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

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

DATA SOURCES


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


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


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


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


NOTES

I. Bodega Miwok.

The following symbols are transliterated into UTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>c</th>
<th>č</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
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<tr>
<td>tʰ</td>
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<td>VV</td>
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<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>C:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VV</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Lake Miwok.

The following symbols are transliterated into UTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>j</th>
<th>y</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
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<tr>
<td>s</td>
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<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note also that according to UTS rules glottalized consonants are written with an apostrophe after the consonant, whereas in the Americanist transcription used by Callaghan, the apostrophe is written above the consonant.

III. Plains Miwok.

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

2) The following symbols are transliterated into UTS:

IV. Northern Sierra Miwok.

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

2) The following symbols are transliterated into UTS:
V. Central Sierra Miwok.

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

2) The following symbols are transliterated into UTS:

VI. Southern Sierra Miwok.

1) In those cases where different dialects of Southern Sierra Miwok yield different words for the required "Swadesh meaning", we choose the Mariposa dialect form, and adduce Yosemite dialect forms in the notes.

2) The following symbols are transliterated into UTS:
Morphophonemic symbol H (alternating length) is replaced by : or zero according to position, see [Broadbent 1964: 19].
Morphophonemic symbol Y is replaced by i, u or o according to position, see [Broadbent 1964: 20].

Compiled and annotated by: M. Zhivlov (last update: February 2014).
1. ALL
Bodega Miwok m'u?am (1), Lake Miwok m'u?e (1), Plains Miwok sikе- # (2), Northern Sierra Miwok sokе-ʔi- # (2), Central Sierra Miwok šokе-ʔi- (2), Southern Sierra Miwok ŋaytu- (3).

References and notes:

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

**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 98. Polysemy: 'every / all / everybody'. Word class: intransitive verb and noun. Distinct from ŋawe:ku 'just / only / nothing but / to the extent that / all (particle)' [Callaghan 1965: 174]. Judging from the following examples, the meaning 'all (omnis)' is expressed by m'u?e, while 'all (totus)' is ŋawe:ku ŋawe:ku ŋupetši ŋu:kwťe:tu 'All she had was one short piece' [Callaghan 1965: 174], maʔunuc m'u?e ko:š:la:y:š:ikan 'Put all those apples in the sack' [Callaghan 1965: 123].

**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 140. Polysemy: 'all / the whole / everything / every'. Word class: noun. Alternative candidate: hen-i-k 'all' - plural form of hen-i- 'much, a lot / many, lots of / enough / too much' [Callaghan 1984: 36-37]. Both words can be used in diagnostic contexts for 'all = omnis'. Cf. the following examples: ka:š:či:sim hen-i:koc miwkoc 'I see all the Indians' [Callaghan 1984: 37], sikę:ke:la:ʔak 'They're all the same size' [Callaghan 1984: 93], tay:ko:sikę: 'They're all running' [Callaghan 1984: 140].

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

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

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

2. ASHES
Bodega Miwok y'emi (1), Lake Miwok w'ilok (2), Plains Miwok sikе- # (3), Northern Sierra Miwok sikе- # (3), Southern Sierra Miwok sikе- (3).

References and notes:

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

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


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

3. BARK
Bodega Miwok ʂ'apa (1) / ʂ'ime (2), Lake Miwok ʂ'ime (2), Plains Miwok semi-la- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok semi-la- (2), Central Sierra Miwok s'emila- (2), Southern Sierra Miwok sem-il-a- (2).

References and notes:
Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 65. Polysemy: 'covering / thin bark, such as willow bark / grass leaf (adhering to stalk)'. Word class: noun. Bodega Miwok does not have a generic word for bark. Instead, two words are used: ʂ'apa for thin bark and ʂ'ime for thick bark. We list both words as quasi-synonyms. Callaghan 1970: 67. Glossed as 'thick bark (such as oak bark)'. Word class: noun.
Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 125. Word class: noun. The dictionary gives two variants: ʂ'ime and ʂ'imii, with the remark that the former "is considered correct".

4. BELLY
Bodega Miwok p'uluk (1), Lake Miwok p'uluk (1), Plains Miwok hena- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok lo-to- (3), Central Sierra Miwok lo'to- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok ?oče:- (4).

References and notes:

5. BIG

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

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


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

6. BIRD

Bodega Miwok m'eye (1), Lake Miwok m'ele ~ m'ile (1), Plains Miwok cicipu- ~ cicicpu- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok mičema-ti- (3), Central Sierra Miwok čička- # (2), Southern Sierra Miwok čička- (2).

References and notes:


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

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 1. Word class: noun. Alternative candidate: šlečt- 'bird' (derived from šleč- 'to fly', q.v.) [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 16]. There is no way to decide which of these words is the basic term for 'bird' in Central Sierra Miwok.


7. BITE

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

References and notes:


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


Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 99. Glossed as 'to bite (dog, spider, mosquito)'. Different from mača- 'to bite on something
(like cloth), get a hold of something with teeth' (peculiar to Fiddletown dialect) [Callaghan 1987: 143].

Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 6. Word class: verb. Alternative candidate: kas'i-t- 'to bite (snake or dog)' [ibid.]. Cf. also y'ili- 'to bite with poison (snake)' [ibid.]. It is hard to make out the exact semantic difference between y'ili- and kas'i-t- from the available occurrences of these verbs in Central Sierra Miwok texts. Cf. the following examples: 'As she [Bear] nibbled she bit (y'ili) her [Deer] in the neck' (East Central dialect) [Berman 1982, text VIII, 13]; 'The dragons are growling, and the woman scolds them when they try to bite (kas'itgeganáš) [Berman 1982, text I, 8]; 'That is Serpent. He bites (kas'itíitá)' [Berman 1982, text III, 10]; '...there were dreadful Things that snapped (kas'itaniš) at him. They were the kind that eat people.' [Berman 1982, text III, 37]. We tentatively choose y'ili- mainly because of external correspondences in other Sierra Miwok languages.


8. BLACK
Bodega Miwok lok-'o:tə (1), Lake Miwok mul'w-mulu (2), Plains Miwok kul-u:lulu- (3), Northern Sierra Miwok kul-ul:i- (3), Central Sierra Miwok kul-'ul:i- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok tuhi- # (4).

References and notes:

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

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


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


9. BLOOD
Bodega Miwok k'ičaw (1), Lake Miwok k'ičaw (1), Plains Miwok kicaw (1), Northern Sierra Miwok kičaw-i- (1), Central Sierra Miwok kičawvi- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok kičaw- (1).

References and notes:

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

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

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

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 112.

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

10. BONE

Bodega Miwok m'učːi (1), Lake Miwok k'ulum (2), Plains Miwok kąćaː (3), Northern Sierra Miwok kič:ičːiː (3), Central Sierra Miwok k'ič:ičːiː (3), Southern Sierra Miwok kič:ičː (3).

References and notes:

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

11. BREAST

Bodega Miwok ˈeːna (1) / m'ːuː (5), Lake Miwok ˈeːna # (1), Plains Miwok huyː (2), Northern Sierra Miwok nučː- # (3), Central Sierra Miwok nis'ːliː (4), Southern Sierra Miwok nisː-ːliː (4).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 71. According to [Callaghan 1970], possibly borrowed from Lake Miwok ˈeːna 'chest', but in [Callaghan 2014: 401] Bodega and Lake Miwok words are treated as cognates.Callaghan 1970: 53. Glossed as 'breast (woman or man)'. Word class: noun. We list ˈeːna and m'ːuː as technical synonyms, since the meaning of the latter is given as generic, not restricted to 'woman's breast' as in the other Miwokan languages.
Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 49. Glossed as 'chest'. The additional meaning 'breasts' is given with a question mark. Word class: noun. Distinct from mːu- (Jackson Valley), mːuː (Jackson Valley, Lockford) 'breast / nipples' [Callaghan 1984: 99]. Cf. also mːuː- 'chest' (Jackson Valley, "MW says no such word") [Callaghan 1984: 111].

12. BURN TR.

Bodega Miwok p'učːaː-ti (1), Lake Miwok hul'ilːh-nuka # (2), Plains Miwok wəkːaː- (3),
Northern Sierra Miwok \textit{wiki}- (3), Central Sierra Miwok \textit{wi:k}- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok \textit{huy-pu}- (4).

References and notes:

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

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

\textbf{Plains Miwok}: Callaghan 1984: 175. Polysemy: 'to burn / to cremate'. Word class: transitive verb. Related to \textit{w\textasciitilde{k}}- 'fire' q.v. Cf. also \textit{w\textasciitilde{lki}-} 'to burn' (Jackson Valley) [Callaghan 1984: 175].

\textbf{Northern Sierra Miwok}: Callaghan 1987: 257. Polysemy: 'to build a fire / to burn something / to burn down'. Derived from \textit{w\textasciitilde{k}}- 'fire' q.v. Cf. also \textit{\~nampu-} 'to burn' [Callaghan 1987: 263] (the only example in the dictionary is: \textit{lo\textasciitilde{e}k\textasciitilde{kik}ik\textasciitilde{e}kik\textasciitilde{e}k\textasciitilde{e}k\textasciitilde{e}m} "boiling water burned me").

\textbf{Central Sierra Miwok}: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20. Polysemy: 'to burn, trans. / to build a fire / to set on fire'. Word class: verb. Related to \textit{w\textasciitilde{k}}- 'fire' q.v.

\textbf{Southern Sierra Miwok}: Broadbent 1964: 234. Polysemy: 'to light a fire / to tend a fire / to burn, tr. / to cremate'. Word class: verb. Informants: Castro Johnson, of Mariposa; Rose Watt, of Usona; Emma Lord, of Usona. Derived from \textit{h\textasciitilde{y}u-} 'fire', q.v. Secondary synonyms: \textit{w\textasciitilde{k}i-} 'to light a fire / to burn, tr.' (informant: Chris Brown, a speaker of Yosemite dialect; related to \textit{w\textasciitilde{k}}- 'fire' in the speech of the same informant) [Broadbent 1964: 285], \textit{w\textasciitilde{l}e-\textasciitilde{n}a-} 'to burn, tr.' (with -\textit{na-} 'causative') [Broadbent 1964: 284].

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Bodega Miwok \textit{p\textasciitilde{i\textasciitilde{c}}i} (1), Lake Miwok \textit{\textasciitilde{t}}\textit{\textacute{i}} (2), Plains Miwok \textit{ti:-} \textasciitilde{t}\textit{is} (2), Northern Sierra Miwok \textit{tis\textasciitilde{i}-} (2), Southern Sierra Miwok \textit{hala\textasciitilde{e}-} (3).

References and notes:

\textbf{Bodega Miwok}: Callaghan 1970: 59. Polysemy: 'fingernail / toenail? / claws'. Word class: noun. Cf. also \textit{\~n\textasciitilde{uk}u\textasciitilde{n} p\textasciitilde{i\textasciitilde{c}}i} 'fingernail' and \textit{k\textasciitilde{e}n p\textasciitilde{i\textasciitilde{c}}i} 'toenail' [ibid.].


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

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

14. CLOUD

Bodega Miwok \textit{\textasciitilde{t}il\textasciitilde{a}w} # (1), Lake Miwok \textit{m\textasciitilde{o}lpa} (2), Plains Miwok \textit{mo\textasciitilde{l}i}- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok \textit{\~n\textasciitilde{o}pa}- (3), Central Sierra Miwok \textit{\~n\textasciitilde{o}pa}- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok \textit{\~n\textasciitilde{o}pa}- (3).
References and notes:

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

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

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

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

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

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

15. COLD

Bodega Miwok k'uči (1), Lake Miwok ʧip-muti (2), Plains Miwok tal:oli- (3), Northern Sierra Miwok talime- # (4), Central Sierra Miwok t'akime- (4), Southern Sierra Miwok hitip- (5).

References and notes:

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

**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 137. Glossed as 'to be cold (said of an object or the weather)'. Word class: semelfactive intransitive verb. Also used as the noun 'a cold' (a loan shift from English). Distinct from iːsz-wa 'to be cold (said of a person)' [ibid.].

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

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

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


16. COME


References and notes:

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

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

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

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


17. DIE

Bodega Miwok ʔulaw (1), Lake Miwok yˈo:k (2), Plains Miwok ceme:n-i- (3), Northern Sierra Miwok čamsi- (4), Central Sierra Miwok čam-ši- (4), Southern Sierra Miwok čam-h- (4).

References and notes:


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


**Northern Sierra Miwok**: Callaghan 1987: 41. Polysemy: ‘to die / to die from something’.


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

18. DOG

Bodega Miwok hayˈuːsa (1), Lake Miwok hˈayu (1), Plains Miwok cuːcu- (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok čuku- (2), Central Sierra Miwok čukˈuː- (2), Southern Sierra Miwok čukuː- (2).

References and notes:


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


**Northern Sierra Miwok**: Callaghan 1987: 49.


19. DRINK
Bodega Miwok ?’uːːu- (1), Lake Miwok ?’uːːu- (1), Plains Miwok ?’uːːu- (1), Northern Sierra Miwok ?’uːhu- (1), Central Sierra Miwok ?’uːʃu- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok ?’uːhu- (1).

References and notes:

**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 192. Word class: semelfactive transitive verb.
**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 216. Word class: transitive verb.
**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 288. The word sounds as ?’uːfu- in the speech of one of the Fiddletown informants, Birdie Burris. This is clearly an innovation, since it is said to have sounded as ?’uːhu- in the speech of her mother, Queenie Miller (see [Callaghan 1987: 7] on Callaghan’s informants). Apart from ?’uːfu- and its derivatives, the phoneme /f/ occurs only in loanwords [Callaghan 1987: 17].
**Central Sierra Miwok:** Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 23. Word class: verb.

20. DRY
Bodega Miwok l’aka # (1), Lake Miwok c’utul (2), Plains Miwok h’ew-eːna- (3), Northern Sierra Miwok h’ewe- (3), Central Sierra Miwok h’ewe- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok h’ewe-ːmuː- (3).

References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 43. Glossed as ‘to be dry’. Word class: intransitive verb. Alternative candidate: h’ewa~ h’elwa ‘to be dry’ (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1970: 18]. We tentatively choose l’aka, because the dictionary provides several examples, showing that this word can be applied to different types of objects: h’elwa l’aka ‘The blanket is dry’, l’aka k’el ‘dry grass’, l’aka ɬ’emay ‘dry wood’, w’al’i l’aka ‘It’s awfully dry’ [Callaghan 1970: 43]. Unfortunately, no examples for h’ewa~ h’elwa are given in [Callaghan 1970].
**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 16. Glossed as ‘to be dry’. Word class: intransitive verb. Secondary synonym: k’eɪ to dry up / to be dry / to go out (said of air) / to fade away (semelfactive intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 54].
**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 70. Polysemy: ‘dry / barren (land)’.
**Central Sierra Miwok:** Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 3. Polysemy: ‘dry / a dry thing’. Word class: noun. Related to the verbs h’iɛwɛ- ‘to dry meat’ and h’ɛɛwɛ- ‘to dry clothes’ [ibid.].
**Southern Sierra Miwok:** Broadbent 1964: 231. Word class: noun. Derived from h’ewɛ- ‘to dry, tr.’ with the suffix -muː- ‘predicative’ [Broadbent 1964: 121].

21. EAR
Bodega Miwok ?’alok (1), Lake Miwok ?’alok (1), Plains Miwok soːko:e- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok toːkoʊu- (3), Central Sierra Miwok t’okoʃu- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok tolkoh- (3).
References and notes:

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

22. EARTH

Bodega Miwok y'owa (1), Lake Miwok y'owa (1), Plains Miwok yotok (2), Northern Sierra Miwok wal:i- (3), Central Sierra Miwok w'ali- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok ʔołe- (4).

References and notes:


23. EAT

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

References and notes:

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 49. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb. Also functions as the noun ‘eating’.
Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 294. Polysemy: ‘to eat / to take (medicine)’. 

24. EGG

Bodega Miwok p'u:lu (1), Lake Miwok pʰakpʰak ~ p'akpak (-1), Plains Miwok we:wo- (-1),
Northern Sierra Miwok han:i- (2), Central Sierra Miwok hon:u- (2), Southern Sierra Miwok hon:u- (2).

References and notes:


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


25. EYE

Bodega Miwok š'ut (1), Lake Miwok š'ut (1), Plains Miwok welay (2), Northern Sierra Miwok si:t:i- (1), Central Sierra Miwok š'inš:i- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok hinš:i- (1).

References and notes:


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


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

26. FAT N.

Bodega Miwok m'ulaw (1), Lake Miwok š'eľ:a (2), Plains Miwok wataka- (3), Northern Sierra Miwok sim:št-i- (4), Central Sierra Miwok s'imš:i- (4), Southern Sierra Miwok sim:št-i- (4).

References and notes:

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

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


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

References and notes:


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


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

References and notes:

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

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


Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 257.


29. FISH
Bodega Miwok ʔel:e': (1), Lake Miwok k'ac (2), Plains Miwok pu:- (3), Northern Sierra Miwok lapi:say-i- (4), Southern Sierra Miwok lapi:s-ay- # (4).
References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok**: Callaghan 1970: 90. Word class: noun. Oblique stem ʔelː. Cf. ʔelːaxe ‘fish / several fish’ (noun) [ibid.].

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


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


30. **FLY V.**

Bodega Miwok ʾlːu (1), Lake Miwok ʾlːuː-ti (1), Plains Miwok silet-i- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok sileːt-i- (2), Central Sierra Miwok ʾsileːt- (2), Southern Sierra Miwok hileː-t- (2).

References and notes:

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


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


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

31. **FOOT**

Bodega Miwok kːo (1), Lake Miwok kːolo (1), Plains Miwok kolo- (1), Northern Sierra Miwok kolo- (1), Central Sierra Miwok h'atːeː- (2), Southern Sierra Miwok hateː- (2).

References and notes:


32. FULL

Bodega Miwok h'ũwa (1), Lake Miwok p'ala (2), Plains Miwok cupə (3), Northern Sierra Miwok humaʔni- (4), Southern Sierra Miwok ču:yaʔne- (5).

References and notes:

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 105. Polysemy: 'to be full (said of a barrel, etc.) / to be full (said of the moon) / to fill'. Word class: iterative intransitive and transitive verb. Cf. also p'ala 'to be full' (intransitive verb) [ibid.].
Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 27. Word class: adjective. Also functions as the transitive verb 'to fill'.
Central Sierra Miwok: Not attested in [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] and [Berman 1982].

33. GIVE

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

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 78. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb. Secondary synonym: w'aŋe 'give me' (transitive verb, occurs only in the imperative) [ibid.].
Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 151-152. Polysemy: 'to give in one installment / to grant / to share'. Word class: transitive semelfactive verb. Secondary synonym: k-taŋa 'to give / to give away / to share / to divide' (transitive semelfactive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 32]. Examples in [Callaghan 1964] and [Callaghan 1965] show that w'aŋe is the basic verb for 'to give'.
Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 186. Glossed as 'to give, present (with obj. of recipient)'. Word class: transitive verb. Another word for 'give' is ḥamci- 'to give, present (with obj. of recipient)' [Callaghan 1984: 185]. Callaghan notes that ḥamci- may be a loan from Northern Sierra Miwok ḥamci- 'to give'. Textual examples in the dictionary reveal the following pattern: ḥamci- is used with the first person recipient, ḥanti- is used with second and third person recipients. We enter both verbs as quasi-synonyms. Examples for ḥamci-: suleqit ḥamci hawlosu "Please give me the arrow" [Callaghan 1984: 33], suleqit ḥamci hawlosu "Please give me an arrow" (Lockford) [Callaghan 1984: 137], suleqit ḥamci paŋ (or paŋsi) "Please give me some bread" (Lockford) [Callaghan 1984: 137], suleqit ḥamci kiksi "Please give me water" [Callaghan 1984: 185], ḥamci lacy hawlosu! "Give me another arrow!" (Jackson Valley) [Callaghan 1984: 188]. Examples for ḥanti-: ḥanti hawlCY ʔikoc "I'm giving them beads" [Callaghan 1984: 49, 186, 199-200], ḥantim nekoc hawlosu "I'm giving them beads" [Callaghan 1984: 106], ḥantiszmah ʔaci tumasiyi "I'm going to give you this wood" [Callaghan 1984: 106], ḥantik numeh kiksi "Give him more water" [Callaghan 1984: 111], kawʔ ḥantiscim lacy "I'm going to give him some more" [Callaghan 1984: 186], ḥantik kiksi "Give it more water!" [Callaghan 1984: 186], ḥantim sauweis tumasiyi "I'm giving the man a stick" [Callaghan 1984: 186], kawʔ ḥantiscim lacy kiksi "I'm going to give him some more water" [Callaghan 1984: 188]. It is worth noting that in Northern Sierra Miwok the verb ḥamci- is used irrespective of the recipient's person (see examples in [Callaghan 1987: 263-264]). Callaghan 1984: 185. Glossed as 'to give, present (with obj. of recipient)'. Word class: transitive verb.
Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 263. Polysemy: 'to give (with instrumental of object) / to prescribe'. A second candidate is:
welka- 'to give / to get something for someone' [Callaghan 1987: 250].

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

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

34. GOOD

Bodega Miwok ʔoˈwi(h) (1), Lake Miwok ʔemˈe-ne (2), Plains Miwok welwel (3), Northern Sierra Miwok kuči- (4), Central Sierra Miwok kučiː- (4), Southern Sierra Miwok čičiː- (5).

References and notes:

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

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


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


35. GREEN

Bodega Miwok šiˈl(ː)ːtːa # (1), Lake Miwok šiˈwːiː-šiˈwi (2), Plains Miwok cιtː- (3), Northern Sierra Miwok čoːki- (4), Central Sierra Miwok čičːiː- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok čič-ːiː- (3).

References and notes:


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


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

36. HAIR
Bodega Miwok m'olu (1), Lake Miwok ṣ'apa (2), Plains Miwok tolo- (3), Northern Sierra Miwok hanːa- (4), Central Sierra Miwok yuše- (5), Southern Sierra Miwok hisok- (6).

References and notes:

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

37. HAND

References and notes:


38. HEAD
Bodega Miwok m'olu (1), Lake Miwok c'anaː (2), Plains Miwok tolo- (3), Northern Sierra Miwok hanːa- (4), Central Sierra Miwok h'anːa- (4), Southern Sierra Miwok hukːu- (5).
References and notes:

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

39. HEAR
Bodega Miwok ʔalu (1), Lake Miwok ʔalu (1), Plains Miwok helme- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok tolo:y-u- (3), Central Sierra Miwok tel'ey- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok ʔalː- (1).

References and notes:


40. HEART
Bodega Miwok w'uški (1), Lake Miwok c'id:idik (-1), Plains Miwok wəški- (1), Northern Sierra Miwok wisiki- (1), Central Sierra Miwok wiški- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok wiihki- (1).

References and notes:


41. HORN
Bodega Miwok k’il:i (1), Lake Miwok k’il:i (1), Plains Miwok k’lli- (1), Northern Sierra Miwok k’il:i- (1), Central Sierra Miwok k’il:i- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok k’il:i- (1).

References and notes:


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

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

**Northern Sierra Miwok**: Callaghan 1987: 112.

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

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

42. I

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

References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok**: Callaghan 1970: 34. Glossed as ‘I, me’. Word class: independent pronoun. The alternant k’ani is rare. Comitative case k’an:ni, instrumental case k’an:qu, allative case k’an:iw.


**Northern Sierra Miwok**: Callaghan 1987: 104.

**Central Sierra Miwok**: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 7. Objective case k’an:i-y, possessive case k’an:i-η, locative case k’an:i-t, ablative case k’an:i-nci [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 6].


43. KILL


References and notes:


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


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


**Southern Sierra Miwok**: Broadbent 1964: 240. Word class: verb.
44. KNEE
Bodega Miwok *m'owi* (1), Lake Miwok *t'ok'ol:u* (2), Plains Miwok *h:nowy* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *h:nowy-u-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *h:nowyu-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *h:nowy-* (3).

References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 52. Word class: noun.
**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 146. Word class: noun. Cf. Eastern Pomo *q'uul* 'knee'.
**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 78.
**Central Sierra Miwok:** Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 4. Word class: noun. Cf. *h:ny:to-* 'to kneel', *h:ny:*a-* 'to hit with the knee' [ibid.].
**Southern Sierra Miwok**:

45. KNOW
Bodega Miwok *pičah* (1), Lake Miwok *n'eu:nuť* (2), Plains Miwok *ʔekuta:ʔe-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *h'i:ʔi-ksi-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *h'i:ʔi-ki-* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *h'i:ʔi-ksi-* (4).

References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 59. Word class: intransitive and transitive verb.
**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 101. Polysemy: 'to care / to care about something / to know / to know how / to learn'. Word class: iterative intransitive and transitive verb. Cf. *holti* 'to not know / to not understand / to not be able to do something' (transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 39].
**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 86. Polysemy: 'to know (a person) / to know something / to believe / to understand / ought to know'. A form peculiar to Fiddletown dialect. Camanche dialect has *h'i:ki-ksi-* 'to know (a person)' [Callaghan 1987: 90]. Cf. also *nu:ct-u- to know (be acquainted with) [Callaghan 1987: 165].
**Southern Sierra Miwok:** Broadbent 1964: 237. Glossed as 'to know a person or thing'. Word class: verb. Morphological analysis: *h'i:ři-* 'clever' [ibid.], verbal suffix -ksi- 'continuative' [Broadbent 1964: 70]. Secondary synonyms: *tılı:š-* 'to know, to be clear in one's mind about a thing / to remember something', *tılı:ki-č-* 'to know' [Broadbent 1964: 280], *nu:ct-š- 'to know a person / to recognize / to be able to tell if...' [Broadbent 1964: 260]. Many textual attestations in [Broadbent 1964] show that *h'i:ři-ksi-* is the main verb for 'to know'.

46. LEAF
Bodega Miwok *koli* (1), Lake Miwok *ša:nim* (2), Plains Miwok *pate-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *tata* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *tata* (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *tata* (4).

References and notes:

**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 120. Polysemy: 'leaf / petal'. Word class: noun.
**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 115. Word class: noun.
**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 211.
**Southern Sierra Miwok:** Broadbent 1964: 272. Word class: noun.

47. LIE
Bodega Miwok *hake-na* (1), Lake Miwok *cäte* (2), Plains Miwok *tītel-icī-* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *yaŋa-čī-* (4), Central Sierra Miwok *m'āl-čī-* (5), Southern Sierra Miwok *yaŋa-čī-* (4).

References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 17. Word class: intransitive verb. Derived from *hakeh* 'to lie down' (intransitive verb).
**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 13. Polysemy: 'to lie (a road) / to lie down (said of a person or an animal)'. Word class: semelfactive intransitive and transitive verb (with object of place). Cf. iterative transitive verb *cäte* 'to lie down several times / to be lying down (said of several people)' [ibid.]. Distinct from a number of verbs for lying in different positions: *mēkah* 'to sit on (said of a bug) / to bore into (like a tick) / to hang one's head down to think / to lie down, face down / to bow' (intransitive semelfactive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 92], *nētuh* 'to lie down, belly down' (intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 93], *tikah* 'to lie on one's back / to fall onto one's back' (intransitive semelfactive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 132], *c'ud'udi* 'to lie on one's side' (borrowed from Hill Patwin *c'učuro* 'to be on one's side') [Callaghan 1965: 239].
**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 166. Polysemy: 'to be lying down / to set (bird)'. Word class: static intransitive verb. A form of Jackson Valley dialect. Lockford dialect has *tītel-icī*.- Morphological analysis: *tītel-* stem (cf. intransitive verb *tītel-*: 'to lie down (action)' [Callaghan 1984: 165]), *-icī* (-Yc-Yc in Callaghan's morphophonological notation) static suffix [Callaghan 1984: 224].
**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 94. Polysemy: 'to lie down / to be lying down'. Derived from the same root as *yaŋe*.- 'to go to sleep / to be sleeping / to doze'.
**Central Sierra Miwok:** Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 10. Glossed as 'to lie down'. Word class: verb. This is a West Central dialect form. East Central dialect form: *maččel-* 'to lie down' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 10].

48. LIVER
Bodega Miwok *kula* (1), Lake Miwok *kula* (1), Plains Miwok *kila-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *kila*- (1), Central Sierra Miwok *kila*- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *kila*- (1).
References and notes:

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

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

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

**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 123.

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

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

49. LONG

Bodega Miwok k’eːw (1), Lake Miwok ʔedʼak (2), Plains Miwok kacːa- (3), Northern Sierra Miwok hilawaː- (4), Central Sierra Miwok ʔotːoː- (5), Southern Sierra Miwok wilːaːf- (6).

References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 35. Polysemy: ‘to be tall / to be long’. Word class: intransitive verb. Examples: k’eːw mːolu ‘long hair’, k’eːw pʰiyih ‘tall mountain’, k’eːw pʰiyih ‘tall man’ [ibid.]. Variant: k’awal ‘to be tall’ (intransitive verb) [ibid.].

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


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

**Central Sierra Miwok:** Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 17. Word class: noun. Cf. ʔotːoː- ‘far / a long way’ [ibid.].

**Southern Sierra Miwok:** Broadbent 1964: 283. Word class: noun. Cf. also wilːaːf- ‘tall / long’ [ibid.].

50. LOUSE

Bodega Miwok k’eːt (1), Lake Miwok k’eːt (1), Plains Miwok k’eːn (1), Northern Sierra Miwok k’eːi- (1), Central Sierra Miwok k’eːi- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok k’eːu- (1).

References and notes:


**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 60. Glossed as ‘head louse’. Word class: noun. Distinct from c’uːpse ‘body louse / bird louse’ [Callaghan 1965: 16].


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

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


51. MAN
Bodega Miwok \(t'ayih\) (1), Lake Miwok \(t'ayh\) (1), Plains Miwok \(saweh\) (2), Northern Sierra Miwok \(naŋ'qa\)– (3), Central Sierra Miwok \(n'aŋ'qa\)– (3), Southern Sierra Miwok \(naŋ'qa\)– (3).

References and notes:


52. **MANY**

Bodega Miwok \(?uni\) (1), Lake Miwok \(c'ane\) (2), Plains Miwok \(heni\)– (3), Northern Sierra Miwok \(waŋa\)– # (4), Central Sierra Miwok \(?iːt:i\)– (5), Southern Sierra Miwok \(?iːt:i\)– (5).

References and notes:

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


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


53. **MEAT**

Bodega Miwok \(čoy'eko\) (1), Lake Miwok \(š'uki\) (2), Plains Miwok \(huku\)– (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok \(ćiːci\)– (3), Central Sierra Miwok \(pičema\)– (4), Southern Sierra Miwok \(mičema\)– (4).

References and notes:


**Plains Miwok**: Callaghan 1984: 49. Word class: noun. The word is used only in Jackson Valley dialect. In Lockford dialect the word \(ʔumca\)– ‘meat’ is used instead [Callaghan 1984: 219]. \(huku\)– is probably borrowed from Northern Sierra Miwok (Camanche dialect) \(huku\)– ‘meat’ [Callaghan 1987: 80].

**Northern Sierra Miwok**: Callaghan 1987: 46. Glossed as ‘meat (any kind)’. This word is peculiar to Fiddletown dialect. Other
dialects (Camanche and Ione) use another word for ‘meat’: ʰulcu-[Callaghan 1987: 80]. Cf. also ʰिइcu- ‘wild meat’ (only in Fiddletown dialect) [Callaghan 1987: 150].


54. MOON

Bodega Miwok pulːuːluk ~ pulːuːluk (1), Lake Miwok kom’eː-nawa (2), Plains Miwok komeː- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok komeː- (2), Central Sierra Miwok kom’eː- (2), Southern Sierra Miwok komeː- (2).

References and notes:


55. MOUNTAIN

Bodega Miwok pʰayih (1), Lake Miwok pʰawih (1), Plains Miwok wepaː- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok luːpay-iː- (3), Central Sierra Miwok len’eː- (4), Southern Sierra Miwok lemeː- (4).

References and notes:


56. MOUTH

Bodega Miwok ʔakum (1), Lake Miwok ʔupə (2), Plains Miwok lupeː- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok ʔawoː- (3), Central Sierra Miwok ʔawoː- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok ʔawoː- ~ ʔowə-
(3).

References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 43. Word class: noun.
**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 82. Polysemy: 'mouth / barrel of a gun'. Word class: noun.
**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 88. Word class: noun.
**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 267.

57. NAME


References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 88. Word class: noun. This word is more likely borrowed from Wappo y'awə 'name' than cognate to the Eastern Miwok word for 'name'.
**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 74. Word class: noun. Also functions as the semelfactive transitive verb 'to name'. Related to l'akaʔ 'to call / to name / to baptize' (semelfactive transitive verb) [ibid.].
**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 211. Word class: noun. Derived from ?owə- 'to name / to call someone (names)' [ibid.].
**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 279. Derived from ?oyə- 'to name'.

58. NECK

Bodega Miwok hel'e:ke ~ hel'e:ke (1), Lake Miwok hel'e:ki (1), Plains Miwok to:pa- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok to:pa- (2), Central Sierra Miwok n'o:no- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok hip:i:t:-a- (4).

References and notes:

**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 220. Glossed as 'nape, back part of neck'. Distinct from ?ok'ol:əlo: 'throat / neck (front part) / alimentary canal, gullet' [Callaghan 1987: 218]. There is no word for 'neck' as a whole in the dictionary.


59. NEW

Bodega Miwok ʔ'sʰukʰu (1), Lake Miwok ʔsukʰu: (1), Plains Miwok wenmi- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok ?iwin-ni-me- (4).

References and notes:

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


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


60. NIGHT

Bodega Miwok kʰawul (1), Lake Miwok kʰawul (1), Plains Miwok kawil (1), Northern Sierra Miwok kawil-i- (1), Central Sierra Miwok kawil-i- ~ kawil:i- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok kawil:i- (1).

References and notes:


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


61. NOSE
Bodega Miwok *h'uck* (1), Lake Miwok *h'uk* (1), Plains Miwok *huck* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *huku*- (1), Central Sierra Miwok *nito*- (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *nito*- (2).

References and notes:

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


**Central Sierra Miwok**: Berman 1982: 126. Word class: noun. Cited (apparently erroneously) as *nito*- [Berman 1982: 126]. Berman's informant John Kelly pronounced this word as *nito*-


62. NOT

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

References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok**: Callaghan 1970: 17. Polysemy: 'no / not (clause initial)'. Word class: particle. Opposed to *h'ela* 'not' (clause non-initial). The two particles can co-occur: *k'at'awuh ka ʔuhʔupa, h'ama h'ela ʔupa nih wəpətu* 'I thought it was raining, but it isn't raining yet' [ibid.]. We list both particles as synonyms [Callaghan 1984: 67]. Glossed as 'not (clause non-initial)'. Word class: particle.

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

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

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

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

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

63. ONE

Bodega Miwok *k'ence* (1), Lake Miwok *k'ence* (1), Plains Miwok *kenati*- (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *lut:i*- (2), Central Sierra Miwok *k'ence*- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *k'ence*- (1).
References and notes:

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 140. Polysemy: 'single (body part) / one / one (of them) / a certain'.

64. PERSON

Bodega Miwok mi'iča (1), Lake Miwok k'occa (2), Plains Miwok miw # (3), Northern Sierra Miwok miw:i- (3), Central Sierra Miwok m'iw:i- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok miw:i- (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 49. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to rain'.
Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 95. Glossed as 'Indian'. Word class: noun. Related to the verb ho'ma- 'to rain' [ibid.].

65. RAIN

Bodega Miwok ?'up:a (1), Lake Miwok ?'upa (1), Plains Miwok ho'ma- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok nika- (3), Central Sierra Miwok n'ika- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok nika- (3).

References and notes:

Bodega Miwok: Callaghan 1970: 100. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to rain'.
Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 195. Polysemy: 'rain / a shower'. Word class: noun. Also functions as the intransitive verb 'to rain'.
Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 47. Word class: noun. Related to the verb ho'ma- 'to rain' [ibid.].
Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 170. The verb 'to rain' has the same stem as the noun: nika-.
Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 261. Word class: noun. The verb 'to rain' has the same stem: nika- [ibid.].

66. RED

Bodega Miwok k'ič:-ulu (1), Lake Miwok ?aw'a:-?awa (2), Plains Miwok wet-e?te- (3),
Northern Sierra Miwok *wet-eti*- (3), Central Sierra Miwok *yol-oki*- (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *yoč-oči*- (5).

References and notes:

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

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

**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 172. Word class: adjective. Contains the adjectival suffix -*VCi*- 'color formative' [Callaghan 1984: 226].

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

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

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

67. ROAD

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

References and notes:


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

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

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


68. ROOT

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

References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 27. Word class: noun. Examples: *koken h'uku* 'grass root', *taluan h'uku* 'tree root' [ibid.].

**Lake Miwok:** Callaghan 1965: 130. Word class: noun. Southern Pomo *sul'en* 'root' is apparently borrowed from Lake Miwok.


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

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

**Southern Sierra Miwok:** Broadbent 1964: 284. Word class: noun.
69. ROUND
Bodega Miwok *p'olo* (1), Lake Miwok *p'owolo* (1), Plains Miwok *wōla* - (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *hup[e-te]-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *haʔata*- (3).

References and notes:

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


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


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

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

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

References and notes:


**Northern Sierra Miwok**: Callaghan 1987: 253.

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

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

71. SAY
Bodega Miwok *ʔona* (1), Lake Miwok *hɪnte #* (2), Plains Miwok *kac:i- #* (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *kač:i-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *k'ac:i-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *kač:-* (3).

References and notes:


**Lake Miwok**: Callaghan 1965: 34. Polysemy: 'to do, in the most general sense / to be a certain way / to gather / to fix up / to say / to think'. In the case of the first two meanings, the specific action or state of being is often mentioned in the following sentence [ibid.].
Word class: intransitive and transitive verb. Examples: *de'eka katu hin'te ʔaye kah'i:ci / I thought you said three*; *ki:l'kon kelac mi'ak'atsu ʔa't'o:q'itʉ w'ic'ta hin'te* 'The old people used to talk (ʔa't'o:q'itʉ) like that, they said (hin'te)' [ibid.]; *kan' ʔaye k'ilka kam'ak'asən ˈenə katu konh'inte* 'But me, I can't do that, they say' [Callaghan 1965: 59]. Distinct from direct quotative particle *ka* [Callaghan 1965: 58]; *weno ~ weno* 'they say / That's what I heard / it is said' (quotative particle) [Callaghan 1965: 159]. Alternative candidates: *h'ic'nih* 'to think something is so, especially when it is not / to mean what one has said / to say, tell / to show' (semelfactive intransitive and transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 45]; *ʔeləw* 'to say / to tell / to describe / to tell on or about someone' (iterative intransitive and transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 78]; *ʔɛ:xən* 'to speak, talk / to make a speech / to make the characteristic sound (said of an animal) / to progress (in an interview) / to say / to talk about' (semelfactive intransitive and transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 168].

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

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

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


72. SEE

Bodega Miwok *ʔute* (1), Lake Miwok *ʔute* (1), Plains Miwok *ci:sɨ*- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *hẹtɛy-i*- (3), Central Sierra Miwok *šiy-ɲe*- (4), Southern Sierra Miwok *hɪy-ɲe*- (4).

References and notes:


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


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


73. SEE

Bodega Miwok *sim:ɬi ya*- (-1), Lake Miwok *ʔe:ce*- (1), Plains Miwok *sim:ɬi ya*- (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok *hoto*- (2), Central Sierra Miwok *sim:ɬi ya- ~ sim:ɬi ya-* (-1), Southern Sierra Miwok *sim:ɬi ya*- (-1).
References and notes:

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

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

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

**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 79. Polysemy: 'seed (generic) / pits'. Secondary synonym: *simːiyːa* 'seed' (borrowed from Spanish *semilla* 'seed') [Callaghan 1987: 198].

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

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

74. SIT

**Bodega Miwok** *wətɛh* (1), **Lake Miwok** *həwɔ* (2), **Plains Miwok** *həʔːaːχɔː* # (3), **Northern Sierra Miwok** *huŋːučːu*- (4), **Central Sierra Miwok** *təʔːučːu*- (5), **Southern Sierra Miwok** *təʔːućː-* (5).

References and notes:

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

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

**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 42. Polysemy: 'to be sitting / to be sitting down / to be sitting around'. Word class: stative intransitive verb. Contains static verbal suffix *-ˑiːcht⁶* (in Callaghan's morphonological notation) [Callaghan 1984: 224]. Alternative candidates: *hɪːʔ-‘to sit’* (intransitive verb; same root as in *həʔːaːχɔː-*; not recognized by Mabel Walloupe, a speaker of Lockford dialect) [Callaghan 1984: 42], *kəʔːaːχɔː* 'to sit down / sitting down / to be sitting / to sit around' (stative intransitive verb; "Same as *həʔːaːχɔː-") [Callaghan 1984: 69], *toʔːuχːu-* 'to be sitting down' (stative intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1984: 160].

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


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

75. SKIN

**Bodega Miwok** *šəlʊk* (1), **Lake Miwok** *šəlʊk* (1), **Plains Miwok** *talka-* (2), **Northern Sierra Miwok** *pičːeːta-* # (3), **Central Sierra Miwok** *təlːeːčːa*- (4), **Southern Sierra Miwok** *nikhə-* (5).

References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 69. Word class: noun. Apparently related to *šəluk* 'to skin' (transitive verb), *šəlʊk* 'to skin' (transitive verb) [ibid.].
Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 128. Polysemy: ‘the skin of an animal, fruit, or fish / shell / outer covering’. Word class: noun. Cf. ʕulih ‘to shed, peel off’ (semelfactive intransitive verb) [ibid.].


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


76. SLEEP

Bodega Miwok ʔeːč (1), Lake Miwok ʔeːc (1), Plains Miwok ʔeːci- (1), Northern Sierra Miwok yːnːeː- (2), Central Sierra Miwok t’iːye- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok tːiye- (3).

References and notes:


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

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 94. Polysemy: ‘to go to sleep / to be sleeping / to doze’. Derived from the same root as yːnːaːčːi- ‘to lie down / to be lying down’.


77. SMALL

Bodega Miwok ʔumːuːčːe (1), Lake Miwok k’uːčːi ~ k’uːci (1), Plains Miwok ʔiti-ːti- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok ʔiːčːipi-ːti- (3), Central Sierra Miwok t’uːni- (4), Southern Sierra Miwok čiːniːpi- ~ čiːniːmi- (5).

References and notes:


Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 72-73. Polysemy: ‘to be small / to be weak (said of a voice) / to be narrow’. Word class: semelfactive intransitive verb. Also functions as the noun ‘a little bit’. Borrowed from Patwin k’uːči ‘small’ (this word has a Wintun etymology); cf. also Southeastern Pomo k’uːčːi-n ‘small’, apparently borrowed from the same source. Cf. also k’uːčːuːy = kuc’uːy ‘to be small (said of several things)’ (iterative intransitive verb), borrowed from Cache Creek Patwin kuːcy ‘small’ [Callaghan 1965: 73] and k’uːci ‘to be small’ (intransitive verb) [ibid.].
78. SMOKE

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

References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 32. Glossed as 'smoke (from a fire or cigarette)'. Word class: noun. Also functions as the verb 'to be smoking (from a fire)'.

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


**Northern Sierra Miwok:** Callaghan 1987: 56. Glossed as 'smoke from fire / cigarette smoke'. Derived from *hakis-i-* 'to smoke (of fire or stick)'.

**Central Sierra Miwok:** Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 2. Word class: noun. Related to *hakis-* 'to smoke' and *h'akis-* 'to smoke, of a fire' [ibid.].

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

79. STAND

Bodega Miwok *t'alah* (1), Lake Miwok *t'alah* (1), Plains Miwok *kuna-* # (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *hač-iči-* (3), Central Sierra Miwok *h'ač-iči-* ~ *h'ač-iči-* (3), Southern Sierra Miwok *hači-či-* (3).

References and notes:

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

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

**Plains Miwok:** Callaghan 1984: 77-78. Polysemy: 'to be standing / to land (bird)?'. Word class: intransitive verb. Alternative
candidates: kun-ːucu- 'to be standing / to be still (water)' (stative intransitive verb; same root as in kun-ːay) [Callaghan 1984: 78],
til-ːuka- 'to be standing (water) / to stand still' (stative intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1984: 154].

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


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

80. **STAR**

Bodega Miwok hiːti (1), Lake Miwok ṭoʔle (2), Plains Miwok hokokː-ay (3), Northern Sierra Miwok hosokonaː ~ hosokenaː (4), Central Sierra Miwok h'osokonaː (4), Southern Sierra Miwok čalaːtuː (5).

References and notes:

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

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

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

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

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

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

81. **STONE**

Bodega Miwok l'upu(h) (1), Lake Miwok l'upu (1), Plains Miwok sowaː (2), Northern Sierra Miwok sawaː (2), Central Sierra Miwok šaw'ɑː (2), Southern Sierra Miwok hawaː (2).

References and notes:

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


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

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

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

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

82. **SUN**

Bodega Miwok hiː (1), Lake Miwok hiː (1), Plains Miwok hiː (1), Northern Sierra Miwok
hiʔema- (1), Central Sierra Miwok hiʔema- # (1), Southern Sierra Miwok waʔu- (2).

References and notes:

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 74. Polysemy: 'sun / light (daylight) / day'.
Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 3. Polysemy: 'day / sun'. Word class: noun. Related to hiʔema- 'to be sunny / to come out (of the sun) / to pay a visit in the daytime', hiʔe- 'sunny / a sunny place' [ibid.]. Alternative candidate: waʔi- 'sun' [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 20]. Although [Freeland & Broadbent 1960] give no dialect identification for these words (thus they both must be West Central or pan-Central), we may note that the only attested textual occurrence of hiʔema- 'sun' is in the text "Shaman and Clown" (West Central dialect) [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 66], whereas waʔi- 'sun' appears only in the East Central dialect texts (informant Lena Cox) [Berman 1982, text VIII, 14; text IX, 1, 5, 11, 13, 14].

83. SWIM


References and notes:

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 198. Polysemy 'to swim (Jackson Valley) / to bathe (Lockford)'. Word class: intransitive verb. Cf. ?apa:- 'to dog-paddle / to swim (Lockford)' [Callaghan 1984: 192]. ?apsa- is also attested in the meaning 'to swim' in the Lockford dialect, cf. the following example: nucan husiši=kanciʔapsaxim 'If I stay here I'll swim' (Lockford) [Callaghan 1984: 217].
Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 292. Polysemy: 'to swim / to bathe / to take a shower / to swim across'.

84. TAIL

Bodega Miwok kəl:a (-1), Lake Miwok kək- (1), Plains Miwok kəl:a- ~ kəl:a- (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok suki- (2), Central Sierra Miwok šu:kı- (2), Southern Sierra Miwok huckı- (2).

References and notes:


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


85. THAT$_1$

Bodega Miwok *n'ọ-š* (1), Lake Miwok *d'ọ* (1), Plains Miwok *no-* (1), Northern Sierra Miwok *no-* (1), Central Sierra Miwok *no-* (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔi-* (2).

References and notes:

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

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


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

85. THAT$_2$

Plains Miwok *ʔi-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔi-kaḥ* (2).

References and notes:

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

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

86. THIS

Bodega Miwok *n'i-š* (1), Lake Miwok *n'ē:* (1), Plains Miwok *ne-* (1), Northern Sierra
Miwok neː-kah (1), Central Sierra Miwok ne- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok neː- (1).

References and notes:

**Bodega Miwok:** Callaghan 1970: 55. Word class: attributive independent pronoun. Examples: nɪː kəː 'this house', nɪː ṭonɛː 'this winter'. Derived from nːːiː 'this / here' (independent pronoun) [ibid.] with the demonstrative adjective suffix -ɛ [Callaghan 1970: 65]. Another candidate with the same root is nːːiː 'this' (attributive independent pronoun; example: nːːiː ṭɛŋyu 'this year') [ibid.]. Cf. also demonstrative nominal prefix ṭː- 'this / the' [Callaghan 1970: 92], translated both as 'this' and 'that' in example sentences.

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

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

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

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

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

87. **THOU**

**Bodega Miwok** mːiː (1), **Lake Miwok** mːiː (1), **Plains Miwok** mːiː- (1), **Northern Sierra Miwok** mːiː- (1), **Central Sierra Miwok** mːiːʔ (1), **Southern Sierra Miwok** mːiː- (1).

References and notes:


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

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


**Central Sierra Miwok:** Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 11. Objective case: mːiːni-y, possessive case mːiːni-ŋ, locative case mːiːni-ŋ, ablative case mːiːni-ŋ. [ibid.]


87. **THOU**

**Plains Miwok** ʔiːni- (2).

References and notes:


88. **TONGUE**

**Bodega Miwok** lenːepːi (1), **Lake Miwok** leːjːip (1), **Plains Miwok** nepːit (2), **Northern Sierra Miwok** nepːitːi- (2), **Central Sierra Miwok** nːepːiːti- (2), **Southern Sierra Miwok**
nep:iṭ- (2).

References and notes:

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

89. TOOTH

Bodega Miwok k'uṭ (1), Lake Miwok k'uṭ (1), Plains Miwok kaxt (1), Northern Sierra Miwok kit:į- (1), Central Sierra Miwok kit:į- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok kit:į- (1).

References and notes:


90. TREE


References and notes:

Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 183. Polysemy: 'tree / vine'. The variant ?alawah is used in both Jackson Valley and Lockford dialects, the variant ?alawah is attested only in Lockford.
Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 131. Polysemy: 'stick / tree, particularly a young tree still in the process of growing'. In Camanche dialect, opposed to yamala- 'old tree (growth complete)' [Callaghan 1987: 92].

91. TWO

References and notes:

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

92. WALK (GO)

Bodega Miwok w'a: (1), Lake Miwok w'e-ṭa (1), Plains Miwok mikey-i- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok wi-kši- # (1), Central Sierra Miwok wi-kši- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok wi-ks- (1).

References and notes:

Lake Miwok: Callaghan 1965: 156. Polysemy: 'to go (usually with locative of place) / to go through (with object of place) / to go along (with object of place) / to pass (said of time) / to be doing something (with instr. of verb) / to become (with instr.).' Word class: semelfactive intransitive and transitive verb. Cf. w'e: 'go, go on' (particle), w'e-ṇu: 'to take or drive someone' (causative transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 155]. Distinct from w'e-ṇy 'to walk' (semelfactive intransitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 159]. Secondary synonym: ṭukan 'to go in / to go / to enter' (semelfactive intransitive verb with locative of place and semelfactive transitive verb) [Callaghan 1965: 191].
Plains Miwok: Callaghan 1984: 100. Glossed as 'to go'. Word class: intransitive verb. Variant: mekey-i- (given by Callaghan with a question mark). Secondary synonyms: ḥaci- 'to go' (intransitive verb; 'same as w'Ịy- and mykej-y-') [Callaghan 1984: 34]; witi- 'to leave' (intransitive verb; glossed both as 'to leave' and 'to go' in the English - Plains Miwok section of the dictionary) [Callaghan 1984: 179, 253, 263]. Textual examples show that mekey-i- is the main word for 'to go'.
Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 257. Polysemy: 'to go / to go through / to lead (road) / to leave'. Other candidates include w'i- 'to go' (defective) [Callaghan 1987: 258] and ye-ṇu: 'to go / to turn' [Callaghan 1987: 96]. Cf. also mikey-i- 'to go' (only Camanche dialect) [Callaghan 1987: 157].
Southern Sierra Miwok: Broadbent 1964: 284. Glossed as 'to go'. Word class: verb. Secondary synonym: wi- 'to go' (irregular and
defective verb: stems 3 and 4 are absent, present imperfect forms are found only with first person pronominal suffixes) [Broadbent 1964: 38, 61-62, 285]. According to [Broadbent 1964: 38], the more usual form meaning "to go" is wi-ks-.

93. WARM (HOT)


References and notes:

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

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


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


94. WATER

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

References and notes:


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


**Northern Sierra Miwok**: Callaghan 1987: 112.


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

95. WE

Bodega Miwok m'a:-ko (1), Lake Miwok m'a: (1), Plains Miwok mas:i- (1), Northern Sierra Miwok mas:i- (1), Central Sierra Miwok mas:i- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok maki: (1).
References and notes:


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


**Central Sierra Miwok**: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 10. Glossed as ‘we (exclusive)’. Objective case: mašič-y, possessive case maši-ŋ, locative case mašič-t, ablative case mašič-nu [ibid.].

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

95. WE₂

Plains Miwok ʔici- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok ʔičiči- (2), Central Sierra Miwok ʔotičičik (3), Southern Sierra Miwok ʔotitici- (3).

References and notes:

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

**Northern Sierra Miwok**: Callaghan 1987: 275. Glossed as ‘we two inclusive’.

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


96. WHAT

Bodega Miwok h’inţi (1), Lake Miwok h’inţi ~ hinţi (1), Plains Miwok hiti- (1), Northern Sierra Miwok ʔin:i- (2), Central Sierra Miwok ʔin:i- (2), Southern Sierra Miwok ʔin:i- (2).

References and notes:


97. WHITE

References and notes:


98. WHO
Bodega Miwok m’anţi (1), Lake Miwok m’anţi (1), Plains Miwok manti- (1), Northern Sierra Miwok mana- (1), Central Sierra Miwok man’a- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok mana- (1).

References and notes:


99. WOMAN
References and notes:


100. YELLOW


References and notes:


101. FAR

Bodega Miwok ʔenak (1), Lake Miwok ʔed’ak (1), Plains Miwok tot:o- (2), Northern Sierra Miwok tot:o? # (2), Central Sierra Miwok ʔot:o- # (2), Southern Sierra Miwok kot-ta-n (3).
References and notes:


Central Sierra Miwok: Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 17. Polysemy: ‘far / a long way’. Word class: noun. Alternative candidates: koko- (adverb) ‘distant / far / the other side’ [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 7], koko- (adverb) ‘beyond / distant / far / other side’ [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 8]. The number of attested textual occurrences of these words is too small to determine which of them is the basic word for ‘far’. Cl.: ‘It is almost dark when he appears again, coming from far away (ʔokoʔ)’ [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 56, 58], “[A man who is a Poisoner] must live far away (ʔokoʔ) from everyone” [Freeland & Broadbent 1960: 65], “Get as far away from here as you can”, lit. “Far-away (kokoʔ) go-thou-hence!” [Berman 1982, text VII, 25] (all cited texts are in West Central dialect).

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

102. HEAVY

Bodega Miwok h'ete (1), Lake Miwok ʔiːwak (2), Plains Miwok ?oʔʔ:\=a (3), Northern Sierra Miwok lew-te-ti- (4), Central Sierra Miwok l'ewteť- (4), Southern Sierra Miwok leweť-a- (4).

References and notes:


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

Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 131. Glossed as ‘heavy (said of something one is carrying)’. Cl. lewteť- ‘heavy (said of something on a person)’ [ibid.].


103. NEAR

Bodega Miwok h'awen # (1), Lake Miwok y'ole (2), Plains Miwok haye- (1), Northern Sierra Miwok haye- (1), Central Sierra Miwok h'ayeť (1), Southern Sierra Miwok haye- (1).

References and notes:


Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 55. Polysemy: 'to touch (tr. verb) / near (noun)'.


104. SALT

Bodega Miwok *koyeo* (1), Lake Miwok *koyeo* (1), Plains Miwok *ʔaweh* (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok *koyeo- (1), Southern Sierra Miwok *koyeo- (1).

References and notes:

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

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

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


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


105. SHORT

Bodega Miwok *tōn'ū-ku* (1), Lake Miwok *cōt'ōxy* (-1), Plains Miwok *capu- (-1), Northern Sierra Miwok *čapu-či- ~ čapu-či- (-1), Southern Sierra Miwok *hul:wi- # (2).

References and notes:


Northern Sierra Miwok: Callaghan 1987: 42. Polysemy: 'short / low (house)'. Borrowed from Mexican Spanish *chapo 'a short, stout person*. Examples include 'low house', 'short stick', 'short road', 'short man' and 'short dress'. Other candidates: 1) *haye-t-ğ 'short / close* (adj. and noun), e.g. in *'short road' [Callaghan 1987: 56]; 2) *čenani-ı 'short (adj.) / midget (noun) [Callaghan 1987: 272]. The latter meaning is secondary: Camanche dialect has *čenaniń neknekčiši 'Midget (a mythological character)', literally 'Short Midget' [Callaghan 1987: 164].

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

106. SNAKE

Bodega Miwok w'akalay (1), Lake Miwok p"odway (1), Plains Miwok wilo (2), Northern Sierra Miwok le:pa:-ti- (3), Southern Sierra Miwok ?iči- (4).

References and notes:


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


107. THIN

Bodega Miwok fɨnu (1), Lake Miwok šul-:lum (1), Plains Miwok pi:nu- (1), Northern Sierra Miwok ti:šela- (2), Central Sierra Miwok s'es-i- # (3), Southern Sierra Miwok τa:ša-:a- (4).

References and notes:

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

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


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

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


108. WIND
Bodega Miwok *kiwel* (1), Lake Miwok *h'ena* (2), Plains Miwok *wol:li*- (3), Northern Sierra Miwok *henis-a-* (2), Central Sierra Miwok *hen'a-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *kan:im-a-* # (4).

References and notes:

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

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

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

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


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

109. WORM

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

References and notes:


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

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


110. YEAR

Bodega Miwok *ʔi:myu* (-1), Lake Miwok *w'ali* (1), Plains Miwok *ʔumuc-a-* ~ *ʔumuc-a-* (2), Northern Sierra Miwok *ʔumuc-č-a-* (2), Southern Sierra Miwok *ʔumuc-č-a-* # (2).

References and notes:

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


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

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