

Version 12: September 4, 2007

AN AMERIND  
ETYMOLOGICAL  
DICTIONARY

Joseph H. Greenberg

Merritt Ruhlen

Department of Anthropological Sciences

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2007

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*This book is dedicated to the Amerind people,  
the first Americans*

## Preface

The present volume is a revision, extension, and refinement of the evidence for the Amerind linguistic family that was initially offered in Greenberg (1987). This revision entails (1) the correction of a number of forms, and the elimination of others, on the basis of criticism by specialists in various Amerind languages; (2) the consolidation of certain Amerind subgroup etymologies (given in Greenberg 1987) into Amerind etymologies; (3) the addition of many reconstructions from different levels of Amerind, based on a comprehensive database of all known reconstructions for Amerind subfamilies; and, finally, (4) the addition of a number of new Amerind etymologies presented here for the first time. I believe the present work represents an advance over the original, but it is at the same time simply one step forward on a project that will never be finished.

M. R.  
September 2007

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# Introduction

This volume presents the lexical and grammatical evidence that defines the Amerind linguistic family. The evidence is presented in terms of 913 etymologies, arranged alphabetically according to the English gloss. Each etymology begins with the English gloss followed by a hypothetical phonetic form from which the individual Amerind forms are presumed to have derived. Within the body of each etymology the evidence is arrayed in terms of the thirteen branches of Amerind in a roughly north to south (or sometimes west to east) order: Almosan, Keresiouan, Penutian, Hokan, Central Amerind, Chibchan, Paezan, Andean, Equatorial, Macro-Tucanoan, Macro-Carib, Macro-Panoan, Macro-Ge.

Of course not all of the etymologies presented here derive from Proto-Amerind; many are later innovations within the Amerind family and define Amerind sub-groups, but it is often difficult to distinguish the taxonomic level of each etymology because data on Amerind languages are far from complete. An example of this problem is Greenberg's Amerind etymology 125, GIRL. Greenberg cited 17 forms from Almosan, Penutian, Hokan, and Central Amerind, some of which I have eliminated. The distribution of Greenberg's forms could be interpreted either as an Amerind etymology whose forms never made it to South America, or as an innovation within Northern Amerind branches after the South American Amerind groups had already split off. Subsequent research has, however, clarified this issue, as can be seen in etymology 699 in this book. This etymology now contains over 800 forms and is found in all 13 branches of Amerind, leaving little doubt that it derives from Proto-Amerind. Moreover, this complex pattern was an *invention* of the Amerind people, and not a trait that was inherited from their Asian ancestors, for this pattern does not exist elsewhere in the world.

The Amerind pronoun pattern *na/ma* 'I/you' (etymologies 399 and 781), which is widespread in Amerind and virtually absent elsewhere in the world, also almost certainly derives from Proto-Amerind, though it is not found in every branch. There is, however, another way of showing that a particular etymology derives from Proto-Amerind even though it may be found in only



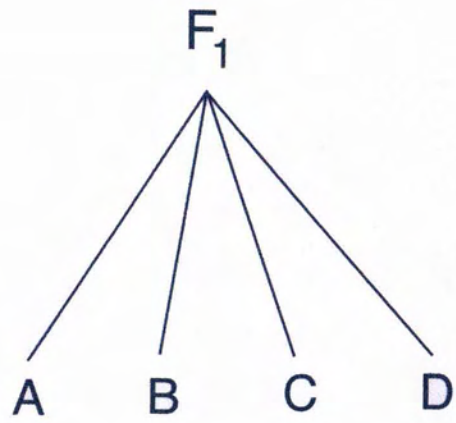
a few Amerind branches. If a root is found in the Old World and in Amerind, the presumption is that it was brought into the Americas with the Amerind migration and was therefore part of Proto-Amerind. Examples of such roots in this book are indicated in comments following the etymology (e.g. 53, 100, 101, 127, 137, 156, 163, 168, 172, 192, 267, 268, 272, 326, 357, 395, 796, 824).

Each of the thirteen Amerind subgroups begins with the subgroup name, followed by the data from different Amerind groups (or languages) that are arranged genetically where the genetic structure is known (i.e., groups or languages closest to one another are listed side by side). The complete classification of all Amerind languages considered is given in the back of the book.

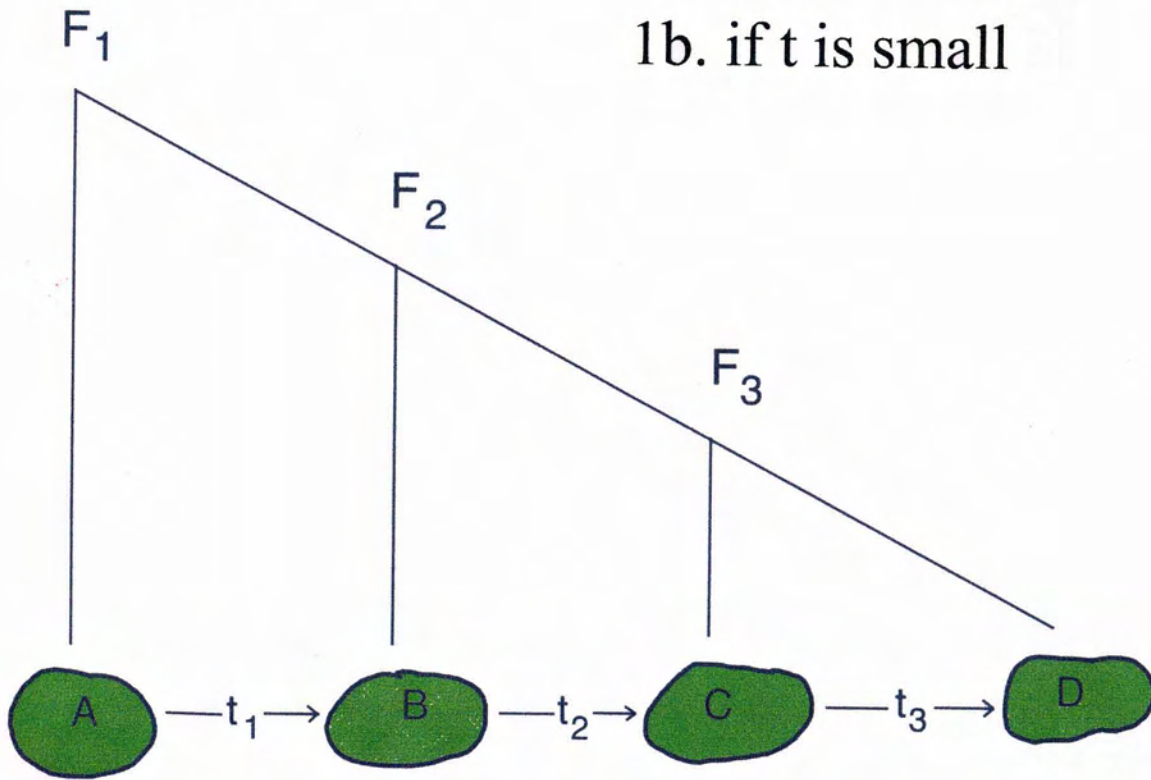
Some readers will note that both Almosan-Keresiouan and Chibchan-Paezan are here broken up into their two branches, rather than treated as single branches, as in *Language in the Americas*. This is not to be interpreted as a retraction of the claim that Almosan and Keresiouan, and Chibchan and Paezan, are both valid higher-level taxa within the Amerind family. It is done merely as a clearer way of arraying the evidence.

Furthermore, the internal structure of the Amerind family is a vastly more difficult problem than the simple delineation of the family as a whole. Despite claims often made to the contrary, higher-level families are often much *easier* to discern than intermediate subgroups, as Indo-European, Austronesian, and Amerind all attest. This is especially important for Amerind. It is often claimed that as one goes back in time words are lost in all languages at a gradual rate so that the taxonomic picture gets dimmer and dimmer and finally turns to black. While it seems obvious to anyone that as one goes back in time things do get dimmer, it's not true. Sometimes as one goes back in time things become more clear. The failure to understand this fundamental taxonomic principle is the source of much of the current confusion in historical linguistics. Linguistics, unlike biology, was from its inception strictly cladistic, that is, each node in a phylogenetic tree is defined by one or more innovations. However, whether such innovations develop, thus revealing the internal subgrouping of a family, depends on the rate of disintegration of that family, as illustrated in Fig. 1 on the following page.

Let us assume that there is a population on island A. At some point in time part of that population moves to island B. Later part of that population moves to island C, and finally part of that population moves to island D. Let us further assume that there is no further contact between these populations. The correct phylogenetic tree will then be as in 1a and many historical linguists believe that F3 will be more obvious, and better supported, than F2, and F2 more obvious than F1. Whether this is true or not depends on the amount of time between the separation of the populations. Let us assume that



1b. if  $t$  is small



1a. if  $t$  is large

Figure 1. Time and Internal Structure

some people on island A moved to B on Monday, then part of that population to C on Tuesday and part of that population to D on Wednesday, and then 500 years pass. Under these circumstances the phylogenetic tree, based on linguistic evidence, will be as in 1b since there will not have been any time for innovations to develop which would distinguish F2 and F3. The language on each island would have been identical at the start and each would have then gone its own way, in a process similar to genetic drift.

If, however, the time of the separations was 500 years, not one day, then both F2 and F3 will be well defined by innovations that have accumulated during those 500 years. In *both* scenarios, however, F1 will be well defined by those words that have been preserved on islands A, B, C, and D. Thus, whether the intermediate nodes can be identified or not depends on the rate of separation. With a rapid disintegration it is only the highest level node that will be clear, the intermediate nodes often being unclear or even invisible. An example of this principle is the initial peopling of the Americas by the Amerind family. Archaeological evidence indicates that the initial peopling of the New World was a very rapid migration that filled two empty continents with people in 1,000 years. Under these circumstances it is the *highest* level node—Proto-Amerind—that will be the most obvious, as the *n/m* pronoun pattern (see etymologies 399 and 781) and the *t'ina/t'ana/t'una* root (see etymology 699) clearly show, as does the rest of this dictionary. In fact, the *t'ina/t'ana/t'una* etymology itself gives linguistic support for the rapid expansion through all of North and South America because this entire complex system can be reconstructed on the South American evidence as well as on the North American evidence, indicating that the entire system made it intact into South America before breaking up, as it has in all extent Amerind languages.

There is also genetic evidence that the Americas were peopled by a small population in a short period of time. Cavalli-Sforza et al. (1988) found in their seminal work on the genetic structure of human populations that New World populations were divided into the same three groups that Greenberg had identified on linguistic evidence: Eskimo-Aleut, Na-Dene, and Amerind. However, subsequent research on the correlation of genes and language *within* Amerind often found virtually no correlation at all. Does this mean that genes and languages do not correlate after all? Not at all. What it shows is genetic drift at work. When small populations break up into even smaller populations the distribution of genes can diverge radically in any direction, thus quickly obscuring the original unity and making subgrouping difficult, or impossible, to discern. This is exactly what happened with the initial

Amerind population. Once this small population entered the Americas, then split into numerous smaller groups, and peopled two continents in 1,000 years, this was probably the greatest experiment in genetic drift the world has ever seen. The fact that virtually all Amerind people are of blood group O is sometimes explained as a consequence of genetic drift.

The question of the precise date of the first migration into the New World has long been a focus of dispute, with some archaeologists, linguists, and geneticists maintaining that there were people in the New World over 30,000 years ago, while other archaeologists, linguists, and geneticists have argued that there were no people in the New World until the ice-free corridor through Canada opened around 13,500 years ago, allowing one small population to fill two continents in 1,000 years. Recently, Mark Seielstad et al. have found a mutation on the Y chromosome (M242) that lies between two mutations that are known to have occurred in Asia (M45, M74) and a mutation that arose in the Americas (M3) (Seielstad et al. 2003). They have dated the M242 mutation to the range 15,000–18,000 BP and have argued that this date provides a fairly certain upper bound on the time of the first entry into the Americas. This date corresponds well with the archaeological date.

There is also other archaeological evidence that supports a late, rather than early, entry into the Americas. The archaeological record shows that between 13,000 BP and 11,000 BP there was suddenly a rapid extinction of numerous species of large animals, an extinction that is often attributed to the first appearance of humans in the Americas. These animals had never seen humans before and thus had no fear of them, to their detriment.

In addition, it is now believed that dogs were first domesticated in East Asia around 15,000 years ago (Wade 2006). Since the first Americans brought domesticated dogs with them they could not have left Asia before 15,000 BP or they would have had no dogs. It thus appears that the first entry into North America took place not long after the domestication of dogs. For unknown reasons all of these Asian dogs brought to America have gone extinct, replaced by European dogs who arrived much later.

As far as the internal subgrouping of Amerind is concerned, Greenberg suggested that Almosan-Keresiouan, Chibchan-Paezan, Equatorial-Tucanoan, and Ge-Pano-Carib probably form valid higher-level subgroups. Greenberg also proposed that Almosan-Keresiouan, Hokan and Penutian form a higher-level group which he called Northern Amerind. Cavalli-Sforza and I also found support for this Northern Amerind group, as well as evidence for a Southern Amerind group which would contain the eight South American branches (Ruhlen 1991).

The Central Amerind group is remarkable for its broad distribution—

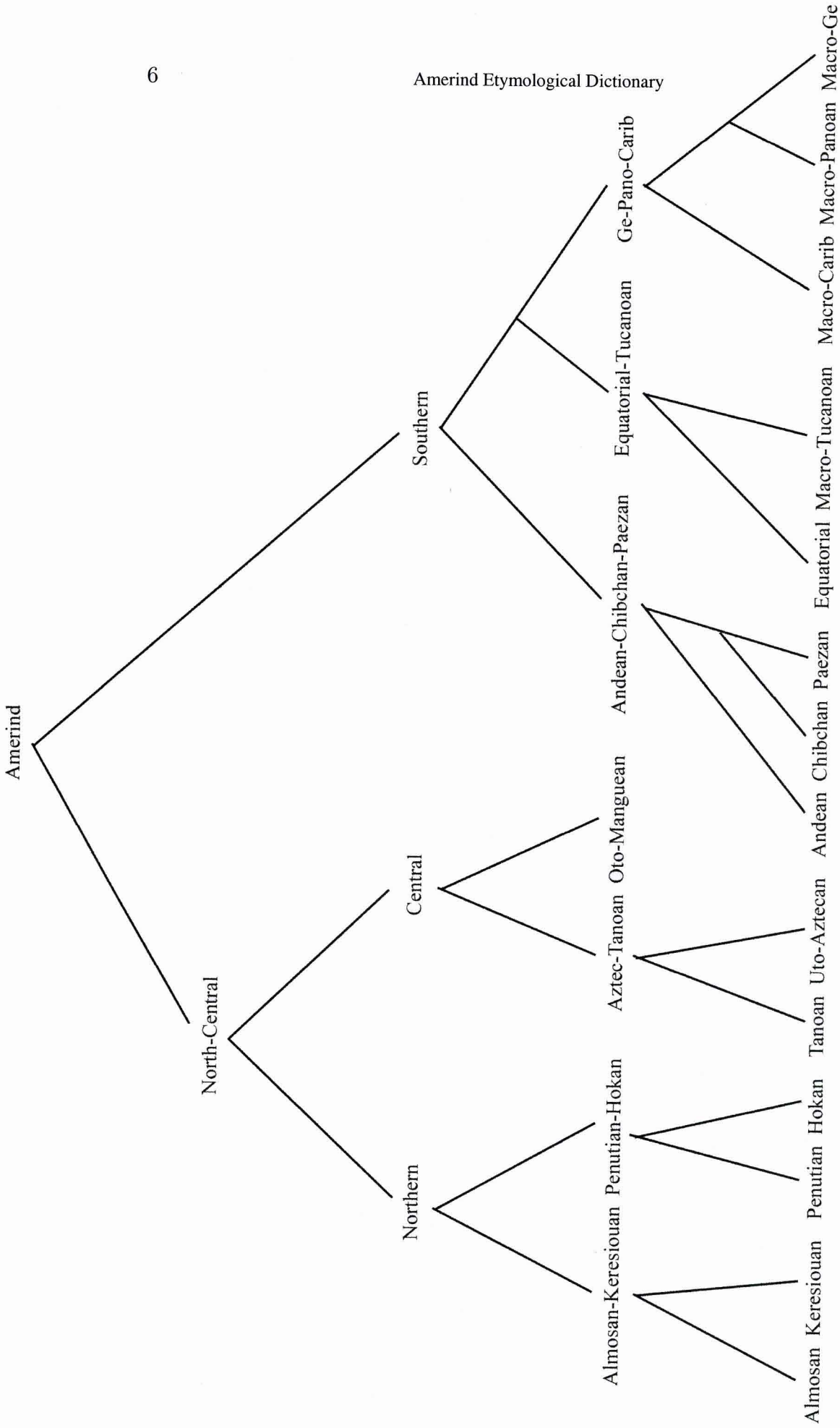


Figure 2. Phylogenetic Structure of the Amerind Family

from Southern Mexico to Utah. Central Amerind has three branches: Oto-Manguean, Uto-Aztecan, and Tanoan. Oto-Manguean is found in Southern Mexico, Uto-Aztecan from Southern Mexico to Utah, and Tanoan in New Mexico. Whorf and Trager (1937) proposed that Uto-Aztecan and Tanoan formed a higher level group which they called Aztec-Tanoan. It is clear that the Oto-Manguean homeland was in Southern Mexico, but where was the Aztec-Tanoan homeland? It was originally thought that the Uto-Aztecan homeland was in the north and the expansion was from north to south. That Tanoan is in the north would support this conclusion. However, it is now known that the Uto-Aztecan expansion was south to north—from Southern Mexico to Utah—and thus Tanoan appears to have been an offshoot of this south to north migration. Looking at the structure of Amerind from this perspective would lead one to the conclusion that Central Amerind represents an expansion back into territory that was originally Northern Amerind. See Map 1.

My current view of the phylogenetic structure of the Amerind family is shown in Fig. 2, though this will inevitably evolve—in unpredictable ways—as further research is carried out. Possibly Andean will turn out to be closer to North-Central Amerind than to the other South American groups. The precise position of Chibchan-Paezan is also problematical.

This book is essentially the first step in the Comparative Method, the identification of morphemes in different languages that are similar in sound and meaning and can therefore be presumed to have “sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists,” as Sir William Jones put it in 1786. This first stage is simply taxonomy. The second step in the Comparative Method is what is commonly called historical linguistics, the attempt to analyze these similar words and to ascertain the original form from which all descend and to figure out the sound correspondences that explain the differences. The time and place of the original language is also investigated. It should be obvious that this second stage must follow the first.

Each etymology in this book concludes with an indication, in brackets, of the source of the etymology and, in some cases, a comment on the etymology follows the indication of its source. Etymologies that have no source indicated are presented here for the first time. In addition, etymologies attributed solely to Greenberg have often been modified by the inclusion or exclusion of certain forms, so they are often different from the etymologies given in *Language in the Americas*. In indicating the source of the etymology—the vast majority of which derive from *Language in the Americas*—the following abbreviations are used for Amerind and its branches: A: Amerind, AL: Almosan, KS: Keresiouan, P: Penutian, H: Hokan, CA: Central Amerind, CH:

Chibchan, PZ: Paezan, AN: Andean, E: Equatorial, MT: Macro-Tucanoan, MC: Macro-Carib, MP: Macro-Panoan, MG: Macro-Ge.

In addition to this somewhat different arrangement of the data, as compared to that in *Language in the Americas*, I have also modified the spelling of certain language names, where a different spelling seemed preferable (e.g. “Uitoto” has been changed to “Witoto”). The phonetic forms have also been slightly modified from the earlier work, most notably by the symbols used for ejectives ( $p'$ ,  $t'$ ,  $k'$  in this book, replacing  $p^?$ ,  $t^?$ ,  $k^?$ ). In addition,  $t^s$  is now  $c$ , yod (the high front semivowel) is indicated by  $y$ , rather than by  $j$ , the front rounded vowels are now indicated by  $ü$  and  $ö$  rather than  $y$  and  $ø$ , respectively, and  $ur$  is now  $i$ . These changes seem more in keeping with Americanist practice.

Following the etymologies the reader will find a summary of the classification, maps indicating the distribution of various language groups, and a list of references. No attempt is made to list every source for every word cited; indeed, no etymological dictionary has ever attempted to provide this level of detail for all sources. Greenbergs' notebooks, which indicate sources for all of his data, are publically available. The sources I have used in revising Greenberg's book are given in the References.

I have attempted to avoid abbreviations as much as possible, since they are often opaque to non-linguists, but the following abbreviations are used: sg.: singular, pl.: plural, masc.: masculine, fem.: feminine, n.: noun, v.: verb, tr.: transitive, intr.: intransitive. In addition, forms that are problematical by dint of anomalous semantics or phonetics, or by weak distribution, are preceded by ? to indicate their questionable status.

Since this is obviously a work in progress, as it will be forever, I welcome corrections to the data presented here, as well as corrections to the interpretation of correct (or incorrect) data. I would also welcome suggestions of things that Joe and I overlooked. All such corrections can be sent to [amerind-dictionary@stanfordalumni.org](mailto:amerind-dictionary@stanfordalumni.org).

# An Amerind Etymological Dictionary



1 ABOVE<sub>1</sub> \*itai

- Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \*-doy ‘up.’
- Chibchan:** Malibu: Chimila *ittā, ita* ‘heaven.’ Motilon *adu* ‘high.’
- Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado *du* ‘hill.’ Proto-Choco \**ĩt<sup>h</sup>ĩ* ‘up,’ Chami *itare*, Catio *utu* ‘peak.’ Paez *ete*. Warrau (*y*)*ata*.
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**itã-gĩ* ‘hill, mountain,’ Bara *itã-ŋa*, Guanano *tĩ-kĩ*.
- Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \**ita-bokhau* ‘sky.’ Arawakan: Campa *a-ito* ‘head.’
- Macro-Carib:** Andoke *tai* ‘head,’ Witoto *aite* ‘high’ (Kinder), *aise* ‘high’ (Las Cortes). Carib: Roucouyenne *ite-puru* ‘head.’ Yagua: Peba *say* ‘head, hair.’
- Macro-Ge:** Chiquito *ta* ‘head,’ *ita* ‘top of,’ Fulnio *etai* ‘on top,’ Mashakali: Monosho *toi* ‘head,’ Macuni *epo-toi* ‘head.’
- [A1] See HEAD<sub>2</sub>. The relationship between these two etymologies may be the same as in ABOVE<sub>2</sub>, which has forms with and without -k. This k may be an old locative.

2 ABOVE<sub>2</sub> \*apa-k

- Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian (Haas) \**umpi* ‘high,’ Arapaho *api* ‘stand up,’ -*ap* ‘standing.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka -*api* ‘up in the air, erect, standing.’
- Keresiouan:** Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan \**pa* ‘head,’ Ofo *iphi*, Hidatsa *apahi* ‘heaven,’ Catawba *ha:p*, [wahpe:] ‘sky’ (Gallatin 1836); Yuchi *pe*. Cad-doan: Pawnee *pe* ‘erect, but humped.’
- Penutian:** Tsimshian *bax-* ‘up.’ Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \**pam-* ‘up,’ Kalapuya *am-efo* ‘mountain.’ Plateau: Klamath \*-*aba:-* ‘upward.’ Proto-California \**p<sup>h</sup>uq* ‘hill,’ Wintu *p<sup>h</sup>uyuq* ‘hill,’ *p<sup>h</sup>oy* ‘head.’ Yokuts: Yawelmani *puk’a:l* ‘hill.’ Proto-Gulf \**aba* ‘up,’ \**pek* ‘above,’ Chitimacha *pek-*, *pokta* ‘heaven, cloud’; Natchez *abo:* ‘head’; Muskogean: Chickasaw *pakna?* ‘top,’ Choctaw *pakna* ‘on top,’ *aba* ‘up, high, heaven,’ Koasati *aba* ‘up.’
- Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*a/i*)*pa(l<sup>v</sup>)* ‘top,’ \**paL* ‘rise up,’ Proto-Pomo \**ba-* ‘top.’ Salinan: San Miguel *o:p<sup>h</sup>ak* ‘head.’ Proto-Coahuiltecan *apel’* ‘sky,’ Comecrudo *apel* ‘sky, clouds, heaven.’ Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec \**p<sup>h</sup>uk* ‘head,’ Jicaque -*p<sup>h</sup>uk*, Tequistlatec -*hwak*.
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan \**p’o* ~ \**p’e* ‘head.’
- Paezan:** Barbacoa: Cayapa *faka*, Colorado *fe:či*. Chimu: Eten *fok* ‘upward.’ Proto-Choco \**pa-hã* ‘sky,’ Empera *baxa* ‘heaven,’ Saija *paxa* ‘heaven.’ Jirajara *pok* ‘hill.’ Timucua *abo* ‘above, up(ward).’
- Andean:** Aymara *peke* ‘head.’ Pehuelche *abahai* ‘high, tall.’
- Equatorial:** Chapacura: Pakaasnovas *pakun* ‘mountain.’ Tupi: Tupari *apaba*

‘head.’ Quechuan: Chinchaysuyu *pexa* ‘head.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Huari: Huari *ananu-pui* ‘heaven.’ Iranshe *poku* ‘go up.’ Puinave: Papury *poχ* ‘above, heaven,’ Hubde *po* ‘sky,’ Tiquie *bui*. Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *\*bu(-ʔi)* ‘up,’ Tucano *bu-ʔi*, Guanano *bu*, Waik-ina *pui* ‘upon,’ Coreguaje *suka-pue* ‘heaven,’ etc.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Macusi *-epoi*, Trio *epoe*, Wayana *-po*, etc. Witoto: Witoto *afei-ne* (cf. *tui-ri-ne* ‘below’), Muinane *ipo* ‘head,’ Ocaina *o:ʔfo* ‘head.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Chulupi *ape*: ‘action above’ (Susnik 1968: 48), Mataco *-pe, pa*. Mosen *fan(-če)* (*-če* is a locative marker, cf. *tas-če* ‘in front of’). Panoan: Panobo *buespa*, Shipibo *bušiki*, Mayoruna *abo* ‘heaven.’ Proto-Tacanan *\*ba*.

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *pok, pawi* ‘high.’ Chiquito *ape, y-a:pi* ‘up,’ *ape-z* ‘heaven.’ Fulnio *efua, fua, foa* ‘hill.’ Kaingang: Kaingang *apare* ‘head.’ Mashakali *apoxo, pokox* ‘heaven,’ *pæpi*: ‘up.’ Opaie *pi* ‘heaven.’

• [A2] Many of these forms show ALLATIVE *-k*: Cf. Hidatsa *apahi* ‘heaven,’ Chitimacha *pokta* ‘heaven, cloud,’ Empera *baxa* ‘heaven,’ Papury *poχ* ‘above, heaven,’ Mashakali *apoxo* ‘heaven.’

### 3 ABOVE<sub>3</sub> *\*araka*

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: ?Tuscarora *rāhy* ‘sky.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *kaṛak<sup>wa</sup>* ‘up.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *arka(u)* ‘above,’ *arqa* ‘get up,’ *arqa-tas* ‘above, on top.’ Aymara *arqa, arya*. Proto-Quechuan *\*urqu* ‘mountain,’ Santiagueño *orqo* ‘mountain,’ Cochabamba *orqo* ‘hill.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auixiri *a-wareke* ‘head.’ Tucanoan: Tsöla *rix-foa* ‘head,’ Tsölöa *rix-hoa* ‘head.’

**Equatorial:** Cayuvava *βarākame* ‘head.’ Jivaro: Shuara *arak* ‘higher,’ Upano *arakani*. Kariri: Dzubucua *arake* ‘heaven,’ Kamaru *arake, aranče*. Tupi: Chiripa *rakā* ‘head.’

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja: Javaje *rahah* ‘head.’

• [A3]

### 4 ABOVE<sub>4</sub> *\*q'aʔ*

**Almosan:** Proto-North Wakashan *\*q'ʔ-* ‘lift, pick up,’ Haisla *q'ʔ-* ‘lift, pick up, hold,’ Kwakwala *q'ʔc'ud* ‘lift the baby into a crib.’ Proto-Chemakuan *\*c'ilak'-* ‘up, above.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo *\*qal:i* ‘heaven,’ South Pomo *kali* ‘heaven, up.’ Seri *koʔa* ‘upward’ (perhaps *k* is not part of the root). Tonkawa *c'el*.

**Chibchan:** Rama: Rama *ikalniki* ‘getting up, standing up.’

**Paезan:** Allentiac: Millcayac *kelwina* ‘go up, come up,’ *kleu* ‘on top of.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Vejoz *xuala* ‘sky.’

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *kili* ‘go up.’ Kaingang: Catarina, Tibagi *kri*, Dalbergia *klē* ‘on top.’  
 • [A147]

5 ABOVE<sub>5</sub> \**pin*

**Penutian:** Proto-Maiduan \* . . . *pin*, Proto-Yokuts \**t<sup>h</sup>ip<sup>h</sup>in* ‘above, up.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo \**wina(:)* ‘on, on top of, above.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *wenu-*.

6 ADJECTIVAL/PARTICIPIAL FORMANT \**ki*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**-ik* (deverbalizer, inanimate participial).

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan: \**k<sup>y</sup>*- (adjective prefix), Subtiaba *gi-* (passive past participial), Tlappanec *k-* (passive past participial); Seri *ki-* (adjective formant); Esselen *-ki* (adjective formant); Tonkawa *-k* (participial suffix); Pomo: [languages] *k-* (adjective formant).

**Andean:** ?Mapudungu *-či* (adjectivizer).

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco *-ek* (active and passive participial noun formant), Lengua *-k* (forms adjectives from stative verbs); Tacanan: Cavineña *-ke* ~ *-ki* (adjectival suffix); Panoan: Conibo *-ki* (adjectival suffix).

• [G66]

7 AGAVE \**mal*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**(a)mal<sup>y</sup>*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ma*.

8 AGENTIVE<sub>1</sub> \**-re* ~ \**-ri*

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Canichana *-ri*; Puinave: Ubde-Nehern *-re* (agent, active participle).

**Equatorial:** Zamucoan: Ayoré *-ore*; Kariri *-ri*; Maipuran: Toyeri *-eri*.

• [G60]

9 AGENTIVE<sub>2</sub> \**ta*

**Penutian:** California Penutian *tot*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**-tA*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *-t-*.

10 AGOUTI \**kuri*

**Paезan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *kuru*, Choco: Darien, Catio *k<sup>h</sup>uriwa*, Chami, Tado *k<sup>h</sup>urihia*, Saija *k<sup>h</sup>urihiwa*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Carijona, Proto-Taranoan *akuri*.

## 11 ALL \*q'ac

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*keSt- ~ \*keSĉ- 'big, much,' \*ki:č ~ \*kit- 'complete,' Wiyot *qac* 'be many,' Proto-Algonquian \*ki:š- 'finished,' Cree *ki:si-* 'completing, having done,' Fox *ki:ši-* 'completed,' Menomini *ke:s-* 'finished, completed'; Kutenai *-qsa-* 'so many'; Proto-Mosan \*χ<sup>w</sup>a: ~ \*xa 'all,' Proto-Salish \*q<sup>w</sup>ac' 'full,' \*χəc ~ \*χəʔuc 'completed, complete count, four, ready,' Thompson χc-əp 'all, become complete, get filled,' Bella Coola *xs*, Upper Chehalis χ<sup>w</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>; Wakashan: Nitinat χa- 'fully.'

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Kitsai *akwac*.

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *ga* (plural). Plateau: Klamath *q'a* 'very, extremely,' Nez Perce *q'o(?)* 'very, extremely.' Oregon: Coos *gōs*. Zuni *haši* 'full, full with food.' Gulf: Atakapa *kuš*. Mexican: Tzeltal *k'aš* 'very,' Quiché *k'is* 'finish.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*q'a 'finish.'

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*ka 'fill, full, fill up,' \*ke 'more, much.'

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *-ka* 'completive.'

**Equatorial:** Jivaro: Achuar *kuša* 'many.'

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *kā:siy* 'finish.'

- [AK4, P3]

## 12 ALLATIVE (MOTION TOWARD) \*-k

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *-ok<sup>w</sup>* 'in,' Yurok *-ik* 'in.'

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Pawnee *kiyah* 'in'; Iroquoian: Seneca *-keh* 'in.'

**Penutian:** California: Maidu *-k* 'toward,' Wintu *he-ke* 'where?' (cf. *he-noni* 'why?'); Oregon: Siuslaw *ta:k* 'here,' *sqa:k* 'there,' *či:k* 'where?,' Alsea *k-* (locative on nouns and verbs); Chinook *-k* 'on'; Gulf: Natchez *-k<sup>h</sup>* 'at,' Atakapa *-ki(n)* ~ *-ke* 'at, in,' Chitimacha *-(n)ki* 'at, in,' Yuki *-k'il* 'toward'; Mexican: Totonac *k-* 'in.'

**Hokan:** Yuman: [languages] *-k* (motion toward or location in), Seri (*ʔ*)*ak* (locative); Salinan *k(e)-* (locative before pronominal affixes); Esselen *ki-ki* 'where is he?'; Yana *-ki* 'hither,' *gi* (locative and objective particle); Washo *-(b)uk* 'toward a place' (in verbs of motion); Karok *-(a)k* (locative); Shasta, Atsugewi *-k* (motion toward), Achomawi *-gu* (suffix on verbal nouns to express purpose), *-ig-* 'hither' (in the verbal complex); Chimariko *hu-ak-ta* 'come' (cf. *hu-am-ta* 'go'); Comecrudo *-ak* (directional in adverbs, e.g., *pesen* 'shoulder,' *pesn-ak* 'backward'), ?Tonkawa *ʔok* 'when, as if.'

**Chibchan:** Cuna *-ki(ne)* 'in, at, by,' Rama *-ki* 'in, on'; Misumalpan: Miskito *-k(u)* (manner or direction of travel, e.g., *awala-k* 'by river').

**Paezan:** Barbacoa *fa-ka* 'above,' Colorado *fe:či* 'above'; Chimu: Chimu *-ek* 'to,' *-k* (locative postposition), e.g. *sio* 'that,' *sio-k* 'there'), Eten *fo-k*

‘upward’; Choco: Empera *ba-xa* ‘heaven,’ Saija *pa-xa* ‘heaven’; Jirajira: Jirajira *po-k* ‘hill’; Rama *ki* ~ *aik* ‘to.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *po-ku* ‘go up’; Puinave: Papury *po-χ* ‘above, heaven.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *po-k* ‘high,’ Mashakali *apo-xo* ~ *po-kox* ‘heaven.’

• [G45] In several of these forms the allative suffix appears on the lexical item ABOVE *apa-k*.

### 13 ALONG(SIDE) \**no*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \*-*naw* ‘alongside.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \*-*no* ‘along, go along.’ Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \*-*no* ‘side, shore, bank,’ Atakapa *ino* ‘side, bank, shore.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *inal* ‘side, bank.’

### 14 ALREADY \**na*

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *na?*

**Hokan:** Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba \*-*na(s)*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*-*ña*.

### 15 ANGRY \**ili*

**Almosan:** Chemakuan: Quileute *χi:la*. Wakashan: Nootka *hana*.

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *ʔælx* ‘angry, brave.’ Plateau: Klamath *qiLo:*.

**Chibchan:** Rama *yuli-ni* ‘anger.’

**Paezan:** Allentiac: Millcayac *irrim*. Chimu *iri* ‘be afraid.’ Itonama *yari-?na* ‘be angry.’ Warrau *oriki* ‘anger.’ Timucua *yuriko* ‘be angry, afraid.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *ura* ‘angry, fierce.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Surinam *erexko* ‘be angry,’ Waiwai *riwo*, Trio *aire* ‘fierce.’ Witoto: Witoto *ri:e*, Muinane *riino* ‘strong.’

• [A4]

### 16 ANT<sub>1</sub> \**tai*

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Capixana *tij*. Huari: Masaka *di:*. Movima *tuwe*. Puinave: Nadobo *at<sup>y</sup>oho*, Querari *(n)duy(e)e*. Iranshe *i:ti*.

**Equatorial:** Trumai *tay*. Tupi: Guaraní *tahii*, Guayaki *taie*.

• [A5]

### 17 ANT<sub>2</sub> \**cakon*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*-*si:ʔi*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \*-*c-k*, Oregon: Siuslaw *caʔk'ic*. Proto-Gulf \*-*icak*, Atakapa *cak*; Muskogean: Choctaw *šũkani*. Mexican: ?Proto-Mayan \*-*sanik*

(metathesis?), Mixe-Zoque: Tetontepec *cokun*; Huave *čok*; Totonac: Pa-pantla *čakan*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**čiwa-ips(iT)*.

**Central Amerind:** Uto-Aztecan: M 5 (no reconstruction), Tarahumara *sikuwi*, Varohio *sekwi*, Mejicano Azteco *a:ska-t*.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \**isə*, Kagaba *isa*, Atanque *iče*, Bintucua *izö*. Proto-Chibcha \**ice*, Chibcha *ice*. Guaymi: Gualaca *is*. Lenca: Guajiquero *sizi*, Chilanga *c'ic'i*. Talamanca: Terraba *son-gwo*, Bribri *ca(-vak)*, *ša(-vak)*, etc. Yanoama: Yanomam *šiho*. ?Tarascan *šřuki*.

**Andean:** Quechua: Cochabamba *č<sup>h</sup>aka*. Patagon: Tehuelche *čakon*.

**Equatorial:** Jivaro: Achuar *čayũ* ‘anteater.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *šiki?i* ‘anteater,’ Movima *čiheł*, Munciche *šiw* ‘anteater.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**icisi* ‘ant,’ *ša?i* ‘anteater.’

- [A5, A6]

#### 18 ANT<sub>3</sub> \**pic'u*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \**pic'i*.

**Chibchan:** Rama *pas* ‘rain ant.’

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \**picuma*.

#### 19 ANT<sub>4</sub> \**kaci*

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**k<sup>h</sup>aši*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *it-k<sup>y</sup>aci*, Munciche *kičada*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *kočirima* ‘anteater.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**nak<sup>wa</sup>aši*.

#### 20 ANT<sub>5</sub> \**tapu*

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \**thapuda* ‘anteater.’

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Tupi *taebih*, Kawahib *taəp*, Pawate *tabuni*. Timote: Cuica *cipa*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**tapi-tapi*, Lengua *topili* ‘army ant.’

- [E4]

#### 21 ANT<sub>6</sub> \**bohu*

**Paezan:** Mura *ibohũ*. Warrau *mu(h)a*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *bohu* ‘stinging ant.’

- [CP2]

#### 22 ANTEATER \**bigo*

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**bigo*, Tucano, Bara, Tuyuka *biko*, De-

sana *bugu*; Puinave: Hubde *big*.

**Equatorial:** Maipuran: Resigaro *pi:gi*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan *\*be(?)i(wi)*.

### 23 ANUS *\*kuti*

**Chibchan:** Bintucua *gase*, Borunca *kas* ‘ravine.’

**Paezan:** Paez *kuts*.

**Andean:** Qawasqar *kio:t-pe*, Gennaken *oqoti*, Yamana *guta* ‘hole.’

- [CP3, AN4]

### 24 APPEAR *\*laq<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan *\*lak<sup>w</sup>* ‘appear in sight,’ Proto-Chemakuan *\*laq<sup>w</sup>o* ‘eye,’ Chemakum *laq<sup>w</sup>o*: ‘eye,’ Quileute *lak<sup>w</sup>al* ‘appear, come out from hiding’; ?Wakashan: Kwakwala *k<sup>w</sup>lχa* (metathesis?) ‘to see something’; Proto-Algonquian *\*-na:kw* ‘be seen.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *\*lak<sup>w</sup>* ‘appear, rise.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *luk* ‘see,’ Yamana *urruksi* ‘see,’ Proto-Quechuan *\*riku-* ~ *\*rika:-* ‘see,’ Cochabamba *ruk* ‘see.’

- [AN98]

### 25 ARM<sub>1</sub> *\*poq*

**Penutian:** ?Plateau: Nez Perce *waqi-* ‘in arms,’ Sahaptin *waxalam* ‘armpit.’ Klamath *weq*.

**Hokan:** Chimariko *tanpu*. Chumash (general) *pu*. Salinan: San Antonio *puku*. Shasta *?a:pxuy?* ‘shoulder.’ Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba *\*ip<sup>h</sup>ax*, Subtiaba *paχ(pu:)*, Tlappanec *pahpu*.

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec *pəya*, *poxya*. Xinca: Yupultepec *pu* ‘arm, hand,’ Jutiapa *paxa*, Chiquimulilla *pux* ‘hand.’ Proto-Yanoama *\*poko* ‘arm, branch,’ Yanam *poko*, Yanomam *poko*, Yanomami *poko*, Sanema *poko*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Cayapa *pexpex*. Choco: Waunana *piu*. Jirajara: Ayoman *apa(-pušan)*. Mura: Mura *apixi*, *apixæ*, Matanawi *api-yi*.

**Andean:** Culli *pui* ‘hand,’ Itucalc *bixi* ~ *bihi* ‘hand,’ Cahuapana: Jebero *-pi* ‘action with palm.’ Leco *bueu* ‘hand,’ *biui* ‘finger,’ Patagon: Tehuelche *paye* ‘hand,’ Sabela: Auca *po* ‘hand, times.’

**Equatorial:** Guahibo *-pi* ‘hand,’ Kariri: Dzubucua, Kamaru *bo* ‘arm,’ Maipuran: Amuesha *apa* ‘give,’ Apolista *apay* ‘give,’ Baure *(ni-)po* ‘I give,’ Toyeri *mpe* ‘hand,’ *upi* ‘arm,’ Proto-Tupi *\*po* ‘hand,’ Tupi *po*, Guarani *po*, Guayaqui *i-pa*, Kaapor *n-po*, Cocama *puwa*, Kepkeriwat *ba*. Yuracare *popo* ‘hand.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara *\*pik?* ‘hand,’ Kithãulhu *h?ik?*, Maininde *hik?*, Sabane *pi:(p)*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Surinam *apo:-ri*, Tamanaco *y-apa-ri*, Pauishana *y-ape*,

etc. Witoto: Coeruna *ko-ipai*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Charruan: Charrua *is-bax*. Proto-Guaicuruan *\*ab:aq* ‘hand,’ Toba *waq*, Mocovi (*a*)*wa?*, Kadiweu *b:a:-*. Mataco: Payagua *iva(-čaga)* ‘shoulder.’ Moseten *bibi* ‘elbow.’ Panoan: Cashibo *ba-* ‘elbow’ (instrumental prefix), *babošo* ‘elbow,’ Chacobo *baš-* ‘elbow, forearm’ (instrumental prefix). Proto-Tacanan *\*e-bai*.

**Macro-Ge:** Chiquito *i-pa*. Erikbatsa *-čipa*. Proto-Ge *\*pa*. Guato (*ma-*)*po*. Kaingang: Apucarana *pe*, Tibagi *pen*. Opaie (*či-*)*pe*.

- [A7]

## 26 ARM<sub>2</sub> *\*k<sup>w</sup>ana*

**Almosan:** Algonquian: Blackfoot *kin(-ists)* ‘hand.’ Kutenai *kin* ‘by hand.’ Proto-Mosan *\*-k<sup>w</sup>anu-* ~ *ka:* ‘hand,’ Proto-Salish *\*-áχan*, Kalispel *aχən*, Okanagan *-aqan*, Wakashan: Kwakwala *-xaina* ‘shoulder.’

**Penutian:** Tunica *hkeni* ‘hand,’ Chitimacha *?okun* ‘shoulder,’ Sayula *konik* ‘carry on the shoulder.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*k<sup>w</sup>a(h)n* ‘left hand,’ Pame *kan’a* ‘hand,’ Otomi *xí’nyí* ‘shoulder.’

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Murire *kana*, Proto-Aruak *\*gunə*, Bintucua *guna* ‘arm, hand,’ Guamaca *guna*, Atanque *guna* ‘hand.’

**Paezan:** Chimu *aken*.

**Andean:** Ona *haken*, Tehuelche *aken* ‘shoulder blade,’ Simacu *kanúxua* ‘shoulder,’ Selknam *k’oyyn* ‘shoulder,’ Mapudungu *kū* ‘hand.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Särä *axkono* ‘shoulder,’ Uaiana *akono* ‘shoulder, armpit,’ Omoa *naxkono* ‘shoulder.’

**Equatorial:** Maipuran: Piro *kano*, Parecis *-kano-*, Canamari *kano* ‘shoulder,’ Timote *-kiñem* ‘hand,’ Mococho *kiñien* ‘hand,’ Tinigua *kwana* ‘hand,’ Trumai *kanap* ‘hand.’

**Macro-Carib:** Miranya *gano-aga* ‘hand,’ *gano-múhte:* ‘armpit,’ Coeruna *kunia* ‘hand.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *\*mi-kini* ‘hand,’ Lengua *kanyama* ‘armpit.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *kana* ‘upper arm, wing’ Camican *guangäni*, Botocudo *kinaon* ‘shoulder,’ Opaie (*či-*)*kā* ‘shoulder.’

- [A16] This root is also found in Khoisan, Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Indo-European, Uralic, Dravidian, Dene-Caucasian, Indo-Pacific, and Daic (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

## 27 ARM<sub>3</sub> *\*noq’ ~ \*neq’*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian *\*nełk-*, Northern Arapaho *nes*, Shawnee *ne?ki*; Yurok *-rkow* ‘armpit’; Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum, Quileute (*hi:-*)*naq(-sit)*; Salish: Squamish *naqč*; Wakashan: Nootka *n’ok<sup>w</sup>* ‘hand,’ *ink<sup>w</sup>* ‘at, on the hand.’



**Keresiouan:** Proto-Northern Iroquoian \**nētsh-*, Seneca *nēsha*, Mohawk *něč*, Cherokee *-noge*.

**Penutian:** Tsimshian: Nass *næiq* ‘fin.’ Plateau: Nez Perce *nik-e-* ‘act with the hand,’ *nike:k* ‘draw back a bow,’ *nik-* ‘hand’ (instrumental prefix), Klamath *n’iq* ‘act with the hand.’ Gulf: Atakapa *nok* ‘arm, wing’; Muskogean: Creek *enke*: ‘hand.’ Yukian: Wappo *nək’o* (Radin), *nokha* (Sawyer) ‘armpit.’

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan \*(*o*)*nãĩʔk-*.

- [A8]

28 ARM<sub>4</sub> \**k<sup>w</sup>ala*

**Hokan:** Yana *galu*, Southeast Pomo *xal*.

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Guamaca *gula*. Guaymi: Gualaca *kula* ‘hand.’ Lenca: Guajiquero *gwala* ‘hand,’ Oparator *gulala* ‘hand.’ Misumalpan: Cacaopera *kari-ka*. Paya *kara* ‘arm, shoulder.’

**Paezan:** Paez: Totoro, Guambiana *kwal*. Choco: Catio *ekara* ‘shoulder.’

**Equatorial:** Uro: Chipaya *k’ara* ‘hand, arm,’ Caranga *k<sup>x</sup>ara* ‘hand.’

- [H5, CP4]

29 ARMADILLO \**pema*

**Andean:** Puelche *hema*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *pima*. Proto-Tucanoan \**pãmũ*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua *paimaŋ*.

30 ARRIVE \**wila*

**Penutian:** Bodega *wila* ‘come!’, Kekchí *uli*, Yakonan *wīl*.

**Hokan:** Achomawi *uilu* ‘enter,’ Yahi *wul* ‘entering.’

- [P8, H49]

31 ARROW \**mã*

**Almosan:** Kutenai *wo* ‘bow’; Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *pa* ‘bow.’

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Caddo *baʔ*; Proto-Siouan \**mã*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *amiuʔu* ‘thorn,’ Puinave: Papury, Tiquie *mu*, Tucano: Siona *mio* ‘thorn,’ Pioje *miu-ñangka* ‘thorn.’

**Macro-Ge:** Opaie *mãa*, *mãe*. Yabuti: Mashubi *mu*.

- [A10]

32 ASHES \**pok(-us) ~ \*pul*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian \**penkwi*. Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum *puʔu:sč’it*, Quileute *puxusu*.

**Penutian:** California: Wintun *pu:k*. Gulf: Tunica *hahpuši*; Natchez *pokah*

‘make dusty’; Muskogean: Hitchiti *po:k* ‘pulverize,’ Choctaw *muki* ‘smoke, dust.’ Mexican: Totonac *puʔqš-ni*; Mayan: Proto-Mayan (C) *\*po(:)k-os* ‘dust,’ *\*poqs* ‘dust.’

**Hokan:** Pomo: Northeast Pomo *mal*. Seri *emay* (Kroeber), *anti-mak* (Moser) (*anti* = ‘earth’). Shasta *ma(h)awa* ‘dust, ashes.’ Yana *mari-p’a* ‘covered with ashes.’ Yuman: Kiliwa *muwag* ‘powder,’ Cocopa *mwa:r* ‘powder,’ etc.

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba *muli*, Guamaca *bun*. Guaymi: Muoi *mono*. Lenca: Guajiquero *poggo*. Malibu: Chimila *mukne*. Motilon: Barira *emukn*. Rama *pluŋ*. Xinca: Yupultepec *maʔi*, Chiquimulilla *mali*.

**Equatorial:** Esmeralda (*mu-*)*bul* (*mu* = ‘fire’). Jivaro: Aguaruna *pušujin*. Kandoshi *poša-či*. Zamuco: Chamacoco *peica*. Cf. Timote: Timote, Cuica *nabuš*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Mataco (*itax-*)*mok* ‘ashes’ (= ‘[fire-] powder’), Suhin *mak* ‘dust, powder,’ Vejoz *muk* ‘dust, flour.’ Mosesten *čim* (probably cognate with Tacana *e-timu* in which *ti* = ‘fire’ and *mu* < *\*muru* ‘ashes’). Proto-Tacanan *\*muru*, Chama *kwaki-maxo* (*kwaki* = ‘fire’).

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *pram* ‘charcoal.’ Proto-Ge *\*mrɔ(c)*, Kaingang: Apucarana *mreye*, Tibagi *brene*, *mrene*.

- [A11]

### 33 ASK<sub>1</sub> *\*maca*

**Andean:** Cahuapana *muča*. Quechua: Santiagueño, Ecuadorean, etc. *maska* ‘seek.’ Yamana: Yahgan *amušu* ‘ask for.’ Zaparo: Iquito *masə:-ya:*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora: Miranya *miče* ~ *meje* ‘wish,’ Yagua: Yagua *amaseo* ‘greedy,’ Yameo *basei* ‘wish.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua: Lengua *math-*, Mascocoy *mac-*. Panoan: Panobo *mašai* ‘pray.’

- [A12]

### 34 ASK<sub>2</sub> *\*tempa*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 12 *\*tep* ‘ask.’

**Equatorial:** Cayuvava *dopa* ‘wish,’ Guahibo *itomba* ‘I wish,’ Maipuran: Baniva *nu-sapeta* ‘I wish,’ Bare *sambi* ‘wish,’ Piaroa: Saliba *ka-indapi* ‘seek.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Umotina *atabe* ‘seek,’ Mashakali: Capoxo (*ma-*)*tema* ‘pleasure,’ Puri: Puri *tamathi* ‘love,’ Coroado *tima* ‘love.’

- [A13]

### 35 AUNT *\*pan*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*pa*, Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*k<sup>w</sup>a(H)(n)*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*pani* ‘sister,’ Chinchaysuyu *pani* ‘sister’ (man

speaking), Santiagueño *pana* ‘sister’ (man speaking). Tehuelche *epan*, Cholona *pan* ‘mother.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mosesten *pen* ‘woman,’ Proto-Tacanan *\*e-pona* ‘woman,’ *\*puna* ‘woman, girl, daughter, female.’

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Krenje *pan-çwo* ‘sister-in-law.’

• [CA1, AN9, MP63] For the *-çwo* suffix in the Krenje form see *-IN-LAW* *-kwa* below.

### 36 AXE *\*supa*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *supa* ‘chop with an axe.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan *\*ãsepi*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban *\*sipa-li-a-*.

### 37 BACK<sub>1</sub> (n.) *\*iki*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-ik*. Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *-ig<sup>y</sup>-*; Salish: Thompson *-ik(-ən)*, Tillamook *-ič(-ən)*, etc. (*-ən* is a body-part suffix).

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Macusi *-akə* ‘tail,’ Pauishana *axke* ‘tail.’ Witoto *kay* ‘tail.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Choroti *keyi*. Mosesten *eki* ‘behind,’ *kai* ‘kidney.’

Panoan: Cashinahua *ka-* ‘spine,’ Cashibo, Chacobo *ka-*. Tacanan: Huarayo *ekia* ‘bird’s tail.’

• [A15]

### 38 BACK<sub>2</sub> *\*mak*

**Hokan:** Yana *mak’i*, Comecrudo *wamak* ‘behind.’

**Chibchan:** Ulua *umax-ka* ‘tail.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *meh* ‘tail.’

• [H11, CP190]

### 39 BACK<sub>3</sub> *\*puna*

**Paezan:** Allentiac *punak* ‘behind.’ Barbacoan: Colorado *bene* ‘behind.’

**Macro-Ge:** Guato *ipana* ‘tail,’ Apucarana *pani*, Bororo *i-puru*.

• [CP14, MG5]

### 40 BAD<sub>1</sub> *\*kalen*

**Hokan:** Chimariko *xuli*. Karok: Karok *ka:rim*, Arra-Arra *karip*. Tonkawa *kalan* ‘curser.’ Yuman: Yavapai *kalepi*, Campo *kaŋev*.

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *eklek* ‘ugly,’ *krang* ‘hateful.’ Kaingang: Tibagi *kore*, Palmas *korende*.

• [A17] Cf. BLACK<sub>2</sub>.

41 BAD<sub>2</sub> \*čaka

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot: Wiyot, Wishosk *saks*. Kutenai *sahan*; Mosan: Wakashan: Bella Bella *sχ*.

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Assiniboin *čexi*, Mandan *xik*, Winnebago *šišika*, Dakota *šiča*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Macca *usax*. Moseten *seki*. Panoan: Chacobo *šiki*, Capanahua *šakabo*, Cashinahua *čakabo*. Tacanan: Tacana *čiki* ‘plague.’

- [A18]

42 BAD<sub>3</sub> \*q’ac

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**k’ays*, Proto-North Wakashan \**χas-* ‘go bad, rot.’

**Penutian:** Chinook *q’ačal* ‘badness,’ Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**k<sup>h</sup>ask<sup>h</sup>a*, Tfalatik *qasq*, Kalapuya *kasq*; Plateau: Lutuami *qoic*, Klamath *q’oy* ‘badly,’ Modoc *qoi*; Proto-Gulf \**kace* ‘ugly,’ Coast Yuki *kačim*, Huchnom *kačem*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**k’a* ‘bad, nasty,’ Atakapa *kace* ‘ugly’; Mayan: Yuca *qas*, Itza *qas*.

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \**k<sup>h</sup>ačia*.

- [P12]

## 43 BARK (v.) \*wok

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *wɔʔk<sup>w</sup>a*, Heiltsuk *wak’pa*, Haisla *waka*.

**Penutian:** California *wax* ‘cry,’ *woʔo* ‘howl,’ Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \**wVk* ‘cry,’ Proto-Yokuts \**wa:xal* ‘cry,’ Proto-Maiduan \**woʔo(:)* ‘howl,’ \**woh* ‘cry’; Zuni *wawawa* ‘cry’; Proto-Gulf \**wo:hk*, \**wo:ha* ‘howl,’ Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**we*; Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**woh*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan: \**wo* ‘cry,’ \**wo-wo* ‘bark.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**woʔ*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**waqa-* ‘cry.’

- This is clearly a sound symbolic word, in which the sounds imitate the meaning, thus violating the arbitrary sound/meaning correlation that characterizes most words. However, the fact that a given root is sound symbolic does not mean that it carries no historical information because, while Amerind dogs went ‘wok,’ current dogs go ‘bark,’ and dogs in other language families have different forms, all onomatopoeic.

## 44 BATHE \*puk

**Penutian:** California: Yokuts *e:p<sup>hi</sup>* ‘bathe, swim’; Maidu *pe ~ py ~ pi* ‘swim’; Miwok: Central Sierra *ʔüp(-šü)*, Bodega *pačče* ‘rinse.’ Gulf: Atakapa *pac* ‘wash’; Tunica *ʔahpu*; Chitimacha *yu:p<sup>h</sup>*; Muskogean: Alabama *abox* ‘wash.’ Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *puh* ‘wash’; Mayan: Tzotzil *pok* ‘wash,’ Huastec *pakul* ‘wash,’ Kekchí *puč’* ‘wash.’ Oregon: Takelma *p’agai*.

Plateau: Klamath *pew* ‘bathe, swim.’

**Hokan:** Achomawi: Achomawi *ehpa*, Atsugewi *-ap-* ‘swim.’ Chimariko *-xu-* ‘swim.’ Karok *ik-puh* ‘swim’ (sing. subject), *ith-puh* ‘swim’ (dual subject). Shasta *k<sup>wi</sup>:puk<sup>w</sup>* ‘swim, bathe.’ Tequistlatec *(di-)bo(-?ma)*. Yana *pu*: ‘swim.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Kaliana *pə* ‘swim.’ Tucano *ba* ‘swim’ (general, except in Western Tucanoan).

- [A20]

45 BE<sub>1</sub> \**upi*

**Equatorial:** Kariri: Dzubucua *pi* ‘dwell.’ Otomaco: Otomaco *upo* ‘live,’ Taparita *ipe* ‘he is.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Vejoz, Choroti *pa* ‘sit,’ Nocten *papa* ‘sit!’ Mosen bei ‘be, sit, live.’ Panoan: Chacobo *ubia* ‘there is.’ Tacanan: Chama *ba?e* ‘live at, remain.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Umotina *bo*. Kaingang: Tibagi *be* ‘happen.’ Kamakan [phuih] ‘live.’ Puri: Coropo *pa* ‘have,’ Coroado *bay* ‘live.’

- [A21]

46 BE<sub>2</sub> \*(*a*)*t’a*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian \**-a:t* ‘way of being, character’; Kutenai *-a?t-* ‘have’; Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *ti* ‘have’; Wakashan: Kwakwala *-ad* ‘have.’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Biloxi *ta* ‘have,’ Biloxi *ite* ‘have,’ Mandan *tu* ‘be.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *t’a* ‘sit.’ Oregon: Siuslaw *tai* ‘sit,’ *ti* ‘sit.’ Plateau: Klamath *č-* ‘sit (sing. subject),’ Lutuami *ci* ‘sit.’ California: Miwok: Central Sierra *to?(-nge)* ‘sit down,’ Northern Sierra *uču* ‘stay.’ Gulf: Atakapa *to* ‘sit,’ Chitimacha *tey* ‘sit (sing.),’ *ten* ‘sit (pl.)’ Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sayula *it* ‘exist,’ Zoque *iht* ‘live.’

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *t’a* ‘stay, live,’ Tewa *tha*: ‘stay, live.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean R 69 \*(*Y*)*ta(h)(n)* ‘be in a place, be seated.’

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba *ta-i*, *te-i* ‘be in a place,’ Guamaca *te*. Cuitlatec *ahti* ‘sit.’ Guaymi: Move *ta*. Malibu: Chimila *ate*. Misumalpan: Cacaopera *da*.

**Paezan:** Allentiac *ti* ‘have.’ Barbacoa: Cayapa *ti* ‘become,’ Colorado *ta* ‘have.’ Paez: Panikita *to*. Warrau *ta*.

**Andean:** Aymara: Jaqaru *uta*, Aymara *utta* ‘sit.’ Quechua: Cochabamba, Ecuadorean, etc. *tiya*. Zaparo: Zaparo *ta*, *ata* ~ *ati*, Iquito *tə*. Cf. Leco *ten*; Sabela: Tuwituwey *ta* ‘stand’ (for the semantics cf. Spanish *estar*).

- [A22]

47 BE<sub>3</sub> \*ʔi

**Keresiouan:** Wichita *ʔi*, Cherokee *i*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco *hi*, Mascoy *h-*.

- [AK13, MP9]

48 BE<sub>4</sub> \*ka

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \*ka(-n) ‘be, do’; Wakashan: Kwakwala *k’a* ‘be somewhere.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Maiduan \*ha, Proto-Gulf \*ka.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*ka-.

- [AN14]

## 49 BEAR (v.) \*ʔa

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *ə(pa)*. Ticuna *ʔo* ‘bear fruit.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi \*ʔa. Zamuco: Zamuco *a*, Ayoré *a*;, Ebidoso *e*.

- [A23]

50 BEARD<sub>1</sub> \*p’oti

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *mep’oc*; Mosan: Salish: Bella Coola (*sko-*)*poč*, Shuswap *epeʔs-qn* ‘chin,’ etc.

**Keresiouan:** Keresan *-muša-*.

**Central Amerind:** Uto-Aztecan: M 214 ‘hair, facial.’ Miller comments: “It is difficult to reconstruct a prototype from these words, but perhaps something like \*moc, \*mos, \*mus.”

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Paumari *bodi* ‘mouth.’ Cayuvava *ra-poto*. Guahibo *bixi* ‘chin.’ Tupi: Guajajara *amutai*, Cocama *muta*. Yuracare *pose*.

- [A24]

51 BEARD<sub>2</sub> \*tuk

**Hokan:** Chimariko *cu(-na)* ‘chin,’ Chumash: San Luis Obispo *suks* ‘beard.’ Jicaque *sek* ‘chin.’ Karok *šva:k* ‘chin.’ Shasta *č’awa:k* ‘chin, jaw.’ Tonkawa *tax’akan* ‘chin, jaw.’ Yana *dʒawdc’i* ‘chin.’ Yuman: Mohave *ya-tukuθa* ‘chin,’ (*ya* = ‘mouth’), Tipai *tekesa* ‘chin.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *af-sayok*. Aymara: Lupaca *sunk<sup>h</sup>a*. Patagon: Tsoneka *šeken* ‘chin,’ Tehuelche *a:šg*. Zaparo: Iquito *mo-šiga*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Canichana *čaga*. Puinave: Tiquie *čuyñ*, Dou *šugn*. Cf. Ticuna *čin*.

- [A25]

52 BEE<sub>1</sub> \*pana

**Andean:** Mayna *wane* ‘honey.’ Zaparo: Zaparo *iwana* ‘honey,’ Iquito *iwuana*

‘honey.’ Yamana *wi:na* ‘flies.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Vejoz *pinu*, Mataco *apina* ‘mosquito,’ Choroti *wona* ‘wasp.’ Panoan: Cashinahua *buna*, Cashibo *wuna* ‘honey,’ Amahuaca *wina* ‘bee, wasp.’ Proto-Tacanan *\*wini* ‘wax,’ Chama *wini* ‘bee, honey.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *pā* ‘bee, honey.’ Proto-Ge *\*meñ* ‘bee, honey.’ Kaingang: Dalbergia *mong* ‘bee, honey,’ Palmas *māng* ‘bee, honey,’ etc. Mashakali: Macuni *pang* ‘honey.’ Opaie *peg* ‘honey.’

- [A26]

### 53 BEE<sub>2</sub> *\*mumu*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian *\*amoa*. Mosan:

Chemakuan: Quileute, Chemakum *mu:mu:ma*; Salish: Siciatl *ma:malwe*.

**Penutian:** California: Costanoan: Santa Cruz, etc. *mumuru* ‘fly’ (pl.). Gulf: Natchez *mom*; Chitimacha (*hih*)*mu*; Atakapa *miŋ*, *muŋ*. Mexican: Huave *muam*; Mixe-Zoque: Tetontepec *omon* ‘fly.’ Plateau: Klamath *mem*, Molala *mumu-s* ‘fly,’ Lutuami *maŋk* ‘fly.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*mum* ‘fly,’ Esselen *mumirux* ‘fly’ (pl.) Salinan: San Antonio *Imém* ‘bees, wasps,’ San Miguel *Iemém* ‘bees, wasps.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 31 *\*mumu*, *\*meme* ‘bee,’ M 180 *\*mu* ‘fly.’

**Chibchan:** Rama *mumum* ‘cattle fly.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucano: Sara *momia*, Tucano *mumi*, Wanana *mĩ*, etc. ‘bee, honey.’ Maku *mime*.

- [A27] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

### 54 BEHIND<sub>1</sub> *\*(a)pi*

**Hokan:** Achomawi *ippi* ‘tail.’ Comecrudo *ep* ‘tail.’ Karok *apvu:y* ‘tail.’

Pomo: Kashaya *hiba* ‘tail,’ Central Pomo, Southeast Pomo *ba* ‘tail.’ Quinigua *apino* ‘deer’s tail.’ Seri *?i:p* ‘tail.’ Tequistlatec *ifpo* ‘tail.’ Washo *ap’íl* ‘tail.’

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Tewa *pu*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*pi*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Toba-Guazu *vi* ‘back, side.’ Lule *va*. Mataco: Choroti *pe*. Mosen *abia* ‘afterward.’ Tacanan: Tacana *be-* ‘back.’

- [A28]

### 55 BEHIND<sub>2</sub> *\*ini*

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *hinoy*; Kutenai *iʔ* (*ʔ* < *\*n*.)

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Cherokee *ōni*.

**Equatorial:** Cayuvava *eñe* ‘tail,’ Paresi *inihu* ‘tail,’ Saliba *inea* ‘tail.’

- [AK19, E110]

56 BELLY<sub>1</sub> \**kate*

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Maku *gote*. Tucano: Erulia, Tsoloa, Palanoa *geda*, Siona *kata-mea* ‘guts’ (*mea* = ‘rope’).

**Equatorial:** Chapacura *ketet* ‘bosom.’ Guahibo *pe-kototo*, *koto* ‘abdomen.’ Maipuran: Karutana *kuta* ‘chest,’ Chiriana *kuda* ‘chest.’ Piaroa: Saliba *iktebo* ‘intestines,’ *iktego* ‘guts.’ Timote: Mococho *kito*. Uro *keto*. Zamuco: Ebidoso *xoto*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Pilaga *ki:kate* ‘heart,’ Toba-Guazu *kidiakate* ‘heart.’ Mataco: Chulupi *kači* ‘heart.’ Moseten *koči* ‘heart.’ Vilela *gose* ‘heart.’

**Macro-Ge:** Erikbatsa *kaše*. Ge: Geico *ayussi* ‘breast.’ Mashakali: Macuni *inkiča* ‘heart,’ Malali *akešo* ‘heart.’ Puri: Coropo *kše* ‘inside.’

• [A29]

57 BELLY<sub>2</sub> \**pali* ~ \**pani*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *apani* ‘lungs’; Mosan: Salish: Columbian *pənink*.

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Caddo [ben-no], *da-bina*; Siouan: Catawba *-pā*.

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *ban*. Chinook *wan*. Oregon: Takelma *p’a:n* ‘liver.’ Plateau: Klamath *balla* ‘liver.’ Zuni *pali* ‘liver.’ Mexican: Totonac *pa:n*; Mayan: Kakchiquel *pan*, Pokomchi *pam*.

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Move *bule*. Lenca: Guajiquero *palan* ‘chest.’ Malibu: Chimila *mu:na* ‘chest.’ Misumalpan: Miskito *biara*. Yanoama: Yanomamĩ *bariki* ‘chest,’ Yanam, Yanomam *parik* ‘chest.’

**Paezan:** Itonama *uh-bunu* ‘abdomen.’ Warrau *obono*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *ponon* ‘lungs.’ Patagon: Ona *panhe*, *pahank* ‘guts.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \**pil* ‘liver.’ Puinave: Tiquie *pedn*. Tucano: Wanana *paro*, Desana *paru*.

**Equatorial:** Kariri *biro* ‘belly.’ Maipuran: Passe *pori* ‘navel,’ Siusi *pure* ‘navel,’ Karif *bare* ‘navel,’ Uainuma *pare* ‘heart.’ Tupi: Shipaya *parua* ‘belly,’ Arikem *pera* ‘navel,’ Guayaki *punua* ‘navel,’ *purua* ‘navel,’ etc.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Umotina *upuru* ‘thorax.’ Fulnio *epatio* ‘upper abdomen.’ Ge: Apinage *pitān* ‘body,’ Crengéz *patu* ‘belly, chest.’ Kaingang: Serra do Chagu (*idfe-*)*paro* ‘chest.’ Puri: Coroado *puara* ‘chest.’

• [A30]

58 BELLY<sub>3</sub> \**mat*

**Andean:** Itucale *maudi*. Cahuapana: Cahuapana *mötpi*. Mayna (*ana-*)*muto* ‘navel.’

**Equatorial:** Katembri *mudo*. Kariri: Dzubucua *mudu*. Tupi: Digüt *bata*, *mata* ‘chest.’ Zamuco: Tumraha *pa-mat*.



**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Palmella *mate* ‘chest, breast,’ Cumanogoto *matir* ‘chest,’ Tamanaco *matiri* ‘chest.’ Yagua *mt<sup>y</sup>a* ‘chest.’  
 • [A31]

59 BELLY<sub>4</sub> \*to

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean R 81 \**tu?* ‘breast, milk.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 417 \**to* ‘stomach.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Nahugua *utevui*, Maiongom *ido-re* ‘chest,’ Galibi *ida*, *eta* ‘inside.’ Witoto: Nonuya [odoh].

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Komlek *-tovi* ‘chest,’ Mocovi [otogue] *otowe* ‘chest.’ Mataco: Choroti *teowe* ‘inside,’ Towothli *-towi* ‘inside, belly.’ Proto-Tacanan \**du-* ‘inside, deep.’

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *diua* ‘intestines.’ Ge: Krenje *tu*, Suya *tiu*, Cayapo *tu*. Kaingang: Dalbergia *du*, *dun*, Guarapurava *indu* ‘stomach.’ Mashakali: Patasho *e-tæ*. Opaie (*či-*)*ta* ‘chest, belly.’ Oti *etiu*.  
 • [A32]

60 BELLY<sub>5</sub> \*si

**Keresiouan:** Acoma (*ka-*)*si* ‘breast,’ Hidatsa *aci* ‘breast,’ (< \**a-si*).

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Tewa *sī*, Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(*n*)(*?*)*se(h)(n)*, Mono *sihi* ‘intestines,’ Opata *siwa-t*.  
 • [AK33, CA4]

## 61 BEND/KNEE/ELBOW/BOW (n.) \*poq’-os ~ \*c’e-puq’

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \**wāk-* ‘bend,’ Blackfoot *woxos* ‘shin’ (from an earlier meaning of ‘knee,’ as seen in Maidu *pok’ósi*). Wakashan: Bella Bella *wak-* ‘bent.’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Crow *išbaxe* ‘elbow,’ Hidatsa *išpaḥi* ‘elbow.’ Caddoan: Caddo *buko* ‘knee.’

**Penutian:** Tfalatik *pɔsq* ‘bow’ (with metathesis, from earlier \**pɔqVs*), Kalapuya *oposqu* ‘bow’ (with metathesis), Plateau: Klamath *spoq’allaga* ‘bends, coils,’ Proto-Maiduan \**p’ok’os* ‘knee,’ Maidu *pok’ósi* ‘knee,’ Nisenan *p’əkkasi* ‘elbow,’ Zuni *poʔku* ‘to fold,’ Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**p’ɔ* ‘fold,’ Proto-Mayan \**paʔk* ‘fold (v.),’ Pokomchi *bak* ‘crooked,’ Mixe-Zoque: Texistepec *boka* ‘elbow,’ Sierra Popoluca *pikši* ‘bow,’ Mixe *kupokš* ‘elbow.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**Paχu* ‘bow (n.),’ Shasta *ʔičipka* ‘knee,’ Achomawi *lupuʔisi* ‘bow,’ Walapai *mipuk* ‘knee,’ *phúʔ* ‘bow,’ Tipai *mipok* ‘knee,’ Chumash *sibuk* ~ *šipuk* ‘elbow,’ Santa Barbara *sibuk* ‘elbow,’ Santa Cruz *šipuk* ‘elbow’

**Central Amerind:** Varohia *čopokori* ‘knee.’

**Chibchan:** Guamaca *buka* ‘knee, elbow,’ Rama *buk* ‘twist,’ Atanque *buküh-*

*köna* ‘knee.’ Aruak: Guamaca *buka* ‘elbow, knee.’

**Paezan:** Warrao *oboka* ‘elbow,’ Colorado *te-bunga* ‘elbow,’ Cayapa *ne-bumbuka* ‘knee,’ Chimu *č’epuk* ‘knee.’

**Andean:** Jebero *pöktenya* ‘bow,’ Ona *epekten* ‘elbow,’ Qawasqar *kolpakar* ‘knee.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *poku* ‘bow (n.),’ Proto-Nambikwara *\*pokʔ* ‘bow (n.).’

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Paumari *amabokoi* ‘elbow,’ Zamuco: Guarañoca *pokà* ‘bow,’ Guahibo: Cuiva *tabóko* ‘knee,’ Proto-Maipuran *\*(ta-)po* ‘bow (n.),’ Palicur *ubowyi* ‘knee,’ Karif *bugunuge* ‘elbow.’

**Macro-Carib:** Miranha *thüboqua* ‘bow,’ Apiaca *topkat* ‘bow.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mayoruna *mupukušau* ‘elbow,’ Panobo *waʔpuško* ‘elbow’ (with metathesis), Sapiboca *embako* ‘elbow,’ Tiatinagua *waku* ‘elbow.’

**Macro-Ge:** Mohačobm *pokai* ‘bow,’ Umotina *boika* ‘bow,’ Bororo *boiga* ‘bow,’ Opaie *či-ṗege-ri* ‘elbow.’

• This root is also found in Niger-Kordofanian, Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, Indo-Pacific and Australian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

#### 62 BIG *\*pala*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan *\*w’a:la:*, Proto-Algic *\*pel*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Kalapuyan *\*pala*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*pa(lʷ) ~ pe(L)* ‘much.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoan *wala*.

#### 63 BIRD<sub>1</sub> *\*c’ik(c’ik) ~ c’uk(c’uk)*

**Almosan:** Proto-Central Algonquian *\*šišīpa* ‘duck, fowl, large bird’; Kutenai *c’o:c’o:*; Proto-Salish *\*c’ix<sup>w</sup> ~ \*c’əx<sup>w</sup>* ‘fishhawk, osprey’; Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan *\*c’ik<sup>w</sup>*, Kwakwala *c’ik<sup>w</sup>*, Bella Bella *cicipe*.

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *čiʔnəʔ*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Tsimshian *\*c’urc’*, Proto-Penutian *\*cik* ‘small bird,’ Proto-Yokuts *č’ax* ‘blackbird,’ Gulf: Proto-Northern Yuki *\*č’əʔəy* ‘bluejay,’ Wappo *č’akh* ‘redwing blackbird,’ Chitimacha *č’ekt* ‘redwing blackbird,’ Atakapa *cok* ‘blackbird,’ Natchez *cokkop* ‘blackbird’; Proto-Mayan *\*ših-Vk* ‘hawk,’ Proto-Quichean *\*c’ikin*; Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*suʔksu(k)* ‘hummingbird.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*č’iy* ‘bird,’ *\*c’o:q’ ~ \*č’o:q’ ~ \*č’w:KV* ‘yellowhammer,’ *\*čokV:* ‘oriole, yellowhammer, blackbird,’ Proto-Pomo *\*c’ihta*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan *\*ce-* ‘eagle.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*čip*, Quechua *cikci* ‘bat,’ Gennaken *čexčux* ‘bat,’ Qawasqar *c’aq<sup>h</sup>a* ‘heron.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *šik<sup>v</sup>aʔē* ‘hawk.’

**Macro-Panoan:** *\*šokī*.

- [AK22, AN12]

64 BIRD<sub>2</sub> \*p'isk'u

- Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**pi:škwa* ‘nighthawk,’ *wa:paʔšakiwa* ‘heron,’ Proto-Salish \**pisaʔ* ‘small animal, bird,’ Proto-Interior Salish *wisχ* ~ *ʔ<sup>w</sup>isχ* ‘robin,’ Proto-Coast Salish *p'əšk'a* ‘hummingbird.’
- Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**wi:sk'a* ‘robin.’
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**wici*.
- Paezan:** Barbacoan: Cayapa *pišku*, Colorado *picu*; Paez *βihča* ~ *βičakwe*; Proto-Choco \**ĩpisu* ‘hummingbird.’
- Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**pišqu*, Cuzqueño *p'isku*, Ayacucho *pisk'o*, Chinchaysuyu *p'isku*, Ancash *piško*, Quiteño *pišku*; Zaparo *pišiaka*; Culli *pič*.
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**bĩ-zĩ/ʔa*; Iranshe *pešiši* ‘hummingbird.’
- Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**βičo* ‘heron,’ \**pico* ‘parakeet, small parrot,’ \**pisa* ‘small toucan’; Proto-Tacanan \**pica* ~ *pija* ‘toucan.’

65 BITE<sub>1</sub> (v.) \*kua

- Almosan:** Kutenai -*χa-* ‘action with teeth’; Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala -(s)*x<sup>y</sup>a* ‘tooth’ (-s- only after vowels).
- Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Mohawk, Oneida *k-* ‘eat’; Keresan: Santa Ana *ku*.
- Penutian:** Tsimshian *q'ai*. Plateau: Klamath *g<sup>w</sup>*-. California: Miwok: Bodega *kawwu*; Costanoan: Rumsien *ka* ‘eat.’ Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *ko* ‘tooth,’ Quiché *ka* ‘tooth.’
- Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *k'ɔ*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 132 \**ku* ‘swallow, stomach, bite.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 152d \**ku*, \**ko* ‘eat,’ M 84 \**ko* ‘chew.’ Cf. Tanoan: Kiowa *k'ɔ* ‘knife,’ Jemez *k'i* ‘sharp.’
- Chibchan:** Aruak: Guamaca *kaka* ‘tooth.’ Chibcha: Chibcha *ka* ‘eat,’ Margua *ko* ‘eat.’ Cuitlatec *ehka*. Malibu: Chimila *koko* ‘swallow.’ Misumalpan: Sumu, Matagalpa *ka*. Motilon: Dobocubi *ko*, *koa* ‘food.’ Paya *ki*: ‘tooth.’ Rama: Guatuso *oka* ‘teeth.’ Talamanca: Bribri *iku*, Chiripo, Estrella, etc. *ka* ‘tooth.’ Yanoama (general) *koa* ‘drink.’
- Paezan:** Beto *xoki* ‘tooth.’ Choco: Catio, Saija *ko* ‘eat.’ Mura: Mura *kau(-assa)* ‘eat.’ Paez *koya* ‘food.’ Timucua *ukwa* ‘eat.’
- Andean:** Aymara: Jaqaru *aka*. Itucalc *ki* ‘eat.’ Cahuapana *kaki* ‘eat.’ Sabela *kæi* ‘bite!’, -*ga* ‘tooth.’ Zaparo: Iquito *ka* ‘tooth.’
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Auake *ake* ‘tooth.’ Auxiri *aka* ‘tooth.’ Catuquina *he*, *hi* ‘tooth.’ Huari: Masaka *kaukæwi*. Iranshe *kāka*. Kaliana *ka* ‘tooth.’ Movima *kaiki* ‘eat.’ Puinave: Papury *koχyöi*, Puinave *ko(e)hei*. Tucano: Coto *uxe* ‘tooth.’ Cf. Ticuna *či* ‘sting.’
- Macro-Carib:** Bora: Miranya *me-ikoi* ‘bite.’ Carib: Surinam *e:ka* ‘eat,’ Taulipang *eku* ‘eat,’ Waiwai *oku* ‘eat bread.’ Witoto: Witoto *eka* ‘feed,’ *kaí* ‘to gnaw,’ Muinane *eka* ‘feed,’ Ocaina *ʔo:xo* ‘eat,’ *oxo:xa* ‘food.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Guachi *i:k* ‘eat,’ Mocovi *kee* ‘eat,’ Abipone *l-aka* ‘food.’ Lule *kai*. Mataco: Choroti *okie* ‘bite,’ Vejoz *okua* ‘bite.’ Panoan: Cashibo *ko* ‘eat,’ Cashinahua, Marinhua *kīyu* ‘bite,’ Caripuna *kī* ‘bite.’ Proto-Tacanan *\*ika* ‘eat,’ *\*ikia* ‘eat, bite.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *kō* ‘eat.’ Caraja *ki* ‘eat.’ Proto-Ge *\*ku* ‘eat,’ *\*kur* ‘eat.’ Kaingang *ko* ‘eat.’ Kamakan: Cotoxo, Meniens *kua* ‘eat.’ Yabuti: Mashubi *ko* ‘eat,’ *či-koko* ‘bite.’

- [A33]

66 BITE<sub>2</sub> (v.) *\*tak*

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Koaia *toko* ‘tongue, tooth.’ Puinave: Curiariai *taki* ‘eat,’ Marahan *tog* ‘tooth,’ Parana Boaboa *i-tig* ‘tooth.’ Yuri *ča-tikou* (Wallace), *su-seko* ‘tooth’ (Spix).

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua: Kaskiha *-takse-*. Mataco: Choroti *-tek* ‘prick,’ Vejoz *čak* ‘stab.’ Mosesten *icaksi*. Panoan: Panobo *tuku-i* ‘chew.’ Proto-Tacanan *\*tekwa* ‘pierce, kill.’

- [A34]

67 BITTER<sub>1</sub> *\*pe(s)q’ ~ \*p’o(s)q’*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *p’eq* ‘rotten,’ Bella Bella *p’eqa* ‘rotten’; Salish: Musqueam *məsən* ‘gall, rotten.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan *\*p’a*, Biloxi *paxka* ‘sour’; Yuchi *paka*.

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *m’eq’* (v.) ‘sour,’ Tsimshian: Nass *mæx* ‘sour.’

**Hokan:** Tequistlatec *imagi* ‘ripe.’ Yuman: Maricopa, Walapai *mak* ‘ripe,’ Havasupai *ma:ka* ‘ripe,’ Yavapai *ma:* ‘ripe,’ etc.

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Atanque *pöganyia* ‘bitter.’ Chibcha: Manare *pasi-gui* ‘sweet.’ Cuitlatec *behči* ‘sour.’ Lenca: Guajiquero *pasa* ‘bitter,’ Membrano *posina* ‘bitter.’ Rama *pakaska* ‘bitter.’ Talamanca: Borunca *ba:ka* ‘bitter.’

**Paezan:** Atacama *pučk’ur* ‘sour.’ Paez *pos* ‘sour.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *paskešše* ‘rotten.’ Aymara *pok’ota* ‘ripe.’ Patagon: Tehuelche *poskš* ‘to rot.’ Quechua: Santiagueño *pošqo* ‘become rotten.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mosesten *bikka*. Proto-Panoan *\*moka*, Shipibo *pag* ‘sour.’ Proto-Tacanan *\*paçe*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *pogo-ddo* ‘sour.’ Chiquito *piča-ka-s* (n.)

- [A35]

68 BITTER<sub>2</sub> *\*cah*

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Hopi Tewa *sɛ:*, Tewa *sã* ‘taste hot.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean R 298 *\*(H)saH* ‘chili pepper.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Cayapa *sa*, Colorado *sã(-ba)*. Chimu: Eten *cay*. Choco: Catio *sa*, *ča* ‘sour.’

- [A36]

69 BITTER<sub>3</sub> \**kai*

**Penutian:** California: Maidu: South Maidu *oho* ‘sour’; Wintun: Colouse *aka* ‘bitter.’ Gulf: Atakapa *ox* ‘sharp,’ Tunica *kayi* ‘sour.’ Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec, etc. *ka(-il)* ‘bitter.’

**Hokan:** Chimariko *qoiyo-in* ‘sour.’ Karok *?u:x*. Pomo: East Pomo *b-iko* (*b-* is an adjective prefix). Salinan: San Miguel *t-iek* ‘animal’s gall,’ San Antonio *t-erk* ‘animal’s gall. Shasta *ič’ay*. Subtiaba *g-i:ko*, *g-i:ka* ‘liver,’ *m-i:ka* ‘sour.’ Tequistlatec *aggua*, *-gwa* ‘gall.’ Tonkawa *?ix?ex*. Washo *c-iga-l* ‘kidney.’ Yana *k’ai* ‘be bitter.’ Yuman: Yuma *xk<sup>w</sup>ak*, Walapai *hak*, Havasupai *aha:*, Akwa’ala *l-axa:*.

- [A242]

70 BLACK<sub>1</sub> \**pol*

**Hokan:** Comecrudo *pal*. Karankawa *pal*. Quinigua *pan*. Seri *ko-opoł*. Yana *pal*. Yuman: Tipai *palsat* ‘charcoal.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *pal*. Mapudungu *pun* ‘night.’ Cahuapana: Cahuapana *ök-piłi* ‘night,’ Jebero *ðək-pił* ‘night,’ *-wiłi* ‘action at night.’ Patagon: Patagon *apula* ‘night,’ Tehuelche *pulnek*, *epoln*, Ona *parn*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Capixana *vorone*, *woronæræ*. Gamella *katu-braho* ‘Negro’ (*katu* = ‘man’). Huari: Masaka *wi?ri*.

- [A37] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

71 BLACK<sub>2</sub> \**k’ara*

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Wichita *ka:r?i* ‘black’; Iroquoian: Mohawk *akara* ‘dark’; Siouan: Catawba *kare* ‘dark.’

**Hokan:** Karok *ikxaram* ‘night,’ *ikxurara* ‘evening.’ Yana: North Yana *xal . . lu* ‘dark,’ Yahi *xamlu* ‘pitch dark.’ Yuman: Tipai *xunn* ‘dark.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *tirre-kal*, *hakar* ‘dark, black.’ Mapudungu *kuru*. Ay-mara: Lupaca *č’iara*, Jaqaru *c’irara*. Cholona *čal*. Gennaken *ačula*. Cahuapana *peñ-akiła* ‘charcoal’ (*peñ* = ‘fire’). Patagon: Ona *kar* ‘charcoal.’ Quechua: Santiagoño *kiłu* ‘firebrand.’ Cf. Yamana: Yahgan *lakar* ‘night.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule [cele]. Mataco: Mataco *čalax*, Vejoz *čalax* ‘blue.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *čoreu*. Fulnio *klai*. Ge: Cherente *kran*. Opaie *kāōra*, *kōra*, *ōkaorae*.

- [A38] Cf. BAD<sub>1</sub>. This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

72 BLACK<sub>3</sub> \**t’uki*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *sik-*, Natick [sucki]; Mosan: Salish: Bella Coola *sk’x*, Musqueam *c’q’ix*.

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Mohawk *atek* ‘dark in color.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean R 94 *\*(n)(h)tu(h)(n)* ‘black, soot, dark, blind.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 45a *\*tu*, *\*tuhu*, M 45b *\*tuk* ‘night.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auake *asikē*. Canichana *takitixe* ‘night.’ Catuquina [tekniny].  
Puinave: Hubde *teča*, Tiquie *tesa*, Yehubde *tuiča*: Shukuru *taka* ‘Negro.’

**Equatorial** Kandoshi: Murato *ciki* ‘excrement.’ Maipuran: Arawak *tiki* ‘excrement,’ Machiguenga *tiga* ‘excrement,’ Piro *čki* ‘excrement,’ Ipurina *itike* ‘excrement,’ etc. Piaroa *tekē* ‘excrement.’

**Macro-Ge:** Chiquito *tuki-s* ‘dirty.’ Proto-Ge *\*tɨk* ‘black,’ Cayapo *tuk* ‘dirty.’  
• [A85]

#### 73 BLACK<sub>4</sub> *\*teteu*

**Hokan:** Jicaque *te*. Subtiaba *ida(-gina)*.

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *to(-e-gya)* ‘blind,’ Jemez *<sup>n</sup>dahu*, San Ildefonso *nak<sup>h</sup>ũ* ‘night, darkness.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Huari *jũjũi*. Kaliana *čãē*. Puinave: Curiariai *ča*, Dou *čawa*, Puinave *teta*: Querari *tetãu* ‘black, charcoal,’ Tiquie *d(ə)u* ‘charcoal.’ Tucano: Hehenawa *toa-teči* ‘charcoal’ (*toa* = ‘fire’). Yuri *čuhi*, *suy*, *tuyi*.

**Equatorial:** Otomaco *teoteo*. Piaroa: Saliba *tanda*. Taruma *daitwi-k* ‘blue.’ Trumai *date*. Tupi: Manitsawa *diadia*. Yaruro *tottua* ‘blue.’ Zamuco *utata* ‘black, dark.’

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *uitira* ‘green, blue.’ Fulnio *čičia* ‘black.’ Ge: Krenje *teted* ‘green,’ Crengéz *ntetete* ‘green.’ Kaingang: Dalbergia *či* ‘dark brown.’ Kamakan: Kamakan *hittu* ‘green,’ Cotoxo *itit* ‘green.’  
• [A39]

#### 74 BLACK<sub>5</sub> *\*tuni ~ tuli*

**Chibchan:** Talamanca: Borunca *turinat*. Tarascan *tuli*.

**Paezan:** Choco: Chami *tauri* ‘shadow.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *tuni*, Southern Nambikwara *t’un*.  
• [CP19, MT10]

#### 75 BLOOD<sub>1</sub> *\*pile*

**Penutian:** Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*pilu* ‘red.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo *\*ba:lay*.

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco *\*p<sup>h</sup>orea* ‘red.’ Timucua *pira* ‘red.’

**Andean:** Aymara *wila*. Leco *bile*. Patagon: Ona *vuar*, [hua:rr].

**Equatorial:** Kariri: Kariri *pri*, Dzubucua *pli*. Proto-Tupi *\*pirang*, Guayaki *pira*.  
• [A40]

76 BLOOD<sub>2</sub> \**menu*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Tunica *mili* ‘red.’ Oregon: Yakima *mareš* ‘red,’ Takelma *moʃit* ‘red,’ Kalapuya *me:nu* ‘blood.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *moʃfiñ*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Catuquina [mimy]. Iranshe *mĩʔĩ* ‘blood,’ *mĩnohu* ‘bleed.’ Maku *tabe-memu* ‘sap’ (*tabe* = ‘tree’). Puinave: Nukak *mɛʔɛp*, Puinave *ãmã*, Querari *mẽ* ‘red.’ Tucano: Amaguaje, Coto *ma* ‘red.’ Cf. Southern Nambikwara *ya:miya*.

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Yamamadi, etc. *ama*. Chapacura: Itene *mem-ye*, *memena* ‘red,’ Tora *memnu* ‘red.’ Maipuran: Palicur *omi-ra*, Wachipairi, Toyeri *mimi*. Otomaco: Otomaco, Taparita *imma*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Surinam *menu*, Galibi *munu*, Jaricuna *umane*, Pemon *muen*. Yagua *mɔna*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua *eme*. Proto-Panoan \**imi*. Proto-Tacanan \**ami*.

- [A40, A41]

77 BLOOD<sub>3</sub> \**ʔita*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-North Yuki \**ʔəs*, Coast Yuki *es*, Yuki *ãš*, Natchez *ʔic*, Muskogean: Choctaw *issiš*, Koasati *ičikči*. Zuni *ʔate*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*i-*)*šit*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ʔet*.

**Paezan:** Timucua *isi*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \*(*m-*)*ithah(-na)*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Vejoz *ičiot* ‘red.’

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *itSo* ‘red.’

- [P19]

78 BLOOD<sub>4</sub> \**pe*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Arapaho *beʔ*, *ba*, Cheyenne *mae*.

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Caddo *bahʔuh*; Siouan: Dakota *we*, Tutelo *wayi*, *waʔih*.

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**ʔəyip'i*.

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *ʔō-m*, Santa Clara *ũʔ*, Jemez *ʔĩ*, Isleta *ũa*. Proto-Oto-Manguean \**we* ‘red.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 47b \**ʔew* (with note “perhaps better \**ʔem*”).

**Chibchan:** Proto-Arawak \**əbbi*. Aruak: Kagaba *abi*. Proto-Chibcha \**ebi*, Chibcha *üba*; Margua, Tegria, Boncota, Manare *aba*. Cuna *api*. Guaymi: Chumulu *have*. Motilon *abi*. Talamanca: Bribri *pe*, Chiripo *api*.

**Paezan:** Mura: Mura *be*, Matanawi *mĩ*. Proto-Choco \**wa*. Paez *be* ‘red.’

**Equatorial:** Maipuran: Piapoco *eʃe-ri* ‘red,’ Uainuma *eba-ri* ‘red,’ Curipaco *ewa(-dali)* ‘red.’ Otomaco *pipi* ‘red.’ Proto-Tupi-Guarani \**uwi*. Yuracare

*bubu-si* ‘red.’ Chapacura: Tora *wi*. Guamo: Santa Rosa *xue*.

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke [peaih] ‘red.’ Carib: Chayma *t-api-re* ‘red,’ Galibi *t-api-de* ‘red.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *ewe*, Chunupi *woi*, Chama *woʔo* ‘red.’

- [A209, E18, MP12]

79 BLOOD<sub>5</sub> \*k<sup>w</sup>a

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish *k<sup>w</sup>im* ~ \*k<sup>w</sup>əmi- ‘red,’ \*k<sup>w</sup>al- ~ \*k<sup>w</sup>əl- ‘red.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \*k<sup>w</sup>ē:ht ‘ochre, red paint.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(a-)x<sup>w</sup>a(-t’) ‘blood, red,’ Proto-Yuman \*ʔah<sup>w</sup>ate ‘red,’ \*k<sup>w</sup>ara ‘red ochre,’ \*x<sup>w</sup>at ‘blood.’ Proto-Coahuiltecan \*kuaʔ.

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado ʔahsã.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(n)k<sup>w</sup>a(ʔ) ‘red.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche açweʔsaʔa ‘red.’

**Equatorial:** Piaroa: Saliba *k<sup>w</sup>au*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Guaicuru \*æwudi.

80 BLOW (v.) \*puci ~ \*puku

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \*pa:wa(x<sup>w</sup>) ‘blow, breathe,’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *pwx<sup>w</sup>*- ‘blow with the mouth.’ Proto-Salish \*puh ~ \*pawh ~ \*pux<sup>w</sup>. Proto-Chimakuan \*pox<sup>w</sup>.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan -pu:d<sup>z</sup>a. Proto-Siouan \*pu- ‘by blowing.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *bu*: ‘blow with the mouth.’ Oregon: Alsea *pu*, Coos *pəš*, Proto-Kalapuyan \*pu:. Proto-California \*p<sup>h</sup>o:soʔ, Proto-Yokuts \*p<sup>h</sup>o:š(o). Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \*pu:tu ‘blow (wind),’ Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *puše:l*. Maidu *pi*. Zuni *puʔʔa* ‘blow on.’ Proto-Gulf \*pu:h<sup>t</sup>e ‘blow through a tube,’ Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \*pu:ʔn, Proto-Yuki *puč* ‘blow with the mouth.’ Proto-Mayan \*phu. Proto-Mixe-Zoque *poh* ‘blow (wind).’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(i)pχu ‘blow,’ \*pχu- ‘by blowing,’ \*p<sup>h</sup>usu:(l) ~ \*p<sup>h</sup>ušu:(l) ‘blow,’ Proto-Pomo \*p<sup>h</sup>u- ‘current of air.’ Proto-Yuman \*p-čul, \*pšux.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Azteco-Tanoan \*p<sup>h</sup>u. Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*puc ~ \*puhi ‘blow with mouth.’ Proto-Tanoan \*p<sup>h</sup>uce, Kiowa *p<sup>h</sup>o(-le)*, Jemez *φo(-se)*.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \*bun ~ \*bur ‘wind.’ Tarascan *p<sup>h</sup>uniani*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*puka- ~ \*puku-.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \*pu-ti. Maku-Puinave *poh*. Movima *poumuh* ‘wind.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani \*peyu. Pakaasnovos *pahop* ‘blow (wind).’

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan \*po:noʔ.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *p<sup>h</sup>u*. Mataco: Mataco *fwo* ‘wind blows,’ Suhin *fuyi*. Moseten *fifi*. Proto-Panoan \*paya ‘to fan.’ Proto-Tacanan \*pei.



**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *paori* ‘air.’ Mashakali: Macuni *paepi* ‘wind,’ Capoxo *abu* ‘wind.’ Puri: Coroado *pui*.

- [A42] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

81 BLUE/GREEN \**sik*<sup>wa</sup>

**Almosan:** Proto-North Wakashan \**sik*<sup>w</sup>- ‘blueberry,’ Heiltsuk *sik*<sup>was</sup> ‘blueberry’; Proto-Algonquian \**aški-* ‘green, fresh, raw.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**skí-* ‘blue, green.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: North Sahaptin *cəkcək* ‘green,’ Nez Perce *c’ixc’ix* ‘green,’ Yakima *seksek* ‘grass.’ California: Costanoan: Monterey *šieχ* ‘grass,’ Rumsien *čuktuk* ‘green’; Wintun: Patwin *seka* ‘green.’ Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *siek* ‘blue,’ Huchnom *siex* ‘blue,’ Wappo *šikatis* ‘blue.’ Mexican: Huave *tek* ‘green’; Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *cuhcuh* ‘green’; Mayan: Tzeltal *itax* ‘verdure,’ Kekchí *ičax* ‘grass.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**sak*<sup>wa</sup> ‘blue.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**sawa-* ‘blue,’ Proto-Panoan \**šo:* ‘green,’ Lule *za*, Moseten *za*.

- [MP32]

82 BODY<sub>1</sub> \**p*<sup>i</sup>

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *p’iyi-n* ‘deer.’ Yukian: Wappo *p’ih* ‘be fat,’ *pi?ε* ‘fat’ (adj.)

**Hokan:** Achomawi *ipħa:w* ‘fat’ (adj.) Chimariko *phi:ʔa* ‘fat’ (n.) Pomo: North Pomo *pu:i* ‘be greasy.’ Salinan: San Antonio *upi(-nit)* ‘fat’ (n.), Yana *p<sup>h</sup>uih* ‘be fat.’

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Hopi Tewa *pivih* ‘meat,’ San Ildefonso *piβi* ‘meat.’

**Andean:** Cahuapana: Jebero *pi*. Mayna *pa* ‘skin.’ Yamana: Yamana *api* ‘body, skin,’ Yahgan *api*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora: Imihita (*mex-*)*pi*. Witoto: Muinane *abi*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *uabo* ‘heart,’ Umotina *uapo* ‘heart.’ Chiquito *po* ‘belly,’ Ge: Geico *aepu* ‘belly,’ Chavante (*im-*)*pa* ‘guts.’ Guato *ipo* ‘belly.’ Kaingang: Palmas, Tibagi, Guarapuava *fe* ‘heart.’

- [A43]

83 BODY<sub>2</sub> \**ime*

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Culino *ime* ‘meat.’ Otomaco *aem* ‘body.’ Yuracare *eme* ‘meat.’

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *uma*. Ge: Karaho *am-kahög* ‘animal,’ *am-kin* ‘harmful animal.’ Kaingang: Tibagi *me*, *mein* ‘animal.’ Puri *imi*.

- [A44]

## 84 BODY PART SUFFIX \*-an

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: [languages??] -an- (body part suffix); Salish: [languages??] -n (body part suffix).

**Keresiouan:** Keresan: [languages??] -ani ~ -ini (suffix on body parts and other nouns).

**Penutian:** Totonac -an (noun formative, e.g., *mak-an* ‘hand’).

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi \**meʔej* ‘hand.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**mikini* ‘hand,’ Caripuna *moken* ‘hand.’

• [G65, A137] There are many other examples of this body part suffix in this dictionary. Cf. HAND ~ GIVE ~ MEASURE below.

85 BOIL (v.) \**tʰoq<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \**eʔa:xkwesamwa* ‘burn it thus.’ Mosan: Proto-Salish \**wəʔq<sup>w</sup>* ~ \**wʔəq<sup>w</sup>* ‘boil, cook.’ Proto-North-Wakashan *lq<sup>w</sup>* ‘fire, campfire,’ Heiltsuk *lq<sup>w</sup>ilí* ‘fire,’ Kwakwala *lq<sup>w</sup>ila* ‘fire,’ *lq<sup>w</sup>aʔùd* ‘bring firewood,’ Haisla *lq<sup>w</sup>ilà* ‘make a fire,’ *lq<sup>w</sup>a* ‘firewood.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Tsimshian \**k<sup>w</sup>alk<sup>w</sup>* ‘burn,’ \**kwælk<sup>w</sup>* ‘wood,’ Coast Tsimshian *læk* ‘fire, wood,’ *si-ləks* ‘make fire,’ *gwælək* ‘burn,’ Nass *lakw* ‘fire.’ Chinook: Kathlamet *ʔx* ‘burn,’ *ʔʔaqʔʔaq* ‘burn.’ Oregon: Coos *lo:q<sup>w</sup>*, Siuslaw *laq<sup>w</sup>*, Yakonan *tʰq-*. Plateau: Klamath *loloq-s* ‘fire,’ Nez Perce *ʔa:lik* ‘make fire,’ Sahaptin *ilkw-s* ~ *iluk-s* ‘fire,’ *ilkw* ‘make fire,’ *ilkw-as* ‘burn,’ Klamath *lolog-s* ‘fire,’ *s-likw-* ‘make fire.’ Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**ʔuk*, Atakapa *ʔok*, Chitimacha *lahi* ‘burn,’ Natchez *luk*, Muskogean: Choctaw *luak*. Mexican: Mayan: Chol *lok*.

**Hokan:** Subtiaba: Tlappanec *nik* ‘burn.’ Tonkawa *naxo* ‘cook.’

**Paezan:** Atacama *lok* ‘burn’ (intransitive). Itonama *i-lax* ‘burn.’

• [A45]

86 BONE<sub>1</sub> \**pak*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**wahu*.

**Penutian:** California: Wintun *bak*, *baka* ‘tough.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**b’a:k*; Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**pak*, Zoque *pak*, *paki* ‘hard,’ Mixe *pahk*; Huave *pak* ‘hard.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*a/i*-)*piH* ‘bone, egg,’ Achomawi: Achomawi *ipa:ži* ‘strong,’ Atsugewi *i:paki* ‘strong.’ Yuman: Akwa’ala *paʔx<sup>w</sup>ay* ‘fierce.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**waki* ‘be dry.’

**Andean:** Cholona *paxo-let* ‘dry season’ (*let* = ‘season’). Yamana *paka* ‘be dry.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Parana Boaboa *mbagn* ‘hard, unripe.’ Tucano: Yupua *bə(x)ka* ‘hard,’ Curetu *bikad<sup>y</sup>a* ‘hard.’

**Equatorial:** Piaroa: Saliba *pāhĩã* ‘bone.’ Tupi: Pawate *panga* ‘hard,’ Am-

niapa *pen* ‘hard,’ Yuruna *panka* ‘bone,’ Shipaya *pāki* ‘bone.’

- [A90]

87 BONE<sub>2</sub> \*t’ui

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \*s-c’umʔ ~ \*s-c’əmʔ.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \*ca. Proto-Yokuts \*č’iy. Zuni *sa*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \*ciya:k.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Guambiano *cucik*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*tuʎu.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Huari: Huari *tu*, *cu*, Masaka *cu*. Nambikwara: Proto-Nambikwara \*soh. Cf. Catuquina: Canamari *coampadʷa*.

**Equatorial:** Cayuvava *hičučuču* ‘jaw bone.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \*šao.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *dʃi:* (Davis), *te’y*. Chiquito *ci:*. Proto-Ge \*zi, Apinage *yi*, Cayapo, Cherente *hi*. Kaingang: Tibagi, Palmas *hö* ‘body.’ Kamakan: Cotoxo *huy* ‘body.’

- [A46]

88 BONE<sub>3</sub> \*cak

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \*oxkani ‘his bone,’ Cree *osk-an* (-an body-part suffix), Cree *sok* ‘strong,’ Cheyenne *hekon* ‘strong’; Yurok *seki* ‘strong,’ *sekeyow* ‘hard.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \*skēʔr. Keresan: Acoma (*ha:-*) *ska(-ni)*, Santa Ana *ha:-sg(-ni)*. Siouan: Osage *thagi* ‘hard,’ Hidatsa *coki* ‘hard.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \*c-a-k-l ‘dry,’ Tsimshian *ziak* ‘become dry.’ Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \*c<sup>h</sup>akkalu: ‘dry.’ Gulf: Tunica *sihu* ‘dry,’ Atakapa *cak* ‘dry,’ Natchez *co:x* ‘dry’; Muskogean: Hitchiti *suku:* ‘dry.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan \*t<sup>y</sup>ak-iʔŋ ‘dry,’ Proto-Quichean \*čaqiʔ(i)x ‘dry,’ Uspantec *čak-ex* ‘dry,’ Kekchí *čeki* ‘dry,’ Chol *tixiniš* ‘dry’ (transitive), Tzeltal *taki-n* ‘dry.’

**Hokan:** Pomo: Kashaya *ʔihya*, Northeast Pomo *hiya*. Seri *itak*. Yuman: Maricopa *ša:k*, *iša:k*, Akwa’ala *čiaka*. Cf. Karok *sakri:v* ‘hard.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*čaki ‘dry.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \*soh ‘dry.’

- [A47]

89 BONE<sub>4</sub> \*p’i

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *p’ys-* ‘hard.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Sahaptian *pi:pš*. Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \*p-w ‘bone, leg, calf,’ Proto-Maiduan \*p’i-k’a ‘dry, stiff.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(a/i)piH ‘bone, egg,’ Karok *ʔipih*. Washo *i:biʔ*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado *fu* ‘be dry.’ Choco: Chami *pə:* ‘dry.’ Mura:

Mura *pe(-ase)* ‘summer,’ Matanawi *api-ranũ* ‘dry.’

- [A48]

90 BONE<sub>5</sub> \**χaq*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**χa:-*, Wakashan: Kwakwala *χaq-*, Haisla *χa:χ*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**a(:)K* ~ *a(:)K'*, Proto-Yuman \**ak*, Kiliwa *hak*, Tipai *ʔa:k*, Campo *ʔak*. Salinan: San Antonio *axa:k*, San Miguel *axak*. Shasta *ak*. ?Proto-Pomo \**ʔihya(:)*.

91 BONE<sub>6</sub> \**ʔunku*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ʔo* ~ \**oho*. Proto-Tanoan \**ʔũ*.

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *ũ*.

**Andean:** Zaparo *ʔuku*.

**Equatorial:** Achuar *ukunč*.

92 BOW/ARROW \**ʔoq<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Haisla *ʔk<sup>w</sup>is* ‘bow’; ?Proto-Algonquian \**aʔawa:na* ‘arrow.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Kalapuya *enuk* ‘arrow’; California \**nok'o* ‘arrow,’ Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \**nVk* ‘bow, arrow,’ Proto-Yokuts \**nuk'-* ~ *nek'* ‘bow,’ Proto-Maiduan \**nok'* ‘arrow,’ Maidu *nok'o* ‘arrow’; Zuni *ʔak-u* ‘shoot, stab,’ Wappo *luka* ‘bow,’ Proto-Gulf *ʔaki* ‘arrow,’ Natchez *ono<sup>xk</sup>* ‘thorn’; Muskogean: Alabama *naki* ‘arrow,’ Koasati *ʔaki* ‘arrow’; Proto-Mayan \**la(:)h* ‘nettle.’

**Equatorial:** Cofan *nuxa* ‘thorn,’ Zamuco: Guaranoco *onak* ‘thorn.’

- [P9, E113]

93 BREAK (v.) \**k'at'i*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**ki:ški:škahamwa* ‘cut, chop to pieces’ (with reduplication to indicate continuous action).

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *katt'* (sing. object). California: Miwok: Central Sierra *koṭicu*. Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *k'εše* ‘cut,’ Atakapa *kec* (Eastern), *kuc* (Western); Tunica *kahču*; Natchez *kec*; Muskogean: Creek *koče*, Hitchiti *kos* ‘cut.’ Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca *kit<sup>y</sup>*; Mayan: Tzotzil *k'as*, Mam *kat-um*.

**Hokan:** Achomawi *kati*. Karok *ikvit* ‘cut.’ Seri *k-kašx*. Tonkawa *kesʔace* ‘be broken.’ Yuman: Yuma *ak<sup>y</sup>eṭ* ‘cut.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Chayma *akete* ‘cut,’ Surinam *ako:to* ‘cut down’ etc. Witoto: Witoto *kaita* ‘cut,’ Witoto-Kaimo *koaiti* ‘cut,’ Muinane *kodʔa* ‘cut.’

- [A49] This root is also found in Kartvelian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

94 BREAST<sub>1</sub> \*k'amin

- Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Cree *na-skikum* ‘chest,’ Ojibwa *ni-ka:n* ‘in front,’ Blackfoot *mo-kekin*; Wiyot *k<sup>w</sup>ar*; Yurok *k<sup>w</sup>en*. Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *k'in* ‘front of body.’
- Penutian:** California: Maidu *k'ami* ‘belly.’ Gulf: Atakapa *kom* ‘belly,’ *kōp* ‘stomach’; Chitimacha *kipi* ‘body.’ Oregon: Siuslaw *qo:mi* ‘belly,’ Yakanan *k<sup>y</sup>ipl* ‘navel.’ Zuni *k'o:ppan* ‘belly.’
- Hokan:** Comecrudo *kene* ‘chest.’ Cotoname *kenam*. Karankawa *kanin*.
- Andean:** Cahuapana *ikin-ək* ‘middle’ (-ək is locative). Patagon: Patagon *kim* ‘belly,’ Tsoneka *kin* ‘belly.’ Yamana *ikimik* ‘be inside.’
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Canichana *gameni* ‘breast.’ Kaliana *kamīhī* ‘chest.’ Tucano: Buhagana *egame* ‘heart.’ Yuri *ču-ukomæ* (Wallace) ‘chest,’ *suoyome* (Spix) ‘chest.’ Cf. Puinave: Hubde *čab* ‘chest.’
- Equatorial:** Chapacura: Itene *kima*, Tora *ikimā*, etc. Cofan *ixamate* ‘chest.’ Kariri: Kamaru *kummamang* ‘milk.’ Maipuran: Machiguenga, Campa *comi*. Piaroa: Piaroa *txu-xkuamū* ‘belly,’ Saliba *xomexe* ‘chest.’ Tupi: Proto-Tupi \**kam*.
- Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Toba *kom* ‘inside.’ Lengua *kañi* ‘inside.’ Mosesten *kañ* ‘in.’
- Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *kuā* ‘inside,’ *kuaj* ‘belly.’ Ge: Cayapo *kamaŋ* ‘inside,’ Krenje *kamā* ‘inside.’ Kaingang: Tibagi *ka*, ‘inside,’ *kan* ‘inside,’ Palmas *kamme* ‘inside.’ Mashakali: Mashakali, Capoxo *it-kematan* ‘inside,’ Macuni *i-kematahi* ‘inside,’ Patasho *e-kæp* ‘inside.’
- [A50]

95 BREAST<sub>2</sub> \*niono

- Macro-Tucanoan:** Capixana *nyānō* ‘bosom,’ Huari *nini*, Ticuna *nonnon*.
- Macro-Ge:** Kradaho *i-nioŋu* ‘belly,’ Mashakali *inioñ* ‘belly.’
- [MT18, MG9]

96 BREAST<sub>3</sub> \*pin

- Central Amerind:** Tewa *pī*, Proto-Oto-Manguean \**k<sup>w</sup>i(?)*(n), Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**pi*.
- Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Matagalpa *pu* ‘belly.’
- Paезan:** Choco: Tucura *bi* ‘belly.’ Barbacoan: Colorado *bi* ‘inside.’
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Wanana *peno*, Hubde *pwun*, Kaliana *wi*.
- [CA9, CP15, MT17]

97 BREAST<sub>4</sub> \*tu

- Penutian:** Zuni *cu* ‘stomach.’ Gulf: Tunica *ʔuču*, Atakapa *šo* ‘heart,’ Yuki *t'u* ‘belly.’ Mayan: Chorti *ču*.

**Hokan:** Washo *šū*, Chumash *s-čwö*, Karok *?ūčič*.

**Chibchan:** Motilon: Dobocubi *iši* ‘belly.’ Misumalpan: Ulua *asung* ‘liver.’

**Paezan:** Sambu *izo* ‘heart.’

- [P25, P107, H25, CP98]

98 BREATHE \**hiq<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**hiχ-* ‘breathe, blow.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**hik<sup>(w)</sup>*.

99 BRING \**tuk*

**Almosan:** Kutenai *cukw-*; Mosan: Wakashan: Bella Bella *tx*; Salish: Lillooet *tukə<sup>n</sup>*, Kalispel *tix<sup>w</sup>* ‘get.’

**Keresiouan:** Keresan: Santa Ana *tigu* ‘remove’ (pl. object); Siouan: Mandan *du-tak* ‘take away’ (*du-* = ‘action with hand’).

**Penutian:** California: Yokuts *taxa*. Gulf: Atakapa *tuk*.

- [A51]

100 BROAD \**pat<sup>l</sup>*

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *bel* ‘flat, wide,’ Yurok *pel*, *pelin*, *pleli* (the last two from Kroeber); Mosan: Chimakuan *pałá:* ‘flat,’ Proto-Salish \**pal* ‘flat, thin,’ \**p’al* ~ \**p’il* ‘flat,’ Wakashan: Haisla *pat<sup>l</sup>à* ‘flat,’ Heiltsuk (Bella Bella) *bāt<sup>l</sup>a* ‘fathom, span.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**pra* ‘flat, broad,’ Biloxi *palači* ‘broad,’ Chiwere *blaθge* ‘flat.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *bał* ‘broad,’ Nass *bał* ‘spread out’ (v.), Wishram *opēd<sup>l</sup>* ‘stretch out,’ California: Gashowu *phal* ‘spread out,’ Yawelmani *palin* ‘flat,’ Maidu *batbatpe* ‘flat, planar,’ Southern Sierra Miwok *ɬappāle* ‘broad,’ Lake Miwok *pat<sup>l</sup>-* ‘flat,’ Gulf: Natchez *?epet*, *pet* ‘spread’; Muskogean: Alabama, Koasati *pat<sup>h</sup>a*, Natchez *patha* ‘broad,’ Tunica *pāl* ‘flat,’ Mexican: Huave *apal* ‘cover.’

**Hokan:** Comecrudo *papol* ‘flat,’ Pomo: North Pomo *bado:* ‘flat.’ San Antonio Salinan (*p*)*elet’o* ‘open,’ Quinigua *patama*. Seri *k-apt-h* (sing. subject), *k-apt-ałka* (pl. subject). Tequistlatec *spac’*. Yana: North Yana, Yahi *-d?pal* ‘flat.’ Yuman: Kiliwa *patay*, ?Cocopa *pał* ‘broad.’

**Central Amerind:** Uto-Aztecan: Mono *papa-ha:nox* ‘broad,’ Oto-Manguan: Otomi *pappar* ‘broad.’

**Chibchan:** Ulua *pap-* ‘opened on.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *pal-no* ‘open.’

**Andean:** Quechua *palta* ‘broad,’ Yamana *patux* ‘flat country,’ Yahgan *patuk* ‘flat.’

**Equatorial:** Guahibo *patayuobi* ‘open,’ Uru *p<sup>h</sup>ala* ‘broad,’ Callahuaya *peyra* ‘broad,’ Wapishana *ibar* ‘flat.’

**Macro-Carib:** Muinane *aparide* ‘open,’ Ocaina *t<sup>y</sup>a-piira* ‘you open it.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Toba Guazu *pateta* ‘flat,’ Tacana *pai* ‘flat.’

**Macro-Ge:** Capasho *pato* ‘broad,’ Ramkokamekran *ipoti* ‘broad.’

• [A52] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

101 BURN<sub>1</sub> (v.) \*t<sup>h</sup>eq’a ~ \*t<sup>h</sup>oq’a

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**takweswe:wa* ‘cook.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *cyx* ‘burn something,’ Nootka *tik<sup>w</sup>in* ‘baking in sand, ashes,’ Bella Bella *t’i?k’il*. Proto-Salish \**c’iχ* ‘burn, sting,’ Shuswap *t’ik* ‘fire.’ Proto-Chimakuan \**tik’a-* ‘kindle a fire,’ Quileute *tiq<sup>w</sup>a?a’* ‘cook in a pit.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca, Mohawk *-atek-*. Proto-Siouan \**at<sup>h</sup>ex* ~ \**at<sup>h</sup>ax*, Hidatsa *adaxa*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \**suqal* ‘cook, warm,’ California Penutian *tu*, Proto-Maiduan \**c’oh-* ‘burn (intr.)’ Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**č’o* ‘fire, hot,’ Chitimacha *tu:č* ‘cook.’ Proto-Mayan \**čik’-VI* ‘burn,’ \**t<sup>y</sup>ak* ‘cook,’ Huastec *tek* ‘cook,’ Tzotzil *tok’on* ‘cooked,’ etc.

**Hokan:** Coahuilteco *-t’ixamko’* ‘burn (tr.)’ Proto-Yuman \**tuka* ‘burn (tr.)’, Tipai, Akwa’ala *tux* ‘burn,’ Havasupai, Walapai *tuka* ‘burn.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**tai* ~ \**tahi*.

**Paezan:** Jirajara: Ayoman *dug* ‘fire,’ Jirajara *dueg* ‘fire.’ Timucua *taka* ‘fire, burn.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *t’eqya* ~ *taqua* ‘light a fire,’ *txaq* ‘burn.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**do?a* ‘cook.’ Canichana *čuku* ‘burn,’ *čuko* ‘burn.’ Kaliana *txoko* ‘fire.’ Natu *tika* ‘burn.’ Puinave: Parana Boa-Boa *tahō* ‘fire,’ Nadobo *tögō* ‘fire,’ Querari *teked* ‘burn,’ Hubde, Yehubde *tegn* ‘fire.’ Shukuru *itoka* ‘burn.’ Iranshe *ita* ‘cook, burn,’ *tḥhĩḥĩ* ‘cook.’ Jupda *teg* ‘fire.’ Cf. Muniche *čuse* ‘burn.’

**Equatorial:** Guahibo *atahu* ‘hot.’ Kariri: Dzubucua *uduhe* ‘hot.’ Proto-Maipuran \**dikah(-ci)* ‘fire,’ Wachipairi *ta:x* ‘hot,’ Amarakaeri, Toyeri *ta?ak* ‘fire,’ Marawa *tikiti* ‘fire,’ Campa *taka* ‘burn,’ Baniva *adəhe* ‘hot,’ Wapishana *tiker* ‘fire,’ Marawan *tiketi* ‘fire,’ Atorai *tikir* ‘fire.’ Piaroa: Piaroa *nduae* ‘hot,’ Saliba *duada* ‘heat.’ Timote: Mocoche *cuhe* ‘sun.’ Zamuco: Tumraha *ərehu* ‘fire,’ Chamacoco *örugu* ‘fire.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *etuka*, Nahukwa *ito* ‘fire,’ Kalapalo *ito*: ‘fire.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Guisnai *etax* ‘fire.’ Tacanan: Cavineña *etiki* ‘fire.’ Mataco, Choropi, Suhin, Ashluslay *itox* ‘fire.’ Vejoz *itox* ~ *itag* ‘fire.’ Nocten *ütax* ‘fire.’

**Macro-Ge:** Kutasho *tiakil* ‘fire.’ Mongoyo *diaxka* ‘fire.’ Hahahay *itahabm* ‘fire.’

• [A54] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

102 BURN<sub>2</sub> (v.) \*peq' ~ \*poq'

- Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \*ba:q<sup>w</sup> ~ \*ba:q 'fire,' Wakashan: Heiltsuk, Haisla *bika* 'transfer fire.'
- Penutian:** Proto-Coos-Takelma \*pʔi: 'fire,' Takelma *pʔi:* 'fire.'
- Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(i)pI(K'), Proto-Pomo \*ʔihp<sup>ha</sup>- 'cook, bake.'
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan \*p<sup>ha</sup> 'fire.'
- Chibchan:** Paya *pas* 'kindle.' Motilon: Dobocubi *bočon* 'heat.' Talamanca: Bribri *pace* 'kindle.' Yanomam *wakə* 'fire.'
- Paezan:** Paez *bač* 'become hot,' *apaz* 'burn.' Proto-Choco \*pa:-. Inter-Andine: Guambiano, Totoro *patéip*.
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Pamöa *paʔaro* 'fire,' Yahuna, Tanimuca *peka* 'fire,' Uantya, Uasöna *pekame* 'fire,' Patsoca *pekaro* 'fire,' Uaiana *pekane* 'fire.' Maku-Puinave *pāũʔ*.
- Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani \*api, Digüt *pokaiŋ* 'fire.' Zamuco, Ayore, Guarañoca *piok* 'fire.'
- Macro-Carib:** Carib: Uaica *apok* 'fire,' Taurepan *apog* 'fire,' Arecuna, Ingarico *apo* 'fire.' Witotoan: Witoto *boʔodöno* 'fire.'
- Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *pek*, Karaho *puk*, Erikbatsa *okpog(-maha)*. Yabuti: Arikapu *pikö* 'fire,' Mashubi *piku* 'fire.'
- [CP105, CP109, MG18] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

103 BURN<sub>3</sub> (v.) \*ka ~ \*ko

- Almosan:** Kutenai *ko*.
- Keresiouan:** Keresan: Santa Ana *hā-k'a-ni* 'fire.'
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*ka. Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*ku ~ \*ko 'fire.' Tanoan: Taos *xa* 'roast.'
- Equatorial:** Tupi: Sanamaica *ka:i* 'fire.'
- Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge \*ku-zi 'fire.' Patasho *köa* 'fire.' Macuni *kö* 'fire.' Mashakali *ko* 'fire.' Kapasho *ka* 'fire.'
- [AK37, CA11]

104 BURN<sub>4</sub> (v.) \*moʔok

- Almosan:** Proto-Salish \*wəʔq<sup>w</sup> 'cook, boil,' Upper Chehalis *wʌq<sup>w</sup>* 'cook.'
- Penutian:** Tsimshian *māʔlk*, Nass *meʔ*, Takelma *meʔl*, Siuslaw *maʔč*, Nisewan *molmol* 'boil,' Patwin *māʔa* 'cook.'
- Hokan:** Yana *maʔlak* 'bake.' Proto-Pomo \*ma:li- ~ \*mahla-, South Pomo *māli*, Washo *meli* 'make a fire,' Jicaque *myolko* 'boil.'
- Central Amerind:** Zacapoaxtla *momoluca* 'boil' (with reduplication to indicate continuous action).
- [H19, H26] The Salish forms may belong with BOIL *tʰoq<sup>w</sup>*.



105 BUTTERFLY<sub>1</sub> \*palpal

**Penutian:** Gulf: Muskogean: Alabama *hakco:palpa*, Proto-North-Yuki \*pal- ~ \*palpol-.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*p<sup>h</sup>aLoLo.

106 BUTTERFLY<sub>2</sub> \*penpen

**Penutian:** Proto-Mayan \*pehpen ~ \*pehpen.

**Paезan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *pūpu*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *puʔpiñiʔi*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \*pipiš, Proto-Tacanan \*-pipi.

107 BUTTERFLY<sub>3</sub> \*sape ~ \*sapipe ~ \*sasipe

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*suse:pe.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *sape*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \*sapipi ~ \*sababa, Proto-Tacanan \*sababa.

108 BUTTERFLY<sub>4</sub> \*liklik

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Haisla *lk<sup>w</sup>*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mascoian: Lengua *seliklik*.

## 109 BUY \*teu

**Almosan:** Mosan: Salish: Shuswap *tew*; Wakashan: Kwakwala *da* ‘take.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*te, Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \*tū.

- [AK40, CA13]

110 BUZZARD<sub>1</sub> \*hus ~ \*huš ~ \*ʔus ~ \*ʔuš

**Penutian:** California: Maiduan: Maidu *ʔus*, Konkow *hürs*, Wintun: Wintu *hurs*, Patwin *hurs*, Yokuts: Gashowu (Chukchansi) *hos*, Miwok: Lake Miwok *hu:s*, Gulf: Natchez *ʔo:ši*, Chitimcha *ʔo:š*, Muskogean: Choctaw *ōssi* ‘eagle,’ Chickasaw *ōsiʔ* ‘eagle.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan \*ahaʔus-Vh.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*huš.

**Chibchan:** Chimila *ussuʔ*.

111 BUZZARD<sub>2</sub> \*wačuli ~ \*wayuri

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Tanimuca *wayuri-ka*, Siona *wayo*.

**Equatorial:** Guahibo: Guahibo *wa:yuli*, Cuiva *wayuri*; Piaroa: Saliba *waʔuli*; Maipuran: Achagua *wa:čuli*, Curipaco *wayuli*, Piapoco *wačuli*, Yucuna *wa:yu*.

112 CALL<sub>1</sub> (v.) \*wanik

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \*wi:nle:wa ~ \*wa:wi:nle:wa ‘name (v.)’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \*-weh- ‘speak,’ Tuscarora weh ‘speak.’ Proto-Caddoan \*-wa:- ‘speak.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian wan ‘call,’ wææ ‘name (v.)’ Plateau: North Sahaptin wanik ‘to name,’ Nez Perce weʔniki ‘name (v.)’ Gulf: Atakapa waw ‘call by name,’ Wappo walɛ ‘hallo,’ Muskogean: Alabama -yowwa ‘call,’ Choctaw -howa ‘call,’ Chickasaw -wa: ‘call.’ Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca nəyi, Zoque nəy.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 432a \*niok, \*neokʔ ‘talk.’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam wãfə ‘name (v.)’

**Andean:** Patagon: Manekenkn u:nuk ‘cry.’ Sechura nik, ñik ‘cry.’ Zaparo naketa-no ‘cry.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche wik<sup>y</sup>u ‘name (v.)’ Proto-Tucanoan \*wã-mi ‘name (v.)’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \*-wi-ni ‘name (v.)’ Chapacura: Pakaasnovas wit ‘name (n.)’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Waiwai aṅiki ‘call,’ Hishcariana aṅek ‘call.’ Witoto nokoy ‘invite him!’

- [A55]

113 CALL<sub>2</sub> (v.) \*pai

**Keresiouan:** Keresan: Keres be ‘tell.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Muskogean: Choctaw pãya. Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec pay.

**Hokan:** Chimariko -pa- ‘say.’ Karok pi:p, ipe:ĩ ‘tell, name.’ Pomo: East Pomo ba- (prefix in verbs of telling). Yana ba- ‘call.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean R 198 \*(h)k<sup>w</sup>a(?) ‘make noise, weep, shout, say.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 74 \*pai.

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec ehpi ‘call, say.’ Misumalpan: Miskito paiu-. Motilon iba-r ‘shout.’

**Paezan:** Andaqui fifi. Paez paya.

**Andean:** Mapudungu pi ‘say, be named.’ Sabela: Auca pe. Zaparo pi.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua: Mascocoy pawa ‘speak.’ Moseten peya-ki ‘speak.’

- [A56]

## 114 CAPYBARA \*keču

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Coreguaje k<sup>hw</sup>ěso, Siona g<sup>w</sup>eso, Secoya k<sup>w</sup>eʔso; Puinave: Nukak kečuʔ, Kakua kečoʔ.

**Equatorial:** Maipuran: Achagua, Piapoco ke:su, Yucuna ke:so.

115 CARRY<sub>1</sub> \**apa*

**Penutian:** California \**apa*.

**Andean:** Aymara: Jaqaru *apa*. Cahuapana: Jebero *ək-paʔ*. Quechua: Cochabamba *apa*. Yahgan *apa*.

**Equatorial:** Maipuran: Apurina *apa*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Wayana *apoi* ‘take,’ Galibi *apwi* ‘take,’ Chayma *apue* ‘take,’ etc. Witoto: Witoto *iba* ‘buy,’ Erare *upa* ‘buy.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**βi* ‘bring.’ Proto-Tacanan \**be* ‘bring.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *pe* ‘take.’ Ge: Krenje *apö* ‘load’ (v.) Kaingang: Tibagi *ba* ‘carry, bring.’

- [A57]

116 CARRY<sub>2</sub> \**ko(n)*

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *go:u* (sing. subject) ‘take.’ Chinook: Wishram *ga* ‘seize.’ California: Maidu *kə* ‘have.’ Gulf: Atakapa *ko:* (sing. subject) ‘take.’

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *k<sup>h</sup>ɔ-* (prebound ‘get’), Tewa *xɔ-ŋ*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 126 \*(*h*)*ka(n)* ‘take, carry.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 76 \**k<sup>w</sup>e*.

- [A58]

117 CARRY<sub>3</sub> \**nek*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Heiltsuk *n’ik<sup>w</sup>ʔa* ‘carry on the shoulder,’ Bella Bella *nku-la*; Proto-Algic \**neg-*, Yurok *negem*, Algonquian: Ojibwa *nika:* ‘carry on the shoulder.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca *nēhkwi-* ‘haul away, pull out.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Sahaptian \**nek*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**no* ‘carry,’ \**nok* ‘move.’

- [AK42]

118 CAUSATIVE<sub>1</sub> \*-(*a*)*t(u)*

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *-at* (transitivizer), Yurok *-et* ~ *-ət* (transitivizers); Algonquian: Blackfoot *-at* (transitivizer); Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *-d* (transitivizer after locative suffixes); Salish: [languages] *-t* (transitivizer); Kutenai *-’nt* ‘action by hand’ (in which, according to Boas, the *-t* is a transitivizer).

**Keresiouan:** Keresan: [languages] *-tu* (makes actions out of statives); Iroquoian: Seneca *-?t* ~ *-st* (causative, in the second form *-s-* is probably also a causative, which is found elsewhere in Almosan-Keresiouan).

**Andean:** Yahgan (*t*)*u-* (causative), Mapudungu *-tu-* (denominative or causative reversive); Zaparoan: Zaparo *-tə* (causative), Shimigae *-te* (causative).

- [G92] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

119 CAUSATIVE<sub>2</sub> \**ma*

**Equatorial:** Tupian: [languages] *m(b)o-* (causative); Arawakan: Maipuran: Baure *i* ~ *mo*, in which the choice is morphologically determined (for *i*, see HE/SHE<sub>1</sub>); Jivaro: Aguaruna *m(a)* ‘to do,’ *-ma* (denominative, e.g., *tumaš* ‘a comb,’ *tumaš-ma* ‘to comb’).

**Macro-Panoan:** Panoan: Chacobo *-ma* (causative), Cashibo *-mi* (causative); Tacanan: Tacana *-me* (causative), Chama *-me:* (causative); Lengua: Mascoy *-me* (causative); Mataco: Chulupi *-am* ~ *-em* ~ *-um* (causative); Lule *me-* (causative).

- [G93]

120 CAUSATIVE<sub>3</sub> \**cV-* ~ \**-Vc*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \**-Vs*, Kutenai *-ciʔt-*, *-ciʔ* (causative [passive]).

**Penutian:** Plateau: ?Proto-Sahaptian \**šepe*, Gulf: Yuki *-s* ~ *-si*, Wappo *-is-*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**-(i)č* (causative, transitive), Atakapa *-iš* ~ *-š*, Chitimacha *-či* (transitive suffix), Proto-Muskogean *či*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**sV-* (transitive.)

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \**sa(?)* ‘make, do, work, causative.’

**Paezan:** Timicua *-s* ~ *-sV* (causative, transitive).

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**-či* (causative, transitive).

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**-šō* (transitive).

121 CEDAR \**caq'u*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *c'aq-* ‘cedar bark,’ Proto-Chimakuan \**sik*<sup>w</sup>*o-* ‘cedar bark,’ Proto-Salish \**suk*<sup>w</sup>*am* ‘cedar bark.’

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Pre-Pawnee \**-ca'ku* ‘cedar,’ Caddo *sakʔó* ‘cedar.’

122 CHEEK \**pok*

**Hokan:** Jicaque *p<sup>h</sup>ok*, Tequistlatec *bege*.

**Macro-Carib:** Motilon *ipæpok*, Ocaina *faʔxon*.

- [H28, MC9]

123 CHEST \**t'ik* ~ \**t'uk*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *ʔseʔki* ‘belly,’ Montagnais *škate* ‘belly’; Wiyot *jayiʔ* ‘belly.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *tik'i* ‘belly,’ Bella Bella *tk'i* ‘belly,’ Nitinat *ta:č* ‘belly’; Salish: Nootsack *t<sup>l</sup>ač* ‘belly,’ Twana *t<sup>l</sup>a:ʔč* ‘belly.’

**Penutian:** California: Costanoan: San Juan Bautista *tukai*, San Francisco

*itok*. Chinook *acx*. Gulf: Tunica *čihki* ‘belly’; Chitimacha *ših* ‘belly.’

Mexican: Mixe-Zoque *cek* ‘belly.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Capixana *itakua* ‘belly.’ Iranshe *t<sup>y</sup>uku* ‘belly.’ Kaliana *tukuy* ‘belly.’ Nambikwara: Southern Nambikwara *t’ih* ‘abdomen.’ Puinave: Marahan *tok* ‘belly,’ Papury *tok* ‘bosom,’ Querari *taka* ‘belly,’ *daka* ‘chest.’ Ticuna *tugai* ‘belly.’

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Itene *toko* ‘belly,’ *tukure* ‘heart.’ Guamo: Santa Rosa *duexu* ‘belly.’ Maipuran: Bare *nduku*, Wapishana *duku-li*, Atoroi *du-kudi*, etc. Uro: Uro *tuk-si* ‘stomach, heart,’ Chipaya *tuč-si*, *tuši* ‘heart.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Charruan: Charrua *itax*. Mataco: Nocten, Vejoz *tokue*. Panoan: Mayoruna *takua*, Cashinahua *taka* ‘belly.’ Tacanan: Chama *taxo* ‘breast.’

**Macro-Ge:** Chiquito *tuci-s*. Ge: Apinage *itko*. Kaingang: Apacurana *dugn* ‘belly.’ Mashakali *itkonatan*. Puri: Coroado *teke* ‘belly.’

- [A59]

#### 124 CHEW \**qac*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**qa:c*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**kaču-*, Qawasqar *qasqana*.

#### 125 CHICKEN \**cik*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Atakapa *cikilik*, Chickasaw *cikcik* ‘word used to call chickens,’ Yuki *čik*.

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *cikata*. Rama *sis-sik*.

- Perhaps a variant of BIRD *c’ik*.

#### 126 CHILD<sub>1</sub> \*(*a*)*nu*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 389 \**no* ‘small.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Cayapa, Colorado *na* ‘child, small.’ Choco: Catio *niu* ‘boy, son.’ Jirajara: Jirajara *unu*, *unuyo* ‘boy,’ Ayoman *unu* ‘boy.’ Paez: Paez *nu(-kue)* ‘small,’ Guambiana *une*. Timucua *ano* ‘young of animals.’ Cf. Atacama *pauna* ‘boy.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *anne* ‘daughter,’ Cholona: Cholona *añu* ‘daughter,’ *ñu* ‘daughter,’ Hivito *no*: ‘daughter.’ Mayna *ni-* ‘child’ (deduced from *ni-thawa*: ‘boy,’ *ni-pai* ‘girl’). Yamana: Yahgan *inia* ‘daughter,’ *inni* ‘daughter.’ Zaparo *nia* ‘child.’ Cf. Mapudungu: Pehuenche *ñu-* ‘bear’ (v.)

**Macro-Panoan:** Charruan: Chana, Guenoa *ineu* ‘son.’ Guaicuru: Guachi *inna* ‘son.’ Mataco: Vejoz *anax*, Choroti *i-nuwe* ‘be born,’ *naiyihi* ‘bear’ (v.), Macca, Towothli *enani* ‘girl.’ Mosenet *nana-t* ‘boy,’ *nana-s* ‘girl.’ Tacanan: Arasa *nana*, Tacana *e-anana*, Cavineña *nana-* ‘small, tender.’

- [A61]

127 CHILD<sub>2</sub> \*mako

**Almosan:** Algonquian: Beothuk *magaraguis* ‘son,’ Massachusetts *muketchouks* ‘boy.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**ma:gi:-dʒa* ‘it is a girl,’ Santa Ana *-ma’kə* ‘my daughter,’ Acoma *magə* ‘girl,’ Siouan: Hidatsa *makadištamia* ‘girl.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: Cayuse *m’oks* ‘baby,’ Modoc *mukak* ‘baby.’ California: Proto-Yokuts \**mokh-e:t’a* ‘girl,’ Gashowu *mokheta* ‘girl,’ Costanoan: Santa Cruz *mux-aš* ‘girl.’ Zuni *maki* ‘young woman.’ Gulf: Yuki *muh* ‘young.’ Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *mahntk* ‘son,’ ?*miš* ‘girl, boy.’

**Hokan:** Achomawi *mik-tsan* ‘child’ (*-tsan* = diminutive), Yana *ʔimx* ‘young,’ Washo *mèhu* ‘boy,’ Chumash: Santa Barbara *mičamo* ‘boy,’ *amičanek* ‘girl,’ Santa Ynez *makčai* ‘daughter,’ *mak-isi-huanok* ‘girl,’ Proto-Yuman \**maxay* ‘young man,’ Cocopa *xmik* ‘boy,’ Walapai *mik* ‘boy,’ Maricopa *maxay* ‘boy,’ Yuma *maša-xay* ‘girl.’ Tequistlatec (*ʔa-*)*mihkano* ‘boy.’

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Tewa *mogè* ‘young.’ Oto-Manguean ?Otomi *metši* ‘boy.’

**Chibchan:** Cuna *mači(-gua)* ‘boy.’ Misumalpan: Ulua *muix-bine* ‘child,’ Chimila *muka* ‘son-in-law,’ *muka-yunkvir* ‘daughter,’ Yanomam: Shiriana *moko* ‘girl,’ Yanomam *moko* ‘girl.’

**Paezan:** Waunana *mukua* ‘daughter,’ *mučaira* ‘son,’ Warao *mokomoko* ‘little children.’

**Andean:** Yahgan *maku* ‘son,’ *makou-esa* ‘daughter-in-law,’ Yamana *māku-n* ‘son.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \**məic*. Tucano: Yahuna *make* ‘son,’ Yeba *mākēē* ‘child,’ *yimaki* ‘son,’ Waikina *maxkē* ‘child,’ *mehino* ‘boy,’ Dyurumawa (*ma-*)*maki* ‘(small) child’ (on *ma-*, see the Macro-Tucanoan entry under CHILD<sub>7</sub>, below), Coto *ma-make* ‘boy,’ Tucano *muktuia* ‘boy, girl,’ *vimago* ‘girl,’ *dyemaxkī* ‘child,’ Curetu *si-magö* ‘daughter,’ *si-mugi* ‘son,’ Waiana *yemakə* ‘daughter,’ Ömöa *yemaxke* ‘son,’ Ticuna *mākan* ‘child,’ Desana *mague* ‘son,’ Auake *makuamē* ‘son.’

**Equatorial:** Tinigua: Pamigua *mekve* ‘boy,’ Maipuran: Araicu *emyite* ‘child,’ Kariay [ymuky] ‘boy,’ Mehinacu *yamakui* ‘boy,’ Paumari *makinaua* ‘boy, young,’ *-makhini* ‘grandson,’ Marawan *makib-mani* ‘boy,’ Uru *mači* ‘daughter,’ Caranga, Chipaya *mač* ‘son,’ Oyampi *kunyã-muku-* ‘girl,’ Maue *makubdia* ‘girl,’ Tambe *kusa-muku* ‘young woman.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Proto-Taranoan \**mumuku* ‘child, son,’ Yabarana *mūku* ‘boy,’ Galibi *magon* ‘young of animals,’ Cumanagote *miku* ‘child,’ Pavishana *mu’gi* ‘daughter,’ Taulipang *muku* ‘son,’ Accawai *mogo* ‘son.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Tiatinagua *mahi* ‘son’; Macro-Ge: Apinage *māaukride* ‘girl,’ Ramkokamekran *mäggepru* ‘girl,’ Coroado *meke-šambe* ‘son.’

• [A62] Traces of the Amerind gender pattern—MASCULINE/FEMININE/NEUTRAL *i/u/a*—can be discerned in some of these forms. This root is

also found in Dravidian, Caucasian, Sino-Tibetan, Indo-Pacific, and Eurasiatic (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

128 CHILD<sub>3</sub> \**pan*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean R 225 \*(*n*)(?*ʔ*)*k*<sup>w</sup>*a*(*h*)(*n*). Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 305 \**pe* ‘new, young.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *p’amp’an* ‘bear’ (v.) Puinave: Marahan *apuhudn* ‘pregnant.’ Ticuna *buʔʔ*. Tucano *po(-na)* ‘children,’ *pini* ‘sprout.’ Yuri *abye* ‘daughter.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Surinam *pa:ri* ‘grandchild,’ Cumanogoto *par* ‘grandchild,’ Tamanaco *par* ‘nephew,’ etc. Yagua *pori:*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Vejoz *pu* ‘be born.’ Proto-Panoan: \**βaki* ‘child,’ Cashinahua *ba* ‘beget.’ Proto-Tacanan \**βakwa* ‘child,’ Guarayo *poy* ‘be born (of plant).’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *pu-i* ‘to ferment.’ Chiquito *ai-bo*. Fulnio *fe* ‘grow.’ Ge: Krenje *pom* ‘born.’ Kaingang: Catarina, etc. *po* ‘be born.’

- [A63]

129 CHILD<sub>4</sub> \**ʔali*

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *o:li-s* ‘great-grandson.’ Oregon: Coos *a:la*. California: Wintun: Wintu *ila, ela*, Patwin *ʔila:y*. Gulf: Tunica *ʔelu* ‘bear fruit.’ Mexican: Mayan: Maya *ʔal* (general), Kekchí *al* ‘bear (v.),’ Quiché *alax* ‘bear’ (v.)

**Hokan:** Pomo: Northeast Pomo *u:la-* (in compounds). Yana *ʔala:*, with diminutive consonantism in compounds *-ʔana*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 387 \**ʔali* ‘small.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *alla* ‘bear (v.)’ Mapudungu *yall-* ‘bear (v.)’ Zaparo: Arabela *ra* ‘bear (v.)’ Cf. Aymara *yuri* ‘be born.’

- [A64]

130 CHILD<sub>5</sub> \**t<sup>l</sup>uk*

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *cān-ūk-s* ‘young child’ (< \**cān-hūk-s*).

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *ʔuk-taēn* ‘grandchild’; Mexican: Mayan: Chontal *čox-to* ‘young,’ Chol *čok-tuiun* ‘boy’ (cf. *aluš-čok* ‘girl’).

**Hokan:** Chumash: Santa Cruz *huk-tana-hu* ‘my son.’

**Chibchan:** Miskito *tuk-tan* ‘child, boy.’

**Andean:** Patagon: Manekenkn *ie-tog-te* ‘brother.’

**Equatorial:** Chapacuran: Chapacura *a-čoke-tunia* ‘girl.’

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang: Tibagi *tog-tan* ‘girl.’

- [Ruhlen 1994b] What is striking about this etymology is that all of the forms—in seven branches of Amerind distributed from Canada to Brazil—are in fact compounds of two different Amerind roots. In all of these exam-

ples one finds a general word for child, *t<sup>l</sup>uk*, modified by the gender-specific child terms *t'ina/t'ana/t'una* 'son, child, daughter.' In some cases the neutral form *t'ana* 'child' has become specialized as either masculine or feminine, as Sapir noted was the case in Algic (Sapir 1923). In other cases the original gender distinction has been preserved.

131 CHILD<sub>6</sub> \**pam*

**Penutian:** Plateau: Molale *pam-tin* 'nephew,' Proto-Sahaptian \**pám̄t* 'nephew' (woman's brother's son), North Sahaptin *pám-ta* 'nephew,' Nez Perce *pám-tin* 'nephew.'

**Hokan:** Coahuiltecan: Coahuilteco *t'an-pam* 'child.'

- [Ruhlen 1994b] Once again we find a compound similar to that discussed in the preceding etymology. Here the general root *pam* 'child' is modified by the gender-specific root *t'ina/t'ana/t'una* 'son, child, daughter.'

132 CHILD<sub>7</sub> \**man*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *man-* 'young,' Cheyenne *emonæ* 'he is young.' Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *m'ən* 'young of animals'; Salish: Squamish *mən*, Twana *bədə* (*b* < \**m*, *d* < \**n*).

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztec M 86 \**mal*, \**ma* 'child.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *-mo* (diminutive). Puinave: Papury *-me* 'small,' Ubde-Nehern *-ma* (diminutive). Tucano: Yahuna *meni* 'child.' Cf. Proto-Nambikwara \**məic* 'child,' Sabane *mais* 'small,' Southern Nambikwara *wēt*, *wēs* 'small.'

**Macro-Carib:** Bora: Miranya *mæni*, Imihita *mene* 'child, son.' Carib: Proto-Hianocoto \**mure*, Apiaca *moni*, Bakairí *imeri* 'small.'

- [A237] The diminutive consonantism—*l/n*—may be involved here.

133 CHILD<sub>8</sub> \**k'ati*

**Equatorial:** Maipuran: Toyeri *-ket* (diminutive). Timote *akoc* 'new.' Tru-mai *axos*, *axus* 'young, child.' Uro: Caranga *k<sup>x</sup>a:ta* 'raw,' Chipaya *ka:ta-ža* 'raw.'

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Otuke *kaoro* 'boy.' Proto-Ge \**kra*, Cherente *kedæ*, Acroamirim *kutæ*, Apinage *kræ*, etc. Kaingang: Southern Kaingang *kræ* 'son.' Kamakan: Kamakan *kranij*, Masacara *kra*, *kræ*. Mashakali: Macuni *ia-kuto*. Puri: Coroado *krikra* 'small.'

- [A281]

134 CHIN \**yuh*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \**-yuh?* 'chin, jaw.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \**yahpi?*

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**uya* 'face.'



## 135 CHIPMUNK \*wasila

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *wasla*, Proto-Sahaptian \**wušši* ‘wood rat,’ Sahaptin *wuši* ‘wood rat,’ Nez Perce *wisi:* ‘rat.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**wisila*.

## 136 CHOP \*qak

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *qaka* ‘chop off head, behead,’ Heiltsuk *qáka* ‘chop off head,’ Haisla *qàka* ‘chop off head’; Proto-Algonquian \**-ikah(w)* ‘chop off.’

**Penutian:** Mayan: Proto-Quichean \**ikax* ‘axe.’

137 CLOSE<sub>1</sub> (v.) \*q’apa

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algic \**kep-eʔ-* ‘close an opening,’ \**kep-w-* ‘cover,’ Wiyot *k<sup>w</sup>apʔ* ‘be covered,’ Proto-Algonquian \**kepanwahikani* ‘cover, lid,’ Proto-Central Algonquian \**kep*. Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *hop-ta* ‘in hiding,’ Haisla *kap-* ‘remove a covering layer’; Proto-Chimakuan \**c’ap-* ‘covered, shut tight,’ \**hap’il* ‘cover (v.), Chemakum *hap’ili:* ‘cover’; Salish: Proto-Coast Salish \**qəp* ‘close, cover, lid,’ Proto-Interior Salish \**qəp* ‘put something on something (mostly to cover or protect),’ Squamish *qəp*, Kalispel *čep* ‘lock a door.’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Dakota *akaxpa*, Mandan *iaxawe*, Catawba *kəpa*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *khu:pi* ‘skin.’ Gulf: Natchez *kap-* ‘cover, wrap,’ Tunica *kəhpa* ‘bar, shut in, shut out.’

**Hokan:** Chimariko *kumičín* ‘all.’ Salinan: San Antonio *xam*, *xap* ‘finish.’ Subtiaba: Tlappanec *kamba* ‘all.’ Tonkawa *kapa* ‘shut.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ko* ‘bark of tree’; Proto-Oto-Manguean \**ku* ‘close, cover.’

**Chibchan:** Cuna *akapa* ‘close one’s eyes.’

**Paezan:** Atacama *k’aba* ‘hide (transitive),’ Timicua *kupa* ‘bark (n.).’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *kap-* ‘cover (v.).’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua: Mascocoy *kyab-* ‘cover,’ Moseten *sup*, *sipi* ‘cover.’

Panoan: Panobo *kepui* ‘close,’ Shipibo *kepu* ‘close.’ Proto-Tacanan \**çipi* ‘cover.’

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Krenje *kapi* ‘bolt.’ Puri: Coroado *kapo-em* ‘close.’

• [A66] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

138 CLOSE<sub>2</sub> (v.) \*kui

**Penutian:** Yakima *ik* ‘hide,’ Central Sierra Miwok *ʔokoy* ‘cover,’ Chitimacha *ʔiki* ‘hide,’ Quiché *k’uy* ‘hide.’

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Taos *k<sup>wi</sup>-l*. Proto-Oto-Manguean \**ku* ‘close,

cover.’

- [P109, CA15]

139 CLOSE<sub>3</sub> (v.) \**pan*

**Penutian:** California: Maiduan: Maidu *ban* ‘cover.’ Gulf: Atakapa *pan*, Wappo *pən*,

**Macro-Panoan:** Choroti *pone*, Cavineña *pene*.

- [P39, MP17]

140 CLOUD<sub>1</sub> \**tal(u)*

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *dēn* ‘sun,’ San Ildefonso *t<sup>h</sup>ān* ‘day,’ Hopi Tewa *thag* ‘day.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean R 6 \**tin* ‘day.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 238a \**ton* ‘hot,’ Nahuatl *tona-tl* ‘sun.’ (Cf. Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 423a \**ta-* ‘sun.’)

**Paезan:** Barbacoa: Cuaiquer *čillo* ‘heaven.’ Choco: Sambu *čirrua* ‘heaven.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *tullu*. Cahuapana *tālua*.

**Equatorial:** Esmeralda *mu-sala* ‘smoke’ (*mu* = ‘fire’). Maipuran: Wapishana *iši?ir*, Goajiro *siruma*, Atoroi *išaira*. Uro: Uro *siri*, Chipaya *ziri*. Zamuco: Chamacoco *essela* ‘fog.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *til-p* ‘thunder.’ Mataco: Macca *tetelun* ‘thunder.’ Panoan: Conibo *tirin* ‘thunder,’ Marinahua *tiriiki* ‘thunder.’ Proto-Tacanan \**tiri* ‘thunder.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Umotina *otalo* ‘lightning.’ Botocudo *taru* ‘sky, day.’ Guato (*ma-*)*tari* ‘thunder,’ (*ma-*)(*kvia-*)*tar* ‘lightning.’

- [A67]

141 CLOUD<sub>2</sub> \**pa(n)k*

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *p’ay-s*. California: Miwok: Central Sierra *?opa*. Zuni *pokʰi* ‘smoke.’ Gulf: Atakapa *po*, *pox*, *pux* ‘smoke,’ Chitimacha *pok* ‘smokey,’ Yukian: Yuki *i:p*, Wappo *pohi* ‘fog.’ Mexican: Mayan: Huastec *pauh* ‘smoke,’ Yucatec *bu?* ‘smoke’; Totonac *pukʰ-ni*.

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *p<sup>h</sup>an*, Taos *phē-na*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 208 \*(*n*)*k<sup>w</sup>a(n)* ‘cloud, smoke, damp, dew, fog.’ Cf. Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 186 \**pak* ‘fog’ (possibly containing \**pa-* ‘water’).

**Chibchan:** Chibchan: Chibcha *faoa* ‘fog,’ Tegria *aba*. Cuna *po:* ‘mist.’ Talamanca: Terraba *poŋ* ‘cloud, fog.’

**Paезan:** Barbacoa: Colorado *poyo*. Choco: Saija *paxa* ‘sky,’ Citara *baxa* ‘sky.’ Mura *pe*. Paez *ipia*, *ipa* ‘smoke.’ Cf. Timucua *lica-faya* ‘cloud.’

- [A68]

142 CLOUD<sub>3</sub> \**pot*

**Penutian:** Coast Yuki *po?tit*, Yakima *pasčit* ‘fog.’

**Equatorial:** Ebidoso *pod* ‘heaven,’ Guayabero *fato* ‘heaven,’ Timote *ki-veuč* ‘cloud.’

- [P40, E59]

143 CLOVER \**pot*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-Northern Yuki \**p’oht* ~ *p’oht*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**paT*.

144 COLD<sub>1</sub> \**canik*

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *sa:won* ‘be cold.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**sni*, Catawba *čĩ* (Speck 1934: 370).

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguan R 279 \*(*n*)(?*?*)*si*(*h*)(*n*). Almosan: Proto-Salish \**c’ut<sup>l</sup>*, \**c’at<sup>l</sup>*.

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Guamaca *seanximi*. Chibcha: Tegria *sero*, Pedraza *seroa*. Lenca: Chilanga *c’ana*, Similatón *sani* ‘freeze.’ Malibu: Chimila *sohnikote*. Misumalpan: Sumu *sang* ‘cold weather.’ Motilon: Dobocubi *tero(-kwa)*. Paya *sainista* ‘be cold.’ Talamanca: Borunca *ca:ra* ‘be cold,’ Terraba *sen*. Tarascan *cira*. Xinka *sarałci* ‘to cool,’ *sarara* ‘frost’ (Maldonado), Chiquimulilla *sarara*. Yanoama: Yanam, Yanomam *sāi*.

**Paezan:** Atacama *sera-r*. Chimu: Eten *can*.

**Andean:** Cahuapana *sanök-li*. Zaparo *sənə*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Surinam *i:sana* (n.), Kaliana *ti-sano-le*, Cariniaco *tusano-ri*, etc. Yagua *sanora* (Marcoy), *sanehe* ‘rainy season’ (Fejos).

- [A69]

145 COLD<sub>2</sub> \**t’ak’*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \**tahk* ‘cool.’ Kutenai *-it’k’o*. Mosan: Salish: Squamish (*təm-*)*t’iq<sup>w</sup>* ‘winter’ (*təm* = ‘season’).

**Penutian:** California: Yokuts *č’ec’eka*. Gulf: Chitimacha *č’aki*. Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca *suksuk*; Mayan: Tzotzil *sik*. Plateau: Cayuse *tok* ‘ice.’

**Hokan:** Jicaque *coix* ‘ice.’ Karok *?athi:k*. Shasta *?issik’*. Tonkawa *sa:x* ‘cool, fresh air.’

**Paezan:** Paez: Guambiana *isix* ‘wind.’ Warrau *ahaka* ‘wind.’

- [A70]

146 COLD<sub>3</sub> \**kaca*

**Hokan:** Achomawi *ašč’a-siwi* ‘it is cold.’ Chimariko *xaca*. Pomo: East Pomo *kacil*, South Pomo *kac<sup>h</sup>i*. Yana *xac’it’* ‘it feels cold.’ Yuman: Tipai, Diegueño, Campo *xcur* ‘winter,’ Yuma *xacu:r*.

**Andean:** Qawasqar [ghesas], [kizas]. Patagon: Ona *košek* ‘winter.’ Quechua: Santiagueño *qasa* ‘freeze.’

- [A71]

147 COLD<sub>4</sub> \**to*

**Central Amerind:** Kiowa *t'o* 'be cold,' Proto-Oto-Manguean \**tome*.

**Equatorial:** Saliba *duha*, Toyeri *dohina*.

- [CA18, E27]

148 COLD<sub>5</sub> \**kui*

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Taos *k'o*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**kʷi*. Proto-Oto-Manguean \**kʷi(n)*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Chunupi *kui*, Lule *kei*.

- [CA16, MP19]

149 COLD<sub>6</sub> \**cia*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \**ciya*, Tanoan: Taos *cia*, Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**sep*.

**Equatorial:** Yaruro *čiwah*, Taruma *siwa*.

- [CA17, E28]

150 COME<sub>1</sub> \**nani*

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *row* 'come from' ( $r < *n$ ), Algonquian: Arapaho *naʔ* 'come to, arriving'; Kutenai *iʔ*; Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *n'i*; Salish: Songish *ən'ɛ*, Lkungen *enæ*.

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Oneida *-ine-* 'go, proceed'; Keresan: Santa Ana *ni* 'walk, go'; Proto-Siouan \**-ni* 'walk,' usually *ma-ni* 'ground walk,' but Mandan, Biloxi *ni* 'walk.'

**Penutian:** California: Costanoan *-na* (future), *ina-* 'go to'; Maiduan: Maidu *-no* 'go to,' Nisenan *?o:no* 'come, reach'; Miwok: Lake *?oni*, Central Sierra *?ynny*, etc. Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *na* 'come up,' Muskogean: Koasati *ono* 'climb,' Creek *onna*. Mexican: Totonac: Papantla *aʔn* 'go.'

**Hokan:** Chumash: La Purisima *nana* 'walk.' Esselen *neni* 'go, walk.' Pomo: East Pomo *negi*, *nek* 'go to.' Yana *ni* 'go' (sing. male subject).

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba *na*, *nai*, *nei* 'go.' Cuna *noni*, *nene*, *nae* 'go.' Malibu: Chimila *noŋ*. Tarascan *-no-*. Some of these forms may belong under ROAD<sub>1</sub> below.

**Paезan:** Allentiac *neñe* 'road.' Barbacoa: Colorado *nená* 'walk.' Choco: Catio *nenú*. Warrau *nao*. Some of these forms may belong under ROAD<sub>1</sub> below.

**Andean:** Aymara *-ni-* 'go to do something.' Cholona *a-na-n*. Patagon: Ona *enn-en* 'go.' Quechua: Huanacucho *eina* 'go.' Yamana: Yamana *-i:na* 'do while walking,' Yahgan *aina* 'walk.' Zaparo: Iquito *ani*, Arabela *ni*.

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Quitemo *nia* 'come here.' Kandoshi *na*: 'go,' *nani*

‘come.’ Maipuran: Mashco *ena*, Curipaco *no*, Achagua *ina*. Otomaco *ana* ‘travel.’ Tupi: Arikem *an* ‘go.’ Yuracare *-ni-* ‘go to do something,’ future. Zamuco *no* ‘go.’

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *pa-nænæu* ‘he comes,’ *i-na-powa* ‘he came.’ Yagua: Yameo *ana*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Charruan: Charrua *na* ‘bring,’ Chana *na*. Guaicuru: Toba *anak*. Lule *ne*. Mataco: Mataco *nam*, Choroti *nek*. Tacanan: Cavineña *ba-na* ‘visit, come’ (probably *ba* ‘see’ + *na* ‘come’). Vilela *na, no, ne*.

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *nĩ*. Caraja *anakre*. Kamakan: Meniens *ni* (imperative). Mashakali: Mashakali *nũn*, Patasho *nanæ*.

- [A72]

151 COME<sub>2</sub> \**ta*

**Hokan:** Tonkawa *ta* ‘go out.’ Atsugewi *-ta* ‘out of,’ Chimariko *tap* ‘out of.’

**Chibchan:** Cuna *-ta-* ‘go,’ Xinca *ta:*.

**Paezan:** Itonama *t’o*.

- [H74, CP35]

152 COME<sub>3</sub> \**tak*

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *adək* ‘turn back.’ Plateau: Nez Perce *toq* ‘return.’

**Chibchan:** Cuna *taka*, Paya *tek*.

- [P189, CP36]

153 COME<sub>4</sub> \**hau*

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *how*, Algonquian: Cheyenne *ho*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**hu* ‘arrive.’

**Paezan:** Atakama *hau*, Cayapa *ha*.

- [AK49, CP37]

154 COME<sub>5</sub> \**pi*

**Hokan:** Karok *?ip*. Maratino *apam* ‘walk.’ Seri *ifp*. Tequistlatec *pa?pa*.

Washo *ibi*. Yuman: Mohave *obi, opi* ‘return,’ Kiliwa *piya*. Yurumangui *ipi, opi* ‘come, go.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Barama River *pui* (sing. subject), Galibi *obwi*, Cumanogoto *epu*, etc. Witoto *bi*.

**Macro-Ge:** Erikbatsa (*is-*)*pik(-maha)* ‘arrive.’ Ge: Apinage *pok* ‘arrive.’

Mashakali: Capoxo *abuy* ‘come!’, Macuni *abuuh* ‘come here!’

- [A9]

155 COOK<sub>1</sub> \**maki*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \**mehê* ‘fire.’ Wakashan: Nootka *m’oh-* ~ *m’o-*.

Chemakuan: Quileute *box<sup>w</sup>* ‘heat food.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*muHt*’, Chimariko *maq* ‘roast.’ Comecrudo *met* ‘burn.’ Pomo: Kashaya *mt’aw* ‘be cooked,’ *mac* ‘burn,’ Southeast Pomo *mt’a*. Seri *ka-motni*. Tequistlatec *imagi* ‘cooked,’ *di-mak’e-?ma*, *de-miš-?ma* ‘roasted over hot coals.’ Yana *ma:si* ‘be cooked, ripe.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu: Pehuenche *mokomuk*. Patagon: Ona *amk-en* ‘burn.’ Quechua: Santiagueño *amkay* ‘roast.’ Yamana *amux-puka*. Zaparo *mahi* (Peake), *maiki* ‘roast’ (Martius). Culli *mu* ‘fire.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Guaque *maxoto* ‘fire.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua *makhit-k<sup>y</sup>i* ‘cooked, ripe.’ Mosesten *mak*. Panoan: Caripuna *muexoa* ‘roast,’ Panobo *muši* ‘burn.’

- [A73]

### 156 COOK<sub>2</sub> \*q<sup>w</sup>aɬ ~ q<sup>w</sup>al

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan *\*q<sup>w</sup>al- ~ \*q<sup>w</sup>aɬ-* ‘cook, burn, ashes,’ Proto-Salish *\*q<sup>w</sup>al* ‘burn to ashes, roast, cook,’ Shuswap *q<sup>w</sup>l-* ‘roast,’ Twana *q<sup>w</sup>ələb* ‘cook,’ Nootsack *k<sup>w</sup>l* ‘cook,’ Squamish *q<sup>w</sup>əl-t* ‘cook,’ Pentlatch *kwolaš* ‘roast, cook,’ Seshelt *q<sup>w</sup>əl* ‘cooked, ripe, done,’ Lower Fraser *q<sup>w</sup>ələm* ‘cook.’ Proto-North Wakashan *\*q<sup>w</sup>aɬ* ‘burn to cinders.’ Proto-Chimakuan *\*q<sup>w</sup>aɬ-* ‘cook, roast,’ Chemakum *q<sup>w</sup>aɬili* ‘roast.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Mohawk *karis* ‘cook.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Tsimshian *\*kwælkw* ‘wood,’ Tsimshian *gwələk* ‘burn.’ Oregon: Takelma *k<sup>w</sup>alay* ‘fire,’ Coos *kwiɬ* ‘cook, boil, burn.’ Gulf: Proto-Yuki *\*k’al* ‘roast, burn.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *kharhi-pa* ‘roast,’ Sanema *k<sup>w</sup>arog?e* ‘fire.’

**Paezan:** Colorado *guaranae* ‘boil,’ Warrau *koré-* ‘boil,’ Eten *karrm* ‘cook, boil,’ Nonama *kura* ‘fireplace.’ Timucua *k<sup>w</sup>ela* ‘burn, melt.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *isgura* ‘cook,’ *qolay* ‘warm oneself by the fire.’ Tschaawi *kalu* ‘cook,’ Cahuapana *kalota-* ‘cook.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Siona *kuara* ‘boil.’

**Equatorial:** Kandoshi *kora* ‘burn,’ Wapishana *karimet* ‘roast,’ Arawak *akkur-ran* ‘bake,’ Kozarini *kerá* ‘burn,’ Saliba *igara* ‘burn, fire,’ Yuracare *kula* ‘cook,’ Siriono *kwarokwara* ‘boil,’ Yuruna *karigon* ‘cook.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Tacanan: Tacana *kwarara* ‘boil.’

**Macro-Ge:** Cayapo *kūrū* ‘fire,’ Bororo *goriddo* ‘roast.’

- [Ruhlen 1994g] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

### 157 COOK<sub>3</sub> \*koko

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *kahnǽ*.

**Penutian:** Wappo *k<sup>h</sup>ohk<sup>h</sup>oh* ‘boil,’ Atakapa *uk* ‘boil.’ Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*huk?-ut* ‘fire, light.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba \**hoho(n)* ‘cook(ed).’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Siona *kwako*, Puinave *a-kag*.

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *hok* ‘cook in water.’ Tupi: Arua *ka?in* ‘fire.’ Arawakan: Guamo *kuxul* ‘fire.’

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Piokobye *kaho* ‘fire,’ Aponegricran *kox?ho* ‘fire,’ Mehin *kühü* ‘fire,’ Taje, Purekamekran *kuhü* ‘fire,’ Karaho, Apinage *kukuvu* ‘fire,’ Ramkokamekran *kuxu* ‘fire.’

- [P23, MT23]

#### 158 COPULATE \**huca*

**Penutian:** Proto-Gulf \**hoša*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*h*)*uc(a)*.

#### 159 CORN \**cikcik*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \**-ci:ʔci:-* ‘corn tassel, flower.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**č’ɔʔ* ‘corn, rice,’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**išiʔim*, Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**ceʔs* ‘corn granary.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**čuqʌu* ‘ear of corn,’ Cahuapana: Chayavita *šiʔiši* ‘maize,’ Miquira *čiči* ‘maize.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *saʔa* ‘corn,’ *sa:* ‘maize,’ Koaia *ačēci* ‘maize.’

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Pakaasnovos *čiʔ* ‘store harvested corn,’ Jivaro: Achuar *ša:*, Shuara *šaʔa* ‘maize,’ Achual, Gualaquiza, Aguaruna *ša* ‘maize.’ Maipuran: Piro *sixi* ‘maize,’ Cushichineri *šihi* ‘maize,’ Canamari *šišie* ‘maize.’ Timote: Timote, Cuica *čxa* ‘maize,’ Mococho *čixsak* ‘maize.’ Tupi: Kanua *acici* ‘maize.’

**Macro-Panoan:** \*Proto-Pano-Tacanan \**žiki* ~ \**žiki* ‘corn, corncob,’ Proto-Panoan \**šiki*, Maruba *šuki* ‘maize,’ Culino *čüki* ‘maize,’ Cashinaua *šöki* ‘maize,’ Yaminaua *šiki* ‘maize,’ Yaminaua *šiki* ‘maize,’ Paranaua, Nishinaua, Chacobo, Pacaguara *šeki* ‘maize,’ Yawanaua *šʔki* ‘maize,’ Shaninaua *šʔhi* ‘maize,’ Waninaua *šöke* ‘maize,’ Sensi *šinki* ‘maize.’ Proto-Tacanan \**žike*, Araona, Guacanahua, Toromona, Arasa *šišē* ‘maize,’ Maropa *čixe* ‘maize,’ Tiatinagua *šiši* ‘maize.’

**Macro-Ge:** Yabuti: Yabuti *cici* ‘maize,’ Arikapu *čiči* ‘maize.’

- An interesting etymology reflecting an agricultural background. For some families (e.g. Iroquoian) borrowing rather than common origin is certainly responsible.

#### 160 COUNT \**ošī*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \**-ashe:-*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*o*)*ši*.

161 COVER<sub>1</sub> (v.) \*tek'u

**Hokan:** Washo *ḥc'ig* 'close,' Northeast Pomo *šik'o* 'blanket,' Karok *-čak* 'closing up' North Yana *dik'au* 'finish,' Tonkawa *tōxa* 'finish.'

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *šuku-ta-hpe-ni*, Tunebo *teka-ra* 'poncho,' Cuna *tukusi*: 'be hidden.'

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *atak* 'dress,' Caraja *taku* 'clothing,' Caraja *deku* 'woman's shirt.'

- [H31, H58, CP40, MG31]

162 COVER<sub>2</sub> (v.) \*sape

**Hokan:** Karok *sap* 'close,' Mohave *sapet* 'close,' Yurumangui *sipa-na* 'hat.'

**Paezan:** Itonama *so?p* 'finish,' Eten *siaip* 'finish.'

- [H32, CP73]

## 163 CROW/RAVEN \*q'aq'(aq)

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian *\*ka:hka:ke?šipa* 'crow, duck,' *\*ka:ka:k-* ~ *\*ka:hka:kiwa* 'raven'; Proto-Salish *\*q'wlaq'a* ~ *\*q'wlaqa* 'crow, raven,' Squamish *q'l?áq'a* 'crow,' Columbian *q'wuláqa?* 'raven'; Wakashan: Kwakwala *k'a-* ~ *kaχ* 'crow,' *σ<sup>w</sup>aχ<sup>w</sup>* 'raven,' Bella Bella (Heiltsuk) *qaq'ans* 'crane,' *σ<sup>w</sup>χ<sup>w</sup>* 'raven.'

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian *\*ko:ʔka:ʔ* 'crow.' Proto-Siouan *\*ka-* 'crow,' *okxa* 'crane, heron.'

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *\*χo:χoχ* 'raven.' California: Proto-Maiduan *\*ʔa:k* 'crow,' Maidu *kákka* 'crow,' Northeast Maidu *k'akk'a* 'crow,' Patwin *ka:k* 'crow,' Yokuts (Chukchansi) *gagnay* 'crow,' Rum-sen *kákaru* 'crow.' Zuni *kokko k<sup>w</sup>?inna* 'crow, raven.' Gulf: Wappo *ka?* 'crow,' *k'ek* 'crane,' Yuki *kak* 'blue heron,' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*k'ak* ~ *ʔak* ~ *k'aʔak* 'crow, raven,' Atakapa (Eastern) *kahak* 'crow,' Atakapa (Western) *kak* 'raven, crow,' Chitimacha *k'a:k's* 'heron.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan *\*k'aʔw* 'jay, magpie, sanate,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*ʔo:kʔo:ʔk* 'squirrel cuckoo.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*q'a:q'V* ~ *\*q(χ)a:q* 'crow, raven,' Proto-Pomo *\*xaqa:qa* 'quail,' Proto-Yuman *\*aʔkak* 'crow,' Yuma *aʔkak* 'crow.'

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguenan *\*ka* 'crow, hawk, eagle, buzzard.'

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *k<sup>wh</sup>aki* 'raven.'

**Paezan:** Timucua *kaka* 'crow.'

**Andean:** Qawasqar *q'awaceno* 'raven,' Proto-Quechuan *\*kukuli* 'bird.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *kakori* 'bird,' *kuku-* ~ *kukuhi* 'hawk.'

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *\*kaʔini* 'bird.'

- This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Dene-Caucasian and Austric (Ruhlen 2006).



164 CRY<sub>1</sub> (v.) \*wuni

**Chibchan:** Malibu: Chimila *oni*. Misumalpan: Miskito *ini*.

**Paezan:** Paez *une*. Warrau *ona*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua *wuneyi*. Proto-Panoan \*wini.

- [A75]

165 CRY<sub>2</sub> (v.) \*ʔipu

**Hokan:** Washo *iʔb*, Jicaque *piya*, Karok *ʔivũr* ‘weep for.’

**Macro-Ge:** Chiquito *ipu*, Tibagi *fua*, Mashakali *opo* ‘he cries.’

- [H34, MG26]

166 CUT<sub>1</sub> \*q<sup>w</sup>at

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \*χ<sup>wa</sup>(*t*), Wakashan: Kwakwala *qat-* ‘cut crosswise,’ χ<sup>wt-</sup> ‘cut grooves on a swelling,’ Heiltsuk χ<sup>wt-</sup> ‘cut with a knife,’ Haisla *q’at* ‘cut with a chisel.’ Salish: Proto-Coast Salish \*k’ə(<sup>w</sup>) ‘cut, sever, carve,’ Proto-Interior Salish \*k’ə*t*’ ‘cut, crack, break off.’ Proto-Chimakuan \*q’*atsi* ‘cut off square.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan *kat* ‘cut.’ Iroquoian: Tuscarora *kwaht* ‘cut off.’

**Penutian:** California \*k’*ut*, Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \*k-*t* ‘cut, scratch.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*k<sup>y</sup>*at*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*q*oti*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*k*utu* ‘cut off.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani \*k*iti*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Proto-Taranoan \*akə*tə*, Pemon *aketi*. Bora *k<sup>wa</sup>ʔtaʔiro* ‘cut, cut up, chop.’

167 CUT<sub>2</sub> \*cik<sup>w</sup>

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-Salish \*c’ə*w*, Wakashan: Kwakwala *cka* ‘cut out bushes, clear a trail.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \*cuk’, Proto-Mixe-Zoque *si:ʔw* ‘cut into (as a rope).’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*C’*u*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \*ciga, Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*s*ik*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \*s*iki-*.

168 CUT<sub>3</sub> \*t’an

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *no-toan* ‘knife.’ Mosan: Salish: Squamish *tlač-tən* ‘knife,’ Seshault *ləč’-tən* ‘knife,’ Nootsack *lač’-tn* ‘knife,’ Tillamook *huq-tən* ‘knife,’ Lillooet *x<sup>w</sup>əēk-tən* ‘knife.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca *tɒŋ* ‘cut down.’

**Hokan:** Jicaque *t’i* ‘chop.’

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *t'ã* 'cut,' Isleta *t'ẽ* 'cut,' Towa *c'aʔ* 'cut':  
Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*Htaʔn* 'break, cut, knife.'

**Chibchan:** Viceyta *tionko* 'cut.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Tucano *tune* 'break'; Movima *tan-na* 'cut.'

**Equatorial:** Munduruku *t'ut'u* 'cut,' Machiguenga *tontimaroʔ* 'cut.'

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *tan* 'break,' Coroado *tina(n)* 'knife.'

- [Ruhlen 1994g] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

169 CUT<sub>4</sub> *\*q'ec* ~ *\*q'ac*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian *\*ki:škyawi* 'cut off.' Proto-Chimakuan *\*q'atsi*  
'cut off square.'

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *qʔoc*, Klamath *qd*, Nez Perce *k'i:w-*. Gulf: Proto-North Yuki *\*kič*, Wappo *k'eč-* 'cut,' *kač-* 'cut, break,' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*k'ɔʔc*, Atakapa (Eastern) *kec* ~ *koc* ~ *kuc*, Proto-Muskogean *\*kač-*.

**Hokan:** Yurumangui *a-ukasa*.

**Paezan:** Timucua *kočo*. Millcayac *ketčewina*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*kuču-*.

170 CUT<sub>5</sub> *\*t'ek*

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *tik* 'cut through.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*t'eK* ~ *teK'*, Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec *\*t'eh*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan *\*t'ega*, Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*tek*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mosesten *tec*.

171 DANCE *\*taluk*

**Paezan:** Itonama *tuluke*, Colorado *terake-de*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Yuri *taröhene*, Movima *telo*.

- [CP43, MT25]

172 DARK *\*t'umak*

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *cmey* 'be evening.' Kutenai *tamoxu-inc* 'be dark.'

Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *tom-* 'dark,' *tomi:s* 'charcoal.'

**Keresiouan:** Keresan: Laguna *c'amišt<sup>y</sup>*.

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *g<sup>y</sup>i:-c'i:p* 'yesterday.' Oregon: Yakonan *caʔmasiyu*  
'shadow.' Plateau: Klamath *č'mog*. California: Yokuts *či:mʔe:k* 'get dark'; Wintun: Patwin *sunol* 'night.' Gulf: Yukian: Yuki, Huchnom *su:m*  
'yesterday,' Clear Lake *somi* 'yesterday,' Wappo *sum* 'evening,' Chitimacha *c'ima* 'night,' Atakapa *tem* 'night,' *teng* 'night,' Muskogean: Choctaw *tampi*, Koasati *tamoxga* 'night,' Natchez *tamuya*: 'yesterday.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Tetontepec *coʔm* 'midnight'; Huave *tim* 'yesterday'; Mayan: Huastec *camul* 'night.'

**Chibchan:** Lenca: Chilanga *cuba* ‘night.’ Misumalpan: Miskito *timia* ‘night.’  
Xinca *syma* ‘night, black’ (Maldonado), Chiquimulilla *su?max* ‘black,’  
Yupultepec *c’yöma* ‘night.’

**Paezan:** Jirajara: Ayoman *tem* ‘black.’

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Urupa *etim* ‘night,’ Itene *issim* ‘night.’ Uro: Callahuaya  
*thami* ‘night,’ Caranga *sumči*, Chipaya *somči*.

• [A76] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

173 DAY \*q<sup>w</sup>ai

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic *kečha:y-* ‘be day,’ Proto-Algonquian *\*-ki:šek* ‘day,’  
*\*ki:še?łwa* ‘sun,’ *\*-axkwa?e:* ‘light.’ Wakashan: Heiltsuk *k<sup>w</sup>qa* ‘day, day-  
light,’ Kwakwala *k<sup>w</sup>qa?a* ‘light, daylight.’ ?Proto-Salish *\*c’ak<sup>w</sup>* (metathe-  
sis) ‘light, bright.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *či?r* ‘light (n.)’

**Penutian:** Proto-Mayan *\*q’i-x/č(a)*, Proto-Quichean *q’i:x<sup>y</sup>* ‘day, sun,’ Proto-  
Mixe-Zoque *kih* ‘give light.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*ačik* ~ *\*ački* ~ *\*akči* ‘light.’ Cahuapana: Cahua-  
pana *keki* ‘sun,’ Jebero *köki* ‘sun.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran *keči* ‘sun,’ Terena *kače* ‘sun,’ Piro *kači* ‘sun,’  
Caliponau *kaši* ‘sun,’ Paumari *kasiri* ‘sun.’ Pakaasnovos *ček* ‘day,’ *čina*  
‘sun.’ Kariri: Sapuya *uče* ‘sun,’ Kamuru *učih* ‘sun.’

**Macro-Carib:** Rucuyene, Apalai, Aracaju, Apingi *čiči* ‘sun,’ Bakairi *čiši*  
‘sun,’ Yaruma *cizi* ‘sun,; Waiana, Upurui *šiši* ‘sun,’ Chiquena *sesi* ‘sun,’  
Parucoto *uči* ‘sun,’ Yecuana *zi* ‘sun.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan *\*čine* ‘day, afternoon.’

• [P145]

174 DEER<sub>1</sub> \*sula

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Sumu *sana, sulu* ‘dog,’ Ulua *sana, solo* ‘dog,’ Mata-  
galpa *sulo*. Rama: Rama *sula, suli* ‘animal,’ Guetar *suri*. Talamanca:  
Terraba *šuring*, Bribri, Estrella *suní*, Cabecar *sunri*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua: Guana *nsenok*, Sanapana *sienak*, Angaite *lonak*.  
Mataco: Mataco *asinax* ‘dog,’ Vejoz *sinax* ‘dog,’ Choroti *sona* ‘red deer.’

• [A77]

175 DEER<sub>2</sub> \*ta?

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan *\*ta?*, Caddo *da?*. Proto-Siouan *\*ta*.

**Central Amerind:** Azteco-Tanoan: WT 96 *\*t’üna* ‘antelope,’ Tanoan: Kiowa  
*t’a-p*, Taos *t’o(-na)*, Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 123 *\*te*, *\*tek* ‘deer.’ Proto-  
Oto-Manguean R 39 *\*(Y)(n)te(H)(n)* ‘fox, wolf, dog, etc.’

• [A78]

176 DEER<sub>3</sub> \**mana*

**Chibchan:** Motilon: Barira *ma:na* ‘meat.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Cayapa *mana*.

**Andean:** Jebero *amana* ‘jaguar,’ Auca *mênẽ* ‘jaguar.’

- [CP46, AN60]

177 DESIDERATIVE \*-*he*

**Macro-Panoan:** Tacanan: Tacana *-ha* (desiderative); Guaicuru: Abipone *ihe* ‘to wish.’

**Macro-Ge:** Opaie *-he* ‘to wish.’

- [G82]

178 DIE<sub>1</sub> \**maki*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**ma:t* ~ \**mi:t* ‘sleep,’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *mk<sup>w</sup>*- ‘kill fleas in the teeth.’ Proto-Chemakuan \**m’aʔ*- ‘sleep.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**mijidʔa* ‘kill.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**ma:h?* ‘sleep (v.)’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*i/a*)*ma* ‘kill,’ \**ma* ‘die,’ \*(*i/a*)*mi(:)* ‘sleep,’ Comecrudo *n-ome-t* ‘sleep.’ Esselen *moho* ‘he died.’ Jicaque *maha* ‘sleep’ (n.) Karankawa *mal* ‘dead,’ *im* ‘sleep.’ Salinan: San Antonio *me* ‘sleep,’ *ema:tʰ* ‘kill’ (with causative *-tʰ*). Seri *-i:m* ‘sleep.’ Subtiaba *ami* ‘sleep.’ Tequistlatec *ma* ‘die,’ *maʔa* ‘kill.’ Yana: Central Yana *?amʔdʔi* ‘kill.’ Proto-Yuman \**mi:yaka* ‘lie down,’ Diegueño *melay*. Yurumanguí *umu*, *uma* ‘he is lying down,’ *a-ima-sa* ‘kill.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 128a \**muk*, \**muki* ‘die’ (sing. subject), M 128c \**mu* (no reconstructed meaning; glosses ‘be sick, kill, die, etc.’), M 128d \**mek*, \**me* (no reconstructed meaning; glosses ‘die, kill, be sick, etc.’).

**Chibchan:** Chibcha *muysua* ‘dream.’ Cuna *ma*, *mai* ‘lie down.’ Misumalpan: Ulua, Sumu *ami* ‘sleep.’ Yanoama: Shiriana *mi* ‘sleep,’ Yanomam *mi* ‘sleep,’ *mahari* ‘dream.’

**Paezan:** Warao *muan*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu [umaugh] ‘desire to sleep,’ *umaq* ‘dream.’ Aymara *amaya* ‘corpse.’ Patagon: Tehuelche *ma* ‘kill,’ Ona *mašenk* ‘be sleepy.’ Quechua: Santiagueño, Cochabamba *maqa* ‘hit.’ Sabela: Tuwituwey *mu* ‘sleep.’ Yamana *mamaia*, *umamaia* ‘kill,’ *maki* ‘hit.’ Zaparo: Zaparo *maki* ‘sleep,’ Andoa *maki* ‘sleep,’ Iquito *amuhe* ‘kill,’ *makə* ‘sleep,’ Arabela *mo* ‘kill.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Capixana *moa* ‘spirits of the dead.’ Huari: Huari *ime*, Masaka *aimæ*. Iranshe *mñna* ‘kill,’ Puinave: Puinave *možei*, *možoi* ‘dead,’ Papury *mehoi* ‘kill,’ Tiquie *memiei* ‘kill,’ Maku-Puinave *mau* ‘kill.’ Tu-

cano: Uasona *mad<sup>z</sup>egə* ‘kill.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban *\*mahi-ta/teka* ‘sleep,’ Guahibo *mahi-ta* ‘sleep,’ Guayabero *moxitan* ‘sleep.’ Proto-Maipuran *\*imaka* ‘sleep,’ Apurina *maka* ‘sleep,’ Machiguenga *mag<sup>y</sup>e* ‘sleep,’ Chana *makasi* ‘sleep,’ Piapoco *ma:ku* ‘sleep,’ etc. Timote: Cuica *mu:* ‘fall asleep.’ Proto-Tupi-Guarani *\*manõ*, Oyampi *mahẽ* ‘dream.’ Uro: Callahuaya *mexana* ‘sleep.’ Yaruro *mũa* ‘sleep.’ Zamuco: Zamuco *amo* ‘sleep,’ Ebidoso *omog* ‘sleep,’ Guaranoco *amo* ‘lie down.’ Achuar *ma:tin* ‘kill.’ Pakaasvovos *mi? pin*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Mocovi *omma* ‘bed,’ *ommakte* ‘finish,’ Abipone *la-amači* ‘finish,’ Guachi *amma* ‘sleep.’ Lengua *mašeyi*, *mašoy* ‘sleep.’ Mataco: Choroti *y-ome* ‘extinct,’ *me* ‘sleep,’ Chulupi *wo-miš* ‘finish,’ Mataco *mo* ‘sleep,’ Choropi *imak* ‘sleep,’ Enimaga *ma* ‘sleep.’ Moseten *moñi* ‘perish, lose.’ Proto-Panoan *\*mawa-*, Culino *yamai*, Cashinahua *mawa*, Shipibo *mama* ‘dream,’ Caripuna *makö*. Tacanan: Proto-Tacanan *\*manu*, Cavineña *maho*.

**Macro-Ge:** Mashakali: Mashakali, Monosho *monon* ‘sleep,’; Macuni *moñung* ‘sleep,’; Capoxo, Kumanasho *mono* ‘sleep.’ Opaie *moye* ‘die.’ Puri: Coropo *mannon* ‘sleep.’

- [A79]

#### 179 DIE<sub>2</sub> *\*tumpa*

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish *\*tum̄n* ‘dead.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *tʔom* ‘kill.’ Gulf: Chitimacha *tuw*, Wappo *t’ám’i?* ‘kill.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*sua* ~ *\*suwa*.

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco *\*t<sup>h</sup>õo-* ‘kill.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *taf* (*f* < *\*m*; cf. BEARD). Gennaken: Pehuelche *team* ‘dead.’ Cahuapana *timini*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban *\*típa*, Guahibo *tipa*. Kandoshi: Kandoshi *cipa:*, Murato *čipoa* ‘kill.’ Maipuran: Resigaro *tabana-ki* ‘you (pl.) kill.’ Tupi: Uruku *topava* ‘is dead,’ Mekens *tsumpatn*, *zumba* ‘kill.’ Yuracare *tubi*. Zamuco: Ebidoso *dãbio* ‘corpse.’

- [A80]

#### 180 DIE<sub>3</sub> *\*t’iq’*

**Almosan:** Chemakuan: Quileute *č’iq-* ‘kill, dead.’ Wakashan: Nootka *č’iq-* ‘inflict harm,’ Kwakwala *cyχ-* ‘kill wounded game.’ Proto-Salish *\*tix<sup>w</sup>* ‘kill (game).’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*-st’u*. Proto-Siouan *\*tVqe* ‘die, dead.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian *\*tinax* ‘die, recover, cure, pain,’ Tsimshian *dzæk* ‘kill.’ Plateau: Klamath *c’o:q’*, Proto-Sahaptian *\*ti?n*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*(a)t’iK* ‘kill.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**te*. Proto-Oto-Manguéan \**ti(n)*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *tohte* ‘kill.’ Timucua *tani*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *tikoina* ‘kill.’

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *toʔ paʔ* ‘hit and kill.’

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto: Muinane *dʔi*. Yagua *di:y*. Carib: Pemon *tika* ‘kill,’  
*etika* ‘die.’

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *ituæ* ‘finish.’ Fulnio *tʰo*. Ge: Proto-Ge \**tü*, \**tür*, \**tük*,  
Karahö *tü* ~ *tük*, Cayapo *tu*. Kaingang: Tibagi *tere*, Southern Kaingang  
*nde*. Kamakan *dau* ‘death, kill.’

• [A81]

181 DIE<sub>4</sub> \**kam*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**kam-i*, Proto-Quichean \**-kam*.

**Hokan:** Coahuiltecan: Comecrudo *kamau* ‘kill.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**kama*.

182 DIE<sub>5</sub> \**yak*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**yak-kaʔ* ‘kill, knock down.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ya*.

**Andean:** Qawasqar *yexanar* ‘die,’ *yeqstawes xar* ‘kill lice.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**yai-ria*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani \**yuka* ‘kill.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**iye-* ‘kill.’

183 DIE<sub>6</sub> \**nek*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**neʔta:wa* ‘kill.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \**nakx* ‘kill.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *nih* ‘die, dead, death.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Vejoz *nox* ‘dead.’

184 DIE<sub>7</sub> \**wanu*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**wenčine:wa* ‘die from, ill.’ Proto-Mosan \**wa(:)*  
‘dead.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \**wo:no*.

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *wantikuni* ‘kill.’ Yanomam *waika* ‘kill.’

**Paezan:** Warao *waba* ‘die.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**wañu*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**wēi-hē* ‘kill.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *we* ‘kill.’

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *we* ‘kill,’ Caraja *una* ‘dead body.’

185 DIG<sub>1</sub> \*(o)kua

**Almosan:** Kutenai *k'a* ‘hole, pit’; Mosan: Salish: Tillamook *kuyi* ‘dig.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca *oka-* ‘make a hole’; Siouan: Proto-Siouan \**oka* ‘hole,’ Catawba *ka* ‘hole.’

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Taos *ko*, Towa *koʔ*, Jemez *ke*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 122 \*(?)*ka(h)* ‘dig, break.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan (Hale) \**kV*<sub>1</sub> ‘to plant’ (*V*<sub>1</sub> represents a correspondence for which no proto-sound is given).

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Bintucua *kui* ‘dig up.’ Chibcha: Pedraza *kui*, Manare *kaya* ‘hole.’ Cuna *kwisa*. Guaymi *gu* ‘hole.’ Motilon *oka* ‘hole.’

**Paezan:** Paez *uxw*.

**Equatorial:** Maipuran: Kustenau, Mehinacu *ako* ‘hole’ (deduced from ‘nostril’ = ‘nose hole’), Guana *aka* ‘nostril,’ Toyeri (*ua-*)*he* ‘hole.’ Piaroa: Saliba *aha* ‘mouth.’ Trumai *-xu* ‘hole’ (deduced from nostril). Tupi: Yuruna *kwa* ‘hole,’ Shipaya *ikua* ‘hole.’ Cf. Jivaro: Gualaquiza [hua] ‘hole,’ (probably *wa*).

- [A82]

186 DIG<sub>2</sub> \*tik

**Hokan:** Chimariko *cik*. Jicaque *tok*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *toʔu*. Ticuna *to*. Tucanoan: Tucano *ʔoteʔe* ‘I dig,’ Wanana *toa-ha* ‘I plant.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Choroti *tei*, *tehi*, Vejoz *tix*, Suhin *tuku* ‘to plant.’ Tacanan: Chama *teo*.

- [A83]

187 DIG<sub>3</sub> \*(w)ali

**Penutian:** California: Miwok: Central Sierra *ʔo:lu*, Northern Sierra *ole*. Yukian: Wappo *eli* ‘dig a hole.’

**Andean:** Aymara *aʎi*. Cahuapana *iwalo-töčok*, *iwalo-lallu* ‘hollow.’ Quechua: Cochabamba, Ecuadorean *aʎa*. Yamana *wön-*.

- [A84]

188 DIMINUTIVE<sub>1</sub> \*-ihsa

**Almosan:** Almic: Proto-Algonquian \**ehsa* (as in \**ne-tān-ehsa* ‘my daughter’), Yurok *cān-ūk-s* ‘young child’; Proto-Mosan \**ʔisa*, Wakashan: Nootka *t’an’ē-ʔis* ‘child.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian (Freeland 1931) \**-si*, Plateau: Cayuse *kwun-asa* ‘girl,’; Proto-Gulf \**-aʔsi*, Muskogean: Koasati *cika-si* ‘younger son,’ *áto-si* ‘infant child.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*-(?)*tsi* (Freeland 1931), \**-č’i* (Kaufman 1988), Chumash *ma-k-ič-tuʔn* ‘my son’ (literally, “the-my-diminutive-son”).

**Central Amerind:** Oto-Manguean: Mixtec *táʔnù iʔšá* ‘younger sister’ (*iʔšá* = ‘child’).

**Paezan:** Paez *kuen-as* ‘young woman.’

**Andean:** Cahuapana *willa-ša* ‘boy, girl.’

**Equatorial:** Esmeralda *tini-usa* ‘daughter’; Arawakan: Maipuran: Amuesha *koy-an-ešaʔ* ‘girl.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Macusi *taŋ-sa* ‘girl.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Suhin *tino-iče* ‘young woman’; Tacanan: Chama *e-g<sup>w</sup>an-asi* ‘woman.’

- [Ruhlen 1994b]

#### 189 DIMINUTIVE<sub>2</sub> \*-mai

**Central Amerind:** Uto-Aztecan: Luiseño *tuʔ-mai* ‘woman’s daughter’s child,’ Cahuilla *ne-suŋa-mah* ‘my daughter.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Masaka *tani-mai* ‘younger sister.’

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Chapacura: Chapacura *tana-muy* ‘daughter,’ Itene *tana-muy* ‘girl’; Maipuran: Yavitero *nu-tani-mi* ‘my daughter.’

- [Ruhlen 1994b]

#### 190 DIRTY \*c’i

**Penutian:** Proto-Maiduan \*c’ey, Proto-Quichean *c’i:l*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo \*c’aʔc’a.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \*nʔa:cʔi:

#### 191 DO \*ʔaχ

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \*ʔaχ- ‘do thus,’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *ʔχa* ‘do, make, put, get,’ Proto-Algic \*a:k- ‘make.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \*ʔa-, Proto-Tacanan \*a-.

#### 192 DOG<sub>1</sub> \*(a)kuan

**Almosan:** Proto-Chimakuan \*kinano.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*k’akana ‘wolf.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*q<sup>h</sup>uw(a[n/w]) ‘fox,’ Achomawi *kuan* ‘silver fox.’ Tonkawa *ʔekuan*. Yana: North Yana *kuwan-na* ‘lynx.’ Yurumangui *kuan*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*k<sup>w</sup>a ‘wolf, coyote.’ Proto-Tanoan \*ka- ‘wolf, dog.’

**Chibchan:** Lenca: Similaton *aguingge* ‘deer,’ Guajiquero, Opatoro *ahuingge* ‘deer,’ Chilanga *ak’uan* ‘deer.’ Tarascan *axuni* ‘deer, animal.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *qyoncar* ‘fox.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muncie *xino*.

**Equatorial:** Esmeralda *kine*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Guisnai *aciina*. Vilela *huan-okol*.



- [A86] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, and Dene-Caucasian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994). It would appear that this is the Proto-Amerind word for ‘dog,’ which the Amerind people brought with them from Asia, along with the dogs.

193 DOG<sub>2</sub> \**kucu*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Heiltsuk *k<sup>w</sup>s-* ‘wolf.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**kiš* ‘fox, dog, wolf,’ Atakapa *šaks* (< \**ša-kiš*) ‘fox, lynx,’ Chitimacha *kiš*.

**Hokan:** Washo *gušu*, San Antonio *xuč*, Coahuilteco *kačorwa*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**cu*, Piro *cue*.

**Paезan:** Millcayac *guaza*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *kašolo*.

- [H41, CA28, MC12]

194 DOG<sub>3</sub> \**c’i?* ~ \**c’u?*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \**-chu?* ‘fox,’ Tuscarora *či-ihnaks* ‘fox,’ *čir* ‘dog.’ Proto-Keresan \**cuski* ‘fox.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \**c-q-l* ‘dog, coyote,’ Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \**s?ixi*, Takelma *c?ixi*. California: Proto-Yokuts *če:-*. Gulf: Wappo *čuiçu*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**c’i?*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**č<sup>h</sup>i*, Proto-Pomo \**cihmewa*. Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlaltec \**ci*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**cu*. Proto-Tanoan \**cu-*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**č<sup>h</sup>usč<sup>h</sup>u(s)*.

195 DOG<sub>4</sub> \**ari*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *?wl-* ‘wolf.’

**Andean:** Zaparo *?ariauku*. Qawasqar *arqase* ‘female wolf.’

**Equatorial:** Yaruro *areri*. Piaroa: *Saliba oli*. Pakaasnovos *?oromiyak*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *arimaraka*.

196 DOG<sub>5</sub> \**dia*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**diya*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**dia-yai*

197 DOG<sub>6</sub> \**nuq*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Haisla *nq-* ‘fox.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**niti* ‘prairie dog.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *nuqa:c?a* ‘fox.’

**Andean:** Cahuapana: Chayavita *ni?ini*, Cahuapana, Jebero, Miquira *nini*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Ashuslay *niu*, Suhin *niuʔux*, Chorote *no:*, Maca *nunnax*, Choropi *nu:x*.

198 DOG<sub>7</sub> \*puku

**Penutian:** Proto-Yokuts \**puʔus*. Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**ʔuku*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**puku*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *pako*.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan \**xĩʔko*.

199 DOG<sub>8</sub> \*waš

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *wʼas-*.

**Penutian:** Gulf: Natchez *waškup*, Proto-North Yuki \**həʔwəšitʼ*.

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *wiču*.

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \**usa*.

**Andean:** Selknam *uešn*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** ?Iranshe *wašik<sup>y</sup>u* ‘wolf fruit.’

## 200 DOVE \*kowi

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts \**s/howin*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**KuwE* ‘oriole,’ Proto-Yuman \**kuwiʔ*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**howi*.

201 DRY<sub>1</sub> \*ana

**Andean:** Mapudungu *angk-ün* ‘become dry.’ Itucale *hana*. Cahuapana *añi*, *ana-pa-ñi*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Kaliana *ti-ana-le* ‘hard,’ Surinam *yaʔna* ‘hardness.’  
Witoto: Muinane *ane-de* ‘to harden.’

- [A91]

202 DRY<sub>2</sub> \*caqi

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan \**siq-* ‘dry (v.),’ Heiltsuk *siqa* ‘dry (v.)’

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \**cakl*, Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *c<sup>h</sup>akkalu:*. Proto-Gulf \**čap*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**cʼa* ‘dry, withered, dead.’ Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean \**čaqiʔ(i)x<sup>y</sup>*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \**sʔay*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**čaki*.

## 203 DUAL \*si

**Penutian:** Oregon: Coos *kwi-s-* ‘let us-two . . . ’ (verbal prefix, cf. *kwi-n* [plural cohortative]). California: Maidu: Maidu *-sa* (dual of pronouns).

Gulf: Wappo *i:-si*: ‘we-two’ (? = ‘I + DUAL’).

**Hokan:** Yana *ux-si* ‘two’ (literally, ‘two-dual’); Chumash: Chumash *-š-* (dual), Santa Barbara *iš-kom* ‘two’; Washo *-ši* (dual marker on pronouns and nouns); Esselen *-š ~ -č* (plural of pronouns, possibly deriving from a dual; cf. Esselen *leš* ‘we’ with Washo *leš* ‘we-two exclusive’); Karok *iθ-* (dual subject of verbs); Chontal *-ši* (suffix on numbers two through five with animate nouns).

- [G29]

#### 204 DUCK \**q’atq’at*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *q’wt-*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Sahaptian \**χe:tχet*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**q’at’q’at’* ‘duck, crane.’

- Reduplication may be an innovation of Penutian and Hokan.

#### 205 DURATIVE \**la*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**-la:*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Sahaptian \**la*, Proto-Coos-Takelma \**-(a)l-* ~ \**-lha-* (continuative)

#### 206 DURATIVE/PUNCTUAL \**-a/\*-i*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Quileute *-a* (durative)/*-i* (punctual).

**Penutian:** Oregon: Coos *-at* (durative)/*-it* (punctual), Gulf: Wappo *-a* (durative)/*-i* (punctual);

- [G73]

#### 207 DUST<sub>1</sub> \**pur*

**Chibchan:** Cuna *puru* ‘ashes,’ Uncasica *bura* ‘ashes,’ Manare *oka-bora*,  
Move *ñio-bru*, Guatuso *purun*.

**Paezan:** Catio *pora* ‘dust,’ Choco: Embera *p<sup>h</sup>ora*.

**Andean:** Lupaca *purka* ‘ashes.’

**Equatorial:** Shuara *pupu:r* ‘dust,’ Bare *baridi* ‘ashes,’ Wapishana *parati*,  
Goajiro *purpura* ‘dust.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Taruma *gula-paru* ‘powder.’

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *pupāndru* ‘ashes.’

**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge \**prə* ‘ashes,’ Krenje *pro*, Cayapo *pra* ‘embers,’ Guato  
(*ma-*)*fora(-ta)* ‘ashes,’ Caraja *brībi*.

- This root is also found in Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Eurasiatic, Dravidian, Burushaski, and Australian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

208 DUST<sub>2</sub> \**pe*

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *p<sup>h</sup>ã-ẽ*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 154 \**k<sup>w</sup>e*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *fu*. Choco: Chami *fu* ‘flour,’ Catio *po, fo* ‘flour.’

- [A92]

209 DWELL \**?u*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**-?u*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Maiduan \**-?u* ‘be there,’ Proto-Gulf \**?uki* ‘dwell, sit.’

210 EAGLE \**?asa*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ša* ‘eagle,’ \**?VšA:yV* ‘buzzard,’ Proto-Yuman \**?asa* ‘eagle,’ \**?ase* ‘buzzard.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**?as*, Proto-Oto-Manguean \**Ysi* ‘eagle, buzzard.’

211 EAR<sub>1</sub> \**kamon*

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo \**xi:mañ*.

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Mosquito *kiama*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Canichana *komete, komeh*. Kaliana *kaũhĩ*. Puinave: Dou *kumaẽ*. Tucano: Bahukina *kamuka*, Waikina *kamono*, etc.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**kema* ‘hear,’ Moxo *sama* ‘hear,’ Piro *xema* ‘hear,’ Tereno *kamo* ‘hear,’ Apurina *kema* ‘hear,’ etc. Timote: Timote, Cuica *ki-kumeu*. Cf. Proto-Guahiban \**hume-tane* ‘hear,’ Guahibo *hometa* ‘hear.’

- [A93]

212 EAR<sub>2</sub> \**kana*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Choctaw *ikhana* ‘hear,’ Proto-Yuki *həl* ‘hear,’ Yuki *hāl* ‘hear.’

**Paezan:** Mura: Bohura *hane-apue*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**kenp<sup>hi</sup>(-da)*, Moxo *nu-kiña*. Uro *kuñi*.

- [P106, E34]

213 EAR<sub>3</sub> \**pa(n)*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**pe:ntamwa* ‘hear.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**-pe*, Santa Ana *s’-ĩpe* ‘my ear.’ Siouan: Hidatsa *apa* ‘animal’s ear.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Maiduan \**pin* ‘hear.’ Gulf: Tunica *páka* ‘reply,’ Atakakpa *pah* ‘listen,’ Muskogean: Creek *poh-ita* ‘hear.’

**Hokan:** ?Proto-Yuman \**?epuk* ‘hear.’

- Chibchan:** Yanoama: Karime *pei-yameke*, Pubmatari *pi-xinkawan*, Sanema *pil-morok<sup>wi</sup>:n*.
- Paezan:** Mura: Piraha *apu-pay*. Barbacoan: Proto-South Barbacoan \**pūki*, Cayapa *pu:ŋi*, Colorado *punki*.
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *ep- ~ epue*.
- Equatorial:** Tupi: Arua *pan-itiwe*, Kepkeriwat *u-apia*. Kariri: Sapuya *penix*, Kariri, Dzubucua *beñe*, Kamaru *benyen*.
- Macro-Carib:** Carib: Proto-Hianacoto \**bana:li*, Pemon, Yukpa *pana*. Proto-Witotoan \**-po*.
- Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**pa-*.
- Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *apa* ‘hear.’ Karaho *pa* ‘hear.’
- [AK58, MG61]

214 EAR<sub>4</sub> \**naka*

- Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**nakxV* ‘hear.’
- Penutian:** Tsimshian *n’axn’o* ‘hear,’ Gulf: Atakapa *nak* ‘hear.’ Mexican: Huave *o-la:g*.
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**naka*.
- Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \**nukka* ‘hear,’ Kagaba *nuka* ‘hear,’ Guamaca *naku* ‘hear,’ Bintucua *nokou* ‘hear.’ Malibu: Chimila *nok-* ‘hear.’ Ika *nó?kw-ən* ‘hear,’ Kogui *nukš-ĩ* ‘hear,’ Dimina *nĩkkwá* ‘hear.’
- Paezan:** Chimu: Eten *nok* ‘recognize.’ Warrau *noko* ‘hear.’
- Andean:** Quechua: Boliviano *nigri*.
- Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**nĩka-* ‘hear.’
- Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *-nĩrãŋ ~ nijrem ~ ningrein ~ ñinkren*. Caraja *nõxõti*.
- [A145]

215 EAR<sub>5</sub> \**tine*

- Paezan:** Andaqui *sun-guaxo*.
- Andean:** Cholona *a-sinn-an* ‘hear.’ Leco *asoni-čiki* ‘hear.’ Patagon: Patagon *šene*, Tsoneka *sane*. Teushen *šan*. Selknam *šün*. Manekenkn *šuno*.
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Capixana *i-tẽũ*. Ticuna *čin ~ sinu*. Yuri *tinæho*.
- Equatorial:** Tupi: Guajajara *sane-inamu*.
- [A146]

216 EAR<sub>6</sub> \**tiki*

- Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \**c-k(w)-i-* ‘ear, hear,’ Proto-Yokuts \**t<sup>h</sup>uk*’, Proto-Mayan \**čikin ~ čwikin*.
- Paezan:** Timucua *tiki* ‘ear, hear.’
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**ti?o* ‘hear.’
- Equatorial:** Lokono *-dike*. Manao *teki*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua *aha-ktik*. Angaite *aua-tik*.

217 EAR<sub>7</sub> \*ali

**Penutian:** Proto-Yuki \**həl* ‘hear.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Coahuiltecan \**ali*, Comecrudo *ali*.

**Chibchan:** Rama *ali(s)* ‘ear wax.’ Yanomam *hīri* ‘hear.’ Guaymi: Muoi *ola*, Move, Norteño, Penomeño, Murire, Sabanero *olo*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *aʎki-* ‘hear.’

**Equatorial:** Ebidoso *ahre*. Tumraha *ahri*.

218 EAR<sub>8</sub> \*isa

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**ehše:* ‘hear.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *həhs*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**i-sa*.

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Siriono *e-isa*. Piaroa *ĩse* ‘hear.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**íca-ka*.

219 EAR<sub>9</sub> \*mal

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**(i/a-)ma-lʸ(-Ku)*.

**Central Amerind:** ?Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**mura* ‘ear of corn.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *mera-* ‘hear,’ Inter-Andine: Guambiano, Totoro *míríp* ‘hear.’

**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge \**-ma(r)* ‘hear.’

220 EAR<sub>10</sub> \*ka

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**-ka:* ‘hear.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Wappo *kah* ‘hear.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ka* ‘hear.’

221 EARTH<sub>1</sub> \*ila

**Andean:** Cahuapana *wili* ‘under.’ Quechua: Cochabamba *ura* ‘down,’ Chinchaysuyu *ula* ‘be under,’ Santiaguense *ura* ‘lower part,’ etc. Sabela: Auca *wæ* ‘under’ (Auca has no liquids). Yamana: Yahgan *ilu* ‘under.’ Cf. Qawasqar *čarakte alalatal* ‘lower teeth’ (*čarakte* = ‘tooth’).

**Equatorial:** Guahibo *ira*. Yuracare *ele* ‘earth, mud, under.’

- [A94]

222 EARTH<sub>2</sub> \*tampi

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian \**atha:m* ‘under,’ Cree *ta:mi* ‘underneath.’ Mosan: Salish: Proto-Salish \**timix<sup>w</sup>* ‘under,’ Shuswap *tem* ‘bottom.’

**Chibchan:** Chibcha: Chibcha *tum* ‘mud,’ Uncasica *tamara* ‘mud,’ Tegria *tami* ‘mud,’ Margua *tabo-ra*. Cuitlatec *ixtame*, *tamelo* ‘field.’ Guaymi: Move *thobo*, Sabanero *debbi*, Chumulu *savi-ru*. Talamanca: Borunca *tap*, Cabecar *tamã* ‘dirty.’ Tarascan *acimo* ‘mud.’ Yanoama: Shiriana *čami* ‘mud.’ Through a semantic change ‘dirty’ > ‘bad,’ the following may also be connected: Motilon *atan*, *atam* ‘bad.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Cayapa *tumayi*: ‘dirty.’ Betoï *dafi-bu*. Chimu: Mochica *tum* ‘mud,’ Eten *tumo* ‘muddy.’ Jirajara: Ayoman, Gayon *dap*. Warrau *hobo-to* ‘earth, mud’ (Warrau *h* < \*s). Through a semantic change ‘dirty’ > ‘bad,’ the following may also be connected: Choco: Citara *tumia* ‘devil.’

**Equatorial:** Kandoshi: Kandoshi *ca:po*, Murato *cabo*, Shapra *capo*. Timote *ki-tapo*. Yaruro *dabo* ‘sand.’

- [A95]

223 EARTH<sub>3</sub> \**ama(k)* ~ \**ama(t)*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *a:mki*, Cheyenne *-oma-* ‘ground,’ Beothuk *emer* ‘under.’ Kutenai *amma:k*, *ume*: ‘underneath.’ Mosan: Salish: Pentlatch *me:i*, Nootsack *mix<sup>w</sup>*.

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca *-wě-*. Keresan: Santa Ana *m’e:wa* ‘mud.’ Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan \**mã*.

**Penutian:** Plateau: Yakima *uma*, *ima* ‘island,’ Nez Perce *uma* ‘island,’ North Sahaptin *-ma-*, *-mɔ-* ‘ground, world.’ Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *ɔma*.

**Hokan:** Chimariko *ama*. Chumash: Santa Barbara *matak* ‘mud.’ Comecrudo *amat* ‘village, town.’ Esselen *mathra*. Jicaque *ma*, *?ama* (Oltrogge). Karok *am-ta:p* ‘dust.’ Proto-Pomo \**?a(h)ma*: (Oswalt), \**?a(h)maʔ* (McLendon). Quinigua *ama*, *aba*. Seri *amt*. Subtiaba *mbah*, *u:mba* ‘dust, earth.’ Tequistlatec *amac’*. Washo *ɲawa*, *ɲowa* (Washo *ɲ* < \**m*). Proto-Yuman \**?-mat*.

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *am* ‘island, forest,’ *am-tap* ‘dew’ (*tap* = ‘wet’). Mashakali: Mashakali *ahaham*, Capoxo, Macuni *am*, Malali *am*, Patasho *aham*.

- [A96] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

224 EARTH<sub>4</sub> \**nan(u)*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Kalapuya *anu*. Plateau: Yakima *nenō* ‘sand.’ Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *nu* ‘sand, gravel,’ Wappo *nui* ‘sand,’ Atakapa *ne*; Natchez *?ino*: ‘under’; Chitimacha *ney*, *neh* ‘down.’

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *dām*, Isleta *nan*, Taos *nām*, Tewa *nang*. Proto-Oto-Manguan R 408 \*(*n*)*ya* ‘dirty, mud, earth, dust.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Huari: Masaka *numay* ‘under.’ Kaliana *inūbə* ‘earth.’ Puinave *anuma* ‘under.’

**Equatorial:** Esmeralda *nuane* ‘go down.’ Jivaro: Aguaruna *nunga* ‘under,’

Upano *nungači* ‘under.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Carib (general) *nono*, Nahugua *noror*. Witoto: Witoto *enerwe*, *enie*, Coeruna *noynae*, Miranya Carapana Tapuya *nanüü*. Yagua *nũnĩ* ‘field.’

- [A97]

225 EARTH<sub>5</sub> \**pata*

**Andean:** Quechua *paca* ‘ground,’ Hivito *puc*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *bata*, Puinave (*m*)*baytçi*.

- [AN32, MT31]

226 EARTH<sub>6</sub> \**kake*

**Chibchan:** Paya *kuka*, Borunca *kak*, Manare *kakka* ‘world.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auixiri *okake*, Capixana *kekeke*, Dou *čax*.

- [CP59, MT32]

227 EARTH<sub>7</sub> \**pile*

**Hokan:** Tipai *xpiʔ* ‘dirty,’ Comecrudo *papeleple* ‘dirty.’

**Paezan:** Cuaiquer *piʔ*, Timucua *pile* ‘field,’ Guambiana *pire*.

- [H40, CP58]

228 EAT<sub>1</sub> \**pa* ~ *pe*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*-*Vpeyeti* ‘tooth,’ \**Vʔp* ‘by tooth, bite, eat,’ Proto-Algonquian \**pi:ʔsme:wa* ‘chew up fine,’ \**wi:ʔʔeniwa* ‘eat,’ Proto-Central Algonquian \**pw-* ‘bite, eat,’ \**po* ‘eat,’ Arapaho *bi-n*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan \*-*wa:wa*, Pawnee *tut-pawa* ‘I eat.’ Proto-Keresan \*-*be*. Siouan-Yuchi: Siouan: Hidatsa *pe* ‘eat, swallow,’ Crow *apε*, *apa* ‘chew’; Yuchi *wawa* ‘chew.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \**pe*. Wintun: Patwin *ba*; Maidu *pe*, *pa*. Gulf: Proto-Muskogean \**impa*, Hitchiti *pa* (pl. subject). Plateau: Klamath *p’a*, *p’an*, North Sahaptin *ip*. Yukian: Wappo *paʔ*, *paʔε*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**pi-II* ~ \**pa-II* ~ \**pi-nI* ~ \**pa-nI* ‘eat mush.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \**wi* ‘chew.’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *wa*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Capishana *i-pe* ‘tooth.’ Proto-Tucanoan \**baʔi*, Tucano, Siriono, Desano *baʔa-*, Waimaja, Bara *ba:*, Macuna, Barasano *ba-*. Catuquina: Canamari *pu* ‘bite.’ Kaliana *pa*. Proto-Nambikwara \**wi*: ‘tooth.’ Cf. Paratio, Pankaruru *vovo* ‘tooth.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *apo* ‘chew.’ Yameo *wi-e* ‘tooth.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *apo:*. Proto-Panoan \**pi*. Tacanan: Guariza *bobi* ‘feed.’

- [A98]



229 EAT<sub>2</sub> \*k'uli ~ \*k'uri

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *ačhuri*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \*k'uʔ 'eat, swallow.'

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan \*k'ol-

**Andean:** Cholona *kulu* 'tooth.' Leco *bi-kiri* 'tooth.' Patagon *kurr* 'tooth.'  
Proto-Quechuan \**kiru* 'tooth,' Yanacocha, Lamisto, Ayacucho, Ancash,  
Quiteño *kiru* 'tooth,' Boliviano *keru* 'tooth,' Junin, Huancay, Chinchay-  
suyu *xilu* 'tooth.' Zaparo *ikare* 'tooth.' Teushen *korr* 'tooth.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *kalidi* 'gnaw.' Shukuru *kri(-ngo)* 'food, eat.' Tu-  
cano: Yupua *kuli* 'chew,' Desana *kuriri* 'bite.'

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani \**karu* 'eat (intr).'

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Opone *xor* 'tooth.'

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *ni-kore*. Proto-Ge \**krē* ~ \**krēr*, \**ku(r)*. Kamakan:  
Masacara (*inthug-*)*krüng*.

- [A99]

230 EAT<sub>3</sub> \*(h)ama

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**amwe:wa*, \**mi:čiwa*, Proto-Central Algonquian  
\*-*am-* 'eat small inanimate object,' Chippewa *-am* 'by mouth.' Proto-  
Mosan \**ha:ma*, Salish: Kalispel *?em* 'feed.' Wakashan: Nootka *m'a* 'hold  
in mouth.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ama*, Achomawi *ām*, Chimariko *-ama-*, Esselen *am*,  
Quinigua *ama* 'eat fish,' Yana *ma*. Proto-Yuman \**ma* 'eat soft food.'  
Yuma *ama*. Coahuilteco *-ha'm*. Yurumangui *l-ama*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**mi-*.

**Equatorial:** Otomaco *mi?i* 'tooth.'

**Macro-Ge:** Monosho *ĩma*.

- [AK59, AK131, H46]

231 EAT<sub>4</sub> \*k'ama

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**k'a:* 'gnaw,' Proto-North Wakashan \**k'ap-* 'gnaw,'  
Haisla, Kwakwala *k'ap-* 'gnaw.'

**Penutian:** Gulf: Chitimacha *k'ušt-*, Natchez *hašku:š*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan  
\**k<sup>w</sup>uš* 'eat,' \**ka?m-* 'molar tooth, cheek,' \**ko(:)h* 'molar tooth, cheek.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Coahuiltecan \**kai* 'eat up, consume,' \**kam* 'eat, drink,' Come-  
crudo *kai*. Proto-Yuman \**kamak*. Proto-Pomo \**kuh:u-*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \**k'ə?a* 'tooth,' Proto-Uto-Aztec  
\**k<sup>w</sup>a* 'eat,' \**ko* ~ \**ku* 'eat, chew.' Proto-Oto-Manguean \**ku* 'eat, bite.'

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \**k<sup>h</sup>o*. Warao *kai* 'tooth.' Timucua *ho*.

**Andean:** Aymara *k'ači* 'tooth.' Proto-Quechuan \**kaçu* 'chew,' \**aku* 'chew,'  
Lupaca *k'ama* 'tooth.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *kaikai*. Kaliana *kaka* ‘tooth.’ Catuquina: Canamari *k<sup>y</sup>u-he* ‘tooth.’

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *kao?* ~ *kakakao?*. Proto-Tupi-Guarani *\*ʔu*, Caingua *ku* ‘tooth.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *ku*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *\*koko-*.

**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge *\*ku(r)*. Kaingang *ko*. Hahahay *koma*.

232 EGG<sub>1</sub> *\*na*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*no*.

**Andean:** Mayna *u:n*. Patagon: Teuesh *na*, Tehuelche *na* ‘ostrich egg.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Capixana *inaĩ*. Proto-Nambikwara *\*nau*.

- [A100]

233 EGG<sub>2</sub> *\*tompā*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian *\*-ato*: ‘ball.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan *\*tape* ‘ball.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *doum* ‘testicle.’ Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *\*tamam*, North Sahaptin, Nez Perce *tamam*, Kalapuya *atomp*. Cf. Mexican Penutian: Mayan: Tzotzil *ton*.

**Central Amerind:** ?Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*(h)tu(n)* ‘egg, fruit, onion, potato, orange.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** ?Muniche *saʔma*. Maku-Puinave *tip*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban *\*tobi*, Guahibo, Cuiva *tobi*. Maipuran: Curi-paco *topi*. Trumai *taf*. Pakaasnovos *towirači?* ‘testicle.’

- [A101]

234 EGG<sub>3</sub> *\*paki*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic *\*wa:waʔlewi*, Proto-Algonquian *\*wa:wi*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *\*p<sup>h</sup>a*, Takelma *pa:-p* ‘egg, seed.’ Proto-California *\*p<sup>h</sup>ak*, Proto-Maiduan *\*pakpak*. Gulf: Chitimacha *paci* ‘ball,’ Natchez *puhs* ‘ball,’ Muskogean: Creek *pokko* ‘ball.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*(a/i-)piH* ‘egg, bone,’ *\*piχe* ‘egg,’ Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec *\*piʔe*.

**Central Amerind:** ?Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*pa:ni*. Proto-Tanoan *\*wa*. Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*(ʔ)wa(H)* ‘ball, round, peach, plum.’

**Andean:** ?Yamana *ax*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani *\*upiʔa*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mosenen [buisç] *buiš* ‘yoke.’ Proto-Panoan *\*βaci*. Lengua *apuk*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *ba* ‘egg, testicle,’ Umotina *ba*. Puri: Coroado *paki*.

- [A253]

235 EGG<sub>4</sub> \*c'ik<sup>w</sup>

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Heiltsuk c'k<sup>w</sup>- 'sea egg.' Proto-Chimakuan \*cick<sup>w</sup>a-.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \*siḱawa.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja tSi.

236 ELBOW<sub>1</sub> \*q'ucu

**Almosan:** Algonquian: Shawnee *kotekwi* 'turn.' Salish: Squamish *k<sup>w</sup>ucun* 'crooked.' Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan \*q's 'bend the knee or elbow, poke with the elbow,' Heiltsuk *q'slat<sup>l</sup>la* 'rest on the elbow,' Haisla *q's* 'poke with the elbow.'

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \*-hkyu:s-, Mohawk *a?ktu* 'crooked.' Yuchi *kota* 'crooked.'

**Penutian:** Proto-Sahaptian \*q'aššaynu, North Sahaptin *k'ašinu*; Yokuts: Yaudanchi *k<sup>h</sup>ošoyi*, Muskogean: Creek *ekuče*; Huave *kos* 'knee,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*koso(k) 'knee,' Mixe *kōš* 'knee,' Sierra Popoluca *ko:su* 'knee.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo \*q'uhsa.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *kuču(š)*.

- [AK52, P63]

237 ELBOW<sub>2</sub> \*kuk

**Penutian:** Atakapa *šuk*, Uspantec *čuk*.

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *kukui-si*, Paya *kokisa* 'knee,' Sinsiga *kuika*.

- [P62, CP61]

238 ELDER<sub>1</sub> \*ʔa-

**Penutian:** California: Wintun *o-tun-če* 'older sister,' Proto-Miwok \*ʔá-ta 'older brother,' Lake Miwok *ʔa-táa* 'older brother.' Gulf: Yuki *ʔā-t'át* 'man.' Mexican: Mayan: Kakchiquel *a-čín* 'man,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*ʔa-win 'elder brother of a woman,' Mixe *a-ts* 'elder brother.'

**Hokan:** Shasta *ʔá-ču* 'older sister,' *ʔa-pu* 'older brother,' Achomawi *a-tūn* 'younger brother,' Washo *-ʔá-t'u* 'older brother.'

**Central Amerind:** Oto-Manguean: Sierra Popoluca *hā-thuŋ* 'father'; Uto-Aztecan: Northern Paiute *a-tsi* 'maternal uncle.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Coreguaje *aʔ-čĩ* 'elder brother,' *aʔ-čo* 'elder sister.'

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Aweti *a-tu* 'grandfather'; Guahibo: Guahibo *ā-tō* 'elder brother'; Arawakan: Arawa: Paumari *ā-dyu* 'older brother,' ?Proto-Maipuran \*ahšeni 'man, person' (? < \*ʔa-teni), Uainuma *a-ttsiu* 'uncle,' Kustenuu *a-tu* 'grandfather.'

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua: Yameo *a-tin* 'man.'

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *\*ʔa-wini* ‘wife’ (for *-win* see FEMALE<sub>1</sub> below).

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Piokobyé *a-tōn* ‘older sister,’ *ha-tōn* ‘younger brother.’

- [Ruhlen 1994b]

### 239 ELDER<sub>2</sub> *\*-ko*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan *\*thū-kā* ‘grandfather,’ Assiniboine *tū-gā* ‘maternal grandfather,’ Santee *thū-kā* ‘maternal grandfather,’ Biloxi *tú-kā* ‘maternal uncle.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Tfalti *čaŋ-ko* ‘man’; Zuni *tač-ču* ‘father’ (if this derives from *\*tan-ko*); Mexican: Mixe *tsu-gu* ‘aunt.’

**Central Amerind:** Uto-Aztecan: Northern Paiute *to-go’o* ‘maternal grandfather,’ Mono *cu-ku* ‘old man,’ Tübatulabal *tu-gu* ‘brother’s wife,’ Kawaiisu *to-go* ‘maternal grandfather.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Yuri *čo-ko* ‘man.’

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Karaho *ton-ko* ‘older brother,’ Piokobyé *tōn-ko* ‘older brother,’ Apinaye *tu’-ká* ‘paternal uncle, son-in-law,’ *tu’-ka-ya* ‘maternal grandfather,’ *tu’-ka-tí* ‘brother-in-law, son-in-law.’; Bororo: Umotina *žu-ko* ‘paternal father-in-law’ (< *\*tun-ko*).

- [Ruhlen 1994b]

### 240 EXCREMENT<sub>1</sub> *\*pa*

**Hokan:** Chimariko (*hi:-*)*pxa* ‘guts.’ Karok *ʔa:f*. Pomo: South Pomo *ʔihp<sup>h</sup>a* ‘guts,’ North Pomo, East Pomo *p<sup>h</sup>a*. Salinan: San Miguel *p<sup>h</sup>xat* ‘guts, excrement.’ Seri *ʔapxika:p*. Shasta *ʔi:pxay* ‘guts.’ Subtiaba: Subtiaba *amba*, Tequistlatec *fay*. Yana: Central, North Yana *p<sup>h</sup>a-c’i*. Yuman: Cocopa, Tipai *pxa* ‘guts,’ Kiliwa *p<sup>h</sup>aʔ* ‘guts,’ etc. Yurumangui *-fa* in *anga-fa* ‘ashes’ (= ‘fire-excrements’)

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec *bo*, *biʔi*. Misumalpan: Sumu, Ulua *ba*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Cayapa, Colorado *pe*. Jirajara: Ayoman *apo:* ‘guts.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *pe*, *epe* ‘defecate,’ Umotina *opthi*. Ge: Chavante (*im-*)*pa* ‘guts.’

- [A102]

### 241 EXCREMENT<sub>2</sub> *\*(i)ta(h)*

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Caddo *idah*. Iroquoian: Seneca *iʔta*. Proto-Siouan (C) *\*īre*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguan R 10 *\*(ʔ)ti(ʔ)(n)* ‘defecate, intestines, manure.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auake *aci*. Catuquina *to* ‘defecate.’ Puinave: Parana Boaboa *taya*. Tucano: Yahuna *ita*, Tucano *e:ta*, Bara *əxta*, Wanana *tə*.

- [A103]

242 EYE<sub>1</sub> \*(i)to(?)

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**hu:th*u ‘see.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ʔat*’u ‘eye, head,’ Seri *ʔa:to* (Kroeber *ito*). Subtiaba: Subtiaba *s-i:tu* (cf. *i:tu* in *inyi:tu* ‘tear’), Tlappanec *ið*u. Yuman: Maricopa *hiðoʔ*, Cocopa *iyuʔ*, Walapai *yuʔ*, etc.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \**t<sup>h</sup>ewa* ‘see, find.’ Tanoan: Kiowa *t<sup>h</sup>ʂ-n* ‘find,’ Jemez *ši* ‘see.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean \**te* ‘learn, teach.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**te(w)* ‘see.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \**tu* ‘see.’ Yanomam *ta* ‘see, look.’

**Paezan:** Choco: Andagueda *tow*, Sambu, Choco, Baudo, Tado, Saija *tau*. Timucua *hoto* ‘watch, guard.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Parana Boaboa *tu*. Ticuna *etu*, *ete*. Yuri *æti*, *iti*.

**Equatorial:** Arawak: Guajiro, Paraujano *ta-i*. Cofan *t<sup>h</sup>aʔt<sup>h</sup>aʔ* ‘look.’ Esmeralda *tu*. Proto-Guahiban \**ta-Ne* ‘see,’ \**takhu* ‘eye,’ Guahibo *tae* ‘see,’ *ta* ‘look.’ Jivaro: Zamora *ti*, Shuara *hi*. Kandoshi: Kandoshi *k-ači-č*, Shapra *k-ači*. Taruma *a-ci*. Timote *tiyi* ‘see.’ Yaruro *da* ‘see.’ Achagua *-toi*, Pipapoco *-tui*. Itene *to*.

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *doa*. Witoto *etoy*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Guachi *yataya*, Pilaga *ite*, etc. Mataco: Macca *toi*, Vejoz *te*.

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Krengesz *nto*, Cherente *to*, *toi*, Acroa *ai-nθo*, Chavante, Cherente *-to*, Karaho, Cayapo, Apinage *i-nto*, Aponegricran *i-nθo*, Fulnio, Sakamekran *i-to*, Makamekran *ñoto*, Mehin, Taje, Krenje, Piokobye *n-to*.

• [A104]

243 EYE<sub>2</sub> \*tene ~ \*tele

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \**čínčín* ‘eye,’ \**cil* ~ \**cal* ‘eye, see.’ Tsimshian *cʔal*. Oregon: Takelma *cʔele-y*. Plateau: Nez Perce *silu* ‘eye,’ *sile:w* ‘see,’ Sahaptin *slkpa:s* ‘eyebrow,’ Klamath *sleʔ* ‘see.’ California: Proto-Maiduan \**c’e* ‘see,’ Maidu *c’en* ‘look.’ Zuni *tuna* ‘look.’ Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *tuʔn* ‘look at.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \**čila* ‘see.’ Proto-Tanoan \**ce*.

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Norteño *te:n* ‘see’; Xinca *tili* ‘see.’

**Paezan:** Millcayac *tene(-kina)* ‘see.’ Timucua *ʔčano* ‘see,’ *ʔibatele* ‘watch, wait, await.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *teł*, Yamana *tella*.

**Equatorial:** Piaroa *čiere*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Macusi *tenu*.

• [P150, CP159, AN34]

244 EYE<sub>3</sub> \*k'an

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \*-kê:- 'see,' Tuscarora *kə̃* 'see,' Mohawk *kã* 'see.' Siouan: Hidatsa *ika* 'see.' Yuchi *k'a* 'watch.'

**Penutian:** Proto-Yokuts \*ʔek'a 'see.'

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(Y)k<sup>w</sup>a(h)(n) 'look, see, know.'

**Andean:** Mapudungu *kintu-* 'look for.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Capixana *i-kaẽ*, Proto-Nambikwara \**eika*, Bendiapa *iku*.

**Equatorial:** ?Proto-Tupi-Guarani *eča*.

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *-kane* ~ *-kanẽ* ~ *kanem*.

• [AK163, MT36] This root is also found in Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

245 EYE<sub>4</sub> \*tuki ~ \*tuku

**Andean:** Yamana *teki* 'see.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Canichana *tokhe*, Auixiri *atuka*.

**Equatorial:** Itene *tok*, Santa Rosa *tuxua*, Caranga *čuk<sup>x</sup>i*, Chipaya *čuki*.

Guamo *tüxuä*. Uainuma *-tohi*. Proto-Guahiban \**takhu*. Yaru *tekisi*.

Pakaasnovos *tok*. Tora *toku*. Urupa *tükesi*. Wañam *tukiču:*. Chapacura *tukurči*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carif *tagu*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**tuka*, Tacana *e-tua*, Huarayo *etoxa*.

• [MT34, E39]

246 EYE<sub>5</sub> \*q<sup>w</sup>aʔ

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \**keʔa:pame:wa* 'look at him,' Wiyot *tu-kʔ* 'watch,' Yurok *k<sup>w</sup>əʔ* 'image.' Proto-Mosan \**gal-*, Wakashan: Kwakwala *qwāxwa* 'see,' *k<sup>w</sup>lχ-* 'see something, site something,' *q<sup>w</sup>ʔ-* 'look for a place to spawn (said of herring),' *t<sup>l</sup>ax-* 'look for lice' (metathesis), Nitinat *qaliʔ*. Salish: Pentlatch *kəlom*, Nisqualli *kalob*, Tillamook *-gāʔ-*. Kutenai *-qʔiʔ*. Proto-Chemakuan \**ʔaq<sup>w</sup>o* 'eye' (metathesis), \**-ʔalix<sup>w</sup>i-* 'look for, get, collect' (metathesis), Quileute *-qaʔ* 'look at.'

**Keresiouan:** Proto-North Iroquoian \**kakáhraʔ* 'eyes,' Mohawk *okàraʔ* 'eyes,' Oneida *okàlaʔ* 'eyes.' Proto-Caddoan \**kiri(:)kuʔ*, Pawnee *kiriku* 'eye, look at,' Wichita *kirik'a*.

**Penutian:** Chinook *kəl* 'see.' Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *k<sup>hw</sup>illa:k*, Tfalatik *kwallak*, Coos *xwalxwal*. Plateau: Sahaptin *ak'aʔ* 'eyeball,' Klamath *sn'ekl* 'eyebrow,' *k'elm'a* 'tear,' *q'lamc* 'close the eyes,' Proto-Yokuts \**ʔek'a* 'see,' Wintun *ʔaʔ-ma* 'look.' Proto-Gulf \**wol*, Atakapa *wōl*, Proto-Yuki \**hul*, Coast Yuki *hul*. Mayan: Huastec *wal*, Tzotzil *k'alēl* 'look.'

**Hokan:** East Pomo *kār-* 'see,' Yana *kel* 'peer,' Cochimi *gir* 'see,' ?Tonkawa *helʔeya* 'look.'

**Paezan:** Itonama *uy-k'ururu*, Cayapa *querā-* ‘appear,’ Colorado *kiriasa* ‘see.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *qualeona* ‘look,’ Zaparo *karīyā* ‘look.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara *\*eika*. Tsöla *kui*.

**Equatorial:** Manao *nu-kurika*, Itene *ikirikira* ‘look,’ Callahuaya *khura-na* ‘see.’ Pakaasnovos *kerek* ‘see.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Caduveo *o-gekore*, Opaye *či-gareye*.

**Macro-Ge:** Mashubi *akari*.

- [AK63]

247 EYE<sub>6</sub> *\*kap*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Wakashan: ?Kwakwala *gp-* ‘eyeball.’

**Paezan:** Atakama *kepi*. Proto-Barbacoan *\*kap*, Colorado *kapa-ka*, Cayapa *kapu-kua*; Jirajara: Ayoman *a-kibaux*; Paez: Guambiana *kap*, Totoro *kap*, Mogueux *kap*. Timucua *kabiči* ‘keep watch.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*kape-a*, Uaiana, Pamöa, Patsoca *kape*, Möxdöa *kapea*, Uantya *kapega*, Bara *kapeka*, Erulia, Tuyuca, Waikina *kaxfea*, Sära, Omöa, Buhagana, Tsölöa, Palanoa, Uasöna *kaxea*, Macuna *kaea*, Uanana *kaxpadi*, Tucano *kaxperi*, Urubu-Tapuya *re-kapeã*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Uaimiri *kopanamare:*.

- CP 64.

248 EYE<sub>7</sub> *\*kad*

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo *\*ka(:)d-* ‘see.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *kutake?i*.

**Macro-Carib:** Ocaina *oxöd*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Toba, Pilaga *kada-*, Komlek *kade-*.

**Macro-Ge:** Kamakan *an-kedo*. Mongoyo *kedo*. Kutasho *kiθo*.

249 EYE<sub>8</sub> *\*asa ~ \*aša*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan *-aws* ‘eye, face.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Yokuts *\*sasa?*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*aša ~ \*ax<sup>y</sup>a*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Tacanan: Araona *-saša*, Toromona *-šaš*, Arasa *-šaša*, Tiati-nagua *-saš*.

250 EYE<sub>9</sub> *\*ere*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan *\*-re:wat* ‘look.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*rika:* ~ *\*riku* ‘see.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Cataushi *erada*.

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Culino *eribu*, Ebidoso *erupi*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *ere* ‘watch,’ *erema* ‘look for.’

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *rue*.

251 EYE<sub>10</sub> \**nak*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *n'ak-* 'look, keep an eye on.'

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*-*na*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**yãko*, Tama *nakoba*, Coreguaje *nanakoka*, Pioje *nankoa*, Siona *nankoka*, Amaguaje *nañka*, Coto *ñakoa*, Tanimuca *ñakua*, Yupua *ya:kōa*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mocovi *niko-te*.

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *naha* 'see.'

252 EYE<sub>11</sub> \**hin*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *hnχ* 'look at one's reflection in water.'

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \**hin*. Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**ɣini* 'look for.'

**Andean:** Zaparo: Shimigae *heniž*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**ĩ(?)yã* 'see.'

**Equatorial:** Achuar *hĩ*. Piaroa: Saliba *hĩpahe* 'see.'

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *hĩnu:y* ~ *hunu:y* 'look at,' *inu:* 'see.'

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Kraho *hito*.

253 EYE<sub>12</sub> \**yan*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \**(ʔ)ya(n)* 'see, hear, know.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**yãko*. Iranshe *ayeni* 'let me see it.'

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Ingarico *u-yenu*, Yecuana *u-yenuru*, Zapara *u-yonu*.

254 EYE<sub>13</sub> \**oi*

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto: Orejone *oi*, Witoto *oise*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**ʔoi* 'see.'

255 FALL (v.) \**tik*

**Almosan:** Kutenai *takχaxou*. Mosan: Wakashan: Bella Bella *tekwa*, Kwakwala *tix*; Chemakuan: Quileute *tukuʔ*; Salish: Nootsack *tiʔč*, Tillamook *tč*.

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Wichita *tak* 'fall one after the other,' Pawnee *itik* 'go down.' Siouan: Catawba (*huk-*)*tuk* 'fall down' (*huk* = 'down').

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *čik* 'descend.' Ge: Cherente *čikraman* 'descend,' Krenje *tok* 'stumble.'

- [A105]

256 FAN \**helu*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \**h-l* 'fan' (v.), Proto-Yokuts \**ʔile:* 'fan' (v.), Proto-Maiduan \**wel-lep* 'fan' (v.). Gulf: Natchez *me:h-*



*helu:ʔiš*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**wari* ‘fan, weave.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran *hewi* ‘fan’ (v.)

257 FAR<sub>1</sub> \**pali*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *bal-s* ‘long.’ Gulf: Atakapa *pel*.

**Chibchan:** Chibcha: Duit *ebre* ‘high.’ Misumalpan: Sumu *malix* ‘high.’ Talamanca: Viceyta *boruk* ‘high.’

**Paezan:** Atacama *pera* ‘stretch.’ Barbacoa: Cayapa, Colorado *bara* ‘long, far.’ Warrau *bari* ‘long.’

**Equatorial:** Coche *ibanoy*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *bari* ‘distance.’ Kaingang: Southern Kaingang *bra*.

- [A106]

258 FAR<sub>2</sub> \**ya*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Atakapa *ya*. Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *yaʔay*.

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec *yay-*, Tarascan *io-* ‘high, long.’

- [P70, CP66]

259 FAT<sub>1</sub> \**kui*

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec *kuyi*. Talamanca: Tirub *kio*.

**Paezan:** Timucua *uke*.

**Macro-Carib:** Nonuya *kwi*, Andoke *kehə*.

- [CP68, MC20]

260 FAT<sub>2</sub> \**wila*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \**wel-* ~ \**welakhw-*. Mosan: Wakashan: ?Proto-North Wakashan \**G<sup>w</sup>wɫ-* ‘animal fat,’ Heiltsuk *G<sup>w</sup>luq<sup>w</sup>*, Kwakwala *guluq<sup>w</sup>* ‘tallow.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**wi* ‘fat’ (n.)

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**wira* ‘fat’ (n.)

261 FEAR<sub>1</sub> \**kul*

**Hokan:** Chimariko *xul* ‘bad.’ Pomo: East Pomo *kul*. Salinan: San Antonio *šxalo*. Yana *k<sup>h</sup>ul-* ‘bad.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *kurig(-oddo)* ‘be angry.’ Botocudo *akran* ‘anger,’ *krak* ‘shame.’ Ge: Krenje *krüg* ‘be angry.’

- [A107]

262 FEAR<sub>2</sub> \**pak*

**Penutian:** Yaudanchi *bax*, Chol *bʔuknian*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Abipone *n-pa:k* ‘hated,’ Moseten *fakoy* ‘hate.’

- [P74, MP34]

263 FEATHER<sub>1</sub> \*p'at<sup>l</sup>

- Penutian:** Tsimshian *p'əlk'wa* 'bird down.' Oregon: Alsea *pəlupe*. California: Maidu: Northeast *butu* 'hair'; Yokuts *pada*; Wintun: Colouse *pote* (probably a borrowing from Yukian: Clear Lake, below). Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *pučaya*, *puči:š* 'hair,' Clear Lake *p'oti*, Tunica *-puli* 'plummage, hair.'
- Hokan:** Tequistlatec *li-bela* 'leaf.' Yana: North Yana *t'a:pal-la* 'leaf.'
- Andean:** Cahuapana: Cahuapana *anpullo-na* 'feather,' Jebero *ambolu* 'feather,' Tschaahui *amporo* 'crown of feathers.' Quechua: Cochabamba *p<sup>h</sup>uru* 'feather.'
- Equatorial:** Chapacura: Quitemo *ipatiko*. Kandoshi *poro* 'hair, feather.' Maipuran: Campa *biti* 'feather, hair,' Ipurina *piti*, Carutana *ti-pic* 'eyelashes' (*ti* = 'eye'), etc. Otomaco *paro* 'hair.' Uro: Caranga, Chipaya *p<sup>h</sup>asi* 'wing.'
- Macro-Carib:** Carib: Chayma *ipot* 'hair,' Galibi *ipotu* 'hair,' Wayana *pot* 'feather,' etc. Witoto: Witoto *ifatie*, *ifatre* 'hair,' Nonuya *ofotar* 'hair.' Yagua *popeytü* 'feather.'
- [A108]

264 FEATHER<sub>2</sub> \*pi

- Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguan R 138 \*(n)(h)k<sup>w</sup>i 'hair, beard.'  
Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 168 \*pi.
- Chibchan:** Cuitlatec *pa(-ga)* 'fly.'
- Paezan:** Chimu: Eten *up* 'fly.' Itonama *a-pihe* 'fly.' Mura *ipoai* 'wing.'
- Andean:** Aymara *phu:*, *phuyu* 'hair.' Cholona *pe* 'hair.' Yamana *api* 'short hair.'
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Kaliana *-upa*. Tucano *poa* (general in Eastern Tucanoan).
- Macro-Carib:** Andoke *büweh* 'he flies.' Bora: Miranya Oira Assu-Tapuya *abukwa*. Witoto: Witoto *ibbe*, Muinane *pe:* 'fly.'
- Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Toba *vayo* 'fly.' Mataco: Mataco *fwiya* 'fly,' Chulupi *faiya* 'fly.' Mosesten *pañ* 'feather.' Proto-Panoan \*pi?i 'feather, leaf.'  
Cf. Lule [pülü] 'feather.'
- Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *bo*, Umotina *bo* 'plumage.' Botocudo *papa* 'leaf.' Kaingang: Palmas *fei* 'leaf,' Tibagi *fe*, *feie* 'leaf.' Mashakali: Malali *poe*.
- [A109]

265 FEMALE<sub>1</sub> \*-win

- Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*-wi:wa 'wife,' Yurok *ne-ts-iwin* 'my mother-in-law,' Proto-Algonquian \*wi:wiwa 'wife.'
- Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \*thú-wĩ 'paternal aunt.'
- Penutian:** Plateau: Nez Perce *?in-ci-k'i:* -wn 'my wife's brother' (the sim-

ilarity with the Yurok form—which lacks the *-k'i:-* morpheme—is striking). Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*ʔa-win* ‘elder brother of a woman.’

**Hokan:** Pomo: Southeast Pomo *wi-kwi* ‘sister’ (< *\*win-kwi*), ?Tlappanec *ada-tāh-wīʔ* ‘child.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha *\*wi-* ‘wife,’ Tunebo *wiya* ‘wife.’

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco *\*iii* ‘woman.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Yuri *wine* ‘aunt.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *\*ʔa-wini* ‘wife’ (almost identical with the Proto-Mixe-Zoque form above), Proto-Tacanan *\*e-wane* ‘wife.’

- [Ruhlen 1994b]

### 266 FEMALE<sub>2</sub> *\*iš-*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Mayan: Pokomam *iš-tan* ‘girl,’ Kakchiquel *iš-tan* ‘señorita.’

**Equatorial:** Yaruro *iš-to-hwī* ‘small girl’ (cf. *to-kwī* ‘small boy’).

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Catuquina: Parawa *iš-tano* ‘woman.’

- [Ruhlen 1994b. This prefix is perhaps related to OLDER FEMALE *wis-*.]

### 267 FILL (UP) *\*tumpa*

**Penutian:** Proto-Yokuts *\*t<sup>h</sup>om(o)* ‘cover (v.)’

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman *\*timʔorika* ‘full.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*tem* ‘close.’

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec *timpa* ‘all.’ Xinka *tumu* ‘finish,’ *tumuki* ‘all.’ Guaymi: Move *debe* ‘enough.’ Motilon *two* ‘all.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *to:ma* ‘all, every.’ Warrau *tobo* ‘full.’ Allentiac *topata* ‘be full.’ Barbacoan: Cayapa *tuwa* ‘full.’

**Andean:** Aymara: Jaqaru *t<sup>h</sup>apa*. Quechua: Ecuadorean *tapa* ‘close.’ Yamana: Yahgan *tapa* ‘cover oneself.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *tepa* ‘close.’ Tucano: Siona *tapi-se:* ‘closed,’ Tucano *tubia* ‘stop up.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *tump-s* ‘finish.’ Mataco: Choroti *tipoi* ‘be full.’ Panoan: Cashinahua *dəbo* ‘finish.’ Tacanan: Tacana *tupu* ‘it reaches,’ Cavineña *tupu* ‘enough.’

- [A74] Cf. DIE<sub>2</sub>. This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

### 268 FINGER<sub>1</sub> *\*tik*

**Almosan:** ?Wakashan: Kwakwala, Oowekyala *tk-* ‘flick away with the fingers.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*tuʔ* ~ *\*tu(h)* ~ *\*tum* ‘one.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*dik<sup>h</sup>i*, Karok *ti:k* ‘hand, finger.’ Pomo: North Pomo *kowal-tek* ‘ten,’ *kowal-šom* ‘nine’ (*šom* = ‘minus’; parallel forms in some other Pomo dialects).

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \**tu* ‘one, alone.’

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Twahka *tiŋke* ‘hand,’ Ulua, Sumu *tiŋki* ‘hand.’

Talamanca: Brunca *ecik* ‘one.’

**Paezan:** Nasayuwä *teč* ‘one.’

**Andean:** Quechuan: Quiteño *šuk* ‘one,’ Cuzqueño, Chinchaysuyu, Ingano *šuk* ‘one,’ Santiagueño *suh* ‘one,’ Junin, Nauta *so* ‘one.’ Mapudungu *tuči* ~ *čuči* ‘which one of ...’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**dika-ki* ‘arm.’ ?Canichana *eu-tixle* ‘hand.’ Siona *teheke* ‘one.’

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Itene *taka* ‘one.’ Guamo: Santa Rosa *dixi*. Jivaro: Shuara, Zamora *čikičik* ‘one,’ Upano *šikitiki* ‘one,’ Gualaquiza *tikiči* ‘one,’ Aguaruna *tikiji* ‘one.’ Katembri *tika* ‘toe.’ Tupi: Purubora (*wa-*)*toka* (*wa* = ‘hand’). Yuracare *teče* ‘thumb.’ Pakaasnovos *čika?* ‘be one.’ Tinigua: Pamigua *čixanse* ‘one.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Trio *tinki* ~ *tinkini* ‘one,’ Accawai *tegina* ‘one,’ Chayma *teukon* ‘one.’ Kukura *tikua* ‘finger.’ Yagua *tiki* ~ *teki* ~ *tĩ:ki*: ‘one,’ *tik-ilo* ‘one,’ *tekini* ‘one.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *po-čik* ‘one’ (*po* = ‘finger’), *jik* ‘alone.’ Proto-Ge \**pi-ci*, \**pi-cit* ‘one,’ Kradaho *po:ji* ‘one,’ Gorotire *püd<sup>y</sup>i* ‘one,’ Kraho *pučite* ‘one.’ Mashakali *pičet* ‘one.’

• [A110] This root is also found in Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, Yeniseian, Sino-Tibetan, Na-Dene, Indo-Pacific, and Austric (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

## 269 FINGER<sub>2</sub> \**k'o*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**ka*: ‘hand,’ Proto-North Wakashan \**k'y-*, Heiltsuk *k'ida* ‘little finger,’ Kwakwala *k'eda* ‘ring finger.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \**k'a(:)*- ‘action with hand.’ Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**k'ɔ* ‘take, seize.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**ki?* ‘hand, arm,’ \**ki?*-*ʔunV(k)* ‘little finger.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan \**k<sup>h</sup>o* ‘arm.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \**ko*, Tairona *kai-kuira* ‘hand.’ Proto-Chibcha \**ko-* ‘fingernail.’ Guaymi: Muoi, Murire *ko* ‘hand.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *ku(wa)-* ‘give.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \**ko-besi/tiya*. Arawak: Wapishana *kai* ‘hand.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**kio* ‘fingernail, claw.’

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan \*-(*k*)*ai*.

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *khoho* ‘hand,’ *ki* ‘take, remove,’ *ko* ‘give.’

## 270 FINGERNAIL \**cikil*

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Guambiano *cikil*, Totoro *ci?gıl*, Awa *čkwil*.

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *čikin*.

## 271 FINISH \*hawyi

**Almosan:** Kutenai *hu* ‘finish,’ Proto-Mosan \**hawyi* ~ \**way-* ‘stop, finish,’ Proto-Salish \**huy* ~ \**wi?* (< \**hwəy?*) ‘cease, finish,’ Squamish *hu:* ‘finish (transitive),’ Snohomish *huyu* ‘finish, make, do’; Wakashan: Nootka *hawi* ‘finish.’ Proto-Chemakuan \**hoya-* ‘finish,’ Quileute *hiyo-do* ‘finish.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo \**-hye:-* ‘stop doing.’

**Paezan:** ?Millcayac *huytagina* ‘finish, end.’

- [AK70]

272 FIRE<sub>1</sub> \*(?)oti

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *ad, do:w* ‘burn,’ Proto-Algonquian \**a:ʔte:wi* ‘burn,’ Blackfoot *ototo* ‘burn’ (tr.),

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca *aʔta*. Proto-Keresan \**ʔiri* ‘be hot,’ Acoma *idi*.

**Penutian:** California Penutian \**tu* ‘burn.’ Zuni *ʔati* ‘be in the fire.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \**nsah* ~ \**ntah* ‘warm, fever.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**tai* ~ \**tahi* ‘fire, burn.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *ete* ‘burn,’ *ec(-ku-ni)* ‘set on fire.’

**Paezan:** Paez *oc* ‘burn.’

**Andean:** Tuwituey *tua* ‘fire.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**toa*, Cubeo, Siona, Amaguaje, Tama *toa*, Pioje *towa*. Muncie *çi-* ‘burn.’ Iranshe *ita* ‘cook, burn.’ Parana Boa-Boa *tahõ*.

**Equatorial:** Kushichineri *titi*. Arawakan: Yukuna *cia*, Amuesha *co*, Adzani *dʒidʒe*, Abitana *icε*, Kumana *iča*, Itene, Wañam *iče*, Uainuma *ičeba*, Chapacura, Quitemo, Urupa *ise*, Yaru *ise:*. Proto-Tupi-Guarani \*(*t*)*ata*, Tupi, Guarani, Chiripa, Guajajara, Tembe *tata*, Guayaqui *dada*, Kanua *ita:tʔ*. Tinigua: Tinigua *ičisa*. Cayuvava *idore*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Nahukwa *ito*, Kalapalo *ito:*, Cunuana *uaʔto*, Galibi, Yauapery *uato*, Carib *uatu*, Cariniaco, Acawai, Yecuana *wato*, Waiwai *wehto*, Parucoto *witu*, Pariri *wueta*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Charruan: Charrua *it*, Chana *dioi* ‘sun.’ Mataco *ito-x*. Chimane *ci*. Choropi, Suhin, Ashuluslay *itox*. Vejoz *itag* ~ *itox*. Mosesten *ci*. Panoan: Proto-Panoan \**čiʔi*. Tacanan: Proto-Tacanan \**-ti-*.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *eatu, hæote, xeotti*. Fulnio *to* ‘burn,’ *to:wě* ‘fire.’ Guato (*ma-*)*ta*. Erikbaktsa *ido:*. Hahahay *itahabm*.

- [A112] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

273 FIRE<sub>2</sub> \*kuti ~ \*kuči

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**ki:šeswe:wa* ‘cook him,’ \**ki:šesamawe:wa*

‘cook it for him.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*k<sup>w</sup>ase* ~ *\*k<sup>w</sup>asa* ‘cook,’ *\*qohso* ‘fire.’

**Chibchan:** Yanoama: Pubmatari *kuadak*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *kičal*.

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Yavitero *kaθi*, Maypure *kati*, Chamicuro *kaxči*, Resigaró *kece*, Piapoco *kičei*. Pamigua *ekisa*.

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *koice* ‘tree.’ Witoto *ogode* ‘plant.’ Yagua *iguntia* ‘tree.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Tacanan: Mabenaro *k<sup>w</sup>aθi*, Tacana, Araona, Tiatinagua, Maropa *kuati*.

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Krenje *kühü*, Cayapo *kuə*, *kui*, Cherente *kuze*, Acroa *kučio*, Chavante *kuše*, Suya *kusto*, Chicriaba *kuče*. Guato *kiši*. Kamakan *kaš* ‘firewood, wood.’ Mashakali: Mashakali *kešmam*, Capoxo *kešam*, Monachobm *kičau*. Kumansho *kešam*. Monosho *kičau*.

- [A113]

#### 274 FIRE<sub>3</sub> *\*ma*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Tunica *?ema* ‘burn,’ Yukian: Wappo *ma*, *maha* ‘burn.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*i-ma* ‘fire,’ *\*ma* ‘burn,’ Proto-Pomo *\*ma:li* ~ *\*mahla* ‘burn.’

**Andean:** Cholona *a-mo-n* ‘burn.’ Culli *mu*. Leco *moa*. Patagon: Ona *am* ‘burn’ (intransitive). Yamana *ama* ‘burn’ (intransitive).

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Yuracare *aima*.

- [A114]

#### 275 FIRE<sub>4</sub> *\*?isu*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Central Algonquian *\*-su* ‘by heat,’ Northern Arapaho *isei*. Salish: Squamish *tm-i?is* ‘summer’ (*tm* = ‘season’). Proto-Chimakuan *\*-so*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Yokuts *\*hiš-* ‘cook(ed).’ Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*so:s?* ‘cook in water.’

**Equatorial:** Chapacura *ise*. Proto-Guahiban *\*iso*, Guahibo *isoto*, Kamaru *isu*, Amuesha *so?* ~ *co*. Trumai *so*.

**Macro-Ge:** Southern Cayapo *ičiu*.

- [AK73, E43]

#### 276 FIRE<sub>5</sub> *\*?aha*

**Almosan:** Kutenai *?a:ki-nq?uko:*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*a-How* ~ *\*a-Haw* ‘fire(wood),’ Proto-Pomo *\*?ohxo*, Kashaya *?oho*. Proto-Yuman *\*?a?o?* ~ *\*?a(:)w*, Kiliwa *?a:u*. Karok *?āha*. Salinan: San Antonio *ṭ-a?auh*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *?a-* ‘cook.’ Chimu: Eten *ox*.

**Andean:** Yamana *öxwa* ‘ashes,’ Tsoneka *ahe* ‘ashes,’ Itucale *auxe* ‘charcoal.’  
 • [H61, AN8]

277 FIRE<sub>6</sub> \*paye

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*-*baya* ‘build a fire,’ Acoma *baya* ‘make fire,’  
 Osage *poe* ‘flames.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan \**p<sup>h</sup>a*, Piro *faye*, Isleta *p<sup>h</sup>äi-de*. Proto-Oto-  
 Manguean \*(*n*)(*h*)*k<sup>w</sup>a* ‘hot.’

**Paezan:** Mura: Mura *foai*. Proto-Choco \**pa:-* ‘burn.’

**Equatorial:** Taruma *fwa*. Arawakan: Chiriana *pai*.

• [AK72, CA36]

278 FIRE<sub>7</sub> \*c'ik

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \**ci:keškwete:wi* ‘near fire,’ \**ci:pa:hkwe:wa*  
 ‘cook.’ Mosan: Proto-Salish \**c'ix* ‘burn, sting.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \*-*ci:r-*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \**s-k* ‘burn (intr.), roast,’ Proto-Maiduan  
 \**c'oh-* ‘burn (intr.).’ Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**č'ɔ* ‘fire, hot.’  
 Proto-Mayan \**čik'-VI* ‘burn.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *čipiri*.

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Mehinacu *ce*, Guinau *čeke*, Achagua *čičai*, Campa,  
 Piro *čiči*, Mawakwa *čikasi*, Guajiro *siko*. Pakaasnovos *če* ~ *čayiči?*

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \**či(?)i* ~ \**čizi* ‘fire, ashes,’ Proto-  
 Panoan \**či?i*. Tacanan: Arasa *či*. Mosen, Chimane *ci*.

279 FIRE<sub>8</sub> \*guka

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha \**guka*.

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Wayoro *agukap*. Arawakan: Manao *ghügati*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora: Bora *köxögua*, Muinane *köxögai*.

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Krenkataje *goxe*, Mehin *kühü*, Aponegicran *kox?ho*. Ka-  
 makan: Masacara *guxa*.

280 FIRE<sub>9</sub> \*pet

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \**peTk-* ‘catch fire,’ Proto-Algonquian \**po:tawe:wa*  
 ‘make a fire.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**peti*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**be:te* ‘burn.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Apalai, Purucoto, Chayma, Tivericoto, Carijona *apote*,  
 Opone *foto*, Bakairi *pato*, Uayeue *pieto*, Waiana *uapot*, Aracaju *uapto*,  
 Acawai *wato*, Waiwai *wehto*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Maca *fat*, Enimaga *feit*.

**Macro-Ge:** Coroado *pote*.

281 FIRE<sub>10</sub> \**sil*(k)

**Almosan:** Chemakuan: Quileute *silak-* ‘build up a fire. Proto-North Wakashan \**sl-* ‘drill, drill to start a fire,’ Haisla *sła* ‘drill to start a fire,’ Heiltsuk *səlám* ‘bellows.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \**siluk* ~ \**suqal* ‘cook, warm, melt, singe,’ Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \**šu:t<sup>l</sup>*- ‘set fire to.’

**Equatorial:** Timote: Timote *širup*.

282 FIRE<sub>11</sub> \**yak*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala, Oowekyala *yx<sup>w</sup>a* ‘fan the fire.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *yeqstalay* ‘light a fire with a stone.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auishiri *yahaonj*.

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Baure *yaki*, Mojo, Terena *yuku*.

**Macro-Ge:** Kamakan *yako*.

283 FIRE ~ BURN \**apali*

**Penutian:** Zuni *-ʔapiʔa* ‘be by the fire.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**mpe:le* ‘burn, cook, heat, be hot.’

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba *pula* ‘burn.’ Tarascan *apare* ‘burn.’ Yanoama: Yanomamĩ *fra*: ‘burn.’

**Paezan:** Itonama *ubari* ‘fire.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *appel* ‘it is hot.’ Aymara *pari* ‘hot.’ Cahuapana: Cahuapana *pan*, *pəŋ* ‘fire,’ Jebero *pəŋ* ‘fire.’ Quechuan: Santiagueño *paru-ya* ‘be roasted.’ Patagon: Tehuelche *po:n*, *pohon* ‘fire.’ Yamana: Yahgan *apuru* ‘roast,’ *apun* ‘fire place.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Pamöa *paʔaro* ‘fire.’

**Macro-Carib:** Peba *föla* ‘fire.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *po* ‘tree.’ Chiquito: Chiquito *ipi*, Churapa *pe:s* ‘fire.’ Proto-Ge \**pĩ* ‘tree, firewood.’ Kaingang: Dalbergia *pẽ*, Tibagi *pin* ‘fire, firewood,’ *pon* ‘burn.’ Mashakali *ba:i*, *abo:i* ‘tree.’ Puri: Coroado *bo*, *ambo* ‘tree.’

- [A115] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

284 FISH<sub>1</sub> \**k<sup>w</sup>ama*

**Hokan:** ?Proto-Hokan \*(a)*š<sup>w</sup>a*.

**Chibchan:** Talamanca *hima*. Motilon: Barira *samaña*.

**Andean:** Sechura *šuma*, Jebero *samer*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Pankaruru *kami(-jō)*, Tiquie *homp*, Munique *čeʔšima* ‘piranha.’

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Proto-Maipuran \**hima*, Piro *čima*. Chapacura: Chapacura *ĩsuam*, Tora *hoam*, Pakaasnovos *h<sup>w</sup>am*.



- [AN38, MT42, E44]

285 FISH<sub>2</sub> \*q'ac'

- Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \*aʔšikanwa ‘bass.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *k'a* ‘flounder, bullhead,’ *q'yz-* ‘trout,’ *gas* ‘starfish,’ Proto-North-Wakashan \*qc' ‘sole, halibut,’ Heiltsuk *qc'ɫc* ‘sole,’ Haisla *qc'it* ‘halibut.’
- Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan \*ka(:)c-, Wichita *ka:c'a*, Pawnee *kacixi*; Proto-Keresan \*sk'ašī ‘fish’ (n.)
- Penutian:** Oregon: Yonkalla *kʔawan*. Plateau: Klamath *kyem*. Zuni *kʔaššita*. Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*ʔaksa.
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*kuyu:. Proto-Oto-Manguan \*k<sup>w</sup>a, \*(n)(ʔ)ka(n).
- Chibchan:** Paya *giča*. Guaymi: Chumulu, Gualaca *kisi*, Norteño *kuso*, Penomeño *gua*. Chibcha *gua*. Rama *kiškurk*. Misumalpan: Ulua, Sumu *uas-*.
- Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *guaca*, Cara *guasa*, Muellama *kuas*. Timucua *kuyo*.
- Andean:** Qawasqar *qse* ‘fish scale.’
- Macro-Ge:** Caraja *uaši* ‘fish hook.’
- [AK76]

286 FISH<sub>3</sub> \*(n)amak<sup>w</sup>

- Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \*-ame:kw, \*name:ʔsa, \*name:kwa ‘trout.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *t<sup>l</sup>mx<sup>w</sup>-* ‘perch.’
- Penutian:** Oregon: Kalapuya *mu:kw* ‘meat.’ Plateau: Modoc *mehe-s*. California: Maidu *mako*, Miwok: Southern Sierra Miwok *miče:ma* ‘meat.’ Gulf: Chitimacha *makš*.
- Chibchan:** Talamanca: Tirub, Bribri *ma*, Terraba, Estrella, Cabecar, Chiripo *nima*.
- Paezan:** Warao *mahoko* ‘catfish.’
- Equatorial:** Achuar *namak*.
- Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \*makī, \*maʔin, Proto-Tacanan \*maxe.
- [P80]

287 FISH<sub>4</sub> \*waki

- Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \*wa:hkwa ‘fish, roe, spawn,’ \*wa:hsiwa ‘catfish,’ \*weka:wa ‘perch, pike, pickerel.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *bak<sup>w</sup>* ‘skate.’
- Chibchan:** Cuna *ua*. Proto-Aruak \*wakə, Atanque *g<sup>w</sup>aku*, Guamaca *uaka*, Bintucua *uake*.
- Paezan:** Warao *ua*.
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \*waʔi.

**Equatorial:** Achuar *wakimtin* ‘fish (v.)’

288 FISH<sub>5</sub> \*ʔici

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*wʔečekwani ‘fish tail.’ Wakashan: Kwakwala ʔs- ‘rock cod.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \*icyō- ~ \*icyōʔt-, Tuscarora *ič*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \*ʔici:ʔ.

289 FISH<sub>6</sub> \*k'al ~ kal

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \*k̄ar, Proto-Quichean \*kar.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*k'aL ~ \*kaL, Karankawa *kiles*.

**Chibchan:** Chibcha: Pedraza *kaura*. Guaymi: Changuena *klun*. Tarascan *kuruča*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *kalap<sup>y</sup>i* ‘large fish,’ *kori* ‘fish.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \*kulupu-bo ‘fish hook.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mascoian: Lengua *kilasma*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *kare*, Orari *karo*.

290 FISH<sub>7</sub> \*yapa

**Paezan:** Warao *yaba*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \*yapa.

291 FLAT \*t'a

**Penutian:** Proto-Sahaptian \*t'ai, Plateau Penutian \*t'aqt'aql'ant ‘in the flat,’ Proto-Maiduan \*t'at'a.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*t'el.

292 FLEA<sub>1</sub> \*makin

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *mohkoh* ‘louse.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *mač'asin* ‘flea’; Salish: Lillooet *məkin* ‘louse.’ Pentlatch *mačn* ‘louse.’ etc.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua *miše*. Mosesten *musi*. Panoan: Capanahua *miuš*, Cashinahua *masā*.

- [A116]

293 FLEA<sub>2</sub> \*p'ak'i

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \*pepikwa.

**Penutian:** Calirornia: Proto-Yokuts \*p'a:k'il. Gulf: Atakapa *pux*.

**Chibchan:** Rama *pak*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *piki*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *piki* ‘flea, jigger.’

294 FLEA<sub>3</sub> \*k<sup>w</sup>it'

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \*k<sup>w</sup>it', Proto-Algic \*ihkwa 'louse,' Proto-Algonquian \*ehkwa 'louse.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*aHk<sup>w</sup>i 'louse.'

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*kuči.

295 FLOWER<sub>1</sub> \*tuktuk

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec *tuxtu*, Cuna *tutu*, Proto-Chibcha \**totu-*.

**Andean:** Quechuan: Inga *tugtu*; Catacao *čukču(m)*; Culli *čuču*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Puinave *suksu*.

- [CP78, AN40]

296 FLOWER<sub>2</sub> \*p'aq'

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Central Algonquian \*paQk. Mosan: Proto-Salish \*p'aq'-m 'bloom, flower, Twana *s-p'əq'əb*, Squamish *spaq'am*, Upper Chehalis *paqin-* 'bloom,' Lillooet, Thompson *p'aq'm* 'bloom,' *sp'aq'm* 'flower.'

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \*pu:k. California: Miwok: Lake Miwok *pakah*. Gulf: Proto-Muskogean \*pak 'bloom,' Choctaw *pakāli* 'bloom.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Tetontepec *puk* 'bloom'; Huave *mbah* 'bloom.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(a)paq 'bloom.'

- [AK78, P20]

297 FLY<sub>1</sub> (v.) \*ta

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca *tē*, Mohawk *-tie-*. Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan \*t'ā (C); Yuchi *tε*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *dawi*. California: Wintun: Wintu *t<sup>h</sup>ew*, Patwin *tewe*; Miwok: Central Sierra *tu:ya:ng* 'jump.' Gulf: Atakapa *ti*, Yukian: Yuki *ti* 'fly, jump.'

**Hokan:** Achomawi *ata?*. Chimariko *tu, tudu* 'jump.' Pomo: Southeast Pomo *di*. Yana: North Yana, Yahi *da*, Central Yana *da:* 'jump, fly.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Maku *ide* 'wing.' Ticuna *atí* 'shoulder.' Tucano: Amaguaje *ete* 'shoulder.' Yuri *mæ-ati* 'shoulder.'

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo (*tou-*)*udo*. Caraja *ta:* 'wing.' Proto-Ge \*tɔ, \*tɔr. Mashakali *to(paha)*.

- [A117]

298 FLY<sub>2</sub> (v.) \*yaka

**Penutian:** Gulf: Wappo *yɔkkɔ*, Muskogean: Hitchiti *yaka*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \*ʔaik' 'bird,' Iranshe *ici* 'bird,' Ticuna *goe* 'bird.'

- [P84, MT9]

299 FLY<sub>1</sub> (n.) \*k'ampa

**Penutian:** Oregon: Siuslaw *k'upi* 'mosquito.' California: Proto-Yokuts \*k'ama:ši?.

Zuni *ʔohha:pa*. Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *čap*. Mexican: Mayan: Tzeltal *čab* 'bee, honey,' Yucatec, Mam *kab* 'honey.'

**Hokan:** Karankawa *kamex*. Pomo: Kashaya *s'amo:*, North Pomo *c'ammu*, etc. Seri *x-komo-h*, *x-komo-ɬk* (pl.)

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Puinave *kepa* 'bee,' Nadobo *kob*. Tucano: Waikina *komana*, Wanana *kumana*.

**Equatorial:** Jivaro: Aguaruna *kāāp*. Tupi: Amniapa, Mekens *kap* 'wasp,' Arikem *ngaba* 'wasp,' Guaraní *kava* 'wasp.'

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *kap*. Ge: Krenje *kob*, Chavante *kube*, etc.

- [A118]

300 FLY<sub>2</sub> (n.) \*mulu ~ \*puru

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Chumulu, Gualaca *mulmulu*, Penomeño *mun*, Move *mora* 'bee, wasp.' Misumalpan: Cacaopera *maramara*. Talamanca: Bribri, etc. *bur* 'bee.' Yanoama: Yanomamĩ *mro:*, Yanomam *mroro*.

**Paezan:** Atacama *pairi* 'fly, mosquito.' Itonama *pururu*. Mura *abari* 'bee.' Paez: Guambiana *pulem*.

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Paumari *marĩ* 'pium mosquito.' Maipuran: Amuesha *mure*, Wachipairi *morox*, Amarakaeri *mōrōk*, Toyeri *morok*, *yamoro* 'bee.' Tupi: Guajajara, Oyampi *meru*, Cocama *miru*, Guayaki *mberu*, Arikem *maramo* 'mosquito,' Tembe *meru-i* 'mosquito' (= 'fly- small').

- [A119]

301 FOOT<sub>1</sub> \*po ~ \*pa ~ \*pe

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *ba* 'hip.' Plateau: Lutuami *pac*, Nez Perce *peyu* 'hoof,' Klamath *peč*, Modoc *pec*. California: Maidu *payi*; Costanoan: Santa Clara (*či-*)*pai*, Mutsun *paya* 'run'; Miwok: Central Sierra *puyya* 'move.' Zuni *pačči* 'sole.' Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *pɛʔ*, *pɔi* 'kick,' *pek* 'track.' Muskogean: Choctaw *api*. Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Tetontepec *po:hi* 'leg,' *pa-* (instrumental prefix), Sierra Popoluca *puy*.

**Hokan:** Chimariko *h-upo*. Quinigua *boi* 'deer's foot.' Yana *bu-i* 'kick' (probably *-i* verbalizer), *bu-ri* 'dance' (= 'foot down').

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *pɔ* 'thigh,' Taos *po* 'thigh,' San Ildefonso, Hopi-Tewa *po* 'leg,' etc. Proto-Oto-Manguan R 161 \*(?)*k<sup>w</sup>e(n)* 'leg.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Maku *ce-peči* 'shin.' Puinave: Puinave *a-ped* 'shin.' Ticuna *para* 'tibia.' Tucano: Coreguaje *api* 'foot,' Waikina *pu(-pama)* 'foot.'

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Itene *ipi* 'thigh.' Kariri: Kariri, Dzubucua *bui*. Katembri *popu* 'ankle.' Maipuran: Uainuma *api*, Achagua *ipa*, Chami-

curo *uxpei*, Baure *poy*, etc. Otomaco: Otomaco *bava* ‘leg,’ Taparita *ipua* ‘thigh.’ Piaroa *hepui*. Taruma *pa*. Tupi: Arikem *pi*, Guarayo *ipí*, Oyampi *pwi*. Yuracare (*te-*)*bebe*.

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *pa* ‘leg.’ Carib: Macusi *upu* ‘foot,’ Pariri *upe* ‘leg.’ Witoto: Muinane *eiba* ‘foot.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Toba, Mocovi *pia* ‘foot.’ Mataco: Mataco *pa* ‘foot,’ Suhin *fo* ‘foot,’ Enimaga *fe* ‘foot,’ Payagua *ivo* ‘foot.’ Vilela *ape* ‘foot,’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *bure*, Umotina *apu* ‘knee,’ Botocudo *po* ‘foot, hand.’ Caraja *wa:*. Chiquito *ipope* ‘foot,’ *piri* ‘leg.’ Erikbatsa *pörö*. Fulnio *fe*. Proto-Ge *\*par*. Guato *apo:*. Kaingang: Palmas *fa* ‘leg,’ Tibagi *fa* ‘leg,’ Dalbergia *pe*, *pen* ‘foot.’ Mashakali: Malali *apao*. Opaie (*či-*)*para*. Oti *fum*. Yabuti: Yabuti *u-pa*, Arikapu (*ši-*)*pra*.

- [A120]

### 302 FOOT<sub>2</sub> *\*asi?*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian *\*sit*.

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Wichita *ʔas*, Pawnee *asu*, Arikara *axu*. Iroquoian: Seneca *siʔ-t*. Proto-Keresan *\*ʔaši* ‘knee,’ Santa Ana, etc. *ha-sdiʔ-ni*. Proto-Siouan *\*si* (C).

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *asi:*. Oregon: Yakonan *siyaʔ*.

**Hokan:** Achomawi *saʔye*. Karok *ap-si:h* (*ap* = body-part prefix). Washo *sə-* ‘pertaining to the foot.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *ise* ‘leg.’ Mataco: Vejoz *t-ose* ‘kick, tread,’ Chulupi *t-ose:* ‘kick, tread.’

- [A121]

### 303 FOREHEAD<sub>1</sub> *\*pe*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*pi*. Proto-Siouan *\*p<sup>h</sup>e*.

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba *uba* ‘eye,’ Atanque, Bintucua *uma* ‘eye.’ Chibcha: Chibcha *up(-kwa)*, *uba* ‘face,’ Margua, Pedraza, Sinsiga *uba* ‘eye.’ Cuna *ibia* ‘eye.’ Motilon *o:* ‘eye.’ Paya *wa* ‘eye.’ Rama *u:p* ‘eye.’ Talamanca: Bribri *uo(-bra)* ‘eye,’ etc.

**Equatorial:** Kariri *beba*, *bebate* ‘temple.’ Otomaco: Taparita *ipa*. Piaroa: Saliba *pae*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Toba *pi*. Lule *upe*. Moseten *afi* ‘eyebrow, eyelid, forehead.’

- [A122]

### 304 FOREHEAD<sub>2</sub> *\*koa*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*kowa* ‘forehead.’

**Paezan:** Jirajara: Ayoman *ki* ‘face.’ Itonama *ka-* ‘face’ (incorporated ob-

ject).

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Canichana *kuku* ‘head.’ Catuquina: Bendiapa *ky* ‘head,’ Parawa *ke* ‘head.’ Muniche *oke* ‘head.’ Tucano: Yahuna *koa* ‘forehead.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *ak-kai* ‘in front’ (= ‘face-to’). Caraja *ikoke* ‘facing toward.’ Ge: Cayapo, Karaho *kuka*, Krenje *kuka* ‘face,’ Acroamirim *ai-kua*. Kaingang: Apucarana *kaka* ‘face,’ Southern Kaingang *koko* ‘face,’ etc. Kamakan: Kamakan *aku*, Cotoxo *ake*, Masacara *ky*. Mashakali: Malali *hake*, Macuni *ikoi*. Oti *kua*.

- [A123]

### 305 FOUR \**maka*

**Penutian:** Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**makta:s*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**mako*.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha \**makaya*, Proto-Aruak \**məhke*.

### 306 FOX<sub>1</sub> \**ʔaw*

**Penutian:** California \**ʔaw* ~ \**haw*, Proto-Maiduan \**haw*, Proto-Yokuts \**ʔaw'čhaʔ*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ha:w*, Proto-Pomo \**haq'aw*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ʔawci* ‘dog.’

**Chibchan:** Guatuso *ausi* ‘dog.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *habe*.

### 307 FOX<sub>2</sub> \**pura*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(a)pVraχ.

**Paezan:** Warao *beroro* ‘dog.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *apura* ‘wolf.’

### 308 FROG<sub>1</sub> \**k<sup>w</sup>aq'at*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Salish: Proto-Coast Salish \**wəq'iq'*; Wakashan: Kwakwala *wq-* ‘frog, toad,’ Oowekyala *wqa* ‘frog, toad,’ Haisla *k<sup>w</sup>nq-*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**skaçi* ‘frog, toad.’ Iroquoian: Tuscarora *kwa:rəʔr*.

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *weget'as*. Wintun: Patwin *wata'k*. Miwok: Lake Miwok *wat/t'a:k/t* ‘sounds of a frog.’ Gulf: Wappo *kátik'*, Choctaw *šokatti*. Proto-Mayan \**woʔ*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(wa)ʔaK', Proto-Pomo \**wa:ʔakʔ* ~ \**wa:ʔaqʔ*, Pomo *wataq'* ~ *wataʔ*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**waka*, \**k<sup>w</sup>a*. Proto-Oto-Manguean \**k<sup>w</sup>e(h)(n)* ‘frog, toad.’

**Macro-Panoan:** ?Proto-Tacanan \**wawa*.

- Hokan and Penutian both show metathesis of an original triconsonantal root.

309 FROG<sub>2</sub> \*busi

**Paezan:** Choco: Saija *baso* ‘toad.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *pāši* ‘small frog.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \**busi-to* ‘toad,’ Cuiba, Playero *busu* ‘toad,’ Jitnu, Guayabero *bus* ‘toad.’ Arawak: Achagua *i:bažu*, Tariano *paisi* ‘toad.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**βiškō*.

310 FROG<sub>3</sub> \*t'en

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \**te:nte:wa* ‘frog, toad.’

**Penutian:** Chitimacha *t'enu:* ‘bullfrog.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \**tu(n)* ‘frog, toad.’

311 FROG<sub>4</sub> \*wara

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *ware:reh* ‘toad.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *wara'ntei* ‘toad.’

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *a'ra*.

312 FROG<sub>5</sub> \*buru

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *buru* ‘toad.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**bororo* ~ \**buřuřu*.

313 FROG<sub>6</sub> \*xana

**Penutian:** Gulf: Natchez *?ananay*, Atakapa *anenuy*, Muskogean: Alabama *hanono*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**χančif* ~ \**xana*, Proto-Yuman \**xaña*.

## 314 FRUIT \*teka

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Tiquie *teynde*, Yehubde *te:gn*. Tucanoan: Tucano *dixka*, Uaiana *deka*, etc.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Umotina *tokwa*. Ge: Chavante *udekæ*, Chicriaba *dekran*. Kamakan *dako*.

- [A124]

315 FULL<sub>1</sub> \*pak

**Penutian:** Oregon: Coos *pa:* ‘to fill,’ Takelma *-pu:?*, Proto-Kalapuyan \**pu* . . . ‘all.’ California: Maidu *pe*. Gulf: Atakapa *puk*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**pu* ‘all,’ \**paK* ~ \**poK* ‘fill,’ Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba \**p<sup>h</sup>i* ‘all.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**pu*.

**Paezan:** Millcayac *pay*.

**Andean:** Auca *ba:* ‘all,’ Cahuapana *ipa* ‘enough.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*bui*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *poi-pe*.

- [P86, AN2]

316 FULL<sub>2</sub> *\*pan* ~ *\*p'ir*

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish *\*p'ər* ‘overflow.’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *pn-* ‘fill something up.’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Quapaw *panã* ‘all.’

**Penutian:** California *\*par*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*(a/i)Pir* ‘fill,’ *\*(i/a)p'uL* ‘fill,’ *\*PiNiH* ~ *\*PaNiH* ‘fill,’ Yanan: North Yana *baʔni* ‘be full.’ Yurumangui *pini-ta* ‘empty’ (*-ta* is negative.)

**Paезan:** Proto-Choco *\*ipiru*.

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *ϕɔrɔ*.

- [AK83, H69]

317 FULL<sub>3</sub> *\*t'am*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan *\*-t'ama* ‘so many at a time.’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *taq<sup>w</sup>-* ‘cover (v.),’ *\*tk-* ‘be full.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *(a)tʔa*. Proto-Keresan *\*-t'a* ‘be full.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Muskogean *\*tah* ‘finish, complete.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*-aT'* ‘completive,’ *\*t<sup>h</sup>ay* ‘much,’ Proto-Yuman *\*timʔorika* ‘full.’ Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba *\*t'oʔo(n)* ‘shut, close.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*ta(h)(ʔ)n* ‘fill, full.’ Proto-Tanoan *\*t'e* ‘close, shut, trap.’

**Paезan:** Timucua *atimo* ‘all, both,’ *to:ma* ‘all, every.’ Barbacoan: Colorado *-to* ‘completive.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *taku-* ‘cover (v.)’ Proto-Quechuan *\*tuku-* ‘finish.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani *\*-eta* ‘much.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *\*ati* ‘all.’

318 FULL<sub>4</sub> *\*winik*

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *winixti*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*wina-* ‘fill.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban *\*wiNika*.

319 FUTURE *\*-ta*

**Central Amerind:** Oto-Manguean: Chiapanec *-ta* (future). Tanoan: Kiowa *-da* ~ *-t'* (future).

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Ubde-Nehern *-te* (future); Ticuna *ta* (future).

- [G81]



320 GATHER \*yok<sup>w</sup>

**Penutian:** Proto-Coos-Takelma \*yak<sup>w</sup>-(t-) ‘gather, pick,’ Proto-Yokuts \*yo-low, Gulf: Muskogean: Chickasaw ayowa.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*yu ‘gathered in a pile.’

321 GIVE<sub>1</sub> \*cils

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala c’ls- ‘use or give sparingly.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \*c-i-l-s ‘give, divide, issue, distribute.’

**Paezan:** Millcayac čeri ‘give.’

322 GIVE<sub>2</sub> \*yak

**Almosan:** Proto-North Wakashan \*yax ‘potlatch (n. & v.), give presents.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean \*-yaʔ, Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*yak.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*yow ‘take,’ Proto-Yuman \*yo: ‘take, get.’

323 GIVE<sub>3</sub> \*ʔuk<sup>w</sup>

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-Interior Salish \*ʔuk<sup>w</sup> ‘carry, haul, take somewhere, bring somewhere.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*-ʔu ‘give long flat.’

**Penutian:** Zuni ʔuk-.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \*uk<sup>w</sup>ix ‘give, buy, sell, exchange goods.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*ʔuʔu ‘take.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \*o-ʔo.

324 GO<sub>1</sub> \*min ~ \*man

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian \*myew ‘road,’ Cheyenne me:oʔo ‘road.’ Kutenai ma ‘trail.’

**Keresiouan:** Keresan: Santa Ana mə ‘leave,’ i:ma ‘go!’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian amia:(t) ‘come from,’ amo:-s ‘one who comes.’ Chinook -am ‘go to . . .’ (completive suffix). Oregon: Kalapuya maʔa ‘come.’ Gulf: Yukian: Wappo mi, Chitimacha ʔami ‘go, go away,’ Atakapa mo: ‘arrive.’

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa bæ, Taos mē, Tewa mā, Jemez mĩ: ‘bring.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 197 \*mi, \*miya.

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec yume ‘walk.’ Rama mang ‘go!’ Talamanca: Bribri mi: ~ mina.

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado mai, Cayapa mi ‘go away.’ Choco: Chami mai. Itonama mama. Mura: Matanawi amĩ ‘go!’ Paez: Paez me: ‘go!’, Guambiana mai ‘road.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu: Mapudungu miau- ‘go along,’ -me- ‘go to . . .’, Pehuenche amu ‘walk.’ Aymara: Jaqaru muyu ‘wander.’ Gennaken: Gen-

naken *me(-cuk)*, Pehuelche *mu*. Quechua: Cochabamba *mu* ‘go to . . .’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auake *ma* ‘walk,’ *a?ma*, *ãmã* ‘road.’ Kaliana *mu* ‘road.’ Tucano (general) *ma* ‘road.’

**Equatorial:** Piaroa: Saliba *o:me* ‘come.’ Timote: Cuica *mah* ‘come.’ Yuracare *ama* ‘come!’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua: Lengua *amai* ‘road,’ Mascocoy *mi*, *mîy*, *amai* ‘road.’ Mataco: Vejoz, Chulupi *ma*. Mosesten *mi*: ‘go, walk,’ *mi*, *mu* ‘walk,’ *mami* ‘road.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *me(-ru)* ‘walk,’ Umotina *a-menu*. Botocudo *mũ*. Chiquito *imi* ‘go out,’ *ame*: ‘walk.’ Proto-Ge *\*mõ*, *\*mõr* ‘go, walk.’ Kaingang: Catarina *mũ* ‘go out,’ Dalbergia *mũ* (pl. subject). Kamakan: Kamakan *emang*, Cotoxo *man*, Meniens *niamu* ‘let’s go.’ Mashakali *mõng*. Puri: Coroado *gamu* ‘go away!’, Puri *ma* ‘outside.’

- [A126] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

### 325 GO<sub>2</sub> *\*tem*

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Maquiritare *uten*, Waiwai *wto* ~ *wtom*, Jaricuna *etamete*, Chayma *itamue*. Yagua *s-itamana* ‘he arrives.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Umotina *a-tĩ* ‘go!’ Ge: Kraho *tẽ* ~ *tēm*. Kaingang: Dalbergia *teng* (sing. subject).

- [A127]

### 326 GO<sub>3</sub> *\*yak* ~ *\*ya?*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian *\*ya*: ‘go.’ Mosan: Salish: Upper Chehalis *ya* ‘road.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*(hi-)ya:(-ni)* ‘road.’ Siouan: Woccon *yɔ* ‘road,’ Catawba *yã* ‘road.’

**Penutian:** Chinook: Wishram *ya*. Proto-Maidu *\*yo?k<sup>h</sup>e* ‘return,’ Gulf: Tunica *yaka* ‘return,’ Muskogean: Choctaw *ia*, Hitchiti *ay*, *iyi* ‘leg,’ Alabama *iyi-api* ‘leg’ (*api* = ‘foot’), Apalachee *ia*, *ya* ‘leg.’ Mexican: Mayan: Chol *ya* ‘leg,’ Tzeltal *ya?* ‘hip.’ Oregon: Alsea *yax*. Tsimshian *ye*:. Yukian: Wappo *-ya-*.

**Hokan:** Karankawa *ye*. Salinan: San Antonio *ia*, *ie*. Tonkawa *ya?a* ‘several move.’ Washo *iye?* ~ *iye* (sing. subject). Yana *aya*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Azteco-Tanoan: WT 90 *\*ya* ‘go, carry,’ Tanoan: Tewa *ya* ‘bring,’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 97 *\*ye* ‘come’ (sing. subject), M 98 *\*ya* ‘come’ (pl. subject), M 79 *\*ya* ‘carry.’ Proto-Oto-Manguan R 413 *\*(n)ya(n)* ‘road.’

**Chibchan:** Chibcha *ie* ‘road.’ Motilon *ya* ‘walk.’ Rama: Guatuso *yu* ‘road.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *eye* ‘road.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *aku* ‘arrive,’ Cahuapana *kwa*, Zaparo *ikwa* ‘go.’

- [A128, P187, AN24] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

327 GO<sub>4</sub> \*q'oy

**Penutian:** California: Wintun: Wintu *q'aya*, Patwin *k'ayi*; Maidu *koy*; Miwok: Northern Sierra *uku*. Mexican: Mayan: Kekchí *ko* 'go away,' Quiché *q'oy* 'walk.' Plateau: Klamath *g-*, Nez Perce *ikwi*. Yukian: Yuki *ko*.

**Andean:** Patagon: Tsoneka *oki* 'go!' Sabela: Auca *go*. Zaparo *oku*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Toba, Mocovi, Abipone, etc. *ik*. Mataco: Nocten, Choroti *ik*, Chunupi *ič*, Towothli *ik<sup>y</sup>i*. Panoan: Shipibo, Conibo, etc. *ka*, Chacobo *ko*. Proto-Tacanan \**kwa*.

- [A129]

328 GO<sub>5</sub> \*ʔaka

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \**a-*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Kalapuya -*ʔa*. California: Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *ʔūk* 'enter,' Costanoan: Mutsun *akku* 'enter.' Gulf: Tunica *ʔaka* 'come in.' Mexican: Mayan: Kakchiquel *ok* 'enter.'

**Hokan:** Chimariko *a*. Yana: North Yana *ha* 'woman goes.' Yuman: Walapai *a* 'move,' Cocopa *ʔax*.

- [P64, H73]

329 GO<sub>6</sub> \*wan

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *wa* 'go.' Kutenai *w-* 'arrive.'

**Keresiouan:** Yuchi *wi* 'come.'

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *wī* 'go about.' California: Miwok: Plains Miwok *wən* 'walk.' Gulf: Atakapa *wang*.

**Hokan:** East Pomo *wa-*, Quinigua *wan*, Tequistlatec *wa*.

**Equatorial:** Coche *wayo* 'walk,' Dzubucua *wa*, Saliba *wa*.

- [AK50, P267, H72, E48]

330 GO<sub>7</sub> \*poro

**Equatorial:** Cayuvava *βorɔ* 'go out,' Yuracare *porere* 'go out.'

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *mporō* 'road,' Proto-Ge \**pri* 'road.'

- [E49, MG92]

## 331 GO OUT \*caq

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \**sa:k-* 'out' in \**sa:k-en-amwa* 'he holds it out in his hand,' \**sa:k-epye:-wi* 'it sticks out of the water,' \**sa:ki-ken-wi* 'it grows out,' etc. Mosan: Proto-Salish \**ʔucq* ~ *ʔacq* 'out, go out,' Proto-North Wakashan \**caq-* 'chase away,'

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian *s-k-* ‘pull out,’ Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \**ṣ-k-(l)* ‘pull out, dig, perforate,’ Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**cak* ‘leave.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ca* ‘away.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**saqi* ‘leave.’

332 GOOD<sub>1</sub> \**ici*

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Cherokee *osi* ‘good.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**uc* ~ \**uc’*.

**Hokan:** Chimariko (*hi-*)-*si(-ta)*, cf. *ha-li-ta* ‘bad.’ Jicaque *isis* ‘good, beautiful.’ Subtiaba *-u:su* ‘good, pretty.’ Yana: North Yana *isi*: ‘right.’ Yuman: Diegueño *?ešaš* ‘beautiful.’

**Chibchan:** Chibchan: Cuitlatec *is* ‘good.’ Yanomam *uši* ‘ripe.’

**Equatorial:** Piaroa: Saliba *saya* ‘beautiful.’ Timote: Cuica *say*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua *aci* ‘be sweet.’ Lule [eci] ‘be good.’ Mataco: Nocten, Vejoz, Chunupi, etc. *is*; Suhin, Chulupi *is* ‘beautiful.’ Proto-Tacanan \**sai*.

- [A130]

333 GOOD<sub>2</sub> \**c’ump(a)*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**C’um*, Chumash: Santa Ynez, Santa Barbara *šuma*. Pomo: Southeast Pomo *cama*. Salinan: San Miguel *c’ep*. Yana *c’up* ‘be good.’ Coahuilteco *šap’a’n*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**cam*. Siouan-Yuchi: Siouan: Biloxi *čema* ‘good’; Yuchi *sē*.

**Chibchan:** Xinka: Chiquimulilla *cama* ‘good, beautiful,’ *čama* (Maldonado).

**Paezan:** Chimu: Eten *cup*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**suma-* ~ \**šuma-*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Canichana *ni-čemači* ‘beautiful.’ Puinave: Nadobo *čabe*, Curiariai *yə̃m*. Muniche *ču?ma?a*. Macu-Puinave *čam* ‘ripe.’

**Equatorial:** Coche *čaba*, *čabe*, *saba*. Maipuran: Manao *sabi*, Tariana *ma-ciama* ‘beautiful,’ Apolista *suma*. Trumai *cipom*. Tupi: Mekens *i-came* ‘beautiful,’ Amniapa *camencin* ‘beautiful.’

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *samirya*.

- [A131]

334 GOOD<sub>3</sub> \**malin*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**melwi* ‘good, well, fine.’

**Chibchan:** Rama *mali*. Talamanca: Borunca *moren*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado *mira*, *mera*. Chimu: Eten *man* ‘agreeing with,’ *moraiñ* ‘certainly.’ Itonama *ux-mala* ‘good, beautiful.’ Mura: Matanawi *amori*, *amuri*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Capixana *moræra*. Puinave: Puinave *morō* ‘right (hand).’

Iranshe *malēta*. Proto-Nambikwara \**məuli*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora: Bora *imine*, Muinane *imino*. Carib: Jaricuna *mori*, Galibi *mori* ‘clean.’ Witoto: Witoto *mari*, *mano-dʔe* ‘healed,’ Erare *mare*. Yagua: Yameo *maringre* ‘healthy, good,’ Masamae Yameo *marĩ-ne:a*. Pemón *mori*.

- [A132]

335 GOOD<sub>4</sub> \**k’anik* ~ \**k’ulik*

**Almosan:** Salish: Tillamook *k’unək* ‘beautiful.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Mohawk *akarite* ‘be healthy.’ Siouan: Catawba *kəri*.

**Penutian:** California: Central Sierra Miwok *kəlli* ‘healthy,’ North Wintu *čal* ‘beautiful.’ Mayan: Jacaltec *č’ul* ‘beautiful.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Coahuiltecan \**kenex* ‘good, big,’ Cotoname *kenax*. Yuman: Akwa’ala *xan*.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Hianacoto \**ku:le*, Ocaina *xaro:ga* ‘beautiful.’

- [AK88, P15, H75, MC2]

336 GOOD<sub>5</sub> \**poy*

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \**p’ayaq* ‘ready, ripe, cooked.’

**Chibchan:** Mtilon: Dobocubi *bay*. Talamanca: Chiripo *bui*.

**Macro-Ge:** Krenje *pey* ‘beautiful, good,’ Mashakali *epai* ‘beautiful,’ Malali *epoi* ‘beautiful.’

- [CP86, MG7]

337 GOOD<sub>6</sub> \**ʔayu*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Oowekyala *h’y-* ‘good, nice, fine,’ Kwakwala *ʔy-* ‘good, nice, fine.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**ʔoyV* ‘good, well.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ʔay*.

**Equatorial:** Jivaroan: Jivaro *ayu*, Achuar *ayuayu*, Aguaruna *ayu*. Maipuran: Toyeri *ayo-ayo*. Pakaasnovos *ʔawi*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**āyũ*. Macu-Puinave *hey*. Munique *iʔyan*.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *āuyre*.

- [E50]

338 GOOD<sub>7</sub> \**tač’a*

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *dič’a:* ~ \**dic’*, Nez Perce *taʔc*.

**Equatorial:** Piaroa: Saliba *deča* ‘new.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mascoian: Lengua *tasi*.

339 GOOD<sub>8</sub> \*k'apa

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \*k'ap' 'ripe.' Zuni *kʔa* 'ripe.'

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \*k'awa.

340 GOOD<sub>9</sub> \*meca

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *meča*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*mušuq 'new.'

**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge \*mεc.

341 GOOD<sub>10</sub> \*keme

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \*kimti 'new.'

**Andean:** Mapudungu *kime*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \*k<sup>h</sup>eime.

342 GOOD<sub>11</sub> \*q<sup>w</sup>aʔ

**Almosan:** Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *q<sup>w</sup>aʔičx<sup>w</sup>* 'fine, nice.' Wakashan:  
Nootka *ʔ'ay'ičʔ* 'autumn (i.e. good weather).'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*qUdV ~ \*č<sup>w</sup>UdV, Proto-Pomo \*q'oʔdi.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(n)(ʔ)k<sup>w</sup>a(h)(n) 'new.'

## 343 GOOSE \*laq'laq'

**Almosan:** ?Proto-Algic \*kela:hkewa.

**Penutian:** California \*la:q, Proto-Yokuts \*laʔlaʔ, Proto-Maiduan \*lak'.

Gulf: Yukian: Proto-North Yuki \*lak, Wappo *lokh* 'wild goose'; Natchez  
*la:lak*, Tunica *lalahki*, Muskogean: Chickasaw *šalaklak*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(l)alaq, Proto-Pomo \*hla:la ~ \*lala.

## 344 GOURD \*puru

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *buru* [check this form], Proto-Aruak \*duk-buru.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*puru.

345 GRANDFATHER<sub>1</sub> \*pica

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *picowas*, Algonquian: Ojibwa *ne-miššomis* 'my grand-  
father.'

**Macro-Carib:** Nahagua *apici*, Andoke *ʔapitah*.

- [AK90, MC25]

346 GRANDFATHER<sub>2</sub> \*ikan

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Pawnee *ikani*. Siouan: Biloxi *ikoni*.

**Penutian:** Gulf: Chitimacha *kan* 'paternal uncle.' Mexican: Mayan: Quiché  
*ikan* 'uncle.'

- [AK91, P263]

347 GRASS<sub>1</sub> \**pu*

**Penutian:** Proto-California Penutian \**pu*. Zuni *pe*. Gulf: Chitimacha *po*.

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec *beyoʔo*.

**Paezan:** Chimu *pe*, Paez: Guambiana *pu*.

- [P93, CP88]

348 GRASS<sub>2</sub> \**qaca*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**qɣaci(r)*, Proto-Pomo \**qac':a*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**kačau*.

349 GREASE (n.) \**ʔisa*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**ʔiʂat'i* 'grease, lard.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**iʔSe*.

350 GREEN \**kuli* ~ \**kuri*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *kin'ic* 'blue'; Proto-Salish \**k<sup>w</sup>ur*, \**k<sup>w</sup>ar*, Kalispel *k<sup>w</sup>in*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *kary*. Aymara *k'ora* 'grass.' Catacao: Catacao *taguakol* 'grass,' Colan *aguakol* 'grass.' Patagon: Tehuelche *kor* 'grass.' Sechura *unñiokol* 'grass.'

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Paumari *kuriki*. Kariri: Dzubucua *kraku* 'blue.' Maipuran: Wapishana *kuli* 'green, blue,' Bare *ɣuling* 'blue.' Tupi: Cocama *ikira*, Guarayo *iakri*. Zamuco: Ebidoso *xâr*, *xârhu* 'green, yellow,' Chamacoco *kuaržo* 'yellow.'

- [A133]

351 GUTS<sub>1</sub> \**epoku*

**Macro-Carib:** Bora: Miranya (*may*)-*bohu*, [ga-bohguh]. Carib: Proto-Hianacoto \**wakulu* 'stomach, intestines,' Aparai *waku*. Witoto *hebego*. Yagua: Yameo *buo*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *epoko*. Moseten *voxko*, *vokko* 'belly.' Proto-Panoan \**poko*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *peguru*, *appagao* 'inside.' Ge: Ramkokamekran *payalko*.

- [A134]

352 GUTS<sub>2</sub> \**kul*

**Hokan:** Cotoname *kuwela*. Jicaque *kol* 'guts, stomach.' Tequistlatec *guʔu* 'abdomen.'

**Andean:** Cholona *kulu*. Cahuapana: Jebero *ikin-ək* 'middle' (-*ək* is loca-

tive). Patagon: Tsoneka *kin* ‘belly,’ Patagon *kim* ‘belly.’ Yamana: Yamana, Yahgan *ikimia* ‘be inside.’

- [A135]

353 HAIR<sub>1</sub> \*cum

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Pawnee *u:s, ošu*. Keresan: Santa Ana *ha:-za-n*. Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan \**k<sup>y</sup>ũ* ‘feather,’ Dakota *šũ* ‘feather,’ Woccon *summe*; Yuchi *cē*.

**Hokan:** Jicaque *ci* ‘hair, root.’ Pomo: Kashaya *sime*, North Pomo *cime*, etc. Subtiaba: Tlappanec *cūng* ‘hair, root.’ Yuman: Cocopa *išma*, Mohave *sama* ‘root,’ Kiliwa *esmok*, etc.

- [A136]

354 HAIR<sub>2</sub> \*toni

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**coni* ‘body hair,’ Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(*Y*)*su(n)*.

**Equatorial:** Tora *tuni*, Piapoco *čona*.

- [CA44, E55]

355 HAIR/FEATHER<sub>3</sub> \*ali

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *li* ‘feather.’ Zuni *la* ‘feather.’ Gulf: Atakapa *li* ‘feather.’

**Andean:** Ona *a:l*, Yamana *ali* ‘feather.’

**Macro-Ge:** Erikbatsa *ka-ari*, Fulnio *li*, Krenje *ara* ‘down.’

- [P75, AN52, MG57]

## 356 HAMMOCK \*buh

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha \**bu-k<sup>w</sup>a*, Proto-Aruak \**buh* ~ *bu?*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \**bu*.

357 HAND<sub>1</sub> \*ʔani

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*-*Vn*, Proto-Algonquian \*-*en*- ‘by hand,’ Micmac, Potowotami *-in* ‘by hand.’ Kutenai (*ahq-*)*ʔa:n* ‘handle.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \**hnē:h-* ‘arm,’ Tuscarora *-ʔehn*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *ʔoyn* ‘give.’ Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \**ni* ‘give.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ʔana* ‘wing.’

**Paezan:** Mura: Bohura *hane-ui*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *ni-* ‘take.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Huari: Huari, Masaka *ine* ‘finger.’ Ticuna *-na*: ‘finger.’

Yuri *-uno*: (Wallace), *-eno*: ‘hand’ (Spix).

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Tapirape *jane-po*.

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *hana*: ‘finger,’ Pemon *yenna* ‘hand, finger.’



**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Pilaga *na* ‘give,’ Mocovi *an* ‘give,’ Toba *ane* ‘give.’ Lule *ni* ‘give.’ Proto-Pano-Tacanan *\*?ina-n-* ‘give, take, grasp,’ Proto-Panoan *\*?inā* ‘give,’ Proto-Tacanan *\*yani* ‘left hand,’ *\*na-* ‘wing.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *ni*, *nika* ‘arm.’ ?Macuni *ini-manko*. Ge: Apinage *ni-kral*, Suya *ñi(-ko)*, Cherente *ni(-krai)*, Proto-Ge *\*ñi-kra*. Kaingang: Came, Palmas *ningge*, Kaingang *nīm* ‘give,’ Tibagi *ninge*, *nin*, *ne*. Kamakan: Cotoxo *nin(-kre)*. Opaie *ni(-nye)*. Yabuti: Yabuti *ni(-ku)*, Mashubi *ni(-ka)*, Arikapu *nu(-hu)*. Monosho *añe:m*. Kumansho *añibkten*. Jeico *ε-ηenoη*.

- [A138] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

358 HAND<sub>2</sub> *\*atu*

**Almosan:** Proto-North-Wakashan *\*da-* ‘take, hold, carry in hand,’ Kwakwala, Haisla *da-* ‘take, hold, carry in hand.’ Proto-Chimakuan *\*-t’ay*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*-di* ‘give.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *\*ti:* ‘give.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*tu* ‘with the hand,’ Chimariko *tu-* ‘with the hand.’ Proto-Pomo *\*da-* ‘with the hand,’ *\*du* ‘with the fingers,’ East Pomo *du-* ‘with the hand.’ Washo *d-adu*, *du-* ‘with the hand.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha *\*ita*, Chibcha *ita*, Tegria, Pedraza *ata*. Motilon *atu:*. Aruak: Kagaba *tei* ‘carry.’ Yanoama: Yanomami *te* ‘take.’

**Paезan:** Barbacoa: Cayapa *ta?* ‘take.’ Proto-Choco *\*tea-* ‘give,’ Catio *ata* ‘take,’ Chami *do* ‘take.’ Timucua *etea* ‘take, catch, grasp.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu: Pehuenche *tu* ‘take.’ Yamana: Yahgan *ata* ‘take.’ Zaparo *ata* ‘take.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *da-* ‘give.’ Macu-Puinave *tei?*

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran *\*da* ‘give.’ Esmeralda *di*.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Carib *\*utu* ‘give’ (Goeje 1735). Yagua: Yameo *ti* ‘give.’ Bora *to-* ‘action with hand.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan *\*ti-* ~ *\*tia* ‘give.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *to* ‘bring,’ Umotina *ta* ‘take.’ Ge: Krenje *to* ‘bring.’

- [A139]

359 HAND<sub>3</sub> *\*(w-)ʔiš ~ \*(w-)ʔasi*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic *\*-Vʔs*, Wiyot *w-éʔs*, Proto-Algonquian *\*-w-a:ši-ka* (numeral suffix on 6, 7, and 8), etymologically ‘this-hand-left’ (Ruhlen 2004).

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Arikara *išu?*, Wichita *ʔis*.

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan *\*sī-* ‘action with finger,’ *\*si-* ‘action with hand,’ Proto-Costanoan *\*ʔisʔu*, Mutsun *isu*. Zuni *ʔasi* ‘hand,’ *w-eši-kkʔa* ‘left hand.’ Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*wεši* ‘hand, arm,’

Atakapa *wiš* ~ *woš* ‘hand, finger, Chitimacha *waši*, Natchez *ʔiš-*, Tunica *-tír-waš* ‘nail, claw,’ Proto-Yuki *\*həhs* ‘arm,’ Yuki *hyss* ‘arm,’ Proto-Muskogean *\*isi-t* ‘take and ...,’ Creek *inki-wisa:ka*. Mexican: Huave *owiš* ‘arm,’ Proto-Mayan *\*iš-k’ak* ‘fingernail.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*ʔeša:IV* ~ *\*i-šal<sup>y</sup>* ‘arm,’ *\*is-* ‘with the hand,’ *\*is* ~ *\*iš* ‘take,’ Kashaya *ʔiša* ‘arm,’ Yurumangui *a-is-ka*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*waci* ‘finger.’

**Chibchan:** Paya *wiš-ka* ‘arm,’ Cuitlatec *ihči* ‘upper arm.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *iso* ‘give quickly.’

**Andean:** Yamana *yoš*, Tehuelche *haš* ‘arm,’ Zaparo *ʔawaši* ‘fingernail, nail.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*isi* ‘give.’ Capishana *iso*.

**Equatorial:** Yaruro *iči* ‘arm.’ Piaroa: Saliba *ičo* ‘give.’ Cofan *yasa* ‘arms.’ Pawate *ažiba* ‘arm.’

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke (*ka-*)*ci-dome* ‘finger’ (*dome* = ‘hand’). Bora: Miranya Oira Assu-Tapuya *ma-ugci*, Miranya [dau-tseh] ‘my hand,’ Imihita (*tha-*)*usi* ‘my hand.’ Carare *yaso* ‘arm.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *is*. Mataco: Churupi *-ič* ‘hand’ (from *i-cami-ič* ‘my left hand,’ *i-fa:-ič* ‘my right hand’). Tacanan: Chama *sisi* ‘finger,’ Huarayo *eme-sisi* ‘finger’ (*eme* = ‘hand’). Vilela *isi-p*. Charrua *is-bay* ‘arm.’

**Macro-Ge:** Umutina *išo* ‘forearm.’

• [A111, P7, AN53] *\*w-* is a stage III article; see THIS<sub>3</sub> *wi*. The Zuni form *w-eši-kkʔa* ‘left hand’ is identical to the mysterious Algonquian numeral suffix *w-a:šye-ka* that is found on the numerals six, seven, and eight and which now can be seen to have originally meant ‘one on the left hand (6), two on the left hand (7), and three on the left hand (8)’ (Ruhlen 2004).

#### 360 HAND<sub>4</sub> *\*kuc* ~ *\*kic*

**Almosan:** Algic: Blackfoot *-kic-* ‘finger.’ Proto-Mosan *\*-ks*, Wakashan:

Kwakwala *ks-* ‘push away with hand.’ Salish: Squamish *čis*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan *\*iks-* ‘hand,’ *\*skic-ik* ‘finger.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *\*ʔek:u(s)*. Gulf: Natchez *kus* ‘give.’ Mexican: Mayan: Quiché *koč* ‘gift.’

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Norteño *kuse*, Penomeño *kise*, Move *kise*. Talamanca: Borunca *i-kus(-kua)* ‘finger.’

**Paezan:** Paez *kose*. Timucua *k<sup>w</sup>ači* ‘give, teach.’ Okoshkokyewa *kosa*. Mogueux *koze*. Nasayuwä *kuse*.

**Andean:** ?Puelche *agačkaš*.

• [AK93, P89, CP92] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

#### 361 HAND<sub>5</sub> *\*tana* ~ *\*teni*

**Hokan:** Chimariko *-teni*. Proto-Pomo *\*ʔat<sup>h</sup>a(:)na*, South Pomo *t<sup>h</sup>a:na*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*(h)ta(H)(n)* ‘hand, finger, arm, seize.’

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Urupa *tiñi* ‘wing.’ Proto-Maipuran *\*dana(-p<sup>h</sup>a)* ‘arm,’ Bare *dana* ‘arm.’

- [H77, E126]

362 HAND<sub>6</sub> *\*pito*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian *\*nexpetoni* ‘my arm,’ *\*-pet(a:)* ‘handle roughly.’

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Pawnee *pīd* ‘wing.’

**Penutian:** California: Yokuts *p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>t</sup>h<sup>o</sup>ŋ* ‘hand, arm.’ Chinook *pote* ‘arm.’

Gulf: Proto-Muskogean *\*put* ‘touch,’ Alabama *pota* ‘take,’ Yukian: Wappo *pito* ‘touch,’ *pita* ‘take,’ Yuki *mip’at*.

**Hokan:** Comecrudo *pat* ‘arm.’

**Paezan:** ?Timucua *ipita* ‘take off, undress.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Yahuna, Tanimuca *pitaka*.

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Wayoro *o-pitab*.

- [AK203, P99, P243, P260] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

363 HAND<sub>7</sub> *\*saka*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *sax-* ‘lay one’s hands on.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan *\*šaki*. Caddoan: Caddo *sik*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian *\*s-k-a* ‘hold, grasp, get, take.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan *\*šik* ‘wing.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*SaHya* ‘arm, leg, shoulder.’ Karankawa *šig-mia* ‘arm.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*seka* ‘arm.’

**Chibchan:** Chibcha *üta-saka*. Talamanca: Tiribi *sak-wo* ‘finger.’ Paya *sahua*.

**Paezan:** Andaqui *saka:*. Atacama *soke*.

**Andean:** Manekenkn *šakut*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran *\*seka* ‘give.’

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Southern Cayapo *šikria*.

- [AK94, CP93]

364 HAND<sub>8</sub> *\*q’ap ~ \*qap*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian *\*kepwenamwa* ‘cover it with the hand.’

Proto-Mosan *\*ka:*, Wakashan: Kwakwala *k’p* ‘hold by squeezing under the arm,’ *χap-* ‘grasp in the hands,’ *kp-* ‘carry in one’s arms, embrace.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Yokuts *\*xap<sup>h</sup>al* ‘finger,’ Proto-Maiduan *\*k’a(:)-* ‘action with the hand.’ Proto-Mayan *\*k’ab* ‘hand, arm,’ Proto-Quichean *\*q’ab*’.

**Chibchan:** Manare *ukaba* ‘middle finger,’ Sabanero *kobaragda* ‘finger,’ Aruaco *abata-kabo* ‘5’ (literally, ‘one-hand’), and Sanema *polakabi* ‘2’ (presumably to be analyzed as *pola-kabi* ‘2 fingers’).

**Paezan:** Motilon *koba* ‘5’ (presumably, ‘hand’ = ‘5 fingers’). Timucua *kepe* ‘claws, fingernails.’

**Andean:** Aymara *kupi* ‘right hand,’ Yahgan *kupaspa* ‘5,’ Qawasqar *ku:pačpe* ‘5.’ Puelche *eškap* ‘arm.’ Mapudungu *kuwí*.

**Equatorial:** Uro: Puquina *kupi*. Proto-Guahiban *\*-kobe*, Playero *pe-kóbe* ‘hand’ (cf. also *pe-kóbe-ší-bo* ‘finger’), Guahibo *pe-kóbe*: ‘hand,’ Cuiva *pe-kóbe* ‘hand,’ Jitnu *pe-ko* ‘hand.’ Proto-Maipuran *\*k<sup>h</sup>api*, Curripaco *-kapi*, Waura *-kapi-*, Arawak *-kapo*, Lokono *-k<sup>h</sup>abo*, Resigaró *-kap<sup>h</sup>í*, Cabi-yari *-ka:pi*, Piapoco *-ká:pi*, Tariano *-kapi-*, Parecis *kahí*, Cauishana *-gubi*, Uainuma *-gapi*, Marawa *-kabesui*, Yavitero *-kabuhi*, Mehinacu *-kapu*.  
Tupi: Aweti *iköva* ‘arm’; Chapacura *kapi* ‘ring finger,’ Otomaco *gibi*.  
Pakaasnovos *kep* ‘hold.’ Cayuvava *kaparu* ‘hand,’ *kapakirue* ‘fingernail.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Querari *yimō-kopel* ‘hand.’

**Macro-Carib:** Maiongom *kepa’ala* ‘arm.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Sanapana *ihwapesi* ‘finger,’ Komlek *kovaiyi* ‘5.’

• [E56] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1997).

### 365 HAND<sub>9</sub> \*ʔaqa

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic *\*ahcam* ‘give to.’ Kutenai *ka-ʔa:k-e*: ‘my hand.’

Proto-Mosan *\*ka:*, Wakashan: Kwakwala *ʔχ* ‘put, take, handle (v.), get.’

Proto-Salish *\*-ak* ~ *\*-ák-aʔ* ‘hand, lower arm,’ *\*áχan* ‘arm (side).’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan *\*k’a(:)-* ‘action with hand.’ Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *\*ʔek:(s)*. Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*k’ɔ* ‘take, seize,’ Proto-Yuki *\*haʔ* ‘carry in hands or arms.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan *\*-ahq’-* ‘give.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*aqa* ~ *\*iqa* ‘give,’ Proto-Yuman *\*ʔahanka* ‘right hand,’ *\*ʔe:ka* ‘give.’ Coahuilteco *-aʔx* ‘give.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*(h)ka(n)* ‘take, get, fetch, carry.’

Proto-Tanoan *\*k<sup>h</sup>o* ‘arm.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak *\*ak-ko* ‘give,’ *\*ko* ‘finger.’ Proto-Chibcha *\*ko-* ‘fingernail.’ Guaymi: Muoi, Murire *ko*.

**Paezan:** Timucua *oha* ‘give.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*o-ʔo* ‘give.’

**Equatorial:** Arawak: Campa *a-ko*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora *axk<sup>h</sup>u* ‘give.’

**Macro-Ge:** Patasho *aham*. Fulnio *ko* ‘give.’

### 366 HAND<sub>10</sub> \*tap

**Paezan:** Timucua *tabi* ‘take with.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Uanana *daparo*.

**Equatorial:** Arawak: Paraujano *tap*. Pakaasnovos *tapan* ‘arm,’ *tapači* ‘wing.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *dapue* ‘arm.’

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *dabo* ‘finger, hand.’

367 HAND<sub>11</sub> \**hento*

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *hêto* ‘handle.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Siona *ente*, Amaguaje, Icaguate *hente*, Pioje *höntö*.

368 HAND<sub>12</sub> \**m’apa*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Haisla *m’a* ‘touch with the hands.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**-m’a:pa* ‘palm of hand.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Coahuilteco \**mapi*, Comecrudo *mapi* ‘hand, fingers, arm.’

**Paezan:** Itonama *mapara*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**mapa-* ‘take, embrace.’

369 HAND<sub>13</sub> \**pel*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**-peł* ‘handle roughly.’ Proto-North-Wakashan \**bat<sup>l</sup>* ‘measure by using the extended arms or fingers.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Yuki \**pal* ‘wing, leaf.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *pila-pila* ‘handpalm.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**pi-ri/ti*, Dyuremawa, Hehenawa, Bahukiwa *pili*.

370 HAND ~ GIVE ~ MEASURE \**ma-n* ~ \**ma-k* ~ \**ma-r*

**Almosan:** Algie: Proto-Algonquian \**mi:le:wa* ‘give,’ Proto-Central Algonquian \**mi:*, \**mi:l* ‘give,’ Blackfoot *-mi* ‘hand,’ Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *maχwa* ‘give potlatch.’

**Keresiouan:** Keresan: Santa Ana *ha-m’asdi?i-ni* ‘hand.’

**Penutian:** Chinook *m-* ‘to hand.’ Proto-California \**ma* ‘hand,’ Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \**m-C* ‘hand, take,’ Proto-Maiduan \**mah* ‘hand,’ \**me:~y* ‘give,’ \**meh* ‘take,’ Maidu *ma* ‘hand’; Miwok: Central Sierra *ammə* ‘give,’ *-ma* ‘hand’ (deduced from ‘left hand’ and ‘right hand’). Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *me?*, *mε* ‘hand’ (also, instrumental prefix), Muskogean: Choctaw *ima* ‘give’; Tunica *muhi* ‘carry in the hand,’ Chitimacha *?a:ma-* ‘give (pl.),’ Atakapa *make* ‘exchange.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**mo:y?* ‘give,’ Mixe *ma* ‘give’; Totonac *makan* ‘hand.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ma(n)* ‘hand,’ \**ma* ~ \**mo* ‘give,’ Achomawi *-mu-* ‘carry.’ Chimariko *mai* ‘carry.’ Coahuilteco *maux*, *mi* ‘have.’ Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec \**ma* ‘hand,’ Jicaque *mas* ‘hand,’ Tequistlatec *mane* ‘hand, arm,’ *mage* ‘five’ (Angulo & Freeman), *amake?* ‘five’ (Turner). Proto-Coahuiltecan \**make* ‘give,’ Coahuilteco *-ma’wx* ‘hand,’ Karankawa *makuel* ‘five.’ Pomo: East Pomo *ma* ‘hold’ (sing. object). Salinan: San

Miguel *me:n* ‘hand,’ *maʔa* ‘bring, carry.’ Tonkawa *mam* ‘bring.’ Yana *moh-* ‘take along, fetch’ (*mah-* passive). Yuman: Yuma *i:mi*, *ami* ‘bring,’ Akwa’ala *man* ‘arm.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan *\*ma* ‘hand,’ *\*meka* ‘give,’ Proto-Tanoan *\*man* ~ *mō* ‘hand,’ *\*mē* ‘give,’ Kiowa *mā* ‘hand,’ *mē-ga* ‘give,’ Taos *mān* ‘hand,’ Isleta *man* ‘hand,’ San Ildefonso *māng* ‘hand,’ Jemez *ma(-te)* ‘hand,’ Hopi Tewa *mε* ‘hand,’ *mεgeh* ‘give.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*ma* ~ *\*moʔ* ‘hand,’ *\*maka* ~ *\*mika* ‘give.’ Proto-Oto-Manguenan *\*wa* ‘right hand,’ Proto-Chinantec *\*nwan*.

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Guamaca *eme* ‘take!’ Misumalpan: Miskito *miχta* ‘hand.’ Rama *mukuik*. Xinca: Sinacatan *mux* ‘finger.’ Yanoama: Yanam *imi* ‘seize, catch,’ Yanomam *imik* ‘hand,’ *imi* ‘finger,’ Sanema *ami* ‘finger.’

**Paezan:** Warao *moa* ‘give,’ Atacama *mut(-sma)* ‘five’ (*sema* = ‘one,’ for SEM ‘one’ see ONE<sub>4</sub> below). Barbacoa: Cayapa *manda* ‘hand,’ Colorado *manta* ‘hand.’ Chimu: Chimu *mæča* ‘hand,’ Eten *mecan* ‘hand.’ Itonama *ma-* (instrumental prefix). Jirajara: Ayoman *man* ‘hand,’ Gayon *a-mant*. Millcayac *minina* ‘take.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *merr* ‘arm.’ Cahuapana *imira* ‘hand.’ Mayna *mani* ‘arm.’ Patagon: Ona *mar* ‘arm, hand.’ Proto-Quechuan *\*maki* ‘hand.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auake *umē* ‘arm.’ Catuquina [paghi-mu] ‘palm’ (*paghi* = ‘hand’). Iranshe *mimā* ‘hand.’ Maku (*tabu-*)*ime* ‘branch’ (*tabu* = ‘tree’). Puinave: Macu-Puinave *mĩh* ‘arm,’ Parana Boaboa *mo* ‘arm,’ Ubde-Nehern *mummui* ‘arm.’ Ticuna *mi* ‘hand.’ Tucanoan: Dyurumawa, etc. *amue* ‘arm,’ Sara, Buhagana, Macuna, Tsölä, Palanoa, Tsöla *amo* ‘hand,’ Durina *mohu* ‘hand,’ Yupua *muhu* ‘hand,’ Coretu *muhu* ‘hand,’ Waikina *umuka* ‘hand.’

**Equatorial:** Jivaro: Aguaruna *am* ‘give,’ *umu* ‘take.’ Kariri: Kariri *amisa* ‘hand,’ Dzubicua *mu* ‘take.’ Maipuran: Ignaciano *-ama* ‘take away,’ Baure *e-mo* ‘take.’ Kushichineri *no-min* ‘hand.’ Otomaco: Taparita *mea* ‘hand.’ Timote: Mococho *ma* ‘bring,’ Maguri *me* ‘take!’ Proto-Tupi-Guarani *\*meʔej* ‘hand.’ Uro: Caranga *maka* ‘receive.’ Zamuco: Ebidoso *mε* ‘hand,’ Chamacoco *umme* ‘hand.’ Pakaasnovos *miʔ* ‘give,’ *mičiʔ* ‘hand, fingers,’ Saliba *umo* ‘hand.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *moka* ‘take out.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Abipone, Pilaga *imak* ‘left hand.’ Lengua: Lengua *amik* ‘hand,’ *maŋkyi* ‘take,’ Kaskiha *hemik* ‘hand.’ Mataco: Payagua *i-mahiar* ‘hand,’ Macca *imaxi* ‘left hand.’ Proto-Pano-Tacanan *\*mi-* ‘hand, branch,’ Proto-Panoan *\*mikinĩ* ‘hand,’ Amahuaca, Cashinahua *maka* ‘hand,’ Caripuna *moken* ‘hand.’ Proto-Tacanan *\*e-me* ‘hand,’ Tacana, Isiama, Araona, Sapiboca *e-me* ‘hand,’ *\*mece* ‘arm,’ Arasa *imiaca* ‘hand.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *mako* ‘give.’ Botocudo *am*, *um* ‘give.’ Ge: Crengez *mango* ‘give,’ Sakamekran *amu* ‘give,’ Karaho *i-ma* ‘give me!’ Kaingang: Tibagi

*ma* ‘give,’ *ba* ‘bring.’ Kamakan *min*, *mane*, *ma* ‘give.’ Guato *mara* ‘hand.’

- [A137] Greenberg (2002: 3) showed that all three variants of this root are found in both Eurasiatic and Amerind.

371 HARD \**k<sup>w</sup>ele*

**Penutian:** Chinook *qəlqəl*. Oregon: Yakonan *xulxus* ‘strong,’ ?Takelma *k’al’s* ‘sinew.’ Plateau: Lutuami *kuli-s* ‘strong,’ Yakima *klə-ei*. Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *kali* ‘be strong,’ Natchez *?ek<sup>w</sup>ele* ‘bone.’

**Hokan:** Jicaque *k<sup>h</sup>ele* ‘bone.’ Tequistlatec *-egaʔ* ‘bone.’

**Central Amerind:** Azteco-Tanoan: WT 22 \**k<sup>w</sup>enga*, Tanoan: Taos *k<sup>w</sup>ē*. Proto-Oto-Manguen R 103 \*(*n*)(*h*)*ki*(*n*) ‘hard, metal, stone.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 1 \**k<sup>w</sup>i*.

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Guamaca *kakala* ‘bone,’ Bintucua *akana* ‘joint.’ Chibcha: Chibcha [quyne] ‘bone,’ Tegria *korara* ‘bone,’ Manare *kus-kare* ‘finger joints.’ Cuna *kala* ‘bone.’ Guaymi: Move *kro* ‘bone,’ Gualaca *kone* ‘bone.’ Motilon: Dobocubi *akara* ‘bone.’ Paya *kwakwana* ‘hard.’ Rama: Guatuso *kora* ‘bone.’

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Culino *k<sup>h</sup>ara* ‘be hard.’ Kariri: Kariri *kra* ‘dry,’ Dzubucua *kro-d<sup>z</sup>e* ‘strong.’ Maipuran: Anauya *korokoroni* ‘bone,’ Amuesha *ičaš*. Tupi: Mekens *i-kere* ‘savage,’ Purubora *kirĩ*, *kirĩng* ‘dry.’ Zamuco: Tumraha *karo* ‘dry, empty, waterless.’

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto *keri:re-ide* ‘strong.’ Yagua *čöra*, *söra*.

- [A140]

372 HATE \**pul*

**Andean:** Mapudungu: Pehuenche *piʎ-an* ‘no quiero.’ Cholona *a-puʎu-an*.

**Equatorial:** Guahibo *bole* ‘bad omen.’ Kariri: Dzubucua *bule* ‘bad.’ Tupi: Purubora *bere* ‘bad.’ Yuracare *bene-ti* ‘bad.’

- [A142]

373 HAWK \**sokal*

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \**šqal* ‘crow, jay.’ Zuni *šokʔapiso* ‘marsh hawk.’ Gulf: Natchez *sokoʔl* ‘eagle,’ *šo:koL* ‘bird,’ Proto-North Yuki \**sahol* ‘eagle.’ Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean \**šihk*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**sVk<sup>w</sup>al<sup>y</sup>*, \**čiak<sup>w</sup>a:la* ~ \**čö:k<sup>w</sup>a:la*, Proto-Yuman \**sik<sup>w</sup>ala* ‘hawk,’ \**šak<sup>w</sup>ila:w* ‘mocking bird.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \**šuk<sup>w</sup>i* ‘toucan,’ Proto-Panoan \**šökĩ* ‘bird.’

- Cf. Russian *sokol* ‘hawk, eagle, falcon.’

374 HAWK (SPARROW) \**liq’liq’*

**Penutian:** Plateau: Sahaptin *li:χʔi* ‘small hawk,’ Klamath *c’liklak*; Cali-

fornia: Maiduan: Konkow *lak* ‘goose,’ Maidu *lülük’ü* ‘goose,’ Nisenan *la’lak* ‘goose.’ Zuni *cilili-kʔo*. Gulf: Proto-North Yuki *\*lak* ‘goose,’ Wappo *lokh* ‘wild goose’; Natchez *la:lak* ‘goose,’ Tunica *lalahki* ‘goose,’ Muskogean: Chickasaw *šalaklak* ‘goose.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*liklik* ‘American kestrel.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*liq’liq’* ~ *niq’niq’*, *\*ɽi:k<sup>h</sup>Vɽi:k<sup>h</sup>V*.

375 HE/SHE<sub>1</sub> *\*ʔi* ~ *\*iʔ*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan *\*hi-* ‘that, there.’ Proto-Chimakuan *\*-ʔi* ‘he, she.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *\*hi-* ‘he, she, it,’ *\*ʔe-* ‘him, her, it.’

Gulf: Proto-Muskogean *\*i-* ‘he.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*he(?)* ‘he, she.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*hE* (article), *\*i* ‘this.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan *\*ʔiʔa* ‘this.’ Uto-Aztecan: Mono *ʔi-hi* ‘this.’ Tanoan: Santa Clara *ʔiʔ* ‘he/she,’ *ʔi-* (verb prefix), Tewa *ʔiʔ* ‘he/she,’ *ʔi-* (verb prefix). Oto-Manguean: Chinantec *ʔi*.

**Chibchan:** Cuna *i-* (indefinite object; e.g., *i-makka* ‘make something,’ *ka:* ‘to shine’ (in general), *i-ka:* ‘to light up a place’). Proto-Aruak *\*hi* ‘this,’ Guamaca *i-* ‘his/her,’ Guaymi *ya*, Move *ya*, Murire *ya*, Muoi *ya*, Bribri *i-* ‘his/her’ and indefinite object, Chibcha *i-* (indefinite article), Borunca *i* ~ *iæ* ‘he/she,’ *y-* ‘his/her,’ Rama *i* ~ *ya:* ‘he/she,’ *ya* ‘his/her,’ *i-* (indefinite object), Guatuso *i* ‘he/she, his/her,’ Guajiquero *i(-na)* ‘he/she,’ Chilinga *i-* (indefinite object), *i(-no)* ‘he/she,’ *i:-* ‘his/her, him/her,’ Cuitlatec *i-* (definite article), Tarascan *i-* ‘this, that, he.’

**Paezan:** Paez *i-* ‘him/her,’ Warrau *i-* ‘him/her,’ Itonama *i-* (unspecified object), Atakama *ia* ‘he/she,’ *i-saya* ‘his/her,’ Cayapa *ya* ‘he/she,’ *ya(-la)*.

**Equatorial:** Guaraní *i-* ‘his/her, he/she,’ Arikem *i(-an)* ‘he/she,’ *i-* ‘he/she, him/her,’ Wirafed *i-* ‘his/her,’ Oyampi *i-* ‘his/her,’ Cayuvava *i-* ‘his/her,’ Kandoshi *i-* ‘another’ (cf. *čoma* ‘bathe’ (intrans.), *i-čoma* ‘bathe another’), Jivaro *i-* ‘someone’ (cf. *meitiatsan* ‘bathe’ (intrans.), *i-meitatsian* ‘bathe someone’), Moxo *i-* (transitivizer), Baure *i-* (transitivizer). Pakaasnovos *ʔi kaʔ* ‘this (near speaker).’ It seems not unlikely that the masculine singular prefix in the Arawakan family—as well as similar examples in Macro-Tucanoan—has its origin in the third-person pronoun under discussion. For details of this specialized development, see the etymology MASCULINE/FEMININE/NEUTRAL *i/u/a*.

**Macro-Carib:** Pemon *i-* ‘his/her.’ Bora *e:-* ‘that (inanimate),’ *eʔ-* ‘that yonder (inanimate),’ *i-* ‘this (inanimate), his.’ Yagua *hiy* ‘this.’ Proto-Witotoan *\*i-* ‘it.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Choroti *i-* ‘his, her,’ Moseten *i-* (transitivizer). Proto-Waikuruan *\*i-* ‘he (active),’ *\*e* ‘to him.’

**Macro-Ge:** Chiquito *i-* ‘his/her,’ Fulnio *e-* ‘his/her,’ Bororo *i-* ‘his/her,’



Kraho *iʔ* ‘his/her,’ Krenje *iʔ* ‘his/her,’ Caraja *i-* ‘his/her.’

- [G12]

376 HE/SHE<sub>2</sub> \**ti* ~ \**ta*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*-*T* ‘he,’ \**ta* ~ \**ti* ‘that (known but not previously mentioned),’ Proto-Algonquian \*-*t-* (fossilized prefix that occurs between possessive or verbal subject prefixes and stems that begin with a vowel), Wiyot -*d-* (fossilized prefix that occurs between possessive or verbal subject prefixes and stems that begin with a vowel). Proto-Mosan \**ta*(:)- ~ \**tay* ‘this, that, the.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan \**ti*(:)(?) ‘this, he.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \**t* ‘that there.’ California: Proto-Yokuts \**t<sup>h</sup>a*: ‘that.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**r-* ~ \**t-* ‘his, her,’ Ixil *t-* ‘his/her’ (before stems beginning with a vowel), Kekchí *r-* ‘his/her’ (before vowel stems), Quiché *r-* ‘his/her’ (before vowel stems), Mam *t-* ‘his/her.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**t-* (article), Salinan -*t* (nominal prefix), Washo *d-* (nominal prefix), San Luis Obispo *t-* (nominal prefix). Coahuilteco *ta-* ‘that.’ Subtiaba *d-* (nominal prefix), Tlappanec *r-* (nominal prefix). Yurumangui -*ita* ~ -*uta* ~ *tai* ‘this.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan -*ti* ‘he, she, they.’ Yanomam *tí* ~ *te* ‘he, she, it.’

**Paezan:** Warao *ta*(*i*) ‘that,’ *tai* ‘he, she,’ *tama* ‘this.’

**Andean:** Ona *ta* ‘he/she, they,’ -*t-* (third-person sg. obj., e.g., *i-t-yosko* ‘I-it-hear’), *d-* ‘his/her,’ Tehuelche *t-* ‘his/her, their, and third-person sg. object,’ Mapuche *teye* ‘that, he/she,’ Jaqaru -*ta-ma* (verb suffix indicating third person acting on second person).

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucano *to*: ‘there,’ *toho* ‘that,’ Yupua *ti* ‘this,’ Nadobo *tög* ‘that,’ Canamari *tu* ‘there,’ Kaliana *atu* ‘there.’

**Macro-Carib:** Pemon -*t-* (petrified third-person prefix before stems beginning with a vowel), Witoto *da*, Muinane *da*:, Andoke *dya*, Yameo *are* ‘this,’ *ara* ‘that,’ *ranum* ‘that yonder, he/she’ (*r* < \**d*).

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \**tu-* ‘that,’ Proto-Tacanan \**tu-* ‘he, that, they.’ Mosesten -*t* (masc. suffix; cf. -*s* [fem. suffix]), Mascocoy *ya-t* (masc. prefix; cf. *ya-m-* [non-masc. prefix]), Lule *tita* ‘he/she,’ *teoto* ‘they,’ *te* ‘this,’ Vilela *te-* ‘his/her,’ *t-* (relative pronoun), Charrua -*t* ‘his/her,’ Guana -*t* ‘his/her,’ Chana -*t* ‘his/her,’ Mataco *ta*(*h*) ‘that’ (relative pronoun), *t-* ‘his/her.’ Proto-Waikuruan \**d*:- ‘he (active).’

**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge \**ta*(*m*) ‘he.’ Kaingang *taŋ* ‘this,’ *ti* ‘he.’ Chiquito -*ti*: (masc. sg.), Aweikoma *ti* ‘he’ (cf. *si* ‘she’), Caraja *ti* ‘he’ (cf. *tiki* ‘she’), Cherente *ta*, Coroado *ti*, Fulnio *t-* (verbal subject/object).

- [G13] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

377 HEAD<sub>1</sub> \*puta

**Equatorial:** Coche *buce* ‘cabecilla.’ Arawakan: Guamo *puti* ~ *pute*. Maipuran: Piapoco *nu-puta* ‘my forehead,’ Adzaneni *nu-ihitu* ‘head.’ Otomaco *putta*. Tupi: Awiti *apot*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Umaua *butuhe*, Waiana *e-putiü*, Upurui *e-putpi?i*, Trio *i-putupo*, Tivericoto *o-putpa*, Chayma *putpo*, Urucuyena *putpo*, Galibi, Apalai *u-pupu*, Acawai *yu-popo*.

**Macro-Ge:** Mashakali: Macuni *epotoi*, Patasho *patoi* ‘head, hair,’ Capoxo, Kumanasho *patanõn*. Puri: Coropo *pitao*.

- [A143]

378 HEAD<sub>2</sub> \*t’aq

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-itoxk* ‘above,’ Cheyenne *ta:xe* ‘above.’ Mosan: Proto-Chemakuan *\*-t’iq<sup>w</sup>*, Chemakum *tek<sup>y</sup>*, Quileute *(o?)t’eq<sup>w</sup>*. Salish: Lillooet *təqa* ‘above.’ Shuswap *-tk* ‘on top of,’ Upper Chehalis *teč* ‘upon,’ etc.

**Penutian:** Chinook: Kathlamet *q’aqstaq*. Oregon: Takelma *tak-*. Plateau: Klamath *t’oq*, Sahaptin *łəmtax*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*tuku* ‘sky.’

**Chibchan:** Rama *taik* ‘top.’

**Paezan:** Jirajara: Ayoman *a-togh*, Jirajara *a-ktegi*. Allentiac: Millcayac *taktu* ‘high, above, sky.’ Choco: Saija *tači-puro*.

**Andean:** Gennaken: Puelche *atak* ‘mountain.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucano: Waikina, Uanana *dax-pua*, Bara *dex-fea*, Tuyuca *dex-piu*, Tucano *dex-poa*, Desana *dex-puru*, Omöa *dix-hoga*, Buhagana *tix-hoga*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Charruan: Chana *tuk* ‘mountain.’ Guaicuru: Toba-Guazu *-ligi* ‘above,’ Abipone *alge, elge* ‘on top’ (Guaicuru *l* < *\*t*). Lengua *ecik-sik* ‘crown of the head,’ *takhe* ‘above.’ Lule *toko*. Mataco: Choroti *atak*, Chulupi *utex* ‘hill,’ Macca *utex* ‘hill,’ Nocten *etek*, Vejoz *toxpa* ‘high.’ Mosen [tacche] *takke*. Tacanan: Sapiboca, Maropa *e-čuxa*, Araona, Tacana *e-čua*, Isiama *e-čo*.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *itexeke* ‘above.’ Fulnio *dakka* ~ *tka*. Guato *dokeu*. Puri: Coroado *takuen* ‘above.’

- [A144] Cf. ABOVE<sub>1</sub>.

379 HEAD<sub>3</sub> \*sako

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *səq’a* ‘over.’

**Keresiouan:** ?Proto-Caddoan *\*ackat* ‘up.’ Iroquoian: Cherokee *u-sko-li*. Siouan: Tutelo *sako* ‘above.’

**Penutian:** Zuni *?ošok<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>i*.

**Chibchan:** Bintucua *saku-ku* ‘skull,’ Cuna *sakla*, Jutiapa *usaxle*.

**Paezan:** Betoï *ro-saka*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**šuku-* ‘cover the head.’

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Caliponau *išöke*.

- [AK96, CP96]

### 380 HEART \**cuk'u*

**Hokan:** East Pomo *cukun*, North Yana *d<sup>z</sup>uguc'i*, San Antonio *šk'o?il* ‘lungs.’

**Chibchan:** Cabecar *sokko* ‘kidney,’ Paya *sakka* ‘spleen.’

- [H82, CP107]

### 381 HERON \**wara*

**Chibchan:** Yanomam: Yanomam *ara* ‘red macaw.’

**Paezan:** Warao *wara*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *wiwiru* ‘bird.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani \**wira* ‘bird.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Proto-Taranoan \**wara*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**waraka* ‘bird species.’

### 382 HEAVEN \**ema*

**Hokan:** Quinigua *imi* ‘hill.’ Salinan: San Antonio *léma* ‘sky,’ San Miguel *íem* ‘sky.’ Seri *?amime*. Subtiaba: Subtiaba *d-ema-lu*, Tlappanec *d-e:hma*. Tequistlatec *le-ma?a*. Yuman: Yuma *?ame* ‘high,’ Tipai *may*, Mohave *ammaya*, etc.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave *ma* ‘above.’ Tucano: Amaguaje, Siona *emue* ‘above,’ Tsoola *emea* ‘above,’ Coto *mwi* ‘go up,’ etc.

- [A148]

### 383 HILL \**ton*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**-aten* ‘steep hill.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ton*.

**Paezan:** Allentiac: Millcayac *tonton* ‘mountain’ (with reduplication to indicate size). Barbacoa: Totoro *tuna*.

### 384 HIT<sub>1</sub> (v.) \**tiq<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *tik*, *tok<sup>w</sup>an* ‘slap’; Yurok *tik<sup>w</sup>ohs*. Kutenai *cik* ‘destroy.’ Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum *ta:q*, Quileute *cex*; Wakashan: Nootka *c'oq<sup>w</sup>*; Salish: Squamish *cəx<sup>w</sup>* ‘be hit,’ Snohomish *caq*, Lillooet *cikə<sup>n</sup>* ‘beat, whip,’ Tillamook *tq*.

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Wichita *ti:k<sup>w</sup>i*, *tak<sup>w</sup>i*, Arikara *takit* ‘be broken.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua: Mascóy *tik*. Mosenet *-tak* in *pak-tak* ‘to nail,’ etc.

(Bibolotti, lxvi, ‘hitting action’). Lule *tak-* ‘wooden instrument or effect produced by it.’ Panoan: Cashinahua *ta-*, *tas-* (instrumental prefix for hitting action).

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *čik*. Kaingang: Tibagi *taik*.

- [A149] Cf. HIT<sub>2</sub>.

385 HIT<sub>2</sub> (v.) \**tok*

**Almosan:** Salish: Coeur d’Alene *ti?* ‘pound.’ Kutenai *t’ā-* ‘knock.’

**Keresiouan:** Caddo *da?* ‘pound corn.’ Kutenai *t’ā-* ‘knock.’

**Penutian:** Coos *tōh*, Wappo *tōh*, Natchez *ta*.

**Andean:** Qawasqar *toks* ‘fight,’ Aymara *tok’e* ‘quarrel.’

- [AK153, P110, AN37] • [A149] Cf. HIT<sub>1</sub>.

386 HIT<sub>3</sub> (v.) \**pak*

**Penutian:** California: Maidu *bok-* ‘beat.’ Gulf: Atakapa *pak* ‘beat.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**pa*. Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(*n*)(*h*)*k*<sup>w</sup>*a*(*h*).

- [P14, CA47]

387 HIT<sub>4</sub> \**maq’a*

**Almosan:** Kutenai *moχune* ‘hit, fall into,’ *maq’ne* ‘slap,’ Proto-North Wakashan \**mx-* ‘strike with the fist, punch,’ Kwakwala *məx<sup>y</sup>a*; ?Proto-Algonquian *mi:kawitamwa* ‘fight’ (v.)

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**mijid<sup>z</sup>a* ‘kill.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**maq’* ~ \**mak’* ~ \**mah*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*i/a*)*ma* ‘kill.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**mak*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**maqa-*.

- [AK100]

388 HOLE<sub>1</sub> \**c’imak*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala, Bella Bella *sms* ‘mouth’; Chemakuan: Chemakum *simu:sit* ‘nose.’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Catawba *somō*.

**Penutian (ear):** Tsimshian: Nass *c’ə<sup>m</sup>-mux* ‘ear.’ Chinook: Chinook *čam* ‘hear,’ Wishram *čmaq* ‘hear.’ Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *c’ema* ‘ear,’ Huchnom *cum* ‘ear,’ Coast Yuki *cem* ‘ear.’ Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *čen* ‘listen.’

**Penutian (mouth):** California: Proto-Yokuts \**sama?* ‘mouth,’ Maidu *simi* ‘mouth.’ Oregon: Coos *c’ma* ‘chin,’ Lower Umpqua *camicə<sup>m</sup>* ‘chin.’ Plateau: Klamath *som* ‘mouth,’ Molala *similk* ‘mouth.’

**Penutian (nose):** California: Maidu: South *suma* ‘nose,’ Yokuts *šen* ‘smell.’ Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *šima* ‘nose.’ Natchez *šamac* ‘nose,’ Tunica *šimu*

‘blow nose.’ Mexican: Mayan: Quiché *cam* ‘nose,’ Mam *čam* ‘nose,’ Kakchiquel *can* ‘nose.’

**Hokan:** Achomawi: Atsugewi *asmak* ‘ear.’ Chimariko *hi-sam* ‘ear,’ *šem* ‘listen.’ Comecrudo *somi* ‘cave.’ Karok *?a:siv* ‘cave.’ Proto-Pomo *\*šima* (Oswalt) ‘ear.’ Tequistlatec *la-š’mas* ‘ear.’ Yuman: Proto-Yuman *\*smaʎ(k)* ‘ear.’ Cf. Washo *d-amal* ‘hear’; Yana: Central, North *mal?gu* ‘ear.’

**Andean:** Aymara: Jaqaru *šimi* ‘mouth.’ Patagon: Ona *šem* ‘mouth,’ Tehuelche *šam* ‘mouth.’ Quechua: Cochabamba *šimi* ‘mouth,’ other dialects *simi*.

• [A150] Evidently a root meaning ‘hole’ was applied especially to the apertures of the head.

389 HOLE<sub>2</sub> *\*mu*

**Hokan:** Esselen *imu(-sa)*. Pomo: Northeast Pomo, Southeast Pomo *mo*, South Pomo *hi:mo*. Yana *muk’ula* ‘round hole, pit.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auake *-muye* (deduced from ‘nostril’ = ‘nose-hole’). Puinave: Puinave *moi*, Curiariai *māi* (deduced from ‘nostril’).

• [A151]

390 HOLE<sub>3</sub> *\*tolo*

**Penutian:** Lake Miwok *talok<sup>h</sup>*, Atakapa *tol* ‘anus,’ Takelma *telkan* ‘buttocks.’

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *doro*, Coroado *dore* ‘cave.’

• [P115, MG65]

391 HORN *\*k<sup>w</sup>an*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-ixkin*. Kutenai (*akuh-*)*qʔe* (*ʔ* < *\*n*).

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan *\*he* ‘horn, hoof.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *xaxan-s*. California: Proto-Yokuts *\*k<sup>h</sup>oyeš*. Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *hin* ‘antler,’ Huchnom *hine*. Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean *\*uk’a:ʔ*. Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*waha(w)*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*i-k<sup>hw</sup>a-yV*, Proto-Pomo *\*haʔ:a*. Proto-Yuman *\*k<sup>w</sup>aʔ*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*ʔawa*. Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*(H)k<sup>w</sup>e(n)*.

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *šik<sup>w</sup>ank<sup>w</sup>a*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*waqra*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*saʔa*.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan *\*(m)oka(x)ïʔto*.

**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge *\*ko*.

• [A152]

392 HORTATIVE *\*pa ~ \*pe ~ \*pi*

**Keresiouan:** Keresan: [languages??] *p-* (hortative.) ?Iroquoian: Wyandot

*kwa-* (first-person plural inclusive;  $p > kw$  in Iroquoian, according to Chafe).

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *baʔ* (exhortative). California: Maidu *pe* (exhortative); Wintun: Patwin *bu* (first-person plural exhortative); Miwok: [languages??] *pa-* (indirective, i.e., to get someone else to do something.) Gulf: Muskogean: Hitchiti *pu- ~ po-* (first-person plural subject), *pu-* (first-person plural object), Creek *po(-mi)* ‘we’ (cf. *či(-mi)* ‘thou’).

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Miskito *-pi* (first-person plural imperative); Lenca: Chilanga *-bi* (first-person plural verb subject).

**Andean:** Mapudungu *-pe* (third-person hortative); Aymara *-pa-n* (third-person hortative; the *-n* is an Andean third-person marker), Jaqaru *-p<sup>ha</sup>* (third-person hortative); Zaparoan: Andoa *pa-* (first-person dual inclusive possessive), Iquito *-pa* (first-person inclusive hortative).

**Macro-Panoan:** Panoan: Chacobo *-pa* (polite imperative); Tacanan: Tacana *pa-* (optative); Lule *-pe* (plural imperative); Vilela *pa-* ‘let us . . .’, *-p* (third-person hortative).

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Kraho *pa-* (first-person dual inclusive possessive and verb subject); Bororo *pa-* (first-person plural inclusive).

- [G86]

### 393 HOT \**k'ec* ~ *k'ac*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \**kečha:y-* ‘be day,’ Yurok *kecoyn-hego* ‘sun,’ Proto-Algonquian \**ki:šek* ‘day,’ \**ki:šeʔwa* ‘sun,’ Proto-Central Algonquian \**kešy* ‘hot,’ Shawnee *kiš* ‘hot,’ Cree *kis-* ‘hot,’ Fox *kišesw* ‘sun,’ Passamaquody *kīsus* ‘sun’; Proto-Salish \**kʷas* ‘hot, scorch,’ Nootsack *kʷas* ‘hot,’ Pentlatch *kwas* ‘hot,’ Columbian *skwats* ‘hot.’

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Wichita *kiš* ‘sun.’ Keresan: Acoma *kášâitɪ* ‘summer, year.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Natchez *haši* ‘sun,’ Choctaw *haši* ‘sun.’ Mexican: Mayan: Huastec *k'ičā* ‘sun,’ Tzeltal *k'išin* ‘heat.’

**Hokan:** Arra-arra *kišen* ‘summer,’ Santa Ynez Chumash *kīs-si* ‘sun,’ Seri *kkošij* ‘be hot,’ Utah *kʷučíi* ‘hot.’

**Central Amerind:** Oto-Manguean: Mixtec *kači* ‘warm, damp,’ Popoloca *kusuwa* ‘heat.’

**Chibchan:** Lenca *kaši* ‘sun,’ Miskito *kisni-sa* ‘heat.’

**Andean:** Yahgan *kisi* ‘summer.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Koaia *kasa* ‘sun.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Choroti *a-kus* ‘hot,’ Suhin *kus* ‘hot.’

**Macro-Ge:** Opayee *hečō-ata* ‘summer’ (*ata* = ‘hot’).

- [Ruhlen 1994g] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

394 HOUSE<sub>1</sub> \**toh*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian \**te:wa* ‘be,’ Ojibwa *ta* ‘dwell, live.’ Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *-ti, te:-*; Salish: Squamish *taʔ* ‘be.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**ti* ‘dwell, house.’

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *to*, Taos *t<sup>h</sup>ə-*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 83 \**(ʔ)tu(h)*.

**Chibchan:** Chibcha [uze] ‘nest.’ Lenca: Similaton *tou*, Guajiquero *thau*, etc.

**Paezan:** Allentiac *utu, uti*. Barbacoa: Colorado *toh* ‘village.’ Choco: Nonama, Saija, Tucura *te*, Catio *te* ‘house, nest,’ Andagueda *tay*, etc. Mura: Mura-Piraha *atay*.

**Andean:** Qawasqar *ata, at*. Aymara: Aymara, Jaqaru *uta*. Zaparo *ita*.

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Culino *uza*. Chapacura: Urupa *asa*, Itene *asi*. Piaroa: Saliba *ito*. Tupi: Guayaki *eití* ‘nest,’ Yuruna *atia* ‘nest,’ etc. Zamuco *idai*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Maiongom *ato*, Chayma *ata*, Bakairí *əta*, Barama River *owto*, etc. (all = ‘house’).

**Macro-Panoan:** Mosenen *ti*: ‘nest.’ Panoan: Shipibo *ati*. Tacanan: Huarayo, Tiatinagua *eti*, etc.

- [A153]

395 HOUSE<sub>2</sub> \**ka*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \**(n)ka(H)(n)*, Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ki*.

**Macro-Carib:** Muinane *ixa*, Taulipang *kə* ‘stay.’

- [CA48, MC29]

396 HUSBAND \**ino*

**Penutian:** Plateau: Cayuse *inaiu*. Gulf: Yukian: Huchnom *i-na*. Mexican: Totonac: Tepehua *noh*.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Carib \**ino*, Witoto *inuy*.

- [P122, MC31]

397 I<sub>1</sub> \**na(?)*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \**n-* ~ \**-Vn* ~ \**net-* ~ \**neʔ* ‘I,’ \**-na:n* ‘we,’ \**-Vn*, Proto-Algonquian \**ne-*. Kutenai *-na:p-* ‘me,’ *-ən* (imperative object), *-nawa:s-* ‘us.’ Proto-Mosan \**na(y)* ~ \**la(y)*, Salish: Tillamook *n-* ‘my,’ Kalispel *-ən* ‘my.’ Wakashan: Nootka *niw’a* ‘we, us,’ *-ni* (verbal suffix), Bella Bella *-ən*. Chemakuan: Quileute *l* (< \**n*).

**Keresiouan:** Keresan: Santa Ana *hinu* ‘I, we,’ *-n* (suffix in verbal hortative

forms). Proto-Caddoan *\*na(:)t-* ‘I, we.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *na-* ‘my.’ Chinook *n-*. Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma *\*n-*, Takelma *-n*, Coos *n(əx)*, Miluk *ənnēu*, Siuslaw *na*, Alsea *n-*. Plateau: Klamath *no:* ~ *ni* ‘I,’ *na:t* ‘we,’ Nez Perce *ʔín* ‘I,’ *neʔ-* ‘my’ (with kinship terms), *na* ‘we,’ Molala *ʔina*, Proto-Sahaptian *\*ʔi:n* ‘I,’ *\*naʔ* ~ *\*neʔ* ‘my,’ *\*nu:n* ‘we,’ Sahaptin *na-* ‘my.’ Proto-California *\*naʔ*, Wintu *ni*, Patwin *na-*, Colouse *nat*, Yokuts *naʔ*, Proto-Maiduan *\*nik* ‘me,’ Maidu *ni*, Nisenan *ni*. Gulf: Natchez *n-* ~ *-n* ‘I,’ *ni-* ‘me,’ Tunica *-ni*, Yuki *ʔin-* ‘my (inalienable).’ Huave *-na-* (in the future tense). Proto-Mayan *\*ʔin* (subject of transitive verbs), *\*-n* (subject of intransitive verbs). Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*n-heʔ* ‘mine.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*n<sup>y</sup>a* ~ *\*n<sup>y</sup>i*, Chimariko *nō-ut*, Karok *na*, South Yana (*ji-*)*n* ‘our,’ Santa Ynez *noi*, Santa Barbara *no:*, Santa Cruz *no:*, Esselen *niš-* ‘my,’ Jicaque *na(p)*, Comecrudo *na* ~ *yen*, Cotoname *na* ‘I, we,’ Coahuilteco *na-* ‘I, my,’ *naxo-* ~ *naye* ‘we, our,’ *niw* ‘I,’ Karankawa *nayi* ~ *n’*. Arra-arra *na*, Pehtsik *na:h*, Washo *le* (< *\*na*). Proto-Yuman *\*ñ-* ‘I,’ *\*nā-p* ‘we,’ Yuma *nnyep*, Mohave *inyeč*, Walapai *ān*, Havasupai *inya*, Yavapai *nya-a*, Diegueño *ʔenya:*, Chontal *ni*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan *\*neʔ(a)*, Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*n-*, Luiseño *no*, Cahuilla *ne-* ‘my,’ Kawaiisu *niʔi*, Utah *ne*, Opaté *ʔina-po*, Yaqui *ʔinapo*, Tarahumara *ni-hé*, Papago *-ñ*, Hopi *nuʔ*, Nahuatl *no-*, Pipil *-neč-*. Proto-Tanoan *\*nō*, Kiowa *nā* ‘I, we,’ *nɔ:-* ‘my,’ Taos *añ-* ‘my,’ Jemez *ne*. Oto-Manguen: Proto-Zapotec *\*nāʔ* ‘I,’ *\*nā* ‘we inclusive,’ Proto-Chatino *\*nāʔ* ‘I,’ *\*nā* ‘we inclusive,’ Mixtec *n* ‘I, we exclusive,’ Popoloca *n* ‘I, we exclusive,’ Chinantec *n-* ‘I, we.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak *\*na*, Kagaba *nas* ‘I,’ *nau* ‘our,’ Bintucua *nan*, Chimila *na-* ‘my,’ Guamaca *nerra* ‘I,’ *nabi* ‘we,’ Cuna *an*, Move *nu* ‘we,’ Norteño *nu* ‘we,’ Penomeño *nu* ‘we,’ Rama *na(s)* ~ *ni-* ‘I,’ *nusut* ‘we,’ Xinca *ni*, Cogui *nás*, Ica *nən*, Bribri *ñō*, Miskito *yan* (? < *\*ñan*), Ulua *yan*, Sumu *yan*, Lenca *una*. Proto-Chibcha *\*na-sV/(-nV)-ya*.

**Paezan:** Paez *an*, *ne-* ‘my,’ Guambiana *na*, Warrau *ine*. Timucua *-na* ~ *-ni* ‘I, my, our,’ *-ni-ka* ‘we.’ Barbacoan: Guambiano, Totoro, Awa *na*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *iñče* ‘I,’ *iñčiñ* ‘we plural,’ *iñčiu* ‘we dual,’ *yiñ* ‘our pl.,’ (*ta-*)*ñi* ‘my,’ Aymara *naya*, Jaqaru *na*, Proto-Quechuan *\*nu-qa* ~ *\*ñu-qa* ‘I’ (cf. *\*qa-m* ‘thou,’ *\*-ni* ‘my,’ *\*-ninčik* ‘our exclusive.’)

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*yʔʔi-sã* ‘we exclusive’ Yehubde *en* ‘we,’ Papury *ün* ‘we,’ Movima *inʔa* ‘I,’ *ninʔa* ‘my.’

**Equatorial:** Timote *an*, Cuica *an*, Mococho *an*, Zamuco *ñu*, Guahibo *xáni*, Otomaco *nu* ~ *no*, Proto-Arawakan *\*nu*, Itene *ana-*, Puquina *no-* ‘my,’ Murato *nua*, Yaruro *naya* ‘my,’ Manao *no-* ‘my,’ Yavitero *nu-* ‘my,’ Baniva *no-* ‘my,’ Ipurina *ni-* ‘my,’ Jitnu *kan*, Cuiba *xan*, Guayabero *xan*, Achuar *i:nu* ‘our.’



**Macro-Carib:** Taulipang *ina* ‘we,’ Cariniaco *na:na* ‘we,’ Galibi *ana* ‘we,’ Macusi *ana* ‘we,’ Yagua *na:y-* ‘we two exclusive,’ *nu:y-* ‘we pl. exclusive.’  
**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco *no-* ‘my,’ *na-* ‘our (ex.),’ Vejoz *no-k<sup>y</sup>a* ‘my,’ *no-* ‘our (ex.),’ Pilaga *ina* ‘I,’ *ien* ‘we,’ Proto-Panoan *\*no* ‘we,’ Guenoa *an(-ti)* ‘our,’ Vilela *nati* ‘we,’ Mosesten *ñu*, Nocten *no-*, Pacaguara *no-*, Chacobo *no-*, Arazaire *noena*.  
**Macro-Ge:** Krenje *in-* ‘my,’ Dalbergia *ñu*, Tibagi *in*, Botocudo *n-*, Opaie *ni-*, Kamakan *n-* ‘my,’ Catarina *enha*, Caraja *inã bo ibutũ* ‘we two,’ Kaingang *?iñ*.

• [Trombetti 1905, G1, Ruhlen 1994i, Ruhlen 1995a] The Amerind pronoun pattern *na* ‘I’/*mi* ‘you’ was explicitly recognized by Alfredo Trombetti a century ago when he noticed its ubiquity in North and South America and its absence elsewhere in the world (Trombetti 1905). My own survey of the world’s pronoun systems (Ruhlen 1994i) confirmed Trombetti’s observation. I have suggested that this specifically Amerind pronoun pattern may derive from an inclusive-exclusive opposition found in the Old World: *na* ‘we exclusive’/*mi* ‘we inclusive’ (Ruhlen 1995c). Greenberg noted that the third instance of a general first-person pronoun (see I<sub>6</sub> *ma* below) was essentially inclusive: “The *m* form is inclusive, and this may have been its original function.” Such a change from first-person plural inclusive to second-person singular is well supported by diachronic typology. If this is correct, then the Amerind system is related to the we-inclusive/we-exclusive pattern found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic.

398 I<sub>2</sub> \*?i

**Almosan:** Proto-Chimakuan *\*-?is* ~ *\*-s* ‘my,’ *\*-li* ‘I,’ *\*-lo* ‘we.’  
**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*hinu* ‘I, we.’ Iroquoian: Tuscarora *i:?* ‘I, we.’  
**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma *\*-xi* ‘I, me.’ Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *\*?i:n*. Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*?əs* ‘I, me, we, us,’ Atakapa *(h)i-* ‘me,’ Tunica *?i-* ‘me, my,’ Proto-Yuki *\*?ə* ~ *\*?əp(a)* ‘I (agent),’ *\*?ih* ‘I, me (patient),’ Yuki *i:* ‘me,’ Wappo *i:* ‘me,’ Proto-Muskogean *\*-li* ‘I,’ *\*ili-* ‘we, we two exclusive.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*?i:ci* ~ *\*?ic*.  
**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*i* ‘I,’ *\*I<sup>y</sup>e* ‘I, we,’ Achomawi *i* ‘my,’ Chumash *-i* ‘me, my,’ *i-* (first-person singular acts on second or third singular), Comecrudo *-i-*, Southeast Pomo *?i-* ‘my,’ Seri *?e* ‘I,’ *?i* ‘my,’ Tequistlatec *-i-* ‘my,’ Tonkawa *?* (in past declarative), Washo *(m-)i-* (first person acts on second person), Yana *(j-)i-* ‘my,’ *-i* ‘I,’ Yuman: [languages?] *?(i)* ‘my.’  
**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*i-ne-* ‘my,’ *i-ta(-me)* ‘our,’ Hopi *?i* ‘my,’ Chinantec *-y* ‘me’ (in bipersonal forms).  
**Chibchan:** Chibcha *i-* ‘I, my,’ Cuitlatec *-i* ‘my,’ Cacaopera *-i*, Miskito *-i* ‘my, our.’ Yanomam *ipa* ‘my.’ Tarascan *xi*.

**Paezan:** Colorado *i*. Warao *ine*.

**Andean:** Mapuche *l-i* ‘I,’ *y(-u)* ‘we(-two),’ *i(-ñ)* ‘we’ (*-ñ* is a plural affix), Ona *ya*, Tehuelche *ya*, (*y*)*i-kuwa* ‘we,’ *yi-* ‘my,’ *i-* ‘I,’ Jaqaru *i(-ma)* (first person acts on second person), Yamana *hi-* ‘my,’ *hipay* ‘we two,’ *hipika:* ‘us two,’ *hipikina* ‘our two,’ Yahgan *i-tapan* ‘myself,’ *i-matagu-aki* ‘that which was given to me,’ *i(-pai)* ‘we-two,’ Quechua *-y* ‘my,’ *-y(-ku)* ‘we (ex.)’ (subjunctive).

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*yiʔi*. Capixana *ya-*, Catuquina *i-*, Tiquie *ya-*, Desana *-yi* ‘me,’ Wanana *yi:* ‘me,’ Bara *yí* ‘my,’ Movima *inʔa* ‘I,’ *iʔʔi* ‘we inclusive,’ *ide* ‘we inclusive.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani *\*iye*. Esmeralda *ye* ‘I,’ *e-* ‘my,’ Kandoshi *i-* ‘my,’ *iy(a)* ‘we,’ Oyampi *ye* ‘I,’ *e-* ‘my,’ Yuracare *i-*, Ayoré *i-* ‘my,’ Achuar *i:ti* ‘we, our,’ *i:nu* ‘our.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib *i-* ‘I, my, me’ (general in Carib).

**Macro-Panoan:** Guenoa [y-ti]  $\sim$  *i-*, Charrua *i-* ‘my,’ Mascocoy *e-* ‘my,’ Proto-Waikuruan *\*id:-* ‘I,’ *i* ‘to me,’ *i-* ‘my,’ Guaicuru *i-* ‘my, me,’ Vejoz *i-* ‘my,’ *iy(-am)* ‘my,’ Payagua *ya-* ‘my,’ *y(-am)* ‘I,’ Enimaga *yi-* ‘my,’ Mosesten *ye*, Proto-Panoan *\*ʔi*; Tacanan: [languages?] *e-*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *i(-nno)* ‘I,’ *i-* ‘my,’ *-i*  $\sim$  *i-* ‘me,’ Umotina *iya* ‘I,’ *i-* ‘I,’ (verb prefix), *my,* Chiquito *i-* ‘I, my,’ Fulnio *i-* ‘I, my,’ Krenje *i-* ‘I, my,’ Kraho *i-* ‘I, my, me,’ Aweikoma *i(g)* ‘I,’ Palmas *i(g)* ‘I, my, me,’ Coroado *i(-n)*, Kaingang *ʔiñ*.

- [G2]

### 399 I<sub>3</sub> *\*pi* $\sim$ *\*pa*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-Yuki *\*ʔəp(a)* ‘I (agent),’ Proto-Muskogean *\*ha-pi-* ‘we (patient),’ *\*ha-ili* ‘we (actor),’ *\*pi-* ‘we,’ *\*pi-ho* ‘we inclusive.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman *\*ñə-p* ‘we.’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *ipa* ‘my,’ *-p* ‘our, your, their,’ *pə* ‘I . . . thee,’ *pəhəki* ‘we dual inclusive.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *\*-ba*  $\sim$  *\*-bo* ‘we, you (pl.)’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Maku-Puinave *bitʔu* ‘we.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban *\*pa-ta* ‘our.’

**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge *\*pa*.

### 400 I<sub>4</sub> *\*ka* $\sim$ *\*ki*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic *\*-Vk*. Kutenai *ka-*  $\sim$  *-ka-*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian *\*k(i)-* ‘I (agent).’ Proto-Caddoan *\*-ku-* ‘me.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma *\*ki*, Takelma *ki:*. Proto-California *\*kan*, Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *\*ka:n*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan *\*ak-* ‘we two, we (pl.)’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*KV* ‘we inclusive,’ Yurumangui *aka* ‘I, me,’ *k-* ‘my.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*(h)ka(h)* ‘I, we inclusive, we exclusive.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *-ka ~ -kia* ‘I, thou, we, you.’

**Paезan:** Warao *ka* ‘our, us,’ *oko* ‘we,’ Millcayac *ku* ‘I, me,’ *kuču* ‘we.’

**Andean:** Puelche *kua*.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan *\*(k)õõ-xe(ʔe)*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan *\*ekana* ‘we.’ Lengua *koʔo*. Proto-Waikuruan *\*(o)q:um:* ‘we.’

401 I<sub>5</sub> *\*ta*

**Almosan:** ?Proto-Algic *\*net-* ‘my.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan *\*tat-* ‘I, we.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma *\*-deʔ ~ \*theʔ* ‘I (intrans.)’

**Paезan:** Proto-Choco *\*tači* ‘we inclusive.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara *\*tʔail* ‘I,’ *\*tʔa* ‘my.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban *\*taha ~ \*ta-x* ‘my.’

**Macro-Carib:** Bora *ta-* ‘my.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Waikuruan *\*dʲ-* ‘I (active),’ *\*id:-* ‘I (inactive).’

402 I<sub>6</sub> *\*ma*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan *\*ma:-* ‘we.’

**Paезan:** Warao *ma-* ‘my, me.’ Proto-Choco *\*mĩ*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*mãĩ-rĩ* ‘we inclusive.’

**Macro-Carib:** Bora *me:* ‘we two inclusive, we pl. inclusive,’ *me-* ‘our inclusive,’ *mu:ʔa* we pl. exclusive,’ *muʔc<sup>hi</sup>* ‘we two exclusive masc.,’ *muʔp<sup>hi</sup>* ‘we two exclusive fem.’

403 IMPERATIVE *\*ʔi*

**Keresiouan:** Wichita *hi-*, Keres *ʔi*.

**Hokan:** Yana *-ʔi*, Karok *-i*, Salinan *-i-*, Yurumangui *-i*.

- [G88, G91]

404 . . . -IN-LAW *\*-kwa*

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *ne-kwa* ‘my mother/father-in-law,’ Proto-Algonquian *\*-kwa* ‘. . .-in-law,’ *\*ne-ta:n-kwa* ‘my sister-in-law.’ Mosan: Salish: Columbian *ti-k<sup>wa</sup>* ‘father’s sister,’ Flathead *titi-k<sup>we</sup>* ‘woman’s brother’s daughter.’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Iowa *tá-gwa* ‘son-in-law.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Yuki *-c’í-hwa* ‘husband’s brother,’ *-c’í-hwa-pi* ‘husband’s sister, wife’s sister.’

**Hokan:** Shasta *a-čũ-gwi* ‘younger female cousin,’ Jicaque *tsi-kway* ‘boy, child.’

**Central Amerind:** Uto-Aztecan: Northern Paiute *taŋ-ʔwa* ‘man’; Oto-Manguean:

Mazatec *ču-kwhā* ‘aunt,’ Trique *du-ʔwe* ‘aunt,’ Proto-Mixtecan *\*kuʔn-gwi* ‘woman’s sister,’ Mixtec *du-ʔwi* ‘aunt.’

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba *tu-gwa* ‘grandchild,’ Motilon *a-te-gwa* ‘nephew.’

**Paezan:** Paez *anš-tsun-kue* ‘grandchild.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *se-kwai* ‘grandchild,’ Cahuapana *kaik-kwa* ‘sister-in-law.’

**Equatorial:** Yaruro *hia-to-kwi* ‘maternal grandson.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucano *ti-kā* ‘son-in-law.’

**Macro-Carib:** Surinam Carib *tī-ʔwo* ‘brother-in-law.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Tacanan: Tacana *u-tse-kwa* ‘grandchild.’

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Krenje *pan-ɕwö* ‘sister-in-law’ (for *pan-*, see AUNT *pan* above).

• [Ruhlen 1994b] This suffix is often found on forms of the TINA/TANA/TUNA etymology.

#### 405 INTERROGATIVE<sub>1</sub> \*ta

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian *\*ta:niki* ‘which, which ones, where are they.’

Proto-Mosan *\*ta:-* ‘who, what, when.’ Proto-Salish *\*s-tam* ‘what.’ Proto-Chimakuan *\*taqa-* ~ *taqi-* ‘who.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *teʔ* ‘what.’

**Penutian:** Chinook *tan* ‘what.’ Oregon: Siuslaw *tən* ‘what.’ Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *\*tu:* ‘what,’ North Sahaptin *tunn* ‘what.’ California: Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *tinnə* ‘what.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*ti* ‘what.’ Totonac *tu* ‘what.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Coahuiltecan *\*t'ete-* ‘what,’ Coahuilteco *t'a'xaka* ~ *xa'ka* ‘what,’ Comecrudo *tete* ‘what, why, how,’ Cotoname *tit* ‘what.’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *t<sup>h</sup>əhə* ‘when.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Cayapo *tin* ‘what,’ Totoro *či'ni* ‘what,’ Colorado *tī* ‘what,’ Guambiano *či* ‘what.’

**Andean:** Yamana *tara* ‘when.’ Mapudungu *tuči* ~ *čuči* ‘which one of . . . ,’ *tunte(-n)* ~ *čunte(-n)* ‘how much.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *tiku* ~ *tik<sup>y</sup>u* ‘what.’

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *tā:ra* ‘what.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *tan* ‘how many,’ Palmas *ndena* ‘how many.’ Fulnio *to* ‘what, which.’

• [MG68, G106]

#### 406 INTERROGATIVE<sub>2</sub> \*ki ~ \*ka ~ \*ku

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *gu-* ‘when, where,’ Yurok *kus* ‘when, where,’ Proto-Algonquian *\*ke:kw-* ‘which, something, anything,’ Passamaquoddy *kek<sup>w</sup>* ‘what.’ Kutenai *-ʔaqs-* ‘how many,’ *ka* ‘where.’ Proto-Mosan *\*ʔa:ki* ‘who,’ *\*ʔaqi* ‘what,’ *\*ga(:)* ‘who, which, where,’ *\*q<sup>w</sup>i-* ~ *\*q<sup>w</sup>a-* ‘where, when,’ Proto-Chimakuan *\*q<sup>w</sup>oʔoc* ‘how many,’ Chemakum *āč'is* ‘what,’

Quileute *-χaʔa* ‘who,’ *ak’is* ‘what,’ *qo-* ‘where’; Wakashan: Kwakwala *gn* ‘how many,’ Nootka *ʔaqi-* ‘what,’ Bella Bella *akoiqkan* ‘who’; Proto-Salish *\*kʷin* ‘how many,’ *\*ka(n)* ‘do what, do something, be where, how,’ Pentlatch *kwənča* ‘where,’ *kwəs* ‘when,’ Upper Chehalis *ka-n* ‘do what?’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*guw’a* ‘how,’ Keres *hēko* ‘whither.’ Siouan: Quapaw *ka* ‘what,’ Ofo *kaka* ‘what,’ Wichita *ʔēkiyaʔ* ‘who.’ Caddoan: Caddo *kwit* ‘where.’ Iroquoian: Tuscarora *kahne:ʔ* ‘who,’ Cherokee *gago* ‘who,’ Onondaga *kanin* ‘where,’ Seneca *kwanu* ‘who,’ Mohawk *ka* ‘where.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *gu* ‘who.’ Oregon: Takelma *kha-* ‘what,’ Alsea *qau* ‘who,’ Proto-Kalapuyan *\*ʔa(k)ka:* ‘what,’ Kalapuya *ūk*, Coos *qanč* ‘where,’ Siuslaw *qani*. Plateau: Klamath *kani* ‘who,’ *ka* ‘which.’ California: Costanoan: Miwok: Bodega Miwok *ʔeke* ‘what,’ *ʔeketto* ‘where.’ Zuni *kāk’i-pi* ‘when.’ Gulf: Wappo *ika* ‘what, how,’ Tunica *kaku* ‘who,’ *kanahku* ‘what,’ *kaʔaš* ‘when,’ Natchez *kanne* ‘someone,’ *gōš* ‘what.’ Huave *xaj* ‘who,’ *key* ‘what.’ Mayan: Quiché *xan* ‘when.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*(a)čʰi* ‘what,’ Shasta *kura* ‘where,’ Achomawi *ki:* ‘who,’ Washo *kudiŋa* ‘who,’ *kuŋate* ‘what,’ *kuŋa* ‘where,’ Proto-Pomo *\*(ba:)q’o(:)* ‘what,’ North Pomo *k’o* ‘what,’ Central Pomo *k’owa* ‘what?’, East Pomo *kia* ‘who,’ *k’owa* ‘what,’ Chumash *kune* ‘who,’ *kenu* ‘why,’ Esselen *kini* ‘who,’ *ke* ‘where,’ Yuman: Walapai *ka* ‘who,’ Seri *kiʔ* ‘who,’ Coahuilteco *ka* ‘what,’ Chontal *kanaʔ* ‘when,’ Tlappanec *gwana* ‘when,’ Jicaque *kat* ‘where,’ Yurimangui *kana* ‘what,’ *kuna* ‘where.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec *\*ka:n* ‘where,’ *\*ke:m* ‘how,’ *\*ke:-ski* ‘how much, how many,’ Nahuatl *aʔkon* ‘who,’ Zacapoaxtla *akoni*, Yaqui *hakuni* ‘where,’ Isthmus Zapotec *gunaʔ*, Mazatec *kʔia* ‘when.’

**Chibchan:** Cuna *kana* ‘when,’ Yanomam *ka* ‘when,’ Rama *kaiŋ* ‘who, what, which,’ Tarascan *kani* ‘when,’ Miskito *aykia*, Paya *agini*, Terraba *kene* ‘where,’ Tirub *koñe*.

**Paezan:** Totoro *kin* ‘who,’ Paez *kim* ‘who,’ *kīh* ‘what,’ Proto-Choco *\*kʰai* ‘who,’ *\*kʰārē* ‘what,’ Catio *kai* ‘who,’ Mogueux *kina* ‘who, what,’ Tucura *karea* ‘why,’ Timucua *kʷene* ‘who, which,’ *ke* ‘what, where, that,’ *kere* ‘when,’ *-ko* ‘the one who.’

**Andean:** Yahgan *kunna* ‘who,’ *kanin(a)* ‘to whom,’ *kana* ‘where,’ Tehuelche *keme* ‘who,’ *ken* ‘which,’ *kenas* ‘when,’ *kienai* ‘where,’ Mapudungu *kam* ‘how,’ Aymara *kuna* ‘what,’ *kamisa* ‘how,’ *kauki* ‘where,’ Zaparoan: Iquito *kanə:ka* ‘who,’ Proto-Quechuan *\*(h)ayka* ‘how much.’ Yamana *kana* ‘who,’ *kowtwa* ‘what,’ *kunči* ‘which,’ *kunta* ‘what, how.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *kimñni* ‘what is it?’, Ticuna *karo* ‘where,’ *keyaito* ‘when.’

**Equatorial:** Ayore *gōsi* ‘who,’ Tuyoneri *kate* ‘what,’ Yaruro *kanemo* ‘when,’ Uru *kanču*, Wapishana *kanum* ‘what,’ Puquina *kin*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora *kʰa:-* ~ *kʰe:* ‘which.’ Pemon *e-kin* ~ *ek* ~ *e* ~ *ewin*

‘what,’ Yabarana *ekkwariyawa* ‘when,’ *akətto* ‘where,’ Witoto *akö* ‘what,’ Miranya *kia* ‘where,’ Faai *kiati*, Andoke *koide*. ‘who’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *kine-kinema*, Macca *kacik* ‘who,’ *kona* ‘when’ (rel.), Taruma *gaga* ‘what,’ Proto-Tacanan *\*aʔi* ‘what,’ *\*aʔira* ‘who,’ *\*ʔaize* ‘who, which,’ *\*aʔipuki* ‘why,’ Tacana *ketsunu* ‘when,’ *kepia* ‘where.’

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *kə* ‘when.’

• [G102] There are, of course, many Amerind suffixes attached to this root, which remain to be sorted out. This root is also found in Khoisan, Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, Dene-Caucasian, Nahali, Austroasiatic and Austronesian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

407 INTERROGATIVE<sub>3</sub> *\*min* ~ *\*men* ~ *\*man*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *\*m'a-* ‘what.’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Mandan *mana* ‘who,’ *matswε* ‘what,’ Tutelo *māʔtu* ‘when.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Siuslaw *minč* ‘when,’ Alsea *mis* ‘when,’ Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *\*mat<sup>l</sup>* ‘how many,’ *mine* ‘where,’ North Sahaptin *mε:n* ‘where,’ *mūn* ‘when’ *miš* ‘how, why,’ Nez Perce *mana* ‘what,’ *mine* ‘where,’ *maua* ‘when.’ California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *\*mi(n)-* ‘what, that,’ Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *minni* ‘who,’ *mitan* ‘when,’ *mičy* ‘do what,’ Northern Sierra Miwok *mini* ‘where,’ *mi-tan* ‘when,’ Bodega Miwok *manti* ‘who,’ Lake Miwok *manti* ‘who.’ Costanoan: San José *mani* ‘where,’ San Francisco *mato* ‘who.’ Wintun: Patwin *mena* ‘where.’ Gulf: Chitimacha *ʔam* ‘what,’ Atakapa *ma* ‘where,’ Muskogean: Choctaw *mano* ‘when,’ *imato* ‘where,’ Chickasaw *mano* ‘where,’ Proto-Yuki *\*məy* ‘who,’ Yuki *im* ‘who,’ Coast Yuki *im* ‘where,’ Wappo *may* ‘who.’ Mexican: Mayan: Chontal *max* ‘who,’ Yucatec *ma-š* ‘who,’ Tzeltal *mač'a* ‘who,’ Jacaltec *mac(a)* ‘who.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*ma* ‘who,’ Yana *ʔambi*, East Pomo *am*, Chumash *muski*, Cocopa *makaya* ‘where,’ Diegueño *ma:p* ‘who,’ *maʔyum* ‘when,’ *ma:y* ‘where,’ Mohave *makač* ‘who,’ *maki* ‘where,’ Yuma *meki*, Maricopa *mekyenye* ‘who,’ *miki* ‘where,’ Akwa'ala *mukat* ‘who,’ Karankawa *muda* ‘where.’

**Central Amerind:** Mazatec *hme* ‘what.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *ambe* ‘what,’ Aruak: Guamaca *mai* ‘who, how,’ Kagaba *mai* ‘who,’ *mani* ‘where,’ *mitsa* ‘when,’ *mili* ‘which,’ Misumalpan: Caacoopera *ma(-ram)* ‘where,’ Matagalpa *man* ‘where,’ Bribri *mīk* ‘when,’ Sumu *manpat* ‘when,’ Cabecar *mānē* ‘which,’ Move *ama* ‘where,’ Chimila *miki* ‘who,’ *murū* ‘when,’ *me-ma* ‘to where,’ *me-k* ‘from where.’ Yanomam *mina kə* ‘when.’

**Paezan:** Paez: Guambiana *mu* ‘who,’ *mana* ‘when,’ *mantɨ* ‘how,’ Totoro *man* ‘how many,’ *ma'na* ‘when,’ *mo'gɨ* ‘who,’ Paez *manč* ‘when,’ *manka*

‘where,’ *manzos* ‘how often,’ *mants* ‘how many,’ *mau* ‘how,’ Barbacoan: Cuaiquer *m̄in* ‘who,’ Cayapa *muḡ* ~ *ma*: ‘who,’ Colorado *moa* ‘who,’ *matusi* ‘when.’ Allentiac *men* ‘when,’ Choco: Catio *mai* ‘where.’ Timucua *miču* ‘who, what, which.’

**Andean:** Sek *xamanmi* ‘where,’ Jebero *ma?* ‘what,’ Cahuapana *ma-e* ‘what,’ *impi* ‘when,’ Proto-Quechuan *\*ima* ‘what,’ *\*imay* ‘when,’ *\*mayqin* ~ *\*mayqan* ‘which.’ Mapudungu *mufi* ‘how much.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Nukak *de:manĩ* ‘when,’ Iranshe *-mĩni* ‘where is it?’

**Equatorial:** Guamo *miku* ‘what,’ Yurucare *ama* ‘who, which,’ Tinigua *mné’á* ‘who,’ Yuruna *mane* ‘who,’ Paumari *-mani-* (interrogative), Candoshi *maya* ‘what,’ Esmeralda *muka* ‘what,’ Timote *mape* ‘when,’ Turiwara *ma:pe* ‘when, where,’ Saliba *imakena* ‘when,’ *ameha* ‘how,’ Tuyoneri *menoka* ‘when,’ *me-yo* ‘where,’ Guajajara *mɔn* ‘who,’ Guayaki *ma* ‘what, how,’ Guarani *mba’e* ‘what,’ *mamo* ‘where,’ Cofan *mã-ni* ‘where,’ Maripu *manu(b)* ‘in which direction,’ Kandoshi *maya* ‘what.’ Uruku *mome* ‘where is.’ Toyeri *me-yo* ‘where,’ Yuracare *ama-se* ‘whence?’

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto *mika* ‘what,’ Miranya *mukoka* ‘when,’ *mu* ‘whose,’ Witoto-Kaimö *muka* ‘which.’ Bora *mu:-* ‘who.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Nocten *emetta* ‘what,’ *mequie* ‘when,’ Toba-Guazu *mi* ‘who.’

**Macro-Ge:** Caraho *ampo* ‘what,’ *manẽno* ‘when,’ *ampô-mẽ* ‘which,’ Puri *ya-moeni* ‘when,’ Aponegicran *muena* ‘what,’ Cayapo *mā* ‘where,’ Umutina *mašika* ‘where,’ *matuni* ‘why,’ Krenje *menõ* ‘who,’ *ampô-ny* ‘why,’ Botocudo *mina* ‘who.’

• [G103] Many of the words cited above contain a locative *-n* and other suffixes remain to be sorted out. This root is also found in Khoisan, Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Eurasiatic, Dene-Caucasian, Indo-Pacific, Australian, Nahali, and Austroasiatic (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

#### 408 INTERROGATIVE<sub>4</sub> \*xa

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan *\*-χa*, Chemakuan: Quileute *-χaʔa* ‘who.’ Wakashan: Nootka *-ḥa:* ‘who.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*hau* ‘who.’

**Penutian:** California *\*hV*, Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *\*hin-ti* ‘what.’ Proto-Maiduan *\*homo* ‘where,’ *\*homma:ti* ‘why.’ Proto-Gulf *\*-hã*, Proto-Yuki *\*ha:y* ‘what,’ *\*hayma* ‘how.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*x<sup>v</sup>a*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan *\*hi* ‘what,’ Proto-Tanoan *\*helV* ‘what,’ *\*hõ* ‘what.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak *\*hi* ‘what.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *ha-ča* ‘what, why, how, where,’ *haleke* ‘when,’ *heke* ‘when.’

**Andean:** Yamana *hapa* ‘how.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *haiso'n* ‘how,’ *hanneʔa* ‘who.’

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *hãri ke* ‘how.’

• The relationship of this root with INTERROGATIVE<sub>2</sub> *ki* ~ *ka* ~ *ku* is unclear.

#### 409 INTERROGATIVE<sub>5</sub> \*na

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \*ʔin(w) ‘say what.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *neʔ* ‘when.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *nek-ti* ‘who.’ California: Maidu: Mountain Maidu *ʔani* ‘that.’ Zuni *ʔona* ‘one who, that which.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*n<sup>y</sup>a ‘when.’ Coahuiltecan: Coahuilteco *aniporka* ‘which.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *neskiři* ‘who.’ Rama *ni(ka)* ~ *nikuk* ~ *nis(aŋ)* ‘how.’ Yanomam *nih* ‘when.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *iney* ~ *iniy* ‘who.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \*na ‘when.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Macusi *onoŋ* ‘which,’ *ane* ‘who,’ Surinam *iine* ‘which’; Witotoan: Witoto *nine* ‘where,’ Muinane *nino* ‘where,’ *nirui* ‘why,’ *nə* ‘what’; Yagua: Yameo *na* ‘who,’ \**nen* ~ *nun* ‘what,’ Yagua *nu:ča* ‘how.’ Bora: Miranya *ine* ‘what.’ Pemon *ane* ~ *ane-kin* ‘who.’

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *naši* ‘who.’ Kaingang *nenã* ‘what,’ *ʔõnã* ‘who.’

• [G104]

#### 410 INTERROGATIVE<sub>6</sub> \*pi

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \*ba- ‘where.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo \*(ba:)q'o(:) ‘what.’ Coahuilteco *pil'ka* ‘who.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak *bih* ‘where,’ *be* ~ *me* ‘who.’ Proto-Chibcha \*(a-)bai-N ‘who.’ Rama *pinso* ‘when.’

**Paezan:** Millcayac *pa* ‘who.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*pi ‘who.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \*pai ‘where.’ Munciche *pe-* ‘what,’ *pema* ~ *pum* ‘how.’ Movima *obe* ‘how.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \*pa-kuenia ‘how.’

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan \*(b)õ- ‘who.’

• [G105]

#### 411 INTERROGATIVE<sub>7</sub> \*wa

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*wVʔa ‘who,’ \*wekwi ‘what,’ Proto-Algonquian \*awe:na ‘who,’ \*we:kw- ‘what is it?’ Proto-Mosan \*wa:- ‘who, which, how, where.’ Proto-North Wakashan \*w'y- ‘where, when, how far, which one, to what degree.’ Proto-Salish \*s-wat ‘who.’



**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *wihw* ‘know how.’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *wetinaha* ‘how,’ *witi t<sup>h</sup>ə* ‘which,’ *witi t<sup>h</sup>əm* ‘when,’ *witipi* ‘who, what.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *warante* ‘how.’ Achuar *wari* ‘what,’ *warutam* ‘how much,’ *warutik* ‘when.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *\*awa* ~ *\*awi* ‘what.’

#### 412 INTERROGATIVE<sub>8</sub> *\*sin*

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian *\*s-i/a-n* ‘who, which.’ Proto-Sahaptian *\*ši:* ‘who.’

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco *\*sak<sup>h</sup>a* ‘how,’ *\*sāpe* ‘when.’ Warao *sina* ‘who, some, any.’ Timucua *sok<sup>w</sup>a* ‘how many.’

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *šĩ:* ‘who.’

#### 413 ITERATIVE *\*-te*

**Penutian:** California: Miwok: [languages] *-ti* (iterative plural in verbs), Maidu *-to* ‘repeatedly, reciprocally, plural object.’ Gulf: Wappo *-tε* (iterative plural in verbs).

**Hokan:** Pomo: East Pomo *t<sup>h</sup>-* (intermittent action); Salinan *-t(e)-* (iterative plural in nouns and verbs).

- [G74]

#### 414 JAGUAR<sub>1</sub> *\*huko*

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan *\*xĩ?ko*, Witoto *höko*, Ocaina *ho?oko*, Coeruna *öigho*, Andoquero *öko*, Orejone *hüko*; Bora: Muinane *höku*.

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Acroa *hukutu*, Cherente *rhuku*, Chikriaba *uku*, Chavante *hu*.

#### 415 JAGUAR<sub>2</sub> *\*yak*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*(?)ya(H)(n)* ‘jaguar, mountain lion, coyote, wolf.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *yaqap* ‘female wolf.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani *\*ya?war*. Achuar *yãwãã*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*yai*, Pioje *yai*, Cubeo *yau*, Hehenawa *yawi*, Tucano *yai*, Uantya *yahi*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Waiana *yaueri*, Upurui *yaueri*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco *haiyüx*, Vejoz *haiyag*, Nocten *eyax*, Choropi *ya:x*, Suhin *yaox*, Ashluslay *iyox*.

**Macro-Ge:** Kamakan *yakoe-dere*, Mongoyo *yake-dere*, Masacara *yakveo*.

- English ‘jaguar’ is a borrowing from Tupi-Guarani.

## 416 KILL \*pa ~ \*pi

**Almosan:** Kutenai *-ip-* ‘die.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \*pi ‘die, dead.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*piy ~ \*puy ~ \*Po ‘die,’ Proto-Yuman \*pi ‘die, kill,’ \*pi:ka ‘die.’ Comecrudo *pa-plau* ‘die.’ Tequistlatec *ba(?ma)* ‘hit.’ Yana *ba:* ‘hit.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*paka ~ \*paki. Proto-Tanoan \*piu ‘die.’

**Chibchan:** Chibcha: Manare *paya-gui* ‘kill.’ Cuna *ipyoa* ‘kill.’ Tarascan *ahpe* ‘kill.’

**Paean:** Barbacoa: Cayapa *pe, peya* ‘die,’ Colorado *pu(-yae)* ‘die.’ Proto-Choco \*pea ‘kill,’ \*piu- ‘die,’ Chami *piue:* ‘die.’

**Andean:** Yamana *afan* ‘die.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Munique *pi-*.

**Equatorial:** Coche *obana* ‘dead.’ Cofan *pa* ‘die, dead.’ Esmeralda *uba-le* ‘died,’ *uba-nege* ‘assassin.’ Kariri: Kariri *pa*, Kamaru *pa* ‘be dead.’ Maipuran: Toyeri *bei* ‘die.’ Trumai *fa*. Yuracare *bobo*. Pakaasnovos *pa?*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Surinam *wo* ‘hit, kill,’ Taulipang *we*, Pauishana *ipo(-ke)* ‘kill!’ Witoto *fa* (Kinder), *pa* (Minor).

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *bi* ‘die,’ Umotina *bia* ‘die, kill.’ Botocudo *paog*. Fulnio *pa* ‘hit.’ Proto-Ge \*pĩ(r). Opaie *pie* ‘die.’

- [A155]

417 KNEE<sub>1</sub> \*kati

**Penutian:** Chinook: Wishram *iqxwit*. Gulf: Atakapa *ikat*.

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Move *ngurie* ‘shin.’ Misumalpan: Ulua, Sumu *kal* ‘shin.’ Tarascan *-kari-*(incorporated) ‘shin.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *ĩnã-kati* (*ĩnã* = ‘foot’). Proto-Nambikwara \*kat’. Shukuru *gati* ‘shin.’

**Equatorial:** Kariri: Dzubucua, Kamaru *kudu*. Maipuran: Kustenau *kati* ‘leg,’ Waura *kate* ‘leg,’ Wapishana *kudura*, Mapidiana *kuduru*. Tusha *kudu* ‘shin.’ Uro: Uro, Chipaya *kuc, kuci*. Zamuco: Chamacoco *os-ikketi*, Tumraha *kažete*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *akc*. Mataco: Suhin *akwis*, Towothli *ko:ic*. Mosenen *kacege*.

- [A156]

418 KNEE<sub>2</sub> \*moko

**Penutian:** Zuni *mokči* ‘elbow.’ Gulf: Chitimacha *mo:ku*; Tunica *muhki* ‘to bow.’ Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *muhkehk* ‘crouch,’ *muknay* ‘crouch’; Huave *mohkeh* ‘crouch.’

**Hokan:** Chimariko *h-itxan-imaxa* (*h-itxan* = ‘leg’). Pomo: Southwest Pomo *moko*. Washo *moko*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 436 \**mac* ‘thigh.’

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Sumu *kalas-mak* (cf. *kal* ‘foot’). Yanoama: Yanomamĩ *makoke*.

**Paезan:** Betoï *re-moka* ‘foot.’ Choco: Napipi *makara* ‘thigh.’ Itonama *mukakano* ‘hip, thigh.’ Yanoama: Yanomamĩ *makoke*.

419 KNIFE \**pika*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \**pegemi:pi* ‘stone knife,’ Proto-North Wakashan \**pχ-* ‘cut,’ ?Kwakwala *puxba*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**pika*.

420 KNOW<sub>1</sub> \**kom*

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *kom(cum)*. Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *kamat’ap*, Nitinat *ka?bat’p*, or ?*himop*. Chemakuan: Quileute *χab-* ‘know how.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca *hō*. Proto-Siouan \**x?ũ*.

**Penutian:** California: Costanoan: San Francisco *hima* ‘see,’ Santa Clara *xima-i* ‘see’ (Costanoan *h* and *x* probably derive from \**k*); Wintun *q’omiha* ‘understand, answer.’ Gulf: Chitimacha *kimi* ‘think,’ Wappo *kɔm* ‘think,’ Muskogean: Creek *ko:m-ita* ‘think.’ Mexican: Mayan: Kekchĩ *kam* ‘answer.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *kim-* ‘know, know how.’

- [A158]

421 KNOW<sub>2</sub> \**yok*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**yuk<sup>h</sup>u*, Takelma *yok<sup>h</sup>y-*. California: Maidu *yakkit*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*i/u*)*ya*, Proto-Yuman \**uyax*. Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba \**yoxa* ‘think.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(*ʔ*)*ya(n)* ‘know, hear, see,’ \**yu* ‘show, teach.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**yaça-*.

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *je:ča*.

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *yikren* ‘think.’

- [P133]

422 KNOW<sub>3</sub> \**k<sup>w</sup>ak*

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \**k<sup>w</sup>i* ‘perceive.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(*Y*)*k<sup>w</sup>a(h)(n)* ‘know, see, look.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \**guakk* ‘see.’

**Paезan:** Timucua *k<sup>w</sup>açi* ‘give, teach,’ *uk<sup>w</sup>a* ‘teach, undertake.’ Proto-Choco

\**k<sup>h</sup>awa*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani \**k<sup>w</sup>a:β*.

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto: Bora *k<sup>w</sup>a:xak<sup>h</sup>u*, Miraña *k<sup>w</sup>a:hak<sup>h</sup>i*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**k<sup>w</sup>aʔi*.

423 KNOW<sub>4</sub> \**ma(k) ~ \*ma(n)*

**Penutian:** California Penutian \**mak*.

**Hokan:** Coahuilteco *-ma's ~ maš* 'see.' Comecrudo *max ~ mahe ~ ma* 'see.'

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \**maw(a)* 'see.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ma ~ \*mai ~ \*mati*.

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *mī* 'see, look.'

**Paezan:** Timucua *mani* 'understand,' *man* 'think.' Barbacoan: Cayapa *minu*, Colorado *mira-*. Inter-Andine: Totoro *mīripik* 'wise man.' Warao *mi* 'see.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**māsĩ*.

**Equatorial:** Resigaró *mana: -toʔ*.

424 KNOW<sub>5</sub> \**naka*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**nakate:leme:wa* 'know well, accustomed, used to.'

**Hokan:** Coahuilteco *-na'ko* 'think.'

**Paezan:** Warao *nahobo* 'know, understand.' Timucua *nahiabo* 'know, understand.'

**Equatorial:** Achuar *neka:tin*. Proto-Guahiban \**nahunatabi* 'think.'

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *naha* 'see.'

425 KNOW<sub>6</sub> \**rik*

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *rihōti* 'teach.'

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**riqsi-* 'know,' \**rika:- ~ \*riku-* 'see.' Mapudungu *rakiθuam-* 'think.'

426 KNOW<sub>7</sub> \**t'ak<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**t'a-*, Proto-Salish \**tak<sup>w</sup>* 'perceive.' Proto-Chimakuan \**t'ak<sup>w</sup>i-* 'know, perceive.'

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *ta* 'know, see, look.'

**Paezan:** Timucua *talaka* 'learn' (< \**takala*; cf. Iranshe below). Millcayac *taltewina*.

**Andean:** Yamana *teki* 'see.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *takaʔa* 'know, understand,' *takalohu* 'learn.'

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *tačiʔ* 'know (a fact).' Proto-Guahiban \**ta-Ne* 'see.'

427 LARGE<sub>1</sub> \*ta(k)

- Almosan:** Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *ta*:- ‘long object’; Salish: Tillamook *tan*.
- Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**t<sup>h</sup>ã*.
- Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *?a:di* ‘long.’ California: Miwok: Lake *?adi*. Gulf: Chitimacha *?ati*.
- Hokan:** Chimariko *eta* ~ *itat* ‘many.’ Comecrudo *sekua* ‘many.’ Cotoname *ata*: ‘very.’ Karok: Karok *tay* ‘many,’ Arra-Arra *tai(kh)* ‘many.’ Seri - *atxo* ‘many.’ Tequistlatec *ataxu* ‘many.’ Tonkawa *tek* ‘many.’ Washo *t’ekyu* ‘many.’ Yana *dat’*- ‘many.’ Yuman: Yuma *?atay* ‘many,’ Kiliwa *tay* ‘many,’ Walapai *teka* ‘many.’
- Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *t<sup>h</sup>ɔ* ‘far.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean R 76 \**tu* ‘large, long, far.’
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Huari *watæa*. Nambikwara: Northern Nambikwara *a:t*. Puinave: Puinave *wotwot* ‘long,’ Papury *wotyi* ‘broad.’ Ticuna *ta*. Yuri *tih* ‘large, broad’ (Wallace), *tiy* (Spix).
- Equatorial:** Jivaro: Zamora *unda*. Maipuran: Toyeri *-da, -nda*.
- Macro-Panoan:** Lengua *towa-nyi* ‘deep.’ Mataco: Choroti *tiohi* ~ *to* ~ *tu* ‘high, long.’ Panoan: Caripuna *tētē* ‘long,’ Chacobo *tītika* ‘deep.’ Tacanan: Proto-Tacanan \**du-* ‘deep,’ Tacana *due-da* ‘deep,’ Cavineña *de(-da)* ‘deep.’
- Macro-Ge:** Caraja *titi* ‘many.’ Chiquito *ti*: ‘long.’ Ge: Kraho *-ti* (augmentative), Krenje *ti* ‘many,’ Ramkokamekran *ti* ‘large.’ Kaingang: Catarina *taie* ‘long, high,’ Tibagi *teie* ‘long,’ Palmas *tei* ‘long, high.’ Mashakali: Capoxo *itoita* ‘long,’ Macuni *it<sup>h</sup>oit<sup>h</sup>a* ‘long.’ Opaie *ta* ‘large.’ Puri *tahe* ‘large.’
- [A159]

428 LARGE<sub>2</sub> \*mek’at’i

- Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian \**me?θ*, \**me?š*. Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum *ma:t’ča*, Quileute *me?ši*; Salish: Lkungen *mukku* ‘all,’ Nootsack *mq’w* ‘all,’ Songish *məkw* ‘all,’ etc. Cf. Kutenai *-ma-* ‘long object.’
- Keresiouan:** Keresan: Santa Ana *m’e:ziči*.
- Penutian:** Oregon: Siuslaw *mekšt* ‘fat’ (n.), *mi:xt* ‘fat’ (adj.), Coos *mici-s* ‘fat’ (n.) Plateau: Nez Perce *imeke-s*. California: Yokuts *me?’,* Costanoan: Mutsun, San Juan Bautista *matili*; Maidu: Nisenan *muk’*. Gulf: Tunica *maka* ‘fat’ (n.), Atakapa *mec*.
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 165 \**meka* ‘far.’
- Andean:** Cholona: Cholona *mek* ‘all,’ Hivito *maxal* ‘much.’ Patagon: Ona *meheš* ~ *makes* ‘all.’ Yamana: Yamana *ma:gu* ‘many,’ Yahgan *mu:ka* ‘large, long.’

- [A160]

429 LARGE<sub>3</sub> \**po*

**Hokan:** Jicaque *-po* (augmentative), Subtiaba *-mba* (augmentative).

**Chibchan:** Duit *oba*, Chilanga *buy*.

**Paezan:** Itonama *bi*.

- [H89, CP110]

430 LARGE<sub>4</sub> \**mo:n*

**Andean:** Leco *umun*, Iquito *u:ma:na*.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Carib \**mo:nomi*, Ocaina *a:mon* ‘grow.’

- [AN64, MC32]

431 LAUGH<sub>1</sub> \**kal(i)*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean R 127 \*(*n*)*kan* ‘laugh.’

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Matagalpa *kari*. Yanoama: Shiriana *ika*, *ikara*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado *kari*, *kakari*. Chimu: Eten *kall*.

**Andean:** Culli *kankiu*. Cholona: Hivito *kolxam*. Zaparo *kora*.

- [A161]

432 LAUGH<sub>2</sub> \**?aci*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**asiy-o*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**?ac*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**asi*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**?osã-*.

433 LAZY \**hilak*

**Penutian:** Proto-Gulf \**hilak*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ila*, Proto-Yuman \**hilah*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**qiʎa*.

434 LEAF<sub>1</sub> \**ere*

**Equatorial:** Cayuvava *ene*. Jivaro: Shuara *uri* ‘feather.’ Kariri *era*. Yuracare *ele*. Zamuco: Tumraha *ingyu*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *aro*. Caraja *iru*. Kamakan: Kamakan, Cotoxo *ere*.

- [A162]

435 LEAF<sub>2</sub> \**pane*

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Taos *ba:ne*, Jemez *fõya* ‘leaf, grass.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean R 233 \*(*n*)*k<sup>w</sup>a(h)(ʔ)n* ‘leaf, bush-plant, herb.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Catuquina: Canamari *ba*. Puinave *puniohn*. Tucano: Ua-

iana *poni*, Desana *pũ*, Wanana *poli*, etc.

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Yamamadi, Culino *apani*. Chapacura: Itene, Wanyam *pana* ‘tree,’ Chapacura *pane* ‘firewood.’ Maipuran: *pana*, general as ‘leaf,’ but Uainuma *abana* ‘tree,’ Ipurina *amana* ‘tree,’ Jumana *awana* ‘tree.’ Uro *parna*, *para* ‘firewood.’

- [A163]

#### 436 LEAF<sub>3</sub> \**imi*

**Hokan:** Chimariko *himi* ‘feather.’ Tequistlatec *imi* ‘feather.’

**Macro-Carib:** Bora: Muinane *a:me*. Carib: Pimenteira *uma*. Witoto: Witoto *ibe*, Miranya Carapana Tapuya *ame*. Yagua *mi*.

- [A164]

#### 437 LEFT (HAND) \**q<sup>(w)</sup>ec*

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *kes(-omewet)*, Proto-Algonquian \*-*wa:šika* (numeral suffix attached to numerals counted on the left hand), ?Blackfoot *a:ksisauoxtsi* ‘at the left.’ Mosan: Proto-Salish (Kuipers) \**c’iq<sup>w</sup>* (metathesis), Twana *c’iq<sup>wa</sup>(-či)*, Shuswap *c’əkwəʔ-ekəʔ*, Lower Fraser *sc’ik<sup>wa</sup>*, Colville *s-k-c’ik<sup>w</sup>-aʔ*, Straits Salish *c’əkwəʔi<sup>w</sup>’s*, Upper Chehalis *c’i<sup>w</sup>q’*, Nootsack *θik<sup>wa</sup>*, Lkungen *c’k<sup>wa</sup>i<sup>w</sup>ʔs*, Coeur d’Alene *c’ik<sup>w</sup>-eʔ*, Tillamook *yqači*; Wakashan: Nootka *qac*, Nitinat *qacās*; Chemakuan: Chemakum *k<sup>w</sup>icaqu*, Quileute *c’uq<sup>w</sup>* (metathesis).

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Hidatsa *ida-kiša* (cf. *ada* ‘arm’), Biloxi *ḡaskani*. Yuchi *kaš’ó*. Iroquoian: Cherokee *agasgani*, Onondaga *sketsíuka* ‘left hand.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Coos *a’qčičunī*. California: Miwok: Lake Miwok *k’ešiliwa* ‘left (direction),’ *k’ešili* ‘to be left-handed.’ Zuni *wešikkʔa* ‘left hand’ (Cf. Proto-Algonquian \*-*wa:šika* above.) Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**keʔs*, Atakapa *kec* ~ *kuc*, Chitimacha *ki’s*, Tunica *ʔokešta* ‘the left hand,’ Yuki *me-kač* ‘left hand,’ Muskogean: Creek *kaskaná*. Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Tzeltal-Tzotzil (Kaufman) \**k’ešam* ‘left hand.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan (Kaufman) \**Kisár-iK* ‘left(handed).’ ?Atsugewi *kawkosūʔkə*. Yuman: Proto-Yuman (Wares) \**kəsár*, Cocopa *kušar*, Maricopa *kusar*, Mohave *kuθar*, Walapai *kaθara*, Havasupai *kiθarika*, Yavapai *kθari*, Tipai *ksark*, Diegueño *kesárk*, Campo *ksa’rk*, and Akwa’ala *kasárk*.

**Chibchan:** Manare *kuc(-maya)* ‘left (hand),’ ?Rama *kwik sak* ‘left hand’ (cf. *kwik baing* ‘right hand’).

**Andean:** Pehuelche *kesna*, Jaqaru *c’iqa*, Aymara *č’eqaxar*, Quechua *icox*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Papury *coχ* (possibly a borrowing from Quechua). Tucanoan: Yabamasa *gaco-catía* ‘left hand’ (cf. *riod<sup>o</sup>oa-catía* ‘right hand’).

**Equatorial:** Timote *kučumiya*.

**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge \**kεč*, Mashakali *čač*.

- [AK112, MG71, Ruhlen 1995b, 1995k] Metathesis of the two consonants

appears to have occurred independently in several branches. The Cherokee form, *agasgani*, is virtually identical with Biloxi *ḡaskani* and Creek *kaskaná*. Mary Haas (1968: 82) noted the resemblance between the Biloxi and Creek forms and suggested borrowing as the explanation, but was not able to determine in which direction. I suspect that the source was originally Cherokee since in this language the word for ‘arm’ is *kanoge*, while in Creek and Biloxi the second element in *kas-kani* has no identifiable meaning.

438 LEG<sub>1</sub> \*tak

**Penutian:** Gulf: Natchez *?at*. Yukian: Wappo *ṭaʔ*, Clear Lake *t’a*.

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *t<sup>h</sup>ũ*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 187 \**ta*, \**to* ‘foot.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Koaia *toʔa* ~ *toha* ‘foot.’ Puinave: Marahan *doi* ‘foot.’ Yuri *uti* ‘foot.’

**Equatorial:** Cofan *cei* ‘foot.’ Esmeralda *taha*, *ta* ‘foot.’ Guahibo: Guahibo *taxu* ‘foot,’ Cuiva *taxo* ‘foot.’ Piaroa *ciha* ‘thigh.’ Trumai *da*. Yaruro [tahu].

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *ka-dekkhe* ‘foot.’ Bora: Bora *take*, Imihita *me-taxki*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Charruan: Charrua *atit*. Guaicuru: Mbaya *itti*, Pilaga *iče*, Toba *ači*, Komlek *iči*. Mataco: Suhin *atoi*, Vejoz *če*. Proto-Panoan \**taʔi*. Proto-Tacanan \**ta-*, \**ti*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *tori*. Caraja *ti*. Chiquito *i-ča-s*. Erikbatsa (*ka-*)*it(-ma)*. Proto-Ge \**tɛ*. Kaingang: Catarina (*in-*)*co* ‘my leg.’ Kamakan: Cotoxo *tie*. Cf. Oti [taz], [tazh], [etage].

- [A165]

439 LEG<sub>2</sub> \*caka

**Almosan:** Fox *-ska-* ‘with the foot,’ Yurok *cka* ‘foot,’ Kutenai *saq’*.

**Chibchan:** Chibcha *tsa-sagua-ne* ‘kneecap.’

**Paezan:** Andaqui *sa-sagua-na* ‘tibia.’

- [AK113, CP167]

440 LICK \*laq<sup>w</sup>

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**la-* ‘protruding tongue,’ Proto-Salish \**laq<sup>w</sup>* ~ \**luq<sup>w</sup>* ~ \**lak<sup>w</sup>* ~ \**luk<sup>w</sup>*. Wakashan: Kwakwala *ʔlq<sup>w</sup>*- ‘lick, stick out the tongue,’ *l’aχ<sup>w</sup>*- ‘stick out the tongue.’ Proto-Chemakuan \**lak<sup>w</sup>i-*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**ʎek<sup>v</sup>i* ‘tongue.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**le:k<sup>w</sup>*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**ʎaqwa-*.

441 LIE DOWN \*yaq<sup>w</sup>

**Almosan:** Proto-North Wakashan \**yaq<sup>w</sup>*- ‘lie somewhere, lie still.’ Proto-



Chimakuan \**yak*<sup>wi</sup>- ‘dream, go out and return.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Wappo *yokε* ‘lie, sit,’ Atakapa *yoxt* (plural subject). Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**yoq-*, Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**ye?p* ‘lay out,’ \**ye(?)y* ‘lay out (coffee beans.)’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*i*)*yow* ‘down,’ Proto-Yuman \**yak* ‘lie, be prone,’ \**mi:yaka* ‘lie down.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \**ya*<sup>x</sup> ‘sleep.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ya* ‘die.’ Proto-Oto-Manguéan \*(*n*)(*H*)*ya(h)(n)* ‘sleep, dream, night, dusk.’

**Chibchan:** Rama *yuktiḡi* ‘sitting down.’

**Paezan:** Warao *yahi*.

- [P142]

#### 442 LIGHTNING \**wilep*’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *liplib*. Plateau: Klamath *wlep’l?*. Proto-California \**wi/ule/op*, Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \**wil:ep*, Plains Miwok *wúl?ep*, Southern Sierra Miwok *willopa?*, Santa Clara Costanoan *wilep*, Maidu *wip’íl* (metathesis). Zuni *wilo*.

**Chibchan:** Rama *werkirli*.

**Paezan:** Itonama *welask’e*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *iʎapa*.

- [P146] Cf. SHINE below.

#### 443 LIP \**yepi*

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Biloxi (*ih*)-*yapi* ‘(mouth-)lips.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts \**yepit?* ‘lips,’ Gulf: Wappo (*na-*)*pipa* ‘(mouth-)lips.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *pi-*.

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Culino *ipou*. Guamo *du-fpa*. Maipuran: Baniva *api*, Marawa *beu*, *biu* ‘mouth.’ Otomaco *jopo*. Piaroa (*ce-*)*he*. Tupi: Mundurucu *ubi* ‘mouth,’ Kuruaya *bi* ‘mouth.’ Zamuco: Zamuco *aho*, Tumraha *ho*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Pilaga, Toba-Guazu *ap*, Guachi *iape* ‘lip, mouth.’ Mataco (*le-*)*pe* ‘door.’ Vilela *yep* ‘mouth.’

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke (*ka-*)*fi* ‘mouth,’ Bora: Bora (*me-*)*he* ‘mouth,’ Imihita *me-eh* ‘mouth.’ Carib: Pemon *yepi*, Proto-Taranoan \**əhpi* ~ *ehpi*. Taulipang *ipi* ‘lip,’ Accawai *epi* ‘lip,’ etc. Witoto: Nonuya *ofwe* ‘mouth,’ Ocaina *poi* ‘mouth,’ Witoto *fue* ‘mouth.’ Yagua: Yameo *ipe* ‘mouth’ (Tessman), *po* ‘mouth’ (Espinosa Perez).

- [A167]

#### 444 LIVE<sub>1</sub> (v.) \**ha(n)*

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Mohawk *ha*. Siouan-Yuchi: Yuchi *ha*.

**Penutian:** Gulf: Chitimacha *hana* ‘house,’ Yuki *han* ‘house.’

- [AK118, P119]

445 LIVE<sub>2</sub> (v.) \**ya*

**Hokan:** Subtiaba *ya*, Seri *-i?*, Yana *yai* ‘stay.’

**Chibchan:** Paya *uya* ‘nest.’

**Paezan:** Cayapa *ya* ‘house,’ Panikita *ya* ‘house.’

- [H96, CP106]

446 LIVER<sub>1</sub> \**paci*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**wīswi* ‘gall,’ Montagnais *uiši-* ‘bitter.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *mas* ‘bile’; Salish: Cowichan, Musqueam *məs-ən* ‘gall,’ Chilliwak *məs-əl* ‘gall.’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan-Yuchi: Siouan: Hidatsa *apiša* ‘liver,’ Crow *išīa* ‘bitter,’ Yuchi *w’asdá* ‘sour’ (v.). Caddoan: Wichita *wass* ‘bitter.’ Iroquoian: Cherokee *uyəsdi* ‘bitter.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: Nez Perce *pisakas* ‘bitter.’ Gulf: Atakapa *añpats* ‘sour.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**fusi*, Achomawi: Atsugewi *o:psi*, Chumash: San Buenaventura *pał*. Karok *vafis*. Shasta *?e:psi?*. Proto-Yuman \**cipusi*, Cocopa *č-ipošo*, Mohave *hipasa*, Tipai *tapsi*, Akwa’ala *čuposi*, etc. Cf. Washo *p’a:p’iš* ‘lungs’; Chimariko (*hu-*)*si*.

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Guamaca, Atanque *pešu* ‘chest.’ Chibcha: Manare *pasi-gui* ‘sweet’ (*-gui* = ‘not’), Boncota *beča* ‘chest.’ Misumalpan: Sumu *pas* ‘chest.’ Rama *i-psa* ‘liver,’ Cuitlatec *bahči* ‘sour,’ Guajiquero *pasa* ‘bitter.’

**Paezan:** Allentiac: Millcayac *počok* ‘belly.’ Barbacoa: Cayapa *basu* ‘human liver,’ Chimu: Eten *počak*. Jirajara: Ayoman *apox* ‘belly.’ Paez: Paez *pos* ‘sour,’ Guambiana *pace*.

**Andean:** Zaparo *hipacka* ‘gall,’ Yamana *hīpa* ‘liver,’ Quechua *p’ošqo* ‘sour.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Nadobo *böčihign* ‘sour.’

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Itene *fotofoto* ‘lungs.’ Guahibo *apeto* (but *-to* may be a suffix). Tupi: Mekens *opita*. Yuracare *ipasa*. Zamuco: Ebidoso *ipete*. Candoshi *šipič* ‘liver,’ Caranga *paxč* ‘liver.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**paçe* ‘bitter,’ Tacana *paceda* ‘bitter,’ Huarayo *pase* ‘bitter,’ Mosesten *bicca* ‘bitter.’

**Macro-Ge:** Chiquito *piča-ka-s* ‘bitter.’

• [A168] Some forms may be borrowed from Spanish *pecho*. This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

447 LIVER<sub>2</sub> \**kala*

**Penutian:** California \**kVl(l)V*, Proto-Maiduan \**kīl(-)la*, Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \**kīl(:)a*, Zuni *hak<sup>w</sup>k<sup>w</sup>ali*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo \**k<sup>h</sup>ahlał*.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Hianacoto \**eleli?*.

448 LIZARD<sub>1</sub> \**uli*

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Penomeño *ru*. Malibu: Chimila *ari* ‘iguana.’ Paya *uri* ‘alligator.’ Yanoama: Shiriana *ueli* ‘crocodile.’

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Itene *ira*. Tupi: Kepkiriwate *ira*, *era* ‘crocodile.’ Yuracare *uri* ‘alligator.’

- [A169]

449 LIZARD<sub>2</sub> \**šiko*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**šiko*.

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *sak<sup>hi</sup>*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**šiki*.

450 LOCATIVE<sub>1</sub> \*-(*a*)*m*(*a*)

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *-əm* ~ *-am* (locative). Oregon: Alsea *-əm* ‘place,’ *k<sup>y</sup>i-m* ‘there,’ Coos *-əm* (suffix on nouns of place), Takelma *me* ‘here.’ California: Costanoan: San José *-mo* ~ *-mu* ‘in,’ San Juan Bautista *-me* ‘in’; Miwok: [languages??] *-m(u)* ‘in’; Maidu *mo:m* ‘there’ (cf. *mo:* ‘that’). Gulf: Wappo *ma-* ‘in’ (verb prefix), Yuki *-(a)m* ‘in,’ Muskogean: Creek *i-ama* ‘here.’

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua: Yameo *-me* ~ *-ma* ‘at, in,’ ?Witoto *-mo* (allative).

**Macro-Panoan:** Tacanan: Chama *-me* ‘location’; Lule *-ma* ‘in’; Charruan: Chana *re-ma* ‘where?’; Lengua: Mascocoy *-me* ‘in.’

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *-ma* (dative).

- [G46]

451 LOCATIVE<sub>2</sub> \**-na-* ~ \**-ni*

**Penutian:** Plateau: North Sahaptin (*mə-*)*na* ‘where?’; Nez Perce (*mi-*)*ne* ‘where?’ California: Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *mi-nni* ‘where?’; Wintun: Patwin (*me-*)*na* ‘where?’ Gulf: Muskogean: Choctaw (*ma-*)*na* ‘when?’; Chickasaw (*ma-*)*no* ‘where?’

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba *ma-ni* ‘where?’; Misumalpan: Matagalpa *ma-n* ‘where?’

**Paezan:** Paez (*ma-*)*neh* ‘where?’; Barbacoan: Cayapa *mu-ng* ‘where?’

**Andean:** Yamana: Yahgan *-n* (locative); Aymara *-ana* (locative), *-na* (locative in an adverb), Quechua *-n* (instrumental); Jebero *-n* (instrumental).

**Equatorial:** Cofan (*ma-*)*ñi* ‘where?’

- [G47] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

452 LOCATIVE<sub>3</sub> \*pa ~ \*pe ~ \*pi

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean (Rensch, No. 191) \*k<sup>w</sup>a ‘here, there, where?’; Proto-Uto-Aztecan (Langacker) \*-pa(n) (locative); Tanoan: Kiowa -ba ~ -bɔ ‘in.’

**Andean:** Yahgan pi ‘in’; Ona, Tehuelche -pi ‘in’; Quechua -pi ‘in.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Tucano -pe ‘in’; Iranshe -pa ‘place.’

**Equatorial:** Tupian: Guaraní -pe ‘in,’ Arikem -pi ‘in,’ Guayaki -pe ‘in’; Timote -be ‘toward.’

- [G48]

## 453 LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL \*-te ~ \*-ta ~ \*-ti

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath di ‘place of.’ California: Maidu di ‘in,’ Wintun -ti (in *anken-ti* ‘behind’);

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Move -te ‘in.’

**Paezan:** Allentiac -ta (movement to or from), Millcayac -ta (supine on verb stems); Choco: Catio -de (locative).

**Andean:** Aymara: Jaqaru -t<sup>h</sup>a (separatives, from, for, exchange); Quechua (*man-*)ta (ablative, *man* is locative); Cholona -te ‘from’ (separative).

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule -ta ‘through, in,’ Vilela -at ‘in’; Mosesten če ‘in, about.’

- [G49] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

454 LONG<sub>1</sub> \*ali

**Penutian:** California: Miwok: Central Sierra *?ala-kan* ‘below.’ Gulf: Tunica *halu* ‘below, under.’ Yukian: Wappo *ɛla* ‘deep.’

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Bintucua *vari-n* ‘high.’ Cuitlatec *iwili*. Cuna *wila* ‘deep.’ Paya *uruha* ‘deep.’ Tarascan *era-ka-ta* ‘tall.’ Xinca: Yupultepec *ura*.

**Paezan:** Mura *uri*. Paez: Paez *wala*, Mogueux *wala*. Warrau *wari*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Catuquina: Canamari *inu* ‘far.’ Proto-Nambikwara \*u:l ‘far.’ Puinave *hen* ‘far.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Arara *ari* ‘large.’ Witoto: Witoto *are* ‘long, high, far,’ Nonuya *arə* ‘large, long,’ Muinane *are* ‘long, far.’ Cf. Kukura *lar* ‘long.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *raire*. Botocudo *orore* ‘long, high.’ Caraja *irɛhɛ*. Fulnio *ule* ‘be long.’ Proto-Ge \*rɪ. Kaingang: Southern Kaingang *rɪ* ‘be high.’ Kamakan *iroro*. Puri: Coroado *oron* ‘on high.’ Cf. Opaie *randa* ‘tall man.’

- [A170] Cf. MANY<sub>1</sub> *ali*.

455 LONG<sub>2</sub> \*kule

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian \*kenw, Micmac *kunek* ‘far’; Yurok *knew*. Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala -kən ‘too much.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Coos *qat*<sup>1</sup>. California: Wintun: North Wintu *kelela*. Gulf: Chitimacha *k'ama*, Yukian: Yuki *kāi*, Wappo *k'ena*, Huchnom *kaiyi:n*.

**Hokan:** Chimariko *hi-čun*, *xu-ičul-an* 'short.' Coahuilteco *čan* 'beyond, farther.' Karok *xara*. Pomo: North, Central Pomo *kol*, South Pomo *aʔkon*, etc. Tequistlatec *igulwo* 'deep,' *aguliʔ* 'far.' Yuman: Cocopa *kul*, Diegueño *koł*, Tonto *ikule*, etc.

**Chibchan:** Chibcha: Tegria *karo* 'far.' Paya *kara* 'far.' Talamanca: Tirub *kronge* 'far.'

- [A171]

## 456 LOSE \*wono

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**wani-*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Maiduan \**wonno*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**βiʔno-* 'lost.'

457 LOUSE<sub>1</sub> \*ti

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**ti:wi*. California: Proto-Maiduan \**dih* 'louse (head).'

**Paezan:** Mura: Matanawi *iši*, *isi*, *išo* 'flea.' Proto-Choco \**tʰĩ*. Paez: Paez es.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule [cey] *sey*. Mosesten *ci:*.

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *tuk*, *tum* 'flea, sandfly.' Chiquito *o-itori-s* 'tick.' Ge: Chavante *ti* 'tick,' Cayapo *tære* 'tick.' Mashakali: Monosho *toktao* 'flea.' Opaie *tei* 'tick.' Yabuti: Mashubi *čičika* 'tick.'

- [A172] The relationship between this root and the following is unclear.

458 LOUSE<sub>2</sub> \*tina

**Almosan:** Chemakuan: Quileute *síʔdis* 'nits.' Wakashan: Heiltsuk *səndən* 'nits,' Kwakwala *snt* 'nits.'

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**šina:* 'louse, flea.' Iroquoian: Cherokee *tina*, Seneca *dʒi:ʔnoh*, Mohawk *ocinon*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**c'in* 'tick,' Chimariko *cina* 'wood tick.' Pomo: South-east Pomo *cin*.

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *šišunta* 'nit.'

- [A173] The relationship between this root and the preceding is unclear.

459 LOUSE<sub>3</sub> \*ik<sup>w</sup>a

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \**ihkwa*, Proto-Algonquian \**ehkwa*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \**ciʔnō*, Tuscarora *čihkw*. Proto-Siouan \**he*.

**Penutian:** Gulf: Yukian: Huchnom *i:k*, Coast Yuki *ik'e*, Wappo *hiʔ* 'louse (head).' Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**uk'*, Yucatec *uk*, Huastec *uc*. Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**ʔa:wat*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ač'i*, \**aHk<sup>w</sup>i*, Achomawi: Atsugewi *k-ači*. Comecrudo

*ak* ‘black louse.’ Karok *ači:č*. Proto-Pomo *\*ʔahkiñ* ‘louse (head), North, Central Pomo *či:*, South Pomo *ači:*. Salinan: San Antonio *t-ik’eʔ*, San Miguel *ike*. Seri *ʔaixak* ‘nit.’ Shasta *ʔik’ay* ‘flea.’ Coahuiltecan: Comecrudo *ak*. Subtiaba: Subtiaba *ia:χa*, Tlappanec *yaxa*. Yana: North Yana *ǰi(-na)*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*(h)k<sup>w</sup>a(h)(ʔ)(n)*.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha *\*k<sup>w</sup>e-b(V)-(ha)-di*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *\*ʔia*.

- [A174]

#### 460 LUNGS<sub>1</sub> *\*pos*

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish *\*p’us* ‘lungs, heart.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *\*poš:ol*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*puš* ‘heart, bleed,’ Proto-Mayan *\*pos-poC-*, Proto-Quichean *pospoʔoy*.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha *\*bosi*, Bari *bosəɾə*.

#### 461 LUNGS<sub>2</sub> *\*huhu*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan *\*huhu:*.

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *hohoʔ nečiʔ* ‘lung.’

#### 462 MACAW *\*maha*

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban *\*maha*, Guahibo *ma:ha*, Guayabero *maha*, Playero *māha*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*māhã*, Coreguaje *ma:*, Siona *mã*, Tucano *bāhã*.

#### 463 MAKE<sub>1</sub> *\*taʔ*

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *a:t-* (causative). Kutenai *it*. Mosan: Salish: Squamish *ti*, *taʔ-s*.

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Catawba *taʔa*.

**Hokan:** Salinan: San Miguel *eta* ‘make,’ *ti:ʔ* ‘do,’ San Antonio *etaʔ*. Subtiaba *(na-)da*.

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Tewa *t’o* ‘work.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean R 43 *\*ʔta* ‘work.’

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *i-to:itihe* ‘he builds.’ Carib: Bakairí *itɔ* ‘build,’ Accawai *idu* ‘make.’ Witoto: Witoto *tu* ‘build.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *ti*. Mataco: Mataco, Vejoz *ti* ‘put, place, cause.’ Panoan: Panobo *atte* ‘work’ (n.), Shipibo *tehe* ‘work.’ Tacanan: Tacana *ti*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *to*. Ge: Karaho *twü*, *to* ~ *ton*.

- [A175]

464 MAKE<sub>2</sub> \*yu

**Penutian:** California: Maidu *ya*. Gulf: Tunica *ya* ‘make, do.’ Yukian: Yuki *yu* ‘do, happen.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 271 \*yu ‘make, do.’

**Paezan:** Itonama *yu-* (causative). Paez *yo*. Cf. Allentiac *yu-tuk* ‘work.’

- [A176]

465 MAKE<sub>3</sub> \*kua

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-ka-* (inanimate object), Cree *ke* (inanimate object); Wiyot *ga*.

**Keresiouan:** Keresan: Santa Ana *kuya* ‘do.’ Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan \**kax*; Yuchi *k’a* . . . (*kɔ*) ‘work.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: North Sahaptin, Nez Perce *ku* ‘do.’ California: Maidu *kə* ‘make, put.’ Gulf: Atakapa *ka*. Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *kah*.

**Chibchan:** Chibcha [ky]. Cuitlatec *-gɨ* (transitivizer). Misumalpan: Miskito *-ka* (ending for all transitive verbs). Paya *ka:*. Xinca: Yupultepec *ka*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado, Cayapa *ke* ‘make,’ (derivational element for denominative verbs). Chimu *-ko* (causative). Paez *kɨ*. Timucua *iki-no*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *ka*. Leco *kia*, *kian* ‘created.’ Sabela: Sabela *kæi* ‘do!’, Auca *kæ*. Zaparo *akɨ* ‘done.’

**Equatorial:** Guahibo *xana* ‘work.’ Maipuran: Toyeri *ekka*, *ega* ‘work.’ Zamuco: Tumraha *t-axho* ‘work.’

- [A276]

466 MAN<sub>1</sub> \*ači

**Penutian:** California: Wintun *siw-iy* ‘male’; Miwok: Plains Miwok *sawwe* ‘male.’ Gulf: Chitimacha *?asi*; Tunica *ši* ‘male’; Atakapa *ša*, *ši* ‘male.’ Mexican: Huave *na-šey* ‘man’; Mayan: Quiché *ačiy*.

**Hokan:** Achomawi *is* ‘person.’ Chimariko *iči*. Pomo: Southwest Pomo *ača*, North Pomo *ča*, South Pomo *ačai*, Central Pomo *čač*. Shasta *?is* ‘person.’ Tequistlatec *ašans* ‘person.’ Yana: North, Central Yana *hisi* ‘man, male, husband.’

- [A177]

467 MAN<sub>2</sub> \*kak

**Hokan:** Chumash: Santa Barbara *oxoix*, Santa Ynez *uyuiy*. Coahuilteco *xagu* ‘man, male.’ Karankawa *ahaks*. Pomo: East Pomo *ka:k<sup>h</sup>* ‘person, man.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *hekaye*. Aymara: Aymara *hake*, Jaqaru *haqi*.

- [A178]

468 MAN<sub>3</sub> \*ipa

**Penutian:** California: Maidu *yep'i*, Wintun: Noema *puewe* ‘husband.’ Gulf: Atakapa *hipa*, *ipa* ‘husband.’

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Paumari *bai*: ‘penis.’ Coche *boya*. Guahibo: Guahibo *pebi*, Churuya *pevi*. Katembri *fofi* ‘married man.’ Piaroa *u?be*, *ovo*. Proto-Tupi \**aba* ‘man.’ Yuracare *ba* ‘husband, to marry.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *boe* ‘people.’ Caraja *abu*. Chiquito *po:*. Fulnio *efo* ‘husband.’ Ge: Chavante *ambi*, Chicriaba *amba* ‘person.’ Kaingang: Dalbergia *mbæ* ‘husband.’

- [A179]

469 MAN<sub>4</sub> \*tama

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *tama-pu* ‘old man.’ Miskito *dama* ‘grandfather.’

**Paezan:** Warrau *idamo* ‘old man.’

**Macro-Carib:** Miranya *thimae*, Motilon *tama* ‘boy.’

- [CP138, MC38]

470 MAN<sub>5</sub> \*loko

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**urqu* ‘male (non-human), Yanacocha *oloqo* ‘husband,’ Quechua *orqo* ‘husband,’ Ancash *ol<sup>h</sup>ko*, Cuzqueño *orko*, Mapudungu *alka* ‘male.’ Qawasqar *arek* ‘male.’

**Equatorial:** Arawak *lukku*, Uro *luku*.

- [AN70, E77]

471 MAN<sub>6</sub> \*koto

**Penutian:** Plateau: Yakima *katla* ‘grandmother.’ California: Maidu *koto* ‘grandmother.’ Zuni *hotta* ‘grandmother.’

**Andean:** Iquito *kati* ‘father,’ Sechura *kuč* ‘father,’ Itucalc *kiča* ‘father,’ Hivito *kotk* ‘father.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Canichana *kohti* ‘husband,’ Gamella *katu*, Curiariai *xot* ‘person.’

- [P92, AN35, MT61]

472 MAN<sub>7</sub> \*mano

**Almosan:** Algonquian: Blackfoot *no-ma* ‘husband.’ Salish: Bella Coola *man* ‘father,’ Proto-Coast Salish \**man* ~ \**məna* ‘father, child,’ Pentlatch *mān* ‘father,’ Squamish *man* ‘father.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Coos *ma* ‘person,’ Kalapuya *menami* ‘person,’ Takelma *ma-* ‘father,’ Maidu: Nisenan *manai* ‘boy,’ Costanoan: Rumsien *ama* ‘person.’

**Hokan:** Chumash *s-mano* ~ *ʔ-mano*. Proto-Yuman \**ma:y* ‘man, male.’ Yu-



rumangui *ma*: ‘father.’

**Paezan:** Ayoman *ayoman* ‘husband,’ Warrao *moana* ‘people.’

**Andean:** Iquito *komano* ‘father,’ Yahgan *imun-* ‘father,’ *yamana* ‘person.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Yahuna *meni* ‘boy,’ *manehē* ‘husband,’ Yupua *manape* ‘husband,’ Yuyuka *yemane* ‘husband,’ Coto *ömuna* ‘man,’ Proto-Nambikwara \**m̄in* ‘father,’ Kaliana *m̄inō* ‘man, person,’ *imone* ‘father-in-law,’ Wanana *meno* ‘man,’ *manino* ‘her husband,’ Desana *emenge*, Chiranga *imĩño*, Waikina *emeno*. Puinave *mbon*.

**Equatorial:** Guahibo *amona* ‘husband,’ *itsa-mone* ‘person,’ Uro: Callahuaya *mana* ‘person,’ Achual *aišman* ‘man,’ Marawan *maki-b-mani* ‘boy’ (a combination of this root and CHILD<sub>2</sub> *mako*), Chamicuro *θamoni* ‘my father,’ Manao *re-manao* ‘person,’ Proto-Tupi \**men* ‘husband,’ Guarani *mena* ‘husband,’ Guajajara *man* ‘husband,’ Otomaco: Taparita *mayna* ‘man.’

**Macro-Carib:** Apiaca *moni* ‘boy,’ Ocaina *mo:n* ‘father,’ Paravithana *mei-moen* ‘son,’ Miranya *itse-meni* ‘son,’ Yagua *ma:y* ‘person (non-Indian).’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mosesten *moinči* ‘person,’ Charrua *itoyman* ‘boy,’ Guana *emmanabie* ‘man.’

**Macro-Ge:** Cayapo *män* ‘person,’ *miän* ‘husband,’ Chicriaba *aimaman* ‘boy,’ *mamaŋ* ‘father,’ Coroado *kuoyman* ‘man,’ Kaingang *-men* ‘man.’

• [A154] This root is also found in Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, Dene-Caucasian, Nahali, Miao-Yao, and Indo-Pacific (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

#### 473 MANY<sub>1</sub> \**ali*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**aliw-* ‘much.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Kalapuyan \**haliw*.

**Paezan:** Timucua *ara* ‘much, many.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *ali* ‘much.’ Mayna *alema*. Quechuan: Ecuadorean *yali*, Junin-Huanca *ali*. Yamana: Yahgan *yela*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Galibi *ali* ‘fill,’ Cumanogoto *ar* ‘fill,’ Chayma *ara* ‘fill,’ Trio *ari* ‘contents,’ Arara *t-ori-g* ‘many,’ Pauishana *t-ure-eke* ‘many.’ Witoto: Witoto *orui* ‘be full,’ Miranya Carapana Tapuya *rahu* ‘many.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Umotina *uri*. Botocudo *uruhu*. Ge: Chicriaba *eruhu*.

• [A180] Cf. LONG<sub>1</sub> *ali*.

#### 474 MANY<sub>2</sub> \**til* ~ \**tan*

**Almosan:** Proto-Chimakuan \**tila* ‘full, heavy.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *-ti:l* ‘all.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**tan*, Achomawi *to:lol* ‘all.’ Chumash: Santa Cruz *talakeč* ‘much.’ Salinan: San Antonio *k-i:sile?* ‘all.’ Tequistlatec *dalay* ‘very much.’ Tonkawa *-tana-* ‘all.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*ta(h)(ʔ)n* ‘fill, full, put in.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Cayapa *tun*. Chimu *tuni*.

- [A181]

475 MANY<sub>3</sub> *\*moni*

**Penutian:** Plateau: Lutuami *mo:ni-s* ‘large.’ California: Yokuts *mone* ‘much.’

Gulf: Atakapa *mon* ~ *maŋ* ‘all,’ Proto-North Yuki *\*mun* ‘many,’ Wappo *mul* ‘all,’ Yuki *muna* ‘all,’ Clear Lake *mol* ‘all.’

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Guamaca *bini*. Cuna *pule, pelo* ‘all.’ Malibu: Chimila *muni* ‘abound.’ Misumalpan: Miskito *bani* ‘each.’ Rama *bain*. Tarascan *vini-ni* ‘be full.’ Yanoama: Yanomam, Yanomamī *prəwa* ‘large.’ Rama *baiŋi* ‘much.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado *man*. Chimu: Eten *men* ‘to swell.’ Choco:

Catio *bari* ‘grow.’ Itonama *amaniato*. Paez: Guambiana *minu*. Timucua *mine* ‘large.’

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *moin* ‘be full (a vessel).’

- [A182]

476 MANY<sub>4</sub> *\*pu*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Takelma-Kalapuyan *\*-pu:ʔ* ‘full,’ Proto-Kalapuyan *\*pu* . . . ‘all.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*-pɨʔ* ‘all.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*pu* ‘all,’ Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba *\*p<sup>h</sup>i* ‘all,’ Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec *\*p<sup>h</sup>V* ‘all,’ Subtiaba *bā* ‘all.’ Waicuri *pu* ‘all.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*pu* ‘full.’

**Paezan:** Millcayac *pay* ‘full.’ Timucua *-pu-k<sup>w</sup>a* ‘much, many.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*bui* ‘full,’ *\*pai-yi/he* ‘many.’

**Equatorial:** Cofan *bu*, Piaroa *buio* ‘large,’ Sanamaika *pui* ‘large.’

- [H2, E79]

477 MANY<sub>5</sub> *\*pote* ~ *\*peti*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian *\*a:hpeči* ‘completely.’ Proto-Salish *\*put* ‘sufficient, very, right, exact.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*ʔIp’et’V:* ‘much,very.’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *piti* ‘full.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *pĩčĩ* ‘much.’

**Equatorial:** Coche *buca* ‘large,’ Kariri *pečo*, Yuracare *puče* ‘surpass.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *pota* ‘all,’ Caraja *ibote* ‘all,’ Masacara *pautzöh* ‘all.’

- [E78, MG1]

478 MANY<sub>6</sub> *\*lok*’

**Almosan:** Mosan: Salish: Proto-Coast Salish *\*lək*’ ‘full, fill.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *\*ʔilaχ* ‘much.’ California: Proto-Maiduan

\**lok* ‘many.’

479 MASCULINE/FEMININE \**t*/\**s*

**Macro-Panoan:** Moseeten *-t* (masculine), *-s* (feminine), Mascogy *ya-t* ‘he,’ *ya-m* ‘she.’

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *-sa* (feminine; masculine is unmarked), Chiquito *-ti*: (masculine; non-masculine is unmarked), Aweikoma *ti* ‘he,’ *si* ‘she,’ Caraja *ti* ‘he,’ *ti-ki* ‘she.’

• [G38]

480 MASCULINE/FEMININE/NEUTRAL \**i*/\**u*/\**a*

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *can-u:k-s* ‘young child,’ *cin* ‘young man.’ Salish: Flathead *sín-ce?* ‘younger brother (man speaking),’ *tún-š* ‘sister’s children.’ Kutenai *tsu* ‘sister (of a girl),’ *tsiya* ‘younger brother.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**yí-ki* ‘son,’ \**yú-ki* ‘daughter,’ \**thú-wi* ‘paternal aunt’ Assiniboine *cī-k-ši* ‘son,’ *cū-k-ši* ‘daughter.’ Iroquoian: Mohawk *-?tsin* ‘boy, male,’ *a-thū-wisə* ‘woman.’

**Penutian:** Chinook: Lower Chinook *e:-* ~ *i-* ‘masculine sg. prefix,’ *o:-* ‘feminine sg. prefix.’ Gulf: Tunica *ši*: ‘male,’ *htóna-yi* ‘wife.’ Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *its* ‘younger brother,’ *uts* ‘younger sister.’

**Hokan:** Pomo: Eastern Pomo *tsets* ‘mother’s brother,’ *tuts* ‘mother’s older sister,’ Washo *wi-ts’u-k* ‘younger sister,’ *t’anu* ‘person.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**tana* ‘son, daughter,’ \**sun* ~ \**son* ‘woman,’ Tübatulabal *tena* ‘man,’ *u-tsu* ‘maternal grandmother.’ Tanoan: Tewa *se:ŋ* ‘man, male,’ *sūn-tsi* ‘intimate friend, chum.’ Proto-Oto-Manguéan \**sehn* ‘male,’ \**suhn* ‘female,’ \**?ntan* ‘child,’ \**ta?n* ‘sibling.’

**Andean:** Tehuelche *den* ‘brother,’ *thaun* ‘sister.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *atina* ‘male relative,’ *atuna* ‘female relative,’ Tucanoan: Waikana *baī(-ga)* ‘brother,’ *baū(-ga)* ‘sister,’ Tucano *pakk-e* ‘father,’ *pakk-o* ‘mother,’ *nik-e* ‘one (masc.),’ *nik-o* ‘one (fem.),’ *nik-a* ‘one (neutral),’ Coreguaje *čīī* ‘son,’ *čīio* ‘daughter,’ *a?-čī* ‘elder brother,’ *a?-čo* ‘elder sister,’ *čo?-yei* ‘younger brother,’ *čo?-yeo* ‘younger sister.’ Pioje *-kī* (masc.), *-kō* (fem.; cf. *-ku* ~ *-ko* ~ *-kō* ‘this [fem.]’). Puinave: Tiquie *ten* ‘son,’ *ton* ‘daughter,’ Papury *ten* ‘son,’ *toj* ‘daughter,’ *-yi* (masc. of animals), Puinave *nau-ne* ‘he is handsome,’ *nau-yu* ‘she is pretty,’ Ubde-Nehern *nep* ‘that (masc.),’ *nip* ~ *nap* ‘that (fem.)’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**i*/\**u* ‘he, his/she,her,’ Wapishana *i/u* ‘he/she,’ *ī-dan(e)* ‘child, son, daughter,’ *i-dīni-re* ‘son-in-law,’ *i-dīni-ru* ‘daughter-in-law,’ Ipurina *ni-tari* ‘my brother,’ *ni-taru* ‘my sister,’ Baniva (Içana) *ri/ru* ‘he/she,’ Palicur *amepi-yo* ‘female thief,’ *amepi-ye* ‘male thief,’ Tariana *nu-phe-ri* ‘my elder brother,’ *nu-phe-ru* ‘my elder sister.’ Arawakan: Arawa *i-* (masculine, but *-ni* is feminine); Jivaro *hiči* ‘grandfather,’ *hiča*

‘grandmother’; Otomaco *duriri* ‘son,’ *daore* ‘daughter,’ Zamuco *-iz* (masculine sg. subject of a verb in the recent past tense), *-az* (feminine sg. subject), *-tie* (genitive of masc. nouns), *-tae* (genitive of feminine nouns), Timote *ka(s)-* (masc. article), *ku-s* (feminine article; the masculine form is deviant, but a masculine variant, *kiu-*, is found in *kiu-kšoy* ‘boy, uncle’), Mococho *tin-gua* ‘son, boy,’ *nak-tun* ‘woman.’ Guahibo *-ni* (masc.), *-wa* (fem.), Saliba *-ndi* (masc.), *-ku* (fem.)

• [G39, Ruhlen 1994f] Greenberg pointed out the masculine and feminine grades of this gender system for Macro-Tucanoan and Equatorial. Ruhlen showed that (1) there is a third grade based on *-a-* that is neutral with respect to sex, (2) traces of this gender system are found in all 13 branches of Amerind, and (3) the intersection of this gender system with the Amerind root *\*t’Vna* is abundantly attested in Amerind kinship terms in the forms *\*t’ina/\*t’ana/\*t’una* ‘son, brother/child, sibling/daughter, sister.’ In this etymology I have only cited individual languages (or proto-languages) which exhibit *two* or *three* grades of the Amerind gender ablaut system. Were I to cite languages which have only one grade of the root, the number of forms would increase dramatically. See SON/CHILD/DAUGHTER below.

481 MEAT<sub>1</sub> *\*lau*

**Andean:** Mapudungu: Pehuenche *ilo*. Cahuapana: Jebero *-lu?* ‘flesh.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Toba *lo* ‘domestic animal.’ Lengua: Mascocoy *lau* (classifier for animals in possessive construction). Lule *lo-p* ‘meat.’ Mataco: Mataco, Chulupi *lau* ‘animal,’ *-la-* (possessive classifier for animals).

• [A183]

482 MEAT<sub>2</sub> *\*nena*

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Huari: Masaka *ny(i)æ* ‘meat.’ Movima *nono* ‘domesticated animal.’ Nambikwara: Southern Nambikwara *nun* ‘animal.’ Puinave: Ubde-Nehern *hun* ‘animal.’ Ticuna *?üne* ‘body.’ Tucano: Cubeo *neo*, *neau* ‘fat’ (n.) Yuri *nai* ‘meat.’

**Equatorial:** Cayuvava *ine*. Chapacura: Urupa *uenen*. Cofan *na*. Maipuran: Wapishana *nana* ‘edible,’ Piapoco *naina*, Jumana *nina*. Piaroa *añe* ‘fat’ (n.) Tupi: Mekens *ñena*, Kepkiriwate *o-ñon*, Guarategaja *ki-ñena*. Yaruro *ña:* ‘fat’ (n.)

**Macro-Ge:** Chiquito *añe*. Proto-Ge *\*ñi*. Kaingang: Palmas *ni*, Tibagi *nin*, etc. Mashakali *ñiñ*. Puri: Coroado *eneine*.

• [A184]

483 MEAT<sub>3</sub> *\*mati*

**Hokan:** Achomawi *misuc*. Comecrudo *met* ‘body.’ Esselen *amisah* ‘deer.’ Jicaque *buisis*, *pus* ‘deer.’ Pomo: Kashaya *bihše*, East Pomo *bi:še* ‘meat,’

deer.’ Salinan: San Antonio, San Miguel *mat<sup>h</sup>*. Seri *ipxasi*, *ipxaš* (pl.)  
 Subtiaba: Tlappanec *uwiʔi*. Tonkawa *ʔawas*. Yana: North Yana *basi*  
 ‘meat, body,’ Yahi *bahsi*. Yuman: Diegueño *ematt*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 125 \**mas* ‘deer.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Kaliana *mica*. Maku *munči*, *muči*. Ticuna *mači*.

- [A185]

484 MEAT<sub>4</sub> \**ati*

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *icü*. Carib: Hishcariana *oti*, Wayana *i-ote* ‘game,’  
 Waiwai *-oti* (possessive classifier for meat). Witoto: Witoto *ičira*, Muinane  
*uati*.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *adi*. Fulnio *dae*. Guato (*ma-*)*deu*. Kaingang: Tibagi *de*,  
*da* ‘animal.’ Kamakan *dau* ‘animal.’

- [A186]

485 MEAT<sub>5</sub> \**wakʔi*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan \**wʔaq* ‘feed a visitor,’ Heiltsuk  
*wʔaqʔut* ‘feed a visitor.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \**wakʔ* ‘flesh.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**waʔi*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**waʔi-biki-zi*.

486 MEAT<sub>6</sub> \**tin*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**šĩ* ‘fat.’ Iroquoian: Seneca *sē* ‘be fat.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *čín*, Came *tini*.

- [AK65, MG78]

487 MEAT<sub>7</sub> \**nak*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Salish: Nisqualli *nqʔ* ‘animal.’ Kutenai *ʔak* (*ʔ < n*).

**Macro-Panoan:** Huarayo *noči*, Pilaga *ni:ak* ‘fish,’ Lengua *nohak* ‘wild ani-  
 mal.’

- [AK124,MP44]

488 MEDICINE \**tʔoyo*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts \**tʔuyox*. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque  
 \**coy*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Keresan \**čʔaya:ni* ‘medicine man.’

489 MOON<sub>1</sub> \**pʔot*

**Almosan:** Almosan: Proto-Chemakuan \**pitʔ*- ~ \**pʔit-* ~ \**pʔik<sup>w</sup>i-* ‘moon, sun,  
 light, sky.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan \**pa:*.

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts \**ʔop<sup>h</sup>* ‘moon, sun,’ Proto-Maiduan \**pok*’ ‘moon, sun, luminary.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**poyʔa* ‘moon, month.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan \**p*’o.

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *pody*. Witoto: Ocaina *fodyo:me*, *podomo*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**badi*.

**Macro-Ge:** Erikbatsa *boto*. Ge: Cayapo *putua*, Apinage *putwaru*, etc.

- [A187]

490 MOON<sub>2</sub> \**tamp*

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Bintucua *tima* ‘moon, month.’ Chibcha: Tunebo *sibu-ara*. Motilon *tubi*. Talamanca: Borunca *tabe*, *tebe*, Cabecar *sibo*. Cf. Antioquia: Nutabe *tebu-na* ‘night.’

**Paезan:** Barbacoa: Colorado *cabo* ‘star.’ Chimu: Eten *sam*, *šiam* ‘sun.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auake *ataʔp*, *ata(m)*. Kaliana *tabu*, *tapo*. Puinave: Curiariai *tamē* ‘star.’ Ticuna *tawō-make* (literally ‘sun pale’). Uman *t<sup>h</sup>upañe*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Vejoz *tapuix* ‘moon (waxing).’

**Macro-Carib:** Crishana *tepare*.

- [A188]

491 MOON<sub>3</sub> \**nunta*

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Catawba *nunti* ‘sun, moon.’ Iroquoian: Cherokee *nāto* ‘sun, moon.’

**Equatorial:** Achuar *nantu*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora *nuʔpa*. Carib: Proto-Hianacoto \**nu:naʔ*, Pianocoto, Uaiboi, Pavishana, Uaica, Bakairi *nuna*, Yao *nona*, Paraviyana *none*, Palmela *ñuña*, Waiwai *nune*, Galibi, Acawai *nuno*, Rucuyene *nunu*.

- [AK126, MC42]

492 MOON<sub>4</sub> \**q’ala*

**Penutian:** California \**kolme*, Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \**ko(l)me* ‘moon, month.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**q’ara*, Proto-Pomo \**q’ala:(xa)*, Proto-Yuman \**halaʔa*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**kiʕa*, Mapudungu *ale*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara *hʔelə*.

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *harimyuni*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Ashluslay *huela*, Chorote *huele*, Vejoz *ihuälä*, Nocten *iguele*, Mataco *ihuεle*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Umutina *a:li:*, Bororo, Orari, Otuke *ari*.

493 MONKEY<sub>1</sub> \**kuki*

**Chibchan:** Rama *kiaki*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Hubde *kog* ‘howler monkey.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran *\*kuhdi*, Campa *kočiro*; Uro *kusiʎo*.

**Macro-Ge:** Patasho *kuki*, Proto-Ge *\*kukəz*.

- [E80, MG79]

494 MONKEY<sub>2</sub> *\*cawi*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*ca:wi*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan *\*śawi*.

495 MORNING *\*qaya*

**Almosan:** Proto-North Wakashan *\*gaʔ-* ‘early morning.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*ga:yu*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*(a)x<sup>y</sup>aʔ*, Proto-Pomo *\*q<sup>h</sup>aʔ:a* ‘morning, dawn.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *qaya* ~ *quya*.

496 MOSQUITO<sub>1</sub> *\*puro*

**Paezan:** Aruak: Bintucua *bun* ‘wasp.’ Chibcha: Tunebo, Manare *ipare* ‘wasp.’

Cuna *pulu* ‘wasp.’ Rama: Guatuso *poro* ‘wasp.’ Talamanca: Tirub *woro* ‘wasp.’ Cf. Xinca: Chiquimulilla *hurux* ‘wasp.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Kaliana *pələ*. Maku *mbule* ‘pium.’ Puinave *pələd* ‘pium.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *pitaŋ*, *pötã*. Caraja *badi*, *bedi* ‘bee.’ Ge: Apinage *puræ*. Puri: Coroado *putaŋ* ‘bee.’ Yabuti *porunka*.

- [A189]

497 MOSQUITO<sub>2</sub> *\*č’oyu*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*sč’uy’u:na*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *\*šoy:u*.

498 MOTHER *\*tati*

**Hokan:** Yavapai *titi*, Achomawi *tat<sup>hi</sup>*, Karok *tat*, Seri *?ita*.

**Equatorial:** Cayuvava *tætæ* ‘grandmother.’ Bare *čeče* ‘grandmother,’ Chapacura *čiči* ‘grandmother,’ Uro *ačiči* ‘grandmother.’

- [H100, E51]

499 MOTHER/AUNT *\*nana*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *naʔa*, Gros Ventre *-inã*.

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Caddo *?i-naʔ* ‘my mother,’ Wichita (*ati-*)*naʔ* ‘my mother.’ Iroquoian: Huron *anan* ‘aunt.’ Siouan: Ofo *ōni* ‘aunt,’ Tutelo *ina* ‘aunt,’ Osage *ina* ‘aunt.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *\*na:na*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan *\*nan-*, Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*nana*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean R 350 *\*(n)(ʔ)na(h)(n)* ‘mother, woman,’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*nana*.

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *nanti*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auake *anaiʔo* ‘aunt,’ Catuquina *inai* ‘aunt,’ Kaliana *ĩnoĩ* ‘grandmother.’ Maku *nō* ‘mother, aunt.’ Nambikwara: Sabane *nau*, Maininde *nat*. Puinave: Puinave *aiña* ‘aunt,’ Querari *nã*. Ticuna *ngeʔe, niai* ‘woman.’ Cf. Movima *-ne ~ -ni* (feminine affix).

**Equatorial:** Guahibo *ena*. Kariri *aña* ‘aunt,’ Kandoshi *aniari*. Saliba *nana*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Macca *nana*. Proto-Tacanan *\*nene* ‘aunt,’ Vilela *nana* ‘aunt,’ *nane*.

• [A14] This root is also found in Nilo-Saharan, Eurasiatic, Kartvelian, Caucasian, and Austronesian (Ruhlen 2006).

#### 500 MOTHER/OLDER FEMALE RELATIVE *\*aya*

**Penutian:** Plateau: North Sahaptin *áyaD* ‘woman,’ Nez Perce *ʔayat* ‘mother.’ Gulf: Tunica *-áhaya* ‘mother’s sister,’ Muskogean: Choctaw *ihayya* ‘sister-in-law.’ Mexican: Mayan: Tzotzil *yaya* ‘grandmother,’ Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*ʔohya* ‘(woman’s) sister-in-law.’

**Hokan:** Washo *-ya* ‘paternal aunt,’ Quinigua *ʔya:k* ‘mother,’ Tonkawa *ʔeyan* ‘woman’s sister.’

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Tewa *yia* ‘mother.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*ya* ‘female.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*ye* ‘mother,’ *\*ya* ‘aunt,’ Tarahumara *iye* ‘mother,’ Yaqui *ʔaiye* ‘mother,’ Nahuatl *-yeʔ* ‘mother.’

**Chibchan:** Xinca *aya* ‘woman,’ Matagalpa *yoaya* ‘mother,’ Cuna *ya:-kwa* ‘young woman,’ Yanomam *ya-* ‘father’s sister, father’s mother.’

**Paezan:** Colorado *aya* ‘mother.’

**Andean:** Ona *yoy* ‘grandmother,’ Auca *-yæyæ* ‘mother.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Amaguaje *ayo* ‘old woman,’ Masaka *yaya* ‘older sister,’ Ticuna *yake* ‘old woman.’

**Equatorial:** Mapidiana *aya* ‘aunt,’ Tora *iye* ‘paternal grandmother,’ Arikem *haya* ‘aunt,’ Pakaasnovos *yeoʔ* ‘paternal grandmother, grandfather.’

**Macro-Carib:** Accawai *aya* ‘mother.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mayoruna *yaya* ‘mother,’ Shipibo *yaya* ‘paternal aunt,’ Moseten *eye* ‘grandmother,’ *yaya* ‘mother-in-law.’ Proto-Tacanan *\*yana* ‘younger sister, sister-in-law.’

**Macro-Ge:** Coropo *ayan* ‘mother,’ Coroado *ayan* ‘mother,’ Palmas *yã* ‘mother.’

• This root is also found in Khoisan, Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Burushaski, Indo-Pacific, Nahali, Austroasiatic, Miao-Yao, Daic, and Austronesian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

#### 501 MOUNTAIN *\*way*

**Hokan:** Comecrudo *way*, Cocopa *wi* ‘mountain, rock.’



**Macro-Tucanoan:** Kaliana *ũaikũ*, Maku *wike*.

- [H101, MT65]

502 MOUSE<sub>1</sub> \**kus*

**Chibchan:** Chibchan: Boncota *kuaixea* ‘bat.’ Guaymi: Chumulu *guik* ‘bat,’ Gualaca *guiga* ‘bat.’ Lenca: Guajiquero *gyiza* ‘bat.’ Xinca: Yupultepec *küsse* ‘bat.’

**Paezan:** Paez [quize] ‘bat.’

**Andean:** Quechua: Yanacocha *ukuš*. Zaparo *kaširikia*.

- [A190]

503 MOUSE<sub>2</sub> \**maqa*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**maqa* ~ \**maqil*<sup>y</sup> ‘rat,’ Proto-Yuman \**?makey*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**maka* ‘mouse, rat,’ Moseten *meče* ‘rat.’

- [MP47]

504 MOUSE<sub>3</sub> \**p’osa*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**p’usaL*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**posa*.

**Paezan:** Choco: Darien, Empera (Basurudo) *posãi*, Catio, Chami, Tado *bosãi*, Saija *po(r)osãi*.

505 MOUSE<sub>4</sub> \**c’ok*

**Almosan:** Kutenai *?inco:k?*.

**Penutian:** Zuni *c?okʰi-kʰo*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**č’o:(?)h* ‘rat,’ Proto-Quichean \**č’oh* ‘mouse, rat,’ Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**cu:k*.

**Chibchan:** Rama *suk*.

506 MOUSE<sub>5</sub> \**pik*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**a:pikwa* ~ \**wa:pikw-*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**bi?i*, Tucano, Wanana, Desana *bi?i*, Tanimuca *be?i-a*.

507 MOUTH<sub>1</sub> \**yaq’*

**Almosan:** Proto-North Wakashan \**yaq-* ‘talk (v.),’ Kwakwala *yaq’-gaʔʔ* ‘begin to speak, utter something,’ Heiltsuk *yaq’gaʔ* ‘begin to speak, utter something.’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Dakota *oyák’a* ‘tell, relate.’

**Penutian:** Maidu: Maidu *yawí* ‘call by name,’ *yaky* ‘be named,’ Nisenan *yawi* ‘call, name.’ Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *yey:a* ‘call,’ *yay:u* ‘demand,’ Lake Miwok *yay:u* ‘invite, call for.’ Gulf: Wappo *yawe* ‘name.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ya(:)* ‘speak,’ Washo *ya:m* ‘tell.’ Karok *ya:yá:hi* ‘stutter.’ Subtiaba: Subtiaba *d-a:u:*, Tlappanec *r-aũ?*. Yuman: Maricopa *?iya*, Cocopa *iya*, Yavapai *ya?*, Akwa’ala *ya*. Yurumanguí *yo(-ima)* ‘saliva’ (*ima* = ‘water’).

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ya* ‘say,’ Cahuilla *yá* ‘say,’ Cupeño *ya* ‘say,’ Hopi *?ayá(-ta)* ‘tell,’ Luiseño *ya-* ‘say.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \**ya* ‘say.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu: Pehuenche [ghuy] ‘name’ (n.) Leco *ya* ‘say.’ Patagon: Patagon *yew-en* ‘call,’ Tehuelche *yo* ‘call,’ *yon* ‘name’ (n.) Yamana *yi, ya* ‘say.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *ia?a*. Proto-Nambikwara \**you:*. Yuri *ia*.

**Equatorial:** Otomaco *yo*. Yaruro *yao:*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *ye* ‘say.’ Moseeten *yi* ‘tell.’ Proto-Panoan \**yo?i* ‘say.’

- [A191]

#### 508 MOUTH<sub>2</sub> \**kua*

**Macro-Carib:** Bora: Miranya Oira Assu-Tapuya *ma-yyo*, Faai *me-kuai* ‘chin,’ Imihita (*me:x-*)*ka*: ‘beard.’ Witoto: Witoto (*ama-*)*əko* ‘beard,’ Coeruna *koæ*, Orejon *hoe*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Charruan: Charrua *ex*, Chana *hek*. Guaicuru: Toba *ka* ‘lip, chin,’ Mbaya *aka* ‘chin,’ Mocovi *aka* ‘chin, beard.’ Lule *ka*. Mataco: Choroti *ak* ‘chin,’ Nocten *kax*. Proto-Panoan \**k<sup>w</sup>iša* ‘lip, mouth, border,’ \**koi* ‘chin, jaw,’ Cashinahua *kə-*, *kəš-* ‘mouth, border,’ Cashibo *kwə-* ‘mouth,’ Chacobo *kə-* ‘lips, border’ (all instrumental prefixes). Proto-Tacanan \**kwaca*, Tacana *ekeke* ‘lip.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *ogwa* ‘lip, mouth.’ Botocudo *d<sup>y</sup>akie* ‘chin.’ Caraja *zu:ka* ‘lip.’ Fulnio *d<sup>y</sup>uči*. Ge: Apinage *yakoa*, *akwa*, Krenje *aykwa*, Suyá *yako* ‘chin.’ Kaingang: Came *yenku*, Catarina *ñaky*. Kamakan: Meniens *yego* ‘beard.’ Mashakali *ñikoi*. Opaie *e-ka*. (Many forms have a prefix *ya-* or the like.)

- [A192]

#### 509 MOUTH<sub>3</sub> \**kala*

**Hokan:** Karok *-kara* ‘into the mouth,’ Tonkawa *kala*.

**Andean:** Leco *kollo*, Sechura *bo-korua*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *kuana*, Huari *kan* ‘beak.’

- [H102, AN75, MT67]

#### 510 MOUTH<sub>4</sub> \**čik*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean \**či:?*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: [language?] *čik*.

511 NAME (v.)<sub>1</sub> \*d<sup>l</sup>aq

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala d<sup>l</sup>yq- ‘to name, to call somebody something.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \*ʎak<sup>y</sup>i ‘name (n.)’

**Penutian:** Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \*lakat.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima eʎaʔus.

512 NAME (v.)<sub>2</sub> \*ya

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora yaθ. Siouan: Biloxi yačɛ ‘name (n.)’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \*ya(:) ‘name (n.),’ Proto-Yokuts \*hoyo:.  
Gulf: Proto-Yuki \*yəw, Wappo yao.

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang yiyi.

## 513 NARROW \*cian

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa syã-n ‘small.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean R  
258 \*(Y)(n)(H)si(ʔ)(n) ‘small.’

**Chibchan:** Talamanca: Estrella cine-kra ‘small,’ Cabecar cina-ra ‘small.’

**Paezan:** Chimu: Eten šanku. Warrau sanuk ‘narrow, small.’

- [A193]

## 514 NAVEL \*tompa

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Huari: Huari, Masaka tapa ‘belly.’ Movima dimmo-. Puinave:  
Curiariai te(e)ba ‘umbilical cord,’ Hubde tööm, Yehubde toptep ‘guts,’  
Puinave ok-tep ‘guts.’ Tucano: Curetu to:mu-kö, Wanana comea, Coto  
tapwi, Amaguaje tapue ‘belly.’ Yuri to:bi.

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Yamamadi æ-thubori. Cofan t<sup>h</sup>oʔpa ‘belly.’ Guamo tife  
‘heart.’ Jivaro: Zamora atape ‘heart.’ Maipuran: Wapishana tuba ‘belly,’  
Atoroi tub ‘belly,’ Baniva čiabo ‘belly.’ Trumai taf, töf.

- [A194]

## 515 NEAR \*kama

**Penutian:** Chinook -gəm- (verb prefix). Oregon: Siuslaw xumš ‘approach.’

Cf. Plateau: Nez Perce kimtam. California: Yokuts ʔamac ‘approach’;  
Costanoan: Rumsien hamatka, Santa Clara amatka.

**Andean:** Leco kam ‘for, toward.’ Patagon: Ona kammai ‘as far as.’ Quechua  
-kama ‘as far as, up to, close to.’ Zaparo kame ‘hither.’

- [A195]

516 NECK<sub>1</sub> \*k'u

**Penutian:** California: Maidu \*k'uyi. Gulf: Atakapa koʔi ‘neck, throat,’ Chiti-  
macha k'e.

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Kiowa *k'o-l*, Taos *k'əo-*, San Ildefonso *k'e*, Isleta *k'oa*, etc. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 125 *\*ka(n)* 'neck, throat.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 303b *\*ku*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Otuke *ikio*. Kamakan: Meniens *inkio*.

- [A196]

517 NECK<sub>2</sub> *\*aru*

**Andean:** Lupaca *aru* 'voice, speech,' Culli *uro*.

**Equatorial:** Toyeri *ari* 'throat,' Proto-Tupi *\*ayur* 'throat.'

- [AN77, E115]

518 NECK<sub>3</sub> *\*gwaka*

**Almosan:** Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian *\*-hkwe:ka-ni*, Kutenai -  
*ōkak*.

**Chibchan:** Chibcha *guikin*.

**Paezan:** Andaqui *san-guaka*.

- [AK137, CP129]

519 NECK<sub>4</sub> *\*pak*

**Hokan:** Chumash *paktamus*, Seri *k-iphk* 'hang on neck,' Tlappanec *apuh*.

**Paezan:** Itonama *pakas-* 'front of . . . ,' Gayon *apaxiguo*.

- [H105, CP130]

520 NEGATIVE *\*kua*

**Hokan:** Jicaque *kua*; Yuman: Cocopa *k-* (privitive); Salinan *k* + POSSESSIVE MARKER + VERB; Pomo: East Pomo *kuyi* 'no,' *k<sup>h</sup>u* 'not'; Yana *ku:-*; Karok *-k*; Coahuiltecan: Coahuilteco *axam* 'not,' Comecrudo *kam* 'not,' Karankawa *kom* 'not.' Yurumangui *k(a)-*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan (Miller, No. 306) *\*ka(i)*; Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*ku*.

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Cayapo *ked*; Bororo *ka*, Caraja *ko(ŋ)*, Guato *egu*, Kamakan *ki*.

- [G100]

521 NEW<sub>1</sub> *\*at'e*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian *\*ace:ʔ*. ?Proto-Keresan *\*na:ce:*.

**Penutian:** California: Maidu *di* 'young,' Costanoan: Monterey *i:ti*. Mexican: Mayan: Huastec *it*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec *\*ac'a*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*(n)(ʔ)te(n)* 'ripe, cooked.' Proto-Tanoan *\*c'V* 'new,' *\*ce* 'ripe, cooked,' San Juan *ci* 'be cooked,' Kiowa *ta*

‘be ripe, cooked.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *çi(ñā)*.

- [P168, CA63]

522 NEW<sub>2</sub> \*c’um

**Almosan:** Kutenai *-suʔk-ne*: ‘good.’ Proto-Mosan \*c’u-, Wakashan: Kwakwala *c’x-*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \*su-, Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \*su: ‘good.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*C’um ‘good.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan \*c’V.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Guambiano *śí*, Totoro *śíʔik*. Proto-Choco \*čiwidi.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*suma- ‘good.’

**Equatorial:** Kamsa *tsím*.

523 NEW<sub>3</sub> \*peʔa

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \*paʔa-meʔkwa ‘young-beaver.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \*pi ‘good.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \*pa(n)ʔa, Takelma *pala-w*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*PeLa, Comecrudo *pele(x)* ‘new, good,’ Karankawa *pla* ‘good, nice, useful.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*pe.

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \*pia ‘good.’

**Andean:** ?Yamana *walič* ‘good.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *polara*. Iranshe *p<sup>y</sup>ulari* ‘young, unripe.’

524 NIGHT<sub>1</sub> \*yama

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *mʔay* ‘shadow.’ California: Maidu *yamayi* ‘shadow.’ Gulf: Natchez *mayuk* ‘dark, night.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado *a:ma* ‘shadow.’ Itonama *yumani*. Mura: Matanawi *yamāru*. Paez: Guambiana *yem*. Warrau *ima*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Moseten *yomoi* ‘become night.’ Proto-Panoan \*yamī.

- [A197] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic and Kartvelian (Ruhlen 1994g).

525 NIGHT<sub>2</sub> \*mok

**Penutian:** Plateau: Molala *muka* ‘night.’ Gulf: Muskogean: Hitchiti *močusta* ‘get dark,’ Creek *yomuške* ‘dark.’ Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sayula *amuxik* ‘shadow’; Mayan: Quiché *mux* ‘shadow,’ Kekchí *mux* ‘become cloudy.’

**Hokan:** Achomawi *mahiksa*. Chimariko *hi-mokni*, *hi-mok* ‘evening.’ Salinan: San Antonio *smak<sup>h</sup>ai*. Seri *iʔamok*.

- [A198]

526 NIGHT<sub>3</sub> \**pasi* ~ \**sepi*

**Almosan:** Almic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-sipi* ‘during the night.’ Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *ši:p*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**bīšī* ‘be dark’. Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan \**sepi*, Biloxi *psi*, Ofo *upofi* (*f* < \**s*), Osage *opathe* ‘evening’; Yuchi *ispi*.

**Hokan:** Comecrudo *patotiau*. Jicaque *puiste*. Salinan: San Antonio *mašitama* ‘shadow.’ Subtiaba: Tlappanec *miša* ‘shadow.’ Yana: Central, North Yana *basi:*, Yahí *bahsi*.

- [A199]

527 NIGHT<sub>4</sub> \**kači*

**Chibchan:** Antioquia: Nutabe *ma-kasa* ‘early morning.’ Lenca: Chilanga *k’us-k’ašba* ‘night.’ Paya *keča* ‘yesterday.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Cayapa *kisi* ~ *kiši* ‘yesterday,’ Colorado *kisi* ‘yesterday.’ Paez: Paez *kos* ‘night,’ Panikita *kuskaya* ‘yesterday.’ Warrau *kahe* ‘yesterday.’

**Equatorial:** Cofan *kose, kuse*. Jivaro: Aguaruna, Zamora, Shuara *kaši*. Timote: Mocoche *kisi*.

- [A200]

528 NOMINAL SUFFIX \**-na*

**Penutian:** California: Maidu *-n*, Yokuts *-n*. Gulf: Atakapa *-en*.

**Hokan:** Yurumangui *-na* (general noun formant), Esselen *-nex, -no* (general noun formant), Tonkawa *-n* (infinitive verb suffix and general noun suffix); Pomo: Southeast Pomo *-n* (absolutive suffix that forms nouns from verbs).

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *-ni*.

**Paezan:** Itonama *-na* ~ *-ne*; Barbacoan: Cayapa *-nu*; Timucua *-ni*.

**Andean:** Patagon: Ona, Tehuelche *-n*; Mapudungu *-n*; Quechua *-na*; Zaparoan: Zaparo *-no*, Andoa *-nu*.

• [G 61] The South American forms are basically infinitive markers. In Hokan the suffix shows the characteristics of a stage III article, which often—because of their function as a general marker of nominality—forms verbal nouns. Historically, then, the Hokan forms may not be related to forms from other branches of Amerind. In Penutian the suffix forms infinitives and verbal nouns.

529 NOSE<sub>1</sub> \**nus* ~ \**nis*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**nis*, Proto-Salish \**nis* ‘blow one’s nose.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \**-ŋnyō:s-*.

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \**nu:šnu-*.

**Andean:** Qawasqar *nos*. Aymara *nasa*.

**Equatorial:** Achuar *nuhĩ* ‘nose.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Mocovi *ni:h*. Lule *nus*. Mataco: Choroti *nus*.

Vilela *nihim*. Vejoz *not-nisinäx* ‘smell (v.)’

**Macro-Ge:** Kamakan: Cotoxo *nihieko*. Mashakali: Mashakali *nicikoe*, Capoxo, Kumanasho *nišikoi*, etc.

- [A201]

### 530 NOSE<sub>2</sub> \*asi

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan \*-os.

**Penutian:** Gulf: Chitimacha *si?* ‘smell (intransitive),’ *si:ht* ‘smell (intransitive),’ Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**ʔisi* ‘smell (v.), rotten.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**su:ʔk* ‘smell (v.)’

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \**sahka* ‘smelly, rotten.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \**si(ʔ)*.

**Chibchan:** Cuna *asu*.

**Paezan:** Paez *asa* ‘stink,’ Warrau *aha* ‘smell.’

**Andean:** Itucale *asi* ‘smell,’ Patagon *os* ‘smell,’ Quechua *asia* ‘stink.’

- [CP133, AN106]

### 531 NOSE<sub>3</sub> \*ʔin

**Almosan:** Proto-North Wakashan \**ʔnt-* ‘blow the nose,’ Oowekyala, Heiltsuk, Kwakwala *ʔnt-* ‘blow the nose.’ Chimakuan: Quileute *ʔod-* ‘snot, blow the nose.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \**ʔin-nu:q*. Proto-California \**tʰVnVq* ‘nose,’ \**tʰi/u* ‘smell,’ Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \**ʔ-(n)* ‘nose, smell.’ Zuni *ʔino* ‘blow the nose.’

### 532 NOSE<sub>4</sub> \*sunik ~ \*sinik

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**sanikwiwa* ‘he blows his nose.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca *ʔosēnōʔ* ‘smell.’ Siouan: Chiwere *sīŋe* ‘smell,’ Tutelo *sūw* ‘stink.’ ?Proto-Keresan \**wʰi:šini*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \**sini-k/p* ‘nose, mouth, finger,’ Oregon: Coos *si:n*, Takelma *sin-i:x*. California: Costanoan: Santa Cruz *su:nta* ‘snot,’ Miwok: Lake Miwok *šin-* ‘blow the nose,’ Central Sierra Miwok *sēŋ-aH* ‘smelly thing,’ Wintu *sono*, Chukchansi *sinik*, Gashowu *sīn-wiyi* ‘to blow the nose,’ Proto-Yokuts \**sin-* ‘blow one’s nose,’ Yokuts *šēniṭ* ‘smell,’ Yaudanchi *senk’a* ‘smell.’ Mexican: Huave *šink*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan \**sũ* ‘smell,’ Tewa *sũ* ‘smell,’ Kiowa *sē* ‘smell,’ Proto-Central Otomi \**šiñũ*, South Pame *šinyû*. Proto-Oto-Manguean \**si(ʔ)*.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha \**su-ni-ka*, Atanque *sun-kōna* ‘beak,’ Binticua

*misun-a*, Move *inson*.

**Paezan:** Itonama *usnu*, Colorado *sin*, Timucua *čini* ‘nose, nostrils.’

**Andean:** Sek *čuna*, Leco (*bi-*)*činua*, Proto-Quechuan *\*sinqa*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *senna* ‘smell (v.)’ Iranshe *sînepa* ‘blow nose,’  
Ubde-Nehern *čin-uehei* ‘smell,’ Yuri *čunama* ‘smell.’

**Equatorial:** Campa *asanki-ro* ‘smell,’ Callahuaya *čini*, Caranga *čonangã*  
‘stink.’

• This root is also found in Khoisan, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Eurasiatic, Dravidian, Dene-Caucasian, Indo-Pacific, Nahali, and Austric (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

533 NOSE<sub>5</sub> *\*yak*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*(ya)χu* ~ *\*(yo)χu*. Proto-Yuman *\*ya:yo?*. Proto-Coahuiltecan *\*ya'ex*, Comecrudo *yax*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*yaka*.

534 NOW<sub>1</sub> *\*ere*

**Chibchan:** Terraba *eri* ‘now, today,’ Cacaopera *ira* ‘today.’

**Macro-Carib:** Galibi *ereme*, Yameo *errama*.

**Macro-Ge:** Tibagi *ori* ‘today,’ Coropo *hora* ‘today,’ Fulnio *te* ‘now.’

• [CP135, MC46, MG112]

535 NOW<sub>2</sub> *\*ne*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian *\*nē:*.

**Penutian:** California *\*ne* . . .

536 NUMERAL PREFIX *\*ne-*

• [Ruhlen 1995d] The numeral prefix *\*ne-* is found in many, but by no means all, Amerind languages. See the data given for ONE, TWO, and THREE in this dictionary. The origin and meaning of this prefix is unknown.

537 OLD<sub>1</sub> *\*ano*

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto: Ocaina *ona:* ‘older.’ Yagua: Yameo *año*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *ano* ‘become old.’ Proto-Panoan *\*?ani* ‘big.’ Tacanan:  
Tacana *anu* ‘old woman,’ Chama *ano* ‘grandmother.’

• [A202]

538 OLD<sub>2</sub> *\*kayo*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian *\*ke:hte:-*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian *\*-kayō:* ‘be old.’ Proto-Keresan *\*k'uy:yau-d<sup>z</sup>a*



‘old woman.’

**Penutian:** California \**key*, Proto-Maiduan \**ke:y*.

**Macro-Carib:** ?Proto-Witotoan \**-gai* ‘old woman.’

### 539 OLDER FEMALE \**wis-*

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Mohawk *-a-thū-wisō* ‘woman.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Tzeltal-Tzotzil \**wiš-* ‘older sister.’

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba *wežu* ‘older female.’

**Equatorial:** Guahibo: Guayabero *wiš<sup>y</sup>* ‘female,’ Churuya *-viči* ‘female.’

• [Ruhlen 1994b] The Mohawk word is a compound of the feminine grade of the Amerind *t'ina/t'ana/t'una* root, modified by this root which changes ‘sister, daughter’ to ‘woman.’

### 540 ONE<sub>1</sub> \*(*ne-*)*k<sup>w</sup>e(t)*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic (Proulx) \**ne-kwet-* ~ \**ne-kwec-*, Wiyot *gō't-*, Yurok *qo:t-*, Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian (Bloomfield) \**nekotw-i*, Proto-Algonquian (Picard) \**ne-kwet-wi*, Fox *négut<sup>i</sup>*, Ojibwa *ningoto-*, Natick *nequt*, Blackfoot *nitúkska* (Sapir [1913] suggested that the Blackfoot form had arisen from earlier \**nituki-*, and still earlier \**nikuti-*, by metathesis). Kutenai *-ok<sup>w</sup>(ē)-* ‘to be one,’ *nʔaó:k<sup>w</sup>e*: ‘the one, the other,’ *náʔnka* ‘orphan,’ *-nikʔ-* ‘one of, one belonging to’ (noun class marker). Mosan: Proto-Salish (Swadesh) \**nək<sup>w</sup>-əʔ*, Proto-Salish (Kuipers) \**nak<sup>w</sup>* ~ \**nk<sup>w</sup>-uʔ* ‘one, another, family, tribe,’ Coeur d’Alene *nək<sup>w</sup>-ε<sup>w</sup>* ‘one,’ *nik<sup>w</sup>* ‘be tribe’ (i.e. ‘be one with the tribe, be one of the tribe’), Flathead *nk<sup>w</sup>ú*, Kalispel *nk<sup>w</sup>uʔ*, Wenatchee-Columbian *nk<sup>w</sup>*, Musqueam *nəc'aʔ*, Lummi *nəc'əʔ*, Duwamish *dəč'uʔ*, Twana *dəč'ó-*, Clallam *néc'uʔ*, Upper Chehalis *nač'aw*, Colville-Okanagan *nk<sup>w</sup>*, Spokane *nk<sup>w</sup>uʔ*, Saanich *nəc'əʔ*, Samish *nəcaʔ*, Tillamook *néc'-*. Wakashan: Heiltsuk *n'hx<sup>w</sup>-*, Haisla *n'ax<sup>w</sup>-*, Kwakwala *n'ax<sup>w</sup>-*, *nā'χūla* ‘alone,’ *-k'ōt* ‘one side.’

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: ?Adai *nancas*.

**Penutian:** Tsimshian: Coast Tsimshian *k<sup>w</sup>i-da:t* (used in counting human beings aboard canoes). Chinook *qwəmma* ‘five’ (< \**qwət-ma* ‘one-hand’). Oregon: Siuslaw *nīk'a* ‘alone.’ Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \**na:χč*, Sahaptin *naχš*, *-anakw-* ‘to leave, desert,’ *anakwət* ‘deserted spouse,’ Nez Perce *nāqc*, Klamath *nās*, Cayuse *ná:*, Molale *naŋŋa*, Modoc *nas*. California: Wintun *k'et-e-*, Patwin *?ete-*, Yokuts *yet'*. Proto-Gulf \**?unk'u*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha (Swadesh) \**nik'u*, Eastern Atakapa *hanik*, Western Atakapa *tanuk*, *hinak* ‘like,’ Chitimacha *?ungu*, *-nk'is* ‘just, only,’ Natchez *-neke* ‘like, as if,’ Tunica *-nahku* ‘like.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan (Kaufman) \**k<sup>y</sup>a*. Yana *k'ai* ‘only, one.’ Kashaya *kū* ~ *hku*. Washo *lák'a-* (< \**nák'a-*). Coahuiltecan: Karankawa *nātsa*, Comecrudo *nāwis*. Proto-Pomo \**k'a(:)-*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*(Y)(n)k<sup>w</sup>e(h)(n)*, Popoloca *hnku*, Proto-Mazatec *\*(h)nku ~ \*ngu*, Chocho *ngu*, Popoloco (Oaxaca) *nakua*, Amuzgo *nkwi*, Mazahua *nʔaha*, Otomi *nʔna*, South Pame *ʔna*, Trique *ʔngo*.

**Chibchan:** Ika *inʔgui*, Damana *ingwi*, Atanque *eingui* ‘other,’ Chumulu *kué*, Gualaca *kué*, Chimila *kuté*, Cuna *kuenča-kua*.

**Paezan:** Millcayac *negui*, Chimu *onkó*, and Eten *unik*.

**Andean:** Zaparoan: Zaparo *nokoáki*, Shimigae *nikíño*, Conambo *nukaki*, Iquito *nóki*, Cahuapana *núki*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran *\*kí* ‘first.’ Proto-Guahiban *\*kae-haewa*, Guahibo *kai*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Tucano *nik-e* (masculine), *nik-o* (feminine), *nik-a* (neutral), Hehenawa *k<sup>w</sup>inaro*, Dyuremawa *kuinaro*, Bahukiwa *kuinarõã*, Cubeo *kũinalõ*.

**Macro-Carib:** Yabarana *enix-péte*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Atsahuaca *nikatsu*, Amahuaca *na:*, Caduveo *nigot nuba:řat* ‘five’ (*nuba:řat* = ‘hand’).

**Macro-Ge:** Opaie *enex-há*, Yabuti *niči*.

- [AK144, Ruhlen 1995d]

#### 541 ONE<sub>2</sub> *\*tama*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*tum ~ \*tuʔ ~ \*tu(h)*.

**Chibchan:** Dobocubi *tam*. Yanomam *tim* ‘nominalizer of verbs, the one.’

**Paezan:** ?Timucua *-te-ma* ‘the one who.’ Barbacoan: Telembi *tumuni*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora *canere, thanere* (Tessmann). Carib: Proto-Hianocoto *\*teñi*, Crishana *tuimo*. Witoto: Witoto *dane, dama* ‘alone,’ Nonuya *da:mu*, Miranya Carapana Tapuya [zähzähma], Ocaina *tiama:ma*. Yagua: Peba *tometaira*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Guachi *tamak*. Lengua *tama*.

- [A203]

#### 542 ONE<sub>3</sub> *\*kela ~ \*kana*

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *k'al*. California: Miwok: Central Sierra *kenge*, Marin *kene*; Wintun *ketet*. Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *o-kel* ‘be lonesome.’

**Chibchan:** Cueva *kenčeko*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Guambiano *kan*, Totoro *kaʔna*. Paez: Coconuco *kana*. Millcayac *lkanem* ‘one time,’ Allentiac *lka*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *kiñe*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auake *kiuana*. Proto-Nambikwara *\*kana:ka(nat)*, Tarunde *kanakero*, Kokozu *kenage*, Elotasu *knakna*, Northern Nambikwara *kanã:ka*. Tucano: Waikina *kanoa*, Wanana *kilia*, Hehenawa *kwina-ro* (cf. *pika-ro* ‘two’). Cf. Iranshe *kǝtapwi, kula-pa* ‘other side.’

**Equatorial:** Sebondoy *kanži*.

- [A204]

543 ONE<sub>4</sub> \*sem

**Almosan:** Salish: Bella Coola *smaw*.

**Penutian:** Plateau: Sahaptin *sim* ‘only,’ Nez Perce *cim* ‘only.’ Zuni *samma* ‘alone.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*še, Washo *šemu* ‘the one,’ Shasta *tsammu* ‘one,’ Chumush *čumu* ~ *šumu* ‘one,’ Comecrudo *somi* ‘alone.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*seme ~ \*se, Mono *šimí*, Comanche *šimí?*, Aztec *se:meh*, Pipil *sæm*, *sæm-pual* ‘twenty’ (literally, ‘one-counted [person]).

**Chibchan:** Rama *saima* ‘likewise,’ *sáimij* ‘one,’ Sanuma *tsami* ‘alone.’ Yanomam *camí*, Sanema *ča:mi*.

**Paezan:** Atacama *sema*, Timucua *isimi* ‘only, sole, alone.’

**Equatorial:** Candoshi *-sama* ‘. . . like, similar to’ (suffix on nouns and pronouns).

**Macro-Carib:** Witotoan: Andoquero *ceca:ma*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Angaité *seima*, Lengua, Mascoy *swama*.

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Chavante *simisi*, Cherente *šimiši*.

- [Ruhlen 1994g] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

544 ONE<sub>5</sub> \*saka

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Pawnee *asku*. Iroquoian: Seneca *ska*. Proto-Keresan \*ʔisga, Acoma *ʔiska*.

**Paezan:** Warao *isaka*.

**Andean:** Lamisto *sok*, Jebero *saka* ‘only.’ Quechuan: Quiteño *šuk*.

- [AK143, AN81]

545 ONE<sub>6</sub> \*pa

**Almosan:** Proto-Central Salish \*palaʔ. Proto-Chimakuan \*waʔ ~ \*wi(ʔ).

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Biloxi *pa* ‘alone, only.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Yuki *pa<sup>n-</sup>*, Wappo *p'ai* ‘alone,’ *pawa* ‘one.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*p<sup>h</sup>a ~ \*pey.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*pul ~ \*pola.

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Matagalpa *bas*.

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \*aba, Choco, Waunana, Tado, Chami, Tukura *aba*, Andagueda *abba*, Sambu, Saija *haba*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Nambikwara *banure*, Capishana *patairɛ*, Yuri *peya*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \*ba, Bare *bakunakawi*, Wapishana *bayadap*, Amuesha *pačia*, Tariana *pada*, Chamicuro *padlaka*, Terena *paisuan*, Manao *panimu*, Maypure *papeta*, Mehinacu *pauica*, Marawan *paxa*, Baniva *peya:lo*,

Arawak *aba*, Achagua *abai*, Guinau *abamedja*, Caliponau, Catio *aban*, Piapoco *aberi*, Resigaro *apa:hapene*, Uainuma *apagerei*, Campa *aparo*, Mawakwa *apaura*, Adzani *apekuca*. Proto-Tupi-Guarani *\*pe*, Kepkeriwat *pangue*, Munduruku *panta*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Carib *abama*, Carif *abana*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Panoan: Maruba, Caripuna *pazü*. Proto-Tacanan *\*peia* ‘one, other, another,’ Cavineña *pea*, Tacana, Tumupasa, Isiama, Araona *peada*, Sapiboca *pebbi*.

546 ONE<sub>7</sub> *\*as*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan *\*as*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba *\*iCa*.

**Chibchan:** Paya *as*. Misumalpan: Sumu, Panamaca *as*, Ulua, Twahka *asla*, Matagalpa *bas*.

**Paezan:** Paez: Paez *yas*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora *c<sup>h</sup>a-* ‘one, a.’

547 ONE<sub>8</sub> *\*čeñe*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*č[e:]HV*.

**Andean:** Gennaken *čeye*, Puelche *čia*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Durina *čun*.

**Equatorial:** Arawak: Mapidian *čioñi*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Waiwai *čewñe*, Apalai *seni*.

**Macro-Ge:** Guato *čenehe*.

548 ONE<sub>9</sub> *\*hu*

**Paezan:** Mura: Bohura *huyi*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*huk*, Ayacucho *huk*.

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Paumari *huarani*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Panoan: Yamiuaua *huisti*.

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *hu*.

549 ONE<sub>10</sub> *\*man*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Heiltsuk *m'n-* ‘one, alone, single, another one.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *mi:ʔ-s* ~ *\*me:-ʔs*. California: Proto-Maiduan *\*mí* ‘that one.’

**Chibchan:** Yanoama: Surara *mahon*, Yanomam *moni*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Cayapa *main*, Colorado *mã-* ‘one, again.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Dou *meẽ*, Curicuriai *meid*. Macu-Puinave *mi:k*.

**Equatorial:** Arawak: Paraujano *manei*. Tupi: Arua *mi:n*, Sanamaica *mun*, Arikem *mundapa*. Trumai *mihin*. Kandoshi: Shapra *minapta*, Murato *minumpta*.

550 ONE<sub>11</sub> \**owin*

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *wani* ‘the one.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Caribe *obin*, Tivericoto *ovin*, Caribisi *owe*, Cariniaco *owi*, Galibi *awin*, Chiquena *winali*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Tacanan: Tiatinagua *owi*.

**Macro-Ge:** Yabuti: Arikapu *owa*.

551 OPEN<sub>1</sub> \**k’une*

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *kæn*, Algonquian: Arapaho *kāne*. Kutenai *uk’un*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Lower Umpqua *qunh*. Gulf: Wappo *k’ine*.

- [AK145, P173]

552 OPEN<sub>2</sub> \**pai*

**Penutian:** California: Maidu: Nisenan *pe*. Gulf: Atakapa *pai*.

**Paezan:** Atacama *pai* ‘uncover,’ Catio *ebaya*.

- [P174, CP143]

553 OTTER \**keta*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**ketate:wa*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan \**kita:pat*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**keca*.

554 OWL<sub>1</sub> \**tuku(l)*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwalwala *dx-* ‘owl, hoot.’

**Penutian:** California: Miwok: Lake Miwok *túkkuli*, Plains Miwok *tukúlli*, Northern Sierra Miwok *túkkuli*; Costanoan: Rumsen *túkun*. Gulf: Wappo *hutuku:lu* ‘hoot owl,’ Natchez \**?ukulul-uh* ‘screech owl.’ Mayan: Proto-Quichean \**tuhkur*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**tuku*.

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *tukurū*.

**Paezan:** Cayapa *t<sup>y</sup>ut<sup>y</sup>u*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**tuku*.

555 OWL<sub>2</sub> \**pulpul*

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \**bōbōrã*, Embera Tado *boborã*, Embera Darien *pōpōrã*. Barbacoan: Colorado *bonbo*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**bīpu pako*, Cubeo *pupuri*. Kakua *pībīp*, Jupda *pəbəp*. Muniche *pupawa*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**punpuli*, Curripaco *pupuli*, Yucuna *pu:pu*, Resigaró *popo:gi*.

**Macro-Carib:** Meneca *buru*, Pemon *porotoiko*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \**pupu*, Proto-Panoan \**popo* ‘kind of owl.’

## 556 PAIN \*(n)ana

**Andean:** Patagon: Manekenkn *anonia*. Quechuan: Santiagueño *nana* ‘pain, to hurt,’ Cochabamba *nana* ‘to hurt.’ Zaparo: Arabela *no*: ‘to hurt.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Hishcariana *anhi* ‘evil’ (n.), Surinam *ani:iki* ‘sickness,’ Aparai *t-one* ‘bad.’ Witoto: Orejon *ana* ‘devil,’ Nonuya *hoani* ‘bad.’ Yagua: Peba *yuno* ‘devil,’ Yameo *ana* ‘pain.’

- [A205]

557 PARROT<sub>1</sub> \*cece

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniče *čučaʔa*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**ćeće*, \**jeje*.

558 PARROT<sub>2</sub> \*kara ~ kerī

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**k'e:l*.

**Chibchan:** Chimila *isa kwaru*.

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \**k<sup>h</sup>are* ‘parrot,’ Darien *k<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>ere* ‘parakeet,’ Waunana *keker* ‘parakeet.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Tucano, Bara, Tuyuka *kekero* ‘parakeet.’

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Maipuran: Curipaco *keri-keri* ‘parakeet,’ Piapoco *kilikili* ‘parakeet’; Guahibo *kikir* ‘parakeet.’

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto: Muinane *kī:raba*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**kara*.

559 PARROT<sub>3</sub> \*kaka

**Hokan:** Yurumangui *kaukano*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Nambikwara: Anunze *kakaiteze*.

560 PARROT<sub>4</sub> \*tuwi

**Equatorial:** Achuar *tuwiš*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mascoian: Lengua *ta:we*. Proto-Tacanan \**tu(?)i* ‘small parrot.’

561 PAST<sub>1</sub> \*-na

**Hokan:** Achomawi *-n-* (distant past), Atsugewi *-’n-* (distant past); Subtiaba, Tlappanec *ni-* (perfective durative); Yana: North Yana *-’n(a)-* (remote past).

**Macro-Panoan:** Panoan: Chacobo *-ni* ‘a long time ago’; Tacanan: Tacana *-na* (remote past); Lule [-ny] (recent past); Mataco *-ne* (past).

**?Macro-Ge:** Ge: Cayapo *-na* (present or recent past).

- [G77]

562 PAST<sub>2</sub> *\*-ite*

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *-ate* (remote past), Vilela *ete* (adverb indicating a completed act); Tacanan: Tacana *-tia* (immediate past), *-(ti)ba* (past); Mataco *pa-nte* (remote past, cf. *ma-te* [recent past]); Panoan: Chacobo *?ita* (action taken yesterday); Lengua: Mascocoy *athta* (past); Moseten *at* + VERB + *te* (perfect), *at* + VERB + *ike* (pluperfect).

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Kraho *itε* (past).

- [G78]

563 PAST<sub>3</sub> *\*-k*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma *\*-k*. Zuni *-ka*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*-k<sup>y</sup>i*.

564 PEEL<sub>1</sub> *\*t<sup>l</sup>uq<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish *\*luq<sup>w</sup> ~ laq<sup>w</sup>* ‘peel off.’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *t<sup>l</sup>uk<sup>w</sup>a* ‘peel bark off with a lever.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan *\*t-w-(l)* ‘peel, skin, bark, cover.’ Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*loki*.

565 PEEL<sub>2</sub> *\*pas*

**Almosan:** Proto-North Wakashan *\*pas-* ‘peel off a layer of something,’ Proto-Algonquian *\*pehš-* ‘peel, husk.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan *\*pośi*.

566 PENIS *\*ko*

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Maku *koi*. Puinave: Curiariai *oeyi*. Yuri *uke*.

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Guaraní *t-ako* ‘groins, hips,’ Abanee *t-ako* ‘vagina,’ etc.

Zamuco: Chamacoco *os-axa*, Tumraha *p-axa*.

- [A206]

567 PEOPLE *\*?oni*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*hanu* ‘people.’ Caddoan: Caddo *hayānu?* ‘person.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Wappo *oni*, Tunica *?oni*.

- [AK151, P176]

568 PERSON<sub>1</sub> *\*kaya*

**Andean:** Leco čaya ‘people.’ Zaparo: Zaparo, Arabela *kaya*, Iquito *ka:ya*

‘man.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua: Angaite *kea* ‘man.’ Mataco: Choroti *kíhi* ‘man,’ Payagua *ako* ‘man,’ Choropi *-kaya* ‘husband.’

- [A207]

569 PERSON<sub>2</sub> \**mik*<sup>w</sup>

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**lmaχ*<sup>w</sup> ‘person, tribe,’ Proto-Salish \**qal-mix*<sup>w</sup>, ?Proto-Algonquian \**mo:hkoma:na* ‘white man.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \**ō:k<sup>w</sup>ih* ‘man, person.’

**Penutian:** California *mVw* ‘Indian,’ Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \**mik<sup>w</sup>:i* ~ *muk<sup>w</sup>:i* ‘person, Indian.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoan *mik* ‘man,’ Proto-Choco \**imik<sup>h</sup>ĩrã* ‘man.’

570 PERSON<sub>3</sub> \**win*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \**-wi:nō-* ‘young man, young woman.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: North Sahaptin *winc* ‘man’; California: Wintun: Wintu *wint<sup>h</sup>u:h*, Patwin *win*; Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean \**winaq* ‘man, person,’ Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**?a-win* ‘elder brother of a woman’ (for *?a-*, see ELDER<sub>1</sub>).

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**wayna* ‘young man.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Kaliana *wane* ‘husband,’ Chayma *wane* ‘husband’; Yagua *wanũ* ‘men,’ *rai-wano* ‘my husband.’

- [P179, MC30]

571 PITCH (RESIN) \**salak* ~ \**sakal*

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \**c-x-(l)* ‘pitch, resin,’ California *čaxa* ‘pitch (resin),’ Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan *s-k-C* ‘wax, pitch,’ Proto-Yokuts *sa:xal* ‘pitch.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**šalaH* ‘pitch, sticky.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**sala* ‘pitch, gum, sap.’

- The direction of metathesis is not clear.

572 PLANT \**qaywa*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**kiw’a* ‘plant (n.)’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**kuy* ‘tree, wood.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*a-*)*χay* ‘tree,’ Proto-Pomo \**qa:ye* ~ *qaye:* ‘manzanita bush.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \**kow(a)* ‘plant, tree,’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**kui* ‘tree.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**qaywa*.



573 PLAY (v.) \**loʔu*

**Almosan:** ?Proto-Algonquian \*-*lawe*: ‘make happy, please someone, give someone joy.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \**lo:l*, Takelma *lo:ux*; Plateau: Klamath *le:ʔwa*; California: Lake Miwok *ʔe:la*, Yokuts: Gashowu *luʔu*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**loʔo*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \**lɔu:n*.

- [P181]

574 PLURAL<sub>1</sub> \**ina* ~ \**ana*

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba *-an* ~ *-in* (pronominal plural); Guaymi: Move *-n* (pronominal plural); Talamanca: Terraba *-n* ~ *-in* (pronominal plural); Lenca: Membreno *-nan* ~ *-n* (pronominal plural).

**Andean:** Zaparoan: Zaparo *-na* (pronominal plural); Itucalc *-na* (pronominal plural); Cahuapana: Jebero *-na* (third-person pluralizer); Yamana, Yahgan, Mapudungu *-n* (plural of independent pronouns in all three persons).

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Tiquie *na*: ‘they, their,’ *na* (plural of demonstratives and nouns), Nadobo *ana* ‘the others’; Canichana *-na* (nominal plural); Ticuna *na-* ‘their,’ *nyʔũ* ‘they.’

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: [languages?] *-n(a)* (third-person plural possessive, verb subject); Kandoshi *-ana* (third-person plural noun object); Jivaro: Aguaruna *-(i)na* (plural subject of verb); Piaroa: Saliba *ña* (plural marker in demonstratives).

- [G30] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

575 PLURAL<sub>2</sub> \**ma* ~ \**me*

**Penutian:** Chinook *-ma* (collective.) Plateau: North Sahaptin *-ma* (plural), Nez Perce *-me* (plural.) California: Costanoan: San José *-ma-* (nominal animate plural.) Gulf: Yuki *-am* (collective), *-(y)am* (plural marker on verbs), Chitimacha *-ma* (verbal and adjectival plural.)

**Central Amerind:** Oto-Manguean: Ixcatec *suwa-ma* ‘they’ (cf. *suwa* ‘he, she, that’), Chiapanec *-me* (plural), Otomi (San José del Sitio) *go-bē* ‘our ex.’ (cf. *-go* ‘my’); Uto-Aztecan: [languages??] *-me* (noun plural); Tanoan: Taos *nemã* (plural of names of animals) (cf. *-na* [singular]), Kiowa *-m̄* (plural).

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Krenje *me-ʔay* ‘your’ (cf. *ʔay* ‘thy’), *me-h* ‘their’ (cf. *h-* ‘his’), Kraho *wa-me* ‘we’ (cf. *wa* ‘I’); Chiquito *-ma* (plural); Bororo *-ma-gue* (nominal plural for humans).

- [G31]

576 PLURAL<sub>3</sub> \*aki

**Almosan:** Algonquian: Proto-Central-Eastern Algonquian \*-aki (animate plural).

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Wichita -ak- (plural object of a verb).

**Penutian:** California: Costanoan: San José -k- (plural); Miwok -k- (plural, cf. *mi* ‘you [sg.],’ *mi-ko* ‘you [pl.]’), Northern Sierra Miwok *nekko* ‘these,’ Miwok -k (third-person plural affix on nouns and verbs.) Gulf: Chitimacha -ka (plural on nouns and verbs), Atakapa -k (plural affix on verbs and pronouns), Muskogean: Creek -aki ~ -agi (plural of a few nouns indicating persons and a limited group of adjectives).

• [G32] Note that the -k plural is almost always personal and/or animate.

577 PLURAL<sub>4</sub> \*le

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Move, Muoi, Guaymi -ri (pronominal plural), Murire -re (pronominal plural); Talamanca: Bribri -r (nominal plural), Borunca -roh (pronominal plural); Misumalpan: Cacaopera -ra ‘plural of second-person plural verb subject), Xinca -li (nominal and pronominal plural), Paya -r(i) (marker of plural verb subject).

**Paезan:** Guambiana -ele (noun plural), *re-yle* ‘they’ (cf. *ri* ‘he’), Guanaca -el (noun plural), Totoro -le (noun plural); Barbacoan: Colorado -la (nominal and pronominal plural), Cayapa -la (pronominal and verbal plural); Choco: Catio -ra (nominal and pronominal plural).

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco -el (plural marker on nouns and pronouns); Lule *mi-l* ‘you (pl.),’ -l (personal plural, e.g., *kwe-l* ‘children’); Guaicuru: Mocoivi *le-ta:* ‘their father’ (cf. *i-ta:* ‘his/her father’); Lengua: Mascoy *k<sup>y</sup>el* ‘you (pl.), they.’

• [G33] This root is also found in Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

578 POTATO<sub>1</sub> \*qaw

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \*s-qawc.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*q<sup>h</sup>awel ~ \*q<sup>χ</sup>awel.

579 POTATO<sub>2</sub> \*kali

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*čal<sup>y</sup> ‘wild potato.’

**Paезan:** Proto-Choco \*ik<sup>h</sup>ade ‘yam.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \*k<sup>h</sup>ali(-t<sup>h</sup>i).

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \*kari.

## 580 PRESENT/CONTINUATIVE \*-is

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala -(ə)s (continuative); Salish: Upper Chehalis

s- (continuative).

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: [languages??] -s (imperfective/progressive); Iroquoian: [languages] -s (imperfective/progressive); Keresan: Acoma -sə (continuative/ repetitive/habitual).

**Penutian:** California: Wintun: Patwin -s (present); Plateau: Sahaptin -šʔ (continuative), Nez Perce -s (present perfect); Oregon: Siuslaw -i:s ~ -u:s (durative); Gulf: Yuki -is (continuative), Chitimacha -iš (continuative).

- [G70] Possibly connected with the following etymology.

#### 581 PRESENT/DURATIVE \*-i

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba -i ~ -li ~ -ni ~ -hi ~ -ši (progressive); Cuna -i (present); Rama: Rama -i (present), Guatuso -i ~ -e (present); Misumalpan: Miskito -i (present participle).

**Paezan:** Chocoan: Catio -i (present), Warrau -i (present participle).

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Macusi, Kaliana, Accawai, Oyana, Trio -i (indefinite tense indicating the present in particular); Bora: Muinane -ʔi (durative/progressive); Yagua: Yameo -i (progressive).

- [G71] Possibly connected with the preceding etymology.

#### 582 QUAIL \*takaka

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*t̥aKaKa ~ \*t̥'aKaKa 'valley quail.'

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*takaka ~ kakata.

#### 583 RAT \*kaba

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*XaBa.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*ka(wa).

#### 584 RAW \*čaw

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*saw.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*čawa.

#### 585 RECIPROCAL \*-ki ~ \*-ka

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot č̄-k 'child' (if this derives from \*tin-ki),

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan (Matthews) \*-ki ~ \*-ka (reciprocal on kin terms), \*i-thā-ki 'man's sister (older or younger),' \*i-thā-ka 'woman's younger sister,' \*yí-ki 'son,' \*yú-ki 'daughter,' Biloxi as-tí-ki 'boy'; Yuchi wi-ta-ki 'young man'; Caddoan: Pawnee ti-ki 'boy, son.'

**Penutian:** California: Miwok: Southern Sierra Miwok tá-č̄iʔ 'older brother,' Costanoan: San Juan Bautista ta-ka 'older brother,' Rumsien tá-ka 'older brother.'

**Hokan:** Yanan: Proto-Yanan \*-si (a suffix "used in several . . . terms indi-

cating relations to one of a younger generation” [Sapir 1918: 156]), Yahi *t’i’nī-si* ‘child, son, daughter’; Pomo: Southern Pomo *t’i-ki* ‘younger sibling’; Konomihu *ču-ka* ‘boy.’

**Central Amerind:** Manguean: Mazahua *t’i-ʔi* ‘boy,’ Proto-Central Otomi *\*šū-ci* ‘girl’ (< *\*tun-ki*); Tanoan: Tewa *sūn-ci* ‘intimate friend, chum’ (< *\*tun-ki*).

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Binticua *ču-ka* ‘grandchild,’ *a-ta-ka* ‘old woman’; Chibcha: Tegria *su-ka* ‘sister.’

**Paezan:** Chimu: Eten *čan-ka* ‘sister’; Barbacoan: Cayapa *cuh-ki* ‘sister.’

**Andean:** Zaparoan: Iquito *i-ta-ka* ‘girl.’

**Equatorial:** Kariri: Kamaru *te-ke* ‘nephew, niece’; Maipuran: Goajiro *tan-či* ‘brother-in-law.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Amaguaje *ye-tsen-ke* ‘son’ (cf. *cin* ‘boy’), Yupua *tsīn-geē* ‘boy.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Kaliana *tai-ge* ‘brother,’ Taulipang *a-ci-ke* ‘older brother.’

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Aponegicran *i-thon-ghi* ‘sister,’ Karaho *a-ton-ka* ‘younger sister,’ Piokobyé *a-tōn-kā* ‘younger sister.’

• [Ruhlen 1994b] In his classic study of Proto-Siouan kinship terminology G. H. Matthews noted that “there are two suffixes, *\*-ki* and *\*-ka*, which were probably productive in Proto-Siouan, but which, in the daughter languages, are nonproductive, or, in the case of *\*-ki* in some languages, semiproductive. Reflexes of these suffixes are now best treated as a part of the stems they follow, with the result that a stem in one language will sometimes be cognate with all but the last syllable of a stem in another language, this last syllable being a reflex of one of these Proto-Siouan suffixes” (Matthews 1959: 254–55). Possibly the diachronic source of the first affix, and perhaps of both, is the Proto-Amerind suffix *-ki* ‘we-2 inclusive’ (see WE-2 INCLUSIVE *ki* ~ *ka*). Reflexes of this suffix are abundantly reflected in the SON/CHILD/DAUGHTER etymology, where in many cases the suffix has become fossilized on the root, as in Siouan.

#### 586 RED *\*misk*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian *\*meskwi*; Wakashan: Bella Bella *muk<sup>w</sup>*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*m’a:c’i* ‘blood,’ Santa Ana *mʔaʔac’i*.

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *misk*. California: Yokuts *payčikin* ‘blood.’ Gulf: Atakapa *pošk* ‘blood.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*maso* ‘red, brown,’ Proto-Coahuiltecan *\*msa’ol*.

• [AK157, P18]

#### 587 REED *\*ʔakta*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*ʔakta* ‘reed, elbow,’ Chitimacha *ʔakt* ‘musical instrument made of bent cane reed.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \*ʔaxta ‘reed, cane.’

## 588 REFLEXIVE \*ti

**Equatorial:** Kariri *di-* (before consonants), *d-* (before vowels), both reflexive possessives, Yuracare *-ta* ~ *-to* (reflexive verbal suffix); Tupian: Arikem *ta* (third-person reflexive object).

**Macro-Carib:** Carib *t-*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Tacana *-ti* (reflexive marker on verb).

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *tu-* (third-person reflexive possessive, cf. *u-* [non-reflexive]).

• [G25] It is quite possible that these reflexive uses of *t-* are specializations of the common third person and distance demonstrative *ti* (see HE/SHE<sub>2</sub> *ti* ~ *ta*).

589 RIB<sub>1</sub> \*q'aci

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Bella Bella *k'ōd'zo* ‘bone, rib’ (borrowing from Chinook?).

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan \**ki:suʔ* ‘bone,’ Pawnee *kīsu* ‘bone,’ Wichita *kīsʔa* ‘bone,’ Pawnee *kasis* ‘be hard,’ Arikara *kaħš* ‘hard,’ Wichita *kasɪ* ‘hard, loud.’ Keresan: Acoma *ya-gəc'-əni*, Santa Ana *sk'asɪ* ‘hard.’

**Penutian:** Chinook *qot'so* ‘bone.’ Plateau: Klamath *waq-k'as* ‘shin bone.’ California: Miwok: Southern Sierra Miwok *k'ččič* ‘bone,’ Plains Miwok *kəčəč* ‘bone.’ Gulf: Proto-North Yuki \**k'ih̄t* ‘bone,’ Yuki *k'iʔt* ‘bone,’ Wappo *kúʔe*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**kaci* ‘bone,’ Chitimacha *kat'si* ‘bone.’ Mexican: Mayan: Uspantec *k'alk'aš*.

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Binticua *katia* ~ *kiasi*.

**Paezan:** Matanawi *kisi* ‘bone,’ Atacama *kada* ‘bone,’ Itonama *k'osa* ‘dry’ (intransitive).Chimu *čotti* ‘bone,’ Colorado *čide* ‘bone,’

**Andean:** Selknam *q'eyt* ‘breastbone,’ Mapudungu *kadi*, Genneken *uguet* ‘bone,’ Qawasqar *akšias*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Kapishana *nya-kotsī* ‘bone.’

**Equatorial:** Caranga *kaiču* ‘bone.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Cavineña (*epere-*)*'katse*, Komlek *kadekotti* ‘bone,’ Caduveo *koda-uek'o*.

590 RIB<sub>2</sub> \*ca

**Keresiouan:** ?Proto-Caddoan \**-sa:tuʔ*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**ca* ‘bone.’ Zuni *sa* ‘bone.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ša* ~ \**sa*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ca* ‘ribs.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**šao* ‘bone.’

## 591 RIGHT \*pet

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \*put ‘right, exact.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*pet ‘right (side).’

592 RIVER<sub>1</sub> \*pala

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \*-a:pa:w(e) ‘water.’ Wakashan: Nootka *m’it<sup>l</sup>a* ‘rain.’

**Penutian:** Chinook *emat<sup>l</sup>* ‘bay.’ Oregon: Miluk *paʔt* ‘sea,’ Coos *balimis* ‘sea.’ California: Yokuts: Calavera *polley*; Wintun: Noema *pel-tepum*; Miwok: Lake Miwok *polpol* ‘lake,’ Central Sierra Miwok *polloku* ‘lake.’ Gulf: Yuki: Coast Yuki *mel*, Huchnom *mol*, Natchez *ʔapal* ‘river.’ Muskogean: Alabama *pahni*. Mexican: Mayan: Mam *palu* ‘sea,’ Quiché *palau* ‘sea,’ Kekchí *palau* ‘sea, lake,’ etc.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(h)k<sup>w</sup>e(n). Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*mel ‘flow,’ Hopi *mə:na* ‘river.’

**Chibchan:** Cuna *ti-wala*, Guajiquero *wara*, Miskito *awala*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Cuaiquer, Telemi *pil*. Peine, Atacama *puri*. Timucua *iparu* ‘drink (v.)’

**Andean:** Yamana *palaxana* ‘rain (v.)’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani \*paranã ‘river.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *parau* ‘sea,’ *paru* ‘river, water,’ Arara, Pariri, Apingi, Yaruma, Bakairi *paru*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \*paro ‘river.’ Maca *iwali*.

**Macro-Ge:** Otuke *ouru*, Caraja *bero*, Palmas *war* ‘swamp.’

- [A210, CP151, MG91] Cf. WATER<sub>2</sub>.

593 RIVER<sub>2</sub> \*tia

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *ici* ‘water.’ Proto-Chibcha \*di-ye ‘water,’ Margua *dia* ‘water,’ Boncota *ria* ‘water,’ Pedraza *dia* ‘water.’ Guaymi: Gualaca *ti* ‘water,’ Murire čí ‘water.’ Misumalpan: Miskito *li*, *laya* ‘water,’ Matagalpa, Cacaoopera *li* ‘water.’ Paya *tia* ‘water.’ Rama: Guatuso, Guetar *ti* ‘water.’ Talamanca: Tirub, Terraba, Bribri, Cabecar, Chiripo, Brunca *di* ‘water,’ Viceyta *dik* ‘water.’ Proto-Aruak \*dih ‘water,’ \*di-wə ‘rain,’ Tairona *dia* ‘water.’

**Paezan:** Itonama *it<sup>y</sup>e* ‘rain (n.)’ Chimu: Puruha *la* ‘water.’ Proto-Choco \*to- ~ \*do- ‘drink, river.’

**Andean:** Leco *dua* ‘water, river,’ *ndowa* ‘water.’ Mayna *towa* ‘water.’ Cf. Sabela: Auca *oōdō*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \*idi ‘drink,’ \*(d)í-ko ‘rain,’ Yupua, Desana *dexko* ‘water,’ Sära *ida* ‘water,’ Buhagana, Macuna *ide* ‘water.’ Puinave: Papury *dex* ‘water,’ Tiquie, Hubde, Yehubde *nde* ‘water.’ Mu-

niche *idī* ‘water.’ Catuquina: Catuquina *uatahi* ‘water.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran *\*it<sup>h</sup>a* ‘drink.’

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *otōa*. Bora *te:*. Proto-Witotoan *\*tae(?)*, Ocaina *tya:u*, *tiahe*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Pilaga *itarat* ‘water.’ Lule *to* ‘water.’

**Macro-Ge:** Chiquito *ta:* ‘rain.’ Ge: Apinage *inta* ‘rain,’ Karaho *ta* ‘rain,’ Cherente *tã* ‘rain.’ Kaingang *ta* ‘rain (n).’ Mashakali: Macuni *taeŋ* ‘rain,’ Hahahay *te* ‘rain,’ Patasho *tiεŋ* ‘water.’ Opaie *ox-ata* ‘rain.’ Puri: Coropo *tēin* ‘water.’

- [A211]

#### 594 ROAD<sub>1</sub> *\*nama*

**Penutian:** California: Maidu *nen* ‘travel.’ Gulf: Atakapa *non* ‘go.’

**Andean:** Patagon: Tehuelche, Teush *no:ma*, Tsoneka *noma*. Quechua: Santiagueño *ñan*, Ecuadorean *ñambi*. Sabela: Auca *-dō* (suffix, phonetically *nō*).

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Querari *nãmã*. Ticuna *nama*. Yuri *nemo*.

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto: Ocaina *na:hon*. Yagua: Yagua *nɔn*, Peba *nou*.

- [A212]

#### 595 ROAD<sub>2</sub> *\*p'en*

**Penutian:** California: Maidu *bo*, *ben* ‘to step.’ Gulf: Natchez *be* ‘go’ (pl. subject). Mexican: Proto-Mayan *\*be*, Quiché *be* ‘go,’ Kekchí *-be-* ‘go’ (auxiliary), Jacalteco *b'eyi* ‘walk,’ etc.

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Taos *p'ĩē*, Hopi Tewa *p'o*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 350 *\*po*.

**Equatorial:** Timote: Cuica *pa*. Proto-Tupi *\*pe*, *\*ape*, Arikem *pa*, *pa:*.

- [A213]

#### 596 ROAD<sub>3</sub> *\*niyani*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *hiya:ni*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*(a)ñā* ‘path,’ Proto-Yuman *\*ʔuñāʔa* ‘road, path.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*ñan* ~ *niyani*.

#### 597 ROCK<sub>1</sub> *\*ʔo*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan *\*ʔoh*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman *\*ʔuwi:ʔ* ‘stone.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*ʔo*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Cuaiquer *uʔuk* ‘stone.’

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Kepkeriwat *ok* ‘stone.’

598 ROCK<sub>2</sub> \*tem

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*tem.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \*tomo.

599 ROOT<sub>1</sub> \*pal

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \*p-l ‘root, camass,’ Proto-Yokuts \*ho:p<sup>h</sup>ul. Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \*wiʔ ‘root, leg.’

**Hokan:** ?Proto-Hokan \*e:Pu ‘edible root.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \*pale.

- [P194]

600 ROOT<sub>2</sub> \*tap

**Andean:** Aymara sap<sup>h</sup>i (borrowing from Quechua?). Patagon: Ona sape ‘rope.’ Quechua (general) sapi.

**Equatorial:** Coche tabotaha. Cofan cafa. Guahibo: Cuiva tabu. Zamuco: Ayoré taposi. Cf. Jivaro: Aguaruna čapik ‘rope.’

- [A214]

601 ROPE<sub>1</sub> \*c’ak

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \*c’ay- ‘guts, rope,’ Wakashan: Haisla c’aχ-, Heiltsuk c’aiχ. ?Proto-Chimakuan \*t’ik<sup>w</sup>-.

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \*sikwi-(p) ‘rope, sinew, tie,’ Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \*cal, Takelma c’uk. Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \*sehey ‘worm.’ California: Yokuts č’ik. Mexican: Proto-Mayan \*čuk ‘tie,’ Huastec c’ah, Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*cay ‘rope,’ \*si:ʔw ‘cut into (rope).’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*ca ‘tie.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha \*si(si)-dai. ?Yanomam t<sup>h</sup>ok nak. ?Rama twik-sakak ‘coral snake.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Guambiano ci, Proto-Choco \*čī.

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang šeya.

- [P195]

602 ROPE<sub>2</sub> \*tit

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-Yuki \*tit ~ \*tiʔ ‘rope, cord.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Macu Puinave tit.

## 603 ROTTON \*pet’o

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Miwok-Coastanoan \*poʔo ‘rotten wood.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*pu:cʔ ‘rot (v.)’

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec paʔdeʔe.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Cayapa pete, Cuaiquer piʔiʔ, Colorado petneka; Choco:



Epena *beda*, Tado *beda-*, Saija *berau-da*, Chami *bers-da*, Catio *berawa-*, Darien *berawa-*; Warrau *boto* ‘be rotten.’

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Achagua *badaid<sup>2</sup>iu*, Piapoco *i-bada-iri-wa*.

- [CP154]

604 ROUGH \*č’aksi

**Penutian:** Gulf: Yuki \*šáki, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha č’ɔki, Atakapa *cok-cokš*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \*caxsiʔ.

605 ROUND<sub>1</sub> \*k’ir

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*sk’ir’i-.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*i:KiR.

606 ROUND<sub>2</sub> \*molok

**Penutian:** Plateau: Lutuami *napal* ‘egg,’ Klamath *napl* ‘egg.’ California: Maidu *p’ala* ‘testicle.’ Zuni *moʔle* ‘egg.’ Mexican: Mayan: Quiché *mol* ‘egg,’ *bolox* ‘round,’ Kekchí *mol* ‘egg,’ Tzotzil *balbal* ‘round.’

**Hokan:** Comecrudo *pawapel*. Tequistlatec *apeloteʔ*. Tonkawa *pilaw*.

**Chibchan:** Xinca: Chiquimulilla *mu:ru* ‘egg.’

**Paезan:** Allentiac *muru* ‘testicle.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *monkoll*. Cahuapana: Jebero *mungapiʕi*. Patagon: Tsoneka *muarie*. Quechuan: Cochabamba *moloq’u*.

- [A215]

607 RUB \*yul

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *yʌsa* ‘rub with the palm of the hand,’ Heiltsuk *yʌxa* ‘rub, smear body part.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \*yuh ‘rub on.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*yuL.

608 RUN<sub>1</sub> \*kano

**Hokan:** Yuma *kono*, Coahuilteco *kuino*, Washo *igelu*.

**Chibchan:** Dobocubi *kuri* ‘flee,’ Sumu *kiri*.

**Andean:** Qawasqar *kal* ‘leg,’ Aymara *čara* ‘leg,’ Tsoneka *kel* ‘foot.’

**Macro-Carib:** Roucouyenne *ta-kane*, Witoto *ekain-ite* ‘walk fast.’

- [H122, CP155, AN68, MC56]

609 RUN<sub>2</sub> \*taka

**Penutian:** California: Miwok: Plains Miwok *taige*, Maidu: Nisenan *dok*. Gulf: Tunica *taka* ‘chase.’

**Andean:** Aymara *t'ikta*, Jebero *tək'k'a*.

- [P198, AN95]

610 SALIVA<sub>1</sub> \**tupa*

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Tutelo *čəpã* 'saliva'; Keresan: Keres *šupɪ* 'I spit,' Acoma *šúpə* 'saliva,' Laguna *šup'šup* 'spit.'

**Penutian:** California: Wintun: Patwin *tuba* 'spit' (v.) Gulf: Muskogean: Choctaw *tufa* 'saliva,' Creek *tufkita* 'spit' (v.), Koasati *tufka* 'spit' (v.) Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *tub* 'saliva,' Mam *tsup* 'saliva,' Tzotzil *tubal* 'saliva,' Quiché *č'ubinik* 'saliva.'

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Tewa *sóp'oh* 'saliva.'

**Paezan:** Nonama *ičituba* 'spit' (v.)

**Andean:** Pehuenche *tufcun* 'spit' (v.)

**Equatorial:** Saliba *čuva* 'saliva,' Wapishana *supit* 'spit' (v.), Urupa *çupe* 'saliva,' Culino *nasop<sup>h</sup>e* 'his saliva.'

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto *tuva* 'spit' (v.)

**Macro-Panoan:** Mosesten *čep* 'saliva.'

- This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

611 SALIVA<sub>2</sub> \**tok<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Nootka *tāx<sup>w</sup>* 'to spit,' Quileute *tux-al* 'to spit.'

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Osage *tatoxe*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Yakonan *cak*. California: Miwok: Marin Miwok *tuka* 'to spit.' Gulf: Proto-Muskogean \**tux<sup>w</sup>*. Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sayula *cux*.

- [AK161, P200]

612 SALIVA<sub>3</sub> \**ole*

**Andean:** Aymara: Lupaca *wiɿi* 'to spit.' Cholona *olle*.

**Equatorial:** Guahibo: Guahibo *ione*, Cuiva *one*. Proto-Tupi \**eni*.

- [A216]

613 SALMON \**c'wan*

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \**c'wan(x<sup>w</sup>)*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*a/i*)č(V)*wu:n* 'dog salmon.'

614 SALT<sub>1</sub> \**k'ači*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *has-* 'sour.'

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts \**k<sup>h</sup>uyu?*. Zuni *k?ose* 'to be salty.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**k'ay* 'sour,' \**k'ahVy* 'bitter,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**kacu(c)* 'bitter.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan  $*(a:-)k^{yh}aʔi \sim *q'ay- \sim *ik^y'o(y) \sim *q'oy$  bitter, sour,'  
Proto-Pomo  $*k^heʔe$ .

**Paezan:** Timucua *kači* 'bitter.'

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan  $*kači$ .

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Orejon *kači*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran  $*kaco(-ri)$  'sour.'

615 SALT<sub>2</sub>  $*si$ 

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian  $*ši:w-$  'sour, salty, sweet.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan  $*(i)si-yV$ , Proto-Yuman  $*ʔisiʕ$ ,  $*sil$  'salty,'  $*siʔ$  'sour.'

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan  $*sēō$  'bitter.' Proto-Oto-Manguan  $*(n)se(h)(?)$   
'bitter, sour.'

**Andean:** Zaparo: Zaparo *ʔičauha*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *sā(ba)* 'bitter,' *si(ba)* 'sour.'

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua: Lengua *yici* 'sour, bad.'

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *ša*.

616 SALT<sub>3</sub>  $*tam$ 

**Almosan:** Proto-North Wakashan  $*dm-$ , Kwakwala *dm-*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Mixe-Zoque  $*tamʔ$  'bitter.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Coahuiltecan  $*dem$ .

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco  $*thã$ .

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *tuma-* 'tasty.'

617 SAND  $*yeʔwa$ 

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan  $*yaʔai$ .

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha  $*yeʔwa$ .

618 SAY<sub>1</sub>  $*ti$ 

**Hokan:** Achomawi *t-* (quotative, third person). Chumash *-ti-* (verbal action), *ti* 'name.' Salinan: San Miguel  $t^heʔ$  'tell,' San Antonio  $ʔeʔ$  'tell.'  
Subtiaba: Tlappanec *na-ʔta* 'he speaks.' Yana *ti:* 'say,' (quotative). Washo  
*id.*

**Chibchan:** Chibcha [ty] 'sing.' Talamanca: Terraba *ti* 'sing.'

**Andean:** Cahuapana: Jebero *tu, itu*. Leco *du* 'speak.' Zaparo *ati*.

**Equatorial:** Jivaro: Shuara *ti \sim ta*, Aguaruna *ti*. Kandoshi *ta:*. Maipuran:  
Amuesha *ot*, Cabere *ita* 'talk,' Piapoco *tani* 'talk,' Maypure *tura* 'talk.'  
Uro: Puquina *ata*. Yuracare *ta*.

**Macro-Ge:** Guato *m-utə* 'speak.' Kaingang: Dalbergia *tadn \sim tu* 'tell,'

Tibagi *to* 'say.' Mashakali: Capoxo *atai* 'speak.'

• [A217]

619 SAY<sub>2</sub> \*q<sup>w</sup>aʔ

**Almosan:** Almic: Proto-Algonquian \*kaʔawitamawe:wa ‘talk’; Wiyot *he:l* ‘say.’ Kutenai *-haqaʔ-* ‘talk.’ Proto-Mosan \*q<sup>w</sup>a:l- ~ la:q<sup>w</sup> ‘speak, sing,’ Chemakuan: Quileute *kul* ‘have an idea’; Proto-Salish \*q<sup>w</sup>al ‘speak, think,’ Sechelt q<sup>w</sup>al ‘speak,’ Squamish q<sup>w</sup>əʔlq<sup>w</sup>l ‘talk excessively’ (with reduplication to indicate continuous action), Cowichan q<sup>w</sup>al ‘say, speak,’ Musqueam q<sup>w</sup>əyl ‘say, speak,’ Chilliwack q<sup>w</sup>e:l ‘say, speak,’ Samish q<sup>w</sup>el ‘talk,’ Saanich q<sup>w</sup>əʔl’q<sup>w</sup>əʔl ‘talkative’; Wakashan: Kwakwala k<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>- ‘speak Kwakwala,’ waʔ- ‘speech, discourse.’

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Caddo *kan-* (quotative). Iroquoian: Mohawk *-kar-* ‘story,’ Oneida *-kalatu-* ‘tell a story,’ Cherokee *kaka:raʔ* ‘story.’ Siouan: Mandan *kina* ‘tell.’

**Penutian:** Chinook k<sup>w</sup>ʔ ‘tell.’ California: Proto-Yokuts \*wil(i). Zuni (ʔi)k<sup>w</sup>a, Gulf: Wappo *kal* ~ *kel*, Natchez *weʔ* ‘speak,’ Tunica *wali* ‘call,’ Chitimacha *wan* ‘speech.’ Mexican: Totonac *wan*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \*k<sup>w</sup>ark<sup>w</sup>ar ‘speak, answer.’

**Paezan:** Warao *wara* ‘talk,’ Timucua *kere* ‘speak, tell.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *wa:la* ‘talk,’ Tucano *uere* ‘tell.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib *ura* ‘speak,’ Witoto *uʔuri:* ‘speak.’

• [A218, P203, MT90, MC60] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

620 SAY<sub>3</sub> \*koʔe

**Almosan:** Almic: Yurok *hegol* (*h* < \*zero), *hego:*, *hego:s* ‘shout,’ Wiyot *a:y*. Kutenai *kei*, *-ki-*. Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum *ku* ‘speak,’ Quileute *ku*; Wakashan: Bella Bella *-k<sup>y</sup>-* ‘says’; Salish: Thompson *-oko:* (quotative), Upper Chehalis *-ačē* (quotative), Shuswap *-ok<sup>w</sup>e* (quotative).

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Wichita *-kaʔ* (quotative). Iroquoian: Seneca *ka* ~ *kæ* ‘story’ (but cf. Mohawk *kar* ‘story’ in SAY<sub>2</sub> above). Siouan-Yuchi: Siouan: Mandan *kaʔeħe* (quotative); Yuchi *kε*.

**Hokan:** Chimariko *-go:-*, *-ko:-* ‘talk.’ Coahuilteco *ka:*. Comecrudo *kiwa*. Pomo: East Pomo *ga(-nuk)* ‘speak.’ Seri *ke:*, *kaʔ*. Tequistlatec *ko*. Yana *ga-* (verbal activity; found in a number of verb stems, e.g. *ga-ya:* ‘to talk’).

• [A219]

621 SAY<sub>4</sub> \*ʔai

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *he*. California: Maiduan: Maidu *ʔa*. Gulf: Wappo *hai*, *ha*, Muskogean: Natchez *hi*, Koasati *a*.

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *ay* ‘tell,’ Chilanga *ay(-on)*, Cuitlatec *e*.

• [P202, P204, CP157]

622 SAY<sub>5</sub> \*ʔona

**Penutian:** California: Miwok: Bodega Miwok ʔona. Oregon: Coos na. Gulf: Muskogean: Alabama ni.

**Andean:** Zaparo ana, Sabela ã, Quechua ni.

- [P201, AN96]

623 SAY<sub>6</sub> \*nik

**Almosan:** Proto-Wakashan \*n'ik- 'say, tell,' Kwakwala n'ik 'say, tell,' Oowekyala n'ix:n'ika 'say repeatedly' (with reduplication to indicate continuous action). Bella Bella ne:k<sup>y</sup>.

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Cherokee -negǝ 'speak.'

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan na(ka).

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*Ney 'say.'

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*niok ~ neok 'talk.'

**Chibchan:** Yanomam nakoā 'lick.'

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Cayapa nigka, Colorado nihka. Betoī ineka. Cf. Allentiac nanak, but also Allentiac nanat, Millcayac nanat.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*ni-.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Maku-Puinave: Nukak ni:h, ni:k 'tongue,' Kakua dīh, dīk 'tongue.' Catuquina: Catuquina noyo, Parawa noko. Puinave: Hubde noked(n), Papury noken, Puinave rok, lok.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Proto-Hianacoto \*-iñi:ko 'tongue,' Carib: Carijona i:niko 'tongue'; Witoto: Bora ni:xi-k<sup>wa</sup> 'tongue,' Muinane nexeba 'tongue,' Miranya ni:hik<sup>wa</sup> 'tongue,' Imihita me-nehekoa 'tongue'; Yagua nikye:.

- [A256, AK5]

624 SCRATCH<sub>1</sub> \*χ<sup>wala</sup>

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \*χala-.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*x<sup>wal</sup>.

625 SCRATCH<sub>2</sub> \*c'iχ

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \*saχ 'scrape.'

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \*c'ih.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*aceχi.

626 SEE<sub>1</sub> \*new

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*ne:w- 'see,' \*nen?aw 'look for,' Yurok new, Proto-Algonquian \*-naw 'by sight,' \*ne:we:wa 'he sees him,' Proto-Central Algonquian \*ne:w.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*-na 'eye,' \*-ni 'know.' Siouan: Tutelo i-newa-, Catawba nī. Iroquoian: Cherokee ni 'look.'

- Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \*šNer, Northern Sahaptin *cnəm*, Nez Perce *-sle:w*. Zuni *?una* ‘look at.’ Gulf: Proto-Yuki \**nəw-*, Yuki *naw*, Wappo *naw-ši?*, Tunica *niyu* ‘think,’ Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**?ini* ‘look for,’ Atakapa *ini* ‘search’; Muskogean: Choctaw *nowa*. Mexican: Mayan: Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Kekchí *na?* ‘know,’ Kekchí (Stoll) *nau* ‘know.’
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \**ni(n)* ‘see, know, look at, hear,’ \*(*n*)*yu* ‘eye, face, head, nose.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ne*. Cf. Kiowa *dū* ‘seek.’
- Paezan:** Proto-Choco \**unu-*, Darien *unu-*, Catio *ũdu-*, Embera *unu-*, Saija *unu-*. Timucua *ene* ‘see, look, sight, vision, appear.’ Millcayac *neu* ‘eye.’
- Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**ñawi* ‘eye.’
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Macu-Puinave *?en*, Kakua *?ēd*. Muncie *ñā-*.
- Equatorial:** Kariri *ne*. Maipuran: Campa *nie*, *uni*. Terena *u-ne* ‘eye.’
- Macro-Carib:** Carib: Crishana *u-ini* ‘eye,’ Ocomayana *u-nu* ‘eye,’ Wayana *ene*, Waiwai *enə*, Motilon, Apalai, Macoa *anu* ‘eye,’ Yupe, Chaque *ano* ‘eye,’ Surinam *o:nu* ‘eye,’ Pianacoto *-nei* ‘eye,’ Decuana, Pemon *enu* ‘eye,’ Palmella *ono* ‘eye.’ Witoto: Muinane *ono* ‘know.’ Yagua: Yagua *ũnu:* ~ *nu:y* ~ *inu:*, Yameo *nutē* ‘look at.’ Proto-Hianacoto \**enu:lu* ‘eye,’ Cumanagota *enur* ‘eye,’ Pariri *uḡuru* ‘eye.’
- Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *naha*. Proto-Ge \**nə* ‘eye,’ Gorotire *no* ‘eye.’
- [A220]

627 SEE<sub>2</sub> \*win

- Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**wensa:piwa* ‘look from there,’ \**wi:nina:kwatwi* ‘look dirty.’
- Penutian:** Proto-California \**win/l-* ‘see, look,’ Wintun: South Wintu *wini*. Gulf: Atakapa *wine* ‘find’; Tunica *wenu* ‘find.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**wiḡ-at<sup>y</sup>* ‘eye, face.’ Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**win* ‘eye,’ Mixe *vihn* ‘eye.’
- Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**wiy* ‘eye.’
- Andean:** Sabela: Tiwituey *a-wiḡa* ‘eye,’ Sabela *a-winka* ‘eye.’
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Muncie *we-* ‘look at.’
- Equatorial:** Arawak: Wapishana *uḡ-wawin* ‘eye.’
- Macro-Carib:** Carib: Motilon *wano* ‘I know.’ Witoto *uiño* ‘learn.’
- Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Mocovi *avana*. Mataco: Mataco, Choroti, Chunupi *wen*. Proto-Panoan \**?oĩ*, Panobo *uiñ* ‘look at.’
- Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *we*.
- [A221]

628 SEE<sub>3</sub> \*pi

- Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**-a:pi* ‘see, look,’ *-a:pam* ~ \**-apant* ‘see.’
- Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**aP* ‘look for.’
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan \**pū* ~ \**bū*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**pu:ci* ~

\**pusi* ~ \**pu* ‘eye.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha *uba-N-(k<sup>wa</sup>)* ‘eye.’ Proto-Aruak \**uba* ~ \**uma* ‘eye.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *epe* ‘watch over, guard.’

**Andean:** Mapdungu *pe-*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \**ẽ:p*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani \**ep<sup>y</sup>ak*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua: Mascoco *wi(-taiyi)*. Moseten *ve* ‘eye.’ Proto-Pano-Tacanan \**bi* ~ \**bu* ‘eye, face, eyebrow, eyelash,’ Proto-Panoan \**βi-ro* ‘eye,’ \**βi-* ‘face, eye, surface.’ Proto-Tacanan \**ba-* ‘look at.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *pip, pim*. Caraja *bie*. Chiquito *ipa* ‘know.’ Ge: Kraho *pu* ~ *pupun*, Krenje *pupua*. Kaingang: Kaingang *apin-ta* ‘eye,’ Dalbergia, Tibagi *ve*. Mashakali *pe-*.

- [A222]

629 SEE<sub>4</sub> \**ma* ~ \**mi* ~ \**mu*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ima*. Coahuilteco *-ma:s* ~ *-ma:š*, Comecrudo *max* ~ *mahe* ~ *ma*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \**maw(a)*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**mai*. Tanoan: Taos *mũ*.

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *mi, miu*, Yanomam *mi* ‘see,’ *mi* ‘see, look (at).’

**Paezan:** Cayapa *mi*, Atacama *mini*. Mariusa *mu* ‘eye.’ Timucua *muku* ‘eye.’

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Paumari *murubui* ‘eye.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**mira-* ‘look for.’

- [CA67, CP160]

630 SEE<sub>5</sub> \**?ica*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \**c’e*. Gulf: Muskogean: Alabama \**hica*, Koasati *hi:ca*, Muskogee *heš*; Yukian: Wappo *huc’c’i*. Chitimacha *heč-t-* ‘watch, guard’; Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**?is*; Mayan: Laca *?ič* ‘eye,’ Yuca *?ič* ‘eye,’ Itza *ič* ‘eye,’ Mopa *?ič* ‘eye,’ Teco *wic* ‘eye,’ Mam *wic* ‘eye,’ Agua *wic* ‘eye,’ Cakchiqel *wič* ‘eye,’ Tzutzil *wač* ‘eye.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan \**ce* ‘eye.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *išeni*. ?Yanomam *həti* ‘look for.’

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Wayampi *-esa*. Jivaroan: Achuar *hi:stin*. Taruma *-ci* ‘eye.’ Proto-Tupi-Guarani \**eča* ‘eye.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**is-*.

- [P66]

631 SEE<sub>6</sub> \**?uka*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *-xi:k-*. California: Proto-Yokuts *?ek’a*. ?Zuni *?una* ‘look at.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*ʔu, Proto-Yuman \*ʔu:ka. Proto-Pomo \*huʔ:uy ‘eye.’  
Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec \*ʔu ‘eye.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \*eika ‘eye.’ Catuquina ügho ‘eye.’

- Also found in Indo-European, Altaic, and Dravidian (Ruhlen 1994g).

632 SEE<sub>7</sub> \*ila

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \*eʎa:piwa ‘look thither,’ \*eʎa:pame:wa ‘look at him thus.’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *lyt* ‘look for.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \*ʎ-m-(t) ‘eye.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan \*il.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *leli-* ‘watch’ (reduplication to indicate continuous action), Qawasqar *leyes* ‘see, look.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pijao *lu:n* ‘eye.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Waikuruan \*il:o:.

633 SEE<sub>8</sub> \*wat

**Almosan:** ?Proto-Algonquian \*wa:pame:wa ‘see, look at,’ ?\*wa:piwa ‘look, see,’ ?\*wa:wa:pame:wa ‘look at.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*-wat’yaipa ‘look for.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Mayan \*wat<sup>y</sup> ‘eye, face.’

634 SEED<sub>1</sub> \*mak

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Miskito *ma* ‘seed, fruit.’ Yanoama: Yanomami, Sanema *ma*, Yanomam *mak*. Cf. Misumalpan: Sumu *makka* ‘seed, fruit’ (in which, however, *-kka* is probably a suffix) and Chibcha *uba* ‘flower.’

**Andean:** Quechua: Cochabamba, Wanka *muhu*, Junin *muyu*, Ecuadorean *muyu* ‘fruit.’ Sabela *mo*. Yamana: Yamana *amaia* ‘berries,’ Yahgan *amayan*. Zaparo: Andoa *imio*.

- [A223] Cf. CHILD<sub>2</sub>.

635 SEED<sub>2</sub> \*icu

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca *d<sup>z</sup>i:ya*. Proto-Keresan \*hi:d<sup>z</sup>ini, Santa Ana (*hi:-*)*za(-ni)*. Proto-Siouan (M) \*su, \*šu ‘seed, grain.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Tunica *uxsa*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \*šo, Atakapa *šo*, Chitimacha *šokt* ‘pecan nut.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*iso, Proto-Pomo \*ʔiso: ~ ʔisoy, North Pomo *so:*, Kashaya *ʔiso*. Seri *is* ‘fruit.’ Subtiaba *iši* ‘grain of corn, corn,’ Tlappanec *iššu* ‘grain of corn, corn.’ Yuman: Cocopa *yes*, Walapai *yac*, Havasupai *iyac*, etc.

**Andean:** Qawasqar (*ye*)*c’oy*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule [zu] *cu*. Mataco: Vejoz *ʎoi*, Choroti *ʎo*, Macca *t<sup>l</sup>oi*. Proto-Panoan \*iši. Tacanan: Chama, Huarayo *eso*.



**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge *\*zi*.

- [A224]

636 SEEK *\*peno*

**Andean:** Cahuapana *apenurave* ‘I love,’ *apenotu* ‘lover.’ Zaparo: Zaparo *pani* ‘want,’ Andoa *pani* ‘desire.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *pe, pen*. Ge: Kraho *pwəm* ‘want.’ Kaingang: Tibagi *penoa, penoi*. Opaie *pino* ‘wish.’

- [A225]

637 SEW<sub>1</sub> *\*pik*

**Penutian:** Zuni *pik(-ʔa)*. Gulf: Natchez *bōx*.

**Hokan:** Karok *vik* ‘weave,’ Yana *waga-* ‘twine a basket.’

- [P208, H159]

638 SEW<sub>2</sub> *\*k<sup>w</sup>ači*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian *\*kwa:či, \*kwa:ʔso*.

**Penutian:** Gulf: Chitimacha *č’uši*, Tunica *šuhči*.

**Chibchan:** Ika *kud<sup>z</sup>-ən*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Paez *kac*; Proto-Choco *\*k<sup>h</sup>a:-*, Wounaan *k<sup>h</sup>a-*, Epena *k<sup>h</sup>a:-*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *kīʔšī-*.

639 SHADOW *\*mani*

**Paezan:** Itonama *manis-* ‘be in the shadow,’ Atacama *minas*.

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto *manaide*, Trio *amali-li*.

- [CP166, MC57]

640 SHE *\*i-gau*

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*i-go-ro ~ \*ti-go-ro*.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan *\*i-gaï*.

• *\*i-* and *\*ti-* are general third-person pronouns (Cf. Proto-Witotoan *\*i-* ‘it,’ *\*i-(b)ai* ‘he,’ Proto-Tucanoan *ati-ro* ‘he,’ *-gĩ* ‘he’); *\*-gau* is the marker of the feminine gender.

641 SHELL (v.) *\*ʔiksu*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*ʔiks* ‘shell corn.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*išku-*.

642 SHINE *\*lemp*

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *wlʔeplʔ* ‘lightning.’ Zuni *lomo* ‘flash, burn

brightly.’ Gulf: Atakapa *lam*; Natchez *lem*. Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *neʔm*; Mayan: Yucatec *lemba* ‘shine, lightning,’ Tzotzil *lemlayet* ‘lighten,’ Mam *lemlohe*.

**Andean:** Aymara: Aymara, Lupaca *lupi* ‘sun.’ Catacao *nap*. Cholona: Cholona *nem* ‘day,’ Hivito *nim*, *ñim*, *ngim* ‘sun.’ Quechua: Cochabamba, etc. *ʌup<sup>h</sup>i* ‘shine.’ Yamana: Yamana *löm*, Yahgan *löm*, *lön* ‘sun.’ Zaparo: Iquito *yanamia*, *nunami*, *inami* ‘fire.’

- [A226] Cf. LIGHTNING above.

#### 643 SHOOT \**t’uya*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Kalapuya *t’uwan*, *t’iuwiš* ‘arrow.’ Plateau: Sahaptin *tuxwən*, Modoc *tewi*. California: Proto-Yokuts \**t’uy(u)*, Miwok: Bodega *tuwe*, Lake Miwok *t’uw*; Costanoan: Rumsien *tio*, San Juan Bautista *tio-s* ‘arrow.’ Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *tuh*, Zoque *tuh*.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \**taya*, Barbacoan: Cayapa *tyaʔ-ke* ‘throw,’ Warrrau *toa* ~ *tia* ‘throw.’

- [P213, CP168]

#### 644 SHOULDER<sub>1</sub> \**tala*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *telya*. Mosan: Salish: Nisqualli *talak<sup>w</sup>*, Siciatl *salaq-ən*, Songish *t’elaw* ‘wing.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**te(h)leb*, Proto-Quichean \**teleb*’.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**i-ta(l<sup>y</sup>)* ~ \**i-ṭa(l<sup>y</sup>)* ‘shoulder, hand, arm,’ Achomawi *tala* ‘shoulder blade.’ Salinan: San Antonio *itaʔl*, San Miguel *etaʔ*. Yana: North Yana *dul* ‘neck.’

**Chibchan:** Lenca *thala* ‘neck.’

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Hianacoto \**-mo:ta:li*, Proto-Taranoan \**mota*, Pemon *mota*.

- [A228] This root is also found in Dravidian and Altaic (Ruhlen 1994g).

#### 645 SHOULDER<sub>2</sub> \**peko*

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *pešo*.

**Paezan:** Itonama *paču-kaka*, Colorado *behči* ‘back.’

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *upeko* ‘neck,’ Faii *mex-pikua* ‘chest,’ Ocaina *bago:ʔja* ‘chest.’

- [CP170, MC10]

#### 646 SIBLING \**kani*

**Andean:** Culli *kañi* ‘sister,’ Cholona *akiñiu* ‘sister.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *kani* ‘brother,’ Choroti *ki:ni* ‘brother.’

- [AN101, MP16]

## 647 SIDE \*čan

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \*-ča.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*ča:ja, Proto-Siouan \*sāni-.

**Penutian:** Proto-California Penutian \*čan.

## 648 SING \*siya

**Hokan:** Achomawi e:s. Seri *k-o:s*. Subtiaba: Tlappanec *na-ʔsya* ‘dance.’

Tequistlatec *šow*. Yuman: Tipai *šiyaw*, Kahwan *suya:-t*.

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto *se* ‘dance.’ Yagua: Yameo *seye* ‘dance.’

- [A229]

649 SIT<sub>1</sub> \*ču

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *či-* ~ *če-* ~ *čo-* ‘sit (sing.)’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*ču.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *cu*, Cayapa *čuna*; Choco: Darien *č<sup>h</sup>ũ-* ~ *č<sup>h</sup>ume-*, Catio *heweda ču-bía*; Itonama *čaʔu*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \*jũ(?)hĩ.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \*caʔo-.

- [CP174]

650 SIT<sub>2</sub> \*ni

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *en(-na)* ‘be.’ Puinave: Ubde-Nehern, Papury *ni:* ‘be, live.’ Ticuna *niʔĩ* ‘be.’ Tucano *ni:* ‘be’ (*estar*).

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Abipone *añi*. Lule [a.ny] ‘stoop.’ Mataco: En-  
imaga *aneho*. Proto-Tacanan \**ani*.

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *nep*. Caraja *ně*. Proto-Ge \**ñĩ*, \**ñĩr*. Kaingang: Came  
*nin*, Dalbergia *nε*, Guarapurava *ni*. Kamakan *one* (imperative). Mashakali  
*ñĩm*.

- [A230]

651 SIT<sub>3</sub> \*ʔuwa

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Pawnee *wi* ‘seated,’ Caddo *ʔawi* ‘sitting.’ Proto-  
Keresan \*ʔu ‘dwell.’ Siouan: Catawba *waʔ*.

**Hokan:** Achomawi: Atsugewi *we-* ‘by sitting on.’ Chimariko *-wo-*, *wa-* ‘by  
sitting.’ Subtiaba *t-a:u* (*t* = factative). Yana *wa*. Yuman: Tonto *oa*,  
Walapai *ua*, Kiliwa *ouau*, *huwa*.

- [A231]

652 SIT<sub>4</sub> \*t'aq

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *ateki* ‘it sits there’; Yurok *cek*. Mosan:  
Wakashan: Nootka, Nitinat *t'iq<sup>w</sup>iʔ*; Chemakuan: Chemakum *t'aq*.

**Andean:** Qawasqar *sakkar*, *šakar*. Cholona *a-tg-an* ‘be seated.’ Cahuapana *zukör*. Leco *seča*. Quechua: Caraz *ta:ki*. Yamana: Yahgan [ytakona].

- [A232]

653 SIT<sub>5</sub> \*iku

**Almosan:** Kutenai *qa* ‘be.’

**Keresiouan:** Yuchi *k’u* ‘dwell,’ Proto-Siouan \**amã-ki* ‘sit on ground’ (\**amã* = ‘ground’). Caddoan: Arikara *ku*.

**Penutian:** Klamath *či*, *ča*, Yuki *šai* ‘live,’ Chinook *š-* ‘be,’ Cakchiquel *ša* ‘be.’

**Hokan:** Seri *-ix-*, Subtiaba *-i?igu?*

**Andean:** Iquito *i:ki* ‘be,’ Ona *ke* ‘be,’ Quechua *ka* ‘be.’

- [AK171, P217, H128, AN14]

654 SKIN<sub>1</sub> \*toke

**Andean:** Cahuapana *ütek* ‘lip.’ Leco *bu-suče*. Patagon: Patagon [zog] *cog*, Tsoneka *sug* ‘hide,’ Tehuelche *zek*. Zaparo *cokwe*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Mataco *t’ah*, Chulupi *tax*, *tox*.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *takə*. Chiquito *i-taki-s*. Mashakali: Macuni *točai*.

- [A233]

655 SKIN<sub>2</sub> \*pakti

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**pisčanani*. Siouan: Catawba *pis*.

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *mas* ‘bark.’ Chinook *pxa* ‘alder bark.’ Plateau: Yakima *psa* ‘bark,’ North Sahaptin *pəx* ‘skin,’ Nez Perce *pekt* ‘fish skin.’ Gulf: Natchez *habeš*, *ebeš* ‘bark’; Muskogean: Alabama *afakči* ‘bark.’ Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *boš* ‘bark,’ Pokomchi *pas* ‘bark.’

**Hokan:** Chimariko *hi-pxajī* ‘skin, bark.’ Chumash: Santa Ynez *paχ*, Santa Barbara *pax*. Seri *-biʔ*. Washo *basi* ‘to skin, flay.’

- [A234]

656 SKIN<sub>3</sub> \*čom

**Penutian:** Gulf: Yuki *ol-šo* ‘bark’ (*ol* = ‘tree’), Chitimacha *su?u* ‘bark, skin.’ Mexican: Totonac *šuwa?* ‘bark.’

**Hokan:** Tonkawa *-som-*, Tequistlatec *l-išmi*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Maku *čimo*, Ticuna *čame*.

- [P13, H130, MT81]

657 SKIN<sub>4</sub> \*k<sup>w</sup>ati

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec *kuti*, Move *kuata*, Cacaopera *k’uta*, Yanomamī *kasi* ‘lip.’

**Paezan:** Atacama *k'ati*, Paez *kati*, Timucua *ukwata* ‘body, flesh.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *kat*, Mashubi *či-kati* ‘lip.’

- [CP175, MG100]

658 SKIN<sub>5</sub> \**pai*

**Andean:** Mayna *-pa*, Yamana *api*, Jebero *pi* ‘body.’

**Macro-Ge:** Coroado *pe* ‘bark,’ Guato *i-fai* ‘bark.’

- [AN102, MG6]

659 SKIN<sub>6</sub> \**pici*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**pi:ci* ‘buckskin,’ \**pisč'anani* ‘skin.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \**po*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**pi*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**pe* ~ *po* ‘body hair.’

**Andean:** Yamana *api* ‘skin, body,’ Mayna *-pa*, Cahuapana: Jebero *pi* ‘body.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**βiči*, Proto-Tacanan \**e-biti*.

**Macro-Ge:** Guato (*ma-*)*fæ*, Puri: Coroado *pe*.

- [AN102, MG6]

660 SKIN<sub>7</sub> \**pol*

**Hokan:** Jicaque *p<sup>h</sup>olok*. Tequistlatec *-bił*.

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Quitemo *pari-če*, Tora *tu-para*. Guahibo: Guahibo *pera-bo*, Cuiva *pera-i*. Kariri *buro* ‘bark.’ Maipuran: Karif *bura*. Otomaco *ae-par*. Tupi: Guaraní *pire*, Sheta *ipire*, etc. Yuracare *pele*.

- [A19]

661 SKUNK \**šika*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**šeka:kwa*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \**s-k-i*, Proto-Gulf \**šiki*.

662 SKY<sub>1</sub> \**hewlak*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**huwak'a*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Sahaptian \**hewle:k*. Gulf: Atakapa *lak*.

663 SKY<sub>2</sub> \**?apal*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Tunica *?aparu* ‘heaven.’ Mexican: Mayan: Tzotzil *-bail* ‘above,’ Huastec *ebal* ‘above.’

**Hokan:** Yahí *-bal-* ‘up from the ground,’ Karok *?ipan* ‘top,’ Comecrudo *apel* ‘above, heaven.’

- [P220, H155]

664 SLAP<sub>1</sub> \**t<sup>l</sup>aq*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**t<sup>l</sup>aq-*, Proto-North Wakashan \**t<sup>l</sup>aq-*, Haisla *t<sup>l</sup>aq'ala* 'noise of slapping (as when a beaver keeps hitting the water with its tail).'

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**laqya-*.

665 SLAP<sub>2</sub> \**lapa*

**Penutian:** Zuni *lapapa*. Gulf: Tunica *láhpa*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**laP* ~ *naP*.

666 SLEEP<sub>1</sub> \**cima*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan \**-si*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \**cimsimt* (with reduplication to indicate continuous action).

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan (K) \*(*a/i*)*sima*, Proto-Hokan (L) \**sema:*, Karok *?asiw̃*, Proto-Pomo *si:mañ*, Kashaya *simaq-* South Pomo *si:ma*; Seri *sim*; Shasta *r-icmasa:ka?* 'he is sleeping,' Washo *elšim*, Yanan: Central Yana *sam*, North Yana *sab*; Proto-Yuman \**šma*, Mohave *isma*, Havasupai *sma:ka*.

- [H131]

667 SLEEP<sub>2</sub> \**?itaw* ~ *it'aw*

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \**?it*.

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Mohawk *ita?*, Seneca *ita?w* ~ *ita*, Tuscarora (*i*)*t?uh*. Proto-Siouan \**t'e* 'die.'

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \**tuy*. Proto-Yokuts \**t<sup>h</sup>awaṭ<sup>h</sup>* 'die,' Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \**?eṭ:i-*. Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**t'i* 'lie down,' Atakapa *tiht* ~ *tiw* 'lie,' Chitimacha *nat'i-* 'lie down, be lying down,' Muskogean: Chickasaw *ti?wa* 'be lying down.'

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**tiya-* 'sit down.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *ituku*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**tawi-*. Mascoian: Lengua *tiyin*.

- [AK173]

668 SLEEP<sub>3</sub> \**?inu*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts \**?anaṭ<sup>h</sup>* 'dream.' Cf. Mutsun *one* 'sit down.' Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *hin* 'sleep,' Coast Yuki *in* 'sleep.' Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**nɔ* 'lie down,' Atakapa *ni:* 'lie down' (sg. subject); Tunica *na, no:* 'lay down'; Natchez *nu:* 'sleep,' *newa* 'be sleepy.' Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *əŋ* 'sleep.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Maku-Puinave *?ĩũ*.

**Equatorial:** Cofan *anan-ye, ?ãñã*. Piaroa: Saliba *aina:*. Tupi: Guaraní *añeno* 'lie down,' Guayaki *ñeno*.

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto: Witoto *inu*, Coeruna *ko-ina*, Ocaina *önu*. Yagua *nɛ* ‘hammock.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Waikuruan *\*ŋo:* ‘lie down.’ Vejoz *ni-mo*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *anu*, Umotina *unori* (n.), *inɔtu* (v.) Caraja *rõrõ*. Chiquito *ano*. Proto-Ge *\*nõ*, *\*nõr* ‘lie down.’ Kaingang: Guarapurava *nor*, Tibagi *nan* ‘lie down,’ *nang-ya* ‘bed’ (‘lie down’ + instrument), Dalbergia *nɔ* ‘lie.’ Kamakan *ha-nun* ‘bed.’

- [A235]

669 SLEEP<sub>4</sub> *\*kanak*

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish *\*xən* ‘lie flat.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman *kanak* ‘sit down.’

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco *\*k<sup>h</sup>ãi-*.

**Andean:** Qawasqar *qonaq*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Canichana *xana*. Proto-Tucanoan *\*kãĩ-rĩ*, Tucano *kani*, Desana *kane*. Achuar *kanurtin*.

**Equatorial:** Jivaro: Aguaruna *kana*. Timote *keun*.

- [A236]

670 SLEEP<sub>5</sub> *\*ka ~ \*k’o*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztec *\*ka* ‘sit down.’ Proto-Tanoan *\*k’o* ‘lie (down),’ Taos *k’uo* ‘lie down.’

**Andean:** Yamana *aka*, Aymara *iki*.

- [CA51, AN103] Perhaps part of the preceding etymology.

671 SMALL<sub>1</sub> *\*t’uk ~ \*tik*

**Hokan:** Shasta *at’uk*, Jicaque *cikway*, Subtiaba *taxũ*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Culino *tukuča* ‘short,’ Suhin *tika*, Towothli *ta:ke* ‘short.’

- [H133, MP56]

672 SMALL<sub>2</sub> *\*kunek*

**Andean:** Cholona *kunču* ‘small.’ Itucale *kuöinexi* ‘short.’ Patagon: Tsoneka *koneke* ‘short,’ Teuesh *ko:nčenken* ‘small.’

**Equatorial:** Kandoshi: Kandoshi *kania-ši* ‘near,’ Murato *kania-či* ‘young.’

Maipuran: Amuesha *kuñič*. Tupi: Maue *kũnĩ*, Arikem *kenin*, Siriono *akẽ* ‘child.’

- [A227]

673 SMALL<sub>3</sub> *\*k’uti*

**Penutian:** Chinook: Wishram *k’ac*. Plateau: Klamath *k’ečča*. Proto-California Penutian *\*kut* ‘little.’ Yukian: Wappo *kut’iya*. Mexican: Huave *kiče:č*;

Totonac *akcu*; Mayan: Pokomchi *k'isa*, Tzotzil *kočol* ‘weak.’

**Hokan:** Seri *kosot* ‘narrow.’ Tequistlatec *guʔušu* ‘narrow.’

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Quitemo *kuči* ‘thin.’ Maipuran: Arawak *kicke* ‘narrow.’ Uro: Caranga *kos* ‘thin.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *kuji*. Kaingang: Ingain *kutui*, Catarina *kaičidn*.

• [A254] Also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

#### 674 SMELL<sub>1</sub> \*matik’

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian \**mat*, \**maci*; \**mi:s*.

Kutenai *mac* ‘dirty.’ Proto-Mosan \**mis-a:*, Wakashan: Kwakwala *mys* ‘smell,’ Nootka *mis-* ‘smell,’ *mač* ‘dirty,’ Heiltsuk *mislá*. Proto-Chemakuan \**m’as-* ‘nose, smell,’ Chemakum *masa*, Quileute *basiʔ* ‘bad,’ *bas* ‘dirty.’ Salish: Proto-Coast Salish \**məqsn* ‘nose.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Cherokee *ga-wasəgə*. Keresan: Santa Ana, etc. *bušv* ‘have an odor.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *maʔtks* ‘dirty, slimy.’ Chinook *masāci* ‘bad.’ Oregon: Yakonan *məcancinst* ‘dirty,’ Siuslaw *mik’a* ‘bad.’ California: Miwok: Bodega *ʔumučče* ‘smell’; Costanoan: Mutsun, San Juan Bautista *muns* ‘dirt.’ Zuni *musmu*. Gulf: Natchez *mis-* ‘stink,’ *mak-* ‘smell.’ Mexican: Totonac (*ša-*)*mas(-niʔ)* ‘rotten.’ Cf. Huave *ne-ame:č* ‘devil.’

**Hokan:** Chimariko *mičxu* ‘stink.’ Karok *imšakara* ‘smell’ (transitive). Pomo: North Pomo *miše* ‘stink,’ Southeast Pomo *mxé-* ‘stink.’ Salinan: San Antonio *me:s*. Shasta *ku-matik’-ik* ‘it stinks.’ Tonkawa *moskoy* ‘stink.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**muski-* ~ \**mutki-*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \**ami:c* ‘nose.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**ami(-sa)*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Waikuruan \**imiq:* ‘nose.’

• [A238]

#### 675 SMELL<sub>2</sub> \*k’ukʷi

**Almosan:** Mosan: Salish: Proto-Coast Salish \**haqʷ*. Wakashan: Kwakwala *kxʷ* ‘give off a smell,’ Heiltsuk *q’hxʷ-* ‘start to smell.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca *kē* ‘stink.’ Keresan: Acoma *k’ui* ‘be spoiled.’ Siouan: Santee *kuka* ‘be rotten,’ Catawba *hake:*. Cf. Caddoan: Pawnee *kaha:r* ‘stink.’

**Penutian:** Chinook *-kux*. Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**hi:wi(s)*, Alsea *hkʷ-*. California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \**hu:k* ~ \**huk:i* ‘nose,’ Proto-Maiduan \**hih*. Gulf: Proto-Yuki \**k’uh-* ‘smell, stink,’ Wappo *kuh* ‘stink.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**hip(i)* ‘nose.’

**Hokan:** Chimariko *xa*. Seri *k’e:* ‘stink.’ Proto-Yuman \**hʷika*, Proto-Pomo \**hi:la* ‘nose,’ Campo *xʷi*, Cocopa *xʷix*.



**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*ʔuk<sup>w</sup> ~ \*huk<sup>w</sup> ~ \*hu ~ \*hupa ‘smell’ (transitive), “but Proto-Numic \*ʔak<sup>wi</sup>, or even \*ʔek<sup>wi</sup>, does not fit.”

**Paezan:** Warao *huku* ‘smell bad.’

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *hu*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *kuika*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *ko* ‘stink (n. & v.)’ Botocudo *kui* ‘fragrance.’ Kaingang *kãrĩ*.

- [A239]

## 676 SMOKE \*c'eka

**Almosan:** Algonquian: Abenaki *ahsok<sup>w</sup>* ‘cloud.’ Salish: Upper Chehalis *šq* ‘cloud.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*c'ekə ‘to smoke.’

**Hokan:** North Yana *c'ek'au*, Southeast Pomo *caxa*, Esselen *čaxa*, Subtiaba *na-sīxa* ‘to smoke.’

- [AK176, H134]

677 SNAKE<sub>1</sub> \*kan

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \*kenwe:pikwa.

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *hskwan*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Alsea *k<sup>y</sup>inaq*. Plateau: ?Molala *kwala*. California: ?Proto-Yokuts \*ho:nak'- ‘inchworm.’ Gulf: Muskogean: Koasati, Hitchiti *šinti*, Choctaw *sint*, Creek *četto*. Proto-Mayan \*ka:n, Kekchí *k'anti*, Tzeltal *čan*, Tzotzil *čon*, Yucatec *kan*, Proto-Quichean \*k'anti?.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*k<sup>w</sup>a(h)(ʔ)(n).

**Chibchan:** Rama: Guatuso *karan* ‘worm.’ Tarascan *karha-si* ‘worm.’

**Andean:** Itucale *axkanu*. Sechura: Sec *kon-mpar*. Zaparo: Zaparo *kono*, Iquito *kuni*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \*keni ‘worm.’

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *kono* ‘rope.’ Carib: Palmella *okon* (Carib generally *okoy*, *okey*). Witoto: Witoto *konega* ‘rope,’ Nonuya *konahə* ‘rope.’ Yagua *koli*, *koni*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \*šina ‘worm,’ Proto-Tacanan \*čena ‘worm,’ Proto-Panoan \*ššina ‘worm.’

**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge \*kaŋã, Kaingang, Ingain, Amho *kundu*. Mashakali *kãnã(noc)*. Opaie *kuni*. Puri: Coropo *kañun*.

- [A240]

678 SNAKE<sub>2</sub> \*tampa

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \*tama ‘rope.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*amTaB ‘earthworm.’

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba *ta(k)bi*. Cuitlatec *nömi* ‘worm.’ Talamanca:

Boruca *tebek, tabek*.

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco *\*ta:ma*, Nonama *toma*, Waunana *tama*, etc. Jirajara *tub*. Warrau *huba*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara *\*t'ep*. Puinave: Hubde *čop, to:p, teop* 'worm,' Puinave *čeb*. Ticuna *aʔtape*.

**Equatorial:** Maipuran: Arawak [tomy] 'rope,' Chontaquiroy *tumuti* 'rope,' Bare *isemo* 'rope.' Proto-Tupi *\*cam* 'rope.'

**Macro-Panoan:** Mascoian: Lengua *tama* 'rope, string.'

- [A241]

#### 679 SNAKE<sub>3</sub> *\*aq<sup>w</sup>i*

**Almosan:** Almosan: Proto-Chimakuan *\*yayw'a*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*šu:wi:*.

**Penutian:** Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean *\*a:q'*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*Vwi, ?\*q<sup>h</sup>eHwa*, Proto-Yuman *\*ʔawi: ~ \*ʔuwi:* 'rattlesnake.'

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*k<sup>w</sup>ic* 'worm.'

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *ak<sup>w</sup>ici*. Proto-Aruak *\*aku* 'rattlesnake.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muncie *awiwa* 'worm.' Iranshe *okup<sup>y</sup>i* 'large snake.'

**Equatorial:** Achuar *aka* 'worm.' Piaroa: Saliba *jak<sup>w</sup>i*. Proto-Maipuran *\*owi*.

**Macro-Carib:** Pemon *okoi*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Waikuruan *\*aqae(:)di*. Lengua *yagyewa* 'viper,' *yewa* 'rattlesnake.'

#### 680 SNAKE<sub>4</sub> *\*kamuc*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean *\*kumac*, Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*kumu* 'worm.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*q<sup>h</sup>a<sup>m</sup>pV* 'worm,' Proto-Yuman *\*xamʔa:vi:r* 'water snake.'

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Proto-Hianacoto *\*ikiymaʔ*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *\*kamošĩ*.

#### 681 SNAKE<sub>5</sub> *\*nato*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian *\*na:tawe:wa* 'pit viper,' Mohegan *nato* 'black snake.'

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian *\*-natō*. Proto-Caddoan *\*nu:t*.

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts *\*nat<sup>h</sup>it<sup>h</sup>* 'rattlesnake.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*q<sup>h</sup>y:dɔ na:tV* 'rattlesnake, king snake, garter snake.'

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *natha* 'rope.'

- [AK177]

682 SNAKE<sub>6</sub> \*pan

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *pini*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Catuquina: Bendiapa *ixpan*, Canamari *ipa*. Iranshe *upa*.

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *pan*.

683 SNAKE<sub>7</sub> \*iyala

**Penutian:** Gulf: Natchez *ula*.

**Paezan:** Timucua *iyola* ‘snake, viper, serpent.’ Barbacoan: Guambiano *ul*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *iyalala* ‘large snake’ (reduplication to indicate size).

684 SNAKE<sub>8</sub> \*mete

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \**medewe* ‘coral snake.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *a?mate* ‘worm.’

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *mete?* ‘worm.’

**Macro-Carib:** Pemon *moto* ‘worm.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Moseten *mice* ~ *miše* ‘rope.’

685 SNAKE<sub>9</sub> \*wek

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \**we:χpuš* ‘rattlesnake.’ California:

Proto-Yokuts \**wek’wek* ‘worm.’ Zuni *wi* ‘worm.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *miweki* ~ *muwek<sup>y</sup>e?e* ‘rattlesnake.’

686 SNAKE<sub>10</sub> \*olaba

**Paezan:** Timucua *yoruba* ‘snake, viper, serpent.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *olaba?was* ‘rattlesnake.’

687 SNAKE<sub>11</sub> \*oro

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *orukik*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \**oro* ‘worm.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**rono*.

688 SNAKE<sub>12</sub> \*pusu

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**Pu:Su:r̥V* ‘snake, glass snake.’

**Chibchan:** Rama *pusuk* ‘worm.’

689 SNAKE<sub>13</sub> \*k’a?

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**sk’a?a:ju* ‘bullsnake.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**k’a?x-an* ~ \**k’ax-an* ‘rope, vein.’

690 SNAKE<sub>14</sub> \*yupi

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*yuʔubi ‘worm.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe yup<sup>y</sup>iri.

## 691 SNEEZE \*ʔasu-ka

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala ʔsxa, Oowekyala hc’xa.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*ʔesu-ga ‘he sneezed.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Yuki hač, Tunica ʔašu.

## 692 SNOT \*caʔm

**Penutian:** Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean \*cahm.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*co(ʔ)m.

693 SNOW<sub>1</sub> \*yu

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*iyiw ‘snow, ice,’ Proto-Pomo \*ʔihyuʔ, North Pomo yu:, Southeast Pomo yu-l, North Pomo ʔi:hu; Shasta ʔiyuʔai ‘ice’; Yana: Yahi d<sup>z</sup>u-ri.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*yu.

- [H136]

694 SNOW<sub>2</sub> \*pon

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*pipo:ne ‘winter,’ Proto-Algonquian \*mexponwi ‘snow,’ \*pepo:nwi ‘winter.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: Molala peŋ. California: Proto-Yokuts \*p<sup>h</sup>onp<sup>h</sup>on. Zuni ʔu-pinna.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Guambiano puĩ.

- [P226] Cf. Proto-Eskimo \*apun ‘snow on ground.’

## 695 SOCIATIVE \*mane

**Equatorial:** Saliba mane ‘around.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Tucano mena ‘with, having’; Ticuna mǎʔǎ ‘with.’

- [G52]

## 696 SON/CHILD/DAUGHTER \*t’ina ~ \*t’ana ~ \*t’una

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot (yi)-dān ~ (yi)-dār ‘(my) son, father,’ tse-k ~ cī-k ~ tsa-k ‘child’ (< \*tin-ki), Yurok ne-ta-c ‘my child,’ cān-ūk-s ‘young child,’ cin ‘young man,’ cic (Robins) ‘younger sibling’ (< \*tintin or perhaps < \*tin-ki), čič (Gifford) ‘very young sibling, very young child’; Proto-Algonquian \*ne-tāna ‘my daughter,’ Proto-Central Algonquian \*-tāna- ‘daughter,’ Blackfoot ni-tána ‘my daughter,’ Menomini ni-tān ‘my daugh-

ter,’ Cheyenne *nah-tōnna* ‘my daughter,’ Arapaho *na-tane* ‘my daughter,’ Atsina *na-tan* ‘my daughter,’ Proto-Algonquian *\*ne-tān-ehsa* ‘my daughter’ [=my-daughter-diminutive], Cree *ni-tān-is* ‘my daughter,’ Ojibwa *nen-tān-iss* ‘my daughter,’ Potawatomi *n-tan-əs* ‘my daughter,’ Fox *ne-tān-esa* ‘my daughter,’ Shawnee *ni-tān-eʔθa* ‘my daughter,’ Proto-Algonquian *\*ne-tān-kwa* ‘my sister-in-law,’ Ojibwa *nen-tān-kwe* ‘my sister-in-law,’ Fox *ni-tā-kwa* ‘my sister-in-law’; ?Proto-Algonquian *\*nīʔ-tā-wa* ‘my brother-in-law (man speaking),’ Abenaki *na-dʒ-kw* ‘my brother-in-law, my sister-in-law,’ Cheyenne *?tatan-* ‘older brother’ (< *\*tantan*), Blackfoot *tsi-ki* ‘boy’ (< *\*tin-ki*), Arapaho *na-tseno-ta* ‘my nephew.’ Kutenai *gaʷ-cʷɪn* ‘daughter’ (cf. Yuchi *go-tʰo* ‘child’ [*go-* = ‘human being’], *go-tʰe* ‘man’), *tsu* ‘sister (of a girl),’ *tat* ‘older brother,’ *tsā* ~ *tsiya* ‘younger brother,’ *tiʔte* ‘granddaughter’ (< *\*tintin*); Proto-Chimakuan *\*tsʰin-* ‘young, young man, young person,’ Salish: Proto-Interior Salish *\*tikʷ-aʔ* ‘aunt, father’s sister,’ Flathead *sín-ceʔ* ‘younger brother (man speaking),’ *tún-š* ‘sister’s children,’ *títí-kʷe* ‘woman’s brother’s daughter,’ Lillooet *s-tūnə-q* ‘niece,’ Coeur d’Alene *tune* ‘niece,’ Columbian *sín-ča* ‘younger brother,’ *ti-kʷa* ‘father’s sister,’ *tūn-x* ‘man’s sister’s child,’ Spokane *tūn-š* ‘man’s sister’s child,’ *ʔuwəs-tɪn* ‘deceased parent’s sibling,’ Lower Fraser *tān* ‘mother,’ Pentlatch *tan* ‘mother,’ *tet* ‘boy,’ Lkungen *nə-tan* ‘mother.’ Wakashan: Nootka *tʰanʰa* ‘child,’ *tʰanʰe-ʔis* ‘child’ [= child-diminutive] Kwakwala *tʰana* ‘blood relative,’ Oowekyala *tānʰi-ǵui-l* ‘to be closely related to one’s spouse.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan *\*i-thǎ-ki* ‘man’s sister (younger or older),’ Dakota *taŋ-ke* ‘man’s older sister,’ Santee *mi-tān-ke* ‘my sister,’ Osage *i-tō-ge* ‘elder sister,’ Quapaw *tā-ki* ‘younger sister,’ Kansa *wi-tō-ge* ‘younger sister,’ Chiwere *taŋ-e* ‘sister,’ Biloxi *tā-ki* ‘elder sister,’ Tutelo *tahāk* ‘sister’; Proto-Siouan *\*i-thǎ-ka* ‘woman’s younger sister,’ Mandan *tā-ka* ‘younger sister,’ Dakota *taŋ-ka* ‘woman’s younger sister’; Proto-Siouan *\*yǐ-ki* ‘son’ (< Pre-Siouan *\*šǐ-ki* < *\*thin-ki?*), Assiniboine *cī-k-šǐ* ‘son,’ Teton *tshǐ-k-šǐ* ‘son,’ Omaha *žǐ-ge* ‘son,’ Biloxi *as-tǐ-ki* ‘boy’; Proto-Siouan *\*yǐ-ki* ‘daughter’ (< Pre-Siouan *\*šǐ-ki* < *\*thun-ki?*), Assiniboine *cū-k-šǐ* ‘daughter,’ Santee *tshū-k-šǐ* ‘daughter,’ Osage *žǐ-ge* ‘daughter,’ Biloxi *as-tō-ki* ‘girl’; Proto-Siouan *\*thǐ-wǐ* ‘paternal aunt,’ Dakota *toŋ-wiŋ* ‘aunt,’ Santee *tō-wǐ* ‘aunt,’ Winnebago *čū-wi* ‘paternal aunt,’ Biloxi *tōn-i* ‘paternal aunt, son-in-law’; Proto-Siouan *\*thǐ-kǎ* ‘grandfather,’ Assiniboine *tū-gǎ* ‘maternal grandfather,’ Santee *thū-kǎ* ‘maternal grandfather,’ Biloxi *tū-kǎ* ‘maternal uncle,’ *tan-do* ‘woman’s younger brother,’ *a-di* ‘father,’ Quapaw *ī-do-ke* ‘male,’ Biloxi *i-to* ‘male, man,’ Mandan *i-sek* ‘male,’ Iowa *tá-gwa* ‘son-in-law.’ Yuchi *-cʰone* ‘son, daughter (woman speaking),’ *-tane* ‘brother,’ *-sʰanɛ* ‘man’s son,’ *go-tʰɛ* ‘man, father,’ *go-tʰo* ‘child,’ *tu-kǎ* ‘grandfather,’ *wi-ta-ki* ‘young man.’ Caddoan: Caddo

*tan-arha* ‘wife,’ *dadin* ‘his sister,’ *dono* ‘male,’ Pawnee *i-tahri* ‘his sister,’ *ti-ki* ‘boy, son’ (< \**tin-ki*), Arikara *i-tahni* ‘his sister,’ Adai *hā-siŋ* ‘man.’ Iroquoian: Cherokee *a-tsō* ‘male of animals,’ *ā-tʷɔnʷ* ‘young woman,’ *a-tsutsu* ‘boy,’ *e-dudu* ‘grandfather,’ Seneca *-a-tēn-ōte-* ‘to be siblings,’ *-tēno-ō?* ‘to be parents-in-law,’ *-a-tyoh* ‘sibling-in-law,’ Onandaga *hontonia* ‘baby,’ Cayuga *htsi?* ‘older sibling,’ *-a-tēhn-ōtē?* ‘to be siblings,’ Mohawk *-?tsin* ‘male, boy,’ *-a-ten-oʷsō-* ‘brothers and sisters, to be siblings,’ *-a-tyo-* ‘brother-in-law,’ *thō -th-* ‘aunt,’ *-a-thū-wisō* ‘woman,’ *?-tsi-* ‘older sibling,’ *?-a-te-re-* ‘grandchild.’ Keresan: Keres *-tʷaona* ‘sister.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *ʔuk-taēn* ‘grandchild,’ *?Gitksan di:-kw* ‘daughter, sister (woman speaking)’; Oregon: Takelma *tʷ* ‘man, male, husband,’ *tʷ* (*tʷkʷ*) ‘(my) husband,’ *cʷa-* ‘woman’s brother’s child, man’s sister’s child,’ Tfaliti *čaŋ-ko* ‘man,’ Coos *te<sup>u</sup>* ‘nephew,’ Siuslaw *tīl* ‘niece,’ *tʷāt* ‘nephew’ (< \**tʷan-tʷan*); Plateau: North Sahaptin *p-tʷm-ik-s* ‘girl’ (cf. the Yurok form for ‘young child’ cited above), *p-ta-χ* ‘son’s child,’ *pi-tə-χ* ‘maternal uncle,’ *pām-ta* ‘woman’s brother’s son,’ Nez Perce *pi-tʷʔn* ‘girl,’ *?in-ci-kʷ-wn* ‘my wife’s brother’ (literally, “my-brother-reciprocal-wife”), *pām-tin* ‘woman’s brother’s son,’ *?tá-qa?* ‘maternal uncle,’ Molale *pam-tin* ‘nephew,’ Cayuse *pnē-tʷij* ‘my brother,’ *i-tsaŋu* ‘young’; Proto-California Penutian \**tač* ‘father’ (< \**tan-ki*), Wintun *te-* ‘son, daughter,’ *o-tun-če* ‘older sister,’ *tan-(če)* ‘father, paternal uncle,’ *tai-* ‘nephew, niece, grandchild,’ *tūtuh* ‘mother’ (< \**tuntun*), *to-q-* ‘sister-in-law,’ Northwest Wintun *bi-čen* ‘daughter’; Proto-Maiduan \**tūn* ‘younger brother,’ Nisenan *tūne* ‘younger brother,’ *?i-tīti* ‘cousin’ (< \**?i-tintin*), *te<sup>a</sup>nay* ‘boy,’ Proto-Maiduan \**téh* ‘child,’ Maidu *té* ‘son,’ Proto-Maiduan \**tó* ‘grandmother’; Yokuts: Yaundanchi *bu-tson* ‘son,’ *ʔa:ʔi* ‘man,’ *tʷuta* ‘maternal grandmother’ (< \**tʷuntan*); Proto-Miwok \**ʔá-ta* ‘older brother,’ Saclan *tune* ‘daughter,’ Lake Miwok *ʔa-táa* ‘older brother,’ Plains Miwok *tī-ka* ‘sister, elder sister,’ *ʔā-ti-* ‘younger brother or sister,’ *ʔa-ta-ci* ‘older brother’ (< \**ʔa-tan-ki*), *tūne-* ‘daughter,’ *tete* ‘mother’s younger sister,’ *tete-či* ‘mother’s brother’s daughter, father’s sister’s daughter’ (< \**tenten-ki*), Southern Sierra Miwok *tune-* ‘daughter,’ *tá-či?* ‘older brother,’ Central Sierra Miwok *ʔūni* ‘small, young,’ *-tūne* ‘daughter,’ *tá-či* ‘older brother,’ *a-če* ‘grandchild,’ *a-te* ‘younger brother, younger sister,’ *téte* ‘older sister’; Costanoan: San Francisco *ta-ka* ‘brother,’ *šen-is-muk* ‘boy’ (MALE-DIMINUTIVE-CHILD?), Ohlone *tanán* ‘older sister,’ *cinin* ‘daughter, child,’ *ta-ka-m* ‘older brother,’ Santa Cruz *tānan* ‘older brother,’ *ū-te-k* ‘younger sibling,’ *sinsin* ‘nephew,’ Rumsen *-tān* ‘older sister,’ San Juan Bautista *ta-ka* ‘older brother,’ Rumsen *tana* ‘older sister,’ *tá-ka* ‘older brother,’ Mutsun *šin-ie-mk* ‘boy,’ *ʔuta* ‘young man,’ *ta-ka* ‘older brother,’ *tic-tan* ‘daughter-in-law’; Zuni *tač-ču* ‘father’ (< \**tan-ku*); Gulf: Yuki *ʔā-tʷát* ‘man,’ *-cʷína* ‘daughter’s husband,’ *-cʷí-hwa* ‘husband’s brother,’ *-cʷí-*

*hwa-pi* ‘wife’s sister, husband’s sister,’ Wappo *taʔa* ‘mother’s younger brother,’ Coast Yuki *di-ke* ‘older sibling,’ Natchez *tsitsī* ‘infant’ (< *\*tintin*), *hi-dzina* ‘nephew,’ Chitimacha *tāt’in* ‘younger brother or sister,’ *ʔa-si* ‘male,’ Atakapa *c’on* ‘small, young,’ *ten-s* ‘nephew,’ *ten-sa* ‘niece,’ *teñ* ‘mother,’ Tunica *šī* ‘male,’ *htóna-yi* ‘wife,’ Koasati *ci-ka* ‘elder son,’ *á-ti* ‘person,’ *ci-ka-si* ‘younger son,’ *á-to-si* ‘infant child’; Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *a-tan* ‘wife,’ Lacandon *i-tsin* ‘younger brother,’ Chorti (*w-)**ih-tān* ‘sibling,’ (*w-)**ih-c’in* ‘younger sibling,’ Cholti *i-tan* ‘sister,’ Proto-Cholan (Fox) *\*ih-tan* ‘man’s older sister, man’s older female cousin,’ Chol *ih-tiʔan* ‘man’s sister,’ *čok-tuiun* ‘boy,’ Huastec *canū-b* ‘aunt,’ Ixil *i-c’an* ‘aunt,’ Pokomchi *i-c’in-* ‘younger sibling,’ *i-can-naʔ* ‘aunt,’ Pocomam *iš-tan* ‘girl’ (*iš* = female), Kakchiquel *iš-tan* ‘señorita,’ *a-čin* ‘man,’ Proto-Tzeltal-Tzotzil *\*ʔih-c’in* ‘man’s younger brother, woman’s younger sibling,’ *\*ʔi-čan* ‘maternal uncle,’ Tzeltal *čučuʔ* ‘grandmother,’ Aguacatec *ču* ‘grandmother,’ Ixil *c’uy* ‘grandmother,’ Kekchi *naʔ-čin* ‘grandmother,’ Mam *ču* ‘mother,’ Ixil *čuč* ‘mother,’ Quiché *ču* ‘mother,’ Chontal *i-c’in* ‘younger sibling,’ *i-čan* ‘father-in-law,’ *čič* ‘older sister’; Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca *hā-thuʔ* ‘father,’ Sayula *čuʔ-naʔ* ‘father-in-law,’ Texistepec *tene-īap* ‘man,’ Mixe *tat* ‘father,’ *ta-gh* ‘mother,’ *ats* ‘elder brother,’ *its* ‘younger brother,’ *uts* ‘younger sister,’ *tsyö* ‘elder sister,’ *tsu-gu* ‘aunt,’ Totonac *t’ána-t* ‘grandchild.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan (Kaufman) *\*(ā)t’u(n)* ‘brother,’ *\*-č’i* (diminutive) (< *\*-t’in?*), Karok *tunuè-ič* ‘small,’ Arra-arra *atic* (< *\*a-tin-ki*) ‘grandson, paternal grandparent’; Shasta: Shasta *ʔá-ču* ‘older sister,’ *a-ču-gwi* ‘younger sister, younger female cousin,’ Konomihu *ču-ka* ‘boy’; Palaihnihan: Achomawi *a-tūn* ‘younger brother,’ *a-tā(-wi)* ‘daughter,’ *ōt* ‘daughter-in-law,’ *čini* ‘maternal uncle,’ *-tsan* (diminutive); Yanan: Northern Yana *t’inī* ‘to be little,’ *t’inī-si* ‘child, son, daughter,’ Yahi *t’i’nī-si* ‘child, son, daughter’; Proto-Pomo *\*cu-c’i* ~ *\*ce-c’i* ‘mother’s brother,’ *\*t’á-qi* ‘younger sibling,’ *\*t’húč* ‘mother’s older sister,’ Southern Pomo *t’i-ki* ‘younger sibling,’ *aba-tsin* ‘father’s older brother,’ *amu-tsin* ‘father’s sister,’ Northeast Pomo *t’i-ki* ‘younger sibling,’ *čunū-š* ‘child’ (cf. Chemakum *činni-s* ‘sister’), *ti-ki-dai* ‘older sister,’ *tono* ‘brother-in-law,’ *tā’-č’i* ‘maternal grandfather,’ Central Pomo *de-ki* ‘older sister,’ *de-ki-dai* ‘younger sister,’ Eastern Pomo *tsets* ‘mother’s brother,’ *tuts* ‘mother’s older sister,’ Southeast Pomo *ʔi-m-sen* ‘maternal uncle,’ *ʔi-m-ce-x* ‘paternal uncle,’ *ʔi-m-cen* ‘maternal grandfather,’ *χá-c’in* ‘sister’s child,’ *wi-m-t’a-q* ‘younger sister,’ (*du-)**t’a-q* ‘younger brother,’ Southwest Pomo *t’i-ki* ‘brother’s son’; Washo *-ʔá-t’u* ‘older brother,’ *wi-ts’u-k* ‘younger sister,’ *t’ánu* ‘person’; Salinan-Chumash: Chumash: Ynezeño *tuʔn* ‘son, daughter,’ (*ma-k-)**ič-tuʔn* ‘(my) son,’ *čiči* ‘boy,’ Santa Barbara *taniw* ‘little, child,’ San Buenaventura *u-tinai* ‘infant,’ Santa Cruz *tunne-č* ‘boy,’ *huk-tana-hu*

‘my son’; Esselen *tano-č* ‘woman,’ *tutsu* ‘niece’; Salinan *a-t<sup>h</sup>on* ‘younger sister,’ *tani-l* ‘granddaughter,’ *ta-k* ‘nephew, niece’; Yuman: Mo-  
have *n-tai-k* ‘mother,’ *in-čien-k* ‘older brother,’ *n-athi-k* ‘mother’s older  
sister,’ Yuma *an-cen* ‘older brother,’ Kamia *in-ča-čun* ‘my older sister,’  
Havasupai *θa-wa* ‘woman’s sister’ (< \**tan-kwa?*); Coahuiltecan: Coahuil-  
teco *ya-t’ān* ‘sister,’ *t’an-pam* ‘child,’ *t’a’na-we* ‘father (woman speak-  
ing),’ *ma-t’ān* ‘paternal grandchild,’ *tza-t’an* ‘maternal grandchild,’ *kuan-  
t’ān* ‘grandchild,’ *ku-t’an* ‘uncle,’ *maki-t’ān* ‘aunt,’ *?t’atā-l* ‘brother,’ *can*  
‘small, young’ (cf. Achomawi *-tsan* [diminutive]); Tlappanec *ada-tāh-  
wī?* ‘child’; Jicaque *tsi-kway* ‘boy, child’; Yurumangui *ki-tina* ~ *tintin*  
‘woman,’ *a-ta-isa* (< \**a-tan-isa*) ‘sister.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**tana* ‘daughter, son,’ Varahio *taná*  
‘son, daughter,’ Tarahumara *rana* ‘son, daughter’; Proto-Uto-Aztecan  
\**tu* ‘boy’; ?Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**sun* ~ \**son* ‘woman,’ Northern Paiute  
*tua* ‘son,’ *a-tsi* ‘maternal uncle,’ *to-go’o* ‘maternal grandfather,’ *?taŋ-  
?wa* ‘man,’ Southern Paiute *tua* ‘son’ (< \**tona-*, according to Sapir),  
*cinA-nI* ‘mother’s younger brother,’ Mono *tuwa* ‘son,’ *cu-ku* ‘old man,’  
Tübatulabal *tena* ‘man,’ *?tôhan* ‘father’s younger brother,’ *u-tsu* ‘mater-  
nal grandmother,’ *tu-gu* ‘brother’s wife,’ Kawaiisu *tuwa:na* ‘son,’ *to-go*  
‘maternal grandfather,’ *šinu* ‘maternal uncle,’ Northern Diegueño *e-čun*  
‘paternal uncle’s daughter, maternal aunt’s daughter,’ Luiseño *tu?* ‘ma-  
ternal grandmother,’ *tu?-mai* ‘woman’s daughter’s child’ (*-mai*=diminutive),  
*šuyáa* ‘woman,’ Cahuilla *ne-suyá-mah* ‘my daughter,’ Serrano *-šuy* ‘daugh-  
ter,’ *čič* ‘woman’s sister’s son-in-law’ (< \**tintin*), Pipil *-tsin* (diminu-  
tive), *pil-tsin* ‘boy, son’ (cf. Tewa *ebile* ‘child’), Nahuatl *ten-tzo* ‘younger  
brother,’ *tzin* (diminutive), *min-ton-tli* ‘great grandson.’ Tanoan: Kiowa  
*tā?* ‘sister, brother,’ *nɔ:-tɔ:* ‘my brother,’ Hano *tutu’uŋ* ‘paternal uncle,’  
*t’ete* ‘maternal grandfather,’ Tewa *t’i’u* ‘younger sibling,’ *t’ūnu* ‘mater-  
nal uncle,’ *t’et’e* ‘maternal grandfather,’ *tū?ε* ‘nephew, niece’ (< \**tun-  
ke*), *sēŋ* ‘man, male,’ *sūn-tsi* (< \**tun-ki*) ‘intimate friend, chum,’ Taos  
*añ-t’út’ina* ‘my older sister,’ *ñfi-tona* ‘wife,’ *añ-tāna* ‘kin of wife,’ San  
Ildefonso *-tiu* ‘younger sibling,’ Isleta *tiyū* ‘younger sister.’ Proto-Oto-  
Manguean \**sehn* ‘male,’ \**suhn* ‘female,’ Proto-Central Otomi \**šū-ci* ‘girl’  
(< \**t’un-ki?*), \**cū* ‘female,’ Chichimec *-čō* ‘female,’ Mazahua *t’i-?i* ‘boy’  
(< \**t’in-ki*), Otomi *t’i-xú* ‘daughter,’ *?i-dá* ‘woman’s brother,’ Maza-  
tec *č<sup>h</sup>ū* ‘woman,’ *ču-kwhā* ‘aunt,’ *in-ta* ‘son,’ Chatina *cunō-hō* ‘woman’;  
Proto-Oto-Manguean \**ntaHn* ‘mother,’ \**?ntan* ‘child,’ \**ta?n* ‘sibling,’  
Mixtec *tā?ā* ‘sibling,’ *tá?nù i?šá* ‘younger sister’ (*i?šá* = ‘child’; cf. Proto-  
Algonquian \**-tān-ehsa* ‘daughter’), *du-?wi* ‘aunt,’ Trique *du-?we* ‘aunt,’  
Cuicatec *?diínó* ‘brother,’ Popoloca *chyān* ‘child, son,’ Chinantec *tsañi-h*  
‘man,’ Zapotec *p-ta?n* ‘woman’s brother’; Proto-Oto-Manguean \**si(?)(n)*  
‘youngster,’ Popoloca *čín-ka* ‘little (of animals),’ Proto-Otomi \**ci* ‘small



(of animals and humans),’ Proto-Chatino \**šĩñVʔ* ‘son,’ Isthmus Zapotec *žiʔĩñiʔ* ‘son,’ Proto-Chinantecan \**sĩʔ* ‘child.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *cucu* ‘grandmother’ (< \**tuntun*), Cuitlatec *ču* ‘boy,’ *čanu-i* ‘my wife,’ Xinca *u-tan* ‘mother,’ *tatan* ‘father,’ Lenca *tuntu-rusko* ‘younger sister,’ *ū-t’áne* ‘father,’ Sumu *i-tanni* ‘mother,’ *ti-tin-ki* ~ *ti-tan-ki* ‘my grandmother,’ Miskito *tuk-tan* ‘child, boy,’ *tah-ti-ki* ‘my maternal uncle (woman speaking),’ Corobisi *tun* ‘man,’ Rama <sup>n</sup>*du-tuŋ* ‘younger brother,’ *i-tūŋ* ‘father,’ *tau* ‘baby,’ Changuena *sin* ‘brother,’ Move *nge-dan* ‘brother-in-law,’ *dun* ‘father,’ *ni-dan* ‘male,’ Sanema *ul-dwīn* ‘child,’ *ur-dwīn* ‘boy,’ *haš-twīn* ‘grandfather,’ *pīši-dwīn* ‘mother-in-law,’ Shiri-ana *tasém-tai:na* ‘child,’ Ulua *i-taŋ* ‘mother,’ Cuna *tuttu* ‘woman,’ *toto* ‘small girl,’ Atanque *ah-tōna* ‘old, old man, old woman,’ Guamaca *tana* ~ *tena* ‘old,’ *terrua-tōna* ‘old man,’ *mona-tōna* ‘old woman,’ Kagaba *tugua* ‘grandchild,’ *?suk-kua* ‘son,’ *?du-we* ‘elder brother,’ Chimila *tún-gva* ‘friend,’ Benticua *ču-ka* ‘grandchild,’ *a-ta-ka* ‘old woman,’ Guamaca *a-tena-šina* ‘old woman,’ Motilon *diani* ‘wife,’ *a-te-gwa* ‘nephew,’ Dobokubi *a-te-ki* ‘father,’ *ti-kwa* ‘young man,’ Chibcha *čune* ‘grandchild,’ Muyska *te-kua* ‘boy, young man,’ Tegria *su-ka* ‘sister.’

**Paezan:** Citara *tana* ‘mother,’ Tucura *dana* ‘mother,’ Warrau *dani-yota* ‘mother’s older sister,’ *dani-katida* ‘mother’s younger sister,’ Chami *tana* ‘mother,’ *?Guambiana i-ču* ‘woman, wife,’ Paez *ne-čī-k* ‘son’ (< \**ne-tin-ki*), *ne-tson* ‘brother-in-law,’ *n-duh* ‘son-in-law,’ *anš-tsun-kue* ‘grandchild,’ *?Totoro i-šu-k* ‘wife,’ *?Nonoma doana* ‘son-in-law,’ Cayapa *cuh-ki* ‘sister’ (< \**tun-ki*), Colorado *sona(-sona)* ‘woman,’ *sunā-lat-suna* ‘wife,’ *so-ke* ‘sister,’ Eten *čan-ka* ‘sister,’ *sonā-ŋ* ‘wife,’ Chimu *čaŋ* ‘younger brother, nephew,’ *čuŋ* ‘sister,’ Millcayac *tzhœng* ‘son.’

**Andean:** Simacu *kax-ðana* ‘maternal uncle,’ Iquito *i-ta-ka* ‘girl,’ Mapudungu *coñi* ‘woman’s son’ (cf. Yuchi *c’one* ‘woman’s son’), Aymara *tayna* ‘first-born of either sex,’ *t’ini* ‘a woman near to her delivery,’ Tehuelche *den* ‘brother,’ *thaun* ‘sister,’ Patagon *čen* ‘brother,’ Pehuenche *a-cena* ‘brother,’ *čeče* ‘grandchild,’ Manekenkn *ie-tog-te* ‘brother,’ Ona *tane-ngh* ‘maternal uncle,’ Tsoneka *ke-tun* ‘sister,’ Qawasqar *se-kwai* ‘grandchild,’ *se-kway-ok* ‘grandmother,’ *esna-tun* ‘mother.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *atina* ‘male relative,’ *atuna* ‘female relative’; Kaliana-Maku: Kaliana *tone* ‘mother-in-law,’ *tai-ge* ‘brother,’ Auake *toto* ‘older brother,’ Maku *tenu-’pa* ~ *tenu-ba* ‘son, daughter’; Puinave: Puinave *a-tīi* ‘my son,’ *tēĩ-ūaĩ* ‘brother,’ *a-tōaĩ* ‘cousin,’ *ali-tan* ‘father-in-law, grandfather,’ Tiquie *ton* ‘daughter,’ *ten* ‘son,’ *tenten* ‘grandchild,’ Yehupde *tē* ‘child,’ Nadobo *tata* ‘child,’ Dou *tute* ‘child,’ Papury *toŋ* ‘daughter,’ *ten* ‘son,’ *tein* ‘wife,’ *tong-teip* ‘son-in-law,’ Ubde-Nehern *têain* ‘boy,’ *ten* ‘son,’ *tetein* ‘wife,’ *tēteté* ‘grandchild,’ *tēn-do* ‘maternal uncle’ (cf. Biloxi *tan-do* ‘woman’s younger brother’), *tētón* ‘niece’; Catuquinan: Bendiapa,

Parawa *iš-tano* ‘woman’; Canichana *eu-tana* ‘mother’; Huari: Huari *tān* ‘mother,’ Masaca *tani-mai* ‘younger sister’; Capishana *mia-tuna* ‘older brother,’ *totoi* ‘brother-in-law,’ *ñā-tō-kūi* ‘older sister,’ *a-taʔ* ‘aunt’; Nambikwara: Mamainde-Tarunde *denō* ‘woman,’ *čōnē* ‘grandfather,’ *(t)oán-osu* ‘older sister,’ Southern Nambikwara *tyũʔn* ‘small,’ Tagnani *tana-nde* ‘mother,’ *teno-re* ‘woman,’ *ui-tono-re* ‘son’; Ticuna-Yuri: Yuri *čo-ko* ‘man’; Tucanoan: Amaguaje *cin* ‘boy,’ *ye-tsen-ke* ‘son,’ Coreguaaje *čīi* ‘son,’ *čīio* ‘daughter,’ *aʔ-či* ‘elder brother,’ *aʔ-čo* ‘elder sister,’ *čoʔ-yei* ‘younger brother,’ *čoʔ-yeo* ‘younger sister,’ Siona *ciyn* ‘son,’ Yupua *tsīn-geē* ‘boy,’ *a-čane* ‘man,’ Tucano *ti-kā* ‘son-in-law,’ Tatuayo *teñē* ‘brother-in-law.’

**Equatorial:** Trumai *tain* ‘younger sister (man speaking),’ *ta-kwai* ‘younger brother (woman speaking),’ Cayuvava *tete* ‘uncle,’ *tena-ni* ‘woman,’ Taruma *a-či* ‘sister,’ Yuracare *suñe* ‘man,’ Timote: Cuica *tin-gua* ‘son, boy,’ Mococho *tin-gua* ‘son, boy,’ *nak-tun* ‘woman’; Zamucoan: Morotoko *a-tunesas* ‘girl’; Piaroa *tsehãũ* ‘brother,’ *tsēãñã* ‘grandfather,’ *čōno* ‘grandfather,’ *tsēãñã* ‘grandmother’; Jivaroan: Cofan *tzán-dey-dése* ‘boy,’ *tsandeye* ‘man,’ *tōʔtō* ‘uncle,’ Esmeralda *tin* ~ *tīon* ‘woman,’ *tini-usa* ‘daughter,’ Yaruro *to-kwī* ‘small boy,’ *išī-to-hwī* ‘small girl,’ *ieyī-to-kwī* ‘young woman,’ *hia-to-kwi* ‘maternal grandson,’ *hada-to-kwi* ‘paternal granddaughter,’ Kariri: Dzubucua *to* ‘grandfather,’ Kamaru *te-ke* ‘nephew, niece,’ Kariri *to* ‘grandfather,’ Tupi: Guayaki *tuty* ‘paternal uncle, sister’s son,’ Digüt *đánoă* ‘younger sister,’ Ramarama *i-te* ‘brother,’ Amniape *o-ta* ‘daughter,’ Kamayura *u-tu* ‘grandmother,’ Sheta *kuña-tai* ‘young woman,’ Canoeiro *kuña-tain* ‘small girl,’ Tapirape *ã-tāi* ‘female infant,’ *kot-ātāi* ‘young girl,’ Urubu-Kaapor *taʔin* ‘child,’ Tembe *tũ-kũhũr* ‘older brother,’ *tũ-hũhũr* ‘younger brother,’ *coai-tũ* ‘brother-in-law,’ *atiu* ‘father-in-law,’ Emerillon *tsitsiʔ* ‘younger sister,’ *dzadza* ‘older sister,’ Arikem *u-taua* ‘brother,’ Cocama *ikra-tsüng-ra* ‘child,’ Guarani *tatyu* ‘maternal father-in-law,’ *tuty* ‘uncle,’ Aweti *a-tu* ‘grandfather,’ Uruku *toto* ‘grandfather,’ Manaže *tutú* ‘paternal uncle,’ Oyampi *tu-ku* ‘younger brother’; Guahiban: Guahibo *ā-tō* ‘elder brother’; Guamo *tua* ‘daughter’; Coche *tan-gua* ‘old man’; Arawan: Deni *tu* ‘daughter,’ *daʔu* ‘son,’ Paumari *a-thon-i* ‘granddaughter,’ *ā-dyu* ‘older brother’; Chipayan: Uru *thun* ‘wife,’ *(t)soñi* ‘man,’ Chipaya *thun* ‘wife,’ *t’uana* ~ *txuna* ‘woman,’ *t’uñi* ~ *tsuñi* ‘brother’s wife (man talking),’ Caranga *t<sup>h</sup>un* ‘wife,’ *čuñi-l* ‘brother-in-law,’ *tuto* ‘grandchild’; Chapacuran: Chapacura *tana-muy* ‘daughter,’ *a-čoke-tunia* ‘girl,’ Itene *tana* ‘woman,’ *tana-muy* ‘girl,’ *tana-man* ‘woman,’ Abitana *tana* ‘woman,’ Kumana *tana-man* ‘woman’; Proto-Maipuran *\*ahšeni* ‘man’ (< *\*aʔ-teni?*), Amuesha *ah-šēñ-ō(š)* ‘male,’ Ignaciano *a-čane* ‘person,’ Asheninca *a-šeni-nka* ‘fellow countryman,’ Marawa *тино* ‘small child,’ *tana-n* ‘woman,’ Wapishana *iĩ-dan(e)* ‘child,

son, daughter' *u-dan-rin* 'daughter,' *ĩ-dan-karo* 'nephew,' *ĩ-dan-kearo* 'niece,' *douani* 'lad,' *i-dĩni-re* 'son-in-law,' *i-dĩni-ru* 'daughter-in-law,' *teti* 'maternal uncle,' Uainuma *a-ttsiu* 'uncle,' Moxo *a-ču(-ko)* 'grandfather,' Proto-Maipuran *\*čĩna-ru* 'woman,' Baure *e-tón* 'woman,' Pali-cur *te* 'younger brother,' *tino* 'woman,' *tana-n* 'woman,' Karipura *tina-gubari* 'woman,' Custenau *tine-ru* 'woman,' *a-tu* 'grandfather,' Uirina *a-tina-re* 'man,' Yaulapiti *tine-ru-tsu* 'girl,' *tina-u* 'woman,' Yavitero *nu-tani-mi* 'my daughter,' *no-taj̄n-tani* 'my son,' Baniva *no-tani* 'my son,' Mehinacu *tene-ru* 'woman,' *a-to* 'grandfather,' Waura *tine-ru-ta* 'girl,' *tĩné-š̄u* 'woman,' Arawak *o-tu* 'daughter,' *a-daün-ti* 'maternal uncle,' Manao *no-tany* 'my son,' *y-tuna-lo* 'woman,' Campa *cina-ni* 'woman,' *a-ten-dari* 'man,' Tuyoneri *ua-tone* 'old man, old woman,' Atoroi *dan* 'baby, son,' *dani-ʔinai* 'son,' *tidn* 'younger brother,' Goajiro *čon* 'son,' *tan-či* 'brother-in-law,' Bare *hana-tina-pe* 'child,' Ipurina *nu-tani-ri* 'my husband,' *ni-tari* 'my brother,' *ni-taru* 'my sister,' *n-atu-kiri* 'my grandfather.'

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *tĩna* 'a woman,' *tih* 'mother, female child' (< *\*tinki*), Peba-Yaguan: Yagua *dēnu* 'male child,' Yameo *a-tin* 'man'; Carib: Surinam *tĩ-ʔwo* 'brother-in-law,' Macusi *taj̄-sa* 'girl' (cf. Atakapa *ten-sa* 'niece'), *ake-ton* 'old man,' Arara *enru-ten-po* 'small child,' Taulipang *aci-ke* 'older brother,' *aeke-toj̄* 'old person,' Galibi *tun* 'father,' Pavishana *tane* 'my son,' *tutu* 'grandfather,' Azumara *toto* 'man,' Bakairi *i-tano* 'grandfather'; Boran: Bora *taña:če* 'my sister,' Imihita *tã-ti* 'grandfather,' Muinane *i-to* 'paternal uncle'; Witotoan: Witoto *i-taño* 'girl,' *o-suño* 'aunt,' *i-su* 'paternal uncle,' Witoto-Kaimö *iu-suna* 'aunt, grandmother,' Nonuya *om(w)ũ-tona* 'sister.'

**Macro-Panoan:** Mascoian: Mascov *tanni-yap* 'sister-in-law,' Kaskiha *an-tũ-ye* 'woman's son,' Lengua *tawin* 'grandchild,' *a-tai* 'my grandfather'; Mose-ten: Mose-ten *čuñe* 'brother-in-law, paternal son-in-law,' Mataco: Sot-siayay *taño-kla* 'boy,' Mataco *čina* 'younger sister,' Vejoz *činna* 'younger sister,' Churupi *čin-yo* 'younger sister,' Towithli *tuna-ni* 'woman,' Suhin *tino-iče* 'young woman,' *suña* 'younger sister'; Panoan: Cashibo *ʔanu* 'woman,' Cashibo *toa* 'child,' *didan* 'mother,' Shipibo *sanu* 'grandmother,' *tita* 'mother,' *sun-taku* 'young woman,' Sensi *čina-n* 'woman,' Panobo *ʔon-tako* 'girl,' Arazaire *čina-ni* 'wife,' Mayoruna *šanu* 'grandmother,' *nso-ton* 'child,' *čuču* 'older sister,' *tsana* 'man,' Culino *ha-tu* 'brother,' *a-tsi* 'sister,' *mu-tun* 'old man,' Nocaman *tano* 'woman, wife'; Tacanan: Huarayo *čina-ni* 'woman,' Tacana *-tóna* 'younger sister,' *dúdu* 'older sister,' *u-tse-kwa* 'grandchild,' Huarayo *toto* 'man's brother,' Arasa *deana-wa* 'son,' *dodo* 'brother,' Chama *toto* 'uncle,' *čina-ni* 'wife,' Tiatinagua *čina-ni* 'wife.'

**Macro-Ge:** Erikbatsa *tsiʔn-kärar* 'small'; Oti *dondu-ede* 'woman'; ?Fulnio

*efone-don-kia* ‘wife’; Guato *čina* ‘older brother’; Caraja *wa-θana* ‘uncle’; Bororo: Bororo *i-tuna-regede* ‘child,’ Umotina *yūto* ~ *in-dondo* ‘maternal son-in-law,’ *žu-ko* ‘paternal father-in-law’ (< *\*tun-ko*); Botocudo *giku-taŋ* ‘sister,’ *tontan* ‘wife,’ *gü-june* ‘brother-in-law’; Macuni *a-tina-n* ‘girl, daughter,’ Palmas *tantã* ‘female,’ *tanti* ‘woman’; Kamakan: Cotoxo *či-ton* ‘brother,’ Kamakan *totsöhn-tan* ‘mother,’ Meniens *a-to* ‘brother,’ *as-čun* ‘woman’; Puri: Puri *ek-ton* ‘son,’ *makaša-tane* ‘brother,’ *titiña-n* ‘grandmother,’ Coroado *mokaša-tane* ‘brother,’ Coropo *ek-tan* ‘mother’; Mashakali: Mashakali *etia-tün* ‘woman,’ Malali *niop-tan-piteknan* ‘woman,’ *tana-tämon* ‘father,’ Patasho *eke-tannay* ‘brother,’ *a-tön* ‘mother,’ Capoxo *asče-tan* ‘wife’; Kaingang: Apucarana *wey-tütan* ‘younger sister,’ *ti* ‘man,’ *un-tantan* ‘woman,’ ?Came *tata* ‘woman,’ Catarina *tata* ‘young woman, young man, young,’ Guarapuava *tetan* ‘girl,’ *un-tantan* ‘woman,’ Tibagi *tog-tan* ‘girl,’ *tantö* ‘woman’; Ge: Timbira *tō* ‘older brother,’ Apinaye *i-tō* ‘brother,’ *i-tō-dy* ‘sister,’ *tuʔ-ká* ‘paternal uncle, son-in-law,’ *tuʔ-ka-ya* ‘maternal grandfather,’ *tuʔ-ka-tí* ‘brother-in-law, son-in-law,’ Cayapo *i-ton* ‘brother,’ *i-ton-juö* ‘cousin,’ *torri-tuŋ* ‘old woman,’ *tun-juo* ‘girl,’ *jūno* ‘father,’ Aponegicran *i-thon-ghi* ‘sister,’ *i-thon-g* ‘brother,’ Krēye *tana-mni* ‘boy,’ *tō* ‘younger brother,’ *-tō-ue* ‘sister,’ *n-čō* ‘father,’ *n-čū* ‘paternal uncle,’ Caraho *a-ton-ka* ‘younger sister,’ *tō-i* ‘sister,’ *tō* ‘brother,’ *ton-ko* ‘older brother,’ *n-čon* ‘father,’ *in-cun* ‘uncle,’ Krahó *ĩ-čū* ‘father,’ *ĩ-če* ‘mother,’ *i-tō* ‘brother,’ *i-tō-i* ‘sister,’ Canella *i-nču* ‘my father,’ *i-nčeʔ* ‘my mother,’ *i-to* ‘older sibling,’ Parkateye *a-ton* ‘brother,’ *a-ton-kâ* ‘older brother,’ *a-ton-re* ‘younger brother,’ *a-toin* ‘sister,’ *a-toin-kâ* ‘older sister,’ *a-toin-re* ‘younger sister,’ Piokobyé *a-tön* ‘older sister,’ *a-tön-kä* ‘younger sister,’ *tön-ko* ‘older brother,’ *ha-tön* ‘younger brother.’

• [A125, Ruhlen 1994f] Many of these forms appear with a reciprocal suffix, *-ki* or *-ko*, that is still productive in some languages, but has often become fossilized on the stem. See RECIPROCAL *ki* ~ *ka*. There are also numerous other Amerind affixes that appear with this paradigm that are pointed out in the individual etymologies in this book.

#### 697 SOUR *\*caq<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian *\*wi:ʔsakanwi* ‘be bitter.’ Mosan: Salish:

Proto-Interior Salish *\*cʔaq* ‘sour, fermented.’ Proto-Chimakuan *\*soyox<sup>w</sup>*.

Wakashan: Kwakwala *cyχ<sup>w</sup>*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan *\*sku-* ‘bitter.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*cuk* ~ *suk*, Proto-Oto-Manguean

*\*(n)se(h)(ʔ)* ‘sour, bitter.’

**Andean:** Puelche *čakak* ‘bitter.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan *\*saku* ‘sour, strong.’

## 698 SPEAK \*weh

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \*-owe: ‘speak, voice,’ \*-wi ‘say, reciprocal,’  
\*ewa ‘he says so.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \*-weh-, Tuscarora *weh*. Proto-Caddoan \*-wa:-

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \*wVyV, Tsimshian *wo:* ‘call,’ *wæ:* ‘name (v.),’  
Plateau: Nez Perce *ten’-we:* ‘talk,’ Sahaptin *snwi* ‘talk,’ Klamath *swin*  
‘talk.’ California: Proto-Maiduan \*wey.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(H)we(H)(n) ‘say, tell,’ \*(n)(H)wi(?) (n)  
‘say, tell, converse.’

699 SPIDER<sub>1</sub> \*ʔako

**Almosan:** ?Proto-Interior Salish \*s-k’ay’(-t). Chimakuan: Quileute *ʔaku*.  
[check this form].

**Penutian:** Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *hoʔotik*, Sayula *ohkohmon*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*qɔk<sup>h</sup>ə, Proto-Pomo \*ʔik<sup>h</sup>a(:) ~ \*mik<sup>h</sup>a:. Achomawi  
*yʔahā*, Shasta *ʔa’k<sup>w</sup>i’yaxa* ‘large spider,’ Karok *xaha*, Chumash *aiyaka*,  
Subtiaba *a’xka*, Seri -xox.

**Central Amerind:** Uto-Aztecan: Mono *hohpoho*, Kawaiisu *hokwombi*. Tanoan:  
Taos *p’oʔōyo-na*, Tewa *ʔãʔwe*.

**Chibchan:** Cuna *akkwaser*, Penomeño *ogo*, Murire *yogo*, Bribri *yok*.

**Andean:** Zaparo *kaununaka*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Siona *yexe*, Coto *hēʔhē*, Auake *eḣa(b)*. Kakua *hagap*.

**Equatorial:** Otomi *conunyugu*. Saliba *eʔga*.

700 SPIDER<sub>2</sub> \*madi

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha \*madi-k<sup>wa</sup>.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *modoi*.

701 SPIDER<sub>3</sub> \*q’al

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *q’aljijig*, Proto-Sahaptian \*χelχel, Sahaptin  
*wa-χalχali*, Nez Perce *χelχelu:ye*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \*xaltot.

**Andean:** Qawasqar *q’ales* ‘spider crab.’

702 SPRING<sub>1</sub> (season) \*t’ica

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*t’i:ça ‘springtime.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts \*t<sup>h</sup>isamuy.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*taca ‘summer.’

703 SPRING<sub>2</sub> (season) \**tem*

**Almosan:** Proto-Coast Salish \**təm* ‘season when fish come and berries ripen.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Atakapa *tempst*, Muskogean: Chickasaw *to:mi palli* ‘summer’ (*palli* = ‘hot’), *to:mi pallit ištaya* ‘spring’ (*ištaya* = ‘begin’).

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**tomo* ‘winter.’ Proto-Tanoan \**tō*.

704 SPRUCE \**c'im*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**C'imC'im*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \**c'ewa*.

705 SQUASH (n.) \**q'ame*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**ko(me)*.

**Penutian:** Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean \**k'uʔm* ‘green squash.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**χam*, Proto-Yuman \**hamteʔ* ‘pumpkin squash.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \**əmmi*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**kemi* ~ \**xemi*.

706 SQUEEZE \**pic'* ~ *p'ic*

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \**p'ih* ~ *p'iʔ* ~ *p'i-c'* ‘squeeze,’ *c'ip'* ‘squeeze shut.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Atakapa *pac*, Tunica *pisa*, Muskogean: Chickasaw *piciffi*.  
Mexican: Proto-Mayan *pic'*.

707 STAB \**c'ax<sup>w</sup>*-

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**c'ax<sup>w</sup>*- ~ *c'awa(x<sup>w</sup>)*- ‘stab, spear, punch,’ Proto-Salish \**ciq* ‘stab, dig,’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *c'x<sup>w</sup>* ‘stab, stick into.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**-šek'*- ‘pierce.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**C'oq*.

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *čukin'* ‘stab, pierce.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**čaʔči* ‘pierce.’

708 STAND<sub>1</sub> \**tep*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \**tep*-.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**ta:p*.

709 STAND<sub>2</sub> \**nuka*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: ?Kwakwala *t<sup>h</sup>nq-* ‘standing (said of an inanimate object).’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**nākV* ‘standing, sitting.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \**Nuka*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**nũkã*.

710 STAND UP *\*taʔ*

**Keresiouan:** Mohawk *taʔ* ‘stand up,’ Yuchi *ta* ‘stand.’

**Penutian:** California: Maidu *ʔoto*. Gulf: Tunica *to*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*ta* ‘stand, erect, post.’

- [AK180, P233]

711 STAR<sub>1</sub> *\*(a)sin*

**Hokan** Achomawi: Atsugewi *asi:yi* ‘day.’ Chimariko *asi* ‘day.’ Esselen *asi* ‘sun.’ Seri *šax* ‘day.’ Yurumangui *sia:* ‘heaven.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean R 280 *\*(n)(h)se(h)(n)*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 413 *\*su*, *\*cu* (“some forms come from *\*so*, *\*co*”).

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auixiri *esa* ~ *ösa* ‘moon.’ Tucano: Wanana *se*, *sĩ* ‘sun, moon,’ Waikina *axsẽ* ‘moon.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Guachi *oes* ‘sun.’ Proto-Panoan *\*ʔošĩ* ‘moon.’

**Macro-Ge:** Chiquito *ošĩ* ‘flame.’ Ge: Chavante *wašia*, Cherente *waši*. Mashakali: Mashakali *aši*, Macuni *asi*, *sai*. Oti *ašo* ‘fire.’

- [A243]

712 STAR<sub>2</sub> *\*meca*

**Keresiouan:** Keres *maša* ‘light’ (n.)

**Penutian:** Gulf: Chitimacha *pa:sta*; Muskogean: Choctaw *fičik*. Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *maca*, Texistepec *bac’a*, Tetontepec *ma:xc*.

**Hokan:** Salinan: San Antonio *maša-lak* ‘morning star’ (cf. Jicaque *lak-sak* ‘sun,’ a compound in which *lak* = ‘glow’ and *sak* = ‘sun’). Yuman: Kiliwa *mesi*, Walapai *hamsi*, etc.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 268b, M 268c *\*meca*, *\*meya*, etc.

- [A244]

713 STAY (IN A PLACE) *\*man*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Nootka *ma-* ‘dwell.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *mān* ‘remain.’ Oregon: Kalapuya *mānĩ-* ‘wait.’ California: Maidu *ma* ‘be.’ Zuni *ʔīma* ‘sit.’

**Hokan:** Subtiaba *-ama* ‘sit.’

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Cacaoopera *ima* ‘wait,’ Puruha *ma* ‘be.’

**Paezan:** Timicua *-ma* ‘inside.’

**Andean:** Cholona *-man* ‘in,’ Aymara *mankxa* ‘inside,’ Mapudungu *minu* ‘inside,’ Quechua *ma-* ‘be,’ Yahgan *mani* ‘be,’ *yumanana* ‘live’ (with reduplication indicating continuous action), *möni* ‘remain,’ *kamani* ‘stand.’

**Equatorial:** Dzubucua *mañe* ‘remain,’ Otomi *yamania* ‘live,’ Paumari *gamanani* ‘stand,’ Coche *xamnan* ‘be.’

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua: Yameo *mune* ‘sit down,’ Witoto: Ocaina *münʔxo*

‘remain,’ Carib: Apiaca *umano* ‘wait,’ Pemon *man* ‘be.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *\*mana* ‘wait,’ Cashinawa *mana* ‘wait,’ Shipibo *manei* ‘remain,’ Chacobo *man-* ‘wait,’ Panobo *manai* ‘wait,’ Lule *-ma* ‘in.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *mēn* ‘remain,’ Crenguez *moiny* ‘sit,’ Capoxo *moinyam* ‘sit,’ Bororo *āmu* ~ *āni* ‘to rest,’ Cayapo *kaimaniun* ‘stand,’ *kaman* ‘inside,’ Tibagi *ema* ‘dwell.’

• This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, Indo-European, Tungus, Caucasian, Basque, Burushaski, and Indo-Pacific (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

714 STEAL<sub>1</sub> *\*mera*

**Paezan:** Catio *mera*, Chimu *omor* ‘thief.’

**Macro-Carib:** Muinane *meri-de*, Ocaina *mu:ro*, Yabarana *məɾə* ‘take!’

- [CP183, MC62]

715 STEAL<sub>2</sub> *\*k<sup>w</sup>awa*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan *\*k<sup>w</sup>aw-*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*-č<sup>w</sup>awa*.

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*k<sup>w</sup>ɔ* ‘take, seize.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan *\*k<sup>hw</sup>iya* ‘take.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*suwa*.

716 STICK (IN) *\*ʃaq<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-Salish *\*ʃuʔ* ‘stab,’ Proto-Interior Salish *\*t<sup>l</sup>aq* ‘stick in, prick.’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *l<sup>ʷ</sup>aχ<sup>w</sup>* ‘stick out the tongue.’

**Penutian:** Zuni *ʃak<sup>w</sup>i* ‘stick in.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*laqa-* ‘stick (v.).’

717 STOMACH<sub>1</sub> *\*to*

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman *\*ito*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*to*.

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco *\*ātau* ‘belly.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *tūmula*.

**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge *\*tu(m)* ‘belly.’

- [A32]

718 STOMACH<sub>2</sub> *\*wak*

**Hokan:** Yuman: Maricopa *vaxa* ‘intestines.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*(ʔ)wa(h)(n)* ‘stomach, heart.’

**Equatorial:** Achuar *wakí*.



**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Hianacoto \**wakulu* ‘stomach, intestine.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mascoian: Lengua *wukmo*, Proto-Waikuruan \**wæq:um*: ‘stomach, belly.’

719 STONE<sub>1</sub> \**k'at<sup>l</sup>a*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *k'ɬ-* ‘stone, mineral.’ Proto-Chemakuan \**k'at<sup>l</sup>a* ~ \**k'at'ɬa*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *kura*. Aymara: Aymara *k'ala*, Lupaca *kala*, Jaqaru *qala* ‘rock.’ Itucale *axeri*. Proto-Quechuan \**qiɬay* ‘mineral.’ Qawasqar *kiella*, *čella*.

**Equatorial:** Kariri: Kariri, Dzubicua, Kamuru *kro*.

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Krenje *akrã* ‘hill,’ Cayapo *krãi* ‘mountain.’ Kaingang: Catarina *kren* ‘mountain,’ Tibagi *krin* ‘mountain,’ etc. Kamakan: Cotoxo *kere*, *kri* ‘mountain.’ Fulnio *klila* ‘hard.’

- [A245]

720 STONE<sub>2</sub> \**cak*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Kwakwala *ck<sup>w</sup>-* ‘rock fence.’

**Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Caddo *si:ko*, Adai *ekseka*. Keresan: Santa Ana *hi-sgai* ‘knife.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**ca:ʔ*.

**Hokan:** Karok *šak* ‘arrowpoint.’ Salinan: San Miguel *čak* ‘knife,’ San Antonio *čik<sup>h</sup>* ‘knife,’ *asak'a* ‘flint.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \**su(?)*.

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *caka-pu*.

**Paezan:** Chimu: Eten *čax* ‘iron.’ Paez: Totoro *šuk*. Barbacoan: Colorado, Cara *su*, Guambiana *šuk* ~ *šux*.

**Andean:** Puelche *čuhe* ~ *čihe*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *sögte*.

- [A246]

721 STONE<sub>3</sub> \**tak*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**ta:*, Takelma *ta-n*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \**ta* ‘stone, grinding stone.’

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Chumulu *tukila* ‘mountain.’

**Paezan:** Millcayac, Allentiac *toko*. Atacama *tok'-na* ‘to stone.’ Jirajara *dox*. Mura: Mura, Bohura *ati*.

**Andean:** Qawasqar *atak*. Gennaken: Gennaken *atuk* ‘mountain,’ Pehuelche *atek*, *atak*. Mayna *tiokn*. Sabela *dika*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani \**ita*, Tupi, Guarani, Sheta, Tembe, Kaapor, Siriono *ita*, Cocoma *itaki*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *etak*, *tekpai* ‘rock.’

- [A246]

722 STONE<sub>4</sub> \*got

**Paezan:** Andaqui *guatihi*. Paez: Okoshkokyewi *k<sup>w</sup>at*, Paez *kueth*, Paniquita *kuet*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \*gĩtã-yo/ka.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan \*goti.

723 STONE<sub>5</sub> \*k<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \*s-ʔax<sup>w</sup> ‘rock-slide, land-slide, snow-slide, slide (v.)’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \*wak’ ‘stone, flint, knife.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan \*ka:ʔ, Proto-Mixe-Zoque *kaʔc* ‘stone (v.), throw at with stone.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(i/a-)x<sup>y</sup>aʔ.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(h)k<sup>w</sup>a(h)(n), \*(n)(h)ki(n) ‘stone, metal, iron, axe, bell.’ Proto-Tanoan \*k<sup>u</sup>a.

**Chibchan:** Cuna *akwa*. Proto-Chibcha \*hai-ka, Sinsiga *ahaka*, Tegria, Pedraza *aka*, Chibcha *hika*. Guaymi: Gualaca *aga*, Chumulu *hak*, Changuena *haga*, Move, Norteño, Penomeño *xo*. Proto-Aruak *hak*, Atanque *agina*, Cagaba *hagi*. Talamanca: Estrella, Cabecar, Chiripo *hak*, Terraba, Bribri, Tirub *ak*, Viceyta *xa*. Chimila *ha*.

**Paezan:** Paez: Okoshkokyewa *k<sup>w</sup>at*, Paniquita *kuet*, Paez *kueth*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Capishana *aki*. Koaia *aki*. Maku-Puinave *he*.

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Wayoro, Tupari, Monde, Arua *ek*, Sanamaica *ε*, Kanua *he:k*.

724 STONE<sub>6</sub> \*mak

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*me(ʔ)ke ‘stone railing.’

**Chibchan:** Yanoama: Yanomam *ma:ma*, Karime, Paucosa *mama*, Shiriana *mamake*.

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \*mok.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \*mahpi.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \*mãkan.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *mama*.

725 STONE<sub>7</sub> \*pake

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*pegemi:pi ‘stone knife.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \*pišwe ‘rock.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec \*pi.

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Cacaopera *u apa*, Matagalpa *upa*. Chibchan: Manare *upaya*.

**Paezan:** Piraha *bege*. Barbacoan: Muellama *pegrane*.

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *pakun*.

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *pɔ*.

726 STRING \**nu*

**Hokan:** Subtiaba -*ũñulū*, Tequistlatec -*aynuʔ* ‘fiber.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \**nu*, Masaka *nai*.

- [H140, MT89]

727 STRONG \**pale*

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Canichana *bere, bele* ‘strength.’ Iranshe *pwita* ‘strong, hard.’ Ticuna *pora*. Tucano: Siona *puin* ‘be strong.’

**Equatorial:** Guahibo: Guayabero *polala* ‘wild.’ Kariri *apru* ‘wild.’ Yuracare *pare* ‘wild.’

- [A247]

728 SUCK \**c’uq<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**c’awk<sup>w</sup>*, Proto-Salish \**c’uq<sup>w</sup>*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**c<sup>h</sup>uc<sup>h</sup>a*. Gulf: Muskogean: Creek \**co:k-ita*. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**cuʔc* ‘suckle, chew.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*i/a*)*ci(c)*, Proto-Yuman \**cicika*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado *cu-*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**šucu-*.

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *čok* ‘suck, nurse.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \**cu-* ~ *čo-* ‘suck, nurse.’

729 SUN<sub>1</sub> \**ali* ~ \**ala*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**alʔa* ‘sun,’ \**alayi* ‘dawn,’ Chimariko *alla, ala*. Comecrudo *al*. Karankawa *auil* ‘moon.’ Pomo: East Pomo *la:* ‘sun, moon,’ North, Central Pomo *da* ‘sun.’ Salinan *naʔ*. Yuman: Yuma *ña*, Tipai *ña:*, Kiliwa *inya:*, etc.

**Paezan:** Choco: Catio *una* ‘shine.’ Chimu: Eten *inen* ‘light.’ Jirajara: Ayoman *iñ* ‘sun.’ Paez *en* ‘day.’ Timucua *ela* ‘sun, day.’ Millcayac *aʔ* ‘light (n.)’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Capixana *varuvaru*. Catuquina: Catuquina *waʔya* ‘moon,’ Parawa *wadia* ‘moon.’ Iranshe *ireʔ*. Movima *il-* ‘dry in sun’ (transitive). Puinave: Tiquie *uero*, Yehubde *werho* ‘moon,’ Querari *uidn* ‘moon.’

**Equatorial:** Maipuran: Cayeri *eri*, Piapoco *eri*, Achagua *erri*, Apolista *uri* ‘star.’ Otomaco *ura* ‘moon.’ Proto-Tupi-Guarani \**ar* ‘day.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Trio *ole-ole* ‘flame,’ Crichana *iri(-ipo)* ‘fire place,’ Surinam *t-u:ri* ‘torch,’ etc. Witoto *ole* ‘fire.’ Yagua: Yameo *ole* ‘fire.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Toba *ala*, Komlek *olo* ‘zenith,’ Guachi *oalete* ‘moon,’ Toba *lon* ‘kindle,’ Mocovi *alon* ‘burn.’ Lengua: Mascocoy *aleu* ‘burn

(transitive), shine,' *p-eltin* 'moon.' Lule *ale* 'burn' (intransitive), *alit*.

Mataco: Choroti *wela*, Enimaga *wal*. Vilela, Chunupi *olo*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *ari* 'moon.' Kaingang: Came *eri*, Apucarana *ãra*. Ingain *ara*. Amho *aro*. Aweikoma *la*.

• [A248]

730 SUN<sub>2</sub> \**k<sup>w</sup>al*

**Chibchan:** Rama *kunkani* 'light' (n.)'

**Paезan:** Timucua *ek<sup>w</sup>ela* 'day,' *karo* 'light, brightness.' Barbacoan: Guambiana *kwalim* 'day,' Totoro *kwa'lim* 'day.'

**Andean:** Qawasqar *kala* 'day.' Aymara *k<sup>h</sup>ana* 'light (n.)' Cholona *kenna* 'stars.' Itucale *hanuna*. Cahuapana: Jebero *ukli* 'day, light.' Patagon: Patagon *kenek*, *kerren* 'day,' *kolaš*, *kunaš* 'star' (probably diminutive), Hongote *kekar*, Ona *kren* 'moon.' Selknam *kren*. Quechua: Ancash *xunax* 'day.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auixiri *akroak*. Canichana *kol*, *koxli*, *korli* 'day.' Huari *ikirinæ* 'day.' Koaia *akori* 'moon.' Maku *kele*, *kelia* 'day.' Natu *kra-sulo*. Puinave *kəlod*, *ked*, *korlot* 'star.' Uman *kari*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani \**k<sup>w</sup>ar*. Piaroa: Macu *kele*. Arawak: Tari-ana *keri*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Nocten, Guisnai *ixuala*. Mataco *xuala*. Vejoz *xualü* 'day.'

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *kueri*. Kaingang *kurã* 'day.'

• [A249]

731 SUN<sub>3</sub> \**pali*

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *pialst*, *bials* 'star.' Oregon: Kalapuya *ampiun*. (California: Wintun: Colouse *pellar* is probably a borrowing from Yuki.) Gulf: Muskogean: Choctaw *pala* 'light (n.), shine,' Yukian: Huchnom *pilaṭ*, Coast Yuki *pilet*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \**paR* 'sun, day.'

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *piri-tani* 'lighten' (v.), *piri-rasi* 'luminous.' Xinca: Yupultepec, Chiquimulilla, etc. *pari* 'day, sun.' Yanoama: Pubmatari *pilmoro*.

**Paезan:** Proto-Choco \**ewari* 'day,' Sambu *ibaru* 'month,' Citara *ibare* 'day.'

**Andean:** Mapudungu *pelo-* 'get light.' Proto-Quechuan \**wara* 'dawn.'

**Equatorial:** Arawak: Baure *pari*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \**badi* 'sun, day,' Proto-Panoan \**βari*, Chama, Capanagua, Cashinaua, Pacaguara, Caripuna *bari*, Arazaire *fuari*, Shaninawa *fwaii*, Chacobo, Atsahuaca, Conibo, Yamiaca *huari*, Maruba, Cashibo *vari*, Poyanawa *vori*, Panobo, Nocaman, Canawari, Nehanawa *wari*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Umutina *baru*. Ge: Apinage *bure*.

- [A250]

732 SUN<sub>4</sub> \*t'ak<sup>w</sup>

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \*c'ak<sup>w</sup> 'light, bright.'

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *cius*. Oregon: Siuslaw *cxayu:wi*. California: Costanoan: Monterey *tuš* 'day,' Santa Cruz *tuhe* 'day'; Wintun: Sacramento River *tuku*, Proto-Yokuts \*taʔak'. Zuni *yatokka*. Gulf: Tunica *tahč'i*. Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sierra Popoluca *cok* 'shine,' Sayula *taʔkš* 'shine'; Totonac: Papantla *tuxkaket* 'light' (n.)

**Equatorial:** Arawak: Ipurina *atokanti*, Kushichineri *takači*.

**Macro-Ge:** Yabuti: Arikapu *tōhā*, Yabuti *tōhō*. Caraja *tšu*: 'day, sun.'

- [A251]

733 SUN<sub>5</sub> \*c'ul

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*č'uwaR, Achomawi *cul*, Shasta *c'uwar*.

**Andean:** Culli *su*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *çwa*.

**Macro-Ge:** Chiquito *cu*: 'day, sun,' *su:r* 'sun,' Yunkarirsh *su:rš*, Churapa *su:š*. Caraja *tīu*: 'day, sun,' Guato *ma-čuo* 'day.' San Simoniano *sou*.

- [H141, MG28]

734 SUN<sub>6</sub> \*kati

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Miskito *kati* 'moon'; Tarascan *kucsi* 'moon'; Lenca: Guajiquero *kaši*.

**Paezan:** Chimu: Eten *kæss*.

**Andean:** Puelche *kateken*.

**Equatorial:** Guahibo *ikatia*, Goajiro *kači* 'moon,' Terena *kače*, Piro *kači*, Cuica *kuči* 'day,' Digüt *gati* 'moon.' Siracua *gete*. Proto-Maipuran \*kečĭ, Kanamare *ghasirü*, Caliponau *kaši*, Paumari *kasiri*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Chaque *gičio*, Yupe *güičo*. Mapoyo *katun*.

- [CP187, E109]

735 SUN<sub>7</sub> \*hasi

**Keresiouan:** ?Proto-Keresan *hi:šĭ* 'sunflower.' Proto-Caddoan \*isaku:-.

**Penutian:** Gulf: Atakapa *iš* 'sun, star,' Tunica *ʔášuhki* 'day,' Muskogean: Alabama *hasi*. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*siw 'sun, name, fiesta.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*asi ~ \*aši ~ \*iša(χ).

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *šĭi* 'light.'

**Paezan:** Timucua *hasi*.

**Andean:** ?Proto-Quechuan \*ačik 'light.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \*ãšĭ, Uanana *se*.

**Equatorial:** Jivaro: Shuara, Huambisa *aca*.

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *asa:ša* ‘dawn.’ Carib: Cachuena *isoso*, Cunuana *ši*,  
Waiana, Upurui *šiši*, Chiquena *sesi*, Yecuana *ži*, Ihuruana *ži:*,  
**Macro-Panoan:** Tacanan: Tiatinagua *ešet*, Sapiboca *iseti*.

736 SUN<sub>8</sub> \**maka*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *-ma:-s-* ‘light.’ California: Yokuts *me* ‘sun,  
moon.’  
**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo \**ma:ki* ~ \**maki* ‘day.’  
**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**meya*, \**mea* ‘sun,’ \**meca* ‘moon,  
month.’  
**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba *mama*. Misumalpan: Ulua, Sumu *ma* ‘day, sun.’  
Paya *ma:*.  
**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado, Cayapa *ma* ‘day.’  
**Andean:** Puelche *amaha* ‘day.’  
**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *ma?a* ‘day, light.’ Ticuna *omi* ‘light.’ Tucanoan:  
Omöa *amakai*, Sära *omakani*, Buhagana *omākāyi*, Macuna *umakanö*, De-  
sana *ame* ‘light,’ etc., Amaguaje *mea-gi* ‘shines.’  
**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Araua, Yamamadi *mahi*, Culino, Madiha *maxi*.  
Cayuvava *maka*.  
**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Kraho, Piokoby *amkro*. Monosho *mañua*.  
• [A166]

737 SUN<sub>9</sub> \**pan*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \**-a:pan* ‘dawn,’ \**pankihšimowa* ‘sunset.’  
**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**pyan*. California: Proto-Maiduan \**ba-*  
*nak* ‘light.’  
**Andean:** Zaparo: Andoa *apanamu*, Chiripuno *pananu*, Shimigae *poanamu*.  
Mapudungu *wín* ‘dawn.’  
**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**būhī-pū*, Coto *bañi*. Pankaruru *panye*.  
**Equatorial:** Achuar *pa:ntin* ‘light (n.)’  
**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Opone *bueno*, Carare *bwenuñe*.  
**Macro-Panoan:** Panoan: Yaminaua *wani*.

738 SUN<sub>10</sub> \**p’it* ~ \**put*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan \**pit’-* ~ \**p’it-* ‘light, sun, moon, sky.’  
**Keresiouan:** ?Proto-Keresan \**buḏʷu’isti* ‘lightning.’  
**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Guambiano *píté*, Totoro *piś*. Proto-Choco \**pisia*, Choco,  
Sambu *pisia*.  
**Macro-Tucanoan:** Maku-Puinave *widɔh*.  
**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Caribe *bedu*, Cariniaco *wedo*.  
**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \**badi* ‘sun, day.’  
**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Cherente *bedö*, Makamekran *büt*, Chavante *budu*, Krenje

*püd*, Taje *püt*, Mehin, Remkokamekran *pud*, Krenkataje, Sakamekran, Purekamekran, Karaho, Acroa *put*, Aponegricran *putu*.

739 SUN<sub>11</sub> \*hini

**Penutian:** Gulf: Wappo *hin*.

**Paezan:** Timucua *ini* ‘day.’ Jirajara: Ayoman *iñ*.

**Andean:** Mayna *hena*, Leco *heno*.

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *hiñi*: ~ *iñi*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *ini*.

740 SUN<sub>12</sub> \*kamo

**Paezan:** Huarpe: Millcayac *xumek* ‘sun,’ *xumuk* ‘day.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**kamui*, Marawan *kamui*, Paresi *kamai*, Mehinacu *kame*, Wapishana *kamo*, Yavitero *kamoθi*, Uirina *kamoe*, Maypure *kamosi*, Atorai, Mawakwa, Yukuna *kamu*, Adzaneni *gamui*, Guinau *gamũhũ*, Manao *gamuy*, Bare *ghamu*, Uainuma *ghamui*, Urupa *kumem*, Marawa *kumetu*. Piaroa: Maco *gama*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Uayeue, Waiwai *kamo*.

741 SUN<sub>13</sub> \*tin

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan \**-ta* ‘day.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: Nez Perce *tiʔn* ~ *tiʔ*, Klamath *din-* ‘sun,’ *dini:gi* ‘sun rises.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \**tin* ‘day, tomorrow, day after.’

Proto-Tanoan \**tʰə* ‘day.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ta*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *tinno*.

**Equatorial:** ?Pakaasnovos *čina*.

**Macro-Carib:** ?Carib: Pariri, Pimenteira, Arara *titi*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**çine* ‘day, afternoon.’

742 SUN<sub>14</sub> \*hada

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo \**haʔda*.

**Equatorial:** Arawak *hadali*.

743 SUN<sub>15</sub> \*haya

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts \**hayál* ‘day.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Coretu *haya*.

744 SUN<sub>16</sub> \*pe

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**-sbi* ‘there are sun rays.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *pe:*. California: Proto-Yokuts \**ʔop<sup>h</sup>* ‘sun, moon.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ipe* ‘day.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**pe(pe)* ‘lightning’ (reduplication = light light, as in Mosesten below).

**Paезan:** Itonama *uwayo* ‘day.’

**Andean:** Cahuapana: Chayavita *pi:*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Desana *abe*.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Hianacoto \**bey*, Carijona *bei*, Camaracoto *be*, Zapara *we*, Pianocoto *weh*, Wama, Macusi, Purucoto, Taurepan, Ingarico, Umaua, Pemon *wei*, Pauishana *uai*, Uaica *uey*, Carif *ueyu*, Urucuyena, Ocomayana *uwi*, Tivericoto *ve*, Arecuna *vɛi*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mosesten *pexpeo* ‘lightning.’ Proto-Tacanan \**ue-* ‘light, today, tomorrow, clear sky, get light.’

745 SUN<sub>17</sub> \**naq<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-North Wakashan \**n’aq<sup>w</sup>*- ‘daylight, moonlight, bright light.’ Proto-Coast Salish \**nəq<sup>w</sup>* ‘sun, fire, warm.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \**ñɑ:ʔɑ*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora: Bora *nöʔögbwa* ‘sun,’ *nuʔpa* ‘sun, moon,’ Imihitã *nöxba*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Munche *ñuʔu* ‘day.’

**Equatorial:** Tinigua: Tinigua *nixo*. Piaroa: Saliba *nok<sup>w</sup>idia* ‘day.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Waikuruan \**no:q:o* ‘day.’

746 SUN<sub>18</sub> \**pak*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \**pok* ‘sun, moon, luminary.’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *wakara* ‘day, daytime.’

**Paезan:** Millcayac *paxtekina* ‘get light, dawn (v.)’

**Andean:** Zaparo *paka:teka* ‘get light, dawn.’ Proto-Quechuan \**paqa-*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Maku-Puinave *wag*.

**Macro-Ge:** Mashakali *apokai*, Kapasho, Kumansho *apukoi*.

747 SWALLOW \**maliq’a*

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *mik’olum* ‘swallow. Kutenai *uʔmqoʔ* ‘swallow.’ Mosan: Proto-Salish \**məq* ‘eat one’s fill,’ Chehalis *mq<sup>w</sup>* ‘swallow,’ Lower Fraser *məlq<sup>w</sup>* ‘throat,’ Pentlach *məkwəm* ‘swallow,’ Nisqualli *omikalekw* ‘swallow,’ Columbian *məlq* ~ *enmellik* ‘tongue.’ Wakashan: Nootka *muk<sup>w</sup>* ‘swallow,’ Kwakwala *młχ<sup>w</sup>-ʔid* ‘chew food for the baby,’ *młq<sup>w</sup>a* ‘moisten the fingers with the tongue,’ Heiltsuk *məlqva* ‘chew food for baby,’ *młχv-baút* ‘lick the end of something.’

**Penutian:** Chinook: Chinook *-mókui-* ‘throat,’ *mlq<sup>w</sup>-tan* ‘cheek,’ Wishram *ō-mēqλ* ‘lick.’ Oregon: Takelma *mülk* ‘swallow,’ Proto-Kalapuya \**milk* ‘swallow’ (v.), Tualatin *milk* ~ *mılq* ‘swallow,’ *milk*-wan ‘swallow,’ Santiam *milk* ‘swallow,’ Yonkala *k’andít-mílik* ‘I swallowed it.’ Plateau:



North Sahaptin *malqmat* ‘lick,’ Molala *mil* ‘throat.’ California: Yokuts *mōk’i* ‘swallow,’ *mik’-is* ‘throat,’ Yaudanchi *mök* ‘swallow,’ *müküs* ‘throat.’ Gulf: Proto-Muskogean *\*mil* ‘swallow,’ Tunica *milu* ‘choke,’ *miru* ‘swallow,’ Atakapa *mol* ‘gargle,’ Wappo *malék’e?* ‘swallow it,’ Coast Yuki *mekup* ‘throat,’ Huchnom *meka* ‘drink,’ Yuki *mi* ‘drink.’ Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *amu?ul* ‘suck,’ Zoque *mu?k* ‘suck.’

**Hokan:** Chumash: Santa Ynez *aqmil* ‘drink’ (? = *aq-mil* ‘water-swallow’), Santa Cruz *akmil* ‘drink’; Yuman: Yuma *mal<sup>y</sup>aqé* ‘neck,’ Walapai *malqí* ‘throat, neck,’ Havasupai *milqé* ‘throat,’ Yavapai *melqí* ‘neck,’ Mohave *mal<sup>y</sup>aqé* ‘throat,’ Akwa’ala *milqí* ‘neck,’ Paipai *milqí* ‘neck’ (cf. also the obviously related Yuman forms where the initial nasal has assimilated the palatal nature of the following lateral: Yuma *an<sup>y</sup>il<sup>y</sup>q* ‘swallow,’ Walapai *mi-n<sup>y</sup>alq* ‘swallow,’ Diegueño *we-n<sup>y</sup>ałq* ‘swallow,’ Havasupai *k<sup>we</sup>-n<sup>y</sup>álqika* ‘swallow,’ Akwa’ala *n<sup>y</sup>elq* ‘swallow,’ etc.); ?Tlappanec *māga’ηqɔ* ‘swallow.’

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec *e?meli* ‘eat,’ Cuna *murki-makka* ‘swallow,’ *murgi murgi sae* ‘swallow food.’

**Andean:** Quechuan: Cochabamba *malq’a* ‘throat,’ Huaraz *mallaqa* ‘be hungry’; Aymara *malq’a* ‘swallow, throat’ (probably a borrowing from Quechua); ? Cholon *amok* ‘eat.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Curetu *mouku* ‘drink,’ Ticuna *mi* ‘drink,’ Iranshe *moke?i* ‘neck.’

**Equatorial:** Guamo *mirko* ‘drink,’ Arawak *amüküddun* ‘swallow,’ Callahua-ya *małk’a* ‘throat’ (almost certainly a loan from Quechua or Aymara).

**Macro-Carib:** Surinam *e?mōki* ‘swallow,’ Faai *mekeli* ‘nape of the neck,’ Kaliana *imukulali* ‘throat.’

• [A252, Ruhlen 1994h] A number of forms show metathesis. This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Indo-European, Uralic, Dravidian, Caucasian and Eskimo-Aleut (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

#### 748 SWEEP *\*pit*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*pe:t?*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*piča-*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran *\*pí(-da)*.

#### 749 SWELL *\*pos*

**Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *pe:š*, Proto-Algonquian *\*pe:čikenwi* ‘grow slowly,’ Ojibwa *pe:čikin* ‘grow slowly,’ Menomini *pε:čeken* ‘it grows slowly.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan *\*bus-* ‘swell (especially when pregnant),’ Proto-North Wakashan *\*pus-* ‘swell (through soaking).’ Salish: Upper Chehalis *pos*, Thompson *pau*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan *\*po ~ pu*.

**Penutian:** Proto-California *\*p<sup>h</sup>o ~ p<sup>h</sup>u*, Proto-Maiduan *\*pu:*. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*p<sup>i</sup>h* ‘swell up, flourish.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*pχu*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*poca ~ posa*.

- [AK187]

750 TAIL<sub>1</sub> *\*k<sup>w</sup>ati*

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Heiltsuk *hc-* ‘tail (of an animal).’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts *\*k<sup>ʔ</sup>ut<sup>ʔ</sup>*. Zuni *k<sup>ʔ</sup>ate*. Gulf: Natchez *ʔisi*, Tunica *-ása*, Muskogean: Koasati *haci*, Proto-North Yuki *\*k<sup>ʔ</sup>əhs*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan *\*-heʔ*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman *\*heʔe*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*k<sup>w</sup>aci ~ k<sup>w</sup>asi*. Proto-Tanoan *\*k<sup>hw</sup>ē*.

**Chibchan:** Rama *kwa*.

751 TAIL<sub>2</sub> *\*tuk*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *\*tku:*. Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *\*tuʔuyn*. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *tuʔc(ta)*.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha *\*du-ki*. Proto-Aruak *\*duhk ~ \*nugg*. Rama *ituk ~ tukwa*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *tikipu*.

752 TAIL<sub>3</sub> *\*baʔ*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic, Proto-Algonquian *\*waʔanyi*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima *baʔeukua*.

753 TAIL<sub>4</sub> *\*ʔala*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian *\*-a:lwiwe:*.

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *(i)ʔrhwəθ* ‘tail (of an animal).’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *ʔalaksi-*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman *\*iʔar*.

754 TAIL<sub>5</sub> *\*sin*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan *\*sīti*.

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *šina*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *sinira ~ šinīra*.

755 TAIL<sub>6</sub> *\*sikal*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian *\*saka:lwiwe:ne:w* ‘seize by the tail.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian *\*(s)ik<sup>w</sup>al- ~ \*salik<sup>w</sup>* ‘tail, backbone.’

## 756 TALK \*mal

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *mał* ‘tell,’ Takelma *malg<sup>x</sup>* ‘tell.’

**Chibchan:** Intibucat *malmal* (with reduplication to indicate continuous action), Cuitlatec *oxmele* ‘chat.’

- [P247, CP192]

757 TAPIR<sub>1</sub> \*maci

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \**meca-ha*, Guahibo *me:caha*, Cuiva *meca*, Guayabero *mesa*; Tupi: Shipaya *masaka*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Proto-Hianacoto \**mačihuli*, Proto-Taranoan \**mačipuri*, Carijona *mačihuri*; Yagua: Peba *ameisha*.

758 TAPIR<sub>2</sub> \*awa

**Paezan:** Matanawi *awiya*.

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Culino *auhi*, Yamamadi *au*, Arua, Madiha, Waninawa *awi*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \**ʔawada*, Proto-Tacanan \**awada*, Tumupasa *a:huadi*, Maropa *ahuanša*, Isiama *ahuata*, Cavineña *auada*, Tacana *ehuadi*, Proto-Panoan \**ʔawara*, Chama, Yaminaua *ahua*, Atsahuaca, Pacaguara *ahuana*, Chacobo *ahuara*, Cashibo, Nucuini, Tushinua, Poyanawa *aua*, Caripuna *auana*, Conibo *auha*, Maruba, Capanagua, Cashinaua, Paran-nawa, Shaninawa *awa*, Panobo, Nocaman, Sensi *awua*.

**Macro-Ge:** Yabuti *hua*.

759 TAPIR<sub>3</sub> \*kutu

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Wayoro *ikuait*. Arawak: Paresi *kotui*, Wapishana, Mapidian *kudui*.

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Southern Cayapo *id<sup>z</sup>huta*, Cherente *kudu*, Acroa *kuete*, Chavante *kuhodu*, Kraho *kutkrut*, Remkokamekran *kukrute*, Krenje *kukrüdñ*, Cayapo *kukrot*, Suyu *kukrit*, Chikriaba *kuto*.

760 TAPIR<sub>4</sub> \*kema

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *šama*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**kema*, Chiriana *kema*, Guajiro *kama*, Adzani *hema*, Baniva *e:ma*, Piapoco *ema*, Mojo *samo*, Cauishana, Kushichineri *sema*, Piro *siema*, ?Bare *tema*, ?Mehinacu *teme*, ?Lapachu *yama*, Guinao *zema*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Tacanan: Toromona *ša:wi*, Tiatinagua, Arazaire *šauvi*, Canawari *xema*.

**Macro-Ge:** Yabuti: Mashubi *čimore*.

761 TAPIR<sub>5</sub> \**nake*

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Ticuna *nake*.

**Macro-Carib:** Yameo *nase*. Yagua *neča*.

762 TESTICLE \**talo*

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \**ta:lo*, Nez Perce *ta:lo*. Gulf: Tunica -*htolu* ‘testicle,’ *tólu* ‘spherical object,’ Muskogean: Choctaw -*talop*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**č<sup>w</sup>ə:IV* ~ \**sul<sup>y</sup>*, Tonkawa *cāl*, San Antonio *solo*.

- [P249, H145]

763 THAT<sub>1</sub> \**mo*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \**ma* ‘this,’ \*-*Vm* ‘he,’ Wiyot *m-* (impersonal possessor), Yurok *m-* (impersonal possessor), Proto-Algonquian \**me-* (impersonal possessor), Proto-Central Algonquian \**-am-* (third-person transitive inanimate ending). Salish: Squamish *m-* (prefix found on body parts), Upper Chehalis *ma-* (body part prefix), Musqueam *me-* (body part prefix), Siciatl *ma-* (body part prefix), Thompson River Salish -*m* (unspecified object). Wakashan: Kwakwala -*əm* (passive suffix of verbs that take the instrumental).

**Penutian:** California Penutian \**mV* ‘that,’ Proto-Maiduan \**-ma* ‘that which,’ \**mī* ‘that one,’ Nisenan *mi* ‘he/she,’ *mo:* ‘that one,’ *mī* ‘this, that,’ Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \**ma:n* ~ \**man* ‘that is,’ *mi(n)-* ‘that,’ Bodega Miwok *ma:* ‘that.’ Gulf: Atakapa *ma* ‘yon,’ Chitimacha *ma-nki* ‘yonder,’ Muskogean: Creek *ma*. Mexican: Totonac: Totonac *ama* ‘that.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**mE* ‘this,’ Proto-Pomo \**hamiyab?* ‘he.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**mo* (third person sg. and pl., and second-person plural reflexive pronoun), Taos *mo-* (third-person sg. reflexive pronoun), *kimo* (first-person plural reflexive pronoun), *māmo* (second-person plural reflexive pronoun), *?imo* (third-person plural reflexive pronoun), *?ān-mo-* ‘my own’ (reflexive, cf. *?ān-* ‘my’).

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *mihi* ‘that (near hearer).’

**Paezan:** Warao *ama* ‘that yonder.’ Timucua *hami* ‘that,’ *miču* ‘that one.’ Proto-Choco \**mau* ‘that.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniče *mara* ‘that.’

**Equatorial:** Guaraní *amo* ‘that.’

**Macro-Carib:** Arara *mo*, Barama *moko* ‘he/she,’ *moro* ‘it,’ Galibi *moe*, Tamanaco *more* ‘there,’ Waiwai *moro* ‘that one,’ Pauwishana *men* ‘those,’ Witoto *imua* ‘that,’ *imaki* ‘those.’ Pemon *mese* ‘that,’ *muere* ‘that, he, she.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mosesten *mo* ‘that, he,’ Lule *mima* ‘he/she/it,’ *meoto* ‘they,’ Tacana *me(-sa)*, Chama *ma* ‘that.’

**Macro-Ge:** Kradaho *me*, Northern Cayapo *amu* ~ *ama*, Coroado *man*, Coropo *mam*, Bororo *ema*, Chiquito *manu* ‘that,’ Guato *ma-* (stage III article).

• [G14, Ruhlen 1994f] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g). Ruhlen (1994f) discusses what is in all likelihood an extension of this demonstrative root. In synchronic grammars it is usually described as an intercalated *-m-* that appears, somewhat mysteriously, between a possessive prefix and a kinship term. Its meaning, if any is specified, is usually vague. Moshinsky (1974: 102) reports that in Southeastern Pomo (Hokan), “the *-m-* prefix occurs on the non-vocative forms of all kinship terms” (with a few exceptions) in forms such as *?i-m-sen* ‘maternal uncle,’ *?i-m-ce-x* ‘paternal uncle,’ *?i-m-cen* ‘maternal grandfather,’ *wi-m-t’a-q* ‘younger sister.’ This latter form is suspiciously similar to Washo (Hokan) *wi-c’u-k* ‘younger sister,’ which lacks the intercalated *-m-* and involves a different grade of the Amerind root in question (see TINA/TANA/TUNA ‘son, child, daughter’), and also resembles Yuchi (Siouan-Yuchi) *wi-ta-ki* ‘young man.’ It should be emphasized that the Washo form is synchronically monomorphemic, whereas in the Southeastern Pomo form the final morpheme boundary (*-x* and *-q*) is not synchronically motivated. In both languages the reciprocal *-ki* ~ *-ka* (see RECIPROCAL *\*-ki* ~ *\*-ka* above) has become fossilized on the stem, as in Siouan languages. In Washo the archaic first-person singular pronoun *wi-* has also become fossilized in the word for ‘younger sister,’ but in Southeastern Pomo both the first-person singular pronoun *wi-* and the intercalated *-m-* are synchronically motivated.

In the Plateau branch of Penutian we find a similar intercalated *-m-* in both Nez Perce and Northern Sahaptin. For most Nez Perce kinship terms the first-person possessed form is simply the first-person prefix followed by the root, as in *na?-tót* ‘my father,’ *?im’-tót* ‘thy father.’ In four of the terms, however, an intercalated *-m-* appears in the first-person term, but not in the second-person form: *?in-m’-ásqap* ‘my younger brother (man speaking),’ *?in-ím-qanis* ‘my younger sister (man speaking),’ *?in-m’-ácip* ‘my younger sister (woman speaking),’ *?in-m’-ít-x* ‘my sister’s child (woman speaking).’ In Northern Sahaptin we find the following forms: *in-m-išt* ‘my son,’ *in-ma-awit’ał* ‘my brother-in-law,’ *in-m-ač* ‘my sister-in-law,’ *in-ə-m-am* ‘my husband,’ *in-m-ašam* ‘my wife.’ With regard to this *-m-*, Jacobs (1931: 235) concluded that “there is some doubt concerning *m*; it may be possessive *-mi* or *inmi* vestigially prefixed before a front vowel.”

In South America, a similar intercalated *-m-* appears in Itonama, a Paezan language of Bolivia, as reported in Rivet (1921: 175). Rivet noted this prefix, between first-person *š-* and the root in the following forms: *š-me-tíka* ‘my mother,’ *š-mi-múka* ‘my father,’ *š-máy-yamášne* ‘my father-in-law,’ *š-ma-yamášne-ka* ‘my mother-in-law,’ *š-mi-yama* ‘son-in-law,’ and *š-mey-mapi-ni* ‘my husband.’ (First-person *š-* is perhaps cognate with the first-

person suffix *-(a)š* in Sahaptin.) It seems likely that this intercalated *-m-*, for which no meaning is usually specified, represents a fossilized article that has become part of the stem synchronically. The diachronic source of this element is in all probability the Proto-Amerind demonstrative *\*mV-* discussed in this etymology. As Greenberg noted, the original demonstrative meaning has been eroded in many languages, appearing fossilized on nouns as a Stage III article in Guato, as the impersonal possessor in Algic, as the third-person reflexive pronoun in Uto-Aztecan, and as a body-part prefix in Salish.

764 THAT<sub>2</sub> *\*pa*

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *\*pa-* ~ *\*pe-* ‘him, her, it,’ Klamath *bi* ‘he, she, it.’ California Penutian *\*pi* ‘this.’ Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*ʔap* ‘this way, here.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*pA* ~ *\*pi* (article), Proto-Yuman *\*p-u* ‘this,’ Diegueño *pu*: ‘he/she.’ Karok *pay* ‘that,’ *pa-* (article), Chimariko *pa-*, East Pomo *ba*, San Luis Obispo *pa-k*, San Antonio *pa* ‘that,’ *pe-* ‘that, the,’ Coahuilteco *pa* (demonstrative), *po*: (sg. animate demonstrative), *pi* (demonstrative referring to something immediately preceding). Yurumangui *-ba* ‘this.’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *pe-* . . .-*e* ‘his’ (with kinship terms).

**Paезan:** Millcayac *epi* ‘this,’ *ep* ‘he, this.’ Timucua *po* ‘that sort of thing.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*pay* ‘he,’ Quechua *pay* ‘he/she,’ Aymara *-pa* ‘his/her,’ Mapudungu *-pe* ‘he/she,’ Cholona *pe*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara *\*pai* ‘he.’

**Equatorial:** Piaroa: Saliba *pidi* ‘this.’ Proto-Guahiban *\*pE-* ‘his,’ *\*po-wa* ‘she.’

**Macro-Carib:** Bora *a:pye* ‘that masc.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco *pa*, *pa-* (article), *pa-nete* (remote past tense marker), Vilela *-p* ‘his/her,’ Tacana *pa-* ‘him/her.’

- [G16]

765 THAT<sub>3</sub> *\*ya*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic *\*ya* ‘that (personal),’ *\*yo* ‘that (restricted).’ Proto-Mosan *\*ya(:)-* ‘this, that,’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *yu* ‘this one (near you),’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian *\*ya-* ‘he (agent).’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Atakapa *ya* ‘that, this,’ Natchez *yak-haki:š* ‘do this way,’ Muskogean: Creek *ya* ‘this,’ Choctaw *yakkih* ‘look here!’, Chicasaw *yak-* ‘this way’ (verbal prefix), *yappa* ‘this.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*yi?* ‘this.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*ya* ‘this,’ Proto-Yuman *ya-* ~ *ña-* ‘that, he.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*ya* ‘this, here, now, today.’

**Chibchan:** Tunebo *eya*. Rama *ya-* ‘he, it.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Colorado, Cayapa *ya* ‘he, she.’ Timucua *yo* ‘that, the one.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*iye* ‘this.’

766 THAT<sub>4</sub> *\*ʔa* ~ *\*ha*

**Almosan:** Kutenai *ʔa:-* . . . *-ʔis* ‘his.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *haʔ*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *\*ha:s(a)* ‘this,’ Takelma *ha:ʔ-ka*. Plateau:

Proto-Sahaptian *\*ʔa-* ~ *\*ʔe-* ‘him, her, it.’ California: ?Proto-Miwok-

Costanoan *\*hin-te* ‘to do it.’ Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*ha* ‘this,

he,’ Atakapa (*h*)*a* ‘this,’ Chitimacha *ha* ‘this,’ Wappo *hé* ‘this, it.’ Proto-

Mayan *\*haʔini* ‘this.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*he(ʔ)* ‘he, she.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*ha* ‘he,’ Proto-Pomo *\*hamiya:* ‘his, her,’ *\*hamiyabʔ* ‘he,’ *\*hamiyad(ʔ)* ‘she.’ Coahuilteco *a-* ‘this.’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *a* ‘he, she, it.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *hami* ‘that,’ *hačibono* ‘that, thing,’ *hoke* ‘that (one), there.’ Millcayac *huen*. Barbacoan: Colorado *ha*.

**Andean:** Yamana *hawan* ‘this.’

**Equatorial:** Guahibo: Jitnu *hóhe*. Achuar *hũ* ‘this.’

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *hiñu* ‘this,’ *hiy* ‘this.’

- Possibly connected with HE/SHE<sub>1</sub> *\*ʔi* ~ *\*iʔ*.

767 THAT<sub>5</sub> *\*sa*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan *\*s-* ‘that, indefinite article, noun prefix.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*sa* ‘that yonder.’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *si* ‘it (skin),’ *sik* ‘it (plant).’

**Andean:** Yamana *suwan* ‘that (near person spoken to).’

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *sa-* ‘he, she.’ Pemon *sena* ‘this.’

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *sa* ‘he (masc.).’

768 THERE *\*ʔai*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian *\*ay-* ‘be there, exist, abide, remain, stay.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*ʔaisi*.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha *\*ai-sai*.

769 THICK *\*q<sup>w</sup>ic*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-Salish *\*q<sup>w</sup>uc* ‘fat.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman *\*k<sup>w</sup>iš*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *\*kišto*.

## 770 THIGH \*kasi

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan \*ka:suʔ ‘leg.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*kasi.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \*kahsə ‘foot,’ Kagaba *kasa* ‘foot,’ Atanque *kōsa* ‘foot,’ Atakama *k’uči* ‘foot,’ Chibchan: Kogui *kasa* ‘foot,’ Dimina *kisa* ‘foot,’ Chimila *kassa* ‘foot.’

**Paезan:** Barbacoan: Guambiano *kacik* ‘foot,’ Totoro *kacik* ‘foot,’ Coconuco *ka:ci* ‘foot.’

**Andean:** ?Qawasqar *qaserpe*.

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *kokočiʔ* ‘thigh, upper leg.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \*kisši.

- [CP81]

## 771 THINK \*ali

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*a:l- ‘think, feel,’ Wiyot *haʔb-* ‘feel so,’ Yurok *has*, Proto-Algonquian \*e:lem- ‘think, by thought.’ Proto-Mosan \*-a:ʔ ‘see, look, perceive.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \*-e:ri- ‘think, believe.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \*aʕi:m.

**Andean:** Yamana *a:la* ‘know.’

772 THIS<sub>1</sub> \*ki ~ \*ko

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*-akwi ‘he,’ \*-Vk ‘he,’ \*-Ka ‘that,’ \*ko- ‘that (previously mentioned).’ Kutenai *qo:* ‘that.’ Proto-Mosan \*q<sup>w</sup>i- ~ \*q<sup>w</sup>a- ~ \*qa ‘that,’ \*-k<sup>w</sup> ~ \*-x<sup>w</sup> ‘this, that.’ Proto-Chimakuan \*k<sup>w</sup>iʔV ‘this, that.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \*ka- ‘he (animate agent),’ Tuscarora *kye:nə:* ‘this.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \*ka ‘that (indefinite),’ Takelma *ʔaka* ‘this,’ Proto-Kalapuyan \*k<sup>w</sup>awk ‘he,’ \*k<sup>w</sup>us(a) ‘this.’ Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \*ki. Gulf: Proto-Yuki \*kaʔ ‘this,’ Yuki *k’i:* ‘that.’

**Hokan:** Chontal (*hi-*)*kiya* ‘this,’ (*hi-*)*kaʔa* ‘that,’ Jicaque *kone* ‘this,’ *kiʔa* ‘here,’ Subtiaba *kagi* ‘this,’ Yuman: Cochimi *khu* ‘this,’ Chumash: Santa Ynez *kai* ~ *ka:* ‘this,’ San Buenaventura *kaki* ‘this,’ Atsugewi *k’e* ‘here,’ -*k-* ‘hither,’ Achomawi -*k-* ‘hither,’ Karok *ʔo:k* ‘here.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(h)k<sup>w</sup>a(H)(n) ‘that, that one over there, this, he.’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *kama* ‘he, she,’ *kihi* ‘that.’ Tarascan -*x-* ‘he, she.’

**Paезan:** Timucua *ka* ‘this, that, here,’ *ke* ‘that, what, there.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*kay ‘this.’ Yamana *kito* ‘he, she.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auake *kiʔa* ‘this,’ Macu *ki* ‘this,’ Macu-Puinave *kan* ‘that.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Tupi-Guarani \*ko, Guarayo *ko:* ‘this,’ Guaraní *ko* ‘this’;



Uro: Puquina *ko* ‘this, that’; Timote: Mocoche *kiu* ‘that.’ Proto-Guahiban \**xua*. Pakaasnovos *koma?* ‘this, he,’ Campa *oka* ‘this, that.’

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan \**kiʔi-* ‘that.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Waikuruan \**a-k:æ* ‘that fem.,’ \**k:æ* ‘that masc.’

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *kua* ‘this,’ *kakiexe* ‘that,’ Kamakan *kue* ‘that’; Ge: Cherente *kua* ~ *kũ* ‘he,’ Kraho *ke* ‘he.’

- [G22]

773 THIS<sub>2</sub> \**ni* ~ \**na*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \**na* ‘that.’ Kutenai *na*. Proto-Mosan \**ʔana-* ‘that, he.’

**Penutian:** California Penutian \**nV* ‘that,’ Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \**no-* ‘that, there.’ Zuni *ʔona* ‘that which, one who.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \**ñā* ~ \**ya* ‘that, he.’ Proto-Jicaque-Subtiaba \**nina* ‘this, here.’

**Chibchan:** Rama *naiŋ* ~ *niŋ* ‘this,’ *nam* ‘that,’ *nikis* ‘this way.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *na* ‘this, that.’ Paez *ana* ‘this.’ Barbacoan: Colorado *ne* ‘he/she.’ Proto-Choco \**nau*, Choco *nan* ‘that.’

**Andean:** Yahgan *-n* (fossilized third-person pronoun), Ona *on* ‘he/she,’ *n-* ‘his/her,’ Quechua *-n* ‘his/her,’ Zaparo *no* ‘he,’ Arabela *na-* ‘his/her,’ Andoa *noa*, Iquito *nu:*, Jebero *-no* ~ *-nan* ‘his/her,’ *nana* ‘that,’ Cahuapana *nana*, Leco *on*, Cholona *n-* ‘his/her’ (this prefix merges with the stem-initial consonant to form the nasal alternant in a system of consonant mutation, e.g., *-kot* ‘water,’ *a-kot* ‘my water,’ *mi-kot* ‘thy water,’ *ŋot* ‘his/her water.’ Yamana *anči* ‘that (distant).’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *ãno* ‘this, that.’ Maku-Puinave *nin* ‘this.’

**Equatorial:** Amuesha *ñā* ‘he,’ Paraujano *nia* ‘he/she,’ *n-* ‘his/her,’ Chiriana *ne* ‘he,’ Chipaya *ni* ‘he,’ Itene *na-* ‘he/she,’ *-n* ‘him/her,’ Cayuvava *ñe* ‘there,’ Huambisa *nu* ‘that,’ Aguaruna *nu* ~ *ni:*, Yuracare *na* ‘he/she, that,’ Cuica *na*. Achuar *ni* ‘he (absent).’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Hishcariana *en(i)* ‘this,’ Waiwai *oni* ‘this,’ Galibi *ini* ‘this,’ Wayana *ine* ‘he, she,’ Carib *ani* ‘here.’ Bora *a:nu:* ‘this masc.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \**Ni* ‘this, there, thither,’ Panoan: Arazaire *nina* ‘here,’ Marinahua *nino* ‘here,’ Chacobo *nía* ‘here,’ *na:* ‘this.’ Proto-Waikuruan \**a-n:a* ‘this fem. coming,’ \**a-n:i* ‘that fem. sitting,’ \*(*e*)-*n:a* ‘this masc. coming,’ \*(*e*)-*n:i* ‘that masc. sitting,’ \**n-* ‘he,’ Guaicuru *na* ‘here.’ Mataco *na* ‘here.’

**Macro-Ge:** Ge: Cayapo *niai* ‘this,’ Suyá *ni* ‘this’; Bororo *ñi* ‘hither,’ *noni* ‘there (near you).’ Kaingang *ʔãñã* ‘that.’ Fulnio *nyua* ‘that.’

- [G15, G23]

774 THIS<sub>3</sub> \*wi

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*we ‘this (nonpersonal), \*wa ‘this (personal), \*wo ‘this (restricted),’ \*w- ~ \*wet- ~ \*we? ‘he, his, Wiyot w-é?s ‘this-hand,’ Proto-Algonquian \*wi:la ‘he, she, it,’ \*-w-a:ši-ka (numeral suffix on 6, 7 and 8, etymologically ‘this-hand-left). Proto-Chimakuan \*w’a ‘in that place.’

**Penutian:** Zuni w-eši-kk?a ‘left hand’ (etymologically identical to the Proto-Algonquian form given above). Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \*w-ěši ‘hand, arm,’ Atakapa w-iš ~ w-oš ‘hand, finger,’ Chitimacha w-aši ‘hand,’ Tunica -tír-w-aš ‘nail, claw.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan \*wili, Huave ow-iš ‘arm.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*wi ~ \*wa.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*w-aci ‘finger.’

**Chibchan:** Paya w-iš-ka ‘arm.’

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio awa ‘that,’ owa ‘this.’

- This demonstrative has become a Stage III article in Algic and Penutian.

775 THIS<sub>4</sub> \*fei

**Chibchan:** Yanomam fei.

**Paezan:** Timucua fa-no ‘it is so.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu fey ~ fiy ‘that,’ fente ‘that much,’ fante ‘this much,’ fa- ‘become like this.’

- Possibly belongs with THAT<sub>2</sub> \*pa.

776 THIS<sub>5</sub> \*ga

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \*ga(:), Proto-North Wakashan \*ga- ‘this (near speaker),’ Haisla, Oowekyala, Kwakwala ga ‘this (near speaker),’ Haisla gas- ‘here, this way, on this side,’ g<sup>w</sup>as- ‘here, this side, on this side.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath ge:.

**Andean:** Puelche geša de lan ‘what is this called?,’ genjofa ‘what is this?’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \*-gĩ ‘he.’

## 777 THORN \*k’ica ~ kasi

**Penutian:** California: ?Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \*kas:i ‘prick, bite.’ Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean \*k’iʔš.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \*kosi.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*kaša.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \*akića.

778 THOU<sub>1</sub> \*mi ~ \*ma

- Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*-Vm(?), Yurok -m. Kutenai -m (in reflexive imperatives). Mosan: Salish: Kalispel -ə*m* ‘you.’
- Penutian:** Tsimshian *m-*. Chinook *m-* ‘thou, thy.’ Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \**ma*, Takelma *ma*, Proto-Kalapuyan \**ma:(ha)*, \**mati:* ‘ye,’ Kalapuya *maha*. Plateau: Klamath *mis* ‘thy,’ Proto-Sahaptian \*?*i:m*, North Sahaptin *am*, Nez Perce ?*ím*. Proto-California \**mVn*, Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \**mok-kom* ‘you pl.’, Rumsien *me*, Central Sierra Miwok *mi?*, Wintu *mi*, Colouse *mit*, Patwin *mi-*, Yokuts *ma?*, Proto-Maiduan \**min* ‘you pl.’, Maidu *mi*, Nisenan *mi*, Yuki *mi?*, Wappo *mi?*, Tunica *ma*, Chitimacha *him?*, Natchez *ba* ‘thou, thee.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**mici*, Zoque *mimič*, Sierra Popoluca *mi:h* ~ *mi:č*. Totonac *mi-* ‘thy.’ Huave -*me(r)-*.
- Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**mi* ~ \**ma*, Achomawi *mi-* ‘thy,’ Atsugewi *mi?* ‘thou,’ *mi-* ‘thy,’ Shasta *may?i*, Chimariko *mam-ut* ‘thou,’ -*mi* ‘thy,’ Karok *i:m*, Arra-arra *im*, Pehtsik *e:hm*, Washo *mi:*, South Yana *ju-m* ‘thy.’ Proto-Pomo \*?*a:ma* ‘thou,’ \**mi* ‘thy,’ \**mi-to* ‘thee,’ \*?*a:ma-ya* ‘you (pl.)’ Chumash: Santa Barbara *p-* ~ *pi-* ~ *pi:-*. Salinan *mo?*. Esselen *miš-* ‘thy.’ Seri *me* ‘thou, you.’ Proto-Yuman \**m-*, \**ma-p* ‘you (object),’ Yuma *mañ*, Mohave *manya*, *manč*, Walapai *ma*, Havasupai *ma-a*, Yavapai *ma-a*, Diegueño *ma:*. Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec \**mya*, Tequistlatec *mi*. Coahuiltecan: Coahuilteco *mai-* ~ *mi* ~ *xami:n*, Comecrudo *emnã*, Karankawa *m* ~ *em(i)*, Cotoname *men*.
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \*?*eme* ‘thou, you,’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**m-*, Kawaiisu ?*imi*, Utah *yim*, Oplate ?*emé?e*, Yaqui ?*eme?e*, Tarahumara ?*yemi*, Papago -*m*, Hopi *uma*, Nahuatl *mo-*, Pipil -*mic*. Proto-Tanoan \*?*ēm*, Jemez *ūmiš*, Kiowa *am* ‘thou, you.’
- Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha \**mue-ya(-nV)*, Chibcha *mue* ‘thou,’ *m-* ‘thy,’ Duit *m-* ‘thy,’ Kagaba *ma* ~ *ba*, Bintucua *ma*, Chimila *ámma* ‘thy,’ Proto-Aruak \**ma* ‘thou,’ \**ma-win* ‘ye,’ Guamaca *ma*, Cuna *pe* ‘thy,’ Muoi *ba*, Move *mo* ‘thou,’ *mu* ‘you,’ Norteño *mo* ‘thou,’ *mu* ‘you,’ Penomeño *mo* ‘thou,’ *mu* ‘you,’ Murire *ba* ‘thy,’ Chumulu *ba* ‘thy,’ Gualaca *ba* ‘thy,’ Terraba *fa*, Bribri *ma* ~ *ba* ~ *bo* ~ *bi*, Cabecar *ba*, Borunca *ba*, Rama *ma(n)* ‘you, your,’ Miskito *man*, Sumu *man*, Ulua *man*, Paya *pa:*, Lenca *am-* ‘thy,’ Cogui *má*, Ica *ma*.
- Paezan:** Choco *bere*, Catio *by* ~ *biči* ‘thou,’ *mare* ~ *mačia* ‘you,’ Ayoman *moh*.
- Andean:** Ona *m-* ‘your (sg.),’ *ma* ‘you (sg.),’ *mai* ~ *mar* ‘you (pl.),’ Tehuelche *m-* ‘your (sg.),’ *ma* ‘you (sg.),’ *mai* ~ *mar* ‘you (pl.),’ Mapudungu *eymi* ‘thou,’ *mi* ‘thy,’ *eymu* ‘you dual,’ *mu* ‘your dual,’ *eymín* ‘you,’ *mín* ‘your,’ Aymara -*ma* ‘your (sg.),’ *huma* ‘you (sg.),’ Jaqaru *huma*, Gennaken *kemu*, Proto-Quechuan \**qam*, Quechua *kam*, Cahuapana *kema*, Cholona *mi* ‘you

(sg.),' *m-* 'your (sg.)'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*mĩʔĩ* 'thou,' *\*mĩʔĩ-sã* 'you,' Wanana *mãĩ* 'you (sg.),' *mi-* 'your (sg.),' Papury *am*, Puinave *ma*, Capixana *mi*. Maku-Puinave *mam*. Proto-Nambikwara *\*mã* 'your.'

**Equatorial:** Mocoche *ma*, Chamacoco *p-* 'your (sg.)' Proto-Guahiban *\*xamĩ*, Guahibo *xámĩ*, Jitnu *kam*, Cuiba *xam*, Guayabero *xam*, Yuracare *me* 'you (sg.),' *mi-* 'your (sg.),' *pa* 'you (pl.),' Cayuvava *p-*, Tupi *pe* 'you (pl.),' Proto-Arawakan *\*pi* 'you (sg. and pl.),' Itene *ma-*, Abitana *-ma*, Uro *am*, Puquina *pa-* 'you (sg.),' *pi-* ~ *po-* 'your (sg.),' Gualaquiza *amue*, Aguaruna *ma*, Achuar *amĩ* 'thou,' *amin* 'thee,' *ami(nu)* 'thy.'

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *ama-re*, Bakairí *ama*. Witotoan: Witoto *omo*, Ocaina *mõ-* 'you-two, you (pl.)' Bora: Bora *amu:ʔa* 'you pl.,' *amuʔc<sup>hi</sup>* 'you two masc.,' *amuʔp<sup>hi</sup>* 'you two fem.' [but *u:* = 'thou']

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Mataco *em*, Vejoz *am*, Choroti *am*. Proto-Waikuruan *\*ham*, Toba *am*. Proto-Pano-Tacanan *\*mi*, Proto-Tacanan *\*mi*, Cavineña *mike*, Tacana *mike*, *mi-da*, *mia-da*, Chama *mia*, Reyesano *mibe*. Proto-Panoan *\*mi* 'thou,' *\*mato* 'you,' Chacobo *mina*, Cashinahua *mi*, Cashibo *mi:*, Marinahua *mĩ*, Mayoruna *miβi*, Shipibo *mia*, Conibo *mia*, Guenoa *emp(-ti)* 'you (sg. and pl.),' Vilela *m-*, Lule *mi-l* 'you (pl.),' Mosenen *mi* 'you (sg.),' *mi-in* 'you (pl.),' Nocten *em*, Pacaguara *mi-*, Arazaire *mina*.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *ã*. Dalbergia *ma*, Tibagi *ama*, Catarina *ahama*. Kaingang *ʔã* 'thou,' *ʔãyaʔ* 'you.'

• [Trombetti 1905, G6, Ruhlen 1994i, Ruhlen 1995a] The Amerind pronoun pattern *na* 'I' / *mi* 'you' was explicitly recognized by Alfredo Trombetti a century ago when he noticed its ubiquity in North and South America and its absence elsewhere in the world (Trombetti 1905). My own survey of the world's pronoun systems (Ruhlen 1994i) confirmed Trombetti's observation. I have suggested that this specifically Amerind pronoun pattern may derive from an inclusive-exclusive opposition found in the Old World: *na* 'we exclusive' / *mi* 'we inclusive' (Ruhlen 1995c). Such a change is well supported by diachronic typology. If this is correct, then the Amerind system is related to the we-inclusive/we-exclusive pattern found in Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic. It is not certain that the forms with non-nasal stops (e.g., *ba*, *pe*) belong here, but languages such as Bribri—which show variation between *ma* and *ba*—suggest the likelihood that they do. With regard to the original form I think *\*mi* is more likely, with *\*ma* being an analogical development based on *na* 'I.'

#### 779 THOU<sub>2</sub> \*a-

**Penutian:** ?Plateau: Klamath *ʔart* 'you pl.,' Nez Perce *ʔe'tk* 'you pl.'

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Carib *a-* 'thy,' Pemon *a-*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Choroti *a-* 'thy.' Proto-Waikuruan *\*a-* ~ *\*ad:-*.

**Macro-Ge:** Chiquito *a-* ‘thy.’ Fulnio *a* ‘thy.’ Bororo *a-* ‘thy.’ Proto-Ge *\*a-* ‘your,’ Kraho *a-* ‘thy,’ Krenje *a-* ‘thy.’ Kaingang *ʔã*. Caraja *ã*.

- [G7] This is probably a Ge-Pano-Carib innovation.

780 THOU<sub>3</sub> *\*ka*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic *\*kʔ-* ~ *\*kʔet-* ~ *\*kʔeʔ-* ‘thou,’ *\*VKw* ‘you pl.’ Proto-Mosan *\*-k<sup>w</sup>*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*q<sup>h</sup>V* ‘you pl.,’ Coahuilteco *xa-* ~ *x-* ‘thou, thy, your.’ Yurumangui *-ka* ~ *-ken*.

**Chibchan:** Xinca *ka-* ‘thy,’ *ka-ay* ‘your,’ (*na-*)*ka* ‘thou,’ Tarascan *-ke(-ni)* (first-person singular acts on second-person singular).

**Paezan:** Allentiac *ka*, Millcayac *ka* ‘thou,’ *kaču* ‘you.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Kaliana *ka(-be)*, Auake *kai(-kiete)*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Waikuruan *\*ga* ‘to thee,’ *\*gad:-* ‘you, your.’

**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge *\*ka*. Erikbatsa *ikia*. Bororo *aki*. Coroado *ga*. Caraja *kai*.

- [G10]

781 THOU<sub>4</sub> *\*ti*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic *\*-Vt*. Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *siw’a* ‘you pl., you (obj.)’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian *\*hs(i)-* ‘thou (agent).’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-Muskogean *\*či-* ‘thou,’ *\*ha-či-* ‘you.’

**Hokan:** Coahuilteco *čik* ‘you pl. (subj.)’

**Paezan:** Timucua *či-* ‘you pl.,’ *či-ni-* ‘you (subj.) . . . me (obj.),’ *ni-či* ‘I . . . you.’

**Andean:** Yamana *sina(ki)* ‘thy.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *šẽ*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora *ti-* ‘thy.’

782 THOU<sub>5</sub> *\*hi*

**Almosan:** Kutenai *-hin-*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*hiʂu* ‘you (sg.?).’ Iroquoian: Tuscarora *i:θ* ‘thou, you.’

**Paezan:** Warao *ihi* ‘thou,’ *hi* ‘thee,’ *hi-* ‘thy.’ Timucua *hi*.

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *hiy*.

783 THOU<sub>6</sub> *\*pi* ~ *\*pa* ~ *\*wa*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic *\*-wa:w* ‘you.’ Proto-Mosan *\*-uwa* ~ *\*uw’a*.

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *wa* ‘thou,’ *wafik* ‘you two,’ *wa* ~ *wari* ‘thee,’ *afi* ~ *fi* ‘your,’ *pə* ‘I . . . thee,’ *pəhəki* ‘you dual obj.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *-ba* ~ *-bo* ‘you pl., we.’ Proto-Choco *\*pi*. Allentiac *peklte*

‘thy.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \*wʔain ‘you.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \*pa-n/Ne- ‘your pl.’ Proto-Tupi-Guarani \*pẽẽ ‘you all.’ Pakaasvovos wahüʔ ‘you.’

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio awe ‘thou,’ wa ‘your,’ woʔo ‘you pl.’

784 THREAD (v.) \*kuyo

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*ku:yau ‘thread a needle.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \*kʷiõ-.

785 THREE<sub>1</sub> \*(ne-)qʷaʔas

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*ni-khl, Proto-Algonquian \*neʔʔwi (< Pre-Algonquian \*ne-{k}Vʔ-wi). Kutenai qaʔsa-. Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum qʷali, Quileute qʷaʔle; Proto-Salish \*kaʔʔas, Columbian kaʔʔás, Colville kaʔʔís, Shuswap kəʔés, Thompson keʔʔés, Lillooet keʔés, Sechelt čàʔás, Coeur d’Alene číʔes, Kalispel čeʔʔés, Upper Chehalis čáʔʔi.

**Keresiouan:** Yuchi nō-ka ‘3’ (cf. nō-we ‘2’).

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *gul*.

**Hokan:** Esselen *xulep* (but note also *xulax* ‘2,’ which calls into doubt the cognacy).

**Chibchan:** Cuitlatec *kaliʔi*.

**Andean:** Jebero *kala*, Cahuapana *kala* ~ *kara*, Mapudungu *kūla*, Hongote *čalas*, Tehuelche *ka:š*.

**Equatorial:** Cayuvava *kulápa* ~ *kurapa*.

**Macro-Ge:** Opaie *nyukwari*; Ge: Canela *inkre*, Craho *nkri*, Meuren *enkri*.

- [AN113, Ruhlen 1995d]

786 THREE<sub>2</sub> \*sapin

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \*s-p-n, Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \*xipini, Proto-Kalapuyan *psin*. Proto-California \*sVpVn, Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \*š-p, Proto-Yokuts šo:pʰin, Proto-Maiduan *sapʔiy*. Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean \*ošibʔ.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Guambiano *pʔin*, Totoro *pʔin*.

**Equatorial:** Arawak: Wayuu *apʔinʔin*.

787 THROAT \*nukʔ

**Almosan:** Kwakwala *nəqwa* ‘swallow,’ Nootka *nʔoʔaq-* ‘swallow.’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Tutelo -*nūk-sāʔ* ‘nape’ (= ‘neck-back’). Proto-Iroquoian Oneida -*nuhs-* ‘shoulder,’

**Penutian:** Plateau: North Sahaptin *nuqʔ-waş* ‘neck,’ Klamath *nʔawqs*. Gulf: Natchez *naxts*, Proto-Muskogean \**nukkʷi* ‘neck,’ Creek *nokwv* ‘neck,’ Hitchiti *nōkbebe* ‘neck,’ Alabama *nokbi*. Mexican: Huave *o-nik* ‘neck,’

Mayan: Huastec *nūk* ‘neck,’ Chorti *nuk* ‘neck,’ Tzotzil *nuk* ‘neck,’ *nuk’ulal* ‘throat,’ Kekchi *nuk* ‘swallow.’

**Hokan:** Salinan: San Antonio (*p*-)*e:nik’a:i*. Tequistlatec *nuk* ‘swallow.’

**Chibchan:** Chibcha: Boncota *anokua* ‘nape,’ Tegria *anukua* ‘nape,’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Desana *wi-nigĩ* ‘neck,’ Tucano *ve:nexko* ‘neck,’ Siona *naxe-seamu* ‘nape’ (= ‘neck-back’), Pioje *naxe-mu* ‘neck,’ Coto *nyaxe-teka* ‘nape, throat,’ Puinave: Curiari *nōhūi* ‘neck,’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Arawakan *\*nuki* ‘neck,’ Maipuran: Piro *noxi* ‘neck,’ Waraquena *nokane* ‘nape,’ Carutana *nouxe* ‘nape,’ Waimare *nukuluaka*.

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *ka-ñekkhə(i)hih* ‘neck.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Tacanan: Tacana *enaha* ‘neck,’

- [A255] This root is also found in Uralic and Altaic (Ruhlen 1994g).

#### 788 THROW<sub>1</sub> *\*aka*

**Hokan:** Comecrudo *aka*, Tonkawa *kā*.

**Andean:** Aymara *aha*, Zaparo *aha*.

- [H149, AN114]

#### 789 THROW<sub>2</sub> *\*t’amp* ~ *\*tamp*

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptin *\*tam*. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*top* ‘throw something.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*T’am* ~ *T’ap*, Proto-Yuman *\*tap*, Tipai *atap*, Yavapai *tami*; Coahuiltecan: Coahuilteco *t’am*, Comecrudo *tap*.

- [H147]

#### 790 TIE (v.) *\*tak’*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *\*takt*. Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *\*st’ik<sup>w</sup>* ‘tie a knot.’ California: Proto-Yokuts *\*t’ik’(i)*. Gulf: Proto-North Yuki *\*t’əy*, Wappo *t’iškhi?* ‘tied tight,’ Natchez *?icak-helu:ʔiš*, Muskogean: Chickasaw *takci*.

**Chibchan:** Chibcha: Tegria *tak* ‘attach,’ Manare *tataka* ‘attach’; Motilon: Dobocubi *dök* ‘tie a knot.’

**Paezan:** Atacama *tak’al*.

- [CP197]

#### 791 TOBACCO *\*hici*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Muskogean: Creek *hici*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *\*hʔəic*.

#### 792 TONGUE<sub>1</sub> *\*kapi*

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *kafik* ‘language, mouth.’ Chibchan: Tegria, Bon-

cota, Chumulu, Gualaca, Changuena *kuba*, Sinsiga *kuhua*. Rama *ku:p* ~ *mukup*.

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Wañam *kabikaču*, Itene *kapaya*, Urupa, Yaru *kapiakasi*, Abitana, Kumana *kapiyakati*, Tora *kepiat*.

793 TONGUE<sub>2</sub> \**nene*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \*-*?en*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**hen* ‘lick,’ \**HEnV* ‘tongue.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**neni* ~ \**nan*. Tanoan: Kiowa *dē*. Proto-Oto-Manguean \**ya(H)(n)*.

**Paezan:** Allentiac, Millcayac *nanat*. Guambiana *nañri*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Catuquina: Catauisi *no* ‘tongue.’ Proto-Tucanoan \**nē?nē* ‘lick,’ Tucano *nene* ‘lick.’ Elotasu *año-heru*.

**Equatorial:** Cayuvava *i-ne*. Jivaro: Shuara *iñe*, Gualaquiza *iñei*, Aguaruna *inei-inei*. Kariri: Dzubucua *nunu*, Kamaru *nunuh*, Kariri *ñunu*, Sapuya *nunü*. Proto-Maipuran \**nene*, Piapoco *wa-nene*, Achagua *-i:nane:*, Curi-paco *no-enene*, Kustenau *nu-nei*, Cauishana, Ipurina, Machiguenga -*nene*, Wapishana *u-nenu*, Toyeri *wu-onu*. Otomaco: Otomaco *yonna*, Taparita *yonan*. Piaroa: Piaroa *ne*, Saliba *anene*. Trumai *a-no*. Tupi: Tupy, Guaraní *ñē?ē*, Apichum *o-nyon*. Achuar *inã*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *yane*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**ana*, Maruba, Nocaman, Nucuini, Waninawa *ana*, Tushinana *anan*, Poyanawa *anda*, Culino *anu*, Panobo, Cashibo, Conibo, Chama, Chacobo *hana*, Nehanawa *huna*, Sensi *yata*. Proto-Tacanan \**e-yana*.

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *ya:the* ‘language of the Fulnio.’ Proto-Ge \**ñōtɔ*, Suya *wã-noto*, Kraho *i-yɔ?to*, Karaho *yoto*, Sakamekran *yontou*, Piokobyte *to*, Jeico *ε-neta*, Taje, Krenje *pa-yōto*, Makamekran *i-nonto*, Kaingang *i-ñona*, *nene*, *none*, *une*. Cayapo *i-ñoto*, Apinage *ñoto*. Chiquito: Chiquito *otu*, Mehin *i-yoto*, Churapa *i-yuto* ‘my tongue,’ San Simoniano *nate*.

• [A257, A258] This root is also found in Kartvelian, Dravidian, and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

794 TONGUE<sub>3</sub> \**paʔ*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \**wi:ʔani* ‘his tongue.’ Kutenai *waʔunak*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**wa:čini*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Gulf \**n-welu*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**weli*, Atakapa *nel*, Eastern Atakapa *neʔe*, Chitimacha *wenʔ*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(*i/a-*)*palʔ* ~ \**ipawa* (K), \**pelʔ* ~ \**penʔ* (K) ‘lick,’ (*?e*)*baHle:* (L), Achomawi *ip<sup>h</sup>le*, Atsugewi *ap<sup>h</sup>li*, Chimariko *hi-pen*, Come-crudo *expen*, Jicaque *pelam*, Karok *aprih*, Salinan: San Antonio *epa:l*, San Miguel *ipaʔ*; Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec \**peʔ*, Tequistlatec *-apaʔ*,



Proto-Pomo \**haʔbaʔ* ~ \**hawba*, East Pomo *bal*, Southeast Pomo *bal*,  
Proto-Yuman \**ʔimpaʔ* ~ *ipaʔ* ~ \**ʔimpal* ~ \*(y)*pal*, Maricopa *hipaʔ*,  
Walapai *ipa:l*; Seri *ʔapʔ*, Waicuri *ma-bela*.

**Paезan:** Timucua *bali* ‘tongue, mouth,’ *heba* ‘language, speak, say, tell.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \**e-bari-to-kopi-a* ‘tongue tip,’ Guahibo *pe-e-bari-to* ‘tongue,’ Playero *pe-e-bor-to* ‘tongue,’ Cuiba *pe-eba-to* ‘tongue,’ Jitnu *p-ebrat* ‘tongue.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \**pəil*.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan \*-*pe*.

- [H151]

#### 795 TONGUE<sub>4</sub> \**lat*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**la:-*. Proto-Chimakuan \*-*ʔito*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *ʔel-a-*. California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \**ʔ-l/n* ‘tongue, lick,’ Proto-Yokuts \**ʔalat* ‘lick.’

#### 796 TONGUE<sub>5</sub> \**tuk<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \**tʔaq<sup>w</sup>* ‘lick,’ \**tix<sup>w</sup>-(aʔ-)c-* ‘tongue.’

**Penutian:** California: Wintu *tahal*. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**to:c*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(Y)*te(H)* ‘tongue, face.’

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan *taki*. Sumo, Ulua *tuke*.

**Paезan:** Timucua *ituk<sup>wa</sup>*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *tī(ʔi)-*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *ki-taho*. Ge: Piokobye *to*.

#### 797 TONGUE<sub>6</sub> \**nem*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-North Yuki \**nəmlat*, Yuki *namlat*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Ubde-Nehern *nemmei* ‘lick,’ Papury *nemöi* ‘lick.’  
Proto-Tucanoan \**Yēʔmē-rō/yō*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Moseten, Chimane *nem*.

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *numeraŋ* ‘lick.’ Kaingang: Aweikoma *nemindaŋ* ‘lick,’  
*a-numa-ma* ‘tongue.’

#### 798 TOOTH<sub>1</sub> \**itʔio*

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora *ačhuri* ‘eat.’ Proto-Keresan \*-*cʔe:nadʔa* ‘chew.’ Proto-Siouan \**rúti* ‘eat’ (\**rú-* is probably an instrumental prefix), Biloxi, Ofo *ti* ‘eat.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**ti*. Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \**tít*.

California: Proto-Maiduan \**cʔaway*. Gulf: Wappo *cʔe* ‘eat,’ *cʔeye* ‘eat up.’

Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**tí:c*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**i-ʔcow* ~ \**i-ʔčow* ‘tooth,’ \**ucʔi* ‘chew,’ Atsugewi *iʔcaw*, Chimariko *h-ucʔu*, Shasta *icau*, Yahi *ki-cʔau-na*. Proto-Yuman \**č-*

aw ‘eat hard food.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*tam*, Proto-Oto-Manguean *\*(n)te(n)* ‘chew.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak *\*za* ‘eat.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Muniche *de ~ di*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran *\*ahce*. Yaru *iti(-či)*, Achagua *esi*, Uro *atse*, Callahuaya *iti* ‘bite.’ Cayuvava *ai-če*. Macu *ce-um*. Kariri: Kariri, Dzubucua *d<sup>z</sup>a*, Cocama *d<sup>z</sup>ai*, Sapuya *za*, Kamuru *zah*.

**Macro-Carib:** Witoto: Hairuya *a-tig<sup>y</sup>o*, Ocaina *atik<sup>y</sup>o*, Muinane *itie*.

**Macro-Ge:** Otuke *itio*, Chiquito *co:*, Proto-Ge *\*cwa*, Macuni *tsioi ~ eti-öi*. Caraja *tju*. Monosho *a-čowe*. Hahahay *ãn-ču*. Mongoyo, Kutasho *dio*. Fulnio *tsho* ‘gnaw.’ Kamakan *txo*.

- [H152, CA83, E117, MG113]

#### 799 TOOTH<sub>2</sub> *\*nan*

**Almosan:** Kutenai *unān*. Proto-Mosan *\*-nis*.

**Chibchan:** Cacaopera *nini*, Ulua *ana*. Yanomam *na*.

**Paezan:** Atacama *enne*.

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Tupari *ñain*, Arikem *ñāya*, Wayoro *o-nyain*, Kepkeriwat *i-ñāñ*, Dourados *nenai*, Digüt *nĩ*. Jivaro: Upano *inai*, Achuar, Gualaquiza *nai*, Achual *nayi*, Aguaruna *ñai*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *ne* ‘eat.’

- [AK194, CP202]

#### 800 TOOTH<sub>3</sub> *\*kan*

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Bintucua *gan* ‘chew, bite.’

**Paezan:** Atacama *k’in* ‘gnaw.’ Warrau *kani* ‘chew, bite.’ Timucua *kana* ‘have to eat.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban *\*xane ~ \*xaNe* ‘eat.’

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *ko:ne* ‘tooth.’ Bora: Miranya Oira Assu-Tapuya *ma-yyenieng* ‘tooth,’ Yagua *ixiana*, *oxana* ‘tooth.’

- [A60]

#### 801 TOOTH<sub>4</sub> *\*kita*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *\*kí(:)t ~ \*kít:i-*.

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco *\*k<sup>h</sup>ida*, Choco, Baudo, Waunana, Tado, Chami *kida*, Catio, N’gvera *čida*, Saija *xida*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan *\*šita*, Panobo, Conibo, Chama, Caripuna *seta*, Culino *sita*, Nishinawa *xeta*, Maruba *čita*, Cashibo *d<sup>z</sup>eta*, Pilaga *kada-ete*, Toba *kada-uve*, Komlek *kado-daiti*. Vejoz *no-čete ~ \*no-cote<sup>x</sup>*. Mataco *no-cote*.

802 TOOTH<sub>5</sub> \*ʔik

**Almosan:** Kutenai -ʔik- ‘eat.’ Proto-Mosan \*-ʔiks ‘eat,’ Proto-Chimakuan \*q’ik<sup>w</sup>o- ~ \*q’ik<sup>w</sup>i- ‘chew.’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *qika* ‘chew gum.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \*hi.

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \*ʔe:h, Proto-Quichean e:h.

**Hokan:** Comecrudo *i*. Karankawa *e* ~ *ey* ~ *eg*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *i*- ‘eat.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *he* ‘eat.’ Mariusa *i*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Catuquina: Cataushi *hi-i*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pariri *kiʔiko*, Yupe, Chaque *ki:ko*, Macoa *kiji:ko*. Proto-Witotoan \*i:ʔ-gi-.

**Macro-Ge:** Yabuti: Yabuti *hi-dö*. Fulnio *ʔi* ‘eat meat.’

803 TOOTH<sub>6</sub> \*yok’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *yukʔal*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \*yo:ʔ.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Marahan *yö-tog*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Panare *yoʔon*, Acawai *yu*, Pianocoto *yu-tali*.

**Macro-Ge:** Meniens *yo*.

## 804 TOUCAN \*cuk

**Andean:** Zaparo *čauka*.

**Equatorial:** Achuar *cukaŋka*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan *ʃuk<sup>(w)</sup>i*, Proto-Panoan \*ʃokī, Proto-Tacanan \*coke ~ \*čukwe.

805 TREE<sub>1</sub> \*man ~ \*min

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \*-minšy ‘tree,’ \*maneh<sup>t</sup>e:wa ‘cut wood, gather firewood.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \*man ‘cedar.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \*momu ‘fern.’

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \*meme ‘chonta palm.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \*mākā-roka/dĩgĩ ‘woods, brush.’ Catuquina: Catuquina *oma*, Parawa *uma*, Bendiapa *umank*, Canamari *unaŋ*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora: Bora *umeʔe*, Miranya *i-mæ*, Miranya Oira Assu-Tapuya *yma:na*. Proto-Witotoan \*(ai)me-, Witoto *amena*, Ocaina *amu:nna*, Orejone *anaina*. Yagua *ni:n*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \*ainani.

- [A260]

806 TREE<sub>2</sub> \**qan* ~ \**qal*

- Almosan:** Mosan: Chimakuan: Quileute *q'aʔba* 'yellow cedar.' Wakashan: Nootka *ʔ'aʔma-pt* 'yellow cedar.'
- Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**ha:ni*: 'pine.'
- Penutian:** Tsimshian *gan*. Chinook *ičkan* 'wood.' Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *hol*, Clear Lake *hol* 'wood,' Huchnom, Yuki *ol*. Mexican: Huave *šəɬl*, Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**hu:n-i*.
- Hokan:** Proto-Pomo \**qʰa:le*.
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ka(n)* 'willow.' Proto-Tanoan \**hũ* 'cedar.' Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(*h*)*ka* 'palm tree.'
- Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \**kan*, Kagaba *kalli*, Guamaca, Bintucua *kann*. Chibcha: Chibcha *tse-ganny-ka* 'crutch,' Margua *kar(-kua)*. Guaymi: Muoi *kan* 'wood.' Motilon: Dobocubi *kañ* 'bamboo.' Rama *kat*. Talamanca: Bribri *kar*. Yanomam *kanawə* 'cedar.'
- Paезan:** Andaqui *sa-kani-fi* 'forked stick.' Itonama *kana* 'pole.'
- Andean:** Yamana *haniš* 'oak.' Qawasqar *qʰar* 'tree, stick, bone.'
- Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *ka*.
- [A261]

807 TREE<sub>3</sub> \**temba*

- Penutian:** California: Miwok: Lake Miwok *tumay* 'stick, wood,' Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \**t-w-n* 'digger pine,' Proto-Yokuts \**t'epʰin* 'acorn,' Proto-Maiduan \**towan* 'digger pine.' Gulf: Atakapa *com* 'stick.' Mexican: Mayan: Quiché *čamiy* 'staff.'
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Tiquie *temba* 'firewood,' Kaliana *taba*.
- Equatorial:** Toyeri *nemba* 'forest,' Saliba *rampo* 'forest,' Zamuco *ērāp* 'forest.'
- Macro-Carib:** Andoke *doapa* 'forest,' Peba *tapasey*.
- Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**tomi* 'palm tree.'
- [P235, MT95, E47, MC71]

808 TREE<sub>4</sub> \**hapa*

- Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**-pa(t)* 'tree, bush, plant,' Chimakuan: Quileute -*pat* 'tree, plant'; Wakashan: Nootka *-(ma)pt* 'tree, plant.' ?Proto-Salish \**ɛ/ʔap*. Wakashan: Haisla, Heiltsuk *hp-* 'cone of a tree.'
- Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**ha:bani* 'oak.'
- Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *po-p* 'alder.' Plateau: Klamath *biw-c'e:w* 'juniper berry,' Nez Perce *puhus* 'juniper,' Proto-Sahaptian \**pa:pš* 'fir,' Sahaptin *pu:š* 'juniper.' California *baq* 'wood.' Gulf: Muskogean: Hitchiti *abi*, Natchez *pa* 'plant,' Proto-Yuki \**pup* 'ash,' Huchnom *ipo*. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**puh-kuy* 'tree (sp.),' \**hepey* 'tree, plant.'

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*-əbV ‘tree,’ \*Pahe ‘pepperwood,’ \*ba:šə ‘buckeye,’ \*ipa ~ \*(i)Pa ‘juniper,’ Proto-Pomo \*bah:ebʔ ‘pepperwood.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan p<sup>h</sup>ukuri ‘pine.’ Rama bas.

**Paezan:** Itonama abite. Proto-Choco \*pak<sup>h</sup>uru. Timucua yapi ‘palmetto.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Nambikwara \*hapi:c ‘tree, stick.’ Iranshe p<sup>y</sup>iʔi ‘woods, forest.’

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Arawa: Culino awa; Maipuran: Yavitero awa-bo ‘forest’; Uro: Uro wa. Proto-Tupi-Guarani \*ʔiβ ~ \*iβira. Pakaasnovos pana ‘tree, wood.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \*bana. Proto-Panoan \*βipiš ~ \*βoko.

**Macro-Ge:** Mashakali, Kapasho, Kumansho abaʔai, Macuni aboʔoi.

- [P261, E118]

809 TREE<sub>5</sub> \*neki

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \*nikis ‘poison oak.’ Gulf: Proto-Yuki \*neh ‘pine,’ Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \*neš ‘tree, wood,’ Chitimacha nik’i ‘gum tree,’ Natchez nikš ‘gum tree.’

**Andean:** Itucale eneya, Zaparoan: Zaparo naku ‘forest,’ nakuna ‘tree,’ Iquito naki ‘forest.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \*nēʔē-yu/pu ‘miriti palm tree.’ Iranshe na:keʔi. Movima nihnaiwa ‘palm.’

**Equatorial:** Piaroa nūgu.

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua ni:n.

- AN116

810 TREE<sub>6</sub> \*ʔaxa

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*-Vʔ ‘tree, stem,’ Proto-Algonquian \*-a:xkw ‘wood.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora (a)hkar ‘wood.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*ʔaha ‘cedar.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*(a-)χay ‘tree,’ \*ax<sup>y</sup>a ‘cottonwood,’ \*a-Haw ‘fire(wood),’ Proto-Pomo \*ʔahχay ‘wood,’ Proto-Yuman \*ʔaha:ʔ ‘cottonwood.’

**Paezan:** Timucua aha ‘white oak.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe aʔa ‘tree, wood, stick.’

811 TREE<sub>7</sub> \*hama

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan \*ham’aʔa.

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*ham(ay)-kuy ‘hog plum tree.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Catuquina: Catuquina oma, Parawa uma.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora umeʔe.

812 TREE<sub>8</sub> \*ʔok’ ~ \*ʔoq’

**Almosan:** Kutenai ʔok’ ‘wood, firewood.’ Mosan: Salish: Proto-Interior Sal-

ish \**ʔux*<sup>w</sup> ‘bushes thicket.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan \**la:kkʔ* ‘wood.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: Nez-Perce *la:qa* ‘pine,’ Klamath *lala:q’o* ‘pine gum.’

Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**ʔu:* ‘tree, wood.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \**ʔo* ‘tree, wood.’

813 TREE<sub>9</sub> \**kul*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-North Wakashan \**k<sup>w</sup>l-* ‘cottonwood, poplar.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \**ku:reh* ‘oak, acorn,’ Tuscarora *ku:reh* ‘acorn.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**k<sup>yh</sup>uL* ‘white oak.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *kʔl-kʔl* ‘fern.’

814 TREE (OAK)<sub>1</sub> \**teq’* ~ *taq’*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**-a:tekw* ‘tree, wood.’

**Penutian:** Chinook *-te:* (in compounds). Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \**taχš* ‘willow,’ Nez Perce *taχs* ‘willow,’ Klamath *toq’-s*. California: Maidu *də* ‘bushes.’ Zuni *ta* ‘tree,’ *taʔwi* ‘oak.’ Gulf: Atakapa *te-* (in *te-waš* ‘leaf’); Natchez *d<sup>z</sup>u:*; Muskogean: Choctaw *iti*, Alabama *ito:*, Creek *ito*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**teʔ* ~ *t<sup>y</sup>e:ʔ* ‘tree, wood,’ Proto-Quichean \**če:ʔ* tree, wood.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**TaK’* ‘black oak,’ Proto-Pomo \**t<sup>h</sup>oʔo(:)* ‘acorn, mush.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Azteco-Tanoan \**tu*, Proto-Tanoan \**tu*, Tewa *te*, Taos *tuʔo-na*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**tua* ‘oak.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan *čikari* ‘wood.’ Barbacoan: Colorado *te* ‘wood.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *tuku* ‘oak tree, acorn.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**-di* ‘tree-like, part of the woods.’

**Equatorial:** Esmeralda *tate*. Kariri: Dzubucua *d<sup>zi</sup>* ‘wood,’ Kamaru *ci* ‘fire-wood.’ Proto-Maipuran \**anda(-mi-na)*, Mehinacu, Waura, Yaulapiti *ada*, Arawak *adda*, Mandauaca, Uainuma *a:ta*. Otomaco *andu*. Trumai *dei* ‘tree, wood.’ Yaruro *ando*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Surinam *itu* ‘forest,’ Apiaca *itua* ‘forest,’ Pemon *dek* ~ *yek*. Witoto: Witoto *atikö*, *xatike* ‘forest,’ Coeruna *acaitto* ‘forest.’ Yagua *toha*, *to:*, *təx* ‘forest.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Vejoz *atekx* ‘cedar.’

- [A259]

815 TREE (OAK)<sub>2</sub> \**k<sup>w</sup>in*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts \**k’inim* ‘acorn.’ Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**k’ančini* ‘oak.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**kuy* ‘tree, wood.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**k<sup>w</sup>ap* ‘oak,’ \**wey* ‘oak,’ \**q<sup>w</sup>a:k<sup>h</sup>uIV* ‘acorn of white oak,’ Proto-Pomo \**wiyu* ‘oak.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**k<sup>w</sup>i(ni)* ~ \**wi* ‘acorn,’ \**kui* ‘tree.’

Proto-Tanoan \**k<sup>w</sup>ē* ‘oak.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(*h*)*k<sup>w</sup>a*(*h*)(*n*) ‘pine tree.’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *kanawə* ‘cedar tree.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**qiwña* ~ \**qinwa* ‘tree.’ ?Mapudungu *šiwēñ* ‘acorn.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**-ki* ‘tree-like, part of the woods.’

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Hianacoto \**wewe* ‘tree.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**iwi* ‘tree.’ Moseten *i:vi* ‘willow.’

- Cf. TREE<sub>2</sub>.

#### 816 TREMBLE \**tuk<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**tux<sup>w</sup>-*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**čukču* (with reduplication to indicate continuous action).

#### 817 TURKEY \**kutu*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**k<sup>w</sup>uc* ‘male turkey.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Tanimuca *kuyuwī-ka* ‘guan.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \**kuYu-wi* ‘guan,’ Guahibo, Cuiba *kuyuwī* ‘guan,’ Guayabero *kočo* ‘guan,’ Jivaro: Achuar *kuyu* ‘guan,’ Maipuran: Piapoco *kutuwi* ‘guan.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tucanoan \**kuṣu* ‘wild turkey,’ Proto-Panoan \**košo* ‘kind of wild turkey,’ Proto-Tacanan \**kucu* ~ \**koco* ‘wild turkey.’

#### 818 TURN \**maya*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**may(n)-* ‘turn, twist.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**muyu-*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**maya-*.

#### 819 TURTLE<sub>1</sub> \**hola*

**Keresiouan:** ?Proto-Keresan \**heyaji*.

**Penutian:** Gulf: Natchez *?olo*, Muskogean: Creek *hola:kwa*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \**hala* ‘river turtle.’

#### 820 TURTLE<sub>2</sub> \**kuli*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ko*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *ik<sup>y</sup>uri*. Saliba *ikuli* ‘tortoise.’ Tucanoan: Wanano, Piratapuyo *ku-ri* ‘turtle, tortoise,’ Tuyuca, Yaruti *ku*: ‘turtle, tortoise,’ Barasano *gu*: ‘tortoise.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**hikuli* ‘tortoise,’ Achagua *i:kuli* ‘tortoise,’ Piapoco *ikuli* ‘turtle, tortoise.’ Guahiban: Guahibo *i:kuli* ‘tortoise’; Piaroa: Saliba *ikuli*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Proto-Taranoan \**kuriča* ‘tortoise,’ Carijona *kurisa*.

Witotoan: Nipode *huri*.

821 TWO<sub>1</sub> \*(ne-)pale

**Almosan:** Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *-paʔa* ‘. . . on each side,’ *-paʔ* ‘half . . .’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan (Wolff) *\*nūpa*, Catawba *nāpari*, Woccon *numperre*, Dakota *nūpa*, Mandan *nup*, Osage *nōba*, Crow *nūp*, Chiwere *nowe*, Biloxi *nōpá*, Tutelo *pāropreh* ‘4,’ Ofo *núpa*. Yuchi *nōwé*.

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *məla* ‘both.’ Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *\*Nèpû*, Sahaptin *nápu*, Nez Perce *lepú*, Cayuse *leplin* (*\*neplin* > *leplin* by assimilation), Klamath *laʔb*, Molale *le:pkaʔ*. California: Wintun *paʔle-t*, *paʔl wint<sup>h</sup>uh* ‘forty’ (literally, ‘two persons’), Patwin *pʔan-* ‘twins.’ Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan *\*p-n*, Proto-Maiduan *\*pen*, Maidu *pene*. Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *nop* ‘twins,’ Wappo *pʔá-la* ‘twins,’ Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha *\*pa*, Eastern Atakapa *hapalst*, Western Atakapa *woš pe* ‘2’ (= ‘hand’ + ‘2’), Chitimacha *?upa*, Tunica *?apáلكali* ‘doubled,’ Muskogean: Alabama *paʔ* ~ *paʔat-* ‘to split in two.’ Mexican: Huave *apo:l* ‘snap in two,’ Totonac *-pala* ‘. . . again’ (verb suffix).

**Hokan:** Washo *buʔ-* (dual prefix). Yuman: Havasupai *hopá* ‘4,’ Walapai *hupáʔ* ‘4.’ Coahuiltecan: Comecrudo *pa-* ‘2’ (in the numerals *pa-nawuyi* ‘6’ [cf. *nawui* ‘4’] and *pa-makwel* ‘7’ [cf. *makwel* ‘5’]). Subtiaba *apu*, Tlappanec *áʔp·ù* ‘twice.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguan R 222 *\*(h)k<sup>w</sup>a(h)(n)* ‘two.’

**Chibchan:** Xinca *bi-al* ~ *pi-ar*. Lenca *pa* ~ *pe*. Chibcha: Tegria, Manare *bukai*, Pedraza *bukuay*, etc. Cuna *po-kwa*. Guaymi: Murire *-bu*, Muoi *-bu*, Move *-bu*, *bokoloro* ‘twin.’ Misumalpan: Matagalpa, Cacaopera *buru*, Miskito *wal* ‘2,’ *walwal* ‘4,’ Ulua *bo*, Sumo *bū*, Twahka *bo*, and Panamakana *bu*. Paya *pok*. Rama *puksak*, *pukakba* ‘twin.’ Talamanca: Bribri *bul* ~ *bur*, Terraba *krá-bu* ‘2’ (cf. *krá-ra* ‘1,’ *krá-miá* ‘3’), Tirub *pugda*, Estrella, Chiripo *bor*, Cabecar *ból* ~ *bur*. Yanomama: Sanema *pola-kapi* 2,’ *-palo* (repetitive suffix; cf. the Totonac verb suffix cited above), Yanomami *pora-kapí*, Yanomam *pora-kapi* (the second element in these forms is probably a reflex of HAND<sub>9</sub> *\*qʔap* ~ *\*kʔap*. Proto-Nambikwara *\*pʔa:l(-in)*, Northern Nambikwara *pʔã:n*, Sabane *paʔlin* ~ *balene*.

**Paezan:** Atacama *poya*. Barbacoan: Cara *pala*, Colorado *palu-(ga)*, ‘2,’ *umbálu-(ga)* ‘4,’ Cayapa *pal<sup>y</sup>u*, Awa *pas*, Totoro *pa*, Guambiano *pa*. Chimu: Mochica *paš*. Paez: Guambiana *pay*.

**Andean:** Mapudungu *epu*. Aymara *pa* ‘2,’ *pa-tunka* ‘20’ (*-tunka* ‘10’ is a borrowing from Quechua). Quechuan: Quechua (Wanka) *pula* ‘both,’ Quechua (Ancash) *pullan* ‘half,’ Proto-Quechuan (Parker) *\*-pa* (a repetitive suffix on verbs; cf. the Totonac and Sanema suffixes cited above), *\*-pas* (a nominal enclitic meaning ‘too, also’). Cholona *ip*. Gennaken:



Pehuelche *pe-č* (cf. *ge-č* ‘three’). Yamana: Yahgan *i-pai* ‘we two,’ *-pai*, *-pa*, *-pi* (nominal dual).

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Catuquinan: Catuquina *upaua*, Canamari, Bendiapa *ubawa*. Puinave: Hubde *mbe:re*, Puinave *mbe:*, *be*. Ticuna *peia*. Tucano: Yahuna *ipo*, Waikina *pia-ro*, Chiranga *perú*, Tucano, Waikina, Uanana *péaro*, Tuyuca *peálo*, Wanana *peáro*, Desana *peru*, Yupua *apara*, and Uasöna *peãLo*.

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Baniva *enāba*. Tupi: Curuaya *porá-kã*, Monde *parašerám*, Sanamaica *pali-šarú*, Wayampi *pali* ‘play area for children’ (described as follows: “a play area for children inside a house which is made by cutting the space in two by means of a low barrier in the middle of the house” [Grenand, 1989, p. 337]). Murato: Murato *tsím-boro*, Shapra *tsím-boro*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mataco: Chunupi *ne-pu*, Churupi *napu* ~ *nepu*, Chulupi *napu* (these Mataco forms are strikingly similar to the Proto-Sahaptin reconstruction [*\*Nèpû*] cited above). Moseten: Moseten *pára*, Chimane *pöre*.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraho *pa-* ‘we-two-inc.’ ?Chikriaba *prane*.

- [A262, Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994, Ruhlen 1995d] This root is also found in Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, Dravidian, Indo-Pacific, Australian, and Austric (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

## 822 TWO<sub>2</sub> \*?aku

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *ka:ʔ-m*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan *\*ak-* ‘we two, we,’ *\*kaʔ-* ‘two.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*haq<sup>h</sup>u* ~ *\*Hɔ:Hq<sup>h</sup>ɔ*, Proto-Pomo *\*?aq<sup>h</sup>oc*, Proto-Coahuiltecan *\*axte*, Coahuilteco *axte*. Achomawi *haq*, Chimariko *xoku*, Karok *?axak*, San Antonio *kakšu*, Tequistlatec *ko:k<sup>h</sup>*, Tonkawa *haikia*. Proto-Yuman *\*x-wak*, Cocopa *xawak*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*woka* ~ *\*wo* ~ *\*wa*.

**Andean:** Yamana *aku* ‘other,’ Tehuelche *kayuko* ‘other,’ Mapudungu *ka* ‘other.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Palmela *aha*, Yecuana *ake*, Paraviyana *aköunien*, Decuana *hake*, Waiana *hakene*, Caribisi, Caribe, Tivericoto *oko*, Galibi *okuo*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua *a?anit*. Kaskiha *hãkãnit*.

- [H153, AN82] This is, of course, the etymology from which the Hokan branch of Amerind got its name, just as TWO<sub>1</sub> above is the etymology from which the Penutian branch of Amerind got its name. As can be seen, *neither* root characterizes either branch, both being *Amerind* roots found in Hokan, Penutian, and other branches. The name Penutian is really a misnomer. This branch should have been called Palutian, not Penutian, since

the root is basically *pal*, not *pen*, as shown in Penutian, Amerind and beyond (Ruhlen 1995d).

823 TWO<sub>3</sub> \*wi ~ \*wa

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \*wi:nletwiwaki ‘call each other,’ \*wi:ntamawetwiwaki ‘tell each other.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*ju:-w’er.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma wi?in ‘other.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec \*ʔwe ‘other.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(h)wi(n) ‘two, twins.’ Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \*wə(ye), Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*wo ~ \*wa ~ \*woka. Proto-Tanoan \*wi ~ \*wV, Taos wi-.

**Andean:** Quechua wah ‘other,’ Auca wa ‘other.’

- [CA86, AN83]

824 TWO<sub>4</sub> \*tuk

**Chibchan:** Rama *tuksa* ‘second.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *toka* ‘other, more.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Masaca *atuka*, Huari *atukai*.

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *tuku karakan* ‘two (facing each other).’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Uaimiri *tukunuma*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \*ti?ki ‘break in two pieces.’

825 TWO<sub>5</sub> \*pit

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan \*pit.

**Chibchan:** Talamanca: Chiripo *botke*, Viceyta *buteva*. Yanoama: Paucosa *botokaki*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Paez *βite* ‘other.’

**Andean:** Puelche *beč*, Gennaken *pěč*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \*api, Lapachu *api*, Campa *apiti*, Toyeri *botta*, Achagua *áabata*. Tupi: Shipaya *bida*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \*beta, Tacana, Tumupasa, Isiama, Araona, Sapiboca, Maropa, Cavineña, Arasa *beta*. Panoan: Yamiaca *bota*, Arazaire *buta*.

826 TWO<sub>6</sub> \*mok

**Chibchan:** Proto-Aruak \*mo, Guamaca *moa*, Atanque, Bintucua *moga*. Malibu: Chimila *muxua*.

**Paezan:** Mura: Bohura *mukui*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Parana Boa-Boa *magčig*.

**Equatorial:** Arawak: Chamicuro *ma?a poxta*. Proto-Tupi-Guarani \*mokōy, Tapirape, Guajajara *mukui*, Dourados *mo:gai*, Guarani, Mbyha, Sheta,

Turiwara, Chane *mokoi*, Tupinamba, Potiguara, Neengatu, Caingua *mokoin*, Tupi *mokoĩ*, Manaje *moku*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Mascoian: Lengua *mok* ‘other, more.’

827 TWO<sub>7</sub> \**men*

**Paezan:** Warao, Mariusa *manamo*.

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Guayaqui *meno*.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Witotoan \**menai-*, Witoto *mena*, Caimito *menahe*.

Peba *monomoira*. Bora: Bora *minieke?e*, Muinane *minoke*.

828 TWO<sub>8</sub> \**kom*

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Chumulu *kumat*, Gualaca *kumox*.

**Andean:** ?Yamana *kampay*. Zaparoan: Iquito *ko:mi*, Cahuarano *komu*.

829 TWO<sub>9</sub> \**pok*

**Chibchan:** Talamanca: Brunca *bug*, Tirub *pug-da*. Chibcha: Tegria, Boncota, Manare *bukai*, Pedraza *bukoi*. Paya *pok*. Cuna: Cueva *poka*. Rama *puksak*.

**Paezan:** Chimu: Puruha *pax*. Timucua *pakano* ‘second, subsequent.’

**Andean:** Aymara: Cauqi *paha*.

830 TWO<sub>10</sub> \**sak*

**Andean:** Selknam *šoki*. ?Proto-Quechuan \**iškay*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Catuquina: Cataushi *sahe*.

**Equatorial:** Tinigua *saxansesa*. Arawak: Mapidian *asagu*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Proto-Hianacoto \**sikinili*, Mapoyo *sakane*, Taurepan *sake?ene*, Arecuna *sakeine*, Rucuyene *sakene*, Umaua *sakenele*, Pemon *sakne*, Urucuyena *šakene*, Carijona *sekenere*, Tliometesen *sokororo*, Yauarana *asake*, Parucoto *asakene*, Cachuena, Waiwai *asaki*, Apalai, Apingi *asakoro*, Acawai *asakro*, Cumanagota *asakve*, Yauapery *asiki*.

831 TWO<sub>11</sub> \**take*

**Almosan:** A;gic: ?Proto-Algonquian \**takw-* ‘between two items, among.’

**Chibchan:** Motilon: Dobocubi *take*.

**Equatorial:** Piaroa: Maco *tagus*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Yao *tage*, Chayma *ačak*, Tamanaco *ačake*, Arara, Pariri *atag*, Nahukwa *atake*.

832 TWO<sub>12</sub> \**tap*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \**ta:paw-* ‘two, two of a kind,’ ?\**tepa:†etwiwaki* ‘love each other.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Tucanoan: Coto *tepe*. Puinave: Dou *tubm*.

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Mawe *tepui*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Panoan: Caripuna *taboe*.

833 TWO<sub>13</sub> \**yama*

**Paezan:** Millcayac, Allentiac *yemen* ‘two, others.’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**yama*, Tariana *yamaite*, Yukuna *hiama*. Proto-Tupi-Guarani \**amō* ‘other.’

**Macro-Ge:** Yabuti: Yabuti *yembo*.

- Cf. TWO<sub>7</sub> *men*.

834 UNCLE \**kaka*

**Almosan:** Kutenai *kokt* ‘maternal aunt.’ Mosan: Salish: Nisqualli *kukh* ‘older brother,’ Okanagan *kīka* ‘older sister,’ Shuswap *kix* ‘older sister,’ Kalispel *qaḫe* ‘maternal aunt,’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca *-hak* ‘aunt,’ Tuscarora *gus-xahg* ‘paternal aunt.’ Caddoan: Adai *ahhi* ‘aunt.’ Siouan: Hidatsa *ika* ‘aunt.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Alsea *hāʔt* ‘older brother,’ Tfalatik *kaka* ‘aunt.’ California: Miwok: Bodega Miwok *ka:ka*, Southern Sierra Miwok *kaka*. Zuni *kaka* ‘maternal uncle.’ Gulf: Yuki *kīk-an* ‘maternal uncle,’ Natchez *kāka* ‘older brother.’ Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *ahč* ‘older brother,’ Sayula *axč* ‘older brother, uncle,’ Kekchí *as* ‘older brother,’ Zoque *?aci* ‘older brother’; Totonac *kuku*.

**Hokan:** Hokan: Achomawi *kex*, East Pomo *kēq*, North Pomo *-ki-* ‘older brother,’ Kashaya *-ki-* ‘older brother,’ Salinan *kaai* ‘older brother,’ Karok *xukam*, Jicaque *kokam*.

**Central Amerind:** Tewa *koʔō* ‘aunt,’ Varohio *kukuri* ‘paternal uncle,’ *ka’ká* ‘maternal aunt,’ Ixcatec *kwaʔa* ‘aunt.’

**Chibchan:** Tirub *kega*, *kak* ‘aunt,’ Matagalpa *kuku-ke*, Paya *uku*, Kagaba *kukui* ‘aunt, niece.’

**Andean:** Ona *kakan* ‘paternal aunt.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Yeba *kako*, Masaca *kokomai*.

**Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \**kuhko*, Waraicu *ghuk*, Manao *gho:ko* ‘maternal uncle,’ Sanamaika *koko*, Mashco *kokoa*, Kushichineri *koko*, Cuniba *kuku*, Bare *koko* ‘aunt,’ Canamari *ghughu*, Piro *koko*.

**Macro-Carib:** Apiaca *koko*, Bakairi *kxuyu*, Pimenteira *kuckú*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**koko*, Panobo *kuka*, Pacawara *kuko*, Tacanan: Cavineña *ekoko*.

**Macro-Ge:** Palmas *kēke-* ‘older sibling,’ Apucarana *kanki* ‘older brother,’ Oti *koaka* ‘brother.’

- This root is also found in Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Eurasiatic, Dene-Caucasian, Austric, Indo-Pacific, and Aus-

tralian (Bancel and Matthey de l'Étang 2002).

835 UNCLE (MATERNAL)<sub>1</sub> \**taq*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \**ni:-ʔta:wa* (< \**ni:-ʔta:-kwa*) 'my brother-in-law.'

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptin \**pi:-taχ*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**taʔ*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**ćaki* 'brother-in-law.'

836 UNCLE (MATERNAL)<sub>2</sub> \**nak<sup>w</sup>e*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**-nawe*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman *nak<sup>w</sup>eʔ*, \**nowi* 'father's older brother.'

837 UNCLE (PATERNAL) \**maq*

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptin \**pi:-maχ*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**mak<sup>y</sup>'u* 'uncle,' Proto-Pomo \**maha-* 'brother-in-law,' \**meqi-* 'elder brother.'

838 UP<sub>1</sub> \**yaq*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**yuk-* 'upwards (locational).'

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**-yaq* 'up to.'

**Equatorial:** Jivaro: Achuar *yaki* 'up.'

839 UP<sub>2</sub> \**k'is*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \**akosi:wa* 'up.'

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan \**k'is* 'hill, ridge'; Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**kis-mi* 'up, high.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Munihe *kisama* 'high.'

840 URINE<sub>1</sub> \**seki*

**Almosan:** Proto-Central Algonquian \**šeki*, Musquam *səχ<sup>w</sup>a* 'urinate.'

**Equatorial:** Kamaru *cako* 'urinate,' Shuara *šiki*, Piaroa *caxkuelia*.

- [AK200, E120]

841 URINE<sub>2</sub> \**wisi*

**Penutian:** Chinook *wiuš*. Gulf: Yuki *aš* 'urinate.' Mexican: Mayan: Yucatec *iš*.

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Kagaba *wisi*; Cuitlatec *wiʔi* 'urinate'; Chibcha: Manare *yisa*; Talamanca: Borunca *wiš(-ku)*; Misumalpan: Ulua *usu*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lengua *yis(-weyi)* 'urinate,' Lule *üs* 'urinate,' Suhin *yuʔ*, Churupi *yius* 'urinate,' Proto-Panoan \**isō*.

- [P264, CP208, MP61]

842 VAGINA<sub>1</sub> \*put

- Almosan:** Algic: Wiyot *beš*, Algonquian: Delaware *saputti* ‘anus,’ Mohegan *sebud*. Mosan: Salish: Upper Chehalis *-pš* ‘anus.’
- Penutian:** Chinook *puč*. California: Proto-Maiduan \**pis*, Yokuts: Yaudanchi *poto* ‘penis,’ Costanoan: San Juan Bautista *lapus* ‘anus,’ Miwok: Southern Sierra Miwok *pōtol*.
- Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**i/a-pEš* ~ \**i/a-pEs*, \**be:č<sup>h</sup>VdV* ~ \**wic* ~ \**wac* ‘vulva,’ Karok *vi:θ*. Tequistlatec *la-bešu?*. Washo *d-i:bis*. Yuman: Diegueño *hapīčatt*.
- Chibchan:** Move *butie*, Paya *peta-is-tapcca* ‘anus.’
- Paezan:** Chimu *pot*, Ayoman *busi*, Allentiac *poru*.
- Andean:** Quechua *upiti* ‘anus,’ Yamana *pūta* ‘hole,’ Aymara *p<sup>h</sup>uthu*; Macro-Tucanoan: Gamella *sebu* ‘vulva’ (strikingly similar to Mohegan *sebud*, cited above), Uaiana *mbitikope* ‘anus,’ Uasöna *hibitikope*.
- Equatorial:** Guahibo *petu*, Guayabero *sil-<sup>h</sup>uta* ‘vulva,’ Kandoshi *apčir-ič* ‘vulva,’ Maipuran: Goajiro *piero*, Toyeri *apuit*, Wachipairi *ped*, Piapoko *af<sup>h</sup>uta-ni* ‘buttocks,’ Tariana *pāti-niawa*, Warakena *pēde* ‘clitoris,’ Caranga *piče* ‘vulva,’ Uro *piši*, (cf. also such Equatorial forms as Siusi *t<sup>s</sup>u-pote*, Campa *sibiči* ‘vulva,’ *šibiči* ‘penis,’ Uro *šapsi* ‘genital organ.’)
- Macro-Carib:** Carib: ?Pemon *pui*, Jaricuna *poita*, Pimenteira *pütze-maung*, Waiwai *boči* ‘pubic hair,’ Motilon *pirri* ‘penis.’
- Macro-Panoan:** Cavineña *busu-kani* ‘anus,’ Tagnani *opet*, Tiatinagua *besi* ‘penis,’ Panobo *buši*, Lule *pesu*.
- Macro-Ge:** Mekran *putote*.
- [A263] This root is also found in Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian, Dravidian, Eurasiatic, Caucasian, Basque, Australian, and Austronesian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

843 VAGINA<sub>2</sub> \*?aci

- Almosan:** Wakashan: Nitinat *?a?oc*; Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-ats-*, Arapaho *hehéč*.
- Keresiouan:** Caddoan: Wichita *?āhas* ‘urine’; Iroquoian: Seneca *-heohsa-* ‘urine.’
- Penutian:** Zuni *?ašo*. Gulf: Muskogean: Choctaw *hasi*, Alabama *čočo*; Natchez *?ac* ‘scrotum,’ *ac-ayet(e)* ‘testicles,’ Tunica *-es-wayu* ‘vagina,’ *-es-tolu* ‘penis.’ Mexican: Mayan: Quiché *(a)šiš*.
- Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**si* ~ *ši* ‘penis,’ Seri *?asit*.
- Chibchan:** Cuna *sisi*, Matagalpa *su*, Lenca *shusho*, Chibcha *sihi*, Binticua *sisi* ‘vulva,’ Dobocubi *ču*.
- Paezan:** Barbacoan: Cayapa *su*, Colorado *so*.

**Andean:** Patagon *isse*, Cahuapana *sišila*.

**Equatorial:** Piaroa: Saliba *si:* ‘vagina,’ *īsa* ‘penis.’

**Macro-Carib:** ?Yagua: Yagua *tašiy*. Carib: Pemon *sai* ‘vagina,’ *sayi yepi* ‘vulva’ (= vagina lips, for *yepi* ‘lips’ see LIP *yepi* above).

- [CP209]

844 VULVA<sub>1</sub> \**naq*<sup>w</sup>

**Almosan:** Wakashan: Heiltsuk *nax*<sup>w</sup>, Kwakwala *naʔx*<sup>w</sup>, Haisla *nax*<sup>w</sup>. ?Proto-Chimakuan \**loq*<sup>wa</sup>- ‘hole, cave, tunnel.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *næ:qʔoq* ‘hole.’ Plateau: Klamath *-(o)ne:g* ‘into a hole.’ Gulf: Chitimacha *neʔēs*.

**Equatorial:** Jivaro: Achuar *nakič*.

845 VULVA<sub>2</sub> \**?ene*

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Maku *c-eʔne* ‘vulva.’ Tucanoan: Uasona *yane*, Yahuna *yaʔna* ‘vulva,’ Puinave *yon* ‘vulva.’

**Equatorial:** Saliba *hiñoʔ siʔihe* ‘vulva.’

**Macro-Carib:** Witotoan: Murui, Minica, Nipode *hiani*, Carib: Proto-Carib \**eni* ‘vase, sheath, interior.’

- [MT97, MC74]

846 WALK \**hiwet*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts \**hiwet*<sup>h</sup>. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**wit*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo \*(*h*)*wa:d-*.

847 WANT \**k'un*

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**k'oh*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**k'an-* ‘want, ask for.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**K'uN*, Yana: Central *k'un* ‘want, like,’ Yahi *k'un* ‘want, like’; Salinan: San Antonio *k'unip* ‘desire’; ?Tonkawa *ta:kona* ‘seek for, hunt.’

- [H163]

848 WARM<sub>1</sub> \**yo*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**yu*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**yoʔ* ‘warm (v.)’

849 WARM<sub>2</sub> \**cuqal*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**culq*<sup>w</sup>-*a:*, Wakashan: Kwakwala *c'lq*<sup>wa</sup> ‘hot, be hot.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \**suqal* ‘warm, cook, melt.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**suk* ‘hot.’

850 WASH<sub>1</sub> \**c’iq*<sup>w</sup>*a*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Salish: Squamish *šuk*<sup>w</sup> ‘bathe,’ Shuswap *sex*<sup>w</sup>-*m* ‘bathe,’ Pentlatch *cux* ‘wash,’ Upper Chehalis *c’x*<sup>w</sup> ‘wash,’ etc.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**ska* ‘white,’ Winnebago *ske* ‘be clean.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *saksg* ‘clean (adj.)’ California: Maidu *c’uku* ‘wash.’

Gulf: Yukian: Proto-North-Yuki \**č’ak* ‘wash things,’ Wappo *č’ak’ó l’i?* ‘wash clothes,’ Atakapa *cak* ‘clean, wash,’ Chitimacha *sahči*, Tunica *sihi-na* ‘clean (adj.),’ Muskogean: Koasati *oksah-*, Hitchiti *ok-sax* ‘wash’ (cf. *uki* ‘water’). Mexican: Totonac *c’a?qa-?ni* ‘clean,’ Proto-Mayan \**č’ax* ‘clean.’

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Bintucua *ačukua*, Kagaba *ižukue* ‘clean.’ Chibcha: Tegria *suka-* ‘bathe,’ *suk-ro* ‘bath.’ Lenca: Chilanga *c’ik*, Similaton *sagi*. Misumalpan: Cacaopera *saka*, Miskito *sik*. Rama *suki*. Tarascan *cika* ‘rub.’ Yanoama: Sanema *tikukai* ‘wash.’

**Paezan:** Allentiac *čok*. Atacama *č’ek’ati-n* ‘wash,’ *č’ek’u-n* ‘baptize.’ Chimu: Eten *cuk* ‘clean.’ Choco: Catio *sügüya*. Paez *sökak* ‘caress, knead.’ Warrau *siko-*, *seke-* ‘rub.’

**Equatorial:** Arawa: Jarua *suku-ke*, Culino *sukumane*, Paumari *sokoi*. Maipuran: Wapishana *ske* ‘wash,’ Goajiro *šixawa* ‘wash.’

- [A65]

851 WASH<sub>2</sub> \**huka*

**Penutian:** California: Southern Sierra Miwok *heka*. Gulf: Yuki *hukol*.

**Chibchan:** Cuna *oka* ‘bathe,’ Paya *ok(-ka)* ‘bathe,’ Bribri *uk* ‘bathe.’

- [P269, CP11]

852 WATER/DRINK \**aq*<sup>w</sup>*a*/*\*uq*<sup>w</sup>*a*

**Almosan:** Algie: Yurok *-k<sup>w</sup>* in verbs referring to movement in or on water, third-person singular (Robins), Proto-Algonquian \**-a:hw* ‘convey by water,’ \**akw-* ‘out of water, ashore,’ \**akwawahamwa* ‘take out of water,’ \**akwim-* ‘float quietly on water,’ \**akwinč’inwa* ‘in water,’ Proto-Central Algonquian \**akwa:* ‘from water.’ Kutenai *wu?u* ~ *-ku* ‘water,’ *-q<sup>w</sup>* ‘in water,’ *?a:k-nuxu?no:k* ‘creek.’ Proto-Mosan \**k’a* ‘water, river,’ \**qaw-* ‘water, drink.’ Proto-Salish \**-q<sup>w</sup>a* ~ \**-k<sup>w</sup>a* ‘water,’ \**q<sup>w</sup>ac* ‘full of water,’ \**q<sup>w</sup>u?* ~ \**?uq<sup>w</sup>* ~ \**qul* ~ \**qal* ‘drink (v.), water,’ \**k’ə?* ‘rain, drip,’ Proto-Coast Salish \**qəl* ‘water,’ \**k<sup>w</sup>ut<sup>l</sup>* ‘salt water, ocean,’ Songish *q<sup>w</sup>a?* ‘water,’ Tillamook *qiw* ‘water,’ Musqueam *qa?* ‘water.’ ?Proto-Chimakuan \**-χax<sup>w</sup>i* ‘drink, eat,’ *k<sup>w</sup>iw’a* ‘moving water,’ Quileute *q<sup>w</sup>ot<sup>l</sup>-* ‘spill out.’ Wakashan: Nootka *f’ot<sup>l</sup>* ‘raining in torrents,’ ?Heiltsuk *d<sup>z</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>ala* ‘wind off of the sea,’ ?Kwakwala *d<sup>z</sup>aq<sup>w</sup>a* ‘wind off of the sea.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Iroquoian \**awē:?* ‘water,’ Tuscarora *a:wə?* ‘water.’ Proto-



Caddoan \**ki(:)c* ‘water.’ Proto-Keresan \*-*s-k’a* ‘drink (v.).’ Proto-Siouan \**xu-* ~ \**xo-* ‘rain (n.)’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian: Tsimshian *aks* ‘drink,’ Nass *ak<sup>y</sup>-s* ‘water.’ Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**k<sup>hw</sup>it* ‘drink,’ Proto-Coos-Takelma \**ʔu:k<sup>w</sup>* ‘drink,’ Takelma *ʔu:k<sup>w</sup>* ‘drink.’ Plateau: Nez Perce *k’u* ‘drink,’ Molala *okuna* ‘drink,’ Proto-Sahaptian \**yeχ* ‘water (verb prefix).’ California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \**ki:k* ~ \**kik:i* ‘water,’ Costanoan: Proto-Mutsun-Rumsen \**wak/či/os* ‘creek,’ Rumsien *uk* ‘drink’; Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *wakal* ‘creek,’ Southern Sierra Miwok *wakalmytoʔ* ‘creek.’ Wintun: Wintu *waqat* ‘creek.’ Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \**ʔ-k* ‘drink, swallow,’ Proto-Yokuts \**ʔukun* ‘drink,’ \**xot’-* ‘rain (v.),’ Yawelmani *ʔugan* ‘drink,’ Chukchansi *wagay’* ~ *wagat’* ‘creek.’ Zuni *k’a* ‘water.’ Proto-Gulf \**okkali* ‘spring of water,’ \**kawkaw* ‘rain,’ \**akwini* ‘water,’ Natchez *ʔaha* ‘lake,’ *kun* ‘water’; Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**ʔaku* ~ \**ku* ‘water, river, ocean,’ \**kawa* ‘rain (v.),’ Chitimacha *kuʔ* ~ *ku:n-* ‘water,’ *ʔak-* ‘water’ (in compounds); Atakapa (Eastern) *ak* ‘water,’ *akonst* ‘river’; Proto-Muskogean \**oka* ‘water,’ Choctaw *oka* ‘water,’ Chickasaw *okaʔ* ‘water,’ Koasati, Hitchiti *uki* ‘water.’ Proto-North Yuki *ʔuk* ‘water,’ Yuki *ʔu:k* ‘drink, water,’ Huchnom *ʔu:k* ‘water,’ Wappo *ʔuk’siʔ* ‘drink.’ Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**ʔu:ʔk* ‘drink (v.),’ Tetontepec *u:ʔk* ‘drink,’ Sayula *uʔk* ‘drink,’ Zoque *ʔuhk* ‘drink.’ Proto-Mayan \**haʔ* ~ \**yaʔ* ‘water,’ \**uk’-* ‘drink (v.),’ Yucatec *uk* ‘be thirsty,’ Tzeltal *uč’-el* ‘drink,’ Tzotzil *uč* ‘drink,’ Mam *ukam* ‘drink,’ Kekchí *uʔka* ‘drink,’ etc.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ʔa:c<sup>hwa</sup>a* ~ \**a:-x<sup>y</sup>aʔ* ‘water,’ \*(*a/i*)*k<sup>hwey</sup>* ‘rain, cloud,’ \**ʔik<sup>hwi</sup>* ‘rain (n.),’ Chimariko *aqa* ‘water.’ Chumash: La Purisima *aho* ‘water,’ Santa Ynez, Santa Barbara *a:* ‘water.’ Proto-Coahuiltecan \**axe* ‘water,’ Comecrudo *ax* ~ *a:* ‘water.’ Cotoname *aχ* ‘water.’ Esselen *asa(-nax)* ‘water.’ Karok *ʔa:s* ‘water, juice.’ Proto-Pomo \**ʔahq<sup>ha</sup>* ‘water,’ \**hoʔq’o(k)* ‘drink,’ \**ʔihk<sup>he</sup>(:)* ~ \**kehk<sup>he</sup>(:)* ‘rain,’ Kashaya *ʔahq<sup>ha</sup>* ‘water,’ North Pomo *k<sup>ha</sup>* ‘water,’ East Pomo *xa* ‘water.’ Quinigua *ka* ‘water.’ Salinan: San Miguel *ʔšaʔ* ‘water.’ Seri *ʔax* ‘water.’ Shasta *ʔacca* ‘water.’ Subtiaba: Tlappanec *ihya* ‘water.’ Tequistlatec *l-axaʔ* ‘water.’ Tonkawa *ʔa:x* ‘water.’ Washo *a:šaʔ* ‘water.’ Yana *xa(-na)* ‘water.’ Proto-Yuman \**ʔaxa* ~ \**-xa(ʔ)* ‘water,’ Yuma *axa* ‘water,’ Cocopa *xa* ‘water,’ Mohave *aha* ‘water.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**ʔaki* ‘river,’ \**yuk* ‘rain (v.)’ Proto-Oto-Manguen \**(h)k<sup>we</sup>(n)* ‘river, stream, spring,’ \*(*ʔ*)*k<sup>wi</sup>(ʔ)(n)* ‘drink, swallow.’

**Chibchan:** Chibcha *uk-* ‘drink (v.)’ Proto-Aruak \**ak-ga* ‘drink.’ Yanomam *koa* ‘drink.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *uku* ‘drink (n. & v.),’ *huk<sup>we</sup>* ‘rain, flood, storm.’ Chimu: Eten *xa* ‘water.’ Mariusa *xo* ‘water.’ Allentiac *aguar* ‘sea,’ Millcayac

*aka* ‘water,’ *ahuar* ‘sea,’ Gayon *guayi* ‘water.’ Proto-Choco *\*k<sup>h</sup>oi* ‘rain.’ Cañari *kay* ‘water.’ Barbacoan: Colorado *kuci-* ‘drink (v.),’ Cuaiquer *kwan* ‘drink (v.)’ Shirara *okuli* ‘water,’ Betoï *okudikam* ‘water.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*yaku* ‘water,’ Cuzqueño, Ayacucho, Huancay, Junin, Ancash, Ingano *yaku* ‘water,’ Boliviano *yakun* ‘water.’ Mapudungu *ko* ‘water,’ Chilote *ku* ‘water.’ Aymara *oqo* ‘swallow.’ Catacao: Colon *kum* ‘drink.’ Culli *kumu* ‘drink.’ Patagon: Tsoneka *komahi* ‘drink,’ Tehuelche *kam-an* ‘drink,’ *koi* ‘lake,’ Puelche *yagep* ‘water,’ *yagoz kogoge* ‘I drink water.’ Yamana *aka* ‘lake.’ ?Qawasqar *aqcewar* ‘drink water.’ Sechura *xoto* ‘water.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auake *okõã* ‘water, river.’ Capixana *ikunĩ, kuni* ‘water.’ Proto-Tucanoan *\*a-ko* ‘water,’ *\*ũkũ* ‘drink,’ Tucano, Waikina *axko* ‘water,’ Tama, Pioje, Coto *oko* ‘water,’ Cubeo *oko* ‘water,’ *ũkũ-yĩ* ‘drink,’ Coreguaaje *oko* ‘water,’ *ũk<sup>h</sup>u-* ‘drink,’ Siona *oko* ‘water,’ *ũku-hi* ‘drink,’ Secoya *ũku-ye* ‘drink,’ Orejon *ũku-yi* ‘drink.’ Bahukiwa *oko* ‘water,’ *uku-mi* ‘he is drinking,’ Yahuna, Tanimuca *okoa* ‘water,’ *uku-ri-ka* ‘drink,’ Pamöa *hoko* ‘water,’ Erulia, Tsölöa, Palanoa, Tuyuca, Bara, Tsöla *oxko* ‘water.’ Munique *a?yi* ‘rain (n.)’ Koaia *ha* ‘water.’ Maku-Puinave *wok* ‘drink.’ Capishana *kuni* ‘water.’

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Chapacura *akum* ‘water,’ Urupa, Itene *kom* ‘water,’ etc. Guamo *kum* ‘water.’ Maipurán: Guamo, Wañam, Abitana, Kumana *kum* ‘water,’ Yaulapiti (*mapa-*)*kuma* ‘honey’ (*mapa* = ‘bee’), Guana *uko* ‘rain,’ Quitemo *ako* ‘water,’ Nape *akon* ‘water.’ Proto-Tupi-Guarani *\*i?u* ‘drink (v.),’ Proto-Tupi *\*akim* ‘wet,’ Wayoro *ögö* ‘water,’ Canoeiros, Kaapor *üg* ‘water,’ Neengatu *ü:g* ‘water,’ Potiguara, Mawe *ü:* ‘water,’ Guarani, Chiripa, Monde, Tembe, Guajajara, Guayaqui *ü* ‘water.’ Otomaco: Taparita *kuema* ‘lake.’ Piaroa: Maco *ahia* ‘water,’ Piaroa *ahiya* ‘water,’ Saliba *õg<sup>w</sup>e* ‘drink.’ ?Pakaasnovos *hok* ‘cook in water.’ Otomaco: Otomaco *ya* ‘water.’ Chipaya *kuas* ‘water.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Proto-Taranoan *\*wokĩ* ‘drink (n.),’ ?Carare *k?ara* ‘water,’ Yupe, Chaque, Macoa, Shaparu *kuna* ‘water,’ Maraca, Iroca *ku:na* ‘water,’ Yukpa *kuna* ‘drink.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Guachi *öak* ‘water.’ Lule *uk* ‘drink.’ Culino *yaku* ‘water.’ Mataco: Suhin *yoke* ‘drink,’ Towothli *iyake* ‘drink,’ Payagua *ueig* ‘water.’ Proto-Tacanan *\*ik(i)a* ‘drink, eat,’ *\*kweri* ‘river,’ Tumupasa *ahui* ‘water.’ Vejoz *guag* ‘water.’ Enimaga *guale* ‘water.’ Proto-Panoan *\*waka* ‘river,’ Canawari, Poyanawa, Yawanawa *waka* ‘water,’ Maruba *uoka* ‘water,’ Waninawa *wakah* ‘water,’ Amaguaka *wakoma* ‘water,’ Nishinawa *wakuma* ‘water.’ Mascoian: ?Lengua *ik-mameyia* ‘rain (n.)’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *ku* ‘drink’ (n.), Koraveka *ako* ‘drink!’ (imperative). Ge: Mehin, Taje, Krenje *ku* ‘water,’ Chikriaba *kü* ‘water.’ Ka-

makan *kwa* ‘drink,’ *ko* ‘smoke (v.)’ Kaingang *goyo* ‘water,’ Fulnio *kho* ‘drink.’ Kumansho *kunaʔan* ‘water.’ Proto-Tacanan *\*ik(i)a* ‘drink, eat,’ *\*kweri* ‘river.’

• [A87] There appears to have originally been two forms of this root—*\*aq<sup>w</sup>a* ‘water’ and *\*uq<sup>w</sup>a* ‘drink’—and some languages preserve both forms: Proto-Salish *\*-q<sup>w</sup>a* ~ *\*-k<sup>w</sup>a* ‘water,’ *\*q<sup>w</sup>ac* ‘full of water,’ *\*q<sup>w</sup>uʔ* ~ *\*ʔuq<sup>w</sup>* ‘drink (v.), water,’ Proto-Mayan *\*haʔ* ‘water,’ *\*uk* ‘drink,’ Proto-Pomo *\*ʔahq<sup>h</sup>a* ‘water,’ *\*hoʔq<sup>o</sup>(k)* ‘drink,’ Proto-Tucanoan *\*a-ko* ‘water,’ *\*ũkũ* ‘drink.’ Both of these closely related roots are widespread around the world, including Khoisan, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, Eurasiatic, Caucasian, Sino-Tibetan, Indo-Pacific, and Australian (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994). The same *a/u* alternation is also found in Ainu *wakka* ‘water,’ *ku* ‘drink.’

853 WATER<sub>1</sub> *\*man*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic *\*men-* ‘drink,’ Proto-Algonquian *\*menehkwawitam* ‘drink.’

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan *\*mVni*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *\*minlak* ‘sea.’ California Penutian *me/om* ‘drink,’ Proto-Maiduan *\*mo:ho* ‘drink,’ Wintun *mem*; Maidu *mo* ‘drink.’ Plateau: Klamath *ambo*. Gulf: Proto-Yuki *\*miʔ* ‘water, drink,’ Yuki *mi*: ‘water, drink,’ Wappo *meʔ*. Proto-Muskogean *\*umk<sup>w</sup>a* ‘rain.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque *\*me(h)ya* ‘sea,’ *\*mihā nī:ʔ* ‘river,’ *\*muʔt* ‘spring.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan *\*imeʔ* ‘drink,’ Achomawi: Atsugewi *yume*: ‘river.’ Chumash: San Buenaventura *ma* ‘stream.’ Esselen *imi-la* ‘sea.’ Subtiaba: Subtiaba (*na-)**ñā* (Subtiaba *ñ* often derives from *\*m*), Tlappanec *iñā*. Washo *ime*. Yurumangui *yo-ima* ‘saliva’ (= ‘mouth-water’).

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*(w)ema* ‘rain (v.)’

**Chibchan:** Yanomam *ma*: ‘rain,’ Waica *mãõ*, Surara, Paucosa *mau*.

**Paezan:** Allentiac: Allentiac *maña* ‘drink,’ Millcayac *mañe* ‘drink.’ Chimu: Eten *man* ‘eat, drink.’ Jirajara: Jirajara *mangi* ‘drink,’ Ayoman *mambi* ‘drink,’ Gayon *manvi* ‘drink.’ Cf. Choco: Catio *mimbu* ‘swallow.’ Timucua *moka* ‘sea, ocean,’ *mayu* ‘drink.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan *\*mayu* ‘river.’ Aymara *uma*. Zaparo *mu:riča* ‘water, river,’ *ʔumaru* ‘rain.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *mana*:. Puinave *mã*. Cataushi *mãḡhi*. Proto-Nambikwara *\*hamḡi* ‘rain.’

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Taino *ama*, Toyeri *me:i*, Callahuaya *mimi*. Jivaroan: Palta *yuma*, Gualaquiza, Upano *yume*, Achuar, Shuara, Huambisa, Aguaruna *yumi*. Proto-Guahiban *\*mene* ‘river, stream,’ *\*ema* ‘rain,’ *\*me-ra* ‘water,’ Guahibo *mera*. Proto-Tupi-Guarani *\*aman* ‘rain,’ Kepkeriwat *amãni*.

**Macro-Carib:** Bora: Muinane *ma:ño* ‘wet.’ Proto-Witotoan *\*mo:(n)ai* ‘sea,’

Witoto (*h*)*iman(i)* ‘river,’ Ocaina *ma:nu* ‘river, sea.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Vilela *ma*. Chunupi *ma:*. Kaskiha *yemen*.

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *miñan*.

- [A89, A264]

### 854 WATER<sub>2</sub> \**poi*

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \*-*a:pa:w(e)*.

**Penutian:** California: Miwok: Marin, Lake Miwok *u:pa* ‘rain’; Maidu *bai* ‘rain.’ Gulf: Natchez *yoba* ‘rain’ (v.); Muskogean: Hitchiti *obæ* ‘rain’ (v.), Choctaw *ombe* ‘rain.’ Mexican: Mayan: Huastec *a:b* ‘rain.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ipa:* ‘rain, cloud,’ \**pVHa* ‘rain (v.), spill, flow,’ Proto-Pomo \**bi?da* ‘creek.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \**p’a*, Proto-Tanoan \**p’o*, Kiowa *p’o* ‘stream,’ Tewa *p’o*, Taos *p’o(-one)*, Isleta *p’ãide*. Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(*n*)(*H*)*k<sup>w</sup>a(h)(?)n*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**pa* ‘water,’ \**pa-tu* ~ \**pa-ta* ‘river.’

**Chibchan:** Cuna *apoyoa* ‘moisten.’ Rama *s-ba* ‘wet.’ Yanomam *patau* ‘river.’

**Paezan:** Millcayac *poto* ‘river.’ Atacama *k’epi-pui* ‘tear’ (*k’epi* = ‘eye’).

Barbacoan: Cayapa, Colorado, Muellama *pi* ‘water, river,’ Cuaiquer *pi* ‘river,’ Cara *bi*. Choco: Catio *ba* ‘liquid, sap.’ Mura: Mura *pe* ‘water, river,’ Bohura *ipe*, Matanawi *api* ‘water, river.’ Paez: Paez *afi* ‘clear water,’ Guambiano, Totoro *pi*, Moguex *pi:*. Timucua *ibi* ‘water, river.’ Itonama *uwu* ‘river.’

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**upu-* ‘drink.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *buhu* ‘rain.’ Movima *poi* ‘to wet.’ Puinave: Ubde-Nehern, Papury *pu:i* ‘to wet.’ Tucano *pu* ‘become wet,’ *pu:* ‘make wet.’ Maku-Puinave *bab?a* ‘drink!’

**Equatorial:** Proto-Guahiban \**apa* ‘drink.’ Arawakan: Cauishana *auvi*, Culino, Madiha *pacu*, Arua *paha*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Pano-Tacanan \**ba* . . . ‘lake.’ Proto-Tacanan \**uwi* ‘water,’ \**bu-* ‘pool of water,’ Sapiboca *eubi*.

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Bororo *poba*, Umotina *po* ‘river.’ Caraja *be* ~ *bae* ‘water,’ *bae ro* ‘river,’ *byu* ‘rain,’ *beai* ‘drink,’ Javaje *bεε*. Guato *ma-vei* ‘rain.’ Mashakali: Capoxo *vui* ‘rain.’ Opaie *poe* ‘lake.’ Oti *beia* ‘rain.’ Puri: Coroado *ba* ‘drink.’ Cf. Botocudo *muniã-po* ‘rain,’ *muniã* ‘water.’ Yabuti: Arikapu *bi*. Erikbaktsa *pih?ik*.

- [A265]

### 855 WATER<sub>3</sub> \**re*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan \**re* ‘lake.’ Iroquoian: Tuscarora *ihr* ‘drink (v.),’ Seneca (*nyota*)-*re* ‘lake.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan \**?ol:e* ‘lake, ocean.’

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Bintucua *ria* ‘liquid,’ Chibchan: Tegria, Boncota, Manare *ria*; Guaymi: Move *-ri* ‘liquid’; Rama *ari* ‘liquid’; Tarascan *p<sup>hi</sup>-ri* ‘a small amount of liquid.’ Mosquito *laya*. Misumalpan: Matagalpa, Cacaopera *li*.

**Paezan:** Atacama (*pu-*)*ri*. Chimu: Puruha *la*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *-lī?* ‘river.’

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *rũ:mu(ra)* ‘rain (v.)’

**Macro-Panoan:** Vejoz *läyayäx* ‘drink (v.)’

- [AK109, CP212]

856 WATER<sub>4</sub> \**si*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**-ays* ‘water,’ \**-sinta* ~ \**c’inta* ‘in water.’ Proto-Algonquian \**si:pi:wi* ‘river.’ Proto-Chemakuan \**-sina*, Quileute *siya-* ‘low water in river.’

**Penutian:** Proto-Penutian \**si-* ‘water,’ \**si-s-* ‘creek,’ Proto-Tsimshian \**wi:s* ‘rain,’ Tsimshian *wæs* ‘rain.’ Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \**ši* ‘drink (v.)’ California: Proto-Maiduan \**sew* ‘river.’ Gulf: Tunica *wiši*, Wappo *ise* ‘dig for water.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**i/a-si* ‘drink,’ Achomawi *iss* ‘drink,’ Karok *?is* ‘drink,’ Seri *isī* ‘drink,’ North Yana *si:* ‘drink.’ Proto-Pomo \**si-* ‘in or with water.’ Proto-Yuman \**si* ‘water, drink (v.)’ Yurumangui *si* ‘drink.’

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha \**si-di(N)-ye* ‘water, liquid,’ Chibcha *sie*. Rama *si* ~ *ši* ~ *siba* ‘water,’ *sisu(ka)* ‘river.’ Corobisi *si*. Guaymi: Chumululu *ži*.

**Andean:** Yamana *sima*. Mapudungu *wičiŕ-ko* ‘creek.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**sī?dī* ~ \**si?ni* ‘drink.’

**Equatorial:** Tupi: Arikem *ese*. Kariri: Dzubucua *isu*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Angaite *iswmen*.

**Macro-Ge:** Kadurukre *išu* ‘saliva,’ Kamakan *yašo* ‘saliva.’ Kutasho *sin*.

- [P272, H44, MG94]

857 WATER<sub>5</sub> \**k<sup>w</sup>ati*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *χ<sup>w</sup>ós-sidat* ‘salt water.’ Wakashan: Nootka *hos* ‘salt water.’

**Paezan:** Colorado *kuci* ‘drink,’ Cayapa *kušnu* ‘drink,’ Cuaiquer *kwazi*. Itonama *kasi(-?na)* ‘drink,’ Timucua *okut* ‘drink.’

**Andean:** Cholona *kot*, Hivito *kači*, Sechura *xoto*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Coretu *kotapu*.

**Equatorial:** Kitemoka *su-huaiše* ‘lake,’ Itene *huče* ‘swamp,’ Uro *koasi* ‘lake,’ Chipaya *kuas*. Tinigua: Tinigua *ñinkwaši*.

**Macro-Ge:** Umotina *i-kotu* ‘drink,’ Fulnio *i-kote* ‘drink.’

- [CP51, AN121, E64, MG33]

858 WATER<sub>6</sub> \*p'ak

- Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*pek<sup>w</sup>- 'into a body of water,' \*-ephe:ʔw- 'rain,' Proto-Algonquian \*-epye:(k). Mosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk piχ<sup>w</sup>ʔa 'damp,' Haisla piq<sup>w</sup>a 'dampen.'
- Penutian:** Tsimshian p'ak<sup>h</sup>p'ak<sup>h</sup> 'wash' (with reduplication to indicate continuous action). Gulf: Atakapa pac 'wash,' Natchez pacak 'wet.' Mexican: Mayan: Kekchí puč' 'wash,' Huastec pakul 'wash.'
- Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*ipa: 'rain, cloud,' \*p<sup>h</sup>ac 'rain, snow,' \*pVHa 'rain (v.), flow, spill,' Proto-Pomo \*biʔda 'creek.' Proto-Yuman \*paʔow 'rain.'
- Chibchan:** Talamanca: Terraba puk 'wet.' ?Rama pakpak 'river bird.'
- Paezan:** Choco: Tucura bek(-eai) 'water (v.),' Betoí ofaku 'rain.' Barba-coan: Cara bi. Mura: Mura, Piraha pe. Guambiano, Totoro, Cayapa, Colorado, Muellama pi, Mogueux pi.
- Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*pukyu 'spring.'
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe buhu 'rain.'
- Equatorial:** Arawakan: Culino, Madiha pacu, Araua paha, Paumari pãha, Yamamadi pãhã.
- Macro-Panoan:** Panoan: Sensi enipaxa. Proto-Tacanan \*bu- 'pool of water.'
- Macro-Ge:** Caraja: Caraja be 'water,' byu 'rain,' Javaje bε:. Yabuti: Arikapu bi.
- [P273, CP214]

859 WATER<sub>7</sub> \*na

- Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*nepiʔi, Proto-Algonquian \*nepyi. Proto-Mosan \*naw 'wet,' Proto-Salish \*nus ~ naš 'wet, damp.'
- Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Tuscarora nyatar 'sea.'
- Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \*no:x 'rain,' Takelma no:n 'rain.' Mexican: Proto-Mayan \*nab' 'rain,' Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*ni:ʔ.
- Chibchan:** Antioquia: Nutabe, Cagaba ni, Catio nira. Proto-Aruak \*ni-bu 'sea,' Guamaca yena. Guaymi: Move, Norteño, Penomeño ño. Malibu: Chimila uñe.
- Paezan:** Jirajara: Jirajara, Ayoman iŋ. Warao naba 'creek, river,' naha 'rain.' Proto-Choco \*noseg 'rain,' Wounaan noseḡ 'rain.' Inter-Andine: Guambiano nupi 'river,' Totoro noβi 'river,' Paez nus 'rain.'
- Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*nuyu 'wet, moisten, soak,' Quiteño uno, Chinchaysuyu, Nauta, Santiagueño unu.
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Huari hane, Masaca hane, Movima i'nwn 'river.' Kaliana inam. Proto-Nambikwara \*na: 'drink,' Tamainde nahirinde 'water,' Tarunde naru, Nene narunde. Puinave: Nadöbö nahögnö, Marahan nahöru, Curicuriai nex, Dou no:. Canichana nese. Munique ni- 'drink.'
- Equatorial:** Proto-Maipuran \*uni, Achagua, Piapoco, Adzaneni, Tariana,

Chiriana, Yukuna, Marawa, Mojo, Cocoma *uni*, Uirina, Piro, Kushichineri, Terena *une*, Caliponau, Mehinacu *one*, Bare, Paresi *oni*, Amuesha *oñ*, Maypure *ueni*, Chamicuro *unixsa*, Puquina *unu*, Manao *unua*, Uainuma *auni*, Resigaro *ho:ni*, Dourados *ho:ñe*, Baure *ine*. Chipaya *unu* ‘water.’ Tupi: Siriono *ine*. Achuar *inca* ‘river.’ Cofan *nahe*. Macu *name*. Campa *naña*. Tinigua: Pamigua *nikage*. Chamacoco *nio*. Tumraha *niodat*. Ebidoso *niogo*. Tinigua: Tinigua *ñinkwaši*. Arawa: Culino *unin* ‘river,’ Paumari *waini* ‘river’; Esmeralda *una* ‘rain.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Proto-Taranoan *\*eni[ri]* ‘drink (v.),’ Pemon *ni(n)* ‘drink (v.).’ Proto-Witotoan *\*nō-* ‘water,’ *\*nō-xī* ‘rain,’ Witoto *hainoy* ‘water,’ Ocaina *now(h)ə* ‘rain,’ *ñioxi* ‘water,’ Coeruna *nūho*, Orejone *enoe*, Nonuya *nohowi* ‘rain,’ Andoquero *nohwi*, Caimito *hanenoi*. Yagua: Yagua *nahua* ‘river,’ *hã:* ‘water.’ Yameo *na?a* ‘rainy season,’ Peba *nowa* ‘river.’ Bora: Imihitã *nög?böğ?ko* ‘water,’ *nup<sup>h</sup>a?yexu* ‘well (water),’ *nuxpayk<sup>h</sup>o* ‘water.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mascocoy *na(-thwatk<sup>y</sup>i)* ‘bathe, wash.’ Abipon *enarp*. Lule *na-* (instrumental prefix) ‘action with water.’ Mataco: Mataco *inot* ‘water,’ *nax* ‘bathe,’ Vejoz *inot* ‘water,’ *niyayaä* ‘drink (v.),’ *nain* ‘bathe,’ Suhin *ina:t*, Nocten, Guisnai, Chorote, Ashuslay *inat*. Moseten *oñi* ‘water,’ *añei* ‘rain,’ *inac* ‘river.’ Proto-Pano-Tacanan *\*na-* ‘water, bathe,’ Proto-Panoan *\*ini* ‘water,’ *\*na-ši* ‘bathe,’ *\*inī* ‘water,’ *\*na-* . . . ‘water, river, rain.’ Cashinahua *nə-* ~ *no-* ‘action with water,’ Sensi *enipaxa*. Proto-Tacanan *\*e-na* ‘water,’ *\*na(?)i* ‘rain.’ Cavineña, Arasa, Tiatinagua, Yamiaca *ena*. Choropi *na:?ate*. Capanagua *yene*. Caduveo *niorodi*. Guiacuru *nogodi*. Komlek *noröp*. Chimane *oñe*.

**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge *\*na* ‘rain.’ Hahahay *naha*.

- [A208]

## 860 WATER<sub>8</sub> *\*?ali*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic *\*-o:ʔlʔ* ‘in a body of water.’ Proto-Chimakuan *\*ʔal’-* ‘waves, choppy sea.’

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts *\*ʔilik’*, Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *\*ʔol:e* ‘ocean, lake.’

**Chibchan:** Misumalpan: Matagalpa, Cacaopera *li*. Chibcha: Tegria, Boncota, Manare *ria*.

**Andean:** Qawasqar *lai* ‘drink.’ Yamana *öla* ‘drink.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Nambikwara: Tauite *ari*. Iranshe *-līʔ* ‘river.’ Movima *lu?lu?u* ‘rain (n.),’ *lu?ti?iʔ* ‘rain (v.)’

**Equatorial:** Maipuran: Campa *iri:e* ‘drink,’ Yucuna *ira* ‘drink,’ Amuesha *ur* ‘drink.’ Zamuco: Chamacoco *arü* ‘drink.’ Cf. Yaruro *hara* ‘drink.’

- [A88]

861 WATER<sub>9</sub> \*pan

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*panA ~ \*ponA ‘river,’ Coahuilteco wan.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \*p’a, Proto-Tanoan \*p’o. Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*pa ‘water,’ \*pa-tu ~ \*pa-ta ‘river.’

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \*pania, Choco, Citara, Baudo, Tado, Saija, Tukura pania, Chami bania, Andaguada punea, Catio panea, Sambu pañia. Itonama wanu?we.

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Paumari pāha, Yamamadi pāhã, Atorai, Mapidian, Paraujano win, Ipurina wünü, Baniva, Yavitero weni, Kanamare wenü, Wapishana wenw, Mawakwa wune.

862 WATER<sub>10</sub> \*tuna

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Movima toni.

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Carib \*tuna, Proto-Hianocoto \*tu:na, Proto-Taranoan \*tuna, Pemon, Galibi, Caribisi, Caribe, Apalai, Trio, Waiwai, Pauishana, Macusi, Opone, Nahukwa tuna, Carif, Tamanaco duna, Decuana tona, Carib tone, Tliometesen tono.

• Except for Movima this root is apparently only found in the Carib family, where it is universal. However, Movima is not currently close to any putative Carib donor language.

863 WATER<sub>11</sub> \*c’i

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan \*c’i ~ \*c’o.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \*c’id’i ‘water,’ \*č’ina ‘river.’

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan \*č’iya ‘river.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan \*c<sup>h</sup>ũ ‘drink.’

**Chibchan:** Tarascan ič’i. Guaymi: Muoi, Murire, Sabanero č’i.

**Paezan:** Itonama it<sup>y</sup>e ‘rain (n.).’

**Equatorial:** Itogapuc ič’i.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \*ič’i- ‘drink.’ Mosesten č’ei ‘drink.’

864 WATER<sub>12</sub> \*kam ~ \*kom

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic \*-Vkamy ‘body of water,’ Proto-Algonquian \*-kamy ‘water,’ \*kemiwanwi ‘rain (n. & v.)’

**Hokan:** Proto-Coahuiltecan \*kam ‘drink, eat,’ \*kamkam ‘body of water’ (with reduplication to indicate increased quantity), Karankawa komkom, Comecrudo kam ‘drink.’

**Equatorial:** Chapacura: Chapacura akum. Maipuran: Itene komo, Yaru kō, Urupa, Tora kom, Guamo, Wañam, Abitana, Kumana kum. Pakaasnovos kom ‘water, river.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Chacobo kεmε.



**Macro-Ge:** Proto-Ge *\*-kōm* ~ *\*kō* ‘drink.’

865 WATER<sub>13</sub> *\*to* ~ *\*do*

**Penutian:** Zuni *tutu* ‘drink (v.)’ (with reduplication to indicate continuous action).

**Paezan:** Waunana *do*. Proto-Choco *\*to* ~ *\*do* ‘river,’ Epena Saija, Epena Basurudó *to* ‘river,’ Embera Darien, Catio, Embera Chami, Embera Tadó *do*, Wounaan *du* ‘water,’ *dusīg* ~ *du* ~ *du* ‘river.’ Proto-Choco *\*to-* ~ *\*do-* ‘drink (v.),’ Darien, Saija, Epena Basurudo *to-* ‘drink (v.),’ Catio, Chami, Tado, Wounaan *du-* ‘drink (v.).’

**Andean:** Leco *dua*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Kakua *do* ‘rapids.’

**Equatorial:** Piaroa: Saliba *dodo* ‘river.’ Kariri: Kariri, Sapuya, Kamuru *d<sup>z</sup>u*.

**Macro-Carib:** Andoke *d<sup>z</sup>ühü*. Proto-Witotoan *\*d<sup>z</sup>o:do* ‘spring of water,’ Nipode *do* ‘spring of water,’ Ocaina *d<sup>z</sup>ó:ro?phi* ‘spring of water,’ Witoto, Murui *to-ra-phi* ‘spring of water,’ Muinane *ádu-?i* ‘drink,’ Bora, Miraña *ato* ‘drink.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *to*.

866 WATER<sub>14</sub> *\*kona*

**Andean:** Culli *goñ*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Capishana *kuni*.

**Equatorial:** Arawakan: Yaru *kō*.

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Proto-Hianacoto *\*konoho* ‘rain,’ Proto-Taranoan *\*konopo* ‘rain (n.),’ Yupe, Chaque, Macoa, Shaparu *kuna*, Pariri *kana*, Pemon *konok ena* ‘rain (v.),’ Maraca, Iroca *ku:na*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan *\*kani* ‘well of water.’

**Macro-Ge:** Monosho *koan?a*. Kapasho *kona?an*. Mashakali *konahan*. Macuni *konam*. Kumansho *kuna?an*.

867 WATER<sub>15</sub> *\*xi*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *xi-y-*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan *\*hi(?e)* ‘drink.’

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Changuena *xi*.

**Paezan:** Andaqui *xixi*.

**Macro-Ge:** Malali *xexe*.

868 WATER<sub>16</sub> *\*hobi*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mayan *\*hab-al/?r* ‘rain,’ Proto-Quichean *\*xab* ‘rain.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman *\*havi:l* ‘river.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *hiba* ‘rain.’ Warao *hobi* ‘drink (n. & v.)’

**Equatorial:** Piaroa: Saliba *hoba* ‘rain (v.)’

**Macro-Panoan:** Tacanan: Maropa *xubi*.

869 WE INCLUSIVE<sub>1</sub> \*ʔis ~ \*seʔ

**Penutian:** Oregon: Coos *-ais* (second person acts on first person), Alsea *s-* ‘me.’ Plateau: Klamath *ʔis* (second person acts on first person). Gulf: Yuki *u:s* ‘we inclusive,’ Huchnom *us* ‘we,’ Wappo *ʔisʔ* ‘we,’ Chitimacha *ʔuš* ‘we,’ Atakapa *-iš* ‘us.’

**Chibchan:** Rama *sa-* ~ *su* ~ *s-* ‘us,’ Guatuso *-s* ‘we.’

**Paezan:** Itonama *seʔ* ‘we exclusive,’ Colorado *-s* ‘let us . . .,’ Cayapa *-sai* ~ *-šai* ‘let us . . .’

- [G21]

870 WE (INCLUSIVE)<sub>2</sub> \*ma

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**ma:-* ‘we.’

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma \**-a:mi* ‘I, we 2, we-thee, you 2, you.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**mãĩ-rĩ*.

- [G3]

871 WE-TWO INCLUSIVE \*ki ~ \*ka

**Almosan:** Proto-Algic, Proto-Algonquian \**k-* ‘thou,’ Proto-Algonquian \**ki-* ‘we inc.’

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Wyandot *ky* ‘we-two inclusive,’ *kw-* ‘we inclusive’

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *gew* ‘my.’ California: Yokuts *ma-k-* ‘we-two inclusive’ (? = *ma-* [second person] + *k-* [first person]). Gulf: Chitimacha *-k* ‘I,’ *-ki-* ‘me.’ Mexican: Totonac: Papantla *kit* ‘I,’ *kin* ‘we’; Mayan: Kekchi, Uspantec, etc. *ka-* ‘our,’ Chontal *ka-* ‘my.’

**Hokan:** Tonkawa *ge-* ‘me,’ Maratino *ko* ‘we inclusive’; Yuman: Cochimi *ka-* ‘my’; Salinan: San Miguel *k<sup>h</sup>aʔ* ‘we,’ San Antonio *kak* ‘we’; Chumash *k-* ‘I,’ *kis-* ‘we-two,’ *ki* ‘we’; Yana (*ni-*)*gi* ‘we, us, our,’ (*wa-*)*gi* (second person acts on fourth person’; Pomo: Pomo [??] *ke-* ‘my’; Karok *ki-n* ‘we.’ Jicaque *-k<sup>h</sup>* ‘we,’ Yurumangui *kV-* ‘I, my.’

**Central Amerind:** Oto-Manguean: Otomi: South Pame *kakh* ‘we inclusive,’ Mazahua *kɔ* ~ *gɔ* ‘we inclusive,’ Amuzgo \**hka* ‘I, we inclusive, we exclusive.’ Tanoan: Taos *ki-* ‘we, our.’

**Chibchan:** Xinca *ka-* ‘thy,’ Tarascan *-ke(-ni)* ‘first-person singular acts on second-person singular.’

**Paezan:** Allentiac *ka* ‘thou.’

**Andean:** Gennaken *-ki* ‘my,’ *kia* ~ *kua* ‘I’; Quechua (Callejon de Huaylas) *kiki* ‘I myself’; Zaparoan: Zaparo *kui* ‘I,’ *ku* ~ *ko* ‘my,’ *ka(-na)* ‘we

exclusive,' Arabela *ki-* 'my,' *ka-na* 'our exclusive,' Iquito *ki:* 'I,' *ki-* 'I' (verb prefix), Andoa *kua* 'I'; Itucalc *kanö* 'I,' *kax-* 'my,' *kanakanö* 'we,' *kanax-* 'our'; Cahuapana *kua* 'I,' *-uk* 'my,' Jebero *koa* ~ *kwa* 'I,' *-ok* 'my,' Mayna *-ke* 'let us . . . ,' Cholona *ok* 'I,' *ki* 'our,' Leco *kui* 'we' (verb subject). Mayna *-ke* 'let us.'

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Carib *\*ki-* 'we-two inclusive, first person acting on second person, second person acting on first person.' Witoto *ko* 'we-two,' *kay* 'we.'

**Macro-Ge:** Erikbatsa *ikia* 'thou,' Bororo *aki* 'thou,' Coroado *ga* 'thou.'

• [G10, G19, G28] WE-TWO-INCLUSIVE has evolved into I and THOU in different languages.

#### 872 WEST *\*bo*

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan *\*bi-*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Pomo *\*bo:*.

#### 873 WHITE<sub>1</sub> *\*pala*

**Penutian:** Oregon: Yakonan *λpāal-*. Plateau: Lutuami *palpal*, Klamath *bal*, Sahaptin *plaS*. Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Mixe *pō?p*, Zoque *popo*.

**Hokan:** Washo *dal-popoi*, Santa Cruz Chumash *pupu*.

**Paezan:** Andaqui [fanszu-za] 'cleanse.' Atacama *palan* 'cleanse.' Barbacoa: Colorado *pura* 'cleanse.' Paez *finde* 'clean' (Paez *nd* < *\*r*). Warrau *bere* 'clean.'

**Andean:** Qawasqar *palihhl*. Mapudungu *pelo-* 'get light.'

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Canichana *bala/bara*. Capixana *pan-ææ*. Catuquina *parany*. Proto-Nambikwara *\*pa:n*. Tucanoan: Desana *bure*, *boleri*, Chiranga *bole*, Sara *boro*.

**Equatorial:** Cayuvava *ya-pora-xa*. Maipuran: Achagua *paray*, Bare *balini*, Wapishana *barak*. Tupi: Pawate *epeira* 'cleanse,' Arikem *ta-puari* 'clean.' Yuracare *bolo-si*. Zamuco: Zamuco *pororo*, Chamacoco *poro*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Lule *po*. Mataco: Macca *fo*, Towothli *apol-*, Vejoz *pelay*. Vilela *po*. Lule *pop*.

• [A266] Cf. WHITE<sub>2</sub>. This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Indo-European, and Altaic (Illich-Svitych 1967).

#### 874 WHITE<sub>2</sub> *\*pek*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Cree, Natick *pahke* 'clean.' Mosan: Salish: Coeur d'Alene *peq*, Kalispel *paq*, etc.

**Hokan:** Comecrudo *pepok*. Jicaque *pek*. Karankawa *peka*. Tequistlatec *afuhga*.

• [A267] Cf. WHITE<sub>1</sub>.

875 WHITE<sub>3</sub> \**tora*

**Paezan:** Tucura *torro*, Atacama *tara*.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *dora*, Chiquito *turasi*.

- [CP215, MG120]

876 WHITE<sub>4</sub> \**posa*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**po:šə*.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha \**ha-bu-(nV)-si*, Proto-Aruak \**abunsi*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Tacanan \**paśa-*.

877 WIDE \**?aʎaq*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**ʎa-*, Proto-Salish \**ʎaq* ‘wide, stretch out,’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *l’ijχ* ‘wide, wide open, broad.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \**?aʎ*.

878 WILDCAT \**tunku*

**Penutian:** California: Proto-Yokuts \**t’ujul*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**tuku*.

879 WIN \**t’ak<sup>w</sup>*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-Salish \**t’əx<sup>w</sup>*.

**Penutian:** Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan \**ʎ-(w)* ‘win, overcome, fight.’

880 WIND<sub>1</sub> (n.) \**kiq*

**Almosan:** Proto-Mosan \**hiχ-* ‘breathe, blow.’

**Penutian:** Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha \**he*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**ʎi:k’<sup>w</sup>*, Proto-Quichean \**i:q’*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**χu*, Proto-Pomo \**ʎihya*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**heka*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado *kiši*. Chimu: Eten *kus*. Paez *keis*. Warao *haka*. Millcayac *hukum* ‘air.’ Proto-Choco \**uku* ‘blowgun.’

**Andean:** Cholona: Cholona *kaz, kas, kaš*, Hivito *koktom*. Itucale *köxöana*. Patagon: Tsoneka *kučen*, Tehuelche *ko:šen, kosen*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Maku-Puinave \**ʎi:ʎ* ‘blowgun.’

**Equatorial:** Pakaasnovos *hukoʎ* ‘blow with the mouth,’ *hi* ‘blow the nose.’

**Macro-Carib:** Proto-Hianacoto \**hehe:či*.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *kihi*. Proto-Ge \**kok*. Kaingang: Kaingang *kāka* ‘wind,’ *kākan* ‘blow,’ Tibagi *kanka*, etc.

- [A268]

881 WIND<sub>2</sub> (n.) \*k<sup>w</sup>ala

**Penutian:** Chinook *ikxala*. Oregon: Takelma *kwalt*. Plateau: Yakima *xuli*.

**Andean:** Iquito *akira*, Qawasqar *kel*.

- [P276, AN123]

882 WIND<sub>3</sub> (n.) \*ʔitewa

**Keresiouan:** ?Proto-Siouan \**tate*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan \**ʔi:twā*. Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean \**teʔw*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(Y)(n)(h)te(h)(n) ‘wind, breath, air.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Namibikwara \**ʔit*, Proto-Tucanoan \**wīʔdō*. Iran-she *tutu* ‘blow.’

883 WIND<sub>4</sub> (n.) \*ʔaši

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \*-a:ʔši ‘blown by wind.’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan: Ofo *ashuse*.

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \**šepu*: ‘blow with the mouth.’ California: Proto-Yokuts \**šok<sup>h</sup>iw*. Zuni *ʔaše* ‘a hard blow.’ Gulf: Wappo *še* ‘wind,’ *šeʔi* ‘wind blows.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**sepe*.

**Chibchan:** Proto-Chibcha \**sai-*.

**Andean:** Qawasqar *seqwa* ‘blow on the fire.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Pemon *asitun*. ?Yagua *ru:dasiy* ‘blowgun.’ Proto-Hianacoto \**hehe:či*.

884 WIND<sub>5</sub> (n.) \*suk<sup>w</sup>

**Almosan:** Proto-Salish \**suk<sup>w</sup>* ‘blow.’

**Penutian:** Plateau: Klamath *swok* ‘blow breath.’ California: Proto-Yokuts \**šok<sup>h</sup>iw*. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**su:hʔ* ‘blow.’

**Andean:** Qawasqar *seqwa* ‘blow on fire.’

## 885 WING \*kampi

**Almosan:** Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *kam*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**ca:pi*. Siouan: Catawba *hi-čip* (Speck).

**Penutian:** California: Yokuts *k’aps-ay* ‘shoulder.’ Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *kap*, Wappo *kupε*, *kapεʔ* ‘feather.’ Mexican: Mayan (general) *kob* ‘arm, shoulder,’ Huastec *okob* ‘arm, wing.’

**Hokan:** Chumash: Santa Ynez *qa:m*, *qap* ‘feather,’ Santa Cruz, San Luis Obispo *s-kama*. Comecrudo *xam* ‘feather, bird.’ Cotoname *komiom* ‘bird.’ Karankawa *hamdolak* ‘feather.’ Karok *xip*. Shasta *čop-ha* ‘bird.’ Seri

*kap*. Tequistlatec *k-kap* ‘to fly.’ Yurumangui *a-ikan*. Yuman: Cochimi *guan* ‘wing, feather.’ Cf. Coahuilteco *yam* ‘bird, to fly.’

- [A269]

886 WINTER \**tete*

**Almosan:** Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan \**titat*.

**Penutian:** Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean \**teʔw* ‘cold.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan \**t'e* ‘cold.’

**Paezan:** Millcayac *tete* ‘year.’

887 WISH<sub>1</sub> (v.) \**mena*

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *menw-* ‘prefer, like,’ Fox *menw* ‘enjoy.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *ma:na* ‘try, test’; Salish: Lkungen *aməna* ‘hunt,’ Thompson *-mamən* (desiderative), *iomin-* ‘have friendly feelings,’ Okanagan *iqamēn* ‘love,’ Kalispel *ḡamenč*, Spokane *-manən* ‘wish.’

**Keresiouan:** Keresan: Laguna *amu:* ‘love.’ Siouan: Catawba *muʔe*.

**Penutian:** Oregon: Takelma *mi:li:* ‘love.’ California: Miwok: Central Sierra *menna* ‘try,’ Lake Miwok *mēna* ‘think,’ *menaw* ‘try’ Bodega Miwok *munu* ‘be hungry’; Wintun: Patwin *meina* ‘try’ (probable borrowing from Miwok). Gulf: Tunica *me* ‘seek’; Natchez *mai* ‘love.’

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**ma* ‘who,’ Chimariko *miʔinan* ‘like.’ Karok *ʔi:mnih* ‘love.’ Pomo: East Pomo *mara* ‘like.’

**Central Amerind:** Chichimec *men* ‘love,’ Mixtec *manī* ‘love.’

**Chibchan:** Chimila *moynaya* ‘wish,’ Binticua *meyuno* ‘seek.’

**Paezan:** Andaqui *miña-za* ‘I sought.’ Barbacoa: Colorado *munai-yo* ‘love,’ *muna-ha* ‘wish,’ Cayapa *mun* ‘who.’ Timucua *mani* ‘wish, desire’ *man* ‘think.’ Cf. Warrau *obone* ‘think.’

**Andean:** Aymara: Aymara *muna* ‘love,’ Jaqaru *muna* ‘love.’ Cholona *men* ‘wish.’ Cahuapana: Jebero *malealk* ‘ask.’ Patagon: Ona *maniel-en* ‘wish.’ Quechua: Cochabamba, Santiagueño *muna* ‘wish,’ Sabela *mē* ‘seek,’ Mapudungu *mañumn* ‘love,’ Cholona *men* ‘wish.’

**Equatorial:** Otomi *manenianda* ‘love,’ *momene* ‘think,’ Baure *emeniko* ‘love,’ Kamayura *emanhau* ‘love.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Guaicuru: Toba *ama* ‘masturbate,’ Mocovi *aman* ‘masturbate.’ Lengua *min(-yeyi)* ‘wish,’ Lule *mai* ‘wish.’ Mataco *hemen* ‘love,’ Payagua *mai* ‘wish,’ Choroti *emi* ‘dear.’ Moseten *maye* ‘wish.’ Mascocoy *emeni* ‘love,’ Caduveo *addemane* ‘do you love me?’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo *emaru* ‘seek.’ Botocudo *moru* ‘love.’ Fulnio *-ma* ‘seeking.’ Kamakan *mã* ‘seek,’ Krëye *mã-* ‘wish, love,’ Apinage *amnõnmõn* ‘think.’

- [A270]

888 WISH<sub>2</sub> (v.) \*yana

**Andean:** Leco *era*, Jebero *?ina* (desiderative), Quechua *-na:* (desiderative), Yamana *yana*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Chacobo *-no* (desiderative), Lule *-no* (desiderative).

- [AN125, G83]

## 889 WITH \*ma

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*-(i)ma.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*-ma?ai ‘together with.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \*mē?nã ~ bē?dã.

## 890 WOLF \*tepa

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \*TEPə(:) ‘coyote.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*tepa.

891 WOMAN<sub>1</sub> \*tom

**Andean:** Mapudungu: Mapudungu *domo* ‘woman, female,’ Pehuenche *zomo*, *domo* ‘woman, female.’ Gennaken *-cəm* ‘female.’ Patagon: Tehuelche *čame*, *semoe* ‘female,’ *camen* ‘female of animals.’ Zaparo: Zaparo *itomo*, *itiumu*, Iquito *tem*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *nãmi?i*. Puinave: Querari *nē(m)-bid* ‘daughter’ (*bid* = ‘small’). Tucano: Tucano *nomio*, Coto *tomio*, Amaguaje *nomio*, *romio*, Siona *romi* (forms without initial *n-* are usual in Western Tucanoan).

**Equatorial:** Coche *šima*, *čima*. Timote: Maripu *timua* ‘girl.’ Zamuco: Tumraha *timičarne*, Chamacoco *tübičarne*, *tümičarne*.

- [A271]

892 WOMAN<sub>2</sub> \*kuna

**Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *kwan-iswa* ‘girl.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *ganəmo*, Bella Bella *ganəmə* ‘woman, wife.’ Salish: Lkungen *kaŋi* ‘girl,’ Spokane *en-okhono* ‘wife,’ Siletz *qena?s* ‘grandmother,’ Tillamook *k’uwi* ‘woman, wife.’

**Keresiouan:** Siouan-Yuchi: Siouan: Dakota *hun* ‘mother’; Yuchi *wa-hane* ‘old woman.’

**Penutian:** Tsimshian *hanāG* ‘woman.’ Plateau: Cayuse *kwun-asa* ‘girl.’ California: Yokuts: Yawelmani *gaīna* ‘woman,’ Maidu: Konkow *kónoy* ‘woman, wife,’ Nisenan *kono* ‘girl,’ Costanoan: San Juan Bautista *atsia-xnis*, Miwok: Lake Miwok *?unu* ‘mother.’ Zuni *k’anak<sup>w</sup>ayina* ‘woman.’ Gulf: Yuki *aŋ-k’an* ‘mother.’

**Hokan:** Chumash *kunup* ‘girl,’ Diegueño *kux-k<sup>w</sup>an<sup>y</sup>* ‘mother,’ *xe-k<sup>w</sup>an<sup>y</sup>* ‘daugh-

ter,' Seri *kuãam* 'female,' *koŋkái:* 'wife,' Tonkawa *k<sup>w</sup>ãn* 'woman,' Karankawa *kanin* 'mother,' Tequistlatec (*ŋ-*)*agaʔno* 'woman, female.'

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Proto-Tiwa \**k<sup>w</sup>iem* 'maiden.' Uto-Aztecan: Papago *hóõnigĩ* 'wife.' Oto-Manguean: Isthmus Zapotec *gunáa* 'woman.'

**Chibchan:** Boncota *güina* 'female,' Ulua *guana*, Pedraza *konui-xa* 'daughter.'

**Paezan:** Choco *huena* 'woman,' Paez *kuen-as* 'young woman.'

**Andean:** Simacu *kaxkanu* 'daughter-in-law,' Yahgan *čou-kani-kipa* 'young woman,' Kulli *kañi* 'sister,' Cholon *akiñiu*, Qawasqar *ekin-eč* 'woman,' Tsoneka *na-kuna*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Nadobo *kuñan*, Särä *kana* 'mother.'

**Equatorial:** Yurucare *igũn* 'girl,' *ti-gũn* 'daughter,' Cuica *kuneu-ksoy* 'girl,' *kunakunam* 'woman,' Proto-Tupi \**kuyã*, Guarani *kuña* 'female,' *kuña-taĩ* 'girl,' Guarayo *ekuna* 'woman,' Canoeiro *kuña-tain* 'small girl,' Kamayura *kunya* 'woman,' Guahibo *kvantua* 'first wife,' Amuesha *kuyan-iša* 'woman,' Yuracare *igũn* 'girl.'

**Macro-Carib:** Palmella *ena-kone* 'mother,' Accawai *kana-muna* 'girl,' Muinane *kini-ño*, Miranya *guaniu* 'mother.'

**Macro-Panoan:** Charrua: Charrua *čalo-na* 'girl' (*na* = 'child'), Chama *eg<sup>w</sup>anasi* 'woman,' Lengua *iŋ-kyin* 'mother,' Sanapana *küli-guana-man* 'old woman,' ?Chacobo *huini* 'female,' ?Cavineña *ekwaʔa* 'mother.'

**Macro-Ge:** Suyu *kuña* 'woman,' Cherente *pi-kon*, Capaxo *konyan*, Caraja *hanökö*.

• [A272] The Shawnee, Cayuse, Paez, Amueshua, and Chama forms all involve this root and DIMINUTIVE<sub>1</sub> -\**ihsa*. This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Indo-European, and Altaic (Illich-Svitych 1967).

### 893 WOMAN<sub>3</sub> \**sun*

**Penutian:** Plateau: North Sahaptian *ašam*. California: Miwok: Central Sierra Miwok *ʔoša:* 'wife.' Mexican: Mayan (general) *-iš-* 'female,' Huastec *ušum* 'woman, wife,' Proto-Quichean \**išoq*.

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Taos *hiw-*, Isleta *hiu-*, Jemez *tyo*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 340 \*(*Y*)(*n*)*su(h)n* 'woman, daughter, mother.' Uto-Aztecan: M 470 (no reconstruction; "most of the forms reflect something like \**su*, \**sun*, \**so*, \**son*").

**Chibchan:** Lenca: Chilanga *suj*.

**Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado *sona*, Cayapa *suna* 'wife.' Chimu: Eten *sönaŋ* 'wife.' Jirajara: Ayoman [senha] 'woman, wife.' Paez: Guambiana *išuk*, Totoro *išuk*.

• [A273]



894 WOMAN<sub>4</sub> \*ita

**Hokan:** Achomawi *ta* ‘wife,’ Esselen *ta* ‘wife,’ East Pomo *da* ‘wife,’ Yurumangui *ita(-asa)* ‘wife.’

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *de*, Krenje *yiti*, Capoxo *ti*.

- [H161, MG123]

895 WOOD<sub>1</sub> \*iye

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca *-yē-* ‘tree.’ Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan \**yā* ‘tree’; Yuchi *ya* ‘tree.’

**Hokan:** Esselen *i:*. Yana *?i(-na)*. Yuman: Cocopa *i:* ‘wood, tree,’ Walapai *i:ʔi:* ‘wood, tree, etc.’

**Chibchan:** Motilon *e:* ‘candle.’

**Paezan:** Allentiac: Allentiac *eye*, Millcayac *eye* ‘tree.’ Barbacoa: Cuaiquer *i:*. Choco: Catio *oi* ‘forest,’ Chami *ea* ‘forest,’ Citara [elle] *eye* ‘forest.’ Mura: Mura *i:*, *iyi*, Mura-Piraha *ie*, Matanawi *i* ‘firewood.’ Paez: Paez *uʔy*, Mogueux *oi-t*. Timucua *aye* ‘forest, tree, wood.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Koaia *i* ‘fire.’ Yuri *i:* ‘fire.’

- [A274]

896 WOOD<sub>2</sub> \*ake

**Hokan:** Achomawi: Atsugewi *ahwi*. Chimariko *hoʔeu* ‘board.’ Pomo: North, Central Pomo *hay*, Kashaya *ʔahay*, Northeast Pomo *ʔaha:*, etc. Shasta *ʔakka:(h)a*. Tequistlatec *ʔokö*.

**Chibchan:** Antioquia: Nutabe *ki-a* ‘fire,’ Catio *ki(-ra)* ‘fire.’ Aruak: Guamaca *ge* ‘fire,’ Bintucua *gei* ‘tree, fire,’ Atanque *gie* ‘tree, fire.’ Chibcha: Chibcha *kie* ‘tree.’ Guaymi: Chumulu, Gualaca, Changuena *ke* ‘firewood.’ Motilon: Motilon *ka* ‘tree.’

**Paezan:** Paez: Paez *eki*, *eʔkx<sup>y</sup>* ‘firewood,’ Mogueux *eki-t* ‘firewood.’ Cf. Barbacoa: Cayapa *či* ‘tree,’ Itonama *či* ‘classifier for trees.’

**Macro-Ge:** Kaingang: Came *ka* ‘wood, stick,’ Catarina *ko* ‘firewood, tree,’ Apucarana *ka* ‘tree,’ etc. Mashakali: Mashakali, Capoxo *ke*. Puri: Coroado *ke* ‘wood, fire.’

- [A275]

## 897 WOODPECKER \*bak

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Keresan \**s-biga*.

**Penutian:** Gulf: Natchez *pakpaku:*, Tunica *pahpahkana* ‘pileated woodpecker,’ Muskogean: Choctaw *bakbak* (reduplication in Natchez, Tunica, and Choctaw to indicate repetitive action).

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**m*baka ‘woodpecker,’ \**PA:KV* ‘blackbird, robin.’

**Chibchan:** Rama *pakpak* ‘river bird.’

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \**pagara* ‘macaw.’

898 WORK<sub>1</sub> (v.) \**pi*

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Catuquina: Canamari *bu* ‘do!’ Puinave: Tiquie *be:i* ‘work,’ Papury *böæi* ‘work, make.’ Tucano: Wayana *ve* ‘make,’ Tucano *we:* ‘make.’

**Macro-Ge:** Bororo: Umotina *p̄thi*. Botocudo [py]. Ge: Krenje *pĩ, opi*, Crengesz *api*.

- [A277]

899 WORK<sub>2</sub> (v.) \**nina*

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Bintucua *nina* ‘activity’; Guaymi *noaine* ‘do’; Rama *uni* ‘make.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *inoni*.

**Equatorial:** Dzubucua *niño* ‘make,’ Kandoshi *ina* ‘make,’ Aguaruna *na-* ‘make.’

- [CP224, E76]

900 WORM<sub>1</sub> \**k<sup>w</sup>ec*

**Penutian:** Zuni *wi*.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**k<sup>w</sup>ic*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \**waska* ‘rope.’

**Paezan:** Barbacoan: Paez *wes*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan \**wãsi*, Carapana *wãsiĩ*, Barasana *wãsiĩ*, Secoya *waʔsi*.

901 WORM<sub>2</sub> \**nokin*

**Penutian:** Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian \**n(i)ka:* ‘rope.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan \**niʔiŋ*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Panoan \**noʔin*.

902 WORM<sub>3</sub> \**piru*

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**pel<sup>y</sup>a*, Proto-Pomo \**bi:la*, Proto-Yuman \**ʔila*.

**Chibchan:** Rama *biro* ‘dirt worm.’

**Paezan:** Proto-Choco \**birĩ* ‘rattlesnake.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *piru*.

903 YEAR<sub>1</sub> \**ʔame*

**Penutian:** Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \**ʔa:me*.

**Hokan:** Proto-Hokan \**amat<sup>ʔ</sup>*, Proto-Yuman \**matʔa:mk*.

904 YEAR<sub>2</sub> \*wata

**Almosan:** Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *w'd-* 'cold, be cold.'

**Paezan:** Warao *waha* 'season.'

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*wata.

**Equatorial:** Achuar *wata*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Proto-Waikuruan \*wæt:om 'winter, cold.'

905 YELLOW<sub>1</sub> \*tampa

**Chibchan:** Aruak: Guamaca *tamukuega*. Chibchan: Chibcha *tib-*, Tegria *tam-airo*, Uncasica *tamo-ya*, etc. Tarascan *cipan-be-ti*.

**Paezan:** Chimu: Eten *ca:m*. Mura: Matanawi *tomã* 'blue.'

**Equatorial:** Cayuvava *titibɔ* 'blood.' Guahibo *cobia* 'red.' Kandoshi *čobiapi* 'red.' Maipuran: Baniva *tewari* 'yellow,' Manao *taweti* 'red.' Piaroa: Piaroa *toahe, tuahe* 'red,' Saliba *duva* 'red.' Trumai *comate* 'red.' Tupi: Tembe *taua* 'yellow,' Oyampi *tawa* 'yellow,' Arikem *taboro* 'yellow.' Yuracare *tebe* 'blood,' *tebetebesí*.

- [A278]

906 YELLOW<sub>2</sub> \*ci

**Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Seneca *dʒi(-t-kwar)* 'bile.' Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan \*ri (C), Hidatsa *ci*, Dakota *zi*, Biloxi, Tutelo *si*, Ofo *fi*, etc.; Yuchi *ti*.

**Central Amerind:** Tanoan: Isleta *c'u*, San Ildefonso *c'e*, Taos *c'ul-wi*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 245 \*(n)si 'yellow, white, bright.' Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 476 \*si, \*ci 'yellow.'

- [A279]

## 907 YES \*ʔehe

**Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian \*e:he. Kutenai *he:y*. Mosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *hia*, Oowekyala *hah'a*.

**Keresiouan:** Proto-Caddoan \*ʔahay.

**Penutian:** Proto-California \*h/ʔe/o, Proto-Yokuts \*hūhū, Proto-Maiduan \*heʔe. Zuni *hayi*. Proto-Gulf ʔehe:. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque \*hí:ʔ.

**Hokan:** Proto-Yuman \*xa:.

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Uto-Aztecan \*ha ~ \*he.

**Chibchan:** Rama *aha*. Yanomam *hai*.

**Paezan:** Timucua *ha-na*. Millcayac *he he*.

**Andean:** Proto-Quechuan \*aw. Yamana *hanu*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Iranshe *ã*.

**Macro-Carib:** Yagua *hə:(nə)*.

**Macro-Panoan:** Vejoz *ä*. Proto-Tacanan \*eʔe.

**Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *ʔãhã*.

908 YESTERDAY<sub>1</sub> \**kan*

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Oto-Manguean \*(h)k<sup>w</sup>e(h)(n).

**Andean:** Yamana *kunaka*.

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Auake *a(x)koan*. Iranshe *ionitie-kanã* (*ionitie* = ‘other’).

Kaliana *õãkai*. Proto-Nambikwara \**kanaC* (final consonant -C varies; not reconstructed). Puinave: Tiquie *čan*. Tucano: Tucano, Sara, Waikina *kane*.

**Equatorial:** Cofan *kãñĩ*. Guahibo *kanibi*. Cf. Guamo *čuna* ‘evening.’

**Macro-Carib:** ?Carib: Proto-Hianacoto \**-ko-ñaałĩ*, Proto-Taranoan \**kokonya:rə*.

**Macro-Ge:** Caraja *kanau* ‘day before yesterday.’ Chiquito *kañi*.

- [A280]

909 YESTERDAY<sub>2</sub> \**weł*

**Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian \**wa:ʔłwa:panwi* ‘dawn, daybreak,’ Proto-Central Algonquian \**weła:kw-*. Kutenai *wałka*. Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan \**tawił-* ‘yesterday, tomorrow.’

**Paezan:** Choco: Embera *ewari* ‘day.’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *wile* ~ *wile* ‘tomorrow.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Vejoz *xualü* ‘day,’ *ixuäla* ‘tomorrow.’

910 YOUNGER BROTHER/OLDER BROTHER \**p’oy*/*\*p’oyp’oy*

**Almosan:** Algic: Yurok *-pā* ‘brother.’ Mosan: Salish: Lillooet *äpa* ‘older brother.’

**Keresiouan:** Keresan: ?Santa Ana *-w’ł* ‘child.’

**Penutian:** Proto-California Penutian \**be:* ‘older brother,’ Foothill North Yokuts *p’ay* ‘baby,’ *p’aye:ʔi* ‘child,’ Maidu *p’ü* ‘boy,’ *p’übe* ‘son.’ Zuni *papa* ‘older brother.’ Gulf: Yukian: Wappo *ʔepa* ‘older brother.’

**Hokan:** Achomawi *apo* ‘brother,’ Atsugewi *pupa* ‘brother,’ ?Yana *p’au?ni* ‘son,’ Shasta *ʔa-pu* ‘older brother,’ Konomihu *epput-* ‘brother,’ Washo *-peyu* ‘younger brother,’ Salinan: San Miguel *pepeʔ* ‘older sister,’ San Antonio *peʔ* ‘older sister.’

**Central Amerind:** Proto-Aztec-Tanoan \**p’o* ‘younger brother,’ Proto-Tanoan \**po-* ‘brother,’ Taos *p’ay-na* ‘younger brother,’ *popo-na* ‘older brother,’ Tewa *bibi* ‘brother,’ Kiowa *pabi* ‘brother,’ Isleta *papa* ‘older brother,’ *p’ai* ‘younger brother,’ San Ildefonso *ep’i* ‘infant.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan \**po* ‘younger brother,’ \**papi* ‘older brother,’ Mono *papi* ‘older brother,’ Kuwaiisu *pabi-ne* ‘older brother.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean \**po* ‘younger brother,’ \**papi* ‘older brother.’

**Chibchan:** Guaymi: Sabanero *pabaligu* ‘brother,’ Chumulu *pava* ‘brother.’ Misumalpan: Cacaopera *pai-ka* ‘older brother.’ Talamanca: Terraba,

Tirub *bau* ‘brother-in-law.’ Yanoama: Shiriana *aba* ‘older brother.’

**Paezan:** Timucua *poy* ‘brothers, sons,’ Cuaiquer *paiypa* ‘son,’ Nonama *hamupui* ‘brother,’ Mura: Matanawi *upi* ~ *opi* ‘brother,’ Atacama *aba* ~ *biya* ‘son,’

**Andean:** Mapudungu *peñi*. Catacao: Catacao, Colan *pua-* ‘brother.’ Sabela: Tuwituwey *bibi* ‘younger brother.’ Tehuelche *abbo* ‘boy, child,’ Yahgan *pepe* ‘child,’ Cahuapana *babi* ‘child.’

**Macro-Tucanoan:** Puinave: Papury *pui* ‘younger brother,’ Tiquie *epaya* ‘brother-in-law’ (Koch-Grünberg), *pē(-nã)* ‘brother-in-law’ (Brüzzi). Tucano: Waikana *baĩ(-ga)* ‘brother,’ *baũ(-ga)* ‘sister,’ Munique *ye-baę* ‘younger brother,’ Ticuna *buʔĩ* ‘child,’ Tucano *po* ‘child.’

**Equatorial:** Yuracare *pe* ‘younger brother,’ *pi* ‘older brother,’ Kariri *popo* ‘older brother,’ Dzubucua *popo* ‘older brother,’ Kamaru *popo* ‘older brother,’ Chamacoco *pab* ‘child,’ Tumraha *pab* ‘child,’ Ebidoso *pab* ‘son,’ Paumari *ibai*: ‘son,’ Emerillon *pa*: ‘older brother,’ *pĩ* ‘child,’ Arikem *opoirá* ‘son.’ Guahibo *piauwo*. Guamo: San José (*di-*)*pe*, Santa Rosa (*di-*)*pia*. Tupi: Shipaya *upa*, Oyampi *pa:1* ‘older brother.’

**Macro-Carib:** Carib: Roucouyenne, Trio *pipi*, Surinam *pĩri* ‘younger brother,’ Hishcariana *pepe* ‘older brother.’ Yagua *rai-puipuin* ‘brother’ (woman speaking), *pwĩĩ* (vocative) (Powlison). Peba *pwĩĩ* ‘brother,’ Taulipang *pipi* ‘brother,’ Pavishana *upi* ‘brother,’ Accawai *poĩto* ‘boy.’

**Macro-Panoan:** Mose ten *voyi* ‘sister,’ *voyi-t* ‘brother.’ Proto-Panoan *\*poi* ‘sibling of opposite sex,’ Shipibo *pui* ‘brother,’ Caripuna *pui* ‘brother,’ Pacagwara *eppa* ‘brother.’ Proto-Tacanan *\*bu-*, *\*bui*, *\*bue* ‘son, daughter of mother’s sister.’ Mascocoy *poiye* ‘my son.’

**Macro-Ge:** Botocudo *po* ‘brother,’ Guato *be* ‘son,’ Kaingang: Palmas *ve* ‘sibling,’ Tibagi, Guarapurava *ve* ‘sister.’ Bororo: Umotina *abu* ‘older brother.’

• [A53] The Waikana forms in Macro-Tucanoan show the gender ablaut system MASCULINE/FEMININE *\*i/\*u*. This root is also found in Uralic and Altaic (Ruhlen 1994g).



Map 1. The Amerind Family, North America



Map 2. The Amerind Family, South America

## CLASSIFICATION OF AMERIND LANGUAGES

### I ALMOSAN

#### A ALGIC

1 ALGONQUIAN: Abenaki, Arapaho, Beothuk, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Chippewa, Cree, Delaware, Fox, Gros Ventre, Kickapoo, Menomini, Miami, Micmac, Mohegan, Montagnais, Munsee, Natick, Northern Arapaho, Ojibwa, Potowotami, Shawnee

#### 2 RITWAN

a WIYOT: Wishosk, Wiyot, Kowilth

b YUOK: Yurok

#### B KUTENAI: Kutenai

#### C MOSAN

1 CHIMAKUAN: Chemakum, Quileute

2 SALISH: Bella Coola, Chilliwak, Coeur d'Alene, Columbian, Cowichan, Flathead, Kalispel, Lillooet, Lkungen, Musqueam, Nisqualli, Nootsack, Okanogan, Sechelt, Pentlatch, Shuswap, Siciatl, Snanaimuk, Snohomish, Songish, Spokane, Squamish, Thompson, Tillamook, Twana, Upper Chehalis

3 WAKASHAN: Bella Bella, Kwakwala, Nitinat, Nootka

### II KERESIOUAN

A CADDON: Adai, Arikara, Caddo, Kitsai, Pawnee, Wichita

B IROQUOIAN: Cherokee, Huron, Mohawk, Onandaga, Oneida, Seneca, Tuscarora, Wyandot

C KERESAN: Acoma, Keres, Laguna, Santa Ana, Santo Domingo

#### D SIOUAN-YUCHI

1 YUCHI: Yuchi

2 SIOUAN: Assiniboin, Biloxi, Catawba, Chiwere, Crow, Dakota, Hidatsa, Iowa, Mandan, Ofo, Osage, Quapaw, Santee, Teton, Tutelo, Winnebago, Woccon

### III PENUTIAN

A TSIMSHIAN: Nass, Tsimshian

B CHINOOK: Chinook, Wasco, Wishram, Kathlamet

C OREGON: Alsea, Coos, Iakon, Kalapuya, Tfalatik, Yonkalla, Lower Umpqua, Miluk, Siuslaw, Takelma, Yakonan

D PLATEAU: Cayuse, Klamath, Lutuami, Modoc, Molala, Nez Perce, North Sahaptin, Sahaptin, Yakima

#### E CALIFORNIA



- 1 MAIDU: Maidu, Nisenan, Northeast Maidu, South Maidu, Konkow
  - 2 MIWOK-COSTANOAN
    - a COSTANOAN: Monterey, Mutsun, Rumsien, San Francisco, San José, San Juan Bautista, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Soledad
    - b MIWOK: Bodega, Central Sierra Miwok, Costal Miwok, Lake Miwok, Marin Miwok, Northern Sierra Miwok, Plains Miwok, Southern Sierra Miwok, Tuolumne, Western Miwok
  - 3 WINTUN: Colouse, Kope, Noema, Nomlaki, North Wintu, Patwin, Sacramento River, South Wintu, West Wintu, Wintu
  - 4 YOKUTS: Calavera, Gashowu, Yaudanchi, Yawelmani, Yokuts
- F ZUNI: Zuni
- G GULF
- 1 ATAKAPA: Atakapa
  - 2 CHITIMACHA: Chitimacha
  - 3 MUSKOGEAN: Alabama, Apalachee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Hitchiti, Koasati, Mikasuki, Muskokee
  - 4 NATCHEZ: Natchez
  - 5 TUNICA: Tunica
  - 6 YUKIAN: Clear Lake Yuki, Coast Yuki, Huchnom, Wappo, Yuki
- H MEXICAN
- 1 HUAVE: Huave
  - 2 MAYAN: Aguacatec, Chol, Chontal, Chorti, Huastec, Ixil, Jacaltec, Kakchiquel, Kekchí, Mam, Maya, Pokomchi, Pokomam, Quiché, Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Tzutuhil, Uspantec, Yucatec
  - 3 MIXE-ZOQUE: Ayutla, Mixe, Oluta, Sayula, Sierra Popoluca, Tetontepec, Texistepec, Western Mixe, Zoque
  - 4 TOTONAC: Papantla, Tepehua, Totonac
- IV HOKAN
- A NORTHERN
- 1 KAROK-SHASTA
    - a KAROK: Arra-Arra, Karok
    - b CHIMARIKO: Chimariko
    - c SHASTA-ACHOMAWI
      - i SHASTA: Konomihu, Shasta
      - ii ACHOMAWI: Achomawi, Atsugewi
  - 2 YANA: Central Yana, North Yana, South Yana, Yahi
  - 3 POMO: Central Pomo, Clear Lake, East Pomo, Kashaya, North Pomo, Northeast Pomo, South Pomo, Southeast Pomo, Southwest Pomo

B WASHO: Washo

C SALINAN-CHUMASH

1 SALINAN: San Antonio, San Miguel

2 CHUMASH: La Purisima, San Buenaventura, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, Santa Ynez

3 ESSELEN: Esselen

D SERI-YUMAN

1 SERI: Seri

2 YUMAN: Akwa'ala, Campo, Cochimi, Cochiti, Cocopa, Diegueño, Havasupai, Kahwan, Kiliwa, Maricopa, Mohave, Tipai, Tonto, Walapai, Yavapai, Yuma

E WAICURI-QUINIGUA: Waicuri, Maratino, Quinigua

F COAHUILTECAN

1 TONKAWA: Tonkawa

2 KARANKAWA: Karankawa

3 COAHUILTECAN PROPER

a COAHUILTECO: Coahuilteco

b COTONAME: Cotoname

c COMECRUDO: Comecrudo

G TEQUISTLATEC: Tequistlatec (=Chontal), Tlamelulu

H SUBTIABA: Subtiaba, Tlappanec

I JICAQUE: Jicaque

J YURUMANGUI: Yurumangui

V CENTRAL AMERIND

A TANOAN: Kiowa, Towa, Hopi Tewa, Isleta, Jemez, Piro, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Clara, Taos, Tewa

B UTO-AZTECAN: Cahuilla, Cora, Hopi, Huichol, Kawaiisu, Luiseño, Mejiicano Azteco, Mono, Nahuatl, Northern Paiute, Opata, Papago, Pima, Pipil, Shoshone, Southern Paiute, Tarahumara, Varohio, Yaqui

C OTO-MANGUEAN: Amuzgo, Chiapanec, Chinantec, Ixcatec, Mangué, Mazahua, Mazatec, Mixtec, Otomi, Pame, Popoloca, Trique, Zapotec

VI CHIBCHAN

A CUITLATEC: Cuitlatec

B LENCA: Chilanga, Guajiquero, Intibucat, Membreno, Opatoro, Similaton

C NUCLEAR CHIBCHAN:

1 ANTIOQUIA: Katio, Nutabe

2 ARUAK: Atanque, Binticua, Guamaca, Kagaba, Tairona

3 CHIBCHA: Boncota, Chibcha, Duit, Manare, Margua, Pedraza, Sin-

- siga, Tegria, Tunebo, Uncasica  
 4 CUNA: Cueva, Cuna  
 5 GUAYMI: Changuena, Chumulu, Gualaca, Guaymi, Move, Muoi, Murire,  
 Norteño, Penomeño, Sabanero  
 6 MALIBU: Chimila  
 7 MISUMALPAN: Cacaopera, Matagalpa, Miskito, Sumu, Tawaska, Ulua  
 8 MOTILON: Barira, Dobocubi, Motilon  
 9 RAMA: Corobisi, Guatuso, Guetar, Rama  
 10 TALAMANCA: Borunca, Bribri, Cabecar, Chiripo, Estrella, Terraba,  
 Tiribi, Tirub, Viceyta  
 D PAYA: Paya  
 E TARASCAN: Tarascan  
 F XINCA: Chiquimulilla, Jutiapa, Sinacatan, Xinca, Yupultepec  
 G YANOMAM: Sanema, Shiriana, Yanam, Yanoam, Yanomam, Yanomami  
 H YUNCA-PURUHAN: Puruha

## VII PAEZAN

- A ALLENTIAC: Allentiac, Millcayac  
 B ATACAMA: Atacama  
 C BETOI: Beto  
 D CHIMU: Chimu, Eten, Mochica  
 E ITONAMA: Itonama  
 F JIRAJIRA: Ayoman, Jirajira  
 G MURA: Matanawi, Mura, Piraha  
 H NUCLEAR PAEZAN  
 1 ANDAQUI: Andaqui  
 2 BARBACOA: Cara, Cayapa, Colorado, Cuaiquer, Muellama  
 3 CHOCO: Andaguada, Baudo, Catio, Chami, Choco, Citara, Darien,  
 Empera, Napipi, Nonama, Saija, Sambu, Tado, Tucura, Uribe, Wau-  
 nana  
 4 PAEZ: Coconuco, Guambiana, Guanaca, Moguex, Paez, Panikita, To-  
 toro  
 I TIMUCUA: Tawasa, Timucua  
 J WARRAO: Warrao

## VIII ANDEAN

- A AYMARA: Aymara, Jaqaru, Lupaca  
 B ITUCALE-SABELA  
 1 ITUCALE: Itucalc  
 2 MAYNA: Mayna  
 3 SABELA: Auca, Sabela, Tuwituwey

## C CAHUAPANA-ZAPARO

- 1 CAHUAPANA: Jebero, Cahuapana, Tschaahui, Miquira
- 2 ZAPARO: Andoa, Arabela, Iquito, Shimigae, Zaparo

## D NORTHERN

- 1 CATACAO: Catacao, Colan
- 2 CHOLONA: Cholona, Hivito
- 3 CULLI: Culli
- 4 LECO: Leco
- 5 SECHURA: Sec, Sechura

E QUECHUA: Ancash, Caraz, Chinchaysuyu, Cochabamba, Eduadorean, Huanacucho, Huanuco, Inga, Junin, Junin-Huanca, Lamisto, Santiagueño, Wanka, Yanacocha

## F SOUTHERN

- 1 QAWASQAR: Qawasqar
- 2 MAPUDUNGU: Mapudungu, Moluche, Pehuenche, Chilote
- 3 GENNAKEN: Gennaken, Pehuelche
- 4 PATAGON: Hongote, Manekenkn, Ona, Patagon, Tehuelche, Teush, Tsoneka
- 5 YAMANA: Yahgan, Yamana

## IX MACRO-TUCANOAN

A AUIXIRI: Auixiri

B CANICHANA: Canichana

C CAPIXANA: Capixana

D CATUQUINA: Bendiapa, Canamari, Catauisi, Catuquina, Parawa

E GAMELLA: Gamella

F HUARI: Huari, Masaka

G IRANSHE: Iranshe

H KALIANA-MAKU

- 1 AUAKE: Auake

- 2 KALIANA: Kaliana

- 3 MAKU: Maku

I KOAIA: Koaia

J MOVIMA: Movima

K MUNICHE: Muniche

L NAMBIKWARA: Mamainde, Nambikwara, Northern Nambikwara, Sabane, Southern Nambikwara

MNATU: Natu

N PANKARURU: Pankaruru

O PUINAVE: Curiariai, Dou, Hubde, Kakua, Macu-Papury, Marahan, Nadobo,

Nukak, Papury, Parana Boaboa, Puinave, Querari, Tiquie, Ubde-Nehern, Yehubde

P SHUKURU: Shukuru

Q TICUNA-YURI

1 TICUNA: Ticuna

2 YURI: Yuri

R TUCANOAN: Amaguaje, Bahukiwa, Bara, Buhagana, Chiranga, Coreguaaje, Coto, Cubeo, Curetu, Desana, Dyurema, Dyurumawa, Erulia, Hehenawa, Palanoa, Pioje, Piojeuti, Sara, Secoya, Siona, Tama, Tanimuca, Tsöla, Tsölöa, Tucano, Tuyuka, Tuyulu, Uaiana, Uasona, Waikina, Wanana, Wiriana, Yahuna, Yeba, Yupua

S UMAN: Uman

X EQUATORIAL

A MACRO-ARAWAKAN

1 GUAHIBO: Churuya, Cuiva, Guahibo, Guayabero, Playero

2 KATEMBRI: Katembri

3 OTOMACO: Otomaco, Taparita

4 TINIGUA: Pamigua, Tinigua

5 ARAWAKAN

a ARAWA: Culino, Jarua, Paumari, Yamamadi

b MAIPURAN: Achagua, Adzaneni, Amarakaeri, Amuesha, Anauya, Apolista, Apurina, Araicu, Arawak, Atoroi, Baniva, Bare, Baure, Black Carib, Cabere, Campa, Canamari, Carutana, Cauishana, Cayeri, Chamicuro, Chana, Chiriana, Chontaquiro, Curipaco, Cushichineri, Goajiro, Guana, Guinau, Ignaciano, Ipurina, Island Carib, Jumana, Kariay, Karif, Karro, Karutana, Kozarini, Kuniba, Kustenau, Machiguenga, Manao, Mandauaca, Mapidiana, Marawa, Mashco, Maypure, Mehinacu, Moxo, Omöa, Palicur, Paraujano, Paresi, Passe, Piapoco, Piro, Resigaro, Siusi, Tariana, Terena, Tereno, Toyeri, Waimare, Uainuma, Uarakena, Wachipairi, Wapishan, Waura, Yaulapit, Yavitero, Yucuna

c CHAPACURA: Abitana, Chapacura, Itene, Kitemoka, Mure, Pakaasnovos, Pawumwa, Quitemo, Tora, Urupa, Wanyam, Yaru, Yuva

d GUAMO: San José, Santa Rosa

e URO: Callahuaya, Caranga, Chipaya, Puquina, Uro

B CAYUVAVA: Cayuvava

C COCHE: Coche

D JIVARO-KANDOSHI

1 COFAN: Cofan

- 2 ESMERALDA: Esmeralda
  - 3 JIVARO: Aguaruna, Gualaquiza, Huambisa, Jivaro, Achuar, Shuara, Upano, Zamora
  - 4 KANDOSHI: Kandoshi, Murato, Shapra
  - 5 YARURO: Yaruro
- E KARIRI-TUPI**
- 1 KARIRI: Dzubucua, Kamaru, Kariri, Sapuya
  - 2 TUPI: Abanee, Amniapa, Apichum, Arara, Arikem, Awety, Chiriguano, Chiripa, Cocama, Digüt, Emerillon, GUAJAJARA, Guaraní, Guarategaja, Guarayo, Guayaki, Kabishiana, Kamayura, Kawahib, Kepkiriwate, Kuruaya, Makurape, Manitsawa, Maue, Mekens, Mondé, Mundurucu, Oyampi, Pawate, Purubora, Ramarama, Sanamaika, Sheta, Shipaya, Siriono, Tapute, Tembe, Tupari, Tupi, Uruku, Wirafed, Yuruna
- F PIAROA: Macu, Piaroa, Saliba**
- G TARUMA: Taruma**
- H TIMOTE: Cuica, Maguri, Maripu, Mochochi, Timote**
- I TRUMAI: Trumai**
- J TUSHA: Tusha**
- K YURACARE: Yuracare**
- L ZAMUCO: Ayoré, Chamacoco, Ebidoso, Guaranoco, Siracua, Tumraha, Zamuco**
- XI MACRO-CARIB**
- A ANDOKE: Andoke**
- B BORA-UITOTO**
- 1 BORA: Bora, Faai, Imihita, Miranya, Miranya Oira Assu-Tapuya, Muinane
  - 2 WITOTO: Andoquero, Coeruna, Erare, Miranya Carapana Tapuya, Meneca, Nipode, Nonuya, Ocaina, Orejone, Witoto, Witoto-Kaimo
- C CARIB: Accawai, Apalai, Aparai, Apiaca, Arara, Arekuna, Azumara, Bakairí, Barama River, Carib, Carijona, Cariniaco, Chayma, Crichana, Cumanogoto, Diau, Galibi, Gimamoto, Guaque, Hianacoto, Hishcariana, Jaricuna, Kaliana, Macusi, Maiongom, Maquiritare, Motilon, Nahugua, Northern Wayana, Opone, Oyana, Palmella, Pariri, Pauishana, Pemon, Pimenteira, Roucouyenne, Surinam, Tamanaco, Proto-Taranoan, Taulipang, Trio, Waiwai, Wayana, Yabarana**
- D KUKURA: Kukura**
- E YAGUA: Masamae Yameo, Peba, Yagua, Yameo**

## XII MACRO-PANOAN

A CHARRUAN: Chana, Charrua, Guenoa

B LENGUA: Angaite, Guana, Kaskiha, Lengua, Mascocoy, Sanapana

C LULE-VILELA

1 LULE: Lule

2 VILELA: Vilela

D MATACO-GUAICURU

1 GUAICURU: Abipone, Caduveo, Guachi, Guaicuru, Komlek, Mbaya, Mocovi, Pilaga, Toba, Toba-Guazu

2 MATACO: Ashluslay, Choropi, Choroti, Chulupi, Chunupi, Churupi, Enimaga, Guisnaim, Macca, Mataco, Nocten, Payagua, Suhin, Towothli, Vejoz

E MOSETEN: Mosen

F PANO-TACANA

1 PANOAN: Amahuaca, Arazaire, Capanahua, Caripuna, Cashibo, Cashinahua, Cazinawa, Chacobo, Conibo, Culino, Marinahua, Mayoruna, Nocaman, Panobo, Shipibo, Paranaua, Nishinaua, Yawanaua, Shaninaua, Waninaua, Sensi, Pacaguara

2 TACANAN: Araona, Arasa, Cavineña, Chama, Guarayo, Guariza, Huarayo, Isiama, Maropa, Reyesano, Sapiboca, Tacana, Tiatinagua

## XIII MACRO-GE

A BORORO: Bororo, Koraveka, Otuke, Umotina

B BOTOCUDO: Botocudo

C CARAJA: Caraja, Javaje

D CHIQUITO: Chiquito, Churupa

E ERIKBATSA: Erikbatsa

F FULNIO: Fulnio

G GE-KAINGANG

1 KAINGANG: Apucarana, Aweikoma, Bugre, Came, Catarina, Dalbergia, Guarapuava, Ingain, Kaingang, Palmas, Serra do Chagu, Southern Kaingan, Tibagi

2 GE: Acroamirim, Apinage, Aponegicran, Cayapo, Chavante, Cherente, Chicriaba, Crenguez, Geico, Gorotire, Ishikrin, Kadurukre, Karaho, Kradaho, Kraho, Krenje, Northern Cayapo, Northern Karaho, Piokobyé, Ramkokamekran, Sakamekran, Southern Cayapo, Sua

H GUATO: Guato

I KAMAKAN: Cotoxo, Kamakan, Masacara, Meniens

J MASHAKALI: Capoxo, Hahahay, Kumanasho, Macuni, Malali, Mashakali, Monachobm, Monosho, Patasho

K OPAIE: Guachi, Opaie

L OTI: Oti

MPURI: Coroado, Coropo, Puri

N YABUTI: Arikapu, Mashubi, Yabuti



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- ABOVE<sub>1</sub> *itai*  
 ABOVE<sub>2</sub> *apa-k*  
 ABOVE<sub>3</sub> *araka*  
 ABOVE<sub>4</sub> *q'ał*  
 ABOVE<sub>5</sub> *pin*  
 ADJECTIVAL/PARTICIPIAL FORMANT *ki*  
 AGAVE *mal*  
 AGENTIVE<sub>1</sub> *-re ~ -ri*  
 AGENTIVE<sub>2</sub> *ta*  
 AGOUTI *kuri*  
 ALL *q'ac*  
 ALLATIVE *-k*  
 ALONG(SIDE) *no*  
 ALREADY *na*  
 ANGRY *ili*  
 ANT<sub>1</sub> *tai*  
 ANT<sub>2</sub> *cakon*  
 ANT<sub>3</sub> *pic'u*  
 ANT<sub>4</sub> *kaci*  
 ANT<sub>5</sub> *tapu*  
 ANT<sub>6</sub> *bohu*  
 ANTEATER *bigō*  
 ANUS *kuti*  
 APPEAR *laq<sup>w</sup>*  
 ARM<sub>1</sub> *poq*  
 ARM<sub>2</sub> *k<sup>w</sup>ana*  
 ARM<sub>3</sub> *noq' ~ neq'*  
 ARM<sub>4</sub> *k<sup>w</sup>ala*  
 ARMADILLO *pema*  
 ARRIVE *wila*  
 ARROW *mā*  
 ASHES *pok ~ pul*  
 ASK<sub>1</sub> *maca*  
 ASK<sub>2</sub> *tempa*  
 AUNT *pan*  
 AXE *supa*  
 BACK<sub>1</sub> *iki*  
 BACK<sub>2</sub> *mak*  
 BACK<sub>3</sub> *puna*  
 BAD<sub>1</sub> *kalen*  
 BAD<sub>2</sub> *čaka*  
 BAD<sub>3</sub> *q'ac*  
 BARK (v.) *wok*  
 BATHE *puk*  
 BE<sub>1</sub> *upi*  
 BE<sub>2</sub> *(a)t'a*  
 BE<sub>3</sub> *ʔi*  
 BE<sub>4</sub> *ka*  
 BEAR (v.) *ʔa*  
 BEARD<sub>1</sub> *p'oti*  
 BEARD<sub>2</sub> *tuk*  
 BEE<sub>1</sub> *pana*  
 BEE<sub>2</sub> *mumu*  
 BEHIND<sub>1</sub> *(a)pi*  
 BEHIND<sub>2</sub> *ini*  
 BELLY<sub>1</sub> *kate*  
 BELLY<sub>2</sub> *pali ~ pani*  
 BELLY<sub>3</sub> *mat*  
 BELLY<sub>4</sub> *to*  
 BELLY<sub>5</sub> *si*  
 BEND/KNEE/ELBOW/BOW (N.) *poq'-os*  
     ~ *c'e-puq'*  
 BIG *pala*  
 BIRD<sub>1</sub> *c'ik(c'ik) ~ c'uk(c'uk)*  
 BIRD<sub>2</sub> *p'išk'u*  
 BITE<sub>1</sub> *kua*  
 BITE<sub>2</sub> *tak*  
 BITTER<sub>1</sub> *pe(s)q' ~ p'o(s)q'*  
 BITTER<sub>2</sub> *cah*  
 BITTER<sub>3</sub> *kai*  
 BLACK<sub>1</sub> *pol*  
 BLACK<sub>2</sub> *k'ara*  
 BLACK<sub>3</sub> *t'uki*  
 BLACK<sub>4</sub> *teteu*  
 BLACK<sub>5</sub> *tuni ~ tuli*  
 BLOOD<sub>1</sub> *pile*  
 BLOOD<sub>2</sub> *menu*  
 BLOOD<sub>3</sub> *ʔita*  
 BLOOD<sub>4</sub> *pe*  
 BLOOD<sub>5</sub> *k<sup>w</sup>a*  
 BLOW (v.) *puci ~ puku*  
 BLUE/GREEN *sik<sup>w</sup>a*  
 BODY<sub>1</sub> *p'i*  
 BODY<sub>2</sub> *ime*  
 BODY PART SUFFIX *-an*  
 BOIL (v.) *t'oq<sup>w</sup>*  
 BONE<sub>1</sub> *pak*  
 BONE<sub>2</sub> *t'ui*  
 BONE<sub>3</sub> *cak*  
 BONE<sub>4</sub> *p'i*  
 BONE<sub>5</sub> *χaq*  
 BONE<sub>6</sub> *ʔunku*

BOW/ARROW	<i>ʔoq<sup>w</sup></i>	CLOSE <sub>2</sub> (v.)	<i>kui</i>
BREAK (v.)	<i>k'at'i</i>	CLOSE <sub>3</sub> (v.)	<i>pan</i>
BREAST <sub>1</sub>	<i>k'amin</i>	CLOUD <sub>1</sub>	<i>tal(u)</i>
BREAST <sub>2</sub>	<i>niono</i>	CLOUD <sub>2</sub>	<i>pa(n)k</i>
BREAST <sub>3</sub>	<i>pin</i>	CLOUD <sub>3</sub>	<i>pot</i>
BREAST <sub>4</sub>	<i>tu</i>	CLOVER	<i>pot</i>
BREATHE	<i>hiq<sup>w</sup></i>	COLD <sub>1</sub>	<i>canik</i>
BRING	<i>tuk</i>	COLD <sub>2</sub>	<i>t'ak'</i>
BROAD	<i>pat'</i>	COLD <sub>3</sub>	<i>kaca</i>
BURN <sub>1</sub>	<i>t'eq'a ~ t'oq'a</i>	COLD <sub>4</sub>	<i>to</i>
BURN <sub>2</sub>	<i>pek' ~ pok'</i>	COLD <sub>5</sub>	<i>kui</i>
BURN <sub>3</sub>	<i>ka ~ ko</i>	COLD <sub>6</sub>	<i>cia</i>
BURN <sub>4</sub>	<i>moʔok</i>	COME <sub>1</sub>	<i>nani</i>
BUTTERFLY <sub>1</sub>	<i>palpal</i>	COME <sub>2</sub>	<i>ta</i>
BUTTERFLY <sub>2</sub>	<i>penpen</i>	COME <sub>3</sub>	<i>tak</i>
BUTTERFLY <sub>3</sub>	<i>sape ~ sapipe ~ sasipe</i>	COME <sub>4</sub>	<i>hau</i>
BUTTERFLY <sub>4</sub>	<i>liklik</i>	COME <sub>5</sub>	<i>pi</i>
BUY	<i>teu</i>	COOK <sub>1</sub>	<i>maki</i>
BUZZARD <sub>1</sub>	<i>hus ~ huš ~ ʔus ~ ʔuš</i>	COOK <sub>2</sub>	<i>q<sup>w</sup>aʔ ~ q<sup>w</sup>al</i>
BUZZARD <sub>2</sub>	<i>wačuli ~ wayuri</i>	COOK <sub>3</sub>	<i>koko</i>
CALL <sub>1</sub>	<i>wanik</i>	COPULATE	<i>huca</i>
CALL <sub>2</sub>	<i>pai</i>	CORN	<i>cikcik</i>
CAPYBARA	<i>keču</i>	COUNT	<i>oši</i>
CARRY <sub>1</sub>	<i>apa</i>	COVER <sub>1</sub> (v.)	<i>tek'u</i>
CARRY <sub>2</sub>	<i>ko(n)</i>	COVER <sub>2</sub> (v.)	<i>sape</i>
CARRY <sub>3</sub>	<i>nek</i>	CROW/RAVEN	<i>q'aq'(aq)</i>
CAUSATIVE <sub>1</sub>	<i>-(a)t(u)</i>	CRY <sub>1</sub> (v.)	<i>wuni</i>
CAUSATIVE <sub>2</sub>	<i>ma</i>	CRY <sub>2</sub> (v.)	<i>ʔipu</i>
CAUSATIVE <sub>3</sub>	<i>cV ~ Vc</i>	CUT <sub>1</sub>	<i>q<sup>w</sup>at</i>
CEDAR	<i>caq'u</i>	CUT <sub>2</sub>	<i>cik<sup>w</sup></i>
CHEEK	<i>pok</i>	CUT <sub>3</sub>	<i>t'an</i>
CHEST	<i>t'ik ~ t'uk</i>	CUT <sub>4</sub>	<i>q'ec ~ q'ac</i>
CHEW	<i>qac</i>	CUT <sub>5</sub>	<i>t'ek</i>
CHICKEN	<i>cik</i>	DANCE	<i>taluk</i>
CHILD <sub>1</sub>	<i>(a)nu</i>	DARK	<i>t'umak</i>
CHILD <sub>2</sub>	<i>mako</i>	DAY	<i>q<sup>w</sup>ai</i>
CHILD <sub>3</sub>	<i>pan</i>	DEER <sub>1</sub>	<i>sula</i>
CHILD <sub>4</sub>	<i>ʔali</i>	DEER <sub>2</sub>	<i>taʔ</i>
CHILD <sub>5</sub>	<i>t'uk</i>	DEER <sub>3</sub>	<i>mana</i>
CHILD <sub>6</sub>	<i>pam</i>	DESIDERATIVE	<i>-he</i>
CHILD <sub>7</sub>	<i>man</i>	DIE <sub>1</sub>	<i>maki</i>
CHILD <sub>8</sub>	<i>k'ati</i>	DIE <sub>2</sub>	<i>tumpa</i>
CHIN	<i>yuh</i>	DIE <sub>3</sub>	<i>t'iq'</i>
CHIPMUNK	<i>wasila</i>	DIE <sub>4</sub>	<i>kam</i>
CHOP	<i>qak</i>	DIE <sub>5</sub>	<i>yak</i>
CLOSE <sub>1</sub> (v.)	<i>q'apa</i>	DIE <sub>6</sub>	<i>nek</i>

- DIE<sub>7</sub> *wanu*  
 DIG<sub>1</sub> *(o)kua*  
 DIG<sub>2</sub> *tik*  
 DIG<sub>3</sub> *(w)ali*  
 DIMINUTIVE<sub>1</sub> *-ihsa*  
 DIMINUTIVE<sub>2</sub> *-mai*  
 DIRTY *c'i*  
 DO *?a<sub>χ</sub>*  
 DOG<sub>1</sub> *(a)kuan*  
 DOG<sub>2</sub> *kucu*  
 DOG<sub>3</sub> *c'i? ~ c'u?*  
 DOG<sub>4</sub> *ari*  
 DOG<sub>5</sub> *dia*  
 DOG<sub>6</sub> *nuq*  
 DOG<sub>7</sub> *puku*  
 DOG<sub>8</sub> *waš*  
 DOVE *kowi*  
 DRY<sub>1</sub> *ana*  
 DRY<sub>2</sub> *caqi*  
 DUAL *si*  
 DUCK *q'atq'at*  
 DURATIVE *la*  
 DURATIVE/PUNCTUAL *-a/-i*  
 DUST<sub>1</sub> *pur*  
 DUST<sub>2</sub> *pe*  
 DWELL *?u*  
 EAGLE *?asa*  
 EAR<sub>1</sub> *kamon*  
 EAR<sub>2</sub> *kana*  
 EAR<sub>3</sub> *pa(n)*  
 EAR<sub>4</sub> *naka*  
 EAR<sub>5</sub> *tine*  
 EAR<sub>6</sub> *tiki*  
 EAR<sub>7</sub> *ali*  
 EAR<sub>8</sub> *isa*  
 EAR<sub>9</sub> *mal*  
 EAR<sub>10</sub> *ka*  
 EARTH<sub>1</sub> *ila*  
 EARTH<sub>2</sub> *tampi*  
 EARTH<sub>3</sub> *ama(k) ~ ama(t)*  
 EARTH<sub>4</sub> *nan(u)*  
 EARTH<sub>5</sub> *pata*  
 EARTH<sub>6</sub> *kake*  
 EARTH<sub>7</sub> *pile*  
 EAT<sub>1</sub> *pa ~ pe*  
 EAT<sub>2</sub> *k'uli ~ k'uri*  
 EAT<sub>3</sub> *(h)ama*  
 EAT<sub>4</sub> *k'ama*  
 EGG<sub>1</sub> *na*  
 EGG<sub>2</sub> *tompa*  
 EGG<sub>3</sub> *paki*  
 EGG<sub>4</sub> *c'ik<sup>w</sup>*  
 ELBOW<sub>1</sub> *q'ucu*  
 ELBOW<sub>2</sub> *kuk*  
 ELDER<sub>1</sub> *?a-*  
 ELDER<sub>2</sub> *-ko*  
 EXCREMENT<sub>1</sub> *pa*  
 EXCREMENT<sub>2</sub> *(i)ta(h)*  
 EYE<sub>1</sub> *(i)to(?)*  
 EYE<sub>2</sub> *tene ~ tele*  
 EYE<sub>3</sub> *k'an*  
 EYE<sub>4</sub> *tuki ~ tuku*  
 EYE<sub>5</sub> *q'<sup>w</sup>ał*  
 EYE<sub>6</sub> *kap*  
 EYE<sub>7</sub> *kad*  
 EYE<sub>8</sub> *asa ~ aša*  
 EYE<sub>9</sub> *ere*  
 EYE<sub>10</sub> *nak*  
 EYE<sub>11</sub> *hin*  
 EYE<sub>12</sub> *yan*  
 EYE<sub>13</sub> *oi*  
 FALL *tik*  
 FAN *helu*  
 FAR<sub>1</sub> *pali*  
 FAR<sub>2</sub> *ya*  
 FAT<sub>1</sub> *kui*  
 FAT<sub>2</sub> *wila*  
 FEAR<sub>1</sub> *kul*  
 FEAR<sub>2</sub> *pak*  
 FEATHER<sub>1</sub> *p'at<sup>l</sup>*  
 FEATHER<sub>2</sub> *pi*  
 FEMALE<sub>1</sub> *-win*  
 FEMALE<sub>2</sub> *iš-*  
 FILL (UP) *tumpa*  
 FINGER<sub>1</sub> *tik*  
 FINGER<sub>2</sub> *k'o*  
 FINGERNAIL *cikil*  
 FINISH *hawyi*  
 FIRE<sub>1</sub> *(?)oti*  
 FIRE<sub>2</sub> *kuti ~ kuči*  
 FIRE<sub>3</sub> *ma*  
 FIRE<sub>4</sub> *?isu*



- FIRE<sub>5</sub> *?aha*  
 FIRE<sub>6</sub> *paye*  
 FIRE<sub>7</sub> *c'ik*  
 FIRE<sub>8</sub> *guka*  
 FIRE<sub>9</sub> *pet*  
 FIRE<sub>10</sub> *sil(k)*  
 FIRE<sub>11</sub> *yak*  
 FIRE/BURN *apali*  
 FISH<sub>1</sub> *k<sup>w</sup>ama*  
 FISH<sub>2</sub> *q'ac'*  
 FISH<sub>3</sub> *(n)amak<sup>w</sup>*  
 FISH<sub>4</sub> *waki*  
 FISH<sub>5</sub> *?ici*  
 FISH<sub>6</sub> *k'al ~ kal*  
 FISH<sub>7</sub> *yapa*  
 FLAT *t'a*  
 FLEA<sub>1</sub> *mak'in ~ makin*  
 FLEA<sub>2</sub> *p'ak'i*  
 FLEA<sub>3</sub> *k<sup>w</sup>it'*  
 FLOWER<sub>1</sub> *tuktuk*  
 FLOWER<sub>2</sub> *p'aq'*  
 FLY<sub>1</sub> (V.) *ta*  
 FLY<sub>2</sub> (V.) *yaka*  
 FLY<sub>1</sub> (N.) *k'ampa*  
 FLY<sub>2</sub> (N.) *mulu ~ puru*  
 FOOT<sub>1</sub> *po ~ pa ~ pe*  
 FOOT<sub>2</sub> *asi?*  
 FOREHEAD<sub>1</sub> *pe*  
 FOREHEAD<sub>2</sub> *koa*  
 FOUR *maka*  
 FOX<sub>1</sub> *?aw*  
 FOX<sub>2</sub> *pura*  
 FROG<sub>1</sub> *k<sup>w</sup>aq'at*  
 FROG<sub>2</sub> *busi*  
 FROG<sub>3</sub> *t'en*  
 FROG<sub>4</sub> *wara*  
 FROG<sub>5</sub> *buru*  
 FROG<sub>6</sub> *xana*  
 FRUIT *teka*  
 FULL<sub>1</sub> *pak*  
 FULL<sub>2</sub> *pan ~ p'ir*  
 FULL<sub>3</sub> *t'am*  
 FULL<sub>4</sub> *winik*  
 FUTURE *-ta*  
 GATHER *yok<sup>w</sup>*  
 GIVE<sub>1</sub> *cils*  
 GIVE<sub>2</sub> *yak*  
 GIVE<sub>3</sub> *?uk<sup>w</sup>*  
 GO<sub>1</sub> *min ~ man*  
 GO<sub>2</sub> *tem*  
 GO<sub>3</sub> *yak ~ ya?*  
 GO<sub>4</sub> *q'oy*  
 GO<sub>5</sub> *?aka*  
 GO<sub>6</sub> *wan*  
 GO<sub>7</sub> *poro*  
 GO OUT *caq*  
 GOOD<sub>1</sub> *ici*  
 GOOD<sub>2</sub> *c'ump(a)*  
 GOOD<sub>3</sub> *malin*  
 GOOD<sub>4</sub> *k'anik ~ k'ulik*  
 GOOD<sub>5</sub> *poy*  
 GOOD<sub>6</sub> *?ayu*  
 GOOD<sub>7</sub> *tač'a*  
 GOOD<sub>8</sub> *k'apa*  
 GOOD<sub>9</sub> *meca*  
 GOOD<sub>10</sub> *keme*  
 GOOD<sub>11</sub> *q<sup>w</sup>a?*  
 GOOSE *laq'laq'*  
 GOURD *puru*  
 GRANDFATHER<sub>1</sub> *pica*  
 GRANDFATHER<sub>2</sub> *ikan*  
 GRASS<sub>1</sub> *pu*  
 GRASS<sub>2</sub> *qaca*  
 GREASE (N.) *?isa*  
 GREEN *kuli ~ kuri*  
 GUTS<sub>1</sub> *epoku*  
 GUTS<sub>2</sub> *kul*  
 HAIR<sub>1</sub> *cum*  
 HAIR<sub>2</sub> *toni*  
 HAIR/FEATHER *ali*  
 HAMMOCK *buh*  
 HAND<sub>1</sub> *?ani*  
 HAND<sub>2</sub> *atu*  
 HAND<sub>3</sub> *(w-)?iš ~ (w-)?asi*  
 HAND<sub>4</sub> *kuc ~ kic*  
 HAND<sub>5</sub> *tana ~ teni*  
 HAND<sub>6</sub> *pito*  
 HAND<sub>7</sub> *saka*  
 HAND<sub>8</sub> *q'ap ~ qap*  
 HAND<sub>9</sub> *?aqa*  
 HAND<sub>10</sub> *tap*  
 HAND<sub>11</sub> *hento*

- HAND<sub>12</sub> *m'apa*  
 HAND<sub>13</sub> *pel*  
 HAND/GIVE/MEASURE *ma-n ~ ma-k ~ ma-r*  
 HARD *k<sup>w</sup>ele*  
 HATE *pul*  
 HAWK *sokal*  
 HAWK (sparrow) *liq'liq'*  
 HE/SHE<sub>1</sub> *?i ~ i?*  
 HE/SHE<sub>2</sub> *ti ~ ta*  
 HEAD<sub>1</sub> *puta*  
 HEAD<sub>2</sub> *t'aq*  
 HEAD<sub>3</sub> *sako*  
 HEART *cuk'u*  
 HERON *wara*  
 HEAVEN *ema*  
 HILL *ton*  
 HIT<sub>1</sub> *tiq'<sup>w</sup>*  
 HIT<sub>2</sub> *tok*  
 HIT<sub>3</sub> *pak*  
 HIT<sub>4</sub> *maq'a*  
 HOLE<sub>1</sub> *c'imak*  
 HOLE<sub>2</sub> *mu*  
 HOLE<sub>3</sub> *tolo*  
 HORN *k<sup>w</sup>an*  
 HORTATIVE *pa ~ pe ~ pi*  
 HOT *k'ec ~ k'ac*  
 HOUSE<sub>1</sub> *toh*  
 HOUSE<sub>2</sub> *ka*  
 HUSBAND *ino*  
 I<sub>1</sub> *na(?)*  
 I<sub>2</sub> *?i*  
 I<sub>3</sub> *pi ~ pa*  
 I<sub>4</sub> *ka ~ ki*  
 I<sub>5</sub> *ta*  
 I<sub>6</sub> *ma*  
 IMPERATIVE *?i*  
 ...-IN-LAW *-kwa*  
 INTERROGATIVE<sub>1</sub> *ta*  
 INTERROGATIVE<sub>2</sub> *ki ~ ka ~ ku*  
 INTERROGATIVE<sub>3</sub> *min ~ men ~ man*  
 INTERROGATIVE<sub>4</sub> *xa*  
 INTERROGATIVE<sub>5</sub> *na*  
 INTERROGATIVE<sub>6</sub> *pi*  
 INTERROGATIVE<sub>7</sub> *wa*  
 INTERROGATIVE<sub>8</sub> *sin*  
 ITERATIVE *-te*  
 JAGUAR<sub>1</sub> *huko*  
 JAGUAR<sub>2</sub> *yak*  
 KILL *pa ~ pi*  
 KNEE<sub>1</sub> *kati*  
 KNEE<sub>2</sub> *moko*  
 KNIFE *pika*  
 KNOW<sub>1</sub> *kom*  
 KNOW<sub>2</sub> *yok*  
 KNOW<sub>3</sub> *k<sup>w</sup>ak*  
 KNOW<sub>4</sub> *ma(k) ~ ma(n)*  
 KNOW<sub>5</sub> *naka*  
 KNOW<sub>6</sub> *rik*  
 KNOW<sub>7</sub> *t'ak<sup>w</sup>*  
 LARGE<sub>1</sub> *ta(k)*  
 LARGE<sub>2</sub> *mek'at'i*  
 LARGE<sub>3</sub> *po*  
 LARGE<sub>4</sub> *mo:n*  
 LAUGH<sub>1</sub> *kal(i)*  
 LAUGH<sub>2</sub> *?aci*  
 LAZY *hilak*  
 LEAF<sub>1</sub> *ere*  
 LEAF<sub>2</sub> *pane*  
 LEAF<sub>3</sub> *imi*  
 LEFT (HAND) *q<sup>(w)</sup>ec'*  
 LEG<sub>1</sub> *ta(k)*  
 LEG<sub>2</sub> *caka*  
 LICK *laq'<sup>w</sup>*  
 LIE DOWN *yaq<sup>w</sup>*  
 LIGHTNING *wilep'*  
 LIP *yepi*  
 LIVE<sub>1</sub> (v.) *ha(n)*  
 LIVE<sub>2</sub> (v.) *ya*  
 LIVER<sub>1</sub> *paci*  
 LIVER<sub>2</sub> *kala*  
 LIZARD<sub>1</sub> *uli*  
 LIZARD<sub>2</sub> *šiko*  
 LOCATIVE<sub>1</sub> *-(a)m(a)*  
 LOCATIVE<sub>2</sub> *-na- ~ -ni*  
 LOCATIVE<sub>3</sub> *pa ~ pe ~ pi*  
 LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL *-te ~ -ta ~ -ti*  
 LONG<sub>1</sub> *ali*  
 LONG<sub>2</sub> *kule*  
 LOSE *wono*  
 LOUSE<sub>1</sub> *ti*

LOUSE <sub>2</sub>	<i>tina</i>	MOUSE <sub>3</sub>	<i>p'osa</i>
LOUSE <sub>3</sub>	<i>ik'wa</i>	MOUSE <sub>4</sub>	<i>c'ok</i>
LUNGS <sub>1</sub>	<i>pos</i>	MOUSE <sub>5</sub>	<i>pik</i>
LUNGS <sub>2</sub>	<i>huhu</i>	MOUTH <sub>1</sub>	<i>yaq'</i>
MACAW	<i>maha</i>	MOUTH <sub>2</sub>	<i>kua</i>
MAKE <sub>1</sub>	<i>ta?</i>	MOUTH <sub>3</sub>	<i>kala</i>
MAKE <sub>2</sub>	<i>yu</i>	MOUTH <sub>4</sub>	<i>čik</i>
MAKE <sub>3</sub>	<i>kua</i>	NAME <sub>1</sub> (v.)	<i>d'aq</i>
MAN <sub>1</sub>	<i>ači</i>	NAME <sub>2</sub> (v.)	<i>ya</i>
MAN <sub>2</sub>	<i>kak</i>	NARROW	<i>cian</i>
MAN <sub>3</sub>	<i>ipa</i>	NAVEL	<i>tompa</i>
MAN <sub>4</sub>	<i>tama</i>	NEAR	<i>kama</i>
MAN <sub>5</sub>	<i>loko</i>	NECK <sub>1</sub>	<i>k'u</i>
MAN <sub>6</sub>	<i>koto</i>	NECK <sub>2</sub>	<i>aru</i>
MAN <sub>7</sub>	<i>mano</i>	NECK <sub>3</sub>	<i>gwaka</i>
MANY <sub>1</sub>	<i>ali</i>	NECK <sub>4</sub>	<i>pak</i>
MANY <sub>2</sub>	<i>til ~ tan</i>	NEGATIVE	<i>kua</i>
MANY <sub>3</sub>	<i>moni</i>	NEW <sub>1</sub>	<i>at'e</i>
MANY <sub>4</sub>	<i>pu</i>	NEW <sub>2</sub>	<i>c'um</i>
MANY <sub>5</sub>	<i>pote ~ peti</i>	NEW <sub>3</sub>	<i>peła</i>
MANY <sub>6</sub>	<i>lok'</i>	NIGHT <sub>1</sub>	<i>yama</i>
MASCULINE/FEMININE	<i>t/s</i>	NIGHT <sub>2</sub>	<i>mok</i>
MASCULINE/FEMININE/NEUTRAL	<i>i/u/a</i>	NIGHT <sub>3</sub>	<i>pasi ~ sepi</i>
MEAT <sub>1</sub>	<i>lau</i>	NIGHT <sub>4</sub>	<i>kači</i>
MEAT <sub>2</sub>	<i>nenā</i>	NOMINAL SUFFIX	<i>-na</i>
MEAT <sub>3</sub>	<i>mati</i>	NOSE <sub>1</sub>	<i>nus ~ nis</i>
MEAT <sub>4</sub>	<i>ati</i>	NOSE <sub>2</sub>	<i>asi</i>
MEAT <sub>5</sub>	<i>wak'i</i>	NOSE <sub>3</sub>	<i>fin</i>
MEAT <sub>6</sub>	<i>tin</i>	NOSE <sub>4</sub>	<i>sunik ~ sinik</i>
MEAT <sub>7</sub>	<i>nak</i>	NOSE <sub>5</sub>	<i>yak</i>
MEDICINE	<i>t'oyo</i>	NOW <sub>1</sub>	<i>ere</i>
MOON <sub>1</sub>	<i>p'ot</i>	NOW <sub>2</sub>	<i>ne</i>
MOON <sub>2</sub>	<i>tamp</i>	OLD <sub>1</sub>	<i>ano</i>
MOON <sub>3</sub>	<i>nunta</i>	OLD <sub>2</sub>	<i>kayo</i>
MOON <sub>4</sub>	<i>q'ala</i>	OLDER FEMALE	<i>wis-</i>
MONKEY <sub>1</sub>	<i>kuki</i>	ONE <sub>1</sub>	<i>(ne-)k<sup>'we</sup>(t)</i>
MONKEY <sub>2</sub>	<i>cawi</i>	ONE <sub>2</sub>	<i>tama</i>
MORNING	<i>qaya</i>	ONE <sub>3</sub>	<i>kela ~ kana</i>
MOSQUITO <sub>1</sub>	<i>puro</i>	ONE <sub>4</sub>	<i>sem</i>
MOSQUITO <sub>2</sub>	<i>č'oyu</i>	ONE <sub>5</sub>	<i>saka</i>
MOTHER	<i>tati</i>	ONE <sub>6</sub>	<i>pa</i>
MOTHER/AUNT	<i>nana</i>	ONE <sub>7</sub>	<i>as</i>
MOTHER/OLDER FEMALE RELATIVE	<i>aya</i>	ONE <sub>8</sub>	<i>čeñe</i>
MOUNTAIN	<i>way</i>	ONE <sub>9</sub>	<i>hu</i>
MOUSE <sub>1</sub>	<i>kus</i>	ONE <sub>10</sub>	<i>man</i>
MOUSE <sub>2</sub>	<i>maqa</i>	ONE <sub>11</sub>	<i>owin</i>

- OPEN<sub>1</sub> *k'une*  
 OPEN<sub>2</sub> *pai*  
 OTTER *keta*  
 OWL<sub>1</sub> *tuku(l)*  
 OWL<sub>2</sub> *pulpul*  
 PAIN (n) *ana*  
 PARROT<sub>1</sub> *cece*  
 PARROT<sub>2</sub> *kara ~ kerī*  
 PARROT<sub>3</sub> *kaka*  
 PARROT<sub>4</sub> *tuwi*  
 PAST<sub>1</sub> *-na*  
 PAST<sub>2</sub> *-ite*  
 PAST<sub>3</sub> *-k*  
 PEEL<sub>1</sub> *t'uq<sup>w</sup>*  
 PEEL<sub>2</sub> *pas*  
 PENIS *ko*  
 PEOPLE *?oni*  
 PERSON<sub>1</sub> *kaya*  
 PERSON<sub>2</sub> *mik<sup>w</sup>*  
 PERSON<sub>3</sub> *win*  
 PITCH (RESIN) *salak ~ sakal*  
 PLANT *qaywa*  
 PLAY (v.) *lo?u*  
 PLURAL<sub>1</sub> *ina ~ ana*  
 PLURAL<sub>2</sub> *ma ~ me*  
 PLURAL<sub>3</sub> *aki*  
 PLURAL<sub>4</sub> *le*  
 POTATO<sub>1</sub> *qaw*  
 POTATO<sub>2</sub> *kali*  
 PRESENT/CONTINUATIVE *-is*  
 PRESENT/DURATIVE *-i*  
 QUAIL *takaka*  
 RAT *kaba*  
 RAW *čaw*  
 RECIPROCAL *-ki ~ -ka*  
 RED *misk*  
 REED *?akta*  
 REFLEXIVE *ti*  
 RIB<sub>1</sub> *q'aci*  
 RIB<sub>2</sub> *ca*  
 RIGHT *pet*  
 RIVER<sub>1</sub> *pala*  
 RIVER<sub>2</sub> *tia*  
 ROAD<sub>1</sub> *nama*  
 ROAD<sub>2</sub> *p'en*  
 ROAD<sub>3</sub> *niyani*  
 ROCK<sub>1</sub> *?o*  
 ROCK<sub>2</sub> *tem*  
 ROOT<sub>1</sub> *pal*  
 ROOT<sub>2</sub> *tap*  
 ROPE<sub>1</sub> *c'ak*  
 ROPE<sub>2</sub> *tit*  
 ROTTEN *pet'o*  
 ROUGH *č'aksi*  
 ROUND<sub>1</sub> *k'ir*  
 ROUND<sub>2</sub> *molok*  
 RUB *yul*  
 RUN<sub>1</sub> *kano*  
 RUN<sub>2</sub> *taka*  
 SALIVA<sub>1</sub> *tupa*  
 SALIVA<sub>2</sub> *tok<sup>w</sup>*  
 SALIVA<sub>3</sub> *ole*  
 SALMON *c'wan*  
 SALT<sub>1</sub> *k'ači*  
 SALT<sub>2</sub> *si*  
 SALT<sub>3</sub> *tam*  
 SAND *ye?wa*  
 SAY<sub>1</sub> *ti*  
 SAY<sub>2</sub> *q<sup>w</sup>ał*  
 SAY<sub>3</sub> *ko?e*  
 SAY<sub>4</sub> *?ai*  
 SAY<sub>5</sub> *?ona*  
 SAY<sub>6</sub> *nik*  
 SCRATCH<sub>1</sub> *χ<sup>w</sup>ala*  
 SCRATCH<sub>2</sub> *c'iχ*  
 SEE<sub>1</sub> *new*  
 SEE<sub>2</sub> *win*  
 SEE<sub>3</sub> *pi*  
 SEE<sub>4</sub> *ma ~ mi ~ mu*  
 SEE<sub>5</sub> *?ica*  
 SEE<sub>6</sub> *?uka*  
 SEE<sub>7</sub> *ila*  
 SEE<sub>8</sub> *wat*  
 SEED<sub>1</sub> *mak*  
 SEED<sub>2</sub> *icu*  
 SEEK *peno*  
 SEW<sub>1</sub> *pik*  
 SEW<sub>2</sub> *k<sup>w</sup>ači*  
 SHADOW *mani*  
 SHE *i-gau*  
 SHELL (v.) *?iksu*  
 SHINE *lemp*

SHOOT	<i>t'uya</i>	SNAKE <sub>13</sub>	<i>k'aʔ</i>
SHOULDER <sub>1</sub>	<i>tala</i>	SNAKE <sub>14</sub>	<i>yupi</i>
SHOULDER <sub>2</sub>	<i>peko</i>	SNEEZE	<i>ʔasu-ka</i>
SIBLING	<i>kani</i>	SNOT	<i>caʔm</i>
SIDE	<i>čan</i>	SNOW <sub>1</sub>	<i>yu</i>
SING	<i>siya</i>	SNOW <sub>2</sub>	<i>pon</i>
SIT <sub>1</sub>	<i>ču</i>	SOCIATIVE	<i>mane</i>
SIT <sub>2</sub>	<i>ni</i>	SON/CHILD/DAUGHTER	<i>t'ina/t'ana/t'una</i>
SIT <sub>3</sub>	<i>ʔuwa</i>	SOUR	<i>caq<sup>w</sup></i>
SIT <sub>4</sub>	<i>t'aq</i>	SPEAK	<i>weh</i>
SIT <sub>5</sub>	<i>iku</i>	SPIDER <sub>1</sub>	<i>ʔako</i>
SKIN <sub>1</sub>	<i>toke</i>	SPIDER <sub>2</sub>	<i>madi</i>
SKIN <sub>2</sub>	<i>pakti</i>	SPIDER <sub>3</sub>	<i>q'al</i>
SKIN <sub>3</sub>	<i>čom</i>	SPRING <sub>1</sub> (SEASON)	<i>t'ica</i>
SKIN <sub>4</sub>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ati</i>	SPRING <sub>2</sub> (SEASON)	<i>tem</i>
SKIN <sub>5</sub>	<i>pai</i>	SPRUCE	<i>c'im</i>
SKIN <sub>6</sub>	<i>pici</i>	SQUASH (N.)	<i>q'ame</i>
SKIN <sub>7</sub>	<i>pol</i>	SQUEEZE	<i>pic' ~ p'ic</i>
SKUNK	<i>šika</i>	STAB	<i>c'aq<sup>w</sup></i>
SKY <sub>1</sub>	<i>hewlak</i>	STAND <sub>1</sub>	<i>tep</i>
SKY <sub>2</sub>	<i>ʔapal</i>	STAND <sub>2</sub>	<i>nuka</i>
SLAP <sub>1</sub>	<i>t'aq</i>	STAND UP	<i>taʔ</i>
SLAP <sub>2</sub>	<i>lapa</i>	STAR <sub>1</sub>	<i>(a)sin</i>
SLEEP <sub>1</sub>	<i>cima</i>	STAR <sub>2</sub>	<i>meca</i>
SLEEP <sub>2</sub>	<i>ʔitaw ~ it'aw</i>	STAY (IN A PLACE)	<i>man</i>
SLEEP <sub>3</sub>	<i>ʔino</i>	STEAL <sub>1</sub>	<i>mera</i>
SLEEP <sub>4</sub>	<i>kanak</i>	STEAL <sub>2</sub>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>awa</i>
SLEEP <sub>5</sub>	<i>ka ~ k'o</i>	STICK (IN)	<i>ʔaq<sup>w</sup></i>
SMALL <sub>1</sub>	<i>t'uk ~ tik</i>	STOMACH <sub>1</sub>	<i>to</i>
SMALL <sub>2</sub>	<i>kunek</i>	STOMACH <sub>2</sub>	<i>wak</i>
SMALL <sub>3</sub>	<i>k'uti</i>	STONE <sub>1</sub>	<i>k'at'la</i>
SMELL <sub>1</sub>	<i>matik'</i>	STONE <sub>2</sub>	<i>cak</i>
SMELL <sub>2</sub>	<i>k'uk<sup>w</sup>i</i>	STONE <sub>3</sub>	<i>tak</i>
SMOKE	<i>c'eka</i>	STONE <sub>4</sub>	<i>got</i>
SNAKE <sub>1</sub>	<i>kan</i>	STONE <sub>5</sub>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>ak<sup>w</sup></i>
SNAKE <sub>2</sub>	<i>tampa</i>	STONE <sub>6</sub>	<i>mak</i>
SNAKE <sub>3</sub>	<i>aq<sup>w</sup>i</i>	STONE <sub>7</sub>	<i>pake</i>
SNAKE <sub>4</sub>	<i>kamuc</i>	STRING	<i>nu</i>
SNAKE <sub>5</sub>	<i>nato</i>	STRONG	<i>pale</i>
SNAKE <sub>6</sub>	<i>pan</i>	SUCK	<i>c'uq<sup>w</sup></i>
SNAKE <sub>7</sub>	<i>iyala</i>	SUN <sub>1</sub>	<i>ali ~ ala</i>
SNAKE <sub>8</sub>	<i>mete</i>	SUN <sub>2</sub>	<i>k<sup>w</sup>al</i>
SNAKE <sub>9</sub>	<i>wek</i>	SUN <sub>3</sub>	<i>pali</i>
SNAKE <sub>10</sub>	<i>olaba</i>	SUN <sub>4</sub>	<i>t'ak<sup>w</sup></i>
SNAKE <sub>11</sub>	<i>oro</i>	SUN <sub>5</sub>	<i>c'ul</i>
SNAKE <sub>12</sub>	<i>pusu</i>		

- SUN<sub>6</sub> *kati*  
 SUN<sub>7</sub> *hasi*  
 SUN<sub>8</sub> *maka*  
 SUN<sub>9</sub> *pan*  
 SUN<sub>10</sub> *p'it ~ put'*  
 SUN<sub>11</sub> *hini*  
 SUN<sub>12</sub> *kamo*  
 SUN<sub>13</sub> *tin*  
 SUN<sub>14</sub> *hada*  
 SUN<sub>15</sub> *haya*  
 SUN<sub>16</sub> *pe*  
 SUN<sub>17</sub> *naq<sup>w</sup>*  
 SUN<sub>18</sub> *pak*  
 SWALLOW (v.) *maliq'a*  
 SWEEP *pit*  
 SWELL *pos*  
 TAIL<sub>1</sub> *k<sup>w</sup>ati*  
 TAIL<sub>2</sub> *tuk*  
 TAIL<sub>3</sub> *baʔ*  
 TAIL<sub>4</sub> *?ala*  
 TAIL<sub>5</sub> *sin*  
 TAIL<sub>6</sub> *sikal*  
 TALK *mal*  
 TAPIR<sub>1</sub> *maci*  
 TAPIR<sub>2</sub> *awa*  
 TAPIR<sub>3</sub> *kutu*  
 TAPIR<sub>4</sub> *kema*  
 TAPIR<sub>5</sub> *nake*  
 TESTICLE *talo*  
 THAT<sub>1</sub> *mo*  
 THAT<sub>2</sub> *pa*  
 THAT<sub>3</sub> *ya*  
 THAT<sub>4</sub> *?a ~ ha*  
 THAT<sub>5</sub> *sa*  
 THERE *?ai*  
 THICK *q<sup>w</sup>ic*  
 THIGH *kasi*  
 THINK *ali*  
 THIS<sub>1</sub> *ki ~ ko*  
 THIS<sub>2</sub> *ni ~ na*  
 THIS<sub>3</sub> *wi*  
 THIS<sub>4</sub> *fei*  
 THIS<sub>5</sub> *ga*  
 THORN *k'ica ~ kasi*  
 THOU<sub>1</sub> *mi ~ ma*  
 THOU<sub>2</sub> *a-*  
 THOU<sub>3</sub> *ka*  
 THOU<sub>4</sub> *ti*  
 THOU<sub>5</sub> *hi*  
 THOU<sub>6</sub> *pi ~ pa ~ wa*  
 THREAD (v.) *kuyo*  
 THREE<sub>1</sub> *(ne-)q<sup>w</sup>aʔas*  
 THREE<sub>2</sub> *sapin*  
 THROAT *nuk'*  
 THROW<sub>1</sub> *aka*  
 THROW<sub>2</sub> *t'amp ~ tamp*  
 TIE (v.) *tak'*  
 TOBACCO *hici*  
 TONGUE<sub>1</sub> *kapi*  
 TONGUE<sub>2</sub> *nene*  
 TONGUE<sub>3</sub> *paʔ*  
 TONGUE<sub>4</sub> *lat*  
 TONGUE<sub>5</sub> *tuk<sup>w</sup>*  
 TONGUE<sub>6</sub> *nem*  
 TOOTH<sub>1</sub> *it'io*  
 TOOTH<sub>2</sub> *nan*  
 TOOTH<sub>3</sub> *kan*  
 TOOTH<sub>4</sub> *kita*  
 TOOTH<sub>5</sub> *?ik*  
 TOOTH<sub>6</sub> *yok'*  
 TOUCAN *cuk*  
 TREE<sub>1</sub> *man ~ min*  
 TREE<sub>2</sub> *qan ~ qal*  
 TREE<sub>3</sub> *temba*  
 TREE<sub>4</sub> *hapa*  
 TREE<sub>5</sub> *neki*  
 TREE<sub>6</sub> *?axa*  
 TREE<sub>7</sub> *hama*  
 TREE<sub>8</sub> *ʔok' ~ ʔoq'*  
 TREE<sub>9</sub> *kul*  
 TREE (OAK)<sub>1</sub> *teq' ~ taq'*  
 TREE (OAK)<sub>2</sub> *k<sup>w</sup>in*  
 TREMBLE *tuk<sup>w</sup>*  
 TURKEY *kutu*  
 TURN *maya*  
 TURTLE<sub>1</sub> *hola*  
 TURTLE<sub>2</sub> *kuli*  
 TWO<sub>1</sub> *(ne-)pale*  
 TWO<sub>2</sub> *?aku*  
 TWO<sub>3</sub> *wi ~ wa*  
 TWO<sub>4</sub> *tuk*  
 TWO<sub>5</sub> *pit*

- TWO<sub>6</sub> *mok*  
 TWO<sub>7</sub> *men*  
 TWO<sub>8</sub> *kom*  
 TWO<sub>9</sub> *pok*  
 TWO<sub>10</sub> *sak*  
 TWO<sub>11</sub> *take*  
 TWO<sub>12</sub> *tap*  
 TWO<sub>13</sub> *yama*  
 UNCLE *kaka*  
 UNCLE (MATERNAL)<sub>1</sub> *taq*  
 UNCLE (MATERNAL)<sub>2</sub> *nak<sup>w</sup>e*  
 UNCLE (PATERNAL) *maq*  
 UP<sub>1</sub> *yaq*  
 UP<sub>2</sub> *k'is*  
 URINE<sub>1</sub> *seki*  
 URINE<sub>2</sub> *wisi*  
 VAGINA<sub>1</sub> *put*  
 VAGINA<sub>2</sub> *?aci*  
 VULVA<sub>1</sub> *naq<sup>w</sup>*  
 VULVA<sub>2</sub> *?ene*  
 WALK *hiwet*  
 WANT *k'un*  
 WARM<sub>1</sub> *yo*  
 WARM<sub>2</sub> *cuqal*  
 WASH<sub>1</sub> *c'ik<sup>w</sup>a*  
 WASH<sub>2</sub> *huka*  
 WATER/DRINK *aq<sup>w</sup>a/uq<sup>w</sup>a*  
 WATER<sub>1</sub> *man*  
 WATER<sub>2</sub> *poi*  
 WATER<sub>3</sub> *re*  
 WATER<sub>4</sub> *si*  
 WATER<sub>5</sub> *k<sup>w</sup>ati*  
 WATER<sub>6</sub> *p'ak*  
 WATER<sub>7</sub> *na*  
 WATER<sub>8</sub> *?ali*  
 WATER<sub>9</sub> *pan*  
 WATER<sub>10</sub> *tuna*  
 WATER<sub>11</sub> *c'i*  
 WATER<sub>12</sub> *kam ~ kom*  
 WATER<sub>13</sub> *to ~ do*  
 WATER<sub>14</sub> *kona*  
 WATER<sub>15</sub> *xi*  
 WATER<sub>16</sub> *hobi*  
 WE INCLUSIVE<sub>1</sub> *?is ~ se?*  
 WE INCLUSIVE<sub>2</sub> *ma*  
 WE-TWO INCLUSIVE *ki ~ ka*
- WEST *bo*  
 WHITE<sub>1</sub> *pala*  
 WHITE<sub>2</sub> *pek*  
 WHITE<sub>3</sub> *tora*  
 WHITE<sub>4</sub> *posa*  
 WIDE *?a?aq*  
 WILDCAT *tunku*  
 WIN *t<sup>l</sup>ak<sup>w</sup>*  
 WIND<sub>1</sub> (N.) *kiq*  
 WIND<sub>2</sub> (N.) *k<sup>w</sup>ala*  
 WIND<sub>3</sub> (N.) *?itewa*  
 WIND<sub>4</sub> (N.) *?aši*  
 WIND<sub>5</sub> (N.) *suk<sup>w</sup>*  
 WING *kampi*  
 WINTER *tete*  
 WISH<sub>1</sub> (V.) *mena*  
 WISH<sub>2</sub> (V.) *yana*  
 WITH *ma*  
 WOLF *tepa*  
 WOMAN<sub>1</sub> *tom*  
 WOMAN<sub>2</sub> *kuna*  
 WOMAN<sub>3</sub> *sun*  
 WOMAN<sub>4</sub> *ita*  
 WOOD<sub>1</sub> *iye*  
 WOOD<sub>2</sub> *ake*  
 WOODPECKER *bak*  
 WORK<sub>1</sub> (V.) *pi*  
 WORK<sub>2</sub> (V.) *nina*  
 WORM<sub>1</sub> *k<sup>w</sup>ec*  
 WORM<sub>2</sub> *nokin*  
 WORM<sub>3</sub> *piru*  
 YEAR<sub>1</sub> *?ame*  
 YEAR<sub>2</sub> *wata*  
 YELLOW<sub>1</sub> *tampa*  
 YELLOW<sub>2</sub> *ci*  
 YES *?ehe*  
 YESTERDAY<sub>1</sub> *kan*  
 YESTERDAY<sub>2</sub> *wet*  
 YOUNGER BROTHER/OLDER BROTHER  
*p'oy/p'oyp'oy*