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

Sylvia M. Broadbent
none
## Table of Contents

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

- About the Author ................................................................. 2
- Bibliographical Information .................................................. 3

**THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE**

- CONTENTS ................................................................. 5
- GRAMMAR ............................................................. 6
- TEXTS ............................................................................. 7
- DICTIONARY .......................................................... 8
- INTRODUCTION ........................................................ 8
- BIBLIOGRAPHY .......................................................... 11
- SIGNS AND SYMBOLS .................................................. 12

**TEXTS** ........................................................................ 387

- PLATES ................................................................. 519
- DICTIONARY .......................................................... 527
- ABBREVIATIONS ...................................................... 528
- ALPHABETIC ORDER ................................................ 528
- CANONICAL FORMS .................................................. 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 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. ?ywel•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)
- 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)
- 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)
- Ľ (pages 277, 278, 279, 280, 281)
- W (pages 281, 282, 283, 284, 285)
- (page 297)
- H (page 297)
- X (page 297)
- Ő (page 297)

- Canonical Forms (page 298)

About the Author
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.]

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Reviews:

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.

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—Dan Anderson, www.yosemite.ca.us
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

BY
SYLVIA M. BROADBENT

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To
Mary R. Haas

with affection,
estee, and gratitude

CONTENTS

Introduction 1
Bibliography 6
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Signs and symbols</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAMMAR</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1: Phonology</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110. Consonantal system</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120. Vocalic system</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130. Distribution</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140. Syllable canon and stress</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150. Intonation and juncture</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160. Phonological definition of the word</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170. Morphophonemics</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180. Consonantal alternation</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: Introduction to Morphemics</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210. Morphemic definition of the word</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220. Root and suffix</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230. Root, stem, base, and theme</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240. Final suffixes</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250. Nominal and verbal themes</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260. Stem forms</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270. Suffix classes</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>280. Postfixes</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>290. Particles</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: Final Suffixes</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300. Introduction</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310. Personal pronominal suffixes</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>320. Case suffixes</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321. Nominative</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322. Accusative</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323. Temporal</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>324. Vocative</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>325. Genitive</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326. Ablative</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>327. Allative</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>328. Locative</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>329. Instrumental</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4: Verbal Themes</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400. Introduction</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>410. Present imperfect verbal themes</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>420. Present perfect verbal themes</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>430. Present imperative verbal themes</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>440. Irregular verbal bases</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>450. Transitive verbal bases</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5: Verbal Suffixes 64
  500. Introduction 64
  501-547. Verbal suffixes 66
Chapter 6: Nominal Themes 89
  600. Introduction 89
  610. Classes of nominal themes 90
  620. Monomorphemic nominal themes 91
  630. Polymorphemic nominal themes 92
  640. Independent personal pronouns 92
  650. Demonstrative roots 94
Chapter 7: Nominal Suffixes 96
  700. Introduction 96
  701-772. Nominal suffixes 97
Chapter 8: Postfixes 125
  800. Introduction 125
  801-816. Postfixes 125
Chapter 9: Syntax 130
  900. Introduction 130
  910. Syntactic substitution classes 130
  920. Immediate constituency 136
  930. Sentence types 138

TEXTS

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

Plates 211
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
   
   la. Southern Sierra
   lb. Central Sierra
   lc. Northern Sierra

2. Plains
3. Saclan

B. Western Division

1. Coast
   
   la. Bodega
   lb. 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 /hıcwɛ•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
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)
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 reconnaisances 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.
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.

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Freeland, L. S.


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


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


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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.


Merriam, C. Hart


**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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
<th>Variabl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops and fricative</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ð</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spirants</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>(s)</td>
<td>ŝ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semivowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The following consonantal phonemes occur only in loan words, principally those of English origin: /b, d, g, f, j, r/. Their phonetic form is essentially the same as in the local dialect of English, and noallophonic variation 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, 1941). Apart from recent borrowings, Southern Sierra has one phoneme /j/ that is not otherwise attested.

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

presented phonetically as [k], 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 positions, initial, medial, final, and in clusters. /ʔ/ is glottal stop of articulation.

In utterance-initial position, the stops are voiceless and unaspirated; to the extent that they rarely sound voiced to the listener's ear. They have this form in most consonant clusters, though followed by length /j/, the occlusion is maintained for about as long as for a single stop. This statement includes /cː/, which phonetically [t̪ʃ̪]. 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 other 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 phoneme is little different in this position, and they are best treated individually.

/ is [p] - [b] - [β]; the variation appears to be free (/sy[p]e/ 'mountain mahogany'), although in certain forms only the voiceless one (/c'[p]y/ 'sweathouse'), while the voiced spirant occurs only rarely. For /t/, no particular variation has been noted. /t/ f [d] f [r], the last representing a flap r. /c/ occurs as [ʃ̪], in addition to the positional variation mentioned above, may
PHONOLOGY

The phone [ʂ] 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 John, who lived in Yosemite for several years as a young man, accepted terms as characteristic of Yosemite speech. Other informants, however, said that they did not represent Yosemite or any other Southern dialect, saying that the alveolar spirant was a Central Sierra feature. Only one Leene claimed to speak the Yosemite dialect; other informants regarded their memory of the speech of undisputed Yosemite individuals as ceased. If this variable phone was present in Southern Sierra, it occurred only in the Yosemite dialect, and its presence there is borne out 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 nature of its occurrence. Since /h/ is clearly phonemic in all dialects, the existence of /ʂ/ could only be determined when the alveolar was occurred. The only possible conditioning factor was extralinguistic, relative sobriety of the informant. Moreover, it is impossible at present to determine whether the variation in Chief Leene's idiolect was a dialect mixture—that is, he sometimes said the Yosemite form and sometimes that used in the vicinity of Bootjack—or whether such variation is actually characteristic of this phono in Yosemite speech, or if
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

\[\text{/wy\'ski?/} \quad \text{'heart'}
\]
\[\text{/\textasciitilde{a}se\'li?/} \quad \text{'coyote'}
\]
\[\text{/\textasciitilde{os}\'a?/} \quad \text{'woman, wife'}
\]
\[\text{/\textasciitilde{s}ala?/} \quad \text{'feather'}
\]
\[\text{/\textasciitilde{si}l\'o?/} \quad \text{'handgame counting bones'}
\]
\[\text{/\textasciitilde{so}ko\'s\'a?/} \quad \text{'cocoon rattle'}
\]
\[\text{/\textasciitilde{so}so\'loju?/} \quad \text{'nettle'}
\]
\[\text{/\textasciitilde{s}y/-} \quad \text{'past tense'}
\]
\[\text{/\textasciitilde{s}ut\'e?/} \quad \text{'dance skirt'}
\]
\[\text{/\textasciitilde{s}u\'le\'sy?/} \quad \text{'corpse'}
\]
\[\text{/\textasciitilde{s}u\'sumi?/} \quad \text{'owl'}
\]
\[\text{/\textasciitilde{s}y\'sy?/} \quad \text{'wood'}
\]

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

/s/ 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 may be grouped together as voiced continuants. They exhibit no allophony, except for /\textasciitilde{a}/. They may be characterized as follows: /\textasciitilde{a}/, voiced bilabial nasal; /\textasciitilde{n}/, voiced alveolar nasal; /\textasciitilde{\eta}/, voiced velar nasal; and /\textasciitilde{l}/, voiced alveolar lateral. /\textasciitilde{w}/ and /\textasciitilde{j}/ represent the vowels of Southern Sierra, back rounded and front unrounded respectively. /\textasciitilde{\v}/ is simply a continuation of the preceding vowel or consonant, whatever its allophonic quality. As noted previously (section 111),
The vowel system of Southern Sierra is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

There is a striking similarity of allophonic pattern between /i/ and /e/. Both are highest before /本身的/ , [I ] and [u ] respectively. /i/ is highest, approximately [I ] , before /ʰ/ and /k/ ; /u/ is lowest before /本身的/ , approximately [U ] . Elsewhere, both are intermediate, [I ] and [u ] respectively. Likewise, /e/ and /o/ show similarity of pattern which are highest before /本身的/ , [E ] and [o ] respectively; /o/ is also higher before /w/ and /j/ , while /e/ is a little lower before /j/ : [E ] . Additionally, /y/ falls more or less into the pattern of /i/ and /u/ : highest [I ] before /本身的/ , lowest [a ] after /本身的/ , approximately [a ] elsewhere.
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

All consonants except /ŋ/ and /ɾ/ occur in initial position. All occur intervocalically in medial position. All except /š/, the rarest of the consonants, have been found in final position. Every consonant except /ɾ/ occurs in either first or second position in medial clusters, although not all possible combinations have been found (see table 3). /tʃ/ and /tʃ/ are particularly rare in clusters, but they are in any case relatively infrequent. Some gaps in the table—for instance, /ttʃ/—may be significant since such clusters are likely to have been removed by assimilation although no clear instances of assimilation have been found and /ttʃ/ has not occurred. 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/, /u/, or /y/, or after /a/, /e/, or /y/. In view of the rarity of this phonant, 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 clusters (/kol'ojl/ '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
PHONOLOGY

: consonant is /ː/, 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 sec-
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 inter-
ote that this is exactly where informants made syllable division when I was being excessively dense as to the proper pronunciation. Particular form, the informant would say it very slowly, separating syllables and enunciating each one with great care. When he did separate the members of consonant clusters. Clusters of consonants length were then expressed as two homophones, separately and 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 into any particular patterns. Sequences of up to five long syllables have been found, including forms containing no short syllables (\textit{np-y-lek/ 'your thinking, then'}). Long sequences of short syllables are rarer. Long syllables are much more frequent in connected di-
are short syllables; in a ten-line sample of text in which they counted, there were almost exactly twice as many long as short sy-
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

In connected discourse, the intonation pattern becomes much more complicated. A sentence starts on a moderately high pitch, rises further higher, and then falls gradually to a rather low pitch at the end of the sentence. The 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 / ; /, / /, / /, / . /, / ; /, / , / , / . 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. 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 more abrupt than the gradual lowering of overall pitch that indicates a word 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 a 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, since the end of one word establishes the beginning of the next one.
PHONOLOGY

which applies to all morphemes, or allomorphs, of suitable morphemic shape. This definition makes it possible to formulate a set of
rules to cover certain patterns of alternation which are observable throughout the language, and which can be described conveniently in
space. These rules are of signal importance to the understanding of the
Southern Sierra structure, since they operate with great frequency.

171. When identical consonants are juxtaposed, the cluster is
phonetically /C·/. For instance, || neH-|| 'demonstrative stem, "here"
(see section 173) followed by || -?|| 'nominative case' followed by
a suffix (see section 280), meaning unknown' (|| neH-?-?ok||) is phonetically /neʔ·ok/ 'this one.'

172. The morphophonemic sequence || ij|| is phonemically /i·/. For
instance, || hal-ki-|| 'to hunt' followed by || -j-|| 'future' followed by
a suffix, || 'first person singular Series 2 pronominal suffix' followed by
?|| 'nominative case' (|| hal-ki-j-te-?||) is phonemically /halki·te·shall hunt.'

173. The morphophoneme || H|| is phonemically /·/ ~ /∅/. It is
under the following circumstances: (1) when followed by one conso-
nant followed by any type of juncture; or (2) when followed or preceded
by consonant cluster, except when a morpheme ending || VH|| is followed
by the beginning || CH||, in which case /V·C/ is found. Otherwise, it is,
for example, || hikaHh-|| 'deer' followed by || -∅|| 'nominative case'
phonemically /hikah/ 'deer, nominative case'; || hikaHh-|| followed by
|| Hs-|| 'instrumental case' followed by || Y|| (see section 176) followed by
-?|| 'nominative case' is /hikahsyʔ/ 'by means of deer'; || hikah
followed by || Y|| followed by || -?|| 'nominative case' is /hikahsyʔ/ 'by means of deer'.

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

38
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

fixes as a function of the preceding morpheme, which is simpler to
gup allomorphs for each of the pronominal suffixes. For example,
chase' followed by \(-koX-\) 'imperative' followed by \(-mah\-i\-\) 'he
plural exclusive, Series 4' is /\-enpukom\-ah\-i/ 'let's chase him!'
icyk-\) 'to do what?' followed by \(-na-\) 'benefactive' followed by
finite' followed by \(-te\..hY\-\) 'third person singular to first per-
ar double pronominal suffix. Series 1' (see section 310) and \(-j\)
the case' is /mickyna\-at\-ejhy/ 'what he does to me.'

175. The morphophoneme \(Y\) is phonemically /y/ - /u/ - /o/
cordance with the quality of the preceding vowel, as follows: (1)
preceding syllable contains /u/, \(Y\) is /u/; (2) where /o/ is
vowel of the preceding syllable, \(Y\) is /u/ \(f\) /o/, while \(Y\) is
elsewhere, \(Y\) appears as /y/. For example, \(cukuH-\) 'dog
ed by \(-?\) 'nominative case' followed by \(-hY\-\) 'third person.
Series 1 pronominal suffix' (\(cukuH-?\-hY\)) is phonemically /d
dog'; \(hu\-ki\-) 'tail' followed by \(-\?) followed by \(-hY\) (\(hu\-k\-
/hu\-ki\-\hy/ 'his tail'; \(ho\-con\-) 'leg' followed by \(Y\) (see sec-
(1) followed by \(-\?) followed by \(-hY\) (\(ho\-con\-?\-hY\)) is
\(conu\-hu\) \(f\) /ho\-cono\-hu/ 'his leg.'

176. The morphophoneme \(Y\) (see section 175) occurs at the
me boundary—i.e., between two morphemes—when: (1) a morph
ning in one or more consonants is followed either by a morph
sisting of one consonant followed by juncture, or by a morph
ning with two consonants (except for the cluster \(CH\)); (2) a mor-
me ending in two consonants (except for the cluster \(HC\)) is
PHONOLOGY

Significance. This alternation involves /s/ and /c/: /s/ is found in genitive or "normal-size" form, and /c/ in the diminutive form. In few cases of this alternation have been found, but one pair of diminutives is of common occurrence, and another involves a loan-word from English. Where the alternation does not carry diminutive—augmentative significance, no difference in meaning can be detected between the diminutive forms. For example, compare ||'esel·y-|| 'child' and ||'e·ca·rar'; ||pu·si-|| 'cat' and ||pu·ci-|| 'kitty' (English "pussy"); and the diminutives ||mus·a-|| ~ ||muc·a-|| 'to be ashamed.'
### Table 1. Consonantal Allophony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic Environments</th>
<th>/V...V/</th>
<th>/...#/</th>
<th>/#.../</th>
<th>/...-/-</th>
<th>else</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>ṭ̣ = f ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ̣ =</td>
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</table>

| /Ṿ̣...a, Ṿ̣...o, a...V, o...V | ḳ̣̣ | f̣̣̣ | ṿ̣̣ |
Table 2. Vocalic Allophony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environments</th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
<th>/y/</th>
<th>/e/</th>
<th>/o/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>E</td>
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<td>u</td>
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<td>/...k/</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>u`</td>
<td>ə`</td>
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<td>u`</td>
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<tr>
<td>/...ʔ/</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>ə`</td>
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<td>ə`</td>
<td>a`</td>
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<td>/...h/</td>
<td>I`</td>
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<td>a`</td>
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<td>/...w/</td>
<td>I`</td>
<td>u`</td>
<td>ə`</td>
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<td>a`</td>
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<td>I`</td>
<td>u`</td>
<td>ə`</td>
<td>E`</td>
<td>ə`</td>
<td>a`</td>
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<td>u`</td>
<td>ə`</td>
<td>e`</td>
<td>ə`</td>
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Table 3. Distribution of Consonants
(see list of examples)

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SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

50
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

PHONOLOGY

Table 3: Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>pice'ma'</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tal·yl</td>
<td>'strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţoţku·</td>
<td>'to braid hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan·i?</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?o·pa?</td>
<td>'cloud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cakac</td>
<td>'donkey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sy′yl</td>
<td>'wild'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šolka·</td>
<td>'to flow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hikah</td>
<td>'deer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamlα'</td>
<td>'blackberry'</td>
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<tr>
<td>naŋ·a?</td>
<td>'man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law·a·ti?</td>
<td>'rattlesnake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wyhki?</td>
<td>'heart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaw·e?</td>
<td>'bow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capa·ha?</td>
<td>'white fir'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cyty?</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha?·aţa?</td>
<td>'round'</td>
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<td>'donkey'</td>
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<tr>
<td>hi'oe·ma?</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pice·ma?</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hasu'lu·</td>
<td>'to ask'</td>
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<tr>
<td>hišen·a⁴</td>
<td>'ugly'</td>
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<tr>
<td>boho·loj</td>
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<tr>
<td>hasυ·yn</td>
<td>'abalone shell'</td>
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<tr>
<td>kan·yŋ</td>
<td>'my'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ci·wel</td>
<td>'tears'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wykzy·</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiciw</td>
<td>'poker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoŋ·oj</td>
<td>'knee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sutpa·</td>
<td>'to shrivel up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?iŋpuṯuŋ·u·</td>
<td>'to keep on it that way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takpy·</td>
<td>'to be thirsty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>'middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>micpa·</td>
<td>'to camp'</td>
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<tr>
<td>hispa·</td>
<td>'to decorate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tošpu·</td>
<td>'to get stiff'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ytyhpα·</td>
<td>'to make one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sympy·</td>
<td>'to close one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponpu·</td>
<td>'to get dusk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawŋpa·</td>
<td>'to shout at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halpa·</td>
<td>'to find'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?o·pa?</td>
<td>'cloud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kojowpe?</td>
<td>'news-teller'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>najpa·</td>
<td>'to partly cover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jupti?</td>
<td>'rabbitskin blanket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Word</td>
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<tr>
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<td>?ohtaj?a?</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>118. ?u?cu?</td>
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<td>119. cikiwci?</td>
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<td>120. hojcipa?</td>
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<td>123. wyksy?</td>
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<td>124. hy?se?</td>
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<td>125. joci?</td>
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<td>126. lakysiko?</td>
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<td>128. hensi?</td>
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<td>130. kalse?ta?</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>132. kiwsa?</td>
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<td>134. hakypša?</td>
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<td>135. ?yphy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>136. lity?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>137. hathata?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PHONOLOGY

189. kalaŋaŋ 'to dance'
190. hejawne 'to want'
191. hakajne 'to be hungry'
192. tapla 'board'
193. sitli 'to sprinkle'
194. košla 'to break it up'
195. hokli 'a round'
196. humu'li 'garter snake'
197. masly 'to form a style'
198. haslujnu 'he wants to'
199. puhlejny 'he wants to'
200. mamla 'blackberry'
201. cunlejny 'it's about to
up'

202. laŋlan 'goose'
203. co'läk 'waterfall'
204. wawle 'trunk'
205. ?awlajny 'he wants to
out'
206. hulep'a 'whistle'
207. catat'a 'dice'
208. haš'e 'foot'
209. cak'a 'acorn cache'
210. haš'aţa 'round'
211. ?uc'u 'to stay'
212. has'yın 'abalone shell'
213. biša 'bead'

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

1. potokme? 'gray hair'
2. hy' my? 'to suit; it would be
good if . . .'
3. lacmy?i? 'chop it!'
4. tykysme? 'pockmark'
5. wišmi? 'washout'
6. ypyhme? 'baptized'
7. sikenme? 'invalid'
8. eleŋme? 'widower'
9. ypelme? 'grown'
10. cy'my? 'to ride'
11. hol'awmeti? 'caves'
12. liwaksyjme? 'we shall talk'
13. heneplna? 'to bake'
14. tytni? 'to patch'
15. hakytna? 'Equisetum, Western
scouring-brush'
16. ?oklon 'to tame'
17. lo?ni? 'to join together'
18. lacny 'to chop'
19. kiwisnu 'to boil'
20. sarušnu 'to saw'
21. lutihna 'to disguise'
22. kumnu 'to repay'
23. cituŋnu 'to wink'
24. pyljna 'to smooth out'

The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hinwojnu: 'he wants to play handgame'
siqwy: 'to curl hair'
hulwu: 'to be hungry'
ci-wel 'tears'
pajwajak 'Vernal Falls'
cytypja: 'darkness'
tetje-pu 'half-sister'
petja: 'to drop several things'
takjajny: 'it's about to form a ring around the sun'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
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<td>64</td>
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<td></td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**PHONOLOGY**

Table 4. Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?o·pa`</td>
<td>'cloud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tal·yl</td>
<td>'strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha·aṭa`</td>
<td>'round'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan·i`</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ajtu`</td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cakac</td>
<td>'donkey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapat`</td>
<td>'a boil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiš·aša`</td>
<td>'rigid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>capa·ha`</td>
<td>'white fir'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pice·ma`</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nañ·a`</td>
<td>'man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapja`</td>
<td>'tree fungus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mamla`</td>
<td>'blackberry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>law·a`ti</td>
<td>'rattlesnake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wal·aj</td>
<td>'duck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jawe`</td>
<td>'bow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petje`</td>
<td>'to hide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?este·ci`</td>
<td>'stagecoach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>co·lu<code>te</code></td>
<td>'cricket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ce·ke`</td>
<td>'pineweed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hie·ma`</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pice·ma`</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sepam</td>
<td>'edge'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. hensi`</td>
<td>'to rest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. hikah</td>
<td>'deer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. micpa`</td>
<td>'to camp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. lacmyni`</td>
<td>'chop it!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. tu·ni`</td>
<td>'wild potatoes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. humu?li`</td>
<td>'garter snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. kan·i`</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. wišmi`</td>
<td>'washout'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. tactja<code>pu</code></td>
<td>'half-brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. ponpu`</td>
<td>'to get dusk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. tošpu`</td>
<td>'to get stiff'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. țoțku`</td>
<td>'to braid hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. hokhokot</td>
<td>'California sunny shrub'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. ?o·pa`</td>
<td>'cloud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. coñtita`</td>
<td>'crooked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. sos·e`</td>
<td>'to grind acorns'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. šolka`</td>
<td>'to flow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. hoho·loj`</td>
<td>'nettle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. momko`</td>
<td>'moccasins'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. hino·wu`</td>
<td>'to play handg.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. keŋo·tu`</td>
<td>'to gather up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. hoho·loj</td>
<td>'nettle'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

1. ?uc?u? 'to stay'
2. hino?wu? 'to play handgame
3. juk?ul 'meadowlark'
4. py?ca? 'cottontail'
5. cyty? 'good'
6. haty?•a? 'stirrups'
7. tynkyn?a? 'to maim'
8. ?yswi? 'bad'
9. cyty? 'good'
10. sy?•yl 'wild'
11. hyj?ajny? 'he wants to
12. myl'i? 'to sing'
13. nyks 'poison oak'
14. kala?ny? 'to dance'
15. lyt'a? 'belt'
16. sy?•yl 'wild'
17. wyhki? 'heart'
18. jyn'e? 'to get drunk'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
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<td>52</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PHONOLOGY

Table 5. Examples

lapja? 'tree fungus'
patkas 'raccoon'
sapa? 'a boil'
pakty? 'to explode'
pice-ma? 'meat'
cakac 'donkey'
patkas 'raccoon'
hikah 'deer'
mamla? 'blackberry'
kan?i? 'I'
naŋ'a? 'man'
ahpa? 'to find'
šolka? 'to flow'
law-a?ti? 'rattlesnake'
najpa? 'to partly cover'
hene-pna? 'to bake'
pentje? 'to hide'
pet-an'a? 'garbage dump'
wekwek 'raptorial bird'
jaw-e? 'bow'
jec-a? 'nit'
?este-ci? 'stagecoach'
tehja? 'to bloat'

39. lutihna? 'to disguise'
40. tim'il 'mole'
41. tintikla? 'mistletoe'
42. ciŋku? 'seed basket'
43. pylilna? 'to make smoke'
44. ciwel 'tears'
45. hiciw 'poker'
46. holop 'hole'
47. hokhokot 'California sycamore'
shrub'
48. łoŋku? 'to braid hair'
49. hokhokot 'California sycamore'
shrub'
50. wo?ta? 'to throw a ride'
51. jococi? 'red'
52. tos-uj 'skinny'
53. tošpu? 'to get stiff'
54. pohko? 'ball'
55. momko? 'moccasins'
56. ponpu? 'to get dusk'
57. hoŋ-oj 'knee'
58. šolka? 'to flow fast'
59. ?o-pa? 'cloud'
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

1. 'to braid hair'
2. huwje? 'downstream'
3. tos'uj 'skinny'
4. hakypša? 'nostrils'
5. tytni· 'to patch'
6. hakytna? 'Equisetum, Western scouring-brush'
7. wyksy· 'to go'
8. sy?ył 'wild'
9. pa?yc'e? 'generous'
10. ?yswi? 'bad'
11. wyhki? 'heart'
12. sympy. 'to close the eyes'
13. has'yn 'abalone shell'
14. kan'yq 'my'
15. sy?'ył 'wild'
16. pakty· 'to explode'
17. ?yw?y? 'food'
18. hyj?ajny· 'he wants to a
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. 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 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 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, creating 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.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

In the absence of vowels and consonant clusters in initial position, a root always begins with a consonant followed by thereafter, more variety is to be found. No roots have been found consist of less than the aforementioned two phonemes, but many are syllabic, and the majority consist of no more than two syllables. One of the first two syllables of a word is always a long syllable primary stress, this is usually part of the root. The following cases have been observed: CV, CVC, CVCC, CVCV, CVCCV, CVCCVC, CVCCCV, CVCCCV, CVCCCV, CVCCCV, CVCCCV,

Suffixes are less subject to canonical restrictions, since (1) they occur in first morphemic position and (2) morpheme boundaries the word do not necessarily correspond to syllabic divisions. They consist of any phoneme or sequence of phonemes that conforms to rules of canonical form. Some are single phonemes, and few contain more than two syllables. Statistically, they are low in number but 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 in each by the use of hyphens, after roots and before suffixes. Such which are never found in word-final position are followed as well by a hyphen.
MORPHEMECS

Stems occur in variant forms (see section 260); the occurrence of stem variants, like that of root allomorphy, is determined by the nature of the first following suffix. Bases (or verbal bases) are mono-, bi-, or polymorphemic. The sense of a morpheme or a sequence of morphemes occurring before one of the three modal suffixes (see section 250). A verbal base plus a suffix constitutes a verbal theme (see below, and section 250). A polymorphemic base is also a root, and if they conform to certain structural limitations, mono- and bi-morphemic bases are also stems; in these cases, bases are subject to the same transformations of shape as stems, but not otherwise. The two stems cited above are, as is ||wel-ki-jik'--|| 'to go to fetch,' consisting of ||wel-ki-|| and by an allomorph of the verbal suffix {-jik-} 'andative.' Any of these can be followed by the modal suffixes, but while ||wel-ki-jik'--|| has 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 bases in that they are found immediately followed by members of the classes 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 follow. These two classes parallel the two most numerous morphological classes of Southern Sierra, NOUNS and VERBS, which consist...
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

240. FINAL SUFFIXES

The definition of words and themes, reference has been made to the use of final suffixes. These are morphemes which are found, similar in combination, in word-final position following themes. Verbal and nominal themes are segments which never occur in isolation; they are always 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 personal pronoun 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 pronoun case suffixes is discussed in chapter 3.

The final suffixes are so named to distinguish them from (1) morpheme-final suffixes (see section 270), which are theme- or base-final and are never found in word-final position; and (2) postfixes (see section 280), which are not obligatory morphemes, and which follow (i.e., forms which otherwise occur in isolation) rather than themes. Nevertheless, 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, though the second may be. Moreover, when postfixes are present, there is no final suffix.
MORPHEMICS

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

Verbal themes of the third type consist of a base, or a variant base, followed by an allomorph of the imperative suffix {-eH-}. Such themes are followed by Series 4 pronominal suffixes, and have immediate meaning (e.g., /hywa·t-eH-/ '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; some occur with either series, with differences of meaning. Nominal themes may translate English nouns, or they may represent English nouns 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 nominal or thematic development, it is the last suffix in the segment that receives consideration that determines its status. For example, compound /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 have nominal themes. However, /haja·puH- 'chief' is a nominal theme, /haj-ki- 'to hunt' is a base.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

First, it provides the most convenient basic form, since the rule
em variation can be stated in such a way that other variants can
be predicted from Stem 1, while the reverse is not true. This follows
from the fact that Stem 1, which has five possible canons, exhibits the
most diversity of shape; other stem types have no more than two.

The relationships between Stem 1 and other stem types can be
described in terms of a count of consonants and vowels and their ar
rants. However, these statements can be greatly simplified if /?/
Stem 1 is not counted as a consonant, except for placing the form
of the canons listed above. If Stem 1 has insufficient vowels and/or
canon of the stem type under consideration, the gap is filled by
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 to
eat special discussion, since each occurs with several different
stems. These are here referred to as Stems 2, 3, and 4. They ex
the following relationships with the corresponding Stem 1: Stem 2
form /C_1V_1C_2/ if Stem 1 is either \|C_1V_1\| or \|C_1V_1C_2\|; in
case, where Stem 1 has no C_2, Stem 2 has /?/. Otherwise
has the form \|C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3\|; Stem 3, \|C_1V_1C_2\cdot V_2C_3\|; Stem
V_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/ \& /\?/, or /\?
Stems 3 and 4 have /?/; and (2) if Stem 1 has no V_2, Stems 2, 3
have \|Y\|. These relationships may be exemplified as follows:
MORPHEMICS

le by \(\text{lak-h-}\) 'to appear.' Apart from \(\text{wy-}\), 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 as follows:

Stem 2 (in the variant with /h/ where Stem 1 lacks a C3) can be prepended by \(\text{e-}\) (an allomorph of the nominal suffix \(\text{keH-}\) 'past' suffix used in a nominal theme with the meaning of a non-immediate past tense verb (for example, \(\text{ynyh-e-}\theta-\) /\(\text{ynyh-e/} 'he came').

Stem 3 may be followed by the nominal suffix \(\text{iH-}\) 'habitual' in a nominal theme with a habituative meaning (\(\text{yn-y?-iH-}\) /\(\text{yn-y?i/} 'he always comes').

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

270. SUFFIX CLASSES

Suffices in Southern Sierra can be classified in two ways. First, they may be grouped into order classes: final, prefinal, and medial. The final suffixes, which have already been discussed (see section 240), are notional suffixes, in a generic sense; they are obligatory, and control orifico-relations by reference to and agreement in case, person, and number. Prefinal suffixes are more complex...
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

An important characteristic of each verbal suffix is the type of stem and which it is found. Two or more verbal suffixes sometimes occur in a single verbal theme, in which case their order is a matter of immediate constituency with a view of what precedes it. For example, ||'etal-|| 'to return', Stem followed by {nHuk\-\-u\-\} 'causative' followed by ||'-IVmh-|| 'ready' followed by ||'-\-\-|| 'present imperfect' followed by ||'-\-\-|| 'third person singular'.

The pronominal suffix is /'etalnuk\-ulumhu/' 'he is ready to travel (i.e., make him go) home,' while /'etla-IVmh-nHuk\-u\-\-\-\-/' is /'etlalambynuk\-u/' 'he is making him ready to go home.'

Nominal suffixes have derivational meanings or refer to non-pronouns. 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 prepositional suffixes; most of the latter refer to tense.

280. POSTFIXES

Postfixes form a separate class of suffixes. They are found at the ends 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, bases, and stems. They are also found following particles. Some occur with nouns of one word-class only; others follow words of any class. The
MORPHEMECS

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 follow them are postfixes; and with one exception (∥hoʔ·aj∥ → ∥hoʔ·aj·y·∥ 'and') they exhibit no allomorphy. As words, their distinctive features are as follows. They meet the phonological criteria for the section 160), each having a primary stress on the first long vowel, and 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 can be elicited in isolation, but at least three (/hyʔ·y·/ 'yes,', /jej/ 'hey!' and /jej/ 'hey!') sometimes occur as complete utterances. Particles differ from nouns and verbs in that they contain no medial, prefinal, or suffixes.

Particles frequently follow the word they modify; they are short, and 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, by careful attention to the phonological characteristics which mark 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:

∥hane∥ "maybe"
∥hoʔ·aj∥ → ∥hoʔ·aj·y·∥ 'and'
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 combination 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 pronominal 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 shown in table 6.

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

**Table 6. Personal Pronominal Suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Obj.</th>
<th>Series 1</th>
<th>Series 2</th>
<th>Series 3</th>
<th>Series 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-nti-</td>
<td>-kan</td>
<td>-te-</td>
<td>-ma•∞-ø</td>
<td>(m ø)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nc.</td>
<td>nY•</td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>sY•</td>
<td>-t•∞</td>
<td>h-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nc.</td>
<td>hY•</td>
<td>-ø-</td>
<td>-t•</td>
<td>-nih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nc.</td>
<td>t·i-</td>
<td>-mah·i·</td>
<td>-me-</td>
<td>tic·i·</td>
<td>tic·i·</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excel.</td>
<td>mYko·</td>
<td>tokni-</td>
<td>toksu·</td>
<td>-ci·i·</td>
<td>-tok·o·</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ko-</td>
<td>-koH·∞-ko-</td>
<td>-pu·</td>
<td>-nih·ko-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>-ni.</td>
<td>kan</td>
<td>ni·te-</td>
<td>-mus·u·</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>-tokni.</td>
<td>kan</td>
<td>tokni·te-</td>
<td>-mutoksu·</td>
<td>tokni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>-te.</td>
<td>nY•</td>
<td>te·ni-</td>
<td>-mu·</td>
<td>. f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>-me.</td>
<td>nY•</td>
<td>me·ni-</td>
<td>-muhme·</td>
<td>-muhme-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 code references 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 will be 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, 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 analyzable into zero or more morphemic units. The array of suffixes in table 6 is reducible to a limited number of morphemes, many of which appear in several places in the system. These morphemes are as follows:

||-nti-|| -ram || first person singular
||-nY-|| 'second person singular
**FINAL SUFFIXES**

-\textit{nih-} || 'third person'
-\textit{tY-} || 'first person singular object'
-\textit{mY-} || 'second person'
-\textit{tok-} || 'plural (second person only)'
-\textit{mu-} || $\infty$ || -\textit{mu'} || $\infty$ || -\textit{muh-} || 'first and second persons involved'

---

**Table 7. Pronominal Suffix Morphemes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1S</th>
<th>2S</th>
<th>3S</th>
<th>1P</th>
<th>2P</th>
<th>3P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>\textit{nti-}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{t\textsc{i}-}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>\textit{kan}</td>
<td>\textit{nY'}</td>
<td>\textit{hY'}</td>
<td>\textit{mah\textsc{i}-}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>\textit{te-}</td>
<td>\textit{ni-}</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\textit{me-}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>\textit{te-}</td>
<td>\textit{ni-}</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\textit{me-}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>\textit{te}</td>
<td>\textit{ni}</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td></td>
<td>\null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>\textit{ma}</td>
<td>\textit{sY'}</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\textit{tiH-}</td>
<td>\null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4a</td>
<td>\textit{m}</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\textit{nih-}</td>
<td></td>
<td>\null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4b</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4c</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4d</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
<td>\null</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other:**
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

Regular 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 stem (see section 645); after the demonstrative stems \[?i-\] 'that,' \[?i-\] at one,' and \[neH-\] 'this,' it is \[-k\-\]; elsewhere, it is \[-ko-\]. Following this last allomorph, the nominative case is zero. The Series 4 first person singular is \[-\emptyset\] after \[-X-\], as a member of the aforementioned allomorphic set only, and except when preceded by the allomorph \[-j-\] of the verbal suffix \{-jik-\}; (see section 505) \[-X-\] and after \[-n-\], this pronominal suffix is zero. Elsewhere \[-m\] \[-ma\]. The Series 4 second person singular is \[-\] \[-ni-\] allomorph \[-ni-\] of the imperative modal suffix when the latter is the allomorphs \[-a-\] \[-ja-\] of the verbal suffix \{-jik-\} following the zero allomorph of the imperative suffix preceding \[-ak-\] of the verbal suffix \{-ηHe-\} (see section 532). In the genitive case, it is \[-h-\] (see section 325); elsewhere, it is \[-\]. The second person plural of this series has two allomorphs; second in table 6, consisting of \[-tok-\] followed by \[-koH-\], occurring before the genitive case, and has been recorded from one informant (CJ); the allomorph \[-c\-i\-\] is found elsewhere.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

**FINAL SUFFIXES**

the Series 3 first person plural exclusive (1P1b). Otherwise, where a first person and a second person, singular or plural, are involved as subject or object, \( ||{-mu-}|| \) \( \equiv \) \( ||{-mu'}|| \) \( \equiv \) \( ||{-muh-}|| \) occurs. Where the subject is first person singular and the object second person singular, 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 \( ||{-mu'}|| \). Where the subject is second person plural and the object first person singular, the form consists of \( ||{-mu-}|| \) followed by the Series 4 second person singular. Where the object is first person plural, the allomorph \( ||{-muh-}|| \) is used: 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 \( ||{-ok-}|| \) 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 2. With a plural subject, the Series 2 element representing the object is inserted between the two morphemes of the Series 4 suffix (see section 116), instead of following it. With a first person plural subject or object, 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 singular and the object in the third person, the forms are the same as in Series 3.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

Other case suffixes, such as the genitive, with special meaning reference to time.

Examples of the occurrence of pronominal suffixes:

Series 1:

cukuH-nti-? /cukunti/? 'my dog,' cf. cukuH- 'dog'
han?a-?-koH /han?a?ko?/ 'their heads,' cf. han?a- 'head'
wyls-?aX-j-hY: /wylysajhy:/ 'his going,' cf. wyks-?aX- 'go'
?enpu-ni-ni-?-kan /?enpunini?kan/ 'I can chase you,' cf. ?en?
'can chase'

Series 2:

haja-puH-ni-? /haja-pu-ni/? 'you are a chief,' cf. haja-puH-?
wyls-j-ni-? /wylysijn?/ 'you will go,' cf. wyks-j- 'to go (fut)
?lien-e-koH-ŋ /?lien?ekon?/ 'after they ate lunch (genitive case)
'lien-e- 'to eat lunch (past)
'chase (past)

Series 3:

cyly¿-ľ-sY: /cyly?lysy:/ 'you're weaving,' cf. cyly¿- 'to weave'
wyn-ľ- /wyna/ 'he's walking,' cf. wyn- 'to walk'
te¿-a- /te?a/ 'he cut it,' cf. te¿-a- 'to cut (present)
?yw¿-ľ-pon? /?yw?pon?/ 'he'll eat us,' cf. ?yw¿- 'to eat'

Series 4:

?enh-eH-? /?enhe?/ 'make it!,' cf. ?enh-eH- 'to make (imperative)
wel-h-efi-tic'i:/ /welhe?tic'i:/ 'let's look for it,' cf. wel-h-efi
FINAL SUFFIXES

320. CASE SUFFIXES

The Southern Sierra Miwok has nine case suffixes. Of these, four are, by breaking, final suffixes, in that they occur in absolutely final position and will be referred to as the AUTONOMOUS case suffixes. Four case suffixes are always followed by an allomorph of one of the autonomous case suffixes. These 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 development of the cases. From the point of view of Latin grammar, some suffix meanings 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 ordinarily be interpreted as direct objects are found to bear this case suffix.

321. Nominative—The nominative case is autonomous, and has the form ||-?|| ~ ||-∅||. It is zero when the preceding morpheme ends in a consonant except ||H|| and juncture follows (i.e., in the environment ||...#|| the nominative case is zero, unless C is ||H||). It is also for 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 predicate coordinate constructions involving nouns. It also occurs widely
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)'
?ywyl·e·me-j /?ywyl·emej/ 'after we ate,' cf. ?ywyl·e· 'to eat'
323. Temporal—The temporal case has the form ||-n||, and is
us. It frequently follows the nominal suffix ||-no-|| 'time, season'
often found on forms which translate English adverbs, especially
time, but also on others, such as 'higher' and 'slowly.' Its meaning
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·wi-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
ro when the preceding morpheme ends in any consonant; otherw
||-·||. It is used only as a vocative, and is therefore limited in
urrence to forms which are used as terms of address. Examples:
?ypyH·· /?ypy· 'Father!'
FINAL SUFFIXES

low imperative verbal themes), it means 'later; not yet': that is, the
expression of the imperative is to be delayed. Before this suffix, the
Second Series 4 pronominal suffixes appear in the following allomorphs
||-η ||, singular; and ||-tok·o-||, plural (recorded only from CJ). Ex-
hikaHη /hika·hynη/ 'the deer's'
cukuH-η /cukuη/ 'the dog's'
nag·aH-η /nag·anη/ 'the man's'
manaX-η·-? /manaγ·y?/ 'whose is it?,' cf. manaX- 'who?'
is·ak-η·-? /is·akyη·y?/ 'it is his,' cf. is·ak- 'he'
ajtuH-me-η·-j /ajtu·meŋ·yj/ 'of all of us (accusative case)
ajtuH- 'all'; ajtuH-me- 'all of us'
henis·e-me-η /henis·emenη/ 'after we rest,' cf. henis·e- 'to (past)
sipet-na-keH-∅-η /sipetnakη/ 'after she makes it narrow,' cf.
sipet-na-keH- 'to make narrow (past)'
kosen-ka-n-h-η /kosenkanhyη/ 'cook it for him later!,' cf.
kosen-ka-n- 'to cook for (imperative)'
kosen-ka-X-tok·o-η /kosenkat·ok·oη/ 'all cook it for him later'
cf. kosen-ka-X- 'to cook for (imperative)'
ţyk·-eH-tyH-η /ţyk·e·tyη/ 'shoot me—but not yet!,' cf. ţyk·-e
'to shoot (imperative).' This utterance is said to be the call
of the California quail.

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

a subordinate case. When the preceding morpheme ends with a
\text{\textvisiblespace}\text{\textvisiblespace} ||VH||, the allomorph ||-m·-|| is found. When the preceding mor-
pheme with any consonant except ||H||, the ablative has the form, ||

|
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language

\( ?u\cdot cuH\cdot m\cdot -nti\cdot ? \) /?u\cdot cum\cdot unti\?/ 'from my house'
\( ?u\cdot cuH\cdot m\cdot -?\cdot hY\cdot \) /?u\cdot cum\cdot u\?hu\?/ 'from his house'
\( cym\cdot e\cdot m\cdot -? \) /cym\cdot em\cdot y?/ 'south of'
\( neH\cdot m\cdot -?\cdot ok \) /nem\cdot o\?\cdot ok/ 'from here'
\( hol\cdot op\cdot m\cdot -? \) /hol\cdot opmu\?/ 'from the hole'
\( wakaHl\cdot m\cdot t\cdot i\cdot ? \) /wakalmyt\cdot i\?/ 'from our creek'
\( hikaHh\cdot m\cdot h\cdot Y\cdot \) /hikahmy\?hy\?/ 'from his deer'
\( ?a\cdot m\cdot -t\cdot Y\cdot j \) /?al\cdot am\cdot yt\cdot yj/ 'under (accusative case)'
\( haj\cdot e\cdot m\cdot -j \) /haj\cdot em\cdot em\cdot yj/ 'for a little while,' cf. haj\cdot e\cdot 'close'

327. Allative—The allative case, which is a subordinate case, is formed \( ||-t\cdot || - ||-tHo\cdot ||. \) It is \( ||-t\cdot || \) when the preceding theme ends in a vowel or \( \| \|VH\| \) and only the nominative case (here represented by one allomorph) or the suffix \( ||-?ok\| \) follows. Elsewhere, it is \( \| \| \). Few themes ending in vowels can be followed by either allomorph. We find that the allative in turn is followed by nothing but the nominative.

In some such instances, informants report a slight difference in meaning (\( ||?oka\cdot t\cdot \emptyset\| \) /?okat/ '(remaining) in the same place'; \( ||?oka\cdot kat\cdot o\?\| \) '(returning) to the same place'), while other pairs appear to have identical meanings (\( ||mi\cdot n\cdot i\cdot t\cdot \emptyset\|, ||mi\cdot n\cdot i\cdot tHo\?|| 'where to?' \), \( ||ni\cdot t\cdot \emptyset\|, ||i\cdot ni\cdot tHo\cdot -?|| 'there').

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

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

\( \ldots \)
FINAL SUFFIXES

kawyHl-ŋHe-ʔaX-tHo-ʔ-hY· /kawylŋeʔatʔoʔhuʔ/ '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 ||-m-||, a subordinate case. When the morpheme preceding ||-m-|| ends in a vowel, the nominative case is zero; when ||-m-|| follows a morpheme ending in a consonant, the nominative case is ||-ʔ||, and ||Y|| intervenes between the two (see section 176). Besides the nominative case, the locative can be followed by the nominal suffix ||-to-||, by postfixes, and ||-c·Y-||, the diminutive suffix. Pronominal suffixes have not been found with the locative case. The meaning of this suffix is 'in, on'.

   Examples:

hol·op-m-ʔ /hol·opmuʔ/ 'in the hole'

lemeH-m-ʔ /lemem/ 'on the mountain'

la·ma-m-ʔ /la·مام/ 'at the tree'

cuʔpaH-m-ʔ /cuʔpam/ 'in the middle'

han·a-m-ʔ /han·ام/ 'in the head'

neH-m-ʔ-ʔok /nemʔok/ 'this way'

wakaHl-m-ʔ /wakalmyʔ/ 'at the creek'

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

?uc·u·ʔaX-Hs-ʔ-hY· /?uc·u·as·yʔhy·/ 'where he lives,' cf. ?uc·u·ʔaX-Hs-χ /?uc·u·as·xʔhy·/ 'living, dwelling' (see section 174)

/hasul·eteʔ ?uc·u·as·yʔhy·/ 'I asked where he lives'

?enyhnama· jaw·es haja·puj/ 'I am making a bow for the child'

?am·e·ty· jaw·e·syʔnyʔ/ 'Give me your bow!'
CHAPTER FOUR
VERBAL THEMES

400. INTRODUCTION

Verbal themes, as defined previously (see section 250), are morphological sequences which are followed immediately by Series 3 or Series 4 nominal suffixes. A verbal theme consists of a base (see section 225) 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, and 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 in 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 theme with multiple allomorphs occurs in a base that falls within the limitations of Stem 1, variant verbal themes are frequently possible: bases which would normally be expected of a Stem 1 of that particular type, and those which would be expected of a base containing the requisite type (see, for example, section 532). The situation is further complicated by the fact that the modal suffixes also exhibit allomorphy.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

Most frequent use of present imperfect verbal themes, they also occur in two other types of construction. They are sometimes followed by allative case, without pronominal suffixes; such forms have past meanings. They also occur followed by the nominative case and some pronominal suffixes, to provide forms with gerundial meanings. Examples:

hune·m-Ø-ma· /hune·myma·/ 'I am fishing,' cf. hune·m- 'to fish'
hyle·t-Ø /hyle·ty/ 'he is flying,' cf. hyle·t- 'to fly'
mula·k-poksu-Ø-sY· /mula·kyupsusu·/ 'you are washing yourself'
cf. mula·k-poksu- 'to wash one's face'

?e·tal-e·-nY-lVmh-Ø /?e·tale·nylymhy·/ 'he is ready to go and forth,' cf. ?e·tal-e·-nY-lVm·h- 'to be ready to go back and forth'
kac·-Ø-t-Ø /kac·yt/ 'he said,' cf. kac·- 'to say'
myl·i-poksu-Ø-t-Ø /myl·ipoksut/ 'he sang to himself,' cf. myl·i-poksu- 'to sing to oneself'
kel·a-Ø-?-hY· /kel·a?hy·/ 'snowing,' cf. kel·a- 'to snow'
nocuH-Ø-?-nY· /nocu?nu·/ 'your crying,' cf. nocuH- 'to cry'
peHt-ηHe-Ø-?-ko· /petηe?ko·/ 'their hiding,' cf. peHt-ηHe- 'their

420. PRESENT PERFECT VERBAL THEMES

The suffix of the present perfect indicative mode is {-ak-}. This suffix follows the appropriate variant of the base (see section 500), and is followed by Series 3 pronominal suffixes. The first person singular
VERBAL THEMES

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

Examples:

lo\textsuperscript{\textprime}t-\textsuperscript{\textacute}a\textsuperscript{-} 'he caught it,' cf. lo\textsuperscript{\textprime}t- 'to catch'
\textasciitilde u\textasciitilde k-ak-\emptyset 'I went in,' cf. \textasciitilde u\textasciitilde k- 'to enter'
\textasciitilde yn\textsuperscript{-}ak-mah\textsuperscript{-}i\textsuperscript{-} 'we came,' cf. \textasciitilde yn- 'to come'
hasu\textsuperscript{\textprime}l-ak-mus\textsuperscript{-}u\textsuperscript{-} 'I asked you,' cf. hasu\textsuperscript{\textprime}l- 'to ask'
\textasciitilde yw\textsuperscript{-}y\textsuperscript{-}hak-mah\textsuperscript{-}i\textsuperscript{-} 'we ate,' cf. \textasciitilde yw\textsuperscript{-}y- 'to eat'
nocu\textsuperscript{-}ha\textsuperscript{-} 'he cried,' cf. nocu- 'to cry'
wy\textsuperscript{-}ha\textsuperscript{-} /wy\textsuperscript{-}ha\textsuperscript{'} 'he went,' cf. wy- 'to go'
myl-ja-na\textsuperscript{-} /myljana\textsuperscript{-} 'he beat him up,' cf. myl-ja- 'to beat'
\textasciitilde enpu-nak-muh\textsuperscript{-}me\textsuperscript{-} 'you chased us,' cf. \textasciitilde enpu- 'to chase'
\textasciitilde tyj\textsuperscript{-}e-nak-\emptyset /\textasciitilde tyj\textsuperscript{-}enak\textsuperscript{-} 'I fell asleep,' cf. \textasciitilde tyj\textsuperscript{-}e- 'to sleep'

430. PRESENT IMPERATIVE VERBAL THEMES

Present imperative verbal themes consist of an appropriate variant of a case 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 tense imperatives. Since Series 4 is complete in all persons and numbers, Southern Sierra has imperative forms for all of them. When the nominative case follows the Series 4 suffix, the action of the imperative is delayed (see section 335). Imperatives marked the second-person singular.
ni-∥ is found when the following pronominal suffix is in the second person, singular or plural (when the last verbal suffix is -jik-). Allomorphs -a-∥ ~ -ja-∥, the second person singular Series 4 pronominal suffix occurs in the allomorph -a-∥. The allomorph -n-∥ is found after the allomorph -j-∥ of the andative verbal suffix (followed by the first person singular Series 4 pronominal suffix) before the allomorph -n-∥ of the 2S-1S Series 4 pronominal suffix. The allomorph -n-∥ is usually found before the first person singular pronominal suffix (which is zero following -n-∥), and before 3S 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 suffixes commencing with /n/, -n-∥ and -X-∥ are indistinguishable, since -n-∥ and X-n∥ are both /n/ (see sections 171 and 174). The order of the Series 4 pronominal suffixes all commence with /t/, and these -n-∥ and -X-∥ are in virtually free variation. Impersonal verbs containing -X-∥ are sometimes said to carry a greater sense of immediacy than their equivalents containing -n-∥, but the different 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'

kazan-le-ni· /kazanke·ni·/ 'seek it for him (2S)!', cf. kazer-
VERBAL THEMES

/liwa·mynty/ /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-∅ /haja·pu·munit/ 'when you become a chief'
haja·puH·nY- 'to become a chief'

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

Ex.
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'
jel·y·-hi-X-t-∅ /jel·y·hit/ 'if you are quiet,' cf. jel·y·-c·- 'to 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'
kawen·po-X-mah·i· /kawenpom·ah·i·/ 'let's (1P excl.) yell at
mula·k·e·hi-X-m /mula·kehim/ 'let me wash myself!', cf.
mula·k·poku·- 'to wash oneself'
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 other

those mentioned above. The allomorph ||-koX-|| follows bases end

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 acc

?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 com

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

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

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

\[\text{wyH-} \emptyset \text{-} \eta ko? \text{/wyHeko?/ '(what time) should I go?', cf. wyH- 'to go'}\]
\[\text{?yn-} \text{-} \text{eH-} \eta ko? \text{/?yneHko?/ 'I'll come while (he's dancing)'}\]
\[\text{?u'k-} \text{-} \text{eH-} \eta ko? \text{/u'keHko?/ 'open the door') so that I can come', cf. ?u'k- 'to enter'}\]
\[\text{haja-} \text{-} \text{k-koX-} \eta ko? \text{/hajakoXko?/ 'I'll wait while (he's dancing), haja-ksY- 'to wait'}\]
\[\text{hy'ja-} \text{-} \text{koX-} \eta ko? \text{/hy'jakoko?/ '(what time) should I arrive?', hy'ja- 'to arrive'}\]

440. IRREGULAR VERBAL BASES

Few apparently monomorphemic bases are irregular in that they have homophony when followed by the various modal suffixes, and some are reflexive. Their allomorphs are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Signs and Models</td>
<td>Signs and Models</td>
<td>Signs and Models</td>
<td>Signs and Models</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

**THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>Perfect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(one)</td>
<td>?el'-</td>
<td>?el'-</td>
<td>'to leave'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the above stems, the first three show no irregularity other than phonology 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., /tw'yH-∅-tY·/ /ken ?yw'y·ty·/ 'don't eat me!). When verbal suffixes requiring a Stem 1 follow these roots, the present imperfect allows stem alternation, usually found (e.g., /nocuH-jYk·-∥ 'to go to cry'). Similarly, /?uc'u-∅/ 'to stay' shows no further structural irregularities, but besides its expected meaning the present imperfect verb ∥/?uc'u-∅-∥ 'it is stayed so functions as a present-tense necessitative, 'it is necessary that'. In this usages, the third person singular form is always found. The reflexive form ∥/?uc'u-haHk-∅∥ 'staying,' containing the gerundial suffix ∥-haH∥ (section 711), provides a past-tense necessitative (cf. /?uc'u- myl'i-/?uc'u- myl'i- a?hy·/ 'he's got to sing' and /?uc'u-hak myl'i- a?hy·/ 'he had to sing').

The last five stems in the above table are defective. For the present imperfect /wy·-∥ 'to go' and ∥/kot·o-∥ 'to go on ahead,' present imperfect verbs 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 exists for ∥/tal·i-∥ 'to arise, get up,' ∥hyj·-∥ 'to see,' and ∥/?el'-∥ /el'- (one) that are used. When question arise, they are not sure.
VERBAL THEMES

Present imperfect and present perfect verbal themes of this type are commonly followed by the 3S-1P Series 3 pronominal suffix ||-‘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:

?opa‘-t-Ø-‘me? /?opa‘ty‘me?/ 'it's clouding up on us' (JL), cf. 
?opa‘-t- 'to cloud up'

?umu‘c-Ø-‘me? /?umu‘cu‘me?/ 'it's raining on us' (JL), cf. ?
'to rain' (JL)

kel‘a-na-‘me? /kel‘ana‘me?/ 'it snowed on us' (JL), cf. kel‘ana- 
'snow'

wile‘p-a-‘me? /wile‘pa‘me?/ 'it flashed at us (old-timers used to say)' (CJ), cf. wile‘p- 'to flash (of lightning)'
lit-h-a-‘me? /litha‘me?/ 'it's risen on us' (RW), cf. lit-h- 'to rise (of the sun)'
haHc-ηHe-Ø-‘me? /hacηe‘me?/ 'it has stopped on us (of a car)' (RW), cf. haHc-ηHe- 'to stop, halt'

[view image]
CHAPTER FIVE

VERBAL SUFFIXES

500. INTRODUCTION

The class of verbal suffixes, as its name suggests, consists of those suffixes which form verbal bases, which can be converted to ver-
bar bases by the addition of one of the modal suffixes discussed in
the previous chapter. Verbal suffixes are medial in position and have
ings of a derivational nature. They are quite numerous; it is prob-
able that not all of them have been identified. Many are fully product-
ve and can be applied to any stem of appropriate class, shape, and mea-
hers appear not to be productive; although they are found in ma-
ting bases, new bases containing the suffix in question are not
rable to the informants.

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

VERBAL SUFFIXES

evity, this statement will be worded as follows: "Where necessary, 
C3 position is filled by . . . ."

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

When a suffix shows allomorphy of this nature, the form that oc-
curs in the present imperfect modal suffix (||-Ø-||) is treated as be-
cause it is in this form that it occurs before non-modal suffixes.
Allomorphs found before the perfect indicative and imperative mod-
als, where they differ from the basic form, do not occur anywhere else.
The reason for selecting the form used in the present imperfect a-
sic 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 at-
trate stem is of suitable shape, it is often (but not always) treated
as Stem 1. A bimorphic Stem 1 frequently has alternate forms
followed by one of the modal suffixes (see section 400). Such a Stem
is subject to transformations into Stems 2, 3, 4 and others, ac-
con the requirements of following suffixes, exactly as if it were mo-
domorphic. Under these circumstances, the suffix may be said to
it allomorphy, since its appearance in the various stem forms
different. However, it seems to be unsatisfactory to treat this
as an additional allomorphy.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

501. \{-c\cdot-\}, 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. The stem has the following characteristics of shape: length follows the consonant, if there is more than one, but occurs nowhere else; other 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 \(\|Y\|\), in some cases it is another vowel which is not present in other environments: usually, this is \(/i/\), but in at least one case (\(\|ja'\cdot a\cdot c\cdot-\|\) meaning down!) it is the vowel of the stem. The suffix \{-c\cdot-\}, then, is a stem of one of these forms: \(C_1V_1\), \(C_1V_1C_2\cdot V_2\), or \(C_1V_1C_2V_2\); the stem in other environments has a \(C_3\) but no \(V_2\). The third vowel is found before \{-c\cdot-\}, and the \(V_2\) and \(V_3\) positions are filled by \(\{\cdot\cdot\cdot\}\).

Where this suffix follows one of the demonstrative stems, the stem is of suitable shape to be treated as a Stem 1, and in 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 all recorded containing \{-c\cdot-\}. When the form falls within the canonical allomorphs of Stem 1 (see above), it is followed directly by the modal suffixes, and \{-c\cdot-\} is always \(\|\cdot\cdot\cdot\|\). Where the form is longer, this stem has the following allomorphs: it is \(\|\cdot\cdot\cdot h\cdot\|\) before the present, \(\|\cdot\cdot\cdot a\cdot\|\) before the imperfect, \(\|\cdot\cdot\cdot ak\cdot\|\), \(\|\cdot\cdot\cdot hi\cdot\|\) before the imperative, and allomorph \(\|\cdot\cdot\cdot\|\) before the 2S-1P double pronominal suffix, and the other allomorphs...
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 other 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 its opposite; a state of bursting out of bounds or losing compactness in strength. Examples:

pu-t-h- 'to leak or bulge out (from a split container),' cf. pu-t-
'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'
?yp-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 /?/). It is related to verbal bases containing the suffix \|--t--|, and very in meaning to them. Examples:
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

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

naŋa'-j- 'to marry a man,' cf. naŋ'aH- 'man'
ʔoha'-j- 'to marry a woman,' cf. ʔoh'a- 'woman'
ʔucu'-j- 'to build a house,' cf. ʔu·cuH- 'house'
hate'-j- 'to make tracks,' cf. haте'e- 'foot; footprint'
muku'-j- 'to make a road,' cf. muk'ua- 'trail, road'
toli'-j- 'to quilt,' cf. tol'iH- 'blanket'
kote'-j- 'to put on a Big Time,' cf. kote- 'Big Time'

504. {-ja-}, iterative. This suffix follows a stem of the form O,
which is related to a verbal base. The resulting form falls within
the morphological limits of Stem 1; however, before the imperative modal
allomorphs occur. ∥-ja-∥ $f$ ∥-jo-∥. After the first allomorph,
the imperative is ∥-koH-∥; after the second, it is ∥-X-∥. This suffix
appear to be productive. Its meaning is iterative; forms contain
examples:

ceʔ-ja- 'to stone (trans.),' cf. ceʔ-ʔ- 'to hit with a rock'
kal-ja- 'to kick all over,' cf. kaʔ-ʔ- 'to kick with the heel'
kal-ja-koX- $f$ kal-jo-X-ʔ 'kick him!'
myl-ja- 'to beat up,' cf. myl-ʔ- 'to hit with a stick'
tul-ja- 'to polish'

505. {-jik-}, andative. This suffix has the following allomorphs
VERBAL SUFFIXES

\[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{uhu}}} \] before other allomorphs; \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{uc'u}}} \] 'to stay' is \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{uc'u}}} \] \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{a}}} \] \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{ja}}} \] , and \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{uc'u}}} \] elsewhere; \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{nuc}}} \] 'cry' is \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{nuc}}} \] \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{a}}} \] \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{ja}}} \] \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{nuc'u}}} \] before \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{a}}} \] \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{ja}}} \] , \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{noc'u}}} \] elsewhere; and \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{yw'y}}} \] 'to eat' is \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{yw'y}}} \] \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{a}}} \] \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{ja}}} \] \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{yw'y}}} \] before \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{a}}} \] \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{ja}}} \] , and \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{yw'y}}} \] elsewhere. In the variants occurring in second person imperative forms, the morphs ending in consonants (which occur with \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{a}}} \] following) tend to carry more sense of immediacy than those ending in vowels which are followed by \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{ja}}} \].

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

- halki-jik- 'to go hunting,' cf. hal-ki- 'to hunt'
- ?enyh-ene-jyk- 'to go and ask someone to fix it,' cf. ?enyh- 'to ask someone to fix it'
- hune-m-j-ti /hune-myjti/ 'let's go fishing!,' cf. hune-m- 'to go halpa-ja-ni- 'go find it!,' cf. hal-pa- 'to find'
- he'l-a-ni- 'go and fight,' cf. he'l- 'to fight'
- ?yw-a-ni- 'go and eat now!,' cf. ?yw-y- 'to eat'
- ?yw-y-ja-ni- 'go and eat (whenever you want)!!'
- wynt-j-a-/wyntyj-a/- 'he went to pick them,' cf. wyn-t- 'to go
- ?enh-jik-keH-? ?enh-jik-keH-? /?enhjik'yke/ /?enhjik'yke/ 'he went to fix it,' cf. ?enh- 'to make, to fix'

\[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{j}}} \], iterative. This suffix follows a stem of the form \[ \mathrm{\text{\textligature{m}}} \ (C_{1}V_{1}C_{2}C_{3}V_{2}) \] where necessary, the \( C_{3} \) position is filled ( ), which is related to a Stem 1, to a nominal theme, or to a stem which does not occur as a base in theme without a following suffix.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

?ys?y-j-] 'to turn out badly, to be not very good,' cf. ?yswi-

?ysyHk-ηHe- 'to spoil, go bad, not go right'

This suffix has also been found following a stem of the form C₁V₁ which is related to a Stem 1 or which has not been recorded as a theme without a following suffix. In such stems, V₂ is sometimes the same as V₁, and sometimes a vowel not found in other allomorphs of the stem. In this usage, which does not appear to be productive, meaning appears to be iterative. Examples:

kaw-a-j- 'to shout several times,' cf. kaHw-ηHe- '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 consists of 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 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'

?o?ik-wi-j- 'to cut or break in two,' cf. ?o?ih-koh- 'two'

wes'a?-wa-j- 'to hurry,' cf. wes'a- 'fast'
VERBAL SUFFIXES

vers to what might be called a "follow-through" or "hold-the-position" of action, where the actor performs an action and then maintains the resulting position. It is thus different in meaning from {-c-} 'stand,' where the maintained position is a preparation for an action. These suffixes are related to bases, to nominal themes, or to stems which occur as bases or themes without a following suffix. If, not con-}

When this suffix follows a stem of the form \( C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 C_3 \) which is related to a nominal theme referring to a body part, the resulting form means 'bare... showing.' Where, in other environments, the stem in the \( C_3 \) position, \( C_3 \) in the above formula is //x//.

In a few cases, this suffix has been found following a stem, related to a base, of the form \( C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 C_3 \). The meanings are more or less similar to other types where the stem is related to a verbal base.

Following nominal themes referring to articles of apparel, this suffix means 'to wear a...' Examples:

lotu-ksY- 'to hold someone down,' cf. lo-t- 'to catch'
lotu-koc-a- 'he held him down'
micy-ksY- 'to be how?,' cf. mi-c- 'to do what?'

\[
\begin{align*}
tekym?-ksY- & /\text{tekym?yksy-}/ \\
tekym-ksY- /tekymyksy- & \quad \text{'to be ready to kick,' cf. tekmyksy-}
\end{align*}
\]
	na-was?-ksY- /na-was?yksy- / 'to wear a dress,' cf. na-was-
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

?al·mY-ksY- /?al·myksY-/'to listen,' cf. ?al· 'to hear'
?al·mY-k-koX-? /?al·myk·o?/'listen!
wy?i·t·mY-ksY- /wy?i·tymyksY-/'to peek,' cf. wy?i·t· '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 stem C₁V₁C₂·V₂-, but others include C₁V₁C₂V₂·C₃- and C₁V₁C₂·V₂-. Some are identical with Stem 1's of related meaning; others have been found elsewhere, or not without a following suffix. Only perfect verbal themes containing this combination have been found; productivity has not been investigated. All bases containing this combination refer either to having something happen to one against one's wish or to disagreeable physiological conditions. Examples:

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

?ele·ŋ-pa-ksY- 'to be left behind involuntarily, although one
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
pol·o-pa-ksY- 'to have a nightmare,' cf. pol·o- 'to contact that
natural'

512. {-pu-ksY-}. This combination of suffixes follows demonstra
tives and a few others. The meanings are somewhat diverse. Pre
[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, this suffix has two allomorphs, $\{\text{-la}\} \neq \{\text{-lo}\}$, when it is followed by an imperative modal suffix, which is $\{\text{-koX}\}$ after the first and $\{\text{-la}\}$ after the second variant. Elsewhere, this suffix is always $\{\text{-la}\}$. The 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. koṭ- 'to break'
tep-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-? $\neq$ hok-lo-X-? /hoklako?/ $\neq$ /hoklo?/ 'take it apart'

515. $\{\text{-1Vm}-\}$, 'to be ready to . . . .' This suffix follows either Stem 4 or a base which does not fall within the canonical limits of the stem.

In the above formula, $V$ represents the vowel of the preceding stem. This suffix has been recorded before all three modal suffixes; it is typically in the allomorph $\{\text{-1Vm}\}$. The imperative mode has the form $\{\text{eH}\}$ following this suffix, and the perfect is $\{\text{-a}\} \approx \{\text{-ak}\}$. This suffix appears to be fully productive. Examples:

cym?y-1Vm- 'to be ready to climb,' cf. cy·m- 'to climb'
ʔetla-1Vm- 'to be ready to return,' cf. ʔeta·l- 'to return'
ʔetla-1Vm-∅- /ʔetlalamhy/ 'he is ready to return'
ʔetla-1Vm-a- /ʔetlalamha/ 'he was ready to return'
ʔetla-1Vm-eH-? /ʔetlalamhe?/ 'be ready to return'
ʔetla-1Vm-nHuk-u- 'to make someone ready to return'
ʔetla-nHuk-u-1Vm- 'to be ready to take someone home,' cf.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

\( \text{to'ja-met'-} \) 'to be all piled up,' cf. \( \text{to'ja-} \) 'to pile up'

\( \text{?el'j-met'-} \) 'to be left behind,' cf. \( \text{?eHl-?He-} \) 'to leave, abandon
ken \( \text{?el'j-met'-eH-} \) /ken \( \text{?el'jemet-e?} / \) 'don't get left behind!

\( \text{?el'j-met-a'-} / \text{?el'jemet-a'/} \) 'he got left behind'

17. \( ||-mh-|| \) 'absent.' This suffix follows a Stem 4 or a base not fall within the canonical limits of Stem 1. It has been realized in all three verbal modes; only the form \( ||-mh-|| \) has been found. The imperative modal suffix has the form \( ||-eH-|| \) after this 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 1) and Stem 4 are identical, and both suffixes can follow longer bases, the whole forms are therefore homophonous in the imperative.

Examples:

\( \text{?ywny-mh-} \) 'to be away feeding (trans.),' cf. \( \text{?ywy'n-} \) 'to feed'

\( \text{hywta-mh-eH-ti}. / \text{hywtmhe'ti'/} \) 'let's run away!' cf. \( \text{hywta-} \) 'run'

\( \text{le'le'ny-mh-} / \text{le'le'nymh-} / \) 'to be away at school,' cf. \( \text{le'le'ñe-} \)

'to read'

\( \text{welh-mh-} \) 'to be away seeking,' cf. \( \text{wel-h-} \) 'to seek'

\( \text{welh-mh-ak-∅ /welhymhak/} \) 'I was away seeking'

\( \text{welh-mh-eH-tYH /welhymhety'/} \) 'be off looking for me!'

18. \( ||-mhi-|| \), reciprocal. This suffix follows any stem which object or process of a verb or action, but it occurs rarely. It has the form
VERBAL SUFFIXES

is ||-ka-||; elsewhere, it is ||-na-||. Following this suffix, the perfect has the form ||-na-|| = ||-nak-||, and the imperative is ||-(||-n-|| - ||-X-||)||.

The meaning of this suffix is benefactive: 'to . . . for (someone)'. It appears to be productive. Its similarity of form to {-na₂-} 'cause' 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. koseⁿ-nY- 'to cook'
myli⁻na- 'to sing for (someone),' cf. myli-i- 'to sing'
tawhan⁻c-na- 'to work for,' cf. tawhan⁻e⁻ 'to work'

520. {-na₂-}, causative. This suffix follows a stem of the form Stem 4; where necessary, the C₃ position is filled by /*/. Some stems, however, are related to nominal themes or to stems which cannot occur as bases or themes without a following suffix rather than Stem 1's. This suffix has the following allomorphs: before the present imperfect and imperative modal suffixes, it is ||-pa-||; elsewhere, ||-na-||. Following this suffix, the present imperfect has the form ||-nak-||, and the imperative is ||-ni-|| = (||-n-|| - ||-X-||). While {-na₂-} follows a stem of the form C₁V₁C₂V₂⁻, the resulting verb base is sometimes treated as a Stem 1 of the form C₁V₁C₂V₂⁻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 been noted.
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language

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/); elsewhere, it is \(-m\). Following this suffix, the present perfect has the form \(-na-\) (e.g., the imperative is \(-ni-\) (\(-n\) ~ \(-X-\)). When \(-nY-\) is a stem of the form \(C_1V_1C_2\), the resulting verbal base falls within the tonal limits of Stem 1, and corresponding Stems 2, 3, and 4 are lost. 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 Stem 1 of the form \(C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot n\) (cf. \{-na\}, section 520).

Following a stem related to a nominal theme or one derived from Spanish or English loan word, this suffix is simply a verbalizer. If the stem refers to an instrument, the form usually means 'to use'; other forms with nominal stems mean 'to become a... to turn into...'. The stem appears in its usual nominal form; if it ends in \(/a/\), it is followed by stem-formative length (\(-\cdot\)) 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)
nan\(\,\,a\,\,-nY\)- 'to become a man,' cf. nan\(\,\,a\,\,H\,\,-\, 'man'

\(\cdot\)
VERBAL SUFFIXES

The suffix appears to be productive in this environment. Examples:

lot-nY- ~ lotu'-nY- 'to pass something secretly, while shaking hands,' cf. lo'-t- 'to grasp'
sopu'-nY- 'to hit accidentally, while throwing; to pass by the way to throw (it) with (it),' cf. so'-p- 'to throw'
'ywy'-nY- 'to eat something (e.g., an insect) inadvertently, one's food,' cf. yw'-y- 'to eat'
holuk-nY- 'to fell one tree inadvertently, while felling another purpose,' cf. holk- 'to fell a tree'

Following a stem of the form $C_1V_1'C_2V_2C_3'$, related to a Stem, this suffix has an iterative meaning. The iteration appears to reflect a plurality of the object. Where necessary, the $C_3$ position is filled.

Examples:

'e·leŋ-nY- 'to leave several things behind,' cf. e·leŋ- 'to leave behind, abandon'
so·pu?-nY- 'to hit several people,' cf. so·p- 'to throw and hit'
'o·ja?-nY- 'to call (him) names,' cf. o·ja- 'to name'
co·ju?-nY- 'to pile dirt in small mounds at intervals' (as a man 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 Stem, this suffix has an iterative meaning. The iteration here appears to reflect repeated action upon a single object. Where necessary, the $C_3$ position is filled by $\cdot\cdot\cdot$. The suffix appears to be productive in this environment.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

suffix does not appear to be productive. Examples:

\( ?\text{uk}\text{-}\text{uk-}nY- \) 'to go in and out the rooms,' cf. \( ?\text{u-}k- \) 'to enter'

\( ?\text{ol}\text{-}\text{ol-}nY- \) 'to dig around here and there,' cf. \( ?\text{ol-} \) 'to dig'

\( \text{petpet-}nY- \) 'to hide around, to sneak,' cf. \( \text{peHt-}\eta\text{He-} \) 'to hide (intrans.)'

\( ?\text{yn}\text{-}\text{y-}nY- \) 'to come often,' cf. \( ?\text{yn-} \) 'to come'

\( \text{joh\text{-}\text{u-}nY- \) 'to kill here and there,' cf. \( \text{joh-} \) 'to kill'

\( \text{welhyh-}nY- \) 'to seek here and there,' cf. \( \text{wel-h-} \) 'to seek'

\( \text{hukjaj-}nY- \) 'to sniff around,' cf. \( \text{huka-}j- \) 'to smell (trans.)'

\( \text{tyntyn-}nY- \) 'to think; to consider,' cf. \( \text{tyny-}\eta- \) 'to remember'

\( \text{tyntyn-}mY-\text{na-} \) /\text{tyntym\text{-}yna\text{/} \) 'he thought'

\( \text{tyntyn-}mY-\text{ni-} \) /\text{tyntym\text{-}yni\text{/} \) 'think!'

522. \(-e\text{-}\text{-}nY-\), discontinuous iterative. This combination of suffix shows a stem of the form \( C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3- \), related to a verbal base or a nominal theme referring to a body part. Where necessary, the position is filled by /?/. If the stem elsewhere has /h/ as \( C_3 \), it is replaced by /j/. The suffix \(-nY-\) shows the same allomorphs as combination as it does by itself, while \( ||-e\text{-}|| \) occurs only in stem. The combination has been found in present imperfect, present perfect, and imperative verbal themes.

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

Instead of 'he was about to . . . just now,' such themes mean 'to want very much' or 'to be ready to . . . .' When followed by -ke, past nominal suffix, themes containing this combination of suffixes have another unusual meaning: instead of 'he was about to . . . ,,' than 'he was supposed to . . . , but did not.' The combination is productive. 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'le'
'to read'
?yphy-j-nY-keH-? /?yphyjnyke?/ 'he was supposed to swim, but didn't,' cf. ?yp-h- 'to swim'

524. {-je--nY-}, discontinuous iterative (cf. {-e--nY-}, section 5) as combination of suffixes follows a Stem 4; no other stem type is observed. The suffix {-nY-} shows the same allomorphy in combination as it does by itself; ||-je--|| occurs only in this form. Stems containing this combination of suffixes refer primarily to repetitive actions. A possible distinction from {-e--nY-} is indicated by the 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, while
{-e--nY-} indicates discontinuity in space. Examples:
lakhy-je--nY- 'to bob up and down, in and out of sight (e.g.,
rates a jumping) of lakha - 'to appear.'
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

Examples:

\(\text{to} \cdot \text{ja-meh-nY- } '\text{to pile up (intrans.)}', \text{ cf. } \text{to} \cdot \text{ja- 'to pile up (trans.)}'\)

\(\text{?enh-meh-nY- } '\text{to form itself; to turn into something else; to modify}', \text{ cf. } \text{?enh- 'to make, fix, prepare'}\)

\(\text{pe} \cdot \text{tja-meh-nY- } '\text{to get lost}', \text{ cf. pe} \cdot \text{tja- 'to lose'}\)

\{-meh-nY-\} is also found following a Stem 2 (where necessary, the C_3 position is filled by /\cdot/), or a base too long to fit the canonical limits of Stem 1. Forms of this structure, which is productive, may be short on one's way! If Stem 2 usually has the form \(C_1V_1C_2\), the combination can follow either this form of the stem or one of the forms \(V_1C_2Y\cdot\), with a slight difference of meaning: if the stem is \(C_1V_1C_2\), the object is indefinite; if the stem is \(C_1V_1C_2Y\cdot\), the object is a specific item. Examples:

\(\text{halik-meh-nY- } '\text{to hunt on one's way}', \text{ cf. hal-ki- 'to hunt'}\)

\(\text{joh-meh-nY- } '\text{to kill on one's way (indefinite object)}', \text{ cf. joh- } '\text{kill'}\)

\(\text{johu- meh-nY- } '\text{to kill on one's way (definite object)}'\)

527. \{-te\'-nY-\}, linear distributive. This combination follows the form \(C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3\) (where necessary, the \(C_3\) position is /\cdot/) 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 \(\| -\text{te}'\|\); elsewhere, it is the combination appears to be productive, but only present imperfect verbal themes containing it have been found. Its meaning appears
VERBAL SUFFIXES

Verbs appear to be productive, sometimes have mediopassive meanings, but do not passen. 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 a
  wilds, the open'
- hal·e-t·uh-nY- 'to come out, get out of something,' cf. hal·e-

- cal-tuh-nY- d 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 necessary
  C₃ position is filled by /·/. Three stems appear in unusual for
  this environment: ||wyH·-|| 'to go' is ||wi·-||, ||yn·-|| 'to come
  mu-||, and ||hy·ja-|| 'to arrive' is ||hyja-||.

This suffix shows the following allomorphy: before the present
 imperative modal suffixes it is ||-kHu-||; before ||-keH-||, past
 suffix, it is ||-nHu-|| of -HUK·u-||; before {-na₁} 'benefactive
 -HUK-||; elsewhere, it is ||-nHuk·u-||. After this suffix, the per
 perfect appears in the allomorphs ||-na-|| of -nak-||, while the in
 form 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
 active rather than passive. The suffix is fully productive. Example

- 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 perfec
 - ?etal-kHu-ni, ||?etalkuni|| 'take him back'
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

531. ||-ŋk-||, verbalizer. This suffix follows nominal themes of structures. Only present imperfect verbal themes containing this suffixed have been recorded. Its meaning is 'to be . . ., to be a . . .'; it is generally 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- /manaŋkya?hý-/ '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 types of stem, with differences of meaning. After a base, it forms a passive form. In this environment, it has the following allomorphs: it is ||-k-|| when followed by the present perfect modal; the allomorphs ||-a-|| ∞ ||-ak-||) or the past nominal suffix {-ŋ}; the allomorph ||-a-||; it is ||-kaH-|| when followed by the imperfect modal suffix (in the allomorph ||-∅-||); elsewhere, it is ||-ŋe-||. 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·yu·-ŋHe- 'to get hurt,' cf. ?am·yu- 'to hurt, wound'
VERBAL SUFFIXES

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

Since these stems contain ||H||, they are of the form $C_1 V_1 C_2 - C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 C_3 -$ when the allomorphs /-ŋe-/ or ||-i-|| follow (see section 3), while they are $C_1 V_1 C_2 -$ or $C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 C_3 -$ before ||-ak•-|| and ||-k-||. Stems of the form $C_1 V_1 C_2 -ŋe-$, which provide bases for perfect verbal themes, fall within the canonical limits of Stem 1 sometimes, but not always, so treated. Such stems frequently alternate forms in the present perfect and imperative modes or which are followed by the past nominal suffix. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
{\text{jyH}}_{{\eta}}{\text{-ŋHe-}} & \quad '\text{to get dizzy, drunk}' \\
{\text{jyH}}_{{\eta}}{\text{-ŋHe-}}{\text{-∅-ma-}} /{\text{jy}}_{{\eta}}{\text{ema-}} & \quad '\text{I am drunk}' \text{ (present imperfect)} \\
{\text{jyH}}_{{\eta}}{\text{-ak-}}{\text{-∅}} & \quad '\text{get drunk}' \\
{\text{jyH}}_{{\eta}}{\text{-ak•-a-}} & \quad '\text{he got just now}' \text{ (present perfect)} \\
{\text{jyH}}_{{\eta}}{-i-keH-} & \quad '\text{he got drunk}{\text{(past nominal)}}' \\
{\text{tōH}}{-i-ŋHe-} & \quad '\text{to sit down, to be seated,} \text{ c.f. tō-}{}' \text{ 'to seat (trans.)}' \\
{\text{talyH}}{-i-ŋHe-} & \quad '\text{to become strong,} \text{ c.f. tal'y1- }\text{ 'strong')} \\
{\text{maH}}{-i-ŋHe-} & \quad '\text{to get sour,' c.f. makmak- }e- \quad '\text{to be sour'} \\
{\text{helaH}}{-i-ŋHe-} & \quad '\text{to be afraid,' c.f. hela}'j- '\text{to scare'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

533. {-pa-}, directional. This suffix follows a stem of the form
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

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

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

?yny•-pa-haj-nY-Ø-- /?ynpy-j-nY-Ø-- /?yny•pah-ajny/ /?yny•pah-ajny/ 'he wants to come to him'

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

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

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

hal-po-X•-? /halpa-koX•-? /halpo/ /halpako/ 'find it!'

534. {-poksus-}, reflexive. This suffix follows a verbal base. It is reflexive: 'to . . . oneself.' It is fully productive. It has three allomorphs: before the present perfect modal suffix, it is \|-h-\||, \|-h-\||, when the stem ends in a vowel, and \|-eh-\|| when it has a consonant; before the imperative modal suffix, it has been realized only as \|-ehi-\||, following stems ending in consonants. The imperative has the form \|X\|| after this suffix. Elsewhere, {-pksus-} is \|-po\| \|-paksu-\||; the second variant was used consistently by one informant (7), the first by all others. Historically, this suffix probably derives from a combination of the nominal suffix \|-poH\|| (see section 73) and verbal suffix \{-ksY-\} (see section 509). At the synchronic level, it is convenient to describe it as a suffixal combination, since \|-po\| and \|X\|| both are free. Historically, this whole alternates with other allomorphs, which moreover do not appear to be related to allomorphs of the putative member suffixes. Examples:

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS

komta-poksus- 'to hit oneself,' cf. komta- 'to hit with the fist'

komta-pokta- 'to hit his own,' cf. komta- 'to hit with the fist'
VERBAL SUFFIXES

liw’a?-puţ’-eH-? /liw’a?puţ’e?/ 'keep on talking!'
puţ’uh-puţ’- 'to keep on leaking out,' cf. puţ-h- 'to leak, bulge
(of split container)'
kel’a?-puţ’- 'to be still snowing,' cf. kel’a- 'to snow'

36. ||-puHți-||. This suffix has only been found following two de
tensive stems and ||?okaHh-|| 'same,' a nominal theme. It is undou-
ted to the preceding suffix, ||-puţ’-||, but since both the form and
meaning are slightly different it seems best to treat it as a separate
pheme. It has the same form, ||-puHți-||, before all three modal
3s. Its meaning is 'to do, say (it) . . . way.' Examples:
?i-puHți- 'to do, say it that way,' cf. ?i- 'that one'
ne-puHți- 'to do, say it this way,' cf. neH- 'this one'
?okaHh-puHți-nY- 'to do, say the same thing,' cf. ?okaHh- 'same'

37. ||-si-||, 'immediately.' This suffix follows a Stem 2; where
the C3 position is filled by /?/. It has been found before all
al suffixes, where it always has the form ||-si-||. Its meaning is
.. right now, immediately, too soon!; owing to this meaning, it
most commonly in the imperative mode. It appears to be pro-
within the limits of meaning. Examples:
hylet-si- 'to jump first,' cf. hyle-?t- 'to jump'
hylet-si-koX-? /hylesiko?/ 'go ahead and jump!'
wyn-si-na- /wynsina/ 'he just now came,' cf. wy’n- 'to walk'
lep’a?-si- 'to use (it) up too soon,' cf. lep’?a- 'to finish'
hywat-si-koX-? /hywatsiko?/ 'hurry up and run!,' cf. hywa-?t-
run'

| Signs and Symbols |
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

moli•-t- 'to get dusk, to get late, to become evening,' cf. moli
'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 pick'
wyn•-t- 'to pick fruit,' cf. wy•n- 'to walk?'
hyle•-t- 'to fly'
hywa•-t- 'to run'
ţyjy•-t- 'to carry'

540. ||-t khuH-||, reflexive. This suffix follows a verbal base, and
the same form before all three modal suffixes. The present perfect
modal suffix appears in the form ||-ha-|| ∞ ||-hak-||, and the impera-
tive ||-o-|| following this suffix. It is probably productive. Its mean-
ing is reflexive, 'to oneself'; it appears to be synonymous with {-poksu-} (see
section 534). Examples:

ţome•-na-t khuH- 'to warm oneself,' cf. ţome•-na- 'to warm'
hek•a-t khuH- 'to wash oneself,' cf. hek•a- 'to clean'
hek•a-t khuH-o? /hek•atku?/ 'wash yourself!
je•pa-t khuH- 'to decide,' cf. je•pa- 'to believe'
je•pa-t khuH-ha• /je•patku•ha/ 'he decided'
cinip-na-t khuH- 'to make oneself small, to crouch,' cf. cinip-
'to make small'

541. {-wa-}, iterative. This suffix follows a stem of the form
V1C2, which is related to a verbal base or to an otherwise un-
derstood stem. The resulting form falls within the canonical limita-
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 $V_1C_2C_1V_1C_2$; 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 is $\|\text{na}\| = \|\text{nak}\|$, and the imperative is $\|\text{koX}\|$). They carry 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-ηHe- '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. cilián).

{-ene-}, 'to ask (someone to do something).' This suffix is item 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 $\|\text{enik}\|$); elsewhere, it is $\|\text{-ene}\|$. 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 sheep'
 penyh-ene- 'to ask someone to fix it,' cf. penyh- 'to fix, to mend'
545. $\| -\cdot po- \|$. This suffix follows a stem of the form $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3\cdot V_2C_3\cdot -\|$, which is related to a nominal theme (where necessary, the $C_3$ position is filled by /?/). Bases containing this suffix mean 'to put on . . . ; apply . . . ; to fasten with . . . .' Its productivity and allomorphy have not been determined. Examples:

- symti-\textsuperscript{-po-} 'to apply grease,' cf. sym-\textit{it-} 'grease'
- loc\textsuperscript{i-}\textsuperscript{-po-} 'to fasten with snap fasteners,' cf. lo-\textit{ci-} 'snap fastener'
- watno-\textsuperscript{-po-} 'to button (tr.); to sew on buttons,' cf. wato-\textit{na-} 'to button
- hansi-\textsuperscript{-po-} 'to harness,' cf. ha\textsuperscript{n}is- 'harness'

546. $\| C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3\cdot V_2C_3\cdot -\|$, iterative. A stem of this shape provides a verbal base without any following suffix. Some such stems are used as 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 the stem-form have been recorded in all three modes; the present perfect modal suffix appears in the allomorphs $\| -a- \| \approx \| -ak- \|$, and the iterative is $\| -eh- \|$. Stems of this shape refer to motions of an oscillatory-librational nature, involving frequent, more or less rhythmic motion, usually of living things. Examples:

- hylet\textsuperscript{-et-} 'to flop about (of fish),' cf. hyle\textsuperscript{-t-} 'to jump; to flop'
- ky\textsuperscript{t}y\textsuperscript{t}y\textsuperscript{-t-} 'to have one's teeth chatter'
- tacak\textsuperscript{ak-} 'to have fits (of a dog)'
- hutul\textsuperscript{-ul-\textsuperscript{-a-}} /hutul\textsuperscript{-ul-\textsuperscript{a-}}/ 'it rolled just now,' cf. hutul\textsuperscript{-l-} 'to roll (trans.)'

547. $\| C_1V_1C_2\cdot V_2C_3\cdot -\|$, intransitive. Stems of this form, with the suffix -\textsuperscript{a-}, are recorded by very. Some are related to stems with the

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 Stem 1. Such nominal themes are diverse in form, as are the Stems which they correspond. No simple statement will cover the relations of the stems, 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'

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 2 and 4 both have the form $C_1 V_1 C_2 C_3 V_2^-$, a stem of the form $C_1 V_1 C_2 V_1 C_3 V_2^{236}$ (possible Stem 1 cannot) is sometimes found as a nominal theme.
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'
hyny- 'eye,' cf. hyny·t- 'to open the eyes'
ṭyk?y- 'a stitch,' cf. ṭy·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'
ʔyw·y- '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.
NOMINAL THEMES

A series 2 single suffix, refers to the "subject" ('you'), while on after 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?-ke'ni'kan/ 'you are my brother.'

In view of the English translations, the use of Series 1 double nominal 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' 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,' requiring a double suffix, the portion before the case suffix refers to the subject, while the subject of the English sentence is, in Miwok, the portion following the case suffix, corresponding in form to a Series suffix. If another noun in the sentence refers to this "subject," it is in the genitive case. 'You can chase,' ||?enpu-ni?-nY･|| /?enpun?ny･/ better translated 'your possible chasing,' while 'you can chase,' ||enpu-ni-te?-nY･|| /?enpunite?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.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

...of course, possible that some of the forms which have been included 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. Someone who is not a member of the culture or a speaker of the language might wonder what was the connection of meaning between ||hať-butch' and ||hať-e-|| 'foot' were it not for the fact that a myth has been recorded which recounts, among other things, how Duck's feet were. However, I am reasonably certain that, for the purposes of the 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

Independent personal pronouns are Class III nominal themes, which are found followed by a variety of case suffixes. Some of them have especially simple forms; others are complex as shown in the following text.
641. The first person singular independent pronoun has the form \( \text{kan' } - || \). It is \( \text{kan' } - || \) when followed by the genitive suffix \( -\eta' - || \); elsewhere, it is \( \text{kan' } - || \).

642. The second person singular independent pronoun has the form \( \text{mi' } - || \). It is \( \text{mi' } - || \) when followed by the genitive case, \( \text{mi' } - || \) when followed by the genitive case, and \( \text{mi' } - || \) when other case suffixes follow. Note that the allomorph \( \text{mi' } - || \) is also the second person plural independent pronoun (see section 645).

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

644. The first person dual and plural exclusive independent pronoun has the form \( \text{mah' } - || \). It will be noted that this form is almost identical with the Series 3 and Series 4 first person plural exclusive personal pronouns. In addition to this pronoun, there are two other forms that have a pronominal use, both of which contain stems related to the dual stem \( \text{ot'iH} - || \) 'two.' One of these, \( \text{ot'iH-me-} \) 'first person dual inclusive,' consists of \( \text{ot'iH} - || \) followed by the Series 2 first personal suffix. The other, \( \text{ot'i-d' } \) \( \text{ot'i-c' } - || \) 'first person dual exclusive,' is not readily analyzable but appears to contain the same
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

650. DEMONSTRATIVE ROOTS

The Southern Sierra Miwok has three demonstrative roots which are of considerable importance and interest: \{neH-\} 'this,' \{?i-\} 'that,' and \{si-\} 'that?'. They are somewhat unusual in shape, being among the shortest roots in the language. They are followed by a variety of suffixes, and these roots suffixes often show curious divergences of meaning. Phrases containing these roots are of very frequent occurrence in native speech. They are class III nominal themes.

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

This root has the following allomorphs: before the genitive case \(-\eta\-\), it is \(\text{ne}^\prime\text{h-}\); before the verbal suffixes \(-pu\-\) and \(-ksY\-\), it is \(\text{ne-}\); elsewhere, it is \(\text{neH-}\). It occurs in the following combinations:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{neH-\{case\}} & \quad \text{'this one; he, she, it; here'} \\
\text{neH-\{case\}-?ok} & \quad \text{'this one; he, she, it; here'}
\end{align*}
\]
NOMINAL THEMES

cusative cases: \[?i-\emptyset-\text{o}k\] and \[?i-j-\text{o}k\] are both phonemically \[?i-\text{o}k\]. The root occurs in the following combinations:

\(?i-(\text{case})-\text{o}k\) 'that one; he, she, it; there'

\(?i-\text{k}^\circ-\text{o}(\text{case})-\text{o}k\) 'those; they'

\(?i-\text{n}i-(\text{case})\) 'that one'

\(?i-\text{n}i-\text{k}^\circ-(\text{case})-\text{o}k\) 'those; they'

\(?i-\text{taH-n}\) 'then'

\(?i-\text{pu}^\ddagger\text{-}\) 'to do that; to do it that way'

\(?i-\text{pu-ks}Y\) 'that's the way it is'

\(?i-\text{c}^\ddagger\text{-}\) 'to do that; to choose that one; to mean'

\(?i-\text{wi-n}\) 'now'

653. \[?\text{mi-}\] 'what?' occurs in themes with an "information, please" meaning. Only two such themes do not contain this root: \[?\text{tin}^\prime\text{y-}\] 'thing; what?' and \[?\text{mana}X-\] 'someone; who?'

\[?\text{mi-}\] has the same form in all environments. It occurs in the following combinations:

\begin{align*}
?\text{mi-taH-n} & \quad \text{'}when'? \\
?\text{mi-taH-no-n} & \\
?\text{mi-n}i- & \quad \text{'}where'? \\
?\text{mi-tokho-} & \quad \text{'how many'?} \\
?\text{mi-c}^\ddagger- & \quad \text{'}to do what'? \\
\end{align*}

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

\begin{align*}
?\text{mi-c}^\ddagger-\text{tho-j} & \quad \text{'}why'? \\
?\text{mi-c}^\ddagger-\text{ks}Y & \quad \text{'}to be how? (e.g., how are you)?'
\end{align*}

The last appears to be present, in abbreviated form, in another ver
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent
CHAPTER SEVEN

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

700. INTRODUCTION

The class of nominal suffixes consists of those morphemes which readily follow stem-types to provide nominal themes, which is to say that they are immediately followed by Series 1 or 2 nominal suffixes and/or case suffixes. Like the verbal suffixes (section 500), some are productive, while others are not, and each has certain 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 shape. 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 or other environments. Where this is the case, the position of the vowel is filled by ||Y||; the third consonant position is usually filled by Y, but in some instances length is found.

Nominal suffixes generally have fewer allomorphs than do verbal suffixes. Verbal suffixes frequently exhibit polymorphism before the nominal suffixes which are not found following nominal suffixes.
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 often 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 number 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 how to analyze the form as containing the zero third person suffix or as followed by case alone. Class I, members of which are allowed 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 and has the following allomorphs: after stems ending in a consonant, -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 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 . . . . .' It is productive. Example: kala-η-a-ʔ-hY- 'while he danced,' cf. kala-η- 'to dance'.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

towin'-aj- 'mockingbird'
walak'-aj- 'tule'
wala nyh'-aj- 'Echinodontium tinctorum paint'
?elem'-aj- 'red tree-fungus'
hil iw'-aj- 'whitefish'
hopon'-aj- 'mussel; clam'
lapi's'-aj- 'trout; fish'
?oej?-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 verbal base too long to fit the canonical limits of Stem 1. Where necessary, the \( C_3 \) position is filled by /?/. This suffix has two allomorphs, depending on whether the stem length is a short or a longer base. It is ||-ajaHk-||; following a longer base, it is ||-?ajaHk-||. 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'
?olu?-ajaHk- 'root-diggers,' cf. ?ol- 'to dig roots'
sose?-ajaHk- 'grinders,' cf. sos?e- 'to grind acorns'
?ono?-ajaHk- 'miners,' cf. ?on?o- 'to mine' (<Sp. oro 'gold')
?ono?-ajaHk-h'Y-me-? /?ono?-aja?kyh'yme?/ 'we were miners long ago'
tolti ja?nY?-ajaHk- 'tortilla makers,' cf. tolta?ja?nY- 'to make tortillas'

This suffix has also been found following a stem of the form C1V2C3- which is related to stems belonging to Stem 2.
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'
- ?uc·u·jak-∅-∅ /?uc·u·jak/ 'he's from . . . ,' cf. ?uc·u- 'to dwell'

705. ||-aH-|| follows several stem types. All themes ending in a 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 $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3^-$, related to a stem to a Class III nominal theme. Where necessary, the $C_3$ position is filled by /∅/. Themes of this structure have such meanings as 'bitter, warm, dead, wild, etc.).' The pattern is productive. Examples:

- kywe·η·aH- 'it is cold,' cf. kyHw-ηHe- 'to become cold'
- cuje·η·aH- 'it is sweet,' cf. cuHj-ηHe- 'to become sweet'
- hiso·k·aH- 'it is fuzzy,' cf. hi·sok- 'hair'
- hale·η·aH- 'wild animal' ('it is wild'), cf. hal·e- 'the wilds; open'

lewe·t·aH-te-? /lewe·ta·te?/ 'I am heavy,' cf. leweHt-ηHe- '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:
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

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

jyh·y-c- 'sailing along,' cf. jyh·y-c- 'to move smoothly and
naʔ·y-c- 'together,' cf. naʔ·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 the sequence. Its suffixal nature is proved by one instance where it follows stems of various forms: CVCVC-, CVC·V-, CVC·V-, and is meaning is obscure. It does not appear to be productive. Examples:

kawaʔ·ci- 'pestle,' cf. kaw·an- 'acorn meal'
kom·a-ci- 'pygmy owl'
cikiw·ci- 'Mariposa lily'
hin·a-ci- 'sugar pine'

708. ||-c-·e-||, habitual. This suffixal combination follows a stem too long to fit the canonical limits of Stem 1. The nominal suffix ||-h·Y-|| and the verbal suffix {-nY-} have been found following ||-c-·e-||, which is therefore not prefinal. Themes ending in this combination of suffixes are members of Class II. They mean 'one who habitually . . . ,' and frequently seem to carry a connotation of annoyance at the repetitious behaviour. The combination is productive.

The first member of the combination appears to be the static verbal suffix, {-c-}; the combination, however, follows a stem form dif-
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 form CV·- or CVCVC-. Such stems have not been recorded elsewhere with 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. Tokens in this suffix are members of Class III, and function primarily as nouns; when followed by Series 2 pronominal suffixes, they have the implication of a continuative past tense. The suffix is fully productive, and final suffixes have been found following it. Examples:

helaHj-ηHe-haHk-∅ /helajjehak/ 'being afraid,' cf. helaHj-ηHe- ‘to be afraid’
mul-h-haHk-∅ /mulhuhak/ 'stopping,' cf. mul-h- ‘to quit’
cam-h-haHk-j /camhyha·kyj/ 'dying (accusative case),' cf. cam-h-haHk ‘to die’

?yw·y-ηHe-haHk-to-∅ /?yw·yη·ehakto∅/ 'to the feast (allative form)

?yhyt-meH-ηY-h·ai-ηY-haHk-∅ /?yhtme·nyh·ainyha·ki/ ‘getting

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS
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'

{-h·Y-}, 'past!' This suffix occurs after nominal themes of
esses and after bases. It has the following allomorphs: after a
ess ||-?Yh·Y-||, and the resulting form is a member of Class II;
nominal theme, it is ||-h·Y-||, and the form is a member of the
ess as the nominal theme preceding the suffix. The diminutive
Y-|| and ||-tki-|| have been found following this suffix, which is
ductive. Its meaning is 'past; former.' When it follows a nomi-
me which already has a past-tense meaning, it implies greater
iteness; following allomorphs of {-keH-}, it means 'a year or m-
.' Examples:

heŋiHl·-i·keH·h·Y·∅-? /heŋi·ikeh·y?/ 'he got lost,' cf. heŋiHl
'got lost,' heŋiHl·-ηHc- 'to get lost'
?enup·-e·h·Y·me-? 'we chased them, long ago,' cf. ?enup·-e-
hal·ik·iH·h·Y·∅-? /hal·ikh·y/? 'he used to hunt,' cf. hal·ik·iH
'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·∅-? } '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.
NOMINAL SUFFIXES

tal·y interstate. 'his power,' cf. tal·y interstate. 'strong'
?oj·an·hHi·ni·? /?oj·anhini?/ 'you are a very big one,' cf. ?oj·an·hHi·ni·? 'big'
The suffix ||-hHi-|| is also found following a Stem 4. Themes of structure are likewise members of Class III, and mean 'it's . . . as you can . . . it; it makes one want to . . . .' This structure is perhaps, within the limits of meaning. Examples:

wyksy·hHi·- 'it's passable,' cf. wyksy·hHi·- 'to go'
hyjne·hHi·- 'it's visible,' cf. hyjne·hHi·- 'to see'
hyjne·hHi·koH·ø /hyjneh·iko·?/ 'you can see them'
cym·y·hHi·- 'one can ride it,' cf. cym·y·hHi·- 'to ride'
kal·a·hHi·- 'one can ride it,' cf. kal·a·hHi·- 'to ride'

?yw·y·hHi·- 'it makes one want to dance,' cf. ?yw·y·hHi·- 'it looks good to eat,' cf. ?yw·y·hHi·- 'to eat'

715. {-iH-}, habitual. This suffix follows a Stem 3 or a verbal long to fit the canonical limits of Stem 1. It has the following morphs: after bases too long for Stem 1, it is ||-?iH-|| y ||-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 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·uw·iH·te·?/ 'I'm always hungry,' cf. hulw· - 'hungry'
kala·ŋ·iH·hu·? /kala·ŋ·iH·hu·?/ 'he used to be a dancer,' cf. kal·a·ŋ·iH·hu·? 'to dance'
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‘pujnī?/ 'you will be a chief,' cf. haja‘p
‘chief'

717. {-jak-}, 'times ten.' This suffix follows a stem which is not 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 $V_1C_2V_2^\cdot\cdot\cdot$, and the suffix appears in the allomorph ||-jak-||; for seven, nine, and ten, the stem is $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3^\cdot\cdot\cdot$, while for eight it is $V_1C_2V_2C_4^\cdot\cdot\cdot$, and in both cases the suffix is ||-ijak-||. Themes to this suffix (which is not productive) are members of Class III, other to multiples of ten, except where the stem means 'one.' Examples:
keje‘-jak- 'another kind,' cf. kej’eH- 'one'
?oṭi‘-jak- 'twenty,' cf. ?oṭiH- 'two'
maho‘-jak- 'fifty,' cf. maho‘oka- 'five'
?oji‘-s-ijak- 'forty,' cf. ?oji‘s‘a- 'four'
kawi‘t-ijak- 'eighty,' cf. kawi‘inta- 'eight'
na‘a‘c-ijak- 'one hundred,' cf. na‘a‘ca- 'ten'

718. ||-jH-|| follows a Stem 3, or a stem of similar form (C1C2C3), which no corresponding Stem 1 has been recorded; where necessary, $C_3$ position is filled by /?/. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III. The future suffix {-j-} has been found following a suffix, which appears to be productive. Its meaning is somewhat different to characteristic behaviour. Examples:
NOMINAL SUFFIXES

suffix, which is therefore not prefinal. It is fully productive. 

'coming' 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'
?qohta-j’a- 'women,' cf. ?oха- 'woman'
miwty-j’a- 'people; Indians,' cf. miwtyH- 'person; Indian'
?ajtuH-me-? miwty-j’a-me-? 'we're all Indians'
?esle-j’a- 'children,' cf. ?esleY- 'child'
kawja-j’a- 'horses,' cf. kawa•ju- 'horse'
?yhmy-j’a- 'bears; the Bear moiety,' cf. ?yhy•mati- 'bear'
?at’e-j’a-nti-? /?at’ej•anti?/ 'my younger brothers,' cf. ?ate- 
'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 
and following this suffix. Its meaning is apparently 'past time,' bu 
not way it differs from other past-tense nominal suffixes is not kn 
is not common, but it appears to be productive. Examples:

?enyh-na-ka-nti-? /?enyhnakanti?/ 'I made it for them,' cf. ?
'to make for'

?enyh-na-ka-h•Y-nti-? 'I fixed it for them, long ago'
halpa-ka-nti-j /halpakanti•/ 'I found it (accusative case),' cf. 
'to find'

ju•w-ka-?•hY• /ju•wuka?hy•/ 'he stirred it yesterday,' cf. ju•w
'stir'

wuka•bi /wuka•bi/ 'the way he went' of wuka, 'to go'
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

The resemblance to any other recorded stem. The diminutive suffix ||-t-||, the past suffix {-h·Y-} have been found following this sequence.

Examples:

cim-cimih-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, 
C₃ position is filled by /h/.) or a base which does not fit the other 
requirements of Stem 1. It has the following allomorphs: after 
Stem 2, it is ||-e-||; after the allomorph ||-k-|| of the passive verb 
ex {-ŋHe-}, it is ||-a-||; after other bases, it is ||-keH-||. ||-e-|| are 
first and second person single pronominal suffixes and all other 
pronominal suffixes (||-keH-|| is by far the more frequent form, but 
some informants occasionally used ||-k-||); elsewhere, it is ||-keH-||.

In the case of two Stem 1's (||hy·ja-|| 'to arrive' and ||ha·je-|| 'get up to'), the usual form with this suffix consists of the Stem 1 
position followed by the allomorph ||-keH-|| instead of a Stem 2 allomorph ||-e-||. Some informants state that ||hyjah·e·∅-?|| /hyjah' 
'arrived' is a meaningful form; others deny its existence, and state 
||hy·ja-keH·∅-?|| /hy·jake?/. The latter is certainly of much 
rarer occurrence. Stem 1's of this shape (CV·CV-) are relatively 
infrequent. It is possible that this feature is characteristic of all of them, but it has 
been established in only these two instances.

A Stem 2 (of the form C₁V₁C₂V₂C₃-) sometimes corresponds to a 
bare base consisting of a stem of the form CV.CV- followed by the
NOMINAL SUFFIXES

cyten·e·∅·? /cyte·na·keH·∅·? /cyten·e?/ /cyte·nake?/ 'him like it,' cf. cyte··na· 'to cause to like'

724. ||-kuH-||, evidential passive predicative. This suffix follows the stem of the form C₁V₁C₂V₂C₃-, which is related to a base or which has been recorded in any other environment. Where necessary, the C₁ position is filled by /∅/. 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 productive. It is sometimes followed by the past-tense suffix {-.}

Examples:

lacyn-kuH- 'blazed,' cf. lac·nY- 'to chop'
lotu?-kuH- 'captive,' cf. lot·- 'to catch'
?ele?-kuH- 'divorced,' cf. ?eHl·ηHe- 'to leave'
?amal-kuH- 'crippled,' cf. ?aml·a- 'to wound non-fatally'
?amal-kuH·koH·∅ /?amalku·ko·/ 'they are crippled'
kuhat-kuH- 'you can see it has been hit,' cf. kuhta- 'to hit'
wemy?-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 C₁V₁C₂C₃V₄ (where necessary, the C₃ position is filled by /∅/) occurs in a few themes, which refer to body parts. Other stem shapes include CVCC-, and CVCVCCV-. The meaning of this suffix is obscure. It does not appear to be productive; it has been found followed by the locative suffix ||-li·|-. Examples:

wem·- 'to dig a hole'
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

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

Signs and Symbols

3

THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

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

Signs and Symbols

3

 Examples:

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

?otki-liHp- 'double; twins,' cf. ?otliH-ko- 'two'

?otki-liHp-koiH-Ø /Øtkilionko/ 'they are twins'

?otki-liHp-tki-? /Øtkilipyrki/ 'little twin'

?otsi-liHp- 'quadruplets,' cf. ?otsi-a- 'four'

mahko-loHp- 'quintuplets,' cf. mah-o-ka- 'five'

na?ca-laHp- 'ten of them,' cf. na?ca- 'ten'

727. ||-ma-||, agentive. This suffix follows two types of stem. One, the form C₁V₁C₂V₂-1, is related to a Stem 1 of the form C₁V₁C₂V₂-1. The other, of the form C₁V₁C₂V₂C₃-, is related to a Stem 1 of the form /?/. 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 productivity 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'

paty- ma- 'bringer,' cf. paty- t- 'to take,' patyH- 'to carry in hands'

paty- ma-koiH-Ø 'they bring it'

?otö- ma- 'one who carries a child,' cf. ?otö- t- 'to carry in arms'

?eca- ma- 'second, medium-textured portion of acorn mush, ?eca- t- 'to accompany,' ?eca- 'behind'
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**NOMINAL SUFFIXES**

Some which does not occur as a base or theme without a following de
x. Where necessary, the C₃ position is filled by /ʔ/. Themes of
structure are members of Class II. They mean 'a person who is'
the verbal suffix {-nY-} and the past-tense suffix {-h·Y-} have be
and following such themes. In this use, /|-meH-|| is productive.
Examples:

lotuʔ- -meH- 'a captive,' cf. lo·t- 'to catch'
heŋilik-meH- 'one who is lost,' cf. heŋiH·l-ŋHe- 'to get lost'
pel·e- -meH- 'blind; a blind man,' cf. pel·e- 'to not see'
hakajj- -meH- 'a starveling,' cf. hakajHj-ŋHe- 'to be hungry'
ʔeleŋ- -meH- 'a widower,' cf. ʔeH·l-ŋHe- 'to leave behind'

This suffix is also found following a Stem 4, a stem of similar
V₁C₂C₃V₂- which is related to the first two syllables of a C₃
nominal theme, or a base too long to fit the canonical limitations on
Where necessary, the C₃ position is filled by /ʔ/. Forms of this
ture 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, su
fix is productive, and has been found followed by the past-tense
{-h·Y-} and the diminutive suffix /|-tki-||. Examples:

tolkoh- 'he has long ears,' cf. tolko- 'ear'
tolkoh- -tki-? /tolkometki?/ 'a little one with big ears'
tolkoh- -koH-? /tolkoméko-? 'they have long ears'

niʔo- -meH- 'he has a long nose,' cf. niʔoH- 'nose'
kutun- 'a key lock'; others:
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

pace-mhi-HmetiH-? /pacemhi-emeti/? 'relatives to each other'
pace- 'relative, kinsman'
ta-cihH-mhi-ko- /ta-cimhiko-/'they are brothers,' cf. ta-cihH-
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 negative case is ||-?|| instead of its usual zero form following a copula) and is probably prefinal and productive; its meaning is 'only, just, justly.' 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'
kycyc-mYh-? 'skinny; nothing but bones,' cf. kycyc- 'bone'
lama-mYh-? 'all trees,' cf. lama- 'tree'
hak-mYh-? 'just only,' cf. hak- 'only'

731. ||-m'a-|| follows a stem of the form C₁V₁C₂-V₂C₃V₂-, which is related to a Class III nominal theme or to a base. Where necessary, the first 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 {-mYa-} 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. helaya-
scare (trans.)'
NOMINAL SUFFIXES

tol·ok-ma- 'three times,' cf. tolo·koŋ- 'three'
ʔoj·is-ma- 'four times,' cf. ʔojis-a- 'four'
tiŋ·aw-ma- 'seven times,' cf. tiŋ·aw-a- 'seven'

732. ||-na-||: a number of Class III nominal themes referring to nuts or vegetable products end in this sequence. Stem forms are rare, and in no case is the stem relatable to one which occurs in another environment. The suffix, if such it is, is not productive. It is
found followed by the past-tense suffix {-h-y-}. Examples:
caw·e-na- 'bush'
hak·e-na- 'pitchy pine wood (for kindling)'
hakyŋ-na- (Equisetum, Western scouring-brush'
saŋsaʔ-na- 'pine cone'
wohwon-na- 'sequoia'

733. |i-ni-||, 'can, might, ought to.' This suffix follows a verbal
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 productive. Themes containing it mean '(he) can . . . , (he) must
. . , (he) ought to . . . .' Examples:
kala·ŋ·ni·ntiʔ /kalaŋynintiʔ/ 'I can dance,' cf. kala·ŋ- 'to
dance'
kala·ŋ·ni·h-y·ntiʔ /kalaŋynih·yntiʔ/ 'I used to be able to do
wyks·ni·j·h-y· /wyksyni::hy· 'he ought to go (accus.),' cf. wyk
'to go'
liwa·ksY·niʔ·maŋ·i· /liwaksyniʔ·mangi· 'we can talk,' cf. liwa
'to talk'
nyt·y·c·niʔ·h-y· /nyt·ycyni::hy· 'he might keep still,' cf. nyt·yc
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 . . . . 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 the stem of the form C₁V₁C₂V₂- or C₁V₁C₂V₂C₃- which is related to 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; meaning is superlative. The first member of the combination is ||-paH-||, 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 one'
lile-nHi-paH- 'uppermost,' cf. li•leH- 'up'
wilat-nHi-paH- 'tallest,' cf. wila•toH- 'tall'
arojan-nHi-paH- 'biggest,' cf. aroja•ni- 'big'

737. ||-paH-||, agentive. This suffix follows a Stem 4 or a stem of similar form related to a nominal theme, or a base too long to fit the canonical requirements of Stem 1. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class II, and mean "(he) is good at . . . ing, (he) is . . . , (he) is characterized by . . . ." When the stem refers to sal, 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

Nominalization is filled by /?/. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III. Such themes are, in effect, professional titles; they mean 'who is appointed to . . . . ' The past-tense suffix {-h\textsuperscript{Y}-} has followed this suffix, which is productive. Examples:

liw\textsuperscript{a}-peH- 'a spokesman; a speechmaker,' cf. liw\textsuperscript{a}- 'to speak'
liw\textsuperscript{a}-peH-te-? -koH /liw\textsuperscript{a}pe\textsuperscript{e}teko/ /'I am their speechmaker/
liw\textsuperscript{a}-peH-h\textsuperscript{Y}-? -koH /liw\textsuperscript{a}peh\textsuperscript{y}ko/ /'he used to make speeches for them; he was their speechmaker/'

\textsuperscript{t}uma\textsuperscript{a}-peH- 'a drummer,' cf. \textsuperscript{t}um\textsuperscript{a}- 'to thump'
\textsuperscript{o}koj\textsuperscript{a}-peH- 'a nurse,' cf. \textsuperscript{o}koj- 'to care for; to nurse'
\textsuperscript{a}ly\textsuperscript{a}-peH- 'one appointed to listen,' cf. \textsuperscript{a}l\textsuperscript{a}- 'to listen'

\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{Y}-}. It is productive; its meaning is the past-tense reflexive. It appears to be related, at least historically, to a reflexive verbal suffix {-pokusu-} (see section 534). Examples:

jo\textsuperscript{h}-poH-? 'he killed himself,' cf. jo\textsuperscript{h}- 'to kill'
pyta\textsuperscript{a}-poH-? 'he turned around,' cf. pyta\textsuperscript{a}- 'to turn around'
te\textsuperscript{p}-poH-te-? /te\textsuperscript{p}ypote?/ /'I cut myself,' cf. te\textsuperscript{p}- 'to cut'
sapa\textsuperscript{a}-poH-? /sapa\textsuperscript{a}ypo/ /'he's put his shoes on,' cf. sapa\textsuperscript{a}-shoe'

sapa\textsuperscript{a}-poH-te-? /sapa\textsuperscript{a}ypo\textsuperscript{e}te?/ /'I put my shoes on'
laca\textsuperscript{a}-t-poH-? 'he took his axe,' cf. laca\textsuperscript{a}-t- 'to take an axe'

\textsuperscript{40.} {-puH-} follows a stem of the form $C_1V_1C_2jV_2^\text{?}$, which is added to a Class III nominal theme referring to a kinsman. Themes in this suffix are members of Class III, and mean 'half-,' step-,
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

cinʔi-p’a-t’i-j 'little bits; nibbles (accusative),' cf. cinʔi-p’a-haj’e-p’a-j 'every few days; once in a while (accusative),' haj’e- 'close by; a while'
tiwha-p’a- 'a payment (by installments?),' cf. tiwa-’h- 'to pay'

742. {-phute-}, 'kind, species.' This suffix follows a demonstrative stem. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III, and only a few 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:

ʔokaʔh-phute- 'the same kind,' cf. ʔokaʔh- 'same'
ʔokaʔh-phaʔte-t’ʔ /ʔakahpuʔteʔ/ 'the same place (allative case)
ʔi-phuʔe-ʔʔok /ʔiʔuʔeʔʔok/ 'that kind,' cf. ʔi- 'that'

743. ||-taʔ-|| 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 C₁V₁C₂V₂C₃-; these stems are not related to known stems occurring in other environments. In this use, its meaning is obscure. The suffix is not productive. Examples:

mi-ťaʔ-n 'when?,' cf. mi- 'what?'
ʔi-ťaʔ-n-ʔʔok 'then,' cf. ʔi- 'this'
kot-ťaʔ-n 'a long way; a long time,' cf. kot-to- 'far'
ʔapʔ-an-ťa- 'salamander'
ʔawʔ-an-ťa- 'turtle'
ʔetʔ-em-ťa- 'thumb'
tepʔes-ťa- 'ramada'
NOMINAL SUFFIXES

Only final suffixes have been found following this suffix, which is active. Its meaning is diminutive; informants say that themes containing this suffix and those containing ||-c·Y-|| have identical meanings. Examples:

?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 which sometimes have unusual forms before this suffix. It is very in both form and meaning to the allative case suffix. However, remarkably different: its form is ||-to-||, not ||-tHo-||, and it can be preceded by the allative case, in the allomorph ||-t-||. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III. They refer to directions, to is identified in terms of directions, or to periods of time. Only final suffixes 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 of Class III. Only final suffixes have been found after this suffix and
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

?i-m-\text{-}t\text{-}Y-t-\text{-}?ok 'that way,' cf. ?i-m-\text{-}?ok 'from there'

?al\text{-}a-m-\text{-}t\text{-}Y-j 'under (accusative case),' cf. ?al\text{-}a-m- 'under'

\text{749.} \parallel \text{-}\text{HuH-} \parallel, reventive. This suffix follows a Stem 2 or a base long to fit the canonical requirements of Stem 1. Where necessary, the \text{C}3 \text{ position is filled by} /'\text{-}/. Before this suffix, \parallel ?yn-\parallel 'to come' appears as /?unu-\text{-}/. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class II. The past tense suffix \parallel \text{-}h\text{-}Y-\parallel has been found following this suffix, which is therefore not prefinal. It is fully productive. Its role is reventive, with an implication of past time: '(he) came back from m...ing!' Examples:

wynyt-\text{-}\text{HuH-}\text{-?} /wyny\text{-}t\text{-}u?/ 'he came back from picking them,'

wynyt- 'to pick'

wy?i\text{-}t\text{-}\text{HuH-}\text{-}t\text{-}? /wy?i\text{-}t\text{-}tu\text{-}t\text{-}?/ 'I've been to peek,' cf. wy?i\text{-}t\text{-}peek, peer'

joh-\text{-}\text{HuH-}\text{-?} /joh\text{-}tu?/ 'he came back from killing it,' cf. joh-kill'

hakaHj-\text{-}\eta\text{-He-}\text{-}\text{HuH-}\text{-?} /hakaj\text{-}\eta\text{-}\text{He-}\text{-}t\text{-}u?/ 'he was hungry there, he has been hungry,' cf. hakaHj-\text{-}\eta\text{-He- 'to be hungry'}

sose\text{-}\text{-}\text{HuH-}\text{-?} /sose\text{-}tu\text{-}?/ 'she came back from pounding,' cf. 'to pound acorns'

?unu\text{-}\text{-}\text{-}\text{HuH-}\text{-?} /?unu\text{-}tu\text{-}?/ 'he came,' cf. ?yn- 'to come'

\text{750.} \parallel \text{-}\text{-}\text{aH-} \parallel, diminutive. This suffix follows a stem of the form $V_1C_2V_2$, 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 an instrumental pronoun. This suffix is rare and has not appeared in any other context.
NOMINAL SUFFIXES

ed by an English infinitive or gerund. Examples:

\[ \text{wy'\text{n-}\text{aX-}\text{j-}\text{hY-} /wy'\text{ny}^\text{a}\text{hy-y} / 'his walking; 
\ldots \text{him walk (active)}' (e.g., 'I don't like his walking there,' 'I made him walk') \]

\[ \text{hyj'i-}\text{c'-}\text{aX-}\text{h-}\text{hY-} /\text{hyj'i-c'-}\text{a}\text{hy-y} / 'his seeing,' cf. \text{hyj'i-c'-see'} \]

\[ \text{sike'\text{nY-}\text{aX-}\text{nti-j} /\text{sike'ny-}\text{nti-j} / 'my being sick; 
\ldots \text{me sick'}} \]

\[ \text{hyj'y-}\text{ksY-}\text{aX-}\text{h-}\text{hY-} /\text{hyj'y-ksy-}\text{ah-y} \text{ny-y} / 'your knowing 
\ldots \text{your former knowing,' cf. hyj'y-ksY- 'to know'} \]

\[ \text{micyk-na-}\text{aX-}\text{te-j-}\text{hY-} /\text{micykna-}\text{at-}\text{ejh-y} / 'what he does to me,' \text{lit. 'I don't care about his doing what? to me'} \]

753. \{\text{-?ci-}\}, 'people of (a place).' This suffix follows Class III themes which refer to localities; themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III. It has the following allomorphs: following a vowel ending in a consonant, it is \{\text{-ci-}\}; before pronominal suffixes of the theme to form it is \{\text{-?ci-je-}\}; elsewhere, it is \{\text{-?ci-}\}. Themes containing this suffix refer to people who inhabit or come from the place referred to; it appears to be productive, within the limitations of the text, its only final suffixes have been found following it. Examples:

\[ \text{?awo-}\text{ni-}\text{?ci-} 'Yosemite people,' cf. \text{?awo-}\text{ni-} 'Yosemite Valley' \]

\[ \text{?awo-}\text{ni-}\text{?ci-}\text{je-}\text{ni-} /\text{?awo-}\text{ni-}\text{ci-}\text{je-}\text{ni-y} / 'are you from Yosemite 
piliwni-}\text{?ci-} 'they belong at Polona,' cf. piliwni- 'Polona' \]

\[ \text{marpo-}\text{sa-}\text{?ci-} 'they come from Mariposa,' cf. marpo-\text{sa-} 'Mariposa' \]

\[ \text{marpo-}\text{sa-}\text{ci-}\text{ji-}\text{me-} /\text{marpo-}\text{sa-}\text{ci-}\text{je-}\text{me-y} / 'walks from Mariposa' \]
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

suffix appears in the allomorph ||-?YniH-||; otherwise, it is ||-?YniH-||. Stemmes ending in this suffix, which is productive, are members of a Stem 2, and have been found followed by the past-tense suffix {-h?Y-}. For a Stem 2, the meaning of this suffix is predicative: 'it is (braded, parted, etc.).' After a nominal theme, it is possessive, 'has...' When the nominal theme refers to a numeral, this suffix indicates a unit within a decade. Examples:

pisot-?YniH- 'parted,' cf. piso-/-t- 'to part hair'
syk-?YniH- 'tattooed,' cf. syk- 'to mark, tattoo'
tewy?-?YniH- 'braided,' cf. tew-/-'t- 'to braid'
muckul-?YniH-Ø-? /muckul?uni/? 'he has an arrow,' cf. much- 'arrow'
cukuH-?YniH-ø-te-? /cuku?uni.te/? 'I have a dog,' cf. cukuH-
hu'ki-?YniH- 'having a tail,' cf. hu'ki- 'tail'
na?a.ca-? keŋ.eH-?YniH-? /na?a.ca? keŋ.eyni/? 'eleven' (literally 'ten has one'), cf. keŋ.eH- 'one'
tolo.ko?- 'three'
kawi.t-iak-Ø na?a.ca-? ?ojis.a?-?YniH-? /kawi.tijak na?a.ca?
?ojis.a?yni/? 'eighty-four,' cf. ?ojis.a- 'four'

756. {?a-}, agentive. This suffix follows (1) a Stem 3; (2) a sufform C\textsubscript{1}V\textsubscript{1}C\textsubscript{2}V\textsubscript{2}C\textsubscript{3}-, related to a Stem 1; or (3) a verbal base tending to fall within the canonical limits of Stem 1. Where necessary, position in both the first two stem types is filled by /?/\textsubscript{323}. This has the following allomorphs: following a base, it is ||-?a-||;
NOMINAL SUFFIXES

hyntyə- 'spotted,' cf. hynty- 'eye'
lopoʔə- 'lumpy,' cf. lopo- 'to form a lump'

757. {-a-ci-} follows a Stem 2 (where necessary, the C₃ 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 {-a-}, which shows the same allomorphy in combination as it does alone; the second member may be the nominal suffix ||-a-|| (see section 707). This combination has been found followed by case suffixes only, and by Series 1 pronominal suffixes and case; no other afinal suffixes have been found after it. It appears to be productive, and its meaning is somewhat obscure. Forms containing it are semantic verbals, and translate English gerunds or passive forms. Examples:

hywat-ə-ci- 'racing,' cf. hywat-ə-t- 'to run'
nut-ki-te? hywat-ə-ci-Ηs-∅ /nutki-te? hywat-əcis/ 'he’s changed me to race (instrumental; i.e., with racing)'
hinow-ə-ci- 'playing handgame,' cf. hinow-ə- 'to play handgame'
wyn-ə-ci- 'walking,' cf. wyn-ə- 'to walk'
syk-ə-ci- 'a mark,' cf. syk-ə- 'to mark; to write'
joh-ə-ci-ʔ-HY /joh-əciʔhy/ 'it was killed,' cf. joh- 'to kill'
?esə-λ-ηHe-ʔ-ə-ci-ʔ-HY /?esəlyen-əciʔhy/ 'his birth,' cf. ?esə-λ-ηHe- 'to be born'

758. {-a-po-}, instrumental agentive. This combination follows the form C₁V₁C₂V₂C₃- which is related to a nominal theme or base. Themes ending in this combination are members of Class I and have been found followed by the diminutive suffix ||-tki-||. The finite
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hynyt-ʼa-ṭe- 'spectacles,' cf. hynty- 'eye'
molij-ʼa-ṭe- 'umbrella,' cf. molj- 'shade'
pyhak-ʼa-ṭe- 'ointments; liniment,' cf. pyha:k- 'to rub on (ointments)
?ylij-ʼa-ṭe- 'mirror,' cf. ?yliH?-qHe- 'to act silly; to kid around
or ?y-li- 'Jack o’Lantern; the Little People'?

760. {ʼa-ṭi-} follows a Stem 2 or a stem of the form C₁V₁C₂ which is related to a Class III nominal theme. Themes ending in this combination are members of Class III, and have been found followed by a diminutive suffix ||-c’Y-||. The combination is productive, and means 'ready to . . . .' A number of themes containing it are the names of meals or refer to varieties of prepared food. Examples:

?enyh-ʼa-ṭi- 'ready to mend,' cf. ?enh- 'to make; to fix'
hel-ʼa-ṭi- 'ready to fight,' cf. hel- 'to fight'
husel-ʼa-ṭi- 'breakfast' (i.e., 'ready for breakfasting on'), cf.
   huse:l- 'to eat breakfast'
cilen-ʼa-ṭi- 'dinner (midday meal),' cf. cile-ʼnY- 'to eat a meal'
cilen-ʼa-ṭi-tki-? 'a light lunch'
sapan-ʼa-ṭi- 'supper,' cf. sapa-ʼnY- 'to eat supper'
hojum-ʼa-ṭi- 'acorn soup,' cf. hoju:m-a- 'acorn soup'
hupul-ʼa-ṭi- 'dough,' cf. hupl- 'to knead dough'

761. ||-ʼi-|| follows a stem of the form C₁V₁C₂V₁C₂- . Such stems, in some cases, related to the first syllable of a Class III nominal 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. Themes ending in this suffix are members of Class III; the past tense suffix
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent
NOMINAL SUFFIXES

pyʔca-liH- 'jackrabbit' (a substitute term used on account of a death tabu), cf. pyʔca- 'cottontail'

im-ele-liH- 'thunder,' cf. time-l- 'to thunder'

pepla-liH- 'jackrabbit'

pahe-liH- 'coyote'

pahe-liH-ni-? /?ahe-li-ni?/ 'you're a coyote'

muku-liH- 'Pandora moth caterpillar'

ele-liH- 'black oak'

||-muH-||, predicative. This suffix follows a stem of the form 2V2-, which is related to a Stem 1 or to a Class III nominal theme ending in this suffix are members of Class II. The past-tense suffix ||-h·Y-|| has been found after this suffix, which is therefore nominal. Its meaning is participial: 'he is (drunk, asleep, etc.).' Examples:

jyje-muH-te-? /jyje-mu-te?/ 'I am drunk,' cf. jyH-ŋHe- 'to be drunk'

jyje-muH-? /tyje-mu?/ 'he is asleep,' cf. tyj-e- 'to sleep'

newe-muH- 'dry,' cf. hew-e- 'to dry'

?pima-muH- 'unripe,' cf. ?ima- 'raw, unripe'

{-'ni-}, augmentative. This suffix follows a stem of the form 2V2- which is related to a Class III nominal theme or which has been recorded in any other environment; it also follows certain diminutive stems and Class III nominal themes of more than two syllables. It has the following allomorphs: after ||mi-|| 'what?' it is ||; after {?i-} 'that' it is ||-n·i-|| before the locative and before
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

When the vowel of the stem is /y/, the suffix is ||-·y-||; elsewhere it is ||-·u-||. It will be noted that this is the reverse of the pattern indicated by the morphophoneme ||Y|| (see section 175). The combination is productive, and has been found followed by the past-tense suffix {three ending in it are members of Class III. The second member is related to the agitative suffix ||-ma-|| (see section 727); the first member is unknown elsewhere. The meaning of the combination is past participle or predicative: 'it is (broken, cracked, cut, etc.).' The form usually refers to some damaging or destructive action. Examples:

\[\text{ko}́·-u-ma}́H- 'broken,' cf. kó·- 'to break (trans.)'
\[\text{ko}́·-u-ma}́H-h·Y-? /kó·umah·y?/ 'old broken thing'
\[\text{ko}́·-u-ma}́H-ni-? /kó·uma}́ni?/ 'you're broke (out of funds)'
\[\text{ty}́·-y-ma}́H- 'one-legged,' cf. tý·- 'to cut off; to amputate'
\[\text{ty}́·-y-ma}́H-te-? /tý·yma}́te?/ 'I'm one-legged'
\[\text{?a}́·-u-ma}́H- 'split,' cf. ?á·- 'to split (trans.)'
\[\text{te}́-u-ma}́H- 'a wound,' cf. té·p- 'to cut'
\[\text{?am}́·-u-ma}́H- 'a raw place,' cf. ?am}́·u- 'to hurt, wound, injure'

\[\text{||-HmetiH-||, plural. This suffix follows a Class III nominal or a Stem 3 (where necessary, the C3 position is filled by the suffixes ending in this suffix are likewise members of Class III. It has a plural meaning: 'there are . . . s among them; the group includes some . . . ' It is fully productive. Examples: 'there are several flies in the group,' cf. ?uc}́·um- 'fly'
[view image]
NOMINAL SUFFIXES

Found after a stem of the form \( C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 C_3 V_2 \), which is related to the nominal theme referring to a body part; where necessary, the \( C_3 \) is filled by /?/. Themes of this structure have the meaning 'a
big . . . .' The suffix is also found following a nominal theme relating to an animal, or a stem which is not recorded elsewhere. In instances, where the stem is recorded elsewhere it has exactly the same meaning as when followed by \( \| -\text{Hna-} \| \); the only possible order for this suffix under these circumstances is perhaps something like 'cute little.' It does not appear to be productive in either case. It has been found followed by the diminutive suffix \( \| -\text{tki-} \| \).

Examples:

\( \text{töl\-oko-Hna-} \) 'animal with big ears; jackrabbit,' cf. \( \text{tölko-} \) 'eats'
\( \text{hyn\-yty-Hna-} \) 'animal with big eyes,' cf. \( \text{hynty-} \) 'eye'
\( \text{nič\-oʊ-o-Hna-} \) 'animal with a big nose,' cf. \( \text{nič\-o\-H-} \) 'nose'
\( \text{tültak-Hna-} \) 'measuring worm,' cf. \( \text{tültak-} \) 'measuring worm'
\( \text{ʔacu\-cu-Hna-} \) 'rock wren,' cf. \( \text{ʔacu\-cu\-cu-} \) 'rock wren'
\( \text{my\-hy-Hna-} \) 'porcupine'
\( \text{pus\-i\?-Hna-} \) 'mouse'
\( \text{pus\-i\?-Hna\-tki-ʔ} \) /\( \text{pus\-i\?-natkiʔ} / \) 'little mouse'
\( \text{wačak-Hna-} \) 'frog'

58. \( \{\text{-HwyjeH-}\} \). This suffix follows a Class III nominal theme. Themes ending in this suffix are likewise members of Class III. It following allomorphs: after a theme ending in the plural suffix \( \| -\text{a-} \| \) (see section 719) it is \( \| -\text{ʔwyjeH-} \| \); elsewhere, it is \( \| -\text{Hwy} \). It has been found followed by the past-tense suffix \( \{\text{-h\-Y-}\} \). Themes referring to a participial type are not recorded.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

Terms recorded in other environments; some appear to be onomatopoeic.
The pattern is not productive. Examples:

laŋlaŋ- 'goose'
laʔlaʔ- 'goose'
pakpak- 'a large woodpecker'
watwat- 'duck'
wekwek- 'a raptorial bird (species unidentified)'

770. $\| C_1 V_1 C_2 \cdot V_2 C_3 V_2^- \|$: numerous stems of this structure are
terms of Class III. Some of these bear no clear relationship to any
recorded stem; a few show a similarity to a nominal theme or to
but in some cases have a different $C_3$, or have a $C_3$ where none
are present in other environments. In some such stems, $V_1$ and $V_2$ are
real, as are $C_2$ and $C_3$. Themes of this structure frequently correspond
English adjectives: they refer to a quality or characteristic, usually
which is visible or tangible. Examples:

huluwu- 'the hungry one,' cf. hulw- 'to be hungry, to starve'
jotoko- 'dirty ones,' cf. jotok- 'dirty'
lewehe- 'heavy,' cf. lewap- 'thick'
jutata- 'sticky,' cf. juta- 'to glue, to stick'
toono- 'short,' cf. to- 'to seat (trans.)'
?yhytu- 'bad'
hišaša- 'rigid'

771. A number of Class III nominal themes show possible evidence
of prefixed reduplication, of the form $C_1 V_1 C_2^-$. 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. In
CHAPTER EIGHT

POSTFIXES

800. INTRODUCTION

Postfixes are a prominent feature of Southern Sierra conversational speech. Although all but a few are uncommon in narrative texts except for final suffixes. They are classed as affixes for the following reasons: (1) they do not meet the phonological criteria of independent words; (2) they cannot be elicited in isolation; (3) no word 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, a form may be followed by more than one postfix. In this case, the 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 beginning of the word. Position 1 postfixes are never followed by any other. Position 2 postfixes are sometimes followed by Position 1 postfixes. Position 3, by Positions 1 and/or 2; Position 4, by Positions 1, 2, 3, and/or 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 word is a member of Position 4, for instance, it is never found following members 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 form.
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.'
(accurative 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 it 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'
?i-ni-t-Ø 'there' (allative case)
țama?-?-ho? 'sourberries also,' cf. țama?- '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 ||-ŋok|| has been found preceding ||-ja·||, which is therefore a member of Position 4 or 5. Its meaning is vague and interjectional in nature: one interlocutor described it as follows: "It means like you would say 'sir!' (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.
POSTFIXES

306. $\equiv$-le$\equiv$ 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 interjectinal and hard to define; sometimes corresponds to 'well' or 'then.' It occurs frequently in interjection, but in narrative text it is found only in quoted speech.

Examples:

$\text{tin}^-\text{y}-\equiv$-le: 'well, what is it?,' cf. $\text{tin}^-\text{y}$-? 'something, what?

$\text{?i-taH}-\equiv$-ok-le: 'at that time, then,' cf. $\text{?i-taH}-\equiv$-ok 'at that

$\text{?enh-?He}$-$\equiv$-le: 'it is being made, then,' cf. $\text{?enh-?He}$-$\equiv$ 'it

being made'

cytyH-$\equiv$-le: 'well, that's good,' cf. cytyH-? 'it is good'

307. $\equiv$-man$\equiv$ 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

., be sure to . . . .' It is often in immediate constituency with the

form as a whole rather than with the form which it immediately

Examples:

$\text{sy}^-\text{k-eH}$-$\equiv$-man 'be sure to write to me!,' cf. $\text{sy}^-\text{k-eH}$- 'write to

$\text{ken-man-lek-ho}$? 'and don't ever . . . ,' cf. $\text{ken}$ 'no; not; don

$\text{ken-man }\equiv$-eta1-eH-? 'you'd better not go back!,' cf. $\text{ken }\equiv$-eta1

'don't go back!

308. $\equiv$-pan$\equiv$ 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

'namely.'
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

810. ||-ta|| 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 arguing or emphatic. It is frequent in conversation; in narrative text found in quoted speech. Examples:

ken-ťa‘ 'no sir!,' cf. ken 'no'
liwa-k-koX-ʔ-ťa‘ 'you do the talking!,' cf. liwak-koX-ʔ 'talk'
koto-ʔ-no-n-ťa‘ 'long, long ago,' cf. koto-ʔ-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 an event in the past tense; sometimes it has the quality of afterthought: 'I was fishing, etc.)—I mean he was.' It was very frequent in the speech of informant (CB), rare in that of others. Examples:

ṭakp-∅-ma-ʔek 'I was thirsty,' cf. ḥakp-∅-ma 'I am thirsty'
hune-∅-p-ʊ-ʔek 'they were fishing,' cf. hune-∅-p-ʊ 'they fishing'
hal-ki-∅-ʔek 'he was hunting,' cf. hał-ki-∅- 'he is hunting'
ʔamʔy-j-nY-∅-ʔek 'he wanted to give it to him,' cf. ᵃmʔy-
┌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 phrases 'isn't it?' and 'isn't that true?' It is frequent in conversational prose and has not been found in narrative texts. It often appears to be immediate constituency with the whole phrase. Examples:

He
POSTFIXES

4. ||-ʔi-|| follows nouns and particles. It is a member of Position 3, followed by members of Positions 3 and 4. Its meaning is '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-ʔ-ʔi- 'where is this one?,' cf. mi-n-ʔi- 'where?'

5. ||-ʔok|| follows nouns only, especially those containing the divine 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-ʔ-ʔok 'that one; he,' cf. ʔi- 'that'
   ʔi-taH-n-ʔok 'then'
   ne-k-o-ʔ-ʔok 'these; cf. ne- 'this'
   ʔi-puʔ-j-te-ʔ-ʔok 'I'll do that'

6. ||-ʔyntyk|| follows nouns referring to location only. It has not been found in combination with other postfixes. Its meaning is 'from location of . . . .' It occurs both in conversation and in narratives. Examples:
   li-1eH-ʔ-ʔyntyk 'from upwards,' cf. li-1eH-ʔ 'up'
   ʔe-ca-ʔ-ʔyntyk 'from inside,' cf. ʔe-ca-ʔ 'inside'
   hi-γy-m-ʔ-ʔyntyk 'from the east,' cf. hi-γy-m-ʔ 'in the east'
CHAPTER NINE
SYNTAX

900. INTRODUCTION

Southern Sierra Miwok, syntax depends heavily on the final suffixes, which might be described as the syntactic "mortar" holding utterances together. The final suffixes tell who did what, when, where, to whom, why, what, and in what direction; they tell what properties appertain to an item, and to whom an item belongs.

In other languages with elaborate case systems, word order is of little significance in Southern Sierra Miwok. It matters little whether one says /naŋ' a? halki· hika·hyj/, /naŋ' a? hika·hyj halki·/, /hika·hyj halki·/, or /halki· naŋ' a? hika·hyj/; all mean 'the man is hunting the deer.' As an example, the relationships between /naŋ' a?/ 'man, nominative case,' /hika·hyj/ 'deer, accusative case' and /halki·/ 'he is hunting' are shown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Suffixes</th>
<th>Nominative Case</th>
<th>Accusative Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naŋ' a?</td>
<td>halki·</td>
<td>hika·hyj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halki·</td>
<td>naŋ' a?</td>
<td>hika·hyj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hika·hyj</td>
<td>halki·</td>
<td>naŋ' a?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In third person singular Series 3 pronominal suffix. These relations remain the same no matter what the order of the words. Only particles is word order of any importance, since particles do not have 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 constituent if one is a particle, but the order of the two constituents is freely variable.
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 structure. Nominal expressions are composed of nouns, and ex-
verbals of nominal form (see section 912), all nouns in any partic-
erence are or are members of nominal expressions. Nouns and
expressions combine with each other in structures of increasing
involatility, which are nonetheless members of the same substitution ob-
only individual noun, therefore, may be a member of several nomi-
pressions at different levels of immediate constituency. Examples
phenomenon will be given below.

A nominal expression may consist of:

One noun, with any case suffix. Examples:

||naŋ'aH-?|| /naŋ'a?/ 'the man (nominative case)'
||cyl'a-Hs-ø|| /cyl'as/ 'with an awl (instrumental case)'
||kan'-ŋ|| /kan'ŋŋ/ 'my (genitive case)'

Two or more nouns with the same case suffix. Such nouns are
mediate constituency with each other. Besides agreeing with each
er as to case suffix, nouns in immediate constituency agree in
one of them is an independent pronoun, the other(s) always contain
esponding Series 2 pronominal suffix; nouns other than independent
ouns contain the same Series 2 pronominal suffix when in im-
stituency with each other. Likewise, if one member of a nomina-
ssion of this type contains a diminutive, augmentative, or plural
some or all other members of the same expression often con-
suffix. This to some degree indicates...
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 containing the Series 2 pronominal suffix corresponding to the Series 1 pronominal suffix in question. The case of a possessive expression is that of the noun containing a Series 1 pronominal suffix. Examples:

\( \text{?ajtuH-me-ŋ han-aʔ-mah'i} / \text{?ajtu-meŋ han'aʔmah'i} / \) 'the hen - all of us'

\( \text{kəŋ-ŋ cyl-a-ni-Hs-∅ /kan-yŋ cyl-antis /} \) 'with my awl (instrument case)'

\( \text{?okaHh-ŋ i·h-ŋ-ʔok tamaŋ la·maʔ-hY} / \text{oka'hynŋ i·hyŋʔok tamaŋ la·maʔhy} / \) 'that same sourberry's bush'

A possessive expression and another nominal expression with the case suffix, with which the possessive expression is in immediate constituency. Example:

\( \text{?okaHh-ŋ i·h-ŋ-ʔok tamaŋ la·maʔ-hY . . . cytyH-ʔ-le} / \text{oka'hynŋ i·hyŋʔok tamaŋ la·maʔhy . . . cytyʔle} / \) '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, nominal expressions in the same case substitute for each other. Members of a nominal expression are themselves nominal expressions; therefore, where the case is the same, they can substitute for each other. For example, \( /\text{naŋ·aʔ cytyʔ} / \) 'the good man; the man is good' is a

expression, consisting of two nouns, \( /\text{naŋ·aH-ʔ} / \) 'man' and \( /\text{cytyʔ} / \) 'good; goodness; the good one' both in the nominative case. One re-
SYNTAX

In 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 en-
title can be regarded as attribute(s). For example, in the possessive
expression /cukuŋ hu'kiʔhy/' 'the dog's tail,' /hu'kiʔ-hY/ 'his tail'
substitute for the whole expression; /cukuH-ŋ/ 'the dog's' cannot.
Nouns in the temporal case do not necessarily show agreement with
their nouns or nominal expressions with which they are in immediate
constituency. Where a nominal expression contains one or more no-
mine temporal case, the case of the expression as a whole is that
of its members which are not in the temporal case, whether the tem-
ninal serves as head or attribute. For example, the accusative case
of its uses implies 'during; all through; for the duration of'; ana-
ral expressions exist where all members have this case suffix
meaning, such as /ʔajtuH-ŋ hiʔe-ma-j/ /ʔajtuŋ hiʔe-maj/ 'all of
ever, there are comparable expressions where one member has
suffix while the other has the temporal case, such as /ʔajtuH
no-n/ /ʔajtuŋ hoje-non/ 'all the next day.' In these instances,
with the temporal case may be described as the head of the ex-
ession, since it can substitute for the whole expression; but the
ession as a whole can be said to be in the accusative case, since
structurally equivalent to expressions where all members are in
 accusative case.

In similar fashion, a noun in the temporal case may be in immi-
constituency with a nominal expression in the nominative case, as

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[view image]
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In the expression /tihnʔ*ʔi-ʔiyâŋqʔokəʔojaʔeʔhînʔ/ 'why, in the expression /tihnʔ*ʔi-ʔiyâŋqʔokəʔojaʔeʔhînʔ/ 'why, is the expression /ʔi-ʔiyâŋqʔok/ 'black one’s name?' and /ʔi-ʔhâŋʔeʔok/ 'his, that one’s' and /ʔi-ʔhâŋʔeʔok/ 'his, that one’s' are the immediate constituents of a nominal expression in the genitive case, which in turn is in immediate constituency with /ʔaʔeʔʔeʔ-ʔhînʔ/ 'his name,' forming a possessive expression in the genitive case. This, in its turn, is in immediate constituency with /ʔи-ʔeʔeʔ-ʔhînʔ/ 'something, what?,' which is also in the nominative case. The whole constitutes a nominal expression in the nominative case.

912. Verbals differ from nominal expressions in that they are found in associations with a group of attributive nominal expressions which may be in several different cases. This cluster of nominal expressions refers to the subject, object, instrument, location, direction, and so on, of the action or state represented by the verbal, according to the meanings of the various case suffixes (see sections 321-329). Expressed in connection with possessive expressions and the temporal (see section 911), nominal expressions occur only (1) in immediate constituency with other nouns or nominal expressions in the same case as attributes to a verbal. They are never found with an attributive cluster of nominal expressions in a variety of cases.

A verbal alone, or a verbal with its associated cluster of attributive nominal expressions, constitutes a VERBAL EXPRESSION. Verbals alone, are members of the same substitution class as the verbal expressions of which they may be members. It is, however, convenient to separate term for verbals, since they serve as heads and must be distinguished from their attributive nominal expressions. They cannot, however, be used in some of the same morphologically possible ways as the constituent expressions.
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 locative case; imperfect or imperative verbal themes followed by the genitive case and Series 1 pronominal suffixes; or nominal forms in other than the nominative case. Secondary verbals and verbal expressions are attributive to primary verbals or verbal expressions.

For example, in the utterance /neʔ-ok kiwsaʔ hyjʔyksyt ?ywʔyny/ 'This crane knew what he (Coyote) wanted to eat,' /neʔ-ok kiwsaʔ hyjʔy-ksY/ primary verbal expression, composed of a verbal, ||hyjʔy-ksY/ 'knew' and a nominal expression in the nominative case, /neʔ-oksYa/ 'this crane,' composed of ||neʔ-oks|| 'this' and ||kiwsaʔ|| 'crane'; ||ywʔy-j-nYʔ-a-j-hyʔ/ 'what he wanted to eat (accusative case)' secondary verbal, attributive to ||hyjʔy-ksY-ʔ-t|| 'he knew.'

In the utterance /kanɬʔiʔpanlek, nejʔok tawaʔhalʔyinɬteʔ, halpyksyʔyj/ 'but as for me, this is my job, watching the water,' ||tawaʔhalʔyinɬteʔ|| 'I have a job' is a primary verbal, which together with nominal expressions ||kaŋiʔ-ʔpan-lek|| 'but as for me (nominative case)' ||nejʔoks|| 'this (accusative case)' forms a primary verbal expression. The remainder of the utterance, /halpyksyʔantiʔ kikʔyj/ 'watching the water,' is a secondary verbal expression attributive to the above composed of the secondary verbal ||halp-ksYʔ-a-nti-j|| 'my watching' and its nominal attributive, ||kikʔyj|| 'water (accusative case)' and its nominal form in the nominative case.
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 once or end with a particle. Another particle, in immediate constituency, the whole expression, may then precede or follow. Sequences of three particles may thus occur; each is in immediate constituency to the preceding or following verbal expression, whether or not the expression contains a particle. Examples:

The utterance /manaj hane- halap´em-e?/ '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,' ending of a noun, ||manaX-|| 'somebody (accusative case)' and a particle, hane-|| 'maybe.'

The utterance /hel´i-? i´okpan cyty ho¨aj/ 'those mushrooms and too' is a nominal expression, consisting of a particle, ||ho¨aj|| 'too,' in immediate constituency with a nominal expression consisting of nouns in the nominative case, ||hel´i-?|| 'a species of mushroom,' ||I-Ø-?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.
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SYNTAX

'po' is composed of three nouns in the nominative case: ||?iH-∅-t|| 'that one,' ||cytyH-?|| 'good,' and ||naq·aH-?|| '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 immediate constituency with the other two. The three nouns must be treated as fully coordinate 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, the nominal expressions in various cases. Each nominal expression is immediate constituency with the head, and with the head alone, 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 /hoje? hoja·'ok cin·ipitki', cyl·as/ 'next you start on a small one, with an awl' the head is the verb ||hoja'·pa-∅·sY·|| 'you commence.' It has three contributive nominal expressions: ||hojeH-∅|| 'next (nominative case),' ||cin·ipitki'/ 'that small one (accusative case),' composed of two nouns, ||?iH-j-∅ok|| 'that one' and ||cin·ipi·tki·j|| 'a small one (direct object); and ||cyl·a·Hs-∅|| 'with an awl (instrumental case).' All of these nominal expressions are in immediate constituency with the same head, and any two of them could be omitted without changing the substitution class.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

The two nominal expressions, \texttt{|neH-m'-??ok|} 'from there' and \texttt{|kot-taH-n|} 'far off' could apply to either verbal, or both.

930. SENTENCE TYPES

In the preceding sections, the syntactic units of Southern Sierra Miwok have been described. These units combine in various ways in different sentence, or speech segments, which at least sometimes stand as complete utterances. Southern Sierra sentence types include the following:

Certain particles in isolation:

\texttt{/hy-??y/} 'yes'
\texttt{/ken/} 'no'
\texttt{/jej/} 'hey!'

A nominative expression, in any case:

\texttt{/?ypsy/} 'Father!' (vocative case)
\texttt{/naaj-a cyty?/} 'The man is good' (nominative case)
\texttt{/?iis?ok cyl'as/} 'With this awl' (instrumental case)
\texttt{/lu'ti hi?e'maj/} 'Another whole day' (accusative case)

A nominative expression with one or more particles:

\texttt{/?i?ok hane'/} 'That must be it'
\texttt{/hy-??y tama?ho? ?i?ok/} 'Yes, those sourberries'
\texttt{/ken mamaj/} 'Nobody's'
\texttt{/?i?i?inleken sik eje/} 'But not very much now'
SYNTAX

A primary verbal expression with one or more secondary verbal expressions:

/\it\atok ho\je, ke\no\tu\uh\uko\ le\p\athoj/ 'Then next they would gather it up, being finished'

/\espanini\kan, mi\lek sikej cin\ipic\yni?, \eh\yhni? sikej \i?i?\ipuksu?ajny\ok, lotuksu?ajny\ ?i?\ok 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'

/\eh\nak\he\ tyl\yma\meti\ lakhyjik\yninti? kan\yn nymih mi\ny\ lakhy\ajny\ / 'Perhaps I cannot go through the holes the way you can'

/\halpyksymah\i\ tin\yn \yh\ytym\ag hy\ja\ajhy/ 'We are watching for something bad to arrive'

Two or more primary verbal expressions, with or without secondary verbal expressions, in coordinate constructions:

/\i\ta\non\ok cy\ty\ pe\wisa? \ic\yt, wil\atmeti\ \ic\y?yh\yko\ / ago it meant good roots, they chose long ones'

/\i\ni\lek \yw\yma\ \okahpute?, ken hyja\nyma\ ken tin\yj\ic micykna\at\ejhy/ 'But I'm going to eat that one just the same. I don't care what he does to me'

/lu\ti? \ojiswi\jy\, lu\ti? \otikwi\jy/ 'Some quarter it, some it in two'
1. Collecting Basketry Materials
(Conversation between Rose Watt and Lizzie Graham)

W: (1) neʔ·ok kotoʔ·nonʔič, micyknaʔ·ah·yʔhy· miw·ynə, nej·ok, wy·risaj wacaʔ· ?ipˈuʔteʔ·ok, hyj·yksysy·.
G: (2) hy·ʔy·, hyj·yksymaʔ. (3) sypes ol·uʔ·uh·uko· tol·et pat·y·nicyh·eʔ·le· patwy·yh·yko·, ?itanʔok ceci·wy·yh·yko·, ?oʔ·aʔ·yh·yko·.
W: (5) ?isʔok sypes.
G: (6) ?isʔok sypes.
W: (7) wim·yʔ·yh·yko· tol·ej.
G: (8) wim·yʔ·yh·yko· tol·ej.
W: (9) micyʔ·meʔ·le· ?ic·yt pe·wisaʔ, wil·atmetiʔ, cytyʔ ?ic·yt, nonʔok.
G: (10) ?itaʔ·nonʔok cytyʔ pe·wisaʔ ?ic·yt, wil·atmetiʔ ?ic·yʔ·yh·yko· pososʔiʔ sikej ?ic·yt ?eʔcaʔ.
W: (12) ?itanʔok iʔ·ok hojeʔ, pe·wisaj wyntythoj, micyknaʔ·yh·yko· hytlə·yh·yko·.
G: (14) hytlə·yh·yko·; ol·uthojtət, wyksyt iʔ·ok sypej ?ic·yhak hut ?itʔok ?itanʔok hyt·yʔ·yh·yko·.
W: (15) ?itanʔok hojeʔ, keŋoʔ·tuʔ·uh·uko· lep·athoj.
G: (16) keŋoʔ·tuʔ·uh·uko· hojeʔ, lu·ti·hoʔ ol·u·u·k·uthoj. (17) huʔ·ok, pe·wisaj, ty·jyʔ·yh·yko·.
W: (18) hojeʔ iʔ·ok yty·syə.
G: (19) Autwyet hojeʔ.
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 (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

LG: (27) hy·?y·.
RW: (28) hoje?, micykn?yh·yko· ?em·atyj, pe·wisaj. (29) ?enhyj
je?, pulak·aj.
LG: (30) hoje? hyh·ys ?is?ok ùo·lu?uh·uko·; pe·wisaj ùo·lu?uh·uh
wy·lyj. (31) ?ajtu? hoje·non wi·hyñ·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 micykn?yh·yko·. (37) hoje?.
LG: (38) hewe·na· hoje?.
RW: (39) hoje? hewe·nat.
LG: (40) hewe·nat hoje?, ?itan?ok hoje?, ?yh·a· hewge?hy·; kep
pe·maj ?uc·ut, hewe·ko· ?itan?ok, hoje·non; ùoki·ly?yh·yko·.
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 micyknan·e· ne·?ok, pe·wisa?, ?ojiswi·jyñ·e•,
enhyynyhoj hoje?.
LG: (46) lu·ti? ?ojisiwi·jy•, lu·ti? ?oñikwi·jy•. (47) pulak·aj ?oj
enhyhak. (48) kan·i·lek tolok·uj·uma· pulak·aj ?enhythoj cin·itit·i
c·ywa•.
RW: (49) ?itan?ok hoje?, na·?a? ?enhyrnehyw·.
LG: (50) ?itan?ok ?i·?ok, na·?a? wykswy•.
RW: (51) ho·tij hi·e·maj, ?i·?ok, cin·itit·i

TEXTS 392
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•łupsu?.
RW: (70) hoje? micyknaji•le•, tel•a•g•e•panho?•e• monacna•.
LG: (71) tel•ama• net na•ka•hy•, tel•a• hejimto? wal•im•ynger tel•ama•.
RW: (72) tuhu•hä•is.
LG: (73) tuhu•hä•is.
RW: (74) tin•y•ic "i•hyŋ•ok "oja•he•hy• tuhu•ha•ŋ.
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•a•ji? "i•ok pulak•aj.
LG: (80) "yha•.
RW: (81) hoje?, micyknaji? "i•ok hoje? lep•akot, torjajhy• nej?
LG: (82) tuknuji? ko•tu• hu•łupsu•.
RW: (83) lutisho•?
LG: (84) ko•tu• hu•łupsu• 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.
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? ?enhyη·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·hyη·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. toŋajhy· 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.
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:  
(10) lapnaʔ kac’y’aʔ.

RW:  

EL:  
(11) hyʔ’y’, lapnaʔ cytyʔ sikej, hyʔ’y’ ajtuʔ koʔ nek’oʔ ok y’y’aʔ.

RW:  
(12) neʔleʔ em’ at pas’a sitiʔ, tin’ytiʔ ic put’us haneʔ.

EL:  
(13) put’us, iʔokhoʔ put’us haʔtitatʔiʔ, iʔokhoʔ simeʔjaʔ y’y’aʔ ajtuʔ tin’yʔim.

RW:  
(14) neʔhoʔ lemetʔucaʔ tin’yʔic was’a metit, iʔokʔic tin’ aheʔhy’.

EL:  
(15) tin’yʔic . . .

RW:  
(16) koto’nonleʔ wyn’y tah’ytiʔ nymi’ le’.

EL:  
(17) hel’iʔiʔ, hel’iʔ.

RW:  
(18) iʔok haneʔ.

EL:  
(19) hel’iʔ iʔokpan cytyʔ hoʔ aj’at’a’en kiwisnyʔ, sim’eŋeŋ yw’yapaʔ nyp’a titis.

RW:  
(20) iʔok koto’non yw’y’, yw’y ah’y’.

EL:  
(21) miw’yg koto’non yw’yh’yako’.

RW:  
(22) iw’inlekt ken sikej tin’y’ ip’uteʔ ok paʔis wyntyŋ’e’.

EL:  
(23) iw’inlekt ken sikej ajtuʔ iw’inyme’ metiʔ luti’ ha’.

RW:  
(24) heŋu’luk’a’.

EL:  
(25) heŋu’luk’a’ an’atŋeka’.

RW:  
(26) ajtuʔ neʔok yw’y ah’ytiʔ koto’non, emhej’at’iŋ wy is ajtuʔ neʔ, ko kocmetiʔ.

EL:  
(27) hyʔ’y’, ajtuʔ neʔok simeʔjaʔ sikej, hupul’eŋ yw’yʔaṃˈ satis, sim’emphiʔ.
EL:  } (10) They call it /lapə?/.  
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’aʔko· ’umey’yaʔhy’, tat’aŋhy’. 
RW: (41) ?iʔok hyjε? micyknaŋ’e·, lu’tuŋ’e·.

EL: (42) hy’yε· lu’tuŋ’e· hopetkis cin’imitkis lu’tuŋ’e· neʔok tin’yt’aʔhy’, ?ic’yuŋ’e·, hok’unŋ’e·, pasas’iʔ’eki? wyntyŋ’e· hojeʔ, tin’yt’aʔhy’, ?iʔok ?enhyŋ’e·, hik’i, cokim’ej ’ajtuj, cokim’ejʔat’ok.

RW: (43) hojaŋ’e· ’ojanmetiʔhy· wyntyŋ’e·, nej ka’mat’i’hy’ nyjnythoj’e· hik’i‘.


RW: (45) neʔ keŋe’jak la’maʔ, ’enyh’aʔhy’ kotonon miwtyj’aŋ.

EL: (46) hy’yε·.

RW: (47) ?itanʔok hojeʔ, ?itanʔok hojeʔ ?iʔok ?enhyŋ’e· nejʔok nat’i’hy’, tew’yŋ’e· pa’is’e’.

EL: (48) ?isʔok tew’yŋ’e·.

RW: (49) ho’jaŋ’e·.

EL: (50) ?isʔok.

RW: (51) ?itanʔok hojeʔ ?iʔok ?enyhlekpathoʔ wilatnathoʔ ?enhyŋ’ in’eʔhy’tuhpaŋ’e·.

EL: (52) luhpaŋ’e· ?iʔok.
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) ne'okho? okahpu'te? pulak-a?pan 'enhyn-ehak?e', i-akahpuksu'c e' tine?.

EL: (66) i-?okho? eywja-nyjik'y ken mana?, y?t'y 'enhyn? puntihe?, heju-lap'u' i-?ok.

RW: (67) i-panlek it'es 'en'yh'a?e', hu-lupsu?.


RW: (69) cy-ly'.

EL: (70) cy-ly' iis?ok'e' hika'hyj kyc'ycsyhy' sipetnakej.

RW: (71) i-?ok cyl'a?hy'.

EL: (72) i-?ok cyl'a?hy', i-?ok awu'ha?hy'.

RW: (73) cin'ipitki? hoja-pan'c e'.

EL: (74) cin'imic'y? hoja-pan'c e', wykysput'u' wykysput'u wyks kej min'it'im hejawje'at'o?nu', mulhujuk'usu'.

RW: (75) 'yh'a' sikej lep'aŋ'eji?.

EL: (76) 'yh'a' sikej.

RW: (77) kyt'ikeh-yŋ.

EL: (78) kyt'ikeŋ, mitokhoj hane' ?an'ijoj, komej na'kythoj lep.
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 (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

52

THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

RW: (65) ne·okho·' okahpu·te· pulak·a·pan 'enhy·ehak·e', ?i·
okahpuksu·e· tine·?

EL: (66) i·'okho·' ewy·ja·nyjik·y' ken mana·?, y·y·' enhy· ?
puntihe·?, heju·lap·u· ?i·'ok.

RW: (67) i·panlek 'it·es 'en·y·ha·' e·', hu·lupsu·?

EL: (68) ne·panlek hu·lupsu· 'enhy·, 'owi·ly·, hu·lupsu· 'owi·l
owi·ly· hoje·lek, pe·wisas 'is·ok tuknu· nymih, hylah·eŋ nes·ok
r·as.

RW: (69) cy·ly·.

EL: (70) cy·ly· 'is·ok·e· hika·hyŋ kyc·ycsy·hy· sipetnakeŋ.

RW: (71) i·'ok cyl·a·hy·.

EL: (72) i·'ok cyl·a·hy·, i·'ok 'awu·ha·hy·.

RW: (73) cin·ipitki· hoja·paŋ·e·.

EL: (74) cin·imic·y' hoja·paŋ·e·, wykyspu·tu· wykyspu·tu wykyspu·tu wykys
kej min·it'im hejawje'at·o·nu·, mulhujuk·usu·.

RW: (75) yh·a· sikej lep·aŋ·eji·.

EL: (76) yh·a· sikej.

RW: (77) kyt·ikeh·yŋ.

EL: (78) kyt·ikeŋ, mitokhoj hane· ?an·ijoj, komej na·kythoj lep·
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

CB: (13) ?iw·in lakhyp·u·?e·.
JL: (14) kenlek lakhyyko·.
CB: (15) wykys·eko·?e·.
JL: (16) ?o·, koto·nonhi· ?o·ikym·aj lakhyp·u·le·.
CB: (17) miw·y? koto·non ?yw·y?ih·y? ?i·?ok lu·lumetyj.
JL: (18) hy·?y·.
CB: (19) ho·?aj·y· nej?ok ?aŋ·utuj·?e·.
JL: (20) ?i·, poso·luj.
CB: (21) ho·?aj·y· tin·y·meti·, ?oko·metyj kac·y·ajko·.
JL: (22) ?oko·metyj.
CB: (23) tin·yj·ah·yj ?yw·y·ah·yt·i·ja·.
JL: (24) tuku·li·.
CB: (25) tuku·li·?panlek hiho·ta.

JL: (26) ?i·lek ?yw·y·ah·yt·i? ?okahpute?.
CB: (27) melŋajyjleke·e·.
JL: (28) melŋajyj ny·ma·hi·.
CB: (29) ?i·?okpan miw·yŋ ?yw·yh·y?hy·.
JL: (30) (uh·huh).
CB: (31) tos·ik·ah·y?hy·, wel·yt . . .
JL: (32) ?enpu·uh·uko·.
CB: (33) ?enpu·uh·ume?pan ?esel·ynon koto·non tuj·ukuh·uyŋ ?ic·a

JL: (laughter)
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,' 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.

1Although 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·ma?hi·.

CB: (41) kenho? mana? hoj·aj·y·.

JL: (42) ken.

CB: (43) ?ew·yt·e·.

JL: (44) (uh·uh·uh).

CB: (45) ken hane·ho? manaq ho·aj·y·, ?i·w·in na·y·jynime?hy·?

JL: (46) ?ew·ya?.

CB: (47) ?oj·apoksun?hy·?ip·uṭe?ok.

JL: (48) kentat, ken manaq.

* * *

CB: (49) ?i·ok ?aw·ithoj micykna?ah·yci·.

JL: (50) (uh·uh·uh), hy·y·.

CB: (51) hejawqe·p·u· ?al·ymyksy?ajko· ?ohṭaj·aj nej·ok ?aw·i·ah·w·yŋ.

JL: (52) ?o·, tin·yj·aj.

CB: (53) tin·yj·a·meti· hane· mic·y·ah·yjko·.

JL: (54) cata·tymhi·yḥ·yko·.

CB: (55) lok·amhi·yḥ·yko· tin·ys nes·ok catat·as.

JL: (56) ?ajtu·, cata·ty·yḥ·yko·, taw·lymhi·yḥ·yko·, tin·yj·aj ?aw·i·ny·yḥ·yko·, koto·non·uca? ?i·ok ?ohṭaj·aŋ ?i·ok ?awin·e·hy·.

CB: (57) ?i·ok ?awinte·jhy· ?ohṭaj·aŋ.

JL: (58) (uh·uh·uh); hin·wymhi·yḥ·yko· kawylje·hy·.

CB: (59) ?ohṭaj·a? ?okahko·.

JL: (60) ?okahko· ?ohṭaj·a?, kan·yŋtāt hyje·ŋynti·.

CB: (61) ?ajtu·meŋ hyje·ŋyt·i·.

XX: (62) (uh·uh·uh)
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) kocaj.
CB: (77) kocajmetikoj.
JL: (78) tinayaj hane, ejej.
CB: (79) hyy.
JL: (80) hoajy yotkipa, tama.
CB: (81) tama hoajy.
JL: (82) kil.
CB: (83) kil.
JL: (84) jej, cinig.
CB: (85) cini iwinpanlek eyt e i?ok minito.
JL: (86) mamla.
CB: (87) mamla kawiny netiok huje.
JL: (88) hyy, imeti ajtuj ywyh yko kotonon miwy.
CB: (89) ymanhi cytyj uc uh uko.
JL: (90) hakahi.
CB: (91) hakahi hane, tin y hane i?okja.
JL: (92) neiok ajhito take mat, pasasi lojema yni.
CB: (93) i?oktat hakahi.
JL: (94) hyy.
CB: (95) kan i i?ok tinayjmetikoj nej ok hequ luma.
JL: (96) hyy, nej ok hyj yksy anti kanyan. tuji.
CB: (97) tuji.
JL: (98) ywyh yko i?ok miwy kotonon.

419
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

8: (112) ko·koc. ?i·?ok.
  : (113) hakham.
  : (114) hakham ?i·?ok ?yw·y?at·i?.
  : (115) ?o·liwhaj.
  : (116) ?o·liwhaj ?i·?ok lu·ṭi? ?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 miw·tyj·an·ŋ ?yw·y?a?hy·.
  : (123) jej, kot·on·o·jo· kaci·syjo· ?yw·y·ih·yko· miw·y?, ?iw·in potj·etic·i· hakmyhy?.
  : (laughter). (124) ny·ma·hi· ?i·?ok ?ajtuj ?yw·y·ah·y·hy· koto·ŋ. (125) ?iw·inlekJ ew·y·ja?.
  : (126) ?iw·inlekJ 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·an·ŋ, jej, ci·kelekJ cike·lypoŋ ?a·hy· wyntyjik·y·ajhy· hakhamyj.
  : (132) jej, cike·lypoŋ ci·kelekJ.
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 (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

(112) ko·koc. ʔi·ʔok.
(113) hakham.
(114) hakham ʔi·ʔok ʔyw·yʔat·iʔ.
(115) ʔo·liwhaj.
(116) ʔo·liwhaj ʔi·ʔok lu·ti? ʔi·ʔok kan·iʔ ken hyjʔyksymaʔ.
(117) tol·om.
(118) tol·omhuʔ hyjʔyksymaʔ.
(119) ʔi·ʔok ʔajtuʔ, hik·uʔ.
(120) hik·uʔ.  (121) ʔyw·yʔaʔhy· miw·yt·iŋ.
(122) hy·ʔy·, ʔi·ʔok miwtyj·aŋ ʔyw·yʔaʔhy·.
(123) jej, kot·on·o·jo· kaci·syjo· ʔyw·yʔih·yko· miw·yʔ, ʔiw·in·peci·i· hakmyhyʔ.
(laughter).  (124) ny·maʔhi· ʔi·ʔok ʔajtu·j ʔyw·yʔah·yʔhy· koto·ŋ.  (125) ʔiw·inlek ʔewy·jaʔ?
(126) ʔiw·inlek ʔewy·t·eʔ.
(127) ʔoka·hyj ʔiw·in pyl·a·ti· hyj·ic·yp·u· miw·yʔ.
(128) ʔiw·inpanlek pyl·a·ti· ʔajtu· mana· tyntyn·yʔ.
(129) neʔ·ok ʔoka·hyj ʔi·ʔok tyntyn·yp·u·.
(130) hy·ʔy·.
(131) neʔ·lek hoja·metiŋ ʔoncoj·aŋ, jej, ci·kelej ci·ke·lypoʔ ʔaʔhy· wyntyjik·yʔajhy· hakhamyj.
(132) jej. ci·ke·lypoʔ ci·kelej.
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
5. The Magic Cane

(Told by Castro Johnson)
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 (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent
5. The Magic Cane

(Told by Castro Johnson)
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

(20) ne? ?yn·e·, kacyh·eh·y?. (21) ?ynyh·eh·y? ?i·?ok, koco?hu·ipa?. (22) ?itan?ok la·wo·nukeh·y?, law·o·pokok·y?. (23) ?ajtu, j wik·eh·y?, lepa·eh·y?. (24) ?itan?ok lepa·eh·y wi·nukeh·y?, ko·m, ken manaŋ ?al·yin·to·hu·.

(25) jal·alnykeh·y? ?itan?ok ne?·ok nocuh·eh·y?. (26) ?yyp·, ?yyp·, yujte?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? ?alyhe·in·y·le· jal·alny· nem·ok, kac·yt.

(30) ?al·ymyk ?ynyh·eh·y?. (31) kacy·?yk hajet·eh·y?, kacy·?yk w·eh·y?. (32) jal·alny·a·hy· ?ipu·ta·hy·, ?yyp·, ?yyp·, kaji·wi, wi·, ?el·e·ty· lakyhkuntu·, kenho? ?iw·in ?ipu·tuje?ok. (33) tin·y·w k liwaksey· sikej, kac·yt ?ahe·li?. (34) kacy·?yk lil·em·y? lemej·hoj manik, ha·jat·uhn· liwaksey·a·hy·.

(45) kacy·?yk hajet·eh·y?. (46) tin·y? nem·ok liwaksey· n·ma·hi, h·eh·y?. (47) wykys·eh·y?. (38) ?o·, kaho·nat ?uc·u·, kacyh·eh·y· hajet·ythoŋ, ?itan?ok tykah·eh·y? hy·jathoŋ ?it·ok.

(50) tin·y? mic·a·ni?. (41) ?o·, liwakseykte? tin·yj hane·, ken ?yyp·k yje·ajhy·, kacyh·eh·y?. (42) hy·?y·, min·itle· ?uc·u·myko· kacyh·em·ok cym·em·y?, kacyh·eh·y?. (44) ?uc·u· nem·ok hoja·p·a·em·y?, mitokho· hane· mah·oka? majyl ?yhe·ma?, kacyh·eh·y?.

(55) min·it·o·le· la·cay waca· hyj·yksysy·. (46) ?it·ok, hyh·yŋ to·hu·, kacyh·eh·y?. (47) hy·?y·taŋ, welkijik·yma· hy·jajte? ?iwan·?itan?ok welik·eh·y?, la·cay ?i·?ok, ?etal·eh·y? ?ini·?im wykys·eh·hy·jakeh·y? ?it·ok, lacyn·eh·y? ?ec·am·ucay kaho·na·meti·, nakej·pat·o·hu· ?a·am·y?, ?uc·u·at·o·hu·, (50) ?inim·ok haletnukeh·y?.
"Come here," he said. He came, his older son. Then he drove the nails, he put nails in, he put in all the nails and finished. When he was finished he took him into remote country where nobody could hear him.

Then he yelled and cried, "Father, father, I won't do that again," he said. After they put him in the wilds they went, they went back home. Then, from the north, this Coyote came and heard him. "What is this yelling down here?" he said. He came listening. Little by little, he got closer and closer. He was yelling this way: "Father, father, please, please let me go, get me out! I'll never do that again." "What's that talking so much?" said Coyote. Gradually he got to the top of the mountain, the talking became clearer.

Little by little, he got closer. "It seems that something is talking," he said. He went on. "Oh, he is in the coffin," he said when he got closer. When he got there, he knocked on it.

"What's the matter with you?" "Oh, I said something that my father didn't like," he said. "All right, where is your house?" [Coyote] said. "South of here," he said, "the first house south of here, maybe about five miles," he said.

"Do you know where the axe is?" [Coyote] said. "There in the woodshed," he said. "All right, I'm going to get it, I'll come back soon." Then he got that axe and went back, that's the way he went. When he got there, he chopped up the outside boxes until he got to the one underneath, where he was, and set him free.

"From here on, don't ever go back to your house. Go north, east, or anywhere, but don't ever go to your house there. I'm going south. I give you this cane; you will ask this cane for everything you want," [Coyote] said.

"All right." Coyote went south, and he went north, until he saw a house. "Oh, maybe I should try out my cane," he said. So he tried it.

"I want to be an old man," he said to his cane. He became old. He went on to the house and knocked, and a woman came out. "Can you give me something to eat?" he said.

"Yes, sit down there." Then he sat down there on the porch. Then the woman finished bringing him food and he ate. When he finished eating he went on to the road.

He went on northwards. When he got out of sight he turned young again. He went on this way until it got dark. When it got dark, he saw a house again, so he became an old man and went to
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

nejik\'eh\'y? kawrej\'isa?. (76) \'im\'o\'okho? hoje\'non tal\'nitho\j, u\'lujik\'eh\'y? \'yw\'y?\'a\'ti\'. (77) hy\'\'y\'\'a\'t\' \ne\'i\', hajak\'o? \'im\'o\'ok hoje?hoj. (78) \'itan\'ok \'im\'o\'ok hoje?aj\'y?. hajaksykeh\'y?. (79) \'o\'ok ?ywyh\'eq wykys\'eh\'y? hoje?aj\'y?, min\'it\'o\'le\'ho? \'ucu? ne?ne?. (80) \'o\', ?yhe\'-ma? moli\'ta\'hy? micykpani\'hy? hy\'jajik\'ysy? ke\'ej\'y?\'. (81) \'itan\'ok wykys\'eh\'y?, wykys\'eh\'y?, moli\'ta\'at\'o\'ej. (82) hy\'jakeh\'y? \'it\'okho? ke\'et \'ucut. (83) \'it\'ok tawa\'hak\'ek\'eh\'y?. (84) hy\'\'y?, hajaksytic\'i\' ne?ok ha\'tha\'taj, kacyh\'eh\'y?\'. (85) wykys\'eh\'y? tyje\'jik\'eh\'y?. (86) talin\'eh\'y? kawlypaj. (87) \'it\'o\'y?k\'ah\'y?. (88) \'itan\'ok \'im\'o\'ok wykys\'eh\'y? kote\'om\'u?, leme\'u\'utej, \'aj\'ihto\', hajaksykeh\'y? \'ik\'o\j\'ok, ha\'tha\'ta\'meti\'. (89) i\'ta\'hy? \'etalnuk\'u\'uh\'u?, \'yk\'i\'y\'h?y?, ku\'lalto\'. (90) tyj\'e\'ky?yh\'y?, sapa\'ny\'yh\'y?, tyj\'e\'ky?yh\'y?. (91) net\'ok \'e\' e\'ahpu\'nut. (92) \'ajtuj hi\'e\'maj hajaksyjik\'yt, \'it\'ok \'aj\'ihto\'. (93) \'o\'ok ke\'jekym\'aj hyjic\'ykeh\'y?, ne\'ok tune\'ko\', nem\'o\'ok li\'le\'ri\'ipam\'y? \'ucum\'u\'ko\'. (94) kawa\'joj, sal\'i\', hisepwe\'la\j, fre\'aj, \'ajtuj tin\'yj, wisti\'no\'nukej \'iw\'y\'mey\'nykej na\'a\'nykej, at\'yt\'enuk\'a\'hy? kawa\'joj, hyjic\'yt, li\'le\'\'nyyk \'im\'o\'ok. (95) kawyl\'e\'hy? \'eta\'lytho\j, humel\'jet. (96) \'ipu\'\'eh\'y?ok hyty\'ja\', \'itan\'ok ke\'jekym\'aj \'itan\'ok, \'i\'\'ok tune\'ko\' hasul\'eh\'y? \'ami\'a\' nej\'ok na\'a\'jynini\', kacyh\'eh\'y?\'. (98) na\'a\'jy\'ajny? \'ale\' ne\'e\'lec\'yj sikej kacyh\'eh\'y \'ami\'hy?. (99) \'itan\'ok, \'yn\'e\'\'tat\'o\'nonman \'yn\'e?, \'in\'im\'ok li\'le? \'ucut \'uc\'u\'antit, jo\'un hy\'e\'lec\'y? \'a\' kac\'y\'yh\'y?. (100) \'itan\'ok hoje\'non, wykys\'eh\'y?, hoje?aj\'y? ha\'tha\'ta\'meti\' wi\' a\'hac\'y?
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.
6. How Coyote Stole The Sun
(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) nehme' ho'’aj lu’ti', wasnymah'i’. (2) koto'non ?uc’ujhu’ m
ypjat, watu? 'ew’at. (3) ken tin’yj hyjñe’yh’yko’. (4) cytypja?
ryt. (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 hyjñe’hy’ hi’hym, kot’an, ?e’tuta’yrm
im’ok hi’hym, hih’ym’y? ?inim’ok, kac’y’hyh’y nej’ok ka’ka’hyp

(7) ka’ka’hyp’lek ne’’ok ken je’pa’yh’y’. (8) ?itan’ok, ?uc’uvuh
sum '?it’ok, ne’’oklek ?oh’a’hy’ ne-hy?’ok ka’ka’hyp’, lol’ok, ?a
ji hofist, with Sam, on. 32. Anah hotun places...
Then all the nations were invited. His father came, he went there, to their king [lit., "to their big one"]. "The king's daughter is getting married," they said. Everyone gathered there, they arrived on that day.

Then this one, his son, [said], "I don't like your coming here," he said. Then he recognized him. "I don't like your locking me up at all. I don't want you to come," he said. Then his father went home, and he married the king's daughter. That's all.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

(115) hoje? 'ajtuj nen'ajyj hoje?, jejah'eh'yko'. (116) hoje?, 'yp'eh'yko'. (117) wykys'eh'y? 'in'im'ok, 'it'ok, 'oja'ni'to'ko'. na'nij tune?hy' nan'a'jy' kacyh'eh'yko'. (119) 'ajtu? hu't'amehnykejhy'ok. (120) hy'jakeh'yko? 'i'?ok hi'e'maj.

(121) 'itan?ok, ne'?ok koco'hu' ken hejawjema' net'ok 'yn'y'ajny', kacyh'eh'y'. (122) 'itan?ok nenute'eh'y' manaj. (123) ken hejawjema' tattle'ny'pan, ken hejawjema' 'yn'y'ajny', kacyh'eh'y'. (124) tal'eh'y? 'yp'hy'. (125) 'itan?ok 'ohaj'eh'y? 'i'?ok, 'oja'ni't'i'nejhy'. (126) 'oka'hytki?.

6. How Coyote Stole The Sun
(Told by Castro Johnson)

(1) nehmen' ho'?aj lu'ti', wasnymah'i'. (2) koto'non 'uc'ujhu' muponjat. watu'? ew'at. (3) ken tin'yj hyjįje'hy'oko'. (4) cytupja? mhyt. (5) ahe'li? ne'?ok wyksyt nem'ok hi'hytot kot'an. 'uc'ujik 'yn'y'mej kot'a'ni', 'eta'lytuhnut.

(6) ka'ka', ka'ka', jo'?un hyjįjeni'hy' hi'hym, kot'an, 'e'tuta'ynim'ok hi'hym, hi'hym'hy' 'inim'ok, ka'cy'yh'hy' nej'ok ka'kajhy'.

(7) ka'kajhy'lek ne'?ok ken je'pa'yh'yo'. (8) 'itan?ok, 'uc'443'uhlycum 'it'ok, ne'?oklek 'oh'a'hy' ne'hyŋ'ok ka'kajhy'. lo'ok, 'a'ni bojat', 'ita'nu. 443 ni'he'nun'.

TEXTS
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 hyjn•en
r•eh•y?. (25) ?itan?ok wyksyma• kacyh•eh•y?.

26) wykys•eh•y? hi'hym nem?ok, kot•an hyj•ic•ykeh•y? ne' meti•o
ty•syja•kyj, salintih•ej naŋtaj•aj, lemem•y? ?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 ty•jyt•ekh•yko•
ymhikeh•yko• ?oţi?i. (30) hy•y•, wi•kunti• lenpukot•iŋ, kacy•y•yhi

31) ?itan?ok, ty•jyt•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•maţiŋ, ajtuŋ ne
matmetiŋ, tyhan, aw•antaŋ. (32) ?itan?ok lenjup•eh•yko•, ipu•tut
ulhut haw•it, suj•ulhut haw•it, huj•us wi•ka•ko•.

33) ?itan?ok, ?o•, ?yha• wi•ke•tic•iŋ tyjej•ikat kacyh•eh•yko•. (33)
y•, kacy•ymhikeh•yko•.

35) ?itan?ok ty•jyt•eh•yko•, yha• welik•eh•yko• hoji•eh•yko•,
cykeh•y? ?it?ok ty•jy•eka•ko• suj•ulhukeh•y? haw•it. (36) ?itan?o
myksykeh•y?, na•ty•ajhy• ?ajtuŋ. (37) hoje? taliŋ•eh•y?, tekol•eh
uţej, toj•unuj ?oja•niŋ. (38) hoje? im•o•ok welki• nej?ok watuj
hoje? net?ok hywatnu• u• olone•win.

40) hywa•tec•i•, hywa•tec•i•, kacyh•eh•y?•. aw•anta• ne•?ok, (41)
ykanti?, we•tykanti? kac•yt. (42) hywatkuna• loke•ta• ajtuŋ.
ne•?ok ?yn•a• is•ak, eleŋ•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? yha•?i?, jo•?un hyjnejni? kacy•y•yhi•?
(47) ha•letyp
etput•ut, hynehak nej?ok watuj, ha•letyput•ut. (48) ?itan?okek u

TEXTS
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.
7. ?ywel·in
(Told by Castro Johnson)

hoʔaj neʔok wasnymahʔi· luʔti·, neʔ lupuʔ al·yemyksy·, ŭʔuc neʔok koto·non, ?ywel·in miwʔyŋ lep·aʔyŋ·, tyjy·tyʔyŋ·, yjaʔtiʔhy·, joʔhuʔuʔ ajtuj, lep·aʔyŋ·. (3) ?itanʔok oti·kot·el·yti· salun·eh·y·, ?ypelnaheh·y·. (4) ?itanʔok iʔok eslej·a niŋko· hukʔuj·ajhy·, pacʔej·aŋko· hukʔuj·ajhy· neʔok aw·iʔyŋ·yko· uʔlu·uh·uko·. (5) im·oʔok hutul·ul·uk kac·yŋ·yko· wal·it nem, eʔyynk, ?itanʔok tala·lyj haw·aj, welkijik·yŋ·yko· ?itanʔok alnuk·uʔuh·uko· liʔleʔ. (6) ipuʔtu·uh·ukoʔok ajtuj hi·e·maj, yʔi·puʔtu·uh·ukoʔo· oti·kot·iʔ. (7) ?itanʔokulek, ahe·liʔ keŋ·e· jalnyjik·eh·y· hyjeŋ·eh·y·, neʔok, ucuh·eh·y· ?itʔok mic·y·me·a·ni·. (8) hyj·ic·ykeh·y· min·i· wyksy·ajhy·, min·it lakhy·ajhy· wyksyma·, kac·yt neʔok. (10) hyʔy·, kac·yt, kan·iʔ eslej·aj aksyma· netʔok, kacy·eh·y·. (11) eslej·at·i· ik·ojʔok hasul·en· it nemʔok pa·pa·myko· lakhy·. (12) okat itʔok, hyty·jaj lakhy· tyʔajtuj hyty·jaj itʔok lakhy·, kac·yŋ·yko·, eslej·at·i· nek·) moli·ta·hy· ?itanʔok hy·jakeh·y·. (14) ?itanʔok, sapan·eh·yko· tu·nujhu·lek nejʔok mics·maj, ci·kele·to·hu· sa·sam wi·kyt, okah·y·ajhy· is·akyŋ·, tol·oko·na·meti· nejʔok, yw·y·yŋ·, ci·kele·ok, pet·ikeŋ. (15) ?itanʔok, kaw·yl tyj·e·ko· hojeʔ, toko·a·hy· u·ca·hy·, hojeʔ welhyt min·it·oʔ, wyhki·hy·. (16) ?itanʔok cuʔpe·e·to·hu·, halap·eh·y·. (17) ?itanʔok sutu·tupoh·uʔ, ?itanʔok net·tu·tupuksa·hy·, ipu·ta·hy·ʔok, ?amku·hu· iʔ·ok, hat·e·cu·pamii.
(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

elet nuʔuʔajhyʔ' yw`yʔyh`yʔ 'oka`hyŋ mite`majhy`, ken `am`yŋ`e`yʔyw`yt ken. (34) hojeʔ tyjyeh`ko` kawylŋe`hy`. (35) calytuheʔ`y`, okum, hoʔaj halkijik`y`ma` kacyh`eh`yʔ wykys`eh`yʔ. (36) itanʔok wyks`eh`yʔ nejʔok 'oka`hyj wykys`ajhy`. (37) itanʔok 'onoc`o`?`a`yʔ, wykys`eh`yʔ. (38) sun`ujik`y`ma kacyh`eh`yʔ, `ac`ej`at`i`hy`. (39) itanʔok wykys`eh`yʔ kót`o`wak, lem`e` net`ok li`le`, lakhy`at`i`hy`. (40) ajtut hojeʔ cipaj`eh`yʔ nejʔok cyl`ajhy`. (41) o`lak, lakaksy` mi`, `eta`lythu`ni` hojeʔ h`eh`y`. (42) hyjic`ikeh`y`. (43) haʔeh`yʔ keŋ`ej, ṭoʔi`keh`y` h`ak`ah`yʔ, ṭoʔuca`tò`hu` netʔok. (44) hav`it`y`t hutil`lu`lun`ukeh`yʔ ajtut min`it hyljak`ah`yʔ itanʔok. (46) ajtut min`it`o` wykys`il`ny`at`o`hu`. (47) hojeʔ hyljak`ah`yʔ ajtut net`ok `ala`kajhy`. (48) ok hojeʔ, camyah`eh`yʔ. (49) itanʔok hojeʔ ajtuj nejʔok, nen`t, kojowunukeh`yʔ, nej johak em`atjyj lep`ahakmej miw`y`mej h`eh`y`. (50) hojeʔ itanʔok hujup`eh`y`ko` nejʔok, jou`hu`ajhy`. (51) mana` hyj`y`hic`i`, cyty`panic`i` hynty`y`ni`tokni` cytyj, hyj`y`tokok. (52) itanʔok ken halpa`at`i` hyntyjhy`, hoʔaj lep`a`me h`eh`yko`. (53) tyteʔ`ypo`tokniŋ nejʔok hyj`y`hic`i`, pakte`hy` hyj`y`h`eh`yko`. (54) hujup`eh`y`ko`, hojeʔ. (55) itanʔok hojeʔ, yh`a`puksu`hoj pakyte`h`yʔ hynty`hy`. (56) ajtu` mana` hyjic`ykehe`y`ko`. (57) nek`o`ʔok `oṭ`i`, ṭew`en, cić`ćik, kot`akan mikoʔ `uc`uc`h`y`hyjyjen`myko` mikoŋ, pel`es`y`ni`tokni` sikej, kacyh`eh`y`ko` `ik`koj. (58) kot`akan `ucuh`eh`y`ko` `ik`o`ʔok, hyjic`ykehe`y`ko`, hoʔajtu` mana` pele`eh`y`, pakta`hy`. (60) itanʔok hojeʔ, waca`toksu` kac`ymhi`y`h`y`ko`, nek`o`ʔok `oṭ`i` em`atkoj pele`m`me`meh`y`ko`.
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 butocks. (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.
8. Stealing Horses
(Told by Castro Johnson)

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

pokho', pa'pa'ko', la'je' wal'im koto'net wal'im kacyh'eh'yar. (1) ?ok laj'eh'yar wal'im, kot'an, la'ja'h'ye' toko'?a'hy', ja'ya'hy' wacyh'yar, haw'a's wyly'tas. (15) ?itan'ok joh'eh'yar? 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) ?ajtu'aj tominkoj y'yi'h'yme' nem'o'ok, melpo'sam'y', ?yhe'ma', ?o'ti'jak na'a'ca'oka'?yni'. (3) ho'?aj, net'ok prinstonto? welki'yi'h'yme' yhe'ma' Caj, ?o'ti' ha't'e'?yni'. (4) ?itan'ok ?inim'o'ok lo'som'u', ?y'yi'h'ko', ?yhe'ma' na'a'ca' mah'oka'?yni'. (5) ?oni'tom'u' ?y'yi'h'ko' ?yhe'ma' micy'me' kaw'inta' na'a'ca'. (6) ?ajtu'me' amhi'yi'h'yme' net'ok. (7) ?itan'ok ?ajtu', wake'lo'meti' ne'meti' ok, hale'?aj kaw'a'joj, ?enpu'uh'uko'. (8) ?ajtu'je'le'k tominkoj y'yi'h'yme' ?inim'ok, ?enpujuk'uthoj. (9) lu'ti'kot ken welki'yi'h'yar? ?itan'ok luha'paj welik'eh'yme'?, ?yhe'ma' na'a'ca'j mah'oka'?yni' nej'ok mu'la'y' ?itan'ok wik'eh'yme' ?ajtu'me', ?unun'ukeh'yme' k ak'awasto', wik'eh'yme' kyralto'. (12) ?itan'ok keŋ'ej naŋ'ej 'yymej nan'aj cy'me' kacyh'eh'yme'. (13) hy'?y' kacyh'eh'yar oka'p'oj wi'kecti', cy'myma' kacyh'eh'yar. (14) ?itan'ok mah'aj wi'kecti'.
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.
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)

keg ekym aj, ali ke ty? hyjeh y?, nej ok tol o konaj, koto wak,
uc u?wiha kyj, tol emuhto?, eywjaj citakyjhy, yw y ajhy, hita?
itan ok ne?ok, kojo nuke hy? mic ysy woky saj net koto’wak,
y? yw y a ko? nek oq ok, kacyh eh y?. (4) hyj ykst sy’pan ken
jynti kan yj kacyh eh y?, tol o kon?a?. (5) o’, cy me? ke wy
rini kacyh eh y. (6) o’, yw y jnyhakte ni? ic ysy? oka hytki
hyeh y?. (7) o’, kenlek hejawjema? yw y an i kan mi ni toso
nej. (8) tyhantha’ t sosu jme te?, hika ma’le k cu’pam ynyk, hejawj
y at ejny, kacyh eh y?. (9) o’, ken ?ipu’uunitinti? ok kacyh eh
o’ juhta. (11) wi nuke hy? koto wak, epyjny keh y?. (12) haj
ly y hac ike hy?, iwin ymen siki lyj, yhe ma? tol kot o? hat
y met, ken na’yc hya kyj hyle tyni hy? koto’wak tol emuhto.
’t o’k hasul eh y?, kawa jo? ynyh eh y?. (14) itan ok i’ok,
a’joj hasul eh y?, hyjema’ sikej ?yt yj nej ok, yw y ajmykoh
yeh y? kawa’joj. (15) hy y , ‘yt y tat ?yw y a mah i’. (16)
non sal in kanti?, yw y ny e’ yh yte?, ja’nas ‘enyhnaq e’ yh yte?
pq e’yh yte? kawy lij?, uhu nuq e’ yh yte?, pyha kyq e’ yh yte?,
but ‘uc cut ‘uc u uh ute?, yw y ny e’ yh yte? hoje non ho’aj y’. 
Inlel panahge’acintit, ey wi ja?, kawy lij, ken tyjema’, hac io
uj kawy lij?, nyk a’hy nepu’ta hy?, ken min’it ken mic yni
ny? e’ mut jaq eni ny?, hac ic y a’ny? ‘uc u’, hilahtaj pana’ha te’ si.
(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
12. Talking Ghosts
(Told by Castro Johnson)
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.
12. Talking Ghosts
(Told by Castro Johnson)

...
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

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

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

14. Coyote and Water Ouzel

(Told by Chris Brown)
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 (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

14. Coyote and Water Ouzel
(Told by Chris Brown)

1. 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'e-h'y'. (26) hac'ic'y'sy' net'ok ny'ma'hi hane' i'ok nym'at'hara' hoje'. (27) kan'i' net'ok hac'i'him'a', min'it'o' nem'ok 'yw'pnajty' kan'i', kan'i'lek hakaj'ak'ak. (28) hy'e-y' kacy't, ne'ok i'ok a' hyj'yksyt 'yw'yny'aj'hy'. (29) hyje'ny' hel'i', oceh'ynhy' 'wy'ny'aj'hy'. (30) im'ok hoje', iput'eh'y'ok hac'ikeh'y', ho'ok lotuksukeh'y' i'ok kik'uj, walit'yt. (31) im'oklelek itan? s'eh'y', hu'jem'y'ho? manik hy'jak'ek'eh'y' la'maj cym'eh'y', ita' tin'y? i'ok. lapi'sajyj halkipa' h0'aj ke'qe', hy'jak'ek'eh'y' hyj'ic'ykeh'y' hakmyhy'. (33) tin'uj hane' ne'ok mic'y', tin'uj it'ok hyj'ic'y' walit'yt, kacy'h'eh'y'. (34) im'ok hoje', lut tin'uj hane' miko' mic'y'toks'u' nej'ok waka'lyj, wy'it'ymyk hy'hyj nej'ok wali'ny' kik'uj kacy'h'eh'y'. (35) ne'oklelek helak aj'ejj mah'i'lek nem'o'ok, halpyksymah'i' tin'uyj, yh'ytym'a'aj, n'aj'hy', kacy't. (36) kojo'nu'ajmah'i' nej'ok miw'uj, ynyh'e' i'ok mah'ij tawa'hany' mah'i ne'ok. (38) kan'i'lek im'ok 're'ok li'le'y'nyyk, wy'it'ymyksyma' nem'o'ok kot'an hyj'neninti' h'eh'y'. (39) kan'i'panlek hakaj'ak'ak sikej. micyknanitokni'ka' ajik'ynite'ny'pan 'yw'ys, 'yhe'my' pa'ete'ny' 'yw'yc'ys, yhe'neninti', espaniini'kanlek. (40) cym'eh'y' nej'ok, la'maj, 'em'a'vs'eh'y' ka'c'yt'ohu' 'yw'uj welkijik'eh'y' hywat'eh'y'. (41) li'lakeh'y' im'ok, pe'tak'ah'y', wali'm hy'jak'ikeh'y' to'em. (42) re'h'y' ho'aj me'ama' ho'aj kacy'h'eh'y'. (43) okat'o' it'ok 'majto' hy'jak'eh'y' ho'aj'y', ko'tuk'ah'y' ho'aj pe'tak'ah'y' 'em'a' it'ok 'ah'e'li', nej'ok hakaj'meqny'aj'hy' ken tin'yt poksuni'hy' micyknani'hy'. (45) micyknama' hane', ken hane' ymam' kacy'h'eh'y'. (46) huji'wikwik' ait'ok kikui' sitla'nyyk
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'halyi'ni-te', halpyksy'anti', kik'yj, miw'yj kojo'nujik'y?anti' nho
d'ky?n pe'taka'hy'. (57) \textit{i}m'o-ok, \textit{itan}ok nej?ok hawaj nej ka-
tyt ken hejajnethoj lakhyajhy' lilet'yt, lotuksumawa' walit'yt, ky-
at wyksyma' hu'je', òowhu'jik'yma' kot'onet hawat. (58) \textit{i}m'o-
syma' al'am'y' kik'yj, wyi'tyjik'ythoj ajtuj, cytynyc'yajhy'nej, al'am'y' kik'yj. (59) \textit{i}m'o-ok ho'aj'y', \textit{yn'y}ma' ho'aj-
yma' nej?ok hawaj'at'i', kaljama' walit'yt ken hejajnethoj \textit{yn}
yma'. (60) \textit{itan}ok ho'aj'y' tyntynythoj, \textit{yhe}my', \textit{ny}ma'hi-
ya'ahy' \textit{uc'u} tyi'yj micyknaninti' wyi'tyjma' kacy'yma', al-
yj wynkajnyma' ajtuj to'koj, hyjajnethoj, micyknaninti' ken tyi-
palek hakajak'ak sikej espanini' kan mi'lek sikej cynipicyy-
yni' sikej \textit{i}'ok ipuksuajny' ok lotuksuajny' \textit{i}'ok hawaj, \textit{i}'
kan'i'lek lewe'ta' te' kan'i'lek miw'y'te' oja'ni'te' kacyheh'hy'.
\textit{i}m'o-ok hoje', \textit{ipu'te}\textit{okta}, \textit{esy}te'\textit{en}, kan'yn wyksyni'kan-
yjik'yni'kan \textit{yhe}my' huluwmetikoj \textit{yw}yj, min'i'to' halpajik-
yjik'yni'kan \textit{yhe}my' huluwmetikoj \textit{yw}yj, min'i'to' halpajik-
im'o-ok hoje', hy'\textit{y}', \textit{ipu'te}\textit{okta}, kaji'wij, camhy'ama' hak-
yhy'ma' hakajyj, micyknaninti' ken. (64) hy'\textit{y}', kan'i' \textit{wyma},
ey'kuse'nynti' nem \textit{uc'u} ajtu', lep'ame'ci', \textit{i}'\textit{ok we'lyj}
ek'o\textit{ok}, \textit{yw}my'\textit{yni'te' is'ok}, \textit{ipu'te'}\textit{ny'}\textit{ok nej'ok, hajak'at'}\textit{en}
etis'ok hawa'metis. (65) net'ok hyle'tyjini' nem'\textit{y}', kot'onet
am'y? im'o-ok net'ok ho'aj tyntajini' kot'onetho liwa'tyk \textit{i}'
ytyk, \textit{i}' kacy'tyk, liwakysyini', liwakysyini', hyle'tet \textit{i}'ok
ajaj kala'nyt. (66) \textit{itan}ok ky'tak'at wyksyni' nem'ok al'am
yj, welhijikat nej'ok micy'\textit{yni'te' ti}n'\textit{yj} \textit{yhe}my', c'yni'\textit{hy}',
ytyni'\textit{hy'} tole'\textit{en kacy'ythoj, wyksyeh'y' hoje'}. (67) hyle'te'\textit{hy'} h
\textit{y}=\textit{hy}; \textit{ematy} kacy'to'hu welhajik'\textit{hyak}. (68) \textit{ematy}lok wyksyni'

\textit{TEXTS} 491
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

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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·yŋta·tlek ?espa·k hane· micyknaninti? kan·yŋ likejlej kanyŋ ?oja·nite?, ken han· na·meti· lakhyjik·yninti? kan·yŋ nymih mi·nyŋ lakhyajny. (105) ??wy·i·tyni·ny? hakmyhy? hyjicynni·ny? ?inim, kacyh·eh·y?. (106) ??yta· haj·ekan haj·ekan ?yn·e?, haj·ekan haj·ekan, haj·ekan kojo·re·ty· cyty·pat·y· liwas, ?is?ok kacyh·eh·y?. (107) ?is·ak ?ahe·li·tyc·yj ?i·ok, hu·?y· kacyt, nem·y? jo·un hyj·y·hi? nej?ok kan·a· kot·o·nej, hyjjeni·ny? kot·o·net·o? nakej, cyty·nc·y?ajhy· ne· metiŋ, kacyt. (108) hoje? ?em·at, wykys·eh·y? hoje?, hyle·eh·mu? hyjake·y?·. (109) wy·ma·e? ?yw·y·te·yta·blek kan·i ne·ok ?te·te?. (110) ?yw·y·mama· ha·jak·ak, hynty·h·y·hy? ?ajtu· lu·it·en· en· li·le· hyj·ic·yt li·le· hakmyhy? ken tin·yj micyknani·hy· rtekyst hakmyhy?, hyhyhy·hy kacyy·put·ut hakmyhy?. (111) hy·ja·y· my·yti·eh·y? ?i·ok ?it·ej put·uc·uj ?i·ok ?yw·y·eh·y?. (112) iw·in·lej ?yw·y·hakma· ?yw·y·hakma·lek ?iw·in ?o? oce?kan cyty·re·hy?. (113) hykat·eh·y? oce?cis nej?ok ?aj ?yw·y·hakma·lek iw·in laky·hit, wyksyni·kan kot·o· mimit·o? kacyt. (114) ho·aj· ho·aj·, ?yha·pan·lej laky·eh·y· hoje? ?ec·am·y·t·yto·h·u hoje, kaw·ike·h·y? hoji·o·hu, micykpan·ate·jo· lakha·te? mimit·o· lak·k. (116) hyje·eh·y? kty·jhy·, kty·y·hy· cyty·. (117) howo·hak· t·etetj kacyt. (118) iw·in·lej ?enhymus·u· kan·i? ?i·ok hoje? lo·, my·yti·eh·y? ?i·ok, cickac·yj ?i·ok, lotuk, po·tolu·hu, po·to·k·h·y? tis·yjhy· ?i·ok, cicka·lek laky·eh·y· nej?ok ?it·ejhy·, hak· hy·, nej?ok ?it·ejhy·, ha·t·ejhy·. (119) hyle·eh·y? koto·net·o? jike·y?. (120) ?yw·y·mu· mi· hejaw·jesy? ?yhty·at·ejny· kacyh·e·
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, kacyh·eh·y? ?i·cic·y?ok. (104) kan'yn'atalele ke span hane· micyknaniinti? kan'yn likejlek kan'yn oja'nite?, ken han na·meti· lakhyjik·yninti? kan'yn nymih mi·nyj lakhy?ajny. (105) ?wy·i·tyni·ny? hakmyhy? hyjciyjni·ny? ?inim, kacyh·eh·y?. (106) ?p'ata haj'ekan haj'ekan ?yn·e?, haj'ekan haj'ekan, haj'ekan kojo'ry·e·ty· cyty·pat·y· liwas, ?is?ok kacyh·eh·y?. (107) ?is'ak ?ahe·li·tyc·yj ?i?ok, hu?y? kac·yt, nem'yu? jo'un hyj·y·hi? nej?ok kan'na· koto·nej, hyjjeni·ny? koto·net·o? takej, cyty·yc·y?ajhy ne·ketin·, kac·yt. (108) hoje? ?em·at, wykys·eh·y? hoje?, hyle·t·eh·nu? hy·jakeh·y?. (109) wy·ma?e? ?yw·y·te'patalele kan'ne?ok te?. (110) ?yw·yma· haka·jak·ak, hyntyh·y·hy? ?ajtu· lujit·en·?en·li·le? hyj·cy·yt li·le? hakmyhy? ken tin·yj micyknani'hy? ttekstyt hakmyhy?, hyhyhyhy kac·y?put·ut hakmyhy?. (111) hy·ja·?y? my·y·t·eh·y? ?i?ok ?it·ej put·uc·uj ?i?ok ?yw·y·eh·y?. (112) iw·in·lek ?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 laky·hit, wyksyni'kkan koto·minit·o? kac·yt. (114) ho?aj? ho?aj'yu', yha·panlek laky·eh·y? hoje? ecam·y·t·yto·hui? hoje? kaw·ikeh·y? hojit·ojhu', micykpanate?jo· lakha·te? min·ito? lakht. (115) hyjen·eh·y? kty·yjhy', kty·y·hy· cyty?. (116) howo·hak· tetq kac·yt. (118) iw·in·lek ?enhymus·u· kan'ne? ?i?ok hoje? lo·, my·y·t·eh·y? ?i?ok, cickac·yj ?i?ok, lotuk, po'tolujhu', po·to·hy· y·ts·yjhy' ?i?ok, cicka·lek laky·eh·y? nej?ok ?it·ejhy', hak·hy·, nej?ok ?it·ejhy', ha·t·ejhy'. (119) hyle·t·eh·y? koto·net·o? jikeh·y?. (120) ?yw·ymu· mi? hejawgesy? yhyt·at·ejny? kacyh·eh·y'.
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· hire· ko·caj·ata
tin·yj hijo· ko·caj·ata
mi·cy·matat  hi·je· hire·
hi·je· hire· hi·je· hire·
ty·a·ma·pan  hi·je· hire·
ty·a·ma·man  hi·je· hire·

jej, sikej ?a· sikej sikej mit·ic·y? ho·conot·ic·y? sikej cyt?yte
jo·muntu· mic·ytoj net?ok lil·ekac·yn na·wasyjny· wi·ke? lil·ekac
na·ce? li·le? wi·ke? net·ykan, net·ykan, net·ykan.

tin·yj hojo·  naj·an·ti·lek
mi·cyt hojo· ?u·cum·ta
?i·ok·chat·lek  ?u·cum· ?uc·u
li·wa·nymu·  tyj·e·nata
hi·je· hire· tyj·e·nata
hi·je· hire· hi·je· hire·
naj·a·yni·jete· hi·je· hire·
je·pa·te·lek

?itan?ok wy·ha· li·le?, hu·tawekna?, to·uc·u· li·le?, la·mat ci

tin·yj hane· ?i·ok mic·y·, kan·i·plek hejawnema· ?i·ok hy·jajik

?ok ?oh·aj hejawnema· kan·i?

hu·taweken·a? lok·iwin·a? wile·le·aj·a
hu·taweken·a? lok·iwin·a? wile·le·aj
hu·taweken·a? lok·iwin·a? wile·le·aj
hu·taweken·a? lok·iwin·a? wile·le·aj
(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

hel·e· wele·lymaŋ·a· peța·ŋyma· ?oh'anti·
?uj·u? ?uj·u? ?uj·aj wel·yca·ŋma·?a
?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aj lu·ti·?ti· hal·etjo·
hel·e· wel·ymaŋ·a· ?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aj

wy·eh·y? ?im·o·ok ne·ok, tin·y? ne·ok tim·ilnyŋ·ehak wykys·em·yt·yj tol·ej uy·eh·y· wykys·eh·y·, hale·toj wykys·eh·y·. (1) tim·y? lakhy·pak, lakhyt, nep·u·te·meti·koj hy·jathoj. (16) ?ita·n·a·meti·, ?al·am·yt·yj wykysjik·ytyt, wykys·eh·y· wykys·eh·y· wykys·eh·y·. (20) ?oh·a·hy· hoje?, ?oh·a·hy· mojoksut ?i·ej, la·r·kyka·hy· ?oka·hyŋ ne·hyŋ·ok tim·ilŋ·. (21) tal·ŋ·eh·y·, kawyl·cy·ja·hy·, ?al·yt my·li·hy· wykṣa·hy· kot·an, mycaj·a·hy· mycaj·a·hy·.

hel·e· wel·ymaŋ·a· ?u·ju? ?u·ju? ?uj·aj

kacy·eh·y·, wykysjik·ytoj lu·ti· hal·ej. (24) haw·a·meti·koj kya·nihy·?uc·ut wykṣa·hy· lil·em·yt·yj hawaj. (25) ?oh·a·hy· me·ha· kacy·pak, myli·eh·y·.
(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. 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

'im'o'ok, tupuh'eh'y, poto'koj hyt'yjhat ?it'e'hy· hal'ajhy·, hi'so'v'eh'y, puhe'eh'y, hyh, hyh, hyh, hyh, kacyh'eh'y. (28) wy?k hi'soku'hu, nakap'eh'y, hyjajik'y?yh'y, ?em'atyj lu'ti'p'u'ajhy· kot'om'u? nej'ok hela'kyj. (29) hy'jakeh'y·, ?uhe'jyk·ryjŋ'ethoj im'o'ok ty'jyk'ah'y, hyti'lyk'ah'y? ?ajtuj. (30) hyti'lyk'kyj?oka'hyj. (31) tin'y· mic'a'te? kan'i· net'ok ?iw'in micykn·. (32) ?ok'ih'ak sikej kan'i? kacyh'eh'y·, ty'jyk'aj, min'it'o?hy', kawy'lyj, hi'e'matoj, ?em'at'ynyh'eh'y, welhyt ha'tejhy·al'am'ytyj wyksykajhy· kot'om'u?, hyjajikeh'y· ?inim, kawly'hy' calthunyha'kyŋ, hy'jakeh'y halap'eh'y naŋ'ajhy· hil'y'pu'tŋ'k, lawak'ihej, najyh'eh'y· wit'ythroj. (33) tin'yj'o· kan'i· mic'yr·dému? ipu'tumu?'ok min'it'o? mic'ýjik'ysy· tin'yj. (34) kenmarít'unihni'ok. (35) ?yhťakmu' ?ona'cakmu', mojo'panakmu', ?it'esok la'mas. (36) howo'juhakte? mi'nyŋ, jaŋ'ac'a'ny· mali'yca?n'tit kan'yuŋ, net'o?, myl'i'ny', sesŋe?hylek liwanyn', kod'an wyjehak cemŋehak kan'i?jo' tyj'ehakte?, [snore, snore] kacyhakte?al'i'hak, ?okcanak teŋak, hytp'ak ?em'atyj, ?i'ok la'maj, hyckackak. (38) tin'yj'o· kan'i? mojoksuma' kacyhakte?. (39) meny'ti?k, mulha'ny? i'ok liwaksy?ajny, ?enuptuni?te? ?ajtut wy'hak, yj'at'o'nu kojono'kajny. (40) ken hejaw'ike'ni? min'it'o? myksy'anti· kan'yuŋ tin'yj, mic'y'anti·. (41) mic'y'ajny· mi'nyŋ kulek na'kythoj howo'jaksy· min'it'o? wyksythoj tytky'tethoj kan'i'ny?at'ejny? i'ok, hywat'yat'ejny·. (42) wyksykýj'ysy' hyj'kysto? lu'f°helakto'. (43) ?im'ok ?ale· hyjajkýjni?, jo'hu'nun?i?kono'nu? i'm'ok. (44) ken cytyj ken ?uc'ujkujni? i'm'ok hal'et.
(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

(1) hi'je· hije' kojo·numus'u·
men·ama·tāt ?iw·inţaţlekap
hi'je· hije' hi'je· hije'
hi'je· hije' hi'je· hije'
jo'·unţaţlekap

(2) ?aj, haţ·enti· tyţ·ana·te? haţ·enti· tyţ·ana·te?, kacyh'eh'y? nucu·
ok.

(3) hi'je· hije' hy'jajik'yma·tāt lekap
tata·la·pan ceci·wyma·tāt
haţ·enti?tāt hi'je· hije'
?iw·inţaţlekap hi'je· hije'
hi'je· hije' hi'je· hije'
ken hane·lekap hi'je· hije'
?im'okţaţlekap

(4) hy'jakeh'yo·, ?oţot·eh'y? ?em·aţ. (56) jo·un ?yn'yjny· ?yn'yj·
'ātya'te ejny· howo'suj cytyt wyksy?anti· kan·yŋ hal·et lu·ţit net?
yj kan·i? wy·nyme`. (57) wyksyme· ko·jintit, ?ypynti· jo·hasto?l
'ok nutkijik'yma·, pohkos. (58) pohoku'ajhy· hejawgema·, tekme
koţhu· hej·i?, ken tekma·he? hej·i?. (59) ?okat'o· ?is'akyj tekme
'aj jo·huma·, ken kyl·i:. (60) wyksyti·lekap, ?inim?ok hal·et, lu·
w'yj·anti? ?uc'u `. (61) ka·kanti· mojo·tujni? moioksuji? ka·kant
'i?, ?enenti· mojo·tujte?. (62) ?im'oklekap pele·me? ?uc'u `al·y
'tuj tin'yj? i'·ok, kawy·lyj, liwaksykeh'yo·, hekoj'eh'yko·. (63) ka·hy· kojo'nukeh'y? i'·ok, wal·ajyj, nepu·ţukah'y? i'·ok, ?yp
pele·me? i'·ok, kawajyj.
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 òka·hyŋ, ūpyŋny· wyky·syjhy· kac·yk·ah·y?. (77) ju·, men·aŋ
ëh·y· watuŋ kacyh·eh·y?. (78) hywat·eh·yko· hoje?, tekym·eh·y?
ëetot meny·taj òkah net?ok. tim·i1, tama·lin tekym·eh·y? luh·eh
tekmy·nykeh·y? hoje? òem·aťyj ko·ji·ko:, julat·eh·y? òokat·o? òok
ëi·ok òem·ať wylņehak wyke?, wyl·ikeh·y? li·let wykys·eh·y?.
ëej·eh·y? nej?ok tim·i1yj; (82) tim·i1 òal·am·ytyj tol·e1j hywat·eh·y
ajnythoj, tol·e? wyltyt·ikeh·y?. kik·y? loţah·eh·y?, ma·ma? wyl·ike
a? wyltyt·ikeh·y?, jujah·eh·y?, (83) min·i1o?le· wy·ma· micykpan
y·eh·y?. (84) jo·?unţaţ kojo·nu?an·i·kan, jo·hup·ume? kacy·kan·i
at·i?.

jo·hup·ume?

talŋipa?

?i·w·inţatlekt

hi·je· hije·

hi·je· hije·

hi·je· hije·

ceci·wehi?

hi·je· hije·

hi·je· hije·

hywa·te·ti·

kyk·ymţat

kik·ymleko·

wy·lytņejo·

lot·a·panlek

wy·ko·ťatlekt

hi·je· hije·

hi·je· hije·

nymah·eh·y?

?i·?okţatlekt

helakţatlekt

?ipu·tu·te·?okţatlekt?i·

tatalnakęh·y?

haţ·enti·kan

?y·pyhy·ninti·

?e·pejy·ninti?

nej?oklekman

wa·kalyt·oj

hi·je· hije·

hi·je· hije·

hi·je· hije·
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)

1. 

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

TEXTS 518
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).

5. Castro Johnson, of Mariposa.
7. Rose Watt, of Usona.

8. Emma Lord, of Usona.
10. Elizabeth ("Lizzie") Graham, of Ahwahnee.

12. Wesley Wilson, of Yosemite National Park.
## ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cs</td>
<td>case suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intr.</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>ms</td>
<td>modal suffix</td>
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<td>Mrp</td>
<td>Mariposa dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns</td>
<td>nominal suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>nominal theme</td>
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<td>noun</td>
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<tr>
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<td>nominal expression</td>
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<tr>
<td>obs</td>
<td>obsolete</td>
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<td>postfix</td>
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<td>verb</td>
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<td>VE</td>
<td>verbal expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yos</td>
<td>Yosemite dialect</td>
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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 j k l m n o p r s š t ř t ū v w y Y • H X Ō C V

[Editor’s note: Penutian linguists today transcribe “į” 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,” “ř,” “š” and “ť” 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
-

simultaneous gerundial
701
-

meaning obscure, found
in names of birds, plants,
and fresh-water animals
702
-

plural agentive 703
-

allomorph of {-ŋHe-} vs
-

present perfect indicative
421
-

directional 704
-

allomorph of {-ŋHe-} vs
-

allomorph of {-jik-} vs
-

(1) predicative; (2) nominalizer 705
-

b

-nt beer. From English.
-

-nt Bootjack. From English.
-

ALPHABETIC ORDER

caj·aH·nt (1) left arm CB, EL (2) right arm CB
-

cakak·i·nt (1) lace (2) thin, filmy, of fabric
-

cakahc·nt donkey, burro.
-

English jackass.
-

cake·t·aH·nt coat. From jacket.
-

cake·t·aH·tki·nt blouse
-

cake·t·pokus·vb to put coat
-

cak·a·nt (1) acorn cache
-

(2) granary
-

cak·e·nt daybreak
-

cal·tuh·nY·vb to become 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 moon
-

camy·meH·nt mourner
-

camy·h·aH·nt (1) dead
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ha-nt white fir
ni-nt Japanese. From English.
ho-nt chaps, for riding.
From Spanish (?).
a-nt Brewer's blackbird
nt sweat-house
nt (1) rattle (2) rattle-snake rattles
k- st. 1 to be glaring or blindingly bright
k- st. 1 (1) to sparkle (2) to reflect light
- st. 1 to rattle
ta-nt st. 1 to shake dice in the hand
catat-nt dice
cat-at-nt for playing dice
nt st. 1 to trip, tr.
na-nt bush. Cf.
cahewn-nt.
lim-nt short-stemmed, daisy-like yellow flower, grows in rocky places

- go or stay with (a person)
- 2 to try to keep up
cej-u- vb (1) to tilt, intr.
- 2 to be lopsided
cej-u-t-u-ma-nt one whose shoe-heels are worn-and lopsided
cek-cek-y-nt bitter
cel-na st. 1 to quit
cel-e-nt jelly. From English
cem-ku st. 1 to fade, bleed run, of color
cHm-qHe st. 1 to fade and
cen-nt chain. From English cence-no-nt store. From Spanish tiendero "storekeeper."
cep-a st. 1 to drip, intr.
cep-a-qHe vb to drip tears
c-e-nt pineneedles
c-e-le d c-e-re-nt cherry. From English
c?- st. 1 to hit with a thrown object such as a rock
ce?-ja- st. 1 to hit oneself repeatedly with thrown
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

to'te-nt rope. From Spanish chicote "a length of rope."
ra?- see under ci'ka- st.1
ro-pa-kSY- vb to choke, intr.
cil- see under ci'le- nt
e'n- st.1 to eat lunch or midday meal
cilen-'a- ti- nt midday meal
cile'n-ka-j N afternoon: "after lunch"
pa-nt costume
ra- st.1 to tinkle
n-cimih-kene- nt spruce
mi- nt chimney. From English.

u- see under ci'n- st.1
pi- f cin'imii- nt small
cini-nHi-paH-nt (1) smaller
(2) smallest (3) little finger
cinip-na-tkuH- vb (1) to make oneself small (2) to crouch
cinip-pa- vb to cut up small
cinti-ti- nt small
cini-p'a-nt little bits

cit'ak-nt grass
citak-nHuk'u- vb to cause to grow
citak-no-nt springtime
"grass-time"
citi-'i-nt green
ciwe'l-nt st.1 to weep
ciwiw'-i-nt yellow (?), pull
-ciwi'ti'ti-nt killdee
ciwkol-nt blue grosbeak
western bluebird (?)
ci?-ja- st.1 to poke or be around with a cane
ci'bi'-j- st.1 to tunnel
-ci'ka- st.1 to point
cik'a?-iH-nt index finger
"habitual pointer"
cik'a?-jaH-nt index finger
ci'kele-nt burden basket
ci'ku'ta'ti-nt dragonfly
ci'le-nt red pepper. From Spanish chile.
cilcil- e- vb to taste p
sys-nt Jesus RW, EL. From English.

wel-nt tears. Cf. ciwe'l-st.1

wo-nt goat. From Spanish chivo.

ʔa-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'ine-nt (1) cradle sunshade (2) Royal Arches, Yosemite National Park

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

ʔj-st.1 to pile up dirt

ʔko-nt (1) cliff (2) rough

cumuk-ha-nt wild currant

cun- see under cu'n-st.1

cun-ja- st.1 to become soft

cune-l-st.1 to shrink up

cune-l-aH-nt wrinkled

cunta-st.1 to sew gathering

cunat-a-nt gathers

cunj-meH-nt wrinkled up

cup'al-iH-nt quail topknot

cutcitja-nt (1) horehound (2) tarweed CB

cuʔap-st.1 to break in

Cf. cuʔaH-nt

cuʔaj-nt foxtail, wild bird

cuʔaH-nt (1) middle (2)

cuʔa-j- vb to be middle

cuʔa-st.1 to trot CJ

cuʔacuʔ-st.1 to trot of a horse

cuʔh-st.1 to heat water

cuhuʔ-a-nt teakettle

cuʔjaʔ-nY- vb to fill

cuʔjaʔne-nt full

cuʔjuʔ-nY- vb to make liquid here and there
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

cuj·en·hHi-nt  sweet
'yi- see under cy·j- st.1
a·na₂- vb  to fill for
y·kyj-nt  (1) granite (2) gravel (3) decayed rock (4) pebble
'rika·nt  rough-textured
cykak-na₂- vb  to roughen, tr.
y·l- st.1  to weave.
Cf. cy·l- st.1
a·nt  (1) awl (2) porcupine quill
ncym-, cymy?, cymy-,
cy·ym-  see under
cy·m- st.1
'aka·nt  pointed
're·nt  south
cy·m·e·c·nt  south
cy·m·e·c·ak·nt  from the south
cy·m·e·to·nt  (1) south (2) southerner (3) Yokuts person or language
cy·m·e·jaH·nt  (1) southerners (2) Yokuts Indians
comfortable (2) to be
'cyty·t- st.1  (1) to impress (2) to get calm
cyt·atawkila·nt  (1) woodpecker (2) yellow-bellied sap
(?)
cyte·-, cyt·y-, cyt·en·  see
cy·H·ηHe·st.1
cy·ati·nt  puppy
cy·j- st.1  (1) to hurt (2) to hurt again
cyj·y?-nY- vb  to hurt here and there, tr.
cy·l- st.1  (1) to weave (2) make coiled basketry
cy·ly·nt  mosquito
cy·m- st.1  (1) to climb (2) be in trees
cymcym·nY- vb  to climb around here and there
in trees
cymy?-hi·me·nt  one who has already been ridden
cy·m·jaH·nt  (1) horse death-tabu form CB
(2) ladder
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

large, brown, grows white oak trees

haja-ksY- vb to wait

haja'-pa- vb to leave something for another to take care of

haj'a-j'- vb to wait alone

haj'a-pu'- vb to keep on waiting

hajak'- vb to watch out for

haja'n- st.1 to be evening

hajan'y-pa- vb to stay to at night

hajan'y-mi- nt last night

hajaHn-ŋHe- vb to get large

haja'puH- nt chief. Used by only; other informants deny form and refer haja'po-X-? "leave it to him to watch!" (CJ, JL cites haja'po-? and translates it as "womenfolk"

haja'puH-nY- vb to become chief CB
southern sierra miwok-english

days (2) once in a while
haj-e-m-Ø N close by
haj-e-m-Ø-j N for a little while
haj-e-m-Ø-hY· N close by
haj-e-t-Ø N close by
haj-e-to-j N a little while
haj-e-j-hY· N (1) close to
(2) beside
j-e- st.1 to touch
haj-e-nY- vb (1) to permit
(2) to let (someone) have
(a thing)
haj-e-t- st.1 to approach
haj-e-t-aH- nt near
k- nt (1) only (2) just
hak-Ø kacy-ksY-Ø-ma· VE
I'm about the same as I
was. Answer to "how are
you?"
hak-Ø ?a· NE what for?
hak-Ø ?i-c-Ø-ma· VE I'm
just saying that, meaning
no offense
k-si- st.1 to smoke, of fire
hakis-Ø·nt chimney: "smoke-
place"
hak-atwi·nt blue-bellied
hak-e-na·nt pitchy pinecone
hal-ki· st.1 to hunt.
Cf. hal-pa· st.1
halik-peH·nt hunter
hal-pa· st.1 to find.
Cf. hal-ki· st.1
halap-kuH·nt found
halap-Ø-a·ti·nt easy to
hala-j· vb to copulate
halaH·nt (1) feather (2) for
or toenail
hali-na·nt flour. From Sp.
harina (?) farina (?)
halp-ksy· vb to watch for
halypyp-nY· vb (1) to pe-
(2) to spy on
haltal·nt testicles
hali·ja·nt (1) slip (2) pet
From Spanish faldilla
hal-e·nt (1) the wilds (2)
open (3) country (4)
tory (5) space
halet-nHuk·u· vb to get
tr.
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

The SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ne- P maybe
ni- nt honey. From English.
ni-c- st. 1 to hop
ni- see under ha-nis- nt
ra- nt head Yos
gi- 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
ti- s- st. 1 to sneeze
hatis-ene- vb to ask another
to sneeze
hatis-c- e- nY- vb to get
sneeezy
ha- ha- t- a- nt duck. Cf. ha- e- nt
ta- l- st. 1 to step over. Cf.
ha- t- st. 1
ha- taj-, ha- t- ? see under ha- t-
st. 1
ata- nt biscuit
t- e- nt (1) foot (2) tracks
(3) twelve inches
ha- t- e- j- st. 1 to make tracks

hawi- t- Y- t- Ø N both
hawi- jak- nt on each
hawi- m- ? N on each
hawi- t- Ø N in differentiations
ha- o- l- st. 1 to knock down
ha- ta- st. 1 to throw down
ha- a- t- nY- vb (1) to the
(repeatedly?) (2) to
ha- tita- t- i- nt little round
ha- a- ta- nt round
ha- a- ta- m- a- nt sphere
ha- c- st. 1 (1) to stop or be
(2) to stand up, tr.
hace- na- vb to stamp
haci- t- st. 1 (1) to stand
from sitting (2) to
of horse
haci- c- vb (1) to be a
(2) to be parked or
haci- c- meH- nt great
squirrel: "habitual
Mrp death-tabu subject
CB."
i- nt maple
imo- nt headstall. From Spanish jáquima.
ha- nt hammer. From English.
he- nt grave. Cf. ham·e-

st. 1
ha- nt handgame bone
his- nt harness. From English.
ansi·po- vb to harness
do- nt (1) cup (2) can. From Spanish jarro.

- st. 1 to step on. Cf. ha·e-

nt
atăj·kuH- nt (it) has been stepped all over
atı·jaH- nt ladder
atı·ny- vb to step on someone's foot accidentally
atı··a- nt (1) stepladder

(2) stirrup: "thing to step on"

he·j·em··a-? N (1) first quarter (of moon) (2) one side (head)
he·j·em··a-?·hY· N half
he·j·em··a-?·hY· cu·paH·m- one quarter: "halfway middle" (?)
he·j·em··a··YniH·j N for an hour: "while it has half"
he·j·i· nt (1) away (2) away
heji·t·Y·t·Ø N (1) away from (2) in another direction
hejì·p·a- nt sparse (?) scanty (?) rare (?)
heka·ma- nt meaning obscure
heki·l- st. 1 to speak with an impediment
heko·j- st. 1 (1) to whisper be hoarse (3) to be low-pitched
hek·a- st. 1 (1) to wash, tr. (2) to wash away (3) clean
heka··a··nt dishcloth
heka··a··nt wa to wash
helka-j- vb to be summer
helak-a- V outside hands
(handgame call): "it cleared"
la hawk nt sky
helakno- nt summer: "time of sky"
lek- nt year
helakno- nt summer: "year-time"
helaky- vb to be fine weather
leJ- st.1 to disagree with someone
l-i- nt fungus, edible, large, grows under pine needles or oak leaves
meJ-kene- nt Sierra currant
m-el- vb (1) to lean over (2) to lean against
hemel-ic- vb (1) to lean over (2) to overhang
na- nt (1) breath (2) air
hens- st.1 (1) to breathe (2) to pant
henin-ny- vb (1) to bore
(2) to let someone have something
heni- nhuk- u- vb to move in house
heni- t- st.1 to move in playing
heniHl-nHe- vb (1) to get
(2) to lose one's way
heji- meH- nt one who
heji- na2- vb to lose, cause to be lost
heju- l- st.1 to forget
hejul- kuH- nt obviously gotten
heper- st.1 to drift CB
hesa- nt (1) pad (2) saddle blanket
hesa- see under he'sa-
het-ja- st.1 to cool off, the
hetaj-a-po- nt saucer for cooling off, refers to the custom of putting to one side
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

[view image]
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

*e- nt jerked meat
*e- st.1 to dry, tr.
newe- muH- nt dry
newe- na2- vb to dry
heHw-ŋHe- st.1 to get dry
etkil- nt lower lip
newetkil-Ø lile-nHi-paH-? NE upper lip
- st.1 to fight
heL- a- ti- nt ready to fight
heL- ŋHe- vb to get beaten up
m-poksu- vb to complain
he:no- nt pacing-horse. From Spanish (?)
he-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
hesa- j- st.1 to build a nest
- st.1 to spread out a wide, flat thing, tr.
hi-pa- vb (1) to stalk (2) to sneak up
p-ŋHe- st.1 (1) to drift with
or be carried by a current
hijer-O- nY- vb to brand cattle
From Spanish hierro.
hika- ma- nt (1) all the same
(2) all the time
hikaHh- nt deer
hik)iw- ci- nt snowdrops
hikni- st.1 to fasten baby in
cradle
hik’a- jHaH- nt gopher snake
hik’iH- nt cradle basket
hik- j- 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
hils- a- j N just because
hilu’ k- st.1 to shampoo
hil’esja- nt church. From Spanish iglesia.
hil’iwiw- aj- nt whitefish
hil’o- nt tally-sticks for hunting game
hil’u- nt Western yellow-bellied racer
hirim- st.1 to chase
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hip-la- st. 1 to pull out

hipi'-t- st. 1 to pull

hipit'-a- nt (1) reins
(2) trigger

hippa- st. 1 to decorate

hisap'-YniH- nt decorated

hisap- st. 1 to seek decorative material

hi'k- st. 1 to hiss

hipwe-la- nt spurs CJ. From Spanish espuela.

hi'ko- see under hi'sok- nt

hi'k- st. 1 to grow hair

hi'sok-aH- nt fuzzy

hi'k- nt skunk

hi'ka- nt rigid

hi'p- st. 1 to be or get cold RW, EL. Cf. hicp- st. 1

hitpy-j- vb to be autumn

hitpy-p'-e- vb to be cold, of weather

hitpyHp- nt (1) cold (2) a cold thing

hitpyHp-ŋHe- vb to get cold

hityp-nHi- nt very cold

in "information please"

questions 801

-hi'-me- ns predicative 71

hi'hy- nt (1) east (2) towards the High Sierras and Great Basin

hiho't-aH- nt from higher

hihto-j'a- nt (1) eastern (2) mountain people (3) Yosemite people

hihy-t'Y-t-∅ N towards the CB

hi'jaH- nt walking stick, cane

hi'k- st. 1 (1) to cut hair shear sheep

hiky'-nY- vb to cut accidentally or unintentionally

hiky'-nY- vb to cut all

hi'le- st. 1 (1) to wriggle (3) roll CB

hi'li-ca- nt mountain lion

hi'loH- nt string

hi'sok- nt (1) hair (2) fur

hisko-meH- nt one with hair

hiiH-ŋHe- st. 1 to abstain

563
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

hojci-paH- nt  (1) brave
                (2) mean
hojic-na₂- vb  to make one angry
hojiHc-ŋHe- vb  to get angry
i-nHi-paH- nt  foremost
i-t'Y-t-ø nt  ahead
im'i- nt  forelegs
i'ti'to- nt  front feet
i-h- st.1  to move up closer, tr.
i-nY- vb  to be in front
ki-m'-? N  before
u'm-aH- nt  acorn soup
hojum-a-ti- nt  acorn soup
re-poksu- vb  to make oneself ready
roh'- vb  to start an activity
rol- nt  (1) wild tea  (2) penny-royal
- see under hok'- st.1
-see under hokot- nt
i'l- st.1  to go around
hokil-a-ti- nt  a round, on a soiled basket
hole-h- st.1  to have a color
hole-ma- nt  log
holk- st.1  to fell a tree
holuk-nY- vb  to fell a small tree accidentally with being felled on purpose
holo-p- st.1  to hollow out
holaw- nt  (1) cave  (2) hole
hol-e-ŋHe- vb  to topple over
hol'o-c'- vb  to be fatally struck
hol'op- nt  (1) hole  (2) hollow
       (3) cave
hol'uj- nt  cave
holta- nt  halter. From Eng. horse
hom-la-meh-nY- vb  to crush, intr.
homo'le- nt  water snake
homuc-poksu- vb  to shave oneself
homcu-paH- nt  barber
homuc-a-po- nt  razor
hono-kol- nt  edible fungus, or manzanita-mushroom
hojo- nt  rocks for cooking stone-boiling
hontel- nt  (1) knee  (2) knee
hojic-nt  (1) to be strong  (2) to be brave
hojiHc-ŋHe- nt  to become angry
hojiHc-n'He- nt  to become more angry
ho' ti- nt rainstorm
ho'wo- ti- nY- vb to rain cats and dogs
ho' w- st. 1 to make a hole
'ontitik- a- nt water ouzel
? pf and 802
ho' ja- st. 1 (1) to get or gather food (2) to prepare food
ho' tu- nY- vb to jump with both feet
repeats
ho' raj - ho' raj- y- P and
ho' raji- c- e- nt one who always
ho' c- st. 1 to spear
con- nt (1) leg (2) lower leg
ho' he- ? petañ - hi- me- ? NE straw: "thrown-away hay"
ho' ne- st. 1 to vomit
ho' ne- na2- vb to burp a
ho' nok- ilwa- nt wyethia
ho' nosme- nt wild oats
ho' sokilwa- nt quartz rock
ho' tomki- la- nt king snake
ho' toñ- jaH- nt king snake
ho' wi- nt pine cone
ho' wok- d ho' wes- d ho' wo- t- beads, clamshell dish, glass
ho' - st. 1 to jump off. Cf.
ho' ti- st. 1
hoHw- ñ He- st. 1 (?) how' a- ñ
vb (?) to be withered
ho' c- a- meh- nY- vb to get the
up
ho' c- ej- aH- nt steam
huh- t- poksu - (1) to sigh (breathe in and out)
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

- si- st.1 to smell, intr.
  huki's-aH- nt a smell
  huksis'e- vb to be smelly
  huk'a- st.1 to trail by scent
  huka'-j- st.1 to smell, tr.
  hukjaj-nY- vb to sniff around

en- nt milkweed
e'n-aH- nt driftwood
em- st.1 to hoot, of an owl
i- nt angleworm carrier
uH- nt head Mrp
uk'u-meH- nt one with a big head
Hw-ŋHe- vb (1) to forget
   (2) to give up (3) to be unable
ulwa'-je'-nY- vb to reach out
ulwa'-j- vb (1) to not be enough
   (2) to fall short
   (3) to not reach (4) to fail to do
ulwaw'-e- vb to be late

rp- st.1 to blow a whistle
ulep'-a- nt whistle
w- nt hunger

hum'a- st.1 to gather up
hum'e- st.1 (1) to soak, tr.
   (2) to dunk
hum'ele- d hupmele- nt old man
humelH-ŋHe- vb to become old man
humle-j'a-t'i- nt little old man
humlel-ŋa-nt little old man
hum'ulili- nt (1) water snake
   (2) garter snake
hune'ha- nt (1) purse (2) purse book. From Spanish
  hune'ha-tki- nt billfold
hune'm- st.1 to fish
hunem'-a- nt fishhook
hunta? P wait!
huŋeH- nt fog
huŋe'-t- st.1 to be fogged
hupe'-ŋ- st.1 (1) to climb
   (2) to dismount
hupęŋ-nHuku- vb to bring down, tr.

hupi'-l- st.1 (1) to cover the
   (2) to put on a head...
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

husel-•a-ți- nt  breakfast
ʔo- nt  grizzly bear Yos
ta- st. l  (1) to cinch up belt
          (2) to make tight
hutja- nt  Indian paintbrush
           (flower)
aj-•a- nt  acorn bread, cooked
          on hot rocks and then in
          ashes
he- nt  dance skirt
chI-ʔHe- vb  to stumble
h•l- st. l  to tie a knot
ut•ut- vb  to leave in a group,
           intr.
h•l- st. l  (1) to roll, tr.
          (2) to roll out dough
hutul-•a- nt  (1) bale
           (2) rolling pin
hutul-•YniH- nt  blanket roll
hutul•uk- vb  to be rolling
hutul•ul- vb  to roll, intr.
ra- nt  quiver for arrows
ra- st. l  (1) to rake (2) to
gather up, tr.
huța-•a- nt  rake
hu•ki- nt  tail
hu•l- st. l  (1) to take shelter
          (2) to get under shelter
hu•leh- nt  (1) corpse (2) guilt
          (3) Kuksu cult "devil"
          distinguished by a long
          yellowhammer band on
          back
huleʔ- Hna- nt  Kuksu cult
           "devil." Form used in
           song.
hu•lum- CB, hu•lu- RW, EL
           bunchgrass for overl
           in basketry
hu•me•ti- nt  salt meat
hu•nih- nt  God LG
hu•p- st. l  to cover with a
hu•pu- nt  (1) soaproot brush
           (2) hairbrush
hu•tawe- nt  buzzard RW, L
hu•ti- nt  wood tick
hu•was- nt  grapes. From S
          uvas.
hycaHt-ʔHe- vb  to be tight
hycat-•a- nt  corset
hwbəlwa- nt  thick soapann
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

y-nt  clever
yjy'-na- vb  to remind someone about something
yjy'-na-poksu- vb  (1) to know it all  (2) to remind oneself
yjy'-ksY- vb  to know a person or thing
- st. 1 (irregular)  (1) to see  (2) to look  440
yj'i-c- nt  looking
yj'i-c-' d hyj'y-c-' vb  to see
hyjcic-nY- vb  to be looking around for something
hyj'i-c-ηHe- vb  (1) to appear, look like  (2) to be seen
yj-poksu- vb  to watch oneself, be careful
yHj-ηHe- st. 1  to see
hyjen-nY- vb  to show someone something: "to cause to see"
hyjen-pEH- nt  lookout
hyjen-a- nt  sights of gun
hylka- st. 1  to make a noise
hylak-nHuk'u- vb  to make noise
hyl'ak-hHi- nt  noisy
hyl'a- st. 1  (1) to prick  (2) stab
hyj'ja- st. 1  (1) to prickly  (2) to tingle  (3) to pox
(4) to spur  (5) to purify
(6) to stick repeatedly
hyl'a-la- nt  (1) thorn  (2) (3) sticker  (4) barbed
"it has stickers"
hym'a- st. 1  to buzz
hym-la- st. 1  to hum
hynty- nt  eye
hynty't- a- nt  spotted
hyny't- st. 1  to open the eye
hynyt'-a-po- nt  eyeglass
hynyt'-a-če- nt  eyeglass
hpy't- st. 1  to hug CB
hyp'y't- a- nt  neck RW
hyp'y't- nt  nape of neck CJ
hysa's- st. 1  to hatch
hys'as-iH- nt  baby bird
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hywat-nHuk·u-mhi vb to elope
hywat-pa- vb to run over, tr.
hywat·a- nt racetrack
hywat·at·- vb to run around
hywa·t-mhi- vb to run a race
hywta-meH- nt a fast runner
hywta-mh- vb to run away
hyw·at-hHi- nt running hard
\*m- st.l to suit
\*y?m-\*He- vb (1) to be good for one (2) to serve one right
\*y?m-na- vb to make one look good
\*y?m·y·c`- vb (1) to be all set (2) to be all fixed up
se- st.l (1) to belch (2) to hiccup
\*i- st.l to respect
\*j-, hyHj- see under hyj- st.l
ja- st.l to arrive
hyja-nHuk·u- vb to get someone there
\*hyjaX-pa- vb to come there
to jump or fly at a moment
-hY· ps third person sing. 311
-h·aj- allomorph of { -j- } {-j-nY-} vs {-h·Y-} ns past 713
-hHi- ns intensifier 714
i
-ijak- allomorph of { -jak- } {-iH-} ns habitual 715

-j cs accusative 322
-j- allomorph of { -jik- } vs -j- vs 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 717
jakak·ak- vb (1) to be short
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent
Southern Sierra Miwok-English

Allomorph of {-jik'--} vs.

Alphabetical order 584

Pf interjectional 803

ǐ-ŋHe- vb to hurt or twist the hip

Jeți'- st.1 to have one's hair disarranged

Jețił-na_notes o- vb to have one's hair disarranged by the wind

Jețił-na_notes o- vb to disarrange someone else's hair

Je?pa- st.1 to believe

Je?pa-tkuH- vb to decide

{-je'--nY-} vs discontinuous active 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 talking

Jel-a- nt a secret

Jel'y-c- nt secretly

Jel'y-c- vb to stop talking

Jel'y-c'-m'-a- nt a quiet person

JeHl-ŋHe- st.1 to be quiet over
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

joh?u?-joh?e? see under joh- st. 1
- st. 1 to report
- st. 1 to melt
oj’a-ŋHe- vb to melt
oj’an’a- nt melted
ojHj-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-pa- vb to pour water over
jolep-kuH- nt someone obviously poured water on it
ole-ŋHe- vb to tip over and spill, intr.
oleʔ-a- nt place for pouring
ojo-ma- nt easily worried.
Cf. joloHm-ŋHe- vb.
jow-ok- nt mud
jowko-meH- nt muddy
jowok-aH- nt bog
-jo- pf hesitation morpheme
joʔH- st. 1 to kill
joh-naʔ- st. 1 to kill for someone
johʔuʔ-nY- vb to kill here and there all over
johʔeʔ-HmetiH- ʔ još’eʔ-Hnt Yosemite: "they killers"
joh-ŋHe- vb to get killed
joʔh-poksu- vb to kill off
joj- st. 1 to praise
joj-poksu- vb to brag: praise oneself"
joʔko- nt diapers
joʔtok- nt (1) grime (2) dirty
jotok-naʔ- vb to make dirty
jotʔok- nt dirty clothes
jotokʔ-ʔYniH- nt dirty: grime"
joʔt- st. 1 to wait and see
joʔʔun P obviously
joʔʔeʔ P (1) after (2) thereafter
Cf. joloHm-ŋHe- vb.
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

juwal-kuH- nt stirred
juwal-na₁- vb to stir for someone
juwal-nY- vb to add while stirring
vce- nt cliff
vja- nt narrow
vawa- nt ground or dirt wet enough to quiver when stepped on
vrel- nt fox
v- st.1 to pull hair
juc-wa- st.1 to pull hair repeatedly
s-nY- vb to use. From English.
tu- nt (1) gum (2) pine pitch (3) chewing gum. Cf.
jut'a- st.1
w- st.1 to stir, tr.
y-c- nt sailing along
y-c- vb (1) to move quietly and smoothly (2) to run quietly, of water
ra- st.1 to shake down out
jym-y-, jyHm- see under st.1
jynjyn-nY- vb (1) to pass from heat (2) to harden
jynta- st.1 (1) to jerk, tr. jerk loose, intr.
jynta-poksu- vb to wrench muscle
jyno·tu- nt low-growing plant, flower, produces bulb
jyje-, jyje'- see under jyw- st.1
jyte- nt wet
jyte·muH- nt (1) wet
jyte·na₂- vb to get wet
jyHt·ŋHe- vb to get wet

JL
jyt'- st.1 to break in two
jy·m- st.1 to quiet down, calm
jym·y·c'- vb to be quiet, calm
jyHm·ŋHe- st.1 to be
jy·n- st.1 to stretch, tr.
jy·ti- st.1 to hang up several things, tr.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

k
allomorph of {-keH-} ns
allomorph of {-ksY-} vs
allomorph of {-ηHe-} vs
gallomorph of {-naγ-} vs
ns past 720
vs directional 721

r-hy- nt (1) that's it (2) it
looks like that
ur-t st.1 to rip out seams
ur-ce nt cap. From Spanish cachucha.

y'-yök- nt little by little
ur- st.1 to say
xacy-ksY- vb (1) to talk
(2) to be that way
i- nt pimple
lo'-nh- nt (1) box (2) coffin.
From Spanish cajón.

han-a- nt fire drill
a-ki- nt coyote CB
eg-ri- nt place name. Dry

Spring, on side of Indian
Peak facing /piliwniʔ/
i- na- nt chicken. From Spanish gallina.

kalpa- st.1 to break, of glass
intr.
kalse- ta- nt (1) stockings (2)
From Spanish calcetín.
kale's- st.1 to put on stocking kalso- nt (1) pants (2) underpants
From Spanish calza.
calzón (?).
kalu's-poksu- vb to put on
calu's-tkuH- vb to put on
kalwus- nt jail. From English calaboose, not from Spanish.
calaboze.
kal♀a- see under ka'la- nt
kal'e-ta- nt (1) cart (2) wagon
From Spanish carro.
kal'on- nt gallon. From Spanish galón.
kal'U-ηHe- vb (1) to miscarry
(2) to have a stillbirth
kamat'ana- nt (1) bile (2) vomit
kami'-j- st.1 (1) to outdo
get the best of some one an argument, fight, or game
kami¬e-iηHe- vb (1) to
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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.

a'to-nt (1) cow (2) cattle. From Spanish ganado "cattle."

kanta-meH-nt one who has a lot of cattle

e'ta-nt automobile. From Spanish carreta "wagon."

em-nt.1 to blow, of the wind

kan'ym-aH-nt wind

te-nt candy. From English.

wiš'i-nt suspenders

'i-in kan'-nt first person singular independent pro-

kasni-nt.1 to pin. Cf. kar-

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 close up, tr.

katmyl-nt armpit

kat'a-st.1 (1) to shut (2) locked

kat'a-hi-me-nt locked

but not locked in

kat'a-meh-nY- vb to get plugged or closed up

kat'a-mh- vb to be locked and inaccessible

kat'a-ŋHe- vb (1) to be (2) to be locked in

kat'u-mh- vb to be open a door

katut-'a-nt (1) door gate (3) opening

kat'akatal-nt ankles

kat'i-st.1 (1) to make a (2) to be unable (3) fail

wiš'j-nt suspender strap
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

like a horse (2) to straddle
reŋ-, kaw’a-, kaw’aj- see
under kaHw-ŋHe- st. 1
ri’ni-nt (1) middle (2) in
the middle (3) between
kawi-nHi-paH-nt middle
finger: "the middlemost"
kawi-in-hHi-to-ʔ-hY·N in the
middle of it
ri’-ny- vb (1) to remain
(2) to still do (3) to still
be there
ro’ta-ny- vb to scream
rej’isa-nt barn. From Spanish (?).
ro’-ny- vb to make juicy
ryHi-nt night
kawly-paH-nt morning
kawly-to-nt night
kawyHi-ŋHe- vb (1) to become
night (2) to get dark
ra’ac-nt (1) elderberry
(2) Mount Bullion
ran-nt acorn meal
kalغا-nt dance
kal’aj-aH-nt dance
kal’y?-nY- vb to kick him
and there
kal’i-j- vb to be kicking
kal’l-ŋHe- vb to get kicked
a horse or mule
ka’la-nt collar. From English
kal’a- po- vb to put a clasp
on a garment
ka’laj-nt coarse basket
ka’leh-nt (1) spittle (2) pee
ka’ma-nt bed. From Spanish cama.
ka’pu-nt smoke hole
ka’pyc-nt cabbage. From
ka’s- st. 1 to prick, tr.
kasyʔ-’a-nt fork
ka’so-nt tin. From Spanish
ka’t- st. 1 to dam up
ka’ta-nt a dam
ka’ta-nY- vb to make a
ka’tij-nt a mistake. Cf. ka’t-
st. 1
ka’to-nt cat. From Spanish
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SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

e-nt wild onion
a-st.1 to snow
P (1) no (2) not
ne-ns meaning obscure, occurs in plant names 722
o-t-st.1 to gather up
pe-paN-nt wife's sister's husband
peH-nt one
pejek-jak-nt another kind
pejek-lVHpn-nt a tine
pejek-p'a-nt one by one
pejeH-c'Y-nt only one
pejeH-k0H-0 N all of them
pejeH-t-0 N together: "at one"
pejeH-t'i-nt (1) alone (2) only
peHk-nt fern
r-t-st.1 to hug
u-st.1 to pick up CB
u-nt head louse
sa-nt millipede
sa-nt (1) money (2) dollar
سهئ-nt (1) to make money (2) to make rich
kikye?•-a-nt water or CB moiety
kikye-menH-nt juicy
kili'm-st.1 to freeze
ekili'me-nt (1) ice (2) for CB, RW, EL
kili'impe-nt (1) ice (2) for CJ
kimi-nt antler
kime-cima-nt (1) wife's brother (2) wife's mother son (2) wife's mother son (3) wife's brother (4) wife's brother wife (4) sister's child spouse (to male Ego)
kimis-nt grapevine
kisal-e-nY-vb to fry
kisal-e-nY-vb to go back and forth frying
kisicki-nt place name, near Usona on Triangle R
kitpil-0 kiti'pel-nt elbow
kiw-namsi-nt place name, near Mariposa County Hospital
kiwe-sa-nt collarbone and hollows beside it
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

pa- st. 1 to suck for disease
object
ah- nt reeds
ojne- nt woven
•pi- nt blue-flowered bush
lupin
kojo••i- nt blue
koji••nY-•’a- nt bluing
•w- st. 1 (1) to tell news
(2) to complain
kojow-na1- vb to tell for
someone
koj••owo-m•a- nt one who tells
everything he hears
kojo••nY- vb to tell to some-
one
kojon-na1- vb to tell some-
one for someone
o- nt salt
kojkoj••e- vb to taste salty
kojum••a- nt salt-lick
koj•o-meH- nt salty
koHj••qHe- st. 1 to get salty
koje••q-aH- nt salty
koj•e•q-HHi- nt very salty

kom•a-ci- nt pygmy owl
korsgo•n nt Coarsegold. From
English.
kose••nY- vb to cook, CJ, EL. From Spanish cocina.
kosen-na1- vb to cook for
someone
kosen-peH• nt a cook
kosen••a- nt kitchen
kosi•na- nt hearth. From Spanish cocina.
kosi•no- nt chimney. From Span-
ish cocina (?).
kosne•no- nt cook. From Spanish cocinero.
kot-to- nt (1) far (2) a while
kot-taH•n nt N far off
kot-taH•n-hi• N a long
kot-taH•n-j N for a long
kot-taH•n-•ynyk- N very
far off
kota••h- st. 1 to move
tr.
kot•ah• vb to move
intr.
kot•a•ka••n•i- nt from
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

e- nt a Big Time or ceremonial feast

kote'-j- st.1 to put on a Big Time

ko- st.1 (irregular and defective) to go on ahead 440

koto?-peH- nt guide

koto'-na1- vb to go ahead for someone else

koto'-nHuk'u- vb to make someone go on ahead

ko-, kota--, ko'tu-, ko't ele-, ko't u- see under ko't- st.1

kota- st.1 to bump into

ci- nt pig. From Spanish cochino.

ko-ci-c' Y- nt piglet

ci- nt coffee. From English.

ci- nt enemy

ki- st.1 to graze

ko- nt cocoa. From English.

toc- nt (1) clover (2) lettuce

mas- nt enemy

k- st.1 to throw underhand

ko't ele- nt (1) crumbly (2) brittle

ko't u-ηHe- vb to break snapping, intr.

ko'tu?-nY- vb to break passing, tr.

-koH- -ko- -ko- 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- d kuca'na- nt spon From Spanish cucharas.

kuca'pi- nt kutsavi. From Paviotso (?)

kuh-ja- st.1 (1) to hit (2) beat up 608

kuhta- st.1 (1) to hit (2)
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ba·to- nt fault. From Spanish culpado.
ul·i- nt black
ornaw- nt Coarsegold
a- nt charcoal
kal·nt fence. From Spanish corral.
ul·al·hi·me- nt fenced
kus- nt cross. From Spanish cruz.

See under ku·m- st.1
na·sa·nt mother's brother's

insul·nt (1) olive shell (2)
whole olive shell bead
e·la- nt coal
a·na- nt fence. From Spanish corral (?).

e·ta- nt gun. From Spanish escopeta.

a·ny- vb to wash clothes
e·ny- vb to cook CB. From Spanish cocinar.

kus·en· a·nt for cooking in
i·na- nt stove. From Spanish

tr. (2) to repay
-kuH- ns evidential passive
indicative 724
kuH·qHe- st.1 to regret
kwa·k kwa·k NE (?) cry of pecker
ky·cm- st.1 to chew on, tr.
kyc·a·nt ramada
kyc·yc·nt bone
ky·ty·t- st.1 to bruise, tr.
ky·la·nt liver
ky·li- st.1 (1) to recover from an illness (2) to heal

Cf. ky·li- nt
ky·li·na2- vb to cure: "cause to recover"
ky·li·nHuk·u- vb to make someone well
kyl·i·pa·nt still alive
kyl·i·ji·ksY- vb to survive illness
kyl·i·ksY- vb to just be alive

kyna·t- st.1 to defecate
kyn·e- st.1 to back away
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

'kyh- nt  fleas
'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

kywenŋ'y-ksy- vb  to keep
cold, tr.

kywe'-na₂- vb  to make it
cold

kyweŋ-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 [-ŋHuk'u-]

la- ns  meaning obscure 725

lakhy'-nY- vb  to come
several times

lakyh-nHuk'u- vb  to put
tr.: "to cause to eat
laka'ma- nt  halfway up
lak't- st. 1  to lick

lalni- nt  place name, sou
Fresno Flat

lame'sa- nt  (1) table (2)
From Spanish la mesa

lanse'so- nt  Frenchman.

Spanish francés.

lantym- nt  lantern. From

laŋlaŋ- nt  goose

lapi's-aŋ- nt  (1) trout (2)

lapga- nt  fungus, shelf-like
under and slick on

grows on old willow

or dead alders

lasan- nt  sorrel horse. It

Spanish alazán.

lawak-meH- nt  tired

lawak-na₂-ŋHe- vb  to

be tired

lawak'y-c'- vb  to feel

lawokŋHuk'u- vb  to go
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

lam'a-meH-nt one who has a lot of trees
lam'a-c'Y-nt sapling reiko-nt cinch strap. From Spanish látigo.
le-nt rat. From Spanish ratón.
lew-nt st.1 to sweep
lawy'-a-nt broom
lewo-nt nail. From Spanish clavo.
la'wo'-nY-vb to drive nails
leu-k-nt blunt-edged
x pf but 805
-leksa-nt small hawk (sharpened?)
le-nt small animal, variously identified as Sierra chickaree, weasel, flying squirrel, or coney
leH-nt mountain
le're-ta-nt bottle. From Spanish limeta.
leu-st.1 to put in the fire
le-nt st.1 (1) to finish (2) to
lew'ehe-nt thick-textured
lewe't-alt-nt heavy
lewe't-alH-nt heavy
lewe't-na₂-vb to make heavy
leweHt-naHe-vb to get
lew'a- d low-a-st.1 to have nasal congestion
lew'ap-nt (1) thick (2) nice "a thick one"
-le pf interjectional 806
le'-ha-nt syringa, Lewis orange
{-le'-nY-} vs discontinuous 1205
le'ci-nt milk. From Spanish leche.
le'cy-nt cow. From Spanish leche "milk"
le'ka-nt white or scrub oak
le'le-ma-nt purple flower similar to baby blue-eye
le'le'-nY-vb to read. From Spanish leer.
le'le'-nY'-a-nt Bible
lijal-nt (1) bit ($0.125) (2)
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SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

nt costume
a- st. 1 to rub feet back
and forth on medicine rock
ṭa-ŋ- st. 1 to slide CB, CJ
ṭo-j- st. 1 (1) to slide off
(2) to slide on something slick
ṭaṭa- nt (1) slick (2) slippery
ṭajap-o- nt medicine rock,
a natural rock located
between Usona and Nippinawasee. It was cus-
tomary to stop there on
a walking trip, and rub
one's feet back and forth
on it to take tiredness away.
- nt (1) word (2) talk (3)
language (4) story
- st. 1 (1) to talk (2) to tell
something
wa-ks- vb (1) to talk
(2) to converse
wat-peH- nt (1) speechmaker
li·ci-ci- nt calliope hummingbird
li·leH- nt (1) high (2) up
lile-nHi-pa- nt (1) upper;
(2) upstairs
lile-nHi-pa-t-ʔucaH- nt
who lives upstairs
lile-t-ʔ N higher up
lile-t·y-t-ʔ N upwards
lile-tHo-j-hY· N above here
lile·h- st. 1 to raise, try
lile·ka- nt higher
lile·ka-c·Y-n N a little
higher
lile·m-ʔucaH- nt (1) the
(2) the upper part
lile·m-ʔ-yNyk N from
lile·m-ʔ- N on top
lile·m·t·y-j N over
lile·m·t·y·ʔ-hY· N roof
top"
lile·tu-ti- nt up high
li·leH-to- nt (1) above
(2) heaven
li·leH-to-ʔ-hY· N above
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

rot-i-nt pepperwood
ra-nt throat
re-nt (1) group (2) herd
(3) flock (4) school of fish (5) stand of trees
ro-l-, lol-u- see under lo-l-st.1
lok-nt wood rat
into-na-nt flume
ra-wi-nt naked
ro-t-st.1 to form a lump
loptọ-je-nY- vb to have goose bumps
loptọ-teH-nt lumpy
loptọ-tn- ant containing lumps
ra-st.1 (1) to pound (2) to mash
lopa-tn- ant small mortar
ro-nt roan horse. From Spanish rosillo.
lo-, lotu-, lotuk-u-, lotup-, lotu?- see under lo-t-st.1
lo-nt navel
ra-st.1 to boil CB, CJ
ro-h-st.1 to scald
lo-je-nt flower
loje-t-st.1 to bloom
loje-t-aH-nt flower
loje-ma-nt flower
lojem-hi-me-nt bock
loko-nt crazy. From Spain loco.
lokot-a-tnY- vb to be
loko-a-nt slightly off head
loko-nY- vb to go crazed
ro-l-st.1 to bunch together
lolo-l-st.1 to go around a group
lol-u-c- vb to keep in
lo-so-nt Bear Valley. From Spanish el oso "the
great"
lo-t-st.1 (1) to catch (2) grasp (3) to grab
lot-nY-st.1 to pass some secretely while shaking
lot-wa-ŋHe- vb to get off
of several individuals
lotu-kSY- vb to hold down
lotuk-u-c- vb to be
### SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southern Sierra Miwok</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>luhaʔ-p-aHʔ-hYʔ kome-ŋ NE</td>
<td>last quarter of moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luk-</td>
<td>see under luʔk- st. l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>(1) olive shell (2) rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of whole olive shell beads</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>edible cocoons JL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>crest of quail or blue-jay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luʔh-ŋHe-</td>
<td>vb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luʔk-</td>
<td>st. l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luk-</td>
<td>st. l</td>
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<tr>
<td>luʔlumet-</td>
<td>nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luʔnas-</td>
<td>nt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luʔt-</td>
<td>st. l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luʔh-</td>
<td>st. l</td>
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<tr>
<td>luʔti-</td>
<td>nt</td>
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<tr>
<td>luʔti-</td>
<td>h-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luʔtih-naʔ-poksu-</td>
<td>vb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luʔtih-naʔ-</td>
<td>vb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luʔtih-</td>
<td>koH-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luʔtih-naʔ-poksus-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luʔt?i-j-a-</td>
<td>nt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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ALPHABETIC ORDER 626
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

p's- st.1 to sink
- st.1 to sting, tr.
yt-wa- st.1 to sting
lyty'-a-nt stinger
lyty'-ni-nt stinger
- 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.

mn- st.1 to puff smoke
n'i-nt first person plural
 independent pronoun
nahri- ps first person plural
311
h'oka-nt five
mahko-paH-nt Friday
mahok-nY- vb to be five
makyHj-ηHe- vb to do account
mal'- st.1 (1) to extinguish
 turn off light
male-·muH-nt (1) faded
 (2) color gone
male-·na2- vb to put out fire
mahH-ηHe- st.1 (1) to fade
 color or light (2) to turn
 of fire
ma'leŋ-e'-nY- vb to
mamlan-nt blackberry
mamu-ksY- vb to hold some
 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 whom
 manaX-ŋk-?aX-j-hY- N he is
 manaX-·pa? N someone
 other
manik P more
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

ris-nt mattress. From English.

ta- st. 1 to slap

mat-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

ar- st. 1 (1) to fall apart (2) to fork, intr.

ma?ar-nt vb to fall in two

ma?ar-la-nt (1) forked (2) fork of tree

ra- st. 1 to roll over, tr.

ma?ril-nY- vb to roll around

\( -\)ps first person singular 311

meH-nt (1) beside (2) alongside

ris-nt a match. From English matches.

ris-nt come. From Spanish maíz.

meh'ika-no- d meh'ika-no- Mexican. From Spanish mejicano.

mej'elki-nt shoulder

mel'aj-nt yellowjacket

melpo'sa-nt Mariposa (place name). From English.

meme'l-aH-nt edge of bank to be finished

meno'k- st. 1 (1) to run, on road (2) to keep on something

menok-nY- vb to keep

men'ok-pu't- 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
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

my- nt beaver
mu'la- nt Sentinel Dome
ve- nt California grey tree squirrel
H- allomorph of {-iH-} ns
H- ns (1) passive agentive
(2) augmentative (3) nescissitative 728
H- allomorph of {-mhi-} vs
vs absent 517
ns reciprocal 729
i-} vs reciprocal
nt what? Demonstrative stem 653.
-c'- st.1 to do what?
mi-c'-tho-j N why?
micy-ksY- vb to be how?
micyk-na2- vb (1) to say what? (2) to do how?
micyk-na2-tho-j N how?
micyk-na2-Ø-?-hY- N when? Mrp
micyk-pa-ni-t-Ø N how can it be that way?
micy?-meH- nt (1) for how

mi- 0 mi-n- 0 mi-ni- nt second person singular independent pronoun
mi-ko- nt second person independent pronoun
mice'dma- nt meat CJ
mice'dma- 'nY- vb to make into meat
micpa- st.1 to camp
mil-'ili-m'a- nt cross-eyed
minu'te- nt minute. From Spanish minuta.
misl- st.1 (1) to have chicken
(2) to have smallpox
misyl-meH- nt one who had the measles
miwe-j-aH- nt cemetery
miw'yH- nt (1) person (2) I
miwty-j'a- nt Indians
mi'h- st.1 to pare
mi'n-, mi-ni- allomorphs of second person singular independent pronoun
mi'sa- nt Mass. From Spanish misa.
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

mojo'-t- st. 1 to go to sleep

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

nil-nY- vb to fool someone

ni·na- nt mill. From Spanish molino.

it- st. 1 (1) to trade (2) to change or alter (2) to change place

molt-poku· vb to turn into something: "to change oneself"

ras· nt measles

re- nt (1) obsidian blade, four to six inches long (2) charmstone (?) soapstone (?)

ri· nt shade

moli-mh· vb to be cooling off in the shade

mo·p-a-· V inside hand (handgame call): "he put his hand on a woman's genitals"

mote··muH- nt pregnant

mote·ge- nt pregnant

mo·ta- st. 1 (1) to meet, to (2) to bump into

mo·i·j-· vb to face toward someone

mo·lil- see under mol·i- meaning Mono person or language

mon·a·j·a- nt (1) Mono people (2) Paiutes

mo·nok- nt incense cedar

mo·nuj- nt belladonna

mo·qi- nt reeds

mo·ro· nt (1) gray (2) spot

From Spanish moro, moreno (?)

-mu- ·mu- ·muH- ps and second persons involved

muckat·i- nt sharp-pointed
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language

mula'k-poksu- vb to wash one's face
ne'kas- nt sheep CB. From Spanish borregas.
n'ete-m'a- nt hunchback
s'a- st.1 to be ashamed
musa?-meH- nt (1) timid (2) bashful
s'e- nt mother CJ
?'-a-ti- nt camel: "humped"
-u, -muH- see under -mu-
pl'a- nt mule. From Spanish mula.
s'- st.1 to suck at breast
mus-nY- st.1 to suckle a child: "to cause to suck"
musu?-a- nt nipple
mu's-poksuy- vb to hibernate: "to suck oneself"
si'ka- nt (1) music (2) musical instrument. From Spanish música.
musi'k- st.1 to make music
muski-paH- nt personal
myla- nt (1) hazel (2) hazel
mylak- nt stick for playing
myl'a- ti- nt bee
myl'i- nt to sing CB
mymp- st.1 to close one's eyes
mym'yu- ti- nt quail
my?- see under my?- st.
my?q- st.1 to swallow
my?qy'-nY- vb to gulp
my?qy't- a- nt Adam's apple, "swallower"
my?q- He- vb to choke on thing
my?qyny-Hna- nt California porcupine
my'hy-Hna- nt yellow-hair porcupine
my?'k- st.1 (1) to drive a (2) to herd cattle CB EL
my'l- st.1 to hit with a bow instrument held in one hand, such as a stick
myl-ja- st.1 to beat up
mylaj-kuH- nt one who receives a blow
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

Yh- ns (1) only (2) just
(3) nothing but 730
- ~ -m- cs ablative case 326
a- ns one who . . . to ex-
cess 731

n
ncs temporal case 323
allomorph of { -eH- } ms
- allomorph of { -ak- } ms
- ns meaning obscure 732
a₁- } vs benefactive 519
a₂- } 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
. . .
ma-hma-tki- nt (1) one who
just barely . . . (2) one
who almost failed to . . .
(3) one who finally . . .
pa- st.1 to cover, tr.
na-jap-a- nt (1) cover (2) lid
na-j’a-j- vb to mate, with
speaking
na-j’a-ta- nt boy
na-j’a-nY- vb to become
man
nath- st.1 to learn
nathyh-na₂- vb to teach
one

nathyh- nt clever
nawa‘ha- nt pocketknife. L
Spanish navaja.
nawa‘sy-, nawa‘as- see under
na-was- nt
nawt- st.1 (1) to take away
someone (2) to steal
na‘-, na‘y- see under na‘-
na’a’ca- nt ten
na’ac-nY- vb to be ten
na’ac-nHi-paH- nt the ten-
one
na’ac-a-? kej-eH-? ‘YniH-?
eleven: "ten has one
na’ac-a-? tolo-koṭ-? ‘YniH-
thirteen: "ten has the
na’ac-a-? ḏoṭiH-? ‘YniH-?
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

nak-pa- st.l to catch up
nak'y-c- vb to be up to a
certain point
ț- st.l to snore
natsu-c- st.l to snore
was- nt (1) dress (2) skirt.
From Spanish naguas.
nawa-sy-poku-st. vb to put on
a dress
nawa-s- a- nt cloth
nawa's-y-ksY- vb to wear a
dress
'ụ- st.l (1) to fit (2) to be
enough
na'ụ-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.l (1) to know a per-
son (2) to recognize (3)
to be able to tell if . . .
some (2) argument
ne'ụ- st.l to count. Cf. n
st.l
ne'na- nt (1) time (2) an h
\{neH-\} nt (1) this (2) here
Demonstrative stem
ne-pu-ksY- vb to be the
ne-puHț- vb to do this
ne-phuțe- nt this kind
ne'h-η-ʔok N (1) his (2)
one's
neH-(case) N (1) this or
(2) he, she, it (3) h
neH-(case)-ʔok N (1) the
(2) he, she, it (3) h
neH-k-o-(case)-ʔok N (2)
they
neH-m-t-Y-t-∅ N (1) the
(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 upstr
-ni- allomorph of \{-eH-\}
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

oc-nY- st.1 to make someone cry
oc-pa- st.1 to cry for someone
ocuH-jYk'- vb to go to cry
oc?u-c'-e'-nY- vb to cry all the time: "to be a habitual crier"
oc?u-paH- nt one who cries much
oc'u?-ti- nt edible fungus, white, grows in burnt brush: "crybabies"
oc'u?-HmetiH- nt people who cry
oc'u?-u-m'a'-nY- vb to be a crybaby
inic- nt blacksmith
re'-nY- vb to cross oneself.
From Spanish nombre "name."
et'- vb to slump down, of a person
ot'- vb to bow one's head
otkolol- nt pygmy owl (?)

nykha- nt (1) skin (2) outer surface
nyky-lik- nt callus
nykys- nt poison oak
nyk-a- nt rain
nyk-a- st.1 to rain
nymih- nt (1) like (2) maybe
nym'a- st.1 to tell the truth
ynna'-t- st.1 to hire workers
ynna'-t-poksu- vb to wipe one's nose
nyp'a- nt thin acorn mush

CB
nyp'a- ti- nt thin acorn mush
nyp'y- nt pigmented mole
nysy-lik- nt chest (body-part)
ny'ma-?-hi- N (1) probably guess so
nyHt-ŋHe- st.1 to keep still
nyt'y-c'- vb to be quiet calm
nyH?-ŋHe- st.1 to get scared
{-nY-} vs (1) transitive (2) intransitive (3) causative (4) balizer 521
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

pa- allomorph of {-na₂-} vs pa-} vs directional 533 pa-ksY-} vs involuntary passive 511

ice- 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

dl-ci- nt people of near /piliwni?/. Name of RW's

panco- nt banjo. From Eng. panjo- nt handkerchief. From Spanish paño "cloth" pape·l-aH- nt paper. From Spanish papel.

pasak·i-la- nt acorn crate pasas·i- nt white

pasis-na₂- vb (1) to wash (2) to bleach

pasiHs-ηHe- vb to become 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-ηHe- vb to get

paṭa·ka- nt small black ant

paṭa·ti- nt grasshopper

paṭi·w- st.1 (1) to twist have cramps in the

paṭiwi·m·a- nt knock-
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

b- nt button mushrooms, an edible fungus with pink gills
a- nt shovel. From Spanish pala.
al-ny- st. 1 to shovel
nal- nt white alder
a- nt (1) grandfather (2) great-grandfather (3) grandfather's brother (4) grandmother's brother (?)
fas- nt potato. From Spanish papas.

unu- nt place name, east of White Rock
intu- nt dragonfly
st. 1 to give
a?u- 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

ALPHABETIC ORDER 656

pele-ŋ-poksu vb to peer something held up
pel-es- nt matter in corners eyes on arising
pemjente- nt pepper. From Spanish pimienta.
pene-no- nt bridle. From Spanish freno.
pet-a- st. 1 to grope around
pete-ŋ- st. 1 to sneak up
petej-pa- st. 1 to sneak 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, tr.
pe-ja- st. 1 to drop, tr.
pe-ja- st. 1 to drop several things
pe-ja-met- vb to fall tree, of fruit
pe-ja-aj- vb to drop along the way

pe-ja-aj- vb to drop along the way
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

[view image]
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

peť'aŋ' a- nt  garbage dump
peť'a-ŋHe- vb  to fall
hep'e-ha- nt  wild tea
hin-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-pokus- vb  to comb
       one's hair
s- nt  pears. From English.
sog- nt  dollar. From Spanish
       peso.
wisa- nt  roots used for
       basketry foundation
H- ns  agentive 738
It- see under peť'a- st.1
a'k- st.1  to mash
pica'k-met'- vb  to crumble,
       intr., of a soft thing
re'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 among
       (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
       Polona
piliwni?-ci- nt  people in
       Polona
pilyn-'a- nt  (1) hem (2) step
pina?'-'a- nt  slingshot
pini-to- nt  gravy. From Spanish
pinto- nt  piebald, pinto. From
       Spanish pinto.
pinto-ja- nt  spotted
       pinto-ja-ŋ'nY- vb  to
       spotted
pisis-i- nt  striped
pisok-'YniH- nt  blazed, bronzy-faced,
       of a horse
piso-t- st.1  to part hair
phaj- nt place name, south of Palona Mountain
kal- nt (1) lungs (2) quilt
ko- nt ball
pok- st.1 (1) to kick a football (2) to play ball
ço- nt place name, Leonard property, Tiptop
ra- st.l (1) to please someone (2) to be good to someone
ta- ñ poji- to- nt chick.
From Spanish pollita, pollito.
poji- to- nY- vb to hatch
al- meH- nt watertight
ha- nt large yellow flower, grows near springs (evening primrose?)
dolno- nt small owl (pygmy owl? screech owl?)
dol- nt (?) cry of /nop- otkolol/.
It is an omen indicating that someone will come from the direction whence
pol- o- ñHe- vb to be coming
by the supernatural
pol- o?- iH- nt haunted: "actually contacts the supernatural"
po- lo- ti- nt ghost
pom- ki- st.1 to come into, e.g., over a hill
pomak- j- vb to come out and there
pom- pomjo- nt sneak thief
ponp- st.l 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 From Spanish (?).
potni- ja- nt colt. From Spanish potrilla (?).
potok- meH- nt gray hair
pot- um- nt large beetle
potôt- i- nt gray (?) brown
po? ok- nt blunt-pointed
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

kre-la-nt  ash flakes
ku-j- st.1  to blow, of the wind
puk'uj-aH-nt  wind
sak'-a-nt  large basket for making mush or heating water
nt- st.1  to dip into or out of water
nu-t- st.1  to dip up
pulul-a-nt  dipper
tugis-nt  Portuguese. From Spanish portugués.
m'ulu-m'a-nt  round bowl
na-na-nt  fence. From Spanish (?)..
Tajal-nt  dagger. From Spanish puñal.
ere-te-nt  (1) soft (2) tender (3) pliable
punet-na₂-vb  to make soft
si-νY-vb  to dance the acorn dance
ija-je'-n-aH-nt  rise of land, as the beginning of foothills
puţ-a-  st.1  to bubble up, split and clean a c.
puţhu'-νY-vb  to bubble up fast
several places
puţu-t'u-t'-vb  to boil or
puţu-nt  water ouzel
pu'ci-nt  kitty. From English pussy; cf. pu'si-nt
pu-hu-nu-nt  (1) porcupine
Pohono Bridge, Yos (3) Bridal Veil Falls
pu'k-poksu-vb  to rub one
with a hot stick to rheumatism
pu'kej-aH-nt  soapstone
pu'lu-nt  cigar. From Spanish puro.
pu'si-nt  cat. From English puta.
pu'ta-nt  prostitute. From puta.
puţ- st.1  (1) to slit open, split and clean a c.
puţ-h- st.1  to bulge out, of dry stuff
puţuh-meH-nt  rupture
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

bākt-′a-`nt baking pan
bālt-′i-`nt bread
-l-′nt fish eggs
-l-i-`nt smooth
bālt-′a-`nt juniper
m-′nt plum. From English.
-l-′nt lunch
-ŋHe- vb to burst
-l-′nt. 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.
-pyta-′l- vb to turn over, intr.
-n-nt a place made bare.
Cf. py-′- st. 1

-vyhi-`nt ancient village lo-
location at Acorn Inn, at
junction of Highway 140
and Triangle Road
-ti-`nt a naturally bare place.
Cf. py-′- st. 1
-st. 1 to blister, intr.
-py-′- st. 1 to be blistered

pyty′-nY- vb to scrape
here and there
pyty′-t- vb to be all clear
grass
-p-′a- ns diminutive-distrib.
741
-p-′u- ps third person plural
-pHu-te- ns kind, species 7

rajs-′nt rice. From English.
ranco-′nt field. From Spanish.
rancho.
redjo-′nt radio. From English.
riko-′-nY- vb to get rich. 1
Spanish rico.

s

sajta-′nt cider. From Eng.
sak-, sakal-, sak-ele- see
sa-′k- st. 1
saka-′ni-`nt (1) soaproot (2)
root fibers
sakaHl-′nt willow, small, for
basket-making
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

al-iʔiː-nY- vb to turn young
nu- st. 1 to raise children
en- nt skillet. From Spanish sartén.
sa- nt ramada
aʔ-to- nt El Portal
ija- nt watermelon. From Spanish sandía.
saʔ-na- nt pinecone
ak- nt (1) sugar pine
(2) piñon nuts
ŋ- nt to boil
ap’aːta- nt a large sore or boil
aʔ- nY- vb to eat supper.
From English.
apan-ʔaːti- nt supper
r- to- nt shoes. From Spanish zapato.
apaʔ- st. 1 to shoe, tr.
sapaʔ-poksu- vb to wear shoes
sa- st. 1 to strum
apaʔ-ʔa- nt guitar
aʔ-ca- nt crosscut saw. From English center
saw’en-aH- nt hailstone
saw’ana- nt sheet, CJ. From Spanish sábana.
saw’ato- nt Saturday. From Spanish sábado.
saʔk- st. 1 to tear
sak-la- st. 1 to tear up
sakal-kuH- nt all torn
sak’u-maH- nt torn
sak’e- ele- nt easy to tear
saʔsa- nt (1) interior live oak
(2) scrub oak
saʔ- w- st. 1 to say "hey!"
saw’ana- nt sheet, RW, EL.
From Spanish sábanas.
saʔwine- 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
sentaʔ-nY- vb to shoot at a
From English center
sen’e- nt wart
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

ken-na₂- vb to make one sick

ken'y-c'- vb to be sickly

ke'n-aH- nt sickness

k'e-paH- nt (1) a twinge of pain (2) hurt feelings

k'e-pa-ksY- vb (1) to hurt, intr. (2) to be painful

Il- nt willow, large

- nt ashes

ke'si-la- nt ashes

- nt silk. From English.

t- nt marrow

c- nt silver. From English.

'na- nt week. From Spanish semaine.

'η-, simsim- see under siHm-ηHe- st. l

rja- nt seed. From Spanish semilla.

mi'ja'-nY- vb to run to seed

k-poksu- vb to blow one's nose

b- nt cinch. From Spanish sombrero.

siw'a- nt thin, of liquid

siw'en- nt gallbladder

siw'is- nt clear

siw'is-aH- nt clear saddle. From Spanish silla.

si'pe- nt slim

sipet-na₂- vb to make na

si'sa- nt streamlet

si'ηa'-pa-ηHe- vb to be sad From Spanish silla.

siHl-ηHe- st. l to stop rain

siHm-ηHe- vb to like food

sime-η-aH- nt delicious

simsim-η-e- vb (1) to be (2) to have a very good flavor

skwo's- nt squash (vegetable)

From English.

sok-pa- st. l to teach

sok-pa-paH- nt teacher

sok'a- st. l to track

somle-lα- RW, EL d som'e-la-

nt hat. From Spanish sombrero.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

sop'u?-nY- vb to throw here and there
sop'pu?-nY- vb to hit several people by throwing
creka'ma- nt patchwork quilt.

From Spanish sobrecama.
sa- nt saucer. From English.
se- nt bedrock mortar. Cf.
sos'e- st. l

'u- nt chicken hawk
'ut'u- nt horn of saddle
u'tel- nt shin
ata-to- nt soldier. From Spanish soldado.

'u'h- vb to wiggle
sul'uj-h- -nY- vb to keep wiggling away

inne'no- nt hat CB. From Spanish sombrerero.

sumn'en'y-kS Y- vb to wear a hat

shente- nt burglar. From Spanish surgente (?).
s'ar- st. l to get fine wood
prata-m'a- nt fuzzy

su't- to make crackling by skin
su't-'a'ti- nt crackling
suHs-ŋHe- st. l to melt
swet'a- nt sweater. From
swipate'to- nt sweet potato

From English.
syjil'il- vb to whirl around
syk-, sykaw-, syk'y?- see
sy'k- st. l
symp- st. l to close the eye
sympy'-nY- vb (1) to bight (2) to keep closing and opening the eyes
symyp-nHuk'u- vb to close someone's eyes
symy'-t- st. l to draw tightly
sym'it- nt (1) grease (2) in
symi't- st. l to skim off

grease
symiHt-ŋHe- vb to get
symti- po- vb to grease
symtiti- e- vb to taste
sype- nt (1) digging-stick
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

syk-'a-ci-nt mark
talja-no-nt Italian. From Spanish italiano.
syk-'YniH-nt a tattooed person
talqi-st.1 (1) to arise in the morning (2) to get up
syk?y?-nY- vb to write here and there
*tal'i- st.1 (defective) (1) in the morning (2) to
syk?y?-nY- vb to write something down repeatedly
440
tal'yln-nt (1) strong (2) mighty
*ps second person singular
(3) difficult
311
talyl-nHi-paH-nt strong
s
kyn-nt shotgun. From English.
talyH1-ŋHe- vb to get swelling
ka- $ colka- st.1 to flow
tamH- st.1 to go down, down
vs meaning obscure 539
tamak.i?-la-nt flicker-feather
-tHo-cs allative case 327
headband
tamak.i?-la-nt flicker-feather
tama-li-n N north. Cf. tama
(¿), Spanish tomatero,
tama-tis-nt tomato. From
tempo-nt (1) drum (2) five
can. From Spanish
drum.
tampo-nY- vb to beat
	tam.yle-nt (1) north (2) northern
c tajic NE (?) screech of
Steller's (?) bluejay. See
erner
tajka-nt and kajka?-jaH-
tamly-j'a-nt northerner.
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

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·pa'ta·t- vb to be scattered around, of small objects.

ta·polo·nt shawl. From Spanish tapalo.

ta·so·nt cup. From Spanish taza.

taH-ns temporal 743.

te·∞·te·∞·te? ps first person singular 311.

tejnta·nt tent. From English tent.

tekm-st.1 to kick with the foot.

tekm-ŋHe- vb to get kicked

by a person.

tekmy·nY- vb to keep kicking.

te·o·l-st.1 to pry up a flat thin thing.

tekol·a·nt crowbar: "prying open".

teku·i·st.1 (1) to use up.
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SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

na’l- st.1 to exchange

tem’al-iH- nt trader: "habitual exchanger"

mpela- nt rock-shelter

n’oka- nt six

temo’-jak-∅ na’a’ca-? NE sixty

temok-nY- vb to be six

ja-ka- j- vb to feel, tr.

γkiju’-nY- vb to say thank you. From English.

-γ-, tepal-, tepy?- see under tep- st.1

step- see under teHp-γHe-, st.1

pres-ta- nt ramada

s-ku- st.1 to break off a piece

tes’-u-maH- nt (1) dented

(2) bashed in in one place

sa’wi- nt caved in in several places

stes’- vb to be cut

s’e- nt (1) hangs (2) eaves of house

{-te’-nY-} vs linear distribution

527 te’jyl-nY- vb (1) to deal with

(2) to punish

tep-γ- st.1 (1) to touch, tr.

(2) to feel, tr.

tepγ-ksY- vb to be touched something

tep- st.1 (1) to cut (2) to

tep-la- st.1 to cut up

tepal-kuH- nt cut up

tep’-u-maH- nt wound

tepy?-a- nt a plow: "for cutting"

tepani- nt Creator

tep-te- nt (1) sister, older Ego (2) female parallel cousin, older than

(3) female paternal cousin, older than

tetje-puH- nt half sister

older than Ego

tep-w- st.1 to stand, tr.

tew’y-c- vb to be standing

on four feet

ALPHABETIC ORDER 586
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

ti'-c- st. 1 to tease
tikm-nY- vb to peck
tik'm-nt to peck at someone
tik'ym-'a-nt beak: "for pecking"

an- st. 1 to hobble a horse
al-i-nt (1) tan (2) buckskin horse (3) blond (4) pale, of skin (5) off-white.

ho-nt wheat. From Spanish trigo.

na-nt dry pinewood, not pitchy, for kindling

il-na-nt tarweed

nek-aH-nt lampblack
e'l- st. 1 to thunder
tim'e-le-lli-nt (1) thunder (2) owl's clover

ril-nt (1) mole (2) velvet
apu-nt cloth
eP almost

na:no-nt tin cup. From English

tiwk'a-nt magpie-feather dress
tiwla-j-nY- vb to suffer
tiw'-aj-nt yellowhammer-shafted flicker
tiw'a- st. 1 to buy
tiw'a?-t-poksu- vb to send
tiw'a-h- st. 1 to pay
tiwha-meH-nt expert
tiwha-p'a-nt a payment

tiwy-c- vb to protrude, long thing

ti?jaH-nt chief JL

ti?p- st. 1 to hold one's breath

iti?ti?- vb to beat, of pulsing

ti'-c- st. 1 to stand someone's head

tic'y-c- vb to be standing on one's head

ti'jy-nt tea. From English

ti'we-nt cottontail rabbit

ti?- st. 1 to bulge from underneath

-tiH- ps first person dual plural 311
monarch or swallowtail
(2) big basket for cooking acorns

ps plural, second person only 311

- st. 1 to drink it all up
i- st. 1 to go to hell
k-si-kox-? V to go to hell!

u-maH- nt loose
tok·en·- see under

-toHK·-ηHe- st. 1

·a- nt foreshaft of arrow
- nt godetia, farewell-to-spring

?- st. 1 (1) to be very
(2) to get a lot (3) to keep on
- nt (1) buttocks (2) lower hip region

ko:j·- nt three

lko·paH· nt Wednesday
lko·-pa- vb to be or do three times

lok-nHi-paH· nt third
lok-wi-j·- vb to cut in


tol·om·a- nt wildcat
tomiqko- nt Sunday. From Spanish domingo.
toŋp- st. 1 to smother, intr.
toŋaH- nt (1) top (2) summit
(3) point (4) end of river

tophu·je·-A·Y- vb rapids
topi·j·- st. 1 to make war

topo·n·aH- nt cork. From Spanish tapón.
topu·j·- st. 1 to bubble

topju·le·-A·Y- vb waves in water
toś·i·-ηHe- vb to be smoked

totjo·-A·Y- vb to be frightened
towon·na2- vb to make a pipe for tobacco
to'p· st. 1 to be replete
to'ono·- nt short
to·j- st. 1 to smoke tobacco
to·koH- nt (1) all (2) much
(3) many
to·po· nt gopher. Cf. Spanish topo "mole."
to·ro· nt bull. From Spanish toro.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

tuk·un- a- nt sewing machine
se- st. 1 to spit
stu·nt top of head
nu·li·nt Pandora moth caterpillar

rakal·i- vb to hit with one's body
to·nt Indian Gulch. From English Toledo, another name for this locality.

bul·a-nt (1) hill (2) gap between hills
na·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

unj·puH-nt (1) stepdaughter (2) foster daughter

u-nt (1) upper leg, from hip to knee (2) thigh (3) ham

tur·k- st. 1 to push or pull hoe or board
tu·l- st. 1 to drive CB
tu·ni·nt a wild root like potatoes
tu·u·nt a personal name
twi·nt twin. From English tyha·n- st. 1 to try
tyja·n- st. 1 to tie up, tr.

ty·j- st. 1
ty·j·an·a·nt (1) a bundle (2) a bale

tyjy·-, tyjy·- see under ty

st. 1

tykaj·i·c- vb to be happy

tykaj·meH·nt a happy

tykyk·- 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
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

- st. 1 to patch a basket
  ṭin-a- nt a patch
  a-j-a- nt speckled
  s-c- vb to lie still
  st. 1 (1) to tie (2) to tie on
  tyj-y-a- nt (1) tied (2) ready
  for tying
  tyj-y-mh- vb to be tied in
  s-na- nt spider web
  s-cah- vb (1) to limp (2) to
  be lame
  n- nt cold (?)
  st. 1 to trim, tr.
  ṭH-ne- st. 1 (1) to choke, intr.
  (2) to drown
  te-na- vb to drown, tr.
  ps first person singular
  object 311
  ns diminutive plural 747
  ps first person plural 311
  -ns directional 748
  - allomorph of allative case
  327
  H- ns revenitive 749
  ṭasy-w-mH- nt thin, scarce
  ṭasy-w-na2- vb to make small
  one thin
  ṭasyHw-ŋk- vb to be emptied
  -tət pf emphatic 810
  tət-wa- st. 1 (1) to be careless
  (2) to move carelessly
  tət-a-puč- vb (1) to poke
  (2) to keep on going an
  old way
  tət-i- nt yolk
  tawyH-ŋHe- vb to tell a lie
  tawy-ŋHe- nt liar
  tawy- pa- vb to lie to some
  one
  tawyH-ŋHe-mH- nt one
  tells lies
  tawy-y-j- vb to tell lies
  the time
  tawy-y-m-a- nt liar
  ta-p- st. 1 to flatten out, tr.
  təp-a-le- nt wide
  təp-y-c- vb to be flattened
  -təH- ns diminutive 750
  təHk-ŋHe- st. 1 (1) to taste
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

tu•j- st.1 to reflect light from a distance
 reefs- st.1 (1) to pick up, tr. (2) to gather acorns from the ground
 tu•ty•na₁ vb to gather for someone
 we•j- st.1 to crawl
 wen nt spotted towhee
 naH-nt ground squirrel
 tičik-Hna-nt ground squirrel
 tič•it tič•it NE(?) noise of ground squirrel
 tič•cici-nt ground squirrel
 rit-nt forehead
 ir•s- st.1 to get rusty
 iis-nt rust
 iij-aH-nt (1) mist (2) haze
 pa•nt deerbrush
 tiik-la-nt mistletoe
 tikni•nt wild onions, a kind without a strong taste
 riy-nt hand
 tišyj•a•nt a pair of gloves
 ṭokp- st.1 to get lonesome
 ṭoku•p-aH-nt a lonesome place
 ṭok•o- see under ṭo•k• st.
 ṭol- see under ṭol• st.1
 ṭolkoh-nt ear
 ṭolo•k• st.1 to earmark
 ṭol•oko-Hna•nt jackrabbit, "big ears"
 ṭol•a•nt (1) skin (2) father of reference?), obs.
 ṭom•ja• st.1 to warm up, here and there
 ṭomaj•aj••vb to warm
 ṭom•me•na₂• vb to warm
 ṭom•me•na₂•tkuH• vb oneself
 ṭom•pa• vb to warm body
 ṭom•tom•e• vb to be well of weather
 ṭom•u•c•• vb to keep warm intr.
 ṭo•ma•je•nY••vb to wrap repeatedly at short

ALPHABETIC ORDER 701
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[view image]
- see under (fb)- st.1
j- st.1 to get thin
(fos)-yoon-meH-nt thin, scrawny
(fos)-yoon-m'a-nt thin
(uj)-nt thin, scrawny
k-nt to braid hair
(fb)-toyt- YnìH-nt a braid
(poon)-nt shooting-stars
(flowers)
(poon)-u-lan-nt El Capitan
r-j- st.1 to foam
(fob)-toyt- le'-nY-vb to bubble up
(fob)-toyt-nt beer: "foamy"
(fob)-toyt- a-nt place where it bubbles
(fob)-toyt-nt stuff that makes foam
(fob)-toyt-aH-nt (1) soap suds
(2) foam at the mouth: "foamy thing"
(hu-)nY-vb to bounce, as a ball
(fb)-towuh-nHuk'-u-vb to bounce,
tr. *ALPHABETIC ORDER
in'-aj-nt mockingbird
(st.1
to get thin

(fos)-yoon-meH-nt thin, scrawny
(fos)-yoon-m'a-nt thin
(uj)-nt thin, scrawny
(k-nt to braid hair
(fb)-toyt YnìH-nt a braid
(poon)-nt shooting-stars
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(fb)-towuh-nHuk'-u-vb to bounce,
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-Ø-?-hYN carrying
- st. 1 to sleep
vje-`muH- nt asleep
vje-`y-c- vb to be sleepy
  tyjce-paH- nt half-asleep
  tyjce-mcH- nt sleepyhead
  tyjeHc-ηHe- vb to get sleepy
vje-`na₂- vb to put someone to sleep
vje`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 be clear in one's mind about a thing (2) to remember something
  tylyl-na₂- vb to make someone remember
  tylyl-`a- nt (1) mind (2) consciousness
  tylyl-`ene- vb to ask someone to remember
  tylyl-y- nt (1) intelligent (2) smart (3) knowing
  tylyl-y-c- vb to know
  tylyl-l-poksu- vb to look for oneself
  tyl-a- nt ear-pin
tymc-, tym-y- see under ty-
  st. 1
  tyntykul-e- nt baby blue-eyed wildflower
  tyny-η- st. 1 to remember happened
  tyntyn-nY- vb (1) to think, cogitate (2) to plan
**SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH**

wa- st.1 to smash

x- st.1 (1) to thread a needle (2) to sew

tyky?- a- nt shoestring

\[\text{tyky?- a- ? YniH- nt having laces}\]

\[\text{ty?ky?- nY- vb to lace up, tr.}\]

\[\text{y- st.1 to drill a hole}\]

\[\text{tyl?- y-maH- nt a hole}\]

\[\text{tyla?- YniH- nt ground meat}\]

\[\text{tyl?y?- a- nt drill, brace and bit}\]

\[\text{te- nt evening star}\]

\[\text{te- st.1 (1) to cut off (2) to amputate (3) to cut off hair in mourning}\]

\[\text{tyt?- y-maH- nt one-legged}\]

\[\text{tyty?- kuH- nt obviously cut off}\]

\[\text{tyt?eh- vb (1) to cut off the hair (2) to bob the hair}\]

\[\text{t- st.1 to lay down, tr.}\]

\[\text{m- nHe- st.1 (1) to anticipate with pleasure (2) to be happy}\]

\[\text{wakaHl- nt creek}\]

\[\text{wakaHl- c? Y- nt small creek}\]

\[\text{wakaHl- m- nt, wakaHl- m- nt Merced River}\]

\[\text{wake- lo- nt cowboy CJ. F.}\]

\[\text{Spanish vaquero}\]

\[\text{wake- ro- nt cowboy RW, P.}\]

\[\text{From Spanish vaque}\]

\[\text{wake- ro- nY- vb to tend}\]

\[\text{wakha- st.1 (1) to flow (2) run, of water}\]

\[\text{wak- a- st.1 to spread a film as paint, tr.}\]

\[\text{wak- a- ta- nt female genital}\]

\[\text{wak- ucu- nt ridge}\]

\[\text{wala- nt wide}\]

\[\text{walak- aj- nt tule}\]

\[\text{walapu- u- nt (1) butterfly (2) to Echinodota tinctorum paint}\]

\[\text{wale- ti- tHo- nt hell}\]

\[\text{walpu- st.1 (1) to arrive in morning (2) to greet morning (3) good morning}\]

\[\text{wala- aj- nt duck}\]
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\textbf{THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE}

\texttt{untari\textperiodcentered ta\textperiodcentered nt} Coulterville. From Spanish Banderita, the former name of Coulterville.

\texttt{ante\textperiodcentered ha\textperiodcentered nt} dishpan. From Spanish bandeja.

\texttt{ante\textperiodcentered la\textperiodcentered nt} flag. From Spanish bandera.

\texttt{ws\textperiodcentered nY\textperiodcentered vb} to tell a story

\texttt{wasny\textperiodcentered paH\textperiodcentered nt} storyteller

\texttt{saj\textperiodcentered a\textperiodcentered nt} (1) mush-stirrer (2) coarse acorn flour

\texttt{sa\textperiodcentered ma\textperiodcentered nt} location of roundhouse at Ahwahnee

\texttt{silje\textperiodcentered nt} dance plume

\texttt{sa\textperiodcentered nt} Ponderosa pine

\texttt{giwy\textperiodcentered nt} Washo

\texttt{tak\textperiodcentered ha\textperiodcentered nt} mountain lupin

\texttt{tak\textperiodcentered a\textperiodcentered nt} hoe

\texttt{to\textperiodcentered n\textperiodcentered aH\textperiodcentered nt} button. From Spanish botón.

\texttt{watno\textperiodcentered po\textperiodcentered vb} (1) to button (2) to sew on buttons

\texttt{tu\textperiodcentered nt} (1) sun (2) clock

\texttt{tuk\textperiodcentered a\textperiodcentered nt} shelled acorns

\texttt{tak\textperiodcentered Hna\textperiodcentered nt} frog

\texttt{wa\textperiodcentered na\textperiodcentered nt} iron bar. From barra.

\texttt{wa\textperiodcentered pok\textperiodcentered nt} (1) pass (2) draw

\texttt{wa\textperiodcentered so\textperiodcentered nt} (1) tumbler (2) (material). From Spanish vaso "tumbler."

\texttt{wejl\textperiodcentered nt} whale. From English

\texttt{weke\textperiodcentered 1\textperiodcentered aH\textperiodcentered nt} hillside

\texttt{wekwek\textperiodcentered nt} unidentified reptile. Duck, bluish, size of hawk, lives in mountains.

\texttt{wel\textperiodcentered , welhy\textperiodcentered , welik\textperiodcentered see} under nt

\texttt{wela\textperiodcentered , wel\textperiodcentered at\textperiodcentered see} under nt

\texttt{wela\textperiodcentered k\textperiodcentered st. 1} to spread a substance, e.g., but

\texttt{wele\textperiodcentered k\textperiodcentered st. 1} to take some

\texttt{wel\textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered st. 1} to get Mrp

\texttt{wel\textperiodcentered e\textperiodcentered le\textperiodcentered nt} alligator lizard

\texttt{wem\textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered st. 1} (1) to dig a hole (2) to dig around

\texttt{wemy\textperiodcentered kuH\textperiodcentered nt} obvious

\texttt{wen\textperiodcentered e\textperiodcentered nt} mottled

\texttt{wes\textperiodcentered a\textperiodcentered nt} fast, rapid
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

wel-ki- st.1 to fetch Mrp
welik-na₁- vb to fetch for
CJ
wel-na₁- vb to fetch for CB
la- nt a light
wela‧st.1 to shine, of
moon
wel‧at‧a- nt something
one lights up
we‧la‧t‧i- nt candle
my‧nt (1) hole (2) open
gave (3) a mine. Cf.
wem‧st.1
ŋ-mhi- vb to argue
pa‧nt uphill
sit‧nt eel
ť‧st.1 to scratch a person
wet‧wa‧st.1 to scratch all
over
i‧} ns meaning obscure 751
-, wihy‧ see under wi‧h-
st.1
- nt wick. From English.
-, wiky‧- wik'y‧- wik‧a-
see under wi‧k‧st.1

tr. (2) to stretch, to
wilat‧nHi‧paH‧nt talles
wil‧at‧hHi‧nt tall
wil‧ih‧nt (1) water oak (2)
sprouts of water oak
for twined basketry
winta‧ra‧nt window. From
ventana.
wip‧ja‧st.1 to wag the tail
wip‧ajaHk‧nt eagle
wis‧u‧maH‧nt harelip
wiskala‧nt sand
wiski‧nt whiskey. From En
wiso‧t‧st.1 to part someone
hair
wiso‧t‧poksu‧vb to part
hair
wisti‧no‧nt (1) all dressed
(2) dressy. From Sp
vestido "dress, costume"

wisti‧no‧nY‧vb to dress
wišmi‧f wicmi‧nt (1) road
place in road (2) way
(3) cliff (4) precipice
river bank (6) steep
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

k'y-a-nt for putting
  k-poku- vb to wear or
    put on clothes
  wi-k-poku-? hi-me-nt
    used clothing
k'a- st.1 to put in a wager
    for someone else
  je-nt root
    allomorph of {-wa-} vs
  *te-nt turkey. From Spanish
    guajolote.
boh-na-nt sequoia
  st.1 to bark, of a dog
  ?- st.1 to sow
je-a-nt place for growing plants
j'e-nt (1) garden (2) crop
    (3) planted
j'e-nY- vb to plant
li-nt wife's brother
-, wol-en, wol-u- see
  under woHl-ηHe- st.1
  nt pocket. From Spanish
  bolsa
 alphabetic order
pl- vb to topple over an
  wo-n- st.1 to knock acorns
    the tree
  wo-ta-nt boots. From Spanish
    bota.
wo-te-nt boat. From Spanish
  woHl-ηHe- st.1 to watch
    wolen-ene- vb to display
      "to ask to watch"
  wol-en-a-nt stadium: "place
      for watching"
  wol-u-c- vb (1) to watch
      (2) to be looking on
wuje-nt a hole
  wuje-t-?ucaH-nt ground
    rel: "hole-dweller"
wyhki-nt heart
wyk-, wyky?- see under wy
  st.1
wyke-nt fire CB
wyk- st.1 to win an argument
  race, game, or bet, but
    not a fight
wyks- st.1 to go
  wyksy-1VmM-hHuk-u- vb to
    make someone ready
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SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

Hl-ŋHe- st. l (1) to burn, intr. (2) to get burned

wylẹŋ- nt burn

ọ- st. l to flash, of lightning

ọ- st. l to flash, of lightning

lip-h--nY- vb to shine in the dark

lip-a- nt kindling

ŋ- nt hot

lytę- e- vb to be hot, of weather

lytę-na₂- vb to make something hot

lytę-y-ksY- vb to keep something hot

lytę-y- c- vb to keep hot, intr.

lytę-aH- nt hot

lyHt- nt a hot thing

lyHt-ŋHe- vb to get hot

lyt-hHi- nt very hot

wyn- is-, wynyt-, wyny?, wyn- y-, wyncy- see

under wyn- st. l

- nt mile

wi- nHuk- u- vb to take, tr. "to cause to go"

wy?y'-a- nt the way: "the place to go"

wyk- st. l (1) to light a fire

(2) to burn, tr. CB

wyk-na₁- st. l to burn for

wyk-ųy'-a- nt fireplace CB

wykat- ş̱ awaj- a- ? NE Tenaya

wyn- st. l to walk

wyn- ka- j- nY- vb to walk around

CB

wyn- kuH- nt someone obviously walked there

wyn- pa- st. l to go over and come back

wyn- si- st. l to go visiting

wyn- is- ma- nt visitor

wyn- t- st. l to pick fruit

wynyt- na₁- vb to pick it someone

wyny? - kuH- nt someone is evidently going that way again

wyn- y- c- vb to walk around
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

?cu·cu- nt rock wren
?cu·cu-Hna- nt rock wren
?acma- nt worms in stagnant water
?ac·a- nt magpie
?liH- nt coyote
?ahle-j·a- nt Coyote moiety
?ti- st.1 to add on
?p- st.1 to bring one a neighbor

?aja·p-aH- nt (1) neighbor
(2) friend

?aja·p-mhi- vb to be neighbors
Hk- allomorph of {-ajaHk-} ns

H- nt all

h·y- nt both

?lek P maybe so

?nt (1) valley (2) flat country

ny?-a- nt smoothing iron.

From English.

?tykwo- nt blizzard
?al·akal- nt roof of mouth
?ka- nt rib

?ama- nt (1) grandmother
(2) great-grandmother
(3) mother's sister

?ama·ta- nt tarweed

?ami- nt (1) mother RW, EK
(2) mother's sister
(3) father's brother's daughter CJ
(4) mother's brother's daughter CJ

?amji-puH- nt stepmother

?ami·mi- nt aunt (mother's CJ

?ami·jo- nt black-headed gr

?am-· st.1 (1) to give (2) to

?ame·t- st.1 (1) to ask
(2) to beg

?amy?-nY- st.1 to pass thing secretly while

?am'y?-nY- vb to give to several people

?am'y?-ma--nY- vb to give for someone

?am·u- st.1 to hurt, tr.

?am-ku- st.1 (1) to hurt
(2) to wound
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

[view image]
ALPHABETIC ORDER
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

ko-nt (1) year (2) age. From Spanish año "year."

sanjo-nY vb to be one's birthday

is-nt (1) mother's sister (2) father's brother's wife

RW see under ?aŋ- st.l

si-nt son CB

-aj-nt mountain blueberry elder

mut-nt grasshopper

\( \text{nt} \) st.l to carry on the back

\( \text{ta-h} \) nt Oakhurst

\( \text{otoo} \) nt pollywog

\( \text{an-taH} \) nt salamander

\( \text{to-j} \) vb to overflow

\( \text{ta} \) nt hair oil. From Spanish aceite "oil."

\( \text{ka} \) nt sugar. From Spanish azúcar.

\( \text{ak} \) nt float

\( \text{asak-nY} \) vb to float with the current

?awal-a-nt to chew with

?awal-puť vb to keep chewing

?awi-c st.l to twist, intr.

?awo- ha-nt needle. From Spanish aguja.

?awo-sa-nt right at

?awo-to \( \ddagger \) ?owo-to-nt alligator

\( \text{lizard} \)

?aw-an-taH-nt turtle

?aw-e-nt (1) unobstructed clear (3) plain

?awi st.l (1) to play game (2) to play a musical instrument (3) to play, of

?awi\( \ddagger \)-nY vb to play si

?awi\( \ddagger \)-nY vb to play

?awin-a-nt toy

?awi\( \ddagger \)-a-nt (1) fairground (2) playground

?aw-o- \( \ddagger \) ?owo-nt mouth

?awo-\( \ddagger \) ni \( \ddagger \) ?owo-\( \ddagger \) ni-nt Yosemite Valley

nee

Some miwok terms
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

Paṭ-h-st.1 to break open, intr.
Paṭ-ku-st.1 to break open, tr.
Paṭ-la-st.1 (1) to break to pieces, tr. (2) to split wood
Paṭ-‘u-maH-nt (1) split open (2) cracked
Paṭ’u-ŋHe-vb to crack, intr.
?a? a NE (?) cry of crow
X-ns infinitive 752
-ci-] ns people of (a place)

?je-- allomorph of {-?ci-} ns
ca? pf (?) see hoje--no-n?eca?
N
a-t-st.1 to accompany
veca?-h-vb to go with
el’y-nt baby
keṭeṭe-nt plain titmouse
ra-nt behind. Cf. ?e’caH-
nt
veca-m-nt next (week, month, etc.)

veca-nHi-paH-pnt (1) second,
(e) second
?elem’-aj-nt bulbous red grows on oak trees
?eltu-st.1 to float, not swim
?elut-a-nt a float
?elu-j-st.1 to float in
?elvas-nt Alvis (personal name)

From English.
?el--st.1 (defective) (1) to tr. (2) to let go, tr.
?el-ŋHe-vb to get caught stuck
?eHl-ŋHe-st.1 (1) to leave tr. (2) to abandon
?elŋ-kuH-nt (1) left (2) divorced (3) unmarried (4) orphan (5) surviving
?elŋ-meH-nt widow
?elŋ-pa- vb to leave
?elŋ-aH-nt orphan
?elŋ-pa-ksY-vb to be left against one’s will
?elŋ-e-nY-vb (1) on letting loose of a thing (2) to leave off and there
?elŋ-nY-vb to leave

Ruddy-nH-nt red
?eľu-ŋHe-nt (1) red
?eľu-ts-nt red
?eľu-taH-nt to let red
?eľu-teŋH-nt red
?eľu-taH-nt to let red
?eľu-taH-nt red
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

na'p- st. l  (1) to pretend
(2) to trick (3) to play
a joke

na'ʃ- st. l  (1) to tell a lie
(2) to do something on
purpose, for meanness

npe'ro- nt  bareback. From
Spanish en pelo.

n'at- 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. l  (1) to make (2) to
fix (3) to build (4) to
prepare

Penh-ŋHe- vb  to be made
Penhy-paH- nt  maker

Peny-ŋa- vb  to make for
Peny-ŋa- nt  for making

Peny-ŋa-ti- nt  ready to fix

j- st. l  to continue

pu- st. l  to chase

Penuŋpu-ŋHe- vb  to be chasing

?esap-t-poku- vb  to not
?esap-ŋaŋ-nt  help
?esy-ŋ-t- st. l  to help C

?esel-y- nt  child
?ese'-l- st. l  to give birth
?esel-ŋa- nt  one who acts
 talks like a child

?ese-l-ŋHe- vb  to be born

?esiHk-ŋHe- vb  (1) to be ex-
angry, upset (2) to
hurt feelings

?esik-na2- vb  to make
angry

?esik'-y-c'- vb  to be an

?este-ci- nt  stagecoach. F

English.

?eta'-l- st. l  to return, int-

?etal-nHuk'u- vb  to take
 one back

?etal-ŋy-kS'- vb  to be back

?eta-lVmh-nHuk'u- vb
 someone ready to go

?et-al'- vb  to go and come
 right back

?et-al'-meh-nY- vb  to k
etlumh vb to be open
etul'a nt can opener
etulmehnY vb to open, intr.
etulmet vb to open, intr.
emtaH nt thumb
ak st l to deny
ewaknY vb to not do CJ
j st l to be weak from hunger
ti nt fawn
yt st l to not find CB
ewyt e vb to be nobody left CB
yj aH nt (1) not there (2) empty
ewyja nY vb to disappear
yHh nHe vb to not find CJ
aH nt without
ewaw nY vb to not do CB
ewa nHe vb to not find
ewaHhY nt moribund
yhu tu d ewhutu nt widow
e m poksu vb to clear the throat
icyksY vb (1) to be doing that (2) to be that way
icyn jnY ka? hY N meant to do that
i ko (case) ok N (1) ones (2) they
imtYt N (1) that (2) in that direction
imyt wi j vb (1) that way (2) to turn
i ni nt that one
imn k o (case) ok N ones
i ni tYt N (1) that (2) in that direction
ipuksY vb to be that
ipuHt st l (1) to do (2) to do it that way
iput put vb to keep doing that
ipHu te nt that kind
i taH n N then
i wi n N now
i wi cY n N soon
**SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH**

ca-sja-nt (1) church (2) Christian priest. From Spanish iglesia "church."

?oceH-nt belly

?oce'-t- st.l to be present

?ocet-meH-nt pregnant

?oci-nt (1) partner (2) companion

?oci-ksY- vb to live with someone

?oci?-h- vb to go with one

?oci'-j-mhi- vb to get

?oci'-ma-nt one with a companion

?oci-t- st.l (1) to hire one (2) to take someone along

?ocic-i-nt (1) empty (2) there

?oc-a-st.l to remove a case of object

?oc-uk-nt lean, of meat

?ohk-st.l to answer

?ohun-i-nt deer brush

?oh-a-nt (1) woman (2) wife (3) female

?oha'-j-st.l to marry woman

?is-ak-kohH-nt third person independent pronouns

?yak-nt manzanita cider

yak'a-nt snowdrops

?aak-nt third person singular

?oc-ma-st.l to grow
e·?-aj-nt  white man
is·a-nt   four
'oji·s-ijak-Ø  na'a·ca-?  NE
twenty
'ojsi-paH-nt  Thursday
'ojsi·pa-  vb  to be or do
four times
'ujpa-nt  place name, south-
east of Nippinawasee
'a-st.1 to name
'oja?-nY-  vb  to call some-
one several different
names
'oja·ηHe-  vb  to be called
(a name)
'oja-ksY-  vb  (1) to keep
calling someone's name
(2) to call someone a
name in anger
'oja?-nY-  vb  to call some-
one names
ok pf meaning obscure 815
'okaHh-nt  (1) same  (2) only
'oka-t-ØN  in the same place
'oka-t·ucaH-nt  (it) belongs
'okaHh-tki-?  N  that's a
Customary ending for
stories.
'okca-st.1 to wake up, i
'okhe·nY-  vb  to tease
'oki·h-st.1 to beg for foo,
'okih·a-nt  poor
'okiHh-ηHe-  vb  to pity
'okih·e-  vb  to be pit,
'oko·j-st.1 (1) to care for
(2) to nurse  (3) to
(4) to give first aid
put away leftovers
'okoj-peH-nt  a nurse
'oko·j·haHk-nt  a nurse
'oko·met-nt  unidentified
insect
'oliwna·ni-nt  place name
of /kajerj'i?/
'oli·-meH-nt  deaf
'oli·-na-tkuH-  vb  (1) to cut
one's ears  (2) to p
to be deaf
'oli·l-st.1  (1) to be deaf
not hear
Southern Sierra Miwok-English

co?-ma-nt toad
k-nt (1) tame (2) gentle
(3) friendly (4) kindhearted
lok-na₂- vb to tame
l-nt spring of water
?jaH-nt yellow-legged frog
th- st.1 (1) to miss one's aim (2) to make a mistake
mhu?-nY- vb to miss every time
si- st.1 to echo
c- st.1 (1) to be very... (2) to... hard
cy-nt big
to-nt Hornitos. From Spanish.
st.1 to imitate. Cf. ?on-si-

?otH-ko-nt two
?otH-ko-me-? N two or
?otik-wi-j- vb to cut break in two
?otki-paH-nt Tuesday
?otki-liHp-nt twins
?otki-pa- vb to be or twice
?otkik-nt two of them
?otik-nY- vb to be two
?otH-me-nt first person independent pronoun
?oto?-h- vb to carry in one's arms
?oto- ma-nt one who carries in his arms
?oto'-t- st.1 to carry in arms
?oto-ho-nt pillow
?owi-l- st.1 to circle around walking
?owoh-nY- vb (1) to find, cross, tr. (2) to find someone at home
?owo-to- f ?awo-to-nt allig
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

hup- nt wolf
ba-nt cloud
Popa-ksY- vb to be cloudy
Popa-t st.1 to get cloudy
sa-nt trinket basket
-e- allomorph of {-te-} in
{-te--nY-} vs
pu-ksY- vb (1) to be misplaced
(2) to be out of place, not where (it) belongs. Cf. ?u-ucu- 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
dwell (2) to dwell (3) to
Pucu-ksY- vb to live in a
place
Pucu-?pa- vb to stay and
wait for something
Pucu-?u- ma- nt one who stays
a long time

?uh?uh-nY- vb to drink
and there
?uh u- a- nt a drink
?uj-?ujum a nt sorrel with
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 house
incense cedar bark
?umu c- st.1 to rain JI
?u muc-aH-nt year
?unu- allomorph of ?yn- a
?unu- allomorph of ?yn-
?uŋli-nt bow Yos
?upaksi-nt ground squirrel
Death-tabu substitutive
used by CJ's father
?u-pu-ksY- vb.

?use-ŋY- vb to tell stories
?use- nY- vb to tell stories
night CJ
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

ucu'j- st. 1 to build a house
?uc'u?j-a- nt place for building
u'cuH-tki- nt privy: "little house"

st. 1 to enter
uk-pa- st. 1 to go in to someone
uk?uk-nY- vb to go in and out

umcu- see under ?umcu- st. 1
u- nt buckeye
γHe- st. 1 to aim
γl- st. 1 to tickle under the sole of the foot, tr.
P grunt, exclamation of mild discomfort

γki- st. 1 (1) to be bad (2) to displease
em- st. 1 to be possible (?)
γhe'm-aH- nt maybe

st. 1 to speak against someone

γhγt-y- nt to be ready to find fault with someone

(2) to be vexed, irked
sore CB

γh'o- P (1) later (2) after while

γh'yty- nt bad
yhty'-e- vb to be bad
γh'yty-ma- nt bad CB

γjkiHh- nt chin

γky-t'Y-t-J N this way

γky-t'Y-m-? N at this

γjγHm-γHe- vb (1) to gossip (2) to criticize, find

γk'i- st. 1 to put in a container or enclosure

γliγ-?-te- nt mirror
γliH'-γHe- vb (1) to act silly (2) to kid around (3) joke (4) to have fun

γl'i?-hHl- nt (1) funny (2) playful

γl'i?i-ma- nt silly-fun

γl'e- nt (1) coarse acorn (2) acorn bread

γm-kil- st. 1 (1) to rear, raise (2) waterfall
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

yny'-pa- vb   to come to someone
yn'y-j-nY-haHk-Ø-Ø N he promised to come
yn'y'-nY- vb   to come often
y'ny'-c'-nY- vb   (1) to come back often (2) to come back and forth
h- st. 1   (1) to swim around (2) to bathe
ypyh-meH- nt   (1) Christian (2) baptized: "bathed"
yp'yh-a- nt   (1) bathtub (2) swimming pool
eHl-ηHe- vb   to grow up
ypel-na₂- vb   to raise children or animals
sa- nt   child of sibling of opposite sex to Ego
yvl-na- vb   to mistreat
y'pyH- nt   father's brother
yH- nt   (1) father (2) father's brother (3) mother's brother (4) female paternal cousin, younger than Ego CJ (5) mother's sister CB
ytja-puH- nt   half sister younger than Ego
yte·my- nt   wet ground
yty'h- st. 1   to be slow
ytyh-nHuk·u- vb   to make slow
ytyh-na₂- vb   to make or do late
yṭi·k- st. 1   to tickle, tr.
�ṭyj P   look out!
ytic·s- st. 1   to be much or many
yṭ·yṣy-m'a- nt   very many
yṭ·yH- nt   many
ywel·in- nt   a legendary one
yw'y- nt   (1) food (2) a meal
yw'y- st. 1 (irregular) to eat
yw'y-kuH- nt   partly eaten
yw'y'-nY- vb   to eat something accidentally with one's fingers
yw'y'-a-ti- nt   something eat
SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK-ENGLISH

?y?j-mhi- vb to separate, intr.: "to not want each other any more"
?y?yj-hi- me- nt divorced
li- nt (1) will-o' the-wisp
(2) the Little People
lik'-aj- nt shadow of a person
ny?- see under ?yn'- st. 1
wy- nt groceries
Yh·Y- allomorph of {-h·Y-} ns
YniH- allomorph of {-?'YniH-} ns
ra- allomorph of {-a-} ns
?YniH- ns possessive 755
.

allomorph of second person singular ps
ps third person singular 311
-Ø cs vocative case 324
-Ø allomorph of {-keH-} ns
-a- ns agentive 756
-a-ci- ns gerundial (?) 757
.

-i- allomorph of {-ηHe-}
-i- ns refers to visible ties 761
-lH- ns augmentative (?)
-muH- ns predicative 765
{-ni-} ns augmentative
-pa- vs times 544
-po- vs (1) to apply . . .
put on . . . (3) to with . . . 545
{-u-maH-} ns passive part 765
-y- allomorph of {-u-} in
{-u-maH-} ns
-YniH- allomorph of {-?'YniH-} ns
.

H
-H- allomorph of {-a-} ns
-HmetiH- ns plural 765
-Hna- ns augmentative, of parts 767
-Hs- cs instrumental case
{-HwyjeH-} ns plural 768
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$C_1 V_1 C_2^-$</td>
<td>prefixed reduplication referring to animals and plants 771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_1 V_1 C_2 C_1 V_1 C_2^- nt$</td>
<td>stem form referring to birds 769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 C_3 V_2^- vb$</td>
<td>iterative stem form 546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_1 V_1 C_2 V_2 C_3 V_2^- nt$</td>
<td>stem form referring to qualities or characteristics 770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$C_1 V_1 C_2^* V_2 C_3^*^- vb$</td>
<td>intransitive stem form 547</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
acorn mush, thick  hyhak·aly-nt
CB; mašak·aly-nt CB; yl
nt RW, EL, CJ
corn mush, thin  nyp·a-nt
nyp·a·ti-nt Mrp
corn mush, to make  mola·p
st. 1
corn soup  hoju·m·aH-nt;
hojum·a·ti-nt; siwak·i-la-
corn top  ty̓ha-nt
acorns, pounded  mašak·aly-
CB
acorns, shelled  watuk·a-nt
acquainted, to get  nenu·t-m
vb
acre  ?e·ka-nt
across  koto·wak-nt under
kot-to-nt
Adam's apple  my?·yt·a-nt
under my?·t-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)

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[view image]
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

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animate, instrumental { -a-po- } ns 738; { -a-te- } ns 759
a while kot-to-nt
long koto'-no-n N under
kot-to-nt
several days koton'umi-nt
under kot-to-nt
had hoji-t-γt N
wahnee wasa' ma- nt; ?awo-nt
?owo-nt under ?awo-nt
Powo-nt
l to ?uHt-γHe- st.1
hena-nt
plane hyl'et-iH-nt
white pa'mal-nt
ree kyli-nt
we, to just stay kyl'i-γksY-vb

tokoH-nt; ?ajtuH-nt
gone, to be lep'a-met- vb
of them keγ-eH-koh-∅ N
one size keki-nt
set, to be hyym'y-c- vb
under hyam at
the same hika'-ma-nt
angleworm ke'hu-nt
angleworm carrier huki-
angry, to be ?esiHk-γHe-
esik'y-c- vb
angry, to get hojiHc-γHe-
under hoji-c- vb; ?yhyt-nt
vb, ?yhy'ta'-nY- vb under
?yhy'ty-c- vb
angry, to look ?yhyt'y-c-
animal, small, variously iden-
lel'a-nt; tiw'ik-nt
ankles kαt'ak-atal-nt
another kind keγe-jak-nt
keγ'eH-nt
answer, to ?ohk-st.1
answer a question, to he's
ant, large brown huji-nt
ant, small black paγa-ka-
anticipate with pleasure, to
?yHm-γHe-st.1; tym'y-c-
antler kil'i-nt
appear, to lak-h-st.1
appear, to; to seem hyj'i-
vb
apple ?a'pyl-nt
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

wheat kiceH- nt
flakes puk'e-la- nt
amed, to be muc'a- d mus'a-
st. 1
is sik'e- nt; sike'si-la- nt
to hasu' l- st. 1
for, to ?ame' -t- st. 1 under
am- - st. 1
for a girl in marriage to one's	on, to ?oja'm- st. 1
vantive {-mY-ksY-} vs 510
mentative -liH- ns 762;
ri- ns 764; (of body parts)
Hna- ns 767
(father's brother's wife)
an'is- nt RW; ?ami- nt CJ
(mother's brother's wife)
suma'sa- nt
et, maternal ?ami- nt CJ;
ami'mi- nt CJ; ?an'is- nt RW
et, paternal ?ami- nt CJ;
seven- nt CB, CJ, RW
mobile kane'ta- nt; ?atma-
t
umn, to be hitpy-j- - vb
bacon pe'kin- nt
bad ?yh'yty- nt; ?yh'yty-m-
CB; ?yswi- nt RW, EL, LG
bad, to be ?yh-ki- st. 1
bad, to go toHk-ŋHe- st. 1;
?yhyHk-ŋHe- vb CB; ?ysyH
vb RW, EL
bad, to taste ?ysty-t- e- vb
badly, to turn out ?ys'y-j-
bag kustal- nt
bait ?ywyn- st. 1 under ?yw
st. 1
bake, to hinep-na- vb
bald tak'ata-ma- nt
bale hutul- a- nt; tyj-an- a-
under tyj-an- st. 1
ball pohko- nt; wo'la- nt
bandana hupil- a- nt
bangs (hair) tes'e- nt
banjo panco- nt
bank (of river, canyon) wiš
wicmi- nt
bar, iron wa'na- nt
barbed wire hyl'al-a-767nt
barber homcu-paH- nt und
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

gathering or holding cooking rocks ca·maj- nt
sket, cradle hik·iH- nt
sket, dipper polis·a- nt
sket, flat, oval, for winnowing or parching seeds kamta?ji- nt
sket, flat, round, for winnowing or sifting acorn meal het·al- nt
sket, large, for cooking acorns toj·un- nt
sket, large, for making mush or heating water pulak·a- nt
sket, seed-beater camy?·a- nt
sket, sifter ciŋku- nt
sket, small, for drinking soup ?uhu?·a- nt under ?uhuH- st. l
sket, trinket ?o·sa- nt
sketery, to make cy·l- st. l

he, to CAnypH- fOasi
htub ?yp·yh·a- nt under

beak tik·ym·a- nt under st. l
beans hiho·le- nt; pih·o·le
bear ?yhy·mați- nt
bear, grizzly hus·o- nt Y
bear fruit, to myjy·t- st. under myj·y- nt
Bear moiety tunak·a- nt;
?yhy·mați- nt; ?yhmj·a- under ?yhy·mați- nt
Bear Valley lo·so- nt
beat (of heart), to tyktyk· beat (of pulse), to ti·ti· beat around with a cane, to st. l
beat drum, to tempo·nY- under tempo- nt
beat up, to kuha· st. l under kuht- st. l; maŋ·jə- st. l
st. l under my·l- st. l
beaten up, to get he·l·ŋHe
beaver me·sy- nt
because hilahta·j N; hilas
bed ja·ŋ·aH- nt under 70 jarp
kar·ma- nt
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

only ʔoceH- nt
songs (in a place) ʔucaH- ns

 najle ʔy- nt
defective {−na₁−} vs 519
side ʔaʔje-j-ʔN under
side (someone), to walk
naʔyj-h- vb under naʔy- j-
st. 1

to make a ʔy- k- st. 1
ween kawi-ni- nt
pole le-le- nʔ-ʔa- nt
ʔoja- ni- nt; ʔonac- cy- nt
st. 1
get ʔujaHn-ʔHe- vb

Time kote- nt

Time, to put on a kote- j-
st. 1

the kamat- ana- nt
(l for money) te- we- nt

hook ʔaŋ- a- nt under ʔaŋ-
st. 1

Red ʔicka- nt
Red, raptorial, not securely
identified wekwek- nt

under teHp-ʔHe- st. 1; tēlh-
st. 1
black kulul- i- nt; tu- hi- nt

tuhuhi- i- nt under tu- hi-
black, to become tuh- si- a
under tu- hi- nt
black eye, to have a ʔoml-
blackberry mamla- nt
blackbird, Brewer's capuk-
kaʔkul- nt
blacksmith nokcinic- nt
blade, obsidian mole- nt
blanket tol- iH- nt
blanket, rabbitskin jupti-
blanket roll ʔutul- YniH-
blaze (of fire), to wyl- h- st.
blazed (horse) pisok- YniH-
bleach, to pasis-na₂- vb
bleed, to kica- w- st. 1
blind peleʔ- meH- nt under
st. 1
blind, to be pel- e- st. 1
blink, to sympy- nY- vb under
symp- st. 1

blister, to pytk- st. 1

blistery, to be pytk- st. 1
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

blue kojoj-i-nt
bluebird, Western (?) blue gross-beak (?)
ciwkol-nt
bluejay, California tajic-u-nt
bluejay, Steller's kajka?-jaH-nt
hunt-edged lej'uk-nt
hunt-pointed po?ok-nt
board tapla-nt
bat wo-te-nt
body mi'wy-nt
egg jo'wok-aH-nt under jow-ok-nt; lo'ha-nt
oil sapaɬ-nt
oil, to kiwis-nY- vb; lot'a-st.1 CB, CJ; low'a-st.1 RW, EL
oil fast, to puʔuɬ-uɬ-vb under
puʔa-st.1
one kyc'yc-nt
look pop'il-nt
footjack butjاك-nt
shorts wo'ta-nt
horn, to na hesen-ɬHe- vb
broom, to henin-nY- vb under
bowl, oval vegetable wiki-nt
box kaho:n-aH-nt
boy naʔa-ɭa-nt
braid, to jo:j-poksu- vb
braid hair, to ṭoʔk-st.1
brains lup'et-nt
brand, to hije:ro'-nY- vb
brassiere musuj-a-nt u mu'su-nt
brave hojci-paH-nt under
hoji-c- vb
bread pylaɬ-aɬi-nt under st.1
bread, to make pylaɬ- st.1
break (intr.), to tah'u-ɬHe- break (of glass, intr.), to
st.1; kap'u-ɬHe- vb
break (of string or rope, int.)
hyɬ-y-ɬHe- vb under hyɬy
break (string or rope, tr.).
hyɬyk-y-st.1
break (tr.), to koɬ-st.1;
st.1 under koɬ-st.1
break all up (tr.), to koɬ-
[view image]
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

fast mu·su·nt
path hena·nt; he·nis-aH·nt
under hena·nt
athe, to hen-si·st.1 under hena·nt
athe fast, to henhen-nY·vb under hena·nt
athe in and out, to huh-t-poksus·nt

Dal Veil Falls pu·hu·nu·nt
ridge take·m-aH·nt
tile pene-no·nt
weight ha·ja·nt
right to be blindingly cata·k·nt.1

ring, to ?unu-nHuk·u·vb under yn·st.1
little kot·ele·nt under ko·t·nt.1
Diaea ?ol·ahi·nt
Diaea bulbs wa·la·nt
ail, to hin·a·st.1

koken ko·t·u-maH·nt under ko·t·nt.1

bunch together (tr.), to lo·l·nt
bundle hac·a·?-hi·me·nt
haca·?-st.1; ty·jan·a·nt

bubble, to topu·-j·st.1
bubble up, to pu·t·a·st.1;
ţoţju-le·-nY·vb under ţoţju·nt.
buck, to potle·-nY·vb
bucket ho·ja·nt; hytop·-?Ynt;
nt; kiwe·sa·nt; walte·nt
buckeye ?u·nu·nt
buckskin pe·hun-aH·nt
buckskin, to make pehu·n·nt
build a house, to ?ucu·-j·nt.
under ?u·cuH·nt
build a nest, to hesa·-j·st.
under he·sa·nt
build a stone wall, to ho·t·nt.
bulge from underneath, to
bulg·nt.1
bull to·ro·nt
bullet wa·la·nt; wo·la·nt
bump, to komta·st.1
bump into, to kowta·st.1;
mo·ta·st.1

CANONICAL FORMS

lom lawy·nt under la·w·
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

-lek pf 705

itcher kanˈiseˈno-nt

itcher, to patl- st.1

ittercup taˈlak-nt

itterfly walaˈpʊ-nt

itterfly, large tojˈun-nt

itocks tokˈa-nt; toʔeŋˈa-nt

under toʔ- st.1

itto watoˈn-aH-nt

ly, to tiwˈa-st.1

zz, to hymˈa-st.1

izzard hhuˈ-nt CB; huˈtawe-

nt RW, EL

C

abbage kaˈpyːc-nt

If peceˈno-nt

lf of leg tafˈan-nt

ll (someone) names, to

ʔoˈja-ksY- vb, ʔoˈjaʔ- ny- vb

under ʔojˈa-st.1

ll out, to jejˈa-st.1

elled (a name), to be ʔojˈa-ŋHe-

vb

llus nyky-ˈliH-nt

care for, to ṭokˈo- j- st.1
careful, to be hyˈj-poksu-

under hyjˈ- st.1
careless, to be Ɂaˈt-wa- st.1
carried by current, to be

heHp-ŋHe-st.1

carrier for angleworms heH-

nt

carry, to pətˈy- t-st.1 un-

pətˈyH-st.1; Ɂyjˈ-t-st.
carry in arms, to ɁaˈtH-

ʔoʔoʔ- h- vb under ʔoʔo-'

carry on back, to ʔapaˈ-t-
cart kalˈe-ta-nt

cascara loʔˈo-nt
cat kaˈto-nt; puˈsi-nt
catch, to loˈt-st.1
catch a ball, to hoˈk-st.
catch fire, to wyleˈ-pa-

wylˈ- h-st.1

catch fish with hands, to

st.1

catch up, to nak-pa-st.1

naˈk-st.1

caterpillar, Pandora moth
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ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

leng'ce, to nut-ki- st.1
lage (tr.), to molt-st.1
barral pajwa-nt
pos capre'ho-nt
cocoal kul'a-nt
wormstone (?) mol'e-nt
se, to ?enpu-st.1
eter, to have one's teeth
ytyty't'-vb
ap wana'nt
erful, to be monac-na-vb
nder monac-a-nt
ese ci'sy-d ci's-nt
erry ce'le-d ce're-nt
erry, wild pihak-kene-nt
st nysy-liH-nt
v, to ?awa'l-st.1
v on, to kycm-st.1
k poji'ta-d poji'to-nt
ken kaji'na-nt
ken pox, to have masl-st.1;
misl-st.1
f ha'a puH-nt (CB only;
other informants deny word or
ite other meanings); ti'jaH-nt
L; kantam-nt CB, C.L. RW, EL
choke (tr.), to ?ok-st.1
choke on, to my?•-HHe-vb
chokecherry pas'al-nt
choose, to him'e-st.1; him
vb
chop, to lac-nY-st.1 under
la'ca-nt
Christian, baptized ?yph-nt
nt under ?yp-h-st.1
Christmas krismas-nt
church hil'esja-nt; misa-nt
nt under misa-nt; ?ile'sy
 cider sajta-nt
cigar pu'lu-nt
cigarette sika'no-nt
cinch sincn-nt
cinch strap la'tigo-nt
cinch up belt, to hu'sta-st
cinquefoil, meadow ta'lak-
circle ?ok'ili-m'a-nt under
toki-l-st.1; ?ol'awi-m'a-
circle around walking, to ?

st.1
claim fiancé, to kaw-h-st.
clam hopon-aj-nt
clap hands, to tam'a-st.1
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 haj’e-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
town wo?co•liH- nt
own

Cold, to be kywkyw••e- vb kyHw-∅He• 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-∅He• vb under
hitp- st.1
cold, to have a hole’h• st.
cold (of weather), to be hitp-
vb under hitp- st.1
collare kala- nt
collarbone and hollows besi
kiwe•sa- nt
color, unidentified kawaw
color of oriole makak•i-
colt potni•ja- nt
comb pen•na- nt
comb one’s hair, to
pen•na•nY-poksu- vb
come, to ?yn•• st.1
come apart, to hok••He-
come into sight, to pom-
come loose gradually, to
hok••He•?te•nY• vb

788
compare, to na?pu- st.1
complain, to he·m-poku·s- vb; kojo·w- st.1
conceited hyja·s- nt; hyja·s- nt
conceited, to be hyjas-nY- vb
under hyja·s- nt
Coulterville mol·ok- nt
chemical cuj·unu-m·a- nt
consciousness tylyl·a- nt under
styly-1- st.1
consider, to tynty-nY-poku·s- vb under tyny·-η- st.1
contact the supernatural, to pol·o- st.1
continuative -puž·- vs 535;
{-ksY-} vs 509
continue, to ?enj- st.1
converse, to liwa-ksY- vb under
liwa- a- st.1
cover, to kosen- peH- nt under
kose·-nY- vb; kosne·no- nt
cover with ashes, to hu·pi·l-
kose·-nY- d kuse·-nY-
v-nt; kuk-nY- st.1

cover, to naj·pa- st.1
cover the head, to hu·pi·l-
cow kana·to- nt; le·cy- nt

coward hel·aja·m·a- nt under
hel·a·j- st.1
cowboy wake·ro- nt; wake
coyote, huja·nt CB; koja
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

handle basket  hik·iHi- nt
dandle sunshade  cok·in-e- nt

e kiwsa- nt

luny, to be  hoji-c'- vb

tawl, to  ŋewe·-j- st.1

luny lo·ko- nt

luny, to go  lo·ko- -nY- vb;

?ale·ta·-nY- vb

reator  te·p ani- nt

sek  wakaHl- nt

mate, to  hujpu- st.1

rest of quail or bluejay  lulu-

nt

socket  co·lu·te- nt; ṭiṭik-Hna-

nt

apple  tyn·-y·maH- nt

apple, to  ?am-la- st.1 under

?am·u- st.1

booked  con·ti-nt; sow·i ti·m- a-

nt

top  woj·e- nt under woje·?-

st.1

ross  kul·us- nt

ross, to  het·h·- st.1

oss oneself, to  nomre·-nY- vb

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ENGLISH—SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

dark, to get cytp- st. l;

dew sis·iŋ·jaH- nt under
cytp- st. l

kawyHl·ŋHe- vb; ponp- st. l

tune- nt

rny after tomorrow

ная·ja- nt

hoje- no-n-?eca? N

vb under ня·ja- nt

break cak·e- nt

flight ha·ja- nt

flight, to be ha·ja-ŋk- vb

flight, to become ha·je-tuh-nY-
vb under ня·ja- nt

tcik·ik'- vb

cam·yH-aH- nt under cam·h-
st. l

if ?oli·-meH- nt

if, to be ?oli·l- st. l

with, to te·jyl-nY- vb

side, to je·pa-tkuH- vb

orate, to his·pa- st. l; tel·a-
st. l

devil jamlo- nt; tijawlo-
diapers jo·ko- nt
diarrhea cal·ak- nt
diarrhea, to have calka-
dice, to play lok·a- st. l
die, to cam·h- st. l
die of wounds, to ?am-la-
vb under ?am·u- st. l
different lu·ți- nt
different directions, in ha-
N
difficult tal·y1- nt
dig, to wem·- st. l; ?ol-'
digging stick sype- nt
dime lijal- nt
diminutive -c·Y- ns 709;

ds 745; -ţaH- ns 750
diminutive plural -t·i- ns
diminitive-distributive -p

dip into or out of water, to
pult- st. l
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

dollar ke·ha·- nt; pe·so·- nt

donkey cakaHc·- nt

door kata· nt; katut·- a· nt

double ?oṭiH·kene·- paH·- nt

dough hupul·- a· nt; hupul·- st. 1

nt under hupl·- st. 1

dove hul·u·wi·- nt

down wali·- nt

down (feathers) posa· nt

down (the river, road, hill) nt; huje·t·Y·t·- Ø N

downhill huje·p·a·- nt

downstream huje·t·Y·t·- Ø

huje·t·- Ø N

downwards wali·t·Y·t·- Ø N

wali·- nt

downwood hola·wi·- nt

doze, to tyj·e·- je·- nY·- vb

tyj·e·- st. 1

drag, to hyhy·- h·- vb

dragonfly ci·kuṭa·ti·- nt; pe

draw (physiographic feature)

wa·pok·- nt

draw tight, to symy·- t·- st. 1

nt
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

tears, to cep'a-ŋHe- vb
ve, to my-k- st. l CJ, RW, EL; tu-l- st. l CB
eat, to ?yw'y- st. l (irregular)
440
eat with acorn biscuits, to hopi'-t- st. l
eat with acorn mush, to h
under ?on-si- st. l under
edge of basket ready to finish
meme'l-aH- nt
eel we'sit- nt
egg hoŋ'u- nt
egg of fish pyle- nt
eight kaw'inta- nt
eight, to be kawit-nY- vb
kaw'inta- nt
eighty kawi't-ijak-∅ na'a-∅
eighty-four kawi't-ijak-∅
?ojis'a-∅ YniH-? NE
El Capitan ṭoṭo'kon'u-la-
El Portal sal-'a'-to-nt
elbow kitpil- ∅ kiti'pel- nt
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

enemy koˈnas-nt; koˈji-nt

faint, to ˈtomɪ-ʃ-nt

through naˈ-a-nt under naˈ-?

fairground ʔawˈi-ə-nt under ʔawˈi-

ough, to be naˈ-?-st.1

fall, to peˈa-ŋHe- vb under

ough, to get naˈ-ŋHe- vb

fall (of leaves), to tatˈe-ŋ

eter, to ʔuˈk- st.1

fall apart, to maˈa-ʔ- st.1

fall down, to weteˈ-l- st.1

fall short, to hulwaˈ-j- vb

falling hajnak-nt

false katiʔ-kuH-nt under

hajνn- st.1

st.1

saying ʔiˈma-nt under moliʔ-t-

fan kuweˈ-nY-haHk-nt

mi-taH-no-n N

fan self, to kuweˈ-nY-pok-

cess, one who . . . to -mˈa-

fangs jylˈy-ʔ-a-nt

ns 731

far kot-to-nt; kot-taH-n-

change, to tɛmˈa-ʃ-nt st.1

far off, from kot-taH-n-

exited, to be jujhun-nY- vb

under kot-to-nt

clamation in handheld game calls
tah P

fasten baby in cradle, to

pensive tiwha-merH-nt under

fast

tiwˈa- st.1

st.1

expensive tiwha-merH-nt under

545

tiwˈa- st.1

fat symˈi-t nt

explosion, to pakt- st.1

fat, to become symiHt-ŋ

tinguish, to ˈmæn- st.1
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

brer, to kujueHj-nHe- vb
ch, to wel- st.1 Yos, El Portal; wel- st.1 Mrp; wel-ki-
st.1 Mrp under wel- st.1
ver kamatana- nt
y mi-tokho-ti- nt;
mi-tokho-cY- nt
ld ranco- nt
ky maho-jak-Ø na?a'ca-? NE ?i'ko- nt
ht, to he- st.1
ht (of dogs), to nacka- st.1
pipino mani-l-a- nt
l, to cuja-ny- vb
l for (someone), to cyka-na-
vb
rd, to hal-pa- st.1; ?owoh-ny-
vb
rd fault, to yjyHm-nHe- vb
rd fault with (someone), to be
ready to yhyl-y-c-- vb under
yht- st.1
ne, to be helaky-c- vb
ger, index cik'a?-iH- nt
ck'a?-jaH- nt under ci'ka-

fireplace wyky-•-a- nt under wy-k- st.1
first, to go, start or arrive ho'ja- st.1
first and second persons in
-mu- • • -mu- • • -muH- ps
first one hoja- peH- nt under
ho'ja- st.1
first person dual independent noun ?ot'iH-me- nt
first person dual or plural ps 311
first person plural -mah-:
311; -me- • • -me- • • -m
311; -ti- ps 311
first person plural inclusive
dependent pronoun ?ot'ic- CB; ?ot'ici- nt RW, EL un
?ot'iH- nt
first person plural independent
pronoun mah'i- nt
first person singular -m
-ma- • • Ø ps 311; -nti- Ø
ps 311; -te- • • -te- • • -
311
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

to ?enh- st.1
wante·la- nt

ught (of lightning), to wile·p-
st.1; wyli·t- st.1; wyli·p-
st.1

tat·ala·m·a- nt
ground la?·meH- nt
iron palanca· nt
ten (tr.), to tatal·na- vb
under tat·ala·m·a· nt; äßig·p-
st.1

ky·kyh- nt

a hide, to wyta·k- st.1
ker, red-shafted tiw·aj- nt
ker, to ma·leŋ-e·nY- vb
under mal· st.1
nt, to li·ŋ- st.1; sali·nY- vb
nt ?as·ak- nt
nt, to celtu- st.1
nt in air, to ?elu·j- st.1

foot: footprints haž-e- nt
fork hežy·h-aH- nt under he-
st.1

foot; footprints haž-e- nt

foot; footprints haž-e- nt

flush (intr.), to pak-si- nt
flute lul·a- nt
fly ?uc·um- nt
fly, to hyle·t- st.1 under hyHl·ŋHe- st.1
fly from nest (of young birds
hyHl·ŋHe- st.1

foam, to ćoţu·j- st.1
fog huţeH- nt
foggy, to be huţe·t- st.1
follow, to tici·w-poku· vb
food ?yw?y- nt
food, to get or prepare ho-
st.1

fool (tr.), to molil·nY- vb

foot; footprints haž-e- nt

ford hežy·h-aH- nt under he-
st.1

ford a creek, to hež·h- st.

my·ŋ- st.1

forehead ćik·it- nt
foreigners luţi·j·a· nt un

luţi· nt

forelegs hojim·i- nt

foreshaft of arrow tokin-
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

end ʔajaˈp-aH-nt
gently ʔolˈok-nt
ghtened, to be joloHm-ŋΗe-vb
ghtening, to be tojo-ŋY-vb
g, yellow-legged ʔolˈoʔ-jaH-nt
m (a place) ʔucaH-ns 754
nt (feet) hoji-ŋHi-paH-nt;
hojiʔitʔo-nt
nt, to be in hoji-ŋY-vb
st susˈa-nt
wn, to sewˈeʔ- vb
, to kisaˈl-e-ŋY-vb
l cuˈjaʔne-nt
gus, button mushrooms, pink
under paˈki-nt

G

G

gallbladder siwˈen-nt
gallon kalˈon-nt
garbage dump peˈanja-a-nt
garden kartyn-nt; wojˈe-
under wojˈeʔ-nt 1

gate kata-nt; katutˈa-nt

gather acorns from ground,
ˈteʔ- st.1

gather food, to hoʔ-ja-nt

gather together (intr.), to
huˈa-meh-ŋY-vb; huˈa-
vb

gather up (tr.), to humˈa-
keŋoˈ-t-nt st.1

gathers cunatˈa-nt

gathers, to sew cunta-st.
geld, to hawaˈ-t-nt st.1

genitals, female mopˈa-n
wakˈaʔa-nt Yos

genitive -ŋə -ŋə- cs 325

gerundial -hαHk-ns 711;
ns 744; {ˈa-ci-} ns 757

gerundial, simultaneous {-

701

wakˈaʔa-nt 1
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

go to hell, to tok-si- st. 1

go with someone, to ?oci?nt

goat ci·wo- nt

God hu·nih- nt LG; jos- n nt
godetia tokop- nt

gold ?o·no- nt
good cytyH- nt
good (of taste or smell) cytyH- nt under cyHť-ŋHe- st. 1
go, to feel cyty-ksY- vb

go, to taste cyť?yt- e- vb
cyHť-ŋHe- st. 1
go for one, to be hy?m- vb

goose laŋlaŋ- nt; low·ot- nt
goose bumps, to have lopťvb under lopoť- st. 1
gooseberry, Sierra ki·li- ngopher syw·yt- nt; to·po-
gossip, to ?yjyHm-ŋHe- vb

granary cak·a- nt
grandchild ?ace- nt
grandfather pa·pa- nt
grandmother ?ama- nt

granite cyky·kyj- nt

unchanged, to sana- nt

down (of sun), to lep-nY- st. 1, lepu·t- st. 1 under lep·a- st. 1

down (of swelling), to tam-h- st. 1

first, to huih- st. 1

go up, to hulaHw-ŋHe- vb

will, to wa·so- nt

horses hynyt- a·po- nt;
hynyt- a·te- nt

ti, a pair of ti·syj- a- nt

ti, to huih- t- st. 1

ti, to jut·a- st. 1

w, to letm- st. 1

to wyks- st. 1; wy- st. 1 (irregular, defective) 440

and return immediately, to

?et·al- vb under ?eta·l- st. 1

around, to hoki·l- st. 1

around in a group, to lolo·l- st. 1 under lo·l- st. 1

down (of sun), to lep-nY- st. 1, lepu·t- st. 1 under lep·a- st. 1

down (of swelling), to tam-h- st. 1

out before achieving goal, to

nu·l·u-ŋHe- vb
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

aze, to ko'k- st.1
base sym'it- nt
base pot, to symti--po- vb
ben citit--i- nt under cit'ak-

nt
bet in morning, to walpu-
st.1

and acorns, to sos'e- st.1
at one's teeth, to kytyt'yt'-
vb under ky't'y- nt
bean, to ho'l- st.1

bтерies ?ywy--aH- nt; ?ywy-

nt
bcope around, to pet'a- st.1
bseak, black-headed ?amiijo-

nt
bound tol'e- nt
bound, wet ?yte'my- nt
bound wet enough to quiver when
stepped on juw'awa- nt
bound meat tyla'?--YniH- nt

under ty'i- st.1
boup lol'e- nt
boup, to go around in a lolo'l-
st.1 under lo'l- st.1
boup, to stay in a lolo'w- 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 sa'wen-aH- nt
hair hi'sok- nt
hair, facial or body ho'mu-

nt
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'ci-
half brother, younger than Ego
?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 Ego
?ytja-puH- nt under ?yta-

halfway hej'em--a- nt; lak
[view image]
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

left hands! kat'i-na- V
outer hands! hela·k-a- V;
li·leH-? N
right hands! my·l-a- V
ndkerchief panjo- nt
ndsome (of a boy) sal·i?-hHi-
nt under saliH- nt
ng up (one thing), to jytı-ki-
st. 1 under jytı- st. 1
ng up (several things), to jytı- st. 1
ning, to be jytı-y-mh- vb
ppy, to be tykaj·i-c- vb CB;
 tym-y-c- vb, tyHM-ŋHe- st. 1
RW, EL, CJ
rd pat·ynt- nt
rd, to (do something) ʔona·c-
st. 1
rd, to get patyHt-ŋHe- vb
relip wis·u-maH- nt
rrness ha·nis- nt
ornitos ʔoni·to- nt
arrow, to py·h- st. 1
nt somle-a- nt RW, EL;
som·e·la- nt CJ; sumne·no- nt
headcloth hupil·a- nt
headache kaskas·- nt
headband, flicker-feather
tamak·i?-la- nt
headdress hupil·a·te- nt
headdress, magpie-feather
nt
headdress, single-plume nt
headstall ha·kimo- nt
heal up, to kyl·i- st. 1
healthy ky·li- nt
hear, to ʔal·- st. 1
heart wyhki- nt
hearth kosi·na- nt
heat water, to cu·h- st. 1
heaven li·leH·to- nt
heavy lewe·t·aH- nt
heel tyŋ·ih- nt
hell wale·ti·tho- nt
help, to ʔes·pa- st. 1; ʔe
st. 1 CB
hem pilyn·a- nt
here, demonstrative stem
nt 651
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

[view image]
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

tul’ul-a-nt
side weke-l-aH-nt
and (feet) ?eca-nHi-paH-nt;
?eca’ti’o-nt under ?ec’-nt
and legs ?ecam’i-nt
one (workers), to nyna-t-st.1;
?oci-t-st.1
one, to hisak-st.1
man, to hisak-st.1
one person here and there with
thrown objects, to ce’y-y-nY-
vb
one person repeatedly with a
thrown object, to ce’-ja-st.1
with a held object, to my’l-
vb
with a thrown object, to ce’-ja-
st.1
with fist, to komta-st.1 Yos;
kuhta-st.1 Mrp; ṭo’p-st.1
with one’s body, to tuk’akal’i-
vb
aching post hykap-a-nt
arse, to be hekoj-st.1
hobble horse, to tikn-st.1
the sato’n-ah-nt; watak-a-nt
hobble, to make a prick. Yos.
hook on, to ?a’r-nt
hoot, to huhi-m-st.1 CB;
huki’m-st.1 CJ
hop, to hani’c-st.1
horehound cutcitja-nt
horn of saddle suj’ut’u-nt, horse
sujit’u-nt, cymy’jaH-nt, cymy-
nt obs. under cy’m-st.1
kawa’ju’d kawa’jo-nt
hortative -man pf 807
hot wyl’y’t-nt; wyl’y’-aH-
vb
hot, to get wylH’t-ŋHe-nt
wyl’y’t-st.1
hot (like pepper), to taste
vb under ci’le-nt
hot thing wylyH’t-nt under-
nt
hour ne’na-nt
house koca-nt Yos; ?enii-
?u’cuH-nt
house, conical, of incense cup.
bark ?umuc-a-nt under
?umcu-st.1
how? micyk-na2-tho-j N
how?, to be micy-ksY-vb
how? to be micyk-nsY-nt
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

angry one  hul·uwu- nt under
hulw- st. l
it, to  hal-ki- st. l
ry, to  wesah?-ηHe- vb,
besa?-wa-j- vb under besa-
nt
it, to get  ?am·u-ηHe- vb
it (intr.), to  sik·e-pa·ksy- vb
under sik·e·nY- vb
it (tr.), to  ?am·u- st. l;
?am·ku- st. l; cy·j- st. l
it again (tr.), to  cy·j- st. l
it feelings  sik·e-paH- nt
under sik·e·nY- vb
it or twist hip, to  ja·u-ηHe-
vb
band  naη·aH- nt

1
kil·im·e- nt CJ; kil·im·e-
nt RW, EL
l, to be  susat-nY- vb under
sus·a- st. l

Louette Falls and Creek
tytylwijak- nt

inside  ?e·caH- nt
inside, to be  kat?a-mh- vb
kat·a- st. l
instrumental  -hs- cs 329
intelligent  tylyl·y- nt
intensifier  -hHi- ns 714
interjectional  -ja- pf 803;
pf 806
interpreter  liwat-peH- nt
liw·a- st. l
interrogative  ?a· P; -?e· y
intransitive  C₁V₁C₂·V₂C₃·
stem-form 547
invisible (of moon), to be
st. l
invitation string  hyti·l·aH-
irked, to be  ?u·te·w- st. l;
?yhyk·y·c· vb CB under
?yhyHk-ηHe- vb
iron (for pressing)  ?aj·ynt
Italian  talja·no- nt
itch  ?u·ta- nt
itch, to  ?u·ta- st. l
iterative  {-ja-} vs 504; -j
506; {-la-} vs 514; {-ya-}
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

ci·sys·nt RW, EL;
i·sas·nt CJ

cOHn·nt
together long things, to
lo·ni·st.1
lo·in·a·nt
to ?yliH·ŋHe·vb
lo·mi·ja·st.1 under
ni·st.1

kick repeatedly, to kal·i·j·nt
under ka·l·st.1

kick with the heel, to kal·k

kick with the toe, to tek·m

kill, to jo·h·nt

kildeer ciwi·ti·ti·nt

kind; species -pHu·te·ns?

kind, that em·at·nt

kindling wyli·a·nt under

st.1

kinky (of hair) tutlil·a·nt

kinsman pace·nt

kiss, to moma·k·st.1

kitchen kosen·a·nt

kitty pu·ci·nt

knead dough, to hup·st.1

knee hoŋ·oj·nt; hoŋt·ol·nt

kneel, to hoŋ·e·vt·vb

knife hope·nt

knife, pocket nawa·ha·nt

knock acorns off tree, to

st.1

knock down, to ha·o·l·st.1

knock on, to tyk·a·st.1

knock-kneed paŋiwi·ma·nt

under pati·w·nt

st.1

barely (arrive, reach, etc.), to

ahma·j·vb

because nilanta·j N;

ilas·a·i N
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

Cakak-'i'-nt
Lean on, to  haw-a-poku—vb
Lean over, to  hem-el—vb
hem-el-i-c—vb
Leach acorns, to  mola-p—st.1
Lead (metal)  wa-la—nt
Lean (of meat)  ?oc-uk—nt
Learn, to  nath—st.1
Leather  kala-t—a—nt
Leather tree  tatpa—nt
Leave (tr.), to  wi-k—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, PK
HOT-oh—CJ
Left over  wa-hi—me—nt
Leg; lower leg  ho-con—nt
Leg, upper  tug-u—nt
Lend, to  ?am—st.1
Lengthen, to  wilat-na—vb
still, to tyʔ'y-c- vb
t, to jyty'-t- st. 1 under jyti- st. 1
ht (N) weł-a- nt
ht (in weight) teh'yh- nt
ht (of baked goods) tehjy- nt
ht (daylight), to get hi'me-j- vb
ht (bright), to make ha'jat-nHuk'u- vb
ht a fire, to hujpu- st. 1 CJ, RW, EL; wyl-ki- st. 1 Yos under wyl-h- st. 1; wyk- st. 1 CB
htning wi'le'p-aH- nt under wile'p- st. 1
ht, nymih- nt
t, to cyʔ'y-ʔ-e- vb, cyHt-ŋHe- st. 1
ht, food, to siHm-ŋHe- st. 1
y, Mariposa cikiw-ci- nt
mb of tree pej'a- nt
umber ?ilal'a- nt; ?ilala- nt
mp (adj.) ?ilyp-meH- nt
mp, to ty'nahc-a- vb
ly, lower hew'etkil- nt
lyen, to ?al'-my-ksY- vb
locked in, to be kat'a-mh- vb
kat'a-ŋHe- vb under kat'a-
log hole'ma- nt
logs on ground hola-wi- nt
lonesome, to get ʔokp- st.
long wila'toH- nt; wilat-
long ago ho'ja'mi- nt; kot-
N under kot-to- nt
long time kot-tah-n-hi. N
kot-to- nt
long time, to take a kyti-
look, to hyj'- st. 1
look for, to wel-h- st. 1 under weł- st. 1
look like, to hyji-c'-ŋHe- st.
look on, to wol'u-c- vb under wohi-ŋHe- st. 1
look out! ?ytyj P
look out for oneself, to
ťly'1-pokus- vb
looking hyj'i-c- nt
lookout hyjen-peH- nt under
st. 1
lookout place wyʔ'i-ʔ-a- nt
wyʔ'i'-ʔ- st. 1
loose, tok'u-maH- nt
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

sypka- st. 1
sypi- nt
ket- u- nt
lykj-mhi- vb
val-i-ka-n N
syp- pitched, to be very heko- j- st. 1
wal- i- ha- st. 1 under wal- i- nt
aber tapla- nt
lopo- t- st. 1
lopto- t- meH- nt, lopoto- a- nt under lopo- t- st. 1
humli- la- nt; lopoto- t- meH- nt
ch cilen- a- ti- nt under
cile- n- st. 1; pyne- nt
ch or midday meal, to eat
cile- n- st. 1
pohkal- nt
poh- koji- pi- nt
in, blue-flowered bush
in, mountain watah- ha- nt
hang down, to be jaq- a- c- - vb
under jaq- st. 1
make fun of, to hyjak- y- p- vb under hyja- k- st. 1
make little hills here and there, to cuju- nY- vb
make one look good, to hy- vb under hy- m- st. 1
make tight, to husta- st. 1
make tracks, to hate- j- st. 1
under hate- e- nt
make twined baskets, to pace- st. 1
make up a quarrel, to pace- nt
male naq- aH- nt
man naq- aH- nt
many ytyH- nt
many, to be yty- y- s- st. 1
manzanita eje- nt
manzanita cider isuta- nt
maple haji- nt; hajih- aj- mare je- wa- nt
Mariposa marpo- sa- nt; marpo- sa- nt
Mariposa lily cikiw- ci- nt
Mariposa people marpo- sa- mark, to sypka- st. 1

CANONICAL FORMS
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

mess, to make a jotok-na-
t under jotok-na-

messenger kutehw-

Mexican meh'ika'no-

me'hika'no-

middle cu?paH-

cu'pa-j-
might ni- ns 733

tire majl-

milk le'ci-

milk cow, to ci'n-
st.1

Milky Way wa'kyt-ja-
milli moli'na-

millipede kewsa-
imulus jol'o?co-

mind tyyl1-a-

under tyyl1-a-

mine, to on'o-

minute minu'te-

mirror hyjej-a-po-

hyj'- st.1 tylij-a-te-

miscarry, to kal'u-qHe-

kat'i- st.1

misplaced, to be u-pu-km

miss (someone) to niHs-ni
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[view image]
move away (tr.), to ʼati-';-nt
move house, to  hen'i-;nHuH
hen'i-t- st.1 under  hen'i-
waha-;j- st.1
move over (intr.), to  kot-a-
under kot-to-;nt
move over (tr.), to  kota-a-
under kot-to-;nt
move quietly and smoothly, jyh-y-c- vb
move up (tr.), to  hoji-;h-
much, to be ʼyty-s- st.1
mud jow-ok-;nt; lo;ha-;nt
muddy jowko-meH-;nt
mule mu;la-;nt
multiple -1VHp- ns 726
mumps, to have  myjy-t-
under myjy-;nt
mush-stirrer sawaj-ʼa-;nt
wasaj-ʼa-;nt
mushroom, button pa;ki-
music; musical instrument
mu;si;ka-;nt
music, to make musi;k-
under mu;si;ka-;nt
mussel, hopon-ʼai-;nt
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ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

non nen·aj- nt
el lo·to- nt
or haj·e- nt; haje·to-? N;
haje·t-aH- nt under haj·e- st.l
there (there), to be nahma·j· vb
k hyp·yt·a- nt
klace po·ko- nt
iddle ′awo·ha- nt
tro kana·kaH- nt
neighbor ′aja·p-aH- nt
neighbor, to bring one a ′aja·p-
st.l
neighbors, to be ′aja·p·mhi- vb
hew (child of sibling of opposite
sex to Ego) ′yps·a- nt
hew (child of sibling of same
sex as Ego) koco- nt
it he·sa- nt
waja·ka- nt
le hoho·loj- nt
iwiwi·in·nY·meH- nt under
?i·} nt
it hojeH- nt; ′eca·m· nt
under ′eca· nt; ′ecaH·m·
nt; ′ecaH·tho- nt
rel ($0.05), lew·aP- nt
ninety ′eli·w·ijak·∅ na′a·c
NE CJ; ′ele·w·ijak·∅ na′a
NE CB
nipple musu·a- nt under
st.1
nit jec·a- nt
no ken P
nobody home ′eje·n·aH- nt
je·l- st.1
nobody left, to be ′ewy·t·e
under ′ewy·t- st.1
noisy hyl·ak·hHi- nt under
st.1
nominalizer -aH- ns 705
nominative ′?∞-∅ cs 321
north ′tam·a·li·n N; ′tam·yle
northerners ′tam·ly·ja- nt
tam·yle- nt
nose ni·tHoH- nt
nostrils hakyp·a·nt
not be enough, to hulwa·j
under hulaHw·qHe- vb
not bother with, to ′anat-nt
not care, to hyja·nY- vb
not do, to ′ewak·nY- vb C
under ′ewak·k- st.l; ′ewak
m.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

see, to  pe-l-e- st.1
there  ?ewy-j-aH- nt
thing but  -mYH- ns 730
i-wi n N
use  ?oko-j-haHk- nt, ?okoj-peH-
ut under  ?oko-j- st.1
use, to  ?oko-j- st.1

O
black  tele-liH- nt
, golden-cup or Vibray's
maka'-ha- nt
, scrub or interior live
sa'sa- nt
, water  wil-iH- nt
, white or scrub  le-kak- nt
thrust  ?apa'k-sa- nt; ?o'khyst-

's, wild  ho-nosme- nt
ery, to  haHm-ηHe- st.1
Sidian  sit'ikinwa-CJ;
sit'ikwina-CB

visually  jo'yun P
(a place)  ?ucaH- ns 754
ended, to be  ?esiHk-ηHe- vb

old ones, little  humle-j'a-t-
under  hum-ele- nt
old woman  ?onoc'o- nt; ?o-
nt
old-time; from or of the old
doto'-no-n-?ucH- nt unde
koto-nt
olden times, in  ho'ja-mi-
oldsters  ?imhe-j'a-t'i- nt

?ime'h-aH- nt
olive shell  kumsul-nt; luk
olive shells, rope of  luk-u
on the way  {-meh-nY-} vs
on top  lil'e-m-? N
one  kenh-eH- nt
one by one  kenje-p'a- nt
keH-nt
one-legged  tyt-y-maH- nt
tyt- st.1

onion  siwo-ja- nt
onion, wild  kelse-nt
onion, wild, a kind without a
taste  tipik-ni- nt
only  hak-nt; ken-eH-t'i-
-mYH- ns 730; ?okaHh- n
(a place) to have in

(CANONICAL FORMS

854
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

de, to kami'-j- st.1; pants kalso- nt
poke'-t- st.1 pants, to put on kalu's-pok-
side ?ec'a-m- nt vb, kalu's-tkuH- vb under
al, water how'ontitik'a- nt kalso- nt
put'u- nt paper pape'l-aH- nt
wik'ili-m'a- nt papers pop'il- nt
lil'e-m'-tY-j N under pare, to mi'h- st.1
leH- nt parent-in-law me'my- nt
flow, to ?ap'o-j- vb part hair, to piso'-t- st.1;
hang, to hem'el'i-c- vb wiso't- st.1
huh'umi- nt partner ?oci- nt
horned (?) hohoho- nt pass wa'pok- nt
pygmy kom'a-ci- nt; pass by, to ma'ŋ- st.1
op'tkolol- nt pass out, to jynjyn-nY- vb
small (pygmy? screech?) pass unseen, to pele'-j- st.1
oklolno- nt under pel'e- st.1
nus clover tim'ele- liH- nt passive {-ŋHe-} vs 532
P
(of horse), to he'ne'no'-nY- passive, involuntary {-pa-k-
no
gang-horse he'ne'no- nt vs 511

past {-h'Y-} ns 713; -ka- ns
r
strap luput'-a- nt 720; -keH- ns 723; -ʔek past, legendary ?uten-hi'-m-
hesa- nt ns 765
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

pel (intr.), to luť-h-st.1 under
luť-st.1
gel off (tr.), to ṭo-l-st.1
gel off bark, to lo-t-st.1
her, to wy?i-t-st.1
ger over, to pele:j-poksu-vb
under pel-e-st.1; wy?yty-ksY-vb under wy?i-t-st.1
his lyk-yt-nt; tol-ol-0-nt
nyroyal hoj-ol-nt
people from near /piliwni?/
palal-ci-nt
people of (a place) {-?ci-} ns
753
people of /piliwni?/ piliwni-?ci-nt
upper pemjente-nt
upper, red ci-le-nt
upperwood lok-ot-i-nt
 perch (fish) polhuj-nt
 perch, to puH?-ŋHe-st.1
permit, to haje-nY-st.1 under
haje-st.1
person miw:yH-nt
personal name posle'ta· N;

picnic, to piknik-nY-vb
picture pikca-nt
piece together, to jat-a-st.
pierce, to ṭylyk-na-vb under
ṭylyk-st.1
pig ko-ci-nt
pigeon, band-tail lyŋ-yti-
pile ṭo-ja-nt
pile, to make a towoŋ-naŋ
pile of grass ṭo-pa-nt
pile up (tr.), to ṭo-ja-nt
pile up dirt, to co-j-st.1
pile up rocks, to hoṭ-st.
piled up, to be huṭ-a-mh-
pillow ṭoṭo-ho-nt
pimple kahi-nt
pin, safety kasin-a-nt
pin, to kasni-st.1
pinch, to pij-st.1
pine, digger or bull sak'y-
pine, lodgepole se-se-ke-
pine, ponderosa was-a-n
pine, sugar hiŋa-ci-nt
saŋ'ak-nt
pine, sugar, nuts of hiŋa-
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[view image]
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ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

iful, to be  ?okhih-•e-  vb
under  ?oki•h-  st. l
y, to  ?okihHh-ηHe-  vb under
?oki•h-  st. l

ace names
bout one mile up hill north of
/piliwni?/  wo•hil-  nt
Bear Creek and Midpines
pelelik-  nt
reek north of Indian Peak
waml•ni-  nt
Dry Spring, on side of Indian
Peak facing /piliwni?/
kaJe•i-  nt
ast of Nippinawasee  ka?alti-
nt
ast of White Rock  pa•su•nu-
nt
n vicinity of El Portal  sotpok-
nt
Leonard property, Tiptop  pohto-
nt
ear /kaJe•i/?  kale•ni-  nt
ortheast of Nippinawasee
?a•a?na-  nt

plan to (do something), to
st. l
plane (tool)  likat-•a-  nt
plant, to  woj•e•-nY-  vb under
woje•?-  st. l
plant (a tree), to  ci•p-  st. l
planted  woj•e-  nt under
st. l
play, to  ?aw•i-  st. l;  ?awi
vb under  ?aw•i-  st. l
play ball, to  pohok-  st. l
play cards, to  wyna•h-  st.
play dice, to  lok•a-  st. l
play football, to  tawi•l-  st.
wi•p•  st. l
play handgun, to  hino•w-
play the flute or trumpet, the
lul•a-  st. l
playful  ?yli•i-•Hi-  nt under
?yliH•-ηHe-  vb
plead, to  kaji•w-  st. l
please someone, to  poh•a
plow  plaw-  nt;  tepy••a-
under  te•p-  st. l
plow, to  te•p-  st. l
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

nt  toŋaH- nt
nt, coming to a  cujnun-aH-
nt
nt, to  ci·ka- st.1
nt with a stick, to  hiʔ-ki-
st.1
nted  cymkaʔi- nt
son  jenpa- nt
son, to  jenpa’-nY- vb
son by magic, to  tujku- st.1
son oak  nykys- nt
ke (tr.), to  cikm- st.1
ke around with a cane, to
ciʔ-ja- st.1
ker  hiciw- nt; hiciw’-a- nt;
hiciw’el- nt
le  cyne- nt; wo’kone- nt
lish, to  ŋul-ja- st.1
lywog  ?apoʔ-oʔ-o- nt
lona  piliwni- nt
and  taʔji- nt
or  ?okiʔ-’a- nt under  ?okiʔ-h-
st.1

praise, to  joj- st.1
pray, to  mi’sa’-nY- vb under
mi’sa- nt
pray for curing, to  kaji’w-
vb
preach, to  jej-si- st.1 under
jej’a- st.1
predicative  -aH- ns 705;
ns 712; -’muH- ns 763
predicative, evidential passive
-kuH- ns 724
pregnant  mote’-’muH- nt;
mote’je- nt
pregnant, to be  ?oce’-t- under  ?oceH- nt
prepare, to  ?enh- st.1
prepare food, to  hoʔ-ja-
present imperative  {-eH-}
431
present imperfect indicative
ms 410
present perfect indicative
ms 421
pretend, to  ?ema’p- st.1
pretty  monac’a- nt
pretty (of a girl)  lunµuʔ-
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

1. to hip:i--t- st.1; hyhy:-t-st.1

1. hair, to ju:c- st.1

1. out (tr.), to hip:-st.1;

lakyh-nHuk*u vb under lak-h-st.1

1. out stickers, to hip-la-

st.1 under hip:-st.1

1. roots for basketry, to lu:k-

st.1

1. teeth, to hok--st.1; tup--

st.1

1. up (grass, weeds), to tup-la-

st.1 under tup--st.1

wait, to naj--st.1; te:jyl-nY-
vb

quail, California hek'e-ke-
mym:y-qi-ti-nt; my?y-ny-Hn

quail, California, cry of

tyk-eH-tY-ŋ V

quail, mountain kuj:ak-a-

under kuja:k-st.1; huj:u

(?) nt

quarrel, to ne:ja-nY vb

quartz rock ho:sokilwa-

quiet (of fetus), to pi-

vb under pij--st.1

quiet my:ca-cY-n N under

myca-j- vb

quiet, to be jeHľ-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 be
cyHn-ŋHe- st.1

quiet down (tr.), to je:l- st.

jy'm- st.1

quietly, to do myca-j- vb

quietly, to move jyh:y-c-

will persuade,说服, st.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

bit, jack, death-tabu form used by CJ’s grandmother
py?ca-’liH- nt
bit Spring ?epla-’liH- nt
coon patkas- nt
e, to hywa-’t-mhi- vb
etrack hywat-’a- nt under hywa-’t- st. 1
io redjo- nt
: lac’a- nt
road huju-’YniH- nt under huju-’ nt
n nyk’a- nt
n, to nyk’a- st. 1; ?umu’c- st. 1 JL
n cats and dogs, to
howo’ti-’nY- vb
mbow ky’jyta- nt
storm howo’ti- nt
se, to lile-’h- st. 1 under li-leH- nt
se, to animals, to ?ypel-na$_2$- vb
under ?ypeHl-’nHe- vb
se children, to salnu- st. 1;
’ypel-na$_2$- vb under ?ypeHl-’nHe-
vb
takan-’a- nt; takat-’
rattle, to cat’a- st. 1; cat’a- 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-’nHe- 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 -1Vmh- vs 515;
s 760
really (?) tyhan P
rear up (of horse), to hac
st. 1 under ha’c- st. 1
recently ?iw’i’y-meH-n N
{?i-} nt
reciprocal {-mhi-} v$\&$ 518
ns 729
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

lect light, to  catu·k- st.1
lect light from a distance, to
ţelu·-j- st.1
lection hyHj-ŋHe-poksu-ni-
nt under hyj- st.1
lexive  {-poksu-} vs 534;
tkuH- vs 540
lexive, past  -poH- ns 739
use a proposal of marriage or
sexual relations, to  tawli-
st.1
şret, to  kuHh-ŋHe- st.1
ns hipit-\-a- nt under hipi-\-t-
st.1
rieve one on duty, to  hen\-i-
st.1
main, to  kawi-\-nY- st.1
member, to  ūtyly-\-l- st.1
member what happened, to
tny-ŋ- st.1
mind about, to  hyjy\-na- vb
under hyj\-y- nt
mind oneself, to  hyjy\-na-poksu-
vb under hyj\-y- nt
move bark, to  ūtol-wa- st.1

return (intr.), to  \?eta\-l- st.
return (tr.), to  kum-nY-
under ku\-m- st.1
return for a forgotten article
he\-w\-a- st.1
reventive  -tHuH- ns 749
rib  \?ala\-ka- nt
ribbons  listo- nt
rice  laj\-is- nt; lajsij- nt;
nt
rich  keh\-a-meH- nt under
nt
rich, to become  keh\-a-\-t-
under ke\-ha- nt; riko\-\-nY
rid of, to get  lawe\-j- st.1
takm- st.1
ride, to  cy\-m- st.1
ride around, to  cy\-m\-ym-\-
under cy\-m- st.1
ridge  wak\-ucu- nt
rifle  niple- nt
right; correct  cytyH- nt
right arm  caj\-aH- nt CJ;
nt CB, RW, EL
right at  \?a\-wo\-sa- nt
right at  \?a\-wo\-sa- nt
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

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rough-textured  cyk’aka-nt  st.1
rough-textured, to be  hoto’-  st.1
roughen (tr.), to  cykak-na-
round  ha’-a’ta-nt
round, one  hokli-nt
round bowl  pum’ulum’a-nt
row, to  juwa’l-  st.1
Royal Arches  cokin’e-nt
rub feet back and forth on
medicine rock, to  lit-ja-nt
rub on ointment, to  pyha-kt
rub on washboard, to  lyt’a-
rub self with hot stick for re-
tism, to  pu’k-poksu- vb
rug  hete-ʃ he-te-nt
ruin (tr.), to  ?yhyk-na2- vb
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  mene’k-

of sun), to  lit-h-st.1
d  muk’u-nt
drunner  hujuh’uj- (?) nt;
juju’u-nt
a  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  hongo-nt
k, decayed  ciky’kyj-nt
k (tr.), to  hik-ja-st.1 under
hik’i-nt
river  hikaj’a-nt
k-shelter  tempela-nt
l (intr.), to  hutul’ul- vb;
hi-l-st.1
l (tr.), to  hutul-st.1
around, to  jaŋlaŋnY- vb
under  jaŋŋ- st.1
out dough, to  hutul-st.1
l over (tr.), to  ma’i-l-st.1
lining, to be  hutul’uk- vb
lining pin  hutul’a-nt
of, like-m-ŋt-Y-ʔ-hY; N under
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[view image]
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

idle horse, to mocuj-na₁- vb
under mocj- st. l

idle blanket hesa- nt
tiddled, to be si-ʔa-⁵-pα-ŋHe- vb

rebrush sawha- pi- nt

amander ?ap- an- taH- nt

mon ko- sum- nt

nt koj- o- nt

nt, burned muh- muhja- nt

nt meat hu- me- ti- nt

nt berry ṭama- nt

nt- lick kojum- a- nt
ty, to get koHj-ŋHe- st. l

under koj- o- nt
ty, to taste kojkoj- e- vb

under koj- o- nt

t, all the ḫika- ma- nt

and wiskala- nt

oling la- ma- c- Y- nt

nt sucker, yellow-bellied

cyt- atakwila- nt

turday saw- ato- nt

screcer hetaj- a- po- nt under

het- ja- st. l; so- sa- nt

scatter (tr.), to lum- h- st. l

scattered, to be ta- paṭaṭ- st. l

scissors tihe- la- nt

scold, to naj- st. l

scoop up food with fingers,

hapo- t- st. l

scorpion ṭet- ymti- nt

scrape (tr.), to pyca- c- st. l

scrape off grass, to py- t-

scrape with a stick, to ly-

scrape with long strokes, to

wyṭa- k- st. l

scrape with short strokes, to

wyṭa- st. l

scraper, deer-bone wyṭa- st. l

t under wyṭa- st. l

scratch (a person), to we-

scratch oneself, to ṭuṭa- p-

vb

scrawny ṭos- uj- nt under

st. l

scream, to kawo- ta- nY- vb

scrub, to lut- a- st. l

seam pilyn- a- nt

seat (tr.), to ṭo-ʔ- st. l
[view image]
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

\[ hy\text{i}c- \quad hy\text{y}c- \quad \text{vb}, \]
\[ hy\text{H}j-\eta \text{He}- \text{st. 1 under hyj- \text{st. 1}} \]
\[ \text{simi}ja- \quad \text{nt} \]
\[ \text{ed, edible, unidentified camta-nt; tolom-nt} \]
\[ \text{ed from white-flowered plant} \]
\[ \text{nakahi-nt} \]
\[ \text{ink decorative material, to} \]
\[ \text{hisap- \text{st. 1 under hispa- \text{st. 1}}} \]
\[ \text{nt, to be hyji-c-\eta \text{He- \text{vb}}} \]
\[ \text{st. to tiwa?t-poksu- \text{vb under tiwa- \text{st. 1}}} \]
\[ \text{ed, to kutew-nY- \text{vb; kutwe- \text{st. 1}}} \]
\[ \text{use, common tynyn-nY-\text{a-nt under tyny-\eta- \text{st. 1}}} \]
\[ \text{tininel Dome me'tu'la-nt} \]
\[ \text{parate (intr.), to ?y\j-mhi- \text{vb}} \]
\[ \text{uoia wohwoh-na-nt} \]
\[ \text{ive one right, to hy'm-\eta \text{He- \text{vb}}} \]
\[ \text{(of sun, moon, star), to} \]
\[ \text{lep-nY- \text{st. 1, lepu-t- \text{st. 1}}} \]
\[ \text{under lepa- \text{st. 1}} \]
\[ \text{on eggs, to nep-\eta \text{He- \text{vb}}} \]
\[ \text{tattle to the bottom, to sway-} \]
\[ \text{shave (tr.), to jyka-t- \text{st. 1}} \]
\[ \text{shake dice in a box, to lol- \text{st. 1}} \]
\[ \text{shake dice in the hand, to} \]
\[ \text{cata-t- \text{st. 1}} \]
\[ \text{shake down out of tree, to} \]
\[ \text{jk\k\text{a- \text{st. 1}}} \]
\[ \text{shake hands, to jasy-t-mhe} \]
\[ \text{shaker wyk-y\text{-a-nt}} \]
\[ \text{shakes, to have the; to be sh} \]
\[ \text{jakak\ak- \text{vb}} \]
\[ \text{shallow t\text{tal\text{-nt}}} \]
\[ \text{shaman tuj\uk- \text{nt}} \]
\[ \text{shampoo, to hilu-k- \text{st. 1}} \]
\[ \text{sharp-edged kyt\text{-nt}} \]
\[ \text{sharp-pointed muckat\text{-nt}} \]
\[ \text{sharpen, to hyk-a- \text{st. 1}} \]
\[ \text{shatter (intr.), to kap-la- \text{vb}} \]
\[ \text{shave oneself, to homu\text{-p- \text{vb}}} \]
\[ \text{shawl ta\polo-nt} \]
\[ \text{shear, to hi\k-st. 1} \]
\[ \text{sheep mune\text{-kas-nt CB; p} \]
\[ \text{nt RW, EL} \]
\[ \text{shoot, saw\text{-na-nt GI; saw} \]
\[ \text{nt
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ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

hiver, to tyn'-a- st.1
noc (tr.), to sapa'-t- st.1
hoes sapa-to- nt
noestring tyky?-a- nt under
ty'k- st.1
hoot, to tyk'- st.1
hoot at a target, to senta'-nY- vb
hoot without aiming, to lut-h- st.1
hooting-stars (flower)
   toto'-kon- nt
hort hul'wi- nt; to?-ono- nt
hort pieces hulwi-t'-i- nt under
   hul'wi- nt
horten (intr.), to aun-ja- st.1
horten (tr.), to huliw-na- vb
   under hul'wi- nt; tytk- st.1
notgun satkyn- nt
shoulder mejelki- nt
shoulder blade taw'ah- nt CJ;
   talta?-la- nt RW, EL
hoot at, to kawen- pa- vb under
   kaHw-?He- st.1
hoot once, to kaHw-?He- st.1
hoot several times, to
sibling, younger than Ego nt CB
sick, to be sike'-nY- vb
sick, to be fatally hol'o-
sickness sike'n-aH- nt under
   sike'-nY- vb
sift, to pik'a- st.1
sigh, to huh-t-poksu- vb
sights of gun hyjen'-a- nt
   hyj'- st.1
silk silki- nt
silly, to act yliH?-?He-
silver silwe- nt
sinew pasu'ka- nt
sing, to myl'i- st.1 CB;
   st.1 CJ, RW, EL
single-foot, to he'n'e'no-
sink, to kelp- st.1; lepu-
   under lep'a- st.1; ly'o'
sister, older than Ego te
sister, younger than Ego nt Mrp CJ, RW, EL
sister-in-law ?olo- nt; he'
   nt
sit, to to'-u-c'- vb under
   st.1
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

roots for basketry, to
k- st. l; tô- l- st. l
ny tô-suŋ- nt under tôsj- st. l
y, Yosemite lik’o twi- nt
t to hylte-je- nY- vb under yHl-ηHe- st. l
nt na’was- nt
t, dance hute- nt
k his’ik- nt
k helaHk- nt
, to maṭta- st. l; maṭ-ja- st. l
p tyje- nt
p, to tyj’e- st. l; mojo- t- st. l
p (of an arm or leg), to go to
an’a- pa- ksY- vb
p in another’s bed, to
ja’n- t- st. l under ja’ŋ- st. l
p with someone, to mojo- ksY- vb
p sky, to be tyje’- y- c- vb
under tyj’e- st. l
k lišt’a- nt under lišt-ja-
t.
slowly, to do myca-j’- vb
slump down (of a person), to
nom’ et- vb
slushy (of snow), to turn
coHl-ηHe- st. l
small cin’i pi- f cin’imi- nt
small cin’imi- c’Y- f cin’ipi- c’Y-
RW, EL, CJ, cyn’i pi- c’Y-
CB; cin’imi-tki- f cin’ipi-
nt; cinti-t’i- nt
small, to be cin’ipi-ŋk- vb
under cin’ipi- nt
small, to be too hawa- ŋ- st. l
small, to cut up cin’ip-pa-
under cin’ipi- nt
small, to make oneself
cin’ip-na-tkuH- vb under cin’ipi-
nt
smallpox, to have masl- st. l
misl- st. l
smash, to pak-la- st. l; tyje-
st. l
smell huki’s- aH- nt under
st. l
smell (intr.), to huk- si- st. l
smell (tr.), to huka- j- st. l
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

ake ?ici- nt
ake, garter hum'u?li- nt
ake, gopher hik'a?-jaH- nt
ake, king ho'tomki?la- nt;
ho-tonjaH- nt
ake, rattle law'a?i- nt
ake, water homo?le- nt;
hum'u?li- nt
ake, western yellow-bellied racer hil'u- nt
ap, to ko?u-ηHe- vb under ko?t- st.1
ap fastener lo?ci- nt
ap off (intr.), to taj'u-ηHe- vb
peak up, to he?ti-pa- vb;
pete'-j- st.1 under pet'a- st.1
pneeze, to hati's- st.1
iff around, to hukjaj-nY- vb
under huk-si- st.1
more, to na?t- st.1; natu'c-
st.1
short, to husa'k- st.1
short loudly, to nota'k- st.1
now ke?la- nt

some; some of them hejimtoH- nt
somebody else hejimtoH
someone or other manaX-N
something tin'Y- nt
son koco- nt CJ, RW, EL
?
?a?si- CB
son-in-law sal'i?i-pa?- nt
sal'i-paH- nt under salil
song my?li- nt CB; ?ymte- nt under ?y
st.1 CJ, RW, EL
soon ?e?nat P; ?i-w?i-c?Y-
i-w?i-tki-n N
sore (of throat), to be ma
sorrel (plant) ?uj?-ujum'a
sorrel horse lasan- nt
soup posoHl- nt
sour make?η-aH- nt; mak
nt under maHk-ηHe- st.
sour, to get maHk-ηHe-
sour, to taste makmak-'e
under maHk-ηHe- st.1
sourberry ?ama- nt
south symja- nt; sym'et-
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

spears sipwe-la-nt RW, EL
hispewela-nt CJ
spy on, to halyp-nY-vb
square wiklil-ah-nt
squash (vegetable) skwo’s-
squash one thing, to pakal-
under pak-la-st.l
squat down, to pu’-st.l
EL; puH’-He-st.l CB,
squirm, to mi’-wa-j-vb
mi’-st.l
squirrel, California grey tree
me-we-nt
squirrel, California grey tree
noise of kaŋ kaŋ kaŋ kaŋ
squirrel, flying (?) hoh-hoh
squirrel, ground hac’i-c’Y-
nt under ha’c-st.l; ţicaR
ţicik-Hna-nt, ţicici-nt u
ţicaIh-nt; wuje-t-ucaH-
?upuki-nt
squirrel, ground, noise of ţi
ţicit
stab, to hyl’a-st.l
stable (N) ?yw’y-a-nt un
?yw’y-a-st.l
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

reading, to be  hac'i-c'y- vb under ha·c- st.1
reading on four feet, to be  new·y-c- vb under te·w- st.1
reading on one’s head, to be  ic'y-c- vb
for  cala·tu- nt
at, evening  ty·le- nt;
Pos·?oslaj- nt
start an activity, to  hoj'oh- vb
start for (tr.), to  hoja'·na1- vb under ho·ja- st.1
start on, to  hoja'·pa- vb under ho·ja- st.1
serve (intr.), to  hulw- st.1
serve (tr.), to  huluw-na- vb
under hulw- st.1
acic -c- ns 706; {-c-} vs 501
stationary, to be  hac'i-c'Y- vb
under ha·c- st.1
by, to  ?uc'u- st.1 (irregular)
long, to  kyHt-ηHe- st.1
very too late at night, to
hajan'y-pa- vb under haja'n-

stepfather  haj'i- nt
stepladder  haty?-a- nt under ha·t- st.1
stepmother  ?amji-puH- nt
?ami- nt
stepson  kocje-puH- nt under koco- 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 cip- st.1
sticky  jut·ata- nt under jut- st.1
stiff  toc'aca- nt
stiff, to be  tocj- st.1
stiff, to get  tocuHj-ηHe vb
tocj- st.1; tocπ- st.1; tocπ- st.1
still, to keep  nyHt-ηHe- st.1
still (doing something), to be  ?icy-ksY- vb under {?i-}
still do, to  kawi·nY- st.1
still that way, to be  ?icy-ksu·nY- st.1
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

[view image]
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

blocking kalse·ta-nt
blocking, to put on kale·s-
st.1 under kalse·ta-nt

bump down, to tyηetny·-nY- vb
bump over, to tewi·ηHe- vb
bump (intr.), to haHc·ηHe- st.1
under ha·c- st.1
bump (tr.), to ha·c- st.1

bump raining, to siHl·ηHe- st.1
bump talking, to jyl·y-c- vb
under je·l- st.1

bopped, to be ha·c·ηHe- vb
under ha·c- st.1

brere cente·no-nt; tjenten·nt
story liwa-nt; ?utne-nt under
?ute·nY- vb

love kusi·na-nt; ?istup·p·nt
raddle, to kawajo·nY- vb;
waṭa·t- st.1

straight luta·k·aH-nt, luta·k-
tnt under luta·k- st.1
straight, to make or go luta·k-
st.1
straighten up (intr.), to luta·k-
vb under luta·k- st.1

raw ho·he-? petan·hi·me-?

strong tal·yl-nt
strong (of color or drink)
sikem·i-nt
strong, to become talylHl-
vb under tal·yl-nt
strum, to sap·a- st.1
stuck in mud, to be li?o·p·nt
stumble, to huteHl·ηHe- 
te·a·ηHe- vb
stump of tree tu·cum-nt
stump of tree, burnt tucu
nt

stutter, to sepus-nY- vb

style, to form a masl- st.
suck at breast, to mu·s-
suck for disease object, to

koj·pa-st.1; jymo·t- st.
suck on, to jymo·t- st.1
suckerfish hawak·ac-nt;
nt

suckle, to mus·nY-st.1
mu·s-st.1

suffer, to tiwlaj-nY- vb

sugar cujuhu·hHi-nt Mrp

?asu·ka-nt RW, EL

suit, to hy?m-st.1
[view image]
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

per, to eat  sapAy- vb

face  nykha- nt

pass, to  kujt- st.1

prised, to be  je'hin-nY- vb

vive an illness, to  kyl'iji-ksY- vb

vivor  ?eIen-kuH- nt under  rul- st.1

ponders  kanwi'si- nt

yellow, to  my?j- st.1

emp  lo'ha- nt

after  swe'ta- nt

athouse  capy- nt

ep, to la'w- st.1

let  cujcuj-hHi- nt, cuj'en-hHi- nt under cuHj-uHe- st.1

let thing  cuje'nu-aH- nt, cujcuju- nt under cuHj-uHe- st.1

let, to get  cuHj-uHe- st.1

let, to taste  cujcuj-ue- vb

under cuHj-uHe- st.1

etheart  lija- nt

etshrub  hok-hokot- nt

ill up, to  ma'k- st.1; t ephem- st.1

take along (a person), to  ?

st.1 under  ?oci- nt

take apart, to  hok-la- st.1

hok- st.1

take away from, to  nau't-

take back, to  ku'm- st.1

take care of, to  ?oko-j- st.1

take in (a person), to  wele-

st.1

take off (clothes), to  hok-la-

st.1 under hok- st.1

take off (tr.), to  hoke'e- st.

take out of (tr.), to  wit- st.

take shelter, to  hu'1- st.1

take turns playing, to  hen?-

vb under hen'i- st.1

take up, to  ?e'ku'1- st.1

talk, to  kacy-ksY- vb under

st.1; liwa- st.1

talk to, to  liwa'-nY- vb under

liwa- st.1

tall  wila' toH- nt; wil'at-hH-

tame  ?ol'ok- nt

tan  tilil'i- nt

tanager, Western  hak'ah'ak-

(du)
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

a; wild hoj-ol-nt; pe-hep-e-ha-nt
uch, to natyh-na₂-vb under
nath- st.1; sok-pa- st.1
ur, easy to sa-k-ele-nt under
sa-k- st.1
ur, to sa-k- st.1
ur off, to tok-la- st.1
urs ci-wel-nt
ase, to hi-ṣ-wa- st.1; mehe'-nY-vb; tiki- c- st.1; ?okhe'-nY-vb
the, to kyty'-t- st.1
all a story, to was-nY- st.1
all if, to be able to nenu- t-
st.1
all me if waca-P
all news, to kojo-w- st.1
all stories at night, to
?use'-nY-vb CJ; ?ute'-nY-vb CB
all the truth, to nym'a- st.1
all to, to kojo'-nY-vb
mportal -n cs 323; -taH- ns 743
thick (in consistency) lew-ap-
nt under lewe'-h- st.1
thick (in consistency), to get
lew-e- h- st.1
thief, sneak pom-pomo-
under pom-ki- st.1
thigh tuq'-u-nt
thimble tita- l-aH-nt
thin tat'-apa-nt; ṭasyw- mo-
under ṭasw- st.1
thin (of liquid) ses-i-nt;
that kind i-pHuṭ-e-nt
that one i-ni-nt; it-e-
that one, to choose i-c-e-
that way, to be i-pu-ksY-
that way, to do it ?i-puH-
that way, to turn im-yt-w-
vb under {?i-} nt
that's all okaHh-tki- N
that's it epn- a- V
then i-taH-n N

N; ?i-ni-t'-Y-t-Ø N
rd person plural -koH- Ɪ -ko-
-ĥ- ps 311; -p·u· ps 311
rd person plural independent
pronoun ?is·ak-koH- nt
rd person singular -hY· ps
311; -· ps 311; -祐· ps 311
rd person singular independent
pronoun ?is·ak- nt
rds, to cut in tolok-wi-j·- vb
under tolo·koţ·- nt
rst ṭaKyp· nt under ṭakp-
st. 1
rst, to ṭakp- st. 1
rteen na?َا-ca·- Ɪ tolo·koţ·-YniH?- NE
rtty tolo·jak-祐 na?َا-ca·- Ɪ NE
s (demonstrative stem) {neH-} ns 651
s way neH-m·-t·Y-t-祐 N;
祐yky-t·Y-t-祐 N
s way, to be ne-pu-ksY· vb
under {neH-} nt
s way, to do ne-puHţi· st. 1
under {neH-} nt
s way, to turn nem·yt-wi-j·
祐ndar {neH-} nt
throw underhand, to ko·s-
thrown down, to be hu?·u-
thumb ?et·em-taH·- nt
thump, to ṭom·a· st. 1 CJ;
st. 1 CB
thunder tim·ele·li- nt
thunder, to time·l· st. 1
Thursday ?ojsi-paH· nt us
祐ojs·a· nt
tickle, to hit-wa· st. 1; ?y
st. 1
tickle on sole of foot (tr.),
祐yci·l- st. 1
tick, wood hu·ti· nt
tie, to ty·j· st. 1
tie a knot, to huti· l· st. 1
tie up, to tyja·n· st. 1; ho
st. 1
tied in (cradle), to be tyj
vb under ty·j· st. 1
tight, to be hycaHt-祐He-
tight, to make hušta· st.
tilt (intr.), to cej·ǔt·- vb
timid musa·- ꞮmeH· nt un
mus·a· st. 1
time, name, nt.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

 transitional -h- vs 502
 transitive {-nY-} vs 521
 trap ʔoŋe- nt
 trap, to tet-nY- st.1; ʔoHaŋ- st.1 under ʔoŋe- nt
 trash peʔaŋ-hi*-me- nt under peʔa- st.1
 tree laʔma- nt
 tree-sponge jeska- nt
 tremble, to jutut-ut- vb
 trick, to ʔemaʔ- st.1
 trigger hipit- a- nt under ʔa- st.1
 trim (tr.), to tyt- st.1
 trip (tr.), to caw- a- st.1
 trot, to tuʔ- a- st.1 RW; cuʔ- a- st.1 CJ
 trot habitually (of horse), to cuʔcuʔ- vb under cuʔ- a-
 trout lapiʔ- a- aj- nt
 trumpet lul- a- nt
 trunk (luggage) wawle- nt
 try, to men- a- st.1; tyharn- st.
 try to get, to ceciʔ- w- st.1
 try to go or stay with (a person), to ceciʔw- pok- a- vb.
The Southern Sierra Miwok Language (1964), by Sylvia M. Broadbent

ENGLISH—SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

en off (light), to mal- - st. 1
en over (intr.), to pyt'al- - vb
under pyt'a-l- - st. 1; ?im'yt-wi-j- - vb under {?i-} nt
en that way, to ?im'yt-wi-j- - vb under {?i-} nt
en up (tr.), to ŋe'ku-l- - st. 1
entle ?aw'anta- - nt
enelve na'a-ca-? ?òtiH-? YniH-? NE
enty ?òti- -ják-Ø na'a-ca-? NE
enty-six ?òti- -ják-Ø na'a-ca-?
em'oka-? YniH-? NE
ence, to be or do ?òtki- -pa- - vb
under ?òtiH- - nt
en twin- - nt; ?òtki-lVHp- - nt,
?òtiH-kenel- -pa- - nt under ?òtiH- - nt
enge sike- -paH- - nt under
sike'- -nY- - vb
est, to pa-ti'- -w- - st. 1
est (of water, intr.), to ?awi'- -c- - st. 1
est string, to pi'- -m- - st. 1
etch (of eyelid), to cyyp'yyp'- - vb

uncle (mother's brother) bnt
underpants kalso- - nt
underside ?al'a- - nt
understand, to ?al- - st. 1
understand a language, to st. 1
undo, to hok- - st. 1
unfenced hok- -u-maH- - nt
hok- - st. 1
unfold (tr.), to me?- - st. 1
unmarried ?eleŋ-kuH- - nt
?el- - st. 1
unobstructed ?aw'e- - nt
unripe ?ima- -muH- - nt
untidy hair hoh'ili-m'a- - nt
hohe'i- -l- - st. 1
until nake- - nt
up li-leH- - nt
up to (a point), to be nak
vb under na-k- - st. 1
uphill neH-wi-n N; we'pa-
?etym- -a- - nt under ?etym-
uprights of dance house c
upriver neH-wi-n N; new- -
N under {neH-} nt.
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

vet tim’il-nt
nal Falls pajtak-nt

Cameňi-nt
age locations

Acorn Inn, junction of Highway 140 and Triangle Road

Clark’s Mill, Darah, on Triangle Road

spring south of Indian Peak

between Grub Gulch and Raymond

Fresno Flat

ble properties

nit, to pasjal-nY- vb; wynm-st.1

t, to go

under wyn-st.1

ator wyn’is-ma-nt under

walk, to wy-n-st.1

walk around, to wyn-ka-j-nt

vb CB, wyn’y-c- vb CJ un

wy-n-st.1

walking stick hi’jaH-nt

wallet hune’ha-tki-nt

want, to hejaHw-He- vb

war, to make topi’-j- st.1

warm ¿ome-¿aH-nt under

¿om-ja-st.1

warm (of weather), to be

¿om¿om-e- vb under ¿om-
st.1

warm, to get ¿oHm-He- st.1

under ¿om-ja-st.1

warm up, to hac¿-¿ st.1;

¿om-ja-st.1

warm self beside fire, to

st.1

wart sen-e-nt

wash (tr.), to; to wash away

hek’a-st.1

wash clothes, to kusa-nt

wash one’s face, to mula’ky-
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

reach out for one, to  hajak- vb
water  kik-y- nt
water, to get into  com-u-ŋHe- vb
water moiety  kiky?-a- nt under
kik-y- nt
water up to the waist, to be in
com?u-mh- vb under com-u-ŋHe-
vb
waterfall  co·lak- nt
termelon  santija- nt
tertight  pokal·meH- nt
we (tr.), to  jasy- t- st.1
wes in water  topju·le·-nY- vb
swona  pala?can- nt
y  wy?y?-a- nt under wy- st.1
ak; fragile  hen·ana- nt
ak from hunger, to be  ?ewj- st.1
war clothes, to  wi·k·poksu- vb
war out, to  typ-h- st.1
wave, to  cyly·l- st.1; cy·l- st.1
wednesday  toliko·paH- nt under
tolo·ko- nt
week  sima·na- nt
rep, to  ciwe·l- st.1
wheat  tili·ko- nt
wheel  hiw·itkil·a- nt
when?  micyk·na₂-∅-ʔ-hY· mi·taH- nt
where?  mi·ni- nt
whetstone  hyka?-a- nt under
hyk- a- st.1
which?  mini·nHi·paH- nt or
mi- nt
which way?  mini·t·Y·t-∅ N
mi- nt
while, every once in a  haje·e- nt
N under haje·e- nt
while, for a  cyn·ipi- j N un
cin·ipi- nt; haje·m- j N, haje·to-j N, haje·to-j N
haje·e- nt
whine, to  nocuH- st.1 (iri)
440
whip  sata- nt
whip, to  sat-pu- st.1
whirl around and around, to
syjil·il- vb
whirlwind  po·juc- nt
whiskey  wiski- nt
THE SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK LANGUAGE

wik- nt

ṭap'a'le- nt under ṭap-l; wala- nt; wil'a- nt

eyed, to sit lyn'yty-ksY-

avigator

wiky'-meH- nt; ṭewhut'u- ṭew'yh'utu- nt under

wyHh-ηHe- vb

over ṭeleŋ-meH- nt under

nə- st. 1

?oh'a- nt

brother's wife henuₗu-

sister's husband

ŋ'e-paH- nt

e, to sul'uj-h- vb

hale'-aH- nt under hal'e-
sy'yli- nt

at tol'om'a- nt

hal'e- nt

ŋ'-the-wisp yli- nt

w, large sikiHl- nt

w, small, used for making

whets, sikiHl- nt
ENGLISH-SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK

; to sy'k-  st.1
young syk'a- nt under sy'k-

1

g kat'i'a- nt under kat'i-

1

nia ho'ñok'ilwa- nt

young, to become sali't- st.
sali'i'nY- vb under saliH

youth; young man saliH- nt

Z

zipper lucuc'a- nt

Y

of house wyn'yc'-?a- nt
der wy'n- st.1
ja'ny- nt
now, western kamja- nt
to haw-h- st.1
hel'ak- nt; ?anj'o- nt;
muc-aH- nt under ?umcu-

1

repeatedly, to jal'al-nY- vb
w pukuk'i- nt under puk'e-
ciwk'i- nt (?)
w-brown ta'at'-i- nt
whammer tiw'-aj- nt
jacket mel'aj- nt

hy'yu' P

canonical forms

friday ?y.me'ci- nt

(sanpaz, language)