt’; Kw warimi-pí ‘door’ (what hangs?) and aligning with Hp in 3 of 4 segm is Tr wíha-me ‘estar colgado, suspended’; Tr wíhawa- ‘colgar, suspender’. [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Trn]

1134. *kwuCCa / *kwuL(V)ta ‘hang’: Stubbs 1995-22: TO kuko ‘hanging shelf’ (2nd k redupl?); Eu purúce / purúce ‘hang, be pendulous’ (if p < *b); Hp kolca ‘shelf’; Tr otorinto ‘hanging, suspended’ and/or Tr o’há-/go’há-/wíhá-me ‘hang, be pendulous’. Since the exuberance of youth, I now see this set as debatable, but parts show promise, and keeping it present to ponder may prove worthwhile should more decisive evidence emerge.

Happen: see arrive

HAPPY, JOY; FELIZ, CONTENTO, ALEGRE, GOZO, ALEGARSE

1135. *paw ‘happy, content’: PYp vagmedi ‘happy, content’; PYp vagam ‘like, vt’; PYp vagmad ‘would like, vt’; CN aawiya ‘be happy, content’. [*p > ø in Azt] [SUA: Tep, Azt]

1136. *haLay ‘happy’: Hp hålalay ‘be happy, content, cheerful, enjoy oneself’; AYq allea ‘happy’; My al-leiá ‘éstá contento, está alegre’; My al-lewame ‘gozo’; perhaps Tb yilala-t~’iyilahaša ‘be happy’ with metathesis. [SUA: Cah; HA: Hp, Tb]

1137. *túma ‘happy’: Cr rutémwa’a ‘be’to be happy’; Wc témáámie ‘contento, alegre, feliz’. [SUA: CrC]

NB, for *suwaC ‘want, like, be glad’ see ‘want’.

HARD (not soft), ROUGH; DURO, SÓLIDO, ENDURECER(SE), ÁSPERO

1138. *puta / *putCtu ‘hard’: KH.NUA; M88-pu22 ‘hard (to the touch)’; Ls purápuriš ‘hard (to the touch)’; Sr puć’ ‘hard, adj’; Sr puć’q ‘hard, a lot, very, fast, adv’; Ktn putu ‘hard, tough’; Ktn pućuk ‘very, hard, firmly, fast’. In light of the medial affricate vs. liquid, this is a good candidate for medial *-Ct- [- -Ct- > r/c] [NUA: Tak]

1139. *tak(w)awa(?) ‘hard’: CL.Azt79 ćika(awa)k ‘hard, strong’; M88-ta20; M67-216 *takwa ‘hard’; KH/M06-ta20: Kw cukka’ni ‘be stiff, rigid’; SP tawkwa‘a ‘to stiffen’; CÚ cici-ke-ti ‘hard, solid, difficult, tough, strict, mean’; CN čkaawak ‘s.th. strong, robust’; HA čkaawak-k ‘hard’; PI takaawa-k ‘hard, solid’. [palatalisations] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]
1140. *kapa ‘hard’: TO kawk ‘(be) hard, solid, difficult, strict, callous’; PYp kavak ‘hard’; NT kaváka ‘es duro, codo para prestar’; ST kabak ‘que es resistente, que es durable’. Ca qáw ‘hard (of breast)’ with -w- instead of -p-, possibly borrowed from Tep? [SUA: Tep; NUA: Tak?]

1141. *kittāN ‘hard’: TSh kitta(ā)n / kittaampi ‘hard, tough, strong, very really’; Sh kītta ‘hard, strong’; Cm kīhtātā ‘strong, tight, hard’. [NUA: CNum]

1142. *či’i ‘hard’: Cr cē’ih ‘hard’; We cē’i ‘hard, firm, fixed’; Eu zei/cei ‘hard’; CU cici-kay ‘be hard, tough, solid, strict, mean, difficult’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, CrC]

1143. *pīwa ‘hard’: Wr pewá-ni ‘to be hard’; Tr pewá-méa ‘to harden’; perhaps Eu behi ‘hard’. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

1144. *kopī ‘hard’: NP ohobi ‘hard’; Cm koobeti ‘be hard and brittle’. [*k-+-h-] [NUA: WNum, CNum]

1145. *pacawa ‘hard’: PYp vasagim ‘hard (e.g. like a rock)’; CN te-piicooa ‘harden s.th.’ (Kartunnen suggests that te- = ‘rock’). Three consonants align, though PYp shows a 2nd vowel that CN does not and CN appears to have assimilated the 1st vowel toward the alveolar consonant, or PYp may have anticipated. [SUA: Tep, Azt]


NB, what of Cp lawaláwa ‘hard, tough’ and Cr aurá’uра’a ‘a ‘to harden’?

Hare: see rabbit
Harvest: see gather

HAT; SOMBRERO

1147. *ponamo ‘hat’: B.Tep277 *vonamo-i ‘hat’; KH/M06-po27 ‘hat’: TO wonami; LP vomon; PYp vonoma; NT vonámoi; ST vonam. Consider Eu vónama(‘a) ‘hat’, perhaps a loan from Tep; similarly, Tb pongat ‘cover, hat, lid’ may contain s.th. like *poN(a), feasibly the first element of the Tep compound, as the latter part of Tep *vona-moi could be from *mo’o ‘head’; thus, ‘cover-head’. [NUA: SUA n] [SUA: Tep, Opn; NUA: Tb]


1149. *mo’o-kaLi ‘hat (head-house)’: Tbr mo-ka-li-t; Wr mo’kóri; Tr mokoyo/-mokoho/-moko- ‘put on hat’; Tr mokoyóra/mokohóra/mokoora ‘hat, head-wear’; Tr mo’ó head’; Tr moki ‘encimar’; Cr muúku’u-ci ‘hat’. [*L > ’ in Cr, > y in Tr] [SUA: Trm, Tbr, CrC]

1150. *mo’o-píri ‘hat (head-house)’: Yq mó’obe’i; My mó’oberi. Cf. *mo’o ‘head’ and *píCtí ‘lie down’ with a meaning ‘house’. [SUA: Cah]

1151. *kaCokoC ‘hat’: Sh kaicco ‘hat’; Ch káicogo ‘hat’; CU káa-cogó-pí ‘hat’; and perhaps Tb kadzuudza ‘cap (for the head)’. NUA *-c- is not from *c, unless clustered or compounded. Since UA does not typically have diphthongs, the form *kaicok(o) probably results from the vowel raising and fronting in anticipation of the alveolar c, a common influence of alveolars in UA. [NUA: Num, Tb]

1152. *cappo / *coppo ‘hat’: TSh (sí)’appo ‘hat’; Sh(C) coppo ‘hat’; Mn copopó ‘basket cap, the traditional California Indian cap made of basketry’; Mn copopoyaa ‘wear a basket cap’. This may be a loanword into UA. [NUA: Num]

Hatch: see bear
Hate: see enemy
Have: see possess
Hawk: see eagle
HEAD; CABEZA

Mn  woó; co"-; copígi ‘brains’  Hp  qōtō  Eu  conít; mo ‘hair’
NP  dzopígi (< *coppikí)  Hp  kóopa ‘crown’  Tbr  taí-r; mo-
co’wipaganu  Tb  či’igoо-l ‘brain’  moi-ta-rá-n
‘headband’  comoo-l ‘head hair’  ‘de la cabeza’
TSh  pampi  Sr  -ṣuu’  AYq  kova
co"- (instr. pref.)  ayu’/-aiyu ‘head, hair’  Yq  kóba
Sh  paampi"  Ca  yúluka-l ‘&hair’  My  kobba
CM  papi/papi  Ts  yúlu-la  Wr  mo’ó
KW  tocí-ví  Cp  yu  Tr  mo’ó
CH  tocí  TO  gi’iig; mo’o ‘&hair’  Cr  mu’ú
SP  tocci-vi  Nv  mo’o  Wc  mu’úu
CU  tüči-vi  PYp  mo’o  CN  kwai-tl
WMU  čiheči-vi  NT  móo; kuúpa ‘&hair’  CN  con-tekoma-tl
ST  mo’; kuup ‘&hair’  ‘head, skull (hair-pot)’

1153. *mo’o ‘head’: Sapir; VVH134 *mo’o ‘head’; M67-218 *mo’o; B.Tep152 mo’o; L.Son147 *mo’o; M88-
mol; KH/M06-mol1: Ls méé-la ‘head of cattail rush’; TO; LP; PYp; NT; ST; Eu; Tbr; Wr; Tr; My mó’oberi
‘sombbrero (head-house)’; Cr; We. Add Yq mo’obe’i ‘hat’; and Yq muteka ‘pillow’ fits a compound of the UA
eytmons *mo’o ‘head’ and *tika ‘put, lie’, even though Yq itself does not have *mo’o for ‘head’.
[SAU: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

1154. *ku / *ku’o ‘with the head, instr. prefix’; KH/M06-ip1: NP ko- ‘with face’; Sh ku- ‘head (in
compounds)’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Tb(H) ko’ohn ‘head’. [SAU: Num, Tb; SAU: Azt]

Reflexes for ‘head’ show the three Numic subbranches nicely:

1155. WNum *coC- / *co"- ‘head’; *co(-piki) ‘head, brain’: M88-co6; KH/M06-co6: Mn copi gi ‘brain(s);
NP -dzopígi (< *coppikí) ‘head, brain’; NP co’wipaganu ‘headband’ and thus co‘- ‘head’. In the rest of Num are
SP co”- ‘head’; TSh co”- ‘head’ (instrumental prefix); Sh(C) co“- ‘with the head, instr prefix’; and Cm co‘- is in
compounds such as Cm co’níkari ‘put hat on, poke head into s.th.’. The compound *co”-piki seems to have been
originally ‘brain’ or ‘head-mucus’ in light of *mu-piki ‘mucus’ and *mu ‘nose’. Cm co’yaa ‘head, hair, *co”’, an
instrumental prefix ‘with the head’ in other Num languages, may point to *comi/*comya/*coni (at ‘hair)’
as the origin of this prefix. [SAU: Num]

1156a. CNum *paNpi. I.Num138 *pampi ‘head’: M88-pa38; KH/M06-pa38: TSh pampi ‘head, hair’; Sh pampin
‘head, hair’; Cm papi ‘head (including face and branches)’.

1156b. SNum *paNpi’ni / *paNpiCni ‘pot’: Kw pabíhí ‘pot made of pottery’; Ch pámpí’ni ‘pot’; SP pampíni
‘bucket, mud or clay basket with handle’; WMU papi’ni ‘pot, bucket’; CU papi’ni ‘big pot, cauldron’. SNum
*paNpi’ni ‘pot’ (Kw, Ch, SP, WMU, CU) ties to Central Numic *pampi ‘head’. [SAU: CNum, SNum]

1157. SNum *toCci ‘head’: Kw toci-ví; Ch tocí; SP tocí-vi; WMU čiheči-ví ‘head’; CU tücí-ví. As in Kw pikaro-
ci ‘bald’, the -rusi of Tr po-rusi ‘bald’ likely belongs here also. Notice *o > i in CU’s unaccented syllable and *o
> i with palatalization of *t > č in WMU. SP and WMU actually show the doubled medial consonant, but all
suggest underlying gemination; otherwise, we would see the lone *-t- > -r-, or *-c- > -y-. Might WNum *coC- be a
palatalization of *toCci > *coC-? [SAU: SNum; SAU: Trn]

NB, for *wo (Mn wóó/wqwoo-pi ‘(head) hair’; Tb woodzon/woodzol ‘crown, place where hair grows from’), see
hair.
NB, for *kuppa (Hp, NT, ST, Yq, My), see hair.
NB, for *kopa, see forehead.
NB, for *comya > *coni, see hair.
NB, for *yuL in Tak, see hair.
NB, for *katto ‘top, head’ see top.
HEAL, CURE, MEDICINE; SANAR, CURAR, REMEDIO

Miller has some of the same forms in both M88-hi4 and M88-yo6, as the assortment of forms is difficult; in fact, we may be dealing with related forms, some showing hi- prefixed to a *yowa stem.

1158a. *yowa / *yowLa ‘cure’: M88-yo6 ‘cure’: KH/M06-yo6: M67-116 *yo / *yowa / *yoya ‘cure’; L.Son362 *yowa ‘curar’; TO doa-jid; TO doa ‘get well’; LP doa; NT duduaádyidi, doá-dí; ST duáñiyá, dodyá; Wr i’óó ‘take medicine’; Wr i’óé ‘cure, vt’; Wr i’óí ‘medicine’; Tr owí/ówé- ‘curar, invitar, perseguir’; Tr ‘ówáami ‘medicine’; Wr hi’iýowa ‘medicine’. To these we might add AYq yoore ‘heal’; PYp do’a ‘alive’; PYp do’a-lim ‘be born, get well’; PYp do’a-r ‘give birth’; PYp do’a-ter ‘cure, vt’; and what are we to think of Tb dzowa-l ‘shaman’? Might PYp degevin(ad) ‘cure, save, vt’ be relevant in its showing the consonants *y-w-p? [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]

1158b. *hitowa ‘medicine’: M88-hi4 ‘medicine’; KH/M06-hi4; M67 has Trn as likely loans from Tep—Wr i’óí ‘remedio’; TO i’óí ‘sweet, tasty’—but they belong above. Tbr hitoa-t ‘medicina’; Yq hitto ‘curar’; Yq hitto ‘medicina’; AYq hitto ‘medicine’. [SUA: Cah, Tbr]

1159. *mayiw ‘cure’: M88-ma42 ‘to doctor s.o.’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ma42 ‘suck’: Ca máyew; Ls mayiw; Sr maiñ ‘to suck, as Shaman for curing’; Sr maiñ ‘cure, vt’. [NUA: Tak]

1160a. *puha ‘supernatural power, medicine, healing power’: M67-281 *pu ‘medicine’; I.Num156 *puha ‘power, medicine’; BH.Cup *pula ‘doctor’; M88-pu10 ‘supernatural power’; Munro.Cup117 *pu7hu-la ‘shaman’; KH/M06-pu10: Mn puha ‘supernatural power’; NP puha ‘power’; Sh poha ‘supernatural power’; CN puha ‘medicine, spiritual power’; Kw poha-vi/puha-vi ‘poison, power’; Kw poha-ga(n)-di ‘evil shaman, witch, modern doctor’; SP puva / poa ‘supernatural power’; CU puwa-vi ‘medicine power, spiritual power’; Tb tibohonah ‘to doctor, work at curing (usually animal)’; Tb tibohonat ‘apply medicine (to a person)’; Cp pùu-l ‘shaman’; Ca pùu-l ‘medicine man’; Ca pùu-l ‘become a pùul, perform first ceremony’; Ls pùu-la ‘shaman’; Hp powa ‘supernatural power’; powaal- ti ‘bec. cured’; Hp powa-ta ‘cure, purify’; Miller also includes CN pa’-tli ‘medicine’; CN ilwiti ‘be deserving, worthy of s.th.’ Add Wr pùh-ná/ma ‘cure, take sickness from (person), take load (from animal)’; Ch(L) púlu ‘aganq ‘doctor, shaman’, Ch(L) navuh ‘aganumpi ‘medicine’. CU and Hp lost -h- then yielded to the natural excrecent -w- in the *u-a environment. Below is a semantic shift.

1160b. *puha ‘poison’: Stubbs2003-14: NT iyóíh ‘envenenar’; Kw poha-vi ‘poison’; and the -wu- portion of TO hialwu ‘poison, n.’; and Kt pahavit ‘poison, dream helper’ may be a vowel-assimilation (*u-a > a-a) or a loan from neighboring Kw with assimilation. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]

1161. *toña ‘cure, administer to’: BH.Cup *teŋ ‘to doctor’; M88-to25 ‘to doctor’; KH/M06-to25: Cp tiñe; Ca tiñ ‘ay ‘cure, doctor s.o.’; Ls téñal ‘to cure, doctor with herbs’; Ls téñala-s ‘medicine’; Ls téñalka-t ‘herb doctor’. Note the glottal stop in Ca, as if another consonant in a cluster is involved. [NUA: Tak]


HEAR, LISTEN; OIR, ESCUCCHAR

Many words containing *-ka- may be related (in ways yet to be sorted out) and so are doubly listed in M88-ka11 and M88-na1; I divide them thus:

1163. *kaha/i ‘hear’: VVH126 *kahí/*kaha; M67-221 *ka ‘hear’; B.Tep98 *ká ‘hear’; ká ‘heard’; CL.Azt83 *kaki, 243 *kahi; M88-ka11; KH/M06-ka11; Tb ha ‘’aahá’; Sr qääva ‘ear’; TO kaa, kai; LP kai; PYp kaara; NT kai; ST kí; ST kka; ST káaya ‘hear, obey’; ST kaidya ‘s.th. heard, s.o. who can hear’; My hikkaha; Yq hikkaha; Yq hikka; Tr akë; CN kaki. Note the hi- prefix in the Cah languages and—consonant harmony in CN? [SUA: Tep, Cah; NUA: Tb, Tak]

NB, for *nakka / *naNka ‘hear’ see at ‘ear’ as this is undoubtedly related to *nakka/*naNka ‘ear’ as many languages have the same word meaning both; in fact, the verb ‘hear/listen’ may be the original meaning and ‘ear’ a secondary meaning.

HEART; CORAZÓN

| Mn  | piyú   | Hp  | ĕnanjwa | Eu      | hibés       |
| NP  | bbiwī  | Tb  | suuna-l | Tbr     | ara-ma-lf-r; ava-ma-lf-r |
| TSh | pihwín | Sr  | huun; Ktn huna-c | Yq  | hiapši       |
| Sh  | pihyín | Ca  | sūn-il  | My      | suula; hiapši ‘vida’ |
| Cm  | pihǐ(naboo’) | Cp  | șūn      | Wr      | sulá         |
| Kw  | pihỳ-pǐ | Ls  | șūn-la  | Tr      | surá; bisurá |
| Ch  | piyǐ   | TO  | iibdag  | Cr      | sīţeņiu’ukari |
| SP  | piyī; piyī-ppi | Nv  | hura-di; ‘ibdīg | Wc  | ‘iyāari       |
| WMU | muģù / muģua-vi | PYp | ibda    | CN      | yool-li      |
| CU  | muģua-va | NT  | ūra; iibidaga | ST | hur; ‘iibda |

1165. *suna > SUA *suLa ‘heart, inner part, seed’: Sapir; VVH98 *sula ‘heart’; M67-222a *sula ‘heart’;
B.Tep578 *hura ‘heart, integral part’; I.Num184 *su(h)- ‘prefix, with the mind, mentally’; BH.Cup *sūn ‘heart’; L.Son264 *sura ‘corazón’; Munro.Cup63 *şūn-i-la ‘heart’; KH.NUA; M88-su13; KH/M06-su13: Hp soona ‘edible part of seed’; Hp son ‘middle of’; Tb suunal ‘heart, inside’; Cp; Ca; Ls; Gb sūn; Sr huun ‘heart, inside, center’;
Nv hura-di ‘heart’ (more the soul or spiritual/emotional heart); NT úra; ST hur; Wl; Tr; My; and Cr siē is noteworthy, as Cr typically loses intervocalic liquids. Ken Hill adds Tbr sura-nyi ‘con el corazón’. Let’s also add Eu surá’t ‘grano’; Eu sure ‘granar’; Eu -súra ‘dentro, entre’. Miller also includes several Num forms. I concur with TSh sun ‘mind, with the feeling or sensing’ and the like, but *sua’ and *summav are separate sets: one being TSH sua ‘think’; Sh sua ‘think’; Čm sua; SP šuai ‘be glad’ and the other is SP šummi ‘have in mind’; CU sumay ‘think of, have in mind’. TSH nasunjwaci / nasuwcaci ‘forget’ shows that such a suNa/suwa tie is possible; however, those Num forms should be separate for the following reasons: (1) though the Num forms lack only the 2nd consonant (*sua vs. *suna), note that Tb, Hp, and Tak (all the rest of NUA) show the n, yet Num lacks it; (2) Num also exhibits different semantics (see ‘think’); (3) though this stem does not appear obviously in Numic ‘heart’ per se, it seems to be found in a few Numic compounds; it seems especially clear in NP sunammú ‘think’ and bisa sunammí ‘happy’ (< good-feel), where bisa means ‘good’; note also TSh cao nasunjwa’ah ‘happy’ < TSH cao ‘good’ + TSH nasunjwak’ah ‘feel internally (whether emotionally or physically)’. It is found with nasalization in these Num languages, why not the others? Manaster Ramer (1996) suggested the šil- of CN šiššu-ani-’t ‘womb, belly’ to be cognate and has since (AMR, p.c.) found additional evidence. He notes TO huD ‘heart’ (Mathiot) in addition to TO huDa ‘side, particularly side of midriff’ and cites Simeon’s (1885) CN definition ‘ventre, flanc, côté’ similar to TO as well as CN šilán-kwaü ‘avoir mal au côté’. Perhaps typifying a verbal dimension of this may be Ca sūnwe’-ma ‘sad, poor’; Ca sūnkat ‘hard time, suffering’; Ca sun-sūn’e-ika(t) ‘one who is sad, poor’; Ca sūnwe ‘feel sorry for s.o.’; may suggest a verb ‘suffer, be sad’; the differing s vs. š in Cp šūn ‘heart’ and Čp šūnvi ‘feel sorry for’ may mean differing stems or loans from Ca. Be that what it may, this widespread UA etymology is found in all branches of UA. Like Hp soona ‘edible part of seed’, Hp son ‘middle of’ in the ‘seed’ so also Eu surát ‘grano, pepita’; Eu súra ‘dentro, entre’; CN šiloo-šl ‘tender ear of green maize before it solidifies’ with the common final -a/-o alternation, but this CN term is also listed at ‘corn’. Some languages show this “heart” dimension to be “knowing” as much as “feeling”: e.g., Ca sun ‘i’ive ‘without one’s heart, crazy’ is without knowing rather than discouraged; and Ca sun táwas ‘heart-lose, forget’ also means ‘losing the knowing’ more than ‘losing feeling’. [*-L > -* in Cr; final -a/-o alternation]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

1166. *ikwǐyawa / *ikwiLaawa ‘heart’: B.Tep308 *iibidaga ‘soul, heart’; TO; LP; PYp; NT; ST. [SUA: Tep]

1167. *pihwič / *pihyč ‘heart’: I.Num164 *pi(h)wi/*pi(h)yí heart; M88-pi19; KH/m06-pi19: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Čm; Kw; Ch; SP. [NUA: Num]

NB, for *hikwis ‘live, heart, breathe’, see breathe.
### HEAVY; PESADO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>na'nikwí</th>
<th>Hp</th>
<th>pi̱ti;</th>
<th>Eu</th>
<th>bete’e-</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>nínikwi (Thornes, 148)</td>
<td>Tb</td>
<td>pi̱ḻi̱i’t-’i̱pi̱lii’</td>
<td>Tbr</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSh</td>
<td>pi̱ti(ūn)</td>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>pi̱ti’; Ktn pi̱či’</td>
<td>Yq</td>
<td>béte’a ‘pesar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>pi̱ti̱n</td>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>péle-ma; čiki-ma</td>
<td>AYq</td>
<td>vette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>pi̱ti̱</td>
<td>Ls</td>
<td>wíma/i</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>bette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>píta’a (-t- &lt; *-tt-)</td>
<td>Cp</td>
<td>wíme; či’inpíš</td>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>pehté-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>pítiya (-t- &lt; *-tt-)</td>
<td>TO</td>
<td>weeč</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>be’té-re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>PYp</td>
<td>veete</td>
<td>Wc</td>
<td>hée.te/heé.té</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>píti̱tiye</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>vi̱ti</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>etiya ‘bec. heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>vi̱ti</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>etik ’s.th. heavy’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 1168. *píttí/*pítiya/*píttV’a ‘(be) heavy’; VVH3 *pi̱lu’ti ‘heavy’; B.Tep294 *vi̱ti ‘heavy’; KH.NUA; M67-223 *pete ‘heavy’; CL.Azt84 *tiik ‘heavy’; M88-píl ‘be heavy’; KH/M06-pí1: TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; Ch; WM; CU; Hp; Tbl; Sr; Ca; TO; LP; PYp; NT; ST; Eu; Yq; AYq; My; Wr; Tr; Cr; Wc; CN. This is one of the few proto stems that has survived through nearly the whole language family, except WNum and half of Takic. All of Num show *-tt- while Tb and Ca show lenition of *-tt- > *-t- > -l-. WM, CU, and CN all point to *pítiya, perhaps a fuller form; on the other hand, Sr (but not Sr píšičiit ‘heavy thing’), Tb, Kw, Yq, Tr, and Eu all show glottal stop for a third consonant, perhaps *píttí’a. [y’/ *p > h/ø in Azt/CrC; *-tt- > -l-] [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

#### 1169. *wima ‘heavy’: Cp wíme ‘weigh, vt’; Cp wíme-yaxe ‘be heavy, vi’; Ls wíma ‘weigh, be heavy, be difficult, vi, weigh, vt’. [NUA: Tak]

#### 1170. *nikwí ‘heavy’: Mn, NP. [NUA: WNum]

### HEEL; TALÓN

#### PUA *tanapíCko / *tamukpi’-(ko) ‘heel’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>tapiqó’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>ddabbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSh</td>
<td>tappi̱iko’(cci)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>tappikkon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>tapiko’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>tampil’-(ppi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMU</td>
<td>tampil’/ taví-ppü ‘heel, n’; taví-ppü-n / tampil’-n ‘my heel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>tá-pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tb</td>
<td>tanapi-t / Tb(H) tannapi-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>řanígora; řaníkura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eu</td>
<td>tenůka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>talatémori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>tamukpi’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ktn</td>
<td>tïmupi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tbr</td>
<td>teoó-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TO</td>
<td>čéemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nv</td>
<td>tíma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PYp</td>
<td>teema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My</td>
<td>témpé’erim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yq</td>
<td>pémpé’im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hp</td>
<td>kiktöní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tep</td>
<td>*tikavo: UP čikíwo; NT tikávo; St tikvo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two groups above may or may not be related, so let’s divide them thus for now. Parts of the sets demonstrate well some phenomena typical of UA: (1) cluster and syllable reductions; (2) vowel-line shift or transposition; and (3) consonant harmony. For example, the Cahitan words for ‘heel’—My témpé’erim and Yq pémpe—yield a nice example of consonant harmony.

Tepiman *tïkavo ‘heel’ (Bascom) may have metathesized the 2nd and 3rd consonants apparent in Numic *tappiko, as well as some vowels. But Tep’s difficulties aside, the first four letters, consisting of Num, Tb, Cahitan *tempe, Tr, and Eu, seem more certainly related and from something like *tanappiCko, which would undoubtedly be a compound. Syncope of the 2nd vowel of s.th. like Tb tanappi-t would create the cluster *np, which cluster appears in SP tampiC and My tempe’erim, after assimilation of the nasal (n > m) to the bilabial (p). In the Numic reflexes (*tappiko Mn, NP, TSh, Sh, Cm), a former cluster (*np) would also explain the existence of the stop p (< *-pp-) instead of the intervocalic spirantized -v-.

Heading the second large group, Sr tamukpi’ and Ktn tînupi-c appear to derive from s.th. much like Sr (*tamukpi’), as Ken Hill pointed out at a UA conference years ago. Ken Hill (p.c.) noted that Sr mukpi’ ‘nose’ suggests *ta-mukpi’ ‘heel < foot-nose’ as the likely source for Sr and Ktn (Ken Hill, p.c.), and Ktn -p- does show underlying gemination or a cluster. Wr and Tbr (*tímo), similar through four segments and with the fourth being a round vowel, may be truncations of the same. Why TO and PYp, if related, changed the last vowel is available for discussion.

The middle of Hp kïk-tön-si ‘heel’, that is, -tön- may be a vowel leveling and reduction of *tamu… > *tomo > *tom > *-tön- with assimilation of the nasal to alveolar nasal adjacent to alveolar -s-. Ktn has two words for ‘heel’: besides the one discussed (tímupi-c), Ktn kačuä-č ‘heel’ has enough in common with Hp kïktönsi that they may both derive from the same archaic-compound. As *-kt- > -č- is exactly the kind of source we expect NUA -č- to come from, Hp kïktönsi (< *kvtöo…) and Ktn kačuä- (< *kvtu…) yield some resemblance, except for the instability of final segments in longer forms, a common weakness in UA.

Returning to the first or *tanappiC(-ko) grouping, Mn and CNum show an extra syllable (-ko) not apparent in Tb, NP, and SNum; however, that syllable exists in the Tr alternate forms ŕanikura and is hinted at in some others. Tr appears to have reduced the *np cluster to n, instead of -pp- as in Numic, or mp as in My and SP, but Tr does show a final *-ko/ku.

Another matter frequent in UA and exemplified in the first group is what could be called vowel-line shift or a sequence of vowels shifting in position relative to consonants. In Tr ŕanikura and Eu tenuka, the consonants match (*t-n-k) and the two forms have a similar string of vowels (i/e-u-a) as well, but the vowel sequence has shifted one slot relative to the consonants. Lest one doubt the frequency of this phenomenon in UA, consider other examples below:

(a) Tr binói self        (b) NT kihónali rainbow      (c) Tr ŕanikura heel
   boné "       Tr ginóra "   Eu tenuka "
   Wr kenolá "

It is also not impossible that *tamukpi’ (2nd group) is the source of the first group: *tamukpi’ > *tamkpi’ > tampič. With loss of 2nd vowel, which is very common in light of 1st and 3rd usually hogging the stress, the resulting cluster of 3 consonants could easily reduce to *-mp- as we see in the first group.

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn, Cah, Tep]

Help: see do
HERE, THERE; AQUI, ALLÁ

1173. *aCkwV 'here': KH/M06−’a37: Sr ahkw ‘here, to here’; Ktn ahkw‘ik ‘here (or near?)’; Cp axwáňa ‘therein’; Cp axwá’aw ‘thereat’. Add Nv abi ‘alli’; TO abai ‘there close by facing this way’; Eu avide ‘alli’; Hp aŋqw (combining form -ŋaqw) ‘from there’. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn]

1174. *wa / *wa’a ‘there’: KH/M06-wa3: TO ga’a ‘over there, up there facing toward’; TO gama(’i) ‘over there facing away’; Eu awá’tañi ‘ahí’; Eu áwai ‘por añi’; Wr wa’a ‘there’; Tr(H) wami ‘there’; Tr(L) wamina ‘there’; Nv gaamu. Some forms have compounded with an initial m- morpheme. Note at ‘alli’ are ‘Nv garhí, ami, gaamu’.

[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]

1175. *ama(ni) ‘there’: AYq ama/aman(i) ‘there (near speaker)’; PYp am(a) ‘there’; Nv ami ‘alli’; Nv imi ‘alli’; Wr mána ‘there’; Sr ama (acc. amai; pl. a:m) ‘that one, he, she, it’; CN -m ‘locative’. The several Num forms resembling *ma…/*man… may belong with loss of the first vowel, as with Wc.

[SUA: Tep, Cah, CrC, Azt; NUA: Tak, Num]

Heron: see crane

Hiccough: see cough

HIDE; ESCONDER(SE), OCULTAR(SE)

1176. *ici / *’iici-to ‘hide’: B.Tep344 *’iisiso ‘hide’; M88-il2; KH/M06-il2: Pl iinaya ‘hide’; TO ees ‘stealth’; TO çu ees-k ‘be a thief’; TO ees-to ‘hide, v.t.p.’; UP ’iisito; NT ïištyo; ST ’iisito. Though Miller listed only Tep and Pl in this set, other forms certainly belong with each, whether they belong together or not; most notable are Eu eci ‘hidden, vi’ and eci-to ‘hide, vt’; likewise, Hp iiyi ‘steal, v.t.p., sneak off secretly, v.refl.’; the first three segments of Wr iicipu-na ‘esconderse’; Wr icikoa ‘steal’; Tr cičlu ‘esconderse’ (consonant harmony), though the last 3 languages lack the -to morpheme for their inclusion in this compound. The first part (*’iici-) of this verbal compound is the same stem as is found under ‘steal’; cf. steal. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn; NUA: Hp]


[SUA: Azt]

1178. *niŋi ‘hide’: Ca něŋ ‘to hide’; Cp něŋe ‘to hide’. [medial ŋ] [NUA: Tak]


1180. *a-ka ‘stealthily’: Ch áága-musi ‘hide, vi’; Ch áága-waci ‘hide, v’; CU ’áágá-múusi ‘hide, vi’; CU ’áágá-waci ‘hide, deny, v’t’; CU ’áágá- ‘secretly, stealthily, sneakily, quietly, in hiding, on the sly, adv’; SP a ‘quietly, gradually’; WMU aağa- ‘quietly, slowly, gently, adv (usually combined)’; WMU aaga- ‘appága-y ‘whisper, talk softly’. The SP form shows this to be a compound of SNum *aa-ka. [NUA: SNum]

1181. *api ‘hide, lie down’: Cr abiici ‘i ‘escondido’; Wc ‘avieta ‘hide (claws/teeth)’. This may relate to Num *api ‘lie down’ since hiding often involves lying down or laying s.th. down. [SUA: CrC]

Hide, n: see hair and/or skin
High: see up, long

HIP; CADERA; see also buttocks

1182. *hupa / *hupi ‘hip’: Hp hoovi ‘area of the buttocks, thigh’; PYp upir ‘hip, base, thigh’; Yq húbaria ‘hip’; possibly Tb hooiwi-l ‘anus’. The first 3 segments of the first 3 items align perfectly in 3 separate branches of UA no less; Tb could feasibly be a loan from Hp. Nonetheless, I posit a for the 2nd vowel in light of Yq’s a and the tendency of all vowels to rise and front in UA preceding frontal consonants. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah]
1183. *kaca-(pawī) ‘hip’: Tr kačā ‘hueso de la cadera’; Wr kahcā ‘cadera’; Cp kepáwe ‘hip, poss’d’; Wc kwacápawī ‘hip’. Tr and Wr are related, and Wc likely represents a compound, with its frequent labialization of so many things. Cp may match Wc, as *-c- > y in NUA, and if e < *ay: *kacapawī > kay(a)pawī > kepáwe. In fact, Cp -p- signifies a cluster, as easily *yp- < *-cp-, as anything else. Huichol’s final i (<*u) may be left from the w of *kwacapawī. [CrC p-] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, CrC]

1184. *cīyam(u) / *cīyaC ‘hip’: Mn cīyā♣ ‘hip bone’; NP dzimu ‘hip’; TSh ciappī / ciampī ‘hips’; Sh cīam-pin/pi’ ‘hip’; Kw cīya-vī ‘hip’; Kw cīya-vū-pū ‘wild rose’; SP cī’ampī ‘wild-rose berry’; WMU cǐ’ąmpū ‘hip’. Mn -p- and most forms suggest a 3rd C, perhaps m, as in NP. [NUA: Num]

1185. *mos ‘buttocks, hips’: Ca miš ‘hip, thigh’; Wc šee-mūsi ‘ano’; Ca and Wc agree perfectly with *mos, since *o > Ca i and *o > Wc u. While not semantically identical, ‘buttocks’ does often share a semantic overlap with both. Others not showing s could also be related, due to the questionable diachronic stability of s in UA. What of Tbr mou-r ‘thigh, leg above the knee’; Tbr moó̆-r/máor- ‘cadera, faja, cincha’; Tr muyá(ra)/muara ‘buttocks’; Wr muyá ‘thigh’; Eu morika ‘thigh’? Eu r and Tr/Wr y may suggest medial r, whether of the same set as Ca and Wc or not. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tbr, CrC]

NB, for *pico ‘buttocks, hips’, see buttocks. 
NB, for *pittuho ‘buttocks, hip’, see buttocks.
NB, for *tupul ‘hip, buttocks’, see buttocks.

HIT, FIGHT, BATTLE, WAR; PEGAR, PELEAR, LUCHAR, COMBATIR, GUERRA; see throw

1186a. *pakkac (AMR) / *pakkì ‘hit, kill’: Sapir: M67-231 *pa hit; M67-244 *paka/paki ‘kill’; I.Num130 *pa’i ‘hit’; I.Num145 *pēhka / *pahka / *pahca ‘kill, beat’; M88-pa26 ‘hit’; M88-pa27 ‘kill’; AMR 1993c *pakkac; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa26: Mn toh-pakita ‘hit with the fist’; Sh pai ‘hit’; Cm paﬁ ‘fall, be born, attack, sg.’ (cognate? Miller queries; let’s say probable for now); Cp pāqe ‘hit, slap’; Ca pākin ‘tap, clap’; Ls pāqa/i ‘be pounded, pound’ (cognate? Miller queries; yes, definitely); Ls pāx ‘make fun of’; Sr pāqkin ‘slap’; Tb pa’gat–apa’giin ‘hit, burst’; Tb(H) paa’kinat ‘hit, vt’; Cr vāh-si ‘hit (past perf)’. Add perhaps the -pa’i of Mn tabipa/i ‘strike repeatedly’. From M88-pa27: Mn paca; NP paca; TSh pakhak; Sh peka / paikka ‘kill’; Cm pehka–; Kw paka ‘kill, beat’; Kw na-paka ‘fight’; SP pahka ‘kill, beat’; CU paxxay (<*pakkay) ‘beat (hard), kill, butcher’; Cp pāqe; Cr ra-hé-i-ka ‘he is killing him’. Sapir also lists Cr héka ‘tötén, auslöschen’. As does Ken Hill, I combine M88a27 *paka/i ‘kill’ and M88-pa26 ‘hit’: forms overlap, common stems seem certain, even if with various other morphemes fused. For example, Sh pai ‘hit’ and Sh peka/paikka ‘kill’ are different and Sh and Cr ra-hé-i-ka (Cr h < *p) may point to *pa’i ‘hit’ and *pā’i-ka ‘kill’ or *pahi (<*paki) ‘hit’ and *pakka ‘kill’, a gernination signifying a more intensive form of the verb. So undoubtedly, much sorting remains, but until s.o. has time to look at the matter closely, I simply continue the collection with possible addtions. What of NP nadapagita/hu ‘hit pl obj’s’? Or does it tie to Hp táapa-k-na ‘knock on, hammer on, pound on (once)’? NP and Hp both show medial *-pp- or *tappa(k). Below seems to be the identical stem, but with different meaning.

1186b. *pakkac ‘hurt’: NP nipaga ‘hurting’; NP nanipaga ‘feel pain, be sick, v’; Kw pakagi ‘sore, pain, ache’; Ch paká-nki ‘hurt’; CU paxzáki ‘have pain, vi’. [-k- vs. -kk-] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: CrC]

1187. *kwippa ‘hit’: M88a27: NP kwíba ‘hit, vt’; Kw kwíppa ‘hit, beat, whip’. Add CU kwípa ‘hit, beat, whip’; CU kúpá ‘hit on, beat on (with stick or instrument)’; SP qwippa ‘hit, strike, throw, vt’; and Ch(L) kwipaw ‘club, beat, v’. Though Miller had NP and Kw with *pakkac ‘hit’ above, they seem a separate stem. A velarization of *wîpa ‘whip’? Not necessarily probable. Kw, CU, SP, and Ch all show gernination of 2nd C. [NUA: Num]

1188. *co’na / *co’ni ‘pound, hit’: M67-232 2con ‘hit’; L.Son39 *cona/*con-i ‘abofetear’; M88-co1 ‘pound’; KH/M06-co1: TO sōni ‘action of the hand or of s.th. held’ (though usually of striking, we might list: TO sōni-kon ‘strike, hit’; TO sōni-ak ‘chop down’; TO sōni-çk-wua ‘move s.th. by striking it’; TO sōni-hin ‘to hammer’; TO sōni-win ‘reduce to small bits by pounding’; Eu zóna/cóni ‘moquetear, bofetear’; Wr co’na-ni/co’ni-má ‘machacar’; Tr m’-c’-na ‘machacar, clavar, remachar’; My cónma ‘pegar con mano’. Miller also mentions Cr tyl’i-caana ‘pick corn’; Cr sūh-c’an-i ‘torn’ (?), wrong vowel). We should add CN cocona ‘strike s.o., beat s.th., play instrument’; and Tr co’ńa / co’ni-mea ‘punch, hit with hand’; Yq ó’óna ‘dar trancazos’; AYq ó’óna ‘hit one’. This may tie to Num *to’na ‘stab, hit’. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]
The predominance of Num forms in *ko seems to mean 'die, sleep, vi' or 'kill, fight, hit, vt' referring to pl subj's/obj's most of the time. *ko or *ko'ya seem definite reconstructions.

However, the PYp forms may be the most telling: PYp ko'ida 'kill pl obj's'; PYp ko'idi 'kill (pret.).' AMR includes this set in his article "A Northern UA sound law: *c- > y-," wherein he reconstructs *ko'yi 'to kill (pl obj), with which I quite agree, though I would adjust the final vowel to a in light of its presence in Hp, Tr, Wr, Wc, and much of Tep. As for overlap with 'sleep', AMR's sound law *c- > NAU y might merge *koci and *ko'i/*ko'ya (in NAU, but many UA languages show that a distinction is warranted: Tr/Wr ko'ya/'ko'i 'die, kill' vs. Tr/Wr koci 'sleep' and Tep *kodu 'kill' vs. Tep koso 'sleep'. Sr qo'ai (< *ko'ay) and UP kokida could indicate a 2nd vowel of a—*koy—easily assimilating to i before y or syncopating, both of which we see often. Next is a compound of this stem. [NAU: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC]

The following verb forms (die, pl subj; kill, pl obj) smack of an ergative flavor and unite a number of forms that seem to mean 'die, sleep, vi' or 'kill, fight, hit, vt' referring to pl subj's/obj's most of the time. *ko'ya or *ko'iya seem definite reconstructions.

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1190. *na-ko'(i)ya(a) 'fight, i.e., hit/kill each other': NP nako; Hp naaqój-ta; Eu náko / náhoda; Tr nako-; Wr nako-; Tb nonojóy'i 'wrestle'; Cp nájíš (Ca i < *o). Note that NP, Hp, Eu, Cp, Tr, Wr and Tbil are quite agree with *nako'y (reciprocal *na-, even if fossilized in cases). We might add Kw nonogo'i / nonogwi'i 'fight' and CU nako-koy 'fight'. The Tep languages above show the *koy syllable also, since Tep d < *y. The reciprocal of *ko'ya sets the later segments further from initial position, so they tend to reduce more, thus (na-)koy < *ko'ya is actually remarkable preservation for non-initial syllables in UA. Notice also the nasalization of the velar in Tbil and Cph, perhaps from nasalization in the environment from initial *na-. [*ko > qo > qi/qe Cph] [NAU: Num, Tak, Hp, Tbil; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC; Azt]

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1194. *(na-)pitVNkV ‘fight, v’: Mn pidiiki ‘fight’; Mn nanna-pidiiki ‘fight one another’; TSh napitiŋkin / napitiŋkin ‘fight’; Sh napitingka ‘to fight’; Cm nibitikir ‘war, battle’; Tb paandigit ‘fight’. WNum and CNum *na-piti and Tb *patiŋk appear related, showing nasalizations in different places. [nasal anticipation] [NUA: Num, Tb]

1195. *na-yawi ‘fight’: Hp naayawi ‘fight’; Tb ’anaayuw-it-naayuw ‘fight’; CN yaaoo-tla ‘make war’; CN yaaoo-tl ‘enemy’. Hp and Tb have a fossilized *na- prefix that CN does not. [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Azt]


1197. *toppa ‘hit’: Mn topagida ‘hit with a fist, v’; NP topagi ‘hit with fist’; Cm tohäpätii ‘hit with fist, slap with palm of hand, punch’. All languages show gemination of *-pp-. Cm is also listed at *tuka above. [NUA: Num]

1198. *puk ‘hit, bump’: Ca -vuk- ‘hit s.o. with a stick’; Ca -pux- ‘knock, bump, hit’; Cp púxe ‘to dash against’. [NUA: Tak]

1199. *ko’osa ‘hit’: Cr raatakú ‘stone s.o., throw a rock at’. [SUA: Trn, Azt]

1200. *poña ‘hit, pound’: M88-po7; KH.NUA; KH/M06-po7: Cp pinj ‘knock on, knock around’; Ca pinj ‘get ground, pulverized’; Ls péga/i ‘throw, be thrown’; Gb perá ‘machucar’; Sr pööŋ ‘pound’; Ktn pón ‘hit with the fist’; Hp pöŋŋōtā ‘be making knocking or rapping sounds’; Hp pööŋ-na ‘knock on, give a knock or sharp peck’; Ayq poona ‘knock’; Yq pönne ‘machacar’; My póona ‘hit, touch’; and My popona ‘martillar (hit/pound with a hammer). See *pinY forms at grind. Note that all of NUA has medial -n- (except Gb) and all of SUA has -n-. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah]

1201. *mo’ta ‘hit, hit against’: Wr mo’ta ‘tocar, topetear, chacar, de dos cosas [touch, collide, of two things]’; CN mootla ‘stone s.o., throw a rock at’. [SUA: Trn, Azt]

1202. *@Lawi ‘flick (with a finger)’: Ca láwin ‘flick with a finger (watermelon, head, etc.)’; Cp láwe ‘flick with fingers, vt’. [NUA: Tak]

NB, TrC *pípa ‘throw’ results from consonant harmony, from *típa ‘throw, hit’.
NB, for *taṇ/tap ‘throw, hit’, see throw.
NB, for *wípa, see whip.
NB, for Takie *maaxi-s ‘acorn flour’, see grind.
NB, for *to’na ‘pierce, stab, hit’, see at cut.

Hold: see carry

HOLE; AGUERO, ABERTURA, HOYO, CAVIDAD, PERFORACION: see also dig and cut
1203. *to’o / *toC ‘hole’: Mn tó-o ‘hole in the ground’; Mn totaagi ‘make hole in s.th.’; Mn ataagín ‘hole’; NP toopi ‘animal hole’; NP kammi ddo ‘rabbit hole’ (kammi ‘rabbit’); NP totawaga ‘to make a hole with drill’; Kw to’o ‘to be a hole’. The 2nd consonants (-t, -p) suggest a cluster. [NUA: Num]

1204. *(hoc)-paka ‘hole’: Kw hopa-ki ‘to be a hole, hollow’; Ch hopáki-cí/pi ‘hole’; CU paká-kí ‘hole’; CU wopága-čí ‘hole’; SP o-papáki/o-papají ‘be a hole.’ and perhaps Sh tipíki ‘dig a hole’ and/or Eu tapakdaa ‘rajarse’ but Eu tápána ‘rajarr’ makes the Eu forms less likely. [ho/wV/o] [NUA: Num]

1205. *takuwa (> takowo) ‘concaity, low place where things collect or gravitate to, place where a lot of s.th. is’: as in ُtaa-takuwa ‘tooth?-place/collection, sump, stand of (teeth?)’; TO taatko ‘jaw’ and NT taatákgui ‘jaw’. Similarly for *maC-takuwa ‘palm of hand, hand-concavity’ are Eu máckora (*-t- > -c-) ‘palm of la mano’ and Tbr ma-tako-rá-n / ma-tako-lí-r ‘palm de la mano’. Hp mapqölö ‘palm of hand’ lost first syllable as also Hp qölö ‘hole in the ground, pit’ and Hp qölö ‘expanse of, place where there is a lot of, stand of, patch or cluster of’ ((ta)kowo < *takuwa). [SUA: Tep, Tbr, Cah; NUA: Hp]
NB, for *yïwa ‘hole, opening’ see close.
NB, for *puk ‘door, hole’ see close
NB, for Ca tékiš, see cave.
NB, for *ho(ta), see dig.

Honey: see sweet

**HORN, ANTLER; CUERNO, ASTA**

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**1206. *awaC / *a’awaC ‘horn’**: Sapir; VVH104 *awa ‘horn’; M67-235 *awa ‘horn’; M88-’a5 ‘horn’; I.Num6 *awah/awaN; L.Son8 *awa ‘cuerno’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-’a5: Sapir lists Cr awá ‘have horns’. This is one of the classic cognate sets, not only because it appears in every UA language (except possibly Eu), but it nicely shows Hp l and Tepiman g corresponding to *w. Miller lists CN a’awa-tl ‘long, slender horn’ (many glottal stops in other forms), but KH/M0 does not. Or what of CN aawaa-tl ‘oak’ (antler-looking branches?) or CN aawaa-tl ‘caterpillar’ (horned insect) as possibly related to UA *awa ‘horn’? Also noteworthy is that most of the Num languages and Tb suggest a final consonant. [*w > Hp l / Tep g]  [NUA: Tak, Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

Horned toad: see lizard

**HOT; CALIENTE, HACE CALOR**; see also fever, summer, spring, sun

**1207. *toja ‘hot, heat (of) sun/day, shine’**: VVH155 *toja-la ‘to shine, sun’; B.Tep224 *toni ‘hot’; B.Tep226 *tonori ‘sunshine’; M67-238a; L.Son312 *tono/toni ‘hervirse’; CL.Azt163 *toonal ‘sun’, 272 **tono ‘shine (sun)’; KH.NUA; M88-to6 ‘sun, shine, boil’; M88-to21 ‘hot’; KH/M06-to6 (Ken Hill aptly combines M88-to6 and M88-to21): Cp tipe ‘be hot’; Ca tñma ‘warm’; Sr tøöjavà ‘(in the) summer’; TO toni ‘be hot’; TO tonoD ‘shine, twinkle’; TO tonolid ‘shine onto, give light to’; NT tonóli ‘sunshine; ST tanooly; ST tanoolyiop in the sun’; Wr tono/toni ‘hervir’; Tr ronó ‘hervir, fermentarse’; Eu tonó ‘be hot, boil’; Tb tonó ‘be hot’; CN tonal-li ‘warmth of the sun, summertime, day’; Pl tuunal ‘sun’; HN toonal ‘day’. Ken Hill adds Hp tøöji ‘heat, hot weather, heat of the day’; Ls itëtyu ‘hot spring’. Let’s also add Ktn tonjawa ‘August, summer’ and/or Ktn tujawa ‘June, July’; Nv tonorho ‘for sun to shine’; PYp toin ‘hot’; PYp tono ‘hot’; NT tóñi ‘hot’; ST tøöni ‘hot’; Pl tutuuni-k ‘hot, heat (of sun)’; HN toona ‘to shine (of sun)’. Note vowel opposition between ST tanolly ‘day’ and CN toonal-li.

[LS -vu]  [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Azt]

**1208a. *ifí ‘hot’ (NUA): M88-i11 ‘hot’; M67-236 *ete ‘hot’; I.Num26 *iti(h) ‘(be) hot’; L.Son26 *uru ‘hacer calor’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-i11: Mn ëdi’i; NP ëdif (<*ëdití); TSh ëiti;; Sh ëiti; Tb ëditi-ëiti-ëdití; Hp ëiti’i; Sr ëiti; Gb ‘oró’. Hill adds Ch arìi ‘it’s hot’ and WSh ëtïi. Note also Ch(L) arìì / arììì ‘it burns! Ouch!’ (said only of heat pain); WMU arùù ‘hot! Ouch, it’s hot!’; Kw ëtëë ‘ouch!’; SP atturooci ‘hot (of water)’.


[NUA i = SUA u ]  [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn]
1209. *suka* ‘to heat, be hot (weather)’: M67-237 *suk ‘hot’; BH.Cup sax ‘to heat’; B.Tep80 *huukada-i ‘to heat, warm up’; L.Son262 *suka ‘estar caliente’; M88-su11 ‘hot’; KH/M06-su11: Sr hu’a-i ‘burn, vi’ (hwí’v ‘fut’; hwa’qa ‘immed fut’; huuhu ‘perf’); Sr maahua’n ‘burn, vt’; Sr hu’kuq ‘be warm’; Eu sukáe-n ‘caliente’; Eu súkra ‘calentar’; Eu súkra ‘calentarse’; Op sukkara; My súkka ‘éstá caliente’; AYq suka/sukki ‘warm’; Tr sukáre ‘calentar’; We šíkkáa ‘caliente’; Cr šíkk ‘sun’; Cr wa-síka ‘be hot (weather)’; NT uukádyi; ST huukad; TO huukaji; LP hukd. Add Nv ’ukadida ‘calentar, vt’; Nv ’ukagi ‘calentarse a la lumbrè. These may well relate to the forms at *soka ‘cook, heat water’ (KH/M06-so15: Cp sixnine ‘cook’; Ls šéxéa ‘simmer’; etc) considering *suka > *soka, the latter underlying the Cupan forms. [Tak x = TrČ k, as in two, etc; *u-a > o-a > Ls e] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrČ]

1210. *yu’mi / *yuwmi* ‘warm’: M67-453 *yu ‘warm’; I.Num293 *yu’a/*yu’i ‘warm’; M88-yu9 ‘warm’; KH/M06-yu9: Mn yuwi ‘be warm, v’; NP yui; Sh yuai warm; Cm yu’a ‘warm (of weather)’; SP yuwtui ‘warm’; SP yu’mi ‘warm (of water)’; yu’ata (of weather); Hp yoni ‘be warm’. Hp and SP both suggest that we may be dealing with a medial cluster rather than a single consonant. [cluster] [NUA: Num, Hp]

1211. *kuttutu* ‘hot’: Ch kutúci ‘hot’; Ch kutúca ‘hot’; CU kitúruucí ‘be hot, be feverish’; WMU quhútturucí ‘hot, be hot, have a fever’; Kw kutuuv-vú ‘charcoal’; Kw kuttunuhí ‘make fire with a drill’; SP quwatúrooci ‘be warm (of inanim obj’s)’. Might these SNum terms and TrČ *utu be related? (Note Eu urúce –’tener calor’ listed above with *utu.) With prefixed *ku(t) ‘fire’ or s.th. like Mn ku ‘with heat’, we arrive near *kuttutu, or is *kuttutu a medial reduplication of *kutucí? [NUA: SNum]

1212a. *tu’i; *ta-tu’i* (> *tar’u’i) ‘hot’: Kw tar’u’i ‘to be hot’; Ch tará’i ‘hot’; CU tari’i ‘be hot weather, be hot place’; NP tu’i ddu’i ‘try to warm up’ may suggest a compound in the others: *ta-tu’i. The TrČ forms below likely share a morpheme.

1212b. *tatta* ‘hot’: My tatta ‘hace calor’; Yq táta ‘hot’; AYq tatale ‘feel hot’; Wr tahtání ‘to be hot’; Tr a’tará ‘to be hot’; Tr řátá-ame ‘caliente, cálido’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Cah]

NB, whether related to anything else or not, an excellent example of consonant harmony are the three Tr variants: Tr řáta-góbutu/góbutu/bobutu ‘have a fever’.

**HOUSE, HOME; CASA, HOGAR**

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<td>kíí; kííam;</td>
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<td>šá’kal-li ‘thatched house’</td>
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1213. *kanni* (NUA) / *kali* (SUA) ‘house’: Sapir; VVH141 *kali; M67-239 *kali; I.Num53 *kahni; L.Son74 *kari; M88-ka6 *house’; KH/M06-ka6: NP kani (archaic form); TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; SP; CU; Tb haníi-l; Ca qaáníkiš ‘desert willow (possibly as housing material plant)’; Hp qeni ‘place, room, space’; Wr; Tr; My; Yq; CN. To these can be added Tbr kali-n ‘pueblo’. [*n > L in SUA; *k > h in Tb] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]

1214a. *kic* ‘house’: Sapir; VVH44 *ki; M67-240 *ki; BH.Cup *kica; B.Tep100 *kii; L.Son80 *ki; M88-ki1 ‘house’; Munro.Cup64; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ki1: Miller lists the above forms of the Takic, Tepiman, Hopi, and Corachol languages in Wc kii; Cr čí’i. [*k > c/č in Cr] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Tbr, Cah, CrČ]
1214b. *ki-tu / *ki-ta ‘build a house’: KH.NUA: Sr kíču ‘build a house’; Ls kíču; Ca kíču ‘dwell’; Hp kíta ‘build a house’. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Opn, Tbr]

1215. *pa’aki ‘house’: B.Tep265 *va’akki ‘house’; M88-pa55 ‘house’; KH/M06-pa55,65 ‘rain house’: TO wa’aki ‘ceremonial house, fort’; NT vááki; ST va’ak. [NUA: Tep]

1216. *nopiC < *no’piC / *no’opiC ‘house’: Mn nobi ‘house’; NP nobe ‘house’; TSh noppoi-cci ‘habitat, home, nest on ground’; Sh nonopi-ppi / nonopi-ppi ‘windbreak, lightly made wikitup with rounded top’. Cf. CNUNM *no’opi ‘mountain top’ at mountain. I had suspected that WNUM *nopi ‘house’ is from a ‘mound-like’ term, as pit-houses look like mounds on the landscape, then found the CNUNM terms that mean ‘mountain top’. In SNUM is SP novi ‘put bark over’ and SP novi-ppi ‘bark covering, windbreak’ that is mound-looking and used as a temporary house when traveling, as well as Kw novi-ppi ‘windbreak, n’. Note also WMU nööppi ‘blankets, bedding, camping place, one’s stuff in a pile or place’. And compare Mn nobitu ‘build a house’ and NP nobidïga ‘to camp, v’. So the term is in each branch, but with different meanings. Mn nobi ‘house’ and Mn nobiha ‘pack, bundle up, vt’ as well as Nb *pïCtï / *pïtu ‘lie (down)’, Nb, *pïCtï / *pïtu ‘lie down, be situated at, pl; spend the night, v; house, n’ and *pa(i)yüC > *piC- ‘go home’ are at ‘lie (down)’.

Howl: see shout

HUG, EMBRACE; ABRAZAR, DAR BRAZOS: see also carry (in arms)

1218. *malKocowa ‘hug’: CN malkočoaa ‘hug, carry’; Tr nakoči ‘lazar, abrazar’. CN malkočoaa and Tr nakoči are interesting in that initial m/n variation occurs in Tr (cf. bat, scorpion) and I appears in other CN terms, though lost in other UA languages (cf. root, etc.), and final vowels are often reduced to i (the UA schwa equivalent seeming to be i and i); given those considerations, the Tr form is tied to the CN form. [for m vs. n, see also scorpion, bat; l vs. o see root, sinew] [NUA: Trn, Azt]

NB, for Tak *kwalma and Tep/TrC *koom ‘hug, carry in arms’, see carry.

HUMMINGBIRD; PICAFLOR, CHUPARROSA, COLIBRÍ

1219. *tu’ca / *tuCtì ‘hummingbird’: M88-tu24 ‘hummingbird’; Munro.Cup165 *túčči-l ‘humming-bird’; KH/M06-tu24: Cp túčči-ly; Ca túčči; Ls tūs-ma-l; Hp tòoca / to’ca. Add the first two syllables of Cr tícica’i- ‘hummingbird’, which agrees perfectly with *tuC (Cr i < *u), as do the Takic languages; and since Hp o < *u, then Hp also agrees in three segments *tuC, but may suggest a cluster, as does the very existence of NUA -c-, and Hp has a different final vowel. [*-CC-] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC]

1220. *muttanaC ‘hummingbird’: M88-mu20 ‘hummingbird’; KH/M06-mu20: TSh muutu(n)anci / muuttuwanchih; Sh(M) muttūnaaci, mottūnaaci ‘hummingbird’; Kw muttana-pi-ži < *muuttana-ppi-či; SP mu(h)N (cf. mooa ‘to hum’); CU múutata-či (< *muu-ttataa-či); Tb muttapiiči. To those, add WMU muuttatta-či / muuttappa-či / múuttaqa-či / múuttaaav(č)i ‘hummingbird’. The t’s and p’s in Num and Tb (instead of r/l and h/v) all suggest consonant clusters. [NUA: Num, Tb]

1221. *si’moci ‘hummingbird’: Wr se’mocí ‘chuparrosa, colibrí’; Tr semučí / simučí ‘chuparrosa, colibrí’; NP soño’i ‘hummingbird’ matches TrC *si’muci fairly well: *-i > y/i is apparent; and if the glottal stop plus m (-m-) signify an underlying cluster (perhaps *-m-, -km-, or some velar-like C with the bilabial nasal), then the velar nasal of NP soño’i represents well that cluster; and NP’s 2nd and 3rd vowels agree fairly well with Tr and Wr, the 1st perhaps assimilating to the 2nd. *i-o-i > o-o-i. [cluster] [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]
*hambre* ‘hunger, have an appetite’: My sema-lůuku; AYq semalulukut. Note that *sí’moci and *síma-Luku share *sí_mV. [SUA: Cah]

*pití ‘hummingbird’: Mn pisikuutú; Sr pitíidi ‘hummingbird (may be from Spanish pitirre ‘gray kingbird’ notes Hill)’; TO wipiswal; PYp vipisi; NT pitipiš ‘hummingbird, wasp’; ST vipiš; and the latter part of Tb muttnapiiči; and CN wicil-in agrees in all except the initial consonant, which might be blamed on Tep, but then why would not the second consonant also agree with Tep if borrowed therefrom? Hill queries whether Sr pitíidi is from Spanish *pitirre ‘gray kingbird’. What of Ktn pituru ‘hummingbird’. Sr or Ktn notwithstanding, in other languages we may have *pití > *pici > pisi (in Tep); the fact that Mn does not show NUA *-y- < *c may also suggest a medial consonant of * instead of *c, since often Teppiman s < *c < *t. [*t > c] s in Tep; p/w in CN [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Azt]

**HUNGRY, HUNGER; HAMBRE, HAMBRIENTO**

*kwisuwimu ‘be hungry’: B.Tep7 *bihugimu ‘be hungry’; M88-kwi16; KH/M06-kwi16: TO bihugim; LP bihigim; NT biúígimu/giúígimu; ST biu’/bio. Add PYp bihi; Nv vihigimu; Nv vihugiga ‘hambre’. Note consonant harmony in NT. [C harmony in NT] [SUA: Tep]

*hakwi ‘hungerous’: KH.NUA; M88-ha14 ‘be hungry’: Cp hákwiqi ‘be hungry’; LS hákw-la ‘be hungry’; Sr hákwaan ‘be/get hungry’; Ktn hákwácu. Note also We háakákwiikate / háákwiikwikate ‘hunger, pl. adj.’ with Tak, all showing *hakwi-. [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

*wi ‘hungry’: Wr wi’lóba ‘get bent, be hungry between meals’; Wr wi’ló- ‘bend, fold, lack strength’; Tr erówá-ma ‘tender hambre’; Tr ero-če ‘make other(s) hungry’; Tr erówa-ri ‘hambre’; Tr eloi ‘hambre’. [i/i; p > w in Tr, Liq] [SUA: Trn]

*tapa ‘hunger/hungry’: Stubbs2003-6: the -rava in Eu hisúmrava/hisúmava/hasúmawa ‘hambre, n’; Yq tebáure / tebáoli ‘tener hambre’; AYq tevauri ‘hungry, adj’; Ayq tevaure ‘be hungry, v’; My téba’ure ‘tiene hambre’. If the -rava portion of the Eu form is cognate, then a cluster reduction (-mr- > -m-) is visible, and an unaccented vowel changing from a > e, the UA schwa. Whether the Eu form is cognate or not, the Cah forms certainly are. [Unaccented V change; cluster; p/v > w in Eu] [SUA: Cah, Opn]

*coLowa / *coLwa (< *cVVLwa) ‘be hungry’: Stubbs2003-5: Wr coló–ni ‘be hungry’ (Wr co’-cóla-ni ‘be hungry, pl’); Hp cóñó-w(i), cóñ- ‘hunger’ (< *coLwa). Wr coló– and Hp cóñó– match fairly well, since Hp ö < *o, and a cluster of *-lw- > -ñ- in Hp is natural enough. Note also Tr čiřiwisa ‘tener hambre’ (the same 3 consonants are apparent—c, L, w) if we allow for two alveolars causing V’s > i in Tr and the labial w causing V’s > o in Wr and Hp. This may tie to *coLo ‘wither, shrivel’ (see at dry). [Liq: V > i in Tr like at *hi)pac’a ‘sweep’]

*coLo / *coLo ‘wither/arrugarse’: L.Son 044 *coro-cori ‘arrugarse’; M88clo11 ‘arrugado’; KH/M06clo11 ‘wither/arrugarse’: Eu corópe- (pret. ~pi, fut. ~ce); Tr čoró ‘marchitarse [whither, shrivel]’; My čoñóičooli ‘arrugado’. Add ST so’lyko ‘encogido’; ST so’lyka’ encoder, vt’; Nv sorhona ‘arrugar’; pl: sosorhka / sososas; PYp soron ‘wrinkle’. What of the -su-u- portion of Cr rasú’uta ‘lo pliega’ belong, since *L- > -i’ in Cr, and *o > Cr u? A 3rd C may explain what became the anticipated glottal stop in Tr and ST. CN šoločoaa ‘fold, wrinkle’ likely belongs, whether a loan (from Tep?) or another c/s dichotomy. [-r- > -i’ in Cr] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

*ciha ‘hungry’: Mn cihaya’i ‘to be hungry’; NP pazia’hu ‘hungry’; TSh cia-tiyai ‘starve, be hungry’; TSh cia-ko’i ‘starve, be hungry’; Cm cihasuari ‘hunger, have an appetite’; Cm cihasi’api ‘hungry person’. [NUA: Num]

*tiki ‘hungry’: Kw tiíi-ye’e ‘be hungry’; Ch tií-i’iva ‘lack, hunger, n’; Ch tií-i ‘need, lack, v’; CU tiíi-pí ‘hunger’; CU tiíi-narlo’ ay ‘be hungry’. [NUA: Num]

*suma ‘hungry’: Stubbs2003-15: Eu hisúmrava ‘hambre, n’; Eu hisúm ‘haber hambre’; Eu hisúm-ce ‘tener hambre’; ST uma ‘die of hunger’. *suma > Tep (h)uma > ST uma anticipating the final vowel. If < *suw(V)ma, this, with a prefix, may tie to *-suwimu above. [Tep anticipates V after next C] [SUA: Tep, Opn]
1232. *sawa 'fast, v'; CN sawa 'to fast, abstain'; Tr mosawa-ma 'ayunar [fast], v'. [SUA: Trn, Azt]

HUNT, FOLLOW, CHASE; CAZAR, SEGUIR, PERSEGUIR

1233. *'amu 'hunt': M67-242 *'amu 'hunt'; BH.Cup *'amu 'hunt'; L.Son3 *'amu 'cazar'; M88-'a8 'hunt'; KH/M06-'a8 *'amu: Cp ámu 'hunt, v'; Ca 'ámu 'hunt, vi/vt'; Ts 'áámú/áma 'hunt small game, v'; Eu amú 'cazar'; Op hamú; Yq 'áamu; My amú; Tr amí/ámama 'buscar'; Wr we'mó; Tb himwa. Add CN aami 'go hunting', whose i aligns with *u. [N i < *u] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, Azt]

1234. *tïpi 'hunt, follow, track': BH.Cup *tapi 'to track'; M88-tï25; KH.NUA; KH/M06-tï25 'hunt, cazar': Cp tïpí 'follow, track'; Ca têpí 'track, vt'; Ca têpí-'c 'trip, cause to stumble'; Ts tïpi 'to track'; Sr tïpiñi 'k 'stumble, trip'. Note underlying *-pp- (vs. *-p- > -v-) in all languages. [NUA: Tak]

1235. *tïho / *tï-ho'a 'hunt': I.Num236 *tï(ho) 'go hunting'; M88-tï25; KH/M06-tï25: NP tïhoawai 'hunt'; Sh tïhoi ≈ tïkai 'hunt'; Cm tïhoi 'go hunting'; perhaps Tb tohat~'otoh 'hunt'. NP tïhoawai 'hunt' and Cm ho'aíti 'hunt' may suggest a *tï- prefix. [NUA: Num]

1236. *tuna 'herd, chase': Ken Hill (p.c. 2004), KH/M06-tu29: Hp toon-m(i) 'herd, flock, members of a group, right of assembly'; Sr tuunin(a-) 'chase' (contains causative suffix, Hill notes). These might tie to the Num *tïnna 'hunt, chase' forms. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

1237. *oya 'follow': B.Tep316a *oadi 'to follow', 316b *oi 'he followed'; B.Tep318; M88-'o7; KH/M06-'o7: TO oid; LP oji; PY oj; NT oidyi; ST 'oidi'a. Ken Hill adds Wr oi-ná/má 'andar'; Tb ona-on- 'andar, arrastrarse, nadir'. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

1238. *caya 'follow': B.Tep186 *saada, prêt: *sai 'to herd cattle': TO šaad 'herd, drive a herd of (animals), chase away (an animal)'; NT saadá; NT saadaígi 'arrear [urge, spur, hurry]'; ST saada. [SUA: Tep]

1239. *yahí 'hunt, v'; Ch yáhi 'hunt'; Kw tiyiha 'hunt'. [SUA: SNum]

NB, for *nîmi 'walk around, follow', see go.
NB, for *tïnna 'run, chase, hunt', see at go.
NB, Tbr wi-pia 'follow' is likely borrowed from Tep; cf. TO wia / wipia 'hunt, stalk'.
NB, might we think on *tïmo 'search for' and *amu 'hunt' and tïho 'hunt'?

Hurry: see go
Hurt: see pain, sore, hit

HUSBAND; ESPOSO, MARIDO

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the above, Hill and Miller rightly have also Ca kūŋlu ‘propose to marry (of woman)’ and Cp kūŋyuwa-t ‘bride, married woman’ and such. All Numic languages have a form like *kuma, that generally means both ‘husband’ and ‘male’, though in WMU and CU the common form for ‘husband’ is piwá, yet kumma ‘male’ exists also; one can see a slight semantic shift as the SNum languages spread eastward:

SP kumma ‘male, husband’
CU kumáa-vi ‘male animal, stud, macho’

Hū, Tū, and Tak show reflexes with a velar nasal: *kuña vs. Num *kumCa. Then all SUA reflexes have *kuna. The fact that nearly all UA languages have a term, but only vary in the type of nasal—bilabial in Num; velar in Hū, Tū, Tak; alveolar in SUA—suggests that we are dealing with a one proto-form, and that the medial consonant represents a cluster involving a nasal. Hū -ŋy-, Mn w vs. m of the rest of Num, and ŋ vs. n all suggest a clustered nasal. The latter syllables of CU marōgumay ‘create, v’ may be a related verb. [medial nasal] [NUA: Num, Hū, Tū, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

Ice: see cold and snow
Immerse: see sink and wash

IN, INSIDE, ENTER; EN, (A)DENTRO, ENTRAR
1241. *paca ‘put in/meter/encerrar’: B.Tep254 *vaasa ‘to put into’ and *vai ‘he put into’; M88-pa4 ‘put in, enclose’; KH/M06-pa4: LP vaaša; NT vāsā; ST vaaša; Wr pahcä; Tr bāç-ā ‘meter, encerrar, encarcelar’; My kibáca ‘meter’. Add PYp vaasa ‘insert’; and perhaps TO waša ‘covered basket’ (that one puts things into). What of CU pacá’ay ‘be stuck (on)’ and CU pacá’ni ‘be stuck (to)’? It should have -y-, not -c-, unless a cluster or other explanation arises; besides, the CU semantics is not exact either, though plausible if the phonology matched better. [NUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]

1242a. *pakiC (AMR) ‘enter’: VVH2 *pa. ki ‘to enter’; M67-159 *paki ‘enter’; L.Son186 *paki ‘entrar’; B.Tep261 *vaki ‘he enters’, *vaki ‘to enter’, and *va ‘he entered’; I.Num136 *paki ‘stick, go’; KH.NUA; M88-pa5 ‘enter’; KH/M06-pa5 *pakiC (AMR): Cp paksi-š ‘party, group of lineages who join together for ceremonial purposes’; Ca páx ‘enter’; Gb pakó ‘entrar’; Sr pakičin ‘invite’; Hp paki ‘enter, initiated, set (sun)’; TO waak / waaki ‘enter, sink in’; LP vaki; NT vaki; ST vaki; Nv paki ‘enter, sg’; Eu vake/baké; Wr pahki; Tr baki-mea; My kibake; AYq kivake; Wc haa; CN aki ‘enter, fit in’. Miller also includes the following Num forms, which often involve other prefixes, but most are plausible by a semantic tie between ‘enter, sink into’ and ‘stick (in), be stuck’; the semantic tie with ‘go’ is less tenable, though not impossible, but I put them at go:

1242b. *pakiC ‘stick, go’: M88-pa5; I.Num136 *paki ‘stick, go’; KH/M06-pa5: Mn cappa’ni ‘to stick, get stuck’; NP wippakitta ‘to beat’; Sh cappak ‘be stuck’; Kw čaki ‘be stuck’. The SNum *pakay ‘walk, go’ forms are at go; [*p > CN ø; Gb o < *i] [NUA: Num, Hū, Tū; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

1243. *irapa ‘inside’: B.Tep336 *irava ‘inside’; M88-il5; KH/M06-il5: TO eDa ‘the insides or interior’; TO eDawi ‘in the middle of’; TO eDawek ‘intestines, insides’; TO eDawek-ko (Saxton)/eDavko (Mathiot) ‘halfway’; LP ‘irav; PYp era; PYp erava ‘middle’; NT irāva; ST ‘irvan. [Liq] [NUA: Tep]


1244b. *cuLuLu ‘go in’: Kw cununu-ki ‘to enter’; NP cunua ‘enter’; perhaps Cp sůlule- ‘to go in, push in, pl’. And what of Eu cárawa ‘dentro, entre?’ The latter maybe’s are not counted. [NUA: Num]

1245. *mu / *mo ‘enter’: L.Son151 *mu, mo-i ‘entrar (pl.subj)’; M88-mo6; KH/M06-mo6: Eu múume; Wr mo’i; Tr mo’. *mo’a ‘put in’: Wr mo’á-mi / mo’a-má ‘encerrar, meter pl obj’s’; Tr mo’á ‘meter, encerrar’. [NUA: Trn, Opn]

1247. *wak(w)i/uC ‘enter, pl’; TSh weeki ‘enter, go in, down or under’; Sh waiku ‘to go in, to enter’; Cm wekwiš ‘enter’; CU waqyak ‘enter, come in’. [NUA: Num]

1248. *aka-pa ‘among, between’: Mn -ága / -aqa; SP -ága-va; CU -ágá-va. Missing the first vowel are Sh kapa(n); Sh(GL) gaba. This could tie to *ika ‘enter’ at ‘sunset’. [NUA: Num]

NB, for *ika ‘enter’ see at ‘sunset’.
NB, for *pani / *pana ‘pull, lead, bring in’, see at ‘pull’.
NB, for *pa/*pi ‘at, in, on’ see at ‘at’.
NB, for *kw ‘in’, see at ‘at’: Sapir; CN -k/ko; My/Yq bo/po; TO ko ; SP -qu ‘when, while, at’?

Infection/infected: see rot
Injure/injury: see sore
In-law: see son-in-law, relative
Insect: see bug, ant, spider, worm, etc.
Intelligent: see know
Intestines: see defecate
Invite: see name
Itch: see touch
Jackrabbit: see immediately after rabbit
Jar: see pot
Jaw: see mouth
Jealous: see angry
Juice: see soup or water

JUMP, LEAP, SKIP; SALTAR, BRINCAR: see also fly, run
1249. *puCta/i / *puCta ‘jump’: Stubbs2003-13: Cp púčaqe/pučáqe ‘jump, vi’; Ca pe-púčaq ‘jump’; Eu hapóca ‘brinar, corcoverar’; Tr počí ‘saltar, brinar’; Tr hibóci ‘ir a saltos, v freq’; Tr o’počí ‘frec and emph of poči-ma’. Sh pocci ‘hop, v’ and Sh poppi ‘hop, v’ suggest a cluster. That or -t- which would exclude this from AMR’s rule *c-/ > NUA -y-. Also Cm pohbitï/popitï ‘jump, v’. [NUA u vs. SUA o]

1250. wïpuki ‘jump’: Mn wïbïki ‘jump, vi’; Ch wïpúki (< *wïpupï) ‘jump’. [NUA: Num]

1251. *takwani NP na-daggwini-ga ‘hop’; CN cikwini ‘jump’; and what of TSh yotikkwan ‘jump, get up, fly up, take off’? [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

1252. *coŋa ‘jump’: Stubbs2003-27: Ca číŋay ‘hop’; Cr ticúna ‘i jump!’; Wc cúniyya ‘gotear, saltar’. These match well, since *o > Ca i, and *o > CrC u and NUA ŋ: SUA n. [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

1253. *tuya ‘jump’: NT tudáákïi ‘jump, land, alight’; ST tudak ‘jump, pres.’; ST tunnia/tun (pret.); NT toáál / tuáal dadáïyi / dadáïyi ‘jump’. However, PYp tukdai ‘im ‘jump’ and Tep *da’a (< *ya’a) ‘fly, jump’ may suggest the matter is more complex. [SUA: Tep]

NB, for *yutti ‘jump, bounce’ (M88- yu1), see at ‘fly, v’ where M88- yu1 is combined with *yitti (sg), yotti (pl) ‘fly, jump’ (M88- yí12).

Juniper: see cedar

KICK; PATEAR
1254. *cïjï ‘kick’: M88-cï15; KH.NUA; KH/M06- cï15: Cp cêne; Ca cêne; Sr cîjkin(a) ‘kick, stamp on, v’. Ken Hill adds Ktn čihk ‘kick, v’. [medial ŋ] [NUA: Tak]

1255. *taŋa / *taN(k)a ‘kick’: VVH156 *taŋa ‘to kick’; M88-ta44: Tb ‘andaŋ (perf taŋ); SP taŋa; NP taŋa’hù ‘sting, kick’. Miller assumes ŋ < nk, listing NP tanka’hu for NP taŋa’hù, but since many things reduce to ŋ, that should not be assumed. A palatalization by high vowel (*ta > *cï) could easily unite Num and Tb *taŋa and Tak *cïjï above. [medial ŋ] [NUA: Num, Tb]
KIDNEY; RIÑON

Mn mabáhi Hp k'elevosna Eu cikúr
NP ddakipona Tb -- Tbr tutusí-r
TSh takkipono Sr pöv Yq sikúpur/liam
Sh takkip(p)oon Ca pipiviskun AYq sikupuriam
Cm ta'ki' Ls tákalak-may My sikupuriam (pl.)
Kw piši-po'o-bí Cp pipivisqa Wr cihkipúni
Ch -- TO olopaj Tr komá 'kidney, ball'
SP kani-N PYP kuplida Cr múhume
WM pišá-pöö-vi LP nakagubkadi Wc muumé
CU pišá-pöö'-pí NT -- CN(RJC) kwitlapa ateu'li, nekoxtentekatl,
ST riñonis (< Spanish) yoyomok-tl wel

1256. *taCkiC- 'kidney': NP, TSh, Sh, Cm, Ls (reduplicated). [NUA: Num, Tak]

1257. *sikuC 'kidney' may have Eu cikúr as its only isolated form. For the -kun (less likely -skun) of Ca pipiviskun, see at *poposoka below. Nonetheless, *sikun does compound as *sikuC-puLiya 'kidney': PYp, Yq, AYq, My, and Wr combine *sikun/ciki and *puliya to yield *sikupuliya, which explains both TrC *sikupulia and PYp kuplida, with syncop of the 2nd u and loss of initial hi- (< *si-) in the latter. To olopaj might be a metathesis to s.th. near *kulipaD, for which loss of initial k- and vowel leveling occurred in the first: *kulipaD / kolipaD > olopaj (TO.). [c/s] [SA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn; NUA: Tak]

1258a. *puL(n)i / *pusna 'kidney': Beginning with Wr -puní as compared to Cah -puli, we either have an unusual l:n behavior in SAU or we might have a cluster of s.th. like *pulni to yield both -puli and -puní in CAH. Actually, *pulni fits Hp posna with devoicing of l > s, since Hp o < *u.

[128d *mek/*me 'die']

1258b. *poposoka 'kidney, liver': KH.NUA: Ca pipiviskun 'kidney'; Cp pipivisqa 'liver and kidney' (Jane Hill, pc); Sr pöv 'kidney'. Add KtNpovo-c and Xoxocota Nahuatl poposktli 'liver' (Suárez 1986) and Tetelcingo Nahuatl (Suárez 1986) ipoposok 'liver'. The etymology of Ca pipiviskun is given as probably from pipivis 'vomit' + kun 'bag', but not certain. The match of other *poposo forms may suggest otherwise, but I am not certain. The -s- in Ca may be part of *sikun, or may belong the other direction as in the -posa portion of Hp, though we would expect Hp ö. The astonishing and lengthy alignment between the Nahuatl dialects and the Cupan languages is worth noting. [NUA: Tak; SAU: Azt]

1259. *kaLi 'kidney': SP qanin-, qanimpí 'kidney'; kYeLe- portion of HP kYelevosna 'kidney'; LS tákalak-may 'kidney' perhaps with prefix ta-, but probably not Ktn kaniní 'gall'. [L:n; vowel leveling] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]

1260. *pisaC-po'oN 'kidney': Kw piši-po'o-bí; WMU Pispásö-pi / píhssáppöö-pi / pósaapöö 'kidney, n'; CU pišá-pöö'-pí. For intervocalic PUA *p- , Kw normally shows -v-, but -p- < *-Cp- and -b- < *-Np-. All forms show gemination at the end of both morphemes. [NUA: SNUM]

1261. *mohomí 'kidney': Cr, Wc. CN(RJC) yoyomok-tl wel 'kidney (testicle-big)' may share a morpheme. [CrC u < o] [SAU: CrC]

KILL; MATAR: see also hit, die

Both M88-mí3 and M88-mí4 overlap with some of the same forms (relating to M67-128, especially M67-128d *mek/*me 'die') and a few *mukki forms, but the *mikka forms belong here at 'kill' while *mukki forms belong at 'die'.

1262. *miCka / *mikka (> *mí'a) 'kill': VVH85 *mí'a 'to kill'; L.Son144 *mí'a; BH.Cup *máq 'kill'; B.Tep153 *muá 'he killed'; CL.Azt94 *mikita; M88-mí3; AMR 1993c *mikka'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-mí3: Tb mí'gat; Cp meq; Cs mékan/méqa; Gb moká; LS mókN / mókN / móqN; Ktn mík 'kill, hit'; TO mí'a/mí/i/mí'a 'kill'; Eu mé 'matar a uno'; Wr me'a 'matar sg. obj.'; Tr meá 'matar a uno'; My mé'a 'matar'; Cr ra-me'e-nyi 'he's going to kill him with a knife' Miller includes Sr mími 'kin 'hurt sg. obj.' (the causative of Sr mími 'k 'die, be sick'), but Ken Hill's (KH/M03) association of Sr míkan 'kill, hurt, sg.obj.' with the above forms fits better (ý =
pharyngealized, some-what retroflex barred i). This stem seems to have derived into two forms: *mí’a and *míkka. B.Tep153 *mua ‘he killed’ (UP mua; LP mua; NT múa; ST mua) belongs, though TO me’a / mu’a / mea / mua ‘kill’ shows variation. Note Tb -g- ≠ *-kk-, as also at *pakka ‘hit’ and almost at *pikka ‘knife’. [*-kk- > -’- SUA] [NUA: Tep, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

NB, for *ko’y/ko’ya, see ‘hit’. 
NB, for *pakka/i, see ‘hit’. 

Kind: see peace(-ful/-able)

**KISS; BESAR; see also suck**

1263. *suwa ‘kiss’: Ch suwāinkì; WMU suwāagû-y / suwāaqquû; CU suwāáki. [NUA: SNum]

1264. *tín-namukki ‘kiss (mouth-meet)’: CN teen-naamikì ‘kiss s.o.’ (teen ‘lip/mouth’ + naamikì ‘meet, find, have confrontation, incur penalty’); CN naamik-tiàà ‘get married, come together with s.o. for some purpose’); PI teenñaamikì ‘besar,adorar,venerar’. Without the ‘mouth’ prefix, ST namkìa ‘kiss (in greeting), meet, greet’ better belongs at *namukki ‘meet’. [SUA: Azt]

1265. *tín-ta ‘kiss, mouth-do’: TO čintad ‘press lips to, kiss, vt’; AYq nat tetente ‘be kissing e.o.’; My nau/nat teénte ‘se besaron’. [SUA: Cah, Tep]

NB, for *cuna/cu’mi ‘kiss, suck’, see suck.

Knee: see at foot

**KNIFE, OBSIDIAN, FLINT, METAL, TOOL; CUCHILLO, NAVAJA, OBSIDIANA, PEDERNAL**


1267. *wikiC / *wikki(C) ‘knife’: I.Num278 *wihi(h) ‘knife’; M88-wi10 ‘knife’; KH/M06-wi10: Mn wihi; NP wihi; Tsh wiin; Sh wiin ‘knife’; Sh wihi ‘metal’; Kw wihi-či; SP wiwi’- / wihi” / wií; CU wií-či. Add WMU wií-t / wií-č ‘knife’. Note that Ls wóki-la-š ‘knife’ (Ls wóki (<*wíkki) ‘cut, let bleed’) is not far from Num *wihi, since both changes—k > h and i > i—occur in Num. In fact, one form of SP shows the same vowels: i-i. On the other hand, Ls show gemination while SNum does not. [*-k- > -h/ø- in Num] [NUA: Num, Tak]

1268a. *payu / *papayu (redup!?) ‘ceremonial staff’: M88-pa64; KH/M06-pa64 ‘ceremonial staff’: Cp pávyu-t ‘flint-tipped, shell-inlaid ceremonial staff’; Ls pávyu-t ‘ceremonial wand’.

1268b. *ka-payu > *kape ‘knife’: formerly from M88-ku13; KH/M06-ku13, we here use Ktn and Sr, and add Hp, all of which likely tie to pa64 above: Ktn kavōč; Sr kavōō, kāvi / kāvayu (acc.) ‘knife’. Add Hp poyo ‘knife’. Whether Hp lost a first syllable or Sr prefixed one, Hp poyo and the Sr -vō’d/ -vayu (acc.) match well. If *-payu is original, then Hp assimilated the first vowel to the second: *…payu > *puyu > Hp poyo. Sr leveled both to ŏ, s.th. midway between a-u, but in the accusative, Sr preserved the original vowel: *-ayu. After uniting the forms in a (‘ceremonial staff’) and b (‘knife’), I read in Pauketat (2009, 139-42) that some plains tribes, the Aztecs, and other Mesoamericans chipped, from flint, large elaborate ceremonial knives, which were relatively large and meaningful. The Tep forms below may also relate to all the above as well. Flint, obsidian, and sharp rocks used for knives are usually found on rocky hills and cliffs, and though the semantics are not identical, the *papayu above may well explain the seeming dichotomy in the Tep forms of *papa vs. *papo.

1268c. *papa / *papo ‘rock, cliff’: B.Tep264 *vavoi ‘cliff’; M88-pa54; KH/M06-pa54: TO waw ‘cliff, bedrock, a rock’; NT vávoi; ST vaapai. Add PYp vava ‘hill, mountain, cliff’; PYp vaves ‘rocky terrain’; and Nv baba ‘roca, peña, peñasco’. See *pa(paya)yu ‘ceremonial staff’ (M88-pa64) above. [V assim; loss of first syllable] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep]

1270. *panomi ‘knife, iron, tool’: B.Tep257 *vainomi ‘iron, tool’; M88-pa51; KH/M06-pa51: TO *wainomi ‘metal, knife’; LP văiūm v; PYp vainomi ‘knife, metal’; NT vaiñomi ‘iron, tool’; ST vaiñum ‘iron’. Add SP panna’ ‘metal’; Nv wainomi, pl: văp’ainomi ‘hierno’ and Tr wənəni ‘metal, money’ though Tep *vainomi is likely the source of Tr wənəni ‘metal, money’; Tr should show p. [probably loan and not Tep w < *w; *a > ai/_n] [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]


NB, at ‘sky’ is *t⁵kV(p)a/ *t⁵k(V)p(a) < *tukuNpa ‘cutting tool: obsidian, knife, flint, metal’: Kw paha-ríka-dí ‘pounded metal’; Cr tehka ‘obsidian’; Tr ñikibara ‘knife’; CN tek-pa-t ‘flint’. Note also Ktn ñxqu-šiva-t ‘flint, flint tip of arrow’ and Ls tiqé-t ‘arrowhead’. Ktn’s vowel could suggest original *-u-, with which Kw (*u > i in Num) does not disagree and perhaps *u > CN i, then *i-a > e-a, if some of the others are Aztec loans. In fact, at sky, KH.NUA notes the dual meaning in most Tak languages of both ‘iron/knife’ and ‘sky’: Cp tükva’aş ‘iron, sky’; Ca tükvaš/tükwiš / tükiš ‘sky’; Ca tükvaš / tükwaš / tükiš ‘iron, knife’; Sr tułuq±t ‘sky, iron’; Ktn tułuqa±č ‘bead, metal, sky’. Though Yq has another term for ‘sky’, Yq tepóhtim ‘fierro, hierro’ is cognate (tepóh- < *tikpoh < *tukuNpa) and retains the one meaning and is similar to the TrC reduction *tikpa-wa above. While above reflexes for ‘sky’ are in all 8 branches, those with ‘flint, knife, metal’ meanings remain in 5. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

NB, for *wiñač ‘flint, arrowhead’ see arrowhead.

NB, from Spanish tomin ‘weight, coin’ are many UA loans: NT tumínši ‘dinero’; Tbr tomín/tominí ‘money, silver’; NT tumisin. [probably loan and not Tep w < *w; *a > ai/_n]

NB, with loss of initial p in Azt, what of NP pisï’ma ‘flint’ and CN iic ‘knife, obsidian’?

Knock: see hit
Knot: see tie

KNOW, LEARN; SABER, CONOCER, APRENDER
Manaster-Ramer’s discussion in "A Northern UA sound law: *-c- > -y-" is useful in that he divides the following forms into three groups derived from NUA *mata, SUA *mati, and UA *maci (though we might combine the first two — *mata/mati — since CaCa/CaCi stems are common in UA). Those deriving from the medial consonant *t show t or its (later) palatalization c in both NUA and SUA; the earlier palatalization (medial *c), however, shows c in SUA, and expectancy *y/i in NUA. The case of the "bat" suggests that SUA does palatalize *t > c as easily as does NUA and that two forms of this stem may have existed early in UA: *mata and *maci. Therefore, all of these could ultimately derive from the same PUA stem *mata/mati.

1272a. *mata / mati ‘know’: Sapir; VVH25 *mati ‘know’; M67-249 *ma/mai/mati/maci ‘know’; I.Num93 *mayi(h) ‘find, become, be, do’; BH.Cup *mi ‘be’; L.Son142 *mati, maci ‘saber’; B.Tep142 *maa[ ] ‘he knows’, and *mai ‘he knew’; Cl.Azt *mati ‘know’, 165 *mačtia ‘teach’; M88-ma2 ‘know’; KH.NUA; AMR1992-15; KH/M06-ma2: Mn pummaaci ‘recognize, vt’; Sr maat ‘hear, listen to’; Hp máataq ‘become visible, come into view, vi’; Hp máatatka ‘go to show, display, reveal, vt’; Hp maaciwa ‘be named’; Hp maaciu-ta ‘be visible’ (the central semantics of the last two HP stems perhaps *maaciu ‘be known’); TO maac ‘have knowledge of, be aware of, learn, find out’; LP maat; PYp maata; NT máati ‘saber’ (vs. NT maati ‘parecer’); ST maat ‘saber’ (vs. ST maas ‘verse, notarse’; ST mačia ‘learn, come to know’; Cr ra-mwa’a-ty-ê ‘he knows him’; We máte (perf ma-) ‘saber, conocer’; We maté ‘sentir’; We mai ‘saber (participio)’; CN mati ‘know s.th., vt.’ Sapir (1913) suggests that CN maço ‘nonactive / passive of mati’ derives from passive *mati-o, the i palatalizing t before its disappearance or absorption into o. As both Miller and Kenneth Hill note, Sr maat ‘hear, listen to’ as a semantic extension of ‘(come to) know’ also belongs. I assume Tb maancu’(ut) / ‘amaancu ‘be tame’ is from Spanish manso.

Tr gamea/kamea ‘(1) be able, capable; (2) look good to one, like, prefer’. These are thought to relate to *mata/mati ‘know’ in a semantic spectrum that ranges through ‘know, see, find, be seen, visible, light, dawn, grey’.

Manaster-Ramer (1992a) suggests s.th. like *maci (SUA), *mayi/mayî (NUA): TO maaš-cam, maš-cam ‘teach’; PYp mastia ‘teach’; Eu mäśtwia ‘enseñar’; My maaçi ‘verse, lucir, amanecer, enseñar’; My maaci ‘know, feel’; My mah-tia ‘teach’; Yq màhta ‘enseñar’; Tr maci ‘see, know’; Wr maci ‘know’; Tbr may ‘saber’; CN mačiaa ‘be known, be apparent’; CN maC-tiaa ‘learn, teach’; TO maas ‘be like, seem/appear/look like’. Add NT maasi ‘appear, see, dawn, look like’; ST maasik ‘easy, to see’; Wc māsīkī ‘clear, visible’ perhaps borrowed from Tepiman. Note *s > h in PYp maahad ‘appear, arise’.

1272c. Num *ma’ay / *mahî ‘find’: NP ma’yî; Ch mahî; Kw mehe; SP mai” ‘find, discover’; CU maây ‘see, find’, WMU ma’ây-y / maây-y ‘see, find’; past: ma’ây-kye / maây-kye. WMU past tense (-kye) shows that there is a final -y on the stem; otherwise, the past tense would be -ka. [*c- > y; *ti > ci > Tep s(i) > PYp h] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

1273. *piñî ‘learn, become familiar with’: L.Son204 *piñî ‘aprender’; M88-pi10; KH/M06-pi10:
Op veni ‘acostumbrar’; Eu vine ‘aquerrenciarse’; Tr bini-mea ‘aprender, estudiar’; Tr bene- ‘know, acquire habit or custom’; Wr peni ‘aprender’; Wr penè ‘saber hacer una cosa’. With these in M88-pi10, Miller lists the possibility CN pe’ena ‘pick, choose, gather, collect’. [voicing in Tr?] [SUA: Trn, Opn]

1274. *suNpa ‘know’: I.Num186 *sumpa/*sumpi ‘know, recognize’; M88-su15 ‘know, recognize’; KH/M06-su15: NP subbidaggwatu ‘know’; TSh sumpanai ‘know’; Sh sumpanai ‘know s.o.’; Cm supana’i ‘know of, know about, know s.o.’ [NUA: Num]

1275. *tiwî ‘learn’: Hp tiwi/tiwi’-ta ‘gain practical knowledge, learn, become familiar with, experience’;
NT tïgidiyi ‘enseñar, entregar’. The two match through four segments *tiwî. In light of occasional ’w alignments, Yq ta’a ‘learn, know’ might be kept in mind. Might these tie to *tïwa ‘see, find’? [SUA: Tep, Cah; NUA: Hp]

1276. *puttuka / *puttuwa (> *puttucukwa) ‘know’: TSh pusikwa ‘know how to’; Kw pucugu ‘know how to’;
Ch puttucugwa ‘understand, know, learn’; SP puucucukwaN ‘know, understand’; WMU pučučugway ‘know’;
CU pučučugway ‘know, be familiar with’. The TSh vowels suggest *putikwa, which allows a possible tie with *pitiwa ‘believe’ (CU tïvïci; Sh tïpiwa ‘really, true’; Hp tïpe’yu; Eu vïwce-m; Eu vïwce-m; vicvatera’; Tbr vicmíwá, Wr pïci’; Tr biči); after all, believing s.th. and knowing s.th. are often interchangeable, whether a good idea or not. Either we have *putuka / pucuwa and the rounding continuing past the velar *pucuka > pucukwa, or we have *pucuwa and later velarization of the labiovelar *w (kw), then loss of postvelar rounding in Ch. See believe for *ti- prefix. Kw pucugu ‘know how to’ and SNumic forms above may relate to *pitiwa or *paso/pasiw ‘believe’. A vowel like TSh pïtwa could explain assimilations either direction (*u-i > i-i or u-u) and *w > kw (third syllable) in Numic. Note that Ch actually shows -t-, which is what we should reconstruct for the medial -c- in these NUA languages. If the two groups are related, it is all the more reason to reconstruct *pitiwa above; and even if not related, *t- would be better in light of the following high front vowel and the absence of PUA medial *c- in NUA.
[w/kw/k; NUA medial -c- < *-t-] [NUA: Num]

1277. *pusu > tïsu ‘learn, know, smart’: NP tusuuyu ‘learn’; WMU tïhsú’ay-y ‘be smart’, perfect: tïhsú’ay-kye;
CU tïsu’-wi ‘be smart, clever, knowledgeable’. WMU kaśu’ wa’tüm ‘not smart one, n/adj’ and WMU kač tïsu’u wa’ ‘is crazy, not smart, vi’ show that ti- is lost in the pre-stressed syllable, which is common enough in WMU (cf WMU sa- ‘white’ < *tosa). The tös of Ls tös- ‘to command, order’ fits also as Ls o < *y, which is the same vowel CU and WMU have. [NUA: Num, Tak]

1278. *Loma/Lomi ‘good at, capable, learned, knowing, artful, admirable’: Hp loma- ‘good, pretty, beautiful, nice, fine, fit, aesthetically pleasing (man speaking)’; Tr lomi-me ‘saber muy bien, dominar un conocimiento’;
phonologically Hp and Tr match well, and the semantic tie is plausible given the Hp form is male perspective, probably originally speaking of a woman who is pleasing/desirable, i.e., knowing well her work/arts/duties as the ancient culture defined her desirability; the semantic tie is additionally exemplified by the two similar meanings of Tr gamea/kamea ‘(1) be able, capable; (2) look good to one, like, prefer’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn]
1279. *wata 'remember': Yq wáata ‘acordarse’; My au wáate ‘se acuerda, lo recuerda’; Eu awátera- ‘saber’; Tr névará- ‘recordar, acordarse’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds a nice NUA reflex: NP wadahi ‘know how to’. Note that the equivalent of My’s pronominal prefix seems to be fossilized in Eu. Regarding the Yq and My forms, note also Yq wáata ‘querer’ and Yq náwáata quererlo’. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn; NUA: Num]

1280. *yikeL ‘knowing, able, intelligent’: Ls yixélu-l ‘intelligent, alert’; Eu dedeka- ‘know, be (cap)able’; Eu deka ‘have an excellent view or he who has an excellent view’; CN yeek ‘well, thoroughly, good, right’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, Azt]

1281. *(h)una ‘know’: Yq hú’unea ‘saber, conocer’; My hu’uneiwa/hu’uneria ‘lo sabe, lo conoce, entiende, comprende’. [SUA: Cah]

Lame: see limp
Land: see earth

**LAUGH (AT), SMILE, JOKE, FUNNY, TICKLE; REIRSE (DE), SONREIRSE, BURLARSE (DE), CÓMICO; COSQUILLEAR**

1282. *aćti ‘laugh’: VVH39 *’aci-a ‘laugh at’; BȚep303 *’aśi/i ‘laugh at’; M67-251 *’ac ‘laugh’; L.Son1 *’aci ‘reirse’; M88-’a1 ‘laugh’; KH/M06-’a1 *aci: Wr a’ci ‘estar riendo’; Tr ači ‘reirse’; My aćci ‘reirse’; YQ aćçi; Cr ra’-a’ćci ‘he is laughing at him’; TO a’as; LP ’a’así; PYP a’asi; NT áási/-áysi; ST ‘as/aśia. Miller includes Ca ‘’āla’ ‘mock, echo s.o.’ and l is the Cupan reflex for inter-vocalic *-t-. Tr aćci has an alternate form ñrakah that includes an initial k. [*-t-> -l- in Ca, *-t-> -c- -> -s- in Tep] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]

1283. *naniC ‘laugh’: M67-253 *na ‘laugh’; M88-naa11; KH/M06-naa11: NP nanikkoi ‘laugh at’; Sh nanikko ‘laugh, pl.’; Ca na-nih-kkupa/i ‘laugh very hard’; Hp naani ‘laugh’, Tbr nawi; Cr ny-i’i-na’ana ‘I am laughing’; Wc na. Add NP naanisu ñaggwi ‘joking, v’; Num and Hp match *nani well; but Tbr shows a different medial consonant. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: CrC]

1284. *siım ‘laugh’: M67-252 *sem ‘laugh’; M88-si19 ‘laugh’; KH/M06-si19: Cp ñeike; Ca ñeik; TO hïhïm; ST h(i)mua, h(i)mia. Let’s add Nv hïhïm ‘sonreirse’; Ca í’ismatu ‘tease, joke’ (the Takic forms and the first syllable of the Hp form to ‘coyote’). That is more than feasible and would relate all these to ‘coyote’ and/or ‘steal’. Add Ktn ‘ihama’ ‘tease, joke, vi; josh s.o., vt’. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1285. *isama > *i’isama (redupl?) ‘tease’: KH.NUA: Sr i’i’ham ‘tease, make fun of’; Ca i’ismatu ‘tease, joke with (one in joke relationship: e.g., aunt, niece)’; Cp i’islyu ‘tell a lie’; Hp is-màaq ‘one who is suspicious, jealous, cautious’. Kenneth Hill relates the Hp form to the Takic forms and the first syllable of the Hp form to ‘coyote’. Miller includes Tbr nawi here also. Note also Cp na’i’neeti ‘laugh, v pl’, probably with a na- prefix, the remainder -yine aligning with Sh yahnaí; however, it is doubtful that all are related. Either we have a consonant cluster reducing in various directions, or the set is being more limited, perhaps only CNum (TSh, Sh, Cr). [NUA: CNum]

1286a. *ya... ‘laugh’: I.Num288 *ya... ‘laugh’; M88-ya12 ‘to laugh’; KH/M06-ya12: Mn yawi; TSh yahi/yahe; Sh yahnaí’; Ca yahnéeti ‘laugh, v sg’; CU kiya-’ni ‘laugh’ (cognate? Miller queries; perhaps, see below); Miller includes Tbr nawi here also. Note also Cp na’i’neeti ‘laugh, v pl’, probably with a na- prefix, the remainder -yine aligning with Sh yahnaí; however, it is doubtful that all are related. Either we have a consonant cluster reducing in various directions, or the set is being more limited, perhaps only CNum (TSh, Sh, Cr). [NUA: CNum]

1286b. *kiyla ‘laugh, play’: Kw kiya ‘play, laugh”; Ch kiya ‘play, v’; Ch kiya’-ni’i ‘laugh’; SP k(y)a ‘play, dance a round dance’; CU kiyá-y ‘play’; CU kiyá-’ni; CU kiya-si; WMU kiyé/y/kiyá/ keyá ‘play, vi. Though Miller put one of these with *ya above, let’s separate them by letter. Sapir also ties CN ke’keloaa ‘tease, mock, ridicule s.o.’ and SP kia-nkí ‘laugh’, which is possible enough. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Gb eeyeeyemuk ‘estar riendo’ (for -mok, see below at *maka(w). [NUA: SNum, Tak; SUA: Azt]


1288. *(ka)Lakay ‘tickle’: KH.NUA: Ca lyáka ‘tickle’; Cp lyáqe ‘tickle’; Ls cąqálaqi ‘tickle’; Sr xalya ‘tickle’. Exactly where the proto-stem begins and ends is hard to say, but few would dispute that these four Tak terms are related. If *-t-> -l-, then a redupl like *takataki might be considered. [NUA: Tak]

**LAZY; PEREZOSO, FLOJO**

1290. *oŋa (< *uŋa) ‘(feel/be) lazy’: M67-254 *‘ona ‘lazy’; KH.NUA; M88-’o17 ‘lazy’; KH/M06-’o17: Hp ööna ‘not feeling like doing’; Hp naa’öna ‘lazy’; Sr ‘ööŋa’ ‘lazy’; Cp iŋiš, pl. i’iŋčam ‘lazy’; Cp inįču ‘be unmoving’; Cr wá’ïna-ase ‘he feels lazy, dragged out’ (Casad says “the short vowel in the Cora form is due to a rule of vowel shortening that operates on vowels that occur between a glottal stop and a following consonant”). Note Hp n vs. Tak ŋ as in ‘suck’. Cr ï < *u, and *u > NUA *o is plausible with following a. [n/ŋ] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC]

1291. *paLïwa (< *paLawa) ‘lazy’: B.Tep185 *parïga; KH/M06 pa70: TO paDma ‘be lazy’; TO paDïgï; NT parïga/parïïga. [SUA: Tep]

1292. *nasina / *naCsi ‘lazy’: Wr nahsína ‘be lazy’; Tr nasiná ‘be lazy, indolent’. [SUA: Trn]

1293. *mawaha ‘lazy’: Kw mawaha ‘be lazy’; Ch mawïa ‘be lazy’. [h > ø; V > ï] [NUA: SNum]

**LEAF, FOLIAGE; HOJA, FOLLAJE**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Sr</td>
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<td>CN</td>
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<td>ST</td>
<td>haaha’</td>
<td>tookmaayoo; iswayoo</td>
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1294. *sawa ‘leaf’: VVH64 *sawa ‘leaf’; M67-255 *sawa ‘leaf’; B.Tep54 *haahaga ‘leaves’; L.Son233 *sawa ‘hoja’; CL.Azt97 *šVwV ‘leaf’; M88-sa1 ‘leaf’; Stubbs2003-45; KH/M06-sa1 *sawa: NP sawapi ‘sage’; TO; Nv; PYp; NT; ST; Eu; Tbr; Yq; My; Wr; Tr; Cr; Wc, CN. As one can see, a form of *sawa appears in every SUA language. Note Cr’s similarity to Tbr in *w > mw. [Tbr/Cr *w > mw] [NUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]


1296. *puhiC ‘green’ moved to green, 1075

1297. *naNkapï ‘leaf’: Kw nga-ví; Ch nanká-va; SP maavi-nanqa-ví ‘leaf’ (vs. SP nanqava ‘ear’); CU níká-’a-ví (vs. CU niñá-ví ‘ear’); Tb nañhabí-l; Hp n’aaapi. Since *k > h in Tb, then Tb matches Num. Hp may be a loan from Num, but in either case it lost intervocalic -nk-. Are Tb and Hp loans from Num or is Num -v/i/vi really an absolutive suffix? Either way, Hp n’aaapi/nahpi shows -p- instead of -v- due to a previous cluster. The SNum, Tb, and Sr forms are related to ‘ear’: often one word in each language has both meanings (ear, leaf) or the words for ‘ear’ and ‘leaf’ are very similar; for example, Tb nañha-l ‘ear(s), leaf’; Tb nañhabí-l ‘leaves, lots of leaves’. These appear to be derived from ‘ear’ but are morphologically different (added upon) in most languages, except Sr. Similar to Sr is Ktn kava-’c ‘leaf’. [NUA: SNum, Hp, Tbk]

1298. *palA ‘leaf’: BH.Cup *pala ‘leaf’; M88-pa44 ‘leaf’; KH/M06-pa44: Cp pel’a; Ca pála-t; Ls pávla-š. Perhaps CN a’lapal-li ‘leaf, wing’ derived from CN lapal ‘side, direction’. Might Ls pála ‘put out sprouts, come into leaf’ tie to Hp piri(-k) ‘get uncovered, open up, unfold’ and other words at ‘flat’? [liquids, vowels] [NUA: Tak]
**LEAVE; SALIR, IRSE, DEJAR, ABANDONAR**

1299. *kami* ‘leave’: M88-ka43; KH/M06-ka43: Ca qámi/qámë ‘leave s.o. behind, quit (job), stop’; Ls qami’i ‘leave s.th. alone’. I often wonder about a tie between this and Tr gamea/kamea ‘(1) be able, capable; (2) look good to one, like, prefer’ as in when it looks good, one is finished and leaves. [NUA: Tak]

1300. *pi’a (> *pi’ā) ‘leave, save’: Sapir; B.Tep273 *vi’ia/i ‘to stay’; M67-256 *pi’a ‘leave’; I.Num174 *piya ‘leave (behind, over)’; CL.Azt81 *piya ‘have, keep’; 248 **piya ‘keep, leave’; L.Son174 *pïya ‘have, keep’; 248 **piya ‘keep, leave’; L.Son192a *pi10 ‘leave/dejar, quedarse’; KH/M06-pi10: NP pinai ‘last one, one that is left’; Sh pïa” ‘leave’; Cm pïa ‘leave, forsake, quit’; Kw piine’e ‘leave, vt’; SP piyai-: piya’ŋwi ‘be left over’; CU piyaay ‘be left, remain behind’; TO wi’i ‘stay, remain’; TO wi’ikam ‘be one left, a remnant; be an orphan, one left by himself’; Eu vié ‘faltar, quedar’; Eu viá / vi’a ‘dejar’; Tbr wipia ‘seguir’; Yq be’e ‘faltar, guardar’; Yq yeubé’ene ‘dejar afuera’ (Yq yeu ‘para afuera’); AYq ve’e ‘be lacking, left over, vi’; AYq ve’a ‘save, reserve’; My be’a ‘dejar aparte’; Wc pi ‘quitar, dejar’. CN, HN, PI *piya ‘have, guard, take care of’. Add WMU piyé-y ‘be left over’.

Among Tep UP wia; LP vi’i; NT vii; ST vidya ‘leave left overs’; NT and ST show d, as if underlying *y, yet other languages show medial glottal stop. [medial */ *y] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

1301. *yawi (to) ‘leave’: B.Tep15 *dagito ‘to leave alone’: UP dagito; LP dak; NT dagítyo; ST dogtyo; M88-ya16. Though apparently borrowed from Tep, Tbr dagítyo/akiró ‘dejar’ is worth noting. Consider also My yeewi ‘salir’, combining form: yeu(im); Yq yawá’abe’ene/yewaabe’ene ‘leave a part’; Tb ‘iiyaw~ii’iyau ‘stop, v’; NP yaggwi’hu ‘stop work’. [w > kw in NP] [NUA: Tep, Cah, Num] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr]

1302. *kisa ‘go out, emerge’: CL.Azt98 *kiisa ‘leave’; M88-ki8; KH/M06-ki8: CN kiisa ‘come out, emerge, conclude, finish’; PI kiisa ‘leave, come/go out, appear’; HN kiisa ‘leave, go out, rise (of sun)’. [SUA: Azt]

1303. *(a)tiwi ‘leave’: Tr arewe ‘dejar, abandonar’; Wr toa ‘leave s.th. for s.o.’; or Wr tohá ‘separate (on the road), go different directions’; Yq toha ‘llevar, traer, echar, dejar’; AYq sutoha ‘abandonar’. Tbr towi/tovi ‘quedar’; Tbr towa ‘dejar’. [transitive/stative in Tbr] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr]

NB, *ŋoy ‘go away, go/return home’ (Ca ŋíi/ŋíy ‘go home, go away’; Cp ŋíye ‘go away, leave’; Ls ŋée ‘leave, go away, go home’) is at ‘circle’, though I wonder if these Tak are a separate set and belong here.

NB, for *pu ‘leave, come out’ see out.

NB, for *iwa see ‘stay’.

**LEFT (HAND, SIDE); IZQUIERDO, ZURDO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>ċinaqwetí</th>
<th>Hp</th>
<th>sìy-jakw</th>
<th>Eu</th>
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<td>oks padurh</td>
<td>Wc</td>
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<td>suurid</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>a’nsap dír ja’k ‘at left side’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘left hand’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1305a. *opoti ‘left’: CN oopooč-tli; Cr ‘uhtah. The Cr u agrees with Azt o and UA *o, and if Cr lost intervocalic p, like it often does, or the voiceless h may be the remnants of -p-, then the two match well, deriving from *opotV. In
fact, these may tie to *oti below with loss of *-p- in a NUA cluster (*opoti > opti > otti > oci) as suggested by the *-c- in Sr and Ls, vs. -l- as we would expect if not a clustered -t-. [Cr loss of intervocalic -p-]

1305b. *oCti-(pa) ‘left (hand)’: BH.Cup *’ecva ‘left (hand)’; HH.Cup; M88-’o18; KH.NUA; KH/M06-’o18: Ca; Cp; Ls; Sr, and Tbr. The Cupan languages show a following -va syllable, while Sr and Tbr only show the oti portion. In fact, the Tbr form may be the link between the Tak forms and Tr and Wr, though Tr, Wr, and Tbr all show a common compound, the latter half of which the Tak languages lack. Add Ktn oci(ŋa) ‘left hand’. Also add the oi- of NP oi-naggwa (perhaps o(y)i < *oci).

1305c. *oCtï-wina ‘left’: Tbr, Tr, and Wr seem related, and whether from a compound or not, s.th. like *oti-wina > otiwïna > *o’wena (Tr, Wr) accounts for the forms. Cm ohini- may belong as well. Though with differing affixes for different compounds, both NUA and SUA show the stem *otti-, ultimately from *opoti probably. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Trm, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

1306a. *kwi ‘left (hand)’: TSh; Sh; Kw; Ch; SP; CU; WMU kwïi(g)yet / kwïïget / kwïïd / kwïïd ‘left-handed one’; WMU kwïi’managu ‘on the left side’.

1306b. *ko’i ‘left’: Yq, My, AYq mikko’otana ‘on the left’; AYq ayatana ‘left turn’; AYq mikkoi ‘left-handed’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah]

1307. *(a)siya(N) ‘left’: Hp sïy-va(qe) ‘left, on the left, posp’; Hp sïy-ŋakw ‘from the left, posp’; Tb ‘aašiyan / aašiŋan ‘left side’. [NUA: Hp, Tb]

Leg: see foot
Lend: see give and trade
Level: see flat
Lice: see louse

LICK, LAP UP; LAMER


1309. *kwiLyä ‘lick’: Kw kwiya ‘lick, v’; CU kwïyay ‘lick, vt’; Cp kwïlyema ‘lick, v’; and Ca pil’ay ‘lick, vt’ is curious in that it is identical to the reconstruction suggested by the others except having the other labial stop; but we shall not count it because of the irregularity. [*L > y; kw/p?] [SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn]

1310. *ïkwa’a ‘lick’: AYq te’ebwa ‘lick, vt’; My té’ebwa ‘está lamiendo’; Eu téba’a- ‘lamer’; Nv tïpsïma ‘lick fingers’ (p probably devoiced from b). Anticipation of ‘ in Cah. [SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn]

1311. *pini ‘lick’: TO wiini ‘lick with the tongue, vt’; Nv vinuma ‘lamer’; PB(EF) winmen ‘lamer’; PYp viinim ‘lick, vt’; NT viñiúúmai ‘lamer’. Sh kwini” ‘lick, vt’ is quite identical except for having the other labial stop. [*p vs. *kw?] [SUA: Tep]

1312. *paL… ‘lick’: CL.Azt99 *palowa ‘lick’; M88-pa48; KH/M06-pa48: CN paloaa ‘sip, taste’; Pl iiš-palua ‘to lick’; Po pelu; Tl pahpaloa; Zc pahpalowa. This is one of those curious initial-p words that keeps initial p in Azt. [initial p in Azt] [SUA: Azt]

LIE, DECEIVE; MENTIR, ENGAÑAR

1313. *isa(N) / *isaC-tu / *isama-tu ‘lie, v’; B.Tep305 *iahatagi ‘lie, v’; I.Num19 *isa ‘lie, n., v’; M88-’i1 ‘tell a lie’; KH/M06-’i1: Mn isapia’-t ‘lie, v’; NP isayai ‘tell lies’; TSh ‘isampi ‘liar’; Sh isan ‘lie, v’; Sh isam-pi ‘lie, n’; isa-nai” ‘tell a lie, v’; Cm isa’ai ‘lie, v’; Cp i’islyu ‘tell a lie, vi’; Ca ‘i’ismatu ‘tease, joke with’; Sr ‘i’iïhma’ ‘tease, make fun of’; Ls ‘eskuni ‘tease, make fun of’; UP ‘iatogi; LP ‘iahtg-; NT yaatági; ST ‘iatgi; Eu istu ‘mentir’; HN ‘istlaka-wia ‘lie to s.o.’ Add Nv ‘i’ato ‘mentir’ and the first part of Wc ‘iririiyïya ‘deceive’ aligns with *itu like Eu istu and Cp i’islyu. Miller includes Hp is-maqasi ‘suspicion, mistrust’ (lit: coyote-fear) as a possibility with a question mark. In fact, Miller’s list may all begin with *is- ‘coyote’ as the deceiver, but with varying second morphemes. Num *isaN is apparent. Note *isamaCtu in Ca ‘i’ismatu, Cp, and Sr ‘i’iïhma’. Tep may be reduced
from the same—*isamatu > *iasmntu (V anticipation) > ’i’ahto—or from s.th. shorter—*isa(N)tu 'coyote-do/be'—which also fits Cp, Eu, and Wc. The Azt forms below, also likely contain ‘coyote’ but are a different compound. At ‘laugh’, *isam ‘tease’ is another compound. [clusters, reductions] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn, CrC]

1314. *is-taka ‘lie, v’: CN istlaka-ti ‘lie, v’; CN istlaka ‘s.th. false’; HN ‘istlaka-wia lie to s.o.’; We ‘itá ‘lie, v’ (with loss of s). Might this be *is(a)taka ‘coyote-man (as deceiver)’. [*st- > t- in Wc] [SAU: Azt]

1315. *waCNI / *wACNi ‘lie, deceive’: Ls wíñé-ní ‘deceive, tell lies’; Ls wíñé-i ‘be mistaken’; Wr we’itú-na ‘tell a lie’; Wr we’itú(ge)-na ‘tell a lie to s.o.’; -wa’i in Cm t`íwa’í ‘hecha mentiras’ and Cm w`i’ta’ame ‘hecha mentiras’; though it has a different bilabial, we might note AYq vait’a ‘misinform, deceive, fool’. Ls does the vowel pattern i-e < *a-i in other words, though its medial C is puzzling, possibly from a cluster or another morpheme. [h`; w/p; Ls i-e < *a-i] [NAU: Tak; SUA: Trn, CrC]

1316. *siku ‘tease, deceive’: CN šiikoaa ‘feel envy, suffer or endure s.th., deceive s.o., vrefl, vt’; CN šiikoaa-piina ‘joke, tease s.o., vrefl, vt’; Ls ‘éskuni ‘tease, make fun of’ [NAU: Tak; SUA: Azt]

NB, *solopiki ‘lié’: ST šöpki ‘lying, story-teller’ loan from CN šolopi-ti ‘lie, joke’ (CN s = Tep h)? However, note the lost I in ST. Elsewhere CN shows an I not in other UA languages (root, sinew).

LIE DOWN; ACOSTARSE, ECCHARSE

The widespread and semantically diversified verb *mana / *mani takes essentially two forms: intransitive *mani ‘fall, be lying or spread flat over an area’ and transitive *mana ‘spill, pour, spread s.th. flat (over an area), cover a surface, etc’. Miller treats the related forms in two places: M88-ma9 ‘be situated (like liquid or mass obj.)’ and M88-ma38 generally meaning ‘stumble, roll over, fall over/off down’, though he lists no semantic heading for the latter group. While the two are undoubtedly cognate, Miller’s divisions are useful semantically:

1317a. *mani ‘lie, be situated, cover an area (as liquid or mass noun)’; M88-ma9 ‘be situated (like liquid or mass obj.)’; KH/M06-ma9: NP mání ‘become, be’; NP mání ‘be’ (Langacker 1976, 10); Cm mana ‘ko’oroomi ‘cover s.th. over’; SP na-ma’í ‘cover’; Wr maní ‘estar’; Tr mana ‘be in a container’; My mání ‘be (liquid or gathered objects)’; CN mana ‘cover a surface (as water), spread s.th.out flat and smooth (as tortillas)’; HN mana ‘be all over (water)’; Pl mana ‘cook (in water)’. Add SP mana ‘resting on, at, for (of time)’. [NAU: Tak; SUA: Trn, CrC]

1317b. *mana / *mani ‘stumble, roll (over), fall over/off down’: M88-ma38; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ma38: Cp máné to roll, fall off, stumble’, Cp manáninijyqal ‘he fell over’; Cm maná ‘fall down (rolling), roll, stumble over’; Ls miána/i ‘stumble and roll down (a hill) vi, vt’; Sr manamk ‘fall down’. Add Hp mání(k) ‘stumble and fall, fall down’; Hp mání-k-na ‘knock over’, identical semantically though Hp leveled the vowels: *mani > míni.

1317c. *mana ‘put (flat/lying down)’; *mani ‘be put, be, lie’; To the above two groups we can add Yq mána ‘poner’; AYq mana, mána ‘set, put on flat surface’; AYq manek ‘be situated (massive objects or liquids)’; My mana ‘ponn’; My mánnek ‘está puesto’; Tr (a)mana ‘poner, colocar (especially in a container or as an offering laid out)’; Tr mana ‘put for s.o.’; Tr amana ‘poner (frequentive)’; Eu mana ‘haber cosas liquidas en olla, cosas discretas en chiquihuite or cosa redonda’; Eu mana ‘asentar o poner ollas, cosas redondas o huecas’; Eu manáau ‘ofrenda que ponen el día de los finados’; Eu mana ‘be’ (Shaul 1991, 82); Cr meé’uhumwana ‘put lying down’; We mana ‘poner, tender, estirar pl obj’s’; We mane ‘puesto, tendido pl. obj’s’; CN semmani ‘fall, spill, spread out, scatter’; CN manki ‘s.th. smooth, flat’; CN tlamaniia ‘set things in order with respect to one another, lay things out for s.o.’; CN tlamaniis-tli ‘plane, flat surface’; CN mana ‘spread s.th. out flat and smooth, vt’; CN mani ‘extend over a surface, vi’. With a vowel assimilation, the subtraction of Sr pit(k) ‘fill (regarding containers)’ and Sr pití’k ‘be full, filled’ from Sr pitirim ‘fill (several containers), vt’ leaves -min with a similar meaning. Notice that we do NOT have the NUA ŋ and SUA n in these items. [NAU n and SUA n; V’s *a > V] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

1318. *hapi ‘lie down’; I.Num31 *hapi ‘lie down’; M88-ha8 ‘lie down’; KH/M06-ha8: Mn hapi; NP hapi; TSh hapi; Sh hapi”; Cm hapi; Kw havi; Ch havi; SP avi; WMU avi; CU ‘aví. Possibly associative are Eu ‘abi ‘lie’ (Shaul 2003, 29), and Cr abíeci ‘escondido’ and Wc ‘avieta ‘hide (claws/teeth)’ at *’api ‘hide’. [NUA: WNum, CNun, SNun; SUA: Opn]
1319. *po’o / *po’i  ‘be lying down’: VVH130 *po’i/*po’o ‘be lying down’; M67-260 *po ‘lie down’; L.Son208 *po, *po’i ‘acostarse’; M88-po3 ‘be lying down’; KH/M06-po3: NP pukkwa ‘be lying down, pl’; Ls pê-t, -pe’ (poss’d) ‘bed’; TO wo’i ‘in a prone position’; Eu voö ‘acostarse uno’; Wr po’i ‘estar acostado, sg’; Tr bo’i ‘estar acostado, sg’; My bô’oka ‘acostado’; My boo’-te ‘acostarse’. Let’s add other Tepiman forms: PYp vo’o/vohopo ‘be lying down, sg/pl’; NT vóópoí ‘acostarse’; NT vóódyagai ‘el acostar, verbal n”; and ST voo’dar ‘acostar, vt (anim obj); ST vo’ ‘estar acostado’; ST vo’ya ‘acostarse’. Maybe Miller’s NP inclusion if compounded? [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn]

1320. *kwapi > *kwopi  ‘lie down’: Mn qwabitiği ‘lie on ground’; NP kwabi ‘lie down, d.’; TSh kopi”/kwapi” ‘lie (down), be in prone position, vi, dual’; Sh kopi’ ‘lie down, d., pl.’; Cm kwabiﬁ; Kw kovi ‘lie down, pl’; Ch kwavi ‘lie down, pl.’; SP kwapi ‘lie down, pl.’; Cp kwív ‘lie down, pl.’. Many Num forms show *kwapi (NP, TSh, Cm, Ch, SP) and others show *kopi (TSh, Sh, Kw). These are undoubtedly variants of each other, as the rounding of a V between two labials is natural enough. Interestingly, Cp kwive corresponds to *kwopii (*o > Cp i), which fits as well as any of the others. With loss of intervocalic -v-, might Ktn kwea’k ‘lie down’ belong? [*a > o between labials, then o > i in Cp] [NUA: Num, Tak]

1321. *Laya  ‘lie with legs/feet spread-pointing outward’: The specific semantic identity of Hp lëesi-kiw-ta ‘lie with feet pointed outward’ and Ls lâya ‘lie with legs spread apart’ is quite probable, especially when we consider that Hp e is the one Hp vowel that does not correspond to any PUA vowel, but usually derives from vowel leveling, such as an a-i or a-s series > e-e, as Ls lâya (aia) is. [V leveling, initial *L?] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1322a. *piCtû / *piCú ‘lie down, be situated at, pl; spend the night, v; house, n’: PYp veetu ‘lie, be situated, inan. pl’; NT vii” ‘be lying down, pl’; Wr pe’ti-pá-ni ‘acostarse, pl’; Wr pe’ti / pe’ti-pó ‘estar acostados, pl’; Wr pe’a ‘jacal, hut’; Tr pere/perí ‘set/lay stretched out’; Tr bete-ba-ma ‘spend the night’; Tr bete-či / bít-ci ‘at home’; Tr bete-ra ‘house’; Tr bete-re- ‘live, inhabit, dwell’; Tr pereame ‘inhabitants, residents’; WTr bete ‘live, v’ (Burgess 1984, 19); WTr bete-ba-ma ‘spend the night’; WTr bete-ra ‘house, n’; WTr bítí ‘estar acostados, vi pl’; WTr bitte ‘dwell.’; Ca pé’ti ‘lie down stretching (of long large obj); Cr hé’é ‘be lying down’ (if *-t- > -/i/- -’); and perhaps CN peéc’ooa ‘squat, crouch’ if CN < *piC-ooa? Ca -t- suggests an underlying cluster *-Ct-, as also the glottals in Wr and WTr. [Azt p; -tt- > -r-]

1322b. *pa(i)yüiC > *piC- ‘go home’: In SP the stem is isolated: SP pa(i)yü ‘return’; SP payü-i ‘comes back’; SP pa(i)yüi-rü ‘one who goes home’; SP pappa(i)yü ‘all return each to his home’. In SP and the rest of SNum, that stem takes one suffix -ki ‘come toward speaker or come home’ and -kwa’a ‘go home or go away from speaker’: WMU peekki / peekki’/ pa-i-ki ‘come home, come to me, come here’; WMU peekkírh ‘one who comes home’; WMU peekkwa ‘go home (the home being elsewhere)’; WMU peé’kwa’a ‘go home!’; WMU peekkwa-řh ‘one who goes home’; Kw pay-kwee (< *pay’-kkwee) ‘return, go back, go home’; Kw pay-ki (< *pay’-kk’i) ‘return, come back, come home’; Ch payi ‘return, v sg’; Ch payüki (< *payükki) ‘come back’; SP payü-qqwa’i ‘go back/home’; CU péé-ki ‘return, come back to, come here!’); CU payu-kwa’áy ‘come home, come back, return’; CU péé-kwa’a’y ‘return, come back”; the latter CU term appears not to retain the semantic distinction that WMU and all languages to the west retain: -kki ‘return coming (home)” vs. -kwa’a ‘return going (home/away). However, all languages show a final consonant by geminatining the next -kk-, though in most it is -k- < *-kk- vs. -g- < *-k-. [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt; NUA: Tak, Num]

1323. *paykatawi  ‘lie on back, face up, boca arriba’: the first part of Cm pa’rai-habíitì ‘lie on one’s back’ and Kw pïygarawahi-vä ‘lie on one’s back’ are related, being in the same position in the same phrase; if so, they show well the extraordinary reductions that sometimes take place in UA languages; if Kw is fairly complete, then the changes for Cm appear to be s.th. like *paykarawi- > *pa(y)k(a)(r)a(w)i > pa’rai. [*-t- > -r-; reductions] [NUA: Num]

NB, for *tïka ‘lie/lay/set down stretched out/horizontal’, see ‘put’.
NB, for *ikì ‘remain, lie in place’: KH.NUA; Sr íkì, íkii ‘be in a place, lie’; Ktn ík ‘lie’; Gb ôkô; Ls óká ‘be left, remain’; see ‘stay’.

Life/Live: see alive or sit (for dwell/live)
LIGHT, RAISE, PICK UP; LEVANTAR, ALZAR; see also up, carry

1324a. *hi'ipi / *hapa'i 'get up, vi; lift/pick up, vt'. Kw hïveezï 'get up, arise, vi'; Kw hïveezï-tïi 'pick up, vt'; PYp e'evnia 'lift'. These show medial *-p-, yet might the following with medial *-kw/-tie in?

1324b. *hakwa / *hakwi 'light': Tb(V) he'ewiin(-it) 'lift it'; Tb(M) he'winat-'ehe'win 'lift, carry in the arms, hold on the lap'; Eu háhba 'lift pl. obj's'; Eu háhbe-me 'levantarse, pl'. [p/kw] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Opn, Tep]

1325. *pa'aka 'be lifted/taken up': CU pa'áaga'-y 'be up, be raised, ascend, go up'; CU pa'áaga-kii 'lift (off)'; AYq pa'akta 'lift with a lever, vt'. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah]

LIGHT (not heavy); LIGERO

1326. *sapa / *sapo 'light (not heavy)': Ls savá-sva-š, šavá-sva-š 'be light on one's feet, lung'; PYp havkam 'light (not heavy); PYp havek (hapek) 'light-footed'; PYp havoka ' agile'; ST havook 'light, weigh little'; TO hawk '(be) lightweight, light, (be) easy'. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

Light (not dark): see fire and sun

LIGHTNING; RELÁMPAGO, RAYO

1327. *piLok / *pïrok (< *paLak ?) 'lightning': M67-262 *pe 'lightning'; M88-pï14 'lightning'; KH/M06- pi14: My berok-; Yq br virikí; AYq kwooci 'lightning flash, light'. Add Tb virikí-t 'relámpago'; TO wïpgii; PYp vepda. Besides initial *pi in all forms, the Yq, My, and NT forms show a clear second syllable in *-rok- and Tb also shows this full word, though the 2nd vowel has assimilated. Thus four languages (Yq, My, NT, Tbr) point to *pïrok. Sr vönäq-q 'flash (of lightning)' and Ch(L) panapî (< *paLaC-pi) 'lightning flash, light' (with liquids nasalized in NUA) also belong. Other SNum forms are cognate and some show the underlying 3rd C: CU panáy 'shine, be bright'; WMU paná-y 'shine, be bright'; WMU paná-tôhqqömpi-kye 'shine, be bright, vi'. With reduction of the 2nd syllable and voicing of the velar stop, the Tepiman forms *pïpgi (lacking 2nd C, but showing 3rd C), as well as PYp vepda (lacking 3rd C), are showing reduced forms of *pïrok / *paLak. The *-palu portion of Ca tawvalu 'to thunder' as well as the -paix of Sh(C) to'ompai 'thunder' and Sh(M) toompai-picci 'thunder' likely belong. [liquid] [NUA: Tep, Cah, Tbr; SUA: Tak, Num]

1328. *aNka-kwissaka / *aNka-kwicci'i 'lightning': Mn aqakwiči'i 'lightning, flash (of lightning), v'; also Mn acawkicqä / acawkici 'be shiny, gleaming, be flashing (like lightning)' with a different prefix; Cm ekakwic'ë 'lightning flash, n'; SP aqqa-qquíšari 'lightning, red-flashing, n'; SP quíša 'flash, vi'; Kw 'aga-gwiša 'be sheet lightning' (said to be compound of aga 'red' and kwiži 'pile up' suggested, but the latter morpheme is 'flash or lightning, verb in all the other languages); WMU paná-qquíšs-a 'lightning, vi'. WMU has a different first morpheme, but the same second morpheme and also means lightning. CU paná-qoséy 'lightning, vi'. Because Tb w < *kw, then Tb(V) wašakwašag 'it is lightning, v'; Tb(M) wasakwaša 'get' wasakwašak 'flash (of light, lightning, fire)' also belongs. So this exists in each branch of Num and Tb. Perhaps also Ktn kwéčæ 'start or stoke fire' and/or Ktn kwéčæč 'have blisters or be red all over'. Tb, SP, WMU, and CU all show the 2nd V as a, Tb has both such, but with many first i vowels, let there be one of each in the reconstruction. It may be that a gminated *-ss- > -cc-, as *-tt- does not usually lenite so far as s, and as many languages show s as c. For the *aNka portion of the compound, see 'red'. [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

1329. *tikåL / *tikat 'flash (of lightning)': KH.NUA; Sr tikalk, tikaltikal(k) 'flash (of lightning), sparkle'; Ca tikal 'flash (of lightning), sparkle, twinkle'. [NUA: Tak]

1330. *taLamu / *tatamu 'lightning, v': Wr talámu 'lightning to strike'; Tr faramú 'fulminar el rayo, caer rayos'. [SUA: Trn]

1331. *kwätta/i 'red': M88-kwa16; KH/M06-kwa16: Cp kwätü 'be red'; Cp kwätü 'be red'; Ls qwayá-qwaya-š 'red'; Ls qwayá 'be red, vi; polish, vt'; Gb kwahóka 'red'. Ken Hill notes this may be a Yuman loanword, which may underlie the difficulties beginning with the 2nd syllable. Similar considerations are Ls kwätü 'be shiny'; Ktn kwärë / kwa'rik 'melt, shine (of sun)' (glottal anticipated in 2nd form, absorbed/gone in 1st). Note these vs. Ktn kwanana'i 'shiny'. [NUA: Tak]
LIKE, AS, SAME, SO, SIMILAR, EQUAL, LOOK LIKE;

Como, Semejante, Así, Similar, Igual

The following appear that they could be various combinational results of *pV - 'that' + *Vni/*Vna 'like', the first two including *pV, the last two without *pV.

1332a. *pïna 'like': Eu ven 'como'; Yq bénak 'pues así'; Yq bénasi 'como, postp'; My bénasi 'como'; My álëebenna 'se parece, igual'; Sr pïnæ 'like him/her/it' (Sr -ï'n 'like'; Sr pana(a)(a) 'like that'; pa't 'that').

1332b. *pani 'like': Hp pan/pani/pan'i 'like that, in that way' (pa-n-'i 'that-way-pausal'); CU paní 'like, postp'; NP ïpa maasi 'same, look like'; NT ïpan 'same'; consider also ST panaas 'parece que' or ST pu'ni 'igual a'; perhaps We (h)âine 'así dice'.

1332c. *Vna'a 'like': Sr -ï'n 'like' (Sr pïnæ 'like him/her/it'; Sr pana(a)'(a) 'like that'; pa|t 'that'); Hp yan 'like this'; Hp an-ta 'be like'; Yq 'uná'a 'así es'; Yq 'iníen/'iníleni 'así'; Yq húnen 'así'. Perhaps the pï-na- of Kw pï-na-niya 'like this (relative-?like)'.

1332d. *-ni 'like': Ch -ni 'like'; CU –ni 'like, postp'; Mn ni-tu 'like, postp'; Kw pïna-niya 'like this'; Kw -niya 'like of Kw pi-na-niya 'like this (Relative-?-like)'. [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah, Tep]

1333. *tu'i-(wa) 'be/seem like': TO ču'ig 'be like, be similar to, be (in a specified place)'; PYp tu'i 'do, be like'; NT tíga 'is like, appear/seem that'; perhaps Ls lóó'i 'imitate, mock, v' if *t > l. [initial t > l?]

1334. *mana 'imitate, do like': NP managa 'copied, did like'; Mn manaqa 'try to, attempt to'. With glottal stop, Mn ma'ani-tu 'the same' and Mn ma'ani-su 'like, same, adv' may not belong.[NUA: WNum]

1335. *wa'a/i 'like': TSh wa'e/wa'i 'same as, just like, in the same manner of'; Hp -ewa|y (ewayo pausal) 'like, seeming, resembling some standard'. Wr wa'a 'there' provides a semantic hurdle. [NUA: Num, Hp]

Like (love, enjoy): see want

LIMP, (BE) LAME; COJEAR, COJO, RENQUEAR, RENCO

1336. *wopi 'limp': NT govi'kyi 'limp, hobble'; ST ovia'kia' 'limp, hobble'; TO goikham 'limp'; Nv govi'himu 'ir cojeando'. [loss of initial g (<*w) in ST; loss of v/w < *p in TO] [NUA: Tep]

1337. *piC-tu 'lame, limp': Tr bito- 'dislocate(d)'; Cm pitu-wetë 'limp (of human or hind leg of animal); PYp veetka 'limp'; Cr pwátuu 'está cojo'. However, compare Cm pitu-wetë and Cm matu-wetë 'limp (human or animal on front leg)' and Cm tatù-wetë 'limp (person only)'; and -tu-wetë is their commonality, the first CV appearing to mean ma- 'hand', perhaps ta- 'leg', etc. But if s.th. near *piC-tu is a reconstructable sequence of morphemes, then PYp lost 2nd V u, and Cr shows a different 1st V, but Tr, Cm, and PYp all agree in most segments, and Cr and Tr showing *u instead of *u. The reduplicated pio- syllable of Eu piopioké 'cojear'; Eu piopioké váko 'andar cojeando' (vako 'andar') may belong. Does NP to'yo 'limp, v' contain the isolated *-tu without prefixed morphemes? Though not all is secure, there are cognate kernels that are likely linkable. [no *p > h in Cr] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

1338. *wina > *wïna 'limp, be lame': Cm wihnai mi'ari 'walk lamely, limp'; Ls wóna 'limp, be lame'. In light of an identity of three of four segments (*wVna) and a common UA vowel change of *i-a > ï-a (then Ls o < *ï), a tie between the Cm and Ls items seems probable. [*i-a > ï-a] [NUA: Num, Tak]

1339. *ći(C)ka / *caka 'lame, limp': Cp čëškiye 'be lame'; Ls čóka 'limp, be lame, crippled'; Yq čákala wëye 'lean-walk'; Cr ha'ipú wa-ćëhka 'está cojo'. The first vowel of *cika matches all languages except Yq; and Cp and Cr *ćiška may be due to redup. [clusters] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah, CrC]
with V’s and C’s lost in reductions. [SUA: Tep]

though TO shows *
pair (a and b) may be *

Does Ktn yu’u ‘lame’ belong at all? [initial *L] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Opn, Cah]

NB, for Eu piopiioiké ‘andar cojeando’ see at ‘rot’.

LINE, ROW; LÍNEA, RAYA, FILA

1341. *koppa ‘make lines/stripes/stripes’: M88-k035; KH;KH/M06-k035: Cp qipe ‘be striped’; Ca qípi-n ‘mark lines, lay s.th. like string’; Ls qépi/i ‘split into small strips, peel twigs for basketry’; Sr qipkin ‘make a stripe’ (both Kenneth Hill and Miller suggest the Sr form is a Cupan loan). [*k > q_/o in Cupan] [NUA: Tak]

1342. *cakali > Tep *sakali ‘be in a line’: PYp sakali ‘row, line, n’; PYp sakil ‘lined up’ (PYp sakalim ‘go to the side, vi’; perf: sakali); ST sakaly ‘in a line’. [SUA: Tep]

1343. *wíta’i > *wiLV ‘mark a line, be (in) a line’: KH;NUA: Sr wílyí’k ‘be marked with a line, be a line’ (Hill wonders if from Ca); Sr wíly|kin ‘make a line on, mark with a line’; Ca wíla ‘paint a straight line’; Ca wílyi ‘be lined up’. Add AYq witti ‘straight’; AYq witte ‘draw lines’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

LION (MOUNTAIN), COUGAR, PUMA, BOBCAT, WILDCAT, LYNX; LEÓN, PUMA, JAGUAR, GATO MONTES, TIGRE, LINCE, ONZA

1344. *yípa ‘wildcat’: B.Tep28 *díìvarí ‘tiger’; M88-yí15; Fowler83; KH/M03- yí15: NT díívííli; ST dídvalí; ST(W) díívalí. Miller includes My yöoko ‘tigre’; however, it only has an initial y- in common with the Tep forms. Fowler includes Tr tuber/tuweri and Cr híripuh, perhaps loans from Tep languages. [SUA: Tep]

1345a. *tukkuC ‘wildcat’: M67-460 *tuku ‘wildcat’; I.Num226 *tukku(h) ‘wildcat’; BH.Cup *tukut ‘wildcat’; M88-tu5; Munro.Cup137 *tuuik- ‘wildcat’; KH;NUA; KH/M06-tu5: NP tuhúu; TSh tukkupici; Sh tuuk-picci ‘bobcat’; Kw tuku-ci; SP tuku”; CU múusa-tuku; Hp tokoci; Tb tuuk-t / tuguku-t ‘mountain lion’; Cp tuku-t; Ca tuku; Ls túuku-t; Sr tuku-t; Ktn tuku-t; Gb tukút ‘wildcat’; Gb tukúrát ‘léon’. Add WMU tuaqqu-puü-čí ‘bobcat, wildcat’.

1345b. *tukku-wí ‘mountain lion (< bobcat-big)’ (and other compounds of *tukku): Tb(V) tuuukwikí-t; Tb(M) tuguukut ‘mountain lion’; Ca tükwet; Ls tük-wu-t; TSh tukkupifíci; Kw tuku-míí-ci.

1345c. *tuhu(wí): NP tuhu’u ‘bobcat’; Hp toho / tohow / tohóv‘i / tohóo ‘mountain lion’ (Hill rightly wonders if it is a loan with Num lenition: -*k > -h-. [*k > h in deer, black] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb]

1346. *tunu-wí ‘bobcat’: Mn tonoowí ‘bobcat’; NP tuuŋwigici ‘cougar’. Jane Hill (p.c.) identifies this as a Yokuts loan. [NUA: WNum]

1347. *tu’či (< *tukkuti ?) ‘wildcat’: L.Son319 *tuci tigre; M88-tu2u2; KH/M06-tu22: Op tuci; Eu tuci; Tr ru’či. These could be related to the NUA forms above (*tukku-), for two reasons: (1) Tr ru’či shows a glottal stop that may align with k lost in a cluster (*tukkuci > tucki > tu’či), and (2) medial *-c- in NUA is usually from -t- or a cluster, so *tukuti fits Hp tokoci and is nearly identical to the Tak forms here listed, and a similar proto-form would explain -c- in NUA. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

1348. *típo ‘wildcat’: Tbr topó-l; Cr híripuh; Wc tībe/tīvē; CN ciin-topol-tik ‘bobcat, butt-penis-one’; CN tepol-li ‘penis’ and tepol-tik’s.TH. docked, stubby, rabón; these have enough in common to suggest perhaps something similar to *típo. Whether CN tepol- originally meant ‘penis’ or ‘short, docked tail’ is debatable, since UA kwasi also shares both meanings: ‘tail’ and ‘penis’. Might Eu poróć ‘wildcat’ be a metathesis? [SUA: CrC, Azt, Tbr]

1349a. *típaso ‘mountain lion’: Wr tehšébori ‘small lion’ and Tr řepasori ‘gato montés’. Note the metathesis. This pair (a and b) may be *-paso with differing prefixes *tí- and *wí-.

1349b. *wípaso (< *wípaso) ‘bobcat’: TO gewho; Ny gu’o/gí’o ‘gato montés’. Note loss of *p in a cluster in Ny, though TO shows *-p-. It is feasible that this is a fossilized Tep prefix with *-pso, reduced from *-pVso or *-tpso with V’s and C’s lost in reductions. [SUA: Tep]
1350. *mawiya ‘mtn lion’: B.Tep149 *mavidi/a ‘puma’; M67-291 *ma ‘mountain lion’; L.Son143 *mawiya ‘léon’; M88-ma26 ‘lynx’; KH/M06-ma26: Tr mawiyá ‘puma, léon americano’; Wr mawiá ‘bobcat’; Cr mwáhye / mwáhye / onza’; TO mawid, pl. maipid ‘lion, puma, cougar’; LP mavi, PYp mavid; NT mavidý; ST maviidy. Add Tbr mawi-t ‘léon’. This appears as *mawiya in TrC and CrC, though we can add Eu maviot/mavirot (Shaull 1991, 73, 93) (r < d < *y). Other instances of Tep w = TrC w exist, or was this borrowed into Tep before the sound change *y > d, but after the sound change *w > g, since the *w remained and merged with *p (> Tep v/w). [*w = Tep p] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

1351. *osílo ‘large cat’: CN ooseeloo-t ‘bobcat’; Yq ôusei ‘léon’; AYq ousei ‘mountain lion’. From whence did Mn wiheesíti ‘mountain lion’ come? [liquid] [SUA: Cah, Azt]

1352. *waLi / *wari ‘mountain lion, predatory animal’: M67-110b *wa coyote; L.Son346 *woi ‘coyote’; M88-wa7; Stubbs 2000b-32.35; KH/M03-wa7; KH/M03-wol1: Wr wori ‘mountain lion’; Tbr wawi / wowi / vavo ‘mountain lion’; Cr waále ‘coyote’ (pl: waále-te ‘coyotes’); Op gori ‘coyote’; Eu voi/boi/woi ‘coyote’; Wr woí ‘coyote’; Yq wóí ‘coyote’; My wóí ‘coyote’; Tbr wawi-nal, vavo-nal ‘wolf’; Tbr woi / goi ‘coyote’; PYp kolisi ‘mountain lion’ (note Op gori, thus devoicing of g > k in PYp). Cr may be a loan from Tbr wawi ‘lion’ or underwent the same kind of consonant harmony, with the 2nd w > v b). I consider TrC *woi ‘coyote’ to be related to Wr *wori ‘lion’, in that often r > ’ in Cahitan especially. Wr woí is likely a loan from Cah, so of Wr woí ‘coyote’ and Wr wori ‘cougar’, the first is a loan. I also consider Miller’s initial vowel a to be correct (as in Tbr and Cr), and that o is due to the rounding influence of adjacent w; note vestiges of the Tep sound change *woí > goí in Op and Tbr words for ‘coyote’; and could Sr wanaţ ‘wolf or cougar’ be a nasalization of the liquid (or is it with *kwana ‘coyote’)? [C harmony; original V in Cr, Tbr, Sr; *L > ’; Cr-Tbr contact? like leaf] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah, CrC]

1353. *kap ‘bobcat’: Wc kapuvi ‘bobcat’ and PYp kaper ‘wildcat’ share the first three segments. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

1354. *musa ‘cat’: KH/M06-mu24: Hp moosaa; CN mis-tli; CN mistoon-tli ‘gatillo, leoncillo’. As Ken Hill points out, besides Hp and CN, which fit the sound correspondences, many loans are from Azt: TO miistol; Eu misto; Tr miisi; Wc mico. If from Spanish, how did Hp in NUA and Azt in SUA get their expected sound correspondences? NB, for *waCNi > *wani ‘gray fox’, see at coyote.

LIP; LABIO
1355. *sapalá (< *sapata) ‘lip’: Wr asapála; CN šiipal-li; CN teen-šiipal-li; Eu tén-pira; Tbr tini-purí-t; Yq tem-beria; My tem-beria; Cr birűh. Note the Cr and Tbr vowels metathesized. The vowels are difficult, but the three consonants (s-p-Lt) seem clear. The TrC forms have lost the sibilant in the cluster as a result of compounding with *tin- ‘mouth’, which is typical sibilant behavior in UA: *tin-SVpVa > tin-spila > tïnpla > tïmpla. The Numic forms probably result from a similar compound—*ten-pai > *tïmpai—such that the final -pai could be related, missing L: TSh tímpëntjampi ‘lip’; Sh tímap/tîmpë; CU típa-wasil-wi. CN and NUA show the 2nd vowel to be a—*spal(a)—which could well be, since the following liquid tends to raise vowels and could have done so for the TrC forms. What of Sh sapai-pin ‘side’? Might Sr šíp ‘mouth, lips’ belong with loss of p in a cluster? What of Ktn hîvi ‘coast’? Intervocalic liquids usually become glottal stop in Yq, so the fact we have -r- in Yq and Cr means it may have started as original *-r-. [*-CC-] [SUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

LITTLE, SMALL, FEW; PEQUEÑO, CHICO, POCO(S)
1356. *alí ‘little’: B.Tep300 *arii ‘little one’; M67-387a *ali, 387b *ili; M88-’a7; KH.NUA; KH/M06-’a7: TO al ‘little’; TO ali ‘baby, child’; LP li; NT ali; ST ‘alyii; My ilići / ili’ići; Sr ahiir’ći ‘small one, little one, baby, child’; Ca inišili ‘small one’; LS ‘àiłi-may ‘woman’s brother’s child’; Ls ‘ali-’-ma-l ‘small, thin, a baby’. To these can be added Tbr ali- ‘pequeño’ and AYq ili ‘small, little, few’; AYq ilići ‘small, little’. [liquid] [SUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Tbr]
1357. *paLi 'a little': B.Tep184 *pariapi 'a little bit'; KH/M06-pa69: PB palia; PYp palia; NT palipi; ST palip. [liquid] [SUA: Tep]

1358. *ti(m) 'small': VVH117 *fima 'small' (TO čim; We temá(iki) 'boy'); M88-ti32; I.Num235 *ti(e)(h) / *ti(i)(h) 'small'; KH/M06-ti32: Mn ti- in piittî 'new/young (object, being)'; NP tiucci 'small'; TSh tiucci 'little'; Sh tiäih; Cm tić; TO čim; We temá(iki) 'boy'; pl: temá(ri). [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, CrC]

1359. *ci / *cin 'little, diminutive suffix, boy, youth': Sapir; KH.NUA; KH/M06 - ci24: Sr čičin't) 'boy'; Sr tïčiñ|t 'young man, youth'; Gb čenúho' pl: čečínoho'am 'small one'; Gb čenúy 'little, chiquito'. Ken Hill tentatively adds Eu -ci 'diminuitive suffix' and CN -cii 'diminuitive/honorific suffix' with a question mark, but when the first three segments agree, they seem more probable than not. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ch ci'auc(i) 'thin'. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, CrC]

1360. *huya 'small': Hp hoya 'small, young'; Tbr huyi, huyi-r 'chico'. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tbr]

1361. *cupi 'small': Eu čúpi 'chico'; Tr čúpu(ri) 'of small size'; and as likely as not the -jubi of Tb(V) ku'uujubil 'little'; Tb(M) kuujubit 'little'; Tb(M) kuujubil 'little, little bit'; and perhaps Ktn cipk 'a little'. [SUA: Trn, Opn; NUA: Tb]

1362. *mi'a 'small': Ch mi'áu -nci 'small'; Ch mi'áu -pïciwï 'small one'; SP mia' - 'small'; SP mia' -ppï -ci 'small'; CU míi-ci 'little (of mass)'; CU míi -pï -ci 'small, little'; WMU mii'ic 'a little bit' [NUA: SNum, WNum]; Wc temá(ri). [NUA: SNum, WNum]

1363. *aku 'little, short': Cp akúlyi 'little'; Cr kïlen 'corto, chico; menor, pequeño'. An original *-L would be glottal stop in Cr, so I reconstruct *-t (> Cp -l). Other forms lack first V, as in *kuti 'short': Tr kúriri 'cortos, no largos, chicos, en el sentido de cortos'; Ls kité -kti-š 'short, as of clothing; a type of ocean fish' (strange vowel). [Ls vowels] [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC, Trn]

1364. *aku-su 'little': Cp akúsi 'tiny'; Tb igišpil 'a little bit, small amount'. [NUA: Tak; Tb]

1365. *cako 'small': Hp cay, pausal acc: càako 'small, little'; CN coko 's.th. very small'. [CN V leveling or 1st to 2nd] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Azt]

1366. *nïmaC / *nïmaN 'liver': VVH89 *nïsma 'liver'; B.Tep178 *nïma, nïmadî (poss'd) 'liver'; M67-265 *nema 'liver'; I.Num124 *nïmïN; L.Son175 *nïma 'hígado'; M88-nï2 'liver'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-nï2. Add Nv nïmadi, Ktn nïma-c, and Toŋva (ne/mo/a)-noom '(my/your/his) liver'. Note Southern Numic showing w for *m; w turns up in one Sh form and in Mn as well. Instead of *t, some have u: CU, ST, one form of NT, and perhaps Nv. Cahitan innovated initial h. TSh, Sh, SP, and CU all suggest a final -C, likely the final nasal apparent in Kw, Ch, and SP, and agreeing with Iannucci's reconstruction. Some words remain consistent throughout UA; every language has a reflex of this except Azt branch. [initial n/l/h/y/ø] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]
The next two are morphemes for ‘liver’ among the Nahuatl or Aztecan dialects as listed in Suárez (1986), a wonderful work on Aztecan dialects. Some dialects have one term, some the other, and some display a compound of the two: *yeltapac.

*tapac ‘sea shell’; *yircles for ‘liver’ among the Nahuatl or Aztecan dialects as listed in Suárez (1986), a wonderful work on Aztecan dialects. Some dialects have one term, some the other, and some display a compound of the two: *yeltapac.

1367. *tapac ‘sea shell’; *yircles for ‘liver’ among the Nahuatl or Aztecan dialects as listed in Suárez (1986), a wonderful work on Aztecan dialects. Some dialects have one term, some the other, and some display a compound of the two: *yeltapac.

*tapac ‘sea shell’; *yircles for ‘liver’ among the Nahuatl or Aztecan dialects as listed in Suárez (1986), a wonderful work on Aztecan dialects. Some dialects have one term, some the other, and some display a compound of the two: *yeltapac.

1368. *(y)ircles for ‘liver, organ’; Suárez 1986: CN eel- ‘liver, sometimes organs generally or seat of strong emotions’; Pl el- ‘inside’; *yircles for ‘liver’ terms from Suárez (1986): yehli (Huitziltepec, Zumpango del Rio Guerrero); yeeli’ (San Agustín Oapan); yeeli’ (Atlacalco, Morelos); iyal (Hueyapan); yool (Mecayapan); and several others above compounded with *-tapac. [SUA: Azt]

LIZARD; LAGARTO, LAGARTIJA, CAMALEÓN, IGUANA, CACHORRA

1369a. *kwic ‘iguana’: CL.Azt90 *kwəc ‘iguana’; M88- kwic ‘iguana’; KH/M06-kwic: We kcek/kes ‘iguana’; CN kwecpal-in ‘iguana’; Pl kuwikwepal ‘iguana’. For We kcek/kes ‘iguana’ see the forms at *kiCti ‘lizard’. Some forms point to *kwoca or *kwaca, as well: 369b. *pa- yircles for ‘lizard’; TO wajelho ‘whiptail lizard’; ST vadïïr ‘lizard’. Both Tep forms show *pa- yircles for ‘lizard’; TO h in a cluster is sometimes simply vowel devoicing, sometimes meaningful. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

1370a. *yuL ‘lizard, sp.’: BH.Cup *yu ... 1 ‘lizard, sp.’; M88-yu15; KH.NUA; KH/M06-yu15: Cp yú’e-l ‘a large lizard’; Ca páyul (pá- ‘water’); Ls yulú’ ‘lizard, sp.’. Hill also notes Sr yu’aat ‘water turtle’ with these and the relationship of the whole of them to *yu’a ‘wet’.

1370b. *pa- yircles for ‘lizard’; TO wajelho ‘whiptail lizard’; ST vadïïr ‘lizard’. Both Tep forms show *pa-yircles for ‘lizard’; TO h in a cluster is sometimes simply vowel devoicing, sometimes meaningful. [medial ŋ]

1371. *yaŋVpa ‘lizard, sp.’: M88-ya25; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ya25: Ca yáŋva’ ‘black lizard’; Sr yaayva’ ‘kind of lizard’. [medial ŋ] [NUA: Tak]

1372. *caŋa ‘lizard, sp.’: M67-267 *cana ‘lizard’; M88-ca7; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ca7: SP čaŋaa ‘lizard, sp.;’ Sr čääŋt ‘lizard, sp’. Add Ktn caŋa-č ‘iguana(?)’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ch caŋa ‘sceloporus species of lizard’. [medial ŋ] [NUA: Num, Tak]

1373a. *caLaka ‘horned toad’: BH.Cup *calaka; HH.Cup *čalaka; Fowler83; M88-ca11 ‘horned toad’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ca11: Ca čalaka(i) ‘horned toad’; Cp čalaka; Ls čalaka; Sr čilyaaqu’ ‘lizard, sp’. Ken Hill adds Ktn ciruku’ with a question mark, but I vote yes, due to its great similarity with Sr čilyaaqu’. For them and Jane Hill’s addition, let’s also create a separate, but related set (below).

1373b. *ciLaku ‘lizard sp.’: to Ken Hill’s Sr čilyaaqu’ ‘lizard, sp’ and Ktn ciruku’ ‘lizard, cachora (iguana)’, Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Gb čiruko ‘scaly lizard’ (Merriam 60:429). Miller says Sr looks like a loanword, but the subsequent adding of Gb and Ktn, and all 3 forms agreeing in final *-u/o and first vowel i, loan status becomes less likely, though an early loan could be in all 3; nevertheless, Cup *caLaka ‘horned toad’ and Sr, Ktn, Gb *ciLaku ‘lizard types’ provide a nice division of slight vowel and semantic variation for the same cognate in the Cupan (southern) vs. northern half of the Tak branch. As well, *caŋa above and *caLaka could possibly be related since a vowel
syncope leading to a cluster of -lk- could easily produce the ŋ we see in SP and Sr. Though Sr and Ktn have both, if one were a loan, they still could possibly derive from the same source. [medial ŋ; -a/-u] [NUA: Tak]

1374. *makkaCta(Nka)-ci ‘horned toad’: Fowler83-3:21 and fieldnotes: NP makaka’a ‘horned toad’; NP(Fallon) magázza; Kw makaka-zi ‘horned toad’; Ch(L) makačaci ‘horned toad’; Sh makkiekankanccı ‘horned toad’; Sh(W) maccankih; Sh(C) mahassianka, maccinkip; Sh(Owyhee) máçángina’a (Fowler’s notes); SP pahcaka ‘horned toad’; and Hp mácakwa ‘horned toad’, but with *-Nk- > qw? Let’s add WMU matťáqqa-ci ‘horned toad’, which lost the 2nd syllable from s.th. like Sh: *makattaNka-ci > ma(k)ttakka-ci. That and ST makaroič ‘renacuajo’ with r suggest CNum c < *-tt-. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Tb makkasiit (Merriam 60:497). [*-Ct- > -c-] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep]

1375. *moco’o(ko) ‘camaleon’: Yq močo’okol ‘camaleon’; My močo’okol(im) ‘camaleon’; AYq motčo’okoli ‘horned toad’; and TO mo'očwig ‘toad’ was possibly borrowed from Cah with a glottal stop hop, since TO should show s for č of TrC/Cah. Note the similarity between Hp mácàa kwa ‘horned toad’, and Hp mácàakwa ‘horned toad’, but with *-Nk- > qw? [NUA: Num, Hp, TB; SUA: Tep]


1377. *tıko ‘reptile of sorts’: Eu tekónoc ‘salamander’; Cr teekúh- ‘toad’. Cr u < *o, so the two match perfectly through four segments. [SUA: Opn, CrC]

1378. *kiCti ‘lizard’: Hp kící, kícípí, kícíći ‘lizard’; Ca kćčíš ‘big white lizard’. We kćcé ‘iguana’ may better belong here than above with *kwíc. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: CrC]

1379. *poko ‘lizard, reptile’: Mn pogó’ya ‘lizard’; Sh(M) pokioicii ‘lizard’; Sh(C) pokoicii / poko-picci / pokwaicii ‘lizard’; Tb pokpoogoona-l ‘king snake’. [NUA: WNum, CNum, Tb]

1380. *pihor / *pisu ‘lizard sp.’ (*pisu if from Tep): Eu behór ‘cachorra / cacharron que se come’; Yq behó’orim ‘type of lizard’. The Yq form might be a loan from Eu, or both could be loans from s.th. Tep, like PYp vihul ‘lizard sp.’, which also aligns through four segments with Tb pišuuga-t ‘red racer snake’; but Tb is also listed at *(pa)-suku ‘snake’. [SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn; NUA: Tb]

1381. *taka ‘type of lizard’: Eu takár / takál ‘cachorra prieta y parda’; Ca tátaxsily ‘little lizard’. [liquid] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn]

1382. *wiku ‘lizard’: My wikúrim ‘iguana’; Yq wí’iku ‘type of lizard’; Yq wikuím ‘cachorra, a reptile’; Wr wikói ‘type of lizard or salamander’; Tr wikóguri ‘camaleón’. What of Tr bikó ‘type of lizard’? [SUA: Trn, Cah]

1383. *tı-holoki / *tı-kuLuku ‘lizard’: Tbr hurí/holi ‘iguana’; Tr řehoroki / řehoroki ‘type of lizard’; PYp tohoroki ‘rachaca, a lizard sp.’; PYp tohorek ‘cachoron, a lizard sp.’; ST řírok ‘lizard’. Tbr hurí/holi may represent the primary stem since *tı- ‘rock’ seems prefixed to the Tr and PYp forms; borrowing may be involved in some languages, since Tep h should correspond to Tr s, or Tr h to PYp '/o, unless softened from *-k-, in which case another decent possibility is Ktn řikiruku ‘amphibian or reptile species, possibly a type of salamander’, possibly a NUA reflex. [SUA: Trn, Tbr, Tep; NUA: Tak]

1384. *cakawata / *cuka’wata ‘lizard’: TSh cakawatan ‘chuckwalla, sauromalus obesus’; Ca ċúka’walla ‘lizard (big with rough body, good to eat)’. [NUA: Tak, Num]
**1385. *cakwa* ‘lizard’: Ca ċaxwa-l ‘a brown lizard’; CN te-čičikoo-tl ‘type of lizard with blue neck markings’; Tb šiko-l ‘lizard’. Tb š presents a slight problem for it, though s vs. c ambiguities are a common plague in UA. Jane Hill (p.c.) suggests the Ca term’s similarity to Yuman creates the possibility of a loan one direction or the other. [c/s]  [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

NB, *suku* ‘snake, lizard’, see snake.

NB, *cikama ‘horned toad’: Fowler83-3:21 *cikama ‘horned lizard’: TO čemamagi ‘horned toad’; Fowler also lists Tr without its form, and I cannot find it; thus, no number for now.

Loincloth: see at end of clothing

**LONG, TALL; LARGO, ALTO**

**1386. *tïpï / *tapu* ‘long, tall’; B.Tep248 *tìvì ‘long’; M67- 268 *tep/*te ‘long’; L.Son294 *tïpï ‘largo’; M88-tï11 ‘long’; KH/M06-tï11: TO cew ‘tall, long’; UP ñwì; LP ñvì; NT ñví; NT ñvìdù ‘be long, tall’; ST tav/tv; Eu tevèí ‘long’; My teé– ‘long, tall’; Azt /t̪i/1 ‘long’; Minimalist approach to the various forms of *tïpaC ‘mountain’; and we might add Ls tavú ‘long’; CN tepee ‘long’.  To these we can add Nv tubú/tubutú ‘eminent’ (u for ï); Tbr tepe ‘tall, hill’ and CN tepee-ti ‘hill, mountain, precipice’. Sapir and most since all tie this form to *tïpaC ‘mountain’; and we might also add Ls tavú-lvu-s ‘long’ though the vowels of Ls do not match, but may be more original, the others showing a typical leveling pattern for a then high V. Jane Hill (p.c.) mentions Ktn tipuck ‘thick (like a board)’ as a possible cognate, which has the same V.  [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

In M88-pa35 are perhaps too great a variety of forms: M67-229 *pan ‘high’; I.Num129 *pa’a ‘high, long, tall’; CL.Azt119 *pan ‘on’, 261 *-pa-(n(a)) ‘on’; Cr an ‘on top’; CN -pan ‘on’; Hp wïpa ‘long, tall’; Tr pani ‘ariba’. It needs to be sorted out whether we are dealing with s.th. near *pa’an or three separate stems—*pa’a, *pani. *wïpa. Appearances here may suggest the latter, while some forms under at could make one wonder. But for now let’s separate *pa’a ‘long, tall’, *wïpa ‘long, tall’, and *pani ‘on’, putting the first two here and the last at ‘on’:

**1387. *pa’a* ‘long, tall’: Sapir; M67-229 *pan ‘high’; I.Num129 *pa’a ‘high, long, tall’; M88-pa35 ‘high’; KH/M06-pa35: NP pa’a ‘high’; Cm pa’a ‘long, high, tall’; Kw pa’a-to-go ‘be long, tall; Ch pa’a ‘tall’; Ch pa’a-ntoga ‘long’; SP pa’a-N/ni ‘high’; SP pa’a-togoN ‘long’; CU pa’a ‘be tall’. To those we can add TSh pa’a-pi-tín ‘long’; WMU pa’a-ti ‘tall’; WMP pa’a-ti-wó-ti ‘long’; CU pa’a-ti ‘tall’; CU pa’a-togwa-ti ‘long’. With semantics ‘on’ more than ‘tall/long’ are Mn -ba’a ‘on top of’ (possibly with *pa’a); Ch va’an(a) ‘on top of’; Kw -pa’a/-va’a ‘at, on’; Ca pâkwen ‘on top of, on’. With these Num forms, Sapir and Miller associate CN paani, etc, though I have doubts. What seems more probable is that Tep *pa’a-muwa ‘mosquito (long-nose)’ at ‘fly’ exhibits this stem in a compound. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

**1388. *wiL-pa’a* ‘tall, long, great-height/length’: Hp wïpa ‘tall, long’; Cp wevá ‘long’; Cp weváşi ‘tall’. In M67-229, Miller astutely sees the Hp form as a compound of *wiL-pa’a ‘big-height/length’; intervocalic -p- in Hp vs. -v- agrees. The -v-in Cp likely means it was sooner perceived as clusterless or non-geminated in Tak. What of Ca wávä-ma ‘tall, long’; Ca wávä-k ‘get tall, long, vi’ whose vowels vary from the Hp-Cp agreement? [Hp -p- < *-Cp-] [NUA: Hp, Tak]

**1389. *otî / *utu / *uta* ‘long, tall’: I.Num25 *iî ‘long, tall’; M88-i10 ‘long, tall’; KH/M06- i10: Mn ñdí-tu ‘long, tall, lanky’; Mn ñdí-wìní ‘be tall’, NP ñdí ‘yu ‘long, tall’. Also NP o’dì-yusu ‘ma ‘tallest’; Jane Hill (p.c.) provides a brilliant addition in Ls ééč ‘high, up, above’ whose vowel fits NP and whose -ç- must be from *-t- or t clustered. Let’s add Tb u’utudu ‘tall’ and what about Wc a’ta ‘long and thin’? In light of the frequency of *u > i in Num, Tb could easily portray the original vowel, so I certainly count it. We is less certain, but a decent possibility. [NUA: WNum, Tb; SUA: CrC]

**1390. *yînî* ‘be/pass a long time’: M88-yi18; KH.NUA; KH/M06-yi18: Cp yënge ‘to last a long time, endure’; Ca yèn ‘pass a while (of time), stay a while’; Sr yînî ‘k ‘be a long time, be later’. [medial ñ] [NUA: Tak]
LOOSE, MISS, BE LOST; PERDER(SE), PERDIDO


1394. *mi'ni ‘lost’: Kw mïï’ni ‘lost’; Tr méne/méni ‘lose, vi’; PL puliuwi ‘get lost, disappear’. [NUA/SUA n:n] [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

1395. *wika ‘lose’: Wr we’ka-ni ‘get lost, vi’; Wr we’kapu-na ‘lose s.th., vt’; Wr we’kat-ëna ‘lose a bet or s.th., vt’; Tr we’ká: ‘perderse, extraviarise, vi’; Tr (w)kawa ‘perder, extraviar, vt’; Tr we’ka-bu: ‘perder, olvidar, vt’; Tr we’kaba ‘olvidarse, equivocarse’. [NUA: Trn]

1396. *tawas ‘lost, lose’: Ca tawas ‘get lost, lose, vi/vt’; Ca táatus ‘get lost often, distr’; Cp tewasi ‘lose, spend’; Ls tawasa ‘lost’; Eu hitawida ‘perder’. Any possible tie between Ca táatas and Yq tárak ‘lo perdió’? [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn]


LOUSE, NIT; PIOJO, LIENDRE

1398. *'atí > *'atí(N) ‘louse’: VVH24*’atí ‘louse’; B.Tep304 *’atí ‘head lice’; M67-269 *’ate ‘louse’; L.Son6 *’atí ‘piojo de la cabeza’; CL.Azt103 *’atí ‘louse’; Fowler83; M88-’a10 ‘louse’; KH.NUA; Stubbs 2000a-5; KH/M06-’a10 *atín (AMR): Kw aci-vi; Hp atí; Cp ál-a-t ‘head louse’; Cp ál-a-s ‘lousy’; Ls ulů-; Sr atím ‘head lice, pl’; Ktn ’ačim-ch; Gb-á; TO aa’ač; UP aa’ač; LP ’atu; NT átí; NT átì ‘have lice, v’; ST ’aatts; Eu atét; Tbr atét-t; Yq ’eté; AYq etem; My étem; Wr ehtë ‘Tr té; Cr áte/áté ‘louse/black louse’; WC ’até; CN atemi-; HN ’atimi-tl; PL atimet; Po atomt. Tak absolute -t (vs. -l) shows a final -C, and Sr, Ktn, Cah, and CN show final -m or *atím. Let’s not assume -m is a fossilized pl suffix, as AMR also reconstructed a final nasal. Some forms suggest a geminated consonant or cluster, which probably means those that do not, later weakened or lost the gemination. [*t > c in Num; *t > l in Tak] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

1399a. *pusi’a(C) ‘louse’: L.Num161 *pusi’a/*posi’a ‘louse’; Fowler83; M88-pu14 ‘louse’; KH/M06-pu14: Mn pusí’a; NP poziabbi ‘louse, fleas’; TSh posia-cc; Sh posia-cc. Fowler also lists Sh puzi’a and NP pozi’a, both showing glottal stops, as does Cm pusi’a / pusi’a ‘head louse’. With two languages showing *u, I think *u > o. Miller also lists the SNum forms, which likely lost medial -si:-

1399b. *po’a ‘louse’: Kw po’o-’vi; SP po’a-’vi; CU po’a-’vi. Ken Hill adds Ch poo’avi/poo’aavi ‘body louse’; add Ch(L) poo’avi ‘louse’. Add WMU pō’aa-’vi / pō’aa-’vi / pō’aa-’vi / pō’as-’vi ‘louse, lice, fleas’ [reduction or syllable loss in SNum] [NUA: Num]
1400a. *sipappità ‘body louse’: B.Tep68 *hivapità ‘body louse’; M88-si16; KH/M06-si16: TO hiopč ‘body louse, termite’; UP hiopič; LP hiap; NT ivapíti; ST hiipët; add PYp hiapili/hiapeli. Miller includes NP posiabbi, possibly tying Num above with Tep here. But I prefer Ken Hill’s separating these Tep forms from Num as shown above: Num *pusi’a; Tep *sipappità. However, I consider the Tak pair below to be likely, though both Sr and Ktn often have h for *s, but not always, and for both Sr and Ktn we see the retroflex š/š vs. regular s.

1400b. *şïpatï ‘body louse’: Ktn šïvâcïcï ‘body louse’ and Sr şïväţ|ţ ‘body louse’ have three of four syllables parallel to the Tep forms. [a vowel afoul] [SUA: Tep; NUA: Tak]

1401. *sa’wa ‘louse’: KH.NUA: Ca sá’wal ‘head louse’; Cp sá’wet ‘nit’; Ls şá’la-t ‘body louse’; Sr a-saa’wï’ ‘nit’. With V assimilation toward w and *w > g in Tep, NT sóógïdï ‘liendre’ is not unlikely. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

1402. *náwi ‘body louse’: Ca náwilya-t ‘body louse’; Cp náwily’at ‘body louse’. While Tb(V) nahaa-l ‘louse’ and Tb nahaa’ït ‘have lice’ may be kept in mind as possibilities, beyond initial CV they are problematic. [NUA: Tak]

1403. *wi’aci ‘louse’: Eu wiáci ‘piojo de ropa’; Tr wi’čí ‘piojo blanco’. [NUA: Trn, Opn]

1404. *(a)suL ‘louse egg(s)’: CN asiil-li / a’siil-li ‘louse egg’; Wc šïnai ‘liendre’. Interestingly both CN ii and Wc ï correspond to *u, though the CN initial vowel and the 2nd C are problematic. [SUA: CrC, Azt]

LUMP, BUMP, HUMP; TROZO, PELLA, TERRÓN, CHICHÓN, GIBA

1405. *Limu ‘lumpy, bumpy’: Sr rimuumu’k ‘lumpy’; Ca limu-límu ‘be bumpy’; Ls kuma-lúma ‘be bumpy’; AYq rumui ‘uneven’; AYq rurumui ‘rough ground’ (in other words, lumpy and bumpy); both the bilabial m and the following u could encourage an assimilation of the first vowel i to u. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

Possibly relevant to the above at ‘garbage’, compare *rima/*Lima ‘throw away, pile up (a refuse heap)’: Ls líma/i ‘pile loosely’; Hp ríma ‘cast out, throw away’. These—*Limu and *Lima—may be related because (1) Sr, Ca, Ls, and Hp all four agree through three segments *lim..., and (2) semantically they all have to do with ‘throwing things away, adding to an ever increasing refuse heap/pile’ with ‘heaps, humps, lumps, bumps, and piles’ in common.

1406. *ku’má ‘lumpy, bumpy’: Tr ko’mókuri ‘grumo [clot, lump], mal batido [poorly stirred]’; Tr ko’mó-tu ‘hacerse grumos, algo que no se bate muy bien’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]


1409. *somCo / *soNCa > *sono ‘lungs’: VVH166 *soŋ no ‘lung’; M67-270 *sono; I.Num182 *sono; M88-so7; KH/M06-so7: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; Ch; SP; CU; Ktn; Gb sár; Tbr; Tr; Cr; CN taka ‘mountain peak’. This is one of the fairly pervasive stems of UA, though it has different meanings in different branches. However, the presence of w or rounding after the k repeatedly reappears in different branches: the Tak words for body may better reconstruct to *taka; and Yq and My show *takkaN ‘sénu taka’ twenty’ (one body, the number of all fingers and toes); this stem is also used in CN ma’-tlaak-tli ‘ten’ as ‘hands (of) man’. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tbr, Cr; SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]
1415. *nīmī / *nu-īmī ‘person, Amerindian, (or specifically) Numic person’: I.Num122 *nī(h)mī ‘person, Indian’; M88-nīl0 ‘person, Indian’; KH/M06-nīl0: Mn nīmm(i), nīmī; NP nīmī ‘Indian’; TSh nīmī ‘person, people, human, Indian’; Sh(M) nīwī ‘person, Indian’ (vs. Sh(M) nīmī ‘move around, roam, make a living by hunting and gathering’); Sh(C) nīmī / nīmī ‘Indian’ (and Sh(M) nīmī ‘live, wander, travel’); Cm nīmī; Kw nīwī; Ch nīwī; SP nīwī; WMU nū-čī ‘Ute’; CU nū-cī ‘Ute, person’. Add Ktn nīmihuŋ ‘wife’, pl: nīmihuŋm (< *nīmī-suŋa ‘man’s-girl/woman’), as it shows this morpheme in a compound. Also add and note initial nīm- of Tb(H) nīm’mī-kjat ‘kill a human, murder, vt’. Miller includes Pl nawa ‘Indian’ which Ken Hill does not, nor would I, as all Aztecan *nawa forms are of a different derivation.

These *nīmī forms are the source of the term “Numic,” and derive from *nīmī ‘walk around, live (traditional life, of hunting/gathering)’ as a ‘living one, person, doer of traditional life’. A change of intervocalic *-m- > -m- is consistent throughout SNum and appears in the closer/inner Numic languages of the other branches, but not as consistently. For example, we have Mn nīwimoo ‘go about as a group’ and TSh nuwi ‘walk around, roam, wander, live (in traditional lifeway)’, (durative nīmimm)i) in the inner languages, and in Sh nīwī ‘person, Indian’ vs. Sh nīmī ‘roam, make a living in the traditional fashion of hunting and gathering’, but not in Cm nīmī and not in NP nīmī. See a similar pattern of forms for *nīm’A-C ‘liver’. Note also -w- in Sh(M) but -m- in Sh(C) and both in WSh nīmī / nīwī ‘person, Indian, Shoshone’. So while *nīwī is a shared innovation throughout SNum, it seems to have had a wave-like spread backwards to some other languages nearer the Southern California NUA homeland. It even affected Cp slightly, a Tak language, besides Mn, TSh, and some Sh dialects. But NP and Cm seem to have been out of reach before the influence happened. So either the SNum were the last to spread very far from the NUA homeland, that is, after WNum and CNum did depart, or the SNum innovation bounced back to affect other “inner-circle” languages after all three branches had spread out. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb]

Many initial *ti / *tū / *ta words for ‘man/boy’ (M67-55, 173b.d.e; M88-ti1, M88/KH-ti9, tu10, ci24) have proven problematic for UAnists and have been grouped in a variety of ways. I tentatively group them thus: 1416a. *tawa (redupl’d *tatawa) > *tatwa > *taŋwa > *ta’wa / *taN’wa ‘man’ (as AMR suggests): Sapir; M67-273a *tawa; 273c *tana/*ta; I.Num213 *teja ‘man’; M88-ta26; AMR 1991d; KH/M06-ta25: Sh tenkwa, tenna; Cm tenahpi; Kw ta’ni-pipi; Ch taw’a-ci; Ch(L) taw’wa-ci; SP taŋ’wa-ci; CU ta’wa-ci; Tb taatwa-l. Miller includes Wr te’ mari; Tbr tamwi-rá-n ‘cuerpo’ (see *tawi ‘chest’); Cr táta’a, pl: teteke (see *taka), though I have them elsewhere. However, let’s do add TSh taŋuummi / taŋwammi ‘man’ and WMU ta’wa-ci ‘man’, which has heavily nasalized vowels that other Ute dialects do not have or at least the other Ute sources do not record any nasalization. Manaster-Ramer (1991d, 1993a) proposes *-tw- > -kw-, and the Tb form suggests that such is likely the case here. These contrast with TSh takkan ‘sperm, semen’ and TSh takkampin ‘arrowhead, obsidian, flint’ and other Num forms listed above with *taka ‘man’. These may link to SNum *tuwa ‘(bear) a son’ and see *tīwī ‘man’ below.

1416b. *tawi > *tīwī ‘person’: Sapir; M67-273b *tewi ‘person’; M88-ti9; KH/M06- ti9: Cr tēvi, pl: taīte; We tēvī / tēwī ‘persona’; We tētēri ‘gente, indígenas’. Sapir also cites Pima tiwo-t, and the second part of CN okič-tii ‘other brother’ fits with Corachol *tīwī. Miller and Hill may well be correct in joining the *tīhoy (below) and tīwī forms, as a simple loss of -h- yields exactly that (*tīhoy > tīwī); but a few things like Tr tewi / tōwi ‘boy’ vs. Tr rehōí ‘man’ may suggest separate sets (Hernandez 2003, 165), and an earlier Kiowa-Tanoan form of Kiowa toguł ‘young man’ may tie to the latter, perhaps as loan source (g > h). Those and the initial *ta in the Cr pl form may suggest a vocalizing variation of *tawa (> *tawi) > *tewi/tīwī), that is, *tawa, the reduplicated stem in Tb and Num *tatwa > Num tāNkwa. Hp tiiyo ‘boy’ (pl: tootim) aligns well with CN, Pima, Tr, etc, in *tewi/tīwī > tii/tiyō. What of Hp tī ‘child, offspring’? [NUA: Tb, Num, Hp; SUA: CrC, Azt]

1417. *tīhoyi ‘man, attractive’; Sapir; B.Tep221 *tiodi ‘man, attractive’; M67-273d *tīho ‘man’; L.Son281 *tīhoyi ‘hombre’; M88-ti9; KH/M06- ti9: TO čij; NT tjiodyi; ST(B) tjiodyi; ST čioci; Wr tihō/rehōé; Tr rehōí, pl: fētiwī. A possible tie with an earlier Kiowa-Tanoan form of Kiowa toguł ‘young man’, perhaps as loan source (g > h), should not be discounted. [SA: Tep, Trn]
1418a. *yori ‘non-Indian, white person’; L.Son361 *yori ‘blanco de raza’; M88-y02 ‘non-Indian person’; KH/M06-y02: Wr yori ‘Blanco’; My yöri ‘persona no indígena’; Op uri ‘hombre’; Eu dori ‘hombre’; Tbr yoli-t; Yq yö / yöri; Tr o’ri / oori / yöri. Note the minimal pair in My that shows a distinction between r and l in the same environment: My yöri ‘raza blanca’; My yöli ‘bravo, valeroso’. Add AYq yöri / yoi ‘Mexican, humanoid chapeyeka mask’. Does l > ‘ intervocally in Cahuilla or only r?

1418b. *yorimi ‘person, Amerindian’: AYq yoleme ‘person’ (in song language); AYq yoeme ‘person, human’; Yq yöme ‘hombre, persona, indio’; My yoreme ‘indígena, Mayo’ (My a’a yoremia-k ‘lo engendró’); Eu dor ‘hombre, pl: doror; Eu dohme/dohme’e ‘gente, veinte’; Eu dohmerá-wa ‘humanidad’. The Eu forms make one wonder if *yolími is a plural form of *yolí/yori. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]

1419. *otami (< *wVtamat?) ‘man, person’; B.Tep325 *’o’odahami ‘person, Indian’; KH/M06-‘o29: TO o’odham ‘person, tribesman’; NT óodami ‘person, people’; ST odam/o’dam ‘Tepehuan, indigenous person’. Add TSh otammani / otammana ‘old man’. Whether borrowed from Otomi, I daresn’t venture a guess, but if we start with t.th. like *otami, then intervocalic voicing (*t > d) would yield the Tep forms and agree with TSh. In Bascom’s reconstruction of Tep *’o’odahami ‘person, Indian’, the extra syllable seems solely based on TO dh, while all others show only d, and even TO shows no vowel between and may simply be a devoicing mechanism of sorts. What of the -wetam in CP mulu’-wetam ‘first people’? Gb woróyt, pl: worórom ‘man’, and Sr and Ktn are listed below (*wíti) and may be a separate set as M88 and KH/M06 have them. However, note that both here and at ‘believe’ the loss of intervocalic m in Gb could as easily have Gb here. What of Ch(L) ‘ontokwavi ‘male cousin’? [SUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

1420. *wíti ‘person, man’: M88-w110; KH.NUA; KH/M06-w110: Sr wiñis ‘man’ pl: wiñisham; Sr wiñir ‘old man’ pl: wiñir wiñm; Gb woróyt, pl: worórom ‘man’. Add Ktn wiñe-ha-č ‘old man’. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Cp pišweli ‘grown up, of young man’ with Cp wele ‘grow’ and Cp awelve ‘grown up, old’ and such may tie to *wiLa/i ‘grow’. B.Tep52 gi‘iri ‘boy’ is at ‘big’. [SUA: Tak]

1421. *owi ‘male, man’: M88-‘o5 ‘male’; L.Son24 *owi ‘macho’; KH/M06-‘o5: Wr oí; Tr owí; My óo’ow / o’o. Let’s add Tbr oñwi ‘man’. Tr, Wr *owi ‘male’ and Tbr oñwi ‘man’, as well as Yq *’o’ow, pl: ‘o’owim could possibly tie to *otami above, since intervocalic *t > r is common in UA, and intervocalic r > ‘ is common in Cah, so Yq ‘óo’ou and My óó’ow, with a > o between o and m is feasible, but not certain: *otami > *oromi > o’owi. Tbr oñwi is interesting in that with loss of the intermediate vowel, an -rm- cluster could switch the nasalisation from the bilabial to the alveolar, but keep a bilabial quality in m > w: -rm- > nw. [m > ø/V_V in Gb] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr]


1423a. *tìku / *tikuwa ‘lord, master, father’: CL.Azt107 *tekw ‘master, father’; Jane Hill 1985; M88-t110: KH/M06-ta2: My téeko ‘patrón’; Tr têkowa / têkutuame ‘patrón, amo, jefe, señor’; CN tekw-tli ‘lord, member of high nobility’. Note Tr t, not f. KH/M06-ta2 joins M88-t110 with ta2, combining *takwi ‘Takwic, a mythological figure, lightning’ and *tiku, which is reasonable, though mixing men and gods can be unsettling for some. I also like Jane Hill’s (1985) reconstruction *tiku, and her inclusions of Cr téekwa’taran ‘dueño’; Sh tekwa’ni ‘chief’; Po no-tekú ‘mi padre’, Tl 4-tièqo ‘su dueño’. She aligns Tak *taakwi- ‘divinity manifested as ball lightning’ with Cr takwa ‘Herr, Eigentümer eines Tieres’ and Cr takwa-te ‘niederer Götter’ (-te pl suff) (Preuss 1934), but tentatively separates them from the *tiku forms, as shall we slightly, with different letters, but under the same number. Jane Hill (1985) also addresses the entanglement or overlap of forms, recognizing that matters are not yet entirely clear. [Tr, not f] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt, CrC; NUA: Num]

1423b. *takwi ‘ball lightning, supernatural being’: Munro.Cup127 *táákwi-š ‘mythological being’; KH.NUA: Sr taakwé ‘ball lightning, Tahquitz (a supernatural being on Mt. San Jacinto)’; Cp tákwi-š ‘a Cahuilla monster who appears as ball lighting’; Ls táakwi-š ‘ball lightning, Tahquitz’; Ca táku-š; Cr takwa ‘Herr, Eigentümer eines Tieres’ and Cr takwa-te ‘niederer Götter’ (-te = pl suff) (Preuss 1934). While a and b may mesh, I separate both from *tahi ‘fire’ due to My táhi ‘fire’ and My téeko ‘patrón’ among other things, though I may be wrong. [medial -kw- or kui?] [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]
1424. *ta(C)ipo('o) ‘white man’: I.Num201 *ta(C)ipo('o) ‘white man’; M88-ta27; KH/M06-ta27: NP taipo’o; Washo dabó’o/dabibo’o; Sh taipo; Cm taipoo’. Iannucci correctly allows for a consonant to separate the dipthong, as PUA hardly had dipthongs, though one could doubt whether this word originated in UA or not; for it seems recent and Washo, a non-UA language, has the most complete form. Might it be a loan from Spanish diablo [devil]? [NUA: Num]

1425. *kiha ‘child, boy’: BH.Cup *kiha ‘child’; M67-488 *ki ‘son’; M88-ki4; Munro.Cup25 *kíháá-t ‘child’; KH/M06-ki4: Cp kíima-l, pl: kíkitam ‘boy’; Ca kíhma ‘son’; Ca kia-t; Ls kíháá-t/kíhúú-t ‘small, child’; Cp kíi-ma-l ‘boy’ (with diminutive suffix -ma-l, following loss of h to result in Cp’s long vowel, Munro notes). [NUA: Tak]

1426. *nowa ‘son’: M67-389 *no ‘small’; L.Son177 *no ‘hijo del padre’; M88-no5; KH/M06-no5: Eu nówat; Wr nolá; Tr no/nowa, pl: hinowa; is Pl iknuupil ‘orphan’ cognate? Miller queries. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

1427. *appaC-ti ‘boy’: Kw ’eepi-ži; Ch áipaci; SP aipa’-; WMU áapp-či ‘boy’; CU ’áapa-či ‘boy’. Might this contain *aï ‘young’? [NUA: SNum]

1428. *ti’matí ‘young man’: Wr te’ mari ‘boy, young man’; Wr re’mari ‘man’; Wr re’emari ‘friend’; Tr ŕemari ‘boy’; Eu temáci ‘mancebo [young man]’. Op ro’omoi ‘youth’ (Shaul 2007) shows similarities and differences. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

1429. *moha / *moCCa ‘doll, image’: Sr möh(aač) ‘doll, image’; Sr möhmö’ ‘play dolls’; Ls mé’i-š ‘doll’. [NUA: Tak]

1430. *piLcin ‘son, boy, child’: CL.Azt154 *pilciin ‘son, boy, child’; M88-pi24; KH/M06-pi24: CN pilciin-tli; Po b’lcin; T pl’cin-ll; Zi pil; Pl pilcin. This is a compound of Azt *pil ‘son’ and *cin ‘diminutive’. [SUA: Azt]

Many: see all
Manzanita: see plant(s)

MARRY; CASARSE
Most UA verbs ‘to marry’ derive from man/husband’ or ‘woman/wife’ with this exception.

1431. *na’u / *na’wa-ki / *na’uki ‘marry (of a man)’: Cr naïče ‘e ‘está casado (hombre)’; Wc néïke ‘casado (hombre)’; Sr na’uu ‘marry, vt’; Ktn na’u ‘marry, vi’; Ktn na’o’ ‘get married’; Ktn na’waki ‘married, adj’; Ktn na’wak ‘marriage’. The fact that CrC i < *u makes these Tak and CrC forms a good match. Jane Hill (p.c.) points out the possibility of these tusing with *nawi ‘girl’ though these Tak forms have glottal stops that those Tak forms do not, but glottal stops are fragile. [SUA: CrC; NUA: Tak]

NB, for *kuŋa-ta ‘marry, take husband (of woman)’, see at husband B.Tep122 *kunatai ‘take a husband’.
NB, for B.Tep72 *hooñita ‘take a wife’, see at woman.
NB, for *na-mikki ‘meet, marry’ see at meet.
NB, for Tr ni-wima ‘marry in religious ceremony’, see under ‘religious’ for *waym ‘ceremony’.
MEAT, FLESH; CARNE

1432. *takkuwa ‘meat’: VVH22 *tukku ‘meat, flesh’; B.Tep234a *tuukuga ‘body, flesh’; M67-279 *tuku ‘meat’; I.Num225 *tuhku; L.Son321 *tukuwa ‘carne, cuerpo’; M67-279 *tuku ‘meat’; TSh tuukua-cci/pin; Sh tuuku’; Cm tu ‘meat, flesh’; Eu tuukua ‘cuerpo’; Sh *tu4 ‘body, flesh, meat’; NP ddukku ‘flesh, meat’; TSh wimcapí ‘omentum, inside lining of stomach fat’ with fricative s > affricate c in a cluster with a nasal. This set may be an *-ï/-e possessive form of *sa’pa ‘meat’.


1433b. *sa’pï ‘fat’: Tr sa‘bé ‘gordos, carnosos’; Eu sábe ‘gordo’ (probably possessive -e ‘having meat’); the capí of Hp wimcapí ‘omentum, inside lining of stomach fat’ with fricative s > affricate c in a cluster with a nasal. This set may be an *-ï/-e possessive form of *sa’pa ‘meat’, that is, having meat/fat.


1434b. *naka ‘meat’: CL.Azt108 *naka ‘meat’; CN naka-tl; Pl nakat; Po neket; T nakatl; Z nakat. Besides *naka meaning both ‘bighorn’ and ‘meat’, so does *pa’a mean both.

MEET; JUNTARSE CON

1435. *na-mikki / *na-mikki ‘meet, be/come together, marry, pay’: CL.Azt106 *naamiktiia ‘marry’; M67-279: CN naamiktiia ‘go to meet s.o. or find s.th.’; CN naamik-tiia ‘get married, come together with s.o. for some purpose’; CN naamiktiia; Po namoki; T nomikla; Z naamiktiia; Pl naamiktiia; besides ‘marry, v’. Other semantic dimensions: CN naamiktiia also means ‘come together for some purpose, join two things, even things off’ and CN naamiktiia ‘meet, have confrontation, incur a penalty under law’. Thus, Ken Hill astutely adds TO namik ‘meet, vt’. Note other forms of the same verb: TO namik, nammik, nanmik. Note also TO namk ‘a meeting, n’ and TO namkig ‘(be) expensive, valuable, precious’; TO namkid ‘pay, repay, compensate’; TO namkida ‘payment, price’; PYp namkim ‘pay, vt’; ST namkia ‘juntar (caminos or ríos)’; Nv namuku/namikì ‘encontrar a alguno’; Cp nameqe ‘meet, vt’. Are Tak and Tep possibly loans from Azt?

MELT, THAW; DERRETIRSE, DESHELAR, LIQUIDARSE


1437. *kayu / *kayuCpa ‘melt, smelt’: Ca kéye ‘get sores, dissolve, melt, vi’; Ls xayúpa/i ‘melt, vi/vt’; Tr a(y)ebona ‘smelt, cast’. Hp kïïya ‘make into a liquid or drink, vt perf’; Hp kïï ‘water, liquid (in container)’.

Medicine: see heal
1438. *sa’ay ‘melt’: Kw, Ch, SP, and WMU all show this stem to be different than *sa’aC ‘boil’: WMU sa’ai-y / sa’éi-y ‘melt, vi/vt’; past: sa’ai-kye (vs. WMU sa’a-y ‘boil, cook’; past: sa’aa-qa; note differences in past tense); Kw see *sa’ay (vs. Kw sa’a ‘boil, cook’); Ch sa’ai ‘melt, dissolve’ (vs. Ch sa’a-pi ‘gravy’); SP sa’ai ‘melt’ (vs. SP sa’a- ‘boil, make mush’; SP sa’a-ppi ‘what is boiled as mush’). See discussion at *sa’aC ‘boil’. [NUA: Num]

NB, for *sawi ‘melt’, see at ‘boil’ both *sawa ‘boil’ and *sawi ‘melt’.

NB, CN aa-tiya ‘melt, be smelted’ contains the expected CN form for ‘water’—aa- < *paa; however, also note CN paati ‘dissolve, melt, vi’ and CN paatla ‘dissolve, melt s.th., vt’ both with initial *p, and note their perfect alignment with Hp paata ‘melt, vt’; Hp paati ‘melt, vi’; Hp has loans from CN, but CN’s initial p would suggest borrowing from Hp to CN.

Mescal: see agave and alcohol
Mesquite: see plant
Metal: see knife and sky
Metate: see grind
Middle: see half

MILK; LECHE
1439. *mu’i ‘milk’: M67-284 *mu ‘milk’; M88-mu8 ‘milk’; KH/M06-mu8: SP muí-vi ‘milk’; SP muí-ni ‘my milk’; Wr mu-‘to have much milk (of animals)’; Cr ci’iméh (ï expected, *u > Cr ï > e. Add the second syllable of Tr ci-‘have milk’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, CrC]

1440. *kawa ‘milk’: Eu kwair’a / kavira ‘milk’; Yq kauwam ‘mama leche’; My kauwam ‘leche (en el pecho o ubre)’. [SUA: Cah, Opn]

1441. *pikwa / *pipV ‘milk’: TO wiibi ‘milk’ (vs. TO wipih ‘breast’); Ny vibà (vs. yiipi ‘breast’); PYp vibar ‘milk’ and PYp viibi ‘milk’ (vs. PYp yiipi ‘breast’); NT viibai ‘milk’ (vs. yiipi/pipi ‘breast’); ST viib/viim ‘milk’ (vs. yiipi ‘breast’). Even if the first syllable is the same and related in ‘breast’ and ‘milk’, all Tep languages show separate forms in the second syllables, with a voiced b in milk, but voiceless p in breast, and a second vowel a instead of i in three of five languages (< *-kwa ‘eat’?). Interestingly, Sh shows the same vowel distinction, though with different consonants: Sh pici ‘breast’; Sh pica ‘milk’. [SUA: Tep]

NB, for *pi, see breast.
NB, for *ci’i-(wa), see suck and breast.

Miss: see lose
Mist: see steam

MISTLETOE
1442. *cay ‘mistletoe’: BH.Cup *cáy; Fowler83; M88-ca9; KH/M06-ca9: Cp čáye; Ca čáyal; Ls ‘ááča-wu-t ‘Christmas berry’; Pl čaayuh ‘a chayote-like plant, but thinner and uglier’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

MIX, STIR; MEZCLAR, BATIR, MECER
1443. *cukka/i ‘crowded, mixed’; I.Num264 *cïhki ‘mixed, crowed’; M88-ci5 ‘crowded, mix(ed)’; KH/M06-ci5: SP cïkk ‘be mixed with’; CU cïku’mi ‘narrow, constricted’; Cm cïkk ‘crowded’; CN ci’ikka ‘stuff s.th. tight’. Since *u > i in Num is frequent, and *u > i in CN, the Num and CN agree through *cukk, and final vowels are seldom dependable. [*u > i in Num ] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

1444a. *waLa/i ‘stir, do motions while tending to liquid’: BH.Cup *wal- ‘irrigate, stir’; M88-wa23 ‘stir’; KH/M06-wa23: Ls wálai ‘stir food, beckon with a downward scooping gesture’; Ls wáláwai ‘irrigate’; Hp wáláwai ‘irrigate’; Ca wałuż ‘to hoe’; Hp wała ‘to wave’; Hp wałakna ‘swish it, make (liquid) slosh about’. The Hp terms are a nice and insightful addition on Miller’s part. Add NT g’oróópai / g’oráápai / g’oróópai ‘batir’ (< *walo / wala). [*w = Hp w/_a; liquid]
1444b. *oLi 'stir, throw, move': CL.Azt172 *oolënna ‘throw, stir, move’; M88-’o22; KH/M06-’o22: CN olinin; Pl ulunin; Po ulunia; Z olininya. Po shows vowel harmonization. *wa > o may tie these with *waLi above. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Azt]

1445a. *kuta/i ‘mix’: Kw -kuri- ‘move in a circular manner’; Kw či-kuri ‘poke, stir’; Kw ma-guri ‘stir with the hand’; AYq kuuta ‘stir, mix, vt’; AYq kuuti ‘mixed’; My kuutía ‘mezcla’; Eu kurá ‘amasar’.

1445b. *koti ‘stir, mix’: Hp qöri-ka ‘stir, mix, plow, vt’; Ls qéli ‘stir, mix (as food)’. Ls e and Hp ö both correspond to *o. Note that *koti and *kuti differ only in a slight change of round vowel, perhaps an innovation in non-Num NUA, which is easily possible with a previous final vowel -a: *kuta > kota/koti. On the other hand, KH/M06-ko37 has this Hp term with Cp qiin’i; Ca qiyne; Ls qiini ‘plow’, which could be also. [*-t- > -r-] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Cah, Opn]  

1446. *mona ‘mix’: Ls meenia/i ‘be mixed, confused, vi; mix, distract s.o., vt’; Wc múina ‘mezclar, batir’. Both Ls e and Wc u correspond to *o.   [NUA n: SUA n]   [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

1447. *na’Lo / *na-Lo(wa) ‘stir’: Tr na’ro ‘mezclarse, revolverse’; Tr na’roame ‘mezclado, revuelto’; Wr loá ‘stir food while cooking’; CN neloa ‘get mixed together, stir up s.th., beat s.th., make a mess of s.th., vt, v.refl’. [SUA: Trn, Azt]

1448a. *kwat ‘stir’: Sh(M) kwatoi ‘stir’; AYq bwaata ‘stir, mix together’.


1448c. *kwiNtu / *kwaNtu ‘stir’: Sh(C) kwintui” ‘mix, stir, vt’ (with CNum *tuhiC ‘melt’); SP kwan’nu ‘stir (mush)’; SP ci-kwan’nu ‘stir (mush) with a stick’. Wc kwamáá ‘mix, stir’ has kwaN, perhaps with a different 2nd morpheme and thus a different cluster. [NUA: Num; SUA: Ca, CrC]

1449. *nuCtu ‘stir, mix’: Wc nïitï ‘stir’ and Cp núče ‘mix, crush, vt’; Wc ï < *u and Cp ċ < Ct, so these match reasonably well. In light of these, might several Num forms above (*kwantu) be reductions of s.th. like *kwa-ntu ‘food-stir’? [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

1450. *pina / *pïna ‘mix’: NT vïïnáidyi ‘mix, vt’; NT vïïnágï ‘have mixture’; ST vïnda’ ‘agregar, mezclar, vt’; ST vïnta’ ‘unirse, juntarse, vi’; PYp veena ‘friend’. [SUA: Tep]

NB, *ŋï… ‘stir’: Hp neyŋa ‘mix, vt, p.’; Hp neyŋa (comb: -neya-) ‘in mixed kinds, colors, genders’; Ca nevên ‘stir, vt’; Ca nélew ‘to edge, stir around the edge, v’. These are interesting, but not clear.

MOON; LUNA

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1451. *micaC (perhaps < *mancaL) ‘moon’: Sapir; VVH158 *miïya ‘moon’; B.Tep146 *masadai ‘moon’; M67-286 *meca/*mea; I.Num102 *mi’a/*miha; BH.Cup *manila(?); L.Son145 *mïa; M88-’mïl ‘moon’; Munro.Cup73 *mayi-la ‘moon’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-’mïl. Add Nv masada and Ktn mïa-ç. A reflex appears in
every UA language—one of the few pervasive UA words and a good example of Manaster-Ramer’s law explained in his article “A Northern UA sound law: *-c- > -y-” as PUA *-c- > -y- in NUA. Note -n- in Ca and Cp. The -d in Tep and Ls -la (absolutive) may suggest a final liquid, or a final -C as also the final gemination in Num: Proto-SNum *mïyaC-tokoC-ci. [NUA: Tb, Hp, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

Morning: see sun
Mosquito: see fly

**MOTHER; MADRE**

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1452a. *yï’ï / *yïC / *yïk (AMR) ‘mother, big’: VVH106 *yï’ï ‘mother’; B.Tep33 dìììd ‘his mother’: M67-486a *ye ‘mother’; BH.Cup *yï’ï ‘mother’; M88-yï ‘mother’; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup41 *ya-t ‘female’; AMR 1993a *yïk ‘mother’; KH/M60-yï: Cp; Ca; Ls; Sr; Ktn yï ‘his m.’; Hp yi’-ŋï; yi’at ‘his m.’; Hp yi’am ‘their m.’; Hp ita-ŋï ‘our m.’; Eu; Wr; Tr; My áyye. Herein is another semantic association between ‘female, mother’ and ‘big’ noted in Munro.Cup41 *ya-t (PUA *yïC ‘mother’): Ls yô-t ‘big’; Ca ye-t ‘female’; Ls ‘a-yô’ ‘thumb’. [NUA: Hp, Tep; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr]

1452b. *ya... ‘mother’: B.Tep10 *daada ‘mother’ (vs. B.Tep33 dìììd ‘his mother’); M88-ya20; KH/M06-ya20: Bascom and Miller both separate this from *yï, and so we shall do, yet one must suspect a possible tie to *yï above, *yï’ï being the poss’ed form and *yaaya less/not so, though PYp shows both forms unpossessed. Could the vowel of the added suffix have encouraged assimilation of the others to it: *da’a-di > dììì-di? [SUA: Tep]

1453. *piya / *pi’a ‘mother, big’: Sapir; I.Num167 *pï(y)a ‘mother, female’; M88-pi18; KH/M06-pi20: Iannucci has an identical form in I.Num168 *pï(y)a ‘big’. Likewise, Sapir queries whether the two (SP pia ‘mother’ and SP pia ‘main, big’) are the same stem. I believe they are and that ‘big’ is a semantic extension of ‘mother’, for both *yï’ï above and Num *piya show the same semantic extension: ‘mother’ > ‘mother, big’. For in the animal kingdom (bear, deer, etc.), where the Uto-Aztecs spent much time, one often sees a mother and her young, in which case the mother is the "big" one. Sapir also ties CN pï’-tli ‘older sister (of woman), lady’s maid’ with the above. Possibly! [NUA: Num]

1454. *nana ‘mother’: Sapir; M67- 487 *nan ‘mother’; CL.Azt110 *naan, 312 *nana; M88-na14; KH/M06-na14: ST ‘innan’ ‘my m.’; Cr náana; CN naan-tli. To these can be added Tr nana ‘mamá’. [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]

**MOUNTAIN, HILL; MONTAÑA, SIERRA, CERRO, LOMA, COLINA**

1455a. *kawi ‘mountain, rock’: M67-289a/b *kawi/*kai ‘mountain’; I.Num49 *kaipa ‘mountain’; BH.Cup *qawica ‘rock’; KH.NUA; HH.Cup *qawïča ‘rock’; L.Son79 *kawi ‘cerro’; M88-ka8 ‘hill, mountain’; Munro.Cup74; KH/M06-ka8: Cp kawï-š ‘rock’; Ca qawï-š ‘rock’; Gb xawï ‘sierra’; Sr qawï; Ktn kay-c; Eu kavit/kawï(t)/hawi; Tbr kav ‘cerro’; Wk kawi ‘cerro’; Tr gawi ‘montaña, sierra, tierra, campo’; My kwawi; Cr ah-ka’i ‘slope on backside of hill’; Miller includes Pl ahku ‘up, above, over, on high’. KH.NUA also notes the reduplicated forms: Sr qaqqaič ‘mountains all over the place’ and Gb xaxay of similar meaning. Loss of bilabial in Gb again; cf. believe, man. Add Op kagi (*w > Op g). But TO kawulk ‘hill’ < *kapul-k is from a different source (TO < *kapul-k vs. *kawi). Note the other liquid reflex in TO kawulD ‘closely, short’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]
1455b. *kaipa (< *kawi-pa) ‘mountain (in)’ (I.Num49 *kaipa); NP kaipa; Kw kee-vi; Ch kaiva; SP qaiva; WMU qaava / gaava; CU káa-vi. Kw and CU reinterpreted the final -va as an absolutive suffix, but Ch, SP, and WMU show that it is part of the stem. Now whether we have *-p- or *-w- > -v- is a decent question. The loss of *-w- in several Num languages then led to leveling of the diphthong in Kw: *kawi > *kai > *ke. But I have doubts that this ties to 1455a above. [Tep w < *p] [NUA: Num]

1456. *ton(n) ‘hill’: VVH167 *toño ‘hill’; M67-230 *ton ‘hill’; M88-to14; KH/M06-to14: TO toon-k ‘hill’; SP tonnoqyi / tunnuqqi ‘a hill rises’; SP tonnoqq(w)i-čï / tunnuqq(w)i ‘knoll, swell in the ground’. Let’s add Nv tonika ‘cerro, loma’. [SUa: Tep; NUA: Num]

1457. *huya / *huLa ‘mountain’: B.Tep317a *’oidaga (UP, ST) / *’oidigi (LP, NT) ‘world, mountain’; M88-’o23 ‘world, mountain’; KH/M06-’o23: UP *’oidagi; LP oijig; NT oidyigi; ST *’oidya’; TO *’oidag ‘field, farm’. What of Cr hiri ‘cerro’ and We hiri ‘sierra’? Yq húya ‘árbol, monte’ and My huya ‘árbol, monte’ probably belong at ‘arrow/tree/wood’ where Hill has them, and Tbr huwa ‘monte’. Tbr hanyi-t ‘cerro’ has 3 of 4 segments, since Tbr ny < *y. Putting Tep *’oidaga into PUA segments yields *hoiyawa and makes Cahitan *huya tempting, since Tep’ < *h, especially if the latter segment of the diphthong shows anticipation of the y (*uy/oy > oiy), which is often the case in Tep (and in UA): *huya > *hoya > *hoiya. [*-u-a > o-a; r > y] [SUa: Tep, Tbr, CrC]

1458. *yohawi ‘mountain’: TO do’ag ‘mountain’; PYp do’agi ‘mountain’. [SUa: Tep]

1459. *toya ‘mountain’: I.Num221 *toya ‘mountain’; M88-to18 ‘mountain’; KH/M06-to18: Mn toyái; TSh toyapi(n); Sh toya-pin; Cm toya; SP toya (found only in song, apparently borrowed from Sh, say Sapir and Miller). What of *toyaN: Ch(L) toyompî ‘boulder’; Ch(L) toyonjkarîrî ‘Boulder Sitting (name of mtn)’; SP toiamî ‘gravel, rocks big and small’—with loss of nasalization in WNum and CNum? [NUA: Num]

1460. *muLa ‘hill’: CA mu’mu’a-we-t ‘hills’; Cp mulamûla ‘hill’; Cp humlehûmâla’s ‘hilly’; Cp hemlehêmle’e-s ‘little hills, hilly’; Tb muwaa-l ‘mountain’; Tb muu’išt ‘hill’; Ktn mua’tat ‘hill’. Cps has i aligning with glottal stop in the other languages. What of Ktn monmomkik ‘hills’? [*-L- > -s- or > n?] [NUA: Tak, Tb]

1461. *no’opi ‘mountain top, hill, mound’: TSh noopî ‘mountain top’ (no absolutive suffix, so -pi is part of the stem); Sh(C) no’o-pin ‘a hill, a rise, a small round hill’ (Crapo); Cm noo- ‘hill, knoll’, reference to ‘hauling’ (probably as in ‘pile of’). This likely ties to SNum nooC-pV ‘campsite, carried/hauled stuff’ and to WNum *nopi ‘house’ because pit houses look like mounds or little hills. [NUA: CNum]

NB, for *ko’ai hilltop, top, see top.
NB, for *cåpa ‘hill, point’ see edge.
NB, for *cupa ‘hill, pont’ see edge.
NB, for *tipi ‘hill’ (Tbr tepe ‘alto, cerro’; CN tepee-tl ‘hill’) see *tipi ‘long, tall’ at tall. Sapir ties CN with SP tivi-ppi ‘earth’ < *tipiC ‘earth’, etc. Possible, but the latter shows a final C the other lacks and a different final V.

Mountain lion: see lion
Mountain sheep: see bighorn sheep and meat

MOUSE, RAT; RATÓN, RATA
1462. *pa’i ‘mouse’: M88-pa57 ‘(field) mouse’; KH.Nua; KH/M06-pa57: Ca pá’iwet; Gb pa’it; Sr pa’i-s (evidently a Ca loan from unattested *pá’i-s suggests Hill). Add Kw pa’yí-ci ‘kangaroo rat’. [NUa: Tak, Num]

1463. *po/pu... ‘mouse’: B.Tep261 *vosiki ‘mouse’; I.Num148 *po/*pu; L.Son210 *poc ‘raton’; M88-po16 ‘mouse’; Fowler83; KH/M06-po16: As Miller and Hill suggest, most of these forms are related, but for organization and discussion purposes, let’s divide them thus:

1463a. *po/pu(N/w)V: Mn puweec(i); NP punkacci; Sh ponaih/po’naih. NP pamoto’o ‘small grey fieldmouse’ and TSh pomo’aiici/pôno’aiici are also listed at ‘squirrel’ with CN mooto’-tl. [medial -w/n/m/qw-]

1463b. *pu’IN / *pu’uy / *pu’wiN / *pa’wiN: Kw pu’-miča-gi-ži; SP pu’iča; CU pu’yúca-ci. We must add Ch(L) pu’-inčaci ‘mouse’ and WMU pa’wi-či (nasalized vowels) and SP puŋ’wi ‘make peeping sound (as mouse, rat)’ shows the nasalization in WMU pa’wi. The WMU form, with other sporadic initial *pa... forms in Num, may mean
that these all relate to Tak *pa’i (or < *pa’wi) above: that the w caused rounding of *a > o/u in most forms, while the *pa’i forms lost *w and so did not acquire any round vowels. The po/pu dichotomy may also mean they differ due to assimilation, neither being original. SP and CU show -ca- after *pu’i; if that syllable exists in the Hp, Tbr, and Tep forms below, though in contracted form (*po’i-ca > po’ca > po’ca), then the below may relate also.

1463c. *poca (< *pa’wiN-CV ?) ‘mouse’: Fowler83: Hp pōōsa; Tbr he-wocō-t; TO wo’so ‘rat”; LP vośig; NT vositi / vasiiti; ST vasiik. Is Eu voisēk ‘rata’ a loan from Tep? Manaster-Ramer discusses this set in his article "A Northern UA sound law: *p- > -y-,” where he argues for the possibility of a -ac- cluster in *ponca (AMR 1992) that prevents *-c- > -y- in NUA.. Let’s add PYp vosogi ‘rat, mouse’ and WP hááců ‘rat’, which matches ST and NT and a vowel metathesis of *poca, since Wc h < *p and Wc u < *o. The difference between CU pu’uyca-ci and WMU pu’wi-č should remove any doubt about whether the WMU language is quite a different dialect from CU. Consider also Yq pótta ‘mole’. [w/v] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah, CrC]

1464. *kawa ‘rat’: BH.Cup *qawala ‘rat’; M67-340 *ka/kawa ‘rat’; I.Num47 *ka(wa); M88-ka13 ‘rat’; Munro.Cup107 *qawala-la ‘rat”; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ka13 *kawa: Mn qawá; NP kawa ‘packrat”; TSh kawan; Sh kaan; Kw ka-ci ‘woodrat”; SP kaac-ci ‘packrat, gopher”; Hp qaala ‘packrat”; Tb haawal ‘wood rats’; Sr qää-t; Gb xar; Ktn ka-č; Ls qaw-la ‘woodrat”; Ca qawal; Cp qáwel. Add Ch(L) kaaci ‘rat’ and perhaps Cm kahu ‘mouse’. This is in all branches of NUA, but not in SUA. [loss of intervocalic -w- in SNum, Sh, Gb, Sr, like mti] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]


1466. *yíwi ‘rat, mouse’: PYp deegi ‘rat’; NT dïïgi ‘rat’; M88 *yóóvi ‘mouse’. Agreeing in *yu ‘mouse, chipmunk’ are Ca yúu-l ‘little rat, field mouse’ and the yó- of Hp yóóvol ‘rodent of some kind’; Hp(S) yóóvol ‘chipmunk’, if such a morpheme break were demonstrable, but not yet. [w > v] [NUA: Tep; SUA: Tak]


1468. *naika ‘mouse’: Cr naika ‘rata’; Wc naika ‘mouse’; and perhaps PYP naidiar ‘mouse’ and TO nahagio ‘mouse, earring’. [SUA: CrC, Tep]

NB, for *tvku/*ciku ‘squirrel, mouse’ and *sikkuC ‘squirrel, mouse’, see at squirrel. NB, the possibility of *so’o ‘mouse’ in a hypothesized compound of SUA *so’o-pici ‘bat’ at ‘bat’. Eu cikurocopic ‘bat’ also contains cikuro ‘mouse’; German flesermaus ‘bat’ similarly attests to ‘mouse’ words in ‘bat’ lexemes due to the mouse-like appearance of the little flying mammals. Thus, Yq ‘asó’ola ‘little mouse’ is noteworthy with a sequence (-so’o-) identical to the unidentified, but reconstructed *so’o in SUA compounds for ‘bat’—*so’o-pici. NB, more than once we see a semantic tie between ‘mouse’ and ‘squirrel’ in UA, which tie is understandable in that both are little rodents that scurry about quickly. Compare CN teko’koyoo-tl ‘mouse’ and *tiku ‘squirrel’, as well as *siku/ciku ‘mouse’ and SNum *sikku ‘squirrel’.

**MOUTH, CHIN, JAW; BOCA, BARBILLA, MANDÍBULA, QUIJADA, CARRILLERA:** see face

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<td>kiš’a ‘have m. open’</td>
<td></td>
<td>mocovi; canwiti ‘open the mouth’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>ddíba; motohobbi ‘inside of m’</td>
<td>Tb</td>
<td>too’konţi</td>
<td>Tbr</td>
<td>tiní-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSh</td>
<td>tɪmpe</td>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>šiţi; tāā-ar’k ‘open m.’</td>
<td>Yq</td>
<td>téeni/téni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>tɪmpai ‘&amp;lips’</td>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>táma-l</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>teeni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki’ ‘w/ the mouth’</td>
<td>Ls</td>
<td>tamá-t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>tɪpe</td>
<td>Luvó-luvó ‘big-m’ed’</td>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>cu’á</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>tɪbí-vi</td>
<td>Cp</td>
<td>tám’a</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>říni; ču’í; ře’načí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>tɪmp(a)</td>
<td>TO</td>
<td>čiňi; kam- ‘&amp;cheek’</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>teňi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>tɪmpa-vi</td>
<td>LP</td>
<td>tiňi</td>
<td>WP</td>
<td>teni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>tɪppwá-vi</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>tiňi</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>kama-tl; -kan ‘poss’d’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>tɪpá-vi</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>tĩňi; čiňi; kika ‘carry in m.’</td>
<td>teen-tli ‘m., lip, edge’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1469a. *ti'na > *ti'ni 'mouth': Sapir; VVH19 *ti'ni 'mouth'; M67-293 *teni 'mouth'; I.Num242 *timpe 'mouth, lips'; B.Tep241 *ti'ni 'mouth'; L.Son293 *ti'ni 'boca'; M88-5t 'mouth'; KH/M06-5t: TO čini; Eu te'eni / teni-t; LP ti'ni; PYp teni; NT ti'ni; ST ti'niči; Tr ři'ni; Tr te'nači; My te'ni; Yq te'eni / teni; Tbr ři'ni-r; We te'etaa 'mouth, lip' (cognate? Miller queries); Cr te'ni; CN teen-tli 'lip, mouth, edge, word'. We te'etaa is cognate, being nearly identical to the pre- or proto-Aztecan form from which CN teen-tli derives—*teen-ta—missing only n. Note also Tr te'nači, suggesting the possible presence of a glottal stop or other consonant in a cluster. This element appears in compounds of a few other languages as well: Cm par'íci 'chin'; TSh pat'ínci 'chin' and in *ti'ni-po'wa 'facial hair, lit. mouth-hair' at beard.

1469b. *ti'n-va > *ti'n-pa > *timp 'mouth (in)'; Mn tïpe; NP ddïba; TSh tïmp; Sh tïpai 'mouth, lips'; Kw tïbi-vi; SP tïmpa-vi; CU tïpā-vi; Hp tïmp(aq) 'at the brink, top edge of a drop-off, such as cliff, mesa edge'; Hp tïmpy 'along top edge of cliff'. An additional and definite *-pa suffix distinguishes the Num forms, as nearly all have a final vowel -a, not typical of the *-pi/-pi of absolutive suffixes.

1470. *iící (AMR) / *ící (> *iící > *iící) 'chin': M67-88 *o'yi 'chin'; M88-t3 'chin/barbilla'; AMR1992-9; KH/M06-t3 *iící (AMR) 'chin, jaw': Hp o'yí 'chin'; LS 'óóyi-l; Cp ēyeweka; Ca' ēyewak'a; Gb 'øyen 'quijada/jaw bone'; TO tő 'chin'; TO išpo 'beard'; Wr ečapoa 'beard'. Wr echa- does not exist alone, Miller notes, but it corresponds to the TO counterpart. Ken Hill rightly adds the ic- of Eu ćiya 'beard' which has *-pa like Num. Let’s also add PYp hesa 'chin'. Can anyone explain Hp’s weird vowel—possibly borrowed from LS? [Hp ō; Gb o; Ls o]

1471. *acta'N 'jaw, upper cheek': I.Num3 *a(h)ta 'jaw, upper cheek'; M88-’a19; KH/M06-’a19; Mn 'atapî; NP atabui; TSh ahta-pi/pi; Sh ahta-vi; CM ahra/arapi; KW 'ata-vi (< *atta-)'; SP atta-givi 'upper cheek'. WMU áátawaa’ao 'jaw'; and Tb(V) ‘alhan-t ‘jawbone’ are likely and suggest a final nasal. But Ktn ‘ia-c ‘jaw’, probably not. [*-CC-] [NUA: Num, Tb]

1472. *ca4'Lo 'chin, jaw': Tr čaró ‘chin'; Wr caló ‘chin, jaw'; CN teen-čal-li 'chin'; CN kama-čal-li ‘jaw'; Yq čao ‘barba'; My čaro hámysim 'bigote'; My čaro wá’asa’ari ‘quijada'; Hp cän-ti 'open the mouth'. [r/l > ' > ø] [NUA: Trn, Cah, Azt; NUA: Hp]

NB, for TO taatko ‘jaw’; NT taatákugai ‘jaw’ < *taktuwa ‘hole, place where things are found or gravitate to’ and *taa-takuwa ‘tooth-place/collection sump’, see ‘hole’ and ‘palm’. 

NB, for *tama ‘mouth, tooth’ (Ca tama-l; Cp tama; LS tamà-t; Nv tamaka ‘quijadas’ has another morpheme), see tooth.

NB, for *kaCma ‘cheek, mouth, put in mouth’ see face.

NB, for Tr ču’mi, see *cu’mi ‘sip, taste’ at ‘eat’.

Move: see either ‘shake’ or ‘go’

Mud: see earth

Much: see all

MUCUS, SNOT, PHLEGM, A COLD (be sick with ...); MOCO, FLEMA, CATARRO/RESFRIO

1473. *mu-piki ‘mucus (nose-mucus)’: NP mubigi; Kw mu-viki-vi; CU ma/mi-piyyki-vi; ‘mucous’ (but SP muvi” ‘nose’); Cp muvi; Ca muvi-ly; LS müvi-laqa. This occurs in Num mostly; note also Num *co”-piki ‘brains’, i.e., something like ‘head-mucus or soft/gooey matter’. Not flattering to the human species, but both mucus and brains have similar textures, though hopefully one is more useful than the other. [NUA: Num, Tak]

1474a. *co’ma ‘mucus, have a cold’: M67-219b *com ‘snot’; M88-co4 ‘snot’; KH/M06-co4: TO šomaig ‘catch a cold’; TO šoša ‘nasal discharge’; Eu zóma ‘moco de narices’; Wr co’má ‘moco’; Tr co’má / -cum ‘moco’; My cóomí-m; Cr cu’umé ‘snot’. Add NT sósoi ‘catarro, moco’; ST somaigí ‘have a cold’; Yq čom watte ‘to blow the nose’; Yq čoomim ‘mocos’; AYq čoomim ‘phlegm’. Is TO šoša a reduplication of *soma in which the medial cluster reduced, losing the bilabial nasal: *šošma > šoša; likewise for NT sósoi; thus, Tep *somaigi ‘have a cold’ and Tep sosa (< *sosma) ‘mucus’? [cluster reduction]
1474b. *co’m-pil. ‘have a cold (mucus appendage/falls)’: L.Son41 *cop ‘moco, catarro’: northern Eu cóbá-t; Wr cohþp; Tr cohþp. CN compi-li ‘a cold, n’ and CN compiiliwi ‘have a cold, v’ are likely fuller forms of the reductions in TrC: Wr copé ‘cold (sickness)’; Tr co’pe ‘catarro’. The CN, Wr, and Tr terms, of course, seem related to *co’má above, compounded with an extra syllable -pil. [N > ø as 1st C in cluster] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Azt]

1475. *mit... ‘snot’: KH.NUA: Sr míiriič ‘snot’; Gb móta’. [Gb o < *i] [NUA: Tak]

1476. *yoka-C-pí ‘mucus’: Mn yoÚgábi ‘nasal mucus, snot’; Sh yoka-ppí; Cm yokapi, sohkap (Rejón). [NUA: Num]

1477. *sipi ‘mucus’: there appears to be a stem *sip(i) in Hp yaqaspi and TSh mupisippi, compounded with forms for nose *yaka and *mupi respectively. [NUA: Hp, Num]

1478. *mapa-ya’i ‘(have) a cold’: Kw mavaya-kwee ‘catch a cold, v’; Ch mavá ‘cold (illness), n’; WMU wowá’ey / wáwá’ai / wáwá’ye / (u)wé’e / æ’e ‘have a cold, vi’; CU waviá-vi ‘cold’; CU waviá-vi ‘phlegm, mucous’; CU waviá-’ay ‘have a cold or sore-throat’. SNum *-ya’i ‘suffer from, die’ is likely the 2nd element of the compound. [NUA: SNum]

1479. *kwa- ‘congested’: Hp kwaa-yaqa ‘congested nose’; Hp kwaaqaq-moki ‘catch a cold’; Wc kwáise ‘congestionado’; subtracting Hp yaqa ‘nose’ from the Hp compounds leaves the same *kwa- element in both Hp and Wc. [NUA: Hp; SUA: CrC]

Mud: see earth
Muscle: see tendon

MUSHROOM; SETA, HONGO

1480. *pakwuva ‘mushroom, fungus’: Mn paagú’ ‘type of pink mushroom’; PYp vikoga ‘mushroom(s)’; Wr wehkoári ‘fungus’; Tr wikubékuri ‘large white edible mushroom’; Tr wekogi ‘mushroom’; Tr wehorí ‘type of edible mushroom’; Tr čohowékuwi ‘large white edible mushroom’; the phonological variety in Tr is typical (-weku-, wiku-, weko, weho-) and suggests some borrowing between Tep and Tr/Wr. The Mn, PYp, and one Tr form (-beku-) suggest initial *p, whose reflexes in Tep (v/w) are the source of some loans in Tr/Wr. The first vowel is likely a on the strength of the Mn form, which a easily assimilates or centralizes to í/e/i in unaccented syllables. [p/w] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn]

1481. *top(p)o ‘mushroom sp.:’ Mn tóópo ‘mountain mushroom’; Cp tívily ‘mushroom sp’; Ca tíwily ‘small mushroom’. Ca and Cp i < *o. Mn suggests a geminated medial *-CC-. [*-pp-/ -v-/ -w-] [NUA: Num, Tak]

1482. *hitto’oC / *witto’oC ‘mushroom’: TSh wítoto’e-cci ‘mushroom’; TSh hitto’i; Kw hítoto’o-pí ‘mushroom’. [NUA: Num]


1484. *yu’La ‘mushroom sp.:’ Ca yúlal ‘mushroom’; Wr o’lací ‘mushroom’; was NT yoóra ‘el hongo’ borrowed? CN šoollee-tl ‘mushroom’ is not yet countable, though CN š < y happens in usually other environments. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

NB, Cr yekwáh ‘edible mushroom’ and ST yakua ‘mushroom, big, yellow and red’. ST is probably borrowed from Cr, since *kw > Cr kw, but > b in Tep languages.

Music: see sing
Nail (finger/toe-): see claw
NAKED, BARE, BALD, STRIP, PEEL OFF, TAKE OFF; see also scrape, smooth, flat, slippery

1485. *pi*... ‘naked’: M67-299 *pe ‘naked’; M88-pi2 ‘naked’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pi2: Tb pïwáyit ~ ’pïwáwa ‘be naked’; Sr pïín ‘naked’; Ktn pïna; HN pepes-tik ‘naked’. Hill includes Cp péexwen ‘nothing but’ as a possibility. Only initia CV have they in common. [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]

1486. *puha ‘remove, take off/away’: M88-pu1 ‘remove, take off, take away’; KH/M06-pu1: TO wua háwua ‘remove, take off; tear down’; Wr puha/puhi ‘quitar’; Tr buhá ‘quitar’. Miller includes My úwa ‘lo quitó’ though it is unusual for My to lose initial *p. [SUA: Trn, Cah]

1487. *nuyu ‘(become) bald’: L.Son179 *nuyu/nu ‘caerse el cabello’; M88 nu1; KH/M06 nu1: Op nud; Eu nudu; Yq nuêtre. For TSh appiŋkoyo’i ‘be bald-headed’ from s.n. like *aCpik-noyo’i, in which a velar-nasal cluster (~ kn-) then anticipated the nasal to be before the velar -nk-, natural enough: *aCpik-nuyu’i > appiŋkoyo’i. But not counted yet. [nasal and velar cluster; *u > o] [SUA: Opn, Cah]

1488. *mani(C) ‘naked’: TSh wïmmani ‘naked’; Sh mani” ‘naked’. [NUA: CNum]

NB, for *yapa ‘smooth, naked’, see ‘smooth’.

NB, for *pata ‘flat, naked, smooth’, see ‘flat’.

NB, for *to’a, cf. NP wï-ca-to’a ‘peel off with knife/fingers’; CN to’toma ‘undress’; Wr i’tó- ‘take/llevar’; see *to ‘carry’.

NB, for *asi’a/’asi’a ‘bark, skin, peel’; Kw ’asi-vo’o ‘peel, v’; Cp áš’ava ‘naked’, see ‘shell’.

NB, for *oLa/i ‘shell, degrain (ears of grain), v’, see at ‘corn’.

NB, for *kiLi’i ‘shell/shuck corn, v.’, see at ‘scrape’.

NAME, CALL, INVITE; NOMBRE, NOMBRAR, LLAMAR, CONVIDAR

1489. *ti(N)wa / *tïnwa (AMR) ‘name’: Sapir; VVH20 *tiña ‘to name’; M67-300a *tew ‘name’; L.Son302 tïwa; Munro.Cup78; KH.NUA; M88 tï15 ‘name’; KH/M06-tï15: Hp tïnwa (comb: tïŋwan) ‘name, refer to, vt’; Tb (V) tïŋwa-l ‘name’; Tb(M) tïŋwa’anat ‘give a name to’; Cp tew’a ‘name (n. poss’d)’; Ca têwâ; Ls tún-la; Sr tïwan(č) ‘name, n’; Ktn tïw; TO čïïgig ‘name, reputation’; TO cïïck ‘name, vt’; TO čïïg ‘(1) find, (2) call by name’; Eu tewá; Tb(V) tïŋwa-l ‘name’; Tb(M) tïŋwa’anat ‘give a name to’; Cp tew’a ‘name (n. poss’d)’; Ca têwâ; Ls tún-la; Sr tïwan(č) ‘name, n’; Ktn tïw; Munro suggests that an intermediate ŋw may explain the change of *o > u in Ls. Note ŋ associated with w in Hp and Tb. Add PYp teegi ‘name’ and ST tïïtgï’ ‘llamar, nombrar, vt’. [as salt, girl *siwa > Ls suŋ, medial *w/ŋ]

1490. *ni(C)a ‘call’: I.Num117 *ni(C)a / *nih - ‘call, name, v’; M88-ni2 ‘call, name, v’; KH/M06-ni2: Mn niyat; Np nania; Sh niha/nihya; Sh tïpinia give a name; Cm niha ‘name, be called, v’; Kw niyaa-vi ‘name, n’; SP nia ‘call by name’; CU ni’a ‘name’. Add TSh niha / niya ‘name’; Ch niha ‘name’; WMU niâ ‘name, n’; WMU niyê-n ‘my name’; and perhaps Tr neho / nehôwi / o’wi ‘invite’ most like Sh and Cm. I like Iannucci’s reconstruction *ni(C)a, because the medial consonant is unclear and the variety again suggests that we may be dealing with a cluster. [NUA: Num]

1491. *paya ‘call’: Sapir; B.Tep255 *vaidai ‘to call’; B.Tep255b *vai ‘he called’ (both Tep forms occur in all four languages); M88-pa24 ‘call, summon’; M67-74 *pá ‘call’; KH/M06-pa24: Mn pee-t; NP pai; Kw pee; SP pai; CU paay; TO waid; Wr paé-; Tr bayé/páe; Wc (h)âíne ‘dice’. Probably not Eu bowá- ‘convidar, brindar’. [*y > Tep d, *p > h/ø in Wc] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

1492. *aya ‘call’: M67-75 *aya ‘call’; M88-’a15; KH/M06-’a15 *aya (AMR): Tb aay(at) ‘call, count, v’; Ls ayá ‘messenger who announces people making a formal visit’; Hp aya-ta ‘call, hire, ask to do’; Hp aya, pl: a’yat ‘helper, employee, hireling, person who helps in return for food’ (cognate? Hill queries); I say yes, since in other UA sets, the vocabulary suggests invitations (a call) for work help (in exchange for whatever); Hp aya-ta ‘hire, direct, tell or ask (to do s.th.), vt’; TO aada ‘palate’ (cognate? Hill queries; could be). [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak]
**1493. *kwawa/i* ‘invite, call’: Stubbs 1995-11: Cp kwawe ‘call, invite’; Tr o’wi ‘invite’; Wr oi ‘invite to work’ (perhaps borrowed from Tr; otherwise, woi); Eu bowá ‘invite’; perhaps Sr koohan ‘call, invite’ and the baa-of TO baamud ‘plead, invite’ (lack of TO g < *w is frequent enough). [kwV > ku] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]

**1494. *inV* ‘invite’: Wc ínie ‘invite’; Cr naa-tá’inee ‘me invitó/convidó’. [SUA: CrC]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAVE; OMBLIGO</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mn póji / pózi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP shíbudu / cibudu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSh siiku(cci)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh siku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm siiku</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kw šígú-ví</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch --</td>
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<tr>
<td>SP sikuN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMU šígú-ppi / sugú-ppi</td>
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<tr>
<td>CU sigú-pí</td>
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<td>ST --</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**1495. *sikuN / *sikwuL* ‘navel’: VVH68 *sišku ‘navel’; KH.NUA; I.Num191 *siku(n); L.Son240 *siku ‘omblobe’; CL.Azt113 *šiik, 257 **siku; M88-301 *šik; KH/M06-si2: TSh, Sh, Cm, SP, CU, TO, PYp, Tbr, Yq, My, Tr, Wr, CN. Is Tbi šiuldust cognate? Miller queries. *si… ‘intestines’ compounded with else is a frequent suggestion—and possible. On the other hand, we may be dealing with *sikwu or *siku and *sipu (cf. Labial Labyrinth, IJAL 61:394-420). Note bilabials in NP, Cr, Hp, and Tewa sipu, not to mention the Hp combining form Hp sivon-(combining form); Cr sipuci (2nd V should be ï). Note Tewa sipu. Does Hp sípapuni ‘hatchway from whence the Hopis believe they emerged to the Fourth World’ tie in? Is sipapu a rather pan-Puebloan term? [kw/p ]

**1496. *sipo/pu...* ‘navel’: M67-302 *poci; M88-po9; KH/M06-po9: Mn poci; NP sibu; Cr síí-pu’u-ci. NP (Yerington) has both NP si ‘umbilical cord’ and NP sibu ‘navel’. My sources have Cr(McMahon) sipuci. The new NP dictionary has NP(B) cibu ‘navel’. Conventional wisdom often suggests the first syllable to be *si’i ‘intestines’ compounded with *po/pu—maybe; on the other hand, it may not be a compound: NP cibu / sibu; Hp sivon- (combining form); Cr sipuci (2nd V should be i). Note Tewa sipu. Does Hp sipáapuni ‘hatchway from whence the Hopis believe they emerged to the Fourth World’ tie in? Is sipapu a rather pan-Puebloan term? [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: CrC]

**1497. *toLo / *toto* ‘navel’: Ktn toro-c ‘navel’ and LS -tíídi ‘navel’ (only poss’d); LS(E) LS tííđi-š ‘navel’. Ktn and LS are a reasonable pair, as *o > Ls e and occasionally i, usually in a pattern like *CoCo > Ls CeCi, then perhaps > *CiCi. [NUA: Tak]

**NEAR, BY, CLOSE, APPROACH; CERCA, ACERCARSE**

**1498. *mi’a* ‘near’: B.Tep151 *mia ‘near’; M88-mi5; KH/M06-mi5: TO mia; LP mia; PYp mia; NT miá/miáñai; ST mian. Add Cp ámi’en ‘close, near by’ and Tb mi’ipíl ‘close, near’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Tb(H) mi’ipí-l ‘close’ and another branch in Cm miitucí / miíhíi ‘near, soon, shortly’. As *s > ø in Tep, the glottal stops in Cp and Tb have them fitting fairly well with vowel assimilation. Cp with -t- instead of -r- also suggests a cluster, s.th. like *mi’ / *miC / *mi’V. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Tak, Tb, Num]

**1499. *hiLa/i* ‘near’: AYq heela ‘close, near, nearly’; Yq hélá ‘cerca, hace poco’; My uhé’ela ‘cerca de él’; Cr béheli’i ‘cerca’; and perhaps the initial syllable of We heeápáiicita ‘near, adjacent’ (likely *-Lp- > -p-; otherwise, *-p- > ø). [SUA: Cah, CrC]
**1500. *caka* ‘(at the) side, near’: Eu cákra ‘de lado’; Tr čakęna ‘a un lado, por un lado, de lado’; TO šakal ‘side by side’; PYP sakalim ‘go to the side’; Kw čagici ‘nearness’; Ch čagip(a) ‘near’; WMU čagá-čii-vi(a) ‘(be) near, close, nearby’; CU čagá-civi ‘near, next to’; CU čagá-nükwi ‘fairly near to’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]

**NECK, NAPE, THROAT, ESOPHAGUS, NECKLACE, BEADS;**

**CUELLO, PESCUEZO, NUCA, GARGANTA, ESÓFAGO:** nl = necklace; nn = nape of the neck

Mn             kuta; qakiyánu *nl*   Hp             kwahpi   Eu kutát; póciaka ‘nn’
NP             gguta; ka’wocobba ‘nn’; *kakia ‘nl’ Tbk             kulaa-
TSh             kutan; kútacki ‘nn’ Sr               nỳhìyi ‘throat, neck, voice’ Yq kútana; bi’a ‘nn’
Sh             toyom-pi; kuta(x) Ca             kuspí-1 / qìl’?i? Tr guséara/kusera; gutá(ra)
CM             toyo(pí) Ls             qélá-t / qlá-t Wr kuhtamó
KW             kagi ‘nl.’              Cp             qìl’?a ‘nn’  My kúta’anawa; bi’a ‘nn’
Ch             kura;                 TO             baiuka; baiukt; Cr kìhpí; kátu’uri ‘nn’
SP             qura-vi               LP             kùśiv; kusho ‘nn’  Cr kùsiv / kusuvar ‘neck’
WMU            qurá               PYP           kùśiv   We katúuci
CU             kurá-vi               NT             kùśiva; kusu(v) CN keč-tli; kookó’tlan
             ST             kùśvu

**1501. *kuta* ‘neck’: Sapir; VVH154 *kus+a ‘neck’; M67-303a/b *kuta/*ku; I.Num67 *ku(h)ta; BH.Cup *qel ‘nape’; L.Son111 *kuta; B.Tep123 *kusivul; CL.Azt258* kuta; CL.Azt15 *kac; M88-ku9; KH/M06-ku9 (*kucV AMR) and at least Tak of KH/M06-ko29: Besides Mn, Np, TSh, Sh, Kw, SP, CU, Tb, Cp, Ca, Ls, Gb, Hp, Eu, Tr, and CN above, Miller also includes My kúta’ nàwwa ‘cuello’ (to Tr), which we should add Yq; Cr kúh-ta-a-n ‘behind, at back of his neck’; and Hp kwahpi; however, Hp would relate only if medial *t was lost—*kuta > kua > kwa—which may be unlikely. So Hp is at *kwa’i ‘throat’. Tak anticipatorily assimilated (lowered) the round vowel toward a (*kuta > *qola), so the Tak forms derive from *qola (< *kuta). CN kooko’-ti ‘throat, windpipe’ and CN kooko’-tlan ‘neck, throat’ also show that vowel, as opposed to CN keč-tli. In fact, Miller and Sapir tie CN keč-tli with the above, though an explanation for the vowel is not attached. Ca kúspí-ly ‘throat’ (vs. Ca qìl’?i?) likely belongs below. Tr guséara/kusera may be a loan from Tep or from *kusV ‘call, make characteristic noise, flute’ which is often confused with this stem. Sapir links Cr kìhpíh ‘buche, cuello, pescezo’ and Ca kúspí-l ‘throat’, which match each other perfectly, and are listed at *kuspi below, as derivatives of *kusV ‘call out, make characteristic noise’. The fact that My kusia ‘throat, larynx’ and Yq kusia ‘flute’ are phonologically identical, but with a meaning in each semantic set ties together ‘make characteristic sound, flute, and throat’ terms—the semantic range of *kusV. Note the *kus... forms of Tr kusera, guséara, gusera vs. Tr guta- in terms for ‘neck’. [NUA: CrC, Trn, Cah; NUA: Tak]

**1502. *kutipu > *kucipu > Tep *kusivu* ‘neck’: TO, LP, PYP, NT, ST. The Tep forms collectively point to PUA *kucipo / kucipu. While TO kus-ta ‘tendion in the neck’ has another morpheme, TO kuswo ‘neck’ and TO kušo ‘back of the neck’ are very similar, yet different. Cf. *kucipu ‘carry on back’. [SUA: Tep]

**1503. *kus(pi) ‘throat, craw, flute’: Sapir: Sapir ties Cr kìhpíh ‘buche, cuello, pescezo’ and Ca kúspí-ly ‘throat’, which are a perfect match, even if a suffix is involved; of course, these derive from *kusV ‘call out, make characteristic noise’ as also My kusia ‘laringe, garganta’; We wá’ikísa’a ‘garganta’ (wá’i ‘fish’). The facts that Tr guséara ‘flute, larynx’ means both and that My kusia ‘throat, larynx’ and Yq kusia ‘flute’ are identical (all < *kusira), and with a meaning in each counting chart certifies the relationship of the ‘make characteristic sound, flute, and throat’ terms—the semantic range of *kusV. Note the *kus... forms of Tr kusera, guséara, gusera vs. Tr guta- in terms for ‘neck’. [SUA: CrC, Trn, Cah; NUA: Tak]
**1504. *kat...** ‘back of head, nape of neck’: M67-220 *kat ‘head’; M88-ka14 ‘head’; KH/M06-ka14: NP ka'wocoba ‘back of neck’; Kw ka-raaka (< *ka-takka) ‘back of head’ (Kw *takka ‘flat area’); SP qaraqqa-(vi) ‘occiput’; Cr katu’u-ri ‘nape of neck’. Miller comments that this set is probably mythical. We katúúci belongs if Cr does. The Num forms form a valid set, especially Kw and SP, which are nearly identical, lengthy, probable compounds, and probably Ls with a semantic shift to the other side of the neck. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: CrC]

**1505. *koLoka** ‘beads, necklace’: M67-28 *koka ‘beads’; Langacker 1970; L.Son95 *koroka ‘collar’; KH.NUA; M88-ko9 ‘beads, necklace’; KH/M06-ko9: Sh kotokki ‘necklace’; Cp qinexa ‘put on necklace, vi’; Cp qinxa-t ‘strings of shell beads, necklace’; Ca qënxat ‘s.th. around neck, beads’; Gb yùnsø ‘ar ‘beads worn as necklace’; Sr qöönqa-(vi) ‘occiput’; Cr katu’u-ri ‘nape of neck’. Miller also lists Mn qakki ‘beads’; Kw kaki ‘necklace, collar’; CU kaaka ‘necklace’, all of which I place below with *kaki ‘necklace’. The Takic, TrC, and CN forms all suggest a liquid as 2nd consonant, more like Lionnet’s reconstruction *koroka. For devoicing of r > s in CN, see Elusive Liquids. Most intriguing is that Tak shows a nasal for the liquid, as expected in NUA, and Tak shows the third consonant *k and the first vowel, all very nicely. While its relatedness is still possible in some way, sh t, probably an assumed t from an actual r, does not match the */l/n of the rest of UA. [L > s in cluster with a voiceless C] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]

**1506. *kaki / *kakki ‘necklace’:** KH/M06-ko9: Kw kagi; Ch káági; SP qagi; WMU qağay / qaax ‘necklace’; CU káaġa; Mn qakiyánu ‘necklace’; Mn qakki-bi ‘beads’. After the first syllable, Ktn vakahkik ‘type of bead the rich had’ is also highly similar. [NUA: Num, Tak]


**1508. *papi ‘larynx, throat, voice’:** M88-pa62; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa62: Ca páve ‘throat, voice’; Ls pávkuni-š ‘larynx, Adam’s apple’; Sr päävčan ‘narrate, tell (story)’. [NUA: Tak]

**1509. *paNkway ‘throat’:** Sapir: Kw pakwii throat’; SP panyi’throat’; WMU pawí-vi ‘throat’ (with nasalized vowels matching SP’s nasal); CU pawi-vi ‘throat, inside of throat’; CU paġóy-vi ‘throat’; Ca paxwáyva’a-l ‘inside of throat’. [kw vs. ŋw/w] [NUA: Tak, SNum]

**1510. *kwa’i... ‘throat’:** TO ba’itk ‘throat’; PYp baivkor ‘necklace’; TO baiuka ‘leash, necklace’; Nv vaiuka ‘gargantilla’; Nv vaita ‘pescuezo, garganta’; NT báíkaro ‘la garganta’; Tbr kwaí-r ‘neck’; Tbr koa-yí-r ‘throat’; Hp kwahpi ‘neck’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Tbr]

**1511. *toLo(ka) ‘throat, voice’ / *toL (AMR) ‘throat, voice’ (AMR/KHill):** KH/M06-to29 *toL (AMR): TO toDk ‘snore, groan, growl’; Tr rokóra /rogorára ‘trachea’; CN tolóa ‘swallow’; Hp tóna(at) ‘(his) throat, voice, larynx’. Let’s add NT toróókai ‘gruñir, bramar’ and Wr tołógalá ‘throat, windpipe’; some forms may be reduplications of *toka; see at shout. Add also CN toska-k ‘throat’; CN toski-tl ‘throat, voice’ with devoicing. [*l > s/_C -voice] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt, NUA: Hp]

**1512. *ŋo ho ‘neck’:** Sr ŋ bağlı-t ‘throat, neck, voice’; Ktn ŋoho-c ‘neck’; the vowels perplex. [NUA: Tak]

**1513. *co(C)i ‘beads’:** SP ći / jii ‘beads, n’; CU ći-vü ‘beads’. The eastern languages evidently assimilated the first vowel to the second. [NUA: SNum]

**1514. *novo ‘throat’:** Mn nódo ‘throat’; NP nmodo ‘throat’. [NUA: WNum]

**1515. *kuwi ‘throat’:** TSsh kuwi(cci) ‘throat, front of neck’; Sh kuici ‘throat’; Cm kuici ‘throat’; PYp kuivkor ‘throat’; ST kui ‘larynx, trachea’; We küpí ‘garganta, buche’. [*w = Tep w?; cf. lion, eat] [NUA: CNum; SUA: Tep, CrC]
though that does not mean it has not happened. KH/M06 adds Ch wisiavi ‘feather’ with a question mark (but good addition, I say), and Tbr vivisa Sh wisun (acc. ~a); Hp wishövi ‘spider web’; Hp wiisila ‘string out, extend, stretch out on a surface’. Ken Hill adds Ch wisavi ‘feather’ with a question mark (but good addition, I say), and Tbr vivisa ‘látigo [whip, cord]’. As KH/M06-wi6 has them together, these might be related to others listed at ‘rope’ (*wik-tV > wicV) by a c/s split frequent enough in UA, but that -c- likely comes from a *-kt- cluster, and I haven’t seen *-kt- > -s- in UA yet, though that does not mean it has not happened. So the forms with *-s- are separated for now. Add Tr wesurá ‘kind

Needle: see awl
Nephew: see relative, uncle

NET, WEB; RED, TELARAÑA; see also ‘bag’ and ‘spider’

1517. *koc(C)a / *kocca ‘nest’: B.Tep111 *kosa ‘nest’; KH/M06-k041: TO koš; LP koš; PYp kosa; NT kósa; ST kos. Ktn koca ‘nest (of rat or bee)’ fits perfectly if medial *-cc- or *-Cc-/cC-, but not *-c-, as medial *-c- > -y- in NUA. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Tak]

1518a. *tosa ‘nest’: Eu hitósá; Yq tóósa; My toosa; Tbr tuesá-r.

1518c. *tapa’so ‘nest’: CN tapa’sol-li ‘bird’s nest’; CN pa’sol-li ‘briarpatch’; CN tapasol-loa ‘to tangle s.th.’

Words for ‘nest’ occur with some consistency in SUA, while NUA languages show little of diachronic substance, in having no sets or recently derived compounds or no word at all. In SUA, a reflex of *koca or Tep *kosa is found in every Tep language, while words found in CN and most TrC languages show enough in common for a possible relationship among them, explanations pending. Eu and Cah show *tosa, while Tr and Wr show *ta’so, both being similar except for a V metathesis. Tbr and CN may provide keys in that CN actually shows a bilabial and Tbr shows a round vowel among non-round vowels that may suggest a former bilabial in cluster with other consonants, like Spanish déuda ‘debt’. If originally *tapa’so, then a sequence like the following is natural enough, but hardly certain, of course:

*tap’a so > *tapa’so > *taw’so > *ta’so (Wr, Tr)

> *tosa (Eu, Yq, My) [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Azt]

NET, WEB; RED, TELARAÑA; see also ‘bag’ and ‘spider’

1518. *tosa ‘nest’: Eu hitósá; Yq tóósa; My toosa; Tbr tuesá-r.

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NET, WEB; RED, TELARAÑA; see also ‘bag’ and ‘spider’


1520. *waLi ‘basket’: L.Son326 *wari ‘cesto (basket)’; M88-wa6 ‘basket, rabbit net’; KH/M03-wa6: Op warí; Eu warí; Tbr mwafí-t; Yq wáari; My waari; Wr wari; Tr wari. Miller combines these with *wa’na ‘(rabbit) net’ (see below). That may be, but the glottal stop in *wa’na is lacking in SUA *waLi, not to mention the quite consistent 2nd V difference: -a vs. -i — and different meanings. So I separate them until additional data direct differently. [n:l:r liq] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]

1521. *wa’na ‘rabbit net’: M67-304 *wana ‘net’; M88-wa6 ‘basket, rabbit net’; I.Num269 *wana(h) ‘net, cloth’; KH/M06-wa6: Mn wa’náqa ‘net’; NP wana ‘net’; TSh wa nna ‘net’; Sh wana ‘rabbit net’; Kw wana-vi ‘web, net’; SP wanna ‘milkweed net for catching rabbits’; Tb waanal ‘rabbit net’; Ca wáanal ‘ropelike thing’; Ls wáána- ‘net for catching fish or rabbits’; Gb wánar ‘big rabbit net’. Miller also includes reflexes of TrC *wari ‘basket’ with these, which could be, but I presently prefer keeping them separate for reasons explained above. If one language listed the word as meaning both ‘net, basket’ or if one semantic dimension could be found in the other half of UA, I would be more amenable to their union, but as it is, all the NUA terms mean only ‘net’ and the TrC terms all mean ‘basket’. NP, Mn and SP suggest a possible consonant cluster for this stem in NUA, while SUA terms do not. [*-CC-] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

1522. *wis ‘web, string’: I.Num280 *wisu(n) ‘string’; KH/M06-wi6 ‘string’: Mn wissi; NP wiha; TSh wisipin; Sh wisun (acc. –a); Hp wisóvi ‘spider web’; Hp wiisila ‘string out, extend, stretch out on a surface’. Ken Hill adds Ch wisavi ‘feather’ with a question mark (but good addition, I say), and Tbr vivisa ‘látigo [whip, cord]’. As KH/M06-wi6 has them together, these might be related to others listed at ‘rope’ (*wik-tV > wicV) by a c/s split frequent enough in UA, but that -c- likely comes from a *-kt- cluster, and I haven’t seen *-kt- > -s- in UA yet, though that does not mean it has not happened. So the forms with *-s- are separated for now. Add Tr wesurá ‘kind

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of fishing net’. Hp wis- and Tr wesurá are probably cognate. Tr wesurá even vocalically aligns well with Num *wisu(n). For Hp hövi, see *hupa ‘spider’ as Hp wis-hövi is likely a compound ‘string/web (of)-spider’. Other *wi- ‘web’ forms (< *wis-?) may belong with a group at ‘rope’ listed here: Eu wi-toroka ‘telaraña’; My turus wii’i ‘spider web’; My tururus ‘spider’; My turus witeri ‘spider web’; Yq wite’i ‘trap for animals’; AYq witosa ‘web < thread-white’; AYq huva toosa ‘spider white = web’. [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr]

NB, for *kwisa ‘carrying net’ and *kus ‘bag’, see *kwís / *kwisa ‘carry’ at ‘carry’.
NB, for *híw, see trap.
NB, for Eu, Tbr, and Tr *to’oka ‘web’, see spider.
NB, for Hp ɲat’a ‘tumpline, headstrap for carrying a burden on the back’, see at ‘weave’.

NEW, YOUNG; NUEVO, JOVEN

1523. *pituC / *pituwa ‘new’: M67-305 *pe ‘new’; I.Num173 *piti(h) ‘new, recently’; L.Son203 *pimí ‘nuevo’; B.Tep289 *viti’di ‘new’; CL.Azt13 *peewa ‘begin’, 250 *pi’i new; M88-pi3 ‘new’; KH/M06-pi3: Mn pi’di (< *pi’ti) ‘just, early’; Mn pi’di’ti (< *pi’ti’ti) ‘new, young’; NF pi’di ‘start’; HP mihi(k) ‘become night, get dark’; LP vítuta/vítïta ‘new thing’; PYp vïtuda ‘new, adj’; PYp vetuda ‘new, adj’; NT utüdi/utüüdai; Tbr he-me-sá-t ‘nuevo’ (cognate? Miller queries); Cr héhkwa / háhkwa; perhaps Yq héohomtéo ‘el otro’; Yq héohomtéo ‘la tarde’, queriéndose meter el sol’. [NUA: Num i often enough]. The Azt branch shows no -t, but Azt -w and -u of the other branches may align, with t lost in the cluster: *pituwa > *píw*a/pitu. [Azt p-]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, CrC]

1524. *aí-ka > *ikí ‘new, fresh, young’: M88-t19 (one item); KH/M06-t19: Kw ‘iivi ‘be new’. Let’s add SP aí- ‘new’; Ch aí-ga ‘new, young’; SP aí ‘new’; WMU aa-ga-y ‘be new, young, vi’; CU áa-ga-rí ‘new, young, n/adj’; TSh ikí ‘new, fresh’; Sh ikí ‘new, young’; Cm ikí ‘young’, Cm ikínakatí ‘young, youthful’; Ch aí-ga ‘new, young’; Ch áivac(i) ‘young boy’; CU áa-ga-rí ‘new, young’. Some terms may suggest that Num *aipaci ‘boy’ is a compound. At ‘today’ the first morpheme is in *aí-pí ‘now, today’. [NUA: SNum, CNNum]

1525. *paśwel ‘young man’: Ca paśwel-iš and Cp piśwěliš ‘young man’. [unstressed V > i] [NUA: Tak]

1526. *hukwa ‘recent, new’: My hú’ubwa ‘ahorita, hace poquito [recently]’; AYq hubwa heela ‘recently’; AYq hubwa híva ‘just recently’; Cu hubári ‘nuevo’; Eu hubárva ‘ahorita, no hace nada.’; Cr héhkwa ‘nuevo, primero’; Cr héhkua ‘nuevo, nuevo’. Do Cah (My bemela; Yq bemela) yield only initial CV? Jane Hill (p.c.) also notes Tb mappitta ‘just recently’; 259 **pî ‘new’; M88 *pî: Mn pîdî (< *pî’tî) ‘just, early’; Mn pîdî’ti (< *pî’tî’ti) ‘new, young’; NF pîdî ‘start’; HP mihi(k) ‘become night, get dark’; LP vîtuta/vîtïta ‘new thing’; PYp vët-a ‘new, adj’; PYp vetuda ‘new, adj’; NT utüdi/utüüdai; Tbr he-me-sá-t ‘nuevo’ (cognate? Miller queries); Cr héhkwa / háhkwa; perhaps Yq héohomtéo ‘el otro’. [NUA: Num i often enough]. The Azt branch shows no -t, but Azt -w and -u of the other branches may align, with t lost in the cluster: *pituwa > *píw*a/pitu. [Azt p-]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, CrC]


Niece: see relative, aunt, girl.

NIGHT, DARK; NOCHE, OSCURO; see also ‘sunset’ and ‘black’ where many ‘night’ terms are

1530. *mihï / *-mi(y): there seems to be a *-mi syllable of sorts, usually affixed, except it may be standing alone in Hp mihï(k) ‘become night, get dark’; LS túuku-mi-t ‘night’; Ca túkmiyat ‘night’; Tbr aka-y-mi-n ‘la tarde’; and possibly Cp túkmut ‘night’; Cp túkmući ‘at night’. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1531. *sum ‘get dark’: Tb šumumu ‘it is darkening’; Cr sú’umuara’a ‘be black’; perhaps Yq héohomtéo ‘el oscurecer, la tarde, queriéndose meter el sol’. Cr u < *o, so perhaps *suma > soma became *o > u in Cr. [NUA: Tb; SUA: CrC]

1532a. *yo’wal ‘night’: CL.Azt116 *yowal(l) ‘night’; M88-yowal: KH/M03-yowal: CN yowal-li ‘night, n’; CN yowal ‘become night’; Pt yuwa ‘vibrant, dark’; Po owel; T yowal; Z yowal. Possibly tied to *yuCpa at ‘black’ with *-p > o? These may relate to *yu’pa ‘fire go, get dark’ at ‘black’.
1532b. *ta-yo'wa ‘be night, dark’: CL.Azt11 *tlayowa ‘be night, be dark’; M88-ta37; KH/M03-ta37: CN tlayow’ ‘get dark, v’; CN tlayo’; PI tayuwa ‘at night, night’; Po tayue; T tlayow; Z tayowa. [SUA: Azt] 

NB, for *tukV ‘fire go out, dark, night, black’, see ‘black’.

NB, for *yuppa/i ‘fire go out, dark, night, black’, see ‘black’.

NB, for Tep *huLu ‘afternoon’ see at ‘sunset’.

NO, NOT; NO

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1533. *ka / *kay ‘no, not’: Sapir; VVH136 *ka ‘no, not’; M67-306 *ka, *kai; I.Num57 *ke ‘no, not’; KH.NUA; M88-kal ‘no’; KH/M06-kal: Most UA languages show a form of *kay (y) or *ke (< *kay), but rarely in Tep branch. [*k > h in Tb] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt, Tep]

1534. *kaN-tu: Mn qadu’-tu; SP kaču; WMU kač; Kw kedu. Kw suggests a nasal cluster *-nt- > -nt- (because *-tt- > Kw -tt- and *-t- > -r-), but what is -tu? [NUA: Num]

1535. *pi ‘no’: TO pi; pi’a; NV pima ‘’; PB check. [SUA: Tep]

1536. *im ‘no’: PYp im ‘not, no’; Wc ‘íma ‘negar, no permitir’. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

1537. *ma ‘no’: NT mai ‘negative’ (Bascom 1982, 278); We maave ‘no haber, ausente’; CN ma ‘no’ (in imperatives, optatives; RJC). [SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]

1538. *naw ‘no’: Sr nau ‘no’; Ktn naw ‘no’. [NUA: Tak]

NB, where have I seen cognates for ST čam?

NOISE, (MAKE) SOUND; (HACER) RUIDO

1539a. *kusu ‘make sound (characteristic of the animal): VVH122 *kusu ‘to sound (of animal)’; L.Son110 *kusu ‘gritar, cantar’; M88-kul, ku19, ku26; KH/M03-kul: Ken Hill rightly combines ku1 ‘characteristic noise’ and ku19 ‘flute’ and ku26: Ck kúš ‘make characteristic noise’; Ck kúşnine ‘play an instr’; Ck kúspi ly ‘throat’; Ck kustémi ‘choke with s.th. stuck in throat’; Eu kúsa; TO kúhi ‘the sound of neighing, crowing, blow (horn), n’; Wr kus ‘sing (birds), bellow (cows), etc’; Wr kúca; Tr kúš/gusú; MY kúse; Tr kús ‘k/ kusi/kusí; CN kikik(k) ‘whistle, hiss’. The general meaning is ‘make characteristic noise of whatever animal’. This stem is prevalent in Tak, Tep, and TrC.

1539b. *kus ‘flute’: M88-kul9: M67-179 *kus ‘flute’; KH/M06-kul: TO kuhu ‘play flute’; Tr guséra / kuséra / guséara ‘larynx, flute’; Yq kusia ‘flauta’; Yq kuuse ‘tocar instrumento’; MY kusia ‘laringe, garganta’; NP kocokwino (McDonald); NP kosokwa’i ‘whistle’; Cr kí’tíši ‘chirp (bird), rattle (snake)’. See derivation of *kuspi ‘throat’ at neck. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt; NUA: Tak, Num]

1541. *pu(N)’wi ‘for animals to make their characteristic noise’: Sapir: Sapir lists Cr hiwe (i usually for i, thus, hiwe) ‘nach einem schreien, brüllen’ and SP pun’wi ‘make a peeping noise (like a rat)’. Because Cr h < *p and i is next to u, Sapir’s is a decent pairing of Cr and SP. [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]


NB, for *kuspi ‘throat’, see at neck.

NORTH; NORTE

1543. *kwiN ‘north’: M67-307a *kwi, *kwi ‘north’; I.Num85 *kwi ‘north, cold’; KH.NUA; M88-kwi7 ‘north’; KM/HM06-kwi7: Mn kwiwi ‘to the north’; NP kwinaha(na) ‘northwind’; Sh kwinahai ‘north’; TSh kwinnahennajkwah ‘north’; TSh kwinaweppi; Cm kwine’-nakkwi ‘north’; Ls kwimik ‘eastward’; Gb komi ‘east’; Sr kwimik ‘north’, Sr akwinaamo ‘east wind’; Ktn kwimika ‘north’; Hp kwininya(q) ‘in or to the northwest’; Hp(S) kwinwi ‘toward the north’. Add Tb wiinaŋ’ ‘north’. This is more of a collection for study than a cognate set. They have *kwiN in common, but differ significantly otherwise. [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak]


[SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]

NOSE, SNOUT, BEAK; NARIZ, HOCICO, PICO DE AVE

Mn muβi
NP mmubi

Dakát

HP yaqa; mocoví ‘snout’

Tb mupi-t;

Tbr níki-so-r;

Sing- ‘blow nose’

Tbr huku-li-r ‘beak’

TSh mupin
Sr mukpi’

Yq yêka;

Sh mu-pin; muicun
Ca mu-l; lámsa ‘nose’

My yekka

Mn mu(h)bi
Ls mūvi-l

Wr yahká

Cp -mu

Tr a’ká

Ch muvi
TO daak

Cr cû’uri

SP muvi’-ppi;

WP(m) daak

We cûrį ‘&snout’

Puwi’-ppi

PYp daaka; ko’idim ‘beak’

Yeč.karáu ‘beak’

WMU mōvî’t-ö-pi
NT daaka

CN yaka-š ‘nose, point, tip’

CU mōvî’t-ö-pi
ST daaka

Teči-tli ‘beak < stone-thorn’

1546a. *yakaC / *ya’ka ‘nose’; Sapir; VVH110 yaška ‘nose, end’; M88-yasa ‘nose’; M67-308 *yaka ‘nose’; B.Tep11 *daaka ‘nose’; L.Son350 *yaka ‘nariž’; CL.Azt117 *yaka ‘nose’; KH/M06-ya3 *yakaR (AMR): Hp yaqa, comb. yaqa; TO; LP; PYp; NT; ST; Eu; Yq; My; Wr; CN; in addition to those listed above, Miller notes other cognates of varying semantics: Mn yoqa ‘nasal mucus’; SP yaqaa ‘edge, end’; Tb yahaawit / yahaawil ‘summit, point’. SP and TB semantically align with CN. Sapir lists Tr yaxka and Ca yeka, though I can find neither in my sources. A fairly clear NUA-SUA distinction for ‘nose’ emerges in NUA *mu-pi and SUA *yaka (except Hp yaqa with SUA), though, as Miller shows, other reflexes of *yaka in NUA have related meanings other than ‘nose’ (e.g., SP yagaa ‘edge, end’). Since Tbr typically shows a palatalization nasal ñ/ny for y, then Tbr niki-so-r ‘nose’ belongs with both vowels assimilated toward y/i: *yaka > nyaka > nyka > niki. The final -s in Hp’s combining form and in Tbr are noteworthy, like AMR’s reconstruction with a final -C: *yakaR. The other semantic group is below in b:

1546b. *yaka ‘summit, point, ridge, side’: Kw yíya/yagaa ‘side’; CU yaqá-ya ‘side, also side of the body’; SP yagaa ‘edge, end’; Tb yahaawit / yahaawil ‘summit, point’; CN yaka-tl ‘nose, point, tip’. This is in all 11 branches. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
1547a. *mukpiC ‘nose’: VVH15 *muspi ‘nose, point’; M67-162b *muotp ‘nose’; I.Num100 *mupi-h/N; BH.Cup *mu(v); M88-mu12 ‘nose’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-mu13: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; SP; CU; Tb; Cp; Ca; Ls; Gb mòpin; Sr mukpi’ ‘nose’ (< face-breast?)’; cf. Sr tamukpi’ heel (< foot-nose). Ken Hill adds Ktn mukpi ‘nose’. Sr and Ktn show medial *-kp-, yet Num shows no signs of a cluster, though Tb -p- vs. -b- also suggests a cluster; and SP, Tb, Sr suggest a final or third consonant. Cf. Hp mòope(q) ‘in front’ below, which also suggests a medial cluster.

1547b. *muC ‘nose, snout, face’; M88-mu12 ‘face’; M67-162a *mu ‘face’; I.Num100 *mu- (pref) ‘nose, mouth, face’; AMR1993a *mut ‘nose, front’: Mn mu ‘nose, snout, mouth’; NP mu- ‘face’ (pref); Sh mu- ‘with nose or front’ (instr pref); SP mu- ‘nose’; Hp mo’a/mo’o ‘mouth’ (cognate? Miller queries). In M88-mu12 and -mu13, Miller astutely distinguishes ‘nose’ and ‘face’ though the one is based on the other. Miller also queries whether Hp mo’a/mo’o ‘mouth’ is cognate. Perhaps it is, since in animals the semantic range of ‘nose, snout, face’ makes sense more than for people; for deer, bear, and most animals, the mouth and nose are all part of the same forward protrusion, whereas in people the nose is a protrusion, but the mouth is quite independent of that protrusion, the face generally also.

1547c. *tmu / *muluka ‘first’: BH.Cup *mul ‘first, before’; M88-mu12 ‘face’; M88-mu14 ‘before, first’. Ken Hill correctly combines M88-mu12 and mu14 in KH/M03-mu12: NP mui ‘first’; Cp múluk ‘first’; Ca múluk ‘first’; Ls ‘amú-(la) ‘first, previously’; Hp mòoti ‘first, before’; Hp mòope(q) ‘in front’; Hp monaqw ‘from a point in front’; Hp monyi ‘leader, head, chief’. Hp Ṯ may suggest that the original morpheme included the three consonants in Cp and Ca, since Hp ḭ is a nice reflex of an -lk- cluster, after loss of the intervening vowel, then showing a velar nasal for the nasalization of the liquid (*l > N) plus a velar in a resulting cluster: *mu12a > *mulka > *muŋa. Ktn namumuk ‘first’; Ktn pamukit / pamukpit ‘first, ahead’; and Ktn lamumuk ‘first’ show three separate prefixes (na-, pa-, la-) to -mu(mu)k, similar to 2 of the 3 in the Tr forms for bumblebee: Tr napáí, fápaí, wápara. [syncope to cluster; Hq -p- < *-CC-] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb]

1548. *co / *ceu ‘snout’: Cr ču’uri ‘nose; Wc čuuri ‘nose, snout’; and perhaps Tr ču’á ‘beak, snout’ and NT úsu ‘hocico, pico’. Whether loans or cognates is hard to say, because the Tr and CrC vowels do not agree, since Corachol u < *o. [CRU: CrC, Trn, Tep]

Now: see today

NUMB; ENTUMIRSE, ENTUMECERSE, ENTUMECIDO; see also ‘cold’

1549. *tïpa/i ‘nimb’: Ca tétvis ‘to become numb’; Wr cocotéba-ni ‘limb, to fall asleep’. A Ca reduplication would have *tevi(is) match the sequence in Wr. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

1550. *šik-powa ‘nimb’: CN sepoowa ‘be numb (of body part, from cold or lack of circulation)’; CN sesepoka ‘get numb, have goose bumps’; perhaps Eu zopóre ‘encogerse’, though it is listed below at *co’po as well. The 1st element of the CN terms is suggested to be CN sek-tli ‘snow, ice’. Eu -p- (and not -v-) suggests a cluster in Eu as well. Might Yq ši’ibwia ‘entumida/o’ and AYq ši’ibwia ‘nimb’ be reduced loans from Azt? And what of Nv sivapagi ‘entumirse’? [-kp- cluster] [NUA: Azt, Opn, Cah]

1551. *šik-mukki ‘nimb < ice/cold-dead’; Hp šümokiwíta (with accent on 1st V) ‘be getting numb’; Hp(H) šümokiwta ‘be numb’; NP ta/má-sísíŋí ‘foot/hand goes to sleep’; Cm sisíni ‘nimb, feel numb, asleep’; WMU sí’ú ‘be numb’. The first morpheme could well be that of CN sek-tli ‘ice/cold’. Though Hp lost the velar stop, it preserved the vowel pattern best. NP, Cm, and WMU are reductions showing residual features of both consonants, in which the velar + nasal cluster -km- went the following directions: *-km- > ḭ (NP); ‘-n- (Cm); and ‘u (WMU), for all show signs of a velar (velar nasal or glottal stop) and a nasal or a nasal V in the case of WMU. The vowels or whole second syllable contracted severely. [cluster reduction -km- > ḭ, m, ‘-n-] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp]


NB, for *samV ‘wet, numb’, see ‘wet’.

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OAK, ACORN; ENCINO, ROBLE, BELLOTA

1553. *pawa 'oak': M88-pa56; Munro.Cup82 *páwi-s 'oak sp'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa56: Cp páwi-s 'blue oak'; Ca páwi-s 'scrub oak'; Ls páawi-s 'scrub oak'; Sr ipa-t 'an oak sp'. CN aawa-tl 'oak' matches well, since *p > ø in CN. Most other UA languages show initial *p; therefore, a few other forms which lack initial *p may be northward diffusions of CN aawa-tl rather than cognates with it: Tbr amwá-t 'encino robles'; Wr awé 'kind of oak'. [*p > Azt ø; Tbr-Azt] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

1554. *toha 'oak': M67-309 *tua 'oak tree'; L.Son307 *toha 'encino'; Fowler83; M88-to1 'oak'; KH/M06-kwi9: TO toa 'oak tree'; Eu tohá; Wr tohá; Tr roha(sa); Cr tuá. Add PYP tua 'live oak'; NT tucéyi 'encino'; NT tuápíl 'oak sp. '; ST tua 'encino'. Note Wr and Tr *tohi 'acorn' and *toha 'oak tree'. But initial CV- of Gb tômsar 'kind of oak'; Gb tômsavit 'un roblar'. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

1555. *iyaL / *iýaL 'poison oak': M88-i4; BH.Cup *iýala 'poison oak'; HH.Cup *iýaala 'poison oak'; Munro.Cup101 *aya-la 'poison oak'; Fowler83; KH/M06-i4: Ca *iýa-l; Cp *iýa-l (Hill and Hill note Cp's unexpected V); Ls *iýa-la; HN 'iya-tl 'tobacco'. Munro mentions a possible tie between this set and *iya 'sore', which could easily be. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ktn *iyči 'poison oak' and Gb oaa-r. Ls -la suffix may mean s.th. like a final liquid in the stem. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

1556a. *kwi(N) 'acorn, oak': M67-1 *kwi/*kwiñi acorn; BH.Cup *kwíñila(?) oak sp; Munro.Cup81 *kwíñi-la 'oak sp. '; Fowler83; M88-kwi9; KH.NUA; KH/M06-kwi9: SP kwíya- vù 'scrub oak'; WMU kwíya-vi 'oakbrush'; CU kwí-píi oak tree; Tb wa'ant 'type of oak tree and its acorn' (wrong vowel, but perhaps a-a < *i-a); Cp kwíñily 'Black Oak and its acorn'; Ca kwíñi; Ls kwí-; Gb kwá 'bellota' (vowel is wrong); Sr kwiih-t; Hp kwínyi oak (brush); HN kwínyi-ta 'acorn'. Tb winiyaa-l 'acorn' should be included for consideration. 'Moon' also shows a medial n/y dichotomy in Tak; however, Tb may suggest that both originally existed, perhaps later became clustered, then only one or the other dropped out in that clustering process. Miller includes several forms in both M88-kwi9 and M88-wi9 which we separate by letter. If they are both related, then an explanation is in order as to why so many reflexes dropped the k of *kw: *kw > w or *w > kw? Note Ktn kwíyač 'acorn sp'. And the fact that Tak languages and SNum languages have terms in both *kwínV and *wi'aN is available for explanation—anyone? [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

1556b. *wi'a(N) / *wiya(N) 'acorn, oak': M88-wi9 'acorn, oak'; L.Num281 *wiya(h) 'acorn'; BH.Cup *wi'a 'oak, sp. *wiw 'acorn mush (but see below)'; HH.Cup *wi'a 'oak, sp. '; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wi9: Mn wiya' 'acorn' (generic term); NP wia; Kw wi'a-(m)bi/wiya-(m)bi; TSh wiampippi; Kw wi'a-(m)bi; Tb wiwat 'to leach acorns'; Cp wi'a-t 'live oak'; Ls wi'a-t 'oak, sp. '; Ca wi'at 'canyon or maul oak'; Sr wi'aht. Miller also queries whether SP and CU *kwiya 'oak' are related. [NUA: Num; Tak, Tbr, Hp]

1557. *wiw '(make) acorn mush': BH.Cup *wiw 'to make/cook acorn mush'; KH.NUA; M88-wi17; Munro.Cup2 *wiwi-š 'acorn mush'; KH/M06-wi7: Ca wiw; Ls wiw; Gb wíy 'atole de bellota'; Sr wiíc 'acorn mush'. Tb wiwat 'to leach acorns' better fits here than above, though the two could feasibly be tied. [Gb loses -w-] [NUA: Tak]

1558. *paCtik 'leach acorns': BH.Cup *páci 'to leach acorns'; M88-pa43; KH/M06-pa43: Cp páčike 'leach acorn flour'; Ca páči 'leach acorns'; Ls pášku 'leach acorn flour'; Ls pášku-š 'leached acorn flour'. KH.NUA offers the possibility that Sr pāčivut 'Upper Cienega' may have something to do with the above Cupan forms. [NUA: Tak]

1559. *maki 'acorn flour': Munro.Cup1 *mááxi-š 'acorn flour': Ls mááxi-š; Cp máxi-š. Cm makicar 'mash, squash, hand grind' may also belong. [NUA: Tak, Num]

1560. *sipi 'oak sp. ': Tb šiibii-l 'acorn'; Kw šividi-bi 'water oak, valley oak, roble'; Ktn šev(t) 'oak sp'. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Gb save-l. Cr su′uh 'encino' and Tr rohisowa 'chaparro, encina chaparra' changing *-p- > -w- (*sip > *siw) cannot be presumed, but are not impossible. [NUA: Tb, Num, Tak]

1561. *kaLi / *kaLa 'acorn': PYp ka′ali 'acorn'; NT káli 'encino roble'; ST tua kai 'oak-seed'; Tr garabosi 'acorn'. [NUA: Tep, Trn]
1562. *kusi ‘oak’: AYq kusi ouwo ‘oak tree’; Wr kusi ‘brush, thicket; kind of oak’ [SUA: Trn, Cah]

1563. *muCtV ‘oak sp’: Kw mucita-bi ‘California scrub oak’; Sr mohčat ‘oak species, its acorns: a long, thin kind of acorn’. [NUA: Num, Tak]

1564. *tïpa ‘white oak’: NT tïpáára tueéyi ‘encino blanco’; Cp tévesily ‘white oak’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

1565. *yumu ‘acorn’: Tb yuumuk-t ‘acorn sp’; Tb yuumuugu-l ‘acorn tree’; Tb yu’um ‘type of oak tree’; Mn yimíná ‘acorn drink’. Possibly a loan, given their geographic proximity. [NUA: Tb, Num]

Ocean: see water
Oil: see fat

OLD, WEAR OUT; VIEJO, GASTAR, DECAER
1566. *yo’o / *yu’u ‘old’: Yq yó’o ‘old, grow up, grow old’; Yq yo’otui ‘old people’; Yq ó’ola ‘viejito/a’; My (y)ó’ola, ó’ora ‘old’; My yó’otu ‘is growing’; My yó’owe ‘is grown, is big’; My yúüya ‘old (of things)’; AYq yo’ora/yo’owam ‘elders, ancestors’; AYq yo’otu ‘mature, adj, grow old or tall, vi’; AYq yo’otui ‘old person, elder’. Tb yo’ol~’oyo’ola ‘be bald’ may also belong. [SUA: Cah; NUA: Tb]

1567. *yuLa ‘wear out’: Sr yolal-k ‘wear out, become ragged’; Cp yulayúla’a-š ‘ragged’. Consider also Tb ‘uulaw-(it) ‘is getting old’. The differing Tb reflexes here and above, and the differing medial consonants suggest a separation of these from the above. [NUA: Tb, Tak]

1568. *yoci(-tu) ‘(become) old’: Wr ocíru-na/océru-na ‘become old’; Wr ocrume ‘old man’; Tr očeru- ‘grow, develop, become old’; Eu doći ‘old’ (Eu d < *y); Eu doçitu-u-n ‘become old’; Eu doçiwari ‘very old’; Eu doçisuarí ‘age’ (Shaull 2008/9). Tr and Wr are somewhat prone to lose initial consonants, so *yoci is a decent reconstruction. Is this tied to *yo’o above? [SUA: Trn, Opn]


1570. *mu’ata ‘old’: Mn muu’áci ‘old ones’; AYq mooye ‘get old’; AYq moera ‘old, worn out, used items, inan’; Yq moéla ‘worn out’; PYp momi ‘ancient’. [SUA: Cah, Tep; NUA: Num]

1571. *ma’aC ‘old (woman)’: Kw ma’apí-zí ‘old woman’; Ch maapíci ‘old lady’; CU wíi-mamá-pí-ci ‘old lady’; perhaps the -mai of TO kelimai ‘old person’ (subtract TO keli ‘an uncle senior to one’s father’); PYp keli-mder ‘old, adj, old man, n’ (subtract PYp keli ‘male, man, paternal uncle, to age, vi’). At ‘woman’ is the reduplication (WMU mama-či ‘woman’ and CU mama-ci ‘woman’) of what originally meant ‘old woman’ and other compounds of this morpheme. [NUA: Num]

1572. *tu’a- ‘become’: Langacker (1977, 45) reconstructs *tu ‘become’; KH.NUA; *tu-pu (Jane Hill, p.c.): Ca nišluvuk ‘become old (of woman)’ and Ca náxaluuvuk ‘become old (of man)’ both show -luvuk ‘become old’; Cp naxánču-ve-l ‘old man’ (*nakan ‘old man’); Cp nisɺ'uve-l ‘old woman’; Cp niču, past: nišwi ‘grow old (of woman)’; Ls néču ‘become old (of woman)’; Ls nēš-la ‘old woman’ (for the first morpheme *nos > Ca/Cp *nis, see ‘woman’); Ch tu’a ‘become, turn’. Jane Hill’s reconstruction of *tu-pu, the first morpheme (*tu) of which she reports (p.c.) as an inchoative in Cp, possibly interpretable as s.th. like ‘become’, and some forms only have the *tu portion. Note also Sr nihiatvŷjú ‘grow old (of woman)’; Sr nihiatvišt ‘old woman’; Sr nyyḥt ‘woman’, and WSh -tuah ‘become, turn into, engender’ (Crum and Dayley 1993, 126-7); Sh -tuu- ‘become’ (Langacker 1977, 45). Maybe not Cp lůvini-s ‘withered’. [NUA: Tak, Num]

1573. *upiha ‘long ago, long time(r), old’: Sr uviht ‘long ago, it used to be’; Ktn ‘uvea ‘before, already’; Ktn ‘u’uvea ‘a long time ago, for a long time’; Ktn uviha ‘old (man or woman)’. [NUA: Tak]
NB, for *nakan ‘old’ see grow.
NB, for Tr wegáca ‘(grow/be) old (of women)’ see ‘woman’.
NB, for *wiL ‘big, old’, see ‘big’.

On: see at ‘at’.

ONION, WILD
1574. *kïNka ‘onion’: I.Num76 *kïŋka/*kïka ‘onion’; Fowler83; M88-kï7 ‘onion’; KH/M06-kï7: WSh kïnka: NP kïkka ‘wild garlic’; Sh kïnka ‘onion’; Cm kïïkka ‘onion’. Fowler also lists Ch; SP; CU. [NUA: Num]

1575. *mu’a ‘onion’ (Fowler states probably Allium pleianthum): Fowler83: NP, Sh, SP. [NUA: Num]

ONLY; SOLO, SOLAMENTE
1576. *saN ‘only’: Sapir: SP -šampa (< *san + V + pa) ‘only, except’; Ch samp(a) ‘only’; CN san ‘only, but’. Sapir unites the SP and CN forms; and whether related or not, the SP and Ch terms certainly are. [NUA: SNum; SUA: Azt]

OPEN; ABRIR, ABIERTO
1577. *tapowa ‘open’: CL.Azt122 *tapowa open; M88-ta40 ‘open’; KH/M06-ta40: My étapo ‘abrir’; CN tlapoa ‘open s.th.’; PI tapuwa; HN tlapoa; HN tlapowi ‘be open’; Tr(H) irápa ‘abrir’. What of CU tapágay ‘open, rip open’; Mn ca-po’a ‘with fingers-expose’; and TSh típiá ‘undo, release’? Since *u > i is frequent in Numic, perhaps *tapowa > tapua > tïpiá in TSh. [SUA: Trn, Azt; NUA: Num]

1578. *pïtïwa ‘open, uncover’: Stubbs2003-29: Tb peleew~’epeleeu ‘open it up’; Hp pïri-k-na ‘unfold, open up, unwrap, vt’; Eu périna ‘abrir (la mano or un libro)’; CN petlaawa ‘disrobe, undress, uncover, polish s.th.’; what about PI peelua ‘abrir, vt’; PI ta-pelu ‘abrir, vt’. Ca pélaan ‘spread open (wings, fan, not on ground)’ is also listed with Azt *patlaani ‘fly, vi’ at ‘fly, v’.[NUA: Tb, Hp; SUA: Opn, Azt]

1579. *kappaL ‘open’: Kw kapa’iyugwi ‘to open up’; Ca kápal ‘get/make hole/opening’; Cp kápele ‘to open’; Ca kavi ‘to be open’. Might this tie to *kapaL ‘flat’? [*-pp- vs. -p- in Ca] [NUA: Num, Tak]

1580. *kwatta ‘open’: Ls hiqwáta ‘be an opening’; Ca če-kwála’an ‘open (eyes or mouth)’; Ca kwétel ‘stick out, perk up, vi, pry open, vt’.[NUA: Tak]

1581. *paka ‘open’: CU paqá-tíi ‘open, break open’; CU paqá-kí; Sh kïsappax ‘yawn’; TSh kïsapaaha ‘open up, come open’; Mn waqaa ‘be open, spaced widely’. (For *kïsa ‘yawn/open mouth’, see yawn.) [NUA: Num]

NB, *’aki ‘open’ (Ca ‘áqi ‘to open’; Sh ake” ‘to open up’) is at ‘eat’. [NUA: Tak, Num]

Other: see different and one.

OUT(SIDE), (A)FUERA (DE)

1583. *pu / *puta / *puL(y)a ‘go/come out’: B.Tep287 *vuusanai ‘come out’; L.Son218 *puca = *puwa ‘salir’; M88-pu7 and pu17; KH/M06-pu7 and pu17: Tr buwa/buya ‘salir, pl.’; Wr puyá ‘salir, pl. subj.’; Sr puraq/q ‘go out, come out, exit; urinate’; Ktn purahkik ‘come out’; Ls pulüča/i/ ‘start, set out, go away, be reckoned, vi; pick out, procure, reckon, calculate, vt’; Cp pútíč ‘go out’; Ca pútayiš ‘that which has been hatched’; TO wuušani ‘emerge, exit, appear’; Eu vúcke ‘salir’; Eu hi-puwa ‘asomarse’; Op buca. Miller lists the forms in L.Son218 *puca/puwa ‘salir’ in M88-pu17; however, since L.Son218 and both M88-pu7 and pu17 contain most of the same forms, they should be combined, though doing so does not mean they are all from a single proto-form, but a collection to be studied. Perhaps *-t- > -c-/L-. The Tep forms *puc and the Tak forms *puluc may be another case of a lost liquid absorbed into a cluster, then disappearing. Or the variance after first syllables may be different morphemes or compounds. Consider also Mn pudi’i ‘get out, exit, leave’. [medial C problems] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]

1585. *yīhī(па) ‘outside’: Kw yīh-i ‘outside’; Ch yīhiva-nt ‘outside, outdoors’; Sr yīhavanu ‘outside’. Note that at ‘earth’ is *yawa ‘flat land, outside’, but Tb yahawaa-l ‘red earth’ would hardly suggest a tie between those and these. [NUA: Num, Tak]

1586. *pa’ku ‘out’: Yq pa’aku(ni) ‘afuera’; AYq pa’akun(i) ‘outside’; My pá’aku ‘afuera’; Cr pwa’akïéh ‘afuera’; Wc vaka ‘take out’. [SUA: Cah, CrC]

1587a. *huna ‘outside’: NP hunaggwa ‘outside’; Sh hunankwa ‘outside’; Cm hunakï ‘outside’; Tb ‘oonooban ‘the outside’.

1587b. *hup(p)ina ‘out’: Mn hupináqwe ‘outside’; ST hupna’ ‘take out, extract, vt’. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]

1588. *wikaL ‘owe’: M88wi3; KH/M06-wi3 ‘owe / deber’: TO wiklaDag ‘debt’; Eu vikiryáve; Wr wiga; Tr(H) wiká / wiké; My wikirííya; Wc wíkie; CN wiikiliaa ‘take, carry s.th. for s.o.; owe s.th. to s.o., vt’; Pl wiikili|a. All show initial *w except TO (*p?), perhaps a loan, yet note the lengthy agreement between Eu and TO — *pikiLVyawV — and 4 of the 5 consonants in Azt *wiikiLi(y)a. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

1589. *kuku ‘ground/burrowing owl’: M88-ku3; Stubbs1995-21 *kwu ku; KH/M06-ku3: Ca kuku-l ‘ground owl’; Munro.Cup87 *kuku-l/*kuku-l ‘owl’; Ls kuku-l ‘burrowing owl’; Gb kuku ‘burrowing owl’; Kn kuku-k ‘owl sp’; Hp koko ‘burrowing owl, little owl’. Consider also Tr okowí / okó-turi ‘small type of owl’; Tr o*ko ‘type of owl’; TO kuukvul ‘elf owl’; TO kokohu ‘burrowing owl’. Since Tr sometimes shows o < *u, Tr o is the expected reflex for the *kwo/kwu phenomenon. Yet whether Tr lost initial k from *kuku or the set reflects *kwuku, the Tr and TO forms match the Hp and Tak forms fairly well. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

1590. *muhuC ‘owl’: M67-312 *muhu ‘owl’; I.Num97 *mu(hu(h)) ‘owl’; BH.Cup *muhuta ‘owl’; L.Son153 *muhu ‘buho’; Fowler83; M88-mu10 ‘owl’; Munro.Cup86 *múúhu-ta > *múú-ta ‘owl’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-mu10: Mn muhu ‘Pacific horned owl’; NP muhu ‘owl’; TSh muumpi-(ci) ‘horned owl’; Sh mom-picc; Kw muhu-ci; Ch muhmupicci; Sp moo”-(ppici) ‘hooting owl’; CU múú-pi-ci; Tb muhun-t, muhumi-t; Cp múú-t; Ca múú-t; Ls múú-ta ‘horned owl’; Gb múút; Sr mum-t; Kn múú-t; Hp moqwi; Eu muhút; Op muh; Yq múú-u; My múú-u; Tbr mu-tá; HN kwa-mohom-hli ‘night owl’ (kwa=forest dwelling, wild). Add Tr mo’tapa ‘owl sp’ as Tr tápani ‘owl sp’ provides a convenient morpheme break for Tr mo’-tapa. HN and Sr mum-t may suggest an old reduplication. Tak -t absolutive and especially Ls -ta suggest a final consonant. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, Azt]

1591. *tuku ‘owl’: VVH105 *tukur(i) ‘owl’; B.Tep233 *tukurai owl; M67-313 *tuku ‘owl’; CL.Azt123 *təkoloo ‘owl’; 264 **tukul/tukul ‘owl’; Fowler83; M88-tu15 ‘owl’; KH/M06-tu15: NP tuhu’u ‘burrowing owl’; Tb tukuluh ‘screech owl’; Hp tokori ‘screech owl’; TO čukur; LP tukur; PYp tukor; NT tukuúrai; ST tukuur; Cr tukuurúú ‘owl’; Cr tükupwa’an ‘tecolote’; CN tekoloo-tl; My tekew ‘zopilote’; Pl tekowu-t. Note CN tololo’ ‘owl’ and Tb tukuluh. Mayan *tuhkur(u) (Campbell 1988) must also be noted. [*-k- > -h- in NP like black] [NUA: Hp, Tbr; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

1592. *síka ‘owl’: Stubbs2003-28: CN šašaka ‘owl’; Kw sīkaatí ‘barn owl’; Tb še’egapiš ‘barn owl’. The Kw and Tb forms are certainly related, and I would guess that CN šašaka is also. If so, then either CN assimilated the first vowel (*-a > a-a), or a once unaccented a > i in NUA. Could an original high vowel (i or i) explain the palatalized $ in CN? [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Azt]

1593. *cikwa’a ‘barn owl’: CN čiikwa’-tli ‘lechuza/barn owl’; Cr siwa’a ‘barn owl’. [Cr consonants kw/w/p] [SUA: CrC, Azt]

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1594. *tukyapa ‘type of owl’: Ls tůkyapa-l ‘screech owl’; Tr ዳሱብርitučawari ‘owl sp’. Natural enough is *-ky- > -č-, but whether verifiable? [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

1595. *poko ‘burrowing owl’; Cm ፍሱ ‘burrowing owl’; TSh እስከቹ ’owl sp’. Perhaps Mn wɔqoyana ‘owl sp’. For Mn w < *p possibly, see also Mn at *paka ‘open’ and others. [NUA: Num, Tb]

PADDLE

1596. *ipa ‘wooden paddle’: Munro.Cup88 *‘ííval ‘wooden paddle’; KH/M06- ‘i14: Cp ívə -l; Ls ííva -l. [NUA: Tak]

PAIN, HURT; DOLER, DOLOR, DAÑAR; see also ‘sick’

1597. *kɔli (*kɔkoLɔi > *kɔ’okoLi) ‘hurt, be sick, chili pepper’: M67-129c *koko ‘hurt’; L.Son92 *koko ‘be sick’; L.Son93 *kokorì ‘chile’; B.Tep117 *ko’oko ‘be sick, hurt’; Fowler83; M88-ko7; KH/M06-ko7  ‘hurt, (be) pepper hot’; Cp qilyíqa-t ‘hot, spicy, strong’; Cp qilyíqu’ni ‘hurt, sting, vt’; Ca qélya ‘feel sore, v’; Ca qélyak ‘peppery, pungent, creating a burning sensation’; TO s-ko’ok ‘be painful’; TO ko’okol ‘chile pepper (plant and fruit)’; TO ko’okoD ‘hurt, give pain to, vt’; NT kóóko ‘be sick’; NT kóókoli ‘chile’; ST -ka’ook ‘be sick’; ST ko’okol ‘chile’; Eu kókoe-n ‘doler’; Eu kókocem ‘estar enfermo’; Wr ko’kó- ‘estar chileoso’; Wr ko’koré- ‘dolerse’; Wr ko’kóri ‘chile’; Tr ko ‘pica (chile)’; Tr ko-ri ‘chile’; Tr o’ko-ri ‘dolor’; My kó’okori ‘chile’; My kó’oko ‘enchiloso’; My kó’okore ‘enfermo’; Tbr ko’okol ‘chile’; My kó’oko ‘be painful’; NT kóókoli ‘chile’; Wc kookóri ‘chile’; CN kokoy(a) ‘be sick’; kokok ‘be spicy’; Pl kukuk ‘strong, hot, spicy, painful’; Pl kuukua ‘to hurt, ache, pain’. Note Eu lost r. Note simple *koLV in Cupan; thus, I consider *ko’okoLi a reduplication of *koLi, lik *wï’ïwïLu ‘big’ is a reduplication of *wïLu. Of course, superlatives for ‘big’ and ‘pain’ (I hurt!) are always in high demand conversationally, so fossilized reduplications of such words early in UA prehistory should not be surprising. Besides liquids in both NUA and SUA, note also *-L- > -y- in CN. [liquids in NUA/SUA; L > y in CN] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

1598. *mana(ya) ‘hurt’: NP manaya ‘warning s.o. that s.th. might hurt them, v’; NP tamanayai’hu ‘wounded’; NP namaniya’hu ‘hurt self really bad, injure’; Cm manïïcikwa’ ‘pain, ache, n’; Cm manïï’maitï ‘tire of s.th.;’ Cm manïïsukaarï ‘excite, give sensation (cause good or bad feeling in body or spirit)’. [NUA: Num]

1599. *wimma ‘suffer, tire, fall short of’: Ls wima ‘be heavy, be difficult, vi’; TSh wïmme ‘suffer, feel pain’; TSh wïmme(ŋkïn) ‘make suffer’; WSh wemmei ‘fail, be unable to do, vt’; WSh wemmiha ‘get tired, be tired, run short of, lack, vi’; Sh wïmmihuntïn ‘nine’ (lit: one less)’. Does NP wïmma ‘touch with the body’ in NP nïïmmaba wïmma ‘have any kind of sickness’ belong? [mm-] [NUA: Num, Tak]

1600. *wan-tv ‘hurt, sick’: My waante ‘doler(se)’; Yq wante ‘correr, tener dolor’; Yq(J) wáante ‘dolor’; AYq wantia ‘hurt (body part)’; AYq wantia ‘sickness, pain, n’. [SUA: Cah]

NB, for *paka ‘hurt, hit’ see ‘hit’.
NB, for *kisa ‘injure, bad’ see ‘sore’.

Paint: see draw

PALM OF THE HAND; PALMA DE LA MANO

Miller includes all initial *ma- words in M88-ma14 ‘palm’. Undoubtedly, they are compounds involving *ma(n)- ‘hand’, but beyond that, the forms vary. So let’s separate the compounds according to morphemes following initial *ma:-

1601. *mac-paña ‘palm (perhaps ‘hand-surface’): M88-ma14; KH/M06-ma14 *map ‘palm of the hand’; TSh mmapana; Sh mmapana; Cm mapana; perhaps CU ma-páya-vi (CU payá ‘side, wall, surface’). Add SP mahpaiyaa-vu-vi ‘palm’. Having -p- rather than -v- in SNum means a geminating feature on *maC (*mac-paya > *mappaya). However, SNum shows a different 3rd consonant than CNum, though both morphemes mean roughly ‘surface’. [CC] [NUA: Num]
1602. *maC-pita 'palm (of hand)'; Mn mapédà/mapéédà; NP mmapida; AYq mam vetaria; My mam béta’ari(a) ‘palm/hueco de la mano’; Yq béta’i ‘palm de la mano’. Considering *pita ‘mat, bed’, might this compound derive from ‘hand-bed/lying down place’? [*-CC-] [NUA: WNum; SUA: Cah]

1603. *maC-taskaL ‘palm’ (< hand-tortilla, ie, hand-flat; see Pl); B.Tep148 *mataka ‘palm of the hand’; M67-314 *ma-taka ‘palm of the hand’; M88-ma14 ‘palm’; KH/M06-ma14 *map (after AMR) ‘TO matk; UP matiki; LP matk; PYp maktar; NT matáka/ matáákai; Tr mataga-(ra); Pl maataškal ‘palm of the hand’ (lit: hand-tortilla). Add Ls táák ‘palm of the hand’ (contrasts with Ls tááx ‘self’). [PYp velar anticipation; *-CC-*; *t- > -c- in Eu] [SUA: Tep, Azt; Trn; NUA: Tak]

1604. *maC-tako(wo) (< *takuwa) ‘palm: Eu máckora ‘palma de la mano’; Tbr ma-tako-rá-n / ma-tako-lí-r ‘palm de la mano’. Wr matála ‘palm of the hand’ could belong either here or above. Hp mapqölö may tie to this *tako-morpheme, having lost the first syllable in a reduction. Eu and Tbr, like Hp, show a round vowel *tako and/or the labial consonant w after k, as if *takowo. Hp -p- could be excrecent from any stop with consonant harmony help from bilabial m-. This may be a compound of ‘hand’ and *takuwa ‘concavity, lower place where things collect’ (see 1205 at hole). [SUA: Opn, Tbr; NUA: Hp]

PALM TREE; PALMA, PALMERA (date palm)

1605. *mahawa / *ma(C)wa ‘palm tree’: BH.Cup *máxwal? ‘palm tree’; Fowler83; Munro.Cup89 *mááxwa-l ‘fan palm’; M88-ma28; KH.NUA; KHM/06-ma28: Cp máawa-l; Ca máwu-l / máw-l; Ls mááxwa-l / mááxu-l; Sr mamahu-t / mamahw-t ‘California fan palm’; Gb máhar ‘grass, zacate, rama’; TO maahagam ‘fan palm tree’; and Hill lists Ch mamau’umtampï and Ch mahavi ‘tree/plant’ with question mark. Add Nv maagama ‘palma’. Munro lists *maahawa-l as another possible proto-form (besides *mááxwa-l), and both of her reconstructions are about as well as can be done for this challenging assortment. Because *w > Tep g, *mahawa serves the Tep forms, and *w seems apparent in both Tak and Tep, yet more is happening. A severe reduction of two or three medial consonants may underlie the complications. Note kw vs. w in Ls vs. Cp/Ca again. [mVCCV; medial w/xw/h] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

1606. *taku ‘palm tree’: Fowler83; L.Son271 *taku ‘palma’; M88-ta11; KH/M06-ta11: Eu takú-t; Wr tahkú ‘palmilla’; Tr fákú; My takko; Tbr takó-t; Wc taakïï. To these can be added Cr takí ‘palma’ and Yq táko ‘palma’. [o/u] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

1607. *sawVya (> saywa in Tbr) ‘palm sp’: Tbr say-mwa-t ‘palma real’ and Tbr san-wat ‘palma real’; these are likely variants of the same word, suggesting a medial cluster, and not two morphemes, as Lionnet lists. Wr saó ‘palma, palma real’; Tr sawéara ‘palma de matachín’ or Tr (s)ówá ‘variedad de palma’; NT oí ‘la palma’ (*s > ø in NT); CN sooyaa-tl ‘palm tree’. What of the so- in CN sootool-in ‘palm tree’ or Tbr so-ko ‘date-palm’? [NUA: Trn, Tbr, Azt, Tep]


1609. *tu’ya ‘type of palm tree’: Wr tu’ya ‘palmilla’; Tr fu’ya ‘kind of palm tree’. [SUA: Trn]

Paper: see draw
Parrot: see bird
Pay: see trade

PEACE(FUL, ABLE), QUIET, AGREE, KIND;
PAZ, SILENCIO(SO), ESTAR DE ACUERDO, AMABLE

1610. *yan-(ta/ti) ‘be calm, quiet’: Yq yànti ‘peace, quiet’; Yq yanti(a) ‘firme, quieto’; Yq yantela ‘paciente, tranquilo’; AYq yanti ‘quiet, peaceful’; AYq yanti maaci ‘be well behaved, quiet, still’; My yanti hiapiśiwayne ‘paz’; Hp yan-ta ‘(1) be this way, be like this; (5) be still, quiet, not fussy, accepting of a situation’; probably the latter part of CN iwiwyiyan ‘peacefully, calmly, moderately, little at a time’. [NUA/SUA-n/n] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah, Azt]
1611. *natu ‘agree, make peace’; Tr natu ‘ponerse de acuerdo’; Wc nîtiá ‘calmar’. Wc í < *u, so 3 of the first 4 segments agree, differing in the first vowel, perhaps due to leveling or assimilation in Wc: *natu > *nutu > Wc nîti. [V assim] [SUA: Trn, CrC]

1612. *yoLi ‘quiet, slow’: B.Tep21 *dodori ‘quiet’; CL.Azt152 *yooliik ‘slow’; M88-yo7 and yo9; KH/M06-yo7 and yo9; TO dodolim ‘calmly, in a self-controlled manner’; UP dodolimi; NT dodóoli ‘quiet, serious’; ST doolyim ‘quiet’. [Liq]

1613. *cïm / *camV ‘quiet’: Cm cïmïkikatï ‘calm spirit, quiet spirit, peaceful spirit’; Tb čehma ‘be quiet’; Ca čémi ‘to be quiet’; Cp čémye ‘to be quiet’; and TO šaamunim ‘quiet’. [V leveling] [NUA: Tb, Tak, Num; SUA: Tep]

1614. *saNpa / *suNpa ‘quiet’: Stubbs2003-23: Ch sumpáva-(ni) / sampáva ‘slowly, quietly’; CU sïpá ‘be empty, quiet, lonely’; WMU súhppágaani / súhppágaani / súhppágaani ‘(be) quiet, vi’; Sr haoo’pa ‘slow’ (Sr h < *s); Eu sabue ‘despacio’; perhaps Nd i’ama ‘despacio’. Consider Nd sibabagi ‘despacio’ as if borrowed from s.th. like the Num forms. [V curiosities; m/w; *-NC- > -CC-; N/]

1615. *yun ‘kind, gentle’: Sh yuun ‘gentle, tame’; NT adúúñi ‘kind, friend’; ST jaduunn ‘amigo’. NT and ST suggest *(y)ayuni ‘friend’ while Sh matches since NT d < *y, though each progressively has another segment that the others do not have. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

1616. *huCpi ‘peaceable’: Hp hopi ‘behaving, peaceable, polite’ and a down are Ca ‘upi ‘dive, vi’ and Ktn ‘op-îk ‘dive, sink, vi’ both agreeing with medial cluster (*-pp-/*-Cp-). The semantics may seem a stretch, yet ‘sink, subside, be peaceable’ seem feasible; English ‘calm down’, ‘settle down’ vs. ‘heat up’, ‘rise up’ (for rebel). Nv huputuda ‘pacificar a una persona enojada’; Nv huputudida ‘pacificar para otro’ as well as Nv hupida hupituda may be from *sïppï ‘cold’ as Nv hupi ‘hacer fresco’. No more likely (in ‘making a place safe/peaceable with incense/smoke’) are Eu úpiso ‘sahumar [fumigate with odorous smoke]’ and Wr upáni ‘smell, incense smoke’, which also show geminated *-pp-, and tie to *hup(p)a ‘skunk’ at least. Also not likely are Num/Tb *upita ‘slow’ (at ‘slow’), for lack of geminated *-pp-, though the semantics are okay—quiet/slow, i.e., peaceably—if gemination were lost. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1617. *kwakwV ‘thank, v’: Stubbs1995-23: Hp(S) kwakwha ‘thank you (man speaking)’; Wr wo’kóba- ‘give thanks (in prayer)’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

NB, in addition to ‘one’, *sim in Tep *hîm yields a semantic range of ‘one, unity, gather, agreement, kindness’, in other words ‘being one, united, or in the same place’ in various ways: TO hema, hemako ‘one’; TO hemajim ‘gently, kindly, sympathetically, humanely’; TO hemajimakam ‘kind’; TO hemapad / hemapai ‘gather, collect’; Nv hamadukama ‘pacífico’; PYp hemat, hemako ‘one’; PYP hempa ‘agree’; Hp sîi-mi ‘put together in the same place, jointly, all together’; Hp sî-n ‘(1) in the same way or manner, similarly, alike, equal, resembling one another; (2) of the same mind, united, in agreement, in harmony’; Wc ñeévi ‘complete, unified, agreed’.

Peel: see shell

**PENIS; PENE**

1618. *pisa ‘penis’: Sapir; VVH73 *pisa ‘penis’; LS.Son201; M88-pi2 ‘penis’; *pisa ‘pene’; KHM/06-pi2: Hp pis-‘glans penis (combining form)’; TO wiha; LP via; PYP viaha; Wr pisá; Tr bisá/wisá; Tbr wisá-t. Add the *-pisa- of Ls péévisa-s ‘body hair’, which likely originally meant ‘pubic hair’ or ‘hair of penis’, because Ls pé ‘feathers, fur, body hair’ exists as well, and so Ls péévisa-s ‘body hair’ is undoubtedly a compound, and what remains does fit *pisa both phonologically and is in the semantic area. Also *pisa ‘urinate’ (Ls pisá-na-, Ca pis) is probably the same stem as *pisa ‘go/come out’ since identical stems mean both ‘go out’ and ‘urinate’ and it was customary to ‘go out’ (outside) to urinate before indoor plumbing. And their tie to *pisa ‘penis’ is probable as well. I’m afraid to
wonder if *pisa ‘sweet’ and *pisa ‘want, beautiful’ at ‘want’ are related, but they may be also, especially when one of the reflexes is NP bisa subbida ‘love between man and wife, v’. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr]

1619. *wi’aC ‘penis’: M67-315 *we ‘penis’; I.Num284 *wi’ah/*wi’aN ‘penis’; Munro.Cup90 *wɔɔ’i-la; M88-wi8 ‘penis’; KHM/06-wi8: NP wia; TSh wi’a–pi; Sh wiàn; Kw wa’a-pi; SP wi’al’-pi; CU wa’a-pi; Cp wé’y-l; Ca wé’i; Ls wo’-la. TSh and SP gemination, and Kw and CU ‘-p’ (vs. ‘-v’) all suggest a final consonant. [V assim] [NUA: Num, Tak]

1620. *hun / *huC ‘penis: M67-316; M88-hu8; KH/M06-hu8: Yq hú’i ‘pene’; Cr kaíín y; Wc hínárí. The CrC forms have other morphemes. [SUA: CrC]

1621. *koyi / *kowi ‘marrano, peccary’: L.Son97 *kowi ‘marrano’; Fowler83 ‘peccary’; M88-ko20 ‘marrano; KHM/06-ko20 ‘pig’: Wr koi; My kóoi; Yq kówi; AYq koowí; Tbr kovi/kowi; CN koyame-tl ‘pig, peccary’; TO kooji ‘pig, javelina, peccary’. TO kooji is said to be from Mexican Spanish coche, as the NUA forms below may be also, since NUA *c should be nonexistent. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, Tep, Azt]

1622. *toci(k/c)oLi ‘pig’: ST toškoly ‘puerco, cerdo, marrano’; NT taišoli; Cr tuisu ‘marrano’; Wc tuišu ‘puerco, marrano’. The CrC forms may be loans from Tep. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

1623. *po(’to / *poCto ‘pig’: NP mucipodo ‘pig’; Sh mupin-poton ‘pig lit: nose-(digging) stick’; Cm po’ro’ ‘pig, hog, swine’. [NUA-CC Num] NB, from CN picoo-tl ‘pig’ to Hp picooti ‘pig’ to Navajo bisoodi ‘pig’ is the loan lineage. NB, from Spanish cochina ‘sow’: Mn qóci; NP kauzi’i; TSh kócici’; Kw kúcci’i; CU kuciini; Sr kóóči’; Cp kóoči; Tr kócí; Tr ku’sígoi ‘wild pig’. [o/u > Num ï Kw]

Pigeon: see dove

PILE; MONTON, AMONTONAR; see also ‘lump’ and ‘garbage’

1624. *wíkkka ‘pile’: NP wíkatíga ‘pile up’; TSh wíkkatí ‘pile, vi’; TSh wíkkatíŋkín ‘pile up, vt’. [NUA-CC] NB, from CN picoo-tl ‘pig’ to Hp picooti ‘pig’ to Navajo bisoodi ‘pig’ is the loan lineage.

1625. *kwíta/i ‘pile, v’: NP kwída’nígtí ‘pile up, v’; NP kuna kwída’nígtí ‘make small piles of anything’; Kw kwíži ‘pile up, v’; Kw kwíži-nii ‘gather (of thunder clouds)’. The final –a/i dichotomy could assimilate the first vowel either way: *i->ï or *ï->i. [V assim; *t > c] [NUA-CC]

PINE (TREE), PINION, EVERGREEN, NUT; PINO, OCOTE, PIÑON, NUEZ

1626a. *wokoN ‘pine’: Sapir; VVH142 *wo sos ‘pine’; M67-320a *woko/*hoko ‘pine tree’; I.Num275 *woŋko(N) ‘pine tree, fir, spruce’; BH.Cup *wexét ‘pine’; HH.Cup *waxé- ‘pine’; L.Son349 *woko ‘pine’; CL.Azt126 *oko < 265 **woko ‘pine’; Fowler83; M88-w04 ‘pine tree’; AMR 1993c *wokon; KH/M06-w04 *wokon: Mn wqobi; Mn wówppíi (Fowler83); NP wogopi; TSh wŋkopi; Sh wŋko-pin; Sh-TSh wŋjwobe (Fowler83); Kw wohó-dìbi ‘bull pine’; SP oŋoN-/aŋoN-, oŋo-mpî ‘fir tree’; CU ‘aγó-pí ‘ponderosa pine’; Tb woonjal ‘pine sp’; Tb wohombit ‘little pine tree’; Tb wohombo-l ‘bull pine’; Hp lóqó(coki); Cp wexít’-t; Ca wexé; Ls wixé-tu ‘pine sp., Pinus coulteri’; Eu vokó-t/wokó-t; Eu gokó’t ‘pine’ (Pennington1981); Trb nyokó-t; Yq oko; Yq(J) woko; My wokó; Wr wohóokó; Tr okó ‘pino, clase de pino’; Cr hukú; Wc huku; CN oko-t ‘pine tree, torch made of pine’. Add Ktn wokoh-t ‘pine sp’. AMR astutely notes also Ls pà-wxi-t, wixé-t ‘canoe’. This set is curious: the expected reflex of *woko in Tep (*goko) does not appear, but is as Bascom notes *hukui. However, Op gok ‘pino’ (Shaul) and Eu gokó do show g < *w; but Eu also has Eu vokó ‘pino’. Tep *hukui, not the expected *goko (< UA *woko), yet the Tep forms’ looking like Cr hukú make loaning likely in Cr. The usual Tak correspondences are *o > Ls e, Ca i, Cp i, but here Ls i, Ca e, Cp e; see HH.Cup.
1626b. B.Tep77 *hukui ‘pine tree’; F83; TO huk; LP huk; PYp huko ‘fir’; NT úkü; ST huk. Note Tep and CrC *huku? The Tep has both the h and the vowel u of CrC. [Wr wo, Tr o; Tak vowels; N anticipated in CNum] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt, Tep]


1627b. *yuyuN (> *yuyiN) ‘ponderosa pine’: KHM/06-yu16: Kw yívi-bi ‘ponderosa or yellow pine’; Ch yuvípí ‘pine sp.’; CU yíví-pí ‘pine tree’. I agree with M88 and KH/M06 that Tak *yuy and SNum *yuvi are related, perhaps both deriving from s.th. like *yuyíl, for *w would be quite hidden in the environments of Tak, and if so, then w > v happens enough in Num to make this as likely as not. [w > v; Kw í < u] [NUA: Tak, Num]

1628. *masi / *masa ‘fern’: M88-ma34; Munro.Cup42 *mááşi-la ‘fern sp’; KH/M06-ma22: Ls máš-la; Cp mási-ly. Might Tbr mwasa-ró-k ‘ocotillo, palo hediondo’ relate (possibly initial w-)? These may relate to *masa ‘wing/feather’ as Hill combined M88-ma34 with ma22; note also Gb amásarot ‘uno que tiene alas’ with the Tbr form. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tbr]

1629. *sawapi ‘fir tree’: Hp salavi ‘Douglas fir’ and Mn saqwa’ábì ‘fir’; we do get medial kw < *w sometimes in Num and Mn especially, and if that were the case here, then the two quite agree with *sawa(pV). [*w > kw] [NUA: Hp, Num]

PINION TREE/NUT, PINENUT; PIÑON

1630. *típät / *típaC / *típat ‘pinion nut, conifer sp.’: BH.Cup *tevat ‘conifer sp.’; M67-319 *tepá ‘pine nut’; HH.Cup tavat ‘conifer sp.’; I.Num245 *típah ‘pine nut’; Fowler83; KH.NUA; M88-ti29 ‘pine nut’; M88-ti30 ‘conifer sp.’; AMR1993a *típat (AMR): Munro.Cup29 *tává-t / távě-t / távå-t ‘conifer sp.’; Ls tóóva-t / tává-t ‘pinyon’; Cp tava-t; Ca tává-t ‘pinyon’. Gb toá‘at piñon; Mn tibá’; NP tıba ddabbiu; NP típape ‘pinenut tree’; TSh típa’ ‘pine nut’; Sh típa/típa’; Kw tíva-ci; Kw tíva-pí ‘single-leaf pinyon’; SP tíva-a’-ppí ‘pinion’; SP tíva-ci ‘pine nut’; CU tívá-ci ‘nut, kernel’; Hp tíva ‘pinion nut’; Hp tíve’e ‘pinion pine’; Tb tíba-t; Sr tívat ‘pinion’; Kn tíva-t; Kw típa-pí ‘single-leaf pinyon’. Miller also lists HN tepeewa ‘to broadcast seeds’; HN tepeewi ‘to fall (seeds, leaves, etc.)’. Note glottal stop in the same place for Mn tibá’; Gb toá‘at; Hp tíve’e; and HN tepeewa (’ > w). The final gemination in NUA aligning with that glottal stop and the CU vowelizing all lead to the first reconstruction, though many settle on something similar to the latter two. The final segment (e’e) of Hp looks like the possessive suffix in SUA (e) found in CN and Tr; in other words, a pinion tree is s.th. ‘having pine nuts’. [*i > Ls o/u; Gb V] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]

Pipe: see suck

PITCH, RESIN; BETÚN, BREA, RESINA, COPAL, TREMENTINA

1631. *hucakwa / *husapa ‘pitch’: B.Tep328 *usaba-i ‘pitch’; KH/M06-’u11: TO usábi; NT usábí; ST ’usab. Add PYp usava ‘pitch, sap’ and Nv usabagadi ‘resina’. Whether *-kw- or intervocally voiced *-p- is hard to say; PYp would lean toward *-p-. [NUA: Tep]

1632. *copí / *co-pí < *co-i-pí ‘pitch, torch’: L.Son42 *cop ‘ocote’; M88-co13 ‘torch’; KH/M06-co13: Wr cophí ‘ocote/torch’ (cf. Wr co’i ‘trementina, pine pitch, resin’); Tr čopé/-čöbè/-čopi ‘ocote’. Add Tbr copé-t ‘trementina’. Note also CN capopo-tl ‘type of tar, asphalt, used for incense and cleaning teeth—another instance of SUA vowel metathesis. [a-o = o-a] [SUA: Trn, Tbr, Azt]

1633. *co’i ‘pitch’: My čoo’i ‘brea’; Wr co’i ‘trementina’; Tr čo’re ‘resina’; perhaps AYq ču’ukum ‘gum, tree, resin, pitch’. [SUA: Trn, Cah]

1634. *saLaC / *sanawap ‘pitch, gum’: Sapir; VVH147 *sala ‘pitch’; M67-322 *sala ‘pitch’; I.Num178 *sanah ‘pitch, gum, sap, sticky’; BH.Cup *sáñat ‘gum’; Munro.Cup57 *sáana-t ‘gum’; M88-sa11; KH.NUA; KH/M06-
PLANT, SOW, PLOW, CULTIVATE;
PLANTAR, SEMBRAR, CULTIVAR, ARAR, BARBECHAR

1635. *tica ‘to plant’: VVH119 *'ï(a) ‘to plant’; B.Tep339a *'iisai ‘he plants’; B.Tep339b *'isi ‘to plant’; B.Tep339c *'ii ‘he planted’; B. Tep 338; B. Tep 340; B. Tep 341; B. Tep 343; M88-1 ‘to plant’; M67-323 *'ei ‘plant, v’; L.Son10 *'ica ‘seembrar’; AMR92-6 *'ica ‘to plant’; KH/M06-1 *'ica ‘plant, v’: TSh ia; Kw 'i'a; SP ia; CU 'iay ‘trap, plant, sow, cultivate, farm’; Hp iyya; TO e(a); PYp esa; NT isi; ST 'is; Eu éc; My éc; Wr ec; Tr iči-me, ec (pres.); We 'e-. Miller includes CN e-tl ‘bean’ and PI ee-t ‘bean’ and TB sa ‘seembrar’ as possibilities; the last with loss of the initial vowel may be borrowed from Tep. Yet all the other TrC forms and Tep forms reflect *tica so clearly. SUA *cura, Hp iyya, and Num *'īa make this set a prime example of *'ī- > NUA -y- (Manaster-Ramer 1992), also suggesting cultivation among the Proto-Uto-Aztecs as Jane Hill (2007) suggests. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah Opn, CrC]

1636. *wasa ‘plant, cultivate’: M88-wa14 ‘to plant’; M67-325 *was ‘to plant’; KH/M06-wa14: Tr wasá ‘cultivated land’; Cr ra-wás-ye ‘he is planting it’. Let’s add Eu was-a ‘cultivated land’ and Ca wés ‘to plant’. Cp wáče ‘to stick in, plant’ may belong if *c- < *st- or some such cluster. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Tb waṣat ‘dig’. [NUA: Opn, CrC; NUA: Tak, Tb]

1637. *koyni ‘plow, v’: M88-ko37 ‘to plow’; KH/M06-ko37: Cp qiin’ai; Ca qiyne; Ls qiini. To Miller’s Tak trio, Hill adds Hp qöri ‘stir, mix, plow, search the mind, think hard’ which is also listed at mix (*koti ‘mix’) in this work. The y apparent in Ca perhaps encouraged the assimilation in Ls; an *-iy- sequence would not likely survive long, but readily go to *-ii-, so the very existence of y in Ca may suggest even that sequence is relatively recent. [*ko > qo > qi in Cup] [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1638. *mo’i ‘cultivate, plow’: Yq mó’ite ‘plow, cultivate’; My mó’ite ‘está barbechando’; AYq moita plow, vt’; AYq moite ‘be plowing’; ST moikda ‘plow’, moikai (pret.). [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah Opn, CrC]

1639. *mawa ‘break ground or clean ground’: Stubbs2003-37: Hp maalama ‘break new ground, clean a field’; Eu máwa ‘plow’. Because *w > l/_a in Hp, these match well. It is not impossible that these tie to *mo’i above, though the fact that TrC/Eu mawa diverges from a TrC (Cah) and Tep unity has me keeping them separate, pending improved plausibility. [NUA: Hp, SUA: Opn]

1640. *yoli / *yoti ‘plow, v’: Tb yolow ‘plow, v’; Sr yöör ‘plow, vt’. [NUA liq] [NUA: Tep, Tak]


1642. *pasa ‘cultivated field’: Hp paasa ‘field, cultivated field’; Cht(L) pasa ‘field’; Ch pasá ‘field, pasture’. [NUA: Hp, Num]

NB, for *wika and B.Tep42 *giikai-i ‘plow, dibble stick’, see digging stick.
NB, for *tuka, see 1918 at seed and see *tuka ‘night’ at black.
For Catherine Fowler’s 1983 work with many plant sets, she has extensive field notes and other sources with terms backing her reconstructions, though for some, she does not list the specific terms. I obtained some by bothering her often enough for the specifics, which she invariably produced, such that I am satisfied that she has the data to back up the rest, so for any remaining sets lacking specifics relative to her 1983 work, you can bother her, if you wish; but I’m trying to quit being a nuisance—honest!

1643. *(hi)paW 'greens': B.Tep309 *(ii)vaW 'greens'; M88-‘i6; KH/M06-‘i6: TO 'iiWag 'edible greens'; LP 'iiWag; PYP 'iWag; NT iiWag; ST 'iWa'. [SUA: Tep]

1644. *hulUpa: M88-hu21; KH/M06-hu21 'California sagebrush, artemesia': Ca huWluW-l; Ls huWluW-l. Ken Hill adds Gb horWvar and Hp hovaqpi 'sand sage'; Hp hovaqpcmii 'sand sage bush' with a question mark by the Hp term. [loss of l in Hp; a/u] [NUA: Tak; Hp]

1645. *kasi 'sagebrush': BH.Cup *qasi 'sagebrush'; HH.Cup *qaşeeW 'sagebrush'; M88-ka23 'sagebrush'; Munro.Cup114; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ka23: Cp qaş-‘l 'sage'; Ca qâš-‘l 'white sage, Salvia apiana'; Ls qaş-‘l 'white sage, Salvia apiana'; Sr qâş-W 'sagebrush’. Munro explains how this set is problematic for a reconstruction in Proto-Cupan, though for our simplified reconstruction format that excludes vowel length, stress, etc, the segments are fairly clearly *kasi. [NUA: Tak]

1646. *pasA / *paW 'chia': Fowler83; M88-pa41 'chia, sp. of mint plant'; Munro.Cup23 *paÂša-l 'chia'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa41: Cp paÂša-l; Ca paÂša-l; Ls paÂša-l / paÂši-l; Gb paÂši; Sr paahina-; Tb paâshi-l 'chia seeds'. Fowler also lists TSh pasi. Add also Ktn pahina-č / pahina-t 'chia (lime leaf sage; Salvia Columaria)'. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds SP paâssi / paâshi 'seeds of a certain plant'. [NUA: Tak, Tb, Num]

1647. *kuhUlpAL 'chia, edible leafy plant': Fowler83: For 'chia', Fowler83 lists TO ku’uvaht and Tr kuhubi; Saxton and Brambila respectively list TO ku'ulpalk 'the purslane or pursley plant' and Tr kuhúbari 'una planta: las hojas tiernas se cuecen y se comen'. [medial *h > ' in Tepiman] [SUA: Tep, Trn]

1648. *sipAC 'sagebrush, rabbitbrush': Fowler83; M88-si18 'rabbit bush'; KH/M06-si18; Jane Hill 2007: Sh sipa”-pin; Kw šiWpa-č (< *sipAC-pi 'sagebrush, rabbitbrush'; Hp siWâpa; Tb siba-pul (Fowler); Tb(M) siba-t 'brush, plant'; Tb(H) šiwpappi-l 'rabbitbrush, chrysothamnus sp'. Ken Hill rightly wonders if Hp is a Num loan, and TO hiwijul 'wild rubarb, canaigre' is added with a question mark. Jane Hill adds TSh sippumpi / suppumpi 'rabbitbrush. Miller has all the forms together under M88-si18; however, Sh, Kw, and Hp agree with *sipa, while NP and CU show *siku / *sVku, which here are separate and following. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb]

1649. *sakkUC 'sagebrush, rabbitbrush': NP sigupi; CU saku-pi (<*sakkUC-pi). Both suggest a final -C, and CU derives from a geminated medial -CC-. [NUA: Num]

1650. *saWYa / *saNWa 'sagebrush': Fowler83 *saWya 'sagebrush, Artemesia tridentata': NP sawabi; SP *saWYa-; CU sawá-; Mn. [NUA: Num]

1651. *waCTi / *waCci 'Artemisia dracunculus': M88-wa18 'Artemisia dracunculus, a plant'; Munro.Cup92 *waâč-š 'Artemisia dracunculus'; KH/M06-wa18: Cp waâč-š; Ls wââci-š. [NUA: Tak]

1652. *hâna 'arrowweeed': Munro.Cup7 *hâna-la 'arrowweed'; KH/M06-ha18: Ls hâna-la; Ca hâna-la. [NUA: Tak]

1653. *wikwaC 'plant sp.': Munro.Cup93 *wikwa-t 'Artemisia tridentata(?); KH/M06-wi19: Ls wîka-t; Cp wiku-t 'juniper'; Ca wikwa-t. All having -t (vs. -l) suggest final -C. [a/u] [NUA: Tak]

1654. *piWkaC 'plant sp.': Munro.Cup94 *pâka-t 'food plant sp.'; KH/M06-pi18: Ls póóka-t 'type of greens'; Cp pâka-t 'pigweed, Amaranthus imbrius'. [NUA: Tak]
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1655. *koC ‘Chenopodium sp.(?)’: Munro.Cup95 *qét ‘Chenopodium sp.(?)’; M88-ko39; KH/M06-ko39: Ls qét ‘pigweed, Chenopodium album’; Cp qít ‘wild spinach’; Ca ki-t ‘Chenopodium fremontii’. This set exemplifies *o motivating *k > q before *o > Cup e. The absolutive *-t in Cup (vs. -l) suggests a final C. [NUA: Tak]

1656. *kiwaC ‘deerweed’: Munro.Cup33 *kííwa-t ‘deerweed’; KH/M06-ki11 ‘deerweed’; Ls kííwa-t; Ca kíwa-t; Munro notes that Cp kíwə-t-pa ‘Los Tules’ (place name) appears to show the same stem. [NUA: Tak]

1657. *asi ‘plant sp.’: Munro.Cup99 *áši-la; KH/M06-’a41; Ls ’ás-la ‘Viola pedunculata’; Ca ’áši-ly ‘pepper grass, Descuraina pinnata’. [NUA: Tak]

1658. *ya... ‘greasewood’: M88-ya28; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ya28: Sr yääţ ‘greasewood’; Gb yar ‘una clase de rama’. [NUA: Tak]

1659. *’u’uC ‘greasewood’: Munro.Cup56 *’úú-t ‘greasewood’; KH/M06-’u10: Ls ’u’úú-t; Ca ’ú-u-t. [NUA: Tak]

1660a. *oC- / *oppIN ‘mesquite bean/tree’: Munro.Cup71 *éé-la ‘mesquite’; M88-’o25; KH.NUA; KH/M06-’o25: Sr öö-ţ; Ca i-l; Ls ée-la. Ken Hill adds TSh ohpin ‘mesquite bean’; ohpimpí ‘mesquite tree’; SP oviN ‘wood’; Ch opí (< *-pp-) ‘mesquite beans’; Ch opimpí ‘m. tree’; Ch opigivi ‘m. bread’; opiagapi ‘lit. m. weeping; the black juice that comes from m. bark, used by Mohaves in washing their hair’. Add the SUA forms below, though with SUA *u vs. NUA *o (?).

1660b. *(hu)’uppa ‘mesquite’: Eu úparo ‘mezquite’ and Yq hu’upa ‘mezquite’. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Opn, Cah]

1661. *maha ‘plant’: Kw maha-vi ‘uncultivated vegetation, weed, brush chaparral’; Ch mahávi ‘tree, plant’; WMU maá-vi ‘vegetation, grass, weeds, plant, bush’; CU maá-vi ‘bush, brush, vegetation, plants’; CU maá-vi ‘weeds, field’. Jane Hill (p.c.) astutely adds TSh pohmaa-ppi ‘grass, hay, mat, mattress’ (with a prefix) and Gb mamaahu ‘grass’. She also notes the possibility of a tie with *masi ‘grass’ if that is a compound. [NUA: SNum, CNum, Tak]

1662. *aca / *asa Fowler83: Proto-Num *aca ‘mustard (pesourania spp.)’; Hp aasa ‘wild mustard plant’; Ca as-il. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]

1663. *nakwVC ‘sumac, Rhus spp.’: BH.Cup *nakwat ‘sumac’; KH.NUA; Fowler83; M88-na28; KH/M06-na28: Sr nahku’it ‘sumac, Rhus spp.’; Ca nákwé-t / náqwe-t ‘sugar bush, sumac’; Cp nákwi-t ‘sugar bush, Rhus ovata’; Ls náqwu-t ‘laurel sumac, Rhus laurina’. [a/u] [NUA: Tak]

1664. *su’upa ‘mustard’: Fowler83 at ‘mustard’ lists TO hu’uvat; Tr suavoli. [V transposition or -a/o] [SUA: Tep, Trn]

1665. *koa ‘lycium’: Fowler83 under ‘lycium’ lists *koa...: TO, LP, Tr, Cr. [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

1666. *piti ‘lycium’: Fowler83 under ‘lycium’ lists Proto-Num *piti; Tb pi’is-t; Ls ʔici-s. [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

1667. *tutuN ‘ephedra’: Fowler 83 *tutu; TSh tutumpi ‘Indian tea, joint fir, ephedra’; Kw tutupi-vi ”Mormon tea’; Fowler lists Proto-Num *tutu; Tb u’tuudul; Ca tútu ‘Mormon tea, miner’s tea’; Hp ösvi/öösap- (combining form) ‘Mormon tea’. While the Hp form varies enough to be questionable, its identical meaning and the consonant *p (like Num) make it worth keeping in mind, at least, in case an explanation later emerges. All the other reflexes form a very nice set. This might tie to a reduplication of *tuL ‘reed’ or *tutu ‘stand’ due to the plant’s standing reed-like form. [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]
1668. *huna ‘cliffrose, bitterbrush’: Fowler83: Proto-Num *hína ‘cliffrose, bitterbrush’; Munro.Cup98 *hənì-la ‘plant sp., a bush’; KH/M06-hî10: TSh hînapi ‘cliffrose’; Kw hînà-vî ‘antelope brush, desert bitter brush’; Hp hînî ‘cliffrose’; Ca hêni-ly ‘ribbonwood’; Ls hún-la ‘type of bush’. Ls vowel is wrong, Ken Hill notes; but in light of frequent *u > ï in Num, especially before a, Ls may have the original vowel. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]

1669. *tuna ‘mountain mahogany’: Fowler83 *tuna ‘mountain mohagany, Cercocarpus spp’; TSh tînapi ‘mountain mahogany’; Mn; NP; Sh; Kw; SP; CU. Fowler has forms. [NUA: Num]

1670. *wata ‘seepweed’: Fowler83 ‘seepweed’: Num *wata; NP(B) wada ‘seepweed’; Hp laaci (not in my sources); Fowler has forms. [NUA: Num, Hp]

1671. *tono ‘greasewood’: Fowler83 ‘greasewood’; Num *tono Fowler has forms.

1672. Fowler83 ‘mentzelia’; Num *ku’a, *kuma, Tb kuul. Fowler has forms.

1673. *siko ‘sego lily’: Fowler83 ‘sego lily’; Jane Hill 2007: Tb šikooništ; Mn and Np sigo (Fowler 1972:191); TSh sîkoo; Owyhee Sh sîgô (Fowler 1972:77); Cm sîkō/sîkoo ‘wild hyacinth’; SP sîgo’o (Fowler 1972:94). Jane Hill (2007) notes this may be a loan from Kiowa-Tanoan or vice versa, e.g., Tewa sëgòbè ‘white-flowered plant with edible tubors’. For similar vowel correspondences in Navaho loans from Tewa, note Tewa bææh ‘deer’ and Navaho bîh ‘deer’; Tewa ašææh ‘salt’ and Navaho ášîh ‘salt’. [NUA: Num, Tb]

1674. *coko ‘garden sorrel’ Fowler83 ‘oxalis, garden sorrel’; Tr cokobari; NT sokoyele. [SUA: Tmn, Tep]

1675. *upaL ‘acacia’: Fowler83: TO uupaD ‘cat’s claw bush of the legume family, acadia greggii’; LP o-opat; NT uparai; Wc ’ipa. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

1676. *ki’a... ‘amaranthus’: Fowler83: LP kiak; NT giagi; Wc ge’uza. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

1677. Fowler83 *waha ‘giant rye’: Mn; NP; Sh; CU. Fowler has forms. [NUA: Num]

1678. Fowler83 *mono ‘dropseed, Sporobolus spp.’; Mn; NP; Sh; SP. Fowler has forms. [NUA: Num]

1679. Fowler83 *toca ‘Indian balsam, Lomatium dissectum var. multifidum’: NP; Sh; SP. Fowler has forms. [NUA: Num]

1680. Fowler83 *tu’u ‘broom rape, Orobanche fasiculatta’: NP(B) tuuhu ‘Ryderberg’s broomrape’; NP(B) pihatuhu ‘broomrape (Orobanche corymboaosa)’; Kw tu’u-vî ‘Pholisma arenarium, edible root parasite’; Fowler also lists Sh and SP as having forms. [NUA: Num]

1681. Fowler83 *kanî ‘shadescale, Atriplex confertifolia’: NP; Sh; SP. Fowler has forms. [NUA: Num]

1682. *kîLa/o / *kîta ‘manzanita’: BH *kîLVL; Fowler83: M88-kî11; Munro.Cup68 *kālə-l ‘manzanita’; KH/M06-kî11: Cp kîle-l; Ca kîle-l; Ls kîolu-l. Jane Hill (p.c.) brings to bear Ktn kîča-č ‘manzanita’ which may suggest medial *t- (> -l/-c-) or possibly from ‘wash’ as Anderton (355) notes. [NUA: Tak]

1683. *tîmaya ‘manzanita’: Fowler83 Proto-Num *tîmaya ‘manzanita’; Tb tuumayuut (Fowler). [NUA: Num, Tb]

1684. *toma ‘tomato’: CL.Azt175 *toma ‘tomato’; Fowler83: CN toma-tl; Pl tomat; Po tomet; T tomatl; Z tomat. [SUA: Azt]

1685. *wiwa ‘amaranth, pigweed’: KH/M06-wî15: Hp wiwa ‘amaranth (pig weed)’; CN waaw-tli ‘amaranth’. CN’s vowel is wrong, Hill notes; but given CN’s propensity for assimilating 1st V to 2nd, this may be but another example: *wiwa > *wawa > waw. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Azt]
1686. *maniC ‘toloache’: M88-ma34; KH/M06-ma34: Cp máni-t; Gb máni-t; Sr maani-ţ ‘jimson weed, toloache’. [NUA: Tak]

1687. *mutuna ‘sage sp. or greasewood’: Ch(L) murunavï ‘sage species’; SP morùna-vï ‘greasewood’. [NUA: SNum]

1688a. *sï‘ivi (Jane Hill) or possibly *sïhïva / *sïhï- ‘squam bush, sumac, Rhus Trilobata (used for weaving baskets)’: Jane Hill (p.c.): Ch(L) sï‘ivi ‘anything woven’; SP sï- ‘squambush stems used for basketry’; Hp sï‘ivi ‘sumac, Rhus aromaticca’; Ls şóóva-l ‘squam bush, Rhus Trilobata’; Ktn hî-č ‘vine, with red berries, for making baskets’. Let’s add WMU sïi-vi ‘sumac bush, squaw Berry bush, skunkberry bush (for weaving baskets)’. If it were not for the Tak forms, one might think that Hp is a loan from Num, and Num assumes the final *-pi to be an absolutive suffix. However, this term’s existence in at least two Tak languages of southern California makes the Num loan scenario a huge stretch, especially with Ls şóóva-l also having -v and followed by a completely unorthodox vowel for a Num absolutive suffix. These might tie to WNum and CNum *sïhï-pi ‘willow’ at ‘willow’ as both are used for weaving; then again they might not. Ktn has both Ktn hî-č and Ktn şï-sï-vï ‘Willow Springs’; Ktn h < *s, but Ktn ş did not go to h. So whether we have separate PUA terms or recycled loans is hard to say at this point. Regardless, this multi-branch set with specific semantics was a great find by Jane Hill. [NUA: Tak, Hp, SNum]

1688b. *sïta (Jane Hill) ‘sumac, Rhus trilobata’: Jane Hill (p.c.): Ca sît ‘sumac (basket-weed), Rhus trilobata’; Gb sowa-r / sora ‘Rhus trilobata’ (Hartman); Ktn hî-č ‘vine, with red berries, for making baskets’ may better belong here than above. [NUA: Tak]

NB, for *yaNpa ‘wild carrot, wild edible root’, see root.
NB, for *kana ‘bitterroot, Lewisia Redivivi’, see root.
NB, for *cay ‘mistletoe’, see mistletoe.

Planting stick: see digging stick
Plate: see pot

PLAY, GAMBLE, BET; JUGAR, APOSTAR

1689. *tïpi ‘play’: B.Tep245 *tïtïvi ‘play’; M88-tï44; KH/M06-tï44: TO čičwi ‘to play a game with obj’ (vowel is wrong); NT tïtïvi; ST tïtvi. In addition to the Tepiman languages noted by Bascom and Miller, the following correspond well: Mn tibīha ‘to play’; NP tībimoa ‘play’; Tb tīpiim ‘play hand game’; Tb tīpa~’tīpa ‘gamble’; Sr tīpīn ‘play a gambling game’. In Cp típl’e ‘to play the tip game’, Cp assimilated the V (*i > i-i) like TO did. [SUA: Tep; Num, Tb, Tak]

1690. *kopa/i ‘win/lose in a game’: L.Son98 *kowi ‘perder en el juego’; L.Son98b is *kow-a ‘ganar en el juego’; M88-koi19; KH/M06-koi19: Eu kóvé ‘perder en el juego’; Eu kóva ‘win in a game’; Eu nekóva ‘ganar’; Tr we’-kâwi ‘perderse’; My kóbe/kobâva ‘ganar’; Tbr kowa ‘ganar’; AYq koopa ‘win’; My kóba ‘ganar’; Yq kobá ‘ganar’; My koóba ‘ganar’; Nv gu-guba ‘ganar’. Tr and Nv both suggest a possible prefix: *wi’-kopa. [*-p > -w-/ø-] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, Tep]

1691. *takopi ‘gamble’: M88-ta47; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ta47: Ca tâxi ‘to gamble’; Sr taqweepi ‘to gamble’. Might this be *ta-kopi with a prefix to the same stem as above? [NUA: Tak]


1693. *kulî ‘play’: Tb kool~’uugoolu ‘play, vi’; Cp kuli’at ‘sandpiper, also a game’. [Liq] [NUA: Tb, Tak]

1694. *nûhiC ‘play’: TSh nûi ‘play, gamble’; Sh nûi ‘to play’; Cp nohiit ‘play (make fun of)’; Cm nohü ‘toy’. [h/ø] [NUA: Num]

1695. *tisi / *fisi ‘play’: Cp tesiwe ‘to play’; Ca málisew ‘to play’. [*-t > -L-] [NUA: Tak]

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NB, for *kiya ‘play, laugh’ see ‘laugh’.
NB, for *yawa/i ‘touch, play, wipe, clean’ see touch.

Point: see edge

**POISON; VENENO**

1696. *pahatu / *pahtu ‘poison’: Yq páhti ‘veneno, n’; Tr páte ‘veneno, n’; ST pačmada ‘envenenarlo, vt’; CN pa’tli ‘medicine, potion’; Tb paalu-u ‘roots for fish poison’; NT paatá ‘poison, n’; NT paatúmadai ‘poison, vt’; at least the first two syllables of Ktn pahaví-t ‘poison, dream helper’. The first four languages might jump us to a conclusion of *pati; however, any final -V > -i is common in UA, and Yq and Tr’s final high front vowels may be influenced by CN pa’tli, if not loans therefrom. So Tb paalu and NT paatú point to *patu, the more likely original vowel. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tep, Azt; NUA: Tak, Tb]

1697. *yaLipá ‘poison’: Stubbs 2003-26: Mn (y)enipá’ ‘poison, n’; Mn enipa’a ‘poison, v’; Wr yeloá ‘poison, n’; Wr yeloé-n ‘poison, vt’; PYp dirav ‘poison for fish’. PYp fits well, because Tep d < *y and v < *p. As for vowels, PYp shows the same metathesis in ‘bat’: i-a > *a-i. And TrC often shows intervocalic -p-> -w- late in a word. [Liq; V metathesis in PYp] [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn, Tep]

NB, for *puha ‘poison’ see at ‘heal’.

NB, consider Hp kyaala ‘venom’ and the hial- portion of TO hialwui ‘poison, n’.

NB, for ‘poison oak’, see ‘oak’.

Poor: see sad

**PORCUPINE; PUERCO ESPIN**

1698. *mi... ‘porcupine’: M67-329 *me ‘porcupine’; Fowler83; M88-mi7 ‘porcupine’; KH/M06-mi7: Mn mihí; NP mihí; Hp mihayaw(i). [cluster, h/ŋ] [NUA: Num, Hp]

1699. *yiCN... ‘porcupine’: Inum296 *yihiniN ‘porcupine’; M88-yi10 ‘porcupine’; KH/M06-y10: Tsh yihín / yihí; Sh yihin; SP yihini-, yihí-mpici; CU yi-n-ici (< *yihpici); Ch yihí; WSh yihín. Both ‘porcupine’ sets show velar nasals aligning with h in Western or Central Numic. [h-ŋ] [NUA: Num]

**POSSESS, OWN, ACQUIRE; TENER, POSEER, ADQUIRIR**

1700. *-i/*-e ‘possessor, having, one who has (possessive suffix added to possessed nouns)’: CN -e; Tr -e, Wr -e, Tbr -e. From *poka ‘stomach’ we see Eu bok-é ‘pregnant, lit: having stomach’; from *topa ‘stomach’, Wr tohpá-e ‘pregnant’ (Wr tohpá ‘stomach’); Cr -e ‘at location of’ (Casad 1984, 158). Jason Haugen (2006 and p.c.) informed me of Yq -e (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 187) and NT -i (Bascom 1982; Haugen 2006b). A decent NUA candidate is the Hp pair: Hp tiva ‘pinion nut’; Hp tive’e ‘pinion pine’. The nut has final -a, but the tree having the pine nuts has -e’e. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt; NUA: Hp]

1701. *-ka ‘possessor’: Sapir; Langacker1977, 44; Haugen 2006c: TO -ka ‘have’; SP -kai ‘have’; Yq -ka ‘being, having’ (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 74-75); WMU -ga- ‘having, possessing’. Haugen adds Sh kantin ‘have’; NP -ka’yu ‘have or be characterized by’; Tb kaŋ ‘have’. [SUA: Tep, Cah; NUA: Num, Tb]

1702a. *puL ‘possess’: Ls pulúca/i ‘procure’; My hípure ‘tiene’; Yq hípue ‘tener’; AYq hippue ‘own, possess, have’.

1702b. *pa'i ‘have’: Haugen (2006c) as *pV lists the above and Cm -pai ‘have’; Sh -pai ‘have’; TSh pa’in/pa’en ‘have (inalienable)’; and perhaps SP -piN ‘possessed noun absolutive’ and instrumentals. [SUA: Cah; NUA: Tak, Num]

1703. *wa ‘possessed suffix’: KH/M06-ns3: Ca -wa’a; Cp -w; Ls -w; CN -w/-wi/-wa:- (-kone:-w ‘child’; -o’-wi ‘road’; -kone:-wa:n ‘children’); Pl -w (-o:mi-w ‘bone (poss.)’). Add Ch(L) win’apí ‘flint’, Ch(L) huu win’na-wa ‘arrow’s flint’; Eu -wa, Op -wa (Shaul 1990, 565; Shaul 2003, 26). [SUA: Azt, OpN; NUA: Tak, Num]
POT, JAR, EARTHENWARE, BOWL, DISH, PLATE, CUP;
COMAL, JARRO, JÍCARA, CAJETE, OLLA, ESCUDILLA, TAZA

1704. *sa’a... ‘clay pot’. B.Tep59 *ha’ai ‘clay pot’; M67-330 *sa ‘pot’; NP sa(a) ‘cook’; M88-sa7; KH/M06-sa7: 
CU sa’a-’napí; TO bid ha’a ‘earthenware’; UP ha’a; LP ha’a; PYp ha’a; NT áyi / áyi / ā; ST ha’aa; Cr s’àri. 
Miller rightly includes the NP verb *sa’a ‘a cook’ as a number of languages show cognates for *sa’a ‘cook’, and 
the CU form with its instrumental suffix -’napí also suggests ‘cooking-instrument’ for pot, as well as WMU, which 
has WMU sa’á-’npi ‘pot, pan (for boiling), n’ and WMU sa’a’pappunt / sa’áppappi ‘pot’ and WMU sa’a-’pí 
’soup’ from WMU sa’a-’y boil, cook (mush), dye, vt’ (perfect: sa’a’-qa). ST bidyaa ‘pot of clay not yet fired’ and 
ST bih haa ‘pot of clay’ are probably patterned like TO bid ha’a ‘earthenware’ as a compound of *kwiya-sa’a (> 
Tep bid-ha’a) ‘earthen-cooker’. [Num = Tep ’] [SUA: Tep, CrC; NUA: Num]

1705a. *kapaC ‘pot’: BH *kavá’mal ‘pot’; HH *kavá’mal ‘pot’; M88-k21 ‘pot’; KH/M06-k21: Cp kavá’mal 
‘pot’; Ca káva’mal ‘olla, water jar, cup, pot’; Ls kavá’a-l ‘clay pot’. Miller queries whether Tb kaadzul is cognate, 
but we shan’t count it yet. [NUA: Tak]

1705b. *(ca)kaput ‘pot’: Hp caqapta (combining forms caqap-, caqvatur-, etc.) ‘pottery bowl, earthenware dish or 
bowl’ is likely related to Ca káputma-l ‘cup’, and both possibly to the Tak *kapa’-ma-l forms above. [a/u] 
[SUA: Tak, Hp]

1706. *pasa(ta) ‘pot’: Stubbs2003-17: Sr pahaat ‘pot, bottle, olla, jug, water container’; CN a’paas-tli ‘earthen 
bowl, tub’; Ls pěšli ‘pottery vessel, dish, vessel of any kind’. Because *s > Sr h, these point to s.th. near *pas. 
Ls likely assimilated or raised and fronted the first vowel. Is Ls a loan from CN? [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

1707. *pitoL ‘jar’: CN a’pilool-li ‘pitcher’; Tr bitori (pl. peroru) ‘trasto, cajete, jicara de barro’; Wr pehtori ‘cajete 
para comer’ and perhaps Yq pičel ‘jarra’. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]

1708. *soko ‘pot’: Wr sigori ‘olla’; Tr sekori ‘olla’; We šukúuri ‘jícara’; CN šok-tli ‘pot’; and NT áásokoli ‘cajete’ 
is probably borrowed since we would expect *s > h in Tep, or it may be related to CN cococok-li ‘large pitcher’. 
Cf. *soko ‘squash’. Jane Hill also notes the needed addition Kw sogo- ‘basket’. [NUA: Trn, CrC, Azt]

1709. *sišal ‘gourd vessel’: CL.Azt71 *šiška(l)-(? ‘gourd vessel’; M88šî17; KH/M06-šî17: CN šiškal-li; 
HN šiškal-li; Pl šiškal ‘large gourd, gourd bowl’. [SUA: Azt]

1710. *tikori ‘dish’: Eu tékori ‘plato, carrete’; Tbr teka-l-f-t ‘olla’; teko-l-f-t ‘olla’. [SUA: Opn, Tbr]

1711. *(p)apo: TSh appo(o)ccl ‘cup, bowl, dishes’; Cm pabajko aawo ‘pot’. Jane Hill (p.c.) also notes the needed 
additions of Mn apo ‘coiled cooking basket, most valued’; TSh appo-o-ci ‘cup, bowl, dishes, Big Dipper’; Ls(E) 
apmal ‘small basket’. [p/] [NUA: Num, Tak]

1712. *cita ‘dish’: Mn cida ‘dish, cup or basket shape’; TSh citaŋka ‘dishes’. [NUA: Num]

1713. *wiC-tuhuwa ‘pot, bucket, drum’: I.Num279 *wihtua ‘bucket, pot’; M88-wi11 ‘bucket, pot’; KH/M06- 
wi11: Mn wituwa; NP witu ‘bucket (Yer), drum (McD); TSh wittua; SH wittuhua; Cm wihtua. Is Tr túara ‘olla, 
cubo, jicara’ related? Perhaps so, with a wVC- prefix in Num. Cp wetiyla’aš ‘drum’ varies the vowels only 
slightly, but shows the gemination: *witu > wetto > weti, vowels lowered, then Cp i < *o. [wiC- pref; reduction] 
[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn]

1714. *wakoLi ‘pot’: Hp wikoro ‘bottle, jug or vase with a narrow neck'; Yq wáko’i ‘comal’; Wr wa’kári 
‘potsher’d. These three forms have much in common, since UA liquids go to glottal stop in Yq, and sometimes 
remain liquids in Hp (Shaull 1985). In the first vowel, two of three show a, and in the 2nd vowel two of three 
show o, though Hp o and Yq o do not match exactly either. [-r- > -']; Liq in NUA/SUA] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah]

1715. *sotoi ‘jar’: Yq sóto’i ‘olla’; Yq soto-te ‘hacer ollas’; My sóto’ori(m) ‘olla(s)’; Ayq soto’i ‘olla, pot’; 
AYq soto’o-te ‘make pots’. [SUA: Cah]
1716. *tisonaC ‘earthenware of some sort’: Cm tisoo na ‘pan, plate’ and Ca tésnat ‘clay for pottery or painting, pot, olla’ as loans from Spanish tazón seem less likely since they both have -a after -n- and Ca may even suggest another C after that. [NUA: Num, Tak]

1717. *a(k)wo (> agwo) ‘cup, vessel’: Sh awi ‘cup’; Sh(C) awi ‘cup’; Cm aawo / awo ‘cup’; WMU ‘awó-či / ‘awóči / awoó-či / agwó-či’ ‘cup, bowl, dish, container’ (yes, I have heard/recorded all such WMU pronunciations); CU agó-či ‘dish, any kitchen utensil used to hold food or liquid’. Perhaps SNum intervocalic *w- > -gw- on the east end of SNum, as in *yípana ‘autumn’ at ‘gather’, or is there an underlying velar? Might Mn awóono ‘boat’ tie in? [*-w- > -gw-] [NUA: Num]

NB, SNum *paNpi ni / *paNpici ‘pot’ (Kw pabínni ‘pot made of pottery’; Ch pámppi’i ‘pot’; SP pampínni ‘bucket, mud or clay basket with handle’; WMU papí’ni ‘pot, bucket’; CU papí’ni ‘big pot, cauldron’) ties to Central Numic *pampi ‘head’, which see at head.

NB, for CL.Azt 127 *koomV ‘pitcher, jug, pot’: CN koomi ‘pot’; Ch(L) koom ‘pot’; TSh noapi; Sh noa ‘pregnant’; CN ooc (see others at *posa ‘swell’): BH.Cup *nét ‘pregnant woman’; Munro.Cup102 *né-t; M88-no4 ‘pregnant’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-no6: Kw no’o-ka-(n)dí; SP noor’uua; CU nóó-ťway ‘be pregnant’; CU nóó-ťray ‘become pregnant’; Tb honoodat~’ohonoot ‘be pregnant’; Cp ni-t; Ca níf-t; Ls né-t; Sr nóóqt; Hp nó’yílti ‘become pregnant’. To these can be added Ch(L) no’ovi ‘fetus’; TSh no’api; Sh no’a-pni/ppi/pikka; Cm no’a-pi ‘pregnant woman’; NT nonoáka/nonóáha ‘be pregnant’. Most point to *no’a; many forms show the first three segments including medial glottal stop. Ch(L) seems key: without -ka, Ch(L) no’o-vi ‘fetus’; yet Sr, NT, and Kw suggest a sequence of *no’a-ka with *-ka ‘having’, that is, ‘having egg/fetus’ or pregnant. [CC, med C] [NUA: Num, Tbr; NUA: Tak]

NB, in TSh pappasi ‘potato(s)’, a loan from Spanish, and in many Spanish loans, such as vaca (> vakasi), we see an extra á added on to the Spanish plural, perhaps because most UA languages end words with vowels, not consonants.

Pour: see throw

PRIORITY; ORAR


PREGNANT; PREÑADA, EMBARAZADA; see also swell, egg, and stomach

1721. *no’a ‘fetus’; *no’-ka ‘fetus-have, pregnant’: BH.Cup *nét ‘pregnant woman’; Munro.Cup102 *né-t; M88-no4 ‘pregnant’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-no6: Kw no’o-ka-(n)dí; SP noor’uua; CU nóó-ťway ‘be pregnant’; CU nóó-ťray ‘become pregnant’; Tb honoodat~’ohonoot ‘be pregnant’; Cp ni-t; Ca níf-t; Ls né-t; Sr nóóqt; Hp nó’yílti ‘become pregnant’. To these can be added Ch(L) no’ovi ‘fetus’; TSh no’api; Sh no’a-pni/ppi/pikka; Cm no’a-pi ‘pregnant woman’; NT nonoáka/nonóáha ‘be pregnant’. Most point to *no’a; many forms show the first three segments including medial glottal stop. Ch(L) seems key: without -ka, Ch(L) no’o-vi ‘fetus’; yet Sr, NT, and Kw suggest a sequence of *no’-ka with *-ka ‘having’, that is, ‘having egg/fetus’ or pregnant. [CC, med C] [NUA: Num, Tbr, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep]

1722. *putta > *potta ‘pregnant, full’: some from M67-429 *posa/*poca ‘swell’; L.Son214 *posa ‘hurtarse’; M88-po14 ‘swell’; KH/M06-po14 (see others at *posa ‘swell’): Tr bocá ‘be pregnant’; CN oocti ‘someone pregnant’; CN ooc-tiia ‘to become pregnant’. Consider also HN ‘oc-tli’ ‘pregnant animal’; Pl ucti-tuk ‘pregnant’; SP pucca ‘be filled’; Ch póco ‘inflatable’; and Sr póóč-k ‘swell, bloat’; also CN poca ‘throw up earth, burrow’ if borrowed; Eu púcika ‘rebuscar de lleno’. NUA -c- does not fit *posa ‘swell’, but more likely -t- or clustered -Ct-. Note WR poci ‘estar lleno, satisfecho’ (vs. Wr posa- ‘estar lleno, satisfecho’); Tr(L) póča/búča ‘ser lleno, hincharse, enturbiar un color’; Tr(L) bočwi ‘llenarse’ (vs. Tr posá/bosá, bosáwi (irreg pres) ‘full from eating’); Sr puutk ‘bec full (of contents), vi’; Sr puutkin ‘fill (container) with, vt’; Sr puutu’(q) ‘fill (of contents), rise (of water)’; likewise, Ktn putük ‘get full’; Ktn putk ‘full, adj’. In contrast to CN posaawa ‘inflatable, vt’; CN posaawi ‘swell’;
Cr huša ‘be satisfied’ (all at swell), are CN ooc-tli ‘pregnant’; CN poca ‘throw up earth, burrow’; HN ‘oc-tli’ ‘pregnant animal’; Pl ucti-tuk ‘pregnant’; SP pucca ‘be filled’; Ch(L) pučakaiyu ‘being full’; Ch póoca ‘inflrate’; Sr pőč-k ‘swell, bloat’. These seem to be from s.th. involving a *-t-like medial C or cluster for NUA to show -c-.

[SUA: Trn, Opn, Azt; NUA: Num, Tak]

NB, many UA words for ‘pregnant’ derive from words for ‘stomach’: for example, see *poka ‘stomach’ and *topa ‘stomach’.

Prick: see pierce

Prickly-pear cactus: see cactus

PULL, DRAG; HALAR, ARRASTRAR; see also stretch and pull out

1723. *waka(na) ‘drag, scrape’: Hp(S) hewa-k-na ‘hooked, dragged, pulled, scraped, vt’; Yq wákanáma ‘arrastrando’; Hp hée-wi ‘scrape out, scrape clean, vt’ (hée-wi ‘redupl-scrape’). If hée- is the redupl as Hill notes, then the stem is -wi-. As for Hp(S), note the near identity of Hp(S) and Yq in *wak(a)na, especially if he- is reduplicated [Hp -k-na] [NUA; Hp; SUA: Cah]

1724. *piyok ‘pull, drag’: Sh(C) piyokko ‘pull, drag, tow, vt’; Sh(M) piyokkah ‘drag, vt’; Ch pícó-ó ‘pull’; SP píga-; CU piyó-ghaw ‘pull’; WMU píyó-ga-wy / píyó-go / píyó’ga-wey / píyó-go’wey / píyó-go’wéy / píyó-go’we-y / píyó-go’wa-y ‘pull, drag, pull out, vt’. A tie with Eu viká ‘estirar’ and Eu vikmerá ‘arrastrar corriendo’ is possible with loss of 2nd vowel, though Eu is also listed at ‘rope’ (*wik ‘(sping) rope’). [Hp -kna] [NUA: Num; Hp; SUA: Cah]

1725. *kawa/i ‘drag, pull’: Ls xááwa/i ‘be dragged, swept, vi; drag, sweep, vt’; Cp xuwe ‘pull’.

1726. *ca’no ‘pull’: Mn ca’noo ‘pull up or out’; NP canohyikwi ‘pull’; TSh connopa ‘pull out or up; tear down or out, extirpate’; Cm canoori ‘pull, pluck’; Cm canuarí ‘move by hand, pull on something’. [CC, 1st C > ø]

1727. *tappi ‘pull, drag’: Kw tapičini ‘drag’; Sh(C) típpi ‘pull’. Are the following also related or are we dealing with prefixes?: *ca-pi- or *capí: Mn capidína ‘drag’; NP capiwoya ‘to drag with hand’; NP cinicici ‘pluck out’; Cm cahpi’eri ‘jerk down, pull down’. [NUA: Num]

1728. *(piC)-sutu’a ‘(behind)-pull, drag’: Stubbs2003-16: Mn casutu’i ‘pull out’; TSh soto’ ‘pull, vi’; TSh bi-soto’ ‘pull, drag, vt’; Sh -pisuta ‘drag behind, instr, vt’. The Mn form contains *ca- ‘(do) with the hand’; the CNum forms show the prefix *pi’- ‘back/behind’. I reconstruct *satu’i on the basis that two of the three show a third consonant, one of them a glottal stop, the other nearly anything. As for vowels, all show back rounded vowels initially: Mn u < *o is not likely; but TSh o < *u is likely if the final vowel is a, as we often see such an assimilatory influence at work in UA *u-a > o-o. For Sh-suta, perhaps *satu’a > *suta’a > *su’ta > suta. [-a/i, u > o/a] [NUA: Num]

1729. *pani ‘pull, drag’: TO wani- ‘a pulling or influencing action’ (TO w < *p); TO wanimun ‘pull pieces or strands from, vt’; TO wanič ‘pull on, influence, vt’; PYp vancim ‘cut, break off’; PYp vavinim ‘pull, vt’; PYp vaimin ‘pull off, break off, vt’; PYp vancikim ‘pull, vt’; PYv vaint ‘pick fruit’; ST vañis pret. of vaissína ‘estirar, alargar’; Tr bani-mea ‘arrastrar [drag]’; Tr banisu-ma ‘jalar [pull]’; Wr pansú-na ‘pull’, Wr pansú-ro-na ‘pull along (as horse by rope, child by the hand)’; Wc hana ‘drag, pull, stretch’ (Wc h < *p); Wc háni ‘pulled’. Tr’s alternate form Tr baná-che ‘quedarse obstaculizado, cerrarsele a uno el paso [be blocked, one’s progress impeded]’ matches Hp pana ‘put into, bring into’, both of which include examples of coralling animals’. Though semantically feasible, probably not Hp neevena ‘pick, harvest wild greens over a wide area’. [*p > Wc h, c/s] [NUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
1730. *wokin 'drag': Tb wōgin–*wō gin ‘drag it’; Hp lōlōkinta ‘drag, pull behind’; if *w > v, then Sr vōō kinh ‘pull, drag’. These 3 seem related, even if Tb has a different first V, and Sr a slightly different first C. The fact that four of the five segments agree in any 2 of the 3 with identical semantics is compelling. *wVkin. [*w > v in Sr?; *o > ū in Tb?] [NUA: Tb, Hp, Tak]


PULL OUT, PULL UP, UPROOT; ARRANCAR, DESARRAIGAR, EXTIRPAR

1732. *pu’na ‘pull out, uproot’: L.Son212 *pona ‘arrancar’; M88-po5 ‘weed, uproot’; KH/M06-po5: TO wooni ‘pick, harvest, uproot’; LP bona ‘arrancar hierbas’; Eu pópna (< *pona) ‘pull roots/hair’; Wr po’na ‘arrancar (de hierbas, matas, frutas)’; Tr bo’ná-na ‘arrancar, sacar a fuerzas’; My pónna ‘arrancar’; Wc huuná ‘arrancar una cosa inmóvil’; CN kopiina ‘pull s.th. out, for s.th. to pull itself loose, remove from a mold, copy’; Pl kupiina ‘pull out, tear out, tear off’. To these can be added NT voopónai ‘arrancar’; NT voóññi ‘arrancar’; ST takvuna ‘uproot, pull out’; ST voopñia ‘pull out (weeds, hair)’; AYq popóna ‘pull up, uproot’. All fit *po’na except the Aztecan forms and ST, which suggest *-pu’na, and in light of *u-a > o-a often, PUA *u seems a better choice. The alignment of CU tuvú-na ‘pull out, pluck out’; and AYq tovokta ‘pick up (sg. obj.) with hand, vt, harvest, n’ may suggest combined morphemes: *pu-kna? Ktn puk ‘take off’ may be worth noting. [*-n, CC, -a/i, *u-a > o-a] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

1733. M88-hu15 ‘pull out’; BH.Cup *hu?- ‘pull out’; KH/M06-hu15 (Ca, Cp, Ls in 1733a):

1733a. *hu... (possibly *huya-) ‘pull’ : Ca húqin; Ls huyáqi ‘pull out several objects’; Cp húwe ‘to pull out’; the -hoyi- portion of NP canohoyïkkwi ‘pull’; for NP cano, see Mn ca’noo at *ca’no ‘pull’ above.

1733b. *huti ‘pull out’: Ca ce-húlin ‘pull out’; Yq hútte ‘weed, clean’.[*-t > -l- in Tak, *u-a > o-a, red] [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Cah]

1734. *hupa ‘pull out’: Stubbs2003-12: Kw hovo ‘pull out (hair, grass, seeds), v’; Ch hová ‘pull out, v’; Nv ‘upana ‘arrancar’; Ls xoova ‘drag (as skirt), hang (on ground)’. Only one of four forms shows u, yet the tendency of *u-a > o-a probably explains the other three, especially Ls which otherwise should have e. [*u-a > o-a, initial x/h] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

1735. *kVyi ‘uproot’: Ls káyi ‘uproot’; Cp qéye ‘to pull out’; Ca qúyen ‘pull out (tree)’. The vowels are awry, but the consonants and semantics are identical. [V leveling] [NUA: Tak]

1736. *tup(p)a / *topa ‘pull, push, move by applying force’: Sapir: SP tuppa/tuva ‘pull out, emerge’; CN topeewa ‘push, shove s.o. or s.th., vt, press forward, v.refl’. [*u-a > o-a] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

PUS: see rot

PUSH; EMPUJAR, EMPELLAR

1737. *nuta/*nuLa ‘push’: BH.Cup *nu ‘to push’; M88-nu4: KH/M06-nu4; Tb nuulat–*uunul ‘push’; Tb nuula’it–uunula’ ‘push repeatedly’; Cp núle; Ca nú’uqan; Ls núl. [NUA: Tak, Tb]

1738. *nu’i / *nu’yV ‘push’: TO nu’i ‘pushing or forcing action’; TO nu’iék ‘push on’; Hp no’i-k-na ‘nudge or push’; NT núuyuyukasi / núuyuaasi ‘push’; Mn mano’yu’i ‘push with the hand’ (ma ‘hand’); NP tonuyu’s ‘push’; the Numic forms (Mn, NP) show *no’i rather than *nu’i, perhaps a lowering of the vowel (*u > o) due to surrounding lower vowels. [k > ø in NT, L > ’, NUA L:SU A’, o/u Hp] [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep]

1739. *(ta)taco ‘push’: CN totocooa ‘to push, shove someone or something to the front’; Tr na’tačo ‘push each other’; Cr raatátači ‘lo empuja’; perhaps Yq táhta ‘bump’. [V assim in Azt] [SU A: Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

1740. *nama ‘urge, wave (s.th.), herd; arrear’: Eu náma- ‘arrear’; Yq naáma ‘arrear (vacas)’; My naama ‘sobar’. [SU A: Cah, Opn]
1741. *takipV ‘push’: KH/M06-ta9: Wr tahkipúna ‘empujar muchas veces’; Tr(L) raki- ‘empujar’; Tr(Ht) rakibú ‘empujar’; My táktia ‘tocar, picar’; SP tínwipa ‘pich in with the hand’. [nasal in SP] [SUA: Trn, Cah; NUA: Num]

NB, for B.Tep *voisikai ‘to sweep, press down’, see sweep.
NB, for *ton, see hit.
NB, many forms meaning ‘push’ are derived from ‘hit’ and such other verbs.

PUT; PONER, COLOCAR

1742. *ya(N)ca ‘put, set down’: VVH40 *yaca ‘to set it down’; B.Tep14 *daasai ‘he sets down’ and *daasa ‘to set down’; M88-ya2 ‘place sg. obj. in sitting position’; KH/M06-ya2: TO daaš; LP daaša; NT daása; ST daasa; Wr yaḥca ‘ponerlo sentado’; Tr acá, acába ‘poner o asentar una cosa’; My yécca ‘ponerlo sentado’; Tbr neca/nesa ‘sentarse, estar sentado, asentar, poner’; Tb yandzït~’ayanc ‘sit down, set (of sun)’; CN ye ‘estar’; Pl mu-estuk, mu-ectuk ‘be seated’ (defective vi). Add Wc yáaca ‘put, make stand’; Yq yéča ‘levantar, poner, sentar’; and AYq yeča ‘poner una cosa, colgar, amarrar’. Raising a > e between two palatals is natural enough. Did *-Nc spare Tb from *-c > -y? [initial C > ø in Tr] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

1743a. *tap ‘put’: BH.Cup *tav ‘put’; CL.Azt130 *tlaalia ‘put, place’; M88-ta34 ‘put’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ta34 *tapic (AMR): Cp tava ‘put down’; Ls taváni ‘put, place sg obj’; Ls tavá’a ‘sit down, pl. subj.’; Ca táv ‘put sg. obj. in place, put in order, vt’; Gb tavó ‘poner’; Sr tav(i)i ‘put sg. obj.’; Hp tavi ‘put it down, take (clothing) off’. Miller also includes Tbr towi/tovi ‘quedar, flotar’; My táawa ‘quedarse’; CN tlaaliaa ‘put, place’; I count only CN, as it can lose medial -p from *tap. Azt loses p’s handily, in a cluster or not; so let’s keep them, but under a different letter (b) below.

1743b. *taLi ‘put’: CN tlaalia; Pl taaliya; Po tali; T tolla; Z taaliya. Perhaps loss of medial -p in Azt. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Azt]

1744. *tïka/i or *tïkaC ‘put lying down, stretched/spread flat’: Sapir; VVH18 *tïska ‘to put, lay flat object down’; I.Num239 *tïkV put; CL.Azt100 *teeka ‘lie down’; M88-ti7 ‘place sg. obj.,v. t.’; M88-ti33 has nearly all the same forms, and so KH/M06-ti7 soundly combines M88’s two sets: Mn tïki-t ‘place, put, v’; NP tïki/tïgï ‘put’; Cm tïki ‘put s.th. away’; TSh tïki ‘put’; SP tïgaa ‘measure, imitate, practice’; TO ciïkid ‘place, put, lay, lay away or set aside for s.o., offer as a sacrifice’; Eu teká ‘poner’; Wr teká/tegá ‘poner sg. obj. tendida, acostada, horizontal’; My teeka ‘acostarlo’; CN teeka ‘stretch oneself out, lie down, settle, stretch s.th. out, spread s.th. on flat surface’. Sapir ties SP tïgaa ‘measure, imitate, practice’ to CN teeka, which tie is likely, since a typical way to measure is to stretch out s.th., and the segments of the two are identical. Add PYp teek ‘to put, place’; Cr raa-takïïnte ‘lo estira’. What of SP tuukwa ‘stretch, vt’? A final -a/i active/stative feature to the final vowel. [-a/i] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

1745. *mociwa ‘place pl obj’s seated’: M88-mo2 ‘be seated pl’; KH/M06-mo2 ‘be seated’: Wr moci-wi/pó ‘poner sentados (pl obj)’; Wr micipá-ni ‘sentarse, pl sbj’; Wr miciwá-ni ‘sentarse, pl sbj’; Tr mociwa ‘objeto con que o en que depositar, colocar (como asentadas)’; Tr mociwi ‘sentados, pl’; To Miller’s pair, add Tbr mucí/mucu ‘sentarse’. [SUA: Trn, Tbr]
1747. *pana ‘put in’: Ken Hill (p.c. 2004), KH/M06-pa71: Hp pana ‘put into, let enter, bring into’; Sr paa’van ‘wet, add water to, thin (e.g. soup) by adding water’. Ken Hill noticed this nice pair as Sr paa’van clearly appears to be a compound meaning ‘water-put in’, that is, ‘put in water’. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

1748. *hoya ‘put’: Lionnet 1978: My hoiya ‘put (pl objs)’; Tbr hoa ‘put’. [SUA: Cah, Tbr]

NB, for *paca and B.Tep *vaasa ‘put into’, see ‘in’.
NB, for *wïn ‘stand, be/put in place’, see ‘stand’.
NB, for ‘put on (clothing)’, see dress, clothing, enter, and/or wrap.

QUAIL; CODORNIZ


1749b. *takkaka / *kakkata ‘valley quail’: TSh takkaakacci/kakkaatacci ‘valley quail’; Tb takaah ‘valley quail’; this could possibly be a loan since Tb and TSh are geographically proximate; and in light of the second alternate form in TSh, SP qaqqaraC ‘quail’; and Sr kakaata’, all reflecting *kakkataC. These are probably related to *kaka above. Consider also TO kakaiću ‘quail’ (< *kakkatu). Might *kakka be a consonant harmony of *takka? [CC; k > h; C harmony?] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

1750. *cokowa ‘quail or dove-like bird’: Tbr cokoa-rá ‘quail’; Tr čohówa ‘dove’. [k > h] [SUA: Trn, Tbr]

1751a. *salwi > *solwi ‘quail’: Cora sa’u and Huichol šï’au ‘cordoniz [quail]’ are significant, because in Uto-Aztecan Comparative Vocabulary is a section showing the UA liquid(s) (L) going to glottal stop in Cora: 2.9.5 Medial *=L->-~ in Cora. So Cora sa’u < *salwi with L to glottal stop, and -w- caused rounding of -a- > -o- in other forms, like CN soolín- ‘quail’; Mn sowi’ ‘pigeon’. CN kept -l- and Mn kept -w-. TO hohhi ‘the mourning dove’ and Tr soho ‘paloma torcaz’ show initial *so, and TO -hh- usually means an enigmatic cluster. Ca sêyewe-t ‘baby quail’ and Cp siiyewe ‘baby quail’ may be related since Ca/Cp i < *o, if l > y. The following Tr and PYp forms are quite similar to the Cor, except for some *ti- prefix: PYp tesiól / te’soli / tesori ‘quail’; Tr fe’córi ‘cordoniz’. Note also Ca teseqáxa-l ‘kind of quail’ (Ca qaxal ‘quail’), the first two syllables of which nearly agree with *tíso.

1751b. *(tf)iSoLi’ > *tícoLi ‘quail’: [l > y; *=s->-c-] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC, Azt]

1752. *supa’awi ‘quail’: Yq subá’i ‘cordoniz’; AYq suva’u / suva’ ‘quail’; My suubau ‘cordoniz’, pl: suba’awim; the vai- of NT vaivóli corresponds with *pa’i (PUA *p > v; *’ > ø in Tep) as in Yq and AYq *supa’i minus initial *su, but here, Yq and My show differences after *(su)pa... while Yq and NT agree in *pa’i. [no initial su in Tep] [SUA: Cah, Tep]

1753. *ku’yú ‘quail’: Cm kuyúusi ‘quail’; Cm firíe ku’yuuuci ‘quail’; Eu kúi ‘cordoniz’. [CC] [NUA: Num; SUA: Opn]

Quarrel: see shout, angry, say
Quiet: see peace
Quiver: most UA forms are compounds meaning arrow-bag, arrow-house, etc.
RABBIT, COTTONTAIL; CONEJO

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1754a. *tapuC / *taput ‘cottontail rabbit’: M67-334a *tapu ‘cottontail rabbit’; I.Num210 *tapuN / *tapu’u ‘cottontail, rabbit’; M88-ta30 ‘cottontail rabbit’; L.Son275 *tapu ‘conejo’; Fowler 1983; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ta30: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; SP; CU (*u > i); Hp (*u > o); Tb; Sr (*u > o); Ca; Op tawu; Eu; Yq; My. 16 languages match perfectly the four segments *tapu, rare in UA linguistics. Yet a few others (Gb, Ls, TO, LP, Wr, Tr) agree with *topi, treated below. Note that CU displays another example of Numic changing *u > ɪ. Fowler (1983) lists a Piman form taapi ‘Lepus Arizonas’.

1754b. *taput(i) > *täpec(i) > CN too-<, and *täpec(i) > *täci > CrC *täciu ‘rabbit’: Sapir: Wc táciu; Cr táciu’u; CN tooč-tli. For CN tooč-tli, anticipatory rounding and loss of *-p (and CN o = CrC u). Or is it *täci’o > taco > tooč-tli? [PYp metathesis; *-p > -w- in Tr, Wr, Tbr; *-p > ø in CrC, Azt] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

1755. *töpi ‘cottontail rabbit’: VVH56 *tokwi rabbit; M67-333 *to ‘rabbit’; L.Son318 *towi conejo; M88-to4 ‘cottontail rabbit’; KH/M06-to4: TO; Wr; Tr; Tbr; Miller includes CN tooč-tli. Add Gb; Nv; PYp; ST. Ls tóóvit has wrong V, a loan? Gb, Ls, and PYp tuuva may show *tupa > *topa > *töpi, but since *kw is reflected as w in Tr/Wr and as b in Tep, then Wr, Tr, TO, LP, and ST all agree with *tokwV, though we may simply have intervocalic voicing of *p > b in Tep. TO curiously has both TO toobi ‘rabbit’ and TO cuuwi (< *tupi) ‘jackrabbit’. [kw/p; o/u, -p->b in Tep] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trm, Tbr]

1756. *tosakmann > *tïsakamu ‘cottontail rabbit, lit: white jackrabbit’: Sapir; M88-tït3; KH.NUA; KH/M06-tït3: Cp tísixa-t; Ls tóóşixi-t; tóóşixi-t; Sr tühaq-t; Gb tosóxo-t ‘conejo’. The consistent consonants suggest that these Tak forms constitute a Takic set; however, the vowels are challenging. Mn tosáqamï ‘mountain rabbit’ is probably related, and may be key to revealing the compound of *tosa ‘white’ and *kammu ‘jackrabbit’. After all, truncation of final syllables is common in UA, especially of long words, and this four-syllable original reducing to three in all but one language is typical. [Gb V, v>i/t, red; Tak vowels.] [NUA: Tak, Num]

NB, Miller includes Tbr owílá with *topi, which is reasonable, though Tbr does not exhibit a tendency to lose initial t- elsewhere. Since Tbr does exhibit mw < *m, one might wonder whether Tbr owi-lá and CN o’mi-tl ‘rabbit down, pelt’ are connected.
JACKRABBIT, HARE; LIEBRE

1757. *kaNmu ‘jackrabbit’: I.Num51 *kahmï ‘jackrabbit’; Kaufman1981 *kanmï; Fowler83 *kammï; M88-ka16 ‘jackrabbit’; KH/M06-ka16: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Kw; Ch; SP; WM; CU. This is found in all of Num, but no where else in UA, except in the compound *tosa-kammu above. I like Kaufman’s reconstruction *kanmï. Might this tie to SUA *kaNma ‘put in mouth, taste’ and mean ‘the nibbler’? [u > ï in Num] [NUA: Num]

1758a. *par'osi / *paLo'osi ‘jackrabbit’: M67-336 *pa ‘jackrabbit’; BH.Cup *páxwut? ‘young jackrabbit’; L.Son189 *parosi ‘liebre’; M88-pa6 ‘jaderabbit’; KH/M06-pa6 *pa’rosi ‘jackrabbit’: Op paros; Eu; Yq; My; Wr. Tr. The PYp term may be a loan. I like the -r- in Ken Hill’s reconstruction, for when we can demonstrate two liquids in PUA (as I think may be), I would choose r over l, as well. But on the strength of the My pl paró’os-im and the tendency of UA to anticipate glottal stops, I prefer reconstructing the glottal after the liquid, and then consider that it was anticipated or moved forward in the other forms. I agree with Miller and Hill that the Tak forms below are likely related, though we yet have no UA precedent for explaining *-r-/ *-r'- > -k-, except that *-r'-, in its approximation to *tw, may suggest *tw > kw, as AMR (1993a) suggests, and ’ > w does occur in UA. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn]

1758b. *pakwV ‘jackrabbit, hare’: Ls pááxu-t / pááxe-wu-t ‘young jackrabbit’; Cp páwxə-t; Ca páxwu-t. [NUA: Tak]

1759. *su'i / *suwi ‘jackrabbit’: M67-335 *sui ; BH.Cup *su’ic; HH.Cup *su’iš; Munro.Cup66 *su’iš; M88-su10 ‘jack-rabbit’; AMR1993a *suu’it; KH/M06-su10: Tb; Cp; Ca; Ls; Gb su’it; Sr; Ktn; Hp; CN. [’/w] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]

1760. *wákkat ‘rabbit stick, throwing stick’: M88-wa27; Munro.Cup106 *waaka-t ‘rabbit stick’; KH/M06-wa27: Ca wákat; Cp wákat; Ls wáakat; Gb wákat. [NUA: Tak]

RACCOON; MAPACHE

1761. *(pa-)’aya / *pa-haya ‘raccoon’: BH.Cup *ayámal; HH.Cup *’ayáamal; Fowler83; M88-a28 ‘raccoon’; KH/M06-a28: Cp ayámal; Ca ‘áyamaly; Ls pá’ya-ma-l; Sr ‘aya-qaici ‘lit: raccoon mountain’; Kw paahayaa-ci. A prefixed *pa- is in Kw and Ls pá’ya-ma-l; cf. the pa- in Gb pa-hunar ‘badger’. [NUA: Num, Tak]

1762. *papok ‘raccoon, badger’; Nv vavoka ‘tejón [badger]’; ST vavook ‘raccoon’. The two forms are undoubtedly related, yet with one vote for each direction semantically, I shan’t guess which it means. If anyone can bring more cognates to decide the matter, the invitation is extended. [SUA: Tep]

RAIN; LLOVER

1763. *yuku ‘rain’: VVH109 *yuku ‘to rain’; M67-337 *yuk ‘rain’; B.Tep27 *duuki ‘rain’; B.Tep25 *duudu ‘it rained’; L.Son363 *yuku/yuk-i ‘llover’; llover, v.: M88-yu2 ‘llover’; M88-yu3 ‘lluvia’; KH/M06-yu3 *yuki ‘rain, n’: Hp yooyoki ‘be raining’; TO juuk; Eu düku-; Wr yu’ku-nā, yu’ki-mā; Tr u’ku/u’ki-; Tr yu’ku-me: My yûkke ‘lluvia, n’; TO juuki; Eu duki; Wr yu’ki; My yûkku; NT duûki ‘rain, n’. From Willet’s latest update: ST duuk ‘agua, lluvia’; ST duudu ‘llover, vi’; ST juukda’ ‘que llueve mucho’. I like Ken Hill’s division/sorting of this complex array of terms and his reconstructions in KH/M06-yu2 *yuya ‘rain, v’ vs. KH/M06-yu3 *yuki ‘rain, n’. The two may be tied, but if so, the latter is at least a different compound, as Ken Hill separates them, perhaps
involving another morpheme *-kV: e.g., Hp yooyanjwi ‘rain, rainstorm’ vs. Hp yoo-yoki ‘rain, v’. See *yuya / *yawi ‘snow, rain’ at ‘snow’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah]

1764a. *(w)umaC / *(w)imaC ‘rain’: M67-338 *(w)ema ‘rain’; I.Num23 *(i)m̥a ‘rain’; M88-i9 ‘rain, v’ and M88-wi16 ‘rain, v’; KH/M06-i9: TSh ūma’ / ūm̥a / ywa’; Sh ūma’/ma’; WSḥ ūm̥a’; Cm ūm̥a’ri ‘v’; Cm ūm̥a’i ‘n’; Kw ‘uwa; SP u̯wa; WMU uwa’; CU ‘uvy’; NP pauma ‘raining’; NP powma ‘raining’. Ken Hill adds Ch iwi ‘rain’. We might also add the -oma of Tr na’oma ‘barrarase, esfumarase, opacarse el ambiente, nublarse’; Tr(H) na’oma ‘tapar, barrar’. I agree with Miller, that these two sets (a and b) are probably related; and Miller’s 1967 reconstruction *(w)imaC, slightly adjusted, serves the two sets fairly well actually. A 3rd C is apparent in CNun and in WMU compounds, and the velar nasal apparent in the forms below is a common result of an *-mC-cluster after vowel loss. The 2nd and 3rd consonants remained separate in Num, but clustered in Tak and the cluster reductions in Tak could send the vowels in a variety of directions.

1764b. *wiN / *woNC / *wVN... ‘rain, be cloudy’: Sapir; M67-338 *(w)ema ‘rain’; M88-wi16 ‘to rain’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wi16: Cp wéwe; Ca wéwen / wéwn; Ca wéwn-iš ‘rain, clouds’; Sr wōŋ ‘rain, vi, rain on, vt’; Cr me-viye ‘it is raining’; Cr viye ‘the Rains (rain gods)’ (Casad reconstructs Proto-Corachol as *viye < *wiyi; similarly, McMahon & McMahon list Cr biite ‘lluvia(s)’); We wiye ‘lloviznar, vt’; and Hill has a question mark by Gb wákó. Miller notes after each Tak form that the vowel is wrong, apparently siding with the Cr vowel in his listing this set under initial *wi... However, Cp and Ca agree with *wi... Sr with *wo, Gb disagrees with both, while Ktn wone ‘rain, vi’ and Ktn wone-a-t / woŋ-ut / wahŋ-a-t ‘rain, cloud, n’ agree well with Sr wōŋ-t ‘rain, n’ and Sr wōŋ-tu ‘cloud up, look like rain’, both with *wo, though some of Ktn’s vowel patterns look like Gb’s.

Sapir suggests *wiwa (with a question mark) and ties together the CrC, Tak, and Num forms above (*uma < *wiwa), though the CrC inclusion seems questionable to me. In fact, might Sr’s V be the result of a reduplication like Cupan’s: *wiwén > *wiwén > *woono > *woono, the -wn- cluster causing both the rounding of the vowel and -ŋ- < -wn-. This is a difficult set, if all forms are even related. Besides a difficult first vowel, a consonant cluster reduced in a variety of directions: w, n, ŋ, m, k, y, though nasals and bilabials are prevalent. The Hp, Tr, and Tbr forms of c below (*uma) also belong and may clarify b and a.

1764c. *uma ‘be cloudy’: Hp oomaw ‘cloud’; Tbr homé-k ‘be cloudy’; and the -’oma of Tr na’oma ‘barrarase, esfumarase, opacarse el ambiente, nublarse’; Tr(H) na’oma ‘tapar, barrar’ [become cloudy, erased]. A reconstruction of the first vowel as *u instead of *o is preferred because we would expect Hp ɾ < *o, and Tr sometimes shows o where u is expected anyway, and even if that were not the case, a vowel assimilation or lowering *uma > *oma, a common phenomenon in UA, could also explain the Tr and Tbr forms. In fact, they all match SNUM *uma and well, and the vowel i, common in many of the other forms above, may be an unaccented schwa-like result. Such would have this stem in five branches. [med *-m(C)- > ŋ/w/ŋw; Gb V, Sr ɾ, *u-a > *o-a] [NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Tbr]

1765. *horo ‘rain, fall’: L.Son62 *horo ‘llover’; M88-ho7 ‘llover’; KH/M06-ho7: Tbr horo; Op hára; Eu hór ‘fall’ [Liq] [SUA: Tbr, Opn]

1766. *cikwa (< *tikwa ?) ‘rain, v’: Stubbs 2003-9: TO siibani ‘drizzle, sprinkle’ and Hp cekweke-ta ‘be raining big drops as at the outset of heavy shower’ (cekwe- ‘soak’) suggest *cikwa; the consonants agree, and since Hp e is the lone vowel that does not correspond to a particular PUA vowel, a leveling of i-a > e-e is exactly the kind of phenomenon that often produces Hp e. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes a nice addition in Mn tükwa ‘rain, vi’ and Mn tükwa-pe ‘rain, n’, which assimilates one vowel, somewhat like Hp, but may well show the original initial consonant, as we often see *t > c before high vowels. Tr sikuriwa ‘rain hard’ does not correspond to *c, but in light of the frequent *c/s dichotomy, it should be kept in mind as a possibility. [med kw; V leveling; Hp e] [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tep]

1767. *pata ‘patter, spatter, splatter’: Sapir: SP paara-ka ‘make a pattering sound (as rain)’; CN petlala ‘to be poured/spilled (of liquid) and scatter, glisten, reflect’. Of course, onomatopoeia is possible here. [t > r]

NB, for *sami ‘wet, drizzle, numb’, see ‘wet’.
NB, for *tommo ‘cloud, rain, winter’ see ‘cloud’ and ‘winter’.

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RAINBOW; ARCO IRIS

1768. *kosamaLo ‘rainbow’: B.Tep99a *kíhóneri, 99b *ki’óharai; M88-ki7 ‘rainbow’; Stubbs2000b-44; KH/M06-ki7: Pl kusamaalu(h). Miller (M88) lists only Pl and the Tepiman words in Bascom (1965, i.e. B.Tep); however, the ‘rainbow’ words in nearly every other SUA language also appear related to the Tep forms, at least in part. Some SUA reflexes show reduction (or loss) of entire syllables, probably by the process of vowel syncope causing consonant clusters, which do not hold up well in SUA and usually simplify to a single consonant, then a subsequent vowel syncope and cluster simplification again, etc. Each cycle eliminates a syllable. Consider the following words for ‘rainbow’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>konimi/gonimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>ginorá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>kenolá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eu</td>
<td>bainóra/vainóra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tbr</td>
<td>oráwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>kíhóneri</td>
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<tr>
<td>TO</td>
<td>gíhonári</td>
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<tr>
<td>TO</td>
<td>kiohoD</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP(B)</td>
<td>kiůhur</td>
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<tr>
<td>LP(EF)</td>
<td>kiáhur</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nv</td>
<td>kiorha</td>
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<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>ki’oor</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yq</td>
<td>kurués; AYq kurués</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My</td>
<td>kurués</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>kú’usa’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CN</td>
<td>koosamaaloo-tl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>kusamaalu-(t)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We begin with s.th. near CN *kosamaLo > kosamaLo > kisonaLV > NT/TO *kíhóneri, for Tep often changes m > n. Borrowing from neighboring UA languages seems apparent. For example, both Tr and TO each have two words for ‘rainbow’. TO gíhonári is nearly identical to NT kíhóneri, and the other TO form (TO kiohoD) is similar to LP kiůhur. Tr ginorá and Wr kenolá are similar, and exhibit the interesting phenomenon of vowel-line transposition. Regarding TO and NT *kíhóneri as compared to Wr and Tr *kinola, the latter has lost one syllable or second consonant (h) early in the word, but has kept the first three vowels perfectly intact (-i-o-a-), simply shifting them one place toward the front of the word:

*kihóneri (TO, NT)
*kinola (Wr, Tr)

The phenomenon of vowel-line transposition happens often in SUA.

Eu bainóra may have pa- ‘water’ prefixed to *hinóra/kinola or s.th.similar to Tr/Wr *kinola, which shows the vulnerability of *-k- between vowels.

While Tr/Wr lost the -hV- syllable of *kíhóneri, three Tep languages lost -n-, but kept -r/L:

*kihóneri > *kihoL, or like LP(EF) kiáhur (< *kinasul) suggests, a complete metathesis of syllables in
*kihóneri > *kinahoL > *kíhoL > *kihoL / *ki’oL (ST ki’oor; TO kiohol; LP kiůhur)

The first three segments of Tbr oráwi agree with the -ola/ora portion of Eu, Tr, Wr. Cr shares *kosa with Aztecan, but with extra glottal stops: *ku’usa’a. Substantial reductions all about!

*kosamaLo ‘rainbow’ remained relatively intact in Azt, but reduced remarkably in the rest of SUA:

*kosamaLo > *kohonaLo > *kuLu (in Cah *kurués)
   > *kíhóneri (NT, TO) > *kíhoL / *ki’oL (rest of Tep)
   > *kíhoLa (Tr, Wr)

[SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]
1770. *siŋka ‘rainbow’: Cp pešênex’a ‘rainbow’; Ls ’asóónax ‘rainbow’; Ca piyaxat ‘rainbow’; Ktn ‘ašínina’; Ca and Cp are usually more similar than these two. Ls and Ktn have an a- prefix, while Cp and Ca have a pV-prefix, though from the second syllable, Cp, Ls, Ktn agree fairly well, while Ca is possible, perhaps Ca -y- < -sn-cluster? Might these tie to latter part of *ko-samaLo? [cluster reduction in Ca?] [NUA: Tak]

1771. *pa-to-kowa ‘rainbow, lit: water-snake’: Ch(L) paroogwaawïnï ‘water purple standing, rainbow’; Ch(L) paroogwaagari ‘water purple, colors of rainbow or darkness of approaching storm’; Ch(L) paroogwaci’i ‘kyaiyu ‘water purple is streaked, rainbow streaked across the sky’; CU pa-ro-góa-ų ‘rainbow, water-snake’ (toğóa-ví ‘rattlesnake’); WMU arogwa / oróa ‘rainbow’. Sapir also elicited SP pa-róoxa-ų ‘water-snake’ but did not elicit ‘rainbow’. [NUA: SNum]

NB, for Ca piyaxa-t ‘rainbow, worm with two horns’, see ‘worm’.

1772. *yo’i ‘raw’: B.Tep22 *do’iga ‘raw’; L.Son360 *yo’i ‘crudo’; M88-yol ‘raw’; KH/M06-yol: TO do’i; UP do’igi; LP do’i; PYp do’i; NT do’i; ST do’ii/dyoi; Eu dohi; Op doi; Wr yo’i; Tr o’i. [some Tep keep glottal stop] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]

1773. *sawaN > *sawïC ‘raw’: M67-342 *saw ‘raw’; KH.NUA;I.Num175 *sa(a)N ‘raw’; BH.Cup *sawit? ‘raw’; Munro.Cup109 *sawï ‘raw’; M88-sa13 ‘raw’; KH/M06-sa13: Sh saam-piicïh; Kw saa ‘be raw’; SP saaN ‘raw, unripe’; CU saya ‘be raw, uncooked’; Cp sáwi-t ‘sour’; Ca sá-wet; Ls sá-wet; Sr sáit ‘s.th. raw’; Ktn šaii’; My sá awa ‘herida, llaga’; CN sá-wa ‘raw, pl’; PL sá-wa ‘pimple, boil’. To these we can add MN sawetusú ‘uncooked’. The NUA forms (Num, Tak) suggest *ï as the second vowel, for even Ls o shows the proper reflex for *ï; the SUA forms point to *sawa and slightly different (though feasible) semantics in ‘sore’ or ‘raw-looking wound’; yet English ‘rub oneself raw’ means develop a ‘sore’ or ‘wound’. In fact, *ï often derives from a lazy a, since i does sometimes serve as the UA schwa, being only one notch higher than our English schwa, high central rather than mid-central. Trb sáwa-ká-t ‘red’ may be related, since raw meat is red, as are sores rubbed raw. Sh and SP suggest a final nasal and the absolutive -t of Tak also suggests a final -C. [possible *a > i; w > ø; N in SP, Sh] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Cah, Azt]

1774. *aŋkaC ‘red’: I.Num9 *aŋka/èŋka ‘red’; M88-‘a24 ‘red’; KH/M06-‘a24: TSh aŋka-pi; Sh ainka/enka; Cm ekapi; Kw ’aga-ki- (<*a(N)ka-kki-); SP aŋka(‘); WMU aqqá-γa-ří; CU ‘aká-γa-ří (< *akka-ka-tí). Miller also queries whether Ca selnek-iš ‘red’ is related. Add MN aqabanagi ‘be red, v’ (probably from ‘red-shine’); CH anká-ga ‘be red, vi’; note the *a > ai > e pattern in Central Num. [-NC- > -CC-] [NUA: Num]

1775. *piwi ‘red’: B.Tep290 *viɡi ‘red’; M88-pi13 ‘red’; KH/M06-pi13: TO wegi; LP vïg; NT vïgi; ST vii; ST vgiom ‘rosa’. [*w > g in Tep] [SUA: Tep]

1776. *siţa / *siţa ‘red’: Sapir; VVVH32 *siţa ‘ochre, red’; M67-343 *set ‘red’; L.Son251 *siţa ‘rojo’; M88-si3 ‘be red’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-si3: Ca seléklu ‘bec. red’; Ca seléklu-iš ‘red’; Sh siri ‘k ‘bec. red’; Sr siri ‘n ‘be red, vi st’; TO hit-magi; TO hit ‘red or white earth, red ochre’; Wr sehtá ‘be red’; Tr sitá-ka-me ‘red’; Tr serána- ‘be/bec red, pl’; Tr seráname ‘red, pl’; Tr sitána- ‘be/bec red’; We şetá. To those, add EU setát ‘almagre, tierra colorada’; Ayq sata ‘red dirt’. In light of Ayq siktavut ‘redracer snake’, let’s hope *siţa is not from *siţa (< *siki-ta ‘red-become/do), though Wr sehtá resembles such a cluster. But if such is the case, then Cah *siki ‘red (Ayq siki(li); My siki/sikiri; Yq siki’i) must be considered as well. [*t > l in Tak; *-CC-: -In > -l-; liquid; *i-a > a-a] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]
1777. *ti'kaC ‘red pigment, clay’: Ls tó’xa-t ‘red clay’; Cp te’xa-t ‘red paint’. [NUA: Tak]

REED, CANE; CARRIZO, CAñA

1778. *pakaN ‘reed, phragmites’: Sapir; VVH8 *paška ‘reed’; M67-344 *paka ‘reed’; L.Num135 *pakaN ‘arrow, cane’; L.Son185 *paka ‘carrizo’; CL.Azt133 *aka ‘reed’; Fowler 1983; M88-pa18 ‘cane, arrow’; Munro.Cup97 *paáxa-t; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa18: Mn paqa ‘arrow’; TSh pakan ‘arrow’; Sh pakan ‘arrow’; Cm paska/paka ‘arrow’; Kw paga-bí ‘carrizo grass, common reed’; SP paqan-, paqampi ‘cane’; Tb pahababí / paha’bíl ‘sugar cane plant’; Cp paxa-l ‘arrowreed’; Ca páxal ‘common reed, phragmites communis’; L.Son wáávi ‘reed, phragmites, pennisetum’; TL.áála tootóikami ‘el carrizo’; ST tootkom ‘carrizo’; PYp tookam ‘bundle of cane’; Sh(M) toippïh ‘cattail’; Kw to’i ‘carrizo, flecha’; Cr haká; We haka ‘a grass for arrows’; CN aaka-t. This stem is found in every branch, almost every language; semantically it appears to have originally meant ‘reed’ (apparently used for arrows), then ‘arrow’ in the Numic languages. [*p > h in CrC; Tbl h < -k/ŋk-; bilabial > ø/C; a/o] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

1779. *siyi ‘reed, juncus sp.’: BH.Cup *sayila ‘reed/rush sp.’; Fowler83; Munro.Cup110 *šayi-la ‘reed/rush sp.’; KH.NUA; M88-si14 ‘reed’; KH/M06-si12: Cp séyi-ly ‘Juncus sp., a grass used in basket making’; Ca séily ‘Juncus sp.’; Ls sów-la ‘type of rush’; Gb swar ‘junco’; Sr şiït ‘type of basket weed’. Miller also lists CN sooyaa-t ‘palm tree’ with an accompanying question mark, because its V does not agree. With a different vowel and different meaning, let’s not include it unless new data dictates differently. I separate these from *sihi ‘willow’. Though a tie is possible, they differ after initial CV. [NUA: Tak]

1780. *sa’iN / *sa’iC ‘tule, reed’: Jane Hill (p.c.): TSh sai-pppi ‘tule, Scirpus sp’; Ch(L) saimipi ‘tule’; Kw see-vi-bí ‘tule, bulrush, Scirpus validus’; Cp si’i-s ‘tule, Scirpus sp’; Tb si’ibi-l ‘the tule’; Gb si’i (Merriam). These could tie to *siyi above if *siyi < *sayi, though another obstacle is that some Tak languages have differing forms in each set, though circular loans is not impossible either. I reconstruct the nasal possibility (*sa’iN) because Ch shows a nasal and Kw b suggests it, since Kw -v- < *-p- and Kw -p- < *-pp-; and TSh shows a final C. Nice set Jane! [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb]

1781. *wapi ‘foxtail’: BH *wávie ‘foxtail’; M88-wa20; Munro.Cup48 *wáávi-s ‘foxtail (plant)’; KH/M06-wa20: Ls wáávi-s; Cp wávi-s; Ca wáávi-s. [NUA: Tak]

1782. *naka ‘cane’: Munro.Cup20 *náaxa-t ‘cane’; KH06-na39: Ls nááxu-t; Cp náxa-t; Ca náxa-t. [-a/u] [NUA: Tak]

1783. *to’i < *toLi ‘water plant sp., cattail’: Munro.Cup96 *těe’i-s ‘water plant’; KH06-to28: Ls těe’i-s ‘cattail rush’; Cp ti’i-s ‘marsh plant’; SP to’oi-‘ ‘bulrush’. Add Tb too’i-l ‘tule root’; Tb too’ibi-l ‘tule’; Kttn toi-t ‘tule sp. wide cattail with black ear on top’; Sh(M) tiippih ‘cattail’; Kw to’i-‘tule’; Mn towiippi ‘cattail’; Mn padowibi ‘cattail’; NT áali tootóikami ‘el carrizo’; ST tootkom ‘carrizo (de tallo duro)’; PYp tookam ‘bundle of reeds’ (Shaun notes Spanish otootila ‘carrizales’). These all point to *to’i, though Sh has a final gemination not apparent in the others. These likely tie to CN tool-in ‘sedge grass, reeds, juncia’, from which English tule is borrowed through Spanish. [L > ′] [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Azt]

1784. *wipuhu > NUA *wiivuhu ‘plant whose seeds float in cotton-like tufts’ (Kenneth Hill, p.c., forwarded this set, definition, and the NUA reconstruction): Hp wipho ‘cattail’ (combing form wivóo-); Gb wívor [wiivo-r] ‘milkweed’. What unites these words semantically is that their seeds have a cottony coma, a tuft of fine hairs that allows the seeds to disperse by floating through the air (KCH). [NUA: Tak]

1785. *owa / *oha ‘caña verde’: Dakin 1982-63: Tr ówé ‘maguey de hebra’; We úha ‘caña’; CN owa-tl ‘stool of corn, cane, green stalk’; Pl uwua-t ‘cane’. Cm owóora ‘tree trunk’ at *wo’ota ‘stalk’ may tempt a tie therewith, but let’s not, though not beyond possibility. [SUA: Tr, CrC, Azt]
1786. *oma 'reed': Eu omá 'caña'; Wr omá 'sugar cane, the large variety that grows at lower elevations, from which panocha and mescal are made'. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

RELATIVE(S); PARIENTE(S); see also brother, sister, aunt, uncle, (grand)mother, (grand)father

1787. *nuk 'cross cousin': M88-nu5 'cross cousin'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-nu5: Cp nukma; Ca ñuk'u; Ls yúkṣum; Sr noko'. [*nu > Ca ñu > Ls yu; *-CC-] [NUA: Tak]

1788. *sayuni 'relative': B.Tep57 *haduni 'relative'; M88-sa24; KH/M06-sa24: TO hajuni 'relative'; UP ñuñï; LP hadiñ; NT (h)adúñ; ST haduuñ. [SUA: Tep]

Miller unites *was... and *way..., but the 2nd C and the semantics are different enough to separate them:


1790. *way 'friend, term of address between men': M88-wa15 'affinal relative'; KH.NUA: Ls way 'a form of address used between men'; Sr waa 'friend, term of address'; Gb way 'friend, cousin, brother, but not son, uncle, etc. '; My wawáim 'relatives'. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

1791. *kusana 'sibling-in-law': KH.NUA; M88-ku31; KH/M03-ku31: Sr kuuhan 'cross sibling-in-law, WiSi, WiF/Co, MaBrWi, Ma/CoWi, WoSiHu, Wo/CoHu'; Ktn kushana (pl –m) 'sister-in-law'; Gb kúsna' 'brother-in-law'. [NUA: Tak]

1792. *Na (> ñya/ña?) 'relative, kinsman': KH.NUA: Sr ña, ñaa, pl: ñaam 'relative, relation, kinsman'; Hp ñyam 'clan members'. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1793. *moci (AMR) 'granddaughter': KH/M06-mo12 *moci (AMR): Hp mööyi 'grandchild'; TO moos 'woman’s daughter’s child'. [*c > NUA/Hp -y-, > Tep -s-, and *o > Hp -öl [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]


NB, for *típko / *típku 'relative, perhaps sisterly relationship’, see sister.

NB, for niece and nephew, see aunt and uncle; for son and daughter, see man and woman; separate entries exist for basic family relationships, such as father, mother, brother, sister, as well as grand-mother/father.

RELIGIOUS TERMS, DEITY, SUPERNATURAL, CEREMONY; see also spirit

1795. *waym / *wami (> wimi) 'religious ceremony': BH.Cup *wámkic 'ceremonial enclosure'; M88-wa19; KH/M06-wa19: Cp wámkí-s; Ca wámkis; Ls wámkšu 'brush lean-to’. With regard to Tak *wam-(ki), ki is likely 'house’. Consider also Hp wiimi/wim- 'religious rite, ritual, ceremony, religious practices open only to initiates'. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1796. *way 'marry in religious ceremony': Ca -wáy / -wáway 'take a wife, marry, propose marriage, v'; the -wi- of Tr niwi-ma ‘to marry in religious ceremony’ if ni- is an assimilated na- reflexive prefix. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

1797. *pahapi(C) 'supernaturally powerful being': KH.NUA: Sr páhàvit 'supernaturally powerful being'; Gb páhavet. [NUA: Tak]

1798. *tí’a ‘have a vision or supernatural power’: M67-424; M88-ti40 'supernatural'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ti40: Sr tíaín ‘be bewitched, have a supernatural vision’; Ca té’ayawa ‘power’; Hp tíi’aw-ta ‘have a vision, have a mystical experience of seeing s.th. extrasensory in nature or of de ja vu’. Miller includes Ls tówi ‘see supernaturally’; yet Ls shows medial w, while Sr, Ca, and Hp agree exactly in the first four segments *tí’a. Ls also agrees with Ca and Cp below, distinct from the Ca form above, though a tie between the two sets is possible. [NUA: Hp, Tak]
1799. *tansi ‘deity, spirit, seer of supernatural means’: Munro.Cup34 *təwi-s ‘deity/spirit’; KH/M06-ti40: Ls tôówi-s ‘spirit, ghost, devil’; Ls tôówi ‘see by second sight, be clairvoyant’; Cp təwi-s ‘a deity’; Ca təwi-s ‘dreamer’ a reduplicated form of expected Ca téwi-s, notes Munro; Sr túiti ‘devil, evil spirit’. [NUA: Tak]


1801. *mukkaC ‘mythological figure’: Munro.Cup76 *muká-t ‘mukat, mythological figure’; (not in M88) KH/M06-mu27: Cp múka-t; Ca múka-t; Ls muká-t ‘big, large’. [NUA: Tak]

1802. *napi ‘magic, extraordinary power’: Munro.Cup67 *náávi-s ‘magic’; KH/M06-na40: Ls náávi-s ‘charm’; Ca náavi-s ‘poison’; Cp návyeni ‘give an omen’ (“Could the y be a reflection of absolutive -s?” asks Munro). [intervocalic *p- > -v- in Tak] [NUA: Tak]

1803. *ya′u / *ya′wï ‘leader, deity’: Yq ya′ut ‘jefe’; Yq yá′ura ‘gobierno, ley, autoridad’; AYq ya′ut ‘chief, leader’; AYq ya′učim ‘leaders, big heads in rosary’; AYq ya′učiwa ‘leader, God’; My yá′ut ‘autoridad, jefe, magistrado’; Cr taya′u ‘God’; Cp yawe ‘god’ after subtracting temá−l / temat− ‘earth’ from temáyawe−t ‘earth-god’; Kw yaahwe’era ‘a supernatural being usually thought of as in bird form’. Though the vowels are reversed from Cp yawe, note also Cp yewáywe ‘pray’. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Cah, CrC]

1804. *so′yoko ‘monster, frightful being of some sort’: Jane Hill (p.c.): TO ho′ok ‘witch, monster’; Hp so′yoko (comb: so′yok−) ‘a kachina who admonishes bad children, often referred to as the Ogre kachina’. [loss of *-y− in TO] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

NB, for *tikowa ‘lord, master, father’, see at man.
NB, for *takwi ‘mythological being, lightning’, see at ‘man’.

Remain: see stay
Remember: see think

RETURN, GO/COME/TURN BACK; REGRESAR, VOLVER(SE); see also go, circle, leave

1805. *kwayi-(pa) ‘turn back’: CN kwepa ‘turn, turn back, vi’; WC kwaiva ‘a la vuelta’. CN and WC may encourage one to reconstruct *kwaipa; however, since I doubt that PUA had dipthongs, but did have consonant clusters, I prefer *kwaypa. PYp bidi ‘return’ (b < *kw, d < *y) may support the same. [SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]

1806. *ko′i ‘return’: TSh ko′eh ‘return, come back, go back’; TSh kohih ‘return, come back, go back’; Cm ko′itî ‘return, come back’; compare SNum *kwa′ay ‘go (away from speaker)’ at ‘go’. And this could tie to *kway above. [NUA: CNum]

1807. *to′i ‘return, turn around/over’: Wr to′i− ‘return, go and return the same way’; Wr to′i-na/ca− ‘turn s.th. over’; Tr fo′i ‘devolverse, regresarse’. [SUA: Tep]

NB, for *noLa ‘go/turn back’, see at ‘circle’.
NB, for *noy ‘leave, go away, go home’, see at ‘circle’.
NB, for payiC− ‘return, come home, stay the night’, see ‘lie down’.
NB, for Num *koni < *koLi, see circle.
NB, for *mana/miši ‘return, turn, return back’, see ‘circle’.

RIB; COSTILLA

1808. *amattan ‘rib’: I.Num4 *ama(h)(a)taN ‘ribs’; M88−’a20 ‘rib’; KH/M06−’a20: Mn awatápi (<*awattapi); NP amittaba (<*amittapa); Sh ama ‘waist, rib cage’; Sh amattam-ppt− ‘ribs’; Kw ’awati-bi (<*awatti-(m)bi); SP awattaN, awattam-ppt− ‘rib’; CU ’awata-ppt; Wr oma-te ‘axila / arm pit’. Ken Hill adds Sr -a’mô; Ktn amu-c; and Cp amsisva-l (Cp -âmi ‘waist, possess’d). [-CC-; w/m/ŋw] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]
1809a. **caLwa** ‘rib’: M67-345 *ca ‘ribs’; M88-ca2 ‘ribs’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ca2: Ca čáwa-‘al ‘rib’, pl čáwa-‘am; Ca -cáw-a ‘rib (poss’ed); Ca čá’aw-ika ‘sideways, to the side’; Gb -cáx / čáš ‘back’; Sr -ča’ ‘ribs’ (poss’ed); 1809b. **ca’aC**: Tb ca’aapi-l; Cr i-ca’apwa-ri ‘ribs’.

1809c. **caŋa**: Hp čänga ‘this side’; Miller queries whether Ls čáŋax ‘this side’ is cognate. Good question, unless -ŋax is a Ls affix/morpheme; but Ca číŋay ‘limp, hop’ as a lopsided/one-sided gate is likely.

1809d. **sLaŋ**/*saLaŋ** ‘rib’: CN šillan-tli ‘side’; My sánarim ‘costillas’; Yq sánaim ‘costilla’. Perhaps Ls šówlaka-š ‘rib’. I somewhat agree with Miller and Hill, that these may all be related, but the variety of second consonants (w, m, ŋ, ’, k) may say ‘no’ or it may indicate a previous cluster or other morphemes. Adjusted Ca morpheme breaks such as Ca čáwa’a-‘l ‘rib’, pl čáwa’a-m; Ca čá’aw-ika ‘sideways, to the side’ may suggest both -’- and -w-, metathesized, clustered, etc, in the other forms. CN šillan-tli ‘side’ may be related, though AMR makes a good case for its tie to *sun ‘heart’. Cahitan *sana may also tie in, since we see ŋ in NUA aligning with SUA n? [nasals, medial clusters] [NUA: Tak, Hp: SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]

1810. **wa’cika** ‘rib’: Wr wa’cikári ‘costilla’; Tr wačigá/wačíka ‘costilla’. [*-CC-] [SUA: Trn]

1811. **so’ona-maL** ‘rib’: TO ho’onma ‘rib (of the body)’; PYp hona-mar ‘rib’; PYp hona ‘body’; NT óónomai ‘la costilla’. [SUA: Tep]

1812. **sikwVL** ‘rib’: CN misekwil ‘one’s rib’; CN omi-sikwil-li ‘rib’ < ‘bone-waist’; CN sikwil/sekwil ‘waist’; Kw šiku-pï ‘rib’; Cp amsisve-l ‘rib’; CN and Kw match well. Cp and CN share *Vm-si(p/kw)il with a p/kw dichotomy in the middle, but high front vowels on both sides. The fact that Kw shows absolute -pi instead of -vi suggests an underlying final consonant; therefore, Kw šiku(C) and CN sikwil have much in common. Ls šówlaka-š ‘rib’ shares some similarity with some of the above forms. [p/kw] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

RIGHT HAND/SIDE; LA (MANO) DERECHA

1813. **piţa** ‘right arm’: M67-346 *pet ‘right side’; I.Num172 *pi(h)ta ‘arm’; M88-pi7 ‘right side’; KH/M06-pi7: Mn pița (< *pițta) ‘arm’; NP bita (< *pițta) ‘arm’; TSh pîtapi ‘arm’; Sh pița ‘arm’; Cm piůra ‘arm’; Kw pirä-vî ‘arm’; WMU pirä ‘arm’ (also found in compounds meaning right, but not in compounds for left); CU pîr̥a-vi ‘arm’; CU pîra-na-kwa-ti ‘the right side’; SP pîra ‘arm, right side’; Hp pîte ‘at the right side’; Hp pîveh ‘along the right side’. Let’s add Cp pîlyá ‘right (direction)’; Cp pîlyáwe ‘right hand’; Cp pîlyáka ‘to the right’; Ls -pli ‘right hand’, since intervocalic *t > l occurs in Tak, and i is as likely to be the original V as i is. With an assimilation of the first vowel to the second (*pița > *pata, Yq báta-na ‘al lado derecho, la derecha’ and My bátatana ‘la derecha’ may belong also. This appears to have originally meant ‘right arm’ in light of both semantic dimensions — ‘arm’ and ‘right side’ — being heavily represented, sometimes both in the same lexeme (e.g., SP). [*-t > -l- in Cupan] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah]

1814. ‘right’: PYp vuih-pid ‘right (direction)’ (vui ‘toward’); PB(EF) wuihpsid ‘derecho’; NV vuispa ‘(mano) derecha’ (vs. NV vuispadurhu ‘(mano) izquierda’); NT sîîšla pâdîrî ‘derecha’. Whether Tep -d- is from y, intervocalic *t, or -*L-, I have not had time to dig for this edition, but this beginning of data are made available. [SUA: Tep]

NB, Wr pahtoná ‘right’ and Tr watona ‘right (hand), to the right’ are interesting in light of the above. NB, Wr ahamína ‘right side’ and Sr ayînu’/aiînu’ ‘right, right side’ are interesting regardless the above.

RIPE(N); MADURO, MADURARSE, SAZONAR

1815. **mo(y)** ‘ripen’: AYq momoi ‘ripe, mature’; ST moomta ‘ripen’ (of potatoes); ST humtmoidyak ‘toward end of the month’. [SUA: Tep, Cah]

NB, for *kwasî ‘cook, boil, ripen’, see cook.

Rise: see stand, climb, sun
RIVER, FLOW; RIO, FLUIR; see also water, canyon

1816. *wani ‘river’: M67-176 *wa ‘flow, run’; BH.Cup *wanic ‘river’; HH.Cup *wáníš ‘river’; KH.NUA; CL.Azt31 *waallaah ‘come’; CL.Azt230 *wa ‘flow, run’; M88-wa8 ‘to flow, run’; Munro.Cup111 *waní-š ‘river’; KH/M06-wa8: (Ken Hill combines M88-wa9 and wa8); Cp vàñi-s ‘flood, river’ (unexpected ñ); Cp vàñewet ‘Milky Way (big river)’; Ls waníš ‘river, stream’; Ls wañi-ya ‘rise (of river), flood, v’; Gb wanáwnaŋa (placename: un arroyo que corre); Tb wa’adat~’awat ‘run away’?


1818. *pa-tuwa/tiwa/tawi ‘river’: Wc hátïa (Wc ï < *u); My bátwe ‘rio’; Yq bátwe ‘rio’; Eu bacíwe’e ‘rio’; CN aa-tlwí-tl ‘valley, canyon, gully’; CN aa-tooyaa-tl ‘river’. The Cah forms in -pa10 seem better here with Eu and CN. [SUA: Cah, Opn, Azt]

1819. *pakowa ‘river, current’: Tr bakó ‘rio’; Tr bakowá ‘corriente turbulenta de un rio’; Wr pakó ‘rio’; Eu vákoa ‘ribera’. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

1820a. *okwaiC ‘flow’: TSh okwai”; Sh okwai”.

1820b. *okai / *okwai ‘river’: TSh paa okwe-tïn/na ‘river’; Sh okai”-pin ‘river’; Cm okweetï ‘creek, stream, small river’. These may resemble Ktn ‘oka’ ‘sand, sandy area’; Ktn ‘a’-oka’ ‘arroyo, canyon’ and the like at ‘rock’ though Sh has differing forms. [NUA: CNum]

NB, for *aki ‘river, canyon’ and *yawi ‘river, canyon’, see canyon.

ROAD, PATH, WAY; CAMINO, SENDA

1821. *poC / *po’ï / *powï ‘road, path, way’: Sapir; VVH4 *po ‘road, path’; B.Tep274 *voi; M67-350 *po ‘road’; I.Num154 *poyo/*po’e/*po’i; BH.Cup *pet ‘road’; L.Son217 *powî ‘camino’; CL.Azt134 *oh; M88-po4; Munro.Cup112 *pë-t; KH.NUA; KH/M06-po4. A cognate for *poC ‘road’ is found in all UA languages. Yet the variety of second consonants is intriguing—*’, *w, *y—besides absolutive -t in Tak, which shows there is a latter C, whatever it may be. Note q in Sr pöö-r and Ktn pok-t, as also the g in TO and NT, the latter assumedly matching *w of TrC, as most of TrC has either -’- or -w-. Kw has a *tV- prefix. [medial *w/y; *w > g > o in some Tep, as at *siwa ‘sand’, *pïwi ‘red’] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]
ROADRUNNER; CORRECAMINOS

1822. *puLi / *puCi ‘roadrunner’: BH.Cup *púwi- ‘roadrunner’; M88-pu18; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pu18: Cп púwiś; Ca púui-š / púi-š, pl. púč-em; Ls púy(’)pyu; Sr puhuia-; Ktn puhyi-t. Add Eu puríva ‘faisan de la tierra’; Tr pú ‘faisan, correcaminos’; and PYp pu’i ‘roadrunner’. These may be built on *poC ‘road’, as are ‘roadrunner’ and ‘correcaminos’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn]

1823. *taLu ‘roadrunner’: M67-351 *tal; M88-ta21 ‘roadrunner’; KH/M06-ta21: TO táDDaí; My táaruk; Yq táaruk. We must add the tar- of PYp tarpu ‘roadrunner’ (leg-road); the latter part -pu is the *pu’i / puwi form above. A compound with *taLu / *taLo (‘foot/leg’ at 937) is the observation of Sapir below, which adds two more branches as having this stem. [SUA: Tep, Cah]

1824. *wiC-taLo ‘roadrunner’: Sapir: CN witlallo-tl ‘a tall bird that flies little but runs very fast’ (Simeon); SP wícca ‘roadrunner’. The frequency of Num c < -*Ct- adds credence to the tie. Note also the similar vowelings of CN -tlallo and Cah *taru... above, suggesting a prefix *wiC- in the CN and SP forms, perhaps *wiL ‘big’ as in ‘long-legs’. [*-Ct- > -cc-; reduction; wVC- prefix, *wiL ‘great’?] [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

Rob: see steal

ROCK, STONE; PIEDRA, ROCA

Mn tîpi Hp owa; qöôngò Eu tett(tetta); evét; sibát; iciá
NP tîbbi Tb tîn-t; tîngii-l ‘rock ledge’ Tbr te-tá-t/ te-rá-t
TSh tîm- / tîmpin Sr tîmì-t Yq têta
Sh tîmpin Ktn tîmí-t My tetta-(m) (pl); siiba
Cm tîpî (< *tîppi) Ls tóo-ta; qawiiça ‘mtn’ Wr tehté
Kw tî-bi Cp kâwi-š Tr rêtê; réepò; çâgara;
SP ta’-; tîN-; tîmpîN- PYp hodai; waw TO hodai; waw
WMU tîpwi-či (< *tîppwi-či) NT ódaí CN te-tí; tekal-tía ‘stone, v’
CU tîpîy-či (< *tîppîy-či) ST hodai/hodai ‘rock(y)’


1826. *taC- ‘with a rock’: KH/M06-ip2: Sh ta’- ‘with a rock’; TSh ta’/-to’- ‘with a hard rock-like instrument’; SP ta’- ‘(with a) stone, instr prefix’. [NUA: Num]

1827. *tiN-to ‘(three) rock(s) for supporting pots over fire’: M88-ti14 ‘rock stand for cooking/fogón’; KH/M06-ti14: TO citlo ‘round rock formerly used to place pots on for cooking, cooking tripod’; Wr tehconá ‘fogón de piedras’. To Miller’s entries, Ken Hill adds We tece- ‘poner piedras para hacer un muro’. These do add a Tep cognate—TO *cî- ‘rock’—thus giving every branch a cognate of *tîmî- ‘rock’. [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]
1828. *tiN-namas ‘(three) rock(s) for supporting pots over fire’: M88-ţi14 ‘rock stand for cooking/fogón’; KH/M06-ţi14: CN tenamas-tli ‘three stones for supporting pot over fire; by extension, triplets’; Pl tenamas ‘hearth stones (rocks in fire to support pots, griddles, usually three)’. [SUA: Azt]

1829. *soya ‘rock’: B.Tep69 *hodai ‘stone’; M88-ş12; KH/M06-ş12: TO hodai ‘stone, gravel, a charm’; NT ódai; ST hodái. Add PYp hodai ‘rock, stone’; Nv (h)otta ‘piedra’; LP(EF) hod. [SUA: Tep]

1830a. *(‘h)oca ‘rock’: Sapir; M67-355a *‘o ‘rock’; I.Num11 *o(o)h ‘pebbles’; M88-‘o9; Munro. Cup38 *ééxa or hááxa ‘earth/land/sand’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-‘o9: Mn pa-’oo ‘gravel’; NP pa’oppï ‘streambed gravel’; Sh om-pin ‘talus rocks, scree’; SP o”-‘round object’; Hp owa ‘rock, stone’ pl: o’wa (vowel is wrong). Hill adds Ch ompi ‘almagre [red ochre]’; TSh ompin ‘small water-worn pebbles or gravel’; TSh oŋkompin ‘small water-worn pebbles or gravel’. Many of these suggest an *oN / *om ‘syllable’. As Miller and Hill have many *oka forms, which could well be *oN combined with a -ka ‘syllable’ as the list of forms may imply; yet solely for contemplation, let’s separate the preceding *oC / *oN from the following (perhaps *oka / *oNka).

1830b. *oka ‘sand, earth, rock’: Sr ‘öörqţ ‘sand’; Gb ‘óxor ‘earth, land, dirt’; Gb ‘ohét ‘sand’; Ls ‘éx-la ‘earth, land, dirt’; Ca í’exiš ‘desert’ and Cp háxa ‘sand’; Wr o’sé ‘pedregal’. Sapir lists Gb öxa-r ‘land’ and Fe rnandeño öxa-r ‘land’ which also suggest a 2nd vowel of a (*oka). Ktn ‘oka’ ‘sand, sandy area’; Ktn ‘a’-oka’ ‘arroyo, canyon’. These may tie to CNum *ok(w)aiC ‘flow, river’ at river, though Sh om-pin ‘talus rocks, scree’ and Sh okwai” ‘river’ show different looks. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn]

1831. *a’i ‘jagged rock’: We ‘ái ‘peña, peñazco’; PYp a’i ‘rocky, hard’; NT áityi ‘flagstone, flat rocks’. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

NB, for Tep *papV ‘rock, rocky cliff’, see at canyon.
NB, for Tak *kawi, see mountain. Rock and mountain reach into each other’s semantic domains quite readily, it seems, since both *kawi and *ti(N)(p) are often found to mean both.
NB, for *toyaN: Ch(L) toyompï ‘boulder’; Ch(L) toyoŋkarïrï ‘Boulder Sitting (name of mtn)’; SP toiampï ‘gravel, rocks big and small’? Also at mountain.

Roll: see circle

## ROOT; RAIZ

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<th>WR</th>
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<td>ɲahí/ɲa-</td>
<td>náva/náwa(náhta)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pa-bua; tihonna ‘dig roots’</td>
<td>too’i-l ‘tule root’</td>
<td>návee- ‘arraigarse’</td>
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<tr>
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<td>a-gaakítw/aŋaakaw</td>
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<tr>
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<td>puku ‘v’; qáx’a ‘seed’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cm títuna</td>
<td>lwíinamu- ‘take root’</td>
<td>Wr nawá</td>
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<td>Cp wala</td>
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<td>Ch títína-ví</td>
<td>TO tatk</td>
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<td>SP --</td>
<td>PYp tatgara</td>
<td>Wc ‘iníeri ‘root pulled from ground’</td>
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<tr>
<td>WM píisuru’a, tínáa-ví</td>
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<td>CN nelwa-tl</td>
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<td>CU títáa-ví</td>
<td>ST ták</td>
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1832. *naLwa ‘root’: VVH151 *ɲa root; M67-356 *na; M88-na6; KH.NUA; L.Son169 *nawa; KH/M06-na6: Eu; Wr, Tr; My; Tbr; Cr náána’a ‘root’; CN. There seems little doubt that CN nelwa and Tr/Cah nawa are related, since four segments are practically identical, except that CN shows an extra (l) that the others have lost. I would also separate the *ɲakaw forms (Sr, Ktn, Hp) as listed below. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

1833. *tímna > *tína ‘root’: Fowler 83: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; Ch; CU. Do NP tímna ‘antelope root’ and Num *tímna ‘antelope’ have the root named after the animal? NP tímna ‘antelope’ and NP tína ‘root’ could have one wonder. Fowler 83 ties Hp tímna ‘edible tuber of the wild or domestic potato plants’ (tímon- ‘combining form) with the Num forms as ‘biscuit root’, which seems probable. Including the semantic dimension of ‘trunk, stump’ (as upper end of root system) are TSh tíña / tíña ‘root, trunk, stem’; TSh tíña’a ‘elder, ancestor’ (one’s roots?);
SP tînna-vî ‘stump’; perhaps Kw kutunî-vî ‘stump’; probably preservative assimilation for the first vowel and UA schwa for the second vowel in Kw: *ku-tîña > ku-tunî-vî.  [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]

1834. *yaNpa ‘wild carrot, sweet potato, edible root, Carum gairdnerii’: M88-ya19; Fowler83 *yampa ‘Indian potato’; Jane Hill 2008: NP yabba ‘wild carrot’; TSh yampa ‘wild carrot’; Sh yampa ‘wild carrot’; Tb yamba-l ‘wild carrots or radishes’; Mn yaappanna(a) ‘mushroom’. Jane Hill (2008) also notes Mn ya’ap; Kw ya(m)barabi ‘Indian carrot, Perideridia pringlei, yampa’; Cm payaapw; and Tewa namp’u ‘potato’.  [*-NC- > -CC-]  [NUA: Num, Tb]

1835. *ŋakaw ‘root’: KH/M06-na6: Sr -ŋakaw; Ktn -ŋakawi; Hp ŋa’at at ‘its root’.  Ca qâx’a ‘seed’ may or may not belong, as Ca ŋ appears in other initial-ŋ sets in Tak and Hp.  [initial ŋ; k > ’?]  [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1836. *kana ‘bitterroot, Lewisia Redivivii’: Fowler83; NP; Sh; SP. Fowler has forms.  [NUA: Num]

1837. *inV ‘root’: Wc ‘inierí ‘root pulled from the ground’; Cr iine’e ‘guia, raiz, vid’.  [SUA: CrC]


NB, for Tep *taka ‘root’ (B.Tep216 *taka ‘root’; M88-ta43; KH/M06-ta43), see at *taka ‘fruit’.

NB, the -namu- portion found in both Ls kwínamu ‘take root’ and Tbr namusí- ‘root’ may be of interest in light of Tewa namp’u. Where do the Athapaskan loans come from: Navaho nîmásíi tsôh ‘potato’ (root-big?) and Western Apache nîmásé ‘potato’ (Perry 1972)?

ROPE, CORD, STRING, SPIN, MAKE ROPE; MECATE, CUERDA, SOGA, CORDÓN, CABO

1839. *pi’ri-na > *piyi(na) ‘spin thread, make rope’: B.Tep267 *vidinai/a ‘to make thread’; B.Tep268 *vidinakoroi ‘spindle’; M88-pi3 ‘twirl, darse vuelta’; Stubbs 2000a-9; KH/M06- pi3: UP wijiní; NT vidyíñai ‘make thread’; ST vidyúña; TO wíjnín ‘twist, spin obj’; Wr pi’ri ‘darse vuelta’; Tr bi’ri ‘torcerse, enrollarse’; My biirite ‘torcer’.  TO wiDùtu ‘rock, swing, wave, flutter’; TO wiDwua ‘stir, beat’.  To these can be added Eu virá ‘twist, spin obj’; ST vidyíñai ‘spindle’; M88-ŋaakaw; Ker ‘torcer’; and Wc hiina ‘voltear’ (twist/make rope).  The correspondence of PUA initial *p > h in *-iyevi, though clear in Tepiman *vidina, would be much less obvious in a PUA segmental sequence of *-iyevi- . Due to the near phonological identity of y and i, a PUA *y between two i’s would likely be quite invisible, probably reducing to simply i or long ii (*-iyevi > ii), as we see in Huichol hiina ‘torcer mecate’ (twist/make rope).  The correspondence of PUA initial *p > h in Huichol matches, which also confirms the relative invisibility of *y adjacent to i in some UA languages.  Miller (M88) does not list Huichol hiina in his 1988 collection (where Tep *vidina is found); nevertheless, the sound correspondences and semantics match nicely, and it is an intriguing example of a proto-phoneme, occurring in a rather disguising phonological environment, but appearing clearly in Tepiman. However, some y are from liquids (r/l), and Tr and Wr show this to be one of those, for Wr pi’ri ‘darse vuelta’; Tr bi’ri ‘torcerse, enrollarse’; and My biirite ‘torcer’ show that the medial -y/-D- comes from medial *-r/-*-L-.  [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC]


1841. *(tu)utuN ‘rove, strap’: Ch urumpí ‘rove’; SP uru’aa / uruN ‘carrying strap, string’; Kw tu’uru ‘rove’. Might these tie to the Tep forms above?  Regardless, note the closeness of *utu’a in the one SP form and *-tu’a in the Tak forms in *wik-tu’a below.  [medial *-t > -r-]  [NUA: SNum]

1842. *paŋwa ‘coil or wrap rope (around s.th.), v’: Hp wikpaŋwa ‘rove, line’; Tb(V) ūmbûñw- ~ piñh ‘roll string on thigh, v’; Tb(H)ūmbûñwata, pfl piñwan; Tb(M) ūmbûñwìt ~ ūmbûñw ‘tie up, make a bundle, v’.  The Hp term’s length suggests a compound, and Tb *piñwa as well as the *wik- syllable below recommend the probable
morpheme break at Hp wik-pajwa. The differing vowels are inconvenient, though the i’s are lazy a’s essentially. Nevertheless, in spite of uncertainties in semantics and the vowel, their relationship seems more probable than not. [NUA: Tb, Hp]

1843. *wika / *wiki (> *wik(k)- combining form) ‘string, rope, hemp or fiber plant for making rope’: M67-419 *wi ‘string’; I.Num280 *wisu(n) ‘string’; Fowler83; M88-wi6 ‘string’; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup43 *wi-ča ‘fiber plant’; KH/M06-wi6; Jane Hill 2007: this stem (*wika / *wikia) combines variously as *wik-ta, *wik-tu’a / *wik-tiwa, etc: *wika: NP wiha ‘string, fishing line’; Kw wi’ipí (< k?); KH/M06 also adds Tr wíi ‘lazar, amarrar (un animal)’; CN iič-ti ‘thread made from maguey fiber (with unexplained loss of *w-)’; and TO gi’adag ‘put a handle on object’. Add -wi of SP págan’wi ‘bow string’ and Euwiká /viká ‘estirar [stretch]’. Both TO and Kw have medial -’-, which from *-k- needs explanation, as k > h happens in Num and h > t in Tep, but both in either is not known. One possibility is *wik-p > wi’p > wi’ip (with *-k- > -’-) in a cluster and then an echo vowel separating the cluster, like we see in *wírwír ‘big’ and *koLkoL ‘hurt, sick, die’.

*wíkiya ‘rope’: AYq wikia ‘string, rope, cord’; Yq wikia ‘mecate, piola’; My wíkyam ‘cordones, correas’; Tr wíia ‘rope’. 

*wik-tu’a / *wik-tiwa ‘make rope’: Sr wíiču ‘make string, v’; Sr wíícu’a ‘string, n’; Ktn wícu ‘twist fibers into string’; Ktn napá-wícu ‘splice a rope (< together + twist)’; Cp wíču ‘twist string, rope, a net’; Cp wíčuwat ‘rope, thread, braiding’; Cp wi-š ‘bowstring, willow fiber, willow sp’; Cp wíču ‘string, rope’; Ca wíču’at ‘rope, thread, braiding’; Ca wíčwí ‘braid, as rope or thread’; Ca wi-š ‘bark of a tree providing fiber’; Ls wíču ‘make string by rolling hemp fibers’; Ls wíču-t ‘Indian hemp’; Ls wíču-ta ‘rope, string, twine’; Yq wíí-i ‘hilo’. TO giššum ‘a woven handle for a water jug’ and TO giššum ‘bind up, vt’ fit *wíceu well. Except for the final -m, both TO giššum forms fit *wicu of the Tak languages through four segments (Tep s < *c, and Tep g < *w), and they all have to do with making rope. I would also add the TrC forms below, some of which better show the medial -k-. 

*wíkt-ta (> wita) ‘make rope’: Wr wíta ‘make rope’; M67 lists Wc wíta ‘thread’ and We wíta ‘spin yarn, v’; deriving from a similar pattern (*wik-ta) is Ls wíču ‘Indian hemp’ though with an absolute suffix -ta instead of *-ta ‘do/verb’. Add Eu wíka/viká ‘estirar [stretch]’. However, adding another *-ta as absolute suffix is what yields the below, that is, *wik-ta with first the verbalizing *-ta (clustered with k) then absolute *-ta: 

*wíkt-ta-ta (> *wi-ta-ri) ‘rope’: Wr witá ‘rope’; My wíteri ‘mecate, soga, piola’; AYq wíte’i ‘net, snare’; Tbr mitt-t ‘string of tendon, hebra de tendon’ (< *wik-ta, Tbr often shows m for *w, and usually a liquid for a lone intervocalic -t-) also in Tbr wíkló-t mita-rá- ‘bowstring’.

The Tr and Wr common noun suffix -ri, like CN -ti, both derive from the absolute suffix *-ta; thus, note intervocalic -t- > -r- in Tr and Wr. Therefore, intervocalic -t- in those languages may point to a reduced consonant cluster, such as *-kt- > -t-, as we see above. It is the same in most NUA languages: a lone intervocalic -t- usually goes to -l- in most Tak languages and to -r- in the Num languages, and intervocalic *-c- > -y-; therefore, intervocalic -c- in NUA is likely a palatalization of a cluster *-ct- / *-Ct-. So the -k- apparent in a few TrC languages is likely what underlies the other languages in which the -k- is not so apparent, though possibly apparent in NP wiha, which often shows -h- < *-k-.

While Yq wíkia ‘rope’ matches Tr wíia ‘rope’ (having lost -k-), Tr wíia ‘rope’ and Tr wíi ‘lazar, atar’ suggest an underlying verb, something like *wiki. Note Yq wíke ‘arrestar, jalar, sobar/haul, drag’ and Hp wíki- ‘string up for hand carrying by the string’ which if it does not touch the ground, is being hauled, and if it does touch the ground, is dragged, after being roped or tied as Tr wíi- ‘lazar, atar’ suggests in connection with Tr wíía ‘rope’ which is cognate with all these ‘rope’ and ‘make rope’ terms. That may also explain the wík- morpheme in Hp wik-pajwa above.

A verb apparently underlies these rope words: 

*wíki ‘string or fasten with rope for transporting or leading, v’: Yq wíke ‘haul, drag’; Yq wíki /wikí ‘estirado [taut]’ (as in ‘keep pulling the cord tight’); Hp wíki ‘string up for hand carrying by string’; Tr wíi ‘lazar, atar’; NP wíhi kaazi ‘train’ (kaazi ‘car(s)’), i.e., a string/line of cars being pulled along: Eu wíkat / béwiká- ‘estirar’.

The above may tie to *wíka ‘take, lead out’ (399). KH/M06-wi6 and Jane Hill (p.c.) both recommend uniting these with the Num *wisu forms (and they could well be right) as *wisu might be a softening from *wicu (< *wik-tu’a), but since Tak -c- forms seem (to me) to be from -kt- clusters, while Num s < *-kt- seems less likely (but possible), so I have them and other *wis forms at *wisi / *wisu ‘net, web’. [C cluster] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

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1845. *ťiŋapu ‘rope, thread’: Mn tŋápo ‘rope’; NP tŋapu ‘rope’; perhaps CN iŋk plais-tl ‘thread, hemp fiber’. This is also at 1108. [NUA: WNum]

1846. *tįmųC ‘rope’: TSh tįmahun / tįmuhun ‘rope, cord’; Sh tįmukkun ‘rope’. [*-k > -h-] [NUA: CNum]

NB, for *tama [CNum], see tie.
NB, for *puLa/puLi/pura (TO, PYp, Wr, Tr), see tie.
NB, for *maLaka ‘spindle’ see awl.

ROT, PUS, INFECTION; PUDRIRSE, PUS, MATERIA, INFECCIÓN; see also stink, sore, pain

1847a. *pisika ‘(become) rotten, infected’: BH *pis? ‘to rot’; L.Son197 *pika ‘podrirse’; M88-pi7 ‘be rotten, estar podrido’; Stubbs2000b-50; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pi7 and KH/M06-pi30: besides many of the forms below, Miller astutely adds TO wi’ikam ‘remnant, survivor’; Tr bi’ká ‘podrirse’. Consider also terms for ‘pus/infection’ in addition to ‘rot’. Three consonants appear to be involved, with possible reconstructions being *pisika / pisaka / pisoka > *piska. Note the cluster -sk- in Sr, Ktn, and Tb, but -s- in most of Takic and in Central Numic, but -kk- in SNum and -k- in TrC, and -h- in WNum.

PUA *piska/*pisVka ‘pus, infection, rot(ten), spoil(ed)’
Mn pihi ‘rot’; pihika ‘be infected’
NP pihi ‘rot’
TSh pisi’ ‘rot’; pisippï ‘pus’
Sh pisippi ‘rotten’
Cm pisippi ‘pus, infection’
Kw piki ‘rot’; piki-pii ‘pus’
Ch piki ‘rot’ (< *pikki)
SP pikki ‘semi-liquid mass’; SP pikka ‘sore, hard’
WMU pihkki-y ‘rot, spoil, be/get infected, vi’
CU piki ‘be rotten’ (< *pikki)
Hp peekye ‘pus, pus-filled infection; vi: get infected, rot, decay’
Tb pishiš-(it) ‘have pus’
Sr pisqa ‘rot’
Ktn piska ‘rotten’
Ca pisa ‘spoil, rot’
Cp pisā’e ‘rot, go sour’
Ls pisa(a) ‘rot’
Eu viikát ‘pus, sore’
Yq bikáa ‘rotten’
AYq viika ‘infected’
My biká ‘pus’; bikára ‘rotten’
Wr piga-ni ‘rotten’; pigapá-ni ‘rot’
Tr biká / bi’ká (Tr(L)) ‘pus, rotten’; biká-mea ‘rot’
Cr pe’ečíra’a ‘está hueco, podrido’

Cearly *pi is the first syllable. Beyond that, several languages show *s and several show *k; however, some show both s and k (Sr, Tb, perhaps Mn), and others show hints of both. For example, the glottal stop in some Takic languages (Cp, Ls) aligns with k. In addition, the word-final gemination in the Central Numic languages (TSh, Sh, Cm) suggests an underlying third consonant, and k is a good guess, judging by the other forms (perhaps pisi-ppi < *pisik-pii). Therefore, *s is clear and *k a definite possibility in Central Numic. The Hp form is extremely interesting in that the palatalization of the k (ky) is a natural for a possible underlying sk cluster, with a near palatal plus velar reducing to a palatalized velar (sk > k?). What’s more, Hp vowel leveling of i-a or a-i combinations to e-e is apparent elsewhere: Hp kele-vosna ‘kidney’; SP kani ‘kidney’ and Hp cikwe at *cikwa ‘rain’. Hopi e is alone among Hopi’s six vowels in not aligning clearly with PUA’s five vowels; thus, vowel leveling of i-a and a-i combinations is often the source of Hp e. Ken Hill (p.c.) also mentions reductions of ai
diphthongs as a possible source of e, which too is a form of vowel leveling. So of the 20 languages represented, 10 show s, 13 show k, 2 or 3 show both, and 7 display phonological hints of such a cluster (Hp, TSh, Sh, Cm, Mn, Cp, Ls). Thus, it is another example of the eventual loss of a syllable in many of the languages, though the languages are fairly split as to which syllable is lost—second or third, but never first. A reconstruction such as *pisoka could also include Wr and Tr *piso, though Wr and Tr *pika ‘rot’ also exist. Curiously, Quechua pusqu-y ‘rot’ has the same three consonants.

1847b. *piso ‘pus, infection’; Tr bisó/wisó ‘supurar, infectar un grano o herida’; Wr pehsoní ‘pus’.

1847c. *pikka ‘sore’: Mn piha’ayee ‘become itchy, become rash-like’; Kw pakagi’i-dí ‘sore, pain, ache, be sore’; SP pakka ‘sore, pain’; SP pikka ‘sore, hard’; CU pikyá-vi ‘poke-mark, sore’. Eu biikát ‘llaga, materia’ and others above are likely reductions: *piska > pikka, i.e., *-sk > WNum-h-, SNum-kk-.

Eu piopioié < *pisokV(?)) is curious in that it and *pisokV ‘rot’ have ‘not as should be, not good any more’ in common. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb, Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC]

1848. *yïpaLi ‘rotten’: B.Tep31 *dïvariga ‘rotten’; M88-yi13; KH/M06-yi13: TO jewa; UP jiwaligi; PB divilgi; NT(B) diváliga ‘rotten’; NT díváárii ‘pudrir, vi’; ST dyívaalyi’. Add PYp devlim/dever ‘rot, vi’; PYp develik ‘rotten, adj’. [liquid] [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC; NUA: Tak]

1849. *muya > moya ‘rot, stink’: Tr muya- ‘podrirse’ Yq móoye ‘rot (of wood)’; My moera ‘podrido’; Cr mwí’ira ‘pus’; AYq moyok ‘rotting’; Sr muurq ‘stink, be smelly’; Eu muttusu ‘podrirse’. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC; NUA: Tak]


1852. *soLa ‘rot, go to waste, throw away’: Tr sorá-ta ‘podrirse’; Eu nasór-tu’u ‘echarse a perder’; Eu nasór-ta’a ‘echar a perder’; Eu nanásora ‘componer’; My nasontu ‘descomponerse’; AYq nasontu ‘harm, ruin, spoil, break down, vt’; AYq nasonti ‘ruined, blotched, vi’; Yq nasontu ‘wear down, break down, vi’; Yq nasonta ‘descomponer, vt’; Yq nasonte/nasontu ‘descomponerse, vi’. [L > n in SUA] [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah]

NB, for *(si)puyu ‘rotten, worm(y)’(Cp sivúyu’iš ‘rotten, decayed, adj’; Cp sivuye ‘worm, maggot’); CN popoyoo-tl ‘rottenness, decay, n’, see worm.

Rough: see hard, lump(y), touch, or scrape
Round: see circle
Rub: see touch
Rug: see blanket

RULE, BE LEADER, CHIEF, COMMAND, SEND; LÍDER, JEFE, MANDAR, ENVIAR

1853. *tïsa ‘order, v’: B.Tep237b *tïhani ‘to order’; 237a *tïhanai ‘he orders’; M88-tï18; KH/M06- tï18: TO čehani ‘order, v’; UP čihan; LP tiahi; NT tiáni; ST tyií. In Bascom’s NT dictionary: NT tiááni ‘command’; NT tiáádi ‘boss’. Miller also offers NP tïiñi ‘tell to’ but I have it with *tïni/*tïNV at ‘say’. [SUA: Tep]

1854. *hula / *hura ‘send’: L.Son69 *hura ‘enviar’; M88-hu13; KH/M06-hu13: Op ura; Eu húra; Wr uhula-ni; Tr húra. [medial liquid] [SUA: Trn, Opn]

1855. *niC / *nik(pa) (< *nia-ka-tV?) ‘chief’: BH.Cup *néta (*nata) ‘chief’; Munro.Cup24 *nə-ta ‘chief’; M88-ni14; KH/M06-ni14: Cp nét/not ‘chief of lineage, captain’; Ca nét ‘chief of clan, moderator of a fiesta’; LS nóó-ta ‘ceremonial leader, chief’; GB not/nóta ‘capitán’. Add Ktn nîhp(â) / nîhp ‘chief’ and Ktn canîqpač puyu ‘God: chief of us all’ and Ktn cañîhpa-y ‘our chief, God’. Ktn often shows latter segments lost in other forms (cf. antelope, rock) and note that ablative -te (vs. -l) of other Tak forms does suggest a final consonant and Ktn shows that to be *-k-, if not *-kpa. Also note the initial η in the last Ktn form when resulting from a cluster: *cam-
1865. *yu'kuami 'official': B.Tep26 *duukami 'official'; M88-yu19; KH/M06-yu19: TO juukam ‘Mexican’;
NT duukamí; ST duukam. [SUA: Tep]

1857. *win 'send': KH.NUA: Sr wiaan 'send, vt'; Cp wiwine 'send on an errand, vt'; Ls wiwi ‘send s.o., as on an errand’. [NUA: Tak]

1858. *sawí ‘command’: Yq sáwe ‘mandar’; Yq nésawe ‘mandar, gobernar’; Tbr i-sawí-rá ‘mandar’.
[SUA: Cah, Tbr]

1859. *ti… ‘command(er)’: Mn tiwí ‘order, tell to, aux v’; Tb timiwa-l ‘chief’. [m/w] [NUA: Num, Tb]

1860. *moni / *munji ‘chief’: Sapir: Hp monji ‘chief’; SP moi- ‘lead, act as chief, v’ (< *monji says Sapir, and thus nasalizes following C as if moi-N). With SP’s nasal vowels and a nasalizing effect on following consonants and the labialization of the Hp medial consonant as a continuation of the preceding round vowel, they seem a fair pair. [medial -ŋ-] [NUA: Num, Hp]

1861. *pohina ‘chief’: Mn pohonábi ‘chief’; NP poinabi ‘chief’. [*i > e/a] [NUA: WNum]

Run: see go
Sack: see bag

SAD; TRISTE

1862. *nu'uyà/a > *okoyo ‘sad’: CN tla-okoyo ‘be sad’; Yq hioko ‘sufrrir, lastimarse’; Hp ookwa-y-ta ‘be sad, downcast, depressed’; and perhaps Ls uyá-a ‘feel bad, be sad’ whether s.th. like *ok-uyá’a or first of word lost. Might Ls’s glottal stop explain the Hp glottal stop as anticipated. Ls and Hp agree in initial *u, from which SUA may have assimilated *u ño o/a. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Cah, Azt]

1863. *o'màna ‘sad, suffering’: CN a’mana ‘be unsettled, upset, disturbed’ (RJC); Tr o’moná / o’mona-ma ‘be afflicted, saddened’; Tr o’móña-ri ‘sadness, affliction’; in Sr the -ŋani- portion of Sr ahaŋani ‘sad, miserable’; Sr ahaŋani ‘be poor, pathetic, miserable’; Sr ahaŋani ę ‘poor one, orphan’; Ktn haŋa ‘poor’. Words as long as the Sr forms are likely compounds, so -ŋani- is as likely a segment of that compound as any other. We seem to be dealing with a cluster, which appears as -m- in CN and Tr; in addition, the Tr and CN forms agree in the consonants -m-n-, but disagree in the vowels: a-a-a vs. o-o-a, while the Sr and Ktn vowels -o-a-i are between the two, CN and Tr each assimilate a vowel, in opposite directions. The Tak velar nasal also allows a cluster. What of NP sida i managuma ‘made me feel badly’? With loss of 1st vowel and change of 2nd V, what of Ls njiina / njina- ‘a fast, not eat’ and Ls njina ‘be bad, spoiled; (of heart) sad, sorry’? [*-m > -ŋ; V assim] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Azt]

1864. *sitoka / *siLoka ‘be sad, suffer’: My siróka ‘está triste’; My sirókwa ‘tristeza’; Yq sioka ‘sufrrir, estar triste’; AYq sioka ‘be lonely, vi’; AYq siokitua ‘hurt, make sad, vt’. [SUA: Cah]

Sagebrush: see plant
Saliva: see spit

SALT; SAL

| Mn  | omábi; omaa- ‘salt, vt’ | Hp  | ōŋa; ōŋaskiyi (s. solution) Eu | onát, ónta (acc) |
| NP  | onjábi                    | Tb  | ŋuual                           | Tbr oná-t         |
| TSh | onjwapi(cci)/omapi-       | Sr  | čuka’t                          | Yq ‘óna; AYq čo’oka ‘salty’ |
| Sh  | onja-/onja-/onja-pin      | Ca  | ñj-il                           | My oona           |
| Cm  | ona-/onàbi/ona’añti      | Cp  | yewál; v. ñeyu                  | Wr woná           |
| Ls  | ‘éŋ-la                   | Tr  | oná / koná / noná              |
| Kw  | ‘owa-vi                  | Gb  | ‘oŋó-r                          | yakáwi- ‘v. salt/season s.th’ |
| Ch  | aso-na; asómpí           | TO  | on                               | Cr unáh           |
| SP  | ona                      | PYp | ona; ta’akil ‘salty’            | Wc ‘únaa; ucíivi ‘salty’ |
1865. *omCa / *oNCa > oŋa ‘salt’: Sapir; VVH63 *'oŋa ‘salt’; M67-359 *ona; B.Tep320a ‘onai ‘salt’; 320b ‘onaga ‘possessed salt’; I.Num16 *ona; L.Son16 *ona; M88-’o27 and M88-wo5; Munro.Cup115 *’eųŋ-la ‘salt’; KH/M06-’o27: Reflexes exist in all branches except Azt, though the medial consonants (n, ŋ, m, ø) are difficult. In contrast to Miller’s 1967 reconstruction *ona, Miller’s later (1988) positing initial *wo for this lexeme may have been due to his work in Wr, which is the only language showing initial *w, or it could signify an initial C of intense rounding, as Wr elsewhere intensifies initial *o > wo (Stubbbs 1995). In M88-’o27 he lists separately the Takic forms and Hp that show 2nd C p; however, I think most would agree that all these terms are related. The real difficulty is the medial consonant. We have m in Mn and TSh; velar nasals in Num, Tb, Hp, Tak, ie, most of NUA; but we also have w in Kw and ŋw in TSh and n in SUA. I doubt a single C could underlie that variety and would guess that we are dealing with a cluster that involves a nasal and a labial. Mn and TSh (the nearer homeland languages of WNum and CNum respectively) show m; SNum lost the nasal, showing either *w or ø; but only one NUA language shows n, the geographically most distant, i.e., Cm. The many m, ŋ, and ŋw suggest a cluster.

White Mesa Ute speakers distinguish *'oō-a-vi ‘salt’ and *'oō-a-vi ‘back’ only by vowel length. [medial *n, ŋ, w, m; *o > Tb u] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

1866. *yakawa ‘apply salt’: the -dak of ST vasdak ‘lacking salt, adj’; Tr yakáwi- ‘salt/seaon sth., v’; and perhaps CN poyek ‘sth. salted’; CN(RJC) poyeya ‘become salty’; CN(RJC) poyeltik ‘salty’. Perhaps Cp yewá-l ‘salt’ if it lost medial -k. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt?]

NB, for Sr čuka-’t, Ktn cukwa ‘bitter, sour, salty’, AYq čuka-t, Ktn cukwa ‘bitter’. NB, Hp sïh ‘salty’ has enough in common with Navajo áš ‘salt’ and Tewa ’åhséegh ‘salty’ to possibly be part of an areal loan. Navajo borrowed áš from Mohave ’áš‘i’, though close to both Navaho and Tewa. Are they all from Mojave? Ch asompi has final nasalization and only lacks a credible vowel. Perhaps Cp yewá-l ‘salt’ if it lost medial -k. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt?]

NB, for *tosa (Wc *tusa and CN ista-), see white.
NB, for *síta, see bitter.

**SAND; ARENA, PLAYA (beach)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>pasiyápí</th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ónai</th>
<th>kwie.tũúšáari ‘earth with salt’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WP</td>
<td>pasiwačí</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>‘on; vasdak ‘lack salt’ CN</td>
<td>ista-tl; poyek ‘salted’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many have noted the array of initial-s forms for ‘sand’: Sapir; M67-361 *sa ‘sand’; M67-362 *se ‘sand’; I.Num194 *(pa)sìwa(h) ‘sand, gravel’; L.Son226 *sa/*si arena; M88-sa9 and si4 and KH/M06-si21 *siHa where H = a glide (AMR), si4, and sa9 basically sort them according to first vowel. I think the glide is w or something like it, as Iannucci has it. After loss of -w-, then excrescent y is natural in an environment of *sia (*siwa > *sia > siya). Whatever the C was, it seemed to disappear in SUA, where the vowels also assimilated (*siwa/siHa > *saa) or leveled (*siwa/*siHa > *see) much of the time. For the purpose of further contemplation, it may be useful to divide them according to first V. Num basically has *siwaN:

1867a. *siwaN ‘sand’: Mn, NP, TSh; Sh; Cr; Kw; SP suin- ‘gravel’; CU; TO -hia ‘sand dune’ (AMR 1996d); SP šiywam-pí ‘sandy gravel’ (AMR 1996d). Ken Hill adds WSh pasiwompín and Ch šiwampi ‘coarse sand’;
Ch siwampi 'gravel'; Ch siwa’aavii ‘sandstone’. Add Nv hia and Tb siwaa-l ‘ground, dirt, the earth, age’ with an assimilation of *i-a > i-a. The first syllable of Tb sihpi-t may belong. Hp ciwavi ‘gravel, coarse sand’ may be a loan or may belong if c/s problem, for the other 3 of the first 4 segments are identical. If so, all branches of NUA except Takic are represented. Medial w was lost in Mn, Sh, TO, and nearly so in Tbr, though h may signify the loss of some C. We see twig in TSh. Add the latter part of B.Tep326b ‘*oo’ia ‘sand’, a compound of *hora and *siwa. [*w > o in To; c/s]

1867b. *si’ii (< *si’a/siwa) ‘sand’: Yq, My, Wr, Cr séh; Tb siwaal. [for *i-a > Cah e-e, see *pita at fire]

1867c. *sa(ta) ‘sand’: Dakin 1982-81; Cr sáاث-ta’a ‘sandy ground’; Eu sa/sáta, CN saal-li. AMR (1996d) notes that the frequent assimilation of vowels in Azt (*siCa > saa) explains these as related to *siCa (here *siwa). Ken Hill adds Cr shari ‘mud’. Is it a loan from Azt? [t > L’ in Cah; vowel leveling; nasal; *w > o in Tep]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Tbr, Opn, CrC, Azt]

1868. *(h)oLa (Tep) / *otta (Num) ‘sand’: Sapir; B.Tep326a ‘*oo’orai ‘sand’. With Tep *orai, note the possibility of Ch otá-vi herein as well and WMU tá-vi ‘sand’, which lost the first syllable, as it occasionally does. In fact, Sapir ties Tep and SP atta ‘sand’, assimilating from *otta, which *otta is what we find in Ch. Sapir cites SP tanja ‘knee’ < *toja as a parallel example of that vowel change. Note also B.Tep326b ‘*oo’ia ‘sand’, a compound of *hora and *siwa. [V change] [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

NB, for *oka ‘sand, gravel, rock, land’ see at rock.

Sandal: see shoe
Sap: see pitch
Save: see store

**SAy, SPEAK, TELL, TALK; DECIR, HABLAR**

1869. *ni’ok ‘speak’: M88-naa4 and M88-ni1; L.Son173 *nio ‘hablar’; B.Tep170 *niokai-i ‘to talk’, *nio ‘he talked’, and B.Tep171 *ni’oka-i ‘word’; KH/M06-ni1: TO neok(i) ‘talk’; UP nioki; LP nook; NT niokkai ‘habla’; NT nióoki ‘palabra, voz, mensaje, idioma, cosa’; ST nioki; Tbr nyoka; Tr ne’ó-; Tr ne’oge/ne’oke/ne’ogí ‘word, language’; Yq nóoka ‘hablar’; Yq nóki ‘palabra’; My nóoka; We niuka; Cr niuka-ri ‘word, language’; Cr nyúkari ‘talk’.

Ken Hill adds Hp ni’ok-ti ‘become benevolent, compassionate’. Let’s also add Eu neoke- ‘mandar [command]’; Op niwa-t ‘word’ (Shaull 2007). That ends the clear cognates. Miller includes EU néhra-; NP nanikkwia ‘answer’; and Sh niikwi ‘say, tell’. However, they do not agree with *ni’ok, but merely start with n-, possibly the *na- prefix with different stems. I would group Wr and CN together as below.

[diphthongs > V; ’ > o in Tep; NUA u : SUA o] [SUA: Trn, Azt]

1870. *na-wisa / *na-oça (> nooca) ‘speak’: Wr naósa ‘speak’; Tr nawesa- ‘speak in public’; CN nooca ‘call, summon, talk to s.o.’ [c/s; wV > o in CN] [SUA: Trn, Azt]


1872. *hawa ‘talk, v’: M88-ha16; KH/M06-ha16: CN nooca ‘call, summon, talk to s.o.’ [c/s; wV > o in CN] [SUA: Trn, Azt]

1873a. *awa / *aw (AMR) ‘tell’: VVH124 ‘awí ‘tell’; B.Tep301 ‘a’aga/i ‘to tell’; L.Son7 *awa ‘decir’; M88-’a16 ‘say’; KH/M06-’a16 *aw (AMR): TO aag(a); TO aagid; UP ’aagí; LP ’aagi; NT áaga; ST ’a’aga; Eu áwa; Tbr annwa/omwá; Tb aawinat~aawiin ‘tell to’; My hiáwa ‘decir’; Hp aa’awí, aawín- ‘tell, inform, relate, announce’; Sr aa’ ‘tell a true story’; Eu áwían ‘decir, pedir’ (cognate? Hill queries; I say yes). Many *awa forms meaning ‘scold’ may tie with *awa ‘tell’: Yq hi’áwa ‘criticar, insultar’; Tr na’áwa ‘enemistarse, enojarse unos con otros’; Tr na’áwa-ti ‘airarse unos con otros’; CN a’wa ‘scold, quarrel with, irritate s.o., vt’; Pl ahwa ‘scold, bark at, yelp at’; Mn hawa ‘scold, v’; and what of Kw ha’á ‘bark, v’; Kw ha’á-kwee ‘argue, bawl out’? Jane Hill (p.c.) notes that SP ai-‘ai’ ‘say’ may have only lost w- [*w > v in Sr] [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Tbr, Trn, Cah, Azt]

1873b. *a’al ‘tell’: BH.Cup *’á’al ‘tell a story’; M88-’a16 ‘say’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-’a16 *aw: Cp ’á’a’al ‘tell a true story’; Ca ’á’alxi ‘tell a true story’; LS ’á’a’alvi / ’á’a’alu ‘tell a story’. Add Tb(M) ’ala’at~ ’ala’at ‘talk, v’; Tb(V) ’ala’aw~ ’a’alau ‘talk’. Hp yi’á’ata ‘be speaking, talking (about)’ is a reduplication of yi’á, though the Tak forms appear to be reduplications also, so Hp is an outside possibility only if it includes a fossilized yi’- prefix. An
explanation is needed to reconcile a and b. Their union is possible, so I shan’t yet undo what others have joined, though Tb has two separate words, each a nice match for one of the two groups. [NUA: Tak, Tb]

1874. *ka’iti ‘say’: B.Tep94 *kaiti ‘to say’; M88-ka28; KH/M06-ka28: TO kaij(elid); UP kaiči; LP kaiči; NT káityukai; ST ka’ity. [SU: Tep]


1876a. *tïkwî ‘say’: Mn tïkwî ‘tell, vt’; NP tïkwî(hi) ‘tell’; TSh tïtïnwa ‘teach’. Consider also Sh(C) taikwa ‘teach’; Sh ñàkwa ‘speak, talk to’. Miller here includes many forms also found in M88-kwi12, as well as B.Tep244 found below. I think it best to separate the forms *tiyai, *(ti/ni)-kwî, and *tîi now. Therefore, in addition to *tïkwî, consider: *tïkwî ‘say’; Sh yekwi ‘say s.th., sg subj’; Sh niikwi ‘say, tell, vt’; Cm niikkwî ‘say to s.o.’ Miller (in M88-kwi12) has some of the same forms as with *tïkwî, etc. We may be dealing with prefixes (ti-, yî, ni-). [yV- prefix] [NUA: Num]

Outside of some clear but limited groups, much sorting remains for these initial *tî… lexemes having to do with speaking; *tîi may, after all, be a fossilized prefix in some cases.

1877a. *tiyâ ‘say to’: B.Tep244a *tiidâ ‘to say to’; B.Tep244b *tii ‘he said to’; M88-tî17; KH/M06- tî17: UP čëi; LP čëi; NT tïidâ; ST tïda; TO če ‘he said to; Sh ñahwi ‘ask, tell on or about s.o. or s.th.’; Cm tï/a/rïa ‘it is said’; Sr tïf(ha) ‘tell, v’; My tia ‘cuotativo’. Add Ca tïtiyax ‘tell’; PYp teeda ‘say’; PYp têe ‘say’.

[SU: Tep, Cah; NUA: Num, Tk]

1877b. *tîni / *tîNV: M88-tî17; KH/M06- tî17: TSh tïtïnwa ‘teach’; Kw tïniah ‘tell’; Sp tïniah ‘tell’; Tb tïinta ‘ask for’; Hp tïnla ‘ask for, hope, desire’; PL teeneewa ‘speak against, criticize’. We can add more SNum forms, such as WMU tûnêiyâ-y / tûnêiyê-y ‘tell (of story-teller)’; Kw tïniah; Ch tïniah; and CU tïnêiyâ. NP tïnî ‘tell to’ may better belong here than with M88-tî18 (at ‘rule’). Should we add Sr täänôn ‘speak to, say (something) to’? [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Azt]

1877c. *tîcu ‘counsel’: Eu têçabu ‘aconsejar’; Wr tehçô ‘consejo’. [SU: Opn, Trn]

1877d. *tî ‘tell’: Hp tïqay ‘be learning’; Hp tïqayna ‘be teaching’; CU tîpati-nïyai ‘gossip, tell rumors about’; Cm tûçüi ‘tell’ (cognate? Miller queries; I’d say below with *tu’i). This last group is something of a catch all of M88 forms that fit not well elsewhere nor with each other. All need more work: only initial *tî in common, which could be a prefix.

1878a. *tiwâ / *ta(hV)wa ‘say, advise’: My têëwa ‘dicen, cuotativo’; Yq têwâ ‘decir, hablar’; AYq tawia ‘say to’; AYq tehwa ‘inform, show, tell, explain’; Pl ilwia ‘say, tell’ (also at *tu’i below).

1878b. *(i)tawa ‘tell’: CN i’tawa ‘tell’; CN i’tawa ‘speak up’; CN tla’toa ‘speak’; Mn itawa ‘tell, inform, instruct’; NP yatua ‘talk’; NT ââ táågai ‘platicar’.

[SU: Cah, Tep, Azt; NUA: Num]

1879. *anpaka- ‘talk’: Kw ‘abigi ‘talk’; Kw nipaka ‘talk to’; Ch ampâga- ‘talk/speak’; SP ampa-gâ-; WMU appâga-y ‘speak, talk’; CU apaçâ ‘talk, speak’; Tb pahkanâ-pahkana ‘speak’; Tb(H) pahkanit, PfV appakhann ‘to speak, speak Tubulabal’. [*-NC- > -CC-; Kw anticipates V assim][NUA: NSum, Tb]

1880. *umay / *amay ‘say’: Kw mee ‘say’; Ch mai ‘say’; SP mai / mwai / umai / ìmai ‘say’; WMU may / umway ‘tell, say’ (past: may-kye); CU may-ka ‘say, tell, order’. WMU past tense suffix -kye (vs. -qa) shows that there is a final -y in the stem. Tbr amwâ/omwâ is listed above where it does fit well with *awa, since *w > mw in Tbr often, though it (or they) have (has) much in common with these SNum forms as well. [NUA: NSum; SUA: Tbr]

1881. *…Lapa ‘speak’: Hp lavayi ‘speech, talk, discussion’; Hp lavay-ta ‘be talking about, relating, telling about’; Sr virâv(k) ‘speak, tell’; Sr virâvâra ‘tell, speak’. While it is possible that these are not related, a tie seems on the probable side of possibility. Whether Hp lost an initial CV or s.th. else happened, the identical semantics and a three-segment sequence *Lap merit nulling. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

1882. *tu’i ‘say, ask’: M88-tu1; AMR; KH/M06-tu1 and tu26 *TuHi (AMR): TO cu’ick ‘ask (a question) of’; Wr tu-i ‘tell, accuse’; Tr ru’-tu- ‘decir’; Tr(H) ru ‘aviser, testificar’; Tr(H) ruye ‘aviser, aconsejar, informar’;
CN ilwìa ‘take counsel with self; make a complaint’ (< *tuwi); Pl ilwìa ‘say, tell’. Add Cp tùtuči ‘tell’ and PB tua ‘quotative’ (Estrada Hernandez 2003, 184). [SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt; NUÁ: Tak]

1883. *yi... ‘say’: M67-363 *yiya ‘say; BH.Cup *yi ‘say’ (Cp ya-; Ca yá-; Ls ya-); M88-ya7 ‘say’; KH/M06-ya7: Cp yax; Ca yá ‘to be so, to say’; Ls yá(x) ‘say, tell’; Hp yaw ‘quotative particle’; Cr yee ‘it is said (quotative)’; Miller queries whether Wc hai is cognate. I like AMR’s (1993c) union of Num *yaka ‘cry’ at cry with the Cupan forms, and beyond those, matches are uncertain. So no branch bracket.

NB, for *aya ‘invite, call’ see name.
NB, for B.Tep *vaïdai ‘call’ and *vaï ‘he called’ see name.
NB, for B.Tep *paru ‘to speak evil of’, see ‘bad’.

Scare(d): see fear
Scold: see shout and angry

SCORPION; ALACRÁN

1884. *nakaciLa ‘scorpion’: B.Tep166 *nakasiri-i ‘scorpion’; Fowler83; M88-na32; KH/M06-na32:
TO nakäli; UP nakäli; LP nakäli; PYp naksetli; NT nakäli; ST nakäni/naksr. Jane Hill notes that the first two syllables of NP nagubaca ‘scorpion’ could feasibly relate to these first syllables; in fact, given the frequent disappearance of medial *-p- in Tep and *-e > Tep s, all 4 syllables of NP nagubaca tying to Tep *nakasV may be worth keeping in mind. [SUA: Tep; NUÁ: WNüm]

1885. *maCéli ‘scorpion’: Fowler83; M88-ma4 ‘scorpion’; KH/M06-ma4: Ca mánisaly ‘little scorpion’; Wr mahcirí; My máxil. Add Tr mačirí and Yq máxil. But Tr ma’a-ku-üa-ni ‘scorpion’? If the different initial nasal (m vs. n) could be explained, then the above two sets may be cognate, since Tep s < *c and with the loss of k in a cluster:
*mačil(a) > *nakasirai (Tep)
> *makći > mahcili (Wr, Tr) > mačil (Yq, My)
What about Ca? Note the -hc- cluster in Wr possibly from an original -Kc- cluster. AMR includes this set in his article “A Northern UA sound law: *-c > -y-,” wherein he lists Ca mani-sa, Wr maciri, and My maci-l as a possible set. [CC, c/s?, c/n, reduction] [SUA: Cah, Trn]


1887. *saka ‘scorpion’: L.Son228 *saka ‘escorpion’; M88-sa16; KH/M06-sa16: Op sakkara; Eu sákra; Yq sákka; My saka’awi-m; Wr sëkála. The siaa’ of SP siaam’moço ‘scorpion’ may belong, but not yet securely enough to count it. [*-CC, liquid] [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah]


1889. *koLo ‘scorpion’: CL.Azt139 *kooloo ‘scorpion’; Fowler *kooloo ‘scorpion’; M88-ko28; KH/M06-ko28: CN kooloo-tl; Pl kuulut; Po kuul; To kuul; ZA koolócin ‘insect sp’.

1890. *wVm ‘scorpion’: TSh wëwmpaca ‘scorpion’; Ch waampakwici ‘scorpion’

1891. *taska ‘scorpion’: Cr taska-(te) ‘scorpion(s)’; We têe-rïkå ‘scorpion’. [*L > s?] [SUA: CrC]

SCRAPE, SHAVE; RASPAR, AFEITAR(SE), ESQUILAR

1892. both *sipa and *sippa ‘scrape, shave’: VVH70 *si-pa ‘to shave, scrape’; M67-364 *sipa ‘scrape’; L.Num192 *sip / *sipa ‘scrape, shave, whittle’; L.Son244 *sipa/sip-i; M88-si5 ‘scrape’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-si5: Mn siba; NP sipa ‘scrape’; Sh sipe ‘scrape’; CM sipe ‘shave off, shave off’; Kw šivi ‘whittle, peel, shave, scrape off hair from’; SP siva ‘to whistle’; CU wasi-siy ‘whittle, peel, shave’; Hp sipian-ta ‘peel it’; Hp sipa ‘scrape it, shave it’; Tb šiip-~išib-‘isibinat ‘shave, whittle’; Cp sive ‘shave/peel off’; Cp sipate ‘strip off, as bark’; Ca sìv ‘shave’; Ca -če-sípi ‘scrape, peel off’; Ls šìva/i ‘be peeled, scraped, vi;
peel, scrape, shave, vt; Sr šiiv ‘shave’; Ktn šiv ‘plane, carve, scrape’; TO hiw ‘rub’; TO hiwkon(a) ‘shave, scrape’; Wr siba ‘raspar’; Tr sipá/si’pá/sipi ‘raspar, rebanar’; Cr ra- ‘an-tý-si-ći-i’ri-i i ‘he cut it off of him’; CN špewa ‘to flay, skin, peel s.th.’; PI šipéewa ‘peel, remove skin, bark, shell’. We can add PYp hiv- ‘scrape’; ST hiwa ‘raspar, escarbar’; NT ivísúmai ‘brush, scrape, take off’; Eu siswa/sisba ‘to brush’; Nr hiwa ‘raspar’; Nv hifa ‘cosa raspada’. We find a wa-prexif in CU wosíyay and TSh wísíyeh ‘scrape, peel off, whittle’. Some languages definitely show geminated *-pp- (Hp, CN, Pl) while others show *-p- (SP, Kw, CU), and others show both (Cp, Ca). Also note Sr šikw(a) ‘skin, peel, vt’ vs. Sr šiv(a) ‘shave’; and Ls šivi ‘shave’ vs. Ls šivi ‘to peel fruit, to skin the hides from animals’. [p/kuw?] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]

1893. *kílipi ‘shell or shuck corn, v’; B.Tep133 *kiri ‘to shell corn’: M88-k14; KH/M03-k14: TO kilíwi; LP kíkv-; NT kílivi; NT kílivai ‘desgrajarlo, vt’; ST kílyúvi. Add Wc kírípu ‘concha (shell)’. [l/r; liquids] [NUA: Tep, CrC]

1894. *(pi)-suma ‘scrape, smooth, skin (an animal), v’; Stubbs2003-39: ST humaa ‘scrape, v’; CN šiima ‘smooth, shave, vt’. For *pi-suma: Tr pénu-bisú-; AYq vesuma ‘skin, peel’, NT viúmai ‘quitar el cuero’; ST vioma ‘prepare an animal for cooking’; Nv buhuma ‘skin (an animal), v’. The initial *pi-portions are likely ‘hair, hide, skin’. Jane Hill (p.c.) additionally notes Ktn šim ‘scratch’ with a slight vowel change *u > ï, as often happens in Num, so perhaps here as well. [NUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt] [NUA: Ktn]

1895. *(wiC)-tono’oki ‘scrape, pull out’: Stubbs2003-2: TSh -tono’oki(n) ‘scrape, vi’; TSh (wiC)tono’oki(n) ‘scrape, vt’; Ch wín’ógi ‘shave (body), rake, v’; Sh(C) wí-noih ‘scrape, v’; Sh(C) -noih ‘yank, pull out, vt’; Sh(M) -noih ‘pull out’. [reductions] [NUA: Num]

1896. *(kwuhV) ‘scrape off, degrain (corn)’: Stubbs 1995-8: My búh-tuk ‘se espigó’; My búh-te ‘está espigando’; Yq buh- ‘espijar’; Tr ohó ‘desgranar (remove grain from ears)’; CN kwi’ kwí ‘chip off (wood or stone), clean up a surface, take s.th. away, get ready, be prepared’. [NUA: Cah, Trn, Azt]

NB, for *sipa ‘point’: Munro.Cup *šiwa-t ‘point’, see ‘edge’.
NB, for *oLa/i or *wo’La ‘shell, degrain (ears of grain)’, see at ‘corn’.

Scratch: see touch, cut, scrape, dig
Scream: see shout

SEARCH, LOOK FOR; BUSCAR: see also see and hunt

1897. *wa’wa / *wi’wa ‘look for’: B.Tep35a *gaagai-a ‘to look for’; not in M88; TO gaag; UP gaag;i; LP gaag; PYg gaaga; NT gágáái; ST gaaga. I do not find this in M88; but to Tep let’s add Cr wáwawau! ‘búscalo’; Cr paráwauni ‘búscalo’; and Mn wawiya ‘cha see’ and hunt

1898. *hal / *hatiwa ‘look for’: BH.Cup *hál ‘look for’; M88-ha12; KH/M06-ha12: Ca hál ‘look for, search’; Ca háł ‘look for, seek’; Miller also includes Hp heeva ‘look for’; My háloste ‘touch, feel’. Whether Hp belongs or not, Yq haríwa/haríu ‘buscar’ and My haríu/haría ‘busca’ likely belong. Thus, Tak and Cah point to *haLiwa. Least one doubt Tak’s ability to lose so many final segments, compare *makah(a)wi ‘dove’ for which Tak yields *makí. This may contain ha-prefix to *tiwa ‘find, see’; compare the ha-prefix in Tbr ha-tetemo ‘hunt’ vs. Tbr temo ‘find’, but whether from *ha-tiwa or not, both Yq and My have apocopated variants: haríwa > hariu. And the final vowel in Cp hále suggests that Tak only apocopated one more segment: hari(u) > *halí. [reduction; l/r] [NUA: Num; Tak; SUA: Tep; CrC]

1899. *pusaka ‘search’; Ch puságai ‘look for’; CU píasgây ‘search, look for’; SP šagai ‘seek, look for’ in SNum, and possibly Mn puhái ‘look for, search for’ and TSh puhái ‘look for, search for’ as reductions of *pusakai > *puskai > puhai. [u > i; s or sk > h in WNum and CNum] [NUA: Num]

1901a. *rîm ‘look at’: Yq rem-te ‘look at, watch’; My reem-te ‘lift the eyes’; if Cah -r- < -t- after a previous/lost prefix or some other explanation, then it may tie in with the below:

1901b. *tîm ‘look for’: CN teemoa ‘look for’; Ls tôma ‘go on a bear-hunting party’. Because Tbr mw < *w, Tbr ha-tetemo ‘hunt’ and Tbr temo ‘find, see’ are often thought from < *tıwa ‘find’, but the preceding terms make one wonder if the matter is more involved than that. Or is CN teemoa a residue from close ties to Tbr, as we see elsewhere? [Azt/Tbr] \[NUA: Tak; SUA: Tbr, Cah, Azt\]


1903. *nî / kani ‘look for’: Sr nân ‘look for’; Ktn nân // n’a ‘look for, miss, vt’; SP kanî ‘seek’. Besides this set, *k/nāmAl ‘crush, grind’ at ‘grind’ and *ŋüha / kühü ‘grasp, catch’ at ‘carry’ have Hp or Tak ŋ corresponding to k of other UA languages. \[NUA: Tak, Num\]

SEE, FIND, LOOK, APPEAR; VER, HALLAR, MIRAR, APARECER; see search just above

1904. *tıwa ‘find, see’: Sapir; VVH21 *tıwa ‘find’; B.Tep250 *tügai-i ‘to find, see’; M67-365 *te ‘see’; BH.Cup *taw ‘see, find’; L.Son301 *tıwa/*tıw ‘hallar’; CL.Azt140 *tiita ‘see, find’; M88-tı2 ‘find, see’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-tı2: Hp tıwa ‘find, perceive’; Hp tüw ‘know-how, skill’; Tb tüw- ‘tüw ‘look for, find, guess’; Cp tewa ‘see, vt’; Ca téew ‘find, discover’; Ls tów ‘see, look at’; Ls tôwí ‘see by second sight, be clairvoyant’; TO ceeg(id) ‘find, discover, learn, hear’; UP çiğ; LP çiğ; PY p teega ‘find, see, vt’; PY p teegida ‘show, vt’; NT tügai; ST çiğ; Eu têwa; Wr têwa; Tr rêwa/tewa; My mêwa ‘hallar’; Yq tea; Tbr tema/temo ‘ver, hallar’; Cr tyauu; CN tıwa ‘see, vt’ from which the more common CN ittá ‘see, vt’; see search just above

What do we think of Tbr ha-tetemo ‘hunt’ and Tbr temo ‘find’ (probably < *tıwa ‘find’), though we can hardly not list it at *fîmo ‘search for’ also. Ls tıwí ‘see, look at’ is interesting in contrast to Ls tów ‘see, look at’ and Ls tôwí ‘see by second sight, be clairvoyant’. In light of the 2nd and 3rd consonants agreeing better with *tûpiN ‘ask, seek’, I put Sr tûvîj ‘find’ at ask. Note here and in ‘name’ (Yq tea) Yq’s loss of intervocalic w. \[w > ø in Yq\] \[NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt\]

1905. *nî(L) / *nîL ‘see’; B.Tep177 *nîda ‘to look’; M67-366 *ne ‘see’; L.Son174 *nî ‘ver’; M88-nîl ‘see s.th.’; KH/M06-nî1: TO nea, ne’a ‘look, see’; TO neid ‘see, discover, visualize, realize, perceive’; TO neida ‘seeing, s.th. seen, sight’; UP niid; LP niij; NT nîyi; ST nîyá; Wr ne’né ‘verlo’; Tr né ‘mirar’; Tbr nyré, nýera ‘mirar’; Hp niçawi ‘one who stares out of curiosity’; Hp(Albert, Shaul) niçawi / niçawi ‘stare at, be easily attracted’; Cr ha-tányee ‘he is awake’; Pl neesi ‘appear, look like’. Ls nóóli ‘see, look, read, visit s.o.’ is crucial to the medial consonant, as L > s in Azt adjacent to voiceless C. Others to be considered include Tr newá ‘visible’; Tr ne’ná ‘admire’; SP nayava/naya’pa ‘seem, look like’; Tr e’né- ‘see, look’; Tr e’nawa ‘be admired’; and CN neesi ‘appear, reveal oneself, become visible’. In his NT dictionary in progress, Bascom lists NT teči ‘see, vt’; NT niyí ‘see, vt’. Tr newá- ‘present, perceptible, realized (used with other verbs rather than alone)’ is noteworthy. \[I/r > y/d/s; w > v in Num like sun\] \[NUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt\]

1906. *nî ‘look!’: Tr né! ‘look!’; TO nee ‘look!’ While associating this with *nîL above may be tempting, both languages have separate forms. \[NUA: Tep, Trn\]

1907. *pîca (< *pîta) ‘see’: L.Son193 *pîca ‘ver’; M88-pi21; KH/M06-pi21: Op vica; Eu vicá-; Yq bíca; My bícca. Add Hp pipca ‘perceive, notice’ and Tr beči / peči ‘ver [see]’. Dakin (1982) and Miller also list CN ittá/ihta, itwa, in light of loss of initial *p > ø, which is possible, for CN and Hp -c- both agree with *-t-, though CN itwa < *tıwa and itta < *piCta are also possible. Add Kw naviţi (< *na-piči) ‘appear, be showing’ i.e. ‘be seen’ with passive *na- prefix. \[NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Cah, Trn, Opn\]

1908. *hîwi ‘look, observe’: Tr iwe/ije ‘espiar, observar, acechar’; Tr nahiwe ‘espiar, pl’; Yq hîwi ‘stare’; Yq hîwi ‘appear’; Sr hîhi ‘see, have in sight, look at’; Sr hi ‘see’. \[NUA: Trn, Cah; SUA: Tak\]
1910. *natka `find’: Eu nátka `find’; Yq nánke `find’; My nánke `lo encuentra’. The UA velar does seem to have a certain, periodic nasalizing power, especially in addition to UA’s propensity for consonant harmony. The change of *natka > *nanke in Cah may be another example. [C harmony] [SUA: Opn, Cah]

1910. *huLa ‘come up, look in/over’: M88-hu19; KH.NUA; KH/M-hu19: Sr huur-q ‘come up (as sun), come up over’; Sr huur-kí ‘peek over, look in’; Ca húlaqan ‘peek at s.o., lifting/sticking one’s head out, v’; Ls huá ‘sprout through the ground, pore through the surface, v’. Hill adds Ktn hurík ‘look forth, peep out, v’. With a question mark, Hill also offers the possibility of Hp hóló(k)- ‘rise flatly, v’ (comb. -wló thus perhaps < *holó < **hulo). What of Tb huuda ‘sun is up’ or Tb hooyíri~ooohy ‘watch over, vt’? Note also PYp hoohod ‘look’; ST hoohoiñ ‘look at it’. [r/d; [*t > η; hu/wV] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep]

1911. *(i)soko ‘look’: Hp(S) soh ‘look here!’ and Wr isógo ‘look!’ [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn]

1912. *ta’uta ‘find’: TSh utaa ‘find’; TSh ta’ota ‘find’; Sh ta’uta ‘find’; Cm urarí ‘find’; Cm to’urarí ‘meet someone, find something being looked for’. [*-t > -c-, *uta > uci; *hu > wV?] [NUA: CNum]

1913. *-yu ‘look at’: Hp yori(-k) ‘look, take a look, v.i., vt’; Cp á’ayu’e ‘watch’; Sr yíhýi ‘look, look at, v.i., vt’; My huyú! ‘miralo! he aquí!’ While explanations remain elusive, a relationship among some or all of these seems more likely than not. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Cah]

1914a. *míi ‘look!’: Hp me ‘you see, listen, behold, hark, look’; Tr me ne ‘see, look, observe’.

1914b. *mahay / *ma’ay(C) ‘see, find’: Kw mehe ‘find, see, notice’; Ch mahí ‘find’; SP mai’ ‘find, discover’; WMU ma’ái-y / maáy ‘see, find’; CU maáy ‘see, have found, find’; Ktn mayk / mayhk ‘look forth or peep, as through a crack’; perhaps first part of NP muhabíñui ‘peek at’. [NUA: Hp, Num, Tak; SUA: Trn]

1915. *h”aci ‘look, peek at’: Kw huza’a ‘look, peek’ and NP wazipunni ‘peek at’? [NUA: Num]

NB, for *puni ‘turn, look, see’ see at ‘circle’.

SEED, PIT; SEMILLA, CUESCO, HUESO DE FRUTA

1916. *paCci / *pa’ci ‘seed’: M67-103 *paçi ‘corn’; L.Son181 *paçi ‘semilla’; CL.Azt141 *ač ‘seed (corn)’, 313 *paći ‘seed (corn)’; M88-pa3 ‘seed’; KH/M06-pa3; Jane Hill 2001, 2007 *pa’ci: Eu suváci (ace: subáta) ‘seed’; Op baci; Tbr waci-rá-n; My báči-á; Yq baci-a; Wr pahci; Tr bací-ra; Wc hasí; Cr haci; CN ač-tli ‘seed’; CN ayo’waci-tli ‘squash seed’. Found in TrC, Corachol, and CN; ie, SUA except Tep. Note CN ač-tli ‘seed’ has the expected sound correspondence o < *p, while wač-tli ‘seed’ has the expected Tep correspondence; one could surmise that it was borrowed from a Tep language, though no cognate is in Tep; however, Tbr has a similar form. CN piic-tli ‘pit, stone of a fruit’ agrees with *pac (see below), yet shows p. Lionnet lists two sets—L.Son181 *paći ‘semilla’ and L.Son182 *paći ‘elote’—perhaps connected, but with different forms in some languages: L.Son182 *paći ‘elote’; Yq báči; My báči; Wr ihpáci; Tr pací. Jane Hill (2007) adds Hp paaaca ‘hominy’ and Tb pacaah ~ apacaah ‘shell it, vt’; Tb pacaahil ‘shelled pine nuts’ and due to underlying clusters *-C-C- or *-C-C-, SUA -C- aligns. [*p > p vs. o in CN; Tbr-CN similarities] [SUA: Cah, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt; SUA: Hp, Tb]

1917. *puCci ‘seed, pit’: M88-pu23; KH/M06-pu23: UA *pusi ‘eye’ and UA *puci ‘seed’ are often put together, because in some languages the word is the same for both (such as Ls puš-la); on the other hand, several other languages have different (but similar) words. I presently go with Miller and Hill in differentiating them as they do: pu4 ‘eye’ and pu23 ‘seed’, though several forms are cross-listed. Those with different forms than for ‘eye’ include: CN piic-tli ‘pit, stone of a fruit’ (vs. CN iīs-tli ‘face, surface, eye’); Ca púči-ly ‘seed’ (vs. pu ‘eye, face’); Cp púči-ly ‘seed’; Sr a-puuc; Gb púcen fruit, seed’; Ktn -puc. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

1918. *ici-tukai ‘seed’: from B.Tep341 *itiitucai ‘seed as wheat’; NT išt’ukai; ST ’išt’uk; LP iščik. UA *tuka ‘bury, plant’ ties to *tuka ‘night’ as ‘sun goes down below earth’ and ‘seed goes below earth’. [SUA: Tep]

1919. *kai-tukai ‘seed’: B.Tep95 *kaitukai ‘seed’; M88-ka27: NT káit’ukai; ST kait’uk; UP kaiči. This compound has a common element with the above compound, *-tukai, perhaps cognate with CN tooka ‘bury, sow’; Pl tuuka
‘bury, plant’; and Tr o*ki ‘very small seed’. Or might the Tr řo’- in Tr řo’mo-ri ‘grano tierno’ and Tr řo’mo-granar en vaina, formarse los granitos de las semillas que se dan en vaina, como el frijol’ also tie to *tuka?

[SAU: Tep, Trn?, Azt]

1920. *tāri / *taLI ‘seed’: Tr tari ‘semilla, grano para sembrar’; Wr ihtári ‘semillas para sembrar’.

[Wr ih-] [SAU: Trn]

1921. *paha(i) ‘seed’: Sh(C) pahai / pahe /pehe ‘seed’; Sh paihai ‘seed, pit’; TSh pehe(cci) ‘seed, pit’; Cm pehe ‘seed’. [NUA: CNum]

NB, for *suna ‘seed’, see hear.

NB, the various Tepiman forms (B.Tep341 *iisitukai ‘seed as wheat’; B.Tep95 *kaitukai ‘seed’, and B.Tep93 *kaiđi ‘its seed’) have in common tukai in two of the three Tep terms for ‘seed’. For *iši (< *ici), see plant.

NB, for *taka ‘seed’ (Tr řaká(ra); Wr taka), see root, as it is likely the same stem as *taka ‘root’ since the seed is the beginning of and thus the root.

Sell: see trade
Send: see rule
Separate: see fork or different
Set (of sun): see sunset, night, and black
Seven: see under the numbers toward the end
Sew: see weave
Sex: see copulate

SHADE, SHADOW; SOMBRA, UMBROSO

M88-hi1 ‘shade’; M67-367 *heka ‘shade’; I.Num44 *hīpa/*hika ‘be cool’; L.Son58 *hīka ‘sombra’;
B.Tep346 *iïkagï ‘shade, shady’; KH/M06-hi1 *hīka (AMR) ‘shade’. The fact that SUA has all medial -k- while Num has nearly all medial -p- initially had me doubting their union; however, the fact that Sh has *hīpa, *hīki, and
*hīka convinced me that Miller may be correct in uniting the two sets, whether separate suffixes (*hVC
*hīk) vs. hVC-pa (in shade) or s.th. else. The ST forms also show both -p- and -k-. For lack of an obvious reconciliation of medial *-k- and *-p-, let us consider *hīka and *hīpa by separate letter at least:

1922. *hīka(wa) ‘shade’: Cm hiikki ‘shade, brush arbor’; Cm hīka-h ‘cool off, v’; WSh hīki ‘shade, shadow’;
Hp hīkya ‘cool down, vi’; TO iïk ‘get in the shade”; TO iïka ‘bec. shaded’; TO iïkg/iïg ‘shade, n’; TO iïkdeg ‘shade, shadow’; LP iïkg; NT iïkagï; ST ‘iïka’; Nu ‘ikada ‘sombra’; Eu hekät ‘sombra’; Eu hekawa ‘sombra’;
Wr ehka ‘haber sombra’; My hēkka ‘sombra’; CN e’kawyyoo-tl/e’kau’yoo-tl ‘shadow, shade’; CN ekawiil-lī ‘shadow, shade’; CN e’kawi ‘to shade’; Pl yeekah-yu ‘shadow, shade, n’. Consider also AYq heka ‘shade, n’;
YP eekega ‘shade, shadow’; Tr kā/kāra/kābora ‘shade’; ST ůpgiđya ‘dar sombra’ and ST ůkaya’ ‘haber sombra’.

[k/p] [SAU: Tep, Cah, Trn Opn, Azt; NUA: Hp, Num]

1922b. *hapa / *hippa ‘shade’: Mn habaa/hapaà-t ‘to shade’; Mn haba/hapa ‘shade house’; Mn habána ‘in the shade’;
NP hapa ‘shade’; Sh hīpa, hīki, hīka ‘shade’; Kw hava ‘shade’; SP ava-vi ‘shade’ (cognate? Miller queries; yes, it is only missing initial h-, a very vulnerable whisper diachronically; CU ‘aváa ‘shadow’. Add WMU aváa ‘shade, shadow, n’; Ch(L) hava-ví ‘shade’; TSh hīppa ‘shade, shade house’ and TSh hīppaiya(nna) ‘shadow’.

[NUA: Num]

1923. *kis / /kiCi ‘shade’: Hp kihsi/kiisi ‘shade, field hut, s.th. that makes shade’; Ca kis-iš ‘shade’;
Cp kisi-iš ‘shade’; Cp kisįka ‘to the shade’. Probably not the -kayc of Ktn tïkwakayc ‘shade house, where people
live in summer’. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1924. *taski ‘shade’: Ls tāski ‘cast a shadow, vi’; SP tïkkiaa ‘shaded’. [-CC-] [NUA: Num, Tak]

SHAKE, SWING, MOVE; SACUDIR, ESTREMECER(SE), MOVER(SE)

1925. *hiya ‘rock, shake, swing’: M88-hi9; KH.NUA: KH/M06-hi9: Gb hoyó’o ‘manéalo [shake it]’;
Sr hiýyi ‘shake s.th.’; Ktn hiýik ‘swing, v’; Ls hóóya/i ‘rock (as rocking chair) vi, blow (of wind), vi’.

[Gb, Sr, Tak V’s] [NUA: Tak]
1926. *huyu ‘move’: M67-296: Hp hoyo(k-) ‘move, change position, grow (taller)’; Tb ‘oooyoogat ~ ‘ooook ‘he is moving’’. Sr hunu’k ‘move, move around, change residence’ has very similar meanings, but a strange medial C (y/n > *L?). Tb could have assimilated V’s: *u-a > o-a. [vowels; *L > y/n?] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak]?

1927. *kayaw ‘swing’: M88-ka40; KH.NUA; KH/MO6-ka40: Ca kàyaw ‘to swing’; Sr qayawk ‘to swing’; Ls qâya/i ‘fall, blow down (as a tree)’. [NUA: Tak]

1928a. *wiwi-puku ‘tremble’: Sapir; B.Tep40 *gigionk ‘to tremble’; M88-wi12; KH/MO6-wi12: TO gigiuk; Nv gigikeya ‘tremble, shake, shiver, vi’; NT gigiuk; ST gi’ivuk; Sapir ties Tep and CN wiwio-ka ‘shake from cold’. CN wiwiyoka / wiwiyokowa ‘tremble, shake, shiver’ corresponds to *wiwi-puku well enough, since Tep *gigionk roughly corresponds to UA *wiwi-puku, and if CN lost p intervocally, as it often does, or if this is a compound of an element that lost initial p in CN, then Tep *gigionk and CN *wiwi-ok(ow)ə correspond well, CN -y- likely excrecent following i. In fact, NT gigiuk ‘temblar, vi’ and NT gigiyidi ‘sacudir, vt’ would suggest such a morpheme break. With that potential morpheme break, consider:

1928b. *wiwiLa ‘shake, swing’: Hp wiwilwa ‘shake, swing, wave around’ and Tbr wiwiría ‘temblar’ are also likely, both showing a 3rd consonant liquid, not unlike the one NT form. [liquid; CN saayoolin ‘fly, n’ < *saipoli similarly lost medial -p-] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Azt]

1929a. *ciL ‘shake’: CL.Azt143 *célwa ‘shake’; M88-ci9; KH/MO6-ci9: CN cecelwaia ‘shake out, beat s.th. for s.o.’; CN ceceloaar; Pl cecelua, etc. To those might we add Tr lowé/rowé ‘moverlo, agitarlo, batirlo’ (Tr rowá ‘agitáre’) with loss of first syllable? [NUA: Azt, Trn]

1929b. *ciLii / *silia ‘shake, rattle’: Mn siniñigi ‘quiver’; NP siniñigwiñi ‘scared and shaking’; TSH siniñikki ‘shake, shiver’; Cm sii-ciniñi ‘have chills, tremble with cold, vi’; Kw siniñ’a ‘shake, shiver’, Cu siniñiy ‘shake, shiver’, Hp silala- ‘clack, jingle, rattle’; Tba ciniñi ~ ‘içiniñi’ ‘shake in fright’; Ca čeleley ‘shake (of body)’; Ktn šariri ‘trembling’. Though most of these have the 2nd syllable reduplicated, CN cecelwaia ‘shake out, beat for s.o.’ and CN ceceloa ‘shake, save s.th., vt’ reduplicated the first.

1929c. *cil ‘jingle, make rattling sound (when moved, shaken)’: CL.Azt156 *cilinV ‘to sound, ring’; M88-ci12; KH/MO6-ci12: CN cilini; Pl cilini; Hp silala-ta ‘to be jingling or clinking’. Add Ca čil ‘to sound (of a rattle)’; and maybe CN čil-li ‘chili’ as a plant that rattles in the breeze when ripe.[c/s] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]


1931a. *yoki ‘shake’: Yq yok-te ‘sacudir (un árbol, etc.)’; Eu dòhira ‘sacudir’. The -yok(ow)ə portion of CN wiwiyoka / wiwiyokowa ‘tremble, shake, shiver’ can hardly be both here and at *wiwi-pukV above. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes also Ca yuki ‘get scared, be afraid’. [NUA: Azt, Opn; SUA: Tak]

1931b. *sayuki / *cayu-k ‘shake, fear’: Sh sayuki ‘shake, vt’ and/or Hp cayo-k-na ‘beat on firewood to break away burned portion’; Hp cayo(κ) ‘pop out of the pod with an audible sound’; Hp cayo-min-ta ‘be beating on in order to break pods open’. These may or may not have another morpheme prefixed; thus, the tie to *yoki / *yuki is tenuous at best. And if ca- is a prefix ‘by hand’, then the Hp form might better tie into the below. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak]


1932b. *yuui / *yuwi ‘shake, be weak, dizzy’: M88-yy25; KH.NUA; KH/MO6-yy25; Ca yuyi ‘quiver (legs, e.g., as when climbing down a steep slope)’ i.e., from weakness; Sr yuyuk ‘be/get dizzy’. Add SP yoi-çı García ‘flutter, shake rapidly’. What of Kw yuyuwe’i ‘faint, v’ as redup of Kw yuyuwe’i ‘be not, absent’? These may relate to *yowa/i above, and perhaps to *-yu/yyu(k) further above. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Cah, CrC]

1933. *sowa (< *sawa) ‘shake’: Tbr sowá-t ‘raspa’; CN wiwišoa ‘shake or rock s.o. or s.th.’; Tr sawe ‘sacudir’; Wr sawé ‘sacudir’; perhaps Ls soša/i ‘tremble, shake, vi, shake s.th., vt’. Ls generally shows e < *, but if the o assimilated from *sawa, then that would not apply. [Vs] [NUA: Tbr, Trn, Azt; SUA: Tak]


1935. *miyi ‘shake, wriggle’: KH.NUA: Sr miyi(’)kin ‘cause to shimmer’; Cp méyé ‘squirm, wriggle’. 311
1936. *ŋaya ‘move or shake side to side’: Hp ŋayaya-ta ‘be swaying, rocking from side to side’; Hp ŋayayykí ‘start shaking or swaying from side to side, sway from side to side repeatedly’; Ca ŋáya ‘shake head saying ‘no’; Cp ŋaye ‘shake head’; Ls ŋáya ‘be winnowed with a rotary motion, vi, winnow, vt’. They all involve side-to-side motion, Ls adding circular to the side-to-side motion. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1937. *ŋina / *ŋina ‘shake (earth), rumble and vibrate’: Ca ŋéneney / ŋénen / ŋénn ‘make a noise with vibration (thunder, car, etc.)’; Cp ŋéne ‘run (pl subj), vi’. When several deer or elk run (Cp), the earth vibrates and a rumbling noise is made, which semantically fits Ca, and possibly Ls ŋííni ‘be an earthquake’; the first vowel is not entirely consistent, but occasional i/e alternations occur in Cup. On the other hand, Ls ŋóóna ‘moan, hum (of bees)’ and the other two do align with *ŋínv. Ls ŋóra/i ‘run (pl subj) fits Cp ŋéne ‘run (pl subj), vi’ in both vowel and semantics, but has a different second consonant. Could borrowing and rotary diffusions in the Tak areas be involved? CNum (TSh nutaan ‘run, pl’; WSh nutaan/nuraan ‘run, pl’; Cm nuraakitï ‘come running’) fits semantically, but is dependent on ŋ > n and u/ï interchangeability. [NUA: Tak]

1939. *tōni ‘shake off’: Stubbs2003-2: SP ton’ni / ton’ni ‘shake off’; SP wï-tton’ni / ton’ni ‘shake out’; SP na-ŋwï-tton’ni ‘shake oneself’; NP nïïtïnoi ‘shake water off (of dog)’; WMU qwh tô’ni / hwi tô’ni ‘shake, vt’; Kw tü’ni ‘sift, winnow, shake, strain’; Kw wü-tü’ni ‘shake out (wï- ‘with instrument)’; Kw na-wütti’ni ‘shake oneself, shake off’. NP nïïtïnoi ‘shake water off (of dog)’ is an assimilation or leveling of what the SNum languages show as *na-wï-tô’ni. [NUA: WNum, SNum]

1943. *ŋïLïL / *ŋïrïr ‘move, move over’: Sr ŋïrïq ‘move, move over’; Ktn ŋïrïh-ïk ‘edge down over (difficult concept to generalize)’. As the Ktn term differs from Ktn ŋïlïlk ‘catch up with, overtake, vt’ at ‘circle’, this set is separated from *ŋVLiL at ‘circle’, though a relationship is not impossible. [NUA: Tak]

NB, note the consonant harmony in Tr čákora / čákara / čárora ‘temblando, estremeciendo’. NB, for Tak *ŋïL see dizzy.

1945. *ŋïLïL / *ŋïrïr ‘move, move over’: Sr ŋïrïq ‘move, move over’; Ktn ŋïrïh-ïk ‘edge down over (difficult concept to generalize)’. As the Ktn term differs from Ktn ŋïlïlk ‘catch up with, overtake, vt’ at ‘circle’, this set is separated from *ŋVLiL at ‘circle’, though a relationship is not impossible. [NUA: Tak]
1946. *hamana* 'shy': BH *hamV 'be ashamed'; M88-ha11 'be ashamed'; KH/M06-ha11: Cp hamáne 'be ashamed'; Cp hamáni-h 'shame'; Cp hamáni-š 'embarrassed'; Ca hamán 'get stage fright, avoid s.o. being ashamed'; Ls hamoo-ya 'be ashamed, shy'; Ls hamó-humu-š 'shameful'; Hp hamana 'shy'. All cognates agree with a 2nd vowel of a, except Ls. Did Ls change a > i due to stress patterns before the change i > o? [NUA: Tak, Hp]

1947a. WNum *nasukuai* 'shame': Mn nasukwai-ki 'shame, vt'; Mn nasukwai-pi 'genitalia'; NP nasugwaidï 'shamed someone'.

1947b. CNum *nasuwi / nasu'ai* 'shame': TSh nasuwi(n) 'shame'; Cm nasu'aitï 'ashamed'.

1948. *ca'i (a)shame(d)*: TO sai eD 'bec ashamed'; TO sai eDa 'shamefully'; Nv saiírrha 'avergonzar'.

[SUA: Tep]

1949. *tiwa* 'shy, embarrassed': Yq tiwe 'tener vergüenza'; Yq tiura 'vérgüenza'; AYq tiwe'era 'shy'; AYq tisu embarrassing'; AYq tisuive 'embarrass easily'; My tiwe 'tiene vergüenza'; My au tiuttá 'se avergüenza'; Eu tive 'tener vergüenza'; Tr riwerá 'apenarse, avergonzarse'; Cr tí'itebi'ira 'avergonzar'; Cr rutébi'irah 'está timido'. Jane Hill (p.c.) provides us a wonderful addition in Ktn ciu' 'be ashamed, vi, be ashamed of, vt', as the pr

'SSU: Trn

1950. *tukkwi* '(a)shame(d)': Kw tukiw-ye 'to be ashamed, bashful'; SP tukkwi 'shame'; WMU čuukkwi'ye-y 'be shy, bashful'; CU tukwi̤-ay 'be bashful, shy, modest, vi'. [NUA: SNum]

1951. *pinawa* 'ashamed': CL.Azt4 *pinaawa 'ashamed'; KH/M06-pi23: CN piinaawa; Pl iišpiinaawa. [SUA: Azt]

Sharp: see edge

Shave: see scrape

Shawl: see blanket, cloth(ing)

Sheep, mountain: see bighorn

Shell: see skin

SHIELD; ADARGA, ESCUDO, ADARGARSE

1952. *(V)nami* 'shield': Eu 'inámira 'adarga'; Eu 'ináma 'adargarse'; Nv m'huúnamida 'adargarse'.

[SUA: Tep, Opn]

NB, for *kapaL* 'shield' (TO kawaD 'war shield'; Nv kava'arha; Nv kavar'ha 'make a shield'), see 'flat'.

NB. *tiw of Hp tīwota 'shield for combat' (tiw-vota 'enemy-coiled plaque') and CN tewewel-li 'shield' are a consideration, to which Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ch tīw 'macana' (Merriam Ch noun list).

Shine: see sun, lightning, or fire

Shirt: see cloth, clothing

SHOE, SANDAL; ZAPATO, HUARACHE, CACLE

1953. *tuti* (> *tuci (Hp), > cuci > Tep susV) 'sandsals': B.Tep209 *susuaka 'sandal'; M88-cui18; KH/M06-cui18: TO šušuk; LP šušak; NT šūsaka; ST suusak. Add Nv suska 'zapatos' and Eu cui-de-m 'ponerse (zapatos)' (Lionnet 1986, 79). *tuti > Hp tooci 'shoe, mocasin' (Hp o < *u; NUA -c- < -t-, not *-c-); and Eu cui- is the intermediate form, palatalizing both *t > c before high Vs; in time for *c > Tep s: *cuci > Tep susi. Tep Vs often anticipate/assimilate to the next V, in this case to the following -ka, so *tuti > *cuci > *susi-ka > susa-ka. What of Sh tattoo 'put on shoes'? [Tep s < c < t] [SUA: Tep, Opn; NUA: Hp]

1954. *kaka* 'sandal': Sapir; M67-372 *kaka 'shoes'; L.Son70 *kaka 'huaraches'; M88-ka4 'sandal, shoe'; KH/M06-ka4: Tbr kaka-yí-t; Wr kaká; Tr aká; Wc kaaká; Wc kakahi (Sapir); Cr ka'a'ke; CN kak-tli.

[SUA: Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

1955. *wa(C)ci(kaC)* 'shoe': BH.Cup *wá...at 'shoe'; M88-wa22; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wa22: Cp -waq’a 'shoe (poss’d)'; Ca waqa-t 'shoes'; Ls wáčxa-t 'shoe'; Sr waqaa-t; Tb wacat- 'awac 'walk'; Tb waacišt walking aid (cane,
shoe, etc.); Tb wahcipi29 `moccasin`; Tb(M) wacibi29-t `big shoe`; Tb(M) wacibi29-l `good walker`. Most of the Tak languages (Sr, Ca, Cp) show s.th. near *waka, but Ls has an extra consonant in Ls wátxa-t. Curiously the Tb words show the consonant c/c, but no velar (k/q) afterwards, so that tie is not certain, but likely, if an original cluster existed, as Tb -hc- and Ls -cx suggest. [-CC-] [NUA: Tak, Tb]

1956. *wok `shoe`: My wok `put on shoes, v`; Tb wong29-o-l `shoe`. Might this tie to *wok `foot, footprint` at `track`? [This and `pine` and `domestic animal` all 3 have Tb n with SUA k. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Cah]

1957. *paNea `shoe`: TSh pancan `shoe, moccasin`; Kw paca-vi `shoe`; Ch puacimuii `moccasin`; SP pača `moccasin`; WMU pač `shoe, sandal, n`; WMU pahecc29-n `my shoe`; CU paca `shoe`. [*-NC- > -CC-] [NUA: Num]

1958. *moko `footwear`: Mn móço `shoe`; Mn moqoya `wear shoes`; NP sogo-moko `moccasin`. [NUA: Num]

1959. *tapa(C)ta `footwear`: Mn tapa `short`; PYp teev `handmade shoes`; Eu `óbat `zapato` is lacking too much for inclusion. [Most NUA intervocalic -c- < -*-ct-] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Opn?]

1960. *piñi `footwear`: Yq bera`a boočam `huaraches`; Tr pereara `sole of shoe`. [NUA: Cah, Trn]

1961. *poca `zapatos`: Yq boočam `zapatos`; My boočam `zapatos, calzado`; AYq voočam `shoes`. [NUA: Cah]

Shoot: see throw
Shore: see edge

SHORT; CORTO

1962. *kapu `short`: B.Tep97 *kavurika `short`; M88-ka29 `short`; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ka29: Ls kapá-kpa-ma-l `short, low`; Gb kamúho `cortito, muy chapo`; Sr qapöčka `short one`; Sr qapöčkin `shorten`; Sr qapöčki `be short`; TO skawuD `closely, short`; TO kawuDk `short-legged`; NT kavuli29ka `short`; ST kavuulik `short'. [liquid in Tep] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

1963a. *toppo / *topi `short`: M67-374 *tup `short`; I.Num217 *tohpV `short`; M88-tu18; KH/M06-tu18: Mn toppo-; TSh toppocc29(c); Kw tove’e-pii-çi; SP tovi, toppi `short'. Let’s add Ch tovi-ci `short`. [NUA: Num]

1963b. *tappu `short`: Mn tapocici’iní `very short in height or length`; Tb tabu’upil `short`; and what of Ls lapá-lpa29 `stunted, stubby`?

1963c. *tippV `short`: PYp tepelika `flat, short, level`; Nv típirhika `corta`; Ca típi `be short (clothes)”; CN tepitoom `s.th. small”; CN tepicin `s.th. small’. Diminutives like CN cin may render some of these as `height-small’. [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Azt]

1964. *capu `short`: Hp caava `short, adj.`; Hp caavo `at/for a short distance, adv, for a short interval of time`; TO šopol `short`; TO šopolim `for a short time`. In contrast to Hp and TO špol, others like TO čaabo `short-legged` and Sr čaapu `short` may be borrowed from Mexican Spanish chao (KH.NUA). But in light of the two Hp forms and TO’s expected sound correspondences with a vowel assimilation, those at least look older than the European presence in America. An online dictionary says chao is colloquial Mexican—borrowed from UA? [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

1965. *muCto / *muCti `short`: Ca múti `be short`; Cp múteqe `to make short”; perhaps AYq molonko `short, of person’. [-Ct- > -t- > -l- in AYq, because -l- > -l- in Cah; *-CC-?] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

NB, for *(a)ku(t/L)i `small, short`, see little.

SHOULDER; HOMBRO, ESCÁPULA

1966. *kotapa / *kotapo `shoulder`: B.Tep112 *kotava/o `shoulder`; M88-ko29 `shoulder`; KH/M06-ko29: TO kotwa / kotíwa; LP koto; PYp kotev `shoulder blade`; NT kotáva/kotááva `hombro`; NT kotbo `hombro`; ST kotvo. Not without their difficulties, other words raise interesting possibilities. If the initial ‘a- could be isolated, the -kol- of CN a’kol-li `shoulder’ is noteworthy. As for Tepiman *kotava/o `shoulder’, note that the latter portion
of Tr na-’tapu ‘push with the shoulder’ is quite identical to the Tep forms (*kotapo and ’tapu) if we consider that a reduction of the first syllable caused k > ’ in a cluster (*na-kotapo > *na-ktapu > na’tapu), for na- as the reflexive prefix (exert self, shoulder oneself to s.th.) is a likely morpheme break. Likewise, Mn têbê ’shoulder’ may be related if first syllable was lost. SP antînwiaavu ’shoulder’ might align with Mn if nasalization before both consonants (-nt- and -Nb- > -ny-) were explainable. M88 includes Tak *qoła (Cp qily’a ‘nape of neck’; Ls qlâ-t ‘neck’) both here at ko29 ’shoulder’ and at ku9 *kuta ‘neck’. While either may be possible, perhaps the presence or lack of a 3rd syllable -pV may divide them. So I put Tak *koLa at neck. [reductions; Azt I]

[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

1967a. *síka ‘shoulder, arm, armpit’: M67-7 *seka ‘arm’; M67-375 *seka ‘shoulder’; L.Son249 *síka ‘brazo, mano’; M88-sí1 ‘armpit’; KH.NUA; KH/M06- sí1 ‘armpit’: Hp sîyakci / sîyakci / sîyka ‘shoulder’; Cp sêk’a ‘shoulder (poss’d n.’); Ca sék’a ‘shoulder (poss’d)’; Ca sek-ya ‘on the shoulder’; Ls sóoka ‘shoulder’; Gb sok(in) ‘shoulder’; Sr sîka ‘shoulder, upper arm’; Ktn sîka-c ‘shoulder blade’; TO hîk ’armpit’; Tbr sakâ-r ’haká-r sobaco, agalla de pez’; Yq sèeka ’armpit’; My sèeka-m ’armpit’; Wr sék’a ‘mano, brazo’; Tr sêk’a ‘mano, brazo’; Cr ’iskwa’-a ‘armpit’; ’iskwe’-i ‘ri- ’armpit’; CN siyaka-tl / siyaka-tl ’armpit’. Add Tb sîki-t ‘upper arm, arm’; PYp he’ekado ’armpit’; NT ikâaddi ’arm, hand’.  

1967b. *síkUN / *sîkkuN (Num) ’shoulder’: Mn sikkûpî ’shoulder blade’; Sh sikkûppû ’shoulder blade’. TSh sikkum-pí ’shoulder blade’; Kw sìgu-pí ’shoulder meat (of an animal)’; WMU sëkumpû ’shoulder’; CU sìku-pí ’scapula bone’. So we have Num *síkUN-p’i ’shoulder’; Tak *sík(’a) ’shoulder’; Hp; Tb; Tep *hîka ’arm, armpit’; TrC *síka ’armpit’ in Cah, ’arm, hand’ in Tr/Wr; Cr ’armpit’ and CN sî(y)aka-tl ’armpit’—a reflex in every branch and in most languages. What of *cîkora in Eu macikora ’shoulder blade’? Note also the clear nasal in WM, TSh, and Sh. [CN iya; Gb o] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Cah, Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]

1968. *co’a(C) ’shoulder’: Cm co’apí ’shoulder’; Sh coa-ppîh ’shoulder’; TSh coopippû ’shoulder’; Kw coo-é’i ’shoulder’; SP coavî ’shoulder’; CU côô-vî ’shoulder’, CU côô-vî-n ’my shoulder’. Though Miller includes NP soapi in M88-sî1 above, it appears to belong here. [NUA: Num]

1969. *mato ’shoulder, n; carry on the shoulder (or in hand), v’: Eu matôt ’shoulder’; Eu mató’o, matói (preterit), matûste (future) ’carry on the shoulder’; Nv matoriga ‘carry in the hand or on the shoulders’; Wr mato-hi ’the flat part of the shoulder (always with locative -ci)’; Tr mato-čí ’shoulder’; Tr matôgara / matóara ’shoulder, shoulder strap/pad’; Wr mahtóká ’shoulder, the corner of’; NT mootôgî ’carry in the arms or on the shoulder’; momôótî ’hold in the arms’; Tr mutú-ma ’have, take, carry in the hand or in the arms’. NT and Tr are a vowel assimilation of the above: *mato > moto. And what about Tr morú ’carry, arrive with a load’? [SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn; NUA: Tak]

NB, for *mama ’bear, carry on shoulders, govern’ (CL.Azt25 *maama ’carry’), see ’carry’.

SHOUT, YELL, SCOLD, GROWL; GRITAR, REÑIR, REGAÑAR; see also cry, bark, angry

1970. *sa(na) ’shout’: B.Tep63a *hiinakai ’he shouts’; 63b *hiinaki ’to shout’; 63c *hihina ’he shouted’; L.Son242 *sina ’gritar’; M88-si4 ’shout, yell’; KH/M06- si4: TO hînka, hiinad ’yell to’; LP hiînka / hihina; NT iiñaki/îñakai; ST hiñka(a), hiñak (pres.) ’shout’; Wr siná; Tr siná. Add PYp hîhînîa ’shout’. Might these tie to *sinawa ‘coyote at coyote’? [SUA: Tep, Trn]

1971. *caNí ’shout’: L.Son27 *cana ’gritar’; M88-ca12; KH/M06-ca12: Op cane; Eu câna; Wr ca-ní, ce-má ’decir’; Tr ca-ní ’decir’. Wr ca-ní may cast doubt on the -nV syllable being part of the proto-stem, though the nasal in Ls cânyi ’scold, talk back to s.o.’ and SUA n in Op, Eu, Tr lean otherwise. Some of the TrC forms align with Tb and *cayaw below. [SUA: Opn, Trn; NUA: Tak]

1972. *cayaw ’shout’: Tb caayauau; My čaaye / čâye ‘gritar’; Yq čâel/čáí, Tbr caí-ca- ‘gritar’. What of Hp(S) caalawi ’announce, call out’ as some y from liquids? [*L > y?] [SUA: Cah, Tbr; NUA: Tb, Hp]


1974. *kwuy / *kwyo ’growl, scold’: Stubbs 1995-7: Eu búde/nevu’dė/nepu’dė ’growl, bark’; My buyee ’snarl, growl, bark, scold’; Hp qó’oqóya ’scold, vt’; Hp(S) qóoqóya ’he’s scolding’; Tr oyo ’become angry’; TO koDog
‘rumble, gurgle’; and perhaps kwi of CN kwikinaka ‘make a low sound in the throat; for a dog, to growl; for a person, to hum’ (CN i < *u). Most medial consonants show *-y- except CN and TO, whose D usually corresponds to PUA *-L- vs. TO d < *y. [bil; u/o] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opm]

1975a. *wa’aN-ki ‘shout’: NP wa’a-qi ‘shout’; Ch wa’a-ni ‘shout’; SP wa’a-ñi ‘shout’;
1975b. *wa’a(N)-ti-ki ‘whoop’: SP wa’a-ci-ki ‘whoop’ with which CU wëcigay ‘holler, shout, whoop’ and WMU wa’a-čigi / wa’a-čëγú’-y / wa’a-čiyi / wa’a-čiyé ‘shout, yell, vi’ are cognate. [NUA: Num]


1977. *tokowa ‘crow, (animals) to make their respective noise’: Whorf1937b: Hp tōq- ‘shout, cry out, scream, yell, chirp, make a characteristic call’; CN tooκaa-tl ‘name’; CN tooκaa-yoo-tiia ‘name, vt, call s.o. by name’. Add My reko-te ‘crow, cackle’; Tr tōkowa- ‘cackle, crow’; At neck (throat, voice) *toL, KH/M06-to29 lists TO toDk ‘snore, groan, growl’; Tr roróka / roróγara ‘trachea’; CN toloaa ‘swallow’; and Hp tōna(at) ‘(his) throat, voice, larynx’; might some be old/reworked reduplications of *toka > *toLoka? [NUA:Hp; SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt]

NB, for Cah *bwana ‘cry, howl’ and Tep *banai ‘coyote’, see coyote.

NB, for *wohi ‘shout’ (Mn wohi ‘holler, yell’; NP wohipïnni ‘shout’), a semantic extension of *wohi

SICK, ILL; ENFERMO

1978. *tïwøya / *tïoy / *tïmo ‘sick(ness)’: M88-ti21: KH/M06- ti2: NP tïoiyai ‘sickness in body’; Sh tïwoi ‘sickness, disease’; Sh(M) támmai ‘be sick’; Hp tïiyä ‘sickness’. We can add Cm tï’o-í ‘long illness, invalid’; Cm tï’o-ki-åti ‘be ill for a long time’; Sh(C) tï’ímmai/ tïmaim ‘be sick’. Cm tï’oi, NP tïoiyai and Sh tïwoi are certainly cognate, and Hp is likely, only losing a round vowel (tï_ya) in differen

Shrimp: see crab and shell

Shrink: see dry

Sibling: see brother or sister

SICK, ILL; ENFERMO

1979a. *kaCma > *kamma ‘hurt’: Mn ca-qama ‘hurt (physically)’; Mn qama ‘be sick, hurt’;

NB, for *mukki ‘sick, smitten, die’ see ‘die’.

NB, for *ko’o, see ‘pain’.

SIDE; LADO


*ma(a)na(a)ŋka(h) ‘far’; M88-na16 ‘side’; KH/M06-na16: Mn qwena’a ‘far (from)’; NP nakkwai ‘beside’; Sh maanankwah ‘far’; Cm na-nakwi ‘far’; SP naŋka ‘’ direction’; Cp -ŋa ‘at, in’; Ca ŋa ‘location’; Gb ŋa ‘locative suffix’; Hp -ŋaqw ‘(away) from, inside of’; Ca màŋax ‘on/by the side of, near’; CN naawak ‘near to, adjacent to’; Pl nakastan ‘beside, along side of’. The Azt forms are less secure. Other forms are listable, but questions remain (as with many postpositional kinds of words).

1980b. *-ŋako / *-ŋakwV ‘from’: Ca -ŋa-x ‘from’ (Seiler 1977, 201-2); Ls -ŋax ‘from, because’; Cp -ŋax ‘from, because’; Hp -ŋaqw, -ŋaqò (pausal) ‘from, away from, inside of’. [initial ŋ] [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num]
1981. *sap / *sip ‘side’: Sr a-hiivia ‘side, edge, shore; by, beside’; Eu sépivai ‘de un lado’; TO hiwü ‘groin, side of the body’; Sh sapai-pin ‘side’. TO fits well since TO h < *s and w < *p. [V variety]
[NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Opn, Tep]

NB, for *yaka ‘side, ridge’ see at *yaka ‘nose’.
NB, for *caka ‘(at) side, near’, see ‘near’.

Silent: see peace
Sinew: see tendon

SING, SONG, MUSIC, DRUM; CANTAR, CANTO, MÚSICA, TAMBOUR

1982. *kwika ‘sing’: M67-379 *kwika; L.Son123 *kwika ‘cantar’; CL.Azt147/315 *kwika; M88-kwi3 ‘sing’;
KH/M06-kwi3: Eu bika ‘sing, v’; Eu bikát ‘song, n’; Tbr kwik ‘sing, v’; Wr wigatá ‘sing, v’;
Wr wiká ‘song, n’; Tr wikará ‘sing, v’; My bwiika; Yq bwiika; Wc kwika; Cr ŋiřika-ri ‘song, n’; CN
kwika ‘sing’; PL takwiika ‘sing’. This is in most SUA languages, but hardly found in NUA, except perhaps the
-woxe of Cp pána ‘song, sing enemy songs’. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah, CrC, Azt]

L.Son 170 *nawahi ‘cantar’; Miller has B.Tep180 at both M88-na22 and M88-ni4 ‘song’; KH/M06- ni4:
TO ne e ‘sing’; PY p ne em ‘sing’, nei (perfect); NT niyi / niidgaiy ‘song’; NT niyi ‘sing’; ST nii; Cr tyi-i-nye e
‘he’s dancing’. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

Tr enawa ‘cantar’; NT anáí. Only Tr shows a 2nd -wa syllable, but neither Tbr nor NT. [V’s]
[SUA: Tep, Tbr, Trn, CrC]

‘sing, play instrument, make music’; NP hubia ‘sing’; TSh hupia ‘song’; Sh hupia ‘song’; Kw hupiya-vi ‘song’;
SP uvia/uvì ‘song’; SP uvi-ttu ‘sing a song, song-make, v’; CU ‘uvvi-ya-vi ‘song’. Note the -y- acts as
underlying consonant causing gemination in SP, but not when followed by a vowel. [NUA: Num]

M88-po12 ‘play drum’; KH/M06-po12,18: Miller has CN teponas-tli ‘drum’ in two sets and he compares the
two sets (M88-po12 ‘play drum’; M88-po18 play music) as possibly related, which they seem to be: So we combine
the forms of both sets: My póona ‘play instrument’; Yq poona; Tbr hi-pona; CN teponas-tli ‘log drum’; PL tepuunas
‘native drum, made from hollowed log’; SP pon’naa ‘drum, v’. Add CU papů ni ‘drum’ and Wc tépu ‘drum’. The
glottal stop in SNum languages suggests s.th. clustered with medial -n-. [cluster; nasals]
[NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

1987. *ca ‘sing, song’: M88-ca17; KH.NUA; LS čáatu-š ‘magical song sung by sorcerers’; Gb ce’é-iy ‘song’;
Gb ce’e ‘sing’; ce’én ‘singer’; Sr čała ‘song’; Sr čaa ‘song’; Sr čaatu ‘to sing’; Ktn caču ‘sing ceremonially
(in healing)’. [NUA: Tak]

1988. *howa ‘sing, talk, whisper’: M88-ha16; KH/M06-ha16: Cp háwine ‘sing’; Ca háway ‘talk’. While the
two sets might be recycled loans, Sr hawahawahkan ‘whisper’ rightly belongs at *sawa ‘whisper’ at ‘say’ where Ken
Hill has it. [NUA: Tak]


1991. *tuwu ‘drum, music at festival’: Nv tugurha ‘drum, n&v’; Wr tuguri / tugúri / tuwu ‘festival, songs and
singing of the festival’; Tr tutuguri / futubúri ‘dance the tutuguri, v’. Wr tuwu shows the expected
correspondence with Tep(Nv) g, and the alternate Tr forms suggest both a bilabial and again g under Tep influence.
Also agreeing for three segments is Kw tuwahani ‘celebrate a festival, v’ and Kw tuwahani-pí ‘festival, n’. It is not necessarily probable, but possible that Num *wittuhuwa ‘pot, drum’ at ‘pot’ may share this morpheme.

[SU: Tep, Trn; NUA: Num]

1992. *kupahi ‘drum’: My kúbahe; Yq kubahi; AYq kuvaha. And Yq kukupa ‘eco’? [SU: Cah]

NB, for "yu’ ‘play musical instrument’, see ‘cry’.
NB, for *wittu… ‘drum’, see ‘pot’.

SINK, SUBMERGE, DIP, SOAK; HUNDIR, SUMIR, SUMERGIR, EMPAPAR

1993. *cuppá ‘sink, submerge’: Mn cupá ‘sink into’; NP copá (< *cuppá) ‘sink, v’; NP patacopá (< *pattacoppá) ‘sink (island or boat), v’; Ca čúpi ‘dip in water, vi’; Ca čúpi-n ‘dip, soak, dye, vt’; Ca čúpaq ‘stick in (mud, body)’; and perhaps the -śp in TO hia-śp ‘bury, submerge’ (TO hia ‘sand dune’). [u/o] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

1994. *sum ‘sink’: AYq suume ‘sink, vi’; Eu sumé ‘evaporate, shrink, sink’; PYp huumu ‘go down, sink in’.

[SU: Tep, Opn, Cah]

1995. *(ho)-top ‘sink’: L.Son23 *oto ‘atascarse’; M88-’o21; KH/M06-’o21: Eu hotóe- ‘haber lodo, atascar’; Op oto-wa; Tr tobu ‘encajar, hundir’; Tr toba ‘hundirse en el lodo’. Let’s add Yq rópte ‘sumirse en el agua’; My rópte ‘se sumergió’; AYq ropte ‘sink, submerge, drown’. We might ask: if *t > c preceding a high vowel, is *cuppa above related? [SU: Trn, Cah, Opn]

1996a. *yuppi > Tep *dupi(n) ‘sink’: TO juupin ‘soak in, sink’; NV dupinu ‘hundirse en el agua’; NT dupi ‘go into/under’; ST dupinia ‘stick in mud’.

1996b. *yu’pa/ (TrC) ‘bend down, go down, move in up and down motion’: Yq yúpala ‘agachando’; Tr o’pi ‘bajar, perder altura’; Tr o’pira ‘balancearse de arriba abajo’; Tr o’pina ‘bajar, inclinar, doblegar’. Tr loses initial consonants readily and Tr o does sometimes correspond to *u, and a final V alternation of -aí is common in UA. This TrC *yu’pa ‘go down’ and Tep dupi (< *yuppi) could quite feasibly tie to Tak *yu’pa ‘get dark, black, fire go out’ at ‘black’ in the sun’s ‘going down’. [SU: Cah, Trn, Tep]


Hp o < *u, and for Ls, *muCta > Ls mota. Usually *-t > Ls -l-, but here Ls -t- and Hp -r-. So what kind of cluster would yield Ls t and Hp r? [t/L] [NUA: Hp, Takt]


1999. *(i)Ctak / *iCcaki ‘dip up (liquid)’: M88-’i11; KH/NUA; KH/M06-’i11: Sr ičaai ‘dip, dip up (liquid)’; Ls ičaki ‘dip up (a liquid), vi’; Ls ičak ‘dip up (a liquid)’. Ken Hill adds Ktn ic ‘ladle, v’ and TO iis(id) ‘get a containerful of obj for s.o., vi’. We are likely dealing with a medial cluster (or possibly -t-), since NUA is shy of medial *-c-. Though an initial V could easily disappear when taking on a prefix, we shall separate these for now from *pa-caka/i (possibly < **pa-icaka/i) at wash. [*-t- > -c- > Tep -s-] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

SISTER; HERMANA

2000. *(ko’)tí / *(ko’cii (AMR) ‘older sister’: M67-492a *ko, 492b *koci/*kuci ‘older sister’; BH.Cup*qe ... s ‘sister, elder’; KH/NUA; L.Son89 *koci ‘hermana mayor’; M88-kol3 ‘older sister’; KH/NUA; AMR 1993a *ko’-cii; KH/M06-ko13 *ko’cii (AMR): Tb kuudzin ‘next older sister’; Hp qóóqa; Cp qísma; Ca qís-ka; Ls qee’is; Gb óxó’; Sr -qöör (pl: -qööham); Ktn khoa-č (poss: -kor, pl: koham); Eu kócwa; Wr ko’čf; Tr go’čf; My ákoro; Tbr kóc; Wc kurri; Cr ne-kuu-cíi. What do we do with Ls kúli-may ‘nephew, niece, i.e., older sister’s child’? Manaster-Ramer includes this set in his set “A Northern UA sound law: *-c- > -y-...” His inclusion of the glottal stop in this reconstruction is important—*ko’-cii—which prevented the *-c- lenition that he establishes. Langacker (1970) uses this set in “The Vowels of Proto-Uto-Aztecan” to demonstrate that the change from *k > q preceded the change of *o to high front vowels in the Cupan languages. Note also that many Tak languages show -s- (Cp, Ca, Ktn, Sr pl) as an early development from whatever the medial cluster was, and -cC- > -sC- is common in Cup. The -r/-l- in Sr, My, and Wc may suggest original *-t- or -’t- rather than -’c-. [2nd C; *o > Tb u] [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Trn, Tbr, Cah, Opn, CrC]
2001a. *pini ‘younger sister’: L.Son198 *pini ‘hermana menor’; M88-pi27 ‘younger sister’; KH/M06-pi27: NP bbini’i ‘younger person than speaker’; TSh pinja ‘youngest sibling’; SP pinna ‘last, youngest’; Eu binwa/vinwa; Op viniwa; Wr piní; Tr biní; Eu vínwa; Miller also lists three Tak forms found below and has some forms double listed in M88-pi5 and M88-pi27, namely, Mn and the Azt forms CN pi’-ti ‘older sister’ and HN pih ‘elder sister’; while the relationship is possible, let’s list those lacking medial n together (Tak and Azt forms) under a different letter (c), but same number.


2001c. *pi’ / *piC ‘sister’: Sapir; KH.NUA; M88-pi27; KH/M06-pi27: Ls piit ‘younger sister’; Gb pi’ic; Sr piit ‘younger sister’; CN pi’-ti ‘older sister’; HN pih ‘elder sister’. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn, Azt]

2002. *wakati ‘younger sister’: M67-493 *wa ‘younger sister’; M88-wa21 ‘younger sister’; KH/M06-wa21: NP wannka’a ‘younger brother’; Tr wayé / wa’i ‘younger sister (of a man)’; My waáyi; Yq wai; Cr ne-’iwa-ra-a ‘my relative/younger sister’. In M67-493, Wc ‘iwa’ ‘cousin’ is also included. I would add Ca -wáxal ‘younger sister’ and Cp -wáxal’i ‘younger sister’ (Tak *wakaLi), as closer to the proto-type. Because Ca and Cp are possessed kin terms, the final l is not an absolutive suffix, which ending actually fits well with TrC. In light of NP’s velar, and the liquids and y’s in the other languages, a reduction from a proto-type more like the Cupan forms may explain all:

*wakati  >  wakal’i (Ca, Cp)
> *wal’i > *wa’yí/wayí (My, AYq, Tr)
> *walka > *wanka... (NP) [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC]

2003. *nam(m)i(C) ‘younger sister’: TSh nammi(cci); Sh nammi; Cm nami’; Kw nami’i; SP nami-(n)i ‘younger sister’; CU nami-ci. [NUA: CNnum and SNnum]

2004. *tïpko / *tïpku ‘relative, perhaps sisterly relationship’: Stubbs2003-3: Wt tepó ‘sister-in-law’; Op tepó ‘aunt, mother’s older sister’; Hp *tïpko ‘younger sibling or person in one’s clan or phratry of the same generation’; Hp(S) *tïpko’at ‘younger sibling or parallel cousin’. Hp o < *u and occasionally Tr/Wr o is also from *u, so those two might agree with *tïpku, though the two TrC languages would suggest *o, for which we would expect Hp o; nevertheless, the three are likely related, and if not, at least the two TrC forms are. It is notable that a cluster is apparent in Hp, which cluster the TrC languages reduced. [cluster] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Opn, Trn]

NB, for Numic *pa’ti ‘older sister’, see *pa’tí ‘brother, older’.

NB, for Tepiman *sisí ‘older sibling’, see ‘brother, older’.

SIT, DWELL, RESIDE; SERTARSE, RESIDIR, HABITAR, MORAR

2005a. *yasa / *yas ‘sit’: VVH76 *yaNSa ‘to sit’; M67-380 *ya/*yas ‘sit’; L.Son351 *yasa/*yas-i ‘sentarse’; B.Tep17 *da ‘be seated’; M88-ya1; AMR *yasí; KH/M06-ya1: Tb yandzít- ‘ayanc; Hp yeese ‘sit, reside, v.i. imp/pf. pl’; Hp yeesiwa ‘reside, be in place, vi. imp. pl’; TO dáh ‘be sitting, be, be present, reside’; TO dáh ‘sit’; Op dasa ‘sit, sg.’; Wr yasa/yasi ‘estar sentado’; Tr yasá / asá / asi ‘sentarse, estar sentado’; My yeesa; Tb yeesa; Nua yeesa ‘estar sentado’; Wc yáá ‘sentarse’; Cr na-’a-ve’e-yeihša ‘I’m going to get on (the horse)’. Add Eu dasé ‘sentarse’; Wc yááše ‘empezar a estar sentado’; Tr ayása ‘dwell, inhabit temporarily’. Note *ns- > -nc- in Tb.

2005b. *yasipa ‘sit’: in this connection, note how many languages have a form pointing to a third syllable with *pa or *yasipa and *yasipu: Hp(V) yésiva ‘(they’re) sitting down, camping, pl’; TO(M) dahiva ‘sit, camp’; Tr asiba ‘sentarse’ (asib- ‘incoative’); Wr yasipá ‘sentarse’ (as iba ‘incoative’); interesting is ST daiyu with an entirely different vowel. Cf. TO(M) dahipv ‘sit/alight repeatedly, vi. repet; pl: da(h)aiyuv and TO(M) dahiuvm ‘wish to sit down; pl: da(h)daiyuvm’. The *-pa morpheme is often ascribed to a fossilized inchoative suffix, but not all such languages have it (though it could be fossilized then lost), but more problematic is how many show -pu, not -pa. [*ns- > -nc-] [NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah, CrC]

2006. *katü / *katî ‘sit’: Sapir; VVH42 *ka tü; M67-381a *katë; 381b *ka; BH.Cup qá ‘be’; L.Son76 *katî ‘sentarse’; M88-ka3 ‘sit’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ka3: Mn qati; NP katî (< *katî) ‘sit, sg’; Shkatî; Shkatî; Kw karî ‘sit, stay, live, be alive’; SP karî; CU karî; Tb halît-’ahal ‘sit, live’; Cp qá ‘be there, there it is’; Ca qá’l ‘be, exist
(of animates)’; \(\text{La} \ gá\ ‘live, be’; \text{Gb} \ xá/xaró ‘estar’; \text{Sr} \ qát/qáti ‘be, stay, dwell, live, remain, be alive, have to, be possible’; \text{TO} \ ká\ ‘lie lifeless, exist over an area’; \text{Op} \ kátte; \text{Op} \ karu ‘impf verb suffix: was verb-ing’; \text{Eu} \ kácí; \text{Wr} \ ká\ ‘estar sentado, sg.’; \text{My} \ káttek ‘estar sentado’; \text{Yq} \ ká\ ‘estar, estar sentado, vivir, estar en’; \text{Wc} \ ká\ ‘estar sentado, vivir’; \text{Sap} \ includes \text{Cr} \ ka ‘be, sit’; \text{Pima} \ kácí ‘lay’; and \text{CN} \ kaa (pret: ka’, katki, pl. kate) ‘be’. Scratch Miller’s inclusion of \text{CN} \ kawa ‘leave, abandon, relinquish’ (\text{CL.Azt160} \ kawa ‘stay, leave’), but we can add \text{Cm} \ kawk ‘sit, live’ and \text{Ch} \ ká\ ‘sit, sg.’. [*t > l in Tb, \text{Tak}, not \text{Sr}, > r in \text{Num}; \text{Gb} \ o]  
[\text{NUA: \text{Num}, \text{Hp}, \text{Tb}, \text{Tak}; \text{SUA: \text{Tpn}, \text{Tbr}}]

2007a. *\text{ho}\ldots ‘sit, pl.’: \text{L.Son61} *\text{ho}/\text{ho-i} ‘sentarse, pl.’; \text{M88-ho6} ‘sentarse’; \text{KH/M06-ho6}: \text{Op} \ hoí; \text{Eu} \ hó ‘estar’; \text{Yq} \ hó\-te-k ‘se sentó’; \text{Yq} \ hoyé’em ‘sientense!’; \text{My} \ hoó-te; \text{My} \ hóoye ‘sentarse, pl’; \text{Wr} \ oheé-na ‘vivir’; \text{Tr} \ hó ‘vivir’. Note also \text{Yq ho’a} ‘house’, \text{Yq} \ ho’ak ‘tener casa, vivir’; \text{AYq} \ hoa ‘place them, put pl obj’s’; \text{My} \ hoíya ‘poner’.

2007b. *\text{howa} ‘sit, live’: \text{My} \ howa ‘habitación’; \text{Ca} \ hiw ‘sit upright, stay, live’; \text{Ca} \ i < *o; therefore, both fit *howa.  
[\text{NUA: \text{Tak}; \text{SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn}]

2008. *\text{moci} ‘put/be seated, pl. obj’ is moved to 1745 at ‘put’

2009. *\text{yukkwi} ‘sit, pl.’: \text{L.Num297} *yëkwi/*yëkwi (dur.) sit, pl.; \text{M88-yi8}; \text{KH/M06-yi8}: \text{Mn} \ yëkwi ‘sit, pl. subj, vi’; \text{NP} \ yëkwi ‘sit, pl’; \text{TSh} \ yëkwi ‘sit, pl’; \text{Sh} \ yëkwi ‘sit, pl’; \text{Cm} \ yëkwi ‘sit down, pl’; \text{Kw} \ yugwi ‘live, sit, stay, pl’; \text{SP} \ yëkwi ‘sit, pl’; \text{Ch} \ yiyi ‘sit, pl’; \text{CU} \ yuuki ‘be sitting, sit’. \text{SN} \ shows u, while \text{CNum} \ and \text{WNNum} \ show i; one could go with the majority, except that the vowel change *u > i is so common in Nu that *yukkwi is a better choice. [*\text{k-w} > -\text{w-in} \text{Ch}]  
[\text{NUA: \text{Num}]

2010. *\text{uLini} ‘dwell’: \text{TO} \ ulinig ‘be dwelling or abiding’; \text{PYp} \ ulinim ‘hold, inhabit, camp’. [*l > o]  
[\text{SUA: \text{Tep}]

2011. *\text{cu} ‘squat’: \text{KH.NUA: \text{Sr} cu’k ‘squat down, vi’; \text{Cp} cu’yaxwe ‘is sitting Indian style’}.  
[\text{NUA: \text{Tak}]

2012. *\text{ŋaki} ‘be or put sitting up, be stuck’: \text{Sr} \ ŋaŋi’lk ‘be perched, sitting up high on s.t.h.’; \text{Cp} ŋąqe ‘be sitting, vi’; \text{Cp} ŋaŋe, -ine ‘carry on the head, vt’; \text{Ca} ŋąqi ‘get stuck’; \text{Ca} ŋąqi-n- ‘put (securing by fastening), tack, vt’; \text{Ktn} ŋaŋ-i’k ‘choke, stop up, vi’; \text{Ktn} ŋaŋk / ŋaŋk ‘choke, stop up, vt’. A semantic split for this verb shows ‘get stuck’ in \text{Ca} \ and \text{Ktn}, while \text{Sr} \ and \text{Cp} \ show ‘sitting up’, even though \text{Ca} \ and \text{Cp} \ are close languages, and \text{Sr} \ and \text{Ktn} \ usually closer to each other than any others.  
[\text{NUA: \text{Tak}]

\text{NB}, for *piČti ‘lie down, spend the night, house/home’ see at ‘lie’.

Six: see under the numbers toward the end

**SKIN, HIDE, PEEL, RIND, SHELL, BARK (of tree);**

**PIEL, PELLEJO, CUERO, CÁSCARA, CONCHA**

2013a. *\text{kwici} / *\text{kwí-i} ‘skin, hide’: \text{L.Son122}: *\text{kwic} ‘piel’; \text{M88-kwi15}; \text{KH/M06-kwi15}: \text{Wr} \ wi’icí / wi’ící; \text{Tr} \ wi’ící ‘piel, cuero’; \text{Tbr} \ kwíci ‘piel’; \text{Tbr} \ kuci-t ‘piel’. Just as \text{Tbr} \ shows two forms, one with *\text{kwiV} > \text{k} \ \text{reduction}, so might \text{Wr} \ \text{wohéí ‘leather’} \text{and wi’ící} \ ‘piel, cuero’ exhibit a similar variation. What of \text{Sr} \ qóc ‘skin, hide’ and others at ‘shell’?  
[\text{SUA: \text{Tpn}, \text{Tbr}]

2013b. *\text{kwítas} ‘skin, leather’: \text{CL.Azt149} *\text{kwítaš ‘skin, leather’}; \text{M88-kwi5} ‘skin, leather’; \text{Stubbs} 1995-18; \text{KH/M06-kwi5}: \text{CN} \ kwetaš-tli ‘leather, cured hide, skin’; \text{P1} \ kwetaš-tli ‘leather’; \text{HN} \ kwetaš-tli ‘leather’. \text{Miller} compares kwi15 above and kwi5 here, which is reasonable, since *i-a / i-a is frequent enough; in the latter, he includes \text{H}p \ kweewa ‘belt’ and queries whether it is cognate. Cf. also \text{SP} \ říŋkciwa’a ‘rabbitskin’. But only the \text{Aztec} \ languages are secure here.  
[\text{SUA: \text{Tpn, \text{Azt}}]

2014. *\text{caawya} / \text{ca-kaawa} ‘skin (animal), v’; \text{Mn} \ caawya/caaqweta ‘remove (clothes), skin (animal), vt’; \text{Mn} \ caa’wa ‘to skin (something, by pulling)’; \text{NP} \ caawoi’di ‘to skin an animal’; \text{TSh} \ cakwayah ‘take off, loosen, skin (an animal)’ sg/dual (pl: \text{TSh} \ cakwayuppai); \text{Sh} \ kwítaš ‘be abraded (of skin or bark)’; \text{Cm} \ píhí cakhwe’yarí ‘skin an animal’; \text{Kw} \ cakwe’ena ‘skin (animal), vt’. Could this relate to \text{Azt} \ kwítas ‘skin, leather’ above?  
[\text{NUA: \text{Num}]

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2015. *koyo ‘shell’: L.Son100 *koyo ‘concha’; M88-ko21 ‘concha’ and ko10; KH/M03-ko10: Eu kodó(k) ‘concha’; Op kodosi ‘ostia’; Yq kodóy; Wr ko’oyó ‘caracol’; My kóyóle ‘cinto de campanitas’; Pl kuyul ‘coyol palm tree’; Tb koyoo-t ‘turtle’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds TSh koyoto-cci / kwyoto-cci ‘mussel, clam, seashell’ and also notes Chumash q’oy ‘olivella’. Miller has here NP kota ‘crayfish’ and NP kotyoţi ‘white shell necklace’. While sharing morphemes is possible, the NP forms might better belong with *koCtV below. [SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn, Azt; NUA: Num]

2016. *koCta ‘bark, shell, money’: M67- 21 *ko ‘bark of tree’; L.Son90 *koci ‘camarón’; M88-ko6, ko10, ko21; Munro.Cup118 *qéč-ci ‘shell’; KH.NUA; KH/M03-ko6, ko10: Ls qéš-la ‘seashell’; Ls qéš-la ka-s ‘skull’; Gb (a)-xoxoc ‘(su) cáscara’; Cp qéč-ly ‘money, silver’; Ca qíc-ily ‘money’ (pl: qíslyam); Sr -qóc ‘hide, bark’; Sr qócqauviam ‘money’; Cr kúcape’e (Cr u < *o) ‘cáscara’. Cr k’uca’a ‘type of tree with useful bark’; Cr ra-ká-kúca’-an ‘he is skinning it’. Ken Hill adds Ktn koco ‘shell (of turtle), peel, skin’. The following three languages devoted this cognate to ‘shrimp (shell)’: *koti ‘shrimp’: L.Son90 *koci ‘camarón’; Wr kohci ‘camarón, canqui’; Tb koci-kal ‘camarón’, and My kóči kápa’ora = baa kóčim ‘camarón’. NUA medial *-c- probably derives from medial *-t- or a cluster, thus making NP kota ‘crayfish’; NP kotyoţi ‘white shell necklace’ perhaps more likely here than at *koyo above, though the 2nd NP form may fit either. The *koyo and *koCtai/i forms have often been combined, which is possible, since some, like the NP forms, could feasibly fit either; but a different medial C and different 2nd V seem reason enough to separate them. On the other hand, My kóyóle (above) and NP kotyoţi, short of a missing -t- in My, offer substantial resemblance, and shells being a trade item may mean that many of these are loan possibilities, as well. Nv koska ‘concha de nácar [mother of pearl, nacre]’ may belong (Nv s < *c; cf. Tb koci-kal ‘camarón’) or is it a loan from CN kooska-tl ‘jewel, ornament, necklace’? [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Cah, Trn, Tbr, CrC]

2017. *po’owa ‘shell’: TSh po’owa(cci) v ‘shell, seashell’; Mn pówa ‘olivella shell’; Sh po’an / poan / pohon ‘skin, bark, thick’; TSh po’a(n/cci) ‘outer protective covering, skin, bark, feathers, shell’. [NUA: Num]

2018. *taCa / *ta’ci ‘bark, shell’: Ca táča-l ‘bark of a tree’; Ls táací ‘bark, shell (as of turtle, nuts)’; perhaps also related are Cp táací ‘hatch’ in the sense of “shelling oneself” and Ca táác ‘lie down on back’ since ‘back’ and ‘bark’ show semantic ties elsewhere (B.Tep105a *komi ‘back, bark of tree’). Tr fá-ci ‘concha’. What of CN tata’-tl ‘sea shell, cora’ or CN teeks-tl ‘shell’ (< taksis’)? If either, then the Tak and Tr forms would be reductions of a longer reconstruction. [reduction; *-c- in NUA < -CC-?] [SUA: Trn, Azt; NUA: Tak]

2019a. *asi’a ‘bark, n’ (SNum): Kw ‘asi’a; Ch ‘asi’a; CU si’aa-vi. [loss of initial vowel in CN]
2019b. *si’a ‘hull, shell, peel, v’; BH.Tak *si’a ‘hull, v’; M88-si6; KH/M03-si6 ‘to shell, hull, v’; Cp si’ay ‘to hull acorns’; Ca si’ay- ‘to peel (fruit, bark of a tree, etc.), vt’; Ls ši’awiš ‘shelled acorns’; NP tasi’wa ‘to crack pinenuts’. [NUA: Num, Tak]

2020. *caLa/i ‘bark, shell’: Cp cála-l ‘bark’; Cp cála ‘husk, shell, vt’; Ca cáli ‘to hatch (eggs as a bunch)’; Ls cáála/i ‘break off pieces from a surface, as bark from a tree, flakes from a rock, vt’; lose shingles in a windstorm (of a house)’. It is possible that these relate to *taCa ‘bark, shell’ (above); if a *ta- prefix were identifiable, the medial -c- in the *taCa forms would not be enigmatic, because it would originally have been initial. It also appears that parallel to the noun form *caLa ‘bark, shell’ is a verb *calí ‘shell, hatch’. Cf. *ciLa ‘hatch, be born’ at ‘bear (offspring), v’. [NUA: Tak]

2021. *sawpV ‘shell’: Ca sáva-l ‘construct, bark, skin, shell’; Ls šawvi-s ‘univalve seashell’. [NUA: Tak]

2022. **li… > Tep **liDa ‘skin’: TO elídag ‘skin of a person or animal, bark of a tree’; TO elköna ‘the process of skinning, a skin, a pelt’; Nv irdaka ‘skin, bark’; NT tliádi ‘cáscara’; NT tilipai ‘limpiar, pelar, skin an animal, v’. [SUA: Tep]

2023. *takasaC ‘tanned skin, leather’: Tb takaša-t ‘tanned skin’; Mn tigá-pi ‘leather’; and Ca láqači-l’ ‘hide’. [i vs. a, Ca initial l] [NUA: Tbr, Num, Tak]
2024. *sowi ‘tan skin, v’; M88-so1 ‘to tan skin’; KH/M06-so1: Wr soiwé ‘sebar’; Tr sowi/sowé ‘enmantecarse, engrasarse’. Miller and Hill do well to suggest that these may tie to UA *suwi ‘hair’, Tepiman *hogi ‘hair’, etc. [SUA: Trn]

2025. *sikwa ‘skin (an animal), v’; KH.NUA: Hp siskwa ‘skin, remove the skin, vt’; Hp siikwan / sihkw-ta ‘be skinnning’; Sr siikw ‘skin, peel, vt’; and perhaps Ls šiwi ‘peel fruit, skin hide from animal’; Tb šiigin ‘skin it’. Ken Hill compares Hp sikwi ‘meat, flesh’ and Hp siskwa ‘to skin’. Note Sr šiikw(a) ‘skin, peel, vt’ vs. Sr šiiv(a) ‘shave’; and Ls šiwi ‘peel, scrape, shave’ vs. Ls šiwi ‘peel fruit, skin hides from animals’. So this *sikwa is a separate stem from *sip’a ‘shave’. [NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb]

2026. *(pí)-hu (> *pí’u ?) ‘skin (an animal), v’; Yq húutta ‘desollar animal, v’; Yq pe’úutta ‘destazar, quitar el cuero de un animal’; My pén’uté ‘está desollando’; My a’apuente ‘le está sacando la piel’; and maybe Eu beúhpua ‘desollar’. [SUA: Cah, Opn]

2027. *tii-píhí ‘hide, skin’: L.Num249 *tii-píhí ‘hide, skin’; M88-tí26; KH/M06-tí26: NP tii-pihí; Cm tiibi; Sh tii-píhí; SP tii-pi’ívi ‘skin (owned), hide’. This is often deemed a compound of ‘deer-hair’ (*tii-píhí). [NUA: Num]

NB, for *suwi and B.Tep *hogi ‘hide’, see hair.
NB, for *pí’wa ‘hair, hide’ (My beewa ‘bark, shell’; NP tiiba bbi’a ‘pinenut shell’, etc), see hair.
NB, for *LoLa ‘shell corn’ see at naked.
NB, for Azt *tapač-tli ‘sea shell, coral’ and used in compounds for ‘liver’, see at ‘liver’.

Skinny: see thin

**SKUNK; ZORRILLO**

| Mn | pohíta | Hp | pōöca; koliciiya-w(i) | Eu | hupát |
| NP | punkidda | Tb | poniwh | Tbr | opá-t |
| TSh | ponniacci | Sr | pōöniwít | Yq | hupa |
| Sh | ponniacci | Ca | tékwel | My | huppa |
| Cm | pisuníí; pohní’aci | Ls | páluku-t; tükms-ma-l | Wr | te’kací; u’llá |
| Kw | pohniya | Cp | tékwel | Tr | paka; pasući |
| Ch | ponía | TO | uupio | upá; siyačí |
| SP | ponnia | Nv | huppa | Cr | ūpí; pl: ūpíte |
| CU | ponií-yí | PYp | uupa; huna’adagi | Wc | ūpíá |
| NT | ūúpái | CN | epa-tl |
| ST | ‘uup |


2029. *hu(N)ku(m) ‘smell’: KH/M06-hu1: NP hunkí ‘odor of skunk’; Sr hukum ‘to smell’; Ktn hokum ‘smell s.th.’ Miller and Hill have these also at hu1 and query whether these are cognate with the above. The initial *huC morpheme certainly would be, but with a differing morpheme attached. As Num ū < *u is often the case, these three may all show the same *-ku(m) morpheme, with NP anticipating the nasalization. [NUA: Tak, Num]
2030. *po(C)ni ‘skunk’ (< *pononi?): M67-382 *poni ‘skunk’; I.Num152 *poni(a) ‘skunk’; Fowler 83; M88-po13 ‘skunk’; KH.NUA: KH/M06-po13: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; SP ponniia ‘skunk’; SP ponni / ponaa ‘to stoop and project one’s buttocks’; CU; Tb; Sr pōōniwī; Ktn poniva-č; CN potooni ‘to stink’ (cognate? Miller queries). Miller’s inclusion of the CN form merits consideration, since vowel syncopation followed by cluster reductions are common in UA. Might CN potooni help explain Hp pōōca, since NUA medial -c- does not correspond to PUA *c, but usually t. [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

2031. *ti(k)... Ca tékwe-1 ‘skunk’; Cp tékw-e-1 ‘skunk’; perhaps Ls túkmiš-ma-1 ‘a small species of skunk’ and Wr te’kaci ‘skunk’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

SKY; CIELO

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In short, UA terms for sky seem to be thus: NUA *tukuN(-pa); for SUA, *tukuN-pa > SUA *tVkpa after V syncopation; some *ti(k)opa survive without V syncopation. SUA *tawa-ka-li ‘sun-house’ in Opn, Cah, Tbr, Wr, but in Azt *ilvi-ka, as well.

2032a. *tukuN-pa ‘sky, up, above’; Sapir; M67-383 *tuku ‘sky’; I.Num229 *tukuN ‘sky’; M88-tu16 ‘sky’; KH.NUA: KH/M06-tu16: Sr tukuhp / *ti(k) ‘sky’ (dat: Sr tukuhpakya- ‘up, above’; abl: Sr tukuhpanu- ‘from above’); Cp tukučí ‘high’; Gb tokúpa; Ls túupa-s ‘sky’; Hp tokpela / *ti(k) ‘sky’; Tb tuguumbla; Mn túgupa ‘above’; NP; TSh; Sh; Kw; Ch; SP; CU; Tb; Cp; Ca; Ls; Sr; Hp. Sapir also lists Gb tuku-pa- ‘sky’. Note Ls túupa-s loss of -ku- syllable, but *p remaining a stop due to a -kp- cluster: *tukupa > *tukpa > *tuupa. Add PYp tuuk ‘uphill’ and Ktn tukuhpač ‘sky’. For the dual semantic in many languages of both ‘iron/knife’ and ‘sky’, see last letter below.

2032b. *tikV(pa) / *tikV(pa) (< *tukuČpa) ‘cutting tool: obsidian, knife, flint, metal’; Kw paha-řika-dí ‘pounded metal’; Cr tehka ‘obsidian’; Tr řikibara ‘knife’; CN tekpa-tl ‘flint’. Note also Ktn toq řiva-t ‘flint, flint tip of arrow’ and Ls tiq-t ‘arrowhead’. Ktn’s vowel could suggest original *u-, with which Kw (*u > í in Num) does not disagree and perhaps *a > CN i, then *i > e-a-a, if some of the others are Aztec loans. This ties here with *sky’. KH.NUA notes the dual meanings in most Tak languages of both ‘iron/knife’ and ‘sky’: Cp tukва ‘aš ‘iron, sky’; Ca tukwaš / tukwiš / tukiš ‘sky’; Ca tukwaš / tukwaš / tukiš ‘iron, knife’; Sr tukuhp ‘sky, iron’; Ktn tukuhpač ‘bead, metal, sky’. Though Yq has another term for ‘sky’, Yq tepohltim ‘fiero, hierro’ is cognate (tепо- < *tikpo < *tukuNpa); it retains one meaning and is similar to the TrC reduction *tkpa-wa above. While above reflexes for ‘sky’ are in all 8 branches, those with ‘flint, knife, metal’ meanings remain in 5, with loan or dialect recycling. For example, note CN tekpa-tl ‘flint’, but CN ilwi-ka-tl ‘sky’ not.

2032c. *tikapa-ua ‘sky, above, sky, on’: B.Tep246 *ťi(ă)gí ‘sky, cloud’: Tr ře’pá; Tr ře’páni ‘sky, up’; Eu téva(n) / téwa ‘(por) arriba’; Cr tahapú ‘sky, up’; MN tópoeu (with Hp l < *w), but this is not tied to TrC *tawa-ka-li below. [k > h in Cr; -kp- > -p-] a, b, or c in [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp; Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]


2032e. *ta’i(ku) ‘above, upriver’: PYp teik ‘upriver, above’; WC tėki ‘allá arriba’ (We í < *u). These first two look much like *ti(k)o above, though the next look more like *ta’i: TO ta’i ‘back, up, to the north’ and Nv tay ‘cuesta arriba’ vs. Nv tittí ‘subir’. Differing PYp forms (PYp teik ‘upriver, above’ vs. PYp tuuk ‘uphill’) may suggest
separation from *tuku or a recycled loan. Wc tékí ‘allá arriba’ and Wc ti- ‘up’ (below) show a distinction; see latter at ‘up’.

2033. *tawa-kalī (> tīwī-ka) ‘sky, sun-house’: M67-384 *te sky; BH.Cup *tu ... ac ‘sky’; L.Son303 *tūwīka ‘cicelo’; M88-t3 sky; KH/M06-t3: note Tbr *tawa-kalī-t; CN īwī-ka-tl; TrC *tīwīka < *tvwV-kalī ‘sun-house or sky’; Eu; Wr tewéká ‘sky, world’; Tr rewe-gá-či ‘cicelo’; My; Cr hű-tye ‘in the sky’; HN ’elwikā-tl.

[SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, Azt]

SLEEP; DORMIR

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<td>koos/košia; kooščuda ‘put to s’</td>
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</table>

2034a. *ippūi / *ippū/Ci / *piwi ‘sleep’: Sapir; M67-385 *pei ‘sleep’; I.Num24 *ihip'ī ‘sleep’; M88-πi6; KH/M06-πi6: TSh, Sh, Cm, Kw, Ch, SP, CU, Hp. Hp piwi and Numic *ih)pūi are quite identical. Sapir also ties Cr hipí ‘sich niedernieder zum schlafen’ (often i for ī, thus perhaps Cr hīpí) with Num, as both exhibit *-pp-, though I cannot find that Cr form in my sources. But the other CrC language has Wc hūpu ‘dormir habitualmente’ which likely belongs as well, though the vowels do not match perfectly (normally, Wc u < *o, and Wc ī < *u). However, considering Kw *tupuha-gā-dī ‘sleeper, sleepyhead’, which shows geminated *-pp- like Cr and all the Num languages, they also all have round vowels in common, if we consider that Num ī is often from *u, i.e., all have u or ī. [w’] [NUA: CNum, SNM, Hp; SUA: CrC]

2034b. *i'wi ‘sleep’: Mn; NP. Some forms in *(i')pi'i above contain an extra initial syllable that ends with a geminating feature ("), perhaps a consonant (cluster) that doubles the -pp-, could WNum *i'wi be cognate (perhaps i'pi or iCpi) with -w- being a different result of that possible cluster? [*-pp- > -'w- in WNum] [NUA: WNum]

2035. *koci ‘sleep’: Sapir; VVH34 *košci/*košco to sleep; B.Tep107b *kooskí ‘to sleep’; 110a *kooso ‘he sleeps’, *koi ‘he slept’, 109 *koosigai ‘sleep’, and 119 *ko'osimu ‘be sleepy’; M67-129b *koci; L.Son91 *koco/*koci; M88-ko2; KH/M06-ko2 *koci/C: TSh okko'ih ‘sleep, pl’; Sh; Kw; CU; Tb; Nv; NT; ST; Eu; Tbr; Wr; Tr; Yq; My; Cr; Wc; CN. As Sapir ties TO koi and SP ko'oi ‘go to sleep, pl’ the SUA *koci forms may be another stem. Miller lists some of the above Numic forms *(o)-ko'i meaning both ‘sleep’ and ‘die’ with the SUA forms *koci, and that is possible, as Manaster-Ramer also includes this set in his article “A Northern Ua sound law: *-c- > *-y-', and we do see glottal stop rather than y at times in Num, as in *pusi ‘eye’ > Num pu'i. On the other hand, the fact that we have so many SUA *koci forms distinguished from SUA *ko'ya points to separate stems. [*-c- > -y/-'] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

2036. *kum ‘sleep’: KH/M06-ku15: Sr kuuman ‘sleep, go to sleep’; Ktn kum ‘sleep’.

Slim: see thin

SLIP(PERY), SLIDE, SLICK; RESBALARSE, DESLIZARSE

In M88-si10, Miller has a collection of initial *si... terms which may be related, but better divided thus:

2037a. *sikoh(h)‘i ‘slide, slip’; I.Num190 *sik(o) ‘slide’; M88-si10 ‘to slide’; KH/M06-si10: Mn siqo ‘slide, vt’; Mn siqóghohi ‘slide, vi’; NP sikoi; Sh sikhui’ / sikoi ‘slide, vi’; Kw sigo’i.

2037b. *taC-sikohi ‘foot-slip’: Mn tasiqohi ‘slide, vi’; TSh taccikohi ‘slide on one’s feet’. Add WMU tahssǐkwa ‘slide, vi’. The cluster of *-Cs- produced another instance of the c/s dichotomy in Mn tasiqohi and TSh taccikohi.
2037c. *siro / *siLo ‘slide, slip’; Hp sirokna ‘slide it’; SP si’yu ‘slide’; SP šiu ‘slip’; CU si’yú-kway ‘slide’; Tb šida’yat~išiday ‘to slide, slip’; Tb šido’dot~išidoot ‘to slither’. Miller includes PI šipinawai ‘to slide, slip’ but for Azt, CN šolooa ‘slip, v.t.; v.refl.’ is a better candidate, showing the medial liquid with possible assimilation of the first vowel to the second; *siLo... > solo... In fact, CN š rather than s may suggest the same in light of CN’s other V assimilations in sand, etc. We might also add Ktn sirhr(-)ik ‘play slide, play slide down a hill on a hide’ or Ktn (haru’)haru’y ‘slip’ and Tr sisro- ‘patines, deslizaderas’ or Tr sarame ‘resbaloso’; Cr watasir’ipeka ‘se resbala’ (whose middle portion corresponds to *-siru’-u’). This morpheme may be in *stiLPV (Hp sırpa ‘slip suddenly’; TO heeluwa ‘slide’; TO heeluwsik ‘slide’; PI šipinawai ‘to slide, slip’) at smooth.

2037d. *si’ta: Tr sita ‘deslizante, que se desliza, que resbala’; Wr s’i’ta ‘be smooth, slippery’ (fut: si’taré-ma); Tb šida’yat~išiday ‘to slide, slip’; Ktn šitk ‘bald’.

2037e. *cita / *cita ‘slippery’: AYq čitahko ‘slippery, smooth’; My čita(h)ko ‘smooth, slippery’.

2037f. *cito ‘slide, slip’: Eu čítovake ‘deslizarse’; My čítohte ‘se resbala’; Eu citóke ‘smooth, iron, vt’; Sr tay+) ‘slippery’; Sr tayal(kin) ‘smooth, iron, vt’; Sr tayulk ‘slide, vi’. With these, consider Cp yúlulé ‘slide slowly, v’. Cp yúlulé may suggest a *ta-prefix? Two vowelings e still’; TO heelwua ‘slide’; TO heelwuisk ‘slide’; Pl šiipinawai ‘to slide, slip’) at smooth. Note the variant 2nd V a/o in Cah forms. [s/c, t/l] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

2038. *(ta)yuL ‘slide, be smooth, slippery’: M88-ta48; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ta48: Cp táyu’ule ‘to slide out like a snake’; Ca táyu ‘become smooth, slippery’; Ca tátyal ‘iron, vt’; Sr tayuli ‘slippery’; Sr tayal(kin) ‘smooth, iron, vt’; Sr tayulk ‘slide, vi’. With these, consider Cp yúlulé ‘slide slowly, v’. Cp yúlulé may suggest a *ta-prefix? Two vowelings exist: *(ta)yul and *(ta)yal. [NUA: Tak]

2039. *kaLu ‘slide’: Eu karú-da’a ‘resbalar’; Ca xáyuš / xáyuqi ‘slide down, v’ and probably Us harúanari ‘liso’.[r > y; k > h?]? [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, CrC]


Slope: see canyon

SLOW(LY); DESPACIO, LENTO, LENTAMENTE  2041. *taCtí / *taCe ‘slow(ly)’: Mn widaacici ‘slowly’; TSh tataacci(ceci) ‘a little bit, slowly’; Kw ‘ataasiniay ‘slightly, slowly’; [c/s, redupl] [NUA: Num]

2042a. *upita ‘slow’; NP obida ‘slow’; Sh(M) upitaan ‘slow(ly)’; Sh(C) upittaan ‘slow’; Sh(C) upitta! ‘wait!’; Tb(M) *tíiibí; Tb(V) *tíiibí ‘slow(ly)’.

2042b. *pít / *piL ‘subside, slowly, softly’: Hp pevel-ti ‘abate, subside, diminish in intensity’; Ca pélyan ‘slowly, softly’; and perhaps Tb(M) *tíiibí ‘slow(ly)’; Tb(V) *tíiibí ‘slow(ly)’? [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

2043. *a / *a-ka ‘quietly, slowly, stealthily, secretly’: Kw ‘aa / ‘aaga ‘quietly, stealthily, secretly’; Ch ‘aa ‘quietly, still’; Ch ‘aaga ‘stealthily, secretly’; SP a- ‘quietly, gradually’ (no initial glottal); WMU aaga- ‘quietly, slowly, gently, adv (usually combined)’; CU ‘aa- ‘gradually, calmly, softly’; CU ‘aaga ‘secretly, stealthily’. [NUA: Num]

NB, *sarip ‘slowly’: CU sariv ‘slowly’; WMU sariv ‘slowly’.

Small: see little
Smart: see know
Smear: see touch

SMELL, STINK, ODOR; OLER, OLER MAL, HEDER, OLOR, HEDOR; see also skunk  2044a. *hu’u (=> *huha) ‘stink, break wind’; Sapir; L.Son65 *huha/*hu-hi ‘heder’; CL.Azt161 *ihyaak; CL.Azt210 *hu’a ‘break wind’; KH.NUA; M88-hu2 ‘to fart, break wind’; KH/M06-hu2: Kw huu; Kw huuppi ‘fart, n’; SP uu; CU ‘uu’i; Tb ‘uumat-’uun; Cp hú; Ca hú ‘il ‘anything that smells’; Gb hóho (vowel is wrong); Sr huu ‘TO uiwi; Eu húha ‘heder, empocar el aire’; Wr uhá-ni, uhí-ma; Tr uhá / uhi / uhú; My húhua; CN (i)yaya ‘to stink’; PI ihyal ‘fart’. Sapir ties the TO form above with SP, and thus unites Num and Tep. Note also NP hunki ‘odor of skunk’ and Sr hukum ‘to smell’ which are at ‘skunk’ also, with *hupa ‘stink, skunk’.

2044b. *u’u ‘break wind’: Sapir; M88-’u3 ‘fart’; I.Num17 *u(*’u); KH/M06 astutely combines ‘u3 and hu2:
**SMOKE; HUMO, HUMEAR, AHUMARSE, FUMAR**

| Mn | v: kuhida; kuhita'i | Hp | kwićinjw; pokso 'smoke hole' | Eu | moráwa; bici |
| NP | v: pahmo;'i; tonui | Tb | 'uu'i;'t>-'uu'u'iša 'it is smoking' | Tbr | ku-picí-t |
| tonui 'smoke come out of house, v' | Sr | mohaa't; v: mōō' | Yq | bwičia; |
| aggwidi 'smoke a hide, vt' | Sh | mi'-at | My | bwičí |
| TSH | kukkanwi'-ppih/ppi | Ca | mţi;at | Wr | moréwa; ye'ni-ná; |
| Sh | kukkanwi-ppih | LS | kúúmi-t | Tr | mo*ří-ma/mo*ro-mea; |
| CM | kwiipi | Cu | hůůš; 'smoke tobacco' | Wc | kíčí; yená 'fumár' |
| Kw | ko'otoko; kwihi | Cp | mť-at; v: hůůš | SP | kwuño(ya) 'foggy' |
| Ch | kwihi-p; v: ko’á-tiķa | TO | kuubs; v: jeejena; kummun | CU | i'potok-tlipi'&mist'; |
| SP | kwiit | Nv | kupudaga; v: kupsa | NT | pook-tli; |
| WMU kwiit-(ťi) (<*kwiit'-ke-ťi) | PYP | kuubisí; vt: kuubá; | ST | vi: poočiwa; |
| wůůkari | smoke tobacco: deenim; si'a 's&uck; huubis | | | vi: (tlapočuuaa | |
| CU | kwiit-ści; siqXá-pi | NT | kuubusi; diiini 'to smoke' | CN | i'potok-tli'&mist'; |
| ST | kuubisi/kuubs; | | | pook-tli; | |
| | dii'nia'; present: dīn 'fumar' | | | vi: poočiwa; | |

2048. *yi'na* 'smoke tobacco, smoke by sucking': Sapir; B.Tep34 *diiini-i 'to smoke'; M67-394 *yena 'smoke tobacco'; L.Son357 *yi'na 'fumár'; M88-yii3 'smoke tobacco'; kHz/m66-3ii3: Yq yena 'to smoke cigar, etc'; My yena; TO jii; UP diii; LP diii; NT diii; ST diin; Wr ye'ni; Cr ra-yáahna 'he is smoking'; We yena 'fumarár'. To these, add Eu déina 'chupar tabaco' and Sapir's inclusion of Simeon's entry: CN ye-ti 'humo odorífero, perfume, bad proposal, though *u is frequent. [initial h/']

2049a. *kwitta/i / kuhita 'smoke': Sapir; VVH35 *kwišči 'smoke'; M67-392abc *kwi/kuhi, *kwici, *kuci 'smoke'; I.Num83 *kwiith/kuith 'smoke'; L.Son121 *kwiich 'homo'; M88-kiw10 'smoke'; kHz/m66-kwi10: Mn ku"'kuhi" 'smoke'; Mn kuhida 'smoke out, vt'; Mn kuhita'i 'be smokey, vi'; NP kwitta; TSH kukkan 'smoke, v'; TSH kukkanwi 'smoke, n'; Sh (kuk)kiwiih 'smoke'; Kw kiwi 'be smoky'; SP kwiit; CU kiwii-vi; Hp kwicici(qw); My bwičia 'está humeando'; My bwičí 'hizo humo'. Add Yq bwičía 'smoke, n'; Eu bicí 'smoke, n'; Cr kíčí 'smoke, dust'; Wc kíči 'smoke'. The Corachol forms are cognate since CrC kíči <*kuci <*kwiti.
Manaster-Ramer (1992b) astutely proposes that *kwici ‘smoke’ (<**kwit-) may involve an original t, on the Hopi evidence: Hp kwiti-an-ta ‘purify with (juniper) smoke, fumigate’; Hp kwiti- ‘smoke, n’ (combining form of Hp kwicinw ‘smoke, n’) in contrast to *kwici for most other UA languages; supporting that is also the NP evidence: NP kwitta ‘smoke’ and NP kwidaba ‘smolder’ and the Mn forms. So both NP and Hp lend credence to Manaster-Ramer’s suggestion that we may be dealing with medial *t instead of *c. In light of final a/i vowel alternation in many UA verbs, the Hp and NP forms (*kwit-) and some of the Tep forms below (*ku-bisía/i) are noteworthy.

2049b. *ku-kwita/> *ku-kiwci ‘smoke, dust’: B.Tep125 *kuubusi ‘smoke, dust’; TO kuub(s); UP kuubsí; LP kuubsí; Nv kupsa ‘humear’; PYp kuubisi ‘smoke, n’; PYp kuuba smoke, vt’; NT kuubúśí; ST kuubsí. Miller lists B.Tep125 in both M88-kwi10 and M88-kui17. Might Tep formerly be *kuubisi, the middle vowel assimilating to the first (i > u), thus, the latter Tep element (-bisi) fitting Hp kwici and Cahitan wici, and all others pointing to UA *kwici ‘smoke’? Furthermore, only NT shows the vowel a, all other Tep forms show different vowels, usually a more forward high vowel, either i, ï, PYp a, or no vowel. The first element of the compound *ku-’bisi is probably *kut ‘fire’. Manaster-Ramer includes forms of these two sets in his article “A Northern UA sound law: *-c- > -y-,” wherein he states that all NUA forms lost PUA *-c- and that the Hp c is from a later palatalization of another consonant t. Cf. also Tb tugubiś-n ‘his dirt’; Tb tugubiš- (it) ‘it is dirty’. Could CN poočewa ‘get smoky, smoke s.th.’ be a loan from TrC or Tep? [*t > c > Tep s; phonology]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, CrC]

2050. *mola/i ‘smoke, v’: BH.Cup *mi; M67-393 ‘smoke, n’; L.Son149 moro, mor-i ‘humear’; M88-mi2 ‘smoke’ and M88-mo8; KH.NUA; KH/M06-mo8: Cp ma’t; Ca ma’t-at; LS méy ‘make medicinal steam or smoke by putting herbs on heat’; Sr móō’ ‘be smoky’; Sr móø’aat ‘smoke, n’; Eu moró- ‘humear’; Wr molo / mori ‘hacer humo’; Wr morewa ‘humo’; Tr mori/muri ‘humo’. Ken Hill adds Ktn maahkì ‘be smoky, v’; Ktn muah/maua’t / mwat ‘smoke, haze’; Cr rakismwát’e ‘he is making it give off smoke’. Add CN molooni ‘waft, rise and drift in air currents’; Pl mulunu ‘fly or blow away’; Mor árwaa ‘humo’. M88 offers PI mimilaka ‘for the fire to burn’; PI mumuluca ‘to smoke (as a fire trying to burn)’ as well. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]


2052. *kummu(C) ‘smoke (meat)’: TO kummun ‘smoke (meat), vt’; Tr kumu ‘smoke (meat), vt’; ST kumura’ ‘fumigar (con humo), vt’; Nv kumurha ‘hacer humo para incensar’; Ls küümi-t ‘smoke, n’; Ls kumi-kimš ‘smokey-colored’. [SUA: Tep, Trn; NUA: Tak]

SMOOTH: LISO, TERSO, PLANO; see also *slippery or ‘flat’

2053. *sí/CpV / *sí(L)pàC ‘smooth’: Sh sîppa’ ‘become smooth’; Cm sî(i)hpetí ‘level, even, flattened’; CU sîpáni ‘be flat’; Hp sipinhí ‘soft, tender, pliable, smooth’; if the unknown C was a liquid, absorbed in Num, then the following show *síLpV: Hp sírpa ‘slip suddenly’; TO heulwaa ‘slide’; TO heulwúsk ‘slide’; perhaps PI siipinawai to slide, slip’. Or PYp hepekí ‘flat, adj; lowlands, n’. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Tep]

2054. *yapa ‘smooth’: B.Tep13 *daapaka ‘smooth’; M88-ya15 ‘smooth’; KH/M06-ya15: TO daapk ‘be smooth, slippery, naked, bare’; UP daapkkì; LP daapak; NT daapaka; ST dyapaka. Add PYp daapa ‘smooth, slip’ and Nv sidapka ‘liso’. Miller includes CN yamaania ‘to soften’; CN yamaanki ‘s.th. soft, delicate’; PI yamaanki-k ‘soft, bland, mushy’, but beyond Azt initial *ya..., an m:p correspondence is not yet established; Ca yáwan ‘make smooth, vt’ is as likely, since p:w dichotomies are more frequent than p:m. [SUA: Tep]

2055. *pahay ‘smooth’: CU páy ‘be smooth’ (vs. CU páy ‘call, invite’); TO wa’ad-k ‘be naked, be smooth’; SP pâN ‘smooth’. A decent match since TO w < *p, TO *- < *h, and TO d < *y, yet see also *paCVnka ‘below’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

2056a. *pıcka / *pıka ‘smooth, bald’: Kw pika ‘smooth’; Kw pika-roci ‘bald-headed’ (toci ‘head’); Ch pikága ‘smooth’, TSh appinjöyoi ‘be bald-headed’. For *roci/rusi ‘head’ in Kw and Tr, see *toci/tusi ‘head’. For the latter part of TSh appinjöyo’i, see *nyuu at naked. Nv tịviki ‘muy liso, como bruñido’ may fit here or may be a dialect variant of LP(EF) dæk ‘liso’ and all the other Tep forms of Tep *dakap (<*yapak) ‘smooth, naked’. Could Nv sivopigi ‘moho ‘bald’ represent an intervocalic voicing of *-pik-? Or could a prefix *ya- in Tep and a vowel change unite the Num and Tep stems (pika/paka)?
**2056b.** *paNa / *paCVNka* ‘smooth’: other SNum forms share much with the above, but different vowelings: SP paun-ŋqa - ‘be smooth’; WMU paŋqqa-y / paŋqqa-y / paŋq-a-y ‘be slippery, smooth and shiny (like marble)’; CU paŋqay ‘be smooth, slippery’. These may tie to *pahay above with a -ka suffix. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

NB, for *cita/*si’ta (My, AYq, Wr), see ‘slippery).
NB, for Ca táyul, and Sr tayulu’ slippery, etc., see slippery)

**SNAIL; CARACOL**

**2057.** *walaka* ‘snail’: CN wilaka ‘caracol de monte’; Tr warákoara ‘caracol’; Ls muvilaqa ‘snail’;
Wr alagaloci ‘snail’; Wr nalageloci ‘snail’; Tr narakuri ‘snail’. These are another example of NUA liquids (Ls) corresponding to SUA liquids, though Ls and Wr engage prefixes that eliminated initial w-.

These also present another example of vowel transposition relative to consonant positions:
Wr alagaloci
Tr narakuri
[V transposition; SUA L = NUA L] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn, Azt]

NB, Cr si’ipu’-u-te (pl) ‘caracol(es)’ of SUA and Ktn hu’-č ‘star, landsnail’ of NUA seem built on *si’po ‘star’ or *si’po < *sipo’o/*sipu’u? (Ktn has both meanings and the Cr fits well several SUA words for ‘star’, though Cr sú’ura’abe-te (pl) ‘star’ is a different word. So Cr si’ipu’ ‘snail’ may be a loan from another UA language, though it fits star, as a cognate, better than Cr’s own word for star does.

**SNAKE, RATTLESNAKE; CULEBRA, SERPIENTE, VÍBORA:** see also lizard

**2058.** *koNwa / *koLwa* ‘snake’; *tíkoNwa* ‘rattlesnake, rock-snake’; Sapir; M67-395 *ko/*kowa ‘snake’: I.Num 219 *toko(h)wa check snake, rattler; L.Son88 *ko 'serpiente'; B.Tep116 *ko’oi ‘snake’; Kaufman 1981 *konwa; Fowler83; M88-ko12 ‘snake, rattlesnake’; KH/M06-ko12: many forms appear to contain the prefixes *pa- ‘water’ and/or *tí (> *to) ‘rock’, as Sapir and Miller have suggested: Mn toqoqwá ‘snake’; Mn patgówá ‘watersnake’; Mn togóqa ‘rattlesnake’; NP toqoggwá ‘rattlesnake’; TSh koko ‘gopher snake’; TSh pa-suku/tokowa ‘water snake’; Sh tokoa ‘snake’; Sh kokon ‘bull snake, blow snake’; Sh pasinkokon ‘water snake’; Kw toko ‘rattlesnake’; Kw koko ‘gopher snake’; SP tojao-vi ‘rattlesnake’; CU tojaa-ii ‘rattlesnake’; Nv ko’o; PYp ko’o; NT kó/kóyí; ST ko’; Eu vakoce ‘culebra’; Yq bákoct; My baakoct; Wr kuwu’a ‘snake sp.’; Tbr koó-t; Wc kúú; Cr ku’uku’u ‘snakes’; Cr kuku (Sapir); CN kooa-tli ‘snake, serpent, worm, twin’; PI kuua-t ‘snake’. I agree with Munro’s (1973) inclusion of Ls qiqex-la ‘ring snake’ (with reduplication), to which we can add Cp qeñqi-j ‘king snake’ (Ls loan?) and Munro (1973) shows *w as one source for Ls η and for other Tak languages as well. Joe Campbell (1976) marshals evidence for underlying η or *konwa, to which SP tojao- with nasal anticipation is consistent, and which Kaufman (1981) reconstructs with a nasal *konwa. Yet Tep shows no sign of g (< *w), only glottal stops and w, much like the *L > ‘ in a cluster, then separated as in *wiLwiLu > *wiLwiLu ‘big’ and *koLkoLi > *ko’okoLi ‘sick’. So a cluster *Lw- > -Nw-, and liquid nasalized in NUA, and *Lw- > ‘w- (ko’owi) glottalized then separated in Tep may be the case. Is Tep -ogo or -Vgo- frequent medially? [*w > kw in WNum, > η in Tak, but *w > ’ or w in Tep; w/kw, N/w, Tep o’o(wi), /w]

[NUA: Num; Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

**2059.** *sayaw < *saya-wa* ‘rattlesnake’; L.Son235 *saya ‘vibora de cascabel’; M88-sa19 ‘rattlesnake’; KH/M06-sa19: Wr sa’yawé; Tr sayawí; Op sada-k0, Tbr koót hanyá-ham lit. ‘snake-rattle-haver’; NP sawiwiwíni / sawiwiwíni ‘to rattle (of rattlesnake)’. Luis Barragan adds PYc hadac ‘rattlesnake’. Add We saýe ‘rattlesnake’ and Eu saducu ‘rattlesnake’. And Eu sadu... fits Wr/Tr *sayawí with syncope then w > u: *sayawi > *sayw > *sayu (Eu d < *y). Yq saa’ákame ‘vibora sorda’ may belong, if liquid > y. In light of Tbr hanyá-t ‘sonaja [rattle]’, these may all derive from *saya-wa ‘rattle-haver/possessor’ from the *-wa ‘possessive suffix. [l/r > y]

[NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Tbr, Opn, CrC]

**2060.** *síwi ‘rattlesnake’; M88-si13: BH.Cup *savat ‘rattlesnake’; Fowler83; Munro.Cup108; KH.NUA; KH/M06-si13: Cp séwet; Ca séwet; Ls sóowut; Gb šoowot ‘black diamond rattlesnake’; Sr híñ ‘rattlesnake’; Ktn hín. But Tb símint ‘snake’? Hp cíi’a ‘rattlesnake’ cognate? Miller queries. If -aya- > -i-, these may tie to *sayawa above.

[*w > m? or η, Tak V’s] [NUA: Tak]
Miller includes L.Son243 *sino ‘culebra’ and Wr sinói, Tr si-nó-wi-i/si-n-i ‘serpiente’ in the *siwî set above. But I separate the *samînï vs. *sinawi forms below.

**2061. *samînï ‘snake’:** while M88-si13 includes these above, enough is different from the others for a set, and Sr, Tb, and Nv make a decent trio: perhaps *samînï ‘snake’: Tb šimîn-t ‘snake’; Nv samunu ‘to rattle’ (u often = i); Sr krijšt ‘rattlesnake’; Ktn krijšt ‘rattlesnake’. In spite of c/s disagreement (fairly common in UA), the length of the Tb and Nv alignment is hard to ignore. [c/s]  [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep]

**2062. *sinawi ‘snake’:** L.Son243 *sino ‘culebra’; Tbr sinawe ‘reptile’; Tbr hîsinawe-rat ‘gila monster’; Wr sinói ‘snake’; Wr wetésinoi ‘kind of small snake’; Tr sinowi ‘snake’; Tr ŕisínoa ‘a black poisonous serpent’; maybe Cm kwasinaboo ‘snake’ and the -sin Sh pasin-nuyua ‘water snake’ (western dialect)’ (cf. Sh nuyua ‘crawl (as snake)’) and Sh pasin-kokon ‘water snake’. If *pi- is a prefix, then Nv vinoi would belong since *s > Tep h would leave h hardly durable: *vihnoi > vinoi. Ktn šunišuni’ ‘snake motion, like a snake, adv’ may belong, or maybe not. [SUA: Trn, Tbr Tep; NUA: Num]

**2063. *taNoLowa ‘snake sp.:** Tr ŕenórowa ‘víbora chirrionera’; ST tanooly ošia ‘coralillo (víbora)’. If the ST term is a compound employing ST tanooly ‘day’, then is the Tr term a loan?  [SUA: Tep, Trn]

**2064. *paka(‘w)a ‘red racer snake, ceremonial clown’:** BH.Cup *paxá’ ‘racer snake’; M88-pa45; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa45: Cp pexá’a ‘red racer snake’; Ca paxá’ ‘ceremonial cook or clown’; Ls paxá’ ‘red racer snake’; Gb paxá’ ‘payaso, polices en la religion’; Sr paaxaa’ ‘ceremonial cook or clown’. Add to these TO jewakag/jewekag ‘king snake’.  [ k > x; w/’; unstressed V rise in Cp]  [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

**2065. *siktaput ‘red? snake’ (cf. sïta ‘red’):** Eu setávuc ‘culebra azotadora [whip snake]’; AYq siktavut ‘red racer’; and probably Ktn tapoč ‘corral snake’ though loss of an initial syllable or lack of the prefixed morpheme is its lot. We would expect Tep h < *s, so Nv sitkara ‘rattlesnake’ may be a loan from TrC.  [SUA: Opn, Cah; NUA: Tak]

**2066. *tahu ‘snake sp.:** KH.NUA: Sr taahuţ ‘red racer snake’; Gb tahor/taxor ‘snake sp, perhaps gopher snake’. To Hill’s pair we can add Hp taaho ‘striped whipsnake’; Ktn tahuč ‘snake sp. (gopher snake?)’; and maybe Tb tuha-t ‘water snake’ with vowel metathesis.  [NUA: Hp, Tak, Tb]

**2067. *nïkwîw ‘large legendary snake’:** TO nïïbig ‘lengendary monstrous snake’; PYp neebeg ‘large mythical snake’.  [SUA: Tep]

**2068. *pama ‘snake’:** TO wamaD ‘any non-poisonous snake’; Tr bamagásuri ‘vibora venenosa’.  [SUA: Tep, Trn]

**2069a. *suku ‘snake sp.:** TSh pa-suku ‘water snake’; Mn pasúgu ‘water snake’; Tb pišuugat ‘red racer snake’; Yq sikkuča’a(ra) ‘coralillo’; AYq sikkuča’a ‘coral snake’.

**2069b. *sïkî ‘lizard’:** Ch sïgïpici ‘lizard’; WMU sügî’nagöi-či / sügî’nawö-či / sügî’nawö-či / sügî’nawö-či ‘lizard, n’; CU sügî’nagöi-či ‘lizard’; and Kw cišipi-zi ‘lizard’ (*s > c). a vs. b are divided semantically (snake vs. lizard) as *u > i in Num often.  [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Cah]

**2070. *tannaCk ‘sidewinder, rattlesnake sp.:** Kw tanaki-bïzi ‘sidewinder’; Ch(L) tannakaici ‘side winder, snake species’; SP tannaqqi ‘rattlesnake’ (myth word for toágina-vi). Ch(L) tends to vowel preservation across a consonant, so final -i(-) is reconstructed.  [NUA: SNum]

NB, for *nuyu’a ‘snake, crawl like a snake’, see at crawl.

**SNEEZE; ESTORNUDAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>hakwïsa‘i</th>
<th>Hp</th>
<th>ahsì / āsì; niíh</th>
<th>Eu</th>
<th>hačiswa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>akwïsãa‘i; sidi’hu</td>
<td>Tb</td>
<td>(‘a)hatišah</td>
<td>Tbr</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSh</td>
<td>ukkwïsai</td>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>ha’tïsk</td>
<td>AYq</td>
<td>ha’ačïhte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>akkwïshsï</td>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>hà’tïs</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>he’ëčïhte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cm</td>
<td>aakkwïshsï; ca’akusiti</td>
<td>Ls</td>
<td>hatïsi(a)</td>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>a’ťüsa-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>ha’wiśi</td>
<td>Cp</td>
<td>atïse</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>atïs(ø,wa); atïsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>haw’isí</td>
<td>TO</td>
<td>bisčk</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>he’ecïupua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>a’ňwïśi</td>
<td>Nv</td>
<td>vïstuk</td>
<td>Wc</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
WMU wi'ísii, wi'ísio  PYp  bisca
CU  --  NT  biščiki  CN  eukšoa; i'kwišoaa;
ST  biščkiu  iukšoaa

2071a. *ha't*(w)isa (> *ha'(N)kwisa) 'sneeze, vi': M67-396 *hatis 'sneeze'; L.Son54 *hatisa 'estornudar'; KH.NUA; M88-ha5 'to sneeze'; KH/M06-ha5: Tb ha'dišt 'sneeze, n. (cognate? Miller queries; definitely, yes); Cp; Ca; Ls; Sr; Eu; Tbr. Ken Hill adds Tr, Wr, Gb hačeu'ax 'he is sneezing'. Miller includes Pl ahkweečiwi 'sneeze', for ' -t- or other clusters of -Ct- > -kw- as AMR (1991d, 1993a) showed for *tw > kw. For UA *s > My h as initial C in a cluster, cf. sneeze and sit. Cr he'eciupua belongs as well (cf. Gb hačeú'ax). The Num forms at M88 ha5 show medial -kw-, agreeing with Tep and CN; see b. [*-'t- > -c-]

2071b. *ha'kwisa'i 'sneeze': Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; Ch; SP; CN i'kwišoaa. WMU wi'ísii, wi'ísio lost the first syllable and s shows a nasal like SP does.

2071c. *kwic... 'sneeze' in Tep. [NUA: Tak, Num, Tb, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

SNORE; RONCAR

Mn  --  Hp  heroroyikí; hérok  Eu  tóroka
NP  ísododoi  Tb  šoloon; pišin  Tbr  --
TSh osotoñwa  Sr  tôôćo'  Yq  hórôr'otía
Sh  ísotoppai  Ca  tálal  AYq  ho'otía
    hono-nomoi '&growl'
    Cm  ísorokútí  Ls  xaráá-ya  Wr  --
    Kw  'osoroni  Cp  náx'etu  Tr  róór-/roronó/rorosó
    Ch  --  TO  toDk  Cr  k'í'iší; muraihpu
    SP  ossorotñwi  Nv  torhoka  Wc  --
    WM  sórrii  PYp  sorkia
    CU  --  NT  soróókai '&snort (animals)'
          ST  sorkia/sarok (prs)

2072a. *ísotoN-(kV) 'snore': NP; Sh; Cm; Tb. Curiously, sneeze and snore remain so pervasively intact.

2072b. *ósotoN(i) 'snore': TSh; Kw; SP; Tb could belong with either since it is missing the first vowel, which is the only difference between a/b. Perhaps *osoton < *ísoton. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep]

2072c. Tep *sorok 'snore' (< ? *corok): PYp; ST; NT.

2073a. *(i)hotok / *horok 'snore': Hp; Yq; AYq; My; CN. Could this be a diffusion from Tep *sorok? Subgroups b and c may be from *toto. [liquids]

2073b. *torok 'snore': TO; Nv; Eu; Tr. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn, Trn, Azt]

2073c. *totV 'snore': Sr tôôcu'; Ktn toča'. As NUA -c- < -t- usually, then *toto may explain some.

Snot: see mucus

SNOW; NIEVE, NEVAR

Mn  niibábi; v: níbaa  Hp  níva; v: níva-yoyoki  Eu  sutéhri; v: sutéwa
NP  nihabi; v: tíggwawíni  Tb  níbaal; v: níba'-ítí  Tbr  kewá-t; v: kewá
TSh tahapi; taha'ima"  Sr  yuat; v: yui; yuatú"  AYq  sapam; v: sapa weče
Sh  takka/takka'-'pin;  Ca  v: yúy  My  sáppam
    v: takka-wii (wii=toss away)  Cp  yúye
    Cm  tahka-(bi); tahka-ímarí (s'fall)  Ls  v: yúy(u)  Wr  kepá; v: keba-ní
    Kw  niíva-vì; v: niíva'-uwa  TO  gew  Tr  gëpë-kapá-(mea) n-(v)
    Ch  niívaavi; v: niíva'-íwa  Nv  kiba; v: kuba guksi  Cr  seeeri
    SP  niíva  PYp  keva; hismil 'sleet'  Wc  'íví 'ıkice'
    WM  nuwwá-vì, nuwwá-ví, nuqgá-ví  NT  kívai  CN  sek-tli; v: pišawi;
    CU  niíviá-ví  ST  kív 'ice'; havook kív 'snow, light-ice' sepayawi-tl
2074. *kîpa 'snow, ice': B.Tep135 *kîvai 'ice, snow' (LP gîwî); M67-400 *kêpâ 'snow'; L.Son83 *kîpa 'nieve'; M88-kî1 'snow'; KH/M06-kî1: TO; LP; NV; PYp; NT; ST; Tbr; WR; TR. Voiced g in TO, TR, and ST gîvka' 'freeze (animate subj) vs. k in ST kîvina' 'freeze (plants) and others. [SUA: Tep, Trn, Tbr]

2075. *nîpa 'snow': VVH160 *nî 'snow'; M67-398 *nêpâ; M88-nî1; KH/M06-nî1: TO; LH; Nv; PYp; NT; ST; Tbr; WR; TR. Voiced g in Nv, N, ST, Tbr, and others. [SUA: Num, Tb, Hp]

2076. *yuya (perhaps < *yawya) 'snow, v/n': Sapir; BH.Cup *yuy 'to snow'; M67-399 *yu 'snow'; M88-399 *yu5; Munro.Cup120 *yúúya 'snow'; KH.NUA: KH/M06-yu2 *yuía (KCH) 'rain, v': verb forms 'snow, v': Cp yuyé; Ca yúy; Ls yúúyi; Gb ywat/yowát; Ktn yu 'snow, vi'; Ktn yuy 'está nevando'. Note final -a in noun forms: Sr yuat 'snow, ice, n'; Ktn yuat; Cp ayúy'a; Ca yúyat; Ls yúúyi; Gb ywat/yowát; Hp yoyanwi 'rain, rainstorm'. 'Cold': Cp yuy 'cold'; Ca yučiwi 'cold'. Add NT duúdu 'it rained' and CN yawi in CN kiyawi 'rain, v' and CN sepayawi 'snow, vi', likely cognate with Tak *yuy (< *yuwi < *yawi/*yawya). Add Sapir's inclusion of Wc ïïví 'nieve, hielo', for Wc ï < *u, Wc v < *w, and i are apparent, though missing initial y. Note final -a in noun forms: Sr yuat 'snow, ice, n'; Ktn yuat; Cp ayúy'a; Ca yúyat; Ls yúúyi; Gb ywat/yowát; Hp yoyanwi 'rain, rainstorm'. 'Cold': Cp yuy 'cold'; Ca yučiwi 'cold'. Add NT duúdu 'it rained' and CN yawi in CN kiyawi 'rain, v' and CN sepayawi 'snow, vi', likely cognate with Tak *yuy (< *yuwi < *yawi/*yawya). Add Sapir's inclusion of Wc ïïví 'nieve, hielo', for Wc ï < *u, Wc v < *w, and i are apparent, though missing initial y. I like Ken Hill's division/sorting of this complex array of terms in KH/M06-yu2 *yuía 'rain, v' vs. KH/M06-yu3 *yuki 'rain, n' at 'rain'. [Wc v < *w] [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, CrC, Azt]

2077. *takka 'snow': Sh, Cm, TSh. [CNum]

2078. *sîk 'snow': CN, Cr, and many possible compounds of *sîk can be found at 'cold'. Others consider this a morpheme of *sîCpî and such—possible, but not necessarily probable, in my opinion. [loss of -k- in cluster in Cr] [SUA: CrC, Azt]

Soak: see wash and sink

SOFT; BLANDO, FOFO, ESPONJOSO

2079. *kwaL 'soft': M67-401 *kwa 'soft'; M88-kwa8 'soft'; KH/M06-kwa8: Eu báñari 'blando, lo que fue ablandado por otro'; My bwalko 'blando'; first two syllables of Cr kwa'ačíra'a 'está suave, blando, tierno, débil' (*L > Cr -). Miller also includes NP kwašíbbi 'buckskin'; Wr & Trwasá 'plowed land'; and Pl kwee-tik 'finely ground, powdery'; however, some have only initial *kwa in common. I prefer presently limiting this set to Cr, My, and EU, with the addition of Yq bwal 'soft'; Yq sî'ibwal 'very soft'; and AYq bwalko 'soft, smooth'. Cr fits well since *-L > Cr -'. [Wc v < *w] [SUA: Cah, Opp, CrC]

2080. *mohika 'soft': TO moik '(be) soft, tender, flexible, pliable'; TO moihun 'soften, plow'; NV simoika 'cosa blanda'; PYp moika / mohika 'soft'; NT moíka 'blando'; ST (ču)moik 'blando'. PYp h and TO h may suggest *h > ø , even though *mo'ika necessitates only one change instead of two. [SUA: Tep] [NUA: Tak]

2081. *hîpï 'soft': Ca héveve 'soft'; Cp hévele 'be soft'. [NUA: Tak]

2082. *yoncoC 'soft': NP yoddsoka 'soft'; TSh yocokkwa '-ppïh 'soft, flexible, pliable, crumbly, incohesive'; Sh(C) yonco-' 'soft, spongy, smooth'; Sh(M) yocca 'soft, spongy'. [-nc> -cc-] [SUA: Num]

2083. *yuLI 'soft': Sh yuni 'soft, spongy'; WC yïïre 'blando o flexible, como cartílago'. [L/n] [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

2084. *payu / *paLyu 'soft, gentle': CU payú-gwa-rí 'soft, lax, kind, gentle, yielding'; CM payï'yîka 'softened'; maybe CA pélyen 'slowly, softly (as in sobbing), adv' with vowels leveled. [L; *u> ï; V leveling] [NUA: Num, Tak]

Son: see man, bear

SON-IN-LAW; YERNO

2085. *mo'ona(C) / *monna / *moCna 'son-in-law, male in-law': Sapir; M67-505 *mona / mo'na / mo' affinal relative'; I.Num94 *mona / *muna 'son-in-law'; L.Son 148 *monni 'yerno'; M88-mo3; KH/M06-mo3: Sh monappî; Kw mono; SP munna/mona-ci; HP mö'ônanw 'male in-law'; EU mónwa; WR mo'né; Tr mo'né-ra; My mö'one; 331
Yq mó’one; Tbr moa-saká-r; Wc muune; Cr mú’u ‘affinal relative’; Cr -mu’un ‘yerno’; CN moon-til ‘son-in-law’. Sapir also lists Cr muna-ra. Add AYq mo’one ‘son-in-law’ and Ca míñkiw’a ‘son-in-law’, since Ca i < *o. With glottal stops in six languages (Hp, My, Yq, Wr, Tr, Cr), the reconstruction should reflect it, though it could reflect the geminated *-nn- that Sapir (1914, 474) proposes (*monna > *mo’na > *mo’ona), saying that only geminated *-nn- remains in SP, while *-n- disappears. In either case, it is curious that ‘son-in-law’ is more pervasive throughout UA than other vocabulary. [NUA n : SUA n] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tbr, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

2086. *kwa ‘son-in-law’: Sr kwa ‘man’s son-in-law’; Ls kwá’-pana ‘man’s father-in-law or son-in-law’. Ls kwa ‘maternal grandfather’ might have us thinking this to be the same PUA stem as *kwa ‘maternal grandfather’, though Sr kwaarjí ‘maternal grandmother’ shows a different stem in Sr. [NUA: Tak]

SORE, WOUND(ED), BLISTER; LLAGA, HERIR-DO; AMPOLLA: see also rot, cut, pain.

2087. *sawa / *sa’awa ‘sore’: AYq sa’awa ‘sore’; My sa’awa ‘wound, sore’; CN sawa-tl ‘pox, rash, pimple, sore’; perhaps Hp(S) siwati ‘cancer sore’. [a’a/i] [SUA: Cah, Azt; NUA: Hp?]

2088. *sipo ‘sore, pain’: TO hiih(dag) ‘sore’; Nv hiboidaga ‘llaga’; CN šiipi ‘pimple, wart’; AYq siivo ‘1. harm, damage, vt; 2. curse, hex’; Yq sííbok ‘daño’; Wr sipé ‘weevil, pest’. This is another good example of medial *-c- > NUA -y- in showing SUA *iça and NUA íya/íiåa (Num, Hp *íya). Manaster-Ramer includes this set in his article "A NUA sound law: *-c- > -y-," wherein he lists SP, Sh, Hp, and Wr. [*-c- > -y-] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Tbr]

2089. *iça(C) ‘(have) wound/sore’: L.3on9 *’ica ‘llaga’; M88-i2 ‘wound’; AMR1992b; KH/M06-i2 *icaC (AMR): Wr ehcā ‘llaga’; Tr ča-ka, ča-na-ri ‘sore, n’; Mn ţai-ye ’have sores’; NP ţaih ’wound s.o.’; Sh ţai ‘sore, wound’; Kw *ia ‘wound, hurt, v’; SP ţai-či ‘wounded’; CU *’iči- ‘wound, n’; Hp ţai ‘sore, scab’; Tbr acá-t ‘llaga, sifilis’. We might add TSh ’iča- (in compounds); Cm t’a- ‘wound, sore, n’. This is another good example of medial *-c- > NUA -y- in showing SUA *iça and NUA íya/íiåa (Num, Hp *íya). Manaster-Ramer includes this set in his article "A NUA sound law: *-c- > -y-," wherein he lists SP, Sh, Hp, and Wr. [*-c- > -y-] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Tbr]

2090. *kiša ‘harm(ed), bad’: M88-k1i16; KH/M06-k1i16: Cp kēče/ kaš- ‘to injure, hurt’; Sr kišša’a ‘bad’; Sr kišša’ik / kiššaat ‘badly’. [NUA: Tak]

2091. *takowa, perhaps < *takawa ‘injure(d), damage(d), ruin’: Tbr takoá-t ‘dañado’; CN tlakoo / tlakoa ‘dañar’; CN tlakoo-t ‘boil’; CN tlakotan ‘boil, sore, pustule’; CN i’lakawi ‘go wrong, be ruined or corrupted, injure oneself, spoil’; CN i’lakoa ‘damage s.th., be corrupted, spoiled, damaged, vt/refl’. [Tbr-Azt tie] [SUA: Tbr, Azt]

2092. *muLaw ‘wound’; PYp muurag ‘wound, n’; NT muurágiyidi/muúrágiyidi ‘herirlo’; TO mummaDag ‘a wounded animal, a wound’. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Mn munabi’wa ‘pimples’ which agrees through four segments. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

2093. *puLa / *puhuLa ‘blister, boil’; Tbr wó-pora-li-t ‘pockmark’; Tb pohola ‘get blisters’; TO wuDDag ‘a bandage, a sore or wound’; PYp haapuli / hapolca ‘blister, boil’; but ?Cp pi’i-s ‘sore’ (Cp i < *o after *puLa > poLa). [NUA L: SUA L] [NUA: Tbr; SUA: Tep, Tbr]

2094. *ci’(i)wa ‘hurt’: Tr čé’cwáači ‘en agonia, agonizar’; Wr ci’wá- ‘have a wound, sting, smart’; Wr ci’wáru ‘wound, n’. [*i-a > e-a] [SUA: Trn]

NB, for *pi(si)ka ‘sore, rot’, see rot.

NB, for *mukki ‘sore’ see ‘at die’.

Sound: see noise and cry

SOUP, STEW, GRUEL; SOPA, CALDO, GACH(A)S, PINOLE, ATOLE, POSOLE

2095. *palawa ‘juice, soup, stew’: M88-pa11 soup/caldo; KH/M06-pa11: Cp páwvi-ly (páw=get water); Hp paala ‘juice, soup’; Eu varáwa ‘caldo’; Wr pa’ wila ‘caldo’; Tr ba’wi-rå ‘hacer caldo’; My ba’wa ‘caldo’. Ken Hill adds TSh paawa ‘juice’. Add My ba’awa ‘jugo, caldo, sopa’; AYq va’awa ‘juice, soup, etc’; Yq ba’awa ‘caldo’ (*L > ‘in Cah); TO waDag ‘(be) wet’; TO waDagi ‘juice’; NT varáágadí ‘soup’; ST vaar ga’n ‘caldo, jugo [soup, juice]’;
PYp vargar 'soup, liquid, juice'; PYp varag 'wet'; Nv barhakaddi 'caldo' (devoicing g > k); Cr há´ara’a ‘caldo, suero de queso, lágrima’. But ?Ca hépál-wén’a ‘soup’ and Tbr wa/va/ba-ta-á-n ‘sopa’? (Tbr wa/va/ba-ta ‘agua’). Most suggest 3 syllables: *paLawa > Tep waraga. [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

2096. *hupa(wa) ‘soup, stew’: KH/M06-hu24: NP hubba; TSh hupapin. Add Mn hubáwa; Sh hupa; Cm saa huwa; Kw huva-vi; Ch huvá-vi; SP upa; WMU uvá-vi ‘soup, broth, stew, n’; CU *uvwá-vi. A reflex is in every Num language. [NUA: Num]

2097. *atoL ‘corn-flour drink, atole’: CL.Azt7 *atool- ‘atole’; M88-’a29; KH/M06-’a29; CN aatool-li; Pl atulu; Po etul; T atoll; Z atool; TO atoll; Cr há’ara’a ‘caldo, suero de queso, lágrima’. [SUA: Azt]


2099. *(wa)tona ‘atole’: Eu tónihri ‘atole’; Tbr toníwa-lít ‘atole’; Wr watónari ‘atole’. Is there an explanation to tie these with CN aa-tool-li ‘drink made from cornstarch’? [SUA: Opn, Tbr, Trn]

2100. *ku’ulgi ‘gruel, thick mix/mush’: TO ku’ul ‘gruel’; Eu kurít ‘dough’; Tr ge’orí ‘atole espeso, orchata’. [SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn]

2101. iwa-Li ‘atole’: Wr ióri ‘atole de maíz’; Tr (y)o*ri ‘atole espeso, como gelatina’; and the middle part of Tbr ton-iwa-lí-t ‘atole’. [SUA: Tbr, Trn]

Sour: see bitter

SOUTH; SUR

2102. *kitam ‘south’: BH.Cup *kicam ‘south’; HH.Cup *kičam ‘south’; M88-ki6 ‘south’; KH/M06-ki6: Ktn kítamik ‘toward the east’; Cp kičám; Ca kíčam-ka ‘southward’; Ls kíča-mi-k, kíča-nu, ‘southward’; Gb kitáme(k)’south’. \[*-t- > -c-\] [NUA: Tak]

2103. *pitta ‘south’: Mn pita ‘south, to the south’; NP pitadï ‘south’; TSh pittappu ‘south’; TSh pittannai ‘from the south’; Sh(C) pitta-nankwa” ‘south’. [NUA: WNum, CNum]

2104. *taCtika ‘south’: Tr(S) ri’réke ‘sur’; Tr(S) ri’ré ‘abajo’; Tr(Br) ŕi’ríka ‘por abajo’; Cr táhtïkï’e ‘sur’; Hp tatky(a)q ‘in the southeast, southeast of’. Though some vowels need explaining, the consonant pattern t-Ct-k in all three widely dispersed branches makes the tie more probable than not. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn, CrC]

Speak: see say

SPIDER; ARAÑA; see also ‘web’ at ‘net’.

2105. *toka / *to’oka / *totoka ‘spider’: M88-tu6 ‘spider/araña’; Fowler83; L.Son308 *toka ‘araña’; KH/M06-tu6 and to27: Eu tôka; Eu witoroka ‘telaraña’; Tr ro’ká ‘araña, telaraña’; Tbr tok-wá-t ‘araña’; CN toka-tI: Pl tuka-ti; TO tokiohuD ‘spider’; Cr tu’uká; Wc tuuká ‘araña’. Most of the vowels point to *toker rather than *tuk. Besides TO, Eu, Tbr, Tr, also Pl, Cr tu’uka and Wc tuuká reflect *o (CrC u < *o). Add Ktn tuuk’u / tokoko ‘tarántula’ which does nothing to clarify which vowel, but likely belongs. Cr also shows a glottal stop along with Tr and Wr tu’lusi: *to’oka. Eu witoroka may be a reduplication (*totoka > toroka); in fact, many may be from *totoka > *toroka, in which r > ’ could occur, as is common in Cahitan; otherwise, *toker or *to’oka. [SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, CrC, Azt; WNum, CNum; SUA: Tak]

2106. *tu’Lusi ‘spider’: in M88-tu6, Miller includes Wr tu’lusi ‘araña o tipo de araña’; My túurus, pl: turús-im ‘araña’. Even if these share a morpheme with the above, they are a different compound. Add Tr turusi ‘una araña venenosa’. Might these also be from a redupl’n *tustusi > *tu’Lusi? [SUA: Cah, Trn]
2107. *kukkaC / *kukya 'black widow spider': Fowler83; M88-ku33; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ku33 *kukkaC (AMR): Cp kúka-t 'black widow spider'; Sr kuka-t 'spider'; Ktn kuka-č 'spider'; Ls kúxini-š 'black widow spider' (cognate? Miller queries); Hp kookaya 'spider'. This interesting set reveals a -y-cluster as *-yk- or *-ky- in both Ls and Hp, both of which also show -y-. Hp shows the same vowel (-a) after the cluster that the other 3 Tak languages show, which is probably original, and the Ls -y- may be an anticipation of the two -i-vowels after the cluster: thus, *kukya(n). [NUA: Hp, Tak]

2108. *hupahi 'spider': Yq húbahe 'a little spider'; AYq čukui huvaha 'black widow'; AYq huvaa toosa 'spiderweb'; Hp -hövi in Hp wishövi 'cobweb' (wis- 'string out'); Hp shows *o instead of *u, probably due to *u-a > o-a, and all else may match: *hupahi > *hupahi (Cah) > *hopai > *hopi > hövi (Hp). Note that with a vowel metathesis, Mn hapópó / hopópó 'spider' may belong with *hopa/*hupa? But not counted yet. [NUA *o, SUA *u, *u-

2109. *hukkwaN 'spider': Fowler83: Kw hukwa-(m)bi 'spider'; SP uqqwaN-mpi 'big black spider'; perhaps CU mukwá-pi 'spider'. Let's add Ch(L) hukwampi 'black widow spider' and WMU qwapphi / qwep / kw(m)pi 'spider, brown spider'. Note Kw -b with nasal, but -v- intervocally and -p- when geminated. [p/kw with above?; Kw -b- <- -Np-] [NUA: SNum]

The next three sets may have s.th. like *-sok- in common, but are compounded with other morphemes:

2110. *(w)osoko 'tarantula': Nv ohoku 'tarantula'; ST ho'kori 'spider'; Tbr woso-kól 'tarantula'. [SUATep, Tbr]

2111. *mari-suka 'tarantula': My márisooka; Yq máisooka; AYq maisooka. Ktn hukaht 'water spider' could belong here or at *hukwaC. [r > ' > ø] [SUA: Cah; NUA: Tak]

2112. *tokoso 'spider': Tr řokosó 'black widow'; Ch hokóso 'spider'. [SUA: Trn; NUA: Num]

Spill: see fall and throw
Spin: see circle and rope
Spike: see back

SPIRIT, GHOST, SOUL; ESPÍRITU, ALMA, FANTASMA, ÁNIMA; see also religious terms.

2113. *tí-l-mukki 'place where spirits of the dead live': BH.Cup *talnik 'hell'; M88-ti22; KH/M06- ti22: Cp telmeki-š 'land of spirits, underworld, hell'; Ca telmeki-š 'place where dead people live'; Ca telmav-e 'spirit of the dead'; Ls tółmu-š 'land of the dead, hell'. Add Ktn tít 'spirit, ghost, person that has died'. *mukki 'die/dead' is compounded with the expected V in Ls, but assimilated Vs (in Ca and Cp) due to lack of stress. [NUA: Tak]

2114. *co'aC 'spirit': Mn co'a-pi 'ghost'; NP ca'abí 'evil spirit'; TSh coapici 'ghost, spirit, devil, whirlwind'; Sh co'a-ppicih 'ghost'; Sh co'a-ppip 'spirit of dead'. [NUA: WNum, CNum]

2115. *mukua(C) (< *mukki+a?) 'spirit': KH/M06-mu25: NP mugwa 'spirit'; TSh mukuau 'mind, soul, spirit'; TSh mukuatu 'think, v'; Sh mugua 'spirit, mind, essence'; SP moga 'soul, spirit'; Ch mugua 'mind'. Add AYq muukia 'spirit, apparition'. Ken Hill rightly separates these for *mukki 'die/dead' as that has gemination, while these do not, though one can't help but wonder about lenition and a potential tie. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah]

2116. *iní-pí-ci (ci) 'spirit': Kw 'iní-pi 'spirit, ghost'; Kw 'i-'iní-pi 'word used to refer to deceased person to avoid his actual name'; Ch iníp(i) 'ghost, spirit'; SP iníppici (< 'iní-pi-ci) 'evil spirit'; WMU inúppwi-ci 'spirit, crazy person'; CU 'iní-pí-ci 'ghost, demented person, maniac'; CU 'iní-sáaca-ci 'ghost'. From Kw iní-pi 'spirit, ghost, deceased person' is added an extra absolutive suffix to yield Kw iní-pí-ci 'moth'. [NUA: Num]

2117. *arewa 'spirit': Tr arewá 'alma'; Wr arewá 'spirit, soul'. [SUATrn]

NB, for Tep *iibidaga 'soul, heart', see heart.

SPIT, SPITTLE, SALIVA; ESCUPIR, ESPUTAR, EXPECTORAR, SALIVA

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2118. *tusA / *tusiC  'spit, v': M67-405 *tu 'spit, v'; I.Num232 *tusi 'spit'; M88-tu13 'spit, v'; KH/M06-tu13: Mn tuhi; NP tuhi; TSh tusi'; Sh tusi'; Cm tusi; Tb tuhi~tuhtu 'to spit'; Tb tuhi-l 'spit, n'; Hp töha 'spit, v' (vowel is wrong, Miller notes); Hp töha(k-)'spit, vi/\text{t}t'. Puzzling is an apparent innovation of */s > h* in WNum, Tb and Hp. Only Hp shows *o, which may be lowered from *u by following a, as in *hupä 'spider' above. 

\[[s > h in WNum, Hp, Tb]\]  

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tb]

NB. while Miller’s uniting */kći* and */huci/híci* forms in M88-hi7 'spit, n' and O.Num42 */híhci*/k嗨i 'spit, n' may be possible, Ken Hill and I question their union, so let’s separate them for now, since */u > i* is common in Num, but the other direction is not; and half of the initial h forms show ï, while none of the */kći* forms show u. In addition, the k vs. h distinction usually aligns with the ï vs. u distinction in these lexemes, suggesting separate forms:

2119. *kCCIc (> *kćiC) 'spit': M88-hi7; KH/M06-hi7: Ch kćiión(a) 'spit, v'; SP kći 'saliva'; CU kći-vi 'saliva'; CU kći 'nay 'spit, vt'; CU kći-pi 'spittle, saliva'. Add WMU qíhčé'vi 'spit, spittle, saliva, n'; WUM qíhčé-yi'ne-y / qíhčé'ne-y 'be spitting'. Consider also Tr kači/akači 'escupir'; Wr a'kà 'saliva'; Wr a'kacuba 'spit, v'.  

[NUA: SNum; SUA: Trn]

2120. *huClC  Mn huciduu 'slobber, v'; NP hĩci 'spittle'; TSh huccippih 'spit, saliva'; Sh hĩccih-ppih 'saliva'.  

[NUA: WNum, CNum]

2121. *ciClA / *ciCl-paLawa 'spit, v': VVH114 *ci; B.Tep192 *sisiva 'to spit'; B.Tep193 *sisivaragai 'saliva'; M67-406 *cio/cit; CL.Azt137 *čihčV < 270 **cu'a; Dakin1982-3; M88-ci5 'spit'; KH/M06-ci5: Kw čičii 'spit, v'; Kw čičiya 'saliva'; TO siswua 'to spit'; UP siswua; LP šišiv; NT šišivai 'escupir'; NT šišivaragai 'saliva'; ST šišivo; PYp sisvor 'saliva'; My cicci 'saliva'; My čiči 'be spitting'. Consider also Tr kačí/akači 'escupir'; Wr a'kà 'saliva'; Wr a'kacuba 'spit, v'.  

[NUA: SNNum; SUA: Trn]

2122a. *cukV 'spit, v': Ca čú'an; Cs čúxe; Ktn tohvik / toqovik / tohavak 'spit on/up, vt'. Of the three Ktn forms, the 2nd shows 2nd C as *-k-, which lenited to -h- in the others. So is the Ls / Cp *-k- (> -x-) from the first */k- or the second? In the set below, Sr cöv-kin may suggest the 2nd, which would mean a great reduction of three syllables to one in Ls / Cp *cuxi, which happens.

2122b. *to(k/h)opVki 'spit, v': Ktn tohvik / toqovik / tohavak 'spit on/up, vt'; Ktn tohvk-i-vi-č 'spittle, n'; Sr cöv-kin 'spit, v'. The -cuba of Wr a'kacuba 'spit, v' perhaps. [Ls i: Cp e: Ca a; o/u; t > c?; -v noun suffix in Ktn?]  

[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

2123. *muLA / *muta- / *muCCa-kV 'spit': Ls mulá-qi 'spit out'; Cp múlake 'spit out'; perhaps NP mu'yoga 'spit'.  

[NUA: Num, S-C-; -'L > -'y-?]  

[NUA: Tak, Num]

Split: see break

Spoil: see rot

SPOT(TED), DOT; PUNTO, MANCHA, PINTO/PINTA

2124. *taka 'spotted': KH.NUA: Sr takalu'ka'n 'spotted, vi st'; Ca tákál 'get patched up, be spotted'. To this pair we might add Cp tása 'spotted'; Cp taqelæq 'be spotted all over'; Ls tuku-rúuka 'to have small spots (like a fawn)'; NP ddaki 'be spotted'; NP tutakidi 'dark spots' (tu- = dark), and SP iříği 'be spotted'. Sr, Ls, and Cp taqelæq could be a reduplication of *taka (> *takalVكر). Two (Sr, Ls) show *takaLuka (though the first two vowels assimilated to the third in Ls), while the others show */takaV* as 2nd element in a compound. The long accented vowel of Ls likely encouraged the first two to assimilate.  

[a > u/uu in Ls]  

[NUA: Tak, Num]

2125. *napuc 'spotted': Cm naboo-, naboori 'marked, striped, spotted'; SP navoo'vi (< *napuu'pi Miller lists) 'spotted'; Wc -naiye of Wc cií-naiye 'pinto' belongs, since */p > h or zero and CrC i < */u thus, napu > nai. Compare CrC at adobe.  

[NUA: Num, SUA: CrC]

Spread: see stretch, flat
**SPRING; PRIMAVERA**

| Mn   | taawáno   | Hp  | tamõŋvaqw   | Eu   | kuvésrawa; tásar |
| NP   | tamano    | Tb  | --          | Tbr  | --                |
| TSh  | tahma     | Sr  | yaamava’    | Yq   | --                |
| Sh   | tahma(ni) | Ca  | táspa’      | My   | --                |
| Cm   | tahma     | Ls  | táspa; páaxam 'be s' | Wr   | kué             |
| Kw   | tahmana   | Cp  | táspa       | Tr   | --                |
| Ch   | yīván 'spring&autumn' | TO | --          | Cr   | --                |
| Ch(L)| tamana    | Nv  | tutoni-ka   | Wc   | --                |
| SP   | tamma-na  | PYp | hihimbag; hiosga; huuhkama; vuhersotkam |
| WMU  | tammán ‘s. & summer’ | NT | --          | CN   | šopan(tla) (RJC)  |
| CU   | tamá-na/ri-tí | ST | šiabak ‘planting season, June’ |

In M88-ta6, Miller includes a variety of initial *ta... lexemes: M88-ta6 ‘spring’: BH.Cup *taşpa ‘springtime’; I.Num203 *ta(h)ma ‘spring’; KH/M06-ta6: Mn; NP; Sh; K; SP; CU tama-ti’i-tti springtime; Cp; Ca; Ls; Hp tamõŋ-. However, beyond initial *ta-, differences make their relatedness less than certain. Consider these groups:

2126. *tammaNo ‘spring’: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; Ch(L); SP; CU; Hp. [*m > w in Mn] [NUA: Numic, Hp]

2127a. *taspa ‘spring’: Ls; Ca; Cp. Might CN šoopan ‘green time of the year, verano’ or Num *tasapa ‘dry’ (as winter mountain moisture does dry up with spring) be relevant?

2127b. *tasa ‘spring’: Eu tásar; AYq tasaria ‘summer’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah]

NB, for *kuwesa (Eu, Wr), see summer. Note the similarity of Wr kué; the first part of Eu kuvés-rawa with Tr kuwé 'summer, n'; Tr kuwésa 'be summer, v'; and Cr ta’uwaste 'summer'.

NB, for *yama ‘come up, spring forth, spring’, see ‘up’.

Sprout: see grow

**SQUASH, GOURD, PUMPKIN; CALABAZA, GUAJE, JÍCARA**

2128. *(h)ima ‘squash’: B.Tep311 *(i)mai ‘squash’; M88-’i8; KH/M06-’i8: LP ’im; NT íímai; ST ’imai. Add PYp ima ‘squash’. [SUA: Tep]

2129. *noki ‘gourd’: BH.Cup *néxic ‘gourd’; Fowler83; Langacker 1970; M88-no12; Munro.Cup52 *nééxi-š ‘gourd/squash’; KH/M06-no12: Cp níxi-š ‘wild gourds, soap plant’; Ca néexi-š ‘wild squash’; Ls néexi-š ‘wild gourd’; Ls néx-wu-t ‘kind of gourd, gourd rattle’. Add Ktn nonokic ‘calabazilla, plant sp, groundvine with melon used for soap’. [*o > e/š in Ca Langacker 1970] [NUA: Tak]

2130. *pako ‘gourd for water’: B.Tep258 *vakoi ‘gourd for carrying water’; M88-pa52; KH/M06-pa52: TO wako ‘water container, gourd, canteen’; NT vákoi; ST vakoon; LP vak. [SUA: Tep]

wicikoLi ‘dried squash’: Wr wicikori ‘dried squash’; PYp viskoli ‘dried squash’; all segments agree except the initial consonant; so this may be a loan or may have been mutually influenced in some way. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

soci ‘squash’: Cr sući ‘calabazá’; Wc šúći ‘calabazá’. [SUA: CrC]

*kama ‘squash sp’: Eu kamá ‘calabazá sehualca’; Yq káma ‘bule, guaje’; My kammam ‘calabazá’; Wr kamá ‘kind of squash’; Tr gá*má ‘calabazá amarilla’; perhaps Mn kumabédá ‘summer squash, scallop or pattypan squash’, if *a > u anticipating the bilabial in an unstressed syllable. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

*kuyawi ‘gourd’: Tr guyowí ‘guaje’; Wr kuyawí ‘planta de bule’. [SUA: Trn]

*pisaLï ‘gourd’: Eu visár ‘calabazá’; Yq bísa’e ‘bule, guaje’; AYq visa’e ‘gourd’. [NUA: Opn, Cah]


*papo ‘squash sp’: Eu vavóra ‘cierta calabazá’; Tbr wipó-t, vipó-t ‘calabazá’; Wr pábarí ‘mora, morus microphylla’. [SUA: Trn, Tbr, Opn]

*kaLi(si) ‘squash sp’: Tr arísí / garísí / karísí ‘calabacilla, calabazá de coyote’; Wc káisa ‘sonaja’ with loss of liquid, Tr and Wc align well, since *L > t (then > o in the Wc form). [SUA: Trn, CrC]

*sawaLa ‘gourd’: Tr sáwara ‘maraca, sonaja’; Wc kïšáuri ‘jícara’. Metathesis would admit CU wəsáraa-ganá-pí ‘gourd’. And note that CU and Kw at *soko both contain *-kana. Wc has an extra initial ki-. Is this tied to *sawaLo ‘cactus’? [NUA: Opn, r; SUA: Trn, Cah]

*ayaw < *aLawV ‘squash, gourd’: CL.Azt159 *ayoh ‘squash’; M88-‘a2 ‘squash, pumpkin’; KH/M06-‘a2: Ls yáá’aya-t ‘turtleshell rattle’; Sr ’aayt ‘rattle’; Hp aaya, pl: aa’aya ‘hand rattle (made of gourd)’; Wr álawe ‘calabazá’; CN ayo‘tli ‘squash, pumpkin’. Ken Hill and AMR (Ontology) add TO haal ‘squash, pumpkin’ and My ayaw, pl ayaw-im ‘calabazá harota’. Yes! Add Tbr haya ‘calabazá’ (Tbr haya-we-t ‘turtle’); Yq ayá’awi ‘calabazá sazona’; and PYp ara ‘small squash’. Op arii ‘squash’ (Shaul 2007) might belong. WR, TO, and PYp all suggest an original liquid underlies y. [l/y] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Trn, Azt]

NB, TO šapijk and Hp saviki are similar to considerable length, yet the initial consonant does not correspond (*s > Tep h), which may suggest this is a loan.

NB, what of Wr koláci ‘immature squash, bowl-like hollow in a rock wall’ and Tbr hoa-lí-t ‘bule, kind of squash used for carrying water’?

NB, for CL.Azt71 *šïïka(l) ‘gourd vessel’ see pot.

NB, Ca qáxalkut ‘buffalo gourd’; Nv sarkarhkaari ‘calabazá’; Tbr halípá-t ‘jueja, jícara’ may contain possibility, though the latter looks enough like a potential Spanish loan from calabazá, that we may have nothing here.

Squat: see sit and stoop
Squeeze: see carry (for most handle verbs)

SQUIRREL, CHIPMUNK; ARDILLA,

koŋi ‘squirrel’: BH *qéŋic ‘squirrel’; Fowler83; M88-ko22 ‘squirrel’; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup122 *qéŋi ‘ground squirrel’; KH/M06-ko22: Cp qiŋiš; Ca qiŋiš; Ls qéŋiš; Gb koŋit; Sr qööŋt; Ktn koŋit ‘ground squirrel’; Hp koona ‘type of tree squirrel’ (cognate? Hill queries, and both Miller and Hill note vowel is wrong). Every Tak language shows ŋ for the medial consonant, though Hp has n, but so does Hp coocona ‘kiss’ among *cuŋa ‘suck, kiss’; a handful of Hp -n- with Tak -ŋ- exist. [NUA ŋ vs. Hp n here, suck, and others] [NUA: Hp, Tak]
NT and ST are cognate, whether Kw is or not.  

2143a. *tiću* 'ground squirrel, mouse'; B.Tep251 *tićuki* 'ground squirrel'; M88-ți47 'ground squirrel'; L.Son290 *tićuki raton'; Fowler83; KH/M06-ți47: Hp tićya 'prairie dog'; LP tičil 'ground squirrel' (B.Tep); Nv tukiću / tikići 'ardilla'; NT tuukūli; ST tićuki; My tēkkut, pl: tekuc-im 'squirrel'; Tbr titikul 'ground squirrel'.  Miller includes Tr čiů-ru 'ratón' and queries whether CN tečaloo-ți 'squirrel' is cognate; the latter probably is not, but shares much with CN čačaloo-ți 'squirrel'.  However, teko'- of CN teko 'koyoo-ți 'mouse' is likely cognate.  Fowler includes Tr tekeunuć 'Sciurus sp.' and SP tıkuci 'squirrel'.  Consider also Sh tikunuki 'bushy-tailed squirrel'; PYp tekiliki 'rock squirrel'.  Could *ciku/siku be part of a compound in reduced form: *ți-siku > *tisku > *tiku.  The fact that both sets (Tep/TrC titiki and TrC/Num siku) have reflexes meaning both squirrel and mouse, speaks for the semantic overlap of those terms in UA, for they are similarly small fast furballs darting about.  Tep *tikuri and Tr*C *cikuri may be a palatalization of *-t > *-c following a high V, as in c below.  

2143b. *ciku* 'mouse': Eu ziku/ciku; Yć čiku; My čikul; Tr čiku; Wr ci'kuri.  Are these a palatalization of above or could they tie to *cuku 'bend over' (as a squirrel's posture is hunchbacked when on hind legs) or both?  

2144a. *sikku(-wV) 'chipmunk': BH.Cup *svkā 'chipmunk'; HH.Cup svkāawat 'chipmunk'; M88-șít40; KH.NUA; KH/M06-șít40; Jane Hill 2007-46: Cp sekāwet; Ca sikawet 'tree squirrel'; Ls šukā-wu-t 'tree squirrel'; Sr hikaawt 'chipmunk'; Ktn hikā-ť 'flying squirrel'.  Miller includes Hp sakina 'brown squirrel' with a question mark.  Matching fairly well, however, is Tb *tśćiga-ł 'blue squirrel'.  The non-descript V in HH.Cup's reconstruction is a good choice for an unaccented V becoming the schwa-like possibilities, but in Ca ți is accented and is found in two of four, so let it be our best guess.  Jane Hill (2007) notes Rio Grande Tewa ság wế 'squirrel'.  [Tak V's; i-a > Ls u-a]  

2144b. *sikkuC 'squirrel': Ch sikú-ći 'squirrel'; SP siku'-, sikkuN-, siku'-cci 'squirrel'; WMU aqqā-skući 'squirrel' is a fairly nice preservation of PNum *aNka-sikkuC-ci (< red-squirrel).  

2145. *tapa... 'chipmunk': M67-89 *tapa 'chipmunk'; Fowler83; M88-ta43 'chipmunk'; KH/M06-ta43: NP tabba; TSh tapa'ài; Sh tanamai 'kangaroo rat'; Kw tava'aci; Ch tavá-a-ci; SP tava'aci; Tb tapaaya-l.  Add CU aço-tavá-ą 'flying squirrel' and Ls tapás-ma-l 'mouse'.  

2146. *cim'ı 'squirrel': Tbr cimó-ľ 'ardilla colorada'; Tbr ci-cimó-ko 'clase de ardilla de las casas'; Wr cimorí 'kind of squirrel'; Tr ċi'mori 'flying squirrel'; Wc cimúaka/simuaka 'ardilla'. Since Wc ți < *o, TrC and Wc match well through two syllables.  Is Tb čimí-l 'mouse' related?  Perhaps more probable than not.  

2147. *moto'ó 'squirrel, mouse': CN mooto- tli 'squirrel'; NP pamoto’o 'mouse'; TSh pomo’aici / pojwo’aici 'mouse'.  Squirrel seems to tie with both 'mouse' (both are small fast furballs darting about) and 'stoop' (semblance of squirrel's posture).  Cf. *mutu’u 'stoop, bend over' and *cuku 'stoop' and *ciku 'squirrel'.  

2148a. *ciCpawi 'squirrel': Wr ciipawi 'squirrel'; Tr čipawi 'ardilla'.  [SUA: Trn]  

2148b. *cippi: Fowler83-4:24 (and fieldnotes) *cipi 'ground squirrel': NP ciipísa; Ch sīppiya; Sh(Owyhee) ciipī; Sh ciipí 'prairie dog'.  

2149. *jÇkwa / *iNkwa 'ground squirrel': Fowler83: NP ıggwį 'squirrel'; TSh enų 'squirrel'; Cm ekwakųpi 'ground squirrel'; Mn čkwį 'ground squirrel'; Kw 'ewu-ci 'ground squirrel'.  

2150. *wo'ta 'squirrel, chipmunk': Fowler83 *wo'i 'ground squirrel'; Mn wódąa 'chipmunk'; TSh wo’aići 'chipmunk'; Sh wo’aikh ‘chipmunk’; Kw wūō-ci ‘small squirrel with a long tail’; Tbr he-wocó-t 'mouse'.  Jane Hill (p.c.) adds SP o’i-ci-ci ‘very small, yellowish, white-striped chipmunk’.  Note WNum -tV- and CNum -z- both here and at *moto’o above.  [*-tV- > */ʃ]  

2151. *kwokoci 'squirrel': NT bobókoši 'ardilla'; ST bomkoš ‘techalote’.  What of Kw wogo-tava’a-ci ‘squirrel’? NT and ST are cognate, whether Kw is or not.  [kwo/bo syllable in NT/ST]  

[SUA: Tep]
2152. *kača*i 'squirrel': Cr kāhca'i ‘squirrel’; ST kaasai ‘squirrel’. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

2153. *kĩNpa 'ground squirrel': Fowler83-3:52 and her fieldnotes: NP kĩpā; Sh kĩpā; SP kĩmpaaci. [NUA: Num]

2154. *yuŋa / *yuŋy ‘squirrel, gopher': Fowler83-3:56 lists WNum *yĩŋazi ‘ground squirrel': NP yĩŋjaciba ‘gopher'; Hp yonyaya 'chipmunk, whitetail entelope squirrel'. [*u > í] [NUA: Num, Hp]

Stab: see cut

STALK, STEM, TRUNK; TALLO, TRONCO, TRONCÓN
2155. *con 'base, trunk': M88-co2 'base, trunk'; KH/M06-co2: TO šon 'base or foundation'; WC kĩcúnú 'troncón'; CN kwaw-con-te-tl 'trunk or stump of a tree, piece of timber or a beam'; Pl cin 'base, buttocks'. Add ST son 'stump'; Cr ta'acu'u 'tronco'. Miller includes Wr cohki and those like it, perhaps related, if a compound, but for now let's divide these into *con (above) and *cohki (below). [SUA: Trn, Tep, CrC, Azt]

2156. *co(k/)i / *cuC-k ‘trunk, base, stem, stalk’: M67-66; M88-co9; KH/M06-co9: Tr čo-kí 'extremidad inferior, tallo'; Tr čo'kí / čo'ri 'tallo'; Tr čo’ki-su 'a shoot'; Wr cohki 'stem, trunk'; Hp coki 'upright plant, tree, bush'. Ken Hill adds Wc cu'tiá 'base, fundamento'. [2nd C?] [SUA: Trn, CrC; NUA: Hp]

2157. *wo'ota ‘trunk, stalk’: TSh wo'ota ‘trunk’; Sh woota ‘waist, tree trunk’; Cm owóora ‘tree trunk’; Ca wál’a ‘trunk’ with a V assimilation? Ca has the expected -l- for intervocalic -t-. Is Yq súnota ‘corn stalk’ < *sunu ‘corn’ + *wo’ota ‘stalk’? Cah does such reductions. [NUA: CNum, Tak; SUA: Cah]

NB, for *owa ‘stallk, see at reed.
NB, for *tinna ‘trunk, stump, root’ see at root.
NB, for *cuppa ‘point, buttocks’, see at edge.

STAND, ARISE; ESTAR/PONERSE DE PIE; cf. stop
2158. *wiλi / *wini ‘stand’: VVH161 *wiλi ‘to stand’; M67-411 *wene; I.Num287 *wini/*wini ‘stand (durative)'; M88-wi6 ‘to be standing, pl'; KH:NUA; L.Son343 *wiri/*wiri ‘pararse'; KH/M06-wi6: Mn wini; NP wini; TSh wini; Sh wini; Cm wini; Kw wini ‘stand, stop, sg'; SP wini; CU wini ‘be standing’; CU wini-wi ‘get up, stand up’; Tb ‘iwini ~ *iwiwiwi ‘stand up’; Tb wini ‘be located, exist’; HP wini ‘be standing, sg’; Ca wéwen ‘stand up, stop, stand still’; Ca wén ‘be at a place’; Kb wó ‘there is/are’; Sr wín/wín ‘be in a place, lie (mass/pl)’; Eu wéhra ‘parar’; Wr werí; Tr wiri-mea; Tr wer; My wéyyek; My wéyye ‘caminar’; AYq weyek ‘be standing, sg’. Add Tbr weré/welo ‘estar, estar en pie’. A widespread stem, found in all branches of NUA and in TrC. [I:n] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah, Tbr, Trn]

2159. *wiλiLu-ka > Tep gi(g/r)uka ‘stand, pl’: B.Tep48 *gukuka ‘to stand, pl’; M88-wu1: KH/M06-wu1: TO geog ‘be standing, pl’; UP giγuki (B.Tep); PY p gerok ‘be standing, upright, pl subj anim’; NT giγka; ST guguk ‘standing, pl’. The PYp form suggests that this is a pluralizing reduplication of *wiλi above, i.e., *wiλiLu with final -u instead of i, like the one Tbr form of Tb wele/welo; thus, *wiλiLu > wiλru-ka > Tep *gïruka > *gïguk / guguk. Note the two forms of Tbr wele/welo, the latter matching the pl stem, the former matching *wiλi above for sg. [SUA: Tbr, Tep]

2160. *kik / *kika ‘stand’: B.Tep132 *kikiva-i ‘to stand up’; B.Tep137 *kika ‘be standing’; M67-412 *ke ‘stand’; M88-ki3 ‘stand’; KH/M06-ki3: UP kikiiuwa; LP kivko; NT kikva; NT kikka ‘stand, stop’; ST kikvo; ST kik; TO keek; My kikte; Cr áh-če ‘he stood up’; Cr áh-če-si ‘stand up!’; Pl ihka; CN(RJC) i-ka ‘it stands, it is’; HN ‘ihka-tok; Pl ihkatuk. Azt often does CVCV > VCCV, so *kVkV > ikkV > i’ka is plausible. Add AYq kikte ‘stand up, stop, vi sg’; Nv kĩ’ka ‘ponerse de pie’. Jane Hill (p.c.) brings to bear Ktn kĩčik / kĩčk ‘stand up’, which with loss of č- in a cluster would fit these SUA forms. Though Anderton notes its similarity to Ktn kwĩčik ‘stand up’ in the set below, the two separate Ktn forms are listed, one fitting each set, and we would expect b/bw in Tep/Cah if they were the same set. Does Cr really belong? [SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt; SUA: Tak]
2161. *kwïtï / *kwïtï 'rise, get up, cure': M67-347 *kwet 'rise, get up'; BH.Cup *kwa ‘wake’; KH.NUA; M88-kwï3 'rise, get up'; AMR 2000; KH/M06-kwï3: SP kwïrï 'rise, get up'; Cu kïrïkkï 'get up'; Cp kwéle 'cure, vt; get up, vi'; Ls kwota/i 'get up, recover, vi; cure, lift something up, vt'; Ca kwé'eqe 'get up'; Sr kwïïţk 'get up'; Ktn kwïčïk 'stand up, get up'. Add WMU qürǘ / kürúkkai 'get up, arise, wake up' and Ch(L) kwïtïkiyïkwïtïkiy 'rise up, rise up'. AMR (2000) links Tb 'ool-(i) 'get up, fly' with these. [NUA: Num, Tak, Tb]

2162. *(a)hakwi 'stand': L.Son51 *hakwï/hakwi 'pararse'; M88-347 ha1 'be standing, pl'; KH/M06-347 ha1: Eu hábe 'pararse'; Wr ahawí, aha-pó 'be standing, pl'; Wr ahawá-ni 'put pl obj's standing'; Wr aapá-ni 'pararse, pl'; Tr hawí 'estar erguidos o vivir, pl'; My ha-abwe/haa'bwe, pl; Tbr akwi-tu. [NUA: Opn, Trn, Cah, Tbr]

2163. *kono 'stand, pl': Mn qono 'stand in a group';  NP konno'o 'stand, pl'. [NUA: WNum]

2164. *wami 'stand, pl': NP wammi 'stand'; Kw wowi 'stand, stop'; Ch wawámi 'stand'; Ch(L) wawaŋkïga-gah 'standing up serrated like teeth of a saw, but tall, like mountain peaks'; WMU wáa / waŋwi 'stand, pl'. [m > ŋw] [NUA: Num]

2165. *topoi 'stand, pl': Sh topoi 'stand'; Cm tobo'ikatï 'stand'. [NUA: CNum]

2166. *tuC / *tutu 'stand': Tb tulu'ula 'stand up from sitting'; Ls túú' 'stand' pl. inanim.; ST tuut 'be standing, subj pl inam'; ST tuttu' 'stand, vt (inan pl obj)'; Nv tutu 'be standing, inam subj'; PYp tuutu 'be standing, erect (pl inan subj)'; TO čuuč 'stand, pl'. Th *tuC of Ls wixé'tu 'pine sp., Pinus coulteri' probably belongs as well. [NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep]

2167. *pam 'get/go up': ST vamgia 'get up'; NT vañigïi 'levantarse'; Mn pamádï 'uphill'. It seems I have seen s.th. like *pam... 'up, high' elsewhere in UA. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

NB, for *yoci, see fly.
NB, have I not seen a cognate for Ktn cono’k 'standing up'?

STAR, CONSTELLATION; ESTRELLA, LUCERO

Mn tazinópï Hp soohi Eu síbora/si'bor
NP paatïsuba Tb šuu-l; yeu’wišn ‘morning s’ Tbr sóo; so-ko-rá-t
TSh tacïm Hip huu’-t Yq čoki
Sh(C) tacï’im-pin Ca sú’we-t My čokki
Cm taciniuupi Ls şú’-la Wr so’póri
Kw puucii-vï Cm sú’u-l Tr se’pori/so’pori/so’pari
Ch puucii-vï(i) TO huu’ Cr sú’ura’abe-(te) (-pl)
SP puucii- Nv siavagi ’e’s mayores' We cii.maniši
kaña- ‘morning star’ hughu’a ’e’s menores’ las pléyades’
WMU puúcii-vï PYp si’avg; so’opoli
CU puucii-vi NT šiáávogai CN siitlal-in
ST či’i’i; suusak naakǐm ‘evening star’

2168. *tacinuN-pi 'star': I.Num212 *taci ‘star’; M88-ta32; KH/M06-ta32: Mn; TSh; Sh(M) tacï’im-pin. The glottal stop in Sh suggests the possibility of a lost consonant, and the Cm and Mn forms both show n where the glottal stop is in Sh, all of which may point to *tacinuN-pi for CNum and WNum. Its length suggests a compound, and Sh(M) tacì ‘shining’ may be relevant to the first morpheme. [‘/w; u > ï in Sh] [NUA: Num]

2169a. *si’po ‘star’ (< *sipo’o/*sipu’u?): Eu, Tr, Wr. PYp so’opoli likely a loan < Tr/Wr so’pori. [Trn]
2169b. *puwa in *ci’apuwa or *supuwa ‘star’: PYp, Nv, NT. For *ci’a in *ci’apuwa, see *ci’a below.
2169c. *pu’-ci / *puCti 'star': Kw; Ch; SP; WMU; CU. With loss of initial *si-, SNum *pu’- likely ties with these as well. [NUA: SNum]

2169d. *su’u / *suwa 'star': Sapir; VVH71 *su 'star'; M67-413 *su/*cu; BH.Cup *sú 'star'; Munro.Cup123 *şú'u-la; L.Son254 *so/sopori; M88-su9; KH.NUA; AMR *su’u; KH/M06-su9: Hp, Tb, Ca, Cp, Ls, Sr, TO, Tbr, Cr, CN. Because *p > ø and *u > i in CN, then CN sii could fit either *su’u or *si’pu. Sapir includes Ktn hu’u-ty or hu’č 'star, landsnail' (Anderton 1988), which certainly belongs with the other Takic forms. Miller's and Hill's inclusion of Gb sosyót 'stars' certainly belongs as well; Miller's inclusion of NP paattïsupa has much in common with Tr so’parí. Miller notes that the vowel of the TrC forms *o disagrees with the other forms; interestingly NUA and Tep show *u, while SUA shows *o, with the possible exception of CN i (< *u). I agree with Sapir, Miller, and AMR who include CN, and Sapir lists Wc sulawi/jorawe, similar to the Cr form above. While most reflexes show a medial glottal stop, Nv huhuga suggests w, perhaps *sip’u > *sup/vuwa > Tep huhuga. Also worth noting is that Eu si’ibora and Tr se’porí show fronted vowels instead of back round vowels. As a side note, Cr sï’ïpu’u-(te) (pl) 'caracol(es)' of SUA and Ktn hu’č 'star, landsnail' of NUA seem built on *si’po 'star' or *si’po < *sipo'o / *sipu'. Ktn has both meanings and the Cr form fits in well with SUA words for star, though Cr sú’ura’abe-(te) (pl) 'star' is a different word. Thus, the Cr word for snail may be a loan from another UA language, though it fits star, as a comparative cognate, better than Cr’s own word for star does.

2170. *coki 'star': Yq, My. [Cah only] From M88-su9, I separate Cah, as its inclusion is problematic. [SUA: Cah]

2171. *ciha 'star': Tep *si’a (LP, PYp, NT) in *ci’apuwa and Wc cíi-, and possibly others, may well tie to 2235 *cihaLi 'sunrise, morning', that is, something shining, as stars also do. Like Sapir, I see the first syllable of CN siiitlal-in to be with *su’u / *suwa above. [SUA: Tep, Cr above.]

2172. *soniya- 'a constellation': Ch(L) soniya-wí 'nests, the Pleiades (mythology)'; SP sonnia/soonia-ngwï 'seven stars of the Great Bear'; CU söniyawi ‘the Seven Sisters constellation'; TSh soontïn 'Pleiades constellation' (TSh soontïn. comb: soon-/so'on- 'much, many, a lot'). [NUA: Num]

Start: see before and new

STAY, REMAIN, BE LEFT OVER; QUEDAR(SE), DEJARSE

2173. *pa’i 'be left over': Tb pai’iy 'be left over'; Hp pee-lawï 'leave over'. [Hp e < ai/a’i] [NUA: Hp, Tb]

2174. *pina 'be left, leave': Kw piine’e- 'leave, vt'; Kw piine’e-dï 'the remainder'; NP pina’i 'what is left over'. [V leveling in Kw] [NUA: Num]

2175. *tawa 'remain, wait': Yq táawa / tawa 'quedar(se)'; My taáwa 'stay, remain, vi, leave behind unintentionally, vt'; Mn tatawa 'wait'; and maybe Tbr towi/tovi 'quedar, flotar'. What of Cr wataúrïcee 'se quedó (persona)' but many watau- stems exist in Cr? [NUA: Num; SUA: Tbr, Cah]

2176. *tïhipa 'stay': Wr tehíba-ni 'quedar, quedarse'; Tr ŕipi/tibi 'quedar, quedarse varias cosas o personas'. [SUA: Trn]

2177. *îka / *ikî 'remain, be in a place, let lie': M88-i17: KH.NUA; KH/M06-i17: Sr 'îkï 'be in a place, lie’; Ls 'îka/i 'leave, let remain, vt; be left, vi'; Gb 'okó 'lie down'; Cp ékeme 'give'; Ca 'ékamax 'give s.o. (food/drink)’. Add Ktn 'îk 'lie’. Cp and Ca may be reduced from *îkV-maka ‘let lie-give, give/set in place’. [NUA: Tak]

NB, for B.Tep273 *vi’ia ‘to stay’; M88-pi10; L.Son192 *pi, etc., see leave.

STEAL, ROB; ROBAR, HURTAR, PILLAR

Mn noqaga/noqogá Hp ñiýiŋ-ta (accuse of) Eu écbe’a-n
NP wazí-cakatí Tb ‘ííy-(íí) Tbr icikwa
TSh innínñikkah Sr íy(ií)/íi’íí Yq ’étbwa
Sh títíkka-x/h Ca ‘éyetu My ekbwa
Cm tiriñkarí; sikusari Ls ‘uyóo-tu- Wr icikóa-ni
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Kw ʻiiya-ni-  
Cp itū’e  
Tr čiğó-; čiwá-; wi-mea  
TO ees; B: ʻiisidī  
huu-ma; ye-e-  
Ch ʻiinya  
LP ʻiis  
Cr ti’i / ra-nawa’a  
SP ʻiinyaŋka-  
PYp eesi  
Wc nava; naváaya;  
WMU ʻīgai / ʻīkko  
NT ʻiisī; ʻiisid’ai  
tináváyame ‘ladrón’  
WMU ʻīgůoa’a ‘he just stole (s.th.)’  
ST ʻiisī; ʻiisid’a; šdy a ‘rob s.o. of s.th.’  
CU ʻiinya  
šin ‘theft, robbery’  
CN ʻičteki; naamoyaa  
ʻthief’: ʻiisë; ʻiisid’s  
st ‘steal’  
MY ‘ʻiis; ‘iisid’a; shdy a ‘rob s.o. of s.th.’  
CU ʻiinya  
šin ‘theft, robbery’  
CN ʻičteki; naamoyaa  
ʻthief’: ʻiisë; ʻiisid’a; shdy a ‘rob s.o. of s.th.’  

2178a. *ʻiʻci ‘steal’: B.Tep *ʻiʻsidai ‘to steal’, and *ʻiʻsi ‘he stole’; M67-414a *?eye (NUA); VVH120 *ʻi; L.Son11  
*ʻiʻci-kwa; M88-66 ‘steal’; KH.NUA; KH/M66-66; Munro.Cup129 *ʻi̯a-t ‘theft’ {Ls ʻuyó-t; Cp ʻayó-t; Ca ʻayó-t};  
KW; SP; CU; Tb; Cp; Ca; LS; SR; Hp; TO; LP; NT; ST; Tbr; Wr; Tr; My; Ktn ʻīyw; and ʻi̯a- of CN ʻičteki. To  
Miller’s list, we can add Ch; PYp; Ey; EU; Yq. Another good example of *-c > NUA -y-, which AMR includes in “A  
Northern UA sound law: *-c > -y-”, listing SP ʻīyī-ŋka; Tb ʻīyīV; LS uyo-t ‘theif’; Ca eyet ‘robber’; Sr ʻīyw-;  
Hp ʻī’yī; TO ʻīs ‘stealth’; and Wr ʻīs ‘steal’, and Eu ʻīkwa.  

2178b. *ʻiʻci-kwa (< *ʻitikwa?): ‘steal’: Another syllable is consistently added in TrC *ʻi̯cikwa (EU, Tbr, Yq, My, Tr,  
Wr). Tb tambi‘i ‘andambi‘ ‘lie’ intrigues, but may not apply to *ʻi̯tikwa. What of the ʻi̯a- of CN ʻičteki? Even  
Eu ʻech’a’a and Tr čiğó/čiwá align well with *ʻi̯cikwa. WMU ʻīgai ‘steal’ and ʻīgůoa’a ‘he just stole (s.th.)’?  
[*t > k in My] [NUA: SNum, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Tbr, Opn, Trn, Azt]  

2179. *ʻīkka ‘steal’: TSh inn̄i̯nt̄i̯kka ‘steal, rob, v’; Sh(M) ʻītki̯ka ‘steal, v’; CM ʻīr̄ik̄̄r̄ikhar̄i̯ ‘steal, v’;  
NP ʻīhaga’ni ‘accuse of’ and the latter part of CN ʻičteki (< *ʻī̯t̄i̯kki?) ‘steal, vt’.  
[NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]  

2180. *nawa ‘rob’: Cr ʻi̯i-nawa’a ‘roba’; Cr ra-nawa’a ‘lo roba’; Wc nava ‘robbar’; Wc naváaya ‘robbar  
habitualmente’; Wc tináváyame ‘ladrón’; and perhaps the first part of CN naamoyaa ‘rob’. [SUA: CrC]  

Steam: see cloud  
Stem: see stalk  
Steepe: see canyon  
Stew: see soup  
Stick: see tree  

STICK, ADHERE, BE STICKY; PEGAR(SE), PEGAJOSO; see also pitch, mud, and pierce at cut  
2181. *cupa ‘adhere’: Eu sačúpa ‘pegar, vt’; Eu sačúpe ‘vi’; Tr čo’rí ‘cosa viscosa, pegajosa’; Tr čo’ré ‘resina,  
tremențina, resina de pino’; Tr o’čopa ‘adherirse, sg’; Tr na’čopa ‘adherirse, pegarse, conglutinarse, pl’; Tr čučupa  
‘pegarse, adherirse (freq pl)’; Wr na’čupére ‘stick to, vt’. Could *cupa be related to *cap(a) below, with the first  
vowel assimilated to the 2nd: *cupa > *capa? [SUA: Trn, Opn]  

2182. *cukoa / *cukwa ‘adhere’: since CN i < *u, then CN and CU point to s.th. near *cukoa or *cukwa:  
CN cikoaa ‘stick, fasten one thing to another, take hold of s.th.’; CU cugwí ‘adhere to, stick to’; CU cugwáy ‘meet  
(with), join, assemble’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]  

2183. *cappa ‘adhere’: Mn cappa’ni ‘stick, get stuck’; NP cabi ‘stick together, vi’; Sh cappaki ‘be stuck’; Cp čapála  
mend, stick together, vt’; and ST *sap- in ST bispa ‘apretar, fajar (cincha)’ (pres: pi’nasp); ST bisap ‘estar  
apretado (cincha), estar fajado’; ST čubispara. Mn form is also listed in I.Num136 at ‘in’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]  

2184. *pacca’a / *paca’a ‘stick, hang, adhere, fasten to’: Kw pace’e ‘stick, adhere’; SP pačča’i / pačča’a ‘hang, be  
fastened’; WMU pahčča’a ‘adhere, stick to’; CU pačča’y ‘stick to’. [NUA: SNum]  

NB, for *paki ‘stick, be stuck’: I.Num136 *paki ‘stick, go’; M88-pa5: Mn cappa’ni ‘to stick, get stuck’;  
NP wippakitta ‘to beat’; Kw čaki ‘be stuck’; SP paki-’ go, wallk’; CU pakay-way ‘walk’, see ‘enter’ at ‘in’. Is ca- a  
prefix in some, or do some forms point to *cap (Mn, NP, Cp, ST) as in *cappa above?  
Sticker: see thorn
STING; PICAR, PUNZAR; see also pierce and/or bite

2185. *upcu (> *upcu > Tep usu > usu) ‘stinger’: LP usu-di ‘a stinger’; ST upsuga’n ‘su aguijón [its stinger]’; TO uus ‘stinger of an insect, arrowhead’. For Tep *upsu, loss of v/p after u and in a cluster would be very natural, so natural we can be surprised that it survived in ST upsu, though it did not in Nv usu ‘el aguijón’. [SAU: Tep]

2186. *taña ‘sting’: Mn tana ‘sting’; NP taña’hu ‘sting’; perhaps TSh toŋkwaan ‘sting’. [n vs. ŋ] [NUA: Num]

2187. *piCkwi ‘stinger’: Kw pikwi ‘stinger of a bee’; NP piggwidï ‘stinger’; and perhaps the first part of Sh pihtu’u ‘stung by a bee’. [NUA: Num]

NB, for *suyi ‘scorpion, sting’ see scorpion.

NB, for Cm tonarï ‘stab, pierce, sting’, see at ‘cut’.

Stink: see smell
Stir: see mix

STOMACH, BELLY, WAIST; ESTÓMAGO, PANZA, CINTURA; see also navel, belt, pregnant

2188. *poka ‘stomach’: VVH149 *poka ‘stomach’; M67-416 *poka ‘stomach’; M88-po10 ‘stomach’; B.Tep278 *vooka ‘stomach’; KH/M06-po10: TO wook; LP voök(i); ST voök; Cr huká; We ne-huá ‘my stomach’. Add PYp vookar ‘stomach’; PYp vook ‘pregnant’; and Eu vokím a ‘stomach’. [SAU: Tep, Opn, CrC]

Miller unites the two under M88-sa12, *sap ‘stomach’ and *sa’a ‘guts’ (at defecate), but Tb, among other things, suggests that the two may be separate:

2189. *sappu (perhaps < *sa(a)-pï) / *saCpu ‘stomach’: M67-416 *sap ‘stomach’; I.Num177 *sapï ‘stomach’; M88-sa12 ‘stomach’; KH/M06-sa12: NP saappï; TSh sapip; Sh sa-ppi; Cm sappi; Kw sap-pi ‘stomach, tripe’; Ch sap-pi; SP sap-pi-vi; CU sap-pi-vi ‘stomach, intestines, innards, tripe’; Tb(V) sapu-l ‘belly’; Tb(V) sapus-t ‘belly’; Tb(H) ŋapušt; Tb(M) sapuubišt ‘big belly’ (vs. Tb(M) sa’at ~ ’aasa ‘defecate’; Tb(V) saa-l ‘feces’); Cr šapíh ‘vagina’; We šai-miari ‘estómago’. The 2nd V in the Tb forms seems most likely to be original. Consider also Tr sapé ‘gordo’. Note SNum *sappi-pï, which means a fossilized absolutive suffix on *sa’-pï, then a 2nd one later; or as Cr šapíh and Tr sapé ‘gordo’ are far from Num, then *sap, *sa’a, and *sa’apa ‘meat’ may be separate stems. For *sa’a ‘defecate’ and *sa’i ‘guts, intestines’ (BH.Cup *sá’i ‘guts’; M88-sa12 stomach), see defecate. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: CrC, Trn]

2190. *topa ‘belly, stomach’: M67-417 *to ‘stomach’; L.Son306 *to ‘panza’; M88-to9 ‘belly/panza’; KH/M06-to9: Wr tohpá; Tr řópa; My toppa; My tôpa’ara ‘panzó’; Eu toa. As Miller noted, Eu toa (<*towa/tova <*topa) probably belongs with loss of intervocalic bilabial. The Tak forms (found below) suggest *to’i rather than the relatively otherwise cohesive *topa. So I separate them (listed below). [p- > ø in Eu] [SAU: Opn, Cah, Trn]

2191. *to’i ‘bone, belly’: CL.Azt92 *-iht-k ‘in, inside’ (mentioned by CL as possibly cognate’; M88-to9 ‘belly/panza’; Munro.Cup11 *te’i-iaa; KH/M06-to9: Ls té’-la ‘belly’; Cp t’i-ly ‘bone’; Ca té’-i-ly ‘bone’ and Ca t’i’ily ‘belly, stomach, waist’; Ls té’-la ‘belly’; Sr t’ö’]. Munro suggests that there may be two sets involved because of the semantics and not entirely consistent vowel correspondences, since the e in Ca ‘bone’ should correspond to Ls o and Cp ø. Sr t’ö’] ‘belly, stomach’ suggests *o, with which the first vowels of the Cupan languages agree also. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Yokuts tot (Newman, 218), allowing the possibility of borrowing. CN i’t- / i’-ti-tl ‘belly’; CN -i’tek ‘within, inside, postp’; PI iht ‘belly, abdomen’. Campbell, Langacker, Miller, and Hill all list the Azt forms, but with some question; as glottal stops are highly anticipated, I find *to’i > Azt i’ti probable. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]


2194. *yoLi 'stomach': Stubbs2003-47: CN yooliš-tli 'stomach'; CN yoolitlān 'stomach'; Tbr nyoli-r 'stomach'. Another instance of a close Tbr-Azt association. [*y > Tbr ŋ; Tbr-Azt] [SUA: Tbr, Azt]  

2195. *kïca 'waist': Stubbs2003-36: Eu kečáka 'cintura [waist]'; PYp kesar 'womb'. Semantically, the pair are close enough; and phonologically, they match perfectly through four segments. [SUA: Tep, Opn]  

2196. *sakoy / *sakwi(C) 'belly': Ch sagwí-vï 'guts'; SP saġwiaa 'stomach, belly'; CU sağóy-vi 'belly'; WMU sağwi'aa / saćwí’aa / sowé’aa 'my belly'; Sh(C) sakwi”-pin / sïkwi”-pin 'stomach'. [NUA: CNum, SNum]  
NB, for *ama/ami 'rib, waist' (Sh ama 'waist, rib cage'; Cp-ámi 'waist, poss'd'), see rib. NB, in case other terms may emerge to support any of the following: NP bikó 'waist'; what of the initial pit- of Hp(S) pitmoki 'stomach, smoking bag'; Hp(H) pipmoki 'first stomach of a ruminant'; or CN picaau’-kan 'waist, lit. thin-place'; TSh piccoko 'waist, waist to knees' (at buttocks).  

Stone: see rock  

STOOP, BEND OVER, LEAN OVER; AGACHARSE, INCLINARSE: see also circle  

2197. *cuku 'stoop, bend over': L.Son46 *cuku 'agacharse'; M88-cu13; KH/M06-cu13: Op cuk; Eu cú-cuku; cuk: Wr cuhkú; Tr cukú/čogó 'be on all fours, stooped, bent over'. [SUA: Opn, Trn]  

2198. *pona/i 'stoop, bend over': SP poni/ponaa- 'stoop, project buttocks up'; Kw howaa-noponi-mii 'be stooped, bent over'. Might this verb underlie Ch(L) poniya 'skunk' and the forms there?  

2199. *mutu’u 'stoop': Kw moro'o- 'stoop down'; My mú’ula 'stoop'; Sr muur|q 'stink, be smelly'; Sr muururu’n 'be smelly, vi, stative'. Because SP poni/ponaa- 'stoop, project buttocks up' and Kw howaa-noponi-mii 'be stooped, bent over' appear to link stems for 'skunk' and 'stink', a similar semantic tie could well have Sr muur-related to Kw and My terms for 'stoop'. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Cah]  

2200. *Luka 'stoop': Ca lúku 'bend the body forward'; Cp áwluke 'set (of sun), v'; Ls lóóqa 'stoop'; *u-u-a > o-o-a may explain Ls o, and Cp has a prefix; otherwise, good. What of Ca láki ‘flatten, stoop down (body parts)’?  

2201. *wi(C)ta 'stop': Ls witá’a/i 'stand, stop'; Ls wííta 'stand (still), be stacked in a pile'; Sr widapkin 'stop doing'. [different *-t-, perhaps cluster]  

2202. *po'o/tə / *poLo- 'bend over, stoop over': AYq po’ola 'stooped over'; Cr áh pu’utawi’isi 'se inclina'; with *o > Cr u, the pair are a good match. Perhaps AYq po’okte 'bend, stoop, double over'. Because in both Cah and Cr we see *-L- > -L-, then *poLo is possible too. [SUA: Cah, CrC]  

2203. *wi(C)ta 'stop': Ls witá’a/i 'stand, stop'; Ls wiita 'stand (still), be stacked in a pile'; Sr widapkin 'stop doing’. [different *-t-, perhaps cluster]  

2204. *saCna 'stop': Tb šahna 'stop'; Cp séne 'stop'.  

STORE, KEEP, SAVE, STORAGE BIN; ALZAR, GUARDAR, ALMACENAR, ATESORAR
2205. *tiyuna 'keep': Mn tiyuna 'store'; NP notiïna 'keep s.th.'; Ca têyan 'preserve, carry on (custom, rite)'; and NT šiyû̄ndiy 'retacar, guardar, llenar mucho'. With *t- > *c > Tep *s preceding high vowels, Mn and NT agree well—slight V change in NT, major V change in Ca, *u > i in NP and a prefix. [V problem in Ca; *t- > *c > Tep *s] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep]

NB, for *tip-ki 'hole, storage cave' see ‘cave’.
NB, is Tr nitugá 'provision for trip' borrowed from ST gaamu, prs: tugamu 'put in pack/sack'?

STRAIGHT(EN); RECTO, DERECHO, DIRECTO, ENDEREZAR(SE)

2206. *ciLi 'straight': B.Tep 210 *sirini 'straight'; M88-ci11; KH/M06-ci11: TO šelini(m) adv'; UP šilini; LP šilini; NT šilini; ST šilini; We šeu.ráiy 'derecho, recto'. Miller queries whether Tbr cira-voná ’a la derecha’ is cognate.

Note TO šel-wua 'practice shooting'; TO šel-wui-dag 'ability to shoot'; TO šel 'permission, a right'; TO šel-him 'go in a straight line, go continually'; TO šelin 'straighten'; TO šelina 'arrow shaft'. Add Cr siuúrara’a 'derecho'; PYp selini 'straight, adj'; PYp selin 'stretch'; Nv síri 'derecho'; Nv aisiriga 'echar, pl' (Nv aibua ‘echar, sg’). [SUA: Tep, Tbr, CrC]

2207. *yïwi 'straighten': Cp yéywe 'straighten'; Ls yóowi 'to aim, as in shooting, to straighten arrows'. [NUA: Tak]

2208. *tuna 'straight': Mn tunaapaa ‘straight, adv’; Mn tunapaatï ‘straight (one), adj’; TSh tunaan(tïn) ‘straight, too much, excessive’; TSh tokwittunaan ‘really straight, straight ahead’; TSh tokwittunaa wïnï ‘zenith, standing straight’; Sh(M) tunnaan ‘straight’; Sh(C) tunaah-n ‘straigthen, vt; be straight, vi’; Cm tuna/tunaa ‘straight’. [NUA: Num]

2209. *muCkuNta ‘straight’: Kw mukuda ‘straight’; Ch mukúnta ‘straight’; SP mukunta ‘be straight’. All reflexes show *-kk-. [*-Nt- > -d- in Kw] [NUA: SNum]

NB, in regard to CN melaktik ‘s.th. straight’, note in Wares' (1968) Yuman collection *miramiraka 'straight’.

STRETCH, EXTEND, SPREAD; (EX)TENDER, ALARGAR, ESTIRAR; see also pull, straight, flat

2210. *ta’La (< *ta’ta) 'spread, stretch out': M88-ta13 'to extend, stretch, spread out'; KH/M06-ta13: TO taDan, taDannik 'to spread out flat'; Wr ta’lá 'tender, extender'; Tr ra’rá 'extend, esparcirse'. Miller includes Eu teká 'poner' and NP mïdda-tappi 'laying on back all stretched out' (tappi=lay). Possibly NP, but Eu better fits *tika 'stretch out lying down' at 'put', but the TO, Wr, and Tr forms are a nice set, since TO D does correspond to liquids. [SUA: Tep, Òpn, Trn]

2211. *sam’aC 'spread, v': Stubbs2003-22: Kw sa’má 'spread out (e.g., a blanket)'; Kw sa’má-pí 'blanket, mat'; SP sa’má / sam’a 'spread out (a blanket)'; SP sa’mappi ‘spread out, ptc, cover on which s.th. is laid’; Ch som’á 'spread a blanket'; Ch samápú ‘pallet, rug’; WMU sa’má-ppú ‘rug, skin, thick blanket, saddle blanket, n’; CU sa’má-pí ‘cover, rug, carpet, pad, pellet, floor’. Given the tendency of glottal stop anticipation and having two forms with the glottal stop after –m- (-m-), probably the cluster *-m’- > -’m- in the other forms. All languages with a noun suffix (Kw and SP) suggest a final -C. [V change in unaccented syllable] [NUA: SNum]

2212. *pîrak 'extend, stretch': My berak-tia ‘extend, stretch, vt’; AYq veakta ‘unroll, stretch out’; AYq veakta ‘be unrolling, vi’. [SUA: Cah]

2213a. *wasa/i 'stretch': M88-wa26; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wa26: Ca wâ’is ‘stretch, vi’; Ca wâ’isin ‘stretch, vt; Ls wâ’sa/i; Sr wâ’sak ‘stretch, spread apart, vi’; Sr wâ’skin ‘stretch, spread apart, vt’. Might these Tak forms tie to Hp wisîla 'string out, extend, stretch out on a surface’ and the Num *wisí forms at ‘net’ with assimilation: *wasi >ewisí?

2213b. *waca/i 'straight, stretch': Wr wahci ‘true, right, straight ahead’; Wr wahcîba-ni 'stretch oneself out';
2214. *huta/i 'pull, stretch, pin s.o.': Hp hootakna 'stretch, extend, pin s.o. on his/her back with arms outstretched'; Ls hóóti- 'pull, live with a woman out of wedlock'. This pair seems more likely than not. If from *huta/i, then Hp has its expected vowel, and Ls could well have lowered the vowel because of the following low a, and then final -a > -i: *huta > hota > hoti. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

2216b. *(hi)wïL 'strong, able': CN wel 'able'; Tr hiwérame 'fuerte, vigoroso, resistente'; Tr iwé-game 'fuerte, vigoroso, resistente'. Tr wáre is above also. [SUA: Trn, Azt]

2219. *siï > *sii 'strong': Kw sii-ga-dî 'one that is strong, of trees'; SP sii- 'strong'; SP súú-ga-ntü; WMU súú-/ súú-غا / súú-ga-tü 'strong'; CU súú-a-ga-tü 'strong'; Sh(C) sittawïtti 'strong, muscular'. [NUA: Num]

2222. *cîi 'suck(le)': VVH33 *cîi/i 'suck out, v'; B.Tep198 *si'î 'to suckle' and *si'î 'to suckle' with forms in all Tepiman languages; M67-421 *ci 'suckle'; M88-ci4; KH/M06-ci4: Eu čía 'mamar' (prêt: Eu ci'í); Eu čítude 'amamantar'; Tr či'i-me; Wr či'i-ña; Yq čé'e; My čé'e; AyQ či'tua 'nurse an infant, vt'; Tb čin 'breast, chest'; PYp si'a 'suck'; NT šû́fdai 'dar de mamar'; NT šû́follö 'wean'; NT šû́karö 'nipple (of bottle)'; Wc čiç 'breast'; CN čiičii 'suckle, nurse'; Tr či'-mu- 'have milk'; Cr či'immé 'milk'. [SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]
2222a. *cu’mi > *cuŋV ‘suck, sip, kiss’: M67-420 *cunj ‘suck’; CL.Azt10 *cunaakan ‘bat’; M88-cu7; KH.NUA; KH/M06-cu7: Kw čohni ‘suck, v’; Hp cōcona ‘kiss, suck, suck on pipe’; Hp(S) cohona ‘suck’; Cp čune ‘kiss, vt’; Cp čumče ‘suck’; Ca čunj ‘suck’; Ca čunj-in ‘cause to suck’; LS čunj ‘suck’; Sr čunj ‘suck, vt’; Ktŋ cuŋ ‘suck’; Eu ĉuca; Wr cu’mi ‘suck, sip, slurp food’; Tr cu’mi ‘suck, kiss, sip, eat soft things’; Tr ču’mi ‘lip, mouth’; My čumne; KH/M06 ‘čiĉiina ‘soak up, suck in, smoke, vt’ and CN ilčiina ‘suck up’ and HN čičiina/čičiini ‘suck’. Ken Hill adds Ktŋ cuŋ. Also add the last of Nv tup’suma ‘suck, v’; NT višúúsumai ‘suck’. The Tep forms suggest *čuma or *ču’ma, like Tr, Wr, and Cp. Wc ĉeĉa ‘lick’ looks much like the Azt forms. Add the -čomi of Ch(L) ko’w-a-čomi-gyah ‘tobacco-chewing-is’; CU sőö’mi ‘suck, sip, vt’; and what of the latter two syllables of CN ke’coma ‘bite’?


2223. *moCV ‘suck’: BH.Cup *mé ‘suck’; M88-mo10; KH/M06-mo10: Cp míse; Ca míš ‘to chew’; Ls méeči ‘chew to extract juice’. [NUA: Tak]

2224. *pi’nj ‘suckle, nurse, v’: VVH91 *pini ‘to suck on it’; M88-pi8 ‘to suck/chupar’; KH/M06-pi8: VVH91 show TO wiiñ; Wc hiini; Wr pi’nj ‘chupar caña’; Tr biñ ‘chupar, aprender, amansarse’. CN pina ‘dampen’ may be a loan since the expected correspondences are Wc h, CN ø. Add AYq piine ‘suck out’; Nv vinu(pana) ‘suck, lick’ and NT viñiúúmai ‘lick’. [CN p-] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC]

2225. *piCt-cu (< *piCti-cu’mi) ‘breast-suck > milk, suck, breast’: M88-pi8; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pi8: CU pičí ‘suck (breast)’ (vs. CU píi-vi ‘breast’); Kw pi’-‘suck, nurse’; Cp píse ‘nurse, suck’; Ca pís ‘nurse’; Gb pečú-mamar’; Sr pi/piiha ‘nurse, suckle, vi’; Sr piihan ‘nurse, suckle, vt’. To those could be added Mn pici ‘suck, v’; NP pici ‘suck, v’; Sh(M) pici “ ‘suck’ (vs. pici ‘breast’); Ch picï ‘suck’ (vs. pihí ‘breast’); and CN pipicoaa ‘suck, gnaw, v’; CN picoo-li ‘kiss, vt’; CN picool-li ‘kiss, n’. These are similar to, but usually not identical to *pici ‘breast’. Note the first of NT višúúsumai ‘suck’; NT piisiúúmai ‘lick’. Note the suggestion of final round vowel in Gb, CN, and Ch, while others do -i, the frequent schwa-like behavior. [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Azt]

NB, for *yï’na ‘smoke, suck’, and *yuŋu ‘smoke, suck’, see ‘smoke’. NB, for *mayi ‘cure, suck’ see ‘heal’. Suffer: see tire(d), sad, pain, sick

SUMMER; VERANO, ESTÍO

Mn tazawáno Hp taalö’ö; ĭyiis ‘early summer’ Eu kuvésrava
NP taca Tb -- Tbr --
TSh taca(wani) Sr tōōŋava’ AYq tasaria; tataria
Sh taca(”) Ca tąwpa’ My tatua ‘weather’s hot’
Cm taaca/tacatí Ls tąwpa-š Wr pami; pámíni
Kw taza Cp tąwpa Tr kuwé ‘n’; kuwésa ‘v’
Ch(L) tača TO toniabkam Cr ta’uwaste
SP taca” Nv tutondiga Wc --
WM tāč, tačātī (< *tačā”-tī) PYp hiosga-kam CN toonal-li
CU táča NT tááko; ST -- tlatootoinloo-tl

2226. *taCcaC < *tattaC / *taCcaC ‘summer’: VVH27 *tauc ‘sun, day’; M67-423c; I.Num211 *taca(h) ‘summer’; B.Tep218 *tasa ‘sun, day’; M88-ta4; KH/M06-ta4: this appears in most of the Numic languages semantically as ‘summer’, but in the Tep languages (*tasa < UA*taca) as ‘sun, day’; and Cr táca ‘be transparent, clear (water)’ may be cognate. The Numic cognates are in the table above, but the Tep forms at ‘sun’ (*tasa < *taca) belong here with this set, though they are blocked in the table under sun: TO taš ‘day, sun, clock’; Nv taš ‘sun, day’; PYp tasa ‘sun, day’; NT tásai ‘sun, day’; NT tašivodo ‘rays of sun’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, CrC]
2227. *tawa-pa 'summer': M67-422 *taupa 'summer'; BH.Cup *tawpa 'summer'; M88-ta5 'summer'; KH/M06-ta5 *taw- (AMR): Cp; Ca; Ls; Hp taala ‘be light, daylight, v’. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

2228. *kuwís 'summer': Note the exceptional similarity of kuvés in Eu kuvés-rawa ‘summer’ and Tr kuwésa ‘be summer’ as well as Tr: kuvés-rawa ‘summer’, n’; Cr ta’uwa ‘summer’ (-’uwas- after a prefixed ta-; though Cr i normally corresponds to *u, maybe the rounding influence of w afterwards retained the back round vowel). What of the -kaye of Ktn ťikwakyayc ‘shade house, where people live in summer’? Or Ktn ‘oši’ / ‘ošit ‘hot, be hot weather’ and Ktn ‘oši-va’a ‘summer’? Hp iyis ‘early summer, planting time’ reportedly derives from *ica ‘plant, v’. [SUA: Opn, Trn, CrC; NUA: Tak]

2229. *toŋiakwa… ‘summer’: TO toniabkam; Nv tutoniabagu. For *toŋaL see ‘hot’. [SUA: Tep]

NB, for CN and Tep's derivatives of *toŋVL (Nv tonorho ‘for sun to shine, v'; TO tonoD ‘shine, twinkle' (TO toni ‘be hot'); and CN toonal-li ‘warmth of the sun, summertime, day') see at 'hot'. NB, for Wr pamí 'summer', cf. Wr and Tr at *pami ‘year’.

Summit: see top

SUN, DAY, DAWN, EAST, MORNING; SOL, DIA, ALBA, AURORA, MADRUGADA, AMANECER, SALIDA DEL SOL, ESTE, ORIENTE

Mn tadábe
HP taawa
Eu távi

NP taba
Tb taal
Tbr tá-ta; tasa-lí-t

TSh tapai(cci)
Sr taamiat
Yq tá’a

Sh tapai
Ca tamit/tamyat
My taa’a

Cm tabe
Ls timé-t
Wr tahénari

Kw ta-vi
Cp támít
Tr fa-; fáyani

Ch tavá-píc(i)
TO taš
Cr síkáh

SP tava- ‘sun, day’
Nv tasa
Wc táu; háuri.víya

CU tavá-ci
PYp tasa
‘sun (ceremonial word)’

NT tásai
CN toonatiú’;

NT tonóólí; tonóóraka ‘hace sol’
‘warmth of sun’

ST hiččat ‘&our father’
ilwi-ka ‘sky’ (< sun-house)

*tanoolyiop ‘in the sun’
tonia ‘be sunny’; duu ‘sun be in a place’

Sapir; B.Tep218 *tasai ‘sun, day’; M67-423a *ta ‘sun’; BH.Cup *tVmet ‘sun, day’; HH.Cup *tamet ‘sun, day’; I.Num209 *tape/*ta- (pref.) ‘sun, day’; L.Son267 *tsa ‘sol’; M88-ta3 ‘sun, day’; AMR 1996d; KH/M06-ta3: here under M88-ta3 Miller lists many initial ta- words—TrC *tawi, Num *tapa, Tak *tami, and *taca, to highlight a few. As these may feasibly have a variety of different affixes or morphemes attached to an initial *ta-, for now let’s at least separate them by letter: HH.Cup note that Sr taamiat is probably not cognate, but rather *tamet is related to the Sr verb taami’ ‘to be light' and that a Sr cognate should be something like *támít.

2230a. *tawa / *tawV ‘sun, day’: Hp taawa ‘sun, day’; Wr tawé ‘day’; Tr řawé ‘day’; My taáwa(ri) ‘day’; Eu távi/táve/táwi ‘día, sol’; CN țaawiaa ‘to light s.th.’; AMR 1996d argues well for CN ilwi-t < *tawV (ilwi-ka-tl ‘sky’ <sun-house’); HN Ţlaawia’ to shine; Pl tatwi to dawn; Pl taawil ‘candle, light’; besides Hp taawa ‘sun’ are Hp taala ‘be light’; Hp taavi ‘sunshine, sunlight’.

2230b. *ta’a / *ta- ‘(day)light, sun’: Yq taa’a ‘sun’; My taa’a ‘sol’; Tr ra-., ta-, ra-tá ‘daylight, sun, brightness’. At ‘sand’ also does Num w correspond to Cah glottal stop.

2230c. *tapa ‘sun, day’. I.Num209 *tape/*ta- (pref.) ‘sun, day’; a cognate appears in every Num language, which aligns with Hp taawi ‘sunshine, sunlight’ but not with Hp taawa and Hp taala.

[*w > v as in pine *yuwi > *yuvi] a and b and c [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

2230d. *ta-iva-(Li) ‘become day’: Tbr ta-imoa-lí-t ‘day’; AYq taewali ‘daylight’; Cr teïhimwata’a ‘east’; AYq taiwo ‘east’. Only the first syllable *ta- is cognate here.
This collection, and CN aakaawal morpheme of Ch(L) 'aka
Ktn pa'apkač; Pl ahka
Hp a'qaw/àaqawï 'sunflower'; Cp pá'aqi
NP paa'hïï 'sunflower'; TSh akkï 'sunflower'; Sh akkïn 'sunflower seeds'; Kw < *pa
KH.NUA;
2239.
CU
WMU
SP
Ch
Kw
Cm
Sh   akkïn 'SUNFLOWER; GIRASOL, MIRASOL, ACAHUAL
NB, for *toŋa, see hot.
NB, for *taca, see summer.
2238
[NUA: Num]
to arrive at Tep sï’tal. [i-a > i-a]
2235a. *cihaLi 'sunrise, east, morning': B.Tep197 *si’ari ‘east’; L.Son34 *cira ‘amanecer’; M88-ci18; M88-ci1;
KH/M06-ci18; KH/M06-ci1: TO si’al ‘morning, east’; NT šiáli; ST sia’ly; Wr ce’la-ni/ce’ri-ma ‘amanecer, despertar’; Tr če’rá / či’rí ‘amanecer’. Combine M88-ci1 and M88-ci18 ‘east’ since the change in vowels *i-a > i-a is common, and the consonants and meanings are all quite identical. We must reconstruct *cihaL to arrive at Tep si’tal. [i-a > e-a]
2235b. *ta-si’an / *ta-siCaC ‘dawn’: Ch(L) ta-sīa ‘dawn, v’; Ch(L) ta-sīapi / ta-siánti ‘dawn, n’; Ch(L) ta-sīaŋu ‘it became morning, day broke’; Kw taši’i-zi ‘dawn, n’; SP tašiAn ‘dawn, v’ (Sapir says likely contains ta- ‘sun’); WMU tašu’s(ŋ)a-y ‘be early dawn before sun comes up’. [SUA: Tep, Trn; NUA: Num]
2237. *to’ay ‘rise, come up/out’: TSh to’eh ‘emerge, come up/out, go up out’; Sh to’ai/to’i ‘come out, emerge, climb’; Sh(GL) do’e ‘emerge, come out, go up out’; Cm to’iti ‘appear, come out, pl’; SP taša-ro’ai ‘kneel, vi’. Cm intervocalic -t- rather than r may suggest a final C, for which -y works and explains the Num vowelings.
[NUA: Num]
2238. *nul / *nal ‘aclarar el día’: Eu nurú ‘aclarar el día’ and Tbr nare ‘aclarar el día’. [SUA: Opn, Tbr]

NB, for *taŋa, see hot.
NB, for *toŋa, see summer.

SUNFLOWER; GIRASOL, MIRASOL, ACAHUAL
Mn  áki ‘seeds’; aki’bi ‘plant’  Hp ahqawi; cíqa’qawĩ(domestic) Eu akát
NP  aki; paa’hi  Tb taalataa-ugibĩ-l  Tbr  --
TSh  aki‘i  Sr  --  AYq  taa’ata vitču
Sh  akkin ‘seeds’; hiyom-pi ‘plant’  Ca pá’akal  My  bise’beero
Cm  hi’ooqi; ohayaa’  Ls pá’ka-l  Wr  --
Kw  pa’akata-bi  Cp pá’aqily  Tr  sewácarì
Ch  --  TO hiwai  Cr  waabèh
SP  --  Nv  ‘iba  We  kĩšau.cári;
WMU kũ-ppũ, tavá-si’in(t), ará-si’in(t) NT --  haa.verá ‘flor de cosmos’
CU  kī-pí (< *kīr‘-pĩ)  ST  CN  čimalaka-tl

2239. *apka(C) / *(pa)-*akka(C) ‘sunflower’: BH.Tak *pa’aq- ‘sunflower’; Fowler83; M88-‘a21 ‘sunflower’;
KH.NUA: KH/M06-‘a21: Mn áki ‘sunflower seeds’; Mn aki’bi ‘sunflower plant’; NP aki (< * aki) ‘sunflower’; NP paa’hĩi ‘sunflower’; TSh aki’bi ‘sunflower’; Sh akkin ‘sunflower seeds’; Kw < *(pa)-’akkatta-(m)bi ‘sunflower’; Hp a’qaw/aqqawi ‘sunflower’; Cp pá’aqi-l; Ca pá’aka-l; Ls pá’a-ka-l; Sr pá’aqt ‘plant sp, but not sunflower’; Ktn pa’apkač; Pl ahka-pah ‘acapate, or plant leaf used for food’. In addition to Miller’s list, let’s include the first morpheme of Ch(L) ‘aka-sītì ‘Palmita flower (woman’s name)’; Eu akát ‘sunflower’ which adds the TrC branch to this collection, and CN aakaawal-li ‘large dry leaves for lighting ovens’ (< *pa-kaawa ‘water-leave, abandon’), if the
latter is what Spanish acahual is borrowed from. Miller mentions that Num and Tak could be related only if initial *pa- 'water' is a morpheme in Tak, which seems probable, in light of the near identity of the remainder. Both CN and two Num languages (Kw and NP) recommend such, since all of them also contain pa- prefixed to a similar looking stem. Note the similarity of Hp àaqawï and CN aakaawal-li, and also that Ktn pa’apkač may show the underlying cluster *-pk- > -kk-. [Hp-Azt] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Opn, Azt]

**SUNSET, SET (of SUN); PONERSE (EL SOL); see also black and night**

2240a. *sipa (> Tep *hiva) 'sunflower': TO; Nv. [SUA: Tep]
2240b. *sawa 'sunflower': Tr sewácarí; We kíšaucári. Fowler (1983) ties Tr to TO—possible, though Tr may have borrowed from Tep. For a food item of such antiquity, check areal forms for non-UA sources. [SUA: Trn, CrC]

2241a. *yí'a / *yV'áki 'set or enter (of sun), v': Sh(GL) ya’ihwa-; Ch(L) tavapic ya’akici / tavi yí’a-kíci ‘sun set, sun disappeared, v’; Ch yi’á-ki ‘set of sun), enter, sink, v’; Ch(L) yi’a-kici ‘(having) disappeared’; Sh(C) tapai yiáah / tapai yiáah-kwa ‘sun sets/goes down’; Sh(C) yiáah/yua” ‘enter, go in/under’; Sh(C) yííkka ‘evening, after sundown’; SP yi’aqqa ‘go in, sg’; SP yi’ágí-cário ‘go in, pl’.
2241b. *ya(u)kwi ‘set, go in’: Kw ta-vi-yyukwi ‘sun to set, v’; SP tavá yauqqwi ‘sun sets, v’; CU tavá yáakwi ‘sundown, n’; CU yáakwi ‘sink (into), go into, be buried (in), disappear into’. [Num]

2242. *tapV ika- ‘set (of sun), sun-enter’: NP tab iga’hu ‘sun went down’; Mn iga ‘enter, v’; TSh tape ika(kkwa)nna ‘sun to set, v’. Note *aka ‘among, between’ at ‘in’ may tie to *ika ‘enter’. [NUA: Num]

2243a. *huLu- ‘set (of sun), v’: TO huDun ‘set or sink (of sun), v’; Eu urún ‘para el poniente’; Eu urívai ‘para el poniente’; Eu uríc’éi ‘del poniente’; EU urúkon ‘al poniente’; ST hurún ‘poniente, n’; Nv urhunu ‘anocheer, v’; NT urúnii ‘hacer tarde’; NT urúkík ‘hacer tarde’. Usually Tep h < *s, but not in Eu and sometimes Tep keeps *h, and Eu’s stem is more richly productive in its morphological use than is typical of a loan. Many morphemes suffix to *huLu, one of which is the compound below.
2243b. *huLuiniko ‘afternoon’: B.Tep79 *hurunoko/*huruniko ‘afternoon’; M88-su20; KH/M06-su20: UP huDuník; NT urunoko; ST hurík; TO huDuni ‘descend, set, sink, go down’; TO huDunig ‘sunset, west, evening, night’. Add Eu urúkon ‘al poniente’. This set may have -ko compounded on *huLu(ni) ‘set (of sun)’ at ‘set (sun)’. Eu normally has s < *s, which leans away from PUA *s for Tep h, though a loan from Tep is possible. But Tep languages occasionally keep *h, and some TrC forms suggest this could be one. [Liquids] [SUA: Tep, Opn]


2245. *taca puca ‘sunset v/n’: PYp tasa vusa ‘be sunset, v’; Nv tasavusu ‘ponerse el sol’. [SUA: Tep]

NB, for *Luka ‘stoop, bow, go down (of sun), v’ (with Cp àwluke ‘set (of sun), v’), see ‘stoop’.

Surround: see circle
Swallow: see eat and bird

**SWEAT; SUDAR, EXUDAR, SUDOR**
The following three groups constitute a nice example of the Num sub-branch divisions.

2246. *kuNa 'sweat': Mn kunaa ‘perspire’; NP kuña’a ‘sweat, v’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds a very decent possibility in Ls xúla ‘sweat, v’. [n/ŋ] [NUA: WNum, Tak]

2247. *takusito’í 'sweat': Sh takusitoi ‘sweat, v’; Cm takusito’ítí / takwííti ‘perspire, sweat’. [’>ø] [NUA: CNum]

2249. *pa-suLa 'sweat': TO wahuD / wahul- 'sweat, vi'; TO wahulødag 'sweat, n.; sweaty, adj.'; Nv vahurhu 'sweat, v'; Nv sivahurhuda 'sweat, n'; PYp vahar 'sweat, v'; PYp vahagdar 'sweat, n'; NT vaahúryari 'sweat, vi'; ST voor 'sweat' (pl ST vapor). Also likely are the latter two syllables of Cr tási'e 'sweat, vi'; WC kwaašiiya 'sweat, n', for Cr -s[i]'e < *suLV, and WC assimilated the V a bit more toward y. This is another word in which PUA *pa 'water' appears compounded in Tep, though *pa does not appear independently in Tep. [*L > ' in Cr] [SUA: Tep, CrC]

2250. *potoC 'sweat, vi': TSh poco' 'drip down, fall in droplets, leak, vi'; TSh poco'in/paco'in 'be wet, perspire, sweat'; Wr taipóci-na 'sweat, v' (tai 'be hot'; Yq tátahbúhte 'sweat, v'; AYq tatavuhte 'sweat, v'; AYq tatavuhtia 'sweat, n'. Valid if NUA *c- not from *-c-. [*c-] [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Trn]

2251. *i'wa 'sweat': Ca 'é'wa 'sweat, vi'; Cp é'we 'sweat, vi'. [NUA: Tak]

NB, Hp(S) tôŋmoki 'sweat, vi (2nd mesa) and CN itooniaa 'sweat, v'; CN itoonal-li 'sweat, n' appear to be derived from *toŋa 'sun-heat'; see hot.

SWEATHOUSE; SUDADERO

2252. *hacLa (< *hatiLa?) 'sweat oneself, vi': BH *hácla 'to sweat oneself'; M88-ha13; KH/M06-ha13: Cp hášla'-š 'sweathouse'; Ca hášla'-il 'sweathouse'; Ls hášla 'sweat oneself in a sweathouse'; Ls hášla-š 'sweathouse'. [NUA: Tak]

2253. *musaC 'sweathouse': M67-426 *musa; M88-mu16 'sweat house'; KH/M06-mu16: Mn musa'i-t 'take a sweatbath'; Mn musa'amati 'sweatbath'; TSh muusa 'sweathouse'; Tb muusa-t 'sweathouse'. Could this be an areal loan? All three languages are geographically proximate. Jane Hill (p.c.) later answered my question, saying these are a Yokuts loan. [NUA: Num, Tb]

SWEEP; ESCOBAR, BARRER; see also comb

2254. *poci 'sweep': B.Tep275 *voisikai 'to sweep, press down' at M88-po25; KH/M06-po25; and B.Tep276 *voisikaroit 'broom' at M88-po26; KH/M06-po26: TO wosun(a) 'sweep'; LP(B) voiši 'sweep'; Nv voska 'barrer'; NT vóišikai; ST voššik/voška' 'barrer'. [SUA: Tep]

2255. *copa 'sweep': CL.Azt164 *očpa 'sweep'; 214 *copa 'clean, sweep'; M88-co16; KH/M06-co16: CN očpaana 'sweep'; Pl (u)čpaana 'sweep'. If očpa < *poci-pana, then a morpheme agrees with Tep *poci above and palatalized č is explainable. [SUA: Azt]

2256a. *wak 'sweep, comb': BH.Cup *wáq- 'sweep'; M88-wa24; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wa24: Ca wáka'an 'sweep, clean, comb, rake'; Ls wáqi 'sweep, brush, comb'; Cp wák 'comb, sweep'; Sr wōōq 'sweep, brush, comb' (vowel is wrong Miller notes, so we put it and Ktn in b); Miller includes the possibility of Washo wēge 'sweep'. Add Hp laq-ta 'sweep snow clear' and Ktn wok- 'brush, sweep, v'.

2256b. *wok 'brush, sweep': Sr wōōq; Ktn wok-. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

2257. *(hi)paca 'sweep': Eu hipáca 'barrer'; Eu pápca 'barrer'; Wr ihpéci-na 'barrer'; Tr piči 'barrer'; Cr híča'uta 'está barriendo'. This may be tied to *poci above? [a > in Tr like at hungry; hi- > ih- in Wr, p > ø in Cr] [NUA: Opn, Trn, CrC]

NB, for *(hi)čikí 'comb, sweep', see comb.

NB, for *(wi)son, see comb.

NB, TSh wisone and TO wosun(a) both have initial w and the words are quite similar for quite some length—three syllables—but TO should have g < *w and h < *s, so is a loan possible? I suppose the distance is not that great—southern Nevada/California and southern Arizona.

SWEET, HONEY; DULCE, RICO, MIEL

2258. *hupa / *(h)i(h)opi 'tasty, sweet': B.Tep *i'ovi 'tasty'; M88-'i10; KH/M06-'i10 'tasty': TO i'owi; PYp io'ovi, pl: iohovi 'sweet, tasty'; NT yöövi 'sweet, salted'; ST 'i'oov. Consider AYq win-huva 'sweet-smelling'. UA *hupa 'have odor' resembles Tep *'-ovi, for Tep *i'ovi does look like a compound? [SUA: Tep, Cah]
2260. *kaka 'sweet': L.Son71 *kaka 'dulce'; M67-427; M88-ka2; Yq káka; My káka; Wr kakhá; Tr aká(g)ame 'sweet'; Tr aká-re-ma ‘be good, tasty’; Cr án-kaká; Wc kaka. Much of M88-ka2 consists of *kamma 'taste' (see at 'taste'). [SUA: Trn, Cah, CrC]

2261. *nakwV 'sumac, honey': BH.Cup *nakwat 'sumac'; M88-na28 'sumac'; KH/M06-na28: Cp näkw-i 'sugar bush'; Ca näkw-t 'sumac, sugar bush'; Ls näqw-u 'laurel sumac'; Sr nahtu 'sumac'; CN neuk-tli (< *nekw-) 'honey’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

2262. *mumus-(palawa) 'honey, lit. bee-juice': AYq mumum; My mumu bá’awa; Wr momohá; Hp momospala. [NUA and SUA liquid] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah, Trn]

NB, for Eu kewá'e 'sweet', see good. NB, see also *kama 'taste'—an element in many 'sweet' words.

Sweet potato: see potato

SWELL; HINCHAR(SE), INFLAR(SE), HARTAR(SE)

2263. *posa 'swell': Sapir; M67-429 *posa/poca 'swell'; L.Son214 *posa 'hurtarse'; CL.Azt129 *ooc 'pregnant', 277 **poca 'swell'; M88-po14 'swell'; KH/M06-po14: Hp pōšaywa 'swelling'; Hp pōši 'swell' (and *pos-ti 'become swollen'); Wr posa- 'estar lleno, satisfecho'; Wr pocí 'estar lleno, satisfecho'; Tr(B) posá/bosá, bosawí (irreg pres) 'full from eating'; Tr(L) pōča/búča 'ser lleno, hincharse, enturbiarse un color'; Tr(L) bočíwi 'llenarse'; Cr huša 'satisfecho'; and SP pučča 'be filled'. Add Mn puusi 'bloat, vi'. Sapir associates CN posa 'inflate, vt'; CN posaawi 'swell'; Cr huša 'be satisfied'; and SP puca 'be filled'. Add Eu bósve- 'hurtarse de comida' and Eu bosáhtude- 'llenar a otro de comida'. Cr, Hp, CN, and TrC forms with -s-fit; however, the *poca forms, such as CN ooc-tli 'pregnant'; CN poca 'throw up earth, burrow'; HN 'oc-tli' 'pregnant animal'; Pl ucti-tuk 'pregnant'; SP pučča 'be filled'; Ch póoca 'inflante' and Sr pōčč-k 'swell, bloat' seem to be from s.th. involving a -*t-like medial C for NUA in order for SP, Ch, and Sr to show -c-. As for *-t-, note My pot-te-k 'swell (of stomach)' which may suggest this is *-t- or that the medial -c- is from *-t- or possibly from a cluster with *-t-.. Some forms may suggest *pus rather than *pos: CN išwi 'satisfy one's appetite for food'; Pl išwi 'full (of food)'; Cr tyf-his-tya-ka’a 'it got filled up'. Actually, CN išwi fits the expected Azt phonology, so Azt *posaawa (note Tr posa) and Azt posati (note Hp pōši) may be borrowed from UA languages to the north. I think we UAnists may be mixing *potV > *poca 'pregnant' at pregnant and *posa 'swell, be full' which may be two different stems, as exemplified by the two CN forms: *ooc- and išwi (and posaawa/i from the north), and the UA speakers themselves may have mixed/meshed the forms semantically and phonologically over time also. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds the possibility Kw paho 'swell, vi'. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

2264. *pakani 'swell': M88-pa61; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa61: Ca pánax 'swell'; Sr paqána 'swell (up)'. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ktn pakana ‘be swollen’. Miller includes Cp pákwiwite 'be blistered', but it may better match Num *pawí below unless an explanation emerges. [NUA: Tak]

2265a. *pakwi 'swell': TSh pakwi' 'swell, vi'; Sh paqwi'/pekwi' 'swell, vi'; Cp}pxwite 'be blistered'.

2265b. *pahva 'swell': NP pahwa ‘swell, vi’; Mn pawa ‘swell, vi’; Ch pawá ‘swell by sting or disease’.

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Note CNum -kw- vs. WNum -(h)w- while in *paNkwi ‘fish’ is CNum -Nkw- and WNum -kw-, WNum showing more lenition, such that a cluster is needed in WNum to retain -kw-.
[kw > (h)w a-i > ai > e-I; Cf. pahi-wi below.] [NUA: Num, Tak]

2266. *patto- ‘swell’: Stubbs2003-24: Cp pátíče (*o > Ca i) ‘swell, rise, vi’; Ca pátiś ‘swell, bloat, vi’; Ca páti ‘get bloated, get round, vi’; CU pító-’nay’/ni ‘swell up, vi’ (note *o > CU ō, and V > ŋ, the UA schwa in unaccented syllables); Cm paro’iki ‘rise, swell (as river, creek)’; Cm pohtoki ‘puff up, bloat, swell’; Cm atabaró’i ‘rise, swell (tend to flood, as water in a creek), vi’; perhaps Wc hátïka ‘hinchar, pl’ though Wc hatu... would be expected. All forms show 2nd V *o (except Wc) and 1st V *a, except the CU form and one of the Cm forms, which accord with unaccented vowels being less stable: one became the UA schwa ŋ and the other assimilated to the 2nd vowel. [V change in unaccented syllable] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: CrC]


SWIM; NADAR, FLOTAR; see also bathe, wash
Mn pahabi; nabakiya Hp momori Eu vákura
NP pahabi; pamawa’ya Tb pai’ič Tbr ona- ‘&pull, walk’
Sr -- tovi / towi-tu ‘float, quedar, dejar’
TSh nokoicoih Ls wááya- AYq vahume
Sh pa-hapi; pa-nua Ca -- My bahume
Cm pahabitì (water-lie) Cp wáye Wr ka’kè-na
Kw paa-ge-nukwi- TO waččui(mk) Tr ganaye; piba
Ch naváki Nv vahimu; sibahidadgka Cr á’ahuahe; wahauhsin ‘nada!’
SP -- PYp komlim; vaahana; vätipim ‘&bathe’ Wc hau(řika)
CU naváki; ’avi-vöri NT -- CN aa-neloa ‘water-stir’
ST gišia; čb, bihi, aa-wilaana ‘water-drag’
biiya’ ‘float, try to swim’ aa-kwi ‘water-take’

Some branches have a term (Num, Tak), but no pan-UA word exists, and many are synchronically transparent.

2268. *pa-hapi ‘swim, lit. water-lie’: I.Num131 *pahapi ‘swim’; M88-pa15 ‘swim’; KH/M06-pa15: Mn pahabi; NP pahabi; Sh pa-hapi"; Cm pahabilit; and partially CU ‘api-pori. Sh hapi" is lie down, be prone; so *pa-hapi" ‘water-prone' appears to apply to the other Numic forms resembling *pa-hapi as well. [NUA: Num]

2269. *waya ‘swim’: Ls wááya ‘swim’; Cp wáye ‘swim, float’. [NUA: Tak]

2270. *pa-humay ‘swim, lit. water-spread/prone': My bahume 'nadar'; AYq vahume 'swim’. Since being spread out is the swimming position, Cp hum(e)-ine ‘spread a liquid or s.th. fine like sugar’; Cp hume-yaxe ‘be spread out’; and others of the set at *humay ‘smear, spread’ represent the stem used in Cah’s compounds for ‘swim’. [SUA: Cah]

NB, for Num *na-pa-kï ‘swim' (Mn nabakiya; Ch naváki; CU naváki), see ‘wash’.

Swing: see shake
Sycamore: see tree

TAIL; COLA

Mn kwazi Hp sîrî Eu basít
NP kwasi Tb wišii Tbr bakusí/wakusí-r
TSh kwasi(cci) Sr a-wad Yq bwásia
Sh kwasi/kwesi Ca kwas My bwasia
Cm kwasi Cp qaš Wr wâhsí
Kw kwasi-ri Ls pïqsiv Tr wâsí
Ch kwasi TO bañi; baik Cr kwâsi
SP kwasi LP/Nv bañi/vahi Wc kwâšî;
**2271. *kwasiC (AMR)*** ‘tail, penis’: Sapir; VVH51 *kwasi 'tail'; M67-430*kwasi/*kwaci; I.Num81 *kwesi/*kwasi; BH.Cup *qwas'; B.Tep2a *bahi; L.Son116 *kwasi 'cola'; M88-kwa2; KH.NUA; KH/M06-kwa2: this reflex is represented in every UA language except Azt; Hp kwasi 'penis' is cognate with UA *kwasi 'tail'; in fact, I once heard Miller state that the original meaning of *kwasi was 'penis' and changed to 'tail' in other UA languages. I do not know how he arrived at that opinion or if he was informally citing s.o. else, but Ls pqwsv (< *pi-kwasi) suggests so, as more literally meaning ‘back-penis’—i.e., ‘tail’. NT baabáidy ‘carne’, NT baabáidyiuvi ‘oler a carne, vi’; and NT baabáityai ‘hacer cecina [make jerky]’ may also be of interest. Ktn kwacita-c ‘tail’ reminds us that c/s difficulties make consistency and clarity infrequent companions in UA work. Ktn and NT and Cahitan suggest a final C as AMR suggests. [*kw > w in Sr*]

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC]

**2272. *sati*** ‘tail’ > ‘dog’ (in Num) / > ‘anus’ (in Tak, Mn): I.Num179 *sati/*sati'i ‘dog’; Fowler83; M88-sa15; KH/M06-sa15 ‘dog’; NP sa'ti ‘dog’ (may be a borrowing from Sh Miller suggests); Sh satii; SP sarri-; WMU sarri-; CU sarri-; CM sarrii ‘dog’. Hp siri ‘tail’ is feasibly cognate with Num *sati ‘dog’ after vowel leveling: *sati > siri. The most prominent feature of a dog (vs. other animals) is its wagging tail and these Num-only words for ‘dog’ as a branch innovation are either a loan or a semantic shift. Ktn siri-c ‘anus, stingy’ is a decent tie between Hp siri ‘tail’ and Num *sati ‘dog’. Mn cede ‘anus, butt, bum’ likely belongs as well; and Hp, Ktn, and Mn suggest that ‘tail’ may have been the original element, shifting to ‘dog’ in Num and ‘anus’ in Tak. Similar instances of V leveling occur in Hp (Hp CeCe/CiCi vs.Num CaCi; e.g., see at kidney, rain). Another potential support for *sari ‘tail’ > ‘dog’ is the SNum slow(ly): CU sariv ‘slow(ly)’; WMU sariv ‘slow(ly)’. This fits the pattern *sari-va ‘tail-at’ (va ‘at’ being a common adverb ending in Ute); that is, one who is slow is at the “tail” end, at the tail of the one(s) in front. As in *kwasi ‘penis > tail’, so Hp may again be the lone retainer of original meaning in *sati ‘tail > dog/anus’.

[NUA: CNum, SNum, Tak, Hp]

Take: see carry
Take care of: see care
Talk: see say
Tall: see long, up

**TASTE; PROBAR, CATAR, SABOREAR**; see also suck and eat

**2273. *yika*** (have) taste': VVH107 *yika ‘to taste': M88-y16; KH/M06-y16: TO jik; Hp yikī. Add Nv duka (dīka) ‘probar’; NT dīdīkai ‘probar (comida), vt’; ST dīka ‘probar, saborear (alimento), vt’.

[NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

**2274. *tíma / *tíCma*** ‘taste’: Mn tíma ‘taste, v’; Sh tīmāi ‘taste, v’; Kw tīmaka’a ‘taste, v’; Cr ra-teémwa’a ‘lo prueba, lo saborea’. What of Tr ra*ma ‘probar, gustar, tomar el sabor’? [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC, Trn]

**2275. *hiwV*** ‘taste’: Yq hiwe ‘taste’; My hiwe ‘taste’. [SUA: Cah]

NB, for *kaCma ‘taste’ see at ‘eat’ and ‘face’.
NB, though uncertain, Cp málañwi ‘taste, approve’ and Tb milh’milh 'taste good' are worth keeping in mind as both contain something of a m-l-k/ pattern with possibly assimilated vowels.
NB, for *kaka ‘(taste) sweet’, see sweet.
NB, for Hp kwilo ‘sample by tasting’, see swallow.

Tear: see cry or break
Tease: see laugh
Tell: see say
Ten: see under the numbers toward the end
**THING, SOMETHING; COSA, ASUNTO**

2276. *(ta)hamu / *(ta)Lw a 'sinew, tendon, nerve'; VVH125 *ta- 'sinew'; BH.Cup *ta 'sinew'; B.Tep219a *tatah > *tata 'nerve' (ST tataa'; LP tatgi); B.Tep219b *tata 'nerve' (NT tátai; UP tatai); M67-377 *ta 'sinew'; I.Num204 *tamu 'muscle, thread, sinew'; L.Son279 *tawa/tawi 'nervio'; M88-tal9 'sinew'; KH.NUA; AMR 1993a *tap 'sinew'; KH/M06-tal9 *tap: Miller includes all these together, yet beyond initial *ta-, the NUA and SUA forms differ. Let’s divide them thus:

2276a. *(ta)hamu: Mn tammu 'muscle'; NP ddammu 'thread, sinew, muscle'; TSh tammo 'sinew'; Sh tammu 'sinew'; Kw tammu-'vi 'sinew'; SP tammu-vi 'sinew'; CU tamu-vi 'muscle, sinew, ligament, thread'; Tb tap-t 'tendon, cartilage, gristle'; Cp te 'sinew, nerve'; Ls t'a 'sinew'; Sr tapan 'tendon'; Hp tahì 'ligament, tendon, sinew, gristle, cartilage, muscle'.

2276b. *(ta)wa (perhaps < *taLwa < *tatawa): Eu tavira 'nervio'; Wr tawá 'vein, tendon'; Tr rawá 'nervio, tendón'; My tättem 'tendon'; Yq tättem 'tendon, nerve'; Tbr tatamwá-t 'tendon'; WC taatá 'nerve, tendon'; Cr tâtaa 'sinew'; and CN tâlwan-t 'sinew, tendon' (Andrews, 179); CN tâlwayo-1l 'tendon, blood vessel'. Add PYp tâlgara 'nerve, tendon, root'. Like reduplicaton in Tbr *tatawa, CN’s -t- may be from reduplicated -t-. *tatawa > *talawa > *talwa. Note that in both *talwa 'tendon/sinew' and *nalwa 'root', CN shows the -lw- medial cluster, while many TrC forms show all else except the liquid: tawa and nawa respectively. Could the -p- in Sr tap and Tb tap-t be due to V loss, then the bilabial nasal in cluster with the stop -t changed the bilabial to a stop also: *tam-t > *tam-t > *tap-t? *(*-lw- cluster also in root) [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Opn, Tep, Cah, Tbr, Trn, CrC, Azt]

**THIN, SLIM, SKINNY; DELGADO, FLACO; see also dry**

2277. *(ta)wi 'thin': M88-ya26; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ya26: Ca yáwi 'get skinny, thin'; Ca yáwi-š 'skinny one'; Sr yaipk 'be thin'; Gb yaróri' 'flaco'.  Add We yéu/yéva 'ancho, angosto'.  [*w > CrC v/p] [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

2278. *(k)ana 'thin, flat': Sh kanah 'thin (of animal or person)'; CN kanaaw(a) 'make s.th. thin and flat'; CN kanaawa-k 'something flat and thin'; perhaps Kw 'ani-š 'be thin, frail', if missing initial k-.

2279. *(t)aki 'thin': Mn tagí 'acici 'be extremely thin'; Mn tígi-bí 'skinny one'; NP tígiyá'i 'skinny'; Cm tahi 'flat, thin, lightweight'; Kw takena-píi-či 'slim'.  [*-k- > -h- in Cm] [NUA: Num]

2280a. *(pi)cawa 'thin': CL.Azt166 *pVca(awa)k 'thin, skinny'; M88-pi20; KH/M06-pi20: CN picaawak; HN picaawak; Pl picaawak. I like Jane Hill’s (p.c.) observation that CU čáa 'thin, skinny, narrow', may tie in here, as SNum forms often lose the first syllable of PUA terms when stress falls on the 2nd syllable; e.g., *tosa 'white' > SNum *sa-ka-t 'white'. Thus, *cah below is made a letter of the same set.

2280b. *(ca)ha 'thin, slender, wrinkled': Ktn cahawík 'be lean'; Ktn cahwik 'lean'; pl: cawcawkit; Kw čáa- 'wrinkled'; SP čaa- 'wrinkled'; WMU čáa- 'skinny'; čáa-š  'be thin, skinny, narrow, vi'; CU čáa-š  'be thin, skinny, narrow'. Consistent with the -h- in Ktn, the falling tone in CU often represents a lost intervocalic consonant, and a final -wV syllable is in both Ktn and Azt. [Azt initial *p-] [SUA: Azt; NUA: Tak, SNum]

NB, for *(ta)pasi 'thin', see 'dry'.
NB, for *waki 'dry, thin', see ‘dry’.
NB, for *komaL 'thin', see ‘flat’.

**THING, SOMETHING; COSA, ASUNTO**

2281. *(hi)-tapi(ri) 'thing': Eu hitávic 'algo, cosa indeterminada'; Wr ihtapéripéri 'thing'; Wr ta’peri 'thing';
Tr tábiri 'cosa'; Tr râpè 'thing, a little (amount)'; CN tepi/tipi- 'small thing' in tepi-cin 'small thing' and CN tepiton 'small thing'. Do AYq hita 'what, thing, something' and UA *hiCta 'what?' tie in? [SUA: Opn, Trn, Cah, Azt]

2282. *ti'ita 'thing': Cr tî-iita' 'cosa'; We tîta 'lo que, que? [what, what?]'. [SUA: CrC]

2283a. *hini 'thing': the latter part of Mn (inahu)hîipi 'something'; TSh himpi 'thing'; Cм hihini 'thing'; SP ini'aa 'thing, something'. *suLa 'think, reflect'. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tr]

2283b. *inahV 'thing': Mn (inahu)hîipi 'something'; the -naha- portion of TSh nanahakaittïin 'things'. [NUA: Num]

THINK, REMEMBER; PENSAR, ACORDARSE

2284. *ti'La 'think, remember, believe, feel, want': B.Tep337 *iri'dai 'believe'; L.Son12 *íra 'sentir, desear'; M88-i7 'think'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-i7 'think of/about': Hp í'na 'recall, remember'; TO ílid 'think (about), decide, conclude, wish; fear, be in awe of, vt'; TO ílidaDag 'plan, thought, care, n'; Eu éra 'pensar, v'; Eu erádana 'pensamiento, n'; My éyya; Pl el-kaawa 'forger'; Pl el-naamiki 'remember'; Wr e'reba-ni 'remember'; Wr e'lá-ni, e'la-m á 'think about, be concerned about, be considerate, work for the welfare of others, be useful, think to be so'. The applicative of that is Wr e're-na/ma 'care to do s.th., take good care of s.th., think about, consider s.th.' We 'érie 'sentir, pensar, creer' also belongs with Tep íri- and SUA generally. The il- of CN ilnaamiki 'remember, reflect on s.th.' and Pl elnaamiki 'remember' and Pl elkaawa 'forget, v'. Tep: UP 'ílidi; LP 'ílé; NT íliddi 'believe, think, want; ST 'ílpiid'. In Tak are Sr ñnaan 'know, recognize, learn'; Ca 'é'nan 'know, recognize, learn, find out'; Lt ó'na 'know, recognize, be acquainted with'. Add Nv íra (urha); AYq ea 'think, feel, vi'. Ken Hill adds Ktn in 'know, know how, understand'. Eu and TO share a compound *ti'Le-yawa. [SUA L; NUA N] [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

2285. *wiý'a 'think' (with *suna 'heart'): Lt (s-úun)wóy'a- 'think, vi; count, vt'; Cp wéye 'worry, think'. Though uncertain and not yet countable, what of Hp wiïwa 'think, ponder, wonder' and SP waika 'to deliberate in council' and AYq wàate 'think of, remember'? [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num; SUA: Cah]

2286. *ti'kay 'think': TO čegito 'think'; PYp tekito 'think, need'; not Hp ti'kay 'temple, n'? [SUA: Tep]

2287. *summay 'think about': Ch sumáí 'remember'; SP šummay 'have in mind, think of, remember'; NP suma'yí 'remember'; CU sumá-('ni) 'think of' (but CU máy-ka-ni 'think, believe' and Ch má-i-ni 'think'); Mn tïsumiya 'ponder, think about'. At M88-su15 'know', Miller has CNNum/ TSh/Sh sumpanai 'know' and at M88-su13 'heart' he has the many *suLa forms and CU sumay; however, six Num languages have intervocalic -m-, not -n-/-n-. For potential overlap or confusion in forms, see discussion at 'breathe' for *sumaC 'breathe', *summay 'think, remember', and *suwaC 'want'. [NUA: WNum, SNum]

2288. *tama 'remember' or Num *na-suN-tama 'remember': TSh nasuntamah 'remember'; Sh na-suntamah 'remember, v'; CrC, Azt, Su'na and CN tepiton 'remember'. Mn tïsumiya 'ponder, think about'. At M88-su15 'know', Miller has CNNum/ TSh/Sh sumpanai 'know' and at M88-su13 'heart' he has the many *suLa forms and CU sumay; however, six Num languages have intervocalic -m-, not -n-/-n-. For potential overlap or confusion in forms, see discussion at 'breathe' for *sumaC 'breathe', *summay 'think, remember', and *suwaC 'want'. [NUA: WNum, SNum]

2289. *natya / *natay 'plan': Hp tïnatya(w-ta) 'plan, n(v), be careful, prudent, mindful'; Hp tïnatïy-ta 'plan, v'; Tr natá 'think, reflect'. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn]

2290. *mukuwa-tu 'think': TSh mukuatu 'think, vi'; Kw muguwa- 'mind, thought, n'; Kw muguwa-rî- 'think, v'; Ch muguåaru 'think, v'. [NUA: Num]

2291. *mîLy 'remember': Ls móli 'remember'; PYp ameldim 'hear, remember'. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]
2292. *tojo-mukki ‘be thirsty, heat-die’: B.Tep225 *tonomo/tonomu ‘thirsty’; M88-to22; KH/M06-to22: TO tonom(kam); Nv tonomu(giga) v(n); LP tono; NT tonóño; ST tonoom/čanoom/tonom. In light of the severe segmental/phonological reductions that occur in the latter parts of UA lexemes (i.e., little evidence of final -ki), this is likely a compound of *tojo-mukki ‘heat-die > thirst’. NT tonóómo/tonóomuka ‘tener sed’ and NT tonómukuri ‘darle sed’ support such. [SUA: Tep]

2293a. *taku ‘thirst(y)’: Stubbs2003-11: TSh taku ‘thirst, n’; TSh takukko ‘i’h be thirsty’y; TSh takuccīwah ‘be thirsty’y; Sh taku-piïkä ‘be thirsty’y; Kw tagu-(ye’e) ‘be thirsty’y; Kw tagu-pi ‘thirst, n’y; SP tagú ‘be thirsty’y, vi’y; WMU tagúnarú’i; Cu tagúy-narú’ay ‘be thirsty’y, lit: thirst-buy’y; Mn pasïtugu’y ‘be dry from thirst’y; Ca takú piï with/because of thirst’y.

2293b. *pa-takci ‘thirsty’: Stubbs2003-1: Eu varákce ‘tener sed’y; Tr baracé- ‘darle a uno sed, tener sed’y. Perhaps *pa-takci < *pa-takuV, i.e., with Num *takCI. At 616 Eu téksos ‘pierce’y also shows -k as first C in a cluster, while other languages show *tiso. [*-CC- red] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn]

2294. *paLa-mukki ‘thirst’y: Yq ba’aimuuke’y; My ba’imuuke’y; Wr palamú-na. CN aa-miki ‘be thirsty’y derives from a compound of *pa-mukki ‘water-die’y while TrC appears to contain *paLawa ‘juice, liquid’y; thus, different. [SUA: Trn, Cah]

2295. *pappapi(tu) ‘thirst’y: Ca, Lt. [NUA: Tak]

THORN, STICKER; ESPINA

2296. *wica (AMR) / *wiCcaC ‘thorn, awl’y: Sapir; M67-14 *wi ‘awl’y; L.Son332 *wica ‘espina, aguja’y; CL.Azt167 *wic ‘thorn’y, 202 *wi ‘awl’y; M88-w15 ‘awl’y: KH.NUA; KH/M06-w15 *wicaC (after AMR): Mn wíti ‘awl’y; NP wíci ‘awl’y; Kw wíyai-ci ‘awl’y; Cu wíyai-ci ‘awl’y, large needle’y; Cp ñwey-e ‘spine, thorn’y; Ca wíyai ‘pencil cactus’y; Ca ‘ïwyai-l ‘thorn, sticker’y; Lt wíyáy-la ‘quartz crystal’y; Sr wíhaa ‘thorn, needle’y; Ktn wíhaa-č ‘cholla cactus’y; Eu wécá; Wr wíhaa-č ‘thorn, needle’y; Tr wíhaa-č ‘thorn, needle’y; Tr wíhaa-č ‘type of bush’y; Yq wíhaa; AyQ wiwakame ‘thistle’y; My wícha’y; CN wícha-l ‘thorn, spine’y. Add SP wíi ‘awl’y and Sapir himself also compares SP wíi’/wi-ci ‘knife’y; in fact, NUA (SNum, Tak) *wiya- and TrC *wica align well. However, Tak *iwi does not equate to Tak *wiya. Manaster-Ramer includes this set in his article "A Northern UA sound law: *-c- > -y-,” in which he lists My wícha and other forms above demonstrate NUA *wiya < PUA *wica. Sapir ties these above with Tep *gisu ‘cactus sp.’ (< *wicu) which is possible. Note Ca wíya ‘pencil cactus’y and Ca ‘ïwyai-l ‘thorn, sticker’y, the latter showing a pattern of CV-CV > VCCV, like CN sometimes does. [*-c-; *-i-a > e-a] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn, Azt]

2297. *so’i ‘thorn, pierce’y: VVH132 *so’i ‘thorn’y; B.Tep74 *ho’i ‘thorn’y; L.Son255 *so, so-i ‘espinarse’y; M88-so2; KH/M06-so2: Ls šé ‘pierce, shoot with a bow’y; Sr hó’i ‘to sew’y; TO ho’i’y; LP ho’i’ho’i’y; PYP ho’i’y; NT ho’i’y; NT ómadaí ‘espina’y; NT ódyadí ‘espina’y; ST ho’i’ho’i’y; Wr so’i ‘espinarse’y; Tr so’i ‘iwá ‘espina, astilla’y; Tr so’i〈w〉-imea ‘pierce’y; My sooso’-k ‘se espino’y; AyQ sooso ‘thorn, sticker’y; HN so’ ‘to string with a needle and thread’y. Add Nv ho’i ‘espina [thorn’y]. What of CN pa’sol-li ‘briar patch’y? [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Azt]
2298. *mana 'thorn': Kw mana-vi ‘thorn, spine, porcupine quill’; Ch(L) manaví ‘thorn, new branch budding out on a cholla cactus’; SP mana-vi ‘thorn, spine’; CU maná-vi ‘quill, thorn, spine, needle, cactus’; WMU manñá-vi ‘cactus, tumbleweed, thorn’; Ktn manač ‘small prickly pear sp with inedible fruit, cactus’. [NUA: SNum, Tak]

2299. *aiku ‘thorn’: TSh aikupici / ekupici ‘cactus, thorn, porcupine’; Sh aiko-pin ‘thorn, prickly pear cactus’. [NUA: CNum]

2300. *hu’uC ‘thorn’: Fowler83 *hu’u ‘boxthorn, Lycium andersonii’; Kw hu’u-pi-ví ‘boxthorn, desert thorn’; Sh hi’i- ‘stickers’; Mn; NP; SP; CU. Fowler has forms not shown. [*u > Num i] [NUA: Num]


NB, for *cikka /*cikV ‘thorn, poke, point’, see edge.
NB, for *opi and Tak *ivi, see awl.
NB, for *sanja, see bee.
NB, do we have cognates for Hp kïïta ‘thorn, briar, sticker, spine’; Hp(S) kyeeta ‘thorn’?

Thread: see rope
Three: see under numbers toward the end
Throat: see neck

THROW, SHOOT, POUR, EMPTY; TIRAR, LANZAR, ECHAR, FLECHAR, DISPARAR, VERTER, DERRAMAR, VACIO, VACIAR

2302. *pasa/i ‘throw at’: L.Son *pasa/*pas-i ‘tirarle’; M88-pa40 ‘tirarle’; KH/M06-pa40: Wr pahsiba-ni; Tr basá, basí-mea; Tbr wasa. [*p > w in Tbr] [SUA: Tbr, Trn]

2303. *wina ‘throw down/out, spill, empty’: M67-157 *wen ‘empty’; M88-wi4; KH/M06-wi4: NP wíñai ‘throw, v’; Cm wí-níñ-kupa ‘be knocked down, be thrown down’; Kw wine ‘throw down, drop’; SP wíñai ‘throw down’; CU wíñay ‘throw’; but Sh wíttia ‘to empty, spill’ may better belong below with *witta. Add Mn wíña ‘throw away, get rid of’; Sr wín ‘throw away, throw down, roll (dice), neglect (a child)’; Eu wáña ‘pour, throw’; WMU wíná-y / wíñá-y / wíná-y ‘throw down, sell, throw away, get rid of, give, vt’; and maybe Sh wíi ‘throw s.th. light away or aside’. Below are Sh wí ‘wí throw s.th. big or solid, sg obj’ and other terms compounding this with *taC- prefixed. [NUA: Num; SUA: Opn]

2304. *taC-(k)wina / *taC-kuna ‘throw down/away’: Mn takwína ‘i ‘release, throw’; Mn takuna ‘i ‘throw away, vt’; TSh (tak)kuna ‘throw, vt’; Mn tígwi’na ‘spill, dump’; Sh(C) takkwí ‘make a snapping sound’; perhaps Cm cah-kwa’nu’tí ‘throw down a person (as in wrestling)’; Ls tókwi ‘throw away’; Cp tékwe ‘throw away’. Notice that the Tak forms derive from *tikwi (< *takwi). These could feasibly have a morpheeme prefixed to what is *wina above. [w > kw] [NUA: Num, Tak]

2305a. *witta/i ‘throw away’: BH.Cup *wíc ‘throw away’; Cp wíc-xí / wícaxe / wícaxe ‘throw down, drop’; Ca wíçahan; Ls wiča/i ‘throw away, waste, release pl obj’s’. These are in M88-wí3 with *wíc ‘fall’ (NUA medial -‘ or -y-), but the NUA medial -c- usually derives from *-t- because *-t- > -l/r-.

2305b. *wíti ‘pour out, spill’; Sh wítti ‘to empty, spill’; TSh wíti ‘pour, spill, dump, empty out, discard’; Hp wíta ‘pour liquid’; Sh(C) wítiá ‘pour, pour out (liquid), spill’; and Ch wíci ‘pour’. Is this s.th. like a causative suffix on *wina above: *win-ta > witta? [NUA: Tak, Hp, Num]


2306b. *wiwanVta ‘spill’: TSh wíwe’i ‘pour/dump/empty out, discard’; Cm to’wi’wenití ‘empty, dump, pour into’; Cm pi’wi’wenití ‘spill, sprinkle’; Ktn waw(-)k ‘throw down, vt’. [medial *-kw/-‘w- in WNum/CNum] [NUA: CNum, Tak]
2307. **ma’i**: B.Tep150 *ma’ihisai ‘to throw at’ {UP ma’ihiš; NT máišai; ST ma’ias}; M88-ma31; KH/M06-ma31: ST mai’ná ‘tirar’ (prêt: ma’ya’ sg obj; ma’ysa’ pl obj); PYp ma’i ‘with hands’; PYp ma’i-a ‘throw, vt’; PYp ma’i-asa ‘throw, desiderative’. [SUA: Tep]

2308. **katti** ‘throw’: M88-ka35; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ka35: Cp qášine ‘to shovel’; Ca qáçaw ‘to hit splashing against’; Ls qáč ‘throw away’; Sr qačkin ‘to dowse, throw water on’. [NUA: Tak]

2309a. **tapa / *tapi** ‘throw, hit’: Mn tabi ‘strike’ and Mn tabipa ‘strike repeatedly’; NP tabi ‘throw’; NP titabi’hú ‘throw, vi’; Kw ta-tavi ‘throw, hit, redundant!’, Ch tírávi ‘throw down’; SP tírávi ‘throw’; SP tavi ‘hit by throwing’; CU tírávi ‘throw at, vt’; Eu mútáha ‘hit’; CN tepiiníia ‘punch, hit, strike, vt’.

2309b. **típa** ‘throw, hit’: Hp tíva ‘throw’; Hp tahtíva ‘hit with thrown obj’; Hp tatatípina ‘throw stone’; *típa may be a relaxation of *tapa. Below, the consonants harmonized from *típa to *pípa / papa.

2309c. **pípa / *papa** ‘throw’ (< *típa): Yq hibéeba ‘hit, throw’; Ayq vevea ‘hit, strike’; Ayq hiveva ‘hit, strike it’; My bêeba-k ‘throw out’; Wr paba-ní ‘throw pl objs’; Wr ihpába-ní ‘throw, drop pl objs’; Wr ihpá-ní ‘throw, throw sg obj’; Tr pa, apa, iba; Tr ne-papá ‘throw rocks’; NP píba ‘throw pl objs’; Ls píva(n) ‘throw stones’; NT vúupai ‘throw’; NT vúúpakaroi ‘sling’. This stem appears to be a consonant harmony of *típa/tapa ‘throw’. M88-pi22 and KH/M06-pi22 list Tak forms of *pi’a ‘throw, bewitch’ (see at bewitch) which may be a different stem or possibly a reduction of the consonant harmonization: *Vpa > pípa > *pi’a ‘throw’ (Sr pií ‘throw sg obj’; Sr piivi ‘throw pl objs’). [NUA: Num, Hp; Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Trn, Azt]

2310. **tikwa** ‘hit by striking or throwing’: TSh tikwan ‘hit, strike, vi’; Sh tikwa ‘hit, knock down, vt’; Cm tahtikwari ‘throw at, vt’. [NUA: CNum]

2311. **ŋaLáw** ‘throw out’: Hp injala ‘reject, exclude’; Hp(S) iŋala ‘drive away, exclude, throw out, vt’; Ca njal ‘fall/throw in a hole, vi/vt’. What of Cp xálewe ‘fall, sg’? [NUA: Hp, Tak]

2312. **punka > *poka** ‘throw’: Sr pukrai ‘drop, throw away/out’; Tbr (w)ooka-kat ‘he threw’; Ca vuk- ‘hit (s.o.) with a stick, throw stick at s.o.;’ Ca vuk-alaw ‘go over and hit, throw away’; Ca vuk-čipni-t ‘throw’; Hp pókoya ‘shoot an arrow, vt’. Tbr w < *p allows its inclusion. Could the Cnh forms below be a borrowing from Tbr? Ls péjá/i ‘be thrown, vi, throw, vt’ is puzzling. Might the Ls form be a cluster reduction from whatever cluster yields -k- (vs. -x-) in the other Cupan languages? [Nk/n or ŋ/k, o/u or u-a > o-a] [SUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tbr]

2313. **wo’o** ‘throw’: Yq wó’ota ‘tirar, echar’; My wó’o-tia ‘throw’. [SUA: Cah]

2314. **mu’a/i / *mu(h)ka? ‘shoot (arrow)’: M67-373 *mu ‘shoot’, BH.Cup *mu’- ‘shoot’; L.Son152 *mu ‘flechar’; M88-mu5 ‘shoot’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-mu5: Tb(M) mu’u ‘ummu’ / ‘ummuu’ ‘shoot’; Tb mu’išt ‘gun, shooter, hill’; Tb(V) ‘ummu’ / ‘ummuu’ ‘shoot’; Ls mu’án ‘shoot with a bow’; Cn muha / muaí ‘mumume’ / mumú/e ‘mú’xane ‘shoot with a bow’; Cn máux/mu/mu’ ‘shoot’; Gb mhú ‘tirar’; Sr mjú ‘shoot’; Sr muum ‘shoot (more than once)’; Kn mu ‘shoot, throw, grind’; Hp mi’a ‘shoot, sting, fasten (by piercing)’; TO mmumu ‘shoot at’; Eu múmu ‘flechar, tirar con flecha’; Wr muhiba ‘tirarle con arma’; Cr ra-a-ta-mii ‘he shot it with an arrow’; CN ní-ti ‘arrow’; CN nima ‘shoot arrows, pierce with arrows; Pl nima ‘shoot with an arrow’ (miin-ki pret.); Pl mií-t ‘bow and arrow’. Add Tr mubhubu ‘tirarle a algo (proyectil)’; Tr u’ma ‘asaetar, flechar, tirar a algo’; Tr ohí-mea ‘acertar, atinar’; Yq núche ‘flechar’; My mhuh ‘shoot’; Nv mu’u ‘flechar’; PYpmuuhu ‘shoot, vt’. With medial consonants -x-/h-/h/-, we must wonder if a cluster of some sort is reducing variously or if *k/x > h’/. [k/x/h’ ?] [NUA: Tb, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

2315. **siLá/i ‘spill’**: Ls síla/i ‘spill, pour out’; Ca silve-če ‘spill, drip (of liquid)’. [NUA: Tak]

2316. **putu** ‘throw, scatter’: SP purui / puru-gi ‘throw about, scatter’; TSh (top)prociki ‘throw, v.instr.pl’. [NUA: Num]

2317. **páCta/i** ‘thunder, exploding noise like thunder > shoot with a gun’: Ls pátäu ‘be shot, shoot with a gun’; Cp páte ‘shoot with a gun’; Yq péth ‘thunder, explode’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]
2318. *sïk ‘beat, throw (with power, furry)’: Ca sëqay ‘whip’; Ca pe-sëqay ‘whip, throw (one's power at s.o. to kill him)’ and perhaps CN sëkoaa ‘hurl s.o. or s.th. down in scorn’. CN assimilated V’s from *sïk. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

2319a. *yu’ri / *yulI (be) empty’: Eu dúri-da’a- ‘vaciarse’; Wr yu’ri-pú- ‘empty, throw out liquid, vt’ (Wr yu’ri ‘fall by itself’); Tr fu’ri ‘derramarase, verterse’; Tr fu’ri-wa- ‘derramar, verter, vt’; Ls yuya/i ‘bec. empty, vi, empty, vt’. Eu d (< *y) and Wr agree; Tr and Ls each harmonized consonants in opposite directions, which we see often in TrC area. NUA forms below have expected n < *L. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

2319b. *yuna/i ‘pour’: Mn tiyuna ‘pour into’; Cm payuníti ‘pour water on, water, vt’; Ch yuná ‘put pl obj’s’; CU yunáy ‘scatter, put pl obj’s’; Kw yïna/yuna ‘pour’. This shows *L > y in Ls, > n in NUA. [*u > i in Num; r > y; C harmony in Eu; *L > n] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn]

2320. *kïmi(n) ‘go down, fall’: Sr kïmi ‘spill, overflows, pour out, vi’; Sr kimi’a ‘spill, pour out, vt’; Tr na’mina ‘derribar, echar por tierra’; Tr na’mi ‘caerse’. If a na- prefix is involved in the Tr form, then a stem similar to *kïmi aligns with both the Tr and Sr forms (Tr na’mina < *na-kïmin). [cluster reduction] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

2321. *kwaCti ‘shoot’: I.Num77 *kwahti/*kwïhti ‘shoot’; M88-kwa10 ‘shoot’; KH/M06-kwa10: Mn kwati/qwati (< *kwathi); NP kwati (< *kwathi); TSh kutti; Sh kwïtth; Cm kwïthikïrï [cluster reduction] [NUA: WNum, CNum] [*a > i in CNum, but *a > a in WNum] [NUA: WNum, CNum]

2322. *kuCkiwiC / *kukkwiC ‘shoot’: Kw kukwi; CU kukwi/kúukwi (< *kukkwi). As Miller and Hill have in kwa10, these SNum forms may well tie to *kwaCti of CNum and WNum, though the first vowel and medial consonants are different, perhaps explainable with kw-reduction (*kwaC-kwaC > *kuCkiwiC) and vowel change, and/or reduplication (*kiwiC-kwiC > *kukkwiC) or any number of possible explanations, which makes the tie a tad dubious. Nevertheless, the SNum forms are quite consistent among themselves in PSNum *kuCkiwiC ‘shoot, sting’. To Kw and CU, add Ch kukwi ‘shoot, sting’; SP quqwwi’ ‘shoot at’; WMU quhqqwi ‘sting, shoot at’; WMU quqwwi ‘shoot pl times’; WMU na-gukkwi ‘fight, have war’ which all point to geminated medial *k-, noting -k- instead of -g- in Kw, Ch, and CU. [NUA: CNum]


2324. *cayawa ‘throw out, pour’: Stubbs2003-19: CN cáyawa ‘scatter, pour, sprinkle s.th. down’; CN cáyawa ‘for s.th. to spill, sprinkle s.th. down’; Wr cewá-ni ‘throw, hit with a missile’; perhaps Mn pazawa ‘pour’. [CN aya = e in Wr; aya > e] [SUA: Trn, Azt]

2325. *…kis ‘empty’: Ca ‘iñkï’s ‘empty, desert’; Cp kí’kiswe ‘it is gone, it is empty’. The velar nasal in Ca and the glottal stop in Cp together suggest a cluster of some kind, but what? [cluster] [SUA: Tak]

2326. *(a)taka-pi ‘empty, fruitless’: Ls ‘atáxvi-š ‘empty’; Kw tïkpiw-a-tï ‘empty’ (Kw tïkpiya-a-tï ‘fruitless, barren of fruit’; Kw tïkpiya ‘fruit’). UA *taka ‘fruit’ may be involved. [NUA: Num, Tak]

2327. *sïL ‘shoot, hunt’: Eu hisera ‘tirar’; Tr seru ‘atar, ser certero, tener buena puntería, cazar, pezcar’. With a c/s explanation, this may tie to *ciLa ‘straight’ at ‘straight’. [Liquid] [SUA: Opn, Trn]

NB, for *tu’a ‘pour, put’ see ‘put’.
NB, for *ciL ‘shoot, make straight’ see ‘straight’.
NB, for *mana/i ‘fall, spill, pour, lie flat’, see ‘lie’.
NB, for *pi’a ‘bewitch, throw’, see ‘bewitch’.

THUNDER; TRONAR, TRUENO

While Miller separates a (M88-ta7) and b (M88-ta46), some overlapping relationships seem likely; other groups seem potentially related as well, all showing initial t, round vowels, glottal stops—a difficult sorting task, if even related. If we care to complicate matters further, we could entertain ties to *tomo ‘cloud’ or ‘winter’ as well.

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TIE; ATAR, AMARRAR, LIGAR, ANUDAR

2330a. *pulá/i 'tie': VVH97b *puli/*pula 'to tie'; M67-437 *pul 'tie'; L.Son221 *pura, pur-i 'amarrar'; B.Tep285a *vurai 'he ties up'; 285b vurisa 'to tie up'; 285c *vuu 'he tied up'; CL.Azt173 *tli; M88-pp2; KH/M06-pp2: Tb puunat~'umpun 'tie a knot'; TO wuud; wuDakD 'rope, strap'; TO wul 'be tied together'; wulim 'bale, bundle'; Nv vurha 'atar'; PYp vuura 'fasten, tie'; NT vüli 'está amarrado'; NT vupúùlçapai 'amarrar (animal), vt'; NT vupúùr'ai 'amarrar, vt'; ST vüli 'amarrar'; ST vuraak 'lo amarró'; Eu búra/vúra; Wr wula/puri; Tr burá/buri; Wc hia 'amarrar'; CN ilpia 'gird oneself, tie s.th./s.o. up'; CN piloa 'hang s.th./s.o./self up'; PI pilua 'hang, wear about the neck'. What of Ls póna/i 'be entangled, vi; tie up (as package), vt' Wr te'o- vs. tomó… So for now let's keep them separate. We can also add SP tom'mu 'make a big noise, v' in contrast to SP tom'o 'winter'. And what of Tr fu'rúmi- 'zumar, ronroncar'? [m > o in Mn, TSh]  
[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Trn]  

2330. *(t)unu 'thunder': CU tunu-'ni 'thunder, v'; SP unnu 'thunder, v'; Kw taza-no-o-(ri) 'thunder, v(n) (Kw taza 'summer'). [NUA: Num]  

Tick: see bug  
Tickle: see laugh  

TIE; ATAR, AMARRAR, LIGAR, ANUDAR

2330a. *pulá/i 'tie': VVH97b *puli/*pula 'to tie'; M67-437 *pul 'tie'; L.Son221 *pura, pur-i 'amarrar'; B.Tep285a *vurai 'he ties up'; 285b vurisa 'to tie up'; 285c *vuu 'he tied up'; CL.Azt173 *tli; M88-pp2; KH/M06-pp2: Tb puunat~'umpun 'tie a knot'; TO wuud; wuDakD 'rope, strap'; TO wul 'be tied together'; wulim 'bale, bundle'; Nv vurha 'atar'; PYp vuura 'fasten, tie'; NT vüli 'está amarrado'; NT vupúùlçapai 'amarrar (animal), vt'; NT vupúùr'ai 'amarrar, vt'; ST vüli 'amarrar'; ST vuraak 'lo amarró'; Eu búra/vúra; Wr wula/puri; Tr burá/buri; Wc hia 'amarrar'; CN ilpia 'gird oneself, tie s.th./s.o. up'; CN piloa 'hang s.th./s.o./self up'; PI pilua 'hang, wear about the neck'. What of Ls póna/i 'be entangled, vi; tie up (as package), vt' Miller asks; perhaps *u-a > o-a, or what of Ls póta/i 'fasten, pin'?  

2330b. *pína 'tie': Jane Hill (p.c.) provides Ktn pín 'tie' which matches Ls póna/i perfectly in *pína (perhaps < *puna ?). [SUA L: NUA n; CrC ī < *u; CrC's loss of *-l-; anticipatory nasalization in Tb; Azt p-]  
[NUA: Tb; Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, CrC, Azt]  

2331a. *suma 'tie': M88-su17; M67-439 *suma 'tie'; KH/M06-su17: Hp soma 'to tie s.th.'; Hp somi 'thing tied up'; My suma 'amarrar'. Miller includes NP comipi 'bead'; CN coma 'sew s.th.'; Pi cuma 'sew', which I separate and put at 'weave'. But we should add Yq suma 'atar, amarrar'; AYq suma 'tie, vt'. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Cah]  
2331b. *suC(t) 'tie': KH.NUA: Ca súti 'be tied around'; Cp súle 'tie up'; Sr soitik 'get, become tight' (*suti > *soti > soit); Ca süke 'tie around' (Ca -t- and -k- suggests clusters). [t vs. l in Ca and Cp, c/s, u/o]  
[NUA: Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, CrC, Azt]  

2332a. *tappiCta 'tie': M67-438 *tapi 'tie'; M88-ta24; KH/M06-ta24: NP tappi 'tie'; Kw tapii 'tie'; SP tavičča 'tie'; CU tappi-a-y 'tie'; Cr tápi-i 'he is tied to the stake'. Would Eu hitápura 'make a knot' and Eu hitápuri 'knot' tie in here (pun intended) or at *puLa? Eu búra/vúra is already there.  
2332b. *tuppa 'tie(d)': NP tupaga (< *tuppaka) 'tie with', Mn witopisa (< *wí'-toppisa) 'tie a knot in'; and what of Ls túúča/i- 'be tied, vi, ti, vt' with loss of p in a cluster? [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]
2333. *ŋaLiC / *ŋaLiM ‘entangle(d)’: Ls ŋalípa ‘become entangled’; Ca ŋáli- ‘throw a lasso, get entangled, be out of place’, distributive: pe-ŋáŋlami; Ca pe-ŋálamni-ŋ ‘roping (of the cows), n’; Cp ŋále ‘fasten, get into, vt’. Ls -p suggests a final consonant, and -m appears often enough in Ca—could that be it? Does Sr ŋurkin ‘lasso, rope, vt’ belong here? Or at *ŋatCa ‘weave, tie’? [NUA: Tak]

2334. *(caC)-kïná 'hand-tie': Mn cakïna 'tie up'; NP wïcakïna 'tie (horse, shoe, willows)'; NP nacakïna 'tie up sg obj'; NP nacakïnita 'tie up pl obj'; TSh (cak)kïmi 'tie tight, tighten'; Cm nïïcïkïnarï 'tied up'. [NUA: Num]

2335. *tama 'tie': TSh tamah 'secure, tie tight, vi'; Sh tama 'tie, vt'; Cm tïïhtama 'string, yarn, ties'. [NUA: CNum]

NB, for *witta 'tie, wrap', see at 'blanket/wrap'. NB, for *ŋatCa 'weave, tie', see at 'weave'.

Tight(en): see crowd(ed)

Till: see plant and cut

Timid: see shame

TIRE(D), STRUGGLE, SUFFER;
CANSADO, ESFORZARSE, PADECER, AGUANTAR, SUFRIR
2336. *LoCa/i 'tired': Tbr lo-cansarse; Tbr lo-ká-n 'cansado'; Yq lótte-k 'cansar'; Yq lotatte 'tired'; My lotte 'está cansado'; Wr e'loí 'be tired'; Wr(M) helowí 'estar cansado'; PYp lo'ig / lo'og 'poor'. [initial *L] [SUA: Trn, Tbr, Cah, Tep]

2337. *siyawi 'tire': CL.Azt174 *sVyawi 'tire'; M88-so11; KH/M06-so11: CN siawi 'get tired, attain s.th. by labor and fatigue'; Pl seewi 'put out, extinguish, rest'. Ken Hill adds Wc pi’óóšiya 'le hace cansar'; Tr(H) siwé 'calmarse (viento)'. [SUA: Azt, CrC, Trn]

2338. *sota 'tire, wear out': CL.Azt56 *soota 'fade, tire, be afraid'; M88-so11; KH/M06-so11: CN soloaa 'exhaust oneself, vrefl, wear out, vt'; CN sotaawa 'faint, v'; HN sootlawa 'be weak'; Pl sutaawa; and feasibly Tr sóta 'pudrirse (madera)'.

2339. *maksoni 'tire, work hard': Hp maqson 'hard work'; Hp maqson-ta 'work tediously on'; ST maagoon 'cansado'; ST maagoon 'cansarse, vi'. With *s > h > ø, typical of ST, and with voicing of intervocalic k, this pair of Hp and ST forms, outside of expected ō for Hp, match for a considerable length. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

2340. *mi(N)howi / *mihaC 'tired': Mn na’mihoowi 'be tired, vi'; Mn wïmihoowi 'be tired, exhausted, vi'; TSh tamminoi 'be tired, vi'; Sh wïmmiha' 'be less, be tired' (Sh sïï wïmmiha ntïn 'nine, lit: one less); Cm nïï'maitï 'tire out, become lazy'. The length of this suggests a compound, yet the reduction patterns are interesting, and speaking of compounding, there may be some overlap between these and *wïmma at 'pain'. [NUA: Num]

2341. *yu’ma 'tired, worn out': Tbr yum- 'cansarse'; Yq yúume 'cansarse'; My yúume 'se está cansando'; Ch yum'-á 'tired, suffer, drunk, dead, pl'; Tb yu’mat=’uuyu’m 'worn out'; Tbr yu-nium-ká-m 'anciana' (-ní- = Tbr ŋ < *y, thus < *yuyma). [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tbr, Cah]

2342. *yowa 'suffer': CN tla’yoowa 'to suffer, to fast'; Nd dodoa 'cansar'; Nd t’igí dodoa 'padecer'; besides *yowa, these forms also share a t and glottal stops before *yowa. [no *w > g in Tep ’] [SUA: Tep, Azt]

2343. *opai ‘tire(some), labor(ious)’; Eu naóve ‘padecer’; Yq ’obiači 'laborious'; AYQ ouva 'difficult'; AYQ ouva 'tired of'. [SUA: Opn, Cah]
2344. *haLi 'endure, tire of': Wr nahari-na 'suffer, endure'; Wr eri-ná 'struggle to do s.th. hard to do' (Miller compares Wr éna 'difficult'); Ca háy 'end, come to an end'; Ca háyin 'be tired'; Cp háye ‘finish, tire of’.
[r > y, h > o] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

2345a. *musu’i ‘try but not be able to do’: SP -muššui ‘try to do s.th. (seldom used except as second element in compound verb)’; Ch musu ‘try (in vain), unable’; Mn musu’i ‘almost, nearly’; Kw mõi ‘be exhausted’; WMU mõi-y ‘try to do s.th., but not be able to’. The CNum forms below, resembling *-mũi, with loss of -s-, may be related, though some show -n- instead of -s-. [NUA: SNum, WNum]

2345b. *-mũi / *-mũi / *-mũiki ‘be unable, fail (to do s.th.) (in compound verbs, suffixed to what one cannot do): TSh -mũi ‘be unable, can’t, fail to’: Sh(C) -mũi ‘be unable to’: WSh -mũi / -mũiki ‘be unable to do, can’t, fail to’: Sh(M) mũiki ‘fail at doing s.th.’. [NUA: CNum]

NB, *piNka ‘persist in, continue, bear with, suffer from’ is at ‘strong’.

TO, TOWARD; A, HACIA

2346. *Li ‘to, for’: Sipir: Sipir united/suggests CN -li- / -lia ‘to, for’ and SP ȵk̚i ‘to, for’ (< *li-k), which is plausible, though difficult to prove, being so short. [SAZ: Azt; NUA: Num]

2347a. *-ki / *-ki ‘(to)ward, for, applicative, benefactive, distributive’: Cp -ka / -yka / yik ‘to, toward’; Mn -ki- ‘do s.th. for s.o., causative’; Wr -k̚i- / -g̚i ‘for the benefit of s.o.’ (Miller 1996, 161); Tbr -ki, -kit ‘for eso’; TSh -ka(”) ‘at, to, in, on’; perhaps Hp -k̚i, -keye ‘diffusive suffix, all over the place’.

2347b. *-(N)ki ‘person obj, benefactive suffix’: CU -k̚i- ‘for (s.o.), benefactive morpheme’ (Givon 1980, 81); SP -ȵk̚i- ‘to, for’ (Sapir 1930, 63); Kw -g̚i ‘for, to (benefactive)’; CN ki- ‘3rd sg obj’.
[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tbr, Azt]

Toad: see frog
Horned-toad: see lizard

TOBACCO; TABACO

2348. *pipaC / *piipat (AMR) ‘tobacco’: Sipir; VVH12 *pispa ‘tobacco’; B: Tep272 *vivai; M67-440 *pipa; I.Num133 *pahmu(h); BH.Cup *pivat; L.Son199 *pipa; Munro.Cup130 *púva-t; M88-pi1; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pi1: Cp pívat; Ca píva-t; Ls pííva-t; Gb pívat; Sr piivt; Sr -piiva ‘to smoke tobacco’; Hp piiva; TO wiw; UP vivi; LP viv; NT vivai; ST viv; Eu vivá; My bippá; Wr wipá; Tr wipá. Sapir astutely associates Wc yá ‘tobacco’ and Cr ya-na ‘tabak rauchen’ with *pipa, for we have seen that h (< *p) is quite feeble in CrC; thus, *pipa > *hiha > *la > *ya for both Cr and Wc is plausible. [*p > CrC h/ø; p > w in Tr/Wr]
[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Trn, CrC]

2349. *pammu / *pahu / *paCmu ‘tobacco’: I.Num133 *pahmu(h); M88-pi1. Miller includes Num with *pipa; however, they have little in common except initial *p; the next three segments are quite different *-i-pa vs. *-amu. Thus, they merit separate consideration: Mn pammu’; NP pahu; Cm pahmu. A medial cluster seems likely. [NUA: Num]

2350. *pahoN ‘tobacco’: TSh pahompí ‘tobacco’; Sh pahon / pahun ‘tobacco’. [NUA: CNum]

2351. *ko’aC / *kwa’aC ‘tobacco’: Kw ko’o-pi; Ch ko’á-pi; Ch(L) ko’wa- ‘tobacco’; SP qwo’a’ ‘tobacco’; WMU qoo’á-ppiú / qwa’á-ppii ‘tobacco’; CU qo’á-pí ‘tobacco’. [NUA: SNum]

TODAY, NOW; HOY, AHORA

2352a. *aya ‘then, (effective/effecting) now’: M88’-a35; KH/M06’-a35: Cp áye ‘now, then’; Ca ’áy, ’áy-ax ‘already’; Sr ’ayaṯ ‘so, then’. Sapir has CN aš- < *aye for CN aš-kaan ‘now, today’ and ties Num aši (below) to it.

2352b. *ái-pi ‘now’: Sipir; M88-i19 (one item); KH/M06-i19: Kw ’iiví ‘now, today, be new’; Ch ář-vi ‘today, now’; SP āř-vi ‘now’; WMU aa-v / aavuru ‘now, today, adv’; CU ’áa-vi ‘now’. These may tie to Tak above and Tep below.

2352c. *(h)i(C)pí ‘also, more, again, now’: B.Tep335 *ipí ‘also’; M88-i5 ‘now’; KH/M06i5: Tb ’imbi ‘more, again’; TO ipí ‘again, also, more’; UP ’ipí; LP ’ipíc; NT ipí; ST ’ip; Wr ehpío ‘now’; Tr hi-pee ‘now’. Add Hp pi ‘today, now’. [NUA: SNum, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

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2353. *cipi 'today, now': B.Tep194 *sivi 'today, now'; M88-ci16: KH/M06-ci16: LP šiv 'today, now'; PYp sivi(g) 'today, now'; NT šivi 'today, now'; ST šiv 'today, now'. [SUA: Tep]

2354. *opa’a 'now, right away': KH.NUA: Sr oövai’t 'right away'; Ca ‘ív’a-x 'now, right away'. [NUA: Tak]

2355. *piťi 'now, soon': LS pitó’ ‘now'; PYp vete(d) 'recently, soon'; Nv vîth ‘now'; Nv vîthba 'ahora al punto'; either Tep assimilated *piťi > pîi, or LS (expected poto < *pîti) allowed a schwa-like i in the unaccented syllable, while the latter syllable retained the expected vowel. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep]

2356. *aLopi 'soon, near': PYp aliv 'soon'; Tr ayobe/ayowe/ayowi ‘soon, immediately’. Perhaps *aLopi > alipi > aliv (PYp). [L/y] [SUA:Tep, Trn]

2357. *mikkwa ‘now’: TSh miikkwa / miikka ‘now, today’; Cm meeku ‘right now’. [*i-a > e-a > e-û]

Toloache: see at plant
Tomato: see at plant

TOMORROW; MAÑANA
2358. *ta’ika / *taCika 'tomorrow': Kw te’eka-su ‘tomorrow’; Ch ta’ika ‘tomorrow’; and what of Ca tûleka ‘tomorrow, in the morning’? [V leveling in Kw] [NUA: SNum, Tak]

2359. *ima ‘tomorrow’: TSh (n)ima ‘morning, tomorrow’; Sh imaa ‘tomorrow, tomorrow morning, morning’; Cr rûhimwa’a ‘día de mañana’. [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

2360. *muCa / *mo… ‘tomorrow’: Mn mowahûsu ‘tomorrow’; NP muu’a ‘tomorrow’; CN moos ‘tomorrow’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt]

2361. *pi’aLi ‘tomorrow’: Wr pi’arí ‘tomorrow, morning’; Tr be’arí ‘tomorrow, morning’. [SUA: Trn]

2362. *kapu 'tomorrow': Hp qaavo ‘tomorrow’; ST kavuimuk ‘morning’. Hp o < *u, so the first four segments of both match perfectly. KH/M06-kaâî ties Hp to NT qaavo ‘yesterday’ and the other Tep forms and queries whether Eu keko ‘mañana’ is cognate—all merit mulling. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

2363. *wiCtuku 'tomorrow': WMU wîicuk; CU wîickus/wîicku-. The CU and WMU reflexes should be sufficient to establish that they are different dialects. [NUA: SNum]

TONGUE; LENGUA

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>Hp</th>
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2364. *Laŋu 'tongue': Sapir; VVH94 *liŋi 'tongue'; M67-441a *neni 'tongue'; L.Son176 *nini/*nini; B.Tep182 *nini/i; M88-ni3 'tongue'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ni3: Cp nani; Gb -nōjūn (poss'd); CN nene-pil-li 'tongue'; CN nene-ti 'female genitals'; Pl nenepil 'tongue'. Sapir suggests that Hp and Tb dissimilated *neqi > leqi, then Tb assimilated again > l-i. The reverse is also possible (*Laŋu > nani) as anticipatory consonant harmony is most common in UA. And Tb does preservative V assimilation, so perhaps in this case preservative C harmony also. Initial *l is not common in UA, so assimilation to the usual (*l- > n-) seems more likely than dissimilation to the unusual (*n- > l-). Sapir also notes the voweling *a-u in Cr and Tb. Since none of the languages show *e-u, but rather all with u show first vowel a, then the voweling *i-i could be the first assimilating to the second, such that the original first vowel was likely a, as it appears in Tb, Sr, Ca, and Cr. The second may have more likely been u, since final V > i is common, but anything else > u is not. [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

2365. *akoN 'tongue': I.Num7 *ekoN; M88-*a22; KH/M06-*a22: SNum (Kw, Ch, SP, CU). Miller and Hill both have the correct 1st V, since Sh aikon and the other Num languages suggest *akoN > aiko(N) > eko/iko(N). Cf. dove *hawi > hawi > hewi. NoteSP a-go-rovwi 'licks'. [a >ai > e] [NUA: Num]

TOOTH; DIENTE

| Mn  | táwa | Hp  | tama; pinyanpi (adj) | Eu  | tamít / támit; zarátamit 'muela'
| NP  | tama" | Tb  | taman-t | Tbr | tamó-r; tamaN-r
| TSh | taman | Sr  | tamač | Yq  | támi
| Sh  | taman | Ktn | tama-c | My  | tammi;
| Cm  | taama | Ls  | tamá-t | tampa'arim 'muelas'
| Ca  | táma-l | Wr  | tamé
| Kw  | tawa-bi | Cp  | tam’a ‘&mouth, lips’ | Tr  | řamě; matá
| Ch  | tawá-mp(i) | TO  | ki’i; taatami; tam; tamš | Cr  | tame; sǐ’tame ‘muele’
| SP  | tanwaN | Nv  | tatami; mamturi ‘muelas’ | Wc  | tamé (vs. táme ‘nosotros’)
| WMU | tawa-ppi | PYp | tama
| CU  | tawá-pi | NT  | taatámu ‘teeth’ | CN  | tlan-tli
| ST  |  |  | taatam; tatmutda ‘cure t’.

2366. *tamaC / *tamaN / *taman (AMR) 'tooth': Sapir; VVH29 *ta,ma 'tooth'; BH.Cup *tama mouth, tooth; HH.Cup *tama; B.Tep214 *taatamu/i 'teeth'; M67-442 *tam; I.Num207 *tamaN; L.Son272 *tami diente'; Munro.Cup133 *tamá-t; M88-ta14; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ta14 *taman (AMR): A pan-UA stem showing reflexes in all languages; but a few particular patterns are apparent, such as a final nasalization in Num, Tb, and Tbr, some distant branches; and *m > w in all of SNum, as well as Mn; and a high front 2nd vowel in TrC rather than the a of the other branches. Note the rounded 2nd vowels in Tbr, NT, and ST. As Sapir (1913) notes, spirantization of the nasal (*m > ny > w) occurred in SNum. Preceding the absolutive suffix in both 'tongue' and 'tooth', note nasalization in Ch and SP and stops in Kw and CU. Bascom lists *taatamu-i 'teeth' and *taatamudi / *taatamidi 'his teeth'. [a-a vs. a-ul] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

2367. *cara 'moler': Eu cará-tamit ‘muela’; NT taamúsaragai ‘la muela’; Cr sǐ’ī-tame ‘muela’. [r- > -' in Cr] [SUA: Tep, Opn, CrC]

TOP, SUMMIT, PEAK; CIMA, CUMBRE, LO ALTO; see also head, hair, mountain

2368. *kumisa 'top, tuft, crest': L.Son105 *kumisa 'copete'; M88-ku24 'copete'; KH/M06-ku24: Eu kumísa 'plumero, plumaje, penacho'; Op kumi-to 'plumaje'; Tr kumisa/gumisa-ri 'copete, penacho, cresta'; Yq kumisa-kam; My kumsa-m 'cejas’. Miller adds NP kutuggwa 'top', which might possibly share an initial *ku- at best. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn]
2369. *taka’a ‘top, point’: Mn taqazúna ‘tip, top, point’; Ch takáa ‘top, roof’; Cp taká’a-t ‘peak’;
Kw ta’awaa ‘top, ridge’. [k > ’ or o in Kw] [NUA: Num, Tak]

2370a. *ko’ay / *ko’aiC ‘top’: TSh ko’e/ko’i-cci ‘peak, point, top; crown of head’; Sh(M) koi ‘point, top’;
Sh(C) ku-kko’ai-cci ‘hills’; Cm ku’e ‘top, summit, on top of’. [NUA: CNum]

2370b. *kwiyV ‘top’: SP ukkwiya ‘top’; SP kwivuaa ‘top’; CU kwiyú ‘top of head’. [NUA: SNum]

2371. *pa’akwi ‘(on) top’: Ca pák’akwen ‘on, on top of’; Cp pác’axwi ‘top’; Ls pa’aq ‘on top’.
 Cf. Num *pa’a ‘tall’. [NUA: Tak]

2372. *wi(N)ka ‘peak’: CU wígáa-ma ‘hill, hilltop, high point’; Tb wíjaa-l ‘peak of mountain’.
[-k- and -ŋ- correspondence] [*-NC- > -CC-] [NUA: Num, Tb]

2373. *katto ‘top, head’: SP kacoaa ‘top end’; Hp qötö (< *koto < *kato) ‘head’; Ayq hikat ‘on top’; Ayq hikači ‘top, apex’; Ayq hikattana ‘on/from the top, postp.’; My hikači ‘arriba’. The Cah forms have their frequent *hi-
prefix. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Cah]

TOUCH, RUB, WIPE, SMEAR, SCRATCH, ITCH; TOCAR, TENTAR, (R)ESTREGAR, FROTAR,
(RE)FREGAR, ENJUGAR, UNTAR, EMBADURNAR

2374. *taki / *takki ‘touch’: M88-ta9 ‘to touch, feel’; KH/M06-ta9: TO taatk ‘feel, lay hands on, become
conscious’; Wr takki-pá-na ‘empujar muchas veces’; Tr ráki ‘empujar’; My táktia ‘tocar, picar’; Ayq tahta ‘touch,
bump into, hit with an impact’; Cm ma-riki-ti ‘touch (with hand)’. [SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn; NUA: Num]

2375. *tam ‘touch’: TO taatam ‘touch, feel, pet, vt’; NT táátama ‘touch, feel, realize’. [SUA: Tep]

2376. *pikka ‘touch’: Kw ma-pikka ‘touch’; Ch mapik(a) ‘touch, v’; SP pikki ‘touch’; CU pikyá-y ‘touch, feel’;
Cp piqé ‘touch, feel, reach out to, vt’. [medial kk and hk vs. x] [NUA: SNum, Tak]

2377. *masu ‘touch, feel’: Wr imasú ‘feel, probe (by feeling)’; Tr masu- ‘feels (with hands), look for (with hands)’
(Brambila supposes ma- ‘hand’). And Cp mise ‘guard with hands’ if its wrong vowel were explainable.
[NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

2378. *cima ‘touch’: NP cimma ‘touch with finger/stick’; Ayq čimta ‘touch, grab, kiss’; Sh (to/wi)-cima ‘scrape,
wipe, rub’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ktn šim ‘scratch’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah]

2379. *rusa / *Lusa ‘rub, touch’: Eu marúsa ‘tentar con la mano’; Ayq ruuse ‘rub’; My ruuse ‘rasp, tallar’.
[initial r] [NUA: Opn, Cah]

2380. *pu’ana ‘wipe’: Nv oana ‘borrarlo’; Nv oani ‘borrado’; PYp oana ‘erase, wipe’; PYp oani ‘clean’;
NT uóa ‘borrar, menear’; NT uóayi ‘despintar, limpiar’; ST uañ ‘clean, clear (water), adj’; ST uana ‘clean, wipe a surface, vt’. [-a/i: vt/statative; vu/wu > u] [NUA: Tep]

2381a. *humay / *hunL ‘smear, spread, rub, paint’: Ca húmay ‘smear, paint, vt’; Cp hune- / hun- ‘spread a
liquid or s.th. fine like sugar’; Cp hune-yaake ‘be spread out’; Tr na’oma ‘erase, cloud up’ (with na-
prefix); PYp hahu ‘rub, paint’ (if *hunL > hun > hul); and perhaps the -maa of Wc šúuri.maa ‘smear blood’ (Wc šuure
‘red’). The Cah languages compound *pa- with this for ‘swim’ as in ‘water-spread/be prone’: My bhumë ‘nadar’;
Ayq vahune ‘swim’. [r > y] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Tep]

2381b. *maa ‘smear on, paint’: Ch maá- ‘color, mark, paint’; SP ma’á- ‘decorate, mark’; WMU ma’á-y ‘smear
on, paint, decorate, spread (like jam on bread)’ (past: ma’a-qaa); CU ma’áy ‘put on, rub on/into, apply to, anoint
with’; and the -maa of Wc šúuri.maa ‘smear blood’ (Wc šuure ‘red’). [NUA:SNum, CrC]

2382. *tuCci’a ‘wipe’: Mn tocí’a ‘wipe, vt’; TSh toccoa ‘wipe off, clean off’; Kw toca’a-tii ‘clean up’;
Ch wítucí(a) ‘wipes’; Eu tuca ‘apagar’; Ayq tuuča ‘erase’; My tuuča ‘apagar, borrar’. [NUA o vs. SUA u]
[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Cah]

2383a. *tikka ‘touch’: NP tik / tiga ‘smear’; Ls tíqa ‘touch, brush against’.

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TRADE, BUY, PAY, SELL, LEND, BORROW;

NKu, while Tr and Hp may suggest NkNka. [velar nasal and voiced velar stop, V i/u]
[NUA: Tak, Num, Hp; SUA: Trn]

2383b. *tuCka ‘touch’: Tr ničugé ‘caress’; Hp tojo(k-) ‘come into contact with, touch, reach’. NP and Ls suggest *tikka, while Tr and Hp may suggest *tuNka. [velar nasal and voiced velar stop, V i/u]

2384. *nma ‘experience, feel like, try, vt’: Mn -naama- ‘feel (a state of being), feel like (doing s.th.)’; Ca námaan ‘try to do (s.th.), feel, taste, measure’. Though these may reveal two different meanings of ‘feel’ on the surface, they both align with a sense of ‘experiencing s.th.’ [NUA: Num, Tak]

2384a. *kíka ‘scratch’: B.Tep134 *kísa ‘to scratch’; KH/M06-ki19: LP kísm(im); NT kísa; ST kíš.

Add TO keš-ku’d ‘back scratcher’. A c/s difference may or may not preclude those in b.

2384b. *kiskia ‘itch’: CL.Azt93 *kaškia ‘itch’; M88-ki13; KH/M06-ki13: CN kekeškia; Pl kekeš;
Po koški; T kekeškla. This may have the same stem as Tep *kísa above, with another morpheme added. [SUA: Tep, Azt]

2385a. *kíka ‘scratch’: B.Tep134 *kísa ‘to scratch’; KH/M06-ki19: LP kísm(im); NT kíša; ST kíš.

Add TO keš-ku’d ‘back scratcher’. A c/s difference may or may not preclude those in b.

2385b. *kiskia ‘itch’: CL.Azt93 *kaškia ‘itch’; M88-ki13; KH/M06-ki13: CN kekeškia; Pl kekeš;
Po koški; T kekeškla. This may have the same stem as Tep *kísa above, with another morpheme added. [SUA: Tep, Azt]

2386. *ŋaska < *ŋacka ‘be rough, scratch’: Cp ŋášxa ‘be rough’; Cp ŋášxanášxa’a-s ‘rough, adj’; Ls ŋááxa/i ‘scratch, scrape, vi, scratch, brush against, vt’. When something is rough, it scratches; so the semantics are closer than might be obvious. Phonologically they are identical except for a cluster in Cp being reduced in Ls with compensatory lengthening of the vowel compensating for the reduction. I also tried not to mention the similarities with *KVskiá ‘scratch’ above, but failed. [NUA: Tak]

2387. *sáLuki / *suka/i ‘scratch’: M88-su2 ‘to scratch’: KH/M06-su2: Cp salákwe; Ca sáluk; Ls šóoki ‘scratch, v’ (vowels are wrong for these three preceding forms, Miller and Hill note); Ls šuká-laqi ‘to claw s.th. as a cat’;

Cp suká-pí ‘scratch, v’; TO hukíš ‘slash, claw, v’; Wr suhku/ suki ‘rascar, en el cuerpo’; Tr sukú ‘rascare’;
My súkka ‘arañar’. Both Cp and Ca show an extra syllable with a liquid, while none of the other forms do, yet we know how perishable liquids and syllables are in UA, so that should not discount the probability of these as a cognate set, brought together by Miller. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn]

2388. *ŋisi ‘touch, feel cautiously’: Ls šási ‘touch lightly (as a missile), graze, vt’; Cp ŋáše ‘scratch, vt’; Sr ŋdí-kin ‘touch, vt’; and Ca -ŋisani- ‘move slowly’ as feeling/touching in the dark would have one moving slowly. [NUA: Tak]

2389. *kwata ‘smear, daub, plaster’: Ktn kwara ‘smear (with mud, tar, etc)’; Cs kwáči ‘daub, plaster’.

[NUA: Tak]

2390. *pihya ‘itch’: Jane Hill (p.c.): TSh pihyakai”; WSh pihyakih ‘itch, vi’; Kw piyágkii- ‘itch’; WMU piyágáikku-y ‘itch’; CU piyága / piyágakii ‘itch’. A phonological match is SP piyága-ŋqí- ‘be easy to do, overcome’ while the semantic difference puzzles. [NUA: Num]


TRACK, FOOTPRINT; HUELLA, PISADA, RASTRO; see also foot

2392. *woki / *woku’i ‘track, footprint’: M67-257b *wók ‘leg’; L.Son348 *woki ‘pie’; B.Tep47 gookui-i ‘track, footprint’; M88-w03 ‘foot’; KH/M06-w03: TO gooki ‘footprint, track’; LP goki; NT goókui; My wókki-m ‘pie’;
Tbr nyók-i ‘track, foot’; Tb wígi‘i’t ‘make tracks’; Tb wígi-il ‘tracks, trail’). Add Yq wókki ‘pie, pata’; Yq wokte ‘seek tracks’. NT ‘ and Tb ’. [*o > i in Tb; *w > ny in Tbr] [NUA: Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn]

2393. *yíki ‘make/ follow tracks’: M88-yí4 ‘to make tracks’; KH/M06-yí4: TO jííkc ‘look for tracks’; TO jíiki ‘track’; Wr yehki ‘hacer huella’; Tr híyé/(h)iwé/huwe ‘observar, espiar, huellar’; Tr iyé-to ‘seguir la huella’. [SUA: Tep, Trn]

NB, for *nanapuni ‘track’ see with *naNpa ‘foot, footprint’ at ‘foot’.

TRADE, BUY, PAY, SELL, LEND, BORROW;
2394. *t’a/i 'borrow, lend': BH.Cup *t’a 'borrow'; M88-ti35 'to borrow'; KH.NUA; KH/M06- ti35: Kw t’i-a
'borrow'; Tb t’i-at- ‘lidó 'lend, borrow'; Tb t’i-inat- ‘iti-in 'lend, borrow'; Cp t’c’e 'lend, borrow'; Ca t’c’e 'borrow, rent from'; Ls tóó 'borrow'; Ls tó-’ni- 'to lend'; Sr tii’n 'borrow'. Let’s add Hp t’i ‘buy, ransom self (put into debt)'; this is a nice clean set for a change. [Tak V’s]  [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

2395a. *namiki (< na-maka) 'pay, sell': B.Tep167 *namiki 'pay': M88-na33 'pay'; KH/M06-na33: TO namkio(a)
'pay'; NT ááta namikidi ‘pay’; ST namki ‘pay, vi’: ST namkit ‘cost’; ST namkidiya ‘pay him’. Cf. CN tiaamiki ‘buy, sell’. Add Mn no’ma/ho/no’mihi 'buy, vt'. Kenneth Hill also lists:  

2395b. *na-maka 'distribute, sell, give out, give to several people': Cp námkalayka ‘to the store’; Cp nè- mèxe ‘sell, give as gift’; Ls námxa ‘give to several people, distribute’. In regard to both of the above, consider also: Ca máx ‘sell’; Eu nemáka ‘sell’; Yq nénka ‘sell’; My nenka ‘sell’ (Cah *ninka < *nímaka); CN namak ‘sell’; and Ktn no’mk ‘buy, vt’. Perhaps all from < *na-maka, with reciprocal na-

prefix to *maka ‘give’ as buying/selling requires reciprocal giving, i.e., giving s.th. in exchange for the goods. Zigmund et al (1991) have Kw na-waga ‘buy’ from *na-maka. [k > h; mk > nk in Yq]  

[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Azt]

2396. *samsa 'buy': BH.Cup sámse ‘buy’; M88-sa21; KH/M06-sa21: Bright & Hill say this may be borrowed from non-Cupan language: Cp sámse ‘buy, vt’; Ca -sáámsa- ‘buy’; Ls saamsa ‘buy’’. [NUA: Tak]

2397. *wika/i 'owe': M88-wi3 'to owe’; KH/M06-wi3 ‘owe’: Wr wiga-ní/má ‘sacar fiado, deber’; Tr wiká ‘deber, ser deudor’; My wikiríya ‘deber’; Eu vikiríaye; CN wikitíía ‘take, carry s.th. for s.o., owe s.th. to s.o.’  Ken Hill adds TO wiklaDag ‘debt’ and We wikie ‘está casado’ with a question mark. TO aligns even to the liquid 3º C, though TO w instead of g (< *w) means it may be a loan from TrC. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]


2399a. *tími 'buy': NP tímí 'buy, vt’; TSh tímíh ‘buy, vt’; Sh tímiíh ‘buy’; Cm mahipirimííri ‘buy for self, possess (hold in hand)’; Cm maríñirií ‘buy s.th.’; Cm naríñirií ‘trade, sell to one another, exchange’.

[NUA: WNum, CNum]

2399b. *na-tuwa / *tu'wa / *rukwa 'buy': Ch narú-ga ‘buy’; SP naroo‘ywa ‘barter’; CU narúway ‘buy’; CU narúway ‘trade’; but CU taguy-narú/ˈy ‘be thirsty, buy-thirst’. Notice both here and at *nampV that WNum and CNum show -m(p)- while SNum has -w-. [medial kw, w, or m?]  [NUA: SNum]

2400. *waLa / *wara 'sell': B.Tep37 *gagara 'he sells'; KH/M06-wa30 ‘sell’: TO gagda; LP gagará; PYp gagará; NT gágára; Gáagárai; ST ga’ara; ST gara ‘sell it’. Add Tbr mará/wará ‘sell’. [SUA: Tep, Tbr]

2401. *tLi 'sell': Wr tariké ‘sell s.th. to s.o.;’ Wr tala-ní ‘buy, vt’; Tr ōari-mea ‘buy’; Tr ōarinéa-ma ‘sell’. [*L]

[SUA: Trn]

2402. *napi(C)tu 'trade': NP nabido ‘trade, vi’; Sh napittí ‘trade, vt’; perhaps CN patla '(ex)change'. [+u > i/o; CN p]  [NUA: Num]

2403. *camí ‘turn over, exchange’: Mn camína ‘change, exchange, turn s.th. over’; TSh nacammíi’ah / nacami’ah ‘trade (for), barter (for)’; TSh camííi’ah / camí’ah ‘turn over’.  [NUA: Num]

2404. *capha(ya) 'buy, trade': TO ša’awai ‘buy, buy from’; Nv savaida ‘permutar’; NT saviíi ‘compró’; NT saviídai ‘lo compra’; NT sáápídishoáí / sááputai ‘comprar’; ST sava’dá ‘comprar’; perhaps Eu sáde ‘comprar’ borrowed from Tep?  [SUA: Tep, Opn]

2405. *gni / *qina 'pay': Cp náñani ‘pay, vt’; Ca niñan / niñan ‘pay s.o., be expensive’. [NUA: Tak]

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2406. *hiwa* / *hi'a* / 'trap': M67-444 *hewi; I.Num46 *hiya / 'to trap'; M88-hi6 / 'to trap'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-hi6: Mn (ti)hiya 'trap, vt'; NP hiya / 'trap'; NP ahi'a / 'trap, vt'; TSh hiwa / 'trap, vt'; TSh hiwanimp / 'trap, n; Sh ha' / 'trap, vt'; Sh(C) hi'a / 'catch, trap, vt'; Kw hia / 'trap, set a trap, vt'; Cu /'i-ya / 'trap, plant, sow, cultivate, farm'; Ca hew / 'trap, vt'; Ls xawi / 'trap, v (cognate? Miller queries; I would say probably); Sr hiin / 'hunt (for game)'; Hp hiwi / 'trap s.th., vt'; Hp hwiwi / 'a set trap, n'; Tb 'iw / 'trap, vt'. Add Cm hiari / 'fish, v'; Cm hiwapi / 'trapper'. Though all start with *hi-, the 2nd consonant shows considerable variation: *hi/a/hiya/hiwa/hiwa. For *hiwa, we have TSh hiwa, Tb /'iw-, Hp hwiwi, and Ls xawi. The ha' forms probably simply lost a consonant, and y in *hiya may be somewhat excrescent. More than ample evidence in CNum and SNum also suggests a final gaminating consonant.

[-w-, -ai]; x/h; prefix a- in NP] [NUA: Num, Tb, Hp, Tak]

2407. *ti'niyaC* / 'trap': Stubbs2003-7: Kw ti'niya / 'trap, vt'; Kw ti'niya-pi / 'trap, n'; ST ti'i'ja / 'set trap'; a nice fit, since ST j < *y, and both are fairly long. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

Trash: see garbage

TREE, WOOD, FOREST; ÁRBOL, MADERA, LEÑA, BOSQUE, SELVA; see also pine, cottonwood, cedar, willow

The forms of *kut / 'fire, firewood, wood' and other initial *ku- words need a more careful sorting; Miller has them in five places (ku4, ku5, ku6, ko1, ki17), along with *kwawi and *kuna, which may have a common element in a compound; nevertheless, a sorting is needed.

2408. *kut-(ta) / (ku AMR) tree, wood, firewood': S apr; M67-170d *kuta / 'stick of wood'; I.Num64 *kuh- / 'fire, heat (instr. prefix)'; BH.Cup *kut / 'fire, etc.'; L.Son101 *ku / 'palo, madera, etc.'. B.Tep129 ku'agi / 'firewood' and B.Tep120 / *kua'agi / 'to get firewood'; CL.Azt280 / *kut(u)' / 'tree, wood' (besides CL.Azt177 kwawi tree, wood); M88-ku4.6 / 'tree, (fire)wood'; Munro.Cup44 / *kut- / 'tree'; AMR 1993a / *kut; KH/M06-ku4 / *kut (AMR): Gb kotá / 'palo, leña'; Sr kult / 'fire'; Sr kutaa / / 'gather firewood'; Sr kutaa / / 'gather firewood'; Kt / *kut / 'fire'; Kt *ku / 'stick, pole, firewood'; Hp koko / 'firewood, stick'; Hp kotqa / 'wood pile'; Eu kut / 'palo'; Tbr utá / 'árbol, palo, viga, madera, leña'; CrC *kuye (< *kuyi) / 'tree, etc.; My kútta / 'madera, leña'; AYq kuta / 'stick, pole'; Wr ku / 'palo, leña'; Tb kisi / 'fire'; Tb kutuagut ~ ukutuk / 'gather firewood'. Ca, Cp, Ls, Kt all show cut / 'fire' and while the UNists' usual tie of wood with fire is possible, is it certain? The SN compound *kukkwaC is separated to below.

[NUA: Tak, Hp, Tb, Num; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC]

2409a. *kutawi > *kilawi: 'gather firewood': BH.Cup / *kaláwat / 'wood'; *kalaw- / 'gather wood'; HH.Cup / *kaláawVt / 'wood'; *kaláaw- / 'gather wood'; M88-ki17 / 'to gather firewood'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ki17: C p keláwe / 'gather wood'; Ca kelaw / 'gather wood'; Ls kuláaw / 'gather wood'. Hill notes Sr kutai / 'gather firewood, vi' (only missing -w-); Sr kutat / 'firewood, wood, stick'; Hp kó-lawi / 'cut firewood' (-lawi / 'continuous / imperfective verb suffix'); Hill also notes related noun forms: Ca kélawa-t, -kélawa-a; C p keláwa-t; Gb kotá; Ls kuláawut. The Hp form is transparent, to make one wonder if it is the source for Tak loans, but to these might be added Yq ké / 'e get wood' and Tr ka'wi / 'ir a cortar leña' which are a long way from Hp. The Cah forms (here Yq) typically lose intervocalic liquids to glottal stop; in other words, perhaps *kutawi > *kVlawV (Tak), > *ku'awi (Tep and Cah) are feasible. Note both here and at *hiwi / 'trap' that Sr lost intervocalic -w-.

2409b. *ku'awi / 'wood, tree, firewood': B.Tep129 ku'agi / 'firewood': TO ku'ag / 'get firewood'; TO kuagi / 'firewood'; TO ku'ag / 'have firewood'; LP kuagi / 'leña'; PYp kuagi / 'kuhagi / 'wood'; NT kuáagi / 'firewood'; ST ku'aa / 'leña'; ST kua'gia / 'cortar leña'. B.Tep120 / *ku'ag-i / 'to get firewood': TO ku'ag'; LP ku'aag'; NT kuáagi; ST kua'gi. Wc k'iai / 'fetch wood' matches well and also suggests that the glottal stop may better belong between u and a, as in Wc and TO: *ku'awai / 'fetch firewood'. Miller's adding Azt kwawi < *ku'awi is feasible, except for Cah *bwawi which also aligns well with *kwawi and complicates the nicety of such.

[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

2410. *kukkwaC (< *kut-kwaC) / 'wood ( > gather wood)': M88-ku4; KH/M06-ku4: Kw kuko-pi (< *kukkopi / kukwa-pi / 'piece of wood, stick'; Ch kukwapi (< *kukkwa-pi / 'wood, stick, firewood'; SP quqqwa / 'gather wood' (SP ku- / 'with fire'); WMU ku/kkwé-y / 'chop (wood, vt'; CU kukwáy / 'chop firewood'; CU kkkwappi / 'firewood). [NUA: SNumb]
2411. *kuttumu 'pole of solemn purpose'; M88-ku37 pole: KH/M06-ku37: Ls kutúum-t 'ceremonial pole'; Gb kutúmt 'grave pole, painted pole'. This pair may share a morpheme with the above, but it is compounded with s.th. different. [NUA: Tak]

2412. *kusi 'wood': M67-170c; M88-ku7; KH/M06-ku7: Mn kussi-woqqop'i 'Jeffrey pine'; Wr kusi 'branch, brush, thicket'; Tr kusi/gusi 'stick'. [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

2413. *wopiN (< *wapaL?) 'wood': Sapr; M67-15; L.Num276 *wopi(n) 'wood'; M88-w010 'wood'; KH/M06-w010: Mn wpikusu 'woodpecker'; NP wopi 'burnt board'; TSh wopin 'pole'; Sh wo-pin 'board, vehicle'; Cm woop/wopi 'board, wood'; Kw wo-vi 'old timber, wood'; SP ovi(N)- 'wood'; My ówwo 'mata'. I like Sapir's inclusion of CN wapal-li 'board, small beam' with Num *wopi, since a > o between two bilabials is plausible and a > i before a liquid (now N in SP) is also consistent with vowels before liquids in UA. Might this tie to M88-’o2 *opi ‘awl’ at ‘awl’? [NUA: Num; SUA: Cah, Azt]

2414. *tukīnu alder tree, also: M88-ti51 'alder tree'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ti51: Cp tükene-t (vowel is wrong for tī, unexpected stress); Ls tukón-la / tukóñu-t; Sr tikit. [NUA: Tak]

2415. *(h)ota(N) 'pole': M67-327; M88-h02; KH/M06-h02: SP otaa; Ch horaa; Tb olont; Tr otowá 'rama grande'; CN otla-tl 'bamboo'; HN ohtlatl 'river cane'. [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Trn, Azt]

2416. *uLi 'ash (tree?), also*?: Fowler83: Tr ure; CN iliili-tl 'alder tree'. [SUA: Trn, Azt]

2417. *ciima 'branch, limb': M88-ci23; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ci23: Ca čima 'branch, limb'; Sr čim 'branch, limb'. [NUA: Tak]

2418. *waCka 'rabbit throwing stick, boomerang': M88-wa27 'rabbit throwing stick or boomerang'; Munro.Cup106 *waaka-t 'rabbit stick'; KH/M06-wa27: Cp wáka-t; Ls wáaka-t; Ca wáka-t; Gb wáka-t. [NUA: Tak]

NB, for *yami 'grow thick, forest' see grow
NB, for *hu(ca) 'arrow/wood' see arrow.
NB, for Hp coki, see stalk.
NB, for *sínjá 'cottonwood, aspen' see cottonwood.

Trip: see fall
Trunk: see stalk
Trust: see believe
Try: see tire(d)

TURKEY; PAVO, GUAJOLOTE

2419. *ciwi 'turkey (sp.)': L.Son35 *ciwi; M88-ci8; KH/M06-ci8: Eu civí/ciwi; Wr ciwi 'kind of turkey'; Tr čiwi; Op ciwi; Yq čiwi 'clase de guajolote'; perhaps Cr sǐpí 'guajolote'? [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah]

2420. *topa 'turkey': B.Tep229 *tova 'turkey'; Fowler83; M88-to16; KH/M06-to16: TO towa; LP tov; NT tova; ST tova. Add PYp tova 'turkey'. Though Miller (M88-to16) combines *topa 'turkey' with *toLi 'chicken’, the differing second syllable justifies separate etyma: *topa 'turkey' and *toLi 'domestic fowl' at bird. [SUA: Tep]

2421. *kuyuV / *kuyuNV / *kuyuNCV 'turkey': Fowler83; Ken Hill (p.c. 2004); KH/M06-ku40: Hp koyójó; Cm kuyú'nii / kuyunii’. Hill adds Ch kuyuita and WSh kwi’na. Let’s also add Sh(GL) *kuyunjwi’yaa’ ‘turkey’ and CU kwiyu-tí (< *kwiyuC-; otherwise, -r- vs. -t-) ‘turkey’. Hp and Sh(GL) agree perfectly for five segments; and Cm agrees through four, then has a glottal stop plus nasal (cluster) aligning with η of the others. CU lengthens ỹ/₁ (*kuyu > kwiyu), but agrees with both Cm and Hp, lacking only a late nasal, but its -t- instead of -r- suggests a cluster: CU < *kwiyuC-ᵗí. [’n vs. η, unaccented vowel assimilates more easily in CU] [NUA: Num, Hp]

Turkey buzzard/vulture: see buzzard

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TURTLE, TORTOISE; TORTUGA
2422. *ayaC / *ayoC 'turtle': Sapir; M67-445*ay 'turtle'; BH.Cup*áyila 'turtle'; CL.Azt179 *ayaayi 'turtle', 28 **ay- 'turtle'; Fowler83; M88- 'a14 'turtle'; Munro.Cup134 *áayi-la; KH.NUA; KH/M06- 'a14: Kw 'aya; SP 'aya; CU 'ayapi-ci; Cp 'áyi 'turtle shell rattle (poss'd); Ca 'áyi 'turtle'; Ca -'áyi 'turtle shell rattle'; Ls 'áy-la 'abalone'; Ls páa'i-la 'turtle'; Ls páa'a-ya-t 'turtleshell rattle'; Hp aaya 'rattle'; Tbr haya-wé-t 'tortuga'; Wc 'ayé 'ayée; CN aayoo-tl; HN aayoo-tl. Jane Hill (p.c.) reminds that CN aayoo-tl < *aya-wí- (turtle-big). CU -p- (vs. -v-) and Ls -t- (vs. -l-) suggest a final C. The 2\textsuperscript{nd} V is difficult. SNNum, Hp, Tbr, and one Ls form suggest *'aya, while CN and the other Tak forms are more consistent with *ayo, since Ca and Cp i < *o, then there is Wc 'ayé, whose 2\textsuperscript{nd} V does not fit either. Might these relate to 'gourd' (see at squash) as a turtle's shell somewhat resembles a gourd? [-a/o] [NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tbr, CrC, Azt]

2423. *kopota 'turtle': M88-ko10 'turtle': M67-446 *ko turtle; Fowler83; KH/M06-ko10: Sr qöpö-t 'turtle'; Ktn kopota-t 'turtle'. Miller includes NP kota 'crayfish'; NP koyotty 'whiteshell necklace'; Tb kooyoot 'turtle'; but they and this collection of initial *ko... syllables needs more study. Jane Hill (p.c.) notes Mojave kapet 'turtle' (Munro et al 1992) and Yavapai kpit and Yokuts koykooyot to suggest that areal influences may be involved. [NUA: Tak]

2424. *komikt(?)il 'turtle': TO komkè'ed 'turtle' (komi 'back, shell'); Nv komikturhu 'tortuga'. Cf. Tep *komi 'back, cáscara'; TO komi-tp 'to break shell covering'; and CN komi-tl 'container, vessel'. [SUA: Tep]

2425. *muLi (< *muti '?) 'turtle': L.Son159 *muri 'tortuga'; Fowler83; M88-mu6; KH/M06-mu6: Op muri; Eu muri/muri(k); Wr muri; Tr muri. Fowler adds here My mót 'tortuga' (thus also Yq móčik), which I consider interesting possibilities in light of *t > r/c elsewhere in UA. But whether the Cah forms belong or not, we can add Tepiman forms such as PYp muuli; NT muúli; ST muly; Cr muaarih. [SUA: Tep, Trm, Cah, Opn, CrC]

2426. *yu'a 'water, (water/wet) turtle': M88-yu22; KH/M06-yu22: Ca yú'ai-l' 'small turtle'; Sr yu'aa-t 'water turtle'; Cp yù'e-l 'large lizard'; Cp yù'i-s 'wet'; Ls yulú' 'lizard, sp'; Ls yù'a 'get wet'. [NUA: Tak]

NB, what of *(t)uLu 'turtle': the -turhu of LP komikturhu 'tortuga'; PYp hu'uruga / huhrurga 'mud turtle'?

TWIN(S); GEMELO(S), CUATE(S)
2427. *cikw / *ciko 'twin(s)': M88-ci21 'twin(s)'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ci21: Cp čišxilyim; Ca čišxiniš, pl: čišxinč-em; Sr čiqwt, poss: -čiqt, pl: čiqtom. Add Ktn cicikwin 'copy, mimic, vt'. Probably related is CN čiko 'to one side, indirectly, perversely' which is used in verbs of 'slander, curse' and otherwise maligning on the side or on the sly; CN čikočikwa (in compounds) also serves as 'five' (one side of a hand count)—CN čikwa-see 'six' (see 'one'); CN čikoome 'seven' (oose 'two'); CN čikweeyi 'eight' (eeyi 'three'). So twin is one of a pair and mimicking is pairing or acting as the other side or mirror image, if you will, and in a not altogether positive sense. So 'twin', 'one side of the two', 'mimic', and 'slander' seem semantically compatible. Cupan -s- may be from reduplication: *ciciko > ciko > ciški? [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

2428. *cono'o 'twin(s)': Kw cono'o-ivi-mí 'twins'; Tb čono 'twins'. [NUA: Num, Tb]

2429. *topi 'twin(s)': Hp cööviwi; Eu tovi, tovške (gen), tovš (acc) 'twin'. [*t > c] [NUA: Hp; SUA: Opn]

2430. *oma 'twin': CN oome 'two'; Tr omaači / a()'marací 'twin'; Wr mahtaci / muhté 'twin'. [SUA: Trm, Azt]

2431. *wa'wa 'twin(s)': Mn wa'wahá; TSh waawaa(cç); Sh wawa; Cm wa'wa; Cr wa'apuarri 'twins'. [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

NB, note also *koNwa 'serpent, twin' at snake, from which Spanish cuate (< kooaa-tl) is a loan.
Twist: see circle
Two: see under numbers toward the end
Ugly: see bad

UNCLE; TIO

2432. *ta'ta 'uncle, usually mother's younger brother (myb) or father's sister's husband (fsh): B.Tep220 *tatarí 'uncle'; L.Son277 *tari 'hermano menor de la madre'; M88-ta16 'younger maternal uncle'; i.e., myb; KH.NUA: KH/M06-ta16: NP aacci 'mb'; Sh atá 'mb'; Cm ara 'mb'; CU 'aa-ci 'fyb'; Tb toohan (cognate? Miller wisely queries); Cp tá 'mb'; Cm ta 'mb'; Sr taar 'cross uncle (mb, fsh)'; Hp taaha 'mb'; TO tatal(i) 'mb'; LP tatarí 'mb'; NT tatáli; ST tataaly; Wr ta'té 'mb'; Tr ra'té 'mb'; CN tla 'tli 'uncle'; Tbr tayí 'fob' (cognate? Miller queries; I say yes). Add TSH atapu 'mb, fsh'; note the glottal stop in Wr, Tr, N, Cm, and the Takic languages. Could Wr and Tr be borrowed from CN, showing an earlier lower vowel on a fossilized absolute suffix (*ta'-ta > ta'te)? [*t- > r > y in Tbr?] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Trn, Azt]

2433. *kumu (< *kamu) 'uncle, usually father's older brother (fob)'; Ken Hill (in KH/M06-ku30) wisely combined the duplications in M88-ka30 'uncle' and M88-ku30 'older parallel uncle'; M67-499 *kumu 'uncle'; L.Son106 *kumu 'fob'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ku30: Ca kum 'fob'; Cp kum 'fob'; Ls kamú 'fob'; Gb kukma 'tio'; Sr kumu 'older parallel uncle, man's younger parallel nephew or niece'; Ktn kum / kuhm 'uncle'; Wr kumú 'tio, sobrino, sobrina (hermano mayor del padre, hijo o hija del hermano menor de un hombre); Tr kumú-či 'tio paterno'; My kúmuri 'tio'. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah, Trn]

2434. *mas 'uncle': M88-ma40 'uncle, fyb'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ma40: Cm meš; Ca mas; Ls máš; Gb más; Sr maq. [NUA: Tak]

2435. *puyu 'male relative': M88-pu11 'uncle'; KH/M06-pu11: Mn pu 'mother's brother'; Sr puyu 'male friend, cross-cousin'. [NUA: Num, Tak]

2436. *hay 'uncle, father's brother': Kw hee- 'father's younger brother'; SP ai- 'uncle (paternal / maternal), male's nephew/niece'; WMU aa-ci(n) / aáji(n) 'my uncle, dad's brother, n'; CU 'aa-ci; Sh hai / hee 'uncle, father's brother'. [NUA: Num]

Under: see down

UNTIE, LOOSE(N); DESATAR, DESAMARRAR, SOLTAR

2437. *pu'ta/i 'become/get loose': L.Son215 *pota 'soltarse'; M88-pu8; KH/M06-pu8: Yq búta; My bútta 'desatar'; Wr po'tá; Tr bota/bo'tá; CN petlaawa 'undress, uncover' (cognate? Miller questions; see at 'open'). Add PYp voragi 'naked'; PYp voragim 'strip, vt' may belong. The first element matching *puL- in TO wul'ok 'untie' and Nv burioka 'desatar'; Nv virioki 'desatar lo atado'; Nv virioki 'cosa desatada'; ST vulyio'ka 'desatar, vt (animate obj)' (but ST vulya 'amarrar') likely belong as well. Is Hp wíókina 'slacken, loosen' a loan from TO wul'ok or other Tep language? Note that the glottal stop in Wr, TO, and Tr, and gemination in AYq, all four suggest at least a medial cluster, whether ' or else. A vowel sequence of u-a (Yq) could raise *u > o (*o-a, as in Tr, Wr, PYp). [*u-a > o-a; -a/i in Nv] [SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Azt]

2438. *yucal 'loose(n)': B.Tep24 *dusarakai 'loose'; M88-yu18; KH/M06-yu18: TO jušaDkaø 'loosen'; TO jušaDk 'loose'; UP(B) jušadkai; NT dusarakai; ST dyusaarak. [SUA: Tep]

2439. *kasa 'get well, loosen': CL.Azt69 *kašaani 'get well, loosen, soften'; Dakin 1982; M88-ka25; KH/M06-ka25: CN kašani 'loosen, slacken, lose courage'; HN kašaani 'be soothed'; HN kašaania 'soothe, vt'; Pl kašaania 'loosen'. Note Dakin's inclusion Cr raa-kwá'asís-te'e 'lo afloja (cerco) though a difference of k- vs. kw- is substantial. [SUA: Azt]

2440. *toma 'loosen, undo, take from': Sapir; CL.Azt181 *toma 'untie'; M88-to26 'untie'; KH/M06-to26: CN toma 'loosen, undo, untie, free, unwrap, vi, vt, v.refl'; Pl tuhtuma; SP tooyuai 'pick up a cast-off object'. This connection of Sapir's merits consideration; the sound correspondences match, and though the semantics are not
identical, picking s.th. off the ground and picking s.th. off of s.th. else are not that different. I separate *toma and *tupa (below) for lack of other evidence of an m:p correspondence. [SUA: Azt; NUA: Num]

2441. *tuCpa 'untie, loosen': Mn toba 'unfasten, untie, free'; NP u cadubba (< *catubba) 'untie'; TSh cattipiiah 'undo, untie, open by grasping'; SP toppa / toppi / tovi 'come loose, vi; pull out, vt'; and AYq topecei 'naked, nude'. There are similar forms missing an intervocalic bilabial (see below at NB). Some evidence for a cluster exists, though WNum voiced -b(b)- instead of voiceless, brings *-mp- to mind, but SP would normally show nasalization for such. So exactly what kind of cluster, I'm not sure. [*u > i] [SUA: Cah; NUA: Num]

2442. *kwu(C)ta / *kwuta 'untie, loose(n)': Stubbis1995-3: CN kwitašiwi 'get loose, go weak'; Ls kurá-vi-'untie'; Ls kúúrá/i 'shed hair or skin, unwind a string'; Tr o'tá- 'be slack, loose'; Tr o'ta-na- 'let loose, give freedom, pardon'; and the Cah forms Yq buta and My buttia, listed also above at *puta, could feasibly fit either since *kwuta > buta. All segments of all these forms fit *kwuCta, since *u > CN i and *kw > Tr w (wo > o). In fact, AYq vutta 'untie, loosen, release grip' is interesting in that *kw > bw, and *p > p, but *p > v also? Admittedly, *pu'ta above and *kwu'ta are so similar that an early split in a UA form may have produced a couple of variant forms, for Brambila has separate Tr forms -Tr botá 'soltarse, desatarse' and Tr o'tá 'aflojarse, perder tension'—which fit *pu'ta above and *kwu'ta, respectively, and the CN and LS forms could not fit *puta, though the Cah forms could fit either. The matter is puzzling. [*kwu > Tr o] [SUA: Trn, Cah, Azt; NUA: Tak]

NB, for *huppa 'untie, come loose, let down', see 'at down'. These are the active/transitive forms *huppa 'let down, cause to go down (by untying)' vs. intransitive *(h)uppi 'go down, sink' (Ch hupá 'untie'; SP uppa 'untie'; WMU uppaa 'untie'; Kw nohopi 'unravel'; ST hupaañ 'deshilado'). NB, some of the following (looking like *too 'let loose, leave') likely belong with *to(h)a 'leave'; see at 'leave': Sh toya 'untie sg obj, v'; WC tua 'soltar, entregar'; Ra raa-tatua 'lo suelta'; Kw tato'oy / tata'ui 'take off sg obj'; Sh kwaitoa 'shed, take off'; NV dakitoo 'soltar, dejar'. Cr, WC, NV often do not show intervocalic *p, so they might belong with *topa above.

UP, ABOVE, HIGH; ARRIBA, SOBRE, ALTO; also see climb and sky and for 'on', see 'at')

2443. *yama 'up, over, above': B.Tep12 *dama 'over, above'; M88-ya14; KH/M06-ya14; TO ðaam 'above, over, on top of'; PYp daam; NT daama; ST daam. These may well be cognate with *yama 'come up, spring forth (vegetation) in KH/M06-ya23 at 'grow'. [SUA: Tep]

2444. *-mo- 'up(ward)': Wr i'móla 'stairs'; Eu mówa 'arriba'; Tr mo- 'encima'; Tr -mo-ba 'encima de'; Tr nemo(nó) 'mount on'; Tr mowi 'subirse, encimarsele', pl: himo; Wr i'mó- 'climb'; Wr mohéna- 'climb'; Wr mo'tepú- 'climb up s.th., vt'; Eu hámu 'subir'; Eu hámudau 'subida'; Kw mo'osí 'rise, vi'; perhaps Hp mó'o'-ta 'be piled high in a mounded shape'; Hp mo'óla 'pile up, make mound', though Hp V should be ö. [Hp o vs. ö, glottal, L] [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn]

2445. *ti / *tíN 'up': Kw tii 'up'; Kw tii-kjee 'go up'; Ch(L) tii/ti 'up (loosely north also)'; SP tíN / tíN 'up'; WMU tii 'up, above, adv'; CU tii 'ascend, go up, v'; WC ti- 'up'; and perhaps Tr řiwiná 'hacia arriba, cuesta arriba'. PerhapsNV títii 'subir'. [NUA: SNum; SUA: CrC]

NB, for *huLa 'come up (sun), look in/over', see 'see'. NB, for *tukuN- pa 'sky, up' and *tíkpa 'up' see 'sky'.

URINATE, URINE, BLADDER; ORINAR, MEAR, ORINA, VEJIGA (v 'urinate', then n 'urine')

| Mn | siina; n: síipí | Hp | sisiwkí(y)í v(n) | Eu | sísa- |
| NP | -- | Tb | ší' | Tbr | n: sií-r |
| TSh | sií'; n: siíppí | Sr | šií'; šíaa'vun | Yq | síisi; sí'iika 'bladder' |
| Sh | sií'; n: sííppí | Ca | ší'; pís | My | síise; n: siísi |
| Cm | siíi'; n: siíípí | Ls | šíí'-a: pisá-ga- | Wr | sí'a-mí; n: síi' |
| Kw | sií'-; n: nazípi | Cp | kflyma; n: sí | Tr | isá/isí'-; n: isí(ara) |
| Ch | sí'í | TO | hi'a (n. & v.) | Cr | se' e; n: si'suri |
| SP | sí'i | Nv | t'a'/í'a | Wc | ší v. |
Miller helpfully separates the verb and noun as separate derivations of a common stem: 

**2446a.** *si'í* / *si'a* 'urinate, v': Sapir; VVH67 *siₜu* (*i*)/ *siₜₛ* (*a*) 'to urinate'; M88-siₜ⁸; M67-447 *si* 'urinate'; I.Num188 *si'í* 'urinate'; CL.Azt182 *isiša* 'urinate'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-siₜ; Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Kw; SP; CU; Tb; Cp; Ca; Ls; Gb *bi* 'mear'; Sr; Hp; TO; Tr; My; WC; Cr; CN.  Add NV, PYp, Eu.  Vowel anticipation in PYp.  

**2446b.** Num *si'iC-pi* 'urine, n': BH.Cup *si* 'urine; L.Son237 *siₜₛ* 'orinar', *si* 'orines'; M88-siₜ⁹ 'urine'; KH/M06-siₜ⁹: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Kw; SP; CU; Cp; Ca; Ls; Gb *bi* 'mear'; Sr; Hp sisikïyi; Hp sisimoki 'bladder'; TO; Tr; My; Tb; RN maaširiš-ti.  [NUA; Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Tbr, Opm, CrC, Azt]

NB, *písa 'urinate' (Ls pisá-nya, Ca pis): is this the same stem as *písa 'go out' or 'urinate'?  It was customary to 'go out' (outside) to urinate before indoor plumbing.  Or does it tie to *písa 'penis'?  

**Use:** see eat, finish, with

**VAGINA, FEMALE GENITALIA** 

**2447.*** muC 'female genitalia': M88-mu₄ 'vagina'; KH/M06-mu₄: TO muus; Wr muhcí; Tr mučí; and Hp mosnya 'clitoris'.  [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn]

**2448.** *kwita/i* 'vagina': M67-448 *kwì* 'vagina'; I.Num84 *kwì* vagina; M88-kuₜ₈; KH/M06-kuₜ₈: TSh(M67) 'ungwida her vagina'; TSh(I.Num) ukwita; NT bìši; perhaps Mn tekwi with a prefix.  Miller includes Kw and CU, which seem to better belong below.  With a 2nd V change of -a > -i, the Tep bìši < *kwici < *kwita is typical.  [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

**2449.** *wìkkaN* (< *wì'aC-kani*) 'vagina (penis-house) ': Kw wìka-(m)bì 'vagina, vulva'; Ch(L) wìgiₚï 'vagina'; SP wìgiₚï; Mn wìgiₚ 'clitoris' may belong as well, as other instances of *w > kw in WNum, especially WNum are numerous.  CU -pV (vs. -V) suggests a final C, and Kw, Ch, and SP suggest it is a nasal.  [kw/w]  [NUA: SNum]

**2450.** *ta'í* 'female genitalia': TSh ta'í 'vagin, vulva'; Sh ta'ai/ ta'í.  [NUA: CN]

**2451.** *típIL* 'vulva': Stubbs2003-46: CN tepil-li 'vulva'; Tbr típi r 'vulva, feminine gender'; for alternations between liquids and s, cf. Tbr watisam/watiram 'thirsty'.  [L > s, Tbr-Azt]  [SUA: Tbr, Azt]

**2452.** *cìjlic / *cìjliN* 'female genitalia': Ca či₂j-li 'vulva'; CU cìjṭi-pi 'vagina'; SP šiₜi⁻mₚi 'vulva'.  An interesting trio that I must guess are related (whether by loan or descent).  The two Num forms show a 3rd C: final gemination in CU, nasal in SP.  For the 2nd C, a velar nasal may have denasalized to g in CU and deverbalized to n in SP, or it is a cluster that reduced in three different ways.  Only two of three agree on the first C as well, but all have a general semblance for some length and with highly specific semantics.  [NUA: Num, Tak]

Valley: see canyon
Vegetation: see plant
Venom: see poison
Very: see all

**VOMIT, NAUSEA; VOMITAR, BASQUEAR** 

**2453.** *píso* 'vomit, v': B.Tep269 *vihotai to vomit'; M67-450 *pisot/pisata; M88-pi₂₆ 'to vomit'; KH/M06-kuₜ₈: TO wihot; LP vihot; NT vióṭai; NT vióšigai 'vomit, n'; ST viota; My bisata; Yq bisata; CN i’sootla; Pl isuuta; Tr o’pësu 'vomit, vi'; Tr ku’pëso 'vomit, vi'; SP pipitta’ni 'vomit, vi'.  Add Sr pi₂ₜ ‘vomit’; PYp vioshim ‘vomit, vi’; perf: vihot-, vihot.  Like SP cited by Miller, the initial pi(s)- portions of Ch pipitan’a, Kw pitahi, and TSh pitani also belong, compounded with s.th. like *ta’ni from -ta ‘verbalizing suffix’ (as in SUA) and -ni ‘intensive’; thus, *píso-ta’ni > *pista’ni > *pitta’ni: whatever the case, -s- is lost as first element in the cluster, as
is usual. Considering a triplication of the initial syllable, Ca pipivis 'vomit, v' belongs. Most languages, whose
segments go that far, show o. Azt's lack of initial *p is expected. [o-a >a-a in Cah?; CN ø < *p]
[NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, Azt]

2454a. *yo’a 'vomit': M67-451; L.Son359 *yoa ‘vomitar’; M88-yo10 ‘to vomit’; KH/M06-yo10: Hp naayö’-;
Eu dóda-; Op do-doa; Wr yo’a; Tr o’yó. Probably Tb(M) wayuubat ~ ‘awayuup ‘vomit, v’ with wa- prefix. Jane
Hill (p.c.) adds Gb yoji (Merriam).
2454b. *o’a / *o’V ‘vomit’: Mn o’i ‘vomit, vi’; NP oai’hu ‘vomit, v’; Cm oo’iti ‘vomit, v’; Tr o’a / o’o / o’awa
‘vomitar’. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn]

2455. *hara / *haLa 'belch, vomit': Cr hára’ a ‘vomita’;
Cr hara’iri ‘vómito’; NT aráávai ‘belch’. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

2456. *nïnïLa ‘wait’: B.Tep179 *nïnïra ‘wait’; M88-nï15; KH/M06-nï15: TO neahim ‘wait for, expect, look for’;
TO nenDa ‘wait for, vt’; LP(B) nïr; Nv nï’ïra / nïïra / nïnïra ‘esperar’; Nv nïahim Õ te espero’; PYp neneri
‘(a)wait’ (neena ‘look’); NT nïnïra; ST nïïra / nra. Add Hp nï’ïtay/nïhtay-ta ‘wait for’.
[NUA: Tep; SUA: Hp]

2457a. *popica ‘wait’: M88-po6 ‘esperar’; KH/M06-po6: TO wo’ïsïg; My booibiça. Add AYq voviça ‘wait for,
vt’. Eu oiswe/oisiu-ce ‘aguwardar por mucho tiempo’ may be a loan from a Tep form like TO above, and the
TO item may be a dissimilation (*popica > *po’ica) or a cluster reduction. The Cahitan forms (AYq, My *popica)
likely contain *pica ‘look’, with initial *po possibly being ‘in/at’ (an object), thus ‘looking for him’ much like Latin
ex-pect ‘look out’ and Spanish esperar. Note also the 'look/see' morpheme in Kw pïni-kee ‘watch, wait for’.
[NUA: Tep, Cah]

2457b. *puwi ‘wait’: Wr pué ‘wait for, vt’; Tr buwé ‘aguardar, esperar’; Tr nipuwe sg; Tr napuwe pl.

2457c. *puCta/ *i ‘wait for’: Sr puhča’ ‘watch for, wait for, take care of’ and Ktn puhci’ ‘wait for, take care of’.
[NUA:Tak; SUA: Trn]

2458. *ciya ‘wait’: CL.Azt183 *cia ‘wait’; M88-ci13; KH/M06-ci13: CN ciá; Pl ciá; Po çe; Z ciya. [SUA: Azt]

WAKE (UP), AWAKEN(N); DESPERTAR(SE)

2459. *pusaC (AMR) ‘wake up, open eyes’: VVH74 *pusa ‘waken’; L.Son223 *pusu, pus-a ‘abrir ojos’; M88-pu3;
KH/M06-pu3 *pusaC (AMR): TO wuhan, vt; Eu busá ‘awaken, vt’; Eu busú ‘wake up, vi’; Wr pusá; Tr busá
‘despertar a otro, vt’; Tr busi-mea ‘despertarse’; Tr busire ‘be aware, conscious, awake’; My bussa; CN i’sa. The
glottal stop in CN i’sa appears in other initial *p-loss forms, it seems (cf. *piso ‘vomit’). Overlooked, however, is
Cr hïsti ‘despierto’, of which hïs- fits *pus perfectly. Likewise, Wc hïï.tïa ‘despertar’, with the loss of -s- in a
cluster, belongs as well. Add Yq busa ‘despertarse’; Nv vui-ta-nu/ku) ‘despertar entre sueños sg/pl’. This set
appears tied to *pusi ‘eye’. I am impressed with AMR discerning a final -C. [glottal in CN, s > zero in cluster]
[NUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, CrC, Azt]

2460. *tay ‘wake’: Hp tay- ‘be awake, conscious’; Cm tayïçiři ‘awaken s.o. by shouting’; and Numic *tay-puni >
tippuni ‘wake-look’: Mn tîbîni; NP matîpunni; TSh tîpunitîppî; Sh tîpui; Cm tîbûnîi; Kw tîpûni; Ch tûpûni’i;
SP tûpu’ni ‘wake up (at once), vi’; SP tuvû’ni ‘wake up, vi’; CU tavï’ni / tapi’ni ‘wake up, vi’. Note that Cm
further out maintained a form closer to TSh than did Sh. [NUA: Num, Hp]

2461. *niC ‘wake’: TO nehîm ‘wake up’; Nv nîní ‘despertar del sueño’; PYp neenim ‘wake up’;
ST nînîa ‘despertarse’; Wc niere / nierîiya ‘despierto, visible, haber, mirar, vivo’. What of Tbr hi-nare-té
‘despierte’ (Tbr nare ‘aclarar el día’). This is distinct from 'see' in TO and others. [SUA: Tep, CrC]

Walk: see go

WALL; PARED, MURO
2462. *kowLi / *kori 'wall': Tr tegori 'cerca de piedra o adobe, tapia, pared' (< *ti-kori); Tr tegó-ma 'cercar, hacer cercas de piedra o adobe'; Wr isigori 'waddle and wicker wall'; Eu satékori 'pared'; Eu satékora-n 'hacer una pared'; Ca kiwniş 'wall' is interesting in that *o > Ca i and could correspond to PUA *kowli, though we would expect q instead of k, so it may or may not belong. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Opn, Trn]

2463. *paya 'wall, surface': Kwa paayaa 'wall, surface'; CU payá / payáa 'side, flank, slope, hillside, side of building or wall'. [NUA: SNum]

2464. *paki wall in *kwiya-paki 'earth/adobe-wall' (> Tep *bida-vaki): Nv bidobaki 'wall of adobe'; NT bidyááviki 'la pared'. [SU: Tep]

2465. *yaŋi 'fence, enclosure, roofless wall(s) ': M88-ya24; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ya24: Sū yaŋiŋi 'enclosure with walls but no roof'; Ca yaŋi'-t / yaŋi-s, né-yaŋi'-a 'encircling fence, roofless shed as windbreak'; Ca yaŋi 'build an encircling fence, roofless shed as windbreak for people or for gathering animals'; Gb yáŋe 'windbreak'; Gb yáŋ'ar 'Los Angeles'. Add Ktn Ktn yaŋeki(-n)-i-c / yuŋ-e-kin'-ic 'brush wikuup'. [NUA: Tak]

2466. *iso 'dab, make mud wall': Wr isigori 'waddle and wicker wall'; Wc 'išúma, 'unterm, embarrar [cover with mud]' and Wc 'išumá 'pared embarrade [muddled wall]'. The isi- portion of Wr shares two of three segments with Wc 'išúma, and Tr/Wr tend to assimilate often to i at almost any excuse. [SU: Trn, CrC]

NB, have I not seen cognates for Hp tiyiqa?
NB, for *pama 'wall, surface', see 'at' (Sh ti-pama 'rock-surface'; CN paan-tli 'row, wall'; CN te-paan-tli 'rock wall')

WANT, LIKE, LOVE, PLEASE, ENJOY; QUERER, AMAR, GUSTARLE, DISFRUTAR

2467. *naki 'want': M67-452 *naki 'want'; L.Son164 *naki 'desear'; CL.Azt184 *niki, 284 **naki; M88-na2 'like, want'; KH/M06-na2: NP naki 'chase'; Op naki; Eu nake 'querer, amar'; Yq nák; My nákke 'amar'; My -neke 'future suffix'; Wr nahki 'querer, desear, requerir'; Cr na- 'a-ráa-nahcì 'it pleases me'; Wc náak 'love, like'; CN nek(i) 'want, desire, require'; HP na- 'a-ráa-nahcì 'it pleases me'; Wc nekke 'love, like'; CN nakyi 'want, desire, 'be always happy, by nature/habit'; MWU suwá-y 'be happy, feel good'; WMU suwá-y 'be always happy, by nature/habit'; Kw suvi-ye 'be happy'; SP suá- 'be glad'; SP so'ai-yùi 'is very good, feels very well'; CU suwáay 'be happy'. Other words (below) showing *sVwa may tie in, suggesting *sVwa; yet any vowel before w becoming a back round vowel is not unusual, which fact may also suggest *sìwa (> *suwa). Sapir ties CN seya/siya 'to consent' and SP šuya-nìa 'would that ...' -worth noting. TH(9) sooyi-n 'his wife' is possible, but not probable.

2468. *suwaC 'want': Sapir; I.Num185 *su(h)wa'i 'want; M88-su14 'want'; KH/M06-su14: NP sugwai-di 'want'; Sh suai, suani 'want, vt'; CM suwai 'want, desire, wish'; CM su'al 'cercar, hacer una pared'. Add TSH suwa 'want, desire, think, feel'; TSH suwan 'want to, feel like, auxiliary v'; NP sugwa 'like, desire, wish'; Sh suwa 'cercar, hacer una pared'; CM sual 'cercar, hacer una pared'; CM su'al 'cercar, hacer una pared'; SP Šuya-nya 'would that ...'; CN -soa in CN tasla-tla 'love' (< *taslaoa 'value, love, affection'); Pl tasuta 'love, esteem, vt'; Yq suá 'cercar'; CM suatii 'want, desire, need, v'; CM su'acti 'think about s.th., make a plan'; and perhaps SH taccao 'take care of a child, baby sit' with a prefix (cluster causes fricative to affricate in Sh). Add also WMU suwá-y 'be happy, feel good'; WMU suwá-y 'be always happy, by nature/habit'; Kw suvi-ye 'be happy'; SP suá- 'be glad'; SP so'ai-yùi 'is very good, feels very well'; CU suwáay 'be happy'. Other words (below) showing *sVwa may tie in, suggesting *sVwa; yet any vowel before w becoming a back round vowel is not unusual, which fact may also suggest *sVwa (> *suwa). Sapir ties CN seya/siya 'to consent' and SP Šuya-nya 'would that ...' -worth noting. TH(9) sooyi-n 'his wife' is possible, but not probable.

2469a. *ya'a 'yearn after, cherish': VVH129 *ya'a 'yearn after, cherish'; M88-ya21 'yearn after, cherish'; KH/M06-ya21: TO da'a 'be selfish, thrifty, stingy'; Tb yaa~'aaya 'cherish'.
*aya(-w) ‘like, want’; Ca ’áyaw ‘be fond of, love (s.o./s.th.), want (to do)’; Cp áyu ‘like, want’; Ch ayáwa’i ‘love, respect, admire’.

2470. *pi’tu / *piCtu ‘want’; Cp víču ‘want’; Ch tïvicu ‘want, ask’; NP nannitïbicciyai ‘want s.th. for nothing, v’; perhaps NP picabi ‘like, v’. Cp and Ch even agree in the 4th segment *picu; so u is more likely original.

2471. *pisa ‘like’; Kw pišaa ‘like, love’ (Kw pišaa ‘be pretty, brave, good’); Sr piiha’n ‘like, love, be fond of’; NP bisa’yu ‘good, gentle, kind’; NP bisa subbida ‘love between man and wife, v’; NP bisa tabïadi ‘beautiful’. These are in contrast to NP piiha’vi ‘sugar’; Kw piha’vi ‘sugar’; Sr pišaa’i ‘sweet, adj’ which are at ‘sweet’ though Sr is opposite of Kw and NP. Do we have recycled loaning/meshing movements? [c/s] [NUA: Num, Tak]

2472. *ukoL ‘want’: My ukule ‘lo déséa, lo apetece’; Yq’ukkule ‘desear’; AYq ukkule ‘desire’; CN iikool-tiaa ‘long for, desire’; CN iikool-li ‘s.th. desired’; Wc -ku ‘querer’; and maybe Ca ’i’iklu ‘want, be fond of’, though its voweling needs explanation. Wc and CN both agree with a vowel of o following k (*ukol), and Wc lacks the initial vowel. [o/u, Ca k/q] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah, CrC, Azt]

2473. *(sun)-taha ‘pity, have compassion for’; Mn (wï)sutïhai ‘pity, feel sorry for’; NP tïtïha ‘pity, vt’; NP suddïhai; Sh suntahai ‘feel sorry for, pity, save’; CU tïáa ‘pitiable’; CU tïáa ‘space, area, room’. [NUA: Num]

2474. *(ha’a)-sun-tu’i ‘want, wish’: Ch ha’ï-suntu’i ‘like, v’; SP ’aššïntu’i ‘like, want, v’; WMU ásštïti’i / ást’i ‘like, want, love, vt; CU ’ást’i ‘want, v’ or the sôtô- of CU sôtô-’na’y ‘wish’ (< *sôCtô-Cna-y) could be from dialect variants. [reductions] [NUA: Num]

2475. *sohiwa > Tep *ho’iga ‘feel sympathy or compassion for’: TO ho’ige’id ‘pity, vt’; PYp ho’igad ‘be sympathetic, vi’; PYp ho’igelit ‘have sympathy for, vt’; PYp ho’ig ‘sad’; ST hoimdak ‘one having compassion’.


2477. *kwamusa ‘like, long for’: Eu bamúse ‘desear, apetecer’; Wr wemú ‘like’; Tr ne’we / ni’wimu ‘miss s.o., have nostalgia for’ (with na- prefix, and -w- is the Tr intervocalic reflex of *-kw-); My musá’ule ‘like, consider appealing’. Probably not here, but where does Hp kwanjwa- ‘taste pleasant, be delicious, sweet’ belong? [NUA: Tr, Cah, Opn]

2478. *supi ‘like, want’: NP subidda ‘like, v’; Eu soviw ‘desire’; Kw sibi ‘want, need’; Kw ku’u-sibi ‘want, desire, need’; perhaps Tb šuubušuuba ‘copulate’ in light of *naka/i and *pisa seeming to share ‘want/like’ and copulative semantics. Tep should have h < *s, but let’s mention Nv sapta ‘love s.o.’ [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Opn]


2480. *miCta / *miCca ‘wart’: Cm ku’miica ‘wart’; Cm ta’ka’miica ‘wart’; Hp mïca ‘wart’. There are no NUA -c- < *-c-, and a single intervocalic -t- would likely yield a liquid in Num, so I reconstruct a medial cluster involving *-t- or *-c-. [*i-a > i-a in Hp] [NUA: Num, Hp]


2482b. *(ti)-ci’’aw ‘a sore, wart’: Wr teci’’awari ‘verruga, granos del cuerpo, mezquino’; Wr či’’awá ‘have a wound, sting, smart’; Eu tečut ‘grano, enfermedad’; Tr kiči’wa ‘mezquino, grano en la piel’.

[SUA: Opn, Trn]

2483. *tasuku ‘wart’: My tē-su’ukiam ‘verruga’; Cr taškiri ‘verruga’ (Cr ĭ < *u). [SUA: Cah, CrC]

WASH, BATHE, WIPE, CLEAN; LAVAR, BAÑARSE, LIMPIAR: see also sink and touch
Following Sapir’s listing a few forms, Miller included all initial *pa- words together in M88-pa14 ‘wash, bathe’ (and B.Tep260 *vakuai/a ‘wash’ M67-454; L.Son187 *pako lavar; KH/M06-pa14). Understandably, many ‘wash' words contain *pa- ‘water’. However, beyond initial *pa-, sufficient variety exists to constitute separate forms:

2484. *(pa)-ko ‘wash’: L.Son187 *pako ‘lavar’; B.Tep260 *vakuai/a ‘wash’; NP pakomi ‘wash, v’; TO wakon; UP wakuani; LP vakan; NT vakuani; ST vakuana; Eu vakóra / bakóra; Eu hipákora ‘wash clothes’; Tr bako / bago ‘sumergirse, lavarse, bautizar’; Wr pahko-ná; Tr bisi-go ‘wash face’; Tr kora ‘wash one’s face’. Tr bisi-go ‘wash face’ not only isolates *-ko-, but shows an interesting reflex of *pusi ‘eye, face’. Note PUA *pa (> Tep *va/-wa-) ‘water’ in the Tepiman languages, though the common word for water in Tep languages is not from *pa. [SUA: Tep, Opn, Trn]

2485a. *pa-kśi (<*pa-kasi) ‘wash’: My baksia ‘be washing, vt’; My hipaksi ‘be washing’; Yq hipaksi ‘lavar’; AYq vaksia ‘wash, vt (not clothes).’

2485b. *(na)-pa-kka/i ‘bathe’; NP napaki’a ‘bathe’, Kw na-vaka-tii (< *na-pakka-) ‘bathe oneself’; SP na-vakkí ‘bathe, v refl’; Mn nabakiya; Ch navákí; CN paaka ‘bathe, wash’. These may all be reductions from *pa-kśi > pak / paci. [CN p] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Cah, Azt]

2485c. *(ma)-pa ‘rub’: M88-ma36 ‘rub’; KH/M06-ma36; KH.NUA: Ca mávay ‘rub’; Ls mávay ‘scrape or gather up with the hands’; Sr mava ‘rub’. These may derive from *ma ‘hand’ + *pak… ‘wash’ above.

2486b. *(ma)-pak ‘wash face/hands’: M88-ma35 ‘wash one’s face’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ma35: Cp máve ‘wash face’; Ls mūviy ‘wash one’s face; Sr maava ‘wash the face’; Hp mavaaq-ta ‘wash hands’. Though Ls has a differing form, perhaps ‘wash face’ (mu) instead of ‘hands’ (ma), these may relate to M88-ma36 above. [NUA: Tak, Hp]


2488. *(pa)-šama ‘wash’: Cp pášmáxa ‘wash (s.th. other than self, e.g. clothes); Ca pāšam ‘wash clothes (sometimes hair)’; CN šamiaa ‘wash one’s face’. For *sami ‘adobe’ and *sami ‘wet’, Ca and Cp here show retroflex š vs. s at ‘wet’. Thus, we keep them separate. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

2489. *(kaya)-i ‘wash’: BH *qάyí ‘wash’; M88-ka24; KH/M06-ka24: Cp qáye; Ca qáyi ‘get clean, clear (of ground, body, etc.)’; Ls qáya/i ‘wash hands’. This, in reduced form after being compounded with *pa-, could be the source of some of the ‘wash’ verbs above. [NUA: Tak]

2490a. *yuyu: M88-yu24; KH.NUA; KH/M06-co6: Ca yúvuxu ‘wash one's hair’; Sr yuuvu’lik ‘dangle?’ (2001), for hair to be dangled (in water) (1994)? Hill notes the Sr meaning is uncertain; his best hypotheses are listed in the two drafts; the context is coyote dangling his tail in the water. The two terms are likely cognate. [NUA: Tak]

2490b. *yukwáCta/i ‘wash hair’: Cp yúxuče ‘wash hair’; Ls yuxwáč(a) ‘wash hair’. [NUA: Tak]

2491. *(pa)-tići ‘wash’: SP parići ‘wash’; WMU pa-rüći ‘wash (s.th. solid, like dishes, baby), vt’; CU na-vá-rüći ‘wash oneself’. [NUA: SNum]

2492. *(patupi ‘bathe’ (Tep): TO waččui; Nv vati / batibi ‘bañarse’; Nv vativida ‘bañar a otro, vt’; PYp vatpim; NT vářři‘; ST vatvia; vt: vatvičdyá. [Tep V anticipation] [SUA: Tep]
**2493. *asai* ‘bathe, wash’: M67-26 *as*; VVH139 *as*; BH.Cup *as*; M88-*a*; KH.NUA; KH/M06-*a*; NH. *as*; Tb ‘aasi’t~’a’as bathe, swim’; Sr ‘a’ah(i); Cp aše; Ca ‘â’as; LS ‘â’as(a); Gb ‘â’as; Hp aasi ‘wash one’s own hair’. Add Ktn ‘ah- an ‘bathe, vt’ and Ktn ‘ar ‘bathe, vi’. [NUA: Tak, Tb, Hp]

**2494. *up(p)á* bathe’: M67-27 *up*; L.Son25 *upa*; M88-*u*; KH/M06-*u2*: Op uva; Eu úva/huba; Yq úba; My úba; Wr u’upá; Tr úba; Cr -i’iwa; Wc -i’iwa/i’ya. In light of the sememes ‘rub’ and ‘wash’ often sharing lexemes in language, Ktn hipip ‘rub s.th. between hands to soften it’ should be considered. [*p-* > -w/-v- in CrC] [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC; NUA: Tak]

**2495a. *pi’wa* ‘clean’: Wr pi’wa ‘get clean, vi’; Tr bî’wa / be’wa / be’wé ‘clean, purify, wipe’; Eu pí(g)wa-n ‘limpiar, v’; Eu pigwi ‘limpio’; Eu pigwide / pivide ‘limpiar a otro’; Op pivide ‘cleanse’ (Shaul 2007); TO -pig ‘remove from, verbal suffix’.

**2495b. *powa* (< *pi’wa*) ‘clean, repay’: CL Azt28; M88-po20; KH/M06-po20: CN poopoowa ‘repay, make restitution’; Pl puupuuwaa ‘clean (people), pluck (feathers)’. Cf. CN siwaa-tl / sowa-tl ‘woman’. [SUA: Trn, Opn, Tep, Azt]

**2496. *kawi/i* ‘clean, clear’: Tr kawi / gawi- ‘become clean, clear, transparent (water, sky), become daylight’; Wr kawé ‘good, well, fine’; Wr kaweruma ‘new, young, clean, good’; LS qawá/i ‘become clear weather, escape, v’; LS qawi-sí ‘clean, vt’. Might these tie to *kwa* ‘good’: TO keeg ‘good, nice, beautiful, completely’; PYp keega ‘good, beautiful’; NT, ST, Tbr? [-a vs. -i for vt vs. vi or stative] [SUA: Trn; NUA: Tak]

NB, for *kwiCtV / *kwaCto’i* ‘wash, wring (clothes), weave, twist’, see ‘weave’.

Wash, n: see canyon
Wasp: see bee

**WATER; AGUA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>pâyâ; payawi ‘be water’</th>
<th>Hp</th>
<th>pâa(ki) (in container)</th>
<th>Eu bat/báat; baú-dóño ‘fetch water’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>baa’a; pânnînîdi ‘lake’</td>
<td>Tb</td>
<td>pâa-l</td>
<td>paadziiwa-t ‘lake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>paat; wanut ‘flowing water’</td>
<td>AYq</td>
<td>vaa’am; vaawe ‘ocean’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSh</td>
<td>paa(cci)</td>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>pá-l; -paw’a (poss’d)</td>
<td>bâa’a; bâa’am ‘lake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>pâa’i; tuupî (in container)</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>pal mùumat/nûkât ‘ocean’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>paa</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>pâa’i; suudagi</td>
<td>bâhkim ‘lake’</td>
</tr>
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<td>Cm</td>
<td>paa; tuupî</td>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>suudagi/vagí ‘get water’</td>
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<td>Ch</td>
<td>pâa</td>
<td>Nv</td>
<td>suudagi/vagí ‘get water’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>paa</td>
<td>PYp</td>
<td>varag ‘liquid, soup, juice’; suedagi ‘water’ (&lt; suuda ‘full’); va’igim ‘get water’; varaa ‘juicy, of fruit&amp;greens’; tî’ngiak ‘waters of rainy season’; toiñkam ‘hot springs’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>pâa</td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>suudagi/vâigî ‘fetch water’; suedagi ‘water’ (&lt; suuda ‘full’); va’igim ‘get water’; varaa ‘juicy, of fruit&amp;greens’; tî’ngiak ‘waters of rainy season’; toiñkam ‘hot springs’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**2497. *paC / *pa’wi* ‘water’: Sapir; VVH123 *pa* ‘water’; M67-455a *pa* ‘water’; *pa-cak ‘well’; I.Num127 *paa / *pa- (pref) ‘water’; BH.Cup *pa* ‘drink’, *pala ‘water’; L.Son180 *pa*; M88-pa7 ‘water’; B.Tep252 *vaagi ‘water’; Munro.Cup *pá-1a; KH/M06-pa7: A pan-UA etymon; some of the more interesting forms are NP paa’a; My bâa’a; Tr bâ’i ‘agua, jugo’; Wr pa’wi; Hp pâa; Gb par; Sr paat; Ktn pa-; cf. also M88-paa ‘ocean’: Wr pa’wé ‘mar’; My bâawa ‘mar’. Note TO & Tr *pa’wi or pa’iwi. Though the Tepiman word for water (*sudagi < *cuyawi) is different than most of UA (*pa), note that reflexes for UA *pa are found in Tep forms of ‘fetch water’ ( Bascom: *va’igí), ‘wet’, and ‘wash’. Several forms suggest rounding late in the word (Kw, Ca, Cp, Tr, Wh, which Miller and Hill put in a separate set M88 and KH/M08-pa8) and many show a glottal stop (NP, Kw, PYp, Yq, My,
Wr, Tr) in three branches, no less; and some show both glottal stop and rounding (Kw, Ca, Tr, Wr). Some languages show a glottal stop in the verb ‘drink’: Sr paa’ ‘drink’ and Sr -paa’ ‘water (poss’d)’; Gb pa’; Ls paa’i ‘drink’. Others show w in the possessed forms of ‘water’: Ca -paw’a; Cp -paw; Ls -paaw; and two with -n: Gb -panen (par) ‘water’; Tb -paan (paal) ‘water’. Some Uto-Aztecans consider TrC -wV a separate morpheme, perhaps *-wi ‘big’.[*p > 0 in CN]  [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cah, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

**2498. *cuyawi* ‘water’: B.Tep207 *suudagi ‘water’; M88-cu16; KH/M06-cu16: TO; LP; PYp; NT; ST. The origin of Tep *sudagi has to do with ‘fill, full’: note PYp suuda ‘full’ and PYp suudagi ‘water’; TO šudagi ‘water, liquid, pond’; TO šudad ‘fill up’; TO šudags ‘be filled’; TO šud ‘be full of liquid’; TO šud-k ‘full’. See more at ‘full’. Might part of Tb pacu’aa-t ‘pond’ be cognate with Tep *cuya …?  [SUA: Tep; NUA: Tb?]

**2499. *mïma* ‘ocean’; M88-mï10 ‘ocean’; Munro.Cup84 *møøma-t ‘ocean’: KH.NUA; KH/M06-mï10: Cp même-t ‘ocean’; Cp mêmjàxiwi-š ‘white man’; Ca møøma-t / múuma-t ‘ocean’ (Ls loan?); Ls móóma-t ‘sea, ocean’; Gb móømot ‘mar, lake’; Sr mïm-t ‘ocean, lake’; Ktn mïmït ‘lake, sea’; perhaps Cr mwaíhete ‘mar’. The origin of mVm- portion of a couple of ‘wave’ words: Cp memtú’iš ‘wave’ and CN(RJC) amimil-li ‘wave’?  [Gb V] [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC?]

**2500. *pa'iwi* ‘carry/fetch water’: B.Tep266 *va'igïi ‘fetch water’; M88-pa12 ‘carry water’; KH/M06-pa12: Cp pái/páwi; Ca páw; Wr pâ’i; Tr ba’wirú ‘haber agua, hacerse aguado, disolverse, traer agua’; TO wa’ig ‘get liquid (usually water)’; Nv vaigi ‘traer agua’; PYp va’igim ‘get water’; NT váíguii ‘fetch water’; ST vaigia ‘get water’; ST vaigiñ ‘get water for s.o.’  [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]

**2501. *paN... ‘water baby, supernatural creature living in water’: M88-pa58 ‘water baby’; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa58: Sr paanït; Cp pâwe-t; Ls pâa-ñâwi-š; Ca pâna-t ‘reed’.  [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn]

**2502. *pa-waki ‘destroy by water, lit: water-dry’: Jane Hill (2001) notes this interesting pair of compounded cognates: CN aa-waki ‘flooded’; Hp paa-laki ‘die of over watering’. The pair suggests *waki may have meant ‘shrivel, waste away’ as in thin more than dry, for ‘water-shrivel/wasted’ explains the compound better than ‘water-dry’!  [NUA: Hp; SUA: Azt] NB, could Cm tuupï ‘water (in container)’; Kw tupi ‘leak, v’; and Tbr tovo-r ‘must, grape juice’ be related? NB, for Hp kïïyi, see melt. 

NB, Ktn oka-č ‘sand, sandy area’ and Ktn ‘a-oka’ ‘orroyo, canyon’ are suspiciously similar to Hokan water terms resembling *oka.

**WAVE (OF WATER); OLA, ONDA, ONDEAR**

**2503. *tonika* ‘wave (of water)’: TO toonk ‘wave, n’; Nv mutotonikada ‘hacer olas el agua’; Nv tonotonikada murha ‘correr el rio hacienda ondas’.  [NUA: Tep]

**2504. *kam* ‘water to rise, make wave’: Eu káme ‘encharcarse el agua, v’; Yq bahekam ‘ola(s)’.  [SUAl: Opn, Cah]

**WEAK; DÉBIL**


Wear: see in(side)/enter and clothes

**WEASEL**

**2506. *sišika* ‘weasel’: Fowler83 *sïsïka ‘weasel’; TSh sïsïka / yiïsïka ‘weasel’; Kwi sïsiga ‘weasel’; Mn.  [NUA: Num]

**WEAVE, Braid, sew, spin; see also blanket, tie, cloth(ing), rope**

**TEJER, TRENZAR, ENTRELAZAR, COCER, REMENDAR, HILAR**

380
2507a. *kwiCta ‘braid, wind around’: M67-57 *kwi 'braid'; M88-kwi4 'braid'; KH/M06-kwi4: Mn kwïtta-t 'wrap, twine, wind around'; Hp kwite 'braid'; Pl tahwikil 'braid'; Ca kwiçe’an ‘wring, wash (as clothes)’ (Waniikik dialect); Cp kwiça ‘wring out, squeeze, wind up, vt’; LS kwïiči ‘wring (as clothes)’; Sr kwieq ‘wash, vt’. Add Km kwirav ‘braid’. What of Wr witá ‘make rope, braid’ at rope? [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Azt]

2507b. *kwiNtu ‘wring, squeeze, wash (clothes)’: Sh kwincunah / kwincuniih ‘twist sg/pl obj’; Sh kwitunii ‘to wring out s.th.’; Sh kwitupih / kwitupiih ‘wrap string or rope around sg/pl obj’; CU kwin’way ‘lie crooked, lie twisted’. [NUA: Num]


2507d. *kwaCto’i ‘wash, wring (clothes)’: Sh kwai-coi/koicoi ‘wash’; Cm koce-rï/tï ‘wash’. Sh has separate forms in b, c, and d; thus, sorting remains. [NUA: Num]

2508. *coma ‘sew’: VVH37 *coma ‘sew’; B.Tep201 *sooma ‘to sew’ and *soo ‘he sewed’; CL.Azt142 *coma; M88-co15 ‘sew’; KH/M06-co15: Miller lists initial *co forms that might best be divided into *coma vs. (a)cola (below): TO šoom; Nv soma; PYp sooma; NT soomá; ST sooma; CN com(a) ‘sew s.th.’; Pl cuma ‘sew’; NP comipi ‘bead’. To these we can add Yq čomásoi’itíria ‘el telar, n’. [SUA: Tep, Cah, Azt; NUA: Num]

2509. *(a)coliCa ‘sew’: Mn acuna-t ‘sew up’; NP acona ‘sew’; Tb(M) colhat ~’oocool ‘sew’. [NUA: Num, Tb]

2510. *uLa ‘sew’: BH.Cup *’ula ‘sew’; M88-’u4; KH/M06-’u4: Ls ulá’na ‘do dressmaking, make clothes’; Ls ulá’-qi ‘sew (single article)’; Ca ’ulan ‘sew, vt’; Cp ’uláán /’ú’lan; Miller’s inclusion of Eu vúra-n fits better with *puLa ‘tie’. [NUA: Tak]

2511. *su ‘sew’: Wr su’ka ‘sew’; Tr su ‘sew’ prs: su/sugú; Tr i’su ‘sew (frequentive/emphatic of su-).’ [SUA: Trn]

2512. *siaLa/i ‘braid’: Ca sial ‘braid’; Cp sia’ale ‘braid’; Ls šiyála/i ‘be braided, braid’. [NUA: Tak]

2513. *tuL ‘weave’: Ls tuli’i ‘weave net’; CN tilaawa ‘close-woven’. [CN i < *u] [NUA: Tak; SUA: Azt]

2514. *síCtoko ‘braid’: TSh sittoko’e ‘braid’; Kw šidogo’o ‘braid’; Sh(C) tasittokoi” ‘braid’; Sh(C) tasinku-naih ‘braid’. CU sugway ‘braid one’s own hair’ and Sh tasinku- both reduced the -Cto- syllable out. [cluster] [NUA: Num]

2515. *mo’(t)í ‘braid, weave’: Tr mo’e ‘entretejer, entrelezar’; Tr mo’té ‘trenzar el pelo, hacer trenzas’; Wr mo’e ‘tejer canasta’; Ls móci ‘weave twined baskets or mats’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]

2516. *tí ‘sew’: KH/M06-ti57: Hp ti’i’ha; Tr(H) te ‘tejer’; Tr(H) téra ‘telar’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Trn]

2517. *ņaLa / *ņatCi / *ņataC ‘weave, fasten, tie’: Ls ērų/i ‘be fastened, vi; fasten, as in lacing shoes or tying a horse, vt’; Ls(E) ēr̄a’i ‘be fastened, woven, crocheted, take hold (a root)’; Hp ēr̄a’a ‘tumpline, headstrap or shoulder strap for carrying a burden on the back’ (combining form ēr̄ata’); perhaps Sr ēr̄-kin ‘lasso, rope, vt’ except Sr vowel is unexpected. Ls(E) ēr̄aroyta ‘spider web’ as s.th. woven likely ties in as well. Consider Cp ēr̄alp’a ‘spin, twirl, vi’ also. [NUA: Tak, Hp]

NB, for *ņaLim ‘lasso, entangle’ with different Ls and Cp forms, see at ‘tie’ NB, regarding CN tłašonepal-li ‘braid, plait’, note Yuman words approximating *sonap (Wares 51).

NB, Ky ca-pugwi’i ‘sew, mend’ and Ch ca-pika’a ‘sew’ both show the *caC- prefix and the consonants p-k-’ with different vowelings, but are worth listing for future potential considerations.

NB, for *cupa / *copa ‘weave, braid’ see at ‘finish’ (weaving).

Web: see net and spider
West: UA terms for west are usually recent compounds like sun-set, downhill, etc. See at ‘sun’ and ‘set’.

WET, MOIST(-URE/-EN); MOJARSEO, MOJADO
Mn payaga; patata’i Hp mowa-ti; mowa-; Eu samé-
| NP | paada’yu; samipí; | Tb | halasami ‘moist soil’ | Tbr | tovó-r ‘mosto, jugo de uva’ |
| TSh | paco’in(tín) | Sr | mišk; paaṭu’; päävk | Yq | kómonia; bá’ari |
| Sh | paa-kwicci/kwiccí | Ca | pál-(n)ek; pávas | My | kómonila |
| Sh | pa’isoketí; paco’itií | Ls | paa-muwi-s | Wr | sami-ná; sampá-ní; sampáre-na; waló-na |
| Kw | huuvi-gi; pa-soozi- | Cp | yû’iš | Tr | sami-mea; vt: samibáti-; mi*-mea |
| Ch | -- | TO | waDág; wa’u | Cr | pe’estí; vt: ra-táru’un; wáháata ‘as rain wet road’ |
| SP | pa-cahkwi; pa-cahkwaaw | Nv | si-varhaga; vaduhu | Wc | haa.vii(ya) ‘mojar’; hapíca ‘rociao’; haátúya ‘regar’; haatúa ‘regarlo’ |
| WM | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| CU | pacáaqXoy | NT | vaági | CN | paltiy |
| CU | -- | ST | vaa’; vt: vakčia; čuvaa; vannia; kipiča; kapaiña ‘soak, drench’ |

### 2518. *pawa/i* ‘wet’:
- B.Tep252 *vaagi ‘wet’; NT vaági; ST vaa’. Add PYp vaaga ‘moisten, water, vt’. Note UA *pa ‘water’ in Tepiman, and note the active/transitive sense of final –a in PYp. [SUA: Tep]

### 2519. *cakkway* ‘wet’:
- I.Num255 *caŋk(w) ‘wet, soaked’; M88-ca8 ‘be soaked’; KH/M06-ca8; SP pa-cahkwi / čakkwa ‘be/get wet’; Hp cèekwe(-k) ‘dripping wet, soaked, drenched’; CU pacáaqXoy (< *pacakkoy) ‘get wet’; CA pávas ‘get wet from rain, dew’; CA pávas-iš ‘that which is wet, damp’; Ls páavuş ‘become dewy’; GB pavár ‘mojado’; Sr päävk ‘bec. wet’. Add NP pazoko-ga’yu ‘damp’; Cm paco’itií ‘damp, wet’. Cf. *cikwa ‘rain’ at rain for Hp cèekwekwe-ta ‘rain big drops’. [NUA: Hp e] [NUA: Num, Hp]

### 2520a. *papasi* ‘wet’:
- M88-pa60; KH.NUA; KH/M06-pa60; Cp paváşi-s ‘damp’; Ca pávas ‘get wet from rain, dew’; Ca pávas-iš ‘that which is wet, damp’; Ls páavuş ‘bec. dewy’; GB pavár ‘mojado’; Sr päävk ‘bec. wet’.

### 2520b. *papusi* ‘wet’: Wc hapísa ‘rociar’ corresponds well with Ls páavuş ‘become dewy’, both showing u vs. a for the 2nd vowel. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cr]

### 2521. *samí / *samiC* ‘be wet, numb(ing), drizzly’:
- L.Son231 *samí ‘mojarase’; KH.NUA; M88-sa18; KH/M06-sa18: NP samipí (< *sampilí) ‘wet’; Sr šamīmí(n) ‘be drizzling’; Sr šamím-qi ‘become numb, vi’; Cp šámé ‘be dewy’; Ca sámam ‘be seized with a chill, become numb, drizzle’; Wr sami ‘be wet’; Tr samí-mea ‘be wet’. Ken Hill’s addition (to M88) of Hp sámañka ‘speak or sing out with a hoarse voice’ is good. Add Op sahm and Eu samí ‘mojado, verde’. Noteworthy among these is the lack of compounding with the morpheme *pa- ‘water’; that means *samí really does mean ‘wet’ all by itself, without help from water. Consider also Hp halasami ‘moist soil’. Could these relate to SUA *sami ‘adobe or mud brick’? [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Trn, Opn]

### 2522. *halá* ‘moist’:
- Hp halasami ‘moist soil’; Tb halai’- ‘wet’. [NUA: Hp, Tb]

### 2523. *muwa;i* ‘wet’:
- Hp mowa-ti ‘be wet, moist’; Ls páá-muwi-s ‘wet’. Could Sr miš-q ‘get wet’ be a loan from Cupan? Not counted, only listed for consideration. [NUA: Hp, Tak]

### 2524. *komona* ‘wet’:
- Yq komona ‘mojarase’; Yq komonia ‘mojar’; Yq komonla ‘húmedo, mojado’; My kómonia ‘mojar’; AYq komona ‘get wet, vi’; AYQ komonia ‘moisten, vt’; AYQ komonla ‘wet, adj’. [SUA: Cah]

NB, for *yu’a ‘wet, water turtle’, see turtle.
NB, for paLawa ‘juice, soup, wet’ see soup.
WHAT, HOW; QUE, COMO (rel pron = relative pronoun); see also thing

Mn hééti; himáá; hiípií; Hp hin; hint; hiíta’a Eu hat; hit
hani’i-tu ‘what kind?’ Tb haainda ‘&nothing’ Tbr ha-te-p; ha-te-k

NP -- maal ‘which one’; matwaan ‘what kind’

TSh haka; hií/hinna (obj) Sr hinta Yq háisa; hint; AYq hitaa
Sh hiíin; hina’; hakai Ca hiíce’a; miíki ‘what kind?’ My híta; hítasá
Cm hiína/hini Ls hií-čí Tr cií; cui; píí; tãííri
Kw ha-ga; hi-ni Cp hií; mií ‘which’ Tr cií; cií; píí; tãííri

**hiita; M88-in2; Munro.Cup136 *hií-ča ‘what, something’; KH/M06-in2; KH/M06-ta50 *tahV (after AMR):
Mn himaa ‘what’ (of people, things, living and non-living’); Mn heeti(sa’) ‘what’ (on non-material objects, like
ideas, words’); Mn hani’i-tu ‘what kind?’; NP hií ‘what’; Sh hiíin, acc. híina; WSh hiíin, acc. híinni ‘what, s.th.’;
Cm hiína/hini; Kw hiíin; SP inni – ‘who? what?’; SP annia ‘what? (obj)’; CU inísappa ‘whoever’; CU ihíípap
‘whatever’; Hp hiíí, acc. hiíta ‘what’; Sr hiíin, acc. hiíiti; Ls hiíce’a. acc. hií; ‘what?’; Ls hiíka ‘how much?’;
Ls hiíjay ‘why?’; Cp hií ‘what, s.th.’; Cp -hicus ‘what’; Ca hiíč’a / hiíče’a / hiíché’a; Eu hat/hit, gen. hit, acc. hita; Tbr hatép-,
haték-; Sr hiíin; Ktn hit; Yq hita; My hita; CN tle ‘what’; Wr ihtá. The unusual Ca forms, as Munro states, may be
derivatives of accusatives or other inflected forms. I reconstruct a cluster *haNa / *hiCta, for the following
reasons: (1) the fact that we see Cupan *hií instead of *hiita suggests that the t is clustered with another C, because
a lone intervocalic *-t- > -l- in Cupan; (2) we see the actual cluster *-nt- in some forms (Tb, Hp); (3) the tendency
of V > i before alveolar consonants is strong enough in UA, that a cluster of two such alveolar consonants may
explain the first vowel i in most forms, though a appears in one Mn and SP form, and in Tb, Tbr, and Eu. Hp hinta
and Tb haainda are instructive, if *a > i before the alveolar cluster; and if the cluster -nt- reduced variably to either
n or t for various languages, then s.th. near *hanta may be the underlying form. [cluster; V assim]
[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah, Azt]

2526a. *tu(u): Mn -tu; PYp tu’u ‘thing’; ST tu’; NT. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

2526b. *ha’i-tu(u) / *ha’a-tu ‘what, thing’: Nv hintu ‘cosa’; PYp ha’atu ‘what, thing’. [SUA: Tep]

2527. *ma ‘what, which’; Sapir: Tb(V) maal ‘which one?’; Tb(M) maal ‘which one?’; Tb(V) matwan ‘what
kind?’; Tb(M) ma/ma ‘where?’; Tr ma ‘rel pron’; Tr mapu ‘what, rel pron’; NT maá ‘how? in what way?’;
NT maákïri ‘el que (rel pron)’; Hp himi ‘what’; Mn himaa ‘what’; SP ma/-maa ‘thing, clothing, brush, plant’.
[NUA: Num; Tb; SUA: Tep; Trn]

2528. *ha- ‘interrogative particle’ (Langacker 1977, 49): Langacker notes PUA *ha, a question marker widespread
throughout UA (Langacker 1977, 49):
Eu hat(i)- ‘interrogative particle’ (Shaull 1991, 94); ha/-he- ‘interrogative marker’ (Lionnet 1986, 45); Hp
-haa ‘interjection: 1. ‘Yes? What? When asking for a repeat, at not understanding’;
2. ‘tag question suffix—isn’t it so?—requiring a yes or no answer’;
TO ha ‘what?’ used to ask for a repeat of something spoken’;
NP -ha (bound form after first constituent of sentence),
ha’a (free form) ‘interrogative particle for yes-no questions’;
TSh -ha ‘interrogative for yes/no questions, 2nd element in sentence’ (Dayley 1989, 45);
Sh ha ‘enclitic particle used to make yes-no questions and indefinite sentences, usually
placed after the first word of the sentence (Miller 1996b, 699);
Cm -ha ‘interrogative particle after first constituent of sentence’ (Charney 1993, 209);
Kw ha;
WMU -a / -aa ‘interrogative suffix, usually after the first sentence element’
CU -aa ‘question marker after first word of a sentence’ (Givon 1980, 241-2);
ST -a ‘interrogative clitic for yes-no questions when speaker seeks confirmation (Willett 1991, 142).

In the following Tak languages (Ca, Sr, Cp), the use of ha as both an interrogative in Ca and to mean ‘or’ is interesting. If a question shaped like ‘whether [this] or [that] prefixes ha- to both parts, and if the first ha- were lost, then the middle ha- would certainly act like it means ‘or’ as in Ca and Sr:
Ca haa/ha’ 1. ‘or’ 2. an interrogative: it adds indirect character;
Sr ha ‘or’;
Cp ha ‘probably’ but the examples are questions.
Tbr ha Lionnet considers this an interrogative element as most Tbr wh-interrogatives begin with ha- (Lionnet 1978, 40); likewise, many UA languages have a number of wh-interrogatives beginning with ha-.

[Note TO h < *h] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Tbr]

2529. *kim ‘how’: CL.Azt86 *keem ‘how’; M88-in4; KH/M03-in4: CN keen, keenin, keme’ ‘how’;
Pl keen; HN keenihki. [SUA: Azt]

2530a. *mi ‘wh-base’: BH.Cup *mi ‘when’; eliminate M88-mu22, as it is a subset of the same forms in M88-in6; KH/M03-in6 ‘wh-/qu- formative interrogative or indefinite’: Cp mi- ‘wh-base for postpositional locatives’ e.g.,
Cp mipa ‘when’?; Ca mipa ‘when’?; Ca mi = mi’vi, pl. mivim ‘which’; Ls miča’ ‘where’?; Ls mičat ‘which’?; Ls mičiŋa ‘sometimes, when’?; Gb meyi’ ‘what’?; meyiha’ ‘how’?. To these we might add WC miï’ané ‘who, what’; Sr hamí ’someone, anyone, who’. [NUA: Tak; SUA: CrC]

2530b. *min ‘what kind, how’: Ca miŋki ‘what kind’; Sr hamíin ‘how, anything, what’; Ktn haminat(a) ‘what, why, how, how are you’. [NUA: Tak]

2531. *ki ‘interrogative’: Tr ki ‘particle involved in many interrogatives’; WC ke ‘como, lo que’; Ca miŋki ‘what kind’?; NT máákïrïi ‘el que (relative pron)’; -kV syllables are found in UA words for ‘when’ as well.
[SUA: Trn, CrC, Tep; NUA: Tak]

2532. *ina ‘introduces yes-no questions, emphatic, topicalizer’: TO n-/na- ‘introduces yes/no questions’; TB an- ‘interrogative particle’ (Voegelin 1935, 137, 177); CN in- ‘the, as for, with reference to’ is probably a merging of early morphemes—one ‘the’ and another ‘as for, with reference to’. ST na ‘subordinator’ (Willett 1991, 233-248) may be another merger of two previous morphemes in ST (or greatly expanded its uses) and may be partially cognate with TO na-.
[SUA: Tep, Azt; NUA: Tb]

2533. *ma-(ma)-ntV ‘some of’: Ch mantî ‘part of, some of’; CU ma-ma-ťa ‘some of it’. [NUA: SNum]

**WHEN; CUANDO** interrogative or relative pronoun (rel pron)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>NPI</th>
<th>Sh</th>
<th>Cm</th>
<th>Kw</th>
<th>Ch</th>
<th>SP</th>
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<th>CU</th>
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<tr>
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<td>hanóko</td>
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<td>TSh</td>
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<td>hanóko</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>aš, šs, -kša (same subj), -η</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>hipe’</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>hanóko</td>
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<td>TBr</td>
<td>aš, š, -kša (same subj), -η</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>TBr</td>
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<td>TBr</td>
<td>aš, š, -kša (same subj), -η</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>hipe’</td>
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<td>hanóko</td>
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**WHEN; CUANDO** interrogative or relative pronoun (rel pron)

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<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
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<th>Ch</th>
<th>SP</th>
<th>WM</th>
<th>CU</th>
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<td>hínó’o; -s(i) (rel pron)</td>
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<td>ha;</td>
<td>ha;</td>
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<tr>
<td>NPI</td>
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<td>-aa ‘question marker after first word of a sentence’ (Givon 1980, 241-2);</td>
<td>a ‘interrogative clitic for yes-no questions when speaker seeks confirmation (Willett 1991, 142).</td>
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</table>
2534. *ha-na-’oko ‘when’: If we may follow the morpheme breaks suggested for Kw ha-na-’oko, they may work for Ch hanóko, SP hanohko, Mn hinó’o, and perhaps Cr ha’anáhané, as well. What of Ayq intok(o)? [NUA: SNum]

2535. *hinipa > himpai ‘when’: Along with TSh, Sh, and Cm, note that Ktn hinipa ‘when?’ once again preserves separate consonants that are clustered by vowel sycope in other languages followed by assimilation. Consider also Sr haiipa’n, though. Note that we may also be dealing with s.th. similar to *hiN- / haN- in various interrogatives. [NUA: CNum, Tak]

2536a. *hiiko ‘when’: Eu heko, Tr ekó; CN iik (< *iiko) ‘when, by, with’. [SUA: Opn, Trn, Azt]

2536b. *hïkiyo ‘when’: TO; Nv; PYp. [SUA: Tep]

2536c. *hak(w)ïro ‘when’: Tbr hakeró-(pe) ‘cuando?’; My hawéeyo ‘cuando?’ What of Ayq hakwo ‘cuando’? Might Tep *hïkiyo and Tbr kahero be related, and possibly exemplifying r > y?

2537. *kapaw ‘when’: Tr či kabú; ekó; (e)kabú; Wc keepáu-ku/kwa/ka. [SUA: Trn, CrC]

NB, for CrC *ti’ita, see thing.

NB, for BH.Cup *mi ‘when’, see above at ‘what’.

WHERE, PLACE; (A)DONDE, LUGAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mn</th>
<th>haño ‘where at’</th>
<th>Hp</th>
<th>haqam</th>
<th>Eu</th>
<th>hakú; rel pron, verb: kawa (pret); dawa (prs), cidawa (ftr)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hálli ‘where to’</td>
<td>Tá</td>
<td>ma(ay)</td>
<td>maa; maa’ayn ‘where from’</td>
<td>Tbr ha-kám/há-kom; kahá/ka-m</td>
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<td>Tb</td>
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<tr>
<td>TSh</td>
<td>haka-pan/pa’an/ttuh</td>
<td>Sr</td>
<td>haiip; haiipio ‘from where’</td>
<td>Yq</td>
<td>hákuni</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ca</td>
<td>haiinkwa ‘to where’</td>
<td>AYq</td>
<td>haku’u; hakása; hakunsa; haku’sa; haku’sa’; haku’sa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>miva’</td>
<td>haku’n ‘to’; haku’u’u ‘w. from’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sh</td>
<td>hakka</td>
<td>Ls</td>
<td>miéč’</td>
<td>My</td>
<td>hákuni; hákú’u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>hakapu; hakì(se’)</td>
<td>Cp</td>
<td>mívìka ‘where to’</td>
<td>Wr</td>
<td>ahhá</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>ha-ga-(nu);</td>
<td>TO</td>
<td>hebai</td>
<td>Tr</td>
<td>kámi/kúmi; himi; kabé; kábu; ko; kobé; ma i pron. i goná</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ha-ga-ruwa/tía/ge’e</td>
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<td>heba’ijed ‘from where’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>hagá-va ‘loc’</td>
<td>Nv</td>
<td>ba; ubài; kámi; karhami;</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>ha’uné</td>
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<td>motion: hagá-ra/ua/vaántua</td>
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<td>parhami; aikami</td>
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<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>ai-</td>
<td>PYp</td>
<td>hebì/ebegi/ibigi</td>
<td>Wc</td>
<td>hake ‘donde’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>vááko(ga)</td>
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<td>hakée-va/pai ‘adonde’</td>
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<td>WMU</td>
<td>háva, aágá-va, hápú’ kwaï</td>
<td></td>
<td>tūdíðrì ‘en que parte?’</td>
<td>CN</td>
<td>kan ‘where (one had been before)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>paa; pai; na pai ‘rel pron’</td>
<td></td>
<td>kap ‘place’; pahàk ‘¿a donde?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the following should not be excluded an encompassing possibility of an original near *ha-kami:

2538a. *ha-kam ‘where’: CL.Azt189 *kaa(n) ‘where’; M88-in3; KH/M03-in3: Cm hakí; Tbr hakám, hákom; Wc hakéepài; CN kaan. Because Azt tended to change final -m to -n, the forms showing -kam (Tbr) are probably original. Thus, to these we can add Hp haqam; Nv kami; Tr kámi/kúmi

2538b. *ha-ka Numic, and Wr ahhá. (Sapir)

2538c. *kami Tepiman and Tr.

2538d. *kan CN kaan, ST kan; final m > n is known for both CN and ST. At ‘who’ is overlap in *haka for Num and maybe others. [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep, Trn, Azt]

2538e. *ha-kuni Eu, My, Cr ha’uné (k > ’). [NUA: Opn, Cah, CrC]

2539a. *haypa / *haypi ‘where’: Sr haiip, haiipio ‘from where’ (note Sr haiipa’n ‘when’); Ktn haypea;

2539b. *Cíkwa: PYp hebì/ebegì/ibigi; TO hebai. Not likely the same as Tak above. [SUA: Tep]
WHIP; AZOTAR, FUSTIGAR, CHICOTEAR, AZOTE, LÁTIGO, FUSTA

2540. *wïpa / *wïppaC 'whip': Sapir; VVH17 *wispa 'to whip'; M67-456 *wep 'whip'; I.Num283 *wîh instr. pref. 'whip'; B.Tep50 *gîvai 'to whip'; M67 -456 *wep 'whip'; I.Num283 *wïh instr. pref. 'whip'; B.Tep50 *gîvai 'to whip'; M88-wï5 'to hit'; KH.NUA; KH/M06-wï5: Mn wï 'with a long instrument or the body'; Kw wï 'with an instrument'; SP wï- 'with the length of a long obj'; Tb wïbat 'to hit, whip'; Tb wïbiš 'a whip'; Cp wévia 'hit with a stick'; Hpvïva'a 'to hit, strike'; TO gew(i) 'strike, hit, vt'; Nb gewitta 'whip, n'; Nv gïbï 'azotar'; PYp geevi 'whip, hit, beat'; NT gïvai; ST gïv; Wr wehpa-ni/wehpi-ma 'hit'; Tr wepá, wipi-me 'azotar'; Pl witeki 'punish, whip, beat, hit'. Miller queries whether My bébba 'pegar' is cognate; while the consonant harmony allows it, I put it with *pïpa (< *tïpa) 'throw, hit'. Tbr wewá/wiwá 'whip' is related to *wïpa 'whip' by consonant harmony the other way, as would be Eu vëva 'azotar' and Eu hivëvira 'whip, n'. Note also Mn wïpacugi 'switch, whip'; TSh wïppai 'spank, whip, pound, hit with long instr, vt pl'; Tr newe(ba) 'azotar, flagelar, chicotear'; and perhaps *w > kw in Kw kwipa 'whip, hit, beat, vt, fall down, vi' and Ch kwipá 'whip, hit, fall'; Cm (tï)kwibukitï 'lash (as rain/hail), switch, whip'. Sapir also lists Cr ve 'schlagen, werfen, schiessen, treffen'. KH.NUA offers Sr wïïv 'dodge' and Sr wïqööv, distr: wühkuv 'beat, vt' for consideration with Cp wéwva 'hit with a stick' and the above. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Ta; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

NB, for *sakwo 'whip, bewitch' see 'bewitch'.

WHISTLE; CHIFLAR

2541a. *pikuya 'whistle': M67-457b *piku 'whistle'; M88-pi14; KH/M06-pi14: Yq bïku 'chifthar'; Yq bïte 'chifthar'; My bïku 'está chiflando'; PYp viokdia; NT vikuúdai; Eu bïkudawa 'chifthar' (pré: bikudahri). [SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn]

2541b. *wikuya 'whistle': M67-457a *wiku; KH.NUA; M88-wi4; KH/M06-wi4:TO gikuj; NT gikúúdai; ST gikudyi / gikdyi; My bïku 'está chiflando'; PYp viokdia; NT vikúúdai; ST gikudyi / gikdyi; Wr bikúúdai; Tr wikuwa; Cr víkï'e 'he is whistling'; Wc viikïari 'silbido'; Sr wiikwi'n; Ktn wikwi'; and perhaps Gb wík 'chupar'. Miller does well to divide these, in that agreeing with *piku are Yq, My, PYp, and Eu; while agreeing with *wiku are most of Tepiman, Tak, Wr, Tr, Cr, and Wc; and some languages like NT vikuúdai/gikúúdai have both forms. Some pattern of recycled loans is probably responsible for one of the groups, like the *wïru / *kwïru 'big' dichotomy. A plausible possibility is that from an original *piku, which corresponds to Tep *wiku, the Tep form *wikyu diffused to other SUA languages, which came back into Tep in time for the change *giku. The presence of y is strongly suggested by the Tepiman forms and is encouraged by the TrC and other forms: *wikyu. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

2541c. *kwîwi 'whistle': Ca kwîwi; Cp kwiwe. Might Cup *kwiwi be a metathesis of *wikwi < *wikui, or *kwiku/*kwikwV > Eu biku, > Tak wikwV, Tr/Wr wikoV (Stubbs1995-58)? Cf. Sr wiikwi'n which also altered the emphasis to change *kui > kwi.

2542. *wisuko 'whistle': Mn wisûqohi 'whistle, vi'; SP uššu"-qqi 'whistle'. Might these forms tie to *wikuya above, if *wisiku > *wisku > wiku? [NUA: Num]

NB, for *kus, see noise.

WHITE; BLANCO

Mn tucidaa-gi; tocch Hp qööca; qöya; Eu sútei
ebi 'chalk, white paint'
tiima 'white earth used as whitewash'

NP toha-ggwiddadi; Tb cuuyu-l 'white rock, lime'
ibî 'chalk, white paint'
čiîu-l 'lime'; põôśî'oooboošî;

TSh tosapi(tîn); epimipitîn Sr yaraara"-n/k(a')
aîpîmi 'white paint'
yara'a-k 'béc. white'
yarok-k 'béc. clean'

Sh tosa" Ca téviš-nek; séken 'pale'

Cm tosa(pi) Ls xwáyu-; tőôva-l 'white clay'

Kw see-(gi-) Cp xwüye Tr rosá-kame; pl: o'tosá-kame

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Ch tosá-ga  TO toha  Cr kwaina
SP toša(“)  Nv stoa  Wc tušaa
WMU sá-gá-rí  PYp toha
CU sá-gá-rí  NT tóha  CN tiisa-tl ‘whitewash, white earth’
            ST t’uá/čua; istaak ‘s.th. white’; ista-tl ‘salt’
matai ‘lime, ashes’; čuaa ‘pale’

2543a. *tosaC ‘white’: Sapir; VVH31 *toša ‘white’; B.Tep222 *toha ‘white’; B.Tep 223 tohari/tohadi ‘to whitewash’; LNum220 *tosa ‘white’; L.Son315 *tosa ‘blanco’; CL.Azt138 *ista ‘salt, white’; 288 **tosa ‘salt, white’;
M88-to3 ‘be white’; KH/M06-to3: Mn tocci; TSh; NP toha; Sh; Cm; Kw toso ‘gray-white, gray’; SP; TO; LP; PYp; NT; ST; Tbr; Yq; My; Wr; Tr; Wc; CN ista-tl ‘salt’; CN istak s.th. white; Pl ista-t ‘salt’; ista-k ‘white’. As Ktn h < *s, Ktn towi-c ‘white paint’ might derive from *tosa > toha/tohi > towi. We also see *s > h in WNum again.

2543b. *tusa ‘white’: While Wc and most forms suggest *to sa, CN tiisa-tl ‘whitewash, white earth’ and ST *tua agree with *tusa.

2543c. *sa-ka (< *toska) ‘white’: CU sá-gá-rí ‘white”; Kw see-(gi-) ‘be white’; Ca séken ‘pale’. These simply lost the first syllable of *tosa, and the stress patterns strongly suggest it in SNum.

[*s > h in WNum] [NUA: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

2544. *apiN (> aipiN > epiN) ‘chalk, white clay, white paint’: Mn ébi ‘chalk, white paint’; NP ibi ‘chalk, white paint’; TSh epimpitïn ‘white, adj’; TSh aipimpi ‘white paint’; Ch(L) ‘aavi / ‘avi ‘white clay’; Ch(L) ‘aavimpah ‘white clay water’.

[a > ai > e] [NUA: Tak]

2545. *kwaya ‘white’ (< *kwaca?): Ls xwáya ‘be white’; Cp xwáye ‘be white’; Hp qöya ‘a bound form meaning white, pure, used especially in ceremonial contexts’; perhaps Cr kwaina. A wonderful example of *kV reduction in Hp, with the original two consonants (*kw-c/y-?) in Ls and Cp. What of Hp qööca ‘white’?

[NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: CrC]

2546. *tïpa/i ‘white’: Ca téviš-nék ‘white, adj’; Ls tóóva-l ‘white clay’. [NUA: Tak]

2547. *cïpa ‘white, clean’: CL.Azt190 *čïpa(awa)k ‘white, clean, clear’; M88-cu14; KH/M06-cu14: CN čipaawak ‘s.th. clean, pure’; Pl čipaawak ‘clear, white’. [SUA: Azt]

WHO; QUIEN (rel pron=relative pronoun)
Mn háģe; haqáá; haqisa’  Hp hak(im) sg(pl); -qa (rel pron)  Eu hevé
NP hakka  Tb ‘agi; ’indama ‘s.o.’  Tbr ha-kí-(pe/pu)
TSh hakatín  Sr hamí; pl: haiim  Yq hábe
Sh hakatín; hakkai ‘whom’  Ca háx’i  My hábbe; hábesu
Cm haki, hakari  Ls háx; hiyanay  Wr aábu
Kw ha-na; hi-ni  Cp háx, háx’i  Tr (y)éraka; yépuga;
Gb hakí  Cr épuka; hiči
Ch haŋá  TO hedai  SP aŋa-rá’i
           Pc urho; doburh; para oblicuos: hukudoi
           WM aa-rá’i  PYp heri/er/eri
CU --  ST haroo; haroi ‘indef’
           CN aak; pl: aki’ke’;

[WHO: Num, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Trn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

2548. *haka / *haki ‘who’ (possibly *ha(N)-kV): Sapir; VVH138 *ha(ki) ‘who’; KH/M06-in1: BH.Tak *hax-‘who’; LNum30 *hake ‘who, which, what’; CL.Azt191 *aak ‘who’ < 289 *haka ‘who’; M88-in1; KH.NUA; KH/M03-in1: Mn; TSh; Sh; Cm; Ch; SP; Hp; Tb; Ca; Cp; LS; Tbr; and CN aak(in).

[h > ø in Tb] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tbr, Azt]

2549. *hapï(su) ‘who’: Eu, Yq, My, Wr. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn]
2550. *(C)arV > Tep *hîrai ‘who’: Nv urho (= iro); ST haroo; haroi ‘indefinite’, Tr (y)ëruka; TO hedai; PYp heri / er / erigi. Kiowa-Tanoan languages have interrogatives resembling *hVrV like Tep forms. [SUA: Trn, Tep]

2551. *hami`: Sr hami`; Ktn hami(c). [NUA: Tak]

NB, for *mi ‘which, who, interrogative’ see what.
NB, Op ne ‘one who, -er’ (Shaull 1990, 573) I think has cognates in UA, but recall of where I’ve seen such is lacking at the moment.

Wide: see big and flat
Wife: see woman
Wildcat: see bobcat

WILLLOW; SAUCE, MIMBREARA

2552. *sîhî ‘willow’: I.Num197 *sîhî ‘willow’; M88-sî12; KH/M06-sî12: Mn sîhîbî; NP sîibi ‘silver willow’; TSh sîîpin; Sh sîhî-pin; Kw sî-î-î; CU sî-vî-pî ‘cottonwood tree’. With intervocalic *-k> -h- and *a > î (UA schwa), these may relate to *saka ‘willow, grass’ at ‘grass’. Is NP saga-pi ‘kinds of willows’ (at grass) from one source, and NP sîibi, from the other? Might these tie to *sîhîpî ‘sumac, squaw bush, Rhus trilobata (used for weaving)? See among the later entries at ‘plant’. [NUA: Num]

2553. *kana ‘willow’: M67-461 *ka/*kan ‘willow tree’; M88-ka12 ‘willow’; KH/M06-ka12: Kw kahna-vî ‘sandbar willow’; SP qanna-; CU kanâ-vî; Tb haa-1; Ca qâankiî ‘desert willow’; Hp qahavi ‘willow’. [*k > Tb h] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak]

2554a. *woata ‘willow’: Eu goát ‘sauce’; Tbr ñoatá ‘sauce’ (Eu g < *w and Tbr ny < *w).

2554b. *wata ‘willow’: AYq wata ‘willow’; My watta ‘sauce’; Ls wâ-t ‘black willow’; Wr watosi ‘kind of willow’.

[labials: Eu g < *w; Tbr ny < *w] [SUA: Opn, Cah, Tbr, Trn; NUA: Tak]

2555. *wasV ‘willow’: Cr wasêh ‘sauce’; CN wešoo-tl ‘willow tree’. [SUA: CrC, Azt]

NB, for *sakat ‘willow, grass’ see at ‘grass’.

WIN, BEAT; GANAR, LOGRAR

2556. *kwaC(ku) ‘win’: TSh kwaa” ‘win, beat’; Sh kwakku” ‘to win a game’; Cm kwakurî ‘defeat, win over someone’; Kw kwaha ‘win’; SP kwaa ‘win, beat’; CU kwa’á-y ‘win, beat, earn’; CU kwá’-nî ‘win, beat, earn’. [k > h/] [NUA: Num]

2557. *ma’i-(tu) ‘win, gain’: PYp ma’i-ca ‘win’; PYp ma’i ‘with hand’; Nv maitu ‘ganar’; NT máîtîkiyî ‘earn, win’; ST maîcîa ‘earn (money)’; Tr mî-tî-mea ‘win, defy’; Wr me’tu-nâ ‘win, defeat’; Cr raa-mu’á’tîki ‘le gana’; Cr mwá’itîqui’i ‘ganar’. [ma > mwa in Cr] [SUA: Tep, Trn, CrC]

NB, for *kopa ‘win’, see play.
NB, some UA terms for ‘win’ derive from ‘strong’; see at ‘strong’.
NB, might Ls čîwâ/i ‘be defeated in a game, vi, defeat, win s.o. in a game, vt’ relate to CN čîwa ‘do’? That is, ‘do’ = ‘win’ and ‘be done to, done in’ = ‘lose’.

WIND, BLOW; VIENTO, VENTAR

Mn hîkwâpe; wî- ‘by the wind’ Hp v: hîhîkya; hîhîkya Eu v/bahéka
pasuwaqa ‘be windy before rain’

NP hîggwâpi; pawâbâ Tb ‘îhkowa’ ‘wind blows’ Tbr honî-t;
pawîînî ‘cold wind sweeps in canyons’ v: honá-/hone-
hîça’wîba ‘breeze, v’ Sr şîvît;
TSh niitàn; ni’ai Tbr
TSh akwiinamo ‘east wind’ Yq heêka;
teeku’uku ‘remolino’
Sh  nyai"-(pin)  ‘v(n)’  Ca  yá’i hivuu  My  heeka; tápiča ?
Cm  níe’na; níe’ti  Ls  húŋ-La; nóóša-wu-t  Wr  ega-ní/egi-má
Kw  nee-(dį)  ‘v(n)’  Cp  sevél  Tr  eká/i/ká; iwígá
Ch  nígár(i)  TO  hewastk; hewel  Cr  eeka
SP  níá ‘blow’  Nv  ibíri; B: híivil  Wc  ’eekáa; ’éká ‘blow’
WMU  ní-a-y ‘wind is blowing’  PYp  hevelim ‘blow’  CN  e’eeka-śl &air, spirit
CU  níay; n: ní-a-rí  NT  ivíli  káa.shívari ‘storm wind’
                        ST  hívïlïy

2558. *hika / *hikawa / *hikwa ‘wind, blow’: Sapir; M67-462 *heka; I.Num41 *hikwa ‘blow (of wind)’; L.Son59
*hika ‘viento’; M88-hí2 wind; KH/M06-hí2: Mn and NP *hikwpí; Cm hiká- ‘cool off’; Tb(M) ’akkawaal ‘wind, n’; Tb(M) ’aakawaa’it ~ ’akkwawaa ‘blow (of wind)’; Tb(V) ’ihkowa ‘wind blows’; Hp; Eu; Yq; My; Wr; Tr; Cr éeka / háaka / wá-’aaka ‘it is windy’; Wc; CN. Sapir also cites Gb qahika.


2560. *nîka ‘be windy, blow’: I.Num119 *ni’e ‘wind, blow (of wind)’; M88-ní12 ‘wind’; KH/M06-ní12: TSh; Sh níia ‘blow (wind)’; Cm; Kw; Ch; SP; CU; Miller includes Ls nóôša-wu-t ‘wind (ceremonial word)’ whose initial CV agrees, though Ch nígárï and Ls vary as to whether k or s is the lost medial consonant. [*k > ø]

2561. ? ‘whirlwind’: KH.NUA: Ls ’atótokwa ‘whirlwind’; Gb tükokar; Ktn atakuciva ‘whirlwind’; Sr taaqčovaţ ‘whirlwind, dust devil’; Ca téne’awka ‘whirlwind, tornado’. While a reconstruction is difficult, I agree with Hill, that these are probably related, or at least the first four share a morpheme or two. Let’s contemplate the collection while seeking other forms.

NB, for *sípí & *síCPíL ‘cold, wind, windy’ see cold.

WING; ALA

Mn  ’ahaqoccii ‘armpit’  Hp  masa  Eu  hanát
NP  kasa; anka ‘armpit’  Tb  --  Tbr  --
TSh  kasa(ccci)  Sr  maha’/mahö’  AYq  masa
Sh  ahna ‘armpit’  mahaač/mahaaţ ‘&feather’
    kasa ‘&feather’  Ca  wāk-á  My  máss-a-m
    Cm  kasa; ahna ‘underarm’  Ls  kawí-t  Wr  aná; anasáwa-ni ‘flap wing’
    Kw  kaso-o-pi  Cp  --  Tr  aná; ganá/gané; ma’sá ‘&feather’
    Ch  wisía-(v) ‘ &feather’  TO  a’an  Cr  mua’askibauri;
    SP  kísšíavî;  Nv  hukaddi  Wc  ’aana
    kassavî ‘strike with wing’  PYp  a’e  aná
    WMU  huśni’ëvi /wasi’ëvi  NT  --  CN  a’tlapal-li ‘&leaf’
    CU  ’aa-pi ‘upper arm’  ST  karvo

Above is provided a quick view of UA words for ‘wing’ though ‘wing and ‘feather’ are treated together at ‘feather’, as the same forms often mean both. Nevertheless, a summary of ‘wing/feather’ is here provided.

NB, *’aŋap ‘wing, feather, arm’: Sapir; VVH58 *aŋa ‘wing, feather, arm’; B.Tep302 *a ‘ana; M67-465 *ana; 
L.Son4 ‘ana; M88-’a3; KH/M06-’a3: Tb ’anambëi-l; SP anävu / anävi -vi ‘arm’; Ch anävi ‘arm’; CU aavö ‘upper arm’ Some Numic forms and Tr suggest the possibility: *akana/a’ana > akn/ahna > ahna/aná.
NB, *kasa ‘wing’: I.Num54 *kasa ‘wing, feather’; M88-ka17: is in all Num languages. This may tie to *masa ‘feather / wing’; Cr and Tr ma’sa both have glottal stops, so *masa may be from *maksa or *ma-kasa; thus, *masa apparent in Hp, Sr, and SUA may be related to Numic *kasa, with prefixed ma– and reduction: *ma-kasa > *maksa > *ma’sa > *masa.

NB, *waka ‘wing, feather’: BH.Cup *kawi ‘wing’; Munro.Cup *wakí-t ‘wing’; M88-ka18; KH/M06-wa29: Ca wáka-t, -wák’a (poss’ed); Ls kawí-t ‘wing’; Ls no-wki ‘my wing’; Ca wiki-ly ‘feather’; Cp wíki-l/y / wáki-l/y ‘feather’.

NB, for *masa, see feather.

WINTER; INVIERNO; see also cold, snow

Mn toowáno; too- Hp tómö Eu tomó; utédo
NP tommo Tb -- Tbr toamoa ‘hacer frio’
TSh tommo Sr támöa’p ‘in the winter’ AYq severia
Sh tómöa’ Hp tómö ‘winter’
CM tómoori Sr támiva’
Kw tomo Cp támiva’ Wr tomó
Ch tomo TO támiva’ Cr sísikata’a (dry season)
SP tomo Nv tomudaga; tomuabagu be w. Wc --
WM tómöt PYP tomdagiag ‘in the winter’
CU tómö NT toomóko CN --
ST --

2562a. *tommo / *toCmo ‘winter’: VVH165 *to_uomo ‘winter’; M67-467; I.Num216: Mn too ‘winter, year’; M88-to5 ‘winter’; KH.NUA; KH/M03-to5: Mn too ‘winter, year’; Mn toowani ‘be winter(time)’; NP tommo ‘winter, year’; TSh tommo ‘winter’; TSh toomwani ‘in the wintertime’; Sh tommo ‘winter’; Cm tomo- ‘to be winter, a year’; Kw tomo ‘winter’; SP tpommo; TSh toomwani ‘winter’; Hp tómö ‘winter’; Eu tomó ‘winter’; Wr tomó ‘winter’; Tr ¡romó; TO toomá ‘late fruit’. To Miller's collection, add Ch tomo ‘winter’; CU tómö ‘winter’; NT toomóko ‘winter’; Tbr toamoa ‘be cold’; Nv tomudaga ‘winter’; Nv tomuabagu ‘be winter’. Miller includes them with *tommo above; Hill also but with question marks, and it is a good question. They have a different 1st V (Tak showing *tamo’), but the consonants and 2nd V align, and the 2nd V *o (Ca/Cp i) could have caused assimilation in the 1st V of the other languages (**tamo > *tomo); on the other hand, if both NUA and SUA have *tomo, but part of NUA retains *tamo, then parallel innovation is needed to explain the forms. More work is needed yet.

[NUA: Num, Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Opn, Tbr, Trn] Wipe: see touch

WITH; CON; see also meet, gather

2563a. *pïma / *pïNa ‘with’: B.Tep291 *vïïma(du) ‘with’; M88-pp2; KH/M03-pp2: TO weem(aj) ‘with’; PB vimatu; NT uumá / ïïmá / uumádu / ïïmádu; ST(B) viïmad; ST(W) viïm ‘junto, con’; Cp paçi ‘with, about’.

[SUA: Tep; NUA: Tak]

2563b. *pïna ‘friend, unite/go with’: TO weenadč ‘with’; PYP veena ‘with’; PYP veen-k ‘accompany, vt’; PYP veenag ‘friend, n’; ST viïna ‘compañero, cónyuge’; ST viïta’ ‘unirse, juntarse, vi (subj anim)’; Eu venéri ‘junto, cerca’ and the Eu particle vené ‘to, with’ as in Eu amo vené ‘a ti’. [SUA: Tep, Opn]

2564. *cïpa ‘with’: KH.NUA; M88-cï14; KH/M06-cï14: Gb (ne)-cöva ‘with (me)’; Sr (ni)-cíïva ‘follow (me), go with’. [Gb o] [NUA: Tak]

2565. *kwan ‘with’: NT abáána ‘junto a, junto de, junto con’; ST baan ‘con (apartado)’. [SUA: Tep]
2566. *ma(C) ‘with’: BH.Cup *ma- ‘and’; M88-pp1; KH/M03-pp1: Mn -ma ‘with (instrl), on, by’; NP -ma ‘with (instrl, accompaniment)’; Sh -ma ‘with’ (instrl); Sh -ma’in ‘with’ (accompaniment); Kw -ma-, -wa ‘on, with, using, from, as a result of’; SP -ma ‘with’ (instrl); SP -ma’ai ‘together with’; CU -m ‘with (instrl)’; TSh ma’i / mai / ma’e; LS(E) má’n ‘or, if, but’; LS -man ‘along with’; perhaps the first syllable of Ca máñax ‘on/by the side of, near’ (for 2nd syllable, see ‘side’); Sr -mia’ ‘with, accompanying’. Add WMU -m, -maa ‘with, using, postposition’. [NUA: Num, Tak]

2566b. *mak ‘with’: Tbr -mák ‘con, acompañado a’; Add Yq -mak/-make ‘with’; ST maap ‘juntos, adv’ and perhaps WC máť(a) ‘con, junto con’. [NUA: Tbr, Cah]

2567. *waka/i ‘meet’: TSh waka(nštín) ‘toward, by, near, with’; TSh waiki/weki ‘meet’; Kw wuki-gwée ‘meet’. [NUA: Num]

2568a. *nawi ‘together with’: My nawwi ‘juntos’ [together]; Yq nau ‘juntos’; AyQ nawi ‘together’; AyQ nawit ‘both’; Ca -new ‘with s.o., active accompaniment’.

2568b. *nama ‘together with’: SP naýwa’ai ‘with each other, both (animate)’; Hp naama ‘with each other, together, in a pair’. The SP form could feasibly fit either group, but Hp cannot. [NUA: Cah; NUA: Tak]

NB, for *wiC- ‘with long object, instr prefix’: Sapir; I.Num283 *wih-: KH/M06-ip14, see ‘big’.

NB, Sapir offers CN waan ‘and, with, in company’; the SP form could feasibly fit either group, but Hp cannot. [NUA: Cah; NUA: Tak]

WOLF: LOBO

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2569. *cìì’ ‘wolf’: B.Tep211 *sìì’/i ‘wolf’; Fowler83; M88-cı12; KH/M03-cı12: TO; LP; NT; ST. [NUA: Tep]

2570. *tu’a ‘wolf’: M67-469 *típa ‘wolf’; M88-čí42 ‘wolf’; KH/M03-čí42: Mn(KH) to’oppi ‘wolf’; Mn to’ápe ‘timber wolf’; TSh toopi / tooopi ‘wolf’; TSh típo’isa ‘wild dog, coyote’; Kw típi-či; Ch tíváči; SP tìvà-ci ‘wolf, powerful one’; Tb tíačí. The following three—Cr ĭra’a’ve; WC ĭraave; Eu húrvé / húrue / wurwe (from intermediate *hu’api or *hu’u’api?) could feasiably belong here, yet they may fit *hu’api ‘badger’ too, as Ken Hill has them both places as well. I’ll continue indecisive with him. In fact, they fit phonologically best there, semantically better here. Many languages show a medial glottal stop, so that must appear in a reconstruction; likewise, Mn shows two different vowels on either side of the glottal stop (o’a), which would explain why many languages show round vowels (Num and Eu) and others a’a (Cr, WC) if assimilation went one direction or the other: *u’a > o’a/o’o/a’a, the a lowering the *u > o in many; for *u is a better choice in light of Num i, which often derives from *u, and next to *a, *u > o is also natural. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Ktn tìva-č ‘God’. [u’a > o’o’a’a] [NUA: Num, Tbk, Tak]

NB, for *is, see coyote; thus, *is-wí ‘big coyote’ or wolf.

NB, for *sína’a / *sína, see ‘coyote’.

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*okaci* ‘(old) woman’. Sapir; B.Tep319 *okisi 'woman, little girl'; CL.Azt104 *okîc ‘male’;
M67-473 *ok ‘woman’; M88-‘o8 ‘woman’ and o14; KH/M06-‘o8 and ‘o14: TO oks 'adult female, lady, woman’;
LP(B) ‘okš; Nv oksi; PYp okasi; NT okişi; ST(B) ‘o’okiş ST(W) o’kişi ‘aunt, mos’; Eu hokici ‘muchachita’;
Op (’okî ‘woman’; Cr úúka ‘women’; WC úúkâá ‘woman’. Note NT ooki ‘woman’; NT ookimuturi ‘hacerse
anciana = become old (of a woman); NT ookiş ‘niña’. Actually, CN oiki-tli and the other Azt forms also belong.
Tepiman *okisi ‘woman’ and CN oikî- ‘man’ identically point to PUA *okic; and if we consider a Tr form whose
2nd vowel matches the PYp, Cr, and WC forms *oka ‘woman’, then Tr wegaca- ‘grow old (of women)’ may provide
the semantic key to some of these forms for men and women, such that *okVC originally meant ‘old woman’ then
‘old one/old person/man’, in some languages. English ‘guy’ is now changing from masculine to genderless and ‘girl’
went from genderless to feminine (Stewart and Vaillette 2001, 410). And I’ve heard men called ‘woman’ on
politically incorrect construction sites where attempts to highlight ineptitude at the male-dominated occupation
revealed a lack of sensitivity that surely permeates all construction crews by now, though perhaps not all of UA
prehistory aligned with such sensitivities. Note 2nd V (a vs. i) in PYp okasi ‘fós’, Cr, WC, and NT okálki ‘fós’ (-li
likely non-stem) and Tr wegaca, in three branches, no less, all of which suggest a as the 2nd vowel: *okaci > okVC ‘woman’.
Furthermore, the assimilation *ai > i is natural, especially in light of an alveopalatal between the two, recommending that change more than *i-i > a-i for the five languages showing the V a. [vowels; *a-i > i in CN,
omost of Tep, Opatan] [NUA: Tep, Opn, Trn, CrC, Azt]

2572a. *hupi ‘woman, wife’: VVH79 *hu.pi, pi; B.Tep332 *uvi 'girl, female’; M67-471 *hupi; I.Num45 *hîpi
‘woman’; M88-hu4 ‘woman’; L.Son68 *hupi ‘to marry’; KH/M03-hu4: 'TO uwi 'female, woman’; Nv ubbi; NT úvi
‘female, girl’; ST ‘uvi ‘female, girl’; Eu hoit ‘mujer de edad, aunque no muy vieja’; Eu huwha ‘mujer, esposa’;
My huwhi ‘esposa’; Yq hũubi ‘woman, wife’; Wr upi ‘wife’; Tu upi ‘wife’; Cr iîta’a ‘woman’; Cr nya-’ih ‘my wife’.
Let’s also add WC ‘iya ‘woman, wife’ and Tu hũu‘anah ‘widow, widower’. Note the consistency of sound changes
in Cr iita’a ‘woman’: PUA *u > Cr i and loss of intervocalic *p: *hupi > (h)îi-, and similarly for WC. Numic often
changes *u > i, so I would consider Numic *hîpi ‘woman’ to be related also:

2572b. Numic *hîpi ‘woman’: M88-hi8; KH/M03- hi8: Mn hiïpi ‘; TSh hippocci (cci); Sh hîpi; Cm hibi; I.Num and
hVp.pi. [Cr, Num *u > i; p > ò in CrC] [NUA: Num, Tb; SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Trn, CrC]

2573. *wa’ic ‘woman’: I.Num266 *wa’îhipi(’i) ‘woman’; M88-wa16; KH/M03-wa16: NP piawabi ‘old woman’;
TSh wa’ippi ‘woman’; Sh wa’i-ppi ‘woman’, Cm nanawa’ihpi’anî ‘womenfolk’. NP has pia- compounded.
[NUA: Num]

2574. *nos-tu ‘old woman’: BH.Cup *néc ‘old (of women); M88-no11 ‘old woman’; Munro.Cup140 *néčî-la;
KH.NUA; KH/M03-no11: Cp nîcu ‘grow old (of women); Cp nîshyu-’e ‘old woman’; Ca nîshyuel ‘old woman’;
Ca nîshyuluck ‘bec. old (of women); Ls nîçëu ‘bec. an old woman’; Ls nîscî / nîsc lose-ma ‘old woman’; Sr nihtaivî’t
tup... at ‘old’ for terms above ending in -tu/-cu. Of Serrano’s four terms—Sr náš’t ‘girl’, Sr nãîh’t ‘young woman’,
Sr niňît, pl nînîm ‘woman’, and Sr nîhtavî’t ‘old woman’. [NUA: Tak]

An odd variety of forms make a single reconstruction difficult, but Miller (M67-470, M88-sî11, so8, su21) seems
also to sense that a relationship likely exists, after Sapir identified the CN and LS forms as probable cognates:

sowa-tl ‘woman, wife’; Pl siwaat ‘woman, wife’; LS šawâa-may ‘daughter’. Miller and Bright’s observation that
LS šawâa-may ‘daughter’ is the diminutive of LS şunjâa-t ‘woman’ is very relevant to the nasal clustered with -w-.
CN may show a vowel assimilation to w (*siwa > *sowa) that occurred in other languages also, probably in Tak
*sûña, TrC *sôna ‘wife’ and Tep *hooniga ‘wife’. We may be dealing with a consonant cluster involving w and a
nasal dimension.

2575b. *sî’a ‘girl’: I.Num195 *sî’a (young) girl’; M88-sî11 ‘young girl’; KH/M03-sî11: Mn sî’a; NP sî’a / cî’a.
Miller includes some *siwa forms, such as CN siwaapil-1i ‘lady’; Pl siwaapil ‘girl (teenage)’. The WNum forms
likely tie to *siwa/siwaŋwa, but until an explanation emerges, a separate letter is good.
[w/ w vs. glottal, n/h/w; NUA u and SUA o]
2575c. *suŋa 'man's daughter, wife': M88-su21; KH.NUA; KH/M03-su21: Cp şuŋa'ma 'man's daughter'; Ca şuŋama 'man's dau'; Ls şuŋa-l 'woman, wife'; Gb ašon 'wife'; Šr şuŋu 'man's dau'. Add Ktn hun 'descendant' and Ktn nimihun 'wife', pl: nimihunam (< *nüm-suŋa 'man's-girl/woman'). Miller includes Hp siwa 'younger sister of a man', which is cognate, but better fit the subset *siwa.

2575d. *sona < *suŋa < *si(n)wa 'woman, wife': B.Tep73 *hooniga 'wife'; B.Tep72 *hoonita/hoonata 'to take a wife'; L.Son26 *sona 'esposa'; BH.Cup şuŋama 'daughter of man (diminutive of woman)'; M88-so8; KH/M03-so8: Tb so yi / sooyi- 'wife' (cognate?); TO hoont 'take a wife'; TO hooñig 'wife'; Pima Bajo hoñig 'take a wife'; Pima Bajo hooñig 'wife'; NT hoonyata 'take a wife'; NT ooniga 'wife'; ST hoñtya 'take a wife'; Tbr soná-r 'esposa'. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Azt]

2576. *paCti' (< *paNi?) 'daughter': I.Num147 *peti 'daughter'; M88-pa22; Stubbs2000a-4; KH/M06-pa22: Mn pédi'; NP bbañi; TSh paiñi'; Sh paiñi'; Cw pédi'; Kwp pédi; SP pañi; CU pañi; Cuñapi-ci-ci. Cp pa'ari'i 'girl' may also belong. Ch, SP, and CU also show *-tt > c/ high vowel. In addition, many forms have raised and fronted the first vowel due to assimilation in anticipating the high 2nd V i and/or the alveolar consonant; the ai dipthong in CNu would suggest the same, which dipthong sometimes went to e. Sh shows the same change (*a > ai / Ci / i) both here and in *hawi 'dove'. In fact, Kw -d- may suggest the medial cluster involves *-Nt-, as ordinary gemination *-tt- > -t- in Kw, but *-Nt- > -d- in Kw. [*-Ct- > -c-] [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]

2577. *tiñia / *tíkia 'girl': B.Tep238 *tiñia 'young girl'; B.Tep238b tiñias i 'baby girl'; M67-195 *te girl; M88-ti4 'girl'; KH/M03-ti4: TO tiñia 'girl'; NT tiñi/taxi 'girl'; NT ali-tiñi; ST ti'yaà/ti=yes 'young girl'; ST tiyàs 'baby girl'. Ken Hill 2006 added NP tiñá 'a child' but not in 2019 file. [SUA: Tep; NUA: Num]

2578. *tiwì 'girl': Wr kuhteñwì 'girl, daughter' (dau is secondary meaning); Tr tewì 'girl'. [SUA:Trn]

2579. *piCwa (< *piCtI-wa) 'wife': Kw piwà; Ch piwà; Ch(L) piwà-vì 'a wife'; WMU piwà; CU piwà 'spouse'; LS piwì 'spouse'. Add WMU piwà (nasal vowels). Kw piwà < Kw pihi-wa 'feeling, breast-have' is underlying (Zigmond et al, 1991), for indeed *piCtI > pihi 'breast' in SNUM. [*a > e-e, thus e in Ls] [NUA: SNUM, Tak]

2580. *pami 'girl': My beeme 'girl'; Yq béeme; AYq veeme; Tr bamiá. Tr probably shows the more original vowels with vowel leveling occurring in Cah: *a-i > e-e. TrC terms level the vowels of 'sand' similarly: *siwa > se-e. [*a > e-e] [SUA: Cah, Trn]

2581. *naka 'young woman': AYq naa 'lady, daughter, young woman'; Sr näāh 'young woman'. This may be a good set or may be a degradeable set in light of Sr’s four terms at *nos- above and AYq possibly deriving from s.th. like Cp náwka-t 'woman' below, with syllable loss (not unknown in Cah). [NUA: Tak; SUA: Cah]

2582. *notikkwa 'wife': Mn nodikwa 'wife'; NP nodiggwa 'wife'. [NUA: WNUM]

2583a. *mama’u 'woman': Kw momo’o 'woman'; Ch mamá’u 'woman'; Ch(L) mamau’u 'woman'; SP mammu’u-ci 'woman, young woman'; WMU mamá-či 'woman'; CU mamá-či 'woman'. Note the vowel leveling in Kw. These may be a reduplication of *ma’aC 'old, (later) old woman', which see at old, though some forms reflect the non-reduplicated stem: Kw ma’pi-zi 'old woman'; Ch(L) maa’ipici 'old woman'. Note also a compound of this stem:

2583b. *ma’(ma)-sakwa-cì 'older woman (woman-belly)': SP ma’sakawi 'old woman'; WMU mamá’ságwa-ci / mamá’ságwai-ci 'older woman, n' (woman-belly); CU mama-ságóy-ci 'old lady, lit: woman-belly' (CU ságóy-vi 'belly'). Note that WMU has the glottal stop apparent in *mama’u above. [V leveling in Kw] [NUA: SNUM]

2584. *muk / *mok 'woman': Wr mu’kira 'wife'; Tr muki / mugi / muhi 'woman', pl: omugii; higomari / igomuri; NP mogo’ni 'woman'; perhaps Ls mixa 'wife', though we would expect Ls e rather than the i expected in Ca and Cp (if < *mok), or borrowed from but then lost in Ca or Cp. [metathesis, Ls i < *o/u] [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

2585. *tiñiha 'spouse': Wr tehimá / teñiha 'esposo, esposa'; Ls to’ma 'wife'; Ls tó’ma-vu 'husband'; Ls tó’ma 'marry a wife (of a man)'. [NUA: Tak; SUA: Trn]
**2586a. ***nawiC* 'girl': BH.Cup *nawí girl; HH.Cup *nawí girl; Munro.Cup49 *nawi-l/*nawii-l 'girl, young woman'; M88-na21; KH.NUA; KH/M03-na21: TSh nawi 'girl'; Tb *aanaawíš 'girl'; Cp nawi-l 'young lady'; Cp nawísma-l 'girl'; Cp nawíka-t 'woman'; Ca náwíšmal 'young lady'; Cp nawíš-l 'young lady'; Sr náašt 'girl'. Sr näašt 'young woman' is at *naka above and Sr niňñ, pl niňñ (ā is a pharyngealized vowel) 'woman' is at *nos- above (for s > Sr h happens), though Sr niňtavīř ‘old woman’ is also there. Sr’s four terms to think about yet. Some terms suggest a final -C (Tb, Cp, Ca). [NUA: Tak, Tb, Num]

**2586b. ***na’a- ‘girl, boy’: M88-na21; Mn na’ací ‘little boy’; NP naaci’ ‘boy’; TSh naipi ‘teenage girl’; Sh nai-pin; Cm nai’pi ‘young woman’; Kw na’a-ai-N /na’ai-ni ‘girl’; WMU na’ací ‘girl’; CU na’a-ci-c ‘girl from five to teens’; Ktn naač ‘older/teen girl’ (vs Ktn naca-t ‘little girl’); Ca níči ‘woman, female’. Interestingly, the reflexes in WNum mean ‘little boy’ while in the other two branches they mean ‘girl’.

[NUA: Num, Tak]

NB, like *piya ‘mother, big’, another association of ‘female, mother’ and ‘big’ is Munro.Cup *yi-t (PUA *yi ‘mother’): Ls yó-t ‘big’; Ca yé-t ‘female’; Ls ’a-yó ‘thumb’ at ‘mother’.

Womb: see belly

Wood: see tree

**WORK; TRABAJAR, LABORAR, TRABAJO, TAREA, LABOR**

**2587a. ***tïkiL-panawa ‘work, cut’: CL.Azt193 *təkïtï ‘work, cut’; as M88-tï23 and KH/M06-tï23 note, this ties to *tïki ‘cut’ though here that morpheme is compounded with *panawa: CN teki-panoaa ‘work, v’ (as well as CN teki-t ‘work, pay tribute, v’; CN teki-tl ‘work, tribute, n’); Tbr tekipa-(na) ‘trabajar’. Note Yq téki ‘trabajo, n’ and Eu tékipanúa ‘trabajar’; My tekipanoa; TO čikpan ‘work (on), vt’; TO čikpana ‘work, n’; PYp tekpana ‘work, vi’. As for *tïkipanoa being a compound of *tïki ‘cut’ plus *panawa, note Eu panava / panawa ‘trabajar’.

**2587b. ***tïk... ‘work, cut’: KH.NUA: Sr tïhtï(i) ‘work, vi, vt’; Sr tïhtïyič ‘work, n’; Hp tïki ‘cut’. I like Hill’s tying these two together, for ‘cut (cut earth, cultivate) and ‘work’ pair themselves more than once in UA, and initial *tïk in these and the above set makes the two groups likely related as well. Ktn cïk ‘stick, stab, vt’ may belong also.

**2587c. ***tï’ai ‘work’: TSh tïtïai ‘work, v & n’; Cm tïrï’aitï ‘do work, v’. [k > zero?]

[SUA: Tep, Opn, Cah, Tbr, Azt; NUA: Hp, Tak, CNum?]

**2588. ***tupVka ‘work’: Ca tuvxá ‘work, v’; Cp tevxá ‘work, cut’ (suggested from Spanish trabajando); NP maddubí ‘work, make’ (suggested from Spanish trabajar); Ch tïvïyawí ‘work’; Wc -tïve ‘be doing’; NT -tuday ‘doative suffix’ (after Tep’s typical loss of p); perhaps Ls luvï’i ‘make better, fix, make’ (subsumed under Ls loovi ‘good’). Ca and Cp might derive from Spanish as suggested, but not the others. [NUA: Num; SUA: CrC]


**2590. ***palV / *palpu(LV) ‘help’: ST palvuidya ‘help’; Cr -birë ‘ ayuda’; Eu vade/bade ‘work planting’. [med C’s]

[SUA: Tep, Opn, CrC]

**2591. ***noca ‘work’: WR inóca-ni ‘trabajar’; Tr noca- ‘work’; what of ST vanoosa ‘do religious rite, make pledges’? [SUA: Trn, Tep]

NB, NT saikónakari ‘kind of axe’; NT saikón’ai ‘work s.th., vt’. Note two forms (*tïki and *caikona) that semantically expand from ‘cut’ to ‘work’.

NB the loans from Spanish: Wc tïraváaku and LP haitu uravogu.

World: see earth
WORM, CATERPILLAR, CENTIPEDE, MAGGOT(S);
GUSANO, LÓMBRIZ, CRESA, GORGOJO, ORUGA, CENTIPEDO

2592a. *kwici (<*kwit(a)-kowa) ‘worm, feces-snake’: M67-475 *kwic ‘worm”; L.Son120 *kwici; M88-kwi11; Stubbs 1995; Stubbs2000a-8; KH/M03-kwi11: NT obí-bisi (Lionnet); Wr ihkuciwa ‘gusano’ (ih- is a moribund noun prefix, notes Miller); Tr kučéwa-ri ‘gusano’; Yq bwicia; My bwitia ‘gusano’; Tbr hi-kwici-t ‘oruga’; Wc kwisi/kwici ‘gusano’; Cr ču’ihnu ‘caterpillar’; CN kwitkooa-t ‘tapeworm’; Miller also includes Pl kwil-in ‘worm’ and Eu hicira ‘gusano’; the initial consonant of the latter is strange, yet Lionnet queries whether it is an error for bicí-ra. The CN form may be a prototype for UA *kwici: *kwitkoa > *kwittia > *kwici(a). Consistent with that is SP nakkwicu ‘worm’ which shows a round vowel in the expected spot and intervocalic -c-, which cannot be from -*c-, but -*Cc- or -*Ct-. Could the forms under Tak *ku’a ‘worm, maggot, fly’ (at fly) tie in with kwV-reduction, as the Tak forms at *kwïs > kus ‘take’ (at carry) did? Note also Wc kwisiyaarí ‘corn worm’. Jane Hill (p.c.) points out the similarity of SP wišši-ci ‘caterpillar’.

2592b. *koci (<*kwici): Note the similarity between CN i’koč-in ‘type of earthworm’ and Wr ihkucíwa ‘worm’ and Nv kosiburi ‘worm sp’. Because Tep s < *c, Tep *kosi- reflects *koci of CN and Wr.

2593. *wo’a ‘worm’: I.Num272 *wo’a ‘worm’; M88-wo8; KH/M03-wo8: Mn wo’ábi ‘worm, maggot’; NP wo’aba ‘worm’; Sh wo’api; Wc wo’api; Kw wo’api; Kw wo’a-pin; CM wo’api; Kw wo’o-vi. For Kw vowel leveling, note Kw momo’o for *mama’u ‘woman’. [V leveling in Kw in worm, woman, and water] [NUA: Num]


2595. *pa’a ‘worm’: Ch pa’á-vi ‘worm’; WMU pa’á-vi ‘worm’; CU pa’á-vi ‘insect, larva, worm’. [NUA: SNum]

2596a. *sipuLi ‘worm’: Cp sivuye-l ‘worm, maggot’; Ca sivuy-al ‘worm’; Ca sivuy-iš ‘being wormy, having many worms’; Nv kosiburi ‘gusano’. Perhaps containing only the -puri portion: Ktn purpur ‘worm sp’; Nv cuagi vuri ‘gusano’; Tr činigúpuri ‘gusano’; and less likely are Nv duburh hihi ‘lombrices’ and PB(EF) túbehil ‘gusano’. Morpheme divisions debateable. [NUA: Num, Hn, Tb, Tak]


2597. *-kuLi ‘worm’; in NT tïïmíkuli ‘worm, sp.’; Wr nuhkuri ‘kind of worm’. [SUa: Tep, Trn]

2598. *masiwa ‘centipede’: M67-82 *ma; L. Son130 *ma-siwa; M88-ma23; KH/M03-ma23: Eu másiwa; Yq masiwe; My masia; TO mahogi; PYp mahig; Nv maiokka (< *mahoga < *masiwa). Wr ma’yáka, Tr maagá / ma’ágá, and Tr mahará may derive from Tep loans: *masiwa > Tep *mahiga > mahaga (Tr) and > ma’yaka (Wr). [SUa: Tep, Cah, Trn, Opn]

NB, for *ku’a ‘worm(y), maggot, fly’ see at ‘fly’.

Wound(ed): see sore
Wrap: see blanket
Wrestle: see fight
Wrinkle: see fold
Write: see draw
Wrong: see bad

YAWN; BOSTEZAR

2599. *kïsa('apaka) ‘yawn, open (mouth)’: NP kïsa’a ‘to open one's mouth’; TSh kïsääapahah ‘to come open’;
2600. *kappî / *kaCpî 'yawn': Ca kákape; Cp kápe. [NUA: Tak]

2601. *hatawa 'yawn, v': Stubbs2003-21: Mn na'idawî 'yawn, vi'; NP ĭdamuwîni 'yawning, vi'; TSh ītawa 'yawn, vi'; Cm ĭtamakî'atî 'yawn, vi'; Kw 'atawa 'yawn'; Eu ītawa (prêt: hātuvhrî) 'bostezar'; My ten háha'awa 'está bostezando'; Yq háawe 'bostezar'; Cr ha’ateewa 'bosteza'. Note the glottal stop in Cahitan corresponding to *t in the other UA languages: *t > l/r > ' in Cah. Interestingly, in Cahitan where the 1st V is stressed, the *a is retained while 2nd and 3rd V sometimes change, but in Num where the 2nd V is more often stressed, the 1st V goes to ї, the UA schwa, in all Num forms except Kw. Do we have *-w- > -m- in Num? Ktn hakwakwa'y 'yawn' may belong if syncope then *-tw- > -kw- occurred as AMR discovered (1993a). [*t > r > ' in Cah; unstressed a > ї; w/m] [NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Cah, CrC]

2602. *tîni-akV 'yawn': TO ŋëniak; PV teni-k. UA *tînV 'mouth' is probably the initial element of this compound and *aki 'open mouth' perhaps the second. [SUA: Tep]

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YEAR; AÑO

2603. *pami 'year': Wr pamibame 'years'; Wr pamibari 'year'; Tr bami; bamibari; consider also Wr pem(ni) 'summer'. [SUA: Trn]

2604a. *suwaC 'year' (AMR): AMR combines CN šiwi-tl 'year, grass, turquoise' and Tb šuwaa-l ground, earth, year' as PUA *u > CN i; but AMR also has it with Hp šiwi at 1077 'green grow'. perhaps the 2nd syllable of Yq wasûktia 'year' and My wasuk-tiria/tiriam 'year' in Cah *wa-su(k) 'year'. The set below is too different. [NUA: Tb; SUA: Azt, Cah]

2604b. *yasayawa 'year': Hp yaasanw;
    TO ahiđag (< *asiyaw, because *s > h, *y > d, *w > g)
    Tbr asa-k 'year'
NB, for *tomo, see winter, since the Numic words for year derive from winter.
NB, for the Takic words *tawpa, see summer (*tawpa).

Yell: see shout

YELLOW; AMARILLO

Miller groups together the two sets below, which are also cited by Sapi; VVH62 *'oha; B.Tep327 *'uama; M67-477 *'oha; I.Num12 *ohah; M88-’o13; KH/M06-’o13: they probably are related; in fact, a reconstruction of *uha would do fairly well for both Num *oha (with a second low vowel lowering the first vowel a little: *u-a > o-a) and for Tep *u'ua (since Tep normally shows ’ < *h); nevertheless, let's separate them under the same number for discussion.

2605a. *uhaC (> *ohaC) 'yellow': Sapir *hoa; I.Num12 *ohah; M67-477 *'oha 'yellow'; M88-’o13 'yellow'; KH/M06-’o13: Mn ohabanagi 'yellow, tan, brown'; NP oha-ggvddadï 'yellow'; TSh 'oa"- 'yellow'; Sh oå" 'yellow'; Cm oha-/ohap- 'yellow'; Ch owásia-ka 'yellow'; SP ooa" 'yellow'; CU 'oa-kka-ti 'yellow'. Add WMU ōā-qqa-rh 'yellow, adj/n'.

2605b. *'u'ama < *'uhama 'yellow': B.Tep327 *'uama 'yellow': UP 'uamî 'yellow' (Bascom); LP 'uaam; NT vuaâma / wâma; ST 'uam; TO oam / o’am ‘(be) brown, orange, yellow’ (Saxton). Since diphthongs in PUA are highly debatable, an original glottal stop, h, or other consonant between the vowels seems more likely. [*-a > o-a, 'h; NUA o sv. SUA u] [NUA: Num; SUA: Tep]

2606a. *sa’wa 'yellow': M67-478 *sawa; L.Son234 *sawa; M88-sa5; KH/M03-sa5: Eu sâvei/sâbe/sâwe;
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Wr sa’wató-ni; Wr sa’wamúriwa-ni; Tr sawáróame; My sawali/sawari; Yq sawái ‘yellow’. Could these tie to Num *sa(k)wa ‘green’ as Wr sa’wa- may suggest? [SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah]

2606b. *kosawa / *koswiywa ‘yellow’: CN koswiywa ‘to turn yellow’; CN kostik ‘s.th. yellow’; and perhaps Tbr kísara-ka-r ‘amarillo’ and Yq huusái. These TrC (a) and Azt (b) forms are likely related, for CN ko-, as a prefix, precedes other color terms, and the two sets otherwise match well. In fact, except for an initial k and a metathesis (s-w vs. w-s), Ch owásia-ka ‘yellow’ and CN koswiywa ‘turn yellow’ have much in common—(k)osaw(y)a and owasi(y)a—seven segments, no less.

YES; SÍ

2607. *hu’i ‘yes’: M67-481; M88-*u7; KH/M06-*u7: Mn hííhíi; Kw hííí; CU ‘íí; besides the Num forms, Miller includes Hp owi; Cr híí; CN iye, all of whose first vowels agree with *u, not to mention Ls ‘uhó; Ls ‘uhó-van ‘I believe, I obey’, which he lists below; furthermore, Num í sometimes < *u. [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: CrC, Azt]

2608. *ha ‘yes’: M67-480 *ha; I.Num28 *((h)a)ha’a; BH *híí (cognate?); M88-ha3; KH.NUA; KH/M06-ha3: Mn hííhíi / haaha’; NP ahaa; Sh haa; Cm haa; Tb ha; Sr haa; Cp héehee; Ca héé. Miller here includes Kw hííhíí, hi’ihíí; Gb ‘éé’; Eu héé; Mi hée; We huu, híí; Pl eehee, all of which may better belong with *híí below, though as Mn hííhíi / haaha’ and others suggest, the whole of them could well belong together. After all, what’s a vowel among grunts of agreement? [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak; SUA: Cah, Opn]

2609. *hí... ‘yes’: M67-479 *he ‘yes’; M88-híí5; KH/M03-hí5: Eu héé; My héewi; Cr ’éé(wi); Pl eehe. [SUA: Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

2610. *kí(C)aNwi ‘yesterday’: Sapir; Kw kííawe; Ch kíaw(i); SP kíangwi; WMU gíí / kííaw; CU kíaw. Sapir ties the SP form with CN kaawi-tl ‘time’ and Tepecano takaw. That is plausible since SNum and CN have only one vowel different (*kíawi > kaawi) and in light of CN’s tendency toward anticipatory V assimilation. Tb(V) ‘íwí’aŋ ‘yesterday’; Tb(M) ñwa’aŋ ‘yesterday’ may tie in as well, or at least the first part, though its inclusion would make a reconstruction more difficult. In fact, the reconstruction given considers Num and Azt, but not Tb. [Anticipatory V assim in CN in green, sand, yesterday] [NUA: SNum; SUA: Azt]

2611. *kíntu ‘yesterday’: TSh kíntu(sí); Sh kíntun; Cm kítu. [NUA: CNum]

2612a. *tapa(ku) ‘yesterday’: Tr řapáko; Wr tabaná; Hp taavok.

2612b. *taka(po) ‘yesterday’: TO taka; LP tako; PYp takaav; NT takáá/takáávo; ST takav/takaav; Cr tahkai. These may be a metathesis or maybe entirely unrelated, but for now, let’s set them adjacently for contemplation. For terms similar to *tuka / *tuku ‘yesterday’ (Ca túku; Cp túku; Yq túuka; My tuuka) these are discussed at *tuka ‘black, fire go out, night, last night’. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn, CrC]


Young: see new

YUCCA; YUCA: see also agave

2614a. *pína ‘yucca whipplei’: BH.Cup *panál; HH.Cup *panáal; Fowler83; Munro.Cup141 *panáá-l ‘yucca, whipplei’; M88-panál; KH/M03-panál: Ls panáá-l; Cp paná-l; Ca páná-l. [NUA: Tak]

2614b. *pan... ‘yucca’: Munro.Cup141 suggests these alternate forms may form another complex set: Cp panáá-l; Ca pánul; Ls panáá-l. [NUA: Tak]

2615. *hunupaC ‘yucca mohavensis’: HH.Cup *hunúúvat / *hənuúvat (depending on whether Cp or Ca has the errant vowel); Fowler83; M88-hu16; KH/M03-hu16: Ls hunúúva-t ‘Mohave Yucca’; Ca hənuúvat ‘yucca’; Cp hunúvat ‘yucca sp’. Jane Hill (p.c.) adds Gb hunuuvat (Herrington noun list). [NUA: Tak]

2616. *hapa ‘yucca’: Fowler83; LP; NT; PYp apa ‘sharp, adj’. [SUA: Tep] Fowler has the forms.
3.2 NUMBERS, PRONOUNS, AND GRAMMATICAL MORPHEMES

ONE; UNO

Mn sîmï' Hp sîkya / sîkya' Eu sei; Op se
NP sîmï'yu Tb čîič Tbr hemé; hemetô-r
TSh sîmï Sr haukp Yq séenu; wêpul
Sh sîmmï' Ca supl'e/supl'i My seenu; wépu'ulai
Cm sîmï Ls supul Wr piré/pié
Kw sîn-i-suuyu Cp súlit/súplewet/súpul Tr biré
Ch suu TO hîmako Cr sai'
SP sî / sêu Nv mako; maddo Wc şevii- / şevi
WMU sîwíis / suwis B.PB: hîmad şeviti 'sbj'; şeime 'obj'
CU sîu-yi-s NT imóko; B: ímádo CN see

parî 'algunos & negative particle'
ST ma'n; B: maad

2618. *sîma' / sîmi' 'one': Sapir; B.Tep87 *hîmado 'one'; BH.Cup *su; M67-507 *se/*seme; L.Num198 *sîmî; HH.Cup *su / *supul; CL.Azt *see/*seem < *sîmayu; L.Son248 *sî; M88-sî9; KH/M03-sî9: Hp sîkya, sîkw (obj); Wc şevii / şeime; Ge şošóvram 'otras'; and most of the above forms. Tak and some WNum show *u instead of *î, perhaps due to bilabial m. Miller lists forms in all branches except Tb. Tak *supul may be from *sîm-pVL, thus, p instead of v because of a cluster. However, the *-pVL form is additional and what explains the *sî vs. *su variation? Note the Tak forms below with *pVL. A final glottal stop or some consonant is apparent in Num and in the gemination of Tbr -to (vs. -ro). [cluster] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tak: SUA: Tep, Opn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

2619. *sînu 'one' (Yq, My; AYq seenu/senu 'one') has been moved and combined as part of *sînu 'another one, different' at 659 under 'different' where it is found in Hp, Num, Trn, and Cah.

2620a. *piLî / *paLî / *puLa 'one, negative': Tr biré and Wr piré/pié. NT parî is worth noting in the fact that Tr biré and NT parî both mean 'one/some' and both also act as a negative particle. Or Wc şevii-; şeviti (sbj) minus the first syllable, that is, -viti, also matches Tr/Wr *pitî. The latter part of Tb ċii-bilo 'by oneself, alone' may also belong. If different prefixes are involved (*su-puLV vs. *wi-puLV), then the *-puL is common to Tak and Cah in Tak (Ca supl'e / supl'i, Ls supul, Cp súplewet / súpul) and in Cah (Yq wépul, My wépul'ulai).
2620b. *suC-puLa / *sum-puLa ‘one, first, other, different’: HH.Cup *su / *supul; KH.NUA; Munro.Cup85 *supú-l ‘one’: Ca supul(em) ‘other(s)’; Ca supul-a ‘different’; Cp supul ‘different, one’; Sr hova(a) ‘different, changed’; Sr hova(t) ‘(an)other; Sr hovaţ ‘(an)other, different one’; ST hup duña ‘become, change into, make’.
2620c. *wa-puL ‘different, separate’: TO gawul ‘different, separate’; PYp gavil ‘different’; Yq wépul; My wépu’ulai. [NUA: Tak, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, Trn]

TWO; DOS

<table>
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<th>Mn</th>
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<th>Pb</th>
<th>Eu</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wahá-i/tu</td>
<td>lóöyóm</td>
<td>wodi(m) (gen. woke; acc. wok)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>HP</td>
<td>woha(yu)</td>
<td>woon/wooh; wooyo ‘both’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2621. *na- ‘twice, double’; M67-514a *na ‘twice, double’; M88-na25; KH/M03-na25; NP naapahi six (pahi three), as well as in most of Numic; Hp naalöyóm ‘four’ vs. Hp lóöyóm ‘two’. See *na-wakay ‘four’ and *na-pakay ‘six’. na- is a plural marker in some Kiowa-Tanoan languages as well. [NUA: Num, Hp]

2622a. *wakay ‘two, after (see note at ‘seven’)’: I.Num267 *waha(h) ‘two’; M88-wa10; KH/M03-wa10: Mn wahá-i/tu; HP waha(yu); TSh; Sh wahattinh; WSh; Cm; Kp wahayu; Ch waha; SP waa; WMU wáyIni; CU wáy-ini; Sr wah/y; /wahas ‘twice’; Gb wahá ‘other, companion’. Ken Hill adds Ktn wah/-wahas ‘twice’. The wáa of Cr wá’apua likely also belongs (see note at *wu-pusani ‘seven’). While others divide them (wa10, wo1), I think the above (Num *wahay) and the below (*wokay) are all related. There are other sets showing Num -h- corresponding to SUA -k- (phonology 2.10), and *a > o/w_ is common. [-h- > o > ' in Cr]

2622b. *wokay: Sapir; VVH103 *wo ‘two’; B.Tep46 *gooka; BH.Cup *geweh; M67-509 *wo / *woa / *woy; L.Son344 *wo; M88-wa1; KH.NUA; KH/M03-wa1: Sr woh; Ls wéh; Ca wih; Cp wih; Gb weheh’; Hp; Pb; Eu wodi(m)/wok (Lionnet 1986); Eu godum, gen: goké; acc: gok (Pennington 1981); Tbr nyohó; Yq woi; My wooyi; Wr woká; Tr okwá. Note also Yq and My wo’olim ‘twins’. [For medial k/h, cf. three, pine, deer: *k > k in Tep, Wr, Tr; *k > h in most of Num, Tak, Tbr; *k > o in Hp, Tb, Cah, SP, CU, and one Eu form; Tbr ny < *w; o/a] [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Tep, Tbr, Opn, Cah, Trn, CrC]

2623. *omV ‘two’: CL.Azt180 *ooma ‘two’: CN oome; Pl uume; Po omom; T ume; Z oome. Some combine this with *wakay; however, due to a differing 2nd C, these are likely a different stem, because *wakay is consistent in 4 of 5 segments with *wakay also, but omV has only initial o in common. [SUA: Azt]

THREE; TRES

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<td>páh / páx</td>
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<tr>
<td>WM</td>
<td>páyIni</td>
<td>váika</td>
<td>waikha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CU</td>
<td>pay-ni</td>
<td>vaik</td>
<td>eem</td>
</tr>
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</table>
2624. *pakay ‘three’: Sapir; VVH1 *pahi three; B.Tep256 *vaika; BH.Cup *pahi; M67-510 *pahi; I.Num132 *pahi; L.Son184 *pahi; M88-pa23; KH.NUA; KH/M03-pa23: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; WSh pahaittïn; Km; Kw pahïy; SP; Cu; Hp; Tbr; Sr; TSh; Sh; Ktn pahï; Ca; Cp; Gb pâhe ‘three’; TO; LT; NT; Eu; WY; Tr; Tbr; Yq; My; Cr; Wc; CN. Note the k syllable in WY, Tr, and Cr, as in the Tepiman forms. Note also Ca pâh / pâx, with an alternate form also suggesting *-k > -x-/-k-. Thus, *pakay is found in all branches, even every language. In nearly the same languages as in *wakay ‘two’, here also *k > k in Tep, WY, Tr, Cr; *k > h in most of Num, Tak; *k > ø in Hp, Tbr, SP, CU, Tbr, Eu. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tbr, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

FOUR; CUATRO

Mn wacikwí-i/tu Hp naalöyöm Eu návoi
NP wacii-gwi’yu Tb naanaau Op nago
TSh wacci(wi) Sr waçah Tbr narikí’-r
Sh wa-cciwih- Ca wiçiw My naïki
Cm haya-rokwe (two-exact) Ls wasá’ Yq náiki
Kw wacu11 Cu wiçiw Tr nawosa / nagó
Ch waciw TO gi’ik Wr náo
SP waciwi- Nv giko; makoba Wc náuka
WMU kohččuwiní / wohččuwiní NT maaková Cr muaakua
CU wacuíwi-ní ST maakov CN naawi

2625. *maCkupa ‘four’: B.Tep140 *maakovai; M67-512 *mako; M88-ma19; KH/M03-ma19: Cr mwáakwa; LP makov / makoba; NT maaková; ST maakov. Ken Hill adds Sr ma’kuvik ‘nine’ which suggests a 2nd V of *u that the others lowered to *o between two low *a’s. Note also in nearly the same languages *ki-maCkupa ‘nine’ at nine. [SUA: Tep, CrC; NUA: Tak]

2626. *na-wakay ‘four (2 x 2, two two’s): CL.Azt68 *naawí, 233 **naawo; L.Son162 *nao, nariki ‘cuatro’; M88-na24; KH/M03-na24: Tr nawosa/nagó; Wr náo; Eu návoi; Tbr narikí’-r; Yq náiki; My naïki. Note the usual severe reductions late in the word: *na-wakay > *naiki (Cah, loss of -w- and assim of V’s), > *nawi (Azt), > *nawka (Wc), > *nawyo (Hp), > nawo / naw (Tb, Wr, Tr, Eu). Note *w > g in Op (Tr perhaps borrowed), but *w > v in Eu. [labials, x, *w, liquids] [NUA: Hp, Tbr; SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

2627. *wattiwi ‘four’: M67-511 *wa ‘four’; I.Num268 *wa(h)cï; KH.NUA; M88-wa11; KH/M03-wa11: Mn waci; NP wacci; TSh wacciwi(tin); Sh wattwiw-in; Kw wa-cuu-yu; SP waciiw-; CU waciiwi-ni; WMU; Sr; Ca; Cp; Gb waçá’. Ken Hill adds Ktn waca ‘four’. WMU kohččuwiní introduces an interesting case of a Num language developing a sound change similar to Tep, with a vowel assimilation: *wa > wo > ko. Other instances of WM Ute showing k < *w exist as well. Sr waçáh and Ls wasá suggest that vowel assimilation also accounts for Ca wiçi, Cp wiçi, and thus perhaps also TO gi’ik, and LP giko. [*-tt- > -c-] [NUA: Num, Tak]

FIVE; CINCO

Mn manigí-i/tu Hp civot Eu márki; Op mariki
NP manigi’yu Tb maahaijiya Tbr mamuní’-r
TSh maniki / manaki Sr mahät Yq mámni
Sh ma-aiikkih- Cm axnamekwánj My manni
ne-ma-kwánj (my-hand-half)
Cm mo’o-be’ (hand-measure) Ls maháár Wr mariki
Kw manigi(yu) Cp siiku’um (Sp) Tr mari
Ch manig TO hitasp Cr ansíbi / ansí’
SP maniki Nv utaspo Wc --
CU ma-nígi-ini NT taíma CN maakwiil-li
WMU manígiIní ST hiš-ćamaam čiko/čikwa (in compounds)

2628a. *manniki ‘five’: I.Num92 *manniki; L.Son128 *mamuni, *mari; M88-ma15; KH.NUA; KH/M03-ma15: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Kw; SP; CU; Yq; My; WY; Tr; Eu; Op. Add WM Ute manígiyini / manígiylni. Miller notes that
beyond initial *ma… ‘hand’, these are not all cognate; so let’s separate them (a, b, c, d). This, as well as other sets, suggests that in some cases PUA *n was denasalized to a liquid, rather than it always being the case that PUA liquids were nasalized in NUA; the key data are the n in three SUA languages (Tbr, Yq, and My) as well as NUA, while r appears in Tr, Wr, Eu, and Op.

[NUA: Num; SUA: Opn, Tbr, Cah, Trn]

2628b. *maha ‘five’: Sr, Ls, Tb. Hill adds Gb mahár and Ktn mahač. [NUA: Tak, Tb]

2628c. *na-ma-kwanaj ‘five (my-hands-half)’: Ca; Cp. [NUA: Tak]


2629. *cipo ‘five’: Hp civot and the -*s(i)p(o) in TO and -spo in Nv utaspo point to *cipo / *cipu. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep]

NB, for CN čiko / čikwa (in compounds), see ‘twin’.

SIX; SEIS

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<tr>
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<td>ST</td>
<td>hiś-umman</td>
<td>CL.Azt148</td>
<td>čikwaseem</td>
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2630. *na-pakay ‘six’ (2x3, two three's): I.Num104 *naa(h)pahi; M88-na23; KH/M03-na23: Mn; NP; TSh; Sh; Cm; Kw; SP; Hp; Tb. WM Ute and CU can also be added. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tb]

2631. *pa-pakay ‘six, Takic reduplication of three’: KH.NUA; Sr, Ls, and Gb paváhe. [NUA: Tak]

2632. *pusani ‘six’: L.Son222 *pusani ‘seis’; M88-pu16; KH/M03-pu16: Eu; Wr; Tr; My; Tbr. [SUA: Tn, Opn, Cah, Tn]

2633. *cikwa-siím ‘six (lit: 5 + 1) CL.Azt148 *čikwaseem ‘six’; M88-cíl0; KH/M03cíl0: Po čukose; CN čikwasee, čikwaseem- in compounds before a V; Pl čikwasin; T čikwase; Z čikwaseen. [SUA: Azt]

SEVEN; SIETE

2634. *ta(kkwa)cí(k)wi ‘seven’: I.Num200 *ta(h)cíwiw seven; M88-ta31; KH/M03-ta31: Mn tacíwí-i/tu (Miller has Mn taa’ sími); NP addakkwaciggwí’yu; TSh taacciwi; Sh taa-ccuh-(íñ); Cm taacíwií. This stem appears in WNum and CNum, but not SNum. The NP form may suggest the loss of a syllable: *takwacíwi, which then reduced to something similar to Iannucci’s reconstruction, which works well for the rest of the Numic forms. Another complication is that Mn, TSh, and Sh show intervocalic -w- while NP and Cm show -kw-. [w/kw labials; extra syllable in NP; ‘s’ > ‘c’] [NUA: WNum, CNum]

2635. *wo-pusani ‘seven’: Eu seniovusání; Op se-ni bassani; Tbr nyo-vosaní-r; My woibünsani; Yq wóbünsani / wovusani. This etymon appears only in TrC. *pusani means ’six’ and ’wo’ is probably related to ’two’; yet ’two-six’
should be 8 or 12, but hardly seven by either multiplying or adding. However, 'after' as an underlying meaning for both this etymon and 'two' fits all semantic dimensions; that is, seven is after six. Compare Latin sekw- in Spanish seguir (after) and segundo 'second'. Because liquids become glottal stop in Cr, then *puLa 'one' > -pua in Cr wá’apua 'two' and wa’a may mean 'after' there as well: *wa’a-pua ‘after-one’. [SUA: Opn, Cah, Tbr]

2636. *waca’kVp... 'seven': KH.NUA: Sr wačkovik 'seven'; Gb wač‘akavya’am 'seven'; Ktn kwackaveyki. [NUA: Tak]

2637. *nomiNci ‘seven’: Kw no’mi zi / nomi’zi; Tb(V) nomndzin; Tb(M) no’modzin / nom’dzin. In light of the geographic proximity of Kw and Tb, contact influences may underlie this pair. [glottal hop] [NUA: Tb, Num]


2639. *(iC)kicao ‘seven’: Wr ihkicáo; Tr kicáo. [SUA: Trn]

NB, we might wonder whether Hp carče ‘seven’ ties into either Num *taciwi or TrC -cao?

EIGHT; OCHO

2640. *wo-sími / *wo-síwi ‘eight’: I.Num271 *woosímih / *woosíwiw ‘eight’; M88-wo14 ‘eight’: Mn woossími; TSh woosíwiw; Sh woo-síwiw-. [NUA: Num]

2641. *waka-wattiwi ‘eight, two-fours’: NP woggwacíggwai (Yer); SP wa’ňwaššíwii-; CU wa-wócúwi-ini; Sr waahwć. Let’s add WM Ute waá kohčúwiini / waó kohčúwinl / waókčúwiini we’kočuwini. These likely have the element ‘two’ or possibly a simple reduplication of initial syllable of ‘four’ in some? SP’s velar nasal ŋ at the morpheme boundary is interesting, and *-tt > -c- > -s- in a longer word. [NUA: Num, Tak]

2642. *wo-sa-na-wakay ‘eight, two-times-four’: Yq wohnáiki, My wosnáiki; Eu gos návoi, Wr wosánąo, Tr osá navó. [SUA: Trn, Cah, Opn]

2643. *namiwattikwi: NP namiwacíkwí’yu; Cm namewacíkwití. [NUA: Num]

2644. *na-na-wattV ‘eight, two fours’: Kw nanawacuur; Hp nanalt; Ch naanci. [t > c] [NUA: Hp, Num]

2645. *(nama)kwana(ŋax)-pah ‘eight, five-three’: Ca kwan-páh; Cp nemákwanajax páh. Note that Cupan *nama-kwanaŋ ‘five (my-hands-half)’ adds pah ‘three’; and note that CN čikw-eii ‘eight’ uses the same notion ‘five-three’ though a different morpheme for ‘five’. [NUA: Tak]

2646. *wi-wiko ‘eight’: TO gigi’ik; Nv gigikó. [SUA: Tep]

NB, the Numic languages furthest out in all three Num branches show some affinity to *waka-wattiwi while most of those closer to the Southern California NUA homeland later changed to or deteriorated to *wo-siwi, which could possibly be a lenition of *wocíwi < *wa(ka)-wattiwi. So *cíkwi and *síwiw from above may be related, since the slipperiness between intervocalic *c > s and *w/*kw, especially when late in a word, is elsewhere evident in UA.

NINE; NUEVE

2647. *suwatokama’sí(N)wi ‘nine’: Kw suukumíšu; SP šuwárokoma’síŋwi-yu; CU suwárogómasuí-ini; WMU suwarógomsu(wíini). Note the reductions in Kw and WMU. [NUA: SNum]

2648. *pV(c/s)t ‘nine’: Hp pevt; Yq bátani / vatani; My bátani; NT tuvuštáma; Nv tumbustamama; Eu vesmákoi. [NUA: Hp; SUA: Tep, Cah, Opn]

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2649. *ki-maC-kopi ‘nine, another (is) ten’: Wr kimakói; Tr kimakoi; Op kimakoi (Shaul 1990, 569). *ma’-kopi ‘ten’ appears compounded in other terms for ‘nine’: Sr ma’kovik ‘nine’; Eu vesmáko ‘nine’; perhaps TO humuk ‘nine’. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

2650. *kwaniki ‘nine’: Mn kwanigi-i/itu; TSh waniki / waniki. Could this tie to Ca kwa ‘five’ for numbers 5-9?

TEN; DIEZ
2651. *maC-kopi ‘ten’: L.Son135 *makoi ‘ten’: M88-ma16; KH/M03-ma16: Op makoi; Eu mákoi; Wr makói; Tr makoy. TrC *makoi (Op, Eu, Wr, Tr) may be a reduction of *ma-kopai (> *mako(w)ai > *makoai > *makoi).

At ‘twenty’ (below), we see that the term kopai means something similar to ‘one full count’ (fingers and toes) of a person. So *ma-kopai may mean approximately the ‘hand’s full count’, that is, ten. That kind of reduction for the latter stem in UA compounding is common. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

2652. *pïNku ‘dime, bit’: M88-pï17; KH/M03-pï17: Sr pïnk ‘dime’; Eu vesmákoi ‘nine’; perhaps TO humuk ‘nine’. [SUA: Trn, Opn]

3.3 PRONOUNS AND GRAMMATICAL MORPHEMES
2658. *nï ‘I, me, my’: Sapir; B.Tep 295 *á:nïi/á:nï; BH.Cup *na; I.Num 118 *nï; CL.Azt 247 *nï; M88-pr1; KH/M06-pr1: WSh ní (acc. níi); TSh ní (acc. níia); Hp ní’ (acc. níy); Sr ní’ (acc. níi); Ktn ní’ (acc. níy); Ca ne’; Cp na’ (acc. nai); Cs no: (acc. ney); Gb nóma’; TO aáni’(i); NT aáni; ST aáni’; Na ani; Eu nee (pospuesto ne, gen. no, acc. neité); Tr níhé (Ht); My ne (clítico) (acc. ne); We né; CN ne’/ne’wa(tl), acc v pref: neec; Pl naha. [SUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, CrC, Azt]

2659a. *’ï ‘you sg’ (sometimes *’ïm(ï) ‘you pl’ > ‘you sg’ as happened with English ‘you’ (pl) replacing ‘thou’ (sg)): Sapir; BH.Cup *’á; I.Num 22 *ih; M88-pr4; KH/M06-pr4: Mn i; NP i; TSh; Kw imi; CU imü; Hp im (acc. iîg; dl./pl. ìma, acc. ìmî); Sr imü (pl. ìm, acc.sg/pl.îmî); Ca ét’e (pl ‘em); Cp a’o ‘sg (pl îmi/am/a’m’am); Cs om; Gb Ô; Tb imbi; Yq -a’e (pl -a’em); My -e (pl ‘em); Tr eme/muhé; Cr mú’ee. Sapir (1930, 183) says, “the (SP) ‘ of the 2nd sg is entirely peculiar.”

2659b. *’im(i) ‘you pl’: Sapir; Kaufman 1981 *’imMV ‘ye’: Ca, Cp, Yq, and My (see above) show *’im in contrast to *’i ‘you sg’. Add CN am– ’you(r) pl’. In addition to those, Hp does not show the distinction ’i (sg) vs. ’im (pl) in its independent pronouns, but does in its possessive pronouns and nominalal verbs: Hp ’i- ‘your, sg’ vs. Hp ’im- ‘your, pl’. Op emo/eme ‘you, sg and pl’ (Shaul 1990, 568).
2660a. *(n)apí ‘you sg’: B.Tep 296a *(á:pi’i; M88-pr2; KH/M06-pr2: TO aapi(‘i); NT aápi; ST aapi’; Nv aapi; Eu nap ‘tú’, gen: amo, acc: eme; Eu -pi ‘2nd person sg suffix’; Wc á (with loss of initial p); Cr -pe (Vazquez Soto 1994, 150); Tb(H) pi ‘you, sg subj’.

2660b. *apimV ‘you, pl’: B.Tep 296b *(api’imï; KH/M06-pr10: TO aapim; NT aapímu; ST aapib.

2661. *ti / *tiwá ‘you sg’: KH/M06-pr2: CN te’ / te’wa(tl) / tehwa(tl); Pl taha. Add Sr t ‘you sg’ (Ken Hill, Serrano Sketch, 2001).  

2662. *(i)tammu ‘we’: B.Tep 297 *'aatï’i; BH.Cup *c…m; I.Num 205 *ta(h)-mV; M88-pr5; KH/M06-pr5: Mn taq’äa ; NP tammi; Com tamí; TSh tamáí; Kw tamí; CU tamí; Hp itam (acc -iy); Sr ačam/ičam; Ktn icam; Ca čemëm; Cp čemë; Ls čáá’um, čáá’s,. čá’a, čam; Gb eyómoma; TO aacim; NT aatí-; ST aatii’; Eu tamide; Tb ité; Tr tamu(he); Wr remé; My itapo; Yq itepo, te, itom; Wc tâ:me; CN te’waan; Pl tehemet.  The Numic languages definitely suggest a geminated m.  The final vowel, in light of Numic ï (< *u often), Tr tamu, Yq ítom (< *itomo <*itammi likely), Ls čáá’um and Gb eyómoma (perhaps both also showing assimilation to a now lost final *-u), it seems *-u may well have been the final vowel.  And in which language did I see tammo?

2665. *hiwá ‘that one’: B.Tep084 *hígái ‘that one’; KH/M06-dm4: TO híga’i/híg’ai/hígi/hígi’i/híg; NT ígái; ST gai’.  It seems Op can be added here.  

2666. *pu ‘he, she, it, 3rd sg’: Ls -pu-; Wc pí-; My -po is a peculiar element suffixed to the My pronouns with no apparent meaning other than adding emphasis to the My pronouns (Collard and Collard 1984, 214).  Compare the My enclitic nom pronouns (first column) and emphatic pronouns (second column):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative pronouns</th>
<th>(Mayo) Emphatic pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You, sg</td>
<td>-‘e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He/she/3rd sg</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You pl</td>
<td>-‘em</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>-mm/-em/-m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ls pu ‘it/he’ in copula structure: yixélvu-l ‘intelligent, alert’.  
Cr pu ‘3rd person sg subject particle’ (Casad 1984, 297).  
Wc pí ‘it/he’: e.g., Wc šasúni ‘verdad’ vs. Wc pišasúni ‘es la verdad’  
Wr pú ‘that’  
Tr mapu ‘relative pronoun, which, what’ (< *ma-pu).  
In Tr the -pu element is actually isolated to mean 3rd person pronouns:  
Tr ke-ne ‘my’ (-ne = I)  
Tr ke-mu ‘your, sg’ (-nu = you, sg)  
Tr ke-tumu ‘your, pl’ (-tumu = you, pl)  
Tr ke-pu ‘his, her, their’; thus, -pu is isolated as a 3rd person pronoun (Brambila 1953, 33)  
Kw pu-pí- ‘relative pronoun’ (Zigmund et al,127).  
SP pí- ‘whom, which, what, relative pronoun’ (í < *u often).  
Tbr pu ‘non-first person pronoun’ [SUA: Trn, Cah, Tbr, CrC; NUA: Tak, Num]  

2666a. *himV ‘they’: Dakin 1982-312 *yaha-(wa)-mï-(t) ‘ellos’; M88-pr8; KH/M06-pr8: NP ìmì; Kw imì; CU umìs; Pl yehemet.  

2666b. *hiwama ‘they’: B.Tep 085 *hígáma: TO hígam; NT ígáa.  [SUA: Tep, Azt]
2667a. *i- ‘this’: VVH 116 *i ‘this’; B.Tep306 *idá/*idi ‘this’; BH.Cup *i(ə) ‘this’; HH.Cup *ivi- ‘this (obj. case)’; KH/M06-dm1: Mn ihu/ekahuna; NP isu; Wsh iht (acc. ikka, pl. itiìn) ‘this right here’; Cm isi; Kw ina; Ch ci(i) (pl. m(i)) (P); CU in, ic ‘this, these’; Hp i (acc. it, pl. ima); Sr ivi (acc. ivi(ə), pl. iim); ip ‘here’; Ca i(i) (acc. ivi); Cp i(i) (acc. ivi-, iviŋx); Ls ivi; ivá ‘here’; Tb ih ‘here’; TO iia’a ‘here’; NT idîi; ST dîi; My i;i; Wc óóva ‘aqui (limitado)’; CN iin (proximal particle) ‘this, these’; Pl ini.

2667b. *ya ‘this, here’: NP yaa ‘here’; Hp yâa ‘this, here’.

[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp, Tb; SUA: Tep, Cah, CrC, Azt]

2668. *hu ‘that’: I.Num018 *u(sí(N)) ‘that’; KH/M06-dm2: NP usu; Cm us ‘that, that one (removed, definite)’; CU u/uru ‘that, those, it’; Tb undugal ‘that, that one’; My hu; Pl uni (vowel is wrong, notes Hill). Add Op hu (Ju in Spanish orthography) ‘that one’ (Shaul 2007); and Tr hu/u ‘is’ is thought to be a participle of ni-ma ‘be’ but its juxtaposition to nouns and between nouns had it reinterpreted from ‘that (is) a dog’ to ‘(it) is a dog’ or from ‘John that(‘s) the man’ to ‘John (that) is the man’. Might this tie to *hïwa above?

[NUA: Num, Ob; SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn]

2669. *pa / *pí ‘that, 3rd person pronoun’: BH.Cup *pá ‘that’; KH/M06-dm3: NP pí ‘him, her, it’; Cm pí ‘him, her, it’; Hp pam (acc. pí; pl. píma, acc. pímiy) ‘that, he, she, it’; Hp pan ‘like that, that way’; Sr pat; pí- ‘3P prefix on postpositions’ (e.g., píhpa ‘on him/her/it’; Sr pímí ‘with him/her/it’); píí/-píí/-púu- ‘their’ (possessive prefix); pana ‘like that, that way’; Ca pe ‘the, that’; Cp pí ‘he, she, it (pointing to s.th. remote from the speaker)’; Ls píó ‘acc. píy, pl. pumó’ ‘that; he, she, it’; Gb paráma (acc. pára, pl. pámó) ‘aquél’. Add We p- ‘it, obj, e.g., paín ‘lo dice’ vs. (h)áine ‘dice’. [NUA: Tak, Hp; SUA: Opn, Cah, Trn]

2670a. *ma ‘that’: Sapir: Cora ma / man ‘here, dort’; SP ma- ‘that (visible)’. To Sapir, add Sr ama (acc. amai; pl. a:m) ‘that one, he, she, it’ (Sr a- ‘third person sg. pronominal prefix’) and Ktn ‘ama ‘that (distal)’.

2670b. *mi ‘that, this’: KH/M06-dm5: Hp mi (acc. mit; pl. mima, acc. mímí) ‘that (far from speaker and hearer)’; Gb mené ‘this’; pl. memo ‘these’; Tr(H) mi ‘aquel, aquella’; miká ‘lejos’ (Ht); Cr mímí ‘ese’.

[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Trn, CrC]

2671. *a- ‘that’: KH/M06-dm6: Hp a-/áá- (pl. aamá) ‘third person pronominal prefix’; Sr ama (acc. amai; pl. a:m) ‘that one, he, she, it’; Sr a- ‘third person sg. pronominal prefix’; Ktn ‘ama ‘that (distal). It seems that this is in Opatia also? [NUA: Hp, Tak]


2673. *-ima (> -im, -m, -mi) ‘plural suffix’: Sapir; Langacker, 1977, 80 (*-mi); KH/M06-ns5: Hp -m/-mi- ‘nonsingular suffix’; Sr -m/-mí-; Ktn -m; Ca -m; Cp -m; Ls -m; Gb -m; CN -me ‘absolute plural suffix’; -tin ‘absolutive plural suffix’ (with ns-01); CN -waan ‘possessed plural suffix’. Langacker (1977, 80) reconstructs the UA plural suffix as *-mi, by taking an average of the more conservative forms, many of which indeed are -mi; however, several forms suggest *-ima. Consider Cp -im; Ca -em; Yq, My, and AYq -im (after C), -m (after V); Ls -u(m); Hp -m; Sr -m; Tbr -m; Kw -mi; Cr -ma; Wc -ma; Wr -ma (pl verb suffix). And Dakin (1979) reconstructs an earlier *-ma for CN -mi. Add Op -me (Shaul 2003, 27). Tep languages show pl -m only on pronouns. Though most UA languages begin the pl suffix with -m, five languages (Cp, Ca, Yq, My, AYq) show a high front vowel (i/e) before the m. Many show i or no vowel after the m; however, at least three show -ma, and because i behaves like the UA schwa, a change from final *a > i is natural in an unaccented position. Similarly, the loss of the first vowel *i is also expectable, because most UA words end with a vowel, which creates an environment of two vowels, the second usually giving way to the first. For example, if a noun ends in -a, then: *-a- + -ima > -amí. Nevertheless, in spite of those two processes, the first vowel is apparent in five languages and the last vowel is apparent in at least three, making a reconstruction of *-ima quite viable, to which Miller agreed by p.c. prior to his untimely death that the case for *-ima is reasonable. In Tep this pl suffix is only found on pronouns: 405
e.g., UP hígam ‘those’ vs. híg ‘that’; and UP iidam ‘these’ vs. iida ‘this’; Tep api ‘you, sg’ vs. apim ‘you, pl’.

[NUA: Num, Tak, Hp; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

2674. *-tì ‘plural suffix’: KH/M06-ns6: Hp -/-tì- ‘dual/plural suffix’; CN -tin ‘absolutive plural suffix’ (with ns-05). To these we can add the CrC pl suffix *-te and Op -te ‘pl possessive suffix’ (Shaull 1990); Op -t ‘plural verb ending’ (Shaull 2003, 27). [NUA: Hp; SUA: Opn, CrC, Azt]

2675. *na- ‘reciprocal/reflexive/passive prefix’: KH/M06-vp1: Hp naa- ‘reflexive prefix on verbs’;
TSh na- ‘passive prefix on verbs’ (Dayley 1989, 50); Sh na- ‘passive/reciprocal prefix on verbs’ (Crapo 1976, 12, 19-20); Cm na- ‘passive/reflexive/plural prefix on verbs’ (Charney 1993, 103-4, 126); Ch na- ‘reciprocal/reflexive/reciprocal prefix’ (Press 1979, 49); SP na- ‘reciprocal/reciprocal prefix’; CU na- ‘reciprocal prefix on verbs’ (Givon 1980, 159-60); Eu na- ‘reciprocal prefix on verbs’ (Lionnet 1986, 29); Tr na- ‘reciprocal prefix on verbs’; WTr na- ‘reciprocal verbal prefix’ (Burgess 1984, 33); CN ne- ‘passive prefix’ (Sullivan 1988, 75); Cr nya- ‘refl prefix’ (Casad 1984, 160). [NUA: Num, Hp; SUA: Trn, Opn, CrC, Azt]

2676. *mo- ‘reflexive pronoun’: Langacker 1976, 50; Langacker 1977a, 47 *mo- ‘reflexive pronoun for 3rd and 2nd person pl’: CN mo-; Yq mo-; Tb ’omo(h)i(x); Tepecano m-; Pochutla mo-. [SUA: Cah, Azt]

2677. *-wa / *-i-wa ‘passive’: Langacker 1976b, 143, 148-50; *-wa; Heath 1998: Hp -iwa ‘passive suffix’ also appears as -i/\-l/-w/\i/-wa (Hill 1998, 881); Tb -i-wa ‘passive and impersonal suffix’ (Voegelin 1935, 99-100; Langacker 1977a, 47); CN -i-wa ‘passive suffix’ some verbs that end in -i take -wa (Sullivan 1988, 74); CN -o ‘passive suffix’ also similar to -wa (Sullivan 1988, 74); My -wa ‘passive suffix’ (Collard and Collard 1984, 209); Wr -wa ‘passive suffix’ (Miller 1996, 143); Tr -wa / riwa ‘passive suffixes’ (Brambila 1953, 90); Eu -wa/u ‘passive suffix’ (Lionnet 1986, 37); Tbr -wa / -iwa ‘vos passiva-impersonal’ (Lionnet 1978, 36); Yq -wa ‘passive suffix’ (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 283); Cr -(i)wa (Langacker 1976b, 143); We -wa (Langacker 1976b, 143). The i- (preceding -wa) in Hp, Tbr, Azt is likely the pervasive UA stative/passive -i suffix at 2703.

[NUA: Hp, Tb; SUA: Trn, Opn, Cah, Tbr, CrC, Azt]

2678. *-ta ‘non possessed/absolutive suffix’: Whorf1937b; BH.Cup* -ta/*-la/* -ca ‘absolutive suffix’;
Miller1983,120; KH/M06-ns1: TSh -tta ‘accusative’; Sh -tta (obj form); Tb -l, -t; Hp -t(a-) ‘non-possessed accusative singular’; Sr -t(a)-/t(a)-/t(a)-/t(a-) ‘singular’; -t(a- ) ‘non-possessed’; Ca -t/-l/-l/-s/-; Cp -t/-l/-l/-; Ls -t(a- )/-l(a)-/-s/-; Gb -t/-l/-y; My -ta ‘accusative’; Op -ta ‘accusative for class I verbs in Op (Shaull 1990, 563); TO -t, -č; CN -t/-l/-l < PUA *-ta. [NUA: Num, Hp, Tk; SUA: Tep, Trn, Opn, Tbr, Cah, Azt]

2679a. *-pi ‘non-possessed/absolutive suffix (in Num)’: SP -pi (Sapir 1930, 114); various fossilized morphemes in Tb and Tak potentially may or may not tie in also. One must wonder if the phonologically identical perfective participle, but as Sapir separates them, we will presently.

2679b. *-pi ‘perfective participle’: Langacker 1977a, 62 *-pi ‘active participle’; Num *-pi; Langacker (1977a,62) proposes proto-Cupan *-vo ‘aspectual suffix on subordinate verbs’ and Jane Hill (2005, 116) identifies Cp aspectual suffix -ve ‘realis, base is past tense inflected verb’; SP -ppi ‘past, former, past participle (Sapir 1930, 123, 128); NP -pi ‘perfective’ (Thornes 2003, 401-2); WSh -ppi ‘past participial suffix’ (Crum and Dayley 1993, 63); Kw -pi ‘perfective participle’ (Zigmond at al 1991, 95-6). [NUA: Num, Tb, Tak]

2680. *-pi ‘non-possessed/absolutive suffix’: NP -pi ‘noun class marker’ (Thornes 2003, 105-8); Kw -pi / -bi / -vi ‘absolutive suffix, always takes -ta as the accusative suffix’ (Zigmond at al 1991, 40);. SP -pi ‘absolutive suffix implying indefiniteness or non-specification of possessor’ (Sapir 1930, 113); Num *-pi is pervasive, but also occasionally fossilized in Tb and Tak; whether fossilized or borrowed in Hp is not clear. [NUA: Num]

2681. *mik- ‘possession’: BH.Cup *mix- ‘possession’ (cp. ma-02); KH/M06-ns2: Cp -mixan;
Ca -mexan; Ls -miix ‘property, thing possessed (poss. only)’; Ls mi/mix- ‘to be’. [NUA: Tak]

2682. *yu ‘nominative suffix’: KH/M06-ns7: Kw -yu (frozen form?): su:yu ‘one’; SP -yu- (Sapir p. 264); Hp -y/-yo/-y̕-/y̕- : wiy ‘old (nom.)’; wiy:yoq ‘big, large’; lö:yö/ lö:yöm ‘two’;

2683. *-a ‘accusative suffix’: Langacker (1977a, 82-3) considers the accusative vowel *-a to have been the regular accusative suffix in PUA and he mentions it still being productive in Tb, SNum, and Sh. In fact, he considers the *-ta (< *-t-a) to be *-t- fused with this vowel as a reanalyzed absolutive-accusative suffix, being absolutive in some languages, accusative in others. He then cites examples that include the above branches and Yq -ta. For other examples, note that in Eu the nominative noun is suffixed by -te for ‘genitive’ and -ta for ‘accusative’; and My -ta ‘accusative’; Op -ta ‘accusative for class I verbs in Op’ (Shaull 1990, 563) are mentioned above; Kw -a ‘accusative’ (Zigmund at al 1991, 41). [NUA: Tb, Num; SUA: Cahu, Opn]

2684. *-ci / *-CV ‘accusative suffix’: Langacker 1977a, 82-3; HK/M06-ns8; Hill notes Hp -y/-yī-; Sr -l/-lī-; Ktn -y; CN -c/-c-: neeč- ‘me’; teec- ‘us’; CN mic- ‘you (sg. acc.)’; ameeč- ‘you (pl. acc.).’ Langacker (1977, 82-3) sees the NUA accusative suffix resembling *-i, *-y(i), *-y apparent in Tb, Hp, and Tak, then Hill, considering the SUA *-c>- -y-, includes CN -c/-c- suffixes as well. [NUA: Hp, Tb, Tak; SUA: Azt]

2685. *-ku / *kw ‘accusative suffix’: HK/M06-ns9: SP -ku- (Sapir p. 264); Hp -kw/-ko-/-q(ö-): wīkw ‘old (acc.)’; wīkkoq ‘big, large (acc.)’; lōōq/lōōqım ‘two (acc)’; TO -k (frozen form): waik ‘three’; Eu -k: wéji (gen. ~ke, acc. wek) ‘grande’; CN -k/-ki ‘adjectival suffix’: kostik ‘yellow’; waakki ‘dry’. [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Tepop, Azt]


2688. *-na / *-ina ‘causative suffix’: HK/M06-vs2: WSh -na: kahninai ‘build a house’; Hp -ina/-in/-na; Sr -in(ə). This may be different than *’ani/*’kani ‘do, make’. Cf. separate Hp forms. [NUA: Num, Hp]

2689. *-tu’a (Hill) ‘causative suffix’: HK/M06-vs1: Sr -tu’a(ə) / -cu(ə) / -ch(ə) : ki:ch’ ‘to build a house’; TO -tu: ki:t ‘to build a house’; CN -tia: kaltia ‘to build a house’. Add SP -ru / -tuu / -ntu ‘make’ (Sapir 1930, 134). In light of SP -ru′in / -tu′iu / -ntu′i ‘become, turn into’ (Sapir 1930, 136) being cognate with *tu’ ‘become’ at ‘old’. [NUA: Tak, Num; SUA: Tep, Azt]

2690. *-ta ‘cause, make, do, derive verb from noun’: Langacker (1977, 45) cites *-ta ‘make’ with examples from Tepecano and Cr -ta ‘make’ (Casad 1984, 158). Note also Hp -ta (pl. -tota): ki:ta ‘to build a house’; Eu vikat ‘knife’ and Eu vik-ta ‘a knife’; Tr -ta ‘do s.th. with the noun’ as in Tr o’paca-ta ‘clothes/shirt-put on, i.e., do clothes’; Wr -ta ‘hacer’ (Miller 1996, 95); Yq bwalko ‘blando’ and Yq bwalko-te ‘ablandar’; NT voí, voogadî (poss’d) ‘road’ and NT voogitai ‘hacer camino’; NT úupasai ‘el adobe’ and NT úupastai ‘hacer adobe’. [NUA: Hp, Tak; SUA: Tep, Trn, Cahu, Opn, CrC, Azt]

2691. *ŋu(N) ‘momentaneous verbal suffix’: SP ŋuN ‘momentaneous’ (Sapir 1930, 152); Kw -n /-nī / -nu ‘momentous suffix’ (Zigmund et al, 1991, 96); Ch ŋu ‘momentous suffix’ (Press 1979, 67); TSh -nuh ‘simultative completive’ (Dayleck 1989b, 61); WMU -ŋu; NP -kuh ‘inceptive’ might be included as the Num forms sometimes are used inceptively (Sapir 1930, 152); perhaps Ca -ŋi- unique or repeated onset of action’ (Seiler 1977, 233) since Ca i < *o, perhaps *u > *o > i. [NUA: Num, Takh]

2692. *(n)țī ‘habitual agentive suffix’: SP -rī / -țī / -nți ‘present active participle’ (Sapir 1930, 129-30); WMU -rī / -lı / -ṇtī ‘one who (usually habitually) does (verb)’; WSh -țī(n) ‘habitual, customary aspect suffix (Crund and Dayleck 1993, 90-91); Cm -țī(n) ‘imperfective participle indicating the person or thing which performs an action or
possesses a quality’ (Robinson and Armagost 1990, 276); Ch -t(i) ‘active participle’; NP -dî ‘agent nominalizer’ (Thornes 2003, 117-120). [NUA: Num]

2693. *-ka ‘perfect, past’: Sapir *kai; SP -qqai, -qq; CN *-ka (Dakin 1982); Num *-ka; Yq -k / -ka ‘perfective’ (Dedrick and Casad 1999, 310-12); My -ka ‘pretérito’. This is found in many more and might relate to *-ka ‘have, possessive suffix’; English ‘have’ serves both perfect and possession. [SUA: Cah]


2695. *mi(L)a ‘future suffix’: Miller 1996, 133: ST -mîra ‘go to (do s.th.), suffix of purpose, sg’ (Willett & Willett 2005, 289); Tr -mîa / -ma ‘future suffix’; Wr -ma (Miller 1996, 133); Ktn -mat ‘non-proximal future’ (Anderton 1988, 96); perhaps Sr -ma ‘may, might’ (Hill 2001, 8) perhaps a ‘future’ that became a ‘maybe’. Of course, this may well tie to *miLi ‘run’ though some languages yield differing forms for the two. [SUA: Trn, Tep; NUA: Tak]

2696. *-ca ‘frequentative transitive suffix’: Sapir: CN -ca ‘frequentative transitive suffix’; SP -ca ‘frequentative transitive suffix’ (pl obj); also Sapir 1930, 143; Tr -ca ‘type of causative suffix’; at least fossilized in NT also, as both Tr and NT show *supa-ca at ‘adobe’. [NUA: Num; SUA: Azt, Tep, Trn]

2697. *wa- ‘perfect or past prefix’: CN oo-/o- ‘perfect marker’ (Sullivan, 54); Cr wa- ‘completive prefix’ (Casad 1984; Vazquez Soto 1994, 154). Sapir (1914, 479) observes that PUA *w appears in CN before all vowels except o, before which *wo > o, so *wa > wo > oo- in Azt. [SUA: CrC, Azt]

2698. *i / *-y(V) ‘present’: Ch -yì (Press 1979, 64, 71); WMU -y / -i ‘present tense verb suffix’; SP -i; CU -i; Wr -i (Miller 1996, 140). [NUA: Num; SUA: Trn]

2699. *ti / *-ti ‘stative or resultative suffix, adjective suffix’: CU -ti ‘a suffix to derive adjectives from verbs’ (Givon 1980, 30-31); Hp -ti ‘realized suffix, verb is realized (Ken Hill 1998, 879); WTr -ri/-li ‘stative / passive / participial suffix’; My -ri ‘past participle’: e.g. My yâa-ri ‘is done’ (Collard and Collard 1984, 208) or Cah *yara ‘do’; Cah *yara-ri ‘done’; Cm -ti ‘stative suffix with adjectives’ (Charney 1993, 146, 198, 201); SP -tti ‘stative’ (Sapir 1930, 146); Wr -wari ‘stative suffix’ (Miller 1996, 143) probably < *-wa-; Tr -rati ‘stative suffix of past tense’ (Hilton 1993, 138) -ti portion compounded with s.th. else. CN -ti- ‘derives adj’s from verbs’ (Sullivan 1988, 145). [NUA: Hp, Num; SUA: Cah, Trn, Azt]

2700. kamî ‘participle suffix on verbs, person who does, is’: Tr -(k)ame; ST -kam ‘nativo de, indica que tiene cierta caracteristicas’; TO -kam ‘one who has done or will do, one characterized by’. It may be a compound (as specified by Saxton and others), but it appears in several SUA languages. [SUA: Trn, Tep]

2701. *numpî < *CnuN-pî ‘instrumental suffix, using, with it’: WSh nompî (Crum and Dayley 1993, 63); NP -nu/-no (Thornes 2003, 123-4); SP -nîmpi / -nîmîp < *niN-pî ‘instrumental suffix, compound of niN ‘usitative’ + -pî ‘passive participial’ says Sapir (Sapir 1930, 124); Ch -numpî ‘instrument’; WMU *-nîppî ‘forms nouns with which one does s.th.’ (Stubbs 2011). [NUA: WNum, CNNum, SNum]

2702. *-i / *-ya ‘person from’: Langacker 1977, 45 *-ya ‘person from’: Langacker lists Tr -i and Ls -ya-. [NUA: Ls; SUA: Trn]

2703. *-a/-i ‘vowel alternation on the end of verbs such that *-a ‘transitive, active’ and *-i ‘intransitive, passive, stative’: Sapir 1930, 73, 143; Whorf 1935; Langacker 1977, 132; Dakin 1982: Cr -i ‘stative suffix’ (Casad 1984, 159); We ca- ‘romper’; We sani ‘roto’; Yq -i ‘stative suffix’ (Estrada Fernández et al 2004, 399); Wr has transitive verbs ending in -a with corresponding intransitive verbs ending in -i (Miller 1996, 130): Wr ço’a ‘put out fire’; Wr ço’i ‘be no fire’; Wr wel ‘put upright/standing’; Wr weri ‘be upright/standing’; Wr mo’a ‘put pl obj’s inside’; Wr mo’i ‘enter, pl subj’s’;

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Wr sa’wa ‘cure s.o., alleviate s.th.’; Wr sa’wi ‘be alleviated, go away’;
Tr also has such pairs of verbs (Hilton 1993, 139):
Tr mana ‘put, place, set’; Tr mani ‘be (in/at a place), exist’;
Tr bi’wá ‘clean it’; Tr bi’wi ‘be(clean) clean’;
CN also has such pairs of verbs (Sullivan 1988, 171):
CN tla-tema ‘fill, place s.th.’; CN temi ‘be full, be lying down’;
CN tla-kotona ‘break s.th.’; CN kotoni ‘be broken’;
CN tla-mana ‘put s.th. on the floor’; CN mani ‘be stretched out, extended’;
CN tla-toma ‘undo s.th.’; CN tomi ‘be undone’; and so does Tbr:
Tbr towa ‘leave s.th. behind, vt’; Tbr towi/tovi ‘stay, remain, vi’.

SP muntunaa ‘cover oneself’ (active); SP muntun’i ‘be covered’ (stative) (Sapir 1930, 73, 143);
SP yauqqwa ‘push in’; SP yauqqwi ‘go in, set (of sun)’;
SP yunna ‘put down (pl objs)’; SP yunnia ‘fall, drop down, pl’;
SP ton’na ‘strike, hit, vt’; SP ton’ni ‘shake, vi’; SP ova ‘pull out hair, vt’; SP ovı ‘come out (of hair), vi’
SP pačá’a ‘fasten s.th., vt’; SP pačá’i ‘hang, be fastened, vi’
SP tuġwa ‘put fire out, vt’; SP tuġwi ‘fire went out by itself, is gone out (stative/past)
Hp -iwa ‘passive suffix’ eliminates final -a of transitive verbs, so it is likely -a > -i with added -wa:
Hp aama ‘bury, vt’ vs. aamiwa ‘was buried’;
Hp paata ‘melt, vt’ vs. Hp paati ‘melt, vi’;
Hp maqa ‘give’ vs. makiwa ‘was given’ (Ken Hill 1998b, 881);
Tb -i(w ‘passive’; like Hp, the examples show -i of -iw changes verb final -a > -i (Voegelin 1935, 99);
ST taapna’ ‘partir, rajar, vt’; ST taapña ‘partirse, rajarse, vi’.

NB, for *-wiC ‘- with long object, instr prefix’; Sapir; I.Num283 *wih-; KH/M06-ip14, see ‘big’.
NB, for *-e/i ‘have, possess’, see at possess.
NB, for *-tu / *-to ‘go to get/do, progressive suffix’ and perhaps *-tu ‘acquire’ (Haugen 2006c), see at go.
NB, for *-pi ‘suffix of place’ and KH/M06-ns10, see at ‘at’.
NB, for KH/M06-in5, see at ‘all’.
NB, for KH/M06-in6, see at ‘what’.
NB, for KH/M06 various instrumental prefixes (ip), see the noun upon which it is based.

Additional Sets Added since the 2011 edition
2704. *kut-tunuhi ‘firedrill’: Jane Hill, p.c.: Kw kutunuhi ‘make fire with a firedrill’; SP qutnuni ‘to drill for fire’; NP toonoohinyu ‘firedrill’; WMn tootonohit ‘firedrill’. Add NP(B) tonoinupï ‘shaft of firedrill’. Kw -t- < *-tt-. [NUA: Num]

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