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 households and communities 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) local English (or in many instances, by some condition of intermixure 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 grounding 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 uniformly 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 JW [tʃɪŋ'koŋ] and [tʃı'nuk]; 'bad' shows JW [ma'stʃɪŋ] and [mæsd'tʃɪ]; and 'wait' shows WB [ɔtː] and EJ [ɔtː] (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) CCCVCV 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 ~. Separate, 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., s/'lin 'to rest'. Furthermore, I assume that any unaccented 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 [lɪkərt] '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—withstanding 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: 'bast@n: 'bاستān 'American', 'um@n: 'umān 'man', and 'a/'ta: la/'kum: la/'kum '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 9, 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 9. 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: a linguistically best understood in this Jargon'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 normalised 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]. |
| a | is a vowel that may vary considerably in quality, but is always recorded short. Instances of variable quality are noted in the lexicon; elsewhere, a may be read [ʌ]. |
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

'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 'tlunas, s.v., except that 'tlunas focuses on the speaker's state of uncertainty, 'a/'laxti the incomplete status of the action.)
'ak. s.v.: (1) Younger sister. (2) Sister.
'alqi. adv.: Later, after awhile, in the future. 
'a/'na (EP; att. in Clack. by VH). expl.:
(a) Younger sister. (b) Sister.
'a/'ta. a.v.: To wait (for). (2) To stop, pause.
'baws(h)t@n (-'pas(h)tln) (>CR-, WB-) 'basin, CR-, EJ- 'bas't'n). s.v., attr.: (1) American. (2) White person, White. (3) English (language).
'bet (JH). a.v.: To bet.
'biyt (VH). s.v.: Bed.
'cuq (JH, VH) - 'cêw (EJ, WB)
'daktær (CR) - 'dakta (EJ). s.v.: (1) Doctor. (2) Shaman.
'danes). a.v.: To dance. s.v.: A dance (e.g. Indian dance).

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

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

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

'ìn ('n) (CR). conj.: And.


'ìn/ 'kaw (EJ). a.v.: To untie.

'fìtì (fìtì) (JH). s.v.: Fiddle.

g

'gètres (G77). s.v.: Lariat-strap.
'geyt (G77). Gate.
'gi/ 'dap (ET, VH) (CR ge/ 'dap, VH). a.v.: To get up, arise.

'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.

'hihì (JH) (> 'ìlìhì). s.v.: (1) Dirt, ground. (2) Land, country.

'ìkà (JH,VH). s.v.: Be across, on one side.


'ìk(h)alì [xwà (JH) (field forms show [xw] - [kw]). s.v.: "Shell money or Injun money": "white threaded beads of salmon backbone" (latter df. marked "?").

'ìcìxwà (JH) (> XD, XE 'ìcìwàt) - 'ìcìxut (VH) (> EJ 'ìcìutz). s.v.: Black bear.

'hù (JH), hù (EJ). a.v.: To tell myths or stories.

'ìkJìk (JH). s.v.: Fish-hook.

'ìkta. prn.: (Rel.-inter.) what, which, something. s.v.: (1) Thing. (2) Genitals (male or female) (WB).

'ìktaa (CR, EJ). s.v.: Clothes.

'ìkù (JH, ET). s.v.: Slave.

'ìlìp. adv.: Ahead, first, before. s.v.: Be first, ahead, in front.

'ìlì 'ìlì (JH) (> 'ìlì). s.v.: (1) Dirt, ground. (2) Land, country.

'ìlì 'ìlì (JH) (> 'ìlì). s.v.: Be alone, single. attr.: Particular, a certain.


one side. prep.: Across. s.v.: Be across, on one side.

'ìnà 'wà (JH). s.v.: (1) Louse. (2) Bug.


'ìqìx (JH, VH). s.v.: Brother-in-law.


'ìsalxìx (JH). s.v.: Corn (maize).


'ìskàm. a.v.: (1) To grab, catch. (2) To get.

'ìshìsh (VH). a.v.: To dance (item appears in two Jarg. sentences: Jacobs notes also: "[i]/[ì] is said in Clackamas to children [: 'Dance!'])

('ìlì/ 'ìkà). Loc.: (Att. in:) 'gà-ìwà' (loc: 'which one') (JH), 'which way' (JH, LH), 'ìyà-' (loc: 'which other') (WB). attr.: (JH, LH).

'ìsxìtì (WB) - 'ìsxìtì (ET). adv.: Once.


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to fall on the first of two
modally unstressed
syllables preceding a
following accented
syllable.


la/ 'brid (G77). s.v.: Bridle.
la/ 'bush (-WB la/ 'push, JH
la/ 'pus). s.v.: Mouth.
la/ 'chuk (JH,JP) = 'chuk.
with tassels (JH). (2) Cap,
hat (EP,MM).
la/ 'hash (EJ- li- 'hash).
s.v.: Axe.
la/ 'kak (- WH la/ 'kamas).
s.v.: Canoe.
la/ 'kam (- WH - la/ 'kamas).
s.v.: Cassas.
la/ 'min. s.v.: Soup, stew,
gravy—anything requiring
mixture/stirring (ET) (CR
says it was a kind of
potato gruel, G77 has
'soup').
la/ 'kan (VH). s.v.: Canoe.
la/ 'kak (WB) = 'kak
(JH, WB- le-). EJ
'latk[a]/ 'lat -
'liket/ 'ret (1) kWet:
la/ 'lak. s.v.: EJ.
la/ 'set (LT- 'lak/ 'set).
s.v.: Trunk, box.
la/ 'latk (- VH la/ 'takt).
num: Four.
la/ 'klii. s.v.: Key.
la/ 'kum (JH) = (EJ le-, VH
la/ 'gun) = 'gum (LX
(EJ le/ 'kom). s.v.: Pitch.
attr.: fur.
la/ 'lam (VH). s.v.: Paddle.
la/ 'lank (JH) = 'lak/ 'lang (ET,
ID). s.v.: (1) Tongue.
(2) Language.
la/ 'lim (JH). s.v.: File.
la/ 'lan. s.v.: Whiskey, boose.
la/ 'lak (EJ). s.v.: Mittens.
la/ 'mesa (JH) = (WH la/ 'mesna;
'na unexpl.). s.v.: Church.
n/(')sayka (CR,-WB- (')sayka (-> CR-,WB- ni/'(')sayka (-> CR-,WB- ni/'(')sayka, CR (')sayka) (1) [i] (-i) (-i)]. prn.: We, our, us (1 PL). Derived from the Chin. independent prn. mnhayka '1 PL (excl.); may fill any syntactic subj. or obj. position.

'niyam (CR,EP) - 'neyam (JH). s.v.: Name.

'ni/(')mee (VH,VB,EP). exp. : "Show me!" "Let's see!" adv.: Let's, suppose, how would it be if.

'nuwis (ET). s.v.: Noise.

'nuwus (JH-'noz). s.v.: Nose.

'o (- CR-'a) (Jacobs has y, but this is probably an artifact of normalization: after 1928, he simply never writes g). expl.: "Oh!"


na (1) (JH,VB). aux.(?) (interrogative particle): 'i?'.

na (2). prn.: I, my (1 SG). Derived from the Chin. independent prn. nayka (1 SG); may fill any syntactic subj. or obj. position.

'na', (')nax (EP,VB,PH). (It is uncertain whether these forms represent one or two items). expl.: (1) [n(a)], [nAh]: parents used to say, to get one another's attention (EP). (2) ['nA']: 'dear', 'home (father always called mother) (VB,PH).

nca (VH,VB,EP) > ca (- WB,CR sa). prn.: We, our (1 PL). Derived from the Chin. independent prn. nchayka '1 PL (excl.); it always comes before the term it modifies.

nchayka (CR,-WB-) (')sayka (-> CR-,WB- ni/'(')sayka (-> CR-,WB- ni/'(')sayka, CR (')sayka) (1) [i] (-i) (-i)]. prn.: We, our, us (1 PL). Derived from the Chin. independent prn. mnhayka '1 PL (excl.); may fill any syntactic subj. or obj. position.

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'sasaxel. s.v., attr., loc.: High up, above, on top, upwards.
'saafa. adv. Away from, far off. s.v., attr., loc.: Away, far.
'shendi (JH) (-LK 'sandi, G77 'shand(i)). s.v.: (1) Sunday. (2) A week.
'shi/ush (WB). s.v.: Friend, paramour.
'ship (JH). s.v.: Ship.
'shiys (WB). s.v.: Be ashamed.
'shiyp (G77). Sheep.
'shii/ush (WB). s.v.: Be vain, a show-off.
'shoy (WB, EP). s.v.: To slip.
'showhoxy (WB, EP). s.v.: To slip.
'shukwa (JH, WB). s.v.: To sing.
'shult (G77). adv. It is so; that's what/that's the way (it is/must be).
'shulchast (VH). adv. To slip. (it is/must be).
'shup (JH). adv.: It must be so, although really, now look isn't it obvious?.
'shup (WB). adv.: Must be so, although really, now look isn't it obvious?.
'shup (EP, ID). vb.: Exemplified only in: chaku 'shup, mayka la 'bush 'your mouth opens in surprise' (EP). The item exhibits perfect phonetic identity with Kalap. łax, tāx 'to cry, weep'.
'shup. s.v.: Friend, paramour.
'shup (JH). s.v.: Ship.
'shup (EP, ID). vb.: Exemplified only in: chaku 'shup, mayka la 'bush 'your mouth opens in surprise' (EP). The item exhibits perfect phonetic identity with Kalap. łax, tāx 'to cry, weep'.
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'shup (JH). s.v.: Ship.
'shup (WB). s.v.: Be ashamed.
'shup (G77). Sheep.
'shii/ush (WB). s.v.: Be vain, a show-off.
'shuy (WB, EP). s.v.: To slip.
'showhoxy (WB, EP). s.v.: Be embroiled in conflict or trouble (EP) (att. from WB only in munk-'shoehoxy 'treat (someone) in a rude, rough manner').
"The power to heal" (WB). attr.: (Of or pertaining to the 'manëhä)."
'
"luk (CR). a.v.: To drip.
'aši'ay (VH,ET) (-WB 'aš-'i'ay, VA 'tashay). s.v.: Gambling game played by guesswork, which bundle of sticks conceals a marked one.
'tupa (EP,VM). s.v.: Cow parsley (Heracleum lanatum).
'
'fu'wan (-VH 'fu'wán). a.v.: (1) To have, keep. (2) To put (LK, VH).
'
'ulq (VH) (-VH 'ulqé). s.v.: Snake.
'ulu. s.v.: Be hungry.
'umà (VH). s.v.: To feed (give food to).
'upčax. s.v.: Knife.
'upkána (-WB 'upkána). s.v.: Basket.
'upqati (JH). s.v.: Bow.
'upuch (-JH 'upuc). s.v. in: (1) Ass, tail. (2) Genitals (JH).
'upqyachi (JH). s.v.: Beads, "Indian money."
'uskan (-G77 'ushkan). s.v.: Cup, dipper, can.
'ushtús (EP, VM) = 'ush (JP). vb.: Sleep. (VH item is labelled Molala, although it occurs in a Jargon song; EP/JP att. it independently as Jarg.)
'uyazt (-JE, WB = 'uyazt) (WB has [x] not [s] for both alternates). s.v.: Trail, road.
'
'wach (CR). a.v.: To watch.
'wan. s.v., attr.: Warm, hot.
'wappó (-JH, LK 'waputo) (W: [u] - [u] - [o]). s.v.: (1) Potato (Solanum latifolium). (2) Potato.
'wawa. s.v.: To talk, say, tell. s.v. in: (1) Talk. (2) Language.
'
'wèy. vb.: Spill.
'wèh (ET). expl.: (Exclamation).
'wel (CR). expl.: "Well."
'wëtx (VH, WB) = 'west (CR, JH).
'wëtx. adv.: Also, too, again.
(Negative:) not, isn't, don't. attr.: no- (as in nobody, nothing, no good, etc.).

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

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

'win (=-JH 'wint). s.v.: Wind.

'wikna. [w(g)nA] (EP, WB). expl.: "Is that right?" (WB), contr. of 'wik (q.v.) + n2 (1) (q.v.), though neither EP nor WB know it as such.

'yanka. prn.: (Emphatic:) he, she; his, hers; him, her (3 SG): derived from Chin. jàyàkà 'masculine 3 SG'; it singles out an identified subj. or obj. for special emphasis, or simply renders speech more explicit.

'ya'1m (EJ, VH) - 'ya'yum (JH). a.v.: To tell, disclose, narrate. s.v.: Story, narration (JH).

'ya'la (EJ). adv., s.v., loc.: Yonder, over there, there.

'yaXecak (JH). s.v.: Grasshopper (Jacobs questions "?" this entry).

'yin (=-JH 'yin). s.v.: Help, assistance.

'yxix. s.v.: (1) Tipsy, half-drunk. (2) Off-base, out of touch.

'yuckat (JH, WB). s.v., attr.: Short.

'yuk (G77). Yoke (of oxen).

'yuqat (JH, WB). s.v.: Hair.

'yustum (VH). s.v.: Sister-in-law.

'ya'kwa. adv., s.v., loc.: Yonder, over there, there.

'ya'1m (EJ, VH) - 'ya'yum (JH). a.v.: To tell, disclose, narrate. s.v.: Story, narration (JH).

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'yuqat (JH, WB). s.v.: Hair.

'yustum (VH). s.v.: Sister-in-law.

'ya'1m (EJ, VH) - 'ya'yum (JH). a.v.: To tell, disclose, narrate. s.v.: Story, narration (JH).

'EJ, WB 'yaXecak (JH). s.v.: Grasshopper (Jacobs questions "?" this entry).

'yin (=-JH 'yin). s.v.: Help, assistance.

'yxix. s.v.: (1) Tipsy, half-drunk. (2) Off-base, out of touch.

'yuckat (JH, WB). s.v., attr.: Short.

'yuk (G77). Yoke (of oxen).

'yuqat (JH, WB). s.v.: Hair.

'yustum (VH). s.v.: Sister-in-law.