

Lisa

A Brief Word List
of
Eastern Pomo

the Pomo language spoken around
the western half of Clear Lake
in Lake County, California

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yémahov k'ha báva óc'idiv mérki-ma.

This word list, brief though it is, represents countless hours of work by a number of people. First and foremost those Eastern Pomo speakers who during several summers, with endless patience and tact, repeated these words over and over again, gently correcting my many mistakes: Leonard Bateman, Maude Bateman Boggs, Frances Posh Dennison, William Graves. Still another Eastern Pomo speaker, Ralph Holder, with equal patience, persistence, and skill, went over each word in this word list, helping me eliminate the happily few mistakes which had crept in in preparing it, and suggesting a few more frequently used forms which should be included. They all knew and loved their language well, and each contributed something unique to this study. Elsa Lattey both typed this manuscript and proofed it over and over, and over again, with still more, but equally endless patience. Patricia Dodge and the Lake County historian, Henry Mauldin, encouraged the research on which this word list is based through many summers of hospitality, advice and practical assistance.

I can never thank any of them enough.

Introduction

Nomenclature

Few non-Indians realize that in Northern California there are seven distinct languages all of which are spoken by people called Pomo Indians.

In the professional anthropological and linguistic literature these seven languages are distinguished from one another by adding a directional modifier to the word Pomo. For example, the language spoken on the coast at Stewart's Point has been called Kashaya Pomo, that spoken between the coast around Point Arena and Hopland has been called Central Pomo, while that spoken further to the north from the coast (between Manchester and Fort Bragg) back past Ukiah to Clear Lake has been called Northern Pomo, and that spoken further to the northeast around Stonyford was called Northeastern Pomo. Three different Indian languages were spoken around Clear Lake: one around Middletown (Lake Miwok), one around Sulphur Bank and Lower Lake (Southeastern Pomo), and one around the upper, western end of the lake (Eastern Pomo). Two of these are related to each other about as closely as Italian and Portuguese: Southeastern Pomo and Eastern Pomo. This is a brief, far from complete, list of frequently used words in this last language.

Unfortunately, even professional anthropologists and linguists seem to have been confused by this nomenclature, since they commonly refer to these seven quite different languages as dialects, which implies, of course, that speakers of one of these languages could understand speakers of another language as Midwestern speakers of

English can usually understand New York speakers of English. This is, in fact, not true. Speakers of any of these seven languages have about as much chance of understanding someone speaking another of these languages as speakers of English are likely to understand Germans speaking German.

Explanation of symbols used to write Eastern Pomo

Eastern Pomo has many more consonant sounds than English. In order to write Eastern Pomo accurately, therefore, more consonant letters are needed than are in the English alphabet. The existing English consonant symbols have been adapted to the needs of Eastern Pomo in a number of ways.

These adaptations are not unique to this word list. They have commonly been used by linguists and anthropologists for the past forty years to record American Indian languages, and have already been used to record three of the other Pomo languages: Kashaya, Northern Pomo and Southeastern Pomo. They may appear unnecessarily unfamiliar to readers used to the English writing system.

It will probably require a certain amount of effort and practice for a reader to be able to read these Eastern Pomo words as easily as he reads English. Any reader who makes this effort, however, will then find it quite simple to read almost any other American Indian language which has been recorded by professional linguists and anthropologists in the past forty years, including languages as diverse as Hopi, Blackfoot, Sioux, Cheyenne, and Mohawk, as well as Kashaya, Northern Pomo and Southeastern Pomo. Hopefully this bonus will balance out the initial effort required.

Eastern Pomo has three kinds of p sounds, three kinds of k sounds, and six kinds of t sounds. The Eastern Pomo p and k sounds most like English p and k, since they are pronounced with a small puff of air at the end, are written in this word list p^h and k^h, as in p^há 'feces', k^há 'spider'. The plain letters p and k without the little raised ^h are used to represent p and k sounds without this little puff of air, pronounced the same way the letters p and k are pronounced in French. For example: pá·ka? 'cow' and ká 'house'. (English p and k are pronounced this way following s, but most English speakers never notice it since the two pronunciations don't distinguish different meanings as they do in Eastern Pomo.)

These plain p and k without the little puff of air frequently sound like b and g to English speakers. However, Eastern Pomo has a p sound which contrasts with the sounds represented by p^h and p to distinguish meanings, as, for example, in bá 'that'.

In addition, a third type of p and k, which sounds "popped" to English speakers, and is technically called glottalized, is used by Eastern Pomo speakers to distinguish meaning. These "popped" p and k sounds are written p̣ and ḳ, as in pá·lá· 'slug', ká·š 'yawn'.

Chart of the symbols used to represent
the 3 kinds of p and k sounds in Eastern Pomo

	p sounds	k sounds
WITH PUFF OF AIR (AS IN ENGLISH)	p ^h Ex: p ^h á 'feces'	k ^h Ex: k ^h á 'spider'
WITHOUT PUFF OF AIR (AS IN FRENCH, OR IN ENGLISH AFTER s)	p Ex: pá·ka? 'cow'	k Ex: ká 'house'
POPPED	p̣ Ex: pá·lá· 'slug'	ḳ Ex: ká·š 'yawn'

The six t sounds can be divided into two groups of three sounds each, depending on whether the tongue touches the lower part of the teeth in making them, or the ridge of gum just above the teeth (as most English speakers do in pronouncing an English t). Those Eastern Pomo t sounds made by touching the ridge of gum just above the teeth are represented by the letter t with a small dot under it: ṭ, while those made by touching the lower part of the teeth are represented by a plain letter t. The Eastern Pomo t sound most like an English t is written t^h, as in t^hór 'rotten'.

There is another Eastern Pomo t which sounds almost the same to English speakers, written t^h, as in t^hú·m 'to be lacking', t^hów 'now'. t^h differs from t^h only in one small detail: the tongue touches the lower part of the teeth in t^h, but it touches the gum above the teeth in t^h. The plain letters t and ṭ without

the little raised ^h represent Eastern Pomo sounds pronounced without a following puff of air. The letter t, as in túl 'tag, a game', represents a sound very much like the French sound t, that is, the tongue touches the lower part of the teeth and there is no following puff of air. The letter ṭ, as in ṭóyk^h 'something which can't be helped', represents a sound which again differs from t only in terms of the position of the tongue.

The letters ṭ̣ and ṭ̣̣ represent glottalized sounds which, like p̣ and ḳ, frequently sound "popped" to English speakers. The letter ṭ̣̣ represents a "popped" sound in which the tongue touches the gum ridge above the teeth, as in ṭ̣̣ír 'briar, thorn', while the letter ṭ̣̣̣ represents a sound in which the tongue touches the teeth, as in ṭ̣̣̣ó 'brains':

Chart of the symbols used to represent the 6 kinds of t sounds in Eastern Pomo

	WITH TONGUE AS IN ENGLISH	WITH TONGUE TOUCHING TEETH AS IN FRENCH
WITH PUFF OF AIR	t ^h = English t in t <u>op</u> Ex: ṭ ^h ór 'rotten'	t ^h Ex: ṭ ^h ú·m 'to be lacking'
WITHOUT PUFF OF AIR	ṭ = English ṭ in s <u>top</u> Ex: ṭóyk ^h 'something which can't be helped'	t = French ṭ in tete 'head' Ex: túl 'tag, a game'
POPPED	ṭ̣̣ Ex: ṭ̣̣ír 'thorn, briar'	ṭ̣̣̣ Ex: ṭ̣̣̣ó 'brains'

Some English capital letters have been used to represent another type of Eastern Pomo sound. Eastern Pomo has two kinds of w, z, m, n, and l sounds -- one like the English sounds normally represented by these letters, in which one can feel the Adam's apple moving or vibrating, and the other which sounds like a "breathy" or whispered version of the first type, in which one can't feel the Adam's apple moving. This last type of sound is represented in the word list by capital letters: W, Y, M, N, L. Some speakers of English use a sound similar to the Eastern Pomo sounds represented by W and Y in the words which (when pronounced differently from witch) and hue (when pronounced differently from you and who).

Chart of the symbols used to represent the 2 kinds of w, y, m, n, and l in Eastern Pomo

WITH VIBRATION (ADAM'S APPLE MOVING)	WITHOUT VIBRATION (ADAM'S APPLE NOT MOVING)
w = English <u>w</u> in <u>witch</u>	W = English <u>wh</u> in <u>which</u> (when pronounced differently from <u>witea</u>)
y = English <u>y</u> and in <u>you</u>	Y = English <u>h</u> as in <u>hue</u> (when pronounced differently from <u>you</u> and <u>who</u>)
m = English <u>m</u> in <u>me</u>	M somewhat like combining English sounds <u>hm</u>
n = English <u>n</u> in <u>no</u>	N somewhat like combining English sounds <u>hn</u>
l = English <u>l</u> in <u>low</u>	L somewhat like combining English sounds <u>hl</u>

The letters x, q and g, which represent English sounds that are also spelled with other letters, have been used to represent Eastern Pomo sounds which are unlike any used in speaking English. Specifically:

The letter x in English represents the sound of z at the beginning of words, as in xylophone, but represents the sequence of sounds ks at the ends of words and sometimes in the middle of words, or the sequence of sounds in the middle of words like exact or luxury. In this word list it is used to represent another Eastern Pomo sound that does not exist in English, but does exist in German where it is spelled ch, as in German ach 'alas'. For example: xá 'water'.

The letter q in English represents the sound of k in cat, but the sound of s in city. In this word list it is modified by the little raised ^h and ^o (just as p, k, and the two kinds of t are) and is used to represent three kinds of sounds. The symbol c^h represents a sound rather like that represented by ts in English, as in hats. For example: c^há·kaya 'to run away'. (The little raised ^h, of course, signals that c^h is pronounced with a small puff of air at the end, as p, t, and k are when they occur at the beginning of words in English.)

The plain letter q, without the raised ^h, is used to represent a similar sound, which is pronounced without this puff of air, as if one were to pronounce English ts with a French accent. The nearest English approximation to this sounds is spelled qs as in heads. For example: cá·r 'clean'. The symbol q^o represents a "popped" ts sound. For example: cálka 'to refuse, to say no'.

Three more rather similar sounds are represented by the symbol č, modified by the little raised ^h and [˘]. The symbol č^h represents a sound very much like the English sound which is spelled ch as in church, pronounced with a little puff of air at the end. For example: č^háy 'a variety of fish, sometimes called shiners (?)'. The plain letter č, without the raised ^h, is used to represent a similar sound which is pronounced without this puff of air, as if one were to pronounce English ch with a French accent. The nearest English sound is represented by the letter j, the combination of letters dg, or sometimes, the letter g alone, as in judge or gym. For example: du·čí·š 'point'. The symbol č[˘] represents a "popped" ch sound. For example: ša·č[˘]ék-xa·lê 'fork'.

The letter q in English is always followed by the letter y and represents the sound of k as in quick (phonetically: kwik). In this word list it is modified by the raised [˘] and used to represent two sounds which resemble a k to English speakers, but are actually distinguished from k sounds by Eastern Pomo speakers. The plain letter q is used to represent a sound very much like the r of French speakers in Paris in pronouncing a word like Marie. For example: qó 'navel, umbilical cord'. The symbol q[˘] represents a "popped" or glottalized q and some English speakers may use it in imitating a bullfrog's call. An Eastern Pomo example is qóy 'neck'.

The symbol š is used to represent an Eastern Pomo sound very much like the English sound written sh in shoe. For example: ší 'name'.

The symbol ? (a question mark without a dot) is used to represent a sound that occurs in different places in different varieties of English, but all English speakers seem to have it between the first and second syllable of the negative úh-uh (?úh?uh) (as distinguished from the affirmative uh-húh). For example: ma·?áy 'food'.

In Eastern Pomo, it makes a difference in meaning if one pronounces a vowel fast and rather clipped or slowly and drawn out. Vowels which are pronounced fast and clipped are called "short" by linguists and are written with one of the five vowel symbols i, e, a, o, u. Vowels which are drawn out and pronounced slowly are called "long" by linguists and written with a vowel symbol followed by a raised dot ° : i°, e°, a°, o°, u°. Thus, in Eastern Pomo, ká means 'house', but ká° means 'for one person to sit'; má means 'you, singular', but má° means 'you, plural'; kóy means 'sore', while kó°y means 'to grow'; di·lé means 'forehead', while di·lé° means 'middle'; khúy means 'not', while khú°y means 'another'.

It also makes a difference in meaning (as it does in English) which syllable is the loudest. The loudest syllable is marked by an acute accent, ´, over the vowel. Thus in English présent (the noun), the first syllable is the loudest, while in présent (the verb), the second syllable is the loudest. In Eastern Pomo qá·ca means 'grandmother (mother's mother)' while qa·cá means 'grass or hay'; ká·ya means 'afterwards' while k^ha·yá means 'head'.

A compound word is written with its component parts separated by a hyphen for the reader's ease. When two words are combined into a compound, the stress of one of these words will be minimized in favor of the prominence of the stress of the other word. A stress minimized in a compound is written with a circumflex ^ over the word, as in *ki·dí-Yâ* 'spine', literally: 'back-bone'.

A hyphen is also used before a form to indicate that a prefix always must occur with that form.

The following abbreviations are used in the word list:

SG = singular

PL = plural

< Sp. = derived from Spanish (Eastern Pomo has a number of loan words from Spanish; a few examples are given in parentheses)

Eastern Pomo - English

bá THAT	be·hé·p ^ʔ PEPPERWOOD TREE
bál TONGUE	bé·kal THEM
báyle HUSBAND	bé·kibax THEIRS
ba·bú THIGH, TOP OF LEG	bé·kiNal TO THEM
ba·cóm YOUNG OAK	bé·k ^h THEY
ba·káka BIG WOODPECKER	be·rémal FLEA
ba·kíl LONG/TALL (sg.) see	bi·córbi·côr CRICKET
qóla	bi·dá VAGINA
ba·kó· ROUND TULE	bi·dá či·Mé PUBIC HAIR, FEMALE'S
ba·k ^h ú· WILLOW	bi·dáme· CREEK, RIVER
ba·kó· ANGELICO	bi·dáv DOWNSTREAM
ba·láy FLOOD	bi·díx TO GIVE MORE THAN ONE THING
ba·lú CHEEKS	See also di·qá·, si·lax, si·xǎ·
ba·qák ^h TO BUY	bi·kíč ^h ki· TO SEW
ba·qáy MANZANITA BERRY	bi·ków BITTER, STRONG, PEPPERY
ba·šá APPLES, BUCKEYE	bi·lá FISH WORM
ba·šát ^ʔ TO LIE (TELL FALSEHOOD)	bi·nék ^h TO THROW (ROUND OBJECT)
ba·t ^h óna·ma ba·t ^h ína·ma WIDE	(REPEATEDLY) (distributive) see
-bá·tíle FATHER'S FATHER,	also di·?ól
FATHER'S OLDER BROTHER (OTHER'S)	bi·pót ^ʔ SHORT (sg.) pl: bi·póta see
(requires possessive prefix)	also bi·qút ^ʔ , bu?úć, bu·húš
See also má·tíle	bi·qálk ^h TO BASTE
ba·t ^h ín BIG (SG) See t ^h íya	bi·qóbi·qôw SMALLPOX, MEASLES see
ba·t ^h íy ARROW	also ta·pho·
ba·wól EEL	bi·qút ^ʔ SHORT (sg.) pl: bi·qúta see
be·hé PEPPERWOOD NUT	also bi·pót ^ʔ , bu?úć, bu·húš

- bi·šé DEER, MEAT
 bi·šé šu·múy RIFLE
 bi·šéš GALL, SLING
 bi·yá HAND
 bi·yâ-cú·xay FINGER
 bi·yâNa-kâil RING (LITERALLY:
 SUSPENDED ON THE HAND)
 bóholote? TURKEY
 bóton? BUTTON
 bóthgo FOREARM
 bó· WEST see also bó·l
 bó·bax-kâ·wk^h UKIAH, PINOLETOWN
 PEOPLE
 bó·l TOWARD WEST see bó·
 bó·r MUD
 bo·ʔó ELK
 bo·ʔó-bi·šé ELK
 bo·ʔó· TO HUNT
 see also du·dúl
 buʔúč SHORT (sg.) pl: buʔúča (see
 also bi·pót, bi·qút, bu·húš)
 bú· POTATO
 bú·cike OLD, OLD MAN (sg.) pl:
 búciya
 bu·dú ACORN
 bú·-dû·lse? SWEET POTATO
 bu·húš SMALL, TINY (sg.) pl: bu·húša
 see also bi·pót, bi·qút, buʔúč
 bu·kú PACK BASKET (CLOSE WEAVE)
 bu·ráqal REAR
 bú·ru? DONKEY (<Sp. 'burro')
 bu·tú KNOLL
 ca·náy THICK (sg.) pl: ca·náya
 cá·r CLEAN
 chá'pki· TO STEP
 chá·wuhu· TO GO AWAY (sg.) pl:
 chá·p^hi·lî·
 -ché· MOTHER'S BROTHER (OTHER'S)
 (requires possessive prefix)
 ché·c MOTHER'S BROTHER (OWN)
 chích ROOT
 chí·ká-šâ·ri ROUND TWINED BASKET
 WITH SIDES
 chí·khéchi·khe DELICIOUS, GOOD,
 SWEET see also čí·qóm
 chí·Méw WOLF
 čho·ʔóy URINE see also čho·ʔóy
 'cá· TO BREAK OFF FROM TWISTING see
 also šu·qát'ki·
 'ca·báca·bâk^h GREEN
 'ca·bót PROPERTY, BELONGINGS OF VALUE
 'ca·c DIRTY (sg.) pl: 'cá·ca

- 'cá·di SIX
 'ca·dó· OCCIPUT
 'ca·káca·kâw ORIOLE
 'ca·kíl GRASS See also qa·'cá,
 'ca·p^híl
 'ca·khéca·kh^hék^h BLUE
 'cá·ma·l FLY
 'ca·p^híl GRASS, TYPE OF CLOVER
 See also 'ca·k^híl, qa·'cá
 'ca·p^hú MALLARD (archaic)
 'cá·y BLUEJAY
 'cá·y šá·ri ONE-STICK BASKET
 'cé· MUSHROOM
 'cícik^hôp BLACKBERRY
 'cík^h RIPE
 'ci·dá SKIN
 'cî·kómal SEAGULL
 'ci·lí·ci·lîw WEASEL
 'ci·pólk^h TO BLISTER
 'ci·páá MUSH OAK ACORN
 'ci·qón DELICIOUS, GOOD, SWEET (sg.)
 See also chi·khéchi·k^he, 'qo·díy
 'ci·tówtow ROBIN
 'ci·wíš BLACK BASKET ROOT
 'ci·yá BIRD
 'ci·yá-ma·néma·né CHICKEN HAWK
- 'có·y PACK BASKET (OPEN WEAVE)
 'cu·báha BASKET WILLOW
 'cú·Li BLACKBIRD
 'cu·qál SHOULDER
 'cu·wá· ARM
 číkote? ROPE
 čí·Mé FUR
 (bi·dá) čí·Mé PUBIC HAIR, FEMALE'S
 (?áy) čí·Mé PUBIC HAIR, MALE'S
 (?úy) 'čí·Mé EYELASH
 čí·wa? GOAT
 čhé· WHERE
 čhé·mal WHERE TO
 čhé·wa WHERE FROM
 čhí·n WHAT/HOW
 čhí·nay WHEN
 čhí·n?isa WHY
 čhí·Nak^h HOW MUCH
 čhi·níč^h WOODRAT
 čho·?óy URINE See also čho·?óy
 dá WOMAN see qa·rá·ya
 (ká·yena?) dá HEN
 dáday ROAD (PATH)
 dámal DAY
 dáqara OLD WOMAN See má·qa·t^hora
 dát WIFE

- dáxác GIRL (see also qa·rá·ya-qa·wik^h, dáyawal, má·yawala)
 (wax) dáxác DAUGHTER, GRAND-DAUGHTER see also qa·wé·lit̚, níka, qá·c, má·c
 dáxalik^h CHIEF (FEMALE) see also ká·xalik^h
 dáyawal YOUNG LADY see dáxác, má·yawala, qa·rá·ya-qa·wik^h
 da·k^hɔ̄ TO CATCH, TO COPULATE (POLITE FORM) see also ma·ʔá·
 da·kóy TO BEND OVER AND PICK UP OBJECTS TO PUT IN CONTAINER see also du·xá·
 da·kó· WHEEL
 da·lá PARCHING BASKET
 da·lóm WILDCAT
 da·má, da·mámo· ARMPIT
 da·nó MOUNTAIN, HILL
 da·nó·l UPSTREAM
 da·póda·po·l TO CRAWL
 da·qál TO WIPE
 da·qér DIFFICULT, HARD
 da·qóm TO HIDE (CONCEAL)
 da·qón PESTLE
 da·qóy MOURNING
 da·só·l TO WASH
 dé·x ELDER SISTER (OWN)
 -de·x ELDER SISTER (OTHER'S) (requires possessive prefix)
 di·káydi·kây ELDERBERRY
 di·kúbu·hú TULE DUCK
 di·k^há· TO GO (PL)
 di·k^hɔ̄· TO HIT (WITH OBJECT)
 di·lé FOREHEAD
 di·mó·t̚ SPEAKER'S SON-IN-LAW see also -kéy
 di·nédi·nélqa· TO THINK
 di·qá· TO GIVE ONE THING see also bi·díx, si·xá·, si·lâx (ma·ʔây) di·qá·k^h FEAST
 di·qó·x TO FORGET
 di·qá·r TO SCRAPE (ROOTS, HIDES) see also di·qá·ski·
 di·qá·r-xa·lê RAZOR
 di·qá·ski· TO SCRAPE, SCRATCH
 di·tá·l TO MEET UNEXPECTEDLY (xá) di·tík TO DRIP (OF WATER)
 di·t̚^há· LARGER BASS (FISH)
 di·ʔól TO THROW ROUND OBJECT ONCE see also bi·nék^h
 dók^h TO GRIND
 dóminko·? SUNDAY (< Sp. 'domingo')
 do·l FOUR
 dó·laxây EIGHTY
 du·dúl TO BRING ALONG, TO HUNT see also bo·ʔó·

du·kínaša SALMON
 du·lá?du·lâw MOSQUITO
 du·qál TO FINISH see ṭé·lqa
 du·ṭhál-du·bâk^h TO BEAT
 du·wé LAST NIGHT
 du·wé-íâ· MOON (Literally:
 NIGHT-SUN)
 du·wéNa DURING THE NIGHT/EVENING
 du·wé·NaMi IN THE MORNING
 dũ·xác YOUNGER BROTHER, YOUNGER
 SISTER
 du·xá· TO GATHER FROM PLANT
 see also da·kóy
 du·yí· TO COUNT/TEACH
 hádaqal TEN see also ṭék
 hádaqalna·câ·di SIXTEEN
 hádaqalna·dô·l FOURTEEN
 hádaqalna·k^hulaxo^h SEVENTEEN
 hádaqalna·kâli ELEVEN
 hádaqalna·lê·ma FIFTEEN (see
 also xó·mkamâr)
 hádaqalna·šôm NINETEEN (see ná·šom),
 NINE (see hádaqalšôm)
 hádaqalna·xó^h TWELVE
 hádaqalna·xókado·l EIGHTEEN
 hádaqalna·xô·mka THIRTEEN
 hádaqalšôm NINE see also
 hádaqalna·šôm
 hárik SPEAKER'S FATHER see
 -me·?é

hárika SON, FATHER (ADDRESS TERM)
 háwon? SOAP
 háy WHAT? (if one didn't hear)
 háyu DOG
 há· I, wí ME, wax MY,
 wíba FOR ME, wínal TO ME,
 wímak WITH ME
 -há· BROTHER-IN-LAW, WIFE'S BROTHER
 SISTER-IN-LAW, WIFE'S SISTER (OTHER'S)
 See ma·há·
 há·čiči? AX
 há·l FLAT TULE
 há·li PEPPERWOOD NUT WITH SKIN
 há·y GRAPES
 hé·c TO LOOK see also ká·r
 hĩntil? INDIAN
 hĩntil?-šũ·Mũy BOW
 hí·baya MEN see also ká·k^h
 hí·wol? BEANS
 hó·la? SACK see also ma·šá·ho·la?,
 kóstala?
 húraco? DRUNK
 ká HOUSE
 kák^h TO RUN (SG)
 kámisa? SHIRT (< Sp. 'camisa')
 kápota? COAT
 kápki· TO JUMP
 kárenta? AUTOMOBILE, WAGON see
 also xóy·ki·wâ·l
 káwa? HORSE see also káwayu?

- káwayeru? COWBOY (< Sp. 'caballero') -kêx FATHER'S YOUNGER BROTHER (OTHER'S)
- See also pá·ka?-qa·wî·
- káwayu? HORSE See also káwa? (requires possessive prefix)
- káyu UP See also di·mó·t̄
- káyuwa ABOVE
- ká· TO SIT (SG) See also na·p^hó·
- ká· MOTHER'S FATHER (OTHER'S)
- (requires possessive prefix)
- ká·c SPEAKER'S MOTHER'S FATHER
- ka·dák^h TO CUT WITH KNIFE
- ka·dik^h TO RUN (PL) See also
- kák^h
- ká·k^h MAN See also hí·baya
- (ká·ye·na?) ká·k^h ROOSTER
- ka·ló BEE
- (xá) ka·núm TO FLOW (OF WATER)
- ka·nú·l TO TALK
- ká·r TO SEE See also hé·c
- ká·wk^h PERSON, PEOPLE
- ká·wk^h-mu·dâl CORPSE
- ká·xalik^h CHIEF (MALE)
- See also dáxalik^h
- ká·y COUNTRY, LAND, GROUND
- ká·y-táš CLEARING, BARE PLACE
- ká·y-xôwakâx SPRING (SEASON)
- ká·ye·na? CHICKEN
- ká·ye·na? dá HEN
- ká·ye·na? ká·k^h ROOSTER
- kêx FATHER'S YOUNGER BROTHER (OWN)
- kêy SON-IN-LAW (OTHER'S)
- (requires possessive prefix)
- ke·ré· FRONT OF LOWER LEG
- kí· HEAD LOUSE
- ki·hík^h WORK
- ki·hík^h-dô·l THURSDAY
- ki·hík^h-lê·ma FRIDAY
- ki·hík^h-xôch TUESDAY
- ki·hík^h-xômka WEDNESDAY
- ki·nál CROWN OF HEAD
- kí·š TO TWINE, i.e., TO WEAVE
- BASKETS See also khí·bí·
- ki·yâ· WHO
- kôstala? SACK See also hó·la?,
- ma·šáho·la?
- kók^h LONG OBJECT TO BE PERPENDICULAR
- TO A PLANE OF REFERENCE
- kô·če? PIC
- kô·t̄^hi-xa·lê· DIGGER PINE
- kô·t̄ BROTHER-IN-LAW, SISTER'S
- HUSBAND (OWN)
- kô·t̄ BROTHER-IN-LAW, SISTER'S
- HUSBAND (OTHER'S) (requires
- possessive prefix)
- kô·x TO SHOOT AND HIT See also šôm^hk
- kúčara? SPOON (< Sp. 'cuchara')
- kúčiya? KNIFE (< Sp. 'cuchillo')
- See náwana?

kũč̣ YOUNG (SG)	kũč̣a (PL)	kh̄a·wõ·	MALE OR FEMALE GENITALS
kũra	CLOSE BY	kh̄a·yá	HEAD
kũrbi·dí	TO BRING (PL)	kh̄gkhe?	CRAZY
kũrdi·	TO BRING (SG)	kh̄e·ʔé·	SALT
kũrph̄i·lê	TO COME (HERE) (PL)	kh̄ílqa·	TO HANG (DOWN) (SG)
kũruhu·	TO COME (HERE) (SG)		See also ph̄u·sáyk
ku·bũnku·bũn	GROUSE (?)	kh̄ílʔwa·	ONE TO FIGHT
ku·hũl	TOWARD NORTH	kh̄i·bé·l	TO CARRY ON BACK (PL)
ku·hũla	NORTH		See also kh̄i·dí·l
ku·hũlabax-kâ·wk̄h	PEOPLE FROM NORTH, MENDOCINO COUNTY	kh̄i·bũ·	TO COIL, WEAVE (BASKETS)
			See also k̄i·š̄
ku·hũ·	TO EAT	kh̄i·bã·qal	FEATHER BELT
	See also qa·wã·l	kh̄i·dí·l	TO CARRY ON BACK (SG)
ku·k̄h̄i	BUZZARD		See kh̄i·bé·l
ku·lâw	ANTLER	kh̄i·ké·	RAIN
ku·lé·š̄ki·	SMOOTHED	kh̄i·yép̄	PILLOW
ku·nú	UPPER CHEST	kh̄ól	WORM
ku·núla-qa·qôy·bax-kâ·wk̄h	MIDDLETOWN PEOPLE	kh̄ũlaxôč̄h	SEVEN
		kh̄ũlmanke	I'M AFRAID, FEAR
ku·nú·la	COYOTE, MEAN	kh̄ũy	NOT
ku·š̄i·-xa·bê	MORTAR	kh̄ũya	DON'T HAVE
(si·mã·) ku·tê·m	TO SLEEP (PL)	kh̄ũyi	DON'T WANT TO
kh̄á	SPIDER	kh̄u·wáy	TO LAUGH
kh̄á·	TO CONTAIN A MASS, QUANTITY OR NUMBER IN THE MOST APPROPRIATE CONTAINER/ENCLOSURE FOR THE GIVEN MATERIAL, i.e., food in dish, sheep in corral, coffee in cup	káli	ONE
		kálisento?	HUNDRED
kh̄a·Lál	LIVER	ka·dác̄	HIDE (OF ANIMAL)
kh̄e·rô	WINDPIPE	ka·lól	DRY (SG)
		ka·lôla	DRY (PL)
		ká·š̄	YAWN

(xá) ka·s̄o POND
ka·wów TOAD
ké·l TO BRING (LONG OBJECT OR CONTAINER) ALONG
ke·ré·sap SUGAR, SUGAR PINE
See also sú·kara?
kiw COOL
ki·dí BACK
ki·dí-dí·kút^h VERTEBRAE
ki·dí-Yâ SPINE
ki·yá· FISH HAWK
kó EGG, BELLY
ko·hóy MOUNTAIN QUAIL
kú·s BABY
kú·s qa·wí· TO GIVE BIRTH
ku·húm WHITE BASKET ROOT
(ʔúy) ku·wí· EYEBROW
lába·bo NOSE
láme·sa? TABLE (< Sp. 'la mesa')
lámi GOPHER
lá· SUN
la·qó COAST WASHINGTON CLAM
lés SNOT
léx SALIVA See also qa·c̄ó·l
lé·če? MILK OF COWS
lé·ma FIVE
lík^hlík^h FLICKER (BIRD)
líla FAR, AT A DISTANCE

li·bú· WHISTLE, OF BONE
li·s̄úy BLACK OAK ACORN
lóc LIGHTNING
ló·t GREEN BRUSH
lu·ké TYPE OF OAK
lu·qáwʔqaw OLD WORD FOR DEER
Lá·l GOOSE
Líaka·k^h THUNDER (archaic)
See also qa·lîmatáwʔtaw,
qa·lîmatówʔtaw
má YOU (SG) See also: mí YOU (OBJECT), mí·bax YOURS, mí·Nal TO YOU, mí·Mak WITH YOU, mí·ba FOR YOU
mát^hi DOE
máyba FOR YOU (PL)
See also má·
máybax YOURS (PL)
máyMak WITH YOU (PL)
máyNal TO YOU (PL)
má· YOU (PL) See also: má·l YOU (OBJECT), máybax YOURS, máyNal TO YOU, máyMak WITH YOU, máyba FOR YOU
-má· FATHER'S MOTHER (OTHER'S) (requires possessive prefix)
See also má·c̄
ma·bó· TO SWELL (UP)

ma·cíkirí HOOT OWL
 má·c FATHER'S MOTHER (OWN),
 GRANDDAUGHTER (AS ADDRESS
 TERM) See also -má·
 ma·há· BROTHER-IN-LAW, WIFE'S
 BROTHER (OWN), SISTER-IN-LAW,
 WIFE'S SISTER (OWN)
 See also -há·
 ma·k^híw COTTONTAIL
 ma·k^hó CRANE
 má·l YOU (PL) (OBJECT) See má·
 ma·lâx TROUT
 ma·lúmma·lôw BLACK WILLOW
 ma·lú· TO BAKE
 ma·lák^h TO EURN (INANIMATE
 SUBJECT) See also ša·t^hó·,
 ša·lót^hma·, p^ha·bék^h
 ma·nák^h PAY
 ma·qár BROTHER-IN-LAW, HUSBAND'S
 BROTHER; SISTER-IN-LAW,
 HUSBAND'S SISTER
 má·qat^hora OLD WOMEN See dáqara
 (ma·?áy) ma·rá· HUNGRY
 (Literally: FOOD WANT)
 (xá) ma·rá· THIRSTY
 (Literally: WATER WANT)

ma·sá·n WHITE MAN
 ma·sí·t SCREECH OWL
 ma·šáhó·la? SACK See also
 hó·la?, kóstala?
 ma·šá-xây bax-kâ·wk^h ROUND VALLEY
 PEOPLE
 ma·šá· FATHER-IN-LAW (OWN),
 MOTHER-IN-LAW (OWN)
 See also -šá·
 ma·t^hé· PANCREAS (?)
 má·t^hile FATHER'S FATHER (OWN),
 FATHER'S OLDER BROTHER
 See also -bá·t^hile
 ma·t^hólqa TO ROAST
 ma·t^hú· DOCTOR See also
 qo·?ó·ki·yâ·l-kâ·wk^h
 ma·t^hó· PENIS
 ma·xár TO CRY
 má·yawala YOUNG LADIES See
 also dáyawal, dáxac,
 qa·rá·ya-qa·wik^h
 ma·yú· DOVE
 ma·Yék ASTHMA
 ma·?áš TO HATE
 ma·?áy FOOD
 ma·?áy di·qá·k^h FEAST

ma·ʔáy ma·rá· HUNGRY (Literally:

FOOD WANT)

ma·ʔáy-šī·wéya FRUIT

ma·ʔá· TO COPULATE

See also da·k^hǒ·

mě THIS

mér TO LIE DOWN (SG)

See also p^hi·tám

(si·má·) mér TO SLEEP (SG)

méx ELDER BROTHER (OWN)

-méx ELDER BROTHER (OTHER'S)

(requires possessive prefix)

-me·ʔé FATHER (OTHER'S)

(requires possessive prefix)

See also hárik

me·ʔól TO KNOW

mí YOU (SG) (OBJECT)

See also má

míy SISTER-IN-LAW, BROTHER'S

WIFE (OWN)

-míy SISTER-IN-LAW, BROTHER'S

WIFE (OTHER'S)

(requires possessive prefix)

See also míy

mí·ba FOR YOU (SG)

See also má

mí·bax YOURS (SG)

mí·šé POUNDING BASKET

mí·céqaray FROG

mí·Mak WITH YOU (SG)

See also má

mí·múk^h TO SMELL (PL)

mí·Nal TO YOU (SG)

See also má

mí·pal HIM

See also mí·p

mí·piba FOR HIM

mí·pibax HIS

mí·piMak WITH HIM

mí·piNal TO HIM

mí·p HE

See also: mí·pal HIM,

mí·piba FOR HIM, mí·pibax HIS.

mí·piMak WITH HIM, mí·piNal

TO HIM

mí·ral HER

See also mí·t

mí·riba FOR HER

mí·ribax HERS

mí·riMak WITH HER

mí·riNal TO HER

mí·sá·k^h RIB

mí·šé· TO SMELL (SG)

(bá·nfs) mi·šé·nke TO STINK

(Literally: THAT SMELLS BAD)

mi·t̄ SHE

See also: mi·ral HER,

mi·riba FOR HER, mi·ribax

HERS, mi·riMak̄ WITH HER,

mi·riNal TO HER

mi·Yá· FRONT OF THE NECK, THROAT

mó HOLE

mó·c̄ SOUR

mó·t̄odô̄t̄ MOUSE, BIGGER THAN A

HOUSE RAT

mó·Ya RABBIT

mo·?ów HIP

múla? MULE

mu·dál DEAD/TO DIE

(ká·wk̄^h) mu·dál CORPSE

mu·ká GRAIN

mu·k̄^hé SWEAT

mu·l̄fy SMALL GROUND SQUIRREL

mu·sú HAIR

mu·šáq̄ BLACK

mu·t̄á·winal SUMMER

Má·rak^h DANCE HOUSE, SWEATHOUSE

Má·riyâp̄ POISON OAK

Má· SHORE

náwaha? POCKET KNIFE

náwik^h-ká·wk̄^h CACHE CREEK

PEOPLE

ná·ca·di SIXTEEN

ná·do·l FOURTEEN

ná·hádaqal THIRTY

ná·k̄^hulaxóč̄^h SEVENTEEN

ná·k̄áli ELEVEN

na·p̄^hó· TO SIT (PL)

ná·šom NINETEEN

na·wá SHYPOKE (TYPE OF CRANE)

ná·xóč̄^h. TWELVE

ná·xokado·l EIGHTEEN

ná·xo·m̄ka THIRTEEN

ník̄ MOTHER (OWN)

See also -t̄^hé

níka DAUGHTER (vocative)

See also qa·wélit̄,

(wax) dáxác̄

nfs BAD (SG)

nfsa BAD (PL)

(bá·) nfs mi·šé·nke TO STINK

(Literally: TO SMELL BAD)

nó ASHES

nónok^h GRAY

nó·t̄^h GRAY

nu·p̄^hér SKUNK

nu·wák^h FAWN

pántalo? TROUSERS

See also ša·k^hð-káwuhu

pányor? SPANIARD, MEXICAN

pášal? VISIT (<Sp. 'pasar')

pá·ka? COW

pá·ka?-qa·wî· COWBOY (<

Sp. 'caballero')

See also káwayeru?

pá·pel? PAPER

pélesuk^h PRISONER

pé·so? MONEY

pé·t^h THIN (SG)

pé·t^ha THIN (PL)

púl STRAIGHT, TRUE (OF WORDS)

pú·š CAT

p^há FECES

p^ha·bék^h TO BURN (ANIMATE

SUBJECT) See also:

ša·t^hó·, ša·lót^hma·, ma·Lák^h

p^ha·k^hó· TO PIERCE (WITH GIG)

p^ha·sáxki· TO HIT (WITH FIST)

p^ha·wát^h TO SCORCH (AS OF FOOD)

p^hér FART

p^he·réš BODY LOUSE

p^hi·bá·k^h TO SPLIT (REPEATEDLY)

See p^hi·dák^h

p^hi·čhú^ht^hudû PEARS (Mission
dialect)

p^hi·dák^h TO SPLIT (ONCE)

See p^hi·bá·k^h

p^hi·l TO CARRY IN ARMS (SG)

p^hi·p^hi·k TO CARRY IN ARMS (PL)

p^hi·tí· IT'S DARK

p^hi·táw WHITE

p^hi·tám TO LIE DOWN (PL)

See also mér

p^hi·yún SEA LION

p^hó·l MAGNESITE BEAD

p^húk REAL, TRUE, GENUINE

p^húy FAT

p^hu·bé·l TO FLY (PL)

See p^hu·dí·l

p^hu·dí· TO STEAL

p^hu·dí·l TO FLY (SG)

See p^hu·bé·l

(xó)-p^hu·lñ·š WHITE ASH ON EMBERS

p^hu·sáyk TO HANG (DOWN) (PLURAL

DISTRIBUTIVE)

See also k^hílqa·

p^hu·še·nk TO BREATHE

p^hu·šu·l TO BLOW (WITH MOUTH)

p^hu·tá·wa· SEMEN

See also ʔáy t^hór

p^hít FULL

See also qu·láš

p^hók^h TO SMOKE (TOBACCO)

qá·di·ma· TO GAMBLE (di·má·

TO HOLD WITH ONE HAND)

qák^h RIGHT (HAND)

- qál, qálayók, qáli MENSES
- qár BROTHER-IN-LAW, HUSBAND'S
BROTHER; SISTER-IN-LAW,
HUSBAND'S SISTER (OTHER'S)
- qáša·lap COTTONWOOD TREE
- (xá·) qá· TO SWIM
- qá· MOTHER'S MOTHER (OTHERS)
(requires possessive prefix)
See also qá·c
- qá·balap WHITE OAK TREE
See also qá·k^húl, qá·bayâp
- qá·bayâp WHITE OAK TREE
See also qá·k^húl, qá·balap
- qa·bék^h TO SCRATCH (WITH CLAWS,
LIKE A DOG)
- qa·bô· FILLED
- qa·c^híl COLD
- qá·c MOTHER'S MOTHER (OWN),
GRANDDAUGHTER (AS ADDRESS
TERM) See also -qá·
- qa·cá GRASS, HAY
See also ca·kíl, ca·p^híl
- qa·cílí RICE
- qa·cól SALIVA See also léx
- qá·lap ASH
- qa·lá· ANKLE
- qa·lí SKY
- qa·líc CALF OF LEG
- qa·líl UPHILL
- qa·límatâw?taw qá·límatów?tow
THUNDER See also Líaka·k^h
- qa·líqál?qal WHIP SNAKE
- qa·lí·mi·dik^h MONDAY
- qa·lúl ELDERBERRY TREE
- qa·lútu·dúk^h SNAKE
- qa·né· TO BITE
- qa·qō VALLEY, MEADOW
- qa·qō· WILDERNESS, AREA OUTSIDE
HUMAN COMMUNITIES WHICH SHOULD
ONLY BE ENTERED WITH APPROPRIATE
RITUALS OF PREPARATION
- qa·qō·bax-?â·m ANIMAL (Literally:
THING OF THE WILD)
- qa·qáw FOX
- qa·qón WRIST
- qá·soy SEED
- qa·wá·l TO EAT BY CHEWING
See ku·nú·
- qa·wé·lip SON, hárika (vocative),
wax qa·wí· MY SON
- qa·we·liṭ DAUGHTER, níka (vocative)
wax dáxac MY DAUGHTER
- qa·wík^h BOYS
- qa·wí· BOY (SG), CHILD
wax qa·wí· SON, GRANDSON
See also qa·wé·lip, hárika
(kú·s) qa·wí· TO GIVE BIRTH

- qa·yé· MANZANITA TREE
 qi·qí OTTER
 qó NAVEL, UMBILICAL CORD
 qóy SWAN
 qó·k WHOOPING COUGH
 qóla LONG/TALL (PL)
 See ba·kíl
 qó·m UPPER LEG BONE
 qo·máš BEETS
 qu·l DRIED COOKED FISH
 qu·láš FULL See also píť
 qu·lá-na·p^ho-ká·wk^h MISSION
 PEOPLE (Literally: WATER LILY-
 VILLAGE-PEOPLE)
 qu·már SQUIRREL
 qu·šál THREE-CORNER TULE
 qu·šíli-ší·bâ YELLOW (Literally:
 LARK BODY)
 -qái TO FINISH (DOING SOMETHING)
 (requires instrumental prefix)
 qás TO FINISH BASKET
 qátawîs SCORPION
 qa·k^hú1 WHITE OAK ACORN
 See also qá·bayap, qá·balap
 qa·lál SICK
 qa·lúy-ká·wk^h GHOST, SPIRIT
 qa·rá·č^h WOODPECKER
 qa·rá·ya WOMEN See also dá
 qa·rá·ya-qa·wîk^h GIRLS
 See dáxac, dáyawal,
 má·yawala
 qa·tá· OLD (WORN)
 qa·wás CHIN, JAW
 qa·yá·n DUCK
 qedáqedâk^h RED
 qó·q LOON
 qóy BACK OF NECK, NAPE
 qó· TO DRINK
 qo·díy GOOD (SG) qo·díya (PL),
 RIGHT, CORRECT, ATTRACTIVE
 See also ci·qóm
 qo·?ó POISON
 qo·?ó-kí·yâ·l-ká·wk^h DOCTOR
 (Literally: POISON-DOING MAN)
 See also ma·tú·
 qu·sá ELBOW
 qu·túl KNEE
 rík^h CLAW, FINGERNAIL
 sápató? SHOES
 sa·má·y HEART
 sá·walu? SATURDAY
 sa·wál?wal STELLAR JAY
 sa·xá TOBACCO
 sa·xá1alây TREE SQUIRREL

sé-bu·dú LIVE OAK ACORN
 sémano? WEEK
 (xa·lé·) si·bú TREE MOSS
 (WHITE STUFF, LIKE MISTLETOE)
 si·dík^h TO SUCK OUT
 si·dó· WOMAN'S BREAST, BREAST MILK
 si·dó·-k^ha·yâ NIPPLE
 si·k^húc SOAKED ACORN MEAL
 si·lâx TO GIVE ON MORE THAN ONE
 OCCASION See di·qá·, si·xá·,
 bi·dix
 si·lí BUTTOCKS
 si·má· ku·tś·m TO SLEEP (PL)
 si·má· mēr TO SLEEP (SG)
 si·p^hú· JUNIPER BERRIES
 si·pú·l TO KISS
 si·qá·lk^h TO SHOUT
 si·tál TO LICK
 (xay-xó·mka) si·tól 3-STICK BASKET
 si·tál LEAF
 si·tál-p^hu·têx AUTUMN (Literally:
 LEAVES-BLOW DOWN)
 si·xá· TO GIVE
 sí·ya? SADDLE (< Sp. 'silla')
 si·yá·w TO SUCK UP
 só CLOVER
 só·ltawe? SOLDIER (< Sp. 'soldades')
 só·y BREAD, ACORN BREAD

sú·kara? SUGAR (< Sp. 'azúcar')
 See also ké·ré·sap
 šá FISH
 šá-ta·nê FISH BONE
 šál WING
 šáta·ne BEAD OF WASHINGTON CLAM
 SHELL
 šáy EAGLE
 -šá· FATHER-IN-LAW, MOTHER-IN-LAW
 (OTHER'S) (requires possessive
 prefix) See also ma·šá·
 ša·bé· CENTER POLE (IN DANCE HOUSE)
 ša·šék^h-xa·lé FORK (Literally:
 SPEARING THING)
 ša·dím TO STICK (ONCE) AND HOLD
 ša·kó LEG
 ša·kô-káwuhu TROUSERS
 See also pântalo?
 šá·k TO KILL
 ša·láp SIFTING BASKET
 ša·lót^hma· TO BURN IN SEVERAL PLACES
 (ANIMATE SUBJECT) See also
 p^ha·bék^h, ma·Lák^h, ša·tś·
 (xá) ša·má· TO DIP (WATER)
 ša·mól SUCKERFISH
 ša·qá·x QUAIL
 ša·qá·x-ba·bi·Yâ SPARROW HAWK
 ša·qó GRASSHOPPER

- šá·ri BASKET, DISHES
 See also xáy·ka·toLi,
 bu·kú, cō·y, si·tól
 (chj·ká) šá·ri ROUND TWINED
 BASKET, WITH SIDES
 (cá·y) šá·ri ONE-STICK BASKET
 ša·tó FOAM
 ša·tō· TO BURN (SG) (ANIMATE
 SUBJECT) See ša·lótma·,
 p^ha·bék^h, ma·Lák^h
 ša·xál BLACKFISH
 ša·yá·wk^h TO PUSH ONE STICK
 WITH ANOTHER
 šé·la YOUNG MAN
 šé·x MOTHER'S YOUNGER SISTER (OWN)
 -šé·x MOTHER'S YOUNGER SISTER
 (OTHER'S)
 ši NAME
 ši·bá BODY
 ši·bú CARROT
 ši·c RABBIT SKIN BLANKET
 ši·dú, ši·dúk PEARS (Upper Lake
 dialect)
 ši·má· EAR
 ši·mâ·k^hodčk^hodčw BARN OWL
 ši·wéy NEW
 ši·yó·-bu·râqal BLACK BEAR
 šóm TO SHOOT (ONCE)
- šóm^h TO SHOOT (REPEATEDLY)
 See also kō·x
 šóqo·wabax-kâ·wk^h HOPLAND PEOPLE
 šowmic DAUGHTER-IN-LAW (OWN)
 See -?ót
 šó· EAST
 šó·bax-kâ·wk^h CACHE CREEK PEOPLE
 See also nâwik^h-kâ·wk^h
 šo·bóy TO BLOOM
 šó·k^h TO HEAR
 šó·l TOWARD EAST
 šó·t LUNGS (?)
 šu·bá·k^h FLOWER
 šu·múy BOW (OF BOW & ARROW), GUN
 (híntil?) šu·múy BOW
 (bi·šé) šu·múy RIFLE
 šu·qátki· TO BREAK OFF BY JERKING
 See also cá·
 tá·wal? WORK
 téhera? SCISSORS
 té·nta? STORE (< Sp. 'tienda')
 tíliko? WHEAT
 tírip^ha? GUTS
 tóse TUBERCULOSIS
 tó·ro? BULL (< Sp. 'toro')
 tó·to? PLAIN WOOL BLANKET
 tu·nú MOUSE
 t^ha·rá YELLOWJACKET

th^ha·wíl LEFT (HAND)
 th^hi·bál NEAR
 t^há DIRT
 (šá)-t^ha·nê FISH BONE
 t^hék-xa·lê MOUNTAIN BALM
 t^hi·didiw MOLE
 t^hi·ní·tal SWALLOW
 t^hó BRAINS
 t^hóx SMALL BASS (FISH)
 t^hó· TO SUCK
 t^húntun ANT
 t^hék TEN See also hádaqal
 t^hé·lqa TO FINISH See du·qál
 t^ha·lá THIGH, INSIDE OF LEG FROM
 KNEE TO GROIN
 t^ha·šá· SAND
 -t^hé MOTHER (OTHER'S)
 (requires possessive prefix)
 See also ník
 t^híya BIG (PL) See ba·t^hín
 t^hi·bé·-ya·?ô TULE ROOT, SHOOT
 (YOUNG ba·kô·)
 t^hi·Nór BEAVER (archaic)
 (?áy) t^hór SEMEN
 See also ph^hu·t^há·?wa·
 t^hów RAFTER
 t^ho·?ô· ACORN MUSH, ACORN SOUP

t^hú·c MOTHER'S OLDER SISTER (OWN)
 -t^hú·c MOTHER'S OLDER SISTER
 (OTHER'S)
 t^háx SISTER'S DAUGHTER, SON (OWN)
 -t^háx SISTER'S DAUGHTER, SON (OTHER'S)
 t^há· ASS
 t^ha·bá·t^ha·bâw PIGEON
 t^ha·lá· TICK
 t^ha·-mô RECTUM
 t^ha·phô MEASLES See bi·qôbi·qôw
 t^há·t^ha· FALCON
 t^hé·t^hik^h TO TELL
 t^hír THORN
 t^hi·yál YELLOWHAMMER
 t^hón^hon MAGGOT
 wá-du·kí· TO GO (SG), TO LEAVE
 wáyba FOR US
 wáybax OURS
 wáyNak WITH US
 wáyNal TO US
 wá· WE
 wá·l US
 wá·l TO WALK
 wá·la? BULLET
 wá·re·ka? SHEEP
 wa·šú MOUNTAIN MAHOGANY
 wa·šú-xây DIGGING STICK

wa·yá·x NET
 wa·yóy COCOON, COCOON RATTLE
 wéno? MEDICINE (From Spanish
 'bueno'?)
 wé·x FATHER'S SISTER (OWN)
 -wé·x FATHER'S SISTER (OTHERS)
 wíNawa FRIEND
 wí·ná· ON TOP
 wí·qá MOUNTAIN LION
 wí·t^há ACORN MEAL
 wí·yá DOUGLAS OAK ACORN
 wó·lsa? POCKET
 xá LAKE, WATER
 xá di·tík TO DRIP (OF WATER)
 xá ka·núm TO FLOW (OF WATER)
 xá ká·bó POND
 xá ma·rá· THIRSTY (Literally:
 WATER WANT)
 xá ša·má· TO DIP (WATER)
 xá-bi·kôw WHISKEY (Literally:
 BITTER/STRONG-WATER)
 xáč^huc^hu BEARD
 xáci·da MOUTH, LIPS, BEAK
 xáka WET (PL)
 xák^h WET (SG)
 xá-k^heyáwbax-ká·wk^h UPPER LAKE
 PEOPLE

xášây?šay BUTTERFLY
 xáwi·ná·bax-ká·wk^h SULPHUR BANK
 PEOPLE
 xáydi·lê·ma TWENTY
 xáy-ká·tôli CRADLEBASKET
 xáyqu·Mûy MOUNTAIN LIZARD
 xây-xó·mka si·tôl THREE-STICK
 BASKET
 xá·qá· TO SWIM
 xa·bá FOG
 xa·bâkótólô TADPOLE
 xa·bá·y ONIONS
 xa·bê ROCK, CENTS
 xa·bô CLOUD
 xâ·bo?ôyal GOPHER SNAKE
 xa·dúm DREAM
 xa·ká IRON, FLINT, OBSIDIAN
 xa·ká-na·p^hô ENEMY
 xa·lá CLAM
 xa·lé· TREE
 xa·lé· si·bú TREE MOSS (WHITE
 STUFF, LIKE MISTLETOE)
 xa·lík^h HEAVY (SG)
 xa·líka HEAVY (PL)
 xa·Lús RACCOON
 xa·má· HOOF, FOOT
 xa·má·-qa·wík^h TOES

xá·-qa·p^hâ SPRING (OF WATER)
 xa·rô· ACORN BREAD, BAKED WITH
 BAKING POWDER DIRT
 xa·s RATTLESNAKE
 xa·tá·talâ^q BAT (ANIMAL)
 xâ·tu·Nútal LIZARD
 xa·wál BARK (OF TREE)
 xa·wé· GUM
 xa·wé·-xa·lê· YELLOW PINE
 xê·kí·yâ·l TO DANCE
 xê·lô·ma TO SING (PL)
 xê·ní· TO SING (SG)
 xê·du·ná·r KING SNAKE
 xó FIRE, HOT
 xóčaxây FORTY
 xóč^h TWO
 xó·du·kêr-xa·lê MATCHES
 xókado·l EIGHT
 xó·ká·wk^h DEVIL
 xó·k^hâ· TO BOIL
 xó·p^hu·lú·š WHITE ASH ON EMBERS
 xóšⁱ·c CATERPILLAR
 xóy·ki·wâ·l AUTOMOBILE
 See also kárenta?
 xó·mka THREE
 xó·mkamâr FIFTEEN
 See also hádaqalna·lê·ma

xó·mkaxây SIXTY
 xu·cáy WINTER, YEAR
 xu·Lúmay KIDNEY
 yá·Mi EMPTY, NAKED
 ya·qól TESTICLES
 yá·wa? KEY (< Sp. 'llave')
 ya·ʔó TEETH
 ye·ʔél CHEST
 yi·bá· TAIL
 yi·bú BEANCH
 yi·má SINEW
 yi·máw FROST
 yi·ʔí FEATHER
 yów DOWN
 yówwa BELOW
 yó· SOUTH
 yó·l TOWARD SOUTH
 yu·húy PINOLE
 yu·xá STOMACH
 yu·xá· TEARS
 Yá BONE, WIND (WEATHER TERM)
 Yá· TO BLOW (OF WIND)
 Yémakon BE SYMPATHETIC, IN
 HARMONY, CHEER UP (said to those
 close to one when leaving on a
 long trip, to surviving relatives
 after a death)

yú1	SNOW	ʔí1ʔí1	SMALL VALLEY HAWK
ʔá	HORN, ANTLER	ʔi·	YES
ʔap̄	SOAPROOT	-ʔó̄t̄	DAUGHTER-IN-LAW (OTHER'S)
ʔáwohoʔ	NEEDLE		(requires possessive prefix)
ʔáwʔaw	CROW		See also šównic̄
ʔáy č̄i·Mé	MALE'S PUBIC HAIR	ʔó·	O.K., AGREED
ʔáyi t̄hór	SEMEN See p̄hu·t̄á·ʔwaʔ	ʔó·roʔ	GOLD (< Sp. 'oro')
ʔâ·m·ku·béx·xa·lê	IRON (FOR IRONING)	ʔúy	EYE
ʔéč̄ki	TO SNEEZE	ʔúy-č̄i·Mé	EYELASH
ʔélš̄e	TO SELL	ʔúy-ku·wî·	EYEBROW
ʔe·ʔe·ʔe·	THANK YOU	ʔúyaxo	STAR
ʔílibay	A SWEET SUBSTANCE	ʔúyimo·	FACE

ABOVE káyuwa
 ACORN bu·dú
 ACORN, BLACK OAK li·šúy
 ACORN, DOUGLAS OAK wi·yú
 ACORN, LIVE OAK sé-bu·dú
 ACORN, MUSH OAK 'ci·p^há
 ACORN, POISON OAK Máriyap
 ACORN, WHITE OAK 'qa·k^hú1
 ACORN BREAD só·y
 ACORN BREAD, BAKED WITH BAKING

POWDER DIRT xa·ró·

ACORN MEAL wi·t^há
 ACORN MEAL, SOAKED si·k^hú^o
 ACORN MUSH t^ho·ʔó·
 ACORN SOUP t^ho·ʔó·
 AGREED, O.K. ʔó·
 ANGELICO ba·kó·

ANIMAL qa·qó·bax-ʔá·m

(Literally: THING OF THE WILD)

ANKLE qa·lá·
 ANT túntun
 ANTLER ku·láv
 ANTLER, HORN ʔá
 APPLES ba·šá
 ARM 'cu·wá·
 ARMPIT da·má ~ da·mámo·
 ARROW ba·t^hiy
 ASH qá·lap

ASH, WHITE, ON EMBERS xó-p^hu·lú·š

ASHES nó

ASS t^há·

ASTHMA ma·Yé^h

AUTOMOBILE xóy-ki·wá·1 ~ kárenta?

AUTUMN si·t^hál-p^hu·bêx (Literally:
 LEAVES-BLOW DOWN)

AX há·či?

BABY kú·s

BACK ki·dí

BAD nís (SG) nísá (PL)

TO BAKE ma·lú·

BARK (OF TREE) xa·wál

BASKET šá·ri

BASKET, PARCHING da·lá

BASKET, POUNDING mi·čé

BASKET, ROUND TWINED, WITH SIDES

chi·ká-šá·ri

BASKET, SIFTING ša·láp

BASKET, 1-STICK 'cá·y šá·ri

BASKET, 3-STICK xáy-xó·mka si·t^hól

See also CRADLEBASKET, PACK BASKET

BASKET ROOT, BLACK 'ci·wíš

BASKET ROOT, WHITE 'ku·húm

BASS, LARGER di·t^há·

BASS, SMALL tóx

TO BASTE bi·qá1k^h

BAT (ANIMAL) xa·tá·talaq

BEAD, MAGNESITE	p ^h ô·l	BLANKET, PLAIN WOOL	tô·to?
BEAD OF WASHINGTON CLAM SHELL		BLANKET, RABBIT SKIN	ší·c̣
	šáta·ne	TO BLISTER	'ci·pólkh
BEAK	xáci·da	BLOOD	ba·lây
BEANS	hí·wol?	TO BLOOM	šo·bóy
BEAR	bu·ráqal	TO BLOW (WITH THE MOUTH)	p ^h u·šú·l
BEAR, BLACK	ši·yó·-bu·ráqal	TO BLOW (OF WIND)	Yá·
BEARD	xáč ^h uc ^h u	BLUE	'ca·khéca·khék ^h
TO BEAT	du·t ^h ál-du·bák ^h	BLUEJAY	'cá·y
BEAVER	t ^h i·Nór (archaic)	BODY	ši·bá
BEE	ka·lô	TO BOIL	xô-k ^h â· See TO CONTAIN
BEETS	qo·máš	BONE	Yá
BELLY	kó	BONE, FISH	šá ta·né
BELOW	yôwwa	BOW	šu·Múy ~ híntil? -šu·Mûy
BELT, FEATHER	k ^h i·bú·qal	BOY	qa·wí· (SG) qa·wik ^h (PL)
TO BEND OVER AND PICK UP FROM THE GROUND OBJECTS (such as nuts, acorns, fallen pears or apples and wood) AND PUT THEM IN A CONTAINER	da·kóy	BRAINS	tó
BIG	ba·t ^h ín (SG) t ^h íya (PL)	BRANCH	yi·bú
BIRD	'ci·yá	BREAD	só·y
TO GIVE BIRTH	kú·s qa·wí·	BREAD, ACORN	só·y, xa·ró·
TO BITE	qa·né·	TO BREAK OFF FROM TWISTING	'cá·
BITTER, STRONG, PEPPERY	bi·ków	TO BREAK OFF BY JERKING	šu·qáťki·
BLACK	mu·šáq	BREAST, BREAST MILK	si·dó·
BLACKBERRY	'cícik ^h ôp	TO BREATHE	p ^h u·šé·nk
BLACKBIRD	'cú·Li	TO BRING	kúrdi· (SG) kúrbi·di· (PL)
BLACKFISH	ša·xál	TO BRING LONG OBJECT ALONG	ké·l
		TO BRING ALONG, TO HUNT	du·dúl
		BROTHER	See ELDER, YOUNGER BROTHER
		BROTHER-IN-LAW, HUSBAND'S BROTHER	
		(OWN) ma·qár (OTHER'S) -qár	

BROTHER-IN-LAW, SISTER'S HUSBAND (OWN) kó·t̄ (OTHER'S) -ko·t̄	CATERPILLAR xóš̄i·c̄
BROTHER-IN-LAW, WIFE'S BROTHER (OWN) ma·há· (OTHER'S) -há·	CENTER POLE IN DANCE HOUSE š̄a·bé·
BROTHER'S DAUGHTER, SON (called the same as DAUGHTER, SON)	CENTS xa·bé· See ROCK
BUCKEYE ba·š̄á	CHEEKS ba·lú
BULL tó·ro? (< Sp. 'toro')	CHEER UP Yémakón See SYMPATHETIC
BULLET wá·la?	CHEST ye·?él
TO BURN (ANIMATE SUBJECT) š̄a·t̄ó· (SG), š̄a·lót̄ma· (PL) p ^h a·bék ^h	CHEST, UPPER ku·nú
(INANIMATE SUBJECT) ma·Lák ^h	CHICKEN ká·ye·na?
BUTTERFLY xáš̄ây?š̄ay	CHIEF, FEMALE dáxalik ^h
BUTTOCKS si·lí	CHIEF, MALE ká·xalik ^h
BUTTON bóton?	CHILD qa·wí·
TO BUY ba·qák ^h	CHIN qa·wás
BUZZARD ku·k ^h í	CLAM xa·lá
CACHE CREEK PEOPLE náwik ^h -ká·wk ^h ∞ š̄ó·bax-ká·wk ^h	CLAM, COAST WASHINGTON la·qó
CALF (OF LEG) qa·líč	CLAW rik ^h
CARROT š̄i·bú	CLEAN cá·r
TO CARRY IN ARMS p ^h í·l (SG) p ^h í·p ^h í·k̄ (PL DISTRIBUTIVE)	CLEARING, BARE PLACE kâ·y-táš̄
TO CARRY ON BACK k ^h í·dí·l (SG) k ^h í·bé·l (PL)	CLOSE BY kúra
CAT pú·š̄	CLOUD xa·bó
TO CATCH, TO COPULATE da·k ^h ó·	CLOVER só See also GRASS
	GOAT kápota?
	COCOON, COCOON RATTLE wa·yóy
	TO COIL (BASKETS) k ^h í·bú·
	COLD qa·c ^h í
	TO COME HERE kúruhu· (SG) kúrp ^h í·lí· (PL)

TO CONTAIN A MASS, QUANTITY OR NUMBER IN THE MOST APPROPRIATE CONTAINER/ENCLOSURE FOR THE GIVEN MATERIAL, I.E., FOOD IN DISH, SHEEP IN CORRAL, COFFEE IN CUP	khá·	TO CRY	ma·xár
COOL	kíw	TO CUT	ka·dák ^h (WITH KNIFE)
TO COPULATE	ma·ʔá·	TO DANCE	xé·kí·yá·l
POLITE FORM	da·k ^h ó·	DANCE HOUSE	Márah ^h
CORPSE	ká·wk ^h mu·dál	IT'S DARK	phí·tí·
COTTONTAIL	ma·k ^h íw	DAUGHTER	qa·wé·liṭ vocative: níka
COTTONWOOD TREE	qáša·lap'	MY DAUGHTER	wax dáxac'
TO COUNT/TEACH	du·yí·	DAUGHTER-IN-LAW (own)	šówMic'
COUNTRY, LAND, GROUND	ká·y	(others)	-ʔót'
COW	pa·kaʔ	DAY	dámál
COWBOY	pá·kaʔ-qa·wí· ~ káwayeruʔ (< Sp. 'caballero')	DEAD/TO DIE	mu·dál
COYOTE	ku·nú·la	DEER	bi·šé
CRADLEBASKET	xáy·ka·tôLi	DEER (old word)	lu·qáwʔqaw
CRANE	ma·k ^h ó	DELICIOUS, SWEET, GOOD	ci·qóm, chi·khěchi·khe
TO CRAWL	da·póda·po·l	DEVIL	xó·ká·wk ^h
CRAZY	k ^h ék ^h eʔ	TO DIE/DEAD	mu·dál
CREEK, RIVER	bi·dáme	DIFFICULT, HARD	da·qér
CRICKET	bi·córbi·côr	DIGGING STICK	wa·šú-xáy
CROW	ʔáwʔaw	TO DIP (WATER)	xá ša·má·
CROWN (OF HEAD)	ki·nál	DIRT	tá
		DIRTY	ʔá·c (sg.) ʔá·ca (pl.)
		DISHES	šá·ri (LITERALLY: BASKET)
		DOCTOR	ma·tú· ~ qo·ʔó·kí·yá·l-ká·wk ^h (LITERALLY: POISON-DOING MAN)
		DOE	mát ^h i
		DOG	háyu

DONKEY	bú·ru? (< Sp. 'burro')	ELDERBERRY TREE	qa·lúl
DOVE	ma·yú·	ELDER BROTHER	(own) méx
DOWN	yów		(other's) -méx
DOWNSTREAM	bi·dáv	ELDER SISTER	(own) dé·x
DREAM	xa·dúm		(other's) -de·x
DRIED COOKED FISH	qu·l	ELEVEN	ná·kâli ↪ hádaqalna·kâli
TO DRINK	qó·	ELK	bo·ʔó ↪ bo·ʔó-bi·šē
TO DRIP (WATER)	xá di·tík	EMPTY/NAKED	yá·Mi
DRUNK	húracc?	ENEMY	xa·ká-na·pòô
DRY	ká·lól (SG) ká·lólá (PL)	DURING THE EVENING/NIGHT	du·wéNa
DUCK	qa·yá·n	EYE	ʔúy
DUCK, TULE	di·kúbu·hú	EYEBROW	ʔúy ku·wí·
EAGLE	šáy	EYELASH	ʔúy či·Mé
EAR	ši·má·	FACE	ʔúyimo·
EAST	šó·	FALCON	tá·ta·
TOWARD EAST	šó·l	FAR, AT A DISTANCE	líla
TO EAT	ku·hú·	FART	p ^h ér
TO EAT BY CHEWING	qa·wá·l	FAT	p ^h úy
EEL	ba·wól	FATHER	(own) hárik (other's) -ne·ʔ
EGG	kó	FATHER-IN-LAW	(own) ma·šá·
EIGHT	xókado·l		(other's) -šá·
EIGHTEEN	ná·xokado·l ↪ hádaqalna·xókado·l	FATHER'S FATHER	(own) má·tile
EIGHTY	dó·laxây		(other's) -bá·tile
ELBOW	qu·sá	FATHER'S MOTHER	(own) má·c
ELDERBERRY	di·káydi·kây		(other's) -má·
		FATHER'S OLDER BROTHER	(OWN) má·tile
			(OTHER'S) -bá·tile

FATHER'S YOUNGER BROTHER		TO FLOW (WATER)	xá ka·Núm
(own) kék (other's) -kék		FLOWER	šu·bá·k ^h
FATHER'S SISTER (own) wé·x		FLY	čá·ma·l
(other's) -wé·x		TO FLY	phu·dí·l (sg.)
FAWN nu·wák ^h			phu·bé·l (pl.)
FEAR khúlmanke (I'M AFRAID)		FOAM	ša·tó
FEAST ma·ʔáy di·qá·k ^h		FOG	xa·bá
FEATHER yi·ʔí		FOOD	ma·ʔáy
FECES phá		FOOT	xa·má·
FIFTEEN xó·mkamâr ∞		FOREARM	bóth ^h qo
		FOREHEAD	di·lé
		TO FORGET	di·qó·x
ONE TO EIGHT khílʔwa·		FORK	ša·čék ^h -xa·lé (LITERALLY:
FILLED qa·bó·			SPEARING-THING)
FINGER bi·Yâ-cú·xay		FORTY	xóčaxây
FINGERNAIL rík ^h		FOUR	do·l
TO FINISH, ACCOMPLISH tē·lqa,		FOURTEEN	ná·do·l hádaqalna·dô·l
		FOX	qa·qáw
		FRIDAY	ki·hík ^h lé·ma
TO FINISH BASKET qás		FRIEND	wíNawa
TO FINISH (DOING SOMETHING)		FROG	mi·céqaray
		FROST	yi·máw
		FRUIT	ma·ʔáy-ši·wēya
		FULL	pít ∞ qu·láš
		FUR	či·Mé
		GALL	bi·šék
FIRE xó		TO GAMBLE	qâ-di·ma·
FISH šá DRIED COOKED qu·l			(di·mâ· TO HOLD WITH ONE HAND)
FISH BONE šá-ta·nê			
FISH WORM bi·lá			
FIVE lé·ma			
FLEA be·rémal			
FLICKER (BIRD) lík ^h lik ^h			
FLINT, OBSIDIAN xa·ká			

TO GATHER (PICK OFF PLANT)	du·xá·	GRANDSON (RECIPROCAL TERM OF ADDRESS	
TO GATHER (OFF GROUND)	da·kóy	WITH GRANDFATHER OR	wax qa·wí·)
GENITALS, MALE OR FEMALE	k ^h a·wó·	GRAPES	há·y
GHOST, SPIRIT	qa·lúy-ká·wk ^h	GRASS	qa·cá (also HAY) ~ cá·k ^h íl ~
GIRL	dáxác (SG) qa·rá·ya-qa·wí·k ^h		cá·p ^h íl (also CLOVER SPECIES)
(PL); YOUNG LADY	dáyawal (SG)	GRASSHOPPER	ša·qó
má·yawala (PL)		GRAY	nó·t ^h ~ nónok ^h
TO GIVE	si·xá·, di·qá· (ONE THING),	GREEN	cá·báca·bák ^h
bi·díx (MORE THAN ONE THING)		GREEN BRUSH	ló·t
TO GIVE ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION		TO GRIND	dók ^h
si·lax		GROUND, LAND, COUNTRY	ká·y
TO GIVE BIRTH	kú·s qa·wí·	GROUSE ?	ku·búnku·bún
TO GO	wá-du·kí· (SG) di·k ^h á· (PL)	GUM	xa·wé·
TO GO AWAY	c ^h á·wuhu· (SG)	GUN, BOW	šu·Múy
c ^h á·p ^h i·lf· (PL)		GUTS	tírip ^h a?
GOAT	čí·wa?	HAIR	mu·sú
GOLD	?ó·ro? (< Sp. 'oro')	HAND	bi·Yá
GOOD	qó·díy (SG) qó·díya (PL)	TO HANG DOWN	k ^h ílqa· (SG)
ci·qóm, c ^h i·k ^h é·c ^h i·k ^h e			p ^h u·sáyk (PL DISTRIBUTIVE)
GOOSE	Lá·l	HARD, DIFFICULT	da·qér
GOPHER	lámí	TO HATE	ma·?áš
GRAIN	mu·ká	HAWK, CHICKEN	ci·yâ-ma·něma·ně
GRANDDAUGHTER (RECIPROCAL TERM OF		HAWK, FISH	ki·yá·
ADDRESS WITH GRANDMOTHER OR		HAWK, SMALL VALLEY	?íl?íl
wax dáxác)		HAWK, SPARROW	ša·qá·x-ba·bi·Yâ
GRANDFATHER	See FATHER'S FATHER	HAY, GRASS	qa·cá
and MOTHER'S FATHER		HE	mí·p, HIM mí·pal, HIS mí·pibax,
GRANDMOTHER	See MOTHER'S MOTHER	FOR HIM	mí·piba, TO HIM mí·piNal,
and FATHER'S MOTHER		WITH HIM	mí·piMak

HEAD k^ha·yá
 TO HEAR šó·k^h
 HEART sa·má·y
 HEAVY xa·lík^h (SG) xa·líka (PL)
 HEN ká·ye·na? dá
 HIDE (OF ANIMAL) ká·dác
 TO HIDE (CONCEAL) da·qóm
 HILL, MOUNTAIN da·nó
 HIP mo·?ów
 TO HIT (WITH FIST) p^ha·sáxki·
 TO HIT (WITH OBJECT) di·k^hó·
 HOLE mó
 HOOF, FOOT xa·má·
 HOPLAND PEOPLE šóqo·wabax-kâ·wk^h
 HORN, ANTLER ?á
 HORSE káwa? káwayu?
 HOT xó
 HOUSE ká
 HOW/WHAT čhí·n
 HOW MUCH čhí·Nak^h
 HUNDRED kálisento?
 HUNGRY ma·?áy ma·rá· (Literally:
 FOOD WANT)
 TO HUNT bo·?ó·, du·dúl
 HUSBAND báyle
 I há· ME wí MY wax FOR
 ME wíba TO ME wíNal
 WITH ME wíMak

INDIAN hntil?
 IRON (METAL) xa·ká
 IRON (FOR IRONING) ?á·m·ku·béx·xa·lé
 JAW qa·wás
 TO JUMP kápki·
 JUNIPER BERRIES si·phú·
 KEY yá·wa? (< Sp. 'llave')
 KIDNEY xu·Lúmay
 TO KILL šá·k
 TO KISS si·pú·l
 KNEE qu·túl
 KNIFE kúčiya? (< Sp. 'cuchillo')
 KNIFE, POCKET náwaha?
 KNOLL bu·tú
 TO KNOW me·?él
 YOUNG LADY See GIRL
 LAKE, WATER xá
 LAND, GROUND, COUNTRY ká·y
 TO LAUGH k^hu·wáy
 LEAF si·tál
 TO LEAVE wá·du·ki·
 LEFT (HAND) t^ha·wfl
 LEG ša·kó
 LEG, LOWER, FRONT OF ke·ré·
 LEG BONE, UPPER qó·m
 TO LICK si·tál
 TO LIE (TELL FALSEHOOD) ba·šát

TO LIE DOWN	měr (SG)	MENSES	qálayôx qál qáli
	p ^h i·tám (PL)	MEXICAN SPANIARD	pányor?
LIGHTNING	lóc	MIDDLETOWN PEOPLE	ku·núla- qa·qôybax-kâ·wk ^h
LIPS, MOUTH	xáci·da	MILK (OF COWS)	lê·če? (BREAST) si·dó·
LITTLE	kúč (SG) kúča (PL)	MISSION PEOPLE	qu·Lá-na·phô- kâ·wk ^h (LITERALLY: WATER LILY-VILLAGE-PEOPLE)
LIVER	k ^h a·Lál	MOLE	tí·didiw
LIZARD	xá·tu·Nútal	MONDAY	qa·lí·mi·dîk ^h
LIZARD, MOUNTAIN	xâyqu·Mûy	MONEY	pé·so?
LONG/TALL	ba·kíl (SG) qóla (PL)	MONTHLIES	See MENSES
LONG OBJECT TO BE PERPENDICULAR TO A PLANE OF REFERENCE	kôk ^h	MOON	du·wé-lâ·
LOON	qó·q	MORNING, IN THE	du·wé·NaMi
LOUSE, BODY	p ^h e·rěš	MORTAR	ku·ší·-xa·bê
LOUSE, HEAD	ki·	MOSQUITO	du·lá?du·lâw
LUNGS (?)	šó·t	MOSS, TREE	xa·lé· si·bú (WHITE STUFF, LIKE MISTLETOE)
MAGGOT	tón-ton	MOTHER (own)	ník (other's) -t ^h é
MALLARD	ca·p ^h ú (archaic)	MOTHER-IN-LAW (own)	ma·šá·
MAN	ká·k ^h (SG) hí·baya (PL)	(others)	-šá·
	See also OLD MAN, YOUNG MAN	MOTHER'S BROTHER (own)	ché·c
MANZANITA BERRY	ba·qáy	(others)	-ché·
MANZANITA TREE	qa·yé·	MOTHER'S FATHER (own)	ká·c
MATCHES	xó·du·kêr-xa·lê	(others)	-ká·
MEADOW, VALLEY	qa·qó	MOTHER'S MOTHER (own)	qá·c
MEAN	ku·nú·la	(others)	-qá·
MEASLES	tá·p ^h ó See SMALLPOX		
MEAT	bi·šé (Literally: DEER)		
MEDICINE	wéno? (< Sp. 'bueno'?)		
TO MEET UNEXPECTEDLY	di·tá·l		

MOTHER'S OLDER SISTER		DURING THE NIGHT/DURING THE EVENING	
(OWN) t ^h ú·c̣	(OTHER'S) -t ^h ú·c̣	du·wéNa	
MOTHER'S YOUNGER SISTER		NINE hádaqałšom ~ hádaqałna·šôm	
(OWN) šéx	(OTHER'S) -šéx	NINETEEN na·šom ~ hádaqałna·šôm	
MOUNTAIN, HILL	da·nó	NIPPLE si·dó·-k ^h a·yâ	
MOUNTAIN BALM	ték ^h -xa·lê	NO k ^h úyi (DON'T WANT TO)	
MOUNTAIN QUAIL	ko·hóy	k ^h úya (DON'T HAVE)	
MOUNTAIN LION	wi·qá	k ^h úy (NOT)	
MOUNTAIN MAHOGANY	wa·šú	NORTH ku·húla	
MOURNING	da·qóy	TOWARD NORTH ku·húl	
MOUSE	tu·nú	PEOPLE FROM THE NORTH, MENDOCINO	
MOUSE, BIGGER THAN HOUSE RAT		COUNTY ku·húlabax-kâ·wk ^h	
mó·todô ^t		NOSE lába·bo	
MOUTH, LIPS	xáci·da	OAK, TYPE OF lu·ké	
MUD	bó·r	OAK, POISON Māriyâp	
MULE	múla?	OAK TREE, WHITE qá·bayâp ~ qá·bala ^p	
MUSHROOM	cé·	OAK TREE, YOUNG ba·cóm	
NAKED/EMPTY	yá·Ml	OBSIDIAN, FLINT xa·ká	
NAME	ší	OCCIPUT cá·dó·	
NAVEL/UMBILICAL CORD	qó	O.K., AGREED ?ó·	
NEAR	t ^h í·bál	OLD bú·cike	
NECK, BACK (NAPE)	qóy	OLD (WORN) qa·tá·	
NECK, FRONT	mi·Yá·	OLD MAN bú·cike (SG) búciya (PL)	
NEEDLE	?áwohó?	OLD WOMAN dáqara (SG)	
NEW	wa·yá·x	má·qa·t ^h ora (PL)	
NEW	ší·wéy	ONE káli	
NIGHT, LAST	du·wé	ONIONS xa·bá·y	

RIPE	čik ^h	SEA LION	p ^h i·yún
RIVER, CREEK	bi·dáme	TO SEE	ká·r
ROAD (PATH)	dáday	TO LOOK	hé·c
TO ROAST	ma·tólqa	SEED	qá·soy
ROBIN	ci·tówtow	TO SELL	?élše
ROCK	xa·bé	SEMEN	p ^h u·tá·?wa· ?áyi t ^h ór
ROOSTER	ká·ye·na? ká·k ^h	SEVEN	khúlaxôč ^h
ROOT	chíc ^h	SEVENTEEN	ná·khulaxôč ^h ~
ROPE	čikote?		hádaqalna·khúlaxoč ^h
ROUND VALLEY PEOPLE	ma·šá- xâybox-kâ·wk ^h	TO SEW	bi·kíč ^h ki·
TO RUN	kák ^h (sg) ka·díkh ^h (pl)	SHE	mi·ṭ HER mí·ral
SACK	hóla? ~ kóstala? ~ ma·šáho·la?	HERS	mí·ribax FOR HER mí·rib
SADDLE	sí·ya? (< Sp. 'silla')	TO HER	mí·riNal WITH HER
SALIVA	léx ~ qa·cól		mí·riMak
SALMON	du·kínaša	SHEEP	wá·re·ka?
SALT	khē·?é·	SHIRT	kámisa? (< Sp. 'camisa')
SAND	t ^h a·?á·	SHOES	sápatc?
SATURDAY	sá·walu?	TO SHOOT	šóm (ONCE) šómkh ^h
SCISSORS	téhera?		(REPEATEDLY) kó·x (SHOOT
TO SCORCH (AS OF FOOD)	p ^h a·Wát ^h		AND HIT)
SCORPION	qátawís	SHORE	Má·
TO SCRAPE (ROOTS, HIDES)	di·qá·r	SHORT	bu?úč (sg) bu?úča (pl) ~
TO SCRAPE, SCRATCH	di·qá·ski·		bi·qút (sg) biqúta (pl) ~
TO SCRATCH (WITH CLAWS, LIKE DOG)	qa·békh ^h		bi·pót (sg) bi·póta (pl) ~
SEAGULL	ci·kómal		bu·húš (sg) bu·húša (pl)
		SHOULDER	cu·qál
		TO SHOUT	si·qá·lk ^h
		SHYPOKE (TYPE OF CRANE)	na·Wá

SICK	qa·lál	TO SMELL	mi·šé· (SG) mi·múk ^h (PL)
SINEW	yi·má	TO SMOKE (TOBACCO)	pók ^h
TO SING	xê·ní· (SG) xê·lô·ma (PL)	SMOOTH	ku·lé·ški· (SMOOTHED)
SISTER	See ELDER, YOUNGER SISTER	SNAKE	qa·lútu·dúk ^h
SISTER-IN-LAW, BROTHER'S WIFE		SNAKE, GOPHER	xâ·bo?ôyal
(OWN)	míy (OTHER'S) -míy	SNAKE, KING	xê·du·nâ·r
SISTER-IN-LAW, HUSBAND'S SISTER		SNAKE, WHIP	qa·líqâl?qal
(OWN)	ma·qár (OTHER'S) -qár	TO SNEEZE	?éčki
SISTER-IN-LAW, WIFE'S SISTER		SNOT	lēs
(OWN)	ma·há· (OTHER'S) -há·	SNOW	Yúl
SISTER'S DAUGHTER, SISTER'S SON		SOAP	hâwon?
(OWN)	tâx (OTHER'S) -tâx	SOAPROOT	?ap
TO SIT	kâ· (SG) na·p ^h ô· (PL)	SOLDIER	sô·ltawe? (< Sp. 'soldades')
SIX	câ·di	SON	qa·wé·lip
SIXTEEN	nâ·ca·di ~	vocative:	hârîka
	hádaqalna·câ·di	MY SON	wax qa·wí·
SIXTY	xô·mkaxây	SON-IN-LAW (OWN)	di·mó·t̃
SKIN	ci·dá	(OTHER'S)	-kéy
SKUNK	nu·p ^h ér	SOUR	mó·c
SKY	qa·lí	SOUTH	yô·
TO SLEEP	si·má· mēr (SG)	TOWARD SOUTH	yô·l
	si·má· ku·t̃é·m (PL)	SPANIARD/MEXICAN	pányor?
SLING	bi·šék	SPIDER	k ^h â
SMALL, TINY	bu·húš	SPINE	ki·dí·Yâ
See also	SHORT	TO SPLIT	p ^h i·dák ^h (ONCE)
SMALLPOX	bi·qôbi·qôw (also		p ^h i·bá·k ^h (REPEATEDLY)
MEASLES ?)		SPOON	kúšara? (< Sp. 'cuchara')

SPRING (SEASON) kâ·y-xówakâx
 SPRING (OF WATER) xá·-qa·phâ
 SQUIRREL qu·már
 SQUIRREL, SMALL GROUND mu·líy
 SQUIRREL, TREE sa·xálalây
 TO STAND See LONG OBJECT TO BE
 PERPENDICULAR
 STAR ?úyaxo
 TO STEAL ph·u·dí·
 STELLAR JAY sa·wál?wal
 TO STEP chápki·
 STICK, DIGGING wa·šú-xây
 TO STICK AND HOLD ša·dím
 TO STINK bá· nís mi·šé·nke
 (THAT SMELLS BAD)
 STOMACH yu·xá
 STORE té·nta? (< Sp. 'tienda')
 STRAIGHT/TRUE (OF WORDS) pul
 STRONG, BITTER, PEPPERY bi·ków
 TO SUCK tó·
 TO SUCK OUT si·díkh
 TO SUCK UP si·yá·w
 SUCKERFISH ša·mól
 SUGAR sú·kara? ↪ ke·ré·sap
 (sú·kara? < Sp. 'azúcar')
 SULPHUR BANK PEOPLE xáwi·nâ·bax-
 kâ·wk^h
 SUMMER mu·tá·winal

SUN lá·
 SUNDAY dšminko? (< Sp. 'domingo')
 SWALLOW tí·ní·tal
 SWAN qóy
 SWEAT mu·khé
 SWEATHOUSE Márah^h
 SWEET, DELICIOUS, GOOD cí·qóm ↪
 chí·khéc hí·khé
 SWEET SUBSTANCE ?ílibay
 TO SWELL (UP) ma·bó·
 TO SWIM xá· qá·
 BE SYMPATHETIC, IN HARMONY, CHEER UP
 (SAID TO THOSE CLOSE TO ONE WHEN
 LEAVING ON A LONG TRIP, TO SURVIVING
 RELATIVES AFTER A DEATH) Yémakon
 TABLE láme·sa?
 TADPOLE xa·bâkótólô
 TAIL yi·bá·
 TO TALK ka·Nú·l
 TALL/LONG ba·kíl (sg) qóla (pl)
 TO TEACH/COUNT du·yí·
 TEARS yu·xá·
 TEETH ya·?ó
 TO TELL tét·tikh^h
 TEN ték ↪ hádaqal
 TESTICLES ya·qól
 THANK YOU ?e·?e·?e·
 THAT bá

VERTEBRAE	ki·dí-di·kú ^h	WHISKEY	xá-bi·kôw (Literally: BITTER/STRONG-WATER)
VISIT	pášal? (< Sp. 'pasar')	WHISTLE, OF BONE	li·bú·
WAGON	kárenta?	WHITE	p ^h i·táw
TO WALK	wá·l	WHITE MAN	ma·sá·n
TO WASH	da·só·l	WHO	ki·yá·
WASP	t ^h a·rá	WHOOPING COUGH	qó·k
WATER	xá	WE	wá·, US wa·l, FOR US wáyba, WHY
WE	wá·, US wa·l, FOR US wáyba, WHY	OURS	wáybax, TO US wáyNal, WIDE
OURS	wáybax, TO US wáyNal, WIDE	WITH US	wáyMak, WIFE
WITH US	wáyMak, WIFE	WEASEL	ci·lí·ci·líw
WEASEL	ci·lí·ci·líw	TO WEAVE (BASKETS): TO TWINE	ki·š
TO WEAVE (BASKETS): TO TWINE	ki·š	TO COIL	k ^h i·bú·
TO COIL	k ^h i·bú·	WEDNESDAY	ki·hík ^h -xômka
WEDNESDAY	ki·hík ^h -xômka	WEEK	sémane?
WEEK	sémane?	WEST	bó·
WEST	bó·	TOWARD WEST	bó·l
TOWARD WEST	bó·l	WET	xák ^h (SG) xáka (PL)
WET	xák ^h (SG) xáka (PL)	WHAT/HOW	č ^h f·n
WHAT/HOW	č ^h f·n	WHAT?(DIDN'T HEAR)	háy
WHAT?(DIDN'T HEAR)	háy	WHEAT	tíliko?
WHEAT	tíliko?	WHEEL	da·kó·
WHEEL	da·kó·	WHEN	č ^h f·nay
WHEN	č ^h f·nay	WHERE	č ^h é·
WHERE	č ^h é·	WHERE FROM	č ^h é·wa
WHERE FROM	č ^h é·wa	WHERE TO	č ^h é·mal
WHERE TO	č ^h é·mal	WILDCAT	da·lóm
WILDCAT	da·lóm	WILDERNESS, AREA OUTSIDE HUMAN COMMUNITIES WHICH SHOULD ONLY BE ENTERED WITH APPROPRIATE RITUALS OF PREPARATION	qa·qó·
WILDERNESS, AREA OUTSIDE HUMAN COMMUNITIES WHICH SHOULD ONLY BE ENTERED WITH APPROPRIATE RITUALS OF PREPARATION	qa·qó·	WILLOW	ba·k ^h ú·
WILLOW	ba·k ^h ú·	WILLOW, BASKET	cu·báha
WILLOW, BASKET	cu·báha	WILLOW, BLACK	ma·lúmma·lôw
WILLOW, BLACK	ma·lúmma·lôw	WIND	Yá (WEATHER TERM)
WIND	Yá (WEATHER TERM)	WINDPIPE	k ^h a·ró
WINDPIPE	k ^h a·ró	WING	šál
WING	šál	WINTER	xu·cáy
WINTER	xu·cáy	TO WIPE	da·qál
TO WIPE	da·qál	WOLF	c ^h i·Méw
WOLF	c ^h i·Méw	WOMAN	dá (SG) qa·rá·ya (PL)
WOMAN	dá (SG) qa·rá·ya (PL)		See also OLD WOMAN, YOUNG LADY

WOODPECKER qa·rá·čh
 WOODPECKER, BIG ba·kákka
 WOODRAT čhi·Ničh
 WORK ki·hík^h, tá·Wal?
 WORM k^hčl FISH WORM bi·lá
 WRIST qa·qón
 YAWN ká·š
 YEAR xu·cáy (Literally: WINTER)
 YELLOW qu·šili-šl·bâ (Literally:
 LARK BODY)
 YELLOWHAMMER ti·yál
 YELLOWJACKET t^ha·rá

YES ʔi·
 YOU (SG) má, OBJECT mí, YOURS
 mí·bax, TO YOU mí·Nal, WITH
 YOU mí·Mak, FOR YOU mí·ba
 YOU (PL) má·, OBJECT má·l, YOURS
 máybax, TO YOU máyNal, WITH
 YOU máyMak, FOR YOU máyba
 YOUNG kúč (SG) kúča (PL)
 YOUNG LADY dáyawal (SG) má·yawala (PL)
 YOUNG MAN šé·la
 YOUNGER BROTHER dú·xac
 YOUNGER SISTER dú·xac

Indian Languages and the Scope of Language Retention Programs

Languages have often been compared to living things, a comparison we reinforce when we talk of a language's health, decline, death, or growth. A language, of course, is not alive in the same sense as a person. It takes its "life" from the use people make of it. Sometimes a language is used only for specific purposes, such as in ceremonies, in game playing, in singing, in doctoring. These are situations in which the full language is not required, but only certain phrases, select vocabularies, or even sounds are needed. The health of a language obviously has to do with the number of its speakers, how these speakers are concentrated in the population, and particularly how many child speakers there are. The last is the most important indicator in assessing the future of a language. Will it survive at all? If it does survive, will it be incapacitated or can it be expected to perform relatively normally? What therapeutic steps are called for to assure its survival? These last two questions relate to the relative health of a language.

The relative health of a language is obviously a measure of how much use a language gets as well as the quality of that use. "Healthy" languages are not only used by a majority of the population but are used for most or all situations requiring communication. They must, therefore, be self-sufficient; that is, they must be capable of expressing anything that people want or normally expect to say to one another. The truth is, though, that few, possibly no, American Indian languages today are fully self-sufficient. It is difficult for their speakers to use the language in every conceivable situation, if only because the necessary words are lacking.

The most obvious place to look for language self-sufficiency is in a population of monolingual speakers, those who know only their Indian language. Such people are rare in any tribe, however. Large numbers of people may speak their Indian language in preference to English, but they also know at least some English, and use it from time to time. Given information about the contexts in which bilingual speakers use each of their two languages, a generalization can be made about the future extent and nature of ancestral language health: the more situations in which the Indian language is used, the greater will be the probability of its continued survival alongside English. Another gauge of a language's self-sufficiency is the extent the group as a whole has enlarged its native vocabulary to handle the concepts flowing in from the majority culture.

Languages are extremely flexible and adaptable. English itself has remained identifiably English, even though a thousand years ago it came under heavy French influence and changed itself dramatically. Fully half the words in an English dictionary were borrowed from French, yet English did not become French as a result of the borrowings. It is perfectly normal for languages contacting one another to take on or to donate words, sounds, and grammatical structures one to the other. In doing so they do not blend into one another and lose their individual identities. They simply make use of a very sensible strategy for dealing with cultures, ideas, and categories different from their own.

But it is not even necessary that languages borrow whole words from one another. A language can simply take an idea from another culture and use its own

resources for forming words to construct its own unique equivalent. For example, the Navajo when faced with a car battery for the first time saw in this energy source the functional equivalent of a liver and used their own word for the organ to refer to it.

What seems to have happened often is that Indian languages, out of a misguided conservatism, have resisted taking on English words and meanings and, in a sense, frozen themselves as they were before Euro-American contact. People adopted another strategy for coping with European-based culture: they used English when speaking about introduced concepts and their own language when speaking about Indian matters. As English culture prevailed and their own cultures changed, there were fewer and fewer occasions when the Indian languages seemed appropriate. Parents sensing the discrepancy convinced themselves--certainly with the encouragement of educators in early Indian schools--that the Indian language was not just worthless, but actually harmful, in that it prevented a child from learning English.

THE VALUE OF AN INDIAN LANGUAGE IN AN INDIAN CULTURE

This last point raises the question of precisely what value a language has for its speakers. If, as linguists claim, all languages have the same communicative potential, and no language is better than another, why is it important to preserve a language from extinction? The answer is that languages codify and mirror the * cultures of the people who speak them. Categories of meaning that are important or critical in a culture will make their way into the structure and rules of that culture's language. American Indian languages as a group are remarkably well attuned to Indian ways of life and Indian value systems, so much so that English or any other European language cannot easily realign itself to express these values. This is not to infer that English is incapable of expressing them, only that it must express them in ways that are clumsy, roundabout, or complicated, whereas the Indian language handles them easily, cleanly, and efficiently. One or two examples will make this clearer.

Many American Indian languages have a three-member pronoun system, rather than the two-member pronoun system of English and other European languages. Instead of just a singular *it* and a plural *they* form for each pronoun, they have a singular, a dual, and a plural form. The dual is used when two people or things are being referred to. In English, rather than using one word to get this same idea across, it is necessary to use a longer expression, such as *both of them*, *the two of them*, *they both*. In certain cultures with dual forms in their language, the dual is used not just to refer to two people, it is also used when a man is talking to or about his mother-in-law. It is a sign of the special respect he must show her that he addresses her as if she were two people. Respect for in-laws is a cultural characteristic that the Indian languages provide for.

Many Indian languages also have a grammatical system in which the speaker of a sentence must specify the source of his or her information--did it come from first-hand experience, did the speaker hear about it second-hand, did it come from a traditional story, is it something that is generally known. Again it is only through a single word or word unit that the speaker conveys this information, and every sentence must have one of these words. In English similar information can be gotten across, but it is not obligatory on the speaker's part to convey it, and the speaker has to use a roundabout way of expressing it: *I heard that*, *they say that*, *it used to be that*, etc. This sort of system is pervasive and consequently it is difficult to ascribe to one or more particular cultural traits. There are, however, some plausible connections that can be explored.

In some Indian societies, it is considered impolite to ask a direct question of someone.— A person would not usually ask: Are you going to the store? but would prefer to say instead something such as, I was wondering if you were going to the store. In the languages of these groups the direct question implicitly conveys the speaker's expectation. In other words, the question indicates that the speaker expects only a simple yes or no response and conveys the impression that the question is being asked for some purpose other than as a simple request for information. By phrasing the question in the second way, which is in fact not a question at all, but a statement, the speaker avoids the abrupt and exciting tone of the direct question and encourages the hearer to respond with information over and above a simple yes or no. An appropriate positive answer would not be just I'm going, but I'm going for sure, I suppose, because I'm allowed to, because it's expected, and so on.

For children brought up in an Indian society but required to attend schools based on European norms of behavior, the question-response format used in those schools would seem not just foreign, but actually disrespectful to these students. Is it surprising then that their performance suffers or that their English-speaking teachers harbor poor opinions of their abilities? It is crucial for successful learning that both teachers and students operate within the same set of cultural norms, or at the least have an understanding of each others' differing norms.

DEALING WITH LANGUAGE DECLINE

Slowing down, stepping, or even reversing the processes of language decline are real possibilities open to any tribe that has the necessary interest in developing a language retention program. The extent of the problem and the solutions attempted will, of course, vary considerably with the relative health of the language. The historical causes of its decline, access to funds and resources, and the wishes of the community.

A tribe squaring off for the first time with its language problem is likely to want to eliminate the problem entirely. It conceives of a time when all members of the tribe regain or develop a new fluency in the use of the language, a hope often reinforced by a feeling that Indians should easily be able to learn their ancestral language. Unfortunately, this feeling has little basis in fact. Because Indian languages come out of such completely different cultural traditions from English and because they use extremely different principles, they are not easy languages to learn for anyone whose native language is English--and this includes most Indian children today. A language retention program must therefore be prepared to deal with the frustration that comes from thinking the task will be easier than it turns out to be.

Language learning, of course, is not invariably difficult. We have all learned at least one language, our first, with no discernible effort. But effortless learning is closely associated with the age of the learner. People in the field of psycholinguistics have known for years that as a child becomes older he or she loses an inborn facility to learn additional languages. If the child grows up speaking only one language, that language will gradually become the model of correctness or naturalness against which all other languages will be compared. Past the point of puberty children probably become reluctant to experiment with making new sounds--they will seem odd coming off their own tongues--or with putting words together in patterns different from their first language--they will have the impression that they are talking backwards. At this point the child may come to believe that the structure of the first language is the "right" way or the "logical" way to say things. If so, he or she may find it difficult to process information presented using the different structural rules of a second language.

A Guide to Issues in Indian Language Retention

It should be obvious by this time that the simplest way to keep a language alive is to insure that the children speak it, and the simplest way to accomplish this is to teach them when they are infants. Parental objections that doing so will hinder children in later learning English have been found to be unwarranted. Children cope quite naturally with the communication demands placed on them. If reason is given for them to speak two languages, then they will speak both.

The problem for the Indian community lies in providing the kinds of natural situations under which the Indian language is viewed as a necessary instrument. It quickly becomes apparent to children in bilingual households where the languages are unevenly matched that one language will serve well enough. In circumstances where this happens, the children will tend to develop speaking skills only in the language they favor. They may come to understand the second language, but they will more than likely not speak it. Languages that have older individuals for most of their speakers have, in a sense, forgotten how to talk to children, and the remaining speakers will have to make concerted efforts to create situations in which it is again normal to speak the Indian language with children.

Assuming, however, that a tribe is faced with a free, relatively uncomplicated choice between teaching preschool children the ancestral language or English, which should it teach? It can of course teach both, although the problems discussed above of the child coming to prefer one over the other must be anticipated. It is difficult for parents to be equally fair to both languages and use each the same amount. Parents, after all, will have their own preferences regarding the appropriateness of one language over another in particular situations. However, what are simply preferences to them can easily become firm rules to children: you speak Indian to your grandparents but English to your playmates, you use Indian for talking about food but English for talking about cars, and you pray in Indian but argue in English. Because English as the majority language has a definite advantage over the Indian language, using both languages in the home can ultimately lead to the child preferring English in most, if not all, situations.

The alternative, of using only the ancestral language in the home, has the advantage of forcing the child to develop a facility in using it for any and all communication situations. The child can later establish preferences for using it or English after the native language is firmly established as an effective communication device. The objection that this procedure leaves the child unprepared for dealing with English-speaking schools is valid, but under federal regulations, which require educational institutions to provide for students with limited proficiency in English, the child could, in theory, be given English training in school. And, again, because children learn languages more easily than adults, the learning will be quick and efficient.

More often than not, reversing the course of language decline by increasing the overall level of fluency of everyone in the community will be difficult to carry out, and the tribe may have to settle for some language retention program with less encompassing goals. This will be especially true for those tribes that lack the resources to actually instruct children in the language.

It is most important to remember that the retention program can proceed only a step at a time. If a language is faltering badly it will not have the necessary people to bring the entire community up to fluency in a short time. A retention program for such a language must acknowledge from the beginning that its goal is to build up, slowly and with advance planning, its number of speakers. Possibly the major stumbling block here to carrying out an effective program of formal language instruction is the lack of properly trained teachers, people who speak the language fluently, who understand the difficulties of teaching it, and who are credentialed to teach in public schools. There is no reason the community cannot train its members to carry out these tasks, but it will be a slow process to locate

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those willing and able to do it, and an even slower process to provide the necessary training. When you consider that this is only one of the components of a successful program, that the community must also provide materials, develop curricula, and locate regular sources of funding, the task begins to look as difficult as it really is. If, in the most extreme situation, there are no speakers of the language, we are more correctly dealing with a language revival problem, rather than language retention, although many of the procedures for approaching the problem will be the same.

Language retention procedures can be applied to any language, even to one with millions of speakers. France, for instance, has an official government agency, the Academy of the French Language, which vigorously ordains what is correct French and what is substandard French. It even has powers that extend to preventing certain speech styles or words in government usage, in textbooks, even in advertising. The idea behind the Academy is to maintain the language in a "pure" state by halting change, particularly the influx of words from English. Many people question whether such a goal is worthwhile, since languages must and will adapt to new situations, but as a goal given official sanction it has the effect of at least making people more aware of the essential nature of their language. In the end that is the purpose of any retention program--increasing a community's understanding and appreciation of its language background.

Indian communities, of course, face a situation that does not concern most non-Indian communities in the United States--their language background typically includes two languages. So, when we speak of language retention for Indian languages it is necessary to consider the balance of influence between English and the Indian language. Both languages are essential to the community and social problems can arise from neglecting either one for the other.

It might be thought that there is no English retention problem in the Indian community because the teaching of English is required by virtually all school systems. There is, however, accumulating evidence that the brand of English spoken in Indian communities is different in many ways from standard English, that these different forms of Indian English mark their speakers as Indians and distinguish them from non-Indians. Indian English probably arises out of a lingering influence of the ancestral language. Any two languages in contact will tend to influence each other over time. Since many Indian communities are relatively isolated, the accented forms of English typical of older people who learned English as a second language are the ones heard most often, and are passed down to younger generations. Even though the grandchildren may know only English, the variety of English they speak incorporates features of the ancestral language and probably provides a better instrument for dealing with contemporary Indian culture than would standard English. Recognition of Indian forms of English would provide a means for understanding the difficulties some students face in learning the standard English taught in schools, and it might also provide a means for bridging the differences between the Indian language and standard English.

INDIAN LANGUAGE STATES OF HEALTH

It is, however, the Indian language that faces a serious competitive disadvantage in respect to English, and at this point it will be useful to characterize in more detail the possible states of health the Indian language can exhibit and tie each to a particular retention strategy. Each of the types listed in Figure 1 is represented by a point along a continuum of possibilities against which individual situations can be assessed. Five different statuses ranging from flourishing to extinct are distinguished, each of which corresponds to a retention strategy

ranging from prevention to revival. A flourishing language is one that is in all respects still vitally alive. A retention program for such a language involves only preventing regression to a less active status. On the other hand, an extinct language has lost all its speakers. A retention strategy for such a language depends critically on whether there are any written records available from which community members can retrieve information. Even if there are such records, the task of re-instituting community control over the language will be extremely difficult. In general a strategy becomes more difficult to accomplish, must be planned more carefully, and requires greater community attention and perseverance the more fragile the language's health is.

<u>Status</u>	<u>Strategy</u>
flourishing	prevention
enduring	expansion
declining	fortification
obsolescent	restoration
extinct	revival

Figure 1

Language Survival Status and Corresponding Retention Strategy

Each of the retention strategies listed in Figure 1 applies specifically to the retention of speaking abilities. A language truly lives only in its speakers. If a language is not spoken it is effectively dead, no matter how many written materials exist in it. This should not be taken to mean that the written form of a language is unimportant or that a community should not concern itself with recording as much as possible of its language. These activities are critically important, especially in a society as dependent on books, newspapers, magazines, posters, and other types of written matter as is American society. Bear in mind, though, that recording or preserving a language is only one part of a retention program, and not the most important one at that. Consequently, the rest of this chapter concentrates on describing procedures that can lead to an increase in the number of speakers of a language and to an increase in the number of situations in which the language is appropriate, leading to overall self-sufficiency.

A FLOURISHING LANGUAGE--NAVAJO

With well over 100,000 speakers, Navajo has by far more speakers than any other American Indian language north of Mexico. Even disregarding the speaker count, it is the largest tribe in the United States and occupies the largest reservation. With the power of numbers and the benefit of isolation the Navajo have been able to successfully maintain their language and a good deal of their culture in the context of the home. Most Navajo children on the reservation learn only Navajo until they begin school, although relatively recently English has also come to be used in the home. The community has speakers of all ages, with some of the oldest and some of the youngest being monolingual. It has a growing number of speakers, although the number of new speakers is probably not keeping pace with the growth of the population as a whole. As people leave the reservation there is

a tendency for them to neglect Navajo and not teach it to their children. It is currently estimated that only 90 percent of all Navajos know their language.

The language itself is adapting and growing to meet the needs of people now living under the different cultural demands of the majority society; in other words it is modernizing. The modernizing trend can be partly seen in a growing number of people who are able to read and write Navajo. The growth of literacy is perhaps a special case of modernization, but it is an important indication that a language is viable, because it allows a community to deal in its own language with the specialization and complexity of American society.

It might be thought that the large number of Navajo people confers a special advantage to the language and by itself represents a mark of health. This, however, need not be the case. The relative health of a language is tied much more closely to the distribution of speakers across generations than it is to the total number of speakers. Louisiana Coshatta is also a flourishing language, with a population of only a thousand people. The community is completely fluent in both Coshatta and English, and it shows no sign of dropping off in its use of the ancestral language. Only if the community becomes so small that it cannot reproduce itself or it leaves itself open to catastrophe will the number of speakers matter in and of itself.

The most important indicators of a flourishing language can be summarized as follows:

1. It has speakers of all ages, some of them monolingual.
2. Population increases also lead to increases in the number of speakers.
3. It is used in all communicative situations.
4. The language adapts to the changing culture of the community.
5. Speakers become increasingly more literate.

Language retention programs for flourishing languages are developed around the goal of consolidating and securing the status of the language; they are in essence precautionary measures. A good deal of effort should be expended on public media affecting the daily activities of people; such as newspapers, radio and television programs, informational bulletins, advertising, and so on. Concurrently, it is important to prepare reference materials on the language--dictionaries, grammars, and materials to teach the language. The language should also be brought into the classroom, not just as an additional subject to be studied, but as one of the languages of instruction. In other words, the language should be used to instruct students in subjects such as mathematics, history, geography, social studies, as well as in traditional arts and tribal culture.

A retention program for a flourishing language requires a major investment of time and money. Because the majority of Indian languages are unwritten or only recently written and because relatively few community members will have had the opportunity to receive training in linguistics, anthropology, curriculum development, and communication, the community oftentimes must rely on the services of outside consultants, teachers, and media specialists to keep the program operating until an adequate number of community members are available. An alternative, of course, is to keep the program goals and objectives within limits that are manageable by the tribe, and increase activities as trained personnel become available. One clear danger of this procedure, however, is that trained people may not become available before the situation worsens considerably. From the other direction, there is also a danger in training people for jobs that do not exist already in the community, since these people will be forced to leave the reservation to locate them. This so-called brain drain from reservations has in the past effectively negated many of the hoped-for benefits of sending tribal members to colleges and technical

schools. Many of these people end up working in urban settings for the government or for non-Indian concerns, and the potential benefits to the community are lost or only indirectly realized.

The Navajo people have a complex network of schools, school boards, and state educational agencies to deal with (see Chapter 3), and coordination between the different administrations is poor. The Tribe has attempted to remedy the situation by setting up the Navajo Division of Education, an agency whose purpose is to set educational policy for the reservation as a whole while still allowing local communities the necessary flexibility to shape policy to their particular needs. The agency currently has in preparation plans for a comprehensive language arts program, which will provide a unified curriculum for kindergarten through high school, including lesson plans in both Navajo and English, instructional materials in both languages, and the techniques necessary to evaluate and assess student achievement and program effectiveness. In keeping with the need to coordinate the program with state educational policy, the agency is also setting up guidelines for teacher certification and program accreditation to assure the uniformity of instruction necessary to allow students uncomplicated access to state universities.

The Navajo tribe also operates what was the first completely Indian-controlled institution of higher education in the country, the Navajo Community College. This and a second college jointly operated with the Hopi tribe attempt to provide the kind of reservation focused education that will give students the skills to deal specifically with reservation concerns and prevent their having to leave. As such, it continues instruction in Navajo language and culture beyond the high school level and formalizes instruction so that students become equipped to deal with the issues as teachers themselves.

AN ENDURING LANGUAGE--HUALAPAI

The Hualapai and closely related Havasupai tribe have together fewer than 2,000 people. The Hualapai are located on an isolated reservation in northwestern Arizona, a factor which is at least partly responsible for the high retention of ancestral language ability in the community--approximately 95 percent of the population, including most children, speak Hualapai natively. In fact, many children enter the local public schools with little or no background in English. Bilingualism, however, is definitely on the increase and there are indications that the dominance relation between English and Hualapai is shifting toward English. And, because the reservation has limited economic resources, any increase in the number of Hualapais is offset by emigration. Consequently, the language is not expanding.

Hualapai, probably by virtue of its small size, has not commanded the same degree of attention from language professionals that Navajo has. On the one hand this benefits the community by allowing it to develop firsthand an approach to language study that is natural for it. It can establish its own priorities. On the other hand, it results in a relatively small pool of basic knowledge about the language and makes it difficult for the community to implement its retention strategy.

One of the most important side-effects of professional inattention is that Hualapai has continued along the course that most other American Indian languages have taken throughout their development. All information concerning the language and cultural institutions, which depend on language, is transmitted orally from generation to generation. It is not committed to writing and there is consequently no base from which people can develop Hualapai literacy. In fact, the community has only recently agreed on an orthography, that is, a spelling system with which to write the language. This means that it will still be a while before community members become suitably familiarized with the spelling conventions and before reading materials can be developed and circulated.

The Hualapai situation pinpoints the problem facing an enduring language: It needs to expand its overall usefulness to the community to provide the richness of opportunities which are available to a flourishing language. In essence, there is only the difference of degree between flourishing and enduring languages. Both have their most important asset--the confidence of their community in the language--intact. An enduring language can be characterized in the following way:

1. It has speakers of all ages; most or all are bilingual.
2. The population of speakers tends to remain constant over time.
3. English tends to be used exclusively in some situations.
4. The language adapts to the changing culture of the community.
5. There is little or no native language literacy in the community.

The Hualapai language retention strategy so far has been to emphasize bilingual instruction in the local school system, although at present no comprehensive curriculum has been developed. The community has set a high priority on training community members as instructional staff, to correct the present situations where Indians hold positions no higher than teacher aides. In an interesting approach to their problem, the community has made research into the language an integral part of the teacher-training program. Working together with several linguistic consultants, prospective teachers and aides are instructed in the fundamentals of linguistic analysis and language history. From this base they then tackle the specific details of Hualapai language structure and collectively make decisions regarding the orthography, grammatical representation, and curricular units. Self-determination is obviously a vital part of the program.

A DECLINING LANGUAGE--SHOSHONI

On its face the Shoshoni tribe, with as many as 7,000 members, would seem to have one of the most favorable population bases on which to institute a successful retention program. Unfortunately their language is in decline; it is now spoken by no more than 75 percent of the Shoshoni people and is beginning to show an ominous concentration of abilities in older individuals. In most communities the children are not being actively taught the language. They subsequently enter schools that, for the most part, are equipped to deal with English language instruction only, and they quickly find that Shoshoni has little relevance to their daily activities. They rapidly suppress any active control they had over the language and claim that they can only understand but not speak it. Children with these limited abilities in the language will become adults who are incapable of teaching their own children even the passive knowledge they themselves have.

It is difficult to know for certain all of the factors in the precipitation of Shoshoni's decline. Part of the answer certainly lies in the geographic spread of the tribe, which extends 700 miles in the northern Great Basin from California to Wyoming. Although there are a few large reservations, much of the population lives in scattered small reservations and colonies economically dependent on nearby towns. Even the usual language retention advantages of the large reservations are mitigated appreciably in this case. Large reservations do not always contain only speakers of one language. The Owyhee Reservation in Oregon, for instance, is half Shoshoni and half Northern Paiute. Conditions such as these certainly present obstacles to a language retention effort, but probably not enough in themselves to account for the deep inroads English has made in the last twenty years. The more serious causes of decline are hidden in the still unknown attitudes of Shoshoni speakers to their language.

General characteristics of a declining language include the following:

1. There are proportionately more older speakers than younger.
2. Younger speakers are not altogether fluent in the language.
3. The number of speakers decreases over time, even though the population itself may be increasing.
4. The entire population is bilingual and English is preferred in many situations.
5. The language begins to conform to and resemble English.
6. The population is essentially illiterate in the language.

With respect to the fourth and fifth points listed, a declining language will tend to shift places with English in the dominance hierarchy. Situations in which the Indian language was once the only appropriate one will now also permit English usage. In these cases the Indian language will begin to be used for subsidiary purposes, for example, as a secret language to hide messages from people--generally children--who do not understand it. In these situations a good deal of code switching, going from one language to another and then back, can occur, and opportunities abound for mixing elements of English into the structure of the Indian language. When this happens, the Indian language starts to conform more closely to the way that English would say things. If the situation persists, noticeable changes in the structure of the Indian language may occur, generally in the direction of simplifying it. Older speakers tend to be very sensitive about these sorts of changes and often criticize their use. This attitude reinforces the feeling of younger speakers that their own speech is substandard and even laughable, and they may avoid using it even more.

Any language retention situation can accomplish no more than what the community as a whole wants. If a language is declining because of community disinterest, then program planners might have to restrict themselves to a preservation program unless they can turn community attitudes around. Retention strategies for declining languages are built on the idea of strengthening the language to the point where it again becomes an instrument of everyday communication. Efforts must include an active program to instruct children in the language even before they start school. Oftentimes this responsibility will have to be delegated to the grandparent generation because parents will lack the necessary speaking skills on which children can model their own usage. Rather than leave parents out of the picture completely, it is only sensible to include an adult education component in the retention program. This will have the primary purpose of breaking through the reluctance of young adults to use the language actively. For adults to regain speaking competence, it is not so necessary to construct the program around a formal course of instruction. It is more important to structure situations in which adults can see the usefulness of the language and actually practice using it. At the same time some attention should be given to developing a writing system and beginning a program of bilingual and bicultural education in the school system. At the start such a program should make instruction in the Indian language and culture an additive component of the regular school day and then gradually expand the use of the Indian language into the rest of the curriculum.

AN OBSOLESCENT LANGUAGE--PIT RIVER

Half or more of the approximately 200 Indian languages still spoken north of Mexico are obsolescent. Perhaps as many as fifty have fewer than ten speakers left, all of them elderly. The Pit River language in northeastern California is representative of this category. The tribe itself has approximately 750 people, but of this number possibly only 100 retain any degree of fluency in the language and these hundred people are scattered throughout the tribe's 120-mile-long distribution. There is no community in which Pit River is used to any significant extent:

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the language can be heard only when older people congregata. There are no fluent speakers under fifty years old, and no children are being taught the language. This dismal picture faces those concerned members of the tribe who want to see something done to bring the language back to life, or at the very least, preserve it for later generations.

Obsolescent languages have simply carried farther the processes of decline that characterize languages not yet so near their end. As recently as forty years ago Pit River was considered by linguists and anthropologists to be completely viable, and study of it was postponed in favor of languages and cultures closer to extinction. And today, even though it was one of the most vigorous languages in northern California, there is essentially no specialized information available about the language or the traditions of its people. Furthermore, the few who still hold that information are approaching their final years.

The same factors that characterize declining languages apply also to obsolescent languages. They only have to be stated more strongly. The most important of them are included in the following list:

1. An obsolescent language has an age gradient of speakers that terminates in the adult population.
2. The language is not taught to children in the home.
3. The number of speakers declines very rapidly.
4. ~~The entire population is bilingual~~ and English is preferred in essentially all situations.
5. The language is inflexible, it no longer adapts to new situations.
6. There is no literacy.

It is perhaps surprising that communities with obsolescent languages would have available to them any type of retention strategy at all. Any remedy must of necessity be quite drastic, would require the cooperation of a sizable fraction of the community, and would be quite expensive. Still, such restorations are possible and are being attempted. A typical program would, however, have to proceed rather slowly.

One successful method has been to concentrate on teaching to community members those parts of the language that are crucial to carrying out still vital cultural activities. For instance, the Kashia Pomo, a small, central California tribe, have maintained a steady interest in perpetuating their elaborate dance activities. Any dance ceremony has an important language component and consequently these ceremonies provide an interesting "schoolroom" in which to teach a part of the language. Other language learning situations have been built around other cultural activities, such as plant gathering and use, basketmaking, and hunting. The idea of tying language instruction to ongoing cultural activities will not assure that the language will be restored to its previous potential, but it will assure that the language plays a living, if reduced, role in community activities.

One Pit River community has taken a different position and instituted an additive program of Pit River language and culture in the school system. Instruction in the language is intended to communicate some of the important information regarding the structure of Pit River and to link that information to a positive Indian self-concept, rather than to bring the students up to full fluency. Fluency is only realizable in a more natural communicative setting than the classroom, and only the community as a whole can create these situations.

Both the Kashia and Pit River experiences in language maintenance are being supplemented with efforts to preserve what is left of the tribal traditions and language. Any community faced with an obsolescent language must be realistic about the limited chances of actually restoring its language to full use and should make

sure that information is collected, organized, and researched while there are still people left to provide it. Preservation efforts include collecting oral histories, compiling word lists and dictionaries, analyzing grammar, collecting folklore and stories through written records and audiovisual records.

AN EXTINCT LANGUAGE--CHUMASH

Almost twenty-five years ago the last speaker of the Chumash language died in Santa Barbara, California, although it was many years before that that the language ceased to be used. Before its extinction, linguists and anthropologists had recorded in hundreds of thousands of pages much of Chumash language and folklore. These notes are the major source of information about the traditional Chumash way of life and an important link to the past for the Chumash Indians still living in the area. The tribe, working closely with interested linguists and anthropologists, has been able to resurrect some important parts of the traditional culture, including bits and pieces of the language. They have, for instance, retrieved enough detailed information about boat building to construct an exact replica of a Chumash ocean-going vessel. They have also gathered a large collection of folktales and botanical lore.

The success that the Chumash have had in retrieving bits of their language and history led naturally enough to a desire to reinstitute the language as a means of communication. This wish, however, does not take into account that there is no living language to serve as a model for establishing usage. The wish is therefore little more than a hope that something which is irretrievably lost can be re-stored. Hebrew is often cited as an example that language revival can take place, but it has to be remembered that Hebrew never lapsed out of existence as a spoken language. It was carefully maintained as a religious language, and when the new state of Israel decided to make it its national language, there were still many speakers who could provide a model for new learners. The process of reviving Hebrew was also fostered by the copious amount of written materials available. These materials provided standards of good usage against which new speakers could compare their own usage.

Hebrew consequently had much going for it, which an extinct American language like Chumash does not have. Chumash had never been a language of literacy. Any materials written in Chumash were written by non-Indians and were intended for their own use. These materials at the very least will have to be rewritten for the Chumash before they will be of use to the community. A more serious problem, though, is that the existing materials do not necessarily provide the model of grammar and usage required to understand how to conduct a conversation. In the days when materials were being gathered on Chumash and linguists had only one person to ask for information, conversational structure was generally ignored in favor of retrieving vocabulary, grammar, and folk stories.

It is difficult to know how to begin a revival effort because there have been so few attempts. Community determination is probably the most critical factor, but it must be supplemented with a good supply of written or taped materials on the language and culture. Without these nothing at all is possible. Since interpretation of written materials and documents often requires specialized training, it will generally be necessary for the community to seek out professional technical assistance. It will also be necessary to collate the different materials to derive a consistent and reasonably complete picture. Only after this research effort is well along can the community begin to institute formal revival attempts. These will differ in a very fundamental way from regular language teaching situations in that no one person can act as an evaluator or say for certain what is correct usage. Many situations are likely to arise in which opinions will vary, and, to anticipate this, the

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community should set up some collective evaluation procedure which can establish precedent. It should also attempt to create situations in which the language can be used. Initially, it would be easiest to make these situations pertain to learning about the traditional culture, before trying to extend its usefulness to modern cultural situations.

Eastern Pomo has three kinds of p sounds, three kinds of k sounds, and six kinds of t sounds. The Eastern Pomo p and k sounds most like English p and k, since they are pronounced with a small puff of air at the end, are written in this word list p^h and k^h, as in p^há 'feces', k^há 'spider'. The plain letters p and k without the little raised ^h are used to represent p and k sounds without this little puff of air, pronounced the same way the letters p and k are pronounced in French. For example: pá·ka? 'cow' and ká 'house'. (English p and k are pronounced this way following g, but most English speakers never notice it since the two pronunciations don't distinguish different meanings as they do in Eastern Pomo.)

These plain p and k without the little puff of air frequently sound like b and g to English speakers. However, Eastern Pomo has a p sound which contrasts with the sounds represented by p^h and p to distinguish meanings, as, for example, in bá 'that'.

In addition, a third type of p and k, which sounds "popped" to English speakers, and is technically called glottalized, is used by Eastern Pomo speakers to distinguish meaning. These "popped" p and k sounds are written p̣ and ḳ, as in pá·lá· 'slug', ká·ñ 'yawn'.

Chart of the symbols used to represent
the 3 kinds of p and k sounds in Eastern Pomo

	p sounds	k sounds
WITH PUFF OF AIR (AS IN ENGLISH)	ph Ex: p ^h á 'feces'	k ^h Ex: k ^h á 'spider'
WITHOUT PUFF OF AIR (AS IN FRENCH, OR IN ENGLISH AFTER s)	p Ex: pá·ka? 'cow'	k Ex: ká 'house'
POPPED	p̣ Ex: pá·lá· 'slug'	ḳ Ex: ká·ṣ 'yawn'

The six t sounds can be divided into two groups of three sounds each, depending on whether the tongue touches the lower part of the teeth in making them, or the ridge of gum just above the teeth (as most English speakers do in pronouncing an English t). Those Eastern Pomo t sounds made by touching the ridge of gum just above the teeth are represented by the letter t with a small dot under it: ṭ, while those made by touching the lower part of the teeth are represented by a plain letter t. The Eastern Pomo t sound most like an English t is written t^h, as in t^hór 'rotten'.

There is another Eastern Pomo t which sounds almost the same to English speakers, written t^h, as in t^hú·m 'to be lacking', t^hów 'now'. t^h differs from t^h only in one small detail: the tongue touches the lower part of the teeth in t^h, but it touches the gum above the teeth in t^h. The plain letters t and ṭ without

the little raised ^h represent Eastern Pomo sounds pronounced without a following puff of air. The letter t, as in t^ul 'tag, a game', represents a sound very much like the French sound t, that is, the tongue touches the lower part of the teeth and there is no following puff of air. The letter ṭ, as in ṭ^oyk^h 'something which can't be helped', represents a sound which again differs from t only in terms of the position of the tongue.

The letters ṭ̣ and ṭ̣̣ represent glottalized sounds which, like p̣ and ḳ, frequently sound "popped" to English speakers. The letter ṭ̣̣ represents a "popped" sound in which the tongue touches the gum ridge above the teeth, as in ṭ̣̣ir 'briar, thorn', while the letter ṭ̣ represents a sound in which the tongue touches the teeth, as in ṭ̣^o 'brains':

Chart of the symbols used to represent the 6 kinds of t sounds in Eastern Pomo

	WITH TONGUE AS IN ENGLISH	WITH TONGUE TOUCHING TEETH AS IN FRENCH
WITH PUFF OF AIR	t ^h = English <u>t</u> in <u>top</u> Ex: t ^h or 'rotten'	t ^h Ex: t ^h u·m 'to be lacking'
WITHOUT PUFF OF AIR	ṭ = English <u>t</u> in <u>stop</u> Ex: ṭ ^o yk ^h 'something which can't be helped'	ṭ = French <u>t</u> in tete 'head' Ex: t ^u l 'tag, a game'
POPPED	ṭ̣̣ Ex: ṭ̣̣ir 'thorn, briar'	ṭ̣̣ Ex: ṭ̣̣ ^o 'brains'

Some English capital letters have been used to represent another type of Eastern Pomo sound. Eastern Pomo has two kinds of w, y, m, n, and l sounds -- one like the English sounds normally represented by these letters, in which one can feel the Adam's apple moving or vibrating, and the other which sounds like a "breathy" or whispered version of the first type, in which one can't feel the Adam's apple moving. This last type of sound is represented in the word list by capital letters: W, Y, M, N, L: Some speakers of English use a sound similar to the Eastern Pomo sounds represented by W and Y in the words which (when pronounced differently from witch) and hue (when pronounced differently from you and who).

Chart of the symbols used to represent the 2 kinds of w, y, m, n, and l in Eastern Pomo

WITH VIBRATION (ADAM'S APPLE MOVING)	WITHOUT VIBRATION (ADAM'S APPLE NOT MOVING)
w = English <u>w</u> in <u>witch</u>	W = English <u>wh</u> in <u>which</u> (when pronounced differently from <u>witch</u>)
y = English <u>y</u> and in <u>you</u>	Y = English <u>h</u> as in <u>hue</u> (when pronounced differently from <u>you</u> and <u>who</u>)
m = English <u>m</u> in <u>me</u>	M somewhat like combining English sounds <u>hm</u>
n = English <u>n</u> in <u>no</u>	N somewhat like combining English sounds <u>hn</u>
l = English <u>l</u> in <u>low</u>	L somewhat like combining English sounds <u>hl</u>

The letters x, q and g, which represent English sounds that are also spelled with other letters, have been used to represent Eastern Pomo sounds which are unlike any used in speaking English. Specifically:

The letter x in English represents the sound of z at the beginning of words, as in xylophone, but represents the sequence of sounds ks at the ends of words and sometimes in the middle of words, or the sequence of sounds in the middle of words like exact or luxury. In this word list it is used to represent another Eastern Pomo sound that does not exist in English, but does exist in German where it is spelled ch, as in German ach 'alas'. For example: xá 'water'.

The letter q in English represents the sound of k in cat, but the sound of g in city. In this word list it is modified by the little raised ^h and ^o (just as p, k, and the two kinds of t are) and is used to represent three kinds of sounds. The symbol c^h represents a sound rather like that represented by ts in English, as in hats. For example: c^há·kaya 'to run away'. (The little raised ^h, of course, signals that c^h is pronounced with a small puff of air at the end, as p, t, and k are when they occur at the beginning of words in English.)

The plain letter q, without the raised ^h, is used to represent a similar sound, which is pronounced without this puff of air, as if one were to pronounce English ts with a French accent. The nearest English approximation to this sound is spelled ds as in heads. For example: cá·r 'clean'. The symbol q̇ represents a "popped" ts sound. For example: q̇álka 'to refuse, to say no'.

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Three more rather similar sounds are represented by the symbol č, modified by the little raised ^h and [˘]. The symbol č^h represents a sound very much like the English sound which is spelled ch as in church, pronounced with a little puff of air at the end. For example: č^háy 'a variety of fish, sometimes called shiners (?)'. The plain letter č, without the raised ^h, is used to represent a similar sound which is pronounced without this puff of air, as if one were to pronounce English ch with a French accent. The nearest English sound is represented by the letter j, the combination of letters dg, or sometimes, the letter g alone, as in judge or gym. For example: du·čf·š 'point'. The symbol č[˘] represents a "popped" ch sound. For example: ša·čšk-xe·lé 'fork'.

The letter q in English is always followed by the letter u and represents the sound of k as in quick (phonetically: kwik). In this word list it is modified by the raised [˘] and used to represent two sounds which resemble a k to English speakers, but are actually distinguished from k sounds by Eastern Pomo speakers. The plain letter q is used to represent a sound very much like the r of French speakers in Paris in pronouncing a word like Marie. For example: qó 'navel, umbilical cord'. The symbol q[˘] represents a "popped" or glottalized q and some English speakers may use it in imitating a bullfrog's call. An Eastern Pomo example is qóy 'neck'.

The symbol š is used to represent an Eastern Pomo sound very much like the English sound written sh in shoe. For example: šf 'name'.

The symbol ? (a question mark without a dot) is used to represent a sound that occurs in different places in different varieties of English, but all English speakers seem to have it between the first and second syllable of the negative úh-uh (?úh?uh) (as distinguished from the affirmative uh-húh). For example: ma·?áy 'food'.

In Eastern Pomo, it makes a difference in meaning if one pronounces a vowel fast and rather clipped or slowly and drawn out. Vowels which are pronounced fast and clipped are called "short" by linguists and are written with one of the five vowel symbols i, e, a, o, u. Vowels which are drawn out and pronounced slowly are called "long" by linguists and written with a vowel symbol followed by a raised dot · : i·, e·, a·, o·, u· . Thus, in Eastern Pomo, ká means 'house', but ká· means 'for one person to sit'; má means 'you, singular', but má· means 'you, plural'; kóy means 'sore', while kó·y means 'to grow'; di·lé means 'forehead', while di·lé· means 'middle'; k^hūy means 'not', while k^hū·y means 'another'.

It also makes a difference in meaning (as it does in English) which syllable is the loudest. The loudest syllable is marked by an acute accent, ´, over the vowel. Thus in English présent (the noun), the first syllable is the loudest, while in présent (the verb), the second syllable is the loudest. In Eastern Pomo qá·cá means 'grandmother (mother's mother)' while qa·cá means 'grass or hay'; ká·ya means 'afterwards' while k^ha·yá means 'head'.

A compound word is written with its component parts separated by a hyphen for the reader's ease. When two words are combined into a compound, the stress of one of these words will be minimized in favor of the prominence of the stress of the other word. A stress minimized in a compound is written with a circumflex ^ over the word, as in ki·di-Yâ 'spine', literally: 'back-bone'.

A hyphen is also used before a form to indicate that a prefix always must occur with that form.

The following abbreviations are used in the word list:

SG = singular

PL = plural

< Sp. = derived from Spanish (Eastern Pomo has a number of loan words from Spanish; a few examples are given in parentheses)