

# A Basic Chinook Jargon Lexicon

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## INTRODUCTION

This Chinook Jargon lexicon is restricted to speakers who acquired the language as residents of the Grand Ronde Indian Community, northwestern Oregon. Additionally, it provides a list of isolated items only: a consideration of compounds and idioms, while essential to an adequate appreciation of the language's expressive resources, must await a more comprehensive treatment.

### Historical Background

Grand Ronde was established as an Indian reservation in 1856, with the resettlement there of most of the surviving indigenous population of interior western Oregon. I have elsewhere provided a sociolinguistic sketch of the formation and subsequent integration of this unusual reservation (Zenk 1988). Here, in one small and internally highly interactive local community, nine distinct languages (besides Jargon and local English) once counted significant numbers of speakers: Canadian French, and eight indigenous languages spoken by approximately 15 small "tribes" (this list excludes several additional indigenous languages spoken by smaller scatterings of individuals).

During the early years of the reservation, Chinook Jargon assumed the important function of a community pidgin, facilitating both Indian-with-Indian and Indian-with-White interactions. In this respect, the situation at Grand Ronde closely resembled that described for other early Pacific Northwest reservations. However, in contrast to the usual situation elsewhere, Jargon also became a language of the home at Grand Ronde, as many husbands and wives adopted it in the new households they established on the reservation. Significantly, these husbands and wives were almost invariably speakers of non-overlapping subsets of the nine original community languages mentioned above. Although multilingualism is noted to have been a general characteristic of indigenous society in the region, the sheer number of languages complicating even the most ordinary settings and daily activities at Grand Ronde no doubt constituted a powerful motivation for the wholesale adoption of Jargon there. In fact, indigenous languages were falling into disuse in many late-nineteenth century Grand Ronde family circles--displaced by Jargon and (especially later) by local English (or in many instances, by some condition of intermixture involving both Jargon and English).

It is thanks to the penetration of Jargon into many (probably the majority of) late-nineteenth century Grand Ronde households that some elderly speakers and semi-speakers have survived into the recent past. This lexicon is compiled from my own fieldwork with some of those elders, combined with results of earlier fieldwork by other investigators.

### Analytical Framework

The analytical framework that I have found most congenial to my progressing research is perhaps the least theoretically-burdened of

any to emerge from recent pidgin-creole linguistics. This is the so-called Acts of Identity hypothesis (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985), whose guiding construct is rooted not in a particular linguistic theory, but in a metaphor borrowed from film projection: focusing and diffusion.

In the present case, the metaphor proves apt. Chinook Jargon was no adult speaker's only language in this community, and speakers quite naturally contributed their own "accents" to it: reflecting not only their other languages, but their personal preferences for particular alternate forms and features as well. While one speaker might criticize the way another spoke (I have recorded examples of such evaluations), an "accent" was not incompatible with fluency, nor is there any firm evidence to suggest that critical or approving evaluations expressed norms general to the local community. The resulting latitude to vary was moreover not restricted to the contrasting usages of different speakers: single speakers are found to indulge in such freedom as well.

Notwithstanding such freedom, however, fluent speakers do exhibit broadly overlapping repertoires of linguistic features, forms, and patterns which, furthermore, are found to broadly overlap like indications of regularity noted for the regional pidgin Jargon (see Thomason 1983). That is, the data present indications not only of chaotic diversity, but of a shared stock of elements and structures--of linguistic order--as well.

The focusing-and-diffusion approach, formulated to handle comparably "messy" sociolinguistic realities of life in the creole-speaking Caribbean, is tailored to fit such circumstances. Specifically, in allowing for linguistic order--focusing--the approach does not find it imperative to explain away chaotic diversity--diffusion. On the contrary, an appreciation of chaotic diversity is essential for grasping the special character of pidgin and creole languages.

My application of the approach is conveniently explained by means of the following examples: (1) variable stress-placements, which exhibit uniform patterns complicated, however, by speakers' non-matching partial realizations for many specific items; and (2) the existence of alternate forms for many European-derived items, providing an illustration of the diffuse as opposed to sharp "lines" separating Jargon phonology from source-language phonologies.

(1) Many items show variable stress-placements and seemingly unmotivated fluctuations of vowel length ("unmotivated": unaccompanied by stress, the usual concomitant of vowel length). For example, the item 'Chinook (Jargon)' shows JH [tʃ'(nu:k)], WB [tʃ'(nu:k)] and [tʃ'nók]; 'bad' shows JH [m'asɑ:tʃ'i] and [masɑ:tʃ'i]; and 'wait' shows WB [ɑtɔ:] and EJ [ɑtɑ:] (initials identify speakers).

En masse, such items point to a uniform pattern, which may be generalized as follows:

In items of CVCV(C)... VCV(C)..., or (more unusually) CVCCVC syllable structure, optionally stressed initial syllables occur almost regularly short, while non-initial syllables that may optionally bear stress may also occur long--whether stressed or not: stressed, such

syllables occur long more often than not.

These relationships are summarized in the lexicon by means of the mark /: separating optionally-stressed syllables. For example, the foregoing items are entered into the lexicon as: 'chi/'nuk, 'ma/'sachi, and 'a/'ta, respectively.

While the marking of this pattern makes it possible to subsume a good deal of variation that would otherwise appear entirely unmotivated, there is a qualification. As in the example 'a/'ta above, the pattern in many instances is represented only by non-matching partial realizations from different speakers. While matching forms for many (perhaps most) such items would presumably be attested in a large enough data sample, informant perceptions regarding "correct" forms may also vary.

Lacking direct methods for further testing the application and extension of the pattern (unfortunately, the fluent speakers I worked with are now all gone), I have imputed it as an hypothesis to all items exemplifying non-initial stress placements. While it may no longer be possible to generate original data against which to test the hypothesis, it does receive some confirmation on other grounds. The patterning of stress in the French-derived portion of the lexicon in particular indicates that items entering the language with non-initial stress tend to develop initially-stressed alternates. Since the French source-language items bear regular final-syllable stress, the circumstance that so many non-initially stressed French-derived items in the lexicon also turn up with initial stress points to a phonological process internal to Jargon.

Since this is a process observable for all speakers (albeit usages may differ with respect to particular items), I use the slash also to write items exemplified only with non-initial stress (while not marking the first syllable for optional stress): e.g., a/'lim 'to rest'. Furthermore, I assume that any unstressed long vowel may bear stress, whether or not stress is actually attested; where it is not, phonetic field forms appear in the lexicon: e.g., 'lika/'ret [l(k)re:t] 'carrot'.

Note how apt the metaphor of focusing and diffusion proves here. This is a pattern that emerges with clarity only for an aggregate of cases: for an individual item, we may be left with only a partial--or "fuzzy"--image. Note also that in applying the pattern as an hypothesis, I am claiming only that a sufficiently large sample of data for each item should attest the full pattern--notwithstanding the possibility that one or more speakers might consider a particular option "incorrect."

(2) Many items of European (French and English) provenance are represented by two kinds of alternate: one suggesting (though often in distorted form) French or English phonology; the other conforming more closely to local indigenous-language phonetic norms. Examples of such pairs from the lexicon are: 'basten : 'pasten 'American', 'ulman : 'olman 'old man', and 'la/'kum : 'la/'gom 'pitch'.

The citation of these items is complicated by the circumstance that in most cases, segments that appear to correspond to European phonemes also correspond to phonetic variants of indigenous-language

phonemes. For example, the segment o, often a non-contrastive phonetic variant of the indigenous vowel phonemes usually written u, turns up in many European-derived items for French and English o. A question of interpretation then arises for pairs such as 'ulman : 'olman: should these be interpreted as alternate forms; or is 'olman to be considered merely a phonetic variant of 'ulman? The first option accords with my own approach. I must point out that Jacobs's mature (that is, 1929 and post-1929) transcription exemplifies the second option. In fact, Jacobs explicitly assumed that speakers used their indigenous-language phonologies in speaking Jargon.

In my view, the retention of distinctive French and English features in some Jargon items must ultimately be explained with reference to attempts by Indian speakers of the past to model their own pronunciations after those of French and English speakers. A likely motivation for doing so was the perception that these were properly "French" and "English" words, and should be pronounced as such. In the forms in which these items have come down to subsequent generations of speakers, however, they are for the most part clearly distinguishable from their source-language counterparts. That is, features that presumably arose as inaccurate "hits" of European phonological targets have passed into the language. On an Acts of Identity hypothesis, such persistence of form through time must be accounted to the motivated efforts of certain speakers to model their own Jargon after that of certain other speakers--for example, persons associated with their own past learning experience, or persons with whom they preferred to identify themselves. At the same time, other Indian speakers evidently have seen no compelling reason to conform to European models, preferring instead to produce European-derived items exemplifying Indian-language phonetic norms.

By contrast, the indigenous portion of the lexicon exhibits a more uniform phonology: one probably best understood on Thomason's (1983) model of an indigenously-derived (if not, as she argues, aboriginally-derived) set of phonological targets. It would be difficult to account otherwise for the many close resemblances of feature and form revealed for speaker variants of such items. At the same time, I would caution against a too narrow interpretation of her term "target": in particular, the normalized forms heading each entry in this lexicon are to be considered as formulaic statements of observed agreements and variation, not as models of, or targets for correct realization.

#### THE LEXICON

Transcription and normalization follow Zenk (1991). Note:

s(h) stands for [s] OR [ʃ], c(h) stands for [ts] OR [tʃ].

ə is a vowel that may vary considerably in quality, but is always recorded short. Instances of variable quality are noted in the lexicon; elsewhere, ə may be read [ə].

Normalized forms are based, as far as possible, on data from speakers who once used the language on a daily basis. The following five such speakers were represented by significant data samples, either gathered by myself or available from the Melville Jacobs Collection, University of Washington Archives, Seattle:

CR Mrs. Clara (Menard) Riggs (Zenk)  
 EJ Mrs. Esther (Jones) LaBonte (Zenk)  
 JH Mr. John B. Hudson (Jacobs)  
 VH Mrs. Victoria (Wishikin) Wacheno Howard (Jacobs)  
 WB Mr. Wilson Bobb (Zenk)

Other initials denote speakers contributing data qualified by virtue of limited extent, limited availability, or inferred semi-speaker competency. G77 designates forms culled from Gatschet's 1877 Tualatin (Northern Kalapuyan) fieldnotes. I am indebted to Yvonne Hajda for making available to me samples of her data from Mr. Elmer Tom (ET).

Forms recorded independently from at least three speakers, no two of whom had learned or used the language in the same family household, are cited minus identifying speaker initials. All other forms are identified by speaker.

Abbreviations used in the lexicon include the following:

a.v.: Active verb, one of the two basic types of verb. a.v. implies activity by a subject, and may be transitive or intransitive. Transitive a.v.'s usually occur with expressed objects, but otherwise are not sharply distinguished from intransitive a.v.'s: constructions with both verb types are based upon a verb core, consisting of a simplex or complex verb plus fronted personal pronoun (latter sometimes omitted, but usually only under restricted conditions). Various options characterize the ordering of other subject and object constituents: modally, noun subjects precede the verb core, noun or pronoun objects follow; but objects optionally precede, noun subjects (or independent pronouns being used emphatically) optionally follow.

attr.: Attributive, item filling the attribute function in endocentric constructions.

loc.: Locative complement, item denoting location or direction of verb action, usually directly postposed to a.v..

s.v.: Static verb. The other basic type of verb. The contrast between a.v. and s.v. involves, besides inherent meaning, distribution: s.v., but not a.v., may occur as predicate in a predicate-(postposed) subject construction. Items that occur as s.v.'s occur elsewhere as syntactic subjects or objects, or as subordinate constituents of endocentric constructions. While

some items may occur more frequently as one or the other, these categories are generally speaking not sharply distinguishable.

vb.: Verb. Reserved in the lexicon for items whose classification as a.v. or s.v. is doubtful or ambiguous.

NOTE: Every item recorded explicitly as a Jargon item, or noted with some frequency for grammatical Jargon utterances, is accompanied by a parts-of-speech identifier. Items appearing without such identifiers are confined to non-Jargon-identified English (or rarely, French) borrowings into Grand Ronde tribal languages. My inclusion of such items only makes explicit the procedure adopted by Jacobs in his Clackamas Chinookan and Kalapuyan texts: most, if not all English borrowings there are marked as Chinook Jargon. In fact, sociohistorical evidence supports the assumption that at Grand Ronde, English and French items would have penetrated tribal languages via interlingual contexts of discourse that were also characterized by the frequent use of Chinook Jargon. Moreover, many of these items exhibit the same kinds of phonetic distortion characterizing Jargon-identified items of European origin.

The following additional symbols appear:

~ : Alternate form. Following speaker initial (e.g., JH~) it indicates that the speaker attests the form in question as well as a form already cited.

> : Signifies that the alternate to the right appears to have arisen as a reduced form of the alternate to the left. Base forms are established with reference to corresponding Regional Jargon (R.Jarg.) and/or source-language (note: Chin. = Chinookan) items. In both instances, I have depended heavily upon previous compilations by Johnson (1974) and Kaufman (1966).

#### References

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## a

'aba (JH). expl.: "Well."  
 'ac. s.v.: (1) Younger sister.  
 (2) Sister.  
 'a/'ha (one or both vowels may  
 be nasalized). expl.:  
 "Yes."  
 'a/'laxti. adv.: Maybe, might,  
 nearly. (Often synonymous  
 with 'tjunas, q.v., except  
 that 'tjunas focuses on the  
 speaker's state of  
 uncertainty, 'a/'laxti the  
 incomplete status of the  
 action.)  
 'alêksh (EP). a.v.: To beg  
 for.  
 a/'likochik (G77). s.v.:  
 Dentalium--largest size.  
 a/'lim. a.v.: To rest.  
 'alta. adv.: Now, then.  
 'alqi. adv.: Later, after

awhile, in the future.  
 'a/'na (EP; att. in Clack. by  
 VH). expl.: (EP:  
 exclamation of surprise  
 used by "lots of old  
 ladies"; VH Clack.: "Oh  
 goodness!" "Oh dear!")  
 'anqati. adv.: Long ago.  
 'a/'ta. a.v.: To wait (for).  
 (2) To stop, pause.  
 'aw. s.v.: (1) Younger  
 brother. (2) Brother.  
 'ax (WB,EP). a.v.: To  
 defecate. s.v.: Feces.  
 'a/'yaq (~ JH~, CR~ 'ha/'yaq).  
 adv.: Quickly, at once.  
 a.v.: To hurry, go fast.  
 s.v.: Be in a hurry (WB).  
 'ayu-ayu (ET). vb. (att. only  
 in:) hây-munk-ayu-ayu  
 'are making nickering  
 (noises)' (ref. to noises  
 made by a horse).

## b

'bas(h)tên (~'pas(h)tên) (>CR~,  
 WB~) 'basên, CR~, EJ~  
 'bast'n. s.v., attr.:  
 (1) American. (2) White  
 person, White. (3) English  
 (language).  
 bêt (CR, WB) ~ pêt (EJ). conj.:  
 But.  
 'bet (JH). a.v.: To bet.

'biyt (VH). s.v.: Bed.  
 bo/'di (JP) ~ bu/'di (EP).  
 s.v.: Be pouty.  
 'bon (JH). s.v.: (1) Bone.  
 (2) The bone game.  
 'bridsh (JH, G77). Bridge.  
 'buk [búk] (JH). s.v.: Book.  
 'buwt(s) (G77). Boots.

## c

'cixcix (JH, JP). vb.:  
 Diarrhoea.  
 'cuq (JH, VH) ~ 'cêqw (EJ, WB)

(~CR, WB 'chêqw). s.v.:  
 (1) Water. (2) A body of  
 water.

## c

'cêm (~CR, WB~ 'chêm). s.v.  
 (~a.v. for EJ and perhaps  
 others): (1) Mark, spot.

(2) Writing. (a.v.: To  
 mark, spot, write.)

## 1

'cêx (~ EJ~ 'chêx). s.v.: Be  
 split (EP, WB). a.v.: To  
 split (EJ), chop (EP).  
 'c(h)ikc(h)ik (JH: c(h)..., VH: c...)  
 (>EJ, WB 'ciksik) ~  
 'c(h)ikc(h)ik. s.v.:  
 Wagon. Glottalized: non-  
 glottalized and c:ch  
 alternations appear to be  
 source-language derived:  
 cf. Wishram Chin. cikcik  
 'wagon' (dimn.; modal form

would have ch), cikcik  
 'buggy' (dimn. of cikcik).  
 'cikwân (WB, JP). a.v.: (1) To  
 scratch (WB). (2) To pinch  
 (EP, JP).  
 'cîpi(?) a.v.: To miss.  
 'cîqwa (JH). s.v.: Piss-ant.  
 'cî(?) s.v., attr.: Sweet.  
 'cûlu (EJ, WB). a.v.: To get  
 lost, lose the way.  
 'cû' [ts 'û'] (WB). a.v.: To  
 fornicate.

## ch

'chakwa > 'chaku. a.v.: (1) To  
 come, approach. (2) To  
 happen, come to pass (not  
 always sharply  
 distinguishable from  
 (')chaku, q.v.). attr.:  
 (Preceding a.v.:)  
 direction towards speaker  
 or presupposed reference  
 point.  
 (')chaku (>WB~ (')chaw, ch(u),  
 VH~ chu). aux.:  
 (Translative):  
 desemanticized derivative  
 of 'chakwa > 'chaku;  
 modifying s.v. (or rarely,  
 a.v.), it denotes a  
 processural or resultative  
 change of state.  
 'chich (~VH 'chêch). s.v.:

Grandmother.  
 'chikâmin. s.v.: (1) Iron,  
 metal. (2) Coin, money.  
 'chilchil (JH). s.v.: (1)  
 Buttons. (2) Stars.  
 'chi/'nuk. s.v.: (1) Chinook  
 Jargon. (2) Chinookan  
 Indians (CR).  
 'chipchip (JH). vb.: (Att. only  
 in:) mênk-'chipchip 'to  
 wink'.  
 'chulchul (EP). s.v.: Lungs.  
 'chup. s.v.: Grandfather.  
 'chxêp (VH, WB) (>CR, WB 'chêp,  
 EJ, WB 'chip). s.v.: Be  
 extinguished (of a fire or  
 light).  
 'chxi (JH, VH) > 'chi (JH, WB).  
 adv.: Immediately. s.v.,  
 attr.: New, young.

## ch

'c(h)êqân (WB) ~ 'ciqin (JH).  
 a.v.: To kick.

'chux [tʃ 'úx] (WB). vb.: (1)  
 Glance, skip off of (WB).  
 (2) Chip (EP).

## d

'daktêr (CR) ~ 'dakta (EP).  
 s.v.: (1) Doctor. (2)  
 Shaman.  
 'dala ~ 'tala. s.v.: (1)

Dollar. (2) Money.  
 'dâns (~'dâns) (CR, WB) (~ET  
 'danc, JH 'tanc) ~  
 'tanis(h) (JH) (~VH

## 2

'danēs). a.v.: To dance.  
s.v.: A dance (e.g. Indian  
dance).  
djēs (CR). adv.: Just.

'dret. adv.: Truly, really,  
rightly. s.v.: Be true,  
straight. attr.: True,  
real.

ēn ~ 'n (CR). conj.: And.  
'ēn/'kaw (EJ). a.v.: To untie.

'fitēl [f[ɬ.ɫ] (JH). s.v.: Fiddle.

ga/'bres (G77). s.v.: Lariat-  
strap.  
'geyt (G77). Gate.  
gi/'dap (ET,VH) (~CR ge/'dap, JH  
ki/'tap). a.v.: To get

'hal (VH). a.v.: To pull.  
'hala (CR). a.v.: To holler.  
'haws. s.v.: (1) House. (2)  
Building.  
'ha/'yash (~JH,VH 'ha/'yas(h)).  
adv.: (1) In a big way,  
extremely. (2) Loudly  
(VH,WB). s.v.: Be big,  
impressive. attr.: Big,  
great.  
'haykwa. s.v.: (1) "Indian  
money" (strings of  
beads/shells) (JH,LK). (2)  
Dentalium shells (G77).  
'ha/'yu. adv.: (See ('))hayu.)  
s.v., attr.: Many, much.  
(('))hayu > ('))hay. aux.:  
(Continuative:)  
desemanticized derivative  
of 'ha/'yu (q.v.), used by  
VH and WB, and with less  
frequency by JH and ET, as

'ēxpuy. s.v.: Be covered,  
closed. a.v.: To close  
(CR).

up, arise.  
'gliys (JH) (~EP,WB 'kliys, MM  
'kriys). s.v.: Grease,  
fat, wax.  
'gul (G77). Gold.

a pre-a.v. marker of  
continuative aspect.  
Source-form shows in some  
examples of frequentive  
meaning, but the usual  
meaning is continuative.  
'hikchēm (~ JH~,WB~ 'hekchēm) ~  
'kikchēm (VH,G77). s.v.:  
Handkerchief, neckerchief.  
'hēm. s.v.: Be smelly. (CR: ~  
a.v.: To smell, trans.).  
'hihi. a.v.: (1) To laugh.  
(2) To play. s.v., attr.:  
Fun, a game.  
'hilu. s.v.: Be absent,  
lacking, nothing. attr.:  
Lacking, without.  
'hol(d) (CR). a.v.: To hold.  
'hu (JH). expl.: (Attention  
getter.)  
'huf (G77). Foot (the Eng. unit  
of measure; att. as Tual.).

3

'huyhuy (JH,ET). vb. Exchange,

barter, trade.

'ic(h)a[x]wa (JH) (field forms  
show [xw] ~ [kw]). s.v.:  
"Shell money or Injun  
money"; "white threaded  
beads of salmon backbone"  
(latter df. marked "?").  
'icxwēt (JH) (>DC,EJ 'icwēt) ~  
'icxut (VH) (>EJ 'icut).  
s.v.: Black bear.  
i/'k(")anēm. s.v.: Indian  
story, myth. (2) Story.  
a.v.: To tell myths or  
stories.  
'ikik (JH). s.v.: Fish-hook.  
'ikta. prn.: (Rel.-inter.:)  
what, which, something.  
s.v.: (1) Thing. (2)  
Genitals (male or female)  
(WB).  
'iktas (CR,EJ). s.v.: Clothes.  
'ikwali (JH). s.v.: Bracelet.  
'i/'laytix (JH,EP). s.v.:  
Slave.  
'ilēp. adv.: Ahead, first,  
before. s.v.: Be first,  
ahead, in front.  
'ili'i (JH) (> 'ili') > 'ilihi.  
s.v.: (1) Dirt, ground.  
(2) Land, country.  
'iē/'qwa (JH). s.v.: Mud-  
turtle.  
'ižukuma (JH,WB) ~ 'ižkum  
(EJ,ET). s.v.: The bone  
game (gambling game played  
by guessing which hand of  
the opponent conceals a  
marked gaming piece).  
'ižwēl(i) (~VH 'ižwēl). s.v.:  
(1) Meat, flesh. (2) The  
body.  
'ina. s.v.: Beaver.  
'inatay. adv.: Cross-wise, to

1

one side. prep.: Across.  
s.v.: Be across, on one  
side.  
'in(ē)pu. s.v.: (1) Louse.  
(2) Bug.  
'ipsēt (CR,EP) ~ 'ip/'sut  
[[psu:t] (JH). a.v.: To  
hide (intrans.). s.v.: Be  
hidden, secret.  
'iqix (JH,VH). s.v.: Brother-  
in-law.  
'iqsix (JH,VH). s.v.: (1) Son-  
in-law. (2) Mother-in-law  
(JH).  
'isalx (JH). s.v.: Corn  
(maize).  
'isik (JH,VH) (~LK 'isēk).  
s.v.: (1) Paddle, oar  
(JH,LK). (2) Ash tree  
(JH,VH).  
'iskam. a.v.: (1) To grab,  
catch. (2) To get.  
'ish'ish (VH). a.v.: To dance  
(item appears in two Jarg.  
sentences; Jacobs notes  
also: "[[f'i]] is said in  
Clackamas to children [:]  
'Dance!").  
(('))i/('))wa. Loc.: (Att. in:)  
'ga-iwa(')) 'which one'  
(JH), 'which way' (JH,VH);  
'ya/'wa-i('))wa 'that-a-way'  
(VH,WB). attr.: That  
other (EP).  
'ixsti (WB) ~ 'ixti (ET). adv.:  
Once.  
'ixt (>CR,JH 'ix(t)) > 'ix  
(EP,ET). num.: One.  
s.v.: Be alone, single.  
attr.: Particular, a  
certain.

k

'kacēq (JH) ~ 'kēcēq (WB). prep.: In between, in the middle of.

4

s.v., attr.: Center, middle.  
 'kakshât (~JH 'kakshat). a.v.: To beat, whip, damage.  
 'kakupus. adv.: Seemingly, according to appearances, as if (contr. of 'k(°)akwa, q.v. + pus, q.v.).  
 'k(°)akwa > 'k(°)aku. adv.: Thusly, in that manner. attr.: (Preposed or postposed to s.v.): having the attributes or quality of .... s.v.: Be like, similar to, resembling.  
 'ka/'laytên (JH,VH). s.v.: Arrow.  
 'k(°)amuksh (~EJ 'kamuks(h), JH 'kamuks). s.v.: Dog.  
 ka/'musaq (JH). s.v.: Beads.  
 'k'anawi (>(attr.:)) ('k'anu ~ VH,CR- ('k'ana). adv.: Entirely, wholly. s.v.: Everything, the whole of it. attr.: All, every.  
 'ka/'nish (G77). Whale (att. as Tual.; cf. R.Jarg. kwânis 'whale').  
 'k'a/'pa ~ 'k'u/'pa. prep. (largely displaced as prep. by its derivative k'apa ~ k'upa, q.v.): Over there (at). adv., loc.: Over there, towards there. s.v.: Be over there.  
 (')k'apa ~ (')k'upa. prep.: To, from, at, on, from, than, by means of, etc. (specific meaning lent by context). Desemanticized derivative of 'k'a/'pa ~ 'k'u/'pa (q.v.).  
 'kap/'shwala (~JH 'kap/'swala). a.v. To steal.  
 'ka/'pu ~ 'ka/'po. s.v.: Coat.  
 (')k'apuk. prep.+dem.: (Contr. of (')k'apa, q.v., and (')uk, q.v.).  
 'kapxu (VH) ~ 'kapu (JH). s.v.: Older sibling (sister or brother).  
 'kara/'pin (WB) ~ 'kala/'pin

(JH). s.v.: gun.  
 'k'edêl (~ 'k'idêl) (CR). s.v.: Kettle.  
 'kephaws (JH). s.v.: Jail.  
 'keyskeys (JP). s.v.: Bluejay.  
 'kêlê-kê'lê. s.v.: Bird.  
 'k'êltê (~VH 'k'altas). adv.: Merely, only, just. s.v., attr.: Worthless, no good.  
 'k(°)êmtêks (narrow transcriptions consistently show short [A]: vs. Jacobs's normalized qâmdaks, kâmdaks). a.v.: (1) To know, understand, remember. (2) To perceive, hear, listen.  
 'k'ê/'nêx (WB). adv. Even (as in "even so," "even that much").  
 k(°)ê/'nim. s.v.: Canoe, boat.  
 k'ê/'pit (narrow transcriptions consistently show short [A]: vs. Jacobs's normalized kâbit). adv.: Just, only. a.v.: To stop. s.v.: Be finished, at the end. attr.: Only, finished (with s.v.); to end, finish (with a.v.).  
 'k(°)ikw(ê)li. adv., loc.: Downwards, underneath. s.v.: Be down, below. attr.: Down, low.  
 'k'i/'lay (EJ,JH) (~WB 'k'ê/'lay) ~ 'k'lay (CR,WB). a.v.: To cry.  
 'k(°)im/'ta (~CR 'kimta). s.v.: Be behind, in the rear, late. loc.: Behind. attr.: After, late.  
 'kimtêks (WB). a.v.: To think or feel in a deep, heartfelt manner.  
 'kishkish (ET,WB). a.v.: To chase, drive.  
 'k(°)itjên (VH,WB) ~ 'kijên (CR,EP). s.v.: Bucket.  
 'k(°)iyêp. s.v.: Be dark, dim.  
 'k'iyêp (EJ). a.v.: To "keep up."  
 'k'i/'yutên (~ 'k'iwutên) ~

'k'yutên (CR,WB-). s.v.: Horse.  
 'k'liyn (CR,EJ). a.v.: To clean.  
 'kliysi (WB). s.v.: Be crazy, "a bit off."  
 'kofi (G77). Coffee.  
 'kohon (G77) (~LK 'kohan, 'kuhan). Acorn (att. as Tual.).  
 'k'ot (G77,WH) ~ 'k'ut (LK). s.v.: Coat, gown, (woman's) dress.

'kaka' (JH). s.v.: Crow.  
 'kanawi (JH,VH). s.v.: (1) Acorn. (2) Oak.  
 'kaw. a.v.: To tie, tie up (CR,EJ). s.v.: Be tied.  
 'kaxchi (VH). adv. Uselessly, in vain.  
 'kaynuł (~ JH- 'kaynuł). s.v.: Tobacco.  
 'ka'. vb.: Quiet, still, silent.

'kwał. s.v.: Aunt.  
 'kwanisêm ~ 'kwansêm. a.v.: Always, forever, all the time.  
 'k'wata (G77). A quarter (25

'kwas. a.v.: To fear. s.v.: Be afraid.  
 'kwa/'tin. s.v.: Belly. (Note:) Jacobs has VH yâkwatî:n, yâkwatî:n, suggesting R.Jarg. yâkwâtan 'belly' (Johnson). However, the resemblance is probably coincidental: in the field texts, both

'k'riye (JH) ~ 'k'riy (JH,MM). s.v.: To cry out, holler.  
 'k'um (LK) Comb.  
 'kupkup (JH,G77). s.v.: Dentalium--small.  
 'kuri (~ EJ- 'kuli). a.v.: To run.  
 'kushu (~WH 'kusho). s.v.: Pig, hog.  
 'k'uwl (~JH 'k(°)ol(t)). s.v.: (1) Be cold. (2) Year. attr.: Cold.

k

'kilapay (~CR 'kelapa). a.v.: To return, come back. loc.: Reverse, back, backwards.  
 'kipwêt. a.v.: To sew (EJ,JH). s.v.: Needle, pin, awl.  
 'kix (EP). vb.: Over-satiated.  
 'koy' (EP). adv.: Wishing (for), wishing it were so.  
 'kuykuy (JH). s.v.: Ring.

kw

cents).  
 'k'wilt (VH). Quilt.  
 'kwiskwis. s.v.: Chipmunk.  
 'k'wi/'im. s.v.: Grandchild.

kw

examples are translated 'her belly' (yâ- is 3 SG), while the second is actually transcribed kabayo / kwatî:n. Stressed yâ in both cases is explainable by analogy with yâ-la 'bush' 'her mouth' and like examples--symptomatic of a general tendency for stress

1

7

s.v.: Neck, throat.  
'lili. adv.: Awhile, for/after  
some time.  
'li/'lu (li.. ~ le.. ~ ley..).  
s.v.: Wolf.  
'li/'ma. s.v.: (1) Hand, arm.  
(2) Handiwork (JH).  
'li/'moto (JH,G77) ~ 'limoton  
(G77). s.v.: Sheep.  
li/'pla (li.. ~ lê..) (WB).  
s.v.: Plate.  
'lipli (CR,JH). s.v.: Be  
boiling.  
'li/'p'rat (li.. ~ le..)  
(JH,WH). s.v.: Priest,  
minister.  
'li/'pum (EJ,VH) ~ li/'pom.  
s.v.: Apple.  
'li/'p'wa (~JH,G77 'lipu/'wa).  
s.v.: (1) Peas. (2)  
Beans.  
li/'p'yi (VH) (~WB li/'p'i) ~  
'lipi/'yi (~lepi/'yey)  
(JH). s.v.: (1) Feet,  
toes. (2) Tracks (VH).  
'li/'sak (li.. ~ le..). s.v.:  
Sack, pouch, bag, pocket.  
'lishan/'del (LK) ~ lishan/'tel  
(JH). s.v.: Candle.  
li/'shat (JH). s.v.: Shirt.  
'li/'shesh (EJ). s.v.: Chair.  
'li/'shol (LK,G77). s.v.:  
Shawl.  
li/'ta (WB) (~CR,JP li/'da) ~  
le/'ta (JH) (~JP le/'da).  
s.v.: Teeth, tooth.  
'liwan (JH). s.v.: Ribs.  
'li/'yop (JH) (~WH 'liyob) ~  
li/'yab (EL). s.v.: The  
devil.  
'liysi (EP). s.v.: Be lazy.  
lo/'hwet (JH). s.v.: Whip.  
'loqa (ID,WB). a.v.: To drink.  
'lulu. a.v.: To carry, take  
along.  
'luwp (VH,WB) ~ 'lop (JH).  
s.v.: Rope, thong, line.  
'lu'lu (LK,VH) (~JH [lóló],  
[l'ó'óló]). s.v., attr.:  
(1) Be round, accumulated.  
(2) Ball, something round.

- 'laksta. prn.: (Rel.-inter.:) who, someone.  
'lakwën (JH). vb.: Wipe.  
'laqw (VH) > 'laq. vb.: (Att. in:) munk-'laq(w) 'to take off, remove'. Confused with 'lax (q.v.) by younger speakers.  
las. prn.: They, their (3 PL). Derived from the Chin. pronominal prefix ti- 'neuter 3 SG'; always comes before the term it modifies.  
(')laska > (VH, WB ('))las. prn.: They, their, them (3PL). Derived from the Chin. independent prn. laska 'neuter 3 SG'; may fill any syntactic subj. or obj. position.  
'latuwa (> 'latwa, 'latu). a.v.: To go. attr.: (Preceding a.v.): direction away from speaker or presupposed reference point.  
'la/'wa (JH, WB). adv.: Slowly. s.v.: Be slow.  
'lax. a.v.: To come out, emerge. s.v.: Be out of. Younger speakers confuse 'lax-'laq(w) (q.v.).  
'laxani (~ EJ-, WB- 'tīaxani) ~ laxni (CR, VH). s.v., loc.: Outside.  
'la/'xayam (~VH 'laxaw/'yam). expl.: (Greeting/parting:) "aloha!" s.v.: Be poor, pitiful, wretched.  
'lāqāi (JH, EP). s.v., attr.: Flat, broad, wide.

tī

- 'tīap. a.v.: To find, encounter.  
'tīaxēnhān (EP). s.v.: (Obscure item:) a deadbeat, good-for-nothing.  
'tīax. s.v.: Be torn, ripped.  
'tīaxtīax (JP). s.v., attr.: Ragged, raggedy.

9

- tīē/'minxwēt (~ EJ- 'tīēminxut, JH- tī/'minuwit) (x: [x] ~ [h]). a.v.: To lie, deceive.  
'tīēmxwēn (CR, WB). a.v.: To prick, stick, stab.  
'tīi (JH). s.v.: Bitter.  
'tīi/'min (~CR 'tīē/'min, VH 'tīmēn, EJ- 'tīēmin).

- s.v., attr.: Mashed, mixed, soft.  
'tīip. a.v.: To sink, go down, go in.  
'tīunas (~WB 'klunas, JH- 'tīu/'nas). adv.: Perhaps, maybe (speaker's state of uncertainty).  
'tīux. a.v.: To fall.

m

- ma. prn.: Thou (subj. only), thine (2 SG). Derived from the Chin. pronominal prefix m- '2 SG'; always comes before the term it modifies.  
'makuk. a.v.: (1) To buy. (2) To pay for (CR).  
'makwsht (VH) (~JH 'makws(t)) (> EJ, WB 'maks(t), CR 'mak(w)s). num.: Two.  
'makwshti (VH) > 'maksti (WB). adv.: Twice.  
'malax (LK, WH) (~G77 'malx). Tin, pan, dishes (att. as Kalapuyan; cf. R.Jarg. malax 'tinware, earthenware, dishes' (Johnson)).  
'ma[ī]xwēli (EP, MM [māhwēli], restored with ref. to R.Jarg. māxwēli--Kaufman). Loc. (and vb.?): (1) Over there, away (MM). (2) Over among (EP). (Chin./R.Jarg means 'inland'.)  
'ma/'ma. s.v.: Mother.  
'mamuk. a.v.: (1) To do, make. (2) To work. (3) To copulate. attr.: (Occasional stylistic alt. of ('))munk, q.v.) s.v.: (1) Work. (2) Day (of the week) (VH).  
'man. s.v.: (1) Man. (2) Husband. attr.: Male.  
'manaki (JH) (>WB manaki, DC, MM 'manēkē). attr. (and s.v.?): More than,

- greater.  
'mash (~JH 'mas(h)). a.v.: To throw, put, leave.  
ma/'shachi (~EJ, JH 'ma/'sachi). s.v., attr.: Bad, harmful, terrible, cruel.  
'mawich. s.v.: Deer.  
(')mayka > ('))may. prn.: Thou (subj., obj.), thine (2 SG.). Derived from the Chin. independent prn. mayka '2 SG'; may fill any syntactic subj. or obj. position.  
'may'ma (JH). s.v. (and adv.?): Downriver, below.  
me/'tīaxwēs (EP). s.v.: Eye-matter.  
'meri (CR) (cf. MM 'meli, 'mali: possibly influence by Thomas, however). a.v.: To marry.  
'mēkmēk (~ JH- 'mēkēmēk) (Vowel is uniformly short [A] in narrow transcriptions: vs. Jacobs's normalized q). a.v.: To eat, consume. s.v.: Food.  
'mēskit (JH). s.v.: Musket.  
'mi/'layt > 'mīlēt. a.v.: (1) To sit, stay, live. (2) To have, possess.  
'mimēlust (~VH, JH- 'mimilust) (> CR, EP 'mimēlus, JH- 'mimilus). a.v.: To die. s.v., attr.: Dead.  
'mi/'tas(h) (final syll. shows LK, WH -tas, JH -tash ~ -tesh, G77 -tash ~ -tās).

10



s.v.: Leggings.  
 'mitxwēt. a.v.: (1) To stand, stand up. (2) To step, stride (VH).  
 'msa (WB). prn.: Ye (subj., poss.) (2 PL). Derived from the Chin. pronominal prefix msh- '2 PL'; always comes before the term it modifies.  
 m/'sayka (VH) > mi/(')sayka (> ET-,WB- mi/(')say) (1: [i] ~ [ə]). prn.: Ye (subj., obj., poss.) (2 PL). Derived from the Chin. independent prn. mshayka '2 PL'; may fill any syntactic subject or object position.  
 'mulak (JH,JP). s.v.: Elk.  
 'munk [mʊŋk] (~ JH-,VH- 'mēnk [mʌŋk]). a.v.: To make, do (derivative of R.Jarg. 'mamuk, q.v.).  
 (')munk (~ JH-,VH- (')mēnk). attr.: (Causative auxiliary verb:) to make, cause, bring about (derived from 'mamuk, q.v. > 'munk,

q.v.:). aux.: (Transitive:) desemanticized derivative of attr., not sharply distinguishable from it: the common element of many compound vbs. of stereotyped transitive meaning (original causative meaning is usually evident, but not necessarily obvious: e.g., munk-'hihi in its usual meaning is to 'mock' someone, not "make them laugh"; munk-'layavam in its usual meaning is to 'pity' someone, not cause them to be pitiful).  
 'musmus (~ WH-,MM 'mushmush, CR- 'mēmēs). s.v.: Cow, ox, buffalo.  
 'musum. a.v.: (1) To sleep. (2) To lay down, go to bed. (3) To cohabit.  
 'muwn (JH,CR). s.v.: Month.  
 'muwnsik (JH,G77). s.v.: Be menstruating.

## n

na (1) (JH,VH). aux.(?) (interrogative particle): '?.  
 na (2). prn.: I, my (1 SG). Derived from the Chin. pronominal prefix n- '1 SG'; it always comes before the term it modifies.  
 'nan(i)ch (~ JH-,LK 'nan(i)c). a.v.: To see, look, look for, observe.  
 'na/'witka (CR,JH). expl.: "Right," "that's right" (EP). adv.: Indeed, surely. s.v.: Be really so, be right.  
 (')nayka > (')nay. prn.: I, my, me (1 SG). Derived from the Chin. independent prn. nayka '1 SG'; may fill

any syntactic subj. or obj. position.  
 na', (')nax (EP,VHM) (It is uncertain whether these forms represent one or two items). expl.: (1) ([na'], [nʌh]:) parents used to say, to get one another's attention (EP). (2) ([nʌx]:) 'dear', 'hon'' (father always called mother) (VHM).  
 nca (VH,WB) > ca (~ WB-,CR sa). prn.: We, our (1 PL). Derived from the Chin. pronominal prefix nch- '1 PL (excl.)'; it always comes before the term it modifies.

n/(')cayka (> CR-,WB- (')cay(ka)) > ni/(')sayka (> EJ-,ET- ni/(')say, CR (')say(ka)) (1: [i] ~ [ə]). prn.: We, our, us (1 PL). Derived from the Chin. independent prn. nchayka '1 PL (excl.)'; may fill any syntactic subj. or obj. position.  
 'niym (CR,EP) ~ 'neym (JH). s.v.: Name.  
 'ni/'xwa (VH,WB). expl.: "Show

me!" "Let's see!" adv.: Let's, suppose, how would it be if.  
 'nuwis (ET). s.v.: Noise.  
 'nuws (~JH 'noz). s.v.: Nose.  
 'o (~ CR- 'a) (Jacobs has ū, but this is probably an artifact of normalization: after 1928, he simply never writes o). expl.: "Oh!"  
 'ol (~ 'ul, 'old) (CR). s.v., attr.: Old.

## p

'palach (> CR-,EL 'palsh) ~ 'pałach (VH). a.v.: To give. s.v.: Present, gift (JH).  
 'palēks (JH,WB). s.v.: Penis.  
 'p(')aī (~VH 'p'atī). s.v., attr.: full.  
 'p(')aīam (~EJ 'patīam). s.v., attr.: Drunk.  
 'panax (VHM). s.v.: "Wild celery" (Lomatium nudicale).  
 'pa/'pa (~CR p'a/'pa). s.v.: Father.  
 'pasē/'si (CR) (~ CR- pa/'sēsi, WB pa/'sisi) ~ 'pashi/'si [pʌʃi:] (JH). s.v.: Blanket, covers.  
 'p(')chiχ (~ EJ- 'pchēχ). s.v., attr.: Green, blue.  
 pē/'sayuks (EJ) (~JP,VHM pa.) ~ pa/'shayuks (JH). s.v., attr.: French person, French.  
 pi. conj.: And, but. prep.: (In comparisons:) than.  
 'pik'wan (JH). s.v.: Basket (Jacobs marks this entry "2").  
 'p'iku (~u tends to be curtailed: prob. due to delayed/incomplete release of glottal closure). s.v.: Back (of the body).  
 'p(')il (EJ,JH). s.v., attr.: Red.

'pilpil (JH,VH). s.v.: Blood.  
 'piltān (~ CR- 'p'eltān, 'pilt'n). s.v., attr.: Crazy, foolish.  
 'pipa. s.v., attr.: (1) Paper. (2) Letter, document, book.  
 'pi/'sak [p(ʌ:k)] (JH) ~ pi/'sha'k (WB). s.v.: (1) A bad (rough, brushy) place (JH). (2) (Att. only in:) munk-pi-'sha'k 'to startle, shock (someone)' (as in presenting them with a nasty surprise) (WB).  
 'piwpiw (JH) (w curtailed: ev. for onomatopoeic effect). s.v.: Pine squirrel.  
 'piys (WB). a.v.: To urinate.  
 'pot (JH) ~ 'put (G77). s.v.: Boat.  
 'prum (JH) ~ p'lum (VH). s.v.: Broom.  
 'pu (~EP,WB 'pu). a.v.: To shoot. attr.: Shooting.  
 'pulali (JH). s.v.: Powder, sand, gun powder.  
 'pulakli. s.v., attr.: Night-time, dark.  
 pu/'li (EP). s.v.: Rotten (EP may have seen this in Thomas, where it appears as POO'-LIE: note, however, differing stress placements).  
 'pumpum. Drum (att. as

Kalapuyan and Molala word).  
 pu/'pup (JH,EP). s.v.: Owl.  
 (')pus > p(ə)s. conj.:  
 (Subordinating particle.)  
 adv.: (Modal:) if, would,  
 should. attr.: (Qualifies  
 obj. as conditioned,  
 indefinite, or in doubt).  
 'pus (-WB 'pus, JH- 'puspus).  
 s.v.: Cat. WB's form  
 appears to trace to a Chin.  
 alternate form: cf.

Wishram (Sapir) a-lap<sup>us</sup>  
 'cat' (p marking dimn.).  
 'pus (VH,JH) ~ 'p'ush (CR).  
 a.v.: To push.  
 'p'uxwin (JH) ~ 'p'ux(w)ən (WB).  
 a.v.: To blow (JH,WB).  
 s.v., attr.: Swollen  
 (EP,MM,VHM).  
 'pu/'yu (JP,EP) ~ bo/'ya (JP)  
 (-WH 'poya). s.v.: Broth,  
 soup.

p

'paiēl. a.v.: To confabulate  
 stories ("B. S."), lie.  
 'panaqs (JH). s.v.: Liver.  
 'pēq (-JH 'pēke). a.v.: To  
 strike with the fist, hit.  
 'piil. s.v.: (1) Be thick.  
 (2) Be obstinate,  
 insensitive, not open to

being influenced (WB).  
 attr.: Thick.  
 'piyas (JH,WB). s.v.: Skunk.  
 'pi'nēs (VH). a.v.: To bake in  
 ashes, bake. s.v.: Be  
 baked.  
 'pu' (WB). a.v.: To fart.

q

'q'anc(h)i (-VH 'q'anchi) (c(h):  
 c(h) ~ s(h)). prn.:  
 (Rel.-interr.:) when.  
 adv.: (Att. in:) wik-  
'q'anchi 'never'. attr.:  
 To such/that extent.  
 'q'ata. prn.: (Rel.-interr.:)  
 How, in what manner. adv.:  
 (Att. in:) k'anawi-'q'ata  
 'every which way ("all  
 messed up")', wik-'q'ata  
 'in no way, in no wise'.  
 s.v.: (Att. in:) ikta-  
'q'ata (contr. > - 'q'ata)  
 'be something wrong  
 (with)'.  
 'q'ax > 'q'a. prn.: (Rel.-

interr.:) where,  
 somewhere, anywhere. adv.:  
 (1) where. (2) Still,  
 yet, while. attr.: (1)  
 (Indef.:) some, any. (2)  
 As far as, until. It is  
 possible that sets (1) and  
 (2) trace to different  
 Chin. source forms: VH's  
 two occurrences transl.  
 'while', 'yet' appear in  
 field MS as k'a: Jacobs  
 himself (VH text 3) and  
 Jacobs with JH (text 4)  
 correcting to q'a.  
 'q'ohoho (JH). vb.: Shinny.  
 'qusax (JH). s.v.: Sky.

q

'qa/'lax ~ 'ka/'lax. s.v.: (1)  
 Fence, fence-rails. (2)  
 Corral, field.

'qalēs (EJ). s.v.: Raccoon.  
 'qat (WB). a.v.: To like, love  
 (EP transl.: 'stuck on'--

13

ref. to sexual attraction).  
 'qatawi (JH). s.v.: Swan.  
 'qay(i) (G77,LK). Colt. G77  
 -təkdəyi, -tkdā, re-elicited  
 as LK [tqā:ī], [tqā:ī] (t-  
 appears in many Kalapuyan  
 flora/fauna names):  
 evidently, R.Jarg. qayik  
 'colt' (Kaufman) borrowed  
 into Tual.  
 'qay(')wa. s.v., attr.:  
 Crooked.  
 'qay(')ax (JH). s.v.: Guts,

qw

'q'weī (EJ,WB) (-WB 'q'wetī) ~  
 'q'wēī (CR,EJ) (-VH  
 'q'wētī). s.v.: Be  
 hanging, hung up (CR also  
 att. a.v. 'to hang').  
 'qwet (VH). adv.: (Att. only

entrails.  
 'qēl. s.v.: (1) Be hard,  
 difficult. (2) Obstinate.  
 (3) "Penis erectus."  
 attr.: Hard, difficult.  
 'qis(h)tan. Axe (att. as Tual.  
 and Molala).  
 'qisu (VH) ~ 'k'isu (JH). s.v.:  
 Apron.  
 'doka (EP,MM). a.v.: To choke.  
 'qo' (-VH 'qu'). a.v.: To  
 arrive, reach, get to.

qw

'qwe/'lan. a.v.: To hear  
 (EJ,MM). s.v.: Ear.  
 'qwalelē-qwālelē (JH). a.v.:  
 To gallop.  
 'qwaī (a: [a] ~ [ʌ] ~ [ə]).  
 a.v.: To hit, strike,

knock.  
 'qwan (JH). vb. Habit.  
 'qwe(t)ī (WB) ~ 'qwetīe (JH,  
 JP). a.v.: To hang on,  
 hold on tight. s.v.: Be  
 tight, secure.

r

'rawn(d) (CR,VH) (-CR ē/'rawn). s.v.: (1) Around. (2) The whole  
 (CR).

s

'salc(h)ēq(w) (-JH 'solchuk).  
 s.v.: Ocean.  
 'salēks. a.v.: To fight,  
 quarrel. s.v., attr.:  
 Angry.  
 'samēn. s.v.: (1) Salmon. (2)  
 (Edible?) swimming fish.  
 'san. s.v.: (1) Sun. (2) Day  
 (of the week).

'sandēli (G77). s.v.: Roan  
 (color).  
 'sap/'lil (- 'sap/'lel, VH  
 'saplēl) ~ 'sable (CR) (-WH  
 'saplē). s.v.: Grain,  
 wheat, flour, bread.  
 'saqwalala (LK) (-G77  
 'shē/'kwālala, WH  
 'saqwala). Rifle, gun

14

- (att. as Kalapuyan).  
 'sax(ə)li. s.v., attr., loc.: High up, above, on top, upwards.  
 'sa/'ya. adv. Away from, far off. s.v., attr., loc.: Away, far.  
 'sənti (JH) (~LK 'santi, G77 'shand(i)). s.v.: (1) Sunday. (2) A week.  
 'səx (JH). s.v., attr.: Rattling.  
 'sichum (JH). a.v.: To swim.  
 'sik. s.v.: A sickness.  
 si/'kaluks. s.v.: Pants, trousers.  
 'sil (-G77 'shil). s.v.: Cloth, rag, flag.  
 'silhaws. s.v.: Tent, camp.  
 'sina/'maks (EJ [s(n)ma:ks], WB). num.: Seven. JH has [ps(nmakwst)], ev. reflecting confusion between Jarg. + some Kalapuyan form(s) (cf. Kalapuyan JH [ps(n)] 'three', WH [psinmi:wə] 'seven'--but JH [kwista] 'seven').  
 'sing (CR). a.v.: To sing.  
 'sisu (G77). Scissors.  
 'sitkum. s.v., attr.: Half.  
 si/'yaxwəs (~ JH~ si/'yaxus, VH 'syaxus). s.v.: Eyes, face.  
 'skakwel. s.v.: Lamprey eels.  
 'skilit (JH). s.v.: Pot.  
 'skin (i: [i:]~[i:]). s.v., attr.: Skin, hide, covering.  
 'sku/'kum. s.v., attr.: Strong, tough, brave, impressive.  
 sku/'kum. s.v.: (1) A "dangerous being" (monster or harmful supernatural being).  
 (2) Something odd, uncanny, threatening (WB).  
 'skuwil. s.v.: School.  
 'skwich (WB). expl.: (Term of derision.) s.v.: Vagina.  
 sla/'hal (ET). s.v.: The bone game.  
 'smuk (CR;VH) ~ 'smok (CR). s.v.: Smoke. a.v.: (1) To smoke (tobacco) (CR). (2) To fumigate (burn fur boughs in a house where someone has died) (CR).  
 'snas (JH,WB). a.v.: To rain.  
 'snu (~ 'sno) (JH). s.v.: (1) snow. (2) Year.  
 'so (G77). Saw.  
 'solt (WH). Salt.  
 'spuwn (JH). s.v.: Spoon.  
 'spu'oq (~ 'spo'uq) (JH). s.v.: Faded, dusty, grey.  
 'stakin (G77). Stockings, garters.  
 'stəxstəx (JP) (< stux, q.v.?). s.v.: wrinkled.  
 'stik (~ VH~ 'shtik). s.v.: (1) Stick, branch, tree. (2) Wood.  
 'stik/'shu (JH [st(k)fu:z], G77). s.v.: Shoes (Euro-American style).  
 stin/'but (VH). Steamboat.  
 'ston. s.v.: (1) Stone, rock. (2) Testicles (JH). attr.: Stony, rocky.  
 'stutkin (EJ) (~JH 'stuxtixin). num.: Eight.  
 'stuv (G77). Stove.  
 'stux (VH). s.v.: Be untied.  
 'supna (JH,WB) (~EJ 'supəna) ~ 'supna (VH). a.v.: To jump. s.v.: Jumping.  
 'syapuł (EJ) (~JH shi/'yapuł, WB si/'yapəi) (CR has 'slapəi: confused for i-syapuł, Chin. source-form?). s.v.: Hat.

## sh

- s.v.: Friend, paramour.  
 'ship (JH). s.v.: Ship.  
 'shiyw (WB). s.v.: Be ashamed.  
 'shiyw (G77). Sheep.  
 shi/'ush (WB). s.v.: Be vain, a show-off.  
 'shox (WB,EP). a.v.: To slip.  
 'shoxshox (WB,EP). s.v.: Be embroiled in conflict or trouble (EP) (att. from WB only in munk-'shoxshox 'treat (someone) in a rude, rough manner').  
 'shuga (G77,VH). Sugar.  
 'shulchast (VH). Soldiers.  
 'shush (CR) (~JH 'shus) (...s(h) ~ ...s). s.v.: Shoes.  
 shwi/'qege (JH) (~JP shwa/'keyk). s.v.: Frog.

## t

- 'takumunaq (VH). num.: 100.  
 'tallam (WB) ~ 'taiəm (EJ,JH). num.: Ten.  
 tan/'tin (JH). s.v.: Canteen (Jacobs questions "?" this entry).  
 'taqwəla (WB,EJ) (~JH 'takwəla). s.v.: (1) Hazelnuts. (2) Nuts (EP).  
 't'at (VH) ~ 'tata (JH). s.v.: Uncle.  
 'ta/'tis (~EJ 'te/'tis). s.v.: (1) Flower. (2) Woman's dress, anything pretty (CR).  
 'tat'i (JH,VH). adv. It is so; that's what/that's the way (it is/must be).  
 'tax ~ 'taq (EP,ID). vb.: (Exemplified only in:) chaku 'tax mayka la'bush 'your mouth opens in surprise' (EP). The item exhibits perfect phonetic identity with Kalap. tāx, tāq 'to cry, weep'.  
 'taxam. num.: Six.  
 'ta/'yi. s.v.: Chief, boss, official, important person. attr.: (1) High-up, important. (2) Best, excellent.  
 't'aym. s.v.: Time, occasion.  
 'ta'aniki (JH) (>WB 'taniki) (EJ has 'tanaiqi, ev. confused with 'aiqi, q.v.). adv., s.v.: (1) Yesterday (EJ, JH,WB). (2) Tomorrow (JH).  
 'tēci ~ 'cēcē (~ 'cēsē) (WB). adv.: It must be so, although really, now look (isn't it obvious?). Probably synonymous with 'tat'i (q.v.).  
 Glottalization in the inferred Chin. source-form (tāch(a)) 'nevertheless, still, see!'; Kaufman) may have induced the slurred second form. The first form is more easily explained: WB regularly deglottalizes medial glottalized consonants.

'tântâm (â: JH [u] ~ VH [i] ~ WB [A] ~ CR, EJ [ô]). a.v.: To think, feel. s.v.: (1) Heart, chest. (2) Feelings, thoughts. (3) Self, body, mind, life, character, constitution. (4) Oneself. (5) Soul, spirit. (6) Hearts (in cards) (JH).  
'têm/'wata (VH) (~G77 'tumwata, JH tum/'wâter). s.v.: Falls, rapids.  
tê/'na (EP, JP). s.v.: Be a bother, pest.  
'tê/'nas (â: [A] ~ [ô] ~ [ê]; Jacobs normalizes as g). s.v.: Child, baby.  
'têqsin (JH). a.v.: To follow, pursue.  
't'il. s.v.: Tired, weak.  
'ti/'lay [t[la:]] (t... d...). (EJ) ~ tê/'lay (~CR dē/'lay, WB 'tlay, VH 'dlay). s.v., attr.: Dry.  
'tilxêm > 'tilixêm. s.v.: (1) Person, people. (2) Relative(s), friend(s).  
'tintin. s.v.: (1) Bell, music. (2) Hour, o'clock.  
'tipi' (JH). s.v.: Feather.  
'tipsu (EJ, JH). s.v.: Grass.  
'tisis (WH). Dishes.  
'tiy (JH, G77). s.v.: Tea.  
t'i/'ya'wit (JH, VH) (~VH 't'ya'wit) > t(')i/'yawit.

t

s.v.: (1) Leg. (2) Foot.  
t'qi (VH, JH: i ~ e) > 'tiki (~JH 't'iki) (base form att. only as unstressed attr.). a.v.: To want, like, desire, need. attr.: To want/need to, be inclined to.  
't'dup (JH) ~ kúp (Chin. source-form: túp). s.v., attr.: White.  
't'u/'bíc [t'úb:ts] (EJ). s.v.: 25 cents.  
't'uf (JH, EP). a.v.: To spit. s.v.: Spit, saliva.  
't'ukwis (EJ). s.v.: Cane.  
'tulu'(). a.v.: To win, beat, earn.  
'tum (EP). expl.: (Sound of thumping.)  
t(')u/'mala (~VH d(u)/'mala). adv., s.v.: Tomorrow.  
'tu/'nus (~ EJ- tē/'nes, ET tē/'nis, CR tē/'nus) > (attr. only:) (')tēnēs (the anomalous EJ/ET forms appear to be emph. forms based upon attr. (')tēnēs, not base form). adv.: A little bit, to some extent/time. s.v., attr.: Small, little.  
'tu/'tush. a.v.: To suck. s.v.: Breast, nipple.  
'tu/'wax ~ 't'wax. s.v., attr.: Light, bright, fiery.

t

'tālápēs (~ WB-, JH 'tālapas, JH 'tāla/'pas [tā:lapa:s]). s.v.: Coyote. (2) A devious, deceptive person.  
'ta/'mulch. s.v.: (1) Barrel, tub, pot. (2) A type of basket (EP).  
'taqwin (JH, EP). a.v.: To lick.  
tē/'manēwēs (~ CR-, EJ tē/'manwēs) (â ~ a). s.v.: (1) Guardian spirit. (2)

"The power to heal" (WB). attr.: (Of or pertaining to tē/'manēwēs.)  
'tik (CR). a.v.: To drip.  
'ti/'shay (EJ, ET) (~WB 'ti/'say, VH 'tashay). s.v.: Gambling game played by guessing which bundle of sticks conceals a marked one.  
'tupa (EP, VM). s.v.: Cow parsnip (Heracleum

lanatum).  
'tux (WB). a.v.: To spit.  
'tuxēlqa (WB). attr.: Too, excessive.

'tu'wan (~VH 'tu'an). a.v.: (1) To have, keep. (2) To put (LK, VH).

u

u/'but (CR) ~ u/'bot (~ o/'pot) (JH). s.v.: End, extreme, goal.  
'ukuk. prn.: (Demonstrative:) this one, that one, it (obj.). Often used as post-vb. subj. in s.v. constructions, where it may translate as 'it' (subj.). Older speakers however never use 'ukuk (or (')ukuk > (')uk, q.v.) as subj. in a.v. constructions, although it is so att. from some younger speakers.  
(')ukuk > (')uk. attr.: (1) (Demonstrative:) that, this, the. (2) (Preceding vb. or clause:) 'that which ...', 'the one(s) who ...' (subordinator) (Note: when subj. noun or prn. precedes (')ukuk (')uk) + noun or noun phrase, noun/noun phrase must be interpreted as an s.v.: e.g., WB 'taska uk-hāyash-'tilixēm [3 PL dem.-important-people] 'they who are the important people'.  
'ulali. s.v.: Berries.

'ulman (~ 'olman) (CR, JH). s.v.: (1) Old man. (2) Husband. attr.: Old (JH).  
'ulq (VH) ~ 'ulqē (JH). s.v.: Snake.  
'ulu. s.v.: Be hungry.  
'uma' (VH). s.v.: To feed (give food to).  
'upcax. s.v.: Knife.  
'upkwina (~WB 'upkēna). s.v.: Basket.  
'upqati (JH). s.v.: Bow.  
'upuch (~JH 'upuc). s.v.: (1) Ass, tail. (2) Genitals (JH).  
'upxachi (JH). s.v.: Beads, "Indian money."  
'uskan (~G77 'ushkan). s.v.: Cup, dipper, can.  
'ushxēlāx [ô'xAl/χ] (JH). s.v.: Sineu.  
ush'ush (VH, EP) ~ 'ush (JP). vb.: Sleep. (VH item is labelled Molala, although it occurs in a Jargon song; EP/JP att. it independently as Jarg.)  
'uyxēt (~EJ, WB- 'uyxwēt) (WB has [χ] not [x] for both alternates). s.v.: Trail, road.

w

'wach (CR). a.v.: To watch.  
'wam. s.v., attr.: Warm, hot.  
'wapētu (~JH, LK 'waptu) (u: [u] ~ [u] ~ [o]). s.v.: (1) Wapato (Sagittaria latifolia). (2) Potato.  
'wawa. a.v.: To talk, say, tell. s.v.: (1) Talk. (2) Language.

'wax. vb.: Spill.  
'wēh (ET). expl.: (Exclamation.)  
'wel (CR). expl.: "Well."  
'wēxt (VH, WB) ~ 'wēxt (CR, JH). adv.: Also, too, again.  
'wik (~ emph. 'weyk: also CR's usual form). expl.: "No," "not so." adv.:

(Negative:) not, isn't, don't. attr.: no- (as in nobody, nothing, no good, etc.).

'wikna [w(gnA)] (EP, WB). expl.: "Is that right?" (WB),

"isn't that right?" (EP). Ev., contr. of 'wik (q.v.) + na (1) (q.v.), though neither EP nor WB know it as such.

'win (~JH 'wint). s.v.: Wind.

x

'xulxul (~ EJ~, CR 'hulhul: also younger speakers' form). s.v.: (1) Mouse, rat. (2) A thief.

x

'xanlqi (x ~ h) (WB). s.v., attr.: Crooked.  
'xalaqi (~ EJ~ 'halaqi, CR 'halax: also younger speakers' form). s.v.: Be open.  
'xaw(qw)@i (~ 'xawq@i, 'qaw(qw)@i > 'haw@i (these entries condense an exceptional no. of speaker variants: VH, WB 'xawq@i (WB: -[A]), WB 'xaw(qw)@i, 'qaw@i, EJ 'xaw(qw)@i, 'xawq@i, 'haw@i, CR, WB 'haw@i; EJ, WB often substitute [h] for [x] ~ [x], resulting in additional intermediate

slur-forms). adv.: Can't, unable.

'xaxecak (JH). s.v.: Grasshopper (Jacobs questions "?" this entry).  
'x@l@l (WB) (~JH 'xelel). a.v.: To move, shake, quiver.  
'xluyma (~ JH~, WB~ 'x@/'luyma, VH 'xlu/'wima, JH~ hu/'luyma) (EJ has [x] for x, as does JH 1928, but not JH 1936). s.v., attr.: Strange, different, mysterious.  
'xumxum. s.v.: Brains.  
'xuq@n (VH). a.v.: (1) To pick out. (2) To gather up (EP).

y

ya. prn.: He, she; his, hers (3 SG): derived from the Chin. pronominal prefix i- 'masculine 3 SG'; it always comes before the term it modifies.  
(')yaka (> WB~ (')ya). prn.: He, she; his, hers; him, her (3 SG): derived from the Chin. independent prn. i@yka 'masculine 3 SG' (corresponding to Jarg. 'yaxka, q.v.); may fill any syntactic subj. or obj.

19

'ya/'wa. adv., s.v., loc.: Yonder, over there, there.  
'yaxw@l (EP). a.v.: To borrow (a form which I believe derives from personal recollection, though it may have been prompted by Thomas: TO LEND-- ayahwhul).  
'yaxka. prn.: (Emphatic:) he, she; his, hers; him, her (3 SG): derived from Chin. i@yka 'masculine 3 SG'; it singles out an identified subj. or obj. for special emphasis, or simply renders speech more explicit.

'oho'oho (JH). vb.: Cough.

'ya'im (EJ, VH) ~ 'ya'yum (JH). a.v.: To tell, disclose, narrate. s.v.: Story, narration (JH).  
'ye'/'lan [ye'la:n] (JH). vb.: Help, assistance.  
'yix. s.v.: (1) Tipsy, half-drunk. (2) Off-base, out of touch.  
'yuckat (JH, WB). s.v., attr.: Short.  
'yuk (G77). Yoke (of oxen).  
'yulqat. s.v., attr.: Long.  
'yutlil. s.v.: (1) Be proud, "stuck up." (2) Be glad, happy.

'o' (JH). vb.: Vomit.

20

