

Bethany Lycan  
LING 610

## Loanwords in Pahka'anil

### 1. Introduction

Pahka'anil, also known as Tübatulabal, is an Uto-Aztecan language that is currently being revitalized by the Pakanapul community in Kern County, California. This analysis focuses on the adaptation of Spanish loanwords in Pahka'anil, with a brief exploration of borrowed forms from other languages. It examines the phonological adaptation of loanwords and how these words are treated morphosyntactically, and explores some of the reasons that these words were borrowed into Pahka'anil.

### 2. Loanwords

Out of the approximately 3,846 words and suffixes listed in the Pahka'anil-English dictionary (Marean 2015), approximately 137 are identified as Spanish loanwords. The following table lists the Pahka'anil words that are of Spanish origin.

**Table 1 Spanish Loanwords in Pahka'anil**

Pahka'anil	Spanish	Gloss	Pahka'anil	Spanish	Gloss
<i>aaho'</i>	ajo	'garlic'	<i>keeso'</i>	queso	'cheese'
<i>abeeha</i>	abeja	'bee'	<i>kelsaana'</i>	calzones	'underwear', 'panties'
<i>abeetcuga'</i>	albaricoque chabacano	'apricot'	<i>dooriaales</i>	dos reales	'twenty-five cents', 'two bits'
<i>ahaloode'</i>	guajalote	'turkey'	<i>kiyeeda'</i>	galleta	'cookie', 'cracker'
<i>ahoode'</i>	ejote	'green beans'	<i>kohoon'</i>	cajón	'box'
<i>amiigo</i>	amigo	'friend'	<i>kopdeero'</i>	cafetera	'coffee pot'
<i>anaraanka'</i>	anaranjado	'orange'	<i>kucneero'ut</i>	cocinar	'cook'
<i>lemon</i>	Suspected borrowing <sup>2</sup>	'lemon'	<i>kudziin</i>	Suspected borrowing	'pig'
<i>asaaide'</i>	aceite	'gas', 'oil'	<i>küdzaara</i>	cuchara	'spoon'
<i>asuuga</i>	azúcar	'sugar'	<i>laana'</i>	lana	'cotton'
<i>baaldi'</i>	balde	'bucket'	<i>lameesa'</i>	la mesa	'table'
<i>bakeero'</i>	vaquero	'cowboy'	<i>leeje'</i>	leche	'milk'

<sup>1</sup> *Kaahoon* [ka:ho:n] or *kaaha* [ka:ha] are preferred due to promiscuous homophony.

<sup>2</sup> 'Lemon' and 'pig' were identified in the dictionary as suspected borrowings from Spanish.

<i>beela'</i>	vela	'candle'	<i>aroos</i>	arroz	'rice'
<i>bentana'</i>	ventana	'window'	<i>limpiada'at</i>	limpiar	'clean'
<i>beros</i>	berros	'watercress'	<i>limpiyu'</i>	limpia	'clean'
<i>biinu'</i>	vino	'wine'	<i>limpyu'angat</i>	limpiar	'clean something up'
<i>boliida'</i>	bolilla	'marble'	<i>limpyu'üt</i>	limpio	'it is clean'
<i>bolsa</i>	bolsa	'pocket'	<i>lion</i>	león	'lion'
<i>bot</i>	bote	'can'	<i>listo'</i>	listo	'ready'
<i>cibooya'</i>	cebolla	'cultivated onion'	<i>luunac</i>	lunes	'Monday'
<i>cimaana</i>	semana	'week'	<i>maacaliinu</i>	From Spanish? <sup>3</sup>	'sea lettuce plant'
<i>ckiina'</i>	esquina	'corner'	<i>maantsu'ut</i>	manso	'he is tame'
<i>cpeeho</i>	espejo	'mirror'	<i>magina'</i>	maquina	'car'
<i>darangka'</i>	naranja	'orange'	<i>mansana</i>	manzana	'apple'
<i>diceeto</i>	desierto	'desert'	<i>mantegiya'</i>	mantequilla	'butter'
<i>doktoon</i>	doctor	'doctor'	<i>mariiyu</i>	amarillo	'yellow'
<i>moliinat</i>	molino	'she mills or grinds something (flour)'	<i>mariyu'an</i>	amarillo	'its egg yolk', 'yellow part'
<i>dulse'</i>	dulce	'candy'	<i>mariyu'üt</i>	amarillo	'it is yellow'
<i>duraasni'</i>	durazno	'peach'	<i>martiiyu'</i>	martillo	'hammer'
<i>dyoos</i>	dios	'God'	<i>meestla</i>	maestra	'teacher'
<i>eskweela</i>	escuela	'school'	<i>miya</i>	milla	'mile'
<i>flaado'</i>	plato	'plate', 'dish'	<i>miyel</i>	miel	'honey'
<i>freno'</i>	freno	'bridle'	<i>peeras</i>	pera	'pear'
<i>fruta</i>	fruta	'fruit'	<i>mudazdzu</i>	muchacho	'Koso man's name'
<i>gaatu'</i>	gato	'cat'	<i>muula'</i>	mula	'mule'
<i>haaro'</i>	jarro	'cup', 'jar'	<i>muuros</i>	burro	'donkey'
<i>habüün</i>	jabón	'soap'	<i>mürüün</i>	melón	'cantaloupe'
<i>hiilo'</i>	hilo	'thread'	<i>noviya'an</i>	novia	'his sweetheart'
<i>ke' taal</i>	que tal	'what time is it?'	<i>nuwiiyo'</i>	novillo	'steer'
<i>kaalabaasa'</i>	calabaza	'pumpkin'	<i>oora'</i>	hora	'hour'
<i>kaaldu</i>	caldo	'soup'	<i>ooro'</i>	oro	'gold'
<i>kaane'</i>	carne	'meat'	<i>paabas</i>	papas	'potato'
<i>kabooda'</i>	capote	'coat'	<i>paaga'</i>	vaca	'cow'

<sup>3</sup> This word was identified as a Spanish borrowing, but the Spanish form was not listed. I am not familiar with a word similar to this in Spanish, and I was unable to find a similar form in a Spanish dictionary based on the information provided.

<i>kadeeda'</i>	carreta	'wagon'	<i>pasteel</i>	pastel	'pie'
<i>kamiica'</i>	camisa	'shirt'	<i>patreera'</i>	pradera	'field', 'meadow'
<i>kamiseeda'</i>	camiseta	'undershirt'	<i>pedaloon</i>	pantalones	'pants'
<i>kampuwat</i>	acampar	'make camp', 'go camping'	<i>iilu'</i>	hilo	'string', 'shoelace', 'thread'
<i>kanaasta</i>	canasta	'basket'	<i>pepiino'</i>	pepino	'cucumber'
<i>kawaaiyo'</i>	caballo	'horse'	<i>pospro</i>	fosforo	'match'
<i>tcweeku'</i>	chueco	'bowlegged', 'crippled'	<i>puda</i>	puta	'prostitute'
<i>tcweeku'üt</i>	chueco	'she has crooked legs'	<i>pweelo</i>	pueblo	'town'
<i>tiina'</i>	tina	'tub'	<i>raabano'</i>	rábano	'radish'
<i>tomaade'</i>	tomate	'tomato'	<i>raantco'</i>	rancho	'ranch'
<i>tooro'</i>	toro	'bull'	<i>ramal</i>	ramal	'horsewhip'
<i>towayu'</i>	toalla	'towel'	<i>tcaanggo'</i>	chango	'monkey'
<i>trampa'</i>	trampa	'trap'	<i>saabadu</i>	sábado	'Saturday'
<i>triibas</i>	tripas	'guts', 'insides'	<i>saangka'</i>	zanja	'ditch'
<i>tyempo'</i>	tiempo	'time'	<i>salmoon</i>	salmón	'canned salmon'
<i>uubas</i>	uvas	'grape'	<i>sandeeel</i>	sarten	'frying pan'
<i>waandic</i>	guantes	'gloves'	<i>serveesa'</i>	cerveza	'beer'
<i>waaso'</i>	vaso	'glass', 'jar'	<i>soldado</i>	soldado	'soldier'
<i>woodiis</i>	botas	'boots'	<i>stuufa'</i>	estufa	'stove'
<i>wüceero'</i>	becerro	'calf'	<i>taasa'</i>	taza	'cup'
<i>yeewas</i>	yegua	'mare'	<i>tamaali'</i>	tamal	'tamale'
<i>tciminiiya'</i>	chimenea	'chimney'	<i>tamburin</i>	tamburin	'drum'
<i>tciiira'a</i>	chile	'chile pepper'			

In addition to the words listed above, there are several words that are not identified in the dictionary as Spanish loanwords, but either appear to be derived from the words above or are suspected borrowings based on their similarity to the Spanish form. These words are listed in Table 2 below.

Table 2 Additional Spanish Loanwords

Pahka'anil	Spanish	Gloss	Pahka'anil	Spanish	Gloss
<i>amiigo'üt</i>	amigo	'they are friends'	<i>riyeenda'</i>	riendas	'reins'
<i>eskweelat</i>	escuela	'he has class'	<i>saarsa'</i>	salsa	'salsa'
<i>liisto'ot</i>	listo	'be ready'	<i>serveesa'abüül</i>	cerveza	'beer-drinker'
<i>maantsu'</i>	manso	'tame'	<i>tuusil tciira'</i>	chile	'chile powder'
<i>maigin</i>	machina	'drive'	<i>tortiiya'</i>	tortilla	'tortilla'
<i>mantegiiya tuulict</i>	mantequilla	'butter churn'	<i>trampa'aanat</i>	trampa	'he traps it'
<i>mariiyupul</i>	amarillo	'yellow one'	<i>kampuu</i>	campo	'valley', 'camp'
<i>patroon</i>	patrón	'boss'	<i>kaabee'</i>	café	'coffee'
<i>peesos</i>	peso	'dollar'	<i>kucneero'ict</i>	cocinero	'stove', 'kitchen', 'cook shack'
<i>rantcariiya'</i>	rancho	'rancheria', 'allotment'	<i>kantiino'</i>	cantina	'bar'
<i>rantcoganan</i>	rancho	'rancher'	<i>riilooh</i>	reloj	'clock'

Furthermore, there are a number of words that have been borrowed (or are suspected borrowings) from other languages, including English, Yokuts, and Yowlumni. These loanwords are listed in Table 3 below.

Table 3 Loanwords from Other Languages

Pahka'anil	Gloss and Language of Origin	Pahka'anil	Gloss and Language of Origin
<i>coxkoi</i>	'elk' (from Yowlumni <i>sohguy</i> )	<i>pousti'</i>	'post' (English)
<i>co'ogohnt</i>	'wild tobacco', 'Indian tobacco' (from Yokuts <i>cogon</i> or <i>soxon</i> )	<i>hüctüh</i>	'ten cents', 'a bit of money', 'one unit of money' (from Yowlumni <i>histaha</i> )
<i>floim</i>	'plum' (English)	<i>tiibii</i>	'television' (English)
<i>hakama'</i>	'hackamore' (English)	<i>wica</i>	'later', 'later on', 'wait' (from Yokuts <i>wisa</i> )
<i>stooba</i>	'stove' (English)	<i>wiiski</i>	'whiskey' (English)
<i>kartuji</i>	'cartridge', 'bullet' (English)	<i>kaabitc</i>	'cabbage' (English)
<i>keegee</i>	'cake' (English)	<i>no'mdzin</i>	'seven' (from Yowlumni <i>nomc'il</i> )
<i>loontci'</i>	'lunch' (English)		

### 3. Phonological Adaptation of Loanwords

It is difficult to tell exactly how the vowels were adapted in these loanwords, as this analysis is based on the forms as recorded in the dictionary. While the writing system is mostly alphabetic, there is no graphemic distinction between some of the vowel sounds. For example,

'i' can stand for either [i] or [ɪ], and 'u' can stand for [u] or [ʊ]. However, the orthographic form does provide information on vowel length and consonants.

Pahka'anil has long and short vowels, as well as an alternating stress pattern (Voegelin 1935). In almost all of the examples above, the loanwords have long vowels on the nucleus of the stressed syllable of the original word. Some examples are listed below to illustrate. Stress is not shown in the orthography, but some indications of how stress may have affected the adaptation of loanwords can be seen in longer words such as 'pumpkin' and 'orange', shown in Examples 7 and 8 below. These words are four and five syllables each, whereas most of the other loanwords are two to three syllables in length. For 'pumpkin', the stressed vowel is lengthened as well as the vowel two syllables before. The adapted form of 'orange' (referring to the fruit) is one syllable shorter than the original word; it deletes the final syllable. In this case, the vowel is lengthened in the syllable prior to the stressed syllable in the original word.

(1)	'garlic'	Spanish: ['aho]	Pahka'anil: [a:hoʔ]
(2)	'cheese'	Spanish: ['keso]	Pahka'anil: [ke:soʔ]
(3)	'horse'	Spanish: [ka'bajo]	Pahka'anil: [kawa:i:joʔ]
(4)	'tomato'	Spanish: [to'mate]	Pahka'anil: [toma:de]
(5)	'pie'	Spanish: [pas'tel]	Pahka'anil: [paste:l]
(6)	'whiskey'	English: ['wiski]	Pahka'anil: [wi:ski]
(7)	'pumpkin'	Spanish: [kala'basa]	Pahka'anil: [ka:laba:saʔ]
(8)	'orange'	Spanish: [anaran'hado]	Pahka'anil: [anara:nkaʔ]

Glottal stops tend to be added to loanwords that end in vowels. I am uncertain as to why glottal stops are inserted at the end of these loanwords, as words in Pahka'anil can end in consonants or vowels. Furthermore, there are alternate forms of the loanwords listed in the dictionary which do not show a glottal stop inserted. These forms are listed in the Appendix; the tables above give the primary listing from the dictionary.

Spanish has some diphthongs that are not present in Pahka'anil. These can be seen in words such as 'gloves', 'school', and 'turkey'. In the first two examples, the diphthong is adapted as a [w] followed by the second vowel of the diphthong (and the [g] at the beginning of *guantes* is deleted). In 'turkey', the first part of the diphthong is deleted while the rest is retained.

(9)	'gloves'	Spanish: ['guantes]	Pahka'anil: [wa:ndiʃ]
(10)	'school'	Spanish: [es'kuela]	Pahka'anil: [eskwe:la]
(11)	'turkey'	Spanish: [guaha'lote]	Pahka'anil: [ahalo:deʔ]

There are two sounds in these loanwords that are not phonemes in Pahka'anil: [f] and [r]. The only words in Pahka'anil that have these sounds are loanwords. The words vary in how these sounds are adapted. In most words containing 'r', such as 'rice', 'yellow', and 'hour', the 'r'

is adapted as a flap [r], regardless of whether the 'r' is pronounced with a trill [r] or a flap [r] in the Spanish pronunciation of the word.

- |      |          |                    |                       |
|------|----------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (12) | 'rice'   | Spanish: [aros]    | Pahka'anil: [aro:s]   |
| (13) | 'yellow' | Spanish: [amarijo] | Pahka'anil: [mari:ju] |
| (14) | 'hour'   | Spanish: [ora]     | Pahka'anil: [o:raʔ]   |

Interestingly, there are some instances in which an 'l' is written as an 'r' and pronounced as the flap [r] rather than using the [l] sound that is present in the original pronunciation of the word, even though Pahka'anil has an [l] in its inventory. This occurs in words such as 'cantaloupe' and 'chile'.

- |      |              |                  |                       |
|------|--------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (15) | 'cantaloupe' | Spanish: [melon] | Pahka'anil: [mɪri:n]  |
| (16) | 'chile'      | Spanish: [tʃile] | Pahka'anil: [tʃiraʔa] |

Furthermore, consonant clusters involving 'r's can (but not always) lead to deletion of the 'r'. This can be seen in words such as 'desert' or 'meat', in which the 'r' occurs before a [t] and an [n]. There can also be some confusion as to the location of the 'r's in words with multiple 'r's. For example, in the word for 'meadow', the first 'r' is moved on to the second syllable, after the [t] rather than after the [p].

- |      |          |                     |                         |
|------|----------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (17) | 'desert' | Spanish: [desierto] | Pahka'anil: [diʃe:to]   |
| (18) | 'meat'   | Spanish: [karne]    | Pahka'anil: [ka:neʔ]    |
| (19) | 'meadow' | Spanish: [pradera]  | Pahka'anil: [patre:raʔ] |

The other sound that is present only in loanwords in Pahka'anil is [f]. This can be seen in words such as 'fruit' or 'stove'. The [f] is sometimes adapted as a [p] instead, as in 'match'. Interestingly, in some cases [f] appears to be preferred over [p], which Pahka'anil does have, in words such as 'plate'. I believe this is also the case in the word for 'plum'. 'Plum' is not identified in the dictionary as a loanword, but the similarity to the English form and the lack of words in Pahka'anil with [f] lead me to believe that 'plum' is borrowed from English.

- |      |         |                    |                       |
|------|---------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (20) | 'fruit' | Spanish: [fruta]   | Pahka'anil: [fru:ta]  |
| (21) | 'stove' | Spanish: [estufa]  | Pahka'anil: [sto:faʔ] |
| (22) | 'match' | Spanish: [fosforo] | Pahka'anil: [posproʔ] |
| (23) | 'plate' | Spanish: [plato]   | Pahka'anil: [fla:doʔ] |
| (24) | 'plum'  | English: [plʌm]    | Pahka'anil: [flom]    |

#### 4. Morphosyntax of Loanwords

Pahka'anil has three classes of words: nouns, verbs, and particles (anything that does not quite fit into the noun or verb classes). The majority of Pahka'anil loanwords are nouns in Pahka'anil and in the original language. There are some words such as color names, however,

that are adjectives in the original language. In Pahka'anil, adjectives are usually verby, but can also be nouns or particles. Two color words, 'orange' and 'yellow', are Spanish loanwords in Pahka'anil. There is a noun, verb, and particle form of the 'yellow' borrowing in Pahka'anil, but there is only the particle form of 'orange'. Of the words that were identified as Spanish loanwords in Pahka'anil, three adjectives were adapted as verbs, one as a noun, and four as particles. One noun, *molino* 'mill' or 'grinder', was adapted as a verb referring to the action associated with that noun. Another noun, *milla* 'mile', was adapted as a particle; this word may be considered more of a description than a nouny word. The two days of the week that were borrowed, 'Monday' and 'Saturday', also fall in the particle word class. Finally, the greeting *que tal?* was also adapted as a particle.

Loanwords take the same morphology as native words. Borrowed nouns take noun suffixes, such as the locative suffix on 'town' in the example below. Likewise, borrowed verbs take verb morphology, such as the atelic marker /-(a)t/ on the verb 'clean' below.

- (25) pweelo'-ip-gii            miyy-at.  
       town-LOC-1SG:SBJ    go-ATEL  
       'I am going to town.'
- (26) hanii-gi'                limpiada'-at.  
       house-1SG:SBJ        clean-ATEL  
       'I am cleaning my own house.'

There are a few words that have been borrowed with morphology from their original language attached. 'Grapes', 'gloves', and 'boots' are words that were borrowed with Spanish plural /-s/ attached, and these are words that tend to occur in plural form. It is interesting to note, however, that 'pants' and 'underwear' are adapted without the plural /-s/ attached. Furthermore, the word for 'table' *mesa* is borrowed as *lameesa*; the Spanish definite article *la* is attached. Like the words that were adapted with the plural form attached, this word was likely frequently heard paired with the definite article. It also interesting to note the borrowed form of 'tamale'. This word may have been borrowed from Spanish by way of English after English had misanalysed the form, or Pahka'anil, like English, may have misanalysed the singular form of 'tamales'.

- |      |             |                       |                         |
|------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| (27) | 'grapes'    | Spanish: [uβas]       | Pahka'anil: [u:bas]     |
| (28) | 'gloves'    | Spanish: [gantes]     | Pahka'anil: [wa:ndiʃ]   |
| (29) | 'boots'     | Spanish: [botas]      | Pahka'anil: [wo:dis]    |
| (30) | 'pants'     | Spanish: [pantalones] | Pahka'anil: [pedalo:n]  |
| (31) | 'underwear' | Spanish: [kalzones]   | Pahka'anil: [kelsa:naʔ] |
| (32) | 'table'     | Spanish: [mesa]       | Pahka'anil: [lame:saʔ]  |

(33) 'tamale' Spanish: [tamal] Pahka'anil: [tamaliʔ]

Some Pahka'anil loanwords have extended in their meaning and/or part of speech. For example, the noun 'friend' was borrowed as a noun, but has also extended as a verb form 'to be friends'. Likewise, the noun for 'school' has extended to a verb meaning 'to have class'. Finally, the verb 'to drive a car' comes from the Spanish borrowing of the word 'car'; this borrowing is not the same as the Spanish verb.

(34) 'friend' Spanish: [amigo] 'to be friends' Pahka'anil: [ami:goʔit]

(35) 'school' Spanish: [eskuela] 'to have class' Pahka'anil: [eskwe:lat]

(36) 'car' Spanish: [makina] 'to drive' Pahka'anil: [maigin]

## 5. Reasons for Borrowing

From these data, there appear to be four primary reasons for borrowing in Pahka'anil. First is the avoidance of taboo. This is seen in the word for 'garlic'. Pahka'anil borrowed the Spanish word for 'garlic' *ajo* even though it already had a form for 'wild garlic' *wowool*. This form also means 'testicles', so using the borrowed form could be a way of avoiding a taboo word.

Another reason for borrowing is to avoid confusion. Some of the borrowed words replace words that had multiple meanings. The borrowed words for 'plate', 'spoon', and 'cup' replace a more general word that referred to 'all eating utensils'. The word for 'soup' replaced a word that could mean 'soup', 'juice', 'bread', 'biscuit', 'dam', or 'lake'. The Pahka'anil form also sounds the same as the Spanish word for 'bread' (this meaning may have been borrowed); this provides another reason to borrow a form for 'soup' to avoid confusion. Furthermore, it may be the case that the borrowed form is a more general term that replaces several more specific terms. For example, Pahka'anil borrowed the Spanish word for 'basket' *canasta* even though it has several terms for specific types of baskets.

Several terms were borrowed out of need; there was no prior term for the loanword. This is the case for many of the food and livestock terms that were borrowed, including words such as 'watercress', 'bull', and 'butter'. Furthermore, several of the terms for fruits and vegetables had a Pahka'anil form for the wild version of the food, but these may not have been the same as the cultivated version.

Finally, many of the words were likely borrowed for trade and work. As noted above, several of the borrowed terms refer to goods such as fruits, vegetables, and livestock. They also refer to baskets and clothing items. There is also a set of loanwords related to ranches and housekeeping, which were likely sources of work for Pahka'anil speakers when they came into contact with Spanish speakers.



## 6. Conclusion

The above was an examination of the adaptation of loanwords in the Uto-Aztecan language Pahka'anil. It focused on the Spanish loanwords that have been identified in this language, in particular on some of the phonological adaptations that took place. It also examined the parts of speech and meaning extensions of the loanwords, and discussed the potential reasons these words were borrowed into Pahka'anil.

## References

Marean, L. (2015). Unpublished draft of Pahka'anil-English dictionary.

Voegelin, C. (1935a). Tübatulabal grammar (University of California publications. American archaeology and ethnology ; v. 34, no. 2). Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

## Appendix

Identified Spanish Loanwords with All Pahka'anil Adaptations and Pahka'anil Forms				
Gloss	POS	Pahka'anil Orth	Spanish Orth	Pahka'anil Word
'garlic'	N	aaho'	ajo	<i>wowool</i> 'wild garlic', 'testicles'
'bee'	N	abeeha, abeeha'	abeja	<i>toomoogal</i> 'bumble bee'
'apricot'	N	abeetcuga', abeetcu', abeetsuga'	albaricoque chabacano	N/A
'turkey'	N	ahaloode', haloodi', haloode', woholoodi, woholoodi'	guajalote	<i>yo'olapüün</i> 'turkey vulture', <i>yo'olit</i> 'buzzard' <i>wicokombict</i> 'turkey buzzard song'
'green beans'	N	ahoodé'	ejote	N/A
'friend'	N	amiigo	amigo	<i>naamun</i> 'his or her friend - life long' <i>omoh</i> 'friend'
'orange'	P	anaraanka', naranka, naranka'	anaranjado	N/A
'rice'	N	aroos	arroz	<i>uugibüül</i> 'wild rice', 'grass that grows in bunches'
'gas', 'oil'	N	asaaide', asaaida'	aceite	N/A
'sugar'	N	asuuga, asuuga'	azúcar	<i>haabict</i> 'sugar', 'honey dew crystals harvested from cane stalks' <i>pahaabül</i> 'sugar cane plant' <i>uugat</i> 'sugar cane', 'cane mainshaft of arrow'
'bucket'	N	baaldi', baaldu'	balde	<i>wilii'inict</i> 'basket or bucket with a handle', 'basket for gathering seed', 'lead cord' <i>ickat</i> 'pail'
'cowboy'	N	bakeero'	vaquero	<i>nalogat</i> 'cowboy'
'candle'	N	beela'	vela	N/A
'window'	N	bentana'	ventana	N/A
'watercress'	N	beros, beeros, beerüs	berros	N/A
'wine'	N	biinu', biino'	vino	N/A
'marble'	N	boliida'	bolilla	N/A
'pocket'	N	bolsa	bolsa	<i>woodzoo</i> 'pocket'
'can'	N	bot, boot, botée	bote	<i>kaadzul</i> 'can', 'pot, clay pot, cooking pot'

				<i>pahaabüül</i> 'can'
'cultivated onion'	N	cibooya', cibooya, sibooya'	cebolla	<i>ciiwil</i> 'wild onions' <i>wiicil</i> 'edible part of a plant that develops underground, of a carrot or onion for example'
'week'	N	cimaana, camaana, cimaana', simaana', cümaana', samaana, sümaana	semana	N/A
'corner'	N	ckiina', ickiina'	esquina	<i>toogit</i> 'corner'
'mirror'	N	cpeeho, icpeeho	espejo	N/A
'orange'	N	darangka', narangka'	naranja	N/A
'desert'	N	diceeto	desierto	<i>yüt</i> 'valley', 'desert'
'doctor'	N	doktoon, daktoon	doctor	<i>aadzowaal</i> 'shaman', 'doctor', 'witch doctor'
'twenty-five cents', 'two bits'	N	dooriaales	dos reales	<i>wostü</i> 'quarter'
'candy'	N	dulse', duulci', lusa', luulce', luulsa', luuse', luulse', luulsi'	dulce	N/A
'peach'	N	duraasni', raasnu', duraazni', haraasni', raasni, raasna'	durazno	N/A
'God'	N	dyoos	dios	<i>pangatal</i> 'God'
'school'	N	eskweela, ickwele'e, ickwele, skweela', skweela, eskweela'	escuela	<i>maagic</i> 'school'
'plate', 'dish'	N	flaado'	plato	<i>kaluut</i> 'dish', 'cup', 'all the eating utensils'
'bridle'	N	freeno'	freno	N/A
'fruit'	N	fruuta	fruta	N/A
'cat'	N	gaatu'	gato	<i>naadü</i> 'cat' - Tübatulabal <i>kiidii</i> 'cat, kitten' - Pahka'anil
'cup', 'jar'	N	haaro'	jarro	<i>kaluut</i> 'dish', 'cup', 'all the eating utensils'
'soap'	N	habüün, kabüün	jabón	<i>üihabüül</i> 'buffalo gourd', 'green gourd that can be used for soap' <i>piicil</i> 'alkalai dirt for washing hair'
'thread'	N	hiilo'	hilo	N/A

'string', 'shoelace', 'thread'	N	iilu', iilo'	hilo	<i>pihoolit</i> 'thong or string for bow, violin' <i>ümbüingwil</i> 'rolled string' <i>yuuwil</i> 'string', 'buckskin thong'
'pumpkin'	N	kaalabaasa', kalbaasa'	calabaza	N/A
'soup'	N	kaaldu, kaaldu', kaaldo'	caldo	<i>paan</i> 'soup', 'juice', 'bread', 'biscuit', 'dam', lake'
'meat'	N	kaane', kaanii, kaani', kaarni', kaani, kaarne'	carne	<i>tuguwan</i> 'his meat' <i>takaat</i> 'quail meat'
'coat'	N	kabooda'	capote	N/A
'wagon'	N	kadeeda'	carreta	N/A
'shirt'	N	kamiica'	camisa	<i>pigiinict</i> 'shirt'
'undershirt'	N	kamiseeda'	camiseta	N/A
'make camp', 'go camping'	V	kampuwat, kaampo'ot	acampar	<i>wahi'aanat</i> 'he camps' <i>waihaamüt</i> 'he looks for a place to camp (camp-hunts)'
'basket'	N	kanaasta	canasta	<i>waamat</i> 'basket trap made of tule for fish' <i>waaniht</i> 'burden basket' <i>wa'lat</i> 'storage basket' <i>wilii'inict</i> 'basket or bucket with a handle, for gathering seeds' <i>wohpit</i> 'arrow basket for shooting rabbits' <i>wooniht</i> 'conical pack basket' <i>hom'mobit</i> 'ladle for cooking basket', 'small basket' <i>hom'mol</i> 'cooking basket' <i>iwat</i> 'water basket', 'bottle' <i>ponol</i> 'meal basket for holding freshly ground seeds' <i>puiwict</i> 'type of basket' <i>puu'ict</i> 'threshing basket', 'oval carrying basket', 'winnowing tray' <i>tcaamuct</i> 'lug basket', 'conical basket for collecting pinon cones'

				<i>ukuluct</i> 'money basket', 'basket for hiding things in'
'horse'	N	kawaaiyo', kebeyeh	caballo	<i>punggubatsu</i> 'on horseback' <i>punggul</i> 'pet, especially horses, sheep, and dogs'
'cheese'	N	keeso'	queso	<i>lü'mat</i> 'get soft, e.g. of cheese'
'underwear', 'panties'	N	kelsaana', kelsoon, kalsonza, kalsoon, kalsiia'	calzones	N/A
'what time is it?'	P	ke' taal	que tal	N/A
'cookie', 'cracker'	N	kiyeeda'	galleta	N/A
'box'	N	kohoon, kohon, kaahoon (Preferred), kaaha (Preferred)	cajón	N/A
'coffee pot'	N	kopdeero'	cafetera	N/A
'cook'	V	kucneero'ut, kicnero'üt, kucnaaro', kücneero', kucneero'ot, kucneeru'ut, kucneerü'üt, kücneero'ot, kuicneero'ot	cocinar	<i>pundzigaadzat</i> 'she is boiling seeds', 'she is cooking (beans, pine nuts) in a pot' <i>tükiguui'at</i> 'he is cooking it' <i>wücüt</i> 'it is ripening, it is cooking' <i>wüyuyuu'at</i> 'cook with moist heat - steam'
'pig'	N	kudziin, küdziin	suspected borrowing	N/A
'spoon'	N	küdzaara, küjaara'	cuchara	<i>taamil</i> 'spoon made from antelope horn' <i>kaluut</i> 'dish', 'cup', 'all the eating utensils'
'cotton'	N	laana'	lana	N/A
'table'	N	lameesa'	la mesa	N/A
'milk'	N	leeje'	leche	<i>picil</i> 'milk'
'lemon'	N	lemon	From Span or Eng?	N/A
'clean'	V	limpiada'at, limpyu'üt, limpiada'a, limpiara'at, limpyaara'at	limpiar	<i>nuu'at</i> 'she cleans sediment'
'clean'	P	limpiyu', limpiu'	limpia	see above
'clean something up'	V	limpyu'angat, limpyu'üt, ilimpyu'an, limpyu'an	limpiar	see above

'it is clean'	V	limpyu'üt, limpyu', ilimpyu', liimpio', linfio', limpio', limpio'üt	limpio	see above
'lion'	N	lion	león	<i>tuugukut</i> 'mountain lion, cougar' <i>tuukt</i> 'mountain lion'
'ready'	P	listo'	listo	<i>meeda</i> 'already', 'long ago', 'starts to', 'ready' <i>uganwüt</i> 'get ready to go' <i>-(i)ba'</i> 'get ready to'
'Monday'	P	luunac, luunas	lunes	<i>tciite</i> 'one', 'Monday'
'sea lettuce plant'	N	maacaliinu	From Spanish?	?
'he is tame'	V	maantsu'ut, maantsu'	manso	<i>makooanat</i> 'he tames it'
'car'	N	magina', maagina' maagina	maquina	N/A
'apple'	N	mansana, mansaana, mansaana'	manzana	N/A
'butter'	N	mantegiiya'	mantequilla	N/A
'yellow'	P	mariiyu, amariiyu, mariiyo, mariiyu', amariiyu', meriiyu'	amarillo	words for specific plants and animals that are yellow
'its egg yolk', 'yellow part'	N	mariiyu'an, amariiyu'an	amarillo	N/A
'it is yellow'	V	mariiyu'üt, amariiyu'(ü), mariiyu'(ü), mariiyo'(ü), amariiyu'üt, mariiyu'üt, mariiyu'üt	amarillo	N/A
'hammer'	N	martiiyu', maatiiu, matiiyo'	martillo	N/A
'teacher'	N	meestla	maestra	<i>aawinapiüül</i> 'teacher'
'mile'	P	miya, miiya', miiyo'	milla	N/A
'honey'	N	miyel, miiyeel, miiyel	miel	<i>haabict</i> 'honey dew crystals'
'she mills or grinds something (flour)'	V	moliinat	molino	<i>kuduubinat</i> 'she grinds something up' <i>pahat</i> 'she grinds' <i>tsaapanat</i> 'she grinds on a grinding stone' <i>tusut</i> 'she grinds'
'Koso man's name'	N	mudazdzu	muchacho	N/A

'mule'	N	muula', muulaa, mula'a	mula	N/A
'donkey'	N	muuros, buuriis, buurus	burro	N/A
'cantaloupe'	N	mürüün	melón	<i>mact</i> 'cantaloupe'
'his sweetheart'	N	noviya'an	novia	N/A
'steer'	N	nuwiiyo', naviiyu	novillo	N/A
'hour'	N	oora', oora	hora	N/A
'gold'	N	ooro'	oro	N/A
'potato'	N	paabas	papas	N/A
'cow'	N	paaga'	vaca	N/A
'pie'	N	pasteel	pastel	N/A?
'field', 'meadow'	N	patreera'	pradera	<i>ugan</i> 'patch of plants', 'field'
'pants'	N	pedaloon	pantalones	N/A
'pear'	N	peeras	pera	N/A
'cucumber'	N	pepiino'	pepino	<i>tcawakict</i> 'wild cucumber'
'match'	N	pospro, poospora'	fosforo	N/A
'prostitute'	N	puda	puta	N/A
'town'	N	pweelo	pueblo	few words for 'village site' - refer to specific locations
'radish'	N	raabano'	rábano	<i>yambal</i> 'wild carrots', 'wild radishes'
'ranch'	N	raantco'	rancho	N/A
'horsewhip'	N	ramal	ramal	N/A
'Saturday'	P	saabadu, saavaru, caavaru, saawuru', saabadoo	sábado	N/A
'ditch'	N	saangka', caangka', sangka'	zanja	N/A
'canned salmon'	N	salmoon	salmón	<i>haiyeel</i> 'salmon' <i>paanil</i> 'enclosed material, including canned goods'
'frying pan'	N	sandeel	sarten	<i>caala'ict</i> 'frying pan'
'beer'	N	serveesa', salveesa', selveesa'	cerveza	N/A
'soldier'	N	soldado	soldado	<i>cünü'ac</i> 'soldier' <i>waatam</i> 'soldier', 'squadron of soldiers', 'group of 30 soldiers'
'stove'	N	stuufa'	estufa	<i>po'anict</i> 'stove', 'firebox' <i>wüsinict</i> 'stove'



'cup'	N	taasa'	taza	<i>kaluut</i> 'dish, 'cup', 'all the eating utensils'
'tamale'	N	tamaali', tamaale', tūmaale'	tamal	N/A
'drum'	N	tamburin	tamburin	N/A
'monkey'	N	tcaanggo'	chango	N/A
'chimney'	N	tciiminiya'	chimenea	N/A
'chile pepper'	N	tciira'a, tciira, tciira'	chile	<i>hadzuudzil</i> 'crushed chiles'
'bowlegged', 'crippled'	?	tcweeku'	chueco	N/A
'she has crooked legs'	V	tcweeku'üt, tcweekuu', tcweeko'üt	chueco	<i>mootco'üt</i> 'he has a bent or crooked leg, arm, or wing', 'he has only one leg, arm, or wing'
'tub'	N	tiina'	tina	N/A
'tomato'	N	tomaade', tomaadi', tamaade'	tomate	N/A
'bull'	N	tooro'	toro	N/A
'towel'	N	towayu'	toalla	N/A
'trap'	N	trampa'	trampa	<i>togoo'iinit</i> 'rock trap' <i>üw</i> 'to trap' <i>tokoo'in</i> 'to set deadfall traps' <i>waamat</i> 'basket trap made of tule, for fish'
'guts', 'insides'	N	triibas	tripas	<i>suunal</i> 'heart, insides' <i>sapul</i> 'belly'
'time'	N	tyempo', tyeempo'	tiempo	<i>maanigic wanaap?</i> 'what time/size is it?' <i>tanap</i> 'o'clock'
'grape'	N	uubas, uuvas, ubas	uvas	<i>wooloont</i> 'wild grape'
'gloves'	N	waandic	guantes	N/A
'glass', 'jar'	N	waaso'	vaso	<i>paanict</i> 'mason jar' <i>tübat ukuluct</i> 'pinon jar'
'boots'	N	woodüs	botas	N/A
'calf'	N	wüceero'	becerro	N/A
'mare'	N	yeewas	yegua	N/A