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THE POSITION OF OJAPA AND EUDIVE IN UTO-ALTICAN

David L. Shaul
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Introduction

The goal of this paper is to discuss the position of the Ojapa and Eudeve languages within the Uto-Aztecan family, specifically within the subgrouping known as Taracahitic, shown in Map 1. Phonological and lexical data will be presented, and then the proposed classifications for Taracahitic are discussed with the possibility of shedding light into the prehistory of the State of Sonora.

The Ojapa (Tequila), Eudeve (Here, Ahohna) and Java (Jobal, Ora) have remained in a shadowy position in Uto-Aztecan classifications until very recently. Thomas and Swanton (1911:7-8) frequently err in their classifications based on colonial documents, as pointed out by Sauer (1934).

Sauer points out that in the Roda Tzayac, a contemporary Jesuit author states that Ojapa and Eudeve are as close as Spanish and Portuguese or as French and Provençal, but that Java was "very difficult and different from all the languages of the Province" (Sauer 1934:59). Johnson (1950) repeats this passage, as did Pimentel (1974). The latter author grouped Tepinan (see below) and Ojapa as a single family, probably on the basis of some sound changes that are considered below.

The Ojapa (Qp) and Eudeve (Do) languages are usually grouped into a Taracahitic subfamily of the Uto-Aztecan family along with Guirrijo (Cu), Tarahumara (Te), Yaqui (Yq) and Mayo (My). The inclusion of Tubar (Tu) in this grouping will be attempted below. Kroeker (1947:10) noted that Ojapa, Yaqui, Mayo, Guirrijo and Tarahumara contrast with Tepinan (Pima Bajo, Papago-Pima, Northern Tepehuan, Southern Tepehuan), pointing out that the Tepinan subfamily is so radically different that it cannot be formed into a Sonoran subgroup with Corachol (Cora, Huichol) and Taracahitic. Mason (1936; written 1922) groups the Uto-Aztecan (UA) languages of Sonora as Kroeber later did, except that he joined Cora and Huichol into a subfamily, harking ahead to Lamb (1964). The Mason-Kroeker scheme is as follows: Tepinan, Taracahitic, Cora/Huichol (Corachol). Lamb (1964:110) maintains Mason's grouping; his internal scheme for Taracahitic is as follows in (1).

(1) Taracahitic
1. Tarahumarish (Tarahumara)
2. Cahitish (Cahita, Guirrijo)
3. Opatish (Ojapa, Java)

Two UA languages of Sonora are not mentioned (Eudeve, Tubar), and one is
Map 1. Location of Sonoran Uto-Aztecan

Note that Sorí is not Uto-Aztecan.
is misplaced (Quarticio is Tarahumarih), though not without query.

In order to evaluate these statements about the degree of relatedness within the Tarahaytic grouping, I collected cognate sets from Voegelin, Voegelin and Hale (1962) and Miller (1967), comparing these data with primary sources (see footnote 1) and adding Opatá and Eudeve material. The sound correspondences for these data are discussed below, followed by a synopsis of lexical studies.

Phonological Data

The sound correspondences are treated from the point of view of Proto-UA. That is, each phoneme realized for UA is traced as it developed in Tarahaytic. Initial consonants, medial consonants, vowels and stress patterns are considered. The beginning of such a comparison is found in Kroonen (1994:11), but Eudeve and Tubar are not included. I am particularly indebted to the materials prepared by Lionnet (1978, 1979a) for Tubar and Eudeve.

The languages that have been included in this study are Opatá (Op), Eudeve (Eu), Guajiro (Gu), Tarahumara (Tr), Tubar (Tu) and Cahitan (Ca = Yaqui Ya and Mayo My).3 For abbreviations, see footnote 1; for notes on the transcription, see footnote 2. Note that allophones of consonants are compared.

Initial and Medial Consonants

The initial consonant correspondences are given in Table 1. The most interesting changes are series involving labial, labio-velar and glide consonants.

UA **/p/ developed voicing, frication and finally became a glide, as in (2).

\[(2) \quad p \rightarrow b \rightarrow v \rightarrow w\]

Gu Tr Op Tu
Ca Ca Eu Op Tu
Tu

The labio-velar UA **/kʷ/ developed in two ways as in (3a) and (3b). The second has been described by Langacker (1976).

\[(3a) \quad k^w \rightarrow b^v \rightarrow b \rightarrow p / \quad (a)\]

Yu Ca Op Op Eu

\[(3b) \quad k^w \rightarrow g \rightarrow g \rightarrow g \rightarrow w / \quad (e)\]
Tr and Gu developed /w/ after all vowels. In Ca, **/kʷ/ became /bʷ/ in all forms in the data except 'coyote'. The development of **/k/ as a labial sound is restricted to Ca, Op, and Eu.

The glide UA **/w/ developed as a nasal, parallel to a continuum first given by Langacker (1976) in only one morpheme in the data set (TWO) as in (4).

\[ (4) \ w > \ ~ > \ y > \ g \]
\[ Ca \quad Op \quad Eu \quad Gu \]

In 'two', Tr has deleted the /w/ and Tu shows /n/.

The UA **/y/ changes systematically, as in (5).

\[ (5) \ y > \ n \quad n > \ d \]
\[ Ca \quad Tu \quad Op \quad Gu \quad Eu \quad Tr \]

In Tr and Gu, **/kʷ/ and **/w/ merged. Op, Eu and Ca exclusively developed **/k/ as a labial stop. Tu generally retained **/k/, though there is a good amount of allophonic variation. Two changes (**/p/ to /v/ and **/y/ to /d/) separate Eu and Op from Tr, Gu, and Ca. Hence, one may make the following subdivisions on the basis of initial consonants.

\[ (6) \ 1. \ Op-Eu \]
\[ 2. \ Tr-Gu \]
\[ 3. \ Tu \]
\[ 4. \ Ca \]

It might be preferable to detach Tu. A special relationship between Op-Eu and Ca may be indicated by the development of **/kʷ/ as a labial stop in all three.

The correspondences in Table 1 basically hold for the medial consonants in the data. The /p/ to /b/ to /v/ to /w/ series holds; there is much fluctuation between /p/ and /b/ in all varieties, with a development as /v/ only in Op-Eu.

The labio-velar **/k/ usually develops in the following way in one morpheme (BREATHE) as in (7).

\[ (7) \ k > b > v > w > \]
\[ Ca \quad Eu \quad Tr \quad Gu \]

In another morpheme (TEARS), one finds the following development.
Since only two secure cases of medial **/k/ / development occur in the data, it is not possible to draw any secure conclusions. The pattern of ***/y/ to /i/ to /e/ holds.

For the most part, **/u/ remained medially. In Ca, **/u/ is reflected as a /o/ in two forms (EEO, FOREHEADS), as well as in Eu. In one morpheme (DAY/SUN), **/k/ is reflected as /g/.

Medially, a phoneme /l/ or /l/ developed in southern UA languages from **/m/ in some forms in Tepiman and fairly regularly in the rest of the southern languages. Within Tarahumara, Ca and Tu always reflect /l/; the others nearly always reflect /r/ (but see NARE). Kroeber (1934:19) notes for Eueve (which he calls Opata), Yq, No, Gu and Tr a single phone [r] which is "tip trilled and devoices in its progress; r in erat is acoustically almost l". Thus, the two realizations are phonetically very close.

There are no surprising developments with the medial consonants; this data reinforces the findings for the initial consonants. It has been pointed out several times (Kroeber 1934:10-11; Llamas 1979; Miller 1982) that the development of a series of voiced stops from a series of glides is found in varying degrees in Tarahumara, while it is a characteristic feature of the neighboring Tepiman subfamily.

Vowels and Stress Patterns

The vowels /i e a o u/ remain in all six varieties. These vowels may be inherited from a common Southern UA intermediate ancestor. The vowel /a/ developed from UA **/a/ in all the southern languages, except Tepiman.

A number of medial consonant variations and variations in the first
vowel may be discussed under the rubric of syllable shape, but of more importance are stress patterns, seen in Table 2. Toward the south, stress falls on the second syllable or a suffix. This occurs in Tr and Cu (exception: stress on second syllables in verb roots). This usually occurs in Op, Eu and Tu. Stress is always initial in Ca. However, Op and Eu may have initial stress. Neath (1977) points out that stress in UA may have been variable with respect to verb morphology.

It has already been shown that Op and Eu may be grouped together, as may Tr and Gu. Tu may not even belong to Tarahumara. Op-Eu and Ca may be grouped together on the basis of two shared phonological innovations.

(10) 1. reflection of UA as a laryal stop
2. development of initial stress

Although separated from each other by historic times, Op-Eu and Ca may once have been neighbors in a dialect chain. On the other hand, Op-Eu has developed a series of stops from glides, pointing to interaction between Op-Eu and Teptman. This latter innovation in Op-Eu has been the subject of some speculation about the prehistory of the Teptman dialect chain and the Tarahumara grouping. I will return to this topic below.

Lexical Data

Swadesh (1955) and Hale (1958, 1959) conducted the first work in UA lexicostatistics. Taken as a relative (rather than precise) chronological indicator when applied within a known family, this early work confirmed the overall classification of Sonoran UA by Mason and Kroeger.

The most recent lexical survey of UA is Miller (1980), who sampled 32 languages for a 107-item list (Hale used 17 languages and the Swadesh 100-item list). Data relevant to Tarahumara is given in Table 3. Tu has more than 50% in common with only one of its neighbors (Ca). Eu shares more than 50% with both Ca and Gu, making them lexically almost as close as Eu's nearest linguistic relative, Op (55% and 57% as compared to 64% between Op-Eu). Op exhibits the same pattern, but to a lesser degree. It is geographically more distant from Ca. This suggests that once Op-Eu was adjacent to Ca and Gu.

A convenient way of checking this situation are cognate splits that occur in the present data. Certain of the cognate sets, such that two or more languages (but not all) share the same lexeme in contrast to the other languages, which usually form a modality sharing a root that is different from the root that forms the basis of the first grouping. There are three major patterns that emerge from the data, shown in Table 4. One is that Eu and Op form a group by themselves (7/28 = 25%). Op-Eu and Tr-Gu share a number of lexemes in common (4/28 = 14%). The most significant pattern is for Op-Eu and Ca to share one lexeme in contrast to the other (14/28 = 43%). This suggests that the three were once adjacent.
By comparing some of the Taracahitic split cognate data with reconstructed UA forms (Miller 1967) and reconstructed Proto-Tepiman forms (Haskell 1965), it is possible to show that Op-Eu (Opatan) may have had a special lexical relationship to Tepiman that other Taracahitic languages lack. In Table 5, the only six relevant lexical items in the data set are displayed. Only one (Cihile) suggests a special relationship between Tepiman and non-Opatan Taracahitic. The other five show that the Op-Eu forms are in agreement with the reconstructed Tepiman forms, while their semantic equivalents in the other Taracahitic languages do not. This hints at the possibility of Tepiman loanwords into Taracahitic (Miller 1967:22). In two of the items, however, the Tepiman-Opatan forms (Boh, House) have cognates farther south in Cora, Nahuatl or Nahua. This suggests that some Tepiman-Opatan lexical sharing could be due to geographic adjacency at an earlier time than when the posited phonological interation (glides becoming voiced stops) took place between Tepiman and Opatan.

Discussion

In the two preceding sections, it was inferred that Op-Eu and Ca were once contiguous as a part of a Taracahitic dialect chain, and that subsequently Op-Eu and Tepiman were in contact. During this period, Op-Eu developed phonological characteristics of Tepiman. Tepiman loanwords (?) in Op-Eu appear to be lacking in other Taracahitic languages, and the weak development of UA *R to /r/ in Op-Eu (only in two related items: Tako, Four) argue for the direction of influence of Tepiman to Opatan. The questions raised here about the prehistory of Sonora havelingered on from the time of Sauer and Kroeber's work on the area (1936). I suggest that Opatan (Op, Eu) were once next to Cahitan. Then the Tepiman dialect chain split Taracahitic, separating Ca from Opatan. Subsequently, Opatan was in intense contact with Tepiman. Study of Taracahitic morphological systems could shed light on the relation of Opatan to Cahitan. Additional etymological work could test the hypothesis that innovation spread from Tepiman to Opatan lexically and phonologically. It seems clear, though, that Taracahitic, whatever its status as a subfamily within UA, was a dialect chain. It may eventually be possible to correlate linguistic models of Sonoran prehistory with models of the state derived from other prehistory research, notably archaeology. In this regard, the material culture work of Campbell Pennington will be of great help. It should be possible to compare lexemes for cultural specifics among the language groups of the area, looking for patterns which could then be compared to any items of material culture that were found to be markers of distinctive archaeological cultures in the area.
NOTES

1. Abbreviations and sources for the languages are as follows: Opata (Op) Lombardo (1702), Balbastro (n.d.), Johnson (1950); Eudeve (Es) Loaysa (ca. 1640), Smith (1865), Kroeker (1934) and Escalante H. (1964); Tarahumara (Tr) Brambilla (1976), Hilton (1959), and Lionnet (1970); Guarihino (G) Johnson and Hitekleiner (1954), Miller (1979); Tubar (Tu) Lionnet (1978), Califia (Ca) Collard and Collard (1962), Johnson (1962), and Lindenfield (1973). For a survey of the Uto-Aztecan family, see Lamb (1964), Langacker (1977) and Steele (1979). For materials on Eudeve, see Lionnet (1979b).

2. The following symbols used for transcription here require comment: [c] is a dental co-alveolar affricate, [r] is a tap or trill, [v] is a bilabial fricative, glottal stop [ʔ] is rendered as ['], vowel length is indicated by a raised dot [‘], an acute accent indicates stress [·], and [é] follows the usage of Brambilla. Interpretation of documentary sources follows Lionnet (1979a) and Escalante H. (1964) for Eudeve, Lionnet (1978) for Tubar and Escalante H. (1964) for Opata. The critical edition of Loaysa's grammar of Eudeve by Campbell Pennington (1982) will become invaluable in Taracahitic studies.

3. Certain languages of groups of Sonora which may have been Uto-Aztecan or which are grouped with the family on the basis of a few but clear-cue cognates include the following: Zepahu, Tahu, Guasave, Acaxee, Xixim, Ocoroni, Suma, Jumano, Consco, Toboso, Jocome, and Jano. These are sometimes grouped inside Taracahitic, but in the absence of any accurate lexical data, it seems to be the safest position to limit consideration to whether they are Uto-Aztecan or not, and leave the classification there. For a review of this literature, see Sauer (1934), Kroeker (1934), Mason (1936), and Lamb (1964).

4. A number of medial consonant variations appear in the data: /s/ and /ʃ/ (CLOUD, LUNGS), /k/ and /ʧ/ (HEAT), /ɛ/ and k and /w/ (EUG- ZANDA, EXTINGUISH), /ɛ/ and /i/ and /ɛ/ (SIT etc.), /t/ and /ʃ/ (SLEEP). These may be of interest in a broader framework of research in probing Taracahitic in depth. A number of vowel alternations in the first few vowels are found in the data: /e/ to /æ/ is common with the location of stress on the final syllable or suffix. There is a variation of /i/ and /u/ (WOD, FISH, ANT), /e/ and /æ/ (in ten stems), /e/ and /ɛ/ (BITE, DREAM, DRINK), and /a/ and /o/ (LUNGS). In a number of cases, a dipthong /ai/ was produced in Opata from medial /i/-loss, changing into /ai/ in Eu: UA **sahtl 'three' became Op paï at Eu peï.

5. It has been suggested by Miller (1990:1-52) that the development of a voiced series of stops from glides may reflect borrowing by the Tepmans, with Taracahitic being the source(s) of the variation. However, the fact remains that only Op-Eu and Tepman have the complete
series. Further, within Tarahumitan, only Op-Eu has the complete series. Opatan has the essential development of **/g/ to /d/ everywhere the change is applicable in the data set. It is the only Tarahumitan language exhibiting this change. Thus, whatever the direction of influence, Op-Eu and Tepman underwent a period of mutual contact during which time both speech communities maximized this series of sound changes.

6. The terms Tepman is adopted after Bascon (1965) and Corachol follows current usage among Uto-Aztecanists. Both terms give an idea of the constituencies involved, while the corresponding terms proposed by Lamb (Punic for Tepman, Coric for Corachol) do not.

### Table 1. Initial Consonants in Tarahumitan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UA</th>
<th>Op</th>
<th>Eu</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>Cu</th>
<th>Tu</th>
<th>Ca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>b, v</td>
<td>b, v</td>
<td>b, p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>v, w</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>g, b, p</td>
<td>b, b, p</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>kʰ, kʰ</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ċ, c</td>
<td>ċ, ċ</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td>ċ</td>
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<td>ċ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
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<td>m</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s, ć</td>
<td>s, ć</td>
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<td>y</td>
<td>n, nʰ</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h, ũ</td>
<td>h, ũ</td>
<td>h, ũ</td>
<td>h, ũ</td>
<td>h, ũ</td>
<td>h, ũ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
1. **/g/ remains /g/ in two items (BLOW, HARE). 2. **/ʃ/ to /ʃ/ in Eu occurs in only two forms (HAUN, XE). 3. **/ʃ/ is sporadically reflected as /ʃ/. 4. **/kʰ/ is sporadically reflected as /w/ in Ca. 5. **/n/ to /n/ in Tu occurs in only one item (PLY verb). 6. **/ʃ/ becomes /ʃ/ in only two stems (TWO, FOUR). 7. Voicing of original stops is restricted largely to Tr.
TABLE 2. Stress Patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V: V: {vv} (\rightarrow) {vv} : {VV} (\rightarrow) {VV} : V : VCC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>V: {TV} (\rightarrow) V : V : V : (\not{\ddagger})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>{VV} (\rightarrow) {VV} : V : {VV} (\rightarrow) {VV} (\rightarrow) {VV} : VV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>V : V : {VV} (\rightarrow) {VV} : V : {VV} (\rightarrow) {VV}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>V : {VV} (\rightarrow) V : V : V : (\not{\ddagger})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>V : (\not{\ddagger}) V : V : (\not{\ddagger}) V : {VV} (\rightarrow) {VV}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes
1. The order given is: Op, Ku, Tr, Gu, Tu, Ca.
2. VV indicates a long vowel; CC indicates a long consonant.
Table 3. Lexical Data (After Miller 1980)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Op</th>
<th>Eu</th>
<th>Gu</th>
<th>Tr</th>
<th>Tu</th>
<th>Ca</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Op</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>57</td>
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<td>Tr</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tu</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note
1. Figures are percentages of lexical sharing of a 107-item sampling list.

Table 4. Cognate Splits in Tarahumara

GROUP I: Op-Eu vs. Tr-Gu-(Tu)-Ca

- CHILE FEATHER
- EARTH FOREHEAD
- EWE SIX
- FLAT SEED

GROUP II: Op-Eu-Tr-Gu vs. Tu-Ca

- HAIL FIRE
- FOOT
- FOUR

GROUP III: Op-Eu-Cs vs. Tr-Cs-(Tu)

- BELLY HEAD/HAIR
- COTTON/M & MILK
- COUGH SOW
- CRY SKIN/HIDE
- EAT STICK/WOOD
- HAND WASH
### Table 3. Tepiman-Opata Lexical Resemblances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Guaraní</th>
<th>UA</th>
<th><em>TEL</em></th>
<th>OP-MU</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>GU</th>
<th>TU</th>
<th>CA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>kata</strong> (MU)</td>
<td><em>g</em>kd-ti atu,</td>
<td><em>k</em>kat-á atu,</td>
<td><em>k</em>kat-á atu,</td>
<td><em>k</em>kat-á atu,</td>
<td><em>k</em>kat-á atu,</td>
<td><em>k</em>kat-á atu,</td>
<td><em>k</em>kat-á atu,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Num, TH, YQ, TuP, noTh)</td>
<td>(Num, TH, YQ, TuP, noTh)</td>
<td>(Num, TH, YQ, TuP, noTh)</td>
<td>(Num, TH, YQ, TuP, noTh)</td>
<td>(Num, TH, YQ, TuP, noTh)</td>
<td>(Num, TH, YQ, TuP, noTh)</td>
<td>(Num, TH, YQ, TuP, noTh)</td>
<td>(Num, TH, YQ, TuP, noTh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>lako</strong></td>
<td><em>k</em>o'ukori uruk-k karfi</td>
<td><em>k</em>o'ukori uruk-k karfi</td>
<td><em>k</em>o'ukori uruk-k karfi</td>
<td><em>k</em>o'ukori uruk-k karfi</td>
<td><em>k</em>o'ukori uruk-k karfi</td>
<td><em>k</em>o'ukori uruk-k karfi</td>
<td><em>k</em>o'ukori uruk-k karfi</td>
</tr>
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<td>(MU, Th, YQ, TuP)</td>
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**Notes**

2. In TEPEH, Tepiman should reflect */t/; not */k/.
3. Miller (1967:222) suggested that BOW may have been borrowed into Tarascan from Tepiman.

**APPENDIX: Data Set**

2. This data set is not meant as a definitive treatment of Tarascan.
4. In transcription, long vowels are written as AV.
5. Cahitan (YQ, Th) long vowels are written as YQ.
6. Morpheme boundaries have been inserted as a dash (−) in citations.
7. Long consonants have been written as CC.
8. Cahitan forms always have stress in the first syllable.
AFFINE op monigu, monégua-t [moni-wal], Eu mon 'son or daughter-in-law', Tr mo'ná, Tu moa-sakár [mo al], Ca mo'one 'son-in-law', UA M505 'mona (SP, Hp, Yq, Cr, Nah)

ANT₁ Op [sikkul], Eu [sikú-ší], Tr sikú-i, Gu sekú, sekwí, Ca ere'suúkí-m, UA M5 ['siky] (Tr, Gu, Nah)

ANT₂ Op ari, Eu ari-t, Tu ari-sik, UA M4 'ane (SP, Tb, Le, Ca, Sr, Hp, STI)

ARROYO Eu haki-t, Tr akí-či, Gu akí 'creek', Ca haki-a, UA M348 'akí (Tepehuan)

ASHEG Op napo, napo-t, Eu napóسا-, nápsa'a, Tr nápisó', Gu nápisá, nápisó, Tu nási-t, Ca náposa, not equal to UA M11 'mat (Tepe, Yq, My, Cr)

ASK Op nettema, [neta-ma], Tr näre, nári, Gu ihta-ní, Ca nátemá, UA M13 'ta (Tepe, Nah)

BÄTHE Op uba-ria, Eu huba, Tr úba, uhá, Gu u'upá, Ca ubba, UA M27 'upa (Yq, My, Cr, Hch)

BEANS Op muni, [muul], Eu muni, Tr muní, Gu muní, mu'umí, Tu vo-posit-t, toló-m, Ca múní-m, UA M29 '(various) (Hb, Pg, Yq, My, Cr, Hch)

BEE Op cobar, Eu mumowo, Tr rikó, wikó, Gu momohá 'honey', Tu say-vói, Ca mámmu, UA M31 'mum, *meme (Tepe, Tep, Gu, Yq, My)

BELLY₁ Op siwa-či, Eu siwa-t, [siwa-t], Ca siwa-m 'guts'

BELLY₂ Tr topá, Gu tobá, tópá, UA M417 'to (Tak, Gu, My, Yq)

BIG Op we, werá, gueri [weri], Eu wvec-a-t, wai, Tr o'weri (pl.), Gu weru-, Tu wee [wee-či], Ca bèère, bèé'u, bèé'uru, UA M39d 'kwe (Yq, My)
EAR Op menacá, Eu nacá-t, Tr naká, Gu nakhá, Tu naká-r, Ca nákka, UA M145a *naka (pan-UA)
EARTH Jova teva, Op tebe, [teve-c], Eu tevá-t, Tr gawí, kawi, Gu we'e, we'ehé, Tu kvirá-t, Ca biwya, UA M151 *kwi (Pig 'mud', Yq, My, Cr, Hch)
EAT1 Tr go'me'ma, ko'wá 'food', Gu za'a-, Tu koa, koko, UA M152d *ku, *ko (Ca, Tep, Gu)
EAT2 Op wai-, Eu ba'i, Ca hi'i-bua, UA *[kwa]
EGG Op ogua, Eu ákavora, Tr gawá, Gu ka'wa-rá, Tu netelú-r, Ca kóba, UA M156 *kawa (Yq, My)
ENEMY1 Jova topa, Op opa-gua, Eu oví-gua, *opal
ENEMY2 Tr sayé, Gu sahi, Ca sáayo, behri, UA M158 *say (NT, My)
ENTER (sg. subject) Op muiba-ria, Eu vaké-, [bá'ak], Tr baki, Gu pakhí, páki-, Ca ki-bake, UA M159 *paki (pan-UA)
EXTINGUISH (re 'fire') Op tucha-ria, Tr ço'wi-a, Gu ço'ra-, Tu toká-r, toká-r, u-tuk, Ca tuuča, UA M171 *cupa (Mn, Tb, Yq, My, Nahú)
EYE Op tam bá-gua, Eu vusi-t, Tr busí, Gu pusí, Tu telú-r, tilú-r, Ca puái-m, UA M160a *pusí (pan-UA)
FALL (eg.) Op guechi-a, Eu vece, huetzén, Tr viči-ma, Gu wihó-, Tu vece, mezé, Ca wece, UA M163 *we- (pan-UA)
FAR Op mecá-qa, Eu meká, Tr meká, Gu mehó-, Ca meká, UA M165 *meka (Tep, Yq, My)
FEAR1 Op seguchi-, Eu scuitzen,
FEAR2 Tr mahá-ame, Gu mahá-, Ca mahwe, maka-buc, UA M167 *ma (Sp, My, Yq, Cr, Ech, Nah)
FEATHER1 Op chi-jusa, Eu hunsa
FEATHER2 Tr m'asá, Gu ma'sá, ma'asá, Tu masá-t, Ca masa, UA M166 *masa (Sr, Sp, Yq, My, Cr)
FIGHT Op nacha-quis, Eu nácodan, náhood, Tr nakoma, Gu nasuwá-, Ca náseua
GRIND Op tucía, Eu tusá, Tr rusú, batuáé'corn meal', Gu tusó, Ca tuñse, UA M206c *[tus-V] (SP, Tb, Hp, Yq, My, Cr, Hch, Nah).

HAND 1 Op mama, Eu mamá-t, Tr mataqí 'palm', Ca mánma-e, UA M215 *ma, with the Op, Eu, Ca and Hch forms reduplicated.

HARE/JACKRABBIT Op paró Eu bosoas, baró [pa-ra-si], Gu púloisi, Ca pa-ró, UA M336 *pa (Ls pá-xu-t, My, Yq), more at *[pa]losí.

HAWK Op tagu-, Eu toháuc 'large hawk', Tr rawiwi, Gu tahi'iwe, Ca taáwe, UA M217 (ST, Gu, My).

HEAD/HAIR 1 Tr kupá 'head hair', Gu kupá, Ca kóbba 'head', UA M209 *kupa (Hp, NT, ST 'head hair').

HEAD/HAIR 2 Tr mo'ora 'head', Gu mo'ó, Tu womó-r, UA M216 *mo'o (Tep, Cr, Hch 'head').

HEAD/HAIR 3 Op choni 'head', Eu coni-t 'head', Ca čóni-m 'head hair', UA M219c *coni (My, Yq, Nah 'head hair').

HEAR Op caí-sa, Eu ké-, Tr akena, Gu nehína, Ca hikko, UA M221 *ka (Tb, Sr, Tep, Yq, My), more at *[kai].

HEAR1 Op gída, Eu híbá-, hiberde, [híbáe], Ca hípsí 'life', Gu hiká, *[hikwa].

HEAR2 Tr surá, Ca suula, UA M222a *sula (pan-UA).

HEAVY Op bette, Eu bet-e, [bet-e], Tr be-té-ame, Gu rehtá-e, Ca bete, UA M223 *pete (Tb, Hp, Tep, Yq, My, Cr, Hch, Nah).

HOUSE 1 Op qui, Eu ki-t, Tu kí-tá, UA M240a *ki (Tak, Hp, Tep, Cr, Hch).

HOUSE 2 Tr kari, Gu kari, Ca kála, UA M239 *kali (pan-UA).

HUNT Op amu-sa, Eu amu-t, Tr ser'dema, Gu we'mó-, Tu himos, biwá, Ca amú, UA M242 *amu (Ls, Ca, Yq, My).

HUSBAND Op cuna-gu, Eu kun, Tr biré, kuná- 'be widowwed', Gu kuná, Tu sonekán, Ca kuuna, UA M504a *kuna (Ls, Hp, Tep, Tr, Gu, Yq, My, Cr, Hch).

I Op ne, Eu nes, ne, Tr nehó, ne, neeri, Gu nee'ó, Tu oná, imó, Ca inápo (My), inápo (Yq), UA *ne (pan-UA).
KILL (sg. object) Op mia-ria, Eu mês, Tr me'-á, mi'yâ, Gu me'-á, meri-, Tu ma-, wa-, Ca me'-a, UA M238d *me(a), (Tak, southern languages)
KILL (pl. object) Eu köda-, Tr ko'yâ-, Tu kon'â-, UA M129a *koi 'die (pl.)' (pan-UA)
KNIFE1 Op bi, bica-gua, Eu bikâ-t, wika-t, Tr re-piga-ka, UA M246 *pika (Tb, Hp)
KNIFE2 Gu na'waso, pehtâri, Ca nabâ'asom, UA M248 *nara (Pg, Yq, Cr, Hch)
LAUGH Op achi-a, Tr aâi-nea, Gu aâi-, Tu nawi-, Ca aâche, UA M251 *ač (Tep, Ny, Yq, Cr, Hch)
LEAF Op saguâ, Eu sâwa-, Tr sâwa, Gu sawâ, sawarâ, Tu samâ-s, Ca sâwa, UA M255 *sâwa (Tep, Ny, Yq, Cr, Hch)
LIE DOWN (sg. subject) Op [voi, Eu vo'o, bî, Tr bîdî, Gu po'î, Ca bo'oka, UA M260 *po (Pg, Yq, Yk)
LIVER Op gema, Tr imarâ, Gu emá, Tu yamâ-t, Ca heêma-m, UA M265 *neza (pan-UA)
LONG/TALL Op haube, Eu [tebâ], Tr ripâ 'up', Gu tê'epa, térâh, Tu we', Ca tsee, UA M266 *te(p) (Mn, Tep, Yq, My, Hch, Tb)
LOUSE Op atte, Eu atê-t, Tr te', Gu ehtê, Tu atê-t, Ca étéem-m, UA M269 *ate (Sr, Hp, Yq, My, Cr, Hch)
LUNGS Op tan matoh, Eu conâ-t, Tr sonorâ, Gu se'locâ, Tu sorî, sorô-, Ca sére'sâia-m, UA M270 *sono (Mn, Fn, SF)
MAT Op gipê Eu hipê-t, Tr pé-ka, Gu ihpetâ-, Ca hipêta-m, UA M277 *petâ (Gu, My, Yq, Cr, Hch)
MEAT Op ââ, Eu sââ, Tr sa'pâ, Tu tikon'-wâ-t, Ca waakas, sâawa-m, UA M280 *wa'i, (SF, Tak, Tep, Cr, Hch)
METAZ Op mata, Eu metâ-t, Tr mata-ka, Gu mahtâ, Tu matâ-t, Ca matâa, UA M283 *mata (SF, Tb, Ca, Hp, Yq, My, Cr, Hch, Nah)
MIKE Op cagui, Eu [kawira'a], Tr či'mu, Gu mu'i, Ca kauwa-m, UA M284 *mu (SF, Cr?)
OPENIA Op naco, Eu naví-c, [nakó'], Tr irá, era, Gu napá, 
Tu nakasi-t, Ca naabo, UA M70 *nap (Tak, Hp, Tep, Yq, My, 
Nah)

OWL Op muju, Eu muh-t, Tu mutá, Ca muu'uw, UA M312 *muhu 
(Km, Sp, Tb, Ls, Sr, Hp)

PARCHED Op sequé-t, Tr saki, Ca saaæ, saaæi 'popcorn', 
UA M328 *saki (NT, My, Tr, Pq, Tb, Eu; has meaning 'parched' in 
NT, My and Eu)

POKE Op gooc, Eu wokó-t, Tr (y)oká, Gu wokó, Tu n'okó-t, 
Ca wóoko, UA M320a *woko (Num, Tb, Hp, Yq, My)

PLANT (verb) Op [ehei], Eu zivadaí, rehri, [t'ei], Tr icá, 
acá, Gu eca-, háci, Tu sa, Ca eča, UA M324 (NT, ST, Tr, 
Gu, My, Yq, Cr)

RAIL Eu diku-, Tr uku-mee, u'ki, (y)uku, Gu yu'ku-, 
yu'ki, Tu hori-y, Ca yakk, UA M337 *yuk (Hp, Tep, Gu, Yq, 
My)

REED Op basá, Eu omácane, huerigo, Tr baá, Gu paká, Tu 
waká-t, Ca baaka-a, UA M344 *paka (pan-UA)

RIPE Op bi guasse, Eu basá, Tr wasá, Gu wahse- 'roast', 
ivá'be ripe', Tu kwasi-rí-t, Ca buasse, UA M152 *[kwasi] 
(Num, Tb, Hp, Tak, Yq, My, Cr, Hch)

ROAD Op bogue, Eu vové-t, Tr bowói 'in the road', Gu po'owá, 
Tu wotá, Ca bo'o, UA M350 *po (pan-UA)

ROOT Op någua, Eu nawa, Tr nawá, Gu nawá, Tu namasi, Ca naawa, 
UA M356 *na (Sp, Yq, My, Hch, Nah)

ROSE(TEN) Op bica, Tr bika-mee, Gu píga-, Ca biká-ra (re food)

SALT Op ona, Eu oná-t, Tr oná, koná, nomá, Gu oná, Tu 
Tu oná-t, Ca ona, UA M359 *ona (pan-UA)

SAND Op saze, Eu sa, Tr saté, Gu seté, Tu shiá-t, Ca see'ę, 
UA M361 *sa (Cr, Nah) parallelis M362 *se (Yq, My, Cr)

SAY Op tusia, Eu áwa-, Tr ani-mee, Tu amá-wá, Ca biassa

SPEED Op subs(chi), Eu mvítzi, Tr sáká, cf. baádi 'squash', 
Tu wacirán, Ca baá, ačimu
SING Op guqujia, Eu biká-t, Tr wika-ra (re sacred), Gu wiká-t, Tü n'ayta, kusú, kósó, Ca bujica [buijik], UA M379 *wiká (Gu, Ya, My, Cr, Hch)

SIT (sg. subjunct) Jova cashi, Op catte, Eu káte, Tr (y)asa (sg.), Gu káthí, Ca káte, UA M381a *kóte (pan-UA)

SIT (pl. subjunct) Eu dásé 'sit down', Tr móči (pl.), (y)asa (sg.), Gu yasi, yass-, Tu nesá-'be sitting', Ca yésa (sg./pl.), UA M380 *ya(s) (Th, Sr, Hp, Tep, Yq, My)

SKIN/HIDE (cf. DOWN/FUR/HAIR) Op bgua, Eu peguat, Ca teáwa, "[pe-va], cf. M212a *pe (Rum, Th, Tak, Tep)

SKIN/HIDE Tr vići, Gu wi'ići, Tu kucí-t, kvici-, kamósá, "[kwici]

SLEEP Op cochi-a, Eu kócó-t, Tr kócì-méa, Gu kócó-t, Tu kócó, UA M129b *kócó (Tep, Cr, Hch, Yq, My, Náh)

SMELL Op jupía, Eu héúba, Tr saema, Gu upará-t, Ca huúba, UA M341b *hupa (Hp, Fg, NT, Tr, Yq)

SNAKE Op bakom, co'ë'rattlesnake', Eu vokóc, Tr sinowí, sinoi, Gu si'încôvé, Tu kó-t, Ca bañakot, "[pa-kí] 'water-snake'

SNOW Op qeáa, Eu súhári, Tr gêpá, kîpá, Gu nopa, nêbá-, kîpá-', Tu kawá-t, Ca sapa-m, UA M400 *kópa (Tep, Tr, Gu)

SPEAK Op nagwa, Eu nener, [nëneh], Gu nêé'-ëa, Ca nока

STAND Op gu'-, Eu wërih-, Tr wiri-, Gu weri-, Ca wë'iyan-x, UA M411 *we(n)é (pan-UA)

STAR Op chejape, Eu ahora, Tr sopori, Gu so'ôrá, TubackgroundColor="white"', Ca ókkí, UA M413 *su, *su (Tu, Tak, Hp, Yq, My, Cr, Hch), more at "[sópori]

STICK/WOOD Op cuq, Eu kã-t, [kutá-t], Tr guá, kusí, Gu kusí, Tu utá, osá, Ca kutta, UA M170c *kusí (Mn, Tr) parallels M170d *kuta 'stick' (Mn, Sr, Hp, Fg, My, Yq)

STONE Op tucá, [te-t], Eu tá-t, [tetá-t], Tr ritá, Gu tehté, Tu tetá-t, terá-t, Ca tetta, UA M354b *te (Ls, Tep, Yq, My)
SUCK Op chuba, Eu ciá-, Tr čii, Gu či'i-, Ca čuune, UA M421 *ci (Tep, Yq, Cr, Hoch, Nah)
SUN Op táá, [ta-t], Eu táá, Tr rayena-ri, Gu tahá, cf. ravé, tawé 'day', Tu táta, tasa-li-t, Ca taa'-a, cf. tahi 'light', UA M423a *ta (pan-UA) parallels M423d 'hot' (Tr, Gu, Ny, Yq, Nah)
SMALLOW Op guairuna, Tr a'wa, Tu soro-kva-li-r, Ca wi'uk-tia, ahuita, UA M152a *kwa (Tb, Tak, Tep, Yq, Ny, Nah)
TAIL Op guag, Eu basi-t, Tr wasira, wasé, Gu wahní, Tu bakusi-r, Ca bussia, UA M430 *kwa (pan-UA)
TEARS (re crying) Op opeta, Eu opet, Tr o'ke-wá, Gu o'ke-wa, Ca ópu-e, UA M115 *kwa (Ny, Yq)
THREE Op baíd, Eu vei-t, Tr beikiá, baikiá, Gu paiká, Tu vayí-t, Ca bahi, UA M510 *pehi (pan-UA)
TOBACCO Op biý, biza-ta, Eu vivá-t, Tr péwa 'smoke', péwari 'tobacco', Gu wipá, Ca bifa, UA M440 *pípa (Tak, Hp, Tep, Yq, Ny)
TONGUE Op nene, Eu nene-t, Tr ča'mé-koá, Gu yení, Tu niini-r, Ca nini UA M4-ia *nene (Tep, Yq, Ny, Hp)
TOOTH Op tami, Eu tá si-t, Tr ramé, Gu tama, táamí, Tu tamí-r, Ca tamí, UA M442 *tam (pan-UA)
T40 Op gad, göse, Eu godun, wo-, wodi, Tr oká, okwa, Gu woka, gohka, Tu mó-r, Ca woóyi, M509b *woka (Tep, Gu)
URINATE Eu sisá, Tr isi, Gu sī'a-si, sí'i 'urine', Tu sii-r, Ca sīse, sīsi 'urine', UA M447 *si (pan-UA)
WASH Op bącchlu, [hipakul], Eu la-kůra, [hipakul], Tr baka-, Ca baka-sia
WASH2 Tr wiće, Gu wiće
WATER Op ba, Eu vár-t, Tr ba'wi, Gu pa'wí, Tu vatá, watá, wotá, Ca baa'-a, UA M455a *pa (pan-UA)
WE Jowa ítemi, tooma (to us), Op tamido, Eu tami-ta, ta, támide, Tr tamu, tamí, Ca teme, Tu ité, ìti, Ca itépo (Yq), itápo (Ny), UA *[(i)ta(m)]
WHEN Op jaico, Tr eké, Tu hakeró, Cz hakwé (Iq), hawés (My)
WHITE₁ Op tossay, Tr fosá-, Gu tósha, Tu tosá-r, Cz tósalí,
UA M₄₅₈ *tosa (pan-UA)
WHITE₂ Eu sutei, [sá'te]i
WIFE Op hubi-gua, Eu huve 'have a wife', [huubel], Tr upí,
Gu upí, huupi, Tu saná-r, honaká-m, Cz hužbi, UA M₄₇₁ 'upi
(Tep, Tr, Gu, My, Yq; does this include: Mn, Ech; Miller
gives 'woman' as the gloss, but the meaning 'wife' seems
to be constant in the Taracahitic data)
WIND Op geca, Eu va-héka, Tr eká, yéká, Gu egá, hehká,
Tu honí-t, Cz heška, UA M₄₆₂ *heka (Mn, Tb, Np, Yq, My, Or,
Nah)
WOMAN Op joquí, oqui, nay, Eu hoquiz, [ho'í-t], Tr mukí,
muhí, Gu hó'widzamó, Tu tuli, Cz hámamu-t
YE Op enido, Eu emét, enide, Tr emi(hé), tumu-, Gu he'emé,
Tu emé, Cz emé'e, UA "[á-má]
YELLOW Op saguai, Eu sáwei, Gu sa'wató-, Tu araká-r, mokvasakar,
Cz sawári, sahuali
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