

## Chinuk Wawa (Chinook Jargon) etymologies

Henry Zenk, Tony Johnson, Sarah Braun Hamilton  
Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, Oregon

The purpose of this contribution is to make available our research to date on sources of Chinuk Wawa (Chinook Jargon, hereafter CW) lexical items. The reference lexicon consists of simplex items drawn from the CW dictionary database of the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, Oregon. Most of these items are from word lists, sentences, and texts representing speakers of that community; a smaller subset is from sources documenting other CW varieties of the lower Columbia River region. We have identified probable sources for 680 of the 737 total items collated, divided between Chinookan (282), local Salishan (58), Chinookan and/or Salishan (15), Nootka Jargon (22), other indigenous sources (26), English (137), French (125), and multiple sources (15).

The only comprehensive collations of CW etymologies published to date are Hale (1846) and Gibbs (1863), both of which document CW primarily in its lower Columbia “cradle.” Gibbs incorporated Hale and other earlier compilations, using his own mid-nineteenth century experience of CW to single out words in use during his own time; rare or unusual words were labeled by him as such. It is striking how much of this mid-nineteenth century lexicon may also be seen in the CW lexicon independently compiled by us from speakers of the Grand Ronde Reservation Community of northwestern Oregon, circa 1877-1950 (Jacobs 1928, 1928-29, 1932, 1936; Mercier 1941; Hajda 1977; Zenk 1980-83; Johnson 1998). Additional matches are presented by a smaller supplementary vocabulary we have compiled to collate CW words unfamiliar to us from Grand Ronde, but which can reliably be ascribed to Native usage elsewhere on the lower Columbia (Demers, Blanchet, St. Onge 1871, St. Onge 1892, Boas 1892, Harrington 1942). Clearly, the lexicon of CW—at least, that of the lower Columbia region—had acquired relatively stable form by Gibbs’s time, and remained little changed as long as there were fluent speakers capable of wielding it.

Hale’s, Gibbs’s, and our own findings all attest to the hybrid nature of the CW lexicon, the main contributing languages being Chinookan, Southwestern Coast Salish, seafarer-mediated Nootkan (referred to here as Nootka Jargon; see Lang 2008:15-42), French, and English; plus minor additions from Kalapuyan, Cree, and several other languages. While the overall percentages attributed to each main contributing language are roughly comparable in all three compilations, Hale’s and Gibbs’s work predates modern linguistic records of the local indigenous languages. Quite a few of their attributions stand in need of correction, nor were either of these pioneer scholars equipped to elucidate the forms and functions of corresponding items in local source languages. A thorough re-evaluation and comprehensive presentation of CW etymologies is clearly long overdue. We intend this contribution as a large first step to that end.

In the following compilation, items marked **•ʔ** (for example, **k’wik’wiyans •ʔ** ‘needle, pin’) are from the aforementioned supplementary list of

words representing non-Grand Ronde sources. Sources of most such items are identified by the following abbreviations; other sources are given full references.

<b>Bay Center CW:</b> CW as spoken at Bay Center, Washington (Harrington 1942, mf 18.0209-0499; and other mf frames identified by number)	<b>Lionnet:</b> Lionnet (1853)
<b>Demers:</b> Demers, Blanchet, St. Onge (1871)	<b>St. Onge:</b> St. Onge (1892)
<b>Gibbs:</b> Gibbs (1863)	

All other items represent the CW of the Grand Ronde Reservation community, which is known primarily from the following speakers, as identified in the *ref* field of each Grand Ronde entry. Other Grand Ronde community contributors are identified by their full names.

<b>CR:</b> Clara Menard Riggs	<b>JH:</b> John B. Hudson
<b>DC:</b> Dellmore Croy	<b>JP:</b> John Petite
<b>EJ:</b> Esther Jones LaBonte	<b>LK:</b> Louis Kenoyer
<b>EL:</b> Ethel Countryman Petite Logan	<b>MM:</b> Martha Hudson Mercier
<b>EP:</b> Eula Hudson Petite	<b>VH:</b> Victoria Wishikin Wacheno Howard
<b>ET:</b> Elmer Tom	<b>WB:</b> Wilson Bobb
<b>ID:</b> Ila Hudson Dowd	

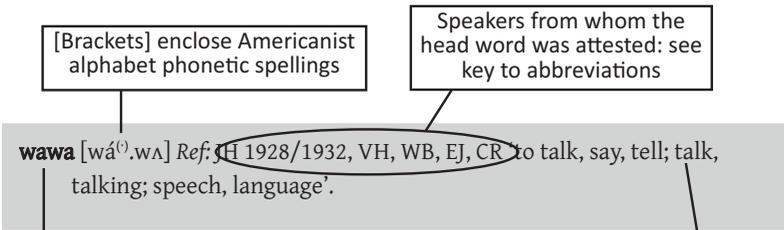
Other abbreviations appearing in these etymologies:

<b>Boas:</b> Boas 1911 (Chinook grammar)	<b>Kathlamet [Curtis]:</b> Curtis 1911 (Kathlamet vocabulary)
<b>CCT:</b> <i>Clackamas Chinook Texts</i> (Jacobs 1958-59)	<b>KT:</b> <i>Kathlamet Texts</i> (Boas, 1901)
<b>Chinook [Curtis]:</b> Curtis 1911 (Lower Chinook vocabulary)	<b>mj:</b> Melville Jacobs (field notebooks, linguistic slip-files)
<b>Clatsop [Hymes pace Boas]:</b> Dell Hymes's ms copy of Boas 1890 (Clatsop vocabulary)	<b>MLT:</b> Marie-Lucie Tarpent (personal communications, 2010)
<b>Cowlitz [Kinkade]:</b> Kinkade 2004 (Cowlitz dictionary)	<b>Powell:</b> Powell 1991 (Nootkan vocabulary)
<b>CT:</b> <i>Chinook Texts</i> (Boas, 1894)	<b>Sapir and Swadesh:</b> Sapir and Swadesh 1939 (Nootkan vocabulary)
<b>Dyk:</b> Dyk 1933 (Wishram grammar)	<b>Snow:</b> Snow 1969 (Lower Chehalis vocabulary)
<b>Fleury and Barkwell:</b> Fleury and Barkwell n.d. (Michif Cree vocabulary)	<b>Takeuchi:</b> Takeuchi 1969 (Santiam Kalapuya vocabulary)
<b>Hymes:</b> Hymes 1955 (Kathlamet grammar)	<b>Thompson and Thompson:</b> Thompson and Thompson n.d. (ms Tillamook dictionary)
<b>HNAI 7, HNAI 12:</b> <i>Handbook of North American Indians</i> , vols. 7, 12	<b>Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]:</b> Kinkade 1991 (Upper Chehalis dictionary)
<b>jph:</b> John P. Harrington (field-notes)	<b>WT:</b> <i>Wishram Texts</i> (Sapir 1909)

The following diagrams illustrate conventions used in the presentation of lexical items and their associated etymologies.

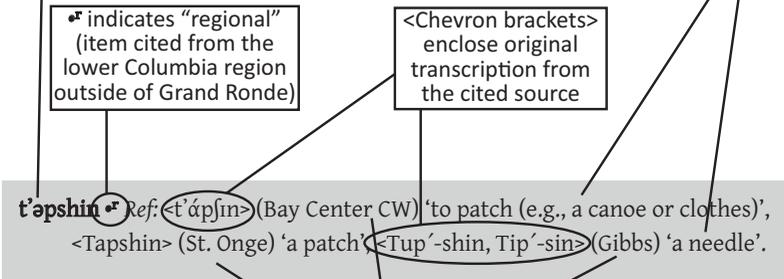
## SAMPLE HEADERS

### Grand Ronde item

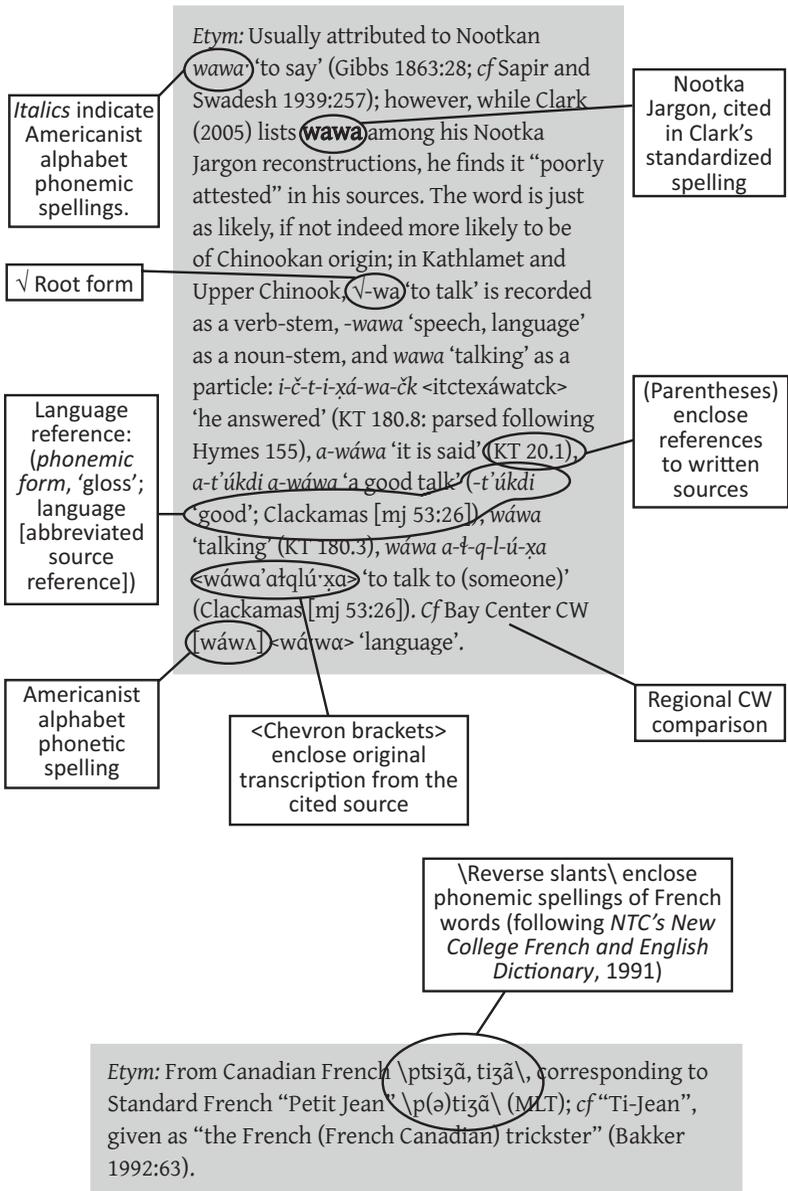


Dictionary head word: **bold** indicates standardized language program spelling

### Regional item



## SAMPLE ETYMOLOGIES



Etymologies are assigned to the following nine categories, which appear in the following order: 1) from Chinookan; 2) from local Salishan; 3) from Chinookan and/or local Salishan; 4) from Nootka Jargon; 5) from other indigenous sources; 6) from English; 7) from French; 8) from multiple sources; 9) of obscure origin.

## 1 From Chinookan

Chinookan word-class labels follow Hymes (1955)

**ala** • Ref: <ala> (St. Onge: recorded in mamuk-**ala** • 'to astonish, to admire').

*Etym:* Apparently from a Chinookan particle: *cf* *alá* 'oh!' (cry of surprise: man's word) (Wishram [Dyk 142]).

**alaxti** [ʔá/lá<sup>(l)</sup>x.ti] Ref: WB, VH, MM 'maybe; finally'.

*Etym:* Chinookan in origin, probably from a particle: *aláxti* 'next, at last, soon, then' (CT 27.21, 199.17, 216.6, 227.9).

**alta** [ʔá<sup>(l)</sup>.l.də] Ref: JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'now, then'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *álta* 'now' (Boas 634, 636; Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [áltə] <á'ltə> 'now'.

**atqi** [ʔá<sup>(l)</sup>.qɪ~.gi] Ref: JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'later, will'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *átqi* 'will be' (CCT 40), <á'łqē> 'later on' (Boas 634). *Cf* Bay Center CW [átq<sup>h</sup>i] <á'k'i> 'after awhile'.

**amuti** • Ref: <á'mó.ti, 'ámó.ti> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0100, 18.0494), <amote> (Demers) 'strawberries'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: -*amúti* (Hymes 117) 'strawberry', *ł-amúti* <tl'amō tē> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]) 'strawberries'.

**ana** [ʔa.ná<sup>(l)</sup>] Ref: EP [exclamation of

surprise].

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *aná*<sup>(l)</sup>, *ána* 'oh goodness!, oh dear!' (expression of pain, regret, sorrow, pity) (Boas 635, CCT 495, 506, 541); *aná* 'oh!, ouch!' (a cry of pain), *ána* (cry for help: a woman's word) (Wishram [Dyk 141]). In Wishram, the related word *ánan(a)* can serve as a noun with the meaning 'sick, hurt', or a verbal particle with the meaning 'to hurt, be in pain' (Dyk 141).

**anqati** [ʔá<sup>(l)</sup>n.qə.tɪ~dɪ] Ref: JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'long ago, in the past'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *ánqati* <á'nqatē> (CT 12.15, 22.10, 220.4), *ánqadix* (WT 188.8) 'before, formerly, long ago'. *cf* Bay Center CW [ánqəti] <á'nkəti> 'long ago'.

**apt<sup>h</sup>a** • Ref: <Apeta> (Demers) 'salmon egg'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook noun: *ł-łápta* <tl'ā'pta> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *ł-łapta* 'roe' (Boas 601); *cf* Kathlamet *ł-ł-qapt* 'salmon roe' (KT 76.12; Kathlamet [q] corresponds to Chinook [ʔ]).

**ats** [ʔá<sup>(l)</sup>ts] Ref: JH 1932, VH, CR, WB 'younger sister; sister'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan address-form: *ac* <āts> (Boas 610, 612), *aci* (Kathlamet [Hymes 271]) 'younger sister!' *Cf* Bay Center CW <á'ts> 'sister (older or younger)'.

**aw** [ʔá<sup>(l)</sup>ʋ] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'younger brother; brother'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan address-form: *au* <áo> (Boas 610, 612), *áwi* (Kathlamet [Hymes 271])

'younger brother'. Cf Bay Center CW <áw> 'brother (older or younger)'.

**ayaq** [ʔá/yá<sup>(q)</sup>; há/yá<sup>(q)</sup>] Ref: JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ 'quickly, immediately; able to'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *áyaq* 'can; quick, quickly' (Boas 568, 634), *áyaq!*, *áyáq!* 'hurry!' (CCT 15, 16). Cf Bay Center CW [ʔyáq] <áyák', áyyá'k> 'hurry up!'.

**chulchul** [tšól.tšól] Ref: EP 'lungs'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *u-čxúlčxul* <utcxō'ltcxōl> (Boas 601, 656), <o-chúl-chul> (Chinook [Curtis]), <a-chhúl-chhul> (Kathlamet [Curtis]) 'lungs'; *a-ía-čulčul* <ayátcwəltcwəl> (Clackamas [mj 65:119]) 'his lungs'.

**chxəp** [tšxáp, tšxí'p; tšáp, tší'p] Ref: VH, WB, EJ, CR 'extinguished, out'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *čxup*, *čxəp* <tcxup, tcxəp> (Boas 631), *čxup* <tcqup> (Clatsop [Hymes pace Boas]), *čxup* <tcXup> (KT 47.15), *čxəp* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'extinguish, go out'.

**chxi** [tšxi<sup>(f)</sup>; tší<sup>(v)</sup>] Ref: JH 1928/32, VH, WB, EP 'just as, even as; new'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *čxi* <tcxí> 'a little while passed, then...' (Boas 636), <tcxí, tcXí> 'then' (CT 44.2, 44.8). Cf Bay Center CW [tšxi] <tšxí> 'fresh'.

**č'hakč'hak** • Ref: <Chik-chik> (Demers) 'grey eagle'; <Chák-chak> (Gibbs) 'bald eagle'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *u-č'akč'ák* (Boas 599), *a-č'iqč'íq* (KT 70.8), *-čakč'ák* <tcaktcák> (Clatsop [Hymes pace Boas]) 'eagle'; *it-č'iqč'íq-ukš* (Wishram [Dyk 110]) 'eagles'.

**č'hux** [tš<sup>(y)</sup>óx; tšú<sup>(x)</sup>] Ref: WB, EP 'skinned, scraped'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle, though the paucity of examples and a possible confusion or overlap between the following Chinookan forms and those cited with reference to **t'səx** 'split' render the derivation somewhat problematic: *č'úxč'ux* <tc'úXtc'úX> 'peel off' (CT 164.16), *č'úxw* 'skinned' (CCT 21, Dyk 128).

**həm** [hám] Ref: JH 1928, WB, CR, EP, DC 'odor, a smell'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan onomatopoeic particle: <hôm> 'smell' (Boas 630). Cf Bay Center CW [hám] <hám> 'a stink; to stink'.

**hihi** [hí<sup>(f)</sup>.hí] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'to laugh; to play'.

*Etym:* Although usually attributed to English, the CW also suggests a number of Chinookan onomatopoeic particles: *hihi* <hēhē, hē'hē> 'laugh' (Boas 630, KT 231.2); *há há há* (sound of laughing), *hahahaha* (sound of groaning) (CCT 359, 436). Cf Bay Center CW <hí'hí> 'to laugh'.

**ik<sup>h</sup>anəm** [ʔi.k<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(f)</sup>.nám; ʔi.ká<sup>(f)</sup>.nəm] Ref: JH 1932, EJ, CR, EP, Gatschet (1877:146) 'myth, story; to tell a myth'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *-kanam*, *-k'anam* 'myth', as in *i-ía-kanam* <ia'kXanam> 'his myth' (CT 60.title), *i-k'ani-ílxam* <i-klani-y-ílxam> 'myth town' (Boas 617), *t-k'anám-ukš* <tklanā'mukc> 'myths' (CT 9.title). Cf Bay Center CW [ik'ánám] <ik'ânám> 'story', Molala (from CW?) *k'ánim* 'myths and stories' (Molala [mj slip-files]) (note [k']).

**ik<sup>h</sup>ik** [ʔi'k.ik] Ref: JH 1928 'fish-hook'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *í-kik* <í'kXik> 'a hook' (CT 245.23).

**ikta** [ʔi'k.tá-dá] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'which, what; thing,

something; (male or female) genitals'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *í-kta* 'thing, something, what' (Boas 610, 616), <ikta> 'thing' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]); *cf í-kdi* 'something; property' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). The meaning 'genitals' appears also to have a Chinookan precedent: *wá-kdi* 'vagina' (literally, her property), *i-č-kdi* 'my penis' (literally, my property) (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [i'ktʌ] <'ikta> 'what?'.

**ikuli** • *Ref:* Bay Center CW <'i'kʊli> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0145), <'i'gʊ'li> (N Oregon Coast CW [Harrington 1942:n.p.]) 'whale'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *'-kuli* <'-kolē> (Boas 598), <íě-ko-li> (Chinook [Curtis]); <í-kwa-li> (Kathlamet [Curtis]) 'whale'.

**ikusax** • *Ref:* <Ekusał> (Demers 31) 'Heaven'.

*Etym:* From the Chinookan noun *i-gúšax*, *i-gúšax* 'sky' (see **kusax** below for Chinookan citations). Normally, unstressed Chinookan number/gender prefixes, including *i-* 'masculine singular' here, drop away when Chinookan nouns pass into CW. This form from Demers, showing <e-> where our Chinookan examples show *i-* unstressed, is therefore unusual.

**ik'wali** [ʔi'.k'wa.li] *Ref:* JH 1928 'bracelet'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *'-k'wali*, as in *łá-łá-k'wali* <LE' Lakoalē> 'her bracelet' (CT 238.12). **i-** in our CW form looks to be derived from Chinookan *i-* 'masculine singular': *cf* Demers <Okale> 'bracelet' (showing Lower Chinook *u-* 'feminine singular'), Gibbs <Klik'-wal-lie, Klope'-wal-lie> 'brass wire; an armband

or bracelet of brass wire' (with Chinookan *ł-* 'neuter collective', also seen in the CT form). It is unclear whether the differently marked original Chinookan forms so implied had contrasting original meanings. [k'] in our CW form may be from a Chinookan diminutive.

**ilaythix** [ʔi'/lá<sup>0</sup>i.tix] *Ref:* JH 1928, EP 'slave'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-láitix* <ē-láitix-, ēláētix-> (Boas 597, 612) 'male slave', *u-láitix* <ōláētix-> 'female slave' (Boas 597), *iš-láitix* 'two slaves' (CCT 511). *Cf* Bay Center CW <'ilá'ytxw, 'illá'yti> 'slave'.

**iliʔi** [ʔi'.li.ʔi; ʔi'.li.hi; ʔi'.liʔ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'earth, land, place'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook noun. According to Boas, the stem is *√-lx* <-lx> 'ground, earth', preserved intact in the Kathlamet and Upper Chinook forms *í-lx* <ē'lX> 'land' (KT 11.9), *wí-lx* 'the ground; year' (CCT 445, 259); but contracted in Lower Chinook due to the presence of a following accented vowel: thus, *i-lí.i* <ilē'e> 'land, country' (Boas 568, 601). But compare the following Clatsop Lower Chinook series (as recorded by Boas in 1890): *í-li.i* <í-lēē> 'land', *i-čá-li.i* <itcálēē> 'my land, her land', *i-íá-li.i* *íáxka* <íá'lēē yáqka> 'his land', *i-mí-li.i* *maika* <imē'lēē maika> 'thy land' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). *Cf* *í-lxam* <ē'lXam> 'town', *ł-gułilxamk* <lgōlē'lXEmk> 'person', *tó-lxam* <tē'lXEm> 'people' (source of CW **tilixam** 'person, people'), all based on the stem *√-lx* (Boas 568, 612). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔilíʔi] <'ilí'ʔi> 'ground'.

**ilana** • *Ref:* <'i'xt 'i'ʔana> (Bay Center CW) 'one fathom', <Itlana> (Demers); 'fathom, yard', <It'-lan, It'h-lan> (Gibbs) 'a fathom'; "the

length of the extended arms".

*Etym:* Presumably from a Chinookan noun, although the derivation is not entirely clear. Hymes (99, 130) lists Kathlamet *-łána* <-Lana> 'string' and *-nxa* <-nXa> 'fathom' as masculine nouns: cf Wasco-Wishram *i-łána* 'string' (Hymes slip-files); but also, Kathlamet *i-łanxa* <ē'lanXa> 'one fathom long' (KT 136.17, parsed by Hymes as <(i)-La-nXa>), Clatsop *íyanxa* <ē'yanqa> 'fathom' (Hymes *pace* Boas).

**íłaqwa** [ʔí.łΛ/qwá<sup>ó</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928  
'mud-turtle'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-łaxʷa* <ē'łaxoα> 'turtle' (Boas 606).

**íłukuma** [í.łΛ.κΛm; ʔí.łΛ.κΛm ~κΛm, ʔí.łΛ.κΛm] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, ET, Gatschet (1877:335) 'handgame'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-łukuma* <ēłukuma [sic], ʔ'łukuma> "itlukum" (a game) (CT 17.4, 167.1), *i-ługʷma* 'the hand-game' (CCT 250, 254). Cf Bay Center CW [í'łakΛm] <'í'łakΛm> 'bone in the hand gambling game'.

**íłwəli** [ʔí'ł.wəli; ʔí'ł.wəli] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, WB, CR 'meat, flesh'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook noun: *i-ł'uli* <ē'ł'wule, ē'ł'ulē> 'meat' (Boas 608, CT 39.12); cf Upper Chinook *i-ł'ól*, *i-ł'ól* 'meat' (CCT 15, 556). The original Chinookan stem-form has [gʷ], which changes to [ʔ] according to a Lower Chinook phonological rule not shared by Upper Chinook (Boas 568). Cf Bay Center CW [í'ł'uli] <'í'ł'oli> 'meat'.

**ina** [ʔí<sup>ó</sup>.nΛ(ʔ)] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, JP 'beaver'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook noun: *i-łína* <ē'ē'na, -'ēna> 'beaver' (Boas 568, 598); cf Kathlamet *i-qánuq* (KT 20.5, 23.1, 24.1), Upper Chinook (CCT 417) *i-gánuq* 'beaver'. Cf Bay Center

CW [ʔí'nΛʔ] <'í'na', 'í'na> 'beaver' (mf 18.0872, 0873).

**inatay** [ʔí.nΛ.łΛi, ʔí<sup>ó</sup>.nΛ.łΛi] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'across, on the other side'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan source, according to Hymes a noun with masculine singular *i-*: hence, *i-nata-i* <ē'nata, ē'natai> (Boas 621, 638), <ínatai> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *i-nat-ix* <i-nat-iX> (Kathlamet [Hymes 118]), *ínadix* (CCT 552) 'across, on the other side'. Cf Bay Center CW [ínΛłΛi] <'í'natay> 'across'.

**inəpʰu** [ʔí.nə.pʰu; ʔí'n.pʰu] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'louse; insect'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *'napu* <'napō> (Boas 1904:137), *wi-npu* (CCT 91) 'flea'. Cf Bay Center CW [ʔínpō] <'ínpu, 'ínpu> 'louse; flea'.

**ipsət** [ʔí'p.sət, ʔí<sup>ó</sup>.p.sət; ʔí'p.sət, ʔí<sup>ó</sup>.p.sət] *Ref:* JH 1928, CR, EP 'hidden, secret'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan verb; apparently, a simple imperative with *i-* (transitive third-person masculine object) + *-pšut* 'hide' <-o=pcut> 'to hide' (verbal stem) (Boas 660): cf *a-n-x-pšút-a* <anxpcō'ta> '[future-I-reflexive- Stem -future] I will hide myself' (KT 157.13), *i-č-a-ł-xá-pšut* <itcalxápcōt> '[past-he-her (=it) -it (=him) -from-Stem] he hid it from him' (KT 17.16) (parsed forms following Hymes 158). Cf Bay Center CW [ʔípsət] <'í'psut> 'to hide'.

**iqʰix** [ʔí'.qix] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'brother-in-law'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-qix* <ē'qxiX> 'brother-in-law!' (CT 12.2, 12.3). Cf Bay Center CW [í'qʰix] <'í'kk'ix> 'brother in law'.

**iqsix** [ʔí'q.six] *Ref:* VH, JH 1928

'son-in-law; parent-in-law'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *í-qsix* <ē-qsix> 'parent-in-law' (Boas 611), <ē-qsix> 'father-in-law!' (CT 24.3); *í-qšix* 'father-in-law' (CCT 176).

**isatx** [ʔ<sup>(f)</sup>.sətʰx] *Ref:* JH 1928 'corn'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *ł-łísətʰx* <ł<sup>?</sup>é<sup>?</sup>całx> a red berry, unidentified (CT 46.25, 47.2), <hł'í-šahłh> "partridge berries" (Kathlamet [Curtis 8:201]). Harrington (mf 18.0096) reviewed Curtis with Emma Luscier of Bay Center, who recognized Curtis's form and identified the berry in question as Kinnikinnick. She elsewhere (mf 18.0482) gave Bay Center CW [ʔ<sup>(f)</sup> sətʰx] <í<sup>?</sup>sətʰx> 'corn'.

**isik** [ʔ<sup>(f)</sup>.sɪk] *Ref:* JH 1928, LK, VH 'paddle, oar'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *í-sik* <-sik, é'sik> (Boas 601, Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ɪsɪk] <í<sup>?</sup>sɪk> 'a paddle'.

**iskam** [ʔ<sup>(f)</sup>.s.kəm] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'get, take'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan verb; a simple imperative with *i-* (transitive third-person masculine object) + √šg 'to take, seize' (verbal stem) + --am (suffix: completion): *í-šg-am* <ē<sup>?</sup>-cg-am> '[him- Stem -completion] take him!' (Boas 591). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ɪ'skəm] <í<sup>?</sup>skəm> 'to dig (= get)' (mf 17.0180).

**ishish** [ʔ<sup>(f)</sup>š.ɪʃ] *Ref:* VH 'to dance'.

*Etym:* According to Jacobs (mj 51:8-9), *íšłíš* <íc'ic> "is said in Clackamas to children 'Dance!'" This points to yet another Chinookan verbal particle. While Chinookan verbal particles are the source of much of the CW lexicon, this one is recorded as CW only from VH, a Clackamas speaker.

**itsaxwa** [ʔ<sup>(f)</sup>.ts.əxwə; ɪ<sup>?</sup>.ts.ə.kwə] *Ref:* JH 1928 "Indian money".

*Etym:* Apparently from a Chinookan noun with masculine singular *i-*; *cf* Clackamas <í<sup>?</sup>x<sup>h</sup>wət tčū> 'white clam-shell beads' (Drucker 1934). The lack of a more reliably recorded Chinookan form however renders the identification tentative.

**itsxut** [ʔ<sup>(f)</sup>ts.xət; ʔ<sup>(f)</sup>ts.xwət; ʔ<sup>(f)</sup>.tsət-tswət] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ 'black bear'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-íčxut* <i-ítsxut, iítcxōt, ēē<sup>?</sup>tcxōt> (Boas 605, 609, CT 60.18, 217.17) 'black bear'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <í<sup>?</sup>ts.xət> 'bear'.

**iwa** [ʔ<sup>(f)</sup>.wə] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, ET '(that-a-)way, (which-)way'; EP 'other one; another'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *íwa* <ē<sup>?</sup>wa, íwa> 'thus, there' (Boas 621, 626, 666). Hymes (290) terms this element an "ubiquitous" particle-stem, occurring both singly and in compounds; the CW, likewise, is recorded both independently and in compounds.

**ixt** [ʔ<sup>(f)</sup>xt; ʔ<sup>(f)</sup>x] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'one'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan cardinal number. Dyk (136-141) assigns Wishram cardinal numbers to a special class of particles: hence, *ixt* '1'. Hymes assigns most Kathlamet cardinal numbers to his class NP, words that can occur either as nouns (inflected for number and person) or as particles (uninflected for number and person); the exceptions are '10' and '100', recorded only as nouns, and '1', which Hymes (70) classifies as a pronoun: hence, (*i-*)*ixt* 'one (denoting other than person)'. Note that it is not possible to decide between these two interpretations on phonetic grounds, since *i-* (if present) has disappeared into

following [i]. Cf Bay Center CW <îxt, îxt, îxt> 'one'.

**ixti** [ʔi<sup>(o)</sup>x.ti; ʔi<sup>(o)</sup>x.ʂti] Ref: ET, WB 'once'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan form combining the numeral 'one' with the Lower Chinook adverbial suffix -i (= -ix in Kathlamet and Upper Chinook): *ixt-i* <ē'xti> (Boas 667), (*i-*)*ixt-ix* (Kathlamet [Hymes 83]: refer to **ixt**, *etym*), *ixd-ix* (CCT 492) 'once'.

**ixpuy** [ʔi'x.pu; ʔix.pu; ʔix.pwa] Ref: VH, WB, EJ, CR 'shut, covered'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan verb; apparently, a simple imperative with *i-* (transitive third-person masculine object) + *x-* (reflexive) +  $\sqrt{\text{pu}}$  'to close' (verbal stem): cf *i-x-pú-ti* <ixpō'tē> 'it is locked' (CT 12.3), *ig-i-s-x-pú-xuit* <igšxpō'Xuît> '[tense-he-the.two-reflexive-Stem -passive:] he closed (his) two (eyes)' (KT 43.14, parsed following Hymes 157). Cf Bay Center CW <í'xpuy> 'to close, to shut'.

**k<sup>h</sup>a** [k<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(o)</sup>; q<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(o)</sup>] Ref: JH 1932, VH, WB, CR 'still, yet, while'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *ka* 'when, while' (vs *ka-qa* 'where') (Kathlamet [Hymes 276, 291]); <*ka*> 'and, then', <*cka*> 'and, while' (conjunctions joining sentence-level constructions) (Boas 636); *ka* 'with, while, and even, also' (conjunction) (CCT 23, 48, 116, 117, 177). Note that Demers' dictionary shows <*Ka*> 'again', <*Kawek*> 'not yet', vs <*ka*> 'where' (for **q<sup>h</sup>ax**, alternate form of **q<sup>h</sup>a** 'where').

**k<sup>h</sup>alakwati** • Ref: <*kalakwá'ti*> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0903) 'cedar bast', <*Kalakwat*> (Demers) 'cedar bark'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *it-kalag<sup>w</sup>a-dit*, *it-kagilagwa-dit* 'roofing, covering' (Wishram [Dyk

105]); cf *č-i-k-gí-la-k<sup>w</sup>-t* 'he has him covered' (Wishram [Dyk 105]), *aqugalálk<sup>w</sup>ta itg<sup>w</sup>áli* 'they'll cover their houses (itg<sup>w</sup>áli) with cedar bark' (Clackamas [mj slip-files]). Cf also *a-lkwádit* 'tule' (Wishram [Dyk 105]).

**kalaytən** [ká/lá<sup>(o)</sup>.tən] Ref: JH 1928, VH 'arrow'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *u-kuláitan*, *ú-kulaitan* 'arrow' (Boas 604, 609). Cf Bay Center CW [kAláitan] <kaláytan> 'arrows, bullet'.

**k<sup>h</sup>amuksh** [k<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(o)</sup>.mokš] Ref: JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'dog'.

*Etym:* Apparently originally from a Chinookan noun, though the derivation is obscure: *u-gú-xamukš* <ō-gú-xamuk> ([x] from underlying [k]?) 'my dog' (Boas 585). -[k]amukš looks to be based on a stem-form + nominal plural -ukš; it indeed resembles (and is ultimately related to?) the plural form *liq'am-ukš* 'wolves' (CT 62.23, 64.6, 150.20). However, it is unclear why Boas's example should have a singular referent; nor is there any record of a Chinookan stem-form minus -ukš. Cf Bay Center CW <ka'mókš> 'dog'.

**kamusaq** [ks.mó<sup>(o)</sup>.saq] Ref: JH 1928 'beads'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *t-kamúsak* <tkamō'sak> 'beads' (CT 240.6). Cf Bay Center CW [kamúsak] <kamô:ssák> 'beads'.

**k<sup>h</sup>anawi** [k<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(o)</sup>.nλ.wi, k<sup>h</sup>á.nλ.wi; k<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(o)</sup>.nλ, k<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(o)</sup>.no] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'all, every, entirely'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *kána+wi* (Kathlamet [Hymes 282, 290]), <*kánauwē*, *kā'nawi*> (Boas 637, 674) 'all, every', *kánawi* (Clackamas [mj 53:66]) 'all over'. Cf Bay Center CW [kánawi, kánawi] <ká'ná'wí,

kánnawī> 'all'.

**k<sup>h</sup>anumakwst** [k<sup>h</sup>á.nu/má<sup>(o)</sup>kwst;  
k<sup>h</sup>á.nu/má<sup>(o)</sup>kws ~má<sup>(o)</sup>ks;  
k<sup>h</sup>á.na/má<sup>(o)</sup>kwšt] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932,  
VH, WB 'both, together, each other'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  
*kana+mákst* (Kathlamet [Hymes  
282]); <kā'namôkst>, <skanasomôkst>  
(CT 29.6, Boas 637; s- dual);  
*škánamák<sup>w</sup>št* (CCT 408; š- dual) 'both'.  
*Cf* Bay Center CW [kánnamkwst]  
<ká'nama'kwst> 'both'.

**k<sup>h</sup>apa** [k<sup>h</sup>.pʌ~bʌ; k<sup>h</sup>.pʌ~bʌ, k<sup>h</sup>.pʌ~bʌ]  
*Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR  
'[universal preposition]'.  
*Etym:* From the same Chinookan  
particle that is the source of **k<sup>h</sup>apá**  
'over there' (see etymology note  
there).

**k<sup>h</sup>apá** [k<sup>h</sup>ʌ.pá<sup>(i)</sup>; k<sup>h</sup>ʊ.pá<sup>(i)</sup>, k<sup>h</sup>o.pá<sup>(i)</sup>] *Ref:* JH  
1932, VH, WB, EJ, ET, CR 'over  
there'.  
*Etym:* From a Kathlamet Chinook  
and/or Upper Chinook particle:  
*kúpa, kupá*, parsed by Hymes (282) as  
√ku 'there' + -pa (locative suffix);  
*k<sup>w</sup>ábá, k<sup>w</sup>ába, k<sup>w</sup>aba* 'there' (CCT 14,  
19). *Cf* Bay Center CW <koppá>  
'there'.

**kapxu** [ká<sup>(o)</sup>p.xu; ká<sup>(o)</sup>.p<sup>h</sup>o] *Ref:* JH 1928,  
VH 'older sibling'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan  
address-form: *kápxu* <ká'pxō> 'older  
sibling!' (Boas 608, 612). *Cf* Bay  
Center CW <ká.p.xu> 'brother (older  
or younger [sic?])'.

**katsaq** [ká<sup>(o)</sup>.tsʌq, kʌ.tsʌq] *Ref:* JH 1928,  
WB 'center, middle'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  
*káčak* <kā'tcEk, kā'tsEk> (Boas 658,  
666, CT 41.24), <kā'tcak> (KT 50.11)  
'middle'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [kátsʌk]  
<kâ'tsak> 'in the middle'.

**kələkələ** [kʌ.l.ʌ.kʌ.l.ʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB,

EJ 'bird'.

*Etym:* From Chinookan, though the  
exact source is uncertain; we find  
the following partial form/meaning  
matches: *k-t-gá-kal, t-gá-kal*  
<ktgE'kal, tgE'kal> (CT 60.6, 61.5),  
*q-t-k-gála* <qtkgā'la> (KT 44.3),  
*it-c'ígala* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'a  
bird' (literally, 'a flier', a noun based  
on the verbal stem √-ka or √-ga 'to  
fly'); -*galal* 'flying' (a noun, as in  
*i-ia-galal* 'an airplane';  
Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]);  
*glál glál* <glE' glE'> (an  
onomatopoeic particle, conveying  
the voice of Chicken Hawk in myth;  
WT 91.10-11, 13-14). *Cf* *i-q'ilíq'ili*  
<iq'lelē'q'lelē> 'turkey' (KT 70.10),  
*t-k'ilak'iláma* <tklelak'lelā'ma> 'geese'  
(Boas 608), *i-k'lák'la* 'geese'  
(Clackamas [mj slip-files]). *Cf* Bay  
Center CW [klákʌʌ] <kálá'kalá>  
'bird'.

**k<sup>h</sup>əltas** [k<sup>h</sup>ʌl.təs~dəs] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH,  
WB, EJ, CR 'merely, only; worthless'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  
*káltaš* <káltas, ká'tac> 'only, in vain'  
(Boas 634, 637). *Cf* Bay Center CW  
[káltʌs] <ká'ltas> 'no good'.

**k<sup>h</sup>ənəx** [k<sup>h</sup>ʌ/nʌx] *Ref:* WB, EP 'even  
(so)'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  
*qánax, qánáx, qánaga* 'just, even'  
(CCT 25, 65, 85); *qaná+qa* 'vain'  
(Kathlamet [Hymes 284, 288]).

**kənim** [kʌ.ní<sup>(o)</sup>m, kʌ.ní<sup>(i)</sup>m] *Ref:* JH 1928,  
WB 'canoe, boat'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun:  
*i-kaním* <ikaní'm> (Boas 569, 603),  
*i-kánim* (Kathlamet [Hymes 94])  
'canoe'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [k<sup>h</sup>ʌním]  
<k'aní'm> 'canoe'.

**k<sup>h</sup>əpit** [k<sup>h</sup>ʌ/pí<sup>(o)</sup>t, k<sup>h</sup>ʊ/pí<sup>(o)</sup>t, k<sup>h</sup>ʊ/pí<sup>(o)</sup>t] *Ref:*  
JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR  
'finish, stop; just, only'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:

*kapít, kupít* (it ~ ət) <kapê't, kapE't, kōpE't, kōpā't> (Boas 637, CT 227.24, 259.10, etc.) 'enough'. Cf Bay Center CW [kəpát] <kəpát> 'to stop'.

**kikwəli** [kí.ḵwə.li] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'down, below, under'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *gíkʷli* <kē'kXulē, gē'kXulē, gē'kulē> (CT 16.8, 16.25, 217.13), *gíkʷalix* <gē'gualíX> (KT 12.12), *gígʷlix* (CCT 90) 'down, below'. Cf Bay Center CW [kíkwəli] <kí'kwəli> 'low down, underneath, deep'.

**kʰilali** • Ref: <Kelale> (Demers) 'Indian medicine'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan verbal and nominal stem: *i-u-kʷiláli* <iōkwēlá 'lē> 'he practices shamanistic rites' (a verb: Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *it-kílalit* 'doctoring' (a noun: Wishram [Dyk 109]), *id-ia-xílalit* <idixáxilít> 'Indian doctor' (a noun: Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

**kʰimt'a** [kʰí'm/t'á'~tá'ᵒ; k'í'm.tʌ] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'behind, to the rear'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *k'ímtá* <klímtá> 'last' (Boas 666). Cf Bay Center CW [k'ímt'ʌ] <k'í'mt'ʌ, k'í'mt'ʌ> 'last, behind'.

**kishkish** [kʰíʃ.kiʃ] Ref: WB, ET, MM 'chase, pursue, drive'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *gáʃgáʃ* 'to drive' (Boas 631). The Chinookan may in turn be related to the Kalapuyan verb stem <gisga> (Takeuchi item 172) 'to drive away'. Cf Bay Center CW [kóʃkóʃ] <káʃkəʃ> 'to drive away'.

**kʰiyutən** [kʰí/yú'ᵒ.tən, kʰíyú'ᵒ.tən] Ref: JH 1928, WB, CR 'horse'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-kíutan* <kē'utan, ikē'utan> 'horse' (Boas 598, 650). Cf Bay Center CW

[kíyutən] <kí'yu'tá'n, k'í'yu'tán, k'í'yu'tan, k'í'wtan> 'horse'.

**kupkup** [kóp.kəp] Ref: JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:329) 'small dentalia'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *-kupkúp* (Boas 601, 656, Kathlamet [Hymes 103]), *it-gúpgup* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'small dentalia'.

**kusax** [kú'ᵒ.səx] Ref: JH 1928 'sky'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-gúšax* <-gō'cax, i-gú'cax> 'sky' (Boas 601, 642). Cf Bay Center CW [kósəx] <kō'səx> 'sky'.

**kwansəm** [ḵwá'ᵒ.n.səm~səm; ḵwá'ᵒ.ni.səm] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'always'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *gʷansum, gʷanisum* <guā'nsum, kwā'nisum, guā'nsum, guā'nsEm> (Boas 634, CT 12.16, 197.22, 198.26), *gʷánisim* (CCT 509) 'always'. Cf Bay Center CW [kwánisəm] <kwá'nisám> 'always'.

**kwiskwis** [ḵwí's.ḵwis] Ref: JH 1928, EJ, EP, JP 'chipmunk'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *a-gúšgus* 'striped chipmunk' (Clackamas [mj 52:13]), *a-guskʷís* <aguskwá's> 'chipmunks' (KT 141.13).

**k'alak'iya** • Ref: <kālākēya> (Pinart [Grant 1951:285]) 'oignon sauvage', <Kalaka> (Demers) 'wild onion'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *it-k'á'lak'iya* " \_ camas" (flat, button-like) (Clackamas [mj slip-files]; identified as "button Brodiaea roots" in CCT 301), *a-k'á'lak'ia* "button, an edible root" (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Jacobs preserved a specimen of this plant (mj 52:136), which presumably served as the basis of his identification in CCT. Brodiaea bulbs have a flattened appearance, explaining the semantic association

with "buttons".

**k'anawi** [k'ʌ.nɑ.wi] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH  
'acorn'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun:  
*a-k'anawi* 'acorns' (CCT 423),  
*it-k'anawi* '(lots of) acorns' (CCT 424).  
*Cf* Bay Center CW [k'anawí, k'ʌnɑwí]  
<k'a'na'wí, k'anawí, k'ánawí>  
'acorn'.

**k'aw** [k'á<sup>(v)</sup>] *Ref:* VH, WB EJ, CR 'tied; to tie'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  
*k'au* (CT 123.119, 204.26, CCT 13),  
*k'áuk'au* (CT 118.6, 22.7) 'to tie; tied'.  
*Cf* Bay Center CW <k'áw> 'to tie'.

**k'awk'awiq** • *Ref:* <kawkawak>  
(Lionnet), <Káw-ka-wak> (Gibbs)  
'yellow'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun:  
*i-k'áuk'áuwíq* <ik'áuk'áuwíq> "a  
wood used for extracting yellow  
color" (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]),  
<iě-kô-kô'-wúk> 'yellow; Oregon  
grapes' (Chinook [Curtis]),  
*it-k'áuk'áuwí* 'Oregon grapes'  
(Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]);  
*cf* Columbia River Sahaptin *šk'áuk'áuwí*  
'Oregon grape (*Berberis nervosa*)',  
*tk'áuk'áuwí* 'tall Oregon grape (*B.*  
*aquilifolium*)' (Hunn 1990:352).

**k'a?** [k'á<sup>(v)</sup>, k'á?] *Ref:* VH, WB, EP, JP  
'quiet; shut up!'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *k'a*  
<k'lá> 'silent, quiet, nothing' (Boas  
632; CT 37.9, 40.9, 65.8, 129.2, 203.8,  
261.1).

**k'əlak'əla(ma)** • *Ref:* <Kalakalama> (St.  
Onge), <Kal-ak-a-láh-ma> (Gibbs),  
<í-k'álâ-k'álâ> (jph 18.0129 [Emma  
Luscier]; given as Chinookan)  
'goose'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun:  
*t-k'ilak'iláma* <tk!elak!elá'ma> 'geese'  
(Boas 608); <ó-ku-la-kú-lá-ma>  
(Chinook [Curtis]), <i-kũ-lá-kũ-lũ>

(Kathlamet [Curtis]) 'goose'; *i-k'lák'la*  
'geese' (Clackamas [mj slip-files]).  
While the Harrington citation from  
Emma Luscier above was given as  
Chinookan (one of Harrington's  
attempts to get her to re-elicited  
Chinookan words from Curtis's lists),  
Mrs. Luscier did not speak  
Chinookan and remembered mainly  
Chinookan nouns that she also knew  
as CW. Hence, it is likely that she  
knew this word also as CW. As CW,  
we would not expect it to retain  
Chinookan *i-* (masculine singular),  
since the latter is unstressed in the  
Chinookan form. Mrs. Luscier  
attached *i-* to almost all words she  
identified as Chinookan.

**k'ilapay** [k'í.ɬ.pɬi, k'í<sup>(v)</sup>.ɬ.pɬi; k'é<sup>(v)</sup>.ɬ.pɬi]  
*Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR  
'come back, return, reverse'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan inflected  
verb; Hymes identifies a verb-stem  
√-lap 'to fall over', prefixed by *k'í-*,  
an element of problematic  
significance: *ig-i-k'í-lap-xit-ix*  
<igēklē'ləp-xit-x> [tense-he-(?)-  
Stem -passive-(?)] he fell over' (KT  
184.4; parsed following Hymes 205);  
*cf* *aštik'ilápx<sup>witxi</sup>* <aktik!ēlā'pXuitxē>  
'they turned over each other' (CT  
127.4), *ktik'iláplli* <klík!elā'leplē>  
'she turned them over and over' (CT  
63.5), *gatktiq'ilapayx* 'they lay them  
down on their backs there' (CCT 19),  
*gašik'ilapxit* 'he fell back' (CCT 15). *Cf*  
Bay Center CW [k'ilapɬi] <k'í-ləpɬay>  
'to turn over'.

**k'ilxchu** • *Ref:* <Kelkicho> (Demers)  
'bottle', <Kelkicho, Kilitsut> (St.  
Onge) 'bottle, glass'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun:  
*wa-k'ilxču*, *a-k'ilxčut* 'a bottle',  
*a-k'ilxču* 'flint', *i-k'ilxču* 'Flint' (a  
myth-age person) (Clackamas [mj  
slip-files]).

**k'ip<sup>h</sup>wat** [k'í<sup>(v)</sup>p-k'í<sup>(v)</sup>p.wɬt] *Ref:* JH 1928,  
VH, EJ 'awl, needle, pin; to sew'.

*Etym:* Of Chinookan origin; evidently, from the noun stem *-k'ípwa* plus a suffix *(-at* derivational?); see Hymes 148): *cf i-k'ípwa* 'awl', *a-k'ípwa* 'needle' (Clackamas [mj slip-files]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [k'ípwat] <k'ípwat, k'ípwat> 'needle'.

**k'ix** [k'íx] *Ref:* EP 'over-satiated'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *k'əx* <k!Ex> 'cloyed' (Boas 623), 'over-satiated' (CT 46.24), 'smell of fat' (CT 137.7); *k'əxk'əx* <k!E'xk!Ex> 'overeaten' (CT 136.8).

**k'uyk'uy** [k'ó(°).k'oi] *Ref:* JH 1928 'finger-ring'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: <-kloyē'kloyē> 'finger-ring' (Boas 601). According to Gibbs (1863a:10), the Chinookan source-word can also mean 'circle'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <-k'w'oyó'k'w'oyó> 'finger ring'.

**k'uy?** [k'óí?] *Ref:* EP 'hopefully, wishing that ... [adverb]'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *qui* <qōi> 'will' (Boas 634, CT 162.1, 183.2, 60.11, 13.5), 'let us' (CT 29.10), 'shall' (CT 152.2).

**k'wan** ♂ *Ref:* <kwan> (Demers) 'tame, quiet, gentle, meek'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *k'wan* 'hopeful', *k'wánk'wan* 'glad, happy' (Boas 629, 632), <kwan, kwankwan> 'glad' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *k'wank'wan* 'to be glad' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Either identical with, or confused in the sources with **q'wan** 'habituated': *cf* *q'wánq'wan* <q!oánq!oan> 'glad' (CT 241.5), *k'wan* 'to be in the habit' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

**k'was** [k'wá(°)s] *Ref:* Jacobs 1928, VH, WB, EJ, ET, CR 'afraid'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *k'wəš* <k!wac> (Boas 600, 632), *k'wəš*

(CCT 492) 'afraid'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <-k'wá's> 'afraid'.

**k'witk'wit** [k'wít.k'wít; k'wát.k'wát; k'wít, k'wát] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to pick or break off; broken off'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *k'wət'k'wət* 'pick; tear up; pull up' (Clackamas [mj 53:119; CCT 489, 508]), *k'útk'ut* <-klútk!ut> 'tear to pieces; to pluck' (Boas 631, Sapir in Boas 643); *k'wət* 'pull off' (CCT 79), *k'ut* <-k!ut> 'to tear off' (Boas 631).

**lakit** [lá(°).kít; lá(°)kt] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'four'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan cardinal number: *lákít* (Boas 637), *lákít* (Boas 670, CCT 123) 'four'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lákat] <-lá'kat> 'four'.

**lax** [lá(°)x; lá(°)xw] *Ref:* VH, WB 'leaning, lopsided, tipped'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *lax*(<sup>w</sup>), *lax*(<sup>w</sup>) <-lāx(°), lāx(°)> 'tilt, rock' (Boas 633, CT 15.25, KT 115.1). *Cf* Bay Center CW <-lá'xw> 'to tip'.

**lili** [lí(°).li] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'awhile, for/after some time; a long time'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *líli* <-lí'lē> 'long (time)' (Boas 634, KT 10.7). *Cf* Bay Center CW <-lí'li> 'time'.

**liwan** [lí(°).wán] *Ref:* JH 1928 'ribs'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *t-liwánəma* <-t-lēwánəma> 'ribs' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *t-íá-liwanəma* <-tíálēwanəma> 'his ribs' (CT 114.6).

**loqa** [ló(°).qá] *Ref:* WB 'to swallow, drink'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *luq'* 'swallow, eat' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]), *ləq'w* <|Eq!°> 'swallow' (KT 148.3); *cf* √-ləq'~wulq' (verb-stem, as in *ia-m-ú-ləq'* <-iamō'!Eq!> 'I swallow you', KT 65.11;

*a-n-t-u-wúlq'-am-a* <anluwúlq'lama> 'I will eat them', KT 121.10: parsed following Hymes 207, 265).

**lulu** [lú<sup>(o)</sup>.lu] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, LK, EJ, CR 'carry, take along, bring'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *lúlu* 'gather up, pile up, collect' (CCT 67, 158, 373, 374). Compare **lu?lu?** 'round'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <lú·lo> 'take it!'.

**luxlux** \* *Ref:* <Loʔoloh> (Demers) 'slippery, polished, even'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *lúxlux* <lúxlux> 'slick' (Boas 633), *luxlúx* <luXlúX> 'slippery' (KT 188.2), <lóq·uluq, > 'slickly' (?) (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]; illegible original).

**lu?lu?** [lóʔ.lo(ʔ), lóʔ.lo(ʔ); ló<sup>(o)</sup>.lo] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, LK 'round; pile up, accumulate'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *lólo*, *lúlu* <ló'ló, ló'Eló, léwlew, lú<sup>(o)</sup>lu> 'round' (Boas 632, CT 14.17, 186.23, 228.25, CCT 426, 466). Evidently confused by linguists with the Chinookan source-forms yielding **lulu** 'carry, bring'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lóʔlóʔ] <ló'ló> 'round'.

**ʔakatat** [ʔá.kʌ.tʌt; ʔ'.kɪ.tæ<sup>(o)</sup>t] *Ref:* JH (Jacobs 1945:53), WB, EJ, Gatschet (1877:31) 'Klickitat'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan name for southwest Washington Sahaptins: *ʔáqatat* (<ʔáqatat?) <L'E'qatat> 'the Klickitat' (CT 277.3; respelled as *ʔ'áqatat* [sic] in HNAI 12:349).

**ʔáksta** [ʔá<sup>(o)</sup>ks.tʌ, ʔák.s.tʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, WB, CR 'who?; who...!'

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook interrogative pronoun: *ʔáksta* <Láksta> 'who?' (Boas 650: appearing only by way of example; no coverage in the grammar), *nikšt ʔákšta* <nē'kct Lā'kcta> 'nobody' (CT 268.5, 200.4: Lower Chinook *nikšt* 'not'; cf. CW

**wik-ʔáksta** 'nobody'); <tláksta> 'who' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔáksta] <ʔá'ksta> 'who?'.

**ʔak'amas** [ʔá<sup>(o)</sup>.k'ʌ.mas, ʔák.k'ʌ.mas] *Ref:* LK, WB 'Clackamas people'.

*Etym:* From the Chinookan name for people of the Clackamas River region: *g-i-ʔá-q'imaš* or *g-it-ʔá-q'imaš* 'those of -q'imaš (Clackamas River region)' (HNAI 7:544).

**ʔamat** [ʔá<sup>(o)</sup>.mʌʔ] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877b:105) 'Klamaths'.

*Etym:* From the Chinookan noun-stem *-mat* 'body of water' (Hymes 116), presumably referring to the Klamaths' lake-dominated homeland: hence, *it-ʔá-mat*, *it-gá-mat* 'lake people' (*ʔa-*, *ga-* third-person possessives) (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

**ʔaq** [ʔá<sup>(o)</sup>q, ʔáq; ʔá<sup>(o)</sup>qw] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ 'off'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *ʔaq<sup>w</sup>* 'out, take out' (CCT 24, 31, 512, 548), <Láq<sup>(u)</sup>, Laq<sup>(o)</sup>> 'take off, off; take out' (CT 13.2, 223.9, 229.13, 236.6), <Laq<sup>u</sup>> 'out, take off, take out' (Kathlamet [Hymes 274, 281]: 'process of reaching outside' vs <Lax> 'achieve, reach, be outside'; see **ʔax** 'out, visible').

**ʔas** [ʔʌs (-ʔás)] *Ref:* JH 1941, VH, WB, EJ 'they, their; them'.

*Etym:* Jacobs (1932:41-42) terms the set of CW formal short-form pronouns "basic", deriving **ʔas** from Chinookan *ʔ-* 'third person [neuter/collective]' plus [a] (leaving terminal [s] unexplained). Sapir's description of Wishram Upper Chinook (Boas 627) suggests that at least some of the short forms could have come directly from Chinookan (see etymology notes for **na** 'I, my', **ya** 'She/he, his/her; her/him'). Note that Clackamas Upper Chinook

speakers were resident at Grand Ronde, while short forms of pronouns are virtually unknown as CW outside of Grand Ronde.

**taska** [tá<sup>(o)</sup>.s.ka, tás.ka] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'they, their, them'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook independent pronoun: *táska* <Láska> 'it' (neuter/collective) (Boas 626), <tláska> 'they' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [táska] <tâska, taska> 'they'.

**tawa** [tá/wá<sup>(o)</sup>, tã.wa] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'slowly; slow'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *tawá* 'slowly and continuously' (CCT 34, 111), <Lawa> 'slowly' (Boas 634, CT 146.5). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tãwá] <tãwá> 'slow'.

**tax** [tá<sup>(o)</sup>.x] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB 'emerge; removed'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *lax* 'come out' (CCT 445), <Lax> 'appear, become visible' (Boas 633), <Lax> 'out' (Kathlamet [Hymes 281]: 'achieve, reach, be outside' vs <Laq> 'process of reaching outside'; see **taq** 'off').

**taxani** [tá<sup>(o)</sup>.xã.ni; tã<sup>(o)</sup>.xã.ni, tã<sup>(o)</sup>.x.ni] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'outside'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *laxa-ni* <Laxa-ni> 'outside' (Kathlamet [Hymes 281, 289]: *lax* <Lax> 'out' + *-ni* locative), <k<sup>h</sup>Lã<sup>h</sup>xanĩ, k<sup>h</sup>Lã<sup>h</sup>xanē (CT 40.10, 211.15), *laxnix*, *laxnix* (CCT 13, 14, 525, 562) 'outside'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [tãxãni] <tãxãni> 'outside'.

**taxayam** [tá/xã<sup>(o)</sup>.yam; tã<sup>(o)</sup>.xãv(?) / yã<sup>(o)</sup>.m; tã<sup>(o)</sup>.xãm] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR, EL 'hello/goodbye; poor, pitiful'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *tã-xayam* (or *t-tã-xayam*?) <Lã<sup>h</sup>xayam> "what excites sympathy", 'poor, pitiful' (literally,

'one's poverty') (Boas 600, 608, CT 38.5). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tãxwã?ayam] <tã<sup>h</sup>xwã<sup>h</sup>ayam> 'how do you do?; poor'.

**tik** [t'ík] *Ref:* EJ, EL 'silly, goofy'.

*Etym:* Apparently from a Chinookan particle, exact identification uncertain: *cf* <Lëk!> 'to "start" (with pain)' (KT 63.1), <Lëk!> 'weak' (Boas 632).

**tik<sup>h</sup>amuks** [t'ík.kãmoks] *Ref:* JH 1928 'blackberries'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *tã-k'am-ukš* <tlák'amuks> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *itãkamakš*, *itãkamakš* (CCT 144, Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'blackberries'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [t'íkãmqs, tãkãmks] <t'íkãmks> (also mf 17.0185: <tãkãmks>) 'blackberries'.

**ticipayt** <sup>•</sup> *Ref:* <Tlipait> (Demers) 'string, thread, sinew', <Kla<sup>h</sup>-pite> (Gibbs) 'thread, twine'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *tã-pait* <LE<sup>h</sup>pa-ît> 'line, rope' (KT 244.1, 249.3), *-pa-it* 'rope' (Boas 601), <tlã<sup>h</sup>pa-it> 'fish-line' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]).

**tiskwis** [t'ís.kwís] *Ref:* JH 1928 'mat, carpet'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *-skwíš* 'mat bag' (Boas 602: neuter noun), *t'í-šg<sup>w</sup>iš* <Lícguic, Lícgo-ic> 'mat' (CT 88.20, 240.7). *Cf* Bay Center CW [t'í'skwís, t'í'skwís, tãskwís] <t'í'skwís, tãskwís> (also mf 18.0185: <t'í'skwís>) 'mat, tule-mat; cattail'.

**tix** [t'ix/tã<sup>(o)</sup>.m] *Ref:* EP (in **tixt<sup>h</sup>am** 'woman-chaser': **tix** + "Tom"?).

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *tix* <Lix<sup>h</sup>, Lëx<sup>h</sup>> 'copulate' (Boas 633, CT 228.10, .14).

**tixlix** [t'ix.lix] *Ref:* VH, WB, CR 'itchy; tickling, scratching'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  $\text{ʔáxʔax}$  'scratch' (Clackamas [mj 63:51]), <LE'xlEX> 'scratching (noise)' (Boas 153.7).

**ʔiʔil** [ʔiʔil<sup>(1)</sup>, ʔi'.ʔil] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ 'black'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  $\text{ʔi.il}$  <LE'el> (CT 25.11),  $\text{ʔal}$  <LEl> (KT 44.6),  $\text{ʔál}$  (CCT 515) 'black'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔiʔil] <ʔiʔil> 'black'.

**ʔk'úp** [ʔk'óp] *Ref:* VH, WB 'squeezed, burst apart; pop it'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  $\text{ʔk'úp}$ ,  $\text{ʔk'úp}$  'break; cracked' (CCT 87, 144), <Lklóp> 'to squeeze' (Boas 631).

**ʔq'úp** [ʔq'ó<sup>(1)</sup>p; ʔq'ó<sup>(2)</sup>p; k'ó<sup>(1)</sup>p] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'cut'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  $\text{ʔq'úp}$  <ʔq!up> (Wishram [Sapir in Boas 643]),  $\text{ʔq'úp}$ ,  $\text{ʔq'wóp}$  (CCT 74, 175), <Lq!óp> (Boas 631) 'to cut'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <ʔk'óp> 'to chop'.

**ʔuk** [ʔók; ʔók] *Ref:* WB, EJ, CR 'broken'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  $\text{ʔákʔak}$  <ʔákʔak> 'dig' (mj 55:8),  $\text{ʔáqʔaq}$  'broken' (CCT 164-165), <LEk<sup>u</sup>> 'to break' (Boas 631), <LúkLuk> 'broken' (CT 48.4).

**ʔun** [ʔú<sup>(1)</sup>n, ʔó<sup>(1)</sup>n] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'three'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan cardinal numeral:  $\text{ʔún}$  (CCT 123), <Lón> (Boas 637) 'three'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <ʔón> 'three'.

**ʔxwáp** [ʔxwá<sup>(1)</sup>p; xwá<sup>(1)</sup>p] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'hole'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  $\text{ʔxwáp}$ ,  $\text{ʔxwáp}$  'hole; to dig' (CCT 92, 150, 167, 451, 490), <Lxoáp> 'to dig' (Boas 631). *Cf* Bay Center CW <ʔwáp> 'hole'.

**ma** [ma (~má)] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, CR 'thou, thy'.

*Etym:* Jacobs (1932:41-42) terms the set of CW formal short-form pronouns "basic", deriving **ma** from Chinookan *m-* 'second person' plus [a]. Sapir's description of Wishram Upper Chinook (Boas 627) suggests that at least some of the short forms could have come directly from Chinookan (see etymology notes for **na** 'I, my', **ya** 'She/he, his/her; her/him'). Note that Clackamas Upper Chinook speakers were resident at Grand Ronde, while short forms of pronouns are virtually unknown as CW outside of Grand Ronde.

**maksti** [má<sup>(1)</sup>ks.ʔi; má<sup>(1)</sup>kwš.ʔi] *Ref:* VH, WB 'twice'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle combining a numeral ( $\text{mak}^{(w)}\text{št}$  'two') with the Lower Chinook adverbial suffix *-i*, corresponding to *-ix* in Kathlamet and Upper Chinook:  $\text{mákšt-i}$  <md'kcti, má'kctē> (Boas 667, CT 135.21),  $\text{mák}^{w}\text{šd-ix}$  (CCT 492) 'twice'.

**makwst** [má<sup>(1)</sup>kwst; má<sup>(1)</sup>kst, má<sup>(1)</sup>kws, má<sup>(1)</sup>ks] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'two'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan cardinal number:  $\text{mák}^{w}\text{št}$  (CCT 100),  $\text{makšt}$  <mákct, mákct, môkct> (Boas 624, 637, KT 55.10). *Cf* Bay Center CW <má:kwst> 'two'.

**matini** • *Ref:* <má:ʔini> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0292) 'out in the ocean or on land' (<má:ʔixw'alí> 'inland' is given as antonym); <matline> (Demers) 'towards the shore', <matliné> (Lionnet) 'at the water-side; on this side'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  $\text{máʔni}$  <mā'lnē> 'seaward' (Boas 569). Hymes (266, 289) parses the Kathlamet as  $\text{maʔ}$  (Hymes's stem-class V(erb)N(oun)P(article), also exemplified in the noun *i-maʔ*

'body of water, river, bay; Columbia River') + *-ni* (locative, directive).

**matxwəli** • Ref: < má'ɬxʷəlɪ > (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0292) 'inland'; < mathwelé, mathwélé > (Lionnet) 'in the wood, at large, in the river'; < Malwəle > (Demers) 'down on the other side'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: < málxolē > 'inland' (Boas 648, CT 9.19, 25.6), 'ashore, landward' (CT 217.10, 19; 218.3; 223.14), '(out of the way) at the side (in a house)' (CT 177.21, 267.6); < mā'tlqonē > 'inland' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). Cf Kathlamet ɬxliu < Lxliu > 'inland', a particle, and -mɬxliu < -mLxliu > (as in *a-íá-mɬxiu* 'landward from it'), a noun (Hymes 268).

**manaqi** [má<sup>(0)</sup>.nɬ.qe; má<sup>(0)</sup>.nɬ.k'i, má<sup>(0)</sup>.nɬ.ke; má<sup>(0)</sup>.nə.kə, má.nə.kə] Ref: JH 1928/1932, WB, MM, EP, DC 'more than, greater than'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *manaq'í* < manaq'í, maniqlá' > (Boas 634, KT 101.5), *mánk* (CCT 17, 23, 568) 'more, too, -er'.

**mayka** [má<sup>(0)</sup>.ɬ.kɬ~gɬ; má<sup>(0)</sup>] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'thou, thy; thee'.

*Etym:* From the Chinookan independent pronoun *maika*, used to focus attention on a second person singular subject, object, or possessor. Cf Bay Center CW [máɬkɬ] < má'yka > 'you (singular)'.

**mayʔmi** [má<sup>(0)</sup>ɪʔ.mi] Ref: JH 1928 'downriver'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *máíʔimi* < máíʔēmē, máíēmē, mā'ēmē > 'downstream, northward' (Boas 621, CT 13.13, 24.16, 260.2, 260.4). Cf Bay Center CW [máíʔyami] < má'yami > 'way down the river'.

**məɬ'ɬaxwəs** [mə.ɬ'á<sup>(0)</sup>.xwəs] Ref: EP

'eye-matter'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun based on the stem *-xus~-xus* 'eye', with second-person singular possessive *m-*: *cf is-mi-ɬ'auɬ'auxus* 'your eyes are filled (with eye-matter)' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

**mitayt** [mɪ'ɬá<sup>(0)</sup>ɪt, mɪ<sup>(0)</sup>.ɬait, mɪ'ɬət, mɪ<sup>(0)</sup>.ɬət] Ref: JH 1928/1932/1941, VH, WB, CR 'to sit, stay, live; to have, possess, wear'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan verb; a simple imperative with *m-* (second-person singular) + *-ɬait* 'to be, to sit' (verbal stem): *mɬait* 'sit!' (CCT 32), *mɬait* < m'E'la-it > 'you stay!' (CT 15.12-13, 108.14). Cf Bay Center CW [mɬɬait] < máɬɬayt > 'sit down!'.

**miməlust** [mɪ<sup>(0)</sup>.mə.ləst, mɪ' mə.ləst; mɪ<sup>(0)</sup>.mə.ləs, mɪ<sup>(0)</sup>m.ləs(t) (í~í)] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'to die; dead'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: ɬ-miməlušɬ < L-mé' malust, Lmē'mElöst, Lmē'mElöst > 'dead, corpse(s)' (Boas 606, CT 94.7, KT 49.6), *t-miməlušɬ-ikš* < tmēmElöst'ctik > 'the ghosts' (Boas 668), *id-mimlúšd-ikš* < idmimlúcdik > 'dead people' (Clackamas [mj 53:66]). Cf Bay Center CW [mɪ'məlust] < mɪ'məlu'st > 'to die'.

**mitxwit** [mɪ't.xwit, mɪ<sup>(0)</sup>t.xwit] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to stand; to step, stride'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan verb; a simple imperative with *m-* (second-person singular) + *-txwit* 'stand up' (verbal stem: with *-(i)t* suffix?; compare Bay Center CW) (Boas 591, 612): *mátx'wit* < m'E'tXuit > '(thou) stand!' (CT 211.21). Cf Bay Center CW [mɬtxwi] < mátxwi > 'stand up'.

**msa** [m.sɬ (~m.sá)] Ref: WB 'ye, your'.

*Etym:* Sapir's description of Wishram Upper Chinook (Boas 627) suggests

that at least some of the CW pronoun short forms could have come directly from Chinookan (see etymology notes for **na** 'I, my', **ya** 'She/he, his/her; her/him'): compare Clackamas *máša* 'you (pl)' (short-form based on *m-* 'second person' + *š-* 'plural') (CCT 21). Note that Clackamas Upper Chinook speakers were resident at Grand Ronde, while short forms of pronouns are virtually unknown as CW outside of Grand Ronde.

**msayka** [m.sá<sup>(0)</sup>.l.kʌ~gʌ; m.sá<sup>(0)</sup>; mɪ.sá<sup>(0)</sup>.l.kʌ~gʌ, mə.sá<sup>(0)</sup>.l.kʌ~gʌ; mɪ.sá<sup>(0)</sup>, mə.sá<sup>(0)</sup>.l] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, ET 'ye, your, you'.

*Etym:* From the Chinookan independent pronoun *mšaika*, used to focus attention on a second-person plural subject, object, or possessor. Note that forms with vowels in the first syllable, as well as abbreviated forms, are known also in Chinookan: *mášaika* <mE'caika> (KT 44.8), *máša* (CCT 21). *Cf* Bay Center CW [mʌsáika] <massá'yka> 'you (plural)'.

**mulak** [mú<sup>(0)</sup>.l.ʌk, mó<sup>(0)</sup>.l.ʌk] *Ref:* JH 1928, JP 'elk'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-múlak* 'elk' (CCT 17, Boas 598). *Cf* Bay Center CW [múlak] <mú'lak> 'elk'.

**na** [nʌ (~ná)] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, CR 'I, my'.

*Etym:* Jacobs (1932:41-42) terms the set of CW formal short-form pronouns "basic", deriving **na** from Chinookan *n-* 'first person' plus [a]. Sapir (Boas 627) records Wishram *na*, *naχ* 'I' (short-form), which suggests that CW **na** could be directly from Chinookan, or more specifically, from Upper Chinook. Note that Clackamas Upper Chinook speakers were resident at Grand

Ronde, while short forms of pronouns are virtually unknown as CW outside of Grand Ronde.

**nanamuks** • *Ref:* <naná:møkʷs> (Bay Center CW [Emma Luscier], jph 18.0451), <naná:muks, naná:muks> (Bay Center CW [Sarah Scarborough, Emma Luscier], jph 18.0873), <Nanamuks> (Demers) 'otter'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-nanámuks* 'otter' (Boas 598).

**nawitka** [ná/wí<sup>(0)</sup>.t.kʌ, ná/wí<sup>(0)</sup>.t.kʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, EP, CR 'indeed, sure enough'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *náwitka* 'indeed!' (Boas 635). *Cf* Bay Center CW [nawítka, nʌwítka] <na:wítka, nʌwítka> 'yes' ("this is the common word for yes").

**nayka** [ná<sup>(0)</sup>.l.kʌ~gʌ; ná<sup>(0)</sup>.l] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'I, my; me'.

*Etym:* From the Chinookan independent pronoun *naika*, used to focus special attention on a first-person singular subject, object, or possessor. *Cf* Bay Center CW [nʌika] <náyka> 'I'.

**nixwa** [ní/xwá<sup>(0)</sup>] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR, EP 'let's see!; let's ... , suppose ... , how about ...'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *níx<sup>w</sup>a* 'let's, let (me), suppose, do ... , will (you) ...' (CCT 16, 18, 24), <níxua, níxua> 'please, just try to; well' (Boas 635, 671). *Cf* Bay Center CW [nixwá] <nixwá, nixwá> 'hither; because'.

**nsa** [nsʌ (~nsá); ntsa; tsʌ, sʌ] *Ref:* VH, WB, CR 'we, our'.

*Etym:* Jacobs (1932:41-42) terms the set of CW formal short-form pronouns "basic", deriving **nsa** from Chinookan *n-* 'first person' plus a Chinookan plural (*š-*) plus [a]. Sapir's

description of Wishram Upper Chinook (Boas 627) suggests that at least some of the short forms could have come directly from Chinookan (see etymology notes for **na** 'I, my', **ya** 'She/he, his/her; her/him'). Note that Clackamas Upper Chinook speakers were resident at Grand Ronde, while short forms of pronouns are virtually unknown as CW outside of Grand Ronde.

**nsayka** [n.sá<sup>(f)</sup>ɪ.kʌ~gʌ; n.tsá<sup>(f)</sup>ɪ.kʌ~gʌ; nɪ.sá<sup>(f)</sup>ɪ.kʌ~gʌ; tsá<sup>(f)</sup>ɪ.kʌ~gʌ, n.tsá<sup>(f)</sup>ɪ; nɪ.sá<sup>(f)</sup>ɪ, sá<sup>(f)</sup>ɪ.kʌ~gʌ] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'we, our, us'.

*Etym:* From the Chinookan independent pronoun *nšaiika*, used to focus attention on a first-person plural (exclusive) subject, object, or possessor. Note that forms with vowels in the first syllable, as well as affricates in the second, are known also in Chinookan: *nšaiika* <ntcaika> (Boas 626), *nšaiiká* (emphasis form, recorded as <ná'caiká, nē'saiká>; CT 144.19, 145.1, 7), *nšaiika* <nE'saika> (KT 153.8). Cf Bay Center CW [nsáika] <nsáyka> (1 pers pl).

**p<sup>h</sup>at** [p<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(f)</sup>ɪ; pá<sup>(f)</sup>ɪ, p<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(f)</sup>ɪt] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'full'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *páɪ* (CCT 58, 551), <pāɪ> (Boas 609, 631) 'full'.

**panax** [pá<sup>(f)</sup>.nʌx] Ref: EP, VM, MM 'lomatium nudicale'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *ɬ-panax* <tlpá'naq> "cloverroot" [sic] (probably, miswritten for 'clove root') (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *a-pánaɲnaq* "wild celery" (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Cf "wild parsnip seeds for cold [sic], *bánaɲ*" (in E. Jacobs's Tillamook field notebooks [mj 74:81], copied inaccurately in E. Jacobs 1959:58, 207); the word is obviously not of Tillamook origin, since Tillamook

lacks the phoneme *b*.

**pasisi** [pá.sɪ/sɪ<sup>(f)</sup>, pʌ.sɪ<sup>(f)</sup>.sɪ; pá.ʃɪ/sɪ<sup>(f)</sup>] Ref: JH 1928, WB, CR 'blanket'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *ɬ-pásísi* <ɪ.pacícɪ> (CT 259.20) 'blanket'. Cf Bay Center CW [pasísɪ] <pasí'sɪ> 'blanket'.

**p<sup>h</sup>awch** • Ref: <pá''awɪtʃ> (Bay Center CW, jph 17.0129, 18.0458) 'crabapple', <pawtɪʃ [sic]> (Lionnet) 'wild plum trees'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *u-páuc* <-pā'utɕ> (Boas 601), *ɬ-páuc* <tlpā'uts> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]) 'crabapple'.

**pchix** [ptš'ɪx; ptšʌx] Ref: JH 1928, EJ 'green'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *pčɪx* (Boas 632, Kathlamet [Hymes 273]), *pčəx* (CCT 515) 'green, greenish'. Cf Bay Center CW [pʌtšóx(w), pə/tšʌx~tšəx] <patʃóx(w), p<sup>h</sup>tʃáx, p<sup>h</sup>tʃəx> 'green, blue'.

**p<sup>h</sup>il** [p<sup>h</sup>ɪl; pɪl] Ref: JH 1928, EJ 'red'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *ɬpil* <ɪ.pɪl, ɪ.pəl> (Boas 632, KT 42.14, 126.9), <ɬbé'l> (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'red'. Both Boas and Hymes classify the Chinookan form as a particle, that is, as a form uninflected for person or number. Apparently though, enough speakers confused the particle's initial *ɬ* with the Chinookan person-number prefix *ɬ-* 'neuter/collective', to yield a CW derivative minus *ɬ*: CW words derived from Chinookan nouns usually drop unstressed Chinookan number-gender prefixes, while retaining stressed number-gender prefixes. Cf Bay Center CW [p<sup>h</sup>ɪl, pɪl, pel] <p<sup>h</sup>ál, pɪl ('or <é-')> 'red'.

**pilpil** [pɪl.pɪl] Ref: JH 1928, VH 'blood'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle related to the source of **p<sup>h</sup>il** 'red': *ʔpəlpał* <ɫpE<sup>h</sup>pEl> 'red' (CT 76.19, 235.10). Cf Bay Center CW <pélpel, pí'lipil> 'blood'.

**płax** • *Ref:* *płax* (Kinkade 1991:99: given as a CW loan into Upper Chehalis) 'aphrodisiac, Spanish fly, love medicine, love charm, love potion'; <optlat> (Demers) 'liniment'.

*Etym:* Kinkade (1991:99) explains Upper Chehalis *płax* as "possibly a loan from Chinook, via Chinook Jargon *eptlach*". The spelling "eptlach" is from Gill's "Chinook" dictionary (1909:24), which has the word as "O. C." ("Old Chinook", that is, Chinookan not CW) meaning 'medicine': cf *i-płax* 'medicine' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files], Clackamas [mj 69:83]; according to Hymes: "incl[uding] patent medicine, liniment, cough syrup, native herb preparations for internal or external use, preparations used for success in love or fishing, etc."); -*błax* 'poison' (in *ağamačx icəbłax* 'arrowhead its poison/medicine', name of a plant used to poison arrowheads; Clackamas [mj 53:16]) ([b] augmentative?). On the other hand, the Upper Chehalis form, which lacks *i*-, looks more like a CW form based on a Chinookan noun, since unstressed Chinookan gender markers usually drop away when Chinookan nouns pass into CW. Demers has CW **upłax** <optlat>, which suggests a Lower Chinook feminine noun with feminine *u*-, contrasting with masculine *i*- in Upper Chinook *i-płax*. While the masculine and feminine forms of some Chinookan nouns indeed do show contrasting meanings, we are aware of no feminine form in the usual Chinookan sources.

**pulak<sup>h</sup>li** [pú<sup>(h)</sup>.lak.li, pó<sup>(h)</sup>.lak.li] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'night-time, dark'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun (and/or particle): *ł-pulakála-max* <ɫpōlakE<sup>h</sup>lEmax> 'nights' (a noun; KT 85.17); but Boas and Curtis also record uninflected *pulakli* 'dark' (CT 29.8, Chinook [Curtis]), which by Hymes's criteria would make the word also a particle. Cf *ú-pul* (Boas 603), *wá-pul* (CCT 19) 'night'. Cf Bay Center CW [púlakli] <pú'łakli> 'night'.

**pus** [pūs; p̄s] *Ref:* JH, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'if, when, would, for'.

*Etym:* While usually attributed to English "suppose", this CW word actually has a good Chinookan etymology: Lower Chinook *puš* <pōč, pōs, pus> 'if' (Boas: 'contrary to fact') (Boas 635, 650, CT 44.3, 51.8, 61.3, 71.16, 94.13, 234.16, etc.); corresponding to Kathlamet and Upper Chinook *pu* 'would' (Hymes: 'conditional'; Sapir: 'adverb of potential and conditional significance') (Wishram [Sapir in Boas 676], Kathlamet [Hymes 286], CCT 13, 503; etc.). Cf Demers <Pus> 'for, if, when, in order to, that', <Spos> 'if, suppose', Gibbs <Spose> 'if, supposing, provided that, in order that'. In view of the Chinookan evidence, Gibbs's <Spose> and Demers' <Spos> would appear to reflect a folk etymology attributing the word to English.

**puypuy** [pói.poi; p<sup>h</sup>iw.p<sup>h</sup>iw] *Ref:* JH 1928 'Douglas squirrel'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-búibui* <ibóipoi [sic]> (Clackamas [mj 52:13]) "chipmunk" (described as "all yellow": indicative of the Douglas squirrel, *Tamiasciurus douglasii*). The variant form **p<sup>h</sup>iwp<sup>h</sup>iw** (from JH 1928) appears to be this Chinookan form influenced

by a degree of onomatopoea, suggestive of the Douglas squirrel's piercing call - a familiar sound in Northwest forests.

**p'ánaqs** [p'á<sup>(l)</sup>.nɫqs] *Ref:* JH 1928 'liver'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-p'ánaqs* 'liver' (KT 99.9), *i-łá-p'anakš* 'his liver' (CCT 433).

**p'əq** [p'áq; p'á.q'ɛ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'hit (once), strike a blow'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *p'áq*, *p'áqp'aq* 'slap' (KT 100.12, 116.14).

**p'əqp'əq** [p'áq.p'áq; p'áqə.p'áqə, p'áq'ɛ.p'áq'ɛ] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'hitting; to fight, box'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *p'áq*, *p'áqp'aq* 'slap' (KT 100.12, 116.14). *Cf* Bay Center CW [pɫq<sup>h</sup>pɫq] <paκ'paκ> 'to fistfight'.

**p'isxas** [p'í.s.xas] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'skunk'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: Kathlamet and Upper Chinook *a-p'isxas*, *a-p'isxas* 'skunk' (KT 69.2, CCT 13, 508).

**p'ixwati** • *Ref:* <p'í'hwati> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0325), <Pe-what'-tie> (Gibbs) 'thin'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *p'ixwati* <p'əqwatə> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *p'ixwat* <Pl'ē'Xoat> (KT 78.11), *p'ixwadi* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'thin'.

**p'u** [p'ú<sup>(l)</sup>; p'ú<sup>(l)</sup>; po.pú<sup>(l)</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, EP 'to shoot'.

*Etym:* Apparently, from the Chinookan particle *pu*, *púpu* <pō, pō'pō> 'blow' (Boas 630, KT 86.12; compare alternate form). Chinookan consonant symbolism may explain the replacement of Chinookan [p] by CW [p']: signaling either a Chinookan diminutive ("a puff"?); or

a "foreign" (CW not Chinookan) word. *Cf* Bay Center CW <pō> 'to shoot'.

**q<sup>h</sup>a** [q<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(l)</sup>; q<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(l)</sup>x] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932/1941, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'where?; where...'

*Etym:* The alternate form **q<sup>h</sup>ax** corresponds to Chinook *qax*, which Boas (Boas 618) classifies as a demonstrative pronoun ('that' in Boas 650, 666: analyzed *q-* [invisibility or past existence] + *-a-* [feminine] + *-x* <x> [position near third person]); and to Kathlamet *qax* <qax> 'where', which Hymes (284) classifies as an interrogative particle. Compare: *qa* 'where, when' (CT 13.16, 17.10, 128.10, 147.4), *ka* 'where' (CT 23.5), *kax* 'these, that' (CT 38.10, 62.10); *ka*, *qa* 'why, how, what, where' (interrogative of manner, Hymes 276, 283); *qá* 'how, what' (CCT 21, 28), *qáx* 'where' (CCT 15). Hymes (298) proposes that *qa* in Kathlamet is 'where (definite)', *qax* 'where (indefinite)'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [k<sup>h</sup>a(?)] <k'á, k'á> 'where?' (note: [k] not [q]). See **q<sup>h</sup>ata** 'how', **q<sup>h</sup>ənchi** 'when', **k<sup>h</sup>a** 'still, while'.

**q<sup>h</sup>a-iwa** [q<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(l)</sup>.iwa] *Ref:* JH 1928 'which one?, which way?', VH 'wherever'.

*Etym:* Refer to **q<sup>h</sup>a**, **iwa** (both from Chinookan particles). We find one apparent citation as a Chinookan compound: *qáx-iwa* <qá qəwa> 'when' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]; note that Boas in 1890 usually wrote <q>, where his later transcription shows <x> = x).

**q<sup>h</sup>ata** [q<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(l)</sup>.ɬa] *Ref:* JH, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'how?; how...'

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle. Hymes (282, 286) parses the Kathlamet as *qa* (manner interrogative) + *-ta* (directive) = 'how, what'; *cf* *qáda* 'how?' (Boas

658), *qáda* 'what?' (CCT 16). In CT 197.25 there is also the phrase **ᵂauqaᵂ qada** <xá' oqxaᵂ qáda> 'cannot anyhow', which matches the CW idiom **ᵂawqaᵂ qᵂata** 'impossible, no way to'. Cf Bay Center CW [qᵂátʌ] <κ'â'ta> 'how?, how's that?'.

**qᵂexchi** • Ref: <keᵂtsi> (Demers), <keᵂtsi, keᵂchi> (St. Onge) 'although, even if', <Kes'-chi, Kéh-tsie> (Gibbs: as entered in Chinook-English section) 'notwithstanding, although', <kégh-tchie> (Gibbs: as entered under *Although, Notwithstanding* in English-Chinook section).

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: <qē'xtcē> 'without reaching the desired end, endeavoring' (Boas 634, 639). VH gave **k'axchi** 'in vain' as CW, but *kinwa* as Clackamas Upper Chinook for the same meaning (mj 69:19).

**qᵂənchi** [qᵂán.(t)ʂi, qᵂán.tʂi; qᵂán.(t)ʂi, qᵂán.(t)ʂi] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'when?, when...; how many/much?, that many/much'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *qáncix*, *qáncix* <qánsix, qantsi'X> 'how many?' (CT 24.21, 107.3), *nikšt qáncix* <nēkct qánsix> 'never' (Boas 668: Lower Chinook *nikšt* 'not'; cf CW **wik-qᵂənchi** 'never'); *qanc-ix* 'ever, however, whenever' (Kathlamet [Hymes 284]: *-ix* adverbial suffix); *qáncix* 'how many' (CCT 26). Cf Bay Center CW [qánsi'] <kánsi'> 'how many?', [wʌq-qᵂántsi] <wáκκ'á'nts> 'never'.

**qᵂilúq** • Ref: <κ'illó'κ'> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0400), <Keluk> (Demers, St. Onge) 'swan'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-qilúq* (Boas 598, KT 107.9), *i-ḡilúq* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]), *i-ḡilúq* (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]) 'swan'.

**qᵂink'iyam** • Ref: <kenkiam> (Demers, St. Onge) 'right(-hand)'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *qinq'iyamá* <qinq'eamá> 'to the right' (Boas 668), *qink'iam* 'right side' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

**qisqis** [qé<sup>0</sup>s.qes] Ref: JP 'bluejay'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *-qíʂqíʂ* <-qē'cqēc> (Boas 598), *i-qíʂqis* <iqē'sqēs> (CT 29.23, 30.5, 60.14), *i-q'íʂqis*, *i-q'íʂq'is* <iqē'sqēs, iqjē'sqjēs> (CT 28.16, 30.24, 115.26). Cf Bay Center CW [qí'sqis] <κí'skɪs> 'bluejay'.

**qᵂiwa** • Ref: <kiwa> (Demers, St. Onge) 'because'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *qíwa* 'demonstrative adverb' (Boas 621), 'therefore, because' (Hymes 284), 'because, since, for that reason' (Wishram [Dyk 135]).

**qwet** [qwé<sup>0</sup>t] Ref: VH 'extent'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *q'ít* <qoá't> 'thus (far)' (CT 48.6, KT 238.14), <qoē't> 'high water' (CT 198.23).

**qᵂwexqᵂwex** [qᵂwé<sup>0</sup>x.qᵂwex] Ref: JH 1928 'duck'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *u-q'wixq'wix*, *u-q'wixq'wix* <ōqoē'xqoex, ōgoē'xgoēx> 'female duck', *t-q'wixq'wix-ukš* <tqoēxqoē'xukc> 'ducks' (CT 150.2, 150.10, 153.13); *i-ḡ'wixq'wix* 'male duck', *a-ḡ'wixq'wix* 'female duck', *it-ḡ'wixq'wix-ukš* 'ducks' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Cf Bay Center CW [qwéxqwex] <κwéxxwex> 'mallard'.

**qᵂwəᵂ** [qᵂwáᵂ, qᵂwátᵂ; qᵂwēᵂ, qᵂwētᵂ] Ref: VH, WB, EJ, CR 'hang up; hanging, hung'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *q'wáᵂ* '(placed) on' (CCT 30), <qxul, qul> 'to hang, hang up, put on

(clothes)' (CT 27.16, 236.23, KT 29.6).

**qwinəm** [qwiːnəm, qwiːnəm; qwá.nəm]

Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'five'.

Etym: From a Chinookan cardinal numeral: *qʷínəm* (Boas 607, 637), *ǰʷánma* (CCT 28) 'five'. Cf Bay Center CW [qʰwánam] <κʷánam> 'five'.

**qʷat** [qʷáʰt] Ref: WB, EP 'to love, feel affection towards'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *qʷat* 'to love' (Boas 632), "(be) in a dither about" (CCT 94).

**qʷataqʰi** ♂ Ref: <κʷátake> (Bay Center CW, jph 17.0318), <Katake> (Demers) 'sucker (fish)'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *t-kʷataqʷi* (a kind of fish) (Hymes 105), *a-kʷadaqʷi* 'small game fish' (Wasco-Wishram [Fowler and French 1982:12]).

**qʷatawi** [qʷáʰ.tá.wi <qʷátawe> (JH 1928)] Ref: JH 1928 'swan'.

Etym: The source is an obscure Chinookan noun: *á-qʷaduwi* [singular], *it-ǰádwi-yukš* [plural] "vulture[s] - perhaps, or some other one of the large birds" (Clackamas [mj slip-files]); <o-kó-to-we, ek-ú-ta-wa> 'crane' (Chinookan [Gibbs 1863a:11]). Considerable terminological confusion accompanies the identification some of our larger birds in local languages. Of possible relevance: onomatopoeia, resulting in the assignment of different referents to like-seeming forms (for example, the element [qʰ]waš~s), [kʰ]waš~s, [ǰwaš~s] turns up in Chinookan and Kalapuyan terms translating 'sandhill crane [*Grus canadensis*]', 'great blue heron [*Ardea herodias*]', and 'swan [*Olor spp*]'; confusions in English common nomenclature, compounded by linguists' ignorance of local flora and fauna (a notable

example is the term "crane", which properly applies to the sandhill crane, but is used locally with reference to the great blue heron); and the precipitous decline of some bird populations before records were made (for example, while California condors were frequently observed on the lower Columbia in the early nineteenth century, our records from local languages lack any unambiguously identified term for this striking bird).

**qʷəl** [qʷál] Ref: JH 1928, WB, EJ 'hard, difficult; obstinate'.

Etym: From a Chinookan particle: *qʷəl* 'strong', *qʷəlqʷəl* 'strong, hard, too difficult' (Boas 631, KT 63.8). Cf Bay Center CW [kʷál] <kʷál> 'difficult'.

**qʷisu** [qʷíʰ.sʷ; kʰíʰ.sʷ] Ref: JH 1928, VH 'apron'.

Etym: From a Chinookan noun: *ǰ-qʷišu* <Lqēcō> 'cedar bark' (KT 79.5). Chinookan consonant symbolism may explain the replacement of Chinookan [q] (or [k]), as in the alternate form) by CW [qʷ]: signaling either a Chinookan diminutive; or a "foreign" (CW not Chinookan) word. Cf Bay Center CW [qʰíʰsʷ] <κʷíʰssʷ> 'apron'.

**qʷuʔ** [qʷóʔ, qʷúʔ; qʷóʔ; qʰóʰʰ] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'arrive, reach, get there'.

Etym: A Chinookan verb-stem of similar meaning, but closer in form to WB's alternate form [qʰo], is on record; the CW may go back to a related Chinookan particle: <-kō> 'to go home, to pass' (Boas 662); cf <ko> 'arrive, to', cited as Chinookan in Gibbs (1863a:9). While **qʷuʔ**, **qʷoʔ** are the usual forms from Grand Ronde elder speakers, Harrington records Bay Center CW [qʰoʰʰ] <κʷóʰʰ> 'to get there'.

**q'walelə-q'walelə** [q'wá<sup>(0)</sup>lɛ.lə-q'wà.lɛ.lə] Ref: JH 1928 'to gallop'.

*Etym:* Apparently from a Chinookan onomatopoeic particle: *ǰʷələləl* 'rumbling sound' (e.g., of a wagon on a hard road) (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Cf Bay Center CW [q'wələl-q'wələl] <k'wələl̩k'wələl̩> 'to gallop'.

**q'wan** [q'wá<sup>(0)</sup>n] Ref: JH 1928 'habituated'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *q'wánq'wan* <qloánq'loan> 'glad' (CT 241.5), *k'wan* 'to be in the habit' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Either identical with, or confused in the sources with **k'wan** •• 'gentle, docile, tame'.

**q'welq'wel** •• Ref: <kwelkwel> (Demers), <'ik'wé'l'á'k'wé'l'á> (jph 18.0133 [Emma Luscier]: given as Chinookan) 'owl'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *-q'wélq'wel* <-qoē'lqoēl> (Boas 598), <iē-kwél-kwel> (Chinook [Curtis]); <kwē'lkwēl> (Clatsop [Hymes pace Boas]). Note that Demers and Harrington both show glottalization of the initial consonants in both syllables, not recorded by Boas. The difference could be due to Chinookan consonant symbolism. While the Harrington citation from Emma Luscier was given as Chinookan (one of Harrington's attempts to get her to re-elicite Chinookan words from Curtis's lists), Mrs. Luscier did not speak Chinookan and remembered mainly Chinookan nouns that she also knew as CW. Hence, it is likely that she knew this word as CW. As CW, we would not expect it to retain Chinookan *i-* (masculine singular), since the latter is unstressed in the Chinookan form. Mrs. Luscier attached *i-* to almost all words she identified as Chinookan.

**q'wet** [q'wé<sup>(0)</sup>ʔ, q'wé<sup>(0)</sup>tʔ; q'wé<sup>(0)</sup>tɛ] Ref: JH 1928, WB 'tight, snug; to hold on to'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *q'uł* <q'lul> 'fast (tight)' (Boas 633). Cf Bay Center CW [q'wətʔ] <k'wátʔ> 'to squeeze', Demers <kwotlk> 'stuck, tight, bound'.

**q'wət** [q'wátʔ] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'to hit, strike, knock'.

*Etym:* Attributed by Gibbs (1863:12, 1863a:13) to a Chinookan source, presumably, a particle: <kwult'h> 'to hit'. We fail to find a match in later records of Chinookan available to us. Cf Bay Center CW [q'wátʔ] <k'wətʔ> 'to hit'.

**salal** •• Ref: <salál, sálal> (Bay Center CW, jph 17.0137, 1202), <Sal-lal'> (Gibbs). Cf <sáel> (Bay Center "local Eng[lish]", jph 17.0137) 'salal'.

*Etym:* Gibbs (1863b) cites <kl-kwu-shá-la> and <sal'lal> as Chinookan for 'salal berries'. Later-recorded Chinookan nouns provide no close matches to these forms: *ǰ-g'wánakun* <tlguā'nekun> (Clatsop [Hymes pace Boas]), *it-ptíla*, *it-ptála* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]), *it-ptal* (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]) 'salal berries'.

**saxali** [sá<sup>(0)</sup>.xəlɪ; sá<sup>(0)</sup>.x.lɪ] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'above, up; elevated'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *k<sup>w</sup>-šáxal-i* <k<sup>u</sup>cā'xali, k<sup>u</sup>šá'xali> (k<sup>u</sup> evidently for *ku-* locative [see Hymes 282]; *-i* Lower Chinook adverbial suffix) (CT 17.1, 49.8, 49.9, 205.6); *šáxlata*, *šáxal-ix* (*-ix* Kathlamet and Upper Chinook adverbial suffix) (Boas 648, 672), *šáxlíx* (CCT 50, 563) 'above, up'. Cf Bay Center CW [sáxəlɪ, sáhəlɪ] <sá'xəlɪ, sá'həlɪ> 'way up'.

**səqwalala** [sá.qwəl.lə.lə, s'q.wəl.lə.lə] Ref: LK (Tualatin: Berman slip-files; Frachtenberg in Gatschet 1877:14,

108) 'gun, rifle'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun:

šə-q<sup>w</sup>alála <E<sup>q</sup>oalála>  
'double-barrelled gun' (dual noun)  
(Boas 602), šə-q<sup>w</sup>alála <E<sup>q</sup>oalála>  
'bone whistle' (CT 255.17), siq<sup>w</sup>alála  
<si<sup>k</sup>oalála> 'feather' (i.e., quill?)  
(Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]),  
iš-ġ<sup>w</sup>alála <ic-ġwó<sup>l</sup>alála> 'gun'  
(Wishram [Sapir in Boas 642]). *Cf*  
Gibbs <Suk-wal'-al> 'gun, muskit'.

**səx** [sáx] *Ref:* JH 1928 'rattling (sound)'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan  
onomatopoeic particle: šix <cix>  
[noise of rattles] (Boas 630), šxšxšxšx  
[noise of rustling] (mj 63:115). *Cf* Bay  
Center CW [šáx] <jáx> 'any rattle'.

**sik'aluks** [sɪ.k'á<sup>l</sup>.lɔks] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ  
'pants, trousers'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun:  
t-íá-sak'al-uks 'his leggings' (KT  
219.2), t-sak'áluks <fša-ká-luks>  
'leggings' (Kathlamet [Curtis]). *Cf*  
Bay Center CW [sək'áluks]  
<sak'á<sup>l</sup>lɔks> 'pants'.

**sinamakwst** [sɪ.na.mak(w)st;  
sɪ.na.mak] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ  
'seven'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan cardinal  
numeral: sínamakšt <sínamôkct>  
'seven' (Boas 637). *Cf* Bay Center CW  
[sɪnɪmálkwst] <sɪnɪmálkwst>  
'seven'.

**sitkum** [sɪt.kɔm] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB,  
EJ 'part; half'.

*Etym:* From Chinookan; available  
examples show both inflected  
(noun) and uninflected (particle)  
forms: n-šítkum 'I am half', a-šítkum  
'she is half' (CT 13.24, 27.3); šítkum  
'(at the upper) half' (CT 272.7). *Cf*  
Bay Center CW <sɪtkɔm> '1/2'.

**siyaxus** [sɪ.yá<sup>l</sup>.xus; sɪ.yá<sup>l</sup>.xwas] *Ref:* JH  
1928, VH, WB 'eyes; face'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun:

s-íá-xust, š-íá-xušt (CT 64.26, 275.12,  
KT 18.4), is-íá-xus, is-íá-xus (CCT 122,  
125) 'his eyes, his face'. *Cf* Bay Center  
CW <siyá<sup>l</sup>hust> 'eye'.

**skak<sup>w</sup>wəl** [ská<sup>l</sup>.kwəl] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB  
'lamprey'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun:  
š-kák<sup>w</sup>li <cká<sup>l</sup>kolē, skā<sup>l</sup>kōli> (Boas  
602, Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]),  
iš-gák<sup>w</sup>al (CCT 27, 550, Sapir in Boas  
642) 'lamprey'. *Cf* Bay Center CW  
<skwá<sup>l</sup>kwa<sup>l</sup>> 'eel of another  
species'.

**spuʔuq** [spóʔuq, spóʔuq] *Ref:* JH 1928  
'faded, dusty, grey; ashes, dust'.

*Etym:* From Chinookan; available  
examples show both inflected  
(noun) and uninflected (particle)  
forms: šbúq (CCT 552), špəq, špiq  
<cpEq, cpēq> (Boas 609, KT 244.11)  
'grey' (a particle); †-špuq <hšhpük>  
'ashes' (a noun) (Chinook [Curtis]).  
*Cf* Bay Center CW [spóʔuq]  
<spó<sup>l</sup>okw> 'grey'.

**stixstix** [st(y)ɪx.st(y)ɪx] *Ref:* JP, EP  
'wrinkled'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle also  
exemplified as a noun: št'əx 'bent'  
(Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]),  
st'əx 'hanging heavily' (CCT 141),  
št'əxšt'əx 'weak' ('all limbered up',  
that is, flaccid) (a particle; Clackamas  
[mj 56:17]), wa-gá-št'əxšt'əx 'her  
wrinkles' (a noun; Clackamas [mj  
61:75]).

**stux** [stóx] *Ref:* VH, EP 'untied'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle:  
stux(w), stúxstux <stux, stúxstux,  
stuX<sup>w</sup>, stúXstuX> (Boas 632, KT 14.7,  
45.6) 'untie, unwrap'; sdúx,  
sdúx<sup>w</sup>sdúx<sup>w</sup> (CCT 510, 536) 'untied'. *Cf*  
Bay Center CW <stóhɔ> 'to untie'.

**stuxtkin** [stóxt.xm; stót.km] *Ref:* JH  
1928, EJ 'eight'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan cardinal numeral: *kstúxtkin* <*kstóxtkin*, *kstô'xkin*> (Boas 606, 637), <*stúht-kin*> (Kathlamet [Curtis]) 'eight'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <*stóxtkin*> 'eight'.

**suləmix** • *Ref:* <*só-l<sup>a</sup>míx*> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0466), <*So-lé-mie*> (Gibbs) 'cranberries'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-šúləmix* <*icō'jemiq<sub>2</sub>*> 'cranberry' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]); <*i-súl-miuh*> (Chinook [Curtis]), <*i-šhúl-lū-mih*> (Kathlamet [Curtis]) 'cranberries'. *Cf* also the following local Salishan (Lower Chehalis) form recorded by Harrington: <*ásó:l'lam'f*, *'asô:lám'f*> (jph 18.0092, 18.0466; second form labelled "Shoalwater Bay" dialect) 'wild cranberry'.

**supna** [*sú<sup>(f)</sup>p.nə*, *sóp.nə*; *sú<sup>(f)</sup>p'.na*, *sú<sup>(f)</sup>.pə.nə*] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB 'to jump'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan verb; a simple imperative with *s-* (dual object) + *u-* (directive; sometimes omitted) + *-pna* 'jump' (verbal stem): *sá-pəna* <*sE'pEna*> 'jump!' (KT 147.14), *a-t-s-ú-pəna* <*alsō'pEna*> 'it jumped up' (CT 9.6), *gagásupna* 'he jumped', *gagásubna* 'she leaped' (CCT 440: note augmentative *b* replacing unmarked *p*). *Cf* Bay Center CW [*sóp'ənnə*] <*só'p'ənnə*> 'to jump'.

**sxilaq<sup>h</sup>ami** • *Ref:* <*sxí'lá'kami*> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0459) 'looking-glass', <Shilakom, shilakompe> (Demers), <She-lok'-um> (Gibbs) 'a looking-glass; glass'.

*Etym:* Gibbs attributes this word to Chinookan, and indeed, matching Chinookan nouns have been recorded from upriver dialects: *i-sxíluqmit* 'window', *i-t(s)x'luqmit* 'looking-glass' (Wasco-Wishram

[Hymes slip-files]).

**shiksh** [*ší'kš*; *ší'ks*] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ 'friend; mate'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun also recorded as an address-form: *i-šíkš* 'friend' (noun), *šikš* 'friend!' (address-form) (Boas 601, 611, 612); *i-čf-šikš* <*itc'f'čík*> 'my friend' (KT 213.6). *Cf* Bay Center CW [*šikš*] <*šikš*> 'friend'.

**tak'umunaq** [*tá.k'u.mu.naq*] *Ref:* VH '100'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun (see **ixt**, *etym*): *i-dá-k'amunaq* (Clackamas [mj 68:97]), *i-k'amunaq* (Boas 600, Wishram [Dyk 138]) '100 (of)'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [*ix'wət ták'əmunəq*] <*'ix'wət tá'k'əmw'nəq*> '100'.

**tatlam** [*tá<sup>(f)</sup>lam*, *tá<sup>(f)</sup>lam*] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ '10'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook noun (see **ixt**, *etym*): *i-tá-tlam* <*i-tā'-lələm*> '10 of them' (Boas 607); *cf i-tá-tlxam* <*itā'lələxam*> (KT 26.10), *i-tá-tlxam* (CCT 112, 113) '10 (of)'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [*tátlam*] <*tátlam*> '10'.

**taqwala** [*tá<sup>(f)</sup>qwa.lə*, *táqwa.lə*] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'hazelnuts; nuts'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *tá-q<sup>w</sup>la* <*tE'qxola*> (KT 143.3), *idáq<sup>w</sup>la* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'hazelnuts'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [*túqwa.lə*] <*tókwala*, *tó'kwala*> 'hazel'.

**tat'i** [*tát'i*] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, EP [dawning realization:] 'so THAT'S ....'

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *tał'* <*tal*, *dal*!> 'behold!, look!, see!, lo!' (Boas 636, CT 17, 37.16, 39.5, 41.20, 64.16, 196.17). Terminal **i** in the CW appears to be from the Lower Chinook adverbial suffix *-i*.

**taxam** [*táxam*] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ 'six'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan cardinal

numeral: *táxam* (Boas 607), *tɣm* (Wishram [Dyk 137]) 'six'. Cf Bay Center CW [táxam] <táxam> 'six'.

**taʔanłkʰi** [tá<sup>0</sup>.ʔan.łkʰi; tã<sup>0</sup>n.łki] Ref: JH 1928, WB, EJ 'yesterday; (according to JH 1928, the word can also mean 'tomorrow').

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook particle: *táʔanłki* <tãʔánłkĩ> (CT 155.7) 'yesterday'; cf Kathlamet *taqáʔ* <taqEʔ> 'yesterday' (KT 87.14, 88.8: in Lower Chinook, original [q] changes to [ʔ] when followed by a stressed vowel). Cf Bay Center CW [táʔanłki] <tãʔánłki> 'yesterday'.

**təmstiyu** • Ref: <Tomsteo> (Demers) 'arrow-wood'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-dámštiv* 'serviceberry' (Clackamas [mj slip-files]).

**təmtəm** [tám.tám-ʔóm.ʔóm-tʔm.ʔm] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'chest, heart; mind, thought, feelings; character, life, constitution; self; spirit, soul; to think, feel'.

*Etym:* One of the most culturally pregnant of CW words. Also, one of the few simple (vs concatenated) words that seems to have originated purely as CW, albeit the sources reveal it to be based ultimately on a Chinookan onomatopoeic particle: cf *təmm* [noise of birds in flight] (KT 223.15), [noise of feet] (Boas 630); *tumm* [noise of thundering] (Boas KT 160.14), 'thump!' (CT 217.13). Cf Bay Center CW [tám.tám, lám.tám] <tám.tám, tam.tám> 'heart'.

**tətsi** [tá.tsi] Ref: WB 'have to, bound to'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *táč* (a), *tača* 'although, but, still, nevertheless; behold!, see!, look!' (Boas 636, 672; CT 44.4, 94.1, 129.14, 197.11, 245.23, 260.7; KT 69.6, 171.1, 210.17, 212.17).

**tiki** [tʔ.ki; tʰi.ki; t.qʔi-ε] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to like, prefer, want, desire; to have to, need to; to show signs or indications of'; Cf Demers <tkel>, St. Onge <tkeh> 'to like, love, desire'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *tqʔix* 'to want, desire, like' (Boas 632, Hymes 273, Clackamas [mj slip-files]). Cf Yakama Sahaptin (Beavert and Hargus 2009) **tkʔix** 'stingy with, possessive of'. Note that the original Chinookan form is retained by Demers and St. Onge. Cf Bay Center CW [tqʔi] <takʔi> 'to like, love, desire'.

**tʰil** [tʰiʔ] Ref: JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'tired, weak; tired of'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *təl* <tEll, tEl, tál, tól> (Boas 632, KT 10.7, CCT 31), *til* <til> Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas] 'tired'; *tálat* <tEʔlltEl, tEʔltEl> 'tired all over; weak' (Boas 632, KT 224.4). Cf Bay Center CW [tʰel] <tʰell> 'tired, heavy'.

**tilixam** [tʔ.li.xam; tʔl.xam, ʔál.xam; tʔ.li.kam] Ref: JH, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'person, people; relative(s)'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun; according to Boas, one based on the stem √-lx <-lx> 'ground, earth' (Boas 601) + *t-* 'plural': hence, *tí-lxam* <téʔlx·Em, téʔlxam> (Boas 612-13, 670: Chinook and Kathlamet), *tílaxam* <tʔl-lú·ham, téleq·am> (Chinook [Curtis], Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *idálxam* (Wishram [Sapir in Boas 653], CCT 16) 'people'. Compare *i-lxam* <éʔlxam> 'town', *t-guʔilxamk* <ɿ.gölēʔlxEmk> 'person', *i-lí.i* <ilēē> 'land, country', all based on the same stem (Boas 568, 612); compare also Wishram *it-gʷátlix* 'a person', WT 118.23, 176.13). Cf Bay Center CW [tíləham] <télʰam, tʔlʰam> 'people'.

**tintin** [tʔn.tm] Ref: JH 1928, JH (Jacobs

1945:277), WB, LK 'bell, music; hour, o'clock'.

*Etym:* While suggesting English "ding-ding", the immediate source of this word appears to be Chinookan: *tíntin* <tá'ntēn> 'bells' (a particle: KT 248.14), *it-díndin* 'bells; the Indian Shaker church', *a-díndin* 'singing' (a noun: Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]; the ringing of bells is an important part of the Indian Shaker church service). Cf Bay Center CW <tr'nti'n> 'bell'.

**tipi?** [tʰi.pʰi?] *Ref:* JH 1928 'feather'.

*Etym:* Apparently from a Lower Chinook noun. In Kiksht Upper Chinook 'feather, wing' is *piq*: *idápiq* 'feathers', *wi-piq* 'a feather' (CCT 374), *it-gá-piq-ba* 'with its wings' (WT 200.7). In Lower Chinook, underlying terminal *q* often changes to [ʔ]: compare <tup-é-e> 'feathers', <tup-a-ekh> 'wings', given as Chinook in Gibbs (1863a:12, 20). Cf Bay Center CW [tʰapʰi?] <tapʰi> 'feathers'.

**tipsu** [tʰi.p.su] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, EP, MM 'grass; hair, hair tufts'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *tá-pšú* <tE'pcō, tE'psō> (Boas 602, CT 190.17) 'grass' (plural noun), *idípsu* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'weeds, grass'. Cf Bay Center CW [tapsó] <tapsó> 'grass'.

**tʰiyaʔwit** [tʰi.yáʔwi.t, tʰi.yáʔwi.t; tʰi.yáʔu.wət] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'leg, foot'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook noun: *t-ía-ʔwit* <tiā'wit> 'his legs'. The original Chinookan stem-form is *-qʷit*, which changes to [ʔit] according to a Lower Chinook phonological rule not shared by Kathlamet and Upper Chinook (Boas 568); cf Kathlamet *t-ía-qʷit* <tiā'qoit> (Boas 568), Clackamas *id-ía-qʷit* (CCT 13) 'his legs'. Cf Bay Center CW

[tʰiyáʔawɪ] <tryá'awɪ> 'foot'.

**tʰiʔtʰiʔ** • *Ref:* <ti' ti', ti' ti' ti'> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0468), <tété> (Lionet, Pinart), <Téh-teh> (Gibbs) 'to trot'.

*Etym:* Gibbs (1863:25) attributes the word to Clatsop; his Chinook vocabulary (1863a:19) shows <té-te-há-ho> 'to trot'.

**tk'up** [t.k'úʰp <tq'óʰp [sic] (JH 1928); k'úʰp] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'white'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *tk'up* <tk!ōp> 'white' (Boas 632, KT 35.9), *tk'úp* 'light' (CCT 79). Cf Bay Center CW <t'k'óʰp> 'white'.

**tqitpa** • *Ref:* <Tkitlipa> (Demers) 'shoes'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: **idmigítba** (*id-mi-gítba*) 'your moccasins' (Wasco Language Program spelling), *id-ía-gíłba* <idyágítba> (Clackamas [mj 53:121]), <de'kēetpa> 'moccasins' (<déyakēetpa, dágakēetpa> 'his', 'her') (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]).

**tum** [túʰm] *Ref:* EP "thump".

*Etym:* From a Chinookan onomatopoeic particle: *tumm* [noise of thundering] (KT 160.14), 'thump!' (CT 217.13).

**tʰutʰu** • *Ref:* <tō'htu> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0471) 'to shake' ('e.g. a tree to make apples fall'), <Tó-to> (Gibbs) 'to shake, sift, winnow', <Toto> (Demers, St. Onge) 'winnowing machine/mill'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: Chinook, Kathlamet [tútu] <tō'tō> 'shake' (Hymes 1956:275, Boas 628, 629). <h> in the Bay Center form (<tō'htu>) could be from an original [x], judging by Gibbs's (1863:26) spelling of the Chinookan source-word: <Tokh-tokh>.

**t'álapas** [t'á<sup>(l)</sup>.l.p'as~pʌs] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, WB, EJ, CR 'coyote'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-t'álapas* <itlā'lapas> (Boas 598, KT 45.3), *i-t'álap'as* (CCT 517) 'coyote'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [t'álap'ás] <t'á'lap'á:s> 'coyote'.

**t'əmanəwas** [t'ə.má<sup>(l)</sup>.nə.was, t'.má<sup>(l)</sup>.nə.was; t'ə.má<sup>(l)</sup>.n.was] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'guardian spirit, healing power'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-t'amánwaš* <it'amā'noac> (Boas 1892: "tabooed word", untranslated), <i-ṭa-mán-nu-üş> 'spirit creature' (Chinook [Curtis]), <Itamánawas> 'guardian or familiar spirit; magic, luck, fortune; anything supernatural' (Chinook [Gibbs 1863:25]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [t'əmánəwas] <t'amá'n'was> "Indjun [sic] doctor of long ago".

**t'ik** [t'ík] *Ref:* CR, EP 'to drip'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *t'uq* 'to drip' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files], Dyk 126); *cf* *t'əq* <t!Eq> 'to slap', *təqtəq* <tE'qtEq> 'to clap' (Boas 630).

**t'ilimuksh** [t'il.ɪ<sup>(l)</sup>.møkš; t'í<sup>(l)</sup>.møkš (t'í~k'l')] *Ref:* JH (Jacobs 1945:338), WB, EP 'Tillamooks'.  
*Etym:* From Chinookan *t-ʔilim-ukš* 'those of *ni-ʔilim* (Nehalem)' (HNAI 7:566).

**t'uxəlq'a** [t'ú.xəl.q'ʌ~qʌ] *Ref:* WB 'too, excessive'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *txul* <txul> 'too much' (Boas 634), *txala* <txala> 'too' (KT 23.2); [q'a] in the CW form may be from the Chinookan suffix *-qa*, explained by Hymes (288) as 'purpose of what follows'.

**t'wax** [t'wá<sup>(l)</sup>x, twá<sup>(l)</sup>x; tú/wá<sup>(l)</sup>x] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'light, bright, fiery;

light'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *tuwáx* <tuwá'x> (Boas 621, KT 18.4) 'light'. Chinookan consonant symbolism may explain the replacement of Chinookan [t] by CW [t']: signaling either a Chinookan diminutive; or a "foreign" (CW not Chinookan) word. *Cf* Bay Center CW [təwáx, təwáx'w] <t'wá'x, təwá'xw> 'a light; bright'.

**tʔak<sup>h</sup>tʔak** [tʔá<sup>(l)</sup>.kə.tʔak] *Ref:* Eustace Howard (given as Santiam Kalapuya [mj 86:31]) 'grasshopper'. *Cf* Demers <Tlaktlak> 'grasshopper'.  
*Etym:* A similar-looking Chinookan noun is on record from the easternmost Chinookan dialects: *is-níl'axl'ax* 'flying grasshopper' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). It seems possible that the CW word is related to the Chinookan particle spelled <lā'qilāq> by Boas (633), translated 'zigzag'.

**t'əlap** [t'ə<sup>(l)</sup>p] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EP 'to find; to give birth to'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *ł'ap* <l!ap> (Boas 633, KT 12.11) 'to find'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <t'á'p> 'to find'.

**t'əminxwət** [t'ə.mi<sup>(l)</sup>n.xwət, t'ə.mi<sup>(l)</sup>n.xwət; t'ə.mi<sup>(l)</sup>n.xət, t'ə.mi<sup>(l)</sup>n.xət] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'to lie, deceive'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-ł'mínxut* <(i)-l!mē'nxut, i!mē'nxut> 'a lie' (Boas 600, KT 52.16). *Cf* Bay Center CW [t'əmínxwət] <t'əmi'naxwət> 'to tell a lie'.

**t'əx** [t'ə'x] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'torn, ripped'.  
*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *ł'əx* <l!E'x> 'split' (Boas 646), *ł'əxł'əx* <l!E'xl!Ex> 'tear' (Boas 631), *ł'əxł'əx* <t'əxł'əx> 'split' (mj 55:101); *cf*

ł'áqł'aq 'broken' (CCT 164-165). KT (195.4) shows an example of inflection as a noun: *na-ł'áx-pa* <na!E'xpa> 'at (that) hole (literally, "cut")'. Cf Bay Center CW [tʰ'áx] <tʰ'áx> 'to tear'.

**tʰimín** [tʰí/ṁr<sup>(ó)</sup>n, tʰé.mín; tʰ.mán, tʰ'á/ṁr<sup>(ó)</sup>n] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'mashed, soft, mixed; muddy'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: ł'mán, ł'mánł'mən <łmEn, ... ; also łmān, łmān, łEmE'n> 'to break into small pieces; soft; rub' (Boas 600; KT 32.7, 52.2, 114.4, 121.4; CT 201.6, 229.20); ł'mən, ł'mánł'mn <tʰməntʰmən> 'fine; mash; mashed; soft' (CCT 76, 110, 171, 326, 358, 487; mj 62:98). Cf Bay Center CW [tʰ'amán] <tʰ'amán> 'to smash'.

**tʰit'hi** • Ref: <Tlitli> (Demers) 'starling, black bird' [sic].

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle also appearing as a noun-stem: ł'ł' <ł!ł!> 'to titter' (Boas 631 [CT 177.15]), *nł'ał'ayukš, anł'ał'ayukš* ("they go [tʰ'a tʰ'a tʰ'a]!") 'blackbird; red-wing blackbird' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

**tʰúnas** [tʰ'ú<sup>(ó)</sup>.nas, tʰ'ó<sup>(ó)</sup>.nas, tʰ'ú/ná<sup>(ó)</sup>s] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'maybe, don't know'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: łúnas <łó'nas> 'maybe, don't know' (Boas 622, 634). Cf Bay Center CW <tʰ'u'nás> "quien sabe!" (Harrington's translation).

**tʰúx** [tʰ'ú<sup>(ó)</sup>x, tʰ'óx] Ref: JH 1928, WB, EJ 'to fall, drop'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: ł'ux <ł!lux, ł!ōx, ł'ōx>, ł'ux <ł!ux> 'come out, fall down, fall out, falling' (CT 40.25, 65.16, 113.21, 201.1, KT 100.12); cf ł'áxw, ł'áxw 'drop, let go' (CCT 90, 91, 107), łaxw 'to release, let go' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Cf Bay Center CW [tʰ'oxw]

<tʰ'ó'xw> "to throw a man down when wrestling with him".

**tsəqw** [tsáqʷ, tsóqʷ; tsáq, tsóq; tsáqʷ] Ref: JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'water; body of water'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: ł-čuw, ł-čuw<łtcuq, (ł)-tcuq, łtcuq> (Boas 568, 603, CT 14.7, 25.17), ł-čúqʷa <łtcúqoa> (KT 25.2), ł-čəqʷa (CCT 36) 'water'. Cf Nootka Jargon **cha-ak** 'water' (Clark 2005), from Nootkan ča?ak 'water' (Powell 10): evidently, a case of accidentally converging form/meaning. Cf Bay Center CW [tsoqʷ, tsoqʰ] <tsokʷ, tsók'> 'water'.

**tsiltsil** [tsíł.tsíł; tsí'ł.tsíł] Ref: JH 1928 'stars, buttons'; VH (in **kakwa-tsiltsil** 'button-like [a plant]').

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: ł-čəlčəl <č'łčłčł> 'brass buttons' (Boas 601, 656), ł-dá-čəlčəl <ídátsəl'tsəl> 'their buttons' (Clackamas [mj 69:57]). Cf Bay Center CW <ts'łtsil> 'button', Demers <tsiltsil> 'button, star'.

**tsin** • Ref: <Zin> (Demers, St. Onge) 'hummingbird'.

*Etym:* Apparently from Chinookan; possibly, an onomatopoeic particle related to the noun recorded as ł-cəncən <-tsEntsEn> (Boas 598), <č'łtsentsen> (Clatsop [Hymes pace Boas]) 'hummingbird'.

**tsix** • Ref: <tsiḥ> (St. Onge) 'sharp'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: tsəx 'cause a sharp pain' (Wishram [Dyk 128]).

**tsixtsix** [tsí'x.tsí'x] Ref: JH 1928, EP, JP 'diarrhoea'.

*Etym:* Apparently from a Chinookan particle: čəxcəx <tsE'xtsEx> 'unwell, hurt, feeling uncomfortable' (Boas 632, CT 67.8); cf łə-c'ac'a <łE'ts!ats!a, łEts!áts!a> 'desire to defecate' (noun), ł-k-ł-ú-c'ac'a <łk!ł'óts!ats!a> 'she

defecated' (verb) (KT 124.12, 125.1-2). Possibly, our CW form should show glottalized-[ts'], reflecting an (unattested) Chinookan form for 'diarrhoea': contrast *cax* 'cause sharp pain' (Wishram [Dyk 128]).

**t'səm** [ts'ám~ts'ým; tš'ám] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'mark, spot; marked, written; to write'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *c'am* <ts!Emm> 'variegated (in color)' (Boas 632), *c'ám* 'spotted' (CCT 243, 559). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ts'ám] <ts'ám, ts'ám> 'spotted'.

**t'səx** [ts'áx; tš'áx] *Ref:* WB, EJ, EP 'split; to split'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle, though a possible confusion or overlap between the following Chinookan forms and those cited with reference to **c'hux** 'chipped, scraped' render the derivation somewhat problematic: *cf* *c'əx*, *č'əx* <ts!Ex, (tcl!Ex, tcl!ux, tsEx)> 'break with hands; split wood, sinews, roots; to skin a bird; to bark a tree' (Boas 630), *c'əxc'əx* <ts!E'xts!Ex> 'split' (CT 45.19), <nats!E'x> 'flake of flint' (CT 69.3), *č'əx* 'break' (CCT 31), *čəx* 'forking' (CCT 399). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ts'áx] <ts'áx> 'to crack'.

**t'si** [ts'í, ts'í<sup>(l)</sup>, ts'íʔ, ts'í<sup>(l)</sup>ʔ] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ, EP, EL 'sweet'.

*Etym:* Apparently from a Chinookan particle: *c'i*, *da c i c' i* 'sweet' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). The element [ts'í] is recorded also in Lower Chinook and Kathlamet, but as a noun-forming element: *-c'imən* <'ts!ēmEn> (Boas 600), *i-íá-c'imam* <i-á'ts'ēmam> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *i-c'ác'imam* <its!á'ts!emôm> (KT 118.8, .12) 'sweet, sweetness'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [ts'íʔ] <ts'í> 'sweet'.

**uk** [ʔok] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'that, this, the; that which, the

ones who'.

*Etym:* Derived from **ukuk**, which in turn is derived from a Chinookan particle. *Cf* Demers <ok (~ okuk)>, Gibbs <oke (~ O' -koke, O' -kook)>.

**ukuk** [ʔú<sup>(l)</sup>k.ok, ʔók.ok (k-g); ðg.ð<sup>(l)</sup>k] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'that, this; that one, this one'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook particle: *úkuk* <ð'kuk> 'there, that' (a demonstrative adverb, according to Boas; Boas 620, 622, CT 30.9, 115.17, 118.17). *Cf* Bay Center CW <ú'kuk> 'this one', Demers <Okuk, ok> 'this, that, this one, that one'.

**ulali** [ʔú.l.lí, ʔú<sup>(l)</sup>.l.lí, ʔó<sup>(l)</sup>.l.lí] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ 'berries'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook noun: *łá-lili* <łá'lēlē> (CT 100.9), *ú-lili* <ó-li-li> (Chinook [Curtis]) 'salmon-berries (*Rubus spectabilis*)'; *cf* *á-lili* 'Salmon-berry' (KT 118.4: name of myth character; note Kathlamet feminine singular *a-*, corresponding to Lower Chinook *u-*). *Cf* Bay Center CW [úləli] <ú'ləli, ú'ləli> '(any) berry; salmon-berry'.

**ulu** [ʔú<sup>(l)</sup>.lɔ (u/ú-o)] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EP 'hungry'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook noun: *ú-lu* 'hunger' (Boas 600); Kathlamet and Upper Chinook show *wá-lu* (Kathlamet and Lower Chinook feminine singular *wá~a-*, corresponding to Lower Chinook *u-*). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ólóʔ] <ú'lo> 'hungry'.

**ulxayu** • *Ref:* <ú'l.hayú> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0452), <Ol'-hy-iu> (Gibbs) 'seal', <oleháio> (Demers: "sea wolf") 'seal'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *-laxayu* <-lxaiu> (Boas 599), *ú-laxayu* <ð'leq.xaiū> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]) 'seal'.

**ulxən** • Ref: <ólxən> (Middle Columbia CW [Joe Peter], jph mf 18.0008), <í'ó'lxǎn> (Bay Center CW [Emma Luscier]: given as Chinookan) 'eulachon'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: Chinook <íh̄l-h̄n> 'smelts' (Curtis). The CW form points to a Chinookan source with feminine singular *u-*, not (as apparently in Curtis's form) masculine singular *i-*. Silverstein and Moore (in Moulton 1990, 7:12) cite Chinookan *ú-txan* 'dried eulachon' (original source unidentified), implying that the same noun-stem means 'eulachon' with *i-* and 'dried eulachon' with *u-*. Mrs. Luscier added *i-* to almost every word she gave as Chinookan; in this case, the result is the grammatical absurdity of a 'masculine singular/feminine singular' eulachon. Note also that Mrs. Luscier's form shows [l], as in Joe Peter's CW form, not the [ʔ] Curtis and Silverstein and Moore show in Chinookan.

**upq'ənəx** • Ref: <ú'p'k'anəx> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0454), <Opkon, opokenə> (Demers), <opkanəh> (Pinart in Grant 1951:286) 'basket'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *ú-pqunx* <ó'pqunx, ó'pqunq> 'small round spruce-root basket' (Boas 603; Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]: <q> for <q> with superscript-<x>); *í-pqunx* <é'pqunx> 'large spruce-root basket' (Boas 603), <óp-ku-nuh> 'berry basket' (Chinook [Curtis]). *u-* is feminine singular, *i-* masculine singular; [q] in the Bay Center CW form may be from a Chinookan diminutive form.

**upt'ílk'hi** • Ref: <Opitliki> (Demers), <opitlkeh> (St. Onge), <O'-pitl-kegh> (Gibbs) 'bow'; <epitlkeh [sic]> (St. Onge 6) 'arc'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *ú-pǎ'iki* <-pǎlikē> 'bow' (Boas 601); cf

Kathlamet *a-iá-pǎ'iki* 'his bow' (Hymes 96).

**uptsax** [ʔú<sup>(ó)</sup>p.tsaχ (u-o)] Ref: JH 1928, WB, CR, JP 'knife'.

*Etym:* This word matches one of two Chinookan nouns given for 'knife' or 'iron' in Gibbs's *Alphabetical Vocabulary of the Chinook Language* (1863a:11): <ó'pt-sakh>. However, we fail to find a match in later records of Chinookan available to us. Cf Bay Center CW [óptsəχ, ópts'əχ] <ú'ptsəχ, ú'pts'əχ> 'knife'.

**up<sup>h</sup>uch** [ʔú<sup>(ó)</sup>.p<sup>h</sup>utš (u-o); ʔó<sup>(ó)</sup>.pots-ots] Ref: JH 1928, WB, CR 'buttocks, tail; genitals'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *-puč* 'anus, buttocks' (Boas 601, Hymes 121). According to Hymes, this stem occurs in Kathlamet only with a possessive prefix, as in *i-iá-puč* <iá'pōtc> 'his buttocks' (KT 87.1), *š-ntá-puč* <čintá'pōtc> 'our two selves' buttocks' (KT 85.7: š- dual). Examples from *Chinook Texts* appear to show the same restriction for Chinook, as in *u-iá-puč* <uyá'putc> 'his anus' (CT 114.2), *i-iá-puč* <iá'pōtc> 'his buttocks' (CT 153.3) (note Lower Chinook feminine singular *u-* in the first example, Chinookan masculine singular *i-* in the second). Even the source-form as spelled by Gibbs (1863:19) conforms to this restriction: *u-mí-puč* <obéputsh> 'your ass' (<bé> illustrates a tendency for [m] to vary with [b] in down-river Chinookan dialects). It is therefore something of a mystery that the CW should preserve Lower Chinook *u-*, but no syllable representing a possessive prefix. Cf Bay Center CW [óputš] <ú'putš> "arse".

**uskan** [ʔós.kən] Ref: JH 1928, LK 'cup, dipper, can'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook noun:

ú-šgan <ḡ'cgan> 'basket, cup, bucket' (Boas 603, 609); í-šgan <é'cgan> 'cedar' (Boas 603). Note that the meaning of this noun changes according to which gender marker is affixed: Lower Chinook feminine singular *u-* vs Chinookan masculine singular *i-*. Cf Bay Center CW [úskan] <ú'skan> 'a cup'.

**ushk<sup>h</sup>ələx** [ʔó<sup>h</sup>ʔs.χ.Λ.ləχ] Ref: JH 1928  
'sinew'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook noun: *ú-šktəx* <ḡ'ckLaX, ḡ'cklX [L printed reversed and upside-down]> (CT 138.18, 139.7), *a-škwə́ləx* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]) 'sinew'. Note Lower Chinook *u-* vs Upper Chinook *a-* (~*wa-*), feminine singular. Cf Demers <Ulksat [sic]> 'sinew'.

**uyxat** [ʔó.i.xat, ʔó<sup>h</sup>.i.xat (x~χ);  
ʔó.i.xot~xwət, ʔó<sup>h</sup>.i.xot~xwət (x~χ)] Ref:  
JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'trail, road'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook noun: *u-íxatk* <u'é'xatk> 'trail' (Boas 602, 666), *á-íxatk* <á'e'xatk> 'road' (KT 248.5). Note Lower Chinook *u-* vs Kathlamet *a-* (~*wa-*), feminine singular. Cf Bay Center CW [ʔúhlat] <ú'yhat, 'öyhat> 'trail, road'.

**wawa** [wá<sup>h</sup>.w.Λ] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH,  
WB, EJ, CR 'to talk, say, tell; talk,  
talking; speech, language'.

*Etym:* Usually attributed to Nootkan *wawa* 'to say' (Gibbs 1863:28; cf Sapir and Swadesh 1939:257); however, while Clark (2005) lists **wawa** among his Nootka Jargon reconstructions, he finds it "poorly attested" in his sources. The word is just as likely, if not indeed more likely to be of Chinookan origin; in Kathlamet and Upper Chinook, √-*wa* 'to talk' is recorded as a verb-stem, -*wawa* 'speech, language' as a noun-stem, and *wawa* 'talking' as a particle: *i-č-t-i-xá-wa-čk* <itctexáwatck> 'he answered' (KT 180.8: parsed

following Hymes 155), *a-wáwa* 'it is said' (KT 20.1), *a-t'úkdi a-wáwa* 'a good talk' (-*t'úkdi* 'good'; Clackamas [mj 53:26]), *wáwa* 'talking' (KT 180.3), *wáwa a-t-q-l-ú-xa* <*wáwa* atqlú'xa> 'to talk to (someone)' (Clackamas [mj 53:26]). Cf Bay Center CW [wáw.Λ] <wá'wa> 'language'.

**wax** [wá<sup>h</sup>ˠx] Ref: JH 1928, VH, EJ, CR 'to  
spill, pour'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *wax* 'to pour out' (Boas 631, Wishram [Sapir in Boas 643]), *wax, wax* 'pour, spill, scatter' (CCT 52, 90, 178, 305, 405). Cf Bay Center CW [w.Λx] <wá'x> 'to spill it out'.

**wəxt** [wáxt; wáχ, wáχ] Ref: JH  
1928/1932, VH, WB, CR, EP 'also,  
too, again'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *wixt* 'again, more, also' (Boas 634, CT 9.12, 10.6).

**wilamet** [wí.Λ/mé<sup>h</sup>t] Ref: David  
LaChance 'Willamette'.

*Etym:* *wálamt* is on record as the name of a former Chinookan village on the west bank of Willamette River near Oregon City. Apparently, this is the original form of the name "Willamette", which every Oregonian knows is supposed to be stressed on the second syllable (the classic mnemonic: "it's Wil-LAM-ette, dammit"). Gatschet, at Grand Ronde in 1877, recorded [wəlamét] <uə́lamét> as a local English pronunciation of the name. The citation form given here is from Grand Ronde elder David LaChance, who spent his childhood in one of the community's French-speaking households (Zenk 2008:25-26).

**xulxul** [xó.l.xul (JH 1928, WB); hú<sup>h</sup>.l.hól,  
hól.hól (EJ)] Ref: JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR  
'mouse, rat; thief'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun:

*u-kúlxlul* 'mouse; thief' (Boas 568, 617), *u-kúləx<sup>w</sup>al*, *u-kúləxlul* <kō<sup>l</sup>leq<sup>oal</sup>, ðkō<sup>l</sup>leq<sup>xul</sup>> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). Cf Bay Center CW [húləhól] <hú<sup>l</sup>·l<sup>o</sup>hól> 'mouse'.

**ɣalaqʰt** [xá<sup>o</sup>.lɑqʰt, xəl.ɑqʰt; há<sup>o</sup>.lɑx-ɬəx] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR 'open'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan verb-stem given by Hymes as *-aqʰt*, with reflexive *x-* and relational *l-*: *-x-l-aqʰt*, as in *i-č-i-xə-l-aqʰt-q* <itcixE<sup>l</sup>laqlq> 'he (č-) opened it (= him, -i-)' (KT 143.15: parsed following Hymes 155), *a-č-i-xá-l-aqʰt* <atcixá<sup>l</sup>laql> 'he opened it (= him)' (CT 130.11), *ga-č-i-xə-l-aqʰt* 'he opened it (= him)' (CCT 83). Cf Bay Center CW [xáɬɑqʰt] <xá<sup>l</sup>·lɑkʰt> 'open'.

**xəntq'i** [xʌn.ɬq'ɪ-qɪ] *Ref:* WB 'crooked, bent'.

*Etym:* This appears to be from a Chinookan verb-stem, but the exact source remains to be identified; the first syllable looks to be from reflexive *x-* + relational *n-* (compare **xalaqʰt**, *etym:* cf *mixəntk'áyuqu* <mixE<sup>n</sup>lk!á'yōgō> 'you (m-) bend it (= him, -i-)' (CT 107.21), *ixəntk'áyuukta* <ixE<sup>n</sup>lk!á'yukta> 'a crooked one' (CT 107.23). Possibly related to *-tk'ik* <-lklík> 'crooked' (verbal stem, Boas 665). Cf Bay Center CW [xʌntk'i, xʌntq'i] <xʌntk'ɪ, xʌntk'ɪ> 'crooked'.

**xawqaʰt** [xá<sup>o</sup>·u.qʰl~q.wʌt, xá<sup>o</sup>·u.ʌt; q<sup>h</sup>á<sup>o</sup>·u.qʰl~q.wʌt, q<sup>h</sup>á<sup>o</sup>·u.ʌt; há<sup>o</sup>·u.wʌt, há<sup>o</sup>·w.ʌt] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'unable to, can't'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle: *xáuqaʰt(x)* <xāoq<sup>x</sup>alx> (KT 36.1), <qxá<sup>o</sup> oxal, xá<sup>o</sup> ðqxal> (CT 139.26, 165.16) 'cannot'. Cf Bay Center CW [háuq<sup>h</sup>at] <há<sup>w</sup>·k<sup>a</sup>·t> 'can't do it'.

**xələl** [xʌ.ləl] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'move, shake, quiver'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan verb. Judging by Hymes (203), the stem of

the source form is  $\sqrt{-}la \sim \sqrt{-}l$  'move vigorously', the initial syllable [xə] in the CW form being explained by reflexive *x-*, and the termination [əl] by the continuative suffix *-l* (*~la, -lal*): *i-xə-l-əl* 'he moves', *a-ɬ-xə-l-əl* 'it moved' <ixE<sup>l</sup>E<sup>l</sup>l>, *alxE<sup>l</sup>E<sup>l</sup>l*> (CT 60.9, 220.17), *i-xə-lá-la* <ixE<sup>l</sup>á<sup>l</sup>la> 'he moves', *ig-i-xə-la* 'he moved' (KT 203.9, 250.8). Cf Bay Center CW [xəlɬl] <xəllál> 'to shake into'.

**xluyma** [xlú<sup>o</sup>.wɪ.mɬ, xə.lú<sup>o</sup>.ɪ.mɬ (ú-ó); q<sup>h</sup>ə.lú<sup>o</sup>.ɪ.mɬ, hə.lú<sup>o</sup>.ɪ.mɬ (ú-ó)] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'differently, separately; strange, different, mysterious'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook inflected stem, classified as verbal by Boas; Hymes classifies the corresponding Kathlamet stem as a pronoun: *-xaluima* 'other, different' (Boas 659; see CT 187.25, 261.16); *-xaluita* 'different' (Hymes 70; see KT 46.7, 91.11, 156.2). Cf Bay Center CW [xəlúyɪmɬ] <xəlu<sup>o</sup>·yɪmɬ> 'different'.

**xumxum** [xú<sup>o</sup>m.xum, xóm.xum (ó-ó)] *Ref:* VH, WB 'brains'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *ɬ-xúmɬum* <tl-qō<sup>l</sup>mqōm> 'brain' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *it-gá-xumɬum-ba* 'where her brains (were)' (CCT 436).

**xwani** • *Ref:* <Whane> (Demers), <ɪ'k<sup>o</sup>wani'k<sup>o</sup>waní> (jph 18.0139 [Emma Luscier]: given as Chinookan) 'seagull'.

*Etym:* The citation form here is a reconstruction based on Demers and the following Chinookan forms: *-q<sup>w</sup>əníq<sup>w</sup>əni* <qonē<sup>o</sup>qonē> (Boas 598), *i-x<sup>w</sup>ámina* <ik<sup>x</sup>oánēna> (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]: <k<sup>x</sup>

to re-elicite Chinookan words from Curtis's lists), Mrs. Luscier did not speak Chinookan and remembered mainly Chinookan nouns that she also knew as CW. Hence, it is possible that she actually knew this word as CW.

**ya** [yʌ (~yá)] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'she/he, his/her; her/him'.

*Etym:* Jacobs (1932:41-42) terms the set of CW formal short-form pronouns "basic", deriving **ya** from Chinookan *i-* '[masculine] third person' plus [a]. Sapir (Boas 627) records Wishram *ya, yax* 'he' (short-form), which suggests that CW **ya** could be directly from Chinookan, or more specifically, from Upper Chinook. Note that Clackamas Upper Chinook speakers were resident at Grand Ronde, while short forms of pronouns are virtually unknown as CW outside of Grand Ronde.

**yaka** [yá<sup>(0)</sup>.kʌ~gʌ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 's/he, his/her; him/her'.

*Etym:* Abbreviated form of the Chinookan independent pronoun *iaxka* (see **yaxka**, *etym*). *Cf* Bay Center CW [yʌkʌ] <yàkà> 'his'.

**yakwa** [yá/kwá<sup>(0)</sup>] *Ref:* JH, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'here, this way'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook particle, classified by Boas as a demonstrative adverb: *yákwa* (demonstrative position near speaker; Boas 621); also: <iá'kua, yákwa, iakwá, íakwá> 'here' (Boas 668, CT 65.21, 65.25, 174.15); *íákoa* 'there' (CT 235.13). *Cf* Bay Center CW [yʌkwá] <yakwâ> 'here'.

**yak'isiit** • *Ref:* <yá'k'isiit> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0473), <iakesilî> (St. Onge) 'sharp', <íakesil> 'sharp, fine, thin' (Demers).

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *-k'isiit*

<'-(kle)sīl> 'sharpness' (Boas 599), *i-ia-k'isiit* <iyak'isiit> 'it is sharp' (from *i-k'isiit* 'sharpness') (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]).

**yaptiqhaw** [yá<sup>(0)</sup>.p.tq<sup>h</sup>aw] *Ref:* VH (mj 37) [given as CW translation of Molala <Pinnams> 'in-laws through a deceased linking relative'].

*Etym:* From a Kathlamet or Upper Chinook noun: *ṭá-ptqau* <LE'plqau> 'widows and widowers' (KT 49.6), *i-ptqau* 'he is a widower', *a-ptqau* 'she is a widow', *a-ia-ptqau* 'his widow' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]); *cf* Lower Chinook *-ptʔau* 'a dead brother's wife, a dead husband's brother, a dead father's wife; widow, widow and widower', as in *u-ia-ptʔau* <ōyā'pʔau> 'his dead brother's wife' (CT 41.17: note that original *q* changes to [ʔ] in the Lower Chinook form).

**yaqsu** [yá<sup>(0)</sup>.q.so; yá<sup>(0)</sup>.k.so ~so] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'hair'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *ṭ-ia-qšu* <Liá'qcō> 'his hair' (KT 19.3), *ṭ-qášu* <LqE'cō> 'a hair' (KT 136.10, 137.2), *ṭá-ia-qšu* <Lá'yaqcō> (CT 61.23, 134.11, 155.1) 'his hair'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [yáqsu] <yá'ksu> 'head hair, any hair'.

**yathum** [yá<sup>(0)</sup>.t<sup>h</sup>om] *Ref:* VH 'sister-in-law'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *a-gá-tum* <agā'tōm> 'her sister-in-law' (KT 155.9), *a-nčá-tum* 'our sister-in-law' (CCT 642, note 378). [ya] in the CW form is from Chinookan *-ia-* 'his ...'.

**yawa** [yá/wá<sup>(0)</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'there, that way'; VH (in **yawa-iwa** 'yonder, thither').

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook particle, classified by Boas as a demonstrative adverb: Chinook *yáwa* <yaúa> (demonstrative position near person addressed;

Boas 621); also: <iaúa> 'then' (CT 127.3). Cf Bay Center CW [yΛwá] <yawwá> 'there'.

**yawa-iwa** [yΛ.wá<sup>ó</sup>.iΛ.wΛ] Ref: VH, WB  
'yonder, over there, thither'.

*Etym:* From **yawa** 'there' + **iwa** '-way' (both from Chinookan particles): refer to **yawa**, **iwa**.

**yaxal** • Ref: <Iaʔale> (Demers),  
<Yah'-hul> (Gibbs) 'name'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun: *i-ia-xaliu* 'its name' (Hymes 128 [KT 112.4, 112.13]), *i-ia-xal* <əyā'qal> 'his name' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]).

**yaxka** [yá<sup>ó</sup>.x.kΛ] Ref: VH, WB, LK, CR  
's/he, her/his; her/him' (emphasis form).

*Etym:* From the Chinookan independent pronoun *iaxka*, used to emphasize or focus attention on a masculine third-person singular subject, object, or possessor. Cf Bay Center CW [yáxkΛ] <yá'xka> 'he'.

**yúʔqat** [yú<sup>ó</sup>.qat] Ref: JH 1928/1932,  
VH, WB, CR 'long'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook inflected stem, classified as verbal by Boas; Hymes classifies the corresponding Kathlamet stem as a noun: *yúʔqat* <iú'lqat> 'it is long' (Boas 638, 665: parsed as a verb based on the stem-form *-ʔqat* <o||lqat>); *i-ia-ʔqt* <é'yáqat> 'long' (KT 44.11, parsed in Hymes 122 as a noun based on the stem-form *-ʔqt* <-lqat>). Cf Bay Center CW [yóʔʔkΛt] <yó'tʔkat> 'long'.

**yutʔit** [yú<sup>ó</sup>.tʔit] Ref: JH 1928, WB, EJ  
'proud, stuck-up; glad, happy'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan stem exemplified both as a particle and a noun: *yuʔ'l*, *yuʔ'l* <iú!l, yú!l> 'proud, glad' (particle) (Boas 632, CT 63.13, 93.18), *-yuʔ'l* 'pride' (noun) (Boas 599), as in *i-ʔá-yuʔ'l* <iá'yú!l> 'be

bragging' (CT 203.18). Cf Bay Center CW [yóʔ'tʔ] <yó'tʔ, yó'tʔ> 'glad, proud', [yóʔ'tʔΛt] <yó'tʔΛt> 'to be happy'.

**yutskat** [yú<sup>ó</sup>.ts.kΛt] Ref: JH 1928, WB, ET  
'short'.

*Etym:* From a Lower Chinook inflected stem, classified as verbal by Boas; Hymes classifies the corresponding Kathlamet stem as a noun: *yúʔqat* <iú'tsqat> 'short' (Boas 646, 661: parsed as a verb based on the stem-form *-cqat* <o||tsqat>); *k-i-ia-sk'txax* <giá'sklEttxax> 'short ones' (KT 192.4, parsed in Hymes 127 as a noun based on the stem-form *-sk'txax*). Cf Bay Center CW [yóʔsk'Λt] <yó'tsk'at> 'short'.

**ʔohoʔoho** [ʔó.ho.ʔo.ho] Ref: JH 1928 'to cough'.

*Etym:* From an onomatopoeic particle; Chinookan for 'cough' is very similar: <hōhō> (Boas 630), *ʔhá* (CCT 90) 'to cough'. Cf Bay Center CW [hóʔhoʔ] <hó'ho'> 'to cough'.

**ʔoʔ** [ʔóʔ] Ref: JH 1928 'to vomit'.

*Etym:* From an onomatopoeic particle, perhaps related to the Lower Chinook verb-stem *-mʔa* (as in *na-gʔ-mʔa(?)a* <nagE'm'aa> 'she vomited', CT 13.6), corresponding to Kathlamet *-mqu* (as in *ig-a-gʔ-mqu-q* <igagE'mqôq> 'she vomited', KT 101.3 parsed following Hymes 200; Kathlamet [q] corresponds to Chinook [ʔ]).

**ʔushʔush** [ʔú<sup>ó</sup>.ʔuʂ, ʔóʂ.ʔuʂ; ʔóʂ] Ref: VH,  
EP, JP 'to sleep'.

*Etym:* The alternate form **ʔush** matches a Chinookan verbal particle used in baby-talk: <Ush> 'sleep' (as in *uʂ i-m-x-u-x* <Ush emxux> 'you go to sleep') (Wasco Language Program spellings from Spilyay Tymoo, official newspaper of the Warm Springs community, April 20, 2000).

VH attributed the word to Molala (mj 51:8-9; see text 9), but this surmise is not confirmed by available records of that language.

## 2 From local Salishan

**ayəxwəl** • Ref: <'ayá'.hwál> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0493), <Aíal'wol> (Demers) 'to borrow'.

*Etym:* Gibbs attributes the word to local Salishan ("Chihalis").

**chich** [tʃí'tʃ; tʃá'tʃ] Ref: JH 1928, VH, EJ, CR 'grandmother'.

*Etym:* According to Kinkade and Powell (2005), Lower Chehalis Salishan *čiča* 'grandmother' is the source. Emma Luscier, Harrington's principal Bay Center source, insisted that the proper Lower Chehalis form has only one syllable - as illustrated by Lower Chehalis [ntʃí'tʃ] <ntʃí'tʃ> 'my grandmother' - the two-syllable form [tʃítʃá] <tʃítʃá> being CW (jph 18.0374). Demers' dictionary spells the word <chits>, Gibbs's <Chitsh>.

**chinuk** • Ref: <Chinook> (W. C. McKay 1892).

*Etym:* According to Boas (563), this name goes back to *c'inúk* <Tʃlínúk>, originally a Lower Chehalis name for the Chinook tribe, whose original homeland was on the north bank of the Columbia River near its mouth. Cf *čínúk*<sup>w</sup> <tʃinnó<sup>(l)</sup>kʷ> (Lower Chehalis [jph 18.0189]) 'Chinook (people)'; *čanúk*<sup>w</sup>; *čanúk*<sup>w</sup> 'Chinook (people)', *čanúk*<sup>w</sup>q 'Chinookan languages; CW' (from *√čanúk*<sup>w</sup> 'Chinook' + =q 'language' [variant of =aq, a lexical suffix]), *sčanúk*<sup>w</sup>-qà? 'Columbia River' (from *√čanúk*<sup>w</sup> 'Chinook' + *√qá?* 'water, river'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

**chup** [tʃú<sup>(l)</sup>p] Ref: JH 1928, EJ, CR 'grandfather'.

*Etym:* Gibbs attributes the word to

local Salishan ("Chihalis", that is, Lower Chehalis). Emma Luscier, Harrington's principal Bay Center source, gave Lower Chehalis *nčúp* <ntʃó:p> as 'my (paternal or maternal) grandfather' (jph 18.0498); but also, Lower Chehalis [ntsá?mí?ts] <ntsá'mí'ts> 'my grandfather' (compare Lower Chehalis *mí?a* 'grandfather' [Snow]), which she contrasted with CW [tʃúp] <tʃú:p> (jph 18.0374). Kinkade and Powell (2005) note resemblance to Upper Chehalis *čup'a* 'grandfather'.

**iləp** [ʔ<sup>(l)</sup>.ləp] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'first; ahead'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *ʔilp* (from *√ʔiləp*-) 'first, in front' (Cowlit [Kinkade]). Cf Bay Center CW <'ílp, 'ílp> 'first'.

**kʰanish** [kʰá<sup>(l)</sup>.niš~nis] Ref: Gatschet (1877:58), Eustace Howard (mj 47:7) 'whale'.

*Etym:* Although recorded as Kalapuyan, this word is of ultimate Salishan origin, and closely matches the regional CW word for 'whale' spelled <Kwáh-nice> in Gibbs's dictionary: cf [qʰánís] <κ'áni's> 'whale' (Salmon River Tillamook [Harrington 1942:n.p.]).

**kʰwat** [kʰwá<sup>(l)</sup>] Ref: WB, EJ, EP 'aunt'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *kʰwát* 'aunt' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]), *kʰwát* (from *√kʰwátu?*-) 'aunt (mother's or father's sister)' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). Cf Bay Center CW <kwá<sup>(l)</sup>> 'aunt'.

**kʰwiʔim** [kʰwiʔ/ʔ<sup>(l)</sup>m] Ref: VH, EJ, CR, EL 'grandchild'.

*Etym:* According to Boas (1892), the source is "Chihalish" (Lower Chehalis Salishan). However, the word does not appear in Kinkade and Powell's (2005) list of CW words

from Lower Chehalis, nor has the word been recorded in Cowlitz or Upper Chehalis Salishan. Cf Lower Columbia CW (Boas 1892) <kōím> 'grandchild'.

**k'ak'aʔ** [k'á<sup>(f)</sup>.k'aʔ] Ref: JH 1928 'crow'.

*Etym:* From a local Salishan noun: *s-k'á'k'aʔ* (from *√k'á'k'aʔ*-; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *√k'a-* (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]) 'crow'.

**k'winin** [k'wí.nim] Ref: VH, WB, EJ 'to count, enumerate'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *k'wón-n* (transitive: from *√k'wóna-* 'count'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *k'wan-ón* (transitive: from *√k'wón-* 'count'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). Cf Bay Center CW [q'wánán] <k'wánán> 'to count'.

**k'wishən** [k'wí.ʃən, k'wé.ʃən; k'wá.ʃən] Ref: CR, EP 'to toast (food)'.

*Etym:* Probably from local Salishan, although we find no record in the usual local sources of a form suggesting it. But note the following forms from Salishan languages to the north: Lushootseed *k'wása-d* 'she roasted them', *k'wás-əd* 'heat it up!; barbecue it' (from *√k'was(a)*) (Bates, Hess, Hilbert 1994:127); Saanich *sk'wesəŋ* 'toast (something)' (Montler 1991:82).

**ʔak'wən** [ʔá<sup>(f)</sup>.kwan] Ref: JH 1928 'to wipe'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *ʔak'w* 'wipe' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]); the CW form is presumably derived from a Salishan form with the transitive suffix *-n*. Cf Bay Center CW [ʔá'k'wán, ʔáq'wán] <ʔákk'wən, ʔá'k'wən> 'wipe it off!; to wipe (dishes or anything)'.

**ʔaq'at** [ʔá.q'at] Ref: JH 1928 'flat, wide'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *ʔáq'-t* (intransitive: from *√ʔáq'*- 'wide'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), Upper Chehalis

[Kinkade]). Cf Bay Center CW [ʔáq'at] <ʔákk'at> 'wide'.

**ʔək'wanu** Ref: <tlekwano> (Demers) 'earring'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *ʔək'wán'* 'earring', *ʔək'wán'uʔ* 'earrings' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]); *√ʔək'w-* 'strike, peck', =*an'* 'ear' [lexical suffix] (Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

**ʔiqaya** [ʔi.qá<sup>(f)</sup>.ya] Ref: EJ 'snail'.

*Etym:* Apparently from local Salishan, though not recorded as such in the usual sources: cf *√ʔiq'i-* (stem-form: Cowlitz [Kinkade]), Upper Chehalis [Kinkade] 'slide, slip'. Kinkade also records a lexical suffix, =*ayuʔ*, used to form names of animals in both languages (as in Cowlitz *sik'l=ayuʔ* 'snake'). Evidently, the CW goes back to an unrecorded local Salishan noun referring to an animal that moves by slipping/sliding.

**maq'** [má<sup>(f)</sup>q, má<sup>(f)</sup>q] Ref: CR 'gulp down'.

*Etym:* The source appears to be a local Salishan stem-form, possibly borrowed into Chinookan as a particle (cf **mək'hmək**, *etym*): *√maq'w-* (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *√maq'wa-* (Cowlitz [Kinkade]) 'swallow'.

**mək'hmək** [má.k.má.k, má.kə.má.k; má<sup>(f)</sup>q.máq] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, CR 'to eat; food'.

*Etym:* The source appears to be a Salishan verb, possibly borrowed into Chinookan as a particle: *√mák'w-* 'put into one's mouth' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *√mák'wa-* 'put into a person's mouth, taste' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]); *máq'wmáq'w-t-n* (transitive: from *√maq'w-*) 'swallow repeatedly' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). Compare the alternate CW form **maq'maq'** and the Wasco-Wishram verbal particle

*máǵmaq* 'gulping down' (Hymes slip-files). Cf Bay Center CW [mákʌmʌk] <má'kamak> 'to eat'.

**məqʰəsən** • Ref: <Mokison nos> (Demers) 'jib boom'; <makison> (Lionnet 13), <makissōn> (Pinart in Grant 1951:283) 'chin'.

*Etym*: The historical spellings suggest local Salishan for 'nose': *máqsn* (√máqsǎn-; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *maq̄s* (Lower Chehalis [Snow]) 'nose'. On the other hand, Chinookan for 'chin' may have been similar in form: <ō-meq[...].jin> 'chin'; <ōkúmeqa[...].jin> 'my chin', <ōbē'beqa[...].jin [b-m]> 'thy chin' (Clatsop [Hymes à la Boas]: marginally legible); cf *id-máq̄šu* <id-mĒqco> 'face-hair' (Wishram [Sapir in Boas 640]), *a-ia-mlqʷtan* 'his cheek (human or salmon)', *id-mlqʷtan-kš* 'cheeks' (Wasco-Wishram [Fowler and French 1982:21]), <ɿgā'mokuē> 'my flesh under chin' (CT 149.14), <-mō'kuē> 'throat' (Boas 601).

**musum** [mú<sup>(f)</sup>.səm] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'to sleep'.

*Etym*: From a local Salishan verb with "middle voice" suffix *-m*: *mús-m* (from √músa-; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *m'ús-m* (from √m'ús-; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), [mú'səm] (Lower Chehalis [Snow]) 'sleep, asleep'. Cf Bay Center CW <mú'səm> 'to sleep'.

**nuch** • Ref: <núwtʃ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0451) 'way out' (in the water: opposite of on shore); <Nau'-its> (Gibbs) 'off shore, on the stream; sea-beach'.

*Etym*: Derivation obscure, but likely to be from local Salishan. Citing Gibbs's spelling, Kinkade and Powell (2005) call attention to the Upper Chehalis element √náwa- 'old, big', recorded in a number of Upper

Chehalis place-names (Kinkade). With an appropriate lexical suffix (Kinkade and Powell speculate, one derived from Proto-Salish \*=*ucin* 'mouth, edge'), a related element in some local Salishan language (most likely Lower Chehalis) could have given rise to such a CW form. Other local Salishan elements also seem suggestive: for example, the Upper Chehalis element √núw- 'bottom, end' and the Upper Chehalis lexical suffix =*či* 'water, river' (Kinkade).

**palaks** [pá<sup>(f)</sup>.laks] Ref: JH 1928, WB 'penis'.

*Etym*: A word of identical meaning but imperfectly matching form has been recorded as local Salishan: *s-pálq*, *s-páláyqa* (from √pálq-) 'penis' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]); cf also √pəl'ákʷ- 'pierce' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

**p'itit** [p'í.ɪt; pʰí.ɪt] Ref: WB, EL, EP 'thick; insensitive'.

*Etym*: The source appears to be local Salishan, although the derivation is problematic. Kinkade's Upper Chehalis dictionary shows *pət-t* (from √pət-) 'thick', but *p'il-t* (from √p'il-) 'very thin'. In Bay Center CW, **p'ixwati** • (a Chinookan derived word) is 'thin', while [páɪtɪt] <páɪtɪt, páɪtət> (cf the Upper Chehalis form above) is 'thick'. The form **p'itit** is cited from WB (vs the alternate form **pʰitit**, from EP), and could have been influenced by Chinookan consonant symbolism from his Clackamas family circle; it is also just possible that his form was influenced by a Molala word for 'skin', given by VH (a Clackamas-Molala member of the same family circle) as [p'íʔ] <P'íʔ> (mj 37). Cf Bay Center CW [páɪtɪt, páɪtət] <páɪtɪt, páɪtət> 'thick'.

**p'is** • Ref: <Ppes> (Demers) 'soul, breath, life' (<pp> evidently for [p']).

*Etym:* Evidently from local Salishan: s-p'ís 'soul' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade 1991:103]).

**p'íʔns** [p'íʔ.nəs, píʔns; p'í.n.ʔs-ʔs] *Ref:* VH, CR, EP 'bake in ashes'.

*Etym:* Apparently from local Salishan: cf Cowlitz √p'ən'c-, occurring in an incompletely analyzed expression cited by Kinkade (?acp'ən'c tani tit qáwm' 'prepared camas': qáwm' 'camas'); cf (?) Upper Chehalis p'ən=stq 'by the fire' (from √p'ən- 'near, beside'; Kinkade). Cf Bay Center CW [p'ʌnʔs] <p'ʌn's> 'to roast'.

**p'uxən** [p'ú.ˌxən, p'ó.ˌxən; p'ú.ˌxwən; pʰú.ˌxwən, pʰó.ˌxwən] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EP 'to blow; swollen'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: púx<sup>w</sup>-n (transitive: from √púx<sup>w</sup>i- 'blow': cf alternate forms) (Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz [Kinkade]). Cf Bay Center CW <pó'hwən> 'to blow out'.

**p'uʔ** [p'óʔ, p'óʔ] *Ref:* WB 'fart'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: √p'óʔ (Cowlitz [Kinkade]), p'ó'ʔ, p'ó'ʔ (from √p'ó'ʔ-; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]) 'fart'.

**q<sup>h</sup>awaq** • *Ref:* <káw'wak> (Bay Center CW [Emma Luscier], jph 18.0398), <Kawak> (Lionnet, St. Onge) 'to fly'.

*Etym:* Lower Chehalis for 'to fly' is the same, as noted by Emma Luscier (reference above) and as recorded elsewhere: qáw'aq 'to fly' (Snow). However, no obviously related forms are noted from other local Salishan languages, and Kinkade and Powell (2005) do not include this item in their list of CW words with Salishan etymologies.

**q'aləp** • *Ref:* <k'alláp> (Bay Center CW [Emma Luscier], jph 18.0260) 'deep'.

*Etym:* Mrs. Luscier also gives q'łáp <k'łáp> as Lower Chehalis for 'deep'.

The Salishan etymology thereby implied for the CW word is problematic, however; Kinkade does not show clear cognates of Lower Chehalis q'łáp in either Upper Chehalis or Cowlitz. Cf Demers <Tlep> 'to sink', <Tlip, tlep> 'deep, abrupt', <klipsan> 'sunset', Gibbs <Klip> 'deep, sunken'. With reference to Gibbs's spelling, Kinkade and Powell (2005) cite Local Salishan ł'áp 'deep', which we associate with t'łip 'go in, sink'. Gibbs and the other compilers of English-orthography "Chinook" dictionaries used <kl> to spell a number of sounds that are clearly distinct from an indigenous point of view, notably [tʰ], [tʰ], and [ʈ]; [q'ł] would also be so written. Note that the forms cited from Demers all show <tl>, except <kl> in one instance, the latter evidently meant to suggest the glottalized affricate [tʰ] (ł) (compare CW t'łip-san 'sunset'). Two words of originally different form but similar meaning appear to be at issue here - conflation of meaning in some cases leading to confusions of form.

**q'ayaχ** [q'á.ˌyaχ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'guts, entrails'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: q'áyχ (from √q'əyáχ-; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), q'íyχ (from √q'iyáχ-; Cowlitz [Kinkade]) 'guts, intestines'. Cf Bay Center CW [q'łiyáχ] <k'áy'yaχ> 'guts'.

**q'eyt** • *Ref:* <kaít> (Demers) 'fishing-line'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: q'ét' 'fish-line, fish-hook' (from √q'it' - 'go fishing'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

**q'əlaχ** [q'á/łá.ˌx] *Ref:* JH 1928, LK (Tualatin: Berman slip-files), JH (Jacobs 1945:279, 325), EJ 'fence, fence rails; corral'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan (specifically, Lower Chehalis): *q'áláx* (Lower Chehalis [Czaykowska-Higgins 2003]), *√q'áláxan'* (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *q'áláxn* (from *√q'áláxan'*; Cowlitz [Kinkade]) 'fence'. Cf Bay Center CW [q'áláx, k'áláx] <k'álá'x, k'allá'x> 'fence'.

**q'oka** [q'ó<sup>(o)</sup>.kʌ; gó<sup>(o)</sup>.kʌ] *Ref:* EP, MM 'to choke'.

*Etym:* The source appears to be a local Salishan stem-form, possibly borrowed into Chinookan as a particle: *√qóqa-* (Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *√qóq-* (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]) 'choke, stick in the throat'.

**q'wəlan** [q'wá/lá<sup>(o)</sup>n] *Ref:* JH, WB, EJ, CR 'ear; hear'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *q'w'alán'* 'ear' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]), *q'w'alán'* (from *√q'wal-* + *=an'* [variant of *=an'i-*, lexical suffix referring to ears]; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *q'w'alán?* (from *√q'walaní?*-) 'ear' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]); *√k'wálan-* 'hear about' (Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz [Kinkade]). Cf Bay Center CW [q'w'alán] <k'wallán'> 'ear'.

**sic'hum** [sɪ.tʃəm] *Ref:* JH 1928 'to swim'.

*Etym:* From a local Salishan verb with "middle voice" suffix *-m*: *sáč'əm* (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]), *sáč'-əm* (from *√sáč'-*; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]) 'swim'. Cf Bay Center CW [šitš'ám] <jitš'ám'> 'to swim'.

**skaləmən** <sup>••</sup> *Ref:* <Skalemin> (Demers) 'sea-otter'.

*Etym:* From a local Salishan noun: *s-kalmn* (from *√kalmn-*) 'river otter' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

**skwich** [skwítʃ, skwí'ts] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'vagina'.

*Etym:* From a local Salishan noun: *cf s-k'wáč* (from *√k'wáč-*) 'vagina [vulgar form]' (Kinkade).

**sləhal** [sl.ɦá<sup>(o)</sup>] *Ref:* ET 'bone game'.

*Etym:* From a Salishan noun: *sləháł* (from *√ləháł*) 'bone game' (Lushootseed [Bates, Hess, Hilbert]). Harrington's principal Bay Center informant, Emma Luscier, gave 1) [ʔʰʌkəm] <'ʰʌkəm'> as CW, [slɦál] <slɦá'ł'> as Lower Chehalis Salishan; but also, 2) <slɦá'ł'> as CW, [ʔ'ʰʌkəm] <'ʰʌkəm'> as Lower Chehalis. Both words are in regional CW as 'bone game'; **sləhal** shows the Salishan nominal prefix *s-*, while **itukuma** shows the Chinookan masculine singular prefix *i-*.

**smit'aq's** <sup>••</sup> *Ref:* <smit'á:k's> "locally called quóhog [sic]" (Bay Center CW [Emma Luscier], jph 18.0465); <Smet'-ocks> "the large clam (Lutraria)" (Gibbs: a word "used only at the mouth of the Columbia river").

*Etym:* Emma Luscier, Harrington's main Bay Center source, observed that the Lower Chehalis term is identical, agreeing with Gibbs's information that the CW is from a "Chihalis" word. *s-* suggests a Salishan nominal prefix; beyond that, however, recorded Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz terms for shellfish species offer no obvious matches.

**shwiq'iq** [šwi.kʰé<sup>(o)</sup>q; šwʌ.kʰé<sup>(o)</sup>k, šwʌ.kʰá<sup>(o)</sup>ik] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ, JP 'frog'.

*Etym:* From a local Salishan noun: *swaq'iq'* (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]), *s-waq'iq'* (from *√wəq'iq'-*) Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *šwaq'iq'* (from *√wəq'iq'-*; Cowlitz [Kinkade]) 'frog'.

**tatis** [tʌ.tɪ<sup>(o)</sup>s; té/tɪ<sup>(o)</sup>s] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'flower; pretty thing'.

*Etym:* A word of matching form/meaning has been recorded as Tillamook Salishan: *dadis*, *daʔdís* (diminutive of *ʔdís* 'blossom, flower') 'blossom, bloom' (Thompson and Thompson). Assuming that another local Salishan source is unlikely, this is one of the few unambiguous examples of a Tillamook-derived word in Grand Ronde community CW.

**tʰəqsín** [tʰáq.sín] *Ref:* JH 1928 'to follow, pursue'.

*Etym:* Apparently from a local Salishan form with the transitive suffix *-n*. *Cf* Lower Columbia CW [táksʔn] <tE'k's'En> 'to pursue' (Boas 1892).

**tʰamulch** [tʰá/múʰltš; tʰə.mólš] *Ref:* VH, WB, LK 'barrel, tub'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *tʰam'úl'áct'* 'barrel' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʰámóʔólátš] <tʰámóʔólátš> 'bucket'.

**tʰanəm** <sup>•</sup> *Ref:* <tʰáʰʰanəm> (Bay Center CW), <Táh-nim> (Gibbs) 'to measure', <tanim> (St. Onge) 'a measure'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *tʰán-m* ("middle-voice": from *ʔtʰánimi* 'measure'), *tʰánm* 'a line' (also listed under *ʔtʰánimi*; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]); also note: Lower Chehalis <tʰáʰʰanim> 'clock' (jph 18.0354), <tʰán'ní'm> 'moon' (jph 17.0093), *tʰən'ím* 'moon' (Snow).

**tʰəqʰwín** [tʰáʰʰ.qwín] *Ref:* JH 1928 'to lick'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *tʰáqʰw* 'lick' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]); *tʰáqʰw-n* (transitive: from *ʔtʰáqʰw-a* 'lick'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade], Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

**tʰəpshín** <sup>•</sup> *Ref:* <tʰápshín> (Bay Center

CW) 'to patch (e.g., a canoe or clothes)', <Tapshín> (St. Onge) 'a patch', <Tupʰ-shín, Tipʰ-sín> (Gibbs) 'a needle'.

*Etym:* Evidently from local Salishan, though available comparisons leave the exact derivation uncertain: *tʰálp-š-n* 'patch it' (transitive: from *ʔtʰálp-* 'put around, put on, hook on'; Upper Chehalis, Cowlitz [Kinkade]); *tʰáčʰ-n* (transitive: from *ʔtʰáčʰ-i-* 'sew'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

**tʰuʔan** [tʰúʰʰ.ʔan; tʰúʰʰ.wan] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB 'to have, keep'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *tʰóʔ-n* (transitive: from *ʔtʰóʔi-* 'put away, store'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade], Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

**tʰəmxwən** [tʰám.xwən] *Ref:* WB, CR 'to prick, stick, stab'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *ʰámx-n* (transitive: from *ʰámáx-* 'stick an object into, spear, throw a spear'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *ʰámáx-n* (transitive: from *ʰámáx-* 'poke'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tʰáməxan] <tʰáməxan> 'to stab'.

**tʰəqʰən** [tsʰáqən; tsʰáqən; tsʰáqín] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'to kick'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *cáqyʰən* 'kick' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]), *caqíyʰn* (transitive: from *ʰcaqíyʰ-* 'kick'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *cáqyʰ-n* (transitive: from *ʰcaqyʰi-* 'kick'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]); *cf* *cʰáqʰ-n* (transitive: from *ʰcʰáqʰ-* 'push in, press down'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]). Bay Center CW [tsʰáqəyín] <tsʰáqəyín> 'to kick'.

**tʰəikʰwən** [tsʰíʰ.kwən] *Ref:* WB, EP, JP 'to pinch, scratch'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan: *cʰíkʰw-n* 'pinch' (transitive: from *ʰcʰíkʰw-*; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

*Etym:* From local Salishan. Mrs. Luscier observed that the CW word is also Lower Chehalis; and indeed, terms of like form and meaning were widely known among speakers of local Coast Salish languages: Upper Chehalis  $\sqrt{c'iatk^w}$  'Stick Indian, Sasquatch', Cowlitz  $\sqrt{c'iatk^w}$  'Stick Indians' (Kinkade); Lushootseed  $c'yátk^wu$ ? (an unidentified group of "vicious, wild people"),  $c'yák^wu$  "some kind of monster" (Bates, Hess, Hilbert).

**χaxáʔ** • *Ref:* <oh-oh> (St. Onge) 'wonder'.

*Etym:* Apparently from local Salishan:  $\chi axáʔ$  'sacred, taboo, forbidden' (from  $\sqrt{\chi axáʔi}$ ; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Kathlamet  $\chi á\chi a$  'to notice' (verbal particle, KT 34.11), Wasco-Wishram  $\chi \acute{\alpha} \chi$  'to transform (into), create' (verbal particle; Hymes slip-files, Dyk 125).

**χiləməʔ** • *Ref:* <χé'l'laməʔ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0386: jph notes that <é> is "almost í") 'work', <qē ʔEmitl> (Lower Columbia River CW, Boas 1892) 'to make'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan:  $\chi \acute{\alpha} t m \acute{\alpha} t$  'work, do' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]);  $\chi \acute{\alpha} l m - t$  (intransitive: from  $\sqrt{\chi \acute{\alpha} l \acute{\alpha} m i - \sim \chi \acute{\alpha} l \acute{\alpha} m a -}$  'ready'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

**χuqʰən** [ $\chi \acute{u}^{(o)}.q \acute{\alpha} n$ ] *Ref:* VH 'pick out, gather up'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan:  $\chi^w \acute{u} q^w \acute{\alpha} n$  'gather together' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]),  $\chi \acute{u} q^w - n$  (transitive: from  $\sqrt{\chi^w \acute{u} q^w i -}$  'gather'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ $\chi \acute{o} \acute{\alpha} q w \acute{\alpha} n$ ] < $\chi \acute{o} \acute{\alpha} \cdot k w \acute{\alpha} n$ > 'pick it up' ("e.g. from the floor").

**χuqʰuməʔ** • *Ref:* <kokumelh>, <hokumelh> (Lionnet) 'to heap up, to gather', <hōhōmilh> (St. Onge) 'gather'.

*Etym:* From Local Salishan:  $\chi^w \acute{u} q^w - m \acute{t}$  (detransitive: from  $\sqrt{\chi^w \acute{u} q^w i -}$  'gather'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

**yaḡan** • *Ref:* <iahan [sic]> (Demers 58: St. Onge's personal copy of Demers shows hand-written correction to <iahan>, <iahan> (St. Onge) 'to judge'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan:  $ya\acute{\chi} - \acute{\alpha} n$  (transitive: from  $\sqrt{y\acute{\alpha}\chi -}$  'make a choice, pick out, sort'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]),  $y\acute{\alpha}\chi - n$  (transitive: from  $\sqrt{y\acute{\alpha}\chi -}$  'sort, make a choice') (Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

**yaʔim** [ $y\acute{\alpha}^{(o)}.ʔim$ ;  $y\acute{\alpha}^{(o)}.yom$ ] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ, MM 'to tell, narrate; telling, narration'.

*Etym:* From a local Salishan verb with "middle-voice" suffix *-m*:  $y\acute{\alpha} y' \acute{\alpha} y' \acute{\alpha} m$  'tell (news) (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]),  $y\acute{\alpha} y - m$ ' (from  $\sqrt{y\acute{\alpha} \cdot y a -}$  'tell something'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]); *cf*  $y\acute{\alpha} y - n$  (transitive: from  $\sqrt{y\acute{\alpha} y -}$  'tell, tell on') (Cowlitz [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ $y\acute{\alpha} \acute{\lambda} \acute{\lambda} y \acute{\alpha} m$ ] < $y\acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha} y \acute{\alpha} m$ > 'to tell'.

**yeʔlan** [ $y\acute{\epsilon} \acute{\lambda} / \acute{\lambda}^{(o)} n$ ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'help, assistance'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan:  $y e \acute{\lambda} \acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha} n$  'help' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005]); *cf* (?) *s-yalám* 'hired help' (from  $\sqrt{y \acute{\alpha} l \acute{\alpha} m -}$  'hire'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ $y \acute{\iota} \acute{\lambda} \acute{\lambda} \acute{\alpha} n$ ] < $y \acute{\iota} \acute{\lambda} \acute{\lambda} \acute{\alpha} \acute{\alpha} n$ > 'help (noun)'.

**yənəs** • *Ref:* <Ienes> (Demers) 'teeth'.

*Etym:* From local Salishan:  $y \acute{\alpha} n s$  'tooth, teeth' (from  $\sqrt{y \acute{\alpha} n \acute{\alpha} s -}$ ; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade], Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

**ʔaptsit** • *Ref:* <haptitsil [sic?]> 'rudder' (Demers).

*Etym:* From local Salishan:  $\acute{\alpha} p c \acute{\iota} t$  'front, stern' (Lower Chehalis

[Czaykowska-Higgins 2003]), *ʔáƿct*, *s-ʔáƿct* 'stern of a canoe, front seat of a car' (from  $\sqrt{ʔáƿct}$ -; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

### 3 From Chinookan and/or local Salishan

**cʰətʰəxw** •• *Ref:* Chetʰ-lo, Jetʰ-lo (Gibbs), <ɬʰétʰ xw̥> (Bay Center form, jph 17.0262; the language isn't identified, and may be CW or Lower Chehalis) 'oyster'.

*Etym:* From a noun recorded both as Lower Chinook and as local Salishan: *i-c áʔx* <étsʰétlq> 'oyster' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]), *čʰáʔəxw* (Lower Chehalis [Snow]).

**kʷikʷiyans** •• *Ref:* <kʷiʰkʷiyans> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0416) 'needle'; <kwekwians, kwekwiuts> (Demers) 'pin'.

*Etym:* Compare local Salishan  $\sqrt{kʷikʷi}$ - 'sticking in' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]),  $\sqrt{kʷikʷ}$ - 'stick into' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *kʷikʷiyans* 'st straight pin' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]). The immediate source of the CW is in some doubt, however, because a very similar form is also on record as a Chinookan noun: *a-kʷikʷiyáns* 'a pin' (Clackamas [mj slip-files]). Not included in Kinkade and Powell's (2005) list of Salishan etymologies.

**lipʰlip** [lʰp.lɪp; lɪp.lɪp] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, CR 'to boil, boiling'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle also recorded as a local Salishan stem-form: *lɔp* <ɬɛp> 'to boil' (Boas 631), *lápɫap* 'bubbling' (CCT 148); *lápɫap-n* (transitive: from  $\sqrt{láp}$ - 'boil'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]),  $\sqrt{lɔp}$ - 'boil, bubble' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [lápɫap] <lápʰlɔp> 'to boil'.

**na** [na] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH '?!'.

*Etym:* From an interrogative particle shared by Chinookan and local Salishan: *na* '?!' (CT 145.4, 37.8; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade], Cowlitz [Kinkade]). *Cf* Demers <na> '?!' (not entered in the dictionary, but frequently appearing in the catechism: examples in texts 31.Q12, .Q14; 32.12).

**qʰastakw** •• *Ref:* <kastik> 'baume' (Pinart in Grant 1951:286), <Kastik> 'balsam' (Demers).

*Etym:* The form and meaning of this obscure CW word suggest words for 'mint, peppermint' recorded both from Chinookan and local Salishan: Upper Chehalis  $\sqrt{qʰastkʷ}$  'mint, wild peppermint' (Kinkade), Upper Chinook *i-q áštik* 'peppermint, peppermint leaf' (Clackamas [mj slip-files]), Wasco Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Note also Canadian French "li boum", "Le baume sauvage" (corresponding to Michif Cree **li boum, liboum savæzh**; compare Pinart above) 'wild mint, peppermint' (Fleury and Barkwell 5).

**qʰaləs** [qʰáʰ.ləs~lis] *Ref:* EJ 'raccoon'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun shared with local Salishan: *i-qʷalás* <-qʰalás> (Boas 598), *i-qʰalás* (WT 152); *qʷáls* (from  $\sqrt{qʷáls}$ -; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]),  $\sqrt{qʷáʰ}$ 's (Cowlitz [Kinkade]) 'raccoon'.

**qʰayʔwa** [qʰáʰ.iʔ.wa; qʰáʰ.i.yo.wa] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'twisted, crooked; dishonest'.

*Etym:* A near-matching stem-form is on record from local Salishan: *qʰáyw-n* (transitive: from  $\sqrt{qʰáyw}$ - 'crooked'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* also Chinookan *-qʰaya* 'squeeze' (verb-stem), as in *qa-i-a-x-au-i-qʰaya-(a)kʷa-x* <qáxawiqʰá yakoax> '[tense-he?-her?-reflexive-them-to-Stem -about-usitative] he squeezed himself through it' (apparently: he

squeezed himself through her about them) (KT 32.1, parsed following Hymes 186).

**tʰat** [tʰá<sup>(h)</sup>t; tʰá<sup>(h)</sup>ʔa] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'uncle'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun and address-form shared with local Salishan: *táta* 'uncle!' (address-form) (CT 9.7), *i-iá-tata* 'his maternal uncle' (Boas 607), *tat* 'uncle' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]). *Cf* Bay Center CW <tá't> '(maternal or paternal) uncle'.

**t'íəxw't'əxw** <sup>••</sup> *Ref:* <Klógh-klogh> (Gibbs) 'oyster'.

*Etym:* Widely recorded for 'oyster' in Coast Salish languages: Lushootseed *ł'úx<sup>w</sup>ł'úx<sup>w</sup>*; Saanich, Samish, Upper Chehalis *ł'əx<sup>w</sup>ł'əx<sup>w</sup>* (Montler 1991:11, Galloway 1990:68, Kinkade and Powell 2005). Apparently shared with Chinookan: Chinook <-Ló'xLOX> (Boas 598), Kathlamet <iLō'xLōX> (KT 214.7) 'oyster'.

**t'ít** [t'íʔ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'bitter'.

*Etym:* From a stem-form shared by Chinookan and local Salishan: *í-ł'ít* <'-L!t> 'bitterness' (a noun) (Boas 600), *√ł'ít* 'bitter, sour' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). *Cf* Bay Center CW [t'ít] <t'ít> 'bitter'.

**t'íp** [t'íʔp] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB 'penetrate, go in, sink'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan particle; or perhaps more accurately, a particle shared by Chinookan and local Salishan: *ł'lap* <L!Ep> (Boas 631), *ł'lap* <L!lap> (KT 115.2) 'under water'; *cf* local Salishan *√ł'óp* 'deep' (Lower Chehalis [Kinkade and Powell 2005], Upper Chehalis [Kinkade], Cowlitz [Kinkade]). Lower Chehalis *q'łóp* 'deep' is the source of a Bay Center CW word of similar meaning: **q'aləp** <sup>••</sup> 'deep'. *Cf* Demers <tlep> 'to sink', <t'lip, tlep> 'deep, abrupt', <klipsan> (for **t'íp-san**)

'sunset'.

**t'sikt'sik** [ts'ík.ts(̚)ík; ts'ík.ts(̚)ík; ts'ík.tsík, ts'ík.tsík] *Ref:* JH 1928, JH (Jacobs 1945:297, 315, 318), WB, EJ 'wagon'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun shared with local Salishan: *i-c'ík* <its'ē'kts[ʔ]> 'wagon' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]; marginally legible), *c'ík* <ik'wagon' (from *√c'ík* 'squeak'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]). Some of the phonetic variation recorded for the Chinook Wawa word may trace ultimately to Chinookan consonant symbolism, as in the following Wishram series (Sapir in Boas 640): *i-clkcik* 'wagon', contrasting with *is-c'ík* <ik'buggy' and *i-djikdik* 'heavy truck'. However, the Chinookan nuanced meanings illustrated are entirely lost in CW. *Cf* Bay Center CW <ts'íkts'ík, ts'íkts'ík> 'wagon, wheel'.

**t'siq'wa?** [ts'í<sup>(h)</sup>.qwaʔ] *Ref:* JH 1928 'piss-ant'.

*Etym:* A matching Upper Chinook noun is on record: *a-č'íqwa* 'ant' (Clackamas [mj 52:29]). But note also the resemblance to local Salishan for 'step on' (!): *c'íq'<sup>w</sup>-n* (transitive: from *√c'íq'<sup>w</sup>a-* 'step on'; Cowlitz, Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

**wlq'** [ʔú<sup>(h)</sup>lq'; ʔó<sup>(h)</sup>l.q'ε] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'snake'.

*Etym:* This word suggests the same Chinookan particle/verb-stem that is the source of **loqa** 'swallow'; the CW form is also identically a word for 'snake' in local Salishan: *ʔulq'* 'snake' (Lower Chehalis [Snow]); *cf* Chinookan *-wulq'*, variant of *√-lq'* 'swallow' (as in *a-n-ł-u-wulq'-am-a* <anluwúlq!ama> 'I will eat them', KT 121.10: parsed following Hymes 265). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔólq] <'ó'l.ək'> 'snake'.

**uma?** [ʔú<sup>(6)</sup>.mʌʔ] Ref: VH 'to give food to, feed'.

*Etym:* This word suggests stem-forms recorded both as local Salishan and as Chinookan; the immediate source may have been a related particle or imperative, most likely from local Salishan. Boas (1892) cites <ō'ma> 'to give food' as Lower Columbia CW, attributing the word to "Chihalish" (Lower Chehalis): cf *ʔúm-la* 'feed it!' (from *√ʔum-* 'feed'; Cowlitz [Kinkade]), *ʔúm-n* 'give food to, feed' (transitive: from *√ʔumal-* 'give'; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]); cf also Chinookan *-ʔim* 'feed', as in *n-a-l-ʔim-a* '[I-her-to- Stem-future] I will feed her' (Boas 619), *í-l-ʔim* <ē'l'ēm> '[him-to-give] give him food' (Clatsop [Hymes pace Boas]).

#### 4 From Nootka Jargon

**chaku** [tʃá<sup>(6)</sup>.kʊ~gʊ, tʃá<sup>(6)</sup>.ko~go; tʃá<sup>(6)</sup>.gʷʌ] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR, ID 'come, approach, arrive; bring about'.

*Etym:* From Nootka Jargon **chukwá-** 'come (here)' (Clark 2005: Clark notes that the word is "a little unclear" in his sources). Cf Nootka Nootkan *čukʷa* 'come!' (imperative particle) (Sapir and Swadesh 280); Makah Nootkan *šʉʔuk, šʉʔukʷaʃ* 'come here!' (Pascua 2001). Cf Bay Center CW [tʃáʔkʊ] <tʃá:kʊ> 'come here!'.

**chikʰamin** [tʃí.kə.mɪn] Ref: JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'metal; coin, money'.

*Etym:* The source appears to be a Nootkan word: *cikimin* 'iron' (Powell 107-108, Sapir and Swadesh 303), *cikipq-* 'to strike with iron' (Sapir and Swadesh 303). According to Sapir and Swadesh, these Nootkan forms are actually based on a borrowing from CW. However, the early seafaring traders responsible for introducing Nootkan words to the

lower Columbia recorded similar-looking Nootka Jargon forms (Clark 2005), strongly suggesting that the CW really does go back to a Nootkan original. Cf Bay Center CW [tʃí'kʌmɪn] <tʃí'kʌmɪn> 'money, iron'.

**haykʰwa** [há<sup>(6)</sup>.l.kwʌ] Ref: JH 1928, LK, EP 'dentalium shells'.

*Etym:* From Nootka Jargon **haihwa** (Clark 2005): cf *Diditdaht* Nootkan *hiixʷa* 'dentalium shell' (Powell 9). Cf Bay Center CW [háikwʌ] <há:ykwʌ> 'dentalia'.

**hayu** [há/yú<sup>(6)</sup>] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'many, much'.

*Etym:* From Nootka Jargon **hayú** 'many, much' (Clark 2005); cf Nootka Nootkan *hayu* '10' (Powell 217), *ʔaya* 'to be lots' (Powell 149); Makah Nootkan *ɣayʷ* [word for '10' used in songs] (Pascua 2001). Cf Bay Center CW <há:yú> 'lots'.

**huyhuy** [hú<sup>(6)</sup>.l.hʷ] Ref: JH 1928, ET 'exchange, barter'.

*Etym:* The source appears to be a Nootkan word, introduced to the lower Columbia in distorted form by the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century English-speaking seafaring traders: *háʔuyi, haaʔuy* 'to trade, barter, swap' (Nootka [Powell 174]). Cf Bay Center CW <hóyhuy> 'to trade'.

**kakshət** [kʌ<sup>(6)</sup>.k.ʃət] Ref: JH 1936, WB, EJ, CR 'beat, whip, damage, destroy'.

*Etym:* From Nootka Jargon **kwat-shitl** 'break', **ka(t)shitl** 'kill' (Clark 2005); cf Nootka Nootkan *kʷačičil, kʷačičil* 'to break or snap in two' (Powell 103-104), *qaḥ-šičil* 'to die' (Powell 91-92); Makah Nootkan *qaḥ-šičil* 'to die' (Pascua 2001). Cf Bay Center CW [kákʃʌt] <ká:k.ʃʌt> "to hit or lick a person".

**kəmtəks** [kám.dəks; kʰám.təks] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'know, understand, remember; perceive, hear, listen'.

*Etym:* From Nootka Jargon **kamataks** 'understand' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *kamat* 'known, definite' (Sapir and Swadesh 284), Makah Nootkan *kabat ap* 'to know a fact' (Pascua 2001); Clark proposes *-ak-s* (durative 1 sg) as the original Nootka suffix, Silverstein (1996:128) *-ah* (irrealis). *Cf* Bay Center CW [kám.təks] <kám.təks> 'to know'.

**ʔatwa** [ʔá<sup>(o)</sup>.dwa; ʔá<sup>(o)</sup>.tə.wa~də.wa, ʔá<sup>(o)</sup>.tə.wa~do.wa; ʔá<sup>(o)</sup>.tə~to, ʔá<sup>(o)</sup>.də~do] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'go'.

*Etym:* From Nootka Jargon **klatawa** 'go away' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *ʔatw'a* 'to paddle' (Powell 165), Makah Nootkan *ʔata-wač'ak* 'a paddle' (Pascua 2001). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔát.wa, ʔát.wa] <ʔá.tawa, ʔá.towa> 'go, travel'.

**ʔuchmən** [ʔótš.mən] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'woman, female'.

*Etym:* From Nootka Jargon **klutsma** 'woman' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *ʔu:cmə* 'woman' (Powell 111). Terminal **-n** in the CW form may be by analogy with English "woman". *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔútš.mɪn] <ʔú.tʃəmɪn> 'woman'.

**ʔush** [ʔú<sup>(o)</sup>ʃ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'good'.

*Etym:* From Nootka Jargon **klush** 'good, pretty' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *ʔut* 'pretty, handsome', *ʔut-* 'good' (stem-form) (Powell 97, 98, 183); Makah Nootkan *ʔutu* 'good, clean', *ʔut-* (stem-form) (Pascua 2001). *Cf* Bay Center CW [ʔuʃ] <ʔú:ʃ, ʔó:ʃ> 'good'.

**makuk** [má<sup>(o)</sup>.kək] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'to buy, pay for'.

*Etym:* From Nootka Jargon **makúk**

'trade' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *ma:kuk* 'to buy' (Powell 174), 'trading, buying, selling' (Sapir and Swadesh 264). *Cf* Bay Center CW <má:kək> 'to buy'.

**mamuk** [má<sup>(o)</sup>.møk; mál.møk] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to do, make, work; to bring about, cause; to fornicate; day (of the week)'.

*Etym:* From Nootka Jargon **mamúk** 'work' (Clark 2005): *cf* Nootka Nootkan *mamu:k* 'working' (Sapir and Swadesh 264); Makah Nootkan *babuyak* 'working' (Pascua 2001); Nootka [m] corresponds to [b] in Makah). *Cf* Bay Center CW <má:møk> 'to make'.

**mawich** [má<sup>(o)</sup>ʊ.witʃ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, JP, EP 'deer'.

*Etym:* From Nootka Jargon **mowich** 'deer': *cf* Nootka Nootkan *muwač* (Powell 27-28), Ditidaht Nootkan *buwač* (Powell 27) 'deer'. *Cf* Bay Center CW <má:witʃ> 'deer'.

**munk** [mónj; málj] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to make, do, use as, work with or around'.

*Etym:* Derived from **mamuk** 'do, make, work; fornicate' (originally from Nootka Jargon **mamúk** 'work'). It is possible that the switch to **munk** was originally motivated by desire to avoid the taboo meaning 'fornicate'; compare **mamunk**, recorded as a "polite" (taboo-meaning excluding) alternate of **mamuk**. The form **munk** has been recorded consistently only from Grand Ronde community speakers, for whom it has largely replaced regional **mamuk**.

**nanich** [ná<sup>(o)</sup>.nitʃ; ná<sup>(o)</sup>ntʃ, ná<sup>(o)</sup>nʃ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to see, look, observe'.

*Etym:* From Nootka Jargon **nananich(i)** 'look, see' (Clark 2005):

cf Nootka Nootkan *n'an'a'n'ič*,  
*n'an'a'č* 'looking (at something)'  
(Powell 171). Cf Bay Center CW  
[nánitš] <ná'nič> 'to see'.

**palach** [pá<sup>(0)</sup>.latš, pá.latš; pá<sup>(0)</sup>.łatš; pá<sup>(0)</sup>łš]  
Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to give'.

*Etym*: The source has been identified  
(by Clark 2005 and others) as  
Nootkan *p'a-čičil* 'give  
away-[momentaneous]', which is  
reasonably close to Clark's  
reconstructed Nootka Jargon for  
'give': **pachitl**. If the latter form or  
something like it was indeed the  
source of the CW word, it underwent  
further distortion for reasons  
unknown. Cf Bay Center CW [páłatš]  
<pá'łatč> 'to give'.

**p<sup>h</sup>ishak** [p<sup>h</sup>i'/'šá<sup>(0)</sup>k] Ref: JH 1928, WB  
'bad (rough, brushy) place;  
unsettling'.

*Etym*: From Nootka Jargon **pishak**  
(Clark 2005): cf Nootka Nootkan *p'išaq*  
'bad, wicked, immoral, ugly' (Powell  
97-98), *p'išaxak* 'rough, dirty' (Sapir  
and Swadesh 263), Makah Nootkan  
*p'išek* 'oh! rats!' (interjection) (Pascua  
2001).

**saya** [sá/yá<sup>(0)</sup>, sá<sup>(0)</sup>.ya] Ref: JH 1928/1932,  
VH, WB, EJ 'away, far'.

*Etym*: From Nootka Jargon **saya**  
(Clark 2005): cf Nootka Nootkan *saya*  
'distant, far off' (Powell 119-120). Cf  
Bay Center CW [slyá] <sáyá> 'far  
away'.

**tayi** [tá/yí<sup>(0)</sup>] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ,  
CR 'chief, boss; best, excellent'.

*Etym*: From Nootka Jargon **tayi(s)**  
(Clark 2005): cf Nootka Nootkan *ta'yi*  
'oldest son' (Powell 111-112), 'older  
brother, senior' (Sapir and Swadesh  
267). Cf Bay Center CW [tá/yí] <táyí,  
tayí> 'chief'.

**tənas** [tá/ná<sup>(0)</sup>s] Ref: JH, VH, WB, EJ, CR  
'child'.

*Etym*: From Nootka Jargon **taná(s)**  
'child, little' (Clark 2005): cf Nootka  
Nootkan *t'an'ełis*, *t'an'ałis* 'child'  
(Powell 111-112). The same Nootkan  
word is the original source of **tunus**,  
**tənas**- 'small', which in Grand Ronde  
CW if not elsewhere is a word  
independent of 'child'. Cf Bay Center  
CW [tAnás] <taná's> 'little'.

**tənas**- [tAnAs, tənus, tənas; tú/nú<sup>(0)</sup>s,  
tónus; tən<sup>(0)</sup>s, t<sup>h</sup>ən<sup>(0)</sup>s] Ref: JH, VH, WB,  
EJ, CR 'small'.

*Etym*: From Nootka Jargon **taná(s)**  
'child, little' (Clark 2005): cf Nootka  
Nootkan *t'an'ełis*, *t'an'ałis* 'child'  
(Powell 111-112). The same Nootkan  
word is the original source of **tənas**  
'child', which in Grand Ronde CW if  
not elsewhere has become a word  
independent of 'small'. Cf Bay Center  
CW [tAnas-, tAnas-] <tána's, tá'na's>  
'little'.

**wik** [wí'k, wí<sup>(0)</sup>k; wé<sup>(0)</sup>k] Ref: JH  
1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'no, not'.

*Etym*: From Nootka Jargon **wik** (Clark  
2005): cf Nootka Nootkan *wik* 'not,  
nothing' (Sapir and Swadesh 259),  
Makah Nootkan *wiki*, *wik*- 'no, not,  
be not' (Pasqua 2001). Cf Bay Center  
CW <we'k> 'no'.

## 5 From other indigenous sources

**ampkwa** [ʔá<sup>(0)</sup>mp.kwA, ʔłmp.kwA] Ref:  
WB, EJ 'Umpquas'.

*Etym*: Ultimately from *ak<sup>w</sup>a*, a  
Tututni Athapaskan name applied to  
the Umpquas (HNAI7:586). The  
Chinuk Wawa form of the name was  
shared generally by speakers of  
Northwest Oregon languages.

**ant<sup>h</sup>iyetł** [ʔá<sup>(0)</sup>n.ti.yeł] Ref: Johnny Allen  
(pace Pauline Warren Johnson)  
'yellowjacket'.

*Etym*: Jacobs records Clackamas  
Upper Chinook *wa-ántyətł*, but also,  
Santiam Kalapuya *ant<sup>h</sup>yéčł*

'yellowjacket' (CCT 15, Jacobs 1945:51). *a(n)-* is a Kalapuyan noun marker, revealing the Clackamas to probably be a Chinookan borrowing from Kalapuyan. The word could have come into CW either from Chinookan or Kalapuyan, since CW words derived from Chinookan nouns usually drop unstressed Chinookan gender markers (such as, here, *wa-* 'feminine singular'). *cf* Bay Center CW [ántiyáʔ] <á'ntiyáʔ, á'nti'yáʔ> 'yellowjacket, bumblebee' (mf 17.0284, 0295, 0296).

**ant'waʔ** • Ref: <antwalh> (Lionnet) 'tree'.

*Etym:* From a Kalapuyan noun: *an-t'wáʔ* (Santiam-Marys River), *hán-t'waʔ* (Tualatin) 'Douglas fir' (Zenk 1976:92-93). "Tree" is a logical extension of the original meaning, considering the ubiquity of the Douglas fir in the lower Columbia region.

**chəmwawa** [tšə.máʔ.wa] Ref: WB, CR, EJ 'Chemawa Indian School'.

*Etym:* From the original Kalapuyan name of a nearby prairie, recorded as *ča-mé-wiʔ* 'place of low-lying, frequently overflowed ground' (Santiam [mj 33:53, 46:74]). There was indeed a good deal of low-lying and marshy land in the vicinity, ideal camas habitat, making the location a favored Santiam camas-harvest site. The same Kalapuyan name has been recorded for other places in the Willamette Valley, which before modern agriculture was notably marshier than now.

**əx** [ʔáx] Ref: WB, EP 'feces; to defecate'.

*Etym:* A number of words from local languages show similar forms and/or meanings: Chinookan *áx* 'cough up, spit up', *ʔəx* 'to transform, create' (Wasco-Wishram verbal particles

[Hymes slip-files]); Sahaptin *áx* 'yucky, icky' (a Yakama baby-talk word [Beavert and Hargus 2009]); local Salishan *ʔəxʷínustn* 'he defecated' (from *ʷʔəxʷa-* 'throw, throw away' + *=ínus* [lexical suffix: variant of *=inwasi* 'stomach, belly, insides']) (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]).

**kʰanakʰa** [kʰá.náʔ.ká; kʰá.nəʔ.ká] Ref: Gatschet (1877:238), EP, Northwest family usage 'Hawaiians' (also used locally for dark-skinned or black persons).

*Etym:* From the Hawaiian word for 'person'. Hawaiians were part of the ethnic mix during fur-trade times in the Pacific Northwest, and are represented in some Grand Ronde family genealogies.

**kʰinikʰinik** • Ref: <kmí'kíník> (Bay Center CW [Emma Luscier], jph 18.0247: plant with red berries, leaves mixed half-and-half with tobacco).

*Etym:* Judging from available spellings, the CW word is identical in form to a Michif Cree word for another plant widely used in smoking mixtures: **kinikinik** 'red willow' (Fleury and Barkwell 7). The word could have come from local Métis French, local English, or conceivably both; the ultimate source is an Algonkian word for smoking mixtures, variously given: for example, Natic <kinukkinuk> 'mixture' (American Heritage Dictionary, 1978 ed.).

**kʰwəsh** • Ref: <kwʷáʃ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0418) (exclamation of refusal).

*Etym:* This interjection is close in form and meaning to a number of particles recorded from lower Columbia languages: Chinookan and Lower Chehalis *kuš* 'good!' (Boas 636); Chinookan *k'š* 'oh!' (Boas 636);

Lower Chehalis *xəs* (Snow), Upper Chehalis *ʌxəs* (Kinkade), Cowlitz *ʌxás* (Kinkade) 'bad'; Tillamook *qəš* negative particle (Thompson and Thompson).

**k'aynuł** [k'á<sup>(o)</sup>.l.nuł] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'tobacco'.

*Etym:* The source is a noun shared by Chinookan and Kalapuyan: Chinookan *i-k'áinuł* 'tobacco' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas], Clackamas [CCT 507], Wasco [Zenk 1976:84]); Kalapuyan *an-k'áinuł* (Santiam-Marys River), *a-k'énuł* (Tualatin) 'tobacco' (Zenk 1976:84). *Cf* Bay Center CW [k'ái?yimoł] <k'á'y'ymo<sup>(ó)</sup>ł> 'tobacco'.

**mitas** [mí/ta<sup>(ó)</sup>s; mí/ta<sup>(ó)</sup>š; mí/taé<sup>(ó)</sup>š] *Ref:* JH 1928, JH (Jacobs 1945:29, 184), Gatschet (1877:161, 1877a:31), Frachtenberg (1913, 1:133) 'leggings'.

*Etym:* From Canadian French "mitasse", referring to gaiters. Norman Fleury, a speaker of Michif Cree (a Cree and French based "mixed language" spoken in Saskatchewan and Manitoba), observes that [mitás] is general Cree for 'pants', but Michif Cree for 'leggings' - exactly as in CW (Norman Fleury personal communication). The word is presumably originally from Cree. *Cf* Bay Center CW <mitâ:s> 'leggings'.

**p<sup>h</sup>ał** [p<sup>h</sup>áł] *Ref:* EP, MM 'egg'.

*Etym:* From a Kalapuyan noun: [ʔamp<sup>h</sup>áł] 'egg' (JH Santiam [Hajda *pace* Swadesh 1953]). This is the word for 'egg' the Hudson siblings grew up with. The word actually comes from their father's tribal language, Santiam Kalapuya, although that by no means disqualifies it as CW - at least, as Hudson-family CW. In Kalapuyan, the same word also means 'seed'.

**pumpum** •• *Ref:* <PómPòm> (Jacobs Molala slip-files: given as Molala and CW) 'drum'.

*Etym:* Attested as both Kalapuyan and Molala (mj slip-files).

**p<sup>h</sup>up<sup>h</sup>up** [p<sup>h</sup>o.p<sup>h</sup>ó<sup>(ó)</sup>p, p<sup>h</sup>.p<sup>h</sup>ú<sup>(ó)</sup>p] *Ref:* JH 1928, EP 'owl'.

*Etym:* This is the Hudson-family generic CW term for 'owl'. The origin is clearly Kalapuyan, but the exact derivation is uncertain. Three Santiam/Marys River Kalapuya terms show similar forms and meanings: 1) *ant<sup>h</sup>púpu?* <antBúBu', an tpópo?> 'screech owl [Otus asio]' (Jacobs 1945:41; Frachtenberg 1913); 2) <"Bú' Bú' Bú' Bú'">, the usual or ordinary call of the screech owl ('owl! owl! owl!', in Jacobs 1945:79: contrasting with <"q'ú'q q'ú'q q'ú'q q'ú'q">, the call that portends trouble); 3) *pup<sup>h</sup>ú'p* <Pupú'p>, identified as a tiny owl "the size of a matchbox," whose hooting early in the morning portended good weather (size and call suggest the pygmy owl, *Glaucidium gnoma*) (mj Santiam slip files).

**shayim** [šá<sup>(ó)</sup>.yim; šá<sup>(ó)</sup>.yom] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ 'grizzly'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun shared with Kalapuyan: *i-šáyim* 'grizzly' (Lower Chinook, Clackamas [Boas 567, 604, CCT 18]), *a-šáyum* (Santiam Kalapuya [Zenk 1976:83]).

**t<sup>h</sup>ax** [t<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(ó)</sup>x; t<sup>h</sup>áq] *Ref:* EP, ID 'to gasp, be astonished'.

*Etym:* This word happens to closely match Kalapuyan [t<sup>h</sup>a:x], [t<sup>h</sup>aq] 'weep, cry' (Tualatin [Berman slip-files], Mary's River [Frachtenberg 1913, 1:83]).

**t<sup>h</sup>uk<sup>h</sup>was** [t<sup>h</sup>ú<sup>(ó)</sup>.kwəs] *Ref:* EJ 'walking cane'.

*Etym:* From a noun recorded both as

Sahaptin and from the easternmost Chinookan dialects: *i-túk'waš* 'cane, walking stick, crutches' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]), **túk'ash** 'cane, crutches' (Yakama Sahaptin [Beavert and Hargus 2009]).

**t<sup>h</sup>walat'i** [t<sup>h</sup>wá<sup>(o)</sup>.l̩.t'ɪ-ɪ] Ref: VH (Jacobs 1958-59:520), JH (Swadesh 1953), WB 'Tualatins'.

*Etym:* The citation-form is recorded also in Chinookan and Central Kalapuya. The Tualatins' own name in Tualatin Kalapuya was *a-t<sup>h</sup>fálat'i*.

**t<sup>h</sup>wín** [t<sup>h</sup>wí<sup>(o)</sup>n, t<sup>h</sup>wí'n] Ref: ET 'tail'.

*Etym:* This is a Sahaptin word recorded as CW only from ET, who spent much of his adult life at Warm Springs Reservation among Sahaptin speakers: **twín** 'tail' (Yakama Sahaptin [Beavert and Hargus 2009]).

**t'upa** [t'ú<sup>(o)</sup>.pʌ] Ref: EP 'cow parsnip (*Heracleum lanatum*)'.

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun shared with Kalapuyan: *i-t'úba* (Clackamas [mj slip-files]), *i-dúba* (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]), *an-t'úpa?* (Santiam Kalapuya [mj 74:24, 83:139]) '*H. lanatum*'.

**t'ux** [t'óx; t<sup>h</sup>óf] Ref: JH 1928, WB, EP, ID 'to spit; saliva'.

*Etym:* Similar looking forms are on record from local Salishan and Kalapuyan: *ʷtáx<sup>w</sup>s-* 'spit' (Cowlitz and Upper Chehalis stem-form [Kinkade]: cf Upper Chehalis *t'úx<sup>w</sup>sčinan* 'spit on'); [t'auʃ] 'spit' (Santiam Kalapuya [Hajda *pace* Swadesh 1953]), [taf, t'af] <taf, taf> 'saliva' (Marys River Kalapuya [Frachtenberg 1913, 1:16]). The immediate source of the citation form may have been an unrecorded Chinookan particle. The alternate form with [f] is from the Hudson

sisters, whose father spoke Santiam Kalapuya. Cf Bay Center CW [toh<sup>w</sup>] <toh<sup>w</sup>> 'to spit'.

**t'sipi** [ts'í<sup>(o)</sup>.pɪ, ts'í<sup>(o)</sup>.pɪʔ; tsí<sup>(o)</sup>.pɪ, tší<sup>(o)</sup>.pɪ] Ref: JH 1928, WB, EJ 'to miss'.

*Etym:* From a Kalapuyan transitive verb: *-c'ípiʔ, -č'ípiʔ* 'missed (it)' (Santiam-Marys River [Jacobs 1945:49.46 (1), 233.10 (4)]). Cf Bay Center CW [ts'ípiʔ] <ts'í'pɪ', ts'í'pɪ'> 'to miss the mark; to get lost, lose one's way'.

**t'sulu** [ts'ú<sup>(o)</sup>.lɔ] Ref: WB, EJ 'to get lost, lose the way'.

*Etym:* From a Kalapuyan intransitive verb: *-c'úloʔ* 'be lost' (Santiam-Marys River [Jacobs 1945:299]).

**walawala** [wá<sup>(o)</sup>.l̩/wá<sup>(o)</sup>.l̩] Ref: JH 1928, Gatschet (1877a:66) 'Walla Walla' (in **walawala-wín** 'East Wind').

*Etym:* From Sahaptin *walawála* 'little rivers' (reduplicated diminutive of *wána* 'river') (HNAI 12:419).

**wayhi** [wá<sup>(o)</sup>.lhi] Ref: Gatschet (1877:238), VH 'Hawaiians'.

*Etym:* From Hawaiian "Hawa'i", for the Polynesian homeland. Hawaiians were part of the ethnic mix during fur-trade times in the Pacific Northwest, and are represented in some Grand Ronde family geneologies.

**yamhil** [já<sup>(o)</sup>m.hɪl] Ref: Gatschet (1877a:26), Frachtenberg (Molala: 1911), VH (Jacobs 1958-59:556) 'Yamhills'.

*Etym:* From a Kalapuyan tribe-name. The Yamhills' own name for themselves was *a-yámil*; to other Kalapuyans they were known as the *a-yámhala* (Zenk 2008:26). The CW form has been influenced by local English, in which the name has long been pronounced as if it meant "yam hill" [sic].

**yankala** [yá<sup>(ó)</sup>ŋ.ɬ.Λ.Λ.] *Ref:* EP 'Yoncallas'.

*Etym:* From a Kalapuyan tribe name, recorded as Yoncalla (Southern Kalapuya) *a-yáncalat* and Santiam (Central Kalapuya) *a-yánc<sup>h</sup>alat* (Zenk 2008:26).

## 6 From English

**ayrish** [ʔá<sup>(ó)</sup>.l.rəš] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:238), WB 'Irish'.

*Etym:* From English "Irish".

**ays** •• *Ref:* <Aís> (Demers) 'ice'.

*Etym:* From English "ice".

**bastən** [bá<sup>(ó)</sup>s.ɬən; pá<sup>(ó)</sup>s.ɬən; bá<sup>(ó)</sup>.sən] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'American; White'.

*Etym:* From English "Boston", a legacy of the first American traders to visit the lower Columbia River, beginning with Captain Robert Gray and the crew of the *Columbia Rediviva* in 1792 - seafarers whose home port was most generally the city of Boston, Massachusetts. *Cf* Bay Center CW [pástən, p<sup>h</sup>ástən] <pâ-stən, p<sup>h</sup>â-stən, pá<sup>(ó)</sup>stən> 'American; White man'.

**bet** [bé<sup>(ó)</sup>t] *Ref:* JH 1928 'bet'.

*Etym:* From English "bet".

**bət** [bat; pət] *Ref:* WB, CR, EJ 'but'.

*Etym:* From English "but".

**bit** [br<sup>(ó)</sup>t] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ '(one) bit [a dime]; (two) bits [a quarter]'.

*Etym:* From English "bit". Gibbs's dictionary shows <Bit, Mit> 'a dime or shilling'.

**bon** [bó<sup>(ó)</sup>n] *Ref:* JH 1928 'bone; bone gambling piece'.

*Etym:* From English "bone".

**brich** [br<sup>(ó)</sup>tš] *Ref:* JH 1941, Gatschet (1877:260) 'bridge'.

*Etym:* From English "bridge".

**buk** [bók] *Ref:* JH 1928 'book'.

*Etym:* From English "book". *Cf* Bay Center CW <púk> 'book'. Harrington notes: "She [his informant, Emma Luscier of Bay Center, Washington] supposes the Eng[lish] word, if used in the jarg. [= CW], to be thus. She hesitates at approving this word, she w[oul]d ev[idently] never use it".

**but(s)** [bú<sup>(ó)</sup>t, bú<sup>(ó)</sup>ts] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:84) 'boot(s)'.

*Etym:* From English "boot(s)".

**chap** •• *Ref:* <tʃá<sup>(ó)</sup>p> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0329) 'Japanese'.

*Etym:* From non-standard English "Jap".

**chaynəmən** [tšá<sup>(ó)</sup>.l.nə.mən] *Ref:* JP 'Chinese; Oriental'.

*Etym:* From non-standard English "Chinaman" (Chinese; any Oriental).

**chayni** [tšái/n<sup>(ó)</sup>] *Ref:* Marion Mercier Forrester, Gatschet (1877:238) 'Chinese; Oriental'.

*Etym:* From non-standard English "Chinee" (Chinese; any Oriental).

**chəlis** •• *Ref:* 'Cherries' (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade], Wasco-Wishram [Hymes]).

*Etym:* From English "cherries". Appearing as Upper Chehalis  $\sqrt{\text{č}}\text{əlis}$  (Kinkade) and Wasco-Wishram *i-člilš* (Hymes slip-files). Like most other old loans from English into local indigenous languages, this one most likely came originally through the medium of CW.

**chik<sup>h</sup>in** •• *Ref:* <tcáini'am tcíkun> (mj Molala slip-files [Fred Yelkes]) 'Chinese Pheasant'.

*Etym:* From English "chicken".

- Appearing in Molala (mj slip-files); also known as regional CW.
- dakta** [dá<sup>(ó)</sup>k.t̚ʌ; dá<sup>(ó)</sup>k.t̚ər] *Ref:* EP, CR 'doctor'.  
*Etym:* From English "doctor". Cf Bay Center CW [tákt̚ʌ] <tâ·kt̚ʌ> 'doctor'.
- dala** [dá<sup>(ó)</sup>.l̚; tá<sup>(ó)</sup>.l̚] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'dollar; money'.  
*Etym:* From English "dollar". Cf Bay Center CW [tál̚ʌ] <Tâ·l̚ʌ> 'dollar'.
- dæchmæn** [dát̚s.mən] *Ref:* ID 'German'.  
*Etym:* From non-standard English for 'German'.
- djæs** [džás] *Ref:* WB, CR 'just'.  
*Etym:* From English "just".
- ən** [ʔən] *Ref:* CR 'and'.  
*Etym:* From English "and".
- fitəl** [fí.dəl] *Ref:* JH 1928 'fiddle'.  
*Etym:* From English "fiddle".
- geyt** [gɛ́t̚] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:385), CR 'gate'.  
*Etym:* From English "gate".
- gitəp** [gɪ.t̚ʌp; gɛ.t̚ʌp, kɪ.t̚ʌp] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, ET 'get up, arise'.  
*Etym:* From English "get up". Cf Bay Center CW <ki·t̚ʌp> 'get up!'.
- gul** [<agúl> (Gatschet 1877:263)] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:263) 'gold'.  
*Etym:* From English "gold".
- hal** [há<sup>(ó)</sup>] *Ref:* VH, EP 'pull, haul'.  
*Etym:* From English "haul". Cf Bay Center CW <há·l̚> 'to pull'.
- hala** [há<sup>(ó)</sup>.l̚] *Ref:* CR, EP 'holler, cry out'.  
*Etym:* From English "holler".
- haps** [há<sup>(ó)</sup>.ps] *Ref:* WB, EJ 'hops'.  
*Etym:* From English "hops".
- haws** [há<sup>(ó)</sup>ʌs] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ 'house; building'.  
*Etym:* From English "house". Cf Bay Center CW <há·ws> 'house'.
- hikchəm** [hí<sup>(ó)</sup>k.t̚səm, hé<sup>(ó)</sup>k.t̚səm; kʰí<sup>(ó)</sup>k.t̚səm] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:384, 1877a:84), Frachtenberg (1914,6:36, 12:19, 23), VH (mj 69:83) 'handkerchief'.  
*Etym:* From English "handkerchief" (and/or "kerchief", à la the alternate form **kʰikchəm**). Cf Bay Center CW [híkt̚səm] <hí·k.t̚səm> 'handkerchief'.
- hol** [hó<sup>(ó)</sup>] *Ref:* CR 'to hold'.  
*Etym:* From English "hold".
- hom** [hó<sup>(ó)</sup>m] *Ref:* CR, ID 'home'.  
*Etym:* From English "home".
- huf** [hóf, hú<sup>(ó)</sup>f] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:171) 'foot (in length)'.  
*Etym:* Apparently from English "hoof".
- kʰapech** • *Ref:* <Kapech> (Demers) 'cabbage'.  
*Etym:* From English "cabbage".
- kʰaptən** • *Ref:* <Kaptən> (Demers) 'captain'.  
*Etym:* From English "captain".
- kʰephaws** [ké<sup>(ó)</sup>p.hʌʌs] *Ref:* JH 1928 'jail'.  
*Etym:* From English "keep-house".
- kʰetəl** [ké<sup>(ó)</sup>.dəl; kɪ.dəl] *Ref:* CR 'kettle'.  
*Etym:* From English "kettle".
- kʰilay** [kʰɪ/lá<sup>(ó)</sup>ɪ; kʰlá<sup>(ó)</sup>ɪ] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR 'cry'.  
*Etym:* From English "cry". Cf Bay Center CW [kʰəláy] <kʰá·l̚ʌy> 'to cry'.
- kʰinchuch** [kʰɪm.t̚ʃú<sup>(ó)</sup>t̚ʃ; k̚m~kʰin.džú<sup>(ó)</sup>t̚ʃ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, Gatschet (1877:238)

'Englishman'.  
*Etym:* From English "King George". Cf Bay Center CW [kɪntʃótʃ] <kɪntʃóʔtʃ>.

**kʰipʰəp** [kʰíʰ.pəp] *Ref:* EJ 'keep up'.  
*Etym:* From English "keep up".

**kʰis** • *Ref:* <krʰs> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0492) 'kiss'.  
*Etym:* From English "kiss". A number of English words adopted into CW show extra-long vowels: here [rʰ], replacing English [ɪ].

**kitʰən** [kíʰ.tʰən-tʰən; kʰíʰ.tʰən-tʰən] *Ref:* VH, WB, CR, EP 'bucket'.  
*Etym:* Presumed to be from English "kettle". Cf Bay Center CW [kʰɪʰtʰən] <kʰíʰtʰən> 'kettle'.

**kʰlin** [kʰlíʰn] *Ref:* EJ, CR 'to clean'.  
*Etym:* From English "clean".

**klis** [klíʰs; kɪʰs, glíʰs] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EP, MM 'grease'.  
*Etym:* From English "Grease". Cf Bay Center CW [kəlís] <kʰlíʰs> 'fat'.

**klisi** [klíʰ.si] *Ref:* WB 'crazy'.  
*Etym:* From English "crazy".

**kʰlisməs** • *Ref:* <Klismes> (Demers) 'Christmas'.  
*Etym:* From English "Christmas".

**kʰofi** [kóʰ.fi; kʰáʰ.fi] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:125), MM 'coffee'.  
*Etym:* From English "coffee".

**kʰul** [kʰúʰ; kʰóʰ; kʰóʰlɪt, kóʰlɪt] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'cold; a year'.  
*Etym:* From English "cold" and/or "cool". Cf Bay Center CW <koʰl, kʰʊʰl> 'cold'.

**kʰum** • *Ref:* <Kom> (Demers), <Comb> (Gibbs) 'comb'.  
*Etym:* From English "comb".

**kʰut** [kʰót, kʰúʰ; kʰóʰlɪt] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:15, 103, 148, 1877a:84), Jacobs (re-elicitation of De Angulo and Freeland 1928, item 6230) 'coat; gown, dress'.

*Etym:* From English "coat".

**kʰwata** [kwáʰ.tʰ] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:160) 'quarter [25c]'.  
*Etym:* From English "quarter". Cf Bay Center CW [kwátʰ] <kwáatʰ [sic?]> '1/4'.

*Etym:* From English "quarter". Cf Bay Center CW [kwátʰ] <kwáatʰ [sic?]> '1/4'.

**kʰwilt** [kʰwíʰlɪt] *Ref:* VH, CR 'quilt'.  
*Etym:* From English "quilt".

**la** [láʰ] *Ref:* EP 'law'.  
*Etym:* From English "law".

**lam** [láʰm, lám] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, VH, CR 'whiskey; booze'.

*Etym:* From English "rum", a word going back to the English-speaking seafaring traders who began entering the mouth of the Columbia River in 1792. Cf Bay Center CW [lám] <lám> 'whiskey'.

**lariyet** [lɑ.ɾi.yéʰlɪt] *Ref:* JH 1928 'lariat; a lash'.  
*Etym:* From English (or Spanish?).

**lays** • *Ref:* <láyʰs> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0277), <láyʰs> (N Oregon Coast CW [Louie Fuller], jph 20.0123), <lais> (St. Onge) 'rice'.  
*Etym:* From English "rice".

**leyk** • *Ref:* <Lek> (Demers) 'lake, pond'.  
*Etym:* From English "lake".

**lisi** [líʰ.si] *Ref:* EP 'lazy'.  
*Etym:* From English "lazy".

**lup** [lúʰp; lóʰp] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB 'rope, line'.  
*Etym:* From English "rope". Cf Bay Center CW <lóʰp> 'string, thread,

- rope'.
- man** [má<sup>(ó)</sup>n] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'man, husband; male'.  
*Etym:* From English "man". Cf Bay Center CW <má'n> 'man'.
- meri** [mé<sup>(ó)</sup>.ri; mé<sup>(ó)</sup>.li, má<sup>(ó)</sup>.li] *Ref:* CR, MM 'to marry'.  
*Etym:* From English "marry".
- mə́lasis** • *Ref:* <malá'sis> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0295) 'syrup', <Molassis> (Demers) 'molasses'.  
*Etym:* From English "molasses".
- mə́skit** [más.kɪt] *Ref:* JH 1928 'gun'.  
*Etym:* From English "musket". Cf Bay Center CW <má'skit> 'gun (of any kind)'.
- mun** [mú<sup>(ó)</sup>n] *Ref:* JH 1928, CR 'moon; month'.  
*Etym:* From English "moon". Cf Bay Center CW <mú'n> 'moon, month'.
- nim** [ní<sup>(ó)</sup>m; né<sup>(ó)</sup>m] *Ref:* JH 1932, CR, ET, EP 'name'.  
*Etym:* From English "name". Cf Bay Center CW <ní'm> 'name'.
- nus** [nú<sup>(ó)</sup>s; nó<sup>(ó)</sup>z] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, ET, EP, MM 'nose'.  
*Etym:* From English "nose". Cf Bay Center CW <nú's> 'nose'.
- nuwis** [nú<sup>(ó)</sup>.wis] *Ref:* ET 'noise'.  
*Etym:* From English "noise".
- or** [ʔor] *Ref:* WB, CR 'or'.  
*Etym:* From English "or".
- phawaw** [p<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(ó)</sup>.waw] *Ref:* EP 'pow-wow'.  
*Etym:* Recently borrowed into local CW from modern pan-Indian English.
- paya** [pá<sup>(ó)</sup>.ya; p<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(ó)</sup>.ya] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'fire; to burn; cooked, done'.  
*Etym:* From English "fire". Cf Bay Center CW [páya] <páyα> 'fire'.
- phæ** [p<sup>h</sup>æ<sup>(ó)</sup>] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:18) 'pear'.  
*Etym:* From English "pear". In common with other recorders before us (notably, Melville Jacobs), we feel that English words borrowed into Grand Ronde tribal languages are probably also to be considered community CW, whether or not explicitly identified as such.
- phəy** [p<sup>h</sup>é<sup>(ó)</sup>] *Ref:* CR 'to pay'.  
*Etym:* From English "pay".
- phəynt** • *Ref:* <Peint> (Demers) 'paint, color'.  
*Etym:* From English "paint".
- piltən** [pí<sup>(ó)</sup>.tən, pí<sup>(ó)</sup>.ʔn; p<sup>h</sup>é<sup>(ó)</sup>.tən] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'foolish, crazy'.  
*Etym:* According to Gibbs (1863:20): "The Indians adopted this word from the name of a deranged person, Archibald Pelton, or perhaps Felton, whom Mr. Wilson P. Hunt found on his journey to Astoria, and carried there with him." If true, this anecdote dates the word to the presence of English-speaking traders during the early days of the land-based fur trade (Astoria was founded as Fort Astor in 1811). Cf Bay Center CW [páltan] <páltan> 'foolish'.
- pipa** [pí<sup>(ó)</sup>.pa; p<sup>h</sup>í<sup>(ó)</sup>.pa, p<sup>h</sup>é<sup>(ó)</sup>.pa] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'paper; letter, document, book'.  
*Etym:* From English "paper". Cf Bay Center CW [pí'pa] <pí'pα> 'paper'.
- pis** [pí<sup>(ó)</sup>s] *Ref:* WB 'to urinate'.  
*Etym:* From English "piss". A number of English words adopted into CW show de-aspirated initial consonants

(here [p], replacing English [p<sup>h</sup>]) and extra-long vowels (here [i<sup>o</sup>], replacing English [i]).

**pit** [pí<sup>o</sup>t] *Ref:* VH 'bed'.

*Etym:* From English "bed".

**p<sup>h</sup>lum** [p<sup>h</sup>lú<sup>o</sup>m; prú<sup>o</sup>m] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'broom'.

*Etym:* From English "broom". *Cf* Bay Center CW [pálóm] <p<sup>o</sup>lóm> 'broom'.

**pot** [pó<sup>o</sup>t; pót] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:85) 'boat'.

*Etym:* From English "boat". *Cf* Bay Center CW <pó·t> 'boat'.

**p<sup>h</sup>ush** [p<sup>h</sup>óš; pós, pú<sup>o</sup>s, p<sup>h</sup>ós] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, CR 'push'.

*Etym:* From English "push".

**rawnd** [rá<sup>o</sup>nd] *Ref:* VH, CR 'around in a circle; the whole of'.

*Etym:* From English "round".

**samən** [sá<sup>o</sup>.mən] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'salmon; fish (generic)'.

*Etym:* From English "salmon". *Cf* Bay Center CW [sámən] <sá·mən> 'fish (generic)'.

**san** [sá<sup>o</sup>n; sán] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'sun; day'.

*Etym:* From English "sun". *Cf* Bay Center CW <sá·n> 'sun'.

**sang** [sá<sup>o</sup>ŋ] *Ref:* CR 'a song'.

*Etym:* From English "song".

**santi** [sá<sup>o</sup>n.ti~sán.ti] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, LK 'Sunday; week'.

*Etym:* From English "Sunday". *Cf* Bay Center CW <sá·nti> (no translation given).

**sapil** • *Ref:* <sá·Píl> (mj Molala slip-files [Fred Yelkes]: identified as "jargon") 'shovel'.

*Etym:* From English "shovel".

**sik** [sík] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ 'sick; sickness'.

*Etym:* From English "sick". *Cf* Bay Center CW <sí·k> 'sick'. According to Harrington, the informant pointed out that CW [r] is "longer" than [i] in English "sick": suggesting that she did not consider the CW form to be simply the same as the English word.

**sil** [síl, sí<sup>o</sup>l] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, LK 'cloth, rag'.

*Etym:* From English "sail", a word going back to the English-speaking seafaring traders who began entering the mouth of the Columbia River in 1792. *Cf* Bay Center CW <sí·l> 'sail'.

**silhaws** [sí.l.həws, sí<sup>o</sup>.l.həws] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, LK 'tent; a camp'.

*Etym:* From English "sail" + English "house": refer to **sil**, **haws**. *Cf* Bay Center <sí·lhá·ws> 'tent'.

**sing** [sí<sup>o</sup>ŋ] *Ref:* CR 'to sing'.

*Etym:* From English "sing".

**sisu** [sí·sə] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:78) 'scissors'.

*Etym:* From English "scissor(s)". *Cf* Bay Center CW <sí·só> 'scissors'.

**skilit** [skí·lít] *Ref:* JH 1932 'cooking pot'.

*Etym:* From English "skillet".

**skin** [skí<sup>o</sup>n, skí<sup>o</sup>n] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'skin, hide; covering'.

*Etym:* From English "skin". *Cf* Bay Center CW <skí·n> 'skin'.

**skul** [skú<sup>o</sup>] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:36), WB, CR 'school'.

*Etym:* From English "school".

**smuk** [smú<sup>o</sup>k, smók, smó<sup>o</sup>k] *Ref:* VH, CR, EP 'smoke; to smoke (e. g., tobacco); to fumigate (ritually)'.

*Etym:* From English "smoke". *Cf* Bay

- Center CW <smó˙k> 'smoke'.
- snu** [snú<sup>(ó)</sup>; snó<sup>(ó)</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928 'snow; a year'.  
*Etm:* From English "snow".
- so** [só<sup>(ó)</sup>] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:9) 'saw'.  
*Etm:* From English "saw".
- so** [so] *Ref:* CR 'and so'.  
*Etm:* From English "so".
- solt** [só<sup>(ó)</sup>lt] *Ref:* Frachtenberg (1913, 1:36) 'salt'.  
*Etm:* From English "salt". Cf Bay Center CW [solt] <só˙lt> 'salt'.
- sop** •• *Ref:* <só˙p> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0466), <söp> (St. Onge), <sop> (Lionnet) 'soap'. Harrington also records Bay Center CW <só˙p> 'soup', but notes that <ó˙> in the latter is "closer" than the <ó> in 'soap'.  
*Etm:* From English "soap".
- spun** [spú<sup>(ó)</sup>n] *Ref:* JH 1928 'spoon'.  
*Etm:* From English "spoon". Cf Bay Center CW <spó˙n> 'spoon'.
- stachøn** •• *Ref:* <stá˙tʃæn> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0143), <Stutch˙-un> (Gibbs) 'sturgeon'.  
*Etm:* From English "sturgeon".
- stakin** [stá<sup>(ó)</sup>.kɪm] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:84), Frachtenberg (1913, 1:133) 'stockings, garters'.  
*Etm:* From English "stocking". Cf Bay Center CW [stákɪn] <stá˙kæn> 'stocking'.
- stik** [stí˙k] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'stick, bush, tree, woods; wood'.  
*Etm:* From English "stick". Cf Bay Center CW <stí˙k> 'tree'.
- stil** •• *Ref:* <Stil> (Demers).  
*Etm:* From English "steel".
- stinput** [stín/pú<sup>(ó)</sup>t] *Ref:* VH 'steamboat'.  
*Etm:* From English "steamboat".
- ston** [stó<sup>(ó)</sup>n, stó<sup>(ó)</sup>n] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'stone; testicles'.  
*Etm:* From English "stone". Cf Bay Center CW <stó˙n, stó˙n> 'stone, rock'.
- stuv** [stóv] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:5) 'stove'.  
*Etm:* From English "stove".
- shap** [šá<sup>(ó)</sup>p] *Ref:* EP 'sharp'.  
*Etm:* From English "sharp".
- shat** [šá<sup>(ó)</sup>t] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:74, 148, 272), Frachtenberg (1913, 1:133; 1914, 8:21), LK 'shirt'.  
*Etm:* From English "shirt". Cf Bay Center CW [šat] <šá˙t> 'shirt'.
- shat** •• *Ref:* <Shot> (Gibbs) 'shot, lead'.  
*Etm:* From English "shot".
- shim** [ší<sup>(ó)</sup>m] *Ref:* WB 'ashamed, embarrassed, disappointed'.  
*Etm:* From English "shame". Cf Bay Center CW [šem] <šé˙m> 'shame'.
- ship** [ší˙p] *Ref:* JH 1928 'ship'.  
*Etm:* From English "ship".
- shuka** [šú<sup>(ó)</sup>.kʌ~gʌ] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:125), VH 'sugar'.  
*Etm:* From English "sugar". Cf Bay Center CW [šukwʌʎa] <ju˙(k)kwá˙á> 'sugar'.
- shulchast** [šú<sup>(ó)</sup>ltʃʌst] *Ref:* VH 'soldiers'.  
*Etm:* From English "soldier(s)".
- shus** [šú<sup>(ó)</sup>s] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'shoes'.  
*Etm:* From English "shoe(s)".
- tanis** [tá<sup>(ó)</sup>.nis~nás; dá<sup>(ó)</sup>n(t)s, dá<sup>(ó)</sup>ns] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR, ET 'a dance';

to dance'.

*Etym:* From English "dance". Cf Bay Center CW <tá'ns, d́á'ns> 'dance'.

**t<sup>h</sup>awn** [t<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(o)</sup>ʌn] *Ref:* VH 'town'.

*Etym:* From English "town".

**t<sup>h</sup>aym** [t<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(o)</sup>im] *Ref:* WB, CR, ET 'time, occasion'.

*Etym:* From English "time".

**t<sup>h</sup>i** [t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>(o)</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877a:64) 'tea'.

*Etym:* From English "tea". Cf Demers <Ti> 'tea'.

**t<sup>h</sup>ikt<sup>h</sup>ik** • *Ref:* <tí'ktik> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0354), <aias-tik-tik> (St. Onge) 'clock'; <tik-tik> (St. Onge), <Tik'-tik> (Gibbs) 'watch'.

*Etym:* From English "tick-tick".

**tilay** [tí/lá<sup>(o)</sup>i, t̃á/lá<sup>(o)</sup>i; t̃.lá<sup>(o)</sup>i] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'dry'.

*Etym:* From English "dry". Cf Bay Center CW [təlái] <t<sup>h</sup>ály> 'dry'.

**tishis** [tí.ʃis] *Ref:* Frachtenberg (1913, 1:132) 'dishes'.

*Etym:* From English "dishes".

**t<sup>h</sup>ubits** [t<sup>h</sup>ú/bi<sup>(o)</sup>ts] *Ref:* EJ 'twenty-five cents'.

*Etym:* From English "two bits". Cf Bay Center CW <má'kwst pí't> 'two "bits"'.

**tumala** [t̃o.má<sup>(o)</sup>.l̃a, t̃.má<sup>(o)</sup>.l̃a; t<sup>h</sup>o.má<sup>(o)</sup>.l̃a] *Ref:* JH 1932, VH, WB, EJ 'tomorrow, next day'.

*Etym:* From English "tomorrow". Cf Bay Center CW [t̃amála] <tamá'la> 'tomorrow'.

**t<sup>h</sup>utt<sup>h</sup>ut** • *Ref:* <Tut tut> (Demers) 'wind instrument'.

*Etym:* Apparently from English "toot".

**ul** [ʔú<sup>(o)</sup>; ʔó<sup>(o)</sup>] *Ref:* CR 'old'.

*Etym:* From English "old".

**ulman** [ʔú<sup>(o)</sup>.l̃.m̃aŋ; ʔó<sup>(o)</sup>.l̃.m̃aŋ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, EJ 'old man, husband; senior'.

*Etym:* From English "old man". Cf Bay Center CW [ólmal̃n] <ó'lmán> 'old man'.

**wach** [wá<sup>(o)</sup>tʃ] *Ref:* CR 'to watch, look at'.

*Etym:* From English "watch".

**wach** • *Ref:* <Wach> (Demers) 'watch, clock'.

*Etym:* From English "watch".

**wash** *Ref:* EP 'to wash'.

*Etym:* From English "wash".

**wam** [wá<sup>(o)</sup>m] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'warm, hot'.

*Etym:* From English "warm". Cf Bay Center CW <wá'm> 'hot'.

**wayn** • *Ref:* <Waïn> (Demers) 'wine'.

*Etym:* From English "wine".

**wel** [wé<sup>(o)</sup>l] *Ref:* CR '(water) well'.

*Etym:* From English "well".

**wel** [wé<sup>(o)</sup>l, wé<sup>(o)</sup>l̃, wál̃?] *Ref:* CR 'well (then ...)'.

*Etym:* From English "well".

**wín** [wí<sup>(o)</sup>n; wí<sup>(o)</sup>ŋt̃, wí<sup>(o)</sup>nd] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, ET, CR 'wind; breath'.

*Etym:* From English "wind". Cf Bay Center CW <wí'n> 'wind'.

**wiski** • *Ref:* <Wiski> (Demers) 'whiskey'.

*Etym:* From English "whiskey".

**yuk** *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:137) 'yoke (measure for oxen)'.

*Etym:* From English "yoke".

## 7 From French

The initials MLT below stand for Marie-Lucie Tarpent (personal communications, 2010)

**apa** •<sup>r</sup> *Ref:* <Appa> (Demers) 'well then, ... ; if this is the case, ...'.

*Etym:* In a handwritten annotation to his personal copy of Demers (of which he was final editor), Fr. St. Onge cites French "äh bién or eh bien" (well!) as the likely source of this word. MLT concurs, citing the expression's Canadian French casual form: "eh ben" \e bɛ̃\.

**ata** [ʔá/ʔá<sup>0</sup>] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ 'wait, wait for'.

*Etym:* Probably from French "attends" \atã\ (second person singular imperative form of "attendre", to wait) (MLT).

**budi** [bɔ.dí<sup>0</sup>; bɔ.dí<sup>0</sup>] *Ref:* EP, JP 'to pout'.

*Etym:* Apparently from French "boudier", to sulk.

**dret** [dré<sup>0</sup>t; tré<sup>0</sup>t, tré<sup>0</sup>t; dlé<sup>0</sup>t, dlí<sup>0</sup>t] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, ET, CR 'straight; directly, really; correct, true'.

*Etym:* From Canadian French "drette", a dialect alternant of Standard French "droit(e)" 'straight, right(-hand)' (MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tɹálít] <tálí't, tálí't> 'straight, right, really'.

**eklis** •<sup>r</sup> *Ref:* <eklis> (Demers) 'the (Catholic) Church'.

*Etym:* From French "église".

**kabreys** [kɹ. bré<sup>0</sup>s; gɹ. bré<sup>0</sup>s] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:14) 'lariat strap'.

*Etym:* David Robertson (personal communication) calls our attention to New World French "cabresse", ultimately from Spanish "cabestro", referring to a halter rope: an entry in John Francis McDermott's A

*Glossary of Mississippi Valley French.*

**k<sup>h</sup>apu** [ká/pú<sup>0</sup>; ká/pó<sup>0</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ, MM 'jacket, coat'.

*Etym:* From French "capot". *Cf* Bay Center CW [kɹápú] <kapú; kapó> 'coat'.

**karapin** [ká.rɹɹ/pí<sup>0</sup>n; kɹ.ɹ.ɹ.pí<sup>0</sup>n] *Ref:* WB, JH 1928 'gun, rifle'.

*Etym:* From French "carabine". *Cf* Bay Center CW [skɹɹɹpí<sup>0</sup>n] <skɹɹɹpí<sup>0</sup>n> 'rifle'.

**k<sup>h</sup>at<sup>h</sup>olik** •<sup>r</sup> *Ref:* <Katolik> (Demers) 'Catholic'.

*Etym:* From French "catholique".

**k<sup>h</sup>riye** [k<sup>h</sup>ri<sup>0</sup>.ye; k<sup>h</sup>ri<sup>0</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, MM 'scream, yell, cry out'.

*Etym:* From the French verb "crier" \krije\. The alternate form **k<sup>h</sup>ri** may be from the noun "cri" and/or a homophonous singular verb form (MLT).

**kuri** [kú<sup>0</sup>.ri; kó.ri; kú<sup>0</sup>.li] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'to run'.

*Etym:* From French "courir" (probably reflecting the dialectal pronunciation \kuri\, according to MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW <kú·li> 'to run'.

**kushu** [kú<sup>0</sup>.ʃu] *Ref:* Jacobs 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'hog, pig'.

*Etym:* From French "cochon" \kɔʃɔ\ or \kuʃɔ\ (the latter is a dialect alternate; MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW [kúʃu] <kú·ju> 'hog'.

**labins** •<sup>r</sup> *Ref:* <labí·ns> (N Oregon Coast CW [Louie Fuller], jph 20.0103) 'beans'.

*Etym:* From Canadian French "bines", in turn derived from English "beans" (MLT).

**labrid** [lɹ. brí<sup>0</sup>d] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:83)

'bridle'.

*Etym:* From French "la bride". Cf Bay Center CW [lɔpəlɪt] <lɔp<sup>o</sup>lɪt> 'bridle'.

**lachuk** [lɔ.tʃú<sup>o</sup>k; tʃú<sup>o</sup>k] *Ref:* JH 1928, JP, EP, MM 'tasseled cap; hat, cap'.

*Etym:* From Canadian French "la tuque" \tʃyk\, referring to a knitted winter cap with a long tasseled tail (MLT). Mr. Norman Fleury, a speaker of Michif Cree (a Cree and French based "mixed language" spoken in Saskatchewan and Manitoba), informs us that the CW form is identical to a Michif Cree word also referring to a tasseled cap. Cf Demers <Latuk> 'woolen cap'.

**lahash** [lá/há<sup>o</sup>ʃ; li.há<sup>o</sup>ʃ] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, JP 'axe'.

*Etym:* From French "la hache". MLT points out that while [h] is not pronounced in modern Standard French, it is an archaic feature of some dialects, including Canadian French. Cf Bay Center CW [lɔháʃ] <lɔháʃ> 'axe'.

**lakan** [lɔ.ká<sup>o</sup>n] *Ref:* VH 'cane'.

*Etym:* From French "la canne".

**lah<sup>h</sup>arat** [lá.kɔ/rá<sup>o</sup>t; lé.kɔ/rá<sup>o</sup>t, lí.kɔ/ré<sup>o</sup>t; lá.kɔ/lá<sup>o</sup>t] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'carrots'.

*Etym:* From French "la carotte". Cf Bay Center CW [lɔkɔlɔt] <lɔkɔlɔt> 'carrot'.

**lah<sup>h</sup>aset** [lɔ.kɔ.sé<sup>o</sup>t] *Ref:* JH 1928 'trunk, box'.

*Etym:* From French "la cassette". Cf Bay Center CW [lɔkɔsɪt] <lɔkɔsɪt> 'box'.

**laklas** •• *Ref:* <Laklas> (Demers) 'ice'.

*Etym:* From French "la glace".

**lah<sup>h</sup>li** [lá/k<sup>h</sup>lí<sup>o</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, Gatschet (1877:85, 394) 'key'.

*Etym:* From French "la clé". Cf Bay Center CW [lɔklɪ] <lɔklɪ> 'key'.

**lak<sup>h</sup>lwa** •• *Ref:* <Lakloa> (Demers, St. Onge) 'cross'.

*Etym:* From French "la croix" \krwa\.

**lakum** [lɔ.kú<sup>o</sup>m; lɛ.kóm, lɔ.kó<sup>o</sup>m; lɔ.gó<sup>o</sup>m~gó<sup>o</sup>m] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, LK, EJ 'gum; pitch'.

*Etym:* From French "la gomme". Cf Bay Center CW [lɔkó<sup>o</sup>m] <lɔkó<sup>o</sup>m> 'pitch'.

**lalam** [lɔ.lá<sup>o</sup>m] *Ref:* VH 'paddle'.

*Etym:* From French "la rame" (the oar). Cf Bay Center CW [lɔlám] <lɔlám> 'oar'.

**lalang** [lɔ.lá<sup>o</sup>ŋ] *Ref:* JH 1928, ET, ID/MM 'tongue; language'.

*Etym:* From French "la langue" (tongue, language) (usually \lɑ̃ŋ) in casual speech, according to MLT). Cf Bay Center CW [lɔlɑŋ] <lɔlɑŋ> 'tongue'.

**lalsin** •• *Ref:* <Lalsin> (Demers) 'root'.

*Etym:* From French "la racine".

**lalim** [lɔ.lí<sup>o</sup>m] *Ref:* JH 1928 'file (tool)'.

*Etym:* From French "la lime". Cf Bay Center CW [lɔlím] <lɔlím> 'a file'.

**lamat<sup>h</sup>in** [lá.mɔ/t<sup>h</sup>í<sup>o</sup>n, lí.mɔ/t<sup>h</sup>í<sup>o</sup>n] *Ref:* EJ 'mittens'.

*Etym:* From Canadian French "la mitaine" (mitten).

**lamatsin** [lá.mɔ/tsí<sup>o</sup>n, lí.mɔ/tsí<sup>o</sup>n; lɔm.tsi<sup>o</sup>n; lɔ.mɛ.tsi<sup>o</sup>n] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'medicine'.

*Etym:* From French "la médecine". According to MLT, the word has come to mean 'the medical profession' in modern Standard French, but retains its earlier meaning of 'medicine' in Canadian

- French. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lɑmitsín] <lɑmitsín> 'medicine'.
- lamesh** [lá/mé<sup>(ó)</sup>ʃ] *Ref:* JH (Jacobs 1945:343) 'church'.  
*Etym:* From French "la messe" (the mass).
- lamətay** [lá.mə/tá<sup>(ó)</sup>ɪ (mɪ-mʊ-mə); lɑ.mo/tá<sup>(ó)</sup>ɪ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, EJ, CR 'mountain'.  
*Etym:* From French "la montagne".
- lamil** [lá/mí<sup>(ó)</sup>l] *Ref:* WB 'mule'.  
*Etym:* From French "la mule" (female mule). *Cf* Bay Center CW <lmíːl> 'jackass'.
- lamiyay** [lá.mi/yá<sup>(ó)</sup>ɪ; lám/yá<sup>(ó)</sup>ɪ, lám/yé<sup>(ó)</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, CR 'old woman'.  
*Etym:* From French "la vieille" \vjɛj\\. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lɑmiyáː] <lɑmiyáː> 'old woman'.
- lamuwel** [lɑ.mʊ.wé<sup>(ó)</sup>l; lɑm.wé<sup>(ó)</sup>l] *Ref:* JH 1928, EP 'marrow'.  
*Etym:* From French "la moelle"; Canadian French preserves the older pronunciation \mwel\\, contrasting with modern standard French \mwɑl\\ (MLT).
- lap<sup>h</sup>al** • *Ref:* <lapáːl> (middle Columbia CW [Joe Peter], jph 18.0009) 'paddle'.  
*Etym:* From French "la pale".
- lapal** • *Ref:* <lapáːl> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0272) 'ball'.  
*Etym:* From French "la balle".
- laparp** [lɑ.pá<sup>(ó)</sup>ɾp] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH 'beard'.  
*Etym:* From French "la barbe".
- lap<sup>h</sup>athak** • *Ref:* <Lapatak> (Demers) 'potatoes'.  
*Etym:* From a Canadian French word for 'potato': *cf* Michif Cree **lee patæk**
- 'potatoes' (Fleury and Barkwell 7), modern Canadian French "la pataque" 'sweet potato'.
- lap<sup>h</sup>el** • *Ref:* <Lapel> (Demers, St. Onge) 'spade, shovel'.  
*Etym:* From French "la pelle".
- lap<sup>h</sup>əyush** • *Ref:* <lap<sup>h</sup>yúːʃ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0424) 'shovel, spade, clam-digger'; <lapiosh> (Demers) 'hoe'.  
*Etym:* From French "la pioche" \pjɔʃ\\. MLT points out that the word means 'pick-axe' in Standard French, but may refer to several digging instruments in Canadian French.
- lap<sup>h</sup>ip** [lɑ.p<sup>h</sup>í<sup>(ó)</sup>p] *Ref:* WB, Frachtenberg (1913, 1:39, 91) 'pipe'.  
*Etym:* From French "la pipe". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lɑpíp] <lapíːp> 'pipe'.
- lapisk<sup>h</sup>wi** • *Ref:* <Lapiskwi> (Demers) 'biscuit, cake'.  
*Etym:* From French "le biscuit".
- lap<sup>h</sup>ish** • *Ref:* <lapíːʃ> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0424) 'pole'.  
*Etym:* From French "la perche".
- laplash** [lá/plá<sup>(ó)</sup>ʃ; lá/p<sup>h</sup>lá<sup>(ó)</sup>ʃ] *Ref:* JH 1928, LK, Gatschet (1877:196) 'plank, lumber; seed bat'.  
*Etym:* From French "la planche" \plɑʃ\\. *Cf* Bay Center CW [lɑpláʃ] <lapláːʃ> 'board'.
- lapot** [lɑ.p<sup>(ó)</sup>ɪt; li.p<sup>(ó)</sup>ɪt; lɑ.p<sup>(ó)</sup>ɪrt] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB 'door'.  
*Etym:* From French "la porte". *Cf* Bay Center CW [lɑpót] <lapóːt> 'door'.
- lapot<sup>h</sup>ay** [lɑ.po.t<sup>h</sup>á<sup>(ó)</sup>ɪ; lá.po.té<sup>(ó)</sup>ɪ, lá.po.tá<sup>(ó)</sup>ɪ] *Ref:* Jacobs 1928, EJ 'bottle'.  
*Etym:* From French "la bouteille" (Canadian French "tends toward" \butaj\\, vs Standard \butej\\,

according to MLT). Cf Bay Center CW [lɒpɒtáɪ] <lɒpɒtáɪy> 'bottle'.

**lapush** [lá/pú<sup>(ó)</sup>ʃ~bú<sup>(ó)</sup>ʃ] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, CR, EP 'mouth'.  
*Etym:* From French "la bouche". Cf Bay Center CW [lɒpú:ʃ] <lɒpú:ʃ> 'mouth'.

**lap<sup>h</sup>ushet** • Ref: <Lapushet> (Demers, St. Onge) 'fork'.  
*Etym:* From French "la fourchette".

**lap<sup>h</sup>uwel** [lɒ.pɒ.wé<sup>(ó)</sup>; lɛ.pɒ.wɛl] Ref: JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:8), Frachtenberg (1913, 1:132) 'frying pan'.  
*Etym:* From French "la poêle"; Canadian French preserves the older pronunciation ɒpwe:l, contrasting with modern Standard French ɒpwal (MLT). Cf Bay Center CW [lɒpɒwél] <lɒpɒwé:l> 'frying pan'.

**larp** [lá<sup>(ó)</sup>rɒp] Ref: EP 'Kinnikinnick leaves; marijuana'.  
*Etym:* From French "l'herbe": cf Michif Cree (from Canadian Métis French) **l'arb**, referring to an herb (Fleury and Barkwell).

**lasel** [lɒ.sé<sup>(ó)</sup>] Ref: JH 1928 'saddle'.  
*Etym:* From French "la selle". Cf Bay Center CW [lɒsél] <lɒsé:l> 'saddle'.

**lasiyet** • Ref: <lɒsɪyɪ't> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0432), <Lasiyet> (Demers) 'plate'.  
*Etym:* From French "l'assiette" \lasjet\.

**lasup** [lá/sú<sup>(ó)</sup>p] Ref: JH 1928/1932 'soup'.  
*Etym:* From French "la soupe".

**laswe** • Ref: <lɒswé> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0433: <e> is "open"), <Laswa> (Demers) 'silk'.  
*Etym:* From French "la soie", with the older (still Canadian)

pronunciation ɒswɛ (MLT).

**lashantel** [lɒ.ʃɒn.tɛ<sup>(ó)</sup>; lɪ.ʃɒn/tɛ<sup>(ó)</sup>] Ref: JH 1928, LK 'candle'.

*Etym:* From French "la chandelle".

**lashen** • Ref: <Lashen> (Demers) 'chain'.

*Etym:* From French "la chaîne" \ʃɛn\.

**lashəmine** [lá.ʃə.mi.nɛ; lɛ.ʃam/né<sup>(ó)</sup>] Ref: Jacobs 1928, LK 'chimney'.

*Etym:* From French "la cheminée" (chimney, fire-place).

**latam** [lá/tá<sup>(ó)</sup>m; lɪ/tá<sup>(ó)</sup>m] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, LK, Gatschet (1877:83) 'table'.

*Etym:* From French "la table" \tabl\ (final [l] tends to disappear in casual speech, especially in Canadian French; MLT). Cf Bay Center CW [lɒtám] <lɒtám> 'table'.

**latet** [lɒ.tɛ<sup>(ó)</sup>t; lɒ.tɪ<sup>(ó)</sup>t] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'head'.

*Etym:* From French "la tête". Cf Bay Center CW [lɒtét] <lɒtét> 'head'.

**lawen** [lá/wé<sup>(ó)</sup>n] Ref: LK, Gatschet (1877a:64, 93), JH (Jacobs 1945:329) 'oats'.

*Etym:* From French "l'avoine", with dialectal weakening of intervocalic [v] (MLT). Cf Bay Center CW [lɒwén] <lɒwé:n> 'oats'.

**lawest** • Ref: <lɒwé'st> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0434: <e> is "open"), <Lawest> (Demers) 'vest'.

*Etym:* From French "la veste" (vest), with dialectal weakening of intervocalic [v] (compare **lawen**) (MLT).

**lefil** [lɛ~lɪ.fɪ<sup>(ó)</sup>] Ref: JH 1928 'thread'.

*Etym:* From French "le fil".

**legley** [lɛ.glé<sup>(ó)</sup>; lɒ.gré<sup>(ó)</sup>] Ref: JH 1928, EP

- 'grey'.  
*Etym:* Evidently from French "le gris", though apparently influenced by English "grey" (MLT).
- lek<sup>h</sup>lu** [lɛ.kʰlú<sup>o</sup> (lɛ~li)] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:213) 'nail'.  
*Etym:* From French "le clou". Cf Bay Center CW [lɪkəlu] <lɪk<sup>o</sup>lú> 'nail', Demers <Leklu> 'nail, peg'.
- lemart<sup>h</sup>o** [lɛ.má<sup>o</sup>r.to] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:83) 'hammer'.  
*Etym:* From French "le marteau".
- lemula** [lɛ.mu.lá<sup>o</sup> (lɛ~li)] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:225) 'mill'.  
*Etym:* From French "le moulin" \mulɛ̃\\. Cf Bay Center CW <môlâ> 'a mill'.
- lemus** •• *Ref:* <lemus> (Demers, St. Onge), <lemush> (St. Onge) 'fly, gnat'.  
*Etym:* From French "les mouches".
- lep<sup>h</sup>ashey** •• *Ref:* <Lepashe> (Demers 66) 'shepherd(s)'.  
*Etym:* From French "le berger" \bɛʁʒɛ\ (shepherd) (MLT).
- lep<sup>h</sup>et** •• *Ref:* <Lepet> (Demers 32) 'festival, holiday'.  
*Etym:* From French "les fêtes" (the holidays).
- lep<sup>h</sup>iyesh** ••  
*Etym:* From French "le piège" (trap, snare).
- lep<sup>h</sup>ot** •• *Ref:* <Lepot> (Demers) 'pitcher, cup'.  
*Etym:* From French "le pot" (pitcher, pot; not cup); no final [t] in Standard French, but possible as Canadian French (MLT).
- lep<sup>h</sup>ul** [lɛ.p<sup>h</sup>ú] *Ref:* JH 1928 'chicken'.  
*Etym:* From French "les poule(s)". Cf
- Bay Center CW <lɪp<sup>o</sup>lú> 'chicken'.
- leruban** [lɛ.ru.bɔn] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:84) 'ribbons'.  
*Etym:* Presumably from French "le ruban", though the final [n] is anomalous (influenced by English "ribbon"?). Cf Bay Center CW [lɪlɔpá] <lɔlɔpâ> 'ribbon'.
- lesash** •• *Ref:* <Lesash> (Demers) 'angel'.  
*Etym:* From French "les anges" (angels).
- lespro** [lɛ.spró<sup>o</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928 'spurs'.  
*Etym:* From French "les éperons" \lezɛprɔ̃\ (spurs). MLT observes that the dropping of the French second syllable in the CW form conforms to a Canadian French phonological pattern (devoicing or loss of high vowels next to voiceless consonants).
- leshaf** [lɛ.šá<sup>o</sup>f] *Ref:* JH 1928 'egg'.  
*Etym:* The source is French "les œufs" \lezø̃\, plural form of "l'œuf" \œf\\. MLT observes that the co-occurrence of [f] with plural "les" seen in the CW form could reflect a Canadian French dialect alternate or local innovation, not necessarily a CW speakers' generalization. Cf Bay Center CW <lɪsá:p> 'egg(s)'.
- letowa** •• *Ref:* <letoa, letoe> (St Onge) 'finger, claw'.  
*Etym:* From French "les doigts" \dwa\ (fingers, not claws) (MLT).
- lähwet** [lɔ.hwɛ<sup>o</sup>t] *Ref:* JH 1928 'whip'.  
*Etym:* From Canadian French "le fouet" \fwɛt\; no final [t] in Standard French, but possible as Canadian French (MLT). Cf Bay Center CW [lɪhwét] <lɔhwét> 'whip'.
- ləsandjel** [lə.sɔn.dʒɛ<sup>o</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928

'belt'.

*Etym:* "La ceinture" \sɛ̃tyr\ is modern Standard French for 'belt', but according to MLT a more likely source is "la sangle" \sɑ̃gl\ (strap, especially, the strap going around the belly of a horse or mule); [dʒ] in the CW form could have arisen as a palatalization of [g] in some Canadian French variety. [n] and final [l] are harder to explain, possibly bespeaking English influence.

**libarədu** [li.bá<sup>o</sup>.rə.du; ɛ.ɸá<sup>o</sup>.l.tu] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:13), LK (Frachtenberg in Gatschet 1877:13) 'shingles, clapboard'.  
*Etym:* From French "le(s) bardeau(s)" (shingles) (MLT).

**liblo** [li/bló<sup>o</sup>] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877a:70) 'sorrel (color)'.  
*Etym:* From French "le blond" \blɔ̃\.

**ligwin** [li.gwi<sup>o</sup>n (li~lə); ɛ.ɸwi<sup>o</sup>n] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:9), LK (Frachtenberg in Gatschet 1877:9) 'a saw'.  
*Etym:* From French "l'égoïne" \ɛgoin\, the technical term for the usual kind of handsaw (MLT).

**lik<sup>b</sup>ak** [li.khá<sup>o</sup>k (li~ɛ)] *Ref:* EP, JP, Gatschet (1877:366) 'rooster'.  
*Etym:* From French "le coq". *Cf* Bay Center CW <likó·k> 'rooster'.

**likart** [li.ɸá<sup>o</sup>rt] *Ref:* JH 1928 'cards'.  
*Etym:* From French "les cartes" \le kart\ (cards).

**lik<sup>b</sup>ay** • *Ref:* <likâ·y> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0439), <Lekâi> (Demers) 'spotted, speckled'.  
*Etym:* From French "la caille" \kaj\ (quail) (MLT).

**lik<sup>b</sup>rem** [li/k<sup>h</sup>rɛ<sup>o</sup>m] *Ref:* LK 'yellow, dun, buckskin-colored'.  
*Etym:* From French "la crème"

\krɛm\ (cream), possibly confused with "le Saint-Chrême" \krɛ·m\ (the holy chrism; hence perhaps, li in the CW form) (MLT).

**liku** [li/ɸú<sup>o</sup>; ɛ/k<sup>h</sup>ú<sup>o</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR, EP, JP 'neck, throat'.  
*Etym:* From French "le cou". *Cf* Bay Center CW <likú> 'neck'.

**lilu** [li.lɔ; ɛ.lú<sup>o</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, EJ 'wolf'.  
*Etym:* From French "le loup" \lu\.

**lima** [li/má<sup>o</sup>; ɛ.má<sup>o</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'hand, arm'.  
*Etym:* From French "les mains". *Cf* Bay Center CW <limá, li·má> 'hand'.

**limoto** [li.mó/tó<sup>o</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, Gatschet (1877:31, 83, 207) 'sheep'.  
*Etym:* From French "le(s) mouton(s)". *Cf* Bay Center CW <limotó, limu·tú> 'sheep'.

**limulo** • *Ref:* <limoló> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0274), <lemolo> (Demers), <Le-mó-lo> (Gibbs) 'wild'.  
*Etym:* According to Gibbs, the source is Canadian French "le moron", meaning 'wild, untamed'. MLT suggests that this is a non-standard spelling for "le marron" \marɔ̃\, an adjective for 'escapee, outlaw'.

**lipisk<sup>b</sup>wi** • *Ref:* <lipiskwi·> (Bay Center CW, jph 18.0435) 'round hard-tacks', <lapiskwi> (Demers) 'biscuit, cake'.  
*Etym:* From French "le biscuit" (small flat cake, cracker).

**lip<sup>h</sup>la** [li.p<sup>h</sup>lá<sup>o</sup>] *Ref:* WB 'plate'.  
*Etym:* From French "le plat" \pla\ (dish [utensil or food]).

**lip<sup>h</sup>ret** [li/p<sup>h</sup>rɛ<sup>o</sup>t] *Ref:* JH 1928, JH (Jacobs 1945:343), MM 'priest, minister'.

*Etym:* From French "le prêtre"  
\\pʁɛtr\\ (final [r] would tend to  
disappear in casual speech,  
especially in Canadian French; MLT).  
*Cf* Bay Center CW <liplé't>  
'preacher'.

**lipum** [li/pú<sup>(o)</sup>m; lé~li/pó<sup>(o)</sup>m ~pó<sup>(o)</sup>m] *Ref:*  
JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'apple'.

*Etym:* From French "les pommes"  
\\pɔm\\ (but \\pum\\ in some Canadian  
dialects; MLT). *Cf* Bay Center CW  
<lipó'm> 'apple'.

**lip<sup>h</sup>wa** [li/p<sup>h</sup>wá<sup>(o)</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1932, Gatschet  
(1877:37) 'peas; green beans'.

*Etym:* From French "le(s) pois"  
\\pwa\\ (peas). *Cf* Bay Center CW  
[lipəwá] <lip<sup>o</sup>wá> 'peas'.

**lip<sup>h</sup>yi** [li/p<sup>h</sup>yi<sup>(o)</sup>; li/p<sup>h</sup>i<sup>(o)</sup>; le.pi.yé<sup>(o)</sup>, li'.pi.yi]  
*Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB 'foot'.

*Etym:* From French "les pieds" \\pje\\.  
*Cf* Bay Center CW <lipiyí> 'foot'.

**lisak** [li/sá<sup>(o)</sup>k; lé/sá<sup>(o)</sup>k] *Ref:* JH 1928, JH  
(Jacobs 1945:21), VH, WB, EP 'bag,  
sack'.

*Etym:* From French "le sac". *Cf* Bay  
Center CW <lisá'k> 'bag'.

**lisayu** • *Ref:* <liṣṣayó> (N Oregon Coast  
CW [Louie Fuller], jph 20.0104), <Lesoió>  
(Demers) 'onion'.

*Etym:* From French "les oignons"  
\\lez ɔnjɔ\\.

**lishesh** [li/šé<sup>(o)</sup>š] *Ref:* EJ 'chair'.

*Etym:* From French "la chaise".

**lishol** [li/šó<sup>(o)</sup>] *Ref:* LK, Gatschet  
(1877:84, 148) 'shawl'.

*Etym:* From French "le châle" \\ʃal\\.

**lita** [li/tá<sup>(o)</sup>; le.tá<sup>(o)</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR,  
JP 'tooth, teeth'.

*Etym:* From French "les dents" \\dã\\.  
*Cf* Bay Center CW <litá> 'tooth,  
teeth'.

**liyop** [li/yó<sup>(o)</sup>p, li/yó<sup>(o)</sup>b; li.yá<sup>(o)</sup>b] *Ref:* JH  
1928, JH (Jacobs 1945:284), EL 'the  
devil'.

*Etym:* From French "le diable";  
probably a dialect form such as  
\\gja'b\\, rather than Standard  
French \\djabl\\ (MLT). *Cf* Bay Center  
CW <liyó'p> 'the devil'.

**lolsh** • *Ref:* <Lolsh> (Demers) 'barley'.

*Etym:* From French "l'orge".

**malakwa** • *Ref:* <malakwa> (Demers),  
<Mél-a-kwa, Mál-a-kwa> (Gibbs)  
'mosquito'.

*Etym:* From Canadian French  
"maringouin", based in turn upon a  
borrowing from Portuguese, which in  
turn is based upon a word  
contributed by Tupi-Guarani, a  
South American Native language  
(Alan H. Hartley, personal  
communication 2005).

**maliyash** • *Ref:* <Maliash> (Demers, St.  
Onge) 'marriage'.

*Etym:* From French "mariage"  
\\marjaʒ\\.

**malyi** • *Ref:* <məl.yí'> (Bay Center  
CW, jph 18.0293) 'to marry;  
married'.

*Etym:* From French "marié" \\marje\\  
(married), also used transitively (to  
marry) (MLT).

**mama** [má/má<sup>(o)</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB,  
CR 'mother'.

*Etym:* From French "maman"  
\\mamã, mãmã\\. *Cf* Bay Center CW  
[mámá] <má<sup>(o)</sup>má> 'mother'.

**masi** • *Ref:* <má'si> (Bay Center CW,  
jph 18.0303) 'thank-you'.

*Etym:* From Canadian French  
"merci" \\marsí\\ (for Standard  
French \\mersí\\; MLT).

**mersi** [mé<sup>(o)</sup>r.si] *Ref:* EP 'thank-you'.

*Etym:* Compare regional **masi** •. The speaker (EP) may have been influenced by modern standard French.

**nipersi** [nɪ̃.pœr.si] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:31) 'Nez Perce Indians'.

*Etym:* From French "nez percé" \ne pɛrse\, 'pierced nose' (HNAI 12:437).

**nowel** • *Ref:* <Noel> (Demers) 'Christmas'.

*Etym:* From French "Noël" \nœl\.

**papa** [pá/pá<sup>(o)</sup>; p<sup>h</sup>ápá] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'father'.

*Etym:* From French "papa" ("daddy"). *Cf* Bay Center CW [pápá] <pápá> 'father'.

**pi** [pi, pi<sup>(o)</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'and, but, yet; than'.

*Etym:* From Canadian French "pis", corresponding to Standard French "puis": compare Michif Cree (from Métis French) **pi** 'and' (Fleury and Barkwell 6). *Cf* Bay Center CW <pi> 'and'.

**p<sup>h</sup>liye** • *Ref:* <Plie> (Demers, St. Onge) 'pray; religion; sacred'.

*Etym:* From French "prier" \priye\ (to pray).

**ptsiza** [ptsɪ.zá<sup>(o)</sup>, ptʃi.zá<sup>(o)</sup>; tʃi.zá<sup>(o)</sup>; t<sup>h</sup>ɪ.zá<sup>(o)</sup>, t<sup>h</sup>ə.žá<sup>(o)</sup>] *Ref:* JH (Jacobs 1945:275-335), EP, EL 'Petit Jean; the trickster'.

*Etym:* From Canadian French \ptsizã, tižã\, corresponding to Standard French "Petit Jean" \p(ə)tižã\ (MLT); *cf* "Ti-Jean", given as "the French (French Canadian) trickster" (Bakker 1992:63).

**p<sup>h</sup>uli** [p<sup>h</sup>u.li<sup>(o)</sup>] *Ref:* EP 'rotten'.

*Etym:* From French "pourri". It is possible that the speaker (EP) refreshed her memory of this word by consulting Edward Harper

Thomas's (1935) popular dictionary, in which the word appears spelled "POO'-LIE". Most words of French origin retain [r] in local CW, albeit not in regional CW: *cf* Bay Center CW <pô'li> 'rotten'.

**puyu** [pú<sup>(o)</sup>.yɔ; bo.yá<sup>(o)</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, JP 'broth, soup'.

*Etym:* From French "bouillon" \bujõ\.

**sandəli** [sá<sup>(o)</sup>n.də.li] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877a:70) 'roan (colored)'.

*Etym:* From French "cendré".

**sesuk<sup>h</sup>li** • *Ref:* <Sesu Kli> (Demers), <Iesu-Kli> (St. Onge) 'Jesus Christ'.

*Etym:* From French "Jésus Christ" \ʒɛzy kri\.

**shapu** [šá/pú<sup>(o)</sup>] *Ref:* EP, ID 'hat'.

*Etym:* From French "chapeau".

**shati** [šá<sup>(o)</sup>.ti] *Ref:* VH 'to sing'.

*Etym:* From French "chanter".

**shawash** [šá/wá<sup>(o)</sup>ʃ; sá/wá<sup>(o)</sup>ʃ] *Ref:* JH 1928/1932/1941, WB, EJ 'Indian'.

*Etym:* From French "sauvage" (wild). A Métis French origin or influence is suggested by the following citation from materials of the Michif language program: **savazh**, **savæzh** 'Indian' (Fleury and Barkwell 4, 5). WB remembered that French-speaking community members would sometimes refer to Indians as [sɒvæʃ] (sic), a term which he took to be derogatory. He was not aware that his own word for 'Indian' (**shawash**) is from the same source. *Cf* Bay Center CW [sawáʃ] <sawá<sup>(o)</sup>ʃ> 'Indian'.

**shenu** • <shenu> (St. Onge) 'knee'.

*Etym:* From French "genou" \ʒ(ə)nu\.

**ubut** [ʔu/búʔt, ʔu.bóʔt, ʔu.póʔt] *Ref:* JH 1928, CR 'end, goal'.

*Etym:* From Canadian French "au bout" (at the end; cf "le but", goal); in contrast to Standard French, the Canadian pronunciation retains final [t] (MLT).

## 8 From multiple sources

**ank'aw** [ʔʌn/k'áʔo] *Ref:* EJ 'untie'.

*Etym:* From English "un-" + CW (from Chinookan) **k'aw** 'tied'.

**ikt'as** [ʔiktʌs] *Ref:* EJ, EP 'clothes'.

*Etym:* From CW (from Chinookan) **ikta** 'thing, something' + the English plural suffix -s. As EJ remarked, "**ikt'as** is clothes . . . 'things' they said" (EJ 44). Cf Bay Center CW [ʔiktʌs] <'iktʌs> 'things'.

**kakupus** [kʌʔ.gu.pʊs] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ 'seemingly, as if'.

*Etym:* Contracted for CW (of obscure origin) **kakwa** 'thus, so' + CW (from Chinookan) **pus** 'if, would'.

**lakamas** [lá.kʌ/máʔs, ʌ.kʌʔ.mʌs] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, EJ, JP 'camas; edible roots'.

*Etym:* From Nez Perce *qém'es* 'camas', picked up by French-speaking voyageurs and introduced into CW with the French article *la-*. Cf Bay Center CW [ʌkʌmʌs] <ʌkʌmʌs> 'camas'.

**lap'heyl** • *Ref:* <lapél> (Middle Columbia CW [Joe Peter], jph 18.0009: one of Harrington's more cryptic citations; in its entirety it reads: "lapél We used a can for boiling").

*Etym:* Evidently, a local French borrowing of English "pail".

**lap'usmu** [lá.pʊs.mu] *Ref:* JH 1928 'saddle-blanket, sitting-blanket; bed'.

*Etym:* According to Kinkade (2004:38), this word is ultimately from Ojibwa *appišimo'n* 'something to lie or sit on'; initial *la-* shows that it was introduced into CW by French-speaking fur-company employees. Cf *lapišmú* 'saddle-blanket' (Cowlitz [Kinkade]).

**latsik'han-stik** • *Ref:* <Latsikanstik> 'oak' (Demers).

*Etym:* From a Chinookan noun plus CW (from English) **stik** 'wood': *i-láckan* <i-láfs-kan> (Chinook [Curtis]), *it-náćkan* (Wishram [Dyk 94]) 'oak'; cf *t-t'útłáćkan* <łłō'tElatćkan> 'hearth-side sitting-plank' (a feature of traditional Chinookan houses) (KT 100.10).

**lesuk'ar** [lɛ.súʔ.kʌr] *Ref:* JH 1928 'sugar'.

*Etym:* MLT observes that the CW form violates expected pattern for deriving a CW word from a French source: the putative source, "le sucre" \lə sykr\, would probably have dropped its final [r]; and the vowel \y\ [ü] should not be represented by CW [u]. Apparently, local French from English "sugar".

**lishat** [li.šáʔt] *Ref:* JH 1928 'shirt'.

*Etym:* Apparently, local French from English "shirt".

**p'atlam** [p'áʔ.tʌm, p'áʔ.tʌm, p'áʔ.tʌm, páʔ.tʌm] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'drunk'.

*Etym:* While obviously compound in origin (consisting of **p'at** 'full', from Chinookan, and **lam** 'booze', from English), this item is usually perceived and pronounced as one word, with stress falling on the first syllable.

**p'asayuks** [pa.sáʔ.yuks, pa.sáʔ.yuks] *Ref:* JH 1928, EJ, JP 'French'.

*Etym:* Two etymologies of this word

are on record. Gibbs (1863:20), noting that Chinookans referred to Lewis and Clark as "Pashisheooks", proposes Chinookan *-pašiši* 'blanket' + *-ukš* [plural]. Hale (1846:640) proposes "Français" \frãse\ (also \frãsa\ in Canadian French) 'French' + *-ukš*, observing that Chinookan lacks the segments [f] and [r] and the nasalized vowel: hence, (assumed Chinookan) [pasá(ɪ)] + *-ukš* 'French person/people'. While Gibbs's proposal no doubt explains Lewis and Clark's "Pashisheooks" (*cf* Lewis and Clark in Moulton 1990, 6:434: "they call us pã-shish'e-ooks, or *cloth men*"), Hale's form/meaning match is more convincing as an explanation of CW **p<sup>h</sup>asayuks**.

**p<sup>h</sup>us** [p<sup>h</sup>ú<sup>h</sup>s; p<sup>h</sup>ú<sup>h</sup>s, pú<sup>h</sup>s; p<sup>h</sup>ús.p<sup>h</sup>us] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'cat'.

*Etym:* Ultimately from English "puss" (compare alternate forms), [p] marking a Chinookan diminutive. [s], which belongs to the original English word, can also mark a diminutive form in Chinookan; according to Sapir (in Boas 641-642), [p] (in the source-word) changes to [p<sup>h</sup>] (in Chinookan) because "p in *-pus* [sic] would not be consistent with diminutive s". *Cf* Bay Center CW <pú'spos, pu's> 'cat'.

**saltšəqw** [sá<sup>h</sup>l.tšəqw] *Ref:* WB 'ocean; saltwater'.

*Etym:* From English "salt" plus CW (from Chinookan) **tsəqw** 'water'. *Cf* Bay Center CW [sól't-tšəqw] <só'lt tsəkw> 'salt-water'.

**təmwata** [tám/wá<sup>h</sup>ʔa.təm.wá<sup>h</sup>ʔər] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, Gatschet (1877:31) 'Willamette Falls, Oregon City; Willamette Falls Chinookans'.

*Etym:* From CW (from Chinookan) **tum** 'thump' + English "water". *Cf* Bay Center CW [támwátá, tāmwótá] <támwá'tá, tāmwó'tá> 'waterfall'.

**wikna** [wí<sup>h</sup>k.ná] *Ref:* WB, EP 'isn't that right?'

*Etym:* From CW (from Nootka Jargon) **wik** 'no' + CW (from Chinookan/Salishan) **na** '?'.

## 9 Of obscure origin

**aha** [ʔá/há<sup>h</sup>, ʔá.há] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB, CR 'yes'.

*Etym:* Also recorded as 'yes' in Kalapuyan (Takeuchi 1969); *cf* also English "ühuh".

**aləksə** [ʔá<sup>h</sup>.ləksə] *Ref:* EP 'beg for'.

*Etym:* This word suggests, without perfectly matching, some elements recorded from local Salishan languages: *cf* √ʔale- 'pity, poor', √ʔaləq<sup>w</sup>- 'loosen' (Tillamook [Thompson and Thompson]); ó·x<sup>w</sup>š=aláč'a 'beggar' (from √ʔó·x<sup>w</sup>aš- 'beg for' + =aláč'a 'agent, doer of' [lexical suffix]; Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]: *cf* Lower Chehalis [Snow] ux<sup>w</sup> 'give').

**alikh<sup>h</sup>uchik** [-allíkotchik] (Gatschet 1877:111) *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:111) 'dentalium shells' (given as English translation of Tualatin <atchípin>).

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Gibbs's dictionary includes <Luk'-ut-chee, Lá-kwit-chee> as a word for clams "used chiefly on Puget Sound". Gibbs's form may be from French "la coquille" \kəkij\ (shell), as he suggests: note that "qu" [k] would tend to be palatalized in Canadian French, making the substitution of "tch" for "qu" less strange than it might first appear. Gill's dictionary (1909 ed., 47) has <Al'-lí-ká-cheek'> as "a small shell worn as an ornament for the ear!"; we have so far been unable to trace Gill's source.

**alim** [ʔá.lí<sup>h</sup>m; ʔí.lí<sup>h</sup>m, ʔé.lé<sup>h</sup>m] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'to rest'.

*Etym:* French "aliment" (food) has

been suggested as the source of this word. But according to MLT: “Even if the meanings were more compatible, this [French] word is not an ordinary, everyday word like English 'food', it belongs to a higher, more specialized register (e.g. when discussing nutrition) and would have been unlikely in the vocabulary of French speakers in the relevant time and place”; moreover, “the expected correspondence [of 'aliment'] with CW would be *\*(a)lima*, not *alim*.” Cf (especially with reference to EJ’s alternate forms *ilim*, *eleyim*) the Lower Chinook verb-stem *-?im* 'feed', as in *n-a-l-?im-a* '[I-her-to- Stem -future] I will feed her' (Boas 619), *í-l-?im* <ē'l'ēm> '[him-to- Stem] give him food' (Clatsop [Hymes *pace* Boas]). If the word is indeed originally Chinookan, its usually recorded CW form may reflect a French-speakers' folk-etymology.

**champ<sup>h</sup>uyk** [tšám/p<sup>h</sup>ú<sup>(ó)</sup>ík~p<sup>h</sup>ó<sup>(ó)</sup>ík; šəm.p<sup>h</sup>ú<sup>(ó)</sup>.wig] Ref: Gatschet (1877:70, 267, 282), David LaChance, EL 'Champoeg'.

*Etym*: The first pronunciation cited corresponds both to Gatschet (1877:70, 267, 282), reflecting the usage of Tualatin-speaking members of the Grand Ronde community, and to pioneer-era English pronunciations of the name; the second pronunciation (from David LaChance and EL) apparently reflects local French influence. Gatschet also gives Tualatin *ča-číma-búičuk* 'place (in front of?) *búičuk* (yampah, *Perideridea* sp., probably, *P. oregana*)', for a hill in the vicinity where Indians once gathered seasonally to dig yampah - a nutritious root that could be eaten either raw or boiled. The historical town name is probably related to the name of the plant, though the exact derivation is

obscure.

**chasti** [tšá<sup>(ó)</sup>s,ɬ; tšé<sup>(ó)</sup>s,ɬ] Ref: Gatschet (1877:31, 69), Jacobs (CCT 552, Tualatin [Berman slip-files]), WB 'Shastas'.

*Etym*: Origin obscure. The Chinuk Wawa form of the name is also Chinookan, and shared generally by speakers of Northwest Oregon languages.

**chipchip** [tš'p.tšip] Ref: JH 1928 'winking'.

*Etym*: Of obscure origin.

**hayash** [há/yá(·)š] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'big; greatly'.

*Etym*: Of obscure origin. Gibbs (1863:5) proposed that the word is "corrupted from" the Nootkan word ultimately underlying **hayu** (refer to **hayu** 'many, much' in the Nootka Jargon list). A Chinookan particle of similar form/meaning has been recorded from the extreme upriver dialects, but not, so far as we know, from any downriver dialect: *haʔas* 'plentiful, more than enough' (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). Maria Parker Pascua (2001), director of the Makah language program, points to Makah Nootkan *ɣayaač* 'high', corresponding to Ditidaht Nootkan *xaačk* 'high' (Powell 117). Cf also Ditidaht *haac* 'tall; high-ranking' (Powell 77). While some such Nootkan form could conceivably have given rise to a Nootka Jargon word resembling CW **hayash** 'big', the question must remain open for lack of documentation. Cf Bay Center CW [háyáš] <hayáʃ> 'big'.

**hilu** [hí<sup>(ó)</sup>.lʷ~o; hé<sup>(ó)</sup>.lo] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, CR 'lacking, gone, expired'.

*Etym*: Of obscure origin. Lower Chehalis Salishan has *hílu* 'no, not', alongside *miłt* 'no, not' (Snow); only

*miłt* has cognates in other Salishan languages, *hílu* is unique to Lower Chehalis. Dale Kinkade (personal communication) suspects an ultimate Chinookan origin, but no resemblant Chinookan forms are on record to support his hunch. Cf Bay Center CW [hílu, ʔílu] <hé:lə, hé:lə, hí:ləw, ʔí:lə> 'no, not, none'.

**kakwa** [ká.<sup>(f)</sup>kwəl-gwəl; kʰá.<sup>(f)</sup>kwəl-gwəl; ká.<sup>(f)</sup>kw-o/(gw-o), kʰá.<sup>(f)</sup>kw-o/(gw-o)] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR, EP 'accordingly; like, resembling'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. *Chinook Texts*, dictated by Charles Cultee, shows an example of apparent use as a Chinookan particle: *kákʷa* <kā'koa> 'thus' (CT 67.16). Since this was not one of Cultee's usual Chinook words for the indicated meaning, it is possible that we have here an intrusion from CW, which Cultee spoke fluently. *Kathlamet Texts*, also dictated by Cultee, shows another (no doubt genuinely Chinookan) particle: *ákʷa* 'thus' (KT 50.8, 51.4, 52.6, 54.4, 55.1, etc.). But an even closer match to the CW is presented by Nootka Jargon **kwokwokwa** 'like (this)' (Clark 2005); cf Nootka Nootkan *qʷa*- 'thus, such, so' (Sapir and Swadesh 294), Makah Nootkan *qʷa*- 'to be thus' (Pasqua 2001). Cf Bay Center CW [kákʷəl] <kā'kwə> 'all same'.

**kapshwala** [káp/šwá.<sup>(f)</sup>.ləl, káp/šwá.<sup>(f)</sup>.ləl; káp/swá.<sup>(f)</sup>.ləl, káp/swá.<sup>(f)</sup>.ləl] Ref: JH 1928, WB, EJ, CR 'to steal'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. A Chinookan noun of suggestive but not identical form and meaning has been recorded from the extreme upriver dialects, but not, so far as we know, from any downriver dialect: Wasco-Wishram *i-q'apšálwaš* 'turtle' (base form), *is-k'ápsalwaš* (diminutive form) 'lock (of door)' (Sapir in Boas 641); according to

Hymes (Wasco-Wishram slip-files), the noun is *-q'apšalwaš*, which yields 'turtle' with masculine *i-*, and 'lock' with dual *is-*. Clark (2005) reconstructs Nootka Jargon **kap(t)shítl** 'to steal': cf Nootka Nootkan *haptšáł* 'to hide (something or someone)' (Powell 153) - again, the parallels are suggestive but not conclusive. Cf Bay Center CW [kápšwáləl] <kapšwá:lə> 'to steal'.

**kimtəks** [kí.<sup>(f)</sup>m.dəks] Ref: WB 'feel deeply about, regard with respect'.

*Etym:* This obscure word was recorded only from WB; possibly, it traces to **kəmtəks** 'know, understand', amplified by an elsewhere unrecorded lengthening of the first syllable.

**kʰiyəp** [kʰí.<sup>(f)</sup>yəp; k'í.<sup>(f)</sup>yəp] Ref: WB, EJ, CR, MM 'dark'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin.

**k'alapʰuya** [k'á.ləl/pʰú.<sup>(f)</sup>.yəl] Ref: VH, WB 'Kalapuyas'.

*Etym:* This is the usual name for Kalapuyans in CW and other local languages. It apparently came into regional currency from Chinookan, where it has been recorded in the inflected forms *itk'alapúyawaykš*, *itgalapúywiukš*. The origin of the stem-forms *-k'alapúyawa*, *-galapúywi* is obscure (HNAI 7:552).

**k'watʰin** [k'wál/tʰí.<sup>(f)</sup>n; k'wál/tʰí.<sup>(f)</sup>n] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'stomach'.

*Etym:* Origin obscure. Local Salishan sources show matches for the first part of the word, but reveal no obvious explanation of the whole form: *k'wásn* 'stomach' (from  $\sqrt{k'wásn}$ -, Cowlitz [Kinkade]; or  $\sqrt{k'wásin}$ -, Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]). Gibbs attributes the word to Chinook; and regional CW forms showing initial [ya] do suggest a Chinookan noun with *ia-* 'his'. The

noun-stem -q<sup>w</sup>utan, recorded in Wasco-Wishram a-q<sup>w</sup>után 'wood trough' (Hymes slip-files; cf Bay Center CW below), is suggestive, inasmuch as some Chinookan nouns assume different meanings depending on which gender they are assigned. Cf Bay Center CW [q<sup>w</sup>wtín] <k<sup>w</sup>attí'n> 'belly'.

**k<sup>w</sup>ayts** [k<sup>w</sup>á<sup>(0)</sup>ts] Ref: JH 1928, EJ 'nine'.

*Etym:* 'Nine' is recorded as *k<sup>w</sup>ict* <kuitst> (Boas 637), *k<sup>w</sup>is* (Wishram [Dyk 137]) in Chinookan, but as *k<sup>w</sup>íst* (Tualatin [Jacobs 1936a]) in Kalapuyan. The source of the CW is clearly local, only the exact derivation is obscure. Cf Bay Center CW <k<sup>w</sup>áyts> 'nine'.

**lakamin** [lɑ.kɑ.mi<sup>(0)</sup>n, lɑ.gɑ.mi<sup>(0)</sup>n] Ref: Gatschet (1877a:43), CR, ET 'soup, stew, gravy; potatoes and water stirred till thick; food requiring mixture/stirring'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. The word is widely known on the Columbia Plateau: cf Yakama Sahaptin **lakamín** 'stew, flour soup' (Beavert and Hargus 2009), Wasco-Wishram *a-lagámin* 'stew' (Hymes slip-files). It is also known in local Salishan, where Kinkade (1991:339) attributes it to "French la commune, via Chinook Jargon lagamín". However, MLT considers "la commune" a very unlikely source for the meanings attributed, while Nicole St-Onge (personal communication to George Lang) has never encountered this or any like usage in her many years of interviewing French Canadian Métisx. The earliest attestation as CW, as far as we know, comes in Fr Demers' dictionary (1871): <lakamin> 'soup, gravy, stew'.

**lap<sup>h</sup>ala** [lá.pɑ/lá<sup>(0)</sup>, lɑ.pɑ/lá<sup>(0)</sup>; lɑ.p<sup>h</sup>lá<sup>(0)</sup>] Ref: WB, CR, EP 'roast food on sticks in front of flames'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Cf Bay Center CW [lɑpɑlá] <lapɑllá> "to roast on an erected stake by a camp fire".

**laq** [lá<sup>(0)</sup>q] Ref: CR 'flapping (sound or motion)'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Likely an onomatopoeic particle from some local language or languages.

**lariyet** [lɑ.ɾi.yé<sup>(0)</sup>t] Ref: JH 1928 'lariat; a lash'.

*Etym:* From English? Spanish? (compare **spanyol**, below).

**lawtish** [lá<sup>(0)</sup>ɔ.ɬɪʃ, lá<sup>(0)</sup>ɔ.ɬɪʃ] Ref: EP 'a bickerer, argumentative person'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Related to English "loutish"?

**lideynt** \* Ref: <lr-dént> (N Oregon Coast CW [Louie Fuller], jph 20.0119: Harrington notes, "[informant] thinks, but is not sure of the jarg[on] form") 'dandelion'.

*Etym:* Jim Armagost (personal communication) suggests that non-standard French "les dents-de-lion" (literally, lion's teeth, an old word for dandelion) is the source. MLT suspects that [dent] is actually from "dand", a shortening of English "dandelion", since French "les dents" also yields CW **lita**.

**malax** [má<sup>(0)</sup>.lɑx; má<sup>(0)</sup>lɤ] Ref: LK, Gatschet (1877:5), JH (Jacobs 1945:303) 'tinware, pan, dishes'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Well-known as CW to the north of the lower Columbia, according to Jay Powell (personal communication). Cf Bay Center CW [máláx] <malláx, malá:x> 'tin; pan, dishpan'.

**mash** [má<sup>(0)</sup>ʃ] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, WB, EJ, CR 'throw, put away, leave behind'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Gibbs attributes the word to French

"marcher" 'to walk, step, march'; while Jay Powell (personal communication) points to French "(le) marché" 'market, bargain, deal'. Differences of form and meaning however render these possibilities less than entirely convincing. Cf Bay Center CW < má:ʃ > 'to throw; leave it, throw it away'.

**mashachi** [má/šá<sup>(o)</sup>.tʃi; má/sá<sup>(o)</sup>.tʃi] Ref: JH 1928/1941, WB, EJ, CR 'bad'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Gibbs says the word is from Chinookan. We fail to find a direct match in the linguistic record; but note the following Chinookan particle of similar form (and diametrically opposed meaning!): <masá'tsilx> (CT 70.14, 166.22, 218.18), <masá'tcil> (KT 146.14) 'pretty'. Cf Bay Center CW [mašáʃʃi, mišáʃʃi] < máʃáʃʃi, miʃáʃʃi > 'no good, bad'.

**molala** [mó<sup>(o)</sup>.l.l.l] Ref: EJ 'Molalas'.

*Etym:* This is the usual name for Molalas in CW and other local languages. It apparently came into regional currency from Chinookan, where it has been recorded as *muláliš* (Clackamas, Jacobs) and [mólališ] (Wasco Upper Chinook and Columbia River Sahaptin, Bruce Rigsby) (HNAI 12:445). The origin of the name is obscure.

**musmus** [mú<sup>(o)</sup>.s.mos, mós.mos] Ref: JH 1928, EJ, CR 'cow, ox, buffalo'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. The word occurs in Chinookan and local Salishan with the puzzling added element [-ki]: *i-músmuski* (CCT 551), *√músmuski*, *√wamúsmuski* (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade]), *√wəməsmuski* (Cowlitz [Kinkade]) 'cow, cattle'. David Robertson (The Chinook List, September 2003) proposes an ultimate Klamath and/or Molala source: cf Klamath *mosmas-mosmos*, Molala *musims* 'black-tailed deer'.

The CW form is widely recorded as a loan word in Northwest languages. Cf Bay Center CW [músámʔos] < mú'samʔus > 'cow head' [sic].

**nəx** [nəlχ] Ref: 'Dear, "hon" [term of endearment]' (EP, MM, Velma Mercier).

*Etym:* Of obscure origin.

**pʰik'w** [pʰi<sup>(o)</sup>k'w] Ref: JH 1928, VH, WB 'back; back-bone'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin.

**pulali** [pó.l.l.l, pó<sup>(o)</sup>.l.l.l] Ref: JH 1928 'powder, sand, gunpowder'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Cf Bay Center CW [pólali] < pō'lali > 'powder'.

**p'atit** [p'á<sup>(o)</sup>it] Ref: WB, EJ, CR, EL 'lie, confabulate, BS'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. It is interesting that this word, known as CW only from Grand Ronde, also appears as the personal name of someone who lived there: Stevens Savage (Molala name: **p'atit**), who through Frachtenberg's work is the source of much of what we know about the Molala language and Molala traditional culture.

**q'ohoho** [qʰó<sup>(o)</sup>.hə.hə] Ref: JH 1928 'shinny'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin.

**saliks** [sá<sup>(o)</sup>.liks] Ref: JH 1928/1932, VH, EJ 'to quarrel, fight; angry'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Cf Bay Center CW < sâ'lliks, sâ'liks, sá'liks > 'mad; to fight'.

**santiyam** [sán.ti/yá<sup>(o)</sup>m] Ref: JH (Swadesh 1953) 'Santiams'.

*Etym:* A name of obscure origin. It appears in Jacobs's Santiam Kalapuya field notes (mj 78:n.p.) in the form *santiyám* < sánTyá'm >; but

the Santiams' usual name for themselves was *anhálpam* 'those above (upstream or upland)' (HNAI 7:552).

**saplel** [sáp/lé<sup>(ó)</sup>, sá<sup>(ó)</sup>p.lə; sáp/lí<sup>(ó)</sup>-lé<sup>(ó)</sup>; sá<sup>(ó)</sup>b.lə] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, LK, EJ, CR 'grain, wheat, flour, bread'.

*Etym:* While the origin of this word is obscure, it is clearly local and not from French, as even some Indians have thought (note the alternate form **sable**, evidently influenced by French "sablé", meaning shortbread or biscuits). Lewis and Clark recorded "shapalle", "chapalle" as the name of a meal locally made from roots and processed into cakes (Moulton 1990, 5:39, 7:92). Later-day Kiksht (Upper Chinook) speakers described *a-sáblal* as: 1) "Indian biscuits made of powdered roots baked in ashes, or the sun"; 2) a flat loaf made of *a-dwák* ("wild Indian carrot"); 3) modern baked goods, specifically, flat bread-loaves or biscuits (Wasco-Wishram [Hymes slip-files]). According to George Aguilar (*When the River Ran Wild!: Indian Traditions on the Mid-Columbia and the Warm Springs Reservation*, p. 64), *adwák* is Yampah (*Perideridea gairdneri*). *Cf* Bay Center CW [tsapál'í] <tsapál'í, tsap<sup>á</sup>lí'> 'bread'.

**silets** [sɪ.lé<sup>(ó)</sup>ts] *Ref:* ET 'Siletz'.

*Etym:* A name of obscure origin; Harrington's Salmon River Tillamook fieldnotes show it in the local form [nš(ə)létš] (HNAI 7:567).

**siyapuł** [sɪ.yá<sup>(ó)</sup>.pəł, sɪ.yá<sup>(ó)</sup>.pəł; šɪ.yá<sup>(ó)</sup>.pəł] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'hat'.

*Etym:* While a Chinookan noun of identical form and meaning is on record, the ultimate source must be considered obscure in view of historical evidence for a Nootkan source: Chinook ł-šiapuł <Liā'šiapōl>

'a hat', ł-íá-siapuł <Liā'šiapōl> 'his hat' (CT 24.8, 24.16); Nootka Jargon (**t**)siapuks (Clark 2005), from Nootkan *ciya'px*<sup>ws</sup>, *ciyapux*<sup>ws</sup>, *ciyapux*(s) 'hat' (Powell 51-52). *Cf* Bay Center CW <šɪyá'pəł> 'hat'. French "chapeau" is the source of another CW word for 'hat' (refer to **šapuú**); there seems no good reason to consider it also the source of CW **siyapuł**, as Gibbs does.

**skichutxwa** [skɪ.tšú<sup>(ó)</sup>t.xwá; tšú<sup>(ó)</sup>t.xwá] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:24, 71, 94, 282), Fred Yelkes (mj Molala slip-files) 'Fort Vancouver'.

*Etym:* Origin and original reference obscure. Lionnet's CW vocabulary shows <sketsotwa> 'Columbia River'. *Cf* *qícút*<sup>xwá</sup>?, *kčút*<sup>xwá</sup> (Upper Chehalis [Kinkade 1991:107, 335]), <(t)cha tchút'hwa> (Tualatin [Gatschet 1877:94]), *skičút*<sup>xwá</sup> <skítcú'txwá> (Molala [mj slip-files]) 'Fort Vancouver'.

**skukúm** [sʁo.kú<sup>(ó)</sup>m] *Ref:* VH, WB, EP 'monster; something dangerous'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Note: **skukúm** 'harmful being; something dangerous': **skúkum** 'strong'. Gibbs writes both <Skoo'-kum, Skoo-koom'>, given as one word: "A ghost; an evil spirit or demon; strong". Emma Luscier, Harrington's main Bay Center source, attributed <skókóm> to "jargon" (CW); but <skókó'm> to local Salishan (Lower Chehalis). She recalled "one <skókó'm> who had a projection [on] his foot a ft. long clear as an icicle & he w[oul]d kick one with this" (jph 17.0077). The source may well be local Salishan, as Gibbs notes; *s-* is often noted as a Salishan nominal prefix. On the other hand, *š-*, *s-* are also noted as noun-classifiers in Chinookan, as in: *s-kánim* 'toy canoe', *š-kák'wli* 'lamprey eel', etc. (Boas 602-603).

**skukum** [skú<sup>(ó)</sup>.kóm, skó.kóm] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, CR 'strong'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Note: **skúkum** 'strong': **skukúm** 'harmful being; something dangerous'. Attributed to Salishan, though a Chinookan origin cannot be entirely ruled out (details: **skukúm**, *etym*).

**snas** [sná<sup>(ó)</sup>s] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB 'rain; to rain'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. In Kathlamet Chinook, the noise of rain is recorded as č'as č'as č'as (KT 113.2). Cf Bay Center CW <sná:s> 'rain'.

**spanyol** [spán/yó<sup>(ó)</sup>] *Ref:* Gatschet (1877:238) 'Mexican'.

*Etym:* This name could either be from French "espagnol", or from Spanish "español"; the pronunciations are the same. The Hudson Bay Company regularly sent out trading brigades from Fort Vancouver to Spanish-speaking California, raising the possibility that the name dates back to these early contacts. There were also some individuals of Mexican ancestry in the nineteenth-century reservation community. Note that "Spanish" is old local English for anyone or anything Mexican.

**shox** [šóx] *Ref:* WB, EP 'to slip'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. The Chinookan onomatopoeic particle šəx, šix [noise of rattling or rustling] (see **səx**, Chinookan list) is close in form and at least suggestive in meaning, but we fail to find relevant examples in the available sources.

**t<sup>h</sup>anthin** [t<sup>h</sup>án/t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>(ó)</sup>n] *Ref:* JH 1928 'canteen'.

*Etym:* Recorded by Jacobs from JH in 1928 as <tántí'n>. While the word suggests English "canteen", there seems no obvious motivation for the substitution of CW [t] for initial

English [k].

**t<sup>h</sup>əna** [t<sup>h</sup>əná<sup>(ó)</sup>] *Ref:* EP, JP 'a (human) pest, nuisance'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Related to Nootka Jargon derived **tənas** 'child'?

**t<sup>h</sup>ulit<sup>h</sup>uli** • *Ref:* <tuletule> (Demers) 'wind instrument'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin; possibly related to a Chinookan noun: cf Wasco-Wishram *i-dudu* 'flute' (Hymes slip-files).

**tutush** [tú/tú<sup>(ó)</sup>; t<sup>h</sup>u.t<sup>h</sup>ú<sup>(ó)</sup>] *Ref:* JH 1928, VH, WB 'to nurse, suck; breast, nipple'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Gibbs (1863:26) attributes the word to "Chippeway" (Ojibwa). Cf Bay Center CW [totúš] <totúš> 'chiche'.

**t<sup>h</sup>isay** [t<sup>h</sup>i'/sá<sup>(ó)</sup>; t<sup>h</sup>i'/šá<sup>(ó)</sup>; t<sup>h</sup>á.šai] *Ref:* VH, WB, EJ, CR, EP, JP [a gambling game].

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. Elder memory associates the game especially with Siletz Reservation, suggesting that the word may come from a coastal language.

**t<sup>h</sup>ixanhæn** [t<sup>h</sup>i'á<sup>(ó)</sup>.xan.hæn] *Ref:* EP 'deadbeat, good-for-nothing'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. The last syllable of the word suggests English "hand", while the first two syllables appear to match local Salishan √x'á-xan- 'to hunt' (as cited from Kinkade's Upper Chehalis and Cowlitz dictionaries): 'hunting for a handout'?

**t<sup>h</sup>syu?** [ts'ýó?] *Ref:* WB 'to cohabit'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin.

**upq'ati** [ʔóp.q'Λ.ti] *Ref:* JH 1928 'bow'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin.

**upxachi** [ʔóp.xΛ.tši] *Ref:* JH 1928 'beads;

Indian money'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin.

**wapt<sup>h</sup>u** [wá<sup>(h)</sup>.p.tu; wá<sup>(h)</sup>.pə.tu] *Ref:* JH 1928, LK, WB, EJ, CR 'potatoes' (originally: 'wapato [*Sagittaria latifolia*]').

*Etym:* Of obscure origin. The late Professor David French of Reed College, Portland, proposed to Zenk in 1976 that the CW is from an Upper Chinook noun based on a Kalapuyan stem: Upper Chinook wa- (~a-), feminine singular; Tualatin Kalapuya <mám-pdu>, Yoncalla Kalapuya <gám-pdu?> 'wapato (*Sagittaria latifolia*)' (Kalapuyan spellings following Berman 1990:54, who considers the stem-forms <-pdu>, <-pdu?> to be cognate, that is, indicative of a word belonging originally to ancestral Kalapuyan). This very plausible explanation only lacks solid evidence that the word was indeed originally indigenous to Chinookan. Alternative proposals - one deriving it from Cree *wapatowa* 'white mushroom'; another deriving it from Spanish and/or Portuguese for 'potato' - are difficult to square with Lewis and

Clark's observation that the word was in wide use on the lower Columbia in 1805-06 ("a root they [the Natives] call Wapto", etc.), before the arrival of resident foreign settlers (Thwaites 1904-1905, 3:196-197, 4:7, 10). *Cf* Bay Center CW <wá·ptu> 'potato'; also (mf 17.0170, 0184): [sɬwáʃ wáptu] <sáwáʃ wá·p(ː)tu> 'wild potato' (that is, wapato).

**wax** [wáʃh] *Ref:* ET [exclamation].

*Etym:* Of obscure origin.

**ɣaxət'sak** [xá<sup>(h)</sup>.xə.ts'ak] *Ref:* JH 1928 'grasshopper'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin.

**yix** [yí'x] *Ref:* JH 1928, WB, EJ 'tipsy, half-drunken; off-base, out of touch'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin.

**ʔayuʔayu** [ʔá<sup>(h)</sup>.yʊ.ʔá<sup>(h)</sup>.yʊ] *Ref:* ET 'nickering (noise made by a horse)'.

*Etym:* Of obscure origin.

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