

Version 12: September 4, 2007

AN AMERIND
ETYMOLOGICAL
DICTIONARY

Joseph H. Greenberg

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Department of Anthropological Sciences

Stanford University

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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

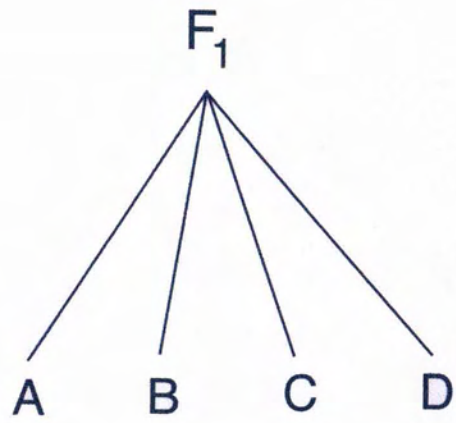
a few Amerind branches. If a root is found in the Old World and in Amerind, the presumption is that it was brought into the Americas with the Amerind migration and was therefore part of Proto-Amerind. Examples of such roots in this book are indicated in comments following the etymology (e.g. 53, 100, 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.

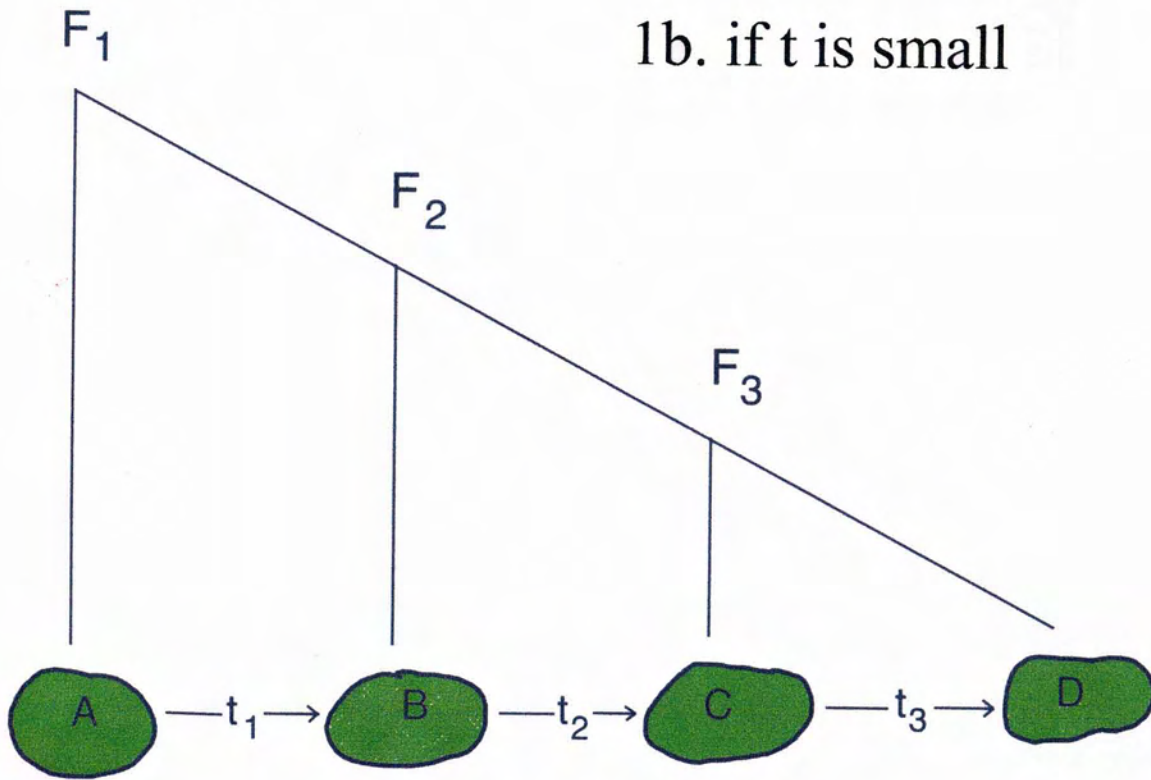
Some readers will note that both Almosan-Keresiouan and Chibchan-Paezan are here broken up into their two branches, rather than treated as single branches, as in *Language in the Americas*. This is not to be interpreted as a retraction of the claim that Almosan and Keresiouan, and Chibchan and Paezan, 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—

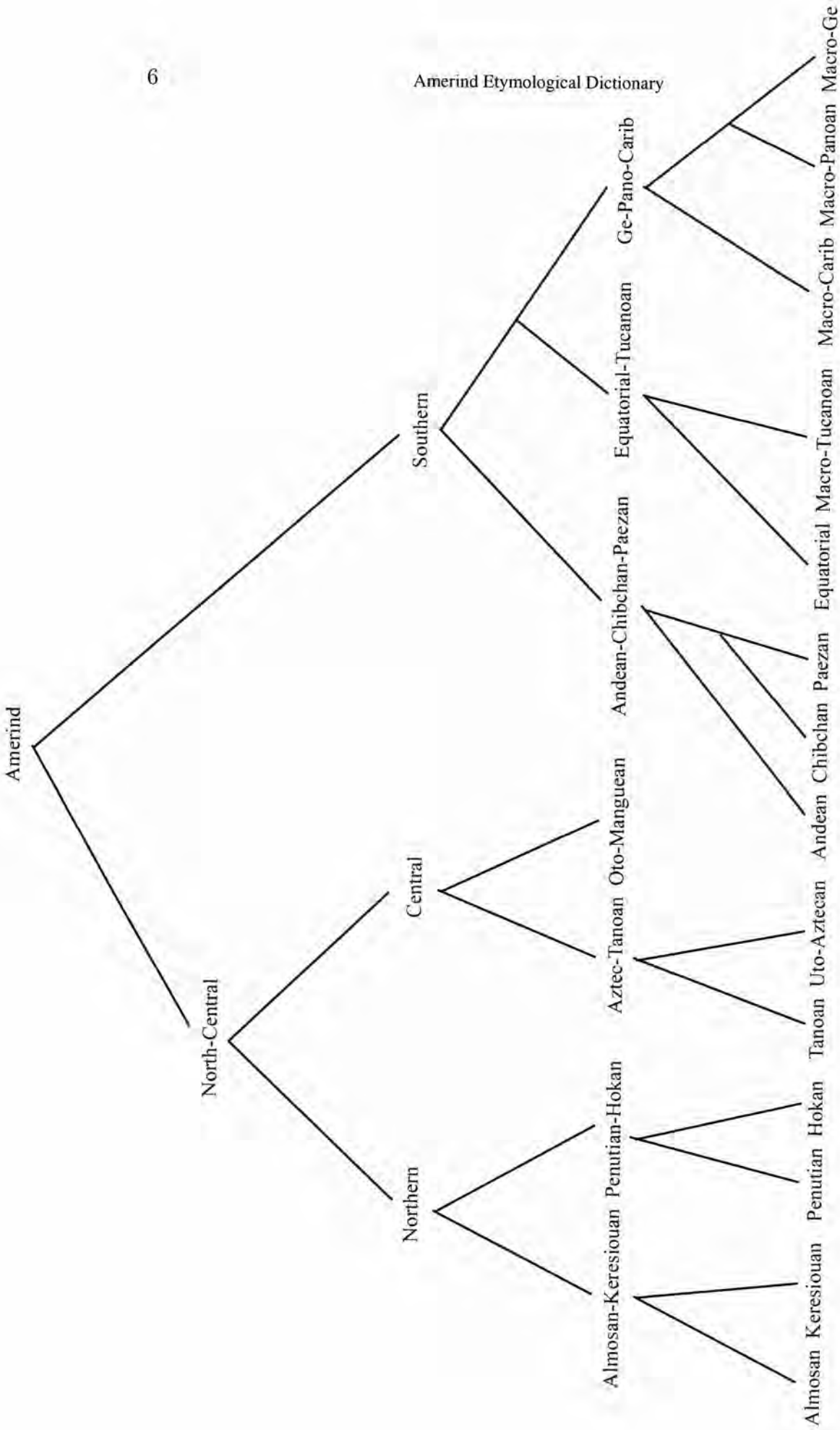


Figure 2. Phylogenetic Structure of the Amerind Family

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.

An Amerind Etymological Dictionary

1 ABOVE₁ *itai

- Penutian:** California: Proto-Maiduan *-doy ‘up.’
- Chibchan:** Malibu: Chimila *ittā, ita* ‘heaven.’ Motilon *adu* ‘high.’
- Paezan:** Barbacoa: Colorado *du* ‘hill.’ Proto-Choco **t̃t̃h̃i* ‘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 HEAD₂. The relationship between these two etymologies may be the same as in ABOVE₂, which has forms with and without -k. This k may be an old locative.

2 ABOVE₂ *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^huq* ‘hill,’ Wintu *p^huyuq* ‘hill,’ *p^hoy* ‘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^v)* ‘top,’ **paL* ‘rise up,’ Proto-Pomo **ba-* ‘top.’ Salinan: San Miguel *o:p^hak* ‘head.’ Proto-Coahuiltecan *apel’* ‘sky,’ Comecrudo *apel* ‘sky, clouds, heaven.’ Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec **p^huk* ‘head,’ Jicaque -*p^huk*, 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*. Tu-
canoan: 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 ABOVE₃ **araka*

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

Chibchan: Tarascan *kaṛak^{wa}* ‘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 ABOVE₄ **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 ABOVE₅ **pin*

Penutian: Proto-Maiduan * . . . *pin*, Proto-Yokuts **t^hip^hin* ‘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^y*- (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^y*.

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

8 AGENTIVE₁ *-*re* ~ *-*ri*

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

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

• [G60]

9 AGENTIVE₂ **ta*

Penutian: California Penutian *tot*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **-tA*.

Andean: Mapudungu *-t-*.

10 AGOUTI **kuri*

Paезan: Barbacoan: Colorado *kuru*, Choco: Darien, Catio *k^huriwa*, Chami, Tado *k^hurihia*, Saija *k^hurihiwa*.

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^wa: ~ *xa 'all,' Proto-Salish *q^wac' 'full,' *χəc ~ *χəʔuc 'completed, complete count, four, ready,' Thompson χc-əp 'all, become complete, get filled,' Bella Coola *xs*, Upper Chehalis χ^waq^w; 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^w* '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,' *sqɑ:k* 'there,' *či:k* 'where?,' Alsea *k-* (locative on nouns and verbs); Chinook *-k* 'on'; Gulf: Natchez *-k^h* '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 ANT₁ **tai*

Macro-Tucanoan: Capixana *tij*. Huari: Masaka *di:*. Movima *tuwe*. Puinave: Nadobo *at^yoho*, Querari *(n)duy(e)e*. Iranshe *i:ti*.

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

• [A5]

17 ANT₂ **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^haka*. 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 ANT₃ **pic'u*

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

Chibchan: Rama *pas* ‘rain ant.’

Paezan: Proto-Choco **picuma*.

19 ANT₄ **kaci*

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **k^haši*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *it-k^yaci*, Munciche *kičada*.

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

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **nak^{wa}aši*.

20 ANT₅ **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 ANT₆ **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^w*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **lak^w* ‘appear in sight,’ Proto-Chemakuan **laq^wo* ‘eye,’ Chemakum *laq^wo*: ‘eye,’ Quileute *lak^wal* ‘appear, come out from hiding’; ?Wakashan: Kwakwala *k^wɬχa* (metathesis?) ‘to see something’; Proto-Algonquian **-na:kw* ‘be seen.’

Penutian: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **lak^w* ‘appear, rise.’

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

- [AN98]

25 ARM₁ **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^hax*, 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*, *apiæ*, 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?*, Maimainde *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)waʔ*, 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 ARM₂ **k^wana*

Almosan: Algonquian: Blackfoot *kin(-ists)* ‘hand.’ Kutenai *kin* ‘by hand.’ Proto-Mosan **-k^wanu-* ~ *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^wa(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.’

Paезan: 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-)kã* ‘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 ARM₃ **noq’ ~ *neq’*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **nełk-*, Northern Arapaho *nes*, Shawnee *neʔki*; Yurok *-rkow* ‘armpit’; Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum, Quileute *(hi-)naq(-sit)*; Salish: Squamish *naqč*; Wakashan: Nootka *n’ok^w* ‘hand,’ *ink^w* ‘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 ARM₄ **k^wala*

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^xara* ‘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 *pluj*. 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 ASK₁ **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-*, Mascoco *mac-*. Panoan: Panobo *mašai* ‘pray.’

- [A12]

34 ASK₂ **tempa*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztec 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-Aztec **pa*, Proto-Oto-Manguean **k^wa(H)(n)*.

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

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

Macro-Panoan: Moseten *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 **āsepi*.

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

37 BACK₁ (n.) **iki*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-ik*. Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *-ig^y-*; 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*. Moseten *eki* ‘behind,’ *kai* ‘kidney.’

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

• [A15]

38 BACK₂ **mak*

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

Chibchan: Ulua *umax-ka* ‘tail.’

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

• [H11, CP190]

39 BACK₃ **puna*

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

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

• [CP14, MG5]

40 BAD₁ **kalen*

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

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

• [A17] Cf. BLACK₂.

41 BAD₂ *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*. Mosesten *seki*. Panoan: Chacobo *šiki*, Capanahua *šakabo*, Cashinahua *čakabo*. Tacanan: Tacana *čiki* ‘plague.’

- [A18]

42 BAD₃ *q’ac

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

Penutian: Chinook *q’ačal* ‘badness,’ Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **k^hask^ha*, 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^hačia*.

- [P12]

43 BARK (v.) *wok

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *wɔʔk^wa*, 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^{hi}* ‘bathe, swim’; Maidu *pe ~ py ~ pi* ‘swim’; Miwok: Central Sierra *ʔüp(-šü)*, Bodega *pačče* ‘rinse.’ Gulf: Atakapa *pac* ‘wash’; Tunica *ʔahpu*; Chitimacha *yu:p^h*; 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^{wi}:puk^w* ‘swim, bathe.’ Tequistlatec *(di-)bo(-?ma)*. Yana *pu*: ‘swim.’

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

- [A20]

45 BE₁ **upi*

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

Macro-Panoan: Mataco: Vejoz, Choroti *pa* ‘sit,’ Nocten *papa* ‘sit!’ Moseten *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 BE₂ *(*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 *ih* ‘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 BE₃ *ʔi

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

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

- [AK13, MP9]

48 BE₄ *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 BEARD₁ *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 BEARD₂ *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^ha*. 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 BEE₁ *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 BEE₂ **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 BEHIND₁ **(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 BEHIND₂ **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 BELLY₁ **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 BELLY₂ **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,’ Crenguez *patu* ‘belly, chest.’ Kaingang: Serra do Chagu (*idfe-*)*paro* ‘chest.’ Puri: Coroado *puara* ‘chest.’

- [A30]

58 BELLY₃ **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^ya* ‘chest.’
 • [A31]

59 BELLY₄ *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 BELLY₅ *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 *pōsq* ‘bow’ (with metathesis, from earlier **pōqVs*), 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 BIRD₁ **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^w ~ *c’əx^w* ‘fishhawk, osprey’; Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan **c’ik^w*, Kwakwala *c’ik^w*, 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^ha* ‘heron.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *šik^vaʔē* ‘hawk.’

Macro-Panoan: **šokī*.

- [AK22, AN12]

64 BIRD₂ *p'isk'u

- Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian **pi:škwa* 'nighthawk,' *wa:paʔšakiwa* 'heron,' Proto-Salish **pisaʔ* 'small animal, bird,' Proto-Interior Salish *wisχ* ~ *ʔwisχ* '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 BITE₁ (v.) *kua

- Almosan:** Kutenai -*χa-* 'action with teeth'; Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala -(s)*x^ya* 'tooth' (-s- only after vowels).
- Keresiouan:** Iroquoian: Mohawk, Oneida *k-* 'eat'; Keresan: Santa Ana *ku*.
- Penutian:** Tsimshian *q'ai*. Plateau: Klamath *g^w*-. 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 BITE₂ (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 BITTER₁ **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 BITTER₂ **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 BITTER₃ **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^wak*, Walapai *hak*, Havasupai *aha:*, Akwa’ala *l-axa:*.

- [A242]

70 BLACK₁ **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 *ǰǰk-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 BLACK₂ **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. BAD₁. This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

72 BLACK₃ **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 **tik* ‘black,’ Cayapo *tuk* ‘dirty.’
• [A85]

73 BLACK₄ **teteu*

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

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *to(-e-gya)* ‘blind,’ Jemez *ⁿdahu*, San Ildefonso *nak^hũ* ‘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 BLACK₅ **tuni ~ tuli*

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

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

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

75 BLOOD₁ **pile*

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

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

Paezan: Proto-Choco **p^horea* ‘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 BLOOD₂ **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 BLOOD₃ **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 BLOOD₄ **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 *miñ*. 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 BLOOD₅ *k^wa

Almosan: Proto-Salish *k^wim* ~ *k^wəmi- ‘red,’ *k^wal- ~ *k^wəl- ‘red.’

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian *k^wē:ht ‘ochre, red paint.’

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *(a-)x^wa(-t) ‘blood, red,’ Proto-Yuman *ʔah^wate ‘red,’ *k^wara ‘red ochre,’ *x^wat ‘blood.’ Proto-Coahuiltecan *kuaʔ.

Paezan: Barbacoa: Colorado ʔahsã.

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean *(n)k^wa(ʔ) ‘red.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche açweʔsaʔa ‘red.’

Equatorial: Piaroa: Saliba k^wau.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Guaicuru *æwudi.

80 BLOW (v.) *pu^ci ~ *pu^ku

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

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan -pu:d^za. Proto-Siouan *pu- ‘by blowing.’

Penutian: Tsimshian *bu*: ‘blow with the mouth.’ Oregon: Alsea *pu*, Coos *pəš*, Proto-Kalapuyan *pu:. Proto-California *p^ho:soʔ, Proto-Yokuts *p^ho: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^te ‘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^husu:(l) ~ *p^hušu:(l) ‘blow,’ Proto-Pomo *p^hu- ‘current of air.’ Proto-Yuman *p-čul, *pšux.

Central Amerind: Proto-Azteco-Tanoan *p^hu. Proto-Uto-Aztecan *puc ~ *puhi ‘blow with mouth.’ Proto-Tanoan *p^huce, Kiowa *p^ho(-le)*, Jemez *φo(-se)*.

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak *bun ~ *bur ‘wind.’ Tarascan *p^huniani*.

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^hu*. 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^{wa}

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan *sik^w- ‘blueberry,’ Heiltsuk *sik^{was}* ‘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^{wa} ‘blue.’

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

- [MP32]

82 BODY₁ *p’i

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *p’iyi-n* ‘deer.’ Yukian: Wappo *p’ih* ‘be fat,’ *piʔε* ‘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^huih* ‘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 BODY₂ *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^w*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **eʔa:xkwesamwa* ‘burn it thus.’ Mosan: Proto-Salish **wəʔq^w* ~ **wʔəq^w* ‘boil, cook.’ Proto-North-Wakashan *lq^w* ‘fire, campfire,’ Heiltsuk *lq^wilí* ‘fire,’ Kwakwala *lq^wila* ‘fire,’ *lq^waʔúd* ‘bring firewood,’ Haisla *lq^wilà* ‘make a fire,’ *lq^wa* ‘firewood.’

Penutian: Proto-Tsimshian **k^walk^w* ‘burn,’ **kwælk^w* ‘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^w*, Siuslaw *laq^w*, 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.’

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

• [A45]

86 BONE₁ **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^way* ‘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^ya* ‘hard.’

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

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

- [A90]

87 BONE₂ *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 BONE₃ *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^hakkalu: ‘dry.’ Gulf: Tunica *sihu* ‘dry,’ Atakapa *cak* ‘dry,’ Natchez *co:x* ‘dry’; Muskogean: Hitchiti *suku*: ‘dry.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan *t^yak-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 BONE₄ *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 BONE₅ **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 BONE₆ **ʔunku*

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

Chibchan: Yanomam *ũ*.

Andean: Zaparo *ʔuku*.

Equatorial: Achuar *ukunč*.

92 BOW/ARROW **ʔoq^w*

Almosan: Wakashan: Haisla *ʔk^wis* ‘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^{xk}* ‘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^y*; Mayan: Tzotzil *k'as*, Mam *kat-um*.

Hokan: Achomawi *kati*. Karok *ikvit* ‘cut.’ Seri *k-kašx*. Tonkawa *kesʔace* ‘be broken.’ Yuman: Yuma *ak^yeṭ* ‘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 BREAST₁ *k'amin

- Almosan:** Algic: Algonquian: Cree *na-skikum* ‘chest,’ Ojibwa *ni-ka:n* ‘in front,’ Blackfoot *mo-kekin*; Wiyot *k^war*; Yurok *k^wen*. 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^yipl* ‘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 BREAST₂ *niono

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

- [MT18, MG9]

96 BREAST₃ *pin

- Central Amerind:** Tewa *pī*, Proto-Oto-Manguean **k^wi(?)*(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 BREAST₄ *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 *ʔūčič*.

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

Paezan: Sambu *izo* ‘heart.’

- [P25, P107, H25, CP98]

98 BREATHE **hiq^w*

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

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **hik^(w)*.

99 BRING **tuk*

Almosan: Kutenai *cukw-*; Mosan: Wakashan: Bella Bella *tx*; Salish: Lillooet *tukəⁿ*, Kalispel *tix^w* ‘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^l*

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^là* ‘flat,’ Heiltsuk (Bella Bella) *bāt^la* ‘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^l* ‘stretch out,’ California: Gashowu *phal* ‘spread out,’ Yawelmani *palin* ‘flat,’ Maidu *batbatpe* ‘flat, planar,’ Southern Sierra Miwok *ɬappāle* ‘broad,’ Lake Miwok *pat[’]* ‘flat,’ Gulf: Natchez *ʔepet*, *pet* ‘spread’; Muskogean: Alabama, Koasati *pat^ha*, 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 *-dʔpal* ‘flat.’ Yuman: Kiliwa *patay*, ?Cocopa *ʔał* ‘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^hala* ‘broad,’ Callahuaya *peyra* ‘broad,’ Wapishana *ibar* ‘flat.’

Macro-Carib: Muinane *aparide* ‘open,’ Ocaina *t^ya-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 BURN₁ (v.) *t^heq’a ~ *t^hoq’a

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **takweswe:wa* ‘cook.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *cyx* ‘burn something,’ Nootka *tik^win* ‘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^wa?a’* ‘cook in a pit.’

Keresiuan: Iroquoian: Seneca, Mohawk *-atek-*. Proto-Siouan **at^hex* ~ **at^hax*, Hidatsa *adaxa*.

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **suqal* ‘cook, warm,’ California Penutian *tu*, Proto-Maiduan **c’oh-* ‘burn (intr.)’ Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **č’ɔ* ‘fire, hot,’ Chitimacha *tu:č* ‘cook.’ Proto-Mayan **čik’-VI* ‘burn,’ **t^yak* ‘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 BURN₂ (v.) *peq' ~ *poq'

- Almosan:** Proto-Mosan *ba:q^w ~ *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^{ha}- 'cook, bake.'
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan *p^{ha} '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 BURN₃ (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 BURN₄ (v.) *moʔok

- Almosan:** Proto-Salish *wəʔq^w 'cook, boil,' Upper Chehalis *wʌq^w* '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^w*.

105 BUTTERFLY₁ *palpal

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

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *p^haLoLo.

106 BUTTERFLY₂ *penpen

Penutian: Proto-Mayan *pehpen ~ *pehpen.

Paезan: Barbacoan: Colorado *pūpu*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *puʔpiñiʔi*.

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

107 BUTTERFLY₃ *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 BUTTERFLY₄ *liklik

Almosan: Wakashan: Haisla *lk^w*.

Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Lengua *seliklik*.

109 BUY *teu

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

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

- [AK40, CA13]

110 BUZZARD₁ *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 BUZZARD₂ *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 CALL₁ (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: Munique wik^yu ‘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 CALL₂ (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^wa(?) ‘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.’ Mosesten peya-ki ‘speak.’

- [A56]

114 CAPYBARA *keču

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Coreguaje k^{hw}ěso, Siona g^weso, Secoya k^weʔso; Puinave: Nukak kečuʔ, Kakua kečoʔ.

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

115 CARRY₁ **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 CARRY₂ **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^hɔ-* (prebound ‘get’), Tewa *xɔ̃-ng*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 126 *(*h*)*ka(n)* ‘take, carry.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 76 **k^we*.

- [A58]

117 CARRY₃ **nek*

Almosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *n’ik^wʔa* ‘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 CAUSATIVE₁ *-(*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 CAUSATIVE₂ **ma*

Equatorial: Tupian: [languages] *m(b)o-* (causative); Arawakan: Maipuran: Baure *i* ~ *mo*, in which the choice is morphologically determined (for *i*, see HE/SHE₁); 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 CAUSATIVE₃ **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.’

Paезan: 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*^w*o-* ‘cedar bark,’ Proto-Salish **suk*^w*am* ‘cedar bark.’

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

122 CHEEK **pok*

Hokan: Jicaque *p^hok*, 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^lač* ‘belly,’ Twana *t^la: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^yuku* ‘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 CHILD₁ *(*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 CHILD₂ *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 *metsti* ‘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 CHILD₇, 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 Eurasianic (Bengtson and Ruhlen 1994).

128 CHILD₃ **pan*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean R 225 *(*n*)(?*ʔ*)*k^wa(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 CHILD₄ **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 CHILD₅ **t^luk*

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^luk*, 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 CHILD₆ **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 CHILD₇ **man*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *man-* 'young,' Cheyenne *emonae* '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 CHILD₈ **k'ati*

Equatorial: Maipuran: Toyeri *-ket* (diminutive). Timote *akoc* 'new.' Tru-mai *axos*, *axus* 'young, child.' Uro: Caranga *k^xa: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 CLOSE₁ (v.) *q’apa

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algic **kep-eʔ-* ‘close an opening,’ **kep-w-* ‘cover,’ Wiyot *k^wapʔ* ‘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-Manguan **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 **čipi* ‘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 CLOSE₂ (v.) *kui

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

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Taos *k^{wi}-l*. Proto-Oto-Manguan **ku* ‘close,

cover.’

- [P109, CA15]

139 CLOSE₃ (v.) **pan*

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

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

- [P39, MP17]

140 CLOUD₁ **tal(u)*

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *dēn* ‘sun,’ San Ildefonso *t^hān* ‘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 *tiri?i* ‘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 CLOUD₂ **pa(n)k*

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *p’ay-s*. California: Miwok: Central Sierra *?opa*. Zuni *pok?i* ‘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 *puk?ni*.

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *p^han*, Taos *phē-na*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 208 *(*n*)*k^wa(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 CLOUD₃ **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 COLD₁ **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^l*, **c’at^l*.

Chibchan: Aruak: Guamaca *seanximi*. Chibcha: Tegria *sero*, Pedraza *seroa*. Lenca: Chilanga *c’ana*, Similaton *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 COLD₂ **t’ak’*

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

Penutian: California: Yokuts *č’ēč’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 COLD₃ **kaca*

Hokan: Achomawi *ašč’a-siwi* ‘it is cold.’ Chimariko *xaca*. Pomo: East Pomo *kacil*, South Pomo *kac^hi*. 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 COLD₄ **to*

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

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

- [CA18, E27]

148 COLD₅ **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 COLD₆ **cia*

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

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

- [CA17, E28]

150 COME₁ **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'ε*, 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 ROAD₁ below.

Paезan: Allentiac *neñe* 'road.' Barbacoa: Colorado *nená* 'walk.' Choco: Catio *nenú*. Warrau *nao*. Some of these forms may belong under ROAD₁ 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 COME₂ **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 COME₃ **tak*

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

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

- [P189, CP36]

153 COME₄ **hau*

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

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

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

- [AK49, CP37]

154 COME₅ **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 COOK₁ **maki*

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

Chemakuan: Quileute *box^w* ‘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^yi* ‘cooked, ripe.’ Mosesten *mak*. Panoan: Caripuna *muexoa* ‘roast,’ Panobo *muši* ‘burn.’

- [A73]

156 COOK₂ *q^waʔ ~ q^wal

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **q^wal- ~ *q^waʔ-* ‘cook, burn, ashes,’ Proto-Salish **q^wal* ‘burn to ashes, roast, cook,’ Shuswap *q^wl-* ‘roast,’ Twana *q^wələb* ‘cook,’ Nootsack *k^wl* ‘cook,’ Squamish *q^wəl-t* ‘cook,’ Pentlatch *kwolaš* ‘roast, cook,’ Seshelt *q^wəl* ‘cooked, ripe, done,’ Lower Fraser *q^wələm* ‘cook.’ Proto-North Wakashan **q^waʔ* ‘burn to cinders.’ Proto-Chimakuan **q^waʔ-* ‘cook, roast,’ Chemakum *q^waʔili* ‘roast.’

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

Penutian: Proto-Tsimshian **kwælkw* ‘wood,’ Tsimshian *gwələk* ‘burn.’ Oregon: Takelma *k^walay* ‘fire,’ Coos *kwiʔ* ‘cook, boil, burn.’ Gulf: Proto-Yuki **k’al* ‘roast, burn.’

Chibchan: Tarascan *kharhi-pa* ‘roast,’ Sanema *k^warog?e* ‘fire.’

Paезan: Colorado *guaranae* ‘boil,’ Warrau *koré-* ‘boil,’ Eten *karrm* ‘cook, boil,’ Nonama *kura* ‘fireplace.’ Timucua *k^wela* ‘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 COOK₃ *koko

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *kahnǽ*.

Penutian: Wappo *k^hohk^hoh* ‘boil,’ Atakapa *uk* ‘boil.’ Proto-Mixe-Zoque **hukʔ-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 **čʔʔ* ‘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 COVER₁ (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 COVER₂ (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^waχ^w* 'raven,' Bella Bella (Heiltsuk) *qaq'ans* 'crane,' *σ^wχ^w* '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^w?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^{wh}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 CRY₁ (v.) *wuni

Chibchan: Malibu: Chimila *oni*. Misumalpan: Miskito *ini*.

Paezan: Paez *une*. Warrau *ona*.

Macro-Panoan: Lengua *wuneyi*. Proto-Panoan *wini.

- [A75]

165 CRY₂ (v.) *ʔipu

Hokan: Washo *iʔb*, Jicaque *piya*, Karok *ʔivũr* ‘weep for.’

Macro-Ge: Chiquito *ipu*, Tibagi *fua*, Mashakali *opo* ‘he cries.’

- [H34, MG26]

166 CUT₁ *q^wat

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *χ^{wa}(*t*), Wakashan: Kwakwala *qat-* ‘cut crosswise,’ χ^{wt-} ‘cut grooves on a swelling,’ Heiltsuk χ^{wt-} ‘cut with a knife,’ Haisla *q’at* ‘cut with a chisel.’ Salish: Proto-Coast Salish *k’ə(*x^w*) ‘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^y*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^{wa}ʔtaʔiro* ‘cut, cut up, chop.’

167 CUT₂ *cik^w

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 CUT₃ *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^wəēk-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 CUT₄ **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 CUT₅ **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^y*.

Penutian: Tsimshian *g^yi:-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^wai

Almosan: Proto-Algic *kečha:y-* ‘be day,’ Proto-Algonquian **-ki:šek* ‘day,’
**ki:še?łwa* ‘sun,’ **-axkwa?e:* ‘light.’ Wakashan: Heiltsuk *k^wqa* ‘day, day-
light,’ Kwakwala *k^wqała* ‘light, daylight.’ ?Proto-Salish **c’ak^w* (metathe-
sis) ‘light, bright.’

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *čir* ‘light (n.)’

Penutian: Proto-Mayan **q’i-x/č(a)*, Proto-Quichean *q’i:x^y* ‘day, sun,’ Proto-
Mixe-Zoque *kih* ‘give light.’

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **ačik ~ *ački ~ *akči* ‘light.’ Cahuapana: Cahu-
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 DEER₁ *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 DEER₂ *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 DEER₃ **mana*

Chibchan: Motilon: Barira *ma:na* ‘meat.’

Paezan: Barbacoan: Cayapa *mana*.

Andean: Jebero *amana* ‘jaguar,’ Auca *mênê* ‘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 DIE₁ **maki*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **ma:t* ~ **mi:t* ‘sleep,’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *mk^w*- ‘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:t^h* ‘kill’ (with causative *-t^h*). 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-Aztecán 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^zegə* ‘kill.’

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **mahi-ta/teka* ‘sleep,’ Guahibo *mahi-ta* ‘sleep,’ Guayabero *moxitan* ‘sleep.’ Proto-Maipuran **imaka* ‘sleep,’ Apurina *maka* ‘sleep,’ Machiguenga *mag^ye* ‘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 DIE₂ **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^hõo-* ‘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 DIE₃ **t’iq’*

Almosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *č’iq-* ‘kill, dead.’ Wakashan: Nootka *č’iq-* ‘inflict harm,’ Kwakwala *cyχ-* ‘kill wounded game.’ Proto-Salish **tix^w* ‘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 *to? pa?* ‘hit and kill.’

Macro-Carib: Witoto: Muinane *d?ii*. Yagua *di:y*. Carib: Pemon *tika* ‘kill,’
etika ‘die.’

Macro-Ge: Caraja *ituæ* ‘finish.’ Fulnio *t^ho*. Ge: Proto-Ge **tü*, **tür*, **tük*,
Karahö *tü* ~ *tük*, Cayapo *tu*. Kaingang: Tibagi *tere*, Southern Kaingang
nde. Kamakan *dau* ‘death, kill.’

• [A81]

181 DIE₄ **kam*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **kam-i*, Proto-Quichean **-kam*.

Hokan: Coahuiltecan: Comecrudo *kamau* ‘kill.’

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **kama*.

182 DIE₅ **yak*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **yak-ka?* ‘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 DIE₆ **nek*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **ne?ta:wa* ‘kill.’

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **nakx* ‘kill.’

Paezan: Timucua *nih* ‘die, dead, death.’

Macro-Panoan: Vejoz *nox* ‘dead.’

184 DIE₇ **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 DIG₁ *(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*₁ 'to plant' (*V*₁ 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 DIG₂ *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 DIG₃ *(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 DIMINUTIVE₁ *-ihsa

Almosan: Algic: 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^wan-asi* ‘woman.’

- [Ruhlen 1994b]

189 DIMINUTIVE₂ *-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 DOG₁ *(a)kuan

Almosan: Proto-Chimakuan *kinano.

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *k’akana ‘wolf.’

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *q^huw(a[n/w]) ‘fox,’ Achomawi *kuan* ‘silver fox.’ Tonkawa *ʔekuan*. Yana: North Yana *kuwan-na* ‘lynx.’ Yurumangui *kuan*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *k^wa ‘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 DOG₂ **kucu*

Almosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *k^ws-* ‘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 DOG₃ **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 *čuiču*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan **c’i?*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **č^hi*, Proto-Pomo **cihmewa*. Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlaltec **ci*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **cu*. Proto-Tanoan **cu-*.

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **č^husč^hu(s)*.

195 DOG₄ **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 DOG₅ **dia*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **diya*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **dia-yai*

197 DOG₆ **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 DOG₇ *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 DOG₈ *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 *wašikʸu* ‘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 DRY₁ *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 DRY₂ *caqi

Almosan: Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan **siq-* ‘dry (v.),’ Heiltsuk *siqa* ‘dry (v.)’

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **cakl*, Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan *c^hakkalu:*. Proto-Gulf **čap*, Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **cʼa* ‘dry, withered, dead.’ Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **čaqiʔ(i)xʸ*.

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 DUST₁ *pur

Chibchan: Cuna *puru* ‘ashes,’ Uncasica *bura* ‘ashes,’ Manare *oka-bora*, Move *ñio-bru*, Guatuso *purun*.

Paezan: Catio *pora* ‘dust,’ Choco: Embera *p^hora*.

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 DUST₂ **pe*

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *p^hã-ẽ*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 154 **k^we*.

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 EAR₁ **kamon*

Hokan: Proto-Pomo **xi:mañ*.

Chibchan: Misumalpan: Mosquito *kiama*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *komete, komeh*. Kaliaana *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 EAR₂ **kana*

Penutian: Gulf: Choctaw *ikhana* ‘hear,’ Proto-Yuki *həl* ‘hear,’ Yuki *hāl* ‘hear.’

Paezan: Mura: Bohura *hane-apue*.

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **kenp^{hi}(-da)*, Moxo *nu-kiña*. Uro *kuñi*.

- [P106, E34]

213 EAR₃ **pa(n)*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **pe:ntamwa* ‘hear.’

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-pe*, Santa Ana *s’-īpe* ‘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^{wi}: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 EAR₄ **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 EAR₅ **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 EAR₆ **tiki*

- Penutian:** Proto-Penutian **c-k(w)-i-* ‘ear, hear,’ Proto-Yokuts **t^huk’*, 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*. Angaité *aua-tik*.

217 EAR₇ **ali*

Penutian: Proto-Yuki **həl* ‘hear.’

Hokan: Proto-Coahuiltecan **ali*, Comecrudo *ali*.

Chibchan: Rama *ali(s)* ‘ear wax.’ Yanomam *hīri* ‘hear.’ Guaymí: Muoi *ola*, Move, Norteño, Penomeño, Murire, Sabanero *olo*.

Andean: Mapudungu *ałki-* ‘hear.’

Equatorial: Ebidoso *ahre*. Tumraha *ahri*.

218 EAR₈ **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 EAR₉ **mal*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(i/a-)ma-l^y(-Ku)*.

Central Amerind: ?Proto-Uto-Aztecan **mura* ‘ear of corn.’

Paезan: Barbacoan: Colorado *mera-* ‘hear,’ Inter-Andine: Guambiano, Totoro *míríp* ‘hear.’

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **-ma(r)* ‘hear.’

220 EAR₁₀ **ka*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-ka:* ‘hear.’

Penutian: Gulf: Wappo *kah* ‘hear.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ka* ‘hear.’

221 EARTH₁ **ila*

Andean: Cahuapana *wili* ‘under.’ Quechua: Cochabamba *ura* ‘down,’ Chinchaysuyu *ula* ‘be under,’ Santiaguéño *ura* ‘lower part,’ etc. Sabela: Auca *wə̃* ‘under’ (Auca has no liquids). Yamana: Yahgan *ilu* ‘under.’ Cf. Qawasqar *čarakte alalatal* ‘lower teeth’ (*čarakte* = ‘tooth’).

Equatorial: Guahibo *ira*. Yuracaré *ele* ‘earth, mud, under.’

- [A94]

222 EARTH₂ **tampi*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **atha:m* ‘under,’ Cree *ta:mi* ‘underneath.’ Mosan: Salish: Proto-Salish **timix^w* ‘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.’

Paезan: 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 EARTH₃ **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^w*.

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 EARTH₄ **nan(u)*

Penutian: Oregon: Kalapuya *anu*. Plateau: Yakima *nen* ‘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-Manguean 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 *nũni* ‘field.’

- [A97]

225 EARTH₅ **pata*

Andean: Quechua *paca* ‘ground,’ Hivito *puc*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *bata*, Puinave (*m*)*baytçi*.

- [AN32, MT31]

226 EARTH₆ **kake*

Chibchan: Paya *kuka*, Borunca *kak*, Manare *kakka* ‘world.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Auixiri *okake*, Capixana *kekeke*, Dou *čax*.

- [CP59, MT32]

227 EARTH₇ **pile*

Hokan: Tipai *xpiʔ* ‘dirty,’ Comecrudo *papeleple* ‘dirty.’

Paezan: Cuaiquer *piʔ*, Timucua *pile* ‘field,’ Guambiana *pire*.

- [H40, CP58]

228 EAT₁ **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 EAT₂ *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.' Tucano: 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 EAT₃ *(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 EAT₄ *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^wuš* 'eat,' **ka?m-* 'molar tooth, cheek,' **ko(:)h* 'molar tooth, cheek.'

Hokan: Proto-Coahuiltecan **kai* 'eat up, consume,' **kam* 'eat, drink,' Comecrudo *kai*. Proto-Yuman **kamak*. Proto-Pomo **kuh:u-*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **k'ə?a* 'tooth,' Proto-Uto-Aztecan **k^wa* 'eat,' **ko* ~ **ku* 'eat, chew.' Proto-Oto-Manguean **ku* 'eat, bite.'

Paезan: Proto-Choco **k^ho*. 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^yu-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 EGG₁ **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 EGG₂ **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 **tobĩ*, Guahibo, Cuiva *tobi*. Maipuran: Curi-paco *topi*. Trumai *taf*. Pakaasnovos *towirači?* ‘testicle.’

- [A101]

234 EGG₃ **paki*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **wa:waʔlewi*, Proto-Algonquian **wa:wi*.

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **p^ha*, Takelma *pa:-p* ‘egg, seed.’ Proto-California **p^hak*, 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 EGG₄ *c'ik^w

Almosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *c'k^w*- 'sea egg.' Proto-Chimakuan **cick^wa-*.

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **siḱawa*.

Macro-Ge: Caraja *tSi*.

236 ELBOW₁ *q'ucu

Almosan: Algonquian: Shawnee *kotekwi* 'turn.' Salish: Squamish *k^wucun* 'crooked.' Wakashan: Proto-North Wakashan **q's* 'bend the knee or elbow, poke with the elbow,' Heiltsuk *q'slat^lla* '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^hošoyi*, 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 *kuč^u(š)*.

- [AK52, P63]

237 ELBOW₂ *kuk

Penutian: Atakapa *šuk*, Uspantec *čuk*.

Chibchan: Tarascan *kukui-si*, Paya *kokisa* 'knee,' Sinsiga *kuika*.

- [P62, CP61]

238 ELDER₁ *ʔa-

Penutian: California: Wintun *o-tun-če* 'older sister,' Proto-Miwok **ʔá-ta* 'older brother,' Lake Miwok *ʔa-táa* 'older brother.' Gulf: Yuki *ʔā-ṭ'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-čī* '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 FEMALE₁ below).

Macro-Ge: Ge: Piokobyé *a-tōn* ‘older sister,’ *ha-tōn* ‘younger brother.’

- [Ruhlen 1994b]

239 ELDER₂ **-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 EXCREMENT₁ **pa*

Hokan: Chimariko (*hi:-*)*pxa* ‘guts.’ Karok *ʔa:f*. Pomo: South Pomo *ʔihp^ha* ‘guts,’ North Pomo, East Pomo *p^ha*. Salinan: San Miguel *p^hxat* ‘guts, excrement.’ Seri *ʔapxika:p*. Shasta *ʔi:pxay* ‘guts.’ Subtiaba: Subtiaba *amba*, Tequistlatec *fay*. Yana: Central, North Yana *p^ha-c’i*. Yuman: Cocopa, Tipai *pxa* ‘guts,’ Kiliwa *p^haʔ* ‘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 EXCREMENT₂ **(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 EYE₁ *(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^hewa* ‘see, find.’ Tanoan: Kiowa *t^hʂ-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.’
- Paезan:** 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^haʔt^haʔ* ‘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*, Piapoco *-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: Krengез *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 EYE₂ *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.’
- Paезan:** 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 EYE₃ *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^wa(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 EYE₄ *tuki ~ *tuku

Andean: Yamana *teki* 'see.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *tokhe*, Auixiri *atuka*.

Equatorial: Itene *tok*, Santa Rosa *tuxua*, Caranga *čuk^xi*, 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 EYE₅ *q^waʔ

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **keʔa:pame:wa* 'look at him,' Wiyot *tu-kʔ* 'watch,' Yurok *k^wəʔ* 'image.' Proto-Mosan **gal-*, Wakashan: Kwakwala *qwāxwa* 'see,' *k^wlχ-* 'see something, site something,' *q^wʔ-* 'look for a place to spawn (said of herring),' *t^lax-* 'look for lice' (metathesis), Nitinat *qaliʔ*. Salish: Pentlatch *kəlom*, Nisqualli *kalob*, Tillamook *-gāʔ-*. Kutenai *-qʔiʔ*. Proto-Chemakuan **ʔaq^wo* 'eye' (metathesis), **-ʔalix^wi-* '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^{hw}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 EYE₆ **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 EYE₇ **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 EYE₈ **asa ~ *aša*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *-aws* ‘eye, face.’

Penutian: Proto-Yokuts **sasa?*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **aša ~ *ax^ya*.

Macro-Panoan: Tacanan: Araona *-saša*, Toromona *-šaš*, Arasa *-šaša*, Tiati-nagua *-saš*.

250 EYE₉ **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 EYE₁₀ **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 EYE₁₁ **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 EYE₁₂ **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 EYE₁₃ **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 FAR₁ **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 FAR₂ **ya*

Penutian: Gulf: Atakapa *ya*. Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Zoque *yaʔay*.

Chibchan: Cuitlatec *yay-*, Tarascan *io-* ‘high, long.’

- [P70, CP66]

259 FAT₁ **kui*

Chibchan: Cuitlatec *kuyi*. Talamanca: Tirub *kio*.

Paezan: Timucua *uke*.

Macro-Carib: Nonuya *kwi*, Andoke *kehə*.

- [CP68, MC20]

260 FAT₂ **wila*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **wel-* ~ **welakhw-*. Mosan: Wakashan: ?Proto-North Wakashan **G^wwɫ-* ‘animal fat,’ Heiltsuk **wluq^w*, Kwakwala *guluq^w* ‘tallow.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **wi* ‘fat’ (n.)

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **wira* ‘fat’ (n.)

261 FEAR₁ **kul*

Hokan: Chimariko *xul* ‘bad.’ Pomo: East Pomo *kul*. Salinan: San Antonio *šxalo*. Yana *k^hul-* ‘bad.’

Macro-Ge: Bororo *kurig(-oddo)* ‘be angry.’ Botocudo *akran* ‘anger,’ *krak* ‘shame.’ Ge: Krenje *krüg* ‘be angry.’

- [A107]

262 FEAR₂ **pak*

Penutian: Yaudanchi *bax*, Chol *bʔuknian*.

Macro-Panoan: Abipone *n-pa:k* ‘hated,’ Moseten *fakoy* ‘hate.’

- [P74, MP34]

263 FEATHER₁ *p'at^l

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^huru* '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^hasi* 'wing.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Chayma *ipot* 'hair,' Galibi *ipotú* 'hair,' Wayana *pot* 'feather,' etc. Witoto: Witoto *ifatie*, *ifatre* 'hair,' Nonuya *ofotar* 'hair.' Yagua *popəytü* 'feather.'

- [A108]

264 FEATHER₂ *pi

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguan R 138 *(n)(h)k^wi '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 FEMALE₁ *-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.’

Paезan: 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 FEMALE₂ **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^hom(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.’

Paезan: Timucua *to:ma* ‘all, every.’ Warrau *tobo* ‘full.’ Allentiac *topata* ‘be full.’ Barbacoan: Cayapa *tuwa* ‘full.’

Andean: Aymara: Jaqaru *t^hapa*. 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. DIE₂. This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

268 FINGER₁ **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^{hi}*, 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 *tikiŋi* ‘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* ~ *tī: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 *pūd^yi* ‘one,’ Kraho *pučite* ‘one.’ Mashakali *pičēt* ‘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 FINGER₂ **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?*-*ɔunV(k)* ‘little finger.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **k^ho* ‘arm.’

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **ko*, Tairona *kai-kaira* ‘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?gīl*, 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.’

Paезan: ?Millcayac *huytagina* ‘finish, end.’

- [AK70]

272 FIRE₁ *(?)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.’

Paезan: 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 FIRE₂ *kuti ~ *kuči

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **ki:šeswe:wa* ‘cook him,’ **ki:šesamawe:wa*

‘cook it for him.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **k^wase* ~ **k^wasa* ‘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^waθi*, 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 FIRE₃ **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 FIRE₄ **?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 FIRE₅ **?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 FIRE₆ **paye*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-baya* ‘build a fire,’ Acoma *baya* ‘make fire,’
 Osage *poe* ‘flames.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan **p^ha*, Piro *faye*, Isleta *p^häi-de*. Proto-Oto-
 Manguean *(*n*)(*h*)*k^wa* ‘hot.’

Paezan: Mura: Mura *foai*. Proto-Choco **pa:-* ‘burn.’

Equatorial: Taruma *fwa*. Arawakan: Chiriana *pai*.

• [AK72, CA36]

278 FIRE₇ **c’ik*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **ci:keškwete:wi* ‘near fire,’ **ci:pa:hkwe:wa*
 ‘cook.’ Mosan: Proto-Salish **c’ij* ‘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 FIRE₈ **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 FIRE₉ **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 FIRE₁₀ **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*^l- ‘set fire to.’

Equatorial: Timote: Timote *širup*.

282 FIRE₁₁ **yak*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala, Oowekyala *yx^wa* ‘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 FISH₁ **k^wama*

Hokan: ?Proto-Hokan *(a)*š^wa*.

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^wam*.

- [AN38, MT42, E44]

285 FISH₂ *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^wa, *(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 FISH₃ *(n)amak^w

- Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian *-ame:kw, *name:ʔsa, *name:kwa ‘trout.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *t^lmx^w-* ‘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 FISH₄ *waki

- Almosan:** Algic: Proto-Algonquian *wa:hkwa ‘fish, roe, spawn,’ *wa:hsiwa ‘catfish,’ *weka:wa ‘perch, pike, pickerel.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *bak^w* ‘skate.’
- Chibchan:** Cuna *ua*. Proto-Aruak *wakə, Atanque *g^waku*, Guamaca *uaka*, Bintucua *uake*.
- Paezan:** Warao *ua*.
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Proto-Tucanoan *waʔi.

Equatorial: Achuar *wakimtin* ‘fish (v.)’

288 FISH₅ *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 FISH₆ *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^yi* ‘large fish,’ *kori* ‘fish.’

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban *kulupu-bo ‘fish hook.’

Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Lengua *kilasma*.

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Bororo *kare*, Orari *karo*.

290 FISH₇ *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 FLEA₁ *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 FLEA₂ *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 FLEA₃ *k^wit'

Almosan: Proto-Salish *k^wit', Proto-Algic *ihkwa 'louse,' Proto-Algonquian *ehkwa 'louse.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *aHk^wi 'louse.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan *kuči.

295 FLOWER₁ *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 FLOWER₂ *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 FLY₁ (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^hew*, 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 *atī* '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 FLY₂ (v.) *yaka

Penutian: Gulf: Wappo *yɔkkɔ*, Muskogean: Hitchiti *yaka*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara *ʔaik' 'bird,' Iranshe *ici* 'bird,' Ticuna *goe* 'bird.'

- [P84, MT9]

299 FLY₁ (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 FLY₂ (n.) *mulu ~ *puru

Chibchan: Guaymi: Chumulu, Gualaca *mulmulu*, Penomeño *mun*, Move *mora* 'bee, wasp.' Misumalpan: Cacaopera *maramara*. Talamanca: Bribri, etc. *bur* 'bee.' Yanoama: Yanomamí *mro:*, Yanomam *mroro*.

Paезan: 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 FOOT₁ *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 *pεʔ*, *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^we(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 FOOT₂ **asi?*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **sit*.

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Wichita *?as*, Pawnee *asu*, Arikara *axu*. Iroquoian: Seneca *si?-t*. Proto-Keresan **?ašĩ* ‘knee,’ Santa Ana, etc. *ha-sdi?-ni*. Proto-Siouan **si* (C).

Penutian: Tsimshian *asi:*. Oregon: Yakonan *siya?*.

Hokan: Achomawi *sa?ye*. 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 FOREHEAD₁ **pe*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **pi*. Proto-Siouan **p^he*.

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 FOREHEAD₂ **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.’ Munique *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 FOX₁ **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 FOX₂ **pura*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *(a)pVraχ.

Paezan: Warao *beroro* ‘dog.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *apura* ‘wolf.’

308 FROG₁ **k^waq'at*

Almosan: Mosan: Salish: Proto-Coast Salish **wəq'iq'*; Wakashan: Kwakwala *wq-* ‘frog, toad,’ Oowekyala *wqa* ‘frog, toad,’ Haisla *k^wnq-*.

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^wa*. Proto-Oto-Manguean **k^we(h)(n)* ‘frog, toad.’

Macro-Panoan: ?Proto-Tacanan **wawa*.

- Hokan and Penutian both show metathesis of an original triconsonantal root.

309 FROG₂ *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 FROG₃ *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 FROG₄ *wara

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *ware:reh* ‘toad.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *wara'ntei* ‘toad.’

Macro-Ge: Caraja *a'ra*.

312 FROG₅ *buru

Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *buru* ‘toad.’

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **bororo* ~ **buřuřu*.

313 FROG₆ *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 *dekan*. Kamakan *dako*.

- [A124]

315 FULL₁ *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^hi* ‘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 FULL₂ **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 FULL₃ **t'am*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **-t'ama* ‘so many at a time.’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *taq^w-* ‘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^hay* ‘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 FULL₄ **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^w

Penutian: Proto-Coos-Takelma *yak^w-(t-) ‘gather, pick,’ Proto-Yokuts *yo-low, Gulf: Muskogean: Chickasaw ayowa.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *yu ‘gathered in a pile.’

321 GIVE₁ *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 GIVE₂ *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 GIVE₃ *ʔuk^w

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Interior Salish *ʔuk^w ‘carry, haul, take somewhere, bring somewhere.’

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *-ʔu ‘give long flat.’

Penutian: Zuni ʔuk-.

Hokan: Proto-Yuman *uk^wix ‘give, buy, sell, exchange goods.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *ʔuʔu ‘take.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *o-ʔo.

324 GO₁ *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 . . .’, Pe-huenche 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 GO₂ **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 GO₃ **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^he* ‘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 GO₄ *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^yi*. Panoan: Shipibo, Conibo, etc. *ka*, Chacobo *ko*. Proto-Tacanan **kwa*.

- [A129]

328 GO₅ *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 GO₆ *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 GO₇ *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 GOOD₁ **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 *ʔešaš* ‘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 GOOD₂ **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 *yəm*. Muniche *ču?ma?a*. Macu-Puinave *čam* ‘ripe.’

Equatorial: Coche *čaba*, *čabe*, *saba*. Maipuran: Manao *sabi*, Tariana *maciama* ‘beautiful,’ Apolista *suma*. Trumai *cipom*. Tupi: Mekens *i-came* ‘beautiful,’ Amniapa *camencin* ‘beautiful.’

Macro-Carib: Yagua *samirya*.

- [A131]

334 GOOD₃ **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 GOOD₄ **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 GOOD₅ **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 GOOD₆ **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 GOOD₇ **tač’a*

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *dič’a:* ~ **dic’*, Nez Perce *taʔc*.

Equatorial: Piaroa: Saliba *deča* ‘new.’

Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Lengua *tasi*.

339 GOOD₈ *k'apa

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan *k'ap' 'ripe.' Zuni *kʔa* 'ripe.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan *k'awa.

340 GOOD₉ *meca

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *meča*.

Andean: Proto-Quechuan *mušuq 'new.'

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge *mεc.

341 GOOD₁₀ *keme

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian *kimti 'new.'

Andean: Mapudungu *kime*.

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran *k^heime.

342 GOOD₁₁ *q^waʔ

Almosan: Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *q^waʔičx^w* 'fine, nice.' Wakashan:
Nootka *ʔay'ičf* 'autumn (i.e. good weather).'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *qUdV ~ *č^wUdV, Proto-Pomo *q'oʔdi.

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean *(n)(ʔ)k^wa(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 GRANDFATHER₁ *pica

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *picowas*, Algonquian: Ojibwa *ne-miššomis* 'my grand-
father.'

Macro-Carib: Nahagua *apici*, Andoke *ʔapitah*.

- [AK90, MC25]

346 GRANDFATHER₂ *ikan

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Pawnee *ikani*. Siouan: Biloxi *ikoni*.

Penutian: Gulf: Chitimacha *kan* 'paternal uncle.' Mexican: Mayan: Quiché
ikan 'uncle.'

- [AK91, P263]

347 GRASS₁ **pu*

Penutian: Proto-California Penutian **pu*. Zuni *pe*. Gulf: Chitimacha *po*.

Chibchan: Cuitlatec *beyoʔo*.

Paezan: Chimu *pe*, Paez: Guambiana *pu*.

- [P93, CP88]

348 GRASS₂ **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^wur*, **k^war*, Kalispel *k^win*.

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,' Chama-coco *kuaržo* 'yellow.'

- [A133]

351 GUTS₁ **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 GUTS₂ **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 HAIR₁ *cum

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Pawnee *u:s, ošu*. Keresan: Santa Ana *ha:-za-n*. Siouan-Yuchi: Proto-Siouan **k^yũ* ‘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 HAIR₂ *toni

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **coni* ‘body hair,’ Proto-Oto-Manguean *(*Y*)*su(n)*.

Equatorial: Tora *tuni*, Piapoco *čona*.

- [CA44, E55]

355 HAIR/FEATHER₃ *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^wa*, Proto-Aruak **buh* ~ *bu?*.

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **bu*.

357 HAND₁ *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-ηενοη*.

- [A138] This root is also found in Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

358 HAND₂ **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 HAND₃ **(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^y* ‘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 THIS₃ *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 HAND₄ **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^wači* ‘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 HAND₅ **tana* ~ **teni*

Hokan: Chimariko *-teni*. Proto-Pomo **ʔat^ha(:)na*, South Pomo *t^ha:na*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean **(h)ta(H)(n)* ‘hand, finger, arm, seize.’

Equatorial: Chapacura: Urupa *tiñi* ‘wing.’ Proto-Maipuran **dana(-p^ha)* ‘arm,’ Bare *dana* ‘arm.’

- [H77, E126]

362 HAND₆ **pito*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **nexpetoni* ‘my arm,’ **-pet(a:)* ‘handle roughly.’

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Pawnee *pīd* ‘wing.’

Penutian: California: Yokuts *p^hu^th^oŋ* ‘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 HAND₇ **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 HAND₈ **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^hal* ‘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^hapi*, Curripaco *-kapi*, Waura *-kapi-*, Arawak *-kapo*, Lokono *-k^habo*, Resigaró *-kap^hí*, 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 HAND₉ *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^ho* ‘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^hu* ‘give.’

Macro-Ge: Patasho *aham*. Fulnio *ko* ‘give.’

366 HAND₁₀ *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 HAND₁₁ **hento*

Chibchan: Yanomam *hêto* ‘handle.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Siona *ente*, Amaguaje, Icaguata *hente*, Pioje *höntö*.

368 HAND₁₂ **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 HAND₁₃ **pel*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **-peł* ‘handle roughly.’ Proto-North-Wakashan **bat^l* ‘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: Algic: 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-Manguan **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 ONE₄ 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: Crenguez *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^wele*

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^wele* ‘bone.’

Hokan: Jicaque *k^hele* ‘bone.’ Tequistlatec *-egał* ‘bone.’

Central Amerind: Azteco-Tanoan: WT 22 **k^wenga*, Tanoan: Taos *k^wē*. Proto-Oto-Manguean R 103 *(*n*)(*h*)*ki*(*n*) ‘hard, metal, stone.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan M 1 **k^wi*.

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^hara* ‘be hard.’ Kariri: Kariri *kra* ‘dry,’ Dzubucua *kro-d^ze* ‘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 *pił-an* ‘no quiero.’ Cholona *a-puł-u-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 *šok?apiso* ‘marsh hawk.’ Gulf: Natchez *soko?l* ‘eagle,’ *šo:koL* ‘bird,’ Proto-North Yuki **sahol* ‘eagle.’ Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **šihk*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **sVk^wal^y*, **čiak^wa:la* ~ **čö:k^wa:la*, Proto-Yuman **sik^wala* ‘hawk,’ **šak^wila:w* ‘mocking bird.’

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **šuk^wi* ‘toucan,’ Proto-Panoan **šokĩ* ‘bird.’

- Cf. Russian *sokol* ‘hawk, eagle, falcon.’

374 HAWK (SPARROW) **liq’liq’*

Penutian: Plateau: Sahaptin *li:χhi* ‘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^hVɽi:k^hV*.

375 HE/SHE₁ **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.’

Paезan: 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,’ Mosen *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/SHE₂ **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^ha:* ‘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 HEAD₁ *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 HEAD₂ *t’aq

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-itoxk* ‘above,’ Cheyenne *ta:xe* ‘above.’ Mosan: Proto-Chemakuan **-t’iq^w*, Chemakum *tek^y*, Quileute *(o?)t’eq^w*. 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. ABOVE₁.

379 HEAD₃ *sako

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *səq’a* ‘over.’

Keresiouan: ?Proto-Caddoan **ackat* ‘up.’ Iroquoian: Cherokee *u-sko-li*. Siouan: Tutelo *sako* ‘above.’

Penutian: Zuni *?ošok^wk^wi*.

Chibchan: Bintucua *saku-ku* ‘skull,’ Cuna *sakla*, Jutiapa *usaxle*.

Paezan: Beto *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 *dʒuguc'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 *lem* ‘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 HIT₁ (v.) **tiq*^w

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *tik*, *tok^wan* ‘slap’; Yurok *tik^wohs*. Kutenai *cik* ‘destroy.’ Mosan: Chemakuan: Chemakum *ta:q*, Quileute *cex*; Wakashan: Nootka *c'oq^w*; Salish: Squamish *cəx^w* ‘be hit,’ Snohomish *caq*, Lillooet *cikəⁿ* ‘beat, whip,’ Tillamook *tq*.

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Wichita *ti:k^wi*, *tak^wi*, Arikara *takit* ‘be broken.’

Macro-Panoan: Lengua: Mascogy *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. HIT₂.

385 HIT₂ (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. HIT₁.

386 HIT₃ (v.) **pak*

Penutian: California: Maidu *bok-* ‘beat.’ Gulf: Atakapa *pak* ‘beat.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pa*. Proto-Oto-Manguean **(n)(h)k^wa(h)*.

- [P14, CA47]

387 HIT₄ **maq’a*

Almosan: Kutenai *moχune* ‘hit, fall into,’ *maq’ne* ‘slap,’ Proto-North Wakashan **mx-* ‘strike with the fist, punch,’ Kwakwala *məx^ya*; ?Proto-Algonquian *mi:kawitamwa* ‘fight’ (v.)

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-mijid^za* ‘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 HOLE₁ **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^m-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^m* ‘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 HOLE₂ **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 HOLE₃ **tolo*

Penutian: Lake Miwok *talok^h*, Atakapa *tol* ‘anus,’ Takelma *telkan* ‘buttocks.’

Macro-Ge: Kaingang *doro*, Coroado *dore* ‘cave.’

• [P115, MG65]

391 HORN **k^wan*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Blackfoot *-ixkin*. Kutenai (*akuh-*)*qʎe* (*ʎ* < **n*).

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **he* ‘horn, hoof.’

Penutian: Tsimshian *xaxan-s*. California: Proto-Yokuts **k^hoyeš*. Gulf: Yukian: Yuki *hin* ‘antler,’ Huchnom *hine*. Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **uk’a:ʔ*. Proto-Mixe-Zoque **waha(w)*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **i-k^{hw}a-yV*, Proto-Pomo **haʔ:a*. Proto-Yuman **k^waʔ*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ʔawa*. Proto-Oto-Manguean **(H)k^we(n)*.

Chibchan: Tarascan *šik^wank^wa*.

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **waqra*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **saʔa*.

Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan **(m)oka(x)ĩʔto*.

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^{ha}* (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 HOUSE₁ **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^hə-*. 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 *eiti* ‘nest,’ Yuruna *atia* ‘nest,’ etc. Zamuco *idai*.

Macro-Carib: Carib: Maiongom *ato*, Chayma *ata*, Bakairí *əta*, Barama River *owto*, etc. (all = ‘house’).

Macro-Panoan: Mosesten *ti*: ‘nest.’ Panoan: Shipibo *ati*. Tacanan: Huarayo, Tiatinagua *eti*, etc.

- [A153]

395 HOUSE₂ **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 I₁ **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^ya* ~ **n^yi*, 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 *nós*, 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 **yʔʔ-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^ya* ‘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 I₆ *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 I₂ *?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^ye* ‘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 **yi?i*. Capixana *ya-*, Catuquina *i-*, Tiquie *ya-*, Desana *-yi* ‘me,’ Wanana *yi:* ‘me,’ Bara *yí* ‘my,’ Movima *inʔa* ‘I,’ *i?ʔi* ‘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 **?i*; 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 *?iñ*.

- [G2]

399 I₃ **pi* \sim **pa*

Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Yuki **?əp(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 *bit?u* ‘we.’

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **pa-ta* ‘our.’

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge **pa*.

400 I₄ **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 I₅ **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 **dʸ-* ‘I (active),’ **id:-* ‘I (inactive).’

402 I₆ **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^{hi}* ‘we two exclusive masc.,’ *muʔp^{hi}* ‘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^{wa}* ‘father’s sister,’ Flathead *titi-k^{we}* ‘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 INTERROGATIVE₁ *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’axaka* ~ *xa’ka* ‘what,’ Comecrudo *tete* ‘what, why, how,’ Cotoname *tit* ‘what.’

Chibchan: Yanomam *t^həhə* ‘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^yu* ‘what.’

Macro-Carib: Yagua *tā:ra* ‘what.’

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *tan* ‘how many,’ Palmas *ndena* ‘how many.’ Fulnio *to* ‘what, which.’

• [MG68, G106]

406 INTERROGATIVE₂ *ki ~ *ka ~ *ku

Almosan: Algic: Wiyot *gu-* ‘when, where,’ Yurok *kus* ‘when, where,’ Proto-Algonquian **ke:kw-* ‘which, something, anything,’ Passamaquoddy *kek^w* ‘what.’ Kutenai *-ʔaqs-* ‘how many,’ *ka* ‘where.’ Proto-Mosan **ʔa:ki* ‘who,’ **ʔaqi* ‘what,’ **ga(:)* ‘who, which, where,’ **q^wi-* ~ **q^wa-* ‘where, when,’ Proto-Chimakuan **q^woʔoc* ‘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 **k^win* ‘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)č^hi* ‘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-Aztecán **ka:n* ‘where,’ **ke:m* ‘how,’ **ke:-ski* ‘how much, how many,’ Nahuá *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 **k^hai* ‘who,’ **k^hārē* ‘what,’ Catio *kai* ‘who,’ Mogueux *kina* ‘who, what,’ Tucura *karea* ‘why,’ Timucua *k^wene* ‘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 *k^ha:-* ~ *k^he:* ‘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 INTERROGATIVE₃ **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^l* ‘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 *muɟ* ~ *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:manɪ* ‘when,’ Iranshe *-m̄ni* ‘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,’ *manēno* ‘when,’ *ampô-mē* ‘which,’ Puri *ya-moeni* ‘when,’ Aponegicran *muena* ‘what,’ Cayapo *mā* ‘where,’ Umutina *mašika* ‘where,’ *matuni* ‘why,’ Krenje *menō* ‘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 INTERROGATIVE₄ *xa

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **-χa*, Chemakuan: Quileute *-χaʔa* ‘who.’ Wakashan: Nootka *-h̄a:* ‘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^va*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **hi* ‘what,’ Proto-Tanoan **helV* ‘what,’ **hō* ‘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 INTERROGATIVE₂ *ki* ~ *ka* ~ *ku* is unclear.

409 INTERROGATIVE₅ *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^ya ‘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 INTERROGATIVE₆ *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 INTERROGATIVE₇ *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^hə* ‘which,’ *witi t^həm* ‘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 INTERROGATIVE₈ **sin*

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **s-i/a-n* ‘who, which.’ Proto-Sahaptian **ši:* ‘who.’

Paezan: Proto-Choco **sak^ha* ‘how,’ **sāpe* ‘when.’ Warao *sina* ‘who, some, any.’ Timucua *sok^wa* ‘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^h-* (intermittent action); Salinan *-t(e)-* (iterative plural in nouns and verbs).

- [G74]

414 JAGUAR₁ **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 JAGUAR₂ **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 KNEE₁ *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: Kustenu *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*. Mosen *kacege*.

- [A156]

418 KNEE₂ *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: Betoĩ *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 *puχba*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pika*.

420 KNOW₁ **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 KNOW₂ **yok*

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **yuk^hu*, Takelma *yok^hy-*. 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 KNOW₃ **k^wak*

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **k^wi* ‘perceive.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean *(*Y*)*k^wa(h)(n)* ‘know, see, look.’

Chibchan: Proto-Aruak **guakk* ‘see.’

Paезan: Timucua *k^waçi* ‘give, teach,’ *uk^wa* ‘teach, undertake.’ Proto-Choco

*k^hawa.

Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani *k^wa:β.

Macro-Carib: Witoto: Bora k^wa:xak^hu, Miraña k^wa:hak^hi.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan *k^waʔi.

423 KNOW₄ *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 miripik 'wise man.' Warao mi 'see.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *māsĩ.

Equatorial: Resigaró mana: -toʔ.

424 KNOW₅ *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 KNOW₆ *rik

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora rihōti 'teach.'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan *riqsi- 'know,' *rika:- ~ *riku- 'see.' Mapudungu rakiθuam- 'think.'

426 KNOW₇ *t'ak^w

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *t'a-, Proto-Salish *tak^w 'perceive.' Proto-Chimakuan *t'ak^wi- '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 LARGE₁ *ta(k)

- Almosan:** Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *ta*:- ‘long object’; Salish: Tillamook *tan*.
- Keresiouan:** Proto-Siouan **t^hã*.
- 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^hɔ* ‘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^hoit^ha* ‘long.’ Opaie *ta* ‘large.’ Puri *tahe* ‘large.’
- [A159]

428 LARGE₂ *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 *meʔ*, 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 LARGE₃ *po

Hokan: Jicaque *-po* (augmentative), Subtiaba *-mba* (augmentative).

Chibchan: Duit *oba*, Chilanga *buy*.

Paezan: Itonama *bi*.

- [H89, CP110]

430 LARGE₄ *mo:n

Andean: Leco *umun*, Iquito *u:ma:na*.

Macro-Carib: Proto-Carib **mo:nomi*, Ocaina *a:mon* ‘grow.’

- [AN64, MC32]

431 LAUGH₁ *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 LAUGH₂ *?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 LEAF₁ *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 LEAF₂ *pane

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Taos *ba:ne*, Jemez *fõya* ‘leaf, grass.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean R 233 *(*n*)*k^wa(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 LEAF₃ **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^(w)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^w* (metathesis), Twana *c’iq^{wa}(-či)*, Shuswap *c’əkwəʔ-ekəʔ*, Lower Fraser *sc’ik^{wa}*, Colville *s-k-c’ik^w-aʔ*, Straits Salish *c’əkwəʔi^w’s*, Upper Chehalis *c’i^wq’*, Nootsack *θik^{wa}*, Lkungen *c’k^{wa}i^wʔs*, Coeur d’Alene *c’ik^w-eʔ*, Tillamook *yqači*; Wakashan: Nootka *qac*, Nitinat *qacās*; Chemakuan: Chemakum *k^wicaqu*, Quileute *c’uq^w* (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^ooa-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 LEG₁ *tak

Penutian: Gulf: Natchez *ʔat*. Yukian: Wappo *ʔaʔ*, Clear Lake *t'a*.

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Kiowa *t^hũ*. 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 LEG₂ *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^w

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **la-* ‘protruding tongue,’ Proto-Salish **laq^w* ~ **luq^w* ~ **lak^w* ~ **luk^w*. Wakashan: Kwakwala *ʔlq^w*- ‘lick, stick out the tongue,’ *l'aχ^w*- ‘stick out the tongue.’ Proto-Chemakuan **lak^wi-*.

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **ʎek^vi* ‘tongue.’

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **le:k^w*.

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **ʎaqwa-*.

441 LIE DOWN *yaq^w

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan **yaq^w*- ‘lie somewhere, lie still.’ Proto-

Chimakuan **yak*^{wi}- ‘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*^x ‘sleep.’ Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ya* ‘die.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean *(*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 LIVE₁ (v.) **ha(n)*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Mohawk *ha*. Siouan-Yuchi: Yuchi *ha*.

Penutian: Gulf: Chitimacha *hana* ‘house,’ Yuki *han* ‘house.’

- [AK118, P119]

445 LIVE₂ (v.) **ya*

Hokan: Subtiaba *ya*, Seri *-i?*, Yana *yai* ‘stay.’

Chibchan: Paya *uya* ‘nest.’

Paezan: Cayapa *ya* ‘house,’ Panikita *ya* ‘house.’

- [H96, CP106]

446 LIVER₁ **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 LIVER₂ **kala*

Penutian: California **kVl(l)V*, Proto-Maiduan **kīl(-)la*, Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **kīl(:)a*, Zuni *hak^wk^wali*.

Hokan: Proto-Pomo **k^hahlał*.

Macro-Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **eleli?*.

448 LIZARD₁ **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 LIZARD₂ **šiko*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **šiko*.

Chibchan: Tarascan *sak^{hi}*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **šiki*.

450 LOCATIVE₁ *-(a)m(a)

Penutian: Tsimshian *-əm ~ -am* (locative). Oregon: Alsea *-əm* ‘place,’ *k^yi-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 LOCATIVE₂ **-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 LOCATIVE₃ *pa ~ *pe ~ *pi

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean (Rensch, No. 191) *k^wa ‘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^ha* (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 LONG₁ *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. MANY₁ *ali*.

455 LONG₂ *kule

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **kenw*, Micmac *kunek* ‘far’; Yurok *knew*. Mosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala -*kən* ‘too much.’

Penutian: Oregon: Coos *qat*¹. 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 LOUSE₁ *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 LOUSE₂ *tina

Almosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *síʔdis* 'nits.' Wakashan: Heiltsuk *səndən* 'nits,' Kwakwala *snt* 'nits.'

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **šina:* 'louse, flea.' Iroquoian: Cherokee *tina*, Seneca *dʔi: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 LOUSE₃ *ik^wa

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^wi*, 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^wa(h)(ʔ)(n)*.

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **k^we-b(V)-(ha)-di*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **ʔia*.

- [A174]

460 LUNGS₁ **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 LUNGS₂ **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 MAKE₁ **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 MAKE₂ *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.’

Paезan: Itonama *yu-* (causative). Paez *yo*. Cf. Allentiac *yu-tuk* ‘work.’

- [A176]

465 MAKE₃ *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*.

Paезan: 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 MAN₁ *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 MAN₂ *kak

Hokan: Chumash: Santa Barbara *oxoix*, Santa Ynez *uyuiy*. Coahuilteco *xagu* ‘man, male.’ Karankawa *ahaks*. Pomo: East Pomo *ka:k^h* ‘person, man.’

Andean: Qawasqar *hekaye*. Aymara: Aymara *hake*, Jaqaru *haqi*.

- [A178]

468 MAN₃ *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 MAN₄ *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 MAN₅ *loko

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **urqu* ‘male (non-human), Yanacocha *oloqo* ‘husband,’ Quechua *orqo* ‘husband,’ Ancash *ol^hko*, Cuzqueño *orko*, Mapudungu *alka* ‘male.’ Qawasqar *arek* ‘male.’

Equatorial: Arawak *lukku*, Uro *luku*.

- [AN70, E77]

471 MAN₆ *koto

Penutian: Plateau: Yakima *katla* ‘grandmother.’ California: Maidu *koto* ‘grandmother.’ Zuni *hotta* ‘grandmother.’

Andean: Iquito *kati* ‘father,’ Sechura *kuč* ‘father,’ Itucale *kiča* ‘father,’ Hivito *kotk* ‘father.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Canichana *kohti* ‘husband,’ Gamella *katu*, Curiariai *xot* ‘person.’

- [P92, AN35, MT61]

472 MAN₇ *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,’ *manehẽ* ‘husband,’ Yupua *manape* ‘husband,’ Yuyuka *yemane* ‘husband,’ Coto *ömuna* ‘man,’ Proto-Nambikwara **mĩn* ‘father,’ Kaliana *mĩnõ* ‘man, person,’ *imone* ‘father-in-law,’ Wanana *meno* ‘man,’ *manino* ‘her husband,’ Desana *emenge*, Chiranga *imĩgno*, 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 CHILD₂ *mako*), Chamicuro *thamoni* ‘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 MANY₁ **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. LONG₁ *ali*.

474 MANY₂ **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 MANY₃ **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 MANY₄ **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^hi* ‘all,’ Proto-Jicaque-Tequistlatec **p^hV* ‘all,’ Subtiaba *bā* ‘all.’ Waicuri *pu* ‘all.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pu* ‘full.’

Paezan: Millcayac *pay* ‘full.’ Timucua *-pu-k^wa* ‘much, many.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **bui* ‘full,’ **pai-yi/he* ‘many.’

Equatorial: Cofan *bu*, Piaroa *buio* ‘large,’ Sanamaika *pui* ‘large.’

- [H2, E79]

477 MANY₅ **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 MANY₆ **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-ceʔ* ‘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 *-ʔtsin* ‘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,’ **ʔntan* ‘child,’ **taʔn* ‘sibling.’

Andean: Tehuelche *den* ‘brother,’ *thaun* ‘sister.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *atina* ‘male relative,’ *atuna* ‘female relative,’ Tucanoan: Waikana *baĩ(-ga)* ‘brother,’ *baũ(-ga)* ‘sister,’ Tucano *pakk-e* ‘father,’ *pakk-o* ‘mother,’ *nik-e* ‘one (masc.),’ *nik-o* ‘one (fem.),’ *nik-a* ‘one (neutral),’ Coreguaje *čĩĩ* ‘son,’ *čĩio* ‘daughter,’ *aʔ-čĩ* ‘elder brother,’ *aʔ-čo* ‘elder sister,’ *čoʔ-yeĩ* ‘younger brother,’ *čoʔ-yeo* ‘younger sister.’ Pioje *-kĩ* (masc.), *-kõ* (fem.; cf. *-ku* ~ *-ko* ~ *-kõ* ‘this [fem.]’). Puinave: Tiquie *ten* ‘son,’ *ton* ‘daughter,’ Papury *ten* ‘son,’ *toŋ* ‘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,’ *ĩ-dan(e)* ‘child, son, daughter,’ *i-dĩni-re* ‘son-in-law,’ *i-dĩni-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 *hiçi* ‘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 MEAT₁ **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 MEAT₂ **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 **ñĩ*. Kaingang: Palmas *ni*, Tibagi *nin*, etc. Mashakali *ñĩñ*. Puri: Coroado *eneine*.

• [A184]

483 MEAT₃ **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^h*. 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 MEAT₄ **ati*

Macro-Carib: Andoke *icü*. Carib: Hishcariana *oti*, Wayana *i-ote* ‘game,’
 Waiwai *-oti* (possessive classifier for meat). Witoto: Witoto *ičira*, Muinane
uatı.

Macro-Ge: Caraja *adi*. Fulnio *dae*. Guato (*ma-*)*deu*. Kaingang: Tibagi *de*,
da ‘animal.’ Kamakan *dau* ‘animal.’

- [A186]

485 MEAT₅ **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 MEAT₆ **tin*

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **šĩ* ‘fat.’ Iroquoian: Seneca *sẽ* ‘be fat.’

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *čín*, Came *tini*.

- [AK65, MG78]

487 MEAT₇ **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 MOON₁ **pʔot*

Almosan: Almosan: Proto-Chemakuan **pitʔ*- ~ **pʔit-* ~ **pʔik^wi-* ‘moon, sun,
 light, sky.’

Keresiouan: Proto-Caddoan **pa:*.

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **ʔop^h* ‘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 MOON₂ **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^hupañe*.

Macro-Panoan: Vejoz *tapuix* ‘moon (waxing).’

Macro-Carib: Crishana *tepare*.

- [A188]

491 MOON₃ **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 MOON₄ **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 **kiʎa*, 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 MONKEY₁ **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 MONKEY₂ **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^yaʔ*, Proto-Pomo **q^haʔ:a* ‘morning, dawn.’

Andean: Proto-Quechuan *qaya* ~ *quya*.

496 MOSQUITO₁ **puro*

Paезan: 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 *pəlod* ‘pium.’

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *pitaŋ*, *pötã*. Caraja *badi*, *bedi* ‘bee.’ Ge: Apinage *puræ*. Puri: Coroado *putaŋ* ‘bee.’ Yabuti *porunka*.

- [A189]

497 MOSQUITO₂ **č’oyu*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **sč’uy’u:na*.

Penutian: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **šoy:u*.

498 MOTHER **tati*

Hokan: Yavapai *titi*, Achomawi *tat^{hi}*, 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 MOUSE₁ **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 MOUSE₂ **maqa*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **maqa* ~ **maqil*^y ‘rat,’ Proto-Yuman **?makey*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **maka* ‘mouse, rat,’ Moseten *meče* ‘rat.’

- [MP47]

504 MOUSE₃ **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 MOUSE₄ **c’ok*

Almosan: Kutenai *?inco:k?*.

Penutian: Zuni *c?ok?i-k?o*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan **č’o:(?)h* ‘rat,’ Proto-Quichean **č’oh* ‘mouse, rat,’ Proto-Mixe-Zoque **cu:k*.

Chibchan: Rama *suk*.

506 MOUSE₅ **pik*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **a:pikwa* ~ **wa:pikw-*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **bi?i*, Tucano, Wanana, Desana *bi?i*, Tanimuca *be?i-a*.

507 MOUTH₁ **yaq’*

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan **yaq-* ‘talk (v.),’ Kwakwala *yaq’-ga?ʔ* ‘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: Mari-copa *?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.’ Mosenen *yi* ‘tell.’ Proto-Panoan **yo?i* ‘say.’

- [A191]

508 MOUTH₂ **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^wiša* ‘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^yakie* ‘chin.’ Caraja *zu:ka* ‘lip.’ Fulnio *d^yuči*. Ge: Apinage *yakoa*, *akwa*, Krenje *aykwa*, Suya *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 MOUTH₃ **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 MOUTH₄ **čik*

Penutian: Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **či:?*.

Paezan: Barbacoan: [language?] *čik*.

511 NAME (v.)₁ *d^laq

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala d^lyq- ‘to name, to call somebody something.’

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan *ʎak^yi ‘name (n.)’

Penutian: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan *lakat.

Macro-Tucanoan: Movima eʎaʔus.

512 NAME (v.)₂ *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(?)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^hoʔpa ‘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 NECK₁ *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 NECK₂ **aru*

Andean: Lupaca *aru* 'voice, speech,' Culli *uro*.

Equatorial: Toyeri *ari* 'throat,' Proto-Tupi **ayur* 'throat.'

- [AN77, E115]

518 NECK₃ **gwaka*

Almosan: Algonquian: Proto-Central Algonquian **-hkwe:ka-ni*, Kutenai -
ōkak.

Chibchan: Chibcha *guikin*.

Paezan: Andaqi *san-guaka*.

- [AK137, CP129]

519 NECK₄ **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^hu* '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 NEW₁ **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 NEW₂ **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 NEW₃ **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^yulari* ‘young, unripe.’

524 NIGHT₁ **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 **yami*.

- [A197] This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic and Kartvelian (Ruhlen 1994g).

525 NIGHT₂ **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^hai*. Seri *iʔamok*.

- [A198]

526 NIGHT₃ **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 NIGHT₄ **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: Mococho *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 NOSE₁ **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 NOSE₂ *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 NOSE₃ *ʔin

Almosan: Proto-North Wakashan **ʔnt-* ‘blow the nose,’ Oowekyala, Heilt-suk, 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 NOSE₄ *sunik ~ *sinik

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **sanikwiwa* ‘he blows his nose.’

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *ʔosēnōʔ* ‘smell.’ Siouan: Chiwere *sĩŋe* ‘smell,’ Tutelo *sũw* ‘stink.’ ?Proto-Keresan **wʰi:šĩni*.

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 *sĩn-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 **šĩñũ*, South Pame *šinyû*. Proto-Oto-Manguean **si(ʔ)*.

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **su-ni-ka*, Atanque *sun-kõna* ‘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 NOSE₅ **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 NOW₁ **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 NOW₂ **ne*

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **nẽ:*.

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 OLD₁ **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 OLD₂ **kayo*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **ke:hte:-*.

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-kayō:* ‘be old.’ Proto-Keresan **k'uy:yau-d^za*

‘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^y* ‘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 ONE₁ *(*ne-*)*k^we(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 *négutⁱ*, 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^w(ē)-* ‘to be one,’ *nʔaó:k^we*: ‘the one, the other,’ *náʔnka* ‘orphan,’ *-nikʔ-* ‘one of, one belonging to’ (noun class marker). Mosan: Proto-Salish (Swadesh) **nək^w-əʔ*, Proto-Salish (Kuipers) **nak^ʔ* ~ **nk^ʔ-uʔ* ‘one, another, family, tribe,’ Coeur d’Alene *nək^w-ε^ʔ* ‘one,’ *nik^w* ‘be tribe’ (i.e. ‘be one with the tribe, be one of the tribe’), Flathead *nk^wú*, Kalispel *nk^wuʔ*, Wenatchee-Columbian *nk^w*, Musqueam *nəc'aʔ*, Lummi *nəc'əʔ*, Duwamish *dəč'uʔ*, Twana *dəč'ó-*, Clallam *néc'uʔ*, Upper Chehalis *nač'aw*, Colville-Okanagan *nk^w*, Spokane *nk^wuʔ*, Saanich *nəc'əʔ*, Samish *nəcaʔ*, Tillamook *néc'-*. Wakashan: Heiltsuk *n'hx^w-*, Haisla *n'ax^w-*, Kwakwala *n'ax^w-*, *nā'χūla* ‘alone,’ *-k'ōt* ‘one side.’

Keresiouan: Caddoan: ?Adai *nancas*.

Penutian: Tsimshian: Coast Tsimshian *k^wi-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^ya*. 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^we(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 **ki* ‘first.’ Proto-Guahiban **kae-haewa*, Guahibo *kai*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Tucano *nik-e* (masculine), *nik-o* (feminine), *nik-a* (neutral), Hehenawa *k^winaro*, 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 ONE₂ **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 ONE₃ **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 ONE₄ *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 ONE₅ *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 ONE₆ *pa

Almosan: Proto-Central Salish *palaʔ. Proto-Chimakuan *waʔ ~ *wi(ʔ).

Keresiouan: Siouan: Biloxi *pa* ‘alone, only.’

Penutian: Gulf: Yuki *paⁿ⁻*, Wappo *p'ai* ‘alone,’ *pawa* ‘one.’

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *p^ha ~ *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 ONE₇ **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^ha-* ‘one, a.’

547 ONE₈ **čeñe*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **č[e:]HV*.

Andean: Gennaken *čeye*, Puelche *čia*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Durina *čun*.

Equatorial: Arawak: Mapiidian *čioñi*.

Macro-Carib: Carib: Waiwai *čewñe*, Apalai *seni*.

Macro-Ge: Guato *čenehe*.

548 ONE₉ **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 ONE₁₀ **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 ONE₁₁ *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 OPEN₁ *k'une

Almosan: Algic: Yurok *kæn*, Algonquian: Arapaho *kāne*. Kutenai *uk'un*.

Penutian: Oregon: Lower Umpqua *qunh*. Gulf: Wappo *k'ine*.

- [AK145, P173]

552 OPEN₂ *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 OWL₁ *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^yut^yu*.

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **tuku*.

555 OWL₂ *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 PARROT₁ *cece

Macro-Tucanoan: Munihe *čučaʔa*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **ćeće*, **jeje*.

558 PARROT₂ *kara ~ kerī

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **k'e:l*.

Chibchan: Chimila *isa kwaru*.

Paезan: Proto-Choco **k^hare* ‘parrot,’ Darien *k^hek^here* ‘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 PARROT₃ *kaka

Hokan: Yurumangui *kaukano*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Nambikwara: Anunze *kakaiteze*.

560 PARROT₄ *tuwi

Equatorial: Achuar *tuwiš*.

Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Lengua *ta:we*. Proto-Tacanan **tu(?)i* ‘small parrot.’

561 PAST₁ *-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 PAST₂ **-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 PAST₃ **-k*

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Coos-Takelma **-k*. Zuni *-ka*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **-k^yi*.

564 PEEL₁ **t^luq^w*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **luq^w ~ laq^w* ‘peel off.’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *t^luk^wa* ‘peel bark off with a lever.’

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **t-w-(l)* ‘peel, skin, bark, cover.’ Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **loki*.

565 PEEL₂ **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 PERSON₁ **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 PERSON₂ **mik*^w

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **lmaχ*^w ‘person, tribe,’ Proto-Salish **qal-mix*^w, ?Proto-Algonquian **mo:hkoma:na* ‘white man.’

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **ō:k^wih* ‘man, person.’

Penutian: California *mVw* ‘Indian,’ Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **mik^w:i* ~ *muk^w:i* ‘person, Indian.’

Paezan: Barbacoan *mik* ‘man,’ Proto-Choco **imik^hirã* ‘man.’

570 PERSON₃ **win*

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **-wi:nō-* ‘young man, young woman.’

Penutian: Plateau: North Sahaptin *winc* ‘man’; California: Wintun: Wintu *wint^hu:h*, Patwin *win*; Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **winaq* ‘man, person,’ Proto-Mixe-Zoque **?a-win* ‘elder brother of a woman’ (for *?a-*, see ELDER₁).

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 PLURAL₁ **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 PLURAL₂ **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 PLURAL₃ *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 PLURAL₄ *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^yel* ‘you (pl.), they.’

• [G33] This root is also found in Dravidian and Eurasiatic (Ruhlen 1994g).

578 POTATO₁ *qaw

Almosan: Proto-Salish *s-qawc.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *q^hawel ~ *q^χawel.

579 POTATO₂ *kali

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *čal^y ‘wild potato.’

Paезan: Proto-Choco *ik^hade ‘yam.’

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran *k^hali(-t^hi).

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 -š' (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).

Paезan: 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^w*.

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/SHE₂ *ti* ~ *ta*).

589 RIB₁ *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'ič'ič* ‘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-kotsi* ‘bone.’

Equatorial: Caranga *kaiču* ‘bone.’

Macro-Panoan: Cavineña (*epere-*)*'katse*, Komlek *kadekotti* ‘bone,’ Caduveo *koda-uek'o*.

590 RIB₂ *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 RIVER₁ **pala*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **-a:pa:w(e)* ‘water.’ Wakashan: Nootka *m’it^la* ‘rain.’

Penutian: Chinook *emat^l* ‘bay.’ Oregon: Miluk *pa^ht* ‘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 *?apal* ‘river.’ Muskogean: Alabama *pahni*. Mexican: Mayan: Mam *palu* ‘sea,’ Quiché *palau* ‘sea,’ Kekchí *palau* ‘sea, lake,’ etc.

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean *(*h*)*k^we(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. WATER₂.

593 RIVER₂ **tia*

Chibchan: Tarascan *ici* ‘water.’ Proto-Chibcha **di-ye* ‘water,’ Margua *dia* ‘water,’ Boncota *ria* ‘water,’ Pedraza *dia* ‘water.’ Guaymi: Gualaca *ti* ‘water,’ Murire *či* ‘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^ye* ‘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*)*i-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^ha* ‘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 ROAD₁ **nama*

Penutian: California: Maidu *nen* ‘travel.’ Gulf: Atakapa *non* ‘go.’

Andean: Patagon: Tehuelche, Teuesh *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 ROAD₂ **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 ROAD₃ **niyani*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *hiya:ni*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **(a)ñā* ‘path,’ Proto-Yuman **?uñā?ā* ‘road, path.’

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **ñan* ~ *niyani*.

597 ROCK₁ **?o*

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan **?oh*.

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **?uwi:ʔ* ‘stone.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **?o*.

Paezan: Barbacoan: Cuaiquer *u?uk* ‘stone.’

Equatorial: Tupi: Kepkeriwat *ok* ‘stone.’

598 ROCK₂ **tem*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tem*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan **tomo*.

599 ROOT₁ **pal*

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **p-l* ‘root, camass,’ Proto-Yokuts **ho:p^hul*. Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **wiʔ* ‘root, leg.’

Hokan: ?Proto-Hokan **e:Pu* ‘edible root.’

Equatorial: Proto-Maipuran **pale*.

- [P194]

600 ROOT₂ **tap*

Andean: Aymara *sap^hi* (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 ROPE₁ **c’ak*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **c’ay-* ‘guts, rope,’ Wakashan: Haisla *c’ax-*, Heiltsuk *c’aix*. ?Proto-Chimakuan **t’ik^{w-}*.

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^hok nak*. ?Rama *twik-sakak* ‘coral snake.’

Paezan: Barbacoan: Guambiano *ci*, Proto-Choco **či*.

Macro-Ge: Kaingang *šeya*.

- [P195]

602 ROPE₂ **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 *piʔit*, Colorado *petneka*; Choco:

Epena *beda*, Tado *beda-*, Saija *berau-da*, Chami *bers-da*, Catio *berawa-*, Darien *berawa-*; Warrau *boto* ‘be rotten.’

Equatorial: Arawakan: Achagua *badaid²iu*, 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 ROUND₁ *k’ir

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *sk’ir’i-.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *i:KiR.

606 ROUND₂ *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 RUN₁ *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 RUN₂ *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 SALIVA₁ **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^he* '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 SALIVA₂ **tok^w*

Almosan: Nootka *tāx^w* '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^w*. Mexican: Mixe-Zoque: Sayula *cux*.

- [AK161, P200]

612 SALIVA₃ **ole*

Andean: Aymara: Lupaca *wiɿi* 'to spit.' Cholona *olle*.

Equatorial: Guahibo: Guahibo *ione*, Cuiva *one*. Proto-Tupi **enɪ*.

- [A216]

613 SALMON **c'wan*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **c'wan(x^w)*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *(*a/i*)č(V)*wu:n* 'dog salmon.'

614 SALT₁ **k'ači*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *has-* 'sour.'

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **k^huyu?*. 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 SALT₂ $*si$

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-Manguian $*(n)se(h)(?)$
'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 SALT₃ $*tam$

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 SAY₁ $*ti$

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 SAY₂ *q^waʔ

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian *kaʔawitamawe:wa ‘talk’; Wiyot *he:l* ‘say.’ Kutenai *-haqaʔ-* ‘talk.’ Proto-Mosan *q^wa:l- ~ la:q^w ‘speak, sing,’ Chemakuan: Quileute *kul* ‘have an idea’; Proto-Salish *q^wal ‘speak, think,’ Sechelt q^wal ‘speak,’ Squamish q^wəʔlq^wl ‘talk excessively’ (with reduplication to indicate continuous action), Cowichan q^wal ‘say, speak,’ Musqueam q^wəyʔl ‘say, speak,’ Chilliwack q^we:l ‘say, speak,’ Samish q^wel ‘talk,’ Saanich q^wəʔlʔq^wəʔl ‘talkative’; Wakashan: Kwakwala k^wak^w- ‘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^wʔ ‘tell.’ California: Proto-Yokuts *wil(i). Zuni (ʔi)k^wa, Gulf: Wappo *kal* ~ *kel*, Natchez *weʔ* ‘speak,’ Tunica *wali* ‘call,’ Chitimacha *wan* ‘speech.’ Mexican: Totonac *wan*.

Hokan: Proto-Yuman *k^wark^war ‘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 SAY₃ *koʔe

Almosan: Algic: 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^y-* ‘says’; Salish: Thompson *-oko:* (quotative), Upper Chehalis *-ače* (quotative), Shuswap *-ok^we* (quotative).

Keresiouan: Caddoan: Wichita *-kaʔ* (quotative). Iroquoian: Seneca *ka* ~ *kæ* ‘story’ (but cf. Mohawk *kar* ‘story’ in SAY₂ 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 SAY₄ *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 SAY₅ *ʔona

Penutian: California: Miwok: Bodega Miwok ʔona. Oregon: Coos na. Gulf: Muskogean: Alabama ni.

Andean: Zaparo ana, Sabela ã, Quechua ni.

- [P201, AN96]

623 SAY₆ *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^y.

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, nī: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 nī:xi-k^{wa} 'tongue,' Muinane nexeba 'tongue,' Miranya nī:hik^{wa} 'tongue,' Imihita me-nehekoa 'tongue'; Yagua nikye:.

- [A256, AK5]

624 SCRATCH₁ *χ^{wala}

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *χala-.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *x^{wal}.

625 SCRATCH₂ *c'iχ

Almosan: Proto-Salish *saχ 'scrape.'

Penutian: California: Proto-Maiduan *c'ih.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *aceχi.

626 SEE₁ *new

Almosan: Proto-Algic *ne:w- 'see,' *nenʔaw '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 *?ɛn*, Kakua *?éd*. 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 *uɣuru* ‘eye.’
- Macro-Ge:** Fulnio *naha*. Proto-Ge **nə* ‘eye,’ Gorotire *no* ‘eye.’
- [A220]

627 SEE₂ *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 **wiŋ-at*^y ‘eye, face.’ Proto-Mixe-Zoque **win* ‘eye,’ Mixe *vihn* ‘eye.’
- Hokan:** Proto-Hokan **wiy* ‘eye.’
- Andean:** Sabela: Tiwituey *a-wiŋa* ‘eye,’ Sabela *a-winka* ‘eye.’
- Macro-Tucanoan:** Muncie *we-* ‘look at.’
- Equatorial:** Arawak: Wapishana *uŋ-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 SEE₃ *pi

- Almosan:** Proto-Algonquian **-a:pi* ‘see, look,’ *-a:pam* ~ **-apant* ‘see.’
- Hokan:** Proto-Hokan **aP* ‘look for.’
- Central Amerind:** Proto-Tanoan **pũ* ~ **bũ*. Proto-Uto-Aztecan **puci* ~

**pusi* ~ **pu* ‘eye.’

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha *uba-N-(k^{wa})* ‘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^yak*.

Macro-Panoan: Lengua: Mascoco *wi(-taiyi)*. Moseten *ve* ‘eye.’ Proto-Pano-Tacanan **bɪ* ~ **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 SEE₄ **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,’ *mɪ* ‘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 SEE₅ **ʔica*

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 **ʔis*; Mayan: Laca *ʔič* ‘eye,’ Yuca *ʔič* ‘eye,’ Itza *ič* ‘eye,’ Mopa *ʔič* ‘eye,’ Teco *wic* ‘eye,’ Mam *wic* ‘eye,’ Agua *wic* ‘eye,’ Cakchiquel *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 SEE₆ **ʔuka*

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *-xi:k-*. California: Proto-Yokuts *ʔek'a*. ?Zuni *ʔuna* ‘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 SEE₇ *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:ɔ.

633 SEE₈ *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^y ‘eye, face.’

634 SEED₁ *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. CHILD₂.

635 SEED₂ *icu

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Seneca *d^zi:ya*. Proto-Keresan *hi:d^zini, 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^loi*. 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 SEW₁ **pik*

Penutian: Zuni *pik(-ʔa)*. Gulf: Natchez *bōx*.

Hokan: Karok *vik* ‘weave,’ Yana *waga-* ‘twine a basket.’

- [P208, H159]

638 SEW₂ **k^wači*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **-kwa:či, *-kwa:ʔso*.

Penutian: Gulf: Chitimacha *č’uši*, Tunica *šuhči*.

Chibchan: Ika *kud^z-ən*.

Paezan: Barbacoan: Paez *kac*; Proto-Choco **k^ha:-*, Wounaan *k^ha-*, Epena *k^ha:-*.

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^hi* ‘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 SHOULDER₁ **tala*

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *telya*. Mosan: Salish: Nisqualli *talak^w*, Siciatl *salaq-ən*, Songish *t’elaw* ‘wing.’

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **te(h)leb*, Proto-Quichean **teleb*’.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **i-ta(l^y)* ~ **i-ṭa(l^y)* ‘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 SHOULDER₂ **peko*

Chibchan: Tarascan *pešo*.

Paезan: 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 SIT₁ *ču

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *či-* ~ *če-* ~ *čo-* ‘sit (sing.)’

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *ču.

Paезan: Barbacoan: Colorado *cu*, Cayapa *čuna*; Choco: Darien *č^hū-* ~ *č^hume-*, Catio *heweda ču-bía*; Itonama *čaʔu*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *jū(ʔ)hĩ.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan *caʔo-.

- [CP174]

650 SIT₂ *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 SIT₃ *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 SIT₄ *t'aq

Almosan: Algic: Algonquian: Shawnee *ateki* ‘it sits there’; Yurok *cek*. Mosan:
Wakashan: Nootka, Nitinat *t'iq^wiʔ*; 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 SIT₅ *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 SKIN₁ *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 SKIN₂ *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 SKIN₃ *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 SKIN₄ *k^wati

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 SKIN₅ **pai*

Andean: Mayna *-pa*, Yamana *api*, Jebero *pi* ‘body.’

Macro-Ge: Coroado *pe* ‘bark,’ Guato *i-fai* ‘bark.’

- [AN102, MG6]

659 SKIN₆ **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 SKIN₇ **pol*

Hokan: Jicaque *p^holok*. 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 SKY₁ **hewlak*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **huwak'a*.

Penutian: Proto-Sahaptian **hewle:k*. Gulf: Atakapa *lak*.

663 SKY₂ **?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 SLAP₁ *t^laq

Almosan: Proto-Mosan *t^laq-, Proto-North Wakashan *t^laq-, Haisla t^laq'ala
'noise of slapping (as when a beaver keeps hitting the water with its tail).'

Andean: Proto-Quechuan *laqya-.

665 SLAP₂ *lapa

Penutian: Zuni *lapapa*. Gulf: Tunica *láhpa*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *laP ~ naP.

666 SLEEP₁ *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 SLEEP₂ *?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^hawaṭ^h '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 SLEEP₃ *?inu

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts *?anaṭ^h '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 *nε* ‘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 SLEEP₄ **kanak*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **xən* ‘lie flat.’

Hokan: Proto-Yuman *kanak* ‘sit down.’

Paezan: Proto-Choco **k^hãi-*.

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 SLEEP₅ **ka ~ *k’o*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecán **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 SMALL₁ **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 SMALL₂ **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 SMALL₃ **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 SMELL₁ *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 *misla*. Proto-Chemakuan **m’as-* ‘nose, smell,’ Chemakum *masa*, Quileute *basi?* ‘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 *masači* ‘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(-ni?)* ‘rotten.’ Cf. Huave *ne-ame:č* ‘devil.’

Hokan: Chimariko *mičxu* ‘stink.’ Karok *imšakara* ‘smell’ (transitive). Pomo: North Pomo *miše* ‘stink,’ Southeast Pomo *mx-* ‘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 SMELL₂ *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^w ~ *huk^w ~ *hu ~ *hupa ‘smell’ (transitive), “but Proto-Numic *ʔak^{wi}, or even *ʔek^{wi}, 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^w* ‘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 SNAKE₁ *kan

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian *kenwe:pikwa.

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *hskwan*.

Penutian: Oregon: Alsea *k^yinaq*. 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^wa(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 *šīna ‘worm.’

Macro-Ge: Proto-Ge *kaŋã, Kaingang, Ingain, Amho *kundu*. Mashakali *kãnã(noc)*. Opaie *kuni*. Puri: Coropo *kañun*.

- [A240]

678 SNAKE₂ *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*.

Paезan: 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 *a?tape*.

Equatorial: Maipuran: Arawak [tomy] 'rope,' Chontaquiro *tumuti* 'rope,' Bare *isemo* 'rope.' Proto-Tupi **cam* 'rope.'

Macro-Panoan: Mascoian: Lengua *tama* 'rope, string.'

- [A241]

679 SNAKE₃ **aq^wi*

Almosan: Almosan: Proto-Chimakuan **yayw'a*.

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **šu:wi:*.

Penutian: Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **a:q'*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **Vwi, ?*q^heHwa*, Proto-Yuman **?awi: ~ *?uwi:* 'rattlesnake.'

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **k^wic* 'worm.'

Chibchan: Tarascan *ak^wici*. Proto-Aruak **aku* 'rattlesnake.'

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *awiwa* 'worm.' Iranshe *okup^yi* 'large snake.'

Equatorial: Achuar *aka* 'worm.' Piaroa: Saliba *jak^wi*. Proto-Maipuran **owi*.

Macro-Carib: Pemon *okoi*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Waikuruan **aqae(:)di*. Lengua *yagyewa* 'viper,' *yewa* 'rattlesnake.'

680 SNAKE₄ **kamuc*

Penutian: Mexican: Mayan: Proto-Quichean **kumac*, Proto-Mixe-Zoque **kumu* 'worm.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **q^ha^mpV* 'worm,' Proto-Yuman **xam?a:vi:r* 'water snake.'

Macro-Carib: Carib: Proto-Hianacoto **ikiyma?*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **kamošĩ*.

681 SNAKE₅ **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^hit^h* 'rattlesnake.'

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **q^hy:dɔ na:tV* 'rattlesnake, king snake, garter snake.'

Chibchan: Yanomam *natha* 'rope.'

- [AK177]

682 SNAKE₆ *pan

Paezan: Barbacoan: Colorado *pini*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Catuquina: Bendiapa *ixpan*, Canamari *ipa*. Iranshe *upa*.

Macro-Ge: Kaingang *pan*.

683 SNAKE₇ *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 SNAKE₈ *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 SNAKE₉ *wek

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **we:χpuš* ‘rattlesnake.’ California:

Proto-Yokuts **wek’wek* ‘worm.’ Zuni *wi* ‘worm.’

Macro-Tucanoan: MuniCHE *miweki* ~ *muwek^ye?e* ‘rattlesnake.’

686 SNAKE₁₀ *olaba

Paezan: Timucua *yoruba* ‘snake, viper, serpent.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *olaba?was* ‘rattlesnake.’

687 SNAKE₁₁ *oro

Chibchan: Yanomam *orukik*.

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **oro* ‘worm.’

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **rono*.

688 SNAKE₁₂ *pusu

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **Pu:Su:r̥V* ‘snake, glass snake.’

Chibchan: Rama *pusuk* ‘worm.’

689 SNAKE₁₃ *k’a?

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **sk’a?a:ju* ‘bullsnake.’

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **k’a?x-an* ~ **k’ax-an* ‘rope, vein.’

690 SNAKE₁₄ *yupi

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *yuʔubi ‘worm.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe yup^yiri.

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 SNOW₁ *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^zu-ri.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *yu.

- [H136]

694 SNOW₂ *pon

Almosan: Proto-Algic *pipo:ne ‘winter,’ Proto-Algonquian *mexponwi ‘snow,’ *pepo:nwi ‘winter.’

Penutian: Plateau: Molala peŋ. California: Proto-Yokuts *p^honp^hon. 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,’ *tití-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-ḡui-l* ‘to be closely related to one’s spouse.’

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **i-thā́-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-thā́-ka* ‘woman’s younger sister,’ Mandan *tā-ka* ‘younger sister,’ Dakota *taŋ-ka* ‘woman’s younger sister’; Proto-Siouan **yí-ki* ‘son’ (< Pre-Siouan **sí-ki* < **thin-ki?*), Assiniboine *cī-k-ši* ‘son,’ Teton *tshī-k-ši* ‘son,’ Omaha *ží-ge* ‘son,’ Biloxi *as-tí-ki* ‘boy’; Proto-Siouan **yú-ki* ‘daughter’ (< Pre-Siouan **šú-ki* < **thun-ki?*), Assiniboine *cū-k-ší* ‘daughter,’ Santee *tshū-k-ší* ‘daughter,’ Osage *žǒ-ge* ‘daughter,’ Biloxi *as-tō-ki* ‘girl’; Proto-Siouan **thú-wī* ‘paternal aunt,’ Dakota *toŋ-wiŋ* ‘aunt,’ Santee *tō-wī* ‘aunt,’ Winnebago *čū-wi* ‘paternal aunt,’ Biloxi *tōn-i* ‘paternal aunt, son-in-law’; Proto-Siouan **thú-kā* ‘grandfather,’ Assiniboine *tū-gā* ‘maternal grandfather,’ Santee *thū-kā* ‘maternal grandfather,’ Biloxi *tú-kā* ‘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-kā* ‘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-tsā* ‘male of animals,’ *ā-tʷnʷn* ‘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-oʷsā-* ‘brothers and sisters, to be siblings,’ *-a-tyo-* ‘brother-in-law,’ *thā -th-* ‘aunt,’ *-a-thū-wisā* ‘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,’ Tfalti *čaŋ-ko* ‘man,’ Coos *te^u* ‘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,’ *pī-tə-χ* ‘maternal uncle,’ *pām-ta* ‘woman’s brother’s son,’ Nez Perce *pi-tʷiʔn* ‘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^anay* ‘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^hon* ~ *a-t^hon* ‘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
Idefonso *-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^hū* ‘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 *?diúnó* ‘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 *žiʔĩĩiʔ* ‘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 ⁿ*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-čĩ-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,’ *sonä-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-tĩi* ‘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 *tân* ‘mother,’ Masaca *tani-mai* ‘younger sister’; Capishana *mia-tuna* ‘older brother,’ *totoi* ‘brother-in-law,’ *ñā-tō-küi* ‘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 *čĩi* ‘son,’ *čĩio* ‘daughter,’ *aʔ-čĩ* ‘elder brother,’ *aʔ-čo* ‘elder sister,’ *čoʔ-yeĩ* ‘younger brother,’ *čoʔ-yeo* ‘younger sister,’ Siona *ciyn* ‘son,’ Yupua *tsĩn-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,’ Mocoči *tin-gua* ‘son, boy,’ *nak-tun* ‘woman’; Zamucoan: Morotoko *a-tunesas* ‘girl’; Piaroa *tsehãũ* ‘brother,’ *tsẽã’nã* ‘grandfather,’ *čõno* ‘grandfather,’ *tsẽãnã* ‘grandmother’; Jivaroan: Cofan *tzán-dey-dése* ‘boy,’ *tsandeye* ‘man,’ *tõʔtõ* ‘uncle,’ Esmeralda *tin* ~ *tĩon* ‘woman,’ *tini-usa* ‘daughter,’ Yaruro *to-kwĩ* ‘small boy,’ *išĩ-to-hwĩ* ‘small girl,’ *ieyĩ-to-kwĩ* ‘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-tãĩ* ‘female infant,’ *kot-ãtãĩ* ‘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 *ã-tõ* ‘elder brother’; Guamo *tua* ‘daughter’; Coche *tan-gua* ‘old man’; Arawan: Deni *tu* ‘daughter,’ *daʔu* ‘son,’ Paumari *a-thon-i* ‘granddaughter,’ *ã-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^hun* ‘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-šẽn-õ(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 *taŋ-sa* 'girl' (cf. Atakapa *ten-sa* 'niece'), *ake-ton* 'old man,' Arara *enru-ten-po* 'small child,' Taulipang *aci-ke* 'older brother,' *aeke-toŋ* '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^w*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **wi:ʔsakanwi* ‘be bitter.’ Mosan: Salish:

Proto-Interior Salish **cʼaq* ‘sour, fermented.’ Proto-Chimakuan **soyox^w*.

Wakashan: Kwakwala *cyχ^w*.

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 SPIDER₁ *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^hə, Proto-Pomo *ʔik^ha(:) ~ *mik^ha:. Achomawi
yʔahā, Shasta *ʔa’k^wi’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 SPIDER₂ *madi

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha *madi-k^{wa}.

Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *modoi*.

701 SPIDER₃ *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 SPRING₁ (season) *t’ica

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *t’i:ça ‘springtime.’

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts *t^hisamuy.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *taca ‘summer.’

703 SPRING₂ (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^w*-

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **c'ax^w*- ~ *c'awa(x^w)*- ‘stab, spear, punch,’ Proto-Salish **ciq* ‘stab, dig,’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *c'x^w* ‘stab, stick into.’

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **-šək'*- ‘pierce.’

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **C'oq*.

Equatorial: Pakaasnovos *čukin'* ‘stab, pierce.’

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **čaʔči* ‘pierce.’

708 STAND₁ **tep*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **tep*-.

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **ta:p*.

709 STAND₂ **nuka*

Almosan: Wakashan: ?Kwakwala *t^hnq-* ‘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 STAR₁ **(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 STAR₂ **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: Cacaopera *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 STEAL₁ **mera*

Paezan: Catio *mera*, Chimu *omor* ‘thief.’

Macro-Carib: Muinane *meri-de*, Ocaina *mu:ro*, Yabarana *məɾə* ‘take!’

- [CP183, MC62]

715 STEAL₂ **k^wawa*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **k^waw-*.

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-č^wawa*.

Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **k^w* ‘take, seize.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Aztec-Tanoan **k^{hw}iya* ‘take.’

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **suwa*.

716 STICK (IN) **ʃaq^w*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Salish **ʃuʔ* ‘stab,’ Proto-Interior Salish **t^laq* ‘stick in, prick.’ Wakashan: Kwakwala *l^ʷaχ^w* ‘stick out the tongue.’

Penutian: Zuni *ʃak^wi* ‘stick in.’

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **laqa-* ‘stick (v.).’

717 STOMACH₁ **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 STOMACH₂ **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 STONE₁ **k'at^la*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *k'ɬ-* ‘stone, mineral.’ Proto-Chemakuan **k'at^la* ~ **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, Dzubucua, 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 STONE₂ **cak*

Almosan: Wakashan: Kwakwala *ck^w-* ‘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^h* ‘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 STONE₃ **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 STONE₄ *got

Paezan: Andaqui *guatihi*. Paez: Okoshkokyewi *k^wat*, Paez *kueth*, Paniquita *kuet*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *gĩtã-yo/ka.

Macro-Carib: Proto-Witotoan *goti.

723 STONE₅ *k^wak^w

Almosan: Proto-Salish *s-ʔax^w ‘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^yaʔ.

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean *(h)k^wa(h)(n), *(n)(h)ki(n) ‘stone, metal, iron, axe, bell.’ Proto-Tanoan *k^ua.

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^wat*, 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 STONE₆ *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 STONE₇ *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^w*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **c’awk^w*, Proto-Salish **c’uq^w*.

Penutian: Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **c^huc^ha*. 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 SUN₁ **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 SUN₂ **k^wal*

Chibchan: Rama *kunkani* 'light' (n.)'

Paezan: Timucua *ek^wela* 'day,' *karo* 'light, brightness.' Barbacoan: Guam-
biana *kwalim* 'day,' Totoro *kwa'lim* 'day.'

Andean: Qawasqar *kala* 'day.' Aymara *k^hana* 'light (n.)' Cholona *kenna*
'stars.' Itucala *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.' Koiaia *akori* 'moon.' Maku *kele*, *kelia* 'day.' Natu *kra-sulo*.
Puinave *kəlod*, *ked*, *korlot* 'star.' Uman *kari*.

Equatorial: Proto-Tupi-Guarani **k^war*. 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 SUN₃ **pali*

Penutian: Tsimshian *pialst*, *bials* 'star.' Oregon: Kalapuya *ampiun*. (Cali-
fornia: 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:
Yupulpec, Chiquimulilla, etc. *pari* 'day, sun.' Yanoama: Pubmatari
pilmoro.

Paezan: 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, Ne-
hanawa *wari*.

Macro-Ge: Bororo: Umutina *baru*. Ge: Apinage *bure*.

- [A250]

732 SUN₄ *t'ak^w

Almosan: Proto-Salish *c'ak^w '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 SUN₅ *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 SUN₆ *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 SUN₇ *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 SUN₈ **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 SUN₉ **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 *win* ‘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 SUN₁₀ **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 *pís*. 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 SUN₁₁ *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 SUN₁₂ *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 SUN₁₃ *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 SUN₁₄ *hada

Hokan: Proto-Pomo **haʔda*.

Equatorial: Arawak *hadali*.

743 SUN₁₅ *haya

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **hayál* ‘day.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Tucanoan: Coretu *haya*.

744 SUN₁₆ *pe

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *-*sbi* ‘there are sun rays.’

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *pe:*. California: Proto-Yokuts **ʔop^h* ‘sun, moon.’

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ipe* ‘day.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **pe(pe)* ‘lightning’ (reduplication = light light, as in Moseten 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: Moseten *pexpeo* ‘lightning.’ Proto-Tacanan **ue-* ‘light, today, tomorrow, clear sky, get light.’

745 SUN₁₇ **naq^w*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-North Wakashan **n’aq^w*- ‘daylight, moonlight, bright light.’ Proto-Coast Salish **nəq^w* ‘sun, fire, warm.’

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **ñā:ʔa*.

Macro-Carib: Bora: Bora *nōʔōgbwa* ‘sun,’ *nuʔpa* ‘sun, moon,’ Imihitā *nōxba*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Munche *ñuʔu* ‘day.’

Equatorial: Tinigua: Tinigua *nixo*. Piaroa: Saliba *nok^widia* ‘day.’

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Waikuruan **no:q:o* ‘day.’

746 SUN₁₈ **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^w* ‘swallow,’ Lower Fraser *məlq^w* ‘throat,’ Pentlach *məkwəm* ‘swallow,’ Nisqualli *omikalekw* ‘swallow,’ Columbian *məlq* ~ *enmellik* ‘tongue.’ Wakashan: Nootka *muk^w* ‘swallow,’ Kwakwala *młχ^w-ʔid* ‘chew food for the baby,’ *młq^wa* ‘moisten the fingers with the tongue,’ Heiltsuk *məlqva* ‘chew food for baby,’ *młχv-baút* ‘lick the end of something.’

Penutian: Chinook: Chinook *-móku-* ‘throat,’ *mlq^w-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^yaqé* ‘neck,’ Walapai *malqí* ‘throat, neck,’ Havasupai *milqé* ‘throat,’ Yavapai *melqí* ‘neck,’ Mohave *mal^yaqé* ‘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^yil^yq* ‘swallow,’ Walapai *mi-n^yalq* ‘swallow,’ Diegueño *we-n^yałq* ‘swallow,’ Havasupai *k^{we}-n^yálqika* ‘swallow,’ Akwa’ala *n^yelq* ‘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 *pe: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^ho* ~ *p^hu*, Proto-Maiduan **pu:*. Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **pⁱh* ‘swell up, flourish.’

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **pχu*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **poca* ~ *posa*.

- [AK187]

750 TAIL₁ **k^wati*

Almosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *hc-* ‘tail (of an animal).’

Penutian: California: Proto-Yokuts **k^ʔut^ʔ*. Zuni *k^ʔate*. Gulf: Natchez *ʔisi*, Tunica *-ása*, Muskogean: Koasati *haci*, Proto-North Yuki **k^ʔəhs*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan **-heʔ*.

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **heʔe*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **k^waci* ~ *k^wasi*. Proto-Tanoan **k^{hw}ē*.

Chibchan: Rama *kwa*.

751 TAIL₂ **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 TAIL₃ **baʔ*

Almosan: Proto-Algic, Proto-Algonquian **waʔanyi*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Movima *baʔeukua*.

753 TAIL₄ **ʔala*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **-a:lwiwe:*.

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *(i)ʔrhwəθ* ‘tail (of an animal).’

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *ʔalaksi-*.

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **iʔar*.

754 TAIL₅ **sin*

Keresiouan: Proto-Siouan **sīti*.

Chibchan: Yanomam *šina*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniche *sinira* ~ *šinira*.

755 TAIL₆ **sikal*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **saka:lwiwe:ne:w* ‘seize by the tail.’

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **(s)ik^wal-* ~ **salik^w* ‘tail, backbone.’

756 TALK *mal

Penutian: Tsimshian *mał* ‘tell,’ Takelma *malg^x* ‘tell.’

Chibchan: Intibucat *malmal* (with reduplication to indicate continuous action), Cuitlatec *oxmele* ‘chat.’

- [P247, CP192]

757 TAPIR₁ *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 TAPIR₂ *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 TAPIR₃ *kutu

Equatorial: Tupi: Wayoro *ikuait*. Arawak: Paresi *kotui*, Wapishana, Mapidian *kudui*.

Macro-Ge: Ge: Southern Cayapo *id^zhuta*, Cherente *kudu*, Acroa *kuete*, Chavante *kuhodu*, Kraho *kutkrut*, Remkokamekran *kukrute*, Krenje *kukrüdñ*, Cayapo *kukrot*, Suyu *kukrit*, Chikriaba *kuto*.

760 TAPIR₄ *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 TAPIR₅ **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^wə:IV* ~ **sul^y*, Tonkawa *cāl*, San Antonio *solo*.

- [P249, H145]

763 THAT₁ **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: Munihe *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?-tôt* ‘my father,’ *?im’-tôt* ‘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-yamășne* ‘my father-in-law,’ *š-ma-yamășne-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 THAT₂ **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 THAT₃ **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.’

Paезan: Barbacoan: Colorado, Cayapa *ya* ‘he, she.’ Timucua *yo* ‘that, the one.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **iye* ‘this.’

766 THAT₄ **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(?)* ‘he, she.’

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **ha* ‘he,’ Proto-Pomo **hamiya:* ‘his, her,’ **hamiyabʔ* ‘he,’ **hamiyad(?)* ‘she.’ Coahuilteco *a-* ‘this.’

Chibchan: Yanomam *a* ‘he, she, it.’

Paезan: 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/SHE₁ **ʔi* ~ **iʔ*.

767 THERE **ʔai*

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 THICK **q^wic*

Almosan: Algic: Proto-Algonquian **ay-* ‘be there, exist, abide, remain, stay.’

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **ʔaisi*.

Chibchan: Proto-Chibcha **ai-sai*.

769 THICK **q^wic*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Salish **q^wuc* ‘fat.’

Hokan: Proto-Yuman **k^wiš*.

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.’

Paezan: 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 THIS₁ *ki ~ *ko

Almosan: Proto-Algic *-akwi ‘he,’ *-Vk ‘he,’ *-Ka ‘that,’ *ko- ‘that (previously mentioned).’ Kutenai *qo:* ‘that.’ Proto-Mosan *q^wi- ~ *q^wa- ~ *qa ‘that,’ *-k^w ~ *-x^w ‘this, that.’ Proto-Chimakuan *k^wiʔV ‘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^wawk ‘he,’ *k^wus(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^wa(H)(n) ‘that, that one over there, this, he.’

Chibchan: Yanomam *kama* ‘he, she,’ *kih* ‘that.’ Tarascan -*x-* ‘he, she.’

Paezan: 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 **ki?i-* ‘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 THIS₂ **ni* ~ **na*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **na* ‘that.’ Kutenai *na*. Proto-Mosan **?ana-* ‘that, he.’

Penutian: California Penutian **nV* ‘that,’ Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **no-* ‘that, there.’ Zuni *?ona* ‘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 *onĩ* ‘this,’ Galibi *ini* ‘this,’ Wayana *ine* ‘he, she,’ Carib *ani* ‘here.’ Bora *a:nu:* ‘this masc.’

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Pano-Tacanan **Nĩ* ‘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 *?ãñã* ‘that.’ Fulnio *nyua* ‘that.’

- [G15, G23]

774 THIS₃ *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 THIS₄ *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 THAT₂ *pa.

776 THIS₅ *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^was- ‘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 THOU₁ *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^{hi}* 'you two masc.,' *amuʔp^{hi}* '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 THOU₂ *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 THOU₃ **ka*

Almosan: Proto-Algic **kʔ-* ~ **kʔet-* ~ **kʔeʔ-* ‘thou,’ **VKw* ‘you pl.’ Proto-Mosan **-k^w*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **q^hV* ‘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 THOU₄ **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 THOU₅ **hi*

Almosan: Kutenai *-hin-*.

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **hiʃu* ‘you (sg.?).’ Iroquoian: Tuscarora *i:θ* ‘thou, you.’

Paezan: Warao *ihi* ‘thou,’ *hi* ‘thee,’ *hi-* ‘thy.’ Timucua *hi*.

Macro-Carib: Yagua *hiy*.

783 THOU₆ **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 THREE₁ *(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 čəʔʔés, 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 THREE₂ *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.

Paезan: Barbacoan: Guambiano *pʔin*, Totoro *pʔin*.

Equatorial: Arawak: Wayuu *apʔinʔin*.

787 THROAT *nukʔ

Almosan: Kwakwala *nəqwa* ‘swallow,’ Nootka *nʔofaq-* ‘swallow.’

Keresiouan: Siouan: Tutelo -nūk-sāʔ ‘nape’ (= ‘neck-back’). Proto-Iroquoian Oneida -nuhs- ‘shoulder,’

Penutian: Plateau: North Sahaptin *nuqʔ-waš* ‘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 THROW₁ **aka*

Hokan: Comecrudo *aka*, Tonkawa *kā*.

Andean: Aymara *aha*, Zaparo *aha*.

- [H149, AN114]

789 THROW₂ **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^w* ‘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 TONGUE₁ **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 TONGUE₂ **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 *inãĩ*.

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 TONGUE₃ **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^hle*, Atsugewi *ap^hli*, 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 **haʔbaʎ* ~ **hawba*, East Pomo *bal*, Southeast Pomo *bal*,
Proto-Yuman **ʔimpaʎ* ~ *ipaʎ* ~ **ʔimpal* ~ *(y)*pal*, Maricopa *hipaʎ*,
Walapai *ipa:l*; Seri *ʔapʎ*, 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 TONGUE₄ **lat*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **la:-*. Proto-Chimakuan *-*ʎito*.

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *ʔel-a-*. California: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **ʔ-l/n* ‘tongue, lick,’ Proto-Yokuts **ʔalat* ‘lick.’

796 TONGUE₅ **tuk^w*

Almosan: Proto-Salish **tʰaq^w* ‘lick,’ **tix^w-(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^{wa}*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Muniče *tī(ʔi)-*.

Macro-Ge: Bororo *ki-taho*. Ge: Piokobyе *to*.

797 TONGUE₆ **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: Mosečen, Chimane *nem*.

Macro-Ge: Botocudo *numeraŋ* ‘lick.’ Kaingang: Aweikoma *nemindaŋ* ‘lick,’
a-numa-ma ‘tongue.’

798 TOOTH₁ **itʰio*

Keresiouan: Iroquoian: Tuscarora *ačhuri* ‘eat.’ Proto-Keresan *-*cʰe:nadʒa* ‘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 **cʰaway*. Gulf: Wappo *cʰe* ‘eat,’ *cʰeye* ‘eat up.’

Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **tí:c*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **i-ʔcow* ~ **i-ʔčow* ‘tooth,’ **ucʰi* ‘chew,’ Atsugewi *iʔcaw*, Chimariko *h-ucʰu*, Shasta *icau*, Yahi *ki-cʰau-na*. Proto-Yuman *č-

aw ‘eat hard food.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **tam*, Proto-Oto-Manguan **(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^za*, Cocama *d^zai*, Sapuya *za*, Kamuru *zah*.

Macro-Carib: Witoto: Hairuya *a-tig^yo*, Ocaina *atik^yo*, 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 TOOTH₂ **nan*

Almosan: Kutenai *unān*. Proto-Mosan **-nis*.

Chibchan: Cacaopera *nini*, Ulua *ana*. Yanomam *na*.

Paезan: Atacama *enne*.

Equatorial: Tupi: Tupari *ñain*, Arikem *ñāya*, Wayoro *o-nyain*, Kepkeriwat *i-ñañ*, Dourados *nenai*, Digüt *nĩ*. Jivaro: Upano *inai*, Achuar, Gualaquiza *nai*, Achual *nayi*, Aguaruna *ñai*.

Macro-Carib: Carib: Pemon *ne* ‘eat.’

- [AK194, CP202]

800 TOOTH₃ **kan*

Chibchan: Aruak: Bintucua *gan* ‘chew, bite.’

Paезan: 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 *maynieng* ‘tooth,’ Yagua *ixiana*, *oxana* ‘tooth.’

- [A60]

801 TOOTH₄ **kita*

Penutian: California: Proto-Miwok-Costanoan **kí(:)t ~ *kít:i-*.

Paезan: Proto-Choco **k^hida*, 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^zeta*, Pilaga *kada-ete*, Toba *kada-uve*, Komlek *kado-daiti*. Vejoz *no-čete ~ *no-cote^x*. Mataco *no-cote*.

802 TOOTH₅ *ʔik

Almosan: Kutenai -ʔik- ‘eat.’ Proto-Mosan *-ʔiks ‘eat,’ Proto-Chimakuan *qʔikʷo- ~ *qʔikʷi- ‘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 TOOTH₆ *yokʔ

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^(w)i*, Proto-Panoan *ʃokĩ, Proto-Tacanan *coke ~ *čukwe.

805 TREE₁ *man ~ *min

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian *-minšy ‘tree,’ *manehʔe: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 TREE₂ **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 *šičəl*, 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.'
- Paezan:** Andaqui *sa-kani-fi* 'forked stick.' Itonama *kana* 'pole.'
- Andean:** Yamana *haniš* 'oak.' Qawasqar *qʰar* 'tree, stick, bone.'
- Macro-Ge:** Kaingang *ka*.
- [A261]

807 TREE₃ **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 TREE₄ **hapa*

- Almosan:** Proto-Mosan **-pa(t)* 'tree, bush, plant,' Chimakuan: Quileute -*pat* 'tree, plant'; Wakashan: Nootka *-(ma)pt* 'tree, plant.' ?Proto-Salish **ɸ/yap*. 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^hukuri ‘pine.’ Rama bas.

Paezan: Itonama abite. Proto-Choco *pak^huru. Timucua yapi ‘palmetto.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Nambikwara *hapi:c ‘tree, stick.’ Iranshe p^yiʔi ‘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 TREE₅ *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 TREE₆ *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^ya ‘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 TREE₇ *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 TREE₈ *ʔok’ ~ *ʔoq’

Almosan: Kutenai ʔok’ ‘wood, firewood.’ Mosan: Salish: Proto-Interior Sal-

ish **ʔux*^w ‘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 TREE₉ **kul*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-North Wakashan **k^wl-* ‘cottonwood, poplar.’

Keresiouan: Proto-Iroquoian **ku:reh* ‘oak, acorn,’ Tuscarora *ku:reh* ‘acorn.’

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **k^{yh}uL* ‘white oak.’

Andean: Mapudungu *kʔl-kʔl* ‘fern.’

814 TREE (OAK)₁ **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^zu:*; Muskogean: Choctaw *iti*, Alabama *ito:*, Creek *ito*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan **teʔ* ~ *t^ye:ʔ* ‘tree, wood,’ Proto-Quichean **če:ʔ* tree, wood.’

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **TaK* ‘black oak,’ Proto-Pomo **t^hoʔo(:)* ‘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^{zi}* ‘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)₂ **k^win*

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^wap* ‘oak,’ **wey* ‘oak,’ **q^wa:k^huIV* ‘acorn of white oak,’ Proto-Pomo **wiyu* ‘oak.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **k^wi(ni)* ~ **wi* ‘acorn,’ **kui* ‘tree.’

Proto-Tanoan **k^wē* ‘oak.’ Proto-Oto-Manguean *(*h*)*k^wa*(*h*)(*n*) ‘pine tree.’

Chibchan: Yanomam *kanawə* ‘cedar tree.’

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **qiwña* ~ **qinwa* ‘tree.’ ?Mapudungu *šiweñ* ‘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. TREE₂.

816 TREMBLE **tuk^w*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **tux^w-*.

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **čukču* (with reduplication to indicate continuous action).

817 TURKEY **kutu*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan **k^wuc* ‘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 TURTLE₁ **hola*

Keresiouan: ?Proto-Keresan **heyaji*.

Penutian: Gulf: Natchez *?olo*, Muskogean: Creek *hola:kwa*.

Equatorial: Proto-Guahiban **hala* ‘river turtle.’

820 TURTLE₂ **kuli*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **ko*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Iranshe *ik^yuri*. 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 TWO₁ *(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^huh* ‘forty’ (literally, ‘two persons’), Patwin *pʔan-* ‘twins.’ Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **p-n*, Proto-Maiduan **pen*, Maidu *pene*. Gulf: Yuki: 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^wa(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 Panamaka *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 HAND₉ **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^yu*, 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). Mosen: Mosen *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 TWO₂ *?aku

Penutian: Oregon: Takelma *ka:ʔ-m*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan **ak-* ‘we two, we,’ **kaʔ-* ‘two.’

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **haq^hu* ~ **Hɔ:Hq^hɔ*, Proto-Pomo **?aq^hoc*, Proto-Coahuiltecan **axte*, Coahuilteco *axte*. Achomawi *haq*, Chimariko *xoku*, Karok *?axak*, San Antonio *kakšu*, Tequistlatec *ko:k^h*, 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 *hākānit*.

- [H153, AN82] This is, of course, the etymology from which the Hokan branch of Amerind got its name, just as TWO₁ 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 TWO₃ *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 TWO₄ *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 TWO₅ *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 TWO₆ *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 TWO₇ **men*

Paезan: 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 TWO₈ **kom*

Chibchan: Guaymi: Chumulu *kumat*, Gualaca *kumox*.

Andean: ?Yamana *kampay*. Zaparoan: Iquito *ko:mi*, Cahuarano *komu*.

829 TWO₉ **pok*

Chibchan: Talamanca: Brunca *bug*, Tirub *pug-da*. Chibcha: Tegria, Boncota, Manare *bukai*, Pedraza *bukoi*. Paya *pok*. Cuna: Cueva *poka*. Rama *puksak*.

Paезan: Chimu: Puruha *pax*. Timucua *pakano* ‘second, subsequent.’

Andean: Aymara: Cauqi *paha*.

830 TWO₁₀ **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 TWO₁₁ **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 TWO₁₂ **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 TWO₁₃ **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. TWO₇ *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)₁ **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)₂ **nak^we*

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan **-nawe*.

Hokan: Proto-Yuman *nak^weʔ*, **nowi* ‘father’s older brother.’

837 UNCLE (PATERNAL) **maq*

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptin **pi:-maχ*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **mak^y’u* ‘uncle,’ Proto-Pomo **maha-* ‘brother-in-law,’ **meqi-* ‘elder brother.’

838 UP₁ **yaq*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **yuk-* ‘upwards (locational).’

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **-yaq* ‘up to.’

Equatorial: Jivaro: Achuar *yaki* ‘up.’

839 UP₂ **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 URINE₁ **seki*

Almosan: Proto-Central Algonquian **šeki*, Musquam *səχ^wa* ‘urinate.’

Equatorial: Kamaru *cako* ‘urinate,’ Shuara *šiki*, Piaroa *caxkuelia*.

- [AK200, E120]

841 URINE₂ **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 VAGINA₁ *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^hVdV* ~ **wic* ~ **wac* ‘vulva,’ Karok *vi:θ*. Tequistlatec *la-bešu?*. Washo *d-i:bis*. Yuman: Diegueño *hapīčatt*.
- Chibchan:** Move *butie*, Paya *petā-is-tapcca* ‘anus.’
- Paezan:** Chimu *pot*, Ayoman *busi*, Allentiac *poru*.
- Andean:** Quechua *upiti* ‘anus,’ Yamana *pūta* ‘hole,’ Aymara *p^huthu*; Macro-Tucanoan: Gamella *sebu* ‘vulva’ (strikingly similar to Mohegan *sebud*, cited above), Uaiana *mbitikope* ‘anus,’ Uasöna *hibitikope*.
- Equatorial:** Guahibo *petu*, Guayabero *sil-^huta* ‘vulva,’ Kandoshi *apčir-ič* ‘vulva,’ Maipuran: Goajiro *piero*, Toyeri *apuit*, Wachipairi *ped*, Piapoko *af^huta-ni* ‘buttocks,’ Tariana *pāti-niawa*, Warakena *pēde* ‘clitoris,’ Caranga *piče* ‘vulva,’ Uro *piši*, (cf. also such Equatorial forms as Siusi *t^su-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 VAGINA₂ *?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,’ *ĩsa* ‘penis.’

Macro-Carib: ?Yagua: Yagua *tašiy*. Carib: Pemon *sai* ‘vagina,’ *sayi yepi* ‘vulva’ (= vagina lips, for *yepi* ‘lips’ see LIP *yepi* above).

- [CP209]

844 VULVA₁ **naq*^w

Almosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk *nax*^w, Kwakwala *naʔx*^w, Haisla *nax*^w. ?Proto-Chimakuan **loq*^{wa}- ‘hole, cave, tunnel.’

Penutian: Tsimshian *næ:qʔoq* ‘hole.’ Plateau: Klamath *-(o)ne:g* ‘into a hole.’ Gulf: Chitimacha *neʔēs*.

Equatorial: Jivaro: Achuar *nakič*.

845 VULVA₂ **?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:t^h*. 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 WARM₁ **yo*

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **yu*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **yoʔ* ‘warm (v.)’

849 WARM₂ **cuqal*

Almosan: Proto-Mosan **culq^w-a:*, Wakashan: Kwakwala *c'lq^{wa}* ‘hot, be hot.’

Penutian: Proto-Penutian **suqal* ‘warm, cook, melt.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **suk* ‘hot.’

850 WASH₁ **c’iq*^w*a*

Almosan: Mosan: Salish: Squamish *šuk*^w ‘bathe,’ Shuswap *sex*^w-*m* ‘bathe,’ Pentlatch *cux* ‘wash,’ Upper Chehalis *c’x*^w ‘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 *sihina* ‘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 WASH₂ **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*^w*a*/**uq*^w*a*

Almosan: Algie: Yurok *-k^w* 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^w* ‘in water,’ *?a:k-nuxu?no:k* ‘creek.’ Proto-Mosan **k’a* ‘water, river,’ **qaw-* ‘water, drink.’ Proto-Salish **-q^wa* ~ **-k^wa* ‘water,’ **q^wac* ‘full of water,’ **q^wu?* ~ **?uq^w* ~ **qul* ~ **qal* ‘drink (v.), water,’ **k’ə?* ‘rain, drip,’ Proto-Coast Salish **qəl* ‘water,’ **k^wut^l* ‘salt water, ocean,’ Songish *q^wa?* ‘water,’ Tillamook *qiw* ‘water,’ Musqueam *qa?* ‘water.’ ?Proto-Chimakuan **-χax^wi* ‘drink, eat,’ *k^wiw’a* ‘moving water,’ Quileute *q^wot^l* ‘spill out.’ Wakashan: Nootka *f’ot^l* ‘raining in torrents,’ ?Heiltsuk *d^zaq^wala* ‘wind off of the sea,’ ?Kwakwala *d^zaq^wa* ‘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^y-s* ‘water.’ Oregon: Proto-Kalapuyan **k^{hw}it* ‘drink,’ Proto-Coos-Takelma **ʔu:k^w* ‘drink,’ Takelma *ʔu:k^w* ‘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^{hwa}a* ~ **a:-x^yaʔ* ‘water,’ *(*a/i*)*k^{hwey}* ‘rain, cloud,’ **ʔik^{hwi}* ‘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^{ha}* ‘water,’ **hoʔq’o(k)* ‘drink,’ **ʔihk^{he}(:)* ~ **kehk^{he}(:)* ‘rain,’ Kashaya *ʔahq^{ha}* ‘water,’ North Pomo *k^{ha}* ‘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^{we}(n)* ‘river, stream, spring,’ *(*ʔ*)*k^{wi}(ʔ)(n)* ‘drink, swallow.’

Chibchan: Chibcha *uk-* ‘drink (v.)’ Proto-Aruak **ak-ga* ‘drink.’ Yanomam *koa* ‘drink.’

Paезan: Timucua *uku* ‘drink (n. & v.),’ *huk^{we}* ‘rain, flood, storm.’ Chimu: Eten *xa* ‘water.’ Mariusa *xo* ‘water.’ Allentiac *aguar* ‘sea,’ Millcayac

aka ‘water,’ *ahuar* ‘sea,’ Gayon *guayi* ‘water.’ Proto-Choco **k^hoi* ‘rain.’ Cañari *kay* ‘water.’ Barbacoan: Colorado *kuci-* ‘drink (v.),’ Cuaiquer *kwan* ‘drink (v.)’ Shirara *okuli* ‘water,’ Beto *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,’ Coregua *oko* ‘water,’ *ũk^hu-* ‘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.’ Maipuran: 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^we* ‘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 *gual* ‘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^wa* ‘water’ and **uq^wa* ‘drink’—and some languages preserve both forms: Proto-Salish **-q^wa* ~ **-k^wa* ‘water,’ **q^wac* ‘full of water,’ **q^wuʔ* ~ **ʔuq^w* ‘drink (v.), water,’ Proto-Mayan **haʔ* ‘water,’ **uk* ‘drink,’ Proto-Pomo **ʔahq^ha* ‘water,’ **hoʔq^o(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 WATER₁ **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^wa* ‘rain.’ Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **me(h)ya* ‘sea,’ **mihā ni: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 **hamǽi* ‘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 WATER₂ **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^wa(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 WATER₃ **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^{hi}-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 WATER₄ **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: Chumulu *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 WATER₅ **k^wati*

Almosan: Mosan: Chemakuan: Quileute *χ^wós-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 WATER₆ *p'ak

- Almosan:** Proto-Algic *pek^w- 'into a body of water,' *-ephe:ʔw- 'rain,' Proto-Algonquian *-epye:(k). Mosan: Wakashan: Heiltsuk piχ^wʔa 'damp,' Haisla piq^wa 'dampen.'
- Penutian:** Tsimshian p'ak^hp'ak^h '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^hac '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 pāha, Yamamadi pāhã.
- 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 WATER₇ *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^ha?yexu* ‘well (water),’ *nuxpayk^ho* ‘water.’

Macro-Panoan: Mascoc *na(-thwatk^yi)* ‘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 WATER₈ **?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 WATER₉ *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 WATER₁₀ *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 tonó.

• 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 WATER₁₁ *c’i

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Chimakuan *c’i ~ *c’o.

Keresiouan: Proto-Keresan *c’id’i ‘water,’ *čína ‘river.’

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mayan *čiya ‘river.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Tanoan *c^hũ ‘drink.’

Chibchan: Tarascan iči. Guaymi: Muoi, Murire, Sabanero či.

Paezan: Itonama it^ye ‘rain (n.).’

Equatorial: Itogapuc iči.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Tacanan *íci- ‘drink.’ Mosesten čei ‘drink.’

864 WATER₁₂ *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 WATER₁₃ **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,’ *dušig* ~ *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^zu*.

Macro-Carib: Andoke *d^zühü*. Proto-Witotoan **d^zo:do* ‘spring of water,’ Nipode *do* ‘spring of water,’ Ocaina *d^zó: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 WATER₁₄ **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 WATER₁₅ **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 WATER₁₆ **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 INCLUSIVE₁ *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)₂ *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^haʔ* ‘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^h* ‘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 WHITE₁ **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. WHITE₂. This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Indo-European, and Altaic (Illich-Svitych 1967).

874 WHITE₂ **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. WHITE₁.

875 WHITE₃ **tora*

Paezan: Tucura *torro*, Atacama *tara*.

Macro-Ge: Caraja *dora*, Chiquito *turasi*.

- [CP215, MG120]

876 WHITE₄ **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^w*

Almosan: Mosan: Proto-Salish **t’əx^w*.

Penutian: Proto-Yokuts-Maiduan **ʎ-(w)* ‘win, overcome, fight.’

880 WIND₁ (n.) **kiq*

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

Penutian: Gulf: Proto-Atakapa-Chitimacha **he*. Mexican: Proto-Mayan **ʎi:k^(w)*, 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 WIND₂ (n.) *k^wala

Penutian: Chinook *ikxala*. Oregon: Takelma *kwalt*. Plateau: Yakima *xuli*.

Andean: Iquito *akira*, Qawasqar *kel*.

- [P276, AN123]

882 WIND₃ (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 WIND₄ (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^hiw*. 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 WIND₅ (n.) *suk^w

Almosan: Proto-Salish **suk^w* ‘blow.’

Penutian: Plateau: Klamath *swok* ‘blow breath.’ California: Proto-Yokuts **šok^hiw*. 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.’ Cottoname *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 WISH₁ (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 WISH₂ (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 *-maʔai ‘together with.’

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan *mēʔnã ~ bēʔdã.

890 WOLF *tepa

Hokan: Proto-Hokan *TEPə(:) ‘coyote.’

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan *tepa.

891 WOMAN₁ *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 *nãmiʔi*. 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: Tum-
raha *timičarne*, Chamacoco *tübičarne*, *tümičarne*.

- [A271]

892 WOMAN₂ *kuna

Almosan: Almic: Algonquian: Shawnee *kwan-iswa* ‘girl.’ Mosan: Wakashan: Nootka *ganəmo*, Bella Bella *ganəmə* ‘woman, wife.’ Salish: Lkungen *kaŋi* ‘girl,’ Spokane *en-okhono* ‘wife,’ Siletz *qenaʔs* ‘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^wayina* ‘woman.’ Gulf: Yuki *aŋ-k’an* ‘mother.’

Hokan: Chumash *kunup* ‘girl,’ Diegueño *kux-k^wan^y* ‘mother,’ *xe-k^wan^y* ‘daugh-

ter,’ Seri *kuãam* ‘female,’ *koŋkái:* ‘wife,’ Tonkawa *k^wãn* ‘woman,’ Karankawa *kanin* ‘mother,’ Tequistlatec (*ŋ-*)*agaʔno* ‘woman, female.’

Central Amerind: Tanoan: Proto-Tiwa **k^wiem* ‘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^wanasi* ‘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 DIMINUTIVE₁ *-*ihsa*. This root is also found in Afro-Asiatic, Indo-European, and Altaic (Illich-Svitych 1967).

893 WOMAN₃ **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 WOMAN₄ *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 WOOD₁ *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 WOOD₂ *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: Guamacá *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^y* ‘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 WORK₁ (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*, Crengez *api*.

- [A277]

899 WORK₂ (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 WORM₁ **k^wec*

Penutian: Zuni *wi*.

Central Amerind: Proto-Uto-Aztecan **k^wic*.

Andean: Proto-Quechuan **waska* ‘rope.’

Paezan: Barbacoan: Paez *wes*.

Macro-Tucanoan: Proto-Tucanoan **wãsi*, Carapana *wãsiĩ*, Barasana *wãsiĩ*, Secoya *waʔsi*.

901 WORM₂ **nokin*

Penutian: Plateau: Proto-Sahaptian **n(i)ka:* ‘rope.’ Mexican: Proto-Mayan **niʔiŋ*.

Macro-Panoan: Proto-Panoan **noʔin*.

902 WORM₃ **piru*

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **pel^ya*, Proto-Pomo **bi:la*, Proto-Yuman **pila*.

Chibchan: Rama *biro* ‘dirt worm.’

Paezan: Proto-Choco **birĩ* ‘rattlesnake.’

Andean: Mapudungu *piru*.

903 YEAR₁ **?ame*

Penutian: Mexican: Proto-Mixe-Zoque **?a:me*.

Hokan: Proto-Hokan **amatʔ*, Proto-Yuman **matʔa:mk*.

904 YEAR₂ *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 YELLOW₁ *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 YELLOW₂ *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 YESTERDAY₁ **kan*

Central Amerind: Proto-Oto-Manguean *(h)k^we(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 YESTERDAY₂ **weł*

Almosan: Proto-Algonquian **wa:ʔłwa:panwi* ‘dawn, daybreak,’ Proto-Central Algonquian **weła:kw-*. Kutenai *włka*. 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), *pẽ(-nã)* ‘brother-in-law’ (Brüzzi). Tucano: Waikana *baĩ(-ga)* ‘brother,’ *baũ(-ga)* ‘sister,’ Muniche *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 YUROK: 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 CADDOAN: 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, Simlaton

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: Betoí
 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, Teuesh, 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, Mascoy, 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, Cazinua, 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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- ABOVE₁ *itai*
 ABOVE₂ *apa-k*
 ABOVE₃ *araka*
 ABOVE₄ *q'ał*
 ABOVE₅ *pin*
 ADJECTIVAL/PARTICIPIAL FORMANT *ki*
 AGAVE *mal*
 AGENTIVE₁ *-re ~ -ri*
 AGENTIVE₂ *ta*
 AGOUTI *kuri*
 ALL *q'ac*
 ALLATIVE *-k*
 ALONG(SIDE) *no*
 ALREADY *na*
 ANGRY *ili*
 ANT₁ *tai*
 ANT₂ *cakon*
 ANT₃ *pic'u*
 ANT₄ *kaci*
 ANT₅ *tapu*
 ANT₆ *bohu*
 ANTEATER *bigō*
 ANUS *kuti*
 APPEAR *laq^w*
 ARM₁ *poq*
 ARM₂ *k^wana*
 ARM₃ *noq' ~ neq'*
 ARM₄ *k^wala*
 ARMADILLO *pema*
 ARRIVE *wila*
 ARROW *mā*
 ASHES *pok ~ pul*
 ASK₁ *maca*
 ASK₂ *tempa*
 AUNT *pan*
 AXE *supa*
 BACK₁ *iki*
 BACK₂ *mak*
 BACK₃ *puna*
 BAD₁ *kalen*
 BAD₂ *čaka*
 BAD₃ *q'ac*
 BARK (v.) *wok*
 BATHE *puk*
 BE₁ *upi*
 BE₂ *(a)t'a*
 BE₃ *ʔi*
 BE₄ *ka*
 BEAR (v.) *ʔa*
 BEARD₁ *p'oti*
 BEARD₂ *tuk*
 BEE₁ *pana*
 BEE₂ *mumu*
 BEHIND₁ *(a)pi*
 BEHIND₂ *ini*
 BELLY₁ *kate*
 BELLY₂ *pali ~ pani*
 BELLY₃ *mat*
 BELLY₄ *to*
 BELLY₅ *si*
 BEND/KNEE/ELBOW/BOW (N.) *poq'-os*
 ~ *c'e-puq'*
 BIG *pala*
 BIRD₁ *c'ik(c'ik) ~ c'uk(c'uk)*
 BIRD₂ *p'išk'u*
 BITE₁ *kua*
 BITE₂ *tak*
 BITTER₁ *pe(s)q' ~ p'o(s)q'*
 BITTER₂ *cah*
 BITTER₃ *kai*
 BLACK₁ *pol*
 BLACK₂ *k'ara*
 BLACK₃ *t'uki*
 BLACK₄ *teteu*
 BLACK₅ *tuni ~ tuli*
 BLOOD₁ *pile*
 BLOOD₂ *menu*
 BLOOD₃ *ʔita*
 BLOOD₄ *pe*
 BLOOD₅ *k^wa*
 BLOW (v.) *puci ~ puku*
 BLUE/GREEN *sik^wa*
 BODY₁ *p'i*
 BODY₂ *ime*
 BODY PART SUFFIX *-an*
 BOIL (v.) *t'oq^w*
 BONE₁ *pak*
 BONE₂ *t'ui*
 BONE₃ *cak*
 BONE₄ *p'i*
 BONE₅ *χaq*
 BONE₆ *ʔunku*

BOW/ARROW	<i>ʃoq^w</i>	CLOSE ₂ (v.)	<i>kui</i>
BREAK (v.)	<i>k'at'i</i>	CLOSE ₃ (v.)	<i>pan</i>
BREAST ₁	<i>k'amin</i>	CLOUD ₁	<i>tal(u)</i>
BREAST ₂	<i>niono</i>	CLOUD ₂	<i>pa(n)k</i>
BREAST ₃	<i>pin</i>	CLOUD ₃	<i>pot</i>
BREAST ₄	<i>tu</i>	CLOVER	<i>pot</i>
BREATHE	<i>hiq^w</i>	COLD ₁	<i>canik</i>
BRING	<i>tuk</i>	COLD ₂	<i>t'ak'</i>
BROAD	<i>pat'</i>	COLD ₃	<i>kaca</i>
BURN ₁	<i>t'eq'a ~ t'oq'a</i>	COLD ₄	<i>to</i>
BURN ₂	<i>pek' ~ pok'</i>	COLD ₅	<i>kui</i>
BURN ₃	<i>ka ~ ko</i>	COLD ₆	<i>cia</i>
BURN ₄	<i>moʃok</i>	COME ₁	<i>nani</i>
BUTTERFLY ₁	<i>palpal</i>	COME ₂	<i>ta</i>
BUTTERFLY ₂	<i>penpen</i>	COME ₃	<i>tak</i>
BUTTERFLY ₃	<i>sape ~ sapipe ~ sasipe</i>	COME ₄	<i>hau</i>
BUTTERFLY ₄	<i>liklik</i>	COME ₅	<i>pi</i>
BUY	<i>teu</i>	COOK ₁	<i>maki</i>
BUZZARD ₁	<i>hus ~ huš ~ ʔus ~ ʔuš</i>	COOK ₂	<i>q^waʃ ~ q^wal</i>
BUZZARD ₂	<i>wačuli ~ wayuri</i>	COOK ₃	<i>koko</i>
CALL ₁	<i>wanik</i>	COPULATE	<i>huca</i>
CALL ₂	<i>pai</i>	CORN	<i>cikcik</i>
CAPYBARA	<i>keču</i>	COUNT	<i>oši</i>
CARRY ₁	<i>apa</i>	COVER ₁ (v.)	<i>tek'u</i>
CARRY ₂	<i>ko(n)</i>	COVER ₂ (v.)	<i>sape</i>
CARRY ₃	<i>nek</i>	CROW/RAVEN	<i>q'aq'(aq)</i>
CAUSATIVE ₁	<i>-(a)t(u)</i>	CRY ₁ (v.)	<i>wuni</i>
CAUSATIVE ₂	<i>ma</i>	CRY ₂ (v.)	<i>ʔipu</i>
CAUSATIVE ₃	<i>cV ~ Vc</i>	CUT ₁	<i>q^wat</i>
CEDAR	<i>caq'u</i>	CUT ₂	<i>cik^w</i>
CHEEK	<i>pok</i>	CUT ₃	<i>t'an</i>
CHEST	<i>t'ik ~ t'uk</i>	CUT ₄	<i>q'ec ~ q'ac</i>
CHEW	<i>qac</i>	CUT ₅	<i>t'ek</i>
CHICKEN	<i>cik</i>	DANCE	<i>taluk</i>
CHILD ₁	<i>(a)nu</i>	DARK	<i>t'umak</i>
CHILD ₂	<i>mako</i>	DAY	<i>q^wai</i>
CHILD ₃	<i>pan</i>	DEER ₁	<i>sula</i>
CHILD ₄	<i>ʔali</i>	DEER ₂	<i>taʔ</i>
CHILD ₅	<i>t'uk</i>	DEER ₃	<i>mana</i>
CHILD ₆	<i>pam</i>	DESIDERATIVE	<i>-he</i>
CHILD ₇	<i>man</i>	DIE ₁	<i>maki</i>
CHILD ₈	<i>k'ati</i>	DIE ₂	<i>tumpa</i>
CHIN	<i>yuh</i>	DIE ₃	<i>t'iq'</i>
CHIPMUNK	<i>wasila</i>	DIE ₄	<i>kam</i>
CHOP	<i>qak</i>	DIE ₅	<i>yak</i>
CLOSE ₁ (v.)	<i>q'apa</i>	DIE ₆	<i>nek</i>

- DIE₇ *wanu*
 DIG₁ *(o)kua*
 DIG₂ *tik*
 DIG₃ *(w)ali*
 DIMINUTIVE₁ *-ihsa*
 DIMINUTIVE₂ *-mai*
 DIRTY *c'i*
 DO *?a_χ*
 DOG₁ *(a)kuan*
 DOG₂ *kucu*
 DOG₃ *c'i? ~ c'u?*
 DOG₄ *ari*
 DOG₅ *dia*
 DOG₆ *nuq*
 DOG₇ *puku*
 DOG₈ *waš*
 DOVE *kowi*
 DRY₁ *ana*
 DRY₂ *caqi*
 DUAL *si*
 DUCK *q'atq'at*
 DURATIVE *la*
 DURATIVE/PUNCTUAL *-a/-i*
 DUST₁ *pur*
 DUST₂ *pe*
 DWELL *?u*
 EAGLE *?asa*
 EAR₁ *kamon*
 EAR₂ *kana*
 EAR₃ *pa(n)*
 EAR₄ *naka*
 EAR₅ *tine*
 EAR₆ *tiki*
 EAR₇ *ali*
 EAR₈ *isa*
 EAR₉ *mal*
 EAR₁₀ *ka*
 EARTH₁ *ila*
 EARTH₂ *tampi*
 EARTH₃ *ama(k) ~ ama(t)*
 EARTH₄ *nan(u)*
 EARTH₅ *pata*
 EARTH₆ *kake*
 EARTH₇ *pile*
 EAT₁ *pa ~ pe*
 EAT₂ *k'uli ~ k'uri*
 EAT₃ *(h)ama*
 EAT₄ *k'ama*
 EGG₁ *na*
 EGG₂ *tompa*
 EGG₃ *paki*
 EGG₄ *c'ik^w*
 ELBOW₁ *q'ucu*
 ELBOW₂ *kuk*
 ELDER₁ *?a-*
 ELDER₂ *-ko*
 EXCREMENT₁ *pa*
 EXCREMENT₂ *(i)ta(h)*
 EYE₁ *(i)to(?)*
 EYE₂ *tene ~ tele*
 EYE₃ *k'an*
 EYE₄ *tuki ~ tuku*
 EYE₅ *q'^wał*
 EYE₆ *kap*
 EYE₇ *kad*
 EYE₈ *asa ~ aša*
 EYE₉ *ere*
 EYE₁₀ *nak*
 EYE₁₁ *hin*
 EYE₁₂ *yan*
 EYE₁₃ *oi*
 FALL *tik*
 FAN *helu*
 FAR₁ *pali*
 FAR₂ *ya*
 FAT₁ *kui*
 FAT₂ *wila*
 FEAR₁ *kul*
 FEAR₂ *pak*
 FEATHER₁ *p'at^l*
 FEATHER₂ *pi*
 FEMALE₁ *-win*
 FEMALE₂ *iš-*
 FILL (UP) *tumpa*
 FINGER₁ *tik*
 FINGER₂ *k'o*
 FINGERNAIL *cikil*
 FINISH *hawyi*
 FIRE₁ *(?)oti*
 FIRE₂ *kuti ~ kuči*
 FIRE₃ *ma*
 FIRE₄ *?isu*

- FIRE₅ *?aha*
 FIRE₆ *paye*
 FIRE₇ *c'ik*
 FIRE₈ *guka*
 FIRE₉ *pet*
 FIRE₁₀ *sil(k)*
 FIRE₁₁ *yak*
 FIRE/BURN *apali*
 FISH₁ *k^wama*
 FISH₂ *q'ac'*
 FISH₃ *(n)amak^w*
 FISH₄ *waki*
 FISH₅ *?ici*
 FISH₆ *k'al ~ kal*
 FISH₇ *yapa*
 FLAT *t'a*
 FLEA₁ *mak'in ~ makin*
 FLEA₂ *p'ak'i*
 FLEA₃ *k'^wit'*
 FLOWER₁ *tuktuk*
 FLOWER₂ *p'aq'*
 FLY₁ (V.) *ta*
 FLY₂ (V.) *yaka*
 FLY₁ (N.) *k'ampa*
 FLY₂ (N.) *mulu ~ puru*
 FOOT₁ *po ~ pa ~ pe*
 FOOT₂ *asi?*
 FOREHEAD₁ *pe*
 FOREHEAD₂ *koa*
 FOUR *maka*
 FOX₁ *?aw*
 FOX₂ *pura*
 FROG₁ *k^waq'at*
 FROG₂ *busi*
 FROG₃ *t'en*
 FROG₄ *wara*
 FROG₅ *buru*
 FROG₆ *xana*
 FRUIT *teka*
 FULL₁ *pak*
 FULL₂ *pan ~ p'ir*
 FULL₃ *t'am*
 FULL₄ *winik*
 FUTURE *-ta*
 GATHER *yok^w*
 GIVE₁ *cils*
 GIVE₂ *yak*
 GIVE₃ *?uk^w*
 GO₁ *min ~ man*
 GO₂ *tem*
 GO₃ *yak ~ ya?*
 GO₄ *q'oy*
 GO₅ *?aka*
 GO₆ *wan*
 GO₇ *poro*
 GO OUT *caq*
 GOOD₁ *ici*
 GOOD₂ *c'ump(a)*
 GOOD₃ *malin*
 GOOD₄ *k'anik ~ k'ulik*
 GOOD₅ *poy*
 GOOD₆ *?ayu*
 GOOD₇ *tač'a*
 GOOD₈ *k'apa*
 GOOD₉ *meca*
 GOOD₁₀ *keme*
 GOOD₁₁ *q'^wa?*
 GOOSE *laq'laq'*
 GOURD *puru*
 GRANDFATHER₁ *pica*
 GRANDFATHER₂ *ikan*
 GRASS₁ *pu*
 GRASS₂ *qaca*
 GREASE (N.) *?isa*
 GREEN *kuli ~ kuri*
 GUTS₁ *epoku*
 GUTS₂ *kul*
 HAIR₁ *cum*
 HAIR₂ *toni*
 HAIR/FEATHER *ali*
 HAMMOCK *buh*
 HAND₁ *?ani*
 HAND₂ *atu*
 HAND₃ *(w-)?iš ~ (w-)?asi*
 HAND₄ *kuc ~ kic*
 HAND₅ *tana ~ teni*
 HAND₆ *pito*
 HAND₇ *saka*
 HAND₈ *q'ap ~ qap*
 HAND₉ *?aqa*
 HAND₁₀ *tap*
 HAND₁₁ *hento*

- HAND₁₂ *m'apa*
 HAND₁₃ *pel*
 HAND/GIVE/MEASURE *ma-n ~ ma-k ~ ma-r*
 HARD *k^wele*
 HATE *pul*
 HAWK *sokal*
 HAWK (sparrow) *liq'liq'*
 HE/SHE₁ *?i ~ i?*
 HE/SHE₂ *ti ~ ta*
 HEAD₁ *puta*
 HEAD₂ *t'aq*
 HEAD₃ *sako*
 HEART *cuk'u*
 HERON *wara*
 HEAVEN *ema*
 HILL *ton*
 HIT₁ *tiq^w*
 HIT₂ *tok*
 HIT₃ *pak*
 HIT₄ *maq'a*
 HOLE₁ *c'imak*
 HOLE₂ *mu*
 HOLE₃ *tolo*
 HORN *k^wan*
 HORTATIVE *pa ~ pe ~ pi*
 HOT *k'ec ~ k'ac*
 HOUSE₁ *toh*
 HOUSE₂ *ka*
 HUSBAND *ino*
 I₁ *na(?)*
 I₂ *?i*
 I₃ *pi ~ pa*
 I₄ *ka ~ ki*
 I₅ *ta*
 I₆ *ma*
 IMPERATIVE *?i*
 ...-IN-LAW *-kwa*
 INTERROGATIVE₁ *ta*
 INTERROGATIVE₂ *ki ~ ka ~ ku*
 INTERROGATIVE₃ *min ~ men ~ man*
 INTERROGATIVE₄ *xa*
 INTERROGATIVE₅ *na*
 INTERROGATIVE₆ *pi*
 INTERROGATIVE₇ *wa*
 INTERROGATIVE₈ *sin*
 ITERATIVE *-te*
 JAGUAR₁ *huko*
 JAGUAR₂ *yak*
 KILL *pa ~ pi*
 KNEE₁ *kati*
 KNEE₂ *moko*
 KNIFE *pika*
 KNOW₁ *kom*
 KNOW₂ *yok*
 KNOW₃ *k^wak*
 KNOW₄ *ma(k) ~ ma(n)*
 KNOW₅ *naka*
 KNOW₆ *rik*
 KNOW₇ *t'ak^w*
 LARGE₁ *ta(k)*
 LARGE₂ *mek'at'i*
 LARGE₃ *po*
 LARGE₄ *mo:n*
 LAUGH₁ *kal(i)*
 LAUGH₂ *?aci*
 LAZY *hilak*
 LEAF₁ *ere*
 LEAF₂ *pane*
 LEAF₃ *imi*
 LEFT (HAND) *q^(w)ec'*
 LEG₁ *ta(k)*
 LEG₂ *caka*
 LICK *laq^w*
 LIE DOWN *yaq^w*
 LIGHTNING *wilep'*
 LIP *yepi*
 LIVE₁ (v.) *ha(n)*
 LIVE₂ (v.) *ya*
 LIVER₁ *paci*
 LIVER₂ *kala*
 LIZARD₁ *uli*
 LIZARD₂ *šiko*
 LOCATIVE₁ *-(a)m(a)*
 LOCATIVE₂ *-na- ~ -ni*
 LOCATIVE₃ *pa ~ pe ~ pi*
 LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL *-te ~ -ta ~ -ti*
 LONG₁ *ali*
 LONG₂ *kule*
 LOSE *wono*
 LOUSE₁ *ti*

LOUSE ₂	<i>tina</i>	MOUSE ₃	<i>p'osa</i>
LOUSE ₃	<i>ik'wa</i>	MOUSE ₄	<i>c'ok</i>
LUNGS ₁	<i>pos</i>	MOUSE ₅	<i>pik</i>
LUNGS ₂	<i>huhu</i>	MOUTH ₁	<i>yaq'</i>
MACAW	<i>maha</i>	MOUTH ₂	<i>kua</i>
MAKE ₁	<i>ta?</i>	MOUTH ₃	<i>kala</i>
MAKE ₂	<i>yu</i>	MOUTH ₄	<i>čik</i>
MAKE ₃	<i>kua</i>	NAME ₁ (v.)	<i>d'aq</i>
MAN ₁	<i>ači</i>	NAME ₂ (v.)	<i>ya</i>
MAN ₂	<i>kak</i>	NARROW	<i>cian</i>
MAN ₃	<i>ipa</i>	NAVEL	<i>tompa</i>
MAN ₄	<i>tama</i>	NEAR	<i>kama</i>
MAN ₅	<i>loko</i>	NECK ₁	<i>k'u</i>
MAN ₆	<i>koto</i>	NECK ₂	<i>aru</i>
MAN ₇	<i>mano</i>	NECK ₃	<i>gwaka</i>
MANY ₁	<i>ali</i>	NECK ₄	<i>pak</i>
MANY ₂	<i>til ~ tan</i>	NEGATIVE	<i>kua</i>
MANY ₃	<i>moni</i>	NEW ₁	<i>at'e</i>
MANY ₄	<i>pu</i>	NEW ₂	<i>c'um</i>
MANY ₅	<i>pote ~ peti</i>	NEW ₃	<i>peła</i>
MANY ₆	<i>lok'</i>	NIGHT ₁	<i>yama</i>
MASCULINE/FEMININE	<i>t/s</i>	NIGHT ₂	<i>mok</i>
MASCULINE/FEMININE/NEUTRAL	<i>i/u/a</i>	NIGHT ₃	<i>pasi ~ sepi</i>
MEAT ₁	<i>lau</i>	NIGHT ₄	<i>kači</i>
MEAT ₂	<i>nenā</i>	NOMINAL SUFFIX	<i>-na</i>
MEAT ₃	<i>mati</i>	NOSE ₁	<i>nus ~ nis</i>
MEAT ₄	<i>ati</i>	NOSE ₂	<i>asi</i>
MEAT ₅	<i>wak'i</i>	NOSE ₃	<i>fin</i>
MEAT ₆	<i>tin</i>	NOSE ₄	<i>sunik ~ sinik</i>
MEAT ₇	<i>nak</i>	NOSE ₅	<i>yak</i>
MEDICINE	<i>t'oyo</i>	NOW ₁	<i>ere</i>
MOON ₁	<i>p'ot</i>	NOW ₂	<i>ne</i>
MOON ₂	<i>tamp</i>	OLD ₁	<i>ano</i>
MOON ₃	<i>nunta</i>	OLD ₂	<i>kayo</i>
MOON ₄	<i>q'ala</i>	OLDER FEMALE	<i>wis-</i>
MONKEY ₁	<i>kuki</i>	ONE ₁	<i>(ne-)k^{we}(t)</i>
MONKEY ₂	<i>cawi</i>	ONE ₂	<i>tama</i>
MORNING	<i>qaya</i>	ONE ₃	<i>kela ~ kana</i>
MOSQUITO ₁	<i>puro</i>	ONE ₄	<i>sem</i>
MOSQUITO ₂	<i>č'oyu</i>	ONE ₅	<i>saka</i>
MOTHER	<i>tati</i>	ONE ₆	<i>pa</i>
MOTHER/AUNT	<i>nana</i>	ONE ₇	<i>as</i>
MOTHER/OLDER FEMALE RELATIVE	<i>aya</i>	ONE ₈	<i>čeñe</i>
MOUNTAIN	<i>way</i>	ONE ₉	<i>hu</i>
MOUSE ₁	<i>kus</i>	ONE ₁₀	<i>man</i>
MOUSE ₂	<i>maqa</i>	ONE ₁₁	<i>owin</i>

- OPEN₁ *k'une*
 OPEN₂ *pai*
 OTTER *keta*
 OWL₁ *tuku(l)*
 OWL₂ *pulpul*
 PAIN (n) *ana*
 PARROT₁ *cece*
 PARROT₂ *kara ~ kerī*
 PARROT₃ *kaka*
 PARROT₄ *tuwi*
 PAST₁ *-na*
 PAST₂ *-ite*
 PAST₃ *-k*
 PEEL₁ *t'uq^w*
 PEEL₂ *pas*
 PENIS *ko*
 PEOPLE *?oni*
 PERSON₁ *kaya*
 PERSON₂ *mik^w*
 PERSON₃ *win*
 PITCH (RESIN) *salak ~ sakal*
 PLANT *qaywa*
 PLAY (v.) *lo?u*
 PLURAL₁ *ina ~ ana*
 PLURAL₂ *ma ~ me*
 PLURAL₃ *aki*
 PLURAL₄ *le*
 POTATO₁ *qaw*
 POTATO₂ *kali*
 PRESENT/CONTINUATIVE *-is*
 PRESENT/DURATIVE *-i*
 QUAIL *takaka*
 RAT *kaba*
 RAW *čaw*
 RECIPROCAL *-ki ~ -ka*
 RED *misk*
 REED *?akta*
 REFLEXIVE *ti*
 RIB₁ *q'aci*
 RIB₂ *ca*
 RIGHT *pet*
 RIVER₁ *pala*
 RIVER₂ *tia*
 ROAD₁ *nama*
 ROAD₂ *p'en*
 ROAD₃ *niyani*
 ROCK₁ *?o*
 ROCK₂ *tem*
 ROOT₁ *pal*
 ROOT₂ *tap*
 ROPE₁ *c'ak*
 ROPE₂ *tit*
 ROTTEN *pet'o*
 ROUGH *č'aksi*
 ROUND₁ *k'ir*
 ROUND₂ *molok*
 RUB *yul*
 RUN₁ *kano*
 RUN₂ *taka*
 SALIVA₁ *tupa*
 SALIVA₂ *tok^w*
 SALIVA₃ *ole*
 SALMON *c'wan*
 SALT₁ *k'ači*
 SALT₂ *si*
 SALT₃ *tam*
 SAND *ye?wa*
 SAY₁ *ti*
 SAY₂ *q^wał*
 SAY₃ *ko?e*
 SAY₄ *?ai*
 SAY₅ *?ona*
 SAY₆ *nik*
 SCRATCH₁ *χ^wala*
 SCRATCH₂ *c'iχ*
 SEE₁ *new*
 SEE₂ *win*
 SEE₃ *pi*
 SEE₄ *ma ~ mi ~ mu*
 SEE₅ *?ica*
 SEE₆ *?uka*
 SEE₇ *ila*
 SEE₈ *wat*
 SEED₁ *mak*
 SEED₂ *icu*
 SEEK *peno*
 SEW₁ *pik*
 SEW₂ *k^wači*
 SHADOW *mani*
 SHE *i-gau*
 SHELL (v.) *?iksu*
 SHINE *lemp*

SHOOT	<i>t'uya</i>	SNAKE ₁₃	<i>k'aʔ</i>
SHOULDER ₁	<i>tala</i>	SNAKE ₁₄	<i>yupi</i>
SHOULDER ₂	<i>peko</i>	SNEEZE	<i>ʔasu-ka</i>
SIBLING	<i>kani</i>	SNOT	<i>caʔm</i>
SIDE	<i>čan</i>	SNOW ₁	<i>yu</i>
SING	<i>siya</i>	SNOW ₂	<i>pon</i>
SIT ₁	<i>ču</i>	SOCIATIVE	<i>mane</i>
SIT ₂	<i>ni</i>	SON/CHILD/DAUGHTER	<i>t'ina/t'ana/t'una</i>
SIT ₃	<i>ʔuwa</i>	SOUR	<i>caq^w</i>
SIT ₄	<i>t'aq</i>	SPEAK	<i>weh</i>
SIT ₅	<i>iku</i>	SPIDER ₁	<i>ʔako</i>
SKIN ₁	<i>toke</i>	SPIDER ₂	<i>madi</i>
SKIN ₂	<i>pakti</i>	SPIDER ₃	<i>q'al</i>
SKIN ₃	<i>čom</i>	SPRING ₁ (SEASON)	<i>t'ica</i>
SKIN ₄	<i>k^wati</i>	SPRING ₂ (SEASON)	<i>tem</i>
SKIN ₅	<i>pai</i>	SPRUCE	<i>c'im</i>
SKIN ₆	<i>pici</i>	SQUASH (N.)	<i>q'ame</i>
SKIN ₇	<i>pol</i>	SQUEEZE	<i>pic' ~ p'ic</i>
SKUNK	<i>šika</i>	STAB	<i>c'aq^w</i>
SKY ₁	<i>hewlak</i>	STAND ₁	<i>tep</i>
SKY ₂	<i>ʔapal</i>	STAND ₂	<i>nuka</i>
SLAP ₁	<i>t'aq</i>	STAND UP	<i>taʔ</i>
SLAP ₂	<i>lapa</i>	STAR ₁	<i>(a)sin</i>
SLEEP ₁	<i>cima</i>	STAR ₂	<i>meca</i>
SLEEP ₂	<i>ʔitaw ~ it'aw</i>	STAY (IN A PLACE)	<i>man</i>
SLEEP ₃	<i>ʔino</i>	STEAL ₁	<i>mera</i>
SLEEP ₄	<i>kanak</i>	STEAL ₂	<i>k^wawa</i>
SLEEP ₅	<i>ka ~ k'o</i>	STICK (IN)	<i>ʔaq^w</i>
SMALL ₁	<i>t'uk ~ tik</i>	STOMACH ₁	<i>to</i>
SMALL ₂	<i>kunek</i>	STOMACH ₂	<i>wak</i>
SMALL ₃	<i>k'uti</i>	STONE ₁	<i>k'at'la</i>
SMELL ₁	<i>matik'</i>	STONE ₂	<i>cak</i>
SMELL ₂	<i>k'uk^wi</i>	STONE ₃	<i>tak</i>
SMOKE	<i>c'eka</i>	STONE ₄	<i>got</i>
SNAKE ₁	<i>kan</i>	STONE ₅	<i>k^wak^w</i>
SNAKE ₂	<i>tampa</i>	STONE ₆	<i>mak</i>
SNAKE ₃	<i>aq^wi</i>	STONE ₇	<i>pake</i>
SNAKE ₄	<i>kamuc</i>	STRING	<i>nu</i>
SNAKE ₅	<i>nato</i>	STRONG	<i>pale</i>
SNAKE ₆	<i>pan</i>	SUCK	<i>c'uq^w</i>
SNAKE ₇	<i>iyala</i>	SUN ₁	<i>ali ~ ala</i>
SNAKE ₈	<i>mete</i>	SUN ₂	<i>k^wal</i>
SNAKE ₉	<i>wek</i>	SUN ₃	<i>pali</i>
SNAKE ₁₀	<i>olaba</i>	SUN ₄	<i>t'ak^w</i>
SNAKE ₁₁	<i>oro</i>	SUN ₅	<i>c'ul</i>
SNAKE ₁₂	<i>pusu</i>		

- SUN₆ *kati*
 SUN₇ *hasi*
 SUN₈ *maka*
 SUN₉ *pan*
 SUN₁₀ *p'it ~ put'*
 SUN₁₁ *hini*
 SUN₁₂ *kamo*
 SUN₁₃ *tin*
 SUN₁₄ *hada*
 SUN₁₅ *haya*
 SUN₁₆ *pe*
 SUN₁₇ *naq^w*
 SUN₁₈ *pak*
 SWALLOW (v.) *maliq'a*
 SWEEP *pit*
 SWELL *pos*
 TAIL₁ *k^wati*
 TAIL₂ *tuk*
 TAIL₃ *baʔ*
 TAIL₄ *?ala*
 TAIL₅ *sin*
 TAIL₆ *sikal*
 TALK *mal*
 TAPIR₁ *maci*
 TAPIR₂ *awa*
 TAPIR₃ *kutu*
 TAPIR₄ *kema*
 TAPIR₅ *nake*
 TESTICLE *talo*
 THAT₁ *mo*
 THAT₂ *pa*
 THAT₃ *ya*
 THAT₄ *?a ~ ha*
 THAT₅ *sa*
 THERE *?ai*
 THICK *q^wic*
 THIGH *kasi*
 THINK *ali*
 THIS₁ *ki ~ ko*
 THIS₂ *ni ~ na*
 THIS₃ *wi*
 THIS₄ *fei*
 THIS₅ *ga*
 THORN *k'ica ~ kasi*
 THOU₁ *mi ~ ma*
 THOU₂ *a-*
 THOU₃ *ka*
 THOU₄ *ti*
 THOU₅ *hi*
 THOU₆ *pi ~ pa ~ wa*
 THREAD (v.) *kuyo*
 THREE₁ *(ne-)q^waʔas*
 THREE₂ *sapin*
 THROAT *nuk'*
 THROW₁ *aka*
 THROW₂ *t'amp ~ tamp*
 TIE (v.) *tak'*
 TOBACCO *hici*
 TONGUE₁ *kapi*
 TONGUE₂ *nene*
 TONGUE₃ *paʔ*
 TONGUE₄ *lat*
 TONGUE₅ *tuk^w*
 TONGUE₆ *nem*
 TOOTH₁ *it'io*
 TOOTH₂ *nan*
 TOOTH₃ *kan*
 TOOTH₄ *kita*
 TOOTH₅ *?ik*
 TOOTH₆ *yok'*
 TOUCAN *cuk*
 TREE₁ *man ~ min*
 TREE₂ *qan ~ qal*
 TREE₃ *temba*
 TREE₄ *hapa*
 TREE₅ *neki*
 TREE₆ *?axa*
 TREE₇ *hama*
 TREE₈ *ʔok' ~ ʔoq'*
 TREE₉ *kul*
 TREE (OAK)₁ *teq' ~ taq'*
 TREE (OAK)₂ *k^win*
 TREMBLE *tuk^w*
 TURKEY *kutu*
 TURN *maya*
 TURTLE₁ *hola*
 TURTLE₂ *kuli*
 TWO₁ *(ne-)pale*
 TWO₂ *?aku*
 TWO₃ *wi ~ wa*
 TWO₄ *tuk*
 TWO₅ *pit*

- TWO₆ *mok*
 TWO₇ *men*
 TWO₈ *kom*
 TWO₉ *pok*
 TWO₁₀ *sak*
 TWO₁₁ *take*
 TWO₁₂ *tap*
 TWO₁₃ *yama*
 UNCLE *kaka*
 UNCLE (MATERNAL)₁ *taq*
 UNCLE (MATERNAL)₂ *nak^we*
 UNCLE (PATERNAL) *maq*
 UP₁ *yaq*
 UP₂ *k'is*
 URINE₁ *seki*
 URINE₂ *wisi*
 VAGINA₁ *put*
 VAGINA₂ *?aci*
 VULVA₁ *naq^w*
 VULVA₂ *?ene*
 WALK *hiwet*
 WANT *k'un*
 WARM₁ *yo*
 WARM₂ *cuqal*
 WASH₁ *c'ik^wa*
 WASH₂ *huka*
 WATER/DRINK *aq^wa/uq^wa*
 WATER₁ *man*
 WATER₂ *poi*
 WATER₃ *re*
 WATER₄ *si*
 WATER₅ *k^wati*
 WATER₆ *p'ak*
 WATER₇ *na*
 WATER₈ *?ali*
 WATER₉ *pan*
 WATER₁₀ *tuna*
 WATER₁₁ *c'i*
 WATER₁₂ *kam ~ kom*
 WATER₁₃ *to ~ do*
 WATER₁₄ *kona*
 WATER₁₅ *xi*
 WATER₁₆ *hobi*
 WE INCLUSIVE₁ *?is ~ se?*
 WE INCLUSIVE₂ *ma*
 WE-TWO INCLUSIVE *ki ~ ka*
- WEST *bo*
 WHITE₁ *pala*
 WHITE₂ *pek*
 WHITE₃ *tora*
 WHITE₄ *posa*
 WIDE *?a?aq*
 WILDCAT *tunku*
 WIN *t^l'ak^w*
 WIND₁ (N.) *kiq*
 WIND₂ (N.) *k^wala*
 WIND₃ (N.) *?itewa*
 WIND₄ (N.) *?aši*
 WIND₅ (N.) *suk^w*
 WING *kampi*
 WINTER *tete*
 WISH₁ (V.) *mena*
 WISH₂ (V.) *yana*
 WITH *ma*
 WOLF *tepa*
 WOMAN₁ *tom*
 WOMAN₂ *kuna*
 WOMAN₃ *sun*
 WOMAN₄ *ita*
 WOOD₁ *iye*
 WOOD₂ *ake*
 WOODPECKER *bak*
 WORK₁ (V.) *pi*
 WORK₂ (V.) *nina*
 WORM₁ *k^wec*
 WORM₂ *nokin*
 WORM₃ *piru*
 YEAR₁ *?ame*
 YEAR₂ *wata*
 YELLOW₁ *tampa*
 YELLOW₂ *ci*
 YES *?ehe*
 YESTERDAY₁ *kan*
 YESTERDAY₂ *wet*
 YOUNGER BROTHER/OLDER BROTHER
p'oy/p'oyp'oy