

**The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent**

Sylvia M. Broadbent  
none

# Table of Contents

<b><u>The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent</u></b> .....	<b>1</b>
<u>About the Author</u> .....	2
<u>Bibliographical Information</u> .....	3
<b><u>THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE</u></b> .....	<b>5</b>
<u>CONTENTS</u> .....	5
<u>GRAMMAR</u> .....	6
<u>TEXTS</u> .....	7
<u>DICTIONARY</u> .....	8
<u>INTRODUCTION</u> .....	8
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u> .....	11
<u>SIGNS AND SYMBOLS</u> .....	12
<b><u>TEXTS</u></b> .....	<b>387</b>
<u>PLATES</u> .....	519
<u>DICTIONARY</u> .....	527
<u>ABBREVIATIONS</u> .....	528
<u>ALPHABETIC ORDER</u> .....	528
<u>CANONICAL FORMS</u> .....	759

# ***The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent***

- [Title, publication, and dedication pages](#)
- [Table of Contents](#)
- [Introduction](#)
- [Bibliography](#)
- [Signs and Symbols](#)
- [Chapter 1: Phonology \(pages 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21\)](#)
- [Table 1: Consonantal Allophony \(page 22\)](#)
- [Table 2: Vocalic Allophony \(page 23\)](#)
- [Table 3: Distribution of Consonants \(pages 24, 25, 26, 27, 28\)](#)
- [Table 4: Consonants before Vowels \(pages 28, 29, 30\)](#)
- [Table 5: Consonants after Vowels \(pages 30, 31, 32\)](#)
- [Chapter 2: Morphemics \(pages 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41\)](#)
- [Chapter 3: Final Suffixes \(pages 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54\)](#)
- [Chapter 4: Verbal Themes \(pages 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63\)](#)
- [Chapter 5: Verbal Suffixes \(pages 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88\)](#)
- [Chapter 6: Nominal Themes \(pages 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95\)](#)
- [Chapter 7: Nominal Suffixes \(pages 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124\)](#)
- [Chapter 8: Postfixes \(pages 125, 126, 127, 128, 129\)](#)
- [Chapter 9: Syntax \(pages 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139\)](#)
- **Texts**
  - ◆ [1. Collecting Basketry Materials \(Pages 142-145\)](#)
  - ◆ [2. Gathering Wild Foods \(Pages 146-151\)](#)
  - ◆ [3. Wild Foods \(Pages 152-159\)](#)
  - ◆ [4. Measuring Worm \(Pages 160-161\)](#)
  - ◆ [5. The Magic Cane \(Pages 162-167\)](#)
  - ◆ [6. How Coyote Stole the Sun \(Pages 168-171\)](#)
  - ◆ [7. ?ywe!•in \[man-eating giant\] \(Pages 172-175\)](#)
  - ◆ [8-9. Stealing Horses & Two Little Bears and Two Little Deer \(Pages 176-177\)](#)
  - ◆ [10. Chasing Wild Horses and Mules \(Pages 178-179\)](#)
  - ◆ [11. Horse, Ox, and Alligator \(Pages 180-181\)](#)
  - ◆ [12. Talking Ghosts \(Pages 182-185\)](#)
  - ◆ [13. The Black Horse \(Pages 186-187\)](#)
  - ◆ [14. Coyote and Water Ouzel \(Pages 188-195\)](#)
  - ◆ [15. Coyote, Duck, and Mole \(Pages 196-207\)](#)
  - ◆ [16. Chief Tenaya \(Pages 208-209\)](#)
- [Plates](#)
- **[Southern Sierra Miwok-English Dictionary](#)**
  - ◆ [Abbreviations and Alphabetic Order \(page 221\)](#)
  - ◆ [A \(page 221\)](#)
  - ◆ [B \(page 221\)](#)
- **[English-Southern Sierra Miwok Dictionary](#)**
  - ◆ [A \(pages 299, 300, 301\)](#)
  - ◆ [B \(pages 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306\)](#)
  - ◆ [C \(pages 306, 307, 308, 309, 310\)](#)

## The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

- ◆ C (pages [221](#), [222](#), [223](#), [224](#), [225](#), [226](#))
- ◆ E (page [226](#))
- ◆ F (page [226](#))
- ◆ H (pages [226](#), [227](#), [228](#), [229](#), [230](#), [231](#), [232](#), [233](#), [234](#), [235](#), [236](#), [237](#), [238](#))
- ◆ I (page [238](#))
- ◆ J (pages [238](#), [239](#), [240](#), [241](#))
- ◆ K (pages [242](#), [243](#), [244](#), [245](#), [246](#), [247](#), [248](#), [249](#))
- ◆ L (pages [249](#), [250](#), [251](#), [252](#), [253](#), [254](#))
- ◆ M (pages [254](#), [255](#), [256](#), [257](#), [258](#), [259](#))
- ◆ N (pages [259](#), [260](#), [261](#))
- ◆   (page [261](#))
- ◆ P (pages [262](#), [263](#), [264](#), [265](#), [266](#), [267](#))
- ◆ R (page [267](#))
- ◆ S (pages [267](#), [268](#), [269](#), [270](#), [271](#))
- ◆ Š (page [271](#))
- ◆ T (pages [271](#), [272](#), [273](#), [274](#), [275](#), [276](#), [277](#))
- ◆ T̄ (pages [277](#), [278](#), [279](#), [280](#), [281](#))
- ◆ W (pages [281](#), [282](#), [283](#), [284](#), [285](#))
- ◆ ? (pages [285](#), [286](#), [287](#), [288](#), [289](#), [290](#), [291](#), [292](#), [293](#), [294](#), [295](#), [296](#), [297](#))
- ◆ • (page [297](#))
- ◆ H (page [297](#))
- ◆ X (page [297](#))
- ◆ Ø (page [297](#))
- ◆ D (pages [310](#), [311](#), [312](#), [313](#))
- ◆ E (pages [313](#), [314](#))
- ◆ F (pages [314](#), [315](#), [316](#), [317](#))
- ◆ G (pages [317](#), [318](#), [319](#))
- ◆ H (pages [319](#), [320](#), [321](#), [322](#))
- ◆ I (page [322](#))
- ◆ J (pages [322](#), [323](#))
- ◆ K (page [323](#))
- ◆ L (pages [324](#), [325](#), [326](#))
- ◆ M (pages [326](#), [327](#), [328](#))
- ◆ N (pages [328](#), [329](#), [330](#))
- ◆ O (pages [330](#), [331](#))
- ◆ P (pages [331](#), [332](#), [333](#), [334](#), [335](#))
- ◆ Q (page [335](#))
- ◆ R (pages [335](#), [336](#), [337](#), [338](#))
- ◆ S (pages [338](#), [339](#), [340](#), [341](#), [342](#), [343](#), [344](#), [345](#), [346](#), [347](#))
- ◆ T (pages [347](#), [348](#), [349](#), [350](#), [351](#))
- ◆ U (page [351](#))
- ◆ V (pages [351](#), [352](#))
- ◆ W (pages [352](#), [353](#), [354](#), [355](#))
- ◆ Y (page [355](#))
- ◆ Z (page [355](#))
- ◆ Numerals (page [355](#))

- Canonical Forms (page [298](#))

---

## About the Author





*Castro Johnson, Charlie Rohan, and  
Sylvia M. Broadbent. (p. 214)*

Dr. Sylvia M. Broadbent prepared this grammar and dictionary based on her research and her Ph.D. dissertation, *A Grammar of Southern Sierra Miwok*, at the Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley. She also wrote Central Sierra Miwok Dictionary in 1960. She received a B.A. and Ph.D. in Anthropology from Berkeley in 1952 and 1960. Dr. Broadbent is Professor Emerita at University of California Riverside. Her areas of interest are archaeology and ethnohistory of the Andean area, especially the Chibcha of Columbia; and North American Indians, especially California and the Desert West. She has also undertaken studies in descriptive and historical linguistics, especially American Indian languages and in language and culture, including relationships between linguistic findings and other kinds of anthropological research, and symbolism.

Dr. Broadbent lives in Carmel, California.

The Southern Sierra Miwok lived in Yosemite Valley, Mariposa, and the surrounding foothills. [[Map.](#)]

---

## Bibliographical Information

Sylvia Marguerite Broadbent (circa 1930 - ), *The Southern Sierra Miwok Language*, *University of California Publications in Linguistics*, v. 38 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964). 355pp. 26cm. LCCN 65-063429. Library of Congress Call Number P25 .C25 vol. 38. Short citation: UCPL 38. Based on her Ph.D. dissertation, *A Grammar of Southern Sierra Miwok* (1960). SIL Ethnologue language code: SKD.

Reviews:

- Hamp, Eric P., "On Two Californian Grammars," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (IJAL) 32:176-88 (1966).
- Hamp, Eric P., "Studies in Sierra Miwok," *IJAL* 32:236-41 (1966).
- Riggsby, Bruce, "Review of The Southern Sierra Miwok Language by S. M. Broadbent," *American Anthropologist* 67:1596-7. by
- Hill, Jane H., "Review of The Southern Sierra Miwok Language, by Sylvia Broadbent." *Language* 44:181-185 (1968).

The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

An additional glossary with Southern Sierra Miwok texts is available in Howard Berman ed. *Freeland's Central Sierra Miwok Myths*, Report #3 Survey of California and Other Indian Languages (Berkeley: UC press, 1982). See also Craig D. Bates *The Miwok in Yosemite - Southern Miwok Life, History, and Language in the Yosemite* (Yosemite Association, 1996) for more Southern Sierra Miwok texts.

Partially converted to HTML by Dan Anderson, January 2005, from a copy at the UCSD Library.

—Dan Anderson, [www.yosemite.ca.us](http://www.yosemite.ca.us)

---

---

# THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

BY  
SYLVIA M. BROADBENT

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS  
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES  
1964

---

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS

Advisory Editors: W. E. Bull, C. D. Chrétien, M. B. Emeneau, M. R. Haas,  
Harry Hoijer, D. L. Olmsted, R. P. Stockwell

Volume 38

Approved for publication July 12, 1963

Issued December 7, 1964

Price, \$6.00

University of California Press  
Berkeley and Los Angeles  
California

Cambridge University Press  
London, England

Manufactured in the United States of America

---

To  
Mary R. Haas

with affection,  
esteem, and gratitude

---

## CONTENTS

<u>Introduction</u>	1
<u>Bibliography</u>	6

<u>Signs and symbols</u>	8
<b>GRAMMAR</b>	
<u>Chapter 1: Phonology</u>	11
<u>110. Consonantal system</u>	11
<u>120. Vocalic system</u>	15
<u>130. Distribution</u>	15
<u>140. Syllable canon and stress</u>	16
<u>150. Intonation and juncture</u>	17
<u>160. Phonological definition of the word</u>	18
<u>170. Morphophonemics</u>	18
<u>180. Consonantal alternation</u>	20
<u>Chapter 2: Introduction to Morphemics</u>	33
<u>210. Morphemic definition of the word</u>	33
<u>220. Root and suffix</u>	33
<u>230. Root, stem, base, and theme</u>	34
<u>240. Final suffixes</u>	36
<u>250. Nominal and verbal themes</u>	36
<u>260. Stem forms</u>	37
<u>270. Suffix classes</u>	39
<u>280. Postfixes</u>	40
<u>290. Particles</u>	40
<u>Chapter 3: Final Suffixes</u>	42
<u>300. Introduction</u>	42
<u>310. Personal pronominal suffixes</u>	42
<u>320. Case suffixes</u>	48
<u>321. Nominative</u>	49
<u>322. Accusative</u>	49
<u>323. Temporal</u>	50
<u>324. Vocative</u>	50
<u>325. Genitive</u>	50
<u>326. Ablative</u>	51
<u>327. Allative</u>	52
<u>328. Locative</u>	53
<u>329. Instrumental</u>	53
<u>Chapter 4: Verbal Themes</u>	55
<u>400. Introduction</u>	55
<u>410. Present imperfect verbal themes</u>	55
<u>420. Present perfect verbal themes</u>	56
<u>430. Present imperative verbal themes</u>	57
<u>440. Irregular verbal bases</u>	61
<u>450. Transitive verbal bases</u>	62

The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

<u>Chapter 5: Verbal Suffixes</u>	64
<u>500. Introduction</u>	64
<u>501-547. Verbal suffixes</u>	66
<u>Chapter 6: Nominal Themes</u>	89
<u>600. Introduction</u>	89
<u>610. Classes of nominal themes</u>	90
<u>620. Monomorphemic nominal themes</u>	91
<u>630. Polymorphemic nominal themes</u>	92
<u>640. Independent personal pronouns</u>	92
<u>650. Demonstrative roots</u>	94
<u>Chapter 7: Nominal Suffixes</u>	96
<u>700. Introduction</u>	96
<u>701-772. Nominal suffixes</u>	97
<u>Chapter 8: Postfixes</u>	125
<u>800. Introduction</u>	125
<u>801-816. Postfixes</u>	125
<u>Chapter 9: Syntax</u>	130
<u>900. Introduction</u>	130
<u>910. Syntactic substitution classes</u>	130
<u>920. Immediate constituency</u>	136
<u>930. Sentence types</u>	138

## **TEXTS**

<u>1. Collecting Basketry Materials</u>	142
<u>2. Gathering Wild Foods</u>	146
<u>3. Wild Foods</u>	152
<u>4. Measuring Worm</u>	160
<u>5. The Magic Cane</u>	162
<u>6. How Coyote Stole the Sun</u>	168
<u>7. ?ywel•in</u>	172
<u>8. Stealing Horses</u>	176
<u>9. Two Little Bears and Two Little Deer</u>	176
<u>10. Chasing Wild Horses and Mules</u>	178
<u>11. Horse, Ox, and Alligator</u>	180
<u>12. Talking Ghosts</u>	182
<u>13. The Black Horse</u>	186
<u>14. Coyote and Water Ouzel</u>	188
<u>15. Coyote, Duck, and Mole</u>	196
<u>16. Chief Tenaya</u>	208
<u>Plates</u>	211

## DICTIONARY

<u>Southern Sierra Miwok-English</u>	221
<u>English-Southern Sierra Miwok</u>	299

---

### INTRODUCTION

Southern Sierra Miwok is a member of the Miwok family of languages of Central California. It belongs to the Eastern division of Miwok, together with Central Sierra, Northern Sierra, Plains, and Saclan. The three Sierra languages are more closely related to each other than to either Plains or Saclan. The internal relationships of the Miwok family can perhaps be most clearly stated in a chart, as follows (Broadbent and Callaghan, 1960):

#### A. Eastern Division

##### 1. Sierra

- 1a. Southern Sierra
- 1b. Central Sierra
- 1c. Northern Sierra

##### 2. Plains

##### 3. Saclan

#### B. Western Division

##### 1. Coast

- 1a. Bodega
- 1b. Marin

##### 2. Lake

Except for Saclan, added by Beeler (1955, 1959), the Eastern languages were named and geographically defined by Barrett (1908). Previous suggestions on similar lines had been made by Kroeber (1906) and Merriam (1907).

The historic territory of Southern Sierra was roughly equivalent to modern Mariposa County. Kroeber (1923, facing p. 446) shows it as more or less triangular in shape. He places the boundary with Central Sierra between the Merced and Tuolumne Rivers. To the south, he draws the Yokuts-Mono boundary along the Fresno River, continuing the line northeastwards between the watersheds of the Merced and San Joaquin Rivers up to the crest of the Sierra Nevada, the eastern limit of all the Sierra Miwok groups. He places the western boundary, with Yokuts groups, at the beginning of the foothills.

Informants living today know very little about the ancient boundaries of their language. One informant placed the western limit on a line running through Merced Falls, Hornitos, Toledo, and Indian Gulch, a few miles east of Kroeber's boundary. He gave Ahwahnee as the southeast limit. All informants were more or less sure that the village of /ʔapa•šaʔ/ or /ʔapa•šaw/ near Oakhurst was Yokuts, in agreement with Kroeber (1923, p. 482: "Hapasau"). However, one individual spoke of a village called /hicwe•taʔ/. about three miles west of Oakhurst, as having both Yokuts and Miwok inhabitants, and said that there were some Miwok at Coarsegold, which is assigned by Kroeber to Yokuts territory. Since the Miwok do not appear to have recognized any

## The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

political entities larger than the village or local group, a certain haziness about boundaries is understandable. Moreover, they seem to have been on good terms with their Chuckchansi (Yokuts) neighbors at least, and there was probably considerable intermarriage between villages near the limits of their respective linguistic groups. Such villages would naturally contain speakers of both languages.

Kroeber (1923, p. 445) suggests 9,000 as a liberal estimate for the population of the Sierra and Plains groups combined, allowing slightly more than 2,000 for each group. He states, however, that there is no specific information on aboriginal population figures. He lists 109 locateable Eastern Miwok villages. A total population of 9,000 would give an average population of only 82.5 persons for the villages listed, and his village list is obviously incomplete, since it includes only those which he could locate. The addition of more villages, while accepting his total estimate, would lower the average village population still further. It seems likely, then, that 9,000 is none too generous an estimate.

There are now only about twenty more or less fluent speakers of Southern Sierra, none below middle age. Only four individuals are known to use the language commonly in daily conversation. It seems probable that by 1980 the language will be extinct, except for stray words remembered by people who never spoke the language fluently.

The three Sierra Miwok languages are structurally very similar. The principal differences between them are phonetic, especially in the spirant series, and lexical. Speakers of Southern Sierra claim that they cannot understand Central or Northern. As Barrett suggested in 1908, there are some dialect differences within Southern Sierra. At this late date, very little can be determined as to the nature of these differences, since so few speakers remain. However, there was clearly some divergence between the speech of individuals from Yosemite, those from the vicinity of Mariposa, and those from the extreme southern limit of Miwok territory. Occasional lexical items are different, and Yosemite speech may have had an additional spirant phoneme, /s/, which is lacking in the others. Spanish loan-words sometimes occur in differing forms in these three areas. Speakers from Mariposa say that they can hardly understand those from Yosemite, only forty miles away.

The best previous work on these languages is Freeland's grammar (1951). It is based primarily on Central Sierra, but includes references to structural differences between Central, Northern, and Southern. It is a good and reasonably complete grammar; in fact, it is one of the best in print on any California language. However, it was written fifteen years before it was published, and is somewhat outdated in certain respects, especially with regard to phonology. Some sample texts were included, but there was no dictionary; for Central Sierra, this deficiency has since been filled, with the addition of more texts (Freeland and Broadbent, 1960). Although these works provide adequate coverage of Central Sierra, separate treatment of the other Sierra languages is still highly desirable the more so in view of the advances in techniques of linguistic analysis that have taken place since Freeland's grammar was written.

No exhaustive ethnography of the Miwok has ever appeared. Perhaps the most useful single work is Barrett and Gifford's study of Miwok material culture (1933). Kroeber (1923, pp. 442-461) gives a good general summary of Miwok culture. It was among the Sierra Miwok that the exogamous moiety system was first discovered in California (Gifford, 1916). In addition, some studies of Miwok mythology have appeared (Barrett, 1919; de Angulo and Freeland, 1928; Gifford, 1917).

The fieldwork on which the present study is based was conducted under the auspices of the Survey of California Indian Languages (Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley) during the following periods: August 24 to September 14, 1955; June 26 to September 10, 1956; June 28 to September 4, 1957; July 2 to September 7, 1958; and July 7 to July 28, 1961. My informants were as follows:

Chris Brown (Chief Leeme), of Bootjack (CB, deceased November 1956)  
Alvis Brown, of Bootjack (AB)

## The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

John Lawrence, of Tiptop (JL, deceased 1957)  
Bill Bolton, of Bootjack (BB)  
Castro Johnson, of Mariposa (CJ)  
Rose Watt, of Usona (RW)  
Emma Lord, of Usona (EL)  
Benjamin (Banjo) Graham, of Ahwahnee (BG)  
Elizabeth (Lizzie) Graham, of Ahwahnee (LG)  
Charlie Bohan, of Ahwahnee (CR)

Chief Leeme (/limi•/, 'ripples on the water') was my principal informant during 1955 and 1956, and the phonemic analysis is based largely on his idiolect. His mother, Lena Brown (nee Rube), was one of Freeland's informants. He was born in Yosemite, and claimed the title of chief of the Yosemite band through inheritance from his father, John Brown or Brandon. He and his brother Alvis claimed to be the only surviving speakers of the Yosemite dialect. While working with me, he made some effort to give me forms as used around Bootjack, a few miles south of Mariposa, where the work was being done, because more speakers of that dialect remain. Sometimes, however, he said specifically that a particular form or pronunciation belonged to the Yosemite dialect, and the features hereafter mentioned as possibly characteristic of Yosemite are based on his comments. However, Chief Leeme was a "professional Indian" in a quite literal sense: he was employed by the U. S. National Park Service to put on Indian dances for the edification of visitors to Yosemite National Park. He clearly regarded such work as his true vocation, although he was no longer so employed when I worked with him. He had a well-developed sense of showmanship, and did not feel constrained to restrict himself to Yosemite or even Miwok features if he felt that the addition of something else would improve his performance. Other informants claimed that in speaking Miwok he assumed a "northern accent" ("he spoke it more like they do up Tuolumne way") in order to make Yosemite speech sound different from that of Mariposa, and that he "belonged around El Portal" rather than to the Yosemite band proper. These considerations throw some doubt on the authenticity of his "Yosemite dialect." After his death, the material in question could not be checked or expanded; even his brother Alvis, the last survivor of his family, then ceased to be available for informant work. However, speakers of the Mariposa dialect recognized certain items as being different in Yosemite speech, and it is clear that some differences did exist.

From 1957 on, my principal informants were Castro Johnson, Rose Watt, and Emma Lord. Mr. Johnson's family always lived in Mariposa. His mother, who died in 1942, is said to have been a monolingual. He has not spoken the language much since his mother died, and consequently feels a little rusty, so that he is hesitant about starting to tell a long story in Miwok. Once started, however, he is fully capable of carrying on an animated conversation or reciting a long text in the language. Mrs. Watt and Mrs. Lord are sisters, and live together near Usona. Their father was Miwok, their mother Chuckchansi (Yokuts); they are both fluent trilinguals. Between themselves they normally speak Miwok. They were born on the ranch where they now live, and say that their father was from right there. The place where they live has an Indian name, /piliwni?/. Less than a hundred yards from their ranch house there is a large archaeological site (4-Mrp-249). Brief surface reconnaissances of this site yielded one historic artifact (a glazed potsherd, probably of Chinese origin), and several projectile points of the most recent type known for the area. The owners report finding glass beads there. The surface of the site is therefore presumably historic, and it seems reasonable to assume that it represents the Miwok village of /piliwni?/, and that Mrs. Watt's and Mrs. Lord's father's family lived there. It is less than 20 miles from Yokuts territory.

Lizzie and Banjo Graham also provided information during 1957 and 1958. Mr. Graham is Mrs. Watt's and Mrs. Lord's mother's brother, and hence is Chuckchansi; Mrs. Graham is Miwok, being related to Mrs. Watt's and Mrs. Lord's father. However, both Mr. and Mrs. Graham speak fluent Miwok as well as Chuckchansi and English, and when visiting their nieces, which they did frequently in 1957, they speak Miwok most of the time. Other informants listed above recorded short texts or provided other information on an informal basis.



## The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

Besides my informants, to whom I am indebted for generous hospitality and the warmest and most rewarding friendship as well as for information, I wish to thank Donald and Eleanor Loomis, of Mariposa, who made my stays in the field easy and enjoyable by their many kindnesses. I also owe a profound debt to Mary R. Haas, Murray B. Emeneau, George M. Foster, and David L. Olmsted, who have read various drafts of the manuscript. I have profited greatly from their helpful and constructive criticism. While final responsibility for any errors or omissions in the present work is mine alone, it is my sincere hope that it will reflect the wisdom of their guidance, not only in connection with this project, but throughout my years of graduate study.

---

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barrett, S. A.

1908 The geography and dialects of the Miwok Indians. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 333-368.

1919 The myths of the Southern Sierra Miwok. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 1-28.

Barrett, S. A., and Gifford, E. W.

1933 Miwok material culture. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, pp. 117-376.

Beeler, Madison S.

1955 Saclan. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 21, pp. 201-209.

1959 Saclan once more. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 25, pp. 67-68.

Broadbent, Sylvia M., and Callaghan, Catherine A.

1960 Comparative Miwok: a preliminary survey. International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. 26, pp. 301-316.

de Angulo, Jaime, and Freeland, I. S.

1928 Miwok and Pomo myths. Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 41, pp. 232-252.

Freeland, L. S.

1951 Language of the Sierra Miwok. Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, International Journal of American Linguistics Memoir 6.

Freeland, L. S., and Broadbent, Sylvia M.

1960 Central Sierra Miwok dictionary (with texts). University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 23, pp. 1-71.

Gifford, E. W.

The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

1916 Miwok moieties. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 139-194.

1917 Miwok myths. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 12, No. 8, pp. 283-338.

Kroeber, A. L.

1906 The dialect divisions of the Moquelumnan family in relation to the internal differentiation of the other linguistic families of California. American Anthropologist, Vol. 8, pp. 652-663.

1923 Handbook of the Indians of California. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78 (reprinted by California Book Co., Berkeley, 1953).

Merriam, C. Hart

1907 Distribution and classification of the Mewan stock of California. American Anthropologist, Vol. 9, pp. 338-357.

---

## SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

[ ]	Phonetic brackets, enclosing all forms written phonetically
//	Phonemic brackets, enclosing all forms written phonemically
	Morphophoemic brackets, enclosing forms written morphophoemically; hypens also indicate morphophonemic writing
{ }	Morphemic brackets, enclosing forms symbolic of morphemes having several allomorphs
~	"In phonologically determined allomorphy with"
oo	"In morphologically determined allomorphy with"
f	"In free variation with"
~	
d	"In dialetal variation with"
~	

---



## CHAPTER ONE

### PHONOLOGY

#### 110. CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

The consonantal system of Southern Sierra Miwok is as follows:

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal	Variable
Stops and Affricate	p	t	t̚ c	k	ʔ	
Fricants		s	(s̚) š		h	
Nasals	m		n	ŋ		
Lateral			l			
Semivowels	w		j			

length

The following consonantal phonemes occur only in loan words, principally those of English origin: /b, d, g, f, ʃ, r/. Their phonetic form is essentially the same as in the local dialect of English, and no allophony has been observed.

Except as may otherwise be noted, phonetic symbolism in the following discussion refers to Bernard Bloch and George L. Trager, Outline of Linguistic Analysis (Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore, 1943).

11. Apart from recent borrowings, Southern Sierra has one phoneme

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

presented phonetically as [k̠], except in the sequences /...ika. ik'a..., ...iko..., ...ik'o.../, where backing is less noticeable. Otherwise this phoneme is mediovelar, [k]. This variation occurs in all positions, initial, medial, final, and in clusters. /ʔ/ is glottal with no point of articulation.

In utterance-initial position, the stops are voiceless and unaspirated. They are fortis to the extent that they rarely sound voiced to the non-speaker's ear. They have this form in most consonant clusters. When followed by length /·/, the occlusion is maintained for about as long as for a single stop. This statement includes /c·/, which is phonetically [t̪̥̚]. In final position, the stops are given an aspirated release, although on occasion they may be unreleased.

Intervocally and as second member in clusters in which the first member is voiced, the allophony is somewhat more complex, and involves much free variation. Generally speaking, there is a tendency for the sound to be more lenis, to the point of spirantization, and/or to be voiced. In detail, however, the allophony of each stop phone is a little different in this position, and they are best treated individually. /p/ is [p̥] ~ [b] ~ [β]; the variation appears to be free (/sy[p̥]e / 'mountain mahogany'), although in certain forms only the voiceless one has been heard (/cyn·e[b]ecyʔ/ 'little') and in others only the voiceless one (/ca[p̥]yʔ/ 'sweathouse'), while the voiced spirant occurs only rarely. For /t/, no particular variation has been noted. /t̪/ is [t̪̥] ~ [d] ~ [r̥] ~ [r̥̚], the last representing a flap r. /c/ occurs as [č̥] ~ [č̚], in addition to the positional variation mentioned above, may

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## PHONOLOGY

slightly, in a loose overbite position. The stream of air is forced over the lower incisors and then down under the upper incisors, giving the sound an š-like quality which is not present in [h], where the teeth do not overlap.

The phone [š] occurred only in the speech of Chief Leeme. The alveolar variant appeared only in forms said to represent the Yosemite dialect, or when the informant was slightly inebriated. Castro Johnson lived in Yosemite for several years as a young man, accepted the forms as characteristic of Yosemite speech. Other informants, however, said that they did not represent Yosemite or any other Southern Sierra dialect, saying that the alveolar spirant was a Central Sierra feature. Only Chief Leeme claimed to speak the Yosemite dialect; other informants rely on their memory of the speech of undisputed Yosemite individuals who have since deceased. If this variable phone was present in Southern Sierra, it occurred only in the Yosemite dialect, and its presence there is confirmed by the informants currently available. In other dialects, it is regularly replaced by /h/.

Its status is rendered even more difficult to determine by the irregularity of its occurrence. Since /h/ is clearly phonemic in all dialects, the existence of /š/ could only be determined when the alveolar spirant actually occurred. The only possible conditioning factor was extralinguistic, namely the relative sobriety of the informant. Moreover, it is impossible at present to determine whether the variation in Chief Leeme's idiolect was a dialect mixture—that is, he sometimes said the Yosemite form and sometimes the form that used in the vicinity of Bootjack—or whether such variation was actually characteristic of this phoneme in Yosemite speech, or if

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

/wɻskiʔ/	'heart'
/ʔaʃe·liʔ/	'coyote'
/ʔoʃ·aʔ/	'woman, wife'
/ʃalaʔ/	'feather'
/ʃil·oʔ/	'handgame counting bones'
/ʃokoʃ·aʔ/	'cocoon rattle'
/ʃoʃo·lojuʔ/	'nettle'
/-ʃ·y-/	'past tense'
/ʃut·eʔ/	'dance skirt'
/ʃu·leʃyʔ/	'corpse'
/ʃuʃ·umiʔ/	'owl'
/ʃyʃ·yʔ/	'wood'

Hereafter, these forms will be written with /h/, as they occur in the speech of non-Yosemite individuals.

/ʃ/ is a voiceless apico-alveolar spirant, of rare occurrence; /h/ is a voiceless glottal spirant. No allophony has been noted for these phonemes.

113. The remainder of the consonantal phonemes of Southern Sierra Miwok may be grouped together as voiced continuants. They exhibit no significant allophony, except for /r/. They may be characterized as follows: /m/, voiced bilabial nasal; /n/, voiced alveolar nasal; /ŋ/, voiced velar nasal; and /l/, voiced alveolar lateral. /w/ and /j/ represent the labial and palatal levels of Southern Sierra, back rounded and front unrounded respectively. Length /·/ is simply a continuation of the preceding vowel or consonant whatever its allophonic quality. As noted previously (section 111),

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## PHONOLOGY

### 120. VOCALIC SYSTEM

The vowel system of Southern Sierra is as follows:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	y	u
Low	e	a	o

These vowels vary considerably in quality, depending on the following consonant: before /·/, /k/, /ʔ/, /h/, /w/, and /j/, vowel allophones occur which are not found elsewhere. For all except /a/, the high allophone in each case is that before /·/, that is, when the vowel is phonetically long. On the whole, however, the vocalic allophony is so complex that it is best to treat each vowel separately.

There is a striking similarity of allophonic pattern between /i/ and /u/. Both are highest before /·/, [i] and [u] respectively. /i/ is lowest, approximately [I], before /ʔ/ and /k/; /u/ is lowest before /·/, approximately [U]. Elsewhere, both are intermediate, [I^] and [U^] respectively. Likewise, /e/ and /o/ show similarity of pattern. Both are highest before /·/, [E] and [o] respectively; /o/ is also highest before /w/ and /j/, while /e/ is a little lower before /j/: [E~].

Both are lower before /ʔ/, /k/, and /h/, [ε] and [ω] respectively. Elsewhere both are at their lowest, [ε~] and [ø]. /y/ falls more<sup>26</sup> or less like the pattern of /i/ and /u/: highest [ɨ] before /·/, lowest [a^]



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

All consonants except /ŋ/ and /ʰ/ occur in initial position. All occur intervocalically in medial position. All except /š/, the sibilant, the consonants, have been found in final position. Every consonant occurs in either first or second position in medial clusters, although not all possible combinations have been found (see table 3). /t/ and /tʰ/ are particularly rare in clusters, but they are in any case relatively infrequent. Some gaps in the table—for instance, /tt/—may be significant since such clusters are likely to have been removed by assimilation. Although no clear instances of assimilation have been found and /tt/ does occur. On the whole, the gaps appear to be fortuitous.

Within one syllable, any consonant except /š/ can occur before any vowel (see tables 4 and 5). /š/ has not been found before /a/, or /y/, or after /a/, /e/, or /y/. In view of the rarity of the sibilant, the gaps in its distribution seem to be fortuitous.

It should be noted that the above remarks do not apply to unassimilated English loans, which Southern Sierra speakers use quite freely. Such words may have initial clusters (/krismas/, 'Christmas'), trisyllabic medial clusters (/korsgol/ 'Coarsegold'), and, rarely, final consonant clusters (/kolʰojl/ 'kerosene').

### 140. SYLLABIC CANON AND STRESS

The syllabic canon of this language is notably rigid. When length is indicated as a consonant, as is done here, only two syllable types are

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## PHONOLOGY

... consonant is /·/, this means that phonetic vowel length is maintained longer than usual); and (3) if a short syllable (weakly stressed) immediately precedes, the long syllable is higher in pitch than the short. Secondary stress falls on succeeding long syllables. In a long sequence of long syllables, the even-numbered ones tend to be less heavily stressed than the odd-numbered ones, counting from the beginning of the long syllable sequence. Short syllables carry weak stress.

In the above analysis, syllable division has been made between members of medial consonant clusters. In view of this, it is interesting to note that this is exactly where informants made syllable divisions when I was being excessively dense as to the proper pronunciation of a particular form, the informant would say it very slowly, separating the syllables and enunciating each one with great care. When he did so, he separated the members of consonant clusters. Clusters of consonants of long length were then expressed as two homophonous, separately articulated sounds.

Except that at least one of the first two syllables of a word is long, the occurrence of long and short syllables has not been found to fall into any particular patterns. Sequences of up to five long syllables have been found, including forms containing no short syllables (e.g. e?ny·lek/ 'your thinking, then'). Long sequences of short syllables are rarer. Long syllables are much more frequent in connected discourse than are short syllables; in a ten-line sample of text in which they were counted, there were almost exactly twice as many long as short syllables.

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

In connected discourse, the intonation pattern becomes much more complicated. A sentence starts on a moderately high pitch, rises slightly higher, and then falls gradually to a rather low pitch at the end. Final juncture (/./) is marked by this drop in overall pitch, followed by a pause. The next sentence starts on a noticeably higher pitch. Besides final juncture, Southern Sierra has word juncture, here symbolized by a space, and two types of phrase juncture, symbolized by /;/ and /,/ . Word juncture is defined largely on the basis of stress and syllable structure: it occurs between the last long syllable preceding primary stress and the next following syllable, whether short or long. At least in slow speech, a brief pause occurs at this point. The two types of phrase juncture are marked by pauses longer than word juncture and by intonational features; /;/ is preceded by a drop in pitch which is more abrupt than the gradual lowering of overall pitch that indicates final juncture, while /,/ is marked by a rising pitch on the preceding syllable.

### 160. PHONOLOGICAL DEFINITION OF THE WORD

In view of the two preceding sections, it is now possible to define the Southern Sierra word in terms of phonology. A word is a speech-unit occurring between any two successive junctures, of any type. The end of the word is much easier to define than the beginning. The end of one word establishes the beginning of the next one.

[\[view image\]](#)

---





[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

fixes as a function of the preceding morpheme, which is simpler than making up allomorphs for each of the pronominal suffixes. For example, 'chase' followed by ||-koX-|| 'imperative' followed by ||-mah·i·|| 'first plural exclusive, Series 4' is /ʔenpukom·ah·i/ 'let's chase him!' 'to do what?' followed by ||-na-|| 'benefactive' followed by 'infinitive' followed by ||-te..hY·|| 'third person singular to first person double pronominal suffix, Series 1' (see section 310) and ||-j|| 'accusative case' is /mickynaʔat·ejhy·/ 'what he does to me.'

175. The morphophoneme ||Y|| is phonemically /y/ - /u/ - /o/ in accordance with the quality of the preceding vowel, as follows: (1) where the preceding syllable contains /u/, ||Y|| is /u/; (2) where /o/ is the vowel of the preceding syllable, ||Y|| is /u/ <sup>f</sup> /o/, while ||Y·|| is /o/ elsewhere, ||Y|| appears as /y/. For example, ||cukuH-|| 'dog' followed by ||-ʔ|| 'nominative case' followed by ||-hY·|| 'third person Series 1 pronominal suffix' (||cukuH-ʔ-hY·||) is phonemically /cukuH-ʔ-hy·/ 'his dog'; ||hu·ki-|| 'tail' followed by ||-ʔ|| followed by ||-hY·|| (||hu·ki-ʔ-hy·||) is phonemically /hu·kiʔhy·/ 'his tail'; ||ho·con-|| 'leg' followed by ||Y|| (see section 175) followed by ||-ʔ|| followed by ||-hY·|| (||ho·con-ʔ-hY·||) is phonemically /ho·conuʔhu·/ <sup>f</sup> /ho·conoʔhu·/ 'his leg.'

176. The morphophoneme ||Y|| (see section 175) occurs at the morpheme boundary—i.e., between two morphemes—when: (1) a morpheme ending in one or more consonants is followed either by a morpheme consisting of one consonant followed by juncture, or by a morpheme beginning with two consonants (except for the cluster ||CH||); (2) a morpheme ending in two consonants (except for the cluster ||HC||) is

[\[view image\]](#)

---

## PHONOLOGY

ificance. This alternation involves /s/ and /c/: /s/ is found in  
tentative or "normal-size" form, and /c/ in the diminutive form.  
few cases of this alternation have been found, but one pair of  
nates is of common occurrence, and another involves a loan-wo  
English. Where the alternation does not carry diminutive—aug  
e significance, no difference in meaning can be detected between  
nate forms. For example, compare ||ʔesel·y-|| 'child' and ||ʔec  
'; ||pu·si-|| 'cat' and ||pu·ci-|| 'kitty' (English "pussy"); and th  
tes ||mus·a-|| ~ ||muc·a-|| 'to be ashamed.'

[\[view image\]](#)

---





Table 1. Consonantal Allophony

Phonemic Environments				
/V...V/	/...#/	/#.../	/...·/	else
p <sup>h</sup> f b	p <sup>h</sup> f p'	p <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup>	
t <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup> f t'	t <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	
t <sup>h</sup> f d	t <sup>h</sup> f t'	t <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	
ʔ <sup>h</sup>	ʔ <sup>h</sup> f ʔ'	ʔ <sup>h</sup>	ʔ <sup>h</sup>	
č <sup>h</sup> f j	č <sup>h</sup> f č'	č <sup>h</sup>	t·š <sup>h</sup>	
s f z	s	s	s·	
š	š	š	š·	
h	h	h	h·	
m	m	m	m·	
n	n	n	n·	
ŋ	ŋ	no occurrence	ŋ·	
l	l	l	l·	
no occurrence	·	no occurrence	no occurrence	
w	w	w	w·	
y	y	y	y·	

Environments

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

/V<sup>-i</sup>...a, V<sup>-i</sup>...o, a...V, o...V

Alloph

44

k f y

[\[view image\]](#)

---



Table 2. Vocalic Allophony

Environments	/i/	/u/	/y/	/e/	/o/	/a/
/...·/	i	u	ɨ	E	ɔ	ɑ
/...k/	I	u <sup>~</sup>	ə <sup>~</sup>	ɛ	ɔ	ɑ
/...ʔ/	I	U	ə <sup>~</sup>	ɛ	ɔ	ɑ
/...h/	I <sup>^</sup>	u <sup>~</sup>	ɨ <sup>~</sup>	ɛ	ɔ	ɑ
/...w/	I <sup>^</sup>	u <sup>~</sup>	ɨ <sup>~</sup>	ɛ <sup>~</sup>	ɔ	ɑ
/...j/	I <sup>^</sup>	u <sup>~</sup>	ɨ <sup>~</sup>	E <sup>~</sup>	ɔ	ɑ
elsewhere	I <sup>^</sup>	u <sup>~</sup>	ɨ <sup>~</sup>	ɛ <sup>~</sup>	ɔ	ɑ

[\[view image\]](#)

---



Table 3. Distribution of Consonants  
(see list of examples)

ic	Final	In clusters: Second member										
		p	t	t̥	k	ʔ	c	s	ʃ	h	m	n
	30	--	60	75	84	98		121	134	135	148	160
	31	45	--		85	99		122		136	149	160
	32	46	61	--	86	100				137	150	160
	33	47	62	76	--	101	113	123		138	151	160
	34	48	63	77	87	---	114	124		139	152	160
	35	49	64		88	102	---	125			153	160
	36	50	65		89	103		---		140	154	160
		51	66			104			---		155	160
	37	52	67	78	90	105	115	126		---	156	160
	38	53	68		91	106	116	127		141	---	160
	39	54	69	79	92	107	117	128		142	157	---
	40	55	70	80	93	108		129		143	158	160
	41	56	71	81	94	109		130		144	159	160
	42	57	72	82	95	110	118	131		145	160	160
	43	58	73		96	111	119	132		146	161	160



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## PHONOLOGY

Table 3: Examples

pice·maʔ 'meat'	39. has·yn 'abalone shell'
tal·yl 'strong'	40. kan·yŋ 'my'
toṭku· 'to braid hair'	41. ci·wel 'tears'
kan·iʔ 'I'	42. wyk·sy· 'to go'
ʔo·paʔ 'cloud'	43. hiciw 'poker'
cakac 'donkey'	44. hoŋ·oj 'knee'
syʔ·yl 'wild'	45. sutpa· 'to shrivel up'
šolka· 'to flow'	46. ʔipuṭpuṭ·u· 'to keep on it that way'
hikah 'deer'	47. ṭakpy· 'to be thirsty'
mamlaʔ 'blackberry'	48. cuʔpam 'middle'
naŋ·aʔ 'man'	49. micpa· 'to camp'
law·a·tiʔ 'rattlesnake'	50. hispa· 'to decorate'
wyhkiʔ 'heart'	51. tošpu· 'to get stiff'
jaw·eʔ 'bow'	52. ʔyṭyhpā· 'to make one'
capa·haʔ 'white fir'	53. sympy· 'to close one's'
cytyʔ 'good'	54. ponpu· 'to get dusk'
haʔ·aṭaʔ 'round'	55. kaweŋpa· 'to shout at'
cakac 'donkey'	56. halpa· 'to find'
hiʔe·maʔ 'day'	57. ʔo·paʔ 'cloud'
pice·maʔ 'meat'	58. kojowpeʔ 'news-teller'
hasu·lu· 'to ask'	59. najpa· 'to partly cover'
hišeŋ·aʔ 'sign' <small>SIGN AND SYMBOLS</small>	60. juṭtiʔ 'rabbit-skin blanket'
hoho·loj 'nettle'	

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. ʔajtuʔ 'all'                         | 113. cikcik 'brown towhee'                |
| 2. loptotʔaʔ 'lumpy'                    | 114. hiʔcuʔ 'coyote'                      |
| 3. ʔiʔoktaʔ 'that's the one'            | 115. cihciʔ 'village name'                |
| 4. hoʔtʔujnuʔ 'he wants to jump<br>off' | 116. homecupaʔ 'barber'                   |
| 5. ʔohʔajʔaʔ 'women'                    | 117. palancaʔ 'flatiron'                  |
| 6. tyntynʔyʔ 'to think'                 | 118. ʔuʔcuʔ 'house'                       |
| 7. naʔtajʔaʔ 'men'                      | 119. cikiwciʔ 'Mariposa lil'              |
| 8. wylytyʔeʔ 'it is hot'                | 120. hojcipaʔ 'tough, hardy<br>a person)' |
| 9. luʔtuʔ 'to skin'                     | 121. ʔypsaʔ 'nephew'                      |
| 10. ʔolʔuthojʔtaʔ 'digging'             | 122. matsaʔ 'to slap'                     |
| 11. hupkuʔ 'to moult'                   | 123. wykʔsyʔ 'to go'                      |
| 12. patkas 'raccoon'                    | 124. hyʔseʔ 'to hiccough'                 |
| 13. toʔkuʔ 'to braid hair'              | 125. jocsiʔ 'to turn red'                 |
| 14. cukuʔkoʔ 'their dog'                | 126. lakyhsikoʔ 'come out'                |
| 15. cickaʔ 'bird'                       | 127. kumsul 'Olivella shell'              |
| 16. kaskasʔyʔ 'headache'                | 128. hensiʔ 'to rest'                     |
| 17. pohkoʔ 'ball'                       | 129. saʔsaʔnaʔ 'pine cone'                |
| 18. momkoʔ 'moccasins'                  | 130. kalseʔtaʔ 'socks'                    |
| 19. tynkynʔaʔ 'to maim'                 | 131. hiʔsok 'hair'                        |
| 20. ciŋkuʔ 'seed basket'                | 132. kiwsaʔ 'crane'                       |
| 21. halkiʔ 'to hunt'                    | 133. ʔojsipaʔ 'Thursday'                  |
| 22. ceʔkeʔ 'pine needles'               | 134. hakypšaʔ 'nostrils'                  |
| 23. tiwkaʔ 'dance plume'                | 135. ʔyphyʔ 'to bathe, to sw'             |
| 24. kajkaʔjaʔ 'bluejay'                 | 136. lithyʔ 'to rise (of the              |
| 25. tepʔyinyʔ 'he wants to cut it'      | 137. bathaʔtaʔ 'duck'                     |

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## PHONOLOGY

- potokme? 'gray hair'
- hy?my? 'to suit; it would be  
good if . . .'
- lacmyni? 'chop it!'
- tykysme? 'pockmark'
- wišmi? 'washout'
- ?ypyhme? 'baptized'
- sikenme? 'invalid'
- ?eleŋme? 'widower'
- ?ypelme? 'grown'
- cy·my? 'to ride'
- hol·awmeti? 'caves'
- liwaksyjme? 'we shall talk'
- henepna? 'to bake'
- tytni? 'to patch'
- hakyŋna? 'Equisetum, Western  
scouring-brush'
- ?olokna? 'to tame'
- lo?ni? 'to join together'
- lacny? 'to chop'
- kiwisnu? 'to boil'
- sarušnu? 'to saw'
- lutihna? 'to disguise'
- kumnu? 'to repay'
- SIGNS AND SYMBOLS
- citunnu? 'to wink'
- pylilna? 'to smooth out'
189. kala·ŋy? 'to dance'
190. hejawŋe? 'to want'
191. hakajŋe? 'to be hungry'
192. tapla? 'board'
193. sitli? 'to sprinkle'
194. koŋla? 'to break it up'
195. hokli? 'a round'
196. humu?li? 'garter snake'
197. masly? 'to form a sty'
198. haslujnu? 'he wants to'
199. puhlejny? 'he wants to'
200. mamla? 'blackberry'
201. cunlejny? 'it's about to  
up'
202. laŋlaŋ 'goose'
203. co·lak 'waterfall'
204. wawle? 'trunk'
205. ?awlawjny? 'he wants to c'
206. hulep·a? 'whistle'
207. catat·a? 'dice'
208. haŋ·e? 'foot'
209. cak·a? 'acorn cache'
210. ha?·aŋa? 'round'
211. ?uc·u? 'to stay'
212. has·yn 'abalone shell'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hinwojnu· 'he wants to play handgame'	238. cikaʔjaʔ 'index finger'
sigwy· 'to curl hair'	239. tacji·puʔ 'half-brother'
hulwu· 'to be hungry'	240. pusjaje·naʔ 'small hills'
ci·wel 'tears'	241. tehja· 'to bloat'
pajwajak 'Vernal Falls'	242. kamjaʔ 'yarrow'
cyt·ypjaʔ 'darkness'	243. panjoʔ 'handkerchief'
tetje·puʔ 'half-sister'	244. ho·toŋjaʔ 'king-snake'
petja· 'to drop several things'	245. jolje· 'to splash'
takjajny· 'it's about to form a ring around the sun'	246. ho·jol 'wild tea'
	247. ʔewjy· 'to be weak fr hunger'

Table 4. Occurrence of Consonants before Vowels  
(see list of examples)

	a	e	i	o	u
1		17	33	48	64
2		18	34	49	65
3		19	35	50	66
4		20	36	51	67

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## PHONOLOGY

Table 4. Examples

ʔo·paʔ 'cloud'	39. hensɪ· 'to rest'
tal·yl 'strong'	40. hikah 'deer'
haʔ·aʔaʔ 'round'	41. micpa· 'to camp'
kan·iʔ 'I'	42. lacmyniʔ 'chop it!'
ʔajtuʔ 'all'	43. tu·ŋiʔ 'wild potatoes'
cakac 'donkey'	44. humuʔliʔ 'garter snake'
sapaʔ 'a boil'	45. kan·iʔ 'I'
hiš·aša· 'rigid'	46. wišmiʔ 'washout'
capa·haʔ 'white fir'	47. tacji·puʔ 'half-brother'
pice·maʔ 'meat'	48. ponpu· 'to get dusk'
naŋ·aʔ 'man'	49. tošpu· 'to get stiff'
lapŋaʔ 'tree fungus'	50. ʔoʔku· 'to braid hair'
mamlaʔ 'blackberry'	51. hokhokot 'California sw shrub'
law·a·tiʔ 'rattlesnake'	52. ʔo·paʔ 'cloud'
wal·aj 'duck'	53. coŋtitaʔ 'crooked'
jaw·eʔ 'bow'	54. sos·e· 'to grind acorns'
petŋe· 'to hide'	55. šolka· 'to flow'
ʔeste·ciʔ 'stagecoach'	56. hoho·loj 'nettle'
co·luʔteʔ 'cricket'	57. momkoʔ 'moccasins'
ce·keʔ 'pineneedles'	58. hino·wu· 'to play handg
hiʔ·e·maʔ 'day'	59. keŋo·tu· 'to gather <sup>65</sup> up'
pice·ma <sup>SIGNS AND SYMBOLS</sup> 'meat'	60. hoho·loj 'nettle'
sepam 'edge'	

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

1. ʔuc·u· 'to stay'	85. syʔ·yl 'wild'
2. hino·wu· 'to play handgame	86. hyjʔajny· 'he wants to
3. juk·ul 'meadowlark'	87. myl·i· 'to sing'
4. pyʔcaʔ 'cottontail'	88. nykys 'poison oak'
5. cytyʔ 'good'	89. kala·ŋy· 'to dance'
6. hatyʔ·aʔ 'stirrups'	90. lyt·aʔ 'belt'
7. tynkyn·a· 'to maim'	91. syʔ·yl 'wild'
8. ʔyswiʔ 'bad'	92. wyhkiʔ 'heart'
9. cytyʔ 'good'	93. jyŋ·e· 'to get drunk'

Table 5. Occurrence of Consonants after Vowels  
(see list of examples)

	a	e	i	o	u
1		16	31	46	62
2		17	32	47	63
3		18	33	48	64
4		19	34	49	65
5		20	35	50	66
6 SIGNS AND SYMBOLS		21	36	51	67 <sup>68</sup>
7		22	37	52	68

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## PHONOLOGY

Table 5. Examples

lapŋaʔ 'tree fungus'	39. lutihnaʔ 'to disguise'
patkas 'raccoon'	40. tim·il 'mole'
sapaʔ 'a boil'	41. tintiklaʔ 'mistletoe'
paktyʔ 'to explode'	42. ciŋkuʔ 'seed basket'
pice·maʔ 'meat'	43. pylilnaʔ 'to make smooch'
cakac 'donkey'	44. ci·wel 'tears'
patkas 'raccoon'	45. hiciw 'poker'
hikah 'deer'	46. hol·op 'hole'
mamlaʔ 'blackberry'	47. hokhokot 'California sw shrub'
kan·iʔ 'I'	48. ʔoʔkuʔ 'to braid hair'
naŋ·aʔ 'man'	49. hokhokot 'California sw shrub'
halpaʔ 'to find'	50. woʔtaʔ 'to throw a ride'
ʂolkaʔ 'to flow'	51. jococ·iʔ 'red'
law·a·tiʔ 'rattlesnake'	52. tos·uj 'skinny'
najpaʔ 'to partly cover'	53. toʂpuʔ 'to get stiff'
henepnaʔ 'to bake'	54. pohkoʔ 'ball'
petŋeʔ 'to hide'	55. momkoʔ 'moccasins'
peʔ·aŋ·aʔ 'garbage dump'	56. ponpuʔ 'to get dusk'
wekwek 'raptatorial bird'	57. hoŋ·oj 'knee'
jaw·eʔ 'bow'	58. ʂolkaʔ 'to flow fast'
jec·aʔ 'nit'	59. ʔo·paʔ 'cloud'
ʔeste·ciʔ 'stagecoach'	
tehjaʔ 'to bloat'	

[\[view image\]](#)

---

## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 'to braid hair'  | 84. ʔyswiʔ 'bad'                  |
| huwjeʔ 'downstream'                                      | 85. wyhkiʔ 'heart'                |
| tos·uj 'skinny'  | 86. sympy· 'to close the<br>eyes' |
| hakypšaʔ 'nostrils'                                      | 87. has·yn 'abalone shell'        |
| tytni· 'to patch'  | 88. kan·yq 'my'                   |
| hakytnaʔ ' <u>Equisetum</u> , Western<br>scouring-brush' | 89. syʔ·yl 'wild'                 |
| wyksy· 'to go'   | 90. pakty· 'to explode'           |
| syʔ·yl 'wild'  | 91. ʔywʔyʔ 'food'                 |
| paʔ·yc·eʔ 'generous'                                     | 92. hyjʔajny· 'he wants to a      |

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## CHAPTER TWO

### INTRODUCTION TO MORPHEMICS

#### 210. MORPHEMIC DEFINITION OF THE WORD

In Southern Sierra Miwok, the WORD is a useful unit for purposes of morphemic and syntactic analysis, since it exhibits definite features of internal structure, with which the present chapter will be concerned. It also features of external relationships, which will be discussed in Chapter 9. Word boundaries are relatively easy to define in this language. As has been seen (section 160), they can be described in phonological terms. Independently of the phonological definition, the word can also be defined morphemically. The boundaries of the phonological word and the morphemic word coincide perfectly in all instances.

The morphemic definition rests on the two basic morpheme classes, ROOTS and SUFFIXES, whose features will be discussed in the next section. Each word contains, as its first morpheme, one member of the class of roots, and only one. Except in the case of particles (see section 290), the root is always followed by one or more suffixes. All words except particles end with a member of the class of final suffixes (see section 240), or with a final suffix followed by one or more particles (see section 280). The next morpheme is then another root, commencing a new word. Each root therefore defines the beginning of a word, and thereby the end of the preceding one. The latter is also marked by the occurrence of final suffixes and postfixes.



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

), 140, 160). In the absence of vowels and consonant clusters in initial position, a root always begins with a consonant followed by a vowel. Hereafter, more variety is to be found. No roots have been found to consist of less than the aforementioned two phonemes, but many are monosyllabic, and the majority consist of no more than two syllables. The first of the first two syllables of a word is always a long syllable. Where primary stress, this is usually part of the root. The following can be observed: CV, CVC, CVCC, CVCV, CVCVC, CVCCV, CVCCVC, CVCVCCV, CVCVCCVC, CVCCVVCV, and CVCCVCCV. Suffixes are less subject to canonical restrictions, since (1) they occur in first morphemic position and (2) morpheme boundaries in the word do not necessarily correspond to syllabic divisions. They consist of any phoneme or sequence of phonemes that conforms to the rules of canonical form. Some are single phonemes, and few contain more than two syllables. Statistically, they are low in number but high in frequency compared to roots, collectively if not always individually. They can be divided into order classes, to be discussed in detail in section 270).

In morphophonemic writing, the two morpheme classes will be distinguished by the use of hyphens, after roots and before suffixes. Suffixes which are never found in word-final position are followed as well as preceded by a hyphen.

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## MORPHEMICS

bal suffix, meaning obscure.' Stems occur in variant forms (see section 260); the occurrence of stem variants, like that of root allomorphs, is determined by the nature of the first following suffix.

Bases (or verbal bases) are mono-, bi-, or polymorphemic. The occurrence of a morpheme or a sequence of morphemes occurring before the three modal suffixes (see section 250). A verbal base plus a modal suffix constitutes a verbal theme (see below, and section 250).

Monomorphemic base is also a root, and if they conform to certain formal limitations, mono- and bi-morphemic bases are also stems;

In these cases, bases are subject to the same transformations of shape as stems and stems, but not otherwise. The two stems cited above are

as is ||wel-ki-jik·-|| 'to go to fetch,' consisting of ||wel-ki-|| followed by an allomorph of the verbal suffix {-jik·-} 'andative.' Any

base can be followed by the modal suffixes, but while ||wel-ki-jik·-|| exhibits variation in the form of its last suffix, this is in no way parallel to

the variant forms exhibited by ||wel·-|| and ||wel-ki-||.

Themes are also mono-, bi-, or polymorphemic. They differ from stems in that they are found immediately followed by members of the class of final suffixes (see section 240), while one of the modal suffixes intervenes between a base and a final suffix. A theme plus

one or more final suffixes constitutes a complete word. Themes can be divided into two classes, nominal and verbal, depending on the presence or absence of modal suffixes and the type of final suffix(es) which follows.

These two classes parallel the two most numerous morphological classes of Southern Sierra, NOUNS and VERBS, which consist

of these two classes parallel the two most numerous morphological classes of Southern Sierra, NOUNS and VERBS, which consist

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

### 240. FINAL SUFFIXES

the definition of words and themes, reference has been made to the class of final suffixes. These are morphemes which are found, singly or in combination, in word-final position following themes. Verbal and nominal themes are segments which never occur in isolation; they always occur followed by one or more final suffixes. This class therefore forms an obligatory category with respect to nouns and verbs.

The members of this class are certain case suffixes and the pronominal suffixes, of which four series exist, here numbered Series 1, 2, 3, and 4. Each series includes, besides forms referring (in verb-like usage) to the subject, others which refer to both subject and object. Series 1 and 2 are always found in combination with case suffixes; Series 3 and 4 are usually not. The morphology of the pronominal case suffixes is discussed in chapter 3.

The final suffixes are so named to distinguish them from (1) morphemes which occur in prefinal position (see section 270), which are theme- or base- suffixes and are never found in word-final position; and (2) postfixes (see section 280), which are not obligatory morphemes, and which follow themes (or forms which otherwise occur in isolation) rather than themes. However, while final suffixes are found at least sometimes in absolute word-final position, they are not always so located. When two final suffixes occur in combination, it is obvious that the first is not word-final although the second may be. Moreover, when postfixes are present on the final suffix

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## MORPHEMICS

Verbal themes of the second type consist of a verbal base, or a variant of a base, followed by an allomorph of the present perfect suffix {-ak-}. Such themes are followed by Series 3 pronominal suffixes. Following the present perfect suffix the first person singular is represented by a zero allomorph. These forms have the meaning of perfect verbs; that is, they indicate actions which have just been completed. They are usually translated by an immediate past tense in English (e.g., ||hywa·-t-ak-∅|| /hywa·tak/ 'I ran just now').

Verbal themes of the third type consist of a base, or a variant of a base, followed by an allomorph of the imperative suffix {-eH-}. Such themes are followed by Series 4 pronominal suffixes, and have imperative meanings (e.g., ||hywa·-t-eH-?|| /hywa·te?/ 'run!').

Nominal themes are followed either by case alone, or by pronominal suffixes of Series 1 or Series 2 plus case. Some types of nominal themes are always followed by Series 1 suffixes; others always take Series 2 suffixes; some occur with either series, with differences of meaning. Nominal themes may translate English nouns, or they may represent English verbs other than the types mentioned in connection with verbal themes; for example, ||haja·puH-|| 'chief' and ||wyks-keH-|| 'went' are both nominal themes. It must be emphasized (see section 230) that, at each level of formal or thematic development, it is the last suffix in the segment under consideration that determines its status. For example, ||haja·puH-j-|| '. . . will be a chief; future chief' and ||hal-ki-j-|| 'to hunt.' Both end with the nominal suffix {-j-} 'future,' and both are nominal themes. However, ||haja·puH-|| 'chief' is a nominal theme, and ||hal-ki-|| 'to hunt' is a base.

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ists, it provides the most convenient basic form, since the rule  
 em variation can be stated in such a way that other variants ca  
 edicted from Stem 1, while the reverse is not true. This follow  
 e fact that Stem 1, which has five possible canons, exhibits the  
 : diversity of shape; other stem types have no more than two.  
 The relationships between Stem 1 and other stem types can be  
 rcribed in terms of a count of consonants and vowels and their a  
 nts. However, these statements can be greatly simplified if /·/  
 m 1 is not counted as a consonant, except for placing the form  
 e of the canons listed above. If Stem 1 has insufficient vowels  
 canon of the stem type under consideration, the gap is filled  
 not counting length, Stem 1 has insufficient consonants, the can  
 stem type under consideration is filled out with /·/, /h/, or  
 Besides Stem 1, three stem types are of sufficient importance  
 rit special discussion, since each occurs with several different  
 es. These are here referred to as Stems 2, 3, and 4. They ex  
 following relationships with the corresponding Stem 1: Stem 2  
 form  $\|C_1V_1C_2-\|$  if Stem 1 is either  $\|C_1V_1\cdot-\|$  or  $\|C_1V_1\cdot C_2-\|$ ;  
 se cases, where Stem 1 has no  $C_2$ , Stem 2 has /·/. Otherwise  
 as the form  $\|C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3-\|$ ; Stem 3,  $\|C_1V_1C_2\cdot V_2C_3-\|$ ; Stem  
 $\|C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2-\|$ , and the following rules apply: (1) if, ignoring le  
 a consonant, Stem 1 has no  $C_3$ , Stem 2 has /h/  $\infty$  /·/  $\infty$  /·/,  
 ms 3 and 4 have /·/; and (2) if Stem 1 has no  $V_2$ , Stems 2, 3  
 ave  $\|Y\|$ . These relationships may be exemplified as follows:

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## MORPHEMICS

le by  $\|lak-h-\|$  'to appear.' Apart from  $\|wy'-\|$ , numerous examples have been recorded for most other types of Stem 1, all of which have the same structural patterns in Stems 2, 3, and 4.

Examples of the occurrence of these stem types with suffixes are given below:

Stem 2 (in the variant with /h/ where Stem 1 lacks a  $C_3$ ) can be followed by  $\|-\cdot e-\|$  (an allomorph of the nominal suffix  $\{-keH-\}$  'past tense' occurring in a nominal theme with the meaning of a non-immediate past tense verb (for example,  $\|?ynyh-\cdot e-\emptyset-?\|$  / $?ynyh'e?$ / 'he came').

Stem 3 may be followed by the nominal suffix  $\{-iH-\}$  'habitual' occurring in a nominal theme with a habitative meaning ( $\|?yn\cdot y?-iH-\emptyset-nry?i?$  / 'he always comes').

Stem 4 can take the verbal suffix combination  $\{-j-nY-\}$ , resulting in a base with the meaning of a volitional or immediate-future verb ( $\|?yn?y-j-nY-\emptyset-\cdot\|$  / $?yn?yjny\cdot$ / 'he wants to come' or 'he is about to come').

### 270. SUFFIX CLASSES

Suffixes in Southern Sierra can be classified in two ways. First, they can be grouped into order classes: final, prefinal, and medial. The prefinal suffixes, which have already been discussed (see section 240), are prefinal suffixes, in a generic sense; they are obligatory, and control syntactic relations by reference to and agreement in case, person, and number.

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

able characteristic of each verbal suffix is the type of stem to which it is found. Two or more verbal suffixes sometimes occur on a single verbal theme, in which case their order is a matter of immediate constituents: each verbal suffix is in immediate constituency with a part of what precedes it. For example,  $\|\text{?etal-}\|$  'to return, Stem 1' followed by  $\{-n\text{Huk}\cdot\text{u-}\}$  'causative' followed by  $\|\text{-lVmh-}\|$  'ready' followed by  $\|\text{-}\phi\text{-}\|$  'present imperfect' followed by  $\|\text{-}\cdot\|$  'third person singular' is 3 pronominal suffix' is  $/\text{?etalnuk}\cdot\text{ulumhu}/$  'he is ready to go home' (i.e., make him go) home,' while  $\|\text{?etla-lVmh-nHuk}\cdot\text{u-}\phi\text{-}\cdot\|$  is  $/\text{?etlalamhynuk}\cdot\text{u}/$  'he is making him ready to go home.'

Nominal suffixes have derivational meanings or refer to non-pronominal themes. Like the verbal suffixes, each is found following a specific stem, but the nominal suffixes themselves exhibit less allomorphy than the verbal suffixes. Medial nominal suffixes far outnumber pre-terminal ones; most of the latter refer to tense.

### 280. POSTFIXES

Postfixes form a separate class of suffixes. They are found at the end of words, but are distinguished from final suffixes by the fact that they are not obligatory. Their position is after the final suffixes; they are therefore attached to nouns and verbs rather than to themes, base forms. They are also found following particles. Some occur with words of one word-class only; others follow words of any class. T

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## MORPHEMICS

Particles are monomorphemic words. As morphemes, they have the following characteristics: they are roots rather than suffixes, since they sometimes occur in utterance-initial position; the only suffixes which may follow them are postfixes; and with one exception ( $\parallel ho^? \cdot aj \parallel$  'and') they exhibit no allomorphy. As words, their distributional features are as follows. They meet the phonological criteria for words (see section 160), each having a primary stress on the first long vowel. They also meet the morphological criteria (see section 200), since in utterance-medial position they are found between the final suffixes of the preceding word and the root of the following one. Moreover, they occur in the same form at the beginnings and ends of utterances. They can be elicited in isolation, but at least three ( $/hy^?y/$  'yes,'  $/jej/$  'hey!') sometimes occur as complete utterances. Particles differ from nouns and verbs in that they contain no medial, prefinal or final suffixes.

Particles frequently follow the word they modify; they are short and they have meanings which are hard to define. These facts, together with their rare occurrence in isolation, renders them somewhat difficult to distinguish from postfixes. The distinction can always be made, however, with careful attention to the phonological characteristics which mark particles as words, and by the fact that even those which cannot be elicited in isolation are sometimes found at the beginnings of utterances.

The following particles have been identified:

$\parallel hane \parallel$  SIGNS AND SYMBOLS maybe

$\parallel ho^? \cdot aj \parallel$   $\overset{f}{\parallel}$   $\parallel ho^? \cdot aj \cdot y \cdot \parallel$  'and'



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## CHAPTER THREE

### FINAL SUFFIXES

#### 300. INTRODUCTION

The final suffixes, as noted earlier, form an obligatory class with respect to nominal and verbal themes. Verbs and nouns are formed by the addition of members of this class to suitable themes to provide complete words. The morphology of these suffixes will be discussed in the following sections. The class consists of four series of pronominal suffixes and the autonomous case suffixes. For the sake of convenience, the inanimate case suffixes will also be discussed in this chapter, although strictly speaking they are prefinal nominal suffixes rather than final suffixes.

#### 310. PERSONAL PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

There are four series of personal pronominal suffixes. Their forms are given in table 6.

It will be noted that Series 3 and 4 contain more distinctions of person and number than do Series 1 and 2. Series 3 and 4 distinguish first person dual inclusive, first person plural inclusive, and first person plural exclusive; the meaning of all of these is covered in Series 1 by a first person plural. This can be treated as a difference in

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## FINAL SUFFIXES

Table 6. Personal Pronominal Suffixes

	Obj.	Series 1	Series 2	Series 3	Series 4
		-nti- <sup>d</sup> -kan	-te-	-ma· ∞ -∅	(-m ∞ ∞ (-∅
		-nY·	-ni-	sY·	-? ∞ ∞ -h-
		-hY·	-∅-	-·	-nih
nc.				-ti·	-ti·
		-t·i- <sup>d</sup> -mah·i·	-me-		
nc.				-tic·i·	-tic·i·
xcel.				-mah·i·	-mah·i·
		-mYko·	-tokni-	-toksu·	-ci·i· -tok·o·
		-ko·	-koH- ∞ -ko- ∞ -k·o-	-p·u·	-nihke
2S		-ni. . kan	-ni·te-	-mus·u·	-ni·
2P		-tokni. . kan	-tokni·te-	-mutoksu·	-tokni·
1S		-te. . nY·	-te·ni-	-mu·	-· <sup>f</sup>
1P	SIGNS AND SYMBOLS	-me. . nY·	-me·ni-	-muhme·	104 -muh·

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

The first six (or eight) suffixes in each series, used alone, refer to the subject only, in verbal or verb-like usage. The remainder confer to both subject and object. The first group will be referred to as SINGLE pronominal suffixes, the second group as DOUBLE pronominal suffixes. Their relationships are somewhat complex, and are discussed below.

In the double pronominal suffixes, the subject is never included in the object, or vice versa. "I am doing it for you" would require the double suffix, but "I am doing it for us" is handled differently. For this reason, in Series 3 and 4, no distinction is made between dual, plural, inclusive, or exclusive in the first person, as might otherwise be expected. "First person plural" in the double pronominal suffixes is always exclusive in meaning, where the second person, singular or plural, is also involved. Where the third person is the subject, first person plural in Series 3 and 4 has the meaning (and, in fact, the form) that it has in the single suffixes of Series 2. Third person objects, singular or plural, are expressed as zero in all cases. Hence, the single pronominal suffixes can mean either, for example, "I am doing it" with no object, or "I am doing it to him (or them)."

311. Many of the pronominal suffixes listed above are analyzed into two or more morphemic units. The array of suffixes in table 6 has been reduced to a limited number of morphemes, many of which appear in several places in the system. These morphemes are as follows:

|| -nti- || SIGNS AND SYMBOLS 'first person singular'

|| -nY· || 'second person singular'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



FINAL SUFFIXES

- nih- || 'third person'
- tY- || 'first person singular object'
- mY- || 'second person'
- tok- || 'plural (second person only)'
- mu- || ∞ || -mu· || ∞ || -muh- || 'first and second persons involve'

Table 7. Pronominal Suffix Morphemes

	1S	2S	3S	1P	2P	3P
1a	-nti-			-t·i-		
1b	-kan	-nY·	-hY·	-mah·i·		
2a	-te-	-ni-	-∅	-me-		
2b	-te·-	-ni·-		-me·-		
2c	-te?	-ni?		-me?		
3a	-ma·	-sY·	-·	--tiH-		-p·u·
3b	-∅					
4a	-m	-?	-nih-		-c·i·	
4b		-∅				
4c		-·				
4d		-h-				

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ular morpheme followed by  $\| -koH- \|$  'plural.'

Rules describing the distribution of single pronominal suffixes and multiple allomorphs can be stated as follows. The Series 2 third person singular is  $\| -ko- \|$  after the second person singular pronominal stems (see section 645); after the demonstrative stems  $\| ?i- \|$  'that,'  $\| ?i- \|$  'at one,' and  $\| neH- \|$  'this,' it is  $\| -k'o- \|$ ; elsewhere, it is  $\| -ko- \|$ . Following this last allomorph, the nominative case is zero. The Series 3 first person singular is  $\| -\emptyset \| \infty \| -ma \cdot \|$  after the allomorphs  $\| -X- \|$  of the imperative modal suffix  $\{ -eH- \}$  (these two allomorphs of the imperative are in free variation before the Series 4 first person singular, but their occurrence is restricted under certain other circumstances; see section 431): it is  $\| -ma \cdot \|$  after  $\| -X- \|$ , as a member of the aforementioned allomorphic set only, and except when preceded by the allomorph  $\| -j- \|$  of the verbal suffix  $\{ -jik \cdot - \}$ ; (see section 505) after  $\| -X- \|$  and after  $\| -n- \|$ , this pronominal suffix is zero. Elsewhere it is  $\| -m \| \stackrel{d}{=} \| -ma \cdot \|$ . The Series 4 second person singular is  $\| -\cdot \|$  after the allomorph  $\| -ni- \|$  of the imperative modal suffix when the latter is preceded by the allomorphs  $\| -a \cdot - \|$  and  $\| -ja \cdot - \|$  of the verbal suffix  $\{ -jik \cdot - \}$ ; elsewhere, it is  $\| -\cdot \|$  following the zero allomorph of the imperative suffix preceded by the allomorph  $\| -ak- \|$  of the verbal suffix  $\{ -\eta He- \}$  (see section 532). In the genitive case, it is  $\| -h- \|$  (see section 325); elsewhere, it is  $\| -\cdot \|$ . The second person plural of this series has two allomorphs listed in table 6, consisting of  $\| -tok- \|$  followed by  $\| -koH- \|$ , occurring before the genitive case, and has been recorded from one informant (CJ); the allomorph  $\| -c \cdot i \cdot \|$  is found elsewhere.

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## FINAL SUFFIXES

the Series 3 first person plural exclusive (1P1b). Otherwise, with a first person and a second person, singular or plural, are involved as subject or object,  $\| -mu- \| \infty \| -mu^{\cdot} \| \infty \| -muh- \|$  occurs. Where the subject is first person singular and the object second person singular or plural, the form consists of  $\| -mu- \|$  followed by a Series 3 suffix representing the object. Where the subject is in the second person singular and the object first person singular, the form is merely  $\| -mu^{\cdot} \|$ . Where the subject is second person plural and the object first person singular or plural, the form consists of  $\| -mu- \|$  followed by the Series 4 second person plural. Where the object is first person plural, the allomorph  $\| -n- \|$  occurs: with a second person singular subject, the form is  $\| -muh- \|$  followed by a Series 2 (variant 2b) suffix for the object; with a second person plural subject, the form is the same, except that the morpheme  $\| -n- \|$  precedes the complex.

Series 4, in many respects, is similar to Series 3. Where the subject is in the third person, the structure is the same as in Series 3, except that the subject is represented by Series 4 rather than Series 3. With a plural subject, the Series 2 element representing the object occurs between the two morphemes of the Series 4 suffix (see section 2.1), instead of following it. With a first person plural subject or second person plural subject, the forms in Series 4 are the same as in Series 3, unless the subject is in the third person. Where the subject is in the first person singular and the object in the second person, singular or plural, the form consists of a Series 2 suffix (variant 2b) representing the object. Where the subject is zero (1S3b). Where the subject is in the second person

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ner case suffixes, such as the genitive, with special meaning  
ference to time.

Examples of the occurrence of pronominal suffixes:<sup>1</sup>

Series 1:

cukuH-nti-ʔ /cukuntiʔ/ 'my dog,' cf. cukuH- 'dog'

han·a-ʔ-koH /han·aʔko·/ 'their heads,' cf. han·a- 'head'

wyks-ʔaX-j-hY: /wyksyʔajhy:/ 'his going,' cf. wyks-ʔaX- 'g'

ʔenpu-ni-ni-ʔ-kan /ʔenpuniniʔkan/ 'I can chase you,' cf. ʔen  
'can chase'

Series 2:

haja·puH-ni-ʔ /haja·pu·niʔ/ 'you are a chief,' cf. haja·puH-

wyks-j-ni-ʔ /wyksyjniʔ/ 'you will go,' cf. wyks-j- 'to go (fu

cilen·e-koH-ŋ /cilen·ekoŋ/ 'after they ate lunch (genitive c  
cf. cilen·e- 'to eat lunch (past)'

ʔenup·e-ni-te-ʔ /ʔenup·eni-teʔ/ 'I chased you,' cf. ʔenup·e  
chase (past)'

Series 3:

cyly·l-ϕ-sY· /cyly·lysy·/ 'you're weaving,' cf. cyly·l- 'to we

wy·n-ϕ-· /wy·ny·/ 'he's walking,' cf. wy·n- 'to walk'

te·p-a-· /te·pa·/ 'he cut it,' cf. te·p-a- 'to cut (present per

ʔyw·y-ϕ-·meʔ /ʔyw·y·meʔ/ 'he'll eat us,' cf. ʔyw·y- 'to eat'

Series 4:

ʔenh-eH-ʔ /ʔenheʔ/ 'make it!,' cf. ʔenh-eH- 'to make (impe

wel-h-eH-tic·i· /welhe·tic·i·/ 'let's look for it,' cf. wel-h-eH

'to look for (imperative)'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## FINAL SUFFIXES

### 320. CASE SUFFIXES

Southern Sierra Miwok has nine case suffixes. Of these, four are, making, final suffixes, in that they occur in absolutely final position and be referred to as the AUTONOMOUS case suffixes. Four case suffixes are always followed by an allomorph of one of the autonomous case suffixes and will be described as SUBORDINATE case suffixes. One case suffix, possessive, can function either as a subordinate case suffix or as an autonomous one.

The names here given to these cases are, primarily, simply conventional, referring to one usage, and do not reflect the complete range of meanings of the cases. From the point of view of Latin grammar, some suffixes occur in connection with the accusative case, for example. It is true that the direct object of the verb in Miwok (although not necessarily in the English translation) is in the accusative case, other forms which could be interpreted as direct objects are found to bear this case suffix.

321. Nominative—The nominative case is autonomous, and has two allomorphs  $\| -? \|$  ~  $\| -\emptyset \|$ . It is zero when the preceding morpheme ends in a consonant except  $\| H \|$  and juncture follows (i.e., in the environment  $\| \dots \# \|$  the nominative case is zero, unless C is  $\| H \|$ ). It is also zero after the allomorph  $\| -koH \|$  of the Series 2 third person plural possessive suffix. Elsewhere, the nominative case is  $\| -? \|$ .

The nominative case is found on the subjects of verbs, and on forms which modify subjects of verbs; on nouns in isolation; and in predicative coordinate constructions involving nouns. It also occurs widely



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

huk·uH-j-hY· /huk·ujhu·/ 'his head (accusative)'

hul·u·wi-j /hul·u·wi·/ 'dove (accusative)'

hikaHh-j /hika·hyj/ 'deer (accusative)'

kawly-pa-j /kawlypaj/ 'all morning'

hi?e·ma-j /hi?e·maj/ 'all day'

henis-·e-me-j /henis·emej/ 'after we rested,' cf. henis-·e-  
(past)'

?ywyh-·e-me-j /?ywyh·emej/ 'after we ate,' cf. ?ywyh-·e- 'to eat'

323. Temporal—The temporal case has the form ||-n||, and is used to indicate time. It frequently follows the nominal suffix ||-no-|| 'time, season'. It is often found on forms which translate English adverbs, especially those indicating time, but also on others, such as 'higher' and 'slowly.' Its meaning is somewhat obscure, but it seems to have reference to location in space. Probably owing to its meaning, its distribution is far more limited than is that of other autonomous case suffixes. Examples

hojeH-no-n /hoje·non/ 'tomorrow,' cf. hojeH- 'next'

?i-w-i-n /?iw·in/ 'now; today'

mi-taH-n /mitan/ 'when'

mi-taH-no-n /mita·non/ 'when; ever'

kot-taH-n /kot·an/ 'far off'

324. Vocative—The vocative case has the form ||-·|| ~ ||∅||. It is used only when the preceding morpheme ends in any consonant; otherwise the form ||-·|| is used. It is used only as a vocative, and is therefore limited in occurrence to forms which are used as terms of address. Examples

?ypyH-· /?ypy·/ 'Father!'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## FINAL SUFFIXES

low imperative verbal themes), it means 'later; not yet'; that is, the realization of the imperative is to be delayed. Before this suffix, the Person Series 4 pronominal suffixes appear in the following allomorphs: ||-||, singular; and ||-tok·o-||, plural (recorded only from CJ). Examples:

hikaHh-ŋ /hika·hyŋ/ 'the deer's'

cukuH-ŋ /cukuŋ/ 'the dog's'

naŋ·aH-ŋ /naŋ·aŋ/ 'the man's'

manaX-ŋ·-ʔ /manaŋ·yʔ/ 'whose is it?,' cf. manaX- 'who?'

ʔis·ak-ŋ·-ʔ /ʔis·akyŋ·yʔ/ 'it is his,' cf. ʔis·ak- 'he'

ʔajtuH-me-ŋ·-j /ʔajtu·meŋ·yj/ 'of all of us (accusative case)'

ʔajtuH- 'all'; ʔajtuH-me- 'all of us'

henis··e-me-ŋ /henis·emeŋ/ 'after we rest,' cf. henis··e- 'to rest (past)'

sipet-na-keH-∅-ŋ /sipetnakenŋ/ 'after she makes it narrow,' cf.

sipet-na-keH- 'to make narrow (past)'

kosen-ka-n-h-ŋ /kosenkanhyŋ/ 'cook it for him later!,' cf.

kosen-ka-n- 'to cook for (imperative)'

kosen-ka-X-tok·o-ŋ /kosenkat·ok·oŋ/ 'all cook it for him later!'

cf. kosen-ka-X- 'to cook for (imperative)'

tyk··eH-tyH-ŋ /tyk·e·tyŋ/ 'shoot me—but not yet!,' cf. tyk··e-

'to shoot (imperative)'. This utterance is said to be the cry

of the California quail.

326. Ablative—The ablative case has the form ||-m·-|| ~ ||-m-

a subordinate case. When the preceding morpheme ends with a

||VH||, the allomorph ||-m·-|| is found. When the preceding morpheme

ends with any consonant except ||H||, the ablative has the form ||-

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

?u·cuH-m·-nti-? /?u·cum·unti?/ 'from my house'

?u·cuH-m·-?-hY· /?u·cum·u?hu·/ 'from his house'

cym·e-m·-? /cym·em·y?/ 'south of'

neH-m·-?-?ok /nem·o?·ok/ 'from here'

hol·op-m-? /hol·opmu?/ 'from the hole'

wakaHl-m-t·i-? /wakalmyt·i?/ 'from our creek'

hikaHh-m-?-hY· /hikahmy?hy·/ 'from his deer'

?al·a-m·-t·Y-j /?al·am·yt·yj/ 'under (accusative case)'

haj·e-m·-j /haj·em·em·yj/ 'for a little while,' cf. haj·e- 'clo.

327. Allative—The allative case, which is a subordinate case, is formed from  $\| -t- \|$  ~  $\| -tHo- \|$ . It is  $\| -t- \|$  when the preceding theme ends in a vowel or  $\| VH \|$  and only the nominative case (here represented by  $\| \emptyset \|$  or allomorph) or the postfix  $\| -?ok \|$  follows. Elsewhere, it is  $\| -tHo- \|$ . A few themes ending in vowels can be followed by either allomorph. It is noted that the allative in turn is followed by nothing but the nominative case. In some such instances, informants report a slight difference in meaning ( $\| ?oka-t-\emptyset \|$  /?okat/ '(remaining) in the same place';  $\| ?oka-tHo-\emptyset \|$  /?okat·o?/ '(returning) to the same place'), while other pairs appear to have identical meanings ( $\| mi-n·i-t-\emptyset \|$ ,  $\| mi-n·i-tHo? \|$  'where to?';  $\| ?i-ni-t-\emptyset \|$ ,  $\| ?i-ni-tHo-? \|$  'there').

The meaning of this case, in most instances, is 'to, towards; at, near, on.' Following a present imperfect verbal theme, it has a progressive meaning; after an imperative verbal theme, it means 'if I . . . , etc.' or 'when I . . . , when you . . . , etc.' Following a nominal theme, the allomorph  $\| -t- \|$  is always found, and no pronominal

The allative is also found after the nominal suffix  $\| -?aX-$

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## FINAL SUFFIXES

kawyHl-ŋHe-ʔaX-tHo-ʔ-hY· /kawylŋeʔat·oʔhu·/ 'until it got dark'

cf. kawyHl-ŋHe-ʔaX- 'getting dark'

hy·ja-ʔaX-nti-t /hy·jaʔantit/ 'until I get there,' cf. hy·ja-ʔaX-  
'arriving'

328. Locative—The locative case suffix has the form  $\parallel$ -m- $\parallel$ , a subordinate case. When the morpheme preceding  $\parallel$ -m- $\parallel$  ends in a vowel, the nominative case is zero; when  $\parallel$ -m- $\parallel$  follows a morpheme ending in a consonant, the nominative case is  $\parallel$ -ʔ $\parallel$ , and  $\parallel$ Y $\parallel$  intervenes between the two (see section 176). Besides the nominative case, the locative can be followed by the nominal suffix  $\parallel$ -to- $\parallel$ , by postfixes, and by  $\parallel$ -c·Y- $\parallel$ , the diminutive suffix. Pronominal suffixes have not been found with the locative case. The meaning of this suffix is 'in, on, at'. Examples:

hol·op-m-ʔ /hol·opmuʔ/ 'in the hole'

lemeH-m-∅ /lemem/ 'on the mountain'

la·ma-m-∅ /la·mam/ 'at the tree'

cuʔpaH-m-∅ /cuʔpam/ 'in the middle'

han·a-m-∅ /han·am/ 'in the head'

neH-m-∅-ʔok /nemʔok/ 'this way'

wakaHl-m-ʔ /wakalmyʔ/ 'at the creek'

329. Instrumental—The instrumental case is subordinate, and has the form  $\parallel$ -Hs- $\parallel$ . When the preceding theme ends in a vowel and only the nominative case follows, the zero allomorph of the nominative occurs, and the resulting sequence  $\parallel$ V-Hs-∅ $\parallel$  is phonemically /Vs/. The nominative is the only primary case which has been found following the instr

[\[view image\]](#)

---

## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

jaw·e-Hs-∅ /jaw·es/ 'with a bow'

jaw·e-Hs-ʔ-hY· /jaw·e·syʔhy·/ 'with his bow'

jaw·e-nti-Hs-∅ /jaw·entis/ 'with my bow'

hikaHh-Hs-ʔ /hikahsyʔ/ 'with a deer'

hiciw-Hs-ʔ /hiciwsyʔ/ 'with a poker'

ʔuc·u-ʔaX-Hs-ʔ-hY· /ʔuc·uʔas·yʔhy·/ 'where he lives,' cf. ʔuc

'living, dwelling' (see section 174)

/hasul·eteʔ ʔuc·uʔas·yʔhy·/ 'I asked where he lives'

/ʔenyhnama· jaw·es haja·puj/ 'I am making a bow for the chi

/ʔam·e·ty· jaw·e·syʔny·/ 'Give me your bow!'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## CHAPTER FOUR

### VERBAL THEMES

#### 400. INTRODUCTION

Verbal themes, as defined previously (see section 250), are morphemes which are followed immediately by Series 3 or Series 4 nominal suffixes. A verbal theme consists of a base (see section 250) followed by one of the three modal suffixes, which permit the classification of verbal themes into three types or modes (imperfect indicative, perfect indicative, and imperative). All of these refer to a present-tense present tenses are expressed by nominal forms.

Bases of verbal themes have a variety of types of structure. A base may be a Stem 1 (see section 260), in which case it normally appears the same shape before all three modal suffixes. Or it may be a morphemic form too long to fall within the canonical limitations of Stem 1. Bases of this type often show variations in shape when followed by different modal suffixes, since certain base-formative verbal suffixes exhibit allomorphy in this situation. This allomorphy most commonly affects only the form of the last such suffix, but sometimes there are differences in the shape of the stem preceding it. When a verbal suffix with multiple allomorphs occurs in a base that falls within the limitations of Stem 1, variant verbal themes are frequently possible: those which would normally be expected of a Stem 1 of that particular type, and those which would be expected of a base containing the stem in question (see, for example, section 532). The situation is further complicated by the fact that the modal suffixes also exhibit allomorphy

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

st frequent use of present imperfect verbal themes, they also p  
e in two other types of construction. They are sometimes follo  
allative case, without pronominal suffixes; such forms have pa  
anings. They also occur followed by the nominative case and S  
nominal suffixes, to provide forms with gerundial meanings. Ex  
hune·m- $\emptyset$ -ma· /hune·myma·/ 'I am fishing,' cf. hune·m- 'to f  
hyle·-t- $\emptyset$ -· /hyle·ty·/ 'he is flying,' cf. hyle·-t- 'to fly'  
mula·k-poksu- $\emptyset$ -sY· /mula·kypoksusu·/ 'you are washing your  
cf. mula·k-poksu- 'to wash one's face'  
ʔe·tal-e·-nY-lVmh- $\emptyset$ -· /ʔe·tale·nylymhy·/ 'he is ready to go  
and forth,' cf. ʔe·tal-e·-nY-lVmh- 'to be ready to go back  
forth'  
kac·- $\emptyset$ -t- $\emptyset$  /kac·yt/ 'he said,' cf. kac·- 'to say'  
myl'i-poksu- $\emptyset$ -t- $\emptyset$  /myl'ipoksut/ 'he sang to himself,' cf.  
myl'i-poksu- 'to sing to oneself'  
kel·a- $\emptyset$ -ʔ-hY· /kel·aʔhy·/ 'snowing,' cf. kel·a- 'to snow'  
nocuH- $\emptyset$ -ʔ-nY· /nocuʔnu·/ 'your crying,' cf. nocuH- 'to cry'  
peHt-ŋHe- $\emptyset$ -ʔ-ko· /petŋeʔko·/ 'their hiding,' cf. peHt-ŋHe- 't

### 420. PRESENT PERFECT VERBAL THEMES

e suffix of the present perfect indicative mode is {-ak-}. This  
ows the appropriate variant of the base (see section 500),<sup>440</sup> and  
ed by Series 3 pronominal suffixes. The first person singular

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## VERBAL THEMES

member of each pair of allomorphs occurs when the subject element of the pronominal suffix is either third person singular or third person plural; the other form occurs before all other pronominal suffixes. Examples:

lo·t-a-· 'he caught it,' cf. lo·t- 'to catch'

ʔu·k-ak-∅ 'I went in,' cf. ʔu·k- 'to enter'

ʔyn·-ak-mah·i· 'we came,' cf. ʔyn·- 'to come'

hasu·l-ak-mus·u· 'I asked you,' cf. hasu·l- 'to ask'

ʔyw·y·-hak-mah·i· 'we ate,' cf. ʔyw·y·- 'to eat'

nocu·-ha-· 'he cried,' cf. nocu·- 'to cry'

wy·-ha-· /wy·ha·/ 'he went,' cf. wy·- 'to go'

myl·ja-na-· /myljana·/ 'he beat him up,' cf. myl·ja- 'to beat'

ʔenpu-nak-muhme· 'you chased us,' cf. ʔenpu- 'to chase'

ʔyj·e-nak-∅ /ʔyj·enak/ 'I fell asleep,' cf. ʔyj·e- 'to sleep'

### 430. PRESENT IMPERATIVE VERBAL THEMES

Present imperative verbal themes consist of an appropriate variant of the imperative particle followed by an allomorph of the suffix {-eH-}. Such themes are most commonly followed by Series 4 pronominal suffixes, which occur only after allomorphs of {-eH-}. Words of this structure are present imperative imperatives. Since Series 4 is complete in all persons and numbers, Southern Sierra has imperative forms for all of them. When the imperative case follows the Series 4 suffix, the action of the imperative is delayed (see section 225). Imperative verbal themes are

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ni-|| is found when the following pronominal suffix is in the second person, singular or plural (when the last verbal suffix is {-jik'-}). The allomorphs ||-a'-|| ~ ||-ja'-||, the second person singular Series 4 pronominal suffix occurs in the allomorph ||-·||. The allomorph ||-n-|| is found after the allomorph ||-j-|| of the mandative verbal suffix (following which the first person singular Series 4 pronominal suffix is zero) and before the allomorph ||-·|| of the 2S-1S Series 4 pronominal suffix. The allomorph ||-n-|| is usually found before the first person singular Series 4 pronominal suffix (which is zero following ||-n-||), and before Series 4 verbal suffixes commencing with /m/, although ||-X-|| is occasionally found before the first person singular (in the allomorph ||-ma·||) and before the first person plural exclusive (||-mah·i·||). Before Series 4 verbal suffixes commencing with /n/, ||-n-|| and ||-X-|| are indistinguishable, since ||-n-|| and ||X-n|| are both /n·/ (see sections 171 and 174). The remaining members of the Series 4 pronominal suffixes all commence with /t/, and in these ||-n-|| and ||-X-|| are in virtually free variation. Impersonal verbs containing ||-X-|| are sometimes said to carry a greater immediacy than their equivalents containing ||-n-||, but the difference in meaning is not consistently reported. Examples:

hal-pa-j-X-∅ /halpaj/ 'let me go find him!,' cf. hal-pa-jik'-  
to find'

hal-pa-j-X-tic·i· /halpajtic·i·/ 'let's (inclusive) go find him!'

hal-pa-ja·-ni-ci·i· /halpaja·nic·i·/ 'go and find it (2P)!'

he·l-a·-ni·-· /he·la·ni·/ 'go and fight (2S)!,' cf. he·l-jik'- 'to  
fight'

kecece ke ni? /kececeke ni?/ 'look it for him (2S)!' cf. kecece



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## VERBAL THEMES

/liwa·mynty·/  $\overset{f}{=}$  /liwa·myt·y·/ 'talk to me (2S-1S)!'

liwa·-mY-n-muhme· /liwa·mynmuhme·/ 'talk to us (2S-1P)!'

liwa·-mY-n-nihni? /liwa·myn·ihni?/ 'let him talk to you (3S-2P)!'

haja·puH-mY-ni-t- $\emptyset$  /haja·pu·munit/ 'when you become a chief'

haja·puH-nY- 'to become a chief'

(2) The allomorph  $\parallel$  -X-  $\parallel$  occurs under the following circumstances: after the allomorph  $\parallel$  -·hi-  $\parallel$  of the verbal suffix {-c·-}, static, except before the 1S-2P Series 4 pronominal suffix  $\parallel$  -muhme·  $\parallel$  (see section 504); after the allomorph  $\parallel$  -jo-  $\parallel$  of the iterative verbal suffix {-ja-} (see section 504); after the allomorph  $\parallel$  -lo-  $\parallel$  of the verbal suffix {-la-} (see section 514); after the allomorph  $\parallel$  -po-  $\parallel$  of the directional verbal suffix {-pa-} (see section 533); after the reflexive verbal suffix {-p-} (see section 534); and after the allomorph  $\parallel$  -ehi-  $\parallel$ ; see section 534); and after the allomorph  $\parallel$  -wa-  $\parallel$  of the verbal suffix {-wa-}, iterative (see section 541). Examples:

hyj·y·-hi-X-? /hyj·y·hi?/ 'watch it (2S)!,' cf. hyj·y·c·- 'to watch'

hyj·y·-hi-X-nih /hyj·y·hin·ih/ 'let him watch it!'

hyj·y·-hi-X-nihtokniko· /hyj·y·hin·ihtokniko·/ 'let them watch it!'

jel·y·-hi-X-t- $\emptyset$  /jel·y·hit/ 'if you are quiet,' cf. jel·y·c·- 'to talk'

talking'

kal-jo-X-? /kaljo?/ 'kick him!,' cf. kal-ja- 'to kick all over'

hok-lo-X-? /hoklo?/ 'take it apart!,' cf. hok-la- 'to take apart'

kawen-po-X-? /kawenpo?/ 'yell at him!,' cf. kawen-pa- 'to yell at'

kawen-po-X-mah·i· /kawenpom·ah·i·/ 'let's (1P excl.) yell at'

mula·k-ehi-X-m /mula·kehim/ 'let me wash myself!,' cf. <sub>49</sub>

mula·k-poksu- 'to wash oneself'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

?am·u-kaH-∅-m /?am·ukam/ 'let me get hurt!' cf. ?am·u-  
 'to get hurt'

?am·u-kaH-∅-tic·i· /?am·uka·tic·i·/ 'let's (1P inc.) get hurt'  
 siHl-ak·a-∅-?·hY· /si·lak·a?hy·/ 'if it would stop raining;  
 stops raining,' cf. siHl-ŋHe- 'to stop raining'

hejaHw-ak·a-∅-t-∅ /heja·wak·at/ 'if you want,' cf. hejaHw-  
 'to want'

wyH-∅-ti· /wy·ti·/ 'let's (1D inc.) go!'

wyH-∅-tic·i· /wy·tic·i·/ 'let's (1P inc.) go!'

wyH-∅-?·hY· /wy?hy·/ 'if he goes; if he would go'

?yw·yH-∅-? /?yw·y?/ 'eat!'

?uh·uH-∅-ti· /?uh·u·ti·/ 'let's (1D inc.) drink!'

?uc·uH-∅-t-∅ /?uc·ut/ 'if we would stay'

(4) The allomorphs ||-eH-|| ~ ||-koX-|| occur after bases of those mentioned above. The allomorph ||-koX-|| follows bases ending in a vowel; it also follows the allomorph ||-k-|| of the verbal suffix (see section 509). The allomorph ||-eH-|| occurs elsewhere. Ex-

?eca·-t-eH-? /?eca·te?/ 'go with him!,' cf. ?eca·-t- 'to accompany'

?eca·-t-eH-nih /?eca·te·nih/ 'let him go with him!'

?u·k-eH-? /?u·ke?/ 'go in!,' cf. ?u·k- 'to enter'

?u·k-eH-c·i· /?u·kec·i·/ 'all of you go in!'

?u·k-eH-ti· /?u·ke·ti·/ 'let's (1D inc.) go in!'

?yn·-eH-?·hY· /?yn·e?hy·/ 'if he comes,' cf. ?yn·- 'to come'

?yn·-eH-t-∅ /?yn·et/ 'if he would come'

hywa·-t-eH-t-∅ /hywa·tet/ 'when he can run,' cf. hywa·-t-

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## VERBAL THEMES

le (he's dancing),' and 'so that I can . . . .' Recorded examples  
 s structure all have a first person singular reference. Since the  
 informant also used first person singular imperative verbs identical  
 h those elicited from other informants, it is unlikely that ||-ŋko  
 dialect variant of the first person singular Series 4 pronominal  
 e available data is not sufficient to allocate this suffix to any c  
 h as modal, pronominal, or nominal, or to fully elucidate its m  
 . Examples:

wyH-∅-ŋko? /wyŋko?/ '(what time) should I go?,' cf. wy'- 'to

?yn'-eH-ŋko? /?yn'eŋko?/ 'I'll come while (he's dancing)'

?u·k-eH-ŋko? /?u·keŋko?/ '(open the door) so that I can come  
 cf. ?u·k- 'to enter'

haja-k-koX-ŋko? /hajak'oŋko?/ 'I'll wait while (he's dancing),  
 haja-ksY- 'to wait'

hy·ja-koX-ŋko? /hy·jak'oŋko?/ '(what time) should I arrive?,'  
 hy·ja- 'to arrive'

## 440. IRREGULAR VERBAL BASES

ew apparently monomorphemic bases are irregular in that they  
 omorphy when followed by the various modal suffixes, and some  
 ictive. Their allomorphs are listed below.

<u>Present</u>	SIGNS AND SYMBOLS	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Perfect</u>		

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

<u>Present</u>	<u>Present</u>	<u>Imperative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>Perfect</u>		
(one)	ʔel·-	ʔel·- (imper.,    -eH-	'to leave'

Of the above stems, the first three show no irregularity other than allomorphy here stated. Stems 2, 3, and 4 of normal shape are correspond to them, and complete paradigms exist in all modes including double pronouns where the meaning is appropriate (e.g., /w·yH-ϕ-tY·|| /ken ʔyw·y·ty·/ 'don't eat me!'). When verbal suffixes requiring a Stem 1 follow these roots, the present imperfect allomorph usually found (e.g., ||nocuH-jYk·-|| 'to go to cry'). Similarly, 'to stay' shows no further structural irregularities, but besides its expected meaning the present imperfect verb ||ʔuc·u-ϕ-·|| 'it is staying' also functions as a present-tense necessitative, 'it is necessary that it stay'. In this usage, the third person singular form is always found. The form ||ʔuc·u-haHk-ϕ|| 'staying,' containing the gerundial suffix ||-haHk- (section 711), provides a past-tense necessitative (cf. /ʔuc·u· myl·i·/ 'he's got to sing' and /ʔuc·uhak myl·i·ʔa·ʔhy·/ 'he had to sing').

The last five stems in the above table are defective. For the stem ||wy·-|| 'to go' and ||kot·o-|| 'to go on ahead,' present imperfect allomorphs have been found, but only with first-person pronominal suffixes following; informants deny the existence of forms with other pronominal suffixes. Informants also state that no present imperfect allomorphs exist for ||tal·i-|| 'to arise, get up,' ||hyj·-|| 'to see,' and ||ʔel·-

[\[view image\]](#)

---

## VERBAL THEMES

present imperfect and present perfect verbal themes of this type are commonly followed by the 3S-1P Series 3 pronominal suffix  $\| -\cdot me?$  might be translated 'it is . . .ing on us' or 'it . . .ed on us.' This usage was normal in the speech of the oldest informant (JL); others reported that it was "the way the old-timers used to talk," but more frequently used non-transitive forms. Examples:

$?\text{opa}\cdot\text{-t-}\emptyset\cdot\text{me?} / ?\text{opa}\cdot\text{ty}\cdot\text{me?} /$  'it's clouding up on us' (JL), cf.

$?\text{opa}\cdot\text{-t-}$  'to cloud up'

$?\text{umu}\cdot\text{c-}\emptyset\cdot\text{me?} / ?\text{umu}\cdot\text{cu}\cdot\text{me?} /$  'it's raining on us' (JL), cf.  $?$

'to rain' (JL)

$\text{kel}\cdot\text{a-na}\cdot\text{-me?} / \text{kel}\cdot\text{ana}\cdot\text{me?} /$  'it snowed on us' (JL), cf.  $\text{kel}\cdot\text{a}$

snow'

$\text{wile}\cdot\text{p-a}\cdot\text{-me?} / \text{wile}\cdot\text{pa}\cdot\text{me?} /$  'it flashed at us (old-timers use

say)' (CJ), cf.  $\text{wile}\cdot\text{p-}$  'to flash (of lightning)'

$\text{lit-h-a}\cdot\text{-me?} / \text{litha}\cdot\text{me?} /$  'it's risen on us' (RW), cf.  $\text{lit-h-}$  'to

(of the sun)'

$\text{haHc-}\eta\text{He-}\emptyset\cdot\text{me?} / \text{hac}\eta\text{e}\cdot\text{me?} /$  'it has stopped on us (of a car

(RW), cf.  $\text{haHc-}\eta\text{He-}$  'to stop, halt'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## CHAPTER FIVE

### VERBAL SUFFIXES

#### 500. INTRODUCTION

The class of verbal suffixes, as its name suggests, consists of the suffixes which form verbal bases, which can be converted to verbal stems by the addition of one of the modal suffixes discussed in the previous chapter. Verbal suffixes are medial in position and have the characteristics of a derivational nature. They are quite numerous; it is probable that not all of them have been identified. Many are fully productive and can be applied to any stem of appropriate class, shape, and meaning. Others appear not to be productive; although they are found in existing bases, new bases containing the suffix in question are not available to the informants.

Each verbal suffix has its own specific requirements as to the shape of the stem which precedes it. These requirements, as stated previously (see section 260), may be regarded as part of the form of the suffix and must be stated as part of its description. Some verbal suffixes allow a variety of stem-types. Those which occur after a Stem 1 or 4 are frequently also found following bases which do not meet the canonical requirements of Stem 1 and therefore lack corresponding Stems 2, 3, and 4. On the other hand, certain verbal suffixes are sometimes found following stems of the shape of a Stem 1 or 4 for which informants deny the existence of all possible corresponding stems. Most verbal suffixes are found following stems of the shape of a Stem 1 or 4.

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## VERBAL SUFFIXES

evity, this statement will be worded as follows: "Where necessary, the C<sub>3</sub> position is filled by . . . ."

Another factor which must be discussed, where pertinent, for each verbal suffix is the allomorphy which some of them exhibit before various modal suffixes. This is usually a matter of the shape of the suffix itself, but in some cases the shape of the preceding stem is involved, providing a further reason for regarding the shape of the part of the suffix.

When a suffix shows allomorphy of this nature, the form that occurs before the present imperfect modal suffix ( $\| -\emptyset - \|$ ) is treated as basic since it is in this form that it occurs before non-modal suffixes. The allomorphs found before the perfect indicative and imperative modal suffixes where they differ from the basic form, do not occur anywhere else. The reason for selecting the form used in the present imperfect as basic is therefore the fact that it is found in the widest variety of environments.

If a form resulting from the addition of a verbal suffix to an alternate stem is of suitable shape, it is often (but not always) treated as Stem 1. A bimorphemic Stem 1 frequently has alternate forms followed by one of the modal suffixes (see section 400). Such a Stem 1 is subject to transformations into Stems 2, 3, 4 and others, according to the requirements of following suffixes, exactly as if it were monomorphemic. Under these circumstances, the suffix may be said to exhibit allomorphy, since its appearance in the various stem forms is different. However, it seems to be unsatisfactory to treat this

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

501. {-c'-}, static. This suffix follows a stem which is related to a verbal base or to one of the demonstrative stems, or (2) to a stem which does not occur as a base or theme without a following suffix. A stem has the following characteristics of shape: length follows the first consonant, if there is more than one, but occurs nowhere else; only consonants and vowels occur in alternating order. Since all allomorphs of this suffix commence with two consonants, the stem must end in a vowel to provide an acceptable canon. The vowel is usually ||Y||, but in some cases it is another vowel which is not present in other environments: usually, this is /i/, but in at least one case (||jaŋ'a-c'-|| 'going down') it is the vowel of the stem. The suffix {-c'-}, then, follows a stem of one of these forms: C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>-, C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub>-, or C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub>-. Where the stem in other environments has a C<sub>3</sub> but no V<sub>2</sub>, the third consonant is found before {-c'-}, and the V<sub>2</sub> and V<sub>3</sub> positions are filled by the stem. Where this suffix follows one of the demonstrative stems, the stem is of suitable shape to be treated as a Stem 1, and in fact follows all the characteristics of a member of this class. Other stems containing this suffix are too long to be so treated.

Present imperfect, present perfect, and imperative themes have allomorphs containing {-c'-}. When the form falls within the canon of Stem 1 (see above), it is followed directly by the modal suffixes, and {-c'-} is always ||-c'-||. Where the form is longer, this suffix has the following allomorphs: it is ||-·h-|| before the present perfect, the allomorphs ||-a-|| ∞ ||-ak-||, ||-·hi-|| before the imperative, and the allomorph ||-∅-|| before the 2S-1P double pronominal suffix, a

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## VERBAL SUFFIXES

502. ||-h-||, transitional. This suffix follows a stem of the form  $V_1C_2-$ , which is related to a Stem 1 or has not been recorded in that environment. The resulting form is a Stem 1. The suffix does not appear to be productive. In meaning, it appears to refer to a transition from a condition of solidity, containment, or control to the opposite; a state of bursting out of bounds or losing compactness or length. Examples:

puṭ-h- 'to leak or bulge out (from a split container),' cf. puṭ-

'to split and clean a carcass'

lak-h- 'to emerge'

lip-h- 'to come all the way out (of something protruding)'

lit-h- 'to rise (of the sun)'

luk-h- 'to come off'

cun-h- 'to slide off (e.g., dirt from a bank),' cf. cu'n- 'to slide  
to the bottom'

ham-h- 'to cave in,' cf. ham'e- 'to bury under dirt'

tam-h- 'to go down (of a swelling)'

typ-h- 'to wear out'

mul-h- 'to quit'

cam-h- 'to die'

ʔyp-h- 'to swim; to bathe'

This suffix has also been found following a few stems of the form  $V_1C_2V_2C_3-$  (where necessary, the  $C_3$  position is filled by /ʔ/) which are related to verbal bases containing the suffix ||-t-||, and very similar in meaning to them. Examples:



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

related stem is identifiable in other environments. The resulting  
 a Stem 1. The suffix is probably productive. Its meaning is 'to  
 . . .' except where the stem refers to persons, where it means  
 rry a . . . .' Examples:

- nana<sup>•</sup>-j- 'to marry a man,' cf. naŋ<sup>•</sup>aH- 'man'
- ʔoha<sup>•</sup>-j- 'to marry a woman,' cf. ʔoh<sup>•</sup>a- 'woman'
- ʔucu<sup>•</sup>-j- 'to build a house,' cf. ʔu<sup>•</sup>cuH- 'house'
- haɣe<sup>•</sup>-j- 'to make tracks,' cf. haɣe- 'foot; footprint'
- muku<sup>•</sup>-j- 'to make a road,' cf. muk<sup>•</sup>u- 'trail, road'
- toli<sup>•</sup>-j- 'to quilt,' cf. tol<sup>•</sup>iH- 'blanket'
- kote<sup>•</sup>-j- 'to put on a Big Time,' cf. kote- 'Big Time'

504. {-ja-}, iterative. This suffix follows a stem of the form C  
 ch is related to a verbal base. The resulting form falls within  
 onical limits of Stem 1; however, before the imperative modal  
 allomorphs occur, ||-ja-||  $\overset{f}{\sim}$  ||-jo-||. After the first allomorph  
 erative is ||-koH-||; after the second, it is ||-X-||. This suffix  
 appear to be productive. Its meaning is iterative; forms conta  
 refer, for the most part, to violent treatment of a repetitious n  
 mples:

- ce<sup>•</sup>?-ja- 'to stone (trans.),' cf. ce<sup>•</sup>?- 'to hit with a rock'
- kal-ja- 'to kick all over,' cf. ka<sup>•</sup>l- 'to kick with the heel'
- kal-ja-koX-?  $\overset{f}{\sim}$  kal-jo-X-? 'kick him!'
- myl-ja- 'to beat up,' cf. my<sup>•</sup>l- 'to hit with a stick'
- ɬul-ja- 'to polish'

605. {-jik<sup>•</sup>-}, andative. This suffix has the following allomorph

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## VERBAL SUFFIXES

||ʔuhu·-|| before other allomorphs; ||ʔuc·u-|| 'to stay' is ||ʔuc·u-|| before ||-a·-|| ~ ||-ja·-||, and ||ʔuc·u-|| elsewhere; ||noc·-|| 'cry' is ||noc·-|| <sup>f</sup> ||noc·-|| ~ ||noc·u-|| before ||-a·-|| ~ ||-ja·-||, and ||noc·u-|| elsewhere; and ||ʔyw·y-|| 'to eat' is ||ʔyw·y-|| before ||-a·-|| ~ ||-ja·-||, and ||ʔyw·y-|| elsewhere. In the variants occurring in second person imperative forms, the morphs ending in consonants (which occur with ||-a·-|| following) tend to carry more sense of immediacy than those ending in vowels which are followed by ||-ja·-||.

Forms containing this suffix have an adative meaning, 'to go and . . . !' The suffix is fully productive. Examples:

halki-jik·- 'to go hunting,' cf. hal-ki- 'to hunt'

ʔenyh·ene·-jYk·- 'to go and ask someone to fix it,' cf. ʔenyh·ene·-  
'to ask someone to fix it'

hune·m-j-ti· /hune·myjti·/ 'let's go fishing!,' cf. hune·m- 'to go fishing'

halpa-ja·-ni·- 'go find it!,' cf. hal-pa- 'to find'

he·l-a·-ni·- 'go and fight!,' cf. he·l- 'to fight'

ʔyw·-a·-ni·- 'go and eat now!,' cf. ʔyw·y- 'to eat'

ʔyw·y-ja·-ni·- 'go and eat (whenever you want)!'

wynt-j·-a·- /wyntyj·a·/ 'he went to pick them,' cf. wyn-t- 'to pick'

ʔenh-jik·-keH-Ø-? <sup>f</sup> ʔenh-ji-keH-Ø-? /ʔenhyjik·yke?/ <sup>f</sup> /ʔenh-jik·-keH-Ø-?  
'he went to fix it,' cf. ʔenh- 'to make, to fix'

506. ||-j·-||, iterative. This suffix follows a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2-$ ; where necessary, the  $C_3$  position is filled with a vowel (SIGN AND SYMBOL), which is related to a Stem 1, to a nominal theme, or to a stem which does not occur as a base or theme without a following suffix.

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

?ys?y-j·- 'to turn out badly, to be not very good,' cf. ?yswi  
 ?ysyHk-ŋHe- 'to spoil, go bad, not go right'

This suffix has also been found following a stem of the form C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub> which is related to a Stem 1 or which has not been recorded as a theme without a following suffix. In such stems, V<sub>2</sub> is sometimes the same as V<sub>1</sub>, and sometimes a vowel not found in other allomorphic stems. In this usage, which does not appear to be productive, the meaning appears to be iterative. Examples:

kaw·a-j·- 'to shout several times,' cf. kaHw-ŋHe- 'to shout'  
 kal·i-j·- 'to kick repeatedly,' cf. ka·l- 'to kick with the heel'  
 mo?·i-j·- 'to face towards someone,' cf. mo?ta- 'to meet'  
 ?ap·o-j·- 'to overflow'

507. ||-wV-j·-||. This suffixal combination follows a stem which contains the first two syllables of a nominal theme of related meaning. In most cases, V in the above formula is /i/, but in one instance it is the same as the second vowel of the stem. Themes containing this combination, which does not appear to be productive, have been found in three verbal modes; the combination usually appears in the form ||wV-j·-|| before all three modal suffixes, but in one instance a sequence ||-wV-j-∅|| has been found in a second person singular imperative verb. The meaning of this combination is obscure. Examples:  
 nem·yt-wi-j·- 'to turn this way,' cf. neH-m·-t·-t 'this way'  
 ?im·yt-wi-j·- 'to turn the other way,' cf. ?i-m·-t·-t 'that way'  
 ?otik-wi-j·- 'to cut or break in two,' cf. ?otih-koH- 'two'  
 wes·a?-wa-j·- 'to hurry,' cf. wes·a- 'fast'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## VERBAL SUFFIXES

ers to what might be called a "follow-through" or "hold-the-pos  
e of action, where the actor performs an action and then mainta  
resulting position. It is thus different in meaning from {-c'-} 'sta  
re the maintained position is a preparation for an action. These  
ms are related to bases, to nominal themes, or to stems which  
occur as bases or themes without a following suffix. If, not co  
th, the stem in other environments has two consonants, it has  
form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2-$ . If it has three, it is here  $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3?$ - or  
 $V_1C_2V_2C_3-$ ; in some cases, both of these stem forms have bee  
ded, with no discernible difference in meaning.

When this suffix follows a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3-$  whic  
ated to a nominal theme referring to a body part, the resulting  
ans 'bare . . . showing.' Where, in other environments, the stem  
in the  $C_3$  position,  $C_3$  in the above formula is /?/.

In a few cases, this suffix has been found following a stem, rel  
a base, of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3?$ -. The meanings are more o  
ilar to other types where the stem is related to a verbal base.  
Following nominal themes referring to articles of apparel, this  
ans 'to wear a . . . .' Examples:

lotu-ksY- 'to hold someone down,' cf. lo't- 'to catch'

lotu-k'oc-a-· 'he held him down'

micy-ksY- 'to be how?,' cf. mi-c'- 'to do what?'

tekym?-ksY- /tekym?yksy-/

tek·ymksY /tekymyksy-/

'to be ready to kick,' cf. tek-m-

na·was?-ksY- /na·was?yksy-/ 'to wear a dress,' cf. na·was-

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

?al'-mY-ksY- /?al'yomyksy-/ 'to listen,' cf. ?al'- 'to hear'

?al'-mY-k-koX-? /?al'yomyk'o?/ 'listen!'

wy?i't- mY-ksY- /wy?i'tymyksy-/ 'to peek,' cf. wy?i't 'to peep'  
to peep'

welh-my-ksY- /welhymyksy-/ 'to be ready to seek,' cf. welh-  
'to seek'

511. {-pa-ksY-}, involuntary passive. This combination of suffixes has been found following several stem types; the commonest is of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2-$ , but others include  $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3-$  and  $C_1V_1C_2V_2-$ . Some are identical with Stem 1's of related meaning; others have not been found elsewhere, or not without a following suffix. Only present perfect verbal themes containing this combination have been found. Its productivity has not been investigated. All bases containing this combination refer either to having something happen to one against one's wishes or to disagreeable physiological conditions. Examples:

?elŋe-pa-ksY- 'to be left; to be unable to go, although one would like to,' cf. ?eHl-ŋHe- 'to leave behind'

?eleŋ-pa-ksY- 'to be left behind involuntarily, although one would like to go'

sik'e-pa-ksY- 'to hurt (intr.),' cf. sike--nY- 'to be sick'

can'a-pa-ksY- 'to have pins-and-needles; to have a limb fall off'

pol'o-pa-ksY- 'to have a nightmare,' cf. pol'o- 'to contact the supernatural'

512. {-pu-ksY-} This combination of suffixes follows demonstrative stems and a few others. The meanings are somewhat diverse. Pro-

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## VERBAL SUFFIXES

514. {-la-}. This suffix follows a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2-$ , related to a Stem 1. The resulting form is a Stem 1; however, the suffix has two allomorphs,  $\parallel -la- \parallel \stackrel{f}{\sim} \parallel -lo- \parallel$ , when it is followed by the imperative modal suffix, which is  $\parallel -koX- \parallel$  after the first and  $\parallel -lo- \parallel$  after the second variant. Elsewhere, this suffix is always  $\parallel -la- \parallel$ . Its meaning is 'to . . . (it) to fragments, to destroy by . . . ing.' It does not appear to be productive. Examples:

koṭ-la- 'to break to pieces (trans.),' cf. ko·ṭ- 'to break'

teṗ-la- 'to cut up,' cf. te·p- 'to cut'

ʔaṭ-la- 'to split wood,' cf. ʔa·ṭ- 'to split open (trans.)'

hok-la- 'to take apart; to take off,' cf. hok·- 'to undo'

hok-la-koX-ʔ  $\stackrel{f}{\sim}$  hok-lo-X-ʔ /hoklakoʔ/  $\stackrel{f}{\sim}$  /hokloʔ/ 'take it apart'

515.  $\parallel -lVmh- \parallel$ , 'to be ready to . . . .' This suffix follows either a Stem 4 or a base which does not fall within the canonical limits of a Stem 4. In the above formula, V represents the vowel of the preceding stem. This suffix has been recorded before all three modal suffixes; it appears only in the allomorph  $\parallel -lVmh- \parallel$ . The imperative mode has the form  $\parallel -lo- \parallel$  following this suffix, and the perfect is  $\parallel -a- \parallel \infty \parallel -ak- \parallel$ . It appears to be fully productive. Examples:

cymʔy-lVmh- 'to be ready to climb,' cf. cy·m- 'to climb'

ʔetla-lVmh- 'to be ready to return,' cf. ʔeta·l- 'to return'

ʔetla-lVmh- $\emptyset$ - $\cdot$  /ʔetlalamhy·/ 'he is ready to return'

ʔetla-lVmh-a- $\cdot$  /ʔetlalamha·/ 'he was ready to return'

ʔetla-lVmh-eH-ʔ /ʔetlalamheʔ/ 'be ready to return!'

ʔetla-lVmh-nHuk·u- 'to make someone ready to return'

ʔetal-nHuk·u-lVmh- 'to be ready to take someone home' cf.

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

to·ja-met·- 'to be all piled up,' cf. to·ja- 'to pile up'

?elqe-met·- 'to be left behind,' cf. ?eHl-ŋHe- 'to leave, abandon'

ken ?elqe-met·-eH-? /ken ?elqemet·e?/ 'don't get left behind!'

?elqe-met·-a·- /?elqemet·a·/ 'he got left behind'

17. ||-mh-|| 'absent.' This suffix follows a Stem 4 or a base which does not fall within the canonical limits of Stem 1. It has been recorded in all three verbal modes; only the form ||-mh-|| has been recorded. The imperative modal suffix has the form ||-eH-|| after this suffix and the perfect is ||-a-|| ∞ ||-ak-||.

Forms containing this suffix mean 'to be away (doing something) . . . out of sight.' It appears to be productive. Note that in the imperative this suffix is homophonous with the reciprocal, ||-mhi-|| ∞ ||-mh-||, which follows bases. In some cases, Stem 1 (a possible Stem 4) are identical, and both suffixes can follow longer bases. The whole forms are therefore homophonous in the imperative. Examples:

?ywny-mh- 'to be away feeding (trans.),' cf. ?ywy·n- 'to feed'  
hywta-mh-eH-ti· /hywtamhe·ti·/ 'let's run away!' cf. hywa·-t-  
run'

le·le·ny-mh- /le·le·nymh-/ 'to be away at school,' cf. le·le·-  
'to read'

welhy-mh- 'to be away seeking,' cf. wel-h- 'to seek'

welhy-mh-ak-∅ /welhymhak/ 'I was away seeking'

welhy-mh-eH-tYH /welhymhe·ty·/ 'be off looking for me!'

18. {-mhi-}, reciprocal. This suffix follows any stem which o

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## VERBAL SUFFIXES

is  $\| -ka- \|$ ; elsewhere, it is  $\| -na- \|$ . Following this suffix, the present perfect has the form  $\| -na- \| \infty \| -nak- \|$ , and the imperative is  $\| -n- \| - \| -X- \|$ .

The meaning of this suffix is benefactive: 'to . . . for (someone)'. This suffix appears to be productive. Its similarity of form to  $\{-na_2-\}$  'causative' is noteworthy. In many cases, these two suffixes can be distinguished only in the present perfect and imperative modes. Examples:

?enyh-na- 'to make for (someone),' cf. ?enh- 'to make'

?enyh-ka-na-: 'he made it for him'

?enyh-ka-ni-? 'make it for him!'

kosen-na- 'to cook for (someone),' cf. kose-nY- 'to cook'

myli-na- 'to sing for (someone),' cf. myl-i- 'to sing'

tawhan-e-na- 'to work for,' cf. tawhan-e- 'to work'

520.  $\{-na_2-\}$ , causative. This suffix follows a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2$  (Stem 4); where necessary, the  $C_3$  position is filled by  $/\cdot/$ . Some stems, however, are related to nominal themes or to stems which do not occur as bases or themes without a following suffix rather than as Stem 1's. This suffix has the following allomorphs: before the present perfect and imperative modal suffixes, it is  $\| -pa- \|$ ; elsewhere it is  $\| -na- \|$ . Following this suffix, the present perfect has the form  $\| -nak- \|$ , and the imperative is  $\| -ni- \| \infty (\| -n- \| - \| -X- \|)$ . When  $\{-na_2-\}$  follows a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot-$ , the resulting verbal form is sometimes treated as a Stem 1 of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot n-$ . There are Stems 2, 3, and 4 which correspond to it.

This suffix has a causative meaning, 'to cause (someone, something) to become . . .'. Its similarity of form to the benefactive has



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

the modal suffixes, it is  $\| -mY- \|$  (when this allomorph follows a stem ending in  $\| n \|$ , the nasal of the stem is sometimes assimilated to the suffix, resulting in the sequence  $/m\cdot/$ ); elsewhere, it is  $\| -n- \|$ . Following this suffix, the present perfect has the form  $\| -na- \| \infty \| -ni- \|$  while the imperative is  $\| -ni- \| \infty (\| -n- \| \sim \| -X- \|)$ . When  $\{-nY-\}$  follows a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2-$ , the resulting verbal base falls within the phonological limits of Stem 1, and corresponding Stems 2, 3, and 4 are not possible. In some cases, Stems 2, 3, and 4 have been found which correspond to verbal bases of the structure  $C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot nY-$ , functioning as stems 1 of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot n-$  (cf.  $\{-na_2-\}$ , section 520).

Following a stem related to a nominal theme or one derived from a Spanish or English loan word, this suffix is simply a verbalizer. When the stem refers to an instrument, the form usually means 'to use'. Other forms with nominal stems mean 'to become a . . .', 'to turn . . .'. The stem appears in its usual nominal form; if it ends in a vowel, it is followed by stem-formative length ( $\| \cdot\cdot \|$ ) before  $\{-nY-\}$ . Spanish loans ending in  $/a/$  appear in abbreviated form in this environment. Examples:

kampa·na·-nY- 'to ring,' cf. kampa·na- 'bell,' Sp. campana  
 noc?u·c·e·-nY- 'to cry a lot,' cf. noc?u·c·e- 'habitual crier'  
 piknik-nY- 'to picnic'

lac-nY- 'to chop,' cf. la·ca- 'axe,' Sp. la hacha

lac-mY-na·- 'he chopped it' (present perfect)

lac-mY-ni-? 'chop it!' (imperative)

naŋ·a·-nY- 'to become a man,' cf. naŋ·aH- 'man'

lac-mY-ni-? 'to turn into a tree,' cf. lac-mY-ni-? 'tree'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## VERBAL SUFFIXES

The suffix appears to be productive in this environment. Example

lot-nY- ~ lotuʔ-nY- 'to pass something secretly, while shaking hands,' cf. lo·t- 'to grasp'

sopuʔ-nY- 'to hit accidentally, while throwing; to pass by the way; to throw (it) with (it),' cf. so·p- 'to throw'

ʔywyʔ-nY- 'to eat something (e.g., an insect) inadvertently, without one's food,' cf. ʔyw·y- 'to eat'

holuk-nY- 'to fell one tree inadvertently, while felling another for another purpose,' cf. holk- 'to fell a tree'

Following a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3-$ , related to a Stereotyped Stem (nY-), the suffix has an iterative meaning. The iteration appears to refer to the multiplicity of the object. Where necessary, the  $C_3$  position is filled by /·/. Examples:

ʔe·leŋ-nY- 'to leave several things behind,' cf. ʔel-ŋe- 'to leave things behind, abandon'

so·puʔ-nY- 'to hit several people,' cf. so·p- 'to throw and hit'

ʔo·jaʔ-nY- 'to call (him) names,' cf. ʔoj·a- 'to name'

co·juʔ-nY- 'to pile dirt in small mounds at intervals' (as a person does), cf. co·j- 'to pile up dirt'

je·hin-nY- 'to think; to meditate; to be surprised'

je·him-mY-na-· /je·him·yna·/ 'he thought'

Following a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2-$ , related to a Stereotyped Stem (nY-), the suffix has an iterative meaning. The iteration here appears to refer to a repeated action upon a single object. Where necessary, the  $C_3$  position is filled by /·/. The suffix appears to be productive in this environment.

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

suffix does not appear to be productive. Examples:

ʔukʔuk-nY- 'to go in and out the rooms,' cf. ʔu·k- 'to enter'

ʔolʔol-nY- 'to dig around here and there,' cf. ʔol·- 'to dig'

petpet-nY- 'to hide around, to sneak,' cf. peHt-ŋHe- 'to hide  
(intrans.)'

ʔynʔyʔ-nY- 'to come often,' cf. ʔyn·- 'to come'

johʔuʔ-nY- 'to kill here and there,' cf. jo·h- 'to kill'

welhyh-nY- 'to seek here and there,' cf. wel-h- 'to seek'

hukjaj-nY- 'to sniff around,' cf. huka·-j- 'to smell (trans.)'

ʔyntʔyn-nY- 'to think; to consider,' cf. ʔyny·-ŋ- 'to remember'

ʔyntʔyn-mY-na· /ʔyntʔym·yna·/ 'he thought'

ʔyntʔyn-mY-ni-ʔ /ʔyntʔym·yniʔ/ 'think!'

522. {-e·-nY-}, discontinuous iterative. This combination of suffixes shows a stem of the form  $C_1V_1·C_2V_2C_3-$ , related to a verbal base and a nominal theme referring to a body part. Where necessary, the initial position is filled by /ʔ/. If the stem elsewhere has /h/ as  $C_3$ , it is replaced by /j/. The suffix {-nY-} shows the same allomorphic combination as it does by itself, while ||-e·-|| occurs only in the present. The combination has been found in present imperfect, present imperative, and imperative verbal themes.

When this suffixal combination follows a stem related to a verbal base, the form refers to actions which are repeated frequently, at less regular, short intervals. When the suffix follows a stem related to a body part, it means 'bare' or 'showing' (as through a hole in a garment). The combination appears to be productive. Examples:

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## VERBAL SUFFIXES

stead of 'he was about to . . . just now,' such themes mean 'to w  
 . very much' or 'to be ready to . . . .' When followed by ||-ke  
 past nominal suffix, themes containing this combination of suffi  
 e another unusual meaning: instead of 'he was about to . . . ,' t  
 an 'he was supposed to . . . , but did not!' The combination is fr  
 ductive. Examples:

?yw?y-j-nY- 'to want to eat, to be about to eat,' cf. ?yw'y- '

hinwo-j-nY- 'to want to play handgame,' cf. hino'w- 'to play  
 game'

le'le'-nY-h'aj-mY-na-' 'he wants to read very much' cf. le'l  
 'to read'

?yphy-j-nY-keH-? /?yphyjnyke?/ 'he was supposed to swim, l  
 didn't,' cf. ?yp-h- 'to swim'

524. {-je'-nY-}, discontinuous iterative (cf. {-e'-nY-}, section 5  
 s combination of suffixes follows a Stem 4; no other stem type  
 n observed. The suffix {-nY-} shows the same allomorphy in th  
 mbination as it does by itself; ||-je'-|| occurs only in this form  
 Stems containing this combination of suffixes refer primarily to  
 itive actions. A possible distinction from {-e'-nY-} is indicated  
 following examples:

hylte-je'-nY- 'to skip,' cf. hyle'-t- 'to jump, to fly'

hy'let-e'-nY- 'to jump up and down'

seems likely that {-e'-nY-} refers to discontinuity in time, whil  
 e'-nY-} indicates discontinuity in space. Examples:

lakhy-je'-nY- 'to bob up and down, in and out of sight (e.g.,  
 206

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

amples:

to·ja-meh-nY- 'to pile up (intrans.),' cf. to·ja- 'to pile up (trans.)'

?enh-meh-nY- 'to form itself; to turn into something else; to modify,' cf. ?enh- 'to make, fix, prepare'

peṭṭa-meh-nY- 'to get lost,' cf. peṭṭa·-ŋ- 'to lose'

{-meh-nY-} is also found following a Stem 2 (where necessary, the C<sub>3</sub> position is filled by /·/), or a base too long to fit the canonical limits of Stem 1. Forms of this structure, which is productive, may occur in the following positions: . . . 'on one's way.' If Stem 2 usually has the form C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-, the combination can follow either this form of the stem or one of the following: V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>Y·-, with a slight difference of meaning: if the stem is C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>Y·-, the object is indefinite; if the stem is C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>Y·-, the object is a specific item. Examples:

halik-meh-nY- 'to hunt on one's way,' cf. hal-ki- 'to hunt'

joh-meh-nY- 'to kill on one's way (indefinite object),' cf. joh-ki- 'to kill'

johu·-meh-nY- 'to kill on one's way (definite object)'

527. {-te·-nY-}, linear distributive. This combination follows the form C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>·C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>- (where necessary, the C<sub>3</sub> position is filled by /·/) which is related to a Stem 1; or a base too long to fit the canonical limits of Stem 1. In the latter case, the first member of the combination appears in the allomorph ||-?te·-||; elsewhere, it is the combination that appears to be productive, but only present in imperatives. No verbal themes containing it have been found. Its meaning appears

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## VERBAL SUFFIXES

ar to be productive, sometimes have mediopassive meanings, but do occur. Examples:

ha·je-tuh-nY- 'to get light,' cf. ha·ja- 'bright; daylight'

ha·ja-t·uh-nY- 'to become plain, clear (of sound as well as s

hal·e-t·uh-nY- 'to come out, get out of something,' cf. hal·e-wilds, the open'

cal-tuh-nY- <sup>d</sup> ca·l-tuh-nY- 'to become early morning'

529. {-nHuk·u-}, 'causative.' This suffix follows a Stem 4 or a long to fit the canonical requirements of Stem 1. Where neces

C<sub>3</sub> position is filled by /·/. Three stems appear in unusual fo this environment: ||wyH-|| 'to go' is ||wi·-||, ||?yn·-|| 'to come nu-||, and ||hy·ja-|| 'to arrive' is ||hyja-||.

This suffix shows the following allomorphy: before the present imperative modal suffixes it is ||-kHu-||; before ||-keH-||, pas suffix, it is ||-nHu-|| <sup>f</sup> ||-nHuk·u-||; before {-na<sub>1</sub>-} 'benefactive' ||-nHuk-||; elsewhere, it is ||-nHuk·u-||. After this suffix, the pfect appears in the allomorphs ||-na-|| ∞ ||-nak-||, while the in e is ||-ni-|| ∞ (||-n-|| ~ ||-X-||).

Forms containing this suffix have causative meanings, 'to cause ) to . . .'; the verbal base to which the stem is related is usu ive rather than passive. The suffix is fully productive. Exampl

je?ap-nHuk·u- 'to persuade,' cf. je?pa- 'to believe'

hywat-nHuk·u- 'to make (him) run,' cf. hywa·-t- 'to run'

?etal-nHuk·u- 'to take (him) back,' cf. ?eta·l- 'to return'

?etal-kHu-na-· /?etalkuna·/ 'he took him back' (present perfe

?etal-kHu-ni? /?etalkuni?/ 'take him back'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

531. ||-ŋk-||, verbalizer. This suffix follows nominal themes of structures. Only present imperfect verbal themes containing this suffix have been recorded. Its meaning is 'to be . . . , to be a . . .'; it is usually followed by nominal suffixes, especially those which are preceded by a verbal base. Its main function appears to be to provide a base for these suffixes to follow. It is productive. Examples:

manaX-ŋk- 'to be who?' cf. manaX- 'who?'

manaX-ŋk-keH-? /manaŋkyke?/ 'who was he?'

manaX-ŋk-?aX-?-hY• /manaŋky?a?hy•/ 'who is he?' lit. 'his who?'

?e•tut-a-ŋk- 'to be sunny,' cf. ?e•tut-a- 'sunshine'

kuteHw-ŋk-tho-j /kute•wyŋkythoj/ 'as a messenger,' cf. kuteHw- 'messenger'

?esel•y-ŋk-tho-j 'when I was a child,' cf. ?esel•y- 'child'

ha•ja-ŋk-∅-• /ha•jaŋky•/ 'it is daylight,' cf. ha•ja- 'daylight'

532. {-ŋHe-}, passive and mediopassive. This suffix follows two different types of stem, with differences of meaning. After a base, it makes a passive form. In this environment, it has the following allomorphs: it is ||-k-|| when followed by the present perfect modal suffix (the allomorphs ||-a-|| ∞ ||-ak-||) or the past nominal suffix {-kaH-} (the allomorph ||-•a-||); it is ||-kaH-|| when followed by the imperfect modal suffix (in the allomorph ||-∅-||); elsewhere, it is /-ŋ•e/. This structure is productive. If the agent is mentioned in connection with a passive verb of this structure, it appears in the genitive case. Examples:

?am•u•ŋHe- 'to get hurt' cf. ?am•u- 'to hurt, wound'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## VERBAL SUFFIXES

-|| ∞ ||-ak-||); it is ||-ak-|| ∞ ||-ak·a-|| when followed by the in-  
 modal suffix (in the allomorph ||-ϕ-||), the first allomorph before  
 second person singular (in the allomorph ||-ϕ-||), the second allomorph before  
 first person singular; it is ||-·i-|| when the past nominal suffix {-keH-} follows; it is  
 e-/ elsewhere.

Since these stems contain ||H||, they are of the form C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>- or C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>-  
 when the allomorphs /-ηe-/ or ||-·i-|| follow (see section 533), while they are C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>·C<sub>2</sub>- or C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub>·C<sub>3</sub>-  
 before ||-ak·-|| and ||-ak-||. Stems of the form C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-ηe-, which provide bases for present  
 perfect verbal themes, fall within the canonical limits of Stem 1 and are  
 sometimes, but not always, so treated. Such stems frequently occur in  
 alternate forms in the present perfect and imperative modes or when  
 followed by the past nominal suffix. Examples:

jyHη-ηHe- 'to get dizzy, drunk'

jyHη-ηHe-ϕ-ma· /jyη·ema·/ 'I am drunk' (present imperfect)

jyHη-ak-ϕ <sup>f</sup> jyHη-ηHe-koX-? /jy·ηak/ <sup>f</sup> /jyη·eko?/ 'get drunk'

jyHη-ak·-a· <sup>f</sup> jyHη-ηHe-na· <sup>f</sup> /jy·ηak·a·/ <sup>f</sup> /jyη·ena·/ 'he got drunk  
 just now' (present perfect)

jyHη-·i-keH-? <sup>f</sup> jyηeh·e-? /jyη·ike?/ <sup>f</sup> /jyηeh·e?/ 'he got drunk  
 (past nominal)

toH?-ηHe- 'to sit down, to be seated,' cf. to·?- 'to seat (transitive)'

talyHl-ηHe- 'to become strong,' cf. tal·yl- 'strong'

maHk-ηHe- 'to get sour,' cf. makmak·e- 'to be sour'

helaHj-ηHe- 'to be afraid,' cf. hela·j- 'to scare'



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

to' or 'on,' and forms containing it are transitive. Within the  
ns of meaning, it appears to be productive. Examples:

?yny·-pa- 'to come to (him),' cf. ?yn·- 'to come'

?yny·-pa-h·aj-nY-Ø-·  $\int$  ?ynpy-j-nY-Ø-· /?yny·pah·ajny·/  $\int$  /?y

'he wants to come to him'

?uk-pa- 'to go in to (him),' cf. ?u·k- 'to enter'

to?-pa- 'to sit on (it),' cf. to·?- 'to seat (trans.)'

hal-pa- 'to find,' cf. hal-ki- 'to hunt'

hal-po-X-?  $\int$  hal-pa-koX-? /halpo?/  $\int$  /halpako?/ 'find it!'

534. {-poksu-}, reflexive. This suffix follows a verbal base. I  
is reflexive: 'to . . .oneself!' It is fully productive. It has the  
allomorphs: before the present perfect modal suffix, it is ||-h-  
h-||, ||-h-|| when the stem ends in a vowel, and ||-eh-|| when  
a consonant; before the imperative modal suffix, it has been re  
y as ||-ehi-||, following stems ending in consonants. The imper  
s the form ||-X-|| after this suffix. Elsewhere, {-poksu-} is ||-p  
||-puksu-||; the second variant was used consistently by one info  
, the first by all others. Historically, this suffix probably der  
m a combination of the nominal suffix ||-poH-|| (see section 73  
verbal suffix {-ksY-} (see section 509). At the synchronic level  
convenient to describe it as a suffixal combination, since ||-po  
a whole alternates with other allomorphs, which moreover do n  
ar to be related to allomorphs of the putative member suffixes.  
ples:

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## VERBAL SUFFIXES

liw·aʔ-puʔ·-eH-ʔ /liw·aʔpuʔ·eʔ/ 'keep on talking!'

puʔ·uh-puʔ·- 'to keep on leaking out,' cf. puʔ·h- 'to leak, bulge  
(of split container)'

kel·aʔ-puʔ·- 'to be still snowing,' cf. kel·a- 'to snow'

36. ||-puHʔ-||. This suffix has only been found following two de-  
rivative stems and ||ʔokaHh-|| 'same,' a nominal theme. It is undou-  
btedly related to the preceding suffix, ||-puʔ·-||, but since both the form and  
meaning are slightly different it seems best to treat it as a separate  
morpheme. It has the same form, ||-puHʔ-||, before all three modal  
stems. Its meaning is 'to do, say (it) . . . way.' Examples:

ʔi-puHʔ- 'to do, say it that way,' cf. ʔi- 'that one'

ne-puHʔ- 'to do, say it this way,' cf. neH- 'this one'

ʔokaHh-puHʔ-nY- 'to do, say the same thing,' cf. ʔokaHh- 'same'

37. ||-si-||, 'immediately.' This suffix follows a Stem 2; where  
the C<sub>3</sub> position is filled by /ʔ/. It has been found before all  
other verbal suffixes, where it always has the form ||-si-||. Its meaning is  
' . . . right now, immediately, too soon!'; owing to this meaning, it  
occurs most commonly in the imperative mode. It appears to be produced  
within the limits of meaning. Examples:

hylet-si- 'to jump first,' cf. hyle·-t- 'to jump'

hylet-si-koX-ʔ /hyletsikoʔ/ 'go ahead and jump!'

wyn-si-na· /wynsina·/ 'he just now came,' cf. wy·n- 'to walk'

lepaʔ-si- 'to use (it) up too soon,' cf. lep·a- 'to finish'

hywat-si-koX-ʔ /hywatsikoʔ/ 'hurry up and run!,' cf. hywa·-t-  
run'

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

moli'-t- 'to get dusk, to get late, to become evening,' cf. mo  
'shade'

?opa'-t- 'to cloud up, to get cloudy,' cf. ?o'pa- 'cloud'

cyty'-t- 'to improve,' cf. cytyH- 'good'

pijy'-t- 'to pick up between finger and thumb,' cf. pij'- 'to p

wyn-t- 'to pick fruit,' cf. wy'n- 'to walk?'

hyle'-t- 'to fly'

hywa'-t- 'to run'

tyjy'-t- 'to carry'

540. ||-tkuH-||, reflexive. This suffix follows a verbal base, and the same form before all three modal suffixes. The present perfect suffix appears in the form ||-ha-|| ∞ ||-hak-||, and the imperative ||-|| following this suffix. It is probably productive. Its meaning is reflexive, 'to oneself'; it appears to be synonymous with {-poksu-} (Section 534). Examples:

ʔome'-na-tkuH- 'to warm oneself,' cf. ʔome'-na- 'to warm (t

hek'a-tkuH- 'to wash oneself,' cf. hek'a- 'to clean'

hek'a-tkuH-∅-? /hek'atku?/ 'wash yourself!'

je?pa-tkuH- 'to decide,' cf. je?pa- 'to believe'

je?pa-tkuH-ha-· /je?patku'ha·/ 'he decided'

cinip-na-tkuH- 'to make oneself small, to crouch,' cf. cinip-  
'to make small'

541. {-wa-}, iterative. This suffix follows a stem of the form V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-, which is related to a verbal base or to an otherwise un-  
rded stem. The resulting form falls within the canonical limita  
SIGNS AND SYMBOLS 227

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## VERBAL SUFFIXES

a following suffix. If, not counting length, the stem in other environments has two consonants, the reduplicated form that is found here is  $C_1C_2C_1V_1C_2-$ ; if the stem in other environments has three consonants, the reduplicated form is  $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_3-$ . Verbal themes containing this suffix have been recorded in all three modes (after it, the present suffix is  $\parallel -na- \parallel \infty \parallel -nak- \parallel$ , and the imperative is  $\parallel -koX- \parallel$ ). They have meanings such as 'it is cold (of weather),' 'it tastes bitter, salty, greasy, etc.' The suffix appears to be productive within the limits of meaning. Examples:

kojkoj-·e- 'to taste salty,' cf. koj·o- 'salt'

kywkyw-·e- 'to be cold (e.g., of water),' cf. kyHw-ŋHe- 'to get cold'

hitpyp-·e- 'to be cold (of weather),' cf. hitp- 'to be, to get cold'

symtit-·e- 'to taste greasy,' cf. sym·it- 'grease, fat'

cilcil-·e- 'to taste hot, picante,' cf. ci·le- 'red pepper' (Sp. c. 643. {-ene-}), 'to ask (someone to do something).' This suffix is found in stem 2. It is not known what fills the  $C_3$  position, where necessary, since no pertinent cases have been recorded. It has the following allomorphs: before the imperative modal suffix (in the allomorph  $\parallel -koX- \parallel$ ) it is  $\parallel -·enik- \parallel$ ; elsewhere, it is  $\parallel -·ene- \parallel$ . Efforts to elicit present perfect verbal themes containing this suffix have yielded no results. The suffix appears to be fully productive, within the limits of meaning. Examples:

hik-·ene- 'to ask someone to shear it,' cf. hi·k- 'to cut hair'

shear SIGNS AND SYMBOLS sheep

?enyh-·ene- 'to ask someone to fix it,' cf. ?enh- 'to fix, to m'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

545.  $\| \cdot \text{po} \cdot \|$ . This suffix follows a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2$  which is related to a nominal theme (where necessary, the  $C_3$  position is filled by /ʔ/). Bases containing this suffix mean 'to put on . . . apply . . . , to fasten with . . . .' Its productivity and allomorphy of the modal suffixes have not been determined. Examples:

symti·po- 'to apply grease,' cf. sym·it- 'grease'

locʔi·po- 'to fasten with snap fasteners,' cf. lo·ci- 'snap fastener'

watno·po- 'to button (tr.); to sew on buttons,' cf. wato·na- 'button'

hansi·po- 'to harness,' cf. ha·nis- 'harness'

546.  $\| C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3 \cdot V_2C_3 \cdot \|$ , iterative. A stem of this shape precedes a verbal base without any following suffix. Some such stems are related to nominal bases or to nominal themes; others have not been recorded in any other form. Where necessary, the  $V_2$  and  $C_3$  positions in the above formula are filled by  $V_1$  and  $C_2$  respectively. Verbal themes with this stem-form have been recorded in all three modes; the present perfect modal suffix appears in the allomorphs  $\| \cdot \text{a} \cdot \| \infty \| \cdot \text{ak} \cdot \|$ , and the negative is  $\| \cdot \text{eH} \cdot \|$ . Stems of this shape refer to motions of an oscillatory or vibrational nature, involving frequent, more or less rhythmic motion, usually of living things. Examples:

hylet·et·- 'to flop about (of fish),' cf. hyle·-t- 'to jump; to flap'

kytyt·yt·- 'to have one's teeth chatter'

tacak·ak·- 'to have fits (of a dog)'

hutul·ul·-a· /hutul·ul·a·/ 'it rolled just now,' cf. hutu·l- 'to roll'

(trans.)'

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

233

547.  $\| C_1V_1C_2 \cdot V_2C_3 \cdot \|$ , intransitive. Stems of this form, with

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## CHAPTER SIX

### NOMINAL THEMES

#### 600. INTRODUCTION

Nominal themes have been defined (see section 250) as forms which are followed by case and Series 1 or Series 2 pronominal suffixes. Such themes do not necessarily translate English nouns. Many of them correspond in meaning to past or future tense English verbs or to verbal phrases. However, most forms which correspond most closely to English nouns are members of this class, as are those which translate adjectives and verbs.

601. There are many cases where a nominal theme is related to a Stem 1. Such nominal themes are diverse in form, as are the Stems 1 to which they correspond. No simple statement will cover the relationships, as the following examples show:

calka- 'to purge,' cf. cal'ak- 'diarrhea'

colka- 'to flow,' cf. co'lak- 'waterfall, rapids'

ciwe'l- 'to weep,' cf. ci'wel- 'tears'

In these examples, similar canonical forms in the verbal stems correspond to diverse nominal forms, and vice versa. In some cases, the nominal form is identical to the Stem 1. In others, it corresponds to the appropriate Stem 2, 3, or 4. In cases where Stems 1 and 4 are not identical, Stem 4 occurs as a nominal theme; where Stems 1 and 4 both have the form  $C_1 V_1 C_2 C_3 V_2$ , a stem of the form  $C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2$  (possible Stem 1 canon) is sometimes found as a nominal theme.

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- hol'op- 'a hole,' cf. holo'p- 'to hollow out'  
kic'aw- 'blood,' cf. kica'w- 'to bleed'  
hokli- 'a round,' cf. hoki'l- 'to go around'  
hynty- 'eye,' cf. hyny't- 'to open the eyes'  
tyk'y- 'a stitch,' cf. ty'k- 'to thread a needle'  
ʔucʔu- 'always,' cf. ʔuc'u- 'to stay'  
ʔu'cuH- 'house,' cf. ʔuc'u- 'to stay'  
huki's- 'a smell,' cf. huk-si- 'to smell (intrans.)'  
hulu'w- 'hunger,' cf. hulw- 'to be hungry'  
cata- 'rattle (of rattlesnake),' cf. cat'a- 'to rattle'  
kata- 'door; gate,' cf. kat'a- 'to close'  
my'li- 'song,' cf. myl'i- 'to sing'  
ke'la- 'snow,' cf. kel'a- 'to snow'  
ʔy'wy- 'groceries,' cf. ʔyw'y- 'to eat'  
ʔywʔy- 'food,' cf. ʔyw'y- 'to eat'

### 610. CLASSES OF NOMINAL THEMES

The distribution of the two series of pronominal suffixes associated with nominal themes provides a basis for dividing the themes into three classes. These are as follows:

Class I. Those which are always followed by Series 1 pronominal suffixes.

Class II. Those which are always followed by Series 2 pronominal suffixes.

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL THEMES

a Series 2 single suffix, refers to the "subject" ('you'), while the suffix following the case suffix (which has the form of a Series 1 single suffix) refers to the possessor ('my'). The form, then, is ||ta'ciH-ni-?-kan/ 'you are my brother.'

In view of the English translations, the use of Series 1 double pronominal suffixes after Class I nominal themes is somewhat confusing in comparison with their use after Class III themes. Class I themes correspond in meaning to English verbal expressions, such as 'can chase me.' In Southern Sierra, this is ||?enpu-ni-||, which is always followed by a Series 1 suffix. In an expression such as 'you can chase me,' the double suffix, the portion before the case suffix refers to the English subject, while the subject of the English sentence is, in Miwok, the person following the case suffix, corresponding in form to a Series 1 suffix. If another noun in the sentence refers to this "subject," it is in the genitive case. 'You can chase,' ||?enpu-ni?-nY·|| /?enpuni?ny·/ is better translated 'your possible chasing,' while 'you can chase me,' ||?enpu-ni-te-?-nY·|| /?enpunte?ny·/, is literally 'I am your possible chasing.'

The Series 2 double pronominal suffixes do not occur after Class I nominal themes. They are found after Class II themes, which usually translate English verbal expressions.



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

s, of course, possible that some of the forms which have been listed here as monomorphemic are bimorphemic. Suffixes of rare occurrence may not have been recognized, and relationships between stems may have been ignored where the similarity of meaning is not apparent to one who is not a member of the culture or a speaker of the language. One might wonder what was the connection of meaning between ||haʔ-k-|| 'duck' and ||haʔ'e-|| 'foot' were it not for the fact that a myth has been recorded which recounts, among other things, how Duck's feet were cut off. However, I am reasonably certain that, for the purposes of this analysis, the forms cited in the list above are monomorphemic.

### 630. POLYMORPHEMIC NOMINAL THEMES

Polymorphemic nominal themes consist of a stem followed by one or more suffixes. The stem may be a root or may itself be polymorphemic. The structure of polymorphemic nominal themes involves consideration of the nominal suffixes and their stem requirements, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

### 640. INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The independent personal pronouns are Class III nominal themes, found followed by a variety of case suffixes. Some of them have

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL THEMES

641. The first person singular independent pronoun has the forms  $\|kan'i-\| \infty \|kan'-\|$ . It is  $\|kan'-\|$  when followed by the genitive suffix  $\|-\eta'-\|$ ; elsewhere, it is  $\|kan'i-\|$ .

642. The second person singular independent pronoun has the forms  $\|mi-\| \infty \|mi'n-\| \infty \|mi'ni-\|$ . It is  $\|mi-\|$  when followed by the dative case,  $\|mi'n-\|$  when followed by the genitive case, and  $\|mi'ni-\|$  when other case suffixes follow. Note that the allomorph  $\|mi-\|$  is also the second person plural independent pronoun (see section 645).

643. The third person singular independent pronoun has the form  $\|is'ak-\|$ . Note that this morpheme is part of the third person plural independent pronoun (see section 646). In addition to this form, two demonstratives serve as third person singular pronouns. These are the demonstrative stems,  $\{?i-\}$  and  $\{neH-\}$ , followed by case suffixes and the particle  $\|-\text{?ok}\|$ ;  $\{neH-\}$  sometimes occurs as a pronoun without this particle but it is always present if the stem is  $\{?i-\}$ . These demonstratives can be used with either personal or non-personal references.

644. The first person dual and plural exclusive independent pronoun has the form  $\|mah'i-\|$ . It will be noted that this form is almost identical with the Series 3 and Series 4 first person plural exclusive pronoun suffixes. In addition to this pronoun, there are two other forms which have a pronominal use, both of which contain stems related to the numeral stem  $\|?o\eta iH-\|$  'two.' One of these,  $\|?o\eta iH-me-\|$  'first person plural exclusive,' consists of  $\|?o\eta iH-\|$  followed by the Series 2 first person plural suffix  $\|me-\|$ . The other,  $\|?o\eta i\eta i-\| \stackrel{d}{=} \|?o\eta ic'i-\|$  'first person plural exclusive,' is not readily analyzable but appears to contain the same

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

### 650. DEMONSTRATIVE ROOTS

Southern Sierra Miwok has three demonstrative roots which are of considerable importance and interest: {neH-} 'this,' {ʔi-} 'that,' and ||atʔ-|| 'at?' They are somewhat unusual in shape, being among the shortest in the language. They are followed by a variety of suffixes, and for these roots suffixes often show curious divergences of meaning. Stems containing these roots are of very frequent occurrence in nominal phrases. They are class III nominal themes.

651. {neH-} 'this; here' refers to a location near the speaker. Like the other two demonstrative stems, it is sometimes found followed by the suffix only, although more commonly the postfix ||-ʔok|| is found after the case suffix. When followed by case alone, or by case and the postfix ||-ʔok||, it can substitute for the third person singular independent noun. However, it has non-personal as well as personal reference. It can be followed by the instrumental case, which the purely personal noun ||ʔis'ak-|| cannot. Moreover, when followed by the ablative, dative, or locative cases, it is more likely to mean '(from, to, or at) here' than '(from, to or at) him.'

This root has the following allomorphs: before the genitive case suffix ||-ŋ'-||, it is ||ne'h-||; before the verbal suffixes ||-pu't-|| and ||-u-ksY-||, it is ||ne-||; elsewhere, it is ||neH-||. It occurs in the following combinations:

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

neH-(case)

neH-(case)-ʔok

'this one; he, she, it; here'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL THEMES

cusative cases: ||ʔi-∅-ʔok|| and ||ʔi-j-ʔok|| are both phonemically ʔi-ʔok/. The root occurs in the following combinations:

ʔi-(case)-ʔok 'that one; he, she, it; there'

ʔi-k'o-(case)-ʔok 'those; they'

ʔi-ni-(case) 'that one'

ʔi-ni-k'o-(case)-ʔok 'those; they'

ʔi-taH-n 'then'

ʔi-pu:t- 'to do that; to do it that way'

ʔi-pu-ksY- 'that's the way it is'

ʔi-c'- 'to do that; to choose that one; to mean'

ʔi-w'i-n 'now'

653. ||mi-|| 'what?' occurs in themes with an "information, ple  
aning. Only two such themes do not contain this root: ||tin'y-||  
ng; what?' and ||manaX-|| 'someone; who?'

||mi-|| has the same form in all environments. It occurs in the  
ving combinations:

mi-taH-n	}	'when?'
mi-taH-no-n		

mi-n'i-	'where?'
---------	----------

mi-tokho-	'how many?'
-----------	-------------

mi-c'-	'to do what?'
--------	---------------

The last form, a Stem 1, is found in further combinations:

mi-c'-tho-j	'why?'
-------------	--------

micy-ksY	'to be how? (e.g., how are you?)'
----------	-----------------------------------

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

The last appears to be present, in abbreviated form, in another ve

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### NOMINAL SUFFIXES

#### 700. INTRODUCTION

The class of nominal suffixes consists of those morphemes which attach to stem-types to provide nominal themes, which is to say that sometimes they are immediately followed by Series 1 or 2 nominal suffixes and/or case suffixes. Like the verbal suffixes (see 500), some are productive, while others are not, and each has its own requirements as to the character of the preceding stem. However, this is not necessarily a matter of actual canonical form. Many nominal suffixes follow Class III nominal themes, which are quite variable in stem-type. Nominal suffixes therefore tend to impress one as occurring in a wider variety of stem-types than do verbal suffixes. However, nominal suffixes always follow a stem of a particular canonical form, and in fact are found in a more limited range of environments than many of the verbal suffixes.

As with the verbal suffixes, the stem-form sometimes calls for a second vowel or a third consonant which is not present in related forms in other environments. Where this is the case, the position of the second vowel is filled by ||Y||; the third consonant position is usually filled by ||N||, but in some instances length is found.

Nominal suffixes generally have fewer allomorphs than do verbal suffixes. Verbal suffixes frequently exhibit polymorphism before the

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

test the likelihood that they might sometimes be followed by such suffixes as the diminutives, the future, or the past-tense suffix {-h·Y}. The last nominal suffix in a nominal theme determines whether the theme is a member of Class I, II, or III (see section 610). It is sometimes difficult to determine whether themes ending in a particular suffix are members of Class II or Class III. Members of Class II are always followed by Series 2 pronominal suffixes, followed by case; members of Class III are followed by case alone, or by Series 1 and then by Series 2 and case. However, the third person singular Series 2 pronominal suffix is zero, and if the suffix has always been recorded with case suffixes only following it, it is often difficult to decide whether to analyze the form as containing the zero third person suffix or as followed by case alone. Class I, members of which are always followed by Series 1 pronominal suffixes and case, causes no such difficulty since no Series 1 suffix has a zero form.

701. {-a-}, simultaneous gerundial. This suffix follows a verb stem and has the following allomorphs: after stems ending in a consonant, it is -a-||; after stems ending in /a/, it is ||-H-||; after stems ending in /u/, it is ||-wa-||; after stems ending in other vowels, it is ||-ja-||. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class I. The suffix {-h·Y-} 'past' has been recorded following this suffix, which is then not prefinal. Forms containing it frequently translate English gerundial secondary verbs and refer to action simultaneous with that of the main verb: 'while he is dancing,' 'when he . . . .' It is productive. Example: kala·-ŋ-a-?-hY· 'while he danced,' cf. kala·-ŋ- 'to dance'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ṭowin'-aj- 'mockingbird'

walak'-aj- 'tule'

wala·nyh-aj- 'Echinodontium tinctorum paint'

ʔelem'-aj- 'red tree-fungus'

hil·iw-aj- 'whitefish'

hophon'-aj- 'mussel; clam'

lapi·s-aj- 'trout; fish'

ʔoje·ʔ-aj- 'white man'

03. {-ajaHk-}, plural agentive. This suffix follows a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3-$ , which is related to a Stem 1; or it may follow a base too long to fit the canonical limits of Stem 1. Where  $C_3$  is a vowel, the  $C_3$  position is filled by /ʔ/. This suffix has two allomorphs. Following a stem of the canon quoted above, it is ||-ajaHk-||; following a longer base, it is ||-ʔajaHk-||. Themes of this structure are members of Class III; the past-tense suffix {-h·Y-} has been found following this pattern is productive. Examples:

mola·p-ajaHk- 'mush-makers,' cf. mola·p- 'to make acorn mush'

ʔolu·ʔ-ajaHk- 'root-diggers,' cf. ʔol·- 'to dig roots'

sose·ʔ-ajaHk- 'grinders,' cf. sos·e- 'to grind acorns'

ʔono·ʔ-ajaHk- 'miners,' cf. ʔon·o- 'to mine' (< Sp. oro 'gold')

ʔono·ʔ-ajaHk-h·Y-me-ʔ /ʔono·ʔaja·kyh·ymeʔ/ 'we were miners  
long ago'

tolti·ja·-nY-ʔajaHk- 'tortilla makers,' cf. tolti·ja·-nY- 'to make  
tortillas'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

only final suffixes have been found following them. The meaning of the suffix is apparently 'from the direction of.' Examples:

cyme·c-ak- 'from the south,' cf. cym·e-c- 'south'

koto·w-ak- 'across from,' cf. kot-to- 'far; long ago'

?yn·-jak-te-? /?yn·yjakte?/ 'I'm from . . .,' cf. ?yn·- 'to come from'

?uc·u-jak-∅-∅ /?uc·ujak/ 'he's from . . .,' cf. ?uc·u- 'to dwell'

705. ||-aH-|| follows several stem types. All themes ending in a vowel suffix are members of Class III. The past-tense suffix {-h·Y-} has been found following them, which indicates that ||-aH-|| is not prefinal.

One stem form for this suffix is  $C_1V_1C_2V_2·C_3-$ , related to a vowel stem to a Class III nominal theme. Where necessary, the  $C_3$  position is filled by /?/. Themes of this structure have such meanings as 'it is (cold, bitter, warm, dead, wild, etc.).' The pattern is productive. Examples:

kywe·ŋ-aH- 'it is cold,' cf. kyHw-ŋHe- 'to become cold'

cuje·ŋ-aH- 'it is sweet,' cf. cuHj-ŋHe- 'to become sweet'

hiso·k-aH- 'it is fuzzy,' cf. hi·sok- 'hair'

hale·?-aH- 'wild animal' ('it is wild'), cf. hal·e- 'the wilds; open'

lewe·t-aH-te-? /lewe·ta·te?/ 'I am heavy,' cf. leweHt-ŋHe- 'to become heavy'

This suffix is also found following a Stem 3; no cases have been recorded where  $C_3$  is not present in other environments. The pattern appears not to be productive. Themes of this structure have the meanings of nouns that appear to refer to a product or aspect of an activity that can be perceived by the senses. Examples:



[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

eme, which is not true of the verbal suffix. Themes ending in  
re members of Class III. The suffix {-ak-} has been recorded a  
is suffix, which is therefore not a pre-final suffix. Its meaning  
ears to be similar to that of {-c'-}. Examples:

jyh·y-c- 'sailing along,' cf. jyh·y-c'- 'to move smoothly and

na?·y-c- 'together,' cf. na?y'-j- 'to accompany'

cym·e-c- 'in the south,' cf. cym·e- 'south'

707. ||-ci-||: a number of Class III nominal themes end with  
equence. Its suffixal nature is proved by one instance where it  
stem which is related to one that occurs elsewhere as a nomi  
follows stems of various forms: CVCVC-, CVC·V·-, CVC·V-,  
s meaning is obscure. It does not appear to be productive. Exa

kawa'-ci- 'pestle,' cf. kaw·an- 'acorn meal'

kom'a-ci- 'pygmy owl'

cikiw-ci- 'Mariposa lily'

hiŋa'-ci- 'sugar pine'

708. ||-c'-e-||, habitual. This suffixal combination follows a S  
r a base too long to fit the canonical limits of Stem 1. The no  
suffix ||-h·Y-|| and the verbal suffix {-nY-} have been found follo  
-c'-e-||, which is therefore not prefinal. Themes ending in this  
ination of suffixes are members of Class II. They mean 'one w  
abitually . . .,' and frequently seem to carry a connotation of n  
nnoyance at the repetitious behaviour. The combination is produ  
he first member of the combination appears to be the static ve  
suffix, {-c'-}; the combination, however, follows a stem form dif

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

wo·la-c·Y- 'shotgun pellet,' cf. wo·la- 'bullet'

cukuH-c·Y- 'small dog; puppy,' cf. cukuH- 'dog'

cukuH-h·Y-c·Y-? /cukuh·uc·u?/ 'little old dog'

lil·e-ka-c·Y-n 'a little higher up,' cf. lil·e-ka-n 'higher'

710. ||-ha-||: a number of Class III nominal themes referring to plants end with this sequence. In most cases, it follows a stem of the form CV·- or CVCVC-. Such stems have not been recorded elsewhere. The suffix, if such it is, is not productive. Examples:

watak-ha- 'mountain lupine'

cumuk-ha- 'wild currant'

capa·-ha- 'fir'

haka·-ha- 'golden-cup oak'

le·-ha- 'syringa'

711. ||-haHk-||, gerundial. This suffix follows a verbal base. The stems occurring in this suffix are members of Class III, and function primarily as gerunds; when followed by Series 2 pronominal suffixes, they have the function of a continuative past tense. The suffix is fully productive. Only final suffixes have been found following it. Examples:

helaHj-ŋHe-haHk-∅ /helajŋehak/ 'being afraid,' cf. helaHj-ŋHe-  
'to be afraid'

mul-h-haHk-∅ /mulhuhak/ 'stopping,' cf. mul-h- 'to quit'

cam-h-haHk-j /camhyha·kyj/ 'dying (accusative case),' cf. ca-  
'to die'

?yw·y-ŋHe-haHk-to-? /?yw·yŋ·ehakto?/ 'to the feast (allative)  
cf. <sup>SIGNS AND SYMBOLS</sup>?yw·y-ŋHe- 'to be eaten'

?yhvt-meH-ŋY-h·aj-ŋY-haHk-∅ /?yhvtme·nyh·ainybak/ 'getting

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

kul'al-hi'-me- 'it is fenced,' cf. kul'al- 'fence' (< Sp. corral)

tel'a?-hi'-me- 'it is painted, dyed,' cf. tela- 'paint, dye'

tel'a?-hi'-me-koH-∅ /tel'a?hi'meko'/ 'they are painted'

tel'a?-hi'-me-h·Y-? /tel'a?hi'meh·y?/ 'it used to be painted'

13. {-h·Y-}, 'past.' This suffix occurs after nominal themes of classes and after bases. It has the following allomorphs: after a nominal theme, it is ||-?Yh·Y-||, and the resulting form is a member of Class II; after a base, it is ||-h·Y-||, and the form is a member of the same class as the nominal theme preceding the suffix. The diminutive suffixes ||-Y-|| and ||-tki-|| have been found following this suffix, which is productive. Its meaning is 'past; former.' When it follows a nominal theme which already has a past-tense meaning, it implies greater remoteness; following allomorphs of {-keH-}, it means 'a year or more ago.'

Examples:

hejiHl-·i-keH-h·Y-∅-? /hejiHl·ikeh·y?/ 'he got lost,' cf. hejiHl- 'got lost,' hejiHl-ηHe- 'to get lost'

'got lost,' hejiHl-ηHe- 'to get lost'

?enup-·e-h·Y-me-? 'we chased them, long ago,' cf. ?enup-·e- 'chased'

hal·ik-iH-h·Y-∅-? /hal·ikih·y?/ 'he used to hunt,' cf. hal·ik-iH- 'hunts habitually'

'hunts habitually'

haja·puH-h·Y-ni-? 'you were a chief,' cf. haja·puH- 'chief'

le·cy-h·Y-nti-? 'it used to be my cow,' cf. le·cy- 'cow'

cukuH-h·Y-c·Y-? } 'little old dog,' cf. cukuH- 'dog'  
 cukuH-h·Y-tki-? }

wyks-?Yh·Y-te-? 'I was going,' cf. wyks- 'to go'

wyks-j-nY-?Yh·Y-te-? /wyksyjny?yh·yte?/ 'I wanted to go,' cf. wyks- 'to go'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

tal·yl-hHi-?-hY· 'his power,' cf. tal·yl- 'strong'

?oj·an-hHi-ni-? /?oj·anhini?/ 'you are a very big one,' cf. ?o  
'big'

The suffix ||-hHi-|| is also found following a Stem 4. Themes of this structure are likewise members of Class III, and mean 'it's . . . a . . . can . . . it; it makes one want to . . . .' This structure is productive, within the limits of meaning. Examples:

wyksy-hHi- 'it's passable,' cf. wyks- 'to go'

hyjŋe-hHi- 'it's visible,' cf. hyHj-ŋHe- 'to see'

hyjŋe-hHi-koH-∅ /hyjŋeh·iko·/ 'you can see them'

cym?y-hHi- 'one can ride it,' cf. cy·m- 'to ride'

kalŋa-hHi- 'it makes one want to dance,' cf. kala·-ŋ- 'to dance'

?yw?y-hHi- 'it looks good to eat,' cf. ?yw·y- 'to eat'

715. {-iH-}, habitual. This suffix follows a Stem 3 or a verbal stem long enough to fit the canonical limits of Stem 1. It has the following allomorphs: after bases too long for Stem 1, it is ||-?iH-|| <sup>f</sup> ||-meH-||; elsewhere, it is ||-iH-||. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class II. The past tense suffix ||-h·Y-||, as well as final suffixes, are not found following {-iH-}, which is therefore not a pre-final suffix. It is fully productive. Its meaning is habitual: '(he) always . . . .' Examples:

hul·uw-iH-te-? /hul·uwi·te?/ 'I'm always hungry,' cf. hulw- 'to be hungry'

kal·an<sub>SIGNS AND SYMBOLS</sub>-iH-hy-? /kal·an<sub>SIGNS AND SYMBOLS</sub>ih·y?/ 'he used to be a dancer,' cf. ka  
'to dance'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

jaw'e-ji-? 'it will be a bow,' cf. jaw'e- 'bow'

jaw'e-j-nti-? /jaw'ejynti?/ 'it will be my bow'

haja·puH-j-ni-? /haja·pujni?/ 'you will be a chief,' cf. haja·p  
'chief'

717. {-jak-}, 'times ten.' This suffix follows a stem which is a Class III nominal theme referring to a numeral. Where the numeral referred to is one, two, three, five, or six, this stem is of the form  $V_1C_2V_2^-$ , and the suffix appears in the allomorph ||-jak-||; for seven, eight, nine, and ten, the stem is  $C_1V_1C_2V_2·C_3^-$ , while for eight and ten, the stem is  $V_1C_2V_2·C_4^-$ , and in both cases the suffix is ||-ijak-||. Themes ending in this suffix (which is not productive) are members of Class III, and refer to multiples of ten, except where the stem means 'one.' Examples:

keŋe'-jak- 'another kind,' cf. keŋ'eH- 'one'

?oŋi'-jak- 'twenty,' cf. ?oŋiH- 'two'

maho'-jak- 'fifty,' cf. mah'oka- 'five'

?oji's-ijak- 'forty,' cf. ?ojis'a- 'four'

kawi't-ijak- 'eighty,' cf. kaw'inta- 'eight'

na?a'c-ijak- 'one hundred,' cf. na?a'ca- 'ten'

718. ||-jaH-|| follows a Stem 3, or a stem of similar form ( $C_1V_1C_2V_2^-$ ) which no corresponding Stem 1 has been recorded; where necessary, the  $C_3$  position is filled by /?/. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III. The future suffix {-j-} has been found following this suffix, which appears to be productive. Its meaning is somewhat uncertain; themes containing it translate English nouns, and seem to have some reference to characteristic behaviour. Examples:

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

suffix, which is therefore not prefinal. It is fully productive. Meaning is plural: 'several, a few, three or four.' It is to be noted that plural suffixes are not obligatory morphemes in Miwok; there are sections 735 and 766), but they are used sparingly. Examples:

naŋta-j·a- 'men,' cf. naŋ·aH- 'man'

ʔohŋa-j·a- 'women,' cf. ʔoh·a- 'woman'

miwty-j·a- 'people; Indians,' cf. miw·yH- 'person; Indian'

ʔajtuH-me-ʔ miwty-j·a-me-ʔ 'we're all Indians'

ʔesle-j·a- 'children,' cf. ʔesel·y- 'child'

kawja-j·a- 'horses,' cf. kawa·ju- 'horse'

ʔyhmy-j·a- 'bears; the Bear moiety,' cf. ʔyhy·maŋi- 'bear'

ʔatʔe-j·a-nti-ʔ /ʔatʔej·antiʔ/ 'my younger brothers,' cf. ʔate-  
'younger brother'

720. ||-ka-||, past. This suffix follows a verbal base. Themes of this suffix are members of Class I. The suffix {-h·Y-} 'past' has been noted following this suffix. Its meaning is apparently 'past time,' but the way it differs from other past-tense nominal suffixes is not known. It is not common, but it appears to be productive. Examples:

ʔenyh-na-ka-nti-ʔ /ʔenyhna-kantiʔ/ 'I made it for them,' cf. ʔenyh-  
'to make for'

ʔenyh-na-ka-h·Y-nti-ʔ 'I fixed it for them, long ago'

halpa-ka-nti-j /halpakanti·j/ 'I found it (accusative case),' cf. halpa-  
'to find'

ju·w-ka-ʔ-hY· /ju·wukaʔhy·/ 'he stirred it yesterday,' cf. ju·w-  
stir'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

resemblance to any other recorded stem. The diminutive suffix  $\| -t$  and the past suffix  $\{-h\cdot Y-\}$  have been found following this sequence. Examples:

cimcimih-kene- 'spruce' (cim-cimih-kene- ?)

heme-kene- 'Sierra currant'

pihak-kene- /pihak·ene-/ 'wild cherry'

se·se-kene- 'lodgepole pine' (se·-se·-kene- ?)

23.  $\{-keH-\}$ , past. This suffix follows a Stem 2 (where necessary, the  $C_3$  position is filled by /h/) or a base which does not fit the requirements of Stem 1. It has the following allomorphs: after Stem 2, it is  $\| -\cdot e - \|$ ; after the allomorph  $\| -k - \|$  of the passive verbal suffix  $\{-\eta He-\}$ , it is  $\| -\cdot a - \|$ ; after other bases, it is  $\| -keH - \|$ . The first and second person single pronominal suffixes and all other pronominal suffixes ( $\| -keH - \|$  is by far the more frequent form, but several informants occasionally used  $\| -k - \|$ ); elsewhere, it is  $\| -keH - \|$ . In the case of two Stem 1's ( $\| hy\cdot ja - \|$  'to arrive' and  $\| ha\cdot je - \|$  'to go up to'), the usual form with this suffix consists of the Stem 1's followed by the allomorph  $\| -keH - \|$  instead of a Stem 2 allomorph  $\| -\cdot e - \|$ . Some informants state that  $\| hyjah\cdot e - \phi - ? \|$  /hyjah·e·/ 'arrived' is a meaningful form; others deny its existence, and state that  $\| hy\cdot ja - keH - \phi - ? \|$  /hy·jake·/. The latter is certainly of much greater occurrence. Stem 1's of this shape (CV·CV-) are relatively rare. It is possible that this feature is characteristic of all of them, but this has not been established in only these two instances.

A Stem 2 (of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3-$ ) sometimes corresponds to a verbal base consisting of a stem of the form CVCV·- followed by

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

cyṭen·e-∅-ʔ  $\frac{f}{f}$  cyṭe·na-keH-∅-ʔ /cyṭen·eʔ/  $\frac{f}{f}$  /cyṭe·nakeʔ/ 'him like it,' cf. cyṭe·na- 'to cause to like'

724. ||-kuH-||, evidential passive predicative. This suffix follows a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3-$ , which is related to a base or which has been recorded in any other environment. Where necessary, the  $C_3$  position is filled by /ʔ/. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III, and are evidential passive predicative or participial in nature. 'one can see it has been . . . .' The suffix is not common, but is productive. It is sometimes followed by the past-tense suffix {-kə}.  
Examples:

lacyn-kuH- 'blazed,' cf. lac-nY- 'to chop'

lotuʔ-kuH- 'captive,' cf. lo·t- 'to catch'

ʔeleŋ-kuH- 'divorced,' cf. ʔeHl-ŋHe- 'to leave'

ʔamal-kuH- 'crippled,' cf. ʔam-la- 'to wound non-fatally'

ʔamal-kuH-koH-∅ /ʔamalku·ko·/ 'they are crippled'

kuhat-kuH- 'you can see it has been hit,' cf. kuhta- 'to hit'

wemyʔ-kuH- 'there's a hole, you can see it has been dug,' cf.

wem·- 'to dig a hole'

725. ||-la-||: a number of Class III nominal themes end with this suffix. Stem forms are diverse, and few can be related to stems occurring in other environments. A stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2-$ , where necessary, the  $C_3$  position is filled by /·/) occurs in a few examples, which refer to body parts. Other stem shapes include CVCCV-, CCV-, and CVCVCCV-. The meaning of this suffix is obscure.

is not appear to be productive; it has been found followed by the past-tense suffix {-kə}.  
Examples:



[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ki-||. Examples:

keŋke-leHp- 'tine (of a fork); single,' cf. keŋ'eH- 'one'

ʔoŋki-liHp- 'double; twins,' cf. ʔoŋiH-ko- 'two'

ʔoŋki-liHp-koH-∅ /ʔoŋkilipko/ 'they are twins'

ʔoŋki-liHp-tki-ʔ /ʔoŋkili·pytkiʔ/ 'little twin'

ʔojsi-liHp- 'quadruplets,' cf. ʔojis·a- 'four'

mahko-loHp- 'quintuplets,' cf. mah·oka- 'five'

naʔca-laHp- 'ten of them,' cf. naʔa·ca- 'ten'

727. ||-ma-||, agentive. This suffix follows two types of stem.

the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2-$ , is related to a Stem 1 of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_2-$

the other, of the form  $C_1V_1C_2·V_2C_3-$ , is related to a Stem 1 of

the other than that cited above. Where necessary, the  $C_3$  position is

filled by /ʔ/. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class II.

The verbal suffix {-nY-} and the past-tense suffix {-h·Y-} have been found

following this suffix, which is therefore not pre-final; its product

has not been investigated. Its meaning is agentive, and very similar

to that of the English agentive suffix -er. Examples:

hyhy·-ma- 'dragger,' cf. hyhy·-t- 'to pull'

paŋy·-ma- 'bringer,' cf. paŋy·-t- 'to take,' paŋyH- 'to carry  
hands'

paŋy·-ma-koH-∅ 'they bring it'

ʔoŋo·-ma- 'one who carries a child,' cf. ʔoŋo·-t- 'to carry  
arms'

ʔeca·ma- 'second, medium-textured portion of acorn mush,

ʔeca·-t- 'to accompany,' ʔec·a- 'behind'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

em which does not occur as a base or theme without a following  
 k. Where necessary, the C<sub>3</sub> position is filled by /ʔ/. Themes  
 ructure are members of Class II. They mean 'a person who is  
 he verbal suffix {-nY-} and the past-tense suffix {-h·Y-} have b  
 und following such themes. In this use, ||-meH-|| is productive  
 mples:

lotuʔ-meH- 'a captive,' cf. lo·t- 'to catch'

heñil-meH- 'one who is lost,' cf. heñiHl-ŋHe- 'to get lost'

peleʔ-meH- 'blind; a blind man,' cf. pel·e- 'to not see'

hakaj-meH- 'a starveling,' cf. hakaHj-ŋHe- 'to be hungry'

ʔeleŋ-meH- 'a widower,' cf. ʔeHl-ŋHe- 'to leave behind'

This suffix is also found following a Stem 4, a stem of simila  
 (V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>V<sub>2</sub>-) which is related to the first two syllables of a C  
 minimal theme, or a base too long to fit the canonical limitations

Where necessary, the C<sub>3</sub> position is filled by /ʔ/. Forms of thi  
 re are members of Class III. When followed by case only or ca  
 ries 2 pronominal suffixes, they mean '(he) has big . . . , (he)  
 , (he) has lots of . . .'; when followed by case and Series 1 pr  
 . suffixes, they mean '(he) is supposed to . . . .' In this usage,  
 ffix is productive, and has been found followed by the past-tens  
 {-h·Y-} and the diminutive suffix ||-tki-||. Examples:

ʔolko-meH- 'he has long ears,' cf. ʔolkoh- 'ear'

ʔolko-meH-tki-ʔ /ʔolkometkiʔ/ 'a little one with big ears'

ʔolko-meH-koH-ʔ /ʔolkome·ko·/ 'they have long ears'

niʔo-meH- 'he has a long nose,' cf. niʔoH- 'nose'

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

pace-mhi-HmetiH-? /pacemhi·meti?/ 'relatives to each other'

pace- 'relative, kinsman'

ta·ciH-mhi-ko· /ta·cimhiko·/ 'they are brothers,' cf. ta·ciH-  
brother'

730. ||-mYh-|| 'only; just.' This suffix follows a Class III nominal theme, and the resulting form is likewise a member of Class III. It is often found followed by final suffixes only (following this suffix, the alternative case is ||-?|| instead of its usual zero form following a nominal theme). This is probably prefinal and productive; its meaning is 'only, just, etc.' Examples:

kik·y-mYh-? 'nothing but water,' cf. kik·y- 'water'

kik·y-mYh-tHo-? 'in nothing but water'

tol·e-mYh-tHo-? 'on the bare ground,' cf. tol·e- 'ground'

kyc·yc-mYh-? 'skinny; nothing but bones,' cf. kyc·yc- 'bones'

la·ma-mYh-? 'all trees,' cf. la·ma- 'tree'

hak-mYh-? 'just only,' cf. hak- 'only'

731. ||-m'a-|| follows a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2·V_2C_3V_2-$ , which is related to a Class III nominal theme or to a base. Where necessary, the initial position is filled by /?/. Only the first two syllables of the nominal theme are represented in this stem. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class II. The verbal suffix {-nY-} and the past tense suffix {-n·Y-} have been found after this suffix, which is productive. Its meaning appears to be 'one who (has or does something) to excess.' Examples:

hel·aja-m'a- 'one who is easily scared; a coward,' cf. hel·aja-  
scare (trans.)'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

tol·ok-m·a- 'three times,' cf. tolo·koṭ- 'three'

ʔoj·is-m·a- 'four times,' cf. ʔojis·a- 'four'

tiṭ·aw-m·a- 'seven times,' cf. tiṭ·aw·a- 'seven'

32. ||-na-||: a number of Class III nominal themes referring to fruits or vegetable products end in this sequence. Stem forms are rare, and in no case is the stem relatable to one which occurs in any other environment. The suffix, if such it is, is not productive. It has never been found followed by the past-tense suffix {-h·Y-}. Examples:

caw·e-na- 'bush'

hak·e-na- 'pitchy pine wood (for kindling)'

hakyṭ-na- 'Equisetum, Western scouring-brush'

saṅsaʔ-na- 'pine cone'

wohwoh-na- 'sequoia'

33. ||-ni-||, 'can, might, ought to.' This suffix follows a verbal stem in any shape. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III. The past-tense suffix {-h·Y-} has been found following this suffix, which is not productive. Themes containing it mean '(he) can . . . , (he) might . . . , (he) ought to . . . .' Examples:

kala·-ŋ-ni-nti-ʔ /kala·ŋynintiʔ/ 'I can dance,' cf. kala·-ŋ- 'to dance'

kala·-ŋ-ni-h·Y-nti-ʔ /kala·ŋynih·yntiʔ/ 'I used to be able to dance'

wyks-ni-j-hY· /wyksyni·hy·/ 'he ought to go (accus.),' cf. wyk·-j- 'to go'

liwa-ksY-ni-ʔ-mah·i· /liwaksyniʔmah·i·/ 'we can talk,' cf. liwa-ksY- 'to talk'

nyṭ·y-c·-ni-ʔ-hY· /nyṭ·yc·yniʔhy·/ 'he might keep still,' cf. nyṭ·y- 'to keep still'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

Class III. The past-tense suffix {-h·Y-} has been found after the stem, which appears to be unproductive. Its meaning appears to be '...ing'. Examples:

lupu-ntih·eH- 'several girls,' cf. lupu- 'girl'

lupu-ntih·eH-koH-∅ /lupuntih·e·ko·/ 'several young girls'

sali-ntih·eH- 'a group of young men,' cf. saliH- 'youth'

736. ||-nHi-paH-||, superlative. This suffixal combination follows a stem of the form C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub>- or C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>- which is related to the Class III nominal theme. Themes ending in this combination are members of Class III. The diminutive suffix ||-tki-|| has been found following this combination of suffixes, which appears to be productive; its meaning is superlative. The first member of the combination is related to the augmentative suffix {-·ni-}; the second is the agentive suffix ||-paH-||. Examples:

cini-nHi-paH- 'smallest,' cf. cin·ipi- 'small'

cini-nHi-paH-te-?-koH /cinin·ipa·te?ko·/ 'I'm the smallest of the children'

lile-nHi-paH- 'uppermost,' cf. li·leH- 'up'

wilat-nHi-paH- 'tallest,' cf. wila·toH- 'tall'

?ojan-nHi-paH- 'biggest,' cf. ?oja·ni- 'big'

737. ||-paH-||, agentive. This suffix follows a Stem 4 or a stem of a similar form related to a nominal theme, or a base too long to conform to the phonological requirements of Stem 1. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class II, and mean "(he) is good at . . .ing, (he) is . . .er, (he) is characterized by . . . ." When the stem refers to a nominal, such themes are the names of days of the week. The past-tense suffix {-h·Y-} has been found following this suffix, which is productive.

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

tion is filled by /ʔ/. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III. Such themes are, in effect, professional titles; they mean 'one who is appointed to . . . .' The past-tense suffix {-h·Y-} has been found following this suffix, which is productive. Examples:

liwaʔ-peH- 'a spokesman; a speechmaker,' cf. liw·a- 'to speak'

liwaʔ-peH-te-ʔ-koH /liwaʔpe·teʔko·/ 'I am their speechmaker'

liwaʔ-peH-h·Y-∅-ʔ-koH /liwaʔpeh·yʔko·/ 'he used to make speeches for them; he was their speechmaker'

ʔumaʔ-peH- 'a drummer,' cf. ʔum·a- 'to thump'

ʔokoj-peH- 'a nurse,' cf. ʔoko·j- 'to care for; to nurse'

ʔalyʔ-peH- 'one appointed to listen,' cf. ʔal·- 'to listen'

39. ||-poH-||, past reflexive. This suffix follows a verbal base. Themes ending in it are members of Class II. It has been found following the past-tense suffix {-h·Y-}. It is productive; its meaning is that of a past-tense reflexive. It appears to be related, at least historically, to the reflexive verbal suffix {-poksu-} (see section 534). Examples:

jo·h-poH-∅-ʔ 'he killed himself,' cf. jo·h- 'to kill'

pyta·l-poH-∅-ʔ 'he turned around,' cf. pyta·l- 'to turn around'

te·p-poH-te-ʔ /te·pypo·teʔ/ 'I cut myself,' cf. te·p- 'to cut'

sapa·t-poH-∅-ʔ /sapa·typoʔ/ 'he's put his shoes on,' cf. sapa·t- 'shoe'

sapa·t-poH-te-ʔ /sapa·typo·teʔ/ 'I put my shoes on'

laca·-t-poH-∅-ʔ 'he took his axe,' cf. laca·-t- 'to take an axe'

40. ||-puH-|| follows a stem of the form C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>jV<sub>2</sub>-, which is related to a Class III nominal theme referring to a kinsman. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III, and mean 'half- step-

[\[view image\]](#)

---



14

THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

cinʔi-p·a-t·i-j 'little bits; nibbles (accusative),' cf. cin·ipi-hajʔe-p·a-j 'every few days; once in a while (accusative),'  
haj·e- 'close by; a while'

tiw·ha-p·a- 'a payment (by installments?),' cf. tiw·a-h- 'to p

742. {-pHute-}, 'kind, species.' This suffix follows a demonstrative stem. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III, and no nominal suffixes have been found following them. The meaning of this suffix appears to be something like 'kind' or 'species.' It does not appear to be productive. Examples:

ʔokaHh-pHute- 'the same kind,' cf. ʔokaHh- 'same'

ʔokaHh-pHute-t-∅ /ʔokahpuʔet/ 'the same place (allative case)'

ʔi-pHute-ʔ-ʔok /ʔip·uʔeʔ·ok/ 'that kind,' cf. ʔi- 'that'

743. ||-taH-|| follows a few demonstrative stems. Themes of this structure are members of Class III and refer to time. A similar suffix appears to be present in a few Class III nominal themes, following a stem of the form C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>·V<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>-; these stems are not related to the known stems occurring in other environments. In this use, its meaning is obscure. The suffix is not productive. Examples:

mi-taH-n 'when?,' cf. mi- 'what?'

ʔi-taH-n-ʔok 'then,' cf. ʔi- 'this'

kot-taH-n 'a long way; a long time,' cf. kot-to- 'far'

ʔap·an-ta- 'salamander'

ʔaw·an-ta- 'turtle'

ʔet·em-ta- 'thumb'

tep·es-ta- 'ramada'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

ly final suffixes have been found following this suffix, which is  
 ctive. Its meaning is diminutive; informants say that themes co  
 g this suffix and those containing || -c·Y- || have identical meanin  
 amples:

- ?oh·a-tki- 'girl,' cf. ?oh·a- 'woman'
- cukuH-tki- 'little dog,' cf. cukuH- 'dog'
- cukuH-h·Y-tki-? /cukuh·utki?/ 'little old dog'
- hyh·y-tki- 'stick,' cf. hyh·y- 'wood'
- cin·ipi-tki- 'tiny,' cf. cin·ipi- 'small'

746. || -to- ||, directional. This suffix follows Class III nominal  
 ich sometimes have unusual forms before this suffix. It is very  
 in both form and meaning to the allative case suffix. However  
 ably different: its form is || -to- ||, not || -tHo- ||, and it can be  
 ved by the allative case, in the allomorph || -t- ||. Themes endin  
 s suffix are members of Class III. They refer to directions, to  
 s identified in terms of directions, or to periods of time. Only  
 fixes have been found following this suffix. Examples:

- cym·e-to- 'south; a southerner,' cf. cym·e- 'south'
- cym·e-to-t /cym·etot/ 'to the south'
- hi·hy-to- 'east,' cf. hi·hy- 'east'
- kawly-to- 'night,' cf. kawyHl- 'night'
- kot-to- 'a while ago; the other side,' cf. kot-taH- 'far off; a  
 time'

747. || -t·i- ||, diminutive plural. This suffix follows a Class III  
 theme, and themes ending in this suffix are likewise members  
 ss III. Only final suffixes have been found following this  
 314



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

?i-m'-t·Y-t-?ok 'that way,' cf. ?i-m'-?-?ok 'from there'

?al·a-m'-t·Y-j 'under (accusative case),' cf. ?al·a-m'- 'under'

749. ||-tHuH-||, revenitive. This suffix follows a Stem 2 or a b long to fit the canonical requirements of Stem 1. Where necessary, the C<sub>3</sub> position is filled by /·/. Before this suffix, ||?yn'-|| 'to come' appears as /?unu'-/. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class II. The past tense suffix ||-h·Y-|| has been found following this suffix, which is therefore not prefinal. It is fully productive. Its use is revenitive, with an implication of past time: '(he) came back from . . .ing.' Examples:

wynyt-tHuH-? /wynyt·u?/ 'he came back from picking them,'

wynt- 'to pick'

wy?iṭ-tHuH-te-? /wy?iṭtu·te?/ 'I've been to peek,' cf. wy?i·ṭ-

peek, peer'

joh-tHuH-? /johtu?/ 'he came back from killing it,' cf. jo·h-

kill'

hakaHj-ṅHe-tHuH-? /hakajnet·u?/ 'he was hungry there, he had

been hungry,' cf. hakaHj-ṅHe- 'to be hungry'

sose'-tHuH-? /sose·tu?/ 'she came back from pounding,' cf.

'to pound acorns'

?unu'-tHuH-? /?unu·tu?/ 'he came,' cf. ?yn'- 'to come'

750. ||-ṭaH-||, diminutive. This suffix follows a stem of the form V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>·V<sub>2</sub>-, which is related to a Class III nominal theme. It has been found following stems referring to persons. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III, and have been found followed by

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

ed by an English infinitive or gerund. Examples:

wy·n-<sup>?</sup>aX-j-hY· /wy·ny<sup>?</sup>ajhy·/ 'his walking; . . .him walk (ac-  
tive)' (e.g., 'I don't like his walking there,' 'I made him v  
cf. wy·n- 'to walk'

hyj·i-c·-<sup>?</sup>aX-<sup>?</sup>-hY· /hyj·ic·y<sup>?</sup>a<sup>?</sup>hy·/ 'his seeing,' cf. hyj·i-c·-  
see'

sike·-nY-<sup>?</sup>aX-nti-j /sike·ny<sup>?</sup>anti·/ 'my being sick; . . .me si  
cf. sike·-nY- 'to be sick'

hyj<sup>?</sup>y-ksY-<sup>?</sup>aX-h·Y-<sup>?</sup>-nY· /hyj<sup>?</sup>yksy<sup>?</sup>ah·y<sup>?</sup>ny·/ 'your knowing  
your former knowing,' cf. hyj<sup>?</sup>y-ksY- 'to know'

micyk-na-<sup>?</sup>aX-te-j-hY· /micykna<sup>?</sup>at·ejhy·/ 'what he does to r  
cf. micyk-na- 'to do what?' (e.g., 'I don't care what he do  
me,' lit. 'I don't care about his doing what? to me')

753. {-<sup>?</sup>ci-}, 'people of (a place)!' This suffix follows Class III  
themes which refer to localities; themes ending in this suffix  
members of Class III. It has the following allomorphs: following a  
ing in a consonant, it is ||-ci-||; before pronominal suffixes of  
o form it is ||-<sup>?</sup>ci·je·-||; elsewhere, it is ||-<sup>?</sup>ci-||. Themes co  
this suffix refer to people who inhabit or come from the place  
red to; it appears to be productive, within the limitations of me  
only final suffixes have been found following it. Examples:

<sup>?</sup>awo·ni-<sup>?</sup>ci- 'Yosemite people,' cf. <sup>?</sup>awo·ni- 'Yosemite Vall

<sup>?</sup>awo·ni-<sup>?</sup>ci·je·-ni-<sup>?</sup> /<sup>?</sup>awo·ni<sup>?</sup>ci·je·ni<sup>?</sup>/ 'are you from Yosen

piliwni-<sup>?</sup>ci- 'they belong at Polona,' cf. piliwni- 'Polona'

marpo·sa-<sup>?</sup>ci- 'they come from Mariposa,' cf. marpo·sa- 'Ma

marpo·sa-<sup>?</sup>ci·ie·-me-<sup>?</sup> /marpo·sa<sup>?</sup>ci·ie·me<sup>?</sup>/ [yulpa from M

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

suffix appears in the allomorph  $\| - ? YniH - \|$ ; otherwise, it is  $\| - ? \cdot Y$ .  
 mes ending in this suffix, which is productive, are members of  
 and have been found followed by the past-tense suffix  $\{-h \cdot Y -\}$ . In  
 a Stem 2, the meaning of this suffix is predicative: 'it is (bra  
 ed, parted, etc.)'. After a nominal theme, it is possessive, 'ha  
 .'; when the nominal theme refers to a numeral, this suffix in  
 nit within a decade. Examples:

pisot- $\cdot YniH-$  'parted,' cf. piso $\cdot t-$  'to part hair'

syk- $\cdot YniH-$  'tattooed,' cf. sy $\cdot k-$  'to mark, tattoo'

tewy $^? - \cdot YniH-$  'braided,' cf. tew $\cdot -$  'to braid'

muckul- $? YniH - \emptyset - ?$  /muckul $^? uni^?$  / 'he has an arrow,' cf. muck  
 'arrow'

cukuH- $? \cdot YniH - te - ?$  /cuku $^? \cdot uni \cdot te^?$  / 'I have a dog,' cf.ukuH-

hu $\cdot ki - ? \cdot YniH-$  'having a tail,' cf. hu $\cdot ki-$  'tail'

na $^? a \cdot ca - ?$  keŋ $\cdot eH - ? \cdot YniH - ?$  /na $^? a \cdot ca^?$  keŋ $\cdot e^? yni^?$  / 'eleven' (li  
 'ten has one'), cf. keŋ $\cdot eH-$  'one'

na $^? a \cdot ca - ?$  tolo $\cdot koŋ - ? YniH - ?$  /na $^? a \cdot ca^?$  tolo $\cdot koŋ^? uni^?$  / 'thirteen,  
 tolo $\cdot koŋ-$  'three'

kawi $\cdot t - ijak - \emptyset$  na $^? a \cdot ca - ?$   $^? ojis \cdot a - ? \cdot YniH - ?$  /kawi $\cdot tijak$  na $^? a \cdot ca^?$   
 $^? ojis \cdot a^? yni^?$  / 'eighty-four,' cf.  $^? ojis \cdot a-$  'four'

756.  $\{- \cdot a -\}$ , agentive. This suffix follows (1) a Stem 3; (2) a st  
 form  $C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 C_3 -$ , related to a Stem 1; or (3) a verbal base  
 g to fall within the canonical limits of Stem 1. Where necessar  
 position in both the first two stem types is filled by  $/ ? /$ .<sub>323</sub> This  
 has the following allomorphs: following a base, it is  $\| - ? \cdot a - \|$ ;

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

hynty<sup>·</sup>a- 'spotted,' cf. hynty- 'eye'

loptot<sup>·</sup>a- 'lumpy,' cf. lopo<sup>·</sup>t- 'to form a lump'

757. {-<sup>·</sup>a-ci-} follows a Stem 2 (where necessary, the C<sub>3</sub> position is filled by /ʔ/) or a verbal base which does not meet the canonical requirements of Stem 1. The first member of this combination is the agentive suffix {-<sup>·</sup>a-}, which shows the same allomorphy in combination as it does alone; the second member may be the nominal suffix ||-ci|| (see section 707). This combination has been found followed by case suffixes only, and by Series 1 pronominal suffixes and case; no other nominal suffixes have been found after it. It appears to be productive, but its meaning is somewhat obscure. Forms containing it are seen only in verbals, and translate English gerunds or passive forms. Examples:

hywat<sup>·</sup>a-ci- 'racing,' cf. hywa<sup>·</sup>-t- 'to run'

nut<sup>·</sup>ki<sup>·</sup>-te<sup>?</sup> hywat<sup>·</sup>a-ci-Hs-∅ /nutki<sup>·</sup>te<sup>?</sup> hywat<sup>·</sup>acis/ 'he's came to race (instrumental; i.e., with racing)'

hinow<sup>·</sup>a-ci- 'playing handgame,' cf. hino<sup>·</sup>w- 'to play handgame'

wyn<sup>·</sup>a-ci- 'walking,' cf. wy<sup>·</sup>n- 'to walk'

syk<sup>·</sup>a-ci- 'a mark,' cf. sy<sup>·</sup>k- 'to mark; to write'

joh<sup>·</sup>a-ci-ʔ-hY<sup>·</sup> /joh<sup>·</sup>aci<sup>?</sup>hy<sup>·</sup>/ 'it was killed,' cf. jo<sup>·</sup>h- 'to kill'

ʔese<sup>·</sup>l-ŋHe<sup>·</sup>-ʔ<sup>·</sup>a-ci-ʔ-hY<sup>·</sup> /ʔese<sup>·</sup>lyŋ<sup>·</sup>e<sup>?</sup>aci<sup>?</sup>hy<sup>·</sup>/ 'his birth,' cf. ʔese<sup>·</sup>l-ŋHe<sup>·</sup>- 'to be born'

758. {-<sup>·</sup>a-po-}, instrumental agentive. This combination follows the form C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>- which is related to a nominal theme or case. There are no examples in this combination are members of Class I have been found followed by the diminutive suffix ||-tki-||. The first

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hynyt-·a-ṭe- 'spectacles,' cf. hynty- 'eye'

molij-·a-ṭe- 'umbrella,' cf. mol·i- 'shade'

pyhak-·a-ṭe- 'ointment; liniment,' cf. pyha·k- 'to rub on (ointment)'

ʔylij-·a-ṭe- 'mirror,' cf. ʔyliHʔ-ŋHe- 'to act silly; to kid around'

or ʔy·li- 'Jack o'Lantern; the Little People'?

760. {-·a-ṭi-} follows a Stem 2 or a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_1$

which is related to a Class III nominal theme. Themes ending in this

combination are members of Class III, and have been found following

the diminutive suffix ||-c·Y-||. The combination is productive, and

is found in many words. A number of themes containing it are the names

of foods or refer to varieties of prepared food. Examples:

ʔenyh-·a-ṭi- 'ready to mend,' cf. ʔenh- 'to make; to fix'

hel-·a-ṭi- 'ready to fight,' cf. he·l- 'to fight'

husel-·a-ṭi- 'breakfast' (i.e., 'ready for breakfasting on'), cf.

huse·l- 'to eat breakfast'

cilen-·a-ṭi- 'dinner (midday meal),' cf. cile·-nY- 'to eat a meal'

meal'

cilen-·a-ṭi-tki-ʔ 'a light lunch'

sapan-·a-ṭi- 'supper,' cf. sapa·-nY- 'to eat supper'

hojum-·a-ṭi- 'acorn soup,' cf. hoju·m-a- 'acorn soup'

hupul-·a-ṭi- 'dough,' cf. hupl- 'to knead dough'

761. ||-·i-|| follows a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_1C_2-$ . Such stems

are, in some cases, related to the first syllable of a Class III nominal

theme or to a stem which does not occur as a base or theme with

the following suffix; no other such stems have been found elsewhere.

Stems in this suffix are members of Class III; the past-tense suffix

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

py<sup>?</sup>ca-·liH- 'jackrabbit' (a substitute term used on account of a death tabu), cf. py<sup>?</sup>ca- 'cottontail'

im·ele-·liH- 'thunder,' cf. time·l- 'to thunder'

pepla-·liH- 'jackrabbit'

pahe-·liH- 'coyote'

pahe-·liH-ni-<sup>?</sup> /<sup>?</sup>pahe·li·ni<sup>?</sup>/ 'you're a coyote'

uku-·liH- 'Pandora moth caterpillar'

ele-·liH- 'black oak'

||-·muH-||, predicative. This suffix follows a stem of the form  ${}^2V_2-$ , which is related to a Stem 1 or to a Class III nominal theme. Nouns ending in this suffix are members of Class II. The past-tense form

||-h·Y-|| has been found after this suffix, which is therefore nominal. Its meaning is participial: 'he is (drunk, asleep, etc.).' Examples:

tyje-·muH-te-<sup>?</sup> /<sup>?</sup>tyje·mu·te<sup>?</sup>/ 'I am drunk,' cf. jyHq-ŋHe- 'to be drunk'

tyje-·muH-<sup>?</sup> /<sup>?</sup>tyje·mu<sup>?</sup>/ 'he is asleep,' cf. tyj·e- 'to sleep'

hewe-·muH- 'dry,' cf. hew·e- 'to dry'

ʔima-·muH- 'unripe,' cf. ʔima- 'raw, unripe'

{-·ni-}, augmentative. This suffix follows a stem of the form  ${}^2V_2-$  which is related to a Class III nominal theme or which has been recorded in any other environment; it also follows certain demonstrative stems and Class III nominal themes of more than two syllables. It has the following allomorphs: after ||mi-|| 'what?'<sup>332</sup> it is ||-ni-||; after {ʔi-} 'that' it is ||-n·i-|| before the locative and before

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

When the vowel of the stem is /y/, the suffix is ||-·y-||; elsewhere ||-·u-||. It will be noted that this is the reverse of the pattern indicated by the morphophoneme ||Y|| (see section 175). The combination is fully productive, and has been found followed by the past-tense suffix {-h·Y-}. Nouns ending in it are members of Class III. The second member is related to the agentive suffix ||-ma-|| (see section 727); the first is unknown elsewhere. The meaning of the combination is past participial or predicative: 'it is (broken, cracked, cut, etc.).'

The stem usually refers to some damaging or destructive action. Examples:

koṭ-·u-maH- 'broken,' cf. koṭ- 'to break (trans.)'

koṭ-·u-maH-h·Y-? /koṭ·umah·y?/ 'old broken thing'

koṭ-·u-maH-ni-? /koṭ·uma·ni?/ 'you're broke (out of funds)'

tyṭ-·y-maH- 'one-legged,' cf. tyṭ- 'to cut off; to amputate'

tyṭ-·y-maH-te-? /tyṭ·yma·te?/ 'I'm one-legged'

ʔaṭ-·u-maH- 'split,' cf. ʔaṭ- 'to split (trans.)'

teṭ-·u-maH- 'a wound,' cf. teṭ- 'to cut'

ʔam-·u-maH- 'a raw place,' cf. ʔam·u- 'to hurt, wound, injure'

766. ||-HmetiH-||, plural. This suffix follows a Class III nominal stem or a Stem 3 (where necessary, the C<sub>3</sub> position is filled by a vowel). Nouns ending in this suffix are likewise members of Class III.

It is usually found followed by the past-tense suffix {-h·Y-}. It has a plural meaning: 'there are . . . s among them; the group includes some . . .'

It is fully productive. Examples:

ʔuc·um-HmetiH-? /ʔuc·um·eti?/ 'there are several flies in the

group,' cf. ʔuc·um- 'fly'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## NOMINAL SUFFIXES

found after a stem of the form  $C_1V_1C_2\cdot V_2C_3V_2-$ , which is related to a nominal theme referring to a body part; where necessary, the  $C_3$  is filled by /ʔ/. Themes of this structure have the meaning 'a big . . . .' The suffix is also found following a nominal theme referring to an animal, or a stem which is not recorded elsewhere. In the instances, where the stem is recorded elsewhere it has exactly the same meaning as when followed by  $\parallel$ -Hna- $\parallel$ ; the only possible explanation for this suffix under these circumstances is perhaps something in the order of 'cute little.' It does not appear to be productive in either direction. It has been found followed by the diminutive suffix  $\parallel$ -tki- $\parallel$ . Examples:

- ʔol·oko-Hna- 'animal with big ears; jackrabbit,' cf. ʔolkoh- 'ear'
- hyn·yty-Hna- 'animal with big eyes,' cf. hynty- 'eye'
- niʔ·oʔo-Hna- 'animal with a big nose,' cf. niʔoH- 'nose'
- ʔultak-Hna- 'measuring worm,' cf. ʔultak- 'measuring worm'
- ʔacu·cu-Hna- 'rock wren,' cf. ʔacu·cu·cu- 'rock wren'
- my·hy-Hna- 'porcupine'
- pus·iʔ-Hna- 'mouse'
- pus·iʔ-Hna-tki-ʔ /pus·iʔnatkiʔ/ 'little mouse'
- waʔak-Hna- 'frog'

68. {-HwyjeH-}. This suffix follows a Class III nominal theme, and themes ending in this suffix are likewise members of Class III. It has the following allomorphs: after a theme ending in the plural suffix  $\parallel$ -a- $\parallel$  (see section 719) it is  $\parallel$ -ʔwyjeH- $\parallel$ ; elsewhere, it is  $\parallel$ -HwyjeH- $\parallel$ . It has also been found followed by the past-tense suffix {-h·Y-}. Themes



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

stems recorded in other environments; some appear to be onomatopoeic. The pattern is not productive. Examples:

lanlan- 'goose'

laʔlaʔ- 'goose'

pakpak- 'a large woodpecker'

waʔwaʔ- 'duck'

wekwek- 'a raptorial bird (species unidentified)'

770.  $\|C_1V_1C_2\cdot V_2C_3V_2-\|$ : numerous stems of this structure are recorded in Class III. Some of these bear no clear relationship to any recorded stem; a few show a similarity to a nominal theme or to a verb stem but in some cases have a different  $C_3$ , or have a  $C_3$  where none is present in other environments. In some such stems,  $V_1$  and  $V_2$  are identical, as are  $C_2$  and  $C_3$ . Themes of this structure frequently correspond to English adjectives: they refer to a quality or characteristic, usually one which is visible or tangible. Examples:

hul·uwu- 'the hungry one,' cf. hulw- 'to be hungry, to starve'

jot·oko- 'dirty ones,' cf. jo·tok- 'dirty'

lew·ehe- 'heavy,' cf. lew·ap- 'thick'

jut·ata- 'sticky,' cf. jut·a- 'to glue, to stick'

ʔoʔ·ono- 'short,' cf. ʔoʔ·ʔ- 'to seat (trans.)'

ʔyh·yty- 'bad'

hiš·aša- 'rigid'

771. A number of Class III nominal themes show possible evidence of prefixed reduplication, of the form  $C_1V_1C_2-$ . In most cases, they cannot be related to any other known stem. Such themes, for the most part, refer to plants or animals. The pattern is not productive.

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### POSTFIXES

#### 800. INTRODUCTION

Postfixes are a prominent feature of Southern Sierra conversational language. Although all but a few are uncommon in narrative texts except for certain technical terms. They follow the final suffixes. They are classed as affixes for the following reasons: (1) they do not meet the phonological criteria for independent words; (2) they cannot be elicited in isolation; (3) no utterance can commence with a member of this class; and (4) members of this class are not followed by any of the final suffixes. In some cases, postfixes appear to be in immediate constituency with more than the final suffixes they follow. They are thus of the nature of post-suffixes. A form may be followed by more than one postfix. In this case, postfixes occur in a definite sequence; certain postfixes always follow others, and never precede them. At least five sequential positions are recognized. It is most convenient to number these positions from the end of the word. Position 1 postfixes are never followed by any other postfix. Position 2 postfixes are sometimes followed by Position 1 postfixes. Position 3, by Positions 1 and/or 2; Position 4, by Positions 1, 2, and/or 3; and Position 5, by Positions 1, 2, 3, and/or 4. No postfix is ever found following one of the same or a lower numbered position. If a postfix is a member of Position 4, for instance, it is never found following a member of Position 2 or 3, nor does it follow other Position 4 postfixes. Members of the same position have not been found in the same

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

mi-taH-n-hi· 'when will it be?,' cf. mi-taH-n 'when?'

myl'i?-iH-?-hi· 'is he a singer?,' cf. myl'i?-iH-? 'he habitually  
sings'

tin·y-j-hi· 'what is (he saying, etc.)?,' cf. tin·y-j 'something  
(accusative case)'

802. ||-ho?|| 'and' follows nouns or verbs. It is a member of Position 2; it has been found followed by members of Position 1 and preceded by members of Positions 3, 4, and 5. Its meaning is 'and,' and is found both in conversation and in narrative texts. Examples: neH-t-ø-ho? ?i-ni-t-ø-ho? 'here and there,' cf. neH-t-ø 'here' and ?i-ni-t-ø 'there' (allative case)

ɬama-?-ho? 'sourberries also,' cf. ɬama-? 'sourberry, saltberry'

?enh-ŋHe-ø--ho? 'and it is made,' cf. ?enh-ŋHe-ø-- 'it is made'

?oh·a-ŋ-lek-ho? 'but also for girls,' cf. ?oh·a-ŋ 'woman (genitive case)'

803. ||-ja·|| has usually been found following nouns, but it has also been observed after an imperative verb. Only ||-ʔok|| has been found preceding ||-ja·||, which is therefore a member of Position 4 or 5. Its meaning is vague and interjectional in nature: one informant described it as follows: "It means like you would say 'sir'" (cf. "How's that, sir?"). It occurs primarily in conversation. Examples:

kac·-eH-?-ja· 'say this, then!,' cf. kac·-eH-? 'say this!'

we·l-ni-nti-?-ja· 'well, can I get it?,' cf. we·l-ni-nti-? 'can I get it?'

jal·al-nY-?Yh·Y-te-?-ja· 'I certainly yelled, sir!,' cf.

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## POSTFIXES

306. **||-le·||** follows nouns, verbs, and particles. It is a member of Position 3, being followed by members of Position 2 and preceded by those of Position 5. Its meaning is interjectional and hard to define. Sometimes corresponds to 'well' or 'then.' It occurs frequently in conversation, but in narrative text it is found only in quoted speech. Examples:

- tin·y-?-le· 'well, what is it?' cf. tin·y-? 'something, what?'  
 ?i-taH-n-?ok-le· 'at that time, then,' cf. ?i-taH-n-?ok 'at that time'  
 ?enh-ŋHe-∅-·-le· 'it is being made, then,' cf. ?enh-ŋHe-∅-· 'it is being made'  
 cytyH-?-le· 'well, that's good,' cf. cytyH-? 'it is good'

307. **||-man||** follows nouns, verbs (particularly in the imperative) and particles. It is a member of Position 4, being followed by members of Positions 2 and 3. Its meaning is hortative: 'you had better . . . , be sure to . . . .' It is often in immediate constituency with the verb phrase as a whole rather than with the form which it immediately follows. Examples:

- sy·k-eH-·-man 'be sure to write to me!,' cf. sy·k-eH-· 'write to me'  
 ken-man-lek-ho? 'and don't ever . . . ,' cf. ken 'no; not; don't do that'  
 ken-man ?eta·l-eH-? 'you'd better not go back!,' cf. ken ?eta·l  
 'don't go back!'

308. **||-pan||** follows nouns, verbs, and particles. It is a member of Position 4, being followed by members of Positions 1, 2, and 3, and preceded by those of Position 5. Its meaning is difficult to determine. It may be affirmative or confirmative, or it may mean something like

[\[view image\]](#)

---



### THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

810. ||-ʔaʔ|| follows nouns, verbs (especially in the imperative) and particles. It is a member of Position 4, being followed by members of Position 3 and preceded by those of Position 5. Its meaning is negating or emphatic. It is frequent in conversation; in narrative texts it is found in quoted speech. Examples:

ken-ʔaʔ 'no sir!,' cf. ken 'no'

liwa-k-koX-ʔ-ʔaʔ 'you do the talking!,' cf. liwak-koX-ʔ 'talk'

koto·-no-n-ʔaʔ 'long, long ago,' cf. koto·-no-n 'long ago'

811. ||-ʔek|| follows present imperfect verbs only. It has not been found in combination with other postfixes. Its meaning is that of the past tense; sometimes it has the quality of an afterthought: 'I was fishing, etc.)—I mean he was.' It was very frequent in the speech of the informant (CB), rare in that of others. Examples:

ʔakp-∅-ma·-ʔek 'I was thirsty,' cf. ʔakp-∅-ma· 'I am thirsty'

hune·m-∅-p·u·-ʔek 'they were fishing,' cf. hune·m-∅-p·u· 'they are fishing'

hal-ki-∅-·-ʔek 'he was hunting,' cf. hal-ki-∅-· 'he is hunting'

ʔamʔy-j-nY-∅-·-ʔek 'he wanted to give it to him,' cf. ʔamʔy-j-nY-∅-· 'he wants to give it to him'

812. ||-ʔe·|| follows nouns, verbs, and particles. It is a member of Position 1, being preceded by members of Positions 2, 3, 4, and 5. Its meaning is interrogative; it calls for confirmation, corresponding to English phrases 'isn't it?' and 'isn't that true?' It is frequent in conversation but has not been found in narrative texts. It often appears to be in immediate constituency with the whole phrase. Examples:

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## POSTFIXES

4. ||-ʔi·|| follows nouns and particles. It is a member of Position 2, being followed by members of Positions 3 and 4. Its meaning is 'this one' or definite: 'this one.' It is more frequent in conversation than in narrative text. Examples:

neH-ʔ-ʔi· 'here it is; this one,' cf. neH-ʔ 'this one'

mi-n·i-ʔ-ʔi· 'where is this one?,' cf. mi-n·i-ʔ 'where?'

5. ||-ʔok|| follows nouns only, especially those containing the definite stems {ʔi-} and {neH-}. It is a member of Position 5, being followed by members of Positions 1, 2, 3, and 4. Its meaning is not known. {ʔi-} can serve as an independent pronoun without this suffix, as with it, although {ʔi-} as a pronoun stem is always followed by ||-ʔok|| frequent in both conversation and narrative text. Examples:

ʔiH-∅-ʔok 'that one; he,' cf. ʔi- 'that'

ʔi-taH-n-ʔok 'then'

ne-k·o-ʔ-ʔok 'these; cf. ne- 'this'

ʔi-pu·t-j-te-ʔ-ʔok 'I'll do that'

6. ||-ʔynyk|| follows nouns referring to location only. It has not been found in combination with other postfixes. Its meaning is 'from the direction of . . . .' It occurs both in conversation and in narratives. Examples:

li·leH-ʔ-ʔynyk 'from upwards,' cf. li·leH-ʔ 'up'

ʔe·ca-ʔ-ʔynyk 'from inside,' cf. ʔe·ca-ʔ 'inside'

hi·hy-m-∅-ʔynyk 'from the east,' cf. hi·hy-m-∅ 'in the east'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## CHAPTER NINE

### SYNTAX

#### 900. INTRODUCTION

In Southern Sierra Miwok, syntax depends heavily on the final suffixes. The sentence might be described as the syntactic "mortar" holding utterance together. The final suffixes tell who did what, when, where, to whom, how, what, and in what direction; they tell what properties appertain to the object, item, item, item, and to whom an item belongs.

In other languages with elaborate case systems, word order is of great significance in Southern Sierra Miwok. It matters little whether one says /naŋ·aʔ halki· hika·hyj/, /naŋ·aʔ hika·hyj halki·/, /hika·hyj halki·/, or /halki· naŋ·aʔ hika·hyj/; all mean 'the man is hunting the deer'. For example, the relationships between /naŋ·aʔ/ 'man, nominative case', /hika·hyj/ 'deer, accusative case' and /halki·/ 'he is hunting' are shown by the final suffixes ||-ʔ||, nominative case; ||-j||, accusative case; and ||-j||, third person singular Series 3 pronominal suffix. These relationships remain the same no matter what the order of the words. Only the order of the particles is word order of any importance, since particles do not have final suffixes. Even here, however, it is a matter of juxtaposition rather than of strict sequential order: particles are found next to the word with which they are in immediate constituency, sometimes preceding and sometimes following. Nothing intervenes between two immediately adjacent constituents if one is a particle, but the order of the two constituents is freely variable.

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## SYNTAX

substitute for each other without changing the nature of the structure. Members of different substitution classes do not.

911. The class of nominal expressions includes several different structures. Nominal expressions are composed of nouns, and examples of nominal form (see section 912), all nouns in any particular sentence are or are members of nominal expressions. Nouns and nominal expressions combine with each other in structures of increasing complexity, which are nonetheless members of the same substitution class. Any individual noun, therefore, may be a member of several nominal expressions at different levels of immediate constituency. Examples of this phenomenon will be given below.

A nominal expression may consist of:

One noun, with any case suffix. Examples:

||naŋ·aH-ʔ|| /naŋ·aʔ/ 'the man (nominative case)'

||cyl·a-Hs-∅|| /cyl·as/ 'with an awl (instrumental case)'

||kan·-ŋ|| /kan·yŋ/ 'my (genitive case)'

Two or more nouns with the same case suffix. Such nouns are in immediate constituency with each other. Besides agreeing with each other as to case suffix, nouns in immediate constituency agree in number. If one of them is an independent pronoun, the other(s) always contain the corresponding Series 2 pronominal suffix; nouns other than independent pronouns contain the same Series 2 pronominal suffix when in immediate constituency with each other. Likewise, if one member of a nominal expression of this type contains a diminutive, augmentative, or plural suffix, some or all other members of the same expression often contain the same suffix. This is not a rule, however, and there are many examples of nominal expressions in which the members do not agree in this way.



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

the genitive form is a pronoun, the Series 1 pronominal suffix must correspond in person and number; if the genitive form is not a pronoun, it contains the Series 2 pronominal suffix corresponding to the Series 1 suffix in question. The case of a possessive expression is that of the nominal containing a Series 1 pronominal suffix. Examples:

?ajtuH-me-ŋ han·a-?-mah·i· /?ajtu·meŋ han·a?mah·i·/ 'the head of all of us'

kan·-ŋ cyl·a-nti-Hs-∅ /kan·yŋ cyl·antis/ 'with my awl (instrumental case)'

?okaHh-ŋ ?i·h-ŋ-?ok ʔama-ŋ la·ma-?-hY· /?oka·hyŋ ?i·hyŋ?ok ʔamaŋ la·ma?hy·/ 'that same sourberry's bush'

A possessive expression and another nominal expression with the same case suffix, with which the possessive expression is in immediate constituency. Example:

?okaHh-ŋ ?i·h-ŋ-?ok ʔama-ŋ la·ma-?-hY· . . . cytyH-?-le· /?ok ?i·hyŋ?ok ʔamaŋ la·ma?hy· . . . cyty?le·/ 'that same sourberry bush . . . is good'

Where two or more members of a nominal expression are in the same case, there is no way in which head and attribute(s) can be distinguished on the basis of form or distribution. Within the limits of meaning, the members of a nominal expression in the same case substitute for each other. Therefore, where the case is the same, they can substitute for each other.

For example, /naŋ·a? cyty?/ 'the good man; the man is good' is a

nominal expression, consisting of two nouns, ||naŋ·aH-?|| 'man' and ||cyty?|| 'good; goodness; the good one' both in the nominative case. One

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## SYNTAX

possessive expressions, the form containing a Series 1 pronoun may be described as the head of the expression, since it can substitute for the whole expression. The form(s) bearing the genitive can be regarded as attribute(s). For example, in the possessive expression /cukuŋ hu·kiʔhy/ 'the dog's tail,' ||hu·ki-ʔ-hY·|| 'his tail' can substitute for the whole expression; ||cukuH-ŋ|| 'the dog's' cannot. Nouns in the temporal case do not necessarily show agreement with nouns or nominal expressions with which they are in immediate constituency. Where a nominal expression contains one or more nouns in the temporal case, the case of the expression as a whole is that of the members which are not in the temporal case, whether the temporal member serves as head or attribute. For example, the accusative case of its uses implies 'during; all through; for the duration of'; and nominal expressions exist where all members have this case suffix meaning, such as ||ʔajtuH-j hiʔe·ma-j|| /ʔajtuj hiʔe·maj/ 'all day long'; however, there are comparable expressions where one member has the accusative suffix while the other has the temporal case, such as ||ʔajtuH-n|| /ʔajtuj hoje·non/ 'all the next day! In these instances, the member with the temporal case may be described as the head of the expression, since it can substitute for the whole expression; but the expression as a whole can be said to be in the accusative case, since it is structurally equivalent to expressions where all members are in the accusative case.

In a similar fashion, a noun in the temporal case may be in immediate constituency with a nominal expression in the nominative case, as

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

le, in the expression /tin·y? ?i·hyŋ?ok ?oja·he?hy· tuhuh·iq/ 'wh  
 black one's name?', ||?i·h-ŋ-?ok|| 'his, that one's' and ||tuhuh-  
 black one's' are the immediate constituents of a nominal expr  
 he genitive case, which in turn is in immediate constituency wi  
 ||a·he-?-hY·|| 'his name,' forming a possessive expression in the  
 ve case. This, in its turn, is in immediate constituency with ||  
 something, what?', which is also in the nominative case. The who  
 utes a nominal expression in the nominative case.

912. Verbals differ from nominal expressions in that they are  
 and in associations with a group of attributive nominal expressio  
 ch may be in several different cases. This cluster of nominal  
 s refers to the subject, object, instrument, location, direction,  
 e of the action or state represented by the verbal, according to  
 anings of the various case suffixes (see sections 321-329). Exc  
 ed in connection with possessive expressions and the temporal  
 e section 911), nominal expressions occur only (1) in immediat  
 uency with other nouns or nominal expressions in the same ca  
 as attributes to a verbal. They are never found with an attrib  
 ster of nominal expressions in a variety of cases.

A verbal alone, or a verbal with its associated cluster of attri  
 ninal expressions, constitutes a **VERBAL EXPRESSION**. Verbal  
 e, are members of the same substitution class as the verbal e  
 ns of which they may be members. It is, however, convenient  
 eparate term for verbals, since they serve as heads and must  
 gished from their attributive nominal expressions. They cannot  
 of them are morphologically no

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## SYNTAX

Verbals and verbal expressions are PRIMARY or SECONDARY. Primary verbals are present imperfect or present perfect verbal themes followed by Series 3 pronominal suffixes; present imperfect verbal themes followed by the allative case; imperative verbal themes followed by Series 4 pronominal suffixes or the genitive case; or nominal forms in the nominative case. Secondary verbals are imperative verbal themes followed by the allative case; imperfect or imperative verbal themes followed by the allative case and Series 1 pronominal suffixes; or nominal forms in the accusative case other than the nominative. Secondary verbals and verbal expressions are attributive to primary verbals or verbal expressions.

For example, in the utterance /ne<sup>?</sup>·ok kiwsa<sup>?</sup> hyj<sup>?</sup>yksyt <sup>?</sup>yw<sup>?</sup>yny/ 'this crane knew what he (Coyote) wanted to eat,' /ne<sup>?</sup>·ok kiwsa<sup>?</sup> hyj<sup>?</sup>yksyt <sup>?</sup>yw<sup>?</sup>yny/ is a primary verbal expression, composed of a verbal, ||hyj<sup>?</sup>y-ksY-<sup>?</sup>|| 'knew' and a nominal expression in the nominative case, /ne<sup>?</sup>·ok kiwsa<sup>?</sup>/ 'this crane,' composed of ||ne-<sup>?</sup>-<sup>?</sup>ok|| 'this' and ||kiwsa-<sup>?</sup>|| 'crane'; ||<sup>?</sup>yw<sup>?</sup>y-j-nY-<sup>?</sup>a-j-hy·|| 'what he wanted to eat (accusative case)'. The secondary verbal, attributive to ||hyj<sup>?</sup>y-ksY-<sup>?</sup>|| 'he knew.' is /kan·i<sup>?</sup>panlek, nej<sup>?</sup>ok tawa·hal<sup>?</sup>yni·te<sup>?</sup>, halpyksyt <sup>?</sup>yj/ 'but as for me, this is my job, watching the water,' ||tawa·hal<sup>?</sup>yni·te-<sup>?</sup>|| 'I have a job' is a primary verbal, which together with the nominal expressions ||kan·i-<sup>?</sup>-pan-lek|| 'but as for me (nominative case)' and ||ne-j-<sup>?</sup>ok|| 'this (accusative case)' forms a primary verbal expression. The remainder of the utterance, /halpyksyt<sup>?</sup>anti· kik·yj/ 'watching the water,' is a secondary verbal expression attributive to the above primary verbal, composed of the secondary verbal ||halp-ksY-<sup>?</sup>a-nti-j|| 'my watching (accusative case)' and its nominal attributive ||kik·y-j-|| 'water (accusative case)'.  
SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

Since particles do not have final suffixes, their relationship to other words is not indicated by agreement. Instead, it is shown by position. Particles are found immediately following or preceding the word or expression with which they are in immediate constituency.

Since a particle does not affect the substitution class of the expression of which it is a member, a verbal or nominal expression may begin or end with a particle. Another particle, in immediate constituency with the whole expression, may then precede or follow. Sequences of three particles may thus occur; each is in immediate constituency with the preceding or following verbal expression, whether or not the verbal expression contains a particle. Examples:

The utterance /manaj hane· halap·eme?/ 'we found somebody' consists of a verbal, ||halap·e-me-?|| 'we found him,' preceded by a nominal expression in the accusative case, /manaj hane·/ 'somebody or other' consisting of a noun, ||manaX-j|| 'somebody (accusative case)' and a particle, ||hane·|| 'maybe.'

The utterance /hel·i? ?i·?okpan cyty? ho?·aj/ 'those mushrooms are good too' is a nominal expression, consisting of a particle, ||ho?·aj|| 'too,' in immediate constituency with a nominal expression consisting of the nouns in the nominative case, ||hel·i-?|| 'a species of mushroom,' ||I-?ok-pan|| 'that one,' and ||cytyH-?|| 'good!'

The utterance /ken hane· mana?/ 'maybe nobody,' a nominal expression in the nominative case, consists of a particle, ||ken|| 'no, not,' in immediate constituency with a nominal expression, /hane· mana?/ 'nobody,' consisting of a particle, ||hane·|| 'maybe' in immediate constituency with a noun, ||manaX-?|| 'somebody who? (nominative case)

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## SYNTAX

'd' is composed of three nouns in the nominative case: ||ʔiH-ϕ-ʔ|| 'that one,' ||cytyH-ʔ|| 'good,' and ||naŋ·aH-ʔ|| 'man.' Any one may be omitted, and the structure remains a member of the same substitution class; and all the members of the expression are members of the substitution class as the whole expression. There are, therefore, no formal grounds for cutting off one of the three and saying that it is in immediate constituency with the other two. The three nouns must be treated as fully coördinate with each other, and both cuts must be made at the same time.

In verbal expressions, the situation is a little different. A verbal expression contains a head—the verbal—and one or more attributes, and one or more nominal expressions in various cases. Each nominal expression is in immediate constituency with the head, and with the head alone, and has no reference to other nominal expressions. Any particular nominal expression may be omitted without changing the substitution class of the verbal expression. Since all the nominal expressions are attributes of the same head, all the cuts between the attributes and the head must be made at the same time. For example, in the utterance /hojeʔ hojaʔok cin·ipitki·, cyl·as/ 'next you start on a small one, with an awl' the head is the verb ||hoja·-pa-ϕ-sY·|| 'you commence.' It has three substitutive nominal expressions: ||hojeH-ʔ|| 'next (nominative case)'; ||cin·ipitki·/|| 'that small one (accusative case),' composed of two accusatives, ||ʔiH-j-ʔok|| 'that one' and ||cin·ipi-tki-j|| 'a small one (directional case)'; and ||cyl·a-Hs-ϕ|| 'with an awl (instrumental case).' All of the nominal expressions are in immediate constituency with the same head.

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

e case).! The two nominal expressions, ||neH-m·-?-?ok|| 'from  
 ||kot-taH-n|| 'far off' could apply to either verbal, or both.

### 930. SENTENCE TYPES

preceding sections, the syntactic units of Southern Sierra Miwok  
 n described. These units combine in various ways in different  
 sentence, or speech segments, which at least sometimes stand  
 complete utterances. Southern Sierra sentence types include th  
 ing:

Certain particles in isolation:

/hy·?y·/ 'yes'

/ken/ 'no'

/jej/ 'hey!'

A nominative expression, in any case:

/?ypy·/ 'Father!' (vocative case)

/naŋ·a? cyty?/ 'The man is good' (nominative case)

/?is?ok cyl·as/ 'With this awl' (instrumental case)

/lu·ti· hi?e·maj/ 'Another whole day' (accusative case)

A nominative expression with one or more particles:

/?i·?ok hane·/ 'That must be it'

/hy·?y· tama?ho? ?i·?ok/ 'Yes, those sourberries'

/ken ~~naŋ·a?~~ <sup>SIGNS AND SYMBOLS</sup> / 'Nobody's'

/?iw·inlek ken sikej/ 'But not very much now'

[\[view image\]](#)

---

## SYNTAX

A primary verbal expression with one or more secondary verbal expressions:

/ʔitanʔok hojeʔ, keŋo·tuʔuh·uko· lep·athoj/ 'Then next they worked together to gather it up, being finished'

/ʔespaniniʔkan, miʔlek sikej cin·ipic·yniʔ, ʔeh·yhniʔ sikej ʔi·ʔok ʔipuksuʔajny·ʔok, lotuksuʔajny· ʔi·ʔok hawaj/ 'I can help you because you are very small, you are very light to be doing that, to be holding on to that rock'

/ken hane· ʔyl·yma·meti· lakhyjik·ynintiʔ kan·yŋ nymih mi·nyŋ lakhyʔajny·/ 'Perhaps I cannot go through the holes the way you can'

/halpyksymah·i· tin·yŋ ʔyh·yʔym·aŋ hy·jaʔajhy·/ 'We are watching for something bad to arrive'

Two or more primary verbal expressions, with or without secondary verbal expressions, in coördinate constructions:

/ʔita·nonʔok cytyʔ pe·wisaʔ ʔic·yt, wil·atmeti· ʔic·yʔyh·yko·/ 'When it was long ago it meant good roots, they chose long ones'

/ʔini·lek ʔyw·yma· ʔokahputeʔ, ken hyjaʔnyma· ken tin·yjʔic micyknaʔat·ejhy·/ 'But I'm going to eat that one just the same because I don't care what he does to me'

/lu·tiʔ ʔojiswi·jy·, lu·tiʔ ʔoʔikwi·jy·/ 'Some quarter it, some quarter it in two'

[\[view image\]](#)

---



# TEXTS

---



## 1. Collecting Basketry Materials

(Conversation between Rose Watt and Lizzie Graham)

W: (1) neʔok koto·nonʔič, micyknaʔah·yʔhy· miw·yŋ, nejʔok, wy  
isaj waca· ʔip·uʔeʔok, hyjʔyksysy·.

G: (2) hy·ʔy·, hyjʔyksyma·. (3) sypes ʔol·uʔuh·uko· tol·et pat·y  
nicyh·eʔle· patwyʔyh·yko·, ʔitanʔok ceci·wyʔyh·yko·, ʔoš·aʔyh·yk  
isaj.

W: (5) ʔisʔok sypes.

G: (6) ʔisʔok sypes.

W: (7) wim·yʔyh·yko· tol·ej.

G: (8) wim·yʔyh·yko· tol·ej.

W: (9) micyʔmeʔle· ʔic·yt pe·wisaʔ, wil·atmetiʔ, cytyʔ ʔic·yt,  
nonʔok.

G: (10) ʔita·nonʔok cytyʔ pe·wisaʔ ʔic·yt, wil·atmeti· ʔic·yʔyh·y  
posos·iʔ sikej ʔic·yt ʔe·caʔ.

W: (12) ʔitanʔok ʔi·ʔok hojeʔ, pe·wisaj wyntythoj, micyknaʔyh·y  
hyʔlaʔyh·yko·.

G: (14) hyʔlaʔyh·yko·; ʔol·uthojʔat, wykst ʔi·ʔok syfej ʔic·yhak  
hut ʔitʔok ʔitanʔok hyʔyʔyh·yko·.

W: (15) ʔitanʔok hojeʔ, keŋo·tuʔuh·uko· lep·athoj.

G: (16) keŋo·tuʔuh·uko· hojeʔ, lu·ti·hoʔ ʔol·ujuk·uthoj. (17) huʔ  
ok, pe·wisaj, ty·jyʔyh·yko·.

W: (18) hojeʔ ʔi·ʔok ʔyʔy·syʔ.

G: (19) ʔutuyʔ hojeʔ

[\[view image\]](#)

---

1. Collecting Basketry Materials  
(Conversation between Rose Watt and Lizzie Graham)

RW: (1) Long ago, how did the Indians gather roots? Do you know what they did?

LG: (2) Yes, I know. (3) They would dig in the hard ground with a digging stick. (4) It was difficult, but they did it, they kept at it and got the roots out.

RW: (5) With a digging stick.

LG: (6) With a digging stick.

RW: (7) They dug the ground.

LG: (8) They dug the ground.

RW: (9) What kind of roots would that be? They chose good long ones, long ago.

LG: (10) Long ago they chose good roots, they chose long ones. (11) They would be very white inside.

RW: (12) Then next, gathering roots—how did they do it? (13) They would break them off.

LG: (14) They would break them off; they would dig them out, following them with the digging stick, then they would stop there and break them off.

RW: (15) Then next they would gather them together when they were finished.

LG: (16) They would gather them together, and go to dig out another one. (17) They would gather up the roots and tie them up.

RW: (18) Then there would be a lot.

LG: (19) There would be a lot.

RW: (20) Maybe it would take a little while.

LG: (21) It would take quite a while for there to be many; in this way, they prepared long ones.

RW: (22) Then next, when they were finished, they would eat lunch.

LG: (23) They'd eat their lunch, when they got hungry.

RW: (24) And they would do the same thing after lunch, next.

LG: (25) After lunch, they'd do it fast, right away, because they would walk a long way going home.

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

RW: (26) ?itan?ok hoje?, ?eta·ly?yh·yko· lep·athoj.

LG: (27) hy·?y·.

RW: (28) hoje?, micykna?yh·yko· ?em·aṭyj, pe·wisaj. (29) ?enhyje?, pulak·aj.

LG: (30) hoje? hyh·ys ?is?ok ʔo·lu?uh·uko·; pe·wisaj ʔo·lu?uh·uh·wy·lyj. (31) ?ajtu? hoje·non wi·hyŋ·et. (32) pasas·i?. nykha?, luk·a?. (33) hyh·ys, nepu·tu?uh·uko·.

RW: (34) hy·?y·.

LG: (35) ly·ty?yh·yko·.

RW: (36) ?itan?ok hoje?, ?i·?ok micykna?yh·yko·. (37) hoje? .

LG: (38) hewe·na· hoje?.

RW: (39) hoje? hewe·nat.

LG: (40) hewe·nat hoje?, ?itan?ok hoje?, ?yh·a· hewŋe?hy·; kepe·maj ?uc·ut, hew·e?ko· ?itan?ok, hoje·non; ʔoki·ly?yh·yko·.

RW: (41) ?itan?ok ?i·?ok hoje?, ?enhyjko· ?enhyjmynit.

LG: (42) ?yh·a· hoje? ?i·?ok.

RW: (43) lu·tij hi?e·maj ho?.

LG: (44) lu·tij hi?e·maj.

RW: (45) hoje?·ic micyknaŋ·e· ne?·ok, pe·wisa?, ?ojiswi·jyŋ·e·, nhyjnythoj hoje?.

LG: (46) lu·ti? ?ojiswi·jy·, lu·ti? ?oṭikwi·jy·. (47) pulak·aj ?ojnhyhak. (48) kan·i?lek tolok·uj·uma· pulak·aj ?enhythoj cin·itiṭi·e·y·ma·.

RW: (49) ?itan?ok hoje?, na?·a? ?enhymehny·.

LG: (50) ?itan?ok ?i·?ok, na?·a? wyḳsy·.

RW: (51) hoje? heute? heute? heute? heute? heute? heute? heute? heute? heute?

[\[view image\]](#)

---

RW: (26) Then next, they'd go home, having finished.

LG: (27) Yes.

RW: (28) Next, what would they do with those roots, (29) to make a cooking-basket?

LG: (30) Next, they would skin the roots with a stick, they would skin them at night. (31) All next day they would dry in the sun. (32) White (outside?), when it was skinned. (33) They would do that with a stick.

RW: (34) Yes.

LG: (35) They would pull it across a stick.

RW: (36) Then next, what did they do? (37) Next .

LG: (38) Then they dry it.

RW: (39) Then they dry it.

LG: (40) After they dry it, next, after a while it gets dry; after it sat for a day, then it's dry, the next day they would coil it up.

RW: (41) Then, next, they fix it so they can make it.

LG: (42) A bit later.

RW: (43) Another day.

LG: (44) Another day.

RW: (45) Next, what is done here, the roots, they get quartered in being prepared.

LG: (46) Some quarter them, some split them in two (47) to make bigger baskets. (48) I split them in three to make small baskets, I do.

RW: (49) Then it turns out just right.

LG: (50) That's it, they go evenly.

RW: (51) Next you start out small, with an awl.

LG: (52) It's started, small, with an awl.

RW: (53) You're weaving.

LG: (54) I'm weaving.

RW: (55) Next, every day it will grow.

LG: (56) In a day, one round; I go around once.

RW: (57) The next day.

LG: (58) The next day again.

RW: (59) Until it gets big.

LG: (60) Until it gets big. (61) I've got to pull it; (62) my roots I have to pull, everything, my fern I have to pull. (63) Sometimes my bone awl gets broken.

RW: (64) Then, there's our bunch-grass, it's not . . .

LG: (65) That too, bunch-grass.

RW: (66) That gets prepared too.

LG: (67) It's scraped on a stick (to make it smooth).





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

RW: (68) ?i·?ok ?ajtu? hoje? ?enhyŋ·e· ?i·?ok pulak·aj ?enhyji?.

LG: (69) ?i·?ok pulak·aj ?enhy· hu·lupsu?.

RW: (70) hoje? micyknaji?le·, tel·aŋ·e·panho?·e· monacna·.

LG: (71) tel·ama· net na·ka?hy·, tel·a· hejimto? wal·im?ynyk te

RW: (72) tuhuh·is.

LG: (73) tuhuh·is.

RW: (74) tin·y?ic ?i·hyŋ?ok ?oja·he?hy· tuhuh·iŋ.

LG: (75) lyn·a?.

RW: (76) lyn·a?.

LG: (77) hy·?y·. (78) lu·ti? jococ·is na?·yjny· pa?is.

RW: (79) nahmatki? hoje?, lep·aji? ?i·?ok pulak·aj.

LG: (80) ?yha·.

RW: (81) hoje?, micyknaji? ?i·?ok hoje? lep·akot, tonajhy· nej?

LG: (82) tuknuji? ko·tu· hu·lupuj.

RW: (83) lutisho?.

LG: (84) ko·tu· hu·lupuj ?itan?ok hoje?, hoje? lep·athoj toko·?ut  
nu·ho?, lil·em·yt·yj hoje?.

RW: (85) ?okas pe·wisas?e·.

LG: (86) ?okas pe·wisas.

[\[view image\]](#)

---

RW: (68) All that is prepared to make a basket.

LG: (69) That basket she makes with bunch-grass.

RW: (70) Then what will she do, designs will have to be put on, won't they, to make it pretty.

LG: (71) I put designs thus far from the edge, other people put designs from the bottom.

RW: (72) With black.

LG: (73) With black.

RW: (74) What's that black one's name?

LG: (75) Maidenhair fern.

RW: (76) Maidenhair fern.

LG: (77) Yes. (78) Others use the red along with it.

RW: (79) Finally, she'll finish that basket.

LG: (80) Later.

RW: (81) Next, what will she do with the top, to finish it?

LG: (82) She'll sew it, when she breaks off the bunch-grass.

RW: (83) With another one.

LG: (84) She breaks the bunch-grass, then finishes it, really gets it done, and she sews it on top.

RW: (85) With that same root, isn't it.

LG: (86) With that same root.

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

RW: (68) ?i·?ok ?ajtu? hoje? ?enhyŋ·e· ?i·?ok pulak·aj ?enhyji?.

LG: (69) ?i·?ok pulak·aj ?enhy· hu·lupsu?.

RW: (70) hoje? micyknaji?le·, tel·aŋ·e·panho?·e· monacna·.

LG: (71) tel·ama· net na·ka?hy·, tel·a· hejimto? wal·im?ynyk te

RW: (72) tuhu·is.

LG: (73) tuhu·is.

RW: (74) tin·y?ic ?i·hyŋ?ok ?oja·he?hy· tuhu·iŋ.

LG: (75) lyn·a?.

RW: (76) lyn·a?.

LG: (77) hy·?y·. (78) lu·ti? jococ·is na?·yjny· pa?is.

RW: (79) nahmatki? hoje?, lep·aji? ?i·?ok pulak·aj.

LG: (80) ?yha·.

RW: (81) hoje?, micyknaji? ?i·?ok hoje? lep·akot, tonajhy· nej?

LG: (82) tuknuji? ko·tu· hu·lupuj.

RW: (83) lutisho?.

LG: (84) ko·tu· hu·lupuj ?itan?ok hoje?, hoje? lep·athoj toko·?ut  
nu·ho?, lil·em·yt·yj hoje?.

RW: (85) ?okas pe·wisas?e·.

LG: (86) ?okas pe·wisas.

[\[view image\]](#)

---

2. Gathering Wild Foods  
(Conversation between Rose Watt and Emma Lord)

RW: (1) How did they collect this, that the white people call mushroom? Do you know?

EL: (2) Yes, we used to eat it, we used to gather it, my boss and I, we used to gather it a long time ago, long ago, (3) three years passed; (4) that was tasty for us to eat, those on the ground that were for gathering this way, that little kind, little short small mushrooms, little bitty ones, we used to wash them and boil them.

RW: (5) Those fungi called /haha•ja?/, I guess. That was really tasty, it seems.

EL: (6) That was tasty.

RW: (7) And these that we used to call "little cry-babies."

EL: (8) Those "cry-babies" are different too, they taste good too.

RW: (9) What's that kind that comes out by the creek?

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

EL: }  
RW: } (10) lapna? kac·y?a?.

EL: (11) hy·?y·, lapna? cyty? sikej, hy·?y· ?ajtu·ko· nek·o?ok  
v·y?a?.

RW: (12) ne?le· ?em·at pasa·sit·i?, tin·yt·i?·ic put·us hane·.

EL: (13) put·us, ?i·?okho? put·us ha?titat·i?, ?i·?okho? sime·ŋa  
v·y?a? ?ajtu? tin·y?·im.

RW: (14) ne?ho? lemet?uca? tin·y?·ic was·a·metit, ?i·?ok?ic tin·  
a·he?hy·.

EL: (15) tin·y?·ic . . .

RW: (16) koto·nonle· wyn·ytah·yt·i? nymi·le·.

EL: (17) hel·it·i?, hel·i?.

RW: (18) ?i·?ok hane·.

EL: (19) hel·i? ?i·?okpan cyty? ho?·aj ?aʔal·eŋ kiwisny·, sim·eŋ  
ej ?yw·ypa? nyp·a·tis.

RW: (20) ?i·?ok koto·non ?yw·y·, ?yw·y?ah·y?.

EL: (21) miw·yŋ koto·non ?y·wyh·y?ko·.

RW: (22) ?iw·inlek ken sikej tin·y? ?ip·ute?·ok pa?is wyntyŋ·e·.

EL: (23) ?iw·inlek ken sikej ?ajtu? ?iwin·yme·meti? luti·ha·.

RW: (24) heŋu·luk·a·.

EL: (25) heŋu·luk·a· ?an·atŋeka·.

RW: (26) ?ajtu? ne?·ok ?yw·y?ah·yt·i? koto·non, ?emhej·at·iŋ wy  
is ?ajtu? ne?, ko·kocmeti?.

EL: (27) hy·?y·, ajtu? ne?·ok sime·ŋa? sikej, hupul·eŋ ?yw·y?·a  
uatis sim·eŋbi?

[\[view image\]](#)

---

EL: } (10) They call it /lap a?/.  
RW:

EL: (11) Yes, that fungus is very good, yes, all of them are edible.

RW: (12) And then what about the little white ones, what are they, /put•us/ maybe.

EL: (13) Those fungi are little round things, they're nice to eat too, all those things.

RW: (14) And this, it belongs in the mountains, what is it, in the Ponderosa pines, what is the name of that one?

EL: (15) What is it . . .

RW: (16) Long ago we used to gather it, it seems to me.

EL: (17) Little /hel•i?/ mushrooms.

RW: (18) Maybe that's it.

EL: (19) Those mushrooms are good too, cut up and boiled, very tasty, you eat them with acorn mush.

RW: (20) One ate that, long ago, one used to eat it.

EL: (21) It was the Indians' food, long ago.

RW: (22) Nowadays one doesn't do that very much, gather things.

EL: (23) Not very much now, the young people have changed.

RW: (24) It's been forgotten.

EL: (25) All forgotten, they got too lazy to bother.

RW: (26) We used to eat all these things, long ago; our old folks used to gather all this. Sour clover.

EL: (27) Yes, all this is very tasty, one rubbed it between one's hands and then ate it with acorn mush, it tastes good.

RW: (28) And all these sourberries.

EL: (29) Yes, sourberries too.

RW: (30) Seems like they aren't eaten any more.

EL: (31) Ha! They've got scared of the sourness of them.

RW: (32) They're really ripe now, aren't they, they make you want to pick them.

EL: (33) Very good, you pound them; hey, that really tastes good, (34) you make it juicy and drink it.

RW: (35) It's nice and sour.

EL: (36) Yes, it's a bit sour, it's good for the heart.

RW: (37) And then this, the bush of that same sourberry is also good for making cradle-baskets, isn't it.

EL: (38) That's very good for making cradles, you make the sunshade with that.

RW: (39) How is that done, gathering it, to begin with? Young [limbs] are picked.

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

EL: (40) ?iwin·yme? wyntyŋ·e· tin·ytpa? komet wyn·yt·a?ko· ?um  
y·jyka?hy·, tat·aŋhy·.

RW: (41) ?i·?ok hyje? micyknaŋ·e·, lu·tuŋ·e·.

EL: (42) hy·?y· lu·tuŋ·e· hopetkis cin·imitkis lu·tuŋ·e· ne?ok tin·y  
a?hy·, ?ic·yŋ·e·, hok·uŋ·e·, pasas·i?·eki? wyntyŋ·e· hoje?, tin·yt  
nat·i?hy·, ?i·?ok ?enhyŋ·e·, hik·i·, cokim·ej ?ajtuj, cokim·ejtaŋ  
ok.

RW: (43) hojaŋ·e· ?ojanmeti?hy· wyntyŋ·e·, nej ka·mat·i·hy·  
nyjnythoj?e· hik·i?.

EL: (44) hy·?y·, ?ek·i?ho? ?i·?ok, ?itan?okho? ?is·akho?, ne· ?e  
w·akat ?enhyŋ·e·ho? nes?ok tin·ys, tin·ys pulak·as ?enyh·as, pe  
n?okho? nejho?, nejho? lu·tu· tin·yj, tin·ycwi? ne? ne?, wil·ihyt

RW: (45) ne? keŋe·jak la·ma?, ?enyh·a?hy· koto·non miwtyj·aŋ.

EL: (46) hy·?y·.

RW: (47) ?itan?ok hoje?, ?itan?ok hoje? ?i·?ok ?enhyŋ·e· nej?ok  
nat·i?hy·, tew·yŋ·e· pa?is?e·.

EL: (48) ?is?ok tew·yŋ·e·.

RW: (49) ho·jaŋ·e·.

EL: (50) ?is?ok.

RW: (51) ?itan?ok hoje? ?i·?ok ?enyhlekpathoj wilatnathoj ?enhyŋ  
in·e?hy·təbpaŋ·e·.

EL: (52) luhpaŋ·e· ?i·?ok.

[\[view image\]](#)

---

- EL: (40) Young [limbs] are picked, I don't know what month they pick them, in the wintertime when there aren't any leaves.
- RW: (41) Then what is done next, it's peeled?
- EL: (42) Yes, it's peeled with a small knife, it's skinned, this thing-umibob; ts skin, that's what I mean, it comes off, just the white part is saved, the little ones, little tree shoots, that's made into the main part of the cradle, the shade part, everything; you make the sunshade with that.
- RW: (43) First the big ones are picked, to make this little bed, this cradle, isn't that right.
- EL: (44) Yes, it's all one size. And then, and this, it can be made if desired, and it can be made of this thingummy, whatever it is cooking—baskets are made of—of roots, and then, and this, and you skin the what's it, something or other, little white oak sprouts.
- RW: (45) That's another kind of tree, that the Indians used for making [baskets] long ago.
- EL: (46) Yes.
- RW: (47) And then, and then it is made into the little bed, it's twined, isn't it.
- EL: (48) It's twined with that.
- RW: (49) It's done first.
- EL: (50) With that.
- RW: (51) And then, they used to make it, lengthening it, making the sunshade last.
- EL: (52) It was made last.
- RW: (53) From its little foot.
- EL: (54) It's started from its little foot.
- RW: (55) Its shade is made.
- EL: (56) The shade, right here, its sunshade.
- RW: (57) Then it will be decorated, it will be made pretty.
- EL: (58) One will decorate it with that, with little things, with little pretty things, with little colored things, this something, with fine yarn.
- RW: (59) They are different, it seems like, for a little boy, the design for the sunshade, isn't it.
- EL: (60) Yes, there are several different kinds.
- RW: (61) But a different kind for girls.
- EL: (62) Yes, it's different too; that's how the makers do it.
- RW: (63) Now not at all any more, they don't do that, it isn't done that way for babies now, it seems like they quit using this cradle basket.
- EL: (64) Yes, everybody threw it away recently, maybe soon nobody will make them any more, it's forgotten.



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

RW: (65) neʔ·okhoʔ ʔokahpuʔeʔ pulak·aʔpan ʔenhyŋ·ehakʔe·, ʔi·  
okahpuksuŋ·e· tineʔ.

EL: (66) ʔi·ʔokhoʔ ʔewy·ja·nyjik·y· ken manaʔ, ʔyʔ·yʔ ʔenhy· ʔ  
puntiheʔ, heŋu·lap·u· ʔi·ʔok.

RW: (67) ʔi·panlek ʔit·es ʔen·yh·aʔ·e·, hu·lupsuʔ.

EL: (68) ne·panlek hu·lupsuʔ ʔenhy·, ʔowi·ly·, hu·lupsuʔ ʔowi·  
owi·ly· hojeʔlek, pe·wisas ʔisʔok tuknu· nymih, hylah·eŋ nesʔok  
ri·as.

RW: (69) cy·ly·.

EL: (70) cy·ly· ʔisʔokʔe· hika·hyŋ kyc·y·csyʔhy· sipetnakeŋ.

RW: (71) ʔi·ʔok cyl·aʔhy·.

EL: (72) ʔi·ʔok cyl·aʔhy·, ʔi·ʔok ʔawu·haʔhy·.

RW: (73) cin·ipitkiʔ hoja·paŋ·e·.

EL: (74) cin·imic·yʔ hoja·paŋ·e·, wykyspuʔ·u· wykyspuʔ·u wykys  
kej min·itʔim hejawŋeʔat·oʔnu·, mulhujuk·usu·.

RW: (75) ʔyh·a· sikej lep·aŋ·ejiʔ.

EL: (76) ʔyh·a· sikej.

RW: (77) kyt·ikeh·yŋ.

EL: (78) kyt·ikenŋ, mitokhoj hane· ʔan·ijoj, komej na·kythoj lep

[\[view image\]](#)

---

RW: (65) And it's the same thing with making cooking baskets, it's done the same way almost.

EL: (66) And that, it's disappearing, not very many make them now, the young girls have forgotten it.

RW: (67) That's what you make it with, isn't it, with bunch-grass.

EL: (68) One makes it with bunch-grass, you go around with bunchgrass, around and around, you sort of sew it with that root, first piercing it with this thingummy, with the awl.

RW: (69) You weave it.

EL: (70) You weave it with that, with a deer-bone, after you make it narrow.

RW: (71) That awl.

EL: (72) Her awl, that's her needle.

RW: (73) It's started very tiny.

EL: (74) It's started very small, you keep on going, going, going, until it's to where it's wanted, then you quit.

RW: (75) A very long time until it will be finished.

EL: (76) Very long.

RW: (77) After a long time?

EL: (78) After a long time, don't know how many years, taking a month to finish.

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

RW: (65) neʔ·okhoʔ ʔokahpuʔeʔ pulak·aʔpan ʔenhyŋ·ehakʔe·, ʔi·  
okahpuksuŋ·e· tineʔ.

EL: (66) ʔi·ʔokhoʔ ʔewy·ja·nyjik·y· ken manaʔ, ʔyʔ·yʔ ʔenhy· ʔ  
puntiheʔ, heŋu·lap·u· ʔi·ʔok.

RW: (67) ʔi·panlek ʔit·es ʔen·yh·aʔ·e·, hu·lupsuʔ.

EL: (68) ne·panlek hu·lupsuʔ ʔenhy·, ʔowi·ly·, hu·lupsuʔ ʔowi·  
owi·ly· hojeʔlek, pe·wisas ʔisʔok tuknu· nymih, hylah·eŋ nesʔok  
ri·as.

RW: (69) cy·ly·.

EL: (70) cy·ly· ʔisʔokʔe· hika·hyŋ kyc·y·csyʔhy· sipetnakeŋ.

RW: (71) ʔi·ʔok cyl·aʔhy·.

EL: (72) ʔi·ʔok cyl·aʔhy·, ʔi·ʔok ʔawu·haʔhy·.

RW: (73) cin·ipitkiʔ hoja·paŋ·e·.

EL: (74) cin·imic·yʔ hoja·paŋ·e·, wykyspuʔ·u· wykyspuʔ·u wykys  
kej min·itʔim hejawŋeʔat·oʔnu·, mulhujuk·usu·.

RW: (75) ʔyh·a· sikej lep·aŋ·ejiʔ.

EL: (76) ʔyh·a· sikej.

RW: (77) kyt·ikeh·yŋ.

EL: (78) kyt·ikenŋ, mitokhoj hane· ʔan·ijoj, komej na·kythoj lep



[\[view image\]](#)

---

3. Wild Foods

(Conversation between John Lawrence and Chris Brown)

JL: (1) Say that I'm eating angleworms with acorn mush, I'm eating angleworms with biscuits, say that.

CB: (2) You do the talking. Where can I get angleworms when I go fishing?

JL: (3) Right in front here, in the flat ground.

CB: (4) I want to get some angleworms.

JL: (5) I can eat angleworms with biscuits, you'd better say that.

CB: (6) I can eat angleworms with biscuits, sir. (7) Tell me if you ever ate any.

JL: (8) No.

CB: (9) When is it that edible cocoons will come out, sir?

JL: (10) What's that?

CB: (11) Cocoons.

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

JL: (12) ʔo·, luleʔ ʔew·aʔ nep·ute·nonʔokpan.

CB: (13) ʔiw·in lakhyp·u·ʔe·.

JL: (14) kenlek lakhyjko·.

CB: (15) wykys·eko·ʔe·.

JL: (16) ʔo·, koto·nonhi· ʔoʔ·ikym·aj lakhyp·u·le·.

CB: (17) miw·yʔ koto·non ʔyw·yʔih·yʔ ʔi·ʔok lu·lumetyj.

JL: (18) hy·ʔy·.

CB: (19) hoʔ·aj·y· nejʔok ʔaŋ·utujʔe·.

JL: (20) ʔi·, poso·luj.

CB: (21) hoʔ·aj·y· tin·y·meti·, ʔoko·metyj kac·yʔajko·.

JL: (22) ʔoko·metyj.

CB: (23) tinʔyj·ah·yj ʔyw·yʔah·yt·iʔja·.

JL: (24) tuku·li·.

CB: (25) tuku·liʔpanlek hiho·ta.

JL: (26) ʔi·lek ʔyw·yʔah·yt·iʔ ʔokahpuʔeʔ.

CB: (27) melŋajjlekʔe·.

JL: (28) melŋajj ny·maʔhi·.

CB: (29) ʔi·ʔokpan miw·yŋ ʔywʔyh·yʔhy·.

JL: (30) (uh-huh).

CB: (31) tos·ik·ah·yʔhy·, wel·yt . . .

JL: (32) ʔenpuʔuh·uko·.

CB: (33) ʔenpuʔuh·umeʔpan ʔesel·ynon koto·non tuj·ukuh·uŋ ʔic·a

JL: (laughter)

[\[view image\]](#)

---

- JL: (12) Oh, there aren't any of those cocoons around this time.  
CB: (13) Are they coming out now?  
JL: (14) No, they won't come out.  
CB: (15) They went, isn't that it.  
JL: (16) Oh, a long time ago they used to come out twice [a year].  
CB: (17) A long time ago the Indians used to eat those cocoons.  
JL: (18) Yes.  
CB: (19) And these grasshoppers, isn't that right.  
JL: (20) In a soup, those.  
CB: (21) And some things they call /?oko•met/.  
JL: (22) /?oko•met/.  
CB: (23) We used to eat any old thing, sir.  
JL: (24) Pandora moth caterpillars.  
CB: (25) But Pandora moth caterpillars are from higher up [in the mountains].  
JL: (26) We used to eat that just the same.  
CB: (27) Yellowjackets, too, isn't that right.  
JL: (28) Yellowjackets, I guess so.  
CB: (29) Those used to be the Indians' food, long ago.  
JL: (30) Uh-huh.  
CB: (31) They used to be smoked out, to get them . . .  
JL: (32) They used to chase them.  
CB: (33) We used to chase them when we were children, a long time ago, that's what the shaman [JL] means.  
JL: (laughter [at being called a shaman]).  
CB: (34) Hey, I, one time—(er, er)—I dug him up, he stung me all over. I yelled and yelled for sure.  
JL: (35) I yelled loud, say.  
CB: (36) Hey, I really hollered, sir.  
JL: (37) His feet were pretty hot, you would say.  
CB: (38) Yes.  
JL: } (laughter)  
CB:

\* \* \*

CB: (39) This is my older brother,<sup>1</sup> he came out from the east; we are people from the mountains, Yosemite Valley people. We are the only ones left alive, isn't that right, sir.

---

<sup>1</sup>Although John Lawrence and Chief Leeme may have been related, they were not literally brothers; this statement probably refers to membership in the same moiety. John Lawrence did not otherwise claim to belong to the Yosemite Valley band; even here, his agreement with Chief Leeme is a little reluctant.

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

JL: (40) ny·maʔhi·.

CB: (41) kenhoʔ manaʔ hojʔ·aj·y·.

JL: (42) ken.

CB: (43) ʔew·yt·e·.

JL: (44) (uh-huh).

CB: (45) ken hane·hoʔ manaŋ hoʔ·aj·y·, ʔiw·in naʔy·jynimeʔhy·ʔ.

JL: (46) ʔewy·jaʔ.

CB: (47) ʔoj·apoksuniʔhy· ʔip·uʔejʔok.

JL: (48) kentəʔ, ken manaŋ.

\* \* \*

CB: (49) ʔi·ʔok ʔaw·ithoj micyknaʔah·yci·.

JL: (50) (uh-huh), hy·ʔy·.

CB: (51) hejawŋep·u· ʔal·ymyksyʔajko· ʔohtaj·aj nejʔok ʔaw·iʔah  
w·yŋ.

JL: (52) ʔo·, tinʔyj·aj.

CB: (53) tinʔyj·a·meti· hane· mic·yʔah·yjko·.

JL: (54) cata·tymhiʔyh·yko·.

CB: (55) lok·amhiʔyh·yko· tin·ys nesʔok catat·as.

JL: (56) ʔajtus, cata·tyʔyh·yko·, tawi·lymhiʔyh·yko·, tinʔyj·aj ʔ  
wi·nyʔyh·yko·, koto·nonʔucaʔ ʔi·ʔok ʔohtaj·aŋ ʔi·ʔok ʔawin·eʔhy·.

CB: (57) ʔi·ʔok ʔawintejh·y· ʔohtaj·aŋ.

JL: (58) (uh-huh); hino·wymhiʔyh·yko· kawylŋeʔhy·.

CB: (59) ʔohtaj·aʔ ʔokahko·.

JL: (60) ʔokahko· ʔohtaj·aʔ, kan·yŋtəʔ hyje·nyntiʔ.

TEXTS

CB: (61) ʔajtu·meŋ hyje·nytiʔ.

[\[view image\]](#)

---

JL: (40) That's right.

CB: (41) There's nobody else.

JL: (42) No.

CB: (43) Nobody left.

JL: (44) (uh-huh).

CB: (45) Maybe there isn't anyone now who could keep up with us.

JL: (46) Nobody.

CB: (47) That can call himself that.

JL: (48) Surely not, nobody.

CB: (49) Playing that, what did we used to do?

JL: (50) (uh-huh), yes.

CB: (51) They want to listen to this one that the Indian women used to play.

JL: (52) Oh, those things.

CB: (53) How did they do those things?

JL: (54) They used to shake dice in their hands.

CB: (55) They used to shake them [in a box], these dice.

JL: (56) All of it, playing dice, playing football, all sorts of things they used to play. Long ago, that was what the women used to play.

CB: (57) The women used to play that.

JL: (58) (uh-huh); they used to play handgame at night.

CB: (59) Just the women.

JL: (60) Just the women, that's the way I saw it.

CB: (61) We've all seen that.

JL: (62) (uh-huh).

CB: (63) The women used to play this on something, too, on bone awls, isn't it.

JL: (64) They used to play that too, on those little awls or something, yes.

CB: (65) Yes, and this too, weaving.

JL: (66) They used to weave baskets.

CB: (67) That's it, sir, their baskets.

JL: (68) They used to make baskets.

CB: (69) Yes.

JL: (70) They used to do basketry, cooking baskets, carrying baskets, hey:

CB: (71) Hey, that's it, that what the Indians did, lots of them. Where are they now? There aren't any, they're all dead.

JL: (72) They're all gone that could do that kind of work.

CB: (73) They used to like this, cracking these, to eat this . . . that . . .

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- JL: (74) camtaj.  
CB: (75) camtajhy'.  
JL: (76) koc'aj.  
CB: (77) koc'a'meti'koj.  
JL: (78) tin'yj'aj hane', ?e'jej.  
CB: (79) hy'y'.  
JL: (80) ho'aj'y' ?ot'kipa?, t'ama'.  
CB: (81) t'ama? ho'aj'y'.  
JL: (82) ki'li'.  
CB: (83) ki'li'.  
JL: (84) jej, ci'ni'.  
CB: (85) ci'ni? ?iw'inpanlek ?ew'yt'e' ?i'ok min'it'o'.  
JL: (86) mamla'.  
CB: (87) mamla? kawi'ny' net'ok hu'je'.  
JL: (88) hy'y', ?i'meti' ?ajtuj ?yw'y'yh'yo koto'non miw'y'.  
CB: (89) ny'ma?hi' cytyj ?uc'u'uh'uko'.  
JL: (90) hak'ahi'.  
CB: (91) hak'ahi? hane', tin'y? hane' ?i'okja'.  
JL: (92) ne'ok ?ajihto? take'mat, pasas'i' lo'jema'y'ni'.  
CB: (93) ?i'oktat' hak'ahi'.  
JL: (94) hy'y'.  
CB: (95) kan'i? ?i'ok tin'yj'a'meti'koj nej'ok he'gu'luma'.  
JL: (96) hy'y', nej'ok hyj'yksy'anti? kan'y'g. tu'ni'.  
CB: (97) tu'ni'.  
JL: (98) ?yw'y'yh'yo' ?i'ok miw'y? koto'non.

[\[view image\]](#)

---

- JL: (74) (an unidentified seed)  
CB: (75) Their seeds.  
JL: (76) Redmaids.  
CB: (77) Redmaids.  
JL: (78) And something else, manzanita berries.  
CB: (79) Yes.  
JL: (80) And here's another—sourberries.  
CB: (81) Sourberries too.  
JL: (82) Gooseberries.  
CB: (83) Gooseberries.  
JL: (84) Hey, strawberries.  
CB: (85) The strawberries are now all gone everywhere.  
JL: (86) Blackberries.  
CB: (87) Blackberries there are still below here.  
JL: (88) Yes, all those things the Indians used to eat, long ago.  
CB: (89) They probably lived pretty well.  
JL: (90) (an unidentified plant)  
CB: (91) /hak•ahi?/, maybe; what's that, sir?  
JL: (92) Here in the valley near the bridge, it has white flowers.  
CB: (93) So that's /hak•ahi?/.  
JL: (94) Yes.  
CB: (95) I'm forgetting all these things.  
JL: (96) Yes, I know that. Grass nuts.  
CB: (97) Grass nuts.  
JL: (98) The Indians used to eat that, long ago.  
CB: (99) And this, also, that they call /?o•luju?/, isn't that right.  
JL: (100) Yes, that's right.  
CB: (101) What's that /?o•luju?/?  
JL: (102) Something or other, what's it, what is its name, they used to say "niggertoes."  
CB: (103) Is it /?o•lu•ci?/? /?o•luju?/?  
JL: (104) It's /?o•lawci?/, yes.  
CB: (105) I know, then, lots of things, also brodeia bulbs, the Indians used to eat that.  
JL: (106) Brodeia bulbs, (107) that's another kind of meat to the Indians.  
CB: (108) Hey, they used to enjoy eating that.  
JL: (109) Yes.  
CB: (110) Think of some other things.  
JL: (111) I'm [trying to think of] other things. Here's one, they used to eat clover.
-



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- : (112) ko·koc, ?i·?ok.  
: (113) hakham.  
: (114) hakham ?i·?ok ?yw·y?at·i?.  
: (115) ?o·liwhaj.  
: (116) ?o·liwhaj ?i·?ok lu·ti? ?i·?ok kan·i? ken hyj?yksyma·.  
: (117) tol·om.  
: (118) tol·omhu· hyj?yksyma·.  
: (119) ?i·?ok ?ajtu?, hik·u?.  
: (120) hik·u?. (121) ?yw·y?a?hy· miw·yt·iŋ.  
: (122) hy·?y·, ?i·?ok miwtyj·aŋ ?yw·y?a?hy·.  
: (123) jej, kot·on·o·jo· kaci·şyjo· ?yw·y?ih·yko· miw·y?, ?iw·inpan  
etic·i· hakmyhy?.  
: (laughter). (124) ny·ma?hi· ?i·?ok ?ajtuj ?yw·y?a?hy·y?hy· koto·  
ŋ. (125) ?iw·inlek ?ewy·ja?.  
: (126) ?iw·inlek ?ew·yt·e·.  
: (127) ?oka·hyj ?iw·in pyl·a·ti· hyj·ic·yp·u· miw·y?.  
: (128) ?iw·inpanlek pyl·a·ti· ?ajtu? mana? tyntyn·y·.  
: (129) ne?·ok ?oka·hyj ?i·?ok tyntyn·yp·u·.  
: (130) hy·?y·.  
: (131) ne?lek hoja·metiŋ ?oncoj·aŋ, jej, ci·kelej cike·lypoŋ  
?a?hy· wyntyjik·y?ajhy· hakhamyj.  
: (132) jej, cike·lypoŋ ci·kelej.

[\[view image\]](#)

---

CB: (112) Clover, that's it.

JL: (113) Sour clover.

CB: (114) We eat that sour clover.

JL: (115) Grass nuts [another kind].

CB: (116) That's a different kind of grass nuts, I don't know them.

JL: (117) (an unidentified seed)

CB: (118) I know those.

JL: (119) All that. A kind of grass.

CB: (120) Grass. (121) Our people used to eat that.

JL: (122) Yes, the Indians used to eat it.

CB: (123) Hey, it's a long time since the people used to eat that kind. Now we're nothing but hungry.

JL: (laugh) (124) That's the truth, that's what the Indians used to eat

long ago. (125) Now there's nothing.

CB: (126) Now there's nothing.

JL: (127) Everybody now is looking for bread, the Indians.

CB: (128) Now everybody's thinking about bread.

JL: (129) That's all they think about.

CB: (130) Yes.

JL: (131) But these old-timers, the old women, hey, they'd put on a pack basket and go out to gather sour clover.

CB: (132) Hey, they'd put on a pack basket.

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- : (112) ko·koc, ?i·?ok.  
: (113) hakham.  
: (114) hakham ?i·?ok ?yw·y?at·i?  
: (115) ?o·liwhaj.  
: (116) ?o·liwhaj ?i·?ok lu·ti? ?i·?ok kan·i? ken hyj?yksyma·.  
: (117) tol·om.  
: (118) tol·omhu· hyj?yksyma·.  
: (119) ?i·?ok ?ajtu?, hik·u?  
: (120) hik·u?. (121) ?yw·y?a?hy· miw·yt·iŋ.  
: (122) hy·?y·, ?i·?ok miwtyj·aŋ ?yw·y?a?hy·.  
: (123) jej, kot·on·o·jo· kaci·şyjo· ?yw·y?ih·yko· miw·y?, ?iw·inpan  
etic·i· hakmyhy?  
: (laughter). (124) ny·ma?hi· ?i·?ok ?ajtuj ?yw·y?a?hy·y?hy· koto·  
ŋ. (125) ?iw·inlek ?ewy·ja?  
: (126) ?iw·inlek ?ew·yt·e·.  
: (127) ?oka·hyj ?iw·in pyl·a·ti· hyj·ic·yp·u· miw·y?  
: (128) ?iw·inpanlek pyl·a·ti· ?ajtu? mana? tyntyn·y·.  
: (129) ne?·ok ?oka·hyj ?i·?ok tyntyn·yp·u·.  
: (130) hy·?y·.  
: (131) ne?lek hoja·metiŋ ?oncoj·aŋ, jej, ci·kelej cike·lypoŋ  
?a?hy· wyntyjik·y?ajhy· hakhamyj.  
: (132) jej, cike·lypoŋ ci·kelej.

[\[view image\]](#)

---

4. Measuring Worm  
(Told by John Lawrence)

(1) This is really a story of the country; this one is the story of the land. (2) Long ago, maybe when there were no people, he swam, the Green one, as they say, maybe; his something, his older brother, (3) Green One's older brother, that's it. (4) El Capitan grew up and carried him up, that Green One's older brother.

(5) "Green One, tell me, where are you?" he said, crying out. (6) "Where are you, Green One?" he said, crying out again. (7) Then Coyote came along. (8) Then he told Coyote all about it. "My older brother got carried up here by that high rock," he said. (9) He went. "I'm going to hire [people to help]." He hired everybody.

(10) They jumped, they kept on jumping up, they couldn't reach him, (11) they fell down. (12) Then he fetched Mountain Lion. (13) He surpassed

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ik·oj?ok ?ajtu·koj kyjut·eh·y?. hylet·eh·y?. (14) tuk·akal·ikeh·y?  
nho? ?i·?ok.

) hoje? ?itan?ok ho?·aj, ?yhy·maṭih·yj hol·aw ?oja·nih·y?, hol·aw  
maṭih·yṅ ?i·?ok hy·ja?·aci?hy· howo·wu· net?ok haj·et·o?hu· la·ma  
i·?ok ?yhy·maṭiṅ hy·ja?·aci?hy·. (17) ja· ?itan?ok, jejah·eh·y?,  
on kac·y?ajhy· miw·yṅ ?uc·umuj, hy·?y·, ?i·?ok, hoje?, ṭultakna  
oje?lek wykys· kac·yma·, cy·mythoj, ṭultak, kac·yt. (19) cy·my  
j, ṭultak, kacyh·eh·y?.

) wykys·eh·y? lil·ekan. (21) ?it?okho?, pu·hu·numu?, haw·am·y?  
im·o?ok, tew·ik·eh·y? koto·wak ?it?ok lil·em·y?, ṭoṭo·kon?ulaj.  
alap·eh·y? kyc·ycmyhyj ?i·?ok ?em·aṭyj, ta·ci·hy· ciwiw·iṅ.  
oje? nej?ok tyj·eṅ ha?at·eh·y? wal·im nem?ok.

) hoje?lek ?i·?ok miw·ynykeh·y? ?okat·o? tol·em. (26) jej, ?i·?  
yko·, ?ajtuj kami·jeh·y? nej?ok tin·yj, pus·i?naj, lol·okuj, ?ajt  
me·weṅ, ?ajtuṅ hulawny?·aci·hy·, tyhan we·lyha·kyṅ. (27)  
ikeh·yko·lek, ?i·?oklek, ṭultakna?, kami·jeh·y? ?ajtu·koj.  
ake·ma·nykeh·y? ?it?ok koto·wak. (29) jah, ?oka·hytki?.

) ?okah kojwoh·ynti. (31) ?i·?ok pa?is ?ipuksu·?ok. ṭultakna.

### 5. The Magic Cane

(Told by Castro Johnson)

ne?ok nan·a? koto·non kocoihu· hasul·eh·v?. (2) ?oti·ko?lek

[\[view image\]](#)

---

all of them when he jumped up, (14) he hit it with his body, and he was too low too.

(15) And then there's the other one, the old bear, the big old hole, that's the old bear's hole, where he landed he left a hole, close to the tree. (16) That's the place where the bear landed. (17) Then he called him [to] El Capitan, what the Indians call a fly, yes, that's it, next, the Measuring Worm. (18) "Now I'm going, I say, climbing," Measuring Worm said. (19) "I'm going to climb that cliff," Measuring Worm said.

(20) He went higher. (21) There, near Pohono, away from the rock. (22) From there, he bent over to the other side there on top of El Capitan. (23) He found nothing left but bones, of Green One's older brother. (24) So he tied them up and threw them down from there.

(25) Then he became a person when he got to the ground. (26) They praised him. He outdid everybody, Mouse, Wood Rat, everything, Squirrel [and] all of them tried and failed to get him, (27) they couldn't make it. But that Measuring Worm beat them all. (28) He made a bridge across to there. (29) So! That's all.

(30) That's all I can tell. (31) That's the way it is: Measuring Worm.

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ik·oj?ok ?ajtu·koj kyjut·eh·y?. hylet·eh·y?. (14) tuk·akal·ikeh·y?  
nho? ?i·?ok.

) hoje? ?itan?ok ho?·aj, ?yhy·maṭih·yj hol·aw ?oja·nih·y?, hol·aw  
maṭih·yṅ ?i·?ok hy·ja?·aci?hy· howo·wu· net?ok haj·et·o?hu· la·ma  
i·?ok ?yhy·maṭiṅ hy·ja?·aci?hy·. (17) ja· ?itan?ok, jejah·eh·y?,  
on kac·y?ajhy· miw·yṅ ?uc·umuj, hy·?y·, ?i·?ok, hoje?, ṭultakna  
oje?lek wykys· kac·yma·, cy·mythoj, ṭultak, kac·yt. (19) cy·my  
j, ṭultak, kac·yh·eh·y?.

) wykys·eh·y? lil·ekan. (21) ?it?okho?, pu·hu·numu?, haw·am·y?  
im·o?ok, tew·ik·eh·y? koto·wak ?it?ok lil·em·y?, ṭoṭo·kon?ulaj.  
alap·eh·y? kyc·ycmyhyj ?i·?ok ?em·aṭyj, ta·ci·hy· ciwiw·iṅ.  
oje? nej?ok tyj·eṅ ha?at·eh·y? wal·im nem?ok.

) hoje?lek ?i·?ok miw·ynykeh·y? ?okat·o? tol·em. (26) jej, ?i·?  
yko·, ?ajtuj kami·jeh·y? nej?ok tin·yj, pus·i?naj, lol·okuj, ?ajt  
me·weṅ, ?ajtuṅ hulawny?·aci·hy·, tyhan we·lyha·kynṅ. (27)  
ikeh·yko·lek, ?i·?oklek, ṭultakna?, kami·jeh·y? ?ajtu·koj.  
ake·ma·nykeh·y? ?it?ok koto·wak. (29) jah, ?oka·hytki?.

) ?okah kojwoh·ynti. (31) ?i·?ok pa?is ?ipuksu·?ok. ṭultakna.

### 5. The Magic Cane

(Told by Castro Johnson)

ne?ok nan·a? koto·non kocoihu· hasul·eh·v?. (2) ?oti·ko?lek

[\[view image\]](#)

---

5. The Magic Cane  
(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) This man, long ago he asked his son a question. (2) His two sons, that is. (3) He asked the older one first. (4) "What are you thinking about?" he said.

(5) "Yes," said his son. (6) "I'm thinking about this kind of thing. (7) I'm thinking that everything ought to mate and have offspring, (8) so that there would be lots of all of us," he said, (9) "Living all over this world."

(10) His father then [said] "No. Stop. (11) I don't like what you say," he said. (12) "Sit down there, I'll take care of you later when I'm finished with your brother," he said. (13) Then he asked his younger brother, "What are you thinking about?" he said. (14) "Oh, planting things, potatoes, beans, tomatoes, cabbages, all that kind, onions, everything good to eat, peaches, apples, plums, pears, all that kind, figs," he said.

(15) "Yes, your thoughts are good. (16) It's better than your older brother's thinking," he said. (17) Then, he made a coffin for the older brother. (18) He made his coffin. (19) When he finished, he put it inside seven boxes.

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

0) ne? ?yn·e·, kacyh·eh·y?. (21) ?ynyh·eh·y? ?i·?ok, koko?hu·  
·ipa?. (22) ?itan?ok la·wo·nukeh·y?, law?o·pokeh·y?. (23) ?ajtu·  
j wik·eh·y?, lepah·eh·y?. (24) ?itan?ok lepah·eŋ wi·nukeh·y?, ko  
m, ken manəŋ ?al·yni·to?hu·.

5) jal·alnykeh·y? ?itan?ok ne?·ok nocuh·eh·y?. (26) ?ypy·, ?ypy·,  
tjute?ok kacyh·eh·y?. (27) wykys·eh·yko· hal·em wik·ekoŋ, ?etal·  
m. (28) ?itan?ok tam·ylem·y? ?unu·tu? ne?·ok, ?ahe·li? ?alyh·e  
in·y?le· jal·alny· nem?ok, kac·yt.

0) ?al·ymyk ?ynyh·eh·y?. (31) kac·y?yk hajet·eh·y?, kac·y?yk  
eh·y?. (32) jal·alny?a?hy· ?ipu·ta?hy·, ?ypy·, ?ypy·, kaji·wi·,  
wi·, ?el·e·ty· lakyhkuntu·, kenho? ?iw·in ?ipu·tjute?ok. (33) tin·y  
k liwaksy· sikej, kac·yt ?ahe·li?. (34) kac·y?yk lil·em·y? lemej  
thoj manik, ha·jat·uhnut liwaksy?a?hy·.

5) kac·y?yk hajet·eh·y?. (36) tin·y? nem?ok liwaksy· ny·ma?hi·,  
·eh·y?. (37) wykys·eh·y?. (38) ?o·, kaho·nat ?uc·u·, kacyh·eh·y  
haje·tythoj, ?itan?ok tykah·eh·y? hy·jathoj ?it?ok.

0) tin·y? mic·a·ni?. (41) ?o·, liwaksykte? tin·y? hane·, ken ?ypy  
me?ajhy·, kacyh·eh·y?. (42) hy·?y·, min·itle· ?u·cu?myko· kacyl  
nem?ok cym·em·y?, kacyh·eh·y?. (44) ?u·cu? nem?ok hojap·a?  
em·y?, mitokho? hane· mah·oka? majyl ?yhe·ma?, kacyh·eh·y?.

5) min·it·o?le· la·caj waca· hyj?yksysy·. (46) ?it?ok, hyh·yŋ  
·to?hu·, kacyh·eh·y?. (47) hy·?y·taŋ, welkijik·yma· hy·jajte? ?iw  
itan?ok welik·eh·y?, la·caj ?i·?ok, ?etal·eh·y? ?ini·?im wykys·el  
ny·jakeh·y? ?it?ok, lacyn·eh·y? ?ec·am?ucaj kaho·na·meti·, nakej  
?at·o?hu· ?al·am·y?, ?uc·u?at·o?hu·, (50) ?inim?ok haletnukeh·y?.



[\[view image\]](#)

---

(20) "Come here," he said. (21) He came, his older son. (22) Then he drove the nails, he put nails in, (23) he put in all the nails and finished. (24) When he was finished he took him into remote country where nobody could hear him.

(25) Then he yelled and cried, (26) "Father, father, I won't do that again," he said. (27) After they put him in the wilds they went, they went back home. (28) Then, from the north, this Coyote came and heard him. (29) "What is this yelling down here?" he said. (30) He came listening. (31) Little by little, he got closer and closer. (32) He was yelling this way: "Father, father, please, please let me go, get me out! I'll never do that again." (33) "What's that talking so much?" said Coyote. (34) Gradually he got to the top of the mountain, the talking became clearer.

(35) Little by little, he got closer. (36) "It seems that something is talking," he said. (37) He went on. (38) "Oh, he is in the coffin," he said when he got closer. (39) When he got there, he knocked on it.

(40) "What's the matter with you?" (41) "Oh, I said something that my father didn't like," he said. (42) "All right, where is your house?" [Coyote] said. (43) "South of here," he said, (44) "the first house south of here, maybe about five miles," he said.

(45) "Do you know where the axe is?" [Coyote] said. (46) "There in the woodshed," he said. (47) "All right, I'm going to get it, I'll come back soon." (48) Then he got that axe and went back, that's the way he went. (49) When he got there, he chopped up the outside boxes until he got to the one underneath, where he was, (50) and set him free.

(51) "From here on, don't ever go back to your house. (52) Go north, east, or anywhere, but don't ever go to your house there. (53) I'm going south. (54) I give you this cane; (55) you will ask this cane for everything you want," [Coyote] said.

(56) "All right." (57) Coyote went south, (58) and he went north, until he saw a house. (59) "Oh, maybe I should try out my cane," he said. (60) So he tried it.

(61) "I want to be an old man," he said to his cane. (62) He became old. (63) He went on to the house and knocked, (64) and a woman came out. (65) "Can you give me something to eat?" he said.

(66) "Yes, sit down there." (67) Then he sat down there on the porch. (68) Then the woman finished bringing him food (69) and he ate. (70) When he finished eating he went on (71) to the road.

(72) He went on northwards. (73) When he got out of sight he turned young again. (74) He went on this way until it got dark. (75) When it got dark, he saw a house again, so he became an old man and went to

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- ejik·eh·y? kawrej·isa?. (76) ?im·o?okho? hoje·non talŋithoj,  
u·lujik·eh·y? ?yw·y?·aŋi. (77) hy·?y·taŋ ne?·i, hajak·o? ?im·o?ok  
yh·eh·y?. (78) ?itan?ok ?im·o?ok ho?·aj·y. hajaksykeh·y?. (79)  
·o?ok ?ywyh·eŋ wykys·eh·y? ho?·aj·y, min·it·o?le·ho? ?u·cu? ne  
80) ?o, ?yhe·ma? moli·ta?hy· micykpani?hy· hy·jajik·ysy· keŋ·ej  
yh·eh·y?. (81) ?itan?ok wykys·eh·y?, wykys·eh·y?, moli·ta?at·o?  
ej. (82) hy·jakeh·y? ?it?okho? keŋ·et ?u·cut. (83) ?it?ok tawa·h  
k·eh·y?. (84) hy·?y, hajaksytic·i· nej?ok haŋha·taŋ, kacyh·eh·y?  
85) wykys·eh·y? tyje·jik·eh·y?. (86) taliŋ·eh·y? kawlypaj. (87) ?  
·yk·ah·y?. (88) ?itan?ok ?im·o?ok wykys·eh·y? kot·om·u?, leme  
uŋej, ?aj·ihto?, hajaksykeh·y? ?ik·oj?ok, haŋha·ta·meti. (89)  
i·ta?hy· ?etalnuk·u?uh·u?, ?yk·i?yh·y?, ku·lalto?  
90) tyj·e·ky?yh·y?, sapa·ny?yh·y?, tyj·e·ky?yh·y?. (91) net?ok ?e  
ahpuŋnut. (92) ?ajtuj hi?e·maj hajaksyjik·yt, ?it?ok ?aj·ihto?.  
n?ok keŋ·ekym·aj hyjic·ykeh·y?, ne?·ok tune?ko, nem·o?ok li·le  
ripam·y? ?u·cum·u?ko. (94) kawa·joj, sal·i, hisepwe·laj, fre  
aj, ?ajtuj tin·yj, wisti·no·nukej ?iwin·yme·nykej naŋ·a·nykej,  
at·yt?enuk·a?hy· kawa·joj, hyjic·yt, li·le?·ynyk ?im·o?ok.  
95) kawylŋe?hy· ?eta·lythoj, humelŋet. (96) ?ipuŋ·eh·y?ok hyty·j  
?itan?ok keŋ·ekym·aj ?itan?ok, ?i·?ok tune?ko hasul·eh·y? ?ami  
a· nej?ok naŋa·jyninti?, kacyh·eh·y?. (98) naŋa·jy?ajny· ?ale· ne  
·elec·yj sikej kacyh·eh·y ?ami?hy. (99) ?itan?ok, ?yn·e·taŋ  
·nonman ?yn·e?, ?in·im?ok li·le? ?u·cut ?uc·u?antit, jo·?un hyj·e  
·elec·y? ?a· kac·y?yh·y?.

[\[view image\]](#)

---

lie down in the barn. (76) When he got up the next day, he went and asked for something to eat. (77) "All right, wait there," she said then. (78) So he waited again. (79) When he had eaten, he went on again. "Where is there a house around here?" [he asked someone].

(80) "Oh, maybe in the evening, about then you'll get to one house," he said. (81) Then he went on and on till it was evening, (82) when he got to one house. (83) He got a job there. (84) "Yes, you can take care of these ducks," he said.

(85) So he went to sleep. (86) When he got up in the morning, (87) he was given a shotgun, (88) and he went over on the other side of a little hill like this to a valley, and watched over those ducks. (89) In the evening he took them back and put them in the corral. (90) He used to go to sleep, have supper, then go to sleep. (91) Then he went back and did the same thing, (92) every day he watched over them in the valley. (93) Then one time their daughter watched him from upstairs, from the upper part of the house, (94) the pretty horse, with spurs, bridle, saddle, everything become elegant, the man become young and riding his horse around, she saw from upstairs there.

(95) When he came home at night, he became old; (96) that's what he did all the time. (97) Then one day the girl asked her mother, "Can I marry this man?" she said. (98) "What do you want to marry such an old man for?" said her mother. (99) Then, "Come, then, tomorrow, come to the upper part of the house where I live, you should see if he's an old man," she said.

(100) Then next day he went again and took the ducks to the same place in the valley. (101) Then her mother came upstairs and watched him. (102) "Can that be the same man?" she said. (103) "It's the same, the only one; he does that every day," [the daughter said]. (104) "Well, you'd better ask your father," she said.

(105) So she asked her father. (106) "Father, can I marry this man?" she said. (107) "What do you want to marry such an old man for?" said her father. (108) "You should see him, you should come tomorrow and see and watch that man. He's nothing like an old man," she said. (109) Then next day he watched him take out the horse, a pretty one, he took him out and rode him around.

(110) "It can't be the same man," he said. (111) "It doesn't look like it, but there's only the one man living there, staying there," said their daughter. (112) "If you want to, you can marry him," he said. (113) So they got married the coming week. (114) He became young and never got old again.

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

(115) hoje? ?ajtuj nen·ajyj hoje?, jejah·eh·yko·. (116) hoje?, ?yph·eh·y?. (117) wykys·eh·y? ?in·im?ok, ?it?ok, ?oja·ni·to?ko·. (118) a·ni? tune?hy· na?a·jy· kacyh·eh·yko·. (119) ?ajtu? hu?·amehnyke?ok. (120) hy·jakeh·yko· ?i·?ok hi?e·maj. (121) ?itan?ok, ne?·ok koco?hu· ken hejawŋema· net?ok ?yn·y?ajyph·eh·y?. (122) ?itan?ok nenut·eh·y? manaj. (123) ken hejawŋemacte?ny·pan, ken hejawŋema· ?yn·y?ajny·, kacyh·eh·y?. (124) ?al·eh·y? ?ypy?hy·. (125) ?itan?ok ?ohaj·eh·y? ?i·?ok, ?oja·nit·iŋejhy·. (126) ?oka·hytki?.

### 6. How Coyote Stole The Sun

(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) nehme? ho?·aj lu·?i·, wasnymah·i·. (2) koto·non ?uc?ujhu· m?ypjat, watu? ?ew·at. (3) ken tin·yj hyjŋe?yh·yko·. (4) cytypja?yt. (5) ?ahe·li? ne?·ok wyksyt nem?ok hi·hytot kot·an, ?uc·ujik?y?mej kot·a·ni·, ?eta·lytuhnut.

(6) ka·ka·, ka·ka·, jo?·un hyjŋeni?hy· hi·hym, kot·an, ?e·tuta?·yr?m?ok hi·hym, hih·ym·y? ?inim?ok, kac·y?yh·y? nej?ok ka·kajhy·

(7) ka·ka?hy·lek ne?·ok ken je?pa?yh·y?. (8) ?itan?ok, ?uc·u<sub>440</sub>?uh·cum ?it?ok, ne?·oklek ?oh·a?hy· ne·hyŋ?ok ka·kajhy·, lol·ok, ?a

[\[view image\]](#)

---

(115) Then all the nations were invited. (116) His father came, (117) he went there, to their king [lit., "to their big one"]. (118) "The king's daughter is getting married," they said. (119) Everyone gathered there, (120) they arrived on that day.

(121) Then this one, his son, [said], "I don't like your coming here," he said. (122) Then he recognized him. (123) "I don't like your locking me up at all. I don't want you to come," he said. (124) Then his father went home, (125) and he married the king's daughter. (126) That's all.

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

(115) hoje? ?ajtuj nen·ajyj hoje?, jejah·eh·yko·. (116) hoje?, ?yph·eh·y?. (117) wykys·eh·y? ?in·im?ok, ?it?ok, ?oja·ni·to?ko·. (118) a·niq tune?hy· naja·jy· kacyh·eh·yko·. (119) ?ajtu? huṭ·amehnyke?ok. (120) hy·jakeh·yko· ?i·?ok hi?e·maj. (121) ?itan?ok, ne?·ok koco?hu· ken hejawṅema· net?ok ?yn·y?ajyph·eh·y?. (122) ?itan?ok nenut·eh·y? manaj. (123) ken hejawṅemacte?ny·pan, ken hejawṅema· ?yn·y?ajny·, kacyh·eh·y?. (124) ?al·eh·y? ?ypy?hy·. (125) ?itan?ok ?ohaj·eh·y? ?i·?ok, ?oja·nit·iqejhy·. (126) ?oka·hytki?.

### 6. How Coyote Stole The Sun

(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) nehme? ho?·aj lu·ṭi·, wasnymah·i·. (2) koto·non ?uc?ujhu· mpyjat, watu? ?ew·at. (3) ken tin·yj hyjṅe?yh·yko·. (4) cytypja?yt. (5) ?ahe·li? ne?·ok wyksyt nem?ok hi·hytot kot·an, ?uc·ujik·y?mej kot·a·ni·, ?eta·lytuhnut.

(6) ka·ka·, ka·ka·, jo?·un hyjṅeni?hy· hi·hym, kot·an, ?e·tuta?·yrm?ok hi·hym, hih·ym·y? ?inim?ok, kac·y?yh·y? nej?ok ka·kajhy·

(7) ka·ka?hy·lek ne?·ok ken je?pa?yh·y?. (8) ?itan?ok, ?uc·u<sup>443</sup>?uh·cum ?it?ok, ne?·oklek ?oh·a?hy· ne·hyṅ?ok ka·kajhy·, lol·ok, ?a

[\[view image\]](#)

---

6. How Coyote Stole The Sun

(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) Here's another different one that we are telling. (2) Long ago, the people used to live in the dark, without the sun. (3) They couldn't see anything; (4) everything used to be dark. (5) This Coyote went far off to the east from here; he stayed who knows how long, and then came back.

(6) "Uncle! Uncle! You ought to see [how it is] far off in the east. They have sunshine over there in the east, east of here," he said to his uncle.

(7) His uncle did not believe him. (8) Then, he stayed there at the house. The wife of this uncle of his, Wood Rat, she gathered all kinds of things, here and there, redmaids, she used to pile up things to eat. (9) Then Coyote went again to the east, somewhere far from here is where he went. (10) He stayed who knows how long, maybe a month, maybe a year. (11) Then he came back and said the same thing.

(12) "Uncle! You ought to see it," he said. His uncle didn't believe him.

(13) Another time he goes again, east of here, he does the same thing. (14) "This time I'll take a flower," he said. (15) He took this flower, shooting-stars, which was coming out there in the east. (16) Then he came back; he took it from there and came back here. (17) He showed it to his uncle.

(18) "Look here, uncle! They have flowers far off in the east," he said. (19) Then [his uncle] said, "Yes." (20). Then he stayed there again; oh, a long time again. (21) "I'm going," he said to his uncle. (22) "This time I'm going to steal their sun," he said. (23) "Then we will have the sun here in our country," he said. (24) "It's not good that

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ken cyty? cytypjat net?ok ?uc·u?at·i? hyty·jaj, ken tin·yj hyjnen  
h·eh·y?. (25) ?itan?ok wyksuma· kacyh·eh·y?.

(26) wykys·eh·y? hi·hym nem?ok, kot·an hyjic·ykeh·y? ne·meti·?o  
y·syja·kyj, salintih·ej nanťaj·aj, lememy? ?inim·y?ok.

(27) manik hane· cyty? hole·ma·ny?anti?, kacyh·eh·y?.

(28) wykys·eh·y? ?al·am·y? la·mat, wy·ny?at·o?ko·, hole·ma·nykeh  
?itan?ok ?eta·lyt·uhnuthoj nek·o?ok hal·ikmeti?, nej?ok tyjy·te·ti  
ymhikeh·yko· ?oťi?. (30) hy·?y·, wi·kunti· lenpukot·iŋ, kac·y?yh

(31) ?itan?ok, tyjyt·eh·yko·, wi·nukeh·yko·, net?ok haŋ·i·to?ko·, ?  
yŋ?ok ?uc·u?at·o?hu·, hi·li·caŋ, ?ik·oŋ?ok ?yhy·maŋiŋ, ?ajtun ne  
atmetiŋ, tyhan, ?aw·antaŋ. (32) ?itan?ok lenup·eh·yko·, ?ipu·ťut  
ulhut haw·it, suj·ulhut haw·it, huj·us wi·ka?ko·.

(33) ?itan?ok, ?o·, ?yh·a· wi·ke·tic·iŋ tyjej·ikat kacyh·eh·yko·. (34)  
y·, kac·ymhikeh·yko·.

(35) ?itan?ok tyjyh·eh·yko·, ?yh·a· welik·eh·yko· hojih·eh·yko·,  
c·ykeh·y? ?it?ok tyj·eka?ko· suj·ulhukeh·y? haw·it. (36) ?itan?o  
ymyksykeh·y?, na·ťy?ajhy· ?ajtun. (37) hoje? taliŋ·eh·y?, tekol·el  
uťej, toj·unuj ?oja·nij. (38) hoje? ?im·o?ok welki· nej?ok watuj  
hoje? net?ok hywatnuk·u· ?olo·win.

(40) hywa·tec·i·, hywa·tec·i·, kacyh·eh·y?. ?aw·anta? ne?·ok, (41)  
ykanti?, we·ťykanti? kac·yt. (42) hywatkuna· loke·ta· ?ajtuj.  
ne?·ok ?yn·a· ?is·ak, ?elen·eŋ ?inim?ok, watuj ?i·?ok.

(44) ka·ka·, hy·jathoj ?u·cum ka·ka· kac·y·. (45) jelejtu·te? kac·y  
?etu·tu·me? ?yh·a·ji?, jo·?un hyjnejni? kac·y?yh·y?. (47) ha·let  
etput·ut, hvinehak nej?ok watuj, ha·letnut·ut. (48) ?itan?oklek n

[\[view image\]](#)

---

we stay here in the dark all the time and can't see anything," he said.

(25) Then he said, "Goodbye"

(26) He went far off east of here. He watched these people going about, a bunch of young fellows, there in the mountains.

(27) "Maybe I'd better turn into a log," he said.

(28) He went under a tree where they were walking and turned into a log. (29) Then, when these hunters came back, "Let's carry this one," two of them said to each other. (30) "Yes, let's take it and put it on the fire," he said.

(31) Then they carried him on their backs and took him to this dance-house where they all lived, Mountain Lion, that Bear, all of them fast runners except Turtle. (32) Then they put him on the fire. But what he did was wriggle around and around, when they put him in the fire.

(33) Then, "Oh, we'll put it on the fire later, when we go to sleep," they said. (34) "Yes," they said to each other.

(35) Then they went to sleep. Later they took him and put him closer, and he lay there. (36) When they went to sleep, he wriggled around and then listened. (37) They were all snoring, so he got up and picked up a big basket. (38) Then he goes and gets this sun, (39) and runs with it to the west.

(40) "Let's run! Let's run!" said the Turtle. (41) "I scratched him, I scratched him," he said. (42) He ran with it and outdistanced them all. (43) Then he came and released that sun there.

(44) "Uncle!" he says, arriving at the house. (45) "I stole it," he said. (46) "In a while we'll have sunshine, you should see it," he said. (47) He kept on coming out and coming out to look at that sun. (48) Finally, it seemed to be getting light. "Come on, uncle! Come and see it! It's getting light," he said.

(49) His uncle came out. "Oh, you're really telling the truth," he said. (50) "You're telling the truth, that's the way they do it back in the east."

(51) "Yes, but they haven't got the sun now over in the east. (52) I took it all," he said.

(53) Then the sun rose up and came out, and they saw everything. (54) Then that Eagle's wife was astonished at what she had gathered up, everything piled up here, there, and everywhere. She was always working, this wife of Eagle, Wood Rat. (55) Then the sun shone on us, and to this very day does. It never went back. (56) That's all.

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

### 7. ?ywel'in

(Told by Castro Johnson)

ho?aj nej?ok wasnymah'i lu?ti, ne? lupu? ?al'yomyksy, to?uc  
ne?ok koto·non, ?ywel'in miw·yŋ lep'a?yh·y?, tyjy·ty?yh·y?,  
y·ja·ti?hy, jo·hu?uh·u? ?ajtuj, lep'a?yh·y?. (3) ?itan?ok ?o?i·koj  
el·yt·i·salun·eh·y?, ?ypelnakeh·y?. (4) ?itan?ok ?i·?ok ?eslej·a  
niŋko· huk?uj·ajhy, pac?ej·aŋko· huk?uj·ajhy nej?ok ?aw·i?yh·yk  
u·lu?uh·uko. (5) ?im·o?ok hutul·ul·uk kac·y?yh·yko wal·it nem,  
e?·ynyk, ?itan?ok tala·lyj haw·aj, welkijik·y?yh·yko ?itan?ok  
alnuk·u?uh·uko li·le?. (6) ?ipu·tu?uh·uko?ok ?ajtuj hi?e·maj,  
v·i?pu?u?uh·uko ?o?i·kot·i?. (7) ?itan?oklek, ?ahe·li? keŋ·e?  
jalnyjik·eh·y? hyjeŋ·eh·y?, nej?ok, ?ucuh·eh·y? ?it?ok mic·y?me  
a·ni. (8) hyj·ic·ykeh·y? min·i· wyksy?ajhy, min·it lakhy?ajhy  
wyksy·ma, kac·yt ne?ok. (10) hy?y, kac·yt, kan·i? ?eslej·aj  
aksy·ma net?ok, kac·yh·eh·y?. (11) ?eslej·at·i· ?ik·oj?ok hasul·e  
rit nem?ok pa·pa?myko lakhy. (12) ?okat ?it?ok, hyty·jaj lakh  
y· ?ajtuj hyty·jaj ?it?ok lakhy, kac·y?yh·yko, ?eslej·at·i? nek  
) moli·ta?hy ?itan?ok hy·jakeh·y?. (14) ?itan?ok, sapan·eh·yko  
u·nujhu·lek nej?ok mice·maj, ci·kele·to?hu sas·am wi·kyt, ?oka  
v·y?ajhy ?is·akyn, to·l·oko·na·meti nej?ok, ?yw·y?yh·y?, ci·kele  
?ok, pet·ikeŋ. (15) ?itan?ok, kaw·yl tyj·e?ko hoje?, toko·?a?hy  
u·ca?hy, hoje? welhyt min·it·o?, wyhki·hy. (16) ?itan?ok cu?p  
e·to?hu, <sup>TEXTS</sup>halap·eh·y?. (17) ?itan?ok sutu·tupoh·u?, ?itan?ok ne  
u·tupuksa?hy, ?ipu·ta?hy?ok, ?amku?hu ?i·?ok, ha?ej cu?pam

[\[view image\]](#)

---

7. ?ywel•in

(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) And now we are telling a different story; this girl is sitting listening. (2) Long ago, this ?ywel•in was finishing off the people. He carried them off all the time, he used to kill them all and finish them off. (3) Then he raised two little children, he brought them up. (4) Then those children used to play with the skulls of their mother and their relatives, they used to roll them. (5) They would roll them to the bottom from on top over a flat, sloping rock, then they would get them and take them back on top. (6) They used to do that every day, the two little ones kept on playing. (7) Then one Coyote went to visit them and saw them. He stayed there who knows how long. (8) He watched which way [?ywel•in] went, where he came out. (9) "Goodbye," he said. (10) "Yes," he said; "I'll take care of the children here," he said. (11) He asked the children, "Where does your grandfather come out?" (12) "Right there he'll always come out; he comes out there all the time," said the children. (13) In the evening, then he came, (14) and they ate supper. But [Coyote] cooked this meat that he had put in the bottom of the pack basket and ate it himself, he ate this jackrabbit hidden here in his pack basket. (15) Then it was night, and they went to sleep. When [?ywel•in] was snoring hard, [Coyote] looked for where his heart was. (16) Then he found it in the middle of his foot. (17) Then he stretched his feet out. When he stretched out his legs, this is the way he went when [Coyote] touched him in the middle of his foot: "Grunt, grunt, grunt," he said. (18) Then, "Oh, it's right there, your heart," [Coyote] said. (19) He went to sleep again. (20) He did the same thing again, he stretched out, stretched himself out. Right in the middle of his foot, in the middle of it, he did the same thing that way. "Grunt, grunt, grunt," he said. (21) "Oh, it's right there," said this Coyote. (22) He went to sleep. They got up the next day, (23) and he went out the next day again. (24) Just the same when he came back he came out in exactly the same place again. (25) [Coyote] was watching carefully whether he would come out in the same or a different place. (26) He didn't come out any other place, only in that very same place. (27) The next day he went again, (28) and the same way he watched where he went. (29) Then he asked the children again, "Will he come out the same place?" he said. (30) "Yes," they said. "Does he always come out in the same place?" (31) "Yes," they said. (32) In the evening for supper he cooked the meat. (33) Then Coyote would hide it in the pack basket and eat his own meat, not what he was given, he

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

let nu·?u?ajhy· ?yw·y?yh·y? ?oka·hyŋ mice·majhy·, ken ?am·yŋ·e  
 ?yw·yt ken. (34) hoje? t̄yjyh·eh·yko· kawylŋe?hy·. (35) ca·lytuŋ  
 ?ok, ho?·aj halkijik·yma· kacyh·eh·y? wykys·eh·y?. (36) ?itan?o  
 s·eh·y? nej?ok ?oka·hyj wyk·ys?ajhy·. (37) ?itan?ok ?onoc·o? ?a  
 , wykys·eh·y?. (38) sun·ujik·yma· kacyh·eh·y?, ?ac?ej·at·i·hy·.  
 ?itan?ok wykys·eh·y? kot·o·wak, lem·e? net?ok li·le?, lakhy?at·o  
 jhy· ?ajtut hoje? cipaj·eh·y? ne?·ok cyl·ajhy·. (40) ?itan?ok ?eta  
 ·ikeh·y? nej?ok. (41) ?o·, lakhaksy· mi?, ?eta·lythu·ni? hoje?  
 h·eh·y?. (42) hyjic·ikeh·y?. (43) haŋ·eh·y? keŋ·ej, t̄o?·ikeh·y? h  
 k·ah·y?, t̄o?·uca·to?hu· net?ok. (44) haw·it·yt hutu·lu·lu·nukeh·y?  
 ?ajtut min·it hyljak·ah·y? ?itan?ok. (46) ?ajtut min·it·o? wyksy?  
 ilny?at·o?hu·. (47) hoje? hyljak·ah·y? ?ajtut net?ok ?ala·kajhy·.  
 ?ok hoje?, camyh·eh·y?. (49) ?itan?ok hoje? ?ajtuj nej?ok, nen  
 , kojo·wunukeh·y?, nej johak ?em·at̄yj lep·ahakmej miw·y·mej  
 n·eh·y?. (50) hoje? ?itan?ok hujup·eh·yko· nej?ok, jo·hu?ajhy·.  
 ? mana· hyj·y·hic·i·, cyty·panic·i· hynty?·yni·tokni? cytyj, hyj·y·  
 k. (52) ?itan?ok ken halpa?at·i? hyntyjhy·, ho?·aj lep·a·me?  
 n·eh·yko·. (53) t̄yŋe?·ypo·tokniŋ nej?ok hyj·y·hic·i·, pakte?hy· hy  
 n·eh·yko·. (54) hujup·eh·yko·, hoje?. (55) ?itan?ok hoje?, ?yh·a  
 puksuthoj pakyt·eh·y? hynty?hy·. (56) ?ajtu? mana? hyjic·ykeh·y?  
 . (57) nek·o?·ok ?oŋi?, t̄ew·en, cikcik, kot·akan miko? ?uc·uc·i  
 nyjŋeni?myko· mikoŋ, pel·es?yni·tokni? sikej, kacyh·eh·yko· ?ik·  
 koj. (58) kot·akan ?ucuh·eh·yko· ?ik·o?ok, hyjic·ykeh·yko·, ho?  
 ?ajtu? mana? peleh·eh·y?, pakta?hy·. (60) ?itan?ok hoje?, <sup>452</sup>waca  
 ktoksu· kac·ymhi?yh·yko·, nek·oj?ok ?oŋi· ?em·at̄koj pelesme·me

[\[view image\]](#)

---

wouldn't eat that at all. (34) Then they went to sleep at night. (35) Then early in the morning, "I'm going hunting again," he said, and went. (36) He went the same way he always went. (37) Then Old Lady Coyote went out next. (38) "I'm going to get some wood," he said to his grand-children. (39) Then he went on the other side of this high mountain, where he came out. He stuck his bone awls all around. (40) Then when he came back he watched him. (41) "Oh, you just came out, coming back again," he said. (42) He watched him. (43) He stepped on one and sat down to pull it out; [another one] stuck him right there in the buttocks. (44) He rolled all around, (45) and got stuck all over then, (46) everywhere he went, where he rolled, (47) then he got stuck all around in his ribs. (48) Then he died. (49) Then [Coyote] told all these nations, "I killed this one, the one who was finishing off us people," he said. (50) Then next they burned up this one that he killed. (51) "All of you watch well, you with good eyes. All watch this one. (52) If we don't find his eyes, he'll finish us all off again," he said. (53) "Keep looking, watch for his eyes to pop out," he said. (54) So they burned him. (55) Then a little later, when he got cooked, his eyes popped out. (56) Everybody looked up. (57) These two, Spotted Towhee and Brown Towhee, "You had better stay far off, you can't see, you've got too much matter in your eyes," they said to these two. (58) They stayed far off and watched again. (59) Everybody failed to see it pop. (60) So then, "Did you see it?" they asked these two with matter in their eyes. (61) "How could we see it?" they said; (62) "Our eyes are no good. (63) Look for it yourselves, you who have good eyes," they said. (64) "Please," they said. "He'll finish us all up if you don't tell us; maybe you saw where his eyes landed. (65) But if we don't find them, he'll eat all of us," they said. (66) "Yes, under that thing, it looks like his eyes, [under] those leaves." (67) Then they got them. (68) "Yes, that's it," they said. (69) They got them, and mashed them all up. Then everything was all right. (70) That's all.

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

### 8. Stealing Horses

(Told by Castro Johnson)

e?ho? lu?ti?. (2) koto·non miwtyj·aŋ, welkijik·a?hy· ?olo·win ne  
·joj, jele·jik·a?hy·, ?eta·lyt·ukoŋ, jelej·ekoŋ ?unun·uk·u?uh·uko·  
oj·ajko·, nek·oŋ?ok mehki·jaŋ. (3) ?itan?ok ?enpuŋ·e?yh·yko·,  
aŋ·e?yh·yko·, li·le? net?ok lemet. (4) ?itan?ok ?o?i·ko?, humlej  
·ak·ah·yko·, nek·oŋ?ok mehki·jaŋ, topi·jyk·ah·yko·, tyk·y·nyk·ah·  
eŋ hum·eleŋ tykyh·eh·yko·, hi·lojhu·. (5) ?itan?oklek naŋhy·nyke  
jhu· mic·e?le· tyk·yk·aj, kaw·ajaslek ne?·ok ?oc?i·jajko·, kaw·aj  
itan?ok ?oc?i·ja?ko· li·le?·ynyk lememe·y? hyjeŋ·eh·yko·, walim  
t·eh·yko·, ?enup·eh·yko·, he·lymhikeh·yko· haw·it. (7) ?itan?ok  
?ok, mehki·ja? ny?·ikeh·yko·, wykys·eh·yko· ?olo·win, ?etal·eh·y  
itan?ok keŋ·e? naŋ·a?, ?enup·eh·y?, ?etym·aj nej?ok ?etym·aj ne  
j wykys·eh·yko·, kot·an lil·em·y? hyjan·ykeh·y?. (9) kenlek mar  
jo·huk·ah·y? ken. (10) ?itan?ok ?etal·eh·yko· nek·o?·ok, mehki·j  
rto?ko· nem ?olo·win. (11) kenlek kawa·joj ken welik·eh·yko· k  
kum·eh·yko·. (12) hilahtaj jo·huk·aŋ ?ajtu? kawjaj·a?ko·,  
·ma·nyk·aŋ. (13) juh, ?oka·hytki?.

[\[view image\]](#)

---

8. Stealing Horses  
(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) And here's a different one. (2) Long ago the Indians used to go to the west to get horses, to steal them. When they came back, they stole them and used to bring the horses of these Mexicans. (3) Then they were chased and tracked up these mountains. (4) Then two old men were reached by these Mexicans, who made war on them and kept on shooting at them. They shot one old man's bowstring. (5) But then he dodged around, it didn't matter that his bowstring was shot off. They kept on shouting for their comrades, yelling. (6) Then their comrades saw them from on top of the mountain. They ran down and chased them. They fought each other back and forth. (7) Then these Mexicans got scared and went west, they went home. (8) Then one man chased them, up the hill and up the hill they went. Way up on top he got to them. (9) But nobody at all got killed. (10) Then they went back, these Mexicans, to their houses there in the west. (11) But they didn't get any of the horses, they didn't take them back. (12) All of their horses were killed and made into meat. (13) So! That's all.

9. Two Little Bears and Two Little Deer  
(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) Two little bears were playing with two little deer. (2) Then, playing that way, the bears said "You go in!" (3) The little deer went in. "We'd better say 'maa-maa-maa,' and you let us out," they said. (4) "All right," said the bears. (5) Then the bear cubs went in. (6) "You'd better say 'maa-maa-maa,'" they said. (7) Then they went in, but they didn't say "maa." They died inside there of this smoke. (8) When they didn't say "maa" for a long time, [the deer] looked in [and found] both of them had died. (9) Then they took them inside and put them on their bed as if they were asleep. (10) Then their mother smelled their burning hair and came running. She couldn't find her children; she looked everywhere. (11) Then she looked in the bed. (12) When she saw them dead in the bed, she looked for the little deer. She tracked the deer, she tracked them until she found them there in the crack. (13) Then this one, their

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

okho?, pa·pa?ko·, la·je? wal·im koto·net wal·im kacyh·eh·y?. (1)  
?ok laj·eh·y? wal·im, kot·an, la·ja?hy· toko·?a?hy·, ja·?a?hy· wa  
eh·y?, haw·as wyly·tas. (15) ?itan?ok joh·eh·y? ?i·?ok.  
?oka·hytki?.

### 10. Chasing Wild Horses and Mules (Told by Castro Johnson)

e?ho? lu·ti?, wasny?a?mah·i·, wake·lo·meti·. (2) ?ajtuj tominkoj  
y?yh·yme? nem·o?ok, melpo·sam·y?, ?yhe·ma?, ?o?i·jak na?a·ca  
oka?·yni?. (3) ho?·aj, net?ok prinstonto? welki?yh·yme? yhe·ma  
caj, ?o?i· ha?e?·yni·. (4) ?itan?ok ?inim·o?ok lo·som·u?,  
?yh·yko·, ?yhe·ma? na?a·ca? mah·oka?·yni?. (5) ?oni·tom·u?  
?yh·yko· ?yhe·ma? micy?me? kaw·inta? na?a·ca?. (6) ?ajtu·me?  
amhi?yh·yme? net?ok. (7) ?itan?ok ?ajtu?, wake·lo·meti? ne·me  
k, hale·?aj kawa·joj, ?enpu?uh·uko·. (8) ?ajtujlek tominkoj  
y?yh·yme? ?inim?ok, ?enpujuk·uthoj. (9) lu?i·kot ken welki?yh·y?  
itan?ok luha·paj welik·eh·yme?, ?yhe·ma? na?a·caj mah·oka?·yni  
ej?ok mu·laj ?itan?ok wik·eh·yme? ?ajtu·me?, ?unun·ukeh·yme?  
k ka·wasto?, wik·eh·yme? kyralto?. (12) ?itan?ok ke?ej na?ej  
ymej na?aj cy·me? kacyh·eh·yme?. (13) hy·?y· kacyh·eh·y?  
okaj pe·soj wi·kec·i·, cy·myma· kacyh·eh·y?. (14) ?itan?ok mah



[\[view image\]](#)

---

grandfather, "Step down, far down," he said. (14) Then she stepped down a long way, stepping as far as she could reach. When she stepped down to the bottom, he hit her with a hot rock, (15) and killed her. (16) That's all.

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

okho?, pa·pa?ko·, la·je? wal·im koto·net wal·im kacyh·eh·y?. (1)  
?ok laj·eh·y? wal·im, kot·an, la·ja?hy· toko·?a?hy·, ja·?a?hy· wa  
eh·y?, haw·as wyly·tas. (15) ?itan?ok joh·eh·y? ?i·?ok.  
?oka·hytki?.

### 10. Chasing Wild Horses and Mules (Told by Castro Johnson)

e?ho? lu·ti?, wasny?a?mah·i·, wake·lo·meti·. (2) ?ajtuj tominkoj  
y?yh·yme? nem·o?ok, melpo·sam·y?, ?yhe·ma?, ?o?i·jak na?a·ca  
oka?·yni?. (3) ho?·aj, net?ok prinstonto? welki?yh·yme? yhe·ma  
caj, ?o?i· ha?e?·yni·. (4) ?itan?ok ?inim·o?ok lo·som·u?,  
?yh·yko·, ?yhe·ma? na?a·ca? mah·oka?·yni?. (5) ?oni·tom·u?  
?yh·yko· ?yhe·ma? micy?me? kaw·inta? na?a·ca?. (6) ?ajtu·me?  
amhi?yh·yme? net?ok. (7) ?itan?ok ?ajtu?, wake·lo·meti? ne·me  
k, hale·?aj kawa·joj, ?enpu?uh·uko·. (8) ?ajtujlek tominkoj  
y?yh·yme? ?inim?ok, ?enpujuk·uthoj. (9) lu?i·kot ken welki?yh·y?  
itan?ok luha·paj welik·eh·yme?, ?yhe·ma? na?a·caj mah·oka?·yni  
nej?ok mu·laj ?itan?ok wik·eh·yme? ?ajtu·me?, ?unun·ukeh·yme?  
k ka·wasto?, wik·eh·yme? kyralto?. (12) ?itan?ok ke?ej na?ej  
ymej na?aj cy·me? kacyh·eh·yme?. (13) hy·?y· kacyh·eh·y?  
okaj pe·soj wi·kec·i·, cy·myma· kacyh·eh·y?. (14) ?itan?ok mah

[\[view image\]](#)

---

10. Chasing Wild Horses and Mules  
(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) And this is a different one, we're telling about cowboys. (2) Every Sunday we used to go from here, from Mariposa, maybe twenty-five [of us]. (3) And at Princeton we got maybe ten or twelve. (4) And then some from Bear Valley used to come, maybe fifteen. (5) Maybe about eight or ten used to come from Hornitos. (6) We all used to meet here. (7) Then all these cowboys here used to chase wild horses. (8) Every Sunday we used to go there to go chasing. (9) Sometimes we didn't get any. (10) Then the last time we got some, maybe fifteen. (11) This mule, then, we all put him there, we brought him to Princeton and put him in the corral. (12) Then we said to one man, a young man, "Ride him!" (13) "All right," he said, "Put up five dollars and I'll ride him," he said. (14) So five dollars came in. (15) Then he got on that mule. (16) The mule didn't do anything, he didn't jump, just as if he had already been ridden, (17) running back and forth as if he were following his friends around. (18) Then, "Get off that no-good old mule!" they said. (19) He got off and took off his saddle. (20) Then one man from Hornitos bought it for five dollars and took it down there to his ranch. He put him inside, gave him barley to eat, and put water for him. (21) That mule just stood there, (22) I don't know how long he stood there, he didn't eat anything. (23) Little by little he was starving to death. (24) He knelt down on his front feet, he got tired. (25) He stayed that way a long time, who knows how long. (26) Next, gradually, he went down with his hind feet too, and lay there on his stomach. (27) Then after doing that he lay down. (28) He lay down then and stayed who knows how long, a long time. (29) Then, after lying down like that, next he closed his eyes. (30) Then he died. (31) That's all.

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

### 11. Horse, Ox, and Alligator

(Told by Castro Johnson)

ne?ho? lu?ti?, wasnymah·i· ne·tyl·ime?, ?oh·a?al·ime?, to?·uc·u·  
ke?·ekym·aj, ?al·ike·ty? hyje?·eh·y?, nej?ok to?·oko·naj, koto·wa  
uc·u?wiha·kyj, to?·emuhto?, ?ewy·jaj cit·akyjhy·, ?yw·y?ajhy·, h  
?itan?ok ne?·ok, kojo·nukeh·y? mic·ysy· wyky·saj net koto·wak,  
y? ?yw·y?a?ko· nek·o?ok, kacyh·eh·y?. (4) hyj?yksysy·pan ken  
jyninti? kan·y? kacyh·eh·y?, to?·oko·na?. (5) ?o·, cy·me? ke·wy  
kuni· kacyh·eh·y. (6) ?o·, ?yw?yjnyhakte·ni? ?ic·ysy· ?oka·hytki  
yh·eh·y?. (7) ?o·, kenlek hejaw?ema· ?yw·y?an·i·kan mi·ni· tosu  
ej. (8) tyhan?at to?ujme·te?, hika·ma?lek cu?pam?ynyk, hejaw?e  
y?at·ejny·, kacyh·eh·y?. (9) ?o·, ken ?ipu·tuninti?·ok kacyh·eh·  
?o· ju?at. (11) wi·nukeh·y? koto·wak, ?epyjnykeh·y?. (12) haj  
·ly? hac·ikeh·y?, ?iwin·ymen? siki·ly?, ?yhe·ma? to?o·kot·o? ha?  
y?met, ken na?·yc·yha·kyj hyle·tyni·hy· koto·wak to?·emuhto?.  
o?ok hasul·eh·y?, kawa·jo? ?ynyh·eh·y?. (14) ?itan?ok ?i·?ok,  
a·joj hasul·eh·y?, hyj?ema· sikej ?y?·y? nej?ok, ?yw·y?ajmyko·  
yh·eh·y? kawa·joj. (15) hy·?y·, ?y?·y?at ?yw·y?a·mah·i·. (16)  
non·sal·i?kanti?, ?ywy·ny?·e?yh·yte?, ja·nas ?enyhna?·e?yh·yte?  
pa?·e?yh·yte? kawy·lyj, ?uhu·nu?·e?yh·yte?, pyha·ky?·e?yh·yte?,  
ut ?u·cut ?uc·u?uh·ute?, ?ywy·ny?·e?yh·yte? hoje·non ho?·aj·y·.  
inlek panah?e?·acintit, ?ewy·ja?, kawy·lyj, ken tyj·ema·, hac·ic  
uj kawy·lyj, nyk·a?hy· nepu·ta?hy·, ken min·it ken mic·yni?ny·  
e·mut ja?·eni?ny·, hac·ic·y?a?ny· ?uc·u·, hilahtaj pana·ha·te? si

[\[view image\]](#)

---

11. Horse, Ox, and Alligator  
(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) And this is a different one that this one and I are telling, the girl sitting here and I. (2) Once the alligator saw this jackrabbit sitting on the other side on the bare ground, there was no grass for him to eat, he was hungry. (3) Then this one told him, "Why don't you go to the other side here? You see they have plenty to eat," he said. (4) "But you know I can't swim," said the jackrabbit. (5) "Oh, climb on my back, let me take you," he said. (6) "Oh, you mean you want to eat me, that's all that is," he said. (7) "Oh, but I don't want to eat you, you poor thin thing." (8) "It doesn't matter if I am thin, just the same in the middle you'll want to eat me," he said. (9) "Oh, I couldn't do that," he said. (10) "Oh, all right." (11) So he took him to the other side, swimming with him. (12) He stopped close to a willow, a young willow, at maybe three feet or so, so that he couldn't reach to jump across to the ground. (13) There he asked the horse who came. (14) Then he asked the horse, "I see you have plenty to eat here," he said to the horse. (15) "Yes, there's plenty to eat. (16) Long ago when I was young, I used to be fed, I used to have a bed prepared for me, I used to have a blanket put on me at night, I used to be given water, I used to be brushed, I always stayed indoors. The next day I used to be fed again. (17) Now that I've grown old, there's nothing. At night I don't sleep, I'm standing all night long, when it's raining like this there's nowhere, how can you lie down, it's not dry. You have to stand around, just because I'm so old. (18) When I was young they used to shoe me when I needed it, they used to look at the shoes. (19) Now that I'm old I am left outside. (20) Good-bye," he said, (21) and went. (22) Then this bull came. He did the same thing, he asked him again. "You have plenty of food here," he said. (23) "Yes," said [the bull]. (24) He asked him the same thing again. (25) "Yes, when I was young I used to be fed. Now that I'm old they don't want to see me," he said. (26) "I'm standing up all night long, there's nowhere that I can lie down," he said again. (27) Then along came that fox; he was trying to get this jackrabbit to jump. (28) The jackrabbit was afraid to jump, he could not jump onto the ground that way. (29) Then the bull said, "That's all; goodbye," (30) and left. (31) Then the jackrabbit looked and looked, and finally jumped. (32) That's all; he jumped into that willow. (33) He just barely made it. He went; he crossed over. (34) The alligator really wanted to eat him, but he

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

paniʔhy· ʔic·yʔyh·yʔ. (35) hetyh·eh·yʔ koto·wak. (36) tenkiju·nu  
oʔok koto·wakʔynyk. (37) ʔoka·hytkiʔ.

### 12. Talking Ghosts

(Told by Castro Johnson)

nehmeʔ hoʔ·aj, lu·ti· wasnymah·i·. (2) ʔoʔi·koʔ, ʔimhej·at·iʔ,  
kys·eh·yko· net, ʔeslej·aʔ·ynit ʔyʔ·yj, ʔypyhnyjikeh·yko·. (3) ʔit  
yhyhnykeh·yko· ʔik·ojʔok, tomiŋkot, ʔyphyme·metiʔ. (4) ʔitanʔok,  
li·taʔhy· ʔetal·eh·yko·, hy·jakeh·yko· ʔinim ʔu·cu·toʔko·. (5) ʔit  
a· lu·ti·kot, wykys·eh·yko· nan·aʔ, ʔeslej·ajhy· ʔoci·maʔ, welki  
wy·ʔaj, ʔucuh·eh·yko· hoʔ·aj micyʔmej keŋ·ej sima·naj. (6) ʔita  
aj·y·, welkijikeh·yko· ʔoh·aʔhy·, ʔywy·ʔaj hoʔ·aj·y·. micyʔmej  
anʔok ʔucuh·eh·yko· hoʔ·aj·y·, tolo·koʔyj hiʔe·maj ʔojis·aj hiʔe·n  
ʔitanʔok hoʔ·aj·y·, ʔeslej·aʔmyhyʔ wykys·eh·yko·. (8) ʔitanʔok  
uh·eh·yko· micyʔmejʔim ʔu·cuʔhi·ko·. (9) ʔitanʔokhoʔ, wykys·e  
aʔhy·, welkijikeh·yʔ ʔywy·ʔaj, ʔim·oʔok, ʔamim·yʔko·, ʔypym  
) ʔitanʔok hoʔ·aj·y·, ʔucuh·eh·yko· ʔyhe·maʔ keŋ·ej sima·naj mi  
) ʔitanʔok nan·aʔ wykys·eh·yʔ, ʔitanʔok kojo·nuk·ah·yʔ ʔim·oʔok  
aŋhy·, ne·hyŋʔok nan·aŋ, kojo·muniʔman, manajʔim ʔyn·yha·ky  
y·in, ʔiw<sup>EXMS</sup>neʔ·ok ʔoka·hytkiʔ, kenlek ʔypyhnuk·ujikeh·ymeʔ ʔik  
tus ʔywy·ʔas ʔam·yʔ·aci·, nymihpan ʔespajnyʔyh·ymeʔ. (12) ʔi

[\[view image\]](#)

---

could not catch up with him. (35) He crossed over to the other side. (36) He said thank you from the other side. (37) That's all.

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

paniʔhy· ʔic·yʔyh·yʔ. (35) hetyh·eh·yʔ koto·wak. (36) tenkiju·nu  
oʔok koto·wakʔynyk. (37) ʔoka·hytkiʔ.

### 12. Talking Ghosts

(Told by Castro Johnson)

nehmeʔ hoʔ·aj, lu·ti· wasnymah·i·. (2) ʔoʔi·koʔ, ʔimhej·at·iʔ,  
kys·eh·yko· net, ʔeslej·aʔ·ynit ʔyʔ·yj, ʔypyhnyjikeh·yko·. (3) ʔit  
yhynekeh·yko· ʔik·ojʔok, tomiŋkot, ʔyphyme·metiʔ. (4) ʔitanʔok,  
li·taʔhy· ʔetal·eh·yko·, hy·jakeh·yko· ʔinim ʔu·cu·toʔko·. (5) ʔit  
a· lu·ti·kot, wykys·eh·yko· nan·aʔ, ʔeslej·ajhy· ʔoci·maʔ, welki  
wy·ʔaj, ʔucuh·eh·yko· hoʔ·aj micyʔmej keŋ·ej sima·naj. (6) ʔita  
aj·y·, welkijikeh·yko· ʔoh·aʔhy·, ʔywy·ʔaj hoʔ·aj·y·. micyʔmej  
anʔok ʔucuh·eh·yko· hoʔ·aj·y·, tolo·koʔyj hiʔe·maj ʔojis·aj hiʔe·n  
ʔitanʔok hoʔ·aj·y·, ʔeslej·aʔmyhyʔ wykys·eh·yko·. (8) ʔitanʔok  
uh·eh·yko· micyʔmejʔim ʔu·cuʔhi·ko·. (9) ʔitanʔokhoʔ, wykys·e  
aʔhy·, welkijikeh·yʔ ʔywy·ʔaj, ʔim·oʔok, ʔamim·yʔko·, ʔypym  
) ʔitanʔok hoʔ·aj·y·, ʔucuh·eh·yko· ʔyhe·maʔ keŋ·ej sima·naj mi  
) ʔitanʔok nan·aʔ wykys·eh·yʔ, ʔitanʔok kojo·nuk·ah·yʔ ʔim·oʔok  
aŋhy·, ne·hyŋʔok nan·aŋ, kojo·muniʔman, manajʔim ʔyn·yha·ky  
y·in, ʔiw<sup>EX</sup>ims neʔ·ok ʔoka·hytkiʔ, kenlek ʔypyhnuk·ujikeh·ymeʔ ʔik  
tus ʔywy·ʔas ʔam·yʔ·aci·, nymihpan ʔespajnyʔyh·ymeʔ. (12) ʔi

[\[view image\]](#)

---

12. Talking Ghosts  
(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) And here's another story. (2) Two little old people went where they had lots of children, they went to baptize them. (3) Then those godparents baptized them [lit., "gave them a bath"] on Sunday. (4) Then at sunset they went back and got home. (5) Then later they often went, the man with his children, to get food. They stayed for about one week. (6) Then his wife also went to get food too, and they stayed for some time again, for three or four days. (7) Then again just the children went, (8) and then they stayed as long as they could. (9) Then again his wife went to get food, from their godfather and godmother. (10) Then again they stayed maybe one week or so. (11) Then the man went and was told about it by his wife. "You'd better tell them about it, whoever is coming now, that this is the last time. We didn't go and baptize them to give them all their food, just to help them out. (12) Now it looks as if we're going to be giving them all their food all their lives. (13) When somebody comes now, tell them that's all, so that they will know that they aren't to come," he said. (14) Then his wife told them, "My husband just said to me that this is the last time," she said. (15) So the man said "All right," and returned from there. He went and reached home, and got angry. (16) Then he told his wife in the evening, "Fix me a lunch, and a shirt, and socks," he said. (17) "What's the matter?" his wife said. (18) "Oh, nothing." "What do you mean by that?" she said. (19) But later when he was asked again he told her, (20) "Oh, they don't want us to go to get food," he said. (21) "Where are you going?" (22) "I don't know where I'm going, (23) but I'm going in the morning, while it's still dark. Maybe I'll go north somewhere," he said. (24) He went early in the morning. He went there. (25) In the evening he met one cowboy going south. (26) "Hold it: Where is the town, tell me? How far?" (27) "You'll never get to the town," he said then. (28) "It's

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ny?ajny? ?im?o?ok tawnto? ha?e?sy?, ?yw?yjni?ko? kacyh?eh?y? h  
 tu?. (29) hyjnesy? kot?o?nej la?maj, ?it?okman cy?me? li?le?,  
 cicnykni? wal?im ?i?meti?ok, ?yw?y?ajhy? ne?ok hale?a? a? cukun?  
 eyh?eh?y?. (30) ?itan?ok wykys?eh?y?. (31) hyjcicnykeh?y? la?ma  
 ?ok hy?jathoj moli?ta?hy?, cytpyjik?a?hy?. (32) ?o?, nes ?ipu?tu  
 hu?e?aci?sy?ko? nes?ok. (33) cym?eh?y? la?maj ?i?ok. (34) c  
 e?, wa?at?e? ?i?ok la?maj, ?al?ymyksykeh?y?, mana?le? nem?ok  
 jana?te? kacyh?eh?y?, ?al?am?yt?yjhy?, liwa?aja?kyj. (35) ?itan?  
 aksykeh?yko?. (36) hy?y?, ?enhaktic?i? nej?ok, kat?anaktic?i?,  
 e?ymhi?yh?yko?. (37) hy?y?, kot?a?ni?pan tawhan?yt?u?me?, nymi  
 anit?i? ?i?ok kik?y? ?i?ok lakhy?ajhy? kac?y?yh?y? hejimto?.  
 nlek mita?non ?etu?lujko? kac?y?yh?yko?. (39) ?oka?hytki? wa?nas  
 to?lus kac?y?yh?yko?. (40) ?itan?ok, kawlypa?na?hy?, hupe?eh?y?,  
 jcicnykeh?y? ?ajtuj, haw?it. (41) mana? nem?ok wy?nyhakte? kac  
 ?) ken hyjgema? mana? ha?ejhy?, ?okahko? nek?o?ok camy?ha?m  
 ?) nek?o?ok hane? liwaksyha?o? kacyh?eh?y?. (44) ?itan?ok wyk  
 wnto?. (45) wyn?eh?y? wyn?eh?y? cile?ny?eha?kyj na?ka?hy? tine?  
 jakeh?y?. (46) hasul?eh?y? kik?yj ?uhu?a?i?, ?oh?a?lek tin?yjle?  
 n?itlek kik?ys ?am?e?ni?, ka?jak?a?me? kik?y? kacyh?eh?y?. (47)  
 n?y? hane? ?enhyninti? nej?ok kacyh?eh?y? na?a? ne?ok,  
 l?ymyksykas?y?hy?. (48) hy?y?ta? kacyh?eh?y?. (49) ?oh?a? ne?  
 nun?ukeh?y?, he?ko?ta?meti?to?hu?. (50) ?itan?ok sulta?to?meti?  
 lik?eh?yko?, wi?nukeh?yko?. (51) ?itan?ok ?a?mo?ko? kacyh?eh?y?  
 an?ok he?aw?nesy? tin?yj manaj na?aj kacyh?eh?y?. (52) ken, ?o  
 jaw?gema? wa?naj. (53) ?itan?ok wa?nat ?amyh?eh?yko?. (54) wy

[\[view image\]](#)

---

too far to walk from here to the town on foot. They'll eat you," he said, "the wild dogs. (29) You see that tree far off. You'd better climb high up in it, and look around below at the ones that these wild dogs ate," he said (30) and went. (31) He looked all around the tree when he got there in the evening, as it was getting dark. (32) "Oh, that's what he meant, about these who got killed." (33) He climbed that tree. (34) After he climbed up and straddled the tree he listened. "Who can have arrived on me here?" he was saying of the talking underneath him. (35) Then they talked. (36) "Yes, we just fixed this up, we dammed it up just now," they were saying to each other. (37) "Yes, after we worked for a long time, it looks as if we dammed up where the water comes out," some of them were saying. (38) "They'll never open it up," they were saying. (39) "Only by prying it up with a crowbar," they said. (40) Then in the morning he climbed down and looked all around. (41) "Who is walking here around me?" he said. (42) "I don't see anybody's tracks, only these dead people. (43) Maybe they are the ones who were talking," he said. (44) Then he went to the town. (45) He walked and walked, it was nearly lunchtime when he got there. (46) He asked for water to drink, but the woman [said], "What is it? Where is the water for me to give you? The water has dried up," she said. (47) "Oh, maybe I can fix it," said the man; that was what he had been listening to. (48) "All right, then," she said, (44) and the woman took him then to the headquarters. (50) Then the soldiers fetched him and took him, (51) and their boss said, "Do you want anything, any men?" he said. (52) "No, all I need is a crowbar." (53) So they gave him the crowbar (54) and he went. He looked up. (55) "Oh, this is what they were talking about last night," he said. (56) He pried it up little by little. (57) Then he opened it a little, enough that then the water could push it out. (58) Then the water pushed it, and carried this rock down. (59) Then he was carried on their shoulders, (60) and he was given another hat, a new one, and shoes and clothes, he was given everything, his hair was cut. (61) The next day he was taken back, he was taken to his house with a mule packed with all sorts of food. (62) His wife almost didn't know him, she did not recognize him. (63) Then the ones who brought him went back when he got home. (64) Then the one, his godfather [lit., "his father who gave him a bath"], "Where did you get so rich fast?" he said. (65) "Oh, I got angry that you told us 'you can't get any food,' so I went away, I had to do something then, so that we wouldn't starve like that. (66) I went, and met a certain cowboy going south. (67) Then I went north, and I reached and climbed that tree that the cowboy told me about.

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

·loŋ. (68) cymʔymhykeh·yteʔ li·let la·mat ʔitʔok, ʔalyh·eh·yteʔ  
 m·yt·yj liwaksyʔajko· tin·yŋ, camy·ha·metiŋ ʔik·oŋʔok. (69) ʔit  
 k, ʔecat·eh·yteʔ ʔik·oŋʔok liwaksyʔajko·. (70) ʔim·ytwij·ajʔok  
 t·eh·yteʔ. (71) ʔitanʔok hojeʔ neʔ·ok, ʔypyʔhy· hojeʔ ʔypyhnuke  
 aʔ, hojeʔ hasul·eh·yʔ. (72) hy·ʔy·, ʔoh·ajhy· kojo·nukeh·yʔ, ʔi·  
 aj·y·, wykysma· hoje·non, wykys·yʔhy· ne·hyŋʔok, hyjnejik·yma·  
 ʔhoʔ kacyh·eh·yʔ. (73) kawlypaj taliŋ·eh·yʔ, wykys·eh·yʔ. (74)  
 ʔok ʔinimʔok hi·hym, ʔim·oʔok tama·lin. (75) ʔo·, kotneʔ ʔem  
 aʔ liwaksykaʔhy· kacyh·eh·yʔ. (76) hy·jajikeh·yʔ ʔinitʔok moli·t  
 yji·naʔhy·. (77) ʔo·, neʔ·ok la·maʔ kacyh·eh·yʔ. (78) hyjcicnyk  
 t, haw·it, ʔitanʔok, camy·ha·meti· ʔi·ʔok. (79) ʔitanʔok cym·e  
 ʔ, maʔtala·toʔhu· ʔitʔok la·maŋ, ʔoʔ·uc·ukeh·yʔ. (80) micyʔmej  
 ·caj ma·ŋaʔhy·, liwah·eh·yko nek·oʔok ʔem·aʔmetiʔ. (81) ʔitan  
 k hoʔ·aj·y·, tin·yʔle· hy·jana·teʔ kac·yʔyh·yʔ. (82) ʔitanʔok,  
 myksykeh·yʔ, liwaksyʔaʔko·. (83) manaʔle· kojo·wa·meʔ, mana  
 · kacyh·eh·yko ʔajtu·ko·, hawim·yt·yʔ. (84) ken ʔale· manaj  
 atoksu· kac·ymhiʔyh·yko·. (85) kan·iʔ ken, ken min·it kan·iʔ  
 ysi·teʔ kac·yʔyh·yʔ ajtuʔ. (86) ʔyhe·maʔ manaʔ ʔal·ymyksy·me  
 ymhiʔyh·yko·, (87) ʔyhe·maʔ hane· micykna·meʔ. (88) kan·iʔlek  
 aj hyj·eŋi·teʔ kac·yma·pan, kac·ymhiʔyh·yko· ʔajtuʔ haw·it. (89)  
 ʔpuʔ·uʔuh·uko· ʔip·uʔpuʔ·uʔuh·uko·. (90) kenlek manaj moʔ·aʔi·to  
 min·it kac·ymhiʔyh·yko·. (91) ken, kac·ymhiʔyh·yko·. (92) ken  
 eŋi·tokniʔ li·let kac·yʔyh·yʔ, liwaʔpeʔko·. (93) ken, ken hyj·eŋi  
 n·ipaʔ. (94) ʔitanʔok hyjeŋ·eh·yko· li·let. (95) jej, neʔ·okpaʔ  
 ʔuc·u· ʔal·ymyksyhakmej ʔem·aʔ. (96) ʔem·aʔ neʔ·ok ʔetul·eh  
 ak kastaartit; kac·ymhikoh·yko· (97) hojeʔ ʔim·oʔok ioh·eh·yʔ

[\[view image\]](#)

---

(68) I stayed up in that tree, and I heard something talking underneath me, those dead people. (69) Then I followed up what they said, (70) and that way I got rich." (71) Then next this one, that godfather of his, next said to him, (72) "All right." He told his wife, "I'm going too tomorrow, where this one went, to see for myself," he said. (73) He got up early in the morning and went, (74) east and then north from there. (75) "Oh, that far one must be the tree he was talking about," he said. (76) He got there in the evening as it was getting dark. (77) "Oh, this is the tree," he said. (78) He looked all around then at the dead people, (79) and then he climbed up to the fork of the tree and sat down. (80) At about ten [o'clock] or more they started talking, those very ones. (81) Then, "Who can have come here?" he also said. (82) Then he listened to what they were saying. (83) "Who could have told on us? Somebody or other," they were all saying all around. (84) "You didn't meet anybody, did you?" they were saying to each other. (85) "Not I, I never go anywhere," all of them said. (86) "Maybe somebody is listening to us," they said to each other. (87) "Maybe that's what happened, (88) but I never see anybody is what I am saying," they were saying to each other all around. (89) They kept on talking that way. (90) "Don't you ever meet anybody anywhere?" they were saying to each other. (91) "No," they said. (92) "Don't you ever look upwards?" said that one who was doing the talking. (93) "No, we never look anywhere." (94) Then they looked up. (95) "Hey! This must be the man who is up there listening to us. (96) He must be the one who opened what we dammed up," they said to each other. (97) So then they killed that man. (98) Then that man did not get rich. (99) That's all.

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

·loŋ. (68) cymʔymhykeh·yteʔ li·let la·mat ʔitʔok, ʔalyh·eh·yteʔ  
 m·yt·yj liwaksyʔajko· tin·yŋ, camy·ha·metiŋ ʔik·oŋʔok. (69) ʔit  
 k, ʔecat·eh·yteʔ ʔik·oŋʔok liwaksyʔajko·. (70) ʔim·ytwij·ajʔok  
 t·eh·yteʔ. (71) ʔitanʔok hojeʔ neʔ·ok, ʔypyʔhy· hojeʔ ʔypyhnuke  
 aʔ, hojeʔ hasul·eh·yʔ. (72) hy·ʔy·, ʔoh·ajhy· kojo·nukeh·yʔ, ʔi·  
 aj·y·, wykysma· hoje·non, wykys·yʔhy· ne·hyŋʔok, hyjnejik·yma·  
 ʔhoʔ kacyh·eh·yʔ. (73) kawlypaj taliŋ·eh·yʔ, wykys·eh·yʔ. (74)  
 ʔok ʔinimʔok hi·hym, ʔim·oʔok tama·lin. (75) ʔo·, kotneʔ ʔem  
 aʔ liwaksykaʔhy· kacyh·eh·yʔ. (76) hy·jajikeh·yʔ ʔinitʔok moli·t  
 yji·naʔhy·. (77) ʔo·, neʔ·ok la·maʔ kacyh·eh·yʔ. (78) hyjcicnyk  
 t, haw·it, ʔitanʔok, camy·ha·meti· ʔi·ʔok. (79) ʔitanʔok cym·e  
 ʔ, maʔʔala·toʔhu· ʔitʔok la·maŋ, ʔoʔ·uc·ukeh·yʔ. (80) micyʔmej  
 ·caj ma·ŋaʔhy·, liwah·eh·yko nek·oʔok ʔem·aʔmetiʔ. (81) ʔitan  
 k hoʔ·aj·y·, tin·yʔle· hy·jana·teʔ kac·yʔyh·yʔ. (82) ʔitanʔok,  
 myksykeh·yʔ, liwaksyʔaʔko·. (83) manaʔle· kojo·wa·meʔ, mana  
 · kacyh·eh·yko ʔajtu·ko·, hawim·yt·yʔ. (84) ken ʔale· manaj  
 atoksu· kac·ymhiʔyh·yko·. (85) kan·iʔ ken, ken min·it kan·iʔ  
 ysi·teʔ kac·yʔyh·yʔ ajtuʔ. (86) ʔyhe·maʔ manaʔ ʔal·ymyksy·me  
 ymhiʔyh·yko·, (87) ʔyhe·maʔ hane· micykna·meʔ. (88) kan·iʔlek  
 aj hyj·eŋi·teʔ kac·yma·pan, kac·ymhiʔyh·yko· ʔajtuʔ haw·it. (89)  
 ʔpuʔ·uʔuh·uko· ʔip·uʔpuʔ·uʔuh·uko·. (90) kenlek manaj moʔ·aʔi·to  
 min·it kac·ymhiʔyh·yko·. (91) ken, kac·ymhiʔyh·yko·. (92) ken  
 eŋi·tokniʔ li·let kac·yʔyh·yʔ, liwaʔpeʔko·. (93) ken, ken hyj·eŋi  
 n·ipaʔ. (94) ʔitanʔok hyjeŋ·eh·yko· li·let. (95) jej, neʔ·okpaʔ  
 ʔuc·u· ʔal·ymyksyhakmej ʔem·aʔ. (96) ʔem·aʔ neʔ·ok ʔetul·eh  
 ak kastaartit; kac·ymhikoh·yko· (97) hojeʔ ʔim·oʔok ioh·eh·yʔ

[\[view image\]](#)

---

13. The Black Horse  
(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) Some fig-pickers were down below Merced Falls. (2) One white man was saying that he didn't believe in ghosts. All of them, my father too, were there picking figs. (3) Then one man said, "You can't tell me that, because I've seen one with my own eyes. (4) I watched him. (5) I stopped my wagon and from there I watched him go until he was out of sight. (6) Then I went, after I watched him, I went to the fence where

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

s·eh·yte? hyj·ic·ykteŋ, wykys·eh·yte? net?ok, kul·alyj ʔu·kuʔat·o  
 owo·juʔuh·ute? kataʔ·yni·, kata? ʔew·aŋkatlek. (8) kawa·joj tu·h  
 ʔhi· cymy·maŋ, ʔis·akho? nymih ʔyhtyj·a? ʔew·a?. (9) wykys·eh  
 n?ok. (10) ʔitan?ok kan·i? hyjeŋ·ateŋ ʔetal·eh·yte?, muk·untit  
 yʔantit. (11) kan·i? ʔitan?ok jeʔpama· ʔi·ʔok hilas·aj ʔokahteŋ  
 yntis hyje·nynti?

14. Coyote and Water Ouzel

(Told by Chris Brown)

oto·non ʔahe·li?, walak·ajy·metis ʔucuh·eh·y?. (2) ʔit?ok tyj·et  
 k·ajmetit. (3) ʔem·atlek cy·ly? kac·yʔa?ko·, ʔyny·pat, liwaksyt  
 ok hela·kyj, l·lejhy·. (4) mmmmmmm kac·yt ʔi·ʔok my·lithoj, cy  
 i·ʔok ʔahe·li? hoje?, my·lypoksut ma·katmy? tin·ym hy·jaʔhy·,  
 apoksut hakmyhy?, ʔokhe·nypoksut. (6) ʔim·o?ok hulawŋepoh·u?  
 yknaninti? nej?ok kan·yŋ wyt, ʔyhe·ma? nem?ok, hal·em wy·ma·  
 e·ma?, cy·ly? ʔew·a? ʔit?ok. (7) ʔynyh·eh·y?, hawʔaj·a·meti·,  
 e?hy· hakmyhy? typyh·eh·y?, kica·wyt, haŋ·eh·yʔhy·. (8) ʔaj kac  
 ʔyw·y? ʔew·a? tin·yj hakaj·ikeh·y? ʔasyw·eh·y?. (9) ʔiw·inlek r  
 it hyjŋe?anti? tin·yj ʔywʔyc·yj, heka·ma? jo·huma·, ʔyw·yma·  
 yh·eh·y?, (10) wykys·eh·y? nem?ok hihyt·yt, hiʔe·maj hiʔe·maj  
 yj halpani?hy· ʔywʔyj, ken minit·o?, micyknapuksuni?hy· hoʔ·aj



[\[view image\]](#)

---

he went in. (7) I thought it had a gate, but there wasn't any gate. (8) It was a black horse, with a fine young man riding, and he looked as if he had no clothes on. (9) That was where he went. (10) Then after I saw it I went back to the road I was going on. (11) Then I believed in it, because I saw it with my own eyes."

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

s·eh·yte? hyj·ic·ykteŋ, wykys·eh·yte? net?ok, kul·alyj ?u·ku?at·o  
 owo·ju?uh·ute? kata?·yni·, kata? ?ew·aŋkatlek. (8) kawa·joj tu·h  
 ?hi· cymy·maŋ, ?is·akho? nymih ?yhtyj·a? ?ew·a?. (9) wykys·eh  
 n?ok. (10) ?itan?ok kan·i? hyjeŋ·aŋeŋ ?etal·eh·yte?, muk·untit  
 y?antit. (11) kan·i? ?itan?ok je?pama· ?i·?ok hilas·aj ?okahteŋ  
 yntis hyje·nynti?

### 14. Coyote and Water Ouzel

(Told by Chris Brown)

oto·non ?ahe·li?, walak·ajy·metis ?ucuh·eh·y?. (2) ?it?ok tyj·et  
 k·ajmetit. (3) ?em·aŋlek cy·ly? kac·y?a?ko·, ?yny·pat, liwaksyt  
 ok hela·kyj, l·lejhy·. (4) mmmmmm kac·yt ?i·?ok my·lithoj, cy  
 i·?ok ?ahe·li? hoje?, my·lypoksut ma·katmy? tin·ym hy·ja?hy·,  
 apoksut hakmyhy?, ?okhe·nypoksut. (6) ?im·o?ok hulawŋepoh·u?  
 yknaninti? nej?ok kan·yŋ wyt, ?yhe·ma? nem?ok, hal·em wy·ma  
 e·ma?, cy·ly? ?ew·a? ?it?ok. (7) ?ynyh·eh·y?, haw?aj·a·meti·,  
 e?hy· hakmyhy? typyh·eh·y?, kica·wyt, haŋ·eh·y?hy·. (8) ?aj kac  
 ?yw·y? ?ew·a? tin·yj hakaj·ikeh·y? ʧasyw·eh·y?. (9) ?iw·inlek r  
 it hyjŋe?anti? tin·yj ?yw?yc·yj, heka·ma? jo·huma·, ?yw·yma·  
 yh·eh·y? (10) wykys·eh·y? nem?ok hihyt·yt, hi?e·maj hi?e·maj  
 yj halpani?hy? ?yw?yj, ken minit·o?, micyknapuksuni?hy? ho?·aj·

[\[view image\]](#)

---

14. Coyote and Water Ouzel  
(Told by Chris Brown)

(1) Long ago Coyote was in the tules. (2) He went to sleep there in the tules. (3) But a certain one called Mosquito came up to him and talked about this sky above him. (4) "Mmmmmm," he said singing, the Mosquito. (5) But that one, Coyote, hit himself on the face when something landed on him, but he hit only himself and bothered himself, (6) so he gave up. "What can I do about this? Maybe if I go to this open country there won't be any mosquitoes there." (7) He came along the rocks and his feet just wore out. His old feet were bleeding. (8) "Ay!" he said, "Ay!" With nothing to eat he grew hungry and thin. (9) "Now, when I see something to eat somewhere, I'm going to kill him and eat him," he said. (10) He went towards the east. For days and days he did not find anything to eat anywhere, and he could not do anything for himself; (11) his foot hurt, he could not chase anything. (12) He looked forward to eating a jack-rabbit, but he could not catch up with it. (13) He cried over his feet and was sad. (14) Then he got to a little creek, as he kept on traveling, and he saw a Crane standing up to his waist in the water, watching for trout to eat. (15) "Hey, now I'll eat," he said, filled with anticipation when he saw this big one far off. (16) "I'll keep wandering on," he said. (17) Then he came up to him. (18) "Let me come up to him, let me talk to him, just wait," he said. (19) He got there. (20) "Hey, what are you doing so hard, you very big one here in the water, looking?" he said. (21) "I'm looking at this one under you, so that the sky won't turn over on us. (22) If I don't do this, if I don't watch it, if it falls it will kill all of us, (23) so I'm watching this water here. (24) When it gets worse, I'm going to run around and go and tell the people. 'Move away! The sky is coming down on us,' is what I'll say." (25) Then, "Maybe that's

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

h·eh·y?. (26) hac·ic·ysy· net?ok ny·ma?hi· hane· ?i?ok nym·a·t  
a· hoje?. (27) kan·i? net?ok hac·i·him·a·, min·it·o? nem?ok ?yw  
pnajty· kan·i·, kan·i?lek haka·jak·ak. (28) hy·?y· kac·yt, ne?ok  
a? hyj?yksyt ?yw?yjny?ajhy·. (29) hyjeŋ·e? hel·i·, ?o·ceh·yŋhy·  
·wynky?ajhy·. (30) ?im·o?ok hoje?, ?ipuṭ·eh·y?·ok hac·ikeh·y?, k  
ok lotuksukeh·y? ?i?ok kik·yj, walit·yt. (31) ?im·o?oklek ?itan?  
·s·eh·y?, hu·jem·y?ho? manik hy·jajik·eh·y? la·maj cym·eh·y?, ?  
? tin·y? ?i?ok, lapi·sajyj halkipa? ho?·aj keŋ·e?, hy·jajik·eh·y?  
hyj·ic·ykeh·y? hakmyhy?. (33) tin·yj hane· ne?ok mic·y·, tin·y  
· ?it?ok hyj·ic·y· walit·yt, kac·yh·eh·y?. (34) ?im·o?ok hoje?,  
·lut tin·yj hane· miko? mic·ytoksu· nej?ok waka·lyj, wy?iṭ·ymyk  
·hyj nej?ok wali·ny· kik·yj kac·yh·eh·y?. (35) ne?oklek helak  
·g·eji? mah·i?lek nem·o?ok, halpyksymah·i· tin·yŋ, ?yh·ytym·aŋ,  
a?ajhy·, kac·yt. (36) kojo·nu?ajmah·i· nej?ok miw·yj, ?ynyh·e? ?  
?i?ok mah·iŋ tawa·hany?mah·i· ne?ok. (38) kan·i?lek ?im·o?ok  
o?ok li·le?·ynyk, wy?iṭ·ymyksyma· nem·o?ok kot·an hyjŋeninti·  
h·eh·y?. (39) kan·i?panlek haka·jak·ak sikej. micyknanitokni?ka  
ajik·ynite?ny·pan ?yw?ys, ?yhe·my· pa?·e·te?ny· ?yw?yc·ys, ?yhe  
ninti?, ?espanini?kanlek. (40) cym·eh·y? nej?ok, la·maj, ?em·a  
·s·eh·y? ka·cy·to?hu· ?yw?yj welkijik·eh·y? hywat·eh·y?. (41) lil  
·keh·y? ?im·o?ok, peṭ·ak·ah·y?, wal·im hy·jajikeh·y? tol·em. (4  
·eh·y? ho?·aj men·ama· ho?·aj kac·yh·eh·y?. (43) ?okat·o? ?it?ok  
·majto? hy·jajik·eh·y? ho?·aj·y·, koṭ·uk·ah·y? ho?·aj peṭ·ak·ah·y?  
?em·aṭ ?i?ok ?ahe·li?, nej?ok hakajmeŋky?ajhy· ken tin·yt  
TEXTS 488  
poksuni?hy· micyknani?hy·. (45) micyknama· hane·, ken hane·  
umat ka·e·h·e·h·y? (46) hu·i·e·u·ke·h·y? ?i?ok kik·yi· li·le?·ynyk

[\[view image\]](#)

---

true, you are a heavy man," he said, (26) "And you are standing here. Maybe it's the truth that he said just now. (27) Let me stand here, and you go and find me some food somewhere, I'm hungry." (28) "All right," he said, but the Crane knew what he wanted to eat. (29) He saw some mushrooms, and his old belly was empty. (30) So he kept standing there in the water holding the water down. (31) Then [Coyote] went on and further down he arrived at a tree, and that certain one climbed it, another hunter of fish. He got there, (32) and just watched him. (33) "What are you doing? What is he looking down for?" he said. (34) Then he asked, "What are you people doing in the creek? You are peering at the same thing under you in the water," he said. (35) "This sky is going to fall, and we are here watching for something bad to arrive," he said. (36) "We will tell the people about it before he comes. (37) That's our job. (38) I'm the one who peers over from high up, I can see a long way from here," he said. (39) "But I am very hungry. Can I do something for you while you go and get me something to eat? Maybe if you give me a little food, maybe I can survive, but I ought to help you," (40) and he climbed the tree, that one went, he ran perhaps to get some food. (41) He got up there and fell down. He got to the ground at the bottom and climbed again. (42) "I'm going to try again," he said. (43) He got to the same place halfway up again, it broke and he fell. (44) That Coyote, being hungry, could not hold himself, he could not do anything. (45) "What am I going to do? Maybe I won't come out," he said. (46) [The bird] looked at the water from halfway up the tree. (47) "Maybe they are telling me the truth," he said. "These ripples in the water, maybe that's the truth. (48) I'll just ask for food." (49) That one went. After he went, after he ran away, after looking and looking, Coyote said, "Maybe he is telling me a lie in what he said to me." (50) He went on quietly. When he heard the leaves talking, (51) he ran back, he went to climb the tree and peep out. "He didn't do anything yet," he said. (52) He went on. The leaves talked. (53) When the leaves talked he ran and returned to them. Little by little he went further and further till he got there, where one was standing in the water. (54) "I'm going to eat that one no matter what happens, I don't care what he does to me, I'm going to eat him. I'm very hungry, I'm getting thin," he said. (55) He got there. "What are you doing here? You are jumping so much on these rocks and bouncing around. What are you going to do there under the water? What are you peering around at from there? There, what is it that you are kicking so much underneath all the time?" (56) "Oh, I have

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

a·halʔyni·teʔ, halpyksyʔanti·, kik·yj, miw·yj kojo·nujik·yʔanti· n  
 a·kynʔ pet·akaʔhy·. (57) ʔim·oʔok, ʔitanʔok nejʔok hawaj nej ka  
 t·yt ken hejawŋethoj lakhyʔajhy· lilet·yt, lotuksuma· walit·yt, ky  
 at wyksuma· hu·jeʔ, ʔowhujik·yma· kot·o·net hawat. (58) ʔim·oʔ  
 syma· ʔal·am·yʔ kik·yj, wyʔi·tyjik·ythoj ʔajtuŋ, cytyn·yc·yʔajhy·  
 eŋ, ʔal·am·yʔ kik·yj. (59) ʔim·oʔok hoʔ·aj·y·, ʔyn·yma· hoʔ·aj·  
 yma· nejʔok hawʔaj·at·i·, kaljama· walit·yt ken hejawŋethoj ʔyn  
 ʔ. (60) ʔitanʔok hoʔ·aj·y· ʔyntyn·ythoj, ʔyhe·my·, ny·maʔhi·  
 ŋ·eʔaʔhy· ʔuc·u· tin·yj micyknanintiʔ wyʔi·tyjma· kac·yma·, ʔal·  
 yj wynkajnyma· ʔajtuŋ to·koj, hyjŋethoj, micyknanintiʔ ken tin·y  
 iʔpanlek haka·jak·ak sikej ʔespaniniʔkan miʔlek sikej cyn·ipic·y  
 yhniʔ sikej ʔi·ʔok ʔipuksuʔajny·ʔok lotuksuʔajny· ʔi·ʔok hawaj,  
 kan·iʔlek lewe·ta·teʔ kan·iʔlek miw·y·teʔ ʔoja·niteʔ kac·y·eh·yʔ  
 ʔim·oʔok hojeʔ, ʔipu·teŋʔoktaŋ, ʔesy·te·teŋ, kan·yŋ wyksyniʔka  
 yjik·yniʔkan ʔyhe·my· huluwmeti·koj ʔywʔyj, min·it·oʔ halpajik·y  
 ʔim·oʔok hojeʔ, hy·ʔy·, ʔipu·teʔ·oktaŋ, kaji·wij, camhyma· hak  
 hyma· haka·jyj, micyknaninti· ken. (64) hy·ʔy·, kan·iʔ wy·ma,  
 e·my· kuse·nyntiʔ nem ʔuc·u· ʔajtuʔ, lep·ame·ciʔ, ʔi·ʔok we·lyj  
 ak·oŋkoʔ ʔywy·myn·iŋ ʔisʔok, ʔipu·teʔny·ʔok nejʔok, hajak·at·eʔn  
 metisʔok hawa·metis. (65) netʔok hyle·tyjniʔ nem·yʔ, kot·o·net  
 am·yʔ ʔim·oʔok netʔok hoʔ·aj tyŋtajniʔ kot·o·nethoʔ liwaʔtyk ʔiʔ  
 yʔtyk, ʔiʔ kac·yʔtyk, liwaksyjniʔ, liwaksyjniʔ, hyle·tet ʔi·ʔok  
 ʔaj·aj kala·ŋyt. (66) ʔitanʔok ky·tak·at wykcyjniʔ nemʔok ʔal·am  
 yj, welhyjikat nejʔok micyʔmej tin·yj ʔyhe·my·, ʔic·ytniʔhy·,  
 ytniʔhy· tol·eŋ kac·ythoj, wykys·eh·yʔ hojeʔ. (67) hylet·eh·yʔ h  
 ʔyihy· ʔem·atvi kac·y·toʔhu· welnajiik·y·hak (68) ʔem·atlek ynk

[\[view image\]](#)

---

a job watching the water, to tell the people when the sky falls, (57) so I'm kicking these rocks down because I don't want it to come out on top. I'm holding it down. Once in a while I go below. I go to bounce all the way to that rock, (58) then I go under the water, going to look to see if everything in the world is all right under the water. (59) Then I come again, kicking these rocks, kicking them down because I don't want them to come up." (60) Then again he was thinking, "Maybe it's true that it's going to fall. I've got to do something. I'll say that I'm going to look, I'm going to walk around under the water looking at everything. I can't do anything, I am so hungry. I would help you, you are very small and very light to do that, to hold those rocks down. (61) But I am heavy, I am a big person," he said. (62) So then, "If you do that, if you help me, maybe I can go and get some food for the starving ones. Where can I go to find it?" (63) So then, "Yes, please do that, I'm dying of hunger, dying of hunger. I can't do anything." (64) "All right, I'm going. Maybe I'll have to get food, it's all gone here. I'll go and get it and bring it, and later let me feed you with it, if you do that, if you take care of these rocks for me. (65) You will jump to this one from here, all the way to the rock, and from that rock to here again, you will dance around again. You will dance all the way over again, talking, saying "Ee! Ee!," you will talk and talk, if you jump on the rocks, if you dance. (66) Then if you stay longer, you will go there under the water, going to look for this thing, if it does that to you, if the earth cracks on you, say." (67) So he went, he flew down below, to look for that food. (68) But this kept on going and told them there below, he told some of them there, "This thing, this big one, he's going to eat us. Maybe he's an ogre," he said as he went. "Look out for yourselves, watch for him to come out, he will come out here. Try hard to be good to him, all of you," he said. (69) Then all the little birds thought, "Maybe that's true, he's getting rid of us, that one, he's going to eat us and get rid of us people here," they said. (70) So he bounced around and looked forward to [getting food]. He was so proud that he put on his flicker-feather headband, and with his costume he arrived there and danced on top of the rocks. Being vain, he tried to keep up, that Coyote bounced around and bounced around. (71) "I'm going to peer at this country, at what's wrong here under the water. Maybe we might fall down," he said. (72) "I'm going anyhow, I'm going now here under the water, I'm going to arrive somewhere, I'll reach it," he just said. "I'm going a long way. (73) But that one is thinking, that tiny one, the little bird, he's not going far on top of the water, he's going to look," he said. (74) So high on

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hawaj cym·eŋho? cyty·napoŋ, hoje? lil·eka·ni· wykys·eh·y?,  
 ykeh·y? ?em·atyj hawaj ne?lek ?it·e? tałta? kik·y?, pe?ak·ah·y?  
 ni?oh·ujhu· ?ajtuj ko?al·eh·y?, hyntyh·yjhy· kululnakeh·y?. (75)  
 na·ni? tin·yj hane· hyjap·anak kac·ytlek, lakhythoj, lotukpoksut,  
 ytlek ?okahpu?e? lotuk ?is·yjhy·, kala·ŋyt ?okahpu?e?, myl·i?tyk,  
 k cilo·pa·meti·hy· tin?yj·ajhy· nu·?ajhy· wi·kypon? hyjasnyhak. (76)  
 ma? ?espanite?hy· kac·ythoj, im·o?ok ho?·aj·y· men·ama· ho?·aj  
 pu?e? kac·ythoj ne·hyŋ?ok han·aŋhy· kyl·i·hy· ken testes·a?hy·.  
 im·o?ok hane· men·akom·a· ho?·aj·y· ?yhe·my· halpajik·yninti?  
 my· tin·yj micyknani?hy· ny·ma?hi· kac·yt. (78) hylet·eh·y? lil·e  
 ·eh·y? ho?·aj·y·, walih·eh·y?. (79) wal·im hy·ja?pak ?i·?ok  
 la·meti· ci?·eh·y? ?ajtuj tin·yj nej?ok haw?aj·at·i· huluwmeti·koj  
 na· tin·yj hane· ne?·ok, ?yhtyp·ute? ?yhe·my· kan·ih·ytej kac·yh·  
 yhtykak ny·ma?hi· ?ona·cykak, manik hane· wykysy?anti? kan·i?le  
 kapat·ak manik net?ok nepuksu?anti· ?i·?ok, hakmyhy? ?aw·i?pu  
 ti?ok hawa·meti· ho?·aj nej?ok hilu·ku?anti· kik·ym, ?yhe·ma?  
 ni· ken ?uc·u?anti· ?yhe·ma? hyjap·a?anti? tin·yj, kac·yh·eh·y? ?i  
 thoj. (81) ken wyksa?hy· kot·an. (82) wy·ma·. (83) wykys·eh·y  
 o? we·pa?. (84) we·pa?·ynyk ?im·o?ok hoje? hylet·eh·y? kik·ym  
 y·. (85) tic·yc hy·jajik·eh·y? kik·ym, ?amlame·cih·y? manik.  
 ryksyt ho?·aj ?inim ho?·aj·y·, tin·yj ?al·ythoj hywa·tyt. (87) ta?  
 e·nihko· kac·yh·eh·y? hoje? ?esikŋethoj ?i·?ok, miw?yj·aj nej?ok.  
 ·eh·y? ?ol·owim·y?. (88) wyksyma· nem?ok hoje? ?okahpu?e?  
 ?anti? camhy?anti? muk·uj kac·yh·eh·y?. (89) lawa·kak·ak sikej,  
 my?. (90) ?iw·nlek ken ?ipu·tu?te·ko· ken ?yhtyjte·ko·. (91) ?iw

[\[view image\]](#)

---

that rock he climbed and got set. He went high up, and came out on the rock, but the water was shallow and he fell down there and broke his nose and blacked his eyes. (75) "Maybe something did it to you when I landed on it," he said when he came out. He clutched himself, but he danced just the same holding his hand; he danced just the same, singing. He was proud of the costumes and things that he hid and put on, (76) saying, "Maybe he can help me." Then, "I'm going to try again," he said, as his head got better and was not cut. (77) "Maybe I'd better try again, maybe I can go to find it, maybe it can do something," he said. (78) He jumped and went high up again, and came down. (79) Arriving at the bottom, he burrowed under the sand and rocks and everything, starving [?]. "What is he doing, maybe they treat me badly, poor old me," he said. (80) "It seems that I was treated badly, I was treated even worse. I'd better go, I'm only getting more hungry here doing this, I am only keeping on playing with these rocks, and washing my hair in the water. Maybe I'd better not stay very long, maybe I'll get to something," he said seeing that one, (81) who had not gone far. (82) "I'm going." (83) He went up the hillside. (84) From the hill he jumped in the water again. (85) He landed head first and was more cut up. (86) He went over there again, and hearing something he ran. (87) "Let them be careless, let them die," he said, getting angry with those people. He went west. (88) "I'm going there now just the same, I don't care if I die on the road," he said. (89) "I'm very tired from hunger. (90) Now they aren't going to do that to me, they aren't going to treat me badly. (91) Now if I see any of those birds I eat him, I swallow him, I don't care whether the world comes down or not," he said. (92) He went to the west, he did not see anything, he went a long way. (93) "What can I do? Where can I go?" he said. (94) "I'll go over the land, but this water looks bad to me," he said. (95) He went over the land. (96) He walked and walked through the rocks. He came upon a certain Water Ouzel, (97) he came upon him there when he was shouting. "It's certainly a very little thing," he said, "but what I'm going to do is eat him just the same. I don't care anyway, let it fall down, all this rock below. (98) When I swallow him I am going to run, I'm going a long way off again," he said. (99) "Maybe they lied to me, it seems," he said. (100) The little one was running around saying "Ee! Ee!" (101) He went in the holes in the rocks and came out the other side again. (102) "What are you doing, you bird who are so small?" he said. (103) "All right, I'm looking at these rocks, if these rocks do that, if they shake down, this

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

mej ?ajtu·mej, kacyh·eh·y? ?i·cic·y?ok. (104) kan·yñtaṭlek ?espa  
 k hane· micyknaninti? kan·yñ likejlek kan·yñ ?oja·nite?, ken han  
 na·meti· lakhyjik·yninti? kan·yñ nymih mi·nyñ lakhy?ajny·. (105)  
 ? wy?i·tyni?ny· hakmyhy? hyjcicnyni?ny· ?inim, kacyh·eh·y?. (106)  
 ?taṭ haj·ekan haj·ekan ?yn·e?, haj·ekan haj·ekan, haj·ekan kojo·r  
 e·ty· cyty·pat·y· liwas, ?is?ok kacyh·eh·y?. (107) ?is·ak ?ahe·li  
 kyc·yj ?i·?ok, hu·?y· kac·yt, nem·y? jo·?un hyj·y·hi? nej?ok kan·  
 a· kot·o·nej, hyjñeni?ny· kot·o·net·o? nakej, cytyn·yc·y?ajhy· ne·  
 metiñ, kac·yt. (108) hoje? ?em·aṭ, wykys·eh·y? hoje?, hylet·eh  
 n·u? hy·jakeh·y?. (109) wy·ma·?e· ?yw·y·te?taṭlek kan·i· ne?·ok  
 te?. (110) ?yw·yma· haka·jak·ak, hyntyh·y?hy· ?ajtu? luṭit·eñ  
 eñ li·le? hyj·ic·yt li·le? hakmyhy? ken tin·yj micyknani?hy·  
 teksyt hakmyhy?, hyhyhyhy kac·y?puṭ·ut hakmyhy?. (111) hy·ja  
 y? my?yṭ·eh·y? ?i·?ok ?it·ej puṭ·uc·uj ?i·?ok ?ywyh·eh·y?. (112)  
 iw·inlek ?yw·y·hakma· ?yw·y·hakma·lek ?iw·in ?o· ?oce?kan cyty  
 ·eh·y?. (113) hykat·eh·y? ?oce?cis nej?ok ?aj ?yw·y·hakma·lek  
 iw·in lakyh·it, wykyni?kan kot·o? minit·o? kac·yt. (114) ho?·aj  
 ? ho?·aj·y·, ?yh·a·panlek lakyh·eh·y? hoje? ?ec·am·yt·yto?hu· hoj  
 kaw·ikeh·y? hojit·ojhu·, micykpana·te?jo· lakha·te? min·it·o? lak  
 k. (116) hyjeñ·eh·y? kyt·yjhy·, kyt·y?hy· cyty?. (117) howo·hakt  
 ṭ·eteñ kac·yt. (118) ?iw·inlek ?enhymus·u· kan·i? ?i·?ok hoje? l  
 , my?yṭ·eh·y? ?i·?ok, cickac·yj ?i·?ok, lotuk, po·tolujhu·, po·to  
 h·y? ṭis·yjhy· ?i·?ok, cicka?lek lakyh·eh·y? nej?ok ?it·ejhy·, hal  
 hy·, nej?ok ?it·ejhy·, haṭ·ejhy·. (119) hylet·eh·y? koto·net·o?  
 jikeh·y?. (120) ?yw·ymu· mi? hejawñesy· ?yhty?at·ejny· kacyh·e

[\[view image\]](#)

---

land will fall down and kill us all," said that little one. (104) "I really ought to help you, but I can't do anything, I'm too big, maybe I can't go through, I can't come out the way you come out." (105) "From here you can only peer over, you can look around over there," he said. (106) "But wait, closer, closer, come closer, closer, closer, tell me, say it to me louder, make this talk easy for me," he said, (107) that Coyote to the little one. "All right," he said. "From here just look at it, I'm going over there. You can see all the way to there if these rocks are all right," he said. (108) Then this one went, he flew to the other side. (109) "I'm going, or he'll eat me," this one said. "He'll eat me." (110) "I'm going to eat, I'm hungry." His eyes changed when he spoke, he only looked up, he couldn't do anything, he just had his mouth open. "Huh, huh, huh, huh," he just kept on saying. (111) He got there, he caught him, he swallowed that little Ouzel, he ate him. (112) "Ah, but now I have eaten! I have eaten now! Oh, my belly feels better," he said. (113) He rubbed his belly. "Oh, but I have eaten now, oh, now I'll come out of it, I can go far, anywhere," he said. (114) But this old one a little later came out again, outside of him. (115) He shouted in front of him. "How did he do that to me? Where did he come out of me? He came out." (116) He looked at his teeth, his teeth were all right. (117) "I thought I swallowed him," he said. (118) "But now I'm going to fix you." He caught him and swallowed that little bird, holding his rectum. He put his hand over his rectum, but the bird came out through his claws, through his feet. (119) He flew away and landed far off. (120) "You are going to eat me, you want to treat me badly," he said. (121) "But you can't get me," he said. (122) "Hey, I closed it off with this hand of mine," he said, "But he came out of me." (123) Then that old Coyote went away, he went any old way, he went somewhere north, still hungry. (124) That's all of that.

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

mej ?ajtu·mej, kac·yh·eh·y? ?i·cic·y?ok. (104) kan·yŋtaṭlek ?espa  
 k hane· micyknaninti? kan·yŋ likejlek kan·yŋ ?oja·nite?, ken han  
 ha·meti· lakhyjik·yninti? kan·yŋ nymih mi·nyŋ lakhy?ajny·. (105)  
 ? wy?i·tyni?ny· hakmyhy? hyjcicnyni?ny· ?inim, kac·yh·eh·y?. (106)  
 ?taṭ haj·ekan haj·ekan ?yn·e?, haj·ekan haj·ekan, haj·ekan kojo·r  
 e·ty· cyty·pat·y· liwas, ?is?ok kac·yh·eh·y?. (107) ?is·ak ?ahe·li  
 kyc·yj ?i·?ok, hu·?y· kac·yt, nem·y? jo·?un hyj·y·hi? nej?ok kan·  
 a· kot·o·nej, hyjŋeni?ny· kot·o·net·o? nakej, cytyn·yc·y?ajhy· ne·  
 metiŋ, kac·yt. (108) hoje? ?em·aṭ, wykys·eh·y? hoje?, hylet·eh  
 n·u? hy·jakeh·y?. (109) wy·ma·?e· ?yw·y·te?taṭlek kan·i· ne?·ok  
 te?. (110) ?yw·yma· haka·jak·ak, hyntyh·y?hy· ?ajtu? luṭit·eŋ  
 eŋ li·le? hyj·ic·yt li·le? hakmyhy? ken tin·yj micyknani?hy·  
 teksyt hakmyhy?, hyhyhyhy kac·y?puṭ·ut hakmyhy?. (111) hy·ja  
 y? my?yṭ·eh·y? ?i·?ok ?it·ej puṭ·uc·uj ?i·?ok ?ywyh·eh·y?. (112)  
 iw·inlek ?yw·y·hakma· ?yw·y·hakma·lek ?iw·in ?o· ?oce?kan cyty  
 ·eh·y?. (113) hykat·eh·y? ?oce?cis nej?ok ?aj ?yw·y·hakma·lek  
 iw·in lakyh·it, wyksyni?kan kot·o? minit·o? kac·yt. (114) ho?·aj  
 ? ho?·aj·y·, ?yh·a·panlek lakyh·eh·y? hoje? ?ec·am·yt·yto?hu· hoj  
 kaw·ikeh·y? hojit·ojhu·, micykpana·te?jo· lakha·te? min·it·o? lak  
 k. (116) hyjeŋ·eh·y? kyt·yjhy·, kyt·y?hy· cyty?. (117) howo·hāk  
 ṭ·eteŋ kac·yt. (118) ?iw·inlek ?enhymus·u· kan·i? ?i·?ok hoje? l  
 , my?yṭ·eh·y? ?i·?ok, cickac·yj ?i·?ok, lotuk, po·tolujhu·, po·to  
 h·y? ṭis·yjhy· ?i·?ok, cicka?lek lakyh·eh·y? nej?ok ?it·ejhy·, hal  
 hy·, nej?ok ?it·ejhy·, haṭ·ejhy·. (119) hylet·eh·y? koto·net·o?  
 jikeh·y?. (120) ?yw·ymu· mi? hejawŋesy· ?yhty?at·ejny· kac·yh·e  
 (121) ?iw·inlek ?iw·inlek ?iw·inlek ?iw·inlek ?iw·inlek ?iw·inlek

[\[view image\]](#)

---

15. Coyote, Duck, and Mole  
(Told by Chris Brown)

(1) Long ago Coyote came walking down the creek in the sand. He got to a place where a certain Duck was pounding. (2) "What are you doing so hard?" he said. (3) She answered, "This is what I'm doing."

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hi·je· hije·	ko·caj?ata?
tin·yj hojo·	ko·caj?ata?
mi·cy·mata?	hi·je· hije·
hi·je· hije·	hi·je· hije·
tyl·a·ma·pan	hi·je· hije·
tyl·a·ma·man	hi·je· hije?

jej, sikej ?a· sikej sikej mit·ic·y? ho·conot·ic·y? sikej cy?y?e  
 jo·muntu· mic·ythoj net?ok lil·ekac·yn na·wasyjny· wi·ke? lil·eka  
 na·ce? li·le? wi·ke? net·ykan, net·ykan, net·ykan.

tin·yj hojo·	na?·anti?lek
mi·cyt hojo·	?u·cumta?
?i·?okta?lek	?u·cum ?uc·u·
li·wa·nymu·	tyj·e·na?at?
hi·je· hije·	tyj·e·na?at?
hi·je· hije·	hi·je· hije·
na?·a?yni·jete·	hi·je· hije?
je?pa·te?lek	

?itan?ok wy·ha·, li·le?, hu·tawekna?, to?·uc·u· li·le?, la·mat c  
 tin·yj hane· ?i·?ok mic·y·, kan·i?lek hejaw?ema· ?i·?ok hy·jajik  
 ?ok ?oh·aj hejaw?ema· kan·i?.

hu·taweken·a?	lok·iwin·a?	wile·le?·a?·a·
hu·taweken·a?	lok·iwin·a?	wile·le?·a?
hu·taweken·a?	lok·iwin·a?	wile·le?·a?
hu·taweken·a?	lok·iwin·a?	wile·le?·a?

TEXTS

0) ?ahe·li?jo· ?yn·a·, tin·yj mic·ysy·, tin·yj mic·ysy· sikej, kan·  
 ayma· sikei iutututurna· mic·aksy· sikei lil·ekan ho·conoinu

[\[view image\]](#)

---

- (4) [Song:] What am I doing? I'm pounding, I'm pounding, redmaids seed, redmaids seed!
- (5) "Hey, your little leg looks very, very good to me. Hey, tell me why it is. Put your skirt a little higher, a little higher, more, put it up, that way, that way, that way!"
- (6) [Song of Duck:] "What is this? Why do you say this to me? I have a husband, he trusts me. My husband is at home asleep, sleeping."
- (7) Then he went. Buzzard was sitting up in a dead tree. (8) "What is he doing? I want to get there, I want that woman too."
- (9) [Song:] "Buzzard got burned playing dice [?]"
- (10) Coyote came. "What are you doing? What are you doing so hard? What am I to do, I'm shaking all over. What's the matter with you? Lift your leg up higher, higher!"
- (11) [Song of Duck:] "Calm down, they give me bad words. My husband will scold me, he will beat me. I love my husband. Don't do that to poor me."
- (12) [Song:] "Buzzard got burned playing dice [?]"
-



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ·a?	?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ
?uj·u? ?uj·u? ?uj·aŋ·a?	?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ
hel·e· wele·lymaŋ·a·	peŋa·ŋy·ma· ?oh·anti·
?uj·u? ?uj·u? ?uj·aŋ	wel·yc·y·ma·?a·
?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ	lu·ŋi?ŋi· hal·etjo·
?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ	?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ
hel·e· wel·y·maŋ·a·	?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ

) wy?·eh·y? ?im·o?ok ne?·ok, tin·y? ne?·ok tim·ilnyŋ·ehak wykys  
 ·am·yt·yj tol·ej ?uk·eh·y? wykys·eh·y?, hale·toj wykys·eh·y?. (1)  
 tim·y? lakhy?pak, lakhyt, nep·uŋe·meti·koj hy·jathoj. (16) ?ita·n  
 a·meti·, ?al·am·yt·yj wykysjik·yt, wykys·eh·y? wykys·eh·y? wyk  
 ) hy·jajikeh·y? kot lu·ŋit, ?en?ej·at·o?hu·, miw?yj·at·o?hu· ?oka·h  
 ) kenman kojo·munic·i· ken, min·it·o? wykyskanti·. (19) wykysr  
 ŋit hal·et, ko·ji·hy· ?ypyntiŋ, kan·i? ho?·aj·y· nutkijik·y·ma·, kac  
 kys·eh·y?. (20) ?oh·a?hy· hoje?, ?oh·a?hy· mojoksut ?it·ej, la·n  
 kyka?hy· ?oka·hyŋ ne·hyŋ?ok tim·ilyŋ. (21) taliŋ·eh·y?, kawyl  
 cy·ja?hy·, ?al·yt my·li·hy· wyksa?hy· kot·an, mycaj·a?hy· mycaj  
 caj·a?hy·.

?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ	?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ
?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ	?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ
?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ	?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ
hel·e· wel·y·maŋ·a·	?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aŋ

) kacyh·eh·y?, wykysjik·y·thoj lu·ŋi· hal·ej. (24) hawa·meti·koj k  
 ?yni?hy·<sup>TEXT</sup>ut wyksa?hy· lil·em·yt·yj hawaj. (25) ?oh·a?hy· m  
 ·ha· kacypak, mylih·eh·y?.



[\[view image\]](#)

---

(13) [Song of Mole:] "I'm leaving my wife, I'm looking for a different world!"

(14) Then he went, this Mole or something went, under the ground he went in and went, he went through the country (15) to come out in a different place, coming to all of these. (16) Then the leaves, he went underneath. He went and went and went, (17) till he got to a different place, to his aunt's, to his own people's. (18) "Don't tell where I went. (19) I'm going to a different world. I too will challenge my father's enemy," he said, and he went. (20) His wife, meanwhile, was sleeping with that tree that Mole himself put there. (21) She woke up some time in the night, and heard his song when he went far off, quietly, quietly, quietly.

(22) [Song of Mole: nonsense syllables]

(23) he said, as he went through a different country. (24) He could not tunnel through the rocks, so he had to go on top of the rocks. (25) His wife, saying, "Where did he go?" sang:

(26) [Song:] "Where has my husband gone? He treated me badly, he made me sleep with this old tree. I thought he was asleep. Up above, I am astonished to hear it, dying away, of his people, of his language. Where, oh, where did he go? Let me follow him, let me follow him, I am going, I too am going there, that way, let me follow him, hearing his voice disappear, it is vanishing. Where did he go?"

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ʔim·oʔok, tupuh·eh·yʔ poto·koj hyʔ·yʒhat ʔit·eʔhy· hal·ajhy·, hi·so  
v·eh·yʔ puhel·eh·yʔ, hyh, hyh, hyh, hyh, kacyh·eh·yʔ. (28) wyʔ  
k hi·sokuʔhu·, nakap·eh·yʔ, hy·jajik·yʔyh·yʔ ʔem·aʔyj lu·ti·  
p·uʔajhy· kot·om·uʔ nej·ok hela·kyj. (29) hy·jakeh·yʔ, ʔuhe·jyk·a  
jyŋ·ethoj im·oʔok ty·jyk·ah·yʔ, hyti·lyk·ah·yʔ ʔajtuj. (30) hyti·ly  
kyŋ ʔoka·hyŋ. (31) tin·yʔ mic·a·teʔ kan·i· netʔok ʔiw·in micykn  
n. (32) ʔok·ih·ak sikej kan·iʔ kacyh·eh·yʔ, ty·jyk·aŋ, min·it·oʔ  
r·yʔ, kawy·lyj, hiʔ·e·matoj, ʔem·aʔ ʔynyh·eh·yʔ, welhyt haʔ·ejhy  
ʔal·am·yt·yj wykcyjajhy· kot·om·uʔ, hy·jajikeh·yʔ ʔinim, kawly  
ʔhy· caltuhnyha·kyŋ, hy·jakeh·yʔ halap·eh·yʔ naŋ·aŋhy· hil·yʔpuʔ  
k, lawak·ikej, najyh·eh·yʔ wit·ythoj. (33) tin·yj·o· kan·i· mic·yr  
tymu· ʔipuʔtumu·ʔok min·it·oʔ mic·yjik·ysy· tin·yj. (34) kenmar  
tunihniʔ·ok. (35) ʔyhʔakmu· ʔona·cakmu·, moʒo·panakmu·, ʔit·e  
k la·mas. (36) howo·juhakteʔ mi·nyŋ, jaŋ·ac·aʔny· maʔil·yc·aʔn  
ntit kan·yŋ, net·oʔ, myl·iʔny·, sesjeʔhy·lek liwaŋny·, kot·an wy  
ehak cemŋehak kan·iʔjo· tyj·ehakteʔ, [snore, snore] kac·yhakteʔ  
al·i·hak, ʔokcanak te·ŋak, hypy·tak ʔem·aʔyj, ʔi·ʔok la·maj, hyp  
cak. (38) tin·yj·o· kan·iʔ moʒoksuma· kac·yhakteʔ. (39) meny·t  
k, mulhaʔny· ʔi·ʔok liwaksyʔajny·, ʔenuptuni·teʔ ʔajtut wy·hak,  
yj·at·oʔnu· koʒo·nukajny·. (40) ken hejaw·ike·niʔ min·it·oʔ  
myksyʔanti· kan·yŋ tin·yj, mic·yʔanti·. (41) mic·yʔajny· mi·nyŋ  
klek na·kythoj howo·jaksy· min·it·oʔ wykcyjthoj tytkyt·ethoj kan·i  
nyʔat·ejny· ʔi·ʔok, hywa·tyʔat·ejny·. (42) wykcyjjik·ysy· hyjʔyksy  
t·oʔ lu·ti·<sup>TEXTS</sup>helaktoʔ. (43) ʔimʔok ʔale· hy·jajkyjniʔ, jo·huʔ<sup>500</sup>uniʔ  
koʔnu· ʔimʔok. (44) ken cytyj ken ʔuc·ujkujniʔ ʔimʔok hal·et.

[\[view image\]](#)

---

(27) Then she pulled out and broke off a grey hair, her feathers, a hair, and sent it, she blew it, "Huh, huh, huh, huh," she said. (28) Her hair went off to catch up with him when he got to a different place on the other side of the sky. (29) It got there and made bad luck for him, it tied him up by wishing, it tied him all up. (30) Being tied up, (31) "What did she do to me? What am I going to do now? (32) I'm in a sorry state," he said, after he was tied up. Somewhere he wriggled all night long and all day. The other came looking for footprints in the ground below, he went on the other side. She got there in the morning, when it got light. She got there and found her husband rolling around there, he was tired. She reached him and took it off. (33) "What are you doing to me? You ran from me, you did that to me. What are you going to do? (34) Don't let him do that to you. (35) You treated me very badly, you made me sleep with this tree. (36) I thought you were lying with me, lying there close to me, and there was your singing, your voice fading away as you went far away, fading, fading. I went to sleep, [snore, snore], that's what I said. (37) I got up, I woke up and felt it. I put my arms around it, that tree, I hugged it hard. (38) 'What am I sleeping with?' I said. (39) I came at once when you stopped talking, I followed you, I went everywhere. You told your people that (40) you didn't want me to hear what I do, (41) what you do. When you got there, you thought you would go somewhere and vanish from me, that you would leave me and run away from me. (42) I know where you are going, to the different sky. (43) Do you think you will ever get there? They will kill you when you get there. (44) You won't do any good staying in that country. (45) You won't stay long, you will die in a different world. (46) It would be better if you take me with you, you ought to have me along. But now let me help you.

(47) [Song:] You are going with me, to your enemy, where he was killed. Now we are going somewhere else, it's your fault, we are going to the other side of the world, we are going to see a different one."

(48) They got to the place where the sky comes together. (49) He jumped across. (50) "Come on, then:" he said to his wife. (51) "What am I going

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ayŋ, ken hane' ?it?ok hy'jajik'yninti?.

hi'je' hije'	kojo'numus'u'
men'ama'ʔaʔ	?iw'inʔaʔlek
hi'je' hije'	hi'je' hije'
hi'je' hije'	hi'je' hije'
jo'?unʔaʔlek	

) ?aj, haʔ'enti' tyʔ'ana'te? haʔ'enti' tyʔ'ana'te?, kacyh'eh'y? nocu  
?ok.

hi'je' hije'	hy'jajik'yama'ʔaʔlek
tata'la'pan	ceci'wyma'ʔaʔ
haʔ'enti'ʔaʔ	hi'je' hije'
?iw'inʔaʔlek	hi'je' hije'
hi'je' hije'	hi'je' hije'
ken hane'lek	hi'je' hije'
?im?okʔaʔlek	

) hy'jakeh'yko', ?oʔot'eh'y? ?em'aʔ. (56) jo'?un ?yn?yjny' ?yn'y'  
a'ty?at'ejny' howo'suj cytyt wyksy?anti' kan'yŋ hal'et lu'ʔit net?  
yj kan'i? wy'nyma'. (57) wyksuma' ko'jintit, ?ypynti' jo'hasto?  
ok nutkijik'yma', pohkos. (58) poho'ku?ajhy' hejawŋema', tekma'  
kojhu' hej'i?, ken tekma'he? hej'i?. (59) ?okat'o? ?is'akyj tekma'  
aj jo'huma', ken kyl'i'. (60) wyksty'lek, ?inim?ok hal'et, lu'  
v?yj'anti? ?uc'u'. (61) ka'kanti' mojo'tujni? mojoksujni? ka'kant  
i?, ?enenti' mojo'tujte?. (62) ?im?oklek pele?me? ?uc'u' ?al'y  
tuj tin'yj ?i'?ok, kawy'lyj, liwaksykeh'yko', hekoj'eh'yko'.<sup>512</sup> (63)  
ka?hy' kojo'nukeh'y? ?i'?ok, wal'ajyj, nepu'ʔukah'y? ?i'?ok, ?yp

[\[view image\]](#)

---

to do? Maybe I can't get there.

(52) [Song:] I am going to try, see for yourself, I'm going to show you now"

(53) "Ow! It smashed my feet, it smashed m.,, feet!" she said crying there.

(54) [Song:] "My feet are made flat now. Maybe I won't get there. I'm trying to keep up."

(55) They got there, he carried her in his arms. (56) "You see, you wanted to come with me. Do you think I am going to a good place? I'm going to a different world, where I walk is not good. (57) I'm going to my enemy, to where they killed my father. I'm going to challenge him to play football. (58) I want him to play ball and kick his ball the other way, so that he can't kick it away. (59) In the same place I am going to kick him around and kill him, he won't recover. (60) We are going to that different world where my people live, my uncle. (61) You will sleep with my uncle, and I will sleep with my aunt." (62) Then he could not see, he has to listen to everything. At night they talked, they whispered. (63) His uncle told the Duck, "This is what was done to his father. He was kicked to the south, from the south they brought him back north. (64) They went west, he came east. (65) The ball got there and came out this side of the track. (66) He kicked him all around and killed him. (67) In the same place he roasted him, he cremated him, your father-in-law. They cremated him in the same hole." (68) Then also, Mole is sleeping with his aunt, they are whispering to each other. "That's what he did," she said. (69) "He treated your father badly, your enemy. He ill-treated him. He did that after he ill-treated him. (70) He is doing the same thing now to your husband. He will treat him badly," he [?] said. (71) Then they went. In the morning he challenged him. (72) At night, the other, "What's going on? What are they talking about? Hey, who is he talking to?" he said, (73) he was told that one from both sides. The next day he went. "I have come here. (74) I am going to challenge you with this ball that we are kicking. (75) You won all my father's things, his food, everything he had hidden, their abalone shells, his olive shells, his clothes, you won the beads. (76) Here are mine ready." "You are doing the

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ih ?oka·hyŋ, ?ypyŋny· wyky·syjhy· kac·yk·ah·y?. (77) ju·, men·a  
 e·hy· watuŋ kac·yh·eh·y?. (78) hywat·eh·yko· hoje?, tekym·eh·y?  
 ·etot meny·taj ?okah net?ok, tim·il, tama·lin tekym·eh·y? luh·eh·  
 tekmy·nykeh·y? hoje? ?em·aŋyj ko·ji·ko·, julat·eh·y? ?okat·o? ?o  
 ?i·?ok ?em·aŋ wylŋehak wyke?, wyl·ikeh·y? li·let wykys·eh·y?  
 ej·eh·y? nej?ok tim·ilyj; (82) tim·il ?al·am·yt·yj tol·ej hywat·eh·y  
 ajnythoj, tol·e? wylŋ·ikeh·y?, kik·y? loŋah·eh·y?, la·ma? wyl·ike  
 a? wylŋ·ikeh·y?, jujah·eh·y?, (83) min·it·o?le· wy·ma· micykpan  
 h·eh·y?. (84) jo·?unŋaŋ kojo·nu?an·i·kan, jo·hup·ume? kac·ykan·i  
 at·i?.

jo·hup·ume?	hi·je· hije·
talŋipa?	hi·je· hije·
?iw·inŋaŋlek	nymah·eh·y?
hi·je· hije·	?i·?okŋaŋlek
hi·je· hije·	helakŋaŋlek
hi·je· hije·	?ipu·ŋu·te?·okŋaŋlek?i·
ceci·wehi?	tatalnakeh·y?
hi·je· hije·	haŋ·enti·kan
hi·je· hije·	?y·pyhy·ninti·
hywa·te·ti·	?e·pejy·ninti?
kyk·ymŋaŋ	nej?oklekman
kik·ymleko·	wa·kalyt·oj
wy·lyŋŋejo·	hi·je· hije·
loŋ·a·panlek	hi·je· hije·
wy·ko·ŋaŋlek	hi·je· hije?

TEXTS

[\[view image\]](#)

---

same thing, you are going just the same as the way your father went," he was told. (77) "Ready. Let's try it when the sun rises," he said. (78) They ran then. He kicked it south right away. Mole kicked it north and won, (79) then he kicked those enemies all over. He cremated him in the same place in the hole. (80) The fire burned, it burned and went right up. (81) It brought bad luck to Mole. (82) Mole ran under the ground when he was suffering. The ground got hot, the water boiled, the tree burned, the rock got hot and melted. (83) "Where am I to go? What am I to do?" he said. (84) "You see, I told you, they are going to kill us, that's what I told you when we came."

(85) [Song of Duck:] "They are killing us, now, the early riser. Do your best. Let's run, in the water, but the water's getting hot, it's boiling, when they go, when they go. He was right, that one, the sky who did that, he made my feet flat, I can swim, I can swim along this creek."

(86) They got there. (87) All the water was boiling. (88) They ran this way and that way, everything was burning. (89) Then they got to a lake. Duck pulled out her arrow and pointed it there, and there, and there, around this whatever, the lake, the water, with the arrow. "Keep still there! Don't burn any more! Don't let the water boil!" she said. (90) She carried her husband on her back. (91) "You see, I saved your life, you were dead.

(92) [Song:] You were dead, if I had not come, obviously. Let the water and the land get cold."

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

### 16. Chief Tenaya

(Told by Chris Brown)

oto·nonjo· kaci·hy?jo·, tana·janjo· liwaksy?pakjo·, ka·cycy?hy·,  
?ajyŋ hoje? kut·e?hy·. (2) min·it·o?jo· hy·jajikeh·y?, wykys·eh·  
?jat, ?awa·jat. (3) ?eta·lyt·uŋ hy·jakeh·y?, ?oje·?aj sulta·to?  
p·eh·y?jo· mylaj·eh·y?, joh·eh·y? tine?. (4) ?ykyt·yt ?unun·ukeh·  
ukeh·y? ?olo·wim·y?, ?owkhyrs kac·y?at·o?ko· ?oje·?ajyŋ, tin·y?  
· miw·yŋ ?oja·he?hy·. (5) ?it?ok, ?ywyh·e? ?ew·akoŋ mitokhoj  
·maj, hakmyhy? ty?·yc·ykeh·yko· ?it?ok, mylah·eh·yko· myj·yŋ.  
myj·yŋ ?i·?ok wel·ekoŋ, ?ywyh·eh·yko· ?i·?ok, pice·maj ?i·?ok, ti  
y?ajhy· ?oje·?ajyŋ, peŋaŋ·eh·yko·. (7) jo·hup·ume? kac·y·eh·yko·  
an wo·kin, va·li· wi·nuk·u?uh·uko· ?is·akyj, tana·jaj. (9) ?im·o?  
·lyj ?okih·ikeh·y?. (10) sulta·to? joh·eh·y? ?esel·ynti·, tyntyn·y  
? ?i·?ok ?esel·ynti·, ?etalpa?anti·, hyjŋe?anti·, ?oko·jo?anti·  
h·eh·y?. (11) ?itan?ok kawy·lyj ?i·?ok, kojo·nukeh·y? miw?y·aj  
hym·y?jo· ton·ikotjo· na?y·jet nej?ok ?oje·?ajyŋ jo·hujme· takmy  
j. (12) na?y·jec·i· nej?ok ?oje·?ajyŋ kan·i?lek, ?oko·jujik·yma·  
l·ynti·, micyksy?ajhy· ?inim?ok, ham·ejik·yma·, wy·kyjik·yma·  
hywat·eh·y? ?im·o?ok, ?ykyt·yt. (14) liplandow, keŋ·e? ?i·?ok,  
aj·y· nan·ac·y? manac·y? hane· ?i·?ok, ?is?ok liwante?hy·,  
nu?aste?hy·, ?ohke·metis liwas, kojo·nu?uh·ute·; kawylŋe?hy·.  
h·eh·y? waka·lyj, myŋ·eh·yko· waka·lyj ?ykyt·yt. (15) ?ajtu? ma  
h·eh·y?. (16) sulta·to? hoje·non hy·jakeh·y?, wy?·ej miw·yŋ ?ajt  
j hywat·ej. (17) sulta·to?nanlek tyntyn·yt lawa·kaktan·ut honsik

[\[view image\]](#)

---

16. Chief Tenaya  
(Told by Chris Brown)

(1) Long ago they say Tenaya talked about this, when the white people pushed him. (2) He arrived somewhere, he went to Tenaya Lake (3) and coming back he arrived. The white soldier found him, clubbed him and nearly killed him. (4) They brought him this way, they took him to the west, to what the white men call Oakhurst (who knows the Indians' name). (5) There they had nothing to eat for several days. They just lay there. They cracked acorns. (6) After they got the acorns, they ate them. The meat and things that the white people gave them they threw away. (7) "They are killing us," they said. (8) They took Tenaya himself to the San Joaquin Valley. (9) Then at night he felt sorry for himself. (10) The soldier killed his child. "I'm thinking about my child, about going back to him, to see him and take care of him," he said. (11) Then at night he told the Indians, "It is said that if we don't go with these white people they will kill us and get rid of all of us. (12) All of you go with these white people, but I am going to take care of my child, to see how he is there, I am going to bury him and burn him," he said. (13) He ran from there this way. (14) Lebrado, or somebody, maybe he, he was a little boy, he talked to me and told me that in answer, he told me at night. He came along the creek, they waded the creek this way. (15) Everybody came. (16) The soldiers got there the next day, the Indians had gone and run away. (17) But the soldier thinks, "They are tired, let them rest. They have nothing to eat," he said. (18) "They won't go anywhere," said he, this one, what was his name, his captain. (19) Then they came this way. They went along the creek, they climbed up to what they now call Bridal Veil. (20) Then below he reached where the bear ate his child, dragging him around. (21) "He didn't keep very well," he thought. He took his child (22) and brought him to Bear Creek, as they call it, and buried it there, his bones. (23) He himself died too, he was killed on the other side of the mountains by the Monos. They clubbed him. (24) After they clubbed him and killed him they laid him out. (25) John Hutchins, whom we call Tom Hutchins, he brought him, nothing but his hair, he brought it to the Indians. The Indians wept, they cried all one night. (26) The next day they buried him there in Yosemite, at what is called the Museum. He was buried there, his dust, as they say. (27) Then the Indians, "They are different, they are another kind of people, it is said," they thought. "That's right," they said.

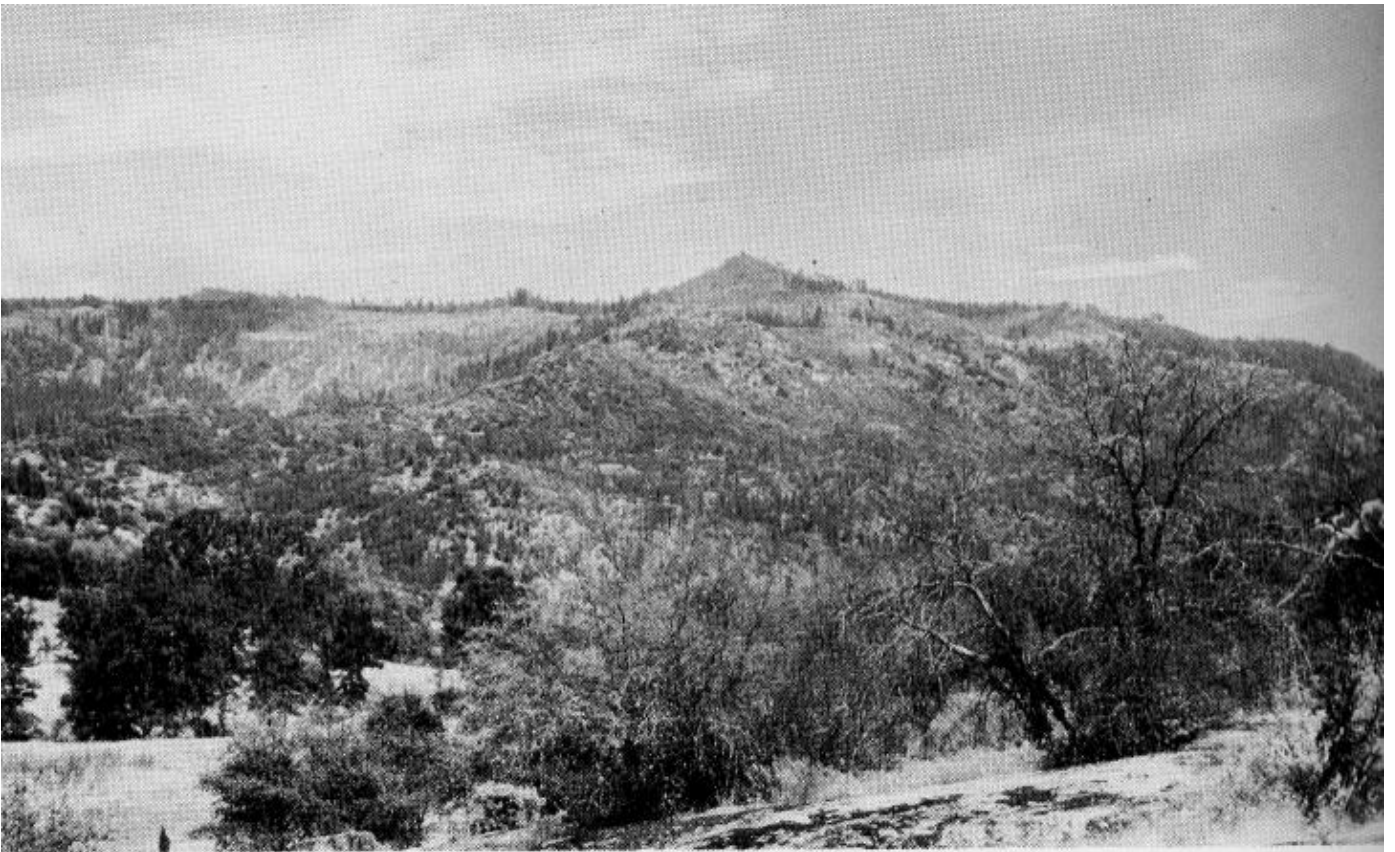
---

## PLATES

---



1. Characteristic terrain and vegetation near Mariposa (photo taken July, 1961; smoke from the disastrous Harlow forest fire obscures the distant mountains).



2. Characteristic terrain and vegetation near Usona.



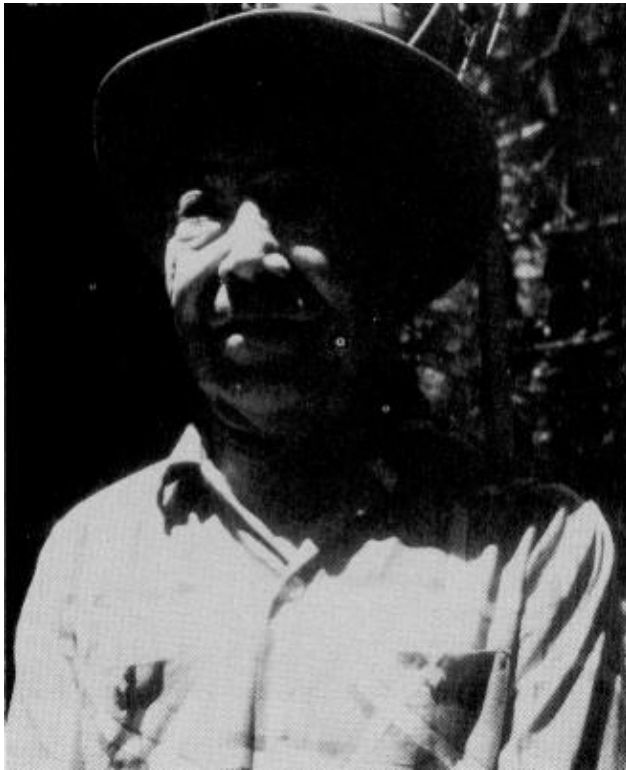
3. Chris Brown (Chief Leeme) in Yosemite National Park (photo courtesy of Neill Stinson, Mariposa).



4. Chris Brown (Chief Leeme) beside cedar bark house in Yosemite National Park (photo courtesy of Neill Stinson, Mariposa).

5. Castro Johnson, of Mariposa.





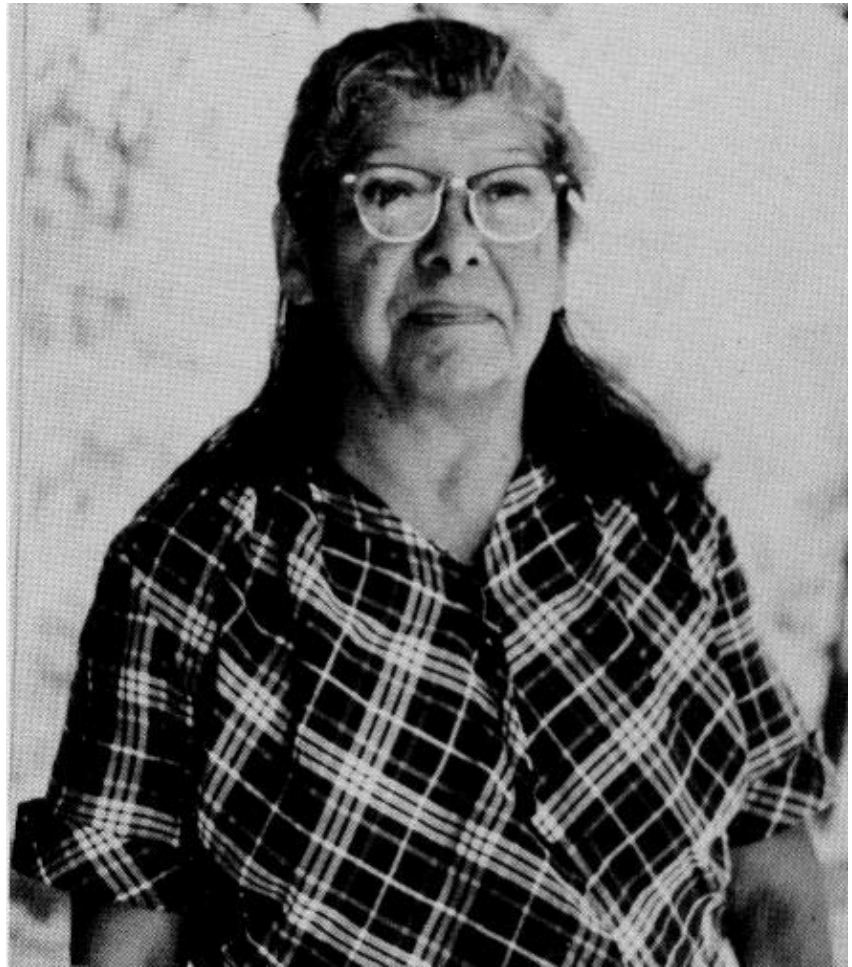
6. Castro Johnson,  
Charlie Rohan, and the  
author.



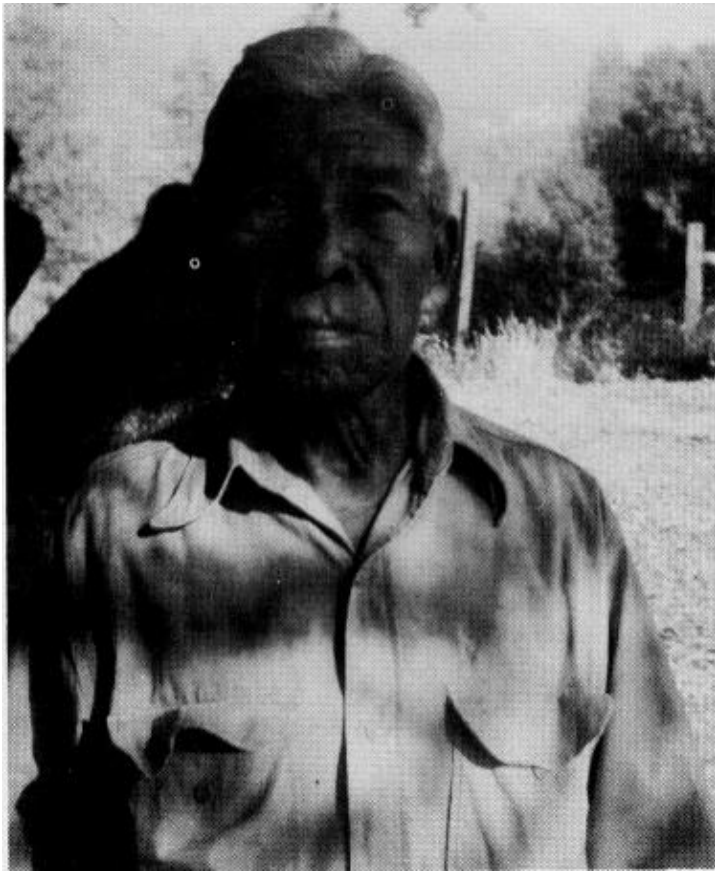


7. Rose Watt, of Usona.

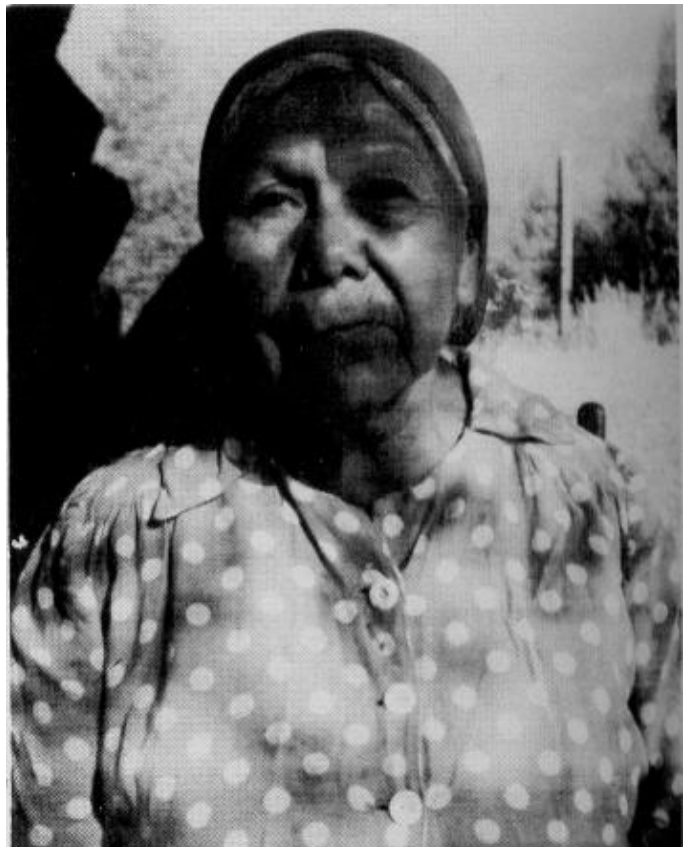
8. Emma Lord, of Usona.



9. Benjamin ("Banjo") Graham,  
of Ahwahnee.

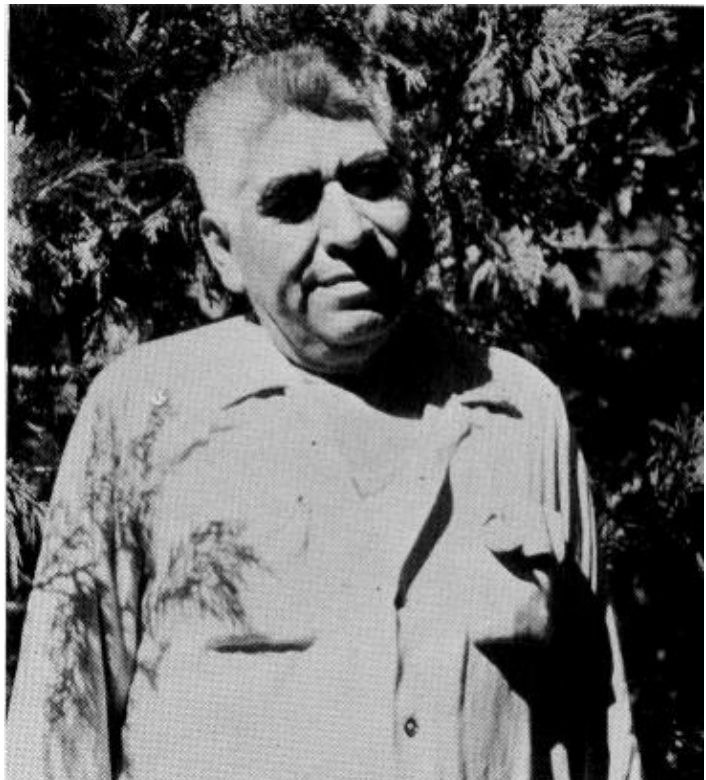


10. Elizabeth ("Lizzie") Graham,  
of Ahwahnee.





11. Phoebe Wilson Hogan, of Yosemite National Park.



12. Wesley Wilson, of Yosemite National Park.

---

## DICTIONARY

---

## ABBREVIATIONS

cs	case suffix
intr.	intransitive
ms	modal suffix
Mrp	Mariposa dialect
ns	nominal suffix
nt	nominal theme
N	noun
NE	nominal expression
obs	obsolete
pf	postfix
ps	pronominal suffix
P	particle
st.1	stem 1
tr.	transitive
vb	verbal base
bs	verbal suffix
V	verb
VE	verbal expression
Yos	Yosemite dialect

Capitalized two-member initials, e.g., CB, refer to informants. (See list, Introduction to grammar.)

Numerals refer to sections of the grammar where the morpheme in question is discussed.

## ALPHABETIC ORDER

a b c e f h i j j̃ k l m n ŋ o p r s š t t̃ u v w y Y ? • H X Ø C V

a b c e f h i j j̃ k l m n ŋ o p r s š t t̃ u v w y Y ? • H X Ø

[Editor's note: Penutian linguists today transcribe "j" as "y," and "y" as "i." (Silverstein IJAL 45:198 (1979)). "?" is a glottal stop (printed without a dot in the original text). It separates vowels that you don't combine. "•" follows a long vowel. The English form for "č," "š," "s" and "t̃" are "ch," "ng," "sh," and "t," respectively. See the [Phonology](#) for more information on the alphabet used here. —dea.]

---



## SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK—ENGLISH

- a
- allomorph of {-ak-} ms
- } ns simultaneous gerundial  
701
- ns meaning obscure, found  
in names of birds, plants,  
and fresh-water animals  
702
- aHk-} plural agentive 703
- allomorph of {-ŋHe-} vs
- k-} ms present perfect indica-  
tive 421
- k-} ns directional 704
- allomorph of {-ŋHe-} vs
- a- allomorph of {-ŋHe-} vs
- allomorph of {-jik'-} vs  
(1) predicative; (2) nomi-  
nalizer 705
- b
- a- nt beer. From English.
- ak- nt Bootjack. From Eng-  
lish.
- caj·aH- nt (1) left arm CB,  
EL (2) right arm C.
- cakak·i- nt (1) lace (2) th  
filmy, of fabric
- cakaHc- nt donkey, burro.  
English jackass.
- cake·t-aH- nt coat. From I  
jacket.
- cake·t-aH-tki- nt blouse
- cake·t-poksu- vb to put  
coat
- cak·a- nt (1) acorn cache  
(2) granary
- cak·e- nt daybreak
- cal-tuh-nY- vb to become  
ing CB. Cf. ca·l-tuh
- cala·tu- nt star
- calka- st.1 (1) to purge (2)  
have diarrhea
- cal·ak- nt diarrhea
- cam-h- st.1 (1) to die (2)  
invisible, of the mod
- camy?·meH- nt mourner
- camy·h-aH- nt (1) dead



[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

-ha- nt	white fir	go or stay with (a person)
ni- nt	Japanese. From English.	(2) to try to keep up
ho- nt	chaps, for riding. From Spanish (?).	cej·uṭ·- vb (1) to tilt, intr.
·a- nt	Brewer's blackbird	(2) to be lopsided
- nt	sweathouse	cej·uṭ·u-m·a- nt one whose shoe-heels are worn-
nt	(1) rattle (2) rattle-snake rattles	and lopsided
k- st. 1	to be glaring or blindingly bright	cekcek·y- nt bitter
k- st. 1	(1) to sparkle (2) to reflect light	cel-na <sub>1</sub> - st. 1 to quit
- st. 1	to rattle	cel·e- nt jelly. From English
ta-t- st. 1	to shake dice in the hand	cem-ku- st. 1 to fade, bleed
catat··a- nt	dice	run, of color
cat·at··a- nt	for playing dice	ceHm-ḡHe- st. 1 to fade
- st. 1	to trip, tr.	cen- nt chain. From English
e-na- nt	bush. Cf. cahew·e-na- nt.	cente·no- nt store. From Spanish "tiendero "storekeeper.
lim·e- nt	short-stemmed, daisy-like yellow flower, grows in rocky places	cep·a- st. 1 to drip, intr.
		cep·a-ḡHe- vb to drip tea
		ce·ke- nt pineneedles
		ce·le- <sup>d</sup> ce·re- nt cherry. From English.
		ce·?- st. 1 to hit with a throw object such as a rock
		ce·?-ja- st. 1 to hit <sup>500</sup> one repeatedly with throw

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

o'te- nt	rope. From Spanish chicote "a length of rope."	cit'ak- nt	grass
		citak-nHuk'u- vb	to ca
'a?-	see under ci'ka- st. 1		grow
'o-pa-ksY- vb	to choke, intr.	cit'ak-no- nt	springtime
cil-	see under ci'le- nt		"grass-time"
e'n- st. 1	to eat lunch or mid-day meal	citit-'i- nt	green
cilen-'a-ti- nt	midday meal	ciwca'lo- nt	pea. From Sp
cile'n-ka-j N	afternoon: "after lunch"		chícharo.
o'pa- nt	costume	ciwe'l- st. 1	to weep
a- st. 1	to tinkle	ciwiw-'i- nt	yellow (?), pu
n-cimih-kene- nt	spruce	ciwi'ti'ti- nt	killdee
ni- nt	chimney. From English.	ciwkol- nt	blue grosbeak
u'-	see under ci'n- st. 1		western bluebird (?)
'ipi- f cin'imi- nt	small	ci?-ja- st. 1	to poke or be
cini-nHi-paH- nt	(1) smaller (2) smallest (3) little finger		around with a cane
cinip-na-tkuH- vb	(1) to make oneself small (2) to crouch	ci'i-j- st. 1	to tunnel
cinip-pa- vb	to cut up small	ci'ka- st. 1	to point
cinti-t'i- ns	small	cik'a?-iH- nt	index fing
cin'i-p'a- nt	little bits		"habitual pointer"
		cik'a?-jaH- nt	index fin
		ci'kele- nt	burden basket
		ci'kuṭa'ti- nt	dragonfly
		ci'le- nt	red pepper. From
			Spanish chile. <sup>536</sup>
		cilcil-'e- vb	to taste p

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- sys- nt Jesus RW, EL. From English.
- wel- nt tears. Cf. ciwe·l- st. 1
- wo- nt goat. From Spanish chivo.
- ?a-j'- vb to come out
- kaHj-ŋHe- vb (1) to not say (esp. a name) to avoid hurting a listener's feelings (2) to observe a death-tabu on a name
- klyt- nt chocolate. From English.
- k'in·e- nt (1) cradle sunshade (2) Royal Arches, Yosemite National Park
- lka- <sup>d</sup> šolka- st. 1 to flow
- m·u-ŋHe- vb to get into water, intr.
- com?u-mh- vb to be in water up to the waist
- ŋtita- nt crooked
- tpo·po- nt horned toad
- j- st. 1 to pile up dirt
- ko- nt (1) cliff (2) rough
- cumuk-ha- nt wild currant
- cun- see under cu·n- st. 1
- cun-ja- st. 1 to become s
- cune·l- st. 1 to shrink up
- cune·l-aH- nt wrinkled
- cunta- st. 1 to sew gather
- cunat-·a- nt gathers
- cunuj-meH- nt wrinkled u
- cup·al-iH- nt quail topkno
- cutcitja- nt (1) horehound (2) tarweed CB
- cu?a·p- st. 1 to break in Cf. cu?paH- nt
- cu?paj- nt foxtail, wild b
- cu?paH- nt (1) middle (2)
- cu?pa-j'- vb to be mic
- cu?·a- st. 1 to trot CJ
- cu?cu?·- vb to trot ha of a horse
- cu·h- st. 1 to heat water
- cuhu?-·a- nt teakettle
- cu·ja?-nY- vb to fill
- cu·ja?ne- nt full
- cu·ju?-nY- vb to make li here and there

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

cu·j·eŋ·hHi-	nt	sweet	comfortable (2) to b
cy <sup>?</sup> -		see under cy·j-	st. 1 (1) to impr
ca <sup>?</sup> -na <sub>1</sub> -	vb	to fill for	(2) to get calm
cy·kyj-	nt	(1) granite (2) gra- vel (3) decayed rock (4) pebble	cyt·atakwila- nt (1) woodpe (2) yellow-bellied sap (?)
ca·ka-	nt	rough-textured	cyt·e <sup>?</sup> -, cyt <sup>?</sup> y <sup>?</sup> -, cyt·eŋ- see
cykak-na <sub>2</sub> -	vb	to roughen, tr.	cyH <sup>?</sup> ·ŋHe- st. 1
cy·l-	st. 1	to weave.	cyt·a <sup>?</sup> i- nt puppy
		Cf. cy·l- st. 1	cy·j- st. 1 (1) to hurt (2) t
ca-	nt	(1) awl (2) porcupine quill	again
cy·m-		cy·m·y·m <sup>?</sup> - see under	cyj <sup>?</sup> y <sup>?</sup> -nY- vb to hurt h
cy·m-	st. 1		and there, tr.
ca·ka <sup>?</sup> i-	nt	pointed	cy·l- st. 1 (1) to weave (2)
ca·e-	nt	south	make coiled basketr
cy·m·e·c-	nt	south	cy·ly- nt mosquito
cy·m·e·c·ak-	nt	from the south	cy·m- st. 1 (1) to climb (2)
cy·m·e·to-	nt	(1) south (2) southerner (3) Yokuts person or language	cymcym-nY- vb to clim around here and the in trees
cy·m·te·ja	nt	(1) southern- ers (2) Yokuts Indians	cy·m·y <sup>?</sup> -hi <sup>?</sup> -me- nt one v has already been ri cy·m·y <sup>?</sup> -jaH- nt (1) horse death-tabu form CB (2) ladder

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

-} vs static 501	large, brown, grows
e- ns habitual 708	white oak trees
ps second person plural 311	haja-ksY- vb to wait
- ns diminutive 709	haja·-pa- vb to leave so- thing for another to or take care of
e	haj?a-j·- vb to wait along way
allomorph of {-poksu-} vs	haj·a-puṭ·- vb to keep on ing
- allomorph of {-poksu-} vs	hajak·- vb to watch out for
nY-} vs discontinuous itera- tive 522	haja·n- st.1 to be evening
-} ms present imperative 431	hajan·y-pa- vb to stay to at night
f	hajan·ymi- nt last night
-aH- nt floor. From English.	hajaHn-ŋHe- vb to get la
h	haja·puH- nt chief. Used by only; other informan
allomorph of {-poksu-} vs allomorph of second person singular ps	deny form and refer haja·-po-X-? "leave i him to watch!" (CJ, E
vs transitional 502	JL cites haja·po-? and lates it as "womenfol
allomorph of {-ak-} ms	haja·puH-nY- vb to beco chief CB
ns meaning obscure, occurs in plant names	545

[\[view image\]](#)

---





SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

days (2) once in a while	hak·atwi- nt	blue-bellied l	
haj·e-m-∅ N	close by	hak·e-na- nt	pitchy pinewo
haj·e-m·-j N	for a little while	hal-ki- st.1	to hunt.
haj·e-m·-ʔ-hY· N	close by		Cf. hal-pa- st.1
haj·e-t-∅ N	close by	halik-peH- nt	hunter
haj·e-to-j N	a little while	hal-pa- st.1	to find.
ha·je-j-hY· N	(1) close to		Cf. hal-ki- st.1
	(2) beside	halap-kuH- nt	found
·e- st.1	to touch	halap··a-ti- nt	easy to
haj·e-nY- vb	(1) to permit	hala-j·- vb	to copulate
	(2) to let (someone) have	halaH- nt	(1) feather (2) f
	(a thing)		or toenail
haj·e-t- st.1	to approach	hali·na- nt	flour. From Sp
haj·e-t-aH- nt	near		harina (?) farina (?)
k- nt	(1) only (2) just	halp-ksy- vb	to watch for
hak-∅ kacy-ksY-∅-ma· VE		halpyp-nY- vb	(1) to pe
	I'm about the same as I		(2) to spy on
	was. Answer to "how are	haltal- nt	testicles
	you?"	halti·ja- nt	(1) slip (2) pe
hak-∅ ʔa· NE	what for?		From Spanish faldill
hak-∅ ʔi-c·-∅-ma· VE	I'm	hal·e- nt	(1) the wilds (2)
	just saying that, meaning		open (3) country (4
	no offense		tory (5) space
k-si- st.1	to smoke, of fire	halet-nHuk·u- vb	to get
	ALPHABETIC ORDER		tr.
hakis··a- nt	chimney: "smoke-		
	place"		

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- ne· P maybe
- ni- nt honey. From English.
- ni·c- st.1 to hop
- nsi- see under ha·nis- nt
- n·a- nt head Yos
- ng·i- nt dancehouse
- po·-t- st.1 (1) to eat with  
acorn mush (2) to scoop  
up food with the fingers
- su·l- st.1 to ask
- s·yn- nt abalone shell
- si·s- st.1 to sneeze
- hatis·-ene·- vb to ask another  
to sneeze
- hatis·-c·-e·-nY- vb to get  
sneezy
- g·ha·ṭa- nt duck. Cf. haṭ·e- nt
- ga·l- st.1 to step over. Cf.  
ha·ṭ- st.1
- gaj-, haṭy?- see under ha·ṭ-  
st.1
- g·aṭa- nt biscuit
- g·e- nt (1) foot (2) tracks  
(3) twelve inches
- haṭe·-j- st.1 to make tracks
- hawi-t·Y-t-∅ N both
- hawi·-jak- nt on each
- haw·i-m·-? N on each
- haw·i-t-∅ N in differen  
tions
- ha?o·l- st.1 to knock down
- ha?ta- st.1 to throw down
- ha?a·t-nY- vb (1) to th  
(repeatedly?) (2) to
- ha?tita-t·i- nt little round
- ha?·aṭa- nt round
- ha?·aṭa-m·a- nt spheri
- ha·c- st.1 (1) to stop or  
(2) to stand up, tr.
- hacé·-na- vb to stamp
- haci·-t- st.1 (1) to sta  
from sitting (2) to  
of horse
- hac·i-c·- vb (1) to be s  
(2) to be parked or  
ary
- hac·i-c·-meH- nt gr  
squirrel: "habitual  
Mrp death-tabu sub  
CB.

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

i- nt	maple	hej'em-·a-? N	(1) first q (of moon) (2) one sid (head)
imo- nt	headstall. From Spanish jáquima.	hej'em-·a-?-hY· N	half-1
na- nt	hammer. From Eng- lish.	hej'em-·a-?-hY· cu?paH-m	one quarter: "halfway middle" (?)
ne- nt	grave. Cf. ham·e- st. 1	hej'em-·a-?-YniH-j N	for an hour: "while it ha half"
a- nt	handgame bone	hej-i- nt	(1) away (2) away
is- nt	harness. From Eng- lish.	heji-t·Y-t-∅ N	(1) away 1 (2) in another directi
ansi-·po- vb	to harness	hej?i-p·a- nt	sparse (?) scanty (?) rare (?)
o- nt	(1) cup (2) can. From Spanish jarro.	heka·ma- nt	meaning obscu
- st. 1	to step on. Cf. haṭ·e- nt	heki·l- st. 1	to speak with a impediment
aṭaj-kuH- nt	(it) has been stepped all over	heko·j- st. 1	(1) to whisper be hoarse (3) to be low-pitched
aty?-jaH- nt	ladder	hek·a- st. 1	(1) to wash, tr. (2) to wash away (3) clean
aty?-nY- vb	to step on some- one's foot accidentally	heka?-·a- nt	dishcloth
aty?-·a- nt	(1) stepladder (2) stirrup: "thing to step on"	heka?·e- st. 1	to wash
hk- ns	gerundial 711 ALPHABETIC ORDER		
m-ṅHe- st. 1	to obey, mind, do as one is told		



[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

helka-j'- vb	to be summer	(2) to relieve one o
hela·k-a-· V	outside hands	henin-nY- vb (1) to bor
(handgame call): "it		(2) to let someone l
cleared"		something
laHk- nt	sky	heni'-nHuk'u- vb to mo
helaHk-no- nt	summer: "time	house
of sky"		heni'-t- st. 1 to move l
l·ak- nt	year	hen'i-j'-mhi- vb to tak
hel·ak-no- nt	summer: "year-	playing
time"		hejiHl-ŋHe- vb (1) to get
hel·aky-c'- vb	to be fine	(2) to lose one's wa
weather		hejil-meH- nt one who
la't-poksu- vb	to bow	hejil-na <sub>2</sub> - vb to lose,
le·p- st. 1	to disagree with	cause to be lost"
someone		hegu·l- st. 1 to forget
li- nt	fungus, edible, large,	hegul-kuH- nt obviousl
grows under pine needles		gotten
or oak leaves		hepe·m- st. 1 to drift CB
me·-kene- nt	Sierra currant	hesa- nt (1) pad (2) saddl
m·el'- vb	(1) to lean over	blanket
(2) to lean against		hesa'- see under he'sa-
hem·el·i-c'- vb	(1) to lean	het-ja- st. 1 to cool off, t
over (2) to overhang		hetaj-·a-po- nt saucer
na- nt	(1) breath (2) air	for cooling off," re
hen-si- st. 1	(1) to breathe	to the custom of p
(2) to breathe		het-ja-·a-po-·a-·a-·a-

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

\*e- nt jerked meat  
 \*e- st.1 to dry, tr.  
 ewe\*-muH- nt dry  
 ewe\*-na<sub>2</sub>- vb to dry  
 eHw-ŋHe- st.1 to get dry  
 \*etkil- nt lower lip  
 ew\*etkil-∅ lile-nHi-paH-? NE  
     upper lip  
 - st.1 to fight  
 el-·a-ti- nt ready to fight  
 e·l-ŋHe- vb to get beaten up  
 n-poksu- vb to complain  
 e·no- nt pacing-horse. From  
     Spanish (?).  
 e·ne·no\*-nY- vb to pace or  
     single-foot, of horse  
 is- see under hena- nt  
 - st.1 to answer a question  
 a- nt nest. Cf. hesa- nt  
 esa\*-j- st.1 to build a nest  
 - st.1 to spread out a wide,  
     flat thing, tr.  
 i-pa- vb (1) to stalk (2) to  
     sneak up

ALPHABETIC ORDER

p-ŋHe- st.1 (1) to drift with  
     or be carried by a current

hije·ro\*-nY- vb to brand cattle  
     From Spanish hierro  
 hika\*-ma- nt (1) all the same  
     (2) all the time  
 hikaHh- nt deer  
 hikiw-ci- nt snowdrops  
 hikni- st.1 to fasten baby  
     cradle  
 hik·a?-jaH- nt gopher snake  
 hik·iH- nt cradle basket  
     hik-ja- st.1 to rock, tr.  
     hikaj-·a- nt rocker  
 hik?i-meH- nt baby and  
 hik?i-paH- nt baby and  
 hik·u- nt edible grass  
 hilahta-j N just because  
 hilas-·a-j N just because  
 hilu·k- st.1 to shampoo  
 hil·esja- nt church, From S  
     iglesia.  
 hil·iw-aj- nt whitefish  
 hil·o- nt tally-sticks for  
     game  
 hil·u- nt Western yellow-b  
     racer

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hip-la- st. 1	to pull out stickers	in "information please questions 801
hipi'-t- st. 1	to pull	-hi'-me- ns predicative 71
hipit-'a- nt	(1) reins (2) trigger	hi-hy- nt (1) east (2) toward the High Sierras and Great Basin
ipa- st. 1	to decorate	hiho't-aH- nt from higher
isap-'YniH- nt	decorated	hihto-j'a- nt (1) eastern (2) mountain people (3) Yosemite people
isa'p- st. 1	to seek decora- tive material	hihy-t'Y-t-∅ N towards the CB
ik- st. 1	to hiss	hi'jaH- nt walking stick, ca
epwe'la- nt	spurs CJ. From Spanish espuela.	hi'k- st. 1 (1) to cut hair shear sheep
ko- see under hi'sok- nt		hiky?-nY- vb to cut acc or unintentionally
ok- st. 1	to grow hair	hi'ky?-nY- vb to cut all
iso'k-aH- nt	fuzzy	hi'l- st. 1 (1) to wriggle (2) roll CB
ik- nt	skunk	hi'li'ca- nt mountain lion
aša- nt	rigid	hi'loH- nt string
o- st. 1	to be or get cold RW, EL. Cf. hicp- st. 1	hi'sok- nt (1) hair (2) fur
hitpy-j'- vb	to be autumn	hisko-meH- nt one with hair
hitpyp-'e- vb	to be cold, of weather	hiHh-nHe- st. 1 to abstain
hityHp- nt	(1) cold (2) a cold thing	
hityHp-ŋHe- vb	to get cold	
hit:yn-bHi- nt	very cold	

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

hojci-paH- nt	(1) brave	hole·h- st.1	to have a cold
	(2) mean	hole·ma- nt	log
hojic-na <sub>2</sub> - vb	to make one	holk- st.1	to fell a tree
	angry	holuk-nY- vb	to fell a
hojiHc-ŋHe- vb	to get angry		tree accidentally with
i-nHi-paH- nt	foremost		being felled on purp
i-t·Y-t-∅ nt	ahead	holo·p- st.1	to hollow out
im·i- nt	forelegs	hol·aw- nt	(1) cave (2) hol
iṭ·iṭ·o- nt	front feet	hol·e-ŋHe- vb	to topple ov
i·h- st.1	to move up closer,	hol·o-c·- vb	to be fatally s
	tr.	hol·op- nt	(1) hole (2) holl
i·nY- vb	to be in front		(3) cave
ki-m·-? N	before	hol·uj- nt	cave
u·m-aH- nt	acorn soup	holta- nt	halter. From Eng
hojum·a-ṭi- nt	acorn soup	hom-la-meh-nY- vb	to cru
e-poksu- vb	to make oneself		intr.
	ready	homo?le- nt	water snake
roh·- vb	to start an activity	homu·c-poksu- vb	to shave
rol- nt	(1) wild tea (2) penny-		self
	royal	homcu-paH- nt	barber
-	see under hok·- st.1	homuc·a-po- nt	razor
-hokot- nt	California sweet-	hono·kol- nt	edible fungus,
	shrub		or manzanita-mushr
i·l- st.1	to go around	hono- nt	rocks for cooking
	ALPHABETIC ORDER		stone-boiling
hokil·a-ṭi- nt	a round, on a		566
	coiled basket	hontel- nt	(1) knee (2) kn

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hoʔet·y-c·- vb	to be kneeling	ho·l- st. 1	(1) to moan (2) groan (3) to grunt
ho·j- st. 1	(1) to think (2) to believe (3) to be of the opinion that	ho·muc- nt	(1) facial hair (2) body hair. Cf. homu·c-poksu- vb
ho·ti- nt	rainstorm	ho·ne- st. 1	to vomit
howo·ti·-nY- vb	to rain cats and dogs	ho·ne-na <sub>2</sub> - vb	to burp a
ho·w- st. 1	to make a hole	ho·nok·ilwa- nt	wyethia
ho·ontitik·a- nt	water ouzel	ho·nosme- nt	wild oats
ho·? pf	and 802	ho·sokilwa- nt	quartz rock
ho·ja- st. 1	(1) to get or gather food (2) to prepare food	ho·tomki·la- nt	king snake
ho·t- st. 1	to jump off	ho·toŋ·jaH- nt	king snake
hoʔtu·-nY- vb	to jump with both feet	ho·wi- nt	pine cone
ho·aj <sup>f</sup> hoʔ·aj·y· P	and	ho·wok- <sup>d</sup> ho·wos- <sup>d</sup> ho·wot-	beads, clamshell dis glass
ho·aj·i-c·-e- nt	one who always repeats	ho·?- st. 1	to jump off. Cf. hoʔt- st. 1
ho·c- st. 1	to spear	hoHw-ŋHe- st. 1 (?)	how·a-ŋ vb (?) to be withered
ho·con- nt	(1) leg (2) lower leg	huc·a-meh-nY- vb	to get t up
ho·ne- nt	hay	huc·ej-aH- nt	steam
ho·he-? petaŋ-hi·-me-? NE	straw: "thrown-away hay"	huh-t-poksu- (1) to sigh (2) breathe in and out	
ho·ja- nt	bucket. From Spanish olla (?).		

[\[view image\]](#)

---





SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

-si- st. 1	to smell, intr.	hum·a- st. 1	to gather up
uki·s-aH- nt	a smell	hum·e- st. 1	(1) to soak, tr.
uksis-·e- vb	to be smelly		(2) to dunk
uk·a- st. 1	to trail by scent	hum·ele- <sup>d</sup> hupmele- nt	old
huka-·j- st. 1	to smell, tr.	humeHl-ŋHe- vb	to beco
hukjaj-nY- vb	to sniff		old man
	around	humle-j·a-t·i- nt	little o
en- nt	milkweed	hum·ele-c·Y- <sup>d</sup> hupmele-c	little old man
e·n-aH- nt	driftwood	hum·ele-t·i- nt	little old
·m- st. 1	to hoot, of an owl	hum·u?li- nt	(1) water snak
i- nt	angleworm carrier		(2) garter snake
uH- nt	head Mrp	hune·ha- nt	(1) purse (2) p
uk?u-meH- nt	one with a big		book. From Spanish
head		hune·ha-tki- nt	billfold
Hw-ŋHe- vb	(1) to forget	hune·m- st. 1	to fish
	(2) to give up (3) to be	hunem-·a- nt	fishhook
	unable	hunta? P	wait!
ulwa-je-·nY- vb	to reach out	hujeH- nt	fog
ulwa-j·- vb	(1) to not be	huge-·t- st. 1	to be fogg
enough (2) to fall short		hupe-·ŋ- st. 1	(1) to climb
(3) to not reach (4) to			(2) to dismount
fail to do		hupeŋ-nHuk·u- vb	to bri
ulwaw-·e- vb	to be late		down, tr.
·p- st. 1	to blow a whistle	hupi·l- st. 1	(1) to cover th
ulep-·a- nt	whistle		(2) to put on a head
·w- nt	hunger		

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

musel-·a-ti- nt	breakfast	hu·ki- nt	tail
ʔo- nt	grizzly bear Yos	hu·l- st. 1	(1) to take shelter (2) to get under shelter
ta- st. 1	(1) to cinch up belt (2) to make tight	hu·leh- nt	(1) corpse (2) g (3) Kuksu cult "devil distinguished by a lo yellowhammer band back
-hutja- nt	Indian paintbrush (flower)	huleʔ-Hna- nt	Kuksu cu "devil." Form used song.
aj-·a- nt	acorn bread, cooked on hot rocks and then in ashes	hu·lum- CB, hu·lup- RW, EL	bunchgrass for overl in basketry
e- nt	dance skirt	hu·me·ti- nt	salt meat
eHl-ŋHe- vb	to stumble	hu·nih- nt	God LG
·l- st. 1	to tie a knot	hu·p- st. 1	to cover with a
ut·ut-·- vb	to leave in a group, intr.	hu·pu- nt	(1) soaproot brus (2) hairbrush
u·l- st. 1	(1) to roll, tr. (2) to roll out dough	hu·tawe- nt	buzzard RW, L
nutul-·a- nt	(1) bale (2) rolling pin	hu·ti- nt	wood tick
nutul-·YniH- nt	blanket roll	hu·was- nt	grapes. From S uvas.
nutul·uk·- vb	to be rolling	hycaHt-ŋHe- vb	to be tigh
nutul·ul·- vb	to roll, intr.	hycat-·a- nt	corset
·a- nt	quiver for arrows	huhel·u·- nt	thick acorn
·a- st. 1	(1) to rake (2) to gather up, tr.		
hutaʔ-·a- nt	rake		
hutaʔ-·a- nt	(1) to gather		

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

y- nt	clever	hylka- st.1	to make a noise
yjy?-na- vb	to remind someone about something	hylak-nHuk·u- vb	to make noise
yjy?-na-poksu- vb	(1) to know it all (2) to remind oneself	hyl·ak-hHi- nt	noisy
yjy?-y-ksY- vb	to know a person or thing	hyl·a- st.1	(1) to prick (2) stab
- st.1 (irregular)	(1) to see (2) to look 440	hyj-ja- st.1	(1) to prick (2) to tingle (3) to poke (4) to spur (5) to puncture (6) to stick repeatedly
yji-c- nt	looking	hyl·a-la- nt	(1) thorn (2) sticker (3) barbed wire "it has stickers"
yji-c·- <sup>d</sup> hyj·y-c·- vb	to see	hym·a- st.1	to buzz
hyjcic-nY- vb	to be looking around for something	hym-la- st.1	to hum
hyj·i-c·-ηHe- vb	(1) to appear, look like (2) to be seen	hynty- nt	eye
hyj-poksu- vb	to watch oneself, be careful	hynty·t·-a- nt	spotted
hyHj-ηHe- st.1	to see	hyny·t- st.1	to open the eyes
hyjeη-nY- vb	to show someone something: "to cause to see"	hyny·t·-a-po- nt	eyeglasses
hyjeη- <del>peH</del> <sup>BEH</sup> <del>nt</del> <sup>ORDE</sup>	lookout	hyny·t·-a-ṭe- nt	eyeglasses
hyjeη·-a- nt	sights of gun	hypy·ṭ- st.1	to hug CB
		hyp·yt·-a- nt	neck RW
		hyp·yṭ- nt	nape of neck CJ
		hysa·s- st.1	to hatch 578
		hys·as-iH- nt	baby bird



[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hywat-nHuk·u-mhi	vb	to elope	to jump or fly at a
hywat-pa-	vb	to run over, tr.	moment
hywat-·a-	nt	racetrack	-hY· ps
hywat·at·-	vb	to run around	third person sing
hywa·-t-mhi-	vb	to run a	311
race			-h·aj-
hywta-meH-	nt	a fast runner	allomorph of {-j-}
hywta-mh-	vb	to run away	{-j-nY-} vs
hyw·at-hHi-	nt	running hard	{-h·Y-} ns
·m-	st. 1	to suit	past 713
hy?m-ŋHe-	vb	(1) to be good	-hHi- ns
for one		(2) to serve one	intensifier 714
right			
hy?ym-na-	vb	to make one	i
look good			
hy?ym·y-c·-	vb	(1) to be all	-ijak-
set		(2) to be all fixed up	allomorph of {-jak-}
se-	st. 1	(1) to belch	{-iH-} ns
hiccough		(2) to	habitual 715
·i-	st. 1	to respect	j
j-, hyHj-		see under hyj·-	-j cs
ja-	st. 1	to arrive	accusative 322
hyja-nHuk·u-	vb	to get some-	-j-
one there			allomorph of {-jik·-}
ALPHABETIC ORDER			-j- vs
hyjaX-pa-	vb	to come there	verbalizer 503
			{-j-} ns
			future 716
			{-j-nY-} vs
			volitional 523
			-ja-
			allomorph of {-a-} ns
			{-ja-} vs
			iterative 504
			jah P
			(1) so! (2) there! J
			-jak-
			allomorph of {-ak-}
			{-jak-} ns
			times ten <sup>58</sup> 717
			jakak·ak·-
			vb
			(1) to be sha

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

-ŋHe- vb to hurt or twist  
     hip  
     allomorph of {-jik·-} vs  
 pf interjectional 803  
 j- nt dawn  
 r- nt yarn. From English.  
 st.1 to lie someone down  
 ŋa·t- st.1 to sleep in  
     someone else's bed  
 ŋlaj-nY- vb to roll around  
 ŋa·c·- vb to be lying down  
 ŋ-aH- nt bed  
 Hŋ-ŋHe- st.1 to lie down  
 jaŋ'e?-nY vb to lie down  
     restlessly here and there  
 jaŋ'e?-aH-c·Y- nt couch  
 e- nt key. From Spanish  
     llave.  
 st.1 to take a step  
 - ns meaning obscure 718  
 a- nt nit  
 P hey!  
 - st.1 (1) to call out (2) to  
     invite (3) to call someone  
     over

jeŋi·l- st.1 to have one's hair  
     disarranged  
 jeŋil-na<sub>1</sub>- vb to have one  
     hair disarranged by the  
     wind  
 jeŋil-na<sub>2</sub>- vb to disarrange  
     someone else's hair  
 je?pa- st.1 to believe  
 je?pa-tkuH- vb to decide  
 {-je·-nY-} vs discontinuous  
     tive 524  
 je·hin-nY- vb (1) to be astounded  
     or surprised (2) to think  
     or meditate  
 je·him-mY-na·· V he thought  
     present perfect indicative  
 je·l- st.1 (1) to quiet down,  
     (2) to make someone  
     stop talking  
 jel··a- nt a secret  
 jel·y-c- nt secretly  
 jel·y-c·- vb to stop talking  
     jel·ycy-m·a- nt a quiet  
     person  
 jeHl-ŋHe- st.1 to be quiet

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- joh<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>-, joh<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>- see under
- jo<sup>?</sup>h- st. 1
- st. 1 to report
- a- st. 1 to melt
- oj<sup>?</sup>a-ŋHe- vb to melt
- oj<sup>?</sup>an-<sup>?</sup>a- nt melted
- oHj-ŋHe- vb (1) to thaw out,  
intr. (2) to melt, intr.  
(3) to dissolve, intr.
- e- st. 1 (1) to splash (2) to  
squirt
- Hm-ŋHe- vb (1) to be  
frightened (2) to be  
worried
- e- st. 1 (1) to spill, tr.  
(2) to pour out, tr.
- ole<sup>?</sup>-pa- vb to pour water  
over
- jolep-kuH- nt someone ob-  
viously poured water on it
- ole<sup>?</sup>-ŋHe- vb to tip over and  
spill, intr.
- jole<sup>?</sup>-<sup>?</sup>a- nt place for pouring
- ono-m<sup>?</sup>a- nt easily worried.
- Cf. joloHm-ŋHe- vb.
- jow<sup>?</sup>ok- nt mud
- jowko-meH- nt muddy
- jo<sup>?</sup>wok-aH- nt bog
- jo<sup>?</sup> pf hesitation morphem
- jo<sup>?</sup>h<sup>?</sup> st. 1 to kill
- joh-na<sub>1</sub>- st. 1 to kill for  
someone
- joh<sup>?</sup>u<sup>?</sup>-nY- vb to kill he  
and there all over
- joh<sup>?</sup>e<sup>?</sup>-HmetiH- <sup>d</sup> jo<sup>?</sup>ʃe<sup>?</sup>-H  
nt Yosemite: "they  
killers"
- jo<sup>?</sup>h-ŋHe- vb to get kill
- jo<sup>?</sup>h-poksu- vb to kill o
- jo<sup>?</sup>j- st. 1 to praise
- jo<sup>?</sup>j-poksu- vb to brag:  
praise oneself"
- jo<sup>?</sup>ko- nt diapers
- jo<sup>?</sup>tok- nt (1) grime (2) di
- jotok-na<sub>2</sub>- vb to make
- jot<sup>?</sup>oko- nt dirty clothes
- jo<sup>?</sup>tok-<sup>?</sup>YniH- nt dirty:  
grime"
- jo<sup>?</sup>t- st. 1 to wait and see
- jo<sup>?</sup>?un P obviously

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

juwal-kuH- nt	stirred	jym'y-, jyHm-	see under
juwal-na <sub>1</sub> - vb	to stir for	st. 1	
someone		jynjyn-nY- vb	(1) to pass
juwal-nY- vb	to add while	from heat (2) to ha	
stirring		jynta- st. 1	(1) to jerk, tr.
rce- nt	cliff	jerk loose, intr.	
rja- nt	narrow	jynta-poksu- vb	to wre
r'awa- nt	ground or dirt wet	muscle	
enough to quiver when		jyno'tu- nt	low-growing pi
stepped on		flower, produces bu	
rel- nt	fox	jyge-, jyge'-	see under jy
c- st. 1	to pull hair	st. 1	
juc-wa- st. 1	to pull hair	jyte- nt	wet
repeatedly		jyte-'muH- nt	(1) wet
s-nY- vb	to use. From Eng-	jyte-'na <sub>2</sub> - vb	to get we
lish.		jyHt-ŋHe- vb	to get we
tu- nt	(1) gum (2) pine pitch	JL	
(3) chewing gum. Cf.		jyt'- st. 1	to break in two
jut'a- st. 1		jy'm- st. 1	to quiet down,
w- st. 1	to stir, tr.	jym'y-c'- vb	to be qui
y-c- nt	sailing along	calm	
y-c'- vb	(1) to move quietly	jyHm-ŋHe- st. 1	to be
and smoothly (2) to run		jy'n- st. 1	to stretch, tr.
quietly of water		jy'ti- st. 1	to hang up sev
a- st. 1	to shake down out	things, tr.	

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

k  
 allomorph of {-keH-} ns  
 allomorph of {-ksY-} vs  
 allomorph of {-ŋHe-} vs  
 allomorph of {-na<sub>1</sub>-} vs  
 ns past 720  
 ns directional 721  
 ·hy- nt (1) that's it (2) it  
 looks like that  
 u'-t- st.1 to rip out seams  
 u'ce- nt cap. From Spanish  
 cachucha.  
 y'ʔyk- nt little by little  
 ·- st.1 to say  
 kacy-ksY- vb (1) to talk  
 (2) to be that way  
 i- nt pimple  
 o'n-aH- nt (1) box (2) coffin.  
 From Spanish cajón.  
 an-·a- nt fire drill  
 a'ki- nt coyote CB  
 eŋ-i- nt place name. Dry  
 Spring, on side of Indian  
 Peak facing /piliwniʔ/  
 i'na- nt chicken. From Span-  
 ish gallina

kalpa- st.1 to break, of gl  
 intr.

kalse'ta- nt (1) stockings (2)  
 From Spanish calceta

kale's- st.1 to put on sto

kalso- nt (1) pants (2) under  
 From Spanish calza  
 calzón(?).

kalu's-poksu- vb to put o

kalu's-tkuH- vb to put o

kalwus- nt jail. From Eng  
 calaboose, not from  
 ish calabozo.

kalʔa- see under ka'la- nt

kal'e'ta- nt (1) cart (2) wa  
 From Spanish carret

kal'on- nt gallon. From Sp  
 galón.

kal'u-ŋHe- vb (1) to misca  
 (2) to have a stillbo

kamat'ana- nt (1) bile (2)

kami'-j- st.1 (1) to outdo  
 get the best of som  
 an argument, fight,  
 or game

kami:ai-nHe- vb (1) to

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

anjo- nt stallion. From Spanish garañón.

a·kaH- nt Negro. From English Kanaka "Hawaiian; Polynesian." This word probably reflects the arrival in Gold Rush days of Polynesian seamen from ships abandoned in San Francisco Bay when officers and men alike took off for the mines.

arto- nt (1) cow (2) cattle. From Spanish ganado "cattle."

kanta-meH- nt one who has a lot of cattle

eta- nt automobile. From Spanish carreta "wagon."

m- st. 1 to blow, of the wind

kan·ym-aH- nt wind

te- nt candy. From English.

wiř'i- nt suspenders

i- ∞ kan·- nt first person singular independent pro-

kasni- st. 1 to pin. Cf. ka·

kasin-·a- nt safety-pin

kasy?- see under ka's- st

kas·asa- nt horned beetle

kata- nt (1) door (2) gate

kata·-j- st. 1 to make a

katmyl- nt armpit

kat·a- st. 1 (1) to shut (2) close up, tr.

kata?-hi·-me- nt locked

kat?a-mh- vb to be ins but not locked in

kat·a-meh-nY- vb to ge plugged or closed u

kat·a-mh- vb to be lock and inaccessible

kat·a-ŋHe- vb (1) to be (2) to be locked in

kat·u-mh- vb to be ope a door

katut-·a- nt (1) door gate (3) opening

kat·ak·atal- nt ankles

kat·i- st. 1 (1) to make a (2) to be unable (3)

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

like a horse (2) to straddle	kalŋa- nt dance
dle	kal'aŋ-aH- nt dance
ej-, kaw'a-, kaw'aj- see	kal'y?-nY- vb to kick h
under kaHw-ŋHe- st. 1	and there
i-ni- nt (1) middle (2) in	kal'i-j'- vb to be kicking
the middle (3) between	ka'l-ŋHe- vb to get kicked
kawi-nHi-paH- nt middle	a horse or mule
finger: "the middlemost"	ka'la- nt collar. From Eng
kaw'in-hHi-to-?-hY' N in the	kal'a-po- vb to put a
middle of it	on a garment
i-nY- vb (1) to remain	ka'laj- nt coarse basket
(2) to still do (3) to still	ka'leh- nt (1) spittle (2) p
be there	ka'ma- nt bed. From Spa
o'ta-nY- vb to scream	cama.
rejisa- nt barn. From	ka'pu- nt smoke hole
Spanish (?).	ka'pyc- nt cabbage. From
to-nY- vb to make juicy	ka's- st. 1 to prick, tr.
yHl- nt night	kasy?-a- nt fork
kawly-paH- nt morning	ka'so- nt tin. From Spanis
kawly-to- nt night	ka't- st. 1 to dam up
kawyHl-ŋHe- vb (1) to become	ka'ta- nt a dam
night (2) to get dark	ka'ta-nY- vb to make a
ac- nt (1) elderberry	ka'tij- nt a mistake. Cf. k
(2) Mount Bullion	st. 1
an- nt acorn meal	599
	ka'to- nt cat. From Spanis

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

e- nt	wild onion	kiky? - a- nt	Water or C
a- st. 1	to snow		moiety
P	(1) no (2) not	kik?y-meH- nt	juicy
e- ns	meaning obscure, oc-	kili·m- st. 1	to freeze
	curs in plant names 722	kil·im·e- nt	(1) ice (2) f
o- t- st. 1	to gather up		CJ
e-paH- nt	wife's sister's	kil·impe- nt	(1) ice (2) t
	husband		CB, RW, EL
eH- nt	one	kil·i- nt	antler
eje·-jak- nt	another kind	kime·cima- nt	(1) wife's br
eñke-lVHp- nt	a tine		son (2) wife's mothe
eñke-p·a- nt	one by one		brother (3) wife's br
eñ·eH-c·Y- nt	only one		wife (4) sister's chi
eñ·eH-koH-∅ N	all of them		spouse (to male Ego
eñ·eH-t-∅ N	together: "at	kim·is- nt	grapevine
	one"	kisa·l-e·-nY- vb	to fry
eñ·eH-t·i- nt	(1) alone	ki·sal-e·-nY- vb	to go b
	(2) only		and forth frying
eHk- nt	fern	kis·icki- nt	place name, ne
o- t- st. 1	to hug		Usona on Triangle R
o- st. 1	to pick up CB	kitpil- <sup>d</sup> kiti·pel- nt	elbow
u- nt	head louse	kiw·namsi- nt	place name,
sa- nt	millipede		near Mariposa Coun
a- nt	(1) money (2) dollar		pital
aha·-t- st. 1	(1) to make	kiwe·sa- nt	collarbone and
	money (2) to mow rick		hollows beside it



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

pa- st. 1	to suck for disease	kom'a-ci- nt	pygmy owl
	object	korsgol- nt	Coarsegold. Fr
ah- nt	reeds		English.
ojne- nt	woven	kose'-nY- vb	to cook, CJ,
·pi- nt	blue-flowered bush		EL. From Spanish co
	lupin	kosen-na <sub>1</sub> - vb	to cook f
ojoj-·i- nt	blue		someone
koji'-nY-?·a- nt	bluing	kosen-peH- nt	a cook
·w- st. 1	(1) to tell news	kosen-·a- nt	kitchen
	(2) to complain	kosi'na- nt	hearth. From S
ojow-na <sub>1</sub> - vb	to tell for		cocina.
	someone	kosi'no- nt	chimney. From
oj·owo-m·a- nt	one who tells		ish cocina (?).
	everything he hears	kosne'no- nt	cook. From S
kojo'-nY- vb	to tell to some-		cocinero.
	one	kot-to- nt	(1) far (2) a wh
kojon-na <sub>1</sub> - vb	to tell some-	kot-taH-n N	far off
	one for someone	kot-taH-n-hi· N	a lo
o- nt	salt	kot-taH-n-j N	for a l
kojkoj-·e- vb	to taste salty	kot-taH-n-?ynyk- N	
kojum-·a- nt	salt-lick		far off
koj?o-meH- nt	salty	kota'-h- st. 1	to mov
koHj-ηHe- st. 1	to get salty		tr.
koje·η-aH- nt	salty	kot'ah'- vb	to mov
	ALPHABETIC ORDER		intr.
koj·eη-hHi- nt	very salty		605
	to rumble of	kot'a-ka-:ni- nt	from

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

- e- nt a Big Time or ceremonial feast
- koṭe·j- st.1 to put on a Big Time
- o- st.1 (irregular and defective) to go on ahead 440
- koṭoʔ-peH- nt guide
- koṭo·-na<sub>1</sub>- vb to go ahead for someone else
- koṭo·-nHuk·u- vb to make someone go on ahead
- , koṭa·-, koṭuʔ-, koṭ·ele-, koṭ·u- see under koṭ·- st.1
- ta- st.1 to bump into
- ci- nt pig. From Spanish cochino.
- ko·ci-c·Y- nt piglet
- i- nt coffee. From English.
- i- nt enemy
- k- st.1 to graze
- ko- nt cocoa. From English.
- koṭ- nt (1) clover (2) lettuce
- as- nt enemy
- s- st.1 to throw underhand
- koṭ·ele- nt (1) crumbly (2) brittle
- koṭ·u-ŋHe- vb to break snapping, intr.
- koṭuʔ-nY- vb to break passing, tr.
- koH- ∞ -ko- ∞ -k·o- ps t person plural 311
- koHj- see under koj·o- nt
- koX- allomorph of {-eH-}
- krismas- nt Christmas. From English.
- krus- nt crucifix. From Spanish cruz.
- {-ksY-} vs (1) continuative bare... showing (3) wear a... 509
- ku- vs meaning obscure
- kuca·la-<sup>d</sup> kuca·na- nt spoon From Spanish cuchar
- kuca·pi- nt kutsavi. From Paviotso (?).
- kuh-ja- st.1 (1) to hit (2) beat up
- kuhta- st.1 (1) to hit (2)

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ka-to- nt	fault. From Spanish culpado.	tr. (2) to repay
ll-i- nt	black	-kuH- ns evidential passive dicative 724
·naw- nt	Coarsegold	kuHh-ŋHe- st.1 to regret
·a- nt	charcoal	kwa·k kwa·k NE (?) cry of pecker
·al- nt	fence. From Spanish corral.	kycm- st.1 to chew on, tr.
·al-hi'-me- nt	fenced	kyc·a- nt ramada
·us- nt	cross. From Spanish cruz.	kyc·yc- nt bone
·a-	see under ku·m- st.1	kyly·t- st.1 to bruise, tr.
·a?sa- nt	mother's brother's wife	kyl·a- nt liver
·sul- nt	(1) olive shell (2) whole olive shell bead	kyl·i- st.1 (1) to recover from an illness (2) to heal Cf. ky·li- nt
·e-la- nt	coal	kyli·-na <sub>2</sub> - vb to cure: " cause to recover"
·a-na- nt	fence. From Spanish corral (?).	kyli·-nHuk·u- vb to make someone well
·e-ta- nt	gun. From Spanish escopeta.	kyl?i-p·a- nt still alive
·a-nY- vb	to wash clothes	kyl·iji-ksY- vb to survive illness
·e-nY- vb	to cook CB. From Spanish cocinar.	kyl·i?i-ksY- vb to just alive
·us·en-·a- nt	for cooking in	kyna·-t- st.1 to defecate
·i-na- nt	stove. From Spanish	kyn·e- st.1 to back away

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

- kyh- nt flea
- li- nt (1) alive (2) healthy  
Cf. kyl·i- st. 1
- Ht-ŋHe- st. 1 to stay long
- Hw-ŋHe- st. 1 (1) to cool off  
(2) to get cold
- kyweŋ<sup>?</sup>y-ksY- vb to keep  
cold, tr.
- kywe·na<sub>2</sub>- vb to make it  
cold
- kywe·ŋ-aH- nt cool
- kywkyw·e- vb to be cold, as  
water
- kyw·y-c·- vb to keep cool
- o- allomorph of third person  
plural ps
- oc- allomorph of {-ksY-} vs
- Hu- allomorph of {-nHuk·u-}  
vs
- l
- a- ns meaning obscure 725
- la-} vs iterative 514
- c- see under la·ca- nt
- ALPHABETIC ORDER
- cah·ana- nt (1) long narrow  
shell (dentalium?) head
- lakhy·-nY- vb to come  
several times
- lakyh-nHuk·u- vb to pu  
tr.: "to cause to e
- laka·ma- nt halfway up
- lakṭ- st. 1 to lick
- lalni- nt place name, sou  
Fresno Flat
- lame·sa- nt (1) table (2)  
From Spanish la m
- lanse·so- nt Frenchman.  
Spanish francés.
- lantym- nt lantern. From
- laŋlaŋ- nt goose
- lapi·s-aj- nt (1) trout (2)
- lapqa- nt fungus, shelf-li  
under and slick on  
grows on old willo  
or dead alders
- lasan- nt sorrel horse. I  
Spanish alazán.
- lawak-meH- nt tired
- lawak-na<sub>2</sub>-ŋHe- vb to  
tired
- lawak·y-c·- vb to feel
- laweHk nHe ub to go

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

lam <sup>?</sup> a-meH- nt	one who has a lot of trees	lew·ehe- nt	thick-textured
la·ma-c·Y- nt	sapling	lewe·t-aH- nt	heavy
tiko- nt	cinch strap. From Spanish látigo.	lewet-na <sub>2</sub> - vb	to make heavy
o- nt	rat. From Spanish ratón.	leweHt-ŋHe- vb	to get
w- st. 1	to sweep	lew·a- <sup>d</sup> low·a- st. 1	to have nasal congestion
lawy <sup>?</sup> -·a- nt	broom	lew·ap- nt	(1) thick (2) nice "a thick one"
wo- nt	nail. From Spanish clavo.	-le· pf	interjectional 806
la·wo·-nY- vb	to drive nails	le·-ha- nt	syringa, Lewis orange
uk- nt	blunt-edged	{-le·-nY-}	vs discontinuous tive 525
k pf	but 805	le·ci- nt	milk. From Spani leche.
-leksa- nt	small hawk (sharp- shinned?)	le·cy- nt	cow. From Spani leche "milk."
a- nt	small animal, variously identified as Sierra chick- aree, weasel, flying squir- rel, or coney	le·ka- nt	white or scrub o
eH- nt	mountain	le·le-ma- nt	purple flower lar to baby blue-eye
e·ta- nt	bottle. From Span- ish limeta.	le·le·-nY- vb	to read. Fro Spanish leer.
ou- st. 1	to put in the fire	le·le·-nY- <sup>?</sup> ·a- nt	Bible
a- st. 1	(1) to finish (2) to	lijal- nt	(1) bit (\$0.125) (2)

[\[view image\]](#)

---





SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

nt	costume	li·ci·-ci-	nt	calliope hummi
a-	st. 1			bird
	to rub feet back			
	and forth on medicine rock	li·leH-	nt	(1) high (2) up
ta·-ŋ-	st. 1			
	to slide CB, CJ	lile-nHi-pa-	nt	(1) upper
to·-j-	st. 1			(2) upstairs
	(1) to slide off			
	(2) to slide on something	lile-nHi-pa-t-?ucaH-	nt	
	slick			who lives upstairs
ta·a-	nt			
	(1) slick (2) slip-	lile-t-∅	N	higher up
	pery	lile-t·Y-t-∅	N	upwards
ta·jap·o-	nt			
	medicine rock,	lile-tHo-j-hY·	N	above h
	a natural rock located	lile·-h-	st. 1	to raise, tr
	between Usona and Nip-	lil·e-ka-	nt	higher
	pinawasee. It was cus-			
	tomary to stop there on	lil·e-ka-c·Y-n	N	a lit
	a walking trip, and rub			higher
	one's feet back and forth	lil·e-m-?ucaH-	nt	(1) the
	on it to take tiredness			(2) the upper part
	away.	lil·e-m-∅-?ynyk	N	from
		lil·e-m·-?	N	on top
		lil·e-m·-t·Y-j	N	over
		lil·e-m·-t·Y-?-hY·	N	roo
				top"
		lil·etu-t-i-	nt	up high
		li·leH-to-	nt	(1) above
				(2) heaven
		li·leH-to-?-hY·	N	abo

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ʔot-i- nt pepperwood  
 a- nt throat  
 e- nt (1) group (2) herd  
 (3) flock (4) school of  
 fish (5) stand of trees  
 ʔol-, lol-u- see under lo'l-  
 st. 1  
 ok- nt wood rat  
 ʔto-na- nt flume  
 a-wi- nt naked  
 ʔt- st. 1 to form a lump  
 ʔto-je-nY- vb to have  
 goose bumps  
 ʔto-je-meH- nt lumpy  
 ʔto-je-a- nt containing lumps  
 a- st. 1 (1) to pound (2) to  
 mash  
 ʔpa-a- nt small mortar  
 ʔjo- nt roan horse. From  
 Spanish rosillo.  
 , lotu-, lotuk-u-, lotup-, lotu?-  
 see under lo't- st. 1  
 - nt navel  
 a- st. 1 ALPHABETIC ORDER to boil CB, CJ  
 ʔ-h- st. 1 to scald

lo-je- nt flower  
 loje-t- st. 1 to bloom  
 lo-je-aH- nt flower  
 lo-je-ma- nt flower  
 lo-je-m-hi-me- nt bc  
 lo-ko- nt crazy. From Spa  
 loco.  
 lokot-a-nY- vb to be  
 loko-a- nt slightly off  
 head  
 lo-ko-nY- vb to go cra  
 lo'l- st. 1 to bunch together  
 lolol- st. 1 to go around  
 a group  
 lol-u-c- vb to keep in  
 lo-so- nt Bear Valley. Fro  
 Spanish el oso "the  
 lo't- st. 1 (1) to catch (2)  
 grasp (3) to grab  
 lot-nY- st. 1 to pass so  
 secretly while shaki  
 lot-wa-ŋHe- vb to get c  
 of several individua  
 lotu-ksY- vb to hold do  
 lotuk-u-c- vb to be

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

- luha·p-aH-?-hY· kome-ŋ NE  
last quarter of moon
- luk·- see under lu·k- st. 1
- nt (1) olive shell (2) rope  
of whole olive shell beads
- nt edible cocoons JL
- nt crest of quail or blue-  
jay
- nt (1) flute (2) trumpet  
st. 1 to play the flute or  
trumpet
- st. 1 to scatter, tr.
- nt girl
- o·u?-hHi- nt pretty, of a  
girl
- a- nt packstrap
- nt brains
- nte- nt doll
- st. 1 to shoot without aim-  
ing
- st. 1 (1) to make straight  
(2) to make right (3) to  
go straight
- a·k-aH- nt straight
- luta·k-aH-? lile-t-∅ NE
- luh·-ŋHe- vb to lose a ga
- lu·h-ŋHe- vb to lose a fi
- lu·k- st. 1 to skin or pull ro  
for basketry
- luk-h- st. 1 to come off,  
at a joint
- luk·-ŋHe- vb to come loo
- lu·lumet- nt edible cocoons  
CB
- lu·nas- nt Monday. From Sp  
lunes.
- lu·ṭ- st. 1 to skin an animal
- luṭ-h- st. 1 (1) to peel, in  
(2) to be scalded
- lu·ṭi- nt different
- luṭi·-h- st. 1 to be differe
- luṭih-na<sub>2</sub>- vb to disgui  
someone: "to cause to  
different"
- luṭih-na<sub>2</sub>-poksu- vb to  
guise oneself
- luṭi·-koH-t-∅ N (1) often  
(2) sometimes
- luṭi·-t- st. 1 to look<sup>62</sup> differ
- luṭ?i-j·a- nt (1) foreigners



[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- ɔp- st. 1 to sink  
 - st. 1 to sting, tr.  
 yt-wa- st. 1 to sting  
 yty?·a- nt stinger  
 y·ty·ni- nt sting  
 - st. 1 to scrape with a stick  
 mh- vs to be ready to . . .  
 515  
 Hp- ns multiple 726  
 m  
 ps first person singular 311  
 - allomorph of ablative case  
 - cs locative case 328  
 a- ns agentive  
 de·ra- nt Madera. From English or Spanish.  
 n- st. 1 to puff smoke  
 ri- nt first person plural  
 independent pronoun  
 ah·i· ps first person plural  
 311  
 h·oka- nt five  
 mahko-paH nt Friday  
 mahok-nY- vb to be five  
 makyHj-ŋHe- vb to do acc  
 mal·- st. 1 (1) to extinguish  
 turn off light  
 male··muH- nt (1) faded  
 (2) color gone  
 male·-na<sub>2</sub>- vb to put out  
 fire  
 maHl-ŋHe- st. 1 (1) to fade  
 color or light (2) to put out  
 of fire  
 ma·leŋ-e·-nY- vb to  
 mamla- nt blackberry  
 mamu-ksY- vb to hold something  
 in the mouth  
 mamu·-t- st. 1 (1) to put  
 one's mouth (2) to  
 of snake, obs.  
 -man pf hortative 807  
 manaX- nt who?  
 manaX-ŋk- vb to be who  
 manaX-ŋk-?aX-j-hY· N  
 he is  
 manaX-?·pa? N someone  
 other  
 manik P more

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

- ris- nt mattress. From English.
- ta- st. 1 to slap
- maṭ-ja- st. 1 (1) to slap or spank (2) to beat up
- y·m- st. 1 to go through a crack
- alki- nt face
- yj-aH- nt blue brush rabbit
- a·ṭ- st. 1 (1) to fall apart (2) to fork, intr.
- maʔa·ṭ-met·- vb to fall in two
- maʔṭa-la- nt (1) forked (2) fork of tree
- l- st. 1 to roll over, tr.
- maʔlil-nY- vb to roll around
- ∞ -∅ ps first person singular 311
- eH- nt (1) beside (2) alongside
- is- nt a match. From English matches.
- is- nt ALPHABETIC ORDER From Spanish maíz.
- meh·ika·no- <sup>d</sup> me·hika·no- nt Mexican. From Spanish mejicano.
- mej·elki- nt shoulder
- melṭaj- nt yellowjacket
- melpo·sa- nt Mariposa (plant name). From English.
- meme·l-aH- nt edge of basket to be finished
- meno·k- st. 1 (1) to run, cross road (2) to keep on something
- menok-nY- vb to keep
- men·ok-put·- vb to keep keeping on
- men·ok·a-j·- vb to keep doing something
- menty- nt right away
- meny·t-aH- nt often
- men·a- st. 1 (1) to try (2) taste
- mena-nHuk·u- vb to make someone try
- mena·-nY- vb (1) to make someone try (2) to

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

y- nt	beaver	mi- ∞ mi·n- ∞ mi·ni- nt	se
u·la- nt	Sentinel Dome		person singular indep
re- nt	California grey tree squirrel		dent pronoun
H-	allomorph of {-iH-} ns	mi-ko- nt	second person independent pronoun
H- ns	(1) passive agentive (2) augmentative (3) necessitative 728	mice·ma- nt	meat CJ
	allomorph of {-mhi-} vs	mice·ma·-nY- vb	to make into meat
vs	absent 517	micpa- st.1	to camp
- ns	reciprocal 729	mi·ili-m·a- nt	cross-eyed
i-} vs	reciprocal	minute- nt	minute. From Spanish minuta.
nt	what? Demonstrative stem 653.	misl- st.1	(1) to have chick (2) to have smallpox
-c·-	st.1 to do what?	misyl-meH- nt	one who had the measles
mi-c·-tho-j N	why?	miwe·j-aH- nt	cemetery
micy-ksY- vb	to be how?	miw·yH- nt	(1) person (2) I
micyk-na <sub>2</sub> - vb	(1) to say what? (2) to do how?	miwty·j·a- nt	Indians
micyk-na <sub>2</sub> -tho-j N	how?	mi·h- st.1	to pare
micyk-na <sub>2</sub> -∅-?-hY· N	when? Mrp	mi·n-, mi·ni-	allomorphs of second person singular independent pronoun
micyk-pa-ni-t-∅ N	how can it be that way?	mi·sa- nt	Mass. From Spanish misa.
micy?-meH- nt	(1) for how		

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

mojo·-t- st. 1 to go to sleep

CB

ke- nt red paint

mokok·i- nt pink

la·p- st. 1 (1) to make acorn  
mush (2) to leach acorns

mol·ap·a- nt mush-making  
place

il-nY- vb to fool someone

i·na- nt mill. From Spanish  
molino.

t- st. 1 (1) to trade (2) to  
change or alter (2) to  
change place

molt-poksu- vb to turn into  
something: "to change  
oneself"

as- nt measles

e- nt (1) obsidian blade,  
four to six inches long  
(2) charmstone (?) soap-  
stone (?)

i- nt shade

moli-mh- vb to be cooling  
off in the shade

mo·p-a· V inside hand  
(handgame call): "he  
his hand on a woma  
genitals"

mote·muH- nt pregnant

mote·ge- nt pregnant

mo?ta- st. 1 (1) to meet, t  
(2) to bump into

mo?i-j·- vb to face toward  
someone

mo·lit- see under mol·i-

mo·na- nt Mono person or  
guage

mon?a-j·a- nt (1) Mono  
people (2) Paiutes

mo·nok- nt incense cedar

mo·nuj- nt belladonna

mo·ŋi- nt reeds

mo·ro- nt (1) gray (2) spo  
From Spanish moro  
moreno (?).

-mu- ∞ -mu· ∞ -muH- ps  
and second persons  
volved

muckat·i- nt sharp-pointed

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- mula·k-poksu- vb to wash  
one's face
- ne·kas- nt sheep CB. From  
Spanish borregas.
- ne·ete-m·a- nt hunchback
- sa- st.1 to be ashamed
- musa?-meH- nt (1) timid  
(2) bashful
- se- nt mother CJ
- sa-ti- nt camel: "humped"
- sa, -muH- see under -mu-  
ps
- sa- nt mule. From Spanish  
mula.
- sa- st.1 to suck at breast
- mus-nY- st.1 to suckle a  
child: "to cause to suck"
- musu?-·a- nt nipple
- mu's-poksu- vb to hibernate:  
"to suck oneself"
- sa-sika- nt (1) music (2) musi-  
cal instrument. From  
Spanish música.
- musi-k- st.1 to make music
- muski-paH- nt personal
- myla- nt (1) hazel (2) haz
- mylak- nt stick for playin
- myl·a·ti- nt bee
- myl·i- nt to sing CB
- mymp- st.1 to close one'
- mym·y·ti- nt quail
- myŋ- see under my·ŋ- st.
- my?t- st.1 to swallow
- my?ty·-nY- vb to gulp
- my?·yŋ·-a- nt Adam's a  
"swallower"
- my?·-ŋHe- vb to choke on  
thing
- my?·yny-Hna- nt Californi  
CJ
- my·hy-Hna- nt yellow-hair  
porcupine
- my·k- st.1 (1) to drive a  
(2) to herd cattle C  
EL
- my·l- st.1 to hit with a  
instrument held in  
hand, such as a sti
- myl-ja- st.1 to beat u
- mylaj-kuH- nt one v

[\[view image\]](#)

---





SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

ʔh- ns (1) only (2) just  
 (3) nothing but 730  
 - ~ -m- cs ablative case  
 326  
 a- ns one who . . . to ex-  
 cess 731  
 n  
 cs temporal case 323  
 allomorph of {-eH-} ms  
 allomorph of {-ak-} ms  
 - ns meaning obscure 732  
 1-} vs benefactive 519  
 2-} vs causative 520  
 ka- st.1 to fight, of dogs  
 y- st.1 coarse  
 ma-j- vb (1) to be nearly  
 . . . (2) to just barely  
 . . .  
 ahma-tki- nt (1) one who  
 just barely . . . (2) one  
 who almost failed to . . .  
 (3) one who finally . . .  
 pa- st.1 ALPHABETIC ORDER to cover, tr.  
 aajap-·a- nt (1) cover (2) lid

naŋ·a-j- vb to mate, w  
 speaking  
 naŋ·a-ʔa- nt boy  
 naŋ·a·-nY- vb to becom  
 man  
 nath- st.1 to learn  
 natyh-na<sub>2</sub>- vb to teach  
 one  
 natyh- nt clever  
 nawa·ha- nt pocketknife. I  
 Spanish navaja.  
 nawa·sy-, naw·as- see und  
 na·was- nt  
 nawʔ- st.1 (1) to take away  
 someone (2) to stea  
 naʔ-, naʔ·y- see under na  
 naʔa·ca- nt ten  
 naʔac-nY- vb to be ten  
 naʔac-nHi-paH- nt the t  
 one  
 naʔa·ca-ʔ keŋ·eH-ʔ·YniH-  
 eleven: "ten has one  
 naʔa·ca-ʔ tolo·koʔ-ʔ·YniH-  
 thirteen: "ten has th  
 naʔa·ca-ʔ ʔoʔiH-ʔ·YniH-ʔ

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

nak-pa- st. 1 to catch up  
 nak·y-c·- vb to be up to a certain point  
 t- st. 1 to snore  
 natu·c- st. 1 to snore  
 was- nt (1) dress (2) skirt.  
 From Spanish naguas.  
 nawa·sy-poksu- vb to put on a dress  
 naw·as-·a- nt cloth  
 na·was?y-ksY- vb to wear a dress  
 ?- st. 1 (1) to fit (2) to be enough  
 na?-·a- nt (1) even (2) just right (3) enough  
 na?·y-c·- vb (1) to be enough (2) to be just right (3) to be ready (4) to be all the same  
 na?-ηHe- vb to get enough  
 allomorph of {neH-} nt  
 nu·-t- st. 1 (1) to know a person (2) to recognize (3) to be able to tell if . . .

some (2) argumenta  
 ne·n- st. 1 to count. Cf. n  
 st. 1  
 ne·na- nt (1) time (2) an h  
 {neH-} nt (1) this (2) here  
 Demonstrative stem  
 ne-pu-ksY- vb to be th  
 ne-puHt- vb to do this  
 ne-pHute- nt this kind  
 ne·h-η-?ok N (1) his (2) one's  
 neH-(case) N (1) this or (2) he, she, it (3) h  
 neH-(case)-?ok N (1) th (2) he, she, it (3) h  
 neH-k·o-(case)-?ok N ( (2) they  
 neH-m·-t·Y-t-∅ N (1) th (2) in this direction  
 nem·yt-wi-j·- vb to this way  
 neH-wi-n N (1) uphill river (3) up the tra  
 newi-t·Y-t-∅ N 647 upstr  
 -ni- allomorph of {-eH-}

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

oc-nY- st. 1	to make some-	nykha- nt	(1) skin (2) outer
one cry		surface	
oc-pa- st. 1	to cry for	nyky-·li- nt	callus
someone		nykys- nt	poison oak
ocuH-jYk·- vb	to go to cry	nyk·a- nt	rain
oc?u-c·-e·-nY- vb	to cry all	nyk·a- st. 1	to rain
the time: "to be a habi-		nymih- nt	(1) like (2) maybe
tual crier"		nym·a- st. 1	to tell the truth
oc?u-paH- nt	one who cries	nyna·-t- st. 1	to hire worker
much		nyna·t-poksu- vb	to wipe on
oc·u?-ti- nt	edible fungus,	nose	
white, grows in burnt		nyp·a- nt	thin acorn mush
brush: "crybabies"		CB	
oc·u?-HmetiH- nt	people	nyp·a·ti- nt	thin acorn mush
who cry		nyp·y- nt	pigmented mole
oc·u?u-m·a·-nY- vb	to be a	nysy-·li- nt	chest (body-par
crybaby		ny·ma-?-hi· N	(1) probably
anic- nt	blacksmith	guess so	
re·-nY- vb	to cross oneself.	nyHt-ηHe- st. 1	to keep still
From Spanish nombre		nyt·y-c·- vb	to be quiet
"name."		calm	
et·- vb	to slump down, of	nyH?-ηHe- st. 1	to get scar
a person		{-nY-} vs	(1) transitive (2)
ot·- vb	to bow one's head	tive (3) causative (4)	
ALPHABETIC ORDER		balizer 521	
otkolol- nt	pygmy owl (?)		



[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

p

pa- allomorph of {-na<sub>2</sub>-} vs  
pa-} vs directional 533

pa-ksY-} vs involuntary passive  
511

pe- nt relative, kinsman

pace'?'-mhi- vb to make up  
a quarrel

jwa- nt chaparral

jwajak- nt Vernal Falls

j'uk- nt arrow Yos

k-la- st.1 to smash

pakal-wa- vb to squash one  
thing

pakal-'a- nt a masher

k-si- st.1 (1) to flush, intr.  
(2) to be pale

kpak- nt woodpecker

kt- st.1 (1) to explode (2) to  
crackle

pakty'-nY- vb to clap, of  
rattle

l- see under pa'la- nt

lal-ci- nt people of near  
/piliwni?/. Name of RW's

panco- nt banjo. From E

panjo- nt handkerchief. From  
Spanish paño "cloth"

pape'l-aH- nt paper. From  
ish papel.

pasak'i-la- nt acorn crack

pasas-'i- nt white

pasis-na<sub>2</sub>- vb (1) to w  
(2) to bleach

pasiHs-ŋHe- vb to be  
white

pasjal-nY- vb to visit. From  
Spanish pasear (?)

pasu'ka- nt (1) sinew (2)

pas'al- nt chokecherry

patkas- nt raccoon

patl- st.1 to butcher

pat'akal-ma- nt blowfly

pat'yt- nt hard

patyHt-ŋHe- vb to get

paṭa'ka- nt small black a

paṭa'ti- nt grasshopper

paṭi'w- st.1 (1) to twist

have cramps in the

paṭ'iwi-m'a- nt knock-

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

i- nt button mushrooms, an  
edible fungus with pink gills

a- nt shovel. From Spanish  
pala.

al-nY- st.1 to shovel

al- nt white alder

a- nt (1) grandfather (2)  
great-grandfather (3)  
grandfather's brother (4)  
grandmother's brother (?)

as- nt potato. From Spanish  
papas.

u·nu- nt place name, east  
of White Rock

tu- nt dragonfly

- st.1 to give

a?u·-t- st.1 to divide up

a?y?·-a- nt a gift

a?y·c·-e- nt one who likes  
to give things

a·?-mhi-ŋHe- vb to exchange  
gifts

I- ns agentive 737

·no- nt ALPHABETIC ORDER calf. From Spanish  
pechero (?).

pele·-j-poksu vb to peer  
something held up

pel·es- nt matter in corner  
eyes on arising

pemjente- nt pepper. From  
ish pimentia.

pene-no- nt bridle. From S  
freno.

pet·a- st.1 to grope around

pete·-j- st.1 to sneak up

petej-pa- st.1 to snea  
on someone

petpet-nY- vb (1) to hide  
(2) to stay hidden (3)

sneak around

pet·i·c·- CB, pet·y·c·- RW  
vb to hide, intr.

peHt-ŋHe- st.1 to hide,

pet·a- st.1 to drop, tr.

pet·ja- st.1 to drop sev  
things

pet·ja-met·- vb to fal  
tree, of fruit

petaj·aj·- vb to drop t  
along the way

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- pet·aŋ-·a- nt garbage dump
- pet·a-ŋHe- vb to fall
- nep·e-ha- nt wild tea
- min-nY- vb to have cramps
- kin- nt bacon. From English.
- na- nt (1) comb for hair  
(2) comb of chicken.  
From Spanish peine.
- pe·na-·nY-poksu- vb to comb  
one's hair
- s- nt pears. From English.
- so- nt dollar. From Spanish  
peso.
- wisa- nt roots used for  
basketry foundation
- H- ns agentive 738
- ft- see under pet·a- st. 1
- a·k- st. 1 to mash
- pica·k-met·- vb to crumble,  
intr., of a soft thing
- e·ma- nt meat CB, RW, EL
- y·-t- st. 1 (1) to pick up a  
handful (2) to clench fist  
(3) to put out claws, of  
a cat
- piknik-nY- vb to picnic
- pik·a- st. 1 (1) to sift across  
(2) to sieve
- pik·a?-·a- nt (1) sieve  
flour-sifter
- pil-pilka- nt gold fern
- pila·so- nt (1) dish (2) plate  
From Spanish plato
- pila·ta- nt money. From Spanish  
plata.
- piliwni- nt Polona
- piliwni-?ci- nt people of  
Polona
- pilyn-·a- nt (1) hem (2) sleeve
- pina?-·a- nt slingshot
- pini·to- nt gravy. From Spanish
- pinto- nt piebald, pinto. From  
Spanish pinto.
- pinto-ja- nt spotted
- pinto-ja-·-nY- vb to  
spotted
- pisis-·i- nt striped
- pisok-·YniH- nt blazed, blaze-  
faced, of a horse
- viso-·-t- st. 1 to part hair

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

phaj- nt place name, south  
of Palona Mountain

kal- nt (1) lungs (2) quilt

ko- nt ball

ok- st.1 (1) to kick a foot-  
ball (2) to play ball

to- nt place name, Leonard  
property, Tiptop

ra- st.1 (1) to please some-  
one (2) to be good to  
someone

ta- <sup>d</sup> poji-to- nt chick.  
From Spanish pollita,  
pollito.

poji-to-nY- vb to hatch

al-meH- nt watertight

na- nt large yellow flower,  
grows near springs (even-  
ing primrose?)

olno- nt small owl (pygmy  
owl? screech owl?)

o'l nt (?) cry of /nop·otkolol/.  
It is an omen indicating  
that someone will come  
from the direction whence

pol·o-ŋHe- vb to be con-  
fused by the supernatural

pol·o?-iH- nt haunted: 'su-  
pernatural' actually contacts the su-  
pernatural"

po·lo·ti- nt ghost

pom-ki- st.1 to come into  
view, e.g., over a hill

pomak-j- vb to come out  
of a hole and there

pom-pomjo- nt sneak thief

ponp- st.1 to get slightly

pop·il- nt (1) book (2) paper  
From Spanish papel

posa- nt down (feathers)

posle·ta· N(?) a personal name

posoHl- nt soup

potle-nY- vb to buck, of  
a horse From Spanish (?).

potni·ja- nt colt. From Spa-  
nish potrilla (?).

potok-meH- nt gray hair

pot·um- nt large beetle

poṭoṭ·i- nt gray (?) <sup>66</sup>brow

po?·ok- nt blunt-pointed

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

re-la- nt	ash flakes	puṭa- st. 1	to bubble up,
ku-j- st. 1	to blow, of the wind	puṭhu'-nY- vb	to bubble
puk·uj-aH- nt	wind		several places
ak·a- nt	large basket for making mush or heating water	puṭuṭ·uṭ·- vb	to boil or up fast
t- st. 1	to dip into or out of water	puṭ·u- nt	water ouzel
u-t- st. 1	to dip up	pu·ci- nt	kitty. From Eng pussy; cf. pu·si- nt
pulul·a- nt	dipper	pu·hu·nu- nt	(1) porcupine Pohono Bridge, Yos (3) Bridal Veil Falls
tugis- nt	Portuguese. From Spanish portugués.	pu·k-poksu- vb	to rub one with a hot stick to rheumatism
m·ulu-m·a- nt	round bowl	pu·kej-aH- nt	soapstone
na·na- nt	fence. From Spanish (?).	pu·lu- nt	cigar. From Spa puro.
ajal- nt	dagger. From Spanish puñal.	pu·si- nt	cat. From Engli
reṭe- nt	(1) soft (2) tender (3) pliable	pu·ta- nt	prostitute. From puta.
puneṭ-na <sub>2</sub> - vb	to make soft	pu·t- st. 1	(1) to slit open split and clean a c
si'-nY- vb	to dance the acorn dance	puṭ-h- st. 1	to bulge or out, of dry stuff
aja-je'-n-aH- nt	rise of land, as the beginning of foot- hills	puṭuh-meH- nt	ruptu

[\[view image\]](#)

---





SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

- pylat·a- nt    baking pan  
 pyl·a·ti- nt    bread  
 e- nt    fish eggs  
 l·i- nt    smooth  
 pylil-na<sub>2</sub>- vb    to make smooth  
 w- nt    juniper  
 m- nt    plum. From English.  
 e- nt    lunch  
 -ŋHe- vb    to burst  
 l- st. 1    (1) to turn around  
           (2) to turn over, tr.  
 pyta·l-poksu- vb    (1) to turn  
                     over in bed (2) to turn  
                     around, intr.  
 pyt·al·- vb    to turn over, intr.  
 nyl- nt    a place made bare.  
           Cf. py·t- st. 1  
 vy<sup>?</sup>hi- nt    ancient village lo-  
                     cation at Acorn Inn, at  
                     junction of Highway 140  
                     and Triangle Road  
 ti- nt    a naturally bare place.  
           Cf. py·t- st. 1  
 - st. 1    to blister, intr.  
 pyt·- st. 1    to be blistered  
 pyty<sup>?</sup>-nY- vb    to scrape  
                     here and there  
 pyt·yt·- vb    to be all cle  
                     grass  
 -p·a- ns    diminutive-distrib  
                     741  
 -p·u· ps    third person plura  
 -pHute- ns    kind, species 7  
                     r  
 rajs- nt    rice. From Englis  
 ranco- nt    field. From Span  
                     rancho.  
 redjo- nt    radio. From Eng  
 riko·-nY- vb    to get rich. 1  
                     Spanish rico.  
                     s  
 sajta- nt    cider. From Engl  
 sak-, sakal-, sak·ele- see  
                     sa·k- st. 1  
 saka·ni- nt    (1) soaproot (1  
                     root fibers  
 sakaHl- nt    willow, small, 668  
                     for basket-making

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

al-i?i'-nY- vb to turn young  
u- st. 1 to raise children  
en- nt skillet. From Spanish  
sartén.  
a- nt ramada  
a?-to- nt El Portal  
ija- nt watermelon. From  
Spanish sandía.  
a?-na- nt pinecone  
ak- nt (1) sugar pine  
(2) piñon nuts  
t- nt a boil  
ap'ata- nt a large sore or  
boil  
'-nY- vb to eat supper.  
From English.  
apan-'a-ti- nt supper  
'to- nt shoes. From Spanish  
zapato.  
apa't- st. 1 to shoe, tr.  
sapa't-poksu- vb to wear  
shoes  
a- st. 1 to strum  
apa?'-a- nt guitar  
'ca- nt crosscut saw. From

saw'en-aH- nt hailstone  
saw'ana- nt sheet, CJ, Fr  
Spanish sábana.  
saw'ato- nt Saturday. From  
Spanish sábado.  
sa'k- st. 1 to tear  
sak-la- st. 1 to tear up  
sakal-kuH- nt all torn  
sak-'u-maH- nt torn  
sak'ele- nt easy to tear  
sa'sa- nt (1) interior live oak  
(2) scrub oak  
sa'w- st. 1 to say "hey!"  
sa'wana- nt sheet, RW, EL  
From Spanish sábana  
sa'wine- nt snowshoe  
saHp-ŋHe- st. 1 to leak, of  
sel'u-ŋHe- vb to chip  
sel-'u-maH- nt chipped  
sem-la- st. 1 (1) to chip away  
(2) to take little bits  
sem'i-la- nt bark  
senta'-nY- vb to shoot at  
From English center  
sen'e- nt wart

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

ken-na <sub>2</sub> - vb	to make one sick	siw'a- nt	thin, of liquid
ken'y-c'- vb	to be sickly	siw'en- nt	gallbladder
ke'n-aH- nt	sickness	siw'is- nt	clear
k'e-paH- nt	(1) a twinge of pain (2) hurt feelings	siw'is-aH- nt	clear
k'e-pa-ksY- vb	(1) to hurt, intr. (2) to be painful	si'ja- nt	saddle. From Spanish silla.
ll- nt	willow, large	si'pe- nt	slim
- nt	ashes	sipet-na <sub>2</sub> - vb	to make na
ke'si-la- nt	ashes	si'sa- nt	streamlet
- nt	silk. From English.	si'ʔa'-pa-ŋHe- vb	to be sad From Spanish silla.
t- nt	marrow	siHl-ŋHe- st. 1	to stop rain
e- nt	silver. From English.	siHm-ŋHe- vb	to like food
'na- nt	week. From Spanish semana.	sime'ŋ-aH- nt	delicious
'ŋ-, simsim-	see under	simsim-'e- vb	(1) to be (2) to have a very good flavor
siHm-ŋHe- st. 1		skwo's- nt	squash (vegetable) From English.
'ja- nt	seed. From Spanish semilla.	sok-pa- st. 1	to teach
mi'ja'-nY- vb	to run to seed	sok-pa-paH- nt	teacher
k-poksu- vb	to blow one's nose	sok'a- st. 1	to track
o- nt	cinch. From Spanish	somle'la- RW, EL <sup>d</sup>	som'e'la nt hat. From Spanish sombrero.



[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

sop <sup>?</sup> u <sup>?</sup> -nY- vb	to throw here and there	su <sup>?</sup> t- to make crackling b ing skin
so <sup>?</sup> pu <sup>?</sup> -nY- vb	to hit several people by throwing	su <sup>?</sup> t- <sup>?</sup> a-ti- nt crackling
reka <sup>?</sup> ma- nt	patchwork quilt. From Spanish sobrecama.	suHs-ŋHe- st. 1 to melt
sa- nt	saucer. From English.	swe-ta- nt sweater. From
se- nt	bedrock mortar. Cf. sos <sup>?</sup> e- st. 1	switpate <sup>?</sup> to- nt sweet pota From English.
u- nt	chicken hawk	syjil <sup>?</sup> il <sup>?</sup> - vb to whirl aroun around
ut <sup>?</sup> u- nt	horn of saddle	syk-, sykaw-, syk <sup>?</sup> y <sup>?</sup> - see sy <sup>?</sup> k- st. 1
u <sup>?</sup> tel- nt	shin	symp- st. 1 to close the e
ta <sup>?</sup> to- nt	soldier. From Span- ish soldado.	sympy <sup>?</sup> -nY- vb (1) to b (2) to keep closing opening the eyes
uj <sup>?</sup> -h- vb	to wiggle	symyp-nHuk <sup>?</sup> u- vb to c someone's eyes
sul <sup>?</sup> uj <sup>?</sup> -h--nY- vb	to keep wiggling away	symy <sup>?</sup> -t- st. 1 to draw tigi
ne <sup>?</sup> no- nt	hat CB. From Spanish sombrero.	sym <sup>?</sup> it- nt (1) grease (2)
sumnen <sup>?</sup> y-ksY- vb	to wear a hat	symi <sup>?</sup> t- st. 1 to skim o grease
hente- nt	burglar. From Spanish surgente (?).	symiHt-ŋHe- vb to get
st. 1	ALPHABETIC ORDER to get firewood	symti <sup>?</sup> - <sup>?</sup> po- vb to greas
ata <sup>?</sup> -m <sup>?</sup> a- nt	fuzzy	symtit <sup>?</sup> - <sup>?</sup> e- vb to taste
		sype- nt (1) digging-stick

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

- syk-·a-ci- nt mark
- syk-·YniH- nt a tattooed person
- sykʔyʔ-nY- vb to write here and there
- sy·kyʔ-nY- vb to write something down repeatedly
- ps second person singular  
311
- š
- syn- nt shotgun. From English.
- ka- ḡ colka- st. 1 to flow
- t
- vs meaning obscure 539
- tHo- cs allative case 327
- ak·ak·- vb to have fits, of a dog
- ji- see under ta·ciH- nt
- u-ŋHe- vb to break
- c tajiċ NE (?) screech of Steller's (?) bluejay. See kajkaj- nt and kajkaʔ-jaH- nt.
- talja·no- nt Italian. From italiano.
- talŋi- st. 1 (1) to arise in morning (2) to get
- \*tal·i- st. 1 (defective) (1) in the morning (2) to  
440
- tal·yl- nt (1) strong (2) m  
(3) difficult
- talył-nHi-paH- nt stron
- talyHl-ŋHe- vb to get s
- tam-h- st. 1 to go down, c swelling
- tamak·iʔ-la- nt flicker-fea headband
- tama·li-n N north. Cf. tam
- tama·tis- nt tomato. From (?), Spanish tomatoes
- tampo- nt (1) drum (2) fiv can. From Spanish t "drum."
- tampo·-nY- vb to beat
- tam·yle- nt (1) north (2) n erner  
680
- tamly-j·a- nt northerne

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- a- nt leather tree. A tree with yellow flowers; one could use a strip of its bark to tie a horse.
- a- nt leaf
- ata-t- st.1 to leaf out
- at'a-meH- nt leafy
- ala-m'a- nt flat, planar
- atal-na<sub>2</sub>- vb to flatten, tr.
- ak'ala- nt cottonwood
- apa- nt thin
- atap-na<sub>2</sub>- vb to whittle: "to make thin"
- e-ηHe- vb to fall, of leaves
- t-i- nt yellow-brown
- a'hal- <sup>d</sup> tawa'han- nt work. From Spanish trabajar (?) trabajo (?).
- a'ko- nt (1) tobacco (2) cigarette. From Spanish tabaco.
- hal-nY- vb to work RW. From Spanish trabajar.
- han-nY- vb to work CJ. From Spanish trabajar.
- han'e- vb to work CB. From Spanish trabajar.
- cousin, older than Ego
- (3) male paternal cousin, older than Ego
- tacji-puH- nt half brother older than Ego
- ta'lak- nt (1) meadow cinquefoil (2) buttercup
- ta'paṭaṭ'- vb to be scattered around, of small objects
- ta'polo- nt shawl. From Spanish tápalo.
- ta'so- nt cup. From Spanish
- taH- ns temporal 743
- te- ∞ -te'- ∞ -te? ps first son singular 311
- tejnta- nt tent. From English
- tekm- st.1 to kick with toe
- tekm-ηHe- vb to get kicked by a person
- tekmy'-nY- vb to keep kicking
- teko'l- st.1 to pry up a flat thing
- tekol-'a- nt crowbar: "prying open" <sup>683</sup>
- teku'-i- st.1 (1) to use up

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

na·l- st.1	to exchange	{-te·-nY-} vs	linear distri
tem·al-iH- nt	trader: "habi-	527	
	tual exchanger"		
mpela- nt	rock-shelter	te·jyl-nY- vb	(1) to deal w
n·oka- nt	six		(2) to punish
temo·-jak-∅	na?a·ca-? NE	te·ŋ- st.1	(1) to touch, tr.
	sixty		(2) to feel, tr.
te·mok-nY- vb	to be six	teŋy-ksY- vb	to be tou
ka-j- vb	to feel, tr.		something
jkiju·-nY- vb	to say thank	te·p- st.1	(1) to cut (2) t
	you. From English.	tep-la- st.1	to cut up
o-, tepal-, teŋy?-	see under	tepal-kuH- nt	cut up
te·p- st.1		tep·u-maH- nt	wound
teŋ- see under teHp-ŋHe-		teŋy?·a- nt	a plow: "f
st.1			cutting"
tes-ta- nt	ramada	te·pani- nt	Creator
s-ku- st.1	to break off a	te·te- nt	(1) sister, older
	piece		Ego (2) female par
tes·u-maH- nt	(1) dented		cousin, older than
	(2) bashed in in one place		(3) female paternal
sa·wi- nt	caved in in several	tetje-puH- nt	half sist
	places		older than Ego
stes·- vb	to be cut	te·w- st.1	to stand, tr.
s·e- nt	(1) bangs (2) eaves of	tew·y-c·- vb	to be sta
	house		on four feet

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

awlo- nt	devil. From Spanish diablo.	tiwka- nt	maggie-feather dress
i·c- st.1	to tease	tiwlaj-nY- vb	to suffer
m- st.1	to peck	tiw·-aj- nt	yellowhammer shafted flicker
tikm-nY- vb	to peck at someone	tiw·a- st.1	to buy
tik·ym-·a- nt	beak: "for pecking"	tiwa?-t-poksu- vb	to s
n- st.1	to hobble a horse	tiwa·-h- st.1	to pay
l-·i- nt	(1) tan (2) buckskin horse (3) blond (4) pale, of skin (5) off-white.	tiwha-meH- nt	exper
·ko- nt	wheat. From Spanish trigo.	tiwha-p·a- nt	a payr
ke-na- nt	dry pinewood, not pitchy, for kindling	tiw·y-c·- vb	to protrude, long thing
il-na- nt	tarweed	ti?jaH- nt	chief JL
ek-aH- nt	lampblack	ti?p- st.1	to hold one's b
e·l- st.1	to thunder	ti?ti?·- vb	to beat, of pul
tim·ele-·li- nt	(1) thunder (2) owl's clover	ti·c- st.1	to stand someone's head
·il- nt	(1) mole (2) velvet	tic·y-c·- vb	to be stand on one's head
a·pu- nt	cloth	ti·jy- nt	tea. From English
e? P	almost	ti·we- nt	cottontail rabbit
na·no- nt	tin cup. From English	ti·?- st.1	to bulge from underneath
	ALPHABETIC ORDER	-tiH- ps	first person <sup>689</sup> dual plural 311

[\[view image\]](#)

---





SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

monarch or swallowtail	tol·om·a- nt	wildcat
(2) big basket for cooking acorns	tomiŋko- nt	Sunday. From Spanish domingo.
ps plural, second person only 311	topp- st. 1	to smother, intr.
- st. 1 to drink it all up	toŋaH- nt	(1) top (2) summit (3) point (4) end of road
i- st. 1 to go to hell	tophu-je·-nY- vb	rapids
k-si-koX-? V go to hell!	topi·-j- st. 1	to make war
u-maH- nt loose	topo·n-aH- nt	cork. From Spanish tapón.
, tok·eŋ- see under	topu·-j- st. 1	to bubble
toHk-ŋHe- st. 1	topju-le·-nY- vb	waves in water
-·a- nt foreshaft of arrow	tos·i-ŋHe- vb	to be smoked
- nt godetia, farewell-to- spring	totjo·-nY- vb	to be frightened
?- st. 1 (1) to be very (2) to get a lot (3) to keep on	towoŋ-na <sub>2</sub> - vb	to make a pipe
- nt (1) buttocks (2) lower hip region	to?is-·a- nt	pipe for tobacco
koŋ- nt three	to?p- st. 1	to be replete
lko-paH- nt Wednesday	to?·ono- nt	short
lko-·pa- vb to be or do three times	to·j- st. 1	to smoke tobacco
lok-nHi-paH- nt third	to·koH- nt	(1) all (2) much (3) many
ALPHABETIC ORDER	to·po- nt	gopher. Cf. Spanish topo "mole."
lok-wi-j·- vb to cut in	to·ro- nt	bull. From Spanish
		to think

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

- tuk'un-·a- nt sewing machine
- se- st. 1 to spit
- tuj- nt top of head
- u-·li- nt Pandora moth caterpillar
- akal'i- vb to hit with one's body
- to- nt Indian Gulch. From English Toledo, another name for this locality.
- ul-·a- nt (1) hill (2) gap between hills
- a·te- nt tomato CJ. From Spanish tomate.
- ak-·a- nt Land or Bear moiety
- e- nt (1) daughter (2) daughter of sibling of same sex as Ego (3) daughter of spouse's sibling of same sex as spouse
- unje-puH- nt (1) stepdaughter (2) foster daughter
- u- nt (1) upper leg, from hip to knee (2) thigh (3) ham
- tu·k- st. 1 to push or pull hoe or board
- tu·l- st. 1 to drive CB
- tu·ŋi- nt a wild root like potatoes
- tu·ʔu- nt a personal name
- twin- nt twin. From English
- tyhan P really (?) truthful
- tyha·n- st. 1 to try
- tyja·n- st. 1 to tie up, tr.
- ty·j- st. 1
- tyj'an-·a- nt (1) a bundle (2) a bale
- tyjyʔ-, tyjʔy- see under tyj st. 1
- tykaj'i-c- vb to be happy
- tykaj-meH- nt a happy
- tyktyk- vb to beat, of head
- tykys-meH- nt pockmark
- tyk·a- st. 1 to knock on so
- tyl·a- st. 1 to pound
- tyn-la-met- vb to break into pieces, intr.
- tyn-·y-maH- nt (1) cripple (2) person with a broken leg

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

- st. 1	to patch a basket	ṭasyw-meH-	nt	thin, scr	
tin-·a-	nt	a patch	ṭasyw-na <sub>2</sub> -	vb	to make s
a-j·a-	nt	speckled		one thin	
-c·-	vb	to lie still	ṭasyHw-ŋk-	vb	to be emp
st. 1	(1) to tie (2) to tie on	-ṭaṭ	pf	emphatic	810
jy <sup>?</sup> -·a-	nt	(1) tied (2) ready	ṭaṭ-wa-	st. 1	(1) to be carel
	for tying				(2) to move carelessl
jy <sup>?</sup> y-mh-	vb	to be tied in	ṭaṭ·a-puṭ·-	vb	(1) to poke
-na-	nt	spider web			(2) to keep on going a
cah·-	vb	(1) to limp (2) to			old way
	be lame		ṭaṭ·i-	nt	yolk
n-	nt	cold (?)	ṭawyH <sup>?</sup> -ŋHe-	vb	to tell a li
st. 1	to trim, tr.		ṭawy <sup>?</sup> -meH-	nt	liar
-ŋHe-	st. 1	(1) to choke, intr.	ṭawy·-pa-	vb	to lie to so
	(2) to drown			one	
te·-na <sub>2</sub> -	vb	to drown, tr.	ṭawyH <sup>?</sup> -ŋHe-meH-	nt	one
ps	first person singular			tells lies	
	object	311	ṭaw <sup>?</sup> y-j·-	vb	to tell lies
ns	diminutive plural	747		the time	
ps	first person plural	311	ṭaw·y <sup>?</sup> y-m·a-	nt	liar
- ns	directional	748	ṭa·p-	st. 1	to flatten out, tr
-	allomorph of allative case		ṭa·p·a·le-	nt	wide
		327	ṭa·p·y-c·-	vb	to be flatter
H- ns	reventive	749	-ṭaH-	ns	diminutive
	ALPHABETIC ORDER				750
			ṭaHk-ŋHe-	st. 1	(1) to taste



[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

u·-j- st.1 to reflect light  
from a distance

- st.1 (1) to pick up, tr.  
(2) to gather acorns from  
the ground

ṭeṭy·-na<sub>1</sub>- vb to gather for  
someone

ve·-j- st.1 to crawl

ven- nt spotted towhee

h- st.1 to loosen

aHh- nt ground squirrel

ṭicik-Hna- nt ground squirrel

ṭic·it ṭic·it NE(?) noise of  
ground squirrel

ṭi·ṭici- nt ground squirrel

it- nt forehead

e·s- st.1 to get rusty

is- nt rust

yj-aH- nt (1) mist (2) haze

pa- nt deerbrush

tik-la- nt mistletoe

ikni- nt wild onions, a kind  
without a strong taste

y- nt ~~hand~~ ALPHABETIC ORDER

ṭisyj·-a- nt a pair of gloves

ṭokp- st.1 to get lonesome

ṭoku·p-aH- nt a lonesome  
place

ṭok·o- see under ṭok- st.

ṭol- see under ṭol- st.1

ṭolkoh- nt ear

ṭolo·k- st.1 to earmark

ṭol·oko-Hna- nt jackrabbits  
"big ears"

ṭol·a- nt (1) skin (2) father  
of reference?), obs

ṭom-ja- st.1 to warm up,

ṭomaj·aj·- vb to warm  
here and there

ṭome·-na<sub>2</sub>- vb to warm

ṭome·-na<sub>2</sub>-tkuH- vb  
oneself

ṭome·-pa- vb to warm  
body

ṭomṭom·-e- vb to be w  
of weather

ṭom·u-c·- vb to keep w  
intr.

ṭo·ma-je·-nY- vb 70 to wa  
repeatedly at short

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

-	see under ʔo·p-	st. 1	ʔo·ma-, ʔoHm-	see under
j-	st. 1	to get thin	st. 1	
ʔosuj-meH-	nt	thin, scrawny	ʔo·ni-	nt junco
ʔos·oju-m·a-	nt	thin	ʔo·ŋe-	nt a trap. Cf. ʔoHŋ
·uj-	nt	thin, scrawny	st. 1	
k-	st. 1	to braid hair	ʔo·p-	st. 1 to hit with the
ʔoʔuk-·YniH-	nt	a braid	ʔop-ja-	st. 1 to hit all
o·kon-	nt	shooting-stars	ʔo·pa-	nt a pile of grass
(flower)			ʔo·ʔ-	st. 1 (1) to seat, tr.
o·konʔu-la-	nt	El Capitan	sit someone down	
u·j-	st. 1	to foam	ʔoʔ-pa-	st. 1 to sit on
ʔoʔju-le·-nY-	vb	to bubble up	thing	
ʔoʔ·uj-	nt	beer: "foamy"	ʔoʔa·p-ksY-	vb to sit
ʔoʔ·uj-·a-	nt	place where it	ʔoʔ·u-c·-	vb to sit
bubbles			ʔoHʔ-ŋHe-	st. 1 to sit
ʔo·ʔuj-	nt	stuff that makes	ʔoʔeŋ-·a-	nt buttocks
foam			upon"	
ʔo·ʔuj-aH-	nt	(1) soap suds	ʔo·ʔo-	nt chair
(2) foam at the mouth:			ʔoHk-ŋHe-	st. 1 (1) to go b
"foamy thing"			(2) to stink	
hu·-nY-	vb	to bounce, as a	ʔoke-·muH-	nt rotten
ball			ʔoke·ŋ-aH-	nt rotten
ʔowuh-nHuk·u-	vb	to bounce,	ʔok·eŋ-hHi-	nt a stink
tr.	ALPHABETIC ORDER		ʔoHŋ-ŋHe-	st. 1 to trap
in·-aj-	nt	mockingbird	ʔuhe·l-	st. 1 to loosen, tr.

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

·a- nt (1) Tenaya (2) sleep  
 CB  
 -t- st.1 (1) to carry (2) to  
 put on a pack  
 jty-paH- nt a good packer  
 jyt·a- nt for carrying  
 jy·-ma- nt one with a pack  
 on his back  
 ty·jym-?YniH- nt one with  
 a pack on his back  
 jy·-pa- vb to load a mule  
 jy·-t-aH- nt one who is  
 carrying  
 jyH-∅-?-hY· N carrying  
 - st.1 to sleep  
 yje·-muH- nt asleep  
 yje?·y-c·- vb to be sleepy  
 tyjce-paH- nt half-asleep  
 tyjec-meH- nt sleepyhead  
 tyjeHc-ηHe- vb to get  
 sleepy  
 yje·-na<sub>2</sub>- vb to put someone  
 to sleep  
 yje·k-pa-ksY- vb to nearly  
 go to sleep

tyly·k- st.1 to go through  
 tylyk-na- vb to pierce  
 tyly·l- st.1 (1) to know, to  
 clear in one's mind a  
 a thing (2) to remem  
 something  
 tylyl-na<sub>2</sub>- vb to make so  
 one remember  
 tylyl·a- nt (1) mind (2)  
 sciousness  
 tylyl·ene·- vb to ask so  
 one to remember  
 tylyl·y- nt (1) intelligent  
 (2) smart (3) knowing  
 tylyl·y-c·- vb to know  
 tyly·l-poksu- vb to look  
 for oneself  
 tyl·a- nt ear-pin  
 tyme-, tym·y- see under ty  
 st.1  
 tyntykul·e- nt baby blue-ey  
 wildflower)  
 tyny·-η- st.1 to remember  
 happened  
 tyntyn-nY- vb (1) to thin  
 agitate (2) to plan

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

- a- st.1 to smash  
 k- st.1 (1) to thread a needle  
 (2) to sew  
 tyky?·a- nt shoestring  
 tyky?·a-?·YniH- nt having  
 laces  
 ty·ky?-nY- vb to lace up, tr.  
 - st.1 to drill a hole  
 tyl·y-maH- nt a hole  
 tyla?·YniH- nt ground meat  
 tyl·y?·a- nt drill, brace and  
 bit  
 e- nt evening star  
 - st.1 (1) to cut off (2) to  
 amputate (3) to cut off  
 hair in mourning  
 tyt·y-maH- nt one-legged  
 tyty?-kuH- nt obviously cut  
 off  
 tyt·eh- vb (1) to cut off the  
 hair (2) to bob the hair  
 - st.1 to lay down, tr.  
 m-ŋHe- st.1 (1) to anticipate  
 with pleasure (2) to be  
 happy  
 wakaHl- nt creek  
 wakaHl-c·Y- nt small c  
 wakaHl-m- nt, wakaHl-m  
 Merced River  
 wake·lo- nt cowboy CJ. F  
 Spanish vaquero.  
 wake·ro- nt cowboy RW, B  
 From Spanish vaque  
 wake·ro·nY- vb to tenc  
 wakha- st.1 (1) to flow (2)  
 run, of water  
 wak·a- st.1 to spread a fl  
 as paint, tr.  
 wak·aṭa- nt female genital  
 wak·ucu- nt ridge  
 wala- nt wide  
 walak·-aj- nt tule  
 walap·u- nt (1) butterfly (2)  
 wala·ŋyh-aj- nt Echinodont  
tinctorum paint  
 wale·ti-tHo- nt hell  
 walpu- st.1 (1) to arrive i  
 morning (2) to gree  
 morning (3) good m  
 wal·-aj- nt duck

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ntari·ta- nt	Coulterville. From Spanish Banderita, the former name of Coulterville.	wa·na- nt	iron bar. From barra.
nte·ha- nt	dishpan. From Spanish bandeja.	wa·pok- nt	(1) pass (2) drink
nte·la- nt	flag. From Spanish bandera.	wa·so- nt	(1) tumbler (2) (material). From Spanish vaso "tumbler."
s-nY- vb	to tell a story	wejl- nt	whale. From English
wasny-paH- nt	storyteller	weke·l-aH- nt	hillside
saj··a- nt	(1) mush-stirrer (2) coarse acorn flour	wekwek- nt	unidentified raptor bird, bluish, size of hawk, lives in mountains
sa·ma- nt	location of round-house at Ahwahnee	wel-, welhyh-, welik- see	
silge- nt	dance plume	we·l- st. 1	
s·a- nt	Ponderosa pine	wela·-, wel·at- see under	
š·iwy- nt	Washo	nt	
tak·ha- nt	mountain lupin	wela·k- st. 1	to spread a substance, e.g., but
tak··a- nt	hoe	wele·k- st. 1	to take some
to·n-aH- nt	button. From Spanish botón.	wel·- st. 1	to get Mrp
watno··po- vb	(1) to button (2) to sew on buttons	wel·e·le- nt	alligator lizard
tu- nt	(1) sun (2) clock	wem·- st. 1	(1) to dig a hole (2) to dig around
tuk··a- nt	shelled acorns	wemy?·kuH- nt	obvious
ak-Hna- nt	frog	wen·e- nt	mottled
		wes·a- nt	fast, rapid

[\[view image\]](#)

---





SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

- wel-ki- st.1 to fetch Mrp tr. (2) to stretch, t
- welik-na<sub>1</sub>- vb to fetch for wilat-nHi-paH- nt talles
- CJ wil·at-hHi- nt tall
- wel-na<sub>1</sub>- vb to fetch for CB wil·ih- nt (1) water oak (2)
- la- nt a light sprouts of water oak
- wela·-t- st.1 to shine, of for twined basketry
- moon winta·ra- nt window. From
- wel·at·-a- nt something ventana.
- one lights up wip-ja- st.1 to wag the ta
- we·la-t·i- nt candle wip·ajaHk- nt eagle
- my- nt (1) hole (2) open wis·-u-maH- nt harelip
- grave (3) a mine. Cf. wiskala- nt sand
- wem·- st.1 wiski- nt whiskey. From E
- q-mhi- vb to argue wiso·ṭ- st.1 to part someo
- pa- nt uphill hair
- sit- nt eel wiso·ṭ-poksu- vb to par
- ṭ- st.1 to scratch a person hair
- weṭ-wa- st.1 to scratch all wisti·no- nt (1) all dressed
- over (2) dressy. From Sp
- i-} ns meaning obscure 751 vestido "dress, costu
- , wihy?- see under wi·h- wisti·no·-nY- vb to dre
- st.1 wišmi- <sup>f</sup> wicmi- nt (1) ro
- nt wick. From English. place in road (2) w
- , wiky?- wik·y?- wik·a- (3) cliff (4) precipic
- ALPHABETIC ORDER see under wi·k- st.1 716
- river bank (6) steep

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

k·y?·-·a- nt	for putting	wo·n- st. 1	to knock acorns the tree
k-poksu- vb	to wear or put on clothes	wo·ta- nt	boots. From Spanish bota.
wi·k-poksu-?-hi·-me- nt	used clothing	wo·te- nt	boat. From Spanish
k·a- st. 1	to put in a wager for someone else	woHl-ŋHe- st. 1	to watch
eja- nt	root allomorph of {-wa-} vs	woleŋ·-ene·- vb	to display "to ask to watch"
te- nt	turkey. From Span- ish guajolote.	wol·eŋ·-·a- nt	stadium: "p for watching"
h-na- nt	sequoia	wol·u-c·- vb	(1) to watch (2) to be looking on
- st. 1	to bark, of a dog	wuje- nt	a hole
?- st. 1	to sow	wuje-t-?ucaH- nt	ground rel: "hole-dweller"
je?·-·a- nt	place for grow- ing plants	wyhki- nt	heart
j?e- nt	(1) garden (2) crop (3) planted	wyk-, wyky?-	see under wy· st. 1
j?e·-nY- vb	to plant	wyke- nt	fire CB
li- nt	wife's brother	wykl- st. 1	to win an argum race, game, or bet, b not a fight
-, wol·eŋ-, wol·u-	see under woHl-ŋHe- st. 1	wyks- st. 1	to go
- nt	pocket. From Spanish bolsa	wyksy-lVmh-nHuk·u- vb	to make someone ready
pl- vb	to topple over an		

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

Hl-ŋHe- st. 1 (1) to burn, intr. (2) to get burned	wi·-nHuk·u- vb to take, tr "to cause to go"
wyleŋ- nt burn	wyʔyʔ·-a- nt the way: "the place to go"
t- st. 1 to flash, of lightning	wy·k- st. 1 (1) to light a fire (2) to burn, tr. CB
·- st. 1 to flash, of lightning	wyk-na <sub>1</sub> - st. 1 to burn for wykyʔ·-a- nt fireplace CB
lip-h·-nY- vb to shine in the dark	wy·kat-∅ ʔawaj·a-ʔ NE Tenaya
lip·-a- nt kindling	wy·n- st. 1 to walk
·- nt hot	wyn-ka-j-nY- vb to walk CB
lyt·-e- vb to be hot, of weather	wyn-kuH- nt someone obv walked there
lyt·na <sub>2</sub> - vb to make some- thing hot	wyn-pa- st. 1 to go over a come back
lytʔy-ksY- vb to keep some- thing hot	wyn-si- st. 1 to go visiting wyn·is-ma- nt visitor
lyt·y-c·- vb to keep hot, intr.	wyn-t- st. 1 to pick fruit wynyt-na <sub>1</sub> - vb to pick someone
ly·t-aH- nt hot	wynyʔ-kuH- nt someone is evidently going that way again
lyHt·- nt a hot thing	wyn·y-c·- vb to walk around
lyHt·ŋHe- vb to get hot	
lyt·hHi- nt very hot	
wyn·is-, wynyt-, wynyʔ, wyn·y-, wyncyc- see under wy·n- st. 1	
- nt mile	



[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

cu·cu- nt	rock wren	?ama- nt	(1) grandmother
cu·cu-Hna- nt	rock wren		great-grandmother (
ama- nt	worms in stagnant		mother's sister
	water	?ama·ta- nt	tarweed
ca·a- nt	magpie	?ami- nt	(1) mother RW, EB
-·liH- nt	coyote		(2) mother's sister
hle-j·a- nt	Coyote moiety		(3) father's brother's
xi- st. 1	to add on		(4) mother's brother's
p- st. 1	to bring one a		daughter CJ
	neighbor	?amji-puH- nt	stepmother
ja·p-aH- nt	(1) neighbor	?ami·mi- nt	aunt (mother's
	(2) friend		CJ
ja·p-mhi- vb	to be neighbors	?ami·jo- nt	black-headed gr
Hk-	allomorph of {-ajaHk-}	?am·- st. 1	(1) to give (2) t
ns		?ame·-t- st. 1	(1) to ask
H- nt	all		(2) to beg
h·y- nt	both	?amy?-nY- st. 1	to pass
·-lek P	maybe so		thing secretly while
n- nt	(1) valley (2) flat	?am?y?-nY- vb	to give t
	country		several people
ny?·-a- nt	smoothing iron.	?am·y?-ma-·-nY- vb	to
	From English.		for someone
tykwo- nt	blizzard	?am·u- st. 1	to hurt, tr.
al?akal- nt	roof of mouth	?am-ku- st. 1	(1) to hurt
ka- nt	rib		(2) to wound

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

o- nt (1) year (2) age. From Spanish año "year."	?awal-·a- nt to chew with
anjo·-nY- vb to be one's birthday	?aw·al-puṭ·- vb to keep chewing
is- nt (1) mother's sister (2) father's brother's wife RW	?awi·c- st.1 to twist, intr. water
see under ?a·ŋ- st.1	?awo·ha- nt needle. From Spanish aguja.
si- nt son CB	?awo·sa- nt right at
-aj- nt mountain blueberry elder	?awo·to- <sup>f</sup> ?owo·to- nt alligator lizard
ut- nt grasshopper	?aw·an-taH- nt turtle
t-t- st.1 to carry on the back	?aw·e- nt (1) unobstructed clear (3) plain
ša- nt Oakhurst	?aw·i- st.1 (1) to play game (2) to play a musical instrument (3) to play, of
ṭ·oṭ·o- nt pollywog	?awi?-nY- vb to play si
an-taH- nt salamander	?awi·-nY- vb to play
o-j·- vb to overflow	?awin-·a- nt toy
·ta- nt hair oil. From Spanish aceite "oil."	?aw·i?-·a- nt (1) fairground (2) playground
·ka- nt sugar. From Spanish azúcar.	?aw·o- <sup>f</sup> ?ow·o- nt mouth
ak- nt float	?awo-·ni <sup>f</sup> ?owo-·ni- nt Yosemite Valley (2) <sup>728</sup>
as·ak-nY- vb to float with the current	nee

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ʔaṭ-h- st. 1 to break open,  
intr.

ʔaṭ-ku- st. 1 to break open,  
tr.

ʔaṭ-la- st. 1 (1) to break to  
pieces, tr. (2) to split  
wood

ʔaṭ-·u-maH- nt (1) split open  
(2) cracked

ʔaṭ·u-ŋHe- vb to crack, intr.

ʔa· ʔa· NE (?) cry of crow

X- ns infinitive 752

i-} ns people of (a place)  
.753

·je·- allomorph of {-ʔci-} ns

·caʔ pf (?) see hoje·-no-n-ʔecaʔ

N

a-t- st. 1 to accompany

·ecaʔ-h- vb to go with

el·y- nt baby

keṭe·ṭe- nt plain titmouse

a- nt behind. Cf. ʔe·caH-  
nt

·eca-m·- nt next (week, month,  
ALPHABETIC ORDER  
etc.)

·eca-nHi-paH- nt (1) second

ʔelem·-aj- nt bulbous red  
grows on oak trees

ʔeltu- st. 1 to float, not si

ʔelut-·a- nt a float

ʔelu·-j- st. 1 to float in

ʔelvas- nt Alvis (personal  
From English.

ʔel·- st. 1 (defective) (1) to  
tr. (2) to let go, tr

ʔel·-ŋHe- vb to get cau  
stuck

ʔeHl-ŋHe- st. 1 (1) to le  
tr. (2) to abandon

ʔeleŋ-kuH- nt (1) lef  
(2) divorced (3) unm  
(4) orphan (5) survi

ʔeleŋ-meH- nt widow

ʔeleŋ-pa- vb to leav

ʔele·ŋ-aH- nt orphan

ʔele·ŋ-pa-ksY- vb to  
left against one's w

ʔe·leŋ-e·-nY- vb (1)  
on letting loose of  
thing (2) to leave o  
and there

ʔe·len-nY- vb to le

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

- na·p- st. 1 (1) to pretend  
(2) to trick (3) to play  
a joke
- na·t̥- st. 1 (1) to tell a lie  
(2) to do something on  
purpose, for meanness
- npe·ro- nt bareback. From  
Spanish en pelo.
- n·at̥- nt (1) that kind, species  
(2) that particular one
- ?ena- nt cedar bark
- at P soon
- e- nt (1) father's sister  
(2) grandfather's sister
- h- st. 1 (1) to make (2) to  
fix (3) to build (4) to  
prepare
- ?enh-ŋHe- vb to be made
- ?enhy-paH- nt maker
- ?enyh-na<sub>1</sub>- vb to make for
- ?enyh·a- nt for making
- ?enyh·a-t̥i- nt ready to fix
- j- st. 1 to continue
- pu- st. 1 to chase
- ALPHABETIC ORDER
- enu·pu-ksY- vb to be chasing
- ?esap-t-poksu- vb to n
- ?esap·a-t̥i- nt help
- ?esy·-t- st. 1 to help C
- ?esel·y- nt child
- ?ese·l- st. 1 to give birth
- ?esel·a- nt one who a  
talks like a child
- ?ese·l-ŋHe- vb to be b
- ?esiHk-ŋHe- vb (1) to be c  
angry, upset (2) to  
hurt feelings
- ?esik-na<sub>2</sub>- vb to make  
angry
- ?esik·y-c·- vb to be an
- ?este·ci- nt stagecoach. F  
English.
- ?eta·l- st. 1 to return, intr
- ?etal-nHuk·u- vb to tak  
one back
- ?etal?y-ksY- vb to be h
- ?etla-lVmh-nHuk·u- vb  
someone ready to g
- ?et·al·- vb to go and co  
right back
- ?et·al·-meh-nY- vb to h

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

eṭlu-mh- vb	to be open	ʔicy-ksY- vb	(1) to be doing that (2) to be that way
eṭul-·a- nt	can opener	ʔicʔy-j-nY-ka-ʔ-hY· N	meant to do that
eṭu-l-meh-nY- vb	to open, intr.	ʔi-k'o-(case)-ʔok N	(1) ones (2) they
eṭu-l-met·- vb	to open, intr.	ʔi-m·-t·Y-t-∅ N	(1) that (2) in that direction
em-taH- nt	thumb	ʔim·yt-wi-j·- vb	(1) that way (2) to turn
a·k- st.1	to deny	ʔi-ni- nt	that one
ewak-nY- vb	to not do CJ	ʔi-ni-k'o-(case)-ʔok N	ones
j- st.1	to be weak from hunger	ʔi-ni-t·Y-t-∅ N	(1) th (2) in that direction
ti- nt	fawn	ʔi-pu-ksY- vb	to be th
y·-t- st.1	to not find CB	ʔi-puHṭ- st.1	(1) to do (2) to do it that way
ew·yt·e- vb	to be nobody left CB	ʔip·uṭ-put·- vb	to ke doing that
y·j-aH- nt	(1) not there (2) empty	ʔi-pHuṭe- nt	that kind
ewy·ja·-nY- vb	to disappear	ʔi-taH-n N	then
yHh-ṅHe- vb	to not find CJ	ʔi-wi-n N	now
·aH- nt	without.	ʔi-wi-c·Y-n N	soon
ewa·-nY- vb	to not do CB		
ew·a-ṅHe- vb	to not find		
ew·aH-h·Y- nt	moribund		
·yh·utu- <sup>d</sup>	ʔewhut·u- nt		
e·m-poksu- <sup>d</sup>	to clear the throat		

[\[view image\]](#)

---





SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

e'sja- nt	(1) church (2) Christian priest. From Spanish iglesia "church."	ʔoceH- nt	belly
o- st.1	to wilt	ʔoce'-t- st.1	to be pre
ʔilup'e- nt	wilted	ʔocet-meH- nt	pregn
ʔilyp-meH- nt	limp	ʔoci- nt	(1) partner (2) co
ʔilyp-na <sub>2</sub> - vb	to be wilted	ʔoci-ksY- vb	to live wi
m pf (?)	meaning obscure		someone
na- nt	raw	ʔociʔ- h- vb	to go with
ʔima-·muH- nt	unripe		one
ne·h-aH- nt	(1) old, of a person (2) grown-up	ʔoci'-j-mhi- vb	to get
ʔimeh-nHi-paH- nt	oldest	ʔoci'-ma- nt	one with a
ʔimhe-j'a-t'i- nt	(1) old people (2) oldsters		panion
ʔimeHh-ŋHe- vb	to become old	ʔoci'-t- st.1	(1) to hire
ci- nt	inch. From English.		one (2) to take som
tu'pa- nt	stove. From Spanish estufa.		along
ur'ta- nt	manzanita cider	ʔocic-'i- nt	(1) empty (2)
yk'a- nt	snowdrops		there
ak- nt	third person singular independent pronouns	ʔoc'a- st.1	to remove a c
	ALPHABETIC ORDER		object
ʔis'ak-koH- nt	third person	ʔoc'uk- nt	lean, of meat
	plural independent pronouns	ʔohk- st.1	to answer
		ʔohun'i- nt	deer brush
		ʔoh'a- nt	(1) woman (2) w
			(3) female
		ʔoha'-j- st.1	to marry
			woman

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

eʔ-aj- nt	white man	ʔokaHh-tki-ʔ N	that's a
is'a- nt	four		Customary ending f
ʔoji's-ijak-∅ naʔa'ca-ʔ NE			stories.
	forty	ʔokca- st.1	to wake up, i
ʔojsi-paH- nt	Thursday	ʔokhe'-nY- vb	to tease
ʔojsi-'pa- vb	to be or do	ʔoki'h- st.1	to beg for fo
	four times	ʔokih-'a- nt	poor
ʔujpa- nt	place name, south-	ʔokiHh-ŋHe- vb	to pity
	east of Nippinawasee	ʔokhih-'e- vb	to be pit
'a- st.1	to name	ʔoko·j- st.1	(1) to care fo
ʔojʔaʔ-nY- vb	to call some-		(2) to nurse (3) to
	one several different		(4) to give first aid
	names		put away leftovers
ʔoj'a-ŋHe- vb	to be called	ʔokoj-peH- nt	a nurse
	(a name)	ʔoko·j-haHk- nt	a nurs
ʔo·ja-ksY- vb	(1) to keep	ʔoko'met- nt	unidentified
	calling someone's name		insect
	(2) to call someone a	ʔoliwna-'ni- nt	place nam
	name in anger		of /kajeŋ'iʔ/
ʔo·jaʔ-nY- vb	to call some-	ʔoliʔ-meH- nt	deaf
	one names	ʔoliʔ-na-tkuH- vb	(1) to c
ok pf	meaning obscure 815		one's ears (2) to p
kaHh- nt	(1) same (2) only		to be deaf
ʔoka-t-∅ N	in the same place	ʔoli'l- st.1	(1) to be deaf
ʔoka-t-ʔucaH- nt	(it) belongs		not hear

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

co?-ma- nt	toad	?oṭiH-ko- nt	two
k- nt	(1) tame (2) gentle	?oṭiH-ko-me-? N	two
	(3) friendly (4) kindhearted	?oṭik-wi-j- vb	to cut
lok-na <sub>2</sub> - vb	to tame		break in two
l- nt	spring of water	?oṭki-paH- nt	Tuesday
?-jaH- nt	yellow-legged	?oṭki-liHp- nt	twins
	frog	?oṭki-pa- vb	to be or
h- st.1	(1) to miss one's		twice
	aim (2) to make a mis-	?oṭkik- nt	two of them
	take	?oṭik-nY- vb	to be tw
mhu-nY- vb	to miss every	?oṭiH-me- nt	first person
	time		independent pronoun
si- st.1	to echo	?oṭo?-h- vb	to carry in one
c- st.1	(1) to be very . . .		arms
	(2) to . . . hard	?oṭo-ma- nt	one who car
cy- nt	big		in his arms
to- nt	Hornitos. From	?oṭo-t- st.1	to carry in
	Spanish.		arms
st.1	to imitate. Cf. ?on-si-	?oṭo-ho- nt	pillow
st.1		?owi-l- st.1	to circle around
e-o- nt	old woman CB, CJ		walking
n-o- nt	old woman CB, CJ	?owoh-nY- vb	(1) to find, co
- st.1	to mine. From Span-		across, tr. (2) to fin
ish oro	gold.		someone at home
-, ?opa-	see under ?o-pa-	?owo-to- <sup>f</sup>	?awo-to- nt
			allig



[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

?up- nt wolf  
 ?pa- nt cloud  
 ?opa-ksY- vb to be cloudy  
 ?opa'-t- st.1 to get cloudy  
 ?sa- nt trinket basket  
 ?e'- allomorph of {-te'-} in  
 {-te'-nY-} vs  
 ?pu-ksY- vb (1) to be mis-  
 placed (2) to be out of  
 place, not where (it) be-  
 longs. Cf. ?uc'u- st.1  
 ?a'-h- st.1 to dismiss an  
 employee  
 ?caH- ns (1) belongs (2) of  
 (3) from 754  
 ?u- nt always  
 ?u- st.1 (irregular) (1) to  
 live (2) to dwell (3) to  
 stay 440. From \*?u-c'-  
 (?). Cf. ?u-pu-ksY- vb.  
 ?ucu-ksY- vb to live in a  
 place  
 ?ucu'?-pa- vb to stay and  
 wait for something  
 ?uc'u'?-ma- nt one who stays  
 long time

?uh?uh-nY- vb to drink  
 and there  
 ?uh'u'?-a- nt a drink  
 ?uj-?ujum'a- nt sorrel wit  
 shaped leaves  
 ?ujaHn-ŋHe- vb (1) to get  
 (2) to get big CJ  
 ?ujuj'u- nt roadrunner  
 ?ukuHc-ŋHe- vb to dream  
 ?uk'us- nt fist  
 ?umcu- st.1 to be winter  
 ?umcu-no- nt wintertime  
 ?umuc'-a- nt conical ho  
 incense cedar bark  
 ?umu'c- st.1 to rain JJ  
 ?u'muc-aH- nt year  
 ?unu- allomorph of ?yn'-  
 ?unu'- allomorph of ?yn'-  
 ?uŋli- nt bow Yos  
 ?upuksi- nt ground squirre  
 Death-tabu substitut  
 used by CJ's father  
 ?u-pu-ksY- vb.  
 ?use'-nY- vb to tell storie  
 night CJ

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

ucū-j- st.1	to build a house	(2) to be vexed, irked
ʔuc·uj-·a- nt	place for building	sore CB
u·cuH-tki- nt	privy: "little house"	
uk- st.1	to enter	ʔyh·a· P (1) later (2) after while
uk-pa- st.1	to go in to someone	ʔyh·yṭy- nt bad
ukʔuk-nY- vb	to go in and out	ʔyhtyṭ-·e- vb to be bad
nuc- see under ʔumcu- st.1		ʔyh·yṭy-m·a- nt bad CB
u- nt	buckeye	ʔyjkiHh- nt chin
t-ŋHe- st.1	to aim	ʔyky-t·Y-t-∅ N this way
·l- st.1	to tickle under the sole of the foot, tr.	ʔyky-t·Y-m-? N at this
P	grunt, exclamation of mild discomfort	ʔyjiHm-ŋHe- vb (1) to gossip (2) to criticize, find fault
-ki- st.1	(1) to be bad (2) to displease	ʔyk·i- st.1 to put in a corner or enclosure
e·m- st.1	to be possible (?)	ʔylij-·a-ṭe- nt mirror
yhe·m-aH- nt	maybe	ʔyliHʔ-ŋHe- vb (1) to act silly (2) to kid around (3) to joke (4) to have fun
- st.1	to speak against someone	ʔyl·iʔ-hHi- nt (1) funny (2) playful
yhyt·y- <small>ALPHABETIC ORDER</small> vb	to be ready to find fault with someone	ʔyl·iʔi-m·a- nt silly-funny
		ʔyl·e- nt (1) coarse acorn (2) acorn bread
		ʔym-ki- st.1 (1) to roar, as waterfall (2) to rumble

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

yny <sup>·</sup> -pa- vb	to come to someone	(4) female paternal cousin, younger than Ego
yn <sup>?</sup> y-j-nY-haHk-∅-∅ N	he promised to come	CJ (5) mother's sister's husband CB
yn <sup>?</sup> y <sup>?</sup> -nY- vb	to come often	?ytja-puH- nt half sister younger than Ego
y <sup>·</sup> ny <sup>?</sup> -e <sup>·</sup> -nY- vb	(1) to come back often (2) to come back and forth	?yte <sup>·</sup> my- nt wet ground
-h- st. 1	(1) to swim around (2) to bathe	?yty <sup>·</sup> h- st. 1 to be slow
ypyh-meH- nt	(1) Christian (2) baptized: "bathed"	?ytyh-nHuk <sup>·</sup> u- vb to make slow
yp <sup>·</sup> yh- <sup>·</sup> a- nt	(1) bathtub (2) swimming pool	?ytyh-na <sub>2</sub> - vb to make late
eHl-ŋHe- vb	to grow up	?y <sup>?</sup> ti <sup>·</sup> k- st. 1 to tickle, tr.
ypel-na <sub>2</sub> - vb	to raise children or animals	?ytyj P look out!
sa- nt	child of sibling of opposite sex to Ego	?y <sup>?</sup> ty <sup>·</sup> s- st. 1 to be much older
yl-na- vb	to mistreat	?y <sup>?</sup> ty <sup>·</sup> ysy-m <sup>·</sup> a- nt very many
y <sup>·</sup> pyH- nt	father's brother	?y <sup>?</sup> ty <sup>·</sup> yH- nt many
	RW	?ywel <sup>·</sup> in- nt a legendary one
yH- nt	(1) father (2) father's brother (3) mother's sister's husband	?yw <sup>?</sup> y- nt (1) food (2) a meal
	ALPHABETIC ORDER	?yw <sup>·</sup> y- st. 1 (irregular) to eat
		?ywy <sup>?</sup> -kuH- nt partly eaten
		?ywy <sup>?</sup> -nY- vb to eat something accidentally with one's hand
		?ywy <sup>?</sup> - <sup>·</sup> a-ti- nt something to eat

[\[view image\]](#)

---



SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

?y?j-mhi- vb	to separate,	-·i-	allomorph of {-ŋHe-}
	intr.: "to not want each	-·i- ns	refers to visible
	other any more"		ties 761
?y?yj-hi'-me- nt	divorced	-·liH- ns	augmentative (?)
·li- nt	(1) will-o'-the-wisp	-·muH- ns	predicative 76
	(2) the Little People	{-·ni-} ns	augmentative
·lik'-aj- nt	shadow of a per-	-·pa- vs	times 544
	son	-·po- vs	(1) to apply . . .
·ny?-	see under ?yn'- st. 1		put on . . . (3) to
·wy- nt	groceries		with . . . 545
Yh·Y-	allomorph of {-h·Y-}	{-·u-maH-} ns	passive pa
	ns		765
YniH-	allomorph of {-?·YniH-}	-·y-	allomorph of {-·u-} i
	ns		{-·u-maH-} ns
·a-	allomorph of {-·a-} ns	-·YniH-	allomorph of {-?·
·YniH-} ns	possessive 755		ns

H

	allomorph of second person	-H-	allomorph of {-a-} ns
	singular ps	-HmetiH-	ns plural 765
ps	third person singular 311	-Hna-	ns augmentative, of
-∅	cs vocative case 324		parts 767
-	allomorph of {-keH-} ns	-Hs-	cs instrumental case
a-} ns	agentive 756	{-HwyjeH-} ns	plural 768
a-ci-} ns	gerundial (?) 757		758

[\[view image\]](#)

---

## CANONICAL FORMS

$C_1V_1C_2-$	prefixed reduplication referring to animals and plants 771
$C_1V_1C_2C_1V_1C_2-$ nt	stem form referring to birds 769
$C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3\bullet V_2C_3\bullet-$ vb	iterative stem form 546
$C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3V_2-$ nt	stem form referring to qualities or characteristics 770
$C_1V_1C_2\bullet V_2C_3\bullet-$ vb	intransitive stem form 547

---



## ENGLISH—SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

### A

acorn shell has·yn- nt  
 add on, to ?eHl-ŋHe- st. 1  
 add under ?el·- st. 1  
 acquire -m·- - -m- cs 326  
 address li·leH-to·- nt  
 address him lile-tHo-j-hY· N,  
 address li·leH-to-?-hY· N under li·leH-  
 address -mh- vs 517  
 address in from meat, to hiHh-ŋHe-  
 address . 1  
 address (an object), to paŋy·-t-  
 address . 1 under paŋyH- st. 1  
 address accidentally, to do makyHj-ŋHe-  
 address  
 address company, to na?y·-j- st. 1;  
 address eca·-t- st. 1; ?eca?-h- vb  
 address suggestive -j cs 322  
 address all over, to my·sys-nY-  
 address  
 address myj·y- nt  
 address n bread <sup>CANONICAL FORMS</sup> hutaj··a- nt;  
 address vtyl··a- nt; ?yl·e- nt

acorn mush, thick hyhak·aly  
 CB; maṣak·aly- .nt CB; ?yl  
 nt RW, EL, CJ  
 acorn mush, thin nyp·a- nt  
 nyp·a·ṭi- nt Mrp  
 acorn mush, to make mola·y  
 st. 1  
 acorn soup hoju·m-aH- nt;  
 hojum··a·ṭi- nt; siwak·i-la-  
 acorn top tyŋha- nt  
 acorns, pounded maṣak·aly-  
 CB  
 acorns, shelled watuk··a- n  
 acquainted, to get nenu·-t-n  
 vb  
 acre ?e·ka- nt  
 across koto·-wak- nt under  
 kot-to- nt  
 Adam's apple my?·yṭ··a- nt  
 under my?ṭ- st. 1  
 add on, to ?aj-ki- st. 1  
 add while stirring, to juwal  
 vb under juwa·l- st. 1  
 affinal kinsman (wife's brother)

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

antive, instrumental {-·a-po-}	angleworm ke·hu- nt
as 738; {-·a-ṭe-} ns 759	angleworm carrier huk·i-
, a while kot-to- nt	angry, to be ?esiHk-ṅHe-
, long koto·-no-n N under	?esik·y-c·- vb
kot-to- nt	angry, to get hojiHc-ṅHe-
, several days koton·umi- nt	under hoji-c·- vb; ?yhyṭ·n-
under kot-to- nt	vb, ?yhy·ṭa·-nY- vb under
ad hoji-t·Y-t N	?yhyṭ·y-c·- vb
vahnee wasa·ma- nt; ?awo·-ni-	angry, to look ?yhyṭ·y-c·-
f ?owo·-ni- nt under ?aw·o- f	animal, small, variously iden
?ow·o- nt	lel·a- nt; ṭiw·ik- nt
, to ?uHt-ṅHe- st. 1	ankles kat·ak·atal- nt
hena- nt	another kind keṅe·-jak- nt
plane hyl·et-iH- nt	keṅ·eH- nt
er, white pa·mal- nt	answer, to ?ohk- st. 1
re ky·li- nt	answer a question, to he's
re, to just stay kyl·i?i-ksY-	ant, large brown hu·ji- nt
vb	ant, small black paṭa·ka-
to·koH- nt; ?ajtuH- nt	anticipate with pleasure, to
gone, to be lep·a-met·- vb	ṭyHm-ṅHe- st. 1; ṭym·y-c-
of them keṅ·eH-koH-∅ N	antler kil·i- nt
one size ?e·ki- nt	appear, to lak-h- st. 1
set, to be hy?ym·y-c·- vb	appear, to; to seem hyj·i-
under hy?m- st. 1	vb
CANONICAL FORMS	
the same hika·-ma- nt	apple ?a·pyl- nt

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

whead	kiceH- nt	bacon	pe·kin- nt
flakes	puk·e-la- nt	bad	?yh·yty- nt; ?yh·yty-m·
med, to be	muc·a- <sup>d</sup> mus·a-		CB; ?yswi- nt RW, EL, LC
t. l		bad, to be	?yh-ki- st. l
s	sik·e- nt; sike·si-la- nt	bad, to go	toHk-ŋHe- st. l;
to	hasu·l- st. l		?yhyHk-ŋHe- vb CB; ?ysyH
for, to	?ame·-t- st. l under		vb RW, EL
am·-	st. l	bad, to taste	?ystyt·-e- vb
for a girl in marriage to one's		badly, to turn out	?ys?y-j·-
son, to	?oja·m- st. l	bag	kustal- nt
relative	{-mY-ksY-} vs 510	bait	?ywyn·-a- nt under ?y
representative	-·liH- ns 762;		st. l
·ni- ns 764; (of body parts)		bake, to	hinep-na <sub>2</sub> - vb
Hna- ns 767		bald	tak·ata-m·a- nt
(father's brother's wife)		bale	hutul·-a- nt; tyj·an·-a·
an·is- nt RW; ?ami- nt CJ			under tyja·n- st. l
(mother's brother's wife)		ball	pohko- nt; wo·la- nt
uma?sa- nt		bandana	hupil·-a- nt
, maternal	?ami- nt CJ;	bangs (hair)	tes·e- nt
ami·mi- nt CJ; ?an·is- nt RW		banjo	panco- nt
, paternal	?ami- nt CJ;	bank (of river, canyon)	wiš
ene- nt CB, CJ, RW			wicmi- nt
omobile	kane·ta- nt; ?aṭma-	bar, iron	wa·na- nt
at	CANONICAL FORMS	barbed wire	hyl·ala- <sup>767</sup> nt
umn, to be	hitpy-j·- vb	barber	homcu-paH- nt und

[\[view image\]](#)

---



2 THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

gathering or holding cooking rocks ca·maj- nt	beak tik·ym-·a- nt under st. 1
sket, cradle hik·iH- nt	beans hiho·le- nt; pih·o·le
sket, dipper polis-·a- nt	bear ?yhy·maṭi- nt
sket, flat, oval, for winnowing or parching seeds kamta?ji- nt	bear, grizzly hus?o- nt Y bear fruit, to myjy-·t- st. under myj·y- nt
sket, flat, round, for winnowing or sifting acorn meal het·al- nt	Bear moiety tunak-·a- nt; ?yhy·maṭi- nt; ?yhmy-j·a- under ?yhy·maṭi- nt
sket, large, for cooking acorns toj·un- nt	Bear Valley lo·so- nt
sket, large, for making mush or heating water pulak-·a- nt	beat (of heart), to tyktyk- beat (of pulse), to ti?ti?- beat around with a cane, to st. 1
sket, seed-beater camy?-·a- nt	beat drum, to tampo-·nY- under tampo- nt
sket, sifter ciṅku- nt	beat up, to kuh-ja- st. 1 u kuhta- st. 1; maṭ-ja- st. 1 st. 1 under my·l- st. 1
sket, small, for drinking soup ?uhu?-·a- nt under ?uhuH- st. 1	beaten up, to get he·l-ṅHe
sket, trinket ?o·sa- nt	beaver me·sy- nt
sketry, to make cy·l- st. 1 tipi·sisi- nt	because hilahta-j N; hilas-
ne, to <sup>CANONICAL FORMS</sup> ?yp·h- st. 1	bed ja·ṅ-aH- nt under <sup>770</sup> ja·ṅ
htub ?yp·yh-·a- nt under	ka·ma- nt



[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

ly      ʔoceH- nt  
 ongs (in a place)      -ʔucaH- ns  
 754  
 t      lyt·a- nt  
 efactive      {-na<sub>1</sub>-} vs 519  
 ide      ha·je-j-hY· N under  
 haj·e- nt; ma·ceH- nt  
 ide (someone), to walk  
 naʔyj-h- vb under naʔy·-j-  
 st. 1  
 , to make a      hy·k- st. 1  
 ween      kawi·ni- nt  
 ble      le·le·-nY-ʔ·a- nt  
 ʔoja·ni- nt; ʔona·cy- nt  
 , to get      ʔujaHn-ŋHe- vb  
 g Time      kote- nt  
 g Time, to put on a      kote·-j-  
 st. 1  
 e      kamat·ana- nt  
 l (for money)      te·we- nt  
 lhook      ʔaŋ·a- nt under ʔa·ŋ-  
 st. 1  
 rd      cicka- nt  
 rd, raptorial, not securely  
 identified      wekwek- nt

under      teHp-ŋHe- st. 1; ʔal  
 st. 1  
 black      kulul·i- nt; tu·hi- n  
           tuhuh·i- nt under tu·hi-  
 black, to become      tuh-si-  
           under tu·hi- nt  
 black eye, to have a      ʔoml  
 blackberry      mamla- nt  
 blackbird, Brewer's      capuk  
           ka·kul- nt  
 blacksmith      nokcinic- nt  
 blade, obsidian      mol·e- nt  
 blanket      tol·iH- nt  
 blanket, rabbitskin      jupti-  
 blanket roll      hutul·YniH-  
 blaze (of fire), to      wyl-h- s  
 blazed (horse)      pisok·YniH  
 bleach, to      pasis-na<sub>2</sub>- vb  
 bleed, to      kica·w- st. 1  
 blind      peleʔ-meH- nt unde  
           st. 1  
 blind, to be      pel·e- st. 1  
 blink, to      sympy·-nY- vb u  
           symp- st. 1  
 blister, to      pytk- st. 1  
 blistered to be      put- st.

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

blue	kojoj-i- nt	bowl, oval vegetable	wik
bluebird, Western(?)	blue gros-	box	kaho·n-aH- nt
beak(?)	ciwkol- nt	boy	naŋ·a-ŋa- nt
bluejay, California	tajic·u- nt	brag, to	jo·j-poksu- vb
bluejay, Steller's	kajka?-jaH-	braid, to	tew·- st. 1
	nt	braid hair, to	toŋk- st. 1
blunt-edged	lej·uk- nt	brains	lup·et- nt
blunt-pointed	po?-ok- nt	brand, to	hije·ro·-nY- vb
board	tapla- nt	brassiere	musuj·-a- nt u
boat	wo·te- nt		mu·su- nt
body	mi·wy- nt	brave	hojci-paH- nt unde
below	jo·wok-aH- nt under		hoji-c·- vb
	jow·ok-	bread	pyl·a·ŋi- nt under
	nt; lo·ha- nt		st. 1
bill	sapaŋ- nt	bread, to make	pyl·ŋ- s
bill, to	kiwis-nY- vb; lot·a-	break (intr.), to	tah·u-ŋH
	st. 1 CB, CJ; low·a- st. 1 RW,	break (of glass, intr.), to	
	EL		st. 1; kap·u-ŋHe- vb
bill fast, to	puŋuŋ·uŋ·- vb under	break (of string or rope, intr.)	hyŋ·y-ŋHe- vb under hyŋ
	puŋ·a- st. 1	break (string or rope, tr.),	hyŋky- st. 1
bone	kyc·yc- nt	break (tr.), to	ko·ŋ- st. 1; st. 1 under ko·ŋ- st. 1
book	pop·il- nt	break all up (tr.), to	koŋ-
bootjack	butŋjak- nt		
boots	wo·ta- nt		
burn, to	kaNONICa·se·ŋHe- vb		
borrow, to	henin-nY- vb under		

[\[view image\]](#)

---





ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

ast	mu·su-	nt	bubble, to	topu·-j-	st. 1
ath	hena-	nt; he·nis-aH-	bubble up, to	puṭ·a-	st. 1;
nder	hena-	nt		ṭoṭju-le·-nY-	vb under ṭoṭju-
athe, to	hen-si-	st. 1	under		st. 1
ena-		nt	buck, to	potle·-nY-	vb
athe fast, to	henhen-nY-	vb	bucket	ho·ja-	nt; hytop-·Yr
nder	hena-	nt			nt; kiwe·sa-
athe in and out, to	huh-t-poksu-		buckeye	·u·nu-	nt
b			buckskin	pe·hun-aH-	nt
dal Veil Falls	pu·hu·nu·-	nt	buckskin, to make	pehu·n-	
ge	take·m-aH-	nt	build a house, to	·ucu·-j-	
le	pene·no-	nt		under ·u·cuH-	nt
ht	ha·ja-	nt	build a nest, to	hesa·-j-	s
ht, to be blindingly	cata·k-		under	he·sa-	nt
t. 1			build a stone wall, to	hoṭ·-	
g, to	·unu-nHuk·u-	vb under	bulge from underneath, to		
yn·-		st. 1			st. 1
tle	koṭ·ele-	nt under koṭ·-	bull	to·ro-	nt
t. 1			bullet	wa·la-	nt; wo·la-
diaea	·ol·ahi-	nt	bump, to	komta-	st. 1
diaea bulbs	wa·la-	nt	bump into, to	kowta-	st. 1;
l, to	hin·a-	st. 1		mo·ta-	st. 1
ken	koṭ·-u-maH-	nt under	bunch together (tr.), to	lo·l-	
koṭ·-		st. 1	bundle	hac·a·?-hi·-me-	nt u
om	lawy·-·a-	nt under la·w-		haca·?-	st. 1; tyj·an·-a-

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

-lek pf 705  
 tcher kan·ise·no- nt  
 tcher, to patl- st. 1  
 ttercup ta·lak- nt  
 tterfly walap·u- nt  
 tterfly, large toj·un- nt  
 ttocks tok·a- nt; to<sup>?</sup>eq·<sup>·</sup>a- nt  
 under to<sup>?</sup>- st. 1  
 tton wato·n-aH- nt  
 y, to tiw·a- st. 1  
 zz, to hym·a- st. 1  
 zzard huhu- nt CB; hu·tawe-  
 nt RW, EL

C

abbage ka·pyc- nt  
 lf pece·no- nt  
 lf of leg tap·an- nt  
 ll (someone) names, to  
 ?o·ja-ksY- vb, ?o·ja<sup>?</sup>-nY- vb  
 under ?oj·a- st. 1  
 ll out, to jej·a- st. 1  
 lled (a name), to be ?oj·a-ηHe-  
 vb CANONICAL FORMS  
 llus nyky·<sup>·</sup>liH- nt

care for, to ?oko·j- st. 1  
 careful, to be hy·j-poksu-  
 under hyj·- st. 1  
 careless, to be ʔaʔ-wa- s  
 carried by current, to be  
 heHp-ηHe- st. 1  
 carrier for angleworms h  
 nt  
 carry, to paʔy·-t- st. 1 un  
 paʔyH- st. 1; ʔyjy·-t- st.  
 carry in arms, to paʔyH-  
 ?oʔo<sup>?</sup>-h- vb under ?oʔo·-  
 carry on back, to ?apa·-t-  
 cart kal·e·ta- nt  
 cascara lo<sup>?</sup>·o- nt  
 cat ka·to- nt; pu·si- nt  
 catch, to lo·t- st. 1  
 catch a ball, to ho·k- st.  
 catch fire, to wyle·-pa-  
 wyl-h- st. 1  
 catch fish with hands, to  
 st. 1  
 catch up, to nak-pa- st. 1  
 na·k- st. 1  
 caterpillar, Pandora moth

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

lunge, to nut-ki- st. 1  
 ge (tr.), to molt- st. 1  
 arral pajwa- nt  
 os capre·ho- nt  
 coal kul·a- nt  
 mstone (?) mol·e- nt  
 e, to ?enpu- st. 1  
 ter, to have one's teeth  
 ytyt·yt·- vb  
 p wana·to- nt  
 erful, to be monac-na- vb  
 nder monac·a- nt  
 ese ci·sy- <sup>d</sup> ci·s- nt  
 ry ce·le- <sup>d</sup> ce·re- nt  
 ry, wild pihak-kene- nt  
 st nysy-·liH- nt  
 w, to ?awa·l- st. 1  
 w on, to kycm- st. 1  
 k poji·ta- <sup>d</sup> poji·to- nt  
 ken kaji·na- nt  
 ken pox, to have masl- st. 1;  
 nisl- st. 1  
 f haja·puH- nt (CB only;

other informants deny word or  
 (CANONICAL FORMS  
 ite other meanings); ti?jaH- nt

L: kaptan- nt CB, CJ, RW, EL

choke (tr.), to tō·k- st. 1  
 choke on, to my?·-ŋHe- vb  
 chokecherry pas'al- nt  
 choose, to him·e- st. 1; him  
 vb  
 chop, to lac-nY- st. 1 unde  
 la·ca- nt  
 Christian, baptized ?ypyh-r  
 nt under ?yp-h- st. 1  
 Christmas krismas- nt  
 church hil·esja- nt; mi·sa·  
 nt under mi·sa- nt; ?ile·sja  
 cider sajta- nt  
 cigar pu·lu- nt  
 cigarette sika·no- nt  
 cinch sinco- nt  
 cinch strap la·tigo- nt  
 cinch up belt, to hušta- st  
 cinquefoil, meadow ta·lak-  
 circle tok·ili-m·a- nt unde  
 toki·l- st. 1; ?ol·ewi-m·a-  
 circle around walking, to ?  
 st. 1

claim fiancé, to kaw-h- st  
 clam hopon·-aj- nt <sup>785</sup>

clap hands, to tam·a- st. 1

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

<p>                 p jyl'y?-'a- nt                  ock watu- nt                  ose, to kat'a- st. 1                  ose by haj'e-m-∅ N;                  haj'e-m-'-? -hY· N; haj'e-t-∅ N                  ose one's ears, to                  ?oli?-na-tkuH- vb                  ose one's eyes, to symp- st. 1                  ose one's mouth, to mymp-                  st. 1                  ose to ha'je-j-hY· N under                  haj'e- nt                  oth naw'as-'a- nt under                  na'was- nt; tina'pu- nt                  othes , ?yhty-j'a- nt                  othesline wihy?-'a- nt under                  wi'h- st. 1                  oud ?o'pa- nt                  oudy, to be ?opa-ksY- vb                  under ?o'pa- nt                  oudy, to get ?opa'-t- st. 1                  under ?o'pa- nt                  over ko'koc- nt                  over, sour hakham- nt                  own wo?co-'liH- nt             </p>	<p>                 cold, to be kywkyw-'e- vb                  kyHw-ηHe- st. 1; hitp- st.                  EL, CJ; hicp- st. 1 CB                  cold, to get hitp- st. 1 RV                  CJ; hicp- st. 1 CB; kyHw                  st. 1; hityHp-ηHe- vb und                  hitp- st. 1                  cold, to have a hole'h- st                  cold (of weather), to be hi                  vb under hitp- st. 1                  collar ka'la- nt                  collarbone and hollows besi                  kiwe'sa- nt                  color tela- nt                  color, unidentified kawaw                  color of oriole makak-'i-                  colt potni'ja- nt                  comb pe'na- nt                  comb one's hair, to                  pe'na'-nY-poksu- vb                  come, to ?yn'- st. 1                  come apart, to hok'-ηHe-                  come into sight, to pom-                  come loose gradually, to                  hok'-ηHe-?te'-nY- vb             </p>
--	---

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

compare, to	naʔpu- st. 1	cottonwood	tatʔakʔala- nt
complain, to	heʔm-poksu- vb;	couch	jaŋʔeʔ-aH-cʔY- nt u
	kojoʔw- st. 1		jaʔŋ- st. 1
conceited	hyjʔas- nt; hyjaʔs- nt	cough, to	kolʔe- st. 1
conceited, to be	hyjas-nY- vb	Coulterville	wantariʔta- nt
under	hyjʔas- nt	count, to	neʔn- st. 1
condor	molʔok- nt	country	halʔe- nt
conical	cujʔunu-mʔa- nt	cousin, parallel, younger than	ʔyta- nt RW, EL; ʔiti- n
consciousness	tylyl-ʔa- nt under		RW, EL
	tylyl- st. 1	cousin, parallel paternal, younger	than Ego ʔitiʔti- nt RW
consider, to	tyntyn-nY-poksu-	cousin, paternal cross, younger	than Ego ʔyta- nt CJ;
verb under	tynyʔ-ŋ- st. 1		nt CJ, RW, EL
contact the supernatural, to		cousin, younger than Ego	nt CB
	polʔo- st. 1	cover, to	naj-pa- st. 1
continuative	-puʔ- vs 535;	cover the head, to	hupiʔl-
{-ksY-}	vs 509	cover with ashes, to	huʔp-
continue, to	ʔenj- st. 1	cow	kanaʔto- nt; leʔcy- nt
converse, to	liwa-ksY- vb under		nt
	liwʔa- st. 1	coward	helʔaja-mʔa- nt u
cook	kosen-peH- nt under		helaʔj- st. 1
	koseʔ-nY- vb; kosneʔno- nt	cowboy	wakeʔro- nt; wake
cook, to	koseʔ-nY- <sup>d</sup> kuseʔ-nY-	coward	hiʔcu- nt CB; kei
verb; kuk-nY-	st. 1		
cooked, to get	hineHp-ŋHe- vb,		
	CANONICAL FORMS		
hinʔepu-ksY-	vb under hineʔpu-		
nt			

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

adle basket	hik'iH- nt	cry out, to	jala·k- <sup>f</sup> jela·
adle sunshade	cok'in·e- nt	cubic	wik'ili-m·a- nt
ane	kiwsa- nt	cucumber	kukamba- nt
anky, to be	hoji-c·- vb	cultivated	?olu?-kuH- nt u
awl, to	ṭewe'-j- st. 1		?ol·- st. 1
azy	lo·ko- nt	cup	ha'no- nt; ta'so- nt
azy, to go	lo·ko'-nY- vb;	cup, tin	tinha'no- nt
?ale'ta'-nY- vb		cure, to	kyli'-na <sub>2</sub> - vb
creator	te·pani- nt	curl hair, to	siṅw- st. 1
ek	wakaHl- nt	currant, Sierra	heme'-ken
emate, to	hujpu- st. 1	currant, wild	cumuk-ha-
est of quail or bluejay	lulu-	curved	loj'i-t'i- nt
nt		cut, to	te·p- st. 1
cket	co·lu?ṭe- nt; ṭiṭik-Hna-	cut, to be	testes'- vb
nt		cut hair, to	hi·k- st. 1
pple	tyn·y-maH- nt	cut off, to	ṭyṭk- st. 1; ṭyṭ
pple, to	?am-la- st. 1 under	cut off hair in mourning, to	
?am·u- st. 1			st. 1; ṭyṭ·eh'- vb under ṭy
oked	coṅtita- nt; sow'iṭi-m·a-	cut up, to	tep-la- st. 1 un
nt			te·p- st. 1
p	woj?e- nt under woje·?-	cut with scissors, to	tihil
st. 1			vb under tihe·la- nt
ss	kul·us- nt		
ss, to	het-h- st. 1		
	CANONICAL FORMS		
ss oneself, to	nomre'-nY- vb	daddy longlegs	ṭuhju·ju- n



[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

ark, to get cytp- st. 1;  
 kawyHl-ŋHe- vb; ponp- st. 1  
 arkness cyt'yp-jaH- nt under  
 cytp- st. 1  
 ighter tune- nt  
 ighter-in-law ʔojam'e- nt  
 wn ja'naj- nt  
 wn, to ha'je-tuh-nY- vb under  
 ha'ja- nt  
 y hiʔe'm-aH- nt  
 y after tomorrow  
 hoje'-no-n-ʔeca? N  
 ybreak cak'e- nt  
 ylight ha'ja- nt  
 ylight, to be ha'ja-ŋk- vb  
 ylight, to become ha'je-tuh-nY-  
 vb under ha'ja- nt  
 e, to be in a ticik'ik'- vb  
 ad camy'h-aH- nt under cam-h-  
 st. 1  
 f ʔoliʔ- meH- nt  
 f, to be ʔoli'l- st. 1  
 l with, to te'jyl-nY- vb  
 ide, to jeʔpa-tkuH- vb  
 orate, to <sup>CANONICAL FORMS</sup> his-pa- st. 1; tel'a-  
 st. 1

devil jamlo- nt; tijawlo-  
 dew sis'iŋ-jaH- nt  
 diapers jo'ko- nt  
 diarrhea cal'ak- nt  
 diarrhea, to have calka-  
 dice catat-'a- nt under ca  
 st. 1  
 dice, to play lok'a- st. 1  
 die, to cam-h- st. 1  
 die of wounds, to ʔam-la-  
 vb under ʔam'u- st. 1  
 different lu'ʔi- nt  
 different directions, in ha  
 N  
 difficult tal'yl- nt  
 dig, to wem'- st. 1; ʔol'-  
 digging stick sype- nt  
 dime lijal- nt  
 diminutive -c'Y- ns 709;  
 ns 745; -ʔaH- ns 750  
 diminutive plural -ti- ns  
 diminutive-distributive -p  
 741  
 dip into or out of water, to  
 pult- st. 1  
 dip up to pulu-ta- st. 1

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

disguise, unidentified	kol'ot- nt	dollar	ke'ha- nt; pe'so- nt
disguise, to	luṭih-na- vb under	donkey	cakaHc- nt
luṭi- nt		door	kata- nt; katut-'a- nt
dish	pila'so- nt	double	?oṭiH-kene'-paH- nt
dishcloth	heka?'-a- nt under	dough	hupul-'a- nt, hupul-
hek'a- st. 1			nt under hupl- st. 1
dishpan	wante'ha- nt	dove	hul'u'wi- nt
disk	ṭok'ili-m'a- nt under	down	wal'i- nt
ṭoki'l- st. 1		down (feathers)	posa- nt
dislike the looks of it, to		down (the river, road, hill)	
hece'-ŋ- st. 1			nt; huje-t'Y-t-∅ N
dislocate, to	laj'u-ŋHe- vb	downhill	huje-p'a- nt
under laju'-h- st. 1		downstream	huje-t'Y-t-∅
dismiss an employee, to	?uca'-h-		hu'je-t-∅ N
st. 1		downwards	wali-t'Y-t-∅ N
dismount, to	hupe'-ŋ- st. 1		wal'i- nt
display things, to	woleŋ-'ene'-	downwood	hola'wi- nt
vb under woHl-ŋHe- st. 1		doze, to	ṭyj'e-je'-nY- vb
displease, to	?yh-ki- st. 1		ṭyj'e- st. 1
dissolve, to	joHj-ŋHe- vb under	drag, to	hyhy?'-h- vb
joj'a- st. 1		dragonfly	ci'kuṭa'ṭi- nt; p-
distributive, linear	{-te'-nY-} vs		nt
527		draw (physiographic feature)	
divide up, to	pa?u:-t- st. 1 under		wa'pok- nt
pa'?- st. 1		draw tight, to	symy'-t- s

[\[view image\]](#)

---





ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

weep tears, to	cep'a-ŋHe- vb	easy, to be	cyty'-na- vb
weep, to	my·k- st. 1 CJ, RW,	eat, to	?yw·y- st. 1 (irregu
	EL; tu·l- st. 1 CB	440	
drive a nail, to	tapat-nY- vb	eat with acorn biscuits, to	
drop (tr.), to	peṭ'a- st. 1	hopi'-t- st. 1	
drop (intr.), to	heHp-ŋHe- st. 1;	eat with acorn mush, to	h
dry	tyHt-ŋHe- st. 1	st. 1	
drum	tampo- nt; ṭoma?-·a- nt	eaves	tes'e- nt
drum under	ṭom·a- st. 1 CJ; ṭum·a-	echo, to	?on-si- st. 1 unde
drum	nt CB	st. 1	
hammer	ṭuma?-peH- nt under	edge	sepaH- nt
hammer	ṭum·a- st. 1	edge of basket ready to finish	
knock, to get	jyHŋ-ŋHe- st. 1	meme·l-aH- nt	
knock (tr.), to	hew'e- st. 1;	eel	we·sit- nt
knock	hewe'-na- vb	egg	hoŋ'u- nt
knock, to get	heHw-ŋHe- st. 1	egg of fish	pyle- nt
knock under	hew'e- st. 1	eight	kaw·inta- nt
knock, to go	kaHj-ŋHe- st. 1	eight, to be	kawit-nY- vb
knock out (tr.), to	wi·h- st. 1	kaw·inta- nt	
knock	haṭ-ha·ṭa- nt; wal'-aj- nt;	eighty	kawi·t-ijak-∅ na?a·c
knock	waṭwaṭ- nt	eighty-four	kawi·t-ijak-∅
knock, to	hum'e- st. 1	?ojis·a-?·YniH-? NE	
knock, to become	moli'-t- st. 1	El Capitan	ṭoṭo·kon?u-la-
knock under	mol·i- nt	El Portal	sal·a?-to- <sup>803</sup> nt
knock	ni·peti- nt; ṭuk'e- nt	elbow	kitpil- ḡ kiti·pel- nt

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

enemy	ko·nas- nt; ko·ji- nt	faint, to	ʔomi·-j- st. 1
ough	naʔ·-a- nt under naʔ·-	fairground	ʔaw·iʔ·-a- nt 1
st. 1			ʔaw·i- st. 1
ough, to be	naʔ·- st. 1;	fall, to	peʔ·a-ŋHe- vb und
naʔ·y-c·- vb			peʔ·a- st. 1
ough, to get	naʔ·-ŋHe- vb	fall (of leaves), to	tat·e-ŋ
ter, to	ʔu·k- st. 1	fall apart, to	maʔ·a·ʔ- st.
uisetum	hakyʔ-na- nt	fall down, to	wete·l- st. 1
en	naʔ·-a- nt under naʔ·-	fall short, to	hulwa-j·- vb
st. 1			hulaHw-ŋHe- vb
ening	hajnak- nt	false	katiʔ·-kuH- nt under
ening, to be	haja·n- st. 1		st. 1
ening, to become	moli·-t-	fan	kuwe·-nY-haHk- nt
st. 1 under mol·i- nt		fan self, to	kuwe·-nY-pok
er	mi-taH-no-n N	fangs	jyl·yʔ·-a- nt
cess, one who . . . to	-m·a-	far	kot-to- nt; kot-taH-n
ns 731		far off, from	kot-taH-n-ʔ
change, to	tema·l- st. 1		under kot-to- nt
cited, to be	jujhun-nY- vb	fast; rapid	wes·a- nt
clamation in handgame calls		fasten baby in cradle, to	
hah P			st. 1
pensive	tiwha-meH- nt under	fasten with . . . , to	-·po
tiw·a- st. 1			545
plode, to	pakt- st. 1	fat	sym·it- nt
tinguish, to	mal·- st. 1	fat, to become	symiHt-ŋ

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

ter, to	kujuHj-ŋHe- vb	fireplace	wyky? -·a- nt unc
ch, to	we·l- st. 1 Yos, El		wy·k- st. 1
Portal;	wel·- st. 1 Mrp; wel-ki-	first, to go, start or arrive	ho·ja- st. 1
st. 1 Mrp	under we·l- st. 1		first and second persons inv
er	kamat·ana- nt		-mu- ∞ -mu· ∞ -muH- ps
y	mi-tokho-t·i- nt;	first one	hoja?-peH- nt unc
mi-tokho-	c·Y- nt		ho·ja- st. 1
ld	ranco- nt	first person dual independent	noun ?oṭiH-me- nt
y	maho·-jak-∅ na?a·ca-? NE	first person dual or plural	ps 311
	?i·ko- nt		first person plural -mah·
ht, to	he·l- st. 1		311; -me- ∞ -me·- ∞ -m
ht (of dogs), to	nacka- st. 1		311; -t·i- ps 311
ipino	mani·la- nt	first person plural inclusive	pendent pronoun ?oṭic·i
, to	cu·ja?-nY- vb		CB; ?oṭiṭ·i- nt RW, EL u
for (someone), to	cyka?-na-		?oṭiH- nt
vb		first person plural independent	pronoun mah·i- nt
d, to	hal-pa- st. 1; ?owoh-nY-		first person singular -m
vb			-ma· ∞ ∅ ps 311; -nti- ∞
d fault, to	?yjuHm-ŋHe- vb		ps 311; -te- ∞ -te·- ∞ -t
d fault with (someone), to be			311
ready to	?yhyt·y-c·- vb under		
?yht- st. 1			
e, to be	hel·aky-c·- vb		
ger, index	cik·a?-iH- nt,		
	<small>CANONICAL FORMS</small>		
cik·a?-jaH-	nt under ci·ka-		

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

to ?enh- st. 1	flush (intr.), to pak-si- nt
wante·la- nt	flute lul·a- nt
h (of lightning), to wile·p-	fly ?uc·um- nt
st. 1; wyli·-t- st. 1; wyli·p-	fly, to hyle·-t- st. 1 under
st. 1	hyHl-ŋHe- st. 1
tat·ala-m·a- nt	fly from nest (of young birds
ground la?-meH- nt	hyHl-ŋHe- st. 1
iron palanca- nt	foam, to toṭu·-j- st. 1
ten (tr.), to tatal-na- vb	fog huŋeH- nt
under tat·ala-m·a- nt; ṭa·p-	foggy, to be huŋe·-t- st. 1
st. 1	follow, to tici·w-poksu- vb
ky·kyh- nt	food ?yw?y- nt
h a hide, to wyṭa·k- st. 1	food, to get or prepare ho
ker, red-shafted tiw·-aj- nt	st. 1
ker, to ma·leŋ-e·-nY- vb	fool (tr.), to molil-nY- vb
under mal·- st. 1	foot; footprints haṭ·e- nt
t, to li·ŋ- st. 1; sali·-nY- vb	ford heṭy·h-aH- nt under h
t ?as·ak- nt	st. 1
t, to ?eltu- st. 1	ford a creek, to heṭ-h- st
t in air, to ?elu·-j- st. 1	my·ŋ- st. 1
d jow·e- nt	forehead ṭik·it- nt
d, to jow·e- st. 1	foreigners luṭ?i-j·a- nt un
r flo·?-aH- nt; tol·e- nt	lu·ṭi- nt
o about (of fish) to hylet·et·-	forelegs hojim·i- nt 812
vb under hyHl-ŋHe- st. 1	foreshaft of arrow token-·

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

end	ʔaja·p-aH- nt		G
endly	ʔol·ok- nt	gallbladder	siw·en- nt
ghtened, to be	joloHm-ŋHe-	gallon	kal·on- nt
vb		garbage dump	peṭ·aŋ-·a- nt
ghtening, to be	tojo·-nY- vb	garden	kartyn- nt; wojʔe-
g	waṭak-Hna- nt	under	woje·ʔ- st. 1
g, yellow-legged	ʔol·oʔ-jaH-	gate	kata- nt; katut-·a- nt
nt		gather acorns from ground,	ṭeṭ·- st. 1
m (a place)	-ʔucaH- ns 754	gather food, to	hoʔ-ja- st
nt (feet)	hoji-nHi-paH- nt;	gather together (intr.), to	huṭ·a-meh-nY- vb; huṭ·a-
hojiṭ·iṭ·o- nt		vb	
nt, to be in	hoji·-nY- vb	gather up (tr.), to	hum·a-
st	sus·a- nt		keṇo·-t- st. 1
wn, to	sew·eṭ·- vb	gathers	cunat-·a- nt
, to	kisa·l-e·-nY- vb	gathers, to sew	cunta- st.
l	cu·jaʔne- nt	geld, to	hawa·-t- st. 1
gus, button mushrooms, pink		genitals, female	mop·a- nt
under	pa·ki- nt		wak·aṭa- nt Yos
gus, edible, large, grows under		genitive	-ŋ ∞ -ŋ·- cs 325
pine needles or oak leaves		gerundial	-haHk- ns 711;
hel·i- nt			ns 744; {-·a-ci-} ns 757
gus, edible, white, grows in		gerundial, simultaneous	{-
burnt brush	noc·uʔ-ti- nt		815
under	nocuH- st. 1	701	
	CANONICAL FORMS		
gus, grows on willow trees			
lappa nt			

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

go out before achieving goal, to	hul'u-ŋHe- vb	go to hell, to	tok-si- st. 1
go to, to	?unu't-ŋHe- vb under	go with someone, to	?oci?
go up, to	hulaHw-ŋHe- vb	goat	ci'wo- nt
grass	lime'ta- nt; wa'so- nt	God	hu'nih- nt LG; jos- nt
grass	hynyt-'a-po- nt;	godetia	tokop- nt
grass	hynyt-'a-ŋe- nt	gold	?o'no- nt
graves, a pair of	ŋisyj-'a- nt	good	cytyH- nt
grow, to	huju'-t- st. 1	good (of taste or smell)	cyty
grow	juta?'-a- nt under jut'a-	good, to feel	cyty-ksY- vb
grow	st. 1	good, to taste	cyŋ?yŋ-'e- v
grow, to	jut'a- st. 1	good	cyHŋ-ŋHe- st. 1
grow, to	letm- st. 1	good for one, to be	hy?m-
grow	wyks- st. 1; wy'- st. 1	grow	vb
(irregular, defective) 440		goose	laŋlaŋ- nt; low'ot-
and return immediately, to	?et'al'- vb under ?eta'l- st. 1	goose bumps, to have	lopt
around, to	hoki'l- st. 1	grow	vb under lopo't- st. 1
around in a group, to	lolo'l-	gooseberry, Sierra	ki'li-
grow	st. 1 under lo'l- st. 1	gopher	syw'yt- nt; to'po-
down (of sun), to	lep-nY- st. 1,	gossip, to	?yjjHm-ŋHe- v
down	lepu'-t- st. 1 under lep'a- st. 1	granary	cak'a- nt
down (of swelling), to	tam-h-	grandchild	?ace- nt
grow	st. 1	grandfather	pa'pa- nt
first, to	hoyi- st. 1	grandmother	?ama- nt
		granite	cyky'kyj- nt
		granary	huyas- nt



[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

ze, to ko·k- st. 1  
 ase sym·it- nt  
 ase pot, to symti-·po- vb  
 en citit-·i- nt under cit·ak-  
 nt  
 et in morning, to walpu-  
 st. 1  
 nd acorns, to sos·e- st. 1  
 t one's teeth, to kytyt·yt·-  
 vb under kyt·y- nt  
 an, to ho·l- st. 1  
 ceries ?ywy·?-aH- nt; ?y·wy-  
 nt  
 pe around, to pet·a- st. 1  
 sbeak, black-headed ?ami·jo-  
 nt  
 und tol·e- nt  
 und, wet ?yte·my- nt  
 und wet enough to quiver when  
 stepped on juw·awa- nt  
 und meat tyla·?-·YniH- nt  
 under ty·l- st. 1  
 up lol·e- nt  
 up, to go around in a lolo·l-  
 st. 1 under lo·l- st. 1

gum ju·tu- nt  
 gun kupe·ta- nt; niple- nt  
 guts putkal- nt

H

habitual -c·-e- ns 708  
 hail sa·wen-aH- nt  
 hail (intr.), to sawne- st. 1  
 hailstone saw·en-aH- nt  
 hair hi·sok- nt  
 hair, facial or body ho·mu  
 hair, gray potok-meH- nt  
 hair oil ?ase·t-aH- nt  
 half cu?paH- nt; hej·em-·a  
 half brother, older than Ego  
 tacji-puH- nt under ta·ciH  
 half brother, younger than E  
 ?itji-puH- nt under ?iti-  
 Half-dome Mountain tes·e-  
 nt  
 half sister, older than Ego  
 tetje-puH- nt under te·te-  
 half sister, younger than Eg  
 ?ytja-puH- nt under ?yta-  
 halfway hej·em-·a- nt; lak

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

left hands!	kat·i-na-· V	headcloth	hupil-·a- nt
outer hands!	hela·k-a-· V;	headache	kaskas-· nt
li·leH-? N		headband, flicker-feather	
right hands!	my·l-a-· V		tamak·i?-la- nt
handkerchief	panjo- nt	headdress	hupil-·a-ṭe- nt
handsome (of a boy)	sal·i?-hHi-	headdress, magpie-feather	
nt under saliH-	nt		nt
ng up (one thing), to	jyṭ·ki-	headdress, single-plume	
st.1 under jy·ṭi-	st.1		nt
ng up (several things), to		headstall	ha·kimo- nt
jy·ṭi-	st.1	heal up, to	kyl·i- st.1
nging, to be	jyṭ·y-mh- vb	healthy	ky·li- nt
ppy, to be	tykaj·i-c-· vb CB;	hear, to	?al-· st.1
ty·m·y-c-· vb, ṭyHm-ṅHe-	st.1	heart	wyhki- nt
RW, EL, CJ		hearth	kosi·na- nt
rd	pat·yt- nt	heat water, to	cu·h- st.1
rd, to (do something)	?ona·c-	heaven	li·leH-to- nt
st.1		heavy	lewe·t-aH- nt
rd, to get	patyHt-ṅHe- vb	heel	tyṅ·ih- nt
relip	wis-·u-maH- nt	hell	wale·ti-tHo- nt
rness	ha·nis- nt	help, to	?es-pa- st.1; ?e
rnitos	?oni·to- nt		st.1 CB
rrow, to	py·h- st.1	hem	pilyn-·a- nt
t some	some	here, demonstrative stem	
some·e·la-	nt CJ; sumne·no-		nt 651

[\[view image\]](#)

---





ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

hook on, to	tul·ul-·a- nt	hook on, to	?a·ŋ- st. 1
side	weke·l-aH- nt	hoot, to	huhi·m- st. 1 CB;
d (feet)	?eca-nHi-paH- nt;		huki·m- st. 1 CJ
?ecaŋiŋo-	nt under ?ec·a- nt	hop, to	hani·c- st. 1
d legs	?ecam·i- nt	horehound	cutcitja- nt
e (workers), to	nyna·-t- st. 1;	horn of saddle	suj·ut·u- nt
?oci·-t- st. 1		horse	cymy?-jaH- nt, cym
s, to	hisa·k- st. 1		nt obs. under cy·m- st. 1
one person here and there with			kawa·ju- <sup>d</sup> kawa·jo- nt
thrown objects, to	ce·?y?-nY-	hortative	-man pf 807
vb		hot	wyl·yŋ- nt; wyly·ŋ-aH-
one person repeatedly with a		hot, to get	wylyHŋ-ŋHe- vt
thrown object, to	ce?-ja- st. 1		wyl·yŋ- st. 1
with a held object, to	my·l-	hot (like pepper), to taste	
st. 1		vb under ci·le- nt	
with a thrown object, to	ce·?-	hot thing	wylyHŋ- nt under
st. 1		nt	
with fist, to	komta- st. 1 Yos;	hour	ne·na- nt
kuhta- st. 1 Mrp;	ŋo·p- st. 1	house	koca- nt Yos; ?en·i
with one's body, to	tuk·akal·i-		?u·cuH- nt
vb		house, conical, of incense c	
ching post	hykap-·a- nt	bark	?umuc-·a- nt unde
arse, to be	heko·j- st. 1		?umcu- st. 1
oble horse, to	tikn- st. 1	how?	micyk-na <sub>2</sub> -tho-j N
	CANONICAL FORMS	how?, to be	micy-ksY- vt
e	sato·n-aH- nt; watak-·a- nt	how?	to do micyk-na

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

gry one	hul·uwu-	nt	under	inside	ʔe·caH-	nt
hulw-	st. 1			inside, to be	katʔa-mh-	vb
t, to	hal-ki-	st. 1		kat·a-	st. 1	
ry, to	wesaHʔ-ŋHe-	vb,		instrumental	-Hs-	cs 329
wes·aʔ-wa-j·-	vb	under	wes·a-	intelligent	tylyl·y-	nt
nt				intensifier	-hHi-	ns 714
t, to get	ʔam·u-ŋHe-	vb		interjectional	-ja·	pf 803;
t (intr.), to	sik·e-pa-ksY-	vb		pf 806		
under	sike·-nY-	vb		interpreter	liwat-peH-	nt
t (tr.), to	ʔam·u-	st. 1;		liw·a-	st. 1	
ʔam-ku-	st. 1;	cy·j-	st. 1	interrogative	ʔa· P; -ʔe·	
t again (tr.), to	cy·j-	st. 1		intransitive	C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> ·V <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> ·	
t feelings	sik·e-paH-	nt		stem-form	547	
under	sike·-nY-	vb		invisible (of moon), to be		
t or twist hip, to	jaʔ·u-ŋHe-			st. 1		
vb				invitation string	hyti·l-aH-	
band	naŋ·aH-	nt		irked, to be	ʔuṭe·w-	st. 1;
				ʔyhyk·y-c·-	vb	CB under
				ʔyhyHk-ŋHe-	vb	
				iron (for pressing)	ʔaj·yny	
				nt		
				Italian	talja·no-	nt
				itch	ʔu·ṭa-	nt
				itch, to	ʔuṭ·a-	st. 1
				iterative	{-ja-}	vs 504; -j
					506; { } vs 514; { } vs	

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

ci·sys- nt RW, EL;	kick repeatedly, to kal·i-j·-
·sas- nt CJ	under ka·l- st. 1
coHn- nt	kick with the heel, to ka·l-
together long things, to	kick with the toe, to tek·m-
ni- st. 1	kill, to jo·h- st. 1
lo·in··a- nt	killdeer ciwi·ti·ti- nt
to ?yliH·-ηHe- vb	kind; species -pHute- ns 7
e, to mi·-ja- st. 1 under	kind, that ?em·aṭ- nt
ni·?- st. 1	kindling wylip··a- nt under
e with elbows, to mi·?-	st. 1
t. 1	kinky (of hair) tutlil··a- nt
kik·y- nt; ?i·sat- nt	kinsman pace- nt
y, to make kawto·-nY- vb	kiss, to moma·k- st. 1
o, to tuja·-η- st. 1 Yos	kitchen kosen··a- nt
o off, to ho·ṭ- st. 1; ho·?-	kitty pu·ci- nt
t. 1	knead dough, to hupl- st. 1
o with both feet, to ho·ṭu·-nY-	knee hoṅ·oj- nt; hoṅṭol- nt
b; hyle·-t- st. 1 under	kneel, to hoṭ·eṭ·- vb
yHl-ηHe- st. 1	knife hope- nt
o pusu·kulut- nt; ṭo·ni- nt	knife, pocket nawa·ha- nt
per pylyw- nt	knock acorns off tree, to
hak- nt; -mYh- ns 730	st. 1
barely (arrive, reach, etc.), to	knock down, to ha·o·l- st.
ahma-j·- vb	knock on, to tyk·a- st. 1
because <sup>CANONICAL FORMS.</sup> hilanta-j N;	knock-kneed paṭ·iwi- <sup>823</sup> ni·a- nt
ilas··a-j N	under pati·w- st. 1

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

L

e cakak-'i- nt  
 e up (tr.), to ty'ky?-nY- vb  
 der cymy?-jaH- nt, cymy?-'a-  
 nt under cy'm- st. 1; haṭy?-jaH-  
 nt under ha't- st. 1  
 y-slipper momko-t'i- nt  
 e 'awa'ja- nt  
 e, to be ty'nacah'- vb  
 e, to go hy?'a-tuh-nY- vb  
 pblack til'ek-aH- nt  
 ad moiety tunak-'a- nt  
 guage liwa- nt  
 tern lantym- nt  
 t (one) ho'ja- nt  
 t (year, month) 'eca-t'Y- nt  
 under 'ec'a- nt  
 t, to do luhaj-nY- vb under  
 luh-pa- st. 1  
 t, to go luh-pa- st. 1  
 t night hajan'yimi- nt; hajnak-  
 nt  
 t week ho'ja-j sima'na-j NE  
 e, to be <sup>CANONICAL FORMS</sup> hulwaw-'e- vb under  
 hulaHw-ŋHe- vb

lean on, to haw'a-poksu- v  
 lean over, to hem'el'- vb;  
 hem'el'i-c'- vb  
 leach acorns, to mola'p- s  
 lead (metal) wa'la- nt  
 lean (of meat) 'oc'uk- nt  
 learn, to nath- st. 1  
 leather kalaṭ-'a- nt  
 leather tree tatpa- nt  
 leave (tr.), to wi'k- st. 1;  
 st. 1 (irregular) 440; 'eHL  
 st. 1 under 'el'- st. 1  
 leave all in a bunch (intr.),  
 hutut'ut'- vb  
 leave in the care of another  
 to haja'-pa- vb under  
 haja-ksY- vb  
 left, to be hajtu- st. 1  
 left arm caj'aH- nt CB, F  
 hot'oH- CJ  
 left over wa?'-hi'-me- nt  
 leg; lower leg ho'con- nt  
 leg, upper tuṅ'u- nt  
 lend, to 'am'- st. 1  
 lengthen, to wilat-na- vb

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

still, to	ty <sup>?</sup> y-c <sup>-</sup> - vb	locked in, to be	kat'a-mh
, to	jyty <sup>-</sup> -t- st. 1	under	kat'a-ŋHe- vb
st. 1		log	hole <sup>·</sup> ma- nt
ht (N)	we <sup>·</sup> la- nt	logs on ground	hola <sup>·</sup> wi- n
ht (in weight)	te <sup>·</sup> h <sup>·</sup> yh- nt	lonesome, to get	tokp- st
ht (of baked goods)	teh <sup>·</sup> jy- nt	long	wila <sup>·</sup> toH- nt; wil <sup>·</sup> at-
ht (daylight), to get	hi <sup>?</sup> me-j <sup>-</sup> -	long ago	ho <sup>·</sup> ja <sup>·</sup> mi- nt; kot
vb		N under	kot-to- nt
ht (bright), to make		long time	kot-taH-n-hi <sup>·</sup> N
ha <sup>·</sup> jat-nHuk <sup>·</sup> u- vb			kot-to- nt
ht a fire, to	hujpu- st. 1	long time, to take a	kyt <sup>·</sup> i
RW, EL; wyl-ki- st. 1	Yos under	look, to	hyj <sup>·</sup> - st. 1
wyl-h- st. 1; wy <sup>·</sup> k- st. 1	CB	look for, to	wel-h- st. 1
htning	wi <sup>·</sup> le <sup>·</sup> p-aH- nt		we <sup>·</sup> l- st. 1
wi <sup>·</sup> le <sup>·</sup> p- st. 1		look like, to	hyj <sup>·</sup> i-c <sup>-</sup> -ŋHe
e	nymih- nt	look on, to	wol <sup>·</sup> u-c <sup>-</sup> - vb
e, to	cy <sup>?</sup> y <sup>?</sup> -e- vb, cyH <sup>?</sup> -ŋHe-		woHl-ŋHe- st. 1
st. 1		look out!	?ytyj P
e food, to	siHm-ŋHe- st. 1	look out for oneself, to	
y, Mariposa	cikiw-ci- nt		tyly <sup>·</sup> l-poksu- vb
mb of tree	pej <sup>·</sup> a- nt	looking	hyj <sup>·</sup> i-c- nt
nber	?ilal <sup>·</sup> -a- nt; ?il <sup>·</sup> ala- nt	lookout	hyje <sup>·</sup> peH- nt unc
mp (adj.)	?ilyp-meH- nt		st. 1
mp, to	ty <sup>·</sup> nacah <sup>·</sup> - vb	lookout place	wy <sup>?</sup> i <sup>?</sup> -a- n
, lower	hew <sup>·</sup> etkil- nt		wy <sup>?</sup> i <sup>·</sup> - <sup>?</sup> - st. 1
ten, to	?al <sup>·</sup> -mV-ksV- vb	loose	tok <sup>·</sup> u-maH- nt

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

and, to be	sypka- st. 1	make fun of, to	hyj'ak'y-p-
arse, body	sypsi- nt	vb under	hyja'k- st. 1
arse, head	ket'u- nt	make little hills here and there	to cu'ju?-nY- vb
arse, to be in	lykj-mhi- vb	make one look good, to	hy
arse-pitched	wal'i-ka-n N	vb under	hy?m- st. 1
arse-pitched, to be very	heko'j-	make tight, to	hušta- st. 1
st. 1		make tracks, to	haṭe'-j- s
arse (intr., tr.), to	wali'-h-	under	haṭe- nt
st. 1 under	wal'i- nt	make twined baskets, to	te
umber	tapla- nt	st. 1	
ump, to form a	lopo'ṭ- st. 1	make up a quarrel, to	pac
umpy	humli-la- nt; loptot-meH-	vb under	pace- nt
nt, loptot-'a-	nt under lopo'ṭ-	male	naṅ'aH- nt
st. 1		man	naṅ'aH- nt
ch	cilen-'a-ṭi- nt under	many	?yṭ'yH- nt
cile'n-	st. 1; pyne- nt	many, to be	?yṭy's- st. 1
ch or midday meal, to eat		manzanita	?e'je- nt
cile'n-	st. 1	manzanita cider	?isu'ta- n
gs	pohkal- nt	maple	ha'ji- nt; hajih'-aj-
n, blue-flowered bush		mare	je'wa- nt
kojo'pi- nt		Mariposa	marpo'sa- nt; m
n, mountain	watak-ha- nt	nt	
ng down, to be	jaṅ'a-c'- vb	Mariposa lily	cikiw-ci- nt
under	ja'ṅ- st. 1	Mariposa people	marpo'sa-
		mark to	su'k- st. 1



[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

attress	matris- nt	mess, to make a	jotok-na
aybe	hane· P; ?yhe·ma- nt	under	jo·tok- nt
aybe so	ka·cy·-to-?-hY· N;	messenger	kuteHw- nt
aymih	nt; ?aj·a·-lek P	Mexican	meh·ika·no- nt C
adowlark	juk·ul- nt		me·hika·no- nt CJ
al	?yw?y- nt	middle	cu?paH- nt; kaw-i-
an	hojci-paH- nt under	midnight, to be	cu?pa-j·-
hoji-c·-	vb	might	-ni- ns 733
an, to	?i-c·- st. 1	mile	majl- nt; wynan- nt
aning obscure	-aj- ns 702;	milk	le·ci- nt
-ci-	ns 707; -ha- ns 710; -hi·	milk cow, to	ci·n- st. 1
pf 801; -jaH-	ns 718; -kene-	milkweed	huken- nt
ns 722; -ki-	vs 508; -ku- vs	Milky Way	wa·kylt-ja- nt
513; -la-	ns 725; -na- ns 732;	mill	moli·na- nt
-ŋ-	vs 530; -pan pf 808; pa?is	millipede	kewsa- nt
P; {-pu-ksY-}	vs 512; -si- vs	mimulus	jol·o?co- nt
538; -t-	vs 539; {-wi-} ns 750;	mind	tylyl·a- nt under ty
-wV-j·-	vs 507; -?eca? pf (?);		st. 1
-?ic	pf 812; -?ok pf 815	mine, to	?on·o- st. 1
asles	mol·as- nt	minute	minu·te- nt
asure, to	nen·a- st. 1	mirror	hyjeŋ·a-po- nt un
asuring worm	ṭultak- nt;		hyj·- st. 1; ?ylij·a·ṭe- n
ṭultak-Hna-	nt	miscarry, to	kal·u-ŋHe- v
eat	mice·ma- nt CJ; pice·ma-		kat·i- st. 1
nt	CB, RW, EL	misplaced, to be	?u-pu-ka
eat salt	bu·me·ti- nt	miss (someone), to	niHs-n

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

quietly, Coyote or Water	kikyʔ-·a-	move away (tr.), to	ʔaʔi-·l
nt under	kik·y-	move house, to	heni-·nHu
nt under	ʔahle-j·a-	heni-·t-	st. 1 under hen·i
nt under	ʔahe-·liH-	waha-·j-	st. 1
quietly, the opposite from oneself		move over (intr.), to	kot·a
hejwe-j·a-	nt	under kot-to-	nt
ble (animal)	tim·il-	move over (tr.), to	kota-·
ble, pigmented	nyp·y-	under kot-to-	nt
Monday	lu·nas-	move quietly and smoothly,	
money	ke·ha-	jyh·y-c·-	vb
monkey	monki-	move up (tr.), to	hoji-·h-
moon	mo·na-	much, to be	ʔyʔy·s-
moon Lake people	monʔa-j·a-	mud	jow·ok-
nt under	mo·na-	lo·ha-	nt
month	kome-	muddy	jowko-meH-
moon	kome-	mule	mu·la-
more	manik P	multiple	-lVHp-
morning	kawly-paH-	ns 726	
kawyHl-	nt under	mumps, to have	myjy-·t-
morning, to become	ca·l-tuh-nY-	under myj·y-	nt
RW, EL; cal-tuh-nY-	CB	mush-stirrer	sawaj-·a-
mortar, bedrock	so·seH-	wasaj-·a-	nt
mortar, small	lopaʔ-·a-	mushroom, button	pa·ki-
under	lop·a-	music; musical instrument	
st. 1		mu·sika-	nt
mosquito	cy·ly-	music, to make	musi·k-
both	walap·u-	under mu·sika-	nt
other	mus·e-	mussel	hopon-·aj-
C.J; ʔami-	nt	nt	

[\[view image\]](#)

---





ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

on	nen·aj-	nt	ninety	ʔeli·w-ijak-∅	naʔa·c
el	loʔo-	nt		NE CJ;	ʔele·w-ijak-∅ naʔ
r	haj·e-	nt; haj·e--to-ʔ	N;	NE CB	
haje·-t-aH-	nt	under haj·e-	st. 1	nipple	musuʔ--a-
rly (there), to be	nahma-j·-	vb	st. 1		
k	hyp·yt--a-	nt	nit	jec·a-	nt
klace	po·ko-	nt	no	ken	P
dle	ʔawo·ha-	nt	nobody home	jele·ŋ-aH-	nt
ro	kana·kaH-	nt		je·l-	st. 1
ghbor	ʔaja·p-aH-	nt	nobody left, to be	ʔew·yt·e	
ghbor, to bring one a	ʔaja·p-		under ʔewy·-t-	st. 1	
st. 1			noisy	hyl·ak-hHi-	nt
ghbors, to be	ʔaja·p-mhi-	vb	st. 1		
hew (child of sibling of opposite			nominalizer	-aH-	ns 705
sex to Ego)	ʔypsa-	nt	nominative	-ʔ ∞ -∅	cs 321
hew (child of sibling of same			north	tama·li-n	N; tam·yle
sex as Ego)	koco-	nt	northerners	tamly-j·a-	nt
t	he·sa-	nt		tam·yle-	nt
	waja·ka-	nt	nose	niʔoH-	nt
le	hoho·loj-	nt	nostrils	hakypša-	nt
	ʔiwin-nY-meH-	nt	not be enough, to	hulwa-j·	
{ʔi-}		nt	under hulaHw-ŋHe-	vb	
t	hojeH-	nt; ʔeca-m·-	nt	not bother with, to	ʔanat-r
under ʔec·a-	nt; ʔe·caH-m·-		not care, to	hyjaʔ-nY-	vb
nt; ʔe·caH-tHo-	nt		not do, to	ʔewak-nY-	vb C
kel (\$0.05)	lew·an-	nt		under ʔewa·k-	st. 1; ʔewa

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

see, to	pel·e- st. 1	old ones, little	humle-j·a-t
there	?ewy·j-aH- nt	under	hum·ele- nt
ing but	-mYh- ns 730	old woman	?onoc·o- nt; ?o
	?i-w·i-n N		nt
se	?oko·j-haHk- nt, ?okoj-peH-	old-time; from or of the old	o
nt under	?oko·j- st. 1		koto·-no-n-?ucaH- nt unde
se, to	?oko·j- st. 1		kot-to- nt
		olden times, in	ho·ja·mi-
	O	oldsters	?imhe-j·a-t·i- nt
, black	tele·-liH- nt		?ime·h-aH- nt
, golden-cup or Vibray's		olive shell	kumsul- nt; luk
naka·-ha- nt		olive shells, rope of	luk·u
, scrub or interior live		on the way	{-meh-nY-} vs
sa·sa- nt		on top	lil·e-m·-? N
, water	wil·ih- nt	one	keŋ·eH- nt
, white or scrub	le·ka- nt	one by one	keŋke-p·a- nt
thurst	?apa·ša- nt; ?o·khyrst-		keŋ·eH- nt
nt		one-legged	tyt·-y-maH- nt
s, wild	ho·nosme- nt		tyt·- st. 1
y, to	haHm-ŋHe- st. 1	onion	siwo·ja- nt
idian	sit·ikinwa- CJ;	onion, wild	kelse- nt
sit·ikwina- CB		onion, wild, a kind without	
iously	jo·?un P	taste	tip·ik-ni- nt
(a place)	?ucaH- ns 754	only	hak- nt; keŋ·eH-t·i-
ended, to be	?esiHk-ŋHe- vb		-mYh- ns 730; ?okaHh-

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

o, to kami'-j- st. 1;  
 oke'-t- st. 1  
 ide ?ec'a-m'- nt  
 l, water how'ontitik'a- nt;  
 ut'u- nt  
 wik'ili-m'a- nt  
 lil'e-m'-t-Y-j N under  
 leH- nt  
 flow, to ?ap'o-j'- vb  
 hang, to hem'el'i-c'- vb  
 huh'umi- nt  
 horned (?) hoh'oho- nt  
 pygmy kom'a-ci- nt;  
 op'otkolol- nt  
 small (pygmy? screech?)  
 oklolno- nt  
 s clover tim'ele-'liH- nt

P

(of horse), to he'ne'no'-nY-  
 b  
 ng-horse he'ne'no- nt  
 up, to mocj- st. 1  
 strap luput-'a- nt  
 hesa- nt

pants kalso- nt  
 pants, to put on kalu's-poka  
 vb, kalu's-tkuH- vb under  
 kalso- nt  
 paper pape'l-aH- nt  
 papers pop'il- nt  
 pare, to mi'h- st. 1  
 parent-in-law me'my- nt  
 part hair, to piso'-t- st. 1;  
 wiso't- st. 1  
 partner ?oci- nt  
 pass wa'pok- nt  
 pass by, to ma'ŋ- st. 1  
 pass out, to jynjyn-nY- vb  
 pass unseen, to pele'-j- st.  
 under pel'e- st. 1  
 passive {-ŋHe-} vs 532  
 passive, involuntary {-pa-k  
 vs 511  
 passive agentive -meH- ns  
 passive participial {-u-ma  
 ns 765  
 past {-h'Y-} ns 713; -ka- n  
 720; -keH- ns 723; -?ek p  
 past, legendary ?uten-hi'-m

[\[view image\]](#)

---





## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

l (intr.), to	luṭ-h-	st. 1	under	picnic, to	piknik-nY-	vb
luṭ-	st. 1			picture	pikca-	nt
l off (tr.), to	ṭo·l-	st. 1		piece together, to	jat·a-	s
l off bark, to	lo·ṭ-	st. 1		pierce, to	ṭylyk-na-	vb un
er, to	wyʔi·ṭ-	st. 1		ṭyly·k-	st. 1	
er over, to	pele·j-poksu-	vb		pig	ko·ci-	nt
under	pel·e-	st. 1;	wyʔ·yṭy-ksY-	pigeon, band-tail	lyṅ·y·ti-	
vb under	wyʔi·ṭ-	st. 1		pile	ṭo·ja-	nt
nis	lyk·yt-	nt;	tol·ol·o-	pile, to make a	towoṅ-na,	2
nyroyal	hoj·ol-	nt		pile of grass	ṭo·pa-	nt
ople from near /piliwniʔ/				pile up (tr.), to	ṭo·ja-	nt
palal-ci-	nt			pile up dirt, to	co·j-	st. 1
ople of (a place)	{-ʔci-}	ns		pile up rocks, to	hoṭ·-	st
753				piled up, to be	huṭ·a-mh-	
ople of /piliwniʔ/	piliwni-ʔci-			pillow	ʔoṭo·ho-	nt
nt				pimple	kahi-	nt
pper	pemjente-	nt		pin, safety	kasin··a-	nt
pper, red	ci·le-	nt		pin, to	kasni-	st. 1
pperwood	lok·ot·i-	nt		pinch, to	pij·-	st. 1
rch (fish)	polhuj-	nt		pine, digger or bull	sak·y	
rch, to	puHʔ-ṅHe-	st. 1		pine, lodgepole	se·-se·-ke	
rmit, to	haje·-nY-	st. 1	under	pine, ponderosa	was·a-	n
haj·e-	st. 1			pine, sugar	hiṅa·-ci-	nt
rson	miw·yH-	nt		saṅ·ak-	nt	
ersonal name	posle·ta·	N;		pine, sugar, nuts of	hiṅa	860

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

iful, to be	ʔokhih-·e-	vb	plan to (do something), to
under	ʔoki·h-	st. 1	st. 1
y, to	ʔokiHh-ŋHe-	vb under	plane (tool)
ʔoki·h-	st. 1		likat-·a-
uce names			nt
bout one mile up hill north of			plant, to
/piliwniʔ/	wo·hil-	nt	wojʔe-·nY-
Bear Creek and Midpines			st. 1
peleklik-	nt		woje-ʔ-
reek north of Indian Peak			st. 1
wamla·ni-	nt		plant (a tree), to
Dry Spring, on side of Indian			ci·p-
Peak facing /piliwniʔ/			st. 1
kajeŋ·i-	nt		planted
ast of Nippinawasee	kaʔalti-		wojʔe-
nt			nt under v
ast of White Rock	pa·su·nu-		st. 1
nt			play, to
n vicinity of El Portal	sotpok-		ʔaw·i-
nt			st. 1; ʔawi
Leonard property, Tiptop	pohŋo-		vb under ʔaw·i-
nt			st. 1
near /kajeŋ·iʔ/	kale·ni-	nt	play ball, to
northeast of Nippinawasee			poho·k-
ʔaʔ·aʔna-	nt		st. 1
			play cards, to
			wyna-·h-
			s
			play dice, to
			lok·a-
			st. 1
			play football, to
			tawi·l-
			s
			wiŋo·p-
			st. 1
			play handgame, to
			hino·w
			play the flute or trumpet, t
			lul·a-
			st. 1
			playful
			ʔyl·iʔ-hHi-
			nt und
			ʔyliHʔ-ŋHe-
			vb
			plead, to
			kaji·w-
			st. 1
			please someone, to
			poh·a
			plow
			plaw-
			nt; tepyʔ-·a-
			under te·p-
			st. 1
			863
			plow, to
			te·p-
			st. 1

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

nt	tojaH- nt	praise, to	jo·j- st. 1
nt, coming to a	cujnun-aH-	pray, to	mi·sa·-nY- vb un
nt		mi·sa- nt	
nt, to	ci·ka- st. 1	pray for curing, to	kaji·w
nt with a stick, to	hiṭ-ki-	vb	
st. 1		preach, to	jej-si- st. 1 un
nted	cymkaṭi- nt	jej·a- st. 1	
son	jenpa- nt	predicative	-aH- ns 705;
son, to	jenpa·-nY- vb	ns 712; -·muH- ns 763	
son by magic, to	tujku- st. 1	predicative, evidential passi	
son oak	nykys- nt	-kuH- ns 724	
ke (tr.), to	cikm- st. 1	pregnant	mote·-·muH- nt;
ke around with a cane, to		mote·ṅe- nt	
ci·-ja- st. 1		pregnant, to be	·oce·-t- s
ker	hiciw- nt; hiciw·-a- nt;	under	·oceH- nt
hiciw·el- nt		prepare, to	·enh- st. 1
le	cyne- nt; wo·kone- nt	prepare food, to	ho·-ja-
lish, to	ṭul-ja- st. 1	present imperative	{-eH-}
llywog	·apot·ot·o- nt	431	
lona	piliwni- nt	present imperfect indicative	
nd	ta·ji- nt	ms 410	
or	·okih·-a- nt under	present perfect indicative	
st. 1	·oki·h-	ms 421	
ppy, California	puk·e- nt	pretend, to	·ema·p- st. 1
rch	po·c- nt	pretty	monac·a- nt <sup>866</sup>
		pretty (of a girl)	lun·u·-?



[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

l, to hipi'-t- st. 1; hyhy'-t-  
 st. 1  
 l hair, to ju'c- st. 1  
 l out (tr.), to hip'- st. 1;  
 lakyh-nHuk'u- vb under lak-h-  
 st. 1  
 l out stickers, to hip-la-  
 st. 1 under hip'- st. 1  
 l roots for basketry, to lu'k-  
 st. 1  
 l teeth, to hok'- st. 1; tup'-  
 st. 1  
 l up (grass, weeds), to tup-la-  
 st. 1 under tup'- st. 1  
 lish, to naj'- st. 1; te'jyl-nY-  
 vb  
 lppy cyt'ati- nt  
 lge, to calka- st. 1  
 lple (?) ciwiw-'i- nt  
 lse hune'ha- nt  
 l tit'yk- nt  
 lsh, to kut'e- st. 1  
 lsh or pull with hoe or board,  
 to tu'k- st. 1  
 CANONICAL FORMS  
 l, to wi'k- st. 1  
 liz (contains an enclitic) to

Q

quail, California hek'e'ke-  
 mym'y'ti- nt; my?'yny-Hr  
 quail, California, cry of  
 tyk'-eH-tY-ŋ V  
 quail, mountain kuj'ak-'a-  
 under kuja'k- st. 1; hujuh  
 (?) nt  
 quarrel, to ne'ja'-nY- vb  
 quartz rock ho'sokilwa- n  
 quicken (of fetus), to pija-  
 vb under pij'- st. 1  
 quiet my'ca-c'Y-n N unde  
 myca-j'- vb  
 quiet, to be jeHl-ŋHe- st.  
 je'l- st. 1; jym'y-c'- vb,  
 jyHm-ŋHe- st. 1 under jy  
 st. 1; nyt'y-c'- vb under  
 nyHt-ŋHe- st. 1  
 quiet (of surroundings), to b  
 cyHn-ŋHe- st. 1  
 quiet down (tr.), to je'l-  
 jy'm- st. 1  
 quietly, to do myca-j'- vb  
 quietly, to move jyh'y-c'-  
 will, responding to the

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

bit, jack, death-tabu form used

by CJ's grandmother

by?ca-·liH- nt

bit Spring ?epla-·liH- nt

coon patkas- nt

e, to hywa·-t-mhi- vb

etrack hywat-·a- nt under

nywa·-t- st. 1

io redjo- nt

lac·a- nt

road huju-?·YniH- nt under

uj·u- nt

nyk·a- nt

n, to nyk·a- st. 1; ?umu·c-

st. 1 JL

n cats and dogs, to

howo·ti·-nY- vb

nbow ky·jyta- nt

nstorm howo·ti- nt

se, to lile·-h- st. 1 under

li·leH- nt

se animals, to ?ypel-na<sub>2</sub>- vb

under ?ypeHl-ηHe- vb

se children, to salnu- st. 1;

?ypel-na<sub>2</sub>- vb under ?ypeHl-ηHe-

vb

takan-·a- nt; takat-

rattle, to cat·a- st. 1; ca·t-

rattlesnake law·a·ti- nt

rattlesnake rattles cata- n

raw; uncooked ?ima- nt

razor homu-·a-po- nt

reach (a time or place), to

st. 1

reach out for, to hulwa-je

vb under hulaHw-ηHe- vb

reach up to and touch, to

st. 1

read, to le·le·-nY- vb

ready, to be na?·y-c·- vb

na·?- st. 1

ready, to get mocj- st. 1;

hoj·e-poksu- vb

ready to -lVmh- vs 515;

ns 760

really (?) tyhan P

rear up (of horse), to ha

st. 1 under ha·c- st. 1

recently ?iw·i?y-meH-n N

{?i-} nt

reciprocal {-mhi-} vs 518

ns 729

CANONICAL FORMS

[\[view image\]](#)

---





ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

lect light, to	catu·k- st. 1	return (intr.), to	?eta·l- s
lect light from a distance, to		return (tr.), to	kum-nY- s
telu·-j- st. 1		under	ku·m- st. 1
lection	hyHj-ŋHe-poksu-ni-	return for a forgotten article	
nt under	hyj·- st. 1	hew·a- st. 1	
lexive	{-poksu-} vs 534;	reventive	-tHuH- ns 749
-tkuH- vs 540		rib	?ala·ka- nt
lexive, past	-poH- ns 739	ribbons	listo- nt
use a proposal of marriage or		rice	laj·is- nt; lajsij- nt;
sexual relations, to	tawli-		nt
st. 1		rich	keh?a-meH- nt under
pret, to	kuHh-ŋHe- st. 1		nt
ns	hipit·a- nt under hipi·-t-	rich, to become	keha·-t-
st. 1		under	ke·ha- nt; riko·-nY
ieve one on duty, to	hen-i-	rid of, to get	lawe·j- st. 1
st. 1		takm- st. 1	
main, to	kawi·-nY- st. 1	ride, to	cy·m- st. 1
member, to	tyly·l- st. 1	ride around, to	cym·ym·-
member what happened, to		under	cy·m- st. 1
tyny·-ŋ- st. 1		ridge	wak·ucu- nt
mind about, to	hyjy?-na- vb	rifle	niple- nt
under	hyj?y- nt	right; correct	cytyH- nt.
mind oneself, to	hyjy?-na-poksu-	right arm	caj·aH- nt CJ;
vb under	hyj?y- nt		nt CB, RW, EL
move bark, to	tol-wa- st. 1	right at	?awo·sa- nt

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

(of sun), to lit-h- st. 1  
 muk·u- nt  
 drunner hujuh·uj- (?) nt;  
 ujuj·u- nt  
 losi·jo- nt  
 r, to ?ym-ki- st. 1  
 st, to hin·a- st. 1; tys-ja-  
 st. 1  
 in, Western wit·ap- nt  
 k hawa- nt  
 k, cooking honjo- nt  
 k, decayed ciky·kyj- nt  
 k (tr.), to hik-ja- st. 1 under  
 hik-i- nt  
 ker hikaj··a- nt  
 k-shelter tempela- nt  
 (intr.), to hutul·ul·- vb;  
 ni·l- st. 1  
 l (tr.), to hutu·l- st. 1  
 l around, to jaŋlaj-nY- vb  
 under ja·ŋ- st. 1  
 l out dough, to hutu·l- st. 1  
 l over (tr.), to ma?i·l- st. 1

ling, to be hutul·uk·- vb  
 ling pin CANONICAL FORMS hutul··a- nt  
 f lil·e-m·-t·Y-?-hY· N under

rough-textured cyk·aka- nt  
 rough-textured, to be hoto·  
 st. 1  
 roughen (tr.), to cykak-na-  
 round ha?·aŋa- nt  
 round, one hokli- nt  
 round bowl pum·ulu-m·a-  
 row, to juwa·l- st. 1  
 Royal Arches cok·in·e- nt  
 rub feet back and forth on m  
 cine rock, to lit-ja- st.  
 rub on ointment, to pyha·k  
 rub on washboard, to lyŋ·a  
 rub self with hot stick for r  
 tism, to pu·k-poksu- vb  
 rug hete- <sup>f</sup> he·te- nt  
 ruin (tr.), to ?yhyk-na<sub>2</sub>- v  
 under ?yhyHk-ŋHe- vb; ?y  
 vb RW, EL under ?ysyHk-  
 vb  
 rumble, to ?ym-ki- st. 1  
 rumble (of stomach), to ko  
 st. 1

run, to hywa·-t- st. 1  
 run (of color), to cem·ku-  
 run (of road), to meno·k-  
 878

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

idle horse, to	mocuj-na <sub>1</sub> - vb	scatter (tr.), to	lum-h- st.
under	mocj- st. 1	scattered, to be	ta·paṭaṭ·-
idle blanket	hesa- nt	scissors	tihe·la- nt
iddled, to be	si·ʔa·-pa-ŋHe- vb	scold, to	naj·- st. 1
eyebush	sawha·pi- nt	scoop up food with fingers,	
remander	ʔap·an-taH- nt	hapo·-t- st. 1	
common	ko·sum- nt	scorpion	ʔet·ymti- nt
to	koj·o- nt	scrape (tr.), to	pyca·c- st.
to, burned	muh-muhja- nt	scrape off grass, to	pyt·-
to meat	hu·me·ti- nt	scrape with a stick, to	ly·-
to berry	ṭama- nt	scrape with long strokes, to	
to lick	kojum·-a- nt	wyṭa·k- st. 1	
to, to get	koHj-ŋHe- st. 1	scrape with short strokes, to	
under	koj·o- nt	wyṭ·a- st. 1	
to, to taste	kojkoj·-e- vb	scraper, deer-bone	wyṭaʔ·-
under	koj·o- nt	nt under	wyṭ·a- st. 1
to	ʔokaHh- nt	scratch (a person), to	we·-
to, all the	hika·-ma- nt	scratch oneself, to	ʔuṭ·a-p
to	wiskala- nt	vb	
to	la·ma-c·Y- nt	scrawny	ṭos·uj- nt under
to sucker, yellow-bellied		st. 1	
to	cyt·atakwila- nt	scream, to	kawo·ta·-nY- v
to	saw·ato- nt	scrub, to	lut·a- st. 1
to	hetaj·-a-po- nt	seam	pilyn·-a- nt
to	het-ja- st. 1; so·sa- nt	seat (tr.), to	ṭo·ʔ- st. 1

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hyj·i-c·- <sup>d</sup> hyj·y-c·- vb,	shake (tr.), to jyka·-t- st. 1
nyHj-ŋHe- st. 1 under hyj·- st. 1	shake dice in a box, to lol
d simi·ja- nt	st. 1
d, edible, unidentified camta-	shake dice in the hand, to
nt; tol·om- nt	cata·-t- st. 1
d from white-flowered plant	shake down out of tree, to
nak·ahi- nt	jyk·a- st. 1
k decorative material, to	shake hands, to jasy·-t-mh
nisa·p- st. 1 under his-pa- st. 1	shaker wyk·y?·-a- nt
n, to be hyj·i-c·-ŋHe- vb	shakes, to have the; to be sl
, to tiwa?·-t-poksu- vb under	jakak·ak·- vb
tiw·a- st. 1	shallow ʔalta- nt
d, to kutew-nY- vb; kutwe-	shaman tuj·uk- nt
st. 1	shampoo, to hilu·k- st. 1
se, common ʔyntʔyn-nY-?·a-	sharp-edged kyt·e- nt
nt under ʔyny·-ŋ- st. 1	sharp-pointed muckat·i- nt
tinel Dome me·ʔu·la- nt	sharpen, to hyk·a- st. 1
arate (intr.), to ʔyʔj-mhi- vb	shatter (intr.), to kap-la-m
uoia wohwoh-na- nt	vb
ve one right, to hyʔm-ŋHe-	shave oneself, to homu·c-p
vb	vb
(of sun, moon, star), to	shawl ta·polo- nt
lep-nY- st. 1, lepu·-t- st. 1	shear, to hi·k- st. 1
under lep·a- st. 1	sheep mune·kas- nt CB; p
<sup>CANONICAL FORMS</sup>	nt RW, EL
on eggs, to nep·-ŋHe- vb	shoot saw:ana- nt C.I: sa
tle to the bottom, to cun-	

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

niver, to	tyn·a- st. 1	sibling, younger than Ego	
noe (tr.), to	sapa·-t- st. 1	nt	CB
noes	sapa·to- nt	sick, to be	sike·-nY- vb
noestring	tyky?··a- nt under	sick, to be fatally	hol·o-
	ty·k- st. 1	sickness	sike·n-aH- nt u
noot, to	tyk·- st. 1		sike·-nY- vb
noot at a target, to	senta·-nY-	sift, to	pik·a- st. 1
	vb	sigh, to	huh-t-poksu- vb
noot without aiming, to	lut-h-	sights of gun	hyjeŋ··a- r
	st. 1		hyj·- st. 1
nooting-stars (flower)		silk	silki- nt
	toŋo·kon- nt	silly, to act	?yliH?-ŋHe-
nort	hul·iwi- nt; to?·ono- nt	silver	silwe- nt
nort pieces	hulwi-t·i- nt under	sinew	pasu·ka- nt
	hul·iwi- nt	sing, to	myl·i- st. 1 CB;
norten (intr.), to	cun-ja- st. 1		st. 1 CJ, RW, EL
norten (tr.), to	huliw-na- vb	single-foot, to	he·ne·no·-
	under hul·iwi- nt; tytk- st. 1	sink, to	kelp- st. 1; lepu
notgun	šatkyn- nt		under lep·a- st. 1; ly?o·
noulder	mej·elki- nt	sister, older than Ego	te
noulder blade	taw·ah- nt CJ;	sister, younger than Ego	
	taŋta?-la- nt RW, EL		nt Mrp CJ, RW, EL
nout at, to	kaweŋ-pa- vb under	sister-in-law	?olo- nt; h
	kaHw-ŋHe- st. 1		nt
nout once, to	kaHw-ŋHe- st. 1	sit, to	to?·u-c·- vb unde
nout several times, to			st. 1

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

roots for basketry, to  
 •k- st. 1; ʔo·l- st. 1  
 ny ʔos·uj- nt under ʔosj-  
 . 1  
 k, Yosemite lik·otwi- nt  
 to hylte-je·-nY- vb under  
 yHl-ŋHe- st. 1  
 t na·was- nt  
 t, dance hute- nt  
 k his·ik- nt  
 helaHk- nt  
 , to maʔta- st. 1; maʔ-ja-  
 t. 1  
 p tyje- nt  
 p, to ʔyj·e- st. 1; mojo·-t-  
 t. 1  
 p (of an arm or leg), to go to  
 an·a-pa-ksY- vb  
 p in another's bed, to  
 aŋa·-t- st. 1 under ja·ŋ- st. 1  
 p with someone, to mojo-ksY-  
 vb  
 epy, to be ʔyje·y-c·- vb  
 under ʔyj·e- st. 1  
 k liʔ·aʔa- nt under liʔ-ja-  
 t. 1

slowly, to do myca-j·- vb  
 slump down (of a person), to  
 nom·et·- vb  
 slushy (of snow), to turn  
 coHk-ŋHe- st. 1  
 small cin·ipi- <sup>f</sup> cin·imi- nt  
 cin·imi-c·Y- <sup>f</sup> cin·ipi-c·Y-  
 RW, EL, CJ, cyn·ipi-c·Y-  
 CB; cin·imi-tki- <sup>f</sup> cin·ipi-  
 nt; cinti-t·i- nt  
 small, to be cyn·ipi-ŋk- vb  
 under cin·ipi- nt  
 small, to be too hawa·-ŋ-  
 small, to cut up cinip-pa-  
 under cin·ipi- nt  
 small, to make oneself  
 cinip-na-tkuH- vb under c  
 nt  
 smallpox, to have masl- st  
 misl- st. 1  
 smash, to pak-la- st. 1; ʔy  
 st. 1  
 smell huki·s-aH- nt under  
 st. 1  
 smell (intr.), to huk-<sup>890</sup>si- st  
 smell (tr.), to huka·-j- st.



[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

ake	ʔici- nt	some; some of them	hejin
ake, garter	hum·uʔli- nt		nt
ake, gopher	hik·aʔ-jaH- nt	somebody else	hejimtoH-
ake, king	ho·tomki·la- nt;	someone or other	manaX-
	ho·toŋ-jaH- nt		N
ake, rattle	law·a·ti- nt	something	tin·y- nt
ake, water	homoʔle- nt;	son	koco- nt CJ, RW, EL
	hum·uʔli- nt		ʔaŋsi- CB
ake, western yellow-bellied		son-in-law	sal·iʔi-p·a- nt
racer	hil·u- nt		salʔi-paH- nt under salil
ap, to	koʔ·u-ŋHe- vb under	song	my·li- nt CB; ʔymt-
	ko·ʔ- st. 1		nt, ʔymy·te- nt under ʔy
ap fastener	lo·ci- nt		st. 1 CJ, RW, EL
ap off (intr.), to	taj·u-ŋHe-	soon	ʔenat P; ʔi-w·i-c·Y-
	vb		ʔi-w·i-tki-n N
reak up, to	he·ti-pa- vb;	sore (of throat), to be	ma
pete·-j- st. 1 under	pet·a- st. 1	sorrel (plant)	ʔuj-ʔujum·a
eeze, to	hati·s- st. 1	sorrel horse	lasan- nt
iff around, to	hukjaj-nY- vb	soup	posoHl- nt
	under huk-si- st. 1	sour	make·ŋ-aH- nt; mak
ore, to	na·ʔ- st. 1; naʔ·c-		nt under maHk-ŋHe- st.
	st. 1	sour, to get	maHk-ŋHe-
ort, to	husa·k- st. 1	sour, to taste	makmak·e
ort loudly, to	nota·k- st. 1		under maHk-ŋHe- st. 1
ow	ke·la- nt	sourberry	ʔama- nt

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ech, to make a	jej-si- st. 1	spurs	sipwe·la- nt RW, EL
under	jej·a- st. 1		hisepwe·la- nt CJ
echmaker	liwat-peH- nt	spy on, to	halpyp-nY- vb
under	liw·a- st. 1	square	wiklil-aH- nt
erical	ha?·ata-m·a- nt	squash (vegetable)	skwo's-
der	pok·um- nt	squash one thing, to	pakal-
der web	ty·ke-na- nt		vb under pak-la- st. 1
l, to	jol·e- st. 1	squat down, to	pu·?- st. 1
rit	pol·o-haHk- nt under		EL; puH?-ŋHe- st. 1 CB,
ool·o-	st. 1; ?ysyt·i- nt	squirm, to	mi?-wa-j·- vb
rit guardian of shaman	cukuH-		mi·?- st. 1
nt		squirrel, California grey tre	
, to	tukse- st. 1		me·we- nt
ttle	ka·leh- nt	squirrel, California grey tre	
ash, to	jolje- st. 1	noise of	kaŋ kaŋ kaŋ ka
at (tr.), to	?a·t- st. 1	squirrel, flying (?)	hoh·oho
at and clean a carcass, to		squirrel, ground	hac·i-c·Y
pu·t-	st. 1		nt under ha·c- st. 1; ticaH-
on	kuca·la- nt CJ; kuca·na-		t·icik-Hna- nt, t·icici- nt
nt	RW, EL		t·icaHh- nt; wuje-t-?ucaH-
tted	hyntyt·-a- nt under		?upuksi- nt
hynty-	nt; mo·ro- nt; pinto-jaH-	squirrel, ground, noise of t	
nt			t·ic·it
ain, to	laju·-h- st. 1	stab, to	hyl·a- st. 1
ead (a fluid, tr.), to	wak·a-	stable (N)	?yw·y?-·a- <sup>896</sup> nt u
st 1			?yw·v- st. 1

[\[view image\]](#)

---





ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

standing, to be hac'i-c'y- vb  
 under ha·c- st. 1  
 standing on four feet, to be  
 new·y-c·- vb under te·w- st. 1  
 standing on one's head, to be  
 ic·y-c·- vb  
 r cala·tu- nt  
 r, evening ty·le- nt;  
 ?os-?oslaj- nt  
 rt an activity, to hoj'oh·- vb  
 rt for (tr.), to hoja·-na<sub>1</sub>- vb  
 under ho·ja- st. 1  
 rt on, to hoja·-pa- vb under  
 ho·ja- st. 1  
 rve (intr.), to hulw- st. 1  
 rve (tr.), to huluw-na- vb  
 under hulw- st. 1  
 ic -c- ns 706; {-c·-} vs 501  
 ionary, to be hac'i-c·Y- vb  
 under ha·c- st. 1  
 y, to ?uc·u- st. 1 (irregular)

stepfather haj?i- nt  
 stepladder haty?··a- nt und  
 ha·t·- st. 1  
 stepmother ?amji-puH- nt  
 ?ami- nt  
 stepson kocje-puH- nt und  
 koko- nt  
 stick of wood hyh·y-tki- nt  
 stick onto, to jotm- st. 1;  
 st. 1  
 stick things in the ground up  
 to cip·ja- st. 1 under ci  
 st. 1  
 sticky jut·ata- nt under jut  
 st. 1  
 stiff toc·aca- nt  
 stiff, to be tocj- st. 1  
 stiff, to get tocuHj-ŋHe vb  
 tocj- st. 1; tocp- st. 1; to  
 st. 1  
 still, to keep nyHt-ŋHe- s  
 still (doing something), to be  
 ?icy-ksY- vb under {?i-}  
 still do, to kawī·-nY- st. 1  
 still that way, to be ?icy-

440

y long, to kyHt-ŋHe- st. 1

y too late at night, to

CANONICAL FORMS

majan·y-pa- vb under haja·n-

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

sockings	kalse'ta- nt	strong	tal'yl- nt
sockings, to put on	kale's-	strong (of color or drink)	
st. 1 under	kalse'ta- nt	sikem-'i- nt	
stamp down, to	tynetny'-nY- vb	strong, to become	talyHl-
stamp over, to	tew'i-ŋHe- vb	vb under	tal'yl- nt
stamp (intr.), to	haHc-ŋHe- st. 1	strum, to	sap'a- st. 1
stamp under	ha'c- st. 1	stuck in mud, to be	li'o'p-
stamp (tr.), to	ha'c- st. 1	stumble, to	huteHl-ŋHe- vb
stamp raining, to	siHl-ŋHe- st. 1	te?'a-ŋHe- vb	
stamp talking, to	jyl'y-c'- vb	stump of tree	tu?cum- nt
stamp under	je'l- st. 1	stump of tree, burnt	tucu-
stamped, to be	ha'c-ŋHe- vb	nt	
stamp under	ha'c- st. 1	stutter, to	sepus-nY- vb
store	cente'no- nt; tjente'no- nt	stye, to form a	masl- st.
store	liwa- nt; ?utne- nt under	suck at breast, to	mu's-
store	?ute'-nY- vb	suck for disease object, to	
store	kusi'na- nt; ?istu'pa- nt	koj-pa- st. 1; jymo'-t- st.	
saddle, to	kawa'jo'-nY- vb;	suck on, to	jymo'-t- st. 1
saddle	waʔa'-t- st. 1	suckerfish	hawak'ac- nt;
straight	luta'k-aH- nt, lut'ak-	nt	
straight under	luta'k- st. 1	suckle, to	mus-nY- st. 1
straight, to make or go	luta'k-	mu's- st. 1	
straight	st. 1	suffer, to	tiwlaj-nY- vb
straighten up (intr.), to	lut'ak'-	sugar	cujcuj-hHi- nt Mrp
straighten up	vb under	?asu'ka- nt RW, EL <sup>902</sup>	
straighten up	luta'k- st. 1	suit, to	hy?m- st. 1
straighten up	ho'he-? petan-hi'-me-?		

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

per, to eat	sapa·-nY- vb	take along (a person), to	?
face	nykha- nt	st. 1 under	?oci- nt
pass, to	kujt- st. 1	take apart, to	hok-la- st. 1
prised, to be	je·hin-nY- vb	hok·- st. 1	
rive an illness, to	kyl·iji-ksY-	take away from, to	nawṭ-
rb		take back, to	ku·m- st. 1
vivor	?eleg-kuH- nt under	take care of, to	?oko·j- st.
el·- st. 1		take in (a person), to	wele
penders	kanwiš?i- nt	st. 1	
allow, to	my?ṭ- st. 1	take off (clothes), to	hok-l
mp	lo·ha- nt	st. 1 under	hok·- st. 1
ater	swe·ta- nt	take off (tr.), to	hok·e- st.
athouse	capy- nt	take out of (tr.), to	wit·- s
ep, to	la·w- st. 1	take shelter, to	hu·l- st. 1
et	cujcuj-hHi- nt, kuj·eṅ-hHi-	take turns playing, to	hen?
nt under	cuHj-ṅHe- st. 1	vb under	hen·i- st. 1
et thing	cuje·ṅ-aH- nt,	take up, to	ṭeku·l- st. 1
cujcuju-	nt under cuHj-ṅHe-	talk, to	kacy-ksY- vb unde
st. 1		st. 1; liw·a-	st. 1
et, to get	cuHj-ṅHe- st. 1	talk to, to	liwa·-nY- vb un
et, to taste	cujcuj··e- vb	liw·a-	st. 1
under	cuHj-ṅHe- st. 1	tall	wila·toH- nt; wil·at-hH
etheart	liṅa- nt	tame	?ol·ok- nt
etshrub	hok-hokot- nt	tan	tilil··i- nt
ll up, to	makt- st. 1; ṭehj-	tanager, Western	hak·ah·ak
st. 1		tanpla, to	habial st. 1

[\[view image\]](#)

---





THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

wild hoj·ol- nt; pe·hep·e-ha-  
 nt  
 such, to natyh-na<sub>2</sub>- vb under  
 nath- st. 1; sok-pa- st. 1  
 ur, easy to sak·ele- nt under  
 sa·k- st. 1  
 ur, to sa·k- st. 1  
 ur off, to tok-la- st. 1  
 urs ci·wel- nt  
 use, to hiṭ-wa- st. 1; mehe·-nY-  
 vb; tiki·c- st. 1; ?okhe·-nY- vb  
 the, to kyty·-t- st. 1  
 l a story, to was-nY- st. 1  
 l if, to be able to nenu·-t-  
 st. 1  
 l me if waca· P  
 l news, to kojo·w- st. 1  
 l stories at night, to  
 ?use·-nY- vb CJ; ?ute·-nY- vb  
 CB  
 l the truth, to nym·a- st. 1  
 l to, to kojo·-nY- vb  
 mporal -n cs 323; -taH- ns

N; ?i-ni-t·Y-t-∅ N  
 that kind ?i-pHuṭe- nt  
 that one ?i-ni- nt; ?it·e-  
 that one, to choose ?i-c-  
 that way, to be ?i-pu-ksY  
 that way, to do it ?i-puHṭ  
 that way, to turn ?im·yt-v  
 vb under {?i-} nt  
 that's all ?okaHh-tki-? N  
 that's it ?epn-a· V  
 then ?i-taH-n N  
 thick lew·ap- nt  
 thick (in consistency) lew  
 nt under lewe·-h- st. 1  
 thick (in consistency), to ge  
 lewe·-h- st. 1  
 thief jelje-paH- nt, jel·ej  
 nt, jel·ej·e- nt under jel  
 st. 1  
 thief, sneak pom-pomjo-  
 under pom-ki- st. 1  
 thigh tuṭ·u- nt  
 thimble tita·l-aH- nt  
 thin tat·apa- nt; ṭasyw-m  
 under ṭasw- st. 1 <sup>908</sup>

743

na?a·ca- nt <sup>CANONICAL FORMS</sup>  
 na?ac-nY- vb under

thin (of liquid) ses·i- nt;

[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

rd person plural	-koH- ∞ -ko-	throw underhand, to	ko's-
∞ -k'o- ps	311; -p'u· ps	thrown down, to be	hu?'u-
rd person plural independent		thumb	?eṭ'em-taH- nt
pronoun	?is'ak-koH- nt	thump, to	ṭom'a- st. 1 CJ;
rd person singular	-hY· ps		st. 1 CB
311; -· ps	311; -∅- ps	thunder	tim'ele-·li- nt
rd person singular independent		thunder, to	time'l- st. 1
pronoun	?is'ak- nt	Thursday	?ojsi-paH- nt u
rds, to cut in	tolok-wi-j'- vb		?ojis'a- nt
under	tolo'koṭ- nt	tickle, to	hiṭ-wa- st. 1; ?y
rst	ṭakyHp- nt under ṭakp-		st. 1
st. 1		tickle on sole of foot (tr.),	
rst, to	ṭakp- st. 1		?yci'l- st. 1
rteen	na?a'ca-? tolo'koṭ-?YniH-?	tick, wood	hu'ti- nt
NE		tie, to	ty·j- st. 1
rty	tolo'jak-∅ na?a'ca-? NE	tie a knot, to	huti'l- st. 1
s (demonstrative stem)	{neH-}	tie up, to	tyja'n- st. 1; ho
ns	651		st. 1
s way	neH-m'-t·Y-t-∅ N;	tied in (cradle), to be	tyj
?yky-t·Y-t-∅ N		vb under	ty·j- st. 1
s way, to be	ne-pu-ksY- vb	tight, to be	hycaHt-ṅHe-
under {neH-}	nt	tight, to make	hušta- st.
s way, to do	ne-puHṭ- st. 1	tilt (intr.), to	cej'uṭ- vb
under {neH-}	nt	timid	musa?-meH- nt unc
<small>CANONICAL FORMS</small>			911
s way, to turn	nem'yt-wi-j'-		mus'a- st. 1

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

l	ʔol·ocoʔ-ma- nt	transitional	-h- vs 502
l, horned	cotpo·po- nt	transitive	{-nY-} vs 521
l	ccco tawa·ko- nt	trap	ʔo·ŋe- nt
l	ccco, wild ka·hy- nt	trap, to	tet-nY- st. 1; ʔoHŋ
l	ther naʔ·y-c- nt; keŋ·eH-t-∅		st. 1 under ʔo·ŋe- nt
l	ato tama·tis- nt; tuma·te- nt	trash	peʔaŋ-hi·-me- nt und
l	orrow hoje·-no-n N		peʔ·a- st. 1
l	gs for fire talap··a- nt	tree	la·ma- nt
l	gue nep·it- nt	tree-sponge	jeska- nt
l	late maŋ··e-j N under ma·ŋ-	tremble, to	jutut·ut·- vb
l	st. 1	trick, to	ʔema·p- st. 1
l	lazy to bother, to be	trigger	hipit··a- nt under
l	anaHt-ŋHe- vb		st. 1
l	many to count hehaš··a- nt	trim (tr.), to	ty·t- st. 1
l	h kyt·y- nt	trip (tr.), to	caw·a- st. 1
l	lil·e-m-ʔucaH- nt	trot, to	tuʔ·a- st. 1 RW; cu
l	of head tuktuj- nt		st. 1 CJ
l	not of quail cup·al-iH- nt	trot habitually (of horse), to	cuʔcuʔ·- vb under cuʔ·a-
l	le over, to hol·e-ŋHe- vb	trout	lapi·s-aj- nt
l	le over edge, to woʔcipl- vb	trumpet	lul·a- nt
l	sak··u-maH- nt under sa·k-	trunk (luggage)	wawle- nt
l	st. 1	try, to	men·a- st. 1; tyha·n
l	illa tolti·ja- nt	try to get, to	ceci·w- st. 1
l	h, to haj·e- st. 1; te·ŋ- st. 1	try to go or stay with (a per	914
l	h lightly to ha·ie- st. 1	to	ceci·w-poksu- vb



[\[view image\]](#)

---



ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

n off (light), to	mal'- st. 1	uncle (mother's brother)	1
n over (intr.), to	pyt'al'- vb	nt	
under	pyta'l- st. 1; ?im'yt-wi-j'-	underpants	kalso- nt
vb under {?i-}	nt	underside	?al'a- nt
n that way, to	?im'yt-wi-j'-	understand, to	?al'- st. 1
vb under {?i-}	nt	understand a language, to	
n up (tr.), to	teku'l- st. 1	st. 1	
tle	?aw'anta- nt	undo, to	hok'- st. 1
elve	na?a'ca-? ?o?iH-?·YniH-?	unfenced	hok-'u-maH- nt
NE		hok'- st. 1	
enty	?o?i'-jak-∅ na?a'ca-? NE	unfold (tr.), to	me'?- st. 1
enty-six	?o?i'-jak-∅ na?a'ca-?	unmarried	?eleg-kuH- nt
tem'oka-?·YniH-?	NE	?el'- st. 1	
ce, to be or do	?o?ki-'pa- vb	unobstructed	?aw'e- nt
under	?o?iH- nt	unripe	?ima-'muH- nt
n twin- nt; ?o?ki-lVHp- nt,		untidy hair	hoh'ili-m'a- n
?o?iH-kene-'pa- nt under	?o?iH-	hohi'l- st. 1	
nt		until	nake- nt
nge	sik'e-paH- nt under	up	li'leH- nt
sike-'nY- vb		up to (a point), to be	nak'
st, to	pa?i'w- st. 1	vb under	na'k- st. 1
st (of water, intr.), to	?awi'c-	uphill	neH-wi-n N; we'pa-
st. 1		?etym-'a- nt under	?ety'
st string, to	pi'm- st. 1	uprights of dance house	c
atch (of eyelid), to	cypyp'yp'-	upriver	neH-wi-n N; newi
vb		N under {neH-}	nt

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

vet tim'il- nt	walk, to wy'n- st. 1
balizer -j- vs 503; -ŋk- vs	walk around, to wyn-ka-j-n
531	vb CB, wyn'y-c'- vb CJ u
nal Falls pajwajak- nt	wy'n- st. 1
y sikej P	walking stick hi'jaH- nt
y, to be toko'ʔ- st. 1; ʔona'c-	wallet hune'ha-tki- nt
st. 1	want, to hejaHw-ŋHe- vb
t ʔalma-to- nt	war, to make topi'-j- st. 1
age locations	warm ʔome'ŋ-aH- nt under
Acorn Inn, junction of High-	ʔom-ja- st. 1
way 140 and Triangle Road	warm (of weather), to be
pytwyʔhi- nt	ʔomʔom-'e- vb under ʔom-
Clark's Mill, Darah, on Tri-	st. 1
angle Road palpalja- nt	warm, to get ʔoHm-ŋHe- s
spring south of Indian Peak	under ʔom-ja- st. 1
cihci- nt	warm up, to haca'ʔ- st. 1;
tween Grub Gulch and Raymond	ʔom-ja- st. 1
now'oc- nt	warm self beside fire, to
resno Flat hicwe'ta- nt	st. 1
ble properties -'i- ns 761	wart sen'e- nt
t, to pasjal-nY- vb; wynm-	wash (tr.), to; to wash away
st. 1	hek'a- st. 1
ting, to go wyn-si- st. 1	wash clothes, to kusa'-nY-
under wy'n- st. 1	wash one's face, to mula'k
CANONICAL FORMS	920
tor wyn'is-ma- nt under	vb

[\[view image\]](#)

---





ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

ch out for one, to	hajak'- vb	wheat	tili·ko- nt
er	kik·y- nt	wheel	hiw·itkil·a- nt
er, to get into	com·u-ŋHe- vb	when?	micyk-na <sub>2</sub> -∅-?-hY·
er moiety	kiky?-·a- nt		mi-taH- nt
	kik·y- nt	where?	mi-n·i- nt
er up to the waist, to be in		whetstone	hyka?-·a- nt
	com?u-mh- vb		hyk·a- st. 1
	under com·u-ŋHe-	which?	mini-nHi-paH- nt
	vb		mi- nt
erfall	co·lak- nt	which way?	mini-t·Y-t-∅
ermelon	santija- nt		mi- nt
ertight	pokal-meH- nt		
ve (tr.), to	jasy'-t- st. 1	while, every once in a	ha
ves in water	topju-le·-nY- vb		N under haj·e- nt
wona	pala?can- nt	while, for a	cyn·ipi-j N u
y	wy?y?-·a- nt		cin·ipi- nt; haj·e-m·-j N,
ak; fragile	hen·ana- nt		haj·e-to-j N, haje·-to-j N
ak from hunger, to be	?ewj-		haj·e- nt
	st. 1	whine, to	nocuH- st. 1 (ir)
ar clothes, to	wi·k-poksu- vb		440
ar out, to	typ-h- st. 1	whip	sata- nt
ave, to	cyly·l- st. 1; cy·l- st. 1	whip, to	sat-pu- st. 1
ednesday	tolko-paH- nt	whirl around and around, to	
	under		syjil·il·- vb
	tolo·kot·- nt		
ek	sima·na- nt	whirlwind	po·juc- nt
	CANONICAL FORMS		923
ep, to	ciwe·l- st. 1	whiskey	wiski- nt

[\[view image\]](#)

---



THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

wik- nt	wish bad luck, to	?uhe·j- st.
ʔap·a·le- nt under ʔa·p-	withered, to be	hoHw-ŋHe- (
l; wala- nt; wil·a- nt	how·a-ŋHe- (?) vb	
eyed, to sit lyn·yʔy-ksY-	without	?ew·aH- nt
	wolf	?o·nup- nt
wiky·-meH- nt; ?ewhut·u-	woman	?oh·a- nt
?ew·yh·utu- nt under	wood	hyh·y- nt
wyHh-ŋHe- vb	woodpecker	cyt·atakwila- nt;
ver ?eleŋ-meH- nt under	pakpak- nt; palaʔ·aʔa- nt	
l- st. 1	woodpecker, cry of	kwa·k kw
?oh·a- nt	wool	poli·ka- nt
brother's wife henu·lu-	word	liwa- nt
	work	tawa·hal- <sup>d</sup> tawa·han-
sister's husband	work, to	tawhal-nY- vb RW;
ŋ?e-paH- nt	tawhan-nY- vb CJ; tawhan·e	
e, to sul·uj-h- vb	vb CB	
hale·?-aH- nt under hal·e-	worm	wikwi- nt
sy?·yl- nt	worms in stagnant water	?a
at tol·om·a- nt	nt	
hal·e- nt	worn out, to be	takmu-met·-
l-the-wisp ?y·li- nt	worried, easily	jol·oŋo-m·a-
w, large sikiHl- nt	worried, to be	joloHm-ŋHe-
CANONICAL FORMS	wound	tep·u-maH- nt under
w, small, used for making		

[\[view image\]](#)

---



## ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

, to syk- st. l  
 ng syk-·a- nt under syk-  
 l  
 g kati?-·a- nt under kat·i-  
 l  
 ia ho·nok·ilwa- nt

### Y

of house wyn·y-c'-·?·a- nt  
 der wy·n- st. l  
 ja·ny- nt  
 w, western kamja- nt  
 to haw-h- st. l  
 hel·ak- nt; ?anjo- nt;  
 muc-aH- nt under ?umcu-  
 l  
 repeatedly, to jal·al-nY- vb  
 w pukuk-·i- nt under puk·e-  
 ciwiw-·i- nt (?)  
 w-brown taṭaṭ-·i- nt  
 whammer tiw-·aj- nt  
 wjacket melṇaj- nt  
 hy·?y· P  
 rday ?yme·ci- nt

CANONICAL FORMS

(person language)

young, to become sali·-t- st  
 sal·i?i·-nY- vb under saliH  
 youth; young man saliH- nt

### Z

zipper lucuc-·a- nt

### Numerals

one keṇ·eH- nt  
 two ?oṭiH- nt; ?oṭiH-ko- nt  
 three tolo·koṭ- nt  
 four ?ojis·a- nt  
 five mah·oka- nt  
 six tem·oka- nt  
 seven tiṭ·aw·a- nt  
 eight kaw·inta- nt  
 nine ?el·iwa- nt CJ; ?el·ewa

### CB

ten na?a·ca- nt  
 eleven na?a·ca-? keṇ·eH-?·Y  
 NE  
 twelve na?a·ca-? ?oṭiH-?·Yni  
 thirteen na?a·ca-? tolo·koṭ-?

### NE

[\[view image\]](#)

---

[http://www.yosemite.ca.us/library/southern\\_sierra\\_miwok\\_language/](http://www.yosemite.ca.us/library/southern_sierra_miwok_language/)

