

[Text version of database, created 6/03/2014].

Annotated Swadesh wordlists for the Miwokan group (Penuti family).

Languages included: Bodega Miwok [miw-bdg], Lake Miwok [miw-lkm], Plains Miwok [miw-plm], Northern Sierra Miwok [miw-nsm], Central Sierra Miwok [miw-csm], Southern Sierra Miwok [miw-ssm].

DATA SOURCES

Berman 1973 = Berman, Howard. [Review of] Lake Miwok dictionary by Catherine A. Callaghan. In: *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 39, No. 4., pp. 260-261. // *A review of Callaghan 1965, containing addenda and corrigenda supplied by Callaghan.*

Berman 1982 = Freeland's Central Sierra Miwok myths. Edited by Howard Berman. (Survey of California and other Indian languages report #3). // *A collection of texts in two Central Sierra Miwok dialects (West Central and East Central), recorded by L. S. Freeman in the first half of the XXth century. With addition of two Southern Sierra Miwok texts recorded by Freeman, three Central Sierra Miwok texts recorded by H. Berman in 1969, and a glossary of Central Sierra Miwok words absent in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] compiled by H. Berman.*

Broadbent 1964 = Broadbent, Sylvia M. The Southern Sierra Miwok language. (University of California publications in linguistics; v. 38). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. // *A grammar and dictionary of Southern Sierra Miwok, accompanied by a collection of texts.*

Callaghan 1963 = Callaghan, Catherine A. A grammar of the Lake Miwok language. Ph.D. dissertation. University of California, Berkeley. // *A descriptive grammar of the Lake Miwok language, based on the author's field work.*

Callaghan 1965 = Callaghan, Catherine A. Lake Miwok dictionary. (University of California publications in linguistics; v. 39). Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. // *A dictionary of Lake Miwok with grammatical information.*

Callaghan 1970 = Callaghan, Catherine A. Bodega Miwok dictionary. (University of California publications in linguistics; v. 60). Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. // *A dictionary of Bodega Miwok with grammatical information and example sentences. Actually the only source of data on this language.*

Callaghan 1984 = Callaghan, Catherine A. Plains Miwok dictionary. (University of California publications in linguistics; v. 105). Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. // *A dictionary of Plains Miwok with grammatical information and example sentences.*

Callaghan 1987 = Callaghan, Catherine A. Northern Sierra Miwok dictionary. (University of California publications in linguistics; v. 110). Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. // *A dictionary of Northern Sierra Miwok, including data from three dialects of the language: Fiddletown, Camanche, and Ione.*

Callaghan 1991 = Callaghan, Catherine A. Utian and the Swadesh List. In: Papers from the American Indian Languages Conferences, Held at the University of California, Santa Cruz, July and August 1991. (Occasional Papers on Linguistics No. 16; Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale) // *An article on Utian lexicostatistics, containing 100-word Swadesh lists of Mutsun, Rumsen, Chocheño, Northern Sierra Miwok and Lake Miwok. Mutsun material is from Okrand's Mutsun grammar and Okrand's copy of J. P. Harrington's field notes. Rumsen words are from W. Shipley's copy of Harrington's field notes. Chocheño items are from Callaghan's copy of Harrington's field notes.*

Callaghan 1994 = Callaghan, Catherine A. Proto-Miwok numerals. In: International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 60, No. 2., pp. 161-176. // *An article on the reconstruction of Proto-Miwok numeral system.*

Callaghan 2014 = Callaghan, Catherine A. Proto Utian Grammar and Dictionary with Notes on Yokuts. (Trends in Linguistics: Documentation 31). Berlin - Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. // *Monumental comparative grammar and etymological dictionary of Utian (Miwok-Costanoan) language family, based on consistent application of step-by-step reconstruction. In addition to Proto-Utian reconstructions the dictionary contains protoforms*

for the following intermediate levels: Proto-Costanoan, Proto Northern Costanoan, Proto Southern Costanoan, Proto-Miwok, Proto Western Miwok, Proto Eastern Miwok, Proto Sierra Miwok. Yokuts forms, potentially cognate on a deeper level, are also adduced.

Freeland & Broadbent 1960 = Freeland, L. S. and Sylvia M. Broadbent. Central Sierra Miwok dictionary with texts. (University of California publications in linguistics; v. 23). Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, London: Cambridge University Press. // *A dictionary of Central Sierra Miwok, accompanied by a collection of texts.*

NOTES

I. Bodega Miwok.

The following symbols are transliterated into UTS:

c	č
j	y
ʂ	ʂ
t	t̄
ʈ	t
VV	V:
CC	C:
ǂ	V

II. Lake Miwok.

The following symbols are transliterated into UTS:

j	y
ʈ	ʈ
ʂ	ʂ
t	t̄
t ^h	t̄ ^h

t'	ṭ'
ṭ	t
t ^h	t ^h
ṭ'	t'
VV	V:
CC	C:
Ŷ	'V

Note also that according to UTS rules glottalized consonants are written with an apostrophe after the consonant, whereas in the Americanist transcription used by Callaghan, the apostrophe is written above the consonant.

III. Plains Miwok.

1) In those cases where different dialects of Plains Miwok yield different words for the required "Swadesh meaning", we choose the Jackson Valley dialect form.

2) The following symbols are transliterated into UTS:

j	y
y	i
·	:

IV. Northern Sierra Miwok.

1) In those cases where different dialects of Northern Sierra Miwok yield different words for the required "Swadesh meaning", we choose the Fiddletown dialect form.

2) The following symbols are transliterated into UTS:

c	č
j	y
t	ṭ

ṭ	t
y	i
·	:

V. Central Sierra Miwok.

- 1) In those cases where different dialects of Central Sierra Miwok yield different words for the required "Swadesh meaning", we choose the West Central dialect form.
- 2) The following symbols are transliterated into UTS:

j	y
t	ṭ
ṭ	t
y	i
ʎ	ʋ
Ṃ	Ṃ
·	:

VI. Southern Sierra Miwok.

- 1) In those cases where different dialects of Southern Sierra Miwok yield different words for the required "Swadesh meaning", we choose the Mariposa dialect form, and adduce Yosemite dialect forms in the notes.
- 2) The following symbols are transliterated into UTS:

c	č
j	y
ʂ	ʂ
t	ṭ
ṭ	t
y	i

V·	V:
C·	C:

Morphophonemic symbol H (alternating length) is replaced by : or zero according to position, see [Broadbent 1964: 19].

Morphophonemic symbol Y is replaced by *i*, *u* or *o* according to position, see [Broadbent 1964: 20].

Compiled and annotated by: M. Zhivlov (last update: February 2014).

1. ALL

Bodega Miwok *m'ukʔam* (1), Lake Miwok *m'uʔe* (1), Plains Miwok *sik:e-* # (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *sok:e-ṭ:i-* # (2), Central Sierra Miwok *š'ok:e-ṭ:i-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔayṭu:-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 53. Polysemy: 'all / all of it / all of them'. Word class: intransitive verb and particle. Secondary synonym: *h'an:a* 'alone / just, only / all / by oneself' (intransitive verb and noun; cf. the following example for the meaning 'all': "That's all I know") [Callaghan 1970: 17].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 98. Polysemy: 'every / all / everybody'. Word class: intransitive verb and noun. Distinct from *ʔaw'e:cu* 'just / only / nothing but / to the extent that / all' (particle) [Callaghan 1965: 174]. Judging from the following examples, the meaning 'all (omnis)' is expressed by *m'uʔe*, while 'all (totus)' is *ʔaw'e:cu*: *ʔaw'e:cu ṭ'upṣeti ṣ'aw:ute* 'All she had was one short piece' [Callaghan 1965: 174], *maʔu:nuc m'uʔec kosṭ'a:laṭ ṣ'ikan* 'Put all those apples in the sack' [Callaghan 1965: 123].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 140. Polysemy: 'all / the whole / everything / every'. Word class: noun. Alternative candidate: *heni-k* 'all' - plural form of *heni-* 'much, a lot / many, lots of / enough / too much' [Callaghan 1984: 36-37]. Both words can be used in diagnostic contexts for 'all = omnis'. Cf. the following examples: *kan:iʔ ci:sim henikoc miwokoc* "I see all the Indians" [Callaghan 1984: 37], *sik:ek mel:ak* "They're all the same size" [Callaghan 1984: 93], *taykop sik:ek* "They're all running" [Callaghan 1984: 140].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 200. Polysemy: 'all / everything / the whole / every'. A second possible candidate is *ʔoksa-pa- ~ ʔokse-pa-* 'all (of something) / all (of a group)' [Callaghan 1987: 280].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 16. Word class: noun. A West Central dialect form, although not marked as such in the dictionary. Corresponding East Central form is *ʔayṭu-* 'all' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 21]. Both *š'ok:e-ṭ:i-* and *ʔayṭu-* can function as 'all = omnis' and 'all = totus'. The dictionary also lists the following stems: *h'ok:e-ṭ:i-* 'all' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 4], *s'uk:e-* 'all' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 15], *š'ok:e-* 'all' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 16]. While West Central *š'ok:e-ṭ:i-* and East Central *ʔayṭu-* are confirmed by numerous textual attestations in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982], none of the other forms for 'all' is attested in the published texts.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 286. Word class: noun. Secondary synonym: *ʔo:ko-* (noun) 'all / much / many' [Broadbent 1964: 275]. Numerous textual attestations in [Broadbent 1964] leave no doubt that *ʔayṭu:-* is the main word for both 'all = omnis' and 'all = totus'.

2. ASHES

Bodega Miwok *y'emi* (1), Lake Miwok *w'i:lok* (2), Plains Miwok *sik:e-* # (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *sik:e-* # (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *sik:e-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 30. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 160. Polysemy: 'ashes / white ashes from an ordinary fire / dust'. Word class: noun. Cf. *p'o:ṭel* 'white ashes from a forest fire / cotton from willow tassels?' [Callaghan 1965: 110].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 133. Polysemy: 'dust / dirt / ashes'. Word class: noun. Callaghan gives the meaning 'ashes' with a question mark.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 197. Polysemy: 'ashes / dust'. A second candidate is *yoli-* 'dusty / dust / ashes / powder' [Callaghan 1987: 95].

Central Sierra Miwok: The word for 'cold ashes' is not attested in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982]. Cf. *y'im:i-* 'ashes (hot)' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 6].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 269. Word class: noun. Cf. also *sike:si-la-* 'ashes' [ibid.] from the same root.

3. BARK

Bodega Miwok *ʃ'ap:a* (1) / *ʃ'im:e* (2), Lake Miwok *ʃ'im:e* (2), Plains Miwok *sem:ila-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *sem:ila-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *s'em:ila-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *sem:i-la-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 65. Polysemy: 'covering / thin bark, such as willow bark / grass leaf (adhering to stalk)'. Word class: noun. Bodega Miwok does not have a generic word for bark. Instead, two words are used: *ʃ'ap:a* for thin bark and *ʃ'im:e* for thick bark. We list both words as quasi-synonyms. Callaghan 1970: 67. Glossed as 'thick bark (such as oak bark)'. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 125. Word class: noun. The dictionary gives two variants: *ʃ'im:e* and *ʃ'im:i*, with the remark that the former "is considered correct".

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 132. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 196.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 15. Glossed as 'bark (of tree)'. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 268. Word class: noun.

4. BELLY

Bodega Miwok *p'uluk* (1), Lake Miwok *p'uluk* (1), Plains Miwok *hena-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *loʔo-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *loʔ'o-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔoče-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 62. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 112. Polysemy: 'belly / intestines'. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 36. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 136. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 9. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 291. Word class: noun.

5. BIG

Bodega Miwok *ʔom'o:-tak* (1), Lake Miwok *ʔ'ade* (2), Plains Miwok *teme-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔit:i-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *ʔ'it:i-t:i-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔoya:-ni-* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 95. Polysemy: 'to be large / to be important' (glossed as 'to be big' in the English - Bodega Miwok section [Callaghan 1970: 106]). Word class: intensive intransitive verb. Morphological analysis: verbal root *ʔomo-* [Callaghan 1970: 95], verbal suffix *-tak* 'intensifier' [Callaghan 1970: 77].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 169. Glossed as 'to be big, large'. Word class: intransitive verb. Secondary synonym: *?udi* 'to be head of something / to be foremost / to be great, outstanding / to be huge' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 190].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 149. Polysemy: 'big / wide / high, elevated (metaphorical)'. Word class: adjective. The form *teme-* is attested in both Jackson Valley and Lockford dialects, but the Jackson Valley dialect additionally has a rare variant *teme-*.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 294. Secondary synonym: *?e?ə-ti-* [Callaghan 1987: 275].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 24. Polysemy: 'big / a big one'. Word class: noun. Derived from *?it-i-* 'much / many' [ibid.] with the augmentative suffix *-ti-* [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 19]. Secondary synonym: *?it-i-kiŋa-* 'big' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 24], derived from the same root.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 291. Word class: noun. Contains the augmentative suffix *-ni-* [Broadbent 1964: 121]. Secondary synonym: *?ona:č-i-* 'big' (cf. the verb *?ona:č-* 'to be very...; to ... hard') [Broadbent 1964: 293]. Textual attestations in [Broadbent 1964] show that *?oya-ni-* is the basic word for 'big'.

6. BIRD

Bodega Miwok *m'ey:e* (1), Lake Miwok *m'ele ~ m'ile* (1), Plains Miwok *cicipu-* ~ *cicicpu-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *mičē:ma-ti-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *čička-* # (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *čička-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 49. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 92. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 21. Polysemy: 'bird / small birds'. Word class: noun. Secondary synonym: *tolo:ci-* 'bird (generic) / migratory geese?' "AM frequently used this word. MW claims it is only Northern Sierra Miwok. CHM gives 'junco, Junco'" [Callaghan 1984: 158].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 150. The word is derived from *mičē:ma-* 'wild meat'. On p. 146 Callaghan suggests that *mičē:ma-ti-* contains the 'animal suffix' *-mati-* (does this imply a case of haplology?) This word, as well as *mičē:ma-* 'wild meat' itself, is peculiar to Fiddletown dialect. Other dialects (Camanche and Ione) use another word for 'bird': *tolo:či-* [Callaghan 1987: 218].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 1. Word class: noun. Alternative candidate: *š'i:let-i-* 'bird' (derived from *š'il'e:t-* 'to fly', q.v.) [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 16]. There is no way to decide which of these words is the basic term for 'bird' in Central Sierra Miwok.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 222. Word class: noun.

7. BITE

Bodega Miwok *kaw:'u-na* # (1), Lake Miwok *m'ata* (2), Plains Miwok *?ə:sə-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *y'il:i-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *y'il:i-* # (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *y'il:-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 35. Glossed as 'to bite once'. Word class: transitive verb. Morphological analysis: verbal root *kaw:u-* 'to bite' [ibid.], verbal suffix *-na* 'transitive' [Callaghan 1970: 53]. Alternative candidate: *k'uška-ti* 'to bite / to bite off' (perfective transitive verb), derived from *k'uška* 'to bite off / to keep biting' (transitive verb) [Callaghan 1970: 42].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 91. Polysemy: 'to bite / to bite (said of one fish) / to take a bite / to sting (said of an insect)'. Word class: semelfactive transitive verb.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 198-199. Polysemy: 'to bite / to bite off / to bite at'. Word class: transitive verb.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 99. Glossed as 'to bite (dog, spider, mosquito)'. Different from *mač:a-* 'to bite on something

(like cloth), get a hold of something with teeth' (peculiar to Fiddletown dialect) [Callaghan 1987: 143].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 6. Word class: verb. Alternative candidate: *kas'it-* 'to bite (snake or dog)' [ibid.]. Cf. also *y'il:a-* 'to bite with poison (snake)' [ibid.]. It is hard to make out the exact semantic difference between *y'il:i-* and *kas'it-* from the available occurrences of these verbs in Central Sierra Miwok texts. Cf. the following examples: 'As she [Bear] nibbled she bit (*y'il:et*) her [Deer] in the neck' (East Central dialect) [Berman 1982, text VIII, 13]; 'The dragons are growling, and the woman scolds them when they try to bite (*kas'it:ta:na:š*)' [Berman 1982, text I, 8]; 'That is Serpent. He bites (*kas'it:i?*).' [Berman 1982, text III, 10]; '...there were dreadful Things that snapped (*kas'it:anik*) at him. They were the kind that eat people.' [Berman 1982, text III, 37]. We tentatively choose *y'il:i-* mainly because of external correspondences in other Sierra Miwok languages.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 241. Word class: verb. Secondary synonym: *yitm-* 'to bite', listed only in the English - Southern Sierra Miwok section of the dictionary [Broadbent 1964: 303].

8. BLACK

Bodega Miwok *lok-o:ta* (1), Lake Miwok *mul'u:-mulu* (2), Plains Miwok *kul-u?lu-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *kul-ul:i-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *kul-'ul:i-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *tu:hi-* # (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 45. Glossed as 'to be black'. Word class: intransitive verb. Morphological analysis: verbal root *lok-* [ibid.], *-V:ta* 'adjective suffix found on several color words' [Callaghan 1970: 102].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 97. Glossed as 'to be black'. Word class: intransitive verb. Reduplication of the verbal root *m'ulu-*.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 77. Word class: adjective. Contains the adjectival suffix *-V?C:V-* 'adjective formative, primarily in color terms' [Callaghan 1984: 226]. Cf. *ku:la-* (Jackson Valley, Lockford), *kul:a-* (Jackson Valley) 'charcoal / coals' [Callaghan 1984: 79].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 120. Polysemy: 'black / dark / black or dark brown (eye)'. Contains the adjectival suffix *-VC:i-* 'color formative' [Callaghan 1987: 302]. Cf. *kul:a-* 'coals, charcoal'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 8. Polysemy: 'black / a black one'. Word class: noun. Cf. *kul:a-* 'the coals' [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 276. Word class: noun. Alternative candidates: *tuh-uh:i-* 'black', from the same root [ibid.]; *kul-ul:i-* 'black' (derived from *kul:a-* 'charcoal') [Broadbent 1964: 248]. Textual attestations: *tu:hi-* (black horse) [Broadbent 1964, text 13, (8)], *tuh-uh:i-* (black maidenhair fern roots, used for basketry) [Broadbent 1964, text 1, (72-74)]. *kul-ul:i-* is not attested in the published texts.

9. BLOOD

Bodega Miwok *k'ič:aw* (1), Lake Miwok *k'ic:aw* (1), Plains Miwok *kic:aw* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *kič:aw-i-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *k'ič:awi-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *kič:aw-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 37. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to bleed'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 61. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to menstruate'. Related to the intransitive verb *k'icaw* 'to bleed'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 70. Word class: noun. Related to *kicaw-i-* 'to bleed' [ibid.].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 112.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 7. Word class: noun. Related to *kič:aw-* 'to bleed' [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 245. Word class: noun. Related to *kičaw-* 'to bleed' [ibid.].

10. BONE

Bodega Miwok *m'uč'i* (1), Lake Miwok *k'ulum* (2), Plains Miwok *kəcacə-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *kič:ič-i-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *k'ič:ič-i-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *kič:ič-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 52. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 69. Polysemy: 'bone / cemetery'. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 68. Word class: noun. The form *kəcacə-* is common to both Jackson Valley and Lockford dialects. Variants: *kəcəc* (Jackson Valley), *kəcəc* (Lockford).

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 123. Polysemy: 'bone / skeleton'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 8. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 248. Word class: noun.

11. BREAST

Bodega Miwok *t'ena* (1) / *m'u:* (5), Lake Miwok *t'ena* # (1), Plains Miwok *huy:u-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *nuču-* # (3), Central Sierra Miwok *nis'i:li-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *nis'i-li-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 71. According to [Callaghan 1970], possibly borrowed from Lake Miwok *t'ena* 'chest', but in [Callaghan 2014: 401] Bodega and Lake Miwok words are treated as cognates. Callaghan 1970: 53. Glossed as 'breast (woman or man)'. Word class: noun. We list *t'ena* and *m'u:* as technical synonyms, since the meaning of the latter is given as generic, not restricted to 'woman's breast' as in the other Miwokan languages.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 135. Glossed as 'chest'. Word class: noun. Alternative candidate: *t'e:le* 'breast' (borrowed from River Patwin *t'eli* 'chest, breast of bird') [Callaghan 1965: 147]. Distinct from *m'u:* 'milk / breast / teat' [Callaghan 1965: 97].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 49. Glossed as 'chest'. The additional meaning 'breasts' is given with a question mark. Word class: noun. Distinct from *mu:-* (Jackson Valley), *mu:su-* (Jackson Valley, Lockford) 'breast / nipples' [Callaghan 1984: 99]. Cf. also *nucu-* 'chest' (Jackson Valley, "MW says no such word") [Callaghan 1984: 111].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 170. Glossed as 'chest'. Alternative candidate: *ʔuŋ:ay-i-* 'chest' [Callaghan 1987: 290]. Distinct from *mu:su-* 'breast / tits / mother's milk' [Callaghan 1987: 158].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 13. Glossed as 'chest'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *m'u:su-* 'breast' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 11] (cf. *mu:s-* 'to suck' [ibid.]).

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 261. Glossed as 'chest (body-part)'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *mu:su-* 'breast / udder' (related to *mu:s-* 'to suck at breast') [Broadbent 1964: 258].

12. BURN TR.

Bodega Miwok *p'uč:a-ti* (1), Lake Miwok *hul'ih-nuka* # (2), Plains Miwok *wə:kə-* (3),

Northern Sierra Miwok *wi:kí-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *wí:k-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *huy-pu-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 61. Polysemy: 'to burn (wood, etc.) / to put something in the fire / to build (a fire)'. Word class: perfective transitive verb. Morphological analysis: verbal root *p'uč-a-* 'to burn / to build (a fire)' [ibid.], verbal suffix *-ti* 'perfective' [Callaghan 1970: 77].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 43. Word class: causative transitive verb. Derived from the intransitive verb *h'ulih* 'to burn, blaze, burn up' [ibid.]. Alternative candidate: *y'u(:)l-en* 'to start (a fire) / to burn / to burn off' (semelfactive transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 53]. Cf. also *c'u:p* 'to set on fire' (semelfactive transitive verb; also used as an intransitive verb with the meaning 'to get badly burned (said of a person, clothes, or meat)') [Callaghan 1965: 16].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 175. Polysemy: 'to burn / to cremate'. Word class: transitive verb. Related to *wike-* 'fire' q.v. Cf. also transitive verb *walki-* 'to burn' (Jackson Valley) [Callaghan 1984: 175].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 257. Polysemy: 'to build a fire / to burn something / to burn down'. Derived from *wike-* 'fire' q.v. Cf. also *ʔampu-* 'to burn' [Callaghan 1987: 263] (the only example in the dictionary is: *loʔesa:kiʔ kik:iʔ ʔampaʔ* "boiling water burned me").

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20. Polysemy: 'to burn, trans. / to build a fire / to set on fire'. Word class: verb. Related to *wike-* 'fire' q.v.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 234. Polysemy: 'to light a fire / to tend a fire / to burn, tr. / to cremate'. Word class: verb. Informants: Castro Johnson, of Mariposa; Rose Watt, of Usona; Emma Lord, of Usona. Derived from *huy:u-* 'fire', q.v. Secondary synonyms: *wi:k-* 'to light a fire / to burn, tr.' (informant: Chris Brown, a speaker of Yosemite dialect; related to *wike-* 'fire' in the speech of the same informant) [Broadbent 1964: 285], *wile:-na-* 'to burn, tr.' (with *-na-* 'causative') [Broadbent 1964: 284].

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Bodega Miwok *p'ič:i* (1), Lake Miwok *t'i:* (2), Plains Miwok *ti:- ~ ti:s* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *tis:i-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *hala:-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 59. Polysemy: 'fingernail / toenail? / claws'. Word class: noun. Cf. also *ʔuk:un p'ič:i* 'fingernail' and *k'on p'ič:i* 'toenail' [ibid.].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 136. Polysemy: 'fingernail / claw'. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 156. Polysemy: 'fingernail / toenail / claw'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 231. Polysemy: 'fingernail / toenail / claw / hoof'.

Central Sierra Miwok: The words for '(finger)nail' and 'claw' are not attested in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 227. Polysemy: 'feather / finger- or toenail'. Word class: noun. The word for 'claw' is not attested in the dictionary, but one textual attestation [Broadbent 1964, text 14, (118)] confirms that *hala:-* can be used for 'claw' as well.

14. CLOUD

Bodega Miwok *ʔ'ilaw #* (1), Lake Miwok *m'olpa* (2), Plains Miwok *mo:li-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔo:pa-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *ʔ'o:pa-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔo:pa-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 91. Word class: noun. The word is queried in the dictionary, indicating uncertainty on the part of the informant.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 95. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to be cloudy'. Cf. *m'ol:e* 'shade / shadow / reflection in the water' [ibid.].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 97. Glossed as 'cloudy / shade' on p. 97, but as 'cloud' in the English - Plains Miwok section [Callaghan 1984: 242]. The meaning 'cloud' is also confirmed by the following textual example: *mol:i? tis?e* "The clouds are breaking up" [Callaghan 1984: 165]. Word class: adjective and noun. Related to the transitive verb *mol:i-* 'to shade' [Callaghan 1984: 97].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 286. Polysemy: 'cloudy / cloud'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 23. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 294. Word class: noun.

15. COLD

Bodega Miwok *k'uč:i* (1), Lake Miwok *t'ip-muti* (2), Plains Miwok *tal:əli-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *ta:lime-* # (4), Central Sierra Miwok *t'al:ime-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *hi:t'p-* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 41. Polysemy: 'to be cool, cold / to be freezing' (used with objects and the weather). Word class: intransitive verb. Distinct from *š'il-um* 'to be cold' (person or weather) [Callaghan 1970: 67].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 137. Glossed as 'to be cold (said of an object or the weather)'. Word class: semelfactive intransitive verb. Also used as the noun 'a cold' (a loan shift from English). Distinct from *t'i:š-wa* 'to be cold (said of a person)' [ibid.].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 152. Glossed as 'cold / cool (water)'. Word class: adjective. The word has two variant pronunciations: *tal:əli-* (Jackson Valley, Lockford) and *tel:eli-* (Lockford). Contains an adjective formative *-VC₂i-* [Callaghan 1984: 223].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 229. Glossed as 'cool (things, weather)', but translated as 'cold' in the example *ta:lime? tapla?* "cold board". No other word with the meaning 'cold', applicable to objects, is attested in the dictionary.

Central Sierra Miwok: Berman 1982: 128. Word class: noun. Berman's informant John Kelly preferred the form *t'al:imi-* [ibid.]. The word for 'cold' is absent from [Freeland & Broadbent 1960].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 232. Polysemy: 'cold / a cold thing'. Word class: noun. Derived from *hi:t'p-* 'to be or get cold' [ibid.]. Secondary synonym: *t'i:nan-* 'cold (?)' [Broadbent 1964: 277]. Distinct from *kiwe:ŋ-a-* 'cool' [Broadbent 1964: 249].

16. COME

Bodega Miwok *?o:ni* (1), Lake Miwok *?o:ni* (1), Plains Miwok *?ən:ə-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *?i:ni-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *?i:n:i-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *?in:-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 96. Word class: intransitive verb (with locative). Secondary synonyms: *?ona* 'to come / to arrive' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1970: 95], *w'ila* 'come! / come on!' (intransitive verb, imperative) [Callaghan 1970: 82]. Illustrative sentences in the dictionary show that *?o:ni* is used more frequently than *?ona*.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 187. Polysemy: 'to come / to appear / to come to pass, happen'. Word class: iterative intransitive verb.

Secondary synonym: *c'okte* 'to come from an unseen spot / to go along, come along, follow / to come through (with objective of place) / to become (with instrumental)' (semelfactive intransitive and transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 14].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 197. Word class: intransitive verb. An alternative candidate is *ʔo:ni-* 'to come / to approach, get near / to arrive, get somewhere' [Callaghan 1984: 213]. The two verbs can occur in identical contexts, cf. *ta:wim ʔo:niʔacʔis* or *ta:wim ʔo:niʔacʔis* 'I think he's coming' (Jackson Valley) [Callaghan 1984: 197].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 295. Polysemy: 'to come / to come in / to approach / to come up (to the surface)'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 24. Word class: verb.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 295. Word class: verb.

17. DIE

Bodega Miwok *t'ulaw* (1), Lake Miwok *y'o:k* (2), Plains Miwok *ceme:n-i-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *čamsi-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *č'am-š'i-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *čam-h-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 75. Word class: intransitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 51. Polysemy: 'to die / to be dead / to be dark (said of the moon) / to do something heartily'. Word class: semelfactive intransitive verb. Also functions as the noun 'death'. Cf. *c'a:m* 'to fade away, like a flower which is through blooming / to die away / to wear out' (semelfactive intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 11], cognate to the Eastern Miwok verb 'to die'. The earlier meaning 'to die' for Lake Miwok *c'a:m* is suggested by *ʔelay c'a:m* 'stillbirth', lit. "child dead" [ibid.].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 19. Polysemy: 'to die / to be dying'. Word class: intransitive verb.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 41. Polysemy: 'to die / to die from something'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 1. Word class: verb. Contains the morpheme *-š'i-* 'verbalizer, in intransitive or mediopassive verbs' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 16].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 221. Polysemy: 'to die / to be invisible, of the moon'. Word class: verb.

18. DOG

Bodega Miwok *hay'u:ša* (1), Lake Miwok *h'ayu* (1), Plains Miwok *cu:cu-* (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok *čuku-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *čuk'u:-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *čuku:-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 16. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 25-26. Word class: noun. This word was borrowed from Lake Miwok into Patwin, Wappo and most Pomo languages. The Miwok origin of the word is clear in view of its preservation in the geographically remote Yosemite dialect of Southern Sierra Miwok.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 28. Word class: noun. Borrowed from Spanish *chucho* 'dog'.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 49.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 1. Polysemy: 'dog / pet'. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 224. Polysemy: 'dog / pet / guardian spirit of shaman'. Word class: noun. Yosemite dialect had another word: *hayu-* 'dog' [Broadbent 1964: 226].

19. DRINK

Bodega Miwok ?'uʃ:u (1), Lake Miwok ?'uʃ:u (1), Plains Miwok ?us:u- (1), Northern Sierra Miwok ?uhu- (1), Central Sierra Miwok ?'uʃ:u- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok ?uhu:- (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 101. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 192. Word class: semelfactive transitive verb.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 216. Word class: transitive verb.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 288. The word sounds as ?ufu- in the speech of one of the Fiddletown informants, Birdie Burris. This is clearly an innovation, since it is said to have sounded as ?uhu- in the speech of her mother, Queenie Miller (see [Callaghan 1987: 7] on Callaghan's informants). Apart from ?ufu- and its derivatives, the phoneme /f/ occurs only in loanwords [Callaghan 1987: 17].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 23. Word class: verb.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 294. Word class: verb. An irregular verb (present imperfect: ?uhu(:)-, present perfect: ?uh:u:-, imperative: ?uh:u(:)-) [Broadbent 1964: 61].

20. DRY

Bodega Miwok l'aka # (1), Lake Miwok c'utul (2), Plains Miwok hew-e:na- (3), Northern Sierra Miwok hewe- (3), Central Sierra Miwok h'ew:e- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok hewe:-mu:- (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 43. Glossed as 'to be dry'. Word class: intransitive verb. Alternative candidate: h'ewa ~ h'elwa 'to be dry' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1970: 18]. We tentatively choose l'aka, because the dictionary provides several examples, showing that this word can be applied to different types of objects: h'u:lin l'aka 'The blanket is dry', l'aka k'ole 'dry grass', l'aka t'umay 'dry wood', w'aki l'aka 'It's awfully dry' [Callaghan 1970: 43]. Unfortunately, no examples for h'ewa ~ h'elwa are given in [Callaghan 1970].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 16. Glossed as 'to be dry'. Word class: intransitive verb. Secondary synonym: k'ay 'to dry up / to be dry / to go out (said of air) / to fade away' (semelfactive intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 54].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 38. Word class: adjective. Contains the resultative suffix -e:na- [Callaghan 1984: 29]. Related to hew-ukse- 'to dry up' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1984: 38] and hewi- 'to dry (meat, etc.)' (transitive verb) [Callaghan 1984: 304]. Secondary synonym: kay-e:na- 'dry', related to kaywi, ka:wi- 'to dry up', kaye-, ka:ye- 'drying up, low (water)' [Callaghan 1984: 60-61].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 70. Polysemy: 'dry / barren (land)'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 3. Polysemy: 'dry / a dry thing'. Word class: noun. Related to the verbs h'ew:e- 'to dry meat' and h'ew- 'to dry clothes' [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 231. Word class: noun. Derived from hew:e- 'to dry, tr.' with the suffix -mu:- 'predicative' [Broadbent 1964: 121].

21. EAR

Bodega Miwok ?'alok (1), Lake Miwok ?'alok (1), Plains Miwok solo:to- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok to:kos-u- (3), Central Sierra Miwok t'o:koʃu- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok tolkoh- (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 87. Word class: noun. Possibly an archaic derivate of *?alu* 'to hear'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 171. Word class: noun. Possibly an archaic derivate of *?alu* 'to hear'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 135. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 235. Cf. *tolo:y-u-* 'to hear' [Callaghan 1987: 233].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 19. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 278. Word class: noun. Yosemite dialect form: *ʔo:koʂu-ʔ* [Broadbent 1964: 13].

22. EARTH

Bodega Miwok *y'owa* (1), Lake Miwok *y'owa* (1), Plains Miwok *yot:ok* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *wal:i-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *w'al:i-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔol:e-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 30. Polysemy: 'dirt / ground'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *w'eya* 'earth, world / surroundings, environment / weather / inside (an object)' (noun) [Callaghan 1970: 80].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 52. Polysemy: 'earth / ground / dirt / farm / ranch'. Word class: noun. Callaghan [ibid.] compares Southeastern Pomo *y'owwa* 'ground (?) / bottom / under' and Eastern Pomo *y'owwa* 'bottom / underneath'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 57. Polysemy: 'ground / land / dirt'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 243. Polysemy: 'ground / dirt / down / world / area / place / country / out / outside'. The word is marked as peculiar to Fiddletown dialect.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 19. Polysemy: 'down / earth / world / ground'. Word class: noun. Cf. East Central dialect *ʔol:e-* 'world, land', *ʔo:le-* 'ground' [Berman 1982: 132].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 275. Polysemy: 'ground / dirt / earth / floor'. Word class: noun.

23. EAT

Bodega Miwok *y'ol-um* (1), Lake Miwok *y'olum* (1), Plains Miwok *cam:a-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *?iw:i-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *?iw:i-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *?iw:i-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 30. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb. Morphological analysis: verbal root *yol-* [ibid.], *-um* = verbal suffix with obscure meaning [Callaghan 1970: 77].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 49. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb. Also functions as the noun 'eating'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 17. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 294. Polysemy: 'to eat / to take (medicine)'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 24. Word class: verb. Cf. *?iw?i-* 'food' (noun), 'to eat' (verb); *?iw:i:ya-* 'deer / deer meat' [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 296. Word class: verb. An irregular verb (present imperfect: *?iw:i-*, present perfect: *?iw:i-*, imperative: *?iw:i(:-)*) [Broadbent 1964: 61].

24. EGG

Bodega Miwok *p'u:lu* (1), Lake Miwok *p^hakp^hak* ~ *p'akpak* (-1), Plains Miwok *wε:wo-* (-1),

Northern Sierra Miwok *han̩:i-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *h'oh̩:u-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *hoŋ:u-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 63. Word class: noun. Related to the transitive verb *p'u:u* 'to be laying (eggs)' [Callaghan 1970: 62]. Secondary synonym: *w'e:bo* 'egg' (borrowed from Spanish *huevo* 'egg') [Callaghan 1970: 80]. The two words occur in virtually identical contexts: *kay̩:na ka p'u:u w'e:bo* 'The chicken laid an egg', *p'u:u ?opu p'u:u* 'laying eggs' [Callaghan 1970: 62], but *p'u:u* is more frequent in the examples.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 105, 114. Glossed as 'the egg of domestic fowl, birds, and turtles'. Word class: noun. Borrowed from Hill Patwin *pʰakpʰak* 'egg'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 174. Polysemy: 'egg / penis'. Word class: noun. Borrowed from Spanish *huevo* 'egg, testicles'.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 58. Polysemy: 'egg / penis'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 4. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 233. Word class: noun.

25. EYE

Bodega Miwok *ʂ'uʔ* (1), Lake Miwok *ʂ'uʔ* (1), Plains Miwok *welay* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *s̩i:ʔ-i-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *ʂ'iŋti-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *hiŋti-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 69. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 129. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 171. Word class: noun. The form is peculiar to Jackson Valley dialect. The corresponding Lockford form is *wəlay*.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 207. Polysemy: 'eye / eyeball / eyelid'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 16. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 237. Word class: noun. Related to *hini:ʔ-* 'to open the eyes' [ibid.].

26. FAT N.

Bodega Miwok *m'ulaw* (1), Lake Miwok *ʂ'eʔ:a* (2), Plains Miwok *wata:ka-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *sim:iʔ-i-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *s'im:iʔ-i-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *sim:iʔ-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 53. Glossed as 'fat (from meat)'. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to be fat'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 123. Polysemy: 'animal fat / lard / grease of any kind'. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to have fat'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 169. Polysemy: 'fatty / fat / lard'. Word class: adjective and noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 206. Polysemy: 'fat / fat person'. Cf. also *mant̩e:ka-* 'grease / butter / lard' (borrowed from Spanish *manteca* 'lard / fat / butter') [Callaghan 1987: 145].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 15. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 270. Polysemy: 'grease / fat'. Word class: noun.

27. FEATHER

Bodega Miwok *p'uṭ:a* (1), Lake Miwok *p'uṭ:e* # (1), Plains Miwok *sale-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *sala-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *šal'a-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *hala-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 63. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 113. Polysemy: 'feathers / that part of the dance headpiece which fits on top of the head'. Word class: noun. Related to *p'uṭ:a* 'to pluck / to shave / to scald the hair off (hogs)' (transitive verb) [ibid.]. Cf. Cache Creek Patwin *pute* 'down (feathers)' and Hill Patwin *pute* 'down, body feathers all together'. The direction of borrowing was from Miwok to Patwin, since the Miwok root has cognates in Costanoan [Callaghan 2014: 364]. Alternative candidate: *p'akah* 'flower / feather / yellow-hammer feathers used in headdresses' [Callaghan 1965: 105]. Distinct from *n'ati* 'fine feathers used in basket making' [Callaghan 1965: 99].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 128. Glossed as 'wing? / feather(s)'. Word class: noun. Secondary synonym: *ce:p* 'fur / wool' [Callaghan 1984: 20], glossed as 'feather' in English - Plains Miwok section [Callaghan 1984: 250].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 193. Polysemy: 'feathers / wing'. Secondary synonym: *pečkeṭa-* 'feathers / animal hair' [Callaghan 1987: 180].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 15. Polysemy: 'feather / wing'. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 227. Polysemy: 'feather / finger- or toenail'. Word class: noun. Yosemite dialect form: *šala-?* 'feather' [Broadbent 1964: 14].

28. FIRE

Bodega Miwok *w'uki* (1), Lake Miwok *w'iki* (1), Plains Miwok *wike-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *wike-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *wik'e-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *huy:u-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 84. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to be hot (person or object)'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 160. Polysemy: 'fire / electricity / battery'. Word class: noun. Related to *w'iki* 'to burn' (intransitive verb) [ibid.].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 181. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 257.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20. Word class: noun. Related to *w'ik-* 'to burn, trans. / to build a fire / to set on fire' q.v.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 234. Word class: noun. Informants: Castro Johnson, of Mariposa; Rose Watt, of Usona; Emma Lord, of Usona. Secondary synonym: *wike-* 'fire' (informant: Chris Brown, a speaker of Yosemite dialect) [Broadbent 1964: 284]. See 'burn tr.'.

29. FISH

Bodega Miwok *?el:'e* (1), Lake Miwok *k'a:c* (2), Plains Miwok *pu-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *lapi:say-i-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *lapi:s-ay-* # (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 90. Word class: noun. Oblique stem *ʔel:e-*. Cf. *ʔel:ewe* 'fish / several fish' (noun) [ibid.].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 54. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 125. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 129. Cf. *lapi:s-i-* 'to fish', *lapi:s-a-* 'fish bait'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Not attested in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 249. Polysemy: 'trout / fish'. Word class: noun. Suffix *-ay-* occurs in names of birds, plants, and fresh-water animals [Broadbent 1964: 97]. An alternative candidate: *polhuy-* 'suckerfish / perch / fish' [Broadbent 1964: 265]. We tentatively choose *lapi:s-ay-* because of external (Northern Sierra Miwok) evidence.

30. FLY V.

Bodega Miwok *l'il:u* (1), Lake Miwok *lil'u:-ti* (1), Plains Miwok *sile:t-i-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *sile:t-i-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *šil'e:t-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *hile:-t-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 45. Glossed as 'to be flying'. Word class: intransitive verb. Cf. also *lil'u:-ti* 'to fly / to fly away' (intransitive perfective verb) [ibid.].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 79. Polysemy: 'to fly once / to fly away in a group'. Word class: semelfactive intransitive verb. Variant form used by one of the informants (James Knight): *lul'u:-ti* [Callaghan 1965: 81]. Cf. another derivative from the verbal root *l'ilu-* 'to fly': iterative intransitive verb *l'ilu:-ti* 'to fly, one at a time' [Callaghan 1965: 79].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 141. Word class: intransitive verb.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 205. Polysemy: 'to fly / to soar (buzzard)'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 16. Word class: verb.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 238. Polysemy: 'to fly / to jump with both feet / to be in the air'. Word class: verb. The root without the suffix *-t-* occurs in *hil-ŋe-* 'to fly from the nest, of young birds' [ibid.].

31. FOOT

Bodega Miwok *k'o:* (1), Lake Miwok *k'olo* (1), Plains Miwok *kolo-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *kolo-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *h'at:e:-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *hat:e-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 40. Polysemy: 'foot / toe / track'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *h'o:l* 'leg' [Callaghan 1970: 25].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 65. Polysemy: 'foot / tracks'. Word class: noun. Cf. *k'olo* 'to track (an animal)' (transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 67]. Distinct from *l'o:lo* 'leg / stem of a pipe' [Callaghan 1965: 81].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 73. Polysemy: 'foot / hoof / toe / tracks'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *kaw:al*, *kaw:ali-* 'leg / lower leg' [Callaghan 1984: 65].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 115. Polysemy: 'foot / tracks'. Distinct from *kaw:ali-* 'leg / lower leg' [Callaghan 1987: 108].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 2. Polysemy: 'foot / track'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *h'o:čon-* 'leg' (East Central dialect *h'o:čan-* 'legs') [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 4], cited as *h'o:čonu-* in the English - Central Sierra Miwok section

[Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 38].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 228. Polysemy: 'foot / tracks / twelve inches'. Word class: noun. Related to *ha:t-* 'to step on' [Broadbent 1964: 229]. Distinct from *ho:čon-* 'leg / lower leg' [Broadbent 1964: 234].

32. FULL

Bodega Miwok *h'uwa* (1), Lake Miwok *p'al:a* (2), Plains Miwok *cup:a-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *humaʔni-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *ču:yaʔne-* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 28. Glossed as 'to be full / full'. Word class: intransitive verb and noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 105. Polysemy: 'to be full (said of a barrel, etc.) / to be full (said of the moon) / to fill'. Word class: iterative intransitive and transitive verb. Cf. also *p'ali* 'to be full' (intransitive verb) [ibid.].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 27. Word class: adjective. Also functions as the transitive verb 'to fill'.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 81.

Central Sierra Miwok: Not attested in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 224. Word class: noun. Related to *ču:yaʔni-* 'to fill' [ibid.].

33. GIVE

Bodega Miwok *w'a:* (1), Lake Miwok *w'aya* (1), Plains Miwok *ʔanti-* (2) / *ʔam:i-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔam:i-* # (3), Central Sierra Miwok *ʔ'am:i-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔam:-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 78. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb. Secondary synonym: *w'aye* 'give me' (transitive verb, occurs only in the imperative) [ibid.].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 151-152. Polysemy: 'to give in one installment / to grant / to share'. Word class: transitive semelfactive verb. Secondary synonym: *h'i:na* 'to give / to give away / to share / to divide' (transitive semelfactive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 32]. Examples in [Callaghan 1964] and [Callaghan 1965] show that *w'aya* is the basic verb for 'to give'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 186. Glossed as 'to give, present (with obj. of recipient)'. Word class: transitive verb. Another word for 'give' is *ʔam:i-* 'to give, present (with obj. of recipient)' [Callaghan 1984: 185]. Callaghan notes that *ʔam:i-* may be a loan from Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔam:i-* 'to give'. Textual examples in the dictionary reveal the following pattern: *ʔam:i-* is used with the first person recipient, *ʔanti-* is used with second and third person recipients. We enter both verbs as quasi-synonyms. Examples for *ʔam:i-*: *sule:yiʔ ʔam:iʔ hawlo:su* "Please give me the arrow" [Callaghan 1984: 33], *su:le:yiʔ ʔam:iʔ hawlo:su* "Please give me an arrow" (Lockford) [Callaghan 1984: 137], *su:le:yiʔ ʔam:iʔ pa:n* (or *pa:nsi*) "Please give me some bread" (Lockford) [Callaghan 1984: 137], *su:le:yiʔ ʔam:iʔ ki:ksi* "Please give me water" [Callaghan 1984: 185], *ʔam:iʔ ʔay hawlo:si!* "Give me another arrow!" (Jackson Valley) [Callaghan 1984: 188]. Examples for *ʔanti-*: *ʔantim ho:wotsu ʔikoc* "I'm giving them beads" [Callaghan 1984: 49, 186, 199-200], *ʔantim nekoc ho:wotsu* "I'm giving them beads" [Callaghan 1984: 106], *ʔantis:i:mah nes:i tumaysi* "I'm going to give you this wood" [Callaghan 1984: 106], *ʔantik numeh ki:ksi* "Give him more water" [Callaghan 1984: 111], *kan:iʔ ʔantis:i:m ʔay* "I'm going to give him some more" [Callaghan 1984: 186], *ʔantik ki:ksiʔ!* "Give it more water!" [Callaghan 1984: 186], *ʔantim saw:esic tumaysi* "I'm giving the man a stick" [Callaghan 1984: 186], *kan:iʔ ʔantis:i:m ʔay ki:ksi* "I'm going to give him some more water" [Callaghan 1984: 188]. It is worth noting that in Northern Sierra Miwok the verb *ʔam:i-* is used irrespective of the recipient's person (see examples in [Callaghan 1987: 263-264]). Callaghan 1984: 185. Glossed as 'to give, present (with obj. of recipient)'. Word class: transitive verb.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 263. Polysemy: 'to give (with instrumental of object) / to prescribe'. A second candidate is:

welka- 'to give / to get something for someone' [Callaghan 1987: 250].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 21. Glossed as 'to give to, to present'. Word class: verb. Cf. also the form *ʔun,u:* 'give! give me!' [Berman 1982: 130; Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 55, 56]. H. Berman comments: "This is perhaps a second person singular volitional similar in formation to *ʔutù:* 'get out of the way!'" [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 286. Polysemy: 'to give / to lend'. Secondary synonym: *pa:ʔ-* 'to give' [Broadbent 1964: 263]. Although this is not stated explicitly in the dictionary, it seems that the difference between *ʔam:-* and *pa:ʔ-* is dialectal. *pa:ʔ-* is found only in the texts recorded from Chris Brown, a speaker of Yosemite dialect [Broadbent 1964, text 14, (39); text 15, (11); text 16 (6)], while *ʔam:-* is attested in texts recorded from Castro Johnson of Mariposa [Broadbent 1964, text 5, (54, 65, 87); text 7, (33); text 12, (11, 12, 46, 53, 60)].

34. GOOD

Bodega Miwok *ʔowih* (1), Lake Miwok *ʔem'erne* (2), Plains Miwok *welwel* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *kuči-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *kuči-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *čítı́-* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 73. Polysemy: 'to be good, well / to be all right / to be right, correct / well'. Word class: intransitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 180. Polysemy: 'to be good / right, correct / well / a good one'. Word class: semelfactive intransitive verb and noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 171. Polysemy: 'good / well / right'. Word class: adjective.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 119. Polysemy: 'good / nice / all right'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 8. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 225. Polysemy: 'good / right / clean / nice'. Word class: noun.

35. GREEN

Bodega Miwok *ʃil(:)-'i:ta* # (1), Lake Miwok *ʃiwı́:-ʃiwı́* (2), Plains Miwok *cite-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *čokı́-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *čítı́-ı́tı́-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *čítı́-ı́tı́-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 66-67. Polysemy: 'to be yellow / to be green?'. Word class: intransitive verb. Morphological analysis: verbal root *ʃıl-* [ibid.], *-V:ta* 'adjective suffix found on several color words' [Callaghan 1970: 102]. Alternative candidate: *luč-u:ta* 'to be blue / to be green?' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1970: 46]. We tentatively choose *ʃil(:)-'i:ta* because of the diagnostic context *ʃil(:)-'i:ta kole* 'green grass' [Callaghan 1970: 67].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 125. Glossed as 'to be green or blue'. Word class: intransitive verb. Also functions as the noun 'mustard greens / soda'. Apparently related to *ʃiw'a:* 'bile', *ʃı́wın* 'gall' and/or *ʃı́wak* 'grass' [Callaghan 1965: 124-125].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 22. Word class: adjective. Also functions as a noun: 'green grass / bushes'. Cf. also a derivative from the same root: *cit-ı́tı́-* ~ *cit-ı́tı́-* 'green / green paint / green (fruit)' [ibid.]. Distinct from *cok-oʔko-* 'light green / faded green' [Callaghan 1984: 24].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 48. Polysemy: 'green / blue'. Other derivatives from the same root: *čok-okı́-* 'blue / green / anything green', *čokı́ta-* 'green / green grass / lawn / vegetables / sprout' [ibid.].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 1. Polysemy: 'green / blue'. Word class: noun. Related to *čıtı́ak-* 'to sprout, to grow green', *čıtı́aki-* 'grass (green) / a green tree' [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 223. Word class: noun. Related to *čit:ak-* 'grass' [ibid.].

36. HAIR

Bodega Miwok *m'olu* (1), Lake Miwok *š'a:pa* (2), Plains Miwok *tolo-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *han:a-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *yuše-* (5), Southern Sierra Miwok *hi:sok-* (6).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 51-52. Polysemy: 'head / hair / body hair (but not dog's hair)'. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 120. Glossed as 'hair on the head'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *h'imi* 'pubic hair (both male and female)' [Callaghan 1965: 33], *p'ot:ol* 'fur / animal hair' [Callaghan 1965: 111].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 158. Polysemy: 'head (only in Jackson Valley dialect) / hair'. Word class: noun. Cf. also *mən* 'hair on the head' ("This word was used around Pleasonton"). The word is not recognized by Mabel Walloupe, a speaker of Lockford dialect [Callaghan 1984: 94].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 58. Polysemy: 'head / hair / skull / mind / sense'. Same word as 'head' q.v.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 6, 36. Glossed as 'head hair'. Word class: noun. Cited as *yuše-* in the main section of the dictionary [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 36]. Distinct from *h'isoku-* 'body hair / fur' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 3].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 232. Polysemy: 'hair / fur'. Word class: noun. Related to *his:ok-* 'to grow hair' [ibid.]. Distinct from *ho:muč-* 'facial hair / body hair' [Broadbent 1964: 234].

37. HAND

Bodega Miwok *?uk:uh* (1), Lake Miwok *?uk:u* (1), Plains Miwok *?ek:uh* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *?uk:us-u-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *t'is:i-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *tis:i-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 99. Word class: noun. Distinct from *t'a:lik* 'arm / wing / branch?' [Callaghan 1970: 70].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 191. Word class: noun. Variant: *?uku*. Distinct from *t'aw-lik* 'arm / wing / dime / 12-1/2 cents, a "bit"' [Callaghan 1965: 133].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 192. Polysemy: 'hand / wrist / finger'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *tum:al* 'arm' [Callaghan 1984: 163].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 289. Polysemy: 'hand / finger / knuckles'. Distinct from *t'im:al-i-* 'arm' [Callaghan 1987: 222].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 18. Word class: noun. Distinct from *w'o:ηot'u-* 'arm' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 278. Word class: noun. Distinct from *pa:čan-* 'arm' [Broadbent 1964: 262].

38. HEAD

Bodega Miwok *m'olu* (1), Lake Miwok *c'an:a* (2), Plains Miwok *tolo-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *han:a-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *h'an:a-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *huk:u-* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 51-52. Polysemy: 'head / hair / body hair (but not dog's hair)'. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 12. Polysemy: 'head / memory'. Word class: noun. Secondary synonym: *ʔub:uduk* 'head / skull / front part of the head' (borrowed from Hill Patwin *tumburuk* 'brains') [Callaghan 1965: 85].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 158. Polysemy: 'head / hair'. Word class: noun. The meaning 'head' is attested only in the Jackson Valley dialect. In the Lockford dialect the Spanish loanword *kawe:sa-* 'head' is used instead [Callaghan 1984: 64].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 58. Polysemy: 'head / hair / skull / mind / sense'. Same word as 'hair' q.v.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 2. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 235. Word class: noun. This word belongs to the Mariposa dialect. Cf. Yosemite dialect *han:a-* 'head' [Broadbent 1964: 228].

39. HEAR

Bodega Miwok *ʔalu* (1), Lake Miwok *ʔalu* (1), Plains Miwok *helme-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *toloy-u-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *tel'e:y-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔal:-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 87. Polysemy: 'to hear / to feel / to taste'. Word class: transitive verb. Cf. *ʔal:-um* 'to be tasting' and *ʔalok* 'ear' [ibid.].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 171. Polysemy: 'to hear / to feel / to taste / to perceive by a sense other than sight'. Word class: semelfactive intransitive and transitive verb. Cf. *ʔalok* 'ear', q.v.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 36. Word class: transitive verb.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 233. Polysemy: 'to hear / to understand (language)'. Cf. *tokos-u-* 'ear' [Callaghan 1987: 235].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 18. Word class: verb.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 286. Polysemy: 'to hear / to understand'. Word class: verb.

40. HEART

Bodega Miwok *w'uški* (1), Lake Miwok *c'id:idik* (-1), Plains Miwok *wąski-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *wiški-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *w'iški-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *wihki-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 84. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 19. Word class: noun. Borrowed from Wintun languages, cf. Nomlaki *č'idik* 'heart'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 175. Polysemy: 'heart / center'. Word class: noun. The meaning 'center' is attested only in Jackson Valley dialect.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 258. Polysemy: 'sensible / wise / heart'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 284. Word class: noun. Yosemite dialect form: *wiški-ʔ* [Broadbent 1964: 14].

41. HORN

Bodega Miwok *k'ili* (1), Lake Miwok *k'ili* (1), Plains Miwok *ki:li-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *ki:li-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *k'il:i-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *ki:li-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 38. Polysemy: 'horn / antler / sticker'. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to be hard, sharp'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 63. Polysemy: 'horn / antler'. Related to *k'ili* 'to hook with the horns' (transitive verb), 'thorn / stickers on weeds or berry bushes' (noun) [Callaghan 1965: 62].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 72. Word class: noun. Variants: *ki:li-*, *kili-*. Mabel Walloupe, a speaker of Lockford dialect, accepts only *ki:li-*. The variant *kili-* is possibly borrowed from Northern Sierra Miwok.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 112.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 7. Glossed as 'antler'. Word class: noun. There is no word glossed as 'horn' in the dictionary.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 245. Glossed as 'antler'. Word class: noun. There is no word glossed as 'horn' in [Broadbent 1964].

42. I

Bodega Miwok *k'an:i* ~ *k'ani* (1), Lake Miwok *k'an:i* (1), Plains Miwok *kan:i-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *kan:i-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *ka:n* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *kan:i-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 34. Glossed as 'I, me'. Word class: independent pronoun. The alternant *k'ani* is rare. Comitative case *kan:i:ni*, instrumental case *kan:i:su*, allative case *kan:i:to*.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 57. Glossed as 'I, me'. Word class: independent pronoun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 62. Word class: independent pronoun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 104.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 7. Objective case *k'an:i-y*, possessive case *kan:i-ŋ*, locative case *k'an:i-t*, ablative case *k'an:i-m:i?* [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 6].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 93, 243. Independent personal pronoun. Genitive case: *kan:iŋ*.

43. KILL

Bodega Miwok *ʔoke* (1), Lake Miwok *k'at:-en* (2), Plains Miwok *heʔta-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *yin:a-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *y'in:a-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *yo:h-* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 94. Word class: transitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 58. Word class: semelfactive transitive verb.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 39. Word class: transitive verb.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 95. A form of the Fiddletown dialect. Camanche dialect has *yin:a-*.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 6. Word class: verb.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 240. Word class: verb.

44. KNEE

Bodega Miwok *m'owi* (1), Lake Miwok *tʰokʰol:u* (2), Plains Miwok *ho:noy* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *hoŋ:oy-u-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *h'oy:oyu-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *hoŋ:oy-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 52. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 146. Word class: noun. Cf. Eastern Pomo *q'u:tʰul* 'knee'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 48. Polysemy: 'knee / kneecap'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 78.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 4. Word class: noun. Cf. *hoŋ'o:-t-* 'to kneel', *h'oy-ta-* 'to hit with the knee' [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 233. Word class: noun. Cf. another word from the same root: *hoŋtol-* 'knee / kneecap' [ibid.].

45. KNOW

Bodega Miwok *p'ičah* (1), Lake Miwok *n'e:nuṭ* (2), Plains Miwok *?ekut:a-?e-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *h'iy?i-ksi-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *h'iy?i-k:i-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *h'iy?i-ksi-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 59. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 101. Polysemy: 'to care / to care about something / to know / to know how / to learn'. Word class: iterative intransitive and transitive verb. Cf. *h'olti* 'to not know / to not understand / to not be able to do something' (transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 39].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 192. Polysemy: 'to know / to understand'. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb. This form belongs to Jackson Valley dialect. Lockford dialect has *?okut:e-?e- ~ ?okut:a-?e-*. Mabel Walloupe only considers *?okut:e-?e-* correct. Morphological analysis: *?ekut:a-* (Jackson Valley), *?okut:e-* (Lockford) 'smart / a smart person' [Callaghan 1984: 191], *-?e-* verbalizer suffix [Callaghan 1984: 189]. Cf. also variant form *?oput:e-?e-*, corrected by an informant in one example to *?okut:e-?e-* [Callaghan 1984: 209-210].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 86. Polysemy: 'to know (a person) / to know something / to believe / to understand / ought to know'. A form peculiar to Fiddletown dialect. Camanche dialect has *hi?:i-ksi-* 'to know (a person)' [Callaghan 1987: 90]. Cf. also *nenu:t-u-* 'to know (be acquainted with)' [Callaghan 1987: 165].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 4. Word class: verb. East Central dialect form: *h'iy?i-ksi-* 'to know' [Berman 1982: 131].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 237. Glossed as 'to know a person or thing'. Word class: verb. Morphological analysis: *h'iy?i-* 'clever' [ibid.], verbal suffix *-ksi-* 'continuative' [Broadbent 1964: 70]. Secondary synonyms: *tili:l-* 'to know, to be clear in one's mind about a thing / to remember something', *tilil:i-č-* 'to know' [Broadbent 1964: 280], *nenu:t-* 'to know a person / to recognize / to be able to tell if...' [Broadbent 1964: 260]. Many textual attestations in [Broadbent 1964] show that *h'iy?i-ksi-* is the main verb for 'to know'.

46. LEAF

Bodega Miwok *k'ol:i* (1), Lake Miwok *ʂ'a:nim* (2), Plains Miwok *pate-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔaʔ:a-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *ʔaʔ:a-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔaʔ:a-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 39. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 120. Polysemy: 'leaf / petal'. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 115. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 211.

Central Sierra Miwok: Berman 1982: 131. Word class: noun. According to Berman [ibid.], the form *ʔaʔ:a-* in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 17] results from a typographical error.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 272. Word class: noun.

47. LIE

Bodega Miwok *h'ak:e-na* (1), Lake Miwok *c'aʔe* (2), Plains Miwok *tiʔel:-ic:i-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *yaŋ:a-č:-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *m'aʔ:il:-i-* (5), Southern Sierra Miwok *yaŋ:a-č:-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 17. Word class: intransitive verb. Derived from *h'akeh* 'to lie down' (intransitive verb).

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 13. Polysemy: 'to lie (a road) / to lie down (said of a person or an animal)'. Word class: semelfactive intransitive and transitive verb (with object of place). Cf. iterative transitive verb *caʔ:e* 'to lie down several times / to be lying down (said of several people)' [ibid.]. Distinct from a number of verbs for lying in different positions: *m'ekuh* 'to sit on (said of a bug) / to bore into (like a tick) / to hang one's head down to think / to lie down, face down / to bow' (intransitive semelfactive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 92], *m'eʔuh* 'to lie down, belly down' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 93], *ʔakah* 'to lie on one's back / to fall onto one's back' (intransitive semelfactive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 132], *c"udc'udi* 'to lie on one's side' (borrowed from Hill Patwin *č'u:čuro* 'to be on one's side') [Callaghan 1965: 239].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 166. Polysemy: 'to be lying down / to set (bird)'. Word class: static intransitive verb. A form of Jackson Valley dialect. Lockford dialect has *tiʔel:-ic:i-*. Morphological analysis: *tiʔel-* stem (cf. intransitive verb *tiʔel:-i-* 'to lie down (action)' [Callaghan 1984: 165]), *-ic:i-* (-YcY- in Callaghan's morphophonological notation) static suffix [Callaghan 1984: 224].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 94. Polysemy: 'to lie down / to be lying down'. Derived from the same root as *yaŋ:e-* 'to go to sleep / to be sleeping / to doze'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 10. Glossed as 'to lie down'. Word class: verb. This is a West Central dialect form. East Central dialect form: *maʔ:il-* 'to lie down' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 10].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 239. Glossed as 'to be lying down'. Word class: verb. Contains static suffix *-č:-* [Broadbent 1964: 66].

48. LIVER

Bodega Miwok *k'ul:a* (1), Lake Miwok *k'ul:a* (1), Plains Miwok *k:i:la-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *k:il:a-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *k'ul:a-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *k:il:a-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 41. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 68. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 80. Word class: noun. Variants: *kila-*, *kila-*. Mabel Walloupe, a speaker of Lockford dialect, accepts only *kila-*. The variant *kila-* is possibly borrowed from Northern Sierra Miwok.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 123.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 8. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 248. Word class: noun.

49. LONG

Bodega Miwok *k'away* (1), Lake Miwok *ʔed'a:k* (2), Plains Miwok *kac:a-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *hilaw:a-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *t'ot:ot-* (5), Southern Sierra Miwok *wil:at-* (6).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 35. Polysemy: 'to be tall / to be long'. Word class: intransitive verb. Examples: *k'away m'olu* 'long hair', *k'away p'ayih* 'tall mountain', *k'away t'ayih* 'tall man' [ibid.]. Variant: *k'awal* 'to be tall' (intransitive verb) [ibid.].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 176. Polysemy: 'long / tall / a long way / far / the whole thing'. Word class: intransitive verb and noun. An allomorph with shortened vowel: *ʔedak-*. Variant form used by one of the informants (James Knight): *ʔad'a(:)k* [Callaghan 1965: 169].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 60. Polysemy: 'long / tall'. Word class: adjective.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 87. In the Camanche dialect this word also means 'tall'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 17. Word class: noun. Cf. *t'ot:o-* 'far / a long way' [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 283. Word class: noun. Cf. also *wila:to-* 'tall / long' [ibid.].

50. LOUSE

Bodega Miwok *k'e:t* (1), Lake Miwok *k'e:t* (1), Plains Miwok *ke:n* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *ket:i-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *k'et:i-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *ket:u-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 36. Glossed as 'head louse'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *č'upsi* 'body louse' [Callaghan 1970: 14].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 60. Glossed as 'head louse'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *č'upse* 'body louse / bird louse' [Callaghan 1965: 16].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 68. Glossed as 'head louse'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *čapsi-* 'body louse' [Callaghan 1984: 20].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 111. Glossed as 'head louse'. Distinct from *čipsi-* 'body louse (grey back)' [Callaghan 1987: 51].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 7. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 245. Glossed as 'head louse'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *sipsi-* 'body louse' [Broadbent 1964: 270].

51. MAN

Bodega Miwok *t'ayih* (1), Lake Miwok *t'ayh* (1), Plains Miwok *saw:eh* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *naŋ:a-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *n'aŋ:a-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *naŋ:a-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 70. Word class: noun. Distinct from *?amta* 'husband' [Callaghan 1970: 88].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 131. Polysemy: 'man / male'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *mi:w* 'husband' [Callaghan 1965: 94].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 129. Polysemy: 'man / male / plain bone in gambling game'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *na:na-* 'husband' [Callaghan 1984: 104].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 162. Polysemy: 'male / man (male) / husband'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 12. Polysemy: 'husband / man'. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 259. Polysemy: 'man / husband / male'. Word class: noun.

52. MANY

Bodega Miwok *?uni* (1), Lake Miwok *c'ane* (2), Plains Miwok *heni-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *wana-* # (4), Central Sierra Miwok *?it:i-* (5), Southern Sierra Miwok *?it:i-* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 100. Polysemy: 'much / many / enough / plenty'. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to be numerous'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 12. Polysemy: 'to be numerous / much / many / a lot / more'. Word class: intransitive verb and noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 36. Polysemy: 'much, a lot / many, lots of / enough / too much'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 244. Polysemy: 'many, lots, a lot / a bunch / too many (adult term)'. A second candidate is *?it:i?* 'many, lots of' [Callaghan 1987: 294] (related to 'big', q.v.).

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 24. Polysemy: 'much / many'. Word class: noun. Same root as 'big' q.v.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 296. Word class: noun.

53. MEAT

Bodega Miwok *čoy:ek:e* (1), Lake Miwok *š'uk:i* (2), Plains Miwok *huku-* (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok *či:či-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *pič'e:ma-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *mič'e:ma-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 13. Polysemy: 'deer, *Odocoileus hemionus columbianus* / meat'. Word class: noun. Variants: *čoy:ek:e*, *čoy:eke*. Distinct from *loʔa* 'flesh / meat of something, such as a clam' [Callaghan 1970: 46].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 127. Polysemy: 'deer / meat'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *?oʔa* 'flesh / boneless meat / nut meats' (cf. *?oʔ-* 'to cut (meat)') [Callaghan 1965: 189].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 49. Word class: noun. The word is used only in Jackson Valley dialect. In Lockford dialect the word *?ime:na-* 'meat' is used instead [Callaghan 1984: 219]. *huku-* is probably borrowed from Northern Sierra Miwok (Camanche dialect) *huku-* 'meat' [Callaghan 1987: 80].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 46. Glossed as 'meat (any kind)'. This word is peculiar to Fiddletown dialect. Other

dialects (Camanche and Ione) use another word for 'meat': *huk:u-* [Callaghan 1987: 80]. Cf. also *miče:ma-* 'wild meat' (only in Fiddletown dialect) [Callaghan 1987: 150].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 14. Word class: noun. Distinct from *ʔoč:uku-* 'flesh / meat' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 22].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 256. Word class: noun. Informant: Castro Johnson, of Mariposa. Variant form: *piče:ma-* 'meat' (informants: Chris Brown, of Bootjack; Rose Watt, of Usona; Emma Lord, of Usona) [Broadbent 1964: 264]. The word for 'flesh' is not attested.

54. MOON

Bodega Miwok *pul:'u:luk ~ pul'u:luk* (1), Lake Miwok *kom'e:-nawa* (2), Plains Miwok *kome-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *kome-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *kom'e-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *kome-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 62. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 65. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Word class: noun. A compound with the second element *-nawa* 'old man'. Secondary synonym: *k'awul h'i:* 'moon', literally 'night sun' [Callaghan 1965: 59].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 74. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 116. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 7. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 246. Polysemy: 'moon / month'. Word class: noun.

55. MOUNTAIN

Bodega Miwok *p'ayih* (1), Lake Miwok *p'awih* (1), Plains Miwok *we:pa-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *lu:pay-i-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *lem'e:-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *leme:-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 58. Glossed as 'hill', but cf. *k'away p'ayih* 'tall mountain' [Callaghan 1970: 35], *p'ayin ʔeč:a* 'the other side of the mountain' [Callaghan 1970: 89]. Word class: noun. Variant: *p'ayiš* (only in placename *ʔamal p'ayiš* 'West Hill', probably influenced by Marin Miwok) [Callaghan 1970: 58].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 107. Polysemy: 'hill / mountain'. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 174. Polysemy: 'mountain / hill'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 140. Polysemy: 'hill / mountain / knoll'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 8. Polysemy: 'mountain / hill'. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 250. Word class: noun.

56. MOUTH

Bodega Miwok *l'akum* (1), Lake Miwok *l'up:e* (2), Plains Miwok *lupe-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔaw:o-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *ʔaw:o-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔaw:o- ~ ʔow:o-*

(3).

References and notes:**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 43. Word class: noun.**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 82. Polysemy: 'mouth / barrel of a gun'. Word class: noun.**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 88. Word class: noun.**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 267.**Central Sierra Miwok:** Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 21. Word class: noun. Cited as *ʔaw:o-* in the English - Central Sierra Miwok section [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 40].**Southern Sierra Miwok:** Broadbent 1964: 287. Word class: noun. The forms *ʔaw:o-* and *ʔow:o-* are in free variation.

57. NAME

Bodega Miwok *ʔawe* (-1), Lake Miwok *l'ak̄te* (1), Plains Miwok *ʔowa:-se-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔoya:-se-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *ʔoya:-še-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔoya:-he-* (2).

References and notes:**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 88. Word class: noun. This word is more likely borrowed from Wappo *y'awe* 'name' than cognate to the Eastern Miwok word for 'name'.**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 74. Word class: noun. Also functions as the semelfactive transitive verb 'to name'. Related to *l'ak̄t* 'to call / to name / to baptize' (semelfactive transitive verb) [ibid.].**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 211. Word class: noun. Derived from *ʔowa-* 'to name / to call someone (names)' [ibid.].**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 279. Derived from *ʔoya-* 'to name'.**Central Sierra Miwok:** Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 22. Word class: noun. Cited as *ʔoya:še-* in the English - Central Sierra Miwok section [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 40]. Derived from *ʔoya-* 'to name, call by name' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 22].**Southern Sierra Miwok:** Broadbent 1964: 291. Word class: noun. Derived from *ʔoya-* 'to name' [Broadbent 1964: 292].

58. NECK

Bodega Miwok *hel'e:ke* ~ *hel'e:ke* (1), Lake Miwok *hel'e:ki* (1), Plains Miwok *to:pa-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *to:pa-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *n'o:no-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *hip:it̄:-a-* (4).

References and notes:**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 19. Word class: noun. Distinct from *tok'a:ni* 'throat' [Callaghan 1970: 72].**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 29. Glossed as 'neck, especially the front part'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *ʂod'o:may* 'nape (first three cervicals)' [Callaghan 1965: 125] and *dol'o:men* 'throat' (borrowed from Patwin *d'olome?* 'Adam's apple') [Callaghan 1965: 23].**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 161. Polysemy: 'neck / nape of neck'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *nəm:it* 'throat / gullet / front of the neck / windpipe' [Callaghan 1984: 107].**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 220. Glossed as 'nape, back part of neck'. Distinct from *tok:olo:la-* 'throat / neck (front part) / alimentary canal, gullet' [Callaghan 1987: 218]. There is no word for 'neck' as a whole in the dictionary.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 13. Word class: noun. Distinct from *seč'e-* 'nape of neck' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 15], *w'ik:il-na-* 'throat' (West Central dialect) [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20], *m'i?:ita-* 'throat' (East Central dialect) [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 11].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 237. Word class: noun. Informant: Rose Watt, of Usona. Cf. *hip:it-* 'nape of neck' (informants: Castro Johnson, of Mariposa; Chris Brown, of Bootjack), *hipi:t-* 'to hug' (informant: Chris Brown, a speaker of Yosemite dialect) [ibid.]. Distinct from *lol:a-* 'throat' [Broadbent 1964: 252], *toko?-la-* 'throat' (derived from *to:k-* 'to choke, tr.') [Broadbent 1964: 279].

59. NEW

Bodega Miwok *š'uk:u* (1), Lake Miwok *šuk'u:* (1), Plains Miwok *we:si-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *wenme-mi-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *?iwin-ni-me-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 68. Polysemy: 'to be new / to be young'. Word class: intransitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 128. Polysemy: 'to be new / to be fresh'. Word class: intransitive verb.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 174. Word class: adjective.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 248. A form of the Fiddletown dialect. Camanche dialect has *wen:e-mi-*. Derived from the same root as *wenme?* 'now / today / pretty soon' [Callaghan 1987: 247].

Central Sierra Miwok: Not attested in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 290. Polysemy: 'new / fresh / young'. Word class: noun. Derived with the verbalizer suffix *-ni-* [Broadbent 1964: 75-76] and habitual nominal suffix *-me-* (meaning '(he) always...') [Broadbent 1964: 103] from *?i-wi-n* 'now' [Broadbent 1964: 290]. The latter form is morphologically analysed as follows: *?i-* 'that, demonstrative stem' [ibid.], *-wi-* ~ *-wi-* suffix of obscure meaning, added to certain demonstrative stems [Broadbent 1964: 116], *-n* = ending of the temporal case [Broadbent 1964: 50].

60. NIGHT

Bodega Miwok *k'awul* (1), Lake Miwok *k'awul* (1), Plains Miwok *kawil* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *kaw'i:l-i-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *kaw'i:l- ~ kaw'i:l-i-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *kaw'i:l-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 35. Word class: noun. Secondary synonym: *?ume* 'night / evening / afternoon' [Callaghan 1970: 99].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 59. Word class: noun. Secondary synonym: *?ume* 'night, evening / last night' (noun) [Callaghan 1965: 192].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 64. Word class: noun. Also functions as the adjective 'dark'.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 108. Polysemy: 'dark (adj.) / night'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 6. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 244. Word class: noun. Cf. *kawli-?o-* 'night', derived from *kawil-* with the nominal suffix *-?o-* 'directional' [Broadbent 1964: 115].

61. NOSE

Bodega Miwok *h'u:k* (1), Lake Miwok *h'uk* (1), Plains Miwok *hu:k* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *huku-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *nit'o-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *nito-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 28. Word class: noun. Related to *h'uku* 'to be smelling something' (transitive verb) [Callaghan 1970: 26].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 42. Polysemy: 'nose / beak of a bird / bill of a duck'. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 51. Polysemy: 'nose / bow of a ship'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 80. Polysemy: 'nose / beak, bill / nostrils'. Cf. *huka-* 'smell' (noun).

Central Sierra Miwok: Berman 1982: 126. Word class: noun. Cited (apparently erroneously) as *nit'o-* in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 12, 40]. Berman's informant John Kelly pronounced this word as *nit'o-* [Berman 1982: 126].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 260. Word class: noun.

62. NOT

Bodega Miwok *h'ama* ~ *hama* (1) / *h'el:a* (2), Lake Miwok *h'el:a* (2), Plains Miwok *ket* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok =*wa-* (4) / =*?aŋki-* (5), Central Sierra Miwok =*wa-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *ken* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 17. Polysemy: 'no / not (clause initial)'. Word class: particle. Opposed to *h'el:a* 'not' (clause non-initial). The two particles can co-occur: *kaʔawuh ka: ʔuhʔup:a, h'ama h'el:a ʔup:a nih w'a:puti* 'I thought it was raining, but it isn't raining yet' [ibid.]. We list both particles as synonyms. Callaghan 1970: 19. Glossed as 'not (clause non-initial)'. Word class: particle.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 29. Glossed as 'no / not / never / not to'. Word class: particle. Also functions as the exclamation 'No! (Don't do what you were going to do)'. Weak form: *hela* [Callaghan 1965: 30]. Cf. *h'el:a-k* 'to be all gone / to fail to be (in a certain place) / to lack' (passive intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 30], derived from *h'el:a* with the suffix *-ak* 'to possess' [Callaghan 1963: 213-214].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 67-68. Glossed as 'negative particle / not / never / don't'. Word class: particle. Abundant examples in the dictionary show that this is the main verbal negation, both indicative and prohibitive. Secondary synonyms: particle *he:la(?)* 'no / not' [Callaghan 1984: 39] (examples illustrate only the context 'not here'), verbal suffix *-n(:)imi-* (Jackson Valley, Lockford), *-n(:)emi-* (Jackson Valley) 'not, didn't / never' (*-nHimi-*, *-nHemi-* in Callaghan's morphophonological notation) [Callaghan 1984: 112].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 241. Negative verbal, nominal, and adjective suffix. Always follows augmented stems. After *-s(:)e-ʔ-* 'past tense in negative constructions' has allomorphs *-wa-* ~ *-a-*, elsewhere only *-wa-* is used. Other means of verbal negation are *-ʔaŋki-* 'negative verbal suffix' (on Stem 3 and complex stems) [Callaghan 1987: 264] and *-ke* ~ *-keʔ* ~ *-ke:* 'negative postfix' [Callaghan 1987: 110]. We enter *-wa-* and *-ʔaŋki-* as technical synonyms. Callaghan 1987: 264. Negative verbal suffix.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20. Negative verbal suffix. Glossed as 'negative tense'.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 245. Polysemy: 'no / not'. Word class: particle. Functions as the main means of verbal negation, both indicative and prohibitive.

63. ONE

Bodega Miwok *k'en:e* (1), Lake Miwok *k'en:e* (1), Plains Miwok *ken:ati-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *luʔ:i-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *k'eŋ:e-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *keŋ:e-*

(1).

References and notes:**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 36. Word class: noun.**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 61. Word class: noun.**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 67. Word class: noun.**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 140. Polysemy: 'single (body part) / one / one (of them) / a certain'.**Central Sierra Miwok:** Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 7, 52. Word class: noun.**Southern Sierra Miwok:** Broadbent 1964: 245. Word class: noun.

64. PERSON

Bodega Miwok *m'ič:a* (1), Lake Miwok *k'o:ca* (2), Plains Miwok *mi:w* # (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *miw:i-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *m'iw:i-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *miw:i-* (3).

References and notes:**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 49. Word class: noun.**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 66. Polysemy: 'Indian / person'. Word class: noun.**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 95. Glossed as 'Indian'. Word class: noun. There is no word glossed as 'person' in the dictionary. The word *mi:w*, however, is translated as 'person' in the phrase *ʔamahʔamaʔ mi:w* 'the same person' [Callaghan 1984: 184]. Polysemy 'person / Indian' is widespread in California.**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 152. Polysemy: 'person / Indian'.**Central Sierra Miwok:** Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 11. Polysemy: 'person / Indian / human being'. Word class: noun.**Southern Sierra Miwok:** Broadbent 1964: 256. Polysemy: 'person / Indian'. Word class: noun. Related to *mi:w-i-* 'body' [ibid.].

65. RAIN

Bodega Miwok *ʔup:a* (1), Lake Miwok *ʔu:pa* (1), Plains Miwok *ho:ma-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *nik:a-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *n'ik:a-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *nik:a-* (3).

References and notes:**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 100. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to rain'.**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 195. Polysemy: 'rain / a shower'. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to rain'.**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 47. Word class: noun. Related to the verb *hom:a-* 'to rain' [ibid.].**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 170. The verb 'to rain' has the same stem as the noun: *nik:a-*.**Central Sierra Miwok:** Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 13. Word class: noun. The verb 'to rain' has the same stem: *n'ik:a-* [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 13, 43].**Southern Sierra Miwok:** Broadbent 1964: 261. Word class: noun. The verb 'to rain' has the same stem: *nik:a-* [ibid.].

66. RED

Bodega Miwok *k'ič:-ulu* (1), Lake Miwok *ʔaw'a:-ʔawa* (2), Plains Miwok *wet-eʔte-* (3),

Northern Sierra Miwok *wet-et:i-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *yol-'ol:i-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *yoč-oč:i-* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 37. Glossed as 'to be red'. Word class: intransitive verb. Morphological analysis: verbal root *k'ič:i-* (apparently related to *k'ič:aw* 'blood / to bleed') [ibid.], verbal suffix *-ulu* 'adjective formative' [Callaghan 1970: 99].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 174. Polysemy: 'to be red / to be brown'. Word class: intransitive verb. Callaghan notes that "[m]ost color terms are verbal compounds consisting of a strong verbal root followed by its weak alternant" [Callaghan 1963: 59].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 172. Word class: adjective. Contains the adjectival suffix *-V?C₂V-* 'adjective formative, primarily in color terms' [Callaghan 1984: 226].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 248. Polysemy: 'red / pink'. Contains the adjectival suffix *-VC:i-* 'color formative' [Callaghan 1987: 302].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 5. Polysemy: 'red / a red one'. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 239. Polysemy: 'red / bay horse'. Word class: noun. Related to *yoč-si-* 'to blush / to flush, intr. / to turn red' [ibid.].

67. ROAD

Bodega Miwok *m'uku* (1), Lake Miwok *m'uk* (1), Plains Miwok *mu:k* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *muk:u-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *m'uk:u-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *muk:u-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 53. Polysemy: 'trail / road'. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 96. Polysemy: 'trail / road'. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 98. Polysemy: 'trail / road'. Word class: noun. The form is from the Jackson Valley dialect. Lockford dialect has *muk*.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 156. Polysemy: 'road / trail'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 11. Glossed as 'trail'. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 257. Polysemy: 'road / trail'. Word class: noun.

68. ROOT

Bodega Miwok *h'ul:u* (1), Lake Miwok *š'u:li* (2), Plains Miwok *sac:a-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *yo:meča-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *wi:meya-* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 27. Word class: noun. Examples: *k'ol:en h'ul:u* 'grass root', *ʔalwan h'ul:u* 'tree root' [ibid.].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 130. Word class: noun. Southern Pomo *s'u:len* 'root' is apparently borrowed from Lake Miwok.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 127. Polysemy: 'root / butt'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 96. Cf. also *su:li-* 'basket root' [Callaghan 1987: 205] and *sáč:a-* 'root (generic) (only in Camanche dialect) / bottom' [Callaghan 1987: 190].

Central Sierra Miwok: Not attested in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 284. Word class: noun.

69. ROUND

Bodega Miwok *p'o:lo* (1), Lake Miwok *p'ow:olo* (1), Plains Miwok *wo:la-* (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok *hup:e-te-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *haʔ:ata-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 60. Glossed as 'to be round, spherical'. Word class: intransitive verb. Also functions as the noun 'ball'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 111. Glossed as 'to be round'. Word class: intransitive verb. Variants: *p'ow:ulu*, *p'ow:ulo*, *p'ol:olo*. Cf. *pol'o:lo* 'ball / dry oak ball / baseball (the game) / Ball Dance' [Callaghan 1965: 110]. Kashaya *polo:lo* 'round' is apparently borrowed from Miwok.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 180. Word class: adjective. Attested in this meaning only in Jackson Valley dialect. In Lockford the word is attested as the noun 'marble'. Borrowed from Spanish *bola* 'ball'.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 84. Polysemy: 'round (like a bowl, ball or ring) / marble'. Cf. *hup:a-* 'to roll something' [Callaghan 1987: 83].

Central Sierra Miwok: Not attested in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 228. Word class: noun. Cf. also *haʔ:ata-m:a-* 'spherical' [ibid.], formed with the suffix *-m:a-* 'one who (has or does something) to excess' [Broadbent 1964: 110].

70. SAND

Bodega Miwok *ʃ'ukuy* (1), Lake Miwok *ʃ'ukuy* (1), Plains Miwok *hu:ma-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *wiskala-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *wiskala-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 68. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 128, 261. Polysemy: 'sand / gravel in a creek'. Misprinted as *{ʃúuj}* in [Callaghan 1965: 128]; misprint corrected by the author in [Berman 1973: 261].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 52. Polysemy: 'sand / gravel'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 253.

Central Sierra Miwok: Not attested in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 283. Word class: noun.

71. SAY

Bodega Miwok *ʔona* (1), Lake Miwok *h'inte* # (2), Plains Miwok *kac:i-* # (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *kač:i-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *k'ač:i-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *kač:-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 95. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 34. Polysemy: 'to do, in the most general sense / to be a certain way / to gather / to fix up / to say / to think'. In the case of the first two meanings, the specific action or state of being is often mentioned in the following sentence [ibid.].

Word class: intransitive and transitive verb. Examples: *del'e:ka katu h'inŋe ʔaye kah'u:ni* 'I thought you said three'; *kil'a:kon kelac m'aq̄satu ʔat'a:waʃitu w'e:ta hinŋe* 'The old people used to talk (*ʔat'a:waʃitu*) like that, they said (*hinŋe*)' [ibid.]; *kan'i: ʔaye h'e:la kam'aq̄ʃan ʔ'em:a katu konh'inŋe* 'But me, I can't do that, they say' [Callaghan 1965: 59]. Distinct from direct quotative particle *kaʃa* [Callaghan 1965: 58], *w'eno ~ weno* 'they say / That's what I heard / it is said' (quotative particle) [Callaghan 1965: 159]. Alternative candidates: *h'u:ni(h)* 'to think something is so, especially when it is not / to mean what one has said / to say, tell / to show' (semelfactive intransitive and transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 45], *l'i:law* 'to say / to tell / to describe / to tell on or about someone' (iterative intransitive and transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 78], *ʔa:taw* 'to speak, talk / to make a speech / to make the characteristic sound (said of an animal) / to progress (in an interview) / to say / to talk about' (semelfactive intransitive and transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 168].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 60. Word class: intransitive verb. Apparently the basic word for 'to say'. Other candidates include *hi:ki-* 'to do something / to say / to happen' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1984: 45] and *ʔi:ki-* 'to say / to do' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1984: 203-204]. *hi:ki-* is illustrated in the dictionary by the following examples: 'What are you doing?', 'What happened?' and 'What does he want to do?', so the real meaning of the verb is rather 'to do what? / to say what?' (verbs with this meaning exist in other Miwok languages).

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 109. Polysemy: 'to be / to do / to say / to claim'. Different from *liwa-* 'to talk / to say / to speak (especially Indian) / to make the characteristic sound' [Callaghan 1987: 133]. One more verb is glossed as 'to say': *mič:i-* 'to do / to say' [Callaghan 1987: 150]. However, examination of examples adduced in the dictionary leaves no doubt that this verb means 'to do what? / to say what?', much like its Southern Sierra Miwok etymological counterpart *mi-č:-* 'to do what?' [Broadbent 1964: 256]. Cf. the following examples: *mič:i-s?* "What did you say?", *mič:i-m ʔoʔo?* "What'll I say?" (*ʔoʔo* 'then') [Callaghan 1987: 150].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 6. Polysemy: 'to say / to do / to say to someone / to do to someone'. Word class: verb.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 242. Word class: verb.

72. SEE

Bodega Miwok *ʔute* (1), Lake Miwok *ʔute* (1), Plains Miwok *ci:s-i-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *hete:y-i-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *šiy-ŋe-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *hiy-ŋe-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 101. Polysemy: 'to see / to find'. Word class: transitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 193. Polysemy: 'to look at / to see / to find'. Word class: transitive verb and particle. Also functions as the particle 'You see? / Look here'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 23-24. Polysemy: 'to see / to look / to look at / to look for'. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 68. Polysemy: 'to see / to notice'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 16. Word class: verb. Secondary synonym: *n'an:i-* 'to find / to perceive / to see' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 12].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 237. Word class: verb. Contains mediopassive suffix *-ŋ(:)e-* [Broadbent 1964: 82]. Cf. other synonyms from the same root: *hiy:-* 'to see / to look' (irregular defective verb, lacks present imperfect forms) [Broadbent 1964: 61-62, 237], *hiy:i-č:- ~ hiy:i-č:-* 'to see' (the two forms are in dialectal variation) [Broadbent 1964: 237].

73. SEED

Bodega Miwok *sem'i:ya* (-1), Lake Miwok *ʔec:e* (1), Plains Miwok *sim:i:ya-* (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok *hot:o-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *sem'i:ya-* ~ *sim'i:ya-* (-1), Southern Sierra Miwok *simi:ya-* (-1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 64. Word class: noun. Borrowed from Spanish *semilla* 'seed'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 176. Polysemy: 'seed / flower seed / grain'. Word class: noun. Secondary synonym: *sem'i:ya* 'seed' (borrowed from Spanish *semilla* 'seed') [Callaghan 1965: 119].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 134. Word class: noun. Borrowed from Spanish *semilla* 'seed'.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 79. Polysemy: 'seed (generic) / pits'. Secondary synonym: *sim:iy-a- ~ sim:i(:)ya-* 'seed' (borrowed from Spanish *semilla* 'seed') [Callaghan 1987: 198].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 15. Glossed as 'wild seeds'. Word class: noun. Borrowed from Spanish *semilla* 'seed'.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 269. Word class: noun. Borrowed from Spanish *semilla* 'seed'.

74. SIT

Bodega Miwok *w'aṭeh* (1), Lake Miwok *h'owo* (2), Plains Miwok *həʔ-:əc-ə-* # (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *huŋ-:uč-:u-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *t'oʔ-:uč-:u-* # (5), Southern Sierra Miwok *toʔ-:u-č-:* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 79. Glossed as 'to sit down'. Word class: intransitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 41. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down / to set up (out of bed) / to ride'. Word class: semelfactive intransitive verb (with allative of place).

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 42. Polysemy: 'to be sitting / to be sitting down / to be sitting around'. Word class: stative intransitive verb. Contains static verbal suffix *-YcY-* (in Callaghan's morphonological notation) [Callaghan 1984: 224]. Alternative candidates: *hi:ʔa-* 'to sit' (intransitive verb; same root as in *həʔ-:əc-ə-*; not recognized by Mabel Walloupe, a speaker of Lockford dialect) [Callaghan 1984: 42], *kəʔ-:əc-ə-* 'to sit down / sitting down / to be sitting / to sit around' (stative intransitive verb; "Same as *həʔ-:əc-ə-*") [Callaghan 1984: 69], *toʔ-:u-č-:* 'to be sitting down' (stative intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1984: 160].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 83. Glossed as 'to be sitting (person) / to be sitting (on a chair)'. Derived from the same root as *huŋ-:e-* 'to sit down' [Callaghan 1987: 82].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 19. Word class: verb. Contains suffix *-ič-i-* 'static of bodily position' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 21]. Alternative candidate: *h'uŋ-:e-* 'to sit' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 4]. Distinct from *t'oʔ-:ye-* 'to sit down' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 19], *h'iŋ-:e-* 'to sit down' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 5].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 279. Word class: verb. Derived from *toʔ-* 'to seat, tr. / to sit someone down' [ibid.] with the static suffix *-č-:* [Broadbent 1964: 66].

75. SKIN

Bodega Miwok *ʂ'uluk* (1), Lake Miwok *ʂ'uluk* (1), Plains Miwok *talka-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *pič-:eta-* # (3), Central Sierra Miwok *t'ol-:eč-:* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *nikha-* # (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 69. Word class: noun. Apparently related to *ʂ'ul:a* 'to skin' (transitive verb), *ʂ'ulik* 'to skin' (transitive verb) [ibid.].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 128. Polysemy: 'the skin of an animal, fruit, or fish / shell / outer covering'. Word class: noun. Cf. *š'ulih* 'to shed, peel off' (semelfactive intransitive verb) [ibid.].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 145. Polysemy: 'skin / hide / shell?'. Word class: noun. Cf. also *kaskara-* 'skin / peeling', borrowed from Spanish *cáscara* 'husk, peeling' [Callaghan 1984: 64].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 188. Alternative candidates: *talka-* 'hide (of deer, bear, etc.) / skin / fur / rind (bacon skin) / leather' [Callaghan 1987: 227], *tol:e-čá-* 'peeling / skin / acorn shell / scab / callus' [Callaghan 1987: 236] (derived from *to:lu-* 'to peel, pare / to peel something off / to tear off (paper) / to pick at / to hull' [Callaghan 1987: 235]). It is not clear which of these words is the unmarked designation of human skin.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 19. Word class: noun. Distinct from *t'alka-* 'hide / rawhide' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 18].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 261. Polysemy: 'skin / outer surface'. Word class: noun. Alternative candidates: *law:ut-* 'hide / rawhide / skin' [Broadbent 1964: 249], *tol:a-* 'skin / father (term of reference?), obs.' [Broadbent 1964: 278] (related to *to:l-* 'to skin roots / to peel off, tr.' [Broadbent 1964: 279]). The choice between the synonyms is arbitrary, since available Southern Sierra Miwok texts do not mention human skin.

76. SLEEP

Bodega Miwok *?e:č* (1), Lake Miwok *?e:c* (1), Plains Miwok *?e:ci-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *yaŋ:e-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *t'iy:e-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *t'iy:e-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 89. Word class: intransitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 176. Polysemy: 'to sleep / to wane (said of the moon)'. Word class: intransitive verb. Allomorph with shortened vowel: *?ec-*.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 195. Polysemy: 'to sleep / to be asleep / to go to sleep (part of the body)' (the latter meaning is attested only in Jackson Valley dialect). Word class: intransitive verb.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 94. Polysemy: 'to go to sleep / to be sleeping / to doze'. Derived from the same root as *yaŋ:a-č'i-* 'to lie down / to be lying down'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 19. Polysemy: 'to sleep / to fall asleep'. Word class: verb.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 280. Word class: verb. Related to noun *t'iyē-* 'sleep' [Broadbent 1964: 279]. Distinct from *moyo:-t-* 'to go to sleep' (informant: Chris Brown, a speaker of Yosemite dialect) [Broadbent 1964: 257].

77. SMALL

Bodega Miwok *?um'uč:e* (1), Lake Miwok *k'uč:i ~ k'uci* (-1), Plains Miwok *?iti-t:i-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *?ič:ipi-t'i-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *t'u:ni-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *čin:ipi- ~ čin:imi-* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 99. Glossed as 'to be small'. Word class: intransitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 72-73. Polysemy: 'to be small / to be weak (said of a voice) / to be narrow'. Word class: semelfactive intransitive verb. Also functions as the noun 'a little bit'. Borrowed from Patwin *k'uči* 'small' (this word has a Wintun etymology); cf. also Southeastern Pomo *k'uči-n* 'small', apparently borrowed from the same source. Cf. also *k'uč:u:y ~ kuc'u:y* 'to be small (said of several things)' (iterative intransitive verb), borrowed from Cache Creek Patwin *k'uč:u:y* 'small' [Callaghan 1965: 73] and *k'uš:i* 'to be small' (intransitive verb) [ibid.].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 202. Polysemy: 'little, small / narrow'. Word class: adjective. *-ti-* is a frozen diminutive suffix [Callaghan 1984: 166].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 275. Polysemy: 'small, little / small size / a little bit / a small piece'. Derived from the same root as *ʔiči:pu-* 'to make something small'. *-ti-* is a diminutive suffix. Callaghan notes similarity to English *itty bitty*, but, given the morphological transparency of *ʔiči:pi-ti-* on Miwok ground, this is probably a chance similarity.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 19. Polysemy: 'small / young'. Word class: noun. Cf. other derivatives from the same root: *t'un:i-či-* 'little', *t'un:i-či-kči-* 'little / a bit / scrap' (with diminutive suffix *-kči-*) [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 223. Word class: noun. The two forms are in free variation. Cf. other synonyms from the same root: *čint̥i-t̥i-* 'small', *čim:ipi-či-* ~ *čim:imi-či-* 'small' (informants: Castro Johnson, of Mariposa; Rose Watt, of Usona; Emma Lord, of Usona), *čim:ipi-t̥ki-* ~ *čim:imi-t̥ki-* 'small' (informants: Castro Johnson, of Mariposa; Rose Watt, of Usona; Emma Lord, of Usona), *čim:ipi-či-* 'small' (informant: Chris Brown, a speaker of Yosemite dialect) [ibid.].

78. SMOKE

Bodega Miwok *k'a:l* (1), Lake Miwok *k'a:l* (1), Plains Miwok *ka:lih* ~ *ka:lis* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *hak:is-i-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *h'ak:isa-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *hak:is-a-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 32. Glossed as 'smoke (from a fire or cigarette)'. Word class: noun. Also functions as the verb 'to be smoking (from a fire)'.
Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 54. Glossed as 'smoke from a fire'. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to smoke (said of a fire)'. Cf. *k'ale* 'to be smoky, cloudy, sultry' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 56].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 65. Polysemy: 'smoke (usually from fire) / haze'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 56. Glossed as 'smoke from fire / cigarette smoke'. Derived from *haki:s-i-* 'to smoke (of fire or stick)'.
Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 2. Word class: noun. Related to *haki:s-* 'to smoke' and *h'ak-si-* 'to smoke, of a fire' [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 227. Word class: noun. Derived from *hak-si-* 'to smoke, of fire' [ibid.] with the nominal suffix *-a-* [Broadbent 1964: 99].

79. STAND

Bodega Miwok *t̥alah* (1), Lake Miwok *t̥alah* (1), Plains Miwok *kuna-* # (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *hač:-ič:ī-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *h'ač:-ič:ī-* ~ *h'ač:-ič:ī-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *hač:i-č:-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 70. Word class: intransitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 132. Polysemy: 'to stand (said of a person or thing) / to stand up / to be standing / to be in a vertical position'. Word class: semelfactive intransitive verb. Also functions as the noun 'stand, a term referring to the operation of driving deer towards a waiting hunter'. Distinct from *h'acah* 'to be, to be standing (said of an animal or an object)' (semelfactive intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 25].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 77-78. Polysemy: 'to be standing / to land (bird)?'. Word class: intransitive verb. Alternative

candidates: *kun:uc:u-* 'to be standing / to be still (water)' (stative intransitive verb; same root as in *kuna-*) [Callaghan 1984: 78], *til:əcə-* 'to be standing (water) / to stand still' (stative intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1984: 154].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 61. Glossed as 'to be standing / to be standing on four feet / to stand around'. Derived from *ha:či-* (transitive verb) 'to stand (a person) somewhere'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 2. Word class: verb. Contains suffix *-iči-* 'static of bodily position' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 21]. Distinct from *h'ač-ŋe-* 'to stand, stop walking' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 2].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 228. Polysemy: 'to be standing / to be parked or stationary'. Word class: verb. Derived from *ha:č-* 'to stop or halt, tr. / to stand up, tr.' [ibid.] with the static suffix *-č-* [Broadbent 1964: 66].

80. STAR

Bodega Miwok *h'it:i* (1), Lake Miwok *t'o?le* (2), Plains Miwok *hol:ok:-ay* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *hos:ok:ona-* ~ *hos:ok:ena-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *h'os:ok:ona-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *čala:tu-* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 23. Word class: noun. According to Callaghan, the word may be derived from *h'i-* 'sun' (bound form) plus **-ti* 'diminutive suffix' [ibid.].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 140. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 47. Polysemy: 'star / Morning Star'. Word class: noun. *-ay* is a noun suffix with obscure meaning [Callaghan 1984: 15].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 79. Polysemy: 'star / falling star, meteor'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 4. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 221. Word class: noun.

81. STONE

Bodega Miwok *l'up:u(h)* (1), Lake Miwok *l'up:u* (1), Plains Miwok *sowa-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *sawa-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *šaw'a:-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *hawa-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 46. Glossed as 'rock'. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 82. Polysemy: 'rock / money / dollar'. Word class: noun. Secondary synonym: *h'oka* 'rock, boulder' [Callaghan 1965: 38].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 129. Glossed as 'rock'. Word class: noun. The form represents Jackson Valley dialect. Lockford and Pleasanton dialects have *sawa-*.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 194. Glossed as 'rock'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 15. Glossed as 'rock, stone'. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 228. Glossed as 'rock'. Word class: noun.

82. SUN

Bodega Miwok *h'i:* (1), Lake Miwok *h'i:* (1), Plains Miwok *hi:-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok

hiʔe:ma- (1), Central Sierra Miwok *hiʔe:ma-* # (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *waʔu-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 20. Polysemy: 'sun / day'. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 32. Polysemy: 'sun / day'. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 44. Polysemy: 'sun / day'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 74. Polysemy: 'sun / light (daylight) / day'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 3. Polysemy: 'day / sun'. Word class: noun. Related to *hiʔem-* 'to be sunny / to come out (of the sun) / to pay a visit in the daytime', *hiʔme-* 'sunny / a sunny place' [ibid.]. Alternative candidate: *waʔi-* 'sun' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20]. Although [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] give no dialect identification for these words (thus they both must be West Central or pan-Central), we may note that the only attested textual occurrence of *hiʔema-* 'sun' is in the text "Shaman and Clown" (West Central dialect) [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 66], whereas *waʔi-* 'sun' appears only in the East Central dialect texts (informant Lena Cox) [Berman 1982, text VIII, 14; text IX, 1, 5, 11, 13, 14].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 282. Polysemy: 'sun / clock'. Word class: noun.

83. SWIM

Bodega Miwok *ʔa:la-ti* (1), Lake Miwok *ʔupuh* (2), Plains Miwok *ʔapsə-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔipsi-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *mi:ŋ-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔepy-* (-1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 85. Word class: intransitive verb. Distinct from *ʔupuh* 'to take a bath / to bathe' (intransitive and transitive verb) [Callaghan 1970: 100].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 192. Polysemy: 'to swim (said of a person or a fish) / to bathe'. Word class: intransitive verb. Distinct from *ʔim:uh-* 'to ford, swim across' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 137].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 198. Polysemy 'to swim (Jackson Valley) / to bathe (Lockford)'. Word class: intransitive verb. Cf. *ʔelya-* 'to dog-paddle / to swim (Lockford)' [Callaghan 1984: 192]. *ʔapsə-* is also attested in the meaning 'to swim' in the Lockford dialect, cf. the following example: *nəw:ən ʔu:sistoʔ kan:iʔ ʔapsəs:im* 'If I stay here I'll swim' (Lockford) [Callaghan 1984: 217].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 292. Polysemy: 'to swim / to bathe / to take a shower / to swim across'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 11. Word class: verb. Distinct from *ʔip-ši-* 'to bathe' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 24].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 289. Polysemy: 'to swim actively, using arms and legs / to swim to somewhere'. Word class: verb. Apparently borrowed from Chukchansi Yokuts *ʔepʰi-* 'to swim'. Distinct from *ʔip-h-* 'to swim around / to bathe' [Broadbent 1964: 296]. Cf. the following context: ""But you know I can't swim (*ʔepyinintʔiʔ*)," said the jackrabbit" [Broadbent 1964, text 11, (4)].

84. TAIL

Bodega Miwok *k'ol:a* (-1), Lake Miwok *k'o:k* (1), Plains Miwok *ko:la-* ~ *kol:a-* (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok *su:ki-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *š'u:ki-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *hu:ki-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 39. Word class: noun. Borrowed from Spanish *cola* 'tail'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 66. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 73. Word class: noun. The variant *ko:la-* is used in both Jackson Valley and Lockford dialects, the variant *kol:a-* is attested only in Jackson Valley. Borrowed from Spanish *cola* 'tail'.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 204. Polysemy: 'tail / pope's nose'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 16. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 236. Word class: noun.

85. THAT₁

Bodega Miwok *n'o-ʃ* (1), Lake Miwok *d'o:* (1), Plains Miwok *no:-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *no:-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *no-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *?i-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 57. Word class: attributive independent pronoun. Example: *n'oʃ ?'alwəh* 'that tree'. Derived from *n'o:* 'that' (independent pronoun) with the demonstrative adjective suffix *-ʃ* [Callaghan 1970: 65]. Distinct from *?iti* 'he, she / it, that / there is' (third person singular independent pronoun) [Callaghan 1970: 92]. Cf. also *m'a:* 'that' (independent pronoun; example: *m'a: kač'ač'o* 'That's my daughter-in-law') [Callaghan 1970: 47].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 23. Polysemy: 'that (at a distance) / there / the other way'. Word class: independent pronoun. Distinct from the independent anaphoric pronoun *m'a:* 'it, that; usually referring to a previously mentioned inanimate object / there, referring to a previously mentioned place / them, referring to previously mentioned people' ("the last usage is rare") [Callaghan 1965: 86], *ma* 'it, that; usually referring to a previously mentioned inanimate object / there, referring to a previously mentioned place / he, they; referring to a person or people previously mentioned' [ibid.].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 110. Polysemy: 'there / he, she, it (over there) / that'. Word class: demonstrative pronoun. Apparently the basic opposition in the spatial deixis is the one between *no:-* 'that / he, she, it (over there)' and *ne:-* 'this / he, she, it (nearby)'. Other pronouns glossed as 'that' are *?i:-* 'that / that one / he, she, it' [Callaghan 1984: 202] and independent pronoun *?i:ke-* (Lockford), *?e:ke-* (Jackson Valley, Lockford) 'that' [Callaghan 1984: 203]. We include both *no:-* and *?i:-* as technical synonyms.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 169. Other pronouns, glossed as 'that': *?i:-kah* 'that, that one / he, she, it / that is' [Callaghan 1987: 278], *?e:ke- ~ ?eki-* 'what / that / anything' [Callaghan 1987: 270]. Examples, adduced in the dictionary, show that *?i:kah* is the most frequently employed of these pronouns. However, if we take into account the opposition between *ne:-?i:* 'this one' and *no:-?i:* 'that one' [Callaghan 1987: 278], the safest way would be to include both *no:-* and *?i:-kah* as technical synonyms.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 12. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 94-95, 290. Polysemy: 'that / there'. Demonstrative stem. "When *?i-* is followed immediately by case, the postfix *||-?ok||* is always present" [Broadbent 1964: 94].

85. THAT₂

Plains Miwok *?i:-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *?i:-kah* (2).

References and notes:

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 202. Polysemy: 'that / that one / he, she, it'. Word class: demonstrative pronoun. Reduced form: *?i-*.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 278. Polysemy: 'that, that one / he, she, it / that is'.

86. THIS

Bodega Miwok *n'i-ʃ* (1), Lake Miwok *n'e:* (1), Plains Miwok *ne:-* (1), Northern Sierra

Miwok *ne:-kah* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *ne-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *ne:-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 55. Word class: attributive independent pronoun. Examples: *n'iš k'oč'a* 'this house', *n'iš ?'omč'u* 'this winter'. Derived from *n'i:* 'this / here' (independent pronoun) [ibid.] with the demonstrative adjective suffix *-š* [Callaghan 1970: 65]. Another candidate with the same root is *n'ič:i* 'this' (attributive independent pronoun; example: *n'ič:i ?'anyu* 'this year') [ibid.]. Cf. also demonstrative nominal prefix *?iš-* 'this / the' [Callaghan 1970: 92], translated both as 'this' and 'that' in example sentences.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 99-100. Glossed as 'this, the'. Word class: independent pronoun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 105-106. Polysemy: 'this / this is, these are / he, she, it (nearby) / the'. Word class: demonstrative pronoun. Short form: *ne-*.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 166. The pure stem *ne:-* also functions as demonstrative pronoun 'this' [Callaghan 1987: 165].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 12. Glossed as 'this (here)'. Word class: noun. Distinct from anaphoric stem *?i-* 'this, previously mentioned; the one in question' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 22]. The forms *n'e:š-i-* 'this' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 12] and *?i:š-i-* 'this' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 22] are derived from demonstrative and anaphoric pronoun stems respectively.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 94-95, 260. Polysemy: 'this / here'. Demonstrative stem.

87. THOU₁

Bodega Miwok *m'i:* (1), Lake Miwok *m'i:* (1), Plains Miwok *mi:-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *mi:-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *mi-?* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *mi-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 50. Second person singular independent pronoun. Weak form: *mi*.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 93. Glossed as 'you (singular)'. Word class: independent pronoun. Objective case *mi-c*, *mi*, comitative case *m'i:-ni*, locative case *m'i:-wa-m*.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 95. Direct stem. Word class: independent pronoun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 152-153. Nominative *mi-?*, objective *mi:ni-y*, genitive *mi:ni-ŋ*.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 11. Objective case: *m'i:ni-y*, possessive case *m'i:ni-ŋ*, locative case *m'i:ni-t*, ablative case *m'i:ni-m:i?* [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 93, 256. Independent personal pronoun. Genitive case: *mi:niŋ*.

87. THOU₂

Plains Miwok *?ini-* (2).

References and notes:

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 200. Oblique stem. Word class: independent pronoun.

88. TONGUE

Bodega Miwok *lenč'epi* (1), Lake Miwok *leč'ip* (1), Plains Miwok *nep:it* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *nep:it-i-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *n'ep:it-i-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok

nep:it- (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 44. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 77. Word class: noun. Cf. *l'etoy-* 'to lick, lap' (verbal root with various derived verbs), *l'etaw* 'to dart the tongue (said of a snake)', and possibly *l'etaw-* 'to flame' (verbal root) [Callaghan 1965: 76].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 105. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 165.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 12. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 260. Word class: noun.

89. TOOTH

Bodega Miwok *k'uɬ* (1), Lake Miwok *k'uɬ* (1), Plains Miwok *kə:t* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *kiɬ:i-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *kiɬ:i-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *kiɬ:i-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 42. Polysemy: 'teeth / fangs'. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 69. Polysemy: 'tooth / fangs / blade of a knife'. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 70. Glossed as 'tooth / teeth'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 124. Polysemy: 'teeth / dentures'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 8. Glossed as 'teeth'. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 248. Word class: noun.

90. TREE

Bodega Miwok *?alwah* (1), Lake Miwok *?alwa* (1), Plains Miwok *?ala:wah* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *le:ka-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *l'a:ma-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *la:ma-* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 87. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 171-172. Polysemy: 'tree / bush'. Word class: noun. Variant: *?ala*. Weak form (used as a second element of compounds): *-?ala ~ -?alwa*. The variant *?ala* probably arose under the influence of the weak form *-?ala*.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 183. Polysemy: 'tree / vine'. The variant *?ala:wah* is used in both Jackson Valley and Lockford dialects, the variant *?ala:was* is attested only in Lockford.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 131. Polysemy: 'stick / tree, particularly a young tree still in the process of growing'. In Camanche dialect, opposed to *yama:la-* 'old tree (growth complete)' [Callaghan 1987: 92].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 8. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 249. Word class: noun.

91. TWO

Bodega Miwok *ʔoʃ:a* (1), Lake Miwok *ʔota* (1), Plains Miwok *ʔoy:a-ko-* ~ *ʔoy:oh-ko-* ~ *ʔo:ya-ko-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔoti:-ko-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *ʔoti:-ko-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔoti:-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 98. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 189. Word class: noun and adjective. Allomorph *ʔota-* "occurs only with suffixal material which produces morphophonemic stress shift". Weak form: *-ʔota*.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 211-212. Word class: plural noun. Variants: *ʔo:yo-ko-* (Lockford), *ʔoy:o-ko-* (Lockford?), *ʔoy:a-ko-* (Jackson Valley), *ʔoy:o-hko-* (Jackson Valley), *ʔo:ya-ko-* (Jackson Valley) ("MW says only *ʔojok:o* is correct"). Derived from *ʔoya-* ~ *ʔoy:a-* 'double (i.e. fruit) / a twin' [Callaghan 1984: 211]. *-ko-* is a plural affix [Callaghan 1984: 80].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 285. Inanimate counting numeral (for everything but people and sometimes animals). Cf. *ʔoti:-yak:-o* 'animate counting numeral (for people and occasionally animals or ghosts, but not plants or things)'. *-ko-* is a plural suffix [Callaghan 1987: 113].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 23, 52. Word class: noun. The same source also lists *ʔoti:-* 'two' as a separate stem [ibid.], but its existence is somewhat doubtful. It is not found without *-ko-* in Central Sierra Miwok texts in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960; Berman 1982], and [Callaghan 1994] does not mention the existence of such a form in Central Sierra Miwok.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 293. Word class: noun. Cf. also *ʔoti:-ko-* 'two' [ibid.]. The distribution between *ʔoti:-* and *ʔoti:-ko-* is not clear.

92. WALK (GO)

Bodega Miwok *w'a* (1), Lake Miwok *w'e:-ta* (1), Plains Miwok *mike:y-i-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *wi-ksi-* # (1), Central Sierra Miwok *wi-kš-i-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *wi-ks-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 78. Glossed as 'to go'. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 156. Polysemy: 'to go (usually with locative of place) / to go through (with object of place) / to go along (with object of place) / to pass (said of time) / to be doing something (with instr. of verb) / to become (with instr.)'. Word class: semelfactive intransitive and transitive verb. Cf. *w'e:* 'go, go on' (particle), *w'e:-nuka* 'to take or drive someone' (causative transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 155]. Distinct from *w'ic-ay* 'to walk' (semelfactive intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 159]. Secondary synonym: *ʔukan* 'to go in / to go / to enter' (semelfactive intransitive verb with locative of place and semelfactive transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 191].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 100. Glossed as 'to go'. Word class: intransitive verb. Variant: *mike:y-i-* (given by Callaghan with a question mark). Secondary synonyms: *ha:ci-* 'to go' (intransitive verb; "same as *wi:ty-* and *myke:j-y-*") [Callaghan 1984: 34]; *wi:ti-* 'to leave' (intransitive verb; glossed both as 'to leave' and 'to go' in the English - Plains Miwok section of the dictionary) [Callaghan 1984: 179, 253, 263]. Textual examples show that *mike:y-i-* is the main word for 'to go'.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 257. Polysemy: 'to go / to go through / to lead (road) / to leave'. Other candidates include *wi:-* 'to go' (defective) [Callaghan 1987: 258] and *yo:wu-* 'to go / to turn' [Callaghan 1987: 96]. Cf. also *muke:y-i-* 'to go' (only Camanche dialect) [Callaghan 1987: 157].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20. Glossed as 'to go'. Word class: verb. Secondary synonym: *wi-* 'to go' (apparently a defective verb like its Northern Sierra Miwok and Southern Sierra Miwok cognates).

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 284. Glossed as 'to go'. Word class: verb. Secondary synonym: *wi:-* 'to go' (irregular and

defective verb: stems 3 and 4 are absent, present imperfect forms are found only with first person pronominal suffixes) [Broadbent 1964: 38, 61-62, 285]. According to [Broadbent 1964: 38], the more usual form meaning "to go" is *wi-ks-*.

93. WARM (HOT)

Bodega Miwok *w'uki* (1), Lake Miwok *ʔe:ɬaw* (2), Plains Miwok *ʔap:uh* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔampu-pu-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *wiltit:i-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *wil:it-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 84. Glossed as 'to be hot (person or object)'. Word class: intransitive verb. Also functions as the noun 'fire'. Distinct from *w'i:law* 'to be hot (weather)' [Callaghan 1970: 82] and *h'un-ak* 'to be warm (person or room) / to warm something' (example: *h'un:nak l'iwa* 'warm water') [Callaghan 1970: 27].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 177. Glossed as 'to be hot, warm (said of an object or the weather)'. Word class: intransitive verb. Cf. *ʔe:ɬwa* 'to be hot (said of a person)' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 177]. Distinct from *h'un-hun* 'to be warm' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 43].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 186. Polysemy: 'hot (Jackson Valley) / warm (Lockford)'. Word class: adjective. Variants: *ʔap:uh* (Jackson Valley, Lockford), *ʔampu-* (Jackson Valley). Distinct from *həm-əmi-* 'lukewarm' [Callaghan 1984: 41].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 263. Glossed as 'hot'. Derived from *ʔampu-* 'to burn'. Distinct from *tomtom-u-* 'warm' [Callaghan 1987: 236]. Cf. also *pitime-* 'burning hot (fire, weather, sun, etc., but not food)' [Callaghan 1987: 190].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20. Glossed as 'hot'. Word class: noun. Cited as *w'iltit:i-* in the English - Central Sierra Miwok section [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 37]. Related to *wilit-* 'to be hot' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 285. Glossed as 'hot'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *tome:ŋ-a-* 'warm' [Broadbent 1964: 278]. A synonym, formed from the same root, is *wil:it-a-* 'hot' [Broadbent 1964: 285].

94. WATER

Bodega Miwok *l'iwa* (1), Lake Miwok *k'i:k* (2), Plains Miwok *ki:k* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *kik:i-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *k'ik:i-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *kik:i-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 45. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 62. Polysemy: 'water / juice / liquid'. Word class: noun. Also functions as the adjective 'watery'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 71. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 112.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 7. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 245. Word class: noun.

95. WE₁

Bodega Miwok *m'a-ko* (1), Lake Miwok *m'a:* (1), Plains Miwok *mas:i-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *mas:i-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *ma:š* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *mah:i-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 47. First person plural independent pronoun. Contains plural suffix *-ko* [Callaghan 1970: 38]. Cf. first person dual independent pronoun *ʔoči* 'we two, us two' [Callaghan 1970: 93].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 88. Glossed as 'we (plural)'. Word class: independent pronoun. Weak form: *ma*. Cf. dual independent pronoun *ʔoci* 'we two' (appositional case *ʔoc:i*) [Callaghan 1965: 184], variant form used by one of the informants (James Knight): *ʔici* 'we two' [Callaghan 1965: 181].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 91-92. Glossed as 'we, first person plural independent pronoun'. Word class: independent pronoun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 145. "First person plural independent pronoun. Often exclusive." [ibid.]

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 10. Glossed as 'we (exclusive)'. Objective case: *maš:i-y*, possessive case *maš:i-ŋ*, locative case *maš:i-t*, ablative case *maš:i-m:iʔ* [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 93, 254. First person dual and plural exclusive independent pronoun.

95. WE₂

Plains Miwok *ʔic:i-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔič:i-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *ʔoti-č:i:k* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔotit:i-* (3).

References and notes:

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 199. Glossed as 'you and I (Jackson Valley) / we inclusive? (Lockford)'. Word class: independent pronoun. Reduced form: *ʔici-*.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 275. Glossed as 'we two inclusive'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 23. Glossed as 'we (inclusive)'. Derived from the numeral *ʔoti-* 'two'. Cf. also *ʔot:i-m* 'I and thou' [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 93, 293. First person plural inclusive independent pronoun. Derived from the numeral *ʔoti-* 'two'. Informants: Rose Watt, of Usona; Emma Lord, of Usona. Dialectal variant: *ʔotiči-* (informant Chris Brown, a speaker of Yosemite dialect). Cf. first person dual inclusive independent pronoun *ʔoti-me-* [Broadbent 1964: 93, 293].

96. WHAT

Bodega Miwok *h'in̄ti* (1), Lake Miwok *h'in̄ti* ~ *hin̄ti* (1), Plains Miwok *hi:ti-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *tin̄:i-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *t̄in̄:i-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *t̄in̄:i-* (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 22-23. Polysemy: 'what / why / something, anything / sake, benefit / possession'. Word class: noun. Examples: *h'in̄ti ʔopu ʔunh'inak?* 'What are you doing?' [Callaghan 1970: 21], *h'in̄ti kan ʔona?* 'What did you say?' [Callaghan 1970: 23]. Independent pronoun *ʔeke* 'what?' is attested in illustrative sentences only with various case suffixes: *ʔeke-t* (quantitative) 'how much?', *ʔeke-ŋu* (instrumental) 'what's that? / just barely', *ʔeke-t:o* (allative) 'where?' [Callaghan 1970: 89].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 36. Polysemy: 'what (interrogative) / how (interrogative) / something / some sort of / what, that which, whatever'. Word class: independent pronoun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 46. Polysemy: 'how / what / something'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 215. Polysemy: 'what / something, anything / something else / someone / it (indefinite) / nothing'. Cf. also *ʔeke- ~ ʔeki-* 'what / that / anything' [Callaghan 1987: 270].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 17. Polysemy: 'something / what? / indefinite pronominal stem'. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 274. Polysemy: 'something / what?'. Word class: noun. *Mi-*, glossed in [Broadbent 1964: 256] as 'what? Demonstrative stem', functions as the root of all question words (including the verb *mi-č-* 'to do what?'), except *tin-i-* 'what?' and *mana-* 'who?' [Broadbent 1964: 95].

97. WHITE

Bodega Miwok *pot-'o:ta* (1), Lake Miwok *ce't'a:w* (2), Plains Miwok *put-u?tu-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *kel-el:i-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *kel-'el:i-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *pas-as:i-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 61. Glossed as 'to be white'. Word class: intransitive verb. Morphological analysis: verbal root *p'ot-* (apparently related to noun *p'ota* 'foam') [ibid.], *-V:ta* 'adjective suffix found on several color words' [Callaghan 1970: 102].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 13. Glossed as 'to be white'. Word class: intransitive verb. Variant form used by one of the informants (James Knight): *ci't'a:w* [Callaghan 1965: 14].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 124. Word class: adjective. Contains the adjectival suffix *-V?C₂V-* 'adjective formative, primarily in color terms' [Callaghan 1984: 226].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 111. Derived from *ke'la-* 'snow / ice' [ibid.] with the adjectival suffix *-VC:i-* 'color formative' [Callaghan 1987: 302].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 7. Polysemy: 'white / a white one'. Word class: noun. Derived from *k'e:la-* 'snow' [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 262. Word class: noun.

98. WHO

Bodega Miwok *m'anti* (1), Lake Miwok *m'anti* (1), Plains Miwok *manti-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *mana-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *man'a-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *mana-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 48. Polysemy: 'who / someone'. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 90. Polysemy: 'someone / anyone / who (interrogative)'. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 91. Polysemy: 'who / somebody, someone'. Word class: noun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 144. Polysemy: 'someone, somebody / who / no one'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 10. Polysemy: 'who? / someone'. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 254. Word class: noun.

99. WOMAN

Bodega Miwok *kul:'ey:ih* (1), Lake Miwok *p'oci ~ p"oci* (2), Plains Miwok *?asə:ʔəh* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *?os:a-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *?oš:a-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *?oh:a-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 41. Word class: noun. Variants: *kul'ey:ih*, *kul'eyih*. Related to *k'ul:eh* 'wife' [ibid.] and *k'u:leh* 'to get married / to marry someone' [Callaghan 1970: 42]. Cf. also *kuy'ey:ih* 'old woman' [Callaghan 1970: 41].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 109. Polysemy: 'woman / a married woman / female'. Word class: noun. Distinct from *k'ul:e* 'wife' [Callaghan 1965: 69]. Cf. Hill Patwin *p'okita* 'woman' and *p'oksin* 'sister-in-law' (due to misprint, the latter term appeared in [Callaghan 1965: 109] as *p'okain*; misprint corrected by the author in [Berman 1973: 261]).

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 198. Polysemy: 'woman / wife / wrapped bone in gambling game'. Word class: noun. Variants: *ʔəsə:ʔəh*, *ʔisi:ʔih?* ("The first alternant is probably correct"). Related to *ʔəsəwi-* 'daughter-in-law (Jackson Valley) / lady (Lockford)', *ʔəsəʔtə-* 'to marry a woman, get married (said of a man)' [ibid.].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 284. Polysemy: 'woman / female / wife'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 23. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 291. Polysemy: 'woman / wife / female'. Word class: noun. Yosemite dialect form: *ʔəsa-ʔ* [Broadbent 1964: 14].

100. YELLOW

Bodega Miwok *ʃil(:)-'i:ʔa* (1), Lake Miwok *ʃ'ulen k'e:* # (2), Plains Miwok *yil-iʔli-* # (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *tay-ay:i-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *tat-at:i-* (5), Southern Sierra Miwok *puk-uk:i-* (6).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 66-67. Polysemy: 'to be yellow / to be green?'. Word class: intransitive verb. Morphological analysis: verbal root *ʃ'il-* [ibid.], *-V:ʔa* 'adjective suffix found on several color words' [Callaghan 1970: 102].

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 128. Polysemy: 'yellow / orange'. Literally 'baby's excrement', cf. *ʃ'ule* 'baby' [ibid.] and *k'e:* 'excrement, droppings' [Callaghan 1965: 60]. [Callaghan 1965] gives no other form for 'yellow', but in [Callaghan 1991] the position for 'yellow' in Lake Miwok Swadesh wordlist is filled by two items, each supplied with question mark: *ʃ'ulen k'e:* and *ca'ka:-caka*. In [Callaghan 1965] the latter word is given only as a noun with the meaning 'canary bird' [Callaghan 1965: 11].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 58. Word class: adjective. Contains the adjectival suffix *-VʔC₂V-* 'adjective formative, primarily in color terms' [Callaghan 1984: 226]. Another candidate is *mari:yu-* 'yellow / orange' (adjective), borrowed from Spanish *amarillo* 'yellow' [Callaghan 1984: 91].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 225. Polysemy: 'yellow / light'. Contains the adjectival suffix *-VC:i-* 'color formative' [Callaghan 1987: 302]. Callaghan notes: "Egg yolks are this color". Secondary synonyms: *mari:yu-* 'yellow' (borrowed from Spanish *amarillo*) [Callaghan 1987: 145], *čiw:ti-* 'mustard yellow / yellow-green / brownish yellow' [Callaghan 1987: 46] and *topis-i-* 'yellow (like dry grass) / tan / dusty' [Callaghan 1987: 234].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 18. Word class: noun. Cf. *ʔat-ʔi:* 'brown' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 17].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 265. Word class: noun. Derived from *puk:e-* 'California poppy' [ibid.]. Secondary synonyms: *čiw-iwi-* 'yellow (?)', purple (?) [Broadbent 1964: 223], *ʔat-ʔi:* 'yellow-brown' [Broadbent 1964: 272].

101. FAR

Bodega Miwok *ʔ'etak* (1), Lake Miwok *ʔed'a:k* (1), Plains Miwok *tot:o-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔot:oʔ* # (2), Central Sierra Miwok *ʔot:o-* # (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *koʔ-ʔa-n* (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 90. Word class: noun. Examples: *kak'oč'an ?en'akmu* 'far from my house', *?en'akto ka ?op:oy* 'I walked far'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 176. Polysemy: 'long / tall / a long way / far / the whole thing'. Word class: intransitive verb and noun. Allomorph with shortened vowel: *?edak-*. Variant form used by one of the informants (James Knight): *?ad'a(:)k* [Callaghan 1965: 169].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 160. Glossed as 'far away'. Word class: demonstrative pronoun.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 219. Polysemy: 'distant, way off / far / over there / as far as' (adv.). A second candidate is *wila-* 'a long time / too long / far / far away' [Callaghan 1987: 252].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 17. Polysemy: 'far / a long way'. Word class: noun. Alternative candidates: *k'ot:o-* (adverb) 'distant / far / the other side' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 7], *k'o:t'o-* (adverb) 'beyond / distant / far / other side' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 8]. The number of attested textual occurrences of these words is too small to determine which of them is the basic word for 'far'. Cf.: "It is almost dark when he appears again, coming from far away (*t'ot:o?*)" [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 56, 58], "[A man who is a Poisoner] must live far away (*t'ot:o?*) from everyone" [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 65], "Get as far away from here as you can", lit. "Far-away (*k'ot:o?*) go-thou-hence!" [Berman 1982, text VII, 25] (all cited texts are in West Central dialect).

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 246. Glossed as 'far off'. Word class: noun. Contains nominal suffix *-ta(:)-* and temporal case ending *-n*. A synonym from the same root is *koť-to-* 'far / a while ago' [Broadbent 1964: 246], glossed as 'a while ago / the other side' in [Broadbent 1964: 115]. *koť-ta-n* occurs more frequently in the texts than *koť-to-*, but the precise difference in meaning is hard to establish.

102. HEAVY

Bodega Miwok *h'ete* (1), Lake Miwok *?i:wak* (2), Plains Miwok *?alə?:əl #* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *lew-te-ti-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *l'ewteti-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *lewe:t-a-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 20. Glossed as 'to be heavy'. Word class: intransitive verb. Example: *h'ete l'up:uh* 'heavy rock'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 182. Glossed as 'to be heavy'. Word class: intransitive verb.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 196. Polysemy: 'heavy / hard and heavy / something heavy, such as heavy bread or a heavy rock / thick (fog)'. Word class: adjective and noun. Another candidate is *katak:at* 'hard / heavy / stiff / difficult' [Callaghan 1984: 64].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 131. Glossed as 'heavy (said of something one is carrying)'. Cf. *lew:i-wi-* 'heavy (said of something on a person)' [ibid.].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 9. Word class: noun. Another candidate, *lew:i-* 'heavy / thick' [id.], has the same root.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 250. Word class: noun.

103. NEAR

Bodega Miwok *h'awen #* (1), Lake Miwok *y'ole* (2), Plains Miwok *ha:ye-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *hay:e-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *h'ay:e-t* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *hay:e-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 18. Word class: noun. Example: *kak'oč'an haw'enŋo* 'Near my house'. Alternative candidate: *n'akih* 'near / edge' (noun; example: *kaw'aŋeh kal'up:un nak'iŋto* 'I sat down near the rock') [Callaghan 1970: 53-54]. We tentatively choose *h'awen* because of external evidence.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 49. Polysemy: 'near / around / along / nearby / nearly'. Word class: intransitive verb and noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 32. Polysemy: 'near / close by'. Word class: noun. Cf. *hay:e-* 'beside / near' (noun) [Callaghan 1984: 31] - a borrowing from Northern Sierra Miwok?

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 55. Polysemy: 'to touch (tr. verb) / near (noun)'.
Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 2. Word class: adverb. Related to *hay:e-* 'near' (noun), *h'ay:e-* 'to approach' [ibid.].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 226. Word class: noun. Related to the verb *hay:e-* 'to touch'. Cf. other synonyms from the same root: *hay:e-to?* 'near' [ibid.], *hay:e-t-a-* 'near' (derived from *hay:e-t-* 'to approach') [Broadbent 1964: 227].

104. SALT

Bodega Miwok *k'oy:o* (1), Lake Miwok *k'oy:o* (1), Plains Miwok *ʔaw:eh* (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok *koy:o-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *koy:o-* (1).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 39. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to be salty'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 64. Word class: noun.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 188. Word class: noun. Variants: *ʔaw:eh*, *ʔaw:es* ("second variant may be archaic word for ocean salt"). According to [Callaghan 2014: 461], this word is a loan from San Francisco Bay Costanoan (cf. Chocheño *ʔaw:eš ~ ʔaweš* 'salt'), probably through Bay Miwok. The word is used only in Jackson Valley dialect. In Lockford dialect the word *koy:o-* 'salt' is used instead [Callaghan 1984: 72].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 114.

Central Sierra Miwok: Not attested in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 246. Word class: noun.

105. SHORT

Bodega Miwok *ton:'u-ku* (1), Lake Miwok *c'ot'o:y* (-1), Plains Miwok *ca:pu-* (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok *ča:pu-t̥i-* ~ *čap:u-t̥i-* (-1), Southern Sierra Miwok *hul:iwi-* # (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 73. Glossed as 'to be short'. Word class: intransitive verb. Examples: *ton:'uku t̥ajih* 'short man', *ton:'uku ʔalwah* 'short tree'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 20. Polysemy: 'to be short / to be brief'. Word class: intransitive verb. Borrowed from Hill Patwin *fodo:y* 'short' before the sound change Proto-Wintun *č' > Patwin f'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 19. Glossed as 'short (said of a man, road, stick)'. Word class: adjective. Borrowed from Spanish *chapo* 'a short stout person'.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 42. Polysemy: 'short / low (house)'. Borrowed from Mexican Spanish *chapo* 'a short, stout person'. Examples include 'low house', 'short stick', 'short road', 'short man' and 'short dress'. Other candidates: 1) *hay:e-t̥i-* 'short / close' (adj. and noun), e. g. in "short road" [Callaghan 1987: 56]. 2) *ʔena:n-i-* 'short (adj.) / midget (noun)' [Callaghan 1987: 272]. The latter meaning is secondary: Camanche dialect has *ʔena:ni?* *nekneke:ti?* 'Midget (a mythological character)', literally 'Short Midget' [Callaghan 1987: 164].

Central Sierra Miwok: Not attested in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 235. Word class: noun. An alternative candidate is *toʔono-* 'short' [Broadbent 1964: 275], cited as *toʔono-* and derived from *toʔ-* 'to seat (trans.)' in [Broadbent 1964: 124]. We tentatively choose *hul:iwi-* because it has two derivatives: *huliw-na-* 'to make short' and *hulwi-t̄i-* 'short pieces' [Broadbent 1964: 235].

106. SNAKE

Bodega Miwok *w'ak:alay* (1), Lake Miwok *p"odway* (-1), Plains Miwok *wilo-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *lo:pa:-ti-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔiči-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 79. Polysemy: 'snake / eel?'. Word class: noun. Variant: *wak:alay*.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 117. Word class: noun. According to Callaghan, "[p]robably from Hill Patwin porwan 'snake' with -ay by analogy" [ibid.]. Distinct from *hol'o:may* 'rattlesnake, *Crotalus viridis*' [Callaghan 1965: 39].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 177. Polysemy: 'snake / watersnake'. Word class: noun. The word has two pronunciation variants: *wilo-* (Jackson Valley) and *wilu-* (Lockford).

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 138. Polysemy: 'snake / gopher snake / water snake'.

Central Sierra Miwok: No generic word for snake is attested. Words for particular kinds of snakes are: *h'a:ma:wa-* 'big rattlesnake' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 2], *h'o:toŋya-* 'king snake' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 4], *l'o:pat:i-* 'gopher snake' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 9], *š'um:aka-* 'watersnake' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 16], *w'ak:ali-* 'rattlesnake' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 19], *w'iw:iʔna-* 'blue racer snake' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 290. Word class: noun.

107. THIN

Bodega Miwok *fi:nu* (-1), Lake Miwok *ʂul-'u:lum* (1), Plains Miwok *pi:nu-* (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok *t̄t̄:ela-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *s'e:si-* # (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *tā:a-pa-* (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 15. Glossed as 'to be fine, thin'. Word class: intransitive verb. Borrowed from Spanish *fino* 'fine'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 128. Glossed as 'to be thin (said of clothing)'. Word class: intransitive verb. No word for 'thin (1D)' is attested in [Callaghan 1965].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 121. Polysemy: 'fine / thin'. Word class: adjective. Borrowed from Spanish *fino* 'fine'.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 223. Glossed as 'thin (material)'. Examples include 'thin cloth', 'thin board' and 'thin leaf'. Cf. *čakmi-* 'thin (leaf) / transparent' [Callaghan 1987: 41].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 15. Word class: noun. The word is glossed as 'thin', but its precise meaning is uncertain, because its cognate in Southern Sierra Miwok is *ses:i-* 'thin, of liquid' [Broadbent 1964: 268].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 272. Word class: noun. Apparently derived from *tā:a-* 'leaf' q.v. Secondary synonym: *čak-aki-* 'lace / thin, filmy, of fabric' [Broadbent 1964: 221]. Cf. also *tasiw-me-* 'thin, scrawny' [Broadbent 1964: 277], *tosuy-me-* 'thin, scrawny', *tos:oyu-ma-* 'thin', *tos:uy-* 'thin, scrawny' [Broadbent 1964: 279] (all these words mean 'thin (of person)' and therefore are ineligible).

108. WIND

Bodega Miwok *k'iwel* (1), Lake Miwok *h'ena* (2), Plains Miwok *wəl:əli-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *he:nis-a-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *hen'a-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *kan:im-a-* # (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 38. Word class: noun. Also functions as the transitive verb 'to fan'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 31. Polysemy: 'breath / life / feelings / personality / air / wind'. Word class: noun. Related to the verbal roots *h'en-* 'to breathe / to be well' [Callaghan 1965: 30] and *h'en-* 'to be breathing' [Callaghan 1965: 29].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 175. Polysemy: 'wind / air'. Word class: noun. The meaning 'air' is attested only in Jackson Valley dialect.

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 65. Derived from *hensi-* 'to blow (of wind)'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 3. Polysemy: 'breath / wind'. Word class: noun. Cited as *hen,a-* in the English - Central Sierra Miwok section [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 51]. Cf. *h'en-si-* 'to blow / to breathe' [ibid.] (*-si-* is a verbalizer suffix [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 15]).

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 243. Word class: noun. Derived from *kanm-* 'to blow, of the wind' [ibid.]. An alternative candidate is *puku:uy-a-* 'wind', derived from *puku:y-* 'to blow, of the wind' [Broadbent 1964: 266]. It is tempting to think that these words belong to different dialects, but there is no way to prove this: the word for 'wind' does not occur in the available texts.

109. WORM

Bodega Miwok *l'o:ke* (1), Lake Miwok *c'e-* (-1), Plains Miwok *tok:e-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *holo:meti-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *ʔuč:umu-* 'worm' (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *wikwi-* (5).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 46. Polysemy: 'bug / worm / cocoon'. Word class: noun.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 18. Polysemy: 'worm / angleworm'. Word class: noun. Borrowed from Hill Patwin *č'e:* 'fish worm'.

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 157. Polysemy: 'worm / measuring worm / potato worm / worm in corn'. Word class: noun. Cf. also *ke:sy-* 'angleworm' [Callaghan 1984: 68].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 77. Polysemy: 'worm (generic) / bait / worms in rotten wood'. Cf. also *ke:su-* (Fiddletown dialect), *ke:si-* (Camanche dialect) 'fish-worm' [Callaghan 1987: 111].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 23. Word class: noun.

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 283. Polysemy: 'worm / bug'. Word class: noun. Cf. also *ke:hu-* 'angleworm' [Broadbent 1964: 245] and the Yosemite dialect form *ke:š:i-ʔ* 'worm' [Broadbent 1964: 13].

110. YEAR

Bodega Miwok *ʔa:nyu* (-1), Lake Miwok *w'ali* (1), Plains Miwok *ʔomu:c-a-* ~ *ʔumu:c-a-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔumu:č-a-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔu:muč-a-* # (2).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 86. Word class: noun. Borrowed from Spanish *año* 'year'.

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 153. Polysemy: 'season / year / area / space / world'. Word class: noun. Cf. *w'al:i* 'outside' (noun) [Callaghan 1965: 154].

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 208. Polysemy: 'winter / year'. Word class: noun. Morphological analysis: *ʔomu:c- ~ ʔumu:c-* = stem (cf. intransitive verb *ʔomu:c-u- ~ ʔumu:c-u-* 'to go into winter' and noun *ʔo:muc* 'winter'), *-a-* = nominalizer suffix [Callaghan 1984: 15].

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 289. Polysemy: 'winter / year'.

Central Sierra Miwok: Not attested in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982].

Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 294. Word class: noun. Related to *ʔumču-* 'to be winter', *ʔumču-no-* 'wintertime' [ibid.]. Alternative candidates: *hel:ak-* 'year' (related to *hel:ak-no-* 'summer') [Broadbent 1964: 230], *ʔanyo-* 'year / age' (borrowed from Spanish *año* 'year') [Broadbent 1964: 287]. We tentatively choose *ʔumuč-a-* because of external evidence.